The Apocalypse of Sedrach

The Word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and concerning repentance and Orthodox Christians, and concerning the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lord give your blessing.

Beloved, let us prefer nothing in honour except sincere love: for in many things we stumble every day and night and hour. And for this cause let us gain love, for it covers a multitude of sins: for what is the profit, my children, if we have all things, and have not saving love...

O blessed love, supplier of all good things. Blessed is the man who has gained the true faith and sincere love, according as the Master said, there is no greater love than this that a man should lay down his life for his friend.

And invisibly he received a voice in his ears: Come hither, Sedrach, since you wish and desirest to converse with God and ask of him that he may reveal unto you whatever you wish to ask. And Sedrach said: What, Sir? And the voice said to him: I was sent to you to raise you here into heaven. And he said: I desired to speak mouth to mouth with God: I am not fit, Sir, to come into heaven. And stretching out his wings he took him up and he came into heaven to the very flame, and he set him as high as the third heaven, and in it stood the flame of the divinity.

And the Lord says to him: Welcome, my beloved Sedrach: What suit have you against God who created you, that you said, I desired to speak face to face with God? Sedrach says to him: Yea, verily, the son has a suit with the Father: my Lord, why did you make the earth? The Lord says to him: For man's sake. Sedrach says: And why did You make the sea? Why did You scatter every good thing on the earth? The Lord says to him: For man's sake. Sedrach says to him: If you did these things, why will You destroy him? And the Lord said: Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find good.

Sedrach says to him: Chastisement and fire are your discipline: they are bitter, my Lord: it were well for man if he had not been born: why then did you make him, my Lord? Why did you weary your undefiled hands and create man, since you did not intend to have mercy on him? God says to him: I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life and said to him: Eat of all the fruits, but beware of the tree of life: for if you eat of it, you shall die the death. But he transgressed my commandment, and being beguiled by the devil ate of the tree.

Sedrach says to him: Of your will Adam was beguiled, my Lord: You command your angels to make approach to Adam, and the first of the angels himself transgressed your commandment and did not make approach to him, and You banished him, because he transgressed your commandment and did not make any approach to the work of your hands: if you loved man, why did You not slay the devil, the worker of unrighteousness? Who is able to fight an invisible spirit? And he enters like smoke into the hearts of men and teaches them every sin: he fights against you, the immortal God, and what can wretched man then do to him? But have mercy, O Lord, and stop the chastisements: but if not, count me also with the sinners: if you will have no mercy on the sinners, where are your mercies, where is your compassion, O Lord?

God says to him: Be it known unto you that I ordered all things to be placable to him: I gave him understanding and made him the heir of heaven and earth, and I subjected all things to him, and every living thing flees from him and from before his face: but he, having received of mine, became alien, adulterous, and sinful: tell me, what father, having given his son his portion, when he takes his substance and leaves his father and goes away and becomes an alien and serves an alien, when the father sees that the son has deserted him, does not darken his heart, and does not the father go and take his substance and banish him from his glory because he deserted his father?

And how have I, the wonderful and jealous God, given him everything, and he having received these things has become an adulterer and a sinner?

Sedrach says to him: You, O Lord, created man. You knew of what sort of mind he was and of what sort of knowledge we are, and you make it a cause for chastisement: but cast him forth; for shall not I alone fill up the heavenly places? But if that is not to be so save man too, O Lord. He failed by your will, wretched man. Why do you waste words on me, Sedrach? I created Adam and his wife and the sun and said: Behold each other how bright he is, and the wife of Adam is brighter in the beauty of the moon and he was the giver of her life. Sedrach says: but of what profit are beauties if they die away into the earth? How did you say, O Lord, You shall not return evil for evil? How is it, O Lord? The word of Your divinity never lies, and why do You retaliate on man? Or do you not in so doing render evil for evil? I know that among the quadrupeds there is no other so wily and unreasonable as the mule. But we strike it with the bridle when we wish: and you have angels: send them forth to guard them, and when man inclines towards sin, to take hold of his foot and not let him go whither he would.

God says to him: If I catch him by the foot, he will say, You have given me no joy in the world. But I have left him to his own will because I loved him. Wherefore I sent forth my righteous angels to guard him night and day. Sedrach says: I know, O Lord, that of all your creatures You chiefly loved man, of the quadrupeds the sheep, of woods the olive, of fruits the vine, of flying things the bee, of rivers the Jordan, of cities Jerusalem. And all these man also loves, my Lord. God says to Sedrach: I will ask you one thing, Sedrach: if you answer me, then I may fitly help you, even though you have tempted your creator. Sedrach says: Speak. The Lord God says: Since I made all things, how many men were born and how many died, and how many are to die and how many hairs have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven was created and the earth, how many trees grew in the world, and how many fell, and how many are to fall, and how many are to arise, and how many leaves have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves arose and how many fell, and how many are to arise, and how many winds blow along the margin of the sea? Tell me, Sedrach, from the creation of the world of the æons, when the air rained, how many drops fell upon the world, and how many are to fall? And Sedrach said: You alone know all these things, O Lord; you only understand all these things: only, I pray you, deliver man from chastisement, and I shall not be separated from our race.

And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise. The only begotten Son says to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of your mother in the holy tabernacle of your body from a child. Sedrach says: I will not give you my soul. God says to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and you plead against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take your soul with violence; but if not, give me your most greatly desired soul.

And Sedrach says to God: And whence do You intend to take my soul, and from which limb? And God says to him: Do you not know that it is placed in the midst of your lungs and your heart and is dispersed into all your limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart. When Sedrach had heard all these things and had considered the memory of death he was greatly astounded, and Sedrach said to God: O Lord, give me a little respite that I may weep, for I have heard that tears are able to do much and much remedy comes to the lowly body of your creature.

And weeping and bewailing he began to say: O marvellous head of heavenly adornment: O radiant as the sun which shines on heaven and earth: your hairs are known from Teman, your eyes from Bosor, your ears from thunder, your tongue from a trumpet, and your brain is a small creation, your head the energy of the whole body: O friendly and most fair beloved by all, and now falling into the earth it must become forgotten. O hands, mild, fair-fingered, worn with toil by which the body is nourished: O hands, deftest of all, heaping up from all quarters you made ready houses.

O fingers adorned and decked with gold and silver: and great worlds are led by the fingers: the three joints enfold the palms, and heap up beautiful things: and now you must become aliens to the world. O feet, skilfully walking about, self-running, most swift, unconquerable: O knees, fitted together, because without you the body does not move: the feet run along with the sun and the moon in the night and in the day, heaping up all things, foods and drinks, and nourishing the body: O feet, most swift and fair runners, moving on the face of the earth, getting ready the house with every good thing: O feet which bear up the whole body, that run up to the temples, making repentance and calling on the saints, and now you are to remain motionless. O head and hands and feet, until now I have kept you. O soul, what sent you into the humble and wretched body? And now being separated from it, you are going up where the Lord calls you, and the wretched body goes away to judgment. O body well-adorned, hair clothed with stars, head of heavenly adornment and dress: O face well-anointed, light-bringing eyes, voice trumpet-like, tongue placable, chin fairly adorned, hairs like the stars, head high as heaven, body decked out, light-bringing eyes that know all things— and now you shall fall into the earth and under the earth your beauty shall disappear.

Christ says to him: Stay, Sedrach; how long do you weep and groan? Paradise is opened to you, and, dying, you shall live. Sedrach says to him: Once more I will speak unto you, O Lord: How long shall I live before I die? And do not disregard my prayer. The Lord says to him: Speak, O Sedrach. Sedrach says: If a man shall live eighty or ninety or an hundred years, and live these years in sin, and again shall turn, and the man live in repentance, in how many days do you forgive him his sins? God says to him: If he shall live an hundred or eighty years and shall turn and repent for three years and do the fruit of righteousness, and death shall overtake him, I will not remember all his sins.

Sedrach says to him: The three years are a long time, my Lord, lest death overtake him and he fulfil not his repentance: have mercy, Lord, on your image and have compassion, for the three years are many. God says to him: If a man live an hundred years and remember his death and confess before men and I find him, after a time I will forgive all his sins. Sedrach says again: I will again beseech your compassion for your creature. The time is long lest death overtake him and snatch him suddenly. The Saviour says to him: I will ask you one word, Sedrach, my beloved, then you shall ask me in turn: if the man shall repent for forty days I will not remember all his sins which he did.

And Sedrach says to the archangel Michael: Hearken to me, O powerful chief, and help me and be my envoy that God may have mercy on the world. And falling on their faces, they besought the Lord and said: O Lord, teach us how and by what sort of repentance and by what labour man shall be saved. God says: By repentances, by intercessions, by liturgies, by tears in streams, in hot groanings. Do you not know that my prophet David was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment? You know, Sedrach, that there are nations which have not the law and which do the works of the law: for if they are unbaptized and my divine spirit come unto them and they turn to my baptism, I also receive them with my righteous ones into Abraham's bosom. And there are some who have been baptized with my baptism and who have shared in my divine part and become reprobate in complete reprobation and will not repent: and I suffer them with much compassion and much pity and wealth in order that they may repent, but they do the things which my divinity hates, and did not hearken to the wise man asking, saying, we by no means justify a sinner. Do you not most certainly know that it is written: And those who repent never see chastisement? And they did not hearken to the Apostles or to my word in the Gospels, and they grieve my angels, and verily they do not attend to my messenger in the assemblies and in my services, and they do not stand in my holy churches, but they stand and do not fall down and worship in fear and trembling, but boast things which I do not accept, or my holy angels.

Sedrach says to God: O Lord, You alone are sinless and very compassionate, having compassion and pity for sinners, but your divinity said: I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. And the Lord said to Sedrach: Do you not know, Sedrach, that the thief was saved in one moment to repent? Do you not know that my apostle and evangelist was saved in one moment?

Peccatores enim non salvantur (Sinners are not saved), for their hearts are like rotten stone: these are they who walk in impious ways and who shall be destroyed with Antichrist. Sedrach says: O my Lord, You also said: My divine spirit entered into the nations which, not having the law, do the things of the law.

So also the thief and the apostle and evangelist and the rest of those who have already got into your Kingdom. O my Lord; so likewise do You pardon those who have sinned to the last: for life is very toilsome and there is no time for repentance.

The Lord says to Sedrach: I made man in three stages: when he is young, I overlooked his stumblings as he was young: and again when he was a man I considered his purpose: and again when he grows old, I watch him till he repent. Sedrach says: O Lord, You know and understandest all these things: but have sympathy for sinners. The Lord says to him: Sedrach, my beloved, I promise to have sympathy and bring down the forty days to twenty: and whosoever shall remember your name shall not see the place of chastisement, but shall be with the just in a place of refreshment and rest: and if anyone shall record this wonderful word his sins shall not be reckoned against him for ever and ever. And Sedrach says: O Lord, and if anyone shall bring enlightenment to your servant, save him, O Lord, from all evil. And Sedrach, the servant of the Lord, says: Now take my soul, O Lord. And God took him and placed him in Paradise with all the saints. To whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

GREEK APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, also known as The Word and Revelation of Esdras, is a pseudepigraphal work written in the name of the biblical scribe Ezra. It survived in only two Greek copies and is dated between the 2nd century and the 9th century AD. According to R. H. Charles, the text of the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra was influenced by the book of 2 Esdras. The extant version of the Greek Apocalypse is thought to have undergone extensive reworking, if not having been totally written by, Christian editors, mentioning the Apostles Paul and John, King Herod, etc. Like much apocalyptic literature, the Apocalypse of Ezra portrays its author as being granted visions of heaven and of hell, where the punishments meted out to sinners are witnessed in detail. Ezra is first described as visiting heaven, where Ezra raises a question of theodicy - he asks God why humans were given the ability to sin. Unusually, although God argues that humans are to blame if they do sin, due to their having free will, the text has Ezra respond that ultimately the fall of man must be up to God, particularly since God created both Eve and the Serpent and the forbidden tree. Ezra goes on to accuse God of having an appalling idea of justice, to which God doesn't respond, even when Ezra petitions on behalf of sinners. After his petitions and argument with God, Ezra is shown a vision of the tortures in hell, as well as the Antichrist. Finally, when Ezra protests that no one is without sin and hence none will escape such torture, God reveals that he endured the cross in order to save mankind, forgive those who believe, and vanquish death.

Chapter one

It came to pass in the thirtieth year on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house and I cried out, saying to the Most High, “Lord, grant me glory so that I may see your mysteries.” When night fell the angel Michael, the archangel, came and said to me, “Prophet Ezra, lay aside bread for seventy weeks.” And I fasted just as he told me, And the archistrategos Raphael came and gave me a storax staff, and I fasted twice sixty weeks, and I saw the mysteries of God and his angels. And I said to them, “I wish to plead with God concerning the Christian people. It were better that man were not born than that he entered the world.”

Ezra taken up to heaven: his prayer for mercy

Therefore, I was taken up into heaven and I saw in the first heaven a great command of angels and they led me to the judgments. And I heard a voice saying to me, “Have pity upon us, Ezra elect of God.” Then I began to say, “Woe to the sinners when they see the righteous man elevated above angels, and they are for fiery Gehenna.” And Ezra said, “Have pity upon the works of your hands, merciful and greatly pitying one. Condemn me rather than the souls of the sinners, for it is better to punish one soul and not to bring the whole world to destruction.” And God said, “I shall give rest to the righteous in Paradise and I am merciful.” And Ezra said, “Lord why do you show favor to the righteous? For as a hired man completes his time of service and goes away, and again a slave serves his masters in order to receive his wage, thus the righteous man receives his reward in the heavens. But, have mercy upon the sinners for we know that you are merciful.” And God said, “I have no way to be merciful to them.” And Ezra said, “Be merciful because they cannot sustain your anger.” And God said. “I am wrathful because such are the deserts of such men as these.” And God said, “I wish to keep you as both Paul and John. You have given me uncorrupted the inviolate treasury, the treasure of virginity, the wall of men?

Ezra’s second prayer

And Ezra said. “It were better if man were not born; it were well if he were not alive. The dumb beasts are a better thing than man, for they do not have punishment. You took us and delivered us to judgment. Woe to the sinners in the world to come, for their condemnation is endless and the flame unquenched.”

Chapter two

Ezra remonstrates with God: the sin of Adam

As I said this to him, Michael and Gabriel and all the apostles came and said, “Greetings!” And Ezra said, “Faithful man of God! Arise and come hither with me, O Lord, to judgment,” And God said. “Behold I am giving you my covenant, both mine and yours, so that you will accept it.” And Ezra said, “We shall plead our case in your ears.” And God said, “Ask Abraham your father what kind of son presses suit against his father and come and plead the cast with us.” And Ezra said, “As the Lord lives, I shall never cease pleading the case with you on account of the Christian people. Where are your former mercies, O Lord? Where your long-suffering?” And God said, “As I made night and day I made the righteous and the sinner and it were fitting to conduct yourself like the righteous man.” And the prophet said. “Who made

Adam, the protoplast, the first one?" And God said, "My immaculate hands, and I placed him in Paradise to guard the region of the tree of life.: ... "Since he who established disobedience made this man sin." And the prophet said, "Was he not guarded by an angel? And was life not preserved by the cherubim for the endless age? And how was he deceived who was guarded by angels whom you commanded to be present whatever happened? Attend also to that which I say! If you had not given him Eve, the serpent would never have deceived her. If you save whom you wish you will also destroy whom you wish."

Ezra remonstrates with God: the sins of men

And the prophet said, "O my Lord, let us continue to a second judgment." And God said, "I cast fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah." And the prophet said, "Lord, you bring upon us what we deserve." And God said, "Your sins exceed my kindness." And the prophet said. "Remember Scripture, my father, who measured out Jerusalem and rebuilt her. Pity Lord, the sinners, pity your own molding, have mercy upon your works." Then God remembered his works and said to the prophet, "How can I have mercy upon them? They gave me vinegar and gall to drink and ... They repented."

The day of judgment

And the prophet said, "Reveal your cherubim and let us go together to judgment, and show me what is the character of the day of judgment." And God said, "You have digressed, Ezra, for such is the day of judgment upon which there is no rain on the earth, for there is a merciful judgment during that day." And the prophet said, "I shall never cease to argue the case with you until I see the day of consummation." And God said, "Count the stars and the sand of the sea and if you will be able to count this, you will also be able to argue the case with me."

Chapter three

And the prophet said, "Lord, you know that I bear human flesh. And how can I count the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea?" And God said. "O my elect prophet, no man will know that great day and the manifestation which prevails to judge the world. For your sake, O my prophet, I told you the day, but the hour I told you not." And the prophet said, "Lord tell me also the years." And God said, "If I see that the justice of the world has become abundant, I will be long-suffering toward them If not, I will stretch out

my hand and I will grasp the inhabited world from its four corners and I will gather them all together to the valley of Jehosaphat and I will wipe out the human race and the world will be no more.” And the prophet said. “And how will your tight hand be glorified?” And God said, “I will be glorified by my angels.”

Why was man created?

And the prophet said. “Lord, if this was your calculation, why did you form man? You said to Abraham our father, ‘I will surely multiply your seed as the stars of the heaven and as the sand along the shore of the sea.’ And where is your promise?”

Signs of the end

And God said, “First I shall cause by shaking the fall of four-footed beasts and men, And when you see that brother delivers brother over to death and children will rise up against parents and a wife abandons her own husband, and when nation will rise up against nation in war, then you shall know that the end is near.

And then brother will not have mercy upon brother, nor man upon his wife, nor children upon parents, nor friends upon friends, nor slave upon master. For the opponent of men himself will come up from Tartarus and will show many things to men. What shall I do to you, Ezra, and will you argue the case with me?”

Chapter four

Ezra descends to Tartarus

And the prophet said, “Lord I shall never cease arguing the case with you.” And God said, “Count the flowers of the earth. If you can count them you also will be able to argue the case with me.”

And the prophet said, “Lord, I cannot count them- I bear human flesh-but neither will I stop arguing the case with you. I wish, Lord, to see the lower parts of Tartarus.” And God said, “Go down and see!” And

he gave me Michael and Gabriel and thirty-four other angels, and I descended eighty-five steps and they led me down five hundred steps.

The punishment of Herod

And I saw a fiery throne and an old man seated on it, and his punishment was merciless. And I said to the angels, “Who is this and what is his sin?” And they said to me, “This is Herod, who was king for a time, and he commanded to kill the infants two years old of under.” And I said, “Woe upon his soul!”

The disobedient and the abyss

And again they lad me down thirty steps. And I saw boiling fires there, and a multitude of sinners in them. And I heard their voices, but I did not perceive their forms. And they lad me down deeper many steps which I was unable to count. And I saw old men there, and fiery axles were revolving their ears. And I said, “Who are these and what is their sin?” And they said to me, “These are the eavesdroppers.” And again they lad me down five hundred other steps. And there I saw the unsleeping worm and fire consuming the sinners. And they led me down to the foundation of Destruction and there I saw the twelve-fold blow of the abyss. And they led me away to the south and there I saw a man hanging from his eyelids and the angles were beating him. And I asked, “Who is this and what is his sin?” And Michael the archistrategos said to me, “This man is incestuous; having carried out a small lust, this man was commanded to be hanged.”

The Antichrist

And they lad me away to the north and I saw a man there restrained with iron bars. And I asked, “Who is this?” And he said to me, “This is the one who says, ‘I am the son of God and he who made stones bread and water wine.’” And the prophet said, “Make known to me what sort of appearance he has and I will inform the race of men lest they believe in him.” And he said to me, “The appearance of his face is as of a wild man. His right eye is like a star rising at dawn and the other is unmoving. His mouth is one cubit, his teeth are a span long, his fingers like scythes, the soles of his feet two span, and on his forehead and inscription ‘Antichrist’, He was exalted up to heaven, he will descend as far as Hades. One time he will be a child, another and old man.” And the prophet said, “Lord, how do you permit the race of men to stray?” And God said. “Hear. My prophet! He becomes a child and an old man and let no one believe him that he is my beloved son. And after these things a trumpet, and the graves will be opened and the

dead will rise up uncorrupted. Then the opponent, having heard the terrible threat, will hide himself in the outer darkness. Then the heaven and the earth and the sea will perish. Then I shall burn the heaven for eighty cubits and the earth for eight hundred cubits." And the prophet said. "And in what did the heaven sin?" And God said, "Since... Is the evil." And the prophet said, "Lord in what did the earth sin?" And God said, "Since the opponent having heard my terrible threat will hide in it, and because of that I shall melt the earth and with it the rebel of the race of men."

Chapter five

Further punishments

And the prophet said, "Pity, O Lord, the race of Christians." And I saw a woman suspended and four wild beasts were sucking upon her breasts. And the angels said to me, "She begrudged giving her milk but also cast infants into the rivers." And I saw terrible darkness and night without stars or moon. There is there neither young of old, neither brother with brother nor mother with child nor wife with husband. And I wept and said. "O Lord, Lord, have mercy upon the sinners."

Ezra taken to heaven

And as I said these things a cloud came and seized me and took me up again to the heavens. And I saw many judgments and I wept bitterly and I said. "It were better if man did not come forth from his mother's belly." Those who were in punishment called out, saying, "Since you came here, holy one of God, we have obtained a slight respite." And the prophet said, "Blessed are they who bewail their own sins."

Birth and its purpose

And God said, “Hear Ezra, beloved one! Just as a farmer casts down the seed of corn into the earth, so a man casts down his seed into a woman’s place. In the first month it is a whole, in the second it is swollen, in the third it grows hair, in the fourth it grows nails, in the fifth it becomes milky, in the sixth it is ready and quickened, in the seventh it is prepared, in the eighth...., in the ninth the bars of the gateways of the woman are opened and it is born healthy on the earth.” And the prophet said. “It were better for man not to have been born. Alas, O human race, at that time when you come to judgment!” And I said to the Lord, “Lord, why did you create man and give him over to judgment?” And God said in his exalted pronouncement, “I will not pardon those who transgress my covenant.” And the prophet said, “Lord, where is your goodness?” And God said. “I prepared everything because of man and man does no keep my commandments.”

Punishments and rewards

And the prophet said, “Lord, reveal to me the punishments and Paradise.”

And the angels led me away to the east and I saw the tree of life. And I saw there Enoch and Elijah and Moses and Peter and Paul and Luke and Matthew and all the righteous and the patriarchs. And I saw there the punishment of the air and the blowing of the winds and the storehouses of the ice and the eternal punishments. And I saw there a man hanging by his skull. And they said to me, “This one transferred boundaries.” And there I saw great judgments and said to the Lord, “O Lord, Lord, which of men, having been born, did not sin?” And they led me farther down in Tartarus and I saw all the sinners lamenting and weeping and evil mourning. And I too wept, seeing the race of men punished thus

Chapter six

Then God said to me, “Ezra, do you know the name of the angels who are over the consummation: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Beberos, Zebuleon?”

Ezra struggles for his soul

Then a voice came to me, “Come here, die, Ezra, my beloved! Give back that which has been entrusted to you.” And the prophet said, “And whence can you bring forth my soul?” And the angels said, “We can cast it forth through your mouth.” And the prophet said, “I spoke mouth to mouth with God and it will

not go forth from there." And the angels said. "We will bring it forth through your nostrils." And the prophet said. "My nostrils smelled the glory of God." And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your eyes." And the prophet said, "My eyes have seen the back of God." And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your head." ...And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your feet." And the prophet said. "I walked with Moses on the mountain, and it will not come forth from there." And the angels said, "We can cast it forth through the tips of your toe nails." And the prophet said, "My feet walked in the sanctuary." And the angels departed unsuccessful, saying, "Lord, we cannot receive his soul." Then he said to his only begotten son, "Go down, my beloved son, with a numerous host of angels, taking the soul of my beloved Ezra." For the Lord, having taken a numerous army of many angels, said to the prophet, "Give me that deposit which I entrusted to you, The crown is readied for you." And the prophet said, "Lord, if you take my soul from me, who will you have left to plead on behalf of the race of men?" And God said, "You who are mortal and earthly, do not plead the cast with me." And the prophet said, "I shall never cease pleading." And God said, "Give, in the mean while, that which is entrusted to you. The crown is readied for you. Come here, die, so that you may attain it." Then the prophet began to speak with tears, "O Lord, what profits it that I be consumed by worms. Bewail me, all holy and pious ones, I plead greatly and am delivered over to death! Bewail me, all holy and just ones, because I have entered the bowl of Hades."

Chapter seven

Soul and body

And God said to him, "Hear, Ezra my beloved one. I, being immortal, received a cross, I tasted vinegar and gall, O was set down in a grave. And I raised up my elect ones and I summoned up Adam and Hades so that the race of men ... Therefore, fear not death. For that which is from me, that is the soul, departs for heaven. That which is from the earth, that is the body, departs for the earth from which it was taken.? And the prophet said, "Woe, woe! What shall I do? How shall I act? I know not."

Concluding prayer

And then the blessed Ezra began to say, "O eternal God, Creator of the whole creation, who measured out the heaven with a span and contained the earth in his hand, who drives the cherubim, who took the prophet Elijah to the heavens in a fiery chariot, who gives nurture to all flesh, whom all things fear and

tremble from the face of your power, hear me who pleads greatly and give to all who copy this book and preserve it and recall my name and preserve my memory fully, give them blessing from heaven. And bless all of his things, just as the ends of Joseph. And remember not his previous sins on the day of his judgment. Those who do not believe this book will be burned like Sodom and Gomorrah." And a voice came to him saying, "Ezra, my beloved, I shall grant to each one the things which you asked."

Death and burial of Ezra

And at once he gave over his precious soul with much honor on the eighteenth of the month of October. And they buried him with incense and psalms. His precious and holy body provides unceasingly strengthening of souls and bodies for those who approach him willingly.

Doxology

Glory, might, honor, and worship to him for whom it is fitting, for the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

GREEK APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, also known as The Word and Revelation of Esdras, is a pseudepigraphal work written in the name of the biblical scribe Ezra. It survived in only two Greek copies and is dated between the 2nd century and the 9th century AD. According to R. H. Charles, the text of the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra was influenced by the book of 2 Esdras. The extant version of the Greek Apocalypse is thought to have undergone extensive reworking, if not having been totally written by, Christian editors, mentioning the Apostles Paul and John, King Herod, etc. Like much apocalyptic literature, the Apocalypse of Ezra portrays its author as being granted visions of heaven and of hell, where the punishments meted out to sinners are witnessed in detail. Ezra is first described as visiting heaven, where Ezra raises a question of theodicy - he asks God why humans were given the ability to sin. Unusually, although God argues that humans are to blame if they do sin, due to their having free will, the text has Ezra respond that ultimately the fall of man must be up to God, particularly since God created both Eve and the Serpent and the forbidden tree. Ezra goes on to accuse God of having an appalling idea of justice, to which God doesn't respond, even when Ezra petitions on behalf of sinners. After his petitions and argument with God, Ezra is shown a vision of the tortures in hell, as well as the Antichrist. Finally, when Ezra protests that no one is without sin and hence none will escape such torture, God reveals that he endured the cross in order to save mankind, forgive those who believe, and vanquish death.

Chapter one

It came to pass in the thirtieth year on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house and I cried out, saying to the Most High, “Lord, grant me glory so that I may see your mysteries.” When night fell the angel Michael, the archangel, came and said to me, “Prophet Ezra, lay aside bread for seventy weeks.” And I fasted just as he told me, And the archistrategos Raphael came and gave me a storax staff, and I fasted twice sixty weeks, and I saw the mysteries of God and his angels. And I said to them, “I wish to plead with God concerning the Christian people. It were better that man were not born than that he entered the world.”

Ezra taken up to heaven: his prayer for mercy

Therefore, I was taken up into heaven and I saw in the first heaven a great command of angels and they led me to the judgments. And I heard a voice saying to me, “Have pity upon us, Ezra elect of God.” Then I began to say, “Woe to the sinners when they see the righteous man elevated above angels, and they are for fiery Gehenna.” And Ezra said, “Have pity upon the works of your hands, merciful and greatly pitying one. Condemn me rather than the souls of the sinners, for it is better to punish one soul and not to bring the whole world to destruction.” And God said, “I shall give rest to the righteous in Paradise and I am merciful.” And Ezra said, “Lord why do you show favor to the righteous? For as a hired man completes his time of service and goes away, and again a slave serves his masters in order to receive his wage, thus the righteous man receives his reward in the heavens. But, have mercy upon the sinners for we know that you are merciful.” And God said, “I have no way to be merciful to them.” And Ezra said, “Be merciful because they cannot sustain your anger.” And God said. “I am wrathful because such are the deserts of such men as these.” And God said, “I wish to keep you as both Paul and John. You have given me uncorrupted the inviolate treasury, the treasure of virginity, the wall of men?

Ezra’s second prayer

And Ezra said. “It were better if man were not born; it were well if he were not alive. The dumb beasts are a better thing than man, for they do not have punishment. You took us and delivered us to judgment. Woe to the sinners in the world to come, for their condemnation is endless and the flame unquenched.”

Chapter two

Ezra remonstrates with God: the sin of Adam

As I said this to him, Michael and Gabriel and all the apostles came and said, “Greetings!” And Ezra said, “Faithful man of God! Arise and come hither with me, O Lord, to judgment,” And God said. “Behold I am giving you my covenant, both mine and yours, so that you will accept it.” And Ezra said, “We shall plead our case in your ears.” And God said, “Ask Abraham your father what kind of son presses suit against his father and come and plead the cast with us.” And Ezra said, “As the Lord lives, I shall never cease pleading the case with you on account of the Christian people. Where are your former mercies, O Lord? Where your long-suffering?” And God said, “As I made night and day I made the righteous and the sinner and it were fitting to conduct yourself like the righteous man.” And the prophet said. “Who made

Adam, the protoplast, the first one?" And God said, "My immaculate hands, and I placed him in Paradise to guard the region of the tree of life.: ... "Since he who established disobedience made this man sin." And the prophet said, "Was he not guarded by an angel? And was life not preserved by the cherubim for the endless age? And how was he deceived who was guarded by angels whom you commanded to be present whatever happened? Attend also to that which I say! If you had not given him Eve, the serpent would never have deceived her. If you save whom you wish you will also destroy whom you wish."

Ezra remonstrates with God: the sins of men

And the prophet said, "O my Lord, let us continue to a second judgment." And God said, "I cast fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah." And the prophet said, "Lord, you bring upon us what we deserve." And God said, "Your sins exceed my kindness." And the prophet said. "Remember Scripture, my father, who measured out Jerusalem and rebuilt her. Pity Lord, the sinners, pity your own molding, have mercy upon your works." Then God remembered his works and said to the prophet, "How can I have mercy upon them? They gave me vinegar and gall to drink and ... They repented."

The day of judgment

And the prophet said, "Reveal your cherubim and let us go together to judgment, and show me what is the character of the day of judgment." And God said, "You have digressed, Ezra, for such is the day of judgment upon which there is no rain on the earth, for there is a merciful judgment during that day." And the prophet said, "I shall never cease to argue the case with you until I see the day of consummation." And God said, "Count the stars and the sand of the sea and if you will be able to count this, you will also be able to argue the case with me."

Chapter three

And the prophet said, "Lord, you know that I bear human flesh. And how can I count the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea?" And God said. "O my elect prophet, no man will know that great day and the manifestation which prevails to judge the world. For your sake, O my prophet, I told you the day, but the hour I told you not." And the prophet said, "Lord tell me also the years." And God said, "If I see that the justice of the world has become abundant, I will be long-suffering toward them If not, I will stretch out

my hand and I will grasp the inhabited world from its four corners and I will gather them all together to the valley of Jehosaphat and I will wipe out the human race and the world will be no more.” And the prophet said. “And how will your tight hand be glorified?” And God said, “I will be glorified by my angels.”

Why was man created?

And the prophet said. “Lord, if this was your calculation, why did you form man? You said to Abraham our father, ‘I will surely multiply your seed as the stars of the heaven and as the sand along the shore of the sea.’ And where is your promise?”

Signs of the end

And God said, “First I shall cause by shaking the fall of four-footed beasts and men, And when you see that brother delivers brother over to death and children will rise up against parents and a wife abandons her own husband, and when nation will rise up against nation in war, then you shall know that the end is near.

And then brother will not have mercy upon brother, nor man upon his wife, nor children upon parents, nor friends upon friends, nor slave upon master. For the opponent of men himself will come up from Tartarus and will show many things to men. What shall I do to you, Ezra, and will you argue the case with me?”

Chapter four

Ezra descends to Tartarus

And the prophet said, “Lord I shall never cease arguing the case with you.” And God said, “Count the flowers of the earth. If you can count them you also will be able to argue the case with me.”

And the prophet said, “Lord, I cannot count them- I bear human flesh-but neither will I stop arguing the case with you. I wish, Lord, to see the lower parts of Tartarus.” And God said, “Go down and see!” And

he gave me Michael and Gabriel and thirty-four other angels, and I descended eighty-five steps and they led me down five hundred steps.

The punishment of Herod

And I saw a fiery throne and an old man seated on it, and his punishment was merciless. And I said to the angels, “Who is this and what is his sin?” And they said to me, “This is Herod, who was king for a time, and he commanded to kill the infants two years old of under.” And I said, “Woe upon his soul!”

The disobedient and the abyss

And again they lad me down thirty steps. And I saw boiling fires there, and a multitude of sinners in them. And I heard their voices, but I did not perceive their forms. And they lad me down deeper many steps which I was unable to count. And I saw old men there, and fiery axles were revolving their ears. And I said, “Who are these and what is their sin?” And they said to me, “These are the eavesdroppers.” And again they lad me down five hundred other steps. And there I saw the unsleeping worm and fire consuming the sinners. And they led me down to the foundation of Destruction and there I saw the twelve-fold blow of the abyss. And they led me away to the south and there I saw a man hanging from his eyelids and the angles were beating him. And I asked, “Who is this and what is his sin?” And Michael the archistrategos said to me, “This man is incestuous; having carried out a small lust, this man was commanded to be hanged.”

The Antichrist

And they lad me away to the north and I saw a man there restrained with iron bars. And I asked, “Who is this?” And he said to me, “This is the one who says, ‘I am the son of God and he who made stones bread and water wine.’” And the prophet said, “Make known to me what sort of appearance he has and I will inform the race of men lest they believe in him.” And he said to me, “The appearance of his face is as of a wild man. His right eye is like a star rising at dawn and the other is unmoving. His mouth is one cubit, his teeth are a span long, his fingers like scythes, the soles of his feet two span, and on his forehead and inscription ‘Antichrist’, He was exalted up to heaven, he will descend as far as Hades. One time he will be a child, another and old man.” And the prophet said, “Lord, how do you permit the race of men to stray?” And God said. “Hear. My prophet! He becomes a child and an old man and let no one believe him that he is my beloved son. And after these things a trumpet, and the graves will be opened and the

dead will rise up uncorrupted. Then the opponent, having heard the terrible threat, will hide himself in the outer darkness. Then the heaven and the earth and the sea will perish. Then I shall burn the heaven for eighty cubits and the earth for eight hundred cubits." And the prophet said. "And in what did the heaven sin?" And God said, "Since... Is the evil." And the prophet said, "Lord in what did the earth sin?" And God said, "Since the opponent having heard my terrible threat will hide in it, and because of that I shall melt the earth and with it the rebel of the race of men."

Chapter five

Further punishments

And the prophet said, "Pity, O Lord, the race of Christians." And I saw a woman suspended and four wild beasts were sucking upon her breasts. And the angels said to me, "She begrudged giving her milk but also cast infants into the rivers." And I saw terrible darkness and night without stars or moon. There is there neither young of old, neither brother with brother nor mother with child nor wife with husband. And I wept and said. "O Lord, Lord, have mercy upon the sinners."

Ezra taken to heaven

And as I said these things a cloud came and seized me and took me up again to the heavens. And I saw many judgments and I wept bitterly and I said. "It were better if man did not come forth from his mother's belly." Those who were in punishment called out, saying, "Since you came here, holy one of God, we have obtained a slight respite." And the prophet said, "Blessed are they who bewail their own sins."

Birth and its purpose

And God said, “Hear Ezra, beloved one! Just as a farmer casts down the seed of corn into the earth, so a man casts down his seed into a woman’s place. In the first month it is a whole, in the second it is swollen, in the third it grows hair, in the fourth it grows nails, in the fifth it becomes milky, in the sixth it is ready and quickened, in the seventh it is prepared, in the eighth...., in the ninth the bars of the gateways of the woman are opened and it is born healthy on the earth.” And the prophet said. “It were better for man not to have been born. Alas, O human race, at that time when you come to judgment!” And I said to the Lord, “Lord, why did you create man and give him over to judgment?” And God said in his exalted pronouncement, “I will not pardon those who transgress my covenant.” And the prophet said, “Lord, where is your goodness?” And God said. “I prepared everything because of man and man does no keep my commandments.”

Punishments and rewards

And the prophet said, “Lord, reveal to me the punishments and Paradise.”

And the angels led me away to the east and I saw the tree of life. And I saw there Enoch and Elijah and Moses and Peter and Paul and Luke and Matthew and all the righteous and the patriarchs. And I saw there the punishment of the air and the blowing of the winds and the storehouses of the ice and the eternal punishments. And I saw there a man hanging by his skull. And they said to me, “This one transferred boundaries.” And there I saw great judgments and said to the Lord, “O Lord, Lord, which of men, having been born, did not sin?” And they led me farther down in Tartarus and I saw all the sinners lamenting and weeping and evil mourning. And I too wept, seeing the race of men punished thus

Chapter six

Then God said to me, “Ezra, do you know the name of the angels who are over the consummation: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Beberos, Zebuleon?”

Ezra struggles for his soul

Then a voice came to me, “Come here, die, Ezra, my beloved! Give back that which has been entrusted to you.” And the prophet said, “And whence can you bring forth my soul?” And the angels said, “We can cast it forth through your mouth.” And the prophet said, “I spoke mouth to mouth with God and it will

not go forth from there." And the angels said. "We will bring it forth through your nostrils." And the prophet said. "My nostrils smelled the glory of God." And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your eyes." And the prophet said, "My eyes have seen the back of God." And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your head." ...And the angels said, "We can bring it forth through your feet." And the prophet said. "I walked with Moses on the mountain, and it will not come forth from there." And the angels said, "We can cast it forth through the tips of your toe nails." And the prophet said, "My feet walked in the sanctuary." And the angels departed unsuccessful, saying, "Lord, we cannot receive his soul." Then he said to his only begotten son, "Go down, my beloved son, with a numerous host of angels, taking the soul of my beloved Ezra." For the Lord, having taken a numerous army of many angels, said to the prophet, "Give me that deposit which I entrusted to you, The crown is readied for you." And the prophet said, "Lord, if you take my soul from me, who will you have left to plead on behalf of the race of men?" And God said, "You who are mortal and earthly, do not plead the cast with me." And the prophet said, "I shall never cease pleading." And God said, "Give, in the mean while, that which is entrusted to you. The crown is readied for you. Come here, die, so that you may attain it." Then the prophet began to speak with tears, "O Lord, what profits it that I be consumed by worms. Bewail me, all holy and pious ones, I plead greatly and am delivered over to death! Bewail me, all holy and just ones, because I have entered the bowl of Hades."

Chapter seven

Soul and body

And God said to him, "Hear, Ezra my beloved one. I, being immortal, received a cross, I tasted vinegar and gall, O was set down in a grave. And I raised up my elect ones and I summoned up Adam and Hades so that the race of men ... Therefore, fear not death. For that which is from me, that is the soul, departs for heaven. That which is from the earth, that is the body, departs for the earth from which it was taken.? And the prophet said, "Woe, woe! What shall I do? How shall I act? I know not."

Concluding prayer

And then the blessed Ezra began to say, "O eternal God, Creator of the whole creation, who measured out the heaven with a span and contained the earth in his hand, who drives the cherubim, who took the prophet Elijah to the heavens in a fiery chariot, who gives nurture to all flesh, whom all things fear and

tremble from the face of your power, hear me who pleads greatly and give to all who copy this book and preserve it and recall my name and preserve my memory fully, give them blessing from heaven. And bless all of his things, just as the ends of Joseph. And remember not his previous sins on the day of his judgment. Those who do not believe this book will be burned like Sodom and Gomorrah." And a voice came to him saying, "Ezra, my beloved, I shall grant to each one the things which you asked."

Death and burial of Ezra

And at once he gave over his precious soul with much honor on the eighteenth of the month of October. And they buried him with incense and psalms. His precious and holy body provides unceasingly strengthening of souls and bodies for those who approach him willingly.

Doxology

Glory, might, honor, and worship to him for whom it is fitting, for the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

THE WATCHERS, NEPHILIM, AND THE BOOK OF ENOCH

The Book of Giants
The Watchers, Nephilim, and The Book of Enoch

Joseph Lumpkin

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Introduction

The discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls in a remote Judean Desert cave in 1947 is considered one of the greatest archaeological events of the twentieth century.

East of the city of Jerusalem, the mountainous landscape plummets 1200 meters to the lowest point on earth. This is the Dead Sea. Many biblical stories are set in the caves and hills of the region. Here, King David fled from King Saul and hid in the desert’s mountain caves. Here Jesus struggled with the devil, resisting temptation. Here, the community of Qumran hid their most valuable treasures, scrolls of ancient wisdom and religious insight.

For thousands of years the Judean Desert held secrets buried by the Jews of Qumarn, a group most scholars refer to as the Qumran Community. Much of this community was made up of the Essenes. This strict sect of Judaism used the caves to protect their literary treasures, which were scrolls hidden in sealed jars, placed deep within the caves perched high in the area of the Dead Sea. These scrolls, and their secrets, were revealed by a young Bedouin shepherd one day in 1947.

Prompted by the loss of one of his sheep, a shepherd of the Ta'amireh tribe left his flock to search for the stray. While searching, he found an opening in the steep hillside. Curious, as many young men are, he tossed a stone into the cave. The rock answered with the sound of pots breaking and he was compelled to investigate. He had stumbled on the greatest find of the century, the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In the caves were a number of pots. The majority of the pots were empty, begging the question, had vandals and thieves been there first, stealing much of the precious treasure. Some of the jars were still intact, with lids sealed in place. He opened the seals to reveal the ancient scrolls. They were wrapped in linen and blackened with age. No rubies, no diamond, no gold. Just a bunch of old scrolls turning to dust before his eyes.

H e was not impressed. Wondering if he could trade them for anything of value, he and several companions brought the scrolls to Kando, a Bethlehem antiquities

dealer, for appraisal. Kando seemed to recognize the age and value of the find, so he sent the Bedouins back to the caves in search of more treasures. They returned with a total of seven scrolls. The boys had no idea of the value of their find and so the Bedouin sold four of the seven scrolls to Kando and three to a second antiquities dealer named Salahi. Kando in turn resold the four scrolls to Archbishop Samuel, head of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem.

Soon after the announcement of the find, Bedouin treasure hunters and archaeologists descended on the site and the surrounding caves. Ultimately they would find hundreds of ancient scrolls and fragments, including the oldest existing copies of the Hebrew Bible. The scrolls ranged in dates from the third century BCE (mid–Second Temple period) to the first century of the Common Era, before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. The scrolls provide an unprecedented picture of the diverse religious beliefs of ancient Judaism, and of daily life during the Second Temple period when Jesus lived and preached. While Hebrew is the most frequently used language in the Scrolls, about 15% were written in Aramaic and several in Greek. The Scrolls' materials are made up mainly of parchment, although some are papyrus, and the text of one Scroll is engraved on copper. A quarter of these non-biblical manuscripts are sectarian, and reflect the life and philosophy of a specific community. These core texts consist of eschatological biblical commentaries, apocalyptic texts, liturgical works, and regulations or rules that govern community life.

In the early days of Scrolls research, scholars attributed all of the Qumran scrolls to the Essene community. In recent years however, this consensus has been challenged and modified, though many scholars still maintain a link between the Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In that time, the Essenes were one of the three basic sects of Judaism. Jewish sects described in ancient sources were the Pharisee, the Sadducee, and the Essene sect. It is thought the majority of the scrolls were written and hidden by the Essenes.

One of the many discoveries from the caves of Qumran is a scroll given the name, "The Book of Giants." It is thought to have been based on the Book of Enoch, a pseudepigraphical Jewish work from the 3rd century BCE, which was based on Genesis 6:1-4. The Book of Giants, like the Book of Enoch, concerns itself with the Nephilim, which, in the Enoch version, are the offspring of fallen angels, who are called the Watchers.

The angels saw the beauty of the daughters of men. The broke their allegiance to heaven, descended to Earth, and married the women, and thus fathered giants. The book attempts to fill in the details about the giants and their offspring that the Book of Enoch is lacking. Indeed, there has been a theory put forth that the Book of Giants was actually part of the Book of Enoch at one time. The text relates how some giants, named Ohya, Hahya and Mahway, sons of the fallen angels, were compelled to dream. In these dreams they foresaw the Biblical Deluge, and their own demise. There is dialog concerning the futility of fighting God or his angels, even though they could conquer any human alive. Seeing their coming fate they seek to enlist the help of Enoch.

The mention of Enoch and the storyline referencing the patriarch places The Book of Giants firmly in the list of “Enochian” texts, along with 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, and 3 Enoch, also known as The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, The Slavonic Secrets of Enoch, and The Hebrew Book of Enoch respectively.

In the Qumran version of the Book of Giants there is a brief mention of one of the giants, "Ohya", whose name is found in the Babylonian Talmud (Nidah, Ch 9), where it is said Sihon and Og, mentioned in the Book of Numbers, were brothers, as they were the sons of Ohia (Ohya) the son of Samhazai, one of the leaders of the fallen angels in the Book of Enoch.

Samhazai is the same as Samyaza, also Semihazah, Shemyazaz, Shemyaza, Sêmîazâz, Semjâzâ, Samjâzâ, Semyaza, and Shemhazai. He is a fallen angel of apocryphal Jewish and Christian tradition that ranked in the heavenly hierarchy as one of the Grigori (meaning "Watchers" in Greek). The name "Shemyaza(z)" means 'infamous rebellion', the combination of 'shem' (meaning 'name' or 'fame' [whether positive or negative]) and 'azaz' (which means 'rebellion' or 'arrogance' as a negative particle). This name occurs in the Enochian literature.

We meet the Grigori in several books, some of which are considered apocryphal and some pseudepigrapha (texts written by someone unknown but attributed to authors of prominence, such as 2 Enoch). In the book of 2 Enoch we read:
Chapter 18
1 The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size (was) greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and their was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: (See 2 Enoch 1:7)

(Note: The Greek transliteration egegoroi is the source of the term Grigori. The egegoroi are the Watchers; a group of fallen angels who mated with mortal women and produced the Nephilim mentioned in the books of Jubilees, 1Enoch, and Genesis 6:4.)
2 Why are they so very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and why is there no service in this heaven?
3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail (Satan) rejected the Lord of Light. After them are those who are held in great darkness in the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon (Mount Hermon), and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to themselves wives, and fouled the earth with their deeds, who broke the law and mixing (with the women), giants are born and amazingly large men with great hatred.
(Note: The Hill of Ermon could be Mount Hermon, which is mentioned over a dozen times in the Bible.
4 And therefore God judged them with great judgment, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.
5 And I said to the Grigori: I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them to be under earth until this heaven and this earth shall end for ever.
6 And I said: Why do you stand there, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face? You could anger your Lord completely.
7 And they listened to my advice, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven. As I stood with those two men four trumpets sounded together with a loud voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and touchingly.
A central theme in the Book of Giants is the fact that the giants were the offspring of the Watchers and human women. This theme has varied somewhat between various copies of the Book of Giants.
As it turns out, there are several versions of the Book of Giants. One version of the Book of Giants was spread by the Manichaean religion. The book became widely read and now exists in Syriac, Greek, Persian, Sogdian, Uyghur, and Arabic. Each version is somewhat different from that of the Qumran text, incorporating in each version local myths and legends and the various beliefs of the religions which had adapted the story for their own purpose.

Mani, the founder of the Manichaean religion needed to alter the story in order to fit it into his system. He taught a dualistic system of good and evil. The heavenly

origin of the sons of God of Genesis, The Book of Giants, or the Book of Enoch did not fit into Mani's conviction that evil could not come from good. Thus the angels, who were called the Sons of God, were presented as demons and evil entities. This kept the separation between good and evil taught in his religion.

Manichaeism taught a dualistic cosmology describing the struggle between a good, spiritual world of light, and an evil, material world of darkness. These forces were distinct, separate, and always at odds. The forces of good and evil are at war. They battle throughout human history. The world becomes darker as light is gradually removed from the world of matter and returned to its place of origin, the world of light. Mani’s beliefs were based on Mesopotamian Gnosticism and other religious movements.

There are numerous similarities between Mani's Book of Giants and the stories of the giants related in the Enoch literature and in the Book of Jubilees. Both Enoch and Jubilees are part of the Ethiopic Christian canon. Mani's borrowed liberally from earlier Jewish traditions in his religious movement, adapting them as need. This idea was upheld by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947. J. T. Milik discovered roughly six to ten extremely poorly preserved manuscripts of an Aramaic Book of Giants, apparently the document used by Mani as the basis for his scriptural work. Their dates fall roughly across the first century B.C.E., so presumably the book was composed before this, although how long before remains open to question.

The Aramaic version found at Qumran also describes the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh and the monster Humbaba. The Qumran text was in such poor condition and so fragmented that clear reconstruction was impossible. Pieces of the texts are missing and at times so difficult to reconstruct that the order of certain fragments are unclear, thus the order of certain verses in the texts are “best guess”. Scholars have poured over the small fragments, comparing them to other versions in an attempt to determine the proper flow. However, versions vary so widely that there are places, for example in the Manichaean version, that have no analog to the Aramaic version. Even with part of the text missing, the Book of Giants gives us information on how the ancients thought about fallen angels, the Watchers, the Nephilim, and the patriarch Enoch. Certainly, the Book of Giants can be used to augment and expand on the story given to us in the Book of Enoch.

The Aramaic Book of Giants draws on ancient Near Eastern myths and the Manichean version draws on Iranian myths. Two of the evil giants in the Aramaic version are named Gilgamesh and Hobabis. Gilgamesh is an epic figure in

Sumerian and Akkadian literature, best known from the Epic of Gilgamesh, a work whose importance in ancient Mesopotamia was comparable to that of the Homeric epics in ancient Greece. Gilgamesh was said to be the king of Uruk. Uruk was an ancient city of Sumer and later Babylonia, situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River, some 30 km east of modern As-Samawah, Al-Muthann ā , in modern day Iraq. It is thought Gilgamesh lived sometime between 2800 and 2500 BC. The latest and most comprehensive telling of the Gilgamesh legend was the twelve-tablet Standard Babylonian Version, compiled circa 1200 BC by the priest Sîn-l ē qi-unninni.

If one views the map that follows, it is easy to see how an ancient poem of the King of Sumer could have influenced the religion of Mani, a Babylonian, since Babylonia is modern-day Iraq. Likewise, it is easy to see how the actual name of Gilgamesh and the legends of his great strength recounted in the epic could have been used in a text found along the Dead Sea, since Iraq is in the region. Indeed, the path of transmission follows the area of agriculture in ancient times.

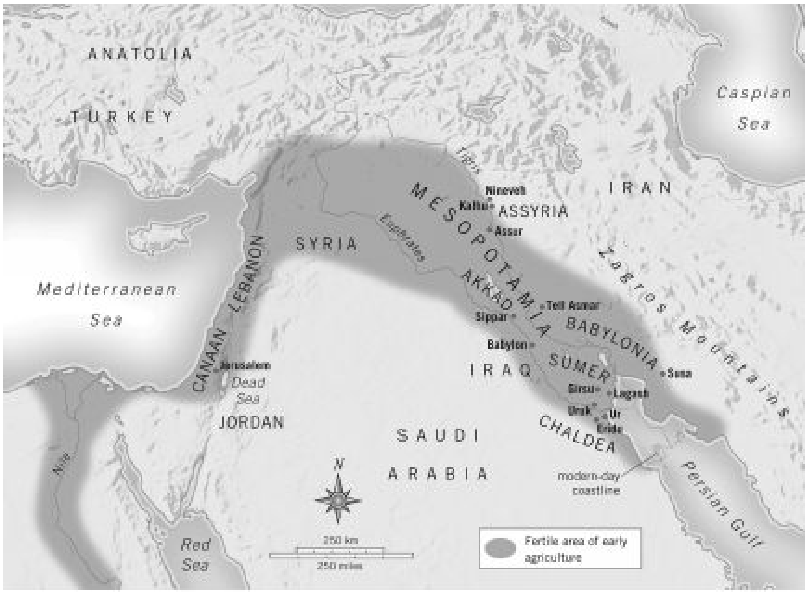

According to the Epic, Gilgamesh, a mortal demigod, meets Utnapishtim, the Babylonian version of Noah and the only man to survive the Flood. Utnapishtim was made immortal by the gods. In the Manichaean version, the giant Hobabiš , who is also called Humbaba, takes someone’s wife. The giants fall out among themselves and begin killing one another, as well as other creatures.

The giants, Gilgamesh and Hobabis, of the “Book of Giants” appear to be the same as Gilgamesh and Humbaba/Huwawa of the “Gilgamesh Epic.” In another version, Atanbush is mentioned and seems to be the same as Utnapishtim, the immortal. Since there are lost passages in the Aramaic Book of Giants he may have made an appearance there also.

Milik has translated and published an edition of some of the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants, which tells of the angels Šemihaza and Aza'el making a bet with God that if they were to descend from heaven to earth they would be able to resist the urge to sin. However, soon they could not restrain themselves from becoming sexually involved with the women they found to be so beautiful. As this kind of relationship tends to loosen the jaws of men and angels, they found themselves revealing secrets reserved for heavenly beings and restricted from humankind. Šemihaza (Samyaza) begets sons named Heyya and Aheyya. Heyya and Aheyya each have dreams foretelling their destruction. The angel Metatron (another name for the deified Enoch after his ascension to heaven) sends them a warning of the coming Flood.

Both dreams predict the coming of the Flood and the destructions of all human beings except Noah and his three sons. The giants, who are the sons of the angels, are killed in the Flood. Šemihaza repents and suspends himself upside down between heaven and earth. Aza'el refuses to repent and becomes a demon who entices men to corrupt deeds and who bears the sins of Israel on the "Day of Atonement" (cf. Lev 16:7-10).

Although there are parallels with the Book of Enoch, we must ask whether the Book of Giants is a Jewish work. Certainly, the discovery of the Aramaic version in the caves of Qumran points to the fact that the Essene community, a sect of Judaism, viewed that version as Jewish. The dates of the Aramaic manuscripts rule out the possibility of it being a Christian composition. However, the text contains Babylonian mythic material. This would seem to suggest the Jews borrowed from a polytheistic myth in a type of cross-pollination of mythic tales. The story does place the borrowed ideas into the proper light for Jewish literature. The Babylonian mythic figures are cast in an evil light and staged as wicked giants.

Since some have speculated that the Book of Giants was either part of or an expansion of the Book of Enoch, also called, 1 Enoch, we will examine the Book of Giants alone and also within the text of the Book of Enoch. There is a strong connection with the Book of Enoch, in a section called, "The Book of the Watchers" (1 Enoch 1-36). The reader is strongly advised to read Enoch, and especially that section, before reading the Book of Giants. The story will make much better sense if you do. Because of the need for this clarification the Book of Enoch will be included in the volume.

There have been many attempts to reconstruct the sequence and content of the Aramaic Book of Giants. There are instances where the various sequences of events are unclear. I generally follow Stuckenbruck's sequence of events. Since the text is so fragmented and at times not fully comprehensible, it is best to first present an overall flow or meaning of the storyline. We will now explore the story presented in the Book of Giants.

*2
The Aramaic Version of the Book of Giants

(Following is synopsis of the storyline of the Book of Giants, the Aramaic version.)

The fallen angels, also called the Watchers, lusted after and mated with human women, who gave birth to their offspring called the Nephilim. The Nephilim were monstrous and bloodthirsty giants. They killed and consumed the animals, plants, cattle, and humans of the earth. Having experienced sex for the first time, they not only consumed the creatures they found, but according to one version they sexually abused them as well. These events were reported to Enoch.

Enoch exulted God and praised him for his glory, power, and for his creation.

Several giants, including Hobabis (Humbaba), Mahaway, and perhaps the Watcher Baraq'el, discussed killing humans.

The giants had dreams predicting a great flood in which they would perish. The first dream was of a stone writing-tablet submerged in water. In this dream most names on the tablet were washed away but three names remained. One version of the dream was of an angel defacing the tablet as a symbol of the destruction brought about on Earth. In defacing the tables, three names could not be erased, symbolizing the floods destruction with only three men remaining alive on Earth. There was also a second a dream which referred to a garden being destroyed. After the destruction three plant shoots or trees were left in a garden. In the second dream an angel descended and cut down all but three shoots in a garden. The text may be interpreted as three young trees or three plant shoots. (The three shoots and names represent the three sons of Noah).

The Giants met, counseled with one another, and decided to ask for help. Mahaway consulted Enoch the first time.

The giants Ohyah and Mahaway had a conversation in which Mahaway told Ohyah something he heard while in the presence of his father, the Watcher Baraq'el. Ohyah responded that he too had heard of the "four marvels". He compared it to the stages of childbirth.

(Baraq’el or Baraqiel was the 9th Watcher of the 20 leaders of the 200 fallen angels that are mentioned in an ancient work called the Book of Enoch. There were 200 Watchers who descended. They were grouped like soldiers with a leader for each team of ten. There were 20 leaders for the total of 200 Watchers. The name Baraq’el means "lightning of God", which is fitting since it has been said that Baraq’el taught men astrology during the days of Jared or Yered.)

Gilgamesh, one of the giants, proclaimed that despite his great strength and courage, and his ability to kill any human, he had been unable to prevail in a war against a number of heavenly beings (archangels). He lamented that he had no hope of surviving a full on battle with them.

Ohyah said he was made to dream a very disturbing dream. As it turned out, the giants were having nightmares and visions. Gilgamesh also had a dream and was told to recount it.

Ohyah spoke to his brother Hahyah about the Watcher, Azazel. Azazel was one of the Watchers, and father to some of the giants. God condemned Azazel. The giants realize there was no escape and they must die for their terrible deeds. Ohyah had not dared to sleep due to a vision that disturbs him so deeply it frightened him into being afraid to sleep. In the assembly of the giants they discussed their great fear of being killed and how their coming corporeal death in the Flood would strip their bodies from their spirits and reduce them to evil spirits.

The Watchers were imprisoned. They told the giants they could not win the coming battle. The giants would be defeated.

Mahaway and the two tablets were discussed. The second tablet was a letter from Enoch to the Watcher Šemihaza (Samyaza) and his fellow watchers. They were rebuked for their sins and for producing the giants. Their actions were labeled “corrupt” and had come to the attention of the archangel Raphael. They were told they would be destroyed. Raphael told them to release their hostages and to pray.

Ohyah relayed a message from Gilgamesh and Hobabis, which involved the cursing of "the princes". This cheered the giants. (We assume the princes are the angels, and the Watchers’ curses had no affect on them.)

Two giants, Ohyah and Hahyah, had dreams. Hahyah described his dream in the assembly of the giants. He dreamed of gardeners watering a garden, which produced great shoots or trees. But the garden was destroyed in a deluge of water and fire. The other giants were unable to interpret his dream. Hahyah proposed that they consult Enoch for an interpretation. Then his brother, Ohyah told of his dream, in which God descended to the earth. Thrones were set up, and God sat on His throne in the midst of angels. God judged based on what was written in certain books. The giants asked Mahaway to go to Enoch, whom he had encountered before, to ask him to interpret the dreams.

Mahaway took wing and flew across the "Great Desert." Enoch saw him and called out to him. Mahaway referred to this encounter as his second visit. Mahaway asked Enoch to interpret the dreams. Enoch listened to the accounts of the dreams and foretold the violent deaths of a number of Watchers and Giants (Nephilim). Although the Watchers and Giants asked for forgiveness and peace, Enoch told them God had declared there will be "no peace to you."

Enoch blessed and praised God.

The Aramaic version was thought to belong in the Book of Enoch at one time. We will attempt to place it back into the Book of Enoch in some reasonable order and reconstruct the text.

Following is a reconstructed text. The order of some fragments is not certain and may not follow the preceding outline.

Translation of the Aramaic Version found the caves of Qumran.
Unreadable or missing portions of the text are signified by … within the text. The symbol […] signifies a phrase or portion thereof.

Book of Giants -- Reconstructed Texts
The wicked angels decend, bringing both knowledge and havoc.

1Q23 Frag. 9 + 14 + 15 [. . .] they knew the secrets of [. . .] . . . sin was great in the earth [. . .] [. . .] and they killed many [. .] [. . .] they begat giants [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 3 [. . .] everything that the earth produced [. . .] [. . .] the great fish [. . .] [. . .] the sky with all that grew [. . .] [. . . fruit of the earth and all kinds of grain and all the trees [. . .] [. . .] beasts and reptiles . . . all creeping things of the earth and they observed all [. . .] [. . .] every harsh deed and [. . .] utterance [. . .] [. . .] male and female, and among humans [. . .]

1Q23 Frag. 1 + 6 [. . .] two hundred donkeys, two hundred asses, two hundred . . . rams of the flock, two hundred goats, two hundred . . . beast of the field from every animal, from every bird [. . .] [. . .] for miscegenation (inbreeding of people considered to be of different races) [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 2 [. . .] they defiled [. . .] [. . . they begot] giants and monsters [. . .] [. . .] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted . . .] [. . .] with its blood and by the hand of [. . .] giant's which did not satisfy them and [. . .] [. . .] and they were seeking to devour many [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] the monsters attacked it.

4Q532 Col. 2 Frags. 1 - 6 [. . .] flesh [. . .] All . . . monsters [. . .] will be [. . .] [. . .] they would arise [. . .] lacking in true knowledge [. . .] because [. . .] [. . .] the earth [grew corrupt . . .] mighty [. . .] [. . .] they were considering [. . .] [. . .] from the angels upon [. . .] [. . .] in the end it will perish and die [. . .] [. . .] they caused great corruption in the [earth . . .] [. . . this did not suffice to [. . .] "they will be [. . .]

2Q26 [. . .] they drenched the tablet in the water [. . .] [. . .] the waters went up over the [tablet . . .] [. . .] they lifted out the tablet from the water of [. . .]

4Q530 Frag.7 [. . .] this vision] is for cursing and sorrow. I am the one who confessed [. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to [. . .] [. . . the spirits of the slain complaining about their killers and crying out [. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of [. . .] much and I will be sleeping, and bread [. . .] for my dwelling; the vision and also [. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants [. . .]

6Q8 [. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .] [. . .] without trembling. Who showed you all this vision, my brother? [. . .] Barakel, my father, was with me. [. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling [what he had seen . . .] [. . . said] to him, Now I have heard wonders! If a barren woman gives birth [. . .]

4Q530 Frag. 4 [There]upon Ohya said to Hahya . . .] [. . . to be destroyed] from upon the earth and [. . .] [. . .]the earth. When [. . .] they wept before [the giants . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 7 [. . .] your strength [. . .] [. . .] After that, Ohya said to Hahya [. . .] Then he answered, It is not for us, but for Azaiel, for he did [. . . the children of] angels are the giants, and they would not let all their proved ones] be neglected [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have strength [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 1 [. . .] I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [. . .] any one mortal, and I have made war against them; but I am not [. . .] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [. . . they] are stronger than I. [. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call me. [. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream [. . .] the sleep of my eyes vanished, to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [. . .] [. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

6Q8 Frag. 2 three of its roots [. . .] while I was [watching,] there came [. . . they moved the roots into] this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

4Q530 Col. 2 concerns the death of our souls [. . .] and all his comrades, and Ohya told them what Gilgamesh said to him [. . .] and it was said [. . .]

"concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates" and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [. . .]

(So much of the Aramaic version is missing in this area of the text that to reconstruct the flow we have used the Manichean version to supplement.)

Thereupon two of them had dreams and the sleep of their eye, fled from them, and they arose and came to [. . . and told] their dreams, and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters [. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night [and there was a garden . . .] gardeners and they were watering [. . . two hundred trees and] large shoots came out of their root [. . .] all the water, and the fire burned all [the garden . . .] They found the giants to tell them [the dream . . .]

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth [. . .] and such is the end of the dream. [Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters! grew afraid and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch, the noted scribe. They said to him, Go [. . .] to you that [. . .] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

[. . . he mounted up in the air] like strong winds, and flew with his hands like eagles . . . he left behind] the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [. . .] and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [. . .] hither and thither a second time to Mahway [. . .] The giants await your words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [. . .] has been carried [. . .] from the days of [. . .] their [. . .] and they will be added [. . .] [. . .] we would know from you their meaning [. . .] [. . .] two hundred trees that from heaven [came down . . .]

One version adds:
. . " . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . ., with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmän mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Vir ō gd ā d (Baraq’el), . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

(This ends the Manichean addition.)

4Q530 Frag. 2 The scribe [Enoch . . .] [. . .] a copy of the second tablet that [Enoch sent . . .] in the very handwriting of Enoch the noted scribe [. . . In the name of God the great] and holy one, to Shemihaza and all [his companions . . .] let it be known to you that not [. . .] and the things you have done, and that your wives [. . .] they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] by your licentiousness on the earth, and there has been upon you [. . . and the land is crying out] and complaining about you and the deeds of your children [. . .] the harm that you have done to it. [. . .] until Raphael arrives, behold, destruction [is coming, a great flood, and it will destroy all living things] and whatever is in the deserts and the seas. And the meaning of the matter [. . .] upon you for evil. But now, loosen the bonds binding you to evil [. . .] and pray.

4Q531 Frag. 7 [. . . great fear] seized me and I fell on my face; I heard his voice [. . .] [. . .] he dwelt among human beings but he did not learn from them [. . .]

This ends the Aramaic Version.

*3
The Manichean Version of the Book of Giants

Fragments of and allusions to the Manichean version of the Book of Giants have been recovered in medieval manuscripts in various languages, including Middle Persian, Sogdian, Uygur, Coptic, Parthian, and Latin. The following is a summary of the surviving fragments and allusions, which has been placed in a sequence, which reveals a logical story line. There could be other possible sequences of the fragmented verses.

Some of the Manichean versions adapted the story of the giants to fit Iranian mythology. Skjaervø discusses these adaptations at length. Three of the most striking adjustments have to do with the names of major characters. Sahm is the name of an immortal dragon slayer in later Iranian epic. His name is given to the giant Ohyah. Ohyah's brother, Hahyah, is given the name Nariman, who in Iranian epic is a figure closely connected to Sahm; either identified with him or presented as one of his close relatives. The name of the father of the giant Mahaway, the demon "Virogdad," means "given by lightning" in Persian, a loose translation of "Baraq'el," which is Hebrew for "lightning of God." The Watcher Baraq'el seems to be the father of Mahaway in the Aramaic version of the Book of Giants.

Following is a synopsis of the storyline of the Manichean version of the Book of Giants.

The two hundred demons descended to earth.

The watchers forsook their duties and descended to Earth because of the beauty of the human women. Some thought they could resist the allure, but they could not.

They begin having sex with the women. The demons revealed forbidden arts and spiritual mysteries. Some shared their power to seduce the women. In doing these things the Watchers brought ruin on the earth.

The descent from their estate and revealing to humans their secrets of power angered the angels and God.

Enoch warned that the coming of the two hundred demons (Watchers) will lead only to "hurting speech" and "hard labor."

Watchers subjugated the human race, killing hundreds of thousands of the righteous in battle, forcibly marrying beautiful women, and enslaving the nations. The Watchers "veil” which seems to mean they hid themselves among humans to keep the angles sent from God from finding them.

The righteous endured burning and Enoch is mentioned.

The Watcher, Šamizad (Šemihaza), begat two giant sons, Sahm (Ohyah) and Pat-Sam (Ahyah/Hahyah). The other demons and Yaksas begat the rest of the giants. These are the Nephilim.

(Versions of the Book of the Giants were influenced by local traditions. The names of Ohya as Sahm were introduced via myths pertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality " of Sahm. The name of the country of Aryan-Vezan = Airyana Vaelah and the change of the mountain to " Kgmin mountains" substituting for "Mount Hermon " reflect changes due to influence by local myths, names, landscape and terrain.)

The giants grew up and brought destruction and ruin upon the earth and the human race. The lamentation of humanity reached up to heaven.

The God, Yima, accepted the prayers and worship of mankind as they begged him for help.

The giants boasted that Sahm and his brother would live and rule forever because their power and strength were unequalled among men. (This is a possible parallel to the Aramaic version of Gilgamesh.)

The giant Hobabiš (Humbaba) robbed another of his wife. The giants argued among themselves and began killing one another and other creatures. Sahm and his brother were mentioned. Sahm had a dream in which a tablet was thrown in water. The Tablet contained three signs, portending woe, battle, and destruction. Nariman had a dream about a garden full of trees in rows. He saw two hundred trees.

A list of proverbs was recited. Nariman reported what he saw in the dream. In the dream some were weeping and lamenting and many others were sinful rulers.

The giant Mahaway, son of Virogdad (Baraq'el), wanted to seek out Enoch. As he flew he heard a voice as the sun began to rise warning him. The heavenly voice told him that if he had flown too high the sun would set his wings on fire. The voice told him he must descend. The voice guided him to Enoch, who hails him and meets him. (This seems to be an adaptation of the Icarus myth). He lands and the voice leads him to. As he approached Enoch hailed him.

The dream was recounted to Enoch who interpreted the dream, indicating that the trees represent the "Egregoroi" (Greek for "Watchers," and the same as the Grigorgi). He also mentioned the giants who were born of women. The trees are pulled up.

Mahaway was ordered not to run away but to bring the message written on two stone tablets, showing it first to Nariman. He brought them to share the contents of one tablet with the giants, however the content pertained to the demons. Šamizad told him to read the writing to Enoch (or have Enoch read it).

Enoch delivered a message of judgment to the demons and their children, telling them that they will "have no peace" and that they will see the destruction of their children (the giants). He stated the giants ruled for one hundred twenty years. Enoch predicted an era of earthly fertility and birth after the Flood.

Sahm exhorted the other giants to cheer up and eat but they were too sorrowful to eat and instead they fell asleep. Mahaway went to Atanbush (Utnapistim) (this is probably another name for Enoch) and told him everything. When Mahaway returned, Sahm had a dream in which he ascended to heaven. He saw the water of the earth consumed with heat. A demon came out of the water. Some beings (the protecting spirits?) were invisible but he saw the heavenly rulers.

Here, the text is not clear. Sahm, Šamizad, and Mahaway had a conversation. Mahaway mentioned his father, Virogdad (Baraq'el). There are references to weapons and blessings on someone who witnessed something not intended for them to see but he escaped with his life. Sahm and Mahaway searched for something.

Assurance was given to Mahaway that he will be protected from Sahm but nevertheless Sahm and Mahaway argued and began to fight. Keep in mind, these

appear to be brothers.

The wicked demons were glad to see the "apostle" (Enoch). They gathered before him, begging for mercy and promising to reform their ways. They hoped for him to intervene.

Enoch warned the demons that they would be placed in fire and taken to face eternal damnation. The demons believed they would never lose their power but they did not know their power would not matter. He also addressed their "sinful misbegotten sons" (the giants) and described how the righteous will fly over the fire of damnation and gloat over the souls inside it.

The demons, took some heavenly helpers hostage. As a result the angels descended from heaven, terrifying the two hundred demons, who took human form and hide among human beings. This was called “veiling”.

The angels separated out the human beings and posted a watch over them. The angels seized the giants from the demons, and led "them" (the children of the giants) to safety in thirty-two distant towns prepared for them by the "Living Spirit" at Aryan Wezan (the traditional homeland of the Indo-Iranians) in the vicinity of the sacred Mount Sumeru and other mountains. These people originated the arts and crafts.

The two hundred demons fought a massive and fiery battle with the four angels. Two-hundred demons were the 200 Watchers of fallen angles of the Aramaic version.

Atanbush battled, accompanied by Watchers and giants, and three of the giants were killed. An angel and other beings were also killed.

Ohyah and Ahyah resolved to keep their promise to do battle, and they boast of their power and strength.

God commanded four angels to bind the Egregoroi with everlasting chains in a dark prison and the angels annihilated their children.

Even before the rebellion of the Egregoroi, this prison had been built for them under the mountains. In addition, thirty-six towns had been prepared for the habitation of the wicked and long-lived sons of the giants before they were even born.

Ohyah (or Ahyah), the primordial monster Leviathan, and the archangel Raphael engaged in a great battle, "and they vanished."

Author's note: According to one tradition, Ohyah survived the Flood and fought this battle after the flood. There is a myth of a Watcher named Og surviving the flood. This attempts to answer the question as to where giants such as Goliath came from. According to the legend, Noah had mercy on Og, who was found clinging to the ark after the waters had risen and set the ark afloat. Og clung to the door of the ark until the waters receded. During the flood Noah fed the giant. After the flood was over Og went his own way.

In another legend Og was so tall the waters only covered his feet. Another legend has him going to Palestine, were there was no flood.

The Jewish Encyclopedia states:
—Biblical Data:
Amorite king of Bashan, who reigned in Ashtaroth and was conquered by Moses and Israel in the battle of Edrei (Num. xxi. 33), sixty fortified cities, with high walls, gates, and bars, comprising the region of Argob, being taken and given to the children of Machir, son of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xiii. 31). Og was one of the giants of the remnant of the Rephaim. His iron bedstead in Rabbath, the capital of Ammon, is described as having been nine cubits in length and four cubits in breadth (Deut. iii. 11).

—In Rabbinical Literature:
Og was not destroyed at the time of the Flood (Niddah 61a), for, according to one legend, the waters reached only to his ankles (Midr. Pe ṭ irat Mosheh, i. 128, in Jellinek, "B. H." ii.). Another tradition states that he fled to Palestine, where there was no flood (Rashi to Niddah, ad loc.); while, according to a third legend, he sat on a rung of the ladder outside the ark, and, after he had sworn to be a slave to Noah and his children, received his food each day through a hole made in the side of the ark (Pir ḳ e R. El. ch. xxiii.). Og was known also as "Ha-Pali ṭ " (see Gen. xiv. 13).

It was Og who brought the news to Abraham of the captivity of Lot. This he did, however, with an evil motive, for he thought that Abraham would seek to release Lot and would be killed in battle with the great kings, and that he, Og, would be able to marry the beautiful Sarah (Gen. R. xlii. 12). A long lease of life was granted him as a reward for informing Abraham, but because of his sinister

motive he was destined to be killed by the descendants of Abraham. Og was present at the banquet which Abraham gave on the day Isaac was weaned (comp. Gen. xxi. 8). As Og had always declared that Abraham would beget no children, the guests teasingly asked him what he had to say now that Abraham had begotten Isaac, whereupon Og answered that Isaac was no true descendant since he could kill Isaac with one finger. It was in punishment for this remark, one legend declares, that he was condemned to live to see a hundred thousand descendants of Abraham and to be killed in battle against them. (Gen. R. liii. 14). When Jacob went to Pharaoh and blessed him (Gen. xlvii. 7), Og was present, and the king said to him: "The grandson of Abraham, who, according to thy words, was to have no descendants, is now here with seventy of them." As Og cast an evil eye upon the children of Israel, God foretold that he would fall into their hands (Deut. R. i. 22).

Death of Og.
During the battle of Edrei (Num. xxi. 33) Og sat on the city wall, his legs, which were eighteen ells long, reaching down to the ground; Moses did not know what monster he had before him until God told him that it was Og. Og hurled an entire mountain against the Israelites, but Moses intercepted it (Deut. R. l.c.). According to another legend, Og uprooted a mountain three miles long, intending to destroy all Israel at once by hurling it upon their camp, which was also three miles in length; but while he was carrying it upon his head a swarm of locusts burrowed through it, so that it fell round his neck. When he attempted to throw off this unwieldy necklace long teeth grew from both sides of his mouth and kept the mountain in place. Thereupon Moses, who was himself ten ells tall, took an ax of equal length, jumped upward ten ells, so that he could reach Og's ankles, and thus killed him (Ber. 54b).

Shabbat (151b) and 'Erubin (48a) also indicate that Og was regarded as an unusually large giant. A legend says that a grave-digger pursued a stag three miles inside of one of Og's bones without reaching the other end (Niddah 24b).

The Manichean version states that three thousand, two hundred and eighty years passed between the time of Enoch and the time of King Vishtasp, who ruled at the time of the prophet Zoroaster, who, along with Buddha and Christ, was an apostle who came before the final apostle Mani. This draws a connection from Enoch to the great prophets, and then to Mani, and places Mani on their same spiritual level.

Fragments of the Book of Giants were written in Kawan, which is a Middle-Persia Language.
The fragments were so small and broken it has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. In the text below some of the order is uncertain. Unreadable or missing portions of the text are signified by … within the text.

The Manichean Version of the Book of Giants

. . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . S ā m said: "Blessed be . . . had he seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahm ī z ā d said to S ā m, his son: "All that M ā hawai . . ., is spoilt." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until . . . and . . . that are in the fiery hell . . . As my father, Vir ō gd ā d, was . . ." Shahm ī z ā d said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands. For one of thousands . . . .". S ā m thereupon began . . . M ā hawai, too, in many places . . . until to that place he might escape and . . .

. . . Vir ō gd ā d . . . H ō b ā b ī š robbed Ahr . . . of his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and to abduct their wives. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. S ā m . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other … whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . . imprisoned . .. over To the angels . . . from heaven. to . . . threw (or: was thrown) into the water. Finally . . . in his sleep saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Nar ī m ā n saw a garden full of trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . .

. . . Enoch, the apostle, . . . gave a message to the demons and their children: To you . . . not peace. The judgment on you is that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children. ruling for a hundred and twenty years . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat, gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation of water . . . and their oil shall be . . .

. . . father . . . nuptials . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . and in the nest Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take

what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . "Not the . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . Not the . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, but the strength of the ox. Not the . . . eagle, but his wings. Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers it. Not the proud ruler, but the diadem on his head. Not the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

. . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit, but the poison in it. Not they that are placed in the skies but the God of all worlds. Not the servant is proud, but the lord that is above him. Not one that is sent . . ., but the man that sent him". Thereupon Nar ī m ā n . . . said . . . And in another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. And also I saw another place where there were tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived in sin and evil deeds, when . . .

. . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels veiled or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight Enoch. Chose and extracted and listened . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful women, and demanded . . . them in marriage. Sordid . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians were directed to prepare, the Kh ū zians to sweep and water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

. . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, the garland, and the garment of Light. The seven demons. Like a blacksmith who binds or: shuts, fastens and looses or: opens, detaches . . . . who from the seeds of . . . . and serves the king . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . the Pious gave . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

. . . various colors that by . . . and bile. If. . . . from the five elements. As if it were a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . imprisoned in this corpse, in bones, nerves, flesh, veins, and skin, and entered herself [Ā z] into it. Then he(Man) cries out, over sun and moon, the Just God's

two flames … over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrw ā n], in each epoch, sends apostles: Š ī t ī l, Zarathushtra, Buddha, Christ, . . .

. . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, the five kinds of trees, the five kinds of animals.

. . . On the Hearers

. . . we receive . . . from Mani, the Lord, . . . the Five Commandments to . . . the Three Seals . . .living . . . profession . . . and wisdom . . . moon. Rest from the power or: deceit . . . own. And keep measured the mixture . . . trees and wells, in two . . . water, and fruit, milk, . . . he should not offend his brother. The wise Hearer who like unto juniper leaves . . .

. . . much profit. Like a farmer . . . who sows seed . . in many . . . The Hearer who . . . knowledge, is like unto a man that threw the dish called fr ō šag into milk. It became hard, not . . . The part that ruin . . . at first heavy. Like . . . first . . . is honored . . . might shine . . . six days. The Hearer who gives alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches a position of great honor. In the body of the Elect the food given to him as alms is purified in the same manner as a . . . that by fire and wind . . . beautiful clothes on a clean body . . . turn . . .

. . . witness . . . fruit . . . tree . . . like firewood . . . like a grain . . . radiance. The Hearer in the world, and the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship on the sea: the towing-line is in the hand of the tower on shore, the sailor is on board the ship. The sea is the world, the ship is the . . . the . . . is the alms, the tower is the . . . , the towing-line is the Wisdom. . . . The Hearer . . . is like unto the branch of a fruitless tree . . . fruitless . . . and the Hearers . . . fruit that . . . pious deeds. The Elect, the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some possessions were left by their father: a piece of land, . . ., seed. They became partners . . . they reap and . . . The Hearer . . . like . . .

. . . an image of the king, cast of gold . . . the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his . . . to a . . . man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church, is like . . . pledge, who father gave his son to . . . learn . . . to . . . father, pledge . . . Hearer. Again, the Hearer . . . is like . . . . stumble . . . is purified. To . . . the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (of: Roman) who . . . gave the infantry man, one shoe . . . who,

however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

. . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . ., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy killed all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . a well. One on the shore of the sea, one in the boat. He that is on shore, tows him that is in the boat. He that is in the boat. . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

. . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . Like unto a man that bought a piece of land. On that piece of land there was a well, and in that well a bag full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

. . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honor, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

This ends the translation.

In the Manichean version the Watchers were demons. In other versions they are fallen angels. In most versions the children of the Watchers were demons. But even in the earlier versions there were Watchers that were considered so evil as to be Satan-like. Let us examine a few viewpoints of demons, devils, Watchers, and Giants.

1 En 14:8-11 - The Giants who were begotten by spirits and flesh, they will call them evil spirits on the earth These spirits rise up against the sons of men.

Jubilees 10:2-9 - The sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him about the demons who were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. He prayed before the Lord his God and said: "God of the spirits of all flesh. You know how your Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day; as for these spirits which are living, imprison them too. The Lord our God bade us to bind all. But the chief of the spirits, Mastema (Hater / Enmity), came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them harken to my voice. If some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men. For great is the wickedness of the sons of men.' He said: "Let a tenth of them remain before him.

Clem. Hom. 8:18-19 - Since the souls of the deceased Giants were greater than human souls inasmuch as they also excelled their bodies, they, being a new race, were called also by a new name [i.e., demons]. A certain angel was sent to them by God, declaring to them His will, and saying: “These things seem good to the all-seeing God, that you lord it over no man; that you trouble no one, unless any one of his own accord subject himself to you, worshipping you, and sacrificing and pouring libations, and partaking of your table, or accomplishing anything else that they ought not, or shedding blood, or tasting dead flesh, or filling themselves with that which is torn of beasts, or that which is cut, or that which is strangled, or anything else that is unclean. Those who betake themselves to my law, you not only shall not touch. But if any of those who worship me go astray, either committing adultery, or practicing magic, or living impurely, or doing any other of the things which are not well-pleasing to me, then they will have to suffer something at your hands.”

Azazel was so evil he was linked to the scapegoat mentioned in the Old Testament. Azazel, was one of the leaders of the wayward angels.

Lev 16:5-10 - Aaron shall cast lots on the two goats, one lot for the LORD and the other lot for Azazel. Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the LORD, and offer it as a sin offering; but the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the LORD to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies 1.15.6 (2nd c.; ANF) - Marcus, you maker of idols and inspector of portents, experienced in astrology and magical skill, through these, you confirm the doctrines of error. You show signs to those lead astray by you, undertakings of apostate power, which your father Satan always orchestrates for you to do through the angelic power Azazel, making you the precursor of godlike villainy.

Rashi (1040-1105) was a medieval French rabbi and author of a comprehensive commentary on the Talmud and commentary on the Tanakh.. He stated: On Uzzah and Azael in b. Yoma 67b - Angels of Destruction who descended to earth in the days of Naamah, daughter of Tubal-Cain, and about them it is written: “The sons of God saw the daughters of the earth” (Gen 6:2); hence it is said that he [i.e., Azazel] atones for their prohibited sexual activity. [Cf. his euhemeristic exegesis of Gen 6:1-4]

Yerahmeel, 12th century Jewish historian, wrote: — Azael did not repent. Therefore, when the Israelites used to bring sacrifices on the Day of Atonement, they cast one lot for the Lord that it might atone for iniquities of the Israelites, and one lot for Azazel that he might bear the burden of Israel's iniquity. This is the Azazel that is mentioned in Scripture.

Yerahmeel - When the Generation of Enoch arose and practiced idolatry and when the Generation of the Flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One Blessed be He was grieved that He created humankind, as it is said "And the Lord repented that He had made man, and He was grieved at heart" (Gen 6:6). Then there arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: "O Lord of the universe, did we not say to You when You created the world: 'Do not create man?' As it is said: 'What is man that you are mindful of him?' (Ps 8:5)" "Then what will become of the World," asked God. They replied, "We will occupy ourselves within it!" God said, "It is revealed and well known to Me that if you by chance happened to live in the earthly world, the evil inclination would sway you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be even more stubborn than they are!" [They said,] "Give us Your sanction, then, and let us descend among the creatures and then You will see just how we sanctify Your Name!" "Descend," said the Lord, "and dwell among them." Right away, He allowed the evil inclination to sway them. As soon as they descended and "saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful" (Gen 6:2) they began to cavort with them, as it is said: "When the sons of God saw the daughters of men" (Gen 6:2) they could not resist their inclination.

Now, we shall look at the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) and how the Aramaic Book of Giants may fit into the text as a parallel or supplement to the text of Enoch. Before we get into the text of Enoch, let us examine it's history and layout. Bible and apocryphal references have been used to provide more context and insight into the Book of Enoch and thus the Book of Giants.

*4
History of the Book of Enoch

The Book of Enoch was once cherished by Jews and Christians alike. It is read in certain Coptic Christian Churches in Ethiopia. Three versions of the Book of Enoch exist today.

Most scholars date the Book of Enoch, also called 1 Enoch, to sometime during the second century B.C. We do not know what earlier oral tradition, if any, the book contains. Enoch was considered inspired and authentic by certain Jewish sects of the first century B.C. and remained popular for at least five hundred years. The earliest Ethiopian text was apparently derived from a Greek manuscript of the Book of Enoch, which itself was a copy of an earlier text. The original was apparently written in the Semitic language, now thought to be Aramaic.

The Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) was discovered in the 18th century. It was assumed to have been penned after beginning of the Christian era. This theory was based on the fact that it had quotes and paraphrases as well as concepts found in the New Testament. Thus, it was assumed that it was heavily influenced by writers such as Jude and Peter.

However, recent discoveries of copies of the book among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran prove the book was in existence before the time of Jesus Christ. These scrolls forced a closer look and reconsideration. It became obvious that the New Testament did not influence the Book of Enoch; on the contrary, the Book of Enoch influenced the New Testament. The date of the original writing upon which the second century B.C. Qumran copies were based is shrouded in obscurity. Likewise lost are the sources of the oral traditions that came to be the Book of Enoch. Slowly, over the past sixty years, we have unraveled some of the mystery.

It has been largely the opinion of historians that the book does not really contain the authentic words of the ancient Enoch, since he would have lived several thousand years earlier than the first known appearance of the book attributed to

him. However, the first century Christians accepted the Book of Enoch as inspired, if not authentic. They relied on it to understand the origin and purpose of many things, from angels to wind, sun, and stars. In fact, many of the key concepts used by Jesus Christ himself seem directly connected to terms and ideas in the Book of Enoch.

The theories regarding the authenticity of Enoch vary widely. Some believe Enoch is Midrash, that is an elaboration on a biblical story. In this case it is suggested that Enoch expands Genesis chapter 6.

Another, more controversial theory has Enoch predating the Genesis story. Like the Book of Enoch, Genesis seems to have several authors with stories intertwined. One of these authors is known simply as “P” owing to the fact he was thought to be a priest. If we compare the “P” contribution of Genesis to the Book of Enoch parallels leap out.

Enoch	P
Corrupt earth	Human way corrupt on the earth (Gen 6)
eating animals	eating animals (Gen 9)
bloodshed	bloodshed (Gen 9)
364-day year (12 months x 30 + 4)	30-day months (Gen 7) 365-day year (Gen 5)
Enoch goes to heaven	Enoch goes to heaven (Gen 5)

There are other connections. The name “Azazel” appears in Leviticus. The scapegoat is sent into the wilderness “to Azazel” and through the ceremony of laying on of hand by the priest and people the goat is sent away, bearing the sins of the people. This reference only makes sense if the writer believed that Azazel was responsible for all human sins and would bear the punishment for it, as the Book of Enoch declares.

In Genesis, it is Cain that bares sins into the wilderness. However, we will see that there are connections between the fallen angels and the descendant of Cain.

The problem with such a connection between Enoch and Genesis is that it does not point to the direction of the transmission. We now can be reasonably sure that Enoch and Genesis are connected, but we cannot be certain which came first. The best evidence we have for the undisputed authenticity of 1 Enoch is not the

connection to Genesis, but the faith Jesus and the apostles had in the Book of Enoch, demonstrated by various references and quotes.

It is hard to avoid the evidence that Jesus not only studied the book, but also respected it highly enough to allude to its doctrine and content. Enoch is replete with mentions of the coming kingdom and other holy themes. It was not only Jesus who used phrases or ideas from Enoch, there are over one hundred comments in the New Testament which find precedence in the Book of Enoch.

As we begin looking for connections between the words of or about Jesus and those of Enoch, we cannot look for exact matches. It is possible that what was originally spoken by these men was very close in wording or exact meaning, but after divergent paths of transmission and translations through various languages and cultures they arrive here in the 21st century with many alterations. Like the child's game of "telephone," exact wording has been somewhat altered. Let us look at general ideas within passages.

Jesus	**Enoch**
Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. (Mat 5:5)	And all the elect shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and mercy and peace and forbearance and joy. There shall be salvation for them, (like/and) a good light. (Enoch 5:7)
the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the son (John 5:22).	And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given to the Son of Man. (Enoch 69:27)
Matt. 19:16 Now a man came up to Jesus and asked, "Teacher, what good thing	…who is set over the repentance and those who hope to

must I do to get eternal life?" (Jesus said) And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.	inherit eternal life. (Enoch 40:9)
"Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. (Luke 6:24)	Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, and from your riches shall you depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches. (Enoch 94:8)
Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. (Mat. 19:28)	And I will bring out in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor (glory). (Enoch 108:12)
Woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! It had been good for that man if he had not been born. (Mat. 26:24)	Where will there be the dwelling for sinners, and where the will there be a resting-place for those who have denied the Lord of spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born. (Enoch 38:2)
between us and you there is a great gulf fixed. (Luke 16:26)	Then I asked, regarding all the hollow places (chasm): 'Why is one separated from the other?'

	9 And he answered me and said to me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. (Enoch 22: 9)
Luke 1:32 He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High. The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David, 33and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever; his kingdom will never end." John 14:2 In my Father's house are many mansions	On that day My Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try the works of the righteous, and their places of rest shall be. (Enoch 45:3)
that ye may be called the children of light (John 12:36)	And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light,… (Enoch 108:11)
the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life. (John 4:14)	And in that place I saw the spring of righteousness which was inexhaustible. And around it were many springs of wisdom. And all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom, and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect. (Enoch 48:1)

Other evidence of the early Christians' acceptance of the Book of Enoch was for many years buried under the King James Bible's mistranslation of Luke 9:35,

describing the transfiguration of Christ: "And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son. Hear him.' " Apparently the translator here wished to make this verse agree with a similar verse in Matthew and Mark. But Luke's verse in the original Greek reads: "This is my Son, the Elect One (from the Greek ho eklelegmenos, lit., "the elect one"). Hear him."

The "Elect One" is a most significant term (found fourteen times) in the Book of Enoch. If the book was indeed known to the apostles of Christ, with its abundant descriptions of the Elect One who should "sit upon the throne of glory" and the Elect One who should "dwell in the midst of them;" then the great scriptural authenticity is justly accorded to the Book of Enoch when the "voice out of the cloud" tells the apostles, "This is my Son, the Elect One,"… the one promised in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Jude tells us in Verse 14 that "Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied." Jude also, in Verse 15, makes a direct reference to the Book of Enoch (2:1), where he writes, "to execute judgment on all, to convict all who are ungodly." As a matter of fact, it is a direct, word for word quote. Therefore, Jude's reference to the Enochian prophesies strongly leans toward the conclusion that these written prophesies were available to him at that time.
Fragments of ten manuscripts of Enoch were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The number of scrolls indicate the Essenes (a Jewish commune or sect at the time of Christ) could well have used the Enochian writings as a community prayer book or teacher's manual and study text.

Many of the early church fathers also supported the Enochian writings. Justin Martyr ascribed all evil to demons whom he alleged to be the offspring of the angels who fell through lust for women; directly referencing the Enochian writings.

Athenagoras (170 A.D.), regarded Enoch as a true prophet. He describes the angels who "violated both their own nature and their office." In his writings, he goes into detail about the nature of fallen angels and the cause of their fall, which comes directly from the Enochian writings.

Irenaeus (A.D. 180) In his work "Against Heresies," spoke of Enoch, whose translation was a prophetic view of our future rapture: "For Enoch, when he pleased God, was translated in the same body in which he did please Him, thus pointing out by anticipation the translation of the just" (Against Heresies, bk. 5).

Since any book stands to be interpreted in many ways, Enoch posed problems for some theologians. Instead of reexamining their own theology, they sought to dispose of that which went counter to their beliefs. Some of the visions in Enoch are believed to point to the consummation of the age in conjunction with Christ's second coming which took place in A.D. 70 (in the destruction of Jerusalem).
This being the case, it should not surprise us that Enoch was declared a fake and was rejected by Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine. Enoch was subsequently lost to Western Christendom for over a thousand years.

However, some view the book of Enoch as prophetic, not only as a time line, but being a picture into what is coming to all those who believe and are obedient to God.

"By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God" (Hebrews 11:5).Enoch experienced "rapture" in his time before the judgment of the Flood. What Enoch experienced is what some modern Christians believe is waiting for the church. 1 Thes. 4:15-17 promises that Jesus will descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God and the church will be taken up, or "raptured", to meet Him in the air. The Book of Enoch may inform and prepare us for coming events. Some believe there are prophecies contained in the Book of Enoch that are as applicable as those written in the books of Daniel and Revelation.

The prophecies within Enoch are presented in several ways. There is a list of weeks, much like those of Daniel. There are a list of animals and their actions toward each other. There is a list of generations defining a timeline.

Enoch's "seventy generations" was also a great problem. Many scholars thought it could not be made to stretch beyond the First Century. Copies of Enoch soon disappeared. Indeed, for almost two thousand years we knew only the references made to it in the Bible. Without having the book itself, we could not have known it was being quoted in the Bible, sometimes word for word by Peter and Jude.

"[...]the Lord, having saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not. And angels that kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them[...]in like manner[...]are set out as examples[...]." (Jude 5-7)

“For if God spared not the angels when they sinned, but cast them down into hell, and committed them to pits of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.” (2 Peter 2.4)

To what extent other New Testament writers regarded Enoch as scriptural canon may be determined by comparing their writings with those found in Enoch. A strong possibility of influence upon their thought and choice of wording is evidenced by a great many references found in Enoch which remind one of passages found in the New Testament.

Enoch was also referenced in other writings, such as the Book of Jubilees, which is canon in the Ethiopic Christian Church, and the Book of Giant, in which one of the fallen angels is called by the name of Gilgamesh.

The Book of Enoch seems to be a missing link between Jewish and Christian theology and is considered by many to be more Christian in its theology than Jewish. It was considered scripture by many early Christians. The literature of the church fathers is filled with references to this book. The early second century apocryphal book of the Epistle of Barnabus makes many references and quotes from the Book of Enoch. Second and third century church fathers like Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origin and Clement of Alexandria all seemed to have accepted Enoch as authentic. Tertullian (160-230 A.D.) even called the Book of Enoch, "Holy Scripture". The Ethiopian Coptic Church holds the Book of Enoch as part of its official spiritual canon. It was widely known and read the first three centuries after Christ. This and many other books became discredited after the Council of Laodicea. And being under ban of the authorities, it gradually disappeared from circulation.

In 1773, rumors of a surviving copy of the book drew Scottish explorer James Bruce to distant Ethiopia. He found the Book of Enoch had been preserved by the Ethiopian church, which put it right alongside the other books of the Bible.

Bruce secured not one, but three Ethiopian copies of the book and brought them back to Europe and Britain. In 1773 Bruce returned from six years in Abyssinia. In 1821 Richard Laurence published the first English translation. The famous R.H. Charles edition was published in 1912.

In the following years several portions of the Greek text surfaced. Then with the discovery of cave 4 at Qumran, seven fragmentary copies of the Aramaic text

were discovered. This means the text passed from its Aramaic form into Greek, and finally into Geez, an Ethiopian tongue.

Before the discovery of the Aramaic form was uncovered, it was thought that Enoch was written after Jude and borrowed heavily from it. However, after the discover of Enoch among the texts in Qumran, scholars had to re-examine the evidence. Enoch not only existed long before the biblical book of Jude, it is now obvious that both Jude and Peter read, believed and borrowed heavily from Enoch. This makes the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) one of the earliest apocalyptic books.

Most apocalyptic literature was written after the destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. under the feet of a Roman siege. Rome was considered by the Jews to be an ungodly nation as well as the oppressors and enemy of the Jews. The Jews considered themselves to be the chosen people of God. When the temple of God was destroyed it caused great turmoil throughout Judaism. Why would God let this happen to His chosen people and moreover, to His own house? The answer must be that the Jewish people had sinned and wondered away from the will of God. If this were true then when the Jewish nation repented and came back to God, He would avenge them by allowing the Jews to conquer and crush their enemies. The Jews would once again appear to be the victorious and chosen people their were meant to be. The return of the Jewish nation to the strict will and law of God and the battle and victory through God's help is the basis of most apocalyptic literature.

This is not the case in the first and oldest section of the Book of Enoch, written as early as the 3rd century B.C. The apocalyptic theme in the section we are calling "The Book of the Watchers" is a simple one of blessing the righteous and destroying the unrighteous beings, both human and angelic. More traditional or common apocalyptic themes can be seen in sections of Enoch written around 100 A.D.

The Book of Enoch is not one manuscript. It is a composite of several manuscripts written by several authors over a period of three to four hundred years.

The Book of Enoch is composed of six main parts. These sections can be subdivided further. It could be argued that, like the writers of the Bible itself, the various authors of Enoch did not foresee their contributions being concatenated into a single volume.

The six basic sections are as follows:

The *Book of Watchers* (Chapters 1-36):
Late third century or early second century B.C. Overall theme - Last Judgment. This section is considered to be the most authentic and important part of the Book of Enoch.
Introduction (Chapters 1-5): Last Judgment;
The Fall (Chapters 6-36): Fall of the angels by having sex with the women of earth. The evil of the children and the corruption of mankind.

-1. **The *Book of Parables* (Chapters 37-71):**
-1. First century A.D. Overall theme – The Messiah and his Judgment.
First parable: Enoch's vision on heaven containing the righteous people, the angels and the Messiah. (Chapters 38-44);
Second parable: The messianic judgment. (Chapters 45-57)
Third parable: The Son of Man (Chapters 58-71).

-1. **The Book of *Astronomy and Calendar* (Chapters 72-82):**
Late third or early second century B.C. Overall theme – Elements of weather, movement of stars, planets, sun and moon, and the calendar.
-1.
-1. **The *Book of Visions* (Chapters 83-90):**
165-160 B.C. (Thought to be written around the time of the revolt led by the Maccabees.) Overall theme – Judgment and history.
First vision: the Deluge as the first judgment (Chapters 83-84);
Second vision: a history of Israel until the revolt (Chapters 85-90).
-1.
-1. **The *Book of Warnings and Blessings of Enoch* (Chapters 91-104):**
Early second century B.C. Overall theme - Warnings, blessings and an apocalypse.
The prophecy of the Apocalypse of Weeks. (Chapters 91 and 93)
What will befall sinners and the righteous. (Chapters 94-104)

***Later Additions to the Text – Book of Noah* (Chapters 105-108):**
Second century B.C. Overall theme - Noah and Methuselah.
This section of the book seems to be added as an afterthought. It consists of fragments from other books, such as the Book of Noah.

When the Book of Enoch was found along with other scrolls around the Dead Sea, the Book of Parables was not included. This was because that section was

added later. In addition, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Visions were already joined and intact.

Later, another “Book of Enoch” surfaced. This text, dubbed "2 Enoch" and commonly called "the Slavonic Enoch," was discovered in 1886 by Professor Sokolov in the archives of the Belgrade Public Library. It appears that just as the Ethiopian Enoch ("1 Enoch") escaped the sixth-century Church suppression of Enoch texts in the Mediterranean area, so a Slavonic Enoch survived far away, long after the originals from which it was copied were destroyed or hidden.

Specialists in the Enochian texts believe that the missing original from which the Slavonic was copied was probably a Greek manuscript, which itself may have been based on a Hebrew or Aramaic manuscript.

The Slavonic text has evidence of many later additions to the original manuscript. Unfortunately, later additions and the deletion of teachings considered "erroneous," rendered the text unreliable.

Because of certain references to dates and data regarding certain calendar systems in the Slavonic Enoch, some claim the text cannot be earlier than the seventh century A.D. Some see these passages not as evidence of Christian authorship, but as later Christian interpolations into an earlier manuscript. Enochian specialist R.H. Charles, for instance, states that even the better of the two Slavonic manuscripts contains interpolations and is, in textual terms, "corrupt." It is for the reasons above; we will look only at the book referred to as 1 Enoch. We will leave the manuscript of 2 Enoch for another day.

The last great book of the Enochian tradition is 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch. 3 Enoch is a wealth of mystical knowledge. The book claims to be authored by Rabbi Ishmael, a highly respected and brilliant priest living between 90 and 130 A.D. however, no fragments have been found dating earlier than around 400 A.D. The book was written in Hebrew but has a few Latin and Greek words and cognates. 3 Enoch has its roots in the Metatron tradition, which has Enoch ascending to heaven and being translated into the angel Metatron. He is then given authority over the angels and the earthly nations, much to the protests of the angelic host. The amount of mystical information, along with the angelology contained in the book is unrivaled. 3 Enoch is obviously a continuation and expansion of the Enochian traditions of 1 and 2 Enoch, which are drawn on for the story’s foundation. Translations of 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch are available by this author.

The books of 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch have been of little influence within mainline Christianity. However, 1 Enoch, (the Ethiopic Book of Enoch,) addressed in this work is of major and amazing influence within the modern Christian world, informing our beliefs and concepts of angels, demons, and the world to come.

The translations used for this work are taken from both the Richard Laurence and R.H. Charles manuscripts in addition to numerous sources and commentaries. The texts were compared and rendered for easier reading by the modern “American” English reader as some phrasing from the 18th and 19th centuries may seem somewhat clumsy to our 21st century eyes. When there are clear differences in various texts, a word is added in parentheses to show both paths of translations.

In addition to the translation there are Biblical references showing how the Book of Enoch contains various Old Testament sources or how the Book of Enoch was quoted, referenced, or was possibly used as a source document for New Testament writers. Biblical references, as well as quotes from other ancient sources, are italicized and the chapters and verses are noted. Notes and commentaries from the author are kept in plain text, leaving the bold text to be the Book of Enoch. The Texts from the Book of Giants are underlined. They are inserted in places where the meanings are parallel or the storyline expands the texts of Enoch and where additions to Enoch seem logical. Let us now proceed to the Book of Enoch.

*5
The Book of Enoch
Including the Book of Giants

The *Book of Watchers* (Chapters 1-36):

[Chapter 1]

1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, with which he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless people are to be removed (from the earth).

2 And he began his story saying: (I am) Enoch, a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, and who saw the vision of the Holy One in heaven, which the angels showed me. And I heard everything from them, and I saw and understood, but it was not for this generation (to know), but for a remote one which is to come.

3 As I began my story concerning the elect I said,: The Holy Great One will come out from His dwelling,

4 And the eternal God will tread on the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai, and appear in the strength of His might from heaven.

5 And all shall be very afraid. The Watchers shall shake, and great fear and trembling shall seize them all the way to the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken, and the high hills shall be laid low, and shall melt like wax in the flame.

7 And the earth shall be completely torn apart, and all that is on the earth shall be destroyed, And there shall be a judgment on all.

Rev. 21: 7 He who overcomes will inherit all this, and I will be his God and he will be my son. 8 But the cowardly, the unbelieving, the vile, the murderers, the

sexually immoral, those who practice magic arts, the idolaters and all liars—their place will be in the fiery lake of burning sulfur. This is the second death."

8 But with the righteous He will make peace; and will protect the elect and mercy shall be on them. And they shall all belong to God, and they shall prosper, and they shall be blessed. And the light of God shall shine on them.

Rev. 21: 23 The city does not need the sun or the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God gives it light, and the Lamb is its lamp. 24 The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their splendor into it. 25 On no day will its gates ever be shut, for there will be no night there.

9 And behold! He comes with ten thousand of His holy ones (saints) to execute judgment on all, and to destroy all the ungodly (wicked); and to convict all flesh of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.

JUD 1:14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, 15 To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

[Chapter 2]

1 Observe everything that takes place in the sky, how the lights do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season (proper time), and do not transgress (defy) their appointed order.

2 Consider the earth, and understand the things which take place on it from start to finish, how steadfast they are, how none of the things on the earth change, but all the works of God appear to you.

3 Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie on it.

[Chapter 3]

1 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years until the new comes.

[Chapter 4]

1 And again, observe the days of summer how the sun is above the earth. And you seek shade and shelter because of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with growing heat, and so you cannot walk on the earth, or on a rock because of its heat.

[Chapter 5]

1 Observe how the trees are covered with green leaves and how they bear fruit. Understand, know, and recognize that He that lives for ever made them this way for you.

2 And all His works go on before Him from year to year for ever, and all the work and the tasks which they accomplish for Him do not change, and so is it done.

3 Consider how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish their course do not change because of His commandments.

4 But you, you have neither held to nor have you done the commandments of the Lord, But you have turned away and spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouths against His greatness. Oh, you hard-hearted, you shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall you curse your days, and the years of your life shall perish, and the years of your destruction shall be multiplied and in an eternal curse you shall find no mercy.

Deuteronomy 11: 26 See, I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse- 27 the blessing if you obey the commands of the LORD your God that I am giving you today; 28 the curse if you disobey the commands of the LORD your God and

turn from the way that I command you today by following other gods, which you have not known.

6 In those days you shall make your names an eternal curse to all the righteous, and by you shall all who curse, curse, and all the sinners and godless shall curse you forever. And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

7 And all the elect shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and mercy and peace and forbearance and joy. There shall be salvation for them, (like/and) a good light. And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation, but on you all shall abide a curse.

8 But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth.

9 And then wisdom shall be given to the elect, and they shall all live and never again sin, either through forgetfulness or through pride: But those who are given wisdom shall be humble.

10 And they shall not again transgress, Nor shall they sin all the days of their life, Nor shall they die of the anger or wrath of God, But they shall complete the number of the days of their lives. And their lives shall be increased in peace, and their years will grow in joy and eternal gladness and peace, all the days of their lives.

Isaiah 65
1I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me
not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.
2I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walketh
in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts;
3A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that sacrificeth in
gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick;
4Which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's
flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels;
5Which say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou.
These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day.
6Behold, it is written before me: I will not keep silence, but will recompense, even
recompense into their bosom,
7Your iniquities, and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the LORD,
which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the

hills: therefore will I measure their former work into their bosom.
8Thus saith the LORD, As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not; for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not destroy them all.
9And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there.

[Chapter 6]

1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born to them beautiful and fair daughters.

GEN 6:1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. 3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

2 And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men

3 And have children with them.' And Semjaza, who was their leader, said to them: 'I fear you will not agree to do this deed,

4 And I alone shall have to pay the penalty of this great sin.'

5 And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual curses so we will not abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then they all swore together and bound themselves by mutual curses.

6 And they were in all two hundred who descended in the days of Jared in the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual curses on the act.

JUD 1:5 I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not. 6 And the angels who kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

7 And these are the names of their leaders: Samlazaz, their leader, Araklba, Rameel, Kokablel, Tamlel, Ramlel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal,

(Author's note: Samlazaz could be another spelling of Semjaza, and possibly be the same entity.)

8 Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaqiel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.

[Chapter 7]

1 And all of them together went and took wives for themselves, each choosing one for himself, and they began to go in to them and to defile themselves with sex with them,

GEN 5:32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 6:1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. 3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. 4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. 5 And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

2 And the angels taught them charms and spells, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants.

3 And the women became pregnant, and they bare large giants, whose height was three thousand cubits (ells).

1Q23 Frag. 9 + 14 + 15 [. . .] they knew the secrets of [. . .] . . . sin was great in the earth [. . .] [. . .] and they killed many [. .] [. . .] they begat giants [. . .]

Jubilees 7
21 Because of these three things came the flood on the earth, namely, the fornication that the Watchers committed against the law of their ordinances when they went whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all they chose, and they made the beginning of uncleanness.
22 And they begat sons, the Naphilim (Naphidim), and they were all dissimilar, and they devoured one another, and the Giants killed the Naphil, and the Naphil killed the Eljo, and the Eljo killed mankind, and one man killed one another.
23 Every one committed himself to crime and injustice and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with sin.
24 After this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moved and walked on the earth, and much blood was shed on the earth, and men continually desired only what was useless and evil.
25 And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth. Because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood they had shed over all the earth, He destroyed everything. "

4 The giants consumed all the work and toil of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind.

4Q531 Frag. 3 [. . .] everything that the earth produced [. . .] [. . .] the great fish [. . .] [. . .] the sky with all that grew [. . .] [. . .] fruit of the earth and all kinds of grain and all the trees [. . .] [. . .] beasts and reptiles [. . .] all creeping things of the earth and they observed all [. . .] [. . .] every harsh deed and [. . .] utterance [. . .] [. . .] male and female, and among humans [. . .]

5 And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drank the blood.

1Q23 Frag. 1 + 6 [. . .] two hundred donkeys, two hundred asses, two hundred . . . rams of the flock, two hundred goats, two hundred [. . .] beast of the field from every animal, from every bird [. . .] for miscegenation (inbreeding of people considered to be of different races) [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 2 [. . .] they defiled [. . .] [. . .] they begot] giants and monsters [. . .] [. . .] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted [. . .] [. . .] with its blood and by the hand of [. . .] giant's which did not satisfy them and [. . .] [.

. .] and they were seeking to devour many [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] the monsters attacked it.

6 Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

Jasher 2
19 For in those days the sons of men began to trespass against God, and to go contrary to the commandments which he had given Adam, to be prolific and reproduce in the earth.
20 And some of the sons of men caused their wives to drink a mixture that would render them unable to conceive, in order that they might retain their figures and their beautiful appearance might not fade.
21 And when the sons of men caused some of their wives to drink, Zillah drank with them.
22 And the child-bearing women appeared abominable in the sight of their husbands and they treated them as widows, while their husbands lived with those unable to conceive and to those women they were attached.

Genesis 4:8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. 9And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? 10And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. 11And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; 12When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

[Chapter 8]

1 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and taught them about metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring and dyes.

2 And there was great impiety, they turned away from God, and committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways.

Matthew 5:19 (New International Version)
19Anyone who breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever practices and teaches these commands will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

3 Semjaza taught the casting of spells, and root-cuttings, Armaros taught counter-spells (release from spells), Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabel taught the constellations (portents), Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araqiel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven.

Jasher 4
18 And their judges and rulers went to the daughters of men and took their wives by force from their husbands according to their choice, and the sons of men in those days took from the cattle of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and taught the mixture of animals of one species with the other, in order therewith to provoke the Lord; and God saw the whole earth and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its ways on earth, all men and all animals.
19 And the Lord said, I will blot out man that I created from the face of the earth, yea from man to the birds of the air together with cattle and beasts that are in the field for I repent that I made them.
20 And all men who walked in the ways of the Lord died in those days, before the Lord brought the evil on man which he had declared, for this was from the Lord that they should not see the evil which the Lord spoke of concerning the sons of men.

[Chapter 9]

1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed on the earth, and all lawlessness being done on the earth.

2 And they said to each other: 'Let the cries from the destruction of Earth ascend up to the gates of heaven.

3 And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their petition, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High."'

4 And they said to the Lord of the ages: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of your glory endures through all the generations of the ages, and your name holy and glorious and blessed to all the ages!

1TI 6:15 Which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; 16 Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

5 You have made all things, and you have power over all things: and all things are revealed and open in your sight, and you see all things, and nothing can hide itself from you.

6 Look at what Azazel has done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were made and kept in heaven, which men were striving to learn:

7 And Semjaza, who taught spells, to whom you gave authority to rule over his associates.

8 And they have gone to the daughters of men on the earth, and have had sex with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins.

GEN 6:4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

9 And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

4Q532 Col. 2 Frags. 1 - 6 [. . .] flesh [. . .] All [. . .] monsters [. . .] will be [. . .] [. . .] they would arise [. . .] lacking in true knowledge [. . .] because [. . .]

[. . .] the earth [grew corrupt [. . .] mighty [. . .] [. . .] they were considering [. . .] [. . .] from the angels upon [. . .] [. . .] in the end it will perish and die [. . .] [. . .] they caused great corruption in the earth [. . .] [. . .] this did not suffice to [. . .] "they will be [. . .]

GEN 6:5 And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

10 And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying out and making their petition to the gates of heaven, and their lament has ascended and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are done on the earth.

11 And you know all things before they come to pass, and you see these things and you have permitted them, and say nothing to us about these things. What are we to do with them about these things?'

Revelation 6:10 (New International Version) 10 They called out in a loud voice, "How long, Sovereign Lord, holy and true, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our blood?"

[Chapter 10]

1 Then said the Most High, the Great and Holy One, “Uriel, go to the son of Lamech.

2 Say to him: 'Go to Noah and tell him in my name "Hide yourself!" and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a flood is about to come on the whole earth, and will destroy everything on it.’

GEN 7:4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

3 ‘And now instruct him as to what he must do to escape that his offspring may be preserved for all the generations of the world.'

GEN 6:13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. 14 Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

4 And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness and split open the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him in.

5 And fill the hole by covering him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him live there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see the light.

Revelation 20: 1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. 2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, 3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

6 And on the day of the great judgment he shall be hurled into the fire.

Revelation 19:20 (King James Version)
20And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

7 And heal the earth which the angels have ruined, and proclaim the healing of the earth, for I will restore the earth and heal the plague, that not all of the children of men may perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons.

ROM 8:18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. 19 For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. 20 For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, 21 Because the creature itself also shall be

delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

8 The whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe ALL SIN.'

9 To Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of fornication and the children of the Watchers. Cause them to go against one another that they may destroy each other in battle: Shorten their days.

GEN 6:7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. 8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

10 No request that (the Watchers) their fathers make of you shall be granted them on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years.'

11 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go, bind Semjaza and his team who have associated with women and have defiled themselves in all their uncleanness.

12 When their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations under the hills of the earth, until the day of the consummation of their judgment and until the eternal judgment is accomplished.

(Author’s note: 70 generations of 500 years = 35000 years.)

13 In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever.’

14 Then Semjaza shall be burnt up with the condemned and they will be destroyed, having been bound together with them to the end of all generations.

Fragment from the Book of Giants:
And he answered, I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [I can defeat] anyone mortal, and I have made war against them;

but I am not [strong enough for our heavenly opponent or to be] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [on the earth and they] are stronger than I. [. . .] The time of the wild beast has come, and the wild man calls me. Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream and the sleep of my eyes vanished in order to let me see a vision. Now I know that on Gilgamesh [our futures rest.]

15 Destroy all the spirits of lust and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind.

16 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end and let (the earth be planted with righteousness) the plant of righteousness and truth appear; and it shall prove a blessing, the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

GEN 6:7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

17 And then shall all the righteous survive, and shall live until they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace.

GEN 8:22 While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

GEN 9:1 And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

18 And then shall the whole earth be untilled in righteousness and shall be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it.

19 And the vine which they plant shall yield fruit in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown, each measurement (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measurement of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

20 You shall cleanse the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness, and all the

uncleanness that is brought on the earth you shall destroy from off the earth.

(Author's note: Meanwhile, the Nephilin are having dreams and visions…)

2Q26 [. . .] they drenched the tablet in the water [. . .] [. . .] the waters went up over the [tablet . . .] [. . .] they lifted out the tablet from the water of [. . .]

4Q530 Frag.7 [. . .] this vision] is for cursing and sorrow. I am the one who confessed [. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to [. . .] [. . .] the spirits of the slain complaining about their killers and crying out [. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of [. . .] much and I will be sleeping, and bread [. . .] for my dwelling; the vision and also [. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants [. . .]

6Q8 [. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .] [. . .] without trembling. Who showed you all this vision, my brother? [. . .] Barakel, my father, was with me. [. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling [what he had seen . . .] [. . . said] to him, Now I have heard wonders! If a barren woman gives birth [. . .]

4Q530 Frag. 4 There upon Ohya said to Hahya [. . .] [. . .] to be destroyed from upon the earth and [. . .] [. . .] the earth. When [...] they wept before [the giants . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 7 [. . .] your strength [. . .] [. . .] After that, Ohya said to Hahya [. . .] Then he answered, It is not for us, but for Azaiel, for he did [. . .] the children of angels are the giants, and they would not let all their proved ones] be neglected [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have strength [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 1 [. . .] I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [. . .] any one mortal, and I have made war against them; but I am not [. . .] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [. . . they] are stronger than I. [. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call me. [. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream [. . .] the sleep of my eyes vanished, to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [. . .] [. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

6Q8 Frag. 2 three of its roots [. . .] [while] I was [watching,] there came [. . . they moved the roots into] this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

4Q530 Col. 2 concerns the death of our souls [. . .] and all his comrades, and Ohya told them what Gilgamesh said to him [. . .] and it was said [. . .] "concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates" and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [. . .]

Thereupon two of them had dreams and the sleep of their eye, fled from them, and they arose and came to [. . . and told] their dreams, and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters [. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night [and there was a garden . . .] gardeners and they were watering [. . .] two hundred trees and large shoots came out of their root [. . .] all the water, and the fire burned all [the garden . . .] They found the giants to tell them [the dream . . .]

21 All the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me,

22 And all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send another flood from this generation to all generations and for ever.

[Chapter 11]

1 And in those days I will open the storehouse of blessings in heaven, and rain down blessings on the earth and over the work and labor of the children of men.

Malachi 3:10 (King James Version)
10Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.

2 Truth and peace shall be united throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.'

[Chapter 12]

1 Then Enoch disappeared and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode;

GEN 5:21 And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: 22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: 24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

2 And what had become of him. And his activities were with the Holy Ones and the Watchers.

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth [. . .] and such is the end of the dream. Thereupon all the giants and monsters grew afraid and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch, the noted scribe. They said to him, Go [. . .] to you that [. . .] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .] **Col. 3** [. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

3 And I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me:

4 'Enoch, you scribe of righteousness, go, tell the Watchers of heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken to themselves wives:

5 "You have done great destruction on the earth: And you shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin:

6 Since they delight themselves in their children, They shall see the murder of their beloved ones, and the destruction of their children shall and they shall lament, and shall make supplication forever, you will receive neither mercy or peace."

(Author’s note: Although we are led to believe the fallen angels are loathsome and evil, they loved and adored their children. Further, it was not the angels that became the demons. It was their children, whose spirits were evil and could not be killed.)

[. . .] he (the Nephilim) mounted up in the air like strong winds, and flew with his hands like eagles . . . he left behind] the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [. . .] and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [. . .] hither and thither a second time to Mahway [. . .] The giants await your words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [. . .] has been carried [. . .] from the days of [. . .] their [. . .] and they will be added [. . .] [. . .] we would know from you their meaning [. . .] [. . .] two hundred trees that from heaven [came down . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 2 The scribe [Enoch . . .] [. . .] a copy of the second tablet that Enoch sent [. . .] in the very handwriting of Enoch the noted scribe [. . .] In the name of God the great and holy one, to Shemihaza and all [his companions . . .] let it be known to you that not [. . .] and the things you have done, and that your wives [. . .] they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] by your licentiousness on the earth, and there has been upon you [. . .] and the land is crying out and complaining about you and the deeds of your children [. . .] the harm that you have done to it. [. . .] until Raphael arrives, behold, destruction [is coming, a great flood, and it will destroy all living things] and whatever is in the deserts and the seas. And the meaning of the matter [. . .] upon you for evil. But now, loosen the bonds binding you to evil [. . .] and pray.

4Q531 Frag. 7 [. . .] great fear seized me and I fell on my face; I heard his voice [. . .] [. . .] he dwelt among human beings but he did not learn from them [. . .]

(The Book of Jubilees - Chapter 5:1 When the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born to them, and the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful, and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they gave birth to their sons and they were giants.
2 Because of them lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way. Men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walked on the earth were all corrupted in their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other. Lawlessness increased on the earth and the imagination and thoughts of all men were continually, totally evil.
3 God looked on the earth, and saw it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were on the earth had committed all manner of evil before His eyes.
4 He said that He would destroy man and all flesh on the face of the earth that He had created.

5 But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6 And against the angels
whom He had sent on the earth, He had boiling anger, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He commanded us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and look, they are bound in the middle of the earth, and are kept separate.
7 And against their sons went out a command from His mouth that they should be killed with the sword, and be left under heaven.
8 He said, "My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years.")

(Jasher 4:17 E ~~And e~~very man made to himself a god, and they robbed and plundered every man his neighbor as well as his relative, and they corrupted the earth, and the earth was filled with violence.
18 And their judges and rulers went to the daughters of men and took their wives by force from their husbands according to their choice, and the sons of men in those days took from the cattle of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and taught the mixture of animals of one species with the other, in order therewith to provoke the Lord; and God saw the whole earth and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its ways on earth, all men and all animals.
19 And the Lord said, I will blot out man that I created from the face of the earth, yea from man to the birds of the air ~~,~~ together with cattle and beasts that are in the field , for I repent that I made them.
20 A ~~And a~~ll men who walked in the ways of the Lord ~~,~~ died in those days, before the Lord brought the evil on man which he had declared, for this was from the Lord ~~,~~ that they should not see the evil which the Lord spoke of concerning the sons of men.
21 And Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord chose him and his children to raise up offspring on the face of the whole earth.)

[Chapter 13]

1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azazel, you shall have no peace: a severe sentence has been passed against you that you should be bound:

2 And you shall not have rest or mercy (toleration nor request granted), because of the unrighteousness which you have taught, and because of all the works of godlessness,

3 And unrighteousness and sin which you have shown to men.

4 Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them.

5 And they asked me to write a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven. They had been forbidden to speak (with Him) nor were they to lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins because they had been condemned.

6 Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should obtain forgiveness and forbearance.

7 And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the southwest of Hermon: I read their petition until I fell asleep.

8 And I had a dream, and I saw a vision of their chastisement, and a voice came to me that I would reprimand (reprove) them.

9 And when I awoke, I came to them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

10 And I recounted to them all the visions which I had seen when I was asleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand heavenly Watchers.

[Chapter 14]

1 This is the book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision I saw in my sleep.

2 What I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to speak with it and to understand with the heart.

3 As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so has He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven.

4 I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared that your petition will not be granted to you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgment has been finally passed on you:

5 Your petition will not be granted. From here on you shall not ascend into heaven again for all eternity, and you will be bound on earth for all eternity.

6 Before this you will see the destruction of your beloved sons and you shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword.
7 Your petition shall not be granted on their behalf or on yours, even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in my writings.

8 In the vision I saw clouds that invited me and summoned me into a mist, and the course of the stars and the flashes of lightning and hurried me and drove me,

9 And the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me up, and bore me into heaven. And I went in until I drew near to a wall which was built out of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire, and it began to frighten me.

10 I went into the tongues of fire and drew near a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a mosaic of hailstones and the floor was made of crystals like snow.

Revelation 4: 6 And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

Revelation 21:10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,
11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; 12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

11 Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightning flashes, and between them were fiery cherubim,

12 Their sky was clear as water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its doors blazed with fire.

13 I entered that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice; there were no pleasures or life therein: fear covered me, and trembling got hold of me.

14 As I shook and trembled, I fell on my face.

15 And I saw a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater than the first,

16 And the all the doors stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it was splendid and magnificent to the extent that I cannot describe it to you.

17 Its floor was of fire, and above it was lightning and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire.

18 And I looked and saw a throne set on high, its appearance was like crystal, and its wheels were like a shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.

1TI 6:16 Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

19 And from underneath the throne came rivers of fire so that I could not look at it.

Third Book of Enoch: The Holy Chayoth carry the Throne of Glory from below. Each one uses only three fingers. The length of each fingers is 800,000 and 700 times one hundred, and 66,000 parasangs. (4) And underneath the feet of the Chayoth there are seven rivers of fire running and flowing

20 And He who is Great in Glory sat on the throne, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.

MAT 25:31 When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:

21 None of the angels could enter or could behold His face because of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him.

22 The sea of fire surrounded Him, and a great fire stood in front of Him, and no one could draw close to Him: ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, but He needed no Holy council.

23 The most Holy Ones who were near to Him did not leave night or day.

24 And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling, and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me:

25 'Come here, Enoch, and hear my word.' And one of the Holy Ones came to me picked me up and brought me to the door: and I bowed down my face.

[Chapter 15]

1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Do not be afraid, Enoch, you righteous man and scribe of righteousness.

2 Approach and hear my voice. Go and say to the Watchers of heaven, for whom you have come to intercede: "You should intercede for men, and not men for you."

3 Why and for what cause have you left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and had sex with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons?

4 Though you were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten children with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, you have lusted after flesh and blood like those who die and are killed.

5 This is why I have given men wives, that they might impregnate them, and have children by them, that deeds might continue on the earth.

6 But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world.

7 Therefore I have not appointed wives for you; you are spiritual beings of heaven, and in heaven was your dwelling place.

LUK 20:34 And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: 35 But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: 36 Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

8 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits on the earth,

9 And shall live on the earth. Evil spirits have come out from their bodies because they are born from men and from the holy Watchers, their beginning is of primal origin;

10 They shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called spirits of the evil ones. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born on the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, war, destroy, and cause trouble on the earth.

11 They take no food, but do not hunger or thirst. They cause offences but are not observed.

12 And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them in the days of the slaughter and destruction.'

(Author's note: These are the evil spirits and demons. They are the disembodied spirits of the offspring of angels and humans.)

The Book of Jubilees: Because of these three things came the flood on the earth, namely, the fornication that the Watchers committed against the law of their ordinances when they went whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all they chose, and they made the beginning of uncleanness.

And they begat sons, the Naphilim (Naphidim – the fallen), and they were all dissimilar, and they devoured one another, and the Giants killed the Naphil, and the Naphil killed the Eljo, and the Eljo killed mankind, and one man killed one another.
Every one committed himself to crime and injustice and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with sin.
After this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moved and walked on the earth, and much blood was shed on the earth, and men continually desired only what was useless and evil.
And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth. Because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood they had shed over all the earth, He destroyed everything. "

[Chapter 16]

1 'And at the death of the giants, spirits will go out and shall destroy without incurring judgment, coming from their bodies their flesh shall be destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgment in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, and shall be wholly consummated.'

MAT 8:28 And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. 29 And, behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?

2 And now as to the Watchers who have sent you to intercede for them, who had been in heaven before,

3 (Say to them): "You were in heaven, but all the mysteries of heaven had not been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

4 Say to them therefore: " You have no peace."'

Genesis 6: [1]And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, [2]That the sons of God saw the

daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. [3]And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. [4]There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

[5]And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. [6]And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. [7]And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. [8]But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

[Chapter 17]

1 And they took me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire,

2 And, when they wished, they made themselves appear as men. They brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven.

3 And I saw the lighted places and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder and in the uttermost depths, where were

4 A fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightning. And they took me to the waters of life, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun.

5 And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water into the great sea towards the west.
6 I saw the great rivers and came to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks.

7 I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place from where all the waters of the deep flow.

8 I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

[Chapter 18]

1 I saw the storehouse of all the winds: I saw how He had adorned the whole creation with them and the firm foundations of the earth.

2 And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which support the earth and the firmament of the heaven.

3 I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven, and have their station between heaven and earth; these are the pillars of heaven.

4 I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the sky and the sun and all the stars to their setting place.

5 I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of heaven above.

6 And I continued south and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, three towards the east, and three towards the south.

7 And as for those towards the east, they were of colored stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth (a stone of healing), and those towards the south of red stone.

8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, and was made of alabaster.

9 And the summit of the throne was of sapphire.

Ezekiel 1:22 And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.
23 And under the firmament were their wings straight, the one toward the other: every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two, which covered on that side, their bodies.

24 And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings.
25 And there was a voice from the firmament that was over their heads, when they stood, and had let down their wings.
26 And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.
27 And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.
28 As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD. And when I saw it, I fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake.

10 And I saw a great abyss of the earth, with pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw among them fiery pillars of Heaven, which were falling,

11 And as regards both height and depth, they were immeasurable.

12 And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water on it, and no birds,

13 But it was a desert and a horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,

14 And an angel questioned me regarding them. The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and earth.

15 This has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come out at their proper times.

16 And He was angry with them, and bound them until the time when their guilt should be consummated even for ten thousand years.'

[Chapter 19]

1 And Uriel said to me: 'The angels who have had sex with women shall stand here, and their spirits, having assumed many different forms, are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods, here shall they stand, until the day of the great judgment in which they shall be judged and are made an end of.

1 Timothy 4
1The Spirit clearly says that in later times some will abandon the faith and follow deceiving spirits and things taught by demons.

Rev 9:20The rest of mankind that were not killed by these plagues still did not repent of the work of their hands; they did not stop worshiping demons, and idols of gold, silver, bronze, stone and wood—idols that cannot see or hear or walk. 21Nor did they repent of their murders, their magic arts, their sexual immorality or their thefts.

2 And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens (other versions read 'shall become peaceful' also, another version reads, 'shall salute them').'

3 And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

1PE 4:7 But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.

[Chapter 20]

1 These are the names of the holy angels who watch.

2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world, turmoil and terror.

3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.

4 Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.

5 Michael, one of the holy angels, set over the virtues of mankind and over chaos.

6 Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit.

7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim.

8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

[Chapter 21]

1 Then, I proceeded to where things were chaotic and void.

2 And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible.

3 And there I saw seven stars of heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire.

4 Then I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on why have they been cast in here?'

5 Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them: 'Enoch, why do you ask, and why are you eager for the truth?

6 These are some of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here until ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.'

7 And I went out from there to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a terrible thing: a great fire there which burned and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, full of great falling columns of fire:

8 Neither its width or breadth could I see, nor could I see its source.

9 Then I said: 'I am afraid of this place and cannot stand to look at it.!' Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said to me: 'Enoch, why are you so afraid?'

10 And I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said to me: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

Daniel 7:9 "As I looked,
"thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat.His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool His throne was flaming with fire, and its wheels were all ablaze. 10 A river of fire was flowing, coming out from before him. Thousands upon thousands attended him; ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The court was seated and the books were opened. 11 "Then I continued to watch because of the boastful words the horn was speaking. I kept looking until the beast was slain and its body destroyed and thrown into the blazing fire.

[Chapter 22]

1 And I went out to another place west where there was a mountain and hard rock.

2 And there was in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and looked deep and dark.

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should be gathered here, that all the souls of the children of men should brought together here. And these places have been made to receive them until the day of their judgment and until the period appointed, until the great judgment comes on them.'

(Author note: The idea of a gathering place of the dead is seen in the doctrine of Purgatory, where the dead are gathered and those who are ”redeemable” are kept and purified until such time they might ascend to heaven.*)*

2 Maccabee 12: 41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened the things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.
43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:
44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.
45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

4 I saw the spirit of a dead man, and his voice went out to heaven and made petitions.

5 And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said to him: 'This spirit which petitions,

6 Whose is it, whose voice goes up and petitions heaven?'

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went out from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him until his offspring is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his offspring are annihilated from among the children of men.'

GEN 4:8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. 9 And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? 10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. 11 And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; 12 When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

8 Then I asked, regarding all the hollow places: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said to me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. Divisions have been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water.

10 And one for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgment has not been executed on them in their lifetime.

11 Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain until the great day of judgment and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits.

2 Peter 3: 7By the same word the present heavens and earth are reserved for fire, being kept for the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men.

12 There He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their petitions, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners.

13 Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions, but their spirits shall not be destroyed in the day of judgment nor shall they be raised from here.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who rules for ever.'

[Chapter 23]

1 From here I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth.

2 And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and never stopped from its course day or night but flowed always in the same way.

3 And I asked saying: 'What is this which never stops?'

4 Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said to me: 'This course of fire which you have seen is the fire in the west and is the fire of all the lights of heaven.'

[Chapter 24]

1 And from here I went to another place on the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burned day and night.

2 And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains, all differing from each other, and their stones were magnificent and beautiful, and their form was glorious: three towards the east, one founded on the other, and three towards the south, one on the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other.

3 And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it was higher than them, resembling the seat of a throne.

4 And fragrant trees encircled the throne. And among them was a tree such as I had never smelled, nor was any among them or were others like it; it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood would not ever wither:

5 And its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: 'How beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance.'

6 Then Michael, one of the holy and honored angels who was with me, and was their leader, spoke.

[Chapter 25]

1 And he said to me: 'Enoch, why do you ask me about the fragrance of the tree, and why do you wish to learn the truth?'

2 Then I answered him saying: 'I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree.'

3 And he answered saying: 'This high mountain which you have seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness.

4 And as for this fragrant tree, no mortal is permitted to touch it until the great judgment, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring everything to its completion for ever.

Genesis 2:8 Now the LORD God had planted a garden in the east, in Eden; and there he put the man he had formed. 9 And the LORD God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground—trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. 10 A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters. 11 The name of the first is the Pishon; it winds through the entire land of Havilah, where there is gold. 12 (The gold of that land is good; aromatic resin and onyx are also there.) 13 The name of the second river is the Gihon; it winds through the entire land of Cush. 14 The name of the third river is the Tigris; it runs along the east side of Asshur. And the fourth river is the Euphrates. 15 The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it. 16 And the LORD God commanded the man, "You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; 17 but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat of it you will surely die."

5 It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the Elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

REV 22:1 And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. 2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. 3 And there shall be no more curses: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

6 Then they shall rejoice and be glad, and enter into the holy place; And its fragrance shall enter into their bones, And they shall live a long life on earth, as your fathers lived. And in their days there will be no sorrow or pain or torment or toil.'

7 Then I blessed the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who has prepared such things for the righteous, and has created them and promised to give to them.

Ezekiel 47:12 (New International Version)

12 Fruit trees of all kinds will grow on both banks of the river. Their leaves will not wither, nor will their fruit fail. Every month they will bear, because the water from the sanctuary flows to them. Their fruit will serve for food and their leaves for healing."

[Chapter 26]

1 And I went from there to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches alive and blooming on a tree that had been cut down.

(Author's note: The "hollow earth theory" has been espoused by various groups throughout history. The theory was used to create the book and movie, "Journey to the Center of the Earth.")

2 And there I saw a holy mountain,

3 And underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow valley.

4 In it ran a stream underneath the mountain. And to the west of it there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a dry, deep valley between them; and another deep and dry valley was at the edge of the three mountains.

5 And all the valleys were deep and narrow, being formed from hard rock, and there were no trees planted on them.

6 And I was very amazed at the rocks in the valleys.

[Chapter 27]

1 Then I said: 'What is the purpose of this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and what is the purpose of this accursed valley between them?'

2 Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: 'This accursed valley is for those who are cursed for ever: Here shall all the

accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips words against the Lord not befitting His glory or say hard things against Him. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgment.

3 In the last days there shall be the spectacle of righteous judgment on them in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgment they shall bless Him for the mercy in that He has shown them.'

5 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set out His glory and praised Him gloriously.

[Chapter 28]

1 Then, I went towards the east, into the midst of the mountain range in the desert, and I saw a wilderness.

2 And it was solitary, full of trees and plants. And water gushed out from above.

3 Rushing like a torrent which flowed towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to fall on every side.

[Chapter 29]

1 Then I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range.

2 And there I saw aromatic trees exuding the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

[Chapter 30]

1 Beyond these, I went far to the east,

2 And I saw another place, a valley full of water like one that would not run dry.

3 And there was a tree, the color of fragrant trees was that of mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

[Chapter 31]

1 And I saw other mountains, and among them were groves of trees, and there was nectar that flowed from them, which is named Sarara and Galbanum.

2 And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, on which there were aloe trees, and all the trees were full of fruit, being like almond trees.

3 And when it was burned it smelled sweeter than any fragrant odor.

[Chapter 32]

1 And after I had smelled these fragrant odors, I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of fine nard and fragrant trees of cinnamon and pepper.

2 And then I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed over the Red Sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.

(Author’s note: The angel Zoteil, whose name means, “little one of God,” welcomes back those sinners who have gone astray but have repented. Based on the description of the locations, some have suggested the sphinx could be a representation, although most believe this to be unlikely.)

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness. I saw far beyond those trees more trees and they were numerous and large. There were two trees there,

very large, beautiful, glorious, and magnificent. The tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they ate and acquired great wisdom.

4 That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like those of the Carob tree,

5 And its fruit is like the clusters of the grapes, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree carries far.

Isaiah 60:13 "The glory of Lebanon will come to you, the pine, the fir and the cypress together, to adorn the place of my sanctuary; and I will glorify the place of my feet.

6 Then I said: 'How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which your father of old and your mother of old, who were your progenitors, have eaten, and they learned wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

[Chapter 33]

1 And from there I went to the ends of the earth and saw there large beasts, and each differed from the other; and I saw birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.

2 And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth where heaven rests on it, and the doors of heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come out, and I counted the gates from which they came out,
3 And wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me.

4 He showed me all things and wrote them down for me; also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their functions.

[Chapter 34]

1 From there I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth.

2 And here I saw three gates of heaven open : through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain.

3 And out of one gate they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two gates, it is for violence and torment on the earth, and they blow with force.

[Chapter 35]

1 Then I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three gates of heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of gates, and the same number of outlets.

[Chapter 36]

1 And from there I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open gates of heaven.

2 And from them come dew, rain, and wind. And from there I went to the east to the ends of heaven, and saw here the three eastern gates of heaven open and small gates above them.

3 Through each of these small gates pass the stars of heaven and they run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them.

4 And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has done great and glorious wonders, who has shown the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the power of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

[Chapter 37]

-1. **The *Book of Parables* (Chapters 37-71):**

1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel,

2 The son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, you men of old time, and see, you that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of spirits.

3 The words are for the men of old time, and to those that come after. We will not withhold the beginning of wisdom from this present day. Such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me.

4 Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

[Chapter 38]

1 The first Parable: When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, and sinners shall be judged for their sins, and shall be driven from the face of the earth;

2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the elect righteous ones, whose works are weighed by the Lord of spirits, light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth. Where will there be the dwelling for sinners, and where the will there be a resting-place for those who have denied the Lord of spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.

JOH 1:1 In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 The same was in the beginning with God. 3 All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. 4 In him was life; and the life was the light of men. 5 And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged, and the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,

4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and mighty: And they shall not be able to look at the face of the holy ones, because the Lord of spirits has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

2CO 3:18 But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

5 Then the kings and the mighty shall be destroyed and be turned over into the hands of the righteous and holy.

6 And from then on none shall seek mercy from the Lord of spirits for themselves for their life is at an end.

[Chapter 39]

1 And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their offspring will become one with the children of men.

(Author's note: Here we have a verse that can be interpreted in various ways. The holy children from the high heaven could be the spirits of the righteous dead. However, other verses seem to suggest those souls are being held until judgment. Enoch 38:1 mentions a judgment and this could be the one we seek to release the souls and make this verse mesh well.

Other theories regarding this verse have been put forward by those who believe God will give his consent to angels that they may finally freely mix with people. This seems unlikely given the previous reaction. Lastly, those involved with "UFO studies" point to this verse as an indication of contact.

Revelation 21

1 Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first
earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea. 2 I saw the Holy City,
the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride
beautifully dressed for her husband. 3 And I heard a loud voice from the throne
saying, "Now the dwelling of God is with men, and he will live with them. They
will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God. 4 He will
wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death or mourning or
crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away." 5 He who was seated
on the throne said, "I am making everything new!" Then he said, "Write this
down, for these words are trustworthy and true."

2 And in those days Enoch received books of indignation and wrath, and books of turmoil and confusion. There will be no mercy for them, says the Lord of spirits.

3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, And set me down at the end of heaven.

4 There I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous.

5 Here my eyes saw the dwelling places of His righteous angels, and the resting-places of the Holy Ones. And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, and righteousness flowed before them like water, and mercy fell like dew on the earth: Thus it is among them for ever and ever.

6 And in that place my eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,

7 And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of spirits.

8 And righteousness shall prevail in his days, and the righteous and elect shall be innumerable and will be before Him for ever and ever.

9 And all the righteous and elect ones before Him shall be as bright as fiery lights, and their mouth shall be full of blessing, and their lips shall praise the name of the Lord of spirits. Righteousness and truth before Him shall never fail.

10 There I wished to dwell, and my spirit longed for that dwelling-place; and thus it was decided and my portion was assigned and established by the Lord of spirits.

11 In those days I praised and exalted the name of the Lord of spirits with blessings and praises, because He had destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of spirits.

12 For a long time my eyes looked at that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And in His presence there is no end.

13 He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation to generation.

14 Those who do not sleep bless you, they stand before your glory and bless, praise, and exalt you, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of spirits: He fills the earth with spirits."'

15 And here my eyes saw all those who do not sleep: they stand before Him and bless Him saying: 'Blessed be you, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.'

16 And my face was changed; for I could no longer see.

Exodus 34:29
When Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the two tablets of the Testimony in his hands, he was not aware that his face was radiant because he had spoken with the LORD.

[Chapter 40]

1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand,

2 I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of spirits. And on the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four figures, different from those that did not sleep, and I learned their names; for the

angel that went with me told me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.

4 The first voice blessed the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

5 The second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who depend on the Lord of spirits.

6 And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who live on the earth and pray earnestly in the name of the Lord of spirits.

7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans (adversary or accusers) and forbidding them to come before the Lord of spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth.

8 After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four figures which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?'

9 And he said to me: 'This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering; and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael; and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel' and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and those who hope to inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'

10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

[Chapter 41]

1 And after that I saw all the secrets of heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance.

Daniel 5:27 Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

2 And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and my eyes saw all the sinners being driven from there which deny the name of the Lord of spirits, and they were being dragged off; and they could not live because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of spirits.

JOH 14:2 In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. 3 And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.

3 And there my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew,

4 And there I saw where they came from and how they saturate the dusty earth.

5 And there I saw closed storehouses out of which the winds are divided, the storehouse of the hail and winds, the storehouse of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

6 And I saw the storehouses of the sun and moon, where they go and where they come, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together.

7 And first the sun goes out and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the invisible and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night - the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of spirits. And they give thanks and praise and rest not; but their thanksgiving is for ever and ever.

8 For the sun makes many revolutions for a blessing or a curse, and the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord, who made a separation between the light

and the darkness, and divided the spirits of men and strengthened the spirits of the righteous, in the name of His righteousness.

Matthew 5:44 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; 45 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all Himself.

[Chapter 42]

1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell; then a dwelling-place was assigned her in heavens.

2 Wisdom went out to make her dwelling among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place. Wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat among the angels.

3 And unrighteousness went out from her storehouses. She found those she did not seek, and dwelt with them, (she sought no one in particular but found a place[...]); as rain in a desert and dew on a thirsty land.

[Chapter 43]

1 And I saw other lightning and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they obeyed Him.

2 And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: I saw the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning:

3 And I saw their revolution according to the number of the angels, and how they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden:

4 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord of spirits has shown you their parable: these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.'

[Chapter 44]

1 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightning: how some of the stars arise and become lightning and cannot part with their new form.

[Chapter 45]

1 And this is the second Parable: concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of spirits.

2 They shall not ascend to heaven, and they shall not come on the earth: Such shall be the lot of the sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of spirits, who are preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day My Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try the works of the righteous, and their places of rest shall be innumerable. And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see My Elect One, And those who have called on My glorious name:

4 Then will I cause My Elect One to dwell among them. I will transform heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,

5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing, and I will cause My elect ones to dwell on it. But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot on it.

6 For I have seen and satisfied My righteous ones with peace and have caused them to dwell before Me, but for the sinners there is judgment impending with Me, so that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

[Chapter 46]

1 And there I saw One whose face looked ancient. His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and where came from, and why he went with the Ancient One? And he answered and said to me:

3 "This is the son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwells righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of spirits hath chosen him, and whose lot has preeminence before the Lord of spirits in righteousness and is for ever.

4 And this Son of Man whom you have seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats, and the strong from their thrones and shall loosen the reins of the strong, and break the teeth of the sinners.

Matthew 13:41The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;

5 And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not exalt and praise Him, nor humbly acknowledge who bestowed their kingdom on them.

Matthew 19:28And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 And he shall make the strong hang their heads, and shall fill them with shame. And darkness shall be their dwelling, and worms shall be their bed, and they shall have no hope of rising from their beds, because they do not exalt the name of the Lord of spirits."

7 They raise their hands against the Most High and tread on the earth and dwell on it and all their deeds manifest unrighteousness. Their power rests on

their riches, and their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands. They deny the name of the Lord of spirits,

8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations, and the faithful who depend on the name of the Lord of Spirits.

[Chapter 47]

1 In those days the prayer of the righteous shall have ascended, and the blood of the righteous from the earth shall be before the Lord of spirits.

2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in heavens shall unite with one voice and supplicate and pray and praise, and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of spirits on behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of spirits, that they may have justice, and that they may not have to wait for ever.

3 In those days I saw the "Head of Days" when He seated himself on the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him; and all His host which is in heaven above and His counselors stood before Him,

4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy because the number of the righteous had been offered, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous not been required before the Lord of spirits.

Revelation 20:11Then I saw a great white throne and him who was seated on it. Earth and sky fled from his presence, and there was no place for them. 12And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Another book was opened, which is the book of life. The dead were judged according to what they had done as recorded in the books. 13The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. 14Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death. 15If anyone's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire.

[Chapter 48]

1 And in that place I saw the spring of righteousness which was inexhaustible. And around it were many springs of wisdom. And all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom, and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of spirits, And his name was brought before the Head of Days.

3 Even before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of spirits.

4 He shall be a staff to the righteous and they shall steady themselves and not fall. And he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

Romans 11: 11 I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy.
12 Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness?
13 For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office:
14 If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them.
15 For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?
16 For if the firstfruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.
17 And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree;
18 Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.
19 Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in.
20 Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear:
21 For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.

5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, and will praise and bless and sing and celebrate the Lord of spirits.

6 And for this reason he has been chosen and hidden in front of (kept safe by) Him, before the creation of the world and for evermore.

7 And the wisdom of the Lord of spirits has revealed him to the holy and righteous; For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and rejected this world of unrighteousness, and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of spirits. For in his name they are saved, and according to his good pleasure and it is He who has regard to their life.

8 In these days the kings of the earth and the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands will be shamed, because on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not be able to save themselves. And I will give them over into the hands of My elect.

9 As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy; as lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous, and no trace of them shall be found anymore.

Malachi 4
1For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the LORD of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth (because the evil ones will be destroyed), and before Him they shall fall down and not rise again, and there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them up; for they have denied the Lord of spirits and His Anointed. The name of the Lord of spirits be blessed.

[Chapter 49]

l For wisdom is poured out like water, and glory will not fail before him ever.

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, and unrighteousness shall disappear like a shadow, and will no longer exist; because the Elect One stands before the Lord of spirits, and his glory is for ever and ever, and his might for all generations.

3 In him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4 And he shall judge the secret things, and no one shall be able to utter a lying or idle word before him, for he is the Elect One before the Lord of spirits according to His good pleasure.

[Chapter 50]

1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect, and the light of days shall abide on them, and glory and honor shall turn to the Holy.

2 On the day of trouble, affliction will be heaped on the evil. And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of spirits. For He will this to others that they may repent and turn away from the works of their hands.

3 They shall have no honor through the name of the Lord of spirits, but through His name they shall be saved, and the Lord of spirits will have compassion on them, for His mercy is great.

4 He is righteous also in His judgment, and in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not stand: At His judgment the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

5 And from now on I will have no mercy on them, says the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 51]

1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol (the grave) also shall give back that which it has

received, and hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise,

2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them. For the day has drawn near that they should be saved.

Revelation 20:12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. 13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works. 14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. 15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

3 And in those days the Elect One shall sit on His throne, and all the secrets of wisdom and counsel shall pour from His mouth, for the Lord of spirits hath given them to Him and has glorified Him.

4 In those days shall the mountains leap like rams, and the hills shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and the faces of all the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5 And the earth shall rejoice, and the righteous shall dwell on it, and the elect shall walk on it.

[Chapter 52]

l And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden, for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west.

2 There my eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in secret?'

4 And he said to me: 'All these things which you have seen shall serve the authority of His Messiah that he may be powerful and mighty on the earth.'

5 The angel of peace answered me saying: 'Wait a little while, and all secret things shall be revealed to you, things which surround the Lord of spirits.

6 And these mountains which your eyes have seen, the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead, all of these shall be like wax before a fire in the presence of the Elect One. Like the water which streams down from above on those mountains, and they shall be weak under his feet.

7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved, either by gold or by silver, and none will be able to save themselves or escape.

8 And there shall be no iron for war, nor materials for breastplates. Bronze shall be of no use, tin shall be worthless, and lead shall not be desired.

9 All these things shall be destroyed from the face of the earth, when the Elect One appears before the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 53]

1 There my eyes saw a deep valley with its mouth open, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring gifts and presents and tokens of homage to Him, but that deep valley shall not become full.

2 And their hands commit lawless deeds, and everything the righteous work at the sinners devour. The sinners shall be destroyed in front of the face of the Lord of spirits, and they shall be banished from off the face of His earth, and they shall perish for ever and ever.

3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding there and preparing all the instruments of Satan.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'

5 And he said to me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the powerful of this earth, that they may with them they be destroyed.

6 After this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of His congregation to appear and from then on they shall hinder no more, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

7 And these mountains shall not stand as solid ground before His righteousness, but the hills shall be like springs of water, and the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

[Chapter 54]

1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire.

2 And they brought the kings and the powerful, and began to cast them into this deep valley.

Revelation 6:15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;
16 And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:
17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

3 And there my eyes saw how they made their instruments for them, iron chains of immeasurable weight.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who was with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared ?'

5 And he said to me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and throw them into the bottom of the pit of hell, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of spirits commanded.

6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and throw them into the burning furnace on that day,

that the Lord of spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming servants to Satan and for leading astray those who live on the earth.'

7 And in those days punishment will come from the Lord of spirits, and he will open all the storehouses of waters above heavens, and of the fountains which are under the surface of the earth.

8 And all the waters shall be come together (flow into or be joined) with the waters of heaven (above the sky), that which is above heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine.

9 And they shall destroy all who live on the dry land and those who live under the ends of heaven.

(Author's note: The previous verse refers to Noah's flood).

10 And when they have acknowledged the unrighteousness which they have done on the earth, by these they shall perish.

[Chapter 55]

1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'I have destroyed all who dwell on the earth to no avail.'

2 And He swore by His great name: 'From now on I will not do this to all who dwell on the earth again, and I will set a sign in heaven: and this shall be a covenant of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

(Author's note: The previous verse refers to the rainbow).

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation, anger, and pain because of this, I will cause My punishment and anger to abide on them, says God, the Lord of spirits.

4 You mighty kings who live on the earth, you shall have to watch My Elect One, sit on the throne of glory and judge Azazel, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 56]

1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze.

2 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are these who hold the scourges going?'
3 And he said to me: 'Each one to the ones they have chosen and to their loved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss in the valley.

4 And then that valley shall be filled with ones they chose and their loved ones, and the days of their lives shall be at an end, and the days of their leading astray shall no longer be remembered (counted).

5 In those days the angels shall return and gather together and throw themselves to the east on the Parthians and Medes. They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest and disturbance will come on them, and they shall drive them from their thrones, that they may rush out like lions from their lairs, and as hungry wolves among their flocks.

(Author’s note: The names of certain countries help set the date of the manuscript. Scholars believe, based on the names of the countries mentioned in Enoch, that the book could not have been written prior to 250 B.C. since some countries did not exist before that date. One could add that the particular part of Enoch is the only section dated, since the book consists of several disjointed parts.)

6 And they shall go up and trample the lands of My elect ones, and the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor (trampled, barren ground and a highway).

7 But the city of my righteous ones shall be a hindrance to their horses, and they shall begin to fight among themselves, and their own right hand shall be strong against themselves, and a man shall not know his brother, nor a son his father or his mother, until there will be innumerable corpses because of their slaughter, and their punishment shall be not in vain.

8 In those days hell (Sheol) shall open its jaws, and they shall be swallowed up. Their destruction shall be final. Hell (Sheol) shall devour the sinners in

the presence of the elect.'

REV 20:1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. 2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.

[Chapter 57]

1 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of chariots, and men riding on them. They were coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south.

2 The noise of their chariots was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven watched it, and the pillars of the earth were shaken and moved, and the sound of it was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day.

3 And all shall fall down and worship the Lord of spirits. This is the end of the second Parable.

[Chapter 58]

1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are you, you righteous and elect, for glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun, and the elect will be in the light of eternal life. The days of their life shall be unending, and the days of the holy will be without number.

4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of spirits. Peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord!

5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven that they should seek secrets of righteousness, and the destiny of faith. For it has become bright as the sun on earth, and the darkness is passed away.

6 And there shall be a light that never ends, and to a number of days they shall not come, for the darkness shall first have been destroyed, [And the

light established before the Lord of spirits] and the light of righteousness established for ever before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 59]

1 In those days my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning, and of the lights, and they judge and execute their judgment, and they illuminate for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of spirits wills.

2 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgments executed on the earth, whether they are for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of spirits.

3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightning were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.

[Chapter 60] - Noah's Vision

1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch, in that parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with great foreboding.

2 And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

3 And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my legs gave way, and I melted with weakness and fell on my face.

4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the disturbance and the shaking of heaven.

5 And Michael said to me: 'Why are you upset with such a vision? Until this day, His mercy and long-suffering has lasted toward those who dwell on the

earth.’

6 And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgment come, which the Lord of spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take His name in vain, that day is prepared. It will be a covenant for the elect, but for sinners an inquisition. When the punishment of the Lord of spirits shall rest on them, it will not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers.

7 And on that day two monsters were separated from one another, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abyss of the ocean over the fountains of the waters;

8 And the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a wasted wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my (great) grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of spirits created.

9 And I asked the other angel to show me the might of those monsters, how they were separated on one day and thrown, the one into the abyss of the sea, and the other to the earth’s desert.

10 And he said to me: ' Son of man, you wish to know what is kept secret.'
11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was kept secret; told me what is first and last in heaven in the sky, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of heaven, and on the foundation of heaven.
12 And the storehouse of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how the doors of the winds are calculated for each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon according to the power that is fitting; and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided.

13 And the thunder according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightning that it may light, and their host that they may at once obey.

14 For the thunder has places of rest which are assigned while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not

one and undivided, they both go together in spirit and are not separate.

15 For when the lightning flashes, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand (of an hourglass), and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many parts of the earth.

16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of His strength He draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses in the midst of all the mountains of the earth.

17 And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his storehouse because of his strength.

18 There is a special spirit there, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their storehouse, but it has a special storehouse; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its storehouse is an angel.

19 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of heaven, and is connected with the storehouse of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other.

20 And when the spirit of the rain goes out from its storehouse, the angels come and open the storehouse and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth.

21 And whenever it unites with the water on the earth, (for the waters are for those who live on the earth), they are (become) nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven.

22 Therefore there is a measurement for the rain, and the angels are in charge of it. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.

23 And the Angel of Peace who was with me, said to me:

24 "These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will feed them the punishment of the Lord. And children will be killed with their mothers, and sons with their fathers.

Job 3: 8 May those who curse days curse that day, those who are ready to rouse Leviathan.

Isaiah 27: 1 In that day,
the LORD will punish with his sword,
his fierce, great and powerful sword,
Leviathan the gliding serpent,
Leviathan the coiling serpent;
he will slay the monster of the sea.

[Chapter 61]

1 And I saw in those days that long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

2 I asked the angel, saying to him: 'Why have those angels who have cords taken flight?' And he said to me: 'They have gone to take measurements.'

(Author's note: There were no tape measures in those days. Measurements were taken by a simple rope or stick. The rope may have knots placed in it. Usual measurement were based on a man's forearm, the length of an arm, or the span of the arms.) In this case, the measurements, based those of the Lord or his appointed angel, encoded secret knowledge.)

3 And the angel who went with me said to me: 'These shall bring the measurements of the righteous, and the cords of the righteous to the righteous, that they may rely on the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect, and those are the measurements which shall be given to faith and which shall strengthen righteousness.

5 And these measurements shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who have been destroyed by the desert, and those who have been devoured by the beasts, and those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, that they may return and rely on the day of the Elect One. For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of spirits, and none can be destroyed.

6 And all who dwell in heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like to fire.

7 And they blessed Him with their first words and exalted and praised Him in their wisdom. And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8 And the Lord of spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in heaven, and in the balance their deeds shall be weighed.

2 Timothy 4:1 I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom;

9 And when he shall lift up his face to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of spirits, and their path according to the way of the righteous judgment of the Lord of spirits; then they shall all speak with one voice and bless and glorify and exalt the name of the Lord of spirits.

10 And He will summon all the host of heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the cherubim, seraphim and ophannim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities (angels that rule over other angels), and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth and over the water. On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

11 All who do not sleep above in heaven shall bless Him. All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him; and all the elect who dwell in the garden of life, and every spirit who is able to bless, and glorify, and exalt, and praise Your blessed name, and to the extent of its ability all flesh shall glorify and bless Your name for ever and ever.

12 For great is the mercy of the Lord of spirits. He is long-suffering, and all His works and all that He has created He has revealed to the righteous and elect, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

Numbers 14:18 The LORD is longsuffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.

[Chapter 62]

1 Thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: 'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if you are able to recognize the Elect One.'

Psalm 24: 7 Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

2 And the Lord of spirits seated Him on the throne of His glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on Him, and the word of His mouth slays all the sinners, and all the unrighteous are destroyed from in front of His face.

REV 19:15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. 16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

3 And in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted and those who hold the earth shall stand up and shall see and recognize that He sits on the throne of His glory, and that righteousness is judged before Him, and no lying word is spoken before Him.

4 Then pain will come on them as on a woman in labor, and she has pain in giving birth when her child enters the mouth of the womb, and she has pain in childbirth.

Micah 4: 10 Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail: for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell

in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the LORD shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies.

5 And one portion of them shall look at the other, and they shall be terrified, and they shall look downcast, and pain shall seize them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory.

Matt 25:31 When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory:

6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and exalt Him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, and the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might, and revealed Him to the elect.

8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown, and all the elect shall stand before Him on that day.

9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth shall fall down before Him on their faces, and worship and set their hope on that Son of Man, and petition Him and supplicate for mercy at His hands.

10 Nevertheless that Lord of spirits will so press them that they shall heavily go out from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grows deeper on their faces.

11 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment, to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect.

12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect. They shall rejoice over them, because the wrath of the Lord of spirits rests on them, and His sword is drunk with their blood.

13 The righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall never again see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14 And the Lord of spirits will abide over them, and they shall eat, lie down and rise up with the Son of Man for ever and ever.

Revelation 21:3 "Now the dwelling of God is with men, and he will live with them. They will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God. 4He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away."

15 The righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth, and ceased to be downcast and they will have been clothed with garments of life.

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of spirits; they shall not wear out nor will your glory pass away from before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 63]

1 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth beg Him to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of spirits, and confess their sins before Him.

Romans 14:11 For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.
12So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.

2 And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of spirits, and say: 'Blessed is the Lord of spirits and the Lord of kings, and the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich, and the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,

3 And every secret is revealed in front of you. Your power is from generation to generation, and your glory for ever and ever. Deep and innumerable are all your secrets, and your righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4 We have now learned that we should glorify and bless the Lord of kings and Him who is King over all kings.'

5 And they shall say: 'Would that we had a respite to glorify and give thanks and confess our faith before His glory!

6 And now we long for a little respite but find it not. We are driven away and obtain it not: And light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our

dwelling-place for ever and ever;

7 Because we have not believed in Him nor glorified the name of the Lord of spirits, but our hope was in the scepter of our kingdom, and in our own glory.

8 In the day of our suffering and tribulation He does not save and we find no respite for confession that our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgments and His justice, and His judgments have no respect of persons.

Romans 2: 7To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life:
8But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath,
9Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile;
10But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile:
11For there is no respect of persons with God.
12For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law;
13 For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

9 We pass away from before His face on account of our works, and all our sins are judged in (in comparison to) righteousness.'

10 Now they shall say to themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but what we have gained does not prevent us from descending from the midst of our worldly gain into the torment (burden) of Hell (Sheol).'

11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness and shame before that Son of Man, and they shall be driven from His presence, and the sword shall abide before His face in their midst.

12 Thus spoke the Lord of spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgment with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 64]

1 And other forms I saw hidden in that place.

2 I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

Jude 1:6 And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

[Chapter 65]

1 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was near.

2 And he arose from there and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather, Enoch.

3 And Noah said three times with an embittered voice: "Hear me, hear me, hear me." And I said to him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?'

4 And there was a great disturbance on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said to me: 'Why have you cried to me with a bitter cry and weeping?'

5 A command has gone out from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans (deceivers, accusers);

(Author's note: There are many meanings of the word "satan" but all indicate great negativity. It can mean one who opposes, accuses, or deceives. In this case there is some confusion as to who the satans are. We are told the fallen angels

taught men to war, but we are also told that it was the children of the angels that were so destructive. We are told that the angels taught men sorcery and spells, but it was the spirits of the nephilim that went out from their bodies to destroy.)

6 And all their powers - the most secret ones - and all the power of those who practice sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth.

7 And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth.

8 For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first; it is a fountain that produces them;

9 And an angel stands in it, and that angel is preeminent.' And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and lifted me up, and said to me:

10 'Go, for I have asked the Lord of spirits about this disturbance on the earth. And He said to me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgment has been determined and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learned, the earth and those who dwell on it shall be destroyed."

(Author’s note: Flesh and blood will drowned under the waters of the flood. All those who knew the fallen angels and all those who had given birth to their children would be killed, but the angels cannot die and the spirits of the nephilim do not need a body to survive. The text indicates the spirits need no food or water and go about unseen.)

11 And from these, they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned. But as for you, my son, the Lord of spirits knows that you are pure and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12 And He has destined your name to be among the holy, and will preserve you among those who dwell on the earth; and has destined your righteous seed both for kingship and for great honors, and from your seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.

[Chapter 66]

1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth.

2 Kings 19:35And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.

Revelation 14: 15And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.16 And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.
18And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.
19And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.

2 And the Lord of spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going out, that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were in charge of the forces of the waters.

3 And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

[Chapter 67]

1 And in those days the word of God came to me, and He said to me: 'Noah, your lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and righteousness.

2 And now the angels are making a wooden structure, and when they have completed that task I will place My hand on it and preserve it (keep it safe), and there shall come out of it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitants.

3 And I will establish your seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with you; and the face of the earth will be fruitful. They shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'

4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

5 And I saw that valley in which there was a great earth quake and a tidal waves of the waters.

6 And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was a smell of sulfur produced, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led mankind astray burned beneath that ground.

7 And there were streams of fire throughout the valley, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell on the earth.
8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit. Their spirit is full of lust, that they will be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of spirits. They will see their punishment daily, and yet, they believe not in His name.

9 There will be a relationship between the punishment and change. As their bodies burn, a change will take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of spirits none shall utter an idle word.

10 For the judgment shall come on them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord.

1 John 2:16 (New International Version)
16For everything in the world—the cravings of sinful man, the lust of his eyes and the boasting of what he has and does—comes not from the Father but from the world. 17And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

11 And the waters will change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, the springs shall change, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change their temperature and become cold.

12 And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgment in which the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.'

13 Because these waters of judgment minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their bodies; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

[Chapter 68]

1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the explanations of all the secrets in the book of the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables.

2 And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit grips me and makes me tremble because of the severity of the judgment of the secrets, and the judgment of the angels. Who can endure the severe judgment which has been executed, and before which they melt away?'

3 And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who would not have a softened heart concerning it, and whose mind would not be troubled by this judgment against them because of those who have led them out?'
4 And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not defend them under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of spirits has been angry with them because they act as if they were the Lord.

5 Therefore all that is hidden shall come on them for ever and ever; for no other angel or man shall have his portion in this judgment, but they alone have received their judgment for ever and ever.

Psalm 82
1God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods.

2How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah.
3Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy.
4Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked.
5They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.
6I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High.
7But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.
8Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.

(Author’s note: The above Bible verse is in bold because it may play one of the pivotal roles in understanding the connections between the book of Enoch and the Bible.

God stands in the congregation of the mighty; He judgeth among the gods. KJV

Another version reads:
God has taken His place in the divine council. In the Midst of the gods He holds judgment. RSV

The Septuagint reads:
God stands in the assembly of gods; and in the midst of them will judge gods. How long will ye judge unrighteous, and accept the persons of sinners?

In verse one we read that God (Elohiym) is standing in the congregation of the mighty; that He ("El" or God) is judging (Shaphat: governing) the gods (elohiym). One way to easily understand this is to look at a supreme God (capital “G”) judging and governing a group of “godlings.”

In an early study on Psalm 82, J. A. Emerton argued that in the Targum (Aramaic translation of the Old Testament) to the Psalms, as well as in the the Peshitta (Syriac Bible), and according to the Fathers, elohim (gods) in Psalm 82 was understood by all to refer to "angels." Emerton suggests that elohim refers to superhuman beings to whom the nations were allotted, whom the Jews regarded as angels but whom the Gentiles called gods (see 1 Cor 10:20). Jesus quotes the verse in John 10:34-36.

To stand in a court setting and judge indicates there was some transgression. This adds weight to the fact that some angels committed transgressions while others did not. Thus, it is this verse that points to the fall of some angels and the

judgment handed down. It also articulates the position of angels as gods. It is assumed the point of view is that of men and not God.
In our mythology we see some “gods” were evil and violent, while other “gods” were kind and gentle. There were giants, Cyclops, monsters, and those, such as Hercules, Achilles who fought alongside men. These could be various angels, but it could point back to the three types of beings coming from the union of angels and women; Giants, Nephilim, and Eljo.

With their great height and six fingers per hand, it has been speculated that Goliath, his mother (the giant of Gath), and their family were descendants of the angel – woman union. We have also speculated that the Eljo could be the “men of renown” mentioned in Genesis.

Genesis 6:4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

The term, “eljo or elyo” indicates a type of godlike being. The term indicates these were humanoids with special powers or abilities, to the extent they would be remembered and placed in mythic stories so that they should not be forgotten. This leaves the Nephilim, which could be the monsters such as Cyclops, Medusa, and other creatures memorialized in mythology.

It is not suggested that these stories are totally accurate, but only that they indicate the existence of some vastly unusual being with powers or abilities that spawned stories of monsters. Together these three types of angelic offspring make up the corpus of mythology, containing gods, giants, and monsters.)

To add additional fuel to the fire of controversy over Psalm 82, Jesus quotes the verse in John 10:34-36.

John 10:31 Again the Jews picked up stones to stone him, 32 but Jesus said to them, "I have shown you many great miracles from the Father. For which of these do you stone me?" 33 "We are not stoning you for any of these," replied the Jews, "but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, claim to be God." 34 Jesus answered them, "Is it not written in your Law, 'I have said you are gods'? 35 If he called them 'gods,' to whom the word of God came—and the Scripture cannot be broken— NIV

Does the word of God, if we accept and understand it, makes us gods? What power or authority does the knowledge, secrets, and words brought to us from heaven by fallen angels give us?

[Chapter 69]

1 And after this judgment I will terrify and make them tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2 And behold the names of those angels: the first of them is Samjaza; the second Artaqifa; and the third Armen, the fourth Kokabe, the fifth Turael; the sixth Rumjal; the seventh Danjal; the eighth Neqael; the ninth Baraqel; the tenth Azazel; the eleventh Armaros; the twelfth Batarjal; the thirteenth Busasejal; the fourteenth Hananel; the fifteenth Turel; and the sixteenth Simapesiel; the seventeenth Jetrel; the eighteenth Tumael; the nineteenth Turel; the twentieth Rumael; the twenty-first Azazyel;

(Author's note: For more information on the heavenly names, such as the various names of the "Presence of the Lord," see the Third Book of Enoch, also called the "Hebrew Book of Enoch."

The leader of the Watchers was Samjaza;, also pronounced Shemhazai. Two hundred angels made the descent to Earth, at Mount Hermon. Two hundred angels were divided into group of ten, each under the leadership of chieftain or captain.

They defiled themselves with women, producing children. Their children were giants of three-thousand ells tall, which some sources say is approximately 3420 metres in height (11,250 feet tall).

According to the Haggada (book 1, chapter 4 Punishment of the Fallen Angels), the angel Shemhazai lusted after a maiden named Istehar, however, she tricked him into revealing the Ineffable Name of God. Istehar used the name to ascend to heaven and escaped her violation by Shemhazai. God rewarded Istehar by commemorating her as the seven-star constellation Pleides.

In Genesis 4:22, Naamah was a daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-cain. She was a descendant of Cain, hence a Cainite. According to the Haggada, Naamah was the opposite of Istehar, because the angel Shamdon had

succeeded in sexual union with Naamah. Naamah's offspring was Asmodeus, a demon, instead of a giant. Asmodeus appeared in the apocrypha Tobit.

According to the introduction of the Zohar, it was Naamah who first deceived and seduced the angels, rather than the angel seducing Naamah. Zohar 3 mentioned the angels, Aza and Azael, instead of Shamdon, they were victims of her beauty. She became mother of unknown number of demons.
Our vampire lore may have begun with the Book of Enoch since it states the giants consumed all the food men could produce and then began devouring people, and sucking their blood, like vampires.)

3 And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their leaders over hundreds, and leaders over fifties, and leaders over tens.

4 The name of the first Jeqon, that is, the one who led astray the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men.

5 And the second was named Asbeel; he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men.

6 And the third was named Gadreel; it is he who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed the weapons of death to the sons of men; the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men.

7 And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore.

8 And the fourth was named Penemue; he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom.

9 And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day.

10 For men were not created for the purpose of confirming their good faith with pen and ink.
Author’s note: Reading and writing are considered grievous sins because they allow knowledge, and thus sin, to be propagated from generation to generation. It

should be pointed out that God himself wrote the Ten Commandments on stone. It is possible that this verse may refer to the Enochian Alphabet, thought to convey the original teachings of the fallen angels.

The Enochian alphabet was thought to be lost with the flood, but “re-discovered” by John Dees.

John Dee (13 July 1527–1608 or 1609) was a noted mathematician, astrologer, navigator, occultist, and a consultant to Queen Elizabeth I.
According to Tobias Churton in his book The Golden Builders, the concept of an Angelic or pre-deluge language was common during Dee's time. If one could speak with angels, it was believed one could directly interact with them.

In 1581, Dee mentioned in his personal journals that God had sent "good angels" to communicate directly with prophets. In 1582, Dee teamed up with the seer Edward Kelley, although Dee had used several other seers previously. With Kelley's help as a scryer, Dee set out to establish lasting contact with the angels, which resulted, among other things, in the reception of the Enochian or Angelical language.

According to Dee's journals, Angelical was supposed to have been the language God used to create the world, and which was later used by Adam to speak with God and the angels, and to name all things into existence.

The alphabet codified the phonetics of the language Dees claimed could be used to summon various angels, who would dispatch knowledge or assistance. The chants used complex phonetic streams named “Angelic Calls” to name and call forth angels.

Table of Enochian Letters, Print, and Script

11 For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous; and death, which destroys everything, should not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power consumes them.

Romans 5:12 (King James Version)
12Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned:

12 And the fifth was named Kasdeja; this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings (blows) of spirits and demons, and the smitings (blows) of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and the smitings (blows) of the soul the bites of the serpent, and the smitings (blows) which befall through the midday heat, the son of the serpent named Taba'et.

13 And this is the task of Kasbeel, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqa.

14 This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath,

15 So that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akae in the hand of (under the control of) Michael.

(Author's note: The ineffable name of God holds the power to create, bind, and destroy. In the Lillith myth, it is said she spoke this name when she argued against God and Adam. By speaking the name she flew off and became a demon.)

16 And these are the secrets of this oath (God's promise, word) that heaven was suspended before the world was created, and for ever, and they are strong through his oath (word, promise).

17 And through it the earth was founded on the water, and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters, from the creation of the world and to eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created, and as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of its anger (rage) that it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world to eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast (strong), and abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course, and deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course, and He calls them by their names, and they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all kinds of spirits, and (their) paths from all the quarters of the winds respond to His command.]

(Author's note: Verse 22 is not complete in some translations.)

23 And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightning: and there are preserved the storehouses of the hail and the storehouses of the hoarfrost,

24 And the storehouses of the mist, and the storehouses of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving; they thank and glorify and exalt the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

25 And this oath is mighty over them and through it they are preserved and their paths are preserved, and their course is not destroyed.

26 And there was great joy among them, and they blessed and glorified and exalted because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them.

(Author's note: The name of a person reveals their personality and power. There remains a ceremony to this day that if a person is on their deathbed a rabbi may change the person's name to trick the Angel of Death so the person might escape his reaping, suggesting the Angel seeks by name.)

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given to the Son of Man. And he caused the sinners and all those who led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth.

28 They shall be bound with chains, and shut up and imprisoned in their place of assembly, and all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

29 And from that time forward, there shall be nothing corruptible; for that Son of Man has appeared, and has seated himself on the throne of his glory. And all evil shall pass away before his face, and the word of that Son of Man shall go out and be strong before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 70]

1 And it came to pass after this that during His lifetime His name was raised up to the Son of Man, and to the Lord of spirits from among those who dwell

on the earth.

2 And He was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and His name vanished among them. And from that day I was no longer numbered among them; and He placed me between the two winds, between the North and the West, where the angels took the cords to measure the place for the elect and righteous for me.

3 And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who dwell in that place from the beginning.

[Chapter 71]

1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated (carried off) and it ascended into heaven; and I saw the sons of the holy angels (sons) of God. They were walking on flames of fire; their garments were white, and their faces shone like snow.

2 And I saw two rivers of fire, and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and I fell on my face before the Lord of spirits.

3 And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, seized me by my right hand, and lifted me up and led me out into all the secrets, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heaven, and all the storehouses of all the stars, and all the lights, from where they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5 And he translated (carried) my spirit into heaven of heavens, and I saw there as it were built of crystals, and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

REV 21:10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain,

and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from

God, 11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal.

6 My spirit saw circle of fire binding around the house of fire, and on its four sides were rivers full of living fire, and they encircled that house.

7 And round about were seraphim, cherubim, and ophannim; and these are they who never sleep and they guard the throne of His glory.

8 And I saw angels who could not be counted, a thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, encircling that house. And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and the holy angels who are in heaven above, go in and out of that house.

9 And they came out from that house, and Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and many holy angels without number.

10 And with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool, and His raiment indescribable.

11 And I fell on my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was (transformed) transfigured. And I cried with a loud voice in the spirit of power, and I blessed and glorified and exalted.

Psalm 22:14 I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.
15My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death.

12 And these blessings which came from my mouth were very pleasing before that Head of Days.

13 And the Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

14 And the angel came to me and greeted me with his voice, and said to me 'This is the Son of Man who is born to righteousness, and righteousness

abides over him, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not.'

15 And he said to me: 'He proclaims to you peace in the name of the world to come; for from there peace has proceeded since the creation of the world, and it shall be with you for ever and for ever and ever.

JOH 17:24 Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovest me before the foundation of the world.

16 And all shall walk in His ways since righteousness never forsook Him. Their dwelling-place shall be with Him and it will be their heritage, and they shall not be separated from Him for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with the Son of Man, and the righteous shall have peace and an upright way in the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.'

HEB 4:3 For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.

[Chapter 72]

-1. **The Book of *Astronomy and Calendar* (Chapters 72-82):**

-1.

(Author's note: Full description of the calendar and its application in prophecy are discussed in Appendix "A".)

1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of heaven, the relations of each, according to their name, origin, and months (dominion and seasons) which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me, who is their guide, showed me; and he showed me all their laws (regulations) exactly as they are, and how it is with each of the years of the world and to eternity, until the new creation is accomplished which endures until eternity.

2 And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern doors of heaven, and its setting in the western doors of heaven.

3 And I saw six doors in which the sun rises, and six doors in which the sun sets and the moon rises and sets in these doors, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order.

4 There were also many windows to the right and left of these doors. And first there goes out the great luminary, named the Sun, and his sphere (orbit, disc) is like the sphere (orbit, disc) of heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire.

5 The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate door and shines in the face of heaven.

6 In this way he rises in the first month in the great door, which is the fourth.

7 And in that fourth door from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve windows, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season.

8 When the sun rises in heaven, he comes out through that fourth door, thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth door in the west of the heaven.

9 And during this period the day becomes daily longer and nights grow shorter to the thirtieth morning.
10 On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

11 And the sun rises from that fourth door, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth door of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth door.

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

13 And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth door, and rises and sets in the sixth door one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign.

14 On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

15 And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth door, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings.

16 And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven.

17 And the sun goes out from that sixth door in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth door for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western door.

18 On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

19 And the sun goes out from that fifth door and sets in the fifth door of the west, and rises in the fourth door for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west.

20 On that day the day becomes equal with the night in length, and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts.

21 And the sun rises from that door and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third door and sets in the west in the third door.

22 And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day until the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

23 And the sun rises from that third door and sets in the third door in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second door in the east, and in like manner sets in the second door in the west of heaven.

24 And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

25 And the sun rises on that day from that second door and sets in the west in the second door, and returns to the east into the first door for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first door in the west of heaven.

26 And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six.

(Author's note: If the night is 12 parts and the day is six parts, the entire 24 hour day is divided into 18 sections of 80 minutes each.)

27 And the sun has traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that door thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it.

28 And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts.

29 And the sun has returned and entered into the second door in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

30 And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight.

31 And on that day the sun rises from that door, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third door for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of heaven.

32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four.

33 And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise through the course of the sun these distinctions are separated'.

34 So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter.

35 And this is the law and the course of the great luminary which is named the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, for ever and ever.

36 And that which rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded.

37 As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but in regard to size, they are both equal.

[Chapter 73]

1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.

2 And her orbit is like the sphere (orbit, disc) of heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in measurement.

3 And her rising and setting change every month and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniformly (completely) full it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun.

4 And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes out on the thirtieth morning and on that day she becomes visible, and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the door where the sun rises.

5 And the one half of her goes out by a seventh part, and her whole disc is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, and the fourteenth part of her light.

6 And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof.

7 And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning in the beginning of the lunar day the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them.

8 And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes out and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the remaining thirteen parts.

[Chapter 74]

1 And I saw another course, a law for her, and how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution.

2 And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights until fifteen days were accomplished.

3 In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west.

4 And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course.
5 In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle doors the third and the fourth.

6 She goes out for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the door where the sun rises, and all her light is full; and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth door from which the sun goes out.

7 And when the sun goes out from the fourth door she goes out seven days, until she goes out from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth door and accomplishes all her light; and she recedes and enters into the first door in eight days.

8 And she returns again in seven days into the fourth door from which the sun goes out.

9 Thus I saw their positions, how the moons rose and the sun set in those days.

10 And if five years are added together the sun has an excess of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days.

11 And an excess of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days; in five years six days every year come to 30 days, and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days.

12 And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day to eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days.

13 In three years there are 1,092 days, and in five years 1,820 days, so that in eight years there are 2,912 days.
(Author's note: At the end of five years a week may be added to bring the year back in line. Compare 1826.25 days of the solar year in five years to 1820 days of the Enochian calendar after five years. This leaves 6.25 days difference. Adding a week to the Enochian calendar leaves a difference of only .75 of a day. The years is adjusted in this way so that the alignment is kept very close.)

14 For the moon alone the days amount in three years to 1,062 days, and in five years she falls 50 days behind to the sum of 1,770 there is five to be added 1,000 and 62 days.
15 And in five years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days six in eight years amount to 21,832 days.

16 For in eight years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days, all the days she falls behind in eight years are 80.

17 And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the doors through which the sun rises and sets 30 days.

[Chapter 75]

1 And the leaders of the heads of the (ten) thousands, who are in charge of the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four days of the year which are not counted in the yearly calendar, being not separated from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not counted in the reckoning of the year.

2 And because of them men go wrong in them, for those luminaries truly render service to the stations of the world, one in the first door, one on the third door of heaven, one in the fourth door, and one in the sixth door, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations.

3 For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of heaven, in heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day via the sun and the night via the moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of heaven.

4 In like manner, twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the sphere (disc) of the sun's chariot in heaven, through which the rays of the sun break out; and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons.

5 And there are openings for the wind and the spirit of dew that when they are opened, stand open in heaven at the ends of the earth.

6 As for the twelve doors in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go out the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west; there are many windows open to the left and right of them,

7 And one window at its appointed season produces warmth, corresponding to the doors from which the stars come out as He has commanded them; and in which they are set, corresponding to their number.

8 And I saw chariots in heaven, running in the world, above those doors in which the stars that never set.

9 And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

[Chapter 76]

1 At the ends of the earth I saw twelve doors open to all quarters of heaven, from which the winds go out and blow over the earth.

2 Three of them are open on the face of heaven, and three in the west; and three on the right of heaven, and three on the left.

3 And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three, after those on the left, of the south, and three of the west.

4 Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity (peace), and from those eight come hurtful winds; when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and the water on it, and on all who dwell on it, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

5 And the first wind from those doors, called the east wind, comes out through the first door which is in the east, inclining towards the south; from it desolation, drought, heat, and destruction come out .

6 And through the second door in the middle comes what is fitting (right, correct), and there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew. And through the third door which lies toward the north comes cold and drought.

7 And after these, comes out the south winds through three doors; through the first door of them inclining to the east comes out a hot wind.

8 And through the middle door next to it there comes out fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health.

9 And through the third door which lies to the west dew comes out and also rain, locusts and desolation.

10 And from the seventh door in the east comes the north winds, and dew, rain, locusts and desolation.

11 And from the center door come health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third door in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow

and rain, and dew and locusts.

12 And after these came the four west winds; through the first door adjoining the north come out dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost.

13 And from the center door come out dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing.

14 And through the last door which adjoins the south, come drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve doors of the four quarters of heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to you, my son Methuselah.

[Chapter 77]

1 And the first quarter is called the east, because it is the first; and the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there. From there will He who is blessed for ever descend.

2 And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down.

3 And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men; and the second contains seas of water, and the abyss (deep) and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and from here comes hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away.

5 I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers. One of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

7 And the remaining four come out on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and some say

they discharge themselves there into the desert.

8 I saw seven great islands in the sea and in the mainland, two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

[Chapter 78]

1 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas.

2 And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae.

3 These are the two great luminaries; their spheres (disc) are like the sphere (disc) of the heaven, and the size of the spheres (disc) of both is alike.
4 In the sphere (disc) of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in fixed measurements it is transferred until the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted.

5 And they set and enter the doors of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come out through the eastern doors on the face of heaven.

6 And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in heaven, and on the fourteenth day the moon's light becomes full.

7 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her until the fifteenth day when her light is full, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by an additional fourteenth parts.

8 And as the moon's waning decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth.

9 And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

10 And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun.

11 During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days her light is full in heaven, and when she is ablaze throughout, her light is full in heaven.

12 And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises on her.

13 She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through until the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

14 On the side whence the light of the moon comes out, there again she wanes until all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her sphere (disc) is empty, void of light.

15 And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first door for one hundred and seventy-seven days.

16 And in the time of her going out she appears for three months consisting of thirty days each, and she appears for three months consisting of twenty-nine each.

17 By night she looks like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

[Chapter 79]

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of heaven is completed.

2 And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of every rule, and for every year, and for its going out, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week.

3 And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth door, for in this sixth door her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning.

4 And the waning which takes place in the first door in its season, until one hundred and seventy-seven days are accomplished, calculated according to weeks, twenty-five weeks and two days.

5 She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which you see has been traversed.

6 Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed to me.

(Author’s note: For more information on the storehouses of heaven, the starts, gates, and luminaries, see The Second Book of Enoch.)

[Chapter 80]

1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you that you should see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened, and their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields, and all things on the earth shall alter, and shall not appear in their time. And the rain shall be kept back, and heaven shall withhold it.

3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward, and shall not grow in their time, and the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

4 And the moon shall alter her customs, and not appear at her time.

5 And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west and shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

6 And many rulers of the stars shall transgress their customary order. And these shall alter their orbits and tasks, and not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them, and they shall be altered from all their ways, they shall err and take them to be gods.

Romans 1:18 The wrath of God is being revealed from heaven against all the godlessness and wickedness of men who suppress the truth by their wickedness, 19since what may be known about God is plain to them, because God has made it plain to them. 20For since the creation of the world God's invisible qualities—his eternal power and divine nature—have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made, so that men are without excuse.
21For although they knew God, they neither glorified him as God nor gave thanks to him, but their thinking became futile and their foolish hearts were darkened. 22Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools 23and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images made to look like mortal man and birds and animals and reptiles.
24Therefore God gave them over in the sinful desires of their hearts to sexual impurity for the degrading of their bodies with one another. 25They exchanged the truth of God for a lie, and worshiped and served created things rather than the Creator—who is forever praised. Amen.
26Because of this, God gave them over to shameful lusts. Even their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural ones. 27In the same way the men also abandoned natural relations with women and were inflamed with lust for one another. Men committed indecent acts with other men, and received in themselves the due penalty for their perversion.

(Author’s note: Recall that many people of the time believed the stars to be angels. They worshipped the stars, believing them to have power to control fate. The scripture above tells us that God was angry because men had taken to the worship of the things God created and had forsaken the worship of He who created those things. As an added note, we are told in other ancient texts that

angels had begun taking men as lovers as well as females. Angels are always considered males in these texts.)

8 And evil shall be multiplied on them, and punishment shall come on them so as to destroy all.'

[Chapter 81]

1 And he said to me: 'Enoch, look at these heavenly tablets and read what is written on them, and mark every individual fact.'

2 And I looked at the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written on it and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh; that shall be on the earth to the end of generations.

3 And I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world, and I exalted the Lord because of His patience, and blessed Him because of the children of men (sons of Abraham).

4 And then I said: 'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness, concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, and against whom no day of judgment shall be found.'

5 And the seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: 'Declare everything to your son Methuselah, and show to all your children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator.

6 For one year we will leave you with your son, until you give your last commands, that you may teach your children and record it for them, and testify to all your children; and in the second year they shall take you from their midst.

7 Let your heart be strong, for the good shall proclaim righteousness to the good; the righteous shall rejoice with the righteous, and shall wish one another well.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners, and the apostate shall go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men, and be taken away on account of the deeds of the godless.'

10 And in those days they finished speaking to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

[Chapter 82]

1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to you and writing down for you! And I have revealed to you everything, and given you books concerning all these; so, my son Methuselah, preserve the books from your father's hand, and see that you deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to you and to your children, and those children to come, that they may give it to their children for generations. This wisdom namely that passes their understanding.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep, but shall listen that they may learn this wisdom, and it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the numbering of all their days in which the sun traverses heaven, entering into and departing from the doors for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are within the calendar which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days.

(Author’s note: It is verse 4 that leads some to believe the week should begin on a Wednesday, the forth day of the week.. The verse is unclear and seems to point more to the fact that there are four seasons and the divisions of time was created on the fourth day. All Hebrew calendars had the same week and began on Sunday, the first day of the week, no matter what the name of the day was at that time in that tongue.)

Genesis 1:14 And God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky to separate the day from the night, and let them serve as signs to mark seasons and days and years, 15 and let them be lights in the expanse of the sky to give light on the earth." And it was so. 16 God made two great lights—the greater light to govern the day and the lesser light to govern the night. He also made the stars. 17 God set them in the expanse of the sky to give light on the earth, 18 to govern the day and the night, and to separate light from darkness. And God saw that it was good. 19 And there was evening, and there was morning—the fourth day.

5 Owing to them men shall be at fault and not count them in the whole number of days of the year. Men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately.

6 For they belong to the calculations of the year and are truly recorded therein for ever, one in the first door and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7 And the account of it is accurate and the recorded counting thereof is exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world hath subjected the host of heaven.

8 And he has power over night and day in heaven to cause the light to shine on men via the sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

9 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.

10 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty days there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four days in the calendar there are the leaders which divide the four parts of the year.

11 And these heads over thousands are interspersed between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division.

12 And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained:

13 Milki'el, Hel'emmelek, and Mel'ejal, and Narel. And the names of those who lead them: Adnar'el, and Ijasusa'el, and 'Elome'el.

14 These three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year. In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tam'aini and sun, and all the days of his dominion while he bears rule are ninety-one days.

15 And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat; and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come out in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered.

16 And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'el, Zelebs'el, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilujaseph: and the days of the dominion of this leader are at an end.

17 The next leader after him is Hel'emmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days.

18 And these are the signs of his days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion.

19 These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gida'ljal, Ke'el, and He'el, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfa'el: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Author’s note: The seasons are 91 days each. There are four seasons. The year is 91 x 4 or 364 days. We are warned to calculate the years correctly in order to celebrate the holy days on the days they were meant to be honored. Descriptions of the seasons are given along with the angels that control them.

[Chapter 83]

-1. **The *Book of Visions* (Chapters 83-90):**

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before you.

2 I saw two visions before I got married (took a wife), and the one was quite unlike the other: the first when I was learning to write: the second before I married (took) your mother, was when I saw a terrible vision.

3 And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, when I saw in a vision how heaven collapsed and was carried off (removed, torn down) and fell to the earth.

4 And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were ripped from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss.

5 And then a word fell into my mouth, and I lifted up my voice to cry aloud, and said:

6 ‘The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather Mahalalel woke me as I lay near him, and said to me: 'Why do you cry so, my son, and why do you make such moaning (lamentation)?’

7 And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said to me: 'You have seen a terrible thing , my son. Your dream (vision) is of a grave time and concerns the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be totally destroyed.

8 And now, my son, arise and pray to the Lord of glory, since you are a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth.

9 My son, from heaven all this will come on the earth, and on the earth there will be great destruction.

10 After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought (God), and wrote down my prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to you, my son Methuselah.

11 And when I had gone out below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning, then I blessed the Lord of judgment and exalted Him because He had made the sun to go out from the windows of the east, and he ascended and rose on the face of heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown to it.

(Author’s note: This first vision would seem to foreshadow the flood, but since the vision was of a piece of heaven breaking off and falling to earth with destructive force, it may be an end time prophecy of a meteor strike. Another, more timely interpretation is that of Satan falling to earth, which is the beginnings of sorrow.)

[Chapter 84]

1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spoke with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

2 Blessed be you, O Lord, King, Great and mighty in your greatness, Lord of the whole creation of heaven, King of kings and God of the whole world. And your power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever, and throughout all generations your dominion and all heavens are your throne for ever, and the whole earth your footstool for ever and ever.

3 For you have made and you rule all things, and nothing is too hard for you, wisdom never departs from the place of your throne, nor turns away from your presence. You know and see and hear everything, and there is nothing hidden from you for you see everything.

4 And now the angels of your heavens are guilty of trespass, and on the flesh of men abide your wrath until the great day of judgment.

5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King, I implore and beseech you to fulfill my prayer, to leave me a posterity on earth, and not destroy all the flesh of man, and make the earth without inhabitant, so that there should be an eternal destruction.

6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused your wrath, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as an eternal plant bearing seed forever, and hide not your face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord.'

Author’s note: In chapter 85 and following, a series of animals is mentioned. These seem to refer to nations or ethnicities. For example, the eagles may refer to the Roman empire, the Islamic nation is represented by the asses, Egyptians are wolves, the Assyrians are lions, and so on. See Daniel Chapter 10 for other like imagery.

Other writers have attempted to be more specific. Starting with Adam and Eve, the story begins. Abraham may be a white bull, Ishmael, the wild ass; Isaac the white bull, Jacob is a white sheep, Esau the wild boar. There is the concept that Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, give rise to all various the animals or nations. The small lambs with open eyes are the Essenes; Jesus is the "sheep with the big horn”; and in 90.17, the final twelve shepherds represent the Christian era and the twelve apostles.

Notes are included within the chapters and at the end of the section. They suggest possible interpretations. As with any prophecy written in such imagery, it is impossible to know exactly what the author was trying to convey. Prophecy tends to be interpreted according to one’s viewpoint. When one looks at the prophecies from a purely Jewish viewpoint it is likely that the savior of the people, represented by the sheep with a large horn, is not the messiah at all, but a historical military figure such as Judas Maccabaeus, who led the great Maccabean revolt of 167 B.C. – 160 B.C. against Rome.

Judas Maccabeus is also described as a great horn among six others on the head of a lamb. This possibly pertains to his five brothers and Mattathias. If you take this in context of the history from Maccabeus time the explanation of the verse may

be found in 1 Maccabees 3: 7 and 6: 52;, 2 Maccabees 6: 8-14; and 1 Maccabees 7: 41, 42

[Chapter 85]

1 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to you, my son.

2 And Enoch lifted up his voice and spoke to his son Methuselah: 'I will speak to you, my son, hear my words. Incline your ear to the dream (vision) of your father.

3 Before I married (took) your mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came out from the earth, and that bull was white.

4 And after it came out a heifer, and along with this later came out two bulls, one of them black and the other red.

5 And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and then I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him.

6 And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and mourned with a great lamentation and sought him.

7 And I looked until that first bull came to her and quieted (calmed) her, and from that time onward she cried no more.

8 And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grew and became a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to father many white bulls, which resembled them, one following another.

(Author’s note: Many believe verses 1 – 9 represent the story of Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. The first white bull mentioned is Adam. The heifer is Eve. The two bulls born to them are a black one (Cain) and a red one (Abel.) Eve leaves to seek Abel and finds him. She laments his death. Adam comforts her. Cain goes on to produce many oxen. Eve produces another son and thus produces many more bulls and cows.)

[Chapter 86]

1 And again I looked with my eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured among those oxen (bulls).

2 And after that I saw the large and the black oxen (bulls), and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their heifers (cattle) , and began to live with each other.

(Author’s note: The first star to fall was Satan, The falling stars that followed were the watchers. They caused the heifers, who are the women, to begin living with and having sex with the angels. Based on the previous verses it would appear that Satan and the fallen angels picked the descendents of Cain to have sex.

Second Book of Adam and Eve, Chapter 20
29 Enoch was already grown up at that time, and in his zeal for God, he stood and said, "Hear me, you large and small (young and old) sons of Seth! When you transgress the commandment of our fathers and go down from this holy mountain, you shall not come up here again for ever."
30 But they rose up against Enoch and would not listen to his words, but they went down from the Holy Mountain.
31 And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figures, and at their hands and feet dyed with color, and the tattoos on their faces that ornamented them, the fire of sin was set ablaze in them.
32 Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear the most handsome in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth lusted after the daughters of Cain until they committed disgusting and disgraceful acts with them.)

3 And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls among those cattle and pastured with them.

4 And I looked at them and saw they all let out their private (sexual) members, like horses, and began to mount the cows of the bulls (oxen), and they all became pregnant and bore elephants, camels, and asses.

Author's note: Book of Jubilees indicates that the offspring of the angels and women were somehow different and they are divided into categories of the Naphidim (or Naphilim, depending or the transliteration), the Giants, and the Eljo. (Naphil are mentioned but this is the singular of Naphilim.) The word "Naphil" means "The Fallen." There is no indication as to the meaning of "Eljo (Elyo)" but the word would indicate these are "godlings" and are likely those referred to in the Book of Genesis as "men of renown."

5 And all the bulls (oxen) feared them and were frightened of them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

6 And, moreover, they began to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and shake before them and to flee from them.

[Chapter 87]

1 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud.

2 And I raised my eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came out from heaven beings who were like white men, and four went out from that place and three others with them.

3 And those three that had come out last grasped me by my hand and took me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a high place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower.

4 And one said to me: 'Remain here until you see everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them.'

[Chapter 88]

1 And I saw one of those four who had come out first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss; now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark.

2PE 2:4 For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.

2 And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth shook because of them.

3 And as I was beholding in the vision one of those four who had come out stoned them from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose private (sexual) members were like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and threw them in an abyss of the earth.

(Author’s note: One must smile at the idea of the angels having penises the size of horses. In the ancient mind, this was one reason some of the women gave in so easily. If a spiritual creature is determined to become corporeal, why not create a body that will fulfill the lust that drives one to incarnate in the first place?)

[Chapter 89]

1 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, and he was terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt on it.

2 And three bulls dwelt with him in the vessel and they were covered over. And again I raised my eyes towards heaven and saw a high roof, with seven water torrents on it, and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I looked again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and the water began to bubble and swell and rise on the surface, and I saw that enclosure until all its surface was covered with water.

3 And the water, the darkness, and mist increased on it; and as I looked at the height of that water, the water had risen above the height of the enclosure, and was streaming over the enclosure, and it stood on the earth.

4 And all the cattle of the enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water.

5 But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen (bulls) and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, but perished and sank into the depths.

6 And again I watched in the vision until those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up and other abysses were opened.

7 Then the water began to run down into these abysses, until the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared.

8 But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black; and that white bull departed from them.

(Author’s note: Here we have the story of Noah and the flood. The flood came because of the sins of the watchers and their offspring, who began killing everything. The flood cleansed the earth and left only the sons of Noah and their wives to repopulate. The story seems to indicate that the various races of the world (white, red, and black, began with the sons of Noah.)

9 And they began to bring out beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull.

10 And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born among them fathered a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied.

11 But that bull which was born from him fathered a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former fathered many boars, but the sheep gave birth to twelve sheep.

(Author's note: Abraham fathered Ishmael (the wild ass) and Isaac (the white bull.) Isaac fathers a boar (Esau) and a sheep (Jacob.) Jacob has twelve sheep, who are the twelve patriarchs and the beginning of the twelve tribes.)

12 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and the asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves.

(Author's note: Joseph was sold to the Midiantes or Ishaelites as a slave. They, in turn, sold him to the Egyptians. See Genesis 37:25-39.2)

13 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.

(Author's note: This begins the story of Moses and how the Egyptians oppressed the Israelites until he led them out of captivity.)

14 And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they threw their young into a deep river, but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain to their Lord.

15 And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, until that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a high abode, and came to them and pastured them.

16 And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spoke with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep.

17 And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spoke with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from then on.

18 And on it I saw the wolves, and how they more harshly oppressed the sheep with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud.

19 And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to beat those wolves, and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and ceased to cry out.

20 And I saw the sheep until they departed from among the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and the wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power.

21 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him.

22 And his face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves began to pursue those sheep until they reached a sea of water.

23 And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves.

24 And as those wolves had not yet seen the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that sea.

25 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose until it covered the wolves.

26 And I watched until all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

27 But the sheep escaped from that water and went out into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see;

28 And I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

(Author's note: The Israelites escaped. They passed through the divided sea, but the Egyptians were covered by the water and drowned. Now, we begin the story of Moses and the ascent up the mountain, where God gave him the Ten Commandments.)

29 And the sheep ascended to the summit of that high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face.

30 And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep which was among them:

31 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep did not realize it.

(Author's note: When Moses came down from the mountain he discovered a large group of the Israelites had made a golden calf idol and were worshipping it.)

32 And the Lord of the sheep was very angry with them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away.

33 And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds.

34 And I saw in this vision until that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.

35 And I saw until this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep (died); and I saw until all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water.

36 Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep (died), and all the sheep looked for it (sought it) and cried over it with a great crying.

37 And I saw until they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep.
38 And I saw until the sheep came to a good place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw until those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood among them in the (green) pleasant land.

(Author's note: After Moses died and the two spies were sent into the promised land to bring back a report, Joshua took over and led the Israelites into the promised land.)

39 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, until another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

40 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep until the Lord of the sheep raised up another sheep, a ram from their midst, which led them.

41 And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars until he had destroyed them all.

(Author's note: This is the succession of kings leading up to David. All of them had to fight the surrounding nations.)

42 And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was among the sheep, until it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep, and trampled on them, and behaved itself unseemly.

43 And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory.

44 And it went to it and spoke to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep.

45 And the first ram pursued the second ram, and the second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw until those dogs pulled down the first ram.

46 And that second ram arose and led the little sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of anything.

47 And that ram fathered many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its place, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

48 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: and a high and great tower was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and high, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before him.

49 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from among the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them.

50 And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to live there.

(Author’s note: Verse 50 could be a reference to Elijah.)

51 And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify to them and lament over them.

52 And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He worked much slaughter among them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place.

53 And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep.

54 And I saw that He forsook their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts.

55 And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, because the sheep were being devoured by all the wild beasts.

56 But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.

57 And He called seventy shepherds, and gave those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spoke to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep from now on, and everything that I shall command you that do you.

(Author’s note: The 70 are religious leaders of that time frame. In the Third Book of Enoch God mentions 70 nations, leading one to believe that from God’s viewpoint there are only 70 true nations. All other divisions are man made and false.)

58 And I will deliver them over to you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed-and them you will destroy.' And He gave over to them those sheep.

59 And He called another and spoke to him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them.

60 And every excess and the destruction which will be done through the shepherds, record how many they destroy according to my command, and

how many according to their own caprice; record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects.

61 And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them.

62 But they shall not know it, and you shall not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.'
63 And I saw until those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions.

64 And the lions and tigers ate and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars ate along with them; and they burned that tower and demolished that house.

65 And I became very sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

66 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number, it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them.

67 And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep.

68 And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep - everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction.

69 And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

(Author’s note: Verses 65 – 69 Refers to the first temple being destroyed. Verse 72 and 73 begins the story of Ezra and the return to Jerusalem to rebuild the city and temple.)

70 And I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able.

71 And they began again to build as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.

72 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and the eyes of their shepherds likewise were blinded; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them.

73 And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved until all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with the beasts, and the shepherds did not save them out of the hand of the beasts.

74 And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds.

(Author’s note: Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah return and wrote books of the Old Testament.)

75 And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

[Chapter 90]

1 And I saw until that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing of the sheep, and they completed their periods as did the first; and

others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period.

2 And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh.

(Author's note: Now the Eagle, which is Roman empire, appears from among the nations.)

3 And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

4 And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them until only their bones stood there; and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few.

5 And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their many periods fifty-eight times.

(Author's note: Of the 70 appointed religious leaders throughout time, fifty-eight have passed. Verse 6 introduces the Essenes. Verse 8 probably refers to John The Baptist.)

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep.

7 They cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were very deaf, and their eyes were very blinded.

8 And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew on those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

9 And I saw until horns grew on those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw until there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

(Author's note: According to the way in which Verse 9 is interpreted, it begins the story of Jesus. The story seems to end at verse 16. The Sheep with the great horn is never said to be killed. It only states that he was stopped. Another interpretation points to Judas Maccabaeus.)

10 And it looked at them and their eyes opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it.

11 And notwithstanding all this, those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites kept on tearing the sheep and swooping down on them and devouring them until the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out.

12 And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

13 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

14 And I saw that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds and brought them up before the Lord of the sheep, came, and he helped that ram and showed it everything; its help was coming down.

15 And I looked until that Lord of the sheep came to them angry, all those who saw him ran, and they all fell into the shadow in front of Him.

16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites, gathered together and brought with them all the wild sheep, and they all came together and helped one another in order to dash that horn of the ram in pieces.

17 And I looked at that man, who wrote the book at the command of the Lord, until he opened that book of the destruction that those last twelve shepherds had done. And he showed, in front of the Lord of the sheep, that they had destroyed even more than those before them had.

(Author's note: The twelve shepherds are either the apostles, if one interprets the sheep with the large horn as Jesus, or the twelve shepherds are the leaders of the Jews joining themselves in the revolt led by Judas Maccabeus. If one goes with the apostle theory, the books refer to the New Testament, but more specifically it refers to the path of "enlightenment." I use this word since the text itself uses the

terms “to be blinded” and “ to have the eyes opened.” It should be noted that there are books attributed to most of the apostles, but many are not included in the Bible. This ends past events. What remains from verse 17 on is prophetic. Following the idea that Enoch is one of the first apocalyptic books, we will see in figurative language a great battle and the judgment. The stars are judged. This is the judgment of the fallen angels. The seventy Jewish religious leaders, representing the Pharisee mind set and the religious oppression of the Jewish people are judged. Then the eyes of the faithful are opened and they are brought into the Lord’s house. The number of believers is so great the house overflows.)

18 And I looked and the Lord of the sheep came to them and took the Staff of His Anger and struck the Earth. And the Earth was split. And all the animals, and the birds of the sky, fell from those sheep and sank in the earth, and it closed over them.

19 And I saw until a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face. And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, until he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep. And I saw until the Lord of the sheep came to them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

20 And I saw until a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself on it, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.

21 And the Lord called those men, the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose private members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him.

22 And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said to him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them.'

23 And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.

24 And the judgment was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire.

25 And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss.

26 And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house.

27 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

28 And I stood up to see until they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land.

29 And I saw until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up; all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

HEB 13:14 For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.

30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing.

31 And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgment took place.

32 And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

33 And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house.

34 And I saw until they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.

35 And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see.

36 And I saw that the house was large and broad and very full.

37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

(Author’s note: If one assumes the previous “sheep with a large horn” was Judas Maccabaeus, then verse 37 is the birth of the Messiah.)

38 And I saw until all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

39 And I slept in their midst: And I awoke and saw everything.

40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory.

41 Then I wept greatly and my tears ceased not until I could no longer endure it; when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me.

42 On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled-because I had seen that vision.

Note from editor: at this point, the time frame and text flow becomes non sequitur. It appears the codex was not kept in sequence here. Thus, the translated pages are out of sequence. The flow of time and occurrences seems to follow the pattern listed:

91:6 to 92.1 through 92:5 then jumps to 93:1. The flow then continues from 93:1 to 93:10 and then jumps to 91:7. From 91:7 the text continues to 91:19. It then picks up again at 93:11 and continues.

If one were to attempt to put this section into a time line, the interval would link together in some fashion resembling the following:

Ten Weeks of Judgment

WEEK 1 Judgment & righteousness   ***93.3 Enoch's time Antediluvian***   ***(Ice-age - 16,000 B.C.)***
WEEK 2 Judgment & cleansing 93.4 Noah's time and the great flood   The first judgment of the world (16,000 – 10,000 B.C)
WEEK 3 Righteousness is planted 93.5 Abraham's time   (10,000 – 2000 B.C.)
WEEK 4 Law for all generations 93.6 Moses' time   WEEK 4 2000 – 1400 B.C.
WEEK 5 House of Glory 93.7 Solomon's time   1400 – 900 B.C.
WEEK 6 Jesus ascends, temple burned, elect scattered 93.8 Jesus' time   900 B.C – 100 A.D.
WEEK 7 Apostate generation Judgment of Fire 93.9 - 91.11 Our time   The second judgment of earth. 100 A.D. - ?
WEEK 8 A sword 91.12–13 New house, new heaven & earth Future time
WEEK 9 The righteous judgment revealed

91.14 The judgment time		
WEEK 10 Eternal time	God's power is forever	91.15-16

When reading the text from this point to the end of chapter 93 one should keep this flow in mind.]

[Chapter 91]

-1. **The *Book of Warnings and Blessings of Enoch* (Chapters 91-104):**

1 And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all your brothers and gather together to me all the sons of your mother; for the word calls me, and the spirit is poured out on me, that I may show you everything that shall befall you for ever.'

2 And thereon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.

3 And he spoke to all the children of righteousness and said: 'Hear, you sons of Enoch, all the words of your father, and hearken, as you should, to the voice of my mouth; for I exhort you and say to you, beloved:

4 Love righteousness and walk in it, and draw near to righteousness without a double heart, and do not associate with those of a double heart, but walk in righteousness, my sons. And it shall guide you on good paths. And righteousness shall be your companion.'

JAM 1:6 But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed. 7 For let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord. 8 A double minded man is unstable in all his ways.

5 'For I know that violence must increase on the earth, and a great punishment will be executed on the earth, it shall be cut off from its roots, and its whole construct will be destroyed.

6 And unrighteousness shall again be complete on the earth, and all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence and sin shall prevail a second time.

7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy and violence in all kinds of deeds increase, and apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase; a great chastisement shall come from heaven on all these, and the holy Lord will come out with wrath and chastisement to execute judgment on earth.

2TH 2:3 Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition.

8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots, and the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit, and they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned. And the temples burned with fire, and they shall remove them from the whole earth; and the heathen shall be cast into the judgment of fire, and shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgment for ever.

10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given to them.

11 And after that the roots of unrighteousness and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword.

12 And after this there will be another week; the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it so that the Righteous Judgment may be executed on those who do wrong, and the sinners will be handed over into the hands of the righteous.

13 And, at its end, they will acquire Houses because of their righteousness, and a House will be built for the Great King in Glory, forever.

14 And after this, in the ninth week, the Righteous Judgment will be revealed to the whole world. And all the deeds of the impious will vanish from the whole Earth. And the world will be written down for destruction and all men will look to the Path of Uprightness.

15 And, after this, in the tenth week, in the seventh part, there will be an Eternal Judgment that will be executed on the Watchers and the Great Eternal Heaven that will spring from the midst of the Angels.

16 And the First Heaven will vanish and pass away and a New Heaven will appear, and all the Powers of Heaven will shine forever, with light seven times as bright.

17 And after this, there will be many weeks without number, forever, in goodness and in righteousness. And from then on sin will never again be mentioned.

18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you, the paths of righteousness and the paths of violence. I will show them to you again that you may know what will come to pass.

19 And now, hearken to me, my sons, and walk in the paths of righteousness, and walk not in the paths of violence; for all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

[Chapter 92]

1 The book written by Enoch {Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth} for all my children who shall live on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe righteousness and peace.

2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times; for the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, [Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness, and all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal righteousness, and He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness. And he shall walk in eternal light.

5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever, and shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

[Chapter 93]

(Author’s note: Chapters 91 – 93 recount and expand on the events listed in the following weeks of prophecy. The explanation of the event are scattered in chapters 91 – 93, however, the list of events are stated clearly in the following list of weeks in chapter 93).

1 And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

2 'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of righteousness, I will speak these things. I Enoch will declare (them) to you, my sons, according to that which appeared to me in heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learned from heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said: 'I was born the seventh in the first week, able judgment and righteousness still endured.

(Author’s note: Enoch was the seventh son. He was born in the beginning of the time line he is laying out.)

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness, and deceit shall have sprung up; and in it there shall be the first end.

(Author’s note: This is the rise of evil. The angels have fallen.)

5 And in it a man shall be saved; and after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up, and a law shall be made for the sinners. And after that in the third week at its close a man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgment, and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

(Author’s note: The time of Moses and the establishment of the Ten Commandments. The beginning of the law.)

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close, visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen, and a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

(Author’s note: The time of David and the wars that defined the holy land.)

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close, the house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

(Author’s note: The time of Solomon and the first temple.)

8 And after that in the sixth week, all who live in it shall be blinded, and the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom. And in it a man shall ascend; and at its close the house of dominion shall be burned with fire, and the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

(Author’s note: In the sixth week Christ came to the chosen ones, but they were blinded. He ascended and the Jewish nation was scattered. In the holocaust innumerable Jews were killed. The Diaspora remains scattered but has begun to gather into the new nation of Israel. The word “holocaust” was coined in part due to its use in the Latin Vulgate, where it means “an offering, and usually refers to a “burnt offering”.)

9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise, and many shall be its deeds, and all its deeds shall be apostate.

(Author’s note: It is assumed that we are in the seventh week of Enoch’s prophecy. This aligns in a very general way to the prophecies of the churches in Revelation. At the end of the seventh week there will be a “great falling away.”)

2 Thessalonians 2:3 Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition;

Revelation 2
1 Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven

golden candlesticks;
2I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars:
3And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.
4Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.
5Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.
6But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate.
7He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.
8And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;
9I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.
10Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.
11He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.
12And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges;
13I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.
14But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.
15So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.
16Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.
17He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a

white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.
18And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass;
19I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.
20Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.
21And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not.
22Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.
23And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.
24But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden.
25But that which ye have already hold fast till I come.
26And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:
27And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.
28And I will give him the morning star.
29He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.
Revelation 3
1And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.
2Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.
3Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.
4Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.
5He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.
6He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth;
8I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.
9Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.
10Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.
11Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.
12Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name.

(Author's note: Most scholars agree that we are in the age of Laodicea)

13He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.
14And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God;
15I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.
16So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.
17Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:
18I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.
19As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.
20Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.
21To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

10 And at its end shall be elected, the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness shall be chosen to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

11 For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? Who is there that can behold all the works of heaven?

12 And how should there be one who could behold heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell of it, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them?

13 And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has the measurement been shown of all of them?

14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and on what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?

(Author’s note: In this age of space travel, we have indeed beheld the heavens and measured and numbered the stars. These are the end times.)

[Chapter 94]

1 And now I say to you, my sons, love righteousness and walk in it; because the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation, but the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed, and they shall hold themselves afar from them, and shall not follow them.

3 And now I say to you, the righteous, walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death, and draw not near to them, lest you be destroyed.

4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, and walk in the paths of peace, and you shall live and prosper.

5 And hold (keep) my words in the thoughts of your hearts, and permit them not to be erased from your hearts; for I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom, so that no place may be found for her, and temptation will increase.

Ecclesiastes 12:13 Now all has been heard; here is the conclusion of the matter: Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man. 14 For God will bring every deed into judgment, including every hidden thing, whether it is good or evil.

6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression and lay deceit as a foundation; for they shall be suddenly overthrown, and they shall have no peace.

7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; for from all their foundations shall they be overthrown, and by the sword shall they fall. And those who acquire gold and silver shall suddenly perish in the judgment.

8 Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, and from your riches shall you depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

Isaiah 5:11 Woe to those who rise early in the morning to run after their drinks, who stay up late at night till they are inflamed with wine. 20 Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.
21 Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes and clever in their own sight.
22 Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine and champions at mixing drinks,
23 who acquit the guilty for a bribe, but deny justice to the innocent.

9 You have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness, and have become ready for the day of slaughter, and the day of darkness and the day of the great judgment.

10 Thus I speak and tell you: He who hath created you will overthrow you, and for your fall there shall be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11 And your righteousness shall be a reproach to the sinners and the godless in those days.

JAM 5:1 Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. 2 Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. 3 Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. 4 Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth. 5 Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. 6 Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.

(Author's note: in the above biblical verses from James, "sabaoth" is from the Hebrew, plural form of "host" or "army". The word is used almost exclusively in conjunction with the Divine name as a title of majesty: "the Lord of Hosts", or "the Lord God of Hosts".)

[Chapter 95]

1 Would that my eyes were rain clouds of water that I might weep over you, and pour down my tears as a cloud of water, that I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2 Who has permitted you to practice reproaches and wickedness? And so judgment shall overtake you, sinners.

3 You, righteous! Fear not the sinners, for again the Lord will deliver them into your hands, that you may execute judgment on them according to your desires.

4 Woe to you who speak against God (fulminate anathemas) which cannot be removed (reversed) - healing shall be far from you because of your sins.

5 Woe to you who repay your neighbor with evil; for you shall be repaid according to your works.

6 Woe to you, lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out injustice, for you shall suddenly perish.

7 Woe to you, sinners, for you persecute the righteous; for you shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice, and your yoke shall be heavy on you.

Luke 6:24"But woe to you who are rich, for you have already received your comfort. 25Woe to you who are well fed now, for you will go hungry. Woe to you who laugh now, for you will mourn and weep. 26Woe to you when all men speak well of you, for that is how their fathers treated the false prophets. 27"But I tell you who hear me: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, 28bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you. 29If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also. If someone takes your cloak, do not stop him from taking your tunic. 30Give to everyone who asks you, and if anyone takes what belongs to you, do not demand it back. 31Do to others as you would have them do to you.

[Chapter 96]

1 Be hopeful, you righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you, and you shall have lordship over them, according to your desires.

2 And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners, your children shall mount and rise as eagles, and your nests shall be higher than the vultures'. You shall ascend as badgers and enter the crevices of the earth, and the clefts of the rock for ever before the unrighteous. And the satyrs (sirens) shall sigh and weep because of you.

3 Wherefore fear not, you that have suffered, for healing shall be your portion, and a bright light shall enlighten you, and the voice of rest you shall hear from heaven.

4 Woe to you, you sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous, but your hearts convict you of being sinners, and this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of your evil deeds.

5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, and drink wine in large bowls (the best of waters), and tread under foot the lowly (humble) with your might.

6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain (drink water all the time), for suddenly shall you be consumed and wither away, because you have forsaken the fountain of life.

(Author’s note: the above reference is a euphemism for promiscuity.)

7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness and deceit and blasphemy; it shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8 Woe to you, you mighty, who with might oppress the righteous; for the day of your destruction is coming. Many and good days shall come to the righteous in those days - in the day of your judgment.

[Chapter 97]

1 Believe, you righteous, that the sinners will become a shame and perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known to you, you sinners, that the Most High is mindful of your destruction, and the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

3 What will you do, you sinners, and where shall you flee on that day of judgment, when you hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 You shall fare like to them, against whom these words shall be a testimony: "You have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach to the Lord, and for you the days of your judgment shall come.

6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One, and your faces shall be covered with shame, and He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, you sinners, who live on the middle of the ocean and on the dry land, whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say: "We have become rich with riches and have possessions; and have acquired everything we have desired.

9 And now let us do what we purposed, for we have gathered silver, and many are the servants in our houses and our granaries are full to the brim as if with water."

10 Yea, and like water your lies shall flow away; for your riches shall not abide but quickly depart (go up) from you, for you have acquired it all in unrighteousness, and you shall be given over to a great curse.

[Chapter 98]

1 And now I swear to you, to the wise and to the foolish, that you shall see (have) many experiences on the earth.

2 For you men shall put on more adornments than a woman, and colored garments more than a young woman, like royalty and in grandeur and in power, and in silver and in gold and in purple, and in splendor and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3 Therefore they shall have neither knowledge nor wisdom, and because of this they shall die together with their possessions; and with all their glory and their splendor, and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution, their spirits shall be thrown into the furnace of fire.

4 I have sworn to you, you sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave, and a hill does not become the servant of a woman, even so sin has not been sent on the earth, but man of himself has created it, and they that commit it shall fall under a great curse.

5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman, but on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

6 I have sworn to you, you sinners, by the Holy Great One, that all your evil deeds are revealed in heaven, and that none of your wrong deeds (of oppression) are covered and hidden.

7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that you do not know and that you do not see that every sin is recorded every day in heaven in the presence of the Most High.

8 From now on, you know that all your wrongdoing that you do will be written down every day, until the day of your judgment.

9 Woe to you, you fools, for through your folly you shall perish; and you do not listen to the wise so no good will come to you against the wise,
10 And so and now, know you that you are prepared for the day of destruction. Therefore do not hope to live, you sinners, but you shall depart and die; for there will be no ransom for you; because you are prepared for the day of the great judgment, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

11 Woe to you, you obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood. Where do you have good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore you shall have no peace.

(Author’s note: The above reference to eating blood may indicate cannibalism. As a side note, The Book of Jubilees tells us that the offspring of the fallen angels drank blood. Life is in the blood, according to the Old Testament, and one should not eat or drink blood.)

GEN 9:3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things. 4 But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. 5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. 6 Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.

12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness; wherefore do you hope for good for yourselves? You know that you shall be delivered into the hands

of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy on you.

13 Woe to you who rejoice in the distress of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you.

14 Woe to you who say the words of the wise are empty; for you shall have no hope of life.

15 Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; for they write down their lies so that men may hear them and act godlessly towards their neighbor. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

[Chapter 99]

1 Woe to you who do godless acts, and praise and honor lies; you shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2 Woe to them who pervert the words of righteousness, and transgress the eternal law, and count themselves as sinless. They shall be trodden under foot on the earth.

3 In those days make ready, you righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial, and place them as a testimony before the angels, that they may place the sin of the sinners for a reminder before the Most High.

4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up, and the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5 And in those days the destitute shall go and throw their children out, and they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish because of them. They shall abandon their children that are still babies (sucklings), and not return to them, and shall have no pity on their loved ones.

6 Again, I swear to you, you sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed.

MAT 24:6 And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. 7 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in diverse places. 8 All these are the beginning of sorrows.

7 And they who worship stones, and carved images of gold and silver and wood and stone and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts, and their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts and through visions in their ambitions (dreams).

Colossians 2:16 Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days:
17Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.
18Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,
19And not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful; for they shall have done all their work with lies, and shall have worshiped a stone, therefore in an instant shall they perish.

Revelation 9:19For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.
20And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear,
nor walk: 21Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, and observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in

the path of His righteousness, and become not godless with the godless, for they shall be saved.

11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbors, for you shall be slain in Hell.

12 Woe to you who make your foundation that of deceitful (sin) and lies, and who cause bitterness on the earth; for they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13 Woe to you who build your houses through the hard labor of others, and all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin; I tell you, you shall have no peace.

14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal inheritance of their fathers and whose souls follow after idols; for they shall have no rest.

15 Woe to them who do unrighteous acts and help oppression, and kill their neighbors until the day of the great judgment, for He will throw down your glory.

16 For He shall throw down your glory, and bring affliction on your hearts, and shall arouse His fierce anger, and destroy you all with the sword; and all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

[Chapter 100]

1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall kill one another and brothers shall fall in death together until the streams flow with their blood.

2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from killing his sons and his sons' sons, and the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honored brother, from dawn until sunset they shall kill one another.

MAR 13:12 Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son; and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death.

3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners, and the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

REV 14:20 And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.

4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places and gather together into one place all those who brought down sin and the Most High will arise on that day of judgment to execute great judgment among sinners.

5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from among the holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye, until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin, and even if the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nothing to fear.

6 And the wise men will seek the truth and they and their sons will understand the words of this book, and recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them or overcome their sins.

7 Woe to you sinners, on the day of strong anguish, you who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire; you shall be requited according to your works.

8 Woe to you, you obstinate of heart, who watch in order to devise wickedness; therefore shall fear come on you and there shall be none to help you.

9 Woe to you, you sinners, on account of the words of your mouth, and on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness as caused, in blazing flames burning worse than fire shall you burn.

2TH 1:7 And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, 8 In flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:9 Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power?

10 And now, know that the angels will ask Him in heaven about your deeds and from the sun and from the moon and from the stars they will ask about your sins because on the earth you execute judgment on the righteous.

11 And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld from falling on you, and they shall be mindful of your sins.

12 And now give gifts to the rain that it cease not from falling on you, nor the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may fall. When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow storms with all their plagues fall on you, in those days you shall not be able to stand before them.

[Chapter 101]

1 Observe heaven, you children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear Him and work no evil in His presence.

2 If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from falling on the earth on your account, what will you do then?

3 And if He sends His anger on you because of your deeds, you cannot petition Him; for you spoke proud and arrogant words against His righteousness, therefore you shall have no peace.

4 Don't you see the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed back and forth by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in great trouble?

5 And therefore they are afraid because all their nice possessions go on the sea with them, and they have bad feelings in their heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6 Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its actions, and confined it throughout by the sand?

7 And at His reproof it fears and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but you sinners that are on the earth fear Him not.

8 Has He not made heaven and the earth, and all that is in it ? Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?

9 Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet you sinners do not fear the Most High.

[Chapter 102]

1 In those days if He sent a horrible fire on you, where will you flee, and where will you find deliverance? And when He launches out His Word against you will you not be shaken and afraid?

2 And all the luminaries shall be shaken with great fear, and all the earth shall be afraid and tremble and be alarmed.

3 And all the angels shall execute their commands and shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of He who is Great in Glory, and the children of earth shall tremble and shake; and you sinners shall be cursed for ever, and you shall have no peace.

2 Peter 3:8But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.
9The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.
10But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up.
11Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness,
12Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?
13Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

4 Fear you not, you souls of the righteous, and fear not you who have died in righteousness.

5 And don’t grieve if your soul has descended in to the grave in grief, and that in your life you were not rewarded according to your goodness, but wait for the day of the judgment of sinners and for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6 And when you die the sinners will say about you: "As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap for their deeds?

7 See, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, and what have they more than we? From now on we are equal.

8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever? Look, they too have died, and from now on for ever shall they see no light."

9 I tell you, you sinners, you are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days.

10 Have you seen the righteous how their end was peace, that no violence is found in them until their death?

11 Nevertheless they died and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Hell in tribulation.

Matthew 10:28Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. Rather, be afraid of the One who can destroy both soul and body in hell.

[Chapter 103]

1 Now, therefore, I swear to the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honored and Mighty One who reigns, I swear to you, I know this mystery.

2 I have read the heavenly tablets, and have seen the holy books, and have found written in it and inscribed regarding them.

3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them, and written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, and that much good shall be given to you in reward for your labors, and that your lot is abundant beyond the lot of the living.

4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, and your spirits shall not perish, nor shall your memory from before the face of the Great One to all the generations of the world, therefore no longer fear their abuse.

5 Woe to you, you sinners, when you have died, if you die in the abundance of your sins, and woe to those who are like you and say regarding you: "Blessed are the sinners, they have seen all their days.

6 And how they have died in prosperity and in wealth, and have not seen tribulation or murder in their life; and they have died in honor, and judgment has not been executed on them during their life."

7 You know that their souls will be made to descend into Hell and they shall be wracked in great tribulation.

8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is harsh judgment your spirits shall enter, and the great judgment shall be for all the generations of the world. Woe to you, for you shall have no peace.

9 The righteous and good who are alive, do not say: "In our troubled days we have worked hard and experienced every trouble, and met with much evil and been afflicted, and have become few and our spirit small.

10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word. We have been tortured and destroyed, and not expect to live from day to day.

11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail. We have worked hard and had no satisfaction in our labor; and we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous, and they have laid their yoke heavily on us.

12 They have ruled over us and hated us and hit us, and to those that hated us we have bowed our necks but they pitied us not.

13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest, but found no place where we should flee and be safe from them.

14 We complained to the rulers in our tribulation, and cried out against those who devoured us, but they did not pay attention to our cries and would not listen to our voice.

15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression (wrongdoing), and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and did not remember that they had lifted up their hands against us.”

Jeremiah 30:15 Why do you cry out over your wound, your pain that has no cure? Because of your great guilt and many sins I have done these things to you.
16 " 'But all who devour you will be devoured; all your enemies will go into exile. Those who plunder you will be plundered; all who make spoil of you I will despoil.
17 But I will restore you to health and heal your wounds,' declares the LORD, 'because you are called an outcast, Zion for whom no one cares.'
18 "This is what the LORD says:" 'I will restore the fortunes of Jacob's tents and have compassion on his dwellings; the city will be rebuilt on her ruins, and the palace will stand in its proper place.
19 From them will come songs of thanksgiving and the sound of rejoicing. I will add to their numbers, and they will not be decreased; I will bring them honor, and they will not be disdained.

[Chapter 104]

1 I swear to you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One.

2 And your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for before you were put to shame through sickness and affliction; but now you shall shine as the lights of heaven,
3 You shall shine and you shall be seen, and the doors of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your cry, cry for judgment, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you.

4 Be hopeful, and do not throw away your hopes for you shall have great joy as the angels of heaven.

5 What will you have to do ? You shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgment and you shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgment shall not come to you for all the generations, eternally.

6 And now fear not, you righteous, when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways; do not be their companions, but keep away from their violence.
7 For you shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And, although you sinners say: "All our sins shall not be found out and be written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

8 And now I show to you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

9 Do not be godless in your hearts, and do not lie and do not change the words of righteousness, nor say that the words of the Holy Great One are lies, nor praise or rely on your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness (leads not to) come not from righteousness but (leads to) from great sin.

10 And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practice great deceits, and write books concerning their words.

11 But when they write down all my words truthfully in their languages, and do not change or omit any of my words but write them all down truthfully - all that I first testified concerning them.

12 Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to produce joy and righteousness and much wisdom.

13 And to them the books shall be given, and they shall believe them and rejoice over them, and then all the righteous who have learned from them all the paths of righteousness shall be paid back.'

[Chapter 105]
Later Additions to the Text – Book of Noah **(Chapters 105-108):**

1 In those days the Lord called them (the wise and righteous) to testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show it to them; for you are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.

2 For I and my son will be united with them for ever in the paths of righteousness in their lives; and you shall have peace: rejoice, you children of righteousness. Amen.

[Chapter 106]

This section of Enoch was not originally attached. It is a fragment from the Book of Noah.

Though this book has not come down to us independently, it has in large measure been incorporated in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and can in part be reconstructed from it.

The Book of Noah is mentioned several times in the book of Jubilees. The editor simply changed the name Noah in the context before him into Enoch, for the statement is based on Gen. 5: 32, and Enoch lived only 365 years. Chapters 6-11 are from the same source. They make no reference to Enoch, but bring forward Noah and mention the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is a repeat of the Semjaza and Azazel myths.

-1. Other pieces of the Book of Noah can be found scattered throughout Enoch in chapters 6-11; 39:1-2a; 54:7-55:2; 60; 65:1-69:25; and 106-107.

The fragments seem to have been written earlier than the book of Jubilees and thus were likely written around 200 B.C.

Fragment from the Book of Noah.

1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son, Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long curls were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful.

2 And when he opened his eyes, he lit up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright.

3 And on it he levitated (arose) in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness.

4 And his father, Lamech, was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said to him: 'I have begotten a strange son, different and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his face is glorious.

5 And it seems to me that he did not spring from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be performed on the earth.

6 And now, my father, I am here to ask you and beg you that you may go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is among the angels."

7 And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said to him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, why have you come to me? '

8 And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to you, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached.

9 And now, my father, hear me. To Lamech, my son, there has been born a son, the like of whom there is none other, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the color of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and the whole house lit up.

10 And he levitated (arose) in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven.

11 And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of

heaven; and now I have come to you that you may make known to me the truth.'

12 And I, Enoch, answered and said to him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to you that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven violated the word of the Lord. And they commit sin and broke the law, and have had sex (united themselves) with women and committed sin with them, and have married some of them, and have had children by them.

13 And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

14 There shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a flood (deluge) and a great destruction for one year.

15 And this son who has been born to you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die, he and his sons shall be saved.

16 And now make known to your son, Lamech, that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come on the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be full (completed) on the earth in his days.

17 And after that (flood) there shall be more unrighteousness than that which was done before on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in heavenly tablets.

[Chapter 107]

1 And I saw written about them that generation after generation shall transgress, until a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is

destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes on it.

2 And now, my son, go and make known to your son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and this is no lie.

3 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch, for he had shown to him everything in secret, he returned and showed those things to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

[Chapter 108]

(Author's note: Chapter 108 was added later and was not part of the original text.)

1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days.

2 You who have done good shall wait for those days until an end is made of those who work evil; and an end of the power of the wrongdoers.

3 And wait until sin has passed away indeed, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their (children) seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be killed, and they shall cry and lament in a place that is a chaotic desert, and they shall be burned in the fire; for there is no earth there.

4 I saw something there like an invisible cloud; because it was so deep I could not look over it, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping back and forth.

5 And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said to him: 'What is this bright thing (shining)? For it is not heaven but there was only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and moaning, lamenting, and agony.'

6 And he said to me: 'This place which you see are where the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, are cast and the

spirits of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets and even the prophecies (things that shall be).

7 For some of them are written and inscribed above in heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God; and of those who have been abused (put to shame) by wicked men:

8 Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture.

9 Who, since they were born, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name.

10 And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books. And he has assigned them their reward, because they have been found to love heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot by wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, they blessed Me.

11 And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not rewarded with such honor as their faithfulness deserved.

12 And I will bring out in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor.

MAT 19:28 And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

13 And they shall shine for time without end; for righteousness is the judgment of God; because to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths.

14 And they shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall shine. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them shining, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are written down (prescribed) for them.

This ends the Book of Enoch.

*6

Conclusion

From the beginning of religion, and before, mankind has looked up and imagined angels and demons. Religions call them by various names but the idea of unseen entities have existed since the awakening of the human imagination.

Spiritual beings or entities viewed as benevolent or malevolent appear in the ancient Indo-Iranian religion, from which evolved early Zoroastrianism and the early Hinduism reflected in the Vedas (ancient Aryan hymns). In Zoroastrianism the daevas were viewed as malevolent beings, but their counterparts, the devas in ancient Hinduism, were viewed as gods. The ahuras of Zoroastrianism were good “lords,” but in Hinduism their counterparts, the asuras, were transformed into evil lords.

In a similar manner, Satan, the prosecutor of men in the court of God in the Old Testament book of Job, became the chief antagonist of Christ in Christianity and of man in Isl a m, assuming a much more active and independent role. Similar transformations in other religions indicate that distinctions made between angels as benevolent and demons as malevolent may be too simplistic or may change over time. However, such designations may be used as indicators of the general functions of such spiritual beings.

Hinduism, one of the oldest religions in the world, dating back to 4000 BCE, proves the concept of spiritual or supernatural beings date back more than 6000 years. In Judaism and thus Christianity the earliest appearance of an angel is in the Book of Job, said to be the oldest book in the bible. Satan, an angel and agent of God, in that era of religious thought, temps Job. Many conservative scholars assign the writing of the book of Job to the time of King Solomon, about 950 BC. Historical evidence favors this date, since this was the golden age of biblical Wisdom Literature. Ezekiel (who wrote around 600 BC) mentions Job in 14:14. Some scholars claim it is dated to BC 2000–1800. If the book of Job was written by Moses, it was probably written during his sojourn in Midian.

Book of Enoch, Jasher, Jubilee, and the Book of Giants address the topic of angels, demons, and their origins. The Book of Enoch seems to have informed the Judeo-Christian faith and is even quoted in the Book of Jude. This is because

Enoch was considered authentic by Jude and Peter. It is very likely it was considered authentic by the Jews in general in that time.

If the Book of Giants was part of Enoch it also would be considered of the same great value. If the Book of Giants is an addendum or sequel to the Book of Enoch it would reflect the beliefs regarding angels and demons at the time of writing and would be valuable as the history of evolution of religious thought.

Even though the texts of the Book of Giants were fragmented and at places indecipherable, the additional information, when added to the Book of Enoch makes for a very interesting and informative subject.

Angels and demons have been with mankind in his imagination, and in his hopes and fears for over six millennia. Mankind has held tenaciously to the beliefs of these entities. Most religions throughout the world have their versions of these good and evil entities. Such an old and universal idea should be closely examined with an open mind.

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Fallen Angels Watchers, and the Origins of Evil

The Book of Jubilees; The Little Genesis, The Apocalypse of Moses

The Book of Jasher - The J. H. Parry Text in Modern English

THE CHEIROGRAPH OF ADAM IN ARMENIAN AND ROMANIAN TRADITIONS

EASTERN CHRISTIAN CULTURES IN CONTACT

VOLUME 1

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The Cheirograph of Adam in Armenian and Romanian Traditions

New Texts and Images

MICHAEL E. STONE
AND EMANUELA TIMOTIN

BREPOLS

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Series Preface

The new Brepols series *Eastern Christian Cultures in Contact* was launched for the purpose of investigating the contacts and exchanges between various Eastern Christian communities from the Patristic Age to the late Ottoman Empire. Our goal is to encourage studies that examine how Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Coptic, Nubian, and Ethiopian Christians interacted with each other and with other Christian cultures, often independently of major centers of power and religious authority, such as Rome or Constantinople. Whatever the nature and locus of encounters, a guiding principle of this series is to closely follow the conversations that took place between these sometimes kindred and sometimes distantly-related cultural communities. The ultimate goal of this series is to highlight the great variety, interest, and historical consequences of intercultural exchanges across and beyond the pre-modern world. We consider it important to bring highly specialized and sophisticated fields of enquiry into a closer conversation with each other than has heretofore been achieved.

It is with great gratitude and satisfaction that we present the publication of our first volume. It analyzes Armenian and Romanian traditions that revolve around a specific apocryphal motif – the *Cheirograph of Adam*. This study not only reveals cultural connections between these two Eastern Christianities, but also brings forth important interdisciplinary aspects. It explores textual, oral, and visual sources alike as indicators of and windows onto cultural and religious interactions. Such an approach not only highlights the multiple forms that such interactions took over centuries, but also the variety of sources that deserve to be tapped into, synchronically as well as diachronically. Thus, this first volume in the series testifies to the importance of the general concept of the series, while at the same time tracing other promising directions that interdisciplinary approaches to Eastern Christian Cultures in contact can open up. We are honored to have Prof. Michael Stone and Dr Emanuela Timotin as the first contributors to the series.

We would like to thank the members our Editorial Board and Dr Jirki Thibaut, publishing manager at Brepols, for their precious efforts to making the first volume of ECCIC a reality.

General Editors
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Zaroui Pogossian, University of Florence
Barbara Roggema, University of Florence

Preface

This book is the outcome of joint work of Emanuela Timotin and Michael Stone. Its beginnings lie in discussions between them in Bucharest in the first week of September 2019, on occasion of the 12th Congress of South-East European Studies. In that context they travelled to Bukovina to examine the famous frescos on the recently restored churches of that region that show Satan and Adam signing the Cheirograph. Emanuela had been working on Romanian non-canonical Adam and Eve literature and Michael also had studied Adam and Eve traditions, but in Armenian. They resolved to assemble as much information as they could relating to the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam, which had numerous ramifications in both the Romanian and the Armenian traditions (CAVT 37). This material is designed to supplement and complement the previous study by Michael published in 2002: *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

The present book deals with two corpora of transmission. Emanuela found rich Romanian textual and iconographic sources, supplementing the already-known frescos that they had viewed together in September 2019. Apocryphal texts such as the *Life of Adam and Eve* and writings nourished by the liturgical and apocryphal traditions like the *Plaint of Adam* were thoroughly explored, as well as folk narratives and folk poetry that retell the *Legend*. Their variation was analysed in relation to their mostly oral transmission, together with the milieux in which they emerged, and with the artistic representations that flourished in the sixteenth-century Bukovina.

Michael had noted some years previously, the occurrence of the Legend of the Cheirograph in Armenian folk tales, in collections that had been published by Aram Łanalanyan in 1969 and more recently in 2012 by Bishop Anušavan Žamkočʻyan.[1] These two works assembled folk stories that were collected in ethnographic studies at the end of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. In addition, some possible new Armenian iconographic evidence is considered as well as the understanding of a previously-discussed text.

The body of this work was written during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020–2021, when both authors were under lock-down in their homes in Bucharest and in Jerusalem. Our cooperation was virtual, by electronic means of communication. The subject of this book was brought home to us in the circumstances that then prevailed.

We are indebted to the Centre 'Beyond Canon' of the University of Regensburg who made our joint work in May 2022 possible.

1 Aram Łanalanyan, Ավանդապատում [Traditional History] (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1969); Anušavan Žamkočʻyan, Աստուածաշունչը եւ Հայ բանավոր ավանդութիւնը [The Bible and Armenian Oral Tradition], Ajemian Series, 15 (Erevan: Erevan State University, 2012).

We are proud that our book launches the new series Eastern Christian Cultures in Contact and express our deep gratitude to the learned editors Andy Hilkens, Zaroui Pogossian, Barbara Roggema for many significant suggestions. We are grateful to Jirki Thibaut, publishing manager for Brepols, whose professionalism has enhanced this book.

Emanuela expresses her gratitude to Prof. Tereza Sinigalia (National University of Arts, Bucharest), Superior Mother Mihaela Cozmei (Monastery of Sucevița), Superior Mother Macrina Săucinițanu (Monastery of Dragomirna), and Dr Oana Iacubovschi (Institute of South-East European Studies, Bucharest) for the permission to publish a series of images highly important for this research. Oana Iacubovschi, Prof. Maria Magdalena Székely (University 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', Iaşi), Dr Ovidiu Olar (Balkan Studies Research Unit, Wien), Dr Lidia Cotovanu, and Dr Ovidiu Cristea ('N. Iorga' Institute of History, Bucharest) graciously shared with her various materials, in a period when the libraries in Bucharest were closed. Dr Mihail-George Hâncu (Institute of South-East European Studies, Bucharest) kindly consented to read and translate some inscriptions in Slavonic written on monuments or manuscripts produced in the area of present-day Romania.

Michael thanks his research assistants, and particularly Mr Roi Ziv. He has benefitted, as so often, from the critical reading of Dr Gohar Muradyan in Erevan, who also helped locate some important, difficult-of-access data during the COVID-19 lock-downs. Her assistance made the completion of this work possible. Our thanks are expressed to Dr Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalian and the Editor of *Revue des études arméniennes* who made the image of the Odzun stelae available to us, and to Dr Lilit Mikayelyan who also provided us with some most helpful information.

Some technical preliminaries: Armenian is transliterated by the system used in the *Revue des études arméniennes*, and the sigla of Armenian manuscripts follow the system accepted by the *Association internationale des études arméniennes*. The Romanian manuscript texts were written in Cyrillic letters; they are rendered here in phonetic interpretative transcription, according to the standards of modern Romanian philology.[2] Biblical and apocryphal literature is abbreviated in accordance with the *SBL Manual of Style*, except that titles of all works outside the Jewish and Christian Canons are italicized. Chapter and verse numbering of the Hebrew Bible follows the Masoretic text; if the Septuagint or Armenian versions differ, their numbering is added in parentheses.

2 Alexandru Mareş, 'L'édition des textes roumains anciens', in *Manuel de la philologie de l'édition*, ed. by David Trotter, Manuals of Romance Linguistics, 4 (Berlin – Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 95–130.

Abbreviations and Critical Signs

CAVT	Jean-Claude Haelewyck (cura et studio), *Clavis apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998)
cf.	compare
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
e.g.	for example
Fig(s).	figure(s)
fol., fols	folio, folios
Gr	Greek
ill.	illustration
JSAS	*Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
l., ll.	line, lines
LAE	*The Life of Adam and Eve*
Lat	Latin
LXX	the Septuagint
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MH	Մատենագիրք Հայոց / Armenian Classical Authors
MOTP	Bauckham, Richard, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013)
MT	Masoretic Text
n.	footnote
PA	*The Plaint of Adam*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus (Series Graeca)*, edidit Jean-Paul Migne (Paris)
pl.	plate
RÉArm	*Revue des études arméniennes*
RESEE	*Revue des études sud-est européennes*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Jewish Literature
SCIA.AP	*Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică*
s.v.	*sub verbo*, i.e., under the entry for
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
vol.	volume
#	number
§, §§	section(s)/paragraph(s)

Introduction

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam and the Aims of the Present Research

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam is an apocryphal story (CAVT 37)[1] dealing with the fall of Adam and Eve and their establishment in this world. It narrates that, after the Fall, Adam and Eve wandered in the world outside Eden, mourning. In Eden it had been perpetually light, but outside it became dark in the evening and they had never experienced darkness. They lamented their sin which brought the darkness that they thought was perpetual. In a variant form of the story, they sought food. Adam wished to plough the soil to grow food. In both variants, Satan appears and resolves the quandary. In the darkness version, he promises to bring the light; in the agricultural version, he asserts his rule and control over this world. To bring light and to give permission to plough the ground, Satan demands that Adam sign a contract that his offspring will be subject to Satan. Adam signs, and Satan hides the contract in the River Jordan. During his Baptism, Christ breaks the cheirograph and releases Adam and Eve's offspring from captivity.

This story is not biblical and is not found in the ancient Jewish and Christian apocrypha or biblical expansions. It appears to post-date the sixth century CE[2] and circulated widely indeed in the literature and art produced by Christians of Eastern Orthodox and Caucasian Churches.[3] It does not occur in formal ecclesiastical literature, theological treatises, homilies, commentaries and the like. It is found, however, in some written narrative and exegetical traditions and in folk literature, such as folk tales and poetry. Notably, it is expressed in iconography in manuscript miniatures, in frescos, and on ritual objects.

This study discusses new textual and iconographic evidence about the Cheirograph Legend and is designed as a supplement and complement to Michael E. Stone's previous study, *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (2002). The new material includes various writings (erotapocritic, polemic, apocryphal texts, folk tales, carols, etc.), in prose or versified, as well as iconographic evidence (reliefs on stelae, illuminations, frescoes, icons, etc.). The analysis will focus mainly on the Armenian and Romanian traditions, in which, over the centuries, the Legend of the Cheirograph acquired many specific features. It

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1 CAVT, p. 27, *De Chirographo Adae* (armeniace). See also Albert-Marie Denis and others, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), I, p. 24, n. 50.

2 See Michael E. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 142–46, 'Appendix 3: The Term χειρόγραφον in the Papyri' authored by Beatriz Moncó, and our discussion below, Introduction, p. 19.

3 By 'Caucasian' we mean both the Georgian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church. Though these two churches differ from one another doctrinally, there are many literary and cultural features shared by them, including this legend.

will also present new artistic evidence from other traditions and will discuss the presence of the apocryphal story in the beliefs of Eastern Orthodox Christians associated with Mount Athos, Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai and pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Our study belongs within the bailiwick of the increasing number of researches dedicated to apocryphal themes present in mediaeval Christian art and literature.[4] This re-evaluation of the vitality of the Cheirograph Legend in the beliefs of Christians of Eastern Orthodox and Caucasian Churches will cast light on the literary and artistic contacts in this large geographical area, will reveal the frequent association of the apocryphal story with liturgical texts and practices, and will discuss the relation between apocryphal traditions and the scholastic milieu, as well as folklore.

The Legend of the Cheirograph, a Piece of the Secondary Adam Literature[5] and its Relationship to the Bible

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam covers events that happened to Adam and Eve that are not usually present in the widespread apocryphal book, *The Life of Adam and Eve* (*LAE*). This primary Adam book survived in both Western and Eastern forms, in Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Old Church Slavonic,[6] but the Legend of the Cheirograph

4 We mention just a few of the many works by way of examples of this burgeoning corpus: Brian O. Murdoch, 'From the Flood to the Tower of Babel: Some Notes on Saltair na Rann XIII-XXIV', *Ériu*, 40 (1989), pp. 70–92; Brian O. Murdoch, 'The Origins of Penance: Reflections of Adamic Apocrypha and of the Vita Adae in Western Europe', *Annals of the Archive of 'Ferran Valls i Taberner's Library'*, 9–10 (1991), pp. 205–27; *Apocryphes arméniens: Transmission – Traduction – Création – Iconographie*, ed. by Valentina Calzolari Bouvier, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and Bernard Outtier, Publications de l'Institut Romand des Sciences Bibliques, 1 (Lausanne: Zèbre, 1999); Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*; *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic Realms*, ed. by Martin McNamara, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003); Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood. The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, 22 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 289–451; Barbara Baert, 'Adam, Seth and Jerusalem. The Legend of the Wood of the Cross in Medieval Literature and Iconography', in *Adam, le premier homme*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus Library, 45 (Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), pp. 69–101; Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, 'Adam in the Church of Ałt'amar (915–21) and in a Pseudepigraphal Homily on Genesis: The Creator's Companion, a King and a Herald of Things to Come', in *Von der Historienbibel zur Weltchronik. Studien zur Paleja-Literatur*, ed. by Christfried Böttrich, Dieter Fahl, and Sabine Fahl, Greifswalder Theologische Forschungen, 31 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020), pp. 306–32; Michael E. Stone and Edda Vardanyan, 'Jacob and the Man at the Ford of Jabbok: A Biblical Subject in the Vine Scroll Frieze of the Church of the Holy Cross at Ałt'amar', in *Armenia through the Lens of Time. Multidisciplinary Studies in Honour of Theo Maarten van Lint*, ed. by Federico Alpi and others, Armenian Texts and Studies, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 438–67.

5 For the division of the apocryphal Adam and Eve literature into the categories of primary and secondary literature, see Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, SBLEJL, 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

6 From a vast bibliography about *LAE*, see Leonard St. Alban Wells, 'The Books of Adam and Eve', in Robert H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of Old Testament in English*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II: *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 123–54; Michael E. Stone, *The Penitence of Adam*, CSCO, 429–30; Scriptores Armeniaci, 13–14 (Louvain: Peeters, 1981); Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*; Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, SBLEJL, 17 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); Jean-Pierre Pettorelli, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, cura et studio; adiuvante et opus perficiente Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Synopsis *Vitae Adae et Evae* latine, graece, armeniace et iberice cura Albert Frey, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Bernard Outtier et Jean-Pierre Pettorelli, Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, 18–19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); *La Vie d'Adam et Ève et les traditions adamiques*, Actes du quatrième colloque international sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne, Lausanne – Genève, 7–10 janvier 2014, ed. by Frédéric Amsler and others, Publication de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques, 8 (Prahins: Editions du Zèbre, 2017).

appears only in the Slavonic *LAE* and in its later Romanian translations.[7] The *LAE* tells a story of Adam and Eve, additional to that in Genesis 1–3. It is rather old having been written approximately in the first or second century CE, and is perhaps of Jewish origin, or else contains a good deal of Jewish material.[8] In *LAE* many incidents are related that are additional to and amplify the bare-bones stories of Gen 1–3. The Cheirograph Legend is yet a third level of associated narrative, expanding on the stories of *LAE* and, ultimately, of Genesis.

The word 'cheirograph' originates in two Greek words, χείρ 'hand' and the stem γραφ- 'write'.[9] It does not occur in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible and appears only once in the New Testament, in Col. 2:14. The text there reads: '[Christ], having cancelled the bond which stood against us with its legal demands; this he set aside, nailing it to the cross. (RSV)' Here the word 'bond' translates Greek 'cheirograph', and it designates the bill of indebtedness held by Satan that humans have incurred by sinning.

Colossians 2:13–14 and Ps 74(73):13–14 are repeatedly invoked in the various tellings of the Cheirograph tale. These two biblical passages seem to be woven into the fabric of the Legend. We are unable to say whether they were 'the grain of sand in the oyster's eye' around which the Cheirograph Legend crystallized, or whether they came into play at early stages of its growth. Indeed, there may be no answer to this question at all, let alone one that we can discern.

These biblical verses certainly contributed to the flourishing and the stability of the Cheirograph Legend[10] and to the association of the apocryphal narrative with liturgical practices. Since, if the Legend is taken into account, the destruction of the Cheirograph becomes part of the story of redemption, its connection to Baptism both in documents and particularly in iconography gives it a function within the central narrative of Christianity. As Christ in the Anastasis breaks down the doors of Hades and brings Adam and Eve forth, so He annihilated the Cheirograph in the Jordan and freed their descendants from their contractual subservience to Satan. Thus, the Legend of the Cheirograph constitutes a sub-plot of the central Christian narrative. Moreover, Christ tears or breaks up Adam's contract in His Baptism, so tying the Legend to events of the liturgical year, especially, of course, to Epiphany/Baptism.[11] This inner pattern of enslavement and redemption is

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7 For the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam in the Slavonic tradition of *LAE*, see recently Alexander Kulik and Sergey Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 93–103, based on Alexander Kulik's analysis published in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 25–41, 117–20. For the Romanian tradition, see Part II, pp. 73–78 below.

8 See Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 53–58.

9 The word 'cheirograph' does not occur in the English language and in our usage here, it is an innovation. It does not occur in *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed online on 19 February, 2021. We have capitalized it when it refers to Adam's Cheirograph signed with Satan.

10 We will discuss various situations in which Colossians 2:13–14 was used as backdrop in the literary tradition, sometimes polemical, of the Legend of the Cheirograph; see Part I, pp. 49–52 below. Ps 74 (73):13–14 definitely contributed to the elaboration of the Legend's iconography; see Part I, pp. 57, 60 below. On the Legend's stability, see Introduction, pp. 21-23 below.

11 The feast of Epiphany/Baptism, celebrated on January 6, has had different meanings in the Armenian and Eastern Orthodox Churches throughout the centuries. In the following, unless otherwise stated, we will use respectively 'Epiphany' to refer to the Armenian feast which celebrates the Nativity of Christ and the revelation of his divinity during Baptism, and 'Baptism of Christ' to refer to the Romanian feast which celebrates the revelation of his divinity during Baptism.

tied to the beginning of Adam and Eve's life outside the Garden and to Christ's earthly life, while Adam's sin in the Garden is correlative with Christ's death and Resurrection.

In the apocryphal *LAE*, Adam and Eve did not pass directly from the Garden of Eden fully into this world, but for some days (mostly seven, but five among the Armenians) they were thought to be in an intermediate state and to weep and lament their fate.[12] It is to this first period outside Eden that the apocryphal *Plaint of Adam*, which had an important transmission among the Eastern Orthodox Christians,[13] and the long lament in the Armenian *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§73–77 are attributed.[14] This period of time is also to be discerned in an Armenian painting of the expulsion of Adam and Eve, in which they are shown both in the Garden and in miniature, in sombre colours, falling down from the Garden (see Fig. 1), as well as in Eastern Orthodox Christian iconography (see Fig. 11).[15] This period of mourning after the Expulsion from Paradise, which has no Scriptural warrant, is associated with the practice of fasting. In the Armenian tradition, the protoplasts' weeping after the Expulsion is commemorated in the *Aṙaǰawor* (primary, first) five-day fast.[16] Armenian tradition attributes the institution of this fast to St Gregory the Illuminator in the fourth century. It is observed for five days before the Feast of Nativity, which, in the Armenian Church, coincides with Christ's Baptism.[17] In the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition, their mourning outside Paradise is connected to the first Sunday of Lent, when the apocryphal *Plaint of Adam* including the Legend of the Cheirograph used to be sung.[18]

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12 *LAE* 1:1–2:2 except for the Slavonic where the relevant passage is 28–29:1–4; see Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, pp. 2–2E.

13 For Byzantine *Laments of Adam*, see recently Derek Krueger, 'Beyond Eden. Placing Adam, Eve, and Humanity in Byzantine Hymns', in *Placing Ancient Texts. The Ritual and Rhetoric Use of Space*, ed. by Mika Ahuvia and Alexander Kocar, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 174 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 167–78; Derek Krueger, 'Mary and Adam on the Threshold of Lent. Counterpoint and Intercession in a Kanon for Cheesefare Sunday', in *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium. Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*, ed. by Thomas Arentzen and Mary B. Cunningham (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 180–91. For the success of the text in the Russian literary and iconographic tradition, see Georgiy P. Fedotov, Стихи духовные (Русская народная вера по духовным стихам) [Spiritual Verses. Russian Popular Faith Based on Spiritual Verses] (Moscow: Прогресс Гнозис, 1991), pp. 38–39; Milena Rozhdestvenskaya, '"Плач Адама" и "адамический текст" в древнеславянской рукописной традиции' [*Adam's Lament* and 'Adamic Text' in Old Slavonic Manuscript Tradition], *Studia Ceranea*, 4 (2014), pp. 161–70; Milena Rozhdestvenskaya, 'Об одном варианте духовного стиха Плач Адама о рае' [On a Version of the Spiritual Poem 'Adam's Lament'], *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia litteraria rossica*, 8 (2015), pp. 158–59. For the insertion of the Cheirograph Legend in the *Plaint of Adam* in the Romanian tradition, see Part II, pp. 83–84 below.

14 W. Lowndes Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, 8 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1990), pp. 229–30. Perhaps this post-Edenic interval somehow corresponds to the five days of creation that passed before the creation of humans. When the protoplasts were expelled from Eden, then, there was a five-day interval before they started their worldly life.

15 See Part II, p. 114 below.

16 In the Քրիստոնյա Հայաստան. Հանրագիտարան [Encyclopaedia of Christian Armenia] (Erevan: Armenian Encyclopaedia Editions, 2002), s.v. Aṙaǰawor Fast on p. 75, several explanations of the reasons for the fast and its name are offered. One is that given here in the text; another is that it is held three weeks before the beginning of Lent; a third connects it with St Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia, thus being first. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, notes that it is known to Zenob Glak (tenth century) and Nerses Šnorhali the Gracious (twelfth century).

17 Information from Fr. Tiran Hakobyan of Jerusalem. As noted in n. 16, above, other sources place it three weeks before Lent.

18 See Part II, pp. 80, 99 below.

Fig. 1. Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden, into the dark place, Armenian manuscript M4820, thirteenth century, fol. 4r.

The Variation of an Apocryphal Story in Texts and Images

The basic outline of the plot of the Legend of the Cheirograph is the following.

1. After their expulsion from the Garden, Adam and Eve for the first time experience night and darkness. They are smitten by fear, for in the Garden of Eden it was perpetually light. In certain forms of the Legend the difficulty they experience is the lack of food rather than darkness.
2. Satan appears to them and promises to bring the light. They sign an agreement with Satan ('the Cheirograph of Adam' or just 'the Cheirograph') to subject their descendants to him. In the 'search for food' form of the story, Adam starts to plough and Satan challenges him and claims that he is ruler of the earth. If Adam will subject his seed to him, Satan says, then he will allow him to plough. Adam then signs the Cheirograph.
3. The period of humans' enslavement to Satan will come to an end when the riddle condition 'Until the Unbegotten is born and the Undying dies' is fulfilled. In some versions the subjection, instead of the riddle's solution, is to last 6000 years, which is a common chiliastic calculation of a world-week that will be concluded by the Parousia.
4. The cheirograph, here meaning 'contract', is written down,[19] either on a flat stone or on a brick and Adam signed it. Satan hides it in the Jordan river and sets demons to guard it. At the time of his baptism, Christ stood on the stone and destroyed it, thus ending the enslavement of Adam's descendants to Satan and cancelling the contract.

19 This is not the only cheirograph that the apocryphal literature attributes to Adam. For the contract he signs with paradisiac birds which provide him and Eve with fruits from the Garden, see Witold Witakowski, 'The *Vienna Protology*: an Ethiopic apocryphon on creation, Adam and Eve, and their children', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 85 (2019), p. 476.

There are four chief scenes in which the iconography of the Legend of the Cheirograph is represented. Some scenes are drawn from the content of the story and are unique to it. These are the Romanian fresco scenes of the sixteenth-century monastic churches at Moldovița, Voroneț and Sucevița, showing Satan and Adam signing the Cheirograph.[20] Adam signing the contract is also present in a miniature from a seventeenth-century Russian manuscript.[21] The illustration of Georgios Chumnos's poem showing a confrontation of Satan with Adam and Eve, without the contract, is a sub-type of this.[22]

A second scene is an illustration of the stanza 22 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, the most famous work of Byzantine hymnography,[23] showing Christ on his own tearing the Cheirograph in a different context.[24] It may be observed that this hymn and its accompanying images do not play any role in the Armenian Church, which is among the Oriental Orthodox Churches and differs from the Eastern Orthodox Churches in both doctrine and practice.[25]

In a number of instances, features originating in the Legend of the Cheirograph are introduced into the well-known scene of John the Baptist baptizing Christ who is standing in the River Jordan. In this version of the scene, widely spread in its occurrence, Christ is standing on a flat stone (the cheirograph) that is guarded by demons in the form of snakes; sometimes he is shown holding Adam's contract in his hand. The following is unique to Armenian Baptism scenes: the guardian of the cheirograph is a dragon-snake, a pre-Christian Armenian water monster called in Armenian *višap*. This seems to be an Armenian

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20 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 57, type 4, 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph'. The frescoes are discussed below, Part II, pp. 111–15.

21 It is MS 34 from the Collection of Count Uvarov (State Historical Museum, Moscow) (*non vidi*). The miniature was published in Fyodor I. Buslaev, Исторические очерки русской народной словесности и искусства [Historical Sketches of Russian Folk Literature and Art], vol. I (Saint Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia pol'za, 1861), pp. 618, 618a and republished in Florentina Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*: Between Apocryphal Literature and Oral Tradition' in *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity*, ed. by Lorenzo DiTommaso and Christfried Böttrich, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, 140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 108–09, and 151, figure 6.

22 This poem is a retelling of Genesis and Exodus in 2832 lines; see Georgios A. Megas, Γεωργίου Χούμνου. Η Κοσμογέννησις [Georgios Choumnos, the Cosmogennēsis], (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1975). Some parts were translated into English by Frederick H. Marshall, *Old Testament Legends from a Greek Poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925). Some of the manuscripts are profusely illustrated. In the British Museum manuscript of Chumnos's work (British Library Add MS 40724) there is a picture of Satan addressing Adam and Eve, following the Expulsion (fol. 7[5]). It is absolutely clear from the iconography, from its position following scenes of the Expulsion, and from the text it accompanies that it is illustrating the Legend of the Cheirograph in its darkness variant: see lines 129–49.

23 For this *Hymn*, which was very probably written in the fifth century, and its liturgical readings, see Leena M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Medieval Mediterranean, 35 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2001); Ermanno M. Toniolo, *Akathistos, inno alla madre di Dio*. Edizione metrica, mistagogia, commento al testo (Roma: Centro di Cultura Mariana 'Madre della Chiesa', 2017); Elina Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn', in *Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. by Vasiliki Tsamakda, Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, 2 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 328–48 (with bibliography about the composition of the Hymn).

24 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 59, type 5, 'Christ Tearing the Cheirograph', and Part II, pp. 137–42 below.

25 For introductions to the Armenian Church, see Malachia Ormanian, *L'église arménienne: son histoire, sa doctrine, son régime, sa discipline, sa liturgie, sa littérature, son present*, 2. éd. rev. et annotée (Antélias, Liban: Impr. du Catholicossat arménien de Cilicie, 1954); Jean Mécérian, *Histoire et institutions de l'église arménienne* (Beirut: Imprimérie Catholique, 1965).

identification of the guardian snake demons of the legend with the water dragon already familiar in Armenian culture. The *višap* is in the river itself, and a flat stone is not shown.[26]

A fourth scene conflates Christ's breaking of the cheirograph with the Descent into Hades, showing Christ, holding the Cheirograph and trampling on the doors of Hell. In some variants, the doors are even transferred to the Jordan River.[27]

The narrative about the Cheirograph of Adam has a stable core: the idea that Adam's descendants were made subject to Satan by a document that was signed by Adam after the Fall. In most versions that document was annulled and annihilated by Christ at the time of the showing forth of His divinity, the Epiphany/Baptism events. In addition to this core story there is a significant degree of variability in detail over the large geographical area involved. This variability often permits us to achieve insights into the dynamics of the tradent Christian churches and cultures and we have emphasized this variability at many points in the following book. Still, the regional features of the Legend, especially those related to its Slavonic transmission, need a more exhaustive, contextualized analysis than we can give them here.[28]

The Cheirograph Legend, its Transmission and Implications

The period in which the Legend of the Cheirograph was created remains unknown to us. Since the Greek word χειρόγραφον was a technical term in Roman law down to the sixth century, we propose that this Roman legal usage provides the background to the use of the term in its only biblical occurrence, in Col. 2:13–14. But further than that we cannot go in using the term for dating. After the sixth century, the word's meaning as a bill of indebtedness changed to something like 'contract, undertaking'.[29]

From the evidence presented below and in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan* (2002), however, we can perhaps surmise that the Legend likely existed at the end of the first millennium CE or early in the second millennium CE.[30] However, the forms of both literary and artistic traditions relating to the Cheirograph Legend explicitly are relatively late. The oldest pieces of iconographic evidence regarding the Legend of the Cheirograph date to the thirteenth century. The first one is an icon of the Baptism of Christ which appears on the inner face of a book cover from the Dionysiou Monastery in Mount Athos. The book

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26 These distinctive representations of the Cheirograph Legend were discussed in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–57, as three distinct types: type 1 'The Baptism with Christ Standing on a Stone Holding a Scroll in His Left Hand upon Which Is Written (in Slavonic) "Cheirograph of Adam"', type 2 'Christ on a Rock in the Baptism with or without Serpents', type 3 'Armenian Iconography of the Cheirograph in the Baptism'. See also pp. 55–60, 121–37 below.

27 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 59, type 6 'Christ Holding the Cheirograph in Limbo', Part II, pp. 139–41 below.

28 Some of these aspects are also systematized in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 62.

29 See Moncó, 'Appendix Three: The Term χείρόγραφον in the Papyri', pp. 142–46.

30 On the possible, though uncertain reference in the eighth-century Armenian *Commentary on Genesis* by Step'anos Siwnec'i (dub), see Michael E. Stone, *The Genesis Commentary by Step'anos of Siwnik' (dub.)*, edition, translation and comments, with additional annotations by Shlomi Efrati, CSCO, 695; Scriptores Armeniaci, 32 (Louvain: Peeters, 2021), p. 36, § 2.1.50 and notes there. Most of the evidence is at least several centuries later, but of course, surviving manuscripts do not witness the beginning of a tradition, for they, themselves may well be copies of older exemplars.

Fig. 2. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by a dragon, St Nicholas Church in Prilep (North Macedonia), 1298.

cover is a carved wooden icon with scenes from the Life of Christ; art historians have noticed that the figures 'are rendered in a somewhat folk, almost primitive style'.[31] The icon of the Baptism shows Christ standing on a slightly elevated surface, which seems to be a stone, possibly an allusion to the contract that Adam concluded with Satan.[32]

The second one is a fresco of the Baptism of Christ executed in 1298 which is preserved in the Church of St Nicholas in Prilep (North Macedonia).[33] The church, founded by two local laymen, functioned as a funerary chapel.[34] The fresco (see Fig. 2) presents Christ standing on a rectangular red object, which seems to be a stone; black marks can be discerned on this object which suggest writing; a monstruous, serpentine animal, perhaps a dragon, is beside Christ's feet on the right. A figure of the river god holding

31 See Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida, 'Inner Face of a Book Cover with Scenes from the Life of Christ', in Athanasios A. Karakatsanis, *Treasures of Mount Athos. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Museum of Byzantine Culture* (Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1997), p. 348.

32 Loverdou-Tsigarida, 'Inner Face of a Book Cover', p. 348. For a similar representation of Christ's Baptism, preserved in a manuscript illumination executed in 1607 in a milieu where the Legend of the Cheirograph was well-known (Sucevița MS 24), see *Tetraevanghelul Sucevița 24*, ed. by Mother Superior Mihaela Cozmei together with the monastic community of the Sucevița Monastery (Suceava: Mănăstirea Sucevița, 2018), fol. 11. For this manuscript and its illuminations, see pp. 123–24 below.

33 We are grateful to Dr Oana Iacubovschi who, knowing of our interest in this theme, graciously took photos of this scene, and allowed us to publish one here (Fig. 2).

34 See Elizabeta Dimitrova, 'The Church of St Nicolas in Varoš, Prilep', in *Seven Churches in the Regions of Pelagonia, Mariovo and Prespa* (Skopje: Datapons, 2019), pp. 69–86.

a vessel from which the river flows is in the water to Christ's left. Many fish are painted in the water. St John is showed baptizing Christ and the usual angels are to his right.[35]

The oldest known literary source presenting the Legend of the Cheirograph is a Slavonic manuscript of *LAE*, which is now lost and which was dated to the fourteenth century.[36]

This manuscript displays linguistic features of Serbian Slavonic[37] and describes how Adam signed a contract with the devil in order to be allowed to plough.[38] In the same period other representations of Christ's Baptism appear which reflect the influence of the Cheirograph Legend. Christ standing on two crossed red rectangular plates (doors), from which serpents emerge, is depicted in the fourteenth-century church of Gračanica Monastery (Kosovo) built by Serbian kings.[39] At the end of the fourteenth century, in a Greek icon, the square rock on which Christ is standing and a serpent's head are barely visible.[40] In the fifteenth century, the apocryphal narrative appears in a much larger geographical area. Another Slavonic manuscript of *LAE* appears in the Serbian realm;[41] and the depiction of Christ standing on a stone during Baptism is found in Muscovite art in 1408.[42]

These data show that *LAE* is old, but it does not figure among the oldest Slavonic texts that have survived. A similar situation obtains in Armenian, where the first literary manuscript is also the oldest surviving manuscript on paper, the renowned *Book of Knowledge* of David the priest (kʻahanay).[43] That work does not contain even a hint at the sort of tale-spinning so prominent in the Adam books, never mind the specific traditions

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35 This innovative iconographic feature was emphasized by art historians: the dragon depicted beside Christ's feet was connected with the defeated evil force depicted in Christ's Harrowing of Hell; see Dimitrova, 'The Church of St Nicolas in Varoš, Prilep', pp. 76.

36 The manuscript, former MS 468 (104) of the National Library in Belgrade, was destroyed during the fire caused by the bombardment in April 1941. For its date and contents, see Émile Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', in Émile Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, SVTP, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 83–84. The text, referred to as *belgr.*, was also used by Vatroslav Jagić, 'Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen', *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 42 (1893), pp. 1–104.

37 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 84.

38 Jordan Ivanov suggested that the motif of a contract signed by Adam to till the earth was of Bogomil origin, because the earth was seen as the domain of the devil in the Bogomil beliefs; see Jordan Ivanov, Богомилски книги и легенди [Bogomil Books and Legends] (Sofia: Pridvorna Pečatnitsa, 1925), pp. 223–24; Nicolae Cartojan, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*, 2 vols (Bucharest: Editura Casei Şcoalelor / Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă 'Carol al II-lea', 1929–1938), I: *Epoca influenței sud slave*, p. 53; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 104–09; cf. Émile Turdeanu, 'Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles' (II), *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 138:2 (1950), pp. 188–94; Denis and others, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, I, p. 24. Ivanov's suggestion implies that the agricultural form of the Cheirograph Legend, which appears only in Slavonic *LAE* and its congeners, is not prior to the tenth century.

39 Gabriel Millet, *L'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1960), pp. 199, 214, plate 172.

40 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 50, example a.

41 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 84, MS 299 National Library in Sofia; 'Appendix One', in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 117; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 94. A. Kulik and S. Minov do not take into account the lost fourteenth-century manuscript and consider, therefore, that the oldest manuscript of Slavonic LAE dates to the fifteenth century; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 93–94.

42 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 51, example d.

43 Artašes Matʻevosyan, Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Դաւթի քահանայի. Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր (981) [A Book of Knowledge and Belief by Priest David; the Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper of the year 981], 2 vols (Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi, 1995–1997).

of *LAE* or the Cheirograph of Adam. This may, of course, be due to the character of its contents. The Armenian manuscripts of the literary texts of the Cheirograph Legend to which we refer here are uniformly of the seventeenth century or somewhat later and an exhaustive search for its iconographical expressions has not been made. All of this may be not so much a proof of the late date of the Legend, as a result of the type of manuscripts that happen to be preserved.

The literary tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph seems to be preserved only in manuscript until the nineteenth century.[44] The analysis in the following chapters will reveal that all along this period, the apocryphal narrative is embedded in larger texts, except for the Armenian tradition, where there are some texts or some subsections of texts bearing the title, 'The Cheirograph of Adam' or the like. In the nineteenth century, folklorists collect its first oral forms; the Legend was still alive in the oral tradition in the twentieth century.[45] The oral versions of the apocryphal tale acquire independent transmission in yet more traditions. Indeed, the path of its literary transmission will emerge to some considerable extent from our research presented here.

Another striking feature of the Legend of the Cheirograph is the geographical spread of its occurrence. It is witnessed in various cultures that existed in a broad geographical swath from Russia in the east to Greece and Crete in the west. Indeed, it was cultivated in this vast area but it has no obvious specific point of origin that we can discern. The broad spread of the Legend of the Cheirograph comprises various cultures and Churches, all but the Armenian Apostolic Church belonging to the Eastern Orthodox communion. This is roughly the area of the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire with border areas in Russia and the Caucasus.

As far as is presently known, the lands involved are Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Romania, Russia, Serbia, and Ukraine.[46] Of course, both the Armenian and the Eastern Orthodox Churches had branches in the Holy Land, and the Legend got to be known there, as well. For example, St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai preserved a manuscript of Georgios Chumnos's *Poem on Genesis and Exodus* (*c.* 1500), a poem including the oldest surviving Greek form of the Legend; the manuscript dates to *c.* 1600.[47] A Georgian illumination of Christ's Baptism, which includes features of the Cheirograph Legend, and dates to fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, is considered to have been executed either in Jerusalem or on Mount Athos.[48] Pilgrims to Jerusalem describe the places they visited and occasionally allude to details of the

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44 For nineteenth-century manuscripts, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 39; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 95. For nineteenth-century Romanian manuscripts, see Part II, pp. 74–75, 79–80 below.

45 See a detailed description of these collections in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42–47, as well as the new evidence gathered in Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 138–44. For new folkloric evidence, see below, Part I, pp. 37–46 and Part II, pp. 101–06.

46 Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 94 talk about an Ethiopian version of the Legend and refer to Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*. This is apparently due to a misunderstanding of Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 139–41.

47 It is British Library Add MS 40724 quoted above.

48 See Tinatin Tseradze and David Tskhadadze, *The Four Golden Gospels. A Georgian Manuscript Preserved in the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem* (Tbilisi: Centre for the Exploration of Georgian Antiquities, 2013).

Legend.[49] Still, in this case it is difficult to establish whether they learnt the apocryphal narrative when they were at home or during the pilgrimage. Indeed, the present study may be viewed a step on the path towards a more comprehensive understanding of this complex process of diffusion and/or transmission, which demands deeper and more specifically focused investigation.

The list of regions where the Legend of the Cheirograph was known may not exhaust the evidence. In order to explain how the apocryphal tale was anchored in regional religious life, we need to enrich the available information regarding the frequency of occurrence of the Legend's literary and artistic variants in each specific tradition and, if possible, the settings of the production of these variants. As will be shown below, the Georgian attestation of the iconography is quite thin and the one Georgian Baptism scene that we have found with Legend of the Cheirograph features may have been made outside Georgia, in Jerusalem or Mount Athos, and is preserved in Jerusalem.[50] There are texts in Georgian, however, which are versions of texts known in Armenia;[51] there is evidence for a Georgian folkloric version of the Legend, as well.[52]

It is of interest that the apocryphon called the *LAE* was translated twice into Armenian, once from a text like the surviving Greek form of this apocryphon, and once from another type of Greek text, closely allied also to the *Vorlage* of the Georgian version of *LAE*.[53] We may add that just as the Armenian and Georgian come from one branch of the textual tradition, so also there was a close relationship between the Slavonic and Romanian traditions of this apocryphon. Indeed, the Romanian *LAE* was translated from Slavonic[54] at the end of the sixteenth century or in the first half of the seventeenth century,[55] as were most Romanian apocrypha.[56] Soon afterwards, within the Romanian tradition, numerous

49 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 120; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 109–10 and Part II, p. 147 below.

50 See Part II, p. 133 below.

51 See Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 110–11. It is unknown today which version was the exemplar of the other, or whether, for example, both versions derive from a common ancestor.

52 See Ekvtime Takajshvili, 'Рукописаніе Адама и происхожденіе честнаго древа' [The Cheirograph of Adam and the Origin of the Holy Tree], Сборникъ матеріаловъ для описанія мѣстностей и племенъ Кавказа, 24:1 (1898), pp. 68–71; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 94, n. 3.

53 See Jean-Pierre Mahé, 'Le Livre d'Adam géorgien', in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, ed. by Roel van den Broek and Maarten J. Vermaseren, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 227–60. The Georgian is published in C'iala K'urc'ikidze, 'Adamis Apokrip'uli c'xovrebis k'art'uli versia', *P'ilologiuri dziebani*, 1 (1964), pp. 97–136. This is the text translated and edited by Jean-Pierre Mahé in Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*: see note 6 above. See also the electronic edition of the Armenian with the manuscripts on: http://micro5.mscc.huji.ac.il/~armenia/website/index.html (accessed 18 March 2021).

54 See Moses Gaster, *Literatura populară română*, ed. by Mircea Anghelescu (1883; repr. Bucharest: Minerva, 1983), pp. 187–88; Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I, p. 49; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 75–122.

55 For the oldest Romanian surviving manuscript of *LAE*, which dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, see Part II, pp. 75–78 below.

56 For general surveys, see B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni, II. Cărțile poporane ale românilor în secolul XVI în legătură cu literatura poporană cea nescrisă. Studiu de filologie comparativă* (Bucharest: Noua Typografie Națională, 1879); Gaster, *Literatura*; Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I; Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*; Alexandru Mareş, *Cărți populare din secolele al XVI-lea – al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest: Academia Română – Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2006).

versions of the *Plaint of Adam* incorporated the apocryphal narrative.[57] In parallel, the iconography produced by Southern Slavs and inspired by the Cheirograph Legend influenced religious art in the Romanian regions.[58] In this context, two specific iconographic types nourished by the Legend of the Cheirograph appeared in Bukovina (northern Romania): 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph' and a depiction of the Baptism with Christ standing on a stone holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written 'Cheirograph of Adam'.[59] The Slavonic tradition appears strongly to have influenced the Romanian one, although, as will be shown below, the two traditions do not overlap completely and the Romanian tradition displays multiple innovative features.

At the same time, the Slavonic tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph continued to live on in the regions inhabited by Eastern Orthodox Christianity, in southern Europe (nowadays Albania, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia) and in northern Europe (nowadays Russia and Ukraine). In this context, several Baptism icons showing features of the Legend of the Cheirograph are found in Albania[60] and various folkloric forms of it were collected in the vast territory of *Slavia orthodoxa*.[61]

In this stage of research, it is difficult to assess the role of Mount Athos in the transmission of the Legend of the Cheirograph.[62] It is beyond doubt that both the literary and the iconographic traditions were known there, but the attitude of the monastic communities toward the apocryphal narrative seems to have been ambivalent. We have shown that one of the oldest iconographic pieces of evidence relating to the Cheirograph Legend is from Mount Athos.[63] Our research will also show how a learned monk from Mount Athos refuted the Legend, how the apocryphal tale was used by an Athonite painter in order to explain a canonical scene and how its representations were imported or even produced on the Holy Mountain.[64]

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57 See already Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 188–91; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 127–41; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 43–44, and Part II, pp. 81–97 below.

58 See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne du Paris. gr. 74 et les manuscrits d'Anastase Crimcovici', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga par ses amis de France et de langue française* (Paris: Jacques Gamber, 1933), pp. 704–08, and Part II, p. 134–36 below.

59 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–50, 57–59 and Part II, pp. 111–32 below.

60 See Bruno von Öhrig, ed., *Ikonen aus Albanien. Sakrale Kunst des 14. bis 19. Jahhunderts. Katalog zu den Ikonen-Sälen der Austellung Albanien – Reichtum und Vielfalt alter Kultur. August 2001 bis Januar 2002* (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München: München, 2001), pp. 46, 58, ill. 7, 22; Anastasia Tourta (ed.), *Icons from the Orthodox Communities of Albania. Collection of the National Museum of Medieval Art, Korcë, Thessaloniki 14 March – 12 June 2006* (Thessaloniki: European Centre for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 2006), pp. 71, 134, 183, ill. 14, 45, 62 and Part II, p. 133 below.

61 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 45–47; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 138–44.

62 For the importance of the monastic communities in Mount Athos in Orthodox spirituality and culture, see, from a vast bibliography, *Le Millénaire du Mont-Athos 963–1963. Études et Mélanges*, 2 vols (Venise: Ed. de Chevetogne, 1963–1964); *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism. Papers from the Twenty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994*, ed. by Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Athanasios A. Karakatsanis, *Treasures of Mount Athos*; Graham Speak, *A History of the Athonite Commonwealth. The Spiritual and Cultural Diaspora of Mount Athos* (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

63 See pp. 23–24 above. For later iconographic evidence from Mount Athos, see also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 120.

64 See pp. 49, 133 below.

The Armenian literary tradition of the Cheirograph is very rich and includes a variety of writings, all of which emerge in seventeenth-century manuscripts.[65] This research presented here brings new literary evidence to bear. It also highlights the presence of the apocryphal narrative of the Cheirograph of Adam in Armenian folklore.

When we line up alongside one another the surviving versions of *LAE* and the known Cheirograph Legend traditions, the results are striking:

	LAE	**The Legend of the Cheirograph in Manuscripts**	**The Legend of the Cheirograph in Iconography**	**The Legend of the Cheirograph in Folklore**
Greek	x	x	x	x
Latin	x			
Armenian	x	x	x	x
Georgian	x	x	x	x
Slavonic (and its vernacular traditions)	x	x	x	x
Romanian	x	x	x	x

Table 1. Occurrence of the Legend of the Cheirograph in Eastern Christian Cultures.

Since we are dealing with the spread of a tradition that does not belong to the biblical canon or to highly valued theological, exegetical, or other similar genres of ecclesiastical literature, its spread cannot be understood as automatically engendered, but, like a stone cast into a pond, the location of which we know not, it ripples throughout Eastern Christendom and beyond the borders of Eastern Orthodoxy into the anti-Chalcedonian church of Armenia. Moreover, its appearance in Georgia in literature and barely in art, does not explain the Armenian tales and folklore.

The challenge posed by this material, perhaps because of its apocryphal and non-normative content and perhaps because it was chiefly borne by unwritten literature, is precisely that it is not to be approached with usual tools employed for detecting filiation of texts. We cannot show, for example, that the Legend of the Cheirograph originated in Greek in Byzantium and it was spread with the advance of Christianity. We are not certain which paradigm may be used to account for its diverse forms and their geographical distribution. Part of the difficulty may be in this, that the story is not just a simple embroidery, filling out the biblical narrative, but it also has some real theological import. This serves to heighten the interest it holds for us and one wonders whether any other similar instances exist.

As impressive as the range and variety of cultures and Churches may be in which this Legend is found in one or another genre or medium, is the consideration of where it does not occur. It is very intriguing to consider that this material does not penetrate Latin Christendom, despite the quite numerous tales of contracts with Satan extant in European languages. It is not to be found in Central and Western Europe, not even

65 See Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, pp. 13–19; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 65–92; Part I, pp. 47–49 below.

in Ireland, as far as is known today.[66] It is also absent from Middle Eastern Christian cultures and denominations, whose literature is in Syriac, Christian Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopian.[67] This seems to confirm our surmise that the distribution of this legend is related to Eastern Orthodox Christianity that is associated with Byzantine culture and some of its peripheral areas, among which the Armenian. Today we know of no clear actual channels of transmission between the various regional traditions in which the Legend of the Cheirograph appears, but it certainly did spread.

The Legend of the Cheirograph, then, is found in the beliefs of Christians of two Churches, the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church. The former is far larger, more complex and more influential than the latter. The manuscripts and the artistic evidence inspired by the Legend of the Cheirograph are produced in areas where the prevailing majority of the population was Eastern Orthodox Christian mostly in a period when ecclesiastical power gravitates around three Patriarchates (Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Moscow) and is continuously connected to the multi-ethnic monastic communities from Mount Athos. The Armenian Church had and still has its main centre in Armenia in Eǰmiacin, with three other centres, in Jerusalem, in Constantinople and in Cilicia (the latter now in Antelias, near Beirut).

The Cheirograph Legend seems to not have been produced in the proximity of the Orthodox Patriarchates, but the analysis will reveal the role of Eastern Orthodox bishops and princes in its transmission and will discuss the role of monastic centres in its promotion and in its spread to laity. At the same time, we will refer below to the discourse of a Greek monk who overtly refutes the Legend of the Cheirograph because of its uncanonical content.[68] Such remarks show that in this stage of the research it is impossible to give a univocal answer to the problem regarding the rejection of this apocryphal narrative by the various Churches. The Cheirograph Legend never became a completely licit narrative, but more than occasionally it became part of larger literary or iconographic settings which invested it with a specific legitimacy.[69]

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66 The representation of Christ treading on a dragon in a baptismal context, but with no trace of a cheirograph, appears on the eleventh-century wooden doors of the Church Saint Mary in the Capitol (Cologne, Germany); see Liselotte Stauch, 'Drache', in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Ernest Gall, Otto Schmitt, and Ludwig H. Heydenreich (Stuttgart – München: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung – Alfred Druckenmüller Verl., 1958), pp. 342–66, online edition https://www.rdklabor.de/wiki/Drache (consulted April 2, 2021). Professor Albert Dietl (University of Regensburg) and Dr Stephanie Hallinger (University of Regensburg) graciously communicated to us that this representation was unique in medieval German art, although the image of Christ treading on beasts in non-baptismal contexts (cf. Ps 91[90]:13) is present in Late Antique and medieval art. For dragons trodden by Christ in non-baptismal contexts, see also Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland. An Iconographic and Photographic Survey*, 3 vols (Bonn: Dr Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1992), I: *Text*, pp. 282–83.

67 By the way, it should be remarked that although there is some Rabbinic aggada about Adam and the first darkness, further elements of the Legend are not found in Jewish sources. See Part I, p. 40, n. 17 below.

68 See Part I, p. 49 below.

69 For the transformation of apocryphal narratives into licit texts, provided they acquire a specific function, see François Bovon, 'L'enfant Jésus durant la fuite en Égypte. Les récits apocryphes de l'enfance comme légendes profitables à l'âme', in *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology*, ed. by Jens Schröter, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 260 (Louvain – Paris – Walpole, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2013), pp. 249–70; François Bovon, '*Useful for the soul*. Christian Apocrypha and Christian Spirituality', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha*, ed. by Andrew Gregory and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 185–96.

Armenian attitudes to canonicity seem to have been moderate. The study of the Armenian Canon Lists shows that such Lists were not actively used in Armenian circles, though such catalogues were often translated from Greek and copied repeatedly. This seems to have been a learned exercise and comparison of these lists with the contents of Armenian Bible manuscripts shows that quite a number of non-canonical writings were included in them, including such apocrypha as *4 Ezra, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *Joseph and Asenath* as well as other apocryphal, exegetical and learned works.[70] This alone suffices to illustrate the attitude of the Armenians to issues of canonical and non-canonical texts.[71]

The Written and Oral Literary Carriers

The Legend of the Cheirograph appears in a variety of written and oral literary genres. Some of these are introduced into the discussion first in this volume; others have been enriched by the Legend.

1. Apocryphal texts. The Legend is embedded in Church Slavonic apocryphal texts, first and foremost in the *LAE* and then *The Sea of Tiberias*.[72] It also occurs in Armenian apocrypha such as *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*, and others;[73] and in the Romanian *LAE*, which depends on the Slavonic version of the same work. It should be remarked that the Armenian tradition does not incorporate it in either of the two translations of *LAE*.
2. Scholastic texts. The Legend of the Cheirograph is discussed in a number of Armenian erotapocritic and other learned texts. Some of them have been discussed previously, and others are adduced in this book for the first time.[74] This context is reserved only for the Armenian tradition, in which the work has moved unashamedly into the ecclesiastical learned tradition.

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70 The contents of the biblical manuscripts are listed in Archbishop Shahe (Chahé) Adjémian (Ajamian), *Grand catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bible*, Bibliothèque arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon: Gulbenkian Foundation, 1992). The Indexes provide easy access to the contents of the manuscripts.

71 The subject is a very large one. Some systematic analysis is to be found in Michael E. Stone, 'L'étude du canon arménien', in *Le canon du Nouveau Testament*, ed. by Gabriella Aragione, Éric Junod, and Enrico Norelli (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2005), pp. 281–96. Much material was assembled in the lengthy introductory remarks of Frederik Murad to his book, Յայտնութեան Յովհաննու Հին Հայ Թարգմանութիւն [The Old Armenian Translation of the Revelation of John] (Jerusalem: St James Press, 1905). Armenians include 3 *Corinthians* in their New Testament and, at the end of it, the *Dormition of John* usually occurs. On these works see Vahan Hovhanissian, *Third Corinthians: Reclaiming Paul for Christian Orthodoxy* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), and Vahan Hovhanissian, 'The Repose of the Evangelist John and the Armenian Bible', in *Rediscovering the Apocryphal Continent. New Perspectives on Early Christian and Late Antique Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, ed. by Pierluigi Piovanelli and Tony Burke, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 349 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), pp. 245–66.

72 Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 13–158; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 188–234.

73 Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, pp. 137–41; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 63–92.

74 See Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, SVTP, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 146 and Part I, pp. 48–49 below.

3. A sermon by Maxim the Greek (first half of the sixteenth century) in Russian is directed against the Legend of the Cheirograph, but for that very reason is important evidence of its prevalence.
4. Poetry. Most striking is the biblical retelling of Georgios Chumnos in Crete (fifteenth to sixteenth century) in a long poem on Genesis and Exodus.[75]
5. The Legend is also embedded in versified prose pieces which gradually turn into poems. New in the material presented here is the poem, which is half-accepted in some ecclesiastical uses, the Romanian *Plaint of Adam*.[76]
6. Folk tales incorporating the Legend are known in Georgian, Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian and Armenian.[77] The Armenian tales in this volume are newly presented and translated in the context of the Cheirograph Legend. There may be more folk tales in other languages that have not yet been recorded as well as additional versions in the traditions enumerated above.
7. The Cheirograph Legend appears in oral poetry of which the Romanian carol is an instance.[78]

Visual Supports

Like the variety of genres preserving the textual evidence, so the iconography of this Legend is expressed in a variety of different media: manuscript illuminations, icons, frescoes, decoration of crosses, bindings and covers of *Gospels*. The inventory of such artistic pieces is far from being complete.

Music

A version of the *Plaint of Adam* written in 1854 is accompanied by neumes.[79]

Further research on the history of sacred music, as well as the study of the musical pieces preserved in the folkloric archives might reveal more information about the music associated with the Legend of the Cheirograph.

75 See Marshall, *Old Testament Legends*; Megas, Γεωργίου Χούμνου. Η Κοσμογέννησις; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 93–95.
76 See below, Part II, pp. 84–97.
77 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42–57, 98–102; n. 52 above; Part I, pp. 37–46, Part II 101–05 below.
78 See below, Part II, pp. 105–06.
79 See Nestor Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique de Striharetz', *RESEE*, 15 (1977), pp. 37–47, and Part II, p. 99 below.

Inherent Limitations of Our Analysis

In this volume the authors seek to present previously unknown or little studied source materials relating to the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam. We have each focused on the traditions with which we are most familiar: Emanuela on the Romanian sources and Michael on those in Armenian. It is quite clear to us that to resolve the issues of provenance, diffusion, dependence, and function that we have discussed above, further research is needed on the other traditions and linguistic contexts in which this Legend is to be found. The following observations have been made:

1. Every piece of evidence and every textual or iconographical tradition poses its own challenges, as does each genre of literature and the characteristics of each document derived from the context in which it was created or crystallized.
2. Too often the research to date into texts has focused on one copy, sometimes the oldest one, and not on whole textual traditions. Themes have likewise been studied in a haphazard way, usually in the wake of their occurrence in works examined for quite different purposes. The functioning and the life of these documents or themes within the various traditions bearing them have barely been broached.
3. In previous studies, the role of oral sources, particularly in Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania has been noted. Much more remains to be done, however, in exploiting such oral sources in other language and church traditions. All too often, the oral sources were recorded a century or more ago, and we have no information about the informant, his/her social status, education, and geographical location.

Final Musings on the Armenian Sources

The 'Armenian apocryphal tradition' is not a single tradition but a range of different stories and treatments of biblical text and stories arising in two different contexts, the learned and the folk-literary. It has only recently been investigated as to its overall character, and that in a preliminary way.[80] Mostly it is learned, scholastic stuff but some of it comes out of folk traditions. The Cheirograph Legend is particularly interesting because it might well come from both directions at once. This may make it difficult ever to talk about where it started. The Armenian sources, in their complexity, partake of a broader and more variegated legendary tradition. To clarify these issues of origin, spread, and function would necessarily involve, we suggest, a multi-cultural team of scholars.

80 Michael E. Stone, 'Biblical Text and Armenian Retelling', *JSAS*, 26 (2017), pp. 82–87 and Michael E. Stone, 'The Armenian Embroidered Bible', *JSP*, 29 (2019), pp. 3–11 are first attempts in this direction.

Appendix: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam

When Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden, they encountered darkness for the first time. In the Garden, light always shone. In the world outside, evening came on and the world became dark. Adam and Eve had not yet experienced darkness. They were afraid and they started to cry, bewailing their fallen state. Satan came to them to deceive them. He accosted them and proposed a bargain: if they signed a contract with him, subjecting their offspring to him 'until the unbegotten is born and the undying one dies', he would bring the light. This signed contract is called Adam's χειρόγραφον 'Adam's hand-writing'. Where the physical nature of the Cheirograph given to Satan is specified, it is either a flat stone or a brick. The Cheirograph was read out and Adam signalled his assent and signed the Cheirograph by putting his hand on the rock or by making a handprint in the soft clay of the brick. Satan took the signed Cheirograph and, according to one dominant form of the Cheirograph Legend, he hid it in the River Jordan.

Satan was a trickster because in fact he did nothing to bring the light. The next day dawned in the nature of things and he falsely claimed that it was he who brought the light and so seemed to fulfil his undertaking. However, as evening approached and it grew dark again, Adam and Eve realized that they had been deceived.

Another important form of the Legend recounts that after the Fall, Adam and Eve tried to get food. When Adam was ploughing, Satan appeared in front of the oxen and did not allow Adam to continue his work until he recognized him as ruler of 'this world' and signed a contract of submission, the Cheirograph.

In both traditions, the Cheirograph remained hidden in the Jordan River, guarded by a dragon, snakes or demons until Christ was baptized. During his baptism, he stood on the flat stone and it crumbled and was annihilated, as was Satan's dominion over humans.

Part 1

New Armenian Evidence for the Cheirograph Legend

Armenian Folk Tales

In the past, a number of Armenian apocryphal texts of literary character have been published and translated that relate the Legend of the Cheirograph.[1] They are the following:

1. *The Cycle of Four Works* – The most recent edition of this text, with an English translation is Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, pp. 108–71.[2]
2. *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* – See Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, for both text and translation.[3]
3. *Adam Story 1* – Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 101–08.[4]
4. *Abel and other Pieces* – Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 144–46. This text has been studied previously, but on reviewing it, I realised that it should be discussed further, which I do in Section 1.2 of the present study.
5. *Adam Fragment I* – in this text, there is just a brief mention of Adam's contract given to 'Bitter Hell'.[5]
6. *Noah and the Cheirograph* – In this text one may observe a development of the cheirograph material in Col. 2:13–14.[6]

In the present chapter, first and foremost, I make public English translations of Armenian folk tales that reflect the Legend of the Cheirograph or its influence, which are included in two modern collections of Armenian folk tales. These folk tales are a so-far untapped source of material relating to the Legend and their context of origin raises a number of important issues about its transmission. One literary Cheirograph text is also republished

1 For a presentation of the multi-cultural evidence for this story and its implications, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*; Michael E. Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam', in Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone, and Johannes Tromp, *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, SVTP, 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 149–66 [repr. in Michael E. Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, 2 vols (Louvain–Paris–Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), I, pp. 195–212]. The subject of Adam's agreement with the Devil is a very large one and the above works only deal with Armenian aspects of it.

2 Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*. See also Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 101–04, and Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 63–73. More manuscripts are known to exist but have not been studied. The four narrative units that constitute the *Cycle of Four Works* are separated in manuscripts by homiletic passages, of which only one has been published: Norayr Kazazian and Michael E. Stone, 'The Commentary on the Cycle of Four Works', *Journal of Armenian Studies*, 8 (2004), pp. 46–51.

3 Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 8–79, text, translation, and Introduction. See also Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 107–08. A brief study is Michael E. Stone, 'Adam, Eve and the Incarnation', *St Nersess Theological Review*, 2 (1997), pp. 167–79 [repr. in Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, I, pp. 213–25]. See also Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 73–88.

4 See also Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 108; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 88–92.

5 Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), pp. 2–9; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 92.

6 Michael E. Stone, 'Hidden Crannies in Noah's Ark', in *Festschrift in Honour of Levon Ter-Petrossian's 75th Anniversary*, ed. by Vahan Tēr-Ghevondyan, Erna Manea Širinyan, and others (Erevan: Maštocʿ Matenadaran, 2021), pp. 335–48.

in Armenian and English with discussion, as well as some new iconographic evidence. I regard it as very important when we are considering past centuries' ideas and religious sentiments, to attend not only to the 'usual' sort of literary texts but also to oral literature and to iconography. I hope this *opus praeparativum* will be of utility for future scholars investigating this legend and other similar tradition complexes.

Folk Tale No. 1

Adam and Eve

Source: Łanalanyan, pp. 328–29, Tale 788 Բ.

Provenance: Bense (*nom de plume* of Sahak Movsisean), 'Bulanĕx or Hark' Region', Ազգագրական Հանդէս *Ethnographical Journal*, 5 (1899) and republished in Tiflis [Tbilisi]: 1901, part 2 with the title Հաւատք 'Faith').[7] The author says simply that 'people tell' this story with no further specifics. Bishop Žamkočʿyan informs us that Bense, who recorded this tale, told it himself, deriving it from his own background.

God, who created heaven and earth and finished, took a handful of dust. He created Adam.[8] Then he cast[9] slumber on Adam. He removed one rib from his left side and created Eve. He put the two of them together in the Adamic (Edenic) Garden.[10]

Satan, in the form of a snake, entered Eve's heart; Eve was deceived; she ate the fruit; she gave it to Adam; Adam ate it. They were stripped naked.[11]

God put Adam and Eve naked out of the Garden. When the gloomy night fell, they sat, wept and lamented. They did not know that light would come. At that time Satan came to Adam and said, 'What will you give me if I make light shine on you?' Adam and Eve said, 'We will give you whatever you wish, / p. 329 / only bring the light!'

7 I acknowledge the extraordinary help of Dr Gohar Muradyan of Erevan in assembling the details of bibliography, date and provenance of this and the other tales presented here, in the midst of the disruption caused by the corona virus pandemic of 2020. Bishop Anušavan Žamkočʿyan also kindly shared his learning with us. There are several places called Bulanĕx, situated in Western Armenia in the region of Bitlis (Bałeš): see Tʿadevos X. Hakobyan, Stepʿan Melikʿ-Baxšyan, and Hovhannes X. Barsełyan, Հայաստանի եվ հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան [Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories], 5 vols (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1986), I, p. 749. For topography of Bulanĕx region, see Bense, *Ethnographical Journal*, 5 (1899), p. 11 [*non vidi*].

8 The idea that God created Adam with His hand is found in texts from the pre-Christian era on: see 2 *Enoch* 44:1; cf. Psalms 119(118):73, *MH*, IX, p. 279, § 14. See further Robert W. Thomson, *Agathangelos' History of the Armenians* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976), § 308; Ada Adler (ed.), *Suidas Lexicon* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935), I, p. 43, s.v. 'Adam'; Michael the Syrian, Ժամանակագրութիւն Տեառն Միխայէլի Ասորւոց Պատրիարքի [Chronicle of Rev. Michael, Patriarch of the Syrians] (Jerusalem: St James Press, 1871), p. 5; Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets*, p. 123; Nicole Thierry, 'Le cycle de la création et de la faute d'Adam à Ałtʿamar', *RÉArm*, 17 (1983), pp. 289–329; Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, p. 111. This particular phrase is omitted from coresponding place in the other translation of Michael the Syrian's work published in 1870: Michael the Syrian, Տեառն Միխայէլի Պատրիարքի Ասորւոց Ժամանակագրութիւն [Chronicle of Rev. Michael, Patriarch of the Syrians]. (Jerusalem: St James Press: 1870).

9 Or: poured.

10 There is a graphic similarity between 'Edenic' and 'Adamic' in Armenian and, moreover, there is an Armenian variant 'Edem' for Eden which enhances that similarity. Both adjectives, of course, obviously relate to Adam's Garden.

11 'Stripped naked' is the customary verb in these texts for the result of the eating of the fruit.

He deceived (them and) just as he took the Cheirograph,[12] the eastern part of the sky cracked (open), light rose over the world. Then they repented, but of what avail? That which had happened, had happened. That Cheirograph remained with Satan until Christ came to the world. He took (it), he placed (it) under the Cross; it dissolved/melted,[13] it perished.

1. Like most of the Armenian Cheirograph texts known so far, the difficulty that the protoplasts encounter is the darkness.[14]
2. The text has nothing explicit about the writing of a document, either on stone or on brick. Instead, it has an oral undertaking of agreement.[15] However, the expression 'he took the Cheirograph' seems to imply that it is a physical object, as does its being placed under the Cross and its melting. This leads to the conclusion that the making of the Cheirograph was well-known to the teller and he did not need to explain it.
3. The riddle is not included. As noted on p. 21 above, in many forms of this legend, the protoplasts agreed to subject their descendants to Satan 'until the undying dies and the unbegotten is born'. This condition of the descendants' subjection is formulated as a riddle, which is not surprising in a folk tale. The riddle is used to make the point that Satan the deceiver is deceived by his own subterfuge. What he intended as an unfulfillable condition was precisely fulfilled in Christ.
4. The Cheirograph was deposited under the Cross, i.e., on Golgotha: compare Nos 3 and 6.

Folk Tale No. 2

Adam and Eve

Source: Łanalanyan, pp. 329–30, Tale no. 788 Ձ.

Provenance: unknown. First published by Solomon A. Egiazarov (С. А. Егиазаров), 'Изъ цикла Армянскихъ народныхъ сказаній' [From the Cycle of Armenian Folk Legends], in Братская помощь пострадавшим в Турции армянам [Brotherly Help for the Armenians Suffering in Turkey]. (2nd ed.; Moscow: И. Кушнарев, 1898), p. 103, n. 2.[16] Egiazarov provides no information about the tale's provenance.

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12 The Armenian translation of χειρόγραφον is the calque ձեռագիր, which according to Step'an Malxaseanc', Հայերեն Բացատրական Բառարան [Armenian Explanatory Dictionary], 4 vols (Erevan: Armenian SSR State Press, 1944), s.v. may mean 'something written by hand' or 'handwriting', etc. I have translated this word as 'cheirograph' in all instances.

13 See also Folk Tales Nos 3, 6. This verb 'to melt' and the expression 'to melt as wax before the flame' are used in the Hebrew Bible often to describe the impact of a theophany or other divine intervention: see Josh 2:9 (the heart melts) and many similar expressions in Ps 22:15, Ps 68(67):3, Ps 97(96):5, Mic 1:4 'melt like wax'. The usual verb in Cheirograph texts is 'to break up' or 'to trample'. In the Armenian Folk Tale 3, the same verb 'to melt' is found. According to Romanian *Plaint of Adam* type b, the Virgin melts part of the Cheirograph when she gives birth to Christ in Bethlehem; see Romanian text 2B. The words 'melt, break up, dissolve' applied to the Cheirograph may be taken to imply that it is written upon some hard material, rather than upon paper or another flexible medium. In the Bukovinan images of the signing, however, it is clearly a scroll: see Figs 8 and 9. One wonders about the material of which the scroll was made.

14 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 3, 45–46, 63–92, etc.

15 See Moncó, 'Appendix Three: The Term χείρόγραφον in the Papyri', pp. 142–46. Such is also to be observed in a Romanian version of the *Plaint of Adam* and in the Romanian carol; see texts 2C, 4.

16 Egiazarov, 'Изъ цикла Армянскихъ народныхъ сказаній', p. 103, n. 2 presents this text as an explanation of the expression 'Adam's darkness', which is used by the main character of the folk tale he is relating. This character is a captive prince, who prays during the night of the Ascension hoping for a miracle which would help him regain

Adam was expelled from the Garden in the evening. And he wandered around in the dark of night for a long time and lost hope of ever seeing the light. Satan apprehending that dawn was coming and the sun was about to shine, came to Adam and said, 'Give me your soul and I will bring the light back for you'. Adam agreed. In the morning the sun came out and Adam enjoyed the sun's light all day. In the evening, the sun set again / p. 330 / and darkness began to reign. And thus it continued every day. Adam understood that Satan had deceived him, since day and night must unconditionally follow one another, and that he had sold his soul to Satan in vain.

1. In this story the difficulty that Adam encounters is darkness; cf. No. 1, above.
2. The story is brief and omits details of exactly why or how Satan deceived Adam. Like Folk Tale No. 1, it does not include the riddle.
3. The detail of the contract between Adam and Satan is not given and Adam is simply said to have given his soul to Satan. No document, either on a scroll or on stone is mentioned.
4. The tale does not talk of the redemption of Adam's soul and, indeed, no salvific resolution is to be found. As it stands, there is nothing in this story that is explicitly Christian.[17]

Folk Tale No. 3

Adam and Eve

Source: Łanalanyan, p. 330, no. 788 Է

Provenance: This story is given in a note on p. 478 of Karapet Gabigean (Kapikian), Բառգիրք Սեբաստահայ գաւառա լեզուի. *Dictionary of the Armenian of the Sebastia Region* (Jerusalem: St James Press, 1952), p. 40 as the explanation of the expression Աղամամութ 'Adam's darkness'. Gabigian's work is on the region of Sebastia, present-day Sivas, Turkey. It appears that 'Աղամամութ' was an expression[18] denoting deep darkness,[19] which both reflected and engendered stories and likely grew out of some story about Adam's first encounter with darkness.

At the time when Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden, when for the first time they saw the sun set, they lamented and cried out greatly. When Satan saw this, he said to Adam: 'I will take you out to the light of the world if you promise to give your offspring to

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his freedom. He prays at midnight, and then he says that 'Adam's darkness' approaches. Further tales related to this term are Folk Tales Nos 4–7, below. Malxaseanc', Հայերեն Բացատրական Բառարան, I, p. 5c defines 'Աղամամութ' as 'the darkness before the appearance of the morning star or, very heavy darkness'.

17 Dr Shlomi Efrati remarked to me that: '… it reads almost like a folk tale version of the rabbinic tale of Adam's fear of death on his first night outside the Garden. When he saw the darkness, he feared that it was death and that the world had reverted to its 'unformed and void' (Gen 1:2) state. Finally, he understood that the coming of night is the way the world works (מנהגו של עולם), the natural course of events. The folk version 'only' added the figure of Satan'. He continues, '[h]owever, it is not insignificant to observe, once again, how a "Christian" tradition can be (accidentally MES) "Judaized", so to speak'. I (MES) add that a similar instance came to my attention many years ago, in *Adam Fragment I*: see p. 37, n. 5, above. That is another instance of ostensible 'Judaization' by omission, and it should be borne in mind that it is extremely unlikely that in fact, these omissions were made with that end in mind: see Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets*, pp. 4–5.

18 It was widely known, for Malxaseanc', as we noted above in n. 16, has it as a lemma in his dictionary. I have not seen it, however, in those literary texts relating to the Adam and Eve stories that I have encountered.

19 See n. 18, above.

me as captives'. Adam agreed and to affirm (this) he put the print of his hand on a brick that Satan provided. At the very same time, Satan showed Adam the East where the Morning Star had already begun to shine. And he[20] carried the brick to the Jordan River (and) buried it. When Christ came to be baptised in the Jordan River, he stood upon that brick, which dissolved at once and Adam's offspring were freed from being captives of Satan.

1. This tale, though brief in compass, is richer in detail and shares specific features with many other forms of the story. Precisely its detail distinguishes it from the two stories above. The central problem is still darkness. The contract makes the protoplasts' descendants captives in Satan's power.
2. It resembles some Romanian stories in that it has a brick not a stone Cheirograph.
3. Here a *Volksetymologie* of 'Cheirograph' turns it into a handprint. This is supported by the image in M10805 (see Fig. 3).
4. Christ, in his baptism destroyed the Cheirograph. According to the Cheirograph Legend, the destruction of the Cheirograph ended human subjection to Satan, which was what the second fall had brought on. From that event on, whenever humans are baptized they repudiate Satan and they do so explicitly as part of the ceremony of the sacrament of baptism. This resolved the subjection to Satan that came from the Cheirograph but it did not resolve sin or death. The resolution of these results of the first fall is through Christ's death.

Folk Tale No. 4

Adam's Darkness

Source: Žamkočʻyan, pp. 148–49, Tale 12.
Provenance: Recorded by the folklorist S.N. at the town of Słerd.[21] The story was published in the journal *Biwrakn* 42 (1899), p. 668, and see also *Banahawakʻ* (Słerd: 1900), pp. 688–89.

Adam's Darkness

When by the supreme command, Adam and Eve – these dainty and delicate protohumans – having been expelled from the Garden, set foot on this pain-filled and bitter world, it was the wrong time of day (and) a dark veil still wrapped the whole earth. (Being over) against this frightening and mortal[22] sight our forefathers joining their heads together, wept bitterly (and) unconsolably for hours, for there was no longer any light. Half of the night

20 That is, Satan.
21 Słerd is in Western Armenia, in the region of the same name, near Bitlis (Bałeš).
22 Literally 'having the fragrance of death'. Dr Shlomi Efrati points out to the that the connection of darkness and death is found in a Rabbinic story about Adam in the Talmud, b Avodah Zarah 8a: Our Sages taught: On the day on which Adam was created, when the sun set around him he said, 'Woe is me that, because I sinned, the world has grown dark about me and will revert to primaeval chaos. That is the death which Heaven decreed on me'. And he prayed and fasted and prayed all the night and Eve was weeping with him. When he saw that the day dawned he said, 'That is customary in the world'. Note that in this Rabbinic tale Adam took the darkness to be the death decreed in Gen 2:17 and that he and Eve wept together. These points bear some resemblance to the Armenian folk tale here. See further Introduction, n. 67, above.

had already passed, gradually the cloak of darkness opened slightly and this had[23] a very beneficial influence on our exhausted and wandering ancestors. Their doubts and sadness began to dissipate for a time, and they thought that redemption was nigh. An illusion …

/ p. 149 / A short time later and behold, the whole earth was darkened seven times more terribly than before. The first couple's grief and sadness became more unimaginable. With pain in (their) hearts they meditated and became even more persuaded that God had completely abandoned them and had precipitated (them) into this Tartarean darkness, far from His holy and sweet paternal oversight and that there was no means and hope of ascending from[24] this hellish place. While (they were) under this doubt and consideration, suddenly a Satanic apparition came and started speaking,

'Why have you come here? You see what a dark and unbearable place it is. Come on! Let us weep!' (And he weeps).

Adam, (groaning, says), 'Our portion is weeping, mourning; in this darkened, strange land we shall languish. There is no means of redemption'.

Eve also affirmed this and the three[25] (of them) together began to weep tearfully.

Satan (said),

'Come on. There is no profit in weeping. Make me a promise and at once I will change the darkness into light'.

Adam and Eve (said),

'Is this thing possible? But we, what do we have to give you?'[26]

Satan (said),

'The whole earth is yours,[27] but that which I want is very easy, only that for six thousand[28] years your descendants will be my captives'.

Adam and Eve (apart):

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23 Literally: created, made.

24 This may imply a cosmological view according to which the earth – called 'hellish place' – is lower than Eden. There is a common view that Eden was on a height or a mountain. See Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Angels and Biblical Heroes*, SBLEJL, 45 (Atlanta: SBL, 2016), p. 115 and other sources in Armenian. Also see Sergey Minov, 'Gazing at the Holy Mountain: Images of Paradise in Syriac Christian Tradition', in *The Cosmography of Paradise: The Other World from Ancient Mesopotamia to Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alessandro Scafi (London: The Warburg Institute, 2016), pp. 137–62. There is extensive bibliography on this topic.

25 Observe that here Satan weeps with Adam and Eve, an unusual event in Cheirograph tales that is presumably part of his deceptive ruse. That same quality of deception, typifying Satan's action towards Adam and Eve, was a widespread idea in the apocryphal Adam literature. Satan enters and possesses the snake and talks from its mouth, which is only one part of the deception. For example, he appears in the guise of an angel and weeps with Eve in the Tigris (*LAE* Lat 29:1, Gr 29:12a, etc.); in angelic form he accosts Adam after his expulsion according to *Adam, Eve and Incarnation* § 24 (Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 41–44); a similar description in a like context may be observed in *Adam Story 1* § 3 (Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 103–44).

26 This phrase is part of a version of the conversation between Satan and the protoplasts in which he reproves them for not giving a gift to the light-giving angel, who is himself. See the Armenian *Expulsion* § 7 and the discussion in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 66–68, 72.

27 That is, to give. According to other texts, Satan was the Prince of this World: see *MOTP*, I, p. 56, I, p. 521, etc.

28 This is a chiliastic calculation such as were very widespread in chronologies in Armenian apocryphal literature: see Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Angels and Biblical Heroes*, pp. 34–38. Christ's coming is set in the middle of the sixth millennium and the Parousia at the commencement of the seventh, sabbatical millennium.

'It suffices that also on one more occasion we will see the light-world. All the world is yours'. They said, 'Moreover, what do we care that our descendants remain his captives for six thousand years?'

Then turning to Satan (they said),

'In what way can we make public the promise that we are going to give?'

At that very same time, Satan brought a large stone and when Adam and Eve put (their) hands on (it), their promise[29] was stamped there in cuneiform letters. Then Satan showed / p. 150 / them the east where the sunlight was beginning to shine. And taking the stone, he disappeared. He carried the stone to the Jordan River and cast (it) in. It is said that this was that stone on which Christ stood, (when) he was baptized and thus he annihilated the bill of indebtedness.[30]

Then Adam and Eve with fixed eyes and being heartened, faced the East where, little by little, the veil of darkness was rent (and) the comforting and life-giving light of the sun shone. All this was forgotten; customary life began. However, again gloom and affliction beset them when they regarded the sun declining little by little towards the horizon, when the world again put on its sorrowful black.

But also on the second and third nights Satan did not forget to come to comfort his prey, at that very hour of darkness which starts three hours after midnight hour and continues until dawn breaks, about two hours in duration. This people call 'Adam's darkness'.[31]

Let us return to our story. Our ancestors were slowly comforted and understood that this was a usual thing, that is that the day follows night and night, the day, and they had been deceived into giving the document of obligation. But, how does that help?[32] What had happened, had happened.

1. This story is much more detailed than those preceding and on the whole, adheres to the Cheirograph Legend pattern quite closely. According to it, the Cheirograph was written on stone and (uniquely) in cuneiform characters.[33] This latter point might have been an inference from the cuneiform Urartian inscriptions found in parts of Armenia. No serpent, demons, or satanic guardians of the stone in the River Jordan are mentioned.
2. The aetiological explanation of the expression 'Adam's darkness' found here is also given in the following tales.

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29 Or: obligation.

30 Of course, Col. 2:14 relates Christ's cancelling of their bill of indebtedness, but he does this in his Crucifixion and not in his Baptism.

31 This second coming of Satan is unusual in the tellings of the Cheirograph Legend.

32 That is, their acceptance of the natural order: compare the Rabbinic tale quoted in n. 22, above.

33 There is concern with how the actual writing was done. One Romanian text says it is only of three letters (see text 2B). In other texts, instead of being what it was previously, a designator meaning 'binding note, undertaking', the compound word 'cheiro | graph' is separated into 'hand + writing', What then could the word mean? Various responses were developed: in the text here it is thought of as cuneiform, presumably inspired by the Urartian cuneiform inscriptions in Armenia; another interpretation is 'writing by the hand' = a handprint, or writing with blood extracted from the thumb or, as in Megas's Greek tale, writing on the hand, i.e., the creases or lines of the palm. Ironically, one Romanian witness suggests, it was an imprint of the hand, explaining that Adam had to use a handprint since he did not know how to write, for there were no schools in Adam's time – not even Hungarian or Romanian ones: see also Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 44–45.

3. Here the idea is expressed that Adam and Eve gradually grew accustomed to the alternation of day and night. The theme, therefore, of Satan's deceit is not prominent in this text nor is the idea of the trickster being tricked with riddle-like conditions.
4. In folk tale 3, Adam alone puts his handprint, here both Adam and Eve sign the contract.

Folk Tale No. 5

Adam's Darkness

Source: Žamkočʻyan, pp. 150–51, No. 13.

Provenance: This tale is recorded in the files of the folklorist, Astłik Nazarean, who knew the story from her own cultural background. See in her archive on 'Folklore of Ejmiacin and Aštarak', folder 2, fol. 361.[34]

When Adam and Eve were both deceived, God cursed the two of them. To Adam he said: 'You will get your bread by the sweat of your brow', and to Eve: 'Painfully will you give birth'.

And he also cursed the serpent which had previously deceived them: 'You shall eat dust and only a little of that'.[35]

When Adam received the curse, he noticed himself; at this very time he understood that he was naked. He was ashamed and he entered between the trees.[36] God spoke and called (him): Adam did not come forward. He said:

'Lord, I am naked. How shall I come?'

At the time when he was saying this, dawn was breaking in the east. God gave a commandment, darkness fell, so that Adam could pass naked without being ashamed.

From this day on, a little time after dawn breaks, it becomes dark, so that (even) if a man puts out somebody's eye,[37] it cannot be apprehended. Thence this darkness remained 'Adam's Darkness', after Adam's name.

This story is completely devoted to the aetiology of 'Adam's Darkness' and exhibits no Cheirograph features. Thus, it may serve as evidence that these two traditions can exist distinct from one another. In none of the traditions in other languages have we encountered this particular 'Adam's Darkness' story. However, at a less specific level of discourse, both the Cheirograph Legend and Adam's Darkness deal with the issue of darkness and in both the darkness is connected with Adam's transgression.

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34 The archive is deposited at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Armenian Academy of Sciences in Erevan.

35 The feature 'only a little of that' is unusual and no parallel has been found.

36 That is, hid away among the trees.

37 Apparently, this is an instance of hyperbole – even if someone is blinded, the darkness is so deep that it cannot be apprehended. It amazes even the blind. There is a similar association between darkness and blindness in Romanian, in the expression: 'so dark, that one could put one's fingers in the eyes'; see *Dicționarul limbii române,* II, part I (Bucharest: Imprimeria națională, 1934), s.v. *întunerec.*

Folk Tale No. 6

Adam's Darkness

Source: Žamkočʻyan, p. 151, No. 14
Provenance: Bense's records, folio 8996 and see p. 308.[38]

The darkness that is before daybreak, the deep darkness, is called 'Adam's darkness' by the people. Adam and Eve, having sinned, were cast out of the Garden, naked and unclothed.[39] Despairing, they waited for the light, but there was no light. Satan proposed to Adam to give a Cheirograph that he would become his subject and carry out his will in exchange for the promise to free (them) from darkness by bringing the light.[40] He gave the Cheirograph, the light came spontaneously, but Adam had been deceived …

That Cheirograph he (Satan) buried on Golgotha, where Christ was crucified and (then) the Cheirograph was dissolved and became nothing and He freed the human race from Satan.

1. Here we have the Cheirograph Legend in brief compass combined with the aetiology.
2. The fate of the Cheirograph is to be buried on Golgotha and melted at the time of the Crucifixion. Interestingly, above, the same verb 'melted' is used also of its destruction in the Baptism of Christ.[41]

Folk Tale No. 7

Adam's Darkness

Source: Žamkočʻyan, pp. 151–52, No. 15
Provenance: This tale is drawn from Y. Gazančean, 'Linguistic and Ethnographic Notes', *Biwrakn*, 16 (23) (1898), pp. 436–38. It was recorded by the folklorist, Tutuxean.[42]

The day of Adam's expulsion from the Garden was the day on which the sun set for the first time. Adam was not accustomed to the dark and shaking violently, he fell[43] into gloom

38 This is a reference to Bense's longhand manuscript which is kept in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Armenian Academy of Sciences, *non vidi*.

39 This apparently contradicts Gen 3:7 which describes their making 'aprons' from fig leaves, and Gen 3:21 which reads, 'And the LORD God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skins, and clothed them'. The treatment of the garments in the interpretation of the Fall story is well analysed by Gary A. Anderson, 'The Garments of Skin in Apocryphal Narrative and Biblical Commentary', in *Studies in Ancient Midrash*, ed. by James L. Kugel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Centre for Jewish Studies, 2001), pp. 101–43. The same anomaly apparently occurs in the preceding tale, No. 5.

40 The submission of Adam's descendants to Satan is missing from this story.

41 See n. 13, above.

42 Gazančean records at the end of that article that he is from Eutokia = Tokat, in present-day Turkey, so perhaps the story he quotes is also from that region. In the journal Բիւրակն *Biwrakn* (1898), published in Constantinople, and kindly made available in a digital form by Bishop Anušavan Žamkočʻyan, there is also an article on 'Adam's darkness' (Ադամամութ) by D. Xočʻkoncʻ titled 'A Preliminary Attempt to Resolve Ադամամութ' on pp. 438–42.

43 There is an Armenian tradition that from the Garden they fell into a dark intermediate place where they stayed for five days; see Introduction, n. 14.

and darkness.[44] When, in a dream, he saw Christ on the Cross, he awoke crying, 'Cross! Help me!' This dream of Adam's reminds me of 'Cross! Help me!' in our tongue.[45]

It was dark, he wept. When the First Man awoke, Satan persuaded him that he (i.e., Satan) would bring him light and that he (Adam) should recompense his (Satan's) bringing the light by a word.[46] Adam, following the demon's counsel, set his hand upon a stone and saying, 'Those which come from me are yours', he gave him his contract (Cheirograph).

The night doubled its blackness and gloom. At that time Adam's darkness surrounded the whole earth. Satan consoled Adam and said that he should follow him. And after a little while the sun showed weakly on the threshold of the east. It was at the time of daybreak when Satan wished to bring light to Adam. And from that day on the sun climbs in the heavens in the period of good light and Satan is called the splendid morning star and Lucifer.[47]

1. In this tale, both traditions, that of the Cheirograph and that of 'Adam's darkness' are to be found, in a fairly coherent marriage.
2. The riddle of the Cheirograph is not mentioned, nor are Satan's deceptive actions. Neither is Eve mentioned in this text.
3. Satan's hiding of the Cheirograph or its hiding place are not mentioned, nor are the destruction of the Cheirograph and the redemption of Adam's descendants from Satan's clutches.
4. The folk tale says that Adam had a prophetic dream: he foresaw Christ's Crucifixion and, implicitly, his own redemption. The theme of Adam's prophetic dream about Christ's Crucifixion is attested in several Slavonic apocryphal writings, among which *The Creation of Adam* and *The Sea of Tiberias*.[48] Another prophetic dream attributed to Adam appears in the Slavonic *LAE* (2.2b). It is about the fratricide; the other language traditions of *LAE* attribute the prophetic dream about fratricide to Eve.[49] Adam sees other visions in *LAE* Latin 25:1–29, 29:2–10. Among the Cheirograph texts this detail is unique to the Armenian folk tale discussed here: Adam's knowledge, of course, diminishes his guilt in signing the Cheirograph with Satan. His redemption through Christ is promised to Adam, according to *Testament of Adam* frag. 2, § 2.[50]

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44 մրաթի cannot be found in the dictionaries. For it we venture a translation 'darkness, etc.' based on context. Conceivably it is a derivative of the word մուր 'soot'. Intriguingly, it is a scribal metathesis of մթարի, an adjective derived from մութ 'darkness' (Sh. Efrati).

45 Literally: alphabet, perhaps meaning 'something written'. This is a comment by the reciter of the story, presumably on an interjection current in his own dialect. Alternatively, Emanuela Timotin drew my attention to a Romanian village custom of warding off evil by making the sign of the cross in the oral cavity with the tongue. Conceivably something analogous is intended here.

46 The 'word' here seems to indicate a written document. It is possible that, in addition, this is deliberately blasphemous, deriving from Ps 33(32):6 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made'.

47 Lucifer (light-bringer) is the name of the morning star. It became a name for Satan because of Isa 14:12, whence the name Lucifer for the Devil was inferred.

48 For the texts, see Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 46–47, 212. For other Slavonic and Greek texts which include the same motif of Adam's prophetic dream, see Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 71–73.

49 See *LAE* Greek 2:2-3, Latin 23:2, Armenian 23(2):2–3, Georgian 23(2):2–3.

50 Mihály Kmoskó, 'Testamentum Patris Nostri Adam', in *Patrologia Syriaca* 2, ed. by René Graffin (Paris: Firmin-Didot: 1907), pp. 1339–344; Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, *Testamentum Adae Arabicum*, Arameo-Arabica et Graeca, 2 (Madrid, Ed. Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, Editorial Sindéresis, 2019), pp. 53–54.

A Literary Text

This section of our book comprises the presentation of an Armenian literary text referring to the Cheirograph Legend and concerning which some considerations are added that spell out implications and innovate in comparison to my previous study of it.[1]

In the book *Armenian Apocrypha: Relating to Adam and Eve,* I published a text titled *Abel and other Pieces*. Part 2 of *Abel and Other Pieces* is called *The Cheirograph of Adam* and is relevant to our present study.[2] I myself also discussed it in an article in 2000 but a re-examination teaches me that it is worth considering once more, for the interesting issues it raises.[3] The passage is erotapocritic, that is, it is formulated as a Question and the Answer to it. It is preserved in Erevan, Matenadaran, manuscript no. M10200, a *Miscellany,* copied in 1624, 1634, and 1666.[4] A second manuscript copy of this particular Question and Answer was printed by Archbishop Norayr Bogharian (Połarean) from Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate manuscript J840 of 1609 CE, fol. 640r.[5] The text, I was informed by Dr Roberta R. Ervine, occurs in the still unpublished *Book of Questions* of the scholar Vanakan *vardapet* (1181–1251 ce).[6] It is one of the oldest datable Armenian Cheirograph texts and we show in the notes below that indeed the Cheirograph Legend lies behind much of its wording.[7]

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1 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*.

2 Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, pp. 144–46. I myself assigned the titles, which are not found in the manuscript.

3 Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam', pp. 149–66.

4 In the *AIEA* system, M is the sigil for Erevan, Matenadaran and J for Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate. On the Matenadaran manuscript, see Ōnnik Ēganyan, Antranik Zeytʻunyan, and Pʻaylak Antʻabyan, Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան մատենադարանի [Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Maštocʻ Matenadaran] (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1966), II, cols 1067–68.

5 See Norayr Bogharian, Մայր ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Սրբոց Յակոբեանց [Grand Catalogue of St James Manuscripts], 11 vols (Jerusalem: St James Press, 1968), III, p. 324. The manuscript is described in that volume.

6 One suspects that this medieval scholar's work played a substantial role in the development and crystallization of many Armenian parabiblical texts and traditions. See Roberta R. Ervine, 'Antecedents and Parallels to Some Questions and Answers on Genesis in Vanakan Vardapet's *Book of Questions*', *Le Muséon*, 113 (2000), pp. 417–28; Michael E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Abraham*, SBLEJL, 37 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), p. 125.

7 Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam', pp. 149–66, and especially n. 17 on p. 155.

The two copies of the text are published here in a synoptic edition. Remarks touching upon both texts are linked to the appropriate points in the text of M10200.

M10200	**J840**
2.1 Հարց. Եւ որ է ձեռագիրն Ադամա:	2.1 Հարցմունք. Ո՞ր է ձեռայգիր Ադամայ:
2.2 Պատասխանի. զոր ասաց Աստուած. մի ուտեր. յանձն էառ Ադամ. թէ ուտէ մեռանի.	2.2 Զոր ասաց Արարիչ եւ Աստուած թէ, մի ուտեր ի պտղոյն եւ թէ ուտես մեռանիր:
2.3 Զայն գրեալ ունէր սատանայ. եւ ասէր ցԱստուած.	2.3 զայն գրեալ ունէր սատանայ. եւ ասէր ցԱստուած.
2.4 Դու ասացեր. եւ յանձն էառ Ադամ եւ չպահեաց. իմ մեղ ի՞նչ է:	2.4 Դու ասացեր թէ մի ուտեր եւ ինքն յանձ էառ եւ չպահեաց: Իմ մեղ ի՞նչ է:
2.5 զայն ձգմամբ ձեռին ի խաչին պատառեաց	2.5 Զայն ձեռագիրն ձգմամբ, անարատ ձեռացն Տէրն պատառեաց ի խաչին:
2.6 ասելով ցսատանայ. թէ ես չի մեղա. ընդէ՞ր ետուր խաչել. ահա, դու ես պատճառ:	2.6 Եւ ասաց ցսատանայ. թէ ես զեմ չմեղայ, ընդէ՞ր ետուր զիս խաչել. ապա գիտաջիր որ դուն ես պատճառ, ո́վ չար սատանայ:
2.7 Հրէից ձեռագիրն՝ որ ասացին. Զամենայն զոր ինչ ասէ Աստուած լսենք եւ առնենք:	2.7 Հրէից ձեռագիրն այն է. թէ ասացին. Ամենայն զոր ինչ ասէ Աստուած լսեմք եւ առնեմք:
2.8 որպէս մեք աւազանաւն ասեմք. հրաժարեմք ի սատանայէ:	2.8 եւ քրիստոնէիցս ձեռագիրն այն է. զոր աւազանաւ ասեմք. Հրաժարիմք ի սատանայէ եւ ի կամաց նորա:
2.9 Գ.(3) են ձեռագիրք. զԲ.(2) Տէր պատառեաց ի խաչին. զԱդամայն եւ զհրէից:	2.9 Երեք են ձեռագիրն. Ա.(1) Ադամայ. Բ.(2) հրէից. Գ.(3) քրիստոնէից: … Տէր պատառեաց ի խաչին:
2.10 Եւ զմերն պատառէ խոստովանութիւնն եւ ապաշխարութիւնն եւ ողորմութեամբ արեանն Քրիստոսի:	2.10 Եւ զմերն պատառէ խոստովանութիւնն եւ ապաշխարութիւնն եւ ողորմութեամբ արեանն Քրիստոսի:

M10200	**J840**
2.1 Question: And which is Adam's cheirograph?	2.1 Question: Which is Adam's cheirograph?
2.2 Answer: That which God says, 'Do not eat'. Adam took for himself. If he eats he dies.	2.2 That of which the Creator and God said, 'Do not eat of the fruit! and if you eat, die!'
2.3 That[8] having been written down, Satan held (it) and said to God,	2.3 That having been written down, Satan held (it) and said to God,
2.4 'You said (it) and Adam took for himself and did not observe (your commandment). And, what is my sin?'	2.4 'You said, "Do not eat!" and he took for himself and did not observe (the commandment). What is my sin?'

8 That is, Adam's transgression was written in a cheirograph.

M10200	J840
2.5 He,[9] upon the Cross, by extending his hand, rent it,	2.5 The Lord upon the Cross, by extending his immaculate hands, rent that cheirograph.
2.6 saying to Satan, 'I did not sin. Why did you cause (me) to be crucified? Behold, you are the cause'.	2.6 And he said to Satan, 'I certainly did not sin, why did you cause me to be crucified? Then know that you are the cause, O wicked Satan'.
2.7 The cheirograph of the Jews (is) that they said, 'To whatever God says, we hearken and we do it'.	2.7 The cheirograph of the Jews is that, that they said, 'To whatever God says, we hearken and we do it'.
2.8 Just as we by means of the baptismal font say, 'We renounce Satan'.	2.8 And the cheirograph of the Christians is that by means of the baptismal font we say, 'We renounce Satan and his will'.
2.9 There are three cheirographs. Two the Lord rent on the cross, that of Adam and that of the Jews".	2.9 There are three cheirographs: the first of Adam, the second of the Jews, and the third of the Christians. … the Lord rent on the Cross.
2.10 And confession rends ours, and penitence, through the mercy of the blood of Christ.	2.10 And confession rends ours, and penitence, through the mercy of the blood of Christ.

Annotations:

1. In this text, the story of Adam's cheirograph is told, here understood as his bill of indebtedness that was generated by sin (see Col. 2:13–14),[10] and a number of elements drawn from the Cheirograph Legend are introduced into it. In addition, one detail from the story of the primordial Fall of the Angels is also included. The author, we may assume, knew the Cheirograph Legend, but chose to include only such elements of the Legend as fitted his purpose and he omitted the whole of the Second Fall incident, together with the darkness, Satan's deception, and the riddle. However, the very term 'Cheirograph of Adam' may allude to the Legend, for Colossians refers to 'the bond (i.e., the cheirograph) which stood against us (humans)', not 'against Adam'. The question may be posed, in light of this remark, whether the text has a polemical intent, rejecting the extra-biblical Cheirograph of Adam Legend in favour of Col. 2:13–14. That polemic might explain the extended meaning of 'cheirograph' in this text.

An example of this sort of a polemic against the Cheirograph Legend may be observed in a sixteenth-century *Sermon on the Sinners' Cheirograph* by Maxim the Greek, who wrote it in Moscow with the intention of preventing the transmission of the Cheirograph Legend. In his time, Maxim the Greek played a considerable role in the opposition to non-canonical writings and in correction of the 'false' beliefs of the Russian people.[11]

9 That is, Christ.

10 The three cheirographs in this document come into being because of disobedience of the Divine commandments enumerated.

11 See Élie Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident. Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée religieuse et philosophique de Michel Trivolis* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer-Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1943); Neža Zajc, 'Maxim Grec (Maksim Grec): The Preservation of (Canonical) Christian Tradition', in *Studies on Mediterranean Culture and History: From the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Steven M. Oberhelman (Athens: Athens Institute

2. This Armenian document, as has been pointed out, resembles in many respects *Homily* 6 by John Chrysostom on Colossians 2.[12] That passage reads:

> Which cheirograph? Does it speak of that one in which they (i.e., the people) said to Moses, 'Everything which God said we shall do and we shall obey' (Exod 24:3)? Or, if it is not that one, is it that we owe God obedience? Or, if it is not that one, is it the cheirograph that the Devil was holding, which God made with Adam, saying, 'On the day when you eat of the tree you shall die (Gen 2:17)?'[13]

Observe that Chrysostom knows three cheirographs and they are said to be implied in the same biblical verses both in his *Homily* and in *Cheirograph of Adam*. The three cheirographs are bills of indebtedness engendered by transgressions. A more detailed discussion of these ideas follows in annotation no. 8, below.[14]

3. The author expands on the Genesis story of God's prohibition to eat of the Tree of Knowledge (Gen 2:16–17). As far as I know this is the first, indeed the only other instance of God's command not to eat being called a cheirograph in an Armenian text. In fact, I venture to suggest that this apparent anomaly, i.e., that the prohibition is called a cheirograph, is produced by a conceptual ellipsis. The meaning is actually that Adam's transgression of the prohibition generated a bill of indebtedness which is called a cheirograph. This interpretation may be inferred from this author's treatment of Col. 2:14 in § 2.5. This meaning of cheirograph as a 'bill of indebtedness' that Adam incurred by his sin is very old in Christian tradition.[15]

4. That command, or more precisely its transgression, is recorded in a cheirograph, a bill of indebtedness and that cheirograph is held by Satan.[16] This incident is not included in the Genesis Fall story in which, as is well-known, Satan does not even feature. The idea that the cheirograph document is held by Satan comes directly from, or else plays a role in the generation of the Cheirograph Legend. The Legend relates that, after tricking Adam into signing, Satan takes the signed contract, the cheirograph, and, according to most versions he hides it in the River Jordan.

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for Education and Research, 2014), pp. 67–78; for the text against the Cheirograph Legend, see Maksim Grec, Сочинения [Works], 3 vols (Saint Petersburg: Axion Estin, 1910–1911, repr. 2007), II: Догматико-полемические его сочинения [His Dogmatic-Polemic Works], pp. 323–28.

12 *PG* 62:340. See Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam', pp. 152–56 where the texts are analysed in detail. That passage is the source of our discussion here.

13 This passage also occurs in the ancient Armenian translation of this *Homily*. That translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Epistles of Paul* is dated to the fifth century, among the earliest translations into Armenian: see Garegin Zarbhanalean, Մատենադարան Հայկական Թարգմանութեանց Նախնեաց [Library of Ancient Armenian Translations] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1889), pp. 581–82. The plain sense of Col. 2:13–14, as we have said, is such that the connection of the cheirograph with Adam in particular is not made. Nonetheless, John Chrysostom does highlight this connection quite explicitly. This identification might be thought, in general, to be one of the building blocks of the Cheirograph Legend, and it is clear from the comparison of the Chrysostom passage with the text, 'The Cheirograph of Adam' being discussed here that the latter is most likely dependent (directly or indirectly) on Chrysostom's words. It is not very probable, in light of our present knowledge, that Chrysostom witnesses a familiarity with the Cheirograph Legend. Instead, it seems that his interpretation arises from the Old Adam – New Adam typology. The New Adam, Christ, cancels the bond of indebtedness which the Old Adam engendered, and that act is the subject of Col. 2:13–14.

14 Chrysostom connects the cheirograph with the baptism, compare n. 23, below.

15 It is discussed in detail in Stone, 'Adam, Eve and the Incarnation', especially p. 170.

16 This is very like *Homily 6 on Colossians* (*PG* 62:341): Κατεῖχεν οὖν τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτο ὁ διάβολος.

5. Satan's question 'What is my sin?' cannot be understood from this text itself, nor can it be based on Genesis nor on Colossians. What is implied is the idea that Satan was expelled from his heavenly status as an angel and became earthbound and wicked because of a sin that he committed. His sin is identified in many sources as jealousy[17] and that led to hubristic speech and actions.[18] This is made very explicit in *LAE* 12–16 and is a common extra-biblical idea. The idea that Satan was an angel who set himself up over against God with arrogant pride has one chief Hebrew Bible source, the Lucifer passage in Isa 14:12–14, where the fall of an overweeningly prideful heavenly figure is described.[19] When this passage was written it evoked an ancient myth and it was later identified as a reference to the Fall of the Angels. It is, of course, taken up in the language of various verses in Luke 10. Compare on our particular point, Luke 10:18: 'And he said to them, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven"'. Here the primordial angelic fall is explicitly that of Satan, and that fall is referred to by the quotation of Isa 14:12–14. However, this complex of ideas relating to Satan's fall with its ancient, mythical background, is quite outside the perimeter of the Cheirograph Legend.

Satan's question in § 2.4: 'What is my sin?' is not answered, but strangely it is echoed by Christ's words on the Cross according to § 2.5 of this text. He asks Satan there: 'Why did you cause me to be crucified?'

6. In § 2.5 a brief summary is given of Col. 2:13–14, which passage contains the only instance of the word χειρόγραφον in the Greek Bible. That passage reads:

> Col. 2:13 And you, who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses, 2:14 having cancelled the bond which stood against us (ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον) with its legal demands; this he set aside, nailing it to the cross.

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17 That it was jealousy of Adam that motivated Satan is commonplace in Armenian literature from the fifth century on. See Agathangelos (Thomson, *Agathangelos' History of the Armenians*, §§73, 278); Eznik, *Refutation of the Sects*, texts #33 and #35; Łazar P'arpec'i, *History of Armenia and Letter to Vahan Mamikonean*, text #1; P'awstos Buzand, *History of the Armenians*, text #2, all in M. E. Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition: Fifth Through Seventeenth Centuries*, SBLEJL, 38 (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), pp. 253, 256, 272, 278, etc.

18 This story of the fall of Satan is, of course, not related in the Bible, though its existence may be referred to in Rev. 12:3–4. On the Satan figure, see the fine, concise presentation by Theodor H. Gaster, 'Satan', *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville–New York: Abingdon, 1962), IV, pp. 224–28. There are also numerous studies of the development of the figure of Satan, including a series of three books by Jeffrey B. Russell: *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Early Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1981); *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984). See also Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

19 Isa 14:12 uses what was apparently a well-known mythological incident of hubris and fall to taunt the king of Babylon. That mythological incident apparently fell into desuetude some time after Isaiah's use of it, and subsequent interpreters took this passage of Isaiah as a reference to the fall of Satan. It became central to concepts of Satan, the chief fallen angel, as they developed: See Gaster, 'Satan', pp. 226–27; Wilfred G. E. Watson, 'Helel הילל,' in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons* (= DDD), ed. by Karel van der Toorn and others (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 746–50; on the development of this figure into Lucifer, see Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Another passage was also used thus in Ps 82:6–7(81:5–6), '6 I say, "You are gods, sons of the Most High, all of you; 7 nevertheless, you shall die like men, and fall like any prince"'. Again, there seems to be a prior mythological background to the passage that was subsequently, e.g., in Eznik (fifth century; Eznik, *Refutation of the Sects*, text #53 in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, pp. 263–64), also taken to refer to the fallen angels. The tradition of Satan/Lucifer's pride, deriving from Isa 14, was widespread: see, e.g., *2 Enoch* 29:3.

Observe that ἐξαλείψας, the first verb used in Col. 2:14, is translated in RSV 'cancelled' but the corresponding verb in the summary of that verse in *Abel* § 2.5 is Armenian պատառեաց 'rend, tear' and even 'to break into pieces'. Basically, ἐξαλείψας means 'wipe off, erase' and was used, *inter alia*, for erasing writing to enable reuse of the papyrus or parchment as a palimpsest. In the Armenian Bible, the verb in Col. 2:14 is ջնջեաց 'he cancelled, annihilated'. Significantly, the Armenian verb պատառեաց 'rend, etc.' used in *Abel* § 2.5 is the very verb that is usually used in Armenian texts of the Cheirograph Legend for what Christ does to the Cheirograph in the course of his Baptism.[20] In turn, this idea of breaking or rending the Cheirograph comes from the application of Ps 74(73):13–14 to Christ's Baptism. In Ps 74(73):13, the Armenian Bible has yet a third verb: խորտակեցեր 'you smashed, broke into pieces'. However, the verb used in *Abel* § 2.5 is typically employed in the Cheirograph Legend texts' re-use of the idea from Ps 74(73) and its very occurrence here brings the Cheirograph Legend to mind.

The combination of Ps 74(73) and the baptism of Christ, at which time he crushed the dragon-Satan, is found in early Christian writing from the fourth century on.[21] Building blocks of the Cheirograph Legend do appear very clearly in the tenth century Armenian writer Artawazd Mzazuni.[22] A supposedly early occurrence is in a treatise *On the Baptism of Christ* included among the genuine works of Ełišē.[23] However, this work is apparently wrongly attributed and an exact date for it cannot be given. The ideas are clearly expressed in this *Homily on the Baptism* attributed to pseudo-Ełišē, which reads: եւ առաջինն Ադամ, խաբեալ յօձէն արտաքոյ լինի փափկութեան տնօրինեալ երկրորդ Ադամն, ջախէ զգլուխ վիշապին ի Յորդանանու հոսանսն: 'And the first Adam, having been deceived by the serpent, was expelled from delight – i.e., the Garden of Delight – παραδείσος τῆς τρυφῆς – (and), having disposed, the second Adam broke the head of the serpent'.[24]

7. The last sentence of J840 § 2.5 is inexplicable within the document, but is based on the idea that Christ's suffering on the cross is salvific, and that salvation was needed because of sin which was the result, in the first place, of Satan's actions towards Adam. He caused Adam to sin. Indeed, this is an answer to the question Satan poses in § 2.4.

8. In § 2:9 three cheirographs are enumerated. In this case, cheirograph seems to mean 'promise, undertaking'. That of the Jews is related in Exod 24:7 and is an oral asseveration. That of the Christians is the baptismal formula of the renunciation of Satan.[25] The third

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20 The other less common verb was 'to melt' (հալել), which occurs in some of the folk tales: see p. 39, n. 13 above.

21 See Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 81. Henry Ansgar Kelly in his book of 1985, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock), on pp. 71–73 discusses the use of Ps 74(73) in a baptismal context; on p. 145 he notes its occurrence in this context in Cyril of Jerusalem (318–86 ce).

22 Artawazd Mzazuni in *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit*, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, pp. 80–81.

23 Ps.-Ełišē, *On the Baptism of Christ*, text #7, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 245. It reads: 'the second Adam, being incarnated, smashed the head of the dragon in the streams of the Jordan'. The reference to incarnation puts this in the context of Epiphany, which combined with Baptism to form a powerful magnet for the idea of the dragon.

24 Note that the typical Cheirograph Legend specifics lack here. For that reason, we append this text to Mzazuni's section, for its combination of features is not unlike his and so indicate an early medieval date.

25 Of course, the renunciation of Satan forms part of the Armenian Baptism ritual, as may be seen in Frederik C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 92–93; Gabriele Winkler, *Das Sanctus: Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und*

Fig. 3. Baptism Scene, M10805, fol. 12c.

cheirograph is textually supported by Col. 2:13–14.[26] In none of these three instances specified in the text is the cheirograph Adam's contract with Satan. In this matter, the ideas forwarded by this section of *Abel* called *The Cheirograph of Adam*, overlap with those of Maxim the Greek, observed above in annotation 1. They are also close to the excerpt from John Chrysostom's *Homily on Colossians*, quoted above in annotation 2.

sein Fortwirken, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 267 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2002), pp. 196–97 and 356–57. The exorcism and renunciation of Satan are discussed in detail by Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*. The iconography of Christ's baptism is not discussed there.

26 See Annotation 6, above on the word χειρόγραφον in the Bible.

A Proposed New Piece of Armenian Iconographic Evidence

In an article of 2014, Ani Baladian and Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan published a new reading of the well-known pair of stelae at Odzun (Ojun).[1] Having consulted old photographs of a rather badly eroded scene of the Baptism on the western face of the northern column, they discerned a dragon which they claim is holding an object in its mouth which they think is rectangular (Fig. 4).[2] They point out that the relief as they decipher it greatly resembles the scene of the Baptism in M10805, fol. 12c, a Four Gospels manuscript copied in the village of Salajor in the region of Karin (Erzurum) in 1587 (see Fig. 3).[3] In that scene Christ is immersed to the waist in the River Jordan, standing above a dragon-snake which has a white rectangular object in its mouth, upon which the outline of a hand may be discerned.[4] John the Baptist is actually represented as standing on or very near the head of the dragon-snake. A caption, original to the painting, is found below the lower part of the frame. It reads Գետն Յորդանան. սատանան կերպ վիշապ օձի. որ պահէ ի մէջ ջրոյն Ադամայ ձեռագիրն: 'The River Jordan. Satan (in the) form of a dragon-snake, which guards the Cheirograph of Adam in the water'. Jean-Pierre Mahé noted the image's relationship to the Cheirograph Legend in 2007, in the *Armenia Sacra* Exhibition catalogue, being familiar with the early publication of the Cheirograph Legend included in the *Cycle of Four Works* issued by Yovsēpʻeancʻ in 1896.[5]

The Odzun stele is not well preserved at the crucial point. Our examination of several images, some of them from the early twentieth century, lead us to the conclusions that first, there is a dragon in the water which, second, has something in its mouth. That thing in its mouth might theoretically be construed as a parallelogram, though if this were so, then none of its four edges is visible even in the older photographs.

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1 Ani T. Baladian and Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, 'Les colonnes de la Foi de Ojun', *RÉArm*, 36 (2014), pp. 149–212. Dr Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan graciously made copies of some old photographs available (see Fig. 4). Permission to republish the image of the Baptism and the reconstruction was granted by her and by the *RÉArm.*

2 See Baladian, and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, 'Les colonnes de la Foi de Ojun', pp. 164–65. See also Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, 'L'influence des textes apocryphes de la *Pénitence d'Adam* et du *Livre d'Adam* sur l'iconographie du Baptême dans la miniature arménienne du Vaspurakan', in *La Vie d'Adam et Ève et les traditions adamiques*, ed. by Frédéric Amsler and others, pp. 367–75.

3 My attention was first directed to this image by the late Emma Korkhmazian of the Matenadaran. I discussed it in relation to the Legend of the Cheirograph in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 54–57, with the image itself reproduced on p. 56. Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan knew it from an exhibition held in the Louvre on February 21 to May 21, 2007. The image is also reproduced in the catalogue of that exhibition: Jannic Durand, Ioana Rapti, and Dorota Giovannoni, *Armenia Sacra: mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), p. 390.

4 Observe that in other images of the Baptism with a dragon, Christ is clearly standing **on** the head of the dragon-snake, but in M10805 it is John the Baptist who is standing on the snake's head. Indeed, this image seems to separate Christ's feet from the serpent (see Fig. 3).

5 S. Yovsēpʻeancʻ, Անկանոն գիրք հին կտակարանաց [Non-canonical Books of the Old Testament] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1896), pp. 307–24.

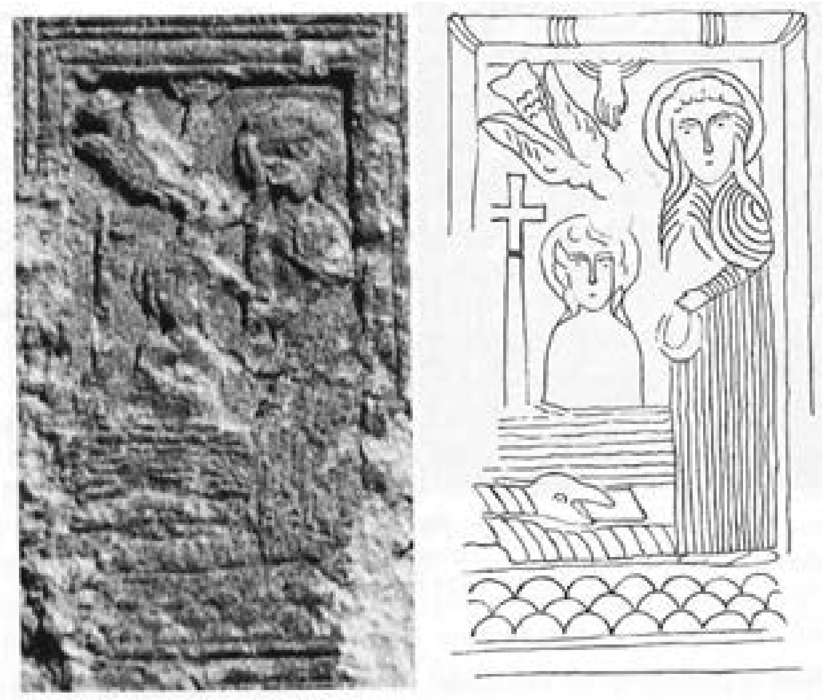

Fig. 4. Odzun stele, Baptism of Christ, perhaps 7th–8th century.

Mahé thinks that the iconography of M10805 is an innovation of the sixteenth century. Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, however, read the Odzun stele in light of the miniature of M10805 and they specifically identify the object in between the dragon's jaws as a rectangular document (see Fig. 4). Concerning this identification, the following must be remarked. As far as is known today, this explicit element of the Cheirograph in the dragon-serpent's mouth does not occur in Armenian miniatures of the Baptism, even when they contain a dragon-serpent, except for M10805 (see Fig. 3). Thus, if Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan correctly identify the object in the snake-dragon's mouth, then seventh-eighth century[6] image on the Odzun stele would be the sole additional witness to iconography of the scene which is preserved only in the sixteenth-century miniature in M10805. No other parallels are known, but the *argumentum e silentio* is not decisive and, of course, it serves us well to remember that in most cases the surviving evidence is but a small part of the whole. In my own examination of photographs of the Odzun stele image, some graciously made available by Dr Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, I discerned something in the dragon's mouth, which in my view seems likely to be its tongue, that may be observed also in other old images of a dragon. I fail to discern the edges of a document or other rectangular object which extends mostly beyond the dragon's snout. But, I freely admit that the images are far from clear.

6 The date is uncertain and some experts would say sixth century, preceding the Arab conquest.

Many scholars, including Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, date the Odzun stelae to the seventh century. In her study of the use of the technical term 'cheirograph' in Late Antiquity, Beatriz Moncó argues that the usage of this term in the Legend of the Cheirograph meaning 'contract', must be of the sixth century or later, by which date the ancient legal meaning of the term as 'a note of hand' had quite disappeared.[7] There is a very narrow window of time left between the date *post quem* implied by Moncó's philological argument (from the sixth century on) and Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalian's reading of the Odzun stele image, which image they date to the seventh century. This period would still be narrow even if the stelae were somewhat later. Moreover, Moncó's argument relates to Greek linguistic usage, while the Odzun stele is an Armenian artefact, and therefore, we must assume the process of its cross-cultural spread to have taken place in the same narrow window of time. I find Moncó's arguments to be quite persuasive, and in light of this chronological Procrustean bed and of the lack of any contemporary or somewhat later unambiguous parallels to the proposed iconography, her claims raise a difficulty that cannot at present be resolved.

Armenian miniatures of the Baptism sometimes include a dragon-snake in the water, but, except for the case of M10805, there is no other example in the known Baptism images of the Cheirograph being held in the dragon's snout (see Fig. 3).[8] This appearance of the dragon-snake in the Baptism may be understood as a reading of Psalm 74(73):13–14, which passage describes God's victorious struggle with river and water monsters:

> 13 Thou didst divide the sea by thy might; thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters. 14 Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan, thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness.

Satan or Hades was often depicted as a dragon (Leviathan) and Psalm 74(73):13 is a biblical warrant for this depiction.[9] The dragon = Hades = Satan is thus shown as trampled upon in Baptism scenes, to which the verses of Psalm 74(73) were interpreted to refer.[10]

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7 Moncó, 'Appendix Three: The Term Χειρόγραφον in the Papyri', pp. 142–46.

8 This is absolutely clear, for example in a miniature by Mesrop of Xizan, in the Getty collection, available on internet: see Fig. 5. The image was painted in New Julfa (Isfahan), in 1615, 85.Ms.282, fol. 7r. A survey of the chief scenes of Armenian art in which a dragon-serpent features is given by Ani Yenokyan, 'Վիշապ-օձի պատկերագրութիւնը Հայ մանրնկարչութեան մէջ' [The Iconography of the Dragon-Serpent in Armenian Miniature Painting], in Վիշապը հեքիաթի եվ իրականութեան սահմանին [Višap on the Borderline of Fairy Tale and Reality], ed. by Arsen Bobokhyan, Alessandra Gilibert, and Pavel Hnila (Erevan: Institute of Archaeology, 2019), pp. 388–96.

9 On the relation of Satan and the serpent in the Armenian literary tradition, see Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, pp. 177–210.

10 This interpretation is already witnessed in the *Testament of Asher* 7:3 which reads: '… Until the Most High will visit the earth. And he, coming as a man, eating and drinking with men, and in silence breaking the head of the dragon through water, will in this way save Israel and all the gentiles, God playing the part of a man'. Hollander and de Jonge not only date *TAsher* to the second century, but they adduce a number of other early Christian applications of Ps 74(73):13 to Christ in his Baptism. See Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: a Commentary*, SVTP, 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), p. 360. Of course, the *višap* dragon was an old Armenian mythological beast and the evidence for this is discussed in the book, Վիշապը հեքիաթի եվ իրականութեան սահմանին [Višap on the Borderline of Fairy Tale and Reality], ed. by Bobokhyan, Gilibert, and Hnila. There was also an old Near Eastern myth about Leviathan or a dragon, which as we have said, stands behind the verses of Ps 74(73) that we discussed and to which ancient myth there are many other allusions in the Hebrew Bible, especially in Psalms, Job and the prophetic books.

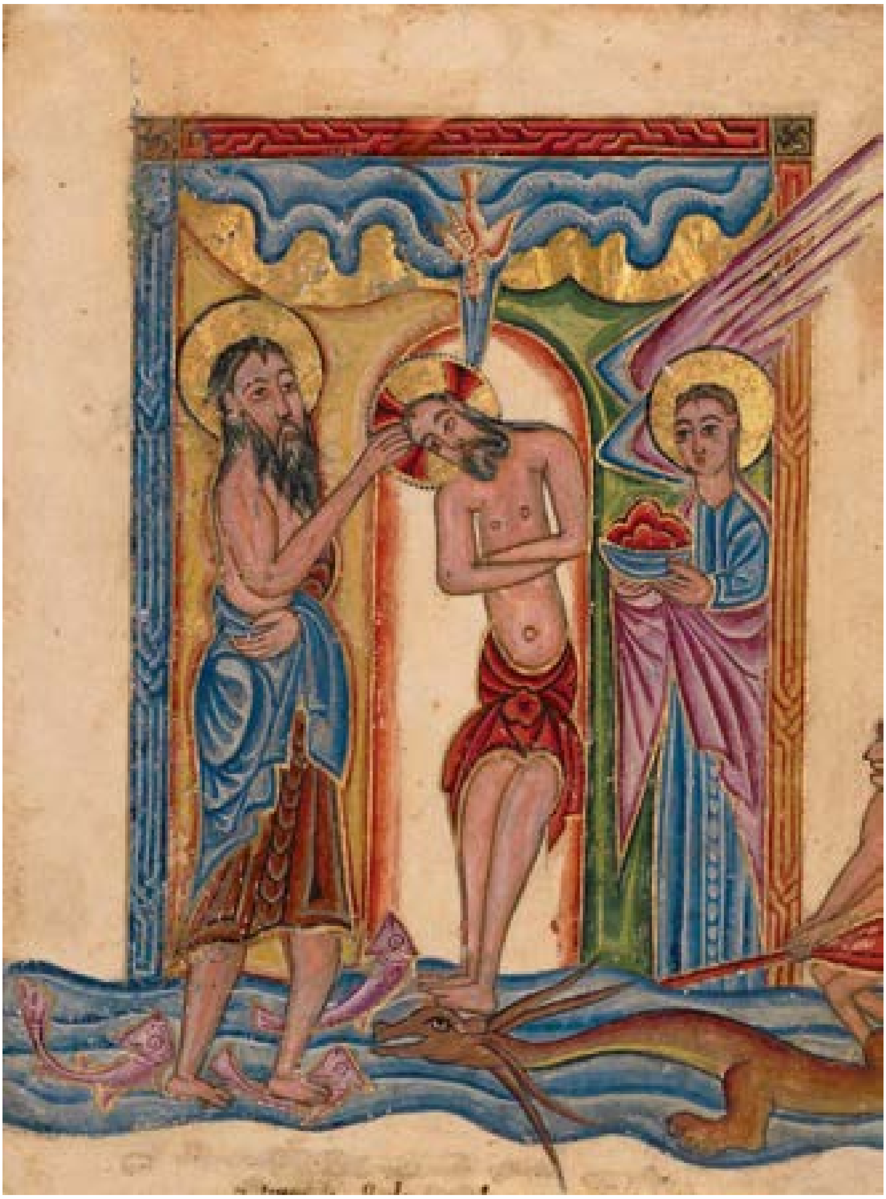

Fig. 5. Baptism with dragon-serpent by Mesrop of Xizan (1615), Isfahan, Getty MS Ludwig II 7a (85. ms.282) in the public domain.

Fig. 6. Fresco of the Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by serpents, holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written ‘Cheirograph of Adam’, Dragomirna church, apse (post-1609, first decades of the seventeenth century) (Romania). By permission.

Inscription in Slavonic in the upper side: Тъ е(с҃) кръстѧи д҃хо(м) ст҃ы(м) и азь видѣ и свѣ(д)те(л)ствовах ıако съ е с҃н бж҃їи (John 1:33–34) ‘This is the one who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. And I saw and confessed that He was the Son of God’.

Inscription in Slavonic on Christ’s scroll: Ръкописанїе Адамова (Adam’s Cheirograph).

Subsequently, in some instances, this not uncommon iconography became connected to the Cheirograph Legend's idea of Christ breaking up or melting the Cheirograph in the course of his Baptism. In other terms, this idea was taken to mean that at the time of Christ's baptism, the water dragon, which is Satan, was overcome together with snakes (plural from 'heads of the dragons' in Ps 74[73]:13).[11] Finally, from this development there emerge the heads of the snakes, which some baptism scenes show to be guarding the Cheirograph stone and which most likely represent Satan's demonic minions (see Fig. 6).

In the representation of the River Jordan in this scene, the traditional river god figure is often to be observed holding a pitcher from which the river flows.[12] This figure was sometimes transformed into a demon or took on a demonic aspect[13] and may have been transformed into a dragon-snake under the influences of various apocryphal embroideries on the biblical narratives.[14]

In the Odzun stele, then, if we were to accept Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan's view, we would have the oldest reference to the Cheirograph Legend. As we have said, Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan date the stelae to a time earlier than the protective structure in which they are now set and which was clearly built to house them. That structure is probably, they say, from after the Arab conquest. This would put the Odzun stele as a witness to the Cheirograph Legend back to the seventh century or earlier so that it would be the oldest evidence of the Cheirograph Legend in Armenia or anywhere else. Indeed, in her study of the Odzun stelae, Z. Hakobyan argues for a seventh-century date for the stelae.[15] Now, on the basis of Greek philology, Beatriz Moncó concluded that the term χειρόγραφον in the sense in which it is employed in the Cheirograph Legend must be later than the sixth century, after which time it changed its meaning.[16] Odzun, if this interpretation is correct, would now be the very earliest witness to this tradition. However, if our argument is cogent, one should be at least very cautious about accepting this particular interpretation of the Baptism scene on the Odzun stele and consequently about dating the Cheirograph Legend in Armenia to seventh century or earlier. Discretion may be the better part of valour in this particular instance.

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11 Baladian and Leyloyan-Yekmalyan point to the half-immersed body of Christ in this image, comparing it with the Baptism in the tenth-century Ejmiadzin Gospels, as representing a specific early Christian type of the Baptism scene.

12 See, e.g., the image in Walters W339 (1262) fol. 23r, lower left corner: see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1973), plate 47. In Walters W540 an unusual figure holds the jug from which he pours the river. This figure is identified by a caption դեւ 'a demon' and resembles representations of demons in other scenes in that manuscript. This development is discussed by Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, p. 49 and documentation is given there.

13 See, for example, J2568, fol. 247r, Fig. 83 in Bezalel Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Ramat Gan: Masada Press, 1976).

14 In making these remarks, I am inspired by ideas expounded to me by my wife, the late Nira Stone, who stressed to me the complexity of this development.

15 Z. Hakobyan argues that this and similar stelae are of the seventh century: see Zaruhi Hakobyan, 'Հայկական քառակող կոթողների թվագրման հարցի շուրջ [Concerning the Dating of Armenian Rectangular Stelae]', *Etchmiadzin*, 4 (2005), pp. 75–87.

16 Appendix to Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*.

New Armenian Evidence from Literary Texts

In this section I present some previously little discussed evidence concerning the Cheirograph Legend found in medieval Armenian literary texts, predominantly of an ecclesiastical character.[1] Of particular importance for knowledge of the Cheirograph Legend is the Armenian apocryphal text, *Cycle of Four Works*. This was published most recently by Lipscomb in 1990 with an extensive introduction and an English translation.[2] His edition is prepared on a wider manuscript base than the previous edition of Yovsēpʻeancʻ, made in 1896.[3] It is from this apocryphal work that J.-P. Mahé knew the Cheirograph Legend, but only in the form of it published by Yovsēpʻeancʻ and he mentioned it in the *Catalogue* of the Paris exhibition in 2007.[4]

The Legend of the Cheirograph and Darkness: Ancient Armenian References

A search was made to find the oldest occurrence of the Cheirograph Legend or its distinctive constitutive ideas in Armenian literature, using as a basis a fairly exhaustive collection of excerpts from Armenian literature in which narratives about Adam and Eve are related.[5] In addition, the 'Indexes of Biblical Citations' in the volumes Մատենագիրք Հայոց [Armenian Classical Literature], a corpus of all ancient Armenian writing, were checked down to the twelfth century searching for those biblical passages that were integral to the development of the legend: chiefly Col. 2:13–14 and Psalm 74(73):13–14, as well as Job 41. It should be borne in mind, however, in assessing the data below, that there may be references to the Cheirograph Legend that did not cite the particular verses checked and so are not recorded here.

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1 This means: texts not included or discussed in detail in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, or in the earlier article: Stone, 'Adam, Eve and the Incarnation', pp. 167–79.

2 Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*. In chapter 1, 'The Background and Character of the Documents', pp. 13–34, he deals both with the manuscripts used and with the relationships obtaining between the various Armenian Adam works known to him. The manuscripts and textual witness to this work that he knew are also set forth in Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, pp. 102–04. Further manuscript copies of *Cycle of Four Works* exist.

3 Yovsēpʻeancʻ, Անկանոն գիրք Հին կտակարանաց [Non-canonical Books of the Old Testament], pp. 307–24.

4 See p. 55, above.

5 These Adam and Eve narratives are assembled, translated and given a preliminary analysis in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*. We refer to texts by author, excerpt number and page in that book. Details of editions and other translations are also given there.

The following picture emerged from this probe of the data:

1. Prior to the eighth century, the texts consulted do not even have elements that came to constitute Cheirograph Legend, never mind the whole Legend.

2. In the eighth century, some elements appear that were, in the course of time, taken over into the Cheirograph Legend, but the characteristic features of the Legend still lack.[6] And this is the situation, as far as I know today, down to the end of the twelfth century. The relevant passages are discussed in the following text.

Step'anos Siwnec'i (eighth century)

The first occurrence of some of the building blocks of the Cheirograph Legend is to be found in the writings of the learned Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i (670?-735 CE). However, even though these contexts and terms bring the Cheirograph Legend to the mind of readers who are familiar with it, in fact they do not even hint at the specifics of the legend itself.

1. In text #1 we read that Christ by his crucifixion abolished the cheirograph testament of sins. This is no more than a reference to Col. 2:14. Step'anos Siwnec'i does not even connect the cheirograph in Col. 2:14 directly to Adam, as sometimes happens later.[7]

2. In text #3 there is a passage graphically describing Adam's horror on the first occasion when night fell, outside the Garden. No other elements even resembling the Cheirograph Legend occur in this context.[8]

3. Text #7: This third passage from Step'anos Siwnec'i's says that Adam, 'made the Destroyer his god[9] and inherited outer darkness,[10] and was captured by the destruction of death'.[11] This can be taken to allude to Satan's enslavement of Adam.

4. Text #9 refers to the 'cheirograph of transgressions' which is rent, using the verb պատառեաց 'he rent, broke'. This term later became associated with Christ's baptismal destruction of the cheirograph, but there is no hint of such an association here.[12]

In these texts, the connection is not made explicitly between Adam and the cheirograph. However, Adam's submission to Satan and his reaction to darkness are featured. These

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6 In many versions, the text of the Cheirograph riddle that Satan dictates is, with variations: 'Until the unbegotten is born and until the immortal dies, I and my seed will be your servants'. Readings differ somewhat in different sources. The phrasing, but no other feature, of a passage in Ełišē (fifth century) is reminiscent of this riddle's text and we have italicized the contrastive pairs: This reads: զի ի նա դպաւորեալ *տեսանէր զաներեւոյթ* զալուստ Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ, եւ *զըմբռնումն անբըռնելոյն* եւ *զզենումն անմահին*, որ իւրով մահուամբն խափանեաց զիշխանութիւն մահու: 'for he (God) saw in him (Abraham) the type of the invisible coming of the Son of God, the apprehension of the incomprehensible, the sacrifice (killing) of the immortal, who by his own death abolished the power of death'. Of course, Christ was understood to have resolved these apparent contradictions. The Armenian text of Ełišē is drawn from *MH*, I, p. 643, § 65 and the English is from *Ełišē: History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, trans. by Robert W. Thomson, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 5 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 159.

7 Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Commentary on Divine Service*, text #1, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 319.

8 Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Commentary on Divine Service*, text #3, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 321.

9 On Satan as god of the material world, see Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 188, citing Grigoris Aršaruni (seventh century).

10 The origin of this expression is Matt 8:12, 22:13, and 25:30.

11 Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Etiological Interpretation of Prayer*, text #7, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 323.

12 Step'anos Siwnec'i, *Etiological Interpretation of Prayer*, text #9, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 323.

elements cannot be inferred from Gen 2 and Col. 2 and do not appear in the Armenian versions of *LAE*. Adam's transgression is, of course, related in Gen 2, but there Satan is not mentioned, nor is Adam's servitude to him. Earlier Armenian texts, however, do talk about Satan entering (possessing) the serpent and, *brevo*, assume the virtual identity of the two.[13] Colossians 2 talks of the cancellation of the cheirograph 'which stood against us' through Christ's crucifixion, but does not mention that the cheirograph arises from Adam's transgression. It seems, nonetheless, that the idea that Col. 2 refers to a bill of transgression or cheirograph engendered by Adam's disobedience is very old. However, that is the cheirograph (bill of indebtedness) that Adam's sin created, and unlike the Cheirograph in the Cheirograph Legend, it is not a contract into which Adam entered freely with Satan and which specifies mutual obligations.

Yovhannēs Chorepiskopos (late seventh – eighth century)

In section #1 this author speaks of 'a fallen and rebellious dragon'.[14] This expression is naturally related to the interpretation of Rev 12, and no hint of any other Cheirograph features occurs. Satan is identified as a dragon, as is set forth above,[15] as well as in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, pp. 188–91.[16]

T'ēop'ilos (ninth century)

Text #5: Christ will descend to Hell and Adam, who is already there, proclaims that Christ 'will tear my cheirograph'.[17] This passage is the first we have found that regards Col. 2:13–14 as referring to a Cheirograph of Adam, which idea is combined by T'ēop'ilos with Christ's Descensus ad Infernos[18] after his death on the Cross.

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13 In fact, from the very beginnings of Armenian literature, the intimate connection of Satan and the serpent is taken for granted but the simple identification of the serpent as Satan is not found. On relations between Satan and the serpent, see Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, 'Appendix: Satan and the Serpent', pp. 177–210 and also the Table, p. 86 which sets forth the metaphors used to express their relationship. See also Michael E. Stone, 'Satan and the Serpent in the Armenian Tradition', in *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise (Genesis 2–3) and Its Reception History*, ed. by Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg, Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2, Reihe 34 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 141–86. This paper is reprinted in Michael E. Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, III (Louvain–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017), pp. 165–208.

14 Yovhannēs Chorepiskopos, *Concerning the Holy Cross That Was Seen in Varag*, text #1, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 334.

15 See p. 51, annotation 5, above.

16 A book dealing with many aspects of the pre-Christian Armenian water dragon-serpent, the *višap*, and the Satanic monster, is Վիշապը հեքիաթի եվ իրականութեան սահմանին [Višap on the Borderline of Fairy Tale and Reality], ed. by Bobokhyan, Gilibert, and Hnila. On the pagan background of the *višap*, see also Łevond Ališan, Հին հաւատք հայոց [The Ancient Religion of the Armenians] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1910), pp. 163–65; James R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard Iranian Series, 5 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University and NAASR, 1987), pp. 205–11.

17 T'eop'ilos, *On the Holy and Ineffable Passion and on the Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, text #5, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, pp. 350–51.

18 See on the early stages of this idea: Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Témoignages anciens sur la croyance en la descente du Christ aux enfers', in Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Pierre Cherix, *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 135–42.

Prayer for Epiphany[19] ascribed to Basil of Caesarea (tenth or ninth century or earlier)[20]

This prayer is already found in the oldest surviving manuscript of the Armenian *Ritual* or *Maštocʿ*, the collection of rituals and mysteries (sacraments) of the Armenian Church. This collection is traditionally said to have been assembled by an eighth-century cleric, Maštocʿ of Ełivard, whose name it bears. The contents of manuscripts of this liturgical collection vary a good deal between copies and the oldest surviving manuscript of it is Venice Mekhitarist V320, dated to the tenth or ninth century. Thus, the prayer cited here, which is in the manuscript V320 but not, by the way, included in the chief printings of the Maštocʿ,[21] must ante-date the manuscript V320. In addition to Psalm 74(73), this author also applies the description of the water monster Leviathan in Job 40–41 to the Satanic dragon-serpent in the Jordan. Observe that the word 'cheirograph' does not occur in this document and that there is no allusion to Colossians. It is significant that this prayer relates to the Epiphany of Christ's divinity and not to his Baptism.[22] Indeed, Epiphany as well as the Baptism is the motivation behind associating the Cheirograph with the scene of Christ trampling the dragon-serpent in the Jordan. In Fig. 7, one or two knots are to be observed in the serpent-dragon's body, which have been taken as indicating that it has been vanquished by Christ. This interpretation is bolstered by the knots in the snake-dragon in a number of other scenes in Armenian manuscripts which represent a victory over Satan.[23] Moreover, the renunciation of Satan is part of the Baptism liturgy, as we have noted. So,

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19 The Armenian Church celebrates Epiphany, the revelation of Christ's divinity, together with Nativity, his birth, on January 6, and this complex dominical festival includes the period from the fifth to the thirteenth day of that month. Concerning the Armenian understanding of this Feast, Archbishop Małakʿia Ōrmanian remarked: '… la fête de la Théophanie, où se synthésient tous les mystères qui précédèrent la vie angelique du Christ. On réunit ainsi en une seule solennité l'Annonciation, la Noël, l'adoration des Mages, le baptême et les révélations du Jourdain'; see Ormanian, *L'église arménienne*, p. 140. The celebration of the coming of the three Magi as a major element of the feast of Epiphany is a custom of the Western Churches.

20 Conybeare, in the work cited in the next note, observes that some manuscripts lack this ascription.

21 On the manuscript, see Barseł Sargisean (Sarghissian) and Grigor Sargsyan, Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց մատենադարանին Մխիթարեանց ի Վենետիկ [Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Library of Venice] (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1966), III, pp. 1–48. The prayer is on fol. 138r col. i of the manuscript, see *Grand Catalogue (Venice)* 3.34. The text of this prayer is translated by Frederick C. Conybeare and the passage of interest to us occurs on p. 168 of his book of 1905. This prayer does not occur in the two printed editions of the Maštocʿ that I have at my disposal, that of Constantinople of 1807 and that of Jerusalem of 1901. Here I give my own translation from the text edited by Hakob Kʿēosēean in Մատենագիրք Հայոց. թ. դար [Armenian Classical Authors: Ninth Century] (Antelias: Armenian Catholicossate of Cilicia, 2008), IX, p. 617 ii.

22 David G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XIX. Baptized for Our Sakes: A Leather Trisagion from Egypt (P. Mich. 799)*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 120 (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1999), p. 23 shows the association of Epiphany with Baptism and see Introduction, n. 11 above.

23 Such are: 'St Theodore spearing the Dragon' in M979 fol. 322r (marginal); Satan as a knotted snake-dragon in the 'Anastasis' in M4912 fol. 3v and M2840 fol. 18v; in Baptism scenes M6303 6v, M5351 fol. 4r, M2744 fol. 4r. However, observe that there are instances of the Baptism with the snake-dragon, but no knot, such as M7639. Other scenes showing the knotted dragon-serpent are connected with Adam: 'The Expulsion of Adam and Eve' M10805 fol. 5r; 'The Temptation of Adam and Eve' M1978; 'The Temptation of Adam and Eve' M5794 fol. 6r; the same scene in a Paris Hymnal of 1591 and Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate J1667 fol. 58r. In these last, the serpent is knotted, though there is no hint of its being vanquished. This means, at least, that though the knot may indicate the vanquishing of the serpent, it is not an inseparable feature of the iconography, and the knot may thus have become a traditional, even just a decorative feature. *Non liquet* here, though future study and analysis may resolve this problem.

Fig. 7. Baptism with Knotted Serpent, Gospel MS Walters W543 (1455), fol. 6v, Armenian, available at https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W543/data/W.543/sap/W543_000016_sap.jpg public domain.

it seems that both events whose festal celebration is combined by the Armenian Church, contribute to this iconography and interpretation.

§ 643 Then, emitting a kind, beneficial utterance, he says, 'All you who toil, come to me and whoever has heavy burdens and I will give you rest, easy of yoke and light of burden' (Matt 11:28, 30). § 644 And having gathered all by his beneficence, he brought them to the Jordan River. § 645 And he saw the dragon which was lurking[24] in it, which opened its mouth ready to swallow humans and it catches the swift-flowing streams of the Jordan in its eye-socket according to Job.[25] § 646 Then this Only-Begotten son of Yours with his great might descended into the waters and trampled it with His heels,[26] He caused the

24 So Conybeare. Literally it means 'had become accustomed to'.
25 Job 40:23–24 (Arm Job 40:19–20).
26 This is also an allusion to Gen 3:15 which is the curse of the serpent.

great beast to wither up according to the prediction of the prophet,[27] 'You smashed the head of the dragon[28] upon the waters'. § 647 There he made known his divinity.

The Epitome of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (before 981)

The *Epitome of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* occurs in the oldest Armenian paper manuscript, M2679 which was copied in the year 981 ce.[29] Our research indicated that the writing was probably composed in the ninth century or earlier.[30] The Epitome has twelve sections in each of which it combines a few phrases corresponding to each of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* into one paragraph. Out of the whole full text of Greek and Armenian *Testament of Asher*, the lines that the *Epitome* preserves include most of 7:3–4, with only a couple of phrases from earlier in chap. 7. Above in n. 10 the verse in *Testament of Asher* 7:3 was signalled, which contains a clear allusion to Ps 74(73):14. The relevant passage is: 'And with men he will go about. He will smash the head of the dragon upon the waters …'. This is clear evidence for the knowledge and use of material drawing ultimately on Ps. 74(73):14 and here it is being applied to Christ in the context of the Christian application of this Psalm. It is not related directly to the Cheirograph Legend but is clear evidence of the eschatologization of those verses in Armenian usage and fits with other tenth-century uses in Artawazd Mzazuni and Grigor Magistros discussed below. Moreover, it speaks only of one dragon.

Artawazd Mzazuni (tenth century)

Artawazd's texts approach nearer to the Cheirograph Legend, but do not yet exhibit it unmistakably. His use of the term 'Cheirograph' is notable, as is his connection of Christ's crushing the head of the serpent (Ps 74[73]:13–14) with His Baptism. In detail, in passage #1 he refers to 'the cheirograph of transgression', not unlike the passage of Chrysostom quoted above.[31] In #2 he says of Christ in his Baptism: 'He will liberate this human race

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27 That is, King David: Armenian tradition denotes all authors of books in the Old Testament, 'prophets'. The reference here is most probably to Psalm 74(73):13–14. For Armenians, the dragon lurking in the waters evoked the ancient water monster called *višap*, on which see n. 16 above. This may be the reason that despite the plural վիշապաց in 74(73):13, the image presents a single dragon, in view of the singular in v. 14. The Greek plural τῶν δρακόντων in v. 13 seems to lie behind the South-Eastern European interpretation: see next note.

28 Note that in v. 14 here the Hebrew reads 'the heads (plur) of Leviathan (sing)' as do the LXX (τὰς κεφαλὰς τοῦ δράκοντος) and the Armenian (զգլուխս վիշապին). The text here also has a singular, perhaps adjusting to context, though in some paintings, the flat stone of the Cheirograph is guarded by serpents whose heads rear up around it; see Figs 6, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22. One image, in a quite different context, shows the snake-dragon with seven heads (see the *Miscellany* M1770 182v–183r): an image perhaps arising from Ps 74(73):14. The serpents are also observed in Greek and Bulgarian examples: see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, Figs 3–4 and see the images referred to on pp. 132–37. These latter examples are all Romanian. Interestingly, an aquatic monster, a dragon and not the snakes may be seen in Fig. 3, 5, 7 which are Armenian.

29 See Michael E. Stone, 'The Epitome of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', *RÉArm*, 20 (1986–1987), pp. 70–107 [repr. in Michael E. Stone, *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha*, SVTP, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 145–83]. This manuscript was published in facsimile and in transcription by the late Artashes Mathévossian (1995–1997).

30 Stone, 'The Epitome of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs', pp. 70–107.

31 Artawazd Mzazuni in *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit'* excerpted as text #1, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 368. *Homily* 6 by John Chrysostom on Colossians 2 (n. 12, p. 50 above).

from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent'. He subsequently alludes to Job 40:23–24.[32] This is another tenth-century excerpt in which the dragon-serpent (*višap*), which is Satan, is understood to be the referent of Ps 74(73):13–14. In that Psalm a theophany is described in which God *breaks* the heads of dragons and *crushes*[33] the head of Leviathan. Neither the bill of indebtedness nor Adam's Cheirograph is mentioned explicitly by Artavazd.

Anania Narekac'i in Explanation of the Diophysite Dispute (tenth century)[34]

In citation #1: After quoting Col. 2:14, Anania continues: '§ 521 And what was the cheirograph? That is the sentence of death that he received in the Garden, and the curse of the Law, which appropriate all for death'. Clearly Anania understands 'cheirograph' to be the punishment that Adam received in the Garden for his transgression. This is the first occasion in the texts examined on which the cheirograph is explicitly connected with Adam.[35] Moreover, the 'curse of the Law' is also stated to be a cheirograph. This may well go back to Chrysostom's homily[36] which speaks of both Adam's cheirograph and that of the Jews, which is the Law.

Grigor Magistros (eleventh century)

In Grigor's biblical epic *Magnalia Dei,* as the work has been appropriately renamed by its recent translator Abraham Terian, he describes Christ's Baptism.[37] In line 455 we read, 'He crushed the head of the dragon that struck at His heel'. This again witnesses the application of Ps 74(73):13 to the Baptism and accords also with the images showing the dragon-snake in the Baptism as well as echoing the same idea that was also presented by Artawazd Mzazuni #2. Like Grigor Magistros, Artvazd was also active in the tenth century. The mention of the heel is, presumably, an allusion to Gen 3:15, and also compare Gen

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32 Artawazd Mzazuni, *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit'*, text #2, in Stone, Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition, p. 368.

33 These italicized verbs are respectively խորտակեցեր 'broke' and փշրեցեր 'crushed'. The Cheirograph texts mostly use the word պատառել which also means to 'break, tear'. In the Bible պատառել is used of tearing garments (հանդերձ or պատմուճան) in mourning or for some other reason. Although the influence of Ps 74(73) is conceptually easily identified, one wonders how or why the related verb was so often changed in differing texts and contexts.

34 Edited by Hṙač'ea Tamrazyan in Մատենագիրք Հայոց ժ. դար [Armenian Classical Authors: Tenth Century] (Antelias: Armenian Catholicossate of Cilicia, 2008), X, p. 517.

35 The connection is *implied* by T'ēop'ilos, cited above. Of course, that connection may turn up in earlier texts that were not excerpted for the collection in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*. It is clearly mentioned in Chrysostom's *Homily*: see above, n. 12 and 16.

36 It remains a mystery why the connection did not make its way into the earlier authors cited here, since Chrysostom's homily had existed in Armenian since the fifth century.

37 Abraham Terian, *Magnalia Dei: Biblical History in Epic Verse by Grigor Magistros: Critical Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary,* Hebrew University Armenian Studies, 14 (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), lines 443–59, pp. 49–50. It has previously been known under the name Առ Մանուչէ 'to Manuč'ē'.

49:17.[38] In his *Epistle to Father Anania*,[39] Grigor Magistros writes, 'Now, by what did he show his love for/to us and revealed (it) through this in the midst of the earth, upon which he cancelled/annihilated the cheirograph (bill) of our condemnation by his command'. Here his dependence on Col. 2:14 is quite clear, and the legal language is encountered which becomes so typical in the next century. 'In the midst of the earth' refers to the belief, as old as Origen, that Golgotha is the centre of the earth. The cheirograph of condemnation is not explicitly connected with Adam.

Twelfth-century authors

After Anania Narekac'i in the tenth century, the actual term 'cheirograph' does not occur in the Adam narrative excerpts down to the end of the twelfth century. Instead, terminology with legal implications – 'bill of indebtedness', 'condemnation', and 'seal of condemnation' – appears in a number of authors. Ignatius *vardapet*, a twelfth-century theologian, referring to Luke 23:43 says, 'Now, the document of Adam's debts by means of which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the Cross ...'. The expression 'document of debts' (զգիր պարտեացն) is functionally like the word ձեռագիր 'cheirograph' that occurs in Col. 2:14. Anania also has պատառեաց 'tore, rent' where Arm Colossians has ջնջեաց 'annihilated, cancelled'.[40]

Similar language is also found in the writing of St Nersēs Šnorhali or the Gracious (1102–1172) when he says, in his *Poem on the Nativity*, 'having come to the Jordan / to wash away the promissory note of the old Adam'.[41] Despite some difference between the English translations, in fact the words 'the promissory note of the old Adam' reflect the same Armenian expression (գիր պարտեացն) as the 'document of Adam's debts' used by Ignatius *vardapet*. Another analogous legal expression is 'seal of condemnation' or 'seal of (death) sentence' կնիք դատապարտութեան that occurs in the writings of Nersēs of Lambron (1§ 153–1198) in the expression կնիք դատապարտութեան Ադամայ 'the seal of ... Adam's condemnation'.[42] In Nersēs Lambronac'i's *Examination of Prayer* we find reference to դատակնիքն Ադամայ 'Adam's condemnation' which latter word is composed of the same elements as 'seal of condemnation'.[43] St Grigor Narekac'i (954–1003 ce), in text #28, uses similar language when he says, 'And the document of condemnation (գիր

38 That connection is significant since, from early in the Common Era if not previously, the Antichrist is said to descend from the tribe of Dan, presumably because of Gen 49:17: 'Dan shall be a serpent in the way, a viper by the path, that bites the horse's heels so that his rider falls backward'. In Gen 49:17 the Armenian version has the word օձ 'snake'. See further: *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905), IV, pp. 423–44, s.v. 'Dan, Type of Antichrist' and see Jean Daniélou, 'Le fils de perdition (Joh., 17, 12)', in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 187–89. In the Armenian tradition Dan is already connected with the 'ancient dragon' by Ełišē, *Commentary on Genesis* on Gen 30:6. The 'ancient dragon' features in Rev. 12:9 and 20:2 and is Satan.

39 See *MH*, XVI, p. 327, section 18.

40 For the discussion of this verb see annotation 6 on 1.2. Observe Figs 23, 24 and 25.

41 Nersēs Šnorhali, *Poem on the Nativity*, text #15, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 431.

42 Nersēs Šnorhali, *Encomium Spoken on the Glorious Coming of the Holy Spirit*, text #3, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, 425.

43 This word is found in the passage from Armenian version of Chrysostom, which is referred to above, in n. 13, p. 50.

դատապարտութեան) for the transgression, having been erased (խզեալ),[44] was torn (պատառեցաւ)'. Like the other authors of this century, the connection with Adam is clearly made in context here.[45] In the work *Questions* by Tačat *vardapet* (tenth century) in text #1 a direct allusion to Col. 2:14 is found,[46] but it adds nothing to our search for the Cheirograph Legend.

Indeed, in the review of these theological and literary sources down to the end of the twelfth century, we do not find one unambiguous reference to the Cheirograph Legend. They only go as far as identifying 'the bond which stood against us with its legal demands' (Col. 2:13) with a cheirograph of Adam, engendered by his disobedience of God's command. Certain authors build on the combination of the cancellation of the cheirograph in Col. 2:13–14 with the destruction of the dragon-serpent taken from Ps 74(73) and rarely with Gen 3:15, and thus connect the destruction of Adam's cheirograph with Christ's Baptism. This is, however, as far as they go. The second Fall, connected with darkness and typified by a legal contract in which Adam gives his descendants to Satan for six thousand years in exchange for light, as well as by the fate of that contractual document, is not hinted at in any of these texts.

It should be observed that in none of these excerpted Adam passages in literary and theological sources is the full form of the Cheirograph Legend told. It is found only in the apocryphal tales and in folk stories in Armenian. We can formulate the hypothesis that it is transmitted and reworked outside the scholastic and poetic traditions,[47] but it will remain just that, a hypothesis, until a full search of the literary and theological sources from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries is made. Here, for the moment, our investigation stops. It is, moreover, not exhaustive.

44 This is not the verb used in Col. 2:14.

45 Grigor Narekac'i, *Sermon Preached on the Assumption of the Blessed Holy Mother of God*, text #28, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 384.

46 Tačat *vardapet*, *Questions*, text #1, in Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition*, p. 390.

47 I have dealt with some of these questions recently in Stone, 'The Armenian Embroidered Bible', pp. 3–11; Stone, 'Biblical Text and Armenian Retelling', pp. 82–87. These articles are, nonetheless, to be seen only as exploratory.

Part 2

New Romanian Evidence for the Cheirograph Legend

The Legend of the Cheirograph in the Romanian Literary Tradition

The Romanian literary tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century, less than two centuries after the earliest attested Romanian texts.[1] For a long span of time, it was embedded in various narratives transmitted exclusively in manuscripts; from the last decades of the nineteenth century onward it is attested in the folk tradition. Various studies on the Cheirograph Legend revealed specific aspects of the Romanian tradition and its connections with other literary traditions about Adam's contract with Satan.[2] Still, the texts themselves have not been thoroughly studied, most probably because they are mainly late translations, or have remained accessible only to a narrow group of readers.[3]

The Life of Adam and Eve

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam appears first in the Romanian *LAE*, which derives from the second Slavonic recension.[4] The *Life of Adam and Eve* did not enjoy a high popularity. Only eight Romanian manuscripts survive, which were written between

1 The first texts in Romanian to have survived date to the sixteenth century. The first original (or non-translated) text available in Romanian, a letter of a Wallachian merchant, dates from 1521; see *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, text and index by Gheorghe Chivu and others, foreword by Alexandru Mareș (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1979), p. 95. This letter has long been considered to be the oldest text written in Romanian. However, recent research has shown that a manuscript psalter translated from Slavonic was copied around the year 1500; see Alexandru Mareș, 'Considerații pe marginea datării *Psaltirii Hurmuzaki*', *Limba română*, 49 (2000), pp. 675–83.

2 See mainly Nicolae Cartojan, 'Zapisul lui Adam', *Artă și tehnică grafică*, 3 (1938), pp. 9–13; Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 37–47; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 122–41; Leopold Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein. Zur Deutung südosteuropäischer Fresken und Ikonen aus den Apokryphen und Volkslegenden', in Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Bilder und Legenden. Erwandertes und erlebtes Bilder-Denken und Bild-Erzählen zwischen Bysanz und dem Abendlande* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 1971), pp. 49–74; Stone, 'The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam'; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42–62.

3 Several Romanian texts are translated into English, French or German; see Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 46–47; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 126–38; Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', pp. 64–65; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42–45.

4 For the Romanian tradition of *LAE*, see Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 184–88; Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I, pp. 49–59; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 75–144, 437–38; Emanuela Timotin, *Adam și Eva în literatura română veche (secolele al XVI-lea – al XVIII-lea). Texte canonice, scrieri apocrife și credințe populare*

the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century and circulated in the clerical milieu.[5]

The transmission of the Cheirograph Legend in the clerical milieu is not surprising, since the local hierarchs of the Eastern Orthodox Church never firmly disapproved of apocrypha in the period under scrutiny;[6] occasionally, they retell specific apocryphal texts and express doubts about their veracity.[7] Moreover, in the seventeenth century, priests used such texts as sermons.[8] What is remarkable about the clerical transmission of *LAE* is that it lasted until the nineteenth century,[9] which suggests that the apocryphal text served for the religious instruction of its readers.[10]

(Bucharest: Editura Muzeul Literaturii Române, 2016), pp. 31–104; Emanuela Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine de la *Vie d'Adam et d'Ève*' in *La Vie d'Adam et Ève et les traditions adamiques*, ed. by Frédéric Amsler and others, 2017, pp. 231–42. For Slavonic texts illustrating the second recension, see, for example, Alexander N. Pypin, Ложныя и отреченныя книги русской старины. Памятники старинной русской литературы [False and Banned Books of Russian Antiquity. Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature], III (Saint Petersburg: Тупографія П. А. Кулиша, 1862), pp. 1–7; Nikolai S. Tihonravov, Памятники отреченной русской литературы [Monuments of Forbidden Russian Literature], 2 vols (Saint Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia Polza, 1863), I, pp. 1–14, 298–304; Ivan Franko, Апокріфі і легенди з українських рукописів [Apocrypha and Legends from Ukrainian Manuscripts], 4 vols (Lwow: Nakladom Naukovogo tovaristva, 1896–1906), I, pp. 19–26; Ivanov, Богомилски книги и легенди, pp. 209–10. For the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam in the Slavonic tradition of *LAE*, see recently Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 93–103, based on Alexander Kulik's analysis published in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 25–41, 117–20.

5 See Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine de la *Vie d'Adam et d'Ève*', pp. 231–42.

6 An *Index of Proscribed Books*, a list of texts prohibited by the Eastern Orthodox Church, is preserved in only three seventeenth-century manuscripts produced in the Romanian speaking area: one manuscript is Slavonic, and two are Romanian; the Romanian texts draw on Slavonic sources, as well; for a recent analysis and edition, see Alexandru Mareş, 'Consideraţii pe marginea indicelor de cărţi oprite din secolul al XVII-lea', *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, 23 (2005), pp. 257–80. These versions of the *Index* ambiguously refer to Adam books using the name of the First Man, *Adam* (Mareş, 'Consideraţii pe marginea indicelor de cărţi oprite', pp. 265–66, 274, 276), and do not mention the Legend of the Cheirograph. It is only in 1759 that Petru Pavel Aron, bishop of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church, firmly condemns apocryphal texts such as *The Letter of Christ Fallen from the Sky* and *The Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*; see Augustin Bunea, *Episcopii Petru Pavel Aaron şi Dionisiu Novacovici sau istoria românilor transilvăneni de la 1751 până la 1764* (Blaj: Tipografia Seminariului Arhidiecean, 1902), 386–87.

7 This is the case of Antim, archbishop of Wallachia (1708–1716). In 1709, he executed an illuminated manuscript, entitled *Chipurile Vechiului şi Noului Testament* [The portraits of the Old and New Testaments], comprising more than 500 biblical portraits accompanied by short narratives. The archbishop narrates the apocryphal *Legend of the Rood Tree* extensively and at the end he adds: *Iară eu nu o ţiu să fie aceasta adevărată* 'And I do not consider it to be true'; see Antim Ivireanul, *Opere*, ed. by Gabriel Ştrempel (Bucharest: Minerva, 1997), p. 218.

8 For this use of *The Letter of Christ Fallen from the Sky*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-John* and *The Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*, see respectively Emanuela Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, monograph, revised edition and glossary (Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic Gold, 2019), pp. 105–12, 143; Alexandru Mareş, 'Trei note despre apocrifele religioase', in Mareş, *Cărţi populare*, pp. 91–92; Cristina-Ioana Dima, *Apocalipsul Maicii Domnului. Versiuni româneşti din secolele al XVI-lea – al XIX-lea*, monograph, edition and glossary (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2012), p. 185.

9 Other apocryphal texts, such as *The Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary* and *The Letter of Christ Fallen from the Sky* were transmitted both in clerical, and lay environments from the end of the eighteenth century on; in lay milieux, they were used mainly as amulets, see Dima, *Apocalipsul Maicii Domnului*, pp. 183–92; Timotin, *Legenda duminicii*, pp. 260–89.

10 See Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine de la *Vie d'Adam et d'Ève*', pp. 236–38.

The texts of the *LAE* can be divided into two main recensions, illustrated here by texts A[11] and B.[12]

The Romanian recensions follow neither of the two Slavonic manuscripts of *LAE* which were produced in Moldova respectively in the sixteenth century (MS 13.2.25, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg), and at the end of the sixteenth century – beginning of the seventeenth century (MS 740, National State Archives, Bucharest).[13] Still, the Cheirograph Legend in MS 469 (text A below) is very similar to the one preserved in a Slavonic manuscript written by a priest, Theodor, at the end of the sixteenth century – beginning of the seventeenth century.[14] The priest Theodor was active in Dubovec, a toponym which refers either to a village in Moldova (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26), or to a village in its proximity, in present-day Ukraine (Zakarpattia Oblast).[15]

Moldova, the monastic scriptoria of which region were home to an important production of Slavonic manuscripts since the fifteenth century,[16] appears to have been a very important region for the promotion of this apocryphal text. Apart from the above-mentioned Slavonic

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11 There are four witnesses to the first recension; they were written between the second half of the seventeenth century and the fourth decade of the nineteenth century (Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, MSS 469, fols 384r–407r; 1255, fols 18r–v; 3813, fols 91r–101v; 5054, fols 101r–106v). For general descriptions of the manuscripts preserved in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest and quoted in this study, see Ioan Bianu, *Catalogul manuscriptelor românești*, I (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice 'Carol Göbl', 1907); Ioan Bianu and Remus Caracaș, *Catalogul manuscriptelor românești*, II (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice 'Carol Göbl', 1913); Ioan Bianu and Gheorghe Nicolaiasa, *Catalogul manuscriptelor românești*, III (Craiova: Scrisul Românesc, 1931); Gabriel Ștrempel, Florica Moisil, and Lileta Stoianovici, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, IV (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1967); Gabriel Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, 4 vols (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1987–1992).

12 There are four manuscripts of the second recension, written between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century (Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, MSS 938, fols 347r–350r; 2158, fols 9r–12r; 3275, fols 1r–3v; 5299, fols 1r–6r).

13 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 94–95; Anissava Miltenova, 'Текстологически наблюдения върху два апокрифа (апокрифен цикъл за кръстното дърво, приписван на Григорий Богослов, и апокрифа за Адам и Ева' [Textological Observations on Two Apocrypha (The Apocryphal Cycle of the Tree of the Cross Attributed to Gregory the Theologian and an Apocryphal Writing about Adam and Eve)], Старобългарска литература, 11 (1982), pp. 48–49; Alexandru Mareș, 'Moldova și cărțile populare în secolele al XV-lea – al XVII-lea', in Mareș, *Cărți populare*, p. 281. For seventeenth-century Slavonic texts, with similar, but not identical Cheirograph Legend, see Pypin, Памятники старинной русской литературы [Monuments of Ancient Russian Literature], III, p. 5; Tihonravov, Памятники отреченной русской литературы [Monuments of Forbidden Russian Literature], p. 4.

14 For the text, its scribe and its date, see Franko, Апокріфі і легенди [Apocrypha and Legends], I, pp. LXV, 20–21; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 95–96, 102–04.

15 For this toponym and the origin of the scribe, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 104.

16 The literary activity of these scriptoria reflects first the influence of South Slavic heritage; later, Russian and Ukrainian influence becomes evident, as well. See mainly the rich studies published by Emil Turdeanu, most of which are assembled in collective volumes: *La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains* (Paris: Droz, 1947); *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés roumaines* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, ed. by Ștefan S. Gorovei and Maria M. Székely (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997). See also Ioan-Radu Mircea, 'Relations culturelles roumano-serbes au XVIe siécle', *RESEE*, 1 (1963), pp. 377–419; *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, ed. by Mihai Berza (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1964); Gheorghe Mihăilă, 'Tradiția literară constantiniană, de la Eusebiu al Cezareei la Nichifor Calist Xanthopoulos, Eftimie al Târnovei și domnii țărilor române', in Gheorghe Mihăilă, *Cultură și literatură română veche în context european. Studii și texte* (Bucharest: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1979), pp. 217–379; Maria M. Székely 'Manuscrise răzlețite din scriptoriul și biblioteca Mănăstirii Putna', *Analele Putnei*, 3:1 (2007), pp. 153–80; Maria M. Székely, 'Manuscrisele slave de la Putna. O revenire', *Analele Putnei*, 7:2 (2011), pp. 13–24; Radu G. Păun, 'Les principautés danubiennes et la *Slavia orthodoxa* balkanique (à l'exception des terres

manuscripts, one of the first Romanian versions must have been translated there as well. This version is now lost, but it was definitely the source of MS 469, the oldest Romanian manuscript of *LAE* to have survived (text A).[17]

Text A (MS 469, fols 393v–395v)[18]	**Text B (MS 2158, fols 10r–v)**[19]
1. Şi luo Adam boii şi ară.	1. Şi au poruncit Domnul lui Adam şi au prinsu boii şi i-au înjugat să are pământul.
2. Şi veni diavolul şi stătu înaintea boilor. Şi nu lăsa pre Adam să are, şi zise lui Adam: — Nu te voi lăsa să lucrezi pământul, că pământul iaste al mieu, iară a lui Dumnezău sânt ceriurile şi raiul. Deci de veri să hii al mieu, tu lucrează pământul, iară de vei să fii a lui Dumnezău, tu mergi în rai.	2. Și, viind diiavolul, au zis lui Adam: — Nu te voi lăsa să ari tu pământul, că este al mieu pământul, iar al lui Dumnezeu este raiul și ceriul. Iar de-m vei da să fii al mieu, așa eu îț voi da eu pământul <fără> gâlceavă. Iar de zici că ești al lui Dumneze<u>, tu te du în rai.
3. Adam zise: — A lui Dumnezău sânt ceriurile şi pământul şi toată lumea.	3. Iar Adam au zis: — Al lui Dumnezău este raiul și ceriul și pământul și toată lumea.
4. Şi iarăş diavolu{l} nu lăsa pre Ad{am} să are, ce zise lui Adam: — Scrie-m zapis de la mâna ta şi-m dă mie, şi atuncea veri ara pământul. Adam zise: — Al cui iaste pământul, al aceluia sânt şi eu, şi feciorii miei.	4. — Și pentru ce nu mă laș să ar pământul? Și atuncea au zis diiavolul lui Adam: — De vei da zapisul tău să fie al mieu, atuncea vei lucra pământul lui Dumnezeu. Adam iar au zis: — Al lui iaste pământul, și eu, și fiii miei.
5. Că ştiia Adam că va să să pogoară Dumnezău pre pământ şi să va naşte din svânta şi precurata Fecioară Mariia.	5. (Și au văzut Adam că va Domnul să se pogoare pre pământ și va să să nască din Fecioară).
6. Diavolul să bucură foarte şi-i zise: — Aşa scrie mie. Şi luo Adam o leaspede de piatră şi scrise a sa scriptură şi zise aşa: — Al cui iaste pământul, al aceluia sânt eu şi feciorii miei, că ştiia.	6. Iar diiavolul au strigat tare, așa zicând: — Fă-m zapis. Și Adam, luând pământul, au tipărit palma lui și l-au dat diiavolului și au zis: — Pentru acest pământ, eu și fiii miei să fie ai lui.
7. Şi luo diavolul scriptura de la Adam şi o ţinea în ţărmurile Iordanului, în loc tare şi ascuns. Şi păzâia scriptura aceaea patru sute de draci.	7. Și au luat diiavolul zapisul și-l ținea.

bulgares), XIVe – début du XVIIIe siècle. Propositions pour un bilan historiographique', in *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique*, ed. by Andrei Timotin, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 7 (Brăila: Istros, 2019), pp. 99–132.

17 See Emanuela Timotin, 'Tradiția românească a apocrifului *Viața lui Adam și a Evei*. Prima traducere', *Limba română*, 63 (2014), pp. 533–46.

18 For the entire text, see Ion C. Chițimia and Stela Toma (coord.), *Crestomația de literatură română veche*, 2 vols (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1984–1989), I, pp. 193–98; Timotin, *Adam și Eva în literatura română veche*, pp. 151–56. I have supplied texts A and B with section numbers.

19 For the entire text, dating to the end of the 18th century, see Timotin, *Adam și Eva în literatura română veche*, pp. 157–62.

Text A (MS 469)	**Text B (MS 2158)**
1. And Adam took the oxen and tilled (the earth).[20]	1. And God ordered Adam, and Adam took the oxen and yoked them to till the earth.
2. And the devil came and stood in front of the oxen and did not allow Adam to till the earth and told Adam: 'I shall not allow you to till the earth, because the earth is mine, but heaven and Paradise are God's.[21] If you want to be mine, till the earth, if you want to be God's go to Paradise!'	2. And the devil came and said to Adam: 'I shall not allow you to till the earth, because the earth is mine, but Paradise and heaven are God's. But if you promise to be mine, I shall give you the earth, without any argument. But if you say you are God's, go to Paradise!'
3. Adam said: 'The heavens and the earth and the whole universe are the Lord's'.	3. And Adam said: 'The heavens and the earth and the whole universe are the Lord's'.
4. And, again, the devil did not allow Adam to till the earth, and told him: 'Write me a Cheirograph written by your hand[22] and give it to me, then you will till the earth'. Adam said: 'Whoever is the lord of the earth, to him both I and my children belong'.	4. 'Why do you not allow me to till the earth?' And then the devil told Adam: 'If you give me your Cheirograph to be mine, then you can work God's earth'. Adam said again: 'To him the earth, I and my sons[23] belong'.
5. Because Adam knew that the Lord would descend on earth and would be born to the holy and pure Virgin Mary.	5. And Adam saw that the Lord would descend on earth and would be born to the Virgin.
6. The devil rejoiced and told him: 'Write me your Cheirograph'. And Adam took a slab of stone and wrote his handwriting and wrote as following: 'Whoever is the lord of the earth, to him I and my children[24] belong', because he knew [that the Lord would descend on earth and would be born to the holy and pure Virgin Mary].	6. The devil shouted loudly and told him: 'Write me the Cheirograph'. And Adam took some earth, put his handprint on it and gave it to the devil and said: 'In exchange of this earth, may I and my sons belong to him'.
7. And the devil took the handwriting and kept it between[25] the banks of the River Jordan, in a secure and hidden place. And 400 devils guarded the handwriting.	7 And the devil took the Cheirograph and kept it.

20 The episode corresponds to a fresco from the church in Voroneț (Fig. 11). The Romanian recensions mention that Adam has oxen when he wants to plough, as does the Slavonic *LAE* 30–32:8; see Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*. The detail might have been influenced by *Homily on Genesis* 9:11 by John Chrysostom which says that God provided humanity with herds of cattle to draw the plough and to till the soil, even though Adam infringed the commandment.

21 According to an apocryphal narrative describing the confrontation between Christ and Satan (cf. Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13), which was transmitted in Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian, Satan says similar words to Jesus when they meet; see Robert P. Casey and Robert W. Thomson, 'A Dialogue between Christ and the Devil', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 6 (1955), pp. 55, 59; Liliana Agache, 'Disputa lui Isus cu Satana', philological study, linguistic study and edition, in *Cele mai vechi cărți populare în literatura română*, V (Bucharest: Editura Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2001), p. 243 (for the Romanian tradition).

22 The phrase doubles the word 'cheirograph' (Rom. *zapis*) and gives a literal translation of it.

23 'Sons' translates *fii* (<Lat. *filius*) which can also mean 'children, offspring', see *Micul dicționar academic (MDA)*, ed. by Marius Sala and Ioan Dănăilă, 4 vols (Bucharest: Univers Enciclopedic, 2001–3), II, s.v. *fiu*.

24 'Children' translates *feciori* (<Lat. **fetiolus*), which also means 'sons'; *Micul dicționar academic (MDA)*, II, s.v. *fecior*.

25 The Romanian expression *în țărmurile Iordanului* is ambiguous. It can mean both 'between the banks of the River Jordan', and 'in the banks of the River Jordan'.

The Romanian texts include a series of motifs that are present in the first Slavonic recension of *LAE* as well: the devil does not allow Adam to till the earth and argues that the earth belongs to him, not to God, who rules over the heavens and Paradise; Adam is given the ground to work after he signs the Cheirograph.[26]

There are also specific details about the manufacture of the contract:[27] Adam takes a rock to write the contract on it, according to the first recension (text 1A, § 6). He takes some earth and puts his handprint on it, according to the second recension (text 1B, § 6). Both texts emphasise Adam's involvement in the entire process of the crafting of the Cheirograph,[28] but they differ in respect to the material out of which it is made[29] and the way Adam writes it.[30]

The Romanian *Plaint of Adam*

The *Plaint of Adam* (PA) is a composition with a highly variable structure, which stems from a variety of biblical, apocryphal and liturgical traditions about the paradisiac and terrestrial existence of the first couple. The plaint of the first man in the surroundings of

26 See the table of the main elements of the literary Cheirograph Legend in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 62, lines 'Heavens Lord's, earth Satan's', 'Agriculture'. The text corresponds to the iconographic type 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph', present in the churches of Bukovina; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 57–59 and pp. 111-21 below.

27 Cf. Variant A of the Slavonic tradition, where such details do not exist; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 27–28, and 62, line 'brick'; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 96. For these specific details in the second Slavonic recension, see also Jagić, 'Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen', p. 49.

28 Cf. texts 2A–D, 3A below, where it is Satan who manufactures a brick for Adam to write the contract. In some texts (2A, B, 3B), he also dries the brick after the contract is signed. In Armenian literature, the devil brings a stone to Adam to write the cheirograph; see *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, § 17; *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation*, § 34, in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 68, 78.

29 In the literary tradition, the cheirograph can be a stone (e.g., text 1A, § 6 above; the Armenian *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, § 17; *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation*, § 34 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 68, 78); a white stone (Variant C of the Slavonic tradition, § 8, in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 38; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, p. 98); some mud (e.g., text 1B, § 6; see also Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 188–89), a brick (e.g., texts 2A–D, 3A–B, Armenian Folk Tale No 3), a sheet of paper (e.g., text 3A). In iconography, it is presented as a scroll or as a stone; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–59, pp. 111–34 below and Figs 3, 6, 8–9, 14–22.

30 It can be Adam's handprint, as in texts 1B, § 6, 2A–D, 3A–B; in the Armenian literature (see *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, § 17 and *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation*, § 34 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 68) or in the Armenian miniature in manuscript Matenadaran M10805 (see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 54–57 and Fig. 3); also see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 136 (text 7); Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 44. For a Bulgarian folk tale, according to which Adam taps his finger on a slab of stone, see Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 144. Sometimes few letters remain imprinted after Adam put his handprint on the brick (text 2B and n. 87). In different situations, Adam is said to write a text (text 1A, § 6), or just to put his signature on it (text 3D). He writes on a scroll in Slavonic, in Cyrillic alphabet, as is shown by the representations produced in Moldova (see Figs 8 and 9), in cuneiform characters, according to an Armenian folk tale (text 4 above), or in Hebrew letters, as Dionysius of Fourna's instructions stipulate (P. Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fourna* [London: Saggitarius Press, 1974], p. 52). Sometimes he writes with blood (text 3D) from his thumb; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 62, line 'blood'. In Bulgarian and Greek tales, Adam writes it in his own blood; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 40, 45–46, 98–102; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 138–44. In a Georgian tale, both Adam and Eve write it in their own blood; see Takajshvili, 'Рукописаніе Адама' [The Cheirograph of Adam], p. 69.

the Garden, after he was expelled from Paradise[31] represents the stable core of this text, which incorporates details about Adam's life that are not recorded in the Bible, but are present in liturgy, in apocryphal literature and in iconography.[32]

The Plaint of Adam: an Authoritative Romanian Literary Piece about Adam and Eve

The text is preserved in nearly 60 manuscripts written between the second half of the seventeenth century and the sixth decade of the nineteenth century,[33] which makes it the most influential literary work about Adam and Eve in the Romanian extra-biblical literature. In the first decades of its transmission, *The Plaint of Adam* was a rhythmic prose, but it gradually turned into a poem. The scribes themselves acknowledged this

31 Various literary texts pertaining to different genres refer to Adam's lament which occurs at other specific moments of his life: at Abel's murder: e.g., *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, I, 2; see *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. and transl. by Benjamin Garstad, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 14 (Cambridge MA – London: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 3, 79; the Armenian *Repentance of Adam and Eve*, 12–24, vv. 73–77, see Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 104; at Christ's birth: see Peter Dronke, 'Adam dans la poésie du haut Moyen Age', in *Adam, le premier homme*, ed. by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus Library, 45 (Florence: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), pp. 5–7, at Lazarus' resurrection: see S. P. Antipova, 'Индивидуальное и типическое в четьем келейном сборнике XV века' [Individual and Typical Elements in the Anthology for Individual Monastic Reading of the Fifteenth Century], Вестник Новосибирского государственнного университета. Серия: История, филология, 9 (2010), pp. 126–99; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 169–87), when the First Man encounters Christ in the Underworld: see the sermon attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis; *PG* 43:462; André Vaillant, 'L'homélie d'Épiphane sur l'ensevelissement du Christ. Texte vieux-slave, texte grec et traduction française', *Radovi staroslavenskog instituta*, 3 (1958), p. 97.

32 For the Romanian tradition of the text, see Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 187–92; Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I, pp. 56–58; Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique'; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 122–41, 438; Emil Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 42 (1994), pp. 221–33; Emanuela Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam à l'expulsion du paradis*', in *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu*, ed. by Francesca Barone, Caroline Macé, and Pablo Ubierna (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 729–54; Emanuela Timotin, 'Dialogurile lui Adam cu raiul însuflețit și cu Dumnezeu. Precizări filologice despre cea mai veche versiune românească a *Verșului lui Adam*', *Limba română*, 66 (2017), pp. 95–105. Several manuscript versions of *PA*, written between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, were (partially) edited in Moses Gaster, 'Texte române inedite din sec. XVII', *Revista de istorie, archeologie și filologie*, 1 (1883), pp. 80–83 [the text is preserved in MS 1163 of the Romanian Academy Library of Bucharest]; see also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 130–31; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', p. 222; Moses Gaster, 'Colinde, cântece populare și cântece de stea inedite', *Revista de istorie, archeologie și filologie*, 1 (1883), pp. 321–24. The last one, reprinted in Moses Gaster, *Chrestomathie roumaine. Textes imprimés et manuscrits du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, 2 vols (Leipzig–Bucharest, F. A. Brockhaus–Socec & Comp., 1891), II, pp. 231–33, is preserved in MS 1164 of the Romanian Academy Library of Bucharest; see also Emil Turdeanu, 'Un manuscris miscelaneu necunoscut', *Arhiva pentru știință și reformă socială*, 10 (1932), pp. 399–400; Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 46–47; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 126–39; Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 188–91; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', pp. 229–33; Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', pp. 751–52; Emanuela Timotin, 'Cântecul lui Adam', in Alexandru Mareş, *Crestomația limbii române vechi*, II, *1640–1715* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2020), pp. 246–48. For the iconography of Adam's lament in the surroundings of Paradise, see Emanuela Timotin, '"The Lament of Eve, when she was getting out through the gates of Paradise": A Late Romanian Development of "The Life of Adam and Eve"', in *Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe and Related Areas. Proceedings of the Session Held at the 12th Congress of South-East European Studies*, ed. by Maria Cioată, Anissava Miltenova, and Emanuela Timotin, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 16 (Brăila: Istros, 2021), pp. 64–65, as well as pp. 119-20 below and Fig. 13.

33 See Timotin, 'Dialogurile lui Adam cu raiul însuflețit și cu Dumnezeu', pp. 95–97.

transformation, by scrupulously aligning the verses of the poem and even by writing their first letters in red ink.[34]

The beginnings of the Romanian tradition of *PA* rely on the Russian tradition.[35] From the late fifteenth-century on, Russian monastic circles encouraged the use of penitential songs about Adam's weeping in the surroundings of Paradise, mainly in relation with a specific feast of the *Triodion*:[36] the Sunday 'when Adam was cast out of Paradise', which is the Cheesefare Sunday that marks the beginning of Lent.[37] In the Romanian tradition, *PA* was read aloud or sung during the *Triodion*, on the Sunday 'when Adam was cast out of Paradise', as well as in the Russian tradition,[38] but also on Christmas Eve (e.g., MSS 842, fols 24r–36v; 2944, fols 8v–9r; 11v–12r[39]); it was also read as a funerary sermon (e.g., MSS 842, fols 24r–36v; 1164, fol. 14v; 1200, fols 14r–18r).

1830 marked a turning point in the history of *PA*: Anton Pann, the most influential religious singer in Bucharest and then professor of religious music in the city,[40] published a version in *The Book of Musical Poems to be sung at Christmas and Other Holidays of the Year*.[41] His anthology gained immense popularity and had three new editions by the mid-nineteenth century. The *Plaint of Adam* is published in the section titled *Other Poems Which are to be Sung All Through the Year* ('Alte versuri, ce să cântă tot anul'), which proves that it could be sung at different periods of the calendar year.

34 E.g., MSS 1433, 1728, 2501, 4978, 5210, 5460, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.

35 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 124; Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', pp. 748–49.

36 In the Eastern Orthodox Church, the *Triodion* is the preparatory period for Easter: it begins ten weeks before Easter, on the Sunday when the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican is read (Luke 18:10–14), and it ends on Holy Saturday, on Easter Eve. For the composition of the liturgical book of the *Triodion*, see Hiéromoine Macaire de Simonos Petra, *La mystagogie du temps liturgique dans le Triodion* (Apostolia, 2021); Robert F. Taft, 'Triodion', in Alexander P. Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), III, pp. 2118–19.

37 For the history of the Russian tradition of *PA*, see Fedotov, Стихи духовные, pp. 38–39; Vladimir N. Sergeev, 'Духовный стих "Плач Адама" на иконе' [The Spiritual Poem 'Lament of Adam' on an Icon], Труды́ Отде́ла древнеру́сской литерату́ры 26 (1971), pp. 283–84; Rozhdestvenskaya, '"Плач Адама"', pp. 161–70; Rozhdestvenskaya, 'Об одном варианте духовного стиха Плач Адама о рае', pp. 158–59. For Byzantine *Laments of Adam*, see recently Krueger, 'Beyond Eden', pp. 167–78; Krueger, 'Mary and Adam on the Threshold of Lent', pp. 180–91.

38 For a version of *PA* without the Cheirograph Legend, written down in the margins of the liturgical book entitled *Triod* and which was used in this specific period of the calendar, see Octavian Șchiau, *Cărturari și cărți în spațiul românesc medieval* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1978), pp. 64, 145. The reading of texts about Adam and Eve in a period preceding Lent exists in the Armenian tradition, too; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 43, 63–92, especially 68–69, 79, 84.

39 This is the present shelf mark of the manuscript; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 126, n. 96 noted a now obsolete shelf mark: 1603.

40 See Gabriela Drăgoi, 'Anton Pann', in *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1979), pp. 656–58.

41 See *Versuri musicești ce să cântă la Nașterea Mântuitoriului nostru Isus Hristos și în alte sărbători ale anului*, compuse de Anton Pann, profesorul de musică al Școlii Naționale din București (Bucharest, 1830).

The Legend of the Cheirograph in the Romanian PA

The Cheirograph Legend is often embedded in *PA*, but it does not appear in the entire textual tradition.

A Significant Absence: The Plaint without the Legend of the Cheirograph

The Cheirograph Legend is present neither in the seventeenth-century manuscripts, nor in the version printed by Anton Pann in 1830.[42] This absence is extremely important for the comprehension of the history of the theme in the Romanian tradition.

On the one hand, the seventeenth-century manuscripts, written by parish priests, witness to the oldest Romanian recension of *PA*[43] and they are inspired by the Russian tradition, which does not seem to include the Legend of the Cheirograph either.[44] Given these circumstances, it appears that the Legend became part of *PA* within the Romanian tradition.

On the other hand, the absence of the Cheirograph narrative from the *Plaint* published by a very influential priest in Bucharest in 1830[45] proves that the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam was not approved of in official clerical circles in Wallachia. Neither the legend nor the texts which include it were openly rejected, but the publication of a *Plaint* without the theme of Adam's contract was the best way to normalize a fluid literary tradition.[46]

A Literary Piece with an Additive Structure: PA with the Legend of the Cheirograph

All the manuscripts of the *Plaint* describe Adam's lament outside the Garden and most of them describe the first events of his life after the Fall (his dialogue with Paradise, with God or with an angel and his compassionate words to Eve). In the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, the most important archive in Romania, there are 23 manuscripts that include the Cheirograph theme: MSS 1163, 1200, 1433, 1728, 1835, 1868, 2313, 2501, 3391, 3644, 3985, 4210, 4278, 4279, 4499, 4866, 4978, 5210, 5319, 5321, 5460, 5480, 5683. These texts have a variable structure and are organised as a succession of scenes describing various moments of Adam's life or of the history of humanity.[47] Grouping versions with similar structures, we can discern the following types:

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42 MS 1164 edited by Gaster, *Chrestomathie roumaine*, II, pp. 231–33 and MS 4153 described by Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', 138, text 10, for example, do not include the Cheirograph Legend either.

43 For such texts, see recently Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', pp. 751–52; Timotin, 'Cântecul lui Adam', pp. 246–48.

44 See Fedotov, Стихи духовные, pp. 38–39; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 101, n. 324; Rozhdestvenskaya, 'Об одном варианте духовного стиха Плач Адама о рае', pp. 159–62.

45 Pann, *Versuri musicești*, pp. 22–24.

46 Printing a specific version of a text in order to standardize a non-canonical tradition is a recurrent phenomenon in the nineteenth century: in the second half of the nineteenth century, similar processes were adopted in order to normalize the tradition of charms; see Emanuela Timotin, *Paroles protectrices, paroles guérisseuses. La tradition manuscrite des charmes roumains (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 45–48, 308–12.

47 Moses Gaster (*Literatura*, pp. 187–88) and Emil Turdeanu ('La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 130–41) often describe the high variability of *PA* in terms of '(in)completion' of manuscripts.

a) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph (MS 4499);[48]
b) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood (MSS 2313, 2501, 5210);[49]
c) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; the incarnation of God to save mankind (MSS 4210, 4279);[50]
d) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; God's promise to Abraham (MSS 1433, 1835,[51] 5460, 5480);
e) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; God's promise to Abraham; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph (MS 4866);[52]
f) Adam's lament; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph (MS 1868);[53]
g) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; God's promise to Abraham; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph; the temptation of Christ by the devil (MSS 3985, 4278,[54] 4978);
h) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; God's promise to Abraham; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph; the temptation of Christ by the devil; the Passion of Christ and Harrowing of Hell; the salvation of the Christians (MSS 1200, 1728, 5683);[55]
i) Adam's lament; his dialogue with an angel or with God; his address to Eve; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; God's promise to Abraham; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph; the temptation of Christ by the devil; the Passion of Christ and Harrowing of Hell; the salvation of the Christians; the exhortation of the Christians to forgive one another (MSS 3644,[56] 5319,[57] 5321[58]);

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48 The manuscript published in Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 46–47 would be part of this category, too. Unlike MS 4499, it also includes some verses about the Christians' liberation from Satan's clutches.

49 For MSS 2501 and 5210, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 135–36.

50 For this manuscript, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 137–38.

51 For this manuscript, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 134–35.

52 A similar text was published in Gaster, 'Texte române inedite din sec. XVII', pp. 80–83.

53 For this manuscript, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 137.

54 For this manuscript, see Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I, pp. 55–56; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 133–34; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', p. 222. A similar version is copied in a manuscript belonging to the Slatina Monastery (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26) (MS 13 II/6, Slatina Monastery); the folio with the Legend of the Cheirograph was detached from the manuscript; for the codex and the text, see Olimpia Mitric, *Cartea românească manuscrisă din nordul Moldovei* (Bucharest: Editura Atos, 1998), pp. 57–60.

55 This is the present shelf mark for MS 5952 mentioned in Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', p. 38, n. 5.

56 For this manuscript, see also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 131–33; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', pp. 222–34; Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', pp. 744–46.

57 This is the present shelf mark for MS 6040 mentioned in Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', p. 38, n. 5.

58 This is the present shelf mark for MS 6036 mentioned in Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', p. 38.

j) Adam's lament; his dialogue with God; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the flood; God's promise to Abraham; the baptism of Christ, during which he destroys the Cheirograph; the Harrowing of Hell (MS 1163[59]);
k) Adam's lament; his dialogue with God; the crafting of the Cheirograph; the division of the Cheirograph in three parts; the birth of Christ, when the first part is destroyed; the baptism of Christ, when the second part is destroyed; the temptation of Christ by the devil; the Passion of Christ; Adam's entrance in Paradise; Satan's detention in Tartarus; the flood; God's promise to Abraham; the Christians' refusal to follow God's advice and to no longer sin (MS 3391).

Thus the versions of the *Plaint* that include the Legend of the Cheirograph have an unstable, additive structure (see Table 1): they always emphasize the First Man's mourning near Paradise and focus on the moment when he signed the contract with the devil,[60] but they may also describe other events significant for the history of humanity. The selection of these episodes guides the meaning of the text and its interpretation. Consequently, *PA* could be read as a text emphasizing the continuous perpetration of sin (types *a*, *b*), steadfast divine grace (type *c*), the Adam-Christ typology (*g*, *h*, *i*), and the Christian salvation of mankind (types *e*, *h*-*k*).

	a	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**	**i**	**j**	**k**
Adam's lament	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Adam's dialogue with an angel / God	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Adam's address to Eve	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Crafting of the Cheirograph	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Division of the Cheirograph in three parts											x
Flood		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x
Incarnation of God to save mankind			x								
God's promise to Abraham				x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Birth of Christ, when the first part of the Cheirograph is destroyed											x
Baptism of Christ, when he destroys the Cheirograph					x	x	x	x	x	x	
Baptism of Christ, when the second part of the Cheirograph is destroyed											x

59 For this manuscript, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 130–31; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', p. 222.
60 A similar succession of episodes – fall, protoplasts' lament and Cheirograph Legend – appears in the Armenian *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* §§1–3; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 66. See also Figs 12, 13

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
Temptation of Christ by the devil							x	x	x		x
Passion of Christ											x
Passion of Christ and Harrowing of Hell								x	x		
Adam's entrance into Paradise											+
Satan's detention in Tartarus											+
Harrowing of Hell										+	
Christians' refusal to follow God's advice and to no longer sin											+
Salvation of the Christians								+	+		
Exhortation of the Christians to forgive one another									+		

Table 2. Main themes of the versions of *PA* with the Legend of the Cheirograph.

The Variation of the Legend of the Cheirograph in PA

Despite the unstable structure of the manuscripts which include the Legend of the Cheirograph, the narrative about Adam's contract with Satan follows a quite standardised pattern. The texts rarely draw on different narrative-types. I was able to identify four narrative-types. The first one (A) is preserved in a significant number of manuscripts (20), the texts slightly differing from one another. The other three narrative-types (B – D) are each preserved in one manuscript.

Version A

Most of the texts[61] describe the circumstances in which Adam crafts the Cheirograph as follows: the devil does not allow Adam to work the ground, he argues that the earth belongs to him, and tells Adam to go to Paradise, where his lot is. Adam weeps and is given a promise that he will be allowed to till the soil provided he signs a Cheirograph. When he admits he does not know how to make a Cheirograph, Satan brings him a brick on which Adam puts his handprint. The Cheirograph is hidden by Satan in the River Jordan, under a large stone, not far from the bank, under the surveillance of a hundred demons.[62]

61 Several manuscript versions of this narrative-type that include the Legend of the Cheirograph were presented in Gaster, 'Texte române inedite', pp. 80–83; Gaster, 'Colinde, cântece populare', pp. 321–22; Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 189–91; Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 46–47; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 125–40; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', pp. 223–31; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 43–44 (text 5).

62 I have supplied texts A – D with section numbers.

Dară Satană văzând/ Pre Adam pământ lucrând,/
Vrăjmaș în ceput fiind,/ I-au grăit groznic zicând:/
Cine ți-au poruncit ție/ Să-m faci tu pacoste mie?/
De-mi strici tu pământul mieu,/ Fiind aici stăpân eu./
Iară Adam lui i-au grăit:/ Dumnezeu mi-au poruncit./
Iar Satană răspunse/ Și lui Adam groaznic zise:/
Eu sânt aici Dumnezeu,/ Și pământul este-al mieu,/
Ci te du de sapă în rai,/ Că acolo moșie ai./
Iar aici nu vei săpa,/ nici în pace vei scăpa./
Aceste Adam auzind/ Vrăjmașul pre el gonind,/
Nu știia ce va mai zice/ Și-ncătrău să va duce./
Începu iară a plânge,/ și cu glas de jale a zice:/
Oh, vai mie greșitul,/ și iarăși pedepsitul./
Din rai am fost izgonit,/ Iară de-aici sânt gonit./
Oh, amar și vai de mine,/ Pentru scârbă ce-i pe mine,/
Atuncea Satană văzând/ Pre Adam cu amar plângând,/
I-au grăit cu glas mai blând,/ ca să-l mai înșale vrând./
O, Adame, nu mai plânge,/ ci mă ascultă ce-ți voi zice./
De vei să lucrezi în pace,/ Să trăiești precum îți place,/
Fă-m și tu mie o mângâiere,/ de-mi dă mie ce-ț voi cere,/
Iară Adam socotind,/ Vrăjmașul viclean fiind,/
I-au făgăduit să-i dea,/ Orice va vrea să ia./
Atuncea Satană răspunse,/ Și lui Adam așa zise./
Eu voi să cei de la tine/ fi<i>i cei ce să vor naște din tine./
Să-m fie mie de-ascultare,/ Fiind și eu împărat mare./
Atuncea Adam zise lui,/ Vrând să facă voia lui,/
Da-ți-i-voi, ai tăi să fie,/ Precum vrei, așa să fie./
Numai mă lasă în pace,/ Să lucrez precum îm place./
Iară Sătană îi răspunse,/ Și lui Adam vesel zise:/
Bine făcuș, fii în pace,/ Și lucrează orice-ț place,/
Însă dă-m dară zapis,/ Cu a ta mână fiind scris./
Iară Adam răspunzând i-au zis:/ Eu nu știu să-ți fac zapis./
Iarî Satană răspunse/ Și lui Adam așa zise:/
Vino încoace după mine,/ ca să te învăț pre tine./
Și căutând niște lut moale,/ ca olarii când fac oale,/
Și făcând o cărămidă,/ Neatedă și frumos tocmită,/
Zice lui Adam să o ia,/ să apese palmă pre ea./
Deci Adam palma lui puse,/ Și ca o pecete să scrise./
Și așa Adam fii<i> lui/ Îi vându vrăjmașului./
Dându-i pre ei cu zapis,/ Sângur cu a lui mână fiind scris./
Iar Satană luându-l/ Acel zapis și uscându-l/
L-au ars și l-au făcut tare,/ Ca un lucru scump și mare/
Și gândiia unde-l va pune/ Ca să-l ascunză mai bine./
Iară în Palistina este/ O apă cu mare veste/

Iordan nume având,/ Din niște munți mari ieșind/
Deci acel zapis îl puse/ Și întru acea apă îl ascunse,/
Supt o piiatră mare, lată,/ de mal nu prea depărtată/
Și o sută de draci strânse,/ Păzitori acolo îi puse/
În chip de bălauri fiind,/ Pre nimeni acolo lăsând. (MS 1200, fols 5r–7v)

And Satan, when he saw Adam till the soil, being his Enemy[63] from the very beginning, said to him frightfully: 'Who ordered you to scourge me? You are ruining my land, and I am the lord of this place'.

And Adam said to him: 'God ordered me (to do) it'. And Satan answered and reprimanded him: 'I am the lord here and the land is mine. Go away and plough the heaven, there is your inheritance. And here you will not till the soil, nor will you escape me'.

And hearing that he was banished by his Enemy, Adam did not know what to say and where to go. And he began to lament again and to say in a mournful voice: 'Oh, poor me, the sinner and the unhappy one! I've been expelled from heaven and now I am being banished from here too. O, poor me, for my deep sorrow'.

Seeing Adam deeply lamenting, Satan told him in a soft voice, to deceive him even more: 'You, Adam, cry no more and listen to me. If you want to live in peace, to work as you wish, please me in one respect, and do as I am asking you'.

And Adam did not realise the deceit, since the Enemy was sly, and he promised Satan to give him whatever he asked for. Then Satan answered and said to Adam: 'I am asking you for the sons who will be born to you. They should obey me, for I am a great emperor too'.

And Adam answered him, to please him: 'I shall give them to be yours. May it be as you wish, only leave me alone, let me work as I please'. And Satan answered and said to Adam happily: 'You did well, be in peace and work anything you please. But make me a Cheirograph, written by your own hand'.

Adam answered and said: 'I do not know how to make a Cheirograph'. And Satan said and responded Adam: 'Come here, and I will show you'. And he looked for some soft soil such as potters need when they make pots, and he made a neat, beautifully-crafted brick. He told Adam to take it, to press his hand on it. Adam did what he was told to, he pressed on the brick and left his handprint there as a seal. Thus Adam sold his sons to the Enemy, by the Cheirograph written by his own hand.

63 'Enemy' is a name of Satan from ancient times; it is also used in various traditions of *LAE*: in Greek (29:13; 7:2; 15:1; 25:4); Latin (11:3; 39:1); Georgian (17:1; 32(7):2; 44(28):3; 47(39):1; 47(39):2); Armenian (17:1; 44(20):2; 44(28):3); Slavonic (18–20:2); see Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 97.

> And Satan took the Cheirograph and dried it, and baked it and made it solid, as a valuable and important thing, and he was wondering where to put it, to hide it well. And there is a world-famous river in Palestine 45 named Jordan, which springs from some high mountains. So he took the Cheirograph and hid it in that water, under a big, flat stone, not too far from the bank, and gathered 100 devils and put them on guard there; and they had the appearance of dragons and did not let anyone come closer.

This narrative-type of *PA* presents some specific features of the Legend of the Cheirograph.

First of all, it emphasizes Adam's plaint, the central theme of the text, insofar as Adam is said to be weeping when Satan does not allow him to work the land.[64]

While preventing Adam from tilling the land, the devil sends him to Paradise and depicts him as heir of the Garden.

Adam is certainly deceived by the devil as he is not aware of Christ's Incarnation when he signs the contract.[65]

All the texts connect the manufacturing of the contract with brick-making and pottery:[66] as a potter, Satan makes a neat brick out of clay; he brings it to Adam; he dries it in the fire after Adam signs it; Adam puts his hand[67] on the brick and marks his handprint on it.

The Cheirograph is hidden in the River Jordan under the surveillance of 100[68] devils, who have the appearance of mythological serpents.[69]

64 For a similar motif, see texts 2 B–D below.

65 For a similar motif, see text 2C below. There are however several manuscripts of *PA* which recount that God, through the voice of his angel, announces to weeping Adam that he will eventually save him: *că însuș voi să viu și din morți voi să vă înviu* 'for I myself shall come to resurrect you [Adam and Eve] from the dead' (e.g., MS 2313, fol. 23r). According to the second narrative-type (text 2B, MS 3391, below), God himself appears to weeping Adam and announces His incarnation. These texts are definitely influenced by the Romanian *LAE*, according to which Adam knew of God's incarnation when he concluded the pact with Satan (texts 1A, B, § 5). In other traditions of *LAE*, it is the archangel Michael who prophesies the Incarnation and the Baptism to Eve and Seth at the gates of Paradise; see Latin *LAE* (42:2–5); Armenian *LAE* (42(13):3b–4); Georgian *LAE* (42(13):3b–4) and, for the texts, Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 45; Pettorelli, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, pp. 832–33.

66 See the table of the main elements of the Cheirograph Legend in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 62, line 'brick'.

67 Adam is invited to put either his hand on the brick (e.g., MSS 1200, fol. 6v; 1433, fol. 133v; 1728, fol. 84v; 2313, fol. 24v; 2501, fol. 13r), or his finger (e.g., MS 4866, fol. 271v). See also text 1B, § 6 above.

68 For a similar figure, see 2C below. Some versions of *PA* do not mention a specific number of guardian demons (e.g., MS 5683, fol. 6v; Gaster 1883: 82). Cf. the Romanian *LAE*, according to which 400 or an unspecified number of devils guard the cheirograph (see 1A above); another version of the *Plaint*, according to which thousands of demons ward the contract (see 2B below).

69 The serpent-like appearance of the demons who guard the cheirograph in the River Jordan is a key motif of the legend; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 62, line 'serpents'; above, chapter 'New Armenian Evidence from Literary Texts'. However, the assimilation between these guardian demons and the serpents does not appear in all the Romanian manuscripts; it is absent, for example, from MSS 1835, fol. 8r; 2313, 24r; 4866, fol. 271v.

Certain specific features of the text prove its connection with traditional beliefs: the depiction of Satan as a potter[70] and the reference to the mythological serpents (*bălauri*).[71]

Most of the versions (types *e-j*) also focus on the moment of the destruction of the Cheirograph, at the baptism of Christ. The theme was earlier attested in iconography,[72] and is also present in the Armenian literary tradition, in Romanian and Bulgarian folklore, and in Modern Greek tales.[73]

Au venit la Iordan,/ despre ținutul lui Dan,/
Deci el în apă întrând,/ Ioan să-l boteaze vrând,/
Stătu prea cea piiatră mare,/ Pre care o păziia dracii tare./
Supt care piiatră era pus,/ Zapisul Satanii ascuns./

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70 The depiction of the devil's skill in working clay might be reminiscent of Genesis 2:7, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 162, n. 17. Romanian traditional beliefs about Satan's demiurgic abilities or about the potters' malefic character might equally have contributed to the stable insertion of this episode in *PA*. According to cosmogonic folk legends, the devil also contributed to the creation of the world, and God even signed a contract with him in order to separate their respective dominions; for such legends, collected at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Tony Brill, *Legendele românilor*, 3 vols (Bucharest: Editura 'Grai și suflet – Cultura națională', 1994), I: *Legendele cosmosului*, pp. 13–18, 23–27, 46–53; for the cheirograph, see 24, 48. The techniques of brick-making and of pottery are widely spread, the former in the Romanian urban milieu and the latter in the villages; see Tudor Pamfile, *Industria casnică la români* (Bucharest–Leipzig–Wien, Socec–O Harrassowitz–Gerold & Comp., 1910), pp. 382–93; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria industriilor la români* (Vălenii-de-Munte: Datina Românească, 1927), pp. 20–21, 26; Paul H. Stahl, 'Lutul prinde viață', in Paul H. Stahl and Marin Constantin, *Meșteri țărani români* (Bucharest: Tritonic, 2004), pp. 43–57. The folk tradition attributes malefic features to the potter, because, they say, he stole his craft from God and he torments the soil: *Legenda țărănească spune că olarul a furat meșteșugul lui de la Dumnezeu, numai că el dă viață oalelor prin foc, îndrăzneală pentru care va plăti odată și odată* (apud Stahl, 'Lutul prinde viață', p. 43) ['The folk legend says that the potter stole his art from God and that he gives life to his pots through fire; for this impudence he will eventually pay']; *olarul e urgisit de Dumnezeu ... pe celaltă lume olarul va fi ars în foc și chinuit, întocmai cum arde și chinuiește lutul sfântului pământ* (apud Pamfile, *Industria casnică*, pp. 392–93) ['the potter is always abhorred by God ... in the other world, the potter will be burnt in fire and will be tormented, as he burns and torments the blessed earth']. Potters act demiurgically and change the natural form of things, a reason for which they are considered malefic. An analogous idea was present in medieval Western Europe, where dyers were seen as malefic, as well, because they could change the colour of the cloth; see Michel Pastoureau, *Jésus chez le teinturier: couleurs et teintures dans l'Occident medieval* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1977).

71 The Romanian text quoted here uses the word of *balaur* 'dragon', 'mythological serpent'; for the Thraco-Dacian origin and meanings of this word, see Grigore Brâncuş, *Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române*, Bibliotheca Thracologica, 8 (Bucharest: Institutul român de Tracologie, 1998), pp. 53–54. The same word, *bălauri* 'dragons', is used when the destruction of the cheirograph is described below, in text B (v. 45, 60). A similar tendency to give a mythological designation to the guardian serpent(s) of the Cheirograph appears in the Armenian iconographic and literary tradition; see 'Armenian Iconography of the Cheirograph in the Baptism'; 'Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation', and Michael E. Stone's comments, in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 54–57, 81, 86–87; Yenokyan, 'Վիշապ-օձի պատկերագրութիւնը Հայ մանրնկարչութեան մէջ' [The Iconography of the Dragon (*višap*)-Serpent in Armenian Miniature Painting] and p. 57 above.

72 It corresponds to three iconographic types: type 1 'The Baptism with Christ Standing on a Stone Holding a Scroll in His Left Hand upon Which is Written (in Slavonic) "Cheirograph of Adam"', see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–50, and pp. 121–32 below; type 2 'Christ on a Rock in the Baptism with or without Serpents', see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 50–54; two Bulgarian mural paintings dating respectively to the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 153–54, figures 8, 9, and see also pp. 132–37 below; type 3 'Armenian Iconography of the Cheirograph in the Baptism', see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 54–57, and pp. 55–60 above.

73 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 44–46 (texts 6, 7), 81, 95–98; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 144; text 3B1 below.

Și când vru Hristos să iasă,/ Iar piiatră să întoarsă,/
Deci bălaurilor/ Le zdrobi capetele lor,/
Iară acel zapis ieșind,/ Pe apă ca o frunză stând,/
Îl lua Domnul cu a sa mână,/ Și-l sfărâmă tot făină./
Iar Satană văzând,/ Atâtă rău lui făcând,/
Să mira cine este,/ Om sau Dumnezeu este. (MS 1200, fols 9v–10r)

> Christ came to the Jordan from Dan's land and, when he entered the river to be baptised by John, he stood on that big stone, which the devils guarded powerfully and under which Satan's contract was hidden. And when Christ wanted to come out, the stone turned over and he/it crushed the dragons' heads. And that Cheirograph came to the surface and floated like a leaf on the water, and the Lord took it with his hand and ground it as if it were flour. And Satan, when he saw that a man harmed him so much, was wondering whether that man was human or God.[74]

Christ stands on the very rock which conceals the Cheirograph.[75] When he wants to get out of the water, the rock turns over and the serpents' heads are crushed.[76] The Cheirograph floats on the water, Christ takes it in his hands and it disintegrates into dust. The description of the Cheirograph which floats up and is taken by Christ from the water, as well as the distinction between the contract on a brick and the rock under which it is hidden seem specific to the Romanian tradition.[77]

Equally unique seems to be the topographic indication that describes how Christ comes to be baptised: 'he came to the Jordan from Dan's land'. The references to Dan's land[78] in the Romanian extra-biblical literature are scarce,[79] so they could hardly represent the source of these verses. There are no pilgrim accounts of the Holy Land in Romanian that might explain the introduction of 'Dan's land' here either. Dan must be mentioned here because it is associated with the serpent and considered the ancestor of the Antichrist (Gen 49:17).[80]

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74 Satan's interrogation about the nature of the person who destroyed the precious contract may be reminiscent of *The Gospel of Nicodemus* § 21:3–22:1; see *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, II, ed. by Pierre Geoltrain and Jean-Daniel Kaestli (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), pp. 293–94. This question is also found in Armenian erotapocritic texts: 'Question: Up to which place did Satan not know the Son of God – His baptism, or His temptation, or His crucifixion? Answer: He (Satan) was always in doubt, but in the crucifixion, when He (Christ) yielded up his spirit (soul) to the hands of the Father, then he realised that He was God and Son of God'; for the full text and comments, see Michael E. Stone , *Armenian Apocrypha From Adam to Daniel*, SBLEJL, 55 (Atlanta: SBL Press,2021), p. 429.

75 The detail is previously attested in iconography; see pp. 132–37 below.

76 For a thorough discussion of the connection of this textual detail of the Cheirograph Legend with Ps 74(73):13–14, see mainly above, p. 52.

77 See also text 2B below.

78 See Joshua 19:40.

79 For a few nineteenth-century Romanian texts that mention Dan's land, see Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, II: *Epoca influenței grecești*, p. 98.

80 See also p. 68, n. 38, above. The Romanian texts about Antichrist, which date to the eighteenth century, convey the ancient belief according to which Antichrist will be born from the tribe of Dan (cf. Gen 49:16–17 and Gen 3:15), but they do not mention Dan's land (communication by Dr Cristinel Sava, who is currently preparing a monograph on the Romanian tradition of *De consumatione mundi* of Pseudo-Hippolytus).

Version B

Another narrative-type of *PA* (type *k*) is written in the ninth decade of the eighteenth century by Rafail, a hieromonk who was the son of a priest and had been a priest himself in Bogdănești (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26), before taking monastic vows. The text titled *Cântecu în verșiuri pentru izgonirea lui Adam din raiu* 'Versified Plaint for Adam's Expulsion from Paradise' is preserved in an ample miscellany the hieromonk prepared for his sons.[81]

Și-au rămas Adam pământ săpând/ și Eva cânepă torcând/
Iar Sătana văzând/ pre Adam plângând lucrând,/
Vrăjmașu din ceput fiind,/ i-au grăit groaznec zicând:/
Cine ț-au poroncit ție/ să-m faci tu pacoste mie,/
De-m strâci tu pământul mieu,/ fiind aice-mpărat eu?/
Iar Adam lui i-au grăit:/ Dumnezeu me-au poroncit./
Iar Sătana răspunsă,/ lui Adam groznecu-i zisă:/
Tu ești a lui Dumnezeu,/ și pământu iaste-al meu./
Ce te du de sapă în rai,/ că acolo moșie ai./
Iar Adam de mare frică/ neștiind ce să mai zică,/
Iar Sătana că-i zise:/ Închinându-te tu mie,/ eu ț-oi da din pământ ție./
Că Dumnezeu v-au urât/ și din rai v-au izgonit./
Adam sta și să mira,/ de Dumnezeu nu să îndura,/ dracului a să-nchina/
Și șide cu multă jale/ înstreinat în iastă lume,/
Neștiind ce să mai facă,/ Ca mâncare să o aibă./
Sătana iar îl îngroze/ și strașnecu așe-i zice:/
Fii tu al lui Dumnezeu,/ că pământul iaste-al meu/
Să videm ce vei face,/ că nu-ț voi da ție pace./
Fiindu-mi tu acum la mână,/ eu ț-oi da și o învățătură/
Cât-i fi pe locul meu,/ să fii al lui Dumnezeu/
Iar murind, să fii al meu./
Adam așe s-au priimit,/ Sătana s-au veselit,/
Și iar Sătana răspunsă/ și lui Adam adevărul zisă./
Bine făcuși, fii pe pace,/ și lucrează orice-ți place,/
Însă dă-mi zapis scris de mâna ta/ și așe pace ț-oi da./
Adam răspunzând zicând:/ Eu nu știu zapes să fac./
Iar Sătana răspunsă/ și lui Adam așa zisă:/
Vino-noace după mine,/ și eu să te-nvăț pre tine./
Și căotând lut moale,/ ca olariul când face oale,/
Și făcând o cărămidă, netedă, frumos tocmită,/ Și zicându-i lui Adam:/
Pune, Adame, și apasă palma ta/ și de mine așe-i scăpa./
Și Adam palma pe cărămidă pusă/ Și 3 slove că rămasă./
Și așe Adam pre fi<i>i, strenepoții lui/ îi vându vrăjmașului./
Și așa îi dede pre ei/ cu zapes scris de mâna lui./

81 See Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, III, pp. 111–12.

Iar Sătana zapesul că l-au luat/ și tare că l-au uscat,/
De l-au făcut un lucru scumpu și mare,/
Și gândi unde l-ar pune,/ ca să-l ascundă mai bine./
Și iar Sătana să socoti/ și în 3 bucăți că-l făcu/
Și le ascunse câte unul/ ca să nu le știe Domnul./
La Vifleem ascunsă una,/ și-au topit-o Precista cu Naşterea sa./
La Palistina este o apă ce să numește Iordan zăcând,/
Din niște munți mari și strașneci ieșind,/
Deci alt zapis într-ace apă îl pusă/ și foarte bine-l ascunsă,/
Suptu-o piiatră mare, lată,/ De mal nu pre depărtată,/
Și mii de păzitori pusă/ și bălauri că-i făcu/
Și strașnec le porunce/ Ca zapesul să nu-l scape./
Iar Dumnezeu cel milostiv trimasă pre fiiul său a să naște pre pământ,/ făcând sfânt așezământ,/
Să scoață lumea din robie,/ supt moarte să nu mai fie./
Dintru Avram cel slăvit/ au ieșit neamul cel sfânt,/
Isac, Iacov, Moisi și Aron, cu fiii săi,/
Și toți prorocii cei sfinți,/ și a noștri sfinți părinți,/
Dintr-a căruia viță s-au născut/ făr de sămânță Hristos,/
Dumnezeu cel preasfânt,/ cu trupul aici pre pământ,/
Carele vine să să boteze,/ lumea să să lumineze,/
Au venit la Iordan,/ dispre ținutul lui Dan,/
Deci el în apă întrând,/ Ioan să-l boteze vrând,/
Stând pe ace piatră mare,/ care o păziia dracii tare,/
Supt carii piiatră era pus/ și zapisul Satanii ascuns,/
Și când vru să iasă,/ iar piiatra să și întoarsă,/
Și bălaurilor li s-au zdrobit capul loru,/
Și acel zapesu ieșind,/ ca frunza pre apă stând,/
Luându-l Domnul cu-a sa mână,/ l-au sfărâmat tot făină./
Iar Sătana-așe văzând,/ atâta rău lui făcând,/
Să mera:/ Omu este au Dumnezeu?/
Și să teme tare/ ca de un Dumnezeu tare.[82] (MS 3391, fols 352r–353r)

And Adam remained tilling the soil and Eve spinning the yarn.[83] And Satan, when he saw Adam sobbing, told him frighteningly, as he was his Enemy from the very beginning: 'Who ordered you to harm me? You ruin my land, because I am the lord of this place'. And Adam said to him: 'God

82 The alignment in verses is mine. The scribe was aware that he wrote a poem and he marked the end of the verses or the first letter of the verses in red ink.

83 The text shows Eve doing some 'women's work' while Adam hoes the ground; for a similar motif, see also text 2D below. Similar representations appear in the iconography drawing on apocryphal traditions, as, for example, in a fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript of Lutwin's poem about the protoplasts, inspired by *LAE* (Codex Vindob. 2980) and in the frescos in Voroneț and Sucevița (Figs 8, 9). According to Dionysius of Fourna (eighteenth century), this is the right way to represent the protoplasts' labour after the Fall; see Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, p. 18.

ordered me'. And Satan answered and reprimanded him: 'You belong to God, but the earth is mine. So go away and plough Paradise, where your lot is'.

Greatly scared, Adam had no response to that, and Satan told him: 'If you obey me, I shall give you a part of the earth, because God hated you and banished you from Paradise'. Adam remained amazed and he could not tear himself from God, nor did he have the heart to yield to the devil. Greatly grieved and banished to this world, Adam did not know what to do to get food.[84] Satan frightened him again and told him menacingly: 'You belong to God, while the earth is mine. Let us see what you will do, because I shall not give you peace. Now, because you depend on me, I shall teach you what to do. Belong to God as long as you stay on my land, and be mine when you die'. Adam agreed to it, Satan rejoiced, responded to Adam and told him the truth: 'You took the right decision, stay in peace and work whatever you please. But give me a Cheirograph written by your hand and then I shall let you in peace'. Adam answered and said: 'I do not know how to make a Cheirograph'. And Satan said and responded Adam, 'Come here, and I will teach you'. He looked for some soft soil, as the potter needs when he makes pots, and he made a neat, beautifully crafted brick, and told Adam, 'Take it, Adam, and press your hand on it and thus you will escape me'. Adam pressed his hand on the brick and three letters remained imprinted there. And thus, Adam sold his sons and grandsons to the Enemy, and gave them away through a Cheirograph written by his hand. And Satan took the Cheirograph and dried it well, and turned it into valuable and important thing. And he was reflecting where to put it, to hide it well. And he pondered upon it and divided it into three pieces, and hid each one, for God not to know about them. He hid one in Bethlehem, and the Virgin melted[85] it when she gave birth (to Christ).

And there is a river in Palestine named Jordan, which springs from some high and impressive mountains. So he took another part of the Cheirograph and put it into that water, and hid it well, under a big, flat stone, not too far from the bank, and gathered thousands of guardians and made them dragons and ordered them not to lose sight of the Cheirograph.

And the merciful God sent his Son to be born on earth, because he resolved to liberate the world from slavery and from death. The holy people was born from the most venerable Abraham; Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Aaron with his sons, and all the holy prophets and our holy fathers, from whose offspring Christ, the most holy God, was born unbegotten, taking flesh here on earth. He came to be baptised, to enlighten the world. He came to Jordan from

84 The search for food is a major theme in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, too, and there it is resolved by the archangel Michael teaching Adam about agriculture; see Latin *LAE* (22:2), Georgian *LAE* (20:1b). So there is a culture hero aspect to this story, too.

85 The use of the verb *topi* 'to melt' is not current in the terminology of the destruction of the cheirograph. For its use in the Armenian tradition, see above p. 39, n. 13.

> Dan's land and, when he entered the river to be baptised by John, he stood on that big stone that the devils guarded powerfully and under which Satan's contract was hidden. When Christ wanted to come out, the stone turned over and the dragons' heads were crushed.[86] And the Cheirograph came to the surface and floated like a leaf on the water, and the Lord took it in his hand and ground it as if it were flour. And Satan, when he saw the harm done to him, was wondering whether that man was human or God, and he was afraid of Christ, as of a powerful God.

The text reports that three letters remain imprinted when Adam pressed his hand on the brick.[87] Satan divides the Cheirograph in three parts. He hides one in Bethlehem,[88] another one in the River Jordan. The text, though complete, says nothing about the third part. Because of the division of the contract, the text presents several stages of the annulment of the Cheirograph and is similar to a nineteenth-century Slavonic text of Old Believer origin.[89] Both the Slavonic and the Romanian texts state that Satan asks for the dead and cedes the living to God.[90]

Still, the Slavonic text indicates that Christ's baptism, crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell stand for the moments of the destruction of the Cheirograph, while the Romanian one mentions that the first part of the contract is destroyed at the birth of Christ,[91] whereas the second is destroyed at his baptism.

86 Cf. Ps 74(73):13–14.

87 Such motifs, which show a particular interest in Adam's writing, are quite rare. It is worth mentioning that a version of *PA* published in Gaster, *Literatura*, pp. 188–89 mentions that nine seals remained imprinted on the mud onto which Adam put his handprint. Johann A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Liebezeit, 1713) at the beginning of his work gives a Table of the 'Adamic Letters'.

88 The reference to Bethlehem might be inspired by *LAE* § 6, according to which Adam signed the cheirograph only because he was aware of Christ's incarnation; see texts 1A, B above. Compare the Armenian tradition, according to which Eve was buried in the cave in Bethlehem; when Christ was born, she was resurrected and helped the Virgin with the child; see Michael E. Stone, 'The Bones of Adam and Eve', in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. by Randal A. Argall, Beverley A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 2000, repr. in Stone, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies*, I, pp. 141–45), pp. 241–45; Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, 'The Cave of the Nativity Revisited: Memory of the Primaeval Beings in the Armenian Lord's Infancy and the Cognate Sources', in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, ed. by Aram Mardirossian, Agnès Ouzounian, and Constantin Zuckerman, Travaux et Mémoires, 18 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance, 2014), pp. 288–98.

89 For this text, Variant C in the Slavonic tradition; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 38–40; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 98–99. For the two-stage process of the destruction of the cheirograph in iconography, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 85–86.

90 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 40–41. In a Bulgarian folk tale, the living are Adam's, and the dead Satan's; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 45.

91 Cf. the Armenian apocryphal literature, which associates the annulment of the cheirograph with the birth of Christ, as well. See mainly *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* §§24–26; *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation* § 34, *Adam Story I* § 8; see the texts and comments in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 69–72, 78, 89.

Version C

Another narrative-type of *PA* (type *f*), without title, is written by an anonymous scribe in 1806. The scribe was definitely a clergyman, since his manuscript comprises numerous religious songs, psalms, prayers, and funeral sermons.[92]

Iară Satana văzând pre Adam/ pământul lucrând,/
Începu a-l îngrozi,/ cu cuvinte a-l dojăni:/
Lasă pământul, nu lucra,/ că nu-i dat pre mâna ta,/
Ci te du la raiul tău,/ unde te-a pus Dumnezău./
Acolo să lăcuiești/ și în veci să împărățești./
Adam iar dacă vedea,/ cătră Dumnezău grăia:/
Eu mă rog, Doamne, de tine,/ fiind lipsit de așa bine/
Satana iar nu-m dă pace,/ să lucru precum îm place./
Satana, ca un viclean,/ pohtind rău la acest neam,/
Îi grăi cu glas când,/ ca să-l mai înșale vrând./
Taci, Adame, nu mai plânge,/ numai fă precum voi zice./
Făgăduiește tu mie/ fiii ce vor fi din tine,/
Să mi–i dai/ ai mei să fie./
Adam dac-au înțeles,/ ochii de lacrămi au șters./
Eva daca au auzit,/ îndat-au făgăduit:/
Fi<i>i ce vor fi din mine/ eu îi dau ai tăi să fie./
Numai nouo ne dă pace,/ să lucrăm precum ne place./
Iară Satana pre Adam înșelând,/ de la Adam zapis cerând./
Adam carte neștiind,/ zapisu neputând,/
Satana adusă o cărămidă/ frumoasă și împodobită,/
Adam mâna pre ea pusă,/ fu ca când ar fi fost scrisă,/
Satana zapis au căpătat,/ pre Adam l-au înșălat,/
Satana zapisu l-au luat/ și cu el s-au afundat/
În Iordan, numită apă,/ ce-i vestită-n lumea toată./
O sută de draci str<â>nsă/ și acolo străjari îi pusă./
Iară când vremea au venit/ precum au fost prorocit,/
Hristos în lume s-au născut,/ și pre noi ne-au izbândit./
Când în Iordan s-au botezat,/ atunci zapisul au stricat/
Fiind vorba noastră deplin,/ întru toți veci<i> amin. (MS 1868, fols 14r–18v)

> And Satan, when he saw Adam till the soil, began to frighten and to rebuke him in the following words, 'Stay away from the land, do not work it, because it is not given into your power. Go to your heaven, where God set you. There you should live and rule for ever'.
> And Adam, when he saw it, said to God, 'I am praying you, God, because I am deprived of any good. Satan does not let me work as I please'. Satan was sly and eyed the (human) people maliciously; he said to Adam in a soft

92 See Ştrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, II, p. 86 for the manuscript; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 137, for the text.

> voice, to deceive him even more, 'You, Adam, cry no more, just do as I am asking you. Promise me that you will give the sons who will be born to you to me, to be mine'. And Adam, when he heard it, wiped the tears from his eyes. When Eve heard it, she instantly promised, 'The sons who will be born to me, I shall give to be yours, only leave us alone, let us work as we please'.
>
> And Satan deceived Adam and asked for a Cheirograph from him. Adam did not know how to write, and could not make a Cheirograph, so Satan brought a neat and beautiful brick. Adam pressed his hand on it, and it was as if it had been written. Satan got the Cheirograph and deceived Adam. He took the Cheirograph, plunged into the Jordan, a famous river that is known all over the world, he gathered one hundred devils and put them guard there. And when the time came, as it was prophesied, Christ was born in the world and saved us. When he was baptised in the Jordan, he destroyed the Cheirograph. And our word is true, now and forever, amen.

The version presents numerous specific details. Some of them minimize Adam's guilt. First, he is said to address a prayer to God when he understands that the devil is preventing him from working the land. Secondly, Eve also is present at the encounter with the devil,[93] and she is the one who concludes the oral agreement with Satan. Adam only signs it, although he does not know how to write. The scene obviously echoes Gen 3:1–6.[94]

This text does not include the motifs inspired by traditional beliefs: Satan's abilities as a potter are not described, nor do the serpents that guard the Cheirograph have any mythological attributes. The text differs from other versions of the *Plaint* in respect to the description of the place where the Cheirograph is hidden: Satan dives into the River Jordan to conceal the contract; like in *LAE*, he hides it there, but not under a specific stone.[95] The text does not describe how Christ destroys the contract either,[96] but it insists on the prophecies about his Incarnation. It concludes with a formula which shows that the text was recited or sung and which asserts the veracity of the legend.

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93 This feature is rare in the Romanian tradition: *LAE* and *PA* usually do not mention that Eve witnessed Adam's encounter with the devil; apart from this text, only a Christmas carol explicitly refers to her presence (text 4). In contrast, the Armenian tradition often reports that Adam and Eve act together when they meet the devil; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 63–88 and Folk Tale No 4 above. Adam is rarely alone when he meets the devil and signs the contract; see *Adam Story I* in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 88–92 and Armenian Folk Tales Nos 1, 2, 5–7 above. For similar Bulgarian and Greek tales where the protoplasts encounter the devil together, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 63–88, 93–98; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 143–44. They are depicted together in a seventeenth-century Russian illumination; see p. 22. In a Georgian tale, after the Fall, while Adam is away, the devil approaches Eve, who is worried about the imminent birth of her first child; the devil persuades her to give all her offspring into his power; then Adam and Eve sign the contract together; see Takajshvili, 'Рукописаніе Адама' [The Cheirograph of Adam], p. 69.

94 An eighteenth-century copy of the *Sea of Tiberias* similarly mentions that Satan granted the protoplasts permission to work the land after Adam wrote a contract and Eve swore an oral oath; see Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 132.

95 See texts 1A, § 7; cf. texts 2A, B.

96 Cf. texts 2A, B.

Version D

The text (type *a*) was recorded by a school teacher and choirmaster[97] in the city of Braşov in 1846. His marginal notes show he followed Anton Pann's activity with great interest.[98]

Ș-au rămas Adam săpând,/ Eva la furcă torcând./
Iar diavolul văzând/ Pre Adam mereu săpând/ Și-ntr-acest chip l-au mustrat:/
Spune-m, cin ț-au poruncit/ De tu m-ai năpăstuit,/
Că ista-i pământul meu/ Și aicea sânt domn eu./
Pentru ce aicea sapi?/ Dă-ț cuvântul ca să scapi./
Iar Adam a cuvântat/ Cu cuvântul întristat:/
Mi-a poruncit Dumnezeu/ Să lucrez pământul tău./
Iar Satana i-au răspuns,/ Pe Adam aș-au pătruns:/
Eu sânt aici Dumnezeu/ Și pământul e al meu./
Mergi tu și îmi sapă-n rai./ Acolo moșie ai./
Iar aice de-i săpa,/ Tu de mine nu-i scăpa./
Adam fiind rău scârbit,/ Și de diavol gonit,/
Ce să facă nu ști<a>,/ Ochii spre rai întorcea,/
Cu amar atunci a plâns,/ La suflet fiind pătruns:/
Ah, din rai am fost gonit, Acum d-aici izgonit!/
Iar diavolul văzând/ Pre Adam așa plângând,/
A grăit cu grai mai blând,/ Într-acestași chip zicând:/
Tu, Adam, să nu mai plângi,/ Ci-un cuvânt cu min' să zici,/
Zi de vrei ca să trăiești,/ Așa precum tu voiești./
Zi de-i vrea ca să lucrezi/ Tot pământul cât îl vezi;/
Mângâieri de vrei să ai/ Ce îți cei să zici că-mi dai./
Iar Adam, ca necăjit,/ Iată i-a făgăduit/
Că ce-o cere îi va da,/ Dar să-l lase a săpa./
Nu știa el că Satan,/ E viclean cu al său plan,/
Atunci Satan a grăit/ Cătră omu-ntâi zidit:/
Iată ce-ț cei ție eu,/ Ca să-mi dai tu rodul tău,/
Să mă slugăresc cu el,/ Fie cât de mititel./
Și el, ca-mpărat ce sânt,/ Să asculte-al meu cuvânt./
Iar Adam făgădui/ Și aceasta-i dărui./
Satan zapis i-a cerut,/ Ca să fie încrezut./
Adam i-a răspuns ș-a zis:/ Eu nu știu să fac zapis./
Vino-ncoaci, a zis Satan,/ Vino, iată-ți dau eu plan./
Cărămidă a făcut/ Pentru zapis de știut,/
Ș-a zis lui Adam s-o ia/ Să-ș apese mâna-i sa,/
Ș-a făcut Adam ce-a zis,/ Ș-apăsând mâna-i s-a scris,/
Diavolul o a luat/ Și a pus-o la păstrat/
Jos în fundul iadului,/ Pentru veacul veacului. (MS 4499, fols 87v–90r)

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97 *Choirmaster* translates *protopsalt* (<Gr. πρωτοψάλτης) 'leader of the singers from the lectern'.

98 For the description of the manuscript, see Ştrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, IV, pp. 32–33.

> And Adam remained tilling the soil and Eve spinning the yarn. And Satan, when he saw Adam tilling the earth, thus rebuked him, 'Tell me who ordered you to torment me, for this is my land, and I am the lord of this place. Why are you tilling here? Pledge your word of honour, to save yourself!' Adam uttered in a sad voice, 'God ordered me to work your land'. And Satan answered and reprimanded him, 'I am the lord here and the land is mine. Go away and plough the heaven, there is your inheritance. If you go on tilling here, you won't escape me'.
> Greatly grieved and banished by the devil, Adam didn't know what to do, turned his eyes to Paradise, wept bitterly, his soul torn apart, 'Oh, poor me, I've been expelled from heaven and now I am being banished from here too'. Seeing Adam deeply lamenting, Satan told him in a soft voice, 'You, Adam, cry no more and speak to me. Tell me if you want to live as you wish to, do tell if you want to work all the land you see around; if you want any comfort, give me what I am asking you'.
> Adam, deeply troubled, promised Satan to give him whatever he asked for, on condition that he could till those lands. He had no idea about Satan's sly plan. Then Satan said to the first created man, 'Here is what I am asking of you: give me your offspring to serve me; each and every one of them shall obey me, however tender they might be, for I am the emperor'. And Adam promised and gave his word of honour.
> Satan asked for a Cheirograph, to make Adam's promise trustworthy. Adam answered and said: 'I do not know how to make a Cheirograph'. And Satan said, 'Come here, and I will teach you'. He made a brick to craft the Cheirograph, and told Adam to take it, to press his hand on it. Adam did what he was told to, he pressed the brick and left his handprint there. The devil took it away and sheltered it down the depths of Hell, till the end of time.

The text presents a particular feature: it specifies that Satan hid the Cheirograph in the depths of Hell.[99] Not only is the location of the contract specific to this text, but also the statement that it will not be broken until the end of time.

The Use of PA Containing the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam

The Plaint of Adam including the Cheirograph Legend is transmitted exclusively in manuscript between the middle of the eighteenth century (MS 4278) and the sixth decade of the nineteenth century (e.g., MS 4978). Apart from MS 4278, several texts date to the second half of the eighteenth century (MSS 1433, 2313, 2501, 3391, 4278, 4866, 5321); most of them are written in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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99 For a similar motif, see the *Sea of Tiberias* and a Romanian folk tale discussed in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42–45, and text 4A below. For the *Sea of Tiberias*, see also Ivanov, Богомилски книги и легенди, p. 224; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 100–10, 123, 132–33; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 188–234. For icons presenting the redemption in the Anastasis, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, Figs 8 and 9 and p. 59, and below, pp. 140–41.

Most of the manuscripts comprise the whole narrative, which includes both the context of Cheirograph's crafting and the circumstances of its destruction. This shows that those involved in the transmission of the texts were interested in the history of Adam's redemption rather than in his second Fall.

The texts are versified, so they are destined for oral performance and aural reception. Even the earliest versions are versified, which means that by mid-eighteenth century the versification of the narrative about Adam's contract with Satan in *PA* was already accomplished.

The manuscripts rarely provide us with information about the scribes, their origin and social status. Still, according to marginal notes, the *Plaint* with the Cheirograph Legend circulated in all the Romanian speaking-areas: numerous texts were definitely copied in Moldova (MSS 1728, 3391, 3644, 3985, 5319, 5321), some in Transylvania (1835, 4210, 4279, 4866, 4978), and Wallachia (MSS 1433, 2313, 4499, 5210) (see Map, Fig. 26). The geographical distribution shows at least two types enjoyed only a local transmission: type *i* was known in Moldova, while type *c* circulated in Transylvania (see Map, Fig. 26).

It was copied in churches (e.g., MS 3391) and monasteries (e.g., MS 1200), in villages (e.g., MS 3644) and cities (e.g., MSS 2313, 4210, 4499, 4978).

The composition of the manuscripts and the marginal notes show that the text constantly circulated associated with religious literary pieces (e.g., MSS 1163, 2501, 5319, 5321); it was frequently copied in the clerical milieu and rarely in a lay milieu by professional scribes (MS 1433). In the eighteenth century, it was copied by priests (MS 4278) and by priests who took monastic vows (MS 3391); in the following decades, it continued to be copied by priests (MS 3985) and by deacons (MS 1728), in ecclesiastically orientated compilations (MSS 1868, 5210, 5460, 5480) and to circulate in monastic contexts (MSS 1200, 3644). These data prove that the *Plaint* including the Legend of the Cheirograph, as well as *LAE*, enjoyed a lasting clerical and monastic transmission from its very beginning.[100] They suggest therefore, that it circulated first in the clerical/monastic environment, as was the case for the oldest recension of the Romanian *PA*, which did not include the Legend of the Cheirograph.[101]

Unlike *LAE*, from late eighteenth century on, *PA* with the Cheirograph Legend is often copied in the proximity of other religious songs (MSS 1868, 2501, 4866); toward mid-nineteenth century, it is preserved in manuscripts that include mostly religious songs (MSS 1835, 4279, 4499, 4978).

The manuscripts of songs reveal the existence of a growing and solid interest in compiling such collections. The scribes are likely to have been inspired by the success of Anton Pann's anthology, but unlike Pann, they record the *Plaint* including the Legend of

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100 The narrative about Adam's contract with Satan might have been included in sermons, as well. In a manuscript sermonary preserved in the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, N. Cartojan read the following description of Christ's Baptism: 'And at the sixth hour of the day, Christ went to be baptised by John the Baptist; and the skies opened and the Holy Spirit descended as a dove on Christ's head, and that rock turned over under the Holy Spirit's power and of Christ's strength; and when it turned over, the heads of the serpents and of the dragons were trampled. And Adam's Cheirograph went out before Christ instantly, as a leaf on the water, and Christ took it and turned it to ashes'; see Cartojan, 'Zapisul lui Adam', p. 13. Unfortunately, the shelf mark indicated by Cartojan is not correct, which makes this piece of information unverifiable.

101 See p. 81 above.

the Cheirograph. Moreover, they seem eager to collect the text: a choirmaster collects one copy in the mid-nineteenth century (MS 4488, text 2D); so does a student from Sibiu who was attending classes of moral theology (MS 4210). Another church singer who copies it is also a professor of music (MS 4499). A text written in 1854 is accompanied by neumes,[102] which proves its complete integration into the repertoire of sacred music.

The anthologies of religious songs that include *PA* show that their compilers, who could be deacons or singers of parochial churches or choirmasters of monastic churches, wanted to have a written support for a literary piece borrowed from the clerical/monastic oral tradition, which would function as a reminder of the text for those who knew it by heart or as a reference source for the beginners who were learning and rehearsing it.[103]

There is precious evidence that *PA* was read or sung in high ecclesiastical circles, as well. Text 2A, written at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is entitled *Orație în duminica brânzii sara la masă părintelui mitropolitul. Pentru plângerea lui Adam când au fost izgonit din rai* 'Prayer on the Cheesefare Sunday, in the evening, at the dinner of our father, the archbishop. About Adam's lament when he was cast away from paradise' (MS 1200, fol. 1r). The title proves it was recited or sung in the vespers of the last Sunday before Lent, also known as Forgiveness Sunday or the Sunday 'when Adam was cast out of Paradise'. The *Plaint* becomes here a song of contrition, urging sinners to repent and to ask for forgiveness. The archbishop himself was supposed to absolve his sons, who embodied the monastic community.

The *Plaint* was performed in the highest clerical circles, in the archiepiscopal milieu, despite its numerous apocryphal themes, including Adam's contract with the devil. The apocryphal narrative about the First Man's second Fall was obviously considered perfectly acceptable in such monastic circles, at least in specific liturgical circumstances, that is in relation with the Sunday 'when Adam was expelled from Paradise'.[104] Singing a song about Adam's mourning on this specific Sunday of the *Triodion* must have been considered a normal practice in monastic communities, since the liturgy of this Sunday of Lent already included several short laments attributed to weeping Adam.[105] Moreover, from the last decade of the sixteenth-century on, these liturgical laments attributed to Adam were copied independently in the monastic scriptoria in northern Moldova: they were part of Slavo-Romanian collections of prayers for princely use and functioned as penitential prayers recommended to princes.[106] Romanian princes used to be invited to

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102 See Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 37–47.

103 For the role of the books of songs in the transmission of liturgical practices, see Susan Boynton, 'Oral Transmission of Liturgical Practice in the Eleventh-Century Customaries of Cluny', in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth – Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. by Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 72–74.

104 For another version of *PA* including the Legend of Cheirograph (MS 3644), which was equally performed in monastic circles on the Sunday when Adam was cast out of Paradise, see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 131–33; Turdeanu, '*Verșul lui Adam* de umilință', pp. 222–34; Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', p. 744.

105 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 122–30; Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', pp. 742–43 (for the liturgical passages attributed to mourning Adam).

106 Alexandru Mareş, 'Elemente de ceremonial aulic într-un manuscris slavon din secolul al XVI-lea' in *Elemente de ceremonial în literatura din spațiul românesc (secolele al XIV-lea – al XVIII-lea)*, ed. by Emanuela Timotin (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2019), pp. 51–62. Here are the texts in translation: 'Adam sat near the

reflect upon Adam's lament: according to a parenetic work for princely use attributed to Neagoe Basarab, prince of Wallachia (1512–1521), the prince should be just and follow God's commands, otherwise he will weep like Adam.[107]

Under the circumstances, the performance of the *Plaint* seems to have been a well-established practice in the monastic communities, grafted onto a liturgical practice. Monks are likely to have learnt it mostly orally, through a process of imitation and memorization.[108] Moreover, they are supposed to read it to the faithful in moments of distress. This is what a deacon from the Putna Monastery (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26) recommends explicitly in 1800, when he copies a version of the *Plaint of Adam* preserved now in the Library of the Slatina Monastery (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26):

> Acesti 412 stihuri a lui Adam să să citească în bisărică spre mângâiere norodului celui creștin, căci că aduc mare folos, mai ales celor ce sânt scârbiți și necăjiț de valurile lumii aceștie. (MS 13 II/6, Slatina Monastery)[109]
>
> > These 412 verses of Adam should be read in the church for the comfort of the Christian flock, because they yield much profit, especially to those who are disturbed and worried by the troubles of this world.

The transmission of *PA* in monastic communities and its subsequent circulation in parochial churches made it an authoritative text and contributed to its popularity. The *Plaint* became popular because (high) religious circles were accustomed to using it orally. Still, it shares several themes with the folkloric repertoire. Among these themes, the most important ones are definitely the assimilation of Satan to a potter and the depiction of the serpent-like demons who guard the Cheirograph as *bălauri* 'dragons'. Permeability between the clerical oral tradition and the folk oral tradition is sporadically perceptible in the rhetoric of *PA*, as well. MS 3391 is a good example in this respect, because it occasionally uses the conjunction *că* (<Lat. *quod*), with a function different from its usual role, to introduce

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Garden and lamented, weeping over his nakedness: "Woe to me, for I have submitted myself to the deceitful deceit, I have been robbed and I have walked away from magnificence. Woe to me, the one stripped of innocence and left in poverty! Oh, Paradise, from now on I will not rejoice in your sweetness, I will no longer see the Lord and God and my Creator, for I will go to the earth, whence I was taken. Merciful One, I am crying out to you: "Have mercy on me, the fallen one"'; 'Adam was taken out of Paradise because of food; and he sat close to it and wept bitterly and said in a humble voice: "Woe to me, how I suffered, the poor one! I have broken one command of my Lord, and I have been bereaved from any good. Most holy Paradise, you who have been planted for me and locked because of Eve, pray the one who created you and me to let me enjoy your flowers"'. In the Russian tradition, the short liturgical laments attributed to Adam have circulated independently since the fourteenth century; see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 123.

107 'Woe to me, how I have become like Adam, the first created one; it is just for me to consider his lament and say…'; for the Slavonic text, preserved in a sixteenth-century manuscript, see *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, transcription, translation into Romanian and introduction by Gheorghe Mihăilă (Bucharest: Roza Vânturilor, 1996), p. 326. For the Romanian translation of the text, executed in the seventeenth century, see *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, text established by Florica Moisil and Dan Zamfirescu (Bucharest: Minerva, 1971), p. 288. For the Greek translation of the text, done in the seventeenth century, see *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Țării Românești* (1512–1521). The Greek version, with edition, introduction and Romanian translation by Vasile Grecu (Bucharest: Imprimeria Națională, 1942), p. 93.

108 For the connection between orality and literacy in the transmission of liturgical practices, see Boynton, 'Oral Transmission of Liturgical Practice'.

109 Mitric, *Cartea românească manuscrisă*, p. 60.

a subordinate clause. *Că* has here a specific function, to emphasize the succession of the narrative events. This specific function of the conjunction, of this emphatic device, is attested in epic folk poetry.[110]

Și Adam palma pe cărămidă pusă
Și 3 slove *că* rămasă.
Și așe Adam pre fii, strenepoții lui
îi vându vrăjmașului.
Și așa îi dede pre ei cu zapes scris de mâna lui.
Iar Sătana zapesul *că* l-au luat
și tare *că* l-au uscat (MS 3391, fol. 352v)

> Adam pressed his hand on the brick and three letters remained imprinted there. And thus, Adam sold his sons and grandsons to the Enemy, and gave them away through a Cheirograph written by his hand. And Satan took the Cheirograph and dried it well.

MS 3391 was written by a priest who was about to become a monk, so the permeability between the clerical oral tradition and the folklore oral tradition shows that the scribe commanded a wide variety of registers or channels of communication: he was both a literate person and fluent in oral ways of expression.[111]

Notwithstanding these features shared with oral poetry, *PA* does not become a folk song, and the narrative about Adam's contract with Satan is rarely adopted by folk poetry.[112]

The Legend of the Cheirograph in Traditional Romanian Beliefs[113]

The theme of Adam's Cheirograph is also attested in traditional beliefs from Bukovina and Transylvania (see Map, Fig. 26).[114]

A) A narrative collected at the beginning of the twentieth century in Bukovina minutely describes how Adam manufactures the Cheirograph. Its details show that it draws upon the *Plaint of Adam* (see texts 2A-B, D above). Like one late narrative type of *PA* (2D), this folk legend recounts that the contract is hidden in the depths of Hell.

> Când au venit ei pre pământ, dracul a zis lui Adam: 'Iscălește-te că vei fi al meu', căci pe pământ dracul era stăpânitor. 'Dară nu știu cum', a zis Adam. Dracul a făcut o cărămidă

110 See Grigore Brâncuș, 'Că narativ în balada populară', *Limba română*, 26 (1977), pp. 505–08.
111 See John M. Foley, 'Verbal Marketplaces and the Oral-Literate Continuum', in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum. Types of Texts, Relations and their Implications*, ed. by Slavika Ranković and others, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), p. 20.
112 See text 4 below.
113 See also the narratives discussed in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 42 (text 1), 44–45 (text 6).
114 See Tudor Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult după credințele poporului român* (Bucharest–Leipzig–Wien: Socec & Co – Otto Harrassowitz – Gerold & Co, 1918), pp. 98–100.

crudă, Adam a pus mâna, dracul a ars-o ș-a strâns-o în iad. Adam a rămas să fie a lui cu tot neamul său și numai așa i-a dat pământ, ca să aibă unde lucra.[115]

> When they (= Adam and Eve) came out of Paradise, the devil told Adam: 'Sign that you will be mine', because the devil ruled there. 'But I do not know how', Adam responded. The devil made a raw brick, Adam put his hand upon it, the devil baked it and put it in the depths of Hell. And Adam and his offspring had to remain under his dominion and this is how the devil gave Adam some earth to till.

B1) Another narrative recorded in Bukovina by T. Pamfile also draws upon the *Plaint of Adam*: the devil forces Adam to sign the Cheirograph in order to grant him the permission to till the earth, Adam puts his handprint on a brick, the devil carefully dries it and hides the Cheirograph in the River Jordan, where it remains until it is broken at Christ's baptism. The legend adds that the waters of the River Jordan turned red that very moment.[116]

B2) A similar legend from Transylvania (Iclod village, Alba county; see Map, Fig. 26) mentions that the Cheirograph was broken at Christ's Resurrection.[117]

C) Another narrative from Bukovina (see Map, Fig. 26) connects Adam's Cheirograph to the birth of a monstrous child, born to Eve and the devil.[118]

> Dracul s-a apucat să facă Evei un copil cu șepte capete. Adam a zis că cine va tăia capetele acele îi va da ce va cere, dar nu știa ce va vroi diavolul. El le-a tăiat pe trei, iar patru singure au murit și pe copil l-a îngropat, dar cu sângele lui a scris că Adam să-i deie toate sufletele, și cele vinovate, și cele nevinovate. Așa că se împluse iadul de suflete,

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115 See Elena Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele poporului român adunate și așezate în ordine mitologică*, ed. by Victor Dunea, 2 vols (Iași: Polirom, 1998), I, p. 33. The narrative is also referred to in Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, pp. 98–99; Paul Henry, 'Folklore et iconographie religieuse. Contribution à l'étude de la peinture moldave', *Mélanges de l'Institut français de hautes études en Roumanie*, 1 (1927), p. 90.

116 Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, p. 99. The association between the baptism of Christ and the destruction of the Cheirograph is also referred to in some songs inspired by Gospels and sung at the feast of the Baptism of Christ mainly by the Romanian Eastern Orthodox Christians living in Transylvania (see Map, Fig. 26). This is true of a manuscript written at the beginning of the nineteenth century by a group of priests from Brașov. The text is not the *Plaint of Adam* (as Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', p. 38, n. 5 thought), but a liturgical song where the word *zapis* 'cheirograph' means 'bill of indebtedness': 'Azi Adam s-au dezlegat de păcate și de blestem, azi Adam s-au bucurat că zapisul s-au stricat, astăzi noi ne-am câștigat raiul cel mai desfătat, slavă lui Dumnezeu, lui Hristos, fiului său' (MS 1652, fol. 60) 'Today Adam was liberated from sin and curse, today Adam rejoiced because the cheirograph was broken, today we gained the most blissful Paradise, glory to God, to Christ, his son'. At the end of the nineteenth century, the lengthy songs sung by the Romanians from Banat (see Map, Fig. 26) never include the word 'cheirograph', but speak generically of Adam's sin or of the trespass he committed in Paradise: 'Astăzi cu apă se spală / A strămoșului greșeală, / Păcatul cel de demult / Care Adam l-a făcut' 'Today the ancestor's mistake, Adam's old sin, is washed away' (Simeon Fl. Marian, *Sărbătorile la români. Studiu etnografic*, 3 vols ed. by Iordan Datcu [Bucharest: Grai și Suflet-Cultura Națională, 2001], I. *Cârnilegile*, p. 147); 'Astăzi cu apă se spală / A strămoșului greșală, / Păcatul ce l-a făcut / Adam în rai de demult' 'Today the ancestor's mistake, the sin that Adam committed in Paradise long ago, is washed away' (Marian, *Sărbătorile la români*, p. 148).

117 Ion Pop-Reteganul, *Povești din popor* (Sibiu: Tipariul tipografiei arhidiecesane, 1895), pp. 194–95; Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, p. 99.

118 For ancient Jewish and Christian traditions about Cain as the fruit of the illegitimate union between Eve and the serpent or Satan; see Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 102–03.

de gemea. Hârtia cea cu înscrisul a slobozit-o într-un șip în apă sub o piatră, și-a zis că nime n-a putea-o scoate decât acela ce va naște din fecioară și se va boteza de două ori.[119]

> The devil and Eve had a seven-headed child. Adam said he would give whatever is asked to the one who would cut off those heads, but he did not know what the devil would want. And the devil cut off three of them and the other four died, and he buried the child, but with its blood he wrote that Adam should entrust him all the souls, both the guilty, and the sinless ones. So the depths of Hell were filled up with souls. The devil put the paper signed by Adam in a bottle, in water, under a stone, and he declared that no one could take it out except from the one who would be born of a Virgin and would be baptised twice.

The conjunction between Adam's Cheirograph and a monstrous birth also appears in a nineteenth-century Russian manuscript. The Russian text, of Old Believer origin, describes the new-born Cain, whose breast and forehand were surrounded by snakes.[120] The texts also share the motif of the Cheirograph written in blood: it is the blood of a goat in the Slavonic text, and the blood of the baby's monstrous heads in the Romanian one.[121]

D) According to a legend from Bukovina (see Map, Fig. 26), which focuses on the conflict between God and Satan and on the role of Mary in the history of Salvation, Adam signed the Cheirograph when he was in the depths of Hell. The text narrates that God did not know how to release the humans from the infernal dungeon and from Satan's control. Accordingly, a heavenly angel descended to Adam and advised him how to trick the devil to tell him how mankind would regain its freedom.[122] Satan was deceived and revealed the secret after Adam promised him that he would sign the Cheirograph; Mary and Christ are born; Christ's resurrection releases the righteous from Hades.

Here is the fragment about the Cheirograph:

> 'Dacă tu, mai marele acestui locaș, îmi vei spune cu ce s-ar putea scoate sângele meu din locașul tău, atunci ți-oiu spune și eucine m-a învățat să fac ceea ce am făcut. Până atunci însă, poți să-ți pui pofta în cuiu', răspunse Adam cu sânge rece.

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119 See Niculiță-Voronca, *Datinele și credințele*, p. 33. The narrative is also referred to in Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, pp. 99–100; Henry, 'Folklore et iconographie religieuse', pp. 90–91.

120 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 38–39; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 98–99, Variant C of the Slavonic version. The association between the birth of Cain and Eve's fight with the serpent appears in several traditions of *LAE*, which report that Eve cried bitterly when she gave birth to Cain. When Adam heard her wailing, he wondered whether she was not attacked by the serpent again; see Latin-V *LAE* (20:1c) and Georgian *LAE* (20:1c) in Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 21; Pettorelli, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, pp. 792–93.

121 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 38–39; Kulik and Minov, *Biblical Pseudepigrapha in Slavonic Tradition*, pp. 98–99, Variant C of the Slavonic version. In Bulgarian and Greek tales, Adam writes the cheirograph with his own blood; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 40, 45–46, 98–102; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 140.

122 Cf. various traditions of *LAE*, according to which 'an angel' or the archangel Michael tells Seth and Eve when Adam and his offspring will be resurrected; see Greek *LAE* (13:2a–5); Latin *LAE* (41:1–42:5); Armenian *LAE* (41(13):2a–42(13):4); Georgian *LAE* (41(13):2a–42(13):4). For the texts, see Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, pp. 44–45; Pettorelli, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, pp. 830–34; the pericope is discussed in Michael E. Stone, 'The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books', in Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone, and Johannes Tromp, *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, SVTP, 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 111–31.

'Da tu iscăli-te-vei, dacă ți-oiu spune că vei fi al meu pe vecie?' întrebă acuma repede Faraon.
'Mă voiu iscăli, de ce nu', răspunse Adam.
Faraon, bucurându-se c-a pus acuma pentru totdeauna labele sale spurcate pe dânsul, îi zise: 'Sângele tău l-ar putea scoate din locașul meu numai un bărbat născut dintr-o muiere…'[123]

> 'If you, the lord of this place, tell me how I could release my offspring from this place, then I shall tell you who advised me to do what I did. Until then, you can whistle for it', Adam said in cold blood.
> 'If I tell you, will you sign that you will be mine for ever?', Satan[124] asked hastily.
> 'I shall sign, why not?', Adam answered.
> Satan rejoiced in getting Adam in his clutches, and told him, 'Only a man born to a virgin … could release you and your offspring from this place'.

E) Another legend, which presents an aetiology of human greed, gives a different description of the context in which Adam signed the Cheirograph and says that Adam wrote it not because he could not till the earth, but because he and Eve were greedy. According to the legend, after the Fall, God advised Adam not to till too much soil, because the earth will give him back enough food.[125] Adam agreed, sowed three furrows, and released his oxen. The devil tempted Adam to till more, to provide his progeny with food in the future too. He brought three oxen to Adam, to work more land, in exchange for his progeny. Adam signed the Cheirograph. The archangel Gabriel is sent to learn how the contract can be broken. The devil tells him that only the one born from a virgin and the Holy Spirit could do it. God sends Gabriel to announce the Virgin that she will give birth to Christ, who will destroy the power of darkness during the three days in which he will stay in the tomb.[126]

F) The narrative about Adam's Cheirograph is also connected with the earth's groaning.[127] According to a folk tale collected from a priest from Cărbunești (Prahova county, Wallachia; see Map, Fig. 26),[128] Adam was tilling the earth, which moaned every time Adam hoed. Satan promised to put an end to the earth's groaning if Adam promised him a Cheirograph stating that he and his offspring would be submitted to the devil.

In a passage obviously inspired by *PA*, the folk tale continues, saying that, having Adam's agreement, Satan made a brick and brought it to the first man, who put his right hand onto it and made a Cheirograph. The devil hid it in his bosom.

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123 See Simeon Fl. Marian, *Legendele Maicii Domnului. Studiu folkloristic* (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice 'Carol Göbl', 1904), pp. 5–6.
124 'Satan' translates *Faraon*, one of the devil's numerous Romanian names; see Giorge Pascu, 'Études de sémasiologie roumaine, I: Les noms du Diable', *Archivum Romanicum*, 5 (1921), pp. 244–51.
125 For other Romanian legends which say that Adam could till the earth freely after the Fall, see Armand Guță, 'Adam și Eva', in *Personaje biblice veterotestamentare*, I, ed. by Sabina Ispas and Nicoleta Coatu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2017), pp. 102–03.
126 See Pamfile, *Povestea lumii de demult*, p. 102; Guță, 'Adam și Eva', pp. 102–03.
127 Cf. Gen 3:17. The *Plaint of Adam* occasionally refers to the earth's suffering caused by Adam's sin and fall; see Timotin, 'La tradition roumaine manuscrite de *La Lamentation d'Adam*', p. 752.
128 See Pr. Ioan D. Mihaiu, 'Răscumpărarea', *Ion Creangă*, 4 (1915), pp. 112–14; and an abstract in Guță, 'Adam și Eva', p. 102.

The following part of the tale is inspired by an apocryphal narrative transmitted in the Greek, Bulgarian and Romanian tradition, *The Struggle between the archangel Michael and Satanael*,[129] and says that God sent the archangel Michael to serve the devil and learn how to destroy the contract. At a certain moment, the devil told him that only innocent blood could break a contract. The archangel stole Adam's Cheirograph following the scenario presented in *The Conflict between Michael and Satanael*; still, God had to send his Son in the world, because only innocent blood could destroy Adam's contract.

The Legend of the Cheirograph in Folk Poetry

The narrative about Adam's contract with Satan also appears in a Christmas carol collected in Gurasada (Hunedoara county, western Transylvania; see Map, Fig. 26) in the twentieth century.[130] The Cheirograph Legend seems to be attested in folk poetry only in this unique case.[131]

Să cântăm versuri de jale,/ Pentru a lui Adam greşală,/
Pentr-a lui păcătuire,/ Şi din raiu izgonire./
Sapă Adam pământul,/ Sapă Eva cu dânsul,/
Satana la ei venia,/ Şi din gură-aşa zicea:/
Du-te, Adame, nu săpa,/ Nu-i aici moşiia ta!/
Du-te, Adame, sapă-n rai,/ C-acolo moşie ai!/
Adam începu a plânge,/ Şi cu glas de jale a zice:/
O, vai, Evo, ce-m făcuşi/ Unde vom merge acuş./
Că tu m-ai înceluit,/ Când despre pom m-ai vorbit,/
Şi cu rău m-am amăgit/ Când pe sub pom m-am găsit./
Eva începu a plânge,/ Şi cu glas de jale-a zice:/
Şarpele m-a înşelat,/ Când eu sub pom m-am aflat./
El la mine a venit,/ Şi chiar astfel mi-a grăit:/
Mâncă, Evo, mere bune,/ Ca să n-ai samăn pe lume./
Adam începu a plânge,/ Şi cu glas de jale-a zice:/
Dacă din raiu sunt ţipat,/ Barem aici să fiu lăsat./
Satana iară zicea:/ Eu aicea te-oi lăsa/
Dacă tu mie-mi vei da/ Ce va fi pe voia mea./

129 For this apocryphal narrative, see Cartojan, *Cărţile populare*, II, pp. 34–38; Anissava Miltenova, 'Апокрифът за борбата на Архангел Михаил със Сатанаил в две редакции' [The Apocryphon about the Struggle of the Archangel Michael with Satanail in Two Redactions], Старобългарска литература, 9 (1981), pp. 98–113; Florentina Badalanova Geller, 'Slavonic Redactions of the Apocryphal *Homily of John Chrysostom on How Archangel Michael Defeated Satanail*: Some Considerations', in *The Embroidered Bible. Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, ed. by Lorenzo DiTommaso, Matthias Henze, and William Adler, SVTP, 26 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 96–131; Daria Coşcodan, 'The Apocryphal Struggle between Satanael and the Archangel Michael. The Romanian Version and Its Relationship to the Greek and the Slavonic Texts' (M.A. Thesis, 2017, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Theologische Fakultät).

130 Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', pp. 38–39, n. 6 was the first researcher who drew attention to this text; see also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 139–40.

131 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 139–40. I have supplied the text with line numbers.

Câți fii s-or naște din tine,/ Toți să mi–i dăruiești mie./
Adam începu a plânge/ și cu glas de jale-a zice:/
Fie-ți voia cum îți place,/ Numai mie să-mi dai pace./
Raiule grădină dulce,/ De la tine nu m-aș mai dulce,/
De mirosul tău cel dulce,/ De frumuseți-ți nu m-aș mai duce,/
De mirosul florilor,/ De arsul făcliilor./
Și de-acum până-n vecie/ Mila Domnului să fie,/
Și la gazdă bucurie,/ Spre mulți ani de veselie.[132]

> 1 Let us sing mournful songs for Adam's mistake, for his sin and for his banishment from Paradise.
> Adam tills the soil, Eve tills it with him, Satan approached them, and told them, 5 'Go away, Adam, do not till this soil, your lot is not here. Go away, Adam, to heaven, because there is your lot'.
> Adam began to weep and mourned, 'Alas, my Eve, what have you done, where are we now to go?
> Because you deceived me when you told me about the tree, 10 and I was deluded into evildoing, when I found myself under the tree'.
> Eve began to cry and mourned, 'The serpent deceived me, when I was under the tree. It came to me, and uttered, "Eve, eat good apples, and you will be matchless"'.
> 15 Adam began to cry and mourned, 'If only I could be allowed to stay here, now that I am banished from Paradise'.
> And Satan told him again, 'I shall allow you here, if you do as I please. You will offer me all your sons'. 20 Adam began to cry and mourned, 'May it be as you wish, on condition you leave me in peace. You, Paradise, sweet garden, I would never leave you, I would never leave your sweet fragrance, your beauties, the smell of your flowers, your glimmering torches'.[133]
> 25 And from now until the end of time, may God have mercy upon us, and may the host be in joy, many years from now on.

The text draws on *PA*, it emphasises Adam's plaint and mentions that Paradise is Adam's lot. For the second time in the Romanian narratives of the Cheirograph Legend, Eve is depicted as an active character: she tills the soil as Adam does,[134] she discusses with Adam when Satan approaches him, and she recalls her deception in Paradise.[135] The contract between Adam and Satan is an oral agreement, a unique situation in the literary Romanian tradition about the Cheirograph.

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132 Sabin Drăgoi, *303 colinde cu text și melodie, culese și notate*, Comisiunea pentru Arhiva fonogramică și publicarea de folklor musical, 1 (Scrisul românesc: Craiova, 1925), pp. 105–06.

133 Cf. Adam's lament in the Armenian *Repentance of Adam and Eve* 12; see Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 121.

134 Cf. texts 2B, D above, she spins the yarn.

135 Cf. text 2C above.

Conclusions

Various Romanian texts (1–4) refer to an agreement between Adam and Satan, which is a contract written by Adam himself (1–3). They are in prose (1A-B, 3) or in verse (2A-D, 4) and pertain to various literary genres. The oldest text dates from the second half of the seventeenth century (1A). The literary tradition about Adam's contract was definitely known in Moldova from the sixteenth century on, as is testified by several versions of Slavonic *LAE* produced in the region.

The Romanian literary tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam covers less than four centuries, but its meanders are extremely sinuous.

All the texts distinguish the protoplasts' first deceit in Paradise and the moment when Adam signs the Cheirograph.

The texts which describe the crafting of the Cheirograph very often connect it to Adam's intention to plough, after the Fall, and to Satan's firm opposition (1; 2A-D; 3A-B). In four folk legends (3C, D), Adam is supposed to have signed the Cheirograph to solve a familial problem (3C), to help God (3D), to appease his greed (3E), or to stop the earth's moaning (3F).

Adam is frequently said to have signed the contract after the Fall, on earth (1; 2; 3A-C; 4). In one folk legend he signs it while he is in the depths of Hell (3D).

The repository of the Cheirograph is not the same in all the texts. According to the texts which enjoyed the highest transmission, the contract is hidden in the River Jordan (1, 2A-C, 3B). Hades can be the place where the Cheirograph is hidden, as well (2D, 3A, D). Occasionally, the contract can be set in additional places (partly in Bethlehem) (2B). Sometimes, the devil keeps it in his bosom (2F).

The destruction of the Cheirograph is connected mostly to Christ's baptism (1A; 2A-C; $3B_1$), rarely to the Harrowing of Hell (2D, 3A, $3B_2$), or to the birth of Christ (2B).

The Romanian tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph is nourished by the Slavonic tradition of the Legend, although they do not completely overlap.

The fact that the second Slavonic recension of *LAE* is the source of the Romanian *LAE* (1) has two important consequences for the development of the Cheirograph Legend. First of all, it has mainly an 'agricultural plot', with two exceptions attested in the oral tradition (3C, D). Secondly, it incorporates and transmits specific motifs about the manufacture of the contract: Adam plays an active role, since he is the one who brings a stone or some mud on which he writes his handwriting or imprints his handprint.

The Russian tradition of monastic songs presenting Adam's lament when he was cast out of Paradise, related to a specific Sunday of Lent, influenced the Romanian tradition of *PA*, but the Russian songs do not seem to have included the Cheirograph narrative.

Until further research dedicated to such Russian songs establishes whether they included the theme of Adam's contract, the second Slavonic recension of *LAE* appears to have had an outstanding afterlife in Romanian literature in respect to the Cheirograph Legend: it was the source of the Romanian *LAE* (1), and it influenced *PA* (2), the most important Romanian literary piece about the protoplasts.

Variant C of the Slavonic tradition and two Romanian texts, one dating from the eighteenth century (2B), and an oral one (3C), overlap in two respects. On the one hand, they describe the annulment of the Cheirograph as a two-stage process (2B, 3C). On the other hand, the manufacture of the contract does not follow an agricultural dispute, but the birth of Eve's monstrous child (3C). These similarities suggest that this variant of the Slavonic tradition was not transmitted only in the Slavic world. It is likely to have influenced the Romanian narratives as well, under circumstances which need further clarification. It is possible to assume the existence of a now lost or yet undiscovered Romanian translation of this Slavonic text. An oral transfer is even more plausible, because it would explain the complete dissimilarity between the two Romanian texts; the Russian communities of Old Believers settled in Moldova in the eighteenth century[136] could have transmitted it.

Moldova seems to have played a key role in the textual transmission of the Cheirograph narrative: it is the region where Slavonic versions of *LAE* are written in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; where the source of the oldest Romanian surviving manuscript of *LAE* was executed; where numerous versions of *PA* are noted down in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Still, the legend is not confined to that region and *LAE* is known in south-western Trasylvania in the second half of the seventeenth century, while both *LAE*, and *PA* circulate in Transylvania and Wallachia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

There is a growing number of texts incorporating the Cheirograph Legend in the Romanian literary tradition: *LAE* in the seventeenth century (1), *LAE* (1) and *PA* (2) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, folk legends and carols in the twentieth century (3, 4). The rich variety of texts goes along with the variation of the Cheirograph Legend (see *Conclusions 2*). Still, the contexts in which this variation occurs are very specific: the seventeenth-century narrative (*LAE*) translates a Slavonic source, *PA* is performed orally, whereas the twentieth-century testimonies are folk evidence.

The oral performance of *PA* is proved by the versification of the versions, by the organisation of the texts in manuscripts, by the neumatic notations which occasionally accompany them. The thorough analysis of the tradition of *PA* revealed both its stability, and its variability. Stability, since at least 20 manuscript versions, written between mid-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century present the same narrative about the Adam's contract and its destruction (version 2A). Variation, since *PA* has an additive structure (types *a-k*) and since the Legend of the Cheirograph was occasionally modified (versions 2B-D).

Because of its aural reception, *PA* has a significant influence on traditional beliefs (3A-B) and, sometimes, on oral poetry (4).

In a religious climate where the Romanian Orthodox ecclesiastic authorities never condemned apocryphal texts openly, clergymen and church singers firmly embraced the narrative about Adam's contract with Satan as an important episode of the protoplasts' life. Priests

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136 See Melchisedec, Episcopul Dunării de Jos, *Lipovenismu adică schismaticii seu rascolnicii și ereticii rusești. Despre autori ruși și izvoare naționale române* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Natională, 1871); Victor Vascenco, 'Melchisedec și lipovenii', *Romanoslavica*, 43 (2007), pp. 123–40.

and monks, 'not dogmatic enough to consider that their faith was endangered',[137] support the transmission of *PA*, which duplicates the already well-established liturgical tradition of Adam's lament outside the Garden and embroiders it with rich, though apocryphal, details.

Under the circumstances, the Legend of the Cheirograph is used in an archepiscopal milieu, in monasteries, in urban and rural churches, and in the mid-nineteenth century sacred chant repertory (1, 2). Clergymen and church singers mainly use the full apocryphal narrative, which describes in detail how the contract was signed and later destroyed. This shows that they considered it an edifying narrative for the salvation of Christians. *PA* is sung on various public occasions, which significantly increases the circulation of the narrative about Adam's contract (2).

Religious communities, united around a monastery or a parish church, sing a relatively stable *Plaint of Adam*, thanks to the efforts of monks or choirmasters who note down the song portraying Adam's history, from the Fall to Redemption. The singers' active participation in the life of the Church explains the occasional influence of the liturgical literature on *PA*: the modification of the Legend of the Cheirograph following the episode of the first Fall (2C); the appropriation of themes which describe the Harrowing of Hell (2A).

At the same time, these religious persons anchor the Legend in traditional beliefs and poetics. In *PA*, the crafting of the contract, which was accomplished by Adam alone in *LAE*, becomes a work initiated by Satan, who acts as a traditional potter and the devils who guard the contract turn into mythological dragons. The repetitive use of a certain conjunction in the presentation of the Cheirograph plot imprints the text with the tonality of a ballad. Such reshufflings are eventually fruitful: a carol takes up the theme of the Cheirograph Legend (4); most of the oral narratives draw on *PA* (2A-B). When this transfer occurs, clerical orality becomes folk orality.

137 Turdeanu, 'Un manuscris miscelaneu necunoscut', p. 385.

Iconography

Previous researches have already revealed the important transmission of the Legend of the Cheirograph in Orthodox iconography, especially in northern Moldova.[1] The present research will focus on those regions in which the artistic representation of Adam's contract with the devil attained a remarkable variety, will contextualise this unprecedented interest and will try to understand its reasons.

Adam signing the Cheirograph[2]

A Rare Iconographic Pattern and its Apocryphal Source

The frescos of three monastic churches in Suceava county (Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26) – Vatra Moldoviței (1537), Voroneț (1547) and Sucevița (end of the sixteenth century/ beginning of the seventeenth century)[3] and a miniature from a seventeenth-century

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1 See Henry, 'Folklore et iconographie religieuse', pp. 83–97; Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', pp. 704–08; Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (III) Descrierea și analiza miniaturilor și a temelor iconografice din Tetraevangheliarul, inv.1/1934', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, 2 vols (Suceava: Sfânta Mănăstire Dragomirna / Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2014), I, pp. 260–63 [first published in *Biserica ortodoxă română*, 86:9–10 (1968), pp. 1186–2110]; Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', pp. 59–74, Farbtafel III–V, and Tafel XIV–XVI; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 117–22; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–62.

2 Type 4 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 57–59.

3 For these churches and their iconography, see, out of a vast bibliography, Gheorghe Balş, *Bisericile moldovenești din veacul al XVI-lea*, Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, 21 (Bucharest: Cultura Națională, 1928), pp. 31–39, 88–91, 157–64; Paul Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord des origines à la fin du XVI*e *siècle. Architecture et peinture*, Monuments de l'art byzantin publiés sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction et des Beaux-Arts, 6 (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1930); Petru Comarnesco and Dan Grigorescu, *Trésors de l'art roumain. Voroneț: Fresques des XV*e *et XVI*e *siècles* (Bucharest: Éditions en langues étrangère, 1959); Sorin Ulea, 'Originea și semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (I)', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 10 (1963), pp. 57–93; Sorin Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)', *SCIA. AP*, 19 (1972), pp. 37–53; Sorin Ulea, 'La peinture extérieure moldave: où, quand et comment est-elle apparue', *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, 23 (1984), pp. 285–311; Vasile Drăguț and Petre Lupan, *Pictura murală din Moldova (sec. XV–XVI)* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1982), pp. 20–40; Anca Vasiliu, *La traversée de l'image. Art et théologie dans les églises moldaves au XVI*e *siècle* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1994); Anca Vasiliu, *L'architettura dipinta. Gli affreschi moldavi nel XV e XVI secolo* (Milano: Jaca Book, 1998). For the Genesis cycle, see Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord*, pp. 245–46, 277–88; Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)', pp. 42–43; Vasiliu, *La traversée de l'image. Art et théologie dans les églises moldaves au XVI*e *siècle*, pp. 178–91; Vasiliu, *L'architettura dipinta*, pp. 201–04; Margarita Kuyumdzhieva, 'Creation of the World and Adam and Eve in Post-Byzantine Art: Some Notes on Genesis Cycles in Arbore and Sucevița', *Analele Putnei*, 11 (2015), pp. 233–48.

Russian manuscript[4] depict Adam signing the contract with the devil. Adam is seated and writes the Cheirograph on a scroll on his knees. Satan, who has a satyr-like or a nearly anthropomorphic appearance,[5] stands in front of him, looks on and points menacingly toward the First Man, as if dictating what he is to write.[6] In the Russian manuscript, Eve is also present, but she does not look at the scene.

On the upper edge of the images from Voroneț (Fig. 8) and Sucevița (Fig. 9), which are preserved in good condition, unlike the cycle in Vatra Moldoviței (Fig. 10), there is an inscription in Slavonic, written in Cyrillic alphabet, that reads 'Here Adam wrote his Cheirograph' (зде написа адамь ржкоп<и>сание). The same inscription appears on Adam's scroll itself in Sucevița.[7]

The images of 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' are inserted in a series of frescos which present Adam and Eve's paradisiacal and terrestrial life. In the frescos of the three churches, a brilliant light envelops the protoplasts' life in the Garden; it is brighter than the light that God created (Gen 1:3–5), but it dims when Adam and Eve leave Paradise (Figs 8–11), so that the terrestrial world seems gloomy.[8] The frescos of the gloomy terrestrial world in the Adam cycle show mountains in the background, which connects with the idea that the Garden of Eden was on a mountain.[9]

Art historians, historians and philologists have focused on those scenes of the protoplasts' existence outside Paradise which do not find specific support in the biblical text: 'Eve spinning', 'Adam ploughing', 'Adam signing the Cheirograph'. The fresco depicting Adam signing the Cheirograph was sometimes analysed only in relation to the twentieth-century Romanian folkloric beliefs about Adam's contract, and not to the apocryphal literary tradition; consequently, it was sometimes considered an illustration of local folklore.[10]

4 For this miniature, preserved in MS 34 from the Collection of Count Uvarov (State Historical Museum, Moscow), see Buslaev, Исторические очерки [Historical Sketches], pp. 618, 618a; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 108–09, and 151, figure 6.

5 See mainly Margarita Kuyumdzhieva, 'Imaging Evil in the First Chapters of Genesis: Texts behind the Images in Eastern Orthodox Art', *Studia Ceranea*, 6 (2016), pp. 383–84, and Alexander Kulik, 'How the Devil Got His Hooves and Horns: The Origin of the Motif and the Implied Demonology of *3 Baruch*', *Numen*, 60:2–3 (2013), pp. 195–229.

6 Satan's menacing attitude is still visible even in the very deteriorated fresco in Vatra Moldoviței.

7 For Adam's writing, see p. 43, n. 33 and p. 93, n. 87 above, etc.

8 Anca Vasiliu, *L'architettura dipinta*, pp. 202–03, 250–51 analysed this iconographic feature of the Genesis cycle in relation with Ephraim the Syrian's *Hymns on Paradise*. The same iconographic feature is attested in local churches where the Legend of the Cheirograph does not appear (e.g., the sixteenth-century church in Arbore, Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26). This gloominess is mentioned in the literary tradition of the apocrypha about Adam and Eve as a feature of the world outside the Garden; for Slavonic texts, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 33 (Variant B); Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', p. 108; for Armenian texts and iconography, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 63–92 (*The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*; *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation; Adam Story I*) and Folk Tales Nos 1–7 above; for Greek texts, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 95; for a Bulgarian nineteenth-century text, see Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', 143. Note already Isa 30:26 concerning future (presumably eschatological) great brightness. This could easily morph into protological extra brilliance. Moreover, special brilliance or light is connected with the created Adam in various sources, which he lost on his expulsion from Paradise.

9 See p. 42, n. 24 above.

10 Paul Henry's opinions nourished this interpretation, often promoted by art historians; see Henry, 'Folklore et iconographie religieuse', pp. 83–97; Maria A. Musicescu and Mihai Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, (1958), pp. 74–78; Maria A. Musicescu and Sorin Ulea, *Voroneț* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1969), p. 17; Ioan Solcanu, 'Realizări artistice', *Petru Rareș*, ed. by Leon Șimanschi (Bucharest: Editura Academiei

Fig. 8. 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph', Voroneț church, external wall (1547).

Inscription in Slavonic on the upper left-hand side: зде написа адамь рѫкоп<и>санїе 'Here Adam wrote his Cheirograph'.

Fig. 9. 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph', Sucevița church, external wall (end of the sixteenth century/ beginning of the seventeenth century).

Inscriptions in Slavonic on the upper left-hand side and on Adam's scroll: зде написа адам рѫкупсание 'Here Adam wrote the cheirograph'.

Fig. 10. 'Genesis Cycle', Vatra Moldoviței, church, external pillars (1537).

Fig. 11. 'Genesis Cycle' (partial view); Voroneț church, external wall, upper row (1547).

It was rarely seen as an illustration of social, anti-feudal art, as well.[11] At the same time, philologists, (art) historians and theologians emphasised its apocryphal origin,[12] and a few identified the *Life of Adam and Eve* as the primary source of the cycle.[13] This last explanation has prevailed.

The scenes inspired by *LAE* depicted in the three churches show that the apocryphal narrative was perfectly accepted in the sixteenth-century monastic life of Moldova. The frescos about Adam and Eve are always painted on the external walls of the churches, in visible position: on the western wall, on the exterior pillars of the exonarthex in Vatra Moldoviței (Fig. 10), on the northern wall, in the upper register, under the roof, in Voroneț and Sucevița (Figs 11 and 12).

RSR, 1978), p. 312. The depiction of Adam ploughing was seen as the proof of the connection of the cycle with rural life (and not with Gen 3:17–19); see Musicescu and Ulea, *Voroneț*, p. 17. Other art historians were more prudent: for example, in 1959, Petru Comarnescu describes the cheirograph scene as following: 'il s'agit là d'une croyance étrangère à l'Église, mais fort répandue jadis'; see Comarnesco and Grigorescu, *Trésors de l'art roumain*, p. 22. Popescu-Vîlcea speaks of the *Legend of the Cheirograph with the Devil*; he recalls its transmission in the Balkans, but no longer insists on its folkloric character; see Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1984), pp. 22–23 and plate XX. Henry's opinions about the so-called folkloric character of these frescos were refuted first in 1929, when Nicolae Cartojan claimed that the painters must have followed the abbot's and the monastic community's demands, not local folklore, and that they must have been inspired by literary narratives currently transmitted in the monastic circles; see Cartojan, *Cărțile populare*, I, p. 55.

11 See Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)', pp. 42–43. Sorin Ulea's remark must be understood in the context of the period when he published his article. Still, it is worth mentioning that his main argument was that the Legend of the Cheirograph was rejected by the Church; see Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)', p. 42. The present analysis shows that this was not at all the case.

12 *Călători străini despre țările române*, I, ed. by Maria Holban (Bucharest: Editura Ştiințifică, 1968), p. 461; Vasiliu, *La traversée de l'image*, p. 178, n. 40; Valeriu Anania, *Cerurile Oltului. Scoliile arhimandritului Bartolomeu la imaginile fotografice ale lui Dumitru F. Dumitru* (1990; repr. Bucharest: Editura Pro, 1998), pp. 226–28.

13 See Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', pp. 60–61; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 117–18; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 57.

Fig. 12. 'Genesis Cycle' (partial view); Sucevița church, external wall, upper row (end of the sixteenth century/beginning of the seventeenth century).

Left side: 'Bright Paradise'; right side: 'Adam and Eve outside the Garden, in the Gloomy World': 'Adam and Eve Lamenting outside Paradise'; 'Eve Spinning and Adam Hoeing the Ground'; 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph'.

An Apocryphal Depiction for Princes and Archbishops

The patrons of the iconographic programs of the three monastic churches were the most important figures of their time and place.

The prince of Moldova, Petru Rareş, who was the patron of Vatra Moldoviței,[14] obviously held the Genesis cycle and the Legend of the Cheirograph in high esteem. On the one hand, he allowed it to be painted in a very visible position, comparable to the *Tree of Jesse* or the *Siege of Constantinople*.[15] Adam, the king who lost Paradise because of his disobedience toward God, might have constantly reminded the prince to follow the divine command, an idea which circulated in contemporary compositions for princely education.[16] At the

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14 See the founder's inscription in Balş, *Bisericile moldovenești*, p. 36.

15 Despite its highly visible position, the Genesis cycle was considered to have a secondary role in the iconography of the church; see Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (I)', pp. 69–70; Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)'.

16 A parenetic composition for princely use, attributed to Neagoe Basarab, prince of Wallachia (1512–1521), assigns Adam a key role in the princely education: 'And again, that prince who will not humble himself to God, God will humble him. Adam, too, he had a great kingdom, and what did he become afterwards? How could it not have been a great kingdom, when Christ our God was always with him? When Christ our God was with him, and he had given him (= Adam) the entire paradise under his command and the seven blessings, which were even bigger? And Adam, because of his lack of humility, what did he lose in the first place? He lost because God turned his face from him in anger. In the second place, what did he lose? He lost the seven blessings and God took them from him. In the third place, what did he lose? He lost the paradisiac food. God abased Adam from the kingdom he had offered him, because of his lack of humility'; for the Slavonic text, see *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, transcription, translation into Romanian and introduction by Mihăilă, p. 382; for the Romanian

same time, the depiction of the Legend of the Cheirograph could become an admonition to the viewers to reflect upon the multifaceted conflict between the First Man and Satan.[17] Moreover, according to a traveller in Moldavia, the prince referred to Adam's contract with Satan in order to explain historical issues. In a text written towards the middle of the sixteenth century and addressed to Ivan the Terrible, the Tsar of Russia, Ivan Peresvetov, a military man born in Lithuania who travelled to Moldova and met Petru Rareş, claims that the prince reflected on the life of the protoplasts[18] and referred to Adam's Cheirograph while explaining the reasons for the decline of the Byzantine Empire.[19] The prince might have clearly separated the moment of the fall from Paradise from the moment when Adam signed the contract with Satan. He is quoted to have said,

> When God the Lord banished Adam from Paradise, as Adam had transgressed God's commandment, then the devil tempted Adam and took a Cheirograph from him. Adam would have perished eternally, but God the Lord showed him his mercy and through his voluntary and holy Passion, he took Adam out of the depths of Hell and broke the Cheirograph.[20]

In 1547, a year after he had been appointed archbishop of Moldova by Petru Rareş, Grigore Roşca[21] patronized the iconography of the external walls of the church in Voroneţ. The

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seventeenth-century translation, see *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, text established by Moisil and Zamfirescu, p. 323; for the Greek text, see *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Ţării Româneşti* (1512–1521), Greek version, ed. by Grecu, p. 207.

17 Sorin Ulea, 'La peinture extérieure moldave', p. 293 advocated the idea that the external mural iconography of the churches executed during Petru Rareş's reign had a moralistic function, but he did not discuss the Legend of the Cheirograph.

18 The life of the protoplasts and their Fall seem to have been a topic of meditation for other Romanian princes, as well. In the parenetic composition attributed to Neagoe Basarab, the prince retells the life of Adam and Eve to his son meticulously and concludes that Adam would have been forgiven if he had repented instantly. 'Had Adam hurried [to ask for forgiveness] after his first mistake, God would have forgiven him in that very moment'; for the Slavonic text, see *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, transcription, translation into Romanian and introduction by Mihăilă, p. 326; for the Romanian and Greek texts, see *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, text established by Moisil and Zamfirescu, p. 321; *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Ţării Româneşti* (1512–1521), Greek version, ed. by Grecu, p. 203. The same theme appears in Symeon the New Theologian's 5th Discourse, which is inspired by Dorotheus of Gaza (*Doctr.* 1, 8, in *PG* 88 :1625); see Symeon le Nouveau Théologien, *Catéchèses*, I, introduction, texte critique et notes par Mgr. Basile Krivochéine, traduction par Joseph Paramelle, s. j., Sources chrétiennes, 96 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963), p. 395.

19 According to Sorin Ulea, the iconography of the churches executed upon Petru Rareş's and his counsellors' request, including the painted churches in Vatra Moldoviţei and Voroneţ, expressed the prince's anti-Ottoman social and political ideology; see Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificaţia ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (I)'; the external mural iconography of the churches executed during Petru Rareş's reign would represent a plea to God to protect the people of Moldova, see Ulea, 'La peinture extérieure moldave', p. 292.

20 See Yeshayahu Gruber, 'Ivan Persvetov', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, VII, *Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America*, ed. by David Thomas and others (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 278–307; for the text see Aleksandr A. Zimin, Сочинения И. Пересветова [Works of I. Peresvetov] (Moscow–Leningrad: Акад Наук СССР, 1956), p. 181; Holban, *Călători străini*, p. 461; Ulea, 'Originea şi semnificaţia ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (II)', p. 43, Vornicescu-Severineanul, 'Le chant d'Adam dans un manuscrit psaltique', p. 39; and Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 117 discussed the text in relation with the apocryphal narratives about Adam and Eve.

21 For this archbishop and his connections with prince Petru Rareş, see Constantin Cojocaru, 'Mitropolitul Grigorie Roşca', *Mitropolia Moldovei*, 54 (1978), pp. 61–70; Maria M. Székely, *Sfetnicii lui Petru Rareş. Studiu prosopografic* (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 2002), pp. 172–75; Andrei Eşanu and Valentina Eşanu, 'Viaţa şi faptele mitropolitului Grigorie Roşca (1478–1570)', *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, 10 (2017), pp. 5–25.

apocryphal cycle referring to the protoplasts is smaller there than in Vatra Moldoviței and is less visible, because of its new position.[22]

Toward the end of the sixteenth century – beginning of the seventeenth century, the apocryphal cycle about Adam and Eve is painted on the external walls of the church in Sucevița.[23] The patrons of the iconographic program are two brothers who are likely to have been the grandsons of Petru Rareș:[24] Ieremia Movilă, prince of Moldova (1595 – May 1600, September 1600–1606), and George Movilă, bishop of Rădăuți and Hotin (1579–1588) and archbishop of Moldova (1588–1591, 1595 – spring 1600, September 1600–1605).[25]

The Life of Adam and Eve in the Genesis cycles

The scenes referring to Adam and Eve's terrestrial life in Voroneț and in Sucevița[26] have a similar, though not identical composition.[27] In Voroneț they illustrate: 'Eve spinning and Adam hoeing the ground',[28] 'Adam ploughing the ground', 'Adam signing the Cheirograph', while in Sucevița they depict: 'Adam and Eve lamenting outside Paradise', 'Eve Spinning and Adam hoeing the ground', 'Adam signing the Cheirograph'.[29]

None of these cycles follows the exact narrative development of the textual tradition of *LAE* faithfully. In the apocryphal literary tradition, the birth of Cain and Abel follows Satan's

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22 For the stages of execution of the iconography in the church of Voroneț and for the archbishop's patronage over the iconography of the exterior walls and of the exonarthex, see Balş, *Bisericile moldovenești*, p. 88; Musicescu and Ulea, *Voroneț*, pp. 5–10. For a thorough description of the church's iconography, see Constantin I. Ciobanu, 'Programul iconografic al bisericii Sf. Gheorghe a mănăstirii Voroneț', in *Mănăstirea Voroneț. Istorie, cultură, spiritualitate*, ed. by Andrei Eșanu and Valentina Eșanu (Chișinău: Ponto, 2010), pp. 93–107.

23 For the monastery of Sucevița and its patrons, see Dimitrie Dan, *Mânăstirea Sucevița* (Bucharest: Tipografia Bucovina, 1923); Musicescu and Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*; *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, 3 vols (Suceava: Editura Mușatinii / Sfânta Mănăstire Sucevița, 2006 [I: *Casa noastră Movilească*, II, *Ieremia Movila. Domnul. Familia. Epoca*] – 2007 [III: *Artă și restaurare*]. The date of the execution of the frescos is controversial: using various arguments, some researchers considered it would date to 1596; see Victor Brătulescu, 'Pictura Suceviței și datarea ei', in *Movileștii*, I, pp. 219–42 [first published in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 40 (1964), pp. 206–28]; Ştefan S. Gorovei, 'Familia lui Ieremia Vodă Movilă în tablourile votive. Contribuții la istoria Mănăstirii Sucevița', in *Movileștii*, II, pp. 35–60. Sorin Ulea considered the iconography was completed in 1601; see Sorin Ulea, 'Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la Sucevița', in *Omagiu lui George Oprescu cu prilejul împlinirii a 80 de ani* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RPR, 1961), pp. 561–62; Sorin Ulea, *Datarea ansamblului de pictură de la Sucevița* (Botoșani: Editura Axa, 2006). For recent arguments according to which at least some frescos were executed before 1601, see Dumitru Năstase, Ștefan Andreescu, and Ovidiu Cristea, 'Portretul lui Mihai Viteazul la Sucevița', in *Movileștii*, III, p. 81.

24 See Ştefan S. Gorovei, 'Pe marginea unei filiații incerte: Maria Movilă – fiica lui Petru Rareş', in *Movileștii*, I, pp. 61–68 [first published in *Cercetări istorice*, 11 (1980), pp. 325–30]; Dumitru Năstase, 'Maria, mama lui Ieremia Movilă, fiică a "despotului" Petru Rareș', *Arhiva genealogică*, 3 (1996), pp. 303–05.

25 See Ioan V. Dură, 'Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni. Mitropolitul Gheorghe Movilă', in *Movileştii*, I, pp. 121–42 [first published in *Biserica ortodoxă română*, 39 (1971), pp. 187–203], and the additional notes published in *Movileştii*, I, pp. 319–20.

26 The images from Vatra Moldoviței are not visible and will not be discussed here. They had already deteriorated in the first decades of the twentieth century; see Ioan D. Ştefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis l'origine jusqu'au XIXe siècle. Texte et album*. Préface de Charles Diehl (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928), pp. 116–17.

27 Kuyumdzhieva, 'Creation of the World and Adam and Eve in Post-Byzantine Art', p. 239 emphasised the variability of the Genesis cycles in the churches of Moldova.

28 The right-hand part of the scene has deteriorated, but Adam's figure is still visible (Fig. 11). The position of his body, the depiction of the ground in the right of the image suggest that he is hoeing the ground.

29 For a thorough description of the Genesis cycle in Sucevița, see Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord*, pp. 277–78.

Fig. 13. ‘Genesis Cycle’, Sucevița church (end of the sixteenth century/beginning of the seventeenth century): ‘Adam and Eve Lamenting outside Paradise’; ‘Eve Spinning and Adam Hoeing the Ground’.

Inscriptions in Slavonic in the upper register. On the left: Плака (с<ѧ>?) Ада(м) възираѧи на райскѫѧ красотѫ ‘Adam cried looking at the beauty of Paradise’.

On the right: ада(м) нача дѧлати землѧ и ро(д)<и> каина и авела ‘Adam began to work the land and gave birth to Cain and Abel’.

attempts to deceive the protoplasts again; to the contrary, in the mural representations, the children are depicted together with their parents after their parents leave Paradise, as in Gen 4:1–2, but before Adam signs the contract.[30] Both of them appear in Voroneț (Fig. 11), one of them in Sucevița (Fig. 13). However, their presence strengthens the coherence of the iconographic cycle, which presents their deeds immediately after the conclusion of the Cheirograph.

The frescos of the three churches show Adam writing on a scroll, while the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* mentions a slab of stone.[31]

30 The illuminations of Byzantine manuscripts also blend canonical and apocryphal themes; see Rainer Stichel, ‘Außerkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments’, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 69 (1974), pp. 159–81.

31 See p. 78, n. 30 above and the Romanian text 1A.

Satan's threatening attitude in the mural representations agrees with the textual tradition of *LAE*; so does the depiction of Adam alone, without Eve, at the moment when he signs the contract.[32]

The Legend of the Cheirograph in the cycles in Voroneț and in Sucevița is connected to agriculture. The cycle in Voroneț is even closer to the Slavonic *LAE*, since it depicts Adam ploughing.[33] Unlike the frescos in Voroneț, the cycle in Sucevița depicts Adam hoeing the soil and dedicates an entire scene to the protoplasts' lament outside the Garden.[34]

The reasons for which the protoplasts' lament[35] was included in the cycle remain unknown, but we can suggest the following hypotheses, which are not mutually exclusive. First of all, the scene might echo *LAE*, which briefly mentions Adam and Eve's grief after the loss of Paradise.[36] Its Slavonic version could have been known to the monks in Sucevița, since at least two Slavonic versions of *LAE* were produced in Moldova.[37] Secondly, the depiction of the protoplasts' lament could equally echo Russian devotion,[38] for the local monastic community might have been familiar with the Russian tradition of songs entitled the *Plaint of Adam*, which had circulated in the Russian monastic milieu since the end of the fifteenth century and dramatically emphasised Adam's sorrow.[39] Moreover, the literary theme of the protoplasts' mourning was adopted in Russian iconography and it was occasionally painted on altar-doors.[40] Finally, the liturgical association of Adam's lament with a specific day of the *Triodion*, the last Sunday before Lent, known as 'the Sunday when Adam was cast out

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32 Cf. version C of *PA*, and n. 93.

33 See for example Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 6, §§30–34; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 26; texts 1A–B above.

34 For the Romanian versions of *PA* which present the protoplasts' fall, the lament (exclusively Adam's) and the Legend of the Cheirograph; see texts 2A–D above. In spite of these shared motifs, it is not possible to presume that *PA* alone would have inspired the frescos in Sucevița, at least because no text including Adam's lament as well as the Cheirograph Legend is attested before the eighteenth century.

35 The depiction of the protoplasts weeping after leaving the Garden is mentioned in Dionysius of Fourna's eighteenth-century manual of iconography and painting; see Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, p. 18. They are also represented lamenting inside the Garden; see, for example, the eleventh-century illustrations of an Old English poem on *Genesis* (Cædmon Manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, fols 34, 36, 39); a twelfth-century Romanesque lintel fragment from Autun, which represents a grieving Eve in Paradise: see Otto K. Werckmeister, 'The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), p. 6; Marian Bleeke, 'The Eve Fragment from Autun and the Emotionalism of Pilgrimage', in *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History*, ed. by Elina Gertsman (New York–London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 16–34; a seventeenth-century fresco of the Ethiopian church of Abrehā and Aṣbeḥa: see Jacques-Noël Pérès, 'Adam s'est-il repenti? Une lecture de la tradition éthiopienne relative aux protoplastes', in *La Vie d'Adam et Ève et les traditions adamiques*, ed. by Frédéric Amsler and others, pp. 437–46.

36 See Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 2.

37 For references and bibliography, see pp. 75–76 above.

38 The influence of the Russian iconographic themes on the iconography in Sucevița has been repeatedly discussed by art historians; see, for example Dan, *Mânăstirea Sucevița*, p. 32; André Grabar, *L'expansion de la peinture russe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, in *L'art de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, II (Paris: Collège de France, 1968; first published in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 11 (1939): pp. 959–62]), pp. 939–63; Emil Dragnev, 'Evoluția programelor iconografice în Rusia de la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea și începutul secolului al XVII-lea. Programul iconografic de la Sucevița', in *Movileștii*, III, pp. 116, 143–48.

39 See p. 80, n. 37 above.

40 For a seventeenth-century Russian altar-door, on which the text of *PA* is written above the depiction of the protoplasts' plaint outside Paradise, see Sergeev, 'Духовный стих "Плач Адама"' [The Spiritual Poem 'Lament of Adam']. Another depiction of the protoplasts' lament seems to appear on an early seventeenth-century Russian liturgical door, see Dragnev, 'Evoluția programelor iconografice', ill. 14.

of Paradise', had an important significance in the monastic life and the liturgical chants of the *Triodion* in which Adam laments over his sins had great success in sixteenth-century monastic life of Moldova, since they were copied independently in the local scriptoria as penitence prayers recommended to the prince.[41] Under these circumstances, in Sucevița, the depiction of the protoplasts' grief anchored the whole Genesis cycle in the liturgical life of the church.

The vicinity of the frescos presenting the protoplasts' lament and 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' in Sucevița is unique. It parallels a double literary tradition, both that of the *Life of Adam and Eve* by which it was inspired, and that of the *Plaint of Adam* including the Legend of the Cheirograph, the earliest evidence of which dates to the mid-eighteenth century.

The Genesis Cycles and their Iconographic Context

The various Genesis cycles including the scene 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph' do not appear in identical iconographic contexts. Anca Vasiliu argued that the Genesis scenes in Vatra Moldoviței, painted on the external pillars of the exonarthex, seem projected onto the depiction of the Last Judgement displayed on the exonarthex wall (Fig. 10) and create thus the panorama of a cosmos fully reassembled at the end of the ages.[42]

The iconography of the northern wall in Voroneț is partially preserved.[43] Beneath the Genesis cycle, the 'Celestial Toll Houses'[44] occupy the northern part of the north-western buttress; 'The Life of Saint Anthony the Great', 'The Life of Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople', several scenes of the 'Parable of the Prodigal Son' and an icon of the Virgin assisted by two archangels are depicted in the western part of the wall; only few scenes from the *Akathistos Hymn* are preserved in the eastern part of the wall.

In Sucevița, the iconography of the northern wall seems to have been extremely significant for the monastic life.[45] The Genesis cycle includes the theme of the protoplasts' lament, which was connected to the liturgical feast of 'the Sunday when Adam was cast

41 For these texts, see pp. 99–100, n. 106 above.

42 Vasiliu, *L'architettura dipinta*, p. 201.

43 I am following Ciobanu, 'Programul iconografic al bisericii Sf. Gheorghe', pp. 99, 103.

44 The iconography of these presents the journey of the soul to the other world, during which it encounters different demons at various points referred to as toll-houses; at each toll-house, the demons accuse the soul of sin and try to throw it into hell. The iconographic theme is inspired by a tenth-century Byzantine hagiography, *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger*. For the Greek text, see *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger*. Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version, by Denis Sullivan, Alice-Mary Talbot, and Stamatina McGrath (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 2010); for the historical context in which the hagiography was created, see Andrei Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Étude sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine (IXe–XIe s.)*, Dossiers Byzantins, 10 (Paris: EHESS, 2010), pp. 320–41; for the Romanian *Nachleben* of the *vita*, which was translated from Slavonic in the seventeenth century, see Maria Stanciu-Istrate, *Viața Sfântului Vasile cel Nou și vămile văzduhului*. Philological study, linguistic study, edition and glossary (Bucharest: Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2004). The iconography of the Celestial toll houses was discussed by Paul Henry from the perspective of its relationship with traditional beliefs rather than with its liturgical use; see Paul Henry, 'De l'originalité des peintures bukovieniennes dans l'application des principes byzantins. Communication au Premier Congrès d'Études Byzantines à Bucarest', *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), pp. 300–02; Henry, 'Folklore et iconographie religieuse', pp. 63–82.

45 Art historians have already emphasised the iconographic unity of the northern wall; see Musicescu and Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, pp. 62–79.

out of Paradise'. Beneath it, on the western part of the wall there are depicted hagiographic episodes referring mainly to *The Life of Saint Pachomius the Great*, the founder of the coenobitic life, but also to *The Life of Saint Anthony the Great*.[46] *The Ladder* inspired by John Climacus' homonymous work, essential for monastic life, is painted on the eastern part; it presents a row of monks who climb a ladder extended from earth to heaven and who are simultaneously assisted by angels and attacked by demons.[47]

The Baptism with Christ Standing on a Stone Holding a Scroll in His Left Hand upon Which is Written (in Slavonic) 'Cheirograph of Adam'[48]

Frescos from the monastery churches in Sucevița (end of the sixteenth, beginning of the seventeenth century) and Dragomirna (post 1609, first decades of the seventeenth century), an iconostasis icon from Vatra Moldoviței (beginning of the seventeenth century), book bindings (1607), manuscript illuminations produced in the scriptoria of the Monasteries of Sucevița and Dragomirna (1607, 1609, 1615, 1614–1616/1617), and liturgical objects dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all depict the destruction of Adam's Cheirograph by Christ in the River Jordan, at his baptism.[49] The standard iconography of the baptism has here two additional elements. The first, which is specific to this scene, is that Christ is holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is inscribed 'The Cheirograph of Adam', in Slavonic; the second is that he is standing on a rock surrounded by serpents' heads.[50] As Michael E. Stone pointed out, these images refer to two legendary elements and reflect two understandings of the Cheirograph at the same time. The first is the contract as a scroll, which Christ destroys during the baptism. The second represents the Cheirograph as a stone, hidden by Satan in the River Jordan and guarded by serpents.[51]

This iconographic pattern was transmitted in north-eastern Romania: in Suceava and Neamț counties.

46 For a detailed description of these frescos, see Constantin I. Ciobanu, 'Un ciclu hagiografic puțin studiat din pictura exterioară moldovenească: Viața Sfântului Pahomie cel Mare', *SCIA.AP*, 50:6 (2016), new series, pp. 27–47. The depiction in Sucevița of Saint Pachomius' *Life* is inspired by a Slavonic version of his hagiography; see Ciobanu, 'Un ciclu hagiografic puțin studiat', p. 36.

47 The theme is introduced into the Moldovan external mural representations by a Greek Athonite painter, who depicted it in the Monastery of Râşca (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26). Both in Râşca, and in Sucevița, the representations include historical figures among the monks climbing the ladder; see Sorin Ulea, 'Un peintre grec en Moldavie au XVIe siècle: Stamatelos Kotronas', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 7 (1970), pp. pp. 22–23; Sorin Ulea, 'O surprinzătoare personalitate a Evului Mediu românesc: cronicarul Macarie', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 32 (1985), p. 17; Năstase, Andreescu, and Cristea, 'Portretul lui Mihai Viteazul'.

48 Type 1 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–50.

49 See mainly Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein'; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 120–22; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–50.

50 The two additional elements were discussed in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 47–48.

51 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 48.

Sucevița: The Cheirograph Written and Torn

The scene appears first in the exonarthex and in the narthex of the church in Sucevița (Figs 14 and 15).[52] This is the first time that representations of this type were executed in an iconographic program which included the scene of 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' as well (Fig. 9).

The fresco in the exonarthex (Fig. 14) shows Christ in the foreground, standing on an irregular rock, in a steep landscape. The rock, painted in vivid colour, lies between the banks of the River Jordan and emerges from the waters. Christ is holding a scroll on which a Slavonic inscription reads 'The Cheirograph of Adam' (ржкуписание адамово).[53] His body is not touched by the waters.[54] The heads of five serpents come out of the waters, right near the rock. They are its guardians, since they are not set apart from it and menacingly chase away the fish swimming around. John the Baptist is figured in the left-hand part of the scene; close to him there are two trees with an axe laid at their root (Matt 3:10). A group of five angels are depicted on the right. In the upper register, the Holy Spirit, as a dove, descends from above.

The main difference between the representations in the exonarthex and in the narthex is that in the latter no serpent guards the rock on which Christ is standing (Fig. 15).[55] Other differences between the two frescos[56] do not seem to be relevant to the Legend of the Cheirograph.

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52 The image has been repeatedly reproduced and discussed; see Musicescu and Berza, *Mănăstirea Sucevița*, pp. 110–11, Fig. 92; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 121.

53 The *kontakion* of the liturgy of the hours, read on the eve of Baptism, emphasises the connection between Christ's baptism and Adam's salvation: *La apele Iordanului venind astăzi Domnul, a strigat către Ioan: Nu te teme a mă boteza, că am venit să mântuiesc pe Adam, cel întâi zidit* 'Today the Lord has appeared in the courses of the Jordan, crying to John: Be not dismayed at My Baptism; for I have verily come to save Adam, the first to be created'; see *Mineiul pe ianuarie* (Bucharest: Editura Institutului biblic și de misiune ortodoxă, 2010), pp. 111, 115, 119, 123, 126–27.

54 This is a specific and constant feature of the representations of Christ's baptism related to the Legend of the Cheirograph. The image of Christ in the River Jordan, untouched by the waters echoes the literary tradition of *LAE*, according to which Adam remains untouched by the waters during his repentance in the River Jordan, because animals, fish and even angels surround him and guard him; see Latin, Georgian and Armenian *LAE* 8:3, Greek *LAE* 29:11c and Slav. *LAE* 35–37:10b in Anderson and Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, p. 10; Pettorelli, *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, pp. 774–75. Still, it is difficult to assess the believers' opinions about this iconographic peculiarity, since there no instruction seems to exist regarding the right way to depict Christ at Baptism. The liturgy of Baptism repeatedly mentions that the River Jordan stopped or receded when Christ came to be baptised (see *Mineiul pe ianuarie*, pp. 107, 109, 113, 117–18, 141, 157), and it rarely specifies that he immersed in the waters (see *Mineiul pe ianuarie*, pp. 121, 128, 157). The books about the sacraments of the Eastern Orthodox Church do not focus on Christ's baptism, but on neophytes'; see *Șeapte taine a besearecii. Iași, 1644*, critical edition by Iulia Mazilu (Iași: Editura Universității 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 2012), p. 179. The painters occasionally write in their manuals about wrong depictions of Baptism. In a Romanian manuscript from 1815, the painter does not focus on Christ, but on John the Baptist: *Pentru vreo câteva greșeli ce fac unii zugravi care trebuie să se îndrepteze căci nu urmează după sfânta scriptură. Mai întâiu la botezul Domnului: zugrăvesc pre sfântul Ioan cu un blid cu carele varsă apă în creștetul Domnului* (MS 4206, Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, fol. 114) 'About several mistakes that painters make, which should be corrected, because they do not follow the holy scripture. First at the baptism of the Lord: they paint Saint John carrying a pot with which he pours water onto the head of the Lord'; Vasile Grecu, 'Versiunile românești ale erminiilor de pictură bizantină', offprint from *Codrul Cosminului*, (Cernăuți: Institutul de arte grafice și editură 'Glasul Bucovinei', 1924), p. 31.

55 For these images see also Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord*, pp. 268–69, 271.

56 For example, the number of angels with veiled hands can vary (see Figs 14 and 15). The veiled hands of the angels express the respect in the presence of the holy; the motif is present in the representations of Christ's baptism since early Christianity; see Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water. Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 105 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), p. 117.

Fig. 14. 'Baptism with Christ Standing on a Stone Guarded by Serpents, Holding a Scroll in his Left Hand upon which is written "Cheirograph of Adam"', exonarthex, Sucevița church (end of the sixteenth century/beginning of the seventeenth century).

Inscription in Slavonic above Christ's head: кръщение гн҇е 'Baptism of the Lord'.

Inscription in Slavonic on Christ's scroll: ржкуписание адамово 'The Cheirograph of Adam'.

In 1607, the iconographic type appears twice in Sucevița MS 24, an illuminated codex which follows MS Paris BnF grec 74 and was created for prince Ieremia Movilă,[57] probably by Atanasie Crimca.[58] Sucevița MS 24 is the oldest manuscript which includes this iconographic pattern[59] and neither the Paris Greek manuscript, nor most of its other Slavonic descendants display this iconographic type.[60] The baptism with Christ standing

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57 For this manuscript, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Two Slavonic Parallels of the Greek Tetraevangelia: Paris 74', *Art Bulletin*, 9:3 (1927), pp. 222–74; Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', pp. 698–706; Teodora Voinescu, 'Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din Mănăstirile Sucevița și Dragomirna', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, I, pp. 149–87 [first published in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 2:1–2 (1955), pp. 89–114]; Popescu-Vîlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea*; Constanța Costea, 'La sfârșitul unui secol de erudiție: pictura de icoane din Moldova în timpul lui Ieremia Movilă. Ambianța Suceviței', *Ars Transsilvaniae*, 3 (1993), pp. 80–82. For a facsimile edition of the codex, see *Tetraevanghelul Sucevița 24*.

58 This suggestion was advanced in Voinescu, 'Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din Mănăstirile Sucevița și Dragomirna', p. 152.

59 Popescu-Vîlcea, Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea, p. 23.

60 There seems to be only one other descendant of Paris BnF grec 74 with similar illuminations: a codex produced in the Dragomirna Monastery between 1614 and 1616–1617 and preserved in the National Library of Warsaw (see pp. 128–29 below). The other Slavonic descendants of the Paris Greek manuscript are a fourteenth-century Bulgarian Gospel, which belonged to tsar Ivan Alexander (London, British Museum, Add 39627, formerly

Fig. 15. 'Baptism with Christ Standing on a Stone Holding a Scroll in his Left Hand upon which is Written "Cheirograph (of) Adam"', narthex, Sucevița church (end of the sixteenth century/beginning of the seventeenth century).

Inscription in Slavonic at the top: Бг҃оıавление 'Epiphany'. Inscription in Slavonic on Christ's scroll: рѫкѡписание ада(м) 'The Cheirograph of Adam'.

on a stone holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written in Slavonic 'Cheirograph of Adam' can be seen on one of the silver bindings of the codex, which was executed by a local silversmith.[61] In the same manuscript, the same iconographic type also illustrates Christ's baptism (Mk 1:9–11) (fol. 90r): unlike the above-discussed representations, it shows Christ standing on an irregular, flat stone, which is not guarded by serpent-like demons; Christ is holding a white scroll in his left hand.[62]

Curzon 153), one manuscript preserved in the Library of Sucevița Monastery (Sucevița MS 23), and a manuscript preserved in the State Library in Russia (cod. Muz. 9500), for which see Emil Dragnev, *O capodoperă a miniaturii din Moldova medievală. Tetraevanghelul de la Elizavetgrad şi manuscrisele grupului Parisinus graecus 74* (Chişinău: Ed. Civitas, 2004).

61 The binding was reproduced in Voinescu, 'Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din Mănăstirile Sucevița şi Dragomirna', p. 184; *Tetraevanghelul Sucevița 24*, last cover. For the silversmith, see Voinescu, 'Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din Mănăstirile Sucevița şi Dragomirna', p. 158.

62 The illumination was discussed and reproduced in Popescu-Vîlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea*, ill. XX.

This iconographic type presents a sequential narrative concentrated in a single picture, which includes apocryphal and canonical themes.[63] Adam's Cheirograph was hidden by Satan in the River Jordan, under the surveillance of serpent-like demons. At his baptism Christ stands on it, while surrounded by John the Baptist and the angels, and he destroys it. His power to break it is emphasised by the depiction of the contract as a scroll in his left hand. The source of the mural representations described above is the Slavonic tradition of *LAE*, whose versions sometimes mention that the Cheirograph was hidden in the River Jordan.[64] The iconography displays details which seem to be original to the Slavonic tradition of *LAE*, that developed by the end of the sixteenth century and which may appear later in the literary tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph: the stone on which Christ is standing lies between the banks of the River Jordan;[65] it emerges from the water;[66] its vivid colours (Fig. 14) attract attention; Christ's body is not touched by the waters; the serpent-like guardians of the rock are threatening (Fig. 14).[67]

The depiction of Adam's Cheirograph as a scroll in Christ's hand recalls the iconographic-type of 'Adam signing the Cheirograph', in which Adam is shown writing on a scroll, in Slavonic, in Cyrillic alphabet. They both are iconographic innovations in respect to the textual tradition.

Vatra Moldoviței: The Cheirograph Written and Torn

The iconography of the church in Vatra Moldoviței, where 'Adam Signing the Cheirograph' was painted for the first time (Fig. 10), also includes the representation of the Baptism of Christ in which Christ standing on a stone is holding Adam's contract. This iconographic type appears here at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and it is no longer in a mural representation, but in an iconostasis icon. A priest from Suceava, Gavril, was the carpenter who executed the iconostasis; the name of the painter(s) is unknown. The donor of the iconostasis was an important boyar of the time, Toader Boul, treasurer of Moldova.[68] An inscription shows he presented it to the church in June 1602.[69]

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63 See Nira Stone, 'Narrativity in Armenian Manuscript Illustration', in *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, ed. by John Burke and others, Byzantina Australiensia, 16 (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2006), pp. pp. 286–88.

64 See Cartojan, 'Zapisul lui Adam', p. 10; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 49 and 163, n. 35. For Slavonic texts which include these details, see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 33, 38; cf. Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 119–20.

65 For textual evidence about the position of the Cheirograph in the river, prior and posterior to the iconography, see, for example, variant B of the Slavonic version, § 10, in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 33; and above, texts 1A (*LAE* § 7), 2A–C (*PA*).

66 This detail rarely has specific textual support; see *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation*, § 49, recension P306, in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 81.

67 For the guardians of the Cheirograph, see texts 1A (*LAE* § 7), and 2A–C (*PA*) above.

68 See Marina I. Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc: tâmpla de la Moldovița (1602)', in *Movileștii*, III, pp. 87–96; Marina I. Sabados, 'L'iconostase de Modovița: un repère dans l'évolution de l'iconostase moldave', *Muzeum Historii Polski, Series Byzantina*, 6 (2008), pp. 27–43.

69 See Olimpia Mitric, 'Nouveaux éléments concernant la datation des iconostases des monastères de Voroneț et de Moldovița', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 41–42 (2004–2005), p. 105; Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 88.

The icon shows Christ standing on a rock, painted in vivid colour, which lies between the banks of the River Jordan and emerges from the waters; the colour of the rock contrasts with the landscape, painted in grey and green. Christ is holding the scroll on which a Slavonic inscription reads 'The Cheirograph of Adam'.[70] His body is not touched by the waters. John the Baptist is figured in the left-part of the scene; five angels are depicted in the right; in the upper register, the Holy Spirit, as a dove, descends from above.

The icon features details which are present neither in the mural representations in Sucevița nor in Sucevița MS 24: in the background there is a depiction of the encounter between John the Baptist and Christ, who comes to be baptised accompanied by the apostle Peter; the stone is surrounded by three serpents with wide open mouths; an anthropomorphic representation of the river god is in the water by the bank of the river.[71]

Vatra Moldoviței and Sucevița are, therefore, the two monastic churches which host both iconographic types related to the Legend of the Cheirograph. Their transmission followed however opposite directions: while the first type is transmitted from Vatra Moldoviței via Voroneț to Sucevița, the second comes from Sucevița to Vatra Moldoviței. It shows that in less than a century, Sucevița became the most important centre promoting the iconographic tradition of the Legend.

Dragomirna: The Prominence of an Apocryphal Theme

The monastery of Dragomirna (Suceava county, Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26) has had a unique role in the transmission of the scene: it repeatedly produced representations in which Christ, holding Adam's Cheirograph, destroys it during his baptism. The founders of the monastic complex were a boyar from a highly influential local family, and Anastasie Crimca, the most prominent figure of the church in Moldova in the first decades of the seventeenth century. He was bishop of Rădăuți for a brief period (1600) and later became bishop of Roman (1606–1608) and subsequently, archbishop of Moldova (1608–1617, 1619–1629).[72] While he was the archbishop of Moldova, Atanasie Crimca also led the scriptorium in Dragomirna, which produced an impressive number of illuminated manuscripts.[73]

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70 Marina Ileana Sabados described the scroll in Christ's left hand either as *zapisul lui Adam* 'Adam's cheirograph' or as *cédule de nos obligations* 'certificate of our debts'; see Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 94; Sabados, 'L'iconostase de Modovița', p. 41. She did not consider that its source was *LAE*, but rather the illustration of the 22nd stanza of the *Akathistos Hymn*; see Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 94.

71 The icon is reproduced in Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 104, Fig. 11; Sabados, 'L'iconostase de Modovița', p. 41, Fig. 15. For the depiction of the river god in the scenes presenting Christ's baptism since early Christianity, see Jensen, *Living Water*, pp. 117–23.

72 For the boyar Luca Stroici, see Maria M. Székely, 'Noi contribuții la genealogia familiei Stroici', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, II, pp. 183–97. For Anastasie Crimca, see Ştefan S. Gorovei, 'Anastasie Crimca. Noi contribuții', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, II, pp. 107–28 (First published in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 55 (1979), pp. 144–59]; Ştefan S. Gorovei, 'Neamul mitropolitului Anastasie Crimca. Noi precizări', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, II, pp. 134–40 [first published in *Arhiva genealogică* 9:1–2 (1997), pp. 119–24]; Ştefan S. Gorovei, 'Cunoscutele și necunoscutele unei biografii de ctitor. Anastasie Crimca', in *Dragomirna și ctitorii ei (Actele colocviului din 20–23 iulie 2009)* (Suceava: Sfânta Mănăstire Dragomirna / Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2014), pp. 337–53.

73 For a recent inventory of these manuscripts, see Gorovei, 'Anastasie Crimca', pp. 119–28. For the activity of the scriptorium, see also Émile Turdeanu, 'Le métropolite Anastasie Crimca et son œuvre littéraire et artistique (1608–1629)', *Revue des études slaves*, 29 (1952), pp. 54–70; Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea, *Anastasie Crimca* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1972); Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea, *Miniatura românească* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1981).

Illuminations. The scene of the destruction of the Cheirograph appears in three illuminated Slavonic manuscripts of the Four Gospels produced in the scriptorium in Dragomirna, respectively in 1609, 1615 and 1614–1616/1617.

The first manuscript is preserved in the archives of the monastery (568/354/28, inv. 601).[74] Its illumination (fol. 9r) (Fig. 16),[75] the frescos in Sucevița and the icon in Vatra Moldoviței share a series of common features. The rock on which Christ is shown standing is irregular, it is painted in vivid colours and it emerges between the banks of the River Jordan. Christ's body is not touched by the waters and he is holding Adam's Cheirograph. John the Baptist and a group of three angels are situated on both sides of Christ, while the dove representing the Holy Spirit descends from above.

The illumination shows details which were previously depicted in the icon in Vatra Moldoviței: the background shows the encounter between John the Baptist and Christ, who comes to be baptised accompanied by the apostle Peter; the stone is surrounded by three serpents with wide open mouths.[76] It displays equally specific features of its own: in the upper register, God the Father blesses the scene; the banks of the river are painted in vivid colours as well as the rock on which Christ is standing; Christ's figure is very elongated[77] and both the serpents and the fish in the river look at Christ.

The same iconographic type appears in a manuscript of the Four Gospels produced in Dragomirna in 1615 (MS 569/354/27).[78] The illumination presents a specific motif: the scroll which Christ is holding is grey and nothing can be read upon it and Christ's covering is grey, as well (Fig. 17). Its other features resemble the iconography already present in

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For the illuminations of specific liturgical books produced in Dragomirna, see Constanța Costea, 'Ilustrația de manuscris din mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. *Apostolul* (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod sl. 6)', *SCIA.AP*, 39 (1992), pp. 41–57; Constanța Costea, 'Ilustrația manuscriselor slavone în mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. *Psaltirea* (Mănăstirea Dragomirna, cod. Sl. TD6/1934 <354–32>)', *SCIA.AP*, 41 (1994), pp. 17–41; Constanța Costea, 'Ilustrația de manuscris în mediul cărturăresc al mitropolitului Anastasie Crimcovici. *Liturghierul*', *SCIA.AP*, 43 (1996), pp. 19–35.

74 For the description of the manuscript, see Ioan Iufu and Victor Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul mănăstirii Dragomirna*, ed. by Olimpia Mitric (Iași: Editura Universității 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 2012), pp. 78–81.

75 It was reproduced in Gheorghe Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (IV) Descrierea și analiza miniaturilor și a temelor iconografice din diferite manuscrise provenind de la Mănăstirea Dragomirna', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, I, p. 283 [first published in *Biserica ortodoxă română*, 86:11–12 (1968), pp. 1343–59]; Voinescu, 'Contribuții la studiul manuscriselor ilustrate din Mănăstirile Sucevița și Dragomirna', p. 171; Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', Farbtafel IV. It was discussed in Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (III)', pp. 260–63; Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', p. 73; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 121; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 49.

76 The similarity between this illumination and the iconostasis icon of the Baptism in Vatra Moldoviței was emphasized by Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 94 and Fig. 11–12.

77 There is a striking resemblance between Christ's extremely elongated figure which contrasts with the representations of John the Baptist and of the angels in this illumination of baptism, and the elongated figures depicted on the upper register of the church frescos. The painters had to use this technique, in order to make the figures painted in the upper registers perfectly proportional to the people who looked at them. For the skills of the painters in Dragomirna in adjusting the iconography to the architecture of the church, see Tereza Sinigalia, Petru Palamar, and Carmen C. Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna* (Suceava: Karl A. Romstorfer, 2014), p. 137.

78 For this manuscript, see Iufu and Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-române*, pp. 82–86. The illumination was minutely described in Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', p. 708; Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (IV)', p. 311; cf. Iufu and Brătulescu, *Manuscrise slavo-române*, p. 85, where the existence of the cheirograph in Christ's hand is not mentioned.

Fig. 16. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by serpents, holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written 'Cheirograph of Adam', illuminated Gospel, scriptorium of Dragomirna Monastery, 1609, Dragomirna Library, MS 568/354/28, inv. 601, fol. 9r.

Inscription in Slavonic in the upper area: кръщение гн҃е 'Baptism of the Lord'. Inscription in Slavonic on Christ's scroll: рѫкописа адамова 'The Writ of Adam'.

frescos and illuminations: Christ is standing on a slab of stone, painted in vivid colours, from which three serpents' heads come forth. The scene of the Baptism is surrounded by a frame decorated with flowers. God the Father is depicted in the centre of the upper border, and the Holy Spirit as a dove is descending from him. Two kings and two prophets appear, one in each corner of the illumination: David and Solomon, both crowned, are depicted in the upper register, David is holding a book, obviously a Psalter, in his hands; Isaiah and Jeremiah appear in the lower register.[79]

Two similar illuminations appear in another manuscript of the Four Gospels produced under Anastasie Crimca's guidance between 1614 and 1616/1617 (Figs 18 and 19). The manuscript, written by Teofil, a monk from Voroneţ, and illuminated by Ştefan from Suceava, was meant to be sent to the Krechow Monastery in Galicia (Eastern Europe), but it remained in Dragomirna until 1653, when it was taken by the Cossacks. A local boyar

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79 The criteria of selection of the four prominent Old Testament saints are not obvious; cf. Isa 11:2, 42:1; Ps 2:7; Jer 31:31–32.

Fig. 17. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by serpents, holding a grey scroll in his left hand, illuminated Gospel, scriptorium of Dragomirna Monastery, 1615, Dragomirna Library, MS 569/354/27.

Inscription in Slavonic on the upper side: кръщение гнe 'Baptism of the Lord'.

bought it back and restored it to Dragomirna in 1658. It was taken again from the monastery in unknown circumstances, it was part of the collections of the Library of the University of Lvov and now it is preserved in the National Library in Warsaw (Akc. 10778).[80]

The manuscript is an indirect descendant of eleventh-century Paris BnF grec 74,[81] and it includes a similar depiction of Christ's Baptism,[82] as does Sucevița MS 24.[83] There are two specific features of these illuminations that are notable: in one of them, Christ is holding a blank scroll as well as in Sucevița MS 24 (Fig. 18); in the other one, one word is written: ржкописание 'cheirograph' (Fig. 19). Just like the illumination in Sucevița MS 24, neither of these two illuminations includes the motif of the guardian serpents (Figs 18 and 19).

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80 For the date and the history of the manuscript, see Gorovei, 'Anastasie Crimca', pp. 121–22, 330, n. 1.

81 See Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', pp. 695–725; Constanța Costea, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne du Paris. gr. 74: Seven Decades After', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 38 (2001), pp. 3–17.

82 Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', pp. 704–08.

83 These illuminations illustrate the Gospels of Matthew (Mt 3:16–17) and Luke (Lk 3:21–22), while the one in Sucevița MS 24 depicts the Gospel of Mark (Mk 1:9–11).

Fig. 18. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone holding a blank scroll in his left hand, illuminated Gospel, scriptorium of Dragomirna monastery, 1614–1616/1617, National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 10778, 21r.

Frescos. Similar scenes are painted twice in the church in Dragomirna.[84] One is placed among the frescos of the tower (Fig. 20); another one – in the meridional apse, above the Crucifixion (Fig. 6). The scenes are similar, but not identical. In the fresco of the tower, the rock on which Christ stands is surrounded by three threatening serpents.[85] In the other

84 Although the church was consecrated in 1609, the date of the execution of frescos remains unknown, because the painters' inscription is only partially preserved and because the monastery did not have the financial resources to finish them; see Ştefan S. Gorovei, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna. Amintirile unui loc de memorie* (Suceava: Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2017), p. 37. According to recent opinions, the paintings would date to the period 1610–1612/1613; see Sinigalia, Palamar, and Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna*, p. 28. For the painters of the church, see Sorin Ulea, 'Autorii ansamblului de pictură de la Dragomirna', in *Dragomirna. Istorie, tezaur, ctitori*, I, pp. 127–28 [first published in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 8 (1961), pp. 221–22]; Sinigalia, Palamar, and Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna*, pp. 27–28.

85 Emil Turdeanu knew only this scene, which he described in the following terms: 'la même scène, avec ses trois serpents aux gueules béantes et son inscription caractéristique'; see Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 121–22. See also Sinigalia, Palamar, and Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna*, p. 118.

Fig. 19. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written 'Cheirograph', illuminated Gospel, scriptorium of Dragomirna Monastery, 1614–1616/1617, National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 10778, 305r. Inscription in Slavonic on Christ's scroll: ржкописание 'The Hand Writ (= Cheirograph)'.

one[86] there are five serpents that guard the Cheirograph; their function as guardians is more visible, since two of them chase away the fish which draw near the rock. The river god is also depicted, as an anthropomorphic figure; it is crowned, clad in white clothes, and looks at Christ. God in the upper register and a group of Jews in the right-part of the fresco watch the scene.[87] In both cases, Christ is standing on a flat rock.

This iconographic type also appears on an eighteenth-century icon from Neamț (Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26). This time, Christ is standing on a round stone and four serpents encircle it.[88]

86 It was reproduced in Vasiliu, *L'architettura dipinta*, plate 237; Sinigalia, Palamar, and Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna*, p. 168.

87 See also Sinigalia, Palamar, and Solomonea, *Mănăstirea Dragomirna*, p. 171.

88 The icon was first reproduced and discussed in Cartojan, 'Zapisul lui Adam', pp. 9–10. See also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 119; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 50.

Fig. 20. Baptism with Christ Standing on a stone guarded by serpents, holding a scroll in his Left Hand upon which is written 'Cheirograph of Adam', Dragomirna church, tower (post-1609, first decades of the seventeenth century).

Inscription in Slavonic on the upper register: Бгоѧвленїе гн҃е 'Epiphany of the Lord'.

The scene is also painted on a small wooden cross dated 1825 from the church of Saint John the Baptist in Suceava (Bukovina; see Map, Fig. 26).[89]

Christ on a Rock in the Baptism with or without Serpents[90]

This iconographic type shows a scene of Baptism in which Christ is standing on a stone from which serpents' heads may come forth.

Unlike the two previous types, this scene has enjoyed a wide popularity.[91] It seems to be attested first in a thirteenth-century carved icon from Mount Athos showing

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89 It was reproduced in Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein', Farbtafel V; see also Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 122; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 49.

90 Type 2 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 50–54.

91 See the inventories of icons and frescos depicting this scene presented in Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', 706–08; Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein'; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', 119–21; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, 50–54; for new evidence, see Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 153–54.

Christ standing on a stone during his Baptism,[92] and in the fourteenth-century church of Gračanica. In this church, Christ is standing on two crossed red plates, from which serpents emerge.[93] The crossed plates are taken from the depiction of the Anastasis and represent the gates of Hell which Christ breaks down when he enters the underworld to free Adam and his successors.[94]

At the end of the fourteenth century, in a Greek icon, the square rock on which Christ is standing and a serpent's head are barely visible. In the same period, the depiction of Christ standing on a stone during baptism is found in Muscovite art.[95] This iconographic type continued to be produced in a wide region, extending from Greece, including Mount Athos, to Albania, Bulgaria, North Macedonia, Serbia, Romania and Russia, at least until the nineteenth century.[96] It also appears in a unique Georgian illumination, preserved in a Georgian manuscript produced in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, under Jerusalemite or Athonite influence.[97]

Michael E. Stone emphasised that the stone is not painted in a standardised manner. It can be submerged in the waters or it can be shown clearly; its shape can be irregular or rectangular. The presence of a rectangular stone may reflect various retellings of the legend according to which the Cheirograph is written by Adam on a slab of stone or even a brick. Such depictions are found in frescos (e.g., the Church of St Nicetas near Čučer, end of the fifteenth century, North Macedonia; infirmary Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Cozia, middle of the sixteenth-century, Romania), in icons (e.g., a Greek icon of *c.* 1600 from Asia Minor, several seventeenth-century Bulgarian icons), on wooden crosses (1558, Romania).[98]

The depiction of the serpents which guard the Cheirograph is characterised by an important variation, as well. Although most often they surround the rock on which Christ is standing (Fig. 21), in several icons, their heads advancing toward Christ's body

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92 See Loverdou-Tsigarida, 'Inner Face of a Book Cover', p. 348 and Introduction, pp. 23–24 above.

93 Millet, *L'iconographie de l'évangile*, pp. 199, 214, plate 172.

94 For the representation of *Descensus ad inferos*, see Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). This concatenation of redemptive acts of Christ is not unique. It is also present, for example, in Russian iconography, in depictions of the *Akathistos Hymn* (see pp. 139–41 below) and in independent icons of the Anastasis; see Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 59, type 6 'Christ Holding the Cheirograph in Limbo', and Figs 13, 14.

95 Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 50–51, examples a, d.

96 See Kretzenbacher, 'Jordantaufe auf dem Satansstein'; Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', pp. 117–22; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 50–54. For Albanian icons, produced in the sixteenth-nineteenth century, see von Öhrig, *Ikonen aus Albanien*, pp. 46, 58, ill. 7, 22; Tourta, *Icons from the Orthodox Communities of Albania*, pp. 71, 134, 183, ill. 14, 45, 62. For nineteenth-century similar engravings of Baptism, produced in Mount Athos, see Dory Papastratos, *Paper Icons. Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings* (1665–1899), 2 vols (Athens: Athos Library, 1990), I, p. 53, ill. 18; 54, ill. 19. The engravings were executed respectively in September 1867 by Ioannis Konstantinou Kaldis, and in 1860 by Averkios. The iconographic details pertaining to the Legend of the Cheirograph are not mentioned in the description of the Albanian icons or of the engravings.

97 The miniature of the Baptism is reproduced in Tseradze and Tskhadadze, *The Four Golden Gospels*, p. 20. Dr Nino Kavtaria, Head of Art History Department, Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, kindly informed us that the exact place of execution of the manuscript cannot be established.

98 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 121; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 51–53; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 153–54.

are trampled by him.[99] This is, for example, the case of a Greek icon executed *c.* 1600[100] and of an icon produced in the workshop of Petar Rafailovic' in the second half of the eighteenth century and preserved in Banja Monastery (Montenegro).[101]

Wallachia, then Moldova

In the Romanian-speaking areas, this iconographic type is attested first in Wallachia (see Map, Fig. 26), in the infirmary church in Cozia (Vâlcea county) (Fig. 21).[102] The frescos were executed by the painter David and his son Raduslav, under the guidance of hieromonk Maxim in 1542–1543. The patron of the church was Radu Paisie, the prince of Wallachia (1535–1545), who had formerly been the abbot of Curtea de Argeş Monastery.[103] The baptism scene shows Christ standing on a rectangular red rock from which six white serpents' heads issue.[104] As in the previous type, the serpents guard the Cheirograph and chase away the other aquatic creatures. The small figure in the river on the left is the river god, the figure on the right is the sea god.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the scene appears in important churches in Wallachia: in a festal icon from the iconostasis of the Metropolitan Church in Târgovişte (1674) and in the iconostasis icon of the church of Cotroceni Monastery in Bucharest

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99 In this respect, these icons resemble the Armenian stelae and illuminations which depict Christ at baptism crushing the dragon's head under his feet.

100 See Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 52, ill. 3.

101 For this multipartite icon, see http://www.bokokotorskaslikarskaskola.rs/manastir-banja/manastir-banja-ikone/ (consulted June 9, 2020).

102 See Ioan D. Ştefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Valachie et Transylvanie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIXe siècle. Album* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930), p. 50. For this church, situated to the west of the grounds of the Cozia monastery, see Carmen L. Dumitrescu, *Pictura murală din Ţara Românească în veacul al XVI-lea* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1978), pp. 16–18; Ioana Iancovescu, 'Picturile de la bolniţa mănăstirii Cozia', *SCIA.AP* 2 (2012), new series, pp. 170, 186, Fig. 28; Elena Negrău and Vlad Bedros, *The Monasteries of Oltenia. Art and Spirituality*. Edited and afterword by Father I. Marchiş, English version by S. Onn, photography by D. Dinescu and D. Constantinescu (Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român, 2014), pp. 74–79.

103 The iconography of the church includes other themes which had never been depicted before in the Wallachian churches, as for example, the coronation of the prince by an angel; see recently Marian Coman, 'Înainte de tradiţia bizantină. Înscăunarea domnilor în Ţara Românească medievală (secolele al XV-lea – al XVI-lea)', in *Elemente de ceremonial în literatura din spaţiul românesc (secolele al XIV-lea – al XVIII-lea)*, ed. by Emanuela Timotin (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2019), pp. 85–86, with bibliography. The remaking of the iconographic repertoire might be connected with the prince's religious education and previous monastic life. By promoting the revision of iconography, the prince was following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Vlad Călugărul, who had also been a monk before he became the prince of Wallachia and who drew on his religious background in order to renew the standardized *incipit* of the documents issued by his chancellery; see Marian Coman, 'The Reign of a Defrocked Monk. A Late Fifteenth-Century Case Study in the Wallachian Political Language', in *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. by Ivan Biliarsky, Mihail Mitrea, and Andrei Timotin, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 15 (Brăila: Istros, 2021), pp. 189–221.

104 The image was mentioned in Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', p. 707. Dumitrescu, *Pictura murală*, pp. 73–74, ill. 68 reproduced it and insisted on its unusual, bright colours. Another similar depiction from the monastic complex of Cozia was reproduced in Cartojan, 'Zapisul lui Adam', p. 11. One of these scenes was briefly alluded to in Musicescu and Berza, *Mănăstirea Suceviţa*, p. 110. Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 119; Anania, *Cerurile Oltului*, p. 227; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 165 mentioned it, as well.

Fig. 21. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by serpents, Monastery of Cozia, Infirmary Church, nave (1542–1543).

(*c.* 1682).[105] Several years later, it is included in the iconography of churches built or renovated by Constantin Brâncoveanu, prince of Wallachia (1688–1714). Thus, it is present in the nave of the Church of Saints Constantin and Helen in Hurezi Monastery (1694),[106] in the nave of the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in Brâncoveni (post 1700),[107] in the nave of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Govora Monastery (1711–1712).[108] In Hurezi, Christ is standing on an irregular rock, from which six serpents come forth; they are painted in blue and are barely distinguishable in the waves of the River Jordan. The six or seven white serpents' heads that surround the rectangular stone on which Christ is shown standing in in Govora are likewise barely visible.

105 The two icons are displayed in the Romanian Medieval Art Gallery of the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

106 See reproductions in Corina Popa and others, *Repertoriul picturilor murale brâncovenești. I. Județul Vâlcea*, 2 vols (Bucharest: Unarte, 2008), I, *Text*, p. 23, pl. 14; Negrău and Bedros, *The Monasteries of Oltenia*, p. 135. For the Greek and Romanian painters who carried out the iconographic program in 1694, see Popa and others, *Repertoriul*, I, pp. 47–54.

107 The fresco is reproduced in Anania, *Cerurile Oltului*, p. 227. A photo of it was graciously sent by Nicolae A. Roddy to Michael E. Stone in a letter dated September 1999.

108 See Popa and others, *Repertoriul*, II, *Ilustrații*, p. 231, pl. 34. For the painters who executed the iconography, see Popa and others, *Repertoriul*, I, p. 350.

Fig. 22. Baptism with Christ standing on a stone guarded by serpents, Sucevița church, tower, nave (end of the sixteenth century/beginning of the seventeenth century).

In the sixteenth century, this iconographic type appears in Moldova, too, in Voroneț.[109] In 1610, Christ standing on a stone at his baptism appears on a cross in Dragomirna.[110] The same iconographic type is present in the Sucevița church, too (Fig. 22): it is the third time that the destruction of Cheirograph at Christ's baptism is painted there (see also Figs 14 and 15). This representation is particularly interesting, because at the right side of the fresco another baptism is depicted, performed by John the Baptist. The anonymous person who is being baptised is immersed in the River Jordan, unlike Christ who is not touched by waters in the iconography displaying the destruction of the Cheirograph.[111]

109 Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', p. 707; Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (III)', p. 262.

110 Ștefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie*, p. 191, pl. II, Fig. 1; Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', p. 707; cf. Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (III)', p. 262.

111 See also the representations discussed above, type 2.

Illuminations in Deluxe Manuscripts from Wallachia and Moldova

At the same time, the scene is shown in illuminated manuscripts that follow Paris BnF grec 74 and which circulated in Wallachia and Moldova respectively.

Sucevița MS 23 displays the portraits of two Wallachian princes: Alexandru Mircea II (1568–1577) and his successor, Mihnea Turcitul (1577–1583, 1585–1591). It was a codex for princely use. The circumstances of its execution are not clear, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the manuscript was in Moldova, at the princely court, and Ieremia Movilă bore the costs of a new binding for it in 1605.[112]

Sucevița MS 24, completed in 1607 for prince Ieremia Movilă, includes illuminations which reflect two types of representation of the Legend: it includes one illumination of baptism in which Christ is holding Adam's Cheirograph,[113] and another one in which he is shown standing on a rock (fol. 11r).[114]

A third illuminated manuscript, which follows Paris BnF grec 74, presents the same scene. Like Sucevița MS 24, this manuscript of the Four Gospels was produced under Anastasie Crimca's guidance between 1614 and 1616/1617.[115] It also reflects two types of representation as it includes two illuminations of baptism in which Christ is holding Adam's contract, and two others in which he is shown standing on a rock.[116]

Christ Tearing the Cheirograph[117]

The scene showing Christ standing on a stone at his baptism and holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written 'Cheirograph of Adam' (type 2) presents a series of analogies with another depiction of Christ holding a scroll and tearing it into pieces.[118] This depiction illustrates stanza 22 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, the most famous work of Byzantine hymnography, which was very probably written in the fifth century.[119] The stanza explicitly mentions that Christ tore the Cheirograph, in a passage inspired by Colossians 2:14:[120]

> Having desired to give grace to ancient debts,
> He who liberates the debts of all men,

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112 See Der Nersessian, 'Two Slavonic Parallels', pp. 227–29; Popescu-Vîlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea*, pp. 10–14; Dragnev, *O capodoperă a miniaturii din Moldova medievală*, pp. 14–15; Oreste Tafrali, 'Le monastère de Sucevița. Architecture, peinture, trésor', in *Movileștii*, I, pp. pp. 208–09 [first published in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, II, *Art* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1930), pp. 207–29].

113 For this manuscript, see pp. 123–24 above.

114 See the illuminations in *Tetraevanghelul Sucevița 24*. The manuscript also includes two illuminations of Christ's Baptism with no detail inspired by the Legend of the Cheirograph (fols 152r, 232v).

115 See above, pp. 128–29.

116 One illumination is reproduced in Der Nersessian, 'Une nouvelle réplique slavonne', p. 707; Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (IV)', p. 323.

117 Type 5 in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 59.

118 See Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 122; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 48–49.

119 See recently Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*; Toniolo, *Akathistos, inno alla madre di Dio*; Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn', pp. 328–48.

120 For the theological significance of the stanza and its connection with Colossians 2:14, see Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*, p. 200; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, pp. 48–49; Ermano M. Toniolo OSM, *Acatistul Maicii Domnului explicat. Imnul și structurile lui mistagogice*, transl. by Ioan Ică jr. (Sibiu: Deisis, 2009), pp. 263–64.

He came of his own will
To those who had drawn far from his own grace,
And having torn the Cheirograph,
Hears thus from
all, Alleluia.[121]

The liturgical hymn dedicated to the Virgin is depicted in an illustrative cycle that appears in the iconography of Byzantine churches in the last third of the thirteenth century.[122] In the fourteenth century, it is present in frescos, icons and illuminated Greek and Slavonic manuscripts.[123]

The right moment to tear the Cheirograph

There are two main iconographic types for this stanza.[124]

a) Most often, the scene shows the Cheirograph as a scroll; Christ tears the scroll and the sides of the tear form a V-shape. Although the contract is depicted as a scroll, as in two iconographic types related to the Legend (types 1 and 2), the representation here includes no reference to Adam.

Sometimes Christ is shown alone, in a frontal attitude, on a rectangular pedestal, while tearing a blank scroll, as in the oldest depiction of the *Akathistos Hymn* in Wallachia (Fig. 23, Monastery of Cozia, Church of the Holy Trinity, *c.* 1386).[125] In other situations, Christ flanked by apostles and Old Testament personages tears an illegible scroll (Fig. 24, MS Gr. 113 Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, seventeenth century).[126] In the

121 Apud Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 48.

122 For its representations and its liturgical use, see mainly Oreste Tafrali, 'Iconografia *Imnului Acatist*', *Buletinul Comisiei monumentelor istorice*, 7 (1914), pp. 49–84, 127–40, 153–73; Suzy Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970); Ephtalia Constantinides, 'The Question of the Date and Origin of the Earliest Akathistos Cycles in Byzantine Monumental Painting in the Light of the Akathistos of the Olympiotissa at Elasson', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32 (1982), pp. 503–12; Alexandra Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnus. Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart–Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989); Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*; Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2005); Oana Iacubovschi, 'Der *Akathistos Hymnos* im 16 Jahrhundert. Narthexprogramm des Klosterkirchen in der Wallachei', *RESEE*, 48 (2010), pp. 77–90; Oana Iacubovschi, 'Der Akathistos-Bilderzyklus in der Waldmalerei der Wallachei im 16. Jahrhundert', *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, 6 (2011), pp. 289–324; Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn'.

123 For recent inventories, see Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn', pp. 330–32.

124 For this classification, see Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, pp. 152–54; Iacubovschi, 'Der Akathistos-Bilderzyklus in der Waldmalerei der Wallachei im 16. Jahrhundert', pp. 320–21; Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn', p. 337. For other types, see Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, p. 152; Dobrynina, 'The Akathistos Hymn', pp. 334–35.

125 Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, p. 152; for the cycle in Cozia, see also Gordana Babič, 'L'iconographie constantinopolitaine de l'Acathiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie)', Зборник радова Византолошког института, 14–15 (1973), pp. 173–89. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, on pp. 153–54 noticed that Dionysius of Fourna's instructions correspond to this iconographic type. For a similar sixteenth-century representation in Snagov (Wallachia), see Iacubovschi, 'Der *Akathistos Hymnos* im 16 Jahrhundert', p. 321.

126 See Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnus*, p. 40; Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, p. 153. For this manuscript, see also Tafrali, 'Iconografia *Imnului Acatist*'; Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 59; *Imnul Acatist al Maicii Domnului, facsimile edition of Gr. MS 113 of the Romanian Academy Library*, by Gabriela Dumitrescu and others (Bucharest: Biblioteca Academiei Române, 2019).

Fig. 23. *Akathistos Hymn*, Monastery of Cozia, Church of the Holy Trinity, Stanza 22: 'Christ Tearing the Cheirograph' (*c.* 1386).

Inscription in Slavonic on the upper side: Блг(д)ть дати въсхотѣвь раз(д)равь рѫкописанїе слышить ѡ(т) въсѣ сице аллилоуїа 'Having desired to give grace, and having torn the Cheirograph, hears from all, Alleluia'.

monastery of Polovragi (Wallachia, seventeenth century), Christ is flanked by various figures when he tears an illegible scroll.[127]

b) Variants of the Anastasis scene also can illustrate stanza 22 in the Akathistos cycle. Sometimes, neither the Cheirograph nor its tearing are depicted, but the outcome of the Descent of Christ into Hades is clear. It is the cancellation of the ancient debts and the salvation of humanity. This representation of the stanza 22, attested from the fourteenth century on, is present in sixteenth-century depictions of the Akathistos cycle in Moldova, too, in the monasteries of Vatra Moldoviței and Humor.[128]

Two almost identical icons including the Akathistos cycle show the Cheirograph as a scroll which Christ tears during his Descent into Hades. Christ descends to the underworld and drags Adam out. His attention is directed to a winged devil from whom he seizes the

127 Col. 2:14 talks of Christ wiping out the contents of the cheirograph, which may lead to a blank or illegible scroll.

128 Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, p. 153. In the fourteenth century, the scene appears in the icon of 'Dormition of the Theotokos with the Akathistos' in the Church of the Life-Giving Spring, Livadia, Skopelos Island, Greece and in an illuminated Slavic Akathistos (Tomić Psalter, Moscow, State Historical Museum, Muz. 2752).

Fig. 24. *Akathistos Hymn*, MS gr 113 Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, Stanza 22: 'Christ Tearing the Cheirograph' (seventeenth century).

Cheirograph by force (Fig. 25, fresco, Museum of Frescos, Ferapontov Monastery, early sixteenth century).[129]

The narratives about Christ's Baptism and *Descensus ad inferos*, which often intertwine in the textual tradition of the Legend of the Cheirograph, appear in iconography, too, when it comes to representations of Baptism – as the one in Gračanica – and depictions of the Anastasis such as those presented here. Salvation from Satan is thus both in the smashing of the Cheirograph and at the Harrowing of Hell.

129 Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn*, p. 153. The other representation dates to the second half of the fourteenth century: it is the 'Laudation of the Theotokos with the Akathistos' in the Dormition Cathedral, Moscow Kremlin, also known as the Uspenskij icon. A similar seventeenth-century Russian representation, which circulated as an independent icon, is described in Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 61, type 6 'Christ Holding the Cheirograph in Limbo', Fig. 9.

Fig. 25. *Akathistos Hymn*, fresco, Museum of Frescos, Ferapontov Monastery, Stanza 22: 'Christ Tearing the Cheirograph' (early sixteenth century) and trampling the gate of Hell.

Whose Cheirograph?

The image of Christ holding a Cheirograph and tearing it in the Akathistos cycle as a depiction of stanza 22 inspired by Colossians 2:14 might have influenced the sixteenth-century artists who painted 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' and 'The Baptism with Christ standing on a stone holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written "Cheirograph of Adam"'. Moreover, this illustration of stanza 22 was considered a depiction of Christ tearing Adam's contract with Satan. There is one piece of certain evidence in this respect, highly valuable, since it comes from Dionysius of Fourna, the monk from Mount Athos who authored a manual of iconography and painting in the eighteenth century. In his prescription for the depiction of stanza 22, he clearly associates Adam's writ and the Cheirograph of the whole humanity, which Christ tore with his Incarnation: 'Christ … tearing with his hands paper

on which is Hebrew writing; at the bottom of the piece of paper is written *The Writing of Adam*'.[130] The conflation of the two contracts in Dionysius of Fourna's note[131] shows that the Legend of the Cheirograph was well known in the Athonite monastic communities.[132]

At the same time, the Cheirograph Legend and stanza 22 of the *Akathistos Hymn* share a common terminology. In the Romanian tradition, for example, the *Akathistos Hymn* was first translated in the seventeenth century, almost three centuries after it had been illustrated on the frescos in Cozia. The oldest translations of stanza 22[133] use two expressions which refer to the contract torn by Christ; they both emphasize the idea that the contract was handwritten: *scrisoarea cea de mână* 'handwritten writing'[134] and *catastivul cel scris cu mâna* 'handwritten register'.[135] In the eighteenth century, a new word, *zapis*, is used exclusively to refer to the Cheirograph torn by Christ.[136] A similar situation appears in respect with the terminology regarding Adam's contract with Satan. The oldest text of *LAE* uses *scriptură*,[137] while the posterior tradition of *LAE* and the entire tradition of *PA* use exclusively *zapis*.[138]

Conclusions

The four iconographic types described above display specific depictions of the Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam: one type presents the moment when Adam encounters the devil and signs the Cheirograph (type 1), others picture the destruction of the Cheirograph during Christ's baptism (types 2 and 3) and occasionally include a depiction of Christ holding Adam's contract (type 2), another type shows how illustrations of perfectly canonical themes can be reinterpreted as quasi-apocryphal scenes (type 4).

Two of them (types 1 and 2) are produced mainly in four monastic churches in Bukovina, in less than one century, between the fourth decade of the sixteenth century and the second decade of the seventeenth century. Their later echoes are few: an illumination on a seventeenth-century Russian manuscript (type 1), an icon and a wooden cross produced in northern Moldova, in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries respectively (type 2).

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130 Hetherington, *The 'Painter's Manual'*, p. 52.

131 This conflation was adopted by art historians, as well; see Sabados, 'Un reper în evoluția iconostasului moldovenesc', p. 94; Sabados, 'L'iconostase de Modovița', p. 41.

132 For supplementary evidence, see Introduction, pp. 23–24, 26 above.

133 For the oldest Romanian versions of the *Akathistos Hymn*, see Mariana Costinescu, 'Versiuni din secolul al XVII-lea ale *Acatistului* și *Paraclisului Precistei*', in *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, III (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei RSR, 1974), pp. 217–39; Cristina-Ioana Dima, 'Primele traduceri româneşti ale "Acatistului Maicii Domnului"', *Limba română*, 58 (2009), pp. 74–85.

134 *Şi rupse scrisoarea cea de mână* 'and he [= Christ] tore the handwritten writing' (MS 1348, fol. 99v; Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest). The manuscript is bilingual, and the expression *scrisoarea cea de mână* translates the Slavonic word ржкоп(и)сание.

135 *Şi rumse scrisoarea cea de mână; și rumse catastivul cel scris cu mâna* 'and he [= Christ] tore the handwritten writing, and he tore the handwritten register' (MS 540, fol. 196v; Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest).

136 The word *zapis* 'cheirograph' is used in the Romanian editions of the *Akathistos Hymn* printed in Râmnic (post 1737, fols 52v–53r; 1746, vol. I, fol. 18r; 1768, fol. 90; 1784, fol. 33r); Buzău (1743, fol. 35r); Bucharest (1753, vol. I, fol. 32r); Blaj (1763, fols 365–66; 1764, fol. 281; 1786, fol. 195; 1791, fol. 206); Sibiu (1792).

137 See text 1A, §§6–7.

138 See texts 1B, § 7; 2A–D.

The iconography remains the main source for the transmission of the Legend of the Cheirograph in the Romanian-speaking areas for almost two centuries. The few texts which witness this tradition are all connected to Moldova. In the sixteenth century, two Slavonic manuscript versions of *LAE* are written in this region, and a traveller mentions the existence of the beliefs regarding Adam's contract with Satan at Petru Rareş's court. A first Romanian manuscript of *LAE* appears in the last half of the seventeenth century in north-western Transylvania, but its source, now lost, had been written in Moldova (see Map, Fig. 26).

The reasons for which Petru Rareş agreed for the scene of Adam signing the Cheirograph to be painted in Vatra Moldoviței in 1537 remain uncertain. The Genesis cycle projected onto the depiction of the Last Judgement undoubtedly has an eschatological significance. At the same time, the depiction of the two Falls in the Genesis cycle could have been seen as most suitable to convey a moral message to the viewers, all vulnerable to Satan's deceit. They could have also been interpreted as an allusion to the prince's and his counsellors' worries about the continuous growth of the Ottoman power. The prince's concerns were legitimate: in 1538, the Ottomans invaded Moldova and his first reign came to a sudden end.

Several decades later, archbishops and other princes took over the theme of Adam signing the Cheirograph in Voroneţ and Sucevița, and painted the Genesis cycle in iconographic contexts which are highly significant for the monastic life. Thus it is to be found near hagiographies of ascetic saints (Voroneţ, Sucevița), in the proximity of the *Akathistos Hymn* at Voroneţ and of the *Ladder* inspired by John Climacus' work of that name in Sucevița.

Petru Rareş's princely initiative of having visual representations of the Legend created is not unique. Toward the mid-sixteenth century a scene of baptism showing Christ breaking the Cheirograph depicted as a stone surrounded by dragon-like serpents (type 3) appears in Wallachia in the infirmary church in Cozia, whose patron is another prince, Radu Paisie, former abbot of Curtea de Argeş Monastery. Several decades later, the princes of Wallachia Alexandru II Mircea (1568–1574, 1574–1577) and his son Mihnea Turcitul (1577–1583, 1585–1591) patronize the execution of an illuminated manuscript with a similar depiction (type 3). The codex does not remain in the Wallachian court, but travels to Moldova, to Ieremia Movilă's court. To this prince and to his brother, archbishop George Movilă, patrons of Sucevița Monastery, the iconography of the Legend of the Cheirograph is very familiar. The mural paintings of their monastic church display three iconographic types of it: 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' (type 1), 'Christ holding the Cheirograph at Baptism' (type 2), and 'Christ on a rock in the Baptism with or without Serpents' (type 3). Among these, the second iconographic type is actually created in Sucevița. Soon it is transferred in Vatra Moldoviței, as an iconostasis icon, and it is totally embraced in Dragomirna, in frescos as well as in illuminations.

The significant transmission of the Legend in the Moldavian and Wallachian iconography of this period shows that the apocryphal theme of Adam's contract with Satan was perfectly acceptable to the princes and the senior clergymen around them. No evidence exists that allows us to estimate how widely it was known when Adam signing the Cheirograph was first painted in Vatra Moldoviței (type 1) or when Christ breaking the contract was depicted in Cozia (type 3), but it is obvious that at the beginning of its transmission in the Romanian-speaking areas the legend is hosted by churches whose patrons are princes

and archbishops. No boyar, no peasant ever requires it to be painted, at least not in its most striking forms, which are 'Adam signing the Cheirograph' (type 1) and 'Baptism with Christ holding Adam's Cheirograph' (type 2).

The iconography of the Legend of the Cheirograph is ultimately inspired by the Slavonic tradition of *LAE*. The main themes of the apocryphal text are shown: the contract between Adam and Satan; the agricultural conflict; the River Jordan as the place where the contract is hidden; the depiction of the Cheirograph as a stone or as an irregular rock; the demonic serpent-like guardians.

On the other hand, the iconography is highly innovative in respect to the apocryphal narrative. Thus, the contract written by Adam is a scroll, not a slab of stone (type 1); Christ is firmly standing on the rock-Cheirograph, and he is not even touched by the waters of the River Jordan (types 2, 3); the rock-Cheirograph on which he is standing is placed right between the banks of the river (types 2, 3); Christ is holding a scroll on which is written 'Adam's Cheirograph' (type 2). The source of few of the aforementioned iconographic innovations is iconographic, as well. The depiction of stanza 22 of the *Akathistos Hymn*, in which Christ tears the Cheirograph seen as a scroll, must have influenced the representation of Adam's contract with Satan as a scroll (types 1, 2).[139] The scroll itself and its Slavonic inscription were then included in the scene presenting Christ holding Adam's Cheirograph (type 2).

This innovative iconography turns into a regional model in a short span of time and the scene of Adam signing the Cheirograph, first encountered in Vatra Moldoviței, is adopted in Voroneț and Sucevița; the scene showing Christ holding Adam's Cheirograph, created in Sucevița, is transferred to Vatra Moldoviței and to Dragomirna. Indeed, in Dragomirna, it becomes the standard representation of Christ's baptism in the frescos of the church and in the illuminated manuscripts produced in the local scriptorium. Its prestige is so significant that it sweeps away the models usually promoted in manuscripts following the tradition of *Parisinus græcus* 74.

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam creates an iconography which is at one and the same time, accessible to everybody and to a limited number of persons. In terms of comprehensibility, the frescos showing Adam signing the Cheirograph are obviously the most accessible and their meaning could probably be perceived without a thorough knowledge of the apocryphal narrative. This is the iconography for the *simplices*. To the contrary, the depictions which encapsulate the Legend in Christ's baptism can be understood only by those who know the narrative. Type 3 is, in this respect, the least comprehensible and maybe this explains its transmission, wider by far than of types 1 and 2. In other words, in this instance at least, the more the depiction of the apocryphal theme is comprehensible, the less it is acceptable.

Apart from the frescos which might influence regional religious beliefs (types 1 and 2) or which require the viewers' prior knowledge of the apocryphal narrative (types 2 and 3), the Legend of the Cheirograph is also set in illuminated manuscripts, icons, small wooden-crosses, most of which are objects of private use (types 2 and 3). Unlike the Genesis

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139 See also Popescu-Vîlcea, *Un manuscris al voievodului Alexandru al II-lea*, p. 23; Popescu-Vîlcea, 'Școala miniaturistică de la Dragomirna. (III)', p. 263.

cycles in which Adam's signing the contract with Satan is part of a succession of important events of the protoplasts' life, unlike the frescos of Christ's baptism (types 2 and 3) which attach the Cheirograph Legend to an important Church festival, these objects show that Adam's contract with Satan and its destruction have become a devotional theme. They reflect Adam's increasing role in shaping personal religiosity, which is equally attested in the literary tradition from the last decade of the sixteenth century on, when Adam's laments, excerpted from the liturgical books, become repentance prayers of Moldovan princes. In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, Adam and his second Fall become a constant theme in the scriptoria in Sucevița and Dragomirna. At least for this short period, Adam's contract with Satan is associated with meditation about individual redemption.

Between Literary and Iconographic Tradition

The iconography of baptism in which Christ is standing on a rock surrounded by serpents (type 3) may have nourished the literary tradition. In the sixteenth-century travelogue by Arsenie, a Bulgarian or Greek pilgrim to the Holy Places, the description of the place where Christ was baptised seems highly indebted to the iconography. The pilgrim records seeing in the River Jordan a stone with Christ's footprints and the serpents' heads imprinted on it.[1]

Two fragments of the *Plaint of Adam* seem fabricated out of iconographic evidence and intertwine very pictorial elements with a few epic ones. The first fragment describes the place where the contract is hidden:

> there is a world-famous river in Palestine named Jordan, which springs from some high mountains. So he [= Satan] took the Cheirograph and hid it in that water, under a big, flat stone, not too far from the bank, and gathered 100 devils and put them on guard there; and they had the appearance of dragons and let no one come closer.[2]

Many iconographic details are gathered here: the steep landscape surrounding the river ('Jordan, which springs from some high mountains'); the well-individualised stone ('a big, flat stone') hidden in the river, between the banks ('not too far from the bank'); the dragon-like appearance of the guardian devils ('they had the appearance of dragons'); their threatening attitude ('they let no one come closer'). Moreover, a few lexical elements suggest that the text has a visual support: the devils have the 'appearance of dragons'.[3]

The second fragment describes the moment when Christ breaks the Cheirograph:

> that Cheirograph came to the surface and floated like a leaf on the water, and the Lord took it with his hand and ground it as if it had been flour.[4]

1 Turdeanu, 'La *Vie d'Adam et Ève* en slave et en roumain', p. 120; Badalanova Geller, '*The Sea of Tiberias*', pp. 109–10, n. 364 with recent bibliography.

2 See texts 2A, B above.

3 See texts 2A, B above. This process of textual elaboration, though not frequent, is attested elsewhere, too. In a medieval Armenian text, the narrative describing how Abraham's servant saw Rebecca for the first time (Gen 24:14–15) is inspired by the iconography of the Virgin's Annunciation; see Stone, *The Genesis Commentary by Step'anos of Siwnik' (dub.)*, p. 94, n. 99. A seventeenth-century Greek text, *The Vision of Sophiani*, which was translated into Romanian as well, describes the vision attributed to a simple faithful woman, who makes clear that some saints appeared to her 'exactly as painters painted them'; see Andrei Timotin, *Profeții bizantine și postbizantine în țările române (secolele al XVII-lea – al XIX-lea)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2015), p. 28. Similar processes of textual development can be prompted by relic devotion: for example, the skull relic of St John the Baptist preserved in Amiens had a cut above the left eyebrow, which nourished the legend that Herodias had stabbed John's severed head. This legend replaced an early Christian narrative, according to which Herodias pierced John's tongue with a needle; see Barbara Baert, 'The *Johannesshüssel* as *Andachtsbild*: the Gaze, the Medium and the Senses' in *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Catrien Santing, Barbara Baert, and Anita Traninger (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 120.

4 See text 2A above.

Fig. 26. Map of Romanian regions. © Wikimedia Commons.

Christ's gesture corresponds to the iconography developed and promoted in Sucevița and Dragomirna in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The iconographic type titled here 'The Baptism with Christ standing on a stone holding a scroll in his left hand upon which is written "Cheirograph of Adam"' seems to have contributed to the development of the literary tradition.

In the light of these remarks, the *Plaint of Adam* and particularly its fragment about the Cheirograph present a unique process of elaboration. *LAE* is set in the core of the *Plaint*. Apart from the literary apocryphal material, the text draws on the biblical text, from which it borrows psalm fragments and expressions modelled on the Gospels; it agglutinates local folkloric beliefs regarding the potter's malefic aspects; it provides a versified description of an iconographic scene inspired by the apocryphal literature and created in the early seventeenth-century Moldova under the patronage and at the initiative of the prince and of the archbishop.

Its main theme, Adam's lament in the surroundings of Paradise, the music with which it was associated and its use in clerical, mainly monastic circles, often in connection with liturgical days significant for the monastic life, are solid arguments for the view that the *Plaint of Adam*, which includes the Legend of the Cheirograph, is a monastic creation, elaborated in relation with the promotion of the scene of baptism with Christ holding the Cheirograph as a standard depiction of Baptism in the churches in Sucevița and Dragomirna. *PA* must have been developed not far from the region where the monks had a visual devotional support for their song and where the memory of such archbishops as Grigorie Roşca, George Movilă and Anastasie Crimca, who had patronised and encouraged the transmission of the Legend, was still vivid.

Epilogue

The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam is a work belonging to the rich Adam literature that transmitted a set of apocryphal beliefs regarding the first part of Adam and Eve's terrestrial life. The narrative about Adam's second fall and its eventual fortunate outcome, Christ's destruction of the first man's contract with Satan, is an embroidery of elements of the biblical story (chiefly Gen 1–3; Ps 74(73):13–14; Mt 3:16–17; Mk 1:9–11; Lk 3:21–22; Jn 1:32–33; Col 2:13–14) and was transmitted in the Christian milieu, as part of the religious beliefs shared by Christians of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches.

This research focused on Armenian and Romanian literary and iconographic sources containing the Legend. Some of them were discussed in this book for the first time, others were re-evaluated. Further materials produced in Georgian and South-Slavic milieux were brought into discussion for the first time as well. All these literary and iconographic materials were produced over a large span of time. The oldest testimonies of the Legend that we could identify here, are visual, and date to the end of the thirteenth century.

The Legend of the Cheirograph presented here has a protean form. The readers will learn that Adam was completely deluded by Satan or that he foresaw that his submission to Satan would be ended by Christ; Adam, the Legend relates, cried because he lost light or because he wanted to get food; Eve is sometimes more or sometimes less involved in the First Man's second fall; the contract is a document written or sealed by Adam, though it can be an oral asseveration too. Very often, particularly in the visual arts, the narrative about Adam's second Fall remains encrypted in representations of Christ's Baptism, the Harrowing of Hell or the Tearing of a Cheirograph. Local folk beliefs sometimes shape the Legend as well: the demons that guard Adam's cheirograph at Satan's order become dragons whose features evoke Armenian or Romanian mythology: the dragon can be a *vishap* in the Armenian tradition of the Legend or a *balaur* in the Romanian one. In the Romanian versions of the Legend, the skills Satan used to produce the contract are assimilated to those of a potter and viewed negatively, because, according to the folk tradition, the potter stole his craft from God.

The Legend of the Cheirograph was very rarely openly rejected. In most of the situations described here, it was part of public life. It was painted in the churches, it could be related in monastic assemblies (*The Plaint of Adam*), it was narrated in lay gatherings (folk tales, carols), and it was encapsulated in local beliefs regarding the earthly fate of the First Man and of his family. The paradisiac and mundane life of the First Man, including the Second Fall, might have served as a subject of meditation for Christian princes in specific historical circumstances. The strong connection of the Legend with important moments of the ecclesiastical calendar (Epiphany, Sunday when Adam was cast out of Paradise) or religious practices (fast, demand for forgiveness) contributed to its wide and quite visible transmission.

Princes, bishops, high dignitaries, painters of frescoes or icons, miniaturists, book binders, makers of wooden icons, and anonymous laymen know the Legend of the Cheirograph. Some patronize its representation and show thus that they hold it in high esteem; others depict it or narrate it in more or less stereotyped manners.

The Legend of the Cheirograph was transmitted in manuscripts, in iconography and orally. The dimensions of its oral transmission are difficult to grasp, but here we have discussed folk tales, versified *Plaints of Adam* and carols which were performed orally as well as folk stories told in villages. Moreover, we emphasised that certain of these modes of performance, the versified literary texts, like the *Plaint of Adam* or the carol, were sung, too. The repetition and the memorization of the Legend are a prerequisite for its transmission in the musical repertoire; this process is a proof of the solid integration of the apocryphal theme into its users' religious beliefs.

The Armenian and Romanian examples studied together here reveal both the stable, and the innovative features of the apocryphal theme of Adam's contract with the devil, during its spread in literary and visual cultures. Future research will uncover other testimonies to the Legend of Cheirograph and will contextualize better not only the examples discussed here, but also other texts and visual artefacts of the Legend produced in the Slavic milieu, on Mount Athos, in the Holy Land or in the Caucasus. The context of its origin and its date need to be found, and its social locus examined in further cultures. That will enrich our knowledge about the ongoing interactions within the Eastern Christian traditions.

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MATTHIAS HENZE

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
11

Mohr Siebeck

Matthias Henze

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel

Introduction, Text, and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

Matthias Henze, born 1965; 1984–92 studied Protestant Theology in Bethel, Jerusalem and Heidelberg; 1996 M.A. in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University; 1997 Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University; since 1997 Assistant Professor of Hebrew Bible at Rice University, Houston, Texas.

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Preface

This book was written during the academic year 2000/01. I am grateful to the former Dean of Humanities at Rice University, Judith Brown, for the sabbatical leave during this year, as well as to the current Dean, Gale Stokes, for the generous financial support I received in form of the Paula and Jon Mosle Research Award.

Two individuals in particular deserve my gratitude. My Syriac teacher at Harvard University, James F. Coakley, "discovered" the manuscript in Harvard's manuscript collection and brought it to my attention. He spent countless hours going over my translation and annotations, and it is only with the greatest hesitation that I occasionally disagree with him. Lucas Van Rompay of Duke University kindly read an early version of my translation and offered his advice with characteristic kindness. The generosity with which he shared his time and immense knowledge I regard as priceless. Of the many individuals who offered their help I am particularly indebted to Gerrit J. Reinink, Susan Ashbrook Harvey, Michael Maas, Evelyn T. Nolen, Roberta Van Vlack, and Stephen Hansen. All errors and wrongheadedness that undoubtedly remain are entirely mine.

I would like to thank the staff of Harvard's Houghton Library and especially the Interlibrary Loan Office here at Rice University for their immense labor. The text of Manuscript Syriac 42 [formerly SMH 30], fols. 117 *recto* through 122 *verso*, is here printed by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University. I thank Prof. Dr. Christoph Markschies for including the volume in this series.

I dedicate this book to my father, Walter Henze, my first teacher and perpetual supporter of my work, who continues to have "a spirit of wisdom, a spirit of knowledge, and a spirit of understanding" (Syr Apoc Dan 3). Above all, *Deo gratias*.

Rice University, June 2001 Matthias Henze

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Introduction

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel (Syr Apoc Dan) has gone practically unnoticed by modern scholars. The only recognition of this text of which I am aware is by Miron Slabczyk. Slabczyk recently edited the Syriac text and translated it into Esperanto[1]. His edition provides a valuable tool for the study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel. However, a new, critical edition of the apocalypse is in order for a number of reasons. First, Slabczyk's edition of the Syriac manuscript contains several doubtful readings and omissions that need to be corrected. Second, Slabczyk's translation into Esperanto lacks annotations that identify parallels in cognate literature or point to biblical references. Third, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel deserves to be translated into a spoken Western language and to be published in a volume that is widely accessible to the interested reader.

1. The Manuscript

The present edition of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is based upon the sole manuscript known to exist, Harvard Ms Syr 42 [formerly SMH 30][2]. The manuscript was purchased by Harvard University along with 124 other manuscripts in November of 1905 from the private British collector J. Rendell Harris. The manuscript, which consists of 125 folios, is written in "inelegant Serto"[3] and is easily legible. Each page is divided into two columns with between 30 and 47 lines in each column. Since there is no colophon the

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[1] M. SLABCZYK, *Apokalipso de Danielo Profeto en la Lando Persio kaj Elamo: Sirian tekston, Esperantan tradukon kaj Komentarion preparis Miron Slabczyk* (Vienna: Arkado eldonejo, 2000).

[2] To date, three scholars have set out to produce a catalogue of the Harvard collection of Syriac manuscripts. L. H. TITTERTON, a graduate student of St. John's College at the University of Cambridge, England, compiled a list of Syriac manuscripts as his unfinished doctoral dissertation; M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue* (Harvard Semitic Studies 23; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), compiled what he calls in his introduction "the first catalogue which describes a Syriac collection in America" (p. 14); more recently J. F. COAKLEY produced a catalogue entitled "Syriac Manuscripts at Harvard: An On-Line Catalogue," G. A. KIRAZ, ed., *SyrCOM-95: Proceedings of the First International Forum on Syriac Computing* (Washington, D.C.: The Syriac Computing Institute, 1995).

[3] GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Syriac Manuscripts*, 54.

dating of the manuscript has to remain tentative; a date around the twelfth or thirteenth century seems most likely. The manuscript includes a discourse on monastic life by John of Dalyatha (1 *recto*); fifty-one epistles by John of Dalyatha (33 *recto*); discourses on knowledge by John bar Penkaye (67 *recto*); various epistles and hymns (93 *verso*); metrical discourses of John bar Penkaye (98 *recto*); *neṣḥānā* of John bar Penkaye (101 *verso*); and homilies by Evagrius (102 *verso*), Gregory the Monk (109 *recto*), Simon the Monk (109 *recto*), Basilius (111 *verso*), Philoxenus (122 *verso*), and Chrysostom (114 *verso*).

The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is found toward the end of the manuscript on fols. 117 *recto* through 122 *verso*. It is followed by some further discourses on the remaining three folios. Only a few words in the apocalypse, all of which are proper names, are partly or fully vocalized. The text of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears to have been preserved in its entirety. It opens with a superscription, "By the power of God we record the revelation which was revealed to Daniel the prophet in the land of Persia and Elam." Following the superscription, Daniel introduces himself in chapter 1 in the first person by providing some information about the ostensible setting of the book. At the end the text reverts again to the first person plural of the scribe, who, in common fashion, asks to be deemed worthy by Christ "to stand at his right side." The texts closes with a brief postscript that echoes the language of the superscription, "Here ends the wondrous revelation which was revealed to the prophet Daniel in the land of Elam and in Persia."

2. *Apocalypses Attributed to Daniel*

Already during the Second Temple period, during which the biblical book of Daniel reached its final form, literary traditions about Daniel and his three companions circulated widely and were transmitted in variant collections[4]. The protagonist of the only full-blown apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible, Daniel became a popular pseudonym for authors of early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature in post-biblical times[5]. Apocalypses attributed to Daniel

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[4] The MT presents a contingent rather than exhaustive collection of tales. The Old Greek includes the so-called "Additions" to Daniel, edited by K. Koch, *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 38, 1/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987; 2 vols.). The discoveries from Qumran revealed even more related material, commonly called "Pseudo-Daniel." See L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Making and Remaking of the Biblical Tradition," J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (N. Richland Hills, Texas: Bibal Press, 2000), 135–71, and more recently P. W. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, ed., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (VTSup 83.2/FIOTL 2.1; Leiden: Brill, 2001; 2 vols.), 1.327–367.

[5] Other biblical figures, including Enoch, Ezra, Baruch and others, also appeared

or in which Daniel plays a significant role are numerous and are preserved in a variety of contexts, literary forms, and languages. The following provides a survey of apocalyptic texts associated with Daniel. The texts are listed according to the language in which they are attested in the chronological order of their publication[6].

Arabic:

R. J. H. Gottheil, "An Arabic Version of the Revelation of Ezra," *Hebraica* 4 (1887/88) 15–17;

F. Macler, "L'apocalypse arabe de Daniel, traduite et annotée," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 49 (1904) 265–305;

D. B. Cook, "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse," *Arabica*, forthcoming.

Armenian:

G. Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision Daniels," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 6 (1892) 109–36, 227–40;

F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 33 (1896) 288ff.;

J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus* (Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1934), 249–65.

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frequently as pseudonymous authors of early apocalyptic writings, yet Daniel in particular has a long history and broad range of attestations, beginning in the Second Temple period and extending well into the early Islamic period; see M. E. STONE, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 39–41.

[6] Overviews of the extant texts can be found in A.-M. DENIS, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancient Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 309–14; F. WINKELMANN and W. BRANDES, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert): Bestand und Probleme* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1990), 305–22; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (D. F. ABRAHAMSE, ed.; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1985), 61–122; and K. BERGER, *Die Griechische Daniel-Diegese: Eine Altkirchliche Apokalypse* (Studia Post-Biblica 27; Leiden: Brill, 1976), xi–xxiii. See also G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie: Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den 4 Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreich (Apok. 20)* (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften 9; München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), 53–57.

Excluded from this list are commentaries on Daniel, even though they often include apocalyptic material (see the Commentary below for examples); for a list of commentaries from the early third century to the present see J. J. COLLINS, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 453–56. More Syriac commentaries exist in manuscripts but have not yet been edited and translated, including the commentary by Dionysius bar Ṣalibi (d. 1171); cf. L. VAN ROMPAY, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," M. SAEBØ, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. I/2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 559–77, on Dionysius pp. 573–74.

Coptic:

F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 33 (1896) 165ff;

C. H. Becker, "Das Reich der Ismaeliten im koptischen Daniel-Buche," *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* (Göttingen: Dieterich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1916) 7–57;

O. Meinardus, "A Commentary on the XIVth Vision of Daniel, according to the Coptic Version," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966) 394–449;

O. Meinardus, "New Evidence on the XIVth Vision of Daniel from the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968) 281–309;

H. Suermann, "L'apocalypse copte de Daniel et la chute des Omayyades," *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983) 329–48;

J. M. J. M. Van Lent, "The Nineteen Muslim Kings in Coptic Apocalypses," *Parole de l'Orient* 25 (2000) 643–93.

Greek:

E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1895), 113–27: "Die Apokalypsen des Propheten Daniel;" p. 121: "Weissagung Daniels über die Siebenhügelige und über die Insel Kreta;" pp. 122f: "Über die Insel Cypern von demselben Daniel;"

E. Klostermann, "Zur Apokalypse Daniels," *ZAW* 15 (1895) 147–50;

H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniel's letzte Vision". Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte*, diss. Hamburg 1972, pp. 122–45: "Die letzte Vision des Propheten Daniel;" pp. 190–99: "Vom Mönch Daniel über die Siebenhügelige;" pp. 203–19: "Vision Daniels über die letzte Zeit;" pp. 220–37: "Logos unseres heiligen Vaters Johannes Chrysostomus;"

L. Rydén, "The Andreas Salos Apocalypse: Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974) 199–261;

R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples: Morano, 1975);

K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese. Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse* (Studia Post-Biblica 27; Leiden: Brill, 1976).

Hebrew:

I. Lévy, "Une apocalypse judéo-arabe," *Revue des études juives* 67 (1914) 178–82;

L. Ginzberg, *Ginze Shekhter* (Texts and studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 7–9; New York: Be-hotsaat Bet midrash ha-rabanim asher ba-Amerika, 1928; 3 vols.), 1.313–23 [Hebrew];

S. Krauss, "Un nouveau texte pour l'histoire judéo-byzantine," *Revue des études juives* 87 (1929) 1–27 [= *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7 (1927/28) 57–86];

A. Sharf, "A Source for Byzantine Jewry under the Early Macedonians," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1970) 302–18;

J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire. 641–1204* (New York: B. Franklin, 1970), 134–35;

A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London: Routledge, 1971), 201–04: "The Vision of Daniel" [repr. in A. Sharf, *The Jews and other Minorities in Byzantium* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995) 119–35][7].

Persian:

H. Zotenberg, "Geschichte Daniels/Ein Apokryph," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1 (1869) 385–427;

J. Darmesteter, "L'apocalypse persane de Daniel," *Mélanges Leon Rénier: Bibliotheque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1887), 405–20;

F. Macler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histore des religions* 33 (1896) 43ff;

R. Levy, "Danial-Nama:A Judeo-Persian Apocalypse," S. W. Baron, ed., *Jewish Studies in Memory of G.A. Kohut* (New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935), 423–28;

A. Netzer, "Daniyal-Name: An Exposition of Judeo-Persian," G. L. Tikku, ed., *Islam and Its Cultural Divergences* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 145–64;

A. Netzer, "Daniyal-nama and its Linguistic Features," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 305–14;

A. Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad shel Yehude Paras bi-Mekhon Ben-Tsevi* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi /Hebrew University, 1985), 33 [Hebrew].

Slavonic:

P. S. Srechkovic, "Zbornik Popa Dragolia," *Spomenik* 5 (1890) 10–11;

V. M. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i apokrificheskiia vidieniia Daniila v vizantiiskoi i slaviano-russkoi literaturakh* (Moscow: Univ. tip., 1897), 84–131, 156–58.

Syriac:

H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniel's letzte Vision". Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte*, diss. Hamburg 1972, pp. 25–113: "Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende."

This list of works associated with, or attributed to, Daniel requires comment. Most importantly, the term "apocalyptic" has been used rather loosely in the past without a clear definition of the genre. The semantic confusion has been considerable. Paul Hanson was certainly right when he found the problem

[7] Another still unpublished Hebrew "historical" apocalypse attributed to Daniel, entitled *Nevu'ot Daniel*, was discovered among the Geniza fragments and is now part of the St. Petersburg collection.

expressed "in the descriptions of apocalyptic given in the handbooks, descriptions consisting of long lists of random features gleaned from various apocalyptic works. The picture with which one is left is not only confusing, it is also misleading, for no given apocalyptic work comes close to incorporating all of the listed features. . . . How, by means of such a list, can one hope to come to an understanding of apocalyptic, or even to be able to identify a composition as apocalyptic?"[8]

The situation improved after a better understanding of apocalyptic as a literary genre was reached. The clearest definition remains that of John Collins as found in his much celebrated and often quoted *Semeia* volume.

> "Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world[9].

Collins's definition is based on apocalypses which were composed considerably earlier than the texts listed above, i.e., during the Second Temple period and in the first centuries of the common era. These include *1 Enoch*, Daniel, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *3 Baruch*, *2 Enoch*, *Testament of Levi* 2–5, and with some qualification other texts as well.

However, only a few of the apocalypses attributed to Daniel listed above fit Collins' description. They all are concerned with what has been called "apocalyptic eschatology"[10], but this, too, can take many forms. The texts are

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[8] P. D. HANSON, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 6–7. Hanson clarified the terminology by introducing a threefold distinction between "apocalypse" as a literary genre, "apocalyptic eschatology" as a religious perspective or set of ideas, and "apocalypticism" as a symbolic universe or social ideology; see his "Apocalypse, Genre," K. CRIM, ed., *IDB, Supplementary Volume* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1976), 27–34. See also M. E. STONE, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," F. M. CROSS, W. E. LEMKE, and P. D. MILLER, Jr., ed., *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 414–52, esp. 439–43; idem, "Apocalyptic Literature," M. E. STONE, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 383–441, esp. 392–94; and M. A. KNIBB, "Prophecy and the Emergence of Jewish Apocalypses," R. COGGINS, A. PHILLIPS, and M. KNIBB, ed., *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 155–80, esp. 160–61. Both STONE and KNIBB argue for a distinction between "apocalypses" and "apocalyptic eschatology" only.

[9] J. J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 9.

[10] The debate over the apocalyptic genre is summarized in J. J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998 [first ed. 1984]), 2–12.

furthermore divided by the different languages in which they are preserved, although there may be more linguistic uniformity than the list suggests. Brandes observed that many of these compositions, even though they have been transmitted in a variety of languages, were originally composed in Greek, with the Greek original no longer extant[11]. Finally, the texts show almost no signs of mutual dependencies or textual borrowings[12]. There are certain traditions that recur frequently, to be sure. For example, several apocalypses, including the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, refer to the popular Antichrist legend[13]; some of the apocalypses follow a traditional eschatological scheme according to which the end of the world begins with the rebellion of the eschatological "Peoples of the North" (among them Gog and Magog), who, together with Antichrist, will invade the world but ultimately will be defeated by Christ at his Second Coming[14]. These motifs are so common, however, that they provide little information about the origin of the texts in which they occur. In summary, the list of apocalypses attributed to Daniel bears testimony to the ongoing popularity of Daniel as a pseudonymous author of post-biblical apocalyptic literature, however broadly defined. It says little, if anything, about the history of the genre.

The only text that is directly related to the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is the one other Daniel apocalypse written in Syriac, "Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende." This Syriac text was edited and translated into German by Hans Schmoldt in his 1972 dissertation written under Klaus Koch at the University of Hamburg[15]. "Vom Jungen Daniel" and the Syriac

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[11] WINKELMANN and BRANDES, *Quellen,* 317.

[12] In his classic study on the Antichrist, W. BOUSSET collected a formidable corpus of texts in an effort to reconstruct *the* original legend ("Geheimtradition") about Antichrist. This quest for an original Antichrist tradition may seem naive to us today but, as BERGER rightfully observes, only points to the methodological difficulty of explaining common elements in writings for which "literary dependence" is an inadequate category; W. BOUSSET, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1999 [first German ed. 1895]); BERGER, *Daniel-Diegese,* 1–2.

[13] The last decade has witnessed a proliferation of scholarship on medieval apocalyptic subjects, including a number of works on the Antichrist. For a succinct review and helpful analysis see C. W. BYNUM and P. FREEDMAN, ed., *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1–17.

[14] This scheme, which is also found in the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, is attested in a number of Syriac texts from the seventh century, i.e., in the milieu in which the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel was composed; see G. J. REININK, "Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser," W. VERBEKE et al., ed., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia XV; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 82–111, esp. 94.

[15] H. Schmoldt, *Die Schrift "Vom jungen Daniel" und "Daniel's letzte Vision".*

Apocalypse of Daniel are related in a number of ways. First, both texts are preserved in a single manuscript only. "Vom Jungen Daniel" is attested in a biblical manuscript in which it is framed by two apocryphal texts, the story of Susanna, which precedes, and the Letter of Jeremiah, which follows it[16]. As explained above, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears towards the end of a manuscript of mixed content. Most of the theological discourses and epistles come from the pen of two Nestorian writers, John of Dalyatha, also known as John Saba[17], and John bar Penkaye, or John Fenek, a seventh-century Syriac chronicler from northwestern Mesopotamia[18]. Second, neither "Vom Jungen Daniel" or the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel appears to be a translation from the Greek but were originally composed in Syriac. In the case of the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel an important *argumenta e silentio* in support of a Syriac original is based on the observation that the text does not include any Greek calques that would force the assumption of a Greek original no longer extant. Further evidence comes from the use of the Bible in the text. As we will see below, the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is suffused with allusions to, and quotations from, the Bible. These are based on the Peshitta, not on the Septuagint. Note, for example, the following quotation of the *Trishaghion* (Isa 6:3) in Syr Apoc Dan 36 as compared to the same verse in the Peshitta (for further examples see the Commentary below):

Herausgabe und Interpretation zweier apokalyptischer Texte, diss. Hamburg 1972 (pp. 25–113: "Vom Jungen Daniel über unseren Herrn und das Ende").

[16] "British Museum Syr. Cod. Add. 18,715, fols. 239–41; see W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1870; 3 vols.), 1.18–20. This manuscript is similar to Harvard Syr. 42 and, according to WRIGHT, also dates to the twelfth century.

[17] A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968 [first ed. 1922]), 225–26.

[18] In light of the parallels between John's main composition, a summary of world history composed in 686/87 and entitled *ktābā' d-rēš mellē'*, and the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, it is not surprising to find both works included in the same manuscript. Book XV, the final book of John's account, "offers its own individual theological interpretation of the events of this momentous period, and provides evidence for the currency of apocalyptic expectations in the late 680s in North Mesopotamia" (S. P. BROCK, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye's *Rish Melle*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987) 51–52 [repr. in S. P. BROCK, *Studies in Syriac Christianity: History, Literature and Theology* (Hampshire, Great Britain; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1992), II]). John follows the same traditional eschatological scheme one finds in the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, beginning with the invasion of the eschatological Peoples of the North and culminating in the Second Coming of Christ. On John bar Penkaye see A. BAUMSTARK, "Eine syrische Weltgeschichte des siebten Jahrh.s," *Römische Quartalschrift* 15 (1901) 273–80; and REININK, "Pseudo-Methodius," 84–95 (with further bibliography).

ܩܕܝܫ ܩܕܝܫ ܩܕܝܫ ܗܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ...
ܕܡܠܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܬܫ̈ܒܚܬܟܝ — Syr Apoc Dan 36

Holy, holy, holy is the Mighty Lord ...
The whole world is full of your glory.

ܩܕܝܫ ܩܕܝܫ ܩܕܝܫ ܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ
ܕܡܠܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܬܫ̈ܒܚܬܗ — Isa 6:3 [Pesh.]

Holy, holy, holy is the Mighty Lord;
the whole world is full of his glory.

Finally, the spelling of proper names known from the Bible suggests that the author followed the Syriac, not the Greek, Bible and hence composed his apocalypse in Syriac. Note, for example, in Syr Apoc Dan 5, the name of Asarhaddon, King of Assyria, is spelled ܤܪܚܕܘܡ (*srḥdwm*), the exact same spelling found in the Peshitta (2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38; also *Pseudo-Methodius* VI, 3–4). The Greek reads Ασορδαν.

The close relatedness of "Vom Jungen Daniel" and the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel is evident in sections of the texts that show verbatim parallels, including the final passage of "Vom Jungen Daniel:"

Syr Apoc Dan 22

ܚܘܗ ܙܒܢ ܘܬܡܗܬܗ ܘܫܡܥܬܝ.
ܐܦ ܬܡܗܬܗ ܚܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ.
ܬܚܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܘܩܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܠܡܦܐܕܐ ܒܢܬ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ.
ܒܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܘܡ̈ܫܪܝܬܐ
ܕܪܘܚܐ.
ܘܠܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܬ̈ܫܒܚܘܗܝ.
ܘܢܝܢܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܐ̈ܦܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ
ܫܠ̈ܝܢܘܗܝ.
ܘܩܘܡܬܗ ܪܒܐ ܘܪܡܐ.
ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܠܥܠܐ ܠܥܠܡ.
ܘܟܠܡ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܐ.
ܒܟܠܗ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܢ̈ܘܗܪܬܐ ܘܡ̈ܫܪܝܬܐ
ܕܗܘ̈ܕܝܐ.

"Vom Jungen Daniel" 8:14–17

14 ܚܘܗ ܙܒܢ . ܕܣܠ ܘܫܡܥܬܝ.
ܘܬܡܗܬܗ ܚܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܠܡܦܐܕܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܒܢܬ ܡ̈ܫܪܝܬܐ
ܕܪܘܚܐ.
15 ܩ̈ܠܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܬ̈ܫܒܚܗ.
ܘܢܝܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܐ̈ܦܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ.
16 ܘܩܘܡܬܗ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ.
ܘܟܠܡ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܐ.
17 ܘܒܟܠܗ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܢ̈ܘܗܪܬܐ

His figure is wrathful, stupendous, inspiring,	14 His figure is wrathful, awe-
and furious,	and furious.
the figure of his stature is likewise stupendous.	The figure of his stature is stupendous,
He will appear like lightening in the sky, like a lamp in the camp.	and like a burning lamp among the war camps.
Fiery chariots and war camps will be with him.	
Faster than a leopard are his horses, and bolder than the evening wolves his couriers[19].	15 Faster than a leopard are his horses, swifter than the evening wolves his couriers;
His stature is great and high and floats over the mountains,	16 his stature is exalted over the mountains.
equal to the clouds in the sky.	He is equal to the clouds in the sky.
A host of serpents is with him, and camps of Indians.	17 A host of serpents is with him

At this point "Vom Jungen Daniel" breaks off in the middle of the sentence. The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel continues with an account of the opening of the "Gates of the North" and the invasion of the Agogites and Magogites. We can conjecture that the Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel has preserved a fuller version of what used to be the ending of "Vom Jungen Daniel," though there is no way of knowing.

Numerous parallels between the two texts suggest that they are related but not identical[20]. The opening sections of both texts sufficiently illustrate that these are two different documents. "Vom Jungen Daniel" opens with a very brief prose account in which Daniel is introduced in the third person (1:1–4). The narrative voice then shifts to the first person of Daniel, who, throughout the remainder of the text, relates the signs that will occur at the end of time. The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel, by contrast, begins in chapters 1–13 with a long, "historical" prose account of Daniel that refers briefly to some of the episodes in the first half of the biblical book while adding further elaborations, none of which has a parallel in "Vom Jungen Daniel." The

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[19] Hab 1:8, "Their horses are fasater than leopards, swifter than the wolves of the evening." Both renderings of this verse differ from the Peshitta, but "Vom Jungen Daniel" is considerably closer: the Peshitta reads *ḥrypyn mn*, "swifter" and, unlike "Vom Jungen Daniel," does not change the subject of the second clause to *šlyḥwhy* , "couriers." The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel reads *ḥṣypyn* , "bolder;" see the Commentary on chapter 22 below.

[20] Contra Slabczyk, *Apokalipso*, 32–46, who treats the two manuscripts in his apparatus as if they preserved the same document.

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ADAM AND EVE TRADITIONS
IN FIFTH-CENTURY ARMENIAN LITERATURE*

General Considerations

The present study is devoted to presenting references to the Adam and Eve stories in the writings of the first century of Armenian literacy[1]. Elsewhere we have remarked upon the extraordinarily rich apocryphal literature created by the Armenians in which the stories of Adam and Eve were repeatedly rehearsed[2]. But, apocryphal literature is just one of the ways in which the Adam and Eve stories were rewritten within Armenian culture and influenced it. Here we present the material organized by a series of categories and under the appropriate biblical verses. Some remarks have been added on the exegesis lying behind the statements made, together with some comparative Greek and Syriac material. Above all, our purpose is to present the Armenian tradition, including those views which lay behind subsequent Armenian interpretations, artistic, theological, exegetical and literary.

The Adamic narrative was very influential because the stories of Adam and Eve played a constitutive and structural role in the Christian world view. The economy of salvation — the *historia sacra* — commenced with Adam and Eve and concluded with the redemptive acts of Christ's life. Christ, the new Adam, undid and reversed the situation that the first Adam's actions had created. Adam and Eve's deeds were the first act of a cosmic drama with a happy ending[3]. The protological

* This paper is one product of a research project devoted to "Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition". It was supported by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation, which is gratefully acknowledged here.

[1] The present paper concentrates on literary texts because, for the fifth century, there are only literary sources. Later the Adam cycle comes to play a great role in Armenian art: compare, for example, T.F. MATHEWS, *The Genesis Frescoes of Ałtʿamar,* in *REArm*, 16 (1982), p. 245-257.

[2] M.E. STONE, *The Armenian Apocryphal Literature: Translation and Creation,* in *Il Caucaso: Cerniera fra Culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia (Secoli IV-XI)*, (*Settimane di Studio dal Centro Italiano de Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XLIII), Spoleto, 1996, p. 630-632; *idem*, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (*Early Judaism and Its Literature*, 3), Atlanta, 1992, p. 101-110 (= STONE, *History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*).

[3] This may be seen clearly, e.g., in the work *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* published by M.E. STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve* (*Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*, 14), Leiden, 1996, p. 8-79 (= STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*); *idem, Two Armenian Manuscripts and the Historia Sacra*, in C. CALZOLARI BOUVIER, J.-D. KAESTLI and B. OUTTIER (eds.), *Apocryphes arméniens: transmission — traduction — création — iconographie,* Lausanne, 1999, p. 21-36. A variant on

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events directly caused the dire situation of the world but they were also pregnant with the promise of ultimate redemption.

The way these stories were told, therefore, often reflected the nature of the quandary in which the tellers or the tellers' generation perceived themselves to be living. The enrichment, nuancing, interpretation and indeed the changing of the biblical story may teach us how its later narrators perceived the human condition. Naturally, not every expansion or change of the biblical narrative was a response to one aporia or another. A playful or inquisitive spirit could be responsible for one detail; a non-tendentious embellishment of the stark biblical narrative could engender another. Nonetheless, the retelling of the story often reveals the narrator's and the intended reader's contexts and concerns.

At certain times, it seems, apocryphal elements flooded the Armenian Adam tradition. When did this happen? Into which genres of literature did such elements penetrate? Why? When traditions or features of Armenian texts can be paralleled in or are drawn from known patristic sources, we must assess the significance of such dependency[4]. Whole patristic commentaries and homilies were translated into Armenian, such as many of the works of Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom and Eusebius of Emesa. Others were excerpted in *catenae*[5]. When a particular element occurs in such translated works, it cannot be assigned special significance. However, when such an element is picked up from a non-Armenian source and incorporated into a work composed in Armenian, its significance is enhanced.

Works Discussed

The works that were examined for the present study are those known to have been composed in Armenian in the fifth century[6]. They are listed

the drama of Satan's deceit of Adam is the form of the story of the contract between Adam and Satan traced out in M.E. STONE, *Adam's Contract with Satan*, Bloomington and Indianopolis, 2002 (= STONE, *Adam's Contract with Satan*); *idem, The Cheirograph of Adam*, in G. ANDERSON, M. STONE, J. TROMP (eds.), *Studies in the Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays,* (*Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, 15), Leiden, 2000, p. 149-166 (= ANDERSON, STONE, TROMP, *Literature on Adam and Eve*).

[4] Such dependences have been repeatedly highlighted by R.W. Thomson, among others, in his comments on a large number of Armenian texts.

[5] Bibliography of such translations may be found in G. ZARBHANALEAN, *Library of Ancient Armenian Translations*, Venice: 1889, (in Armenian); R.W. THOMSON, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 A.D.,* Turnhout, 1995. Few collections of Armenian *catenae* have been published, but note most recently, VARDAN AYGEKCʿI, *The Book of the Establishment and Root of Faith*, Shahe Hayrapetean (ed.), Erevan, 1998, (in Armenian).

[6] Eusebius of Emesa's *Commentary on Genesis* and some of his *Homilies* were also consulted, as well as the Genesis commentary attributed to Ephrem the Syrian. This is

in the note below[7]. The Armenian texts of all works were consulted together with such modern translations as exist. All texts cited in this

later according to Mathews. (E.G. MATHEWS, *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis attributed to Ephrem the Syrian* [Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vol. 572-573, Scriptores Armeniaci; t. 23-24], Leuven, 1998) and we have used it with some circumspection. These commentaries have been regarded as supporting, not primary evidence. The author excerpted all fifth century texts with the assistance of Th.M. van Lint, then of Leiden University, and of Fr. Mesrop Aramyan of the Ganzasar Theological Center, Yerevan.

[7] - Agathangelos: *Armenian text: Ագաթանգեղեայ պատմութիւն Հայոց. քննական բնագիրը Գ. Տեր-Մկրտչյանի եւ Ս. Կանայանցի, Երեւան: Երեւանի Համալսարանի Հրատարակչութիւն*, 1983.
Reprinted with English translation: R.W. THOMSON, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians*, Albany, 1976; contains commentary.

- Agathangelos, (Teaching): Armenian Text as above.
English Translation: R.W. THOMSON, *Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: *Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition*, 1), New Rochelle, 2001.

- Ełišē: *Armenian Text*: *Սրբոյ Հօրն մերոյ եղիշէի վարդապետի մատենագրութիւնք. Ըստ ընտրելագոյն ընթերցուածոց գրչագրաց, Վենետիկ: Ս. Ղազար*, 1859.
English Translation: R.W. THOMSON (tr. and comm.), *Elishe, History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (*Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies*, 5), Cambridge MA, 1982.

- Ełišē, Commentary on Genesis: L. XAČʿIKYAN Ełišē*'s Commentary on Genesis,* Erevan (Zvartʿnocʿ), 1992 (in Armenian).

- Ełišē, Commentary on Joshua and Judges: *Սրբոյ Հօրն մերոյ Եղիշէի Վարդապետի Մատենագրութիւնք, Վենետիկ: Ս. Ղազար*, 1859, p. 168-198.

- Ełišē, On the Lord's Prayer: *Սրբոյ Հօրն մերոյ Եղիշէի Վարդապետի Մատենագրութիւնք, Վենետիկ: Ս. Ղազար*, 1859, p. 199-212.

- Eusebius of Emesa, Commentary and Homilies on Genesis: Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on the Octateuch*, V. HOVHANNESSIAN ed., Venice, 1980 (in Armenian).

- Eznik: *Armenian Text and French Translation*: L. MARIES, C. MERCIER, Eznik de Kołb, *De Deo* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 28.3-4), Paris, 1959. *Armenian Text*: Erznka vardapeti Ełc *Ałandocʿ* (*Łukasean Matenadaran*, 14), Tiflis, 1914. *English Translation*: M.J. BLANCHARD, R.D. YOUNG, *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kołb (floruit c.430-c.450): An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (*Eastern Christian Texts in Translation*, 2), Leuven, 1998.

- Yovhannēs Mandakuni: *Čaṙkʿ* (*Matenagrutʿiwnkʿ Naxneacʿ*), Venice, 1836.

- Łazar Pʿarbecʿi, Letter to the city of Amitʿ: Łazar Pʿarbecʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ ew Tʿułtʿ aṙ Vahan Mamikonean,* Venice, 1933.

- Mambrē: *Writings of the Ancestors (Koriwn, Mambrē, Davitʿ),* Venice, 1833.

- Pʿawstos: Kʿ Patkanean, *Patmutʿiwnkʿ*, St. Petersburg, 1883.
N. GARSOÏAN, *The Epic Histories Attributed to Pʿawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutʿiwnkʿ)* (*Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies*, 8), Cambridge MA, 1989.

- Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ: Grigor Lusaworičʿ, *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ*, Ējmiacin, 1894.

- Yovhannēs Erznkacʿi, XI 28: Yovhannēs Erznkacʿi, *Yovhannēs Erznkacʿi. Bankʿ čapʿov*, A. SRAPYAN, ed., Erevan, 1986.

- Yovhannēs Tʿlkurancʿi, *Concerning the Creation of the World: Yovhannēs Tʿlkurancʿi, Poems,* N. BOGHARIAN, ed., Jerusalem, 1958.
M.E. STONE, *A Translation of Concerning the Creation of the World by Yovhannes Tʿlkurancʿi* in *St. Nersess Theological Review* (in press).

- Yovhannēs Tʿlkurancʿi, *Rhymed History*: J.R. RUSSELL, *Yovhannēs Tʿlkurancʿi and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Traditions* (*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies*, 7), Atlanta, 1987.

study, however, are cited in our own translation, with the exception of the *Teaching of St. Gregory*[8].

Both R.W. Thomson's *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 A.D.*[9] and to N. Bogharian's *Armenian Writers*[10], have proved to be invaluable assistance. Dates are drawn from these authorities and the present study does not claim any innovations in the field of the history of Armenian literature. The dates of certain relevant works, notably the *History of the Armenians* attributed to Movsēs Xorenacʿi and *The History of Vardan and the Armenian War* by Ełišē *vardapet*, are disputed. It seems to us that the arguments for a post-fifth century dating of the current form of the work of Xorenacʿi have some plausibility[11], while those for Ełišē less so. We have treated these authors accordingly. Agathangelos figures prominently in the following analysis, since Agathangelos, whose work includes the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, is by far the most systematic and extensive fifth-century source relating to Adam and Eve.

1. *The Creation of Humans*

> *Genesis 1:27* So God created man in his image, after the image of God he created him; male and female he created them[12].

1.1. *How were they created?*

Agathangelos §75 calls humans "creations of your hands" and in §271 he uses similar language, "having created man with his own hands." This particular formulation does not appear in the Bible. It is inferred from the biblical text by contrasting Genesis 2:7 "And the Lord God made man, dust from the earth" with the acts of creation mentioned in Genesis chap. 1, which are all by speech or divine command[13]. In 4

[8] For this, we have used the revised translation of R.W. THOMSON, *Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: *Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition*, 1), New Rochelle, 2001 (= THOMSON, *Teaching*). We give Thomson's page numbers except on the few occasions where we have preferred to translated a phrase ourselves.

[9] See above, note 5.

[10] N. BOGHARIAN, *Armenian Writers,* Jerusalem, 1971 (in Armenian). Inglisian's essay on Armenian literature was also consulted, see V. INGLISIAN, *Die armenische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.7, Leiden, 1963, 156-250.

[11] This is not to deny the antiquity of the sources and traditions contained in the work. See now A. TOPCHYAN, *On the Problem of the Greek Sources of Mosvēs Xorenacʿi* (*Hebrew University, Armenian Studies*), Leuven, forthcoming. There is some doubt about the authenticity of certain of Ełišē's sermons and homilies.

[12] The biblical text is translated from the Armenian version, following NRSV where appropriate. For Genesis we have used A. ZEYTʿUNYAN, *The Book of Genesis* (*Monuments of Ancient Armenian Translations*), Erevan, 1985 (in Armenian).

[13] Adam is said to be created by God's hands in 4 Ezra 3:5, 8:7, 8:45, etc.

Ezra (Armenian) 3:5 we read, "you created man with your incorruptible hands"[14]. This piece of ancient exegesis occurs twice in Agathangelos, which indicates its firm place in his thought. Points of contact between the Armenian version of 4 Ezra and Agathangelos have been observed before and both texts are of the fifth century[15]. The idea is older, of course.

1.2. *Material from which Adam was created*

> *Genesis 2:7* Then the LORD God formed man, dust from the earth, and breathed into his face[16] a breath of life (*literally*: living breath); and the man became a living being (*or*: soul).

Adam was called that name because he was created from clay: "And for this reason he was named 'Adam' because he was created of clay" (Eznik 4.1 p. 170 §358). This is based on Adam = אדמה and is to be compared with *Onamastica Sacra* Ona 1.1 "Adam, virgin earth or incarnated earth {or from earth or red earth}"[17]. Note that, for the material from which Adam was created, the onomastic text uses *erkir* "earth" and not *kaw* "clay" (Eznik), while the Bible uses *hoł* "dust"[18].

In the *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ*, p. 31, we read "And, having made man from four materials, he breathed into him the spirit, living and immortal and intelligent and logical." [19] This statement endows the biblical text with two new patterns of meaning. "Dust from the earth" is taken as "four materials", apparently the four elements, while the spirit here is interpreted as both vivifying and intelligent or rational[20]. This exegesis

[14] See M.E. STONE, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of 4th Ezra* (*Hermeneia*), Minneapolis, 1990, p. 67-68 (= STONE, *Fourth Ezra*) and many ancient parallels are given there. Compare also M.E. STONE, *Textual Commentary on the Armenian Version of 4 Ezra* (*Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, 35), Atlanta, 1990, p. 6-7 (= STONE, *Textual Commentary*). On the dust as modelling clay, see *Otiyot deRabbi Aqiba* cited by M. KASHER, *Ḥumash Torah šělemah*, Jerusalem, 1998-1999, p. 1210.

[15] See M.E. STONE, review of Robert W. THOMSON, *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, Cambridge, 1971, in *JAOS*, 93 (1973), p. 591-594; M.E. STONE, *The Armenian Version of 4 Ezra* (*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies*, 1), Missoula, 1979, p. 35.

[16] This is equivalent to the Greek biblical text here.

[17] See M.E. STONE, *Signs of the Judgment, Onomastica Sacra and the Generations from Adam* (*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies*, 3), Chico, 1981, p. 78-79.

[18] The explanation of Adam offered in Ona 4 and Ona 5 is similar. The question of the etymology of Adam is discussed by STONE, *Textual Commentary*, p. xiv-xv.

[19] Presumably, the four qualities are parallel to the four elements.

[20] According to *Slavonic Enoch* Recension J, chapter 30, Adam was created from seven natural elements, each part of him from a different element: thus the flesh from the earth, etc. This text much resembles a later document known as *Adam octipartitus* according to which Adam was created of eight elements, see STONE, *History of the Literature of*

of "dust from the ground" is not found anywhere else in the fifth-century Armenian sources we have examined, though it occurs in earlier Greek and Syriac sources[21]. In *Slavonic Enoch* 30:13 (probably first century C.E.) we read, "And I assigned to him [i.e. Adam] a name from the four components: from East (A); from West (D); from North (A); from south (M)." In his note on this passage F. Anderson refers to the fact that the anagram is based on Greek[22]. This, however, is not the same as the tradition in the *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* which speaks of four elements, though it may be cognate with it[23].

The view that the spirit of Genesis 2:7 is related to the intellective faculties is also found in Agathangelos who says that the *šunčʿ* "spirit" is the "intelligence-bearing intellect" (*imastagir mtaworutʿiwn*), which was granted to man so he might witness God's beneficent activity (Agathangelos [Teaching] §271) [24]. In §144 Agathangelos says "you fashioned man, dust from the earth, and established the discerning one"[25]. The first part is a more or less literal quotation of Genesis 2:7, while the second part of the biblical verse, describing the in-breathing of the spirit, is paraphrased as "you established the discerning one." This

Adam and Eve, p. 90 and further bibliography there. It seems very likely that the "four materials" are the standard four elements which had become commonplace: air, fire, earth and water. Other relatively early occurrences of this interpretation are found, among others, in C. BEZOLD, *Die Schatzhöhle, syrisch und deutsch herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 1.3-4; *Hellenistic Synagogual Prayers* 3:20 and see D.A. FIENSY, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish: An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum* (*Brown Judaic Studies*, 65), Chico CA, 1985, 7.34.6, p. 65.

21 The same view is implied by the *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* attributed to Ełišē which, in §7 p. 173 speaks the "fourfold materials" from which this world is made. It is found frequently and much more explicitly in later literature. Thus, to take a single example, a poem by Xaʿatur Kecʿaṙecʿi (1260-1330) entitled "From Four Elements" deals with the creation of Adam. It commences *ի չորս տարերաց երկրի / Հողեղէն մարդ Հաստատեցայ* "From the four elements of the earth / I created dust-made (literally "dusty") man." There are traditions that the dust from which Adam was made was taken from the four corners of the earth. Man is all four elements according to Philo, *de opificio mundi* 52.

22 *2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*, in J.H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* Garden City, NY, 1983-1985, 1.152. The same explanation of Adam's name recurs in Augustine, *On Psalms*, 96 §15.

23 That passage in *Slavonic Enoch* 30:13 has an additional four-fold attribution to Adam.

24 These terms are pre-Hellenising; *imastagir* is not used, apparently, in Hellenising sources known to *NBH*, nor in other lists we have seen such as R.W. THOMSON, *Indices to the Armenian Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: Greek-Armenian and Armenian-Greek* (*Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature*, 5), Amsterdam – Atlanta, 1997; M.E. STONE and M.E. SHIRINIAN, *Pseudo-Zeno, Anonymous Philosophical Treatise* (*Philosophia Antiqua*, 93), Leiden, 2000. It is cited by *NBH* from here and from Tovma Arcruni. *mtawor* is biblical and used widely thereafter. Note Agathangelos §271 "the benevolent creative activity of God" (THOMSON, *Teaching,* p. 270).

25 Or perhaps, "established the wise one"; Thomson translates "and rendered him wise".

accords with other passages in Agathangelos. In §264, discussed below in connection with angels, man's "mind" is extolled. In his note on this passage, Thomson remarks that *mitkʿ* "mind" is "the faculty of rational thought and choice, rather than the faculty of intuitive reason." A similar view and like phraseology are to be found in Pʿawstos 4.5 (Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 117), which says, resembling Agathangelos §144 cited above, "who made man from the very dust, and made this one rational, [gifted] with speech, wise;[26] discerning and [endowed] with free-will". This seems to be another exegesis or paraphrase of Genesis 2:7[27]. This passage of Pʿawstos is, according to Garsoïan, "consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary works"[28].

In the same passage cited above, *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* goes on to say that the purpose of the mixture of the spiritual with the bodily is that man might demonstrate his faithfulness. This idea is connected with the concept discussed below that the meaning of the "image" is that man had free will. Such an understanding of "spirit" as wisdom or mind leads to the view that man had free choice and, therefore, could choose to be faithful or unfaithful. The "image" language is drawn from Genesis 1:26-27 while the "spirit" language comes from Genesis 2:7. Both these verses describe the creation of Adam and the fifth-century Armenian authors interpret both of them to mean that Adam was wise or intelligent, as a result of which he had free will[29].

In Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* §11 p. 240 we read

> The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator and world and man. God (corresponds to the) intelligible world; world (corresponds to the) sensible <world>; man (corresponds to the) sensible and intelligible world.

This passage once again expresses the idea that man is a combination of the earth and the spirit, here of the sensible and the intelligible. This seems to have been the basic way the creation of humans related in Genesis 2:7 was understood in fifth-century Armenian thought[30].

[26] Or: discerning.

[27] Here the verb is *aṙnem*, while in Genesis and in Agathangelos it is *stełcanem*.

[28] N.G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to Pʿawstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmutʿiwnkʿ)* (*Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies*, 8), Cambridge MA, 1989, p. 274 (= Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*). She observed the parallels between this passage of Pʿawstos and *The Teaching of St. Gregory* by Agathangelos, which we have also highlighted above.

[29] Free will is discussed in a separate section below.

[30] We do not find this exegesis of Genesis 2:7 in the Greek Patristic sources that are cited by M. Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: La Genèse*, Paris, 1986, p.100-101 and M. Alexandre, *Le commencement du livre de Genèse I-V* (*Christianisme antique*, 3), Paris, 1988, p. 241-244 (= Alexandre, *Commencement de Genèse*).

1.3. *Purpose of Adam's creation*

The common view in the sources we examined is that humans were created for eternal life and immortality in a joyous state. This is to be found in Agathangelos §75 and it is expanded in §76 with the view that God intended to transfer humans from earthly to angelic condition. Enoch is an example of the path they would have followed had they not sinned (*ibid.*). In the Armenian tradition there are many later speculations about Enoch's role, and it is not always possible to discern how far these later views are based on early sources. Agathangelos' statement, however, that Enoch achieved an angelic and immortal state in the Garden shows that this very early Armenian author was familar with developed traditions about Enoch[31].

As noted above, *imastutʿiwn* "wisdom" was a dominant characteristic of the prelapsarian Adam in early Armenian thought. Agathangelos repeatedly stressed that Adam was made wise by God[32]. Similarly in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* (p. 31), Adam is said to have wisdom and spiritual knowledge which derived from the breath or spirit that God breathed into him (Genesis 2:7). Moreover, Agathangelos interprets Genesis 1:26's statement that God created Adam in His image to imply that Adam has wisdom (*imastutʿiwn*)[33] to recognize God's grace and to know the creatures. Adam's wisdom enables him to name the beasts (*ibid.*) [34]. In more general terms, Adam is granted wisdom for very clear reasons which are connected directly with the overall purpose of the creation of humankind.

The interesting passage in Agathangelos discussed above where the breath theme is developed (Teaching §271) says that the purpose of Adam's receiving wisdom is that he might witness God's beneficent activity. For the sake of his beneficent activity, Agathangelos adds, God took human form in the incarnation of Christ. There is a movement in the texts between the interpretation of "image" as wisdom or discern-

[31] This view is already reflected by *Jubilees* 4:23. The ancient sources relating to Enoch are analyzed in detail in J.C. VANDERKAM, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (*CBQMS*), Washington, 1984. It would be worthwhile tracing the knowledge of Enoch in Armenian sources. In any case, the view expressed by Agathangelos here implies familiarity with apocryphal traditions about Enoch.

[32] Agathangelos §144; (Teaching) §279 and elsewhere.

[33] This is already to be found in Clement of Alexandria, see ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 184-185.

[34] Observe that in Genesis 3:1 the serpent is called *imastnagoyn* literally "wiser, more discerning", reflecting the word rendered by English "subtle". On Adam's naming, see M.E. STONE, *Adam's Naming of the Animals: Naming or Creation*, in *Conference Proceedings "The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sight and Sound, December 2003*," in press (= STONE, *Naming*).

ment and its more literal interpretation. The incarnation of God in a human form inverts the idea that man was created in the image of God as is discussed in section 1.6 below.

The picture emerging so far is that Adam was created for eternal life and for eventual transfer to an angelic state. He was granted wisdom, either through the divine breath or as a result of his creation in the image. Wisdom or discernment enabled Adam to recognize the creatures, and thus to name them, and also to recognize God's grace, which is shown above all by God taking on man's image. So far the teaching of Agathangelos is clear and is echoed also by the *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ*. The word *imastutʿiwn*, which we have translated "wisdom", may well have a sense more like "discernment" or "perception". This is perhaps the reason that Adam, in spite of being so wise, i.e., discerning, acted so unwisely as to sin[35].

According to Pʿawstos, when Adam and Eve transgressed "they fell into death"[36].

1.4. *Humans and Angels*

Psalm 8:4-5 reads: "What is man that you are mindful him...? 5 you made him a little lower than your angels; you crowned him with glory and honour": compare also Hebrews 2:7 and 2:9 where this verse is cited and exegeted[37]. This verse was applied to Adam by Agathangelos as a way of drawing a distinction between humans and angels[38].

[35] One is tempted to compare this with the Valentinian Gnostic view that the emanation of the Godhead that sinned by making a mistake, was called Sophia. Equally, our statement does not remove the strong contrast between the protoplasts' deliberate sin according to the interpretations of Genesis 2-3 and the error of judgement or the "innocent" mistake they made according to the Cheirograph legend. On this, see M.E. STONE, *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*, in *St. Nersess Theological Review*, 2 (1997), p. 167-179; *idem, Adam's Contract with Satan*, p. 16-17 and 115.

[36] Pʿawstos 5.28, GARSOÏAN, *Epic Histories*, p. 208. The text is from the liturgy of St. Basil, see GARSOÏAN, *ibid.*, p. 321. The expression "fall" for Adam's sin is intriguing; it is of course widespread, but one wonders whether it is also connected with the idea that Paradise was on a mountain, which is found in ancient sources, particularly Syriac. On this see S.P. BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise: St. Ephrem*, Crestwood NY, 1998, p. 50-53 (= BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*). The idea that death is the ultimate result of Adam's sin is found in many ancient sources, the best known of which is probably Romans 5:12; cf. STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, p. 64-65.

[37] The role played by this Psalm in the development of early Adam traditions was explored by G.A. ANDERSON in *What is Man that You Mention Him?* in B. DALEY (ed.), *Conference Volume,* Notre Dame University, forthcoming.

[38] In Psalm 8:4 "man" is Hebrew *'dm*, which also means "Adam". The Septuagint of Psalm 8:4 has ἄνθρωπος. The reverse, i.e., the translation of "Adam" by "man" in Armenian has been observed in other texts. See the discussion in STONE, *Textual Commentary*, p. xiv.

In the Teaching of St. Gregory §263 Adam, created in the image of God, is called "wonderful" and "angelic"[39]. Elsewhere, Agathangelos said "But God honoured mankind alone many fold and enriched them with a mind, and made him partly spiritual, a more humble companion to the angels" (Agathangelos [Teaching] §266)[40]. Adam and angels both have discernment and free-will, but humans are lower in the ranking of creation, for the "benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks of created being" (Teaching §262)[41]. In fact, as Agathangelos goes on to point out, both Adam and an angel chose to disobey God's command. So both had free-will and "wisdom". The difference is that angels are completely spiritual and dwell in heaven while man is assigned to this earth[42].

The idea of the ranking of creatures is further developed by Agathangelos. On the one hand, Adam is "a more humble companion to the angels", while on the other, compared with the other creatures, "God glorified man alone in multiple ways" (§266, discussed in more detail above). One result of this ranking of creatures is that each creature has a duty of obedience in "each of the things ordered for it according to the commandments for each of them". He continues, "[o]nly the will of man has been left independent to do whatever he wills" (§270; Thomson, 69).

1.5. *Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment*

In Agathangelos (Teaching) §262 angels are called "glorifiers" and repeatedly it is asserted that the main function of the angels is praise. In §267 we read, "by his command all is arranged[43]; his holy and heavenly watchers stand in ceaseless praising"[44]. Again, in §277 he says, "[b]ut a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them in great honor and glory"[45]. In this passage the command of eternal and unceas-

[39] "wonderful, amazing and incomprehensible angelic-formed (*hreštakakerp*)"; Agathangelos (Teaching) §263. Observe that in the apocryphal Adam books Satan takes on angelic form: "and Satan took on the form of an angel (*i kerpi hreštaki*)" (*Penitence of Adam* 44.17.1). In *Book of Adam* 17:1-2 Satan appears "in the form of an angel (*i kerpi hreštaki*)."

[40] Thomson translates differently.

[41] THOMSON, *Teaching,* p. 65.

[42] Agathangelos [Teaching] §262.

[43] So Thomson; however, it could be translated "fashioned, created".

[44] THOMSON, *Teaching*, p. 67. Angelic praise is a common theme in liturgical texts, both Jewish and Christian. Also, see works such as *The Testament of Adam*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, etc.

[45] THOMSON, *Teaching*, p. 72; perhaps "made them dwell" for "placed them".

ing glorification laid upon the angels is contrasted with the small command given to Adam, not to eat of the tree. The commands are given and ranked so that humans and angels could each obey the divine command laid upon them[46].

Next, in §278 Agathangelos relates Satan's revolt, showing clearly that the author is heightening the parallel between humans and angels. Both were given commands in accordance with their abilities and natures. Both have free will and can, therefore, disobey should they so wish and, indeed, both the protoplasts and Satan acted against divine commands (§277). Elsewhere, their conduct is contrasted with that of other natural elements, which are obedient to God, an idea comparable with *1 Enoch* 2-5[47]. This is expressed well by the sentence: "See the sun and moon and stars. So much greater than man they are, and they stand under His will, constrained by the requirement of the command" (Agathangelos [Teaching] §267)[48].

In fifth-century Armenian literature, these ideas are not limited to Agathangelos. Eznik 1.11 pp. 28-30 contains a discussion of free will. He stresses the obedience of the powers and parts of nature resulting from their having no free will, while the whole point of human free will is to reward humans for their obedience to God's command. These ideas cohere fully with Agathangelos' views and are discussed in section 1.7 below. *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* p. 31, also reflects the idea that both humans and angels have free will, though it does not relate this quality to the idea of the image. God created humans with free will, so they might achieve reward and immortality for observing His commandments (*ibid.*, p. 29). Eznik asserts that Satan had free will (1.13 pp. 37-38), which follows from the above statements about angelic obedience. Adam was given the command not to eat of the tree, so that God could reward him. He was given a small command, a very limited commitment, so that he might attain greater honour (Agathangelos [Teaching] §§277-8). As Agathangelos says, Adam is given the command so "that by this he might attain greater honour" (Thomson, 72). For this reason Adam was created with free will (Agathangelos [Teaching] §270). If he did not

[46] Intriguingly, in a different context, according to Agathangelos §261 humans are supposed to praise God who gave them wisdom and all creatures should praise God through humans.

[47] See also M.E. STONE, *The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age*, in S. SHAKED, D. SHULMAN and G.G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions, Dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky* (*Studies in the History of Religions*, 50), Leiden, 1987, p. 298-308; L. HARTMAN, *Asking for a Meaning* (*Coniectanea Biblica, N.T. Series*, 12) Uppsala, 1979.

[48] THOMSON, *Teaching*, p. 67.

have free will, his obedience would not make him worthy of the ultimate reward, for it would be built into the cosmic order like the obedience of the luminaries.

The same view of Adam's commandment is to be observed in Yovhannēs Mandakuni, using the Armenian word *pahkʿ* "fast" and not "commandment" (p. 19). Since this word may indicate not just a full fast, but abstinence from some specific food (in this case the fruit), in Mandakuni's context it conveys much the same meaning as "commandment" in other places. Thus Mandakuni says that had Adam observed the fast, "he would have inherited life without blemish, and immortal and sinless, and in heaven, the heavenly goodness"[49]. In all these texts the idea is not that Adam would have remained in the Paradisiacal state, but that he would have achieved fulfillment as an immortal being in the heavens. He was already in Paradise; the commandment is designed to enable him to supersede Paradise and to achieve heavenly perfection.

1.6. *Humankind in the Image*

> *Genesis 1:26* And God said, "Let us make man after our image, and after (our) likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the heavens, and the cattle, and all the earth, and all creeping things that creep upon the earth".
> *Genesis 1:27* So God created humankind in his image, after the image of God he created them; male and female he created them.

Above, in section 1.2, the idea of the creation of humans in the image of God was broached. The image (Genesis 1:26-27) or the spirit (breath) (Genesis 2:7) is understood as wisdom or discernment, a quality humans must possess in order to have free will. The texts discussed there were drawn chiefly from the major, fifth-century source, the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, but the idea occurs in other fifth-century authorities as well. Thus, according to Pʿawstos, creation in the image means that humans were endowed with free-will[50], an identical line of exegesis. Eznik states that God created humans with free will, which was inherited by their descendants (1.11 pp. 28-30). Eznik and Agathangelos both expound the idea that the forces of nature, which are obedient to God, are not endowed with free will, which was a particular quality of humans and angels[51].

[49] A technical term for eschatological or heavenly reward: see STONE, *Textual Commentary*, p. 159.

[50] Pʿawstos 4.4. GARSOÏAN, *Epic Histories*, p. 117, 118, 3.12.

[51] See section 1.5, above. In the Armenian translation of the *Acts of Andrew* particular stress is laid upon free will, as was pointed out by V. CALZOLARI. *La version arménienne du Martyre d'André*, in J. BREMMER (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, Leuven, 2000, p. 159.

There are other views of the image of God. A more literal interpretation of the image is that the appearance of humans is related to the way in which God chose to appear[52]. In creating Adam from the dust of the earth and blowing with his mouth the life-giving breath of wise intelligence, He chose to appear in human form. Thus, Agathangelos says (§272), the creature, opening his eyes, might be able to see the Creator and become familiar with, aware of, and a witness to the benevolent creative activity of God. The essential Deity is invisible but He took shape for the sake of visible creatures, so "that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and the power of expression" (§272 and cf. §273)[53]. As a result, Adam first named the Creator before he named the animals, because he saw the Creator before he saw the animals that were created in order to make the Creator known to Adam (§273). The naming of God is related to the idea of His being recognizable by humans and the naming of God and of the animals is connected with Adam's God-given wisdom. In §§328-29 Agathangelos continues to develop this idea, and says that God appeared to subsequent generations using the same image as he had to Adam so that humans might recognize him as the God who appeared to their fathers[54].

The same view is to be found in Eznik 1.23 p. 66, "And when he wished to appear to His saints, He is not known in any other form, but only in the form of a man whom He made after His image." So, this is another aspect of the image of God; he chose human form for Adam and his descendants and indeed, for Himself in the incarnation of Christ. This latter point is taken up in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* p. 31, which says that "after His image" means "according to the appearance of the incarnate Christ".

A third line of thought connects the image with Adam's pristine glory. The latter is a major theme, and in Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua and Judges*, 16 p. 195-196, we read that God's image was impressed on Adam who was "elevated... to the likeness of His immortal image and incorruptible glory". This glory was lost with sin: see below. The impression (τύπος) is standard terminology already in Philo, its source lying, of course, in Plato[55].

[52] See below in this section.

[53] The problem that the image created for these thinkers is analogous to that aroused by the Bible's reference to the sound of God's footstep (Genesis 3:8). In both cases, anthropomorphism was a great difficulty. The image was a much more complex problem than the divine footfall, which is discussed below, because of the Incarnation.

[54] Compare in general terms Exodus 6:3.

[55] See D.T. RUNIA, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (*Philosophia Antiqua*, 44), Leiden, 1986, p. 163-164; T.H. TOBIN, *The Creation of Man*: *Philo and the History of Interpretation* (*CBQ Monograph Series*, 14), Washington, 1983, p. 58.

The image is one of the things of which Satan is envious: Eznik 1:11 pp. 32-33.

1.8. *When was Adam Created?*

In Eusebius of Emesa's works we find the statement that Adam was created on the sixth day, which is not in the least surprising in light of Genesis 1 (Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis 1*, *Homily 5* [Hovhannessian, 18,72]). These works were translated into Armenian in the fifth century. In texts discussed below, where the analogy between Adam's sin and expulsion and Christ's crucifixion is developed, the creation is set on Friday, as is the sin[56]. This and other chronological elements develop into a complex typology (see §4.5 below).

2. *Garden of Eden*

2.1. *Adam was placed in the Garden*

Genesis 2:8 And the God planted the garden in Eden to the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

The early Armenian texts do not put great stress on the Garden of Eden and details of it. Thus Agathangelos (Teaching) §277 does not go any further than Genesis 2:8. This contrasts strongly with the elaborate descriptions of the Garden, say, in Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise*[57]. There was discussion, reflected in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* p. 104, about the nature of Paradise. The author is at pains to assert that, in addition to being noetic (*imanali*), it was visible (*tesaneli*) to the first man, although it is presently hidden from us according to God's deep wisdom. The theological or intellectual context of this assertion is not clear from the other fifth-century Armenian texts we have examined, but that such a context did exist may be inferred from the very statement in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ*.

[56] See, e.g., *Adam Story 2* (STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, p. 109-113). Adam's death was often put on Friday, in both Armenian and non-Armenian sources, see *Cave of Treasures* (BEZOLD, 1.9), *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (S.C. MALAN, E.G. MATTHEWS (eds.), *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis attributed to Ephrem the Syrian* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 572-573, *Scriptores Armeniaci*, t. 23-24). Leuven, 1998, 2 chap. 29, p. 116); *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§95-96 (W.L. LIPSCOMB, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature* (*University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies*, 8). Atlanta, 1990, p. 219 and 233 (= LIPSCOMB, *Adam Literature*)).

[57] See, e.g., Hymn XI. These poems are readily available in BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, and see p. 135-147.

2.2. *God showed Adam two trees*

Genesis 2:9 Out of the earth the LORD God made to grow every tree that is beautiful to the sight and sweet for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.
Genesis 2:16 And the LORD God commanded Adam and said, "You may freely eat of every tree which is in the garden;
Genesis 2:17 but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die".

Agathangelos (Teaching) §277 says that God revealed two trees to Adam. In fact, this statement is a departure from the biblical text. Although Genesis 2:9 speaks of the creation of two trees, the biblical text does not mention God's showing the two trees to Adam, while the prohibition of Genesis 2:16-17 only refers to one tree, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is then an instance of exegetical inference from the biblical text. No particular *Tendenz* has been found in this statement.

2.4. *Intercourse in the Garden?*

Genesis 2:25 And Adam and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.

Adam and Eve had intercourse before the fall, while clothed in glory, and perhaps before they were placed in the Garden: this seems to be implied by Agathangelos §76. "And after our reproducing and increasing, you commanded us to live bodily, being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us, ..."

G.A. Anderson discusses the question whether Rabbinic and early Christian sources thought that Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden[58]. He shows that in Rabbinic texts, Adam and Eve were often thought to have had sexual relations in the Garden[59]. Furthermore, Anderson argues that the main Rabbinic tradition regards Adam and Eve as having intercourse in the Garden, while a more ancient Jewish tradition, present in *Jubilees*, puts this event outside the Garden. Conversely, the dominant early Syriac tradition represented by Ephrem, puts Adam and Eve's intercourse outside the Garden, but the *Cave of Treasures* might imply that it was in the Garden[60].

At first, the view of Agathangelos §76 on this point seems slightly unclear, but careful reading of §§276-277 clearly reveals that he is refer-

[58] G.A. ANDERSON, *Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflection on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden*, in *Harvard Theological Review,* 82 (1989), p. 121-142 (= ANDERSON, *Celibacy or Consummation*). See also the observations by BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 29-33.

[59] ANDERSON, *Celibacy or Consummation*, p. 126-131.

[60] *Ibid.*

ring to intercourse before entry into the Garden. In §276, having discussed the creation of Eve, he cites Genesis 2:24: "He leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh", observing that "he knew all the orders of this world and all its fulfillment" (Thomson, p. 72). The word "orders" here, like "course of life" (the same Armenian word) in §76, implies something like "conditions, ordering" and the text here clearly teaches that Adam and Eve consummated their union immediately. In §277, the next stage of this drama is the creation of Eden and the placing of the protoplasts in it. This clearly implies the view that sexual intercourse is part of the order of life of bodily beings. It was regarded as part of the bodily life which they were intended to transcend and which, indeed, Enoch transcended, "for, after the pleasures of Paradise and after this earthly course (of life), you would have transferred us, like Enoch, to the ranks of the angels (Agathangelos §76)"[61]. Adam's disobedience, of course, foiled the divine plan.

2.5. *Adam's State in Garden*

As stated in the previous section, Adam had untroubled repose and pleasure in the Garden (Agathangelos §75 — §76). In Ełišē 's *Commentary on Genesis* §14 (p. 243) he states that foreigners[62] say Adam was in the Garden for 1,000 years; "our friends" say 40 days, in accordance with the birth of a male (spiritual birth)[63]. Behind this statement are exegeses of two different verses. The first view is derived from Psalms 90:4 "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday when it is past, or like a watch in the night". This verse was widely understood in Jewish and Christian exegesis to mean that a single day for God is a thousand human years[64]. That view provides the basis of much chiliastic speculation, but in the present context it is applied, somewhat exceptionally, to the length of time Adam and Eve were in the Garden. Adam ate on the day on which he entered the garden and was expelled on the same

[61] With this expression, compare Agathangelos (Teaching) §276.

[62] This may mean non-Christians, or perhaps heterodox Christians.

[63] This word *hogecnndutʿiwn* "spiritual birth" is cited in *NBH* only from this place. R. Ervine has pointed out to me that according to Armenian teaching, a child of 40 days is considered to be fully alive, and this may be called *hogecnndutʿiwn* "spiritual birth". This is the point at which the spirit enters the child. In Rabbinic thought, a child is considered fully alive after a month of 30 days, see Tosefta Sabbath 15 (16), 7. There, the issue is not related to the mother's impurity.

[64] ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 273-274, discusses the exegesis of Genesis 2:17 "on the day you eat from it." She observes that this is taken to be 1,000 years in Jewish sources. Yet, for the Jews to be the "foreigners" referred to by Ełišē would be odd.

day. Ełišē does not make explicit who the "foreigners" were who held this view and we have not been able to locate this opinion anywhere else, though its exegetical basis is clear.

Ełišē's own view or that of "our friends", as he put it, was that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for forty days. In *Jubilees* 3:9 we read: "And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we [the angels] brought him into the garden of Eden"[65]. This is connected with the regulations about the ritual uncleanness of a woman after childbirth. If it is a male, she is unclean for forty days and if a female, for eighty days (see *Jubilees* 3:9-11)[66]. The same idea is found in the *Life of Adam* cited by George the Syncellus, which is probably to be related to the *Testament of the Protoplasts* mentioned by Anastasius Sinaïta[67]. The tradition known to Ełišē is perhaps a variant of this. At its basis might be the idea that since Adam was introduced into the Garden on the fortieth day and Eve on the eightieth day, they sinned and were expelled on the day Eve was introduced. In that case, Adam would have been in the Garden for forty days[68]. The text, however, states clearly that they were both in the Garden for 40 days, which is related to the period of uncleanliness following the birth of a male child. Adam and Eve were in the Garden for 40 days because this was the special period following their spiritual birth, i.e., the in-breathing. Thus the Garden is endowed with the sanctity of the Temple. However, the assertion is odd. If the analogy were carried to its logical conclusion, the time in the Garden would parallel that of uncleanliness before entering the Temple. In fact, however, it was a time of purity before the sin. This idea lies behind the statement in Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* that Adam was in the Garden for 40 days, "according to the spiritual birth of the male."

Thus the parallel is only partially worked out. Presumably, the Armenian text of Ełišē does not preserve an exact use of the tradition relating

[65] Translation of R.H. CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, London, 1892, p. 23-24.

[66] ANDERSON, *Celibacy and Consummation*, p. 129-131 has dealt with the issue of the Garden of Eden as a Temple in *Jubilees*. See, of course, Leviticus 12:1-6.

[67] See STONE, *History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 78 and 87.

[68] This same tradition is to be found in the *Life of Adam* (M.R. JAMES, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments,* London, 1920, p. 5-6). Without specifying the period, Luke 2:22 states, "When the time came for their purification according to the Law of Moses." In the *Infancy Gospel* it is specifically 40 days. The Armenian text is to be found in E. TAYECʿI, *Uncanonical Books of the New Testament*, Venice, 1898, p. 54, 129. A variant of this tradition is known to manuscript P306 of *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation* §48: see STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, p. 64-65.

to the post-partum uncleanliness regulations and the period of residence in the Garden. No other reflection of this discussion has been found in the fifth-century Armenian literature.

2.6. *Creation of Animals*

The Armenian authors lay much stress on the fact that the circumstances of creation were such that Adam recognized who the Creator was. In Agathangelos (Teaching) §271 it says that God created Adam with his own hands and granted him awareness, so that he might become a witness to the benevolent creative activity of God. Ełišē, *Commentary on Genesis* 12 p. 241 makes the same point, *mutatis mutandis*, when he says, "God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way". This is perhaps a reaction to a contrary view prevalent in some circles at the time, but which is otherwise undocumented.

2.7. *Naming by Adam*

Genesis 2:19 And moreover, the LORD God formed all the animals of the field and all the birds of the air, and brought them to Adam to see what he would call them; and whatever Adam called each living creature, that was its name.
Genesis 2:20 Adam gave names to all cattle, and to all the birds of the air, and to all the animals of the field;

The naming of the beasts by Adam is the subject of some speculation in the fifth-century Armenian authors[69]. Ełišē, *Commentary on Genesis* 11 (p. 241), presents the idea that naming turns the non-existent into the existent, and is therefore part of the process of creation, "[b]ecause they were going to receive names, and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that (i.e., receiving names)." This idea has resonances in various mythopoeic world-views.

With it we may contrast Ephrem's treatment of the naming in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* 2.10. The ability to name is a reflection of Adam's God-given authority since "to allocate thousands of names all in a single short moment, and to avoid any duplication between the first ones and the last, this is something which surpasses human ability"[70]. Nothing of this occurs in the early Armenian sources we examined[71].

[69] This subject is treated in greater detail in STONE, *Naming*.
[70] BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 204.
[71] Such a view might be regarded as a sort of "demythologization" of the attitude to naming just mentioned.

In *Teaching of St. Gregory* §273, Agathangelos makes a paradoxical claim that Adam must have named the Creator before he named the animals. The ability to name, Agathangelos claims, derives from Adam's creation in the image, which bestows "wisdom, rationality and princely honour" on him. The naming of the Creator implies that Adam recognized Him, and that Adam's naming of the animals flows from that recognition[72].

2.8. *Type of Tree*

Genesis 3:6 And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes to regard and beautiful to the sight. She took of its fruit, she ate and she gave (some) to her husband with her, and they ate.
Genesis 3:7 Then the eyes of the two of them were opened, and they knew (or: realised) that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves.

In certain texts, the identification of the tree from which they ate is connected with the fig leaf. This is facilitated by the proximity in the biblical text of the description of the tree (Genesis 3:6) to the mention of the fig leaves (Genesis 3:7). This view is also found in Ełišē, *Armenian War* 2 p. 25[73]. The same identification might be implied by Mambrē p. 53 "the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent," but that is not quite certain.

A different view is to be found elsewhere in Ełišē, who says that Scripture is silent about the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil (*Commentary on Genesis* 14 p. 243). Although this seems to contradict his statement in the *Armenian War* cited immediately above, here Ełišē 's point is that Scripture does not explicitly describe the fruit, only the tree, and he is not concerned with identifying this fruit.

3. *Satan*

3.1. *Satan and Serpent*

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is described in a number of ways. Agathangelos says that the serpent was a pack animal

[72] See further, STONE, *Naming*. This matter is also discussed above in the section on image.

[73] R.W. THOMSON, *Ełišē: History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (*Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies*, 5), Cambridge MA, 1982, p. 79. The Rabbinic views were varied, see L. GINZBERG, *Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 5.97 but the fig is well known there, as well as the grape and other produce. See *Genesis rabba* 15:7 where, as in *Life of Adam and Eve*, the identity with the fig is inferred from the fact that they made their loincloths from fig leaves.

upon which Satan rode (Agathangelos §141). Eznik, however, in §§46, 48 and 60 seems simply to equivalate them[74]. This relationship is the object of much discussion in subsequent centuries[75].

In a passage of the commentary of Ełišē on Joshua and Judges (10 p. 176) we find what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story:

> The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and it became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. It seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. It instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.

Sexual imagery permeates the passage. The serpent conceives or becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan) and in this aspect the serpent is female. This pregnant, female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and stripped her senses naked causing the abeyance of the intellect (therefore "stupidity"). The serpent uses the fruit as the means for this. The language of "war" and "vanquishing" is often used of Satan's attack on Eve. For example, in *Penitence of Adam* 11:3 we read "that you fight against us unnecessarily"; in 37.10.3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan, "that you dared to fight with the image of God": compare 4 Ezra 7:92 and 127[76].

[74] ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse,* p. 297, observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* III [PG 76:632 B-C]).

[75] The language used in the *Penitence of Adam* is that the serpent is a lyre upon which Satan plays: "[b]e you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth" [44]16:4b. Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 8:2 talks of the soul without the body as being "without its mate, the body, its instrument and lyre" (BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 132). According to some of the Greek and Latin fathers the serpent was the instrument (ὄργανον) of the enemy of truth (Theodoret, *QG*, CCCIII); Theophilus, *ad Auctolytum* II.28; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 16 *et al.* cited by ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 297. Ephrem's poem is reminiscent of the story of the blind man and the lame man attributed to Pseudo-Ezekiel: this story and its rabbinic parallels are discussed in D. SATRAN, M.E. STONE and B.G. WRIGHT, *The Apocryphal Ezekiel* (*Early Judaism and Its Literature*, 18), Atlanta, 2000, p. 9-19. It seems likely that a comparative study of Satan's relationship to the serpent and the soul's relationship to the body and the metaphors used to describe them would yield important insights into ancient anthropology.

[76] The language of war and vanquishing is old, so already in the other (not Armenian) versions of 4 Ezra, which latter uses instead the language of *ašxatim* "to labour". Thus 7:92 "with great toil he laboured (*ašxatecʿaw*) against all sins" and 7:127 "Let them labour (*ašxatescʿin*) upon earth to abandon evil". In both instances, *aš̲xatim* corresponds to the language of fighting in other versions.

3.2. *Fall of Satan*

In a text enumerating single sins in the past that have caused major results we read "Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin, that the trembling of Cain was because of one murder;... the fall of Satan was because of pride" (Mandakuni p. 199). There is an early version of the story of the fall of Satan that is related to Satan's rebellion against God. When Adam was created, God ordered all the angels to bow down to him. Satan refused, and for this reason he was cast out of heaven. This version of the fall of Satan is to be found in *Penitence of Adam* chaps. 12-16 and parallels. Anderson has shown that St. Ephrem also knew it as did Agathangelos, particularly §280[77]. Although the story of Satan's fall is not mentioned explicitly in the fifth-century Armenian sources being studied here, the formulation in Mandakuni indicates that he knew it[78]. Consequently, on the basis of the material analyzed in the present paragraph and in the next section below, we may confidently conclude that in fifth-century Armenian literature the story of Satan's fall was current in a form in which it preceded the story of his deception of Adam. In this form, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.

Eznik, however, who also deals with this problem, is concerned more about the question of whether Satan is created evil or good. He became evil, he says, because of his enmity towards Adam[79]:

> Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became "the slanderer" (Revelation 2:10, 19:2 and 20:2). Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God's commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God (1.13 p. 38).

This text, in spite of the term "rebel" and the language relating to obedience, is still not completely explicit about the fall and the cautious view is to take it simply to refer to how Satan became wicked, without making any details of his fall explicit.

[77] See G.A. ANDERSON, *The Fall of Satan in the Thought of St. Ephrem*, unpublished address, Notre Dame University.

[78] It is most unlikely that he knew the variant of this that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan. Satan wished to displace God from his throne even before the creation of the world. This seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *Life of Adam* 15:3, and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period: see STONE, *History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, p. 89, 120. A later variant of this formulation occurs in *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam* §§1-4 (LIPSCOMB, *Adam Literature*, p. 108, 118).

[79] See G.A. ANDERSON, *The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan*, in *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 6 (1997), p. 105-134; ANDERSON, STONE, TROMP, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, p. 83-110.

In Eznik, we find another reference connected with Adam's fall "… nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor" (1.19 p. 54). Satan is called "prince" and this is surely a reference to Psalm 82 (81):6-7 "I say, 'You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like any prince". Again it is difficult to argue that this passage in Eznik refers explicitly to the story of the fall of Satan. Regardless, the text cited above from Yovhannēs Mandakuni and those referred to in the next section from Agathangelos and Mandakuni, clearly show that this story was known in Armenia in the fifth century[80].

3.3 *Satan, Envy of*

In Wisdom of Solomon 2:24 we read, "[t]hrough the envy of the tempter death entered the world"[81]. This verse reflects the widely-held view that Satan's primary motivation for deceiving Eve and Adam was envy. One source of Satan's envy is in the rebellion tradition mentioned above, where Satan is envious of Adam's priority in rank and refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to him[82]. This idea occurs in other early sources, such as *2 Enoch* 31:3-6, Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* 12:1, Armenian *Book of Adam* 15.1 (which has the word "envy" that is not in the Greek text), *3 Baruch* 4:8, and others[83]. Highlighting another motif, David Winston points to Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2:29, who states that Satan was envious since "Adam and Eve not only were alive but had produced offspring"[84]. This idea is not found in fifth-century Armenian sources.

[80] The idea of the fall of Satan is, of course, already present in Luke 10:18, "I watched Satan fall from Heaven like a flash of lightning," but in that text the reason for and occasion of the fall are eschatological and not protological. The pericope is well analysed by S.R. GARRETT, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings*, Fortress, 1989, p. 46-60 and especially p. 50-55. Agathangelos §280 à propos the seizing of mankind, cites 3 Corinthians 11, which was authoritative in the Armenian tradition. This verse says, "The lawless prince, as he wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin".

[81] In a letter sent from the city of Amit attributed to Łazar Pʻarpecʻi p. 607-608 this statement is attributed to "the Catholic Epistles". This seems to be an error, for nothing resembling it can be found in those Epistles.

[82] Some later sources are quoted in STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, p. 22-23. See also Yovhannēs Tʻulkurancʻi, *Concerning the Creation of the World,* 86-87, p. 84 (ANDERSON, STONE and TROMP, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, p. 195-196); *Transgression of Adam and Eve*, p. 10-12 (LIPSCOMB, *Adam Literature*, p. 110, 120),

[83] Rabbinic parallels are abundant and are cited by D. WINSTON, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Anchor Bible), Garden City NY, 1979, p. 121-122.

[84] Winston, *ibid.*, also points to the theme of envy in Gnostic sources. Of course, in numerous other sources the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qnʻ*, meaning "envy".

In Eznik 1.19 p. 54 the general statement is made that Satan is inflamed by envy, and similarly Łazar Pʿarbecʿi's "Letter to the City of Amit" (p. 608) states that the first created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He does not provide any details either of the cause of the envy or of its results.

In contrast with these general statements, Agathangelos (Teaching) §278 states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and was jealous of the good things he was destined to receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion. The cause of the envy is thus quite evident. Similarly, according to Eznik, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image of God (1.11 p. 33, 1.12 p. 35). In Mambrē p. 66 we read, "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life". These three authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him.

An analogous view may be found in Agathangelos (Teaching) §280, which says that Satan, envying the promise of potential immortality Adam received, tried to enslave him and inherit his position so that, "having made him err (and) having brought him out of the promises, perchance he might be able to inherit his place". This statement adds further specific features: first, that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality and second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. This formulation implies that Satan is outside the heavenly sphere when he is attacked by envy. He can have reached this location only after his initial rebellion and fall. In the *Penitence of Adam* 12-17, the story of Satan's fall, no hint of such a statement is made[85]. However, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, much later on in the book, Satan says, "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden"[86]. This statement is written from the perspective of fallen Satan, and Agathangelos wrote from the same perspective (Teaching) §280[87]. Yovhannēs Mandakuni makes a more general statement about envy when he says:

> envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings, for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam was sent out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam. (p. 90).

[85] Somewhat similar language may be observed in the Latin *Vitae Adam*, but that is of quite different origin from the Armenian-Georgian text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

[86] In *Penitence of Adam* 44.16.3 in the Armenian and Georgian versions.

[87] It is odd because it also implies the idea that the serpent also had fallen.

The order of events in this statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam[88].

Thus, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, and particularly of Adam's potential immortality, is the dominant feature of the theme in early Armenian literature. This is, of course, effectively a reformulation in the terms of the biblical story of the apocryphal theme that Satan's envied Adam's pre-eminence in creation. It complements the stress the Armenian sources lay upon God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which is to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment of abstinence from the fruit of the tree.

Some further statements are made about Satan's envy, which relate more to its results than its object. Thus, Pʿawstos says that Satan corrupts man by his envy, leading to deceit and falsehood (4.5 p. 92 = GARSOÏAN, *Epic Histories*, p. 118). As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action towards humans and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

4. *Sin and its Results*

4.1. *Adam's Sin: Character of*

All the texts that we have examined agree that Adam's sin was the transgression of God's single commandment, not to eat of the tree. Moreover, the limited and minor nature of this commandment is frequently stressed. This highlights God's beneficent wish that Adam observe it so that he might become angelic and immortal. Adam's commandment, a one-time "fast, abstinence" (*pahkʿ*), is contrasted with the commandment given to the angels to praise God without pause. Mandakuni, however, draws the opposite conclusion from the minor nature of the commandment. Remember, he says, because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was small, he went out of the Garden (p. 198)[89]. In a slightly less pointed way, on the next page he says that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin. *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* observes, similarly to Mandakuni (p. 19)[90], that Adam lacked "patience, continence" (*žužkalutʿiwn*) and sin resulted (pp. 104 and 111). Both these texts formulate Adam's sin in the terminology of Armenian reli-

[88] See also above, section 3.2. Agathangelos §77 implies that Satan's jealousy was responsible for the daughters of men in Genesis 6.

[89] In the *Ethics of the Fathers* Rabbi (i.e., Judah the Prince) observes appositely, as it were, to the present instance, "Be as heedful of a light precept as of a grave one for you know not the grant of reward for each" (2:1).

[90] Cited below in section 4.2.

gious practice. Anderson pointed out the influence of monastic ideas on some interpretations of the Adam stories. A like observation was made above on the influence of attitudes to celibacy on views of the protoplasts' intercourse[91]. Similarly, here too, perhaps, Mandakuni and *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* establish a relationship between the reinterpretation of the Adam stories and Armenian religious sensibilities.

4.2. *Results of Sin*

Genesis 3:17 And to Adam he said, "Because you listened to the voice of your wife, and ate of the tree of which I commanded you, not to eat of it and you ate of it, cursed is the ground in your action; in sadness you shall eat it all the days of your life;
Genesis 3:18 thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you; and you shall eat the plants of the field.
Genesis 3:19 By the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread until you return to the earth, whence you were created; for you were dust, and to dust you shall return."

In the texts we have examined remarkably little is made of the complex of curses pronounced in Genesis 3:17-19. Yovhannēs Mandakuni does make a statement clearly reflecting the biblical curses when he says that through Satan's envy, Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam (p. 90). However, such general statements are infrequent.

The Primary Adam Books add at least two additional curses to those adumbrated in the Bible. One of these may be newly created while the second was inferred subtly from the biblical text. The first curse is that the beasts became disobedient and the second, that humankind is afflicted by illness and pains: see the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* 31(6):4-32(7) and 37(10). As for the disobedience of the animals, in *Penitence of Adam* 37 (10):3 Eve reproaches the attacking wild beast, a form of the serpent and Satan, saying "How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed?" The beast responds, in the next verse, "In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you"[92]. The same idea occurs in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* p. 37, which states that "while man was obedient to the laws of God, the beasts and poisonous creatures obeyed man". This particular formulation of the idea seems to be an interpretation of God's blessing of Adam in Genesis 1:28: "and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of

[91] Since the general character of Armenian practice resembled other Christian practice, of course these views are not necessarily distinctively Armenian in themselves.

[92] G.A. ANDERSON, M.E. STONE, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve: Second Revised Edition* (*Early Judaism and Its Literature*, 17), Atlanta, 1999, 42E-43E.

the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth". In the Armenian Bible the last part of this verse varies and reads, "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the creeping things which creep upon the earth". The two groups of beings mentioned explicitly in the Armenian biblical text, the beasts and the crawling (and thus the poisonous) creatures, occur in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ*, which derives its statement from the biblical phrase[93].

Eznik extends the same principle to the demons, at least if we follow the translation of Blanchard and Young. Thus in 1.22 p. 63 Eznik says literally, "just as they were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin and were not subject". I have provided "the demons" as the subject of the plural verb *hnazand ēin* "were obedient", so giving "just as (the demons) were obedient". The context in the next sentence, which speaks of "Satan," demands this interpretation and we accept it, even though the word "demons" does not actually occur in Eznik's text. Thus, the authority given to Adam in the blessing of Genesis 1:28 was extended to the demons and Adam's sin brought about its abrogation[94].

The second additional curse, that Adam's sin caused illness and pains, certainly derives from the idea that his sin brought about death with its attendant sufferings. Indeed, the predominant outcome of Adam's sin was death and before his sin there was no death. This view is to be found, for example, in *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* 99[95]. This idea derived from Genesis 3:19. That verse, however, is actually pronouncing the curse of agricultural labour, and Adam is said to have to till the earth "for out of it you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you shall return". The inference that death resulted from Adam's transgression cannot be avoided[96] and the impact of Genesis 3:19 was increased when it was

[93] In the Hebrew Bible we read ובכל חיה הרשמת על הארץ "and over every beast that crawls on the earth"; the LXX translates this odd Hebrew as καὶ παντῶν τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ παντῶν τῶν ἑρπετῶν τῶν ἑρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the crawling things that crawl on the earth". Intriguingly the Peshita reads *wbbʿyr' wbklh ḥywt' drḥš' ʿl 'rʿ*" "and over the animals and over all the beasts that crawl upon the earth". This does not have the awkward phrase "and over all the earth" which occurs in the Greek text. *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* might have used a biblical text reflecting either the Greek or the Syriac Genesis. The Armenian biblical text, as edited by Zeytunyan, reflects the Greek text.

[94] Does this mean that before Adam's sin the demons did no harm?

[95] Of course, it is much older. For example, it can be inferred from Romans 6:23 "For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" and from many other sources, such as *Wisdom of Solomon* 2:24 (see above §3.3).

[96] This view existed even without Paul's interpretation; see 4 Ezra 3:21, for example, and the comments in STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, p. 64-65, where numerous sources are adduced. In Christian works, however, the Pauline statement which is itself an exegesis of Genesis 3:19, likely played a part.

combined with the Pauline statement in Romans that the wages of sin is death. Pains and death result from Adam's disobedience: had there been no disobedience, Adam would still be alive (Eznik 1.17 pp. 50-51). Yovhannēs Mandakuni uses the ecclesiastical language when he says that the commandment given to Adam was a *pahk῾* "a fast". Had he observed it "he would have inherited life without blemish and, immortal and sinless and in heaven, the heavenly goodness" (p. 19)[97]. This is a good summary of ideas relating to death and pain, which result from Adam's sin.

Another major result of Adam's sin was the loss of glory. This is repeated often in the early Armenian sources and becomes a major theme throughout the centuries. In Armenian and non-Armenian sources, Adam loses or is stripped naked of his glory[98]. The word "glory", however, is polyvalent. Agathangelos (Teaching) §278 clearly designates the protoplasts' Paradisiacal state when he stays that, "the Evil One in his jealousy, deceitfully deprived man of glory and cast him into death". Along the same lines, Yovhannēs Mandakuni describes Satan's state before his fall as glory (90): "[t]hen he received all suffering[99] and immediately he was cast outside, from his great and excellent glory" (Mandakuni, 182)[100].

Agathangelos in Teaching §350 describes the post-lapsarian corruption of creation in the following terms:

> For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonoured on account of His anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns [Genesis 3:17-18], flooded and consumed by fire [II Pet. 3:6], shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood [Joel 2:31] and the heavens lost their colour[101]...

[97] This statement and its use of ecclesiastical language are discussed further in §1.5 above.

[98] There are numerous texts that speak of Adam being stripped naked of glory. The Greek sources are presented in ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 303 and the Syriac texts are dealt with by S. BROCK, *Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition*, in M. SCHMIDT (ed.), in collaboration with C.F. GEYER, *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*, Regensburg, 1982, p. 11-38. Compare also R.M. TONNEAU, *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum commentarii (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 152-153; *Scriptores Syri*, 71-72), Louvain, 1955, p. 33 ll. 9-11. Sources in Armenian are extensive, and see, e.g., Agathangelos §280, Yovhannēs T῾ulkuranc῾i, *Rhymed History*, p. XII 202, Yovhannēs Erznkac῾i XI 28, and STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, Index s.v. "Adam nakedness" and "glory" and relevant notes.

[99] The word *axt* frequently translates the Greek πάθος.

[100] In section 4.4 below we discuss the relationship between Adam and Eve's glory and their nakedness: see §4.4.

[101] THOMSON, *Teaching*, p. 98.

This passage draws together a number of biblical themes which all relate to the corruption and confusion of the natural order[102]. The implication is clear; the natural order is disrupted by Adam's sin. Agathangelos uses the term "glory" here to refer not to Adam's state in the Garden, but to the proper order of the world. The world is "whatever was formed for the delight and glory of man." The notion that the world was created for the sake of humankind occurs widely in Jewish and Christian sources[103].

Agathangelos extends the idea that the earth was cursed because of Adam's sin[104] beyond the sweat of the brow and the thorns and the thistles of Genesis 3:17-18. The apocalyptic signs he enumerates belong to the convulsions of the earth that will presage redemption. Borrowed chiefly from biblical contexts of covenant curses or of God's warlike epiphany, such signs are applied by Jewish and Christian sources to the peaking of evil before redemption[105]. A similar understanding of these signs, together with a list of them, is to be observed in the Gospels, in Mark 13:24-27 and Matthew 24:1-29[106], and early Christian apocalyptic literature knows them well[107]. Agathangelos views the disruption of the natural order, which peaks in these "messianic woes", to be the direct result of Adam's sin. Thus the curse laid upon the earth due to Adam's sin receives a cosmic dimension.

In his *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* §7 (p. 173) Ełišē says, "and the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption due to the transgression of Adam and he was returned to the nature of dust (or: its earthy nature)". Above, in discussion of the material from which Adam was created, we noted how *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʻ* 31 says that Adam was created "from the four materials", i.e., elements, using terminology very similar to Ełišē's here. But Ełišē says that it is "this world" (*ašxarhis*)

[102] Among the Jewish sources, Josephus already connected two floods compare *Antiquities* 1.70-71. See also later Armenian sources such as *Forefathers* §§40-41 and Abel §§4.3-4. Thomson is most probably right about the source of Agathangelos. The passage clearly points to the idea of two floods, one of water (Noah's) and one of fire (eschatological).

[103] See STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, p. 188-189.

[104] This idea is itself something of an exegetical crux. Why was the earth cursed if Adam sinned?

[105] See STONE, *Fourth Ezra*, 107-114.

[106] Similar events signal the cosmic reaction to the moment of Jesus' death on the cross in Mathew 27:45-52.

[107] One later Armenian example among many, is *The Signs of the Judgement*, edited by M.E. STONE, *Signs of the Judgment*. That text predicts floods of water and fire, earthquakes, and other signs that will presage the Day of Judgement. In more general terms, the reapplication of apocalyptic themes by the Armenians is worthy of serious investigation.

not Adam that is made of the four elements, though the influence of Adam's curse is to be found in the last phrase of his statement[108].

4.3. *God, footsteps of*

Genesis 3:8 And they heard the sound of the LORD God going in the garden at evening time, and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden.

Ancient Armenian readers of the Bible were exercised by the statement that Adam and Eve heard "the sound of the Lord God". The unabashedly anthropomorphic implications of this statement were obviously to be discounted, so what could it have been that Adam and Eve heard? Eusebius of Emesa in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which was early translated in Armenian, says that God made his footsteps audible so his coming was known in advance to Adam (*Commentary on Genesis* p. 38). The same idea is also found in the Syriac commentary on Genesis by Ephrem[109]. Agathangelos and Eznik develop this idea further: God made his footsteps audible, so the man might have an opportunity to repent or express contrition (Agathangelos [Teaching] §282 and Eznik 1.18 p. 52)[110].

Armenian sources handle other comparable anthropomorphisms similarly. Thus, in a later document, we read. "God summoned [Cain] to penitence by asking, 'Where, Cain, is your brother Abel?'"[111] This dramatic presentation reflects an idea already found in Philo, *Questiones in Genesin* 1:68 and responds to the exegetical difficulty that God's question created. The approach is the same as that reflected in the interpretation of the sound God created that the early Armenian texts advance.

[108] There is some apparent contradiction between the four elements on the one hand, and Adam's return to dust on the other. A similar tension is to be found in the passage from *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* p. 13, referred to above. It is a commonplace of later Armenian exegesis that Adam was created from the four elements. *Yačaxapatum čaṙkʿ* appears the earliest Armenian witness to this idea.

[109] "[T]his sound of footsteps was made in order that your lips might make supplication" (2:25) translated by BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 216 and "for He caused His silent footsteps to make a noise so that, at the noise, they might prepare to make supplication before him who issued the sound" *ibid.* 2:24 (p. 215).

[110] Along the same lines, the Armenian *Commentary on* Genesis attributed to Ephrem reads, "Indeed that Beneficent One did not reveal Himself by any extraordinary means, lest [Adam and Eve] be terrified, nor did He flash like lightning, lest He alarm them, but He made a sound for His feet and sent it before Him, so that He might teach repentance to the impenitent and obdurate heart": E.G. MATHEWS, *The Armenian Commentary on Genesis Attributed to Ephrem the Syrian*, 29:14. Mathews' view is that this commentary is later than the fifth century.

[111] *History of the Forefathers* §17. See STONE, *Adam and Eve*, p. 188-189.

4.4. *Naked and ashamed*

Genesis 3:10 And he said, "I heard the sound of you in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself".
Genesis 3:11 He said, "Who told you that you were naked? Have you eaten from the tree of which I commanded you only not to eat?"
Genesis 3:21 And God made garments of skins for Adam and for his wife, and clothed them.

Some Greek patristic writers maintained that Adam had been innocently naked in the Garden before sinning[112]. The early Armenian sources, however, take Genesis 3:10 to mean that in one way or another Adam *became naked* through sin. This we read in Agathangelos §9, when it says in a simile, "who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam". Clearly, then, before sinning Adam was not naked. Along the same lines, Agathangelos says that "they [i.e., Adam and Eve *MES*] were stripped of the divine[113] glory" (Teaching) §280. We may put the point in another way: the Armenian sources took the verb in Genesis 3:10 to mean not "I was naked", but "I became naked"[114].

According to Agathangelos §9 and §280, Adam and Eve were clothed in glory of which subsequently they were stripped. This idea does not originate in Armenia, though it is extremely wide-spread there[115]. In Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise* 6:9 the garment of glory belongs to Adam and to the saints, but Adam lost it through the agency of the serpent[116]. Eusebius of Emesa says that "He, having gone forth [i.e., from the Garden] moved afar on account of the transgression of the commandment

[112] Such sources are discussed in M. ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 295-296.

[113] So Thomson: the word is literally "divinely-formed" (from the noun "form", not the verb). "Stripped" here and elsewhere renders the same verb *merkanam*, which was translated "became naked" above. It becomes very frequent in the Armenian sources relating to Adam and Eve.

[114] The biblical text does not have the verb *merkanam* "to be, become naked" that Agathangelos uses, but the expression *merk ēi* "I was naked", employing the adjective *merk* and the verb "to be". Thus Agathangelos reflects a way of reading of Genesis that goes beyond what can be inferred from the literal meaning of the linguistic formulation. Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise*, 2:7 speaks of Adam as "him who was stripped naked" (BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 87), cf. *ibid.* 3:14 (BROCK, *ibid.*, 95), etc.

[115] See ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 295 and 303. Her presentation of the patristic evidence, however, shows that this theme, which she attributed to Jewish texts (such as the *Life of Adam and Eve*!) was far from dominant in the Greek tradition: e.g., Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.23.5 speaks of the analogous "garment of sanctity received from the Spirit". There he speaks of Adam and Eve clothed in divine glory like "angels on the earth". See M. HARL, *La prise de conscience de la 'nudité' d'Adam: une interpretation de Genèse 3,7 chez les Pères grecs,* in *Studia Patristica*, 8:1 (1966), p. 486-495.

[116] See BROCK, *Hymns on Paradise*, p. 112. Similarly *Hymns on Paradise* 7:5 refers to a "raiment of light" and 7:12 speaks of "glory". These characteristics are attributed to the saints, but the implication is clear, the saints gained what Adam lost.

remaining naked and wanting of his glory, which he had (Homily on Genesis (Armenian) 15, pp. 169-170).

The association of glory with Adam is older, of course, and is already implied in Ben Sira 49:16 "Shem and Seth and Enosh were visited, but above every other living being was Adam's glory"[117]. In *Penitence of Adam* 44 (20):1 we read explicitly: "At that hour I learned with my eyes that I had become naked of the glory which with I had been clothed"[118].

So the Armenian tradition is dominated by Agathangelos' intepretation ([Teaching] §280), which had occurred previously in Ephrem and Eusebius of Emesa, among others. Adam and Eve were clothed in glory and when they sinned they were stripped of the glory and became naked. The dominant role of this particular interpretation of Genesis 3:10 is striking and we add some further instances. In §76 Agathangelos states that in the Garden, Adam and Eve were "clothed in glory without shame as with a garment". This text seems to combine the interpretation found in some Greek fathers, to which we referred above, that Adam and Eve were naked and without shame, with the idea of their glorious garments. Ełišē (*Commentary on Joshua and Judges* p. 195) says, "Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory"[119]. Here the image in which Adam was created is interpreted as being a likeness of God's glory. Adam lost the divinely imprinted glory when he fell. Mambrē says that Adam "was stripped of his glory given by the Creator, on account of his sins" (p. 64 and cf. p. 91).

4.5. *Chronology of Adam in Garden*

The Bible does not record the length of time that Adam and Eve were in the Garden. Later Armenian sources, like other Christian texts and some Jewish texts, elaborate on Adam and Eve's Edenic timetable. Some chronological points are to be found in the sources we examined. Thus, according to Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* 14 p. 243:

> … Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David's saying "A thousand

[117] So the Hebrew text. The LXX differs somewhat, reading Σημ καὶ Σηθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάθησαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πὰν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει ᾿Αδαμ. "Shem and Seth were glorified among men; and more than all living creatures in creation, Adam." In this text form as well Adam's glory is explicit.

[118] See also *Penitence of Adam* 44 (23).2 and 3. In *Book of Adam* we find a different interpretation, "and I realized and knew that I am naked of the righteousness with which I was clothed"; cf. note 97 above.

[119] This passage is also discussed in §1.7 above. The attribution of this work is not incontestable.

> years in the Lord's eyes is as yesterday" [Psalm 90:4]. But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth of the male[120].

This text was fully discussed in section 2.5 above, in a different context.

Above we observed the parallel between the timetable of Adam's sin and expulsion and that of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion. Another aspect of this parallel is Mambrē's statement that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb (p. 56). Again, Mambrē says that Adam sinned on the sixth day, Friday, and was then stripped of his glory (p. 91). Patristic and later Armenian sources make much of the creation of Adam on the sixth day, Friday. Adam sinned on the day on which he was created, Friday, and Christ's death on the Cross occurred on Friday[121].

5. *Burial of Adam*

In the texts we have discussed, the idea that Adam was buried at Golgotha does not occur. Of course, in texts like Ełišē, *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* 16, p. 196, the idea that Adam descended into Hell and was brought up by Christ is to be found, an idea that, from the second century on, occurs in Christian tradition[122]. The commentary on the Lord's prayer attributed to Ełišē (p. 204) says that, "On Sunday he (i.e., Christ) gathered the crushed bones of Adam." The origin of the "crushed bones" is unclear.

Hebrew University of Jerusalem — Michael E. Stone
Armenian Studies Program
Mt Scopus, Jerusalem
Israel

stone@vms.huji.ac.il

[120] It presumably refers to the purity law about the birth of males and females, which is cited in other sources about the birth of Adam.

[121] ALEXANDRE, *Commencement de Genèse*, p. 273-274 citing Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.23.2. The same views and chronology are taken up in *Adam Story 2* and are discussed in the introduction to the edition of that text; see STONE, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, p. 109-113.

[122] J.-D. KAESTLI, *Témoignages anciens sur la croyance en la descente du Christ aux enfers* in J.-D. KAESTLI, P. CHERIX (eds.), *L'évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes*, Turnhout, 1993, p. 135-142.

Abstract — The present study presents discussions of the Adam and Eve stories in the writings of the first century of Armenian literacy. Indeed, the Armenians created an extraordinarily rich apocryphal literature in which the stories of Adam and Eve were repeatedly rehearsed. But, apocryphal literature is just one of the ways in which the Adam and Eve stories were rewritten within Armenian culture and influenced it. In the present article we present narrative and exegetical material relating to the stories of Genesis 1-3 organized by subjects and themes and set under the appropriate biblical verses. Remarks have been added on the exegesis lying behind the statements made, together with some comparative Greek and Syriac material. Above all, our purpose is to present the Armenian tradition, including those views which lay behind subsequent Armenian interpretations of these stories – artistic, theological, exegetical and literary.

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THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS
VOLUME 7

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THE

ANTE-NICENE FATHERS

The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325

THE REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.,

EDITORS

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VOLUME 7

LACTANTUS

VENANTIUS

ASTERIUS

VICTORINUS

DIONYSIUS

APASTOLIC TEACHING AND CONSTITUTIONS,

HOMILY, AND LITURGIES

AGES Software

FATHERS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

LACTANTUS, VENANTIUS, ASTERIUS, VICTORINUS, DIONYSIUS, APASTOLIC TEACHING AND CONSTITUTIONS, HOMILY, AND LITURGIES

AMERICAN EDITION

Chronically Arranged, With Notes, Prefaces, And Elucidations,

BY

A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω

The Nicene Council

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

THE genius of Lactantius suffers a sad transformation when unclothed of his vernacular and stripped of the idiomatic graces of his style. But the intelligent reader will be sure to compare this translation with the Latinity of the original, and to recur to it often for the enjoyment of its charming rhetoric, and of the high sentiment it so nobly enforces and adorns. This volume will be the favorite of the series with many. The writings of the Christian Tully alone make up more then half of its contents; and it is supremely refreshing to reach, at last, an author who chronicles the triumph of the Gospel over “Herod and Pontius Pilate;” over the heathen in their “rage,” and the people in their “vain imaginings:” over “kings of the earth who stood up, and the rulers who were gathered together against the Lord and against His Christ.”

I love the writings of Lactantius, and two of his sayings are always uppermost when I recall his name. They touch me like plaintive but inspiring music. Let me quote them entire: —

1. “Si vita est optanda sapienti profecto nullam aliam ob causam vivere optaverim, quam ut aliquid efficiam quod vit dignum sit.”

2. “Satis me vixisse arbitrabor, et officium hominis implesse, si labor meus aliquos homines ab erroribus liberatos, ad iter coeleste direxerit.”

The *Minor Writers* to be found in this volume are not unworthy of their place. They are chiefly valuable as an appendix to preceding volumes, and illustrative of their contents.

But this series is enriched beyond its original by the *Bryennios Manuscript* and the completed form of the *pseudo-Clementine Epistle,* edited by Professor Riddle. The same hand has annotated the *Apostolic Constitutions,* so called; and the student has in his brief but learned notes all the light which has been shed by modern scholarship on these invaluable relics of *pseudepigraphic* treasures of early Christianity I have gathered here, to distinguish them from the mere *Apocrypha,* which will largely make up the one remaining volume of the series.

Of the *Liturgies,* I have said what seemed necessary as an introduction, in the proper place. They are debased by mediaeval alloy. In their English dress, and in the nudity of their appearance, without adequate notes and elucidations, they are therefore far from attractive specimens of liturgical literature. But it would have been beyond my province to say much where the original editors have said nothing, and I have contented myself with such comments only as seemed requisite to remind the student how to “take forth the precious from the vile.”

June, 1886
A. C. C.

LACTANTIUS

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. WILLIAM FLETCHER, D.D.]

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

LACTANTIUS

(A.D. 260-330.) Reaching, at last, the epoch of Constantine, perhaps the reader will share my own feelings, as those of —

"One who long, in thickets and in brakes
Entangled, winds now this way, and now that,
His devious course uncertain, seeking home,
But finds at last a greensward smooth and large,
Courageous, and refreshed for future toil."

How strange it seems, after three centuries since John the Baptist suffered, to gain a moment when kings are not actually persecuting Christ in His servants!

How marvelous the change must have been in the experience of the primitive faithful; the Roman Emperor not ashamed of Jesus, and setting up the cross on the standards of his legions! Tertullian, *De Fuga,* and the troubles of Cyprian about *The Lapsed,* are matters of the past. As in a moment, God has changed the world for His people, and their perils become as suddenly reversed. The world's favor begins to be the trial of faith, as its hatred before. The mild contemplative attitude of the Church at this period is something surprising. It accepts with little exultation this miracle of the Master; but so long has it been habituated to persecution, that it finds much of its discipline, and not less of its prevailing spirit, neutralized by its very triumph. No more the martyr's heroic testimony and his crown beyond this life; no such call for the celibate as had been enforced before in tomes of the Christian literature; and what need now of

Antony's invitation to the desert and the cell? But, on the other hand, these ascetic forms of heroic faith were all that were now left to minister to the martyr-spirit, and to perpetuate the attractiveness, and became dear to sentiment, as to principle before. We must not be surprised, then, at the tendencies of the age now readily developed; but let us rejoice for a moment in the times of refreshing from the Lord now at last vouchsafed to that "little flock" to which He had promised the kingdom.

The "conversion of Constantine," as it is called, introduced the most marvelous revolution in human empire, in practical thought, and in the laws and manners of mankind, ever known in the history of the world. It is amazing how little the men of the epoch itself glorified their own introduction to "marvelous light," and how very little the Church has left us, to tell the story of its emotions when first it found itself at rest from fiery persecutions, or when came forth from the Emperor the Edict of Milan for the legal observance of "the Day of the Sun." What a day that Easter was, when, emerging from the catacombs and other dens and caves of the earth, the Church herself seemed as one risen from the dead!

We may be sure there were tears of joy and warm embraces among kindred long torn asunder by their common exposures to fire and sword. We cannot imagine, indeed, all that was in the hearts of those Christian families that now kept holyday together in the face of the world, and sang fearlessly in holy places their anthem, "Christ is risen from the dead." but a moment's thought we ought to give, as we pass into a stage of history entirely fresh and new, to the power of God thus manifested. The miracle thus wrought by the ascended Christ needs no aid from the supposed "vision of Constantine" to make it a supernatural exhibition of His glory who is "King of kings and Lord of lords."

Arnobius wrote to the minds of perplexed Pilates asking "What is truth" in a new spirit, and not indisposed to wash their own hands of the blood of Jesus, though not prepared to believe and be baptized. His pupil finds a better sort of Pilate in the Emperor and in his period. Constantine is a pagan still at heart, but he is convinced of the truth that Christ has a kingdom "not of this world;" and he must have this credit, above the Antonines, that he recognized in the Christians not only his best and most loyal subjects, but men of a character altogether superior to that of the

heathen, who had so long been the councilors of the empire. He was one, also who accepted “the logic of events,” and who came to terms with the inevitable in time to turn it to his own advantage.

I think Constantine had read the *Apologies* addressed to the Antonines by Justin Matyr, and was at first disposed only to accept the plea for Christians so far forth as Justin had urged it. Going so far, he was led beyond his positive convictions to measures of policy which identified him with the Church. That the Church was distrustful of him, and doubted how long the imperial favor might be relied upon, is also apparent. This doubt accounts, in some degree, for the great moderation of the Church in accepting benefits from him, and in withholding notes of triumph. She instinctively foresaw Julians in the way, and expected reactionary periods. She forbore to baptize the Emperor, and encouraged his disposition to postpone. It was as when “the wolf of Benjamin” was introduced to the disciples: “they were afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple.”

Lactantius, moved, perhaps, by Hosius or Eusebius, undertakes the instruction of the Emperor, while seeming only to copy the example of Justin writing to Antoninus Pius. The *Institutes,* it is true, had been begun at an earlier date; but he economizes, for a new purpose, the material, in which , perhaps, he had only purposed to follow up the work of his teacher, in language better fitted to the polite, for refuting heathenism. I cannot doubt that he aimed, in pure Latinity, to win the Emperor and his court to a deeper and purer conviction of divine truth: to more than a feeble and possibly superstitious idea that it was useless to contend with it, and that the gods of the empire were impotent to protect themselves against Christian progress and its masterly exposures of their shame and nothingness.

In language which has given him the title of the Christian Cicero, Lactantius employs Cicero himself as a defender of the truth; correcting him, indeed, and overruling his mistakes, rebuking his pusillanimity, and justly censuring him, in philosophy, for declaring it no rule of action, however ennobling its precepts; and in religion, for not venturing to profess conclusions to which his reasonings necessarily tend. All this is admirably adapted to carry on the work of Christian Fathers and

Apologists under the change of times. He and Arnobius furnish but a supplement to the real teachers of the Church, and are not to be always depended on in statements of doctrine. They write like earnest converts, but not like theologians; yet, although their loose expressions are often inconsistent one with another, it is manifest that their design is to support orthodoxy as it had been defined by abler expounders. I think the large respect which Lactantius pays to the testimony of the Sibyls was addressed to the class with which he had to deal. Constantine was greatly influenced by such testimonies, if we may judge from his own liberal quotations and his comments on the *Pollio* of Virgil, to which, as a Christian oracle, our author may have introduced him. In short, the day had come in which it could no longer be said with strict propriety of phrase, “Not many mighty, not many noble, are called;” and Lactantius accepted, as his mission, the enforcement, before such a class, of despised truths which the great had persecuted in vain for centuries. He drew them thus to the conclusion that God had indeed “chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are.” Such was the prophecy of St. Paul, and the *Labarum* uplifted by Caesar’s legions proclaimed the fulfillment.

I have little doubt that Lactantius was of heathen parentage, and was converted late in life. To his eternal honor he was not a “fair-weather Christian,” but boldly confessed the faith amid the fires of the last and most terrible of the great persecutions. Its probable date suggests that his treatise on the persecutors may have been a far-reaching effort to dissuade the Caesars of a later age from trying to restore “the gods to Latium.” I confess my own partiality to our author, and the interest with which his writings continue to impress me, even now. In youth (*Consule Planco*) I brought to his pages an enthusiastic appreciation of the genius which had adorned the very dawn of Christian civilization by works of literary merit not inferior to those of the Augustan age. The crabbed Latinity of Tertullian has charms, indeed, of its own sort: it was the shaggy raiment of the ascetic and the confessor, “always bearing about in his own body the dying of the Lord Jesus.” It befitted the age and the man, and those awful realities with which Christians had then to deal. Not words, but things,

were their one concern. It is pleasant to find, however, that Christianity is not incapable of meeting all sorts and conditions of men; and Lactantius was doubtless the instrument of Providence in bearing the testimony of Jesus, "even before kings," in language which promised to Roman letters the new and commanding development imparted to its language by Christianity, which has made it imperishable, and more truly "eternal" than Rome itself.

The following is the INTRODUCTORY NOTICE of the reverend translator: —

LACTANTIUS has always held a very high place among the Christian Fathers, not only on account of the subject-matter of his writings, but also on account of the varied erudition, the sweetness of expression, and the grace and elegance of style, by which they are characterized. It appears, therefore, more remarkable that so little is known with certainty respecting his personal history. We are unable to fix with precision either the place or time of his birth, and even his name has been the subject of much discussion. It is know that he was a pupil of Arnobius, who gave lectures in rhetoric at Sicca in Africa. Hence it has been supposed that Lactantius was a native of Africa, while others have maintained that he was born in Italy, and that his birthplace probably was Firmium, on the Adriatic. He was probably born about the middle of the third century, since he is spoken of as far advanced in life about A.D. 315. He is usually denominated "Lucius Caelius Firminanus Lactantius;" but the name Caecilus is sometimes substituted for Caelius, and it is uncertain whether Firmaianus is a family name or a local designation. Some have even supposed that he received the name of *Lacantius* from the milky softness of his style.

He attained to great eminence as a teacher of rhetoric, and his fame far outstripped the reputation of his master Arnobius. Such, indeed, was his celebrity, that he was invited by the Emperor Diocletian to settle at Nicomedia, and there practice his art. He appears, however, to have met with so little success in that city, as to have been reduced to extreme indigence. Abandoning his profession as a pleader, he devoted himself to literary composition. It was probably at this period that he embraced the Christian faith, and we may perhaps be justified in supposing some connection between his poverty and his change of religion. He was

afterwards called to settle in Gaul, probably about A.D. 315, and the Emperor Constantine entrusted to him the education of his son Crispus. He is believed to have died at Treves about A.D. 325.

His principal work is *The Christian Institutions,* or an *Introduction to True Religion,* in seven books, designed to supersede the less complete treatises of Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian. In these books, each of which has a distinct title, and constitutes a separate essay, he demonstrates the falsehood of the pagan religion, shows the vanity of the heathen philosophy, and undertakes the defense of the Christian religion against its adversaries. He also sets forth the nature of righteousness, gives instructions concerning the true worship of God, and treats of the punishment of the wicked, and the reward of the righteous in everlasting happiness.

To the *Institutions* is appended an epitome dedicated to Pentadius. The authorship of this abridgment has been questioned in modern times; but it is expressly assigned to Lactantius by Hieronymus. The greater part of the work was wanting in the earlier editions, and it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that it was discovered nearly entire.

The treatise on *The Anger of God* is directed mainly against the tenets of the Epicureans and Stoics, who maintained that the deeds of men could produce no emotions of pleasure or anger in the Deity. Lactantius holds that the love of the good necessarily implies the hatred of evil; and that the tenets of these philosophers, as tending to overthrow the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, are subversive of the principles of true religion.

In the treatise on *The Workmanship of God,* or *The Formation of Man,* the author dwells upon the wonderful construction of the human frame, and the adaptation of means to ends therein displayed, as proofs of the wisdom and goodness of God. The latter part of the book contains speculations concerning the nature and origin of the soul.

In the treatise on the *Deaths of Persecutors,* an argument for the truth of the Christian religion is derived from the fact, that those emperors who had been most distinguished as persecutors of the Christians, were special objects of divine vengeance.

To these treatises are usually appended some poetical works which have been attributed to Lactantius, but it is very questionable whether any of them were really written by him.

The poem on the *Phoenix* appears to be of a comparatively modern date.

That on *Easter* is believed to have been composed by Venatius Honorianus Clementianus Fortunatus in the sixth century.

The poem on the *Passion of the Lord,* though much admired both in its language and style of thought, bears the impress of a later age.

There is also a collection of *A Hundred Enigmas*, which has been attributed to Lactantius; but there is good reason to suppose that they are not the production of his pen. Heumann endeavored to prove that *Symposium* is the title of the work, and that no such person as Symposius ever existed. But this opinion is untenable. It is true that Hieronymus speaks of Lactantius as the author of a Symposium, but there are no grounds for supposing that the work was of a light and trifling character: it was probably a serious dialogue.

The style of Lactantius has been deservedly praised for the dignity, elegance, and clearness of expression by which it is characterized, and which have gained for him the appellation of the Christian Cicero. his writings everywhere give evidence of his varied and extensive erudition, and contain much valuable information respecting the systems of the ancient philosophers. But his claims as a theologian are open to question; for he holds peculiar opinions on many points, and he appears more successful as an opponent of error than as a maintainer of the truth. Lactantius has been charged with a leaning to Manicheism, but the charge appears to be unfounded.

The translation has been made from Migne’s edition, from which most of the notes have been taken. The quotations from Virgil have been given in the words of Conington’s translation, and those from Lucretius in the words of Munro.

THE DIVINE INSTITUTES

BOOK 1

OF THE FALSE WORSHIP OF THE GODS

PREFACE

OF WHAT GREAT VALUE THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH IS AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN

MEN of great and distinguished talent, when they had entirely devoted themselves to learning, holding in contempt all actions both private and public, applied to the pursuit of investigating the truth whatever labor could be bestowed upon it; thinking it much more excellent to investigate and know the method of human and divine things, than to be entirely occupied with the heaping up of riches or the accumulation of honors. For no one can be made better or more just by these things, since they are frail and earthly, and pertain to the adorning of the body only. Those men were indeed most deserving of the knowledge of the truth, which they so greatly desired to know, that they even preferred it to all things. For it is plain that some gave up their property, and altogether abandoned the pursuit of pleasures, that, being disengaged and without impediment, they might follow the simple truth, and it alone. And so greatly did the name and authority of the truth prevail with them, that they proclaimed that the reward of the greatest good was contained in it. But they did not obtain the object of their wish, and at the same time lost their labor and industry; because the truth, that is the secret of the Most High God, who created all things, cannot be attained by our own ability and perceptions. Otherwise there would be no difference between God and man, if human thought. could reach to the counsels and arrangements of that eternal majesty. And because it was impossible that the divine method of procedure should become known to man by his own efforts, God did not suffer man any

longer to err in search of the light of wisdom, and to wander through inextricable darkness without any result of his labor, but at length opened his eyes, and made the investigation of the truth His own gift, so that He might show the nothingness of human wisdom, and point out to man wandering in error the way of obtaining immortality.

But since few make use of this heavenly benefit and gift, because the truth lies hidden veiled in obscurity; and it is either an object of contempt to the learned because it has not suitable defenders, or is hated by the unlearned on account of its natural severity, which the nature of men inclined to vices cannot endure: for because there is a bitterness mingled with virtues, while vices are seasoned with pleasure, offended by the former and soothed by the latter, they are born headlong, and deceived by the appearance of good things, they embrace evils for goods, — I have believed that these errors should be encountered, that both the learned may be directed to true wisdom, and the unlearned to true religion. And this profession is to be thought much better, more useful and glorious, than that of oratory, in which being long engaged, we trained young men not to virtue, but altogether to cunning wickedness. Certainly we shall now much more rightly discuss respecting the heavenly precepts, by which we may be able to instruct the minds of men to the worship of the true majesty. Nor does he deserve so well respecting the affairs of men, who imparts the knowledge of speaking well, as he who teaches men to live in piety and innocence; on which account the philosophers were in greater glory among the Greeks than the orators. For they, the philosophers, were considered teachers of right living, which is far more excellent, since to speak well belongs only to a few, but to live well belongs to all. Yet that practice in fictitious suits has been of great advantage to us, so that we are now able to plead the cause of truth with greater copiousness and ability of speaking; for although the truth may be defended without eloquence, as it often has been defended by many, yet it needs to be explained, and in a measure discussed, with distinctness and elegance of speech, in order that it may flow with greater power into the minds of men, being both provided with its own force, and adorned with the brilliancy of speech.

CHAPTER 1

OF RELIGION AND WISDOM

We undertake, therefore, to discuss religion and divine things. For if some of the greatest orators, veterans as it were of their profession, having completed the works of their pleadings, at last gave themselves up to philosophy, and regarded that as a most just rest from their labors, if they tortured their minds in the investigation of those things which could not be found out, so that they appear to have sought for themselves not so much leisure as occupation, and that indeed with much greater trouble than in their former pursuit; how much more justly shall I betake myself as to a most safe harbor, to that pious, true, and divine wisdom, in which all things are ready for utterance, pleasant to the hearing, easy to be understood, honorable to be undertaken! And if some skillful men and arbiters of justice composed and published Institutions of civil law, by which they might lull the strifes and contentions of discordant citizens, how much better and more rightly shall we follow up in writing the divine Institutions, in which we shall not speak about rain-droppings, or the turning of waters, or the preferring of claims, but we shall speak of hope, of life, of salvation, of immortality, and of God, that we may put an end to deadly superstitions and most disgraceful errors.

And we now commence this work under the auspices of your name, O mighty Emperor Constantine, who were the first of the Roman princes to repudiate errors, and to acknowledge and honor the majesty of the one and only true God. For when that most happy day had shone upon the world, in which the Most High God raised you to the prosperous height of power, you entered upon a dominion which was salutary and desirable for all, with an excellent beginning, when, restoring justice which had been overthrown and taken away, you expiated the most shameful deed of others. In return for which action God will grant to you happiness, virtue, and length of days, that even when old you may govern the state with the same justice with which you began in youth, and may hand down to your children the guardianship of the Roman name, as you yourself received it from your father. For to the wicked, who still rage against the righteous in other parts of the world, the Omnipotent will also repay the reward of

their wickedness with a severity proportioned to its tardiness; for as He is a most indulgent Father towards the godly, so is He a most upright Judge against the ungodly. And in my desire to defend His religion and divine worship, to whom can I rather appeal, whom can I address, but him by whom justice and wisdom have been restored to the affairs of men?

Therefore, leaving the authors of this earthly philosophy, who bring forward nothing certain. let us approach the right path; for if I considered these to be sufficiently suitable guides to a good life, I would both follow them myself, and exhort others to follow them. But since they disagree among one another with great contention, and are for the most part at variance with themselves, it is evident that their path is by no means straightforward: since they have severally marked out distinct ways for themselves according to their own will, and have left great confusion to those who are seeking for the truth. But since the truth is revealed from heaven to us who have received the mystery of true religion, and since we follow God, the teacher of wisdom and the guide to truth, we call to ether all, without any distinction either of sex or of age, to heavenly pasture. For there is no more pleasant food for the soul than the knowledge of truth, to the maintaining and explaining of which we have destined seven books, although the subject is one of almost boundless and immeasurable labor; so that if any one should wish to dilate upon and follow up these things to their full extent, he would have such an exuberant supply of subjects, that neither books would find any limit, nor speech any end. But oil this account we will put together all things briefly, because those things which we are about to bring forward are so plain and lucid, that it seems to be more wonderful that the truth appears so obscure to men, and to those especially who are commonly esteemed wise, or because men will only need to be trained by us, — that is, to be recalled from the error in which they are entangled to a better course of life.

And if, as I hope, we shall attain to this, we will send them to the very fountain of learning, which is most rich and abundant, by copious draughts of which they may appease the thirst conceived within, and quench their ardor. And all things will be easy, ready of accomplishment, and clear to them, if only they are not annoyed at applying patience in reading or hearing to the perception of the discipline of wisdom. For many, pertinaciously adhering to vain superstitions, harden themselves against

the manifest truth, not so much deserving well of their religions, which they wrongly maintain, as they deserve ill of themselves; who, when they have a straight path, seek devious windings; who leave the level ground that they may glide over a precipice; who leave the light, that, blind and enfeebled, they may lie in darkness. We must provide for these, that they may not fight against themselves, and that they may be willing at length to be freed from inveterate errors. And this they will assuredly do if they shall at any time see for what purpose they were born; for this is the cause of their perverseness, — namely, ignorance of themselves: and if any one, having gained the knowledge of the truth, shall have shaken off this ignorance, he will know to what object his life is to be directed, and how it is to be spent. And I thus briefly define the sum of this knowledge, that neither is any religion to be undertaken without wisdom, nor any wisdom to be approved of without religion.

CHAPTER 2

THAT THERE IS A PROVIDENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN

Having therefore undertaken the office of explaining the truth, I did not think it so necessary to take my commencement from that inquiry which naturally seems the first, whether there is a providence which consults for all things, or all things were either made or are governed by chance; which sentiment was introduced by Democritus, and confirmed by Epicurus. But before them, what did Protagoras effect, who raised doubts respecting the gods; or Diagoras afterwards, who excluded them; and some others, who did not hold the existence of gods, except that there was supposed to be no providence? These, however, were most vigorously opposed by the other philosophers, and especially by the Stoics, who taught that the universe could neither have been made without divine intelligence, nor continue to exist unless it were governed by the highest intelligence. But even Marcus Tullius, although he was a defender of the Academic system, discussed at length and on many occasions respecting the providence which governs affairs, confirming the arguments of the Stoics, and himself adducing many new ones; and this he does both in all the books of his own philosophy, and especially in those which treat of the nature of the gods.

And it was no difficult task, indeed, to refute the falsehoods of a few men who entertained perverse sentiments by the testimony of communities and tribes, who on this one point had no disagreement. For there is no one so uncivilized, and of such an uncultivated disposition, who, when he raises his eyes to heaven, although he knows not by the providence of what God all this visible universe is governed, does not understand from the very magnitude of the objects, from their motion, arrangement, constancy, usefulness, beauty, and temperament, that there is some providence, and that that which exists with wonderful method must have been prepared by some greater intelligence. And for us, assuredly, it is very easy to follow up this part as copiously as it may please us. But because the subject has been much agitated among philosophers, and they who take away providence appear to have been sufficiently answered by men of sagacity and eloquence, and because it is necessary to speak, in different places throughout this work which we have undertaken, respecting the skill of the divine providence, let us for the present omit this inquiry, which is so closely connected with the other questions, that it seems possible for us to discuss no subject, without at the same time discussing the subject of providence.

CHAPTER 3

WHETHER THE UNIVERSE IS GOVERNED BY THE POWER OF ONE GOD OR OF MANY

Let the commencement of our work therefore be that inquiry which closely follows and is connected with the first: Whether the universe is governed by the power of one God or of many. There is no one, who possesses intelligence and uses reflection, who does not understand that it is one Being who both created all things and governs them with the same energy by which He created them. For what need is there of many to sustain the government of the universe? unless we should happen to think that, if there were more than one, each would possess less might and strength. And they who hold that there are many gods, do indeed effect this; for those gods must of necessity be weak, since individually, without the aid of the others, they would be unable to sustain the government of so

vast a mass. But God, who is the Eternal Mind, is undoubtedly of excellence, complete and perfect in every part. And if this is true, He must of necessity be one. For power or excellence, which is complete, retains its own peculiar stability. But that is to be regarded as solid from which nothing can be taken away, that as perfect to which nothing can be added.

Who can doubt that he would be a most powerful king who should have the government of the whole world? And not without reason, since all things which everywhere exist would belong to him, since all resources from all quarters would be centered in him alone. But if more than one divide the government of the world, undoubtedly each will have less power and strength, since every one must confine himself within his prescribed portion. In the same manner also, if there are more gods than one, they will be of less weight, others having in themselves the same power. But the nature of excellence admits of greater perfection in him in whom the whole is, than in him in whom there is only a small part of the whole. But God, if He is perfect, as He ought to be, cannot but be one, because He is perfect, so that all things may be in Him. Therefore the excellences and powers of the gods must necessarily be weaker, because so much will be wanting to each as shall be in the others; and so the more there are, so much the less powerful will they be. Why should I mention that this highest power and divine energy is altogether incapable of division? For whatever is capable of division must of necessity be liable to destruction also. But if destruction is far removed from God, because He is incorruptible and eternal, it follows that the divine power is incapable of division. Therefore God is one, if that which admits of so great power can be nothing else: and yet those who deem that there are many gods, say that they have divided their functions among themselves; but we will discuss all these matters at their proper places. In the meantime, I affirm this, which belongs to the present subject. If they have divided their functions among themselves, the matter comes back to the same point, that any one of them is unable to supply the place of all. He cannot, then, be perfect who is unable to govern all things while the others are unemployed. And so is comes to pass, that for the government of the universe there is more need of the perfect excellence of one than of the imperfect powers of many. But he who imagines that so great a magnitude as this cannot be governed by one Being, is deceived. For he does not

comprehend how great are the might and power of the divine majesty, if he thinks that the one God, who had power to create the universe, is also unable to govern that which He has created. But if he conceives in his mind how great is the immensity of that divine work, when before it was nothing, yet that by the power and wisdom of God it was made out of nothing — a work which could only be commenced and accomplished by one — he will now understand that that which has been established by one is much more easily governed by one.

Some one may perhaps say that so immense a work as that of the universe could not even have been fabricated except by many. But however many and however great he may consider them, — whatever magnitude, power, excellence, and majesty he may attribute to the many, — the whole of that I assign to one, and say that it exists in one: so that there is in Him such an amount of these properties as can neither be conceived nor expressed. And since we fail in this subject, both in perception and in words — for neither does the human breast admit the light of so great understanding, nor is the mortal tongue capable of explaining such great subjects — it is right that we should understand and say this very same thing. I see, again, what can be alleged on the other hand, that those many gods are such as we hold the one God to be. But this cannot possibly be so, because the power of these gods individually will not be able to proceed further, the power of the others meeting and hindering them. For either each must be unable to pass beyond his own limits, or, if he shall have passed beyond them, he must drive another from his boundaries. They who believe that there are many gods, do not see that it may happen that some may be opposed to others in their wishes, from which circumstance disputing and contention would arise among them; as Homer represented the gods at war among themselves, since some desired that Troy should be taken, others opposed it. The universe, therefore, must be ruled by the will of one. For unless the power over the separate parts be referred to one and the same providence, the whole itself will not be able to exist; since each takes care of nothing beyond that which belongs peculiarly to him, just as warfare could not be carried on without one general and commander. But if there were in one army as many generals as there are legions, cohorts, divisions, and squadrons, first of all it would not be possible for the army to be drawn out in battle array, since each would refuse the peril; nor could it easily be

governed or controlled, because all would use their own peculiar counsels, by the diversity of which they would inflict more injury than they would confer advantage. So, in this government of the affairs of nature, unless there shall be one to whom the care of the whole is referred, all things will be dissolved and fall to decay.

But to say that the universe is governed by the will of many, is equivalent to a declaration that there are many minds in one body, since there are many and various offices of the members, so that separate minds may be supposed to govern separate senses; and also the many affections, by which we are accustomed to be moved either to anger, or to desire, or to joy, or to fear, or to pity, so that in all these affections as many minds may be supposed to operate; and if any one should say this, he would appear to be destitute even of that very mind, which is one. But if in one body one mind possesses the government of so many things, and is at the same time occupied with the whole, why should any one suppose that the universe cannot be governed by one, but that it can be governed by more than one? And because those maintainers of many gods are aware of this, they say that they so preside over separate offices and parts, that there is still one chief ruler. The others, therefore, on this principle, will not be gods, but attendants and ministers, whom that one most mighty and omnipotent appointed to these offices, and they themselves will be subservient to his authority and command. If, therefore, all are not equal to one another, all are not gods; for that which serves and that which rules cannot be the same. For if God is a title of the highest power, He must be incorruptible, perfect, incapable of suffering, and subject to no other being; therefore they are not gods whom necessity compels to obey the one greatest God. But because they who hold this opinion are not deceived without cause, we will presently lay open the cause of this error. Now, let us prove by testimonies the unity of the divine power.

CHAPTER 4

THAT THE ONE GOD WAS FORETOLD EVEN BY THE PROPHETS

The prophets, who were very many, proclaim and declare the one God; for, being filled with the inspiration of the one God, they predicted things to come, with agreeing and harmonious voice. But those who are ignorant of the truth do not think that these prophets are to be believed; for they say that those voices are not divine, but human. Forsooth, because they proclaim one God, they were either madmen or deceivers. But truly we see that their predictions have been fulfilled, and are in course of fulfillment daily; and their foresight, agreeing as it does to one opinion, teaches that they were not under the impulse of madness. For who possessed of a frenzied mind would be able, I do not say to predict the future, but even to speak coherently? Were they, therefore, who spoke such things deceitful? What was so utterly foreign to their nature as a system of deceit, when they themselves restrained others from all fraud? For to this end were they sent by God, that they should both be heralds of His majesty, and correctors of the wickedness of man.

Moreover, the inclination to feign and speak falsely belongs to those who covet riches, and eagerly desire gains, — a disposition which was far removed from those holy men. For they so discharged the office entrusted to them, that, disregarding all things necessary for the maintenance of life, they were so far from laying up store for the future, that they did not even labor for the day, content with the unstored food which God had supplied; and these not only had no gains, but even endured torments and death. For the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life. Wherefore they, whose sins were brought to light and forbidden, most cruelly tortured and slew them. They, therefore, who had no desire for gain, had neither the inclination nor the motive for deceit. Why should I say that some of them were princes, or even kings, upon whom the suspicion of covetousness and fraud could not possibly fall, and yet they proclaimed the one God with the same prophetic foresight as the others?

CHAPTER 5

OF THE TESTIMONIES OF POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS

But let us leave the testimony of prophets, lest a proof derived from those who are universally disbelieved should appear insufficient. Let us come to authors, and for the demonstration of the truth let us cite as witnesses those very persons whom they are accustomed to make use of against us, — I mean poets and philosophers. From these we cannot fail in proving the unity of God; not that they had ascertained the truth, but that the force of the truth itself is so great, that no one can be so blind as not to see the divine brightness presenting itself to his eyes. The poets, therefore, however much they adorned the gods in their poems, and amplified their exploits with the highest praises, yet very frequently confess that all things are held together and governed by one spirit or mind. Orpheus, who is the most ancient of the poets, and coeval with the gods themselves, — since it is reported that he sailed among the Argonauts together with the sons of Tyndarus and Hercules, — speaks of the true and great God as the first-born because nothing was produced before Him, but all things sprung from Him. He also calls Him Phanes because when as yet there was nothing He first appeared and came forth from the infinite. And since he was unable to conceive in his mind the origin and nature of this Being, he said that He was born from the boundless air: “The first-born, Phaethon, son of the extended air;” for he had nothing more to say. He affirms that this Being is the Parent of all the gods, on whose account He framed the heaven, and provided for His children that they might have a habitation and place of abode in common: “He built for immortals an imperishable home.” Thus, under the guidance of nature and reason, he understood that there was a power of surpassing greatness which framed heaven and earth. For he could not say that Jupiter was the author of all things, since he was born from Saturn; nor could he say that Saturn himself was their author, since it was reported that he was produced from the heaven; but he did not venture to set up the heaven as the primeval God, because he saw that it was an element of the universe, and must itself have had an author. This consideration led him to that first-born God, to whom he assigns and gives the first place.

Homer was able to give us no information relating to the truth, for he wrote of human rather than divine things. Hesiod was able, for he comprised in the work of one book the generation of the gods; but yet he gave us no information, for he took his commencement not from God the Creator, but from chaos, which is a confused mass of rude and unarranged matter; whereas he ought first to have explained from what source, at what time, and in what manner, chaos itself had begun to exist or to have consistency. Without doubt, as all things were placed in order, arranged, and made by some artificer, so matter itself must of necessity have been formed by some being. Who, then, made it except God, to whose power all things are subject? But he shrinks from admitting this, while he dreads the unknown truth. For, as he wished it to appear, it was by the inspiration of the Muses that he poured forth that song on Helicon; but he had come after previous meditation and preparation.

Maro was the first of our poets to approach the truth, who thus speaks respecting the highest God, whom he calls Mind and Spirit: —

“Know first, the heaven, the earth, the main,
The moon’s pale orb, the starry train,
Are nourished by a Soul,
A Spirit, whose celestial flame
Glows in each member of the frame,
And stirs the mighty whole.”

And lest any one should happen to be ignorant what that Spirit was which had so much power, he has declared it in another place, saying: “For the Deity pervades all lands, the tracts of sea and depth of heaven; the flocks, the herds, and men, and all the race of beasts, each at its birth, derive their slender lives from Him.”

Ovid also, in the beginning of his remarkable work, without any disguising of the name, admits that the universe was arranged by God, whom he calls the Framer of the world, the Artificer of all things. But if either Orpheus or these poets of our country had always maintained what they perceived under the guidance of nature, they would have comprehended the truth, and gained the same learning which we follow.

But thus far of the poets. Let us come to the philosophers, whose authority is of greater weight, and their judgment more to be relied on,

because they are believed to have paid attention, not to matters of fiction, but to the investigation of the truth. Thales of Miletus, who was one of the number of the seven wise men, and who is said to have been the first of all to inquire respecting natural causes, said that water was the element from which all things were produced, and that God was the mind which formed all things from water. Thus he placed the material of all things in moisture; he fixed the beginning and cause of their production in God. Pythagoras thus defined the being of God, "as a soul passing to and fro, and diffused through all parts of the universe, and through all nature, from which all living creatures which are produced derive their life." Anaxagoras said that God was an infinite mind, which moves by its own power. Antisthenes maintained that the gods of the people were many, but that the God of nature was one only; that is, the Fabricator of the whole universe. Cleanthes and Anaximenes assert that the air is the chief deity; and to this opinion our poet has assented: "Then almighty father Aether descends in fertile showers into the bosom of his joyous spouse; and great himself, mingling with her great body, nourishes all her offspring." Chrysippus speaks of God as a natural power endowed with divine reason, and sometimes as a divine necessity. Zeno also speaks of Him as a divine and natural law. The opinion of all these, however uncertain it is, has reference to one point, — to their agreement in the existence of one providence. For whether it be nature, or aether, or reason, or mind, or a fatal necessity, or a divine law, or if you term it anything else, it is the same which is called by us God. Nor does the diversity of titles prove an obstacle, since by their very signification they all refer to one object. Aristotle, although he is at variance with himself, and both utters and holds sentiments opposed to one another, yet upon the whole bears witness that one Mind presides over the. universe. Plato, who is judged the wisest of all, plainly and openly maintains the rule of one God; nor does he name Him Aether, or Reason, or Nature, but, as He truly is, God, and that this universe, so perfect and wonderful, was fabricated by Him. And Cicero, following and imitating him in many instances, frequently acknowledges God, and calls Him supreme, in those books which he wrote on the subject of laws; and he adduces proof that the universe is governed by Him, when he argues respecting the nature of the gods in this way: "Nothing is superior to God: the world must therefore be governed by Him. Therefore God is obedient or subject to no nature; consequently He

Himself governs all nature." But what God Himself is he defines in his Consolation: "Nor can God Himself, as He is comprehended by us, be comprehended in any other way than as a mind free and unrestrained, far removed from all mortal materiality, perceiving and moving all things."

How often, also, does Annaeus Seneca, who was the keenest Stoic of the Romans, follow up with deserved praise the supreme Deity! For when he was discussing the subject of premature death, he said "You do not understand the authority and majesty of your Judge, the Ruler of the world, and the God or heaven and of all gods, on whom those deities which we separately worship and honor are dependent." Also in his Exhortations: "This Being, when He was laying the first foundations of the most beautiful fabric, and was commencing this work, than which nature has known nothing greater or better, that all things might serve their own rulers, although He had spread Himself out through the whole body, yet He produced gods as ministers of His kingdom." And how many other things like to our own writers did he speak on the subject of God! But these things I put off for the present, because they are more suited to other parts of the subject. At present it is enough to demonstrate that men of the highest genius touched upon the truth, and almost grasped it, had not custom, infatuated by false opinions, carried them back; by which custom they both deemed that there were other gods, and believed that those things which God made for the use of man, as though they were endowed with perception, were to be held and worshipped as gods.

CHAPTER 6

OF DIVINE TESTIMONIES, AND OF THE SIBYLS AND THEIR PREDICTIONS

Now let us pass to divine testimonies; but I will previously bring forward one which resembles a divine testimony, both on account of its very great antiquity, and because he whom I shall name was taken from men and placed among the gods. According to Cicero, Caius Cotta the pontiff, while disputing against the Stoics concerning superstitions, and the variety of opinions which prevail respecting the gods, in order that he might, after the custom of the Academics, make everything uncertain, says that there

were five Mercuries; and having enumerated four in order, says that the fifth was he by whom Argus was slain, and that on this account he fled into Egypt, and gave laws and letters to the Egyptians. The Egyptians call him Thoth; and from him the first month of their year, that is, September, received its name among them. He also built a town, which is even now called in Greek Hermopolis (the town of Mercury), and the inhabitants of Phenae honor him with religious worship. And although he was a man, yet he was of great antiquity, and most fully imbued with every kind of learning, so that the knowledge of many subjects and arts acquired for him the name of Trismegistus. He wrote books, and those in great numbers, relating to the knowledge of divine things, in which be asserts the majesty of the supreme and only God, and makes mention of Him by the same names which we use-God and Father. And that no one might inquire His name, he said that He was without name, and that on account of His very unity He does not require the peculiarity of a name. These are his own words: "God is one, but He who is one only does not need a name; for He who is self-existent is without a name." God, therefore, has no name, because He is alone; nor is there any need of a proper name, except in cases where a multitude of persons requires a distinguishing mark, so that you may designate each person by his own mark and appellation. But God, because He is always one, has no peculiar name.

It remains for me to bring forward testimonies respecting the sacred responses and predictions, which are much more to be relied upon. For perhaps they against whom we are arguing may think that no credence is to be given to poets, as though they invented fictions, nor to philosophers, inasmuch as they were liable to err, being themselves but men. Marcus Varro, than whom no man of greater learning ever lived, even among the Greeks, much less among the Latins, in those books respecting divine subjects which he addressed to Caius Caesar the chief pontiff, when he was speaking of the Quindecemviri, says that the Sibylline books were not the production of one Sibyl only, but that they were called by one name Sibylline, because all prophetesses were called by the ancients Sibyls, either from the name of one, the Delphian priestess, or from their proclaiming the counsels of the gods. For in the Aeolic dialect they used to call the gods by the word Sioi, not. Theoi; and for counsel they used the word bule, not boule; — and so the Sibyl received her name as though

Siobule. But he says that the Sibyls were ten in number, and he enumerated them all under the writers, who wrote an account of each: that the first was from the Persians, and of her Nicanor made mention, who wrote the exploits of Alexander of Macedon; — the second of Libya, and of her Euripides makes mention in the prologue of the Lamia; — the third of Delphi, concerning whom Chrysippus speaks in that book which he composed concerning divination; — the fourth a Cimmerian in Italy, whom Naevius mentions in his books of the Punic war, and Piso in his annals; — the fifth of Erythraea, whom Apollodorus of Erythraea affirms to have been his own country-woman, and that she foretold to the Greeks when they were setting but for Ilium, both that Troy was doomed to destruction, and that Homer would write falsehoods; — the sixth of Samos, respecting whom Eratosthenes writes that he had found a written notice in the ancient annals of the Samians. The seventh was of Cumae, by name Amalthaea, who is termed by some Herophile, or Demophile and they say that she brought nine books to the king Tarquinius Priscus, and asked for them three hundred philippics, and that the king refused so great a price, and derided the madness of the woman; that she, in the sight of the king, burnt three of the books, and demanded the same price for those which were left; that Tarquinias much more considered the woman to be mad; and that when she again, having burnt three other books, persisted in asking the same price, the king was moved, and bought the remaining books for the three hundred pieces of gold: and the number of these books was afterwards increased, after the rebuilding of the Capitol; because they were collected from all cities of Italy and Greece, and especially from those of Erythraea, and were brought to Rome, under the name of whatever Sibyl they were. Further, that the eighth was from the Hellespont, born in the Trojan territory, in the village of Marpessus, about the town of Gergithus; and Heraclides of Pontus writes that she lived in the times of Solon and Cyrus; — the ninth of Phrygia, who gave oracles at Ancyra; — the tenth of Tibur, by name Albunea, who is worshipped at Tibur as a goddess, near the banks of the river Anio, in the depths of which her statue is said to have been found, holding in her hand a book. The senate transferred her oracles into the Capitol.

The predictions of all these Sibyls are both brought forward and esteemed as such, except those of the Cumaean Sibyl, whose books arelconcealed by

the Romans; nor do they consider it lawful for them to be inspected by any one but the Quindecemviri. And them are separate books the production of each, but because these are inscribed with the name of the Sibyl they are believed to be the work of one; and they are confused, nor can the productions of each be distinguished and assigned to their own authors, except in the case of the Erythraean Sibyl, for she both inserted her own true name in her verse, and predicted that she would be called Erythraean, though she was born at Babylon. But we also shall speak of the Sibyl without any distinction, wherever we shall have occasion to use their testimonies. All these Sibyls, then, proclaim one God, and especially the Erythraean, who is regarded among the others as more celebrated and noble; since Fenestella, a most diligent writer, speaking of the Quindecemviri, says that, after the rebuilding of the Capitol, Caius Curio the consul proposed to the senate that ambassadors should be sent to Erythrae to search out and bring to Rome the writings of the Sibyl; and that, accordingly, Publius Gabinius, Marcus Otacilius, and Lucius Valerius were sent, who conveyed to Rome about a thousand verses written out by private persons. We have shown before that Varro made the same statement. Now in these verses which the ambassadors brought to Rome, are these testimonies respecting the one God: —

> **1.** "One God, who is alone, most mighty, uncreated."

This is the only supreme God, who made the heaven, and decked it with lights.

> **2.** But there is one only God of pre-eminent power, who made the heaven, and sun, and stars, and moon, and fruitful earth, and waves of the water of the sea."

And since He alone is the framer of the universe, and the artificer of all things of which it consists or which are contained in it, it testifies that He alone ought to be worshipped: —

> **3.** Worship Him who is alone the ruler of the world, who alone was and is from age to age."

Also another Sibyl, whoever she is, when she said that she conveyed the voice of God to men, thus spoke: —

4. “I am the one only God, and there is no other God.”

I would now follow up the testimonies of the others, were it not that these are sufficient, and that I reserve others for more befitting opportunities. But since we are defending the cause of truth before those who err from the truth and serve false religions, what kind of proof ought we to bring forward against them, rather than to refute them by the testimonies of their own gods?

CHAPTER 7

CONCERNING THE TESTIMONIES OF APOLLO AND THE GODS

Apollo, indeed, whom they think divine above all others, and especially prophetic, giving responses at Colophon, — I suppose because, induced by the pleasantness of Asia, he had removed from Delphi, — to some one who asked who He was, or what God was at all, replied in twenty-one verses, of which this is the beginning: —

“Self-produced, untaught, without a mother, unshaken,
A name not even to be comprised in word, dwelling in fire,
This is God; and we His messengers are a slight portion of God.”

Can any one suspect that this is spoken of Jupiter, who had both a mother and a name? Why should I say that Mercury, that thrice greatest, of whom I have made mention above, not only speaks of God as “without a mother,” as Apollo does, but also as “without a father,” because He has no origin from any other source but Himself? For He cannot be produced from any one, who Himself produced all things. I have, as I think, sufficiently taught by arguments, and confirmed by witnesses, that which is sufficiently plain by itself, that there is one only King of the universe, one Father, one God.

But perchance some one may ask of us the same question which Hortensius asks in Cicero: If God is one only, what solitude can be happy? As though we, in asserting that He is one, say that He is desolate and solitary. Undoubtedly He has ministers, whom we call messengers. And that is true, which I have before related, that Seneca said in his

Exhortations that God produced ministers of His kingdom. But these are neither gods, nor do they wish to be called gods or to be worshipped, inasmuch as they do nothing but execute the command and will of God. Nor, however, are they gods who are worshipped in common, whose number is small and fixed. But if the worshippers of the gods think that they worship those beings whom we call the ministers of the Supreme God, there is no reason why they should envy its who say that there is one God, and deny that there are many. If a multitude of gods delights them, we do not speak of twelve, or three hundred and sixty-five as Orpheus did; but we convict them of innumerable errors on the other side, in thinking that they are so few, Let them know, however, by what name they ought to be called, lest they do injury to the true God, whose name they set forth, while they assign it to more than one. Let them believe their own Apollo, who in that same response took away from the other gods their name, as he took away the dominion from Jupiter. For the third verse shows that the ministers of God ought not to be called gods, but angels. He spoke falsely respecting himself, indeed; for though he was of the number of demons, he reckoned himself among the angels of God, and then in other responses he confessed himself a demon. For when he was asked how he wished to be supplicated, he thus answered: —

"O all-wise, all-learned, versed in many pursuits, hear, O demon."

And so, again, when at the entreaty of some one he uttered an imprecation against the Sminthian Apollo, he began with this verse: —

"O harmony of the world, bearing light, all-wise demon."

What therefore remains, except that by his own confession he is subject to the scourge of the true God and to everlasting punishment? For in another response he also said: —

"The demons who go about the earth and about the sea
Without weariness, are subdued beneath the scourge of God."

We speak on the subject of both in the second book. In the meantime it is enough for us, that while he wishes to honor and place himself in heaven. he has confessed, as the nature of the matter is, in what manner they are to be named who always stand beside God.

Therefore let men withdraw themselves from errors; and laying aside corrupt superstitions, let them acknowledge their Father and Lord, whose excellence cannot be estimated, nor His greatness perceived, nor His beginning comprehended. When the earnest attention of the human mind and its acute sagacity and memory has reached Him, all ways being, as it were, summed up and exhausted, it stops, it is at a loss, it fails; nor is there anything beyond to which it can proceed. But because that which exists must of necessity have had a beginning, it follows that since there was nothing before Him, He was produced from Himself before all things. Therefore He is called by Apollo "self-produced," by the Sibyl "self-created," "uncreated," and "unmade." And Seneca, an acute man, saw and expressed this in his Exhortations. "We," he said, "are dependent upon another." Therefore we took to some one to whom we owe that which is most excellent in us. Another brought us into being, another formed us; but God of His own power made Himself.

CHAPTER 8

THAT GOD IS WITHOUT A BODY, NOR DOES HE NEED DIFFERENCE OF SEX FOR PROCREATION

It is proved, therefore, by these witnesses, so numerous and of such authority, that the universe is governed by the power and providence of one God, whose energy and majesty Plato in the Timoeus asserts to be so great, that no one can either conceive it in his mind, or give utterance to it in words, on account of His surpassing and incalculable power. And then can any one doubt whether any thing can be difficult or impossible for God, who by His providence designed, by His energy established, and by His judgment completed those works so great and wonderful, and even now sustains them by His spirit, and governs them by His power, being incomprehensible and unspeakable, and fully known to no other than Himself? Wherefore, as I often reflect on the subject of such great majesty, they who worship the gods sometimes appear so blind, so incapable of reflection, so senseless, so little removed from the mute animals, as to believe that those who are born from the natural intercourse of the sexes could have had anything of majesty and divine influence; since the

Erythraean Sibyl says: “It is impossible for a God to be fashioned from the loins of a man and the womb of a woman.” And if this is true, as it really is, it is evident that Hercules, Apollo, Bacchus, Mercury, and Jupiter, with the rest, were but men, since they were born from the two sexes. But what is so far removed from the nature of God as that operation which He Himself assigned to mortals for the propagation of their race, and which cannot be affected without corporeal substance?

Therefore, if the gods are immortal and eternal, what need is there of the other sex, when they themselves do not require succession, since they are always about to exist? For assuredly in the case of mankind and the other animals, there is no other reason for difference of sex and procreation and bringing forth, except that all classes of living creatures, inasmuch as they are doomed to death by the condition of their mortality, may be preserved by mutual succession. But God, who is immortal, has no need of difference of sex, nor of succession. Some one will say that this arrangement is necessary, in order that He may have some to minister to Him, or over whom He may bear rule. What need is there of the female sex, since God, who is almighty, is able to produce sons without the agency of the female? For if He has granted to certain minute creatures that they

“Should gather offspring for themselves
with their mouth from leaves and sweet herbs,”

why should any one think it impossible for God Himself to have offspring except by union with the other sex? No one, therefore, is so thoughtless as not to understand that those were mere mortals, whom the ignorant and foolish regard and worship as gods. Why, then, some one will say, were they believed to be gods? Doubtless because they were very great and powerful kings; and since, on account of the merits of their virtues, or offices, or the arts which they discovered, they were beloved by those over whom they had ruled, they were consecrated to lasting, memory. And if any one doubts this, let him consider their exploits and deeds, the whole of which both ancient poets and historians have handed down.

CHAPTER 9

OF HERCULES AND HIS LIFE AND DEATH

Did not Hercules, who is most renowned for his valor, and who is regarded as an Africanus among the gods, by his debaucheries, lusts, and adulteries, pollute the world, which he is related to have traversed and purified? And no wonder, since he was born from an adulterous intercourse with Alcmena.

What divinity could there have been in him, who, enslaved to his own vices, against all laws, treated with infamy, disgrace, and outrage, both males and females? Nor, indeed, are those great and wonderful actions which he performed to be judged such as to be thought worthy of being attributed to divine excellence. For what! is it so magnificent if he overcame a lion and a boar; if he shot down birds with arrows; if he cleansed a royal stable; if he conquered a virago, and deprived her of her belt; if he slew savage horses together with their master? These are the deeds of a brave and heroic man, but still a man; for those things which he overcame were frail and mortal. For there is no power so great, as the orator says, which cannot be weakened and broken by iron and strength. But to conquer the mind, and to restrain anger, is the part of the bravest man; and these things he never did or could do: for one who does these things I do not compare with excellent men, but I judge him to be most like to a God.

I could wish that he had added something on the subject of lust, luxury, desire, and arrogance, so as to complete the excellence of him whom he judged to be like to a God. For he is not to be thought braver who overcomes a lion, than he who overcomes the violent wild beast shut up within himself, viz. anger; or he who has brought down most rapacious birds, than he who restrains most covetous desires; or he who subdues a warlike Amazon, than he who subdues lust, the vanquisher of modesty and fame; or he who cleanses a stable from dung, than he who cleanses his heart from vices, which are more destructive evils because they are peculiarly his own, than those which might have been avoided and guarded against. From this it comes to pass, that he alone ought to be judged a

brave man who is temperate, moderate, and just. But if any one considers what the works of God are, he will at once judge all these things, which most trifling men admire, to be ridiculous. For they measure them not by the divine power of which they are ignorant, but by the weakness of their own strength. For no one will deny this, that Hercules was not only a servant to Eurystheus, a king, which to a certain extent may appear honorable, but also to an unchaste woman, Omphale, who used to order him to sit at her feet, clothed with her garments, and executing an appointed task. Detestable baseness! But such was the price at which pleasure was valued. What! some one will say, do you think that the poets are to be believed? Why should I not think so? For it is not Lucilius who relates these things, or Lucian, who spared not men nor gods, but these especially who sting the praises of the gods.

Whom, then, shall we believe, if we do not credit those who praise them? Let him who thinks that these speak. falsely produce other authors on whom we may rely, who may teach us who these gods are, in what manner and from what source they had their origin, what is their strength, what their number, what their power, what there is in them which is admirable and worthy of adoration — what mystery, in short, more to be relied on, and more true. He will produce no such authorities. Let us, then, give credence to those who did not speak for the purpose of censure, but to proclaim their praise. He sailed, then, with the Argonauts, and sacked Troy, being enraged with Laomedon on account of the reward refused to him, by Laomedon, for the preservation of his daughter, from which circumstance it is evident at what time he lived. He also, excited by rage and madness, slew his wife, together with his children. Is this he whom men consider a God? But his heir Philoctetes did not so regard him, who applied a torch to him when about to be burnt, who witnessed the burning and wasting of his limbs and sinews, who buried his bones and ashes on Mount Oeta, in return for which office he received his arrows.

CHAPTER 10

OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS AESCULAPIUS, APOLLO, NEPTUNE, MARS, CASTOR AND POLLUX, MERCURY AND BACCHUS

What other action worthy of divine honors, except the healing of Hippolytus, did Aesculapius perform, whose birth also was not without disgrace to Apollo? His death was certainly more renowned, because he earned the distinction of being struck with lightning by a God. Tarquitius, in a dissertation concerning illustrious men, says that he was born of uncertain parents, exposed, and found by some hunters; that he was nourished by a dog, and that, being delivered to Chiron, he learned the art of medicine. He says, moreover, that he was a Messenian, but that he spent some time at Epidaurus. Tully also says that he was buried at Cynosurae. What was the conduct of Apollo, his father? Did he not, on account of his impassioned love, most disgracefully tend the flock of another, and build walls for Laomedon, having been hired together with Neptune for a reward, which could with impunity be withheld from him? And from him first the perfidious king learned to refuse to carry out whatever contract he had made with gods. And he also, while in love with a beautiful boy, offered violence to him, and while engaged in play, slew him.

Mars, when guilty of homicide, and set free from the charge of murder by the Athenians through favor, lest he should appear to be too fierce and savage, committed adultery with Venus. Castor and Pollux, while they are engaged in carrying off the wives of others, ceased to be twin-brothers. For Idas, being excited with jealousy on account of the injury, transfixed one of the brothers with his sword. And the poets relate that they live and die alternately: so that they are now the most wretched not only of the gods, but also of all mortals, inasmuch as they are not permitted to die once only. And yet Homer, differing from the other poets, simply records that they both died. For when he represented Helen as sitting by the side of Priam on the walls of Troy, and recognizing all the chieftains of Greece, but as looking in vain for her brothers only, he added to his speech a verse of this kind: —

"Thus she; unconscious that in Sparta they,
Their native land, beneath the sod were laid."

What did Mercury, a thief and spendthrift, leave to contribute to his fame, except the memory of his frauds? Doubtless he was deserving of heaven, because he taught the exercises of the palaestra, and was the first who invented the lyre. It is necessary that Father Liber should be of chief authority, and of the first rank in the senate of the gods, because he was the only one of them all, except Jupiter, who triumphed, led an army, and subdued the Indians. But that very great and unconquered Indian commander was most shamefully overpowered by love and lust. For, being conveyed to Crete with his effeminate retinue, lie met with an unchaste woman on the shore; and in the confidence inspired by his Indian victory, he wished to give proof of his manliness, lest he should appear too effeminate. And so he took to himself in marriage that woman, the betrayer of her father, and the murderer of her brother, after that she had been deserted and repudiated by another husband; and he made her Libera, and with her ascended into heaven.

What was the conduct of Jupiter, the father of all these, who in the customary prayer is styled Most Excellent and Great? Is he not, from his earliest childhood, proved to be impious, and almost a parricide, since he expelled his father from his kingdom, and banished him, and did not await his death though he was aged and worn out, such was his eagerness for rule? And when he had taken his father's throne by violence and arms, he was attacked with war by the Titans, which was the beginning of evils to the human race; and when these had been overcome and lasting peace procured, he spent the rest of his life in debaucheries and adulteries. I forbear to mention the virgins whom he dishonored. For that is wont to be judged endurable. I cannot pass by the cases of Amphitryon and Tyndarus, whose houses he filled to overflowing with disgrace and infamy. But he reached the height of impiety and guilt in carrying off the royal boy. For it did not appear enough to cover himself with infamy in offering violence to women, unless he also outraged his own sex. This is true adultery, which is done against nature. Whether he who committed these crimes can be called Greatest is a matter of question, undoubtedly he is not the Best; to which name corrupters, adulterers, and incestuous persons have no claim; unless it happens that we men are mistaken in

terming those who do such things wicked and abandoned, and in judging them most deserving of every kind of punishment. But Marcus Tullius was foolish in upbraiding Caius Verres with adulteries, for Jupiter, whom he worshipped, committed the same; and in upbraiding Publius Clodius with incest with his sister, for he who was Best and Greatest had the same person both as sister and wife.

CHAPTER 11

OF THE ORIGIN, LIFE, REIGN, NAME AND DEATH OF JUPITER, AND OF SATURN AND URANUS

Who, then, is so senseless as to imagine that he reigns in heaven who ought not even to have reigned on earth? It was not without humor that a certain poet wrote of the triumph of Cupid: in which book he not only represented Cupid as the most powerful of the gods, but also as their conqueror. For having enumerated the loves of each, by which they had come into the power and dominion of Cupid, he sets in array a procession, in which Jupiter, with the other gods, is led in chains before the chariot of him, celebrating a triumph. This is elegantly pictured by the poet, but it is not far removed from the truth. For he who is without virtue, who is overpowered by desire and wicked lusts, is not, as the poet feigned, in subjection to Cupid, but to everlasting death. But let us cease to speak concerning morals; let us examine the matter, in order that men may understand in what errors they are miserably engaged. The common people imagine that Jupiter reigns in heaven; both learned and unlearned are alike persuaded of this. For both religion itself, and prayers, and hymns, and shrines, and images demonstrate this. And yet they admit that he was also descended from Saturn and Rhea. How can he appear a God, or be believed, as the poet says, to be the author of men and all things, when innumerable thousands of men existed before his birth — those, for instance, who lived during the reign of Saturn, and enjoyed the light sooner than Jupiter? I see that one God was king in the earliest times, and another in the times that followed. It is therefore possible that there may be another hereafter. For if the former kingdom was changed, why should we not expect that the latter may possibly be changed, unless by chance it

was possible for Saturn to produce one more powerful than himself, but impossible for Jupiter so to do? And yet the divine government is always unchangeable; or if it is changeable, which is an impossibility, it is undoubtedly changeable at all times.

Is it possible, then, for Jupiter to lose his kingdom as his father lost it? It is so undoubtedly. For when that deity had spared neither virgins nor married women, he abstained from Thetis only in consequence of an oracle which foretold that whatever son should be born from her would be greater than his father. And first of all there was in him a want of foreknowledge not befitting a God; for had not Themis related to him future events, he would not have known them of his own accord. But if he is not divine, he is not indeed a God; for the name of divinity is derived from God, as humanity is from man. Then there was a consciousness of weakness; but he who has feared, must plainly have feared one greater than himself. But he who does this assuredly knows that he is not the greatest, since something greater can exist. He also swears most solemnly by the Stygian marsh: “Which is set forth the sole object of religious dread to the gods above.” What is this object of religious dread? Or by whom is it set forth? Is there, then, some mighty power which may punish the gods who commit perjury? What is this great dread of the infernal marsh, if they are immortal? Why should they fear that which none are about to see, except those who are bound by the necessity of death? Why, then, do men raise their eyes to the heaven? Why do they swear by the gods above, when the gods above themselves have recourse to the infernal gods, and find among them an object of veneration and worship? But what is the meaning of that saying, that there are fates whom all the gods and Jupiter himself obey? If the power of the Parcae is so great, that they are of more avail than all the heavenly gods, and their ruler and Lord himself, why should not they be rather said to reign, since necessity compels all the gods to obey their laws and ordinances? Now, who can entertain a doubt that he who is subservient to anything cannot be greatest? For if he were so, he would not receive fates, but would appoint them. Now I return to another subject which I had omitted. In the case of one goddess only he exercised self-restraint, though he was deeply enamored of her; but this was not from any virtue, but through fear of a successor. But this fear plainly denotes one who is both mortal and feeble, and of no weight: for at the

very hour of his birth he might have been put to death, as his elder brother had been put to death; and if it had been possible for him to have lived, he would never have given up the supreme power to a younger brother. But Jupiter himself having been preserved by stealth, and stealthily nourished, was called Zeus, or Zen, not, as they imagine, from the fervor of heavenly fire, or because he is the giver of life, or because he breathes life into living creatures, which power belongs to God alone; for how can he impart the breath of life who has himself received it from another source? But he was so called because he was the first who lived of the male children of Saturn. Men, therefore, might have had another God as their ruler, if Saturn had not been deceived by his wife. But it will be said the poets reigned these things. Whoever entertains this opinion is in error. For they spoke respecting men; but in order that they might embellish those whose memory they used to celebrate with praises, they said that they were gods. Those things, therefore, which they spoke concerning them as gods were feigned, and not those which they spoke concerning them as men and this will be manifest from an instance which we will bring forward. When about to offer violence to Danae, he poured into her lap a great quantity of golden coins. This was the price which he paid for her dishonor. But the poets who spoke about him as a God, that they might not weaken the authority of his supposed majesty, feigned that he himself descended in a shower of gold, making use of the same figure with which they speak of showers of iron when they describe a multitude of darts and arrows. He is said to have carried away Ganymede by an eagle; it is a picture of the poets. But he either carried him off by a legion, which has an eagle for its standard; or the ship on board of which he was placed had its tutelary deity in the shape of an eagle, just as it had the effigy of a bull when he seized Europa and conveyed her across the sea. In the same manner, it is related that he changed Io, the daughter of Inachus, into a heifer. And in order that she might escape the anger of Juno, just as she was, now covered with bristly hair, and in the shape of a heifer, she is said to have swam over the sea, and to have come into Egypt; and there, having recovered her former appearance, she became the goddess who is now called His. By what argument, then, can it be proved that Europa did not sit on the bull, and that Io was not changed into a heifer? Because there is a fixed day in the annals on which the voyage of His is celebrated; from which fact we learn that she did not swim across the sea, but sailed over.

Therefore they who appear to themselves to be wise because they understand that there cannot be a living and earthly body in heaven, reject the whole story of Ganymede as false, and perceive that the occurrence took place on earth, inasmuch as the matter and the lust itself is earthly. The poets did not therefore invent these transactions, for if they were to do so they would be most worthless; but they added a certain color to the transactions. For it was not for the purpose of detraction that they said these things, but from a desire to embellish them. Hence men are deceived; especially because, while they think that all these things are feigned by the poets, they worship that of which they are ignorant. For they do not know what is the limit of poetic license, how far it is allowable to proceed in fiction, since it is the business of the poet with some gracefulness to change and transfer actual occurrences into other representations by oblique transformations. But to feign the whole of that which you relate, that is to be foolish and deceitful rather than to be a poet.

But grant that they reigned those things which are believed to be fabulous, did they also feign those things which are related about the female deities and the marriages of the gods? Why, then, are they so represented, and so worshipped? unless by chance not the poets only, but painters also, and statuaries, speak falsehoods. For if this is the Jupiter who is called by you a God, if it is not he who was born from Saturn and Ops, no other image but his alone ought to have been placed in all the temples. What meaning have the effigies of women? What the doubtful sex? in which, if this Jupiter is represented, the very stones will confess that he is a man. They say that the poets have spoken falsely, and yet they believe them: yes, truly they prove by the fact itself that the poets did not speak falsely; for they so frame the images of the gods, that, from the very diversity of sex, it appears that these things which the poets say are true. For what other conclusion does the image of Ganymede and the effigy of the eagle admit of, when they are placed before the feet of Jupiter in the temples, and are worshipped equally with himself, except that the memory of impious guilt and debauchery remains for ever? Nothing, therefore, is wholly invented by the poets: something perhaps is transferred and obscured by oblique fashioning, under which the truth was enwrapped and concealed; as that which was related about the dividing of the kingdoms by lot. For they say that the heaven fell to the share of Jupiter, the sea to Neptune, and the

infernal regions to Pluto. Why was not the earth rather taken as the third portion, except that the transaction took place on the earth? Therefore it is true that they so divided and portioned out the government of the world, that the empire of the east fell to Jupiter, a part of the west was allotted to Pluto, who had the surname of Agesilaus; because the region of the east, from which light is given to mortals, seems to be higher, but the region of the west lower. Thus they so veiled the truth under a fiction, that the truth itself detracted nothing from the public persuasion. It is manifest concerning the share of Neptune; for we say that his kingdom resembled that unlimited authority possessed by Mark Antony, to whom the senate had decreed the power of the maritime coast, that he might punish the pirates, and tranquilize the whole sea. Thus all the maritime coasts, together with the islands, fell to the lot of Neptune. How can this be proved? Undoubtedly ancient stories attest it. Euhemerus, an ancient author, who was of the city of Messene, collected the actions of Jupiter and of the others, who are esteemed gods, and composed a history from the titles and sacred inscriptions which were in the most ancient temples, and especially in the sanctuary of the Triphylian Jupiter, where an inscription indicated that a golden column had been placed by Jupiter himself, on which column he wrote an account of his exploits, that posterity might have a memorial of his actions. This history was translated and followed by Ennius, whose words are these: “Where Jupiter gives to Neptune the government of the sea, that he might reign in all the islands and places bordering on the sea.”

The accounts of the poets, therefore, are true, but veiled with an outward covering and show. It is possible that Mount Olympus may have supplied the poets with the hint for saying that Jupiter obtained the kingdom of heaven, because Olympus is the common name both of the mountain and of heaven. But the same history informs us that Jupiter dwelt on Mount Olympus, when it says: “At that time Jupiter spent the greatest part of his life on Mount Olympus; and they used to resort to him thither for the administration of justice, if any matters were disputed. Moreover, if any one had found out any new invention which might be useful for human life, he used to come thither and display it to Jupiter.” The poets transfer many things after this manner, not for the sake of speaking falsely against the objects of their worship, but that they may by variously colored

figures add beauty and grace to their poems. But they who do not understand the manner, or the cause, or the nature of that which is represented by figure, attack the poets as false and sacrilegious. Even the philosophers were deceived by this error; for because these things which are related about Jupiter appeared unsuited to the character of a God, they introduced two Jupiters, one natural, the other fabulous. They saw, on the one hand, that which was true, that he, forsooth, concerning whom the poets speak, was man; but in the case of that natural Jupiter, led by the common practice of superstition, they committed an error, inasmuch as they transferred the name of a man to God, who, as we have already said, because He is one only, has no need of a name. But it is undeniable that he is Jupiter who was born from Ops and Saturn. It is therefore an empty persuasion on the part of those who give the name of Jupiter to the Supreme God. For some are in the habit of defending their errors by this excuse; for, when convinced of the unity of God, since they cannot deny this, they affirm that they worship Him, but that it is their pleasure that He should be called Jupiter. But what can be more absurd than this? For Jupiter is not accustomed to be worshipped without the accompanying worship of his wife and daughter. From which his real nature is evident; nor is it lawful for that name to be transferred thither, where there is neither any Minerva nor Juno. Why should I say that the peculiar meaning of this name does not express a divine, but human power? For Cicero explains the names Jupiter and Juno as being derived from giving help; and Jupiter is so called as if he were a helping father, — a name which is ill adapted to God: for to help is the part of a man conferring some aid upon one who is a stranger, and in a case where the benefit is small. No one implores God to help him, but to preserve him, to give him life and safety, which is a much greater and more important matter than to help.

And since we are speaking of a father, no father is said to help his sons when he begets or brings them up. For that expression is too insignificant to denote the magnitude of the benefit derived from a father. How ranch more unsuitable is it to God, who is our true Father, by whom we exist, and whose we are altogether, by whom we are formed, endued with life, and enlightened, who bestows upon us life, gives us safety, and supplies us with various kinds of food! He has no apprehension of the divine benefits who thinks that he is only aided by God. Therefore he is not only

ignorant, but impious, who disparages the excellency of the supreme power under the name of Jupiter. Wherefore, if both from his actions and character we have proved that Jupiter was a man, and reigned on earth, it only remains that we should also investigate his death. Ennius, in his sacred history, having described all the actions which he performed in his life, at the close thus speaks: Then Jupiter, when he had five times made a circuit of the earth, and bestowed governments upon all his friends and relatives, and left laws to men, provided them with a settled mode of life and corn, and given them many other benefits, and having been honored with immortal glory and remembrance, left lasting memorials to his friends, and when his age was almost spent, he changed his life in Crete, and departed to the gods. And the Curetes. his sons, took charge of him, and honored him; and his tomb is in Crete, in the town of Cnossus, and Vesta is said to have founded this city; and on his tomb is an inscription in ancient Greek characters, "Zan Kronou," which is in Latin. "Jupiter the son of Saturn." This undoubtedly is not handed down by poets. but by writers of ancient events; and these things are so true, that they are confirmed by some verses of the Sibyls, to this effect: —

"Inanimate demons, images of the dead,
Whose tombs the ill-fated Crete possesses as a boast."

Cicero, in his treatise concerning the Nature of the Gods, having said that three Jupiters were enumerated by theologians, adds that the third was of Crete, the son of Saturn, and that his tomb is shown in that island. How, therefore, can a God be alive in one place, and dead in another; in one place have a temple, and in another a tomb? Let the Romans then know that their Capitol, that is the chief head of their objects of public veneration, is nothing but an empty monument.

Let us now come to his father who reigned before him, and who perhaps had more power in himself, because he is said to be born from the meeting of such great elements. Let us see what there was in him worthy of a God, especially that he is related to have had the golden age, because in his reign there was justice in the earth. I find something in him which was not in his son. For what is so befitting the character of a God, as a just government and an age of piety? But when, on the same principle, I reflect that he is a son, I cannot consider him as the Supreme God; for I see that there is something more ancient than himself, — namely, the heaven and the earth.

But I am in search of a God beyond whom nothing has any existence, who is the source and origin of all things. He must of necessity exist who framed the heaven itself, and laid the foundations of the earth. But if Saturn was born from these, as it is supposed, how can he be the chief God, since he owes his origin to another? Or who presided over the universe before the birth of Saturn? But this, as I recently said, is a fiction of the poets. For it was impossible that the senseless elements, which are separated by so long an interval, should meet together and give birth to a son, or that he who was born should not at all resemble his parents, but should have a form which his parents did not possess.

Let us therefore inquire what degree of truth lies hid under this figure. Minucius Felix, in his treatise which has the title of Octavius, alleged these proofs: “That Saturn, when he had been banished by his son, and had come into Italy, was called the son of Coelus (heaven), because we are accustomed to say that those whose virtue we admire, or those who have unexpectedly arrived, have fallen from heaven; and that he was called the son of earth, because we name those who are born from unknown parents sons of earth.” These things, indeed, have some resemblance to the truth, but are not true, because it is evident that even during his reign he was so esteemed. He might have argued thus: That Saturn, being a very powerful king, in order that the memory of his parents might be preserved, gave their names to the heaven and earth, whereas these were before called by other names, for which reason we know that names were applied both to mountains and rivers. For when the poets speak of the offspring of Atlas, or of the river Inachus, they do not absolutely say that men could possibly be born from inanimate objects; but they undoubtedly indicate those who were born from those men, who either during their lives or after their death gave their names to mountains or rivers. For that was a common practice among the ancients, and especially among the Greeks. Thus we have heard that seas received the names of those who had fallen into them, as the Aegean, the Icarian, and the Hellespont. In Latium, also, Aventinus gave his name to the mountain on which he was buried; and Tiberinus, or Tiber, gave his name to the river in which he was drowned. No wonder, then, if the names of those who had given birth to most powerful kings were attributed to the heaven and earth. Therefore it appears that Saturn was not born from heaven, which is impossible, but

from that man who bore the name of Uranus. And Trismegistus attests the truth of this; for when he said that very few had existed in whom there was perfect learning, he mentioned by name among these his relatives, Uranus, Saturn, and Mercury. And because he was ignorant of these things, he gave another account of the matter; how he might have argued, I have shown. Now I will say in what manner, at what time, and by whom this was done; for it was not Saturn who did this, but Jupiter. Ennius thus relates in his sacred history: “Then Pan leads him to the mountain, which is called the pillar of heaven. Having ascended thither, he surveyed the lands far and wide, and there on that mountain he builds an altar to Coelus; and Jupiter was the first who offered sacrifice on that altar. In that place he looked up to heaven, by which name we now call it, and that which was above the world which was called the firmament, and he gave to the heaven its name from the name of his grandfather; and Jupiter in prayer first gave the name of heaven to that which was called firmament, and he burnt entire the victim which he there offered in sacrifice.” Nor is it here only that Jupiter is found to have offered sacrifice. Caesar also, in Aratus, relates that Aglaosthenes says that when he was setting out from the island of Naxos against the Titans, and was offering sacrifice on the shore, an eagle flew to Jupiter as an omen, and that the victor received it as a good token, and placed it under his own protection. But the sacred history testifies that even beforehand an eagle had sat upon his head, and portended to him the kingdom. To whom, then, could Jupiter have offered sacrifice, except to his grandfather Coelus, who, according to the saying of Euhemerus, died in Oceania, and was buried in the town of Aulatia?

CHAPTER 12

THAT THE STOICS TRANSFER THE FIGMENTS OF THE POETS TO A PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM

Since we have brought to light the mysteries of the poets, and have found out the parents of Saturn, let us return to his virtues and actions. He was, they say, just in his rule. First, from this very circumstance he is not now a God, inasmuch as he has ceased to be. In the next place, he was not even just, but impious not only towards his sons, whom he devoured, but also

towards his father, whom he is said to have mutilated. And this may perhaps have happened in truth. But men, having regard to the element which is called the heaven, reject the whole fable as most foolishly invented; though the Stoics, (according to their custom) endeavor to transfer it to a physical system, whose opinion Cicero has laid down in his treatise concerning the Nature of the Gods. They held, he says, that the highest and ethereal nature of heaven, that is, of fire, which by itself produced all things, was without that part of the body which contained the productive organs. Now this theory might have been suitable to Vesta, if she were called a male. For it is on this account that they esteem Vesta to be a virgin, inasmuch as fire is an incorruptible element; and nothing can be born from it, since it consumes all things, whatever it has seized upon. Ovid in the Fasti says: “Nor do you esteem Vesta to be anything else than a living flame; and you see no bodies produced from flame. Therefore she is truly a virgin, for she sends forth no seed, nor receives it, and loves the attendants of virginity.”

This also might have been ascribed to Vulcan, who indeed is supposed to be fire, and yet the poets did not mutilate him. It might also have been ascribed to the sun, in whom is the nature and cause of the productive powers. For without the fiery heat of the sun nothing could be born, or have increase; so that no other element has greater need of productive organs than heat, by the nourishment of which all things are conceived, produced, and supported. Lastly, even if the case were as they would have it, why should we suppose that Coelus was mutilated, rather than that he was born without productive organs? For if he produces by himself, it is plain that he had no need of productive organs, since he gave birth to Saturn himself; but if he had them, and suffered mutilation from his son, the origin of all things and all nature would have perished. Why should I say that they deprive Saturn himself not only of divine, but also of human intelligence, when they affirm that Saturn is he who comprises the course and change of the spaces and seasons, and that he has that very name in Greek? For he is called Cronos, which is the same as Chronos, that is, a space of time. But he is called Saturn, because he is satiated with years. These are the words of Cicero, setting forth the opinion of the Stoics: “The worthlessness of these things any one may readily understand. For if Saturn is the son of Coelus, how could Time have been born from Coelus,

or Coelus have been mutilated by Time, or afterwards could Time have been despoiled of his sovereignty by his son Jupiter? Or how was Jupiter born from Time? Or with what years could eternity be satiated, since it has no limit?”

CHAPTER 13

HOW VAIN AND TRIFLING ARE THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE STOICS RESPECTING THE GODS, AND IN THEM CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF JUPITER, CONCERNING SATURN AND OPS

If therefore these speculations of the philosophers are trifling, what remains, except that we believe it to be a matter of fact that, being a man, he suffered mutilation from a man? Unless by chance any one esteems him as a God who feared a co-heir; whereas, if he had possessed any divine knowledge, he ought not to have mutilated his father, but himself, to prevent the birth of Jupiter, who deprived him of the possession of his kingdom. And he also, when he had married his sister Rhea, whom in Latin we call Ops, is said to have been warned by an oracle not to bring up his male children, because it would come to pass that he should be driven into banishment by a son. And being in fear of this, it is plain that he did not devour his sons, as the fables report, but put them to death; although it is written in sacred history that Saturn and Ops, and other men, were at that time accustomed to eat human flesh, but that Jupiter, who gave to men laws and civilization, was the first who by an edict prohibited the use of that food. Now if this is true, what justice can there possibly have been in him? But let us suppose it to be a fictitious story that Saturn devoured his sons, only true after a certain fashion; must we then suppose, with the vulgar, that he has eaten his sons, who has carried them out to burial? But when Ops had brought forth Jupiter, she stole away the infant, and secretly sent him into Crete to be nourished. Again, I cannot but blame his want of foresight. For why did he receive an oracle from another, and not from himself? Being placed in heaven, why did he not see the things which were taking place on earth? Why did the Corybantes with their cymbals escape his notice? Lastly, why did there exist any greater force which

might overcome his power? Doubtless, being aged, he was easily overcome by one who was young, and despoiled of his sovereignty. He was therefore banished and went into exile; and after long wanderings came into Italy in a ship, as Ovid relates in his Fasti: —

“The cause of the ship remains to be explained.
The scythe-bearing God came to the Tuscan river in a ship,
having first traversed the world.”

Janus received him wandering and destitute; and the ancient coins are a proof of this, on which there is a representation of Janus with a double face, and on the other side a ship; as the same poet adds: —

“But pious posterity represented a ship on the coin,
bearing testimony to the arrival of the stranger God.”

Not only therefore all the poets, but the writers also of ancient histories and events, agree that he was a man, inasmuch as they handed down to memory his actions in Italy: of Greek writers, Diodorus and Thallus; of Latin writers, Nepos, Cassius, and Varro. For since men lived in Italy after a rustic fashion, —

“He brought the race to union first,
Erewhile on mountain tops dispersed,
And gave them statutes to obey,
And willed the land wherein he lay
Should Latium’s title bear.”

Does any one imagine him to be a God, who was driven into banishment, who fled, who lay hid? No one is so senseless. For he who flees, or lies hid, must fear both violence and death. Orpheus, who lived in more recent times than his, openly relates that Saturn reigned on earth and among men: —

“First Cronus ruled o’er men on earth,
And then from Cronus sprung the mighty king,
The widely sounding Zeus.”

And also our own Maro says: —

“This life the golden Saturn led on earth;”

and in another place: —

“That was the storied age of gold,
So peacefully, serenely rolled
The years beneath his reign.”

The poet did not say in the former passage that he led this life in heaven, nor in the latter passage that he reigned over the gods above. From which it appears that he was a king on earth; and this he declares more plainly in another place: —

“Restorer of the age of gold,
In lands where Saturn ruled of old.”

Ennius, indeed, in his translation of Euhemerus says that Saturn was not the first who reigned, but his father Uranus. In the beginning, he says, Coelus first had the supreme power on the earth. He instituted and prepared that kingdom in conjunction with his brothers. There is no great dispute, if there is doubt, on the part of the greatest authorities respecting the son and the father. But it is possible that each may have happened: that Uranus first began to be pre-eminent in power among the rest, and to have the chief place, but not the kingdom; and that afterwards Saturn acquired greater resources, and took the title of king.

CHAPTER 14

WHAT THE SACRED HISTORY OF EUHEMERUS AND ENNIUS TEACHES CONCERNING THE GODS

Now, since the sacred history differs in some degree from those things which we have related, let us open those things which are contained in the true writings, that we may not, in accusing superstitions, appear to follow and approve of the follies of the poets. These are the words of Ennius: “Afterwards Saturn married Ops. Titan, who was older than Saturn, demands the kingdom for himself. Upon this their mother Vesta, and their sisters Ceres and Ops, advise Saturn not to give up the kingdom to his brother. Then Titan, who was inferior in person to Saturn, on that account, and because he saw that his mother and sisters were using their endeavors that Saturn might reign, yielded the kingdom to him. He therefore made an agreement with Saturn, that if any male children should be born to him, he would not bring them up. He did so for this purpose,

that the kingdom might return to his own sons. Then, when a son was first born to Saturn, they slew him. Afterwards twins were born, Jupiter and Juno. Upon this they present Juno to the sight of Saturn, and secretly hide Jupiter, and give him to Vesta to be brought up, concealing him from Saturn. Ops also brings forth Neptune without the knowledge of Saturn, and secretly hides him. In the same manner Ops brings forth twins by a third birth, Pluto and Glauca. Pluto in Latin is Dispater; others call him Orcus. Upon this they show to Saturn the daughter Glauca, and conceal and hide the son Pluto. Then Glauca dies while yet young." This is the lineage of Jupiter and his brothers, as these things are written, and the relationship is handed down to us after this manner from the sacred narrative. Also shortly afterwards he introduces these things:

> "Then Titan, when he learned that sons were born to Saturn, and secretly brought up, secretly takes with him his sons, who are called Titans, and seizes his brother Saturn and Ops, and encloses them within a wall, and places over them a guard."

The truth of this history is taught by the Erythraean Sibyl, who speaks almost the same things, with a few discrepancies, which do not affect the subject-matter itself. Therefore Jupiter is freed from the charge of the greatest wickedness, according to which he is reported to have bound his father with fetters; for this was the deed of his uncle Titan, because he, contrary to his promise and oath, had brought up male children. The rest of the history is thus put together. It is said that Jupiter, when grown up, having heard that his father and mother had been surrounded with a guard and imprisoned, came with a great multitude of Cretans, and conquered Titan and his sons in an engagement, and rescued his parents from imprisonment, restored the kingdom to his father, and thus returned into Crete. Then, after these things, they say that an oracle was given to Saturn, bidding him to take heed lest his son should expel him from the kingdom; that he, for the sake of weakening the oracle and avoiding the danger, laid an ambush for Jupiter to kill him; that Jupiter, having learned the plot, claimed the kingdom for himself afresh, and banished Saturn; and that he, when he had been tossed over all lands, followed by armed men whom Jupiter had sent to seize or put him to death, scarcely found a place of concealment in Italy.

CHAPTER 15

HOW THEY WHO WERE MEN OBTAINED THE NAME OF GODS

Now, since it is evident from these things that they were men, it is not difficult to see in what I manner they began to be called gods. For if there were no kings before Saturn or Uranus, on account of the small number of men who lived a rustic life without any ruler, there is no doubt but in those times men began to exalt the king himself, and his whole family, with the highest praises and with new honors, so that they even called them gods; whether on account of their wonderful excellence, men as yet rude and simple really entertained this opinion, or, as is commonly the case, in flattery of present power, or on account of the benefits by which they were set in order and reduced to a civilized state. Afterwards the kings themselves, since they were beloved by those whose life they had civilized, after their death left regret of themselves. Therefore men formed images of them, that they might derive some consolation from the contemplation of their likenesses; and proceeding further through love of their worth, they began to reverence the memory of the deceased, that they might appear to be grateful for their services, and might attract their successors to a desire of ruling well. And this Cicero teaches in his treatise on the Nature of the Gods, saying “But the life of men and common intercourse led to the exalting to heaven by fame and goodwill men who were distinguished by their benefits. On this account Hercules, on this Castor and Pollux, Aesculapius and Liber” were ranked with the gods. And in another passage: “And in most states it may be understood, that for the sake of exciting valor, or that the men most distinguished for bravery might more readily encounter danger on account of the state, their memory was consecrated with the honor paid to the immortal gods.” It was doubtless on this account that the Romans consecrated their Caesars, and the Moors their kings. Thus by degrees religious honors began to be paid to them; while those who had known them, first instructed their own children and grandchildren, and afterwards all their posterity, in the practice of this rite. And yet these great kings, on account of the celebrity of their name, were honored in all provinces.

But separate people privately honored the founders of their nation or city with the highest veneration, whether they were men distinguished for bravery, or women admirable for chastity; as the Egyptians honored His, the Moors Juba, the Macedonians Cabirus, the Carthaginians Uranus, the Latins Faunus, the Sabines Sancus, the Romans Quirinus. In the same manner truly Athens worshipped Minerva, Samos Juno, Paphos Venus, Lemnos Vulcan, Naxos Liber, and Delos Apollo. And thus various sacred rites have been undertaken among different peoples and countries, inasmuch as men desire to show gratitude to their princes, and cannot find out other honors which they may confer upon the dead. Moreover, the piety of their successors contributed in a great degree to the error; for, in order that they might appear to be born from a divine origin, they paid divine honors to their parents, and ordered that they should be paid by others. Can any one doubt in what way the honors paid to the gods were instituted, when he reads in Virgil the words of Aeneas giving commands to his friends: —

"Now with full cups libation pour
To mighty Jove, whom all adore,
Invoke Anchises' blessed soul."

And he attributes to him not only immortality, but also power over the winds: —

"Invoke the winds to speed our flight,
And pray that he we hold so dear
May take our offerings year by year,
Soon as our promised town we raise,
In temples sacred to his praise."

In truth, Liber and Pan, and Mercury and Apollo, acted in the same way respecting Jupiter, and afterwards their successors did the same respecting them. The poets also added their influence, and by means of poems composed to give pleasure, raised them to the heaven; as is the case with those who flatter kings, even though wicked, with false panegyrics. And this evil originated with the Greeks, whose levity being furnished with the ability and copiousness of speech, cited in an incredible degree mists of falsehoods. And thus from admiration of them they first undertook their sacred rites, and handed them down to all nations. On account of this vanity the Sibyl thus rebukes them: —

"Why trustest thou, O Greece, to princely men?
Why to the dead dost offer empty gifts?
Thou offerest to idols; this error who suggested,
That thou shouldst leave the presence of the mighty God,
And make these offerings?"

Marcus Tullius, who was not only an accomplished orator, but also a philosopher, since he alone was an imitator of Plato, in that treatise in which he consoled himself concerning the death of his daughter, did not hesitate to say that those gods who were publicly worshipped were men. And this testimony of his ought to be esteemed the more weighty, because he held the priesthood of the augurs, and testifies that he worships and venerates the same gods. And thus within the compass of a few verses he has presented us with two facts. For while he declared his intention of consecrating the image of his daughter in the same manner in which they were consecrated by the ancients, he both taught that they were dead, and showed the origin of a vain superstition. "Since, in truth," he says, "we see many men and women among the number of the gods, and venerate their shrines, held in the greatest honor in cities and in the country, let us assent to the wisdom of those to whose talents and inventions we owe it that life is altogether adorned with laws and institutions, and established on a firm basis. And if any living being was worthy of being consecrated, assuredly it was this. If the offspring of Cadmus, or Amphitryon, or Tyndarus, was worthy of being extolled by fame to the heaven, the same honor ought undoubtedly to be appropriated to her. And this indeed I will do; and with the approbation of the gods, I will place you the best and most learned of all women in their assembly. and will consecrate you to the estimation of men." Some one may perhaps say that Cicero raved through excessive grief. But, in truth, the whole of that speech, which was perfect both in learning and in its examples, and in the very style of expression, gave no indications of a distempered mind, but of constancy and judgment; and this very sentence exhibits no sign of grief. For I do not think that he could have written with such variety, and copiousness, and ornament, had not his grief been mitigated by reason itself, and the consolation of his friends and length of time. Why should I mention what he says in his books concerning the Republic, and also concerning glory? For in his treatise on the Laws, in which work, following the example of Plato, he wished to set forth those laws which he thought that a just and

wise state would employ, he thus decreed concerning religion: “Let them reverence the gods, both those who have always been regarded as gods of heaven, and those whose services to men have placed them in heaven: Hercules, Liber, Aesculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Quirinus.” Also in his Tusculan Disputations, when he said that heaven was almost entirely filled with the human race, he said: “If, indeed, I should attempt to investigate ancient accounts, and to extract from them those things which the writers of Greece have handed down, even those who are held in the highest rank as gods will be found to have gone from us into heaven. Inquire whose sepulchers are pointed out in Greece: remember, since you are initiated, what things are handed down in the mysteries; and then at length you will understand how widely this persuasion is spread.” He appealed, as it is plain, to the conscience of Atticus, that it might he understood from the very mysteries that all those who are worshipped were men; and when he acknowledged this without hesitation in the case of Hercules, Liber, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, he was afraid openly to make the same admission respecting Apollo and Jupiter their fathers, and likewise respecting Neptune, Vulcan, Mars, and Mercury, whom he termed the greater gods; and therefore he says that this opinion is widely spread, that we may understand the same concerning Jupiter and the other more ancient gods: for if the ancients consecrated their memory in the same manner in which he says that he will consecrate the image and the name of his daughter, those who mourn may be pardoned, but those who believe it cannot be pardoned. For who is so infatuated as to believe that heaven is opened to the dead at the consent and pleasure of a senseless multitude? Or that any one is able to give to another that which he himself does not possess? Among the Romans, Julius was made a God, because it pleased a guilty man, Antony; Quirinus was made a God, because it seemed good to the shepherds, though one of them was the murderer of his twin brother, the other the destroyer of his country. But if Antony had not been consul, in return for his services towards the state Caius Caesar would have been without the honor even of a dead man, and that, too, by the advice of his father-in-law Piso, and of his relative Lucius Caesar, who opposed the celebration of the funeral, and by the advice of Dolabella the consul, who overthrew the column in the forum, that is, his monuments, and purified the forum. For Ennius declares that Romulus was regretted by his people, since he represents the people as thus speaking, through grief

for their lost king: “O Romulus, Romulus, say what a guardian of your country the gods produced you? You brought us forth within the regions of light. O father, O sire, O race, descended from the gods.” On account of this regret they more readily believed Julius Proculus uttering falsehoods, who was suborned by the fathers to announce to the populace that he had seen the king in a form more majestic than that of a man; and that he had given command to the people that a temple should be built to his honor, that he was a God, and was called by the name of Quirinus. By which deed he at once persuaded the people that Romulus had gone to the gods, and freed the senate from the suspicion of having slain the king.

CHAPTER 16

BY WHAT ARGUMENT IT IS PROVED THAT THOSE WHO ARE DISTINGUISHED BY A DIFFERENCE OF SEX CANNOT BE GODS

I might be content with those things which I have related, but there still remain many things which are necessary for the work which I have undertaken. For although, by destroying the principal part of superstitions, I have taken away the whole, yet it pleases me to follow up the remaining parts, and more fully to refute so inveterate a persuasion, that men may at length be ashamed and repent of their errors. This is a great undertaking, and worthy of a man. “I proceed to release the minds of men from the ties of superstitions,” as Lucretius says; and be indeed was unable to effect this, because he brought forward nothing true. This is our duty, who both assert the existence of the true God and refute false deities. They, therefore, who entertain the opinion that the poets have invented fables about the gods, and yet believe in the existence of female deities, and worship them, are unconsciously brought back to that which they had denied — that they have sexual intercourse, and bring forth. For it is impossible that the two sexes can have been instituted except for the sake of generation. But a difference of sex being admitted, they do not perceive that conception follows as a consequence. And this cannot be the case with a God. But let the matter be as they imagine; for they say that there are sons of Jupiter and of the other gods. Therefore new gods are

born, and that indeed daily, for gods are not surpassed in fruitfulness by men. It follows that all things are full of gods without number, since forsooth none of them dies. For since the multitude of men is incredible, and their number not to be estimated — though, as they are born, they must of necessity die — what must we suppose to be the case with the gods who have been born through so many ages, and have remained immortal? How is it, then, that so few are worshipped? Unless we think by any means that there are two sexes of the gods, not for the sake of generation, but for mere gratification, and that the gods practice those things which men are ashamed to do, and to submit to. But when any are said to be born from any, it follows that they always continue to be born, if they are born at any time; or if they ceased at any time to be born, it is befitting that we should know why or at what time they so ceased. Seneca, in his books of moral philosophy, not without some pleasantry, asks, "What is the reason why Jupiter, who is represented by the poets as most addicted to lust, ceased to beget children? Was it that he was become a sexagenarian, and was restrained by the Papian law? Or did he obtain the privileges conferred by having three children? Or did the sentiment at length occur to him, 'What you have done to another, you may expect from another;' and does he fear lest any one should act towards him as he himself did to Saturn?" But let those who maintain that they are gods, see in what manner they can answer this argument which I shall bring forward. If there are two sexes of the gods, conjugal intercourse follows; and if this takes place, they must have houses, for they are not without virtue and a sense of shame, so as to do this openly and promiscuously, as we see that the brute animals do. If they have houses, it follows that they also have cities; and for this we have the authority of Ovid, who says, "The multitude of gods occupy separate places; in this front the powerful and illustrious inhabitants of heaven have placed their dwellings." If they have cities, they will also have fields. Now who cannot see the consequence, — namely, that they plough and cultivate their lands? And this is done for the sake of food. Therefore they are mortal. And this argument is of the same weight when reversed. For if they have no lands, they have no cities; and if they have no cities, they are also without houses. And if they have no houses, they have no conjugal intercourse; and if they are without this, they have no female sex. But we see that there are females among the gods also. Therefore there are not gods. If any one is able, let him do away with

this argument. For one thing so follows the other, that it is impossible not to admit these last things. But no one will refute even the former argument. Of the two sexes the one is stronger, the other weaker. For the males are more robust, the females more feeble. But a God is not liable to feebleness; therefore there is no female sex. To this is added that last conclusion of the former argument, that there are no gods, since there are females also among the gods.

CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING THE SAME OPINION OF THE STOICS, AND CONCERNING THE HARDSHIPS AND DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF THE GODS

On these accounts the Stoics form a different conception of the gods; and because they do not perceive what the truth is, they attempt to join them with the system of natural things. And Cicero, following them, brought forward this opinion respecting the gods and their religions. Do you see then, he says, how an argument has been drawn from physical subjects which have been well and usefully found out, to the existence of false and fictitious gods? And this circumstance gave rise to false opinions and turbulent errors, and almost old-womanly superstitions. For both the forms of the gods, and their ages, and clothing and ornaments, are known to us; and moreover their races, and marriages, and all their relationships, and all things reduced to the similitude of human infirmity. What can be said more plain, more true? The chief of the Roman philosophy, and invested with the most honorable priesthood, refutes the false and fictitious gods, and testifies that their worship consists of almost old-womanly superstitions: he complains that men are entangled in false opinions and turbulent errors. For the whole of his third book respecting the Nature of the Gods altogether overthrows and destroys all religion. What more, therefore, is expected from us? Can we surpass Cicero in eloquence? By no means; but confidence was wanting to him, being ignorant of the truth, as he himself simply acknowledges in the same work. For he says that he can more easily say what is not, than what is; that is, that he is aware that the received system is false, but is ignorant of the

truth. It is plain, therefore, that those who are supposed to be gods were but men, and that their memory was consecrated after their death. And on this account also different ages and established representations of form are assigned to each, because their images were fashioned in that dress and of that age at which death arrested each.

Let us consider, if you please, the hardships of the unfortunate gods. His lost her son; Ceres her daughter; Latona, expelled and driven about over the earth, with difficulty found a small island where she might bring forth. The mother of the gods both loved a beautiful youth, and also mutilated him when found in company with a harlot; and on this account her sacred rites are now celebrated by the Galli as priests. Juno violently persecuted harlots, because she was not able to conceive by her brother. Varro writes, that the island Samos was before called Parthenia, because Juno there grew up, and there also was married to Jupiter. Accordingly there is a most noble and ancient temple of hers at Samos, and an image fashioned in the dress of a bride; and her annual sacred rites are celebrated after the manner of a marriage. If, therefore, she grew up, if she was at first a virgin and afterwards a woman, he who does not understand that she was a human being confesses himself a brute. Why should I speak of the lewdness of Venus, who ministered to the lusts of all, not only gods, but also men? For from her infamous debauchery with Mars she brought forth Harmonia; from Mercury she brought forth Hermaphroditus, who was born of both sexes; from Jupiter Cupid; from Anchines Aeneas; from Butes Eryx; from Adonis she could bring forth no offspring, because he was struck by a boar, and slain, while yet a boy. And she first instituted the art of courtesanship, as is contained in the sacred history; and taught women in Cyprus to seek gain by prostitution, which she commanded for this purpose, that she alone might not appear unchaste and a courter of men beyond other females. Has she, too, any claim to religious worship, on whose part more adulteries are recorded than births? But not even were those virgins who are celebrated able to preserve their chastity inviolate. For from what source can we suppose that Erichthonius was born? Was it from the earth, as the poets would have it appear? But the circumstance itself cries out. For when Vulcan had made arms for the gods, and Jupiter had given him the option of asking for whatever reward he might wish, and had sworn, according to his custom, by the infernal lake, that he would

refuse him nothing which he might ask, then the lame artificer demanded Minerva in marriage. Upon this the excellent and mighty Jupiter, being bound by so great an oath, was not able to refuse; he, however, advised Minerva to oppose and defend her chastity. Then in that struggle they say that Vulcan shed his seed upon the earth, from which source Erichthonius was born: and that this name was given to him from ἔριδος and χθονός, that is, from the contest and the ground. Why, then, did she, a virgin, entrust that boy shut up with a dragon and sealed to three virgins born from Cecrops? An evident case of incest, as I think, which can by no means be glossed over. Another, when she had almost lost her lover, who was torn to pieces by his maddened horses, called in the most excellent physician Aesculapius for the treatment of the youth; and when he was healed,

“Trivia kind her favorite bides,
And to Egeria’s care confides,
To live in woods obscure and lone,
And lose in Virbius’ name his own.”

What is the meaning of this so diligent and anxious care? Why this secret abode? Why this banishment, either to so great a distance, or to a woman, or into solitude? Why, in the next place, the change of name? Lastly, why such a determined hatred of horses? What do all these things imply, but the consciousness of dishonor, and a love by no means consistent with a virgin? There was evidently a reason why she undertook so great a labor for a youth so faithful, who had refused compliance with the love of his stepmother.

CHAPTER 18

ON THE CONSECRATION OF GODS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE BENEFITS WHICH THEY CONFERRED UPON MEN

In this place also they are to be refuted, who not only admit that gods have been made from men, but even boast of it as a subject of praise, either on account of their valor, as Hercules, or of their gifts, as Ceres and Liber, or of the arts which they discovered, as Aesculapius or Minerva. But how foolish these things are, and how unworthy of being the causes why men

should contaminate themselves with inexpiable guilt, and become enemies to God, in contempt of whom they undertake offerings to the dead, I will show from particular instances. They say that it is virtue which exalts man to heaven, — not, however, that concerning which philosophers discuss, which consists in goods of the soul, but this connected with the body, which is called fortitude; and since this was pre-eminent in Hercules, it is believed to have deserved immortality. Who is so foolishly senseless as to judge strength of body to be a divine or even a human good, when it has been assigned in greater measure to cattle, and it is often impaired by one disease, or is lessened by old age itself, and altogether fails? And so Hercules, when he perceived that his muscles were disfigured by ulcers, neither wished to be healed nor to grow old, that he might not at any time appear to have less strength or comeliness than he once had. They supposed that he ascended into heaven from the funeral pile on which he had burnt himself alive; and those very qualities which they most foolishly admired, they expressed by statues and images, and consecrated, so that they might for ever remain as memorials of the folly of those who had believed that gods owed their origin to the slaughter of beasts. But this, perchance, may be the fault of the Greeks, who always esteemed most trifling things as of the greatest consequence. What is the case of our own countrymen? Are they more wise? For they despise valor in an athlete, because it produces no injury; but in the case of a king, because it occasions widely-spread disasters, they so admire it as to imagine that brave and warlike generals are admitted to the assembly of the gods, and that there is no other way to immortality than to lead armies, to lay waste the territory of others, to destroy cities, to overthrow towns, to put to death or enslave free peoples. Truly the greater number of men they have cast down, plundered, and slain, so much the more noble and distinguished do they think themselves; and ensnared by the show of empty glory, they give to their crimes the name of virtue. I would rather that they should make to themselves gods from the slaughter of wild beasts, than approve of an immortality so stained with blood. If any one has slain a single man, he is regarded as contaminated and wicked, nor do they think it lawful for him to be admitted to this earthly abode of the gods. But he who has slaughtered countless thousands of men, has inundated plains with blood, and infected rivers, is not only admitted into the temple, but even into heaven. In Ennius Africanus thus speaks: “If it is permitted any one to

ascend to the regions of the gods above, the greatest gate of heaven is open to me alone." Because, in truth, he extinguished and destroyed a great part of the human race. Oh how great the darkness in which you were involved, O Africanus, or rather O poet, in that you imagined the ascent to heaven to be open to men through slaughters and bloodshed! And Cicero also assented to this delusion. It is so in truth, he said, O Africanus, for the same gate was open to Hercules; as though he himself had been doorkeeper in heaven at the time when this took place. I indeed cannot determine whether I should think it a subject of grief or of ridicule, when I see grave and learned, and, as they appear to themselves, wise men, involved in such miserable waves of errors. If this is the virtue which renders us immortal, I for my part should prefer to die, rather than to be the cause of destruction to as many as possible. If immortality can be obtained in no other way than by bloodshed, what will be the result if all shall agree to live in harmony? And this may undoubtedly be realized, if men would cast aside their pernicious and impious madness, and live in innocence and justice. Shall no one, then, be worthy of heaven? Shall virtue perish, because it will not be permitted men to rage against their fellow-men? But they who reckon the overthrow of cities and people as the greatest glory will not endure public tranquillity: they will plunder and rage; and by the infliction of outrageous injuries will disturb the compact of human society, that they may have an enemy whom they may destroy with greater wickedness than that with which they attacked.

Now let us proceed to the remaining subjects. The conferring of benefits gave the name of gods to Ceres and Liber. I am able to prove from the sacred writings that wine and corn were used by men before the offspring of Coelus and Saturnus. But let us suppose that they were introduced by these. Can it appear to be a greater thing to have collected corn, and having bruised it, to have taught men to make bread; or to have pressed grapes gathered from the vine, and to have made wine, than to have produced and brought forth from the earth corn itself, or the vine? God, indeed, may have left these things to be drawn out by the ingenuity of man; yet all things must belong to Him, who gave to man both wisdom to discover, and those very things which might be discovered. The arts also are said to have gained immortality for their inventors, as medicine for Aesculapius, the craft of the smith for Vulcan. Therefore let us worship those also who

taught the art of the fuller and of the shoemaker. But why is not honor paid to the discoverer of the potter's art? Is it that those rich men despise Samian vessels? There are also other arts, the inventors of which greatly profiled the life of man. Why have not temples been assigned to them also? But doubtless it is Minerva who discovered all, and therefore workmen offer prayers to her. Such, then, was the low condition from which Minerva ascended to heaven. Is there truly any reason why any one should leave the worship of Him who created the earth with its living creatures, and the heaven with its stars, for the adoration of her who taught men to set up the woof? What place does he hold who taught the healing of wounds in the body? Can he be more excellent than Him who formed the body itself, and the power of sensibility and of life? Finally, did he contrive and bring to light the herbs themselves, and the other things in which the healing art consists?

CHAPTER 19

THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY ONE TO WORSHIP THE TRUE GOD TOGETHER WITH FALSE DEITIES

But some one will say that this supreme Being, who made all things, and those also who conferred on men particular benefits, are entitled to their respective worship. First of all, it has never happened that the worshipper of these has also been a worshipper of God. Nor can this possibly happen. For if the honor paid to Him is shared by others, He altogether ceases to be worshipped, since His religion requires us to believe that He is the one and only God. The excellent poet exclaims, that all those who refined life by the invention of arts are in the lower regions, and that even the discoverer himself of such a medicine and art was thrust down by lightning to the Stygian waves, that we may understand how great is the power of the Almighty Father, who can extinguish even gods by His lightnings. But ingenious men perchance thus reasoned with themselves: Because God cannot be struck with lightning, it is manifest that the occurrence never took place; nay, rather, because it did take place, it is manifest that the person in question was a man, and not a God. For the falsehood of the poets does not consist in the deed, but in the name. For

they feared evil, if, in opposition to the general persuasion, they should acknowledge that which was true. But if this is agreed upon among themselves, that gods were made from men, why then do they not believe the poets, if at any time they describe their banishments and wounds, their deaths, and wars, and adulteries? From which things it may be understood that they could not possibly become gods, since they were not even good men, and during their life they performed I those actions which bring forth everlasting death.

CHAPTER 20

OF THE GODS PECULIAR TO THE ROMANS, AND THEIR SACRED RITES

I now come to the superstitions peculiar to the Romans, since I have spoken of those which are common. The wolf, the nurse of Romulus, was invested with divine honors. And I could endure this, if it had been the animal itself whose figure she bears. Livy relates that there was an image of Larentina, and indeed not of her body, but of her mind and character. For she was the wife of Faustulus, and on account of her prostitution she was called among the shepherds wolf, that is, harlot, from which also the brothel derives its name. The Romans doubtless followed the example of the Athenians in representing her figure. For when a harlot, by name Leaena, had put to death a tyrant among them, because it was unlawful for the image of a harlot to be placed in the temple, they erected the effigy of the animal whose name she bore. Therefore, as the Athenians erected a monument from the name, so did the Romans from the profession of the person thus honored. A festival was also dedicated to her name, and the Larentinalia were instituted. Nor is she the only harlot whom the Romans worship, but also Faula, who was, as Verrius writes, the paramour of Hericules. Now how great must that immortality be thought which is attained even by harlots! Flora, having obtained great wealth by this practice, made the people her heir, and left a fixed sum of money, from the annual proceeds of which her birthday might be celebrated by public games, which they called Floralia. And because this appeared disgraceful to the senate, in order that a kind of dignity might be given to a shameful

matter, they resolved that an argument should be taken from the name itself. They pretended that she was the goddess who presides over flowers, and that she must be appeased, that the crops, together with the trees or vines, might produce a good and abundant blossom. The poet followed up this idea in his Fasti, and related that there was a nymph, by no means obscure, who was called Chloris, and that, on her marriage with Zephyrus, she received from her husband as a wedding gift the control over all flowers. These things are spoken with propriety, but to believe them is unbecoming and shameful. Anti when the truth is in question, ought disguises of this kind to deceive us? Those games, therefore, are celebrated with all wantonness, as is suitable to the memory of a harlot. For besides licentiousness of words, in which all lewdness is poured forth, women are also stripped of their garments at the demand of the people, and then perform the office of mimeplayers, and are detained in the sight of the people with indecent gestures, even to the satiating of unchaste eyes. Tatius consecrated an image of Cloacina, which had been found in the great sewer; and because he did not know whose likeness it was, he gave it a name from the place. Tullus Hostilius fashioned and worshipped Fear and Pallor. What shall I say respecting him, but that he was worthy of having his gods always at hand, as men commonly wish? The conduct of Marcus Marcellus concerning the consecration of Honor and Valor differs from this in goodness of the names, but agrees with it in reality. The senate acted with the same vanity in placing Mind among the gods; for if they had possessed any intelligence, they would never have undertaken sacred rites of this kind. Cicero says that Greece undertook a great and bold design in consecrating the images of Cupids and Loves in the gymnasia: it is plain that he flattered Atticus and jested with his friend. For that ought not to have been called a great design, or a design at all, but the abandoned and deplorable wickedness of unchaste men, who exposed their children, whom it was their duty to train to an honorable course, to the lust of youth, and wished them to worship gods of profligacy, in those places especially where their naked bodies were exposed to the gaze of their corrupters, and at that age which, through its simplicity and incautiousness, can be enticed and ensnared before it can be on its guard. What wonder, if all kinds of profligacy flowed from this nation, among whom vices themselves have the sanction of religion, and are so far from being avoided, that they are even worshipped? And therefore, as though he

surpassed the Greeks in prudence, he subjoined to this sentence as follows: “Vices ought not to be consecrated, but virtues.” But if you admit this, O Marcus Tullius, you do not see that it will come to pass that vices will break in together with virtues, because evil things adhere to those which are good, and have greater influence on the minds of men; and if you forbid these to be consecrated, the same Greece will answer you that it worships some gods that it may receive benefits, and others that it may escape injuries. For this is always the excuse of those who regard their evils as gods, as the Romans esteem Blight and Fever. If, therefore, vices are not to be consecrated, in which I agree with you, neither indeed are virtues. For they have no intelligence or perception of themselves; nor are they to be placed within walls or shrines made of clay, but within the breast; and they are to be enclosed within, lest they should be false if placed without man. Therefore I laugh at that illustrious law of yours which you set forth in these words: “But those things on account of which it is given to man to ascend into heaven — I speak of mind, virtue, piety, faith let there be temples for their praises.” But these things cannot be separated from man. For if they are to be honored, they must necessarily be in man himself. But if they are without man, what need is there to honor those things which you do not possess? For it is virtue, which is to be honored, and not the image of virtue; and it is to be honored not by any sacrifice, or incense, or solemn prayer, but only by the will and purpose. For what else is it to honor virtue, but to comprehend it with the mind, and to hold it fast? And as soon as any one begins to wish for this, he attains it. This is the only honor of virtue; for no other religion and worship is to be held but that of the one God. To what purport is it, then, O wisest man, to occupy with superfluous buildings places which may turn out to the service of men? To what purport is it to establish priests for the worship of vain and senseless objects? To what purport to immolate victims? To what purport to bestow such great expenditure on the forming or worshipping of images? The human breast is a stronger and more uncorrupted temple: let this rather be adorned, let this be filled with the true deities. For they who thus worship the virtues — that is, who pursue the shadows and images of virtues — cannot hold the very things which are true. Therefore there is no virtue in any one when vices bear rule; there is no faith when each individual carries off all things for himself; there is no piety when avarice spares neither relatives nor parents, and

passion rushes to poison and the sword: no peace, no concord, when wars rage in public, and in private enmities prevail even to bloodshed; no chastity when unbridled lusts contaminate each sex, and the whole body in every part. Nor, however, do they cease to worship those things which they flee from and hate. For they worship with incense and the tips of their fingers those things which they ought to have shrunk from with their inmost feelings; and this error is altogether derived from their ignorance of the principal and chief good.

When their city was occupied by the Gauls, and the Romans, who were besieged in the Capitol, had made military engines from the hair of the women, they dedicated a temple to the Bald Venus. They do not therefore understand how vain are their religions, even from this very fact, that they jeer at them by these follies. They had perhaps learned from the Lacedaemonians to invent for themselves gods from events. For when they were besieging the Messenians, and they (the Messenians) had gone out secretly, escaping the notice of the besiegers, and had hastened to plunder Lacedaemon, they were routed and put to flight by the Spartan women. But the Lacedaemonians, having learned the stratagem of the enemy, followed. The women in arms went out to a distance to meet them; and when they saw that their husbands were preparing themselves for battle, supposing them to be Messenians, they laid bare their persons. But the men, recognizing their wives, and excited to passion by the sight, rushed to promiscuous intercourse, for there was not time for discrimination. In like manner, the youths who had on a former occasion been sent by the same people, having intercourse with the virgins, from whom the Partheniae were born, in memory of this deed erected a temple and statue to armed Venus. And although this originated in a shameful cause, yet it seems better to have consecrated Venus as armed than bald. At the same time an altar was erected also to Jupiter Pistor (the baker), because he had admonished them in a dream to make all the corn which they had into bread, and throw it into the camp of the enemy; and when this was done, the siege was ended, since the Gauls despaired of being able to reduce the Romans by want.

What a derision of religions rites is this! I were a defender of these, what could I complain of so greatly as that the name of gods had conic into such contempt as to be mocked by the most disgraceful names? Who would not

laugh at the goddess Fornax, or rather that learned men should be occupied with celebrating the Fornacalia? Who can refrain from laughter on hearing of the goddess Muta? They say that she is the goddess from whom the Lares were born, and they call her Lara, or Larunda. What advantage can she, who is unable to speak, afford to a worshipper? Caca also is worshipped, who informed Hercules of the theft of his oxen, having obtained immortality through the betrayal of her brother; and Cunina, who protects infants in the cradle, and keeps off witchcraft; and Stercutus, who first introduced the method of manuring the land; and Tutinus, before whom brides sit, as an introduction to the marriage rites; and a thousand other fictions, so that they who regarded these as objects of worship may be said to be more foolish than the Egyptians, who worship certain monstrous and ridiculous images. These however, have some delineation of form. What shall I say of those who worship a rude and shapeless stone under the name of Terminus? This is he whom Saturnus is said to have swallowed in the place of Jupiter; nor is the honor paid to him undeservedly. For when Tarquinius wished to build the Capitol, and there were the chapels of many gods on that spot, he consulted them by augury whether they would give way to Jupiter; and when the rest gave way, Terminus alone remained. From which circumstance the pact speaks of the immovable stone of the Capitol. Now from this very fact how great is Jupiter found to be, to whom a stone did not give way, with this confidence, perhaps, because it had rescued him from the jaws of his father! Therefore, when the Capitol was built, an aperture was left in the roof above Terminus himself, that, since he had not given way, he might enjoy the free heaven; but they did not themselves enjoy this, who imagined that a stone enjoyed it. And therefore they make public supplications to him, as to the God who is the guardian of boundaries; and he is not only a stone, but sometimes also a stock. What shall I say of those who worship such objects, unless — that they above all others are stones and stocks?

CHAPTER 21

OF CERTAIN DEITIES PECULIAR TO BARBARIANS, AND THEIR SACRED RITES; AND IN LIKE MANNER CONCERNING THE ROMANS

We have spoken of the gods themselves who are worshipped; we must now speak a few words respecting their sacrifices and mysteries. Among the people of Cyprus, Teucer sacrificed a human victim to Jupiter, and handed down to posterity that sacrifice which was lately abolished by Hadrian when he was emperor. There was a law among the people of Tauris, a fierce and inhuman nation, by which it was ordered that strangers should be sacrificed to Diana; and this sacrifice was practiced through many ages. The Gauls used to appease Hesus and Teutas with human blood. Nor, indeed, were the Latins free from this cruelty, since Jupiter Latialis is even now worshipped with the offering of human blood. What benefit do they who offer such sacrifices implore from the gods? Or what are such deities able to bestow on the men by whose punishments they are propitiated? But this is not so much a matter of surprise with respect to barbarians, whose religion agrees with their character. But are not our countrymen, who have always claimed for themselves the glory of gentleness and civilization, found to be more inhuman by these sacrilegious rites? For these ought rather to be esteemed impious, who, though they are embellished with the pursuits of liberal training, turn aside from such refinement. than those who, being ignorant and inexperienced, glide into evil practices from their ignorance of those which are good. And yet it is plain that this rite of immolating human victims is ancient, since Saturn was honored in Latium with the same kind of sacrifice; not indeed that a man was slain at the altar, but that he was thrown from the Milvian bridge into the Tiber. And Varro relates that this was done in accordance with an oracle; of which oracle the last verse is to this effect: “And offer heads to Ades, and to the father a man.” And because this appears ambiguous, both a torch and a man are accustomed to be thrown to him. But it is said that sacrifices of this kind were put an end to by Hercules when he returned from Spain; the custom still continuing, that instead of real men, images made from rushes were cast forth, as Ovid informs us in his Fasti: “Until the Tirynthian came into these lands, gloomy sacrifices were annually

offered in the Leucadian manner: he threw into the water Romans made of straw; do you, after the example of Hercules, cast in the images of human bodies.”

The Vestal virgins make these sacred offerings, as the same poet says:

“Then also a virgin is accustomed to cast from the wooden bridge the images of ancient men made from rushes.”

For I cannot find language to speak of the infants who were immolated to the same Saturn, on account of his hatred of Jupiter. To think that men were so barbarous, so savage, that they gave the name of sacrifice to the slaughter of their own children, that is, to a deed foul, and to be held in detestation by the human race; since, without any regard to parental affection, they destroyed tender and innocent lives, at an age which is especially pleasing to parents, and surpassed in brutality the savageness of all beasts, which — savage as they are — still love their offspring! O incurable madness! What more could those gods do to them, if they were most angry, than they now do when propitious, when they defile their worshippers with parricide, visit them with bereavements, and deprive them of the sensibilities of men? What can be sacred to these men? Or what will they do in profane places, who commit the greatest crimes amidst the altars of the gods? Pescennius Festus relates in the books of his History by a Satire, that the Carthaginians were accustomed to immolate human victims to Saturn; and when they were conquered by Agathocles, the king of the Sicilians, they imagined that the God was angry with them; and therefore, that they might more diligently offer an expiation, they immolated two hundred sons of their nobles: “So great the ills to which religion could prompt, which has ofttimes produced wicked and impious deeds.” What advantage, then, did the men propose by that sacrifice, when they put to death so large a part of the state, as not even Agathocles had slain when victorious?

From this kind of sacrifices those public rites are to be judged signs of no less madness; some of which are in honor of the mother of the gods, in which men mutilate themselves; others are in honor of Virtus, whom they also call Bellona, in which the priests make offsprings not with the blood of another victim, but with their own. For, cutting their shoulders, and thrusting forth drawn swords in each hand, they run, they are beside

themselves, they are frantic. Quintilian therefore says excellently in his Fanatic: “If a God compels this, he does it in anger.” Are even these things sacred? Is it not better to live like cattle, than to worship deities so impious. profane, and sanguinary? But we will discuss at the proper time the source from which these errors and deeds of such great disgrace originated. In the mean time, let us look also to other matters which are without guilt, that we may not seem to select the worse parts through the desire of finding fault. In Egypt there are sacred rites in honor of His, since she either lost or found her little son. For at first her priests, having made their bodies smooth, beat their breasts, and lament, as the goddess herself had done when her child was lost. Afterwards the boy is brought forward, as if found, and that mourning is changed into joy. Therefore Lucan says, “And Osiris never sufficiently sought for.” For they always lose, and they always find him. Therefore in the sacred rites there is a representation of a circumstance which really occurred; and which assuredly declares, if we have any intelligence, that she was a mortal woman, and almost desolate, had she not found one person. And this did not escape the notice of the poet himself; for he represents Pompey when a youth as thus speaking, on hearing the death of his father: “I will now draw forth the deity His from the tomb, and send her through the nations; and I will scatter through the people Osiris covered with wood.” This Osiris is the same whom the people call Serapis. For it is customary for the names of the dead who are deified to be changed, that no one, as I believe, may imagine them to be men. For Romulus after his death became Quirinus, and Leda became Nemesis, and Circe Marica; and Ino, when she had leapt into the sea, was called Leucothea; and the mother Matuta; and her son Melicerta was called Palaemon and Portumnus. And the sacred rites of the Eleusinian Ceres are not unlike these. For as in those which have been mentioned the boy Osiris is sought with the wailing of his mother, so in these Proserpine is carried away to contract an incestuous marriage with her uncle; and because Ceres is said to have sought for her in Sicily with torches lighted from the top of Etna, on this account her sacred rites are celebrated with the throwing of torches.

At Lampsacus the victim to he offered to Priapus is an ass, and the cause of the sacrifice of this animal is thus set forth in the Fasti:-When all the deities had assembled at the festival of the Great Mother, and when,

satiated with feasting. they were spending the night in sport, they say that Vesta had laid herself on the ground for rest, and had fallen asleep, and that Priapus upon this formed a design against her honor as she slept; but that she was aroused by the unseasonable braying of the ass on which Silenus used to ride, and that the design of the insidious plotter was frustrated. On this account they say that the people of Lampsacus were accustomed to sacrifice an ass to Priapus, as though it were in revenge; but among the Romans the same animal was crowned at the Vestalia (festival of Vesta) with loaves, in honor of the preservation of her chastity. What is baser, what more disgraceful, than if Vesta is indebted to an ass for the preservation of her purity? But the poet invented a fable. But was that more true which is related by those who wrote “Phenomena,” when they speak concerning the two stars of Cancer, which the Greeks call asses? That they were asses which carried across father Liber when he was unable to cross a river, and that he rewarded one of them with the power of speaking with human voice; and that a contest arose between him and Priapus; and Priapus, being worsted in the contest, was enraged, and slew the victor. This truly is ranch more absurd. But poets have the license of saying what they will. I do not meddle with a mystery so odious; nor do I strip Priapus of his disguise, lest something deserving of ridicule should be brought to light. It is true the poets invented these fictions, but they must have been invented for the purpose of concealing some greater depravity. Let us inquire what this is. But in fact it is evident. For as the bull is sacrificed to Luna, because he also has horns as she has; and as “Persia propitiates with a horse Hyperion surrounded with rays, that a slow victim may not be offered to the swift God;” so in this case no more suitable victim could be found than that which resembled him to whom it is offered.

At Lindus, which is a town of Rhodes, there are sacred rites in honor of Hercules, the observance of which differs widely from all other rites; for they are not celebrated with words of good omen (as the Greeks term it), but with revilings and cursing. And they consider it a violation of the sacred rites, if at any tithe during the celebration of the solemnities a good word shall have escaped from any one even inadvertently. And this is the reason assigned for this practice, if indeed there can be any reason in things utterly senseless. When Hercules had arrived at the place, and was

suffering hunger, he saw a ploughman at work, and began to ask him to sell one of his oxen. But the ploughman replied that this was impossible, because his hope of cultivating the land depended altogether upon those two bullocks. Hercules, with his usual violence, because he was not able to receive one of them, killed both. But the unhappy man, when he saw that his oxen were slain, avenged the injury with revilings, — a circumstance which afforded gratification to the man of elegance and refinement. For while he prepares a feast for his companions, and while he devours the oxen of another man, he receives with ridicule and loud laughter the bitter reproaches with which the other assails him. But when it had been determined that divine honors should be paid to Hercules in admiration of his excellence, an altar was erected in his honor by the citizens, which he named, from the circumstance, the yoke of oxen; and at this altar two yoked oxen were sacrificed, like those which he had taken from the ploughman. And he appointed the same man to be his priest, and directed him always to use the same revilings in offering sacrifice, because he said that he had never feasted more pleasantly. Now these things are not sacred, but sacrilegious, in which that is said to be enjoined, which, if it is done in other things, is punished with the greatest severity. What, moreover, do the rites of the Cretan Jupiter himself show, except the manner in which he was withdrawn from his father, or brought up? There is a goat belonging to the nymph Amalthea, which gave suck to the infant; and of this goat Germanicus Caesar thus speaks, in his poem translated from Aratus: 6 —

“She is supposed to be the nurse of Jupiter; if in truth the infant Jupiter pressed the faithful teats of the Cretan goat, which attests the gratitude of her Lord by a bright constellation.”

Musaeus relates that Jupiter, when fighting against the Titans, used the hide of this goat as a shield, from which circumstance he is called by the poets shield-bearer. Thus, whatever was done in concealing the boy, that also is done by way of representation in the sacred rites. Moreover, the mystery of his mother also contains the same story which Ovid sets forth in the Fasti: —

"Now the lofty Ida resounds with tinklings, that the boy may cry in safety with infant mouth. Some strike their shields with stakes, some beat their empty helmets. This is the employment of the Curetes, this of the Corybantes. The matter was concealed, and imitations of the ancient deed remain; the attendant goddesses shake instruments of brass, and hoarse hides. Instead of helmets they strike cymbals, and drums instead of shields; the flute gives Phrygian strains, as it gave before."

Sallust rejected this opinion altogether, as though invented by the poets, and wished to give an ingenious explanation of the reasons for which the Curetes are said to have nourished Jupiter; and he speaks to this purport: Because they were the first to understand the worship of the deity, that therefore antiquity, which exaggerates all things, made them known as the nourishers of Jupiter. How much this learned man was mistaken, the matter itself at once declares. For if Jupiter holds the first place, both among the gods and in religious rites, if no gods were worshipped by the people before him, because they who are worshipped were not yet born; it appears that the Curetes, on the contrary, were the first who did not understand the worship of the deity, since all error was introduced by them, and the memory of the true God was taken away. They ought therefore to have understood from the mysteries and ceremonies themselves, that they were offering prayers to dead men. I do not then require that any one should believe the fictions of the poets. If any one imagines that these speak falsely, let him consider the writings of the pontiffs themselves, and weigh whatever there is of literature pertaining to sacred rites: he will perhaps find more things than we bring forward, from which he may understand that all things which are esteemed sacred are empty, vain, and fictitious. But if any one, having discovered wisdom, shall lay aside his error, he will assuredly laugh at the follies of men who are almost without understanding: I mean those who either dance with unbecoming gestures, or run naked, anointed, and crowned with chaplets, either wearing a mask or besmeared with mud. What shall I say about shields now putrid with age? When they carry these, they think that they are carrying gods themselves on their shoulders. For Furius Bibaculus is regarded among the chief examples of piety, who, though he was praetor, nevertheless carried the sacred shield, preceded by the lictors, though his

office as praetor gave him an exemption from this duty. He was therefore not Furius, but altogether mad, who thought that he graced his praetorship by this service. Deservedly then, since these things are done by men not unskillful and ignorant, does Lucretius exclaim: —

"O foolish minds of men! O blinded breasts! In what darkness of life and in how great dangers is passed this term of life, whatever be its duration!"

Who that is possessed of any sense would not laugh at these mockeries, when he sees that men, as though bereft of intelligence, do those things seriously, which if any one should do in sport, he would appear too full of sport and folly?

CHAPTER 22

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE VANITIES BEFORE DESCRIBED IN ITALY AMONG THE ROMANS, AND WHO AMONG OTHER NATIONS

The author and establisher of these vanities among the Romans was that Sabine king who especially engaged the rude and ignorant minds of men with new superstitions: and that he might do this with some authority, he pretended that he had meetings by night with the goddess Egeria. There was a very dark cavern in the grove of Aricia, from which flowed a stream with a never failing spring. Hither he was accustomed to withdraw himself without any witnesses, that he might be able to pretend that, by the admonition of the goddess his wife, he delivered to the people those sacred rites which were most acceptable to the gods. It is evident that he wished to imitate the craftiness of Minos, who concealed himself in the cave of Jupiter, and, after a long delay there, brought forward laws, as though delivered to him by Jupiter, that he might bind men to obedience not only by the authority of his government, but also by the sanction of religion. Nor was it difficult to persuade shepherds. Therefore he instituted pontiffs, priests, Salii, and augurs; he arranged the gods in families; and by these means he softened the fierce spirits of the new people and called them away from warlike affairs to the pursuit of peace. But though he deceived others, he did not deceive himself. For after many years, in the consulship of Cornelius and Bebius, in a field belonging to the scribe

Petilius, under the Janiculum, two stone chests were found by men who were digging, in one of which was the body of Numa, in the other seven books in Latin respecting the law of the pontiffs, and the same number written in Greek respecting systems of philosophy, in which he not only annulled the religious rites which he himself had instituted, but all others also. When this was referred to the senate, it was decreed that these books should be destroyed. Therefore Quintus Petilius, the praetor who had jurisdiction in the city burnt them in an assembly of the people. This was a senseless proceeding; for of what advantage was it that the books were burnt, when the cause on account of which they were burnt — that they took away the authority due to religion — was itself handed down to memory? Every one then in the senate was most foolish; for the books might have been burnt, and yet the matter itself have been unknown. Thus, while they wish to prove even to posterity with what piety they defended religious institutions, they lessened the authority of the institutions themselves by their testimony.

But as Pompilius was the institutor of foolish superstitions among the Romans, so also, before Pompilius, Faunus was in Latium, who both established impious rites to his grandfather Saturnus, and honored his father Picus with a place among the gods, and consecrated his sister Fatua Fauna, who was also his wife; who, as Gabius Bassus relates, was called Fatua because she had been in the habit of foretelling their fates to women, as Faunus did to men. And Varro writes that she was a woman of such great modesty, that, as long as she lived, no male except her husband saw her or heard her name. On this account women sacrifice to her in secret, and call her the Good Goddess. And Sextus Claudius, in that book which he wrote in Greek, relates that it was the wife of Faunus who, because, contrary to the practice and honor of kings, she had drunk a jar of wine, and had become intoxicated, was beaten to death by her husband with myrtle rods. But afterwards, when he was sorry for what he had done, and was unable to endure his regret for her, he paid her divine honors. For this reason they say that a covered jar of wine is placed at her sacred rites. Therefore Faunus also left to posterity no slight error, which all that are intelligent see through. For Lucilius in these verses derides the folly of those who imagine that images are gods: “The terrestrial Lamiae, which Faunus and Numa Pompilius and others instituted; at and these he

trembles, he places everything in this. As infant boys believe that every statue of bronze is a living man, so these imagine that all things reigned are true: they believe that statues of bronze contain a heart. It is a painter's gallery; there is nothing true; all things are fictitious." The poet, indeed, compares foolish men to infants. But I say that they are much more senseless than infants. For they (infants) suppose that images are men, whereas these take them for gods: the one through their age, the others through folly, imagine that which is not true: at any rate, the one soon ceased to be deceived; the foolishness of the others is permanent, and always increases. Orpheus was the first who introduced the rites of father Liber into Greece; and he first celebrated them on a mountain of Boeotia, very near to Thebes, where Liber was born; and because this mountain continually resounded with the strains of the lyre, it was called Cithaeron. Those sacred rites are even now called Orphic, in which he himself was lacerated and torn in pieces; and he lived about the same time with Faunus. But which of them was prior in age admits of doubt, since Latinus and Priam reigned during the same years, as did also their fathers Faunus and Laomedon, in whose reign Orpheus came with the Argonauts to the coast of the Trojans.

Let us therefore advance further, and inquire who was really the first author of the worship of the gods. Didymus, in the books of his commentary on Pindar, says that Melisseus, king of the Cretans, was the first who sacrificed to the gods, and introduced new rites and parades of sacrifices. He had two daughters, Amalthaea and Melissa, who nourished the youth fill Jupiter with goats' milk and honey. Hence that poetic fable derived its origin, that bees flew to the child, and filled his mouth with honey. Moreover, he says that Melissa was appointed by her father the first priestess of the Great Mother; from which circumstance the priests of the same Mother are still called Melissae. But the sacred history testifies that Jupiter himself, when he had gained possession of power, arrived at such insolence that he built temples in honor of himself in many places. For when he went about to different lands, on his arrival in each region, he united to himself the kings or princes of the people in hospitality and friendship; and when he was departing from each, he ordered that a shrine should be dedicated to himself in the name of his host, as though the remembrance of their friendship and league could thus

be preserved. Thus temples were founded in honor of Jupiter Atabyrius and Jupiter Labrandius; for Atabyrius and Labrandius were his entertainers and assistants in war. Temples were also built to Jupiter Laprius, to Jupiter Molion, to Jupiter Casius, and others, after the same manner. This was a very crafty device on his part, that he might both acquire divine honor for himself, and a perpetual name for his entertainers in conjunction with religious observances. Accordingly they were glad, and cheerfully submitted to his command, and observed annual rites and festivals for the sake of handing down their own name. Aeneas did something like this in Sicily, when he gave the name of his host Acestes to a city which he had built, that Acestes might afterwards joyfully and willingly love, increase, and adorn it. In this manner Jupiter spread abroad through the world the observance of his worship, and gave an example for the imitation of others. Whether, then, the practice of worshipping the gods proceeded from Melisseus, as Didymus related, or from Jupiter also himself, as Euhemerus says, the time is still agreed upon when the gods began to be worshipped. Melisseus, indeed, was much prior in time, inasmuch as he brought up Jupiter his grandson. It is therefore possible that either before, or while Jupiter was yet a boy, he taught the worship of the gods, namely, the mother of his foster-child, and his grandmother Tellus, who was the wife of Uranus, and his father Saturnus; and he himself, by this example and institution, may have exalted Jupiter to such pride, that he afterwards ventured to assume divine honors to himself.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE AGES OF VAIN SUPERSTITIONS, AND THE TIMES AT WHICH THEY COMMENCED

Now, since we have ascertained the origin of vain superstitions, it remains that we should also collect the times during which they whose memory is honored lived. Theophilus, in his book written to Autolycus respecting the times, says that Thallus relates in his history, that Belus, who is worshipped by the Babylonians and Assyrians, is found to have lived 322 years before the Trojan war; that Belus, moreover, was contemporary with Saturnus, and that they both grew up at one time; — which is so

true, that it may be inferred by reason itself. For Agamemnon, who carried on the Trojan war, was the fourth in descent from Jupiter; and Achilles and Ajax were of the third descent from him; and Ulysses was related in the same degree. Priam, indeed, was distant by a long series of descents. But according to some authorities, Dardanus and Iasius were sons of Coritus, not of Jupiter. For if it had been so, Jupiter could not have formed that unchaste connection with Ganymede, his own descendant. Therefore, if you divide the years which are in agreement, the number will be found in harmony with the parents of those whom I have named above. Now, from the destruction of the Trojan city fourteen hundred and seventy years are made up. From this calculation of times, it is manifest that Saturnus has not been born more than eighteen hundred years, and he also was the father of all the gods. Let them not glory, then, in the antiquity of their sacred rites, since both their origin and system and times have been ascertained. There still remain some things which may be of great weight for the disproving of false religions; but I have determined now to bring this book to an end, that it may not exceed moderate limits. For those things must be followed up more fully, that, having refuted all things which seem to oppose the truth, we may be able to instruct in true religion men who, through ignorance of good things, wander in uncertainty. But the first step towards wisdom is to understand what is false; the second, to ascertain what is true. Therefore he who shall have profited by this first discussion of mine, in which we have exposed false things, will be excited to the knowledge of the truth, than which no pleasure is more gratifying to man; and he will now be worthy of the wisdom of heavenly training, who shall approach with willingness and preparation to the knowledge of the other subjects.

BOOK 2

OF THE ORIGIN OF ERROR

CHAPTER 1

THAT FORGETFULNESS OF REASON MAKES MEN IGNORANT OF THE TRUE GOD, WHOM THEY WORSHIP IN ADVERSITY AND DESPISE IN PROSPERITY

ALTHOUGH I have shown in the first book that the religious ceremonies of the gods are false, because those in whose honor the general consent of men throughout the world by a foolish persuasion undertook various and dissimilar rites were mortals, and when they had completed their term of life, yielded to a divinely appointed necessity and died, yet, lest any doubt should be left, this second book shall lay open the very fountain of errors, and shall explain all the causes by which men were deceived, so that at first they believed that they were gods, and afterwards with an inveterate persuasion persevered in the religious observances which they had most perversely undertaken. For I desire, O Emperor Constantine, now that I have proved the emptiness of these things, and brought to light the impious vanity of men, to assert the majesty of the one God, undertaking the more useful and greater duty of recalling men from crooked paths, and of bringing them back into favor with themselves, that they may not, as some philosophers do, so greatly despise themselves, nor think that they are weak and useless, and of no account, and altogether born in vain. For this notion drives many to vicious pursuits. For while they imagine that we are a care to no God, or that we are about to have no existence after death, they altogether give themselves to the indulgence of their passions; and while they think that it is allowed them, they eagerly apply themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, by which they unconsciously run into the snares of death; for they are ignorant as to what is reasonable conduct on the part of man: for if they wished to understand this, in the first place they would acknowledge their Lord, and would follow after

virtue and justice; they would not subject their souls to the influence of earth-born fictions, nor would they seek the deadly fascinations of their lusts; in short, they would value themselves highly, and would understand that there is more in man than appears; and that they cannot retain their power and standing unless men lay aside depravity, and undertake the worship of their true Parent. I indeed, as I ought, often reflecting on the sum of affairs, am accustomed to wonder that the majesty of the one God, which keeps together and rules all things, has come to be so forgotten, that the only befitting object of worship is, above all others, the one which is especially neglected; and that men have sunk to such blindness, that they prefer the dead to the true and living God, and those who are of the earth, and buried in the earth, to Him who was the Creator of the earth itself.

And yet this impiety of men might meet with some indulgence if the error entirely arose from ignorance of the divine name. But since we often see that the worshippers of other gods themselves confess and acknowledge the Supreme God, what pardon can they hope for their impiety, who do not acknowledge the worship of Him whom man cannot altogether be ignorant of? For both in swearing, and in expressing a wish, and in giving thanks, they do not name Jupiter, or a number of gods, but God; so entirely does the truth of its own accord break forth by the force of nature even from unwilling breasts. And this, indeed, is not the case with men in their prosperity. For then most of all does God escape the memory of men, when in the enjoyment of His benefits they ought to honor His divine beneficence. But if any weighty necessity shall press them, then they remember God. If the terror of war shall have resounded, if the pestilential force of diseases shall have overhung them, if long-continued drought shall have denied nourishment to the crops, if a violent tempest or hail shall have assailed them, they betake themselves to God, aid is implored from God, God is entreated to succor them. If any one is tossed about on the sea, the wind being furious, it is this God whom he invokes. If any one is harassed by any violence, he implores His aid. If any one, reduced to the last extremity of poverty, begs for food, he appeals to God alone, and by His divine and matchless name alone he seeks to gain the compassion of men. Thus they never remember God, unless it be while they are in trouble. When fear has left them, and the dangers have withdrawn, then in truth they quickly hasten to the temples of the gods:

they pour libations to them, they sacrifice to them, they crown them with garlands. But to God, whom they called upon in their necessity itself, they do not give thanks even in word. Thus from prosperity arises luxury; and from luxury, together with all other vices, there arises impiety towards God.

From what cause can we suppose this to arise? Unless we imagine that there is some perverse power which is always hostile to the truth, which rejoices in the errors of men, whose one and only task it is perpetually to scatter darkness, and to blind the minds of men, lest they should see the light, — lest, in short, they should look to heaven, and observe the nature of their own body, the origin of which we shall relate at the proper place; but now let us refute fallacies. For since other animals look down to the ground, with bodies bending forward, because they have not received reason and wisdom, whereas an upright position and an elevated countenance have been given to us by the Creator God, it is evident that these ceremonies paid to the gods are not in accordance with the reason of man, because they bend down the heaven-sprung being to the worship of earthly objects. For that one and only Parent of ours, when He created man, — that is, an animal intelligent and capable of exercising reason, — raised him from the ground, and elevated him to the contemplation of his Creator. As an ingenious poet has well represented it: —

"And when other animals bend forward and look to the earth, He gave to man an elevated countenance, and commanded him to look up to the heaven, and to raise his countenance erect to stars."

From this circumstance the Greeks plainly derived the name ἄνθρωπος, because he looks upward. They therefore deny themselves, and renounce the name of man, who do not look up, but downward: unless they think that the fact of our being upright is assigned to man without any cause. God willed that we should look up to heaven, and undoubtedly not without reason. For both the birds and almost all of the dumb creation see the heaven, but it is given to us in a peculiar manner to behold the heaven as we stand erect, that we may seek religion there; that since we cannot see God with our eyes, we may with our mind contemplate Him, whose throne is there: and this cannot assuredly be done by him who worships brass and stone, which are earthly things. But it is most incorrect that the nature of the body, which is temporary, should be upright, but that the

soul itself, which is eternal, should be abject; whereas the figure and position have no other signification, except that the mind of man ought to look in the same direction as his countenance, and that his soul ought to be as upright as his body, so that it may imitate that which it ought to rule. But men, forgetful both of their name and nature, cast down their eyes from the heaven, and fix them upon the ground, and fear the works of their own hands, as though anything could be greater than its own artificer.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT WAS THE FIRST CAUSE OF MAKING IMAGES; OF THE TRUE LIKENESS OF GOD, AND THE TRUE WORSHIP OF HIM

What madness is it, then, either to form those objects which they themselves may afterwards fear, or to fear the things which they have formed? But, they say, we do not fear the images themselves, but those beings after whose likeness they were formed, and to whose names they are dedicated. You fear them doubtless on this account, because you think that they are in heaven; for if they are gods, the case cannot be otherwise. Why, then, do you not raise your eyes to heaven, and, invoking their names, offer sacrifices in the open air? Why do you look to walls, and wood, and stone, rather than to the place where you believe them to be? What is the meaning of temples and altars? what, in short, of the images themselves, which are memorials either of the dead or absent? For the plan of making likenesses was invented by men for this reason, that it might be possible to retain the memory of those who had either been removed by death or separated by absence. In which of these classes, then, shall we reckon the gods? If among the dead, who is so foolish as to worship them? If among the absent, then they are not to be worshipped, if they neither see our actions nor hear our prayers. But if the gods cannot be absent, — for, since they are divine, they see and hear all things, in whatever part of the universe they are, — it follows that images are superfluous, since the gods are present everywhere, and it is sufficient to invoke with prayer the names of those who hear us. But if they are present, they cannot fail to be at hand at their own images. It is entirely so, as the people imagine, that the spirits of the dead wander about the tombs and relics of their bodies.

But after that the deity has begun to be near, there is no longer need of his statue.

For I ask, if any one should often contemplate the likeness of a man who has settled in a foreign land, that he may thus solace himself for him who is absent, would he also appear to be of sound mind, if, when the other had returned and was present, he should persevere in contemplating the likeness, and should prefer the enjoyment of it, rather than the sight of the man himself? Assuredly not. For the likeness of a man appears to be necessary at that time when he is far away; and it will become superfluous when he is at hand. But in the case of God, whose spirit and influence are diffused everywhere, and can never be absent, it is plain that an image is always superfluous. But they fear lest their religion should be altogether vain and empty if they should see nothing present which they may adore, and therefore they set up images; and since these are representations of the dead, they resemble the dead, for they are entirely destitute of perception. But the image of the ever-living God ought to be living and endued with perception. But if it received this name from resemblance, how can it be supposed that these images resemble God, which have neither perception nor motion? Therefore the image of God is not that which is fashioned by the fingers of men out of stone, or bronze, or other material, but man himself, since he has both perception and motion, and performs many and great actions. Nor do the foolish men understand, that if images could exercise perception and motion, they would of their own accord adore men, by whom they have been adorned and embellished, since they would be either rough and unpolished stone, or rude and unshapen wood, had they not been fashioned by man.

Man, therefore, is to be regarded as the parent of these images; for they were produced by his instrumentality, and through him they first had shape, figure, and beauty. Therefore he who made them is superior to the objects which were made. And yet no one looks up to the Maker Himself, or reverences Him: he fears the things which he has made, as though there could be more power in the work than in the workman. Seneca, therefore, rightly says in his moral treatises: They worship the images of the gods, they supplicate them with bended knee, they adore them, they sit or stand beside them through the whole day, they offer to them contributions, they slay victims; and while they value these images so highly, they despise the

artificers who made them. What is so inconsistent, as to despise the statuary and to adore the statue; and not even to admit to your society him who makes your gods? What force, what power can they have, when he who made them has none? But he was unable to give to these even those powers which he had, the power of sight, of hearing, of speech, and of motion. Is any one so foolish as to suppose that there is anything in the image of a God, in which there is nothing even of a man except the mere resemblance? But no one considers these things; for men are imbued with this persuasion, and their minds have thoroughly imbibed the deception of folly. And thus beings endowed with sense adore objects which are senseless, rational beings adore irrational objects, those who are alive adore inanimate objects, those sprung from heaven adore earthly objects. It delights me, therefore, as though standing on a lofty watch-tower, from which all may hear, to proclaim aloud that saying of Persius: —

“O souls bent down to the earth, and destitute of heavenly things?”

Rather look to the heaven, to the sight of which God your Creator raised you. He gave to you an elevated countenance; you bend it down to the earth; you depress to things below those lofty minds, which are raised together with their bodies to their parent, as though it repented you that you were not born quadrupeds. It is not befitting that the heavenly being should make himself equal to things which are earthly, and incline to the earth. Why do you deprive yourselves of heavenly benefits, and of your own accord fall prostrate upon the ground? For you do wretchedly roll yourselves on the ground, when you seek here below that which you ought to have sought above. For as to those vain and fragile productions, the work of man’s hands, from whatever kind of material they are formed, what are they but earth, out of which they were produced? Why, then, do you subject yourselves to lower objects? why do you place the earth above your heads? For when you lower yourselves to the earth, and humiliate yourselves, you sink of your own accord to hell, and condemn yourselves to death; for nothing is lower and more humble than the earth, except death and hell. And if you wished to escape these, you would despise the earth lying beneath your feet, preserving the position of your body, which you received upright, in order that you might be able to direct your eyes and your mind to Him who made it. But to despise and trample upon the earth is nothing else than to refrain from adoring images, because

they are made of earth; also not to desire riches, and to despise the pleasures of the body, because wealth, and the body itself, which we make use of as a lodging, is but earth. Worship a living being, that you may live; for he must necessarily die who has subjected himself and his soul to the dead.

CHAPTER 3

THAT CICERO AND OTHER MEN OF LEARNING ERRED IN NOT TURNING AWAY THE PEOPLE FROM ERROR

But what does it avail thus to address the vulgar and ignorant, when we see that learned and prudent men, though they understand the vanity of these ceremonies, nevertheless through some perverseness persist in the worship of those very objects which they condemn? Cicero was well aware that the deities which men worshipped were false. For when he had spoken many things which tended to the overthrow of religious ceremonies, he said nevertheless that these matters ought not to be discussed by the vulgar, lest such discussion should extinguish the system of religion which was publicly received. What can you do respecting him, who, when he perceives himself to be in error, of his own accord dashes himself against the stones, that all the people may stumble? or tears out his own eyes, that all may be blind? who neither deserves well of others, whom he suffers to be in error, nor of himself, since he inclines to the errors of others, and makes no use of the benefit of his own wisdom, so as to carry out in action the conception of his own mind, but knowingly and consciously thrusts his foot into the snare, that he also may be taken with the rest, whom he ought, as the more prudent, to have extricated? Nay rather, if you have any virtue, Cicero, endeavor to make the people wise: that is a befitting subject, on which you may expend all the powers of your eloquence. For there is no fear lest speech should fail you in so good a cause, when you have often defended even bad ones with copiousness and spirit. But truly you fear the prison of Socrates, and on that account you do not venture to undertake the advocacy of truth. But, as a wise man, you ought to have despised death. And, indeed, it would have been much more glorious to die on account of good words than on account of

revilings. Nor would the renown of your Philippics have been more advantageous to you than the dispersion of the errors of mankind, and the recalling of the minds of men to a healthy state by your disputation.

But let us make allowance for timidity, which ought not to exist in a wise man. Why, then, are you yourself engaged in the same error? I see that you worship things of earth made by the hand: you understand that they are vain, and yet you do the same things which they do, whom you confess to be most foolish. What, therefore, did it profit you, that you saw the truth, which you were neither about to defend nor to follow? If even they who perceive themselves to be in error err willingly, how much more so do the unlearned vulgar, who delight in empty processions, and gaze at all things with boyish minds! They are delighted with trifling things, and are captivated with the form of images; and they are unable to weigh every object in their own minds, so as to understand that nothing which is beheld by the eyes of mortals ought to be worshipped, because it must necessarily be mortal. Nor is it matter of surprise if they do I not see God, when they themselves do not even see man, whom they believe that they see. For this, which falls under the notice of the eyes, is not man, but the receptacle of man, the quality and figure of which are not seen from the lineaments of the vessel which contains them, but from the actions and character. They, therefore, who worship images are mere bodies without men, because they have given themselves to corporeal things, and do not see anything with the mind more than with the body; whereas it is the office of the soul to perceive those things more clearly which the eye of the body cannot behold. And that philosopher and poet severely accuses those men as humble and abject, who, in opposition to the design of their nature, prostrate themselves to the worship of earthly things; for he says: —

“And they abase their souls with fear of the gods,
and weigh and press them down to earth.”

When he said these things, indeed, his meaning was different — that nothing was to be worshipped, because the gods do not regard the affairs of men.

In another place, at length, he acknowledges that the ceremonies and worship of the gods is an unavailing office: —

"Nor is it any piety to be often seen with veiled head to turn to a stone,
and approach every altar, and fall prostrate on the ground,
and spread the hands before the shrines of the gods,
and sprinkle the alters with much blood of beasts,
and to offer vow after vow."

And assuredly if these things are useless, it is not right that sublime and lofty souls should be called away and depressed to the earth, but that they should think only of heavenly things.

False religious systems, therefore, have been attacked by more sagacious men, because they perceived their falsehood; but the true religion was not introduced, because they knew not what and where it was. They therefore so regarded it as though it had no existence, because they were unable to find it in its truth. And in this manner they fell into a much greater error than they who held a religion which was false. For those worshippers of fragile images, however foolish they may be, inasmuch as they place heavenly things in things which are earthly and corruptible, yet retain something of wisdom, and may be pardoned, because they hold the chief duty of man, if not in reality, yet still in their purpose; since, if not the only, yet certainly the greatest difference between men and the beasts consists in religion. But this latter class, in proportion to their superior wisdom, in that they understood the error of false religion, rendered themselves so much the more foolish, because they did not imagine that some religion was true. And thus, because it is easier to judge of the affairs of others than of their own, while they see the downfall of others, they have not observed what was before their own feet. On either side is found the greatest folly, and a certain trace of wisdom; so that you may doubt which are rather to be called more foolish — those who embrace a false religion, or those who embrace none. But (as I have said) pardon may be granted to those who are ignorant and do not own themselves to be wise; but it cannot be extended to those who, while they profess wisdom, rather exhibit folly. I am not, indeed, so unjust as to imagine that they could divine, so that they might find out the truth by themselves; for I acknowledge that this is impossible. But I require from them that which they were able to perform by reason itself. For they would act more prudently, if they both understood that some form of religion is true, and if, while they attacked false religions, they openly proclaimed that men were not in possession of that which is true.

But this consideration may perhaps have influenced them, that if there were any true religion, it would exert itself and assert its authority, and not permit the existence of anything opposed to it. For they were unable to see at all, on what account, or by whom, and in what manner true religion was depressed, which partakes of a divine mystery and a heavenly secret. And no man can know this by any means, unless he is taught. The sum of the matter is this: The unlearned and the foolish esteem false religions as true, because they neither know the true nor understand the false. But the more sagacious, because they are ignorant of the true, either persist in those religions which they know to be false, that they may appear to possess something; or worship nothing at all, that they may not fall into error, whereas this very thing partakes largely of error, under the figure of a man to imitate the life of cattle. To understand that which is false is truly the part of wisdom, but of human wisdom. Beyond this step man cannot proceed, and thus many of the philosophers have taken away religious institutions, as I have pointed out; but to know the truth is the part of divine wisdom. But man by himself cannot attain to this knowledge, unless he is taught by God. Thus philosophers have reached the height of human wisdom, so as to understand that which is not; but they have failed in attaining the power of saying that which really is. It is a well-known saying of Cicero: "I wish that I could as easily find out the truth as I can refute false things." And because this is beyond the power of man's condition, the capability of this office is assigned to us, to whom God has delivered the knowledge of the truth; to the explaining of which the four last books shall be devoted. Now, in the meantime, let us bring to light false things, as we have begun to do.

CHAPTER 4

OF IMAGES, AND THE ORNAMENTS OF TEMPLES, AND THE CONTEMPT IN WHICH THEY ARE HELD EVEN BY THE HEATHENS THEMSELVES

What majesty, then, can images have, which were altogether in the power of puny man, either that they should be formed into something else, or

that they should not be made at all? On which account Priapus thus speaks in Horace:

> “Formerly I was the trunk of a fig-tree, a useless log, when the carpenter, at a loss whether he should make a bench or a Priapus, decided that it should be a God. Accordingly I am a God, a very great terror to thieves and birds.”

Who would not be at ease with such a guardian as this? For thieves are so foolish as to fear the figure of Priapus; though the very birds, which they imagine to be driven away by fear of his scythe, settle upon the images which are skillfully made, that is, which altogether resemble men, build their nests there, and defile them. But Flaccus, as a writer of satire, ridiculed the folly of men. But they who make the images fancy that they are performing a serious business. In short, that very great poet, a man of sagacity in other things, in this alone displayed folly, not like a poet, but after the manner of an old woman, when even in those most highly-finished books he orders this to be done: —

> “And let the guardianship of Priapus of the Hellespont, who drives away thieves and birds with his willow scythe, preserve them.”

Therefore they adore mortal things, as made by mortals. For they may be broken, or burnt, or be destroyed. For they are often apt to be broken to pieces, when houses fall through age, and when, consumed by conflagration, they waste away to ashes; and in many instances, unless aided by their own magnitude, or protected by diligent watchfulness, they become the prey of thieves. What madness is it, then, to fear those objects for which either the downfall of a building, or fires, or thefts, may be feared! What folly, to hope for protection from those things which are unable to protect themselves! What perversity, to have recourse to the guardianship of those which, when injured, are themselves unavenged, unless vengeance is exacted by their worshippers! Where, then, is truth? Where no violence can be applied to religion; where there appears to be nothing which can be injured; where no sacrilege can be committed.

But whatever is subjected to the eyes and to the hands, that, in truth, because it is perishable, is inconsistent with the whole subject of immortality. It is in vain, therefore, that men set off and adorn their gods

with gold, ivory, and jewels, as though they were capable of deriving any pleasure from these things. What is the use of precious gifts to insensible objects? Is it the same which the dead have? For as they embalm the bodies of the dead, wrap them in spices and precious garments, and bury them in the earth, so they honor the gods, who when they were made did not perceive it, and when they are worshipped have no knowledge of it; for they did not receive sensibility on their consecration. Persius was displeased that golden vessels should be carried into the temples, since he thought it superfluous that that should be reckoned among religious offerings which was not an instrument of sanctity, but of avarice. For these are the things which it is better to offer as a gift to the God whom you would rightly worship: —

> “Written law and the divine law of the conscience, and the sacred recesses of the mind, and the breast imbued with nobleness.”

A noble and wise sentiment. But he ridiculously added this: that there is this gold in the temples, as there are doll presented to Venus by the virgin; which perhaps he may have despised on account of their smallness. For he did not see that the very images and statues of the gods, wrought in gold and ivory by the hand of Polycletus, Euphranor, and Phidias, were nothing more than large dolls, not dedicated by virgins, to whose sports some indulgence may be granted, but by bearded men. Therefore Seneca deservedly laughs at the folly even of old men. We are not (he says) boys twice, as is commonly said, but are always so. But there is this difference, that when men we have greater subjects of sport. Therefore men offer to these dolls, which are of large size, and adorned as though for the stage, both perfumes, and incense, and odors: they sacrifice to these costly and fattened victims, which have a mouth, but one that is not suitable for eating; to these they bring robes and costly garments, though they have no need of clothing; to these they dedicate gold and silver, of which they who receive them are as destitute as they who have given them.

And not without reason did Dionysius, the despot of Sicily, when after a victory he had become master of Greece, despise, and plunder and jeer at such gods, for he followed up his sacrilegious acts by jesting words. For when he had taken off a golden robe from the statue of the Olympian Jupiter, he ordered that a woolen garment should be placed upon him,

saying that a golden robe was heavy in summer and cold in winter, but that a woolen one was adapted to each season. He also took off the golden beard from Aesculapius, saying that it was unbecoming and unjust, that while his father Apollo was yet smooth and beardless, the son should be seen to wear a beard before his father. He also took away the bowls, and spoils, and some little images which were held in the extended hands of the statues, and said that he did not take them away, but received them: for that it would be very foolish and ungrateful to refuse to receive good things, when offered voluntarily by those from whom men were accustomed to implore them. He did these things with impunity, because he was a king and victorious. Moreover, his usual good fortune also followed him; for he lived even to old age, and handed down the kingdom in succession to his son. In his case, therefore, because men could not punish his sacrilegious deeds, it was befitting that the gods should be their own avengers. But if any humble person shall have committed any such crime, there are at hand for his punishment the scourge, fire, the rack, the cross, and whatever torture men can invent in their anger and rage. But when they punish those who have been detected in the act of sacrilege, they themselves distrust the power of their gods. For why should they not leave to them especially the opportunity of avenging themselves, if they think that they are able to do so? Moreover, they also imagine that it happened through the will of the deities that the sacrilegious robbers were discovered and arrested; and their cruelty is instigated not so much by anger as by fear, lest they themselves should be visited with punishment if they failed to avenge the injury done to the gods. And, in truth, they display incredible shallowness in imagining that the gods will injure them on account of the guilt of others, who by themselves were unable to injure those very persons by whom they were profaned and plundered. But, in fact, they have often themselves also inflicted punishment on the sacrilegious: that may have occurred even by chance, which has sometimes happened, but not always. But I will show presently how that occurred. Now in the meantime I will ask, Why did they not punish so many and such great acts of sacrilege in Dionysius, who insulted the gods openly, and not in secret? Why did they not repel this sacrilegious man, possessed of such power, from their temples, their ceremonies, and their images? Why, even when he had carried off their sacred things, had he a prosperous voyage — as he himself, according to his custom, testified in

joke? Do you see, he said to his companions who feared shipwreck, how prosperous a voyage the immortal gods themselves give to the sacrilegious? But perhaps he had learnt from Plato that the gods have no power.

What of Caius Verres? whom his accuser Tully compares to this same Dionysius, and to Phalaris, and to all tyrants. Did he not pillage the whole of Sicily, carrying away the images of the gods, and the ornaments of the temples? It is idle to follow up each particular instance: I would fain make mention of one, in which the accuser, with all the force of eloquence — in short, with every effort of voice and of body — lamented about Ceres of Catina, or of Henna: the one of whom was of such great sanctity, that it was unlawful for men to enter the secret recesses of her temple; the other was of such great antiquity, that all accounts relate that the goddess herself first discovered grain in the soil of Henna, and that her virgin daughter was carried away from the same place. Lastly, in the times of the Gracchi, when the state was disturbed both by seditions and by portents, on its being discovered in the Sibylline predictions that the most ancient Ceres ought to be appeased, ambassadors were sent to Henna. This Ceres, then, either the most holy one, whom it was unlawful for men to behold even for the sake of adoration, or the most ancient one, whom the senate and people of Rome had appeased with sacrifices and gifts, was carried away with impunity by Caius Verres from her secret and ancient recesses, his robber slaves having been sent in. The same orator, in truth, when he affirmed that he had been entreated by the Sicilians to undertake the cause of the province, made use of these words: “That they had now not even any gods in their cities to whom they might betake themselves, since Verres had taken away the most sacred images from their most venerable shrines.” As though, in truth, if Verres had taken them away from the cities and shrines, he had also taken them from heaven. From which it appears that those gods have nothing in them more than the material of which they are made. And not without reason did the Sicilians have recourse to you, O Marcus Tullius, that is, to a man; since they had for three years experienced that those gods had no power. For they would have been most foolish if they had fled for protection against the injuries of men, to those who were unable to be angry with Caius Verres on their own behalf. But, it will be urged, Verres was condemned on account of

these deeds. Therefore he was not punished by the gods, but by the energy of Cicero, by which he either crushed his defenders or withstood his influence. Why should I say that, in the case of Verres himself, that was not so much a condemnation as a respite from labor? So that, as the immortal gods had given a prosperous voyage to Dionysius when he was carrying off the spoils of gods, so also they appear to have bestowed on Verres quiet repose, in which he might with tranquillity enjoy the fruits of his sacrilege. For when civil wars afterwards raged, being removed from all danger and apprehension, under the cloak of condemnation he heard of the disastrous misfortunes and miserable deaths of others; and he who appeared to have fallen while all retained their position, he alone, in truth, retained his position while all fell; until the proscription of the triumvirs, — that very proscription, indeed, which carried off Tully, the avenger of the violated majesty of the gods, — carried him off, satiated at once with the enjoyment of the wealth which he had gained by sacrilege, and with life, and worn out by old age. Moreover, he was fortunate in this very circumstance, that before his own death he heard of the most cruel end of his accuser; the gods doubtless providing that this sacrilegious man and spoiler of their worship should not die before he had received consolation from revenge.

CHAPTER 5

THAT GOD ONLY, THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, IS TO BE WORSHIPPED, AND NOT THE ELEMENTS OR HEAVENLY BODIES; AND THE OPINION OF THE STOICS IS REFUTED, WHO THINK THAT THE STARS AND PLANETS ARE GODS

How much better, therefore, is it, leaving vain and insensible objects, to turn our eyes in that direction where is the seat and dwelling-place of the true God; who suspended the earth on a firm foundation, who bespangled the heaven with shining stars; who lighted up the sun, the most bright and matchless light for the affairs of men, in proof of His own single majesty; who girded the earth with seas, and ordered the rivers to flow with perpetual course!

> “He also commanded the plains to extend themselves, the valleys to sink down, the woods to be covered with foliage, the stony mountains to rise.”

All these things truly were not the work of Jupiter, who was born seventeen hundred years ago; but of the same, “that framer of all things, the origin of a better world,” who is called God, whose beginning cannot be comprehended, and ought not to be made the subject of inquiry. It is sufficient for man, to his full and perfect wisdom, if he understands the existence of God: the force and sum of which understanding is this, that he look up to and honor the common Parent of the human race, and the Maker of wonderful things. Whence some persons of dull and obtuse mind adore as gods the elements, which are both created objects and are void of sensibility; who, when they admired the works of God, that is, the heaven with its various lights, the earth with its plains and mountains, the seas with their rivers and lakes and fountains, struck with admiration of these things, and forgetting the Maker Himself, whom they were unable to see, began to adore and worship His works. Nor were they able at all to understand how much greater and more wonderful He is, who made these things out of nothing. And when they see that these things, in obedience to divine laws, by a perpetual necessity are subservient to the uses and interests of men, they nevertheless regard them as gods, being ungrateful towards the divine bounty, so that they preferred their own works to their most indulgent God and Father. But what wonder is it if uncivilized or ignorant men err, since even philosophers of the Stoic sect are of the same opinion, so as to judge that all the heavenly bodies which have motion are to be reckoned in the number of gods; inasmuch as the Stoic Lucilius thus speaks in Cicero: “This regularity, therefore, in the stars, this great agreement of the times in such various courses during all eternity, are unintelligible to me with out the exercise of mind, reason, and design; land when we see these things in the constellations, we cannot but place these very objects in the number of the gods.” And he thus speaks a little before: “It remains,” he says, “that the motion of the stars is voluntary; and he who sees these things, would act not only unlearnedly, but also impiously, if he should deny it.” We in truth firmly deny it; and we prove that you, O philosophers, are not only unlearned and impious, but also blind, foolish, and senseless, who have surpassed in shallowness the ignorance of the

uneducated. For they regard as gods only the sun and moon, but you the stars also.

Make known to us, therefore, the mysteries of the stars, that we may erect altars and temples to each; that we may know with what rites and on what day to worship each, with what names and with what prayers we should call on them; unless perhaps we ought to worship gods so innumerable without any discrimination, and gods so minute in a mass. Why should I mention that the argument by which they infer that all the heavenly bodies are gods, tends to the opposite conclusion? For if they imagine that they are gods on this account, because they have their courses fixed and in accordance with reason, they are in error. For it is evident from this that they are not gods, because it is not permitted them to deviate from their prescribed orbits. But if they were gods, they would be born hither and thither in all directions without any necessity, as living creatures on the earth, who wander hither and thither as they please, because their wills are unrestrained, and each is born wherever inclination may have led it. Therefore the motion of the stars is not voluntary, but of necessity, because they obey the laws appointed for them. But when he was arguing about the courses of the stars, while he understood from the very harmony of things and times that they were not by chance, he judged that they were voluntary; as though they could not be moved with such order and arrangement, unless they contained within them an understanding acquainted with its own duty. Oh, how difficult is truth to those who are ignorant of it! how easy to those who know it! If, he says, the motions of the stars are not by chance, nothing else remains but that they are voluntary; nay, in truth, as it is plain that they are not by chance, so is it clear that they are not voluntary. Why, then, in completing their courses, do they preserve their regularity? Undoubtedly God, the framer of the universe, so arranged and contrived them, that they might rim through their courses in the heaven with a divine and wonderful order, to accomplish the variations of the successive seasons. Was Archimedes of Sicily able to contrive a likeness and representation of the universe in hollow brass, in which he so arranged the sun and moon, that they effected, as it were every day, motions unequal and resembling the revolutions of the heavens, and that sphere, while it revolved, exhibited not only the approaches and withdrawings of the sun, or the increase and

waning of the moon, but also the unequal courses of the stars, whether fixed or wandering? Was it then impossible for God to plan and create the originals, when the skill of man was able to represent them by imitation? Would the Stoic, therefore, if he should have seen the figures of the stars painted and fashioned in that brass, say that they moved by their own design, and not by the genius of the artificer? There is therefore in the stars design, adapted to the accomplishment of their courses; but it is the design of God, who both made and governs all things, not of the stars themselves, which are thus moved. For if it had been His will that the sun should remain. fixed, it is plain that there would be perpetual day. Also if the stars had no motions, who doubts that there would have been eternal night? But that there might be vicissitudes of day and night, it was His will that the stars should move, and move with such variety that there might not only be mutual interchanges of light and darkness, by which alternate courses of labor and rest might be established, but also interchanges of cold and heat, that the power and influence of the different seasons might be adapted either to the production or the ripening of the crops. And because philosophers did not see this skill of the divine power in contriving the movements of the stars, they supposed them to be living, as though they moved with feet and of their own accord, and not by the divine intelligence. But who does not understand why God contrived them? Doubtless lest, as the light of the sun was withdrawn, a night of excessive darkness should become too oppressive with its foul and dreadful gloom, and should be injurious to the living. And so He both bespangled the heaven with wondrous variety, and tempered the darkness itself with many and minute lights. How much more wisely therefore does Naso judge, than they who think that they are devoting themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, in thinking that those lights were appointed by God to remove the gloom of darkness! He concludes the book, in which he briefly comprises the phenomena of nature, with these three verses: —

"These images, so many in number, and of such a figure,
God placed in the heaven; and having scattered them through the gloomy darkness, He ordered them to give a bright light to the frosty night."

But if it is impossible that the stars should be gods, it follows that the sun and moon cannot be gods, since they differ from the light of the stars in

magnitude only, and not in their design. And if these are not gods, the same is true of the heaven, which contains them all.

CHAPTER 6

THAT NEITHER THE WHOLE UNIVERSE NOR THE ELEMENTS ARE GOD, NOR ARE THEY POSSESSED OF LIFE

In like manner, if the land on which we tread, and which we subdue and cultivate for food, is not a God, then the plains and mountains will not be gods; and if these are not so, it follows that the whole of the earth cannot appear to be God. In like manner, if the water, which is adapted to the wants of living creatures for the purpose of drinking and bathing, is not a God, neither are the fountains gods from which the water flows. And if the fountains are not gods, neither are the rivers, which are collected from the fountains. And if the rivers also are not gods, it follows that the sea, which is made up of rivers, cannot be considered as God. But if neither the heaven, nor the earth, nor the sea, which are the parts of the world, can be gods, it follows that the world altogether is not God; whereas the same Stoics contend that it is both living and wise, and therefore God. But in this they are so inconsistent, that nothing is said by them which they do not also overthrow. For they argue thus: It is impossible that that which produces from itself sensible objects should itself be insensible. But the world produces man, who is endowed with sensibility; therefore it must also itself be sensible. Also they argue: that cannot be without sensibility, a part of which is sensible; therefore, because man is sensible, the world, of which man is a part, also possesses sensibility. The propositions themselves are true, that that which produces a being endowed with sense is itself sensible; and that that possesses sense, a part of which is endowed with sense. But the assumptions by which they draw their conclusions are false; for the world does not produce man, nor is man a part of the world. For the same God who created the world, also created man from the beginning: and man is not a part of the world, in the same manner in which a limb is a part of the body; for it is possible for the world to be without man, as it is for a city or house. Now, as a house is the dwelling-place of one man, and a city of one people, so also the world is the abode of the

whole human race; and that which is inhabited is one thing, that which inhabits another. But these persons, in their eagerness to prove that which they had falsely assumed, that the world is possessed of sensibility, and is God, did not perceive the consequences of their own arguments. For if man is a part of the world, and if the world is endowed with sensibility because man is sensible, therefore it follows that, because man is mortal, the world must also of necessity be mortal, and not only mortal, but also liable to all kinds of disease and suffering. And, on the contrary, if the world is God, its parts also are plainly immortal: therefore man also is God, because he is, as you say, a part of the world. And if man, then also both beasts of burden and cattle, and the other kinds of beasts and of birds, and fishes, since these also in the same manner are possessed of sensibility, and are parts of the world. But this is endurable; for the Egyptians worship even these. But the matter comes to this: that even frogs, and gnats, and ants appear to be gods, because these also have sensibility, and are parts of the world. Thus arguments drawn from a false source always lead to foolish and absurd conclusions. Why should I mention that the same philosophers assert that the world was constructed for the sake of gods and men as a common dwelling? Therefore the world is neither God, nor living, if it has been made: for a living “creature is not made, but born; and if it has been built, it has been built as a house or ship is built. Therefore there is a builder of the world, even God; and the world which has been made is distinct from Him who made it. Now, how inconsistent and absurd is it, that when they affirm that the heavenly fires and the other elements of the world are gods, they also say that the world itself is God! How is it possible that out of a great heap of gods one God can be made up? If the stars are gods, it follows that the world is not God, but the dwelling-place of gods. But if the world is God, it follows that all the things which are in it are not gods, but members of God, which clearly cannot by themselves take the name of God. For no one can rightly say that the members of one man are many men; but, however, there is no similar comparison between a living being and the world. For because a living being is endowed with sensibility, its members also have sensibility; nor do they become senseless unless they are separated from the body. But what resemblance does the world present to this? Truly they themselves tell us, since they do not deny that it was made, that it might be, as it were, a common abode for gods and men. If, therefore, it has been

constructed as an abode, it is neither itself God, nor are the elements which are its parts; because a house cannot bear rule over itself, nor can the parts of which a house consists. Therefore they are refuted not only by the truth, but even by their own words. For as a house, made for the purpose of being inhabited, has no sensibility by itself, and is subject to the master who built or inhabits it; so the world, having no sensibility of itself, is subject to God its Maker, who made it for His own use.

CHAPTER 7

OF GOD, AND THE RELIGIOUS RITES OF THE FOOLISH; OF AVARICE, AND THE AUTHORITY OF ANCESTORS

The foolish, therefore, err in a twofold manner: first, in preferring the elements, that is, the works of God, to God Himself; secondly, in worshipping the figures of the elements themselves under human form. For they form the images of the sun and moon after the fashion of men; also those of fire, and earth, and sea, which they call Vulcan, Vesta, and Neptune. Nor do they openly sacrifice to the elements themselves. Men are possessed with so great a fondness for representations, that those things which are true are now esteemed of less value: they are delighted, in fact, with gold, and jewels, and ivory. The beauty and brilliancy of these things dazzle their eyes, and they think that there is no religion where these do not shine. And thus, under pretense of worshipping the gods, avarice and desire are worshipped. For they believe that the gods love whatever they themselves desire, whatever it is, on account of which thefts and robberies and murders daily rage, on account of which wars overthrow nations and cities throughout the whole world. Therefore they consecrate their spoils and plunder to the gods, who must undoubtedly be weak, and destitute of the highest excellence, if they are subject to desires. For why should we think them celestial if they long for anything from the earth, or happy if they are in want of anything, or uncorrupted if they take pleasure in those things in the pursuit of which the desire of men is not unreservedly condemned? They approach the gods, therefore not so much on account of religion, which can have no place in badly acquired and corruptible things, as that they may gaze upon the gold, and view the

brilliancy of polished marble or ivory, that they may survey with unwearied contemplation garments adorned with precious stones and colors, or cups studded with glittering jewels. And the more ornamented are the temples, and the more beautiful the images, so much the greater majesty are they believed to have: so entirely is their religion confined to that which the desire of men admires.

These are the religious institutions handed down to them by their ancestors, which they persist in maintaining and defending with the greatest obstinacy. Nor do they consider of what character they are; but they feel assured of their excellence and truth on this account. because the ancients have handed them down; and so great is the authority of antiquity, that it is said to be a crime to inquire into it. And thus it is everywhere believed as ascertained truth. In short, in Cicero, Cotta thus speaks to Lucilius: “You know, Balbus, what is the opinion of Cotta, what the opinion of the pontiff. Now let me understand what are your sentiments: for since you are a philosopher, I ought to receive from you a reason for your religion; but in the case of our ancestors it is reasonable to believe them, though no reason is alleged by them.” If you believe, why then do you require a reason, which may have the effect of causing you not to believe? But if you require a reason, and think that the subject demands inquiry, then you do not believe; for you make inquiry with this view, that you may follow it when you have ascertained it. Behold, reason teaches you that the religious institutions of the gods are not true: what will you do? Will you prefer to follow antiquity or reason? And this, indeed, was not imparted to you by another, but was found out and chosen by yourself, since you have entirely uprooted all religious systems. If you prefer reason, you must abandon the institutions and authority of our ancestors, since nothing is right but that which reason prescribes. But if piety advises you to follow your ancestors, then admit that they were foolish, who complied with religious institutions invented contrary to reason; and that you are senseless, since you worship that which you have proved to be false. But since the name of ancestors is so greatly objected to us, let us see, I pray, who those ancestors were from whose authority it is said to be impious to depart.

Romulus, when he was about to found the city, called together the shepherds among whom he had grown up; and since their number

appeared inadequate to the rounding of the city, he established an asylum. To this all the most abandoned men flocked together indiscriminately from the neighboring places, without any distinction of condition. Thus he brought together the people from all these; and he chose into the senate those who were oldest, and called them Fathers, by whose advice he might direct all things. And concerning this senate, Propertius the elegiac poet thus speaks: —

“The trumpet used to call the ancient Quirites to an assembly; those hundred in the field often formed the senate. The senate-house, which now is raised aloft and shines with the well-robed senate, received the Fathers clothed in skins, rustic spirits.”

These are the Fathers whose decrees learned and sagacious men obey with the greatest devotion; and all posterity must judge that to be true and unchangeable which an hundred old men clothed in skins established at their will; who, however, as has been mentioned in the first book, were enticed by Pompilius to believe the truth of those sacred rites which he himself delivered. Is there any reason why their authority should be so highly esteemed by posterity, since during their life no one either high or low judged them worthy of affinity?

CHAPTER 8

OF THE USE OF REASON IN RELIGION; AND OF DREAMS, AUGURIES, ORACLES, AND SIMILAR PORTENTS

It is therefore right, especially in a matter on which the whole plan of life turns, that every one should place confidence in himself, and use his own judgment and individual capacity for the investigation and weighing of the truth, rather than through confidence in others to be deceived by their errors, as though he himself were without understanding. God has given wisdom to all alike, that they might be able both to investigate things which they have not heard, and to weigh things which they have heard. Nor, because they preceded us in time did they also outstrip us in wisdom; for if this is given equally to all, we cannot be anticipated in it by those who precede us. It is incapable of diminution, as the light and brilliancy of the sun; because, as the sun is the light of the eyes, so is

wisdom the light of man’s heart. Wherefore, since wisdom — that is, the inquiry after truth — is natural to all, they deprive themselves of wisdom, who without any judgment approve of the discoveries of their ancestors, and like sheep are led by others. But this escapes their notice, that the name of ancestors being introduced, they think it impossible that they themselves should have more knowledge because they are called descendants, or that the others should be unwise because they are called ancestors. What, therefore, prevents us from taking a precedent from them, that as they handed down to posterity their false inventions, so we who have discovered the truth may hand down better things to our posterity? There remains therefore a great subject of inquiry, the discussion of which does not come from talent, but from knowledge: and this must be explained at greater length, that nothing at all may be left in doubt. For perhaps some one may have recourse to those things which are handed down by many and undoubted authorities; that those very persons, whom we have shown to be no gods, have often displayed their majesty both by prodigies, and dreams, and auguries, and oracles. And, indeed, many wonderful things may be enumerated, and especially this, that Accius Navius, a consummate augur, when he was warning Tarquinius Priscus to undertake the commencement of nothing new without the previous sanction of auguries, and the king, detracting from the credit due to his art, told him to consult the birds, and then to announce to him whether it was possible for that which he himself had conceived in his mind to be accomplished, and Navius affirmed that it was possible; then take this whetstone, he said, and divide it with a razor. But the other without any hesitation took and cut it.

In the next place is the fact of Castor and Pollux having been seen in the Latin war at the lake of Juturna washing off the sweat of their horses, when their temple which adjoins the fountain had been open of its own accord. In the Macedonian war the same deities, mounted on white horses, are said to have presented themselves to Publius Vatienus as he went to Rome at night, announcing that King Perseus had been vanquished and taken captive on that day, the truth of which was proved by letters received from Paulus a few days afterwards. That also is wonderful, that the statue of Fortune, in the form of a woman, is reported to have spoken more than once; also that the statue of Juno Moneta, when, on the capture

of Veii, one of the soldiers, being sent to remove it, sportively and in jest asked whether she wished to remove to Rome, answered that she wished it. Claudia also is set forth as an example of a miracle. For when, in accordance with the Sibylline books, the Idaean mother was sent for, and the ship in which she was conveyed had grounded on a shoal of the river Tiber, and could not be moved by any force, they report that Claudia, who had been always regarded as unchaste on account of her excess in personal adornment, with bended knees entreated the goddess, if she judged her to be chaste, to follow her girdle; and thus the ship, which could not be moved by all the strong men, was moved by a single woman. It is equally wonderful, that during the prevalence of a pestilence, Aesculapius, being called from Epidaurus, is said to have released the city of Rome from the long-continued plague. Sacrilegious persons can also be mentioned, by the immediate punishment of whom the gods are believed to have avenged the injury done to them. Appius Claudius the censor having, against the advice of the oracle, transferred the sacred rites of Hercules to the public slaves, was deprived of his eyesight; and the Potitian gens, which abandoned its privilege, within the space of one year became extinct. Likewise the censor Fulvius, when he had taken away the marble tiles from the temple of the Lacinian Juno, to cover the temple of the equestrian Fortuna, which he had built at Rome, was deprived of his senses, and having lost his two sons who were serving in Illyricum, was consumed with the greatest grief of mind. Turullius also, the lieutenant of Mark Antony, when he had cut down a grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and built a fleet, was afterwards slain at the same place by the soldiers of Caesar. To these examples is added Pyrrhus, who, having taken away money from the treasure of the Locrian Proserpine, was shipwrecked, and dashed against the shores near to the temple of the goddess, so that nothing was found uninjured except that money. Ceres of Miletus also gained for herself great veneration among men. For when the city had been taken by Alexander, and the soldiers had rushed in to plunder her temple, a flame of fire suddenly thrown upon them blinded them all.

There are also found dreams which seem to show the power of the gods. For it is said that Jupiter presented himself to Tiberius Atinius, a plebeian, in his sleep, and enjoined him to announce to the consuls and senate, that in the last Circensian games a public dancer had displeased him, because a

certain Antonius Maximus had severely scourged a slave under the furca in the middle of the circus, and had led him to punishment, and that on this account the games ought to be repeated. And when he had neglected this command, he is said on the same day to have lost his son, and to have been himself seized by a severe disease; and that when he again perceived the same image asking whether he had suffered sufficient punishment for the neglect of his command, he was carried on a litter to the consuls; and having explained the whole matter in the senate, he regained strength of body, and returned to his house on foot. And that dream also was not less wonderful, to which it is said that Augustus Caesar owed his preservation. For when in the civil war with Brutus he was afflicted with a severe disease, and had determined to abstain from battle, the image of Minerva presented itself to his physician Artorius, advising him that Caesar should not confine himself to the camp on account of his bodily infirmity. He was therefore carried on a litter to the army, and on the same day the camp was taken by Brutus. Many other examples of a similar nature may be brought forward; but I fear that, if I shall delay too long in the setting forth of contrary subjects, I may either appear to have forgotten my purpose, or may incur the charge of loquacity.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE DEVIL, THE WORLD, GOD, PROVIDENCE, MAN, AND HIS WISDOM

I will therefore set forth the method of all these things, that difficult and obscure subjects may be more easily understood; and I will bring to light all these deceptions of the pretended deity, led by which men have departed very far from the way of truth. But I will retrace the matter far back from its source; that if any, unacquainted with the truth and ignorant, shall apply himself to the reading of this book, he may be instructed, and may understand what can in truth be “the source and origin of these evils;” and having received light, may perceive his own errors and those of the whole human race.

Since God was possessed of the greatest foresight for planning, and of the greatest skill for carrying out in action, before He commenced this business

of the world, — inasmuch as there was in Him, and always is, the fountain of full and most complete goodness, — in order that goodness might spring as a stream from Him, and might flow forth afar, He produced a Spirit like to Himself, who might be endowed with the perfections of God the Father. But how He willed that, I will endeavor to show in the fourth book. Then He made another being, in whom the disposition of the divine origin did not remain. Therefore he was infected with his own envy as with poison, and passed from good to evil; and at his own will, which had been given to him by God unfettered, he acquired for himself a contrary name. From which it appears that the source of all evils is envy. For he envied his predecessor, who through his steadfastness is acceptable and dear to God the Father. This being, who from good became evil by his own act, is called by the Greeks diabolus: we call him accuser, because he reports to God the faults to which he himself entices us. God, therefore, when He began the fabric of the world, set over the whole work that first and greatest Son, and used Him at the same time as a counselor and artificer, in planning, arranging, and accomplishing, since He is complete both in knowledge, and judgment, and power; concerning whom I now speak more sparingly, because in another place both His excellence, and His name, and His nature must be related by us. Let no one inquire of what materials God made these works so great and wonderful: for He made all things out of nothing.

Nor are the poets to be listened to, who say that in the beginning was a chaos, that is, a confusion of matter and the elements; but that God afterwards divided all that mass, and having separated each object from the confused heap, and arranged them in order, He constructed and adorned the world. Now it is easy to reply to these persons, who do not understand the power of God: for they believe that He can produce nothing, except out of materials already existing and prepared; in which error philosophers also were involved. For Cicero, while discussing the nature of the gods, thus speaks: “First of all, therefore, it is not probable that the matter from which all things arose was made by divine providence, but that it has, and has had, a force and nature of its own. As therefore the builder, when he is about to erect any building, does not himself make the materials, but uses those which are already prepared, and the statuary also uses the wax; so that divine providence ought to have had

materials at hand, not of its own production, but already prepared for use. But if matter was not made by God, then neither was the earth, and water, and air, and fire, made by God.” Oh, how many faults there are in these ten lines First, that he who in almost all his other disputations and books was a maintainer of the divine providence, and who used very acute arguments in assailing those who denied the existence of a providence, now himself, as a traitor or deserter, endeavored to take away providence; in whose case, if you wish to oppose him, neither consideration nor labor is required: it is only necessary to remind him of his own words. For it will be impossible for Cicero to be more strongly refuted by any one than by Cicero himself. But let us make this concession to the custom and practice of the Academics, that men are permitted to speak with great freedom, and to entertain what sentiments they may wish. Let us examine the sentiments themselves. It is not probable, he says, that matter was made by God. By what arguments do you prove this? For you gave no reason for its being improbable. Therefore, on the contrary, it appears to me exceedingly probable; nor does it appear so without reason, when I reflect that there is something more in God, whom you verily reduce to the weakness of man, to whom you allow nothing else but the mere workmanship. In what respect, then, will that divine power differ from man, if God also, as man does, stands in need of the assistance of another? But He does stand in need of it, if He can construct nothing unless He is furnished with materials by another. But if this is the case, it is plain that His power is imperfect, and he who prepared the material must be judged more powerful. By what name, therefore, shall he be called who excels God in power? — since it is greater to make that which is one’s own, than to arrange those things which are another’s. But if it is impossible that anything should be more powerful than God, who must necessarily be of perfect strength, power, and intelligence, it follows that He who made the things which are composed of matter, made matter also. For it was neither possible nor befitting that anything should exist without the exercise of God’s power, or against His will. But it is probable, he says, that matter has, and always has had, a force and nature of its own. What force could it have, without any one to give it? what nature, without any one to produce it? If it had force, it took that force from some one. But from whom could it take it, unless it were from God? Moreover, if it had a nature, which plainly is so called from being produced, it must have been produced. But

from whom could it have derived its existence, except God? For nature, from which you say that all things had their origin, if it has no understanding, can make nothing. But if it has the power of producing and making, then it has understanding, and must be God. For that force can be called by no other name, in which there is both the foresight to plan, and the skill and power to carry into effect. Therefore Seneca, the most intelligent of all the Stoics, says better, who saw "that nature was nothing else but God." Therefore he says, "Shall we not praise God, who possesses natural excellence?" For He did not learn it from any one. Yes, truly, we will praise Him; for although it is natural to Him, He gave it to Himself, since God Himself is nature. When, therefore, you assign the origin of all things to nature, and take it from God, you are in the same difficulty: —

"You pay your debt by borrowing, Geta."

For while simply changing the name, you clearly admit that it was made by the same person by whom you deny that it was made.

There follows a most senseless comparison. "As the builder," he says, "when he is about to erect any building, does not himself make the materials, but uses those which are already prepared, and the statuary also the wax; so that divine providence ought to have had materials at hand, not of its own production, but already prepared for use." Nay rather it ought not; for God will have less power if He makes from materials already provided, which is the part of man. The builder will erect nothing without wood, for he cannot make the wood itself; and not to be able to do this is the part of human weakness. But God Himself makes the materials for Himself, because He has the power. For to have the power is the property of God; for if He is not able, He is not God. Man produces his works out of that which already exists, because through his mortality he is weak, and through his weakness his power is limited and moderate; but God produces His works out of that which has no existence, because through His eternity He is strong, and through His strength His power is immense, which has no end or limit, like the life of the Maker Himself. What wonder, then, if God, when He was about to make the world, first prepared the material from which to make it, and prepared it out of that which had no existence? Because it is impossible for God to borrow

anything from another source, inasmuch as all things are in Himself and from Himself. For if there is anything before Him, and if anything has been made, but not by Him, He will therefore lose both the power and the name of God. But it may be said matter was never made, like God, who out of matter made this world. In that case, it follows that two eternal principles are established, and those indeed opposed to one another, which cannot happen without discord and destruction. For those things which have a contrary force and method must of necessity come into collision. In this manner it will be impossible that both should be eternal, if they are opposed to one another, because one must overpower the other. Therefore the nature of that which is eternal cannot be otherwise than simple, so that all things descended from that source as from a fountain. Therefore either God proceeded from matter, or matter from God. Which of these is more true, is easily understood. For of these two, one is endued with sensibility, the other is insensible. The power of making anything cannot exist, except in that which has sensibility, intelligence, reflection, and the power of motion. Nor can anything be begun, or made, or completed, unless it shall have been foreseen by reason how it shall be made before it exists, and how it shall endure after it has been made. In short, he only makes anything who has the will to make it, and hands to complete that which he has willed. But that which is insensible always lies inactive and torpid; nothing can originate in that source where there is no voluntary motion. For if every animal is possessed of reason, it is certain that it cannot be produced from that which is destitute of reason, nor can that which is not present in the original source be received from any other quarter. Nor, however, let it disturb any one, that certain animals appear to be born from the earth. For the earth does not give birth to these of itself, but the Spirit of God, without which nothing is produced. Therefore God did not arise from matter, because a being endued with sensibility can never spring from one that is insensible, a wise one from one that is irrational, one that is incapable of suffering from one that can suffer, an incorporeal being from a corporeal one; but matter is rather from God. For whatever consists of a body solid, and capable of being handled, admits of an external force. That which admits of force is capable of dissolution; that which is dissolved perishes; that which perishes must necessarily have had an origin; that which had an origin had a source from which it originated, that is, some maker, who is intelligent, foreseeing, and skilled in making. There

is one assuredly, and that no other than God. And since He is possessed of sensibility, intelligence, providence, power, and vigor, He is able to create and make both animated and inanimate objects, because He has the means of making everything. But matter cannot always have existed, for if it had existed it would be incapable of change. For that which always was, does not cease always to be; and that which had no beginning must of necessity be without an end. Moreover, it is easier for that which had a beginning to be without an end, than for that which had no beginning to have an end. Therefore if matter was not made, nothing can be made from it. But if nothing can be made from it, then matter itself can have no existence. For matter is that out of which something is made. But everything out of which anything is made, inasmuch as it has received the hand of the artificer, is destroyed, and begins to be some other thing. Therefore, since matter had an end, at the time when the world was made out of it, it also had a beginning. For that which is destroyed was previously built up; that which is loosened was previously bound up; that which is brought to an end was begun. If, then, it is inferred from its change and end, that matter had a beginning, from whom could that beginning have been, except from God? God, therefore, is the only being who was not made; and therefore He can destroy other things, but He Himself cannot be destroyed. That which was in Him will always be permanent, because He has not been produced or sprung from any other source; nor does His birth depend on any other object, which being changed may cause His dissolution. He is of Himself, as we said in the first book; and therefore He is such as He willed that He should be, incapable of suffering, unchangeable, incorruptible, blessed, and eternal.

But now the conclusion, with which Tully finished the sentiment, is much more absurd. “But if matter,” he says, “was not made by God, the earth indeed, and water, and air, and fire, were not made by God.” How skillfully he avoided the danger! For he stated the former point as though it required no proof, whereas it was much more uncertain than that on account of which the statement was made. If matter, he says, was not made by God, the world was not made by God. He preferred to draw a false inference from that which is false, than a true one from that which is true. And though uncertain things ought to be proved from those which are certain, he drew a proof from an uncertainty, to overthrow that which was

certain. For, that the world was made by divine providence (not to mention Trismegistus, who proclaims this; not to mention the verses of the Sibyls, who make the same announcement; not to mention the prophets, who with one impulse and with harmonious voice. bear witness that the world was made, and that it was the workmanship of God), even the philosophers almost universally agree; for this is the opinion of the Pythagoreans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics, who are the chief of every sect. In short, from those first seven wise men, even to Socrates and Plato, it was held as an acknowledged and undoubted fact; until many ages afterwards the crazy Epicurus lived, who alone ventured to deny that which is most evident, doubtless through the desire of discovering novelties, that he might found a sect in his own name. And because he could find out nothing new, that he might still appear to disagree with the others, he wished to overthrow old opinions. But in this all the philosophers who snarled around him, refuted him. It is more certain, therefore, that the world was arranged by providence, than that matter was collected by providence. Wherefore he ought not to have supposed that the world was not made by divine providence, because its matter was not made by divine providence; but because the world was made by divine providence, he ought to have concluded that matter also was made by the Deity. For it is more credible that matter was made by God, because He is all-powerful, than that the world was not made by God, because nothing can be made without mind, intelligence, and design. But this is not the fault of Cicero, but of the sect. For when he had undertaken a disputation, by which he might take away the nature of the gods, respecting which philosophers prated, in his ignorance of the truth he imagined that the Deity must altogether be taken away. He was able therefore to take away the gods, for they had no existence. But when he attempted to overthrow the divine providence, which is in the one God, because he had begun to strive against the truth, his arguments failed, and he necessarily fell into this pitfall, from which he was unable to withdraw himself. Here, then, I hold him firmly fixed; I hold him fastened to the spot, since Lucilius, who disputed on the other side, was silent. Here, then, is the turning-point; on this everything depends. Let Cotta disentangle himself, if he can, from this difficulty; let him bring forward arguments by which he may prove that matter has always existed, which no providence made. Let him show how anything ponderous and heavy either could exist without an author or

could be changed, and how that which always was ceased to be, so that that which never was might begin to be. And if he shall prove these things, then, and not till then, will I admit that the world itself was not established by divine providence, and yet in making this admission I shall hold him fast by another snare. For he will turn round again to the same point, to which he will be unwilling to return, so as to say that both the matter of which the world consists, and the world which consists of matter, existed by nature; though I contend that nature itself is God. For no one can make wonderful things, that is, things existing with the greatest order, except one who has intelligence, foresight, and power. And thus it will come to be seen that God made all things, and that nothing at all can exist which did not derive its origin from God.

But the same, as often as he follows the Epicureans, and does not admit that the world was made by God, is wont to inquire by what hands by what machines, by what levers, by what contrivance, He made this work of such magnitude. He might see, if he could have lived at that time in which God made it. But, that man might not look into the works of God, He was unwilling to bring him into this world until all things were completed. But he could not be brought in: for how could he exist while the heaven above was being built, and the foundations of the earth beneath were being laid; when humid things, perchance, either benumbed with excessive stiffness were becoming congealed, or seethed with fiery heat and rendered solid were growing hard? Or how could he live when the sun was not yet established, and neither corn nor animals were produced? Therefore it was necessary that man should be last made, when the finishing hand had now been applied to the world and to all other things. Finally, the sacred writings teach that man was the last work of God, and that he was brought into this world as into a house prepared and made ready; for all things were made on his account. The poets also acknowledge the same. Ovid, having described the completion of the world, and the formation of the other animals, added: —

“An animal more sacred than these, and more capacious of a lofty mind, was yet wanting, and which might exercise dominion over the rest. Man was produced.”

So impious must we think it to search into those things which God wished to be kept secret! But his inquiries were not made through a desire of

hearing or learning, but of refuting; for he was confident that no one could assert that. As though, in truth, it were to be supposed that these things were not made by God, because it cannot be plainly seen in what manner they were created! If you had been brought up in a well-built and ornamented house, and had never seen a workshop, would you have supposed that that house was not built by man, because you did not know how it was built? You would assuredly ask the same question about the house which you now ask about the world — by what hands, with what implements, man had contrived such great works; and especially if you should see large stones, immense blocks, vast columns, the whole work lofty and elevated, would not these things appear to you to exceed the measure of human strength, because you would not know that these things were made not so much by strength as by skill and ingenuity?

But if man, in whom nothing is perfect, nevertheless effects more by skill than his feeble strength would permit, what reason is there why it should appear to you incredible, when it is alleged that the world was made by God, in whom, since He is perfect, wisdom can have no limit, and strength no measure? His works are seen by the eyes; but how He made them is not seen even by the mind, because, as Hermes says, the mortal cannot draw nigh to (that is, approach nearer, and follow up with the understanding) the immortal, the temporal to the eternal, the corruptible to the incorruptible. And on this account the earthly animal is as yet incapable of perceiving heavenly things, because it is shut in and held as it were in custody by the body, so that it cannot discern all things with free and unrestrained perception. Let him know, therefore, how foolishly he acts, who inquires into things which are indescribable. For this is to pass the limits of one's own condition, and not to understand how far it is permitted man to approach. In short, when God revealed the truth to man, He wished us only to know those things which it concerned man to know for the attainment of life; but as to the things which related to a profane and eager curiosity He was silent, that they might be secret. Why, then, do you inquire into things which you cannot know, and if you knew them you would not be happier. It is perfect wisdom in man, if he knows that there is but one God, and that all things were made by Him.

CHAPTER 10

OF THE WORLD, AND ITS PARTS, THE ELEMENTS AND SEASONS

Now, having refitted those who entertain false sentiments respecting the world and God its Maker, let us return to the divine workmanship of the world, concerning which we are informed in the sacred' writings of our holy religion. Therefore, first of all, God made the heaven, and suspended it on high, that it might be the seat of God Himself, the Creator. Then He founded the earth, and placed it under the heaven, as a dwelling-place for man, with the other races of animals. He willed that it should be surrounded and held together by water. But He adorned and filled His own dwelling-place with bright lights; He decked it with the sun, and the shining orb of the moon, and with the glittering signs of the twinkling stars; but He placed on the earth the darkness, which is contrary to these. For of itself the earth contains no light, unless it receives it from the heaven, in which He placed perpetual light, and the gods above, and eternal life; and, on the contrary, He placed on the earth darkness, and the inhabitants of the lower regions, and death. For these things are as far removed from the former ones, as evil things are from good, and vices from virtues. He also established two parts of the earth itself opposite to one another, and of a different character, — namely, the east and the west; and of these the east is assigned to God, because He Himself is the fountain of light, and the enlightener, of all things, and because He makes us rise to eternal life. But the west is ascribed to that disturbed and depraved mind, because it conceals the light, because it always brings on darkness, and because it makes men die and perish in their sins. For as light belongs to the east, and the whole course of life depends upon the light, so darkness belongs to the west: but death and destruction are contained in darkness. Then He measured out in the same way the other parts, — namely, the south and the north, which parts are closely united with the two former. For that which is more glowing with the warmth of the sun, is nearest to and closely united with the east; but that which is torpid with colds and perpetual ice belongs to the same division as the extreme west. For as darkness is opposed to light, so is cold to heat. As, therefore, heat is nearest to light, so is the south to the east; and as cold is nearest to

darkness, so is the northern region to the west. And He assigned to each of these parts its own time, — namely, the spring to the east, the summer to the southern region, the autumn belongs to the west, and the winter to the north. In these two parts also, the southern and the northern, is contained a figure of life and death, because life consists in heat, death in cold. And as heat arises from fire, so does cold from water. And according to the division of these parts He also made day and night, to complete by alternate succession with each other the courses and perpetual revolutions of time, which we call years. The day, which the first east supplies, must belong to God, as all things do, which are of a better character. But the night, which the extreme west brings on, belongs, indeed, to him whom we have said to be the rival of God.

And even in the making of these God had regard to the future; for He made them so, that a representation of true religion and of false superstitions might be shown from these. For as the sun, which rises daily, although it is but one, — from which Cicero would have it appear that it was called Sol, because the stars are obscured, and it alone is seen, — yet, since it is a true light, and of perfect fullness, and of most powerful heat, and enlightens all things with the brightest splendor; so God, although He is one only, is possessed of perfect majesty, and might, and splendor. But night, which we say is assigned to that depraved adversary of God, shows by a resemblance the many and various superstitions which belong to him. For although innumerable stars appear to glitter and shine, yet, because they are not full and solid lights, and send forth no heat, nor overpower the darkness by their multitude, therefore these two things are found to be of chief importance, which have power differing from and opposed to one another — heat and moisture, which God wonderfully designed for the support and production of all things. For since the power of God consists in heat and fire, if He had not tempered its ardor and force by mingling matter of moisture and cold, nothing could have been born or have existed, but whatever had begun to exist must immediately have been destroyed by conflagration. From which also some philosophers and poets said that the world was made up of a discordant concord; but they did not thoroughly understand the matter. Heraclitus said that all things were produced from fire Thales of Miletus from water. Each saw something of the truth, and yet each was in error: for if one element only had existed, water could not

have been produced from fire, nor, on the other hand, could fire from water; but it is more true that all things were produced from a mingling of the two. Fire, indeed, cannot be mixed with water, because they are opposed to each other; and if they came into collision, the one which proved superior must destroy the other. But their substances may be mingled. The substance of fire is heat; of water, moisture. Rightly therefore does Ovid say: —

> “For when moisture and heat have become mingled, they conceive, and all things arise from these two. And though fire is at variance with water, moist vapor produces all things, and discordant concord is adapted to production.”

For the one element is, as it were, masculine; the other, as it were, feminine: the one active, the other passive. And on this account it was appointed by the ancients that marriage contracts should be ratified by the solemnity of fire and water, because the young of animals are furnished with a body by heat and moisture, and are thus animated to life.

For, since every animal consists of soul and body, the material of the body is contained in moisture, that of the soul in heat: which we may know from the offspring of birds; for though these are full of thick moisture, unless they are cherished by creative heat, the moisture cannot become a body, nor can the body be animated with life. Exiles also were accustomed to be forbidden the use of fire and water: for as yet it seemed unlawful to inflict capital punishment on any, however guilty, inasmuch as they were men. When, therefore, the use of those things in which the life of men consists was forbidden, it was deemed to be equivalent to the actual infliction of death on him who had been thus sentenced. Of such importance were these two elements considered, that they believed them to be essential for the production of man, and for the sustaining of his life. One of these is common to us with the other animals, the other has been assigned to man alone. For we, being a heavenly and immortal race, make use of fire, which is given to us as a proof of immortality, since fire is from heaven; and its nature, inasmuch as it is moveable and rises upward, contains the principle of life. But the other animals, inasmuch as they are altogether mortal, make use of water only, which is a corporeal and earthly element. And the nature of this, because it is moveable, and has a

downward inclination, shows a figure of death. Therefore the cattle do not look up to heaven, nor do they entertain religious sentiments, since the use of fire is removed from them. But from what source or in what manner God lighted up or caused to flow these two principal elements, fire and water, He who made them alone can know.

CHAPTER 11

OF LIVING CREATURES, OF MAN; PROMETHEUS, DEUCALION, THE PARCAE

Therefore, having finished the world, He commanded that animals of various kinds and of dissimilar forms should be created, both great and smaller. And they were made in pairs, that is, one of each sex; from the offspring of which both the air and the earth and the seas were filled. And God gave nourishment to all these by their kinds from the earth, that they might be of service to men: some, for instance, were for food, others for clothing; but those which are of great strength He gave, that they might assist in cultivating the earth, whence they were called beasts of burthen. And thus, when all things had been settled with a wonderful arrangement, He determined to prepare for Himself an eternal kingdom, and to create innumerable souls, on whom He might bestow immortality. Then He made for Himself a figure endowed with perception and intelligence, that is, after the likeness of His own image, than which nothing can be more perfect: He formed man out of the dust of the ground, from which he was called man, because He was made from the earth. Finally, Plato says that the human form was godlike; as does the Sibyl, who says, —

“Thou art my image, O man, possessed of right reason.”

The poets also have not given a different account respecting this formation of man, however they may have corrupted it; for they said that man was made by Prometheus from clay. They were not mistaken in the matter itself, but in the name of the artificer. For they had never come into contact with a line of the truth; but the things which were handed down by the oracles of the prophets, and contained in the sacred book of God; those things collected from fables and obscure opinion, and distorted, as

the truth is wont to be corrupted by the multitude when spread abroad by various conversations, every one adding something to that which he had heard, — those things they comprised in their poems; and in this, indeed, they acted foolishly, in that they attributed so wonderful and divine a work to man. For what need was there that man should be formed of clay, when he might he generated in the same way in which Prometheus himself was born from Iapetus? For if he was a man, he was able to beget a man, but not to make one. But his punishment on Mount Caucasus declares that he was not of the gods. But no one reckoned his father Iapetus or his uncle Titan as gods, because the high dignity of the kingdom was in possession of Saturn only, by which he obtained divine honors, together with all his descendants. This invention of the poets admits of refutation by many arguments. It is agreed by all that the deluge took place for the destruction of wickedness, and for its removal from the earth. Now, both philosophers and poets, and writers of ancient history, assert the same, and in this they especially agree with the language of the prophets. If, therefore, the flood took place for the purpose of destroying wickedness, which had increased through the excessive multitude of men, how was Prometheus the maker of man, when his son Deucalion is said by the same writers to have been the only one who was preserved on account of his righteousness? How could a single descent and a single generation have so quickly filled the world with men? But it is plain that they have corrupted this also, as they did the former account; since they were ignorant both at what time the flood happened on the earth, and who it was that deserved on account of his righteousness to be saved when the human race perished, and how and with whom he was saved: all of which are taught by the inspired writings. It is plain, therefore, that the account which they give respecting the work of Prometheus is false.

But because I had said that the poets are not accustomed to speak that which is altogether untrue, but to wrap up in figures and thus to obscure their accounts, I do not say that; they spoke falsely in this, but that first of all Prometheus made the image of a man of rich and soft clay, and that he first originated the art of making statues and images; inasmuch as he lived in the times of Jupiter, during which temples began to be built, and new modes of worshipping the gods introduced. And thus the truth was corrupted by falsehood; and that which was said to have been made by

God began also to be ascribed to man, who imitated the divine work. But the making of the true and living man from clay is the work of God. And this also is related by Hermes, who not only says that man was made by God, after the image of God, but he even tried to explain in how skillful a manner He formed each limb in the human body, since there is none of them which is not as available for the necessity of use as for beauty. But even the Stoics, when they discuss the subject of providence, attempt to do this; and Tully followed them in many places. But, however, he briefly treats of a subject so copious and fruitful, which I now pass over on this account, because I have lately written a particular book on this subject to my disciple Demetrianus. But I cannot here omit that which some erring philosophers say, that men and the other animals arose from the earth without any author; whence that expression of Virgil: —

"And the earth-born race of men raised its head from the hard fields."

And this opinion is especially entertained by those who deny the existence of a divine providence. For the Stoics attribute the formation of animals to divine skill. But Aristotle freed himself from labor and trouble, by saying that the world always existed, and therefore that the human race, and the other things which are in it, had no beginning, but always had been, and always would be. But when we see that each animal separately, which had no previous existence, begins to exist, and ceases to exist, it is necessary that the whole race must at some time have begun to exist, and must cease at some time because it had a beginning.

For all things must necessarily be comprised in three periods of time — the past, the present, and the future. The commencement belongs to the past, existence to the present, dissolution to the future. And all these things are seen in the case of men individually: for we begin when we are born; and we exist while we live; and we cease when we die. On which account they would have it that there are three Parcae: one who warps the web of life for men; the second, who weaves it; the third, who cuts and finishes it. But in the whole race of men, because the present time only is seen, yet from it the past also, that is, the commencement, and the future, that is, the dissolution, are inferred. For since it exists, it is evident that at some time it began to exist, for nothing can exist without a beginning; and because it had a beginning, it is evident that it will at some time have an

end. For that cannot, as a whole, be immortal, which consists of mortals. For as we all die individually, it is possible that, by some calamity, all may perish simultaneously: either through the unproductiveness of the earth, which sometimes happens in particular cases; or through the general spread of pestilence, which often desolates separate cities and countries; or by the conflagration of the world, as is said to have happened in the case of Phaethon; or by a deluge, as is reported in the time of Deucalion, when the whole race was destroyed with the exception of one man. And if this deluge happened by chance, it might assuredly have happened that he who was the only survivor should perish. But if he was reserved by the will of divine providence, as it cannot be denied, to recruit mankind, it is evident that the life and the destruction of the human race are in the power of God. And if it is possible for it to die altogether, because it dies in parts, it is evident that it had an origin at some time; and as the liability to decay bespeaks a beginning, so also it gives proof of an end. And if these things are true, Aristotle will be unable to maintain that the world also itself had no beginning. But if Plato and Epicurus extort this from Aristotle, yet Plato and Aristotle, who thought that the world would be everlasting, will, notwithstanding their eloquence, be deprived of this also by Epicurus, because it follows, that, as it had a beginning, it must also have an end. But we will speak of these things at greater length in the last book. Now let us revert to the origin of man.

CHAPTER 12

THAT ANIMALS WERE NOT PRODUCED SPONTANEOUSLY, BUT BY A DIVINE ARRANGEMENT, OF WHICH GOD WOULD HAVE GIVEN US THE KNOWLEDGE, IF IT WERE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR US TO KNOW IT

They say that at certain changes of the heaven, and motions of the stars, there existed a kind of maturity for the production of animals;

and thus that the new earth, retaining the productive seed, brought forth of itself certain vessels after the likeness of wombs, respecting which Lucretius says, —

and that these, when they had become mature, being rent by the compulsion of nature, produced tender animals; afterwards, that the earth itself abounded with a kind of moisture which resembled milk, and that animals were supported by this nourishment. How, then, were they able to endure or avoid the force of the cold or of heat, or to be born at all, since the sun would scorch them or the cold contract them? But, they say, at the beginning of the world there was no winter nor summer, but a perpetual spring of an equable temperature. Why, then, do we see that none of these things now happens? Because, they say, it was necessary that it should once happen, that animals might be born; but after they began to exist, and the power of generation was given to them, the earth ceased to bring forth, and the condition of time was changed. Oh, how easy it is to refute falsehoods! In the first place, nothing can exist in this world which does not continue permanent, as it began. For neither were the sire and moon and stars then uncreated; nor. having been created, were they without their motions; nor did that divine government, which manages and rules their courses, fail to begin its exercise together with them. In the next place, if it is as they say, there must of necessity be a providence, and they fall into that very condition which they especially avoid. For while the animals were yet unborn, it is plain that some one provided that they should be born, that the world might not appear gloomy with waste and desolation. But, that they might be produced from the earth without the office of parents, provision must have been made with great judgment; and in the next place, that the moisture condensed from the earth might be formed into the various figures of bodies; and also that, having received from the vessels with which they were covered the power of life and sensation, they might be poured forth, as it were, from the womb of mothers, is a wonderful and indescribable provision. But let us suppose that this also happened by chance; the circumstances which follow assuredly cannot be by chance, — that the earth should at once flow with milk, and that the temperature of the atmosphere should be equable. And if these things plainly happened, that the newly born animals might have nourishment, or be free from danger, it must be that some one provided these things by some divine counsel.

But who is able to make this provision except God? Let us, however, see whether the circumstance itself which they assert could have taken place, that men should be born from the earth. If any one considers during how long a time and in what manner an infant is reared, he will assuredly understand that those earth-born children could not possibly have been reared without some one to bring them up. For they must have lain for many months cast forth, until their sinews were strengthened, so that they had power to move themselves and to change their place, which can scarcely happen within the space of one year. Now see whether an infant could have lain through many months in the same manner and in the same place where it was cast forth, without dying, overwhelmed and corrupted by that moisture of the earth which it supplied for the sake of nourishment, and by the excrements of its own body mixed together. Therefore it is impossible but that it was reared by some one; unless, indeed, all animals are born not in a tender condition, but grown up: and it never came into their mind to say this. Therefore the whole of that method is impossible and vain; if that can be called method by which it is attempted that there shall be no method. For he who says that all things are produced of their own accord, and attributes nothing to divine providence, he assuredly does not assert, but overthrows method. But if nothing can be done or produced without design, it is plain that there is a divine providence, to which that which is called design peculiarly belongs. Therefore God, the Contriver of all things, made man. And even Cicero, though ignorant of the sacred writings, saw this, who in his treatise on the Laws, in the first book, handed down the same thing as the prophets; and I add his words: "This animal, foreseeing, sagacious, various, acute, gifted with memory, full of method and design, which we call man, was produced by the supreme Deity under remarkable circumstances; for this alone of so many kinds and natures of animals, partakes of judgment and reflection, when all other animals are destitute of them." Do you see that the man, although far removed from the knowledge of the truth, yet, inasmuch as he held the image of wisdom, understood that man could not be produced except by God? But, however, there is need of divine testimony, lest that of man should be insufficient. The Sibyl testifies that man is the work of God: —

> "He who is the only God being the invincible Creator, He Himself fixed the figure of the form of men, He Himself mixed the nature of all belonging to the generation of life."

The sacred writings contain statements to the same effect. Therefore God discharged the office of a true father. He Himself formed the body; He Himself infused the soul with which we breathe. Whatever we are, it is altogether His work. In what manner He effected this He would have taught us, if it were right for us to know; as He taught us other things, which have conveyed to us the knowledge both of ancient error and of true light.

CHAPTER 13

WHY MAN IS OF TWO SEXES; WHAT IS HIS FIRST DEATH, AND WHAT THE SECOND AND OF THE FAULT AND PUNISHMENT OF OUR FIRST PARENTS

When, therefore, He had first formed the male after His own likeness, then He also fashioned woman after the image of the man himself, that the two by their union might be able to perpetuate their race, and to fill the whole earth with a multitude. But in the making of man himself He concluded and completed the nature of those two materials which we have spoken of as contrary to each other, fire and water. For having made the body, He breathed into it a soul from the vital source of His own Spirit, which is everlasting, that it might bear the similitude of the world itself, which is composed of opposing elements. For he consists of soul and body, that is, as it were, of heaven and earth: since the soul by which we live, has its origin, as it were, out of heaven from God, the body out of the earth, of the dust of which we have said that it was formed. Empedocles — whom you cannot tell whether to reckon among poets or philosophers, for he wrote in verse respecting the nature of things, as did Lucretius and Varro among the Romans — determined that there were four elements, that is, fire, air, water, and earth; perhaps following Trismegistus, who said that our bodies were composed of these four elements by God, for he said that they contained in themselves something of fire, something of air, something of water, and something of earth, and yet that they were neither

fire, nor air, nor water, nor earth. And these things indeed are not false; for the nature of earth is contained in the flesh, that of moisture in the blood, that of air in the breath, that of fire in the vital heat. But neither can the blood be separated from the body, as moisture is from the earth; nor the vital heat from the breath, as fire from the air: so that of all things only two elements are found, the whole nature of which is included in the formation of our body. Man, therefore, was made from different and opposite substances, as the world itself was made from light and darkness, from life and death; and he has admonished us that these two things contend against each other in man: so that if the soul, which has its origin from God, gains the mastery, it is immortal, and lives in perpetual light; if, on the other hand, the body shall overpower the soul, and subject it to its dominion, it is in everlasting darkness and death. And the force of this is not that it altogether annihilates the souls of the unrighteous, but subjects them to everlasting punishment.

We term that punishment the second death, which is itself also perpetual, as also is immortality. We thus define the first death: Death is the dissolution of the nature of living beings; or thus: Death is the separation of body and soul. But we thus define the second death: Death is the suffering of eternal pain; or thus: Death is the condemnation of souls for their deserts to eternal punishments. This does not extend to the dumb cattle, whose spirits, not being composed of God, but of the common air, are dissolved by death. Therefore in this union of heaven and earth, the image of which is developed in man, those things which belong to God occupy the higher part, namely the soul, which has dominion over the body; but those which belong to the devil occupy the lower part, manifestly the body: for this, being earthly, ought to be subject to the soul, as the earth is to heaven. For it is, as it were, a vessel which this heavenly spirit may employ as a temporary dwelling. The duties of both are — for the latter, which is from heaven and from God, to command; but for the former, which is from the earth and the devil, to obey. And this, indeed, did not escape the notice of a dissolute man, Sallust, who says: “But all our power consists in the soul and body; we use the soul to command, the body rather to obey.” It had been well if he had lived in accordance with his words; for he was a slave to the most degrading pleasures, and he destroyed the efficacy of his sentiment by the depravity

of his life. But if the soul is fire, as we have shown, it ought to mount up to heaven as fire, that it may not be extinguished; that is, it ought to rise to the immortality which is in heaven. And as fire cannot burn and be kept alive unless it be nourished by some rich fuel in which it may have sustenance, so the fuel and food of the soul is righteousness alone, by which it is nourished unto life. After these things, God, having made man in the manner in which I have pointed out, placed him in paradise, that is, in a most fruitful and pleasant garden, which He planted in the regions of the East with every kind of wood and tree, that he might be nourished by their various fruits; and being free from all labors. might devote himself entirely to the service of God his Father.

Then He gave to him fixed commands, by the observance of which he might continue immortal; or if he transgressed them, be punished with death. It was enjoined that he should not taste of one tree only which was in the midst of the garden, in which He had placed the knowledge of good and evil. Then the accuser, envying the works of God, applied all his deceits and artifices to beguile the man, that he might deprive him of immortality. And first he enticed the woman by fraud to take the forbidden fruit, and through her instrumentality he also persuaded the man himself to transgress the law of God. Therefore, having obtained the knowledge of good and evil, he began to be ashamed of his nakedness, and hid himself from the face of God, which he was not before accustomed to do. Then God drove out the man from the garden, having passed sentence upon the sinner, that he might seek support for himself by labor. And He surrounded the garden itself with fire, to prevent the approach of the man until He execute the last judgment on earth; and having removed death, recall righteous men, His worshippers, to the same place; as the sacred writers teach. and the Erythraean Sibyl, when she says: “But they who honor the true God inherit everlasting life, themselves inhabiting together paradise, the beautiful garden, for ever.” But since these are the last things, we will treat of them in the last part of this work. Now let us explain those which are first. Death therefore followed man, according to the sentence of God, which even the Sibyl teaches in her verse, saying: “Man made by the very hands of God, whom the serpent treacherously beguiled that he might come to the fate of death, and receive the knowledge of good and evil.” Thus the life of man became limited in duration; but still,

however, long, inasmuch as it was extended to a thousand years. And when Varro was not ignorant of this, handed down as it is in the sacred writings, and spread abroad by the knowledge of all, he endeavored to give reasons why the ancients were supposed to have lived a thousand years. For he says that among the Egyptians months are accounted as years: so that the circuit of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac does not make a year, but the moon, which traverses that sign-bearing circle in the space of thirty days; which argument is manifestly false. For no one then exceeded the thousandth year. But now they who attain to the hundredth year, which frequently happens, undoubtedly live a thousand and two hundred months. And competent authorities report that men are accustomed to reach one hundred and twenty years. But because Varro did not know why or when the life of man was shortened, he himself shortened it, since he knew that it was possible for man to live a thousand and four hundred months.

CHAPTER 14

OF NOAH THE INVENTOR OF WINE, WHO FIRST HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE STARS, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF FALSE RELIGIONS

But afterwards God, when He saw the earth filled with wickedness and crimes, determined to destroy mankind with a deluge; but, however, for renewing the multitude, He chose one man, who, when all were corrupted, stood forth pre-eminent, as a remarkable example of righteousness. He, when six hundred years old, built an ark, as God had commanded him, in which he himself was saved, together with his wife and three sons, and as many daughters-in-law, when the water had covered all the loftiest mountains. Then when the earth was dry, God, execrating the wickedness of the former age, that the length of life might not again be a cause of meditating evils, gradually diminished the age of man by each successive generation, and placed a limit at a hundred and twenty years, which it might not be permitted to exceed. But he, when he went forth from the ark, as the sacred writings inform us, diligently cultivated the earth, and planted a vineyard with his own hand. From which circumstance they are

refuted who regard Bacchus as the author of wine. For he not only preceded Bacchus, but also Saturn and Uranus, by many generations. And when he had first taken the fruit from the vineyard, having become merry, he drank even to intoxication, and lay naked. And when one of his sons, whose name was Cham, had seen this, he did not cover his father's nakedness, but went out and told the circumstance to his brothers also. But they, having taken a garment, entered with their faces turned backwards, and covered their father. And when their father became aware of what had been done he disowned and sent away his son. But he went into exile, and settled in a part of that land which is now called Arabia; and that land was called from him Chanaan, and his posterity Chanaanites. This was the first nation which was ignorant of God, since its prince and founder did not receive from his father the worship of God, being cursed by him; and thus he left to his descendants ignorance of the divine nature.

From this nation all the nearest people flowed as the multitude increased. But the descendants of his father were called Hebrews, among whom the religion of the true God was established. But from these also in after times, when their number was multiplied exceedingly, since the mall extent of their settlements could not contain them, then young men, either sent by their parents or of their own accord, by the compulsion of poverty, leaving their own lands to seek for themselves new settlements, were scattered in all directions, and filled all the islands and the whole earth; and thus being torn away from the stem of their sacred root, they established for themselves at their own discretion new customs and institutions. But they who occupied Egypt were the first of all who began to look up to and adore the heavenly bodies. And because they did not shelter themselves in houses on account of the quality of the atmosphere, and the heaven is not overspread with any clouds in that country, they observed the courses of the stars, and their obscurations, while in their frequent adorations they more carefully and freely beheld them. Then afterwards, induced by certain prodigies, they invented monstrous figures of animals, that they might worship them; the authors of which we will presently disclose. But the others, who were scattered over the earth, admiring the elements of the world, began to worship the heaven, the sun, the earth, the sea, without any images and temples, and offered sacrifices to them in the open air, until in process of time they erected temples and statues to the most

powerful kings, and originated the practice of honoring them with victims and odors; and thus wandering from the knowledge of God, they began to be heathens. They err, therefore, who contend that the worship of the gods was from the beginning of the world, and that heathenism was prior to the religion of God: for they think that this was discovered afterwards, because they are ignorant of the source and origin of the truth. Now let us return to the beginning of the world.

CHAPTER 15

OF THE CORRUPTION OF ANGELS, AND THE TWO KINDS OF DEMONS

When, therefore, the number of men had begun to increase, God in His forethought, lest the devil, to whom from the beginning He had given power over the earth, should by his subtilty either corrupt or destroy men, as he had done at first, sent angels for the protection and improvement of the human race; and inasmuch as He had given these a free will, He enjoined them above all things not to defile themselves with contamination from the earth, and thus lose the dignity of their heavenly nature. He plainly prohibited them from doing that which He knew that they would do, that they might entertain no hope of pardon. Therefore, while they abode among men, that most deceitful ruler of the earth, by his very association, gradually enticed them to vices, and polluted them by intercourse with women. Then, not being admitted into heaven on account of the sins into which they had plunged themselves, they fell to the earth. Thus from angels the devil makes them to become his satellites and attendants. But they who were born from these, because they were neither angels nor men, but bearing a kind of mixed nature, were not admitted into hell, as their fathers were not into heaven. Thus there came to be two kinds of demons; one of heaven, the other of the earth. The latter are the wicked spirits, the authors of all the evils which are done, and the same devil is their prince. Whence Trismegistus calls him the ruler of the demons. But grammarians say that they are called demons, as though demoenes, that is, skilled and acquainted with matters: for they think that these are gods. They are acquainted, indeed, with many future events, but

not all, since it is not permitted them entirely to know the counsel of God; and therefore they are accustomed to accommodate their answers to ambiguous results. The poets both know them to be demons, and so describe them. Hesiod thus speaks: —

***“These are the demons according to the will of Zeus,
Good, living on the earth, the guardians of mortal men.”***

And this is said for this purpose, because God had sent them as guardians to the human race; but they themselves also, though they are the destroyers of men, yet wish themselves to appear as their guardians, that they themselves may be worshipped, and God may not be worshipped. The philosophers also discuss the subject of these beings. For Plato attempted even to explain their natures in his “Banquet;” and Socrates said that there was a demon continually about him, who had become attached to him when a boy, by whose will and direction his life was guided. The art also and power of the Magi altogether consists in the influences of these; invoked by whom they deceive the sight of men with deceptive illusions, so that they do not see those things which exist, and think that they see those things which do not exist. These contaminated and abandoned spirits, as I say, wander over the whole earth, and contrive a solace for their own perdition by the destruction of men. Therefore they fill every place with snares, deceits, frauds, and errors; for they cling to individuals, and occupy whole houses from door to door, and assume to themselves the name of genii; for by this word they translate demons in the Latin language. They consecrate these in their houses, to these they daily pour out libations of wine, and worship the wise demons as gods of the earth, and as averters of those evils which they themselves cause and impose. And these, since spirits are without substance and not to be grasped, insinuate themselves into the bodies of men; and secretly working in their inward parts, they corrupt the health, hasten diseases, terrify their souls with dreams, harass their minds with phrenzies, that by these evils they may compel men to have recourse to their aid.

CHAPTER 16

THAT DEMONS HAVE NO POWER OVER THOSE WHO ARE ESTABLISHED IN THE FAITH

And the nature of all these deceits is obscure to those who are without the truth. For they think that those demons profit them when they cease to injure, whereas they have no power except to injure. Some one may perchance say that they are therefore to be worshipped, that they may not injure, since they have the power to injure. They do indeed injure, but those only by whom they are feared, whom the powerful and lofty hand of God does not protect, who are uninitiated in the mystery of truth. But they fear the righteous, that is, the worshippers of God, adjured by whose name they depart from the bodies of the possessed: for, being lashed by their words as though by scourges, they not only confess themselves to be demons, but even utter their own names — those which are adored in the temples — which they generally do in the presence of their own worshippers; not, it is plain, to the disgrace of religion, but to the disgrace of their own honor, because they cannot speak falsely to God, by whom they are adjured, nor to the righteous, by whose voice they are tortured. Therefore ofttimes having uttered the greatest howlings, they cry out that they are beaten, and are on fire, and that they are just on the point of coming forth: so much power has the knowledge of God, and righteousness! Whom, therefore, can they injure, except those whom they have in their own power? In short, Hermes affirms that those who have known God are not only safe from the attacks of demons, but that they are not even bound by fate. “The only protection,” he says, “is piety, for over a pious man neither evil demon nor fate has any power: for God rescues the pious man from all evil; for the one and only good thing among men is piety.” And what piety is, he testifies in another place, in these words: “For piety is the knowledge of God.” Asclepius also, his disciple, more fully expressed the same sentiment in that finished discourse which he wrote to the king. Each of them, in truth, affirms that the demons are the enemies and harassers of men, and on this account Trismegistus calls them wicked angels; so far was he from being ignorant that from heavenly beings they were corrupted, and began to be earthly.

CHAPTER 17

THAT ASTROLOGY, SOOTHSAYING, AND SIMILAR ARTS ARE THE INVENTION OF DEMONS

These were the inventors of astrology, and soothsaying, and divination, and those productions which are called oracles, and necromancy, and the art of magic, and whatever evil practices besides these men exercise, either openly or in secret. Now all these things are false of themselves, as the Erythraean Sibyl testifies: —

"Since all these things are erroneous,
Which foolish men search after day by day."

But these same authorities by their countenance cause it to be believed that they are true. Thus they delude the credulity of men by lying divination, because it is not expedient for them to lay open the truth. These are they who taught men to make images and statues; who, in order that they might turn away the minds of men from the worship of the true God, cause the countenances of dead kings, fashioned and adorned with exquisite beauty, to be erected and consecrated, and assumed to themselves their names, as though they were assuming some characters. But the magicians, and those whom the people truly call enchanters, when they practice their detestable arts, call upon them by their true names, those heavenly names which are read in the sacred writings. Moreover, these impure and wandering spirits, that they may throw all things into confusion, and overspread the minds of men with errors, interweave and mingle false things with true. For they themselves feigned that there are many heavenly beings, and one king of all, Jupiter; because there are many spirits of angels in heaven, and one Parent and Lord of all, God. But they have concealed the truth under false names, and withdrawn it from sight.

For God, as I have shown in the beginning, does not need a name, since He is alone; nor do the angels, inasmuch as they are immortal, either suffer or wish themselves to be called gods: for their one and only duty is to submit to the will of God, and not to do anything at all except at His command. For we say that the world is so governed by God, as a province is by its ruler; and no one would say that his attendants are his sharers in the

administration of the province, although business is carried on by their service. And yet these can effect something contrary to the commands of the ruler, through his ignorance; which is the result of man's condition. But that guardian of the world and ruler of the universe, who knows all things, from whose divine eyes nothing is concealed, has alone with His Son the power over all things; nor is there anything in the angels except the necessity of obedience. Therefore they wish no honor to be paid to them, since all their honor is in God. But they who have revolted from the service of God, because they are enemies of the truth, and betrayers of God attempt to claim for themselves the name and worship of gods; not that they desire any honor (for what honor is there to the lost?), nor that they may injure God, who cannot be injured, but that they may injure men, whom they strive to turn away from the worship and knowledge of the true Majesty, that they may not be able to obtain immortality, which they themselves have lost through their wickedness. Therefore they draw on darkness, and overspread the truth with obscurity, that men may not know their Lord and Father. And that they may easily entice them, they conceal themselves in the temples, and are close at hand at all sacrifices; and they often give prodigies, that men, astonished by them, may attach to images a belief in their divine power and influence. Hence it is that the stone was cut by the augur with a razor; that Juno of Veii answered that she wished to remove to Rome; that Fortuna Muliebris announced the threatening danger; that the ship followed the hand of Claudia; that Juno when plundered, and the Locrian Proserpine, and the Milesian Ceres, punished the sacrilegious; that Hercules exacted vengeance from Appius, and Jupiter from Atinius, and Minerva from Caesar. Hence it was that the serpent sent for from Epidaurus freed the city of Rome from pestilence. For the chief of the demons was himself carried thither in his own form, without any dissembling; if indeed the ambassadors who were sent for that purpose brought with them a serpent of immense size.

But they especially deceive in the case of oracles, the juggleries of which the profane cannot distinguish from the truth; and therefore they imagine that commands, and victories, and wealth, and prosperous issues of affairs, are bestowed by them, — in short, that the state has often been freed from imminent dangers by their interposition; which dangers they have both announced, and when appeased with sacrifices, have averted.

But all these things are deceits. For since they have a presentiment of the arrangements of God, inasmuch as they have been His ministers, they interpose themselves in these matters, that whatever things have been accomplished or are in the course of accomplishment by God, they themselves may especially appear to be doing or to have done; and as often as any advantage is hanging over any people or city, according to the purpose of God, either by prodigies, or dreams, or oracles, they promise that they will bring it to pass, if temples, honors, and sacrifices are given to them. And on the offering of these, when the necessary result comes to pass, they acquire for themselves the greatest veneration. Hence temples are vowed, and new images consecrated; herds of victims are slain; and when all these things are done, yet the life and safety of those who have performed them are not the less sacrificed. But as often as dangers threaten, they profess that they are angry on account of some light and trifling cause; as Juno was with Varro, because he had placed a beautiful boy on the carriage of Jupiter to guard the dress, and on this account the Roman name was almost destroyed at Cannae. But if Juno feared a second Ganymede, why did the Roman youth suffer punishment? Or if the gods regard the leaders only, and neglect the rest of the multitude, why did Varro alone escape who acted thus, and why was Paulus, who was innocent, slain? Assuredly nothing then happened to the Romans by "the fates of the hostile Juno," when Hannibal by craft and valor despatched two armies of the Roman people. For Juno did not venture either to defend Carthage, where were her arms and chariot, or to injure the Romans; for

"She had heard that sons of Troy
Were born her Carthage to destroy."

But these are the delusions of those who, concealing themselves under the names of the dead, lay snares for the living. Therefore, whether the impending danger can be avoided, they wish it to appear that they averted it, having been appeased; or if it cannot be avoided, they contrive that it may appear to have happened through disregard of them. Thus they acquire to themselves authority and fear from men, who are ignorant of them. By this subtilty and by these arts they have caused the knowledge of the true and only God to fail among all nations. For, being destroyed by their own vices, they rage and use violence that they may destroy others.

Therefore these enemies of the human race even devised human victims, to devour as many lives as possible.

CHAPTER 18

OF THE PATIENCE AND VENGEANCE OF GOD, THE WORSHIP OF DEMONS, AND FALSE RELIGIONS

Some one will say, Why then does God permit these things to be done, and not apply a remedy to such disastrous errors? That evils may be at variance with good; that vices may be opposed to virtues; that He may have some whom He may punish, and others whom He may honor. For He has determined at the last times to pass judgment on the living and the dead, concerning which judgment I shall speak in the last book. He delays, therefore, until the end of the times shall come, when He may pour out His wrath with heavenly power and might, as

***"Prophecies of pious seers
Ring terror in the 'wildered ears."***

But now He suffers men to err, and to be impious even towards Himself, just, and mild, and patient as He is. For it is impossible that He in whom is perfect excellence should not also be of perfect patience. Whence some imagine, that God is altogether free from anger, because He is not subject to affections, which are perturbations of the mind; for every animal which is liable to affections and emotions is frail. But this persuasion altogether takes away truth and religion. But let this subject of discussing the anger of God be laid aside for the present; because the matter is very copious, and to be more widely treated in a work devoted to the subject. Whoever shall have worshipped and followed these most wicked spirits, will neither enjoy heaven nor the light, which are God's; but will fall into those things which we have spoken of as being assigned in the distribution of things to the prince of the evil ones himself, — namely, into darkness, and hell, and everlasting punishment.

I have shown that the religious rites of the gods are vain in a threefold manner: In the first place, because those images which are worshipped are representations of men who are dead; and that is a wrong and inconsistent

thing, that the image of a man should be worshipped by the image of God, for that which worships is lower and weaker than that which is worshipped: then that it is an inexpiable crime to desert the living in order that you may serve memorials of the dead, who can neither give life nor light to any one, for they are themselves without it: and that there is no other God but one, to whose judgment and power every soul is subject. In the second place, that the sacred images themselves, to which most senseless men do service, are destitute of all perception, since they are earth. But who cannot understand that it is unlawful for an upright animal to bend itself that it may adore the earth? which is placed beneath our feet for this purpose, that it may be trodden. upon, and not adored by us, who have been raised from it, and have received an elevated position beyond the other living creatures, that we may not turn ourselves again downward, nor cast this heavenly countenance to the earth, but may direct our eyes to that quarter to which the condition of their nature has directed, and that we may adore and worship nothing except the single deity of our only Creator and Father, who made man of an erect figure, that we may know that we are called forth to high and heavenly things. In the third place, because the spirits which preside over the religious rites themselves, being condemned and cast off by God, wallow over the earth, who not only are unable to afford any advantage to their worshippers, since the power of all things is in the hands of one alone, but even destroy them with deadly attractions and errors; since this is their daily business, to involve men in darkness, that the true God may not be sought by them. Therefore they are not to be worshipped, because they lie under the sentence of God. For it is a very great crime to devote one’s self to the power of those whom, if you follow righteousness, you are able to excel in power, and to drive out and put to flight by adjuration of the divine name. But if it appears that these religious rites are vain in so many ways as I have shown, it is manifest that those who either make prayers to the dead, or venerate the earth, or make over their souls to unclean spirits, do not act as becomes men, and that they will suffer punishment for their impiety and guilt, who, rebelling against God, the Father of the human race, have undertaken inexpiable rites, and violated every sacred law.

CHAPTER 19

OF THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES AND EARTHLY OBJECTS

Whoever, therefore, is anxious to observe the obligations to which man is liable, and to maintain a regard for his nature, let him raise himself from the ground, and, with mind lifted up, let him direct his eyes to heaven: let him not seek God under his feet, nor dig up from his footprints an object of veneration, for whatever lies beneath man must necessarily be inferior to man; but let him seek it aloft, let him seek it in the highest place: for nothing can be greater than man, except that which is above man. But God is greater than man: therefore He is above, and not below; nor is He to be sought in the lowest, but rather in the highest region. Wherefore it is undoubted that there is no religion wherever there is an image. For if religion consists of divine things, and there is nothing divine except in heavenly things; it follows that images are without religion, because there can be nothing heavenly in that which is made from the earth. And this, indeed, may be plain to a wise man from the very name. For whatever is an imitation, that must of necessity be false; nor can anything receive the name of a true object which counterfeits the truth by deception and imitation. But if all imitation is not particularly a serious matter, but as it were a sport and jest, then there is no religion in images, but a mimicry of religion. That which is true is therefore to be preferred to all things which are false; earthly things are to be trampled upon, that we may obtain heavenly things. For this is the state of the case, that whosoever shall prostrate his soul, which has its origin from heaven, to the shades beneath, and the lowest things, must fall to that place to which he has cast himself. Therefore he ought to be mindful of his nature and condition, and always to strive and aim at things above. And whoever shall do this, he will be judged altogether wise, he just, he a man: he, in short, will be judged worthy of heaven whom his Parent will recognize not as abject, nor cast down to the earth after the manner of the beasts, but rather standing and upright as He made him.

CHAPTER 20

OF PHILOSOPHY AND THE TRUTH

A great and difficult portion of the work which I have undertaken, unless I am deceived, has been completed; and the majesty of heaven supplying the power of speaking, we have driven away inveterate errors. But now a greater and more difficult contest with philosophers is proposed to us, the height of whose learning and eloquence, as some massive structure, is opposed to me. For as in the former case we were oppressed by a multitude, and almost by the universal agreement of all nations, so in this subject we are oppressed by the authority of men excelling in every kind of praise. But who can be ignorant that there is more weight in a smaller number of learned men than in a greater number of ignorant persons? But we must not despair that, under the guidance of God and the truth, these also may be turned aside from their opinion; nor do I think that they will be so obstinate as to deny that they behold with sound and open eyes the sun as he shines in his brilliancy. Only let that be true which they themselves are accustomed to profess, that they are possessed with the desire of investigation, and I shall assuredly succeed in causing them to believe that the truth which they have long sought for has been at length found, and to confess that it could not have been found by the abilities of man.

BOOK 3

OF THE FALSE WISDOM OF PHILOSOPHERS

CHAPTER 1

A COMPARISON OF THE TRUTH WITH ELOQUENCE: WHY THE PHILOSOPHERS DID NOT ATTAIN TO IT. OF THE SIMPLE STYLE OF THE SCRIPTURES

SINCE. it is supposed that the truth still lies hidden in obscurity — either through the error and ignorance of the common people, who are the slaves of various and foolish superstitions, or through the philosophers, who by the perverseness of their minds confuse rather than throw light upon it — I could wish that the power of eloquence had fallen to my lot, though not such as it was in Marcus Tullius, for that was extraordinary and admirable, but in some degree approaching it; that, being supported as much by the strength of talent as it has weight by its own force, the truth might at length come forth, and having dispelled and refuted public errors, and the errors of those who are considered wise, might introduce among the human race a brilliant light. And I could wish that this were so, for two reasons: either that men might more readily believe the truth when adorned with embellishments, since they even believe falsehood, being captivated by the adornment of speech and the enticement of words; or, at all events, that the philosophers themselves might be overpowered by us, most of all by their own arms, in which they are accustomed to pride themselves and to place confidence. But since God has willed this to be the nature of the case, that simple and undisguised truth should be more clear, because it has sufficient ornament of itself, and on this account it is corrupted when embellished with adornings from without, but that falsehood should please by means of a splendor not its own, because being corrupt of itself it vanishes and melts away, unless it is set off and polished with decoration sought from another source; I bear it with equanimity that a moderate degree of talent has been granted to me. But it is not in reliance upon

eloquence, but upon the truth, that I have undertaken this work, — a work, perhaps, too great to be sustained by my strength; which, however, even if I should fail, the truth itself will complete, with the assistance of God, whose office this is. For when I know that the greatest orators have often been overcome by pleaders of moderate ability, because the power of truth is so great that it defends itself even in small things by its own clearness: why should I imagine that it will be overwhelmed in a cause of the greatest importance by men who are ingenious and eloquent, as I admit, but who speak false things; and not that it should appear bright and illustrious, if not by our speech, which is very feeble, and flows from a slight fountain, but by its own light? Nor, if there have been philosophers worthy of admiration on account of their literary erudition, should I also yield to them the knowledge and learning of the truth, which no one can attain to by reflection or disputation. Nor do I now disparage the pursuit of those who wished to know the truth, because God has made the nature of man most desirous of arriving at the truth; but I assert and maintain this against them, that the effect did not follow their honest and well-directed will, because they neither knew what was true in itself, nor how, nor where, nor with what mind it is to be sought. And thus, while they desire to remedy the errors of men, they have become entangled in snares and the greatest errors. I have therefore been led to this task of refuting philosophy by the very order of the subject which I have undertaken.

For since all error arises either from false religion or from wisdom, in refuting error it is necessary to overthrow both. For inasmuch as it has been handed down to us in the sacred writings that the thoughts of philosophers are foolish, this very thing is to be proved by fact and by arguments, that no one, induced by the honorable name of wisdom, or deceived by the splendor of empty eloquence, may prefer to give credence to human rather than to divine things. Which things, indeed, are related in a concise and simple manner. For it was not befitting that, when God was speaking to man, He should confirm His words by arguments, as though He would not otherwise be regarded with confidence: but, as it was right, He spoke as the mighty Judge of all things, to whom it belongs not to argue, but to pronounce sentence. He Himself, as God, is truth. But we, since we have divine testimony for everything, will assuredly show by how much surer arguments truth may be defended, when even false things

are so defended that they are accustomed to appear true. Wherefore there is no reason why we should give so much honor to philosophers as to fear their eloquence. For they might speak well as men of learning; but they could not speak truly, because they had not learned the truth from Him in whose power it was. Nor, indeed, shall we effect anything great in convicting them of ignorance, which they themselves very often confess. Since they are not believed in that one point alone in which alone they ought to have been believed, I will endeavor to show that they never spoke so truly as when they uttered their opinion respecting their own ignorance.

CHAPTER 2

OF PHILOSOPHY, AND HOW VAIN WAS ITS OCCUPATION IN SETTING FORTH THE TRUTH

Now, since the falsehood of superstitions has been shown in the two former books, and the origin itself of the whole error has been set forth, it is the business of this book to show the emptiness and falsehood of philosophy also, that, all error being removed, the truth may be brought to light and become manifest. Let us begin, therefore, from the common name of philosophy, that when the head itself is destroyed, an easier approach may be open to us for demolishing the whole body; if indeed that can be called a body, the parts and members of which are at variance with one another, and are not united together by any connecting link, but, as it were, dispersed and scattered, appear to palpitate rather than to live. Philosophy is (as the name indicates, and they themselves define it) the love of wisdom. By what argument, then, can I prove that philosophy is not wisdom, rather than by that derived from the meaning of the name itself? For he who devotes himself to wisdom is manifestly not yet wise, but devotes himself to the subject that he may be wise. In the other arts it appears what this devotedness effects, and to what it tends: for when any one by learning has attained to these, he is now called, not a devoted follower of the profession, but an artificer. But it is said it was on account of modesty that they called themselves devoted to wisdom, and not wise. Nay, in truth, Pythagoras, who first invented this name, since he had a little more wisdom than those of early times, who regarded themselves as

wise, understood that it was impossible by any human study to attain to wisdom, and therefore that a perfect name ought not to be applied to an incomprehensible and imperfect subject. And, therefore, when he was asked what was his profession, he answered that he was a philosopher, that is, a searcher after wisdom. If, therefore, philosophy searches after wisdom, it is not wisdom itself, because it must of necessity be one thing which searches, and another which is searched for; nor is the searching itself correct, because it can find nothing.

But I am not prepared to concede even that philosophers are devoted to the pursuit of wisdom, because by that pursuit there is no attaining to wisdom. For if the power of finding the truth were connected with this pursuit, and if this pursuit were a kind of road to wisdom, it would at length be found. But since so much time and talent have been wasted in the search for it, and it has not yet been gained, it is plain that there is no wisdom there. Therefore they who apply themselves to philosophy do not devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom; but they themselves imagine that they do so, because they know not where that is which they are searching for, or of what character it is. Whether, therefore, they devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom or not, they are not wise, because that can never be discovered which is either sought in an improper manner, or not sought at all. Let us look to this very thing, whether it is possible for anything to be discovered by this kind of pursuit, or nothing.

CHAPTER 3

OF WHAT SUBJECTS PHILOSOPHY CONSISTS, AND WHO WAS THE CHIEF FOUNDER OF THE ACADEMIC SECT

Philosophy appears to consist of two subjects, knowledge and conjecture, and of nothing more. Knowledge cannot come from the understanding, nor be apprehended by thought; because to have knowledge in oneself as a peculiar property does not belong to man, but to God. But the nature of mortals does not receive knowledge, except that which comes from without. For on this account the divine intelligence has opened the eyes and ears and other senses in the body, that by these entrances knowledge might flow through to the mind. For to investigate or wish to know the

causes of natural things, — whether the sun is as great as it appears to be, or is many times greater than the whole of this earth; also whether the moon be spherical or concave; and whether the stars are fixed to the heaven, or are born with free course through the air; of what magnitude the heaven itself is, of what material it is composed; whether it is at rest and immovable, or is turned round with incredible swiftness; how great is the thickness of the earth, or on what foundations it is poised and suspended, — to wish to comprehend these things, I say, by disputation and conjectures, is as though we should wish to discuss what we may suppose to be the character of a city in some very remote country, which we have never seen, and of which we have heard nothing more than the name. If we should claim to ourselves knowledge in a matter of this kind, which cannot be known, should we not appear to be mad, in venturing to affirm that in which we may be refuted? How much more are they to be judged mad and senseless, who imagine that they know natural things, which cannot be known by man! Rightly therefore did Socrates, and the Academics who followed him, take away knowledge, which is not the part of a disputant, but of a diviner. It remains that there is in philosophy conjecture only; for that from which knowledge is absent, is entirely occupied by conjecture. For every one conjectures that of which he is ignorant. But they who discuss natural subjects, conjecture that they are as they discuss them. Therefore they do not know the truth, because knowledge is concerned with that which is certain, conjecture with the uncertain.

Let us return to the example before mentioned. Come, let us conjecture about the state and character of that city which is unknown to us in all respects except in name. It is probable that it is situated on a plain, with walls of stone, lofty buildings, many streets, magnificent and highly adorned temples. Let us describe, if you please, the customs and deportment of the citizens. But when we shall have described these, another will make opposite statements; and when he also shall have concluded, a third will arise, and others after him; and they will make very different conjectures to those of ours. Which therefore of all is more true? Perhaps none of them. But all things have been mentioned which the nature of the circumstances admits, so that some one of them must necessarily be true. But it will not be known who has spoken the truth. It may possibly be that all have in some degree erred in their description, and

that all have in some degree attained to the truth. Therefore we are foolish if we seek this by disputation; for some one may present himself who may deride our conjectures, and esteem us as mad, since we wish to conjecture the character of that which we do not know. But it is unnecessary to go in quest of remote cases, from which perhaps no one may come to refute us. Come, let us conjecture what is now going on in the forum, what in the senate-house. That also is too distant. Let us say what is taking place with the interposition of a single wall; no one can know this but he who has heard or seen it. No one therefore ventures to say this, because he will immediately be refuted not by words, but by the presence of the fact itself. But this is the very thing which philosophers do, who discuss what is taking place in heaven, but think that they do that with impunity, because there is no one to refute their errors. But if they were to think that some one was about to descend who would prove them to be mad and false, they would never discuss those subjects at all which they cannot possibly know. Nor, however, is their shamelessness and audacity to be regarded as more successful because they are not refuted; for God refutes them to whom alone the truth is known, although He may seem to connive at their conduct, and He reckons such wisdom of men as the greatest folly.

CHAPTER 4

THAT KNOWLEDGE IS TAKEN AWAY BY SOCRATES, AND CONJECTURE BY ZENO

Zeno and the Stoics, then, were right in repudiating conjecture. For to conjecture that you know that which you do not know, is not the part of a wise, but rather of a rash and foolish man. Therefore if nothing can be known, as Socrates taught, or ought to be conjectured, as Zeno taught, philosophy is entirely removed. Why should I say that it is not only overthrown by these two, who were the chiefs of philosophy, but by all, so that it now appears to have been long ago destroyed by its own arms? Philosophy has been divided into many sects; and they all entertain various sentiments. In which do we place the truth? It certainly cannot be in all. Let us point out some one; it follows that all the others will be

without wisdom. Let us pass through them separately; in the same manner, whatever we shall give to one we shall take away from the others. For each particular sect overturns all others, to confirm itself and its own doctrines: nor does it allow wisdom to any other, lest it should confess that it is itself foolish; but as it takes away others, so is it taken away itself by all others. For they are nevertheless philosophers who accuse it of folly. Whatever sect you shall praise and pronounce true, that is censured by philosophers as false. Shall we therefore believe one which praises itself and its doctrine, or the many which blame the ignorance of each other? That must of necessity be better which is held by great numbers, than that which is held by one only. For no one can rightly judge concerning himself, as the renowned poet testifies; for the nature of men is so arranged, that they see and distinguish the affairs of others better than their own. Since, therefore, all things are uncertain, we must either believe all or none: if we are to believe no one, then the wise have no existence, because while they separately affirm different things they think themselves wise; if all, it is equally true that there are no wise men, because all deny the wisdom of each individually. Therefore all are in this manner destroyed; and as those fabled sparti of the poets, so these men mutually slay one another, so that no one remains of all; which happens on this account, because they have a sword, but have no shield. If, therefore, the sects individually are convicted of folly by the judgment of many sects, it follows that all are found to be vain and empty; and thus philosophy consumes and destroys itself. And since Arcesilas the founder of the Academy understood this, he collected together the mutual censures of all, and the confession of ignorance made by distinguished philosophers, and armed himself against all. Thus he established a new philosophy of not philosophizing. From this founder, therefore, there began to be two kinds of philosophy: one the old one, which claims to itself knowledge; the other a new one, opposed to the former, and which detracts from it. Between these two kinds of philosophy I see that there is disagreement, and as it were civil war. On which side shall we place wisdom, which cannot be torn asunder? If the nature of things can be known, this troop of recruits will perish; if it cannot, the veterans will be destroyed: if they shall be equal, nevertheless philosophy, the guide of all, will still perish, because it is divided; for nothing can be opposed to itself without its own destruction. But if, as I have shown, there can be no inner and peculiar

knowledge in man on account of the frailty of the human condition, the party of Arcesilas prevails. But not even will this stand firm, because it cannot be the case that nothing at all is known.

CHAPTER 5

THAT THE KNOWLEDGE OF MANY THINGS IS NECESSARY

For there are many things which nature itself, and frequent use, and the necessity of life, compel us to know. Accordingly you must perish, unless you know what things are useful for life, in order that you may seek them; and what are dangerous, that you may shun and avoid them. Moreover, there are many things which experience finds out. For the various courses of the sun and moon, and the motions of the stars, and the computation of times, have been discovered, and the nature of bodies, and the strength of herbs by students of medicine, and by the cultivators of the land the nature of soils, and signs of future rains and tempests have been collected. In short, there is no art which is not dependent on knowledge. Therefore Arcesilas ought, if he had any wisdom, to have distinguished the things which were capable of being known, and those which were incapable. But if he had done this, he would have reduced himself to the common herd. For the common people have sometimes more wisdom, because they are only so far wise as is necessary. And if you inquire of them whether they know anything or nothing, they will say that they know the things which they know, and will confess that they are ignorant of what they are ignorant. He was right, therefore, in taking away the systems of others, but he was not right in laying the foundations of his own. For ignorance of all things cannot be wisdom, the peculiar property of which is knowledge. And thus, when he overcame the philosophers, and taught that they knew nothing, he himself also lost the name of philosopher, because his system is to know nothing. For he who blames others because they are ignorant, ought himself to have knowledge; but when he knows nothing, what perverseness or what insolence it is, to constitute himself a philosopher on account of that very thing for which he takes away the others! For it is in their power to answer thus: If you convict us of knowing nothing, and therefore of being unwise because we know nothing, does it follow that

you are not wise, because you confess that you know nothing? What progress, therefore, did Arcesilas make, except that, having despatched all the philosophers, he pierced himself also with the same sword?

CHAPTER 6

OF WISDOM, AND THE ACADEMICS, AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

Does wisdom therefore nowhere exist? Yes, indeed, it was amongst them, but no one saw it. Some thought that all things could be known: these were manifestly not wise. Others thought that nothing could be known; nor indeed were these wise: the former, because they attributed too much to man; the latter, because they attributed too little. A limit was wanting to each on either side. Where, then, is wisdom? It consists in thinking neither that you know all things, which is the property of God; nor that you are ignorant of all things, which is the part of a beast. For it is something of a middle character which belongs to man, that is, knowledge united and combined with ignorance. Knowledge in us is from the soul, which has its origin from heaven; ignorance from the body, which is from the earth: whence we have something in common with God, and with the animal creation. Thus, since we are composed of these two elements, the one of which is endowed with light, the other with darkness, a part of knowledge is given to us, and a part of ignorance. Over this bridge, so to speak, we may pass without any danger of falling; for all those who have inclined to either side, either towards the left hand or the right, have fallen. But I will say how each part has erred. The Academics argued from obscure subjects, against the natural philosophers, that there was no knowledge; and satisfied with the examples of a few incomprehensible subjects, they embraced ignorance as though they had taken away the whole of knowledge, because they had taken it away in part. But natural philosophers, on the other hand, derived their argument from those things which are open, and inferred that all things could be known, and, satisfied with things which were manifest, retained knowledge; as if they had defended it altogether, because they had defended it in part. And thus neither the one saw what was clear, nor the others what was obscure; but

each party, while they contended with the greatest ardor either to retain or to take away knowledge only, did not see that there would be placed in the middle that which might guide them to wisdom.

But Arcesilas, who teaches that there is no knowledge, when he was detracting from Zeno, the chief of the Stoics, that he might altogether overthrow philosophy on the authority of Socrates, undertook this opinion to affirm that nothing could be known. And thus he disproved the judgment of the philosophers, who had thought that the truth was drawn forth, and found out by their talents, — namely, because that wisdom was mortal, and, having been instituted a few ages before, had now attained to its greatest increase, so that it was now necessarily growing old and perishing, the Academy suddenly arose, the old age, as it were, of philosophy, which might despatch it now withering. And Arcesilas rightly saw that they are arrogant, or rather foolish, who imagine that the knowledge of the truth can be arrived at by conjecture. But no one can refute one speaking falsely, unless he who shall have previously known what is true; but Arcesilas, endeavoring to do this without a knowledge of the truth, introduced a kind of philosophy which we may call unstable or inconstant. For, that nothing may be known, it is necessary that something be known. For if you know nothing at all, the very knowledge that nothing can be known will be taken away. Therefore he who pronounces as a sentiment that nothing is known, professes, as it were, some conclusion already arrived at and known: therefore it is possible for something to be known.

Of a similar character to this is that which is accustomed to be proposed in the schools as an example of the kind of fallacy called asystaton; that some one had dreamt that he should not believe dreams. For if he did believe them, then it follows that he ought not to believe them. But if he did not believe them, then it follows that he ought to believe them. Thus, if nothing can be known, it is necessary that this fact must be known, that nothing is known. But if it is known that nothing can be known, the statement that nothing can be known must as a consequence be false. Thus there is introduced a tenet opposed to itself, and destructive of itself. But the evasive man wished to take away learning from the other philosophers, that he might conceal it at his home. For truly he is not for taking it from himself who affirms anything that he may take it from others: but he does

not succeed; for it shows itself, and betrays its plunderer. How much more wisely and truly he would act, if he should make an exception, and say that the causes and systems of heavenly things only, or natural things, because they are hidden, cannot be known, for there is no one to teach them; and ought not to be inquired into. for they cannot be found out by inquiry! For if he had brought forward this exception, he would both have admonished the natural philosophers not to search into those things which exceeded the limit of human reflection; and would have freed himself from the ill-will arising from calumny, and would certainly have left us something to follow. But now, since he has drawn us back from following others, that we may not wish to know more than we are capable of knowing, he has no less drawn us back from himself also. For who would wish to labor lest he should know anything? or to undertake learning of this kind that he may even lose ordinary knowledge? For if this learning exists, it must necessarily consist of knowledge; if it does not exist, who is so foolish as to think that that is worthy of being learned, in which either nothing is learned, or something is even unlearned? Wherefore, if all things cannot be known, as the natural philosophers thought, nor nothing, as the Academics taught, philosophy is altogether extinguished.

CHAPTER 7

OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY, AND THE CHIEF GOOD

Let us now pass to the other part of philosophy, which they themselves call moral, in which is contained the method of the whole of philosophy, since in natural philosophy there is only delight, in this there is utility also. And since it is more dangerous to commit a fault in arranging the condition of life and in forming the character, greater diligence must be used, that we may know how we ought to live. For in the former subject some indulgence may be granted: for whether they say anything, they bestow no advantage; or if they foolishly rave, they do no injury. But in this subject there is no room for difference of opinion, none for error. All must entertain the same sentiments, and philosophy itself must give instructions as it were with one mouth; because if any error shall be committed, life is altogether overthrown. In that former part, as there is

less danger, so there is more difficulty; because the obscurity of the subject compels us to entertain different and various opinions. But in this, as there is more danger, so there is less difficulty; because the very use of the subjects and daily experiments are able to teach what is truer and better. Let us see, therefore, whether they agree, or what assistance they give us for the better guidance of life. It is not necessary to enlarge on every point; let us select one, and especially that which is the chief and principal thing, in which the whole of wisdom centers and depends. Epicurus deems that the chief good consists in pleasure of mind, Aristippus in pleasure of the body. Callipho and Dinomachus united virtue with pleasure, Diodorus with the privation of pain, Hieronymus placed the chief good in the absence of pain; the Peripatetics, again, in the goods of the mind, the body, and fortune. The chief good of Herillus is knowledge; that of Zeno, to live agreeably to nature; that of certain Stoics, to follow virtue. Aristotle placed the chief good in integrity and virtue. These are the sentiments of nearly all. In such a difference of opinions, whom do we follow? whom do we believe? All are of equal authority. If we are able to select that which is better, it follows that philosophy is not necessary for us; because we are already wise, inasmuch as we judge respecting the opinions of the wise. But since we come for the sake of learning wisdom, how can we judge, who have not yet begun to be wise? especially when the Academic is close at hand, to draw us back by the cloak, and forbid us to believe any one, without bringing forward that which we may follow.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE CHIEF GOOD, AND THE PLEASURES OF THE SOUL AND BODY, AND OF VIRTUE

What then remains, but that we leave raving and obstinate wranglers, and come to the judge, who is in truth the giver of simple and calm wisdom? which is able not only to mold us, and lead us into the way, but also to pass an opinion on the controversies of those men. This teaches us what is the true and highest good of man; but before I begin to speak on this subject, all those opinions must be refuted, that it may appear that no one

of those philosophers was wise. Since the inquiry is respecting the duty of man, the chief good of the chief animal ought to be placed in that which it cannot have in common with the other animals. But as teeth are the peculiar property of wild beasts, horns of cattle, and wings of birds, so something peculiar to himself ought to be attributed to man, without which he would lose the fixed order of his condition. For that which is given to all for the purpose of life or generation, is indeed a natural good; but still it is not the greatest, unless it be peculiar to each class. Therefore he was not a wise man who believed that pleasure of the mind is the chief good, since that, whether it be freedom from anxiety or joy, is common to all. I do not consider Aristippus even worthy of an answer; for since he is always rushing into pleasures of the body, and is only the slave of sensual indulgences, no one can regard him as a man: for he lived in such a manner that there was no difference between him and a brute, except this only, that he had the faculty of speech. But if the power of speaking were given to the ass, or the dog, or swine, and you were to inquire from these why they so furiously pursue the females, that they can scarcely be separated from them, and even neglect their food and I drink; why they either drive away other males, or do not abstain from the pursuit even when vanquished, but often, when bruised by stronger animals, they are more determined in their pursuit; why they dread neither rain nor cold; why they undertake labor, and do not shrink from danger; — what other answer will they give, but that the chief good is bodily pleasure? — that they eagerly seek it, in order that they may be affected with the most agreeable sensations; and that these are of so much importance, that, for the sake of attaining them, they imagine that no labor, nor wounds, nor death itself, ought to be refused by them? Shall we then seek precepts of living from these men, who have no other feelings than those of the irrational creatures?

The Cyrenaics say that virtue itself is to be praised on this account, because it is productive of pleasure. True, says the filthy dog, or the swine wallowing in the mire. For it is on this account that I contend with my adversary with the utmost exertion of strength, that my valor may procure for me pleasure; of which I must necessarily be deprived if I shall come off vanquished. Shall we therefore learn wisdom from these men, who differ from cattle and the brutes, not in feeling, but in language? To regard the

absence of pain as the chief good, is not indeed the part of Peripatetic and Stoic, but of clinical philosophers. For who would not imagine that the discussion was carried on by those who were ill, and under the influence of some pain? What is so ridiculous, as to esteem that the chief good which the physician is able to give? We must therefore feel pain in order that we may enjoy good; and that, too, severely and frequently, that afterwards the absence of pain may be attended with greater pleasure. He is therefore most wretched who has never felt pain, because he is without that which is good; whereas we used to regard him as most happy, because he was without evil. He was not far distant from this folly, who said that the entire absence of pain was the chief good. For, besides the fact that every animal avoids pain, who can bestow upon himself that good, towards the obtaining of which we can do no more than wish? But the chief good cannot make any one happy, unless it shall be always in his power; and it is not virtue, nor learning, nor labor, which affords this to man, but nature herself bestows it upon all living creatures. They who joined pleasure with virtuous principle, wished to avoid this common blending together of all, but they made a contradictory kind of good; since he who is abandoned to pleasure must of necessity be destitute of virtuous principle, and he who aims at principle must be destitute of pleasure.

The chief good of the Peripatetics may possibly appear excessive, various, and — excepting those goods which belong to the mind, and what they are is a great subject of dispute — common to man with the beasts. For goods belonging to the body — that is, safety, freedom from pain, health — are no less necessary for dumb creatures than for man; and I know not if they are not more necessary for them, because man can be relieved by remedies and services, the dumb animals cannot. The same is true of those which they call the goods of fortune; for as man has need of resources for the support of life, so have they need of prey and pasture. Thus, by introducing a good which is not within the power of man, they made man altogether subject to the power of another. Let us also hear Zeno, for he at times dreams of virtue. The chief good, he says, is to live in accordance with nature. Therefore we must live after the manner of the brutes. For in these are found all the things which ought to be absent from man: they are eager for pleasures, they fear, they deceive, they lie in wait, they kill; and that which is especially to the point, they have no knowledge of God.

Why, therefore, does he teach me to live according to nature, which is of itself prone to a worse course, and under the influence of some more soothing blandishments plunges headlong into vices? Or if he says that the nature of brutes is different from the nature of man, because man is born to virtue, he says something to the purpose; but, however, it will not be a definition of the chief good, because there is no animal which does not live in accordance with its nature.

He who made knowledge the chief good, gave something peculiar to man; but men desire I knowledge for the sake of something else, and not for its own sake. For who is contented with knowing, without seeking some advantage from his knowledge? The arts are learned for the purpose of being put into exercise; but they are exercised either for the support of life, or pleasure, or for glory. That, therefore, is not the chief good which is not sought for on its own account. What difference, therefore, does it make, whether we consider knowledge to be the chief good, or those very things which knowledge produces from itself, that is, means of subsistence, glory, pleasure? And these things are not peculiar to man, and therefore they are not the chief goods; for the desire of pleasure and of food does not exist in man alone, but also in the brutes. How is it with regard to the desire of glory? Is it not discovered in horses, since they exult in victory, and are grieved when vanquished? “So great is their love of praises, so great is their eagerness for victory.” Nor without reason does that most excellent poet say that we must try “what grief they feel when overcome, and how they rejoice in victory.” But if those things which knowledge produces are common to man with other animals, it follows that knowledge is not the chief good. Moreover, it is no slight fault of this definition that bare knowledge is set forth. For all will begin to appear happy who shall have the knowledge of any art, even those who shall know mischievous subjects; so that he who shall have learned to mix poisons, is as happy as he who has learned to apply remedies. I ask, therefore, to what subject knowledge is to be referred. If to the causes of natural things, what happiness will be proposed to me, if I shall know the sources of the Nile, or the vain dreams of the natural philosophers respecting the heaven? Why should I mention that on these subjects there is no knowledge, but mere conjecture, which varies according to the abilities of men? It only remains that the knowledge of good and evil things

is the chief good. Why, then, did he call knowledge the chief good more than wisdom, when both words have the same signification and meaning? But no one has yet said that the chief good is wisdom, though this might more properly have been said. For knowledge is insufficient for the undertaking of that which is good and avoiding that which is evil, unless virtue also is added. For many of the philosophers, though they discussed the nature of good and evil things, yet from the compulsion of nature lived in a manner different from their discourse, because they were without virtue. But virtue united with knowledge is wisdom.

It remains that we refute those also who judged virtue itself to be the chief good, and Marcus Tullius was also of this opinion; and in this they were very inconsiderate. For virtue itself is not the chief good, but it is the contriver and mother of the chief good; for this cannot be attained without virtue. Each point is easily understood. For I ask whether they imagine that it is easy to arrive at that distinguished good, or that it is reached only with difficulty and labor? Let them apply their ingenuity, and defend error. If it is easily attained to, and without labor, it cannot be the chief good. For why should we torment ourselves, why wear ourselves out with striving day and night, seeing that the object of our pursuit is so close at hand, that any one who wishes may grasp it without any effort of the mind? But if we do not attain even to a common and moderate good except by labor, since good things are by their nature arduous and difficult, whereas evil things have a downward tendency, it follows that the greatest labor is necessary for the attainment of the greatest good. And if this is most true, then there is need of another virtue, that we may arrive at that virtue which is called the chief good; but this is incongruous and absurd, that virtue should arrive at itself by means of itself. If no good can be reached unless by labor, it is evident that it is virtue by which it is reached, since the force and office of virtue consist in the undertaking and carrying through of labors. Therefore the chief good cannot be that by which it is necessary to arrive at another. But they, since they were ignorant of the effects and tendency of virtue, and could discover nothing more honorable, stopped at the very name of virtue, and said that it ought to be sought, though no advantage was proposed from it; and thus they fixed for themselves a good which it self stood in need of a good. From these Aristotle was not far removed, who thought that virtue together with

honor was the chief good; as though it were possible for any virtue to exist unless it were honorable, and as though it would not cease to be virtue if it had any measure of disgrace. But he saw that it might happen that a bad opinion is entertained respecting virtue by a depraved judgment, and therefore he thought that deference should be paid to what in the estimation of men constitutes a departure from what is right and good, because it is not in our power that virtue should be honored simply for its own deserts. For what is honorable character, except perpetual honor, conferred on any one by the favorable report of the people? What, then, will happen, if through the error and perverseness of men a bad reputation should ensue? Shall we cast aside virtue because it is judged to be base and disgraceful by the foolish? And since it is capable of being oppressed and harassed, in order that it may be of itself a peculiar and lasting good, it ought to stand in need of no outward assistance, so as not to depend by itself upon its own strength, and to remain steadfast. And thus no good is to be hoped by it from man, nor is any evil to be refused.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE CHIEF GOOD, AND THE WORSHIP OF THE TRUE GOD, AND A REFUTATION OF ANAXAGORAS

I now come to the chief good of true wisdom, the nature of which is to be determined in this manner: first, it must be the property of man alone, and not belong to any other animal; secondly, it must belong to the soul only, and not be shared with the body; lastly, it cannot fall to the lot of any one without knowledge and virtue. Now this limitation excludes and does away with all the opinions of those whom I have mentioned; for their sayings contain nothing of this kind. I will now say what this is, that I may show, as I designed, that all philosophers were blind and foolish, who could neither see, nor understand, nor surmise at any time what was fixed as the chief good for man. Anaxagoras, when asked for what purpose he was born, replied that he might look upon the heaven and the sun. This expression is admired by all, and judged worthy of a philosopher. But I think that he, being unprepared with an answer, uttered this at random, that he might not be silent. But if he had been wise, he ought to have

considered and reflected with himself; for if any one is ignorant of his own condition, he cannot even he a man. But let us imagine that the saying was not uttered on the spur of the moment. Let us see how many and what great errors he Committed in three words. First, he erred in placing the whole duty of man in the eyes alone, referring nothing to the mind, but everything to the body. But if he had been blind, would he lose the duty of a man, which cannot happen without the ruin of the soul? What of the other parts of the body? Will they be destitute, each of its own duty? Why should I say that more depends upon the ears than upon the eye, since learning and wisdom can be gained by the ears only, but not by the eyes only? Were you born for the sake of seeing the heaven and the sun? Who introduced you to this sight? or what does your vision contribute to the heaven and the nature of things? Doubtless that you may praise this immense and wonderful work. Therefore confess that God is the Creator of all things, who introduced you into this world, as a witness and praiser of His great work. You believe that it is a great thing to behold the heaven and the sun: why, therefore, do you not give thanks to Him who is the author of this benefit? why do you not measure with your mind the excellence, the providence, and the power of Him whose works you admire? For it must be, that He who created objects worthy of admiration, is Himself much more to be admired. If any one had invited you to dinner, and you had been well entertained, should you appear in your senses, if you esteemed the mere pleasure more highly than the author of the pleasure? So entirely do philosophers refer all things to the body, and nothing at all to the mind, nor do they see beyond that which fails under their eyes. But all the offices of the body being put aside, the business of man is to be placed in the mind alone. Therefore we are not born for this purpose, that we may see those things which are created, but that we may contemplate, that is, behold with our mind, the Creator of all things Himself. Wherefore, if any one should ask a man who is truly wise for what purpose he was born, he will answer without fear or hesitation, that he was born for the purpose of worshipping God, who brought us into being for his cause, that we may serve Him. But to serve God is nothing else than to maintain and preserve justice by good works. But he, as a man ignorant of divine things, reduced a matter of the greatest magnitude to the least, by selecting two things only, which he said were to be beheld by him. But if he had said that he was born to behold the world, although he

would comprise all things in this, and would use an expression of greater sound, yet he would not have completed the duty of man; for as much as the soul excels the body, so much does God excel the world, for God made and governs the world. Therefore it is not the world which is to be contemplated by the eye, for each is a body; but it is God who is to be contemplated by the soul: for God, being Himself immortal, willed that the soul also should be everlasting. But the contemplation of God is the reverence and worship of the common Parent of mankind. And if the philosophers were destitute of this, and in their ignorance of divine things prostrated themselves to the earth, we must suppose that Anaxagoras neither beheld the heaven nor the sun, though he said that he was born that he might behold them. The object proposed to man is therefore plain and easy, if he is wise; and to it especially belongs humanity. For what is humanity itself, but justice? what is justice, but piety? And piety is nothing else than the recognition of God as a parent.

CHAPTER 10

IT IS THE PECULIAR PROPERTY OF MAN TO KNOW AND WORSHIP GOD

Therefore the chief good of man is in religion only; for the other things, even those which are supposed to be peculiar to man, are found in the other animals also. For when they discern and distinguish their own voices by peculiar marks among themselves, they seem to converse: they also appear to have a kind of smile, when with soothed ears, and contracted mouth, and with eyes relaxed to sportiveness, they fawn upon man, or upon their own mates and young. Do they not give a greeting which bears some resemblance to mutual love and indulgence? Again, those creatures which look forward to the future and lay up for themselves food, plainly have foresight. Indications of reason are also found in many of them. For since they desire things useful to themselves, guard against evils, avoid dangers, prepare for themselves lurking-places standing open in different places with various outlets, assuredly they have some understanding. Can any one deny that they are possessed of reason, since they often deceive man himself? For those which have the office of producing honey, when

they inhabit the place assigned to them, fortify a camp, construct dwellings with unspeakable skill, and obey their king; I know not if there is not in them perfect prudence. It is therefore uncertain whether those things which are given to man are common to him with other living creatures: they are certainly without religion. I indeed thus judge, that reason is given to all animals, but to the dumb creatures only for the protection of life, to man also for its prolongation. And because reason itself is perfect in man, it is named wisdom, which renders man distinguished in this respect, that to him alone it is given to comprehend divine things. And concerning this the opinion of Cicero is true: “Of so many kinds of animals,” he says, “there is none except man which has any knowledge of God; and among men themselves, there is no nation either so uncivilized or so savage, which, even if it is ignorant of due conceptions of the Deity, does not know that some conception of Him ought to be entertained.” From which it is effected, that he acknowledges God, who, as it were, calls to mind the source from which he is sprung. Those philosophers, therefore, who wish to free the mind from all fear, take away even religion, and thus deprive man of his peculiar and surpassing good, which is distinct from living uprightly, and from everything connected with man, because God, who made all living creatures subject to man, also made man subject to Himself. What reason is there why they should also maintain that the mind is to be turned in the same direction to which the countenance is raised? For if we must look to the heaven, it is undoubtedly for no other reason than on account of religion; if religion is taken away, we have nothing to do with the heaven. Therefore we must either look in that direction or bend down to the earth. We are not able to bend down to the earth, even if we should wish, since our posture is upright. We must therefore look up to the heaven, to which the nature of the body calls us. And if it is admitted that this must be done, it must either be done with this view, that we may devote ourselves to religion, or that we may know the nature of the heavenly objects. But we cannot by any means know the nature of the heavenly objects, because nothing of that kind can be found out by reflection, as I have before shown. We must therefore devote ourselves to religion, and he who does not undertake this prostrates himself to the ground, and, imitating the life of the brutes, abdicates the office of man. Therefore the ignorant are more wise; for

although they err in choosing religion, yet they remember their own nature and condition.

CHAPTER 11

OF RELIGION, WISDOM, AND THE CHIEF GOOD

It is agreed upon, therefore, by the general consent of all mankind, that religion ought to be undertaken; but we have to explain what errors are committed on this subject. God willed this to be the nature of man, that he should be desirous and eager for two things, religion and wisdom. But men are mistaken in this, that they either undertake religion and pay no attention to wisdom, or they devote themselves to wisdom alone, and pay no attention to religion, though the one cannot be true without the other. The consequence is, that they fall into a multiplicity of religions, but false ones, because they have left wisdom, which could have taught them that there cannot be many gods; or they devote themselves to wisdom, but a false wisdom, because they have paid no attention to the religion of the Supreme God, who might have instructed them to the knowledge of the truth. Thus men who undertake either of these courses follow a devious path, and one full of the greatest errors, inasmuch as the duty of man, and all truth, are included in these two things which are inseparably connected. I wonder, therefore, that there was none at all of the philosophers who discovered the abode and dwelling-place of the chief good. For they might have sought it in this manner. Whatever the greatest good is, it must be an object proposed to all men. There is pleasure, which is desired by all; but this is common also to man with the beasts, and has not the force of the honorable, and brings a feeling of satiety, and when it is in excess is injurious, and it is lessened by advance of age, and does not fall to the lot of many: for they who are without resources, who constitute the greater part of men, must also be without pleasure. Therefore pleasure is not the chief good; but it is not even a good. What shall we say of riches? This is much more true of them. For they fall to the lot of fewer men, and that generally by chance; and they often fall to the indolent, and sometimes by guilt, and they are desired by those who already possess them. What shall we say of sovereignty itself? That does not constitute the chief good: for

all cannot reign, but it is necessary that all should be capable of attaining the chief good.

Let us therefore seek something which is held forth to all. Is it virtue? It cannot be denied that virtue is a good, and undoubtedly a good for all men. But if it cannot be happy because its power and nature consist in the endurance of evil, it assuredly is not the chief good. Let us seek something else. But nothing can be found more beautiful than virtue, nothing more worthy of a wise man. For if vices are to be avoided on account of their deformity, virtue is therefore to be desired on account of its beauty. What then? Can it be that that which is admitted to be good and honorable should be requited with no reward, and be so unproductive as to procure no advantage from itself? That great labor and difficulty and struggling against evils with which this life is filled, must of necessity produce some great good. But what shall we say that it is? Pleasure? But nothing that is base can arise from that which is honorable. Shall we say that it is riches? or commands? But these things are frail and uncertain. Is it glory? or honor? or a lasting name? But all these things are not contained in virtue itself, but depend upon the opinion and judgment of others. For virtue is often hated and visited with evil. But the good which arises from it ought to be so closely united with it as to be incapable of being separated or disunited from it; and it cannot appear to be the chief good in any other way than if it belongs peculiarly to virtue, and is such that nothing can be added to it or taken from it. Why should I say that the duties of virtue consist in the despising of all these things? For not to long for, or desire, or love pleasures, riches, dominions, and honors, and all those things which are esteemed as goods, as others do overpowered by desire, that assuredly is virtue. Therefore it effects something else more sublime and excellent; nor does anything struggle against these present goods but that which longs for greater and truer things. Let us not despair of being able to find it, if we turn our thoughts in all directions; for no slight or trifling rewards are sought.

CHAPTER 12

OF THE TWOFOLD CONFLICT OF BODY AND SOUL; AND OF DESIRING VIRTUE ON ACCOUNT OF ETERNAL LIFE

But our inquiry is as to the object for which we are born: and thus we are able to trace out what is the effect of virtue. There are two parts of which man is made up, soul and body. There are many things peculiar to the soul, many peculiar to the body, many common to both, as is virtue itself; and as often as this is referred to the body, it is called fortitude for the sake of distinction. Since, therefore, fortitude is connected with each, a contest is proposed to each, and victory held forth to each from the contest: the body, because it is solid, and capable of being grasped, must contend with objects which are solid and can be grasped; but the soul, on the other hand, because it is slights and subtle, and invisible, contends with those enemies who cannot be seen and touched. But what are the enemies of the soul, but lusts, vices, and sins? And if virtue shall have overcome and put to flight these, the soul will be pure and free from stain. Whence, then, are we able to collect what are the effects of fortitude of soul? Doubtless from that which is closely connected with it, and resembles it, that is, from fortitude of the body; for when this has come to any encounter and contest, what else does it seek from victory but life? For whether you contend with a man or beast, the contest is for safety. Therefore, as the body obtains by victory its preservation from destruction, so the soul obtains a continuation of its existence; and as the body, when over come by its enemies, suffers death, so the soul, when overpowered by vices, must die. What difference, therefore, will there be between the contest carried on by the soul and that carried on by the body, except that the body seeks for temporal, but the soul eternal life? If, therefore, virtue is not happy by itself, since its whole force consists, as I have said, in the enduring of evils; if it neglects all things which are desired as goods; if in its highest condition it is exposed to death, inasmuch as it often refuses life, which is desired by others, and bravely undergoes death, which others fear; if it must necessarily produce some great good from itself, because labors, endured and overcome even until death, cannot fail of obtaining a reward; if no reward, such as it deserves, is found on earth, inasmuch as it despises all things which are frail and transitory, what else

remains but that it may effect some heavenly reward, since it treats with contempt all earthly things, and may aim at higher things, since it despises things that are humble? And this reward can be nothing else but immortality.

With good reason, therefore, did Euclid, no obscure philosopher, who was the founder of the system of the Megareans, differing from the others, say that that was the chief good which was unvarying and always the same. He certainly understood what is the nature of the chief good, although he did not explain in what it consisted; but it consists of immortality, nor anything else at all, inasmuch as it alone is incapable of diminution, or increase, or change. Seneca also unconsciously happened to confess that there is no other reward of virtue than immortality. For in praising virtue in the treatise which he wrote on the subject of premature death, he says: “Virtue is the only thing which can confer upon us immortality, and make us equal to the gods.” But the Stoics also, whom he followed, say that no one can be made happy without virtue. Therefore, the reward of virtue is a happy life, if virtue, as it is rightly said, makes a happy life. Virtue, therefore, is not, as they say, to be sought on its own account, but on account of a happy life, which necessarily follows virtue. And this argument might have taught them in what the chief good consisted. But this present and corporeal life cannot be happy, because it is subjected to evils through the body. Epicurus calls God happy and incorruptible, because He is everlasting. For a state of happiness ought to be perfect, so that there may be nothing which can harass, or lessen, or change it. Nor can anything be judged happy in other respects, unless it be incorruptible. But nothing is incorruptible but that which is immortal. Immortality therefore is alone happy, because it can neither be corrupted nor destroyed. But if virtue falls within the power of man, which no one can deny, happiness also belongs to him. For it is impossible for a man to be wretched who is endued with virtue. If happiness falls within his power, then immortality, which is possessed of the attribute of happiness, also belongs to him.

The chief good, therefore, is found to be immortality alone, which pertains to no other animal or body; nor can it happen to any one without the virtue of knowledge, that is, without the knowledge of God and justice. And how true and right is the seeking for this, the very desire of this life

shows: for although it be but temporary, and most full of labor, yet it is sought and desired by all; for both old men and boys, kings and those of the lowest station, in fine, wise as well as foolish, desire this. Of such value, as it seemed to Anaxagoras, is the contemplation of the heaven and the light itself, that men willingly undergo any miseries on this account. Since, therefore, this short and laborious life, by the general consent not only of men, but also of other animals, is considered a great good, it is manifest that it becomes also a very great and perfect good if it is without an end and free from all evil. In short, there never would have been any one who would despise this life, however short it is, or undergo death, unless through the hope of a longer life. For those who voluntarily offered themselves to death for the safety of their countrymen, as Menoeceus did at Thebes, Codrus at Athens, Curtius and the two Mures at Rome, would never have preferred death to the advantages of life, unless they had thought that they should attain to immortality through the estimation of their countrymen; and although they were ignorant of the life of immortality, yet the reality itself did not escape their notice. For if virtue despises opulence and riches because they are frail, and pleasures because they are of brief continuance, it therefore despises a life which is frail and brief, that it may obtain one which is substantial and lasting. Therefore reflection itself, advancing by regular order, and weighing everything, leads us to that excellent and surpassing good, on account of which we are born. And if philosophers had thus acted, if they had not preferred obstinately to maintain that which they had once apprehended, they would undoubtedly have arrived at this truth, as I have lately shown. And if this was not the part of those who extinguish the heavenly souls together with the body, yet those who discuss the immortality of the soul ought to have understood that virtue is set before us on this account, that, lusts having been subdued, and the desire of earthly things overcome, our souls, pure and victorious, may return to God, that is, to their original source. For it is on this account that we alone of living creatures are raised to the sight of the heaven, that we may believe that our chief good is in the highest place. Therefore we alone receive religion, that we may know from this source that the spirit of man is not mortal, since it longs for and acknowledges God, who is immortal.

Therefore, of all the philosophers, those who have embraced either knowledge or virtue as the chief good, have kept the way of truth, but have not arrived at perfection. For these are the two things which together make up that which is sought for. Knowledge causes us to know by what means and to what end we must attain; virtue causes us to attain to it. The one without the other is of no avail; for from knowledge arises virtue, and from virtue the chief good is produced. Therefore a happy life, which philosophers have always sought, and still do seek, has no existence either in the worship of the gods or in philosophy; and on this account they were unable to find it, because they did not seek the highest good in the highest place, but in the lowest. For what is the highest but heaven, and God, from whom the soul has its origin? And what is the lowest but the earth, from which the body is made? Therefore, although some philosophers have assigned the chief good, not to the body, but to the soul, yet, inasmuch as they have referred it to this life, which has its ending with the body, they have gone back to the body, to which the whole of this time which is passed on earth has reference. Therefore it was not without reason that they did not attain to the highest good; for whatever looks to the body only, and is without immortality, must necessarily be the lowest. Therefore happiness does not fall to the condition of man in that manner in which philosophers thought; but it so falls to him, not that he should then be happy, when he lives in the body, which must undoubtedly be corrupted in order to its dissolution; but then, when, the soul being freed from intercourse with the body, he lives in the spirit only. In this one thing alone can we be happy in this life, if we appear to be unhappy; if, avoiding the enticements of pleasures, and giving ourselves to the service of virtue only, we live in all labors and miseries, which are the means of exercising and strengthening virtue; if, in short, we keep to that rugged and difficult path which has been opened for us to happiness. The chief good therefore which makes men happy cannot exist, unless it be in that religion and doctrine to which is annexed the hope of immortality.

CHAPTER 13

OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, AND OF WISDOM, PHILOSOPHY, AND ELOQUENCE

The subject seems to require in this place, that since we have taught that immortality is the chief good, we should prove this also, that the soul is immortal. On which subject there is great disputation among philosophers; nor have they who held true opinions respecting the soul been able to explain or prove anything: for, being destitute of divine knowledge, they neither brought forward true arguments by which they might overcome, nor evidence by which they might convince. But we shall treat of this question more conveniently in the last book, when we shall have to discuss the subject of a happy life. There remains that third part of philosophy, which they call Logic, in which the whole subject of dialectics and the whole method of speaking are contained. Divine learning does not stand in need of this, because the seat of wisdom is not the tongue, but the heart; and it makes no difference what kind of language you employ, for the question is not about words, but facts. And we are not disputing about the grammarian or the orator, whose knowledge is concerned with the proper manner of speaking, but about the wise man, whose learning is concerned with the right manner of living. But if that system of natural philosophy before mentioned is not necessary, nor this of logic, because they are not able to render a man happy, it remains that the whole force of philosophy is contained in the ethical part alone, to which Socrates is said to have applied himself, laying aside the others. And since I have shown that philosophers erred in this part also, who did not grasp the chief good, for the sake of gaining which we are born; it appears that philosophy is altogether false and empty, since it does not prepare us for the duties of justice, nor strengthen the obligations and settled course of man’s life. Let them know, therefore, that they are in error who imagine that philosophy is wisdom; let them not be drawn away by the authority of any one; but rather let them incline to the truth, and approach it. There is no room for rashness here; we must endure the punishment of our folly to all eternity, if we shall be deceived either by an empty character or a false opinion. But man, such as he is, if he trusts in himself, that is, if he trusts in man, is (not to say foolish, in that he does not see his own error) undoubtedly

arrogant, in venturing to claim for himself that which the condition of man does not admit of.

And how much that greatest author of the Roman language is deceived, we may see from that sentiment of his; for when, in his “Books on Offices,” he had said that philosophy is nothing else than the desire of wisdom, and that wisdom itself is the knowledge of things divine and human, added: “And if any one censures the desire Of this, I do not indeed understand what there is which he imagines praiseworthy. For if enjoyment of the mind and rest from cares is sought, what enjoyment can be compared with the pursuits of those who are always inquiring into something which has reference to and tends to promote a good and happy life? Or if any account is taken of consistency and virtue, either this is the study by which we may attain them, or there is none at all. To say that there is no system in connection with the greatest subjects, when none of the least is without a system, is the part of men speaking inconsiderately, and erring in the greatest subjects. But if there is any discipline of virtue, where shall it be sought when you have departed from that kind of learning?” For my own part, although I endeavored to attain in some degree to the means of acquiring learning, on account of my desire to teach others, yet I have never been eloquent, inasmuch as I never even engaged in public speaking; but the goodness of the cause cannot fail of itself to make me eloquent, and for its clear and copious defense the knowledge of divinity and the truth itself are sufficient. I could wish, therefore, that Cicero might for a short time rise from the dead, that a man of such consummate eloquence might be taught by an insignificant person who is devoid of eloquence, first, what that is which is deemed worthy of praise by him who blames that study which is called philosophy; and in the next place, that it is not that study by which virtue and justice are learned, nor any other, as he thought; and lastly, that since there is a discipline of virtue, he might be taught where it is to be sought, when you have laid aside that kind of learning, which he did not seek for the sake of hearing and learning. For from whom could he hear when no one knew it? But, as his usual practice was in pleading causes, he wished to press his opponent by questioning, and thus to lead him to confession, as though he were confident that no answer could be given to show that philosophy was not the instructress of virtue. And in the Tusculan disputations he openly professed this, turning his

speech to philosophy, as though he was showing himself off by a declamatory style of speaking. “O philosophy, thou guide of life,” he says; “O thou investigator of virtue, and expeller of vices; what could not only we, but the life of men, have effected at all without thee? Thou hast been the inventor of laws, thou the teacher of morals and discipline;” — as though, indeed, she could perceive anything by herself, and he were not rather to be praised who gave her. In the same manner he might have given thanks to food and drink, because without these life could not exist; yet these, while they minister to sense, confer no benefit. But as these things are the nourishment of the body, so wisdom is of the soul.

CHAPTER 14

THAT LUCRETIUS AND OTHERS HAVE ERRED, AND CICERO HIMSELF, IN FIXING THE ORIGIN OF WISDOM

Lucretius, accordingly, acts more correctly in praising him who was the first discoverer of wisdom; but he acts foolishly in this, that he supposed it to be discovered by a man, — as though that man whom he praises had found it lying somewhere as flutes at the fountain, according to the legends of the poets. But if he praised the inventor of wisdom as a God, — for thus he speaks: —

“No one, I think, who is formed of mortal body. For if we must speak, as the acknowledged majesty of the subject itself demands, he was a God, he was a God, most noble Memmius,” —

yet God ought not to have been praised on this account, because He discovered wisdom, but because He created man, who might be capable of receiving wisdom. For he diminishes the praise who praises a part only of the whole. But he praised Him as a man; whereas He ought to have been esteemed as a God on this very account, because He found out wisdom. For thus he speaks: —

“Will it not be right that this man should be enrolled among the gods?”

From this it appears, either that he wished to praise Pythagoras, who was the first, as I have said, to call himself a philosopher; or Thales of Miletus, who is reported to have been the first who discussed the nature of things.

Thus, while he seeks to exalt, he has depressed the thing itself. For it is not great if it could have been discovered by man. But he may be pardoned as a poet. But that same accomplished orator, that same consummate philosopher, also censures the Greeks, whose levity he always accuses, and yet imitates. Wisdom itself, which at one time he calls the gift, at another time the invention, of the gods, he fashions after the manner of the poets, and praises on account of its beauty. He also grievously complains that there have been some who disparaged it. “Can any one,” he says, “dare to censure the parent of life, and to defile himself with this guilt of parricide, and to be so impiously ungrateful?”

Are we then parricides, Marcus Tullius, and in your judgment worthy to be sewed up in a bag, who deny that philosophy is the parent of life? Or you, who are so impiously ungrateful towards God (not this God whose image you worship as he sits in the Capitol, but Him who made the world and created man, who bestowed wisdom also among His heavenly benefits), do you call her the teacher of virtue or the parent of life, having learned from whom, one must be in much greater uncertainty than he was before? For of what virtue is she the teacher? For philosophers to the present time do not explain where she is situated. Of what life is she the parent? since the teachers themselves have been worn out by old age and death before they have determined upon the befitting course of life. Of what truth can you hold her forth as an explorer? since you often testify that, in so great a multitude of philosophers, not a single wise man has yet existed. What, then, did that mistress of life teach you? Was it to assail with reproaches the most powerful consul, and by your envenomed speeches to render him the enemy of his country? But let us pass by those things, which may be excused under the name of fortune. You applied yourself, in truth, to the study of philosophy, and so, indeed, that no one ever applied himself more diligently; since you were acquainted with all the systems of philosophy, as you yourself are accustomed to boast, and elucidated the subject itself in Latin writings, and displayed yourself as an imitator of Plato. Tell us, therefore, what you have learned, or in what sect you have discovered the truth. Doubtless it was in the Academy which you followed and approved. But this teaches nothing, excepting that you know your own ignorance. Therefore your own books refute you, and show the nothingness of the learning which may be gained from

philosophy for life. These are your words: “But to me we appear not only blind to wisdom, but dull and obtuse to those very things which may appear in some degree to be discerned.” If, therefore, philosophy is the teacher of life, why did you appear to yourself blind, and dull, and obtuse? whereas you ought, under her teaching, both to perceive and to be wise, and to be engaged in the clearest light. But how you confessed the truth of philosophy we learn from the letters addressed to your son, in which you advise him that the precepts of philosophy ought to be known, but that we must live as members of a community.

What can be spoken so contradictory? If the precepts of philosophy ought to be known, it is on this account that they ought to be known, in order to our living well and wisely. Or if we must live as members of a community, then philosophy is not wisdom, if it is better to live in accordance with society than with philosophy. For if that which is called philosophy be wisdom, he assuredly lives foolishly who does not live according to philosophy. But if he does not live foolishly who lives in accordance with society, it follows that he who lives according to philosophy lives foolishly. By your own judgment, therefore, philosophy is condemned of folly and emptiness. And you also, in your Consolation, that is, not in a work of levity and mirth, introduced this sentiment respecting philosophy: “But I know not what error possesses us, or deplorable ignorance of the truth.” Where, then, is the guidance of philosophy? or what has that parent of life taught you, if you are deplorably ignorant of the truth? But if this confession of error and ignorance has been extorted almost against your will from your innermost breast, why do you not at length acknowledge to yourself the truth, that philosophy which, though it teaches nothing, you extolled with praises to the heavens, cannot be the teacher of virtue?

CHAPTER 15

THE ERROR OF SENECA IN PHILOSOPHY, AND HOW THE SPEECH OF PHILOSOPHERS IS AT VARIANCE WITH THEIR LIFE

Under the influence of the same error (for who could keep the right course when Cicero is in error?), Seneca said: “Philosophy is nothing else than the right method of living, or the science of living honorably, or the art of passing a good life. We shall not err in saying that philosophy is the law of living well and honorably. And he who spoke of it as a rule of life, gave to it that which was its due.” He evidently did not refer to the common name of philosophy; for, since this is diffused into many sects and systems, and has nothing certain — nothing, in short, respecting which all agree with one mind and one voice, — what can be so false as that philosophy should be called the rule of life, since the diversity of its precepts hinders the right way and causes confusion? or the law of living well, when its subjects are widely discordant? or the science of passing life, in which nothing else is effected by its repeated contradictions than general uncertainty? For I ask whether he thinks that the Academy is philosophy or not? I do not think that he will deny it. And if this is so, none of these things, therefore, is in agreement with philosophy; which renders all things uncertain, abrogates law, esteems art as nothing, subverts method, distorts rule, entirely takes away knowledge. Therefore all those things are false, because they are inconsistent with a system which is always uncertain, and up to this time explaining nothing. Therefore no system, or science, or law of living well, has been established, except in this the only true and heavenly wisdom, which had been unknown to philosophers. For that earthly wisdom, since it is false, becomes varied and manifold, and altogether opposed to itself. And as there is but one founder and ruler of the world, God, and as truth is one; so wisdom must be one and simple, because, if anything is true and good, it cannot be perfect unless it is the only one of its kind. But if philosophy were able to form the life, no others but philosophers would be good, and all those who had not learned it would be always bad. But since there are, and always have been, innumerable persons who are or have been good without any learning, but of philosophers there has seldom been one who has done anything praiseworthy in his life; who is there, I

pray, who does not see that those men are not teachers of virtue, of which they themselves are destitute? For if any one should diligently inquire into their character, he will find that they are passionate, covetous, lustful, arrogant, wanton, and, concealing their vices under a show of wisdom, doing those things at home which they had censured in the schools.

Perhaps I speak falsely for the sake of bringing an accusation. Does not Tullius both acknowledge and complain of the same thing? “How few,” he says, “of philosophers are found of such a character, so constituted in soul and life, as reason demands! how few who think true instruction not a display of knowledge, but a law of life! how few who are obedient to themselves, and submit to their own decrees! We may see some of such levity and ostentation, that it would be better for them not to have learned at all; others eagerly desirous of money, others of glory; many the slaves of lusts, so that their speech wonderfully disagrees with their life.” Cornelius Nepos also writes to the same Cicero: “So far am I from thinking that philosophy is the teacher of life and the completer of happiness, that I consider that none have greater need of teachers of living than many who are engaged in the discussion of this subject. For I see that a great part of those who give most elaborate precepts in their school respect-modesty and self-restraint, live at the same time in the unrestrained desires of all lusts.” Seneca also, in his Exhortations, says: “Many of the philosophers are of this description, eloquent to their own condemnation: for if you should hear them arguing against avarice, against lust and ambition, you would think that they were making a public disclosure of their own character, so entirely do the censures which they utter in public flow back upon themselves; so that it is right to regard them in no other light than as physicians, whose advertisements contain medicines, but their medicine chests poison. Some are not ashamed of their vices; but they invent defenses for their baseness, so that they may appear even to sin with honor.” Seneca also says: “The wise man will even do things which he will not approve of, that he may find means of passing to the accomplishment of greater things; nor will he abandon good morals, but will adapt them to the occasion; and those things which others employ for glory or pleasure, he will employ for the sake of action.” Then he says shortly afterwards: “All things which the luxurious and the ignorant do, the wise man also will do, but not in the same manner, and with the same

purpose. But it makes no difference with what intention you act, when the action itself is vicious; because acts are seen, the intention is not seen.”

Aristippus, the master of the Cyrenaics, had a criminal intimacy with Lais, the celebrated courtesan; and that grave teacher of philosophy defended this fault by saying, that there was a great difference between him and the other lovers of Lais, because he himself possessed Lais, whereas others were possessed by Lais. O illustrious wisdom, to be imitated by good men! Would you, in truth, entrust your children to this man for education, that they might learn to possess a harlot? He said that there was some difference between himself and the dissolute, that they wasted their property, whereas he lived in indulgence without any cost. And in this the harlot was plainly the wiser, who had the philosopher as her creature, that all the youth, corrupted by the example and authority of the teacher, might flock together to her without any shame. What difference therefore did it make, with what intention the philosopher betook himself to that most notorious harlot, when the people and his rivals saw him more depraved than all the abandoned? Nor was it enough to live in this manner, but he began also to teach lusts; and he transferred his habits from the brothel to the school, contending that bodily pleasure was the chief good. Which pernicious and shameful doctrine has its origin not in the heart of the philosopher, but in the bosom of the harlot.

For why should I speak of the Cynics, who practiced licentiousness in public? What wonder if they derived their name and title from dogs, since they also imitated their life? Therefore there is no instruction of virtue in this sect, since even those who enjoin more honorable things either themselves do not practice what they advise; or if they do (which rarely happens), it is not the system which leads them to that which is right, but nature which often impels even the unlearned to praise.

CHAPTER 16

THAT THE PHILOSOPHERS WHO GIVE GOOD INSTRUCTIONS LIVE BADLY, BY THE TESTIMONY OF CICERO; THEREFORE WE SHOULD NOT SO MUCH DEVOTE OURSELVES TO THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY AS TO WISDOM

But when they give themselves up to perpetual sloth, and undertake no exercise of virtue, and pass their whole life in the practice of speaking, in what light ought they to be regarded rather than as triflers? For wisdom, unless it is engaged on some action on which it may exert its force, is empty and false; and Tullius rightly gives the preference, above teachers of philosophy, to those men employed in civil affairs, who govern the state, who found new cities or maintain with equity those already founded, who preserve the safety and liberty of the citizens either by good laws or wholesome counsels, or by weighty judgments. For it is right to make men good rather than to give precepts about duty to those shut up in corners, which precepts are not observed even by those who speak them; and inasmuch as they have withdrawn themselves from true actions, it is manifest that they invented the system of philosophy itself, for the purpose of exercising the tongue, or for the sake of pleading. But they who merely teach without acting, of themselves detract from the weight of their own precepts; for who would obey, when they who give the precepts themselves teach disobedience? Moreover, it is a good thing to give right and honorable precepts; but unless you also practice them it is a deceit, and it is inconsistent and trifling to have goodness not in the heart, but on the lips.

It is not therefore utility, but enjoyment, which they seek from philosophy. And this Cicero indeed testified. “Truly,” he says, “all their disputation, although it contains most abundant fountains of virtue and knowledge, yet, when compared with their actions and accomplishments, I fear lest it should seem not to have brought so much advantage to the business of men as enjoyment to their times of relaxation.” He ought not to have feared, since he spoke the truth; but as if he were afraid lest he should be arraigned by the philosophers on a charge of betraying a mystery, he did not venture confidently to pronounce that which was

true, that they do not dispute for the purpose of teaching, but for their own enjoyment in their leisure; and since they are the advisers of actions, and do not themselves act at all, they are to be regarded as mere talkers. But assuredly, because they contributed no advantage to life, they neither obeyed their own decrees, nor has any one been found, through so many ages, who lived in accordance with their laws. Therefore philosophy must altogether be laid aside, because we are not to devote ourselves to the pursuit of wisdom, for this has no limit or moderation; but we must be wise, and that indeed quickly. For a second life is not granted to us, so that when we seek wisdom in this life we may be wise in that; each result must be brought about in this life. It ought to be quickly found, in order that it may be quickly taken up, lest any part of life should pass away, the end of which is uncertain. Hortensius in Cicero, contending against philosophy, is pressed by a clever argument; inasmuch as, when he said that men ought not to philosophize, he seemed nevertheless to philosophize, since it is the part of the philosophers to discuss what ought and what ought not to be done in life. We are free and exempt from this calumny, who take away philosophy, because it is the invention of human thought; we defend wisdom, because it is a divine tradition, and we testify that it ought to be taken up by all. He, when he took away philosophy without introducing anything better, was supposed to take away wisdom; and on that account was more easily driven from his opinion, because it is agreed upon that man is not born to folly, but to wisdom.

Moreover, the argument which the same Hortensius employed has great weight also against philosophy, — namely, that it may be understood from this, that philosophy is not wisdom, since its beginning and origin are apparent. When, he says, did philosophers begin to exist? Thales, as I imagine, was the first, and his age was recent. Where, then, among the more ancient men did that love of investigating the truth lie hid? Lucretius also says: —

> “Then, too, this nature and system of things has been discovered lately, and I the very first of all have only now been found able to transfer it into native words.”

And Seneca says: “There are not yet a thousand years since the beginnings of wisdom were undertaken.” Therefore mankind for many generations lived without system. In ridicule of which, Persius says: —

“When wisdom came to the city,
Together with pepper and palms;”

as though wisdom had been introduced into the city together with savory merchandise. For if it is in agreement with the nature of man, it must have had its commencement together with man; but if it is not in agreement with it, human nature would be incapable of receiving it. But, inasmuch as it has received it, it follows that wisdom has existed from the beginning: therefore philosophy, inasmuch as it has not existed from the beginning, is not the same true wisdom. But, in truth, the Greeks, because they had not attained to the sacred letters of truth, did not know how wisdom was corrupted. And, therefore, since they thought that human life was destitute of wisdom, they invented philosophy; that is, they wished by discussion to tear up the truth which was lying hid and unknown to them: and this employment, through ignorance of the truth, they thought to be wisdom.

CHAPTER 17

HE PASSES FROM PHILOSOPHY TO THE PHILOSOPHERS, BEGINNING WITH EPICURUS; AND HOW HE REGARDED LEUCIPPUS AND DEMOCRITUS AS AUTHORS OF ERROR

I have spoken on the subject of philosophy itself as briefly as I could; now let us come to the philosophers, not that we may contend with these, who cannot maintain their ground, but that we may pursue those who are in flight and driven from our battle-field. The system of Epicurus was much more generally followed than those of the others; not because it brings forward any truth, but because the attractive name of pleasure invites many. For every one is naturally inclined to vices. Moreover, for the purpose of drawing the multitude to himself, he speaks that which is specially adapted to each character separately. He forbids the idle to apply himself to learning; he releases the covetous man from giving largesses to the people; he prohibits the inactive man from undertaking the

business of the state, the sluggish from bodily exercise, the timid from military service. The irreligious is told that the gods pay no attention to the conduct of men; the man who is unfeeling and selfish is ordered to give nothing to any one, for that the wise man does everything on his own account. To a man who avoids the crowd, solitude is praised. One who is too sparing, learns that life can be sustained on water and meal. If a man hates his wife, the blessings of celibacy are enumerated to him; to one who has bad children, the happiness of those who are without children is proclaimed; against unnatural parents it is said that there is no bond of nature. To the man who is delicate and incapable of endurance, it is said that pain is the greatest of all evils; to the man of fortitude, it is said that the wise man is happy even under tortures. The man who devotes himself to the pursuit of influence and distinction is enjoined to pay court to kings; he who cannot endure annoyance is enjoined to shun the abode of kings. Thus the crafty man collects an assembly from various and differing characters; and while he lays himself out to please all, he is more at variance with himself than they all are with one another. But we must explain from what source the whole of this system is derived, and what origin it has.

Epicurus saw that the good are always subject to adversities, poverty, labors, exile, loss of dear friends. On the contrary, he saw that the wicked were happy; that they were exalted with influence, and loaded with honors; he saw that innocence was unprotected, that crimes were committed with impunity: he saw that death raged without any regard to character, without any arrangement or discrimination of age; but that some arrived at old age, while others were carried off in their infancy; that some died when they were now robust and vigorous, that others were cut off by an untimely death in the first flower of youth; that in wars the better men were especially overcome and slain. But that which especially moved him, was the fact that religious men were especially visited with weightier evils, whereas he saw that less evils or none at all fell upon those who altogether neglected the gods, or worshipped them in an impious manner; and that even the very temples themselves were often set on fire by lightning. And of this Lucretius complains, when he says respecting the God: —

> “Then he may hurl lightnings, and often throw down his temples, and withdrawing into the deserts, there spend his rage in practicing

> his bolt, which often passes the guilty by, and strikes dead the innocent and unoffending.”

But if he had been able to collect even a small particle of truth, he would never say that the God throws down his own temples, when he throws them down on this account, because they are not his. The Capitol, which is the chief seat of the Roman city and religion, was struck with lightning and set on fire not once only, but frequently. But what was the opinion of clever men respecting this is evident from the saying of Cicero, who says that the flame came from heaven, not to destroy that earthly dwelling-place of Jupiter, but to demand a loftier and more magnificent abode. Concerning which transaction, in the books respecting his consulship, he speaks to the same purport as Lucretius: —

> “For the father thundering on high, throned in the lofty Olympus, himself assailed his own citadels and famed temples, and cast fires upon his abode in the Capitol.

In the obstinacy of their folly, therefore, they not only did not understand the power and majesty of the true God, but they even increased the impiety of their error, in endeavoring against all divine law to restore a temple so often condemned by the judgment of Heaven.

Therefore, when Epicurus reflected on these things, induced as it were by the injustice of these matters (for thus it appeared to him in his ignorance of the cause and subject), he thought that there was no providence. And having persuaded himself of this, he undertook also to defend it, and thus he entangled himself in inextricable errors. For if there is no providence, how is it that the world was made with such order and arrangement? He says: There is no arrangement, for many things are made in a different manner from that in which they ought to have been made. And the divine man found subjects of censure. Now, if I had leisure to refute these things separately, I could easily show that this man was neither wise nor of sound mind. Also, if there is no providence, how is it that the bodies of animals are arranged with such foresight, that the various members, being disposed in a wonderful manner, discharge their own offices individually? The system of providence, he says, contrived nothing in the production of animals; for neither were the eyes made for seeing, nor the ears for hearing, nor the tongue for speaking, nor the feet for walking; inasmuch as these

were produced before it was possible to speak, to hear, to see, and to walk. Therefore these were not produced for use; but use was produced from them. If there is no providence, why do rains fall, fruits spring up, and trees put forth leaves? These things, he says, are not always done for the sake of living creatures, inasmuch as they are of no benefit to providence; but all things must be produced of their own accord. From what source, therefore, do they arise, or how are all things which are carried on brought about? There is no need he says, of supposing a providence; for there are seeds floating through the empty void, and from these, collected together without order, all things are produced and take their form. Why, then, do we not perceive or distinguish them? Because, he says, they have neither any color, nor warmth, nor smell; they are also without flavor and moisture; and they are so minute, that they cannot be cut and divided.

Thus, because he had taken up a false principle at the commencement, the necessity of the subjects which followed led him to absurdities. For where or from whence are these atoms? Why did no one dream of them besides Leucippus only? from whom Democritus, having received instructions, left to Epicurus the inheritance of his folly. And if these are minute bodies, and indeed solid, as they say, they certainly are able to fall under the notice of the eyes. If the nature of all things is the same, how is it that they compose various objects? They meet together, he says, in varied order and position as the letters which, though few in number, by variety of arrangement make up innumerable words. But it is urged the letters have a variety of forms. And so, he says, have these first principles; for they are rough, they are furnished with hooks, they are smooth. Therefore they can be cut and divided, if there is in them any part which projects. Bat if they are smooth and without hooks, they cannot cohere. They ought therefore to he hooked, that they may be linked together one with another. But since they are said to be so minute that they cannot be cut asunder by the edge of any weapon, how is it that they have hooks or angles? For it must be possible for these to be torn asunder, since they project. In the next place, by what mutual compact, by what discernment, do they meet together, so that anything may be constructed out of them? If they are without intelligence, they cannot come together in such order and arrangement; for nothing but reason can bring to accomplishment anything

in accordance with reason. With how many arguments can this trifling be refuted! But I must proceed with my subject. This is he

“Who surpassed in intellect the race of man, and quenched the light of all, as the ethereal sun arisen quenches the stars.”

Which verses I am never able to read without laughter. For this was not said respecting Socrates or Plato, who are esteemed as kings of philosophers, but concerning a man who, though of sound mind and vigorous health, raved more senselessly than any one diseased. And thus the most vain poet, I do not say adorned, but overwhelmed and crushed, the mouse with the praises of the lion. But the same man also releases us from the fear of death, respecting which these are his own exact words: —

“When we are in existence, death does not exist; when death exists, we have no existence: therefore death is nothing to us.”

How cleverly he has deceived us! As though it were death now completed which is an object of fear, by which sensation has been already taken away, and not the very act of dying, by which sensation is being taken from us. For there is a time in which we ourselves even yet exist, and death does not yet exist; and that very time appears to be miserable, because death is beginning to exist, and we are ceasing to exist.

Nor is it said without reason that death is not miserable. The approach of death is miserable; that is, to waste away by disease, to endure the thrust, to receive the weapon in the body, to be burnt with fire, to be torn by the teeth of beasts. These are the things which are feared, not because they bring death, but because they bring great pain. But rather make out that pain is not an evil. He says it is the greatest of all evils. How therefore can I fail to fear, if that which precedes or brings about death is an evil? Why should I say that the argument is false, inasmuch as souls do not perish? But, he says, souls do perish; for that which is born with the body must perish with the body. I have already stated that I prefer to put off the discussion of this subject, and to reserve it for the last part of my work, that I may refute this persuasion of Epicurus, whether it was that of Democritus or Dicaearchus, both by arguments and divine testimonies. But perhaps he promised himself impunity in the indulgence of his vices; for he was an advocate of most disgraceful pleasure, and said that man was born for its enjoyment. Who, when he hears this affirmed, would abstain

from the practice of vice and wickedness? For; if the soul is doomed to perish, let us eagerly pursue riches, that we may be able to enjoy all kinds of indulgence; and if these are wanting to us, let us take them away from those who have them by stealth, by stratagem, or by force, especially if there is no God who regards the actions of men: as long as the hope of impunity shall favor us, let us plunder and put to death. For it is the part of the wise man to do evil, if it is advantageous to him, and safe; since, if there is a God in heaven, He is not angry with any one. It is also equally the part of the foolish man to do good; because, as he is not excited with anger, so he is not influenced by favor. Therefore let us live in the indulgence of pleasures in every possible way; for in a short time we shall not exist at all. Therefore let us suffer no day, in short, no moment of time, to pass away from us without pleasure; lest, since we ourselves are doomed to perish, the life which we have already spent should itself also perish.

Although he does not say this in word, yet he teaches it in fact. For when he maintains that the wise man does everything for his own sake, he refers all things which he does to his own advantage. And thus he who hears these disgraceful things, will neither think that any good tiring ought to be done, since the conferring of benefits has reference to the advantage of another; nor that he ought to abstain from guilt, because the doing of evil is attended with gain. If any chieftain of pirates or leader of robbers were exhorting his men to acts of violence, what other language could he employ than to say the same things which Epicurus says: that the gods take no notice; that they are not affected with anger nor kind feeling; that the punishment of a future state is not to be dreaded, because souls die after death, and that there is no future state of punishment at all; that pleasure is the greatest good; that there is no society among men; that every one consults for his own interest; that there is no one who loves another, unless it be for his own sake; that death is not to be feared by a brave man, nor any pain; for that he, even if he should be tortured or burnt, should say that he does not regard it. There is evidently sufficient cause why any one should regard this as the expression of a wise man, since it can most fittingly be applied to robbers!

CHAPTER 18

THE PYTHAGOREANS AND STOICS, WHILE THEY HOLD THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, FOOLISHLY PERSUADE A VOLUNTARY DEATH

Others, again, discuss things contrary to these, namely, that the soul survives after death; and these are chiefly the Pythagoreans and Stoics. And although they are to be treated with indulgence because they perceive the truth, yet I cannot but blame them, because they fell upon the truth not by their opinion, but by accident. And thus they erred in some degree even in that very matter which they rightly perceived. For, since they feared the argument by which it is inferred that the soul must necessarily die with the body, because it is born with the body, they asserted that the soul is not born with the body, but rather introduced into it, and that it migrates from one body to another. They did not consider that it was possible for the soul to survive the body, unless it should appear to have existed previously to the body. There is therefore an equal and almost similar error on each side. But the one side are deceived with respect to the past, the other with respect to the future. For no one saw that which is most true, that the soul is both created and does not die, because they were ignorant why that came to pass, or what was the nature of man. Many therefore of them, because they suspected that the soul is immortal, laid violent hands upon themselves, as though they were about to depart to heaven. Thus it was with Cleanthes and Chrysippus, with Zeno, and Empedocles, who in the dead of night cast himself into a cavity of the burning Aetna, that when he had suddenly disappeared it might be believed that he had departed to the gods; and thus also of the Romans Cato died, who through the whole of his life was an imitator of Socratic ostentation. For Democritus, was of another persuasion. But, however,

"By his own spontaneous act he offered up his head to death;"

and nothing can be more wicked than this. For if a homicide is guilty because he is a destroyer of man, he who puts himself to death is under the same guilt, because he puts to death a man. Yea, that crime may be considered to be greater, the punishment of which belongs to God alone. For as we did not come into this life of our own accord; so, on the other

hand, we can only withdraw from this habitation of the body which has been appointed for us to keep, by the command of Him who placed us in this body that we may inhabit it, until He orders us to depart from it; and if any violence is offered to us, we must endure it with equanimity, since the death of an innocent person cannot be unavenged, and since we have a great Judge who alone always has the power of taking vengeance in His hands.

All these philosophers, therefore, were homicides; and Cato himself, the chief of Roman wisdom, who, before he put himself to death, is said to have read through the treatise of Plato which he wrote on the immortality of the soul, and was led by the authority of the philosopher to the commission of this great crime; yet he, however, appears to have had some cause for death in his hatred of slavery. Why should I speak of the Ambraciot, who, having read the same treatise, threw himself into the sea, for no other cause than that he believed Plato? — a doctrine altogether detestable and to be avoided, if it drives men from life. But if Plato had known and taught by whom, and how, and to whom and on account of what actions, and at what time, immortality is given, he would neither have driven Cleombrotus nor Cato to a voluntary death, but he would have trained them to live with justice. For it appears to me that Cato sought a cause for death, not so much that he might escape from Caesar, as that he might obey the decrees of the Stoics, whom he followed, and might make his name distinguished by some great action; and I do not see what evil could have happened to him if he had lived. For Caius Caesar, such was his clemency, had no other object, even in the very heat of civil war, than to appear to deserve well of the state, by preserving two excellent citizens, Cicero and Cato. But let us return to those who praise death as a benefit. You complain of life as though you had lived, or had ever settled with yourself why you were born at all. May not therefore the true and common Father of all justly find fault with that saying of Terence: —

“First, learn in what life consists; then, if you shall be dissatisfied with life, have recourse to death.”

You are indignant that you are exposed to evils; as though you deserved anything good, who are ignorant of your Father. Lord, and King; who, although you behold with your eyes the bright light, are nevertheless blind in mind, and lie in the depths of the darkness of ignorance. And this

ignorance has caused that some have not been ashamed to say, that we are born for this cause, that we may suffer the punishment of our crimes; but I do not see what can be more senseless than this. For where or what crimes could we have committed when we did not even exist? Unless we shall happen to believe that foolish old man, who falsely said that he had lived before, and that in his former life he had been Euphorbus. He, I believe, because he was born of an ignoble race, chose for himself a family from the poems of Homer. O wonderful and remarkable memory of Pythagoras! O miserable forgetfulness on the part of us all, since we know not who we were in our former life! But perhaps it was caused by some error, or favor, that he alone did not touch the abyss of Lethe, or taste the water of oblivion; doubtless the trifling old man (as is wont to be the case with old women who are free from occupation) invented fables as it were for credulous infants. But if he had thought well of those to whom he spoke these things; if he had considered them to be men, he would never have claimed to himself the liberty of uttering such perverse falsehoods. But the folly of this most trifling man is deserving of ridicule. What shall we do in the case of Cicero, who, having said in the beginning of his Consolation that men were born for the sake of atoning for their crimes, afterwards repeated the assertion, as though rebuking him who does not imagine that life is a punishment? He was right, therefore, in saying beforehand that he was held by error and wretched ignorance of the truth.

CHAPTER 19

CICERO AND OTHERS OF THE WISEST MEN TEACH THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, BUT IN AN UNBELIEVING MANNER; AND THAT A GOOD OR AN EVIL DEATH MUST BE WEIGHED FROM THE PREVIOUS LIFE

But those who assert the advantage of death, because they know nothing of the truth, thus reason: If there is nothing after death, death is not an evil; for it takes away the perception of evil. But if the soul survives, death is even an advantage; because immortality follows. And this sentiment is thus set forth by Cicero concerning the Laws: “We may congratulate ourselves, since death is about to bring either a better state

than that which exists in life, or at any rate not a worse. For if the soul is in a state of vigor without the body, it is a divine life; and if it is without perception, assuredly there is no evil." Cleverly argued, as it appeared to himself, as though there could be no other state. But each conclusion is false. For the sacred writings teach that the soul is not annihilated; but that it is either rewarded according to its righteousness, or eternally punished according to its crimes. For neither is it right, that he who has lived a life of wickedness in prosperity should escape the punishment which he deserves; nor that he who has been wretched on account of his righteousness, should be deprived of his reward. And this is so true, that Tully also, in his Consolation, declared that the righteous and the wicked do not inhabit the same abodes. For those same wise men, he says, did not judge that the same course was open for all into the heaven; for they taught that those who were contaminated by vices and crimes were thrust down into darkness, and lay in the mire; but that, on the other hand, souls that were chaste, pure, upright, and uncontaminated, being also refined by the study and practice of virtue, by a light and easy course take their flight to the gods, that is, to a nature resembling their own. But this sentiment is posed to the former argument. For that is based on the assumption that every man at his birth is presented with immortality. What distinction, therefore, will there be between virtue and guilt, if it makes no difference whether a man be Aristides or Phalaris, whether he be Cato or Catiline? But a man does not perceive this opposition between sentiments and actions, unless he is in possession of the truth. If any one, therefore, should ask me whether death is a good or an evil, I shall reply that its character depends upon the course of the life. For as life itself is a good if it is passed virtuously, but an evil if it is spent viciously, so also death is to be weighed in accordance with the past actions of life. And so it comes to pass, that if life has been passed in the service of God, death is not an evil, for it is a translation to immortality. But if not so, death must necessarily be an evil, since it transfers men, as I have said, to everlasting punishment. What, then, shall we say, but that they are in error who either desire death as a good, or flee from life as an evil? unless they are most unjust, who do not weigh the fewer evils against the greater number of blessings. For when they pass all their lives in a variety of the choicest gratifications, if any bitterness has chanced to succeed to these, they desire to die; and they so regard it as to appear never to have fared well, if at any

time they happen to fare ill. Therefore they condemn the whole of life, and consider it as nothing else than filled with evils. Hence arose that foolish sentiment, that this state which we imagine to be life is death, and that that which we fear as death is life; and so that the first good is not to be born, that the second is an early death. And that this sentiment may be of greater weight, it is attributed to Silenus. Cicero in his Consolation says: “Not to be born is by far the best thing, and not to fall upon these rocks of life. But the next thing is, if you have been born, to die as soon as possible, and to flee from the violence of fortune as from a conflagration.” That he believed this most foolish expression appears from this, that he added something of his own for its embellishment. I ask, therefore, for whom he thinks it best not to be born, when there is no one at all who has any perception; for it is the perception which causes anything to be good or bad. In the next place, why did he regard the whole of life as nothing else than rocks, and a conflagration; as though it were either in our power not to be born, or life were given to us by fortune, and not by God, or as though the course of life appeared to bear any resemblance to a conflagration? The saying of Plato is not dissimilar, that he gave thanks to nature, first that he was born a human being rather than a dumb animal; in the next place, that he was a man rather than a woman; that he was a Greek rather than a barbarian; lastly, that he was an Athenian, and that he was born in the time of Socrates. It is impossible to say what great blindness and errors are produced by ignorance of the truth would altogether contend that nothing in the affairs of men was ever spoken more foolishly. As though, if he had been born a barbarian, or a woman, or, in fine, an ass, he would be the same Plato, and not that very being which had been produced. But he evidently believed Pythagoras, who, in order that he might prevent men from feeding on animals, said that souls passed from the bodies of men to the bodies of other animals; which is both foolish and impossible. It is foolish, because it was unnecessary to introduce souls that have long existed into new bodies, when the same Artificer who at one time had made the first, was always able to make fresh ones; it is impossible, because the soul endued with right reason can no more change the nature of its condition, than fire can rush downwards, or, like a river, pour its flame obliquely. The wise man therefore imagined, that it might come to pass that the soul which was then in Plato might be shut up in some other animal, and might be endued with the sensibility of a man, so

as to understand and grieve that it was burthened with an incongruous body. How much more rationally would he have acted, if he had said that he gave thanks because he was born with a good capacity, and capable of receiving instruction, and that he was possessed of those resources which enabled him to receive a liberal education! For what benefit was it that he was born at Athens? Have not many men of distinguished talent and learning lived in other cities, who were better individually than all the Athenians? How many thousands must we believe that there were, who, though born at Athens, and in the times of Socrates, were nevertheless unlearned and foolish? For it is not the walls or the place in which any one was born that can invest a man with wisdom. Of what avail was it to congratulate himself that he was born in the times of Socrates? Was Socrates able to supply talent to learners? It did not occur to Plato that Alcibiades also, and Critias, were constant hearers of the same Socrates, the one of whom was the most active enemy of his country, the other the most cruel of all tyrants.

CHAPTER 20

SOCRATES HAD MORE KNOWLEDGE IN PHILOSOPHY THAN OTHER MEN, ALTHOUGH IN MANY THINGS HE ACTED FOOLISHLY

Let us now see what there was so great in Socrates himself, that a wise man deservedly gave thanks that he was born in his times. I do not deny that he was a little more sagacious than the others who thought that the nature of things could be comprehended by the mind. And in this I judge that they were not only senseless, but also impious; because they wished to send their inquisitive eyes into the secrets of that heavenly providence. We know that there are at Rome, and in many cities, certain sacred things which it is considered impious for men to look upon. Therefore they who are not permitted to pollute those objects abstain from looking upon them; and if by error or some accident a man has happened to see them, his guilt is expiated first by his punishment, and afterwards by a repetition of sacrifice. What can you do in the case of those who wish to pry into unpermitted things? Truly they are much more wicked who seek to

profane the secrets of the world and this heavenly temple with impious disputations, than those who entered the temple of Vesta, or the Good Goddess, or Ceres. And these shrines, though it is not lawful for men to approach them, were yet constructed by men. But these men not only escape the charge of impiety, but, that which is much more unbecoming, they gain the fame of eloquence and the glory of talent. What if they were able to investigate anything? For they are as foolish in asserting as they are wicked in searching out; since they are neither able to find out anything, nor, even if they had found out anything, to defend it. For if even by chance they have seen the truth — a thing which often happens — they so act that it is refuted by others as false. For no one descends from heaven to pass sentence on the opinions of individuals; wherefore no one can doubt that those who seek after these things are foolish, senseless, and insane.

Socrates therefore had something of human wisdom, who, when he understood that these things could not possibly be ascertained, removed himself from questions of this kind; but I fear that he so acted in this alone. For many of his actions are not only undeserving of praise, but also most deserving of censure, in which things he most resembled those of his own class. Out of these I will select one which may be judged of by all. Socrates used this well-known proverb: “That which is above us is nothing to us.” Let us therefore fall down upon the earth, and use as feet those hands which have been given us for the production of excellent works. The heaven is nothing to us, to the contemplation of which we have been raised; in fine, the light itself can have no reference to us; undoubtedly the cause of our sustenance is from heaven. But if he perceived this, that we ought not to discuss the nature of heavenly things, he was unable even to comprehend the nature of those things which he had beneath his feet. What then? did he err in his words? It is not probable; but he undoubtedly meant that which he said, that we are not to devote ourselves to religion; but if he were openly to say this, no one would suffer it.

For who cannot perceive that this world, completed with such wonderful method, is governed by some providence, since there is nothing which can exist without some one to direct it? Thus, a house deserted by its inhabitant fails to decay; a ship without a pilot goes to the bottom; and a

body abandoned by the soul wastes away. Much less can we suppose that so great a fabric could either have been constructed without an Artificer, or have existed so long without a Ruler. But if he wished to overthrow those public superstitions, I do not disapprove of this; yea, I shall rather praise it, if he shall have found anything better to take their place. But the same man swore by a dog and a goose. Oh buffoon (as Zeno the Epicurean says), senseless, abandoned, desperate man, if he wished to scoff at religion; madman, if he did this seriously, so as to esteem a most base animal as God! For who can dare to find fault with the superstitions oft the Egyptians, when Socrates confirmed them at Athens by his authority? But was it not a mark of consummate vanity, that before his death he asked his friends to sacrifice for him a cock which he had vowed to Aesculapius? He evidently feared lest he should be put upon his trial before Rhadamanthus, the judge, by Aesculapius on account of the vow. I should consider him most mad if he had died under the influence of disease. But since he did this in his sound mind, he who thinks that he was wise is himself of unsound mind. Behold one in whose times the wise man congratulates himself as having been born!

CHAPTER 21

OF THE SYSTEM OF PLATO, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE OVERTHROW OF STATES

Let us, however, see what it was that he learned from Socrates, who, having entirely rejected natural philosophy, betook himself to inquiries about virtue and duty. And thus I do not doubt that he instructed his hearers in the precepts of justice. Therefore, under the teaching of Socrates, it did not escape the notice of Plato, that the force of justice consists in equality, since all are born in an equal condition. Therefore (he says) they must have nothing private or their own; but that they may be equal, as the method of justice requires, they must possess all things in common. This is capable of being endured, as long as it appears to be spoken of money. But how impossible and how unjust this is, I could show by many things. Let us, however, admit its possibility. For grant that nil are wise, and despise money. To what, then, did that community

lead him? Marriages also, be says, ought to be in common; so that many men may flock together like dogs to the same woman, and he who shall be superior in strength may succeed in obtaining her; or if they are patient as philosophers, they may await their turns, as in a brothel. Oh the wonderful equality of Plato! Where, then, is the virtue of chastity? where conjugal fidelity?

And if you take away these, all justice is taken away. But he also says that states would be prosperous, if either philosophers were their kings, or their kings were philosophers. But if you were to give the sovereignty to this man of such justice and equity, who had deprived some of their own property, and given to some the property of others, he would prostitute the modesty of women; a thing which was never done, I do not say by a king, but not even by a tyrant.

But what motive did he advance for this most degrading advice? The state will be in harmony, and bound together with the bonds of mutual love, if all shall be the husbands, and fathers, and wives, and children of all. What a confusion of the human race is this? How is it possible for affection to be preserved where there is nothing certain to be loved? What man will love a woman, or what woman a man, unless they shall always have lived together, — unless devotedness of mind, and faith mutually preserved, shall have made their love indivisible? But this virtue has no place in that promiscuous pleasure. Moreover, if all are the children of all, who will be able to love children as his own, when he is either ignorant or in doubt whether they are his own? Who will bestow honor upon any one as a father, when he does not know from whom he was born? From which it comes to pass, that he not only esteems a stranger as a father, but also a father as a stranger. Why should I say that it is possible for a wife to be common, but impossible for a son, who cannot be conceived except from one? The community, therefore, is lost to him alone, nature herself crying out against it. It remains that it is only for the sake of concord that he would have a community of wives. But there is no more vehement cause of discords, than the desire of one woman by many men. And in this Plato might have been admonished, if not by reason, yet certainly by example, both of the dumb animals, which fight most vehemently on this account, and of men, who have always carried on most severe wars with one another on account of this matter.

CHAPTER 22

OF THE PRECEPTS OF PLATO, AND CENSURES OF THE SAME

It remains that the community of which we have spoken admits of nothing else but adulteries and lusts, for the utter extinction of which virtue is especially necessary. Therefore he did not find the concord which he sought, because he did not see whence it arises. For justice has no weight in outward circumstances, not even in the body, but it is altogether employed on the mind of man. He, therefore, who wishes to place men on an equality, ought not to take away marriage and wealth, but arrogance, pride, and haughtiness, that those who are powerful and lifted up on high may know that they are on a level even with the most needy. For insolence and injustice being taken from the rich, it will make no difference whether some are rich and others poor, since they will be equal in spirit, and nothing but reverence towards God can produce this result. He thought, therefore, that he had found justice, whereas he had altogether removed it, because it ought not to be a community of perishable things, but of minds. For if justice is the mother of all virtues, when they are severally taken away, it is also itself overthrown. But Plato took away above all things frugality, which has no existence when there is no property of one's own which can be possessed; he took away abstinence, since there will be nothing belonging to another from which one can abstain; he took away temperance and chastity, which are the greatest virtues in each sex; he took away self-respect, shame, and modesty, if those things which are accustomed to be judged base and disgraceful begin to be accounted honorable and lawful. Thus, while he wishes to confer virtue upon all, he takes it away from all. For the ownership of property contains the material both of vices and of virtues, but a community of goods contains nothing else than the licentiousness of vices. For men who have many mistresses can be called nothing else than luxurious and prodigal. And likewise women who are in the possession of many men, must of necessity be not adulteresses, because they have no fixed marriage, but prostitutes and harlots. Therefore he reduced human life, I do not say to the likeness of dumb animals, but of the herds and brutes. For almost all the birds contract marriages, and are united in pairs, and defend their nests, as though their marriage-beds, with harmonious mind, and cherish their

own young, because they are well known to them; and if you put others in their way, they repel them. But this wise man, contrary to the custom of men, and contrary to nature, chose more foolish objects of imitation; and since he saw that the duties of males and females were not separated in the case of other animals, he thought that women also ought to engage in warfare, and take a share in the public counsels, and undertake magistracies, and assume commands. And therefore he assigned to them horses and arms: it follows that he should have assigned to men wool and the loom, and the carrying of infants. Nor did he see the impossibility of what he said, from the fact that no nation has existed in the world so foolish or so vain as to live in this manner.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE ERRORS OF CERTAIN PHILOSOPHERS, AND OF THE SUN AND MOON

Since, therefore, the leading men among the philosophers are themselves discovered to be of such emptiness, what shall we think of those lesser ones, who are accustomed never to appear to themselves so wise, as when they boast of their contempt of money? Brave spirit! But I wait to see their conduct, and what are the results of that contempt. They avoid as an evil, and abandon the property handed down to them from their parents. And lest they should suffer shipwreck in a storm, they plunge headlong of their own accord in a cairn, being resolute not by virtue, but by perverse fear; as those who, through fear of being slain by the enemy, slay themselves, that by death they may avoid death. So these men, without honor and without influence, throw away the means by which they might have acquired the glory of liberality. Democritus is praised because he abandoned his fields, and suffered them to become public pastures. I should approve of it, if he had given them. But nothing is done wisely which is useless and evil if it is done by all. But this negligence is tolerable. What shall I say of him who changed his possessions into money, which he threw into the sea? I doubt whether he was in his senses, or deranged. Away, he says, ye evil desires, into the deep. I will cast you away, lest I myself should be cast away by you. If you have so great a contempt for

money, employ it in acts of kindness and humanity, bestow it upon the poor; this, which you are about to throw away, may be a succor to many, so that they may not die through famine, or thirst, or nakedness. Imitate at least the madness and fury of Tuditanus; scatter abroad your property to be seized by the people. You have it in your power both to escape the possession of money, and yet to lay it out to advantage; for whatever has been profitable to many is securely laid out.

But who approves of the equality of faults as laid down by Zeno? But let us omit that which is always received with derision by all. This is sufficient to prove the error of this madman, that he places pity among vices and diseases. He deprives us of an affection, which involves almost the whole course of human life. For since the nature of man is more feeble than that of the other animals, which divine providence has armed with natural means of protection, either to endure the severity of the seasons or to ward off attacks from their bodies, because none of these things has been given to man, he has received in the place of all these things the affection of pity, which is truly called humanity, by which we might mutually protect each other. For if a man were rendered savage by the sight of another man, which we see happen in the case of those animals which are of a solitary nature, there would be no society among men, no care or system in the building of cities; and thus life would not even be safe, since the weakness of men would both be exposed to the attacks of the other animals, and they would rage among themselves after the manner of wild beasts. Nor is his madness less in other things.

For what can be said respecting him who asserted that snow was black? How naturally it followed, that he should also assert that pitch was white! This is he who said that he was born for this purpose, that he might behold the heaven and the sun, who beheld nothing on the earth when the sun was shining. Xenophanes most foolishly believed mathematicians who said that the orb of the moon was eighteen times larger than the earth; and, as was consistent with this folly, he said that within the concave surface of the moon there was another earth, and that there another race of men live in a similar manner to that in which we live on this earth. Therefore these lunatics have another moon, to hold forth to them a light by night, as this does to us. And perhaps this globe of ours may be a moon to another earth below this. Seneca says that there was one among the Stoics who

used to deliberate whether he should assign to the sun also its own inhabitants; he acted foolishly in doubting. For what injury would he have inflicted if he had assigned them? But I believe the heat deterred him, so as not to imperil so great a multitude; lest, if they should perish through excessive heat, so great a calamity should be said to have happened by his fault.

CHAPTER 24

OF THE ANTIPODES, THE HEAVEN, AND THE STARS

How is it with those who imagine that there are antipodes opposite to our footsteps? Do they say anything to the purpose? Or is there any one so senseless as to believe that there are men whose footsteps are higher than their heads? or that the things which with us are in a recumbent position, with them hang in an inverted direction? that the crops and trees grow downwards? that the rains, and snow, and hail fall upwards to the earth? And does any one wonder that hanging gardens are mentioned among the seven wonders of the world, when philosophers make hanging fields, and seas, and cities, and mountains? The origin of this error must also be set forth by us. For they are always deceived in the same manner. For when they have assumed anything false in the commencement of their investigations, led by the resemblance of the truth, they necessarily fall into those things which are its consequences. Thus they fall into many ridiculous things; because those things which are in agreement with false things, must themselves be false. But since they placed confidence in the first, they do not consider the character of those things which follow, but defend them in every way; whereas they ought to judge from those which follow, whether the first are true or false.

What course of argument, therefore, led them to the idea of the antipodes? They saw the courses of the stars traveling towards the west; they saw that the sun and the moon always set towards the same quarter, and rise from the same. But since they did not perceive what contrivance regulated their courses, nor how they returned from the west to the east, but supposed that the heaven itself sloped downwards in every direction, which appearance it must present on account of its immense breadth, they

thought that the world is round like a ball, and they fancied that the heaven revolves in accordance with the motion of the heavenly bodies; and thus that the stars and sun, when they have set, by the very rapidity of the motion of the world are born back to the east. Therefore they both constructed brazen orbs, as though after the figure of the world, and engraved upon them certain monstrous images, which they said were constellations. It followed, therefore, from this rotundity of the heaven, that the earth was enclosed in the midst of its curved surface. But if this were so, the earth also itself must be like a globe; for that could not possibly be anything but round, which was held enclosed by that which was round. But if the earth also were round, it must necessarily happen that it should present the same appearance to all parts of the heaven; that is. that it should raise aloft mountains, extend plains, and have level seas. And if this were so, that last consequence also followed, that there would be no part of the earth uninhabited by men and the other animals. Thus the rotundity of the earth leads, in addition, to the invention of those suspended antipodes. But if you inquire from those who defend these marvelous fictions, why all things do not fall into that lower part of the heaven, they reply that such is the nature of things, that heavy bodies are born to the middle, and that they are all joined together towards the middle, as we see spokes in a wheel; but that the bodies which are light, as mist, smoke, and fire, are born away from the middle, so as to seek the heaven. I am at a loss what to say respecting those who, when they have once erred, consistently persevere in their folly, and defend one vain thing by another; but that I sometimes imagine that they either discuss philosophy for the sake of a jest, or purposely and knowingly undertake to defend falsehoods, as if to exercise or display their talents on false subjects. But I should be able to prove by many arguments that it is impossible for the heaven to be lower than the earth, were is not that this book must now be concluded, and that some things still remain, which are more necessary for the present work. And since it is not the work of a single book to run over the errors of each individually, let it be sufficient to have enumerated a few, from which the nature of the others may be understood.

CHAPTER 25

OF LEARNING PHILOSOPHY, AND WHAT GREAT QUALIFICATIONS ARE NECESSARY FOR ITS PURSUIT

We must now speak a few things concerning philosophy in general, that having strengthened our cause we may conclude. That greatest imitator of Plato among our writers thought that philosophy was not for the multitude, because none but learned men could attain to it. “Philosophy,” says Cicero, “is contented with a few judges, of its own accord designedly avoiding the multitude.” It is not therefore wisdom, if it avoids the concourse of men; since, if wisdom is given to man, it is given to all without any distinction, so that there is no one at all who cannot acquire it. But they so embrace virtue, which is given to the human race, that they alone of all appear to wish to enjoy that which is a public good; being as envious as if they should wish to bind or tear out the eyes of others that they may not see the sun. For what else is it to deny wisdom to men, than to take away from their minds the true and divine light? But if the nature of man is capable of wisdom, it was befitting that both workmen, and country people, and women, and all, in short, who bear the human form, should be taught to he wise; and that the people should be brought together from every language, and condition, and sex, and age. Therefore it is a very strong argument that philosophy neither tends to wisdom, nor is of itself wisdom, that its mystery is only made known by the beard and cloak of the philosophers. The Stoics, moreover, perceived this, who said that philosophy was to be studied both by slaves and women; Epicurus also, who invites those who are altogether unacquainted with letters to philosophy; and Plato also, who wished to compose a state of wise men.

They attempted, indeed, to do that which truth required; but they were unable to proceed beyond words. First, because instruction in many arts is necessary for an application to philosophy. Common learning must be acquired on account of practice in reading, because in so great a variety of subjects it is impossible that all things should be learned by hearing, or retained in the memory. No little attention also must be given to the grammarians, in order that you may know the right method of speaking. That must occupy many years. Nor must there be ignorance of rhetoric,

that you may be able to utter and express the things which you have learned. Geometry also, and music, and astronomy, are necessary, because these arts have some connection with philosophy; and the whole of these subjects cannot be learned by women, who must learn within the years of their maturity the duties which are hereafter about to be of service to them for domestic uses; nor by servants, who must live in service during those years especially in which they are able to learn; nor by the poor, or laborers, or rustics, who have to gain their daily support by labor. And on this account Tully says that philosophy is averse from the multitude. But yet Epicurus will receive the ignorant. How, then, will they understand those things which are said respecting the first principles of things, the perplexities and intricacies of which are scarcely attained to by men of cultivated minds?

Therefore, in subjects which are involved in obscurity, and confused by a variety of intellects, and set off by the studied language of eloquent men, what place is there for the unskillful and ignorant? Lastly, they never taught any women to study philosophy, except Themiste only, within the whole memory of man; nor slaves, except Phaedo only, who is said, when living in oppressive slavery, to have been ransomed and taught by Cebes. They also enumerate Plato and Diogenes: these, however, were not slaves, though they had fallen into servitude, for they had been taken captive. A certain Aniceris is said to have ransomed Plato for eight sesterces. And on this account Seneca severely rebuked the ransomer himself, because he set so small value upon Plato. He was a madman, as it seems to me, who was angry with a man because he did not throw away much money; doubtless he ought to have weighed gold as though to ransom the corpse of Hector, or to have insisted upon the payment of more money than the seller demanded. Moreover, they taught none of the barbarians, with the single exception of Anacharsis the Scythian, who never would have dreamed of philosophy had he not previously learned both language and literature.

CHAPTER 26

IT IS DIVINE INSTRUCTION ONLY WHICH BESTOWS WISDOM; AND OF WHAT EFFICACY THE LAW OF GOD IS

That, therefore, which they perceived to be justly required by the demands of nature, but which they were themselves unable to perform, and saw that the philosophers could not effect, is accomplished only by divine instruction; for that only is wisdom. Doubtless they were able to persuade any one who do not even persuade themselves of anything; or they will crush the desires, moderate the anger, and restrain the lusts of any one, when they themselves both yield to vices, and acknowledge that they are overpowered by nature. But what influence is exerted on the souls of men by the precepts of God, because of their simplicity and truth, is shown by daily proofs. Give me a man who is passionate, scurrilous, and unrestrained; with a very few words of God,

"I will render him as gentle as a sheep."

Give me one who is grasping, covetous, and tenacious; I will presently restore him to you liberal, and freely bestowing his money with full hands. Give me a man who is afraid of pain and death; he shall presently despise crosses, and fires, and the bull of Phalaris. Give me one who is lustful, an adulterer a glutton; you shall presently see him sober, chaste, and temperate. Give me one who is cruel and bloodthirsty: that fury shall presently be changed into true clemency. Give me a man who is unjust, foolish, an evil-doer; forthwith he shall be just, and wise, and innocent for by one laver all his wickedness shall be taken away. So great is the power of divine wisdom, that, when infused into the breast of man, by one impulse it once for all expels folly, which is the mother of faults, for the effecting of which there is no need of payment, or books, or nightly studies. These results are accomplished gratuitously, easily, and quickly, if only the ears are open and the breast thirsts for wisdom. Let no one fear: we do not sell water, nor offer the sun for a reward. The fountain of God, most abundant and most full, is open to all; and this heavenly light rises for all, as many as have eyes. Did any of the philosophers effect these things, or is he able to effect them if he wishes? For though they spend their lives in the study of philosophy, they are neither able to improve

any other person nor themselves (if nature has presented any obstacle). Therefore their wisdom, doing its utmost, does not eradicate, but hide vices. But a few precepts of God so entirely change the whole man, and having put off the old man, render him new, that you would not recognize him as the same.

CHAPTER 27

HOW LITTLE THE PRECEPTS OF PHILOSOPHERS CONTRIBUTE TO TRUE WISDOM. WHICH YOU WILL FIND IN RELIGION ONLY

What, then? Do they enjoin nothing similar? Yes, indeed, many things; and they frequently approach the truth. But those precepts have no weight, because they are human, and are without a greater, that is, that divine authority. No one therefore believes them, because the hearer imagines himself to be a man, just as he is, who enjoins them. Moreover, there is no certainty with them, nothing which proceeds from knowledge. But since all things are done by conjecture, and many differing and various things are brought forward, it is the part of a most foolish man to be willing to obey their precepts. since it is doubted whether they are true or false; and therefore no one obeys them, because no one wishes to labor for an uncertainty. The Stoics say that it is virtue which can alone produce a happy life. Nothing can be said with greater truth. But what if he shall be tormented, or afflicted with pain? Will it be possible for any one to be happy in the hands of the executioners? But truly pain inflicted upon the body is the material of virtue; therefore he is not wretched even in tortures. Epicurus speaks much more strongly. The wise man, he says, is always happy; and even when shut up in the bull of Phalaris he will utter this speech: “It is pleasant, and I do not care for it.” Who would not laugh at him? Especially, because a man who is devoted to pleasure took upon himself the character of a man of fortitude, and that to an immoderate degree; for it is impossible that any one should esteem tortures of the body as pleasures, since it is sufficient for discharging the office of virtue that one sustains and endures them. What do you, Stoics, say? What do you, Epicurus? The wise man is happy even when be is tortured. If it is

on account of the glory of his endurance, he will not enjoy it, for perchance he will die under the tortures. If it is on account of the recollection of the deed, either he will not perceive it if souls shall perish, or, if he shall perceive it, he will gain nothing from it.

What other advantage is there then in virtue? what happiness of life? Is it that a man may die with equanimity? You present to me the advantage of a single hour, or perhaps moment, for the sake of which it may not be expedient to be worn out by miseries and labors throughout the whole of life. But how much time does death occupy? on the arrival of which it now makes no difference whether you shall have undergone it with equanimity or not. Thus it happens that nothing is sought from virtue but glory. But this is either superfluous and short-lived, or it will not follow from the depraved judgments of men. Therefore there is no fruit from virtue where virtue is subject to death and decay. Therefore they who said these things saw a certain shadow of virtue: they did not see virtue itself. For they had their eyes fixed on the earth, nor did they raise their countenances on high that they might behold her

“Who showed herself from the quarters of heaven.”

This is the reason why no one obeys their precepts; inasmuch as they either train men to vices, if they defend pleasure; or if they uphold virtue, they neither threaten sin with any punishment, except that of disgrace only, nor do they promise any reward to virtue, except that of honor and praise only, since they say that virtue is to be sought for its own sake, and not on account of any other object. The wise man therefore is happy under tortures; but when he suffers torture on account of his faith, on account of justice, or on account of God, that endurance of pain will render him most happy. For it is God alone who can honor virtue, the reward of which is immortality alone. And they who do not seek this, nor possess religion, with which eternal life is connected, assuredly do not know the power of virtue, the reward of which they are ignorant; nor look towards heaven, as they themselves imagine that they do, when they inquire into subjects which do not admit of investigation, since there is no other cause for looking towards heaven, unless it be either to undertake religion, or to believe that one’s soul is immortal. For if any one understands that God is to be worshipped, or has the hope of immortality set before him, his mind

is in heaven; and although he may not behold it with his eyes, yet he does behold it with the eye of his soul. But they who do not take up religion are of the earth, for religion is from heaven; and they who think that the soul perishes together with the body, equally look down towards the earth: for beyond the body, which is earth, they see nothing further, which is immortal. It is therefore of no profit that man is so made, that with upright body he looks towards heaven, unless with mind raised aloft he discerns God, and his thoughts are altogether engaged upon the hope of everlasting life.

CHAPTER 28

OF TRUE RELIGION AND OF NATURE. WHETHER FORTUNE IS A GODDESS, AND OF PHILOSOPHY

Wherefore there is nothing else in life on which our plan and condition can depend but the knowledge of God who created us, and the religious and pious worship of Him; and since the philosophers have wandered from this, it is plain that they were not wise. They sought wisdom, indeed; but because they did not seek it in a right manner, they sunk down to a greater distance, and fell into such great errors, that they did not even possess common wisdom. For they were not only unwilling to maintain religion, but they even took it away; while, led on by the appearance of false virtue, they endeavor to free the mind from all fear: and this overturning of religion gains the name of nature. For they, either being ignorant by whom the world was made, or wishing to persuade men that nothing was completed by divine intelligence, said that nature was the mother of all things, as though they should say that all things were produced of their own accord: by which word they altogether confess their own ignorance. For nature, apart from divine providence and power, is absolutely nothing. But if they call God nature, what perverseness is it, to use the name of nature rather than of God! But if nature is the plan, or necessity, or condition of birth, it is not by itself capable of sensation; but there must necessarily be a divine mind, which by its foresight furnishes the beginning of their existence to all things. Or if nature is heaven and earth. and everything which is created. nature is not God, but the work of God.

By a similar error they believe in the existence of fortune, as a goddess mocking the affairs of then with various casualties, because they know not from what source things good and evil happen to them. They think that they are brought together to do battle with her; nor do they assign any reason by whom and on what account they are thus matched; but they only boast that they are every moment carrying on a contest for life and death with fortune. Now, as many as have consoled any persons on account of the death and removal of friends, have censured the name of fortune with the most severe accusations; nor is there any disputation of theirs on the subject of virtue, in which fortune is not harassed. M. Tullius, in his Consolation, says that he has always fought against fortune, and that she was always overpowered by him when he had valiantly beaten back the attacks of his enemies; that he was not subdued by her even then, when he was driven from his home and deprived of his country; but then, when he lost his dearest daughter, he shamefully confesses that he is overcome by fortune. I yield, he says, and raise my hand. What is more wretched than this man, who thus lies prostrate? He acts foolishly, he says; but it is one who professes that he is wise. What, then, does the assumption of the name imply? What that contempt of things which is laid claim to with magnificent words? What that dress, so different from others? Or why do you give precepts of wisdom at all, if no one has yet been found who is wise? And does any one bear ill-will to us because we deny that philosophers are wise, when they themselves confess that they neither have knowledge nor wisdom? For if at any time they have so failed that they are not even able to feign anything, as their practice is in other cases, then in truth they are reminded of their ignorance; and, as though in madness, they spring up and exclaim that they are blind and foolish. Anaxagoras pronounces that all things are overspread with darkness. Empedocles complains that the paths of the senses are narrow, as though for his reflections he had need of a chariot and four horses. Democritus says that the truth lies sunk in a well so deep that it has no bottom; foolishly, indeed, as he says other things. For the truth is not, as it were, sunk in a well to which it was permitted him to descend, or even to fall, but, as it were, placed on the highest top of a lofty mountain, or in heaven, which is most true. For what reason is there why he should say that it is sunk below rather than that it is raised aloft? unless by chance he preferred

to place the mind also in the feet, or in the bottom of the heels, rather than in the breast or in the head.

So widely removed were they from the truth itself, that even the posture of their own body did not admonish them, that the truth must be sought for by them in the highest place. From this despair arose that confession of Socrates, in which he said that he knew nothing but this one thing alone, that he knew nothing. From this flowed the system of the Academy, if that is to be called a system in which ignorance is both learnt and taught. But not even those who claimed for themselves knowledge were able consistently to defend that very thing which they thought that they knew. For since they were not in agreement with one another, through their ignorance of divine things they were so inconsistent and uncertain, and often asserting things contrary to one another, that you are unable to determine and decide what their meaning was. Why therefore should you fight against those men who perish by their own sword? Why should you labor to refute those whom their own speech refutes and presses? Aristotle, says Cicero, accusing the ancient philosophers, declares that they are either most foolish or most vainglorious, since they thought that philosophy was perfected by their talents; but that he saw, because a great addition had been made in a few years, that philosophy would be complete in a short time. What, then, was that time? In what manner, when, or by whom, was philosophy completed? For that which he said, that they were most foolish in supposing that philosophy was made perfect by their talents, is true; but he did not even himself speak with sufficient discretion, who thought that it had either been begun by the ancients, or increased by those who were more recent, or that it would shortly be brought to perfection by those of later times. For that can never be investigated which is not sought by its own way.

CHAPTER 29

OF FORTUNE AGAIN, AND VIRTUE

But let us return to the subject which we laid aside. Fortune, therefore, by itself, is nothing; nor must we so regard it as though it had any perception, since fortune is the sudden and unexpected occurrence of accidents. But

philosophers, that they may not sometimes fail to err, wish to be wise in a foolish matter; and say that she is not a goddess, as is generally believed, but a God. Sometimes, however, they call this God nature, sometimes fortune, "because he brings about," says the same Cicero, "many things unexpected by us, on account of our want of intelligence and our ignorance of causes." Since, therefore, they are ignorant of the causes on account of which anything is done, they must also be ignorant of him who does them. The same writer, in a work of great seriousness, in which he was giving to his son precepts of life drawn from philosophy, says, "Who can be ignorant that the power of fortune is great on either side? For both when we meet with a prosperous breeze from her we gain the issues which we desire, and when she has breathed contrary to us we are dashed on the rocks." First of all, he who says that nothing can be known, spoke this as though he himself and all men had knowledge. Then he who endeavors to render doubtful even the things which are plain, thought that this was plain, which ought to have been to him especially doubtful; for to a wise man it is altogether false. Who, he says, knows not? I indeed know not. Let him teach me, if he can, what that power is, what that breeze, and what the contrary breath. It is disgraceful, therefore, for a man of talent to say that, which if you were to deny it, he would be unable to prove. Lastly, he who says that the assent must be withheld because it is the part of a foolish man rashly to assent to things which are unknown to him, he, I say, altogether believed the opinions of the vulgar and uninstructed, who think that it is fortune which gives to men good and evil things. For they represent her image with the horn of plenty and with a rudder, as though she both gave wealth and had the government of human affairs. And to this opinion Virgil assented, who calls fortune omnipotent; and the historian who says, But assuredly fortune bears sway in everything. What place, then, remains for the other gods? Why is she not said to reign by herself, if she has more power than others; or why is she not alone worshipped, if she has power in all things? Or if she inflicts evils only, let them bring forward some cause why, if she is a goddess, she envies men, and desires their destruction, though she is religiously worshipped by them; why she is more favorable to the wicked and more unfavorable to the good; why she plots, afflicts, deceives, exterminates; who appointed her as the perpetual harasser of the race of men; why, in short, she has obtained so mischievous a power, that she renders all things illustrious or obscure

according to her caprice rather than in accordance with the truth. Philosophers, I say, ought rather to have inquired into these things, than rashly to have accused fortune, who is innocent: for although she has some existence, yet no reason can be brought forward by them why she should be as hostile to men as she is supposed to be. Therefore all those speeches in which they rail at the injustice of fortune, and in opposition to fortune arrogantly boast of their own virtues, are nothing else but the ravings of thoughtless levity.

Wherefore let them not envy us, to whom God has revealed the truth: who, as we know that fortune is nothing, so also know that there is a wicked and crafty spirit who is unfriendly to the good, and the enemy of righteousness, who acts in opposition to God; the cause of whose enmity we have explained in the second book. He therefore lays plots against all; but those who are ignorant of God he hinders by error, he overwhelms with folly, he overspreads with darkness, that no one may be able to attain to the knowledge of the divine name, in which alone are contained both wisdom and everlasting life. Those, on the other hand, who know God, he assails with wiles and craft, that he may ensnare them with desire and lust, and when they are corrupted by the blandishments of sin, may impel them to death; or, if he shall have not succeeded by stratagem, he attempts to cast them down by force and violence. For on this account he was not at once thrust down by God to punishment at the original transgression, that by his malice he may exercise man to virtue: for unless this is in constant agitation, unless it is strengthened by continual harassing, it cannot be perfect, inasmuch as virtue is dauntless and unconquered patience in enduring evils. From which it comes to pass that there is no virtue if an adversary is wanting. When, therefore, they perceived the force of this perverse power opposed to virtue, and were ignorant of its name, they invented for themselves the senseless name of fortune; and how far this is removed from wisdom, Juvenal declares in these verses: —

"No divine power is absent if there is prudence; but we make you a goddess, O Fortune, and place you in heaven."

It was folly, therefore, and error, and blindness, and, as Cicero says, ignorance of facts and causes, which introduced the names of Nature and Fortune. But as they are ignorant of their adversary, so also they do not indeed know virtue the knowledge of which is derived from the idea of an

adversary. And if this is joined with wisdom, or, as they say, is itself also wisdom, they must be ignorant in what subjects it is contained. For no one can possibly be furnished with true arms if he is ignorant of the enemy against whom he must be armed; nor can he overcome his adversary, who in fighting does not attack his real enemy, but a shadow. For he will be overthrown, who, having his attention fixed on another object, shall not previously have foreseen or guarded against the blow aimed at his vitals.

CHAPTER 30

THE CONCLUSION OF THE THINGS BEFORE SPOKEN; AND BY WHAT MEANS WE MUST PASS FROM THE VANITY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS TO TRUE WISDOM, AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUE GOD, IN WHICH ALONE ARE VIRTUE AND HAPPINESS

I have taught, as far as my humble talents permitted, that the philosophers held a course widely deviating from the truth. I perceive, however, how many things I have omitted, because it was not my province to enter into a disputation against philosophers. But it was necessary for me to make a digression to this subject, that I might show that so many and great intellects have expended themselves in vain on false subjects, lest any one by chance being shut out by corrupt superstitions, should wish to betake himself to them as though about to find some certainty. Therefore the only hope, the only safety for man, is placed in this doctrine, which we defend. All the wisdom of man consists in this alone, the knowledge and worship of God: this is our tenet, this our opinion. Therefore with all the power of my voice I testify, I proclaim. I declare: Here, here is that which all philosophers have sought throughout their whole life; and yet, they have not been able to investigate, to grasp, and to attain to it, because they either retained a religion which was corrupt, or took it away altogether. Let them therefore all depart, who do not instruct human life, but throw it into confusion. For what do they teach? or whom do they instruct, who have not yet instructed themselves? whom are the sick able to heal, whom can the blind guide? Let us all, therefore, who have any regard for wisdom, betake ourselves to this subject. Or shall we wait until Socrates knows

something? or Anaxagoras finds light in the darkness? or until Democritus draws forth truth from the well? or Empedocles extends the paths of his soul? or until Arcesilas and Carneades see, and feel, and perceive?

Lo, a voice from heaven teaching the truth, and displaying to us a light brighter than the sun itself. Why are we unjust to ourselves, and delay to take up wisdom, which learned men, though they wasted their lives in its pursuit, were never able to discover. Let him who wishes to be wise and happy hear the voice of God, learn righteousness, understand the mystery of his birth, despise human affairs, embrace divine things, that he may gain that chief good to which he was born. Having overthrown all false religions, and having refuted all the arguments, as many as it was customary or possible to bring forward in their defense; then, having proved the systems of philosophy to be false, we must now come to true religion and wisdom, since, as I shall teach, they are both connected together; that we may maintain it either by arguments, or by examples, or by competent witnesses, and may show that the folly with which those worshippers of gods do not cease to upbraid us, has no existence with us, but lies altogether with them. And although, in the former books, when I was contending against false religions, and in this, when I was overthrowing false wisdom, I showed where the truth is, yet the next book will more plainly indicate what is true religion and what true wisdom.

BOOK 4

OF TRUE WISDOM AND RELIGION

CHAPTER 1

OF THE FORMER RELIGION OF MEN, AND HOW ERROR WAS SPREAD OVER EVERY AGE, AND OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE

WHEN I reflect, O Emperor Constantine, and often revolve in my mind the original condition of men, it is accustomed to appear alike wonderful and unworthy that, by the folly of one age embracing various superstitions, and believing in the existence of many gods, they suddenly arrived at such ignorance of themselves, that the truth being taken away from their eyes, the religion of the true God was not observed, nor the condition of human nature, since men did not seek the chief good in heaven, but on earth. And on this account assuredly the happiness of the ancient ages was changed. For, having left God, the parent and founder of all things, men began to worship the senseless works of their own hands. And what were the effects of this corruption, or what evils it introduced, the subject itself sufficiently declares. For, turning away from the chief good, which is blessed and everlasting on this account, because it cannot be seen, or touched, or comprehended, and from the virtues which are in agreement with that good, and which are equally immortal, gliding down to these corrupt and frail gods, and devoting themselves to those things by which the body only is adorned, and nourished, and delighted, they sought eternal death for themselves, together with their gods and goods relating to the body, because all bodies are subject to death. Superstitions of this kind, therefore, were followed by injustice and impiety, as must necessarily be the case. For men ceased to raise their countenances to the heaven; but, their minds being depressed downwards, clung to goods of the earth, as they did to earth-born superstitions. There followed the disagreement of mankind, and fraud, and all wickedness; because, despising

eternal and incorruptible goods, which alone ought to be desired by man, they rather chose temporal and short-lived things, and greater trust was placed by men in evil, inasmuch as they preferred vice to virtue, because it had presented itself as nearer at hand.

Thus human life, which in former ages had been occupied with the clearest light, was overspread with gloom and darkness; and in conformity with this depravity, when wisdom was taken away, then at length men began to claim for themselves the name of wise. For at the time when all were wise, no one was called by that name. And would that this name, once common to all the class, though reduced to a few, still retained its power! For those few might perhaps be able, either by talent, or by authority, or by continual exhortations, to free the people from vices and errors. But so entirely had wisdom died out, that it is evident, from the very arrogance of the name, that no one of those who were so called was really wise. And yet, before the discovery of this philosophy, as it is termed, there are said to have been seven, who, because they ventured to inquire into and discuss natural subjects, deserved to be esteemed and called wise men.

O wretched and calamitous age, in which through the whole world there were only seven who were called by the name of men, for no one can justly be called a man unless he is wise! But if all the others besides themselves were foolish, even they themselves were not wise, because no one can be truly wise in the judgment of the foolish. So far were they removed from wisdom, that not even afterwards, when learning increased, and many and great intellects were always intent upon this very subject, could the truth be perceived and ascertained. For, after the renown of those seven wise men, it is incredible with how great a desire of inquiring into the truth all Greece was inflamed. And first of all, they thought the very name of wisdom arrogant, and did not call themselves wise men, but desirous of wisdom. By which deed they both condemned those who had rashly arrogated to themselves the name of wise men, of error and folly, and themselves also of ignorance, which indeed they did not deny. For wherever the nature of the subject had, as it were, laid its hands upon their minds, so that they were unable to give any account, they were accustomed to testify that, they knew nothing, and discerned nothing.

Wherefore they are found to be much wiser, who in some degree saw themselves, than those who had believed that they were wise.

CHAPTER 2

WHERE WISDOM IS TO BE FOUND; WHY PYTHAGORAS AND PLATO DID NOT APPROACH THE JEWS

Wherefore, if they were not wise who were so called, nor those of later times, who did not hesitate to confess their want of wisdom, what remains but that wisdom is to be sought elsewhere, since it has not been found where it was sought. But what can we suppose to have been the reason why it was not found, though sought with the greatest earnestness and labor by so many intellects, and during so many ages, unless it be that philosophers sought for it out of their own limits? And since they traversed and explored all parts, but nowhere found any wisdom, and it must of necessity be somewhere, it is evident that it ought especially to be sought there where the title of folly appears; under the covering of which God hides the treasury of wisdom and truth, lest the secret of His divine work should be exposed to view. Whence I am accustomed to wonder that, when Pythagoras, and after him Plato, inflamed with the love of searching out the truth, had penetrated as far as to the Egyptians, and Magi, and Persians, that they might become acquainted with their religious rites and institutions (for they suspected that wisdom was concerned with religion), they did not approach the Jews only, in whose possession alone it then was, and to whom they might have gone more easily. But I think that they were turned away from them by divine providence, that they might not know the truth, because it was not yet permitted for the religion of the true God and righteousness to become known to men of other nations. For God had determined, as the last time drew near, to send from heaven a great leader, who should reveal to foreign nations that which was taken away from a perfidious and ungrateful people. And I will endeavor to discuss the subject in this book, if I shall first have shown that wisdom is so closely united with religion, that the one cannot be separated from the other.

CHAPTER 3

WISDOM AND RELIGION CANNOT BE SEPARATED: THE LORD OF NATURE MUST NECESSARILY BE THE FATHER OF EVERY ONE

The worship of the gods, as I have taught in the former book, does not imply wisdom; not only because it gives up man, who is a divine animal, to earthly and frail things, but because nothing is fixed in it which may avail for the cultivation of the character and the framing of the life; nor does it contain any investigation of the truth, but only the rite of worship, which does not consist in the service of the mind, but in the employment of the body. And therefore that is not to be deemed true religion, because it instructs and improves men by no precepts of righteousness and virtue. Thus philosophy, inasmuch as it does not possess true religion, that is, the highest piety, is not true wisdom. For if the divinity which governs this world supports mankind with incredible beneficence, and cherishes it as with paternal indulgence, wishes truly that gratitude should be paid, and honor given to itself, man cannot preserve his piety if he shall prove ungrateful for the heavenly benefits; and this is certainly not the part of a wise man. Since, therefore, as I have said, philosophy and the religious system of the gods are separated, and far removed from each other; seeing that some are professors of wisdom, through whom it is manifest that there is no approach to the gods, and that others are priests of religion, through whom wisdom is not learned; it is manifest that the one is not true wisdom, and that the other is not true religion. Therefore I philosophy was not able to conceive the truth, nor was the religious system of the gods able to give an account of itself, since it is without it.

But where wisdom is joined by an inseparable connection with religion, both must necessarily be true; because in our worship we ought to be wise, that is, to know the proper object and mode of worship, and in our wisdom to worship, that is, to complete our knowledge by deed and action.

Where, then, is wisdom joined with religion? There, indeed, where the one God is worshipped, where life and every action is referred to one source,

and to one supreme authority: in short, the teachers of wisdom are the same, who are also the priests of God. Nor, however, let it affect any one, because it often has happened, and may happen, that some philosopher may undertake a priesthood of the gods; and when this happens, philosophy is not, however, joined with religion; but philosophy will both be unemployed amidst sacred rites, and religion will be unemployed when philosophy shall be treated of. For that system of religious rites is dumb, not only because it relates to gods who are dumb, but also because its observance is by the hand and the fingers, not by the heart and tongue, as is the case with ours, which is true. Therefore religion is contained in wisdom, and wisdom in religion. The one, then, cannot be separated from the other; because wisdom is nothing else but the worship of the true God with just and pious adoration. But that the worship of many gods is not in accordance with nature, may be inferred and conceived even by this argument: that every God who is worshipped by man must, amidst the solemn rites and prayers, be invoked as father, not only for the sake of honor, but also of reason; because he is both more ancient than man, and because he affords life, safety, and sustenance, as a father does. Therefore Jupiter is called father by those who pray to him, as is Saturnus, and Janus, and Liber, and the rest in order; which Lucilius laughs at in the council of the gods: “So that there is none of us who is not called excellent father of the gods; so that father Neptunus, Liber, father Saturnus, Mars, Janus, father Quirinus, are called after one name.” But if nature does not permit that one man should have many fathers (for he is produced from one only), therefore the worship of many gods is contrary to nature, and contrary to piety.

One only, therefore, is to be worshipped, who can truly be called Father. He also must of necessity be Lord, because as He has power to indulge, so also has He power to restrain. He is to be called Father on this account, because He bestows upon us many and great things; and Lord on this account, because He has the greatest power of chastising and punishing. But that He who is Father is also Lord, is shown even by reference to civil law. For who will be able to bring up sons, unless he has the power of a Lord over them? Nor without reason is he called father of a household, although he only has sons: for it is plain that the name of father embraces also slaves, because “household” follows; and the name of “household”

comprises also sons, because the name of “father” precedes: from which it is evident, that the same person is both father of his slaves and Lord of his sons. Lastly, the son is set at liberty as if he were a slave; and the liberated slave receives the name of his patron, as if he were a son. But if a man is named father of a household, that it may appear that he is possessed of a double power, because as a father he ought to indulge, and as a Lord to restrain, it follows that he who is a son is also a slave, and that he who is a father is also a Lord. As, therefore, by the necessity of nature, there cannot be more than one father, so there can only be one Lord. For what will the slave do if many lords shall give commands at variance with each other? Therefore the worship of many gods is contrary to reason and to nature, since there cannot be many fathers or lords; but it is necessary to consider the gods both as fathers and lords.

Therefore the truth cannot be held where the same man is subject to many fathers and lords, where the mind, drawn in different directions to many objects, wanders to and fro, hither and thither. Nor can religion have any firmness, when it is without a fixed and settled dwelling-place. Therefore there can be no true worship of many gods; just as that cannot be called matrimony, in which one woman has many husbands, but she will either be called a harlot or an adulteress. For when a woman is destitute of modesty, chastity, and fidelity, she must of necessity be without virtue. Thus also the religious system of the gods is unchaste and unholy, because it is destitute of faith, for that unsettled and uncertain honor has no source or origin.

CHAPTER 4

OF WISDOM LIKEWISE, AND RELIGION, AND OF THE RIGHT OF FATHER AND LORD

By these things it is evident how closely connected are wisdom and religion. Wisdom relates to sons, and this relation requires love; religion to servants, and this relation requires fear. For as the former are bound to love and honor their father, so are the latter bound to respect and venerate their Lord. But with respect to God, who is one only, inasmuch as He sustains the twofold character both of Father and Lord, we are bound both

to love Him, inasmuch as we are sons, and to fear Him, inasmuch as we are servants. Religion, therefore, cannot be divided from wisdom, nor can wisdom be separated from religion; because it is the same God, who ought to be understood, which is the part of wisdom, and to be honored, which is the part of religion. But wisdom precedes, religion follows; for the knowledge of God comes first, His worship is the result of knowledge. Thus in the two names there is but one meaning, though it seems to be different in each case. For the one is concerned with the understanding, the other with action. But, however, they resemble two streams flowing from one fountain. But the fountain of wisdom and religion is God; and if these two streams shall turn aside from Him, they must be dried up: for they who are ignorant of Him cannot be wise or religious.

Thus it comes to pass that philosophers, and those who worship many gods, either resemble disinherited sons or runaway slaves, because the one do not seek their father, nor the other their master. And as they who are disinherited do not attain to the inheritance of their father, nor runaway slaves impunity, so neither will philosophers receive immortality, which is the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom, that is, the chief good, which they especially seek; nor will the worshippers of gods escape the penalty of everlasting death, which is the punishment of the true Master against those who are deserters of His majesty and name. But that God is Father and also Lord was unknown to both, to the worshippers of the gods as well as to the professors of wisdom themselves: inasmuch as they either thought that nothing at all was to be worshipped; or they approved of false religions or, although they understood the strength and power of the Supreme God (as Plato, who says that there is one God, Creator of the world, and Marcus Tullius, who acknowledges that man has been produced by the Supreme God in an excellent condition), nevertheless they did not render the worship due to Him as to the supreme Father, which was their befitting and necessary duty. But that the gods cannot be fathers or lords, is declared not only by their multitude, as I have shown above, but also by reason: because it is not reported that man was made by gods, nor is it found that the gods themselves preceded the origin of man, since it appears that there were men on the earth before the birth of Vulcan, and Liber, and Apollo, and Jupiter himself. But the creation of man is not accustomed to be assigned to Saturnus, nor to his father Coelus.

But if none of those who are worshipped is said to have originally formed and created man, it follows that none of these can be called the father of man, and so none of them can be God. Therefore it is not lawful to worship those by whom man was not produced, for he could not be produced by many. Therefore the one and only God ought to be worshipped, who was before Jupiter, and Saturnus, and Coelus himself, and the earth. For He must have fashioned man, who, before the creation of man, finished the heaven and the earth. He alone is to be called Father who created us; He alone is to be considered Lord who rules, who has the true and perpetual power of life and death. And he who does not adore Him is a foolish servant, who flees from or does not know his Master; and an undutiful son, who either hates or is ignorant of his true Father.

CHAPTER 5

THE ORACLES OF THE PROPHETS MUST BE LOOKED INTO; AND OF THEIR TIMES, AND THE TIMES OF THE JUDGES AND KINGS

Now, since I have shown that wisdom and religion cannot be separated, it remains that we speak of religion itself, and wisdom. I am aware, indeed, how difficult it is to discuss heavenly subjects; but still the attempt must be ventured, that the truth may be made clear and brought to light, and that many may be freed from error and death, who despise and refuse the truth, while it is concealed under a covering of folly. But before I begin to speak of God and His works, I must first speak a few things concerning the prophets, whose testimony I must now use, which I have refrained from doing in the former books. Above all things, he who desires to comprehend the truth ought not only to apply his mind to understand the utterances of the prophets, but also most diligently to inquire into the times during which each one of them existed, that he may know what future events they predicted, and after how many years their predictions were fulfilled. Nor is there any difficulty in making these computations; for they testified under what king each of them received the inspiration of the Divine Spirit. And many have written and published books respecting the times, making their commencement from the prophet Moses, who lived about seven

hundred years before the Trojan war. But he, when he had governed the people for forty years, was succeeded by Joshua, who held the chief place twenty-seven years.

After this they were under the government of judges during three hundred and seventy years. Then their condition was changed, and they began to have kings; and when they had ruled during four hundred and fifty years, until the reign of Zedekiah, the Jews having been besieged by the king of Babylon, and carried into captivity, endured a long servitude, until, in the seventieth year afterwards, the captive Jews were restored to their own lands and settlements by Cyrus the elder, who attained the supreme power over the Persians, at the time when Tarquinius Superbus reigned at Rome. Wherefore, since the whole series of times may be collected both from the Jewish histories and from those of the Greeks and Romans, the times of the prophets individually may also be collected; the last of whom was Zechariah, and it is agreed on that he prophesied in the time of King Darius, in the second year of his reign, and in the eighth month. Of so much greater antiquity are the prophets found to be than the Greek writers. And I bring forward all these things, that they may perceive their error who endeavor to refute Holy Scripture, as though it were new and recently composed, being ignorant from what fountain the origin of our holy religion flowed. But if any one, having put together and examined the times, shall duly lay the foundation of learning, and fully ascertain the truth, he will also lay aside his error when he has gained the knowledge of the truth.

CHAPTER 6

ALMIGHTY GOD BEGAT HIS SON; AND THE TESTIMONIES OF THE SIBYLS AND OF TRISMEGISTUS CONCERNING HIM

God, therefore, the contriver and founder of all things, as we have said in the second hook, before He commenced this excellent work of the world, begat a pure and incorruptible Spirit, whom He called His Son. And although He had afterwards created by Himself innumerable other beings, whom we call angels, this first-begotten, however, was the only one whom He considered worthy of being called by the divine name, as being

powerful in His Father's excellence and majesty. But that there is a Son of the Most High God, who is possessed of the greatest power, is shown not only by the unanimous utterances of the prophets, but also by the declaration of Trismegistus and the predictions of the Sibyls. Hermes, in the book which is entitled The Perfect Word, made use of these words: "The Lord and Creator of all things, whom we have thought right to call God, since He made the second God visible and sensible. But I use the term sensible, not because He Himself perceives (for the question is not whether He Himself perceives), but because He leads to perception and to intelligence. Since, therefore, He made Him first, and alone, and one only, He appeared to Him beautiful, and most full of all good things; and He hallowed Him, and altogether loved Him as His own Son." The Erythraean Sibyl, in the beginning of her poem, which she commenced with the Supreme God, proclaims the Son of God as the leader and commander of all, in these verses: —

"The nourisher and creator of all things, who placed the sweet breath in all, and made God the leader of all."

And again, at the end of the same poem: —

"But whom God gave for faithful men to honor."

And another Sibyl enjoins that He ought to be known: —

"Know Him as your God, who is the Son of God."

Assuredly He is the very Son of God, who by that most wise King Solomon, full of divine inspiration, spake these things which we have added: "God founded me in the beginning of His ways, in His work before the ages. He set me up in the beginning, before He made the earth, and before He established the depths, before the fountains of waters came forth: the Lord begat me before all the hills; He made the regions, and the uninhabitable boundaries under the heaven. When He prepared the heaven, I was by Him: and when He separated His own seat, when He made the strong clouds above the winds, and when He strengthened the mountains, and placed them under heaven; when He laid the strong foundations of the earth, I was with Him arranging all things. I was He in whom He delighted: I was daily delighted, when He rejoiced, the world being completed." But on this account Trismegistus spoke of Him as "the artificer of God," and

the Sibyl calls Him “Counselor,” because He is endowed by God the Father with such wisdom and strength, that God employed both His wisdom and hands in the creation of the world.

CHAPTER 7

OF THE NAME OF SON, AND WHENCE HE IS CALLED JESUS AND CHRIST

Some one may perhaps ask who this is who is so powerful, so beloved by God, and what name He has, who was not only begotten at first before the world, but who also arranged it by His wisdom and constructed it by His might. First of all, it is befitting that we should know that His name is not known even to the angels who dwell in heaven, but to Himself only, and to God the Father; nor will that name be published, as the sacred writings relate, before that the purpose of God shall be fulfilled. In the next place, we must know that this name cannot be uttered by the mouth of man, as Hermes teaches, saying these things: “Now the cause of this cause is the will of the divine good which produced God, whose name cannot be uttered by the mouth of man.” And shortly afterwards to His Son: “There is, O Son, a secret word of wisdom, holy respecting the only Lord of all things, and the God first perceived by the mind, to speak of whom is beyond the power of man.” But although His name, which the supreme Father gave Him from the beginning, is known to none but Himself, nevertheless He has one name among the angels, and another among men since He is called Jesus among men: for Christ is not a proper name, but a title of power and dominion; for by this the Jews were accustomed to call their kings. But the meaning of this name must be set forth, on account of the error of the ignorant, who by the change of a letter are accustomed to call Him Chrestus. The Jews had before been directed to compose a sacred oil, with which those who were called to the priesthood or to the kingdom might be anointed. And as now the robe of purple is a sign of the assumption of royal dignity among the Romans, so with them the anointing with the holy oil conferred the title and power of king. But since the ancient Greeks used the word χρίεσθαι to express the art of

anointing, which they now express by ἀλείφεσθαι, as the verse of Homer shows,

"But the attendants washed, and anointed them with oil;"

on this account we call Him Christ, that is, the Anointed, who in Hebrew is called the Messias. Hence in some Greek writings, which are badly translated from the Hebrew, the word eleimmenos is found written, from the word aleiphesthai, anointing. But, however, by either name a king is signified: not that He has obtained this earthly kingdom, the time for receiving which has not yet arrived, but that He sways a heavenly and eternal kingdom, concerning which we shall speak in the last book. But now let us speak of His first nativity.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE BIRTH OF JESUS IN THE SPIRIT AND IN THE FLESH: OF SPIRITS AND THE TESTIMONIES OF PROPHETS

For we especially testify that He was twice born, first in the spirit, and afterwards in the flesh. Whence it is thus spoken by Jeremiah: "Before I formed Thee in the womb I knew Thee." And likewise by the same: "Who was blessed before He was born;" which was the case with no one else but Christ. For though He was the Son of God from the beginning, He was born again a second time according to the flesh: and this twofold birth of His has introduced great terror into the minds of men, and overspread with darkness even those who retained the mysteries of true religion. But we will show this plainly and clearly, that they who love wisdom may be more easily and diligently instructed. He who hears the Son of God mentioned ought not to conceive in his mind so great impiety as to think that God begat Him by marriage and union with a woman, which none does but an animal possessed of a body, and subject to death. But with whom could God unite Himself, since He is alone? or since His power was so great, that He accomplished whatever He wished, assuredly He did not require the co-operation of another for procreation. Unless by chance we shall [profanely] imagine, as Orpheus supposed, that God is both male and female, because otherwise He would have been unable to beget, unless

He had the power of each sex, as though He could have intercourse with Himself, or without such intercourse be unable to produce.

But Hermes also was of the same opinion, when he says that He was “His own father,” and “His own mother.” But if this were so, as He is called by the prophets father, so also He would be called mother. In what manner, then, did He beget Him? First of all, divine operations cannot be known or declared by any one; but nevertheless the sacred writings teach us, in which it is laid down that this Son of God is the speech, or even the reason of God, and also that the other angels are spirits of God. For speech is breath sent forth with a voice signifying something. But, however, since breath and speech are sent forth from different parts, inasmuch as breath proceeds from the nostrils, speech from the mouth, the difference between the Son of God and the other angels is great. For they proceeded from God as silent spirits, because they were not created to teach the knowledge of God, but for His service. But though He is Himself also a spirit, yet He proceeded from the mouth of God with voice and sound, as the Word, on this account indeed, because He was about to make use of His voice to the people; that is, because He was about to be a teacher of the knowledge of God, and of the heavenly mystery to be revealed to man: which word also God Himself first spoke, that through Him He might speak to us, and that He might reveal to us the voice and will of God.

With good reason, therefore, is He called the Speech and the Word of God, because God, by a certain incomprehensible energy and power of His majesty, enclosed the vocal spirit proceeding from His mouth, which he had not conceived in the womb, but in His mind, within a form which has life through its own perception and wisdom, and He also fashioned other spirits of His into angels. Our spirits are liable to dissolution, because we are mortal: but the spirits of God both live, and are lasting, and have perception; because He Himself is immortal, and the Giver both of perception and life. Our expressions, although they are mingled with the air, and fade away, yet generally remain comprised in letters; how much more must we believe that the voice of God both remains for ever, and is accompanied with perception and power, which it has derived from God the Father, as a stream from its fountain! But if any one wonders that God could be produced from God by a putting forth of the voice and breath, if he is acquainted with the sacred utterances of the prophets he will cease to

wonder. That Solomon and his father David were most powerful kings, and also prophets, may perhaps be known even to those who have not applied themselves to the sacred writings; the one of whom, who reigned subsequently to the other, preceded the destruction of the city of Troy by one hundred and forty years. His father, the writer of sacred hymns, thus speaks in the thirty-second Psalm: “By the word of God we, re the heavens made firm; and all their power by the breath of His mouth.” And also again in the forty-fourth Psalm: “My heart hath given utterance to a good word; I speak of my doings towards the king;” testifying, in truth, that the works of God are known to no other than to the Son alone, who is the Word of God, and who must reign for ever. Solomon also shows that it is the Word of God, and no other, by whose hands these works of the world were made. “I,” He says, “came forth out of the mouth of the Most High before all creatures: I caused the light that faileth not to arise in the heavens, and covered the whole earth with a cloud. I have dwelt in the height, and my throne is in the pillar of the cloud.” John also thus taught: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made.”

CHAPTER 9

OF THE WORD OF GOD

But the Greeks speak of Him as the Logos, more befittingly than we do as the word, or speech: for Logos signifies both speech and reason, inasmuch as He is both the voice and the wisdom of God. And of this divine speech not even the philosophers were ignorant, since Zeno represents the Logos as the arranger of the established order of things, and the framer of the universe: whom also He calls Fate, and the necessity of things, and God, and the soul of Jupiter, in accordance with the custom, indeed, by which they are wont to regard Jupiter as God. But the words are no obstacle, since the sentiment is in agreement with the truth. For it is the spirit of God which he named the soul of Jupiter. For Trismegistus, who by some means or other searched into almost all truth, often described the excellence and majesty of the word, as the instance before mentioned

declares, in which he acknowledges that there is an ineffable and sacred speech, the relation of which exceeds the measure of man’s ability. I have spoken briefly, as I have been able, concerning the first nativity. Now I must more fully discuss the second, since this is the subject most controverted, that we may hold forth the light of understanding to those who desire to know the truth.

CHAPTER 10

OF THE ADVENT OF JESUS; OF THE FORTUNES OF THE JEWS, AND THEIR GOVERNMENT, UNTIL THE PASSION OF THE LORD

In the first place, then, men ought to know that the arrangements of the Most High God have so advanced from the beginning, that it was necessary, as the end of the world approached, that the Son of God should descend to the earth, that He might build a temple for God, and teach righteousness; but, however, not with the might of an angel or with heavenly power, but in the form of man and in the condition of a mortal, that when He had discharged the office of His ministry, He might be delivered into the hands of wicked men, and might undergo death, that, having subdued this also by His might, He might rise again, and bring to man, whose nature He had put on and represented, the hope of overcoming death, and might admit him to the rewards of immortality. And that no one may be ignorant of this arrangement, we will show that all things were foretold which we see fulfilled in Christ. Let no one believe our assertion unless I shall show that the prophets before a long series of ages published that it should come to pass at length that the Son of God should be born as a man, and perform wonderful deeds, and sow the worship of God throughout the whole earth, and at last be crucified, and on the third day rise again. And when I shall have proved all these things by the writings of those very men who treated with violence their God who had assumed a mortal body, what else will prevent it from being manifest that true wisdom is conversant with this religion only? Now the origin of the whole mystery is to be related.

Our ancestors, who were chiefs of the Hebrews, when they were distressed by famine and want, passed over into Egypt, that they might obtain a supply of corn; and sojourning there a long time, they were oppressed with an intolerable yoke of slavery. Then God pitied them, and led them out, and freed them from the hand of the king of the Egyptians, after four hundred and thirty years, under the leadership of Moses, through whom the law was afterwards given to them by God; and in this leading out God displayed the power of His majesty. For He made His people to pass through the midst of the Red Sea, His angel going before and dividing the water, so that the people might walk over the dry land, of whom it might more truly be said (as the poet says), that “the wave, closing over him after the appearance of a mountain, stood around him.” And when he heard of this, the tyrant of the Egyptians followed with this great host of his men, and rashly entering the sea which still lay open, was destroyed, together with his whole army, by the waves returning to their place. But the Hebrews, when they had entered into the wilderness, saw many wonderful deeds. For when they suffered thirst, a rock having been struck with a rod, a fountain of water sprung forth and refreshed the people. And again, when they were hungry, a shower of heavenly nourishment descended. Moreover, also, the wind brought quails into their camp, so that they were not only satisfied with heavenly bread, but also with more choice banquets. And yet, in return for these divine benefits, they did not pay honor to God; but when slavery had been now removed from them, and their thirst and hunger laid aside, they fell away into luxury, and transferred their minds to the profane rites of the Egyptians. For when Moses, their leader, had ascended into the mountain, and there tarried forty days, they made the head of an ox in gold, which they call Apis, that it might go before them as a standard. With which sin and crime God was offended, and justly visited the impious and ungrateful people with severe punishments, and made them subject to the law which He had given by Moses.

But afterwards, when they had settled in a desert part of Syria, the Hebrews lost their ancient name; and since the leader of their host was Judas, they were called Jews, and the land which they inhabited Judaea. And at first, indeed, they were not subject to the dominion of Kings, but civil Judges presided over the people and the law: they were not, however,

appointed only for a year, as the Roman consuls, but supported by a perpetual jurisdiction. Then, the name of Judges being taken away, the kingly power was introduced. But during the government of the Judges the people had often undertaken corrupt religious rites; and God, offended by them, as often brought them into bondage to n strangers, until again, softened by the repentance of the people, He freed them from bondage. Likewise under the Kings, being oppressed by wars with their neighbors on account of their iniquities, and at last taken captive and led to Babylon, they suffered punishment for their impiety by oppressive slavery, until Cyrus came to the kingdom, who immediately restored the Jews by an edict. Afterwards they had tetrarchs until the time of Herod, who was in the reign of Tiberius Caesar; in whose fifteenth year, in the consulship of the two Gemini, on the 23rd of March, the Jews crucified Christ. This series of events, this order, is contained in the secrets of the sacred writings. But I will first show for what reason Christ came to the earth, that the foundation and the system of divine religion may be manifest.

CHAPTER 11

OF THE CAUSE OF THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST

When the Jews often resisted wholesome precepts, and departed from the divine law, going astray to the impious worship of false gods, then God filled just and chosen men with the Holy Spirit, appointing them as prophets in the midst of the people, by whom He might rebuke with threatening words the sins of the ungrateful people, and nevertheless exhort them to repent of their wickedness; for unless they did this, and, laying aside their vanities, return to their God, it would come to pass that He would change His covenant, that is, bestow the inheritance of eternal life upon foreign nations, and collect to Himself a more faithful people out of those who were aliens by birth. But they, when rebuked by the prophets, not only rejected their words; but being offended because they were upbraided for their sins, they slew the prophets themselves with studied tortures: all which things are sealed up and preserved in the sacred writings. For the prophet Jeremiah says: “I sent to you my servants the prophets; I sent them before the morning light; but ye did not hearken, nor

incline your ears to hear, when I spake unto you: let every one of you turn from his evil way, and from your most corrupt affections; and ye shall dwell in the land which I gave to you and to your fathers for ever. Walk ye not after strange gods, to serve them; and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, that I should destroy you.” The prophet Ezra also, who was in the times of the same Cyrus by whom the Jews were restored, thus speaks: They rebelled against Thee, and cast Thy law behind their backs, and slew Thy prophets which testified against them, that they might turn unto Thee.”

The prophet Elias also, in the third book of Kings: “I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken Thee, thrown down Thine altars, and slain Thy prophets with the sword; and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away.” On account of these impieties of theirs He cast them off for ever; and so He ceased to send to them prophets. But He commanded His own Son, the first-begotten, the maker of all things, His own counselor, to descend from heaven, that He might transfer the sacred religion of God to the Gentiles, that is, to those who were ignorant of God, and might teach them righteousness, which the perfidious people had cast aside And He had long before threatened that He would do this, as the prophet Malachi shows, saying: “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and I will not accept an offering from your hands; for from the rising of the sun even unto its setting, my name shall be great among the Gentiles.” David also in the seventeenth Psalm says: “Thou wilt make me the head of the heathen; a people whom I have not known shall serve me” Isaiah also thus speaks: “I come to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory; and I will send among them a sign, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations which are afar off, which have not heard my fame; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles.” Therefore, when God wished to send to the earth one who should measure His temple, He was unwilling to send him with heavenly power and glory, that the people who had been ungrateful towards God might be led into the greatest error, and suffer punishment for their crimes, since they had not received their Lord and God, as the prophets had before foretold that it would thus happen. For Isaiah whom the Jews most cruelly slew, cutting him asunder with a saw, thus speaks: “Hear, O heaven; and give ear, O

earth: for the Lord hath spoken, I have begotten sons, and lifted them up on high, and they have rejected me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's stall; but Israel hath not known, my people has not understood." Jeremiah also says, in like manner: "The turtle and the swallow hath known her time, and the sparrows of the field have observed the tithes of their coining: but my people have not known the judgment of the Lord. How do you say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? The meting out is in vain; the scribes are deceived and confounded: the wise men are dismayed and taken, for they have rejected the word of the Lord."

Therefore (as I had begun to say), when God had determined to send to men a teacher of righteousness, He commanded Him to be born again a second time in the flesh, and to be made in the likeness of man himself, to whom he was about to be a guide, and companion, and teacher. But since God is kind and merciful to His people, He sent Him to those very persons whom He hated, that He might not close the way of salvation against them for ever, but might give them a free opportunity of following God, that they might both gain the reward of life if they should follow Him (which many of them do, and have done), and that they might incur the penalty of death by their fault if they should reject their King. He ordered Him therefore to be born again among them, and of their seed, lest, if He should be born of another nation, they might be able to allege a just excuse from the law for their rejection of Him; and at the same time, that there might be no nation at all under heaven to which the hope of immortality should be denied.

CHAPTER 12

OF THE BIRTH OF JESUS FROM THE VIRGIN; OF HIS LIFE, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION, AND THE TESTIMONIES OF THE PROPHETS RESPECTING THESE THINGS

Therefore the Holy Spirit of God, descending from heaven, chose the holy Virgin, that He might enter into her womb. But she, I being filled by the possession of the Divine Spirit, conceived; and without any intercourse with a man, her virgin womb was suddenly impregned. But if it is known

to all that certain animals are accustomed to conceive by the wind and the breeze, why should any one think it wonderful when we say that a virgin was made fruitful by the Spirit of God, to whom whatever He may wish is easy? And this might have appeared incredible, had not the prophets many ages previously foretold its occurrence. Thus Solomon speaks: “The womb of a virgin was strengthened, and conceived; and a virgin was made fruitful, and became a mother in great pity.” Likewise the prophet Isaiah, whose words are these: “Therefore God Himself shall give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son; and ye shall call His name Emmanuel.” What can be more manifest than this? This was read by the Jews, who denied Him. If any one thinks that these things are invented by us, let him inquire of them, let him take especially from them: the testimony is sufficiently strong to prove the truth, when it is alleged by enemies themselves, But He was never called Emmanuel, but Jesus, who in Latin is called Saving, or Savior, because He comes bringing salvation to all nations. But by this name the prophet declared that God incarnate was about to come to men. For Emmanuel signifies God with us; because when He was born of a virgin, men ought to confess that God was with them, that is, on the earth and in mortal flesh. Whence David says in the eighty-fourth Psalm, “Truth has sprung out of the earth;” because God, in whom is truth, hath taken a body of earth, that He might open a way of salvation to those of the earth. In like manner Isaiah also: “But they disbelieved, and vexed His Holy Spirit; and He was turned to be their enemy. And He Himself fought against them, and He remembered the days of old, who raised up from the earth a shepherd of the sheep.” But who this shepherd was about to be, he declared in another place, saying: “Let the heavens rejoice, and let the clouds put on righteousness; let the earth open, and put forth a Savior. For I the Lord have begotten Him.” But the Savior is, as we have said before, Jesus. But in another place the same prophet also thus proclaimed: “Behold, unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, whose dominion is upon His shoulders, and His name is called Messenger of great counsel.” For on this account He was sent by God the Father, that He might reveal to all the nations which are under heaven the sacred mystery of the only true God, which was taken away from the perfidious people, who ofttimes sinned against God. Daniel also foretold similar things: “I saw,” he said, “in a vision of the night, and, behold, one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven, and He

came even to the Ancient of days. And they who stood by brought Him near before Him. And there was given unto Him a kingdom, and glory, and dominion; and all people, tribes, and languages shall serve Him: and His dominion is everlasting, which shall never pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed." How then do the Jews both confess and expect the Christ of God? who rejected Him on this account, because He was born of man. For since it is so arranged by God that the same Christ should twice come to the earth, once to announce to the nations the one God, then again to reign, why do they who did not believe in His first advent believe in the second?

But the prophet comprises both His advents in few words. Behold, he says, one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven. He did not say, like the Son of God, but the Son of man, that he might show that He had to be clothed with flesh on the earth, that having assumed the form of a man and the condition of mortality, He might teach men righteousness; and when, having completed the commands of God, He had revealed the truth to the nations, He might also suffer death, that He might overcome and lay open the other world also, and thus at length rising again, He might proceed to His Father born aloft on a cloud. For the prophet said in addition: And came even to the Ancient of days, and was presented to Him. He called the Most High God the Ancient of days, whose age and origin cannot be comprehended; for He alone was from generations, and He will be always to generations. But that Christ, after His passion and resurrection, was about to ascend to God the Father, David bore witness in these words in the 109th Psalm: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." Whom could this prophet, being himself a king, call his Lord, who sat at the right hand of God, but Christ the Son of God, who is King of kings and Lord of lords? And this is more plainly shown by Isaiah, when he says: "Thus saith the Lord God to my Lord Christ, whose right hand I have holden; I will subdue nations before Him, and will break the strength of kings. I will open before Him gates, and the cities shall not be closed. I will go before Thee, and will make the mountains level; and I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and shatter the bars of iron; and I will give Thee the hidden and invisible treasures, that Thou mayest know that I am the Lord God, which call Thee by Thy name, the God of Israel."

Lastly, on account of the goodness and faithfulness which He displayed towards God on earth, there was given to Him a kingdom, and glory, and dominion; and all people, tribes, and languages shall serve Him; and His dominion is everlasting, and that which shall never pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed. And this is understood in two ways: that even now He has an everlasting dominion, when all nations and all languages adore His name, confess His majesty, follow His teaching, and imitate His goodness: He has power and glory, in that all tribes of the earth obey His precepts. And also, when He shall come again with majesty and glory to judge every soul, and to restore the righteous to life, then He shall truly have the government of the whole earth: then, every evil having been removed from the affairs of men, a golden age (as the poets call it), that is, a time of righteousness and peace, will arise. But we will speak of these things more fully in the last book, when we shall speak of His second advent; now let us treat of His first advent, as we began.

CHAPTER 13

OF JESUS, GOD AND MAN; AND THE TESTIMONIES OF THE PROPHETS CONCERNING HIM

Therefore the Most High God, and Parent of all, when He had purposed to transfer His religion, sent from heaven a teacher of righteousness, that in Him or through Him He might give a new law to new worshippers; not as He had before done, by the instrumentality of man. Nevertheless it was His pleasure that He should be born as a man, that in all things He might be like His supreme Father For God the Father Himself, who is the origin and source of all things, inasmuch as He is without parents, is most truly named by Trismegistus “fatherless” and “motherless,” because He was born from no one. For which reason it was befitting that the Son also should be twice born, that He also might become “fatherless” and “motherless.” For in His first nativity, which was spiritual, He was “motherless,” because He was begotten by God the Father alone, without the office of a mother. But in His second, which was in the flesh, He was born of a virgin’s womb without the office of a father, that, bearing a middle substance between God and man, He might be able, as it were, to

take by the hand this frail and weak nature of ours, and raise it to immortality. He became both the Son of God through the Spirit, and the Son of man through the flesh, — that is, both God and man. The power of God was displayed in Him, from the works which He performed; the frailty of the man, from the passion which He endured: on what account He undertook it I will mention a little later. In the meantime, we learn from the predictions of the prophets that He was both God and man — composed of both natures. Isaiah testifies that He was God in these words: “Egypt is wearied, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabaeans, men of stature, shall come over unto Thee, and shall be Thy servants: and they shall walk behind Thee; in chains they shall fall down unto Thee, and shall make supplication unto Thee, Since God is in Thee, and there is no other God besides Thee. For Thou art God, and we knew Thee not, the God of lsrael, the Savor. They shall all be confounded and ashamed who oppose Thee, and shall fall into confusion.” In like manner the prophet Jeremiah thus speaks: “This is our God, and there shall none other be compared unto Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved. Afterward He was seen upon earth, and dwelt among men.” David also, in the forty-fourth Psalm: “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickednessltherefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness.” By which word he also shows His name, since (as I have shown above) He was called Christ from His anointing. Then, that He was also man, Jeremiah teaches, saying: “And He is a man, and who hath known Him?” Also Isaiah: “And God shall send to them a man, who shall save them, shall save them by judging.” But Moses also, in Numbers, thus speaks: “There shall arise a star out of Jacob, and a man shall spring forth from Israel.” On which account the Milesian Apollo, being asked whether He was God or man, replied in this manner: “He was mortal as to His body, being wise with wondrous works; but being taken with arms under Chaldean judges, with nails and the cross He endured a bitter end.” In the first verse he spoke the truth, but he skillfully deceived him who asked the question, who was entirely ignorant of the mystery of the truth. For he appears to have denied that He was God. But when he acknowledges that He was mortal as to the flesh, which we also declare, it follows that as to the spirit He was God, which we affirm. For

why would it have been necessary to make mention of the flesh, since it was sufficient to say that He was mortal? But being pressed by the truth, he could not deny the real state of the case; as that which he says, that He was wise.

What do you reply to this, Apollo? If he is wise, then his system of instruction is wisdom, and no other; and they are wise who follow it, and no others. Why then are we commonly esteemed as foolish, and visionary, and senseless, who follow a Master who is wise even by the confession of the gods themselves? For in that he said that He wrought wonderful deeds, by which He especially claimed faith is His divinity, he now appears to assent to us, when he says the same things in which we boast. But, however, he recovers himself, and again has recourse to demoniacal frauds. For when he had been compelled to speak the truth, he now appeared to be a betrayer of the gods and of himself, unless he had, by a deceptive falsehood, concealed that which the truth had extorted from him. He says, therefore, that He did indeed perform wonderful works, yet not by divine power, but by magic. What wonder if Apollo thus persuaded men ignorant of the truth, when the Jews also, worshippers (as they seemed to be) of the Most High God, entertained the same opinion, though they had every day before their eyes those miracles which the prophets had foretold to them as about to happen, and yet they could not be induced by the contemplation of such powers to believe that He whom they saw was God? On this account, David, whom they especially read above the other prophets, in the twenty-seventh Psalm thus condemns them: “Render to them their desert, because they regard not the works of the Lord.” Both David himself and other prophets announced that of the house of this very David, Christ should be born according to the flesh. Thus it is written in Isaiah: “And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, and He who shall arise to rule over the nations, in Him shall the Gentiles trust; and His rest shall be glorious.” And in another place: “There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a blossom shall grow out of his root; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety; and He shall be filled with the spirit of fear of the Lord.” Now Jesse was the father of David, from whose root he foretold that a blossom would

arise; namely him of whom the Sibyl speaks, “A pure blossom shall spring forth.”

Also in the second book of Kings, the prophet Nathan was sent to David, who wished to build a temple for God; and this was the word of the Lord to Nathan, saying: “Go and tell my servant David, Thus saith the Lord Almighty, Thou shall not build me a house for me to dwell in; but when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy seed after thee, and I will establish His kingdom. He shall build me a house for my name, and I will set up His throne for ever; and I will be to Him for a father, and He shall be to me for a son; and His house shall be established, and His kingdom for ever.” But the reason why the Jews did not understand these things was this, because Solomon the son of David built a temple for God, and the city which he called from his own name, Jerusalem. Therefore they referred the predictions of the prophets to him. Now Solomon received the government of the kingdom from his father himself. But the prophets spoke of Him who was then born after that David had slept with his fathers. Besides, the reign of Solomon was not everlasting; for he reigned forty years. In the next place, Solomon was never called the son of God, but the son of David; and the house which he built was not firmly established, as the Church, which is the true temple of God, which does not consist of walls, but of the heart and faith of the men who believe on Him, and are called faithful. But that temple of Solomon, inasmuch as it was built by the hand, fell by the hand. Lastly, his father, in the 126th Psalm, prophesied in this manner respecting the works of his son: “Except the Lord build the house, they have labored in vain that built it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman hath waked but in vain.”

CHAPTER 14

OF THE PRIESTHOOD OF JESUS FORETOLD BY THE PROPHETS

From which things it is evident that all the prophets declared concerning Christ, that it should come to pass at some time, that being born with a body of the race of David, He should build an eternal temple in honor of God, which is called the Church, and assemble all nations to the true

worship of God. This is the faithful house, this is the everlasting temple; and if any one hath not sacrificed in this, he will not have the reward of immortality. And since Christ was the builder of this great and eternal temple, He must also have an everlasting priesthood in it; and there can be no approach to the shrine of the temple, and to the sight of God, except through Him who built the temple. David in the 109th Psalm teaches the same, saying: “Before the morning-star I begat Thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent; Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.” Also in the first book of Kings: “And I will raise me up a faithful Priest, who shall do all things that are in mine heart; and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk in my sight all his days.” But who this was about to be, to whom God promised an everlasting priesthood, Zechariah most plainly teaches, even mentioning His name: “And the Lord God showed me Jesus the great Priest standing before the face of the angel of the Lord, and the adversary was standing at His right hand to resist Him. And the Lord said unto the adversary, The Lord who hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee; and lo, a brand plucked out of the fire. And Jesus was clothed with filthy garments, and He was standing before the face of the angel. And He answered and spake unto those that stood around before His face, saying, Take away the filthy garments from Him, and clothe Him with a flowing garment, and place a fair miter upon His head; and they clothed Him with a garment, and placed a fair miter upon His head. And the angel of the Lord stood, and protested, saying to Jesus: Thus saith the Lord of hosts, If Thou wilt walk in my ways, and keep my precepts, Thou shalt judge my house, and I will give Thee those that may walk with Thee in the midst of these that stand by. Hear, therefore, O Jesus, Thou great Priest.”

Who, therefore, would not believe that the Jews were then deprived of understanding, who, when they read and heard these things, laid impious hands upon their God? But from the time in which Zechariah lived, until the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, in which Christ was crucified, nearly five hundred years are reckoned; since he flourished in the time of Darius and Alexander, who lived not long after the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus. But they were again misled and deceived in the same manner, in supposing that these things were spoken concerning Jesus the son of Nave, who was the successor of Moses, or concerning Jesus the

high priest the son of Josedech; to whom none of those things which the prophet related was suited. For they were never clothed in filthy garments, since one of them was a most powerful prince, and the other high priest; or suffered any adversity, so that they should be regarded as a brand plucked from the fire: not did they ever stand in the presence of God and the angels; nor did the prophet speak of the past so much as of the future. He spoke, therefore, of Jesus the Son of God, to show that He would first come in humility and in the flesh. For this is the filthy garment, that He might prepare a temple for God, and might be scorched as a brand with fire — that is, might endure tortures from men, and at last be extinguished. For a haft-burnt brand drawn forth from the hearth and extinguished, is commonly so called, But in what manner and with what commands He was sent by God to the earth, the Spirit of God declared through the prophet, teaching us that when He had faithfully and uniformly fulfilled the will of His supreme Father, He should receive judgment and an everlasting dominion. If, He says, Thou wilt walk in my ways, and keep my precepts, then Thou shalt judge my house. What these ways of God were, and what His precepts, is neither doubtful nor obscure. For God, when He saw that wickedness and the worship of false gods had so prevailed throughout the world, that His name had now also been taken away from the memory of men (since even the Jews, who alone had been entrusted with the secret of God, had deserted the living God, and, ensnared by the deceits of demons, had gone astray, and turned aside to the worship of images, and when rebuked by the prophets did not choose to return to God), He sent His Son as an ambassador to men, that He might turn them from their impious and vain worship to the knowledge and worship of the true God; and also that He might turn their minds from foolishness to wisdom, and from wickedness to deeds of righteousness. These are the ways of God, in which He enjoined Him to walk. These are the precepts which He ordered to be observed. But He exhibited faith towards God. For He taught that there is but one God, and that He alone ought to be worshipped. Nor did He at any time say that He Himself was God; for He would not have maintained His faithfulness, if, when sent to abolish the false gods, and to assert the existence of the one God, He had introduced another besides that one. This would have been not to proclaim one God, nor to do the work of Him who sent Him, but to discharge a peculiar office for Himself, and to separate Himself from Him whom He

came to reveal. On which account, because He was so faithful, because He arrogated nothing at all to Himself, that He might fulfill the commands of Him who sent Him, He received the dignity of everlasting Priest, and the honor of supreme King, and the authority of Judge, and the name of God.

CHAPTER 15

OF THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF JESUS, AND TESTIMONIES CONCERNING THEM

Having spoken of the second nativity, in which, He showed Himself in the flesh to men, let us come to those wonderful works, on account of which, though they were signs of heavenly power, the Jews esteemed Him a magician. When He first began to reach maturity He was baptized by the prophet John in the river Jordan, that He might wash away in the spiritual layer not His own sins, for it is evident that He had none, but those of the flesh, which He bare; that as He saved the Jews by undergoing circumcision, so He might save the Gentiles also by baptism — that is, by the pouring forth of the purifying dew. Then a voice from heaven was heard: “Thou art my Son, today have I begotten Thee.” Which voice is found to have been foretold by David. And the Spirit of God descended upon Him, formed after the appearance of a white dove. From that time He began to perform the greatest miracles, not by magical tricks, which display nothing true and substantial, but by heavenly strength and power, which were foretold even long ago by the prophets who announced Him; which works are so many, that a single book is not sufficient to comprise them all. I will therefore enumerate them briefly and generally, without any designation of persons and places, that I may be able to come to the setting forth of His passion and cross, to which my discourse has long been hastening. His powers were those which Apollo called wonderful: that wherever He journeyed, by a single word, and in a single moment, He healed the sick and infirm, and those afflicted with every kind of disease: so that those who were deprived of the use of all their limbs, having suddenly received power, were strengthened, and themselves carried their couches, on which they had a little time before been carried. But to the lame, and to those afflicted with some defect of the feet, He not only gave

the power of walking, but also of running. Then, also, if any had their eyes blinded in the deepest darkness, He restored them to their former sight. He also loosened the tongues of the dumb, so that they discoursed and spoke eloquently. He also opened the ears of the deaf, and caused them to hear; He cleansed the polluted and the blemished. And He performed all these things not by His hands, or the application of any remedy, but by His word and command, as also the Sibyl had foretold:

"Doing all things by His word, and healing every disease."

Nor, indeed, is it wonderful that He did wonderful things by His word, since He Himself was the Word of God, relying upon heavenly strength and power. Nor was it enough that He gave strength to the feeble, soundness of body to the maimed, health to the sick and languishing, unless He also raised the dead, as it were unbound from sleep, and recalled them to life.

And the Jews, then, when they saw these things, contended that they were done by demoniacal power, although it was contained in their secret writings that all things should thus come to pass as they did. They read indeed the words of other prophets, and of Isaiah, saying: "Be strong, ye hands that are relaxed; and ye weak knees, be comforted. Ye who are of a fearful heart, fear not, be not afraid: our Lord shall execute judgment; He Himself shall come and save us. Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear: then shall the lame man leap as a deer, and the tongue of the dumb speak plainly: for in the wilderness water hath broken forth, and a stream in the thirsty land." But the Sibyl also foretold the same things in these verses: —

"And there shall be a rising again of the dead; and the course of the lame shall be swift, and the deaf shall hear, and the blind shall see, the dumb shall speak."

On account of these powers and divine works wrought by Him when a great multitude followed Him of the maimed, or sick, or of those who desired to present their sick to be healed, He went up into a desert mountain to pray there. And when He had tarried there three days, and the people were suffering from hunger, He called His disciples, and asked what quantity of food they had with them. But they said that they had five loaves and two fishes in a wallet. Then He commanded that these

should be brought forward, and that the multitude, distributed by riffles, should recline an the ground. When the disciples did this, He Himself broke the bread in pieces, and divided the flesh of the fishes, and in His hands both of them were increased. And when He had ordered the disciples to set them before the people, five thousand men were satisfied, and moreover twelve baskets were filled from the fragments which remained. What can be more wonderful, either in narration or in action? But the Sibyl had before foretold that it would take place, whose verses are related to this effect: —

> "With five loaves at the same time, and with two fishes, He shall satisfy five thousand men in the wilderness; And afterwards taking all the fragments that remain, He shall fill twelve baskets to the hope of many."

I ask, therefore, what the art of magic could have contrived in this case, the skill of which is of avail for nothing else than for deceiving the eves? He also, when He was about to retire to a mountain, as He was wont, for the sake of prayer, directed His disciples to take a small ship and go before Him. But they, setting out when evening was now coming on, began to be distressed through a contrary wind. And when they were now in the midst of the sea, then, setting His feet on the sea, He came up to them, walking as though on the solid ground, not as the poets fable Orion walking on the sea, who, while a part of his body was sunk in the water,

"With his shoulder rises above the waves."

And again, when He had gone to sleep in the ship, and the wind had begun to rage, even to the extremity of danger, being aroused from sleep, He immediately ordered the wind to be silent; and the waves, which were born with great violence, were still, and immediately at His word there followed a calm.

But perhaps the sacred writings speak falsely, when they teach that there was such power in Him, that by His command He compelled the winds to obey, the seas to serve Him, diseases to depart, the dead to be submissive. Why should I say that the Sibyls before taught the same things in their verses? one of whom, already mentioned, thus speaks: —

"He shall still the winds by His word, and calm the sea
As it rages, treading with feet of peace and in faith."

And again another, which says: —

"He shall walk on the waves, He shall release men from disease.
He shall raise the dead, and drive away many pains;
And from the bread of one wallet there shall be a satisfying of men."

Some, refuted by these testimonies, are accustomed to have recourse to the assertion that these poems were not by the Sibyls, but made up and composed by our own writers. But he will assuredly not think this who has read Cicero, and Varro, and other ancient writers, who make mention of the Erythraean and the other Sibyls, from whose books we bring forward these examples; and these authors died before the birth of Christ according to the flesh. But I do not doubt that these poems were in former times regarded as ravings, since no one then understood them. For they announced some marvelous wonders, of which neither the manner, nor the time, nor the author was signified. Lastly, the Erythraean Sibyl says that it would come to pass that she would be called mad and deceitful. But assuredly

> "They will say that the Sibyl Is mad, and deceitful: but when all things shall come to pass, Then ye will remember me; and no one will any longer Say that I, the prophetess of the great God, am mad."

Therefore they were neglected for many ages; but they received attention after the nativity and passion of Christ had revealed secret things. Thus it was also with the utterances of the prophets, which were read by the people of the Jews for fifteen hundred years and more, but yet were not understood until after Christ had explained them both by His word and by His works. For the prophets spoke of Him; nor could the things which they said have been in any way understood, unless they had been altogether fulfilled.

CHAPTER 16

OF THE PASSION OF JESUS CHRIST; THAT IT WAS FORETOLD

I come now to the passion itself, which is often cast in our teeth as a reproach: that we worship a man, and one who was visited and tormented with remarkable punishment: that I may show that this very passion was undergone by Him in accordance with a great and divine plan, and that goodness and truth and wisdom are contained in it alone. For if He had been most happy on the earth, and had reigned through all His life in the greatest prosperity, no wise man would either have believed Him to be a God, or judged Him worthy of divine honor: which is the case with those who are destitute of true divinity, who not only look up to perishable riches, and frail power, and the advantages arising from the benefit of another, but even consecrate them, and knowingly do service to the memory of the dead, worshipping fortune when it is now extinguished, which the wise never regarded as an object of worship even when alive and present with them. For nothing among earthly things can be venerable and worthy of heaven; but it is virtue alone, and justice alone, which can be judged a true and heavenly, and perpetual good, because it is neither given to any one, nor taken away. And since Christ came upon earth, supplied with virtue and righteousness, yea rather, since He Himself is virtue and Himself righteousness, He descended that He might teach it and mold the character of man. And having performed this office and embassy from God, on account of this very virtue which He at once taught and practiced, He deserved, and was able, to be believed a God by all nations. Therefore, when a great multitude from time to time flocked to Him, either on account of the righteousness which He taught or on account of the miracles which He worked, and heard His precepts, and believed that He was sent by God, and that He was the Son of God, then the rulers and priests of the Jews, excited with anger because they were rebuked by Him as sinners, and perverted by envy, because, while the multitude flocked to Him, they saw themselves despised and deserted, and (that which was the crowning point of their guilt) blinded by folly and error, and unmindful of the instructors sent from heaven, and of the prophets, they caballed against

Him, and conceived the impious design of putting Him to death, and torturing Him: of which the prophets had long before written.

For both David, in the beginning of his Psalms, foreseeing in spirit what a crime they were about to commit, says, “Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the way of the ungodly;” and Solomon in the book of Wisdom used these words: “Let us defraud the righteous, for he is unpleasant to us, and upbraideth us with our offenses against the law. He maketh his boast that he has the knowledge of God; and he calleth himself the Son of God. He is made to reprove our thoughts: it grieveth us even to look upon him: for his life is not like the life of others; his ways are of another fashion. We are counted by him as triflers, he withdraweth himself from our ways as from filthiness; he commendeth greatly the latter end of the just, and boasteth that he has God for his Father. Let us see, therefore, if his words be true; let us prove what end he shall have let us examine him with rebukes and torments that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience; let us condemn him to a shameful death. Such things have they imagined, and have gone astray. For their own folly hath blinded them, and they do not understand the mysteries of God.” Does he not describe that impious design entered into by the wicked against God, so that he clearly appears to have been present? But from Solomon, who foretold these things, to the time of their accomplishment, ten hundred and ten years intervened. We feign nothing; we add nothing. They who performed the actions had these accounts; they, against whom these things were spoken, read them. But even now the inheritors of their name and guilt have these accounts, and in their daily readings re-echo their own condemnation as foretold by the voice of the prophets; nor do they ever admit them into their heart, which is also itself a part of their condemnation. The Jews, therefore, being often reproved by Christ, who upbraided them with their sins and iniquities, and being almost deserted by the people, were stirred up to put Him to death.

Now His humility emboldened them to this deed. For when they read with what great power and glory the Son of God was about to descend from heaven, but on the other hand saw Jesus humble, peaceful, of low condition, without comeliness, they did not believe that He was the Son of God, being ignorant that two advents on His part were foretold by the prophets: the first, obscure in humility of the flesh; the other, manifest in

the power of His majesty. Of the first David thus speaks in the seventy-first Psalm: “He shall descend as rain upon a fleece; and in His days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace, as long as the moon is lifted up.” For as rain, if it descends upon a fleece, cannot be perceived, because it makes no sound; so he said that Christ would come to the earth without exciting the notice of any, that He might teach righteousness and peace. Isaiah also thus spoke: “Lord, who bath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We made proclamation before Him as children, and as a root in a thirsty land: He has no form nor glory; and we saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness. But His form was without honor, and defective beyond the rest of men. He is a man acquainted with grief, and knowing how to endure infirmity, because He turned His face away from us; and He was not esteemed. He carries our sins, and He endures pain for us: and we thought that He Himself was in pain and grief, and vexation. But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our offenses; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, by His bruises we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray, and God hath delivered Him up for our sins.” And in the same manner the Sibyl spoke: “Though an object of pity, dishonored, without form, He will give hope to those who are objects of pity.” On account of this humility they did not recognize their God, and entered into the detestable design of depriving Him of life, who had come to give them life.

CHAPTER 17

OF THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE JEWS, AND THEIR HATRED AGAINST JESUS

But they alleged other causes for their anger and envy, which they bore shut up within in their hearts — namely, that He destroyed the obligation of the law given by Moses; that is, that He did not rest on the Sabbath, but labored for the good of men; that He abolished circumcision; that He took away the necessity of abstaining from the flesh of swine; — in which things the mysteries of the Jewish religion consist. On this account, therefore, the rest of the people, who had not yet withdrawn to Christ, were incited by the priests to regard Him as impious, because He

destroyed the obligation of the law of God, though He did this not by His own judgment, but according to the will of God, and after the predictions of the prophets. For Micah announced that He would give a new law, in these terms: “The law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations.” For the former law, which was given by Moses, was not given on Mount Zion, but on Mount Horeb; and the Sibyl shows that it would come to pass that this law would be destroyed by the Son of God:—

“But when all these things which I told you shall be accomplished, then all the law is fulfilled with respect to Him.”

But even Moses himself, by whom the law was given which they so tenaciously maintain, though they have fallen away from God, and have not acknowledged God, had foretold that it would come to pass that a very great prophet would be sent by God, who should be above the law, and be a bearer of the will of God to men. In Deuteronomy he thus left it written: “And the Lord said unto me, I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my word in His month, and He shall speak unto them all that I shall command Him. And whosoever will not hearken to those things which that Prophet shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.” The Lord evidently announced by the law-giver himself that He was about to send His own Son-that is, a law alive, and present in person, and destroy that old law given by a mortal, that by Him who was eternal He might ratify afresh a law which was eternal.

In like manner, Isaiah thus prophesied concerning the abolition of circumcision: “Thus saith the Lord to the men of Judah who dwell at Jerusalem, Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the Lord your God, and take away the foreskins of your heart, lest my fury come forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it.” Also Moses himself says: “In the last days the Lord shall circumcise thine heart to love the Lord thy God.” Also Jesus the son of Nun, his successor, said: “And the Lord said unto Jesus, Make thee knives of flint very sharp, and sit and circumcise the children of Israel the second time.” He said that this second circumcision would be not of the flesh, as the first was, which the Jews practice even now, but of the heart and

spirit, which was delivered by Christ, who was the true Jesus. For the prophet does not say, “And the Lord said unto me,” but “unto Jesus,” that he might show that God was not speaking of him, but of Christ, to whom God was then speaking. For that Jesus represented Christ: for when he was at first called Auses, Moses, foreseeing the future, ordered that he should be called Jesus; that since he had been chosen as the leader of the warfare against Amalek, who was the enemy of the children of Israel, he might both subdue the adversary by the emblem of the name, and lead the people into the land of promise. And for this reason he was also successor to Moses, to show that the new law given by Christ Jesus was about to succeed to the old law which was given by Moses. For that circumcision of the flesh is plainly irrational; since, if God had so willed it, He might so have formed man from the beginning, that he should be without a foreskin. But it was a figure of this second circumcision, signifying that the breast is to be laid bare; that is, that we ought to live with an open and simple heart, since that part of the body which is circumcised has a kind of resemblance to the heart, and is to be treated with reverence. On this account God ordered that it should be laid bare, that by this argument He might admonish us not to have our breast hidden in obscurity; that is, not to veil any shameful deed within the secrets of conscience. This is the circumcision of the heart of which the prophets speak, which God transferred from the mortal flesh to the soul, which alone is about to endure. For being desirous of promoting our life and salvation in accordance with His own goodness, in that circumcision He hath set before us repentance, that if we lay open our hearts, — that is if we confess our sins and make satisfaction to God, — we shall obtain pardon, which is denied to those who are obstinate and conceal their faults, by Him who regards not the outward appearance, as man does, but the innermost secrets of the heart.

The forbidding of the flesh of swine also has the same intention; for when God commanded them to abstain from this, He willed that this should be especially understood, that they should abstain from sins and impurities. For this animal is filthy and unclean, and never looks up to heaven, but prostrates itself to the earth with its whole body and face: it is always the slave of its appetite and food; nor during its life can it afford any other service, as the other animals do, which either afford a vehicle for riding, or

aid in the cultivation of the fields, or draw wagons by their neck, or carry burthens on their back, or furnish a covering with their skins, or abound with a supply of milk, or keep watch for guarding our houses. Therefore He forbade them to use the flesh of the pig for food, that is, not to imitate the life of swine, which are nourished only for death; lest, by devoting themselves to their appetite and pleasures, they should be useless for working righteousness, and should be visited with death. Also that they should not immerse themselves in foul lusts, as the sow, which wallows in the mire; of that they do not serve earthly images, and thus defile themselves with mud: for they do bedaub themselves with mud who worship gods, that is, who worship mud and earth. Thus all the precepts of the Jewish law have for their object the setting forth of righteousness, since they are given in a mysterious manner, that under the figure of carnal things those which are spiritual might be known.

CHAPTER 18

OF THE LORD’S PASSION, AND THAT IT WAS FORETOLD

When, therefore, Christ fulfilled these things which God would have done, and which He foretold many ages before by His prophets, incited by these things, and ignorant of the sacred Scriptures, they conspired together to condemn their God. And though He knew that this would come to pass, and repeatedly said that He must suffer and be put to death for the salvation of many, nevertheless He withdrew Himself with His disciples, not that He might avoid that which it was necessary for Him to undergo and endure, but that He might show what ought to take place in every persecution, that no one should appear to have fallen into it through his own fault: and He announced that it would come to pass that He should be betrayed by one of them. And thus Judas, induced by a bribe, delivered up to the Jews the Son of God. But they took and brought Him before Pontius Pilate, who at that time was administering the province of Syria as governor, and demanded that He should be crucified, though they laid nothing else to His charge except that He said that He was the Son of God, the King of the Jews; also His own saying, “Destroy this temple, which was forty-six years in building, and in three days I will raise it up again

without hands," — signifying that His passion would shortly take place, and that He, having been put to death by the Jews, would rise again on the third day. For He Himself was the true temple of God. They inveighed against these expressions of His, as ill-omened and impious. And when Pilate had heard these things, and He said nothing in His own defense, he gave sentence that there appeared nothing deserving of condemnation in Him. But those most unjust accusers, together with the people whom they had stirred up, began to cry out, and with loud voices to demand His crucifixion.

Then Pontius was overpowered both by their outcries, and by the instigation of Herod the tetrarch, who feared lest he should be deposed from his sovereignty. He did not, however, himself pass sentence, but delivered Him up to the Jews, that they themselves might judge Him according to their law. Therefore they led Him away when He had been scourged with rods, and before they crucified Him they mocked Him; for they put upon Him a scarlet robe, and a crown of thorns, and saluted Him as King, and gave Him gall for food, and mingled for Him vinegar to drink. After these things they spat upon His face, and struck Him with the palms of their hands; and when the executioners themselves contended about His garments, they cast lots among themselves for His tunic and mantle. And while all these things were doing, He uttered no voice from His mouth, as though He were dumb. Then they lifted Him up in the midst between two malefactors, who had been condemned for robbery, and fixed Him to the cross. What can I here deplore in so great a crime? or in what words can I lament such great wickedness? For we are not relating the crucifixion of Gavius, which Marcus Tullius followed up with all the spirit and strength of his eloquence, pouring forth as it were the fountains of all his genius, proclaiming that it was an unworthy deed that a Roman citizen should be crucified in violation of all laws. And although He was innocent, and undeserving of that punishment, yet He was put to death, and that, too, by an impious man, who was ignorant of justice. What shall I say respecting the indignity of this cross, on which the Son of God was suspended and nailed? Who will be found so eloquent, and supplied with so great an abundance of deeds and words, what speech flowing with such copious exuberance, as to lament in a befitting manner that cross, which the world itself, and all the elements of the world, bewailed?

But that these things were thus about to happen, was announced both by the utterances of the prophets and by the predictions of the Sibyls. In Isaiah it is found thus written: “I am not rebellious, nor do I oppose: I gave my back to the scourge, and my cheeks to the hand: I turned not away my face from the foulness of spitting.” In like manner David, in the thirty-fourth Psalm: “The abjects were gathered together against me, and they knew me not: they were dispersed, nor did they feel remorse; they tempted me, and greatly derided me; and they gnashed upon me with their teeth.” The Sibyl also showed that the same things would happen: —

> “He shall afterwards come into the hands of the unjust and the faithless; and they shall inflict on God blows with impure hands, and with polluted mouths they shall send forth poisonous spittle; and He shall then absolutely give His holy back to stripes.”

Likewise respecting His silence, which He perseveringly maintained even to His death, Isaiah thus spoke again: “He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so He opened not His mouth.” And the above-mentioned Sibyl said: —

> “And being beaten, He shall be silent, lest any one should know what the Word is, or whence it came, that it may speak with mortals; and he shall wear the crown of thorns.”

But respecting the food and the drink which they offered to Him before they fastened Him to the cross, David thus speaks in the sixty-eighth Psalm: “And they gave me gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.” The Sibyl foretold that this also would happen: —

***“They gave me gall for my food, and for my thirst vinegar;
this inhospitable table they will show.”***

And another Sibyl rebukes the land of Judges in these verses: —

> “For you, entertaining hurtful thoughts, did not recognize your God sporting with mortal thoughts; but crowned Him with a crown of thorns, and mingled dreadful gall.”

Now, that it would come to pass that the Jews would lay hands upon their God, and put Him to death, these testimonies of the prophets foretold. In Esdras it is thus written: “And Ezra said to the people, This

passover is our Savior and our refuge. Consider and let it come into your heart, that we have to abase Him in a figure; and after these things we will hope in Him, lest this place be deserted for ever, saith the Lord God of hosts. If you will not believe Him, nor hear His announcement, ye shall be a derision among the nations.” From which it appears that the Jews had no other hope, unless they purified themselves from blood, and put their hopes in that very person whom they denied. Isaiah also points out their deed, and says: “In His humiliation His judgment was taken away. Who shall declare His generation? for His life shall be taken away from the earth; from the transgressions of my people He was led away to death. And I will give Him the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death, because He did no wickedness, nor spoke guile with His mouth. Wherefore He shall obtain many, and shall divide the spoils of the strong; because He was delivered up to death, and was reckoned among the transgressors; and He bore the sins of many, and was delivered up on account of their transgressions.” David also, in the ninety-third Psalm: “They will hunt after the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood; and the Lord is become my refuge.” Also Jeremiah: “Lord, declare it unto me, and I shall know. Then I saw their devices; I was led as an innocent lamb to the sacrifice; they meditated a plan against me, saying, Come, let us send wood into his bread, and let us sweep away his life from the earth, and his name shall no more be remembered.” Now the wood signifies the cross, and the bread His body; for He Himself is the food and the life of all who believe in the flesh which He bare, and on the cross upon which He was suspended.

Respecting this, however, Moses himself more plainly spoke to this effect, in Deuteronomy: “And Thy life shall hang before Thine eyes; and Thou shall fear day and night, and shalt have no assurance of Thy life.” And the same again in Numbers: “God is not in doubt as a suffer threats as the son of man, nor does He man.” Zechariah also thus wrote: “And they shall look on me, whom they pierced.” Also David in the twenty-first Psalm: “They pierced my hands and my feet; they numbered all my bones; they themselves looked and stared upon me; they divided my garments among them; and upon my vesture they did cast lots.” It is evident that the prophet did not speak these things concerning himself. For he was a king, and never endured these sufferings; but the Spirit of

God, who was about to suffer these things, after ten hundred and fifty years, spoke by him. For this is the number of years from the reign of David to the crucifixion of Christ. But Solomon also, his son, who built Jerusalem, prophesied that this very city would perish in revenge for the sacred cross: “But if ye turn away from me, saith the Lord, and will not keep my truth, I will drive Israel from the land which I have given them; and this house which I have built for them in my name, I will cast it out from all: and lsrael shall be for perdition and a reproach to the people; and this house shall be desolate, and every one that shall pass by it shall be astonished, and shall say, Why hath God done these evils to this land and to this house? And they shall say, Because they forsook the Lord their God, and persecuted their King most beloved by God, and crucified Him with great degradation, therefore hath God brought upon them these evils.”

CHAPTER 19

OF THE DEATH, BURIAL, AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS; AND THE PREDICTIONS OF THESE EVENTS

What more can now be said respecting the crime of the Jews, than that they were then blinded and seized with incurable madness, who read these things daily, and yet neither understood them, nor were able to be on their guard so as not to do them? Therefore, being lifted up and nailed to the cross, He cried to the Lord with a loud voice, and of His own accord gave up His spirit. And at the same hour there was an earthquake; and the veil of the temple, which separated the two tabernacles, was rent into two parts; and the sun suddenly withdrew its light, and there was darkness from the sixth even to the ninth hour. Of which event the prophet Amos testifies: “And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that the sun shall go down at noon, and the daylight shall be darkened; and I will turn your feasts into mourning, and your songs into lamentation.” Also Jeremiah: “She who brings forth is affrighted, and vexed in spirit; her sun is gone down while it was yet mid-day; she hath been ashamed and confounded; and the residue of them will I give to the sword in the sight of their enemies.” And the Sibyl: —

"And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and at midday there shall be dark vast night for three hours,"

When these things were done, even by the heavenly prodigies, they were not able to understand their crime.

But since He had foretold that on the third day He should rise again from the dead, fearing lest, the body having been stolen by the disciples, and removed, all should believe that He had risen, and there should be a much greater disturbance among the people, they took Him down from the cross, and having shut Him up in a tomb, they securely surrounded it with a guard of soldiers. But on the third day, before light, there was an earthquake, and the sepulcher was suddenly opened; and the guard, who were astonished and stupefied with fear, seeing nothing, He came forth uninjured and alive from the sepulcher, and went into Galilee to seek His disciples: but nothing was found in the sepulcher except the grave-clothes in which they haft enclosed and wrapt His body. Now, that He would not remain in hell, but rise again on the third day, had been foretold by the prophets. David says, in the fifteenth Psalm: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption." Also in the third Psalm: "I laid me down to sleep, and took my rest, and rose again, for the Lord sustained me." Hosea also, the first of the twelve prophets, testified of His resurrection: "This my Son is wise, therefore He will not remain in the anguish of His sons: and I will redeem Him from the power of the grave. Where is thy judgment, O death? or where is thy sting?" The same also in another place: "After two days, He will revive us in the third day." And therefore the Sibyl said, that after three days' sleep he would put an end to death: —

> "And after sleeping three days, He shall put an end to the fate of death;and then, releasing Himself from the dead, He shall come to light, first showing to the called ones the beginning of the resurrection."

For He gained life for us by overcoming death. No hope, therefore, of gaining immortality is given to than, unless he shall believe on Him, and shall take up that cross to be born and endured.

CHAPTER 20

OF THE DEPARTURE OF JESUS INTO GALILEE AFTER HIS RESURRECTION; AND OF THE TWO TESTAMENTS, THE OLD AND THE NEW

Therefore He went into Galilee, for He was unwilling to show Himself to the Jews, lest He should lead them to repentance, and restore them from their impiety to a sound mind. And there He opened to His disciples again assembled the writings of Holy Scripture, that is, the secrets of the prophets; which before His suffering could by no means be understood, for they told of Him and of His passion. Therefore Moses, and the prophets also themselves, call the law which was given to the Jews a testament: for unless the testator shall have died, a testament cannot be confirmed; nor can that which is written in it be known, because it is closed and sealed. And thus, unless Christ had undergone death the testament could not have been opened; that is, the mystery of God could not have been unveiled and understood.

But all Scripture is divided into two Testaments. That which preceded the advent and passion of Christ — that is, the law and the prophets — is called the Old; but those things which were written after His resurrection are named the New Testament. The Jews make use of the Old, we of the New: but yet they are not discordant, for the New is the fulfilling of the Old, and in both there is the same testator, even Christ, who, having suffered death for us, made us heirs of His everlasting kingdom, the people of the Jews being deprived and disinherited. As the prophet Jeremiah testifies when he speaks such things: “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new testament to the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the testament which I made to their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for they continued not in my testament, and I disregarded them, saith the Lord.” Also in another place he says in like manner: “I have forsaken my house, I have given up mine heritage into the hand of its enemies. Mine heritage is become unto me as a lion in the forest; it hath cried out against me, therefore have I hated it.” Since the inheritance is His heavenly kingdom, it is evident that He does not say that He hates the

inheritance itself, but the heirs, who have been ungrateful towards Him, and impious. Mine heritage, he says, is become unto me as a lion; that is, I am become a prey and a devouring to my heirs, who have slain me as the flock. It hath cried out against me; that is, they have pronounced against me the sentence of death and the cross. For that which He said above, that He would make a new testament to the house of Judah, shows that the old testament which was given by Moses was not perfect; but that that which was to be given by Christ would be complete. But it is plain that the house of Judah does not signify the Jews, whom He casts off, but us, who have been called by Him out of the Gentiles, and have by adoption succeeded to their place, and are called sons of the Jews, which the Sibyl declares when she says: —

"The divine race of the blessed, heavenly Jews."

But what that race was about to be, Isaiah teaches, in whose book the Most High Father addresses His Son: "I the Lord God have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thine hand, and will keep Thee: and I have given Thee for covenant of my race, for a light of the Gentiles to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." When, therefore, we who were in time past as it were blind, and as it were shut up in the prison of folly, were sitting in darkness, ignorant of God and of the truth, we have been enlightened by Him, who adopted us by His testament; and having freed us from cruel chains, and brought us out to the light of wisdom, He admitted us to the inheritance of His heavenly kingdom.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE ASCENSION OF JESUS, AND THE FORETELLING OF IT; AND OF THE PREACHING AND ACTIONS OF THE DISCIPLES

But when He had made arrangements with His disciples for the preaching of the Gospel and His name, a cloud suddenly surrounded Him, and carried Him up into heaven, on the fortieth day after His passion, as Daniel had shown that it would be, saying: "And, behold, one like the Son

of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days." But the disciples, being dispersed through the provinces, everywhere laid the foundations of the Church, themselves also in the name of their divine Master doing many and almost incredible miracles; for at His departure He had endowed them with power and strength, by which the system of their new announcement might be founded and confirmed. But He also opened to them all things which were about to happen, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome; and this preaching being written for the sake of remembrance, became permanent, in which they both declared other wonderful things, and also said that it was about to come to pass, that after a short time God would send against them a king who would subdue the Jews, and level their cities to the ground, and besiege the people themselves, worn out with hunger and thirst. Then it should come to pass that they should feed on the bodies of their own children, and consume one another. Lastly, that they should be taken captive, and come into the hands of their enemies, and should see their wives most cruelly harassed before their eyes, their virgins ravished and polluted, their sons torn in pieces, their little ones dashed to the ground; and lastly, everything laid waste with fire and sword, the captives banished for ever from their own lands, because they had exulted over the well-beloved and most approved Son of God. And so, after their decease, when Nero had put them to death, Vespasian destroyed the name and nation of the Jews, and did all things which they had foretold as about to come to pass.

CHAPTER 22

ARGUMENTS OF UNBELIEVERS AGAINST THE INCARNATION OF JESUS

I have now confirmed, as I imagine, the things which are thought false and incredible by those who are not instructed in the true knowledge of heavenly learning. But, however, that we may refute those also who are too wise, not without injury to themselves and who detract from the credit due to divine things, let us disprove their error, that they may at length perceive that the fact ought to have been as we show that it actually was. And although with good judges either testimonies are of sufficient weight

without arguments, or arguments without testimonies, we, however, are not content with the one or the other, since we are supplied with both, that we may not leave room for any one of depraved ingenuity either to misunderstand or to dispute on the opposite side. They say that it was impossible for anything to be withdrawn from an immortal nature. They say, in short, that it was unworthy of God to be willing to become man, and to burthen Himself with the infirmity of flesh; to become subject of His own accord to sufferings, to pain, and death: as though it had not been easy for Him to show Himself to men without the weakness incident to a body, and to teach them righteousness (if He so wished) with greater authority, as of one who acknowledged Himself to be God. For in that case all would have obeyed the heavenly precepts, if the influence and power of God enjoining them had been united with them. Why, then (they say), did He not come as God to teach men? Why did He render Himself so humble and weak, that it was possible for Him both to be despised by men and to be visited with punishment? why did He suffer violence from those who are weak and mortal? why did He not repel by strength, or avoid by His divine knowledge, the hands of men? why did He not at least in His very death reveal His majesty? but He was led as one without strength to trial, was condemned as one who was guilty, was put to death as one who was mortal. I will carefully refute these things, nor will I permit any one to be in error. For these things were done by a great and wonderful plan; and he who shall understand this, will not only cease to wonder that God was tortured by men, but also will easily see that it could not have been believed that he was God if those very things which he censures had not been done.

CHAPTER 23

OF GIVING PRECEPTS, AND ACTING

If any one gives to men precepts for living, and molds the characters of others, I ask whether he is bound himself to practice the things which he enjoins, or is not bound. If he shall not do so, his precepts are annulled. For if the things which are enjoined are good, if they place the life of men in the best condition, the instructor ought not to separate himself from the

number and assemblage of men among whom he acts; and he ought himself to live in the same manner in which he teaches that men ought to live, lest, by living in another way, he himself should disparage his own precepts, and make his instruction of less value, if in reality he should relax the obligations of that which he endeavors to establish by his words. For every one, when he hears another giving precepts, is unwilling that the necessity of obeying should be imposed upon him, as though the right of liberty were taken from him. Therefore he answers his teacher in this manner: I am not able to do the things which you command, for they are impossible. For you forbid me to be angry, you forbid me to covet, you forbid me to be excited by desire, you forbid me to fear pain or death; but this is so contrary to nature, that all animals are subject to these affections. Or if you are so entirely of opinion that it is possible to resist nature, do you yourself practice the things which you enjoin, that I may know that they are possible? But since you yourself do not practice them, what arrogance is it, to wish to impose upon a free man laws which you yourself do not obey! You who teach, first learn; and before you correct the character of others, correct your own. Who could deny the justice of this answer? Nay! a teacher of this kind will fall into contempt, and will in his turn be mocked, because he also will appear to mock others.

What, therefore, will that instructor do, if these things shall be objected to him? how will he deprive the self-willed of an excuse, unless he teach them by deeds before their eyes that he teaches things which are possible? Whence it comes to pass, that no one obeys the precepts of the philosophers. For men prefer examples rather than words, because it is easy to speak, but difficult to accomplish. Would to heaven that there were as many who acted well as there are who speak well! But they who give precepts, without carrying them out into action, are distrusted; and if they shall be men, will be despised as inconsistent: if it shall be God, He will be met with the excuse of the frailty of man’s nature. It remains that words should be confirmed by deeds, which the philosophers are unable to do. Therefore, since the instructors themselves are overcome by the affections which they say that it is our duty to overcome, they are able to train no one to virtue, which they falsely proclaim; and for this cause they imagine that no perfect wise man has as vet existed, that is, in whom the greatest virtue and perfect justice were in harmony with the greatest

learning and knowledge. And this indeed was true. For no one since the creation of the world has been such, except Christ, who both delivered wisdom by His word, and confirmed His teaching by presenting virtue to the eyes of men.

CHAPTER 24

THE OVERTHROWING OF THE ARGUMENTS ABOVE URGED BY WAY OF OBJECTION

Come, let us now consider whether a teacher sent from heaven can fail to be perfect. I do not as yet speak of Him whom they deny to have come from God. Let us suppose that some one were to be sent from heaven to instruct the life of men in the first principles of virtue, and to form them to righteousness. No one can doubt but that this teacher, who is sent from heaven, would be as perfect in the knowledge of all things as in virtue, lest there should be no difference between a heavenly and an earthly teacher. For in the case of a man his instruction can by no means be from within and of himself. For the mind, shut in by earthly organs, and hindered by a corrupt body, of itself can neither comprehend nor receive the truth, unless it is taught from another source. And if it had this power in the greatest degree, yet it would be unable to attain to the highest virtue, and to resist all vices, the materials of which are contained in our bodily organs. Hence it comes to pass, that an earthly teacher cannot be perfect. But a teacher from heaven, to whom His divine nature gives knowledge, and His immortality gives virtue, must of necessity in His teaching also, as in other things, be perfect and complete. But this cannot by any means happen, unless He should take to Himself a mortal body. And the reason why it cannot happen is manifest. For if He should come to men as God, not to mention that mortal eyes cannot look upon and endure the glory of His majesty in His own person, assuredly God will not be able to teach virtue; for, inasmuch as He is without a body, He will not practice the things which He will teach, and through this His teaching will not be perfect. Otherwise, if it is the greatest virtue patiently to endure pain for the sake of righteousness and duty, if it is virtue not to fear death itself when threatened, and when inflicted to undergo it with fortitude; it follows

that the perfect teacher ought both to teach these things by precept, and to confirm them by practice. For he who gives precepts for the life, ought to remove every method of excuse, that he may impose upon men the necessity of obedience, not by any constraint, but by a sense of shame, and yet may leave them liberty, that a reward may be appointed for those who obey, because it was in their power not to obey if they so wished; and a punishment for those who do not obey, because it was in their power to obey if they so wished. How then can excuse be removed, unless the teacher should practice what he teaches, and as it were go before and hold out his hand to one who is about to follow? But how can one practice what he teaches, unless he is like him whom he teaches? For if he be subject to no passion, a man may thus answer him who is the teacher: It is my wish not to sin, but I am overpowered; for I am clothed with frail and weak flesh: it is this which covets, which is angry, which fears pain and death. And thus I am led on against my will; and I sin, not because it is my wish, but because I am compelled. I myself perceive that I sin; but the necessity imposed by my frailty, which I am unable to resist, impels me. What will that teacher of righteousness say in reply to these things? How will he refute and convict a man who shall allege the frailty of the flesh as an excuse for his faults, unless he himself also shall be clothed with flesh, so that he may show that even the flesh is capable of virtue? For obstinacy cannot be refuted except by example. For the things which you teach cannot have any weight unless you shall be the first to practice them; because the nature of men is inclined to faults, and wishes to sin not only with indulgence, but also with a reasonable plea. It is befitting that a master and teacher of virtue should most closely resemble man, that by overpowering sin he may teach man that sin may be overpowered by him. But if he is immortal, he can by no means propose an example to man. For there will stand forth some one persevering in his opinion, and will say: You indeed do not sin, because you are free from this body; you do not covet, because nothing is needed by an immortal; but I have need of many things for the support of this life. You do not fear death, because it can have no power against you. You despise pain, because you can suffer no violence. But I, a mortal, fear both, because they bring upon me the severest tortures, which the weakness of the flesh cannot endure. A teacher of virtue therefore ought to have taken away this excuse from men, that no one may ascribe it to necessity that he sins, rather than to his own

fault. Therefore, that a teacher may be perfect, no objection ought to be brought forward by him who is to be taught, so that if he should happen to say, You enjoin impossibilities; the teacher may answer, See, I myself do them. But I am clothed with flesh, and it is the property of flesh to sin. I too bear the same flesh, and yet sin does not bear rule in me. It is difficult for me to despise riches, because otherwise I am unable to live in this body. See, I too have a body, and yet I contend against every desire. I am not able to bear pain or death for righteousness, because I am frail. See, pain and death have power over me also; and I overcome those very things which you fear, that I may make you victorious over pain and death. I go before you through those things which you allege that it is impossible to endure: if you are not able to follow me giving directions, follow me going before you. In this way all excuse is taken away, and you must confess that man is unjust through his own fault, since he does not follow a teacher of virtue, who is at the same time a guide. You see, therefore, how much more perfect is a teacher who is mortal, because he is able to be a guide to one who is mortal, than one who is immortal, for he is unable to teach patient endurance who is not subject to passions. Nor, however, does this extend so far that I prefer man to God; but to show that man cannot be a perfect teacher unless he is also God, that he may by his heavenly authority impose upon men the necessity of obedience; nor God, unless he is clothed with a mortal body, that by carrying out his precepts to their completion in actions, he may bind others by the necessity of obedience. It plainly therefore appears, that he who is a guide of life and teacher of righteousness must have a body, and that his teaching cannot otherwise be full and perfect, unless it has a root and foundation, and remains firm and fixed among men; and that he himself must undergo weakness of flesh and body, and display in himself the virtue of which he is a teacher, that he may teach it at the same time both by words and deeds. Also, he must be subject to death and all sufferings, since the duties of virtue are occupied with the enduring of suffering, and the undergoing death; all which, as I have said, a perfect teacher ought to endure, that he may teach the possibility of their being endured.

CHAPTER 25

OF THE ADVENT OF JESUS IN THE FLESH AND SPIRIT, THAT HE MIGHT BE MEDIATOR BETWEEN GOD AND MAN

Let men therefore learn and understand why the Most High God, when He sent His ambassador and messenger to instruct mortals with the precepts of His righteousness, willed that He should be clothed with mortal flesh, and be afflicted with torture, and be sentenced to death. For since there was no righteousness on earth, He sent a teacher, as it were a living law, to found a new name and temple, that by His words and example He might spread throughout the earth a true and holy worship. But, however, that it might be certain that He was sent by God, it was befitting that He should not be born as man is born, composed of a mortal on both sides; but that it might appear that He was heavenly even in the form of man, He was born without the office of a father. For He had a spiritual Father, God; and as God was the Father of His spirit without a mother, so a virgin was the mother of His body without a father. He was therefore both God and man, being placed in the middle between God and man. From which the Greeks call Him Mesites, that He might be able to lead man to God — that is, to immortality: for if He had been God only (as we have before said), He would not have been able to afford to man examples of goodness; if He had been man only, He would not have been able to compel men to righteousness, unless there had been added an authority and virtue greater than that of man.

For, since man is composed of flesh and spirit, and the spirit must earn immortality by works of righteousness, the flesh, since it is earthly, and therefore mortal, draws with itself the spirit linked to it, and leads it from immortality to death. Therefore the spirit, apart from the flesh, could by no means be a guide to immortality for man, since the flesh hinders the spirit from following God. For it is frail, and liable to sin; but sin is the food and nourishment of death. For this cause, therefore, a mediator came — that is, God in the flesh — that the flesh might be able to follow Him, and that He might rescue man from death, which has dominion over the flesh. Therefore He clothed Himself with flesh, that the desires of the flesh being subdued, He might teach that to sin was not the result of necessity,

but of man’s purpose and will. For we have one great and principal struggle to maintain with the flesh, the boundless desire; of which press upon the soul, nor allow it to retain dominion, but make it the slave of pleasures and sweet allurements, and visit it with everlasting death. And that we might be able to overcome these, God has opened and displayed to us the way of overcoming the flesh. And this perfect and absolutely complete virtue bestows on those who conquer, the crown and reward of immortality.

CHAPTER 26

OF THE CROSS, AND OTHER TORTURES OF JESUS, AND OF THE FIGURE OF THE LAMB UNDER THE LAW

I have spoken of humiliation, and frailty, and suffering — why God thought fit to undergo them. Now an account must be taken of the cross itself, and its meaning must be related. What the Most High Father arranged from the beginning, and how He ordained all things which were accomplished, not only the foretelling by the prophets, which preceded and was proved true in Christ, but also the manner of His suffering itself teaches. For whatever sufferings He underwent were not without meaning; but they had a figurative meaning and great significance, as had also those divine works which He performed, the strength and power of which had some weight indeed for the present, but also declared something for the future. Heavenly influence opened the eyes of the blind, and gave light to those who did not see; and by this deed He signified that it would come to pass that, turning to the nations which were ignorant of God, He might enlighten the breasts of the foolish with the light of wisdom, and open the eyes of their understanding to the contemplation of the truth. For they are truly blind who, not seeing heavenly things, and surrounded with the darkness of ignorance, worship earthly and frail things. He opened the ears of the deaf. It is plain that this divine power did not limit its exercise to this point; but He declared that it would shortly come to pass, that they who were destitute of the truth would both hear and understand the divine words of God. For you may truly call those deaf who do not hear the things which are heavenly and true, and worthy of being performed. He

loosed the tongues of the dumb, so that they spake plainly. A power worthy of admiration, even when it was in operation: but there was contained in this display of power another meaning, which showed that it would shortly come to pass that those who were lately ignorant of heavenly things, having received the instruction of wisdom, might speak respecting God and the truth. For he who is ignorant of the divine nature, he truly is speechless and dumb, although he is the most eloquent of all men. For when the tongue has begun to speak truth — that is, to set forth the excellency and majesty of the one God — then only does it discharge the office of its nature; but as long as it speaks false things it is not rightly employed: and therefore he must necessarily be speechless who cannot utter divine things. He also renewed the feet of the lame to the office of walking, — a strength of divine work worthy of praise; but the figure implied this, that the errors of a worldly and wandering life being restrained, the path of truth was opened by which men might walk to attain the favor of God. For He is truly to be considered lame, who, being enwrapped in the gloom and darkness of folly, and ignorant in what direction to go, with feet liable to stumble and fall, walks in the way of death.

Likewise He cleansed the stains and blemishes of defiled bodies, — no slight exercise of immortal power; but this strength prefigured that by the instruction of righteousness His doctrine was about to purify those defiled by the stains of sins and the blemishes of vices. For they ought truly to be accounted as leprous and unclean, whom either boundless lusts compel to crimes, or insatiable pleasures to disgraceful deeds, and affect with an everlasting stain those who are branded with the marks of dishonorable actions. He raised the bodies of the dead as they lay prostrate; and calling them aloud by their names, He brought them back from death. What is more suitable to God, what more worthy of the wonder of all ages, than to have recalled the life which has run its course, to have added times to the completed times of men, to have revealed the secrets of death? But this unspeakable power was the image of a greater energy, which showed that His teaching was about to have such might, that the nations throughout the world, which were estranged from God and subject to death, being animated by the knowledge of the true light, might arrive at the rewards of immortality. For you may rightly deem those to be dead, who, not

knowing God the giver of life, and depressing their souls from heaven to earth, run into the snares of eternal death. The actions, therefore, which He then performed for the present, were representations of future things; the things which He displayed in injured and diseased bodies were figures of spiritual things, that at present He might display to us the works of an energy which was not of earth, and for the future might show the power of His heavenly majesty.

Therefore, as His works had a signification also of greater power, so also His passion did not go before us as simple, or superfluous, or by chance. But as those things which He did signified the great efficacy and power of His teaching, so those things which He suffered announced that wisdom would be held in hatred. For the vinegar which they gave Him to drink, and the gall which they gave Him to eat, held forth hardships and severities in this life to the followers of truth. And although His passion, which was harsh and severe in itself, gave to us a sample of the future torments which virtue itself proposes to those who linger in this world, yet drink and food of this kind, coming into the mouth of our teacher, afforded us an example of pressures, and labors, and miseries. All which things must be undergone and suffered by those who follow the truth; since the truth is bitter, and detested by all who, being destitute of virtue, give up their life to deadly pleasures. For the placing of a crown of thorns upon His head, declared that it would come to pass that He would gather to Himself a holy people from those who were guilty. For people standing around in a circle are called a corona. But we, who before that we knew God were unjust, were thorns — that is, evil and guilty, not knowing what was good; and estranged from the conception and the works of righteousness, polluted all things with wickedness and lust. Being taken, therefore, from briars and thorns, we surround the sacred head of God; for, being called by Himself, and spread around Him, we stand beside God, who is our Master and Teacher, and crown Him King of the world, and Lord of all the living.

But with reference to the cross, it has great force and meaning, which I will now endeavor to show. For God (as I have before explained), when He had determined to set man free, sent as His ambassador to the earth a teacher of virtue, who might both by salutary precepts train men to innocence, and by works and deeds before their eyes might open the way of righteousness, by walking in which, and following his teacher, man might

attain to eternal life. He therefore assumed a body, and was clothed in a garment of flesh, that He might hold out to man, for whose instruction He had come, examples of virtue and incitements to its practice. But when He had afforded an example of righteousness in all the duties of life, in order that He might teach man also the patient endurance of pain and contempt of death, by which virtue is rendered perfect and complete, He came into the hands of an impious nation, when, by the knowledge of the future which He had, He might have avoided them, and by the same power by which He did wonderful works He might have repelled them. Therefore He endured tortures, and stripes, and thorns. At last He did not refuse even to undergo death, that under His guidance man might triumph over death, subdued and bound in chains with all its terrors. But the reason why the Most High Father chose that kind of death in preference to others, with which He should permit Him to be visited, is this. For some one may perchance say: Why, if He was God, and chose to die, did He not at least suffer by some honorable kind of death? why was it by the cross especially? why by an infamous kind of punishment, which may appear unworthy even of a man if he is free, although guilty? First of all, because He, who had come in humility that He might bring assistance to the humble and men of low degree, and might hold out to all the hope of safety, was to suffer by that kind of punishment by which the humble and low usually suffer, that there might be no one at all who might not be able to imitate Him. In the next place, it was in order that His body might be kept unmutilated, since He must rise again from the dead on the third day.

Nor ought any one to be ignorant of this, that He Himself, speaking before of His passion, also made it known that He had the power, when He willed it, of laying down His life and of taking it again. Therefore, because He had laid down His life while fastened to the cross, His executioners did not think it necessary to break His bones (as was their prevailing custom), but they only pierced His side. Thus His unbroken body was taken down from the cross, and carefully enclosed in a tomb. Now all these things were done lest His body, being injured and broken, should be rendered unsuitable for rising again. That also was a principal cause why God chose the cross, because it was necessary that He should be lifted up on it, and the passion of God become known to all nations. For since he who is suspended upon a cross is both conspicuous to all and higher than others,

the cross was especially chosen, which might signify that He would be so conspicuous, and so raised on high, that all nations from the whole world should meet together at once to know and worship Him. Lastly, no nation is so uncivilized, no region so remote, to which either His passion or the height of His majesty would be unknown. Therefore in His suffering He stretched forth His hands and measured out the world, that even then He might show that a great multitude, collected together out of all languages and tribes, from the rising of the sun even to his setting, was about to come under His wings, and to receive on their foreheads that great and lofty sign. And the Jews even now exhibit a figure of this transaction when they mark their thresholds with the blood of a lamb. For when God was about to smite the Egyptians, to secure the Hebrews from that infliction He had enjoined them to slay a white lamb without spot, and to place on their thresholds a mark from its blood. And thus, when the first-born of the Egyptians had perished in one night, the Hebrews alone were saved by the sign of the blood: not that the blood of a sheep had such efficacy in itself as to be the safety of men, hut it was an image of things to come. For Christ was the white lamb without spot; that is, He was innocent, and just, and holy, who, being slain by the same Jews, is the salvation of all who have written on their foreheads the sign of blood — that is, of the cross, on which He shed His blood. For the forehead is the top of the threshold in man, and the wood sprinkled with blood is the emblem of the cross. Lastly, the slaying of the lamb by those very persons who perform it is called the paschal feast, from the word “paschein,” because it is a figure of the passion, which God, foreknowing the future, delivered by Moses to be celebrated by His people. But at that time the figure was efficacious at the present for averting the danger, that it may appear what great efficacy the truth itself is about to have for the protection of God’s people in the extreme necessity of the whole world. But in what manner or in what region all will be safe who have marked on the highest part of their body this sign of the true and divine blood, I will show in the last book.

CHAPTER 27

OF THE WONDERS EFFECTED BY THE POWER OF THE CROSS, AND OF DEMONS

At present it is sufficient to show what great efficacy the power of this sign has. How great a terror this sign is to the demons, he will know who shall see how, when adjured by Christ, they flee from the bodies which they have besieged. For as He Himself, when He was living among men, limit to flight all the demons by His word, and restored to their former senses the minds of men which had been excited and maddened by their dreadful attacks; so now His followers, in the name of their Master, and by the sign of His passion, banish the same polluted spirits from men. And it is not difficult to prove this. For when they sacrifice to their gods, if any one bearing a marked forehead stands by, the sacrifices are by no means favorable.

"Nor can the diviner, when consulted, give answers."

And this has often been the cause of punishment to wicked kings. For when some of their attendants who were of our religion were standing by their masters as they sacrificed, having the sign placed on their foreheads, they caused the gods of their masters to flee, that they might not be able to observe future events in the entrails of the victims. And when the soothsayers understood this, at the instigation of the same demons to whom they had sacrificed, complaining that profane men were present at the sacrifices, they drove their princes to madness, so that they attacked the temple of the God, and contaminated themselves by true sacrilege, which was expiated by the severest punishments on the part of their persecutors. Nor, however, are blind men able to understand even from this, either that this is the true religion, which contains such great power for overcoming, or that that is false, which is not able to hold its ground or to come to an engagement.

But they say that the gods do this, not through fear, but through hatred; as though it were possible for any one to hate another, unless it be him who injures, or has the power of injuring. Yea, truly, it would be consistent with their majesty to visit those whom they hated with immediate

punishment, rather than to flee from them. But since they can neither approach those in whom they shall see the heavenly mark, nor injure those whom the immortal sign as an impregnable wall protects, they harass them by men, and persecute them by the hands of others: and if they acknowledge the existence of these demons, we have overcome; for this must necessarily be the true religion, which both understands the nature of demons, and understands their subtlety, and compels them, vanquished and subdued, to yield to itself. If they deny it, they will be refuted by the testimonies of poets and philosophers. But if they do not deny the existence and malignity of demons, what remains except that they affirm that there is a difference between gods and demons? Let them therefore explain to us the difference between the two kinds, that we may know what is to be worshipped and what to be held in execration; whether they have any mutual agreement, or are really opposed to one, another. If they are united by some necessity, how shall we distinguish them? or how shall we unite the honor and worship of each kind? If, on the other hand, they are enemies, how is it that the demons do not fear the gods, or that the gods cannot put to flight the demons? Behold, some one excited by the impulse of the demon is out of his senses, raves, is mad: let us lead him into the temple of the excellent and mighty Jupiter; or since Jupiter knows not how to cure men, into the lane of Aesculapius or Apollo. Let the priest of either, in the name of his God, command the wicked spirit to come out of the man: that can in no way come to pass. What, then, is the power of the gods, if the demons are not subject to their control? But, in truth, the same demons, when adjured by the name of the true God, immediately flee. What reason is there why they should fear Christ, but not fear Jupiter, unless that they whom the multitude esteem to be gods are also demons? Lastly, if there should be placed in the midst one who is evidently suffering from an attack of a demon, and the priest of the Delphian Apollo, they will in the same manner dread the name of God; and Apollo will as quickly depart from his priest as the spirit of the demon from the man; and his God being adjured and put to flight, the priest will be for ever silent. Therefore the demons, whom they acknowledge to be objects of execration, are the same as the gods to whom they offer supplications.

If they imagine that we are unworthy of belief, let them believe Homer, who associated the supreme Jupiter with the demons; and also other poets and philosophers, who speak of the same beings at one time as demons, and at another time as gods, — of which names one is true, and the other false. For those most wicked spirits, when they are adjured, then confess that they are demons; when they are worshipped, then falsely say that they are gods; in order that they may lead men into errors, and call them away from the knowledge of the true God, by which alone eternal death can be escaped. They are the same who, for the sake of overthrowing man, have founded various systems of worship for themselves through different regions, — under false and assumed names, however, that they might deceive. For because they were unable by themselves to aspire to divinity, they took to themselves the names of powerful kings, under whose titles they might claim for themselves divine honors; which error may be dispelled, and brought to the light of truth. For if any one desires to inquire further into the matter, let him assemble those who are skilled in calling forth spirits from the dead. Let them call forth Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Mercury, Apollo, and Saturnus the father of all. All will answer from the lower regions; and being questioned they will speak, and confess respecting themselves and God. After these things let them call up Christ; He will not be present, He will not appear, for He was not more than two days in the lower regions. What proof can be brought forward more certain than this? I have no doubt that Trismegistus arrived at the truth by some proof of this kind, who spoke many things respecting God the Son which are contained in the divine secrets.

CHAPTER 28

OF HOPE AND TRUE RELIGION, AND OF SUPERSTITION

And since these things are so, as we have shown, it is plain that no other hope of life is set before man, except that, laying aside vanities and wretched error, he should know God, and serve God; except he renounce this temporary life, and train himself by the principles of righteousness for the cultivation of true religion. For we are created on this condition, that we pay just and due obedience to God who created us, that we should

know and follow Him alone. We are bound and tied to God by this chain of piety; from which religion itself received its name, not, as Cicero explained it, from carefully gathering, for in his second book respecting the nature of the gods he thus speaks: “For not only philosophers, but our ancestors also, separated superstition from religion. For they who spent whole days in prayers and sacrifices, that their children might survive them, were called superstitious. But they who handled again, and as it were carefully gathered all things which related to the worship of the gods, were called religious from carefully gathering, as some were called elegant from choosing out, and diligent from carefully selecting and intelligent from understanding. For in all these words there is the same meaning of gathering which there is in the word religious: thus it has come to pass, that in the names superstitious and religious, the one relates to a fault, the other belongs to praise.” How senseless this interpretation is, we may know from the matter itself. For if both religion and superstition are engaged in the worship of the same gods, there is little or rather no difference between them. For what cause will he allege why he should think that to pray once for the health of sons is the part of a religious man, but to do the same ten times is the part of a superstitious man? For if it is an excellent thing to pray once, how much more so to do it more frequently! If it is well to do it at the first hour, then it is well to do it throughout the day. If one victim renders the deity propitious, it is plain that many victims must render him more propitious, because multiplied services oblige rather than offend. For those servants do not appear to us hateful who are assiduous and constant in their attendance, but more beloved. Why, therefore, should he be in fault, and receive a name which implies censure, who either loves his children more, or sufficiently honors the gods; and he, on the contrary, be praised, who loves them less? And this argument has weight also from the contrary. For if it is wrong to pray and sacrifice during whole days, therefore it is wrong to do so once. If it is faulty frequently to wish for the preservation of our children, therefore he also is superstitious who conceives that wish even rarely. Or why should the name of a fault be derived from that, than which nothing can be wished more honorable, nothing more just? For as to his saying, that they who diligently take in hand again the things relating to the worship of the gods are called religious from their carefully gathering; how is it, then, that they who do this often in a day lose the name of religious men, when it is plain

from their very assiduity that they more diligently gather those things by which the gods are worshipped?

What, then, is it? Truly religion is the cultivation of the truth, but superstition of that which is false. And it makes the entire difference what you worship, not how you worship, or what prayer you offer. But because the worshippers of the gods imagine themselves to be religious, though they are superstitious, they are neither able to distinguish religion from superstition, nor to express the meaning of the names. We have said that the name of religion is derived from the bond of piety, because God has tied man to Himself, and bound him by piety; for we must serve Him as a master, and be obedient to Him as a father. And therefore Lucretius better explained this name, who says that He loosens the knots of superstitions. But they are called superstitious, not who wish their children to survive them, for we all wish this; but either those who reverence the surviving memory of the dead, or those who, surviving their parents, reverenced their images at their houses as household gods. For those who assumed to themselves new rites, that they might honor the dead as gods, whom they supposed to be taken from men and received into heaven, they called superstitious. But those who worshipped the public and ancient gods they named religious. From which Virgil says: —

"Superstition vain, and ignorant of ancient gods."

But since we find that the ancient gods also were consecrated in the same manner after their death, therefore they are superstitious who worship many and false gods. We, on the other hand, are religious, who make our supplications to the one true God.

CHAPTER 29

OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, AND OF THE UNION OF JESUS WITH THE FATHER

Some one may perhaps ask how, when we say that we worship one God only, we nevertheless assert that there are two, God the Father and God the Son: which assertion has driven many into the greatest error. For when the things which we say seem to them probable, they consider that we fail

in this one point alone, that we confess that there is another God, and that He is mortal. We have already spoken of His mortality: now let us teach concerning His unity. When we speak of God the Father and God the Son, we do not speak of them as different, nor do we separate each: because the Father cannot exist without the Son, nor can the Son be separated from the Father, since the name of Father cannot be given without the Son, nor can the Son be begotten without the Father. Since, therefore, the Father makes the Son, and the Son the Father, they both have one mind, one spirit, one substance; but the former is as it were an overflowing fountain, the latter as a stream flowing forth from it: the former as the sun, the latter as it were a ray extended from the sun. And since He is both faithful to the Most High Father, and beloved by Him, He is not separated from Him; just as the stream is not separated from the fountain, nor the ray from the sun: for the water of the fountain is in the stream, and the light of the sun is in the ray: just as the voice cannot be separated from the mouth, nor the strength or hand from the body. When, therefore, He is also spoken of by the prophets as the hand, and strength, and word of God, there is plainly no separation; for the tongue, which is the minister of speech, and the hand, in which the strength is situated, are inseparable portions of the body.

We may use an example more closely connected with us. When any one has a son whom he especially loves, who is still in the house, and in the power of his father, although he concede to him the name and power of a master, yet by the civil law the house is one, and one person is called master. So this world is the one house of God; and the Son and the Father, who unanimously inhabit the world, are one God, for the one is as two, and the two are as one. Nor is that wonderful, since the Son is in the Father, for the Father loves the Son, and the Father is in the Son; for He faithfully obeys the will of the Father, nor does He ever do nor has done anything except what the Father either willed or commanded. Lastly, that the Father and the Son are but one God, Isaiah showed in that passage which we have brought forward before, when he said: “They shall fall down unto Thee, and make supplication unto Thee, since God is in Thee, and there is no other God besides Thee.” And he also speaks to the same purport in another place: “Thus saith God the King of Israel, and His Redeemer, the everlasting God; I am the first, and I am the last; and beside

me there is no God.” When he had set forth two persons, one of God the King, that is, Christ, and the other of God the Father, who after His passion raised Him from the dead, as we have said that the prophet Hosea showed, who said, “I will redeem Him from the power of the grave:” nevertheless, with reference to each person, he introduced the words, “and beside me there is no God,” when he might have said “beside us;” but it was not right that a separation of so close a relationship should be made by the use of the plural number. For there is one God alone, free, most high, without any origin; for He Himself is the origin of all things, and in Him at once both the Son and all things are contained. Wherefore, since the mind and will of the one is in the other, or rather, since there is one in both, both are justly called one God; for whatever is in the Father flows on to the Son, and whatever is in the Son descends from the Father. Therefore that highest and matchless God cannot be worshipped except through the Son. He who thinks that he worships the Father only, as he does not worship the Son, so he does not worship even the Father. But he who receives the Son, and bears His name, he truly together with the Son worships the Father also, since the Son is the ambassador, and messenger, and priest of the Most High Father. He is the door of the greatest temple, He the way of light, He the guide to salvation, He the gate of life.

CHAPTER 30

OF AVOIDING HERESIES AND SUPERSTITIONS, AND WHAT IS THE ONLY TRUE CATHOLIC CHURCH

But since many heresies have existed, and the people of God have been rent into divisions at the instigation of demons, the truth must be briefly marked out by us, and placed in its own peculiar dwelling-place, that if any one shall desire to draw the water of life, he may not be born to broken cisterns which hold no water, but may know the abundant fountain of God, watered by which he may enjoy perpetual light. Before all things, it is befitting that we should know both that He Himself and His ambassadors foretold that there must be numerous sects and heresies, which would break the unity of the sacred body; and that they admonished us to be on our guard with the greatest prudence, lest we

should at any time fall into the snares and deceits of that adversary of ours, with whom God has willed that we should contend. Then that He gave us sure commands, which we ought always to treasure in our minds; for many, forgetting them, and abandoning the heavenly road, have made for themselves devious paths amidst windings and precipices, by which they might lead away the incautious and simple part of the people to the darkness of death: I will explain: how this happened. There were some of our religion whose faith was less established, or who were less learned or less cautious, who rent the unity and divided the Church. But they whose faith was unsettled, when they pretended that they knew and worshipped God aiming at the increase of their wealth and honor, aspired to the highest sacerdotal power; and when overcome by others more powerful, preferred to secede with their supporters, than to endure those set over them, over whom they themselves before desired to be set.

But some, not sufficiently instructed in heavenly learning, when they were unable to reply to the accusers of the truth, who objected that it was either impossible or inconsistent that God should be shut up in the womb of a woman, and that the Majesty of heaven could not be reduced to such weakness as to become an object of contempt and derision, a reproach and mockery to men; lastly, that He should even endure tortures, and be affixed to the accursed cross; and when they could defend and refute all these things neither by talent nor learning, for they did not thoroughly perceive their force and meaning, they were perverted from the right path, and corrupted the sacred writings, so that they composed for themselves a new doctrine without any root and stability. But some, enticed by the prediction of false prophets, concerning whom both the true prophets and he himself had foretold, fell away from the knowledge of God, and left the true tradition. But all of these, ensnared by frauds of demons, which they ought to have foreseen and guarded against, by their carelessness lost the name and worship of God. For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship.

This is the fountain of truth, this is the abode of the faith, this is the temple of God; into which if any one shall not enter, or from which if any

shall go out, he is estranged from the hope of life and eternal salvation. No one ought to flatter himself with persevering strife. For the contest is respecting life and salvation, which, unless it is carefully and diligently kept in view, will be lost and extinguished. But, however, because all the separate assemblies of heretics call themselves Christians in preference to others, and think that theirs is the Catholic Church, it must be known that the true Catholic Church is that in which there is confession and repentance, which treats in a wholesome manner the sins and wounds to which the weakness of the flesh is liable. I have related these things in the meanwhile for the sake of admonition, that no one who desires to avoid error may be entangled in a greater error, while he is ignorant of the secret of the truth. Afterwards, in a particular and separate work, we will more fully and copiously contend against all divisions of falsehoods. It follows that, since we have spoken sufficiently on the subject of true religion and wisdom, we discuss the subject of justice in the next book.

GENERAL NOTES BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

1

(ON CAP. 29.)

HERE we should look for something also concerning the Holy Spirit. But our author's principle is doubtless a reflection of the prevailing sentiment of the Church at this period, which was perhaps a violent exaggeration of our Lord's example (<410433>Mark 4:33). And see something of this on p. 140, note 6, *infra*; also <400706>Matthew 7:6.

2

(ON CAP. 30.)

The simplicity with which our author gives a note of the Catholic Church, in accordance with African canons and the teaching of Cyprian, is very noteworthy. It never occurred to him that communion with any one

particular See was the note. Hippolytus alone would have reminded him that the worst heretics had been in communion with both Zephyrinus and Callistus in his days (see vol. v. pp. 156 and 160; also *Ibid.*, 125, 130), and that orthodoxy had been persecuted by these bishops of Rome.

BOOK 5

OF JUSTICE

CHAPTER 1

OF THE NON-CONDEMNATION OF ACCUSED PERSONS WITHOUT A HEARING OF THEIR CAUSE; FROM WHAT CAUSE PHILOSOPHERS DESPISED THE SACRED WRITINGS; OF THE FIRST ADVOCATES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

I ENTERTAIN no doubt, O mighty Emperor Constantine, — since they are impatient through excessive superstition, — that if any one of those who are foolishly religious should take in hand this work of ours, in which that matchless Creator of all things and Ruler of this boundless world is asserted, he would even assail it with abusive language, and perhaps, having scarcely read the beginning, would dash it to the ground, cast it from him, curse it, and think himself contaminated and bound by inexpiable guilt if he should patiently read. or hear these things. We demand, however, from this man, if it is possible, by the right of human nature, that he should not condemn before that he knows the whole matter. For if the right of defending themselves is given to sacrilegious persons, and to traitors and sorcerers, and if it is lawful for no one to be condemned beforehand, his cause being as yet untried, we do not appear to ask unjustly, that if there shall be any one who shall have fallen upon this subject, if he shall read it, he read it throughout if he shall hear it, that he put off the forming of an opinion until the end. But I know the obstinacy of men; we shall never succeed in obtaining this. For they fear lest they should be overcome by us, and be compelled at length to yield, truth itself crying out. They interrupt, therefore, and make hindrances, that they may not hear; and close their eyes, that they may not see the light which we present to them. Wherefore they themselves plainly show their distrust in their own abandoned system, since they neither venture to investigate, nor

to engage with as, because they know that they are easily overpowered. And therefore, discussion being taken away,

"Wisdom is driven from among them, they have recourse to violence"

as Ennius says; and because they eagerly endeavor to condemn as guilty those whom they plainly know to be innocent, they are unwilling to be agreed respecting innocence itself; as though, in truth, it were a greater injustice to have condemned innocence, when proved to be such, than unheard. But, as I said, they are afraid lest, if they should hear, they should be unable to condemn.

And therefore they torture, put to death, and banish the worshippers of the Most High God, that is, the righteous; nor are they, who so vehemently hate, themselves able to assign the causes of their hatred. Because they are themselves in error, they are angry with those who follow the path of truth; and when they are able to correct themselves, they greatly increase their errors by cruel deeds, they are stained with the blood of the innocent, and they tear away with violence souls dedicated to God from the lacerated bodies. Such are the men with whom we now endeavor to engage and to dispute: these are the men whom we would lead away from a foolish persuasion to the truth, men who would more readily drink blood than imbibe the words of the righteous. What then? Will our labor be in vain? By no means. For if we shall not be able to deliver these from death, to which they are hastening with the greatest speed; if we cannot recall them from that devious path to life and light, since they themselves oppose their own safety; yet we shall strengthen those who belong to us, whose opinion is not settled, and founded and fixed with solid roots. For many of them waver, and especially those who have any acquaintance with literature. For in this respect philosophers, and orators, and poets are pernicious, because they are easily able to ensnare unwary souls by the sweetness of their discourse, and of their poems flowing with delightful modulation. These are sweets which conceal poison. And on this account I wished to connect wisdom with religion, that that vain system may not at all injure the studious; so that now the knowledge of literature may not only be of no injury to religion and righteousness, but may even be of the greatest profit, if he who has learned it should be more instructed in virtues and wiser in truth.

Moreover, even though it should be profitable to no other, it certainly will be so to us: the conscience will delight itself, and the mind will rejoice that it is engaged in the light of truth, which is the food of the soul, being overspread with an incredible kind of pleasantness. But we must not despair. Perchance

"We sing not to the deaf."

For neither are affairs in so bad a condition that there are no sound minds to which the truth may be pleasing, and which may both see and follow the right course when it is pointed out to them. Only let the cup be anointed with the heavenly honey of wisdom, that the bitter remedies may be drunk by them unawares, without any annoyance, whilst the first sweetness of taste by its allurement conceals, under the cover of pleasantness, the bitterness of the harsh flavor. For this is especially the cause why, with the wise and the learned, and the princes of this world, the sacred Scriptures are without credit, because the prophets spoke in common and simple language, as though they spoke to the people. And therefore they are despised by those who are willing to hear or read nothing except that which is polished and eloquent; nor is anything able to remain fixed in their minds, except that which charms their ears by a more soothing sound. But those things which appear humble are considered anile, foolish, and common. So entirely do they regard nothing as true, except that which is pleasant to the ear; nothing as credible, except that which can excite pleasure: no one estimates a subject by its truth, but by its embellishment. Therefore they do not believe the sacred writings, because they are without any pretense; but they do not even believe those who explain them, because they also are either altogether ignorant, or at any rate possessed of little learning. For it very rarely happens that they are wholly eloquent; and the cause of this is evident. For eloquence is subservient to the world, it desires to display itself to the people, and to please in things which are evil; since it often endeavors to overpower the truth, that it may show its power; it seeks wealth, desires honors; in short, it demands the highest degree of dignity. Therefore it despises these subjects as low; it avoids secret things as contrary to itself, inasmuch as it rejoices in publicity, and longs for the multitude and celebrity. Hence it comes to pass that wisdom and truth need suitable heralds. And if by

chance any of the learned have betaken themselves to it, they have not been sufficient for its defense.

Of those who are known to me, Minucius Felix was of no ignoble rank among pleaders. His book, which bears the title of Octavius, declares how suitable a maintainer of the truth he might have been, if he had given himself altogether to that pursuit. Septimius Tertullianus also was skilled in literature of every kind; but in eloquence he had little readiness, and was not sufficiently polished, and very obscure. Not even therefore did he find sufficient renown. Cyprianus, therefore, was above all others distinguished and renowned, since he had sought great glory to himself from the profession of the art of oratory, and he wrote very many things worthy of admiration in their particular class. For he was of a turn of mind which was ready, copious, agreeable, and (that which is the greatest excellence of style) plain and open; so that you cannot determine whether he was more embellished in speech, or more ready in explanation, or more powerful in persuasion. And yet he is unable to please those who are ignorant of the mystery except by his words; inasmuch as the things which he spoke are mystical, and prepared with this object, that they may be heard by the faithful only: in short, he is accustomed to be derided by the learned men of this age, to whom his writings have happened to be known. I have heard of a certain man who was skillful indeed, who by the change of a single letter called him Coprianus, as though he were one who had applied to old women's fables a mind which was elegant and fitted for better things. But if this happened to him whose eloquence is not unpleasant, what then must we suppose happens to those whose discourse is meager and displeasing, who could have had neither the power of persuasion, nor subtlety in arguing, nor any severity at all for refuting?

CHAPTER 2

TO WHAT AN EXTENT THE CHRISTIAN TRUTH HAS BEEN ASSAILED BY RASH MEN

Therefore, because there have been wanting among us suitable and skillful teachers, who might vigorously and sharply refute public errors, and who might defend the whole cause of truth with elegance and copiousness, this

very want incited some to venture to write against the truth, which was unknown to them. I pass by those who in former times in vain assailed it. When I was teaching rhetorical learning in Bithynia, having been called thither, and it had happened that at the same time the temple of God was overthrown, there were living at the same place two men who insulted the truth as it lay prostrate and overthrown, I know not whether with greater arrogance or harshness: the one of whom professed himself the high priest of philosophy; but he was so addicted to vice, that, though a teacher of abstinence, he was not less inflamed with avarice than with lusts; so extravagant in his manner of living, that though in his school he was the maintainer of virtue, the praiser of parsimony and poverty, be dined less sumptuously in a palace than at his own house. Nevertheless he sheltered his vices by his hair and his cloak, and (that which is the greatest screen) by his riches; and that he might increase these, he used to penetrate with wonderful effort to the friendships of the judges; and he suddenly attached them to himself by the authority of a fictitious name, not only that he might make a traffic of their decisions, but also that he might by this influence hinder his neighbors, whom he was driving froth their homes and lands, from the recovery of their property. This man, in truth, who overthrew his own arguments by his character, or censured his own character by his arguments, a weighty censor and most keen accuser against himself, at the very same time in which a righteous people were impiously assailed, vomited forth three books against the Christian religion and name; professing, above all things, that it was the office of a philosopher to remedy the errors of men, and to recall them to the true way, that is, to the worship of the gods, by whose power and majesty, as he said, the world is governed; and not to permit that inexperienced men should be enticed by the frauds of any, lest their simplicity should be a prey and sustenance to crafty men.

Therefore he said that he had undertaken this office, worthy of philosophy, that he might hold out to those who do not see the light of wisdom, not only that they may return to a healthy state of mind, having undertaken the worship of the gods, but also that, having laid aside their pertinacious obstinacy, they may avoid tortures of the body, nor wish in vain to endure cruel lacerations of their limbs. But that it might be evident on what account he had laboriously worked out that task, he broke out

profusely into praises of the princes, whose piety and foresight, as he himself indeed said, had been distinguished both in other matters, and especially in defending the religious rites of the gods; that he had, in short, consulted the interests of men, in order that, impious and foolish superstition having been restrained, all men might have leisure for lawful sacred rites, and might experience the gods propitious to them. But when he wished to weaken the grounds of that religion against which he was pleading, he appeared senseless, vain, and ridiculous; because that weighty adviser of the advantage of others was ignorant not only what to oppose, but even what to speak. For if any of our religion were present, although they were silent on account of the time, nevertheless in their mind they derided him; since they saw a man professing that he would enlighten others, when he himself was blind; that he would recall others from error, when he himself was ignorant where to plant his feet; that he would instruct others to the truth, of which he himself had never seen even a spark at any time; inasmuch as he who was a professor of wisdom, endeavored to overthrow wisdom. All, however, censured this, that he undertook this work at that time in particular, in which odious cruelty raged. O philosopher, a flatterer, and a time-server! But this man was despised, as his vanity deserved; for he did not gain the popularity which he hoped for, and the glory which he eagerly sought for was changed into censure and blame.

Another wrote the same subject with more bitterness, who was then of the number of the judges, and who was especially the adviser of enacting persecution; and not contented with this crime, he also pursued with writings those whom he had persecuted. For he composed two books, not against the Christians, test he might appear to assail them in a hostile manner but to the Christians, that he might be thought to consult for them with humanity and kindness. And in these writings he endeavored so to prove the falsehood of sacred Scripture, as though it were altogether contradictory to itself; for he expounded some chapters which seemed to be at variance with themselves, enumerating so many and such secret things, that he sometimes appears to have been one of the same sect. But if this was so, what Demosthenes will be able to defend from the charge of impiety him who became the betrayer of the religion to which he had given his assent, and of the faith the name of which he had assumed, and of the

mystery which he had received, unless it happened by chance that the sacred writings fell into his hands? What rashness was it, therefore, to dare to destroy that which no one explained to him! It was well that he either learned nothing or understood nothing. For contradiction is as far removed from the sacred writings as he was removed from faith and truth. He chiefly, however, assailed Paul and Peter, and the other disciples, as disseminators of deceit whom at the same time he testified to have been unskilled and unlearned. For he says that some of them made gain by the craft of fishermen, as though he took it ill that some Aristophanes or Aristarchus did not devise that subject.

CHAPTER 3

OF THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, AND THE VANITY OF ITS ADVERSARIES; AND THAT CHRIST WAS NOT A MAGICIAN

The desire of inventing, therefore, and craftiness were absent from these men, since they were unskillful. Or what unlearned man could invent things adapted to one another, and coherent, when the most learned of the philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, and Epicurus and Zeno, themselves spoke things at variance with one another, and contrary? For this is the nature of falsehoods, that they cannot be coherent. But their teaching, because it is true, everywhere agrees, and is altogether consistent with itself; and on this account it effects persuasion, because it is based on a consistent plan. They did not therefore devise that religion for the sake of gain and advantage, inasmuch as both by their precepts and in reality they followed that course of life which is without pleasures, and despised all things which are reckoned among good things, and since they not only endured death for their faith, but also both knew and foretold that they were about to die, and afterwards that all who followed their system would suffer cruel and impious things. But he affirmed that Christ Himself was put to flight by the Jews, and having collected a band of nine hundred men, committed robberies. Who would venture to oppose so great an authority? We must certainly believe this, for perchance some Apollo announced it to him in his slumbers. So many robbers have at all times

perished, and do perish daily, and you yourself have certainly condemned many: which of them after his crucifixion was called, I will not say a God, but a man? But you perchance believed it from the circumstance of your having consecrated the homicide Mars as a God, though you would not have done this if the Areopagites had crucified him.

The same man, when he endeavored to overthrow his wonderful deeds, and did not however deny them, wished to show that Apollonius performed equal or even greater deeds. It is strange that he omitted to mention Apuleius, of whom many and wonderful things are accustomed to be related. Why therefore, O senseless one, does no one worship Apollonius in the place of God? unless by chance you alone do so, who are worthy forsooth of that God, with whom the true God will punish you everlastingly. If Christ is a magician because He performed wonderful deeds, it is plain that Apollonius, who, according to your-description. when Domitian wished to punish him, suddenly disappeared on his trial, was more skillful than He who was both arrested and crucified. But perhaps he wished from this very thing to prove the arrogance of Christ, in that He made Himself God, that the other may appear to have been more modest, who, though he performed greater actions, as this one thinks, nevertheless did not claim that for himself. I omit at present to compare the works themselves, because in the second and preceding book I have spoken respecting the fraud and tricks of the magic art. I say that there is no one who would not wish that that should especially befall him after death which even the greatest kings desire. For why do men prepare for themselves magnificent sepulchers? why statues and images? why by some illustrious deeds, or even by death undergone in behalf of their countrymen, do they endeavor to deserve the good opinions of men? Why, in short, have you yourself wished to raise a monument of your talent, built with this detestable folly, as if with mud, except that you hope for immortality from the remembrance of your name? It is foolish, therefore, to imagine that Apollonius did not desire that which he would plainly wish for if he were able to attain to it; because there is no one who refuses immortality, and especially when you say that he was both adored by some as a God, and that his image was set up under the name of Hercules, the averter of evil, and is even now honored by the Ephesians.

He could not therefore after death be believed to be a God, because it was evident that he was both a man and a magician; and for this reason he affected divinity under the title of a name belonging to another, for in his own name he was unable to attain it, nor did he venture to make the attempt. But he of whom we speak could both be believed to be a God, because he was not a magician, and was believed to be such because he was so in truth. I do not say this, he says, that Apollonius was not accounted a God, because he did not wish it, but that it may be evident that we, who did not at once connect a belief in his divinity with wonderful deeds, are wiser than you, who on account of slight wonders believed that he was a God. It is not wonderful if you, who are far removed from the wisdom of God, understand nothing at all of those things which you have read, since the Jews, who from the beginning had frequently read the prophets, and to whom the mystery of God had been assigned, were nevertheless ignorant of what they read. Learn, therefore, if you have any sense, that Christ was not believed by us to be God on this account, because He did wonderful things, but because we saw that all things were done in His case which were announced to us by the prediction of the prophets. He performed wonderful deeds: we might have supposed Him to be a magician, as you now suppose Him to be, and the Jews then supposed Him, if all the prophets did not with one accord proclaim that Christ would do those very things. Therefore we believe Him to be God, not more from His wonderful deeds and works, than from that very cross which you as dogs lick, since that also was predicted at the same time. It was not therefore on His own testimony (for who can be believed when he speaks concerning himself?, but on the testimony of the prophets who long before foretold all things which He did and suffered, that He gained a belief in His divinity, which could have happened neither to Apollonius, nor to Apuleius, nor to any of the magicians; nor can it happen at any time. When, therefore, he had poured forth such absurd ravings of his ignorance, when he had eagerly endeavored utterly to destroy the truth, he dared to give to his books which were impious and the enemies of God the title of “truth-loving.” O blind breast! O mind more black than Cimmerian darkness, as they say! He may perhaps have been a disciple of Anaxagoras, to whom snows were as black as ink. But it is the same blindness, to give the name of falsehood to truth, and of truth to falsehood. Doubtless the crafty man wished to conceal the wolf under the skin of a

sheep, that he might ensnare the reader by a deceitful title. Let it be true; grant that you did this from ignorance, not from malice: what truth, however, have you brought to us, except that, being a defender of the gods, you had at last betrayed those very gods? For, having set forth the praises of the Supreme God, whom you confessed to be king, most mighty, the maker of all things, the fountain of honors, the parent of all, the creator and preserver of all living creatures, you took away the kingdom from your own Jupiter; and when you had driven him from the supreme power, you reduced him to the rank of servants. Thus your own conclusion convicts you of folly, vanity, and error. For you affirm that the gods exist, and yet you subject and enslave them to that God whose religion you attempt to overturn.

CHAPTER 4

WHY THIS WORK WAS PUBLISHED, AND AGAIN OF TERTULLIAN AND CYPRIAN

Since, therefore, they of whom I have spoken had set forth their sacrilegious writings in my presence, and to my grief, being incited both by the arrogant impiety of these, and by the consciousness of truth itself, and (as I think) by God, I have undertaken this office, that with all the strength of my mind I might refute the accusers of righteousness; not that I should write against these, who might be crushed with a few words, but that I might once for all by one attack overthrow all who everywhere effect, or have effected, the same work. For I do not doubt that very many others, and in many places, and that not only in Greek, but also in Latin writings, have raised a monument of their own unrighteousness. And since i was not able to reply to these separately, I thought that this cause was to be so pleaded by me that I might overthrow former writers, together with all their writings, and cut off from future writers the whole power of writing and of replying. Only let them attend, and I will assuredly effect that whosoever shall know these things, must either embrace that which he before condemned, or, which is next to it, cease at length to deride it. Although Tertullian fully pleaded the same cause in that treatise which is entitled the Apology, yet, inasmuch as it is one thing to answer accusers,

which consists in defense or denial only, and another thing to instruct, which we do, in which the substance of the whole system must be contained, I have not shrunk from this labor, that I might complete the subject, which Cyprian did not fully carry out in that discourse in which he endeavors to refute Demetrianus (as he himself says) railing at and clamoring against the truth. Which subject he did not handle as he ought to have done; for he ought to have been refuted not by the testimonies of Scripture, which he plainly considered vain, fictitious, and false, but by arguments and reason. For, since he was contending against a man who was ignorant of the truth, he ought for a while to have laid aside divine readings, and to have formed from the beginning this man as one who was altogether ignorant, and to have shown to him by degrees the beginnings of light, that he might not be dazzled, the whole of its brightness being presented to him.

For as an infant is unable, on account of the tenderness of its stomach, to receive the nourishment of solid and strong food, but is supported by liquid and soft milk, until, its strength being confirmed, it can feed on stronger nourishment; so also it was befitting that this man, because he was not yet capable of receiving divine things, should be presented with human testimonies — that is, of philosophers and historians — in order that he might especially be refuted by his own authorities. And since he did not do this, being carried away by his distinguished knowledge of the sacred writings, so that he was content with those things alone in which faith consists, I have undertaken, with the favor of God, to do this, and at the same time to prepare the way for the imitation of others. And if, through my exhortation, learned and eloquent men shall begin to betake themselves to this subject, and shall choose to display their talents and power of speaking in this field of truth, no one can doubt that false religions will quickly disappear, and philosophy altogether fall, if all shall be persuaded that this alone is religion and the only true wisdom. But I have wandered from the subject further than I wished.

CHAPTER 5

THERE WAS TRUE JUSTICE UNDER SATURNUS, BUT IT WAS BANISHED BY JUPITER

Now the promised disputation concerning justice must be given; which is either by itself the greatest virtue, or by itself the fountain of virtue, which not only philosophers sought, but poets also, who were much earlier, and were esteemed as wise before the origin of the name of philosophy. These clearly understood that this justice was absent from the affairs of men; and they feigned that it, being offended with the vices of men, departed from the earth, and withdrew to heaven; and that they may teach what it is to live justly (for they are accustomed to give precepts by circumlocutions), they repeat examples of justice from the times of Saturnus, which they call the golden times, and they relate in what condition human life was while it delayed on the earth. And this is not to be regarded as a poetic fiction, but as the truth. For, while Saturnus reigned, the religious worship of the gods not having yet been instituted, nor any race being as yet set apart in the belief of its divinity, God was manifestly worshipped. And therefore there were neither dissensions, nor enmities, nor wars.

"Not yet had rage unsheathed maddened swords,"

as Germanicus Caesar speaks in his poem translated from Aratus,

"Nor had discord been known among relatives."

No, nor even among strangers: but there were no swords at all to be unsheathed. For who, when justice was present and in vigor, would think respecting his own protection, since no one plotted against him; or respecting the destruction of another, since no one desired anything?

"They, preferred to live content with a simple mode of life,"

as Cicero relates in his poem; and this is peculiar to our religion. "It was not even allowed to mark out or to divide the plain with a boundary: men sought all things in common;" since God had given the earth in common to all, that they might pass their life in common, not that mad and raging avarice might claim all things for itself, and that that which was produced for all might not be wanting to any. And this saying of the poet ought so

to be taken, not as suggesting the idea that individuals at that time had no private property, but it must be regarded as a poetical figure; that we may understand that men were so liberal, that they did not shut up the fruits of the earth produced for them, nor did they in solitude brood over the things stored up, but admitted the poor to share the fruits of their labor: —

"Now streams of milk, now streams of nectar flowed."

And no wonder, since the storehouses of the good liberally lay open to all. Nor did avarice intercept the divine bounty, and thus cause hunger and thirst in common but all alike had abundance, since they who had possessions gave liberally and bountifully to those who had not. But after that Saturnus had been banished from heaven, and had arrived in Latium, —

"Exiled from his throne
By Jove, his mightier heir," —

since the people either through fear of the new king, or of their own accord, had become corrupted and ceased to worship God, and had begun to esteem the king in the place of Cool, since he himself, almost a parricide, was an example to others to the injury of piety, —

"The most just Virgin in haste deserted the lands;"

but not as Cicero says,

"And settled, in the kingdom of Jupiter, and in a part of the heaven."

For how could she settle or tarry in the kingdom of him who expelled his father from his kingdom, harassed him with war, and drove him as an exile over the whole world?

"He gave to the black serpents their noxious poison,
And ordered wolves to prowl;"

that is, he introduced among men hatred, and envy, and stratagem; so that they were poisonous as serpents, and rapacious as wolves. And they truly do this who persecute those who are righteous and faithful towards God, and give to judges the power of using violence against the innocent. Perhaps Jupiter may have done something of this kind for the overthrow and removal of righteousness; and on this account he is related to have made serpents fierce, and to have whetted the spirit of wolves.

"Then war's indomitable rage,
And greedy lust of gain;"

and not without reason. For the worship of God being taken away, men lost the knowledge of good and evil. Thus the common intercourse of life perished from among then, and the bond of human society was destroyed. Then they began to contend with one another, and to plot, and to acquire for themselves glory from the shedding of human blood.

CHAPTER 6

AFTER THE BANISHMENT OF JUSTICE, LUST, UNJUST LAWS, DARING, AVARICE, AMBITION, PRIDE, IMPIETY, AND OTHER VICES REIGNED

And the source of all these evils was lust; which, indeed, burst forth from the contempt of true majesty. For not only did they who had a superfluity fail to bestow a share upon others, but they even seized the property of others, drawing everything to their private gain; and the things which formerly even individuals labored to obtain for the common use of men, were now conveyed to the houses of a few. Far, that they might subdue others by slavery, they began especially to withdraw and collect together the necessaries of life, and to keep them firmly shut up, that they might make the bounties of heaven their own; not on account of kindness, a feeling which had no existence in them, but that they might sweep together all the instruments of lust and avarice. They also, tinder the name of justice, passed most unequal and unjust laws, by which they might defend their plunder and avarice against the force of the multitude. They prevailed, therefore, as much by authority as by strength, or resources, or malice. And since there was in them no trace of justice, the offices of which are humanity, equity, pity, they now began to rejoice in a proud and swollen inequality, and made themselves higher than other men, by a retinue of attendants, and by the sword, and by the brilliancy of their garments. For this reason they invented for themselves honors, and purple robes, and fasces, that, being supported by the terror produced by axes and swords, they might, as it were by the right of masters, rule them, stricken with fear, and alarmed. Such was the condition in which the life of

man was placed by that king who, having defeated and put to flight a parent, did not seize his kingdom, but set up an impious tyranny by violence and armed men, and took away that golden age of justice, and compelled men to become wicked and impious, even from this very circumstance, that he turned them away from God to the worship of himself; and the terror of his excessive power had extorted this.

For who would not fear him who was girded about with arms, whom the unwonted gleam of steel and swords surrounded? Or what stranger would he spare who had not even spared his own father? Whom, in truth, should he fear, who had conquered in war, and destroyed by massacre the race of the Titans, which was strong and excelling in might? What wonder if the whole multitude, pressed by unusual fear, had given themselves up to the adulation of a single man? Him they venerated, to him they paid the greatest honor. And since it is judged to be a kind of obsequiousness to imitate the customs and vices of a king, all men laid aside piety, lest, if they should live piously, they might seem to upbraid the wickedness of the king. Thus, being corrupted by continual imitation, they abandoned divine right, and the practice of living wickedly by degrees became a habit. And now nothing remained of the pious and excellent condition of the preceding age; but justice being banished, and drawing with her the truth, left to men error, ignorance, and blindness. The poets therefore were ignorant, who sung that she fled to heaven, to the kingdom of Jupiter. For if justice was on the earth in the age which they call “golden,” it is plain that she was driven away by Jupiter, who changed the golden age. But the change of the age and the expulsion of justice is to be deemed nothing else, as I have said, than the laying aside of divine religion, which alone effects that man should esteem man dear, and should know that he is bound to him by the tie of brotherhood, since God is alike a Father to all, so as to share the bounties of the common God and Father with those who do not possess them; to injure no one, to oppress no one, not to close his door against a stranger, nor his ear against a suppliant, but to be bountiful, beneficent, and liberal, which Tullius thought to be praises suitable to a king. This truly is justice, and this is, the golden age, which was first corrupted when Jupiter reigned, and shortly afterwards, when he himself and all his offspring were consecrated as gods, and the worship of many deities undertaken, had been altogether taken away.

CHAPTER 7

OF THE COMING OF JESUS, AND ITS FRUIT; AND OF THE VIRTUES AND VICES OF THAT AGE

But God, as a most indulgent parent, when the last time approached, sent a messenger to bring back that old age, and justice which had been put to flight, that the human race might not be agitated by very great and perpetual errors. Therefore the appearance of that golden time returned, and justice was restored to the earth, but was assigned to a few; and this justice is nothing else than the pious and religious worship of the one God. But perhaps some may be inclined to ask, why, if this be justice, it is not given to all mankind, and the whole multitude does not agree to it. This is a matter of great disputation, why a difference was retained by God when He gave justice to the earth; and this I have shown in another place, and whenever a favorable opportunity shall occur it shall be explained. Now it is sufficient very briefly to signify it: that virtue can neither be discerned, unless it has vices opposed to it; nor be perfect, unless it is exercised by adversity. For God designed that there should be this distinction between good and evil things, that we may know from that which is evil the quality of the good, and also the quality of the evil from the good; nor can the nature of the one be understood if the other is taken away. God therefore did not exclude evil, that the nature of virtue might be evident. For how could patient endurance retain its meaning and name if there were nothing which we were compelled to endure? How could faith devoted to its God deserve praise, unless there were some one who wished to turn us away from God? For on this account He permitted the unjust to be more powerful, that they might be able to compel to evil; and on this account to be more numerous, that virtue might be precious, because it is rare. And this very point is admirably and briefly shown by Quintilian in “the muffled head.” “For what virtue,” he says, “would there be in innocence, had not its rarity furnished it with praises? But because it is provided by nature that hatred, desire, and anger drive men blindly to that object to which they have applied themselves, to be free from fault appears to be beyond the power of man. Otherwise, if nature had given to all men equal affections, piety would be nothing.”

How true this is, the necessity of the case itself teaches. For if it is virtue to resist with fortitude evils and vices, it is evident that, without evil and vice, there is no perfected virtue; and that God might render this complete and perfect, He retained that which was contrary to it, with which it might contend. For, being agitated by evils which harass it, it gains stability; and in proportion to the frequency with which it is urged onward, is the firmness with which it is strengthened. This is evidently the cause which effects that, although justice is sent to men, yet it cannot be said that a golden age exists; because God has not taken away evil, that He might retain that diversity which alone preserves the mystery of a divine religion.

CHAPTER 8

OF JUSTICE KNOWN TO ALL, BUT NOT EMBRACED; OF THE TRUE TEMPLE OF GOD, AND OF HIS WORSHIP, THAT ALL VICES MAY BE SUBDUED

They, therefore, who think that no one is just, have justice before their eyes, but are unwilling to discern it. For what reason is there why they should describe it either in poems or in all their discourse, complaining of its absence, when it is very easy for them to be good if they wish? Why do you depict to yourselves justice as worthless, and wish that she may fall from heaven, as it were, represented in some image? Behold, she is in your sight; receive her, if you are able, and place her in the abode of your breast; and do not imagine that this is difficult, or unsuited to the times. Be just and good, and the justice which you seek will follow you of her own accord. Lay aside every evil thought from your hearts, and that golden age will at once return to you, which you cannot attain to by any other means than by beginning to worship the true God. But you long for justice on the earth, while the worship of false gods continues, which cannot possibly come to pass. But it was not possible even at that time when you imagine, because those deities whom you impiously worship were not yet produced, and the worship of the one God must have prevailed throughout the earth; of that God, I say, who hates wickedness and requires goodness; whose temple is not stones or clay, but man himself, who bears the image

of God. And this temple is adorned not with corruptible gifts of gold and jewels, but with the lasting offices of virtues. Learn, therefore, if any intelligence is left to you, that men are wicked and unjust because gods are worshipped; and that all evils daily increase to the affairs of men on this account, because God the Maker and Governor of this world has been neglected; because, contrary to that which is right, impious superstitions have been taken up; and lastly, because you do not permit God to be worshipped even by a few.

But if God only were worshipped, there would not be dissensions and wars, since men would know that they are the sons of one God; and, therefore, among those who were connected by the sacred and inviolable bond of divine relationship, there would be no plottings, inasmuch as they would know what kind of punishments God prepared for the destroyers of souls, who sees through secret crimes, and even the very thoughts themselves. There would be no frauds or plunderings if they had learned, through the instruction of God, to be content with that which was their own, though little, so that they might prefer solid and eternal things to those which are frail and perishable. There would be no adulteries, and debaucheries, and prostitution of women, if it were known to all, that whatever is sought beyond the desire of procreation is condemned by God. Nor would necessity, compel a woman to dishonor her modesty, to seek for herself a most disgraceful mode of sustenance; since the males also would restrain their lust, and the pious and religious contributions of the rich would succor the destitute. There would not, therefore, as I have said, be these evils on the earth, if there were by common Consent a general observance of the law of God, if those things were done by all which our people alone perform. How happy and how golden would be the condition of human affairs, if throughout the world gentleness, and piety, and peace, and innocence, and equity, and temperance, and faith, took up their abode! In short, there would be no need of so many and varying laws to rule men, since the law of God alone would be sufficient for perfect innocence; nor would there be any need of prisons, or the swords of rulers, or the terror of punishments, since the wholesomeness of the divine precepts infused into the breasts of men would of itself instruct them to works of justice. But now men are wicked through ignorance of what is right and good. And this, indeed, Cicero saw; for, discoursing on the subject of the laws, he

says: “As the world, with all its parts agreeing with one another, coheres and depends upon one and the same nature, so all men, being naturally confused among themselves, disagree through depravity; nor do they understand that they are related by blood, and that they are all subject to one and the same guardianship: for if this were kept in mind, assuredly men would live the life of gods.” Therefore the unjust and impious worship of the gods has introduced all the evils by which mankind in turn destroy one another. For they could not retain their piety, who, as prodigal and rebellious children, had renounced the authority of Coot, the common parent of all.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE CRIMES OF THE WICKED, AND THE TORTURE INFLICTED ON THE CHRISTIANS

At times, however, they perceive that they are wicked, and praise the condition of the former ages, and conjecture that justice is absent because of their characters and deserts; for, though she presents herself to their eyes, they not only fail to receive or recognize her, but they even violently hate, and persecute, and endeavor to banish her. Let us suppose, in the meantime, that she whom we follow is not justice: how will they receive her whom they imagine to be the true justice, if she shall have come, when they torture and kill those whom they themselves confess to be imitators of the just, because they perform good and just actions; whereas, if they should put to death the wicked only, they would deserve to be unvisited by justice, who had no other reason for leaving the earth than the shedding of human blood? How much more so when they slay the righteous, and account the followers of justice themselves as enemies, yea, as more than enemies; who, though they eagerly seek their lives, and property, and children by sword and fire, yet are spared when conquered; and there is a place for clemency even amidst arms; or if they have determined to carry their cruelty to the utmost, nothing more is done towards them, except that they are put to death or led away to slavery! But this is unutterable which is done towards those who are ignorant of crime, and none are regarded as more guilty than those who are of all men innocent. Therefore

most wicked men venture to make mention of justice, men who surpass wild beasts in ferocity, who lay waste the most gentle flock of God, —

“Like gaunt wolves rushing from their den,
Whom lawless hunger’s sullen growl
Drives forth into the night to prowl.”

But these have been maddened not by the fury of hunger, but of the heart; nor do they prowl in a black mist, but by open plundering; nor does the consciousness of their crimes ever recall them from profaning the sacred and holy name of justice with that mouth which, like the jaws of beasts, is wet with the blood of the innocent. What must we say is especially the cause of this excessive and persevering hatred?

“Does truth produce hatred,”

as the poet says, as though inspired by the Divine Spirit, or are they ashamed to be bad in the presence of the just and good? Or is it rather from both causes? For the truth is always hateful on this account, because he who sins wishes to have free scope for sinning, and thinks that he cannot in any other way more securely enjoy the pleasure of his evil doings, than if there is no one whom his faults may displease. Therefore they endeavor entirely to exterminate and, take them away as witnesses of their crimes and wickedness, and think them burthensome to: themselves, as though their life were reproved. For why should any be unseasonably good, who, when the public morals are corrupted, should censure them by living well? Why should not all be equally wicked, rapacious, unchaste, adulterers, perjured, covetous, and fraudulent? Why should they not rather be taken out of the way, in whose presence they are ashamed to lead an evil life, who, though not by words, for they are silent, but by their very course of life, so unlike their own, assail and strike the forehead of sinners? For whoever disagrees with them appears to reprove them.

Nor is it greatly to be wondered at if these things are done towards men, since for the same cause the people who were placed in hope, and not ignorant of God, rose up against God Himself; and the same necessity follows the righteous which attacked the Author of righteousness Himself. Therefore they harass and torment them with studied kinds of punishments, and think it little to kill those whom they hate, unless cruelty also mocks their bodies. But if any through fear of pain or death,

or by their own perfidy, have deserted the heavenly oath, and have consented to deadly sacrifices, these they praise and load with honors, that by their ample they may allure others. But upon those who have highly esteemed their faith, and have not denied that they are worshippers of God, they fall with all the strength of their butchery, as though they thirsted for blood; and they call them desperate, because they by no means spare their body; as though anything could be more desperate, than to torture and tear in pieces him whom you know to be innocent. Thus no sense of shame remains among those from whom all kind feeling is absent, and they retort upon just men reproaches which are befitting to themselves. For they call them impious, being themselves forsooth pious, and shrinking from the shedding of human blood; whereas, if they would consider their own acts, and the acts of those whom they condemn as impious, they would now understand how false they are, and more deserving of all those things which they either say or do against the good. For they are not of our number, but of theirs who besiege the roads in arms, practice piracy by sea; or if it has not been in their power openly to assail, secretly mix poisons; who kill their wives that they may gain their dowries, or their husbands that they may marry adulterers; who either strangle the sons born from themselves, or if they are too pious, expose them; who restrain their incestuous passions neither from a daughter, nor sister, nor mother, nor priestess; who conspire against their own citizens and country; who do not fear the sack; who, in fine, commit sacrilege, and despoil the temples of the gods whom they worship; and, to speak of things which are light and usually practiced by them, who hunt for inheritances, forge wills, either remove or exclude the just heirs; who prostitute their own persons to lust; who, in short, unmindful of what they were born, contend with women in passivity; who, in violation of all propriety, pollute and dishonor the most sacred part of their body; who mutilate themselves, and that which is more impious, in order that they may be priests of religion; who do not even spare their own life, but sell their lives to be taken away in public; who, if they sit as judges, corrupted by a bribe, either destroy the innocent or set free the guilty without punishment; who grasp at the heaven itself by sorceries, as though the earth would not contain their wickedness. These crimes, I say, and more than these, are plainly committed by those who are worshippers of the gods.

Amidst these crimes of such number and magnitude, what place is there for justice? And I have collected a few only out of many, not for the purpose of censure, but to show their nature. Let those who shall wish to know all take in hand the books of Seneca, who was at the same time a most true describer and a most vehement accuser of the public morals and vices. But Lucilius also briefly and concisely described that dark life in these verses: “But now from morn to night, on festival and ordinary day alike, the whole people and the fathers with one accord display themselves in the forum, and never depart from it. They have all given themselves to one and the same pursuit and art, that they may be able cautiously to deceive, to fight treacherously, to contend in flattery, each to pretend that he is a good man, to lie in wait, as if all were enemies to all.” But which of these things can be laid to the charge of our people, with whom the whole of religion consists in living without guilt and without spot? Since, therefore, they see that both they and their people do those things which we have said, but that ours practice nothing else but that which is just and good, they might, if they had any understanding, have perceived from this, both that they who do what is good are pious, and that they themselves who commit wicked actions are impious. For it is impossible that they who do not err in all the actions of their life, should err in the main point, that is, in religion, which is the chief of all things. For impiety, if taken up in that which is the most important, would follow through all the rest. And therefore it is impossible that they who err in the whole of their life should not be deceived also in religion; inasmuch as piety, if it kept its rule in the chief point, would maintain its course in others. Thus it happens, that on either side the character of the main subject may be known from the state of the actions which are carried on.

CHAPTER 10

OF FALSE PIETY, AND OF FALSE AND TRUE RELIGION

It is worth while to investigate their piety, that from their merciful and pious actions it may be understood what is the character of those things which are done by them contrary to the laws of piety. And that I may not

seem to attack any one with harshness, I will take a character from the poets, and one which is the greatest example of piety. In Maro, that king

“Than who The breath of being none e’er drew,
More brave, more pious, or more true,” —

what proofs of justice did he bring forward to us?

“There walk with hands fast bound behind
The victim prisoners, designed
For slaughter o’er the flames.”

What can be more merciful than this piety? what more merciful than to immolate human victims to the dead, and to feed the fire with the blood of men as with oil? But perhaps this may not have been the fault of the hero himself, but of the poet, who polluted with distinguished wickedness “a man distinguished by his piety.” Where then, O poet, is that piety which you so frequently praise? Behold the pious Aeneas: —

“Four hapless youths of Sulmo’s breed,
And four who Ufens call their sire,
He takes alive, condemned to bleed
To Pallas’ shade on Pallas’ pyre.”

Why, therefore, at the very same time when he was sending the men in chains to slaughter, did he say,

“Fain would I grant the living peace,”

when he ordered that those whom he had in his power alive should be slain in the place of cattle? But this, as I have said, was not his fault — for he perhaps had not received a liberal education — but yours; for, though you were learned, yet you were ignorant of the nature of piety, and you believed that that wicked and detestable action of his was the befitting exercise of piety. He is plainly called pious on this account only, because he loved his father. Why should I say that

“The good Aeneas owned their plea,”

and yet slew them? For, though adjured by the same father, and

“By young Lulus’ dawning day,”

he did not spare them,

“Live fury kindling every vein”

What! can any one imagine that there was any virtue in him who was fired with madness as stubble, and, forgetful of the shade of his father. by whom he was entreated, was unable to curb his wrath? He was therefore by no means pious who not only slew the unresisting, but even suppliants. Here some one will say: What then, or where, or of what character is piety? Truly it is among those who are ignorant of wars, who maintain concord with all, who are friendly even to their enemies, who love all men as brethren, who know how to restrain their anger, and to soothe every passion of the mind with calm government. How great a mist, therefore, how great a cloud of darkness and errors, has over-spread the breasts of men who, when they think themselves especially pious, then become especially impious? For the more religiously they honor those earthy images, so much the more wicked are they towards the name of the true divinity. And therefore they are often harassed with greater evils as the reward of their impiety; and because they know not the cause of these evils, the blame is altogether ascribed to fortune, and the philosophy of Epicurus finds a place who thinks that nothing extends to the gods, and that they are neither influenced by favor nor moved by anger, because they often see their despisers happy, and their worshippers in misery. And this happens on this account, because when they seem to be religious and naturally good, they are believed to deserve nothing of that kind which they often suffer. However, they console themselves by accusing fortune; nor do they perceive that if she had any existence, she would never injure her worshippers. Piety of this kind is therefore deservedly followed by punishment; and the deity offended with the wickedness of men who are depraved in their religious worship, punishes them with heavy misfortune; who, although they live with holiness in the greatest faith and innocence, yet because they worship gods whose impious and profane rites are an abomination to the true God, are estranged from justice and the name of true piety. Nor is it difficult to show why the worshippers of the gods cannot be good and just. For how shall they abstain from the shedding of blood who worship bloodthirsty deities, Mars and Bellona? or how shall they spare their parents who worship Jupiter, who drove out his father? or how shall they spare their own infants who worship Saturnus? how shall they uphold chastity who worship a goddess who is naked, and an adulteress, and who prostitutes herself as it were among the gods? how shall they withhold themselves

from plunder and frauds who are acquainted with the thefts of Mercurius, who teaches that to deceive is not the part of fraud, but of cleverness? how shall they restrain their lusts who worship Jupiter, Hercules, Liber, Apollo, and the others, whose adulteries and debaucheries with men and women are not only known to the learned, but are even set forth in the theatres, and made the subject of songs, so that they are notorious to all? Among these things is it possible for men to be just, who, although they were naturally good, would be trained to injustice by the very gods themselves? For, that you may propitiate the God whom you worship, there is need of those things with which you know that he is pleased and delighted. Thus it comes to pass that the God fashions the life of his worshippers according to the character of his own will, since the most religious worship is to imitate.

CHAPTER 11

OF THE CRUELTY OF THE HEATHENS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS

Therefore, because justice is burthensome and unpleasant to those men who agree with the character of their gods, they exercise with violence against the righteous the same impiety which they show in other things. And not without reason are they spoken of by the prophets as beasts. Therefore it is excellently said by Marcus Tullius: “For if there is no one who would not prefer to die than to be changed into the figure of a beast, although he is about to have the mind of a man, how much more wretched is it to be of a brutalized mind in the figure of a man! To me, indeed, it seems as much worse as the mind is more excellent than the body.” Therefore they view with disdain the bodies of beasts, though they are themselves more cruel than these; and they pride themselves on this account, that they were born men, though they have nothing belonging to man except the features and the eminent figure. For what Caucasus, what India, what Hyrcania ever nourished beasts so. savage and so bloodthirsty? For the fury of all wild beasts rages until their appetite is satisfied; and when their hunger is appeased, immediately is pacified. That is truly a beast by whose command alone

"With rivulets of slaughter reeks
The stern embattled field."

"Dire agonies, wild terrors swarm,
And Death glares grim in many a form."

No one can befittingly describe the cruelty of this beast, which reclines in one place, and yet rages with iron teeth throughout the world, and not only tears in pieces the limbs of men, but also breaks their very bones, and rages over their ashes, that there may be no place for their burial, as though they who confess God aimed at this, that their tombs should be visited, and not rather that they themselves may reach the presence of God.

What brutality is it, what fury, what madness, to deny light to the living, earth to the dead? I say, therefore, that nothing is more wretched than those men whom necessity has either found or made the ministers of another's fury, the satellites of an impious command. For that was no honor, or exaltation of dignity, but the condemnation of a man to torture, and also to the everlasting punishment of God. But it is impossible to relate what things they performed individually throughout the world. For what number of volumes will contain so infinite, so varied kinds of cruelty? For, having gained power, every one raged according to his own disposition. Some, through excessive timidity, proceeded to greater lengths than they were commanded; others thus acted through their own particular hatred against the righteous; some by a natural ferocity of mind; some through a desire to please, and that by this service they might prepare the way to higher offices: some were swift to slaughter, as an individual in Phrygia, who burnt a whole assembly of people, together with their place of meeting. But the more cruel he was, so much the more merciful is he found to be. But that is the worst kind of persecutors whom a false appearance of clemency flatters; he is the more severe, he the more cruel torturer, who determines to put no one to death. Therefore it cannot be told what great and what grievous modes of tortures judges of this kind devised, that they might arrive at the accomplishment of their purpose. But they do these things not only on this account, that they may be able to boast that they have slain none of the innocent, — for I myself have heard some boasting that their administration has been in this respect without bloodshed, — but also for the sake of envy, lest either they themselves should be overcome, or the others should obtain the glory due

to their virtue. And thus, in devising modes of punishment, they think of nothing else besides victory. For they know that this is a contest and a battle. I saw in Bithynia the prefect wonderfully elated with joy, as though he had subdued some nation of barbarians, because one who had resisted for two years with great spirit appeared at length to yield. They contend, therefore, that they may conquer and inflict exquisite pains on their bodies, and avoid nothing else but that the victims may not die under the torture: as though, in truth, death alone could make them happy, and as though tortures also in proportion to their severity would not produce greater glory of virtue. But they with obstinate folly give orders that diligent care shall be given to the tortured, that their limbs may be renovated for other tortures, and fresh blood be supplied for punishment. What can be so pious, so beneficent, so humane? They would not have bestowed such anxious care on any whom they loved. This is the discipline of the gods: to these deeds they train their worshippers; these are the sacred rites which they require. Moreover, most wicked murderers have invented impious laws against the pious. For both sacrilegious ordinances and unjust disputations of jurists are read. Domitius, in his seventh book, concerning the office of the proconsul, has collected wicked rescripts of princes, that he might show by what punishments they ought to be visited who confessed themselves to be worshippers of God.

CHAPTER 12

OF TRUE VIRTUE; AND OF THE ESTIMATION OF A GOOD OR BAD CITIZEN

What would you do to those who give the name of justice to the tortures inflicted by tyrants of old, who fiercely raged against the innocent; and though they are teachers of injustice and cruelty, wish to appear just and prudent, being blind and dull, and ignorant of affairs and of truth? Is justice so hateful to you, O abandoned minds, that ye regard it as equal with the greatest crimes? Is innocence so utterly lost in your eyes, that you do not think it worthy of death only, but it is esteemed as beyond all crimes to commit no crime, and to have a breast pure from all contagion of guilt? And since we are speaking generally with those who worship gods, let us

have your permission to do good with you; for this is our law, this our business, this our religion. If we appear to you wise, imitate us; if foolish, despise us, or even laugh at us, if you please; for our folly is profitable to us. Why do you lacerate, why do you afflict us? We do not envy your wisdom. We prefer this folly of ours — we embrace this. We believe that this is expedient for us, — to love you, and to confer all things upon you, who hate us.

There is in the writings of Cicero a passage not inconsistent with the truth, in that disputation which is held by Furius against justice: “I ask,” he says, “if there should be two men, and one of them should be an excellent man, of the highest integrity, the greatest justice, and remarkable faith, and the other distinguished by crime and audacity; and if the state should be in such error as to regard that good man as wicked, vicious, and execrable, but should think the one who is most wicked to be of the highest integrity and faith; and if, in accordance with this opinion of all the citizens, that good man should be harassed, dragged away, should be deprived of his hands, have his eyes dug out, should be condemned, be bound, be branded, be banished, be in want, and lastly, should most justly appear to all to be most wretched; but, on the other hand, if that wicked man should be praised, and honored, and loved by all, — if all honors, all commands, all wealth, and all abundance should be bestowed upon him, — in short, if he should be judged in the estimation of all an excellent man, and most worthy of all fortune, — who, I pray, will be so mad as to doubt which of the two he would prefer to be?” Assuredly he put forth this example as though he divined what evils were about to happen to us, and in what manner, on account of righteousness; for our people suffer all these things through the perverseness of those in error. Behold, the state, or rather the whole world itself, is in such error, that it persecutes, tortures, condemns, and puts to death good and righteous men, as though they were wicked and impious. For as to what he says, that no one is so infatuated as to doubt which of the two he would prefer to be, he indeed, as the one who was contending against justice, thought this, that the wise man would prefer to be bad if he had a good reputation, than to be good with a bad reputation.

But may this senselessness be absent from us, that we should prefer that which is false to the true? Or does the character of our good man depend

upon the errors of the people, more than upon our own conscience and the judgment of God? Or shall any prosperity ever allure us, so that we should not rather choose true goodness, though accompanied with all evil, than false goodness together with all prosperity? Let kings retain their kingdoms, the rich their riches, as Plautus says, the wise their wisdom: let them leave to us our folly, which is evidently proved to be wisdom, from the very fact that they envy us its possession: for who would envy a fool, but he who is himself most foolish? But they are not so foolish as to envy fools; but from the fact of their following us up with such care and anxiety, they allow that we are not fools. For why should they rage with such cruelty, unless it is that they fear lest, as justice grows strong from day to day, they should be deserted together with their decaying gods? If, therefore, the worshippers of gods are wise, and we are foolish, why do they fear lest the wise shall be allured by the foolish?

CHAPTER 13

OF THE INCREASE AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIANS

But since our number is continually increased from the worshippers of gods, but is never lessened, not even in persecution itself, — since men may commit sin, and be defiled by sacrifice, but they cannot be turned away from God, for the truth prevails by its own power, — who is there, I pray, so foolish and so blind as not to see on which side wisdom is? But they are blinded by malice and fury, that they cannot see; and they think that those are foolish who, when they have it in their power to avoid punishments, nevertheless prefer to be tortured and to be put to death; whereas they might see from this very circumstance, that it is not folly to which so many thousands throughout the world agree with one and the same mind. For if women fall into error through the weakness of their sex (for these persons sometimes call it a womanish and anile superstition), men doubtless are wise. If boys, if youths are improvident through their age, the mature and aged doubtless have a fixed judgment. If one city is unwise, it is evident that the other innumerable cities cannot be foolish. If one province or one nation is without prudence, the rest must have

understanding of that which is right. But since the divine law has been received from the rising even to the setting of the sun, and each sex, every age, and nation, and country, with one and the same mind obeys God — since there is everywhere the same patient endurance, the same contempt of death — they ought to have understood that there is some reason in that matter, that it is not without a cause that it is defended even to death, that there is some foundation and solidity, which not only frees that religion from injuries and molestation, but always increases and makes it stronger. For in this respect also the malice of those is brought to light, who think that they have utterly overthrown the religion of God if they have corrupted men, when it is permitted them to make satisfaction also to God; and there is no worshipper of God so evil who does not, when the opportunity is given him, return to appease God, and that, too, with greater devotedness. For the consciousness of sin and the fear of punishment make a man more religious, and the faith is always much stronger which is replaced through repentance. If, therefore, they themselves, when they think that the gods are angry with them, nevertheless believe that they are appeased by gifts, and sacrifices, and incense, what reason is there why they should imagine our God to be so unmerciful and implacable, that it should appear impossible for him to be a Christian, who by compulsion and against his will has poured a libation to their gods? Unless by chance they think that those who are once contaminated are about to change their mind, so that they may now begin of their own accord to do that which they have done under the influence of torture. Who would willingly undertake that duty which began with injury? Who, when he sees the scars on his own sides, would not the more hate the gods, on account of whom he bears the traces of lasting punishment, and the marks imprinted upon his flesh? Thus it comes to pass, that when peace is given from heaven, those who were estranged from us return, and a fresh crowd of others are added on account of the wonderful nature of the virtue displayed. For when the people see that men are lacerated by various kinds of tortures, and that they retain their patience unsubdued while the executioners are wearied, they think, as is really the case, that neither the agreement of so many nor the constancy of the dying is without meaning, and that patience itself could not surmount such great tortures without the aid of God. Robbers and men of robust frame are unable to endure lacerations of this kind: they utter exclamations,

and send forth groans; for they are overcome by pain, because they are destitute of patience infused into them. But in our case (not to speak of men), boys and delicate women in silence overpower their torturers, and even the fire is unable to extort from them a groan. Let the Romans go and boast in their Mutius or Regulus, — the one of whom gave himself up to be slain by the enemy, because he was ashamed to live as a captive; the other being taken by the enemy, when he saw that he could not escape death, laid his hand upon the burning hearth, that he might make atonement for his crime to the enemy whom he wished to kill, and by that punishment received the pardon which he had not deserved. Behold, the weak sex and fragile age endure to be lacerated in the whole body, and to be burned: not Of necessity, for it is permitted them to escape if they wished to do so; but of their own will, because they put their trust in God.

CHAPTER 14

OF THE FORTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIANS

But this is true virtue, which the vaunting philosophers also boast of, not in deed, but with empty words, saying that nothing is so befitting the gravity and constancy of a wise man as to be able to be driven away from his sentiment and purpose by no torturers, but that it is worth his while to suffer torture and death rather than betray a trust or depart from his duty, or, overcome by fear of death or severity of pain, commit any injustice. Unless by chance Flaccus appears to them to rave in his lyrics, when he says,

“Not the rage of the million commanding things evil;
Not the doom frowning near in the brows of the tyrant,
Shakes the upright and resolute man
In his solid completeness of soul.”

And nothing can be more true than this, if it is referred to those who refuse no tortures, no kind of death, that they may not turn aside from faith and justice; who do not tremble at the commands of tyrants nor the swords of rulers, so as not to maintain true and solid liberty with constancy of mind, which wisdom is to be observed in this alone. For who is so arrogant, who so lifted up, as to forbid me to raise my eyes to heaven? Who can impose

upon me the necessity either of worshipping that which I am unwilling to worship, or of abstaining from the worship of that which I wish to worship? What further will now be left to us, if even this, which must be done of one's own will, shall be extorted from me by the caprice of another? No one will effect this, if we have any courage to despise death and pain. But if we possess this constancy, why are we judged foolish when we do those things which philosophers praise? Seneca, in charging men with inconsistency, rightly says the highest virtue appears to them to consist in greatness of spirit; and yet the same persons regard him who despises death as a madman, which is plainly a mark of the greatest perverseness. But those followers of vain religions urge this with the same folly with which they fail to understand the true God; and these the Erythraean Sibyl calls "deaf and senseless," since they neither hear nor perceive divine things, but fear and adore an earthen image molded by their own fingers.

CHAPTER 15

OF FOLLY, WISDOM, PIETY, EQUITY, AND JUSTICE

But the reason on account of which they imagine those who are wise to be foolish has strong grounds of support (for they are not deceived without reason). And this must be diligently explained by us, that they may at length (if it is possible) recognize their errors. Justice by its own nature has a certain appearance of folly, and I am able to confirm this both by divine and human testimonies. But perhaps we should not succeed with them, unless we should teach them from their own authorities that no one can be just, a matter which is united with true wisdom, unless he also appears to be foolish. Carneades was a philosopher of the Academic sect; and one who knows not what power he had in discussion, what eloquence, what sagacity, will nevertheless understand the character of the man himself from the praises of Cicero or of Lucilius, in whose writings Neptune, discoursing on a subject of the greatest difficulty, shows that it cannot be explained, even if Orcus should restore Carneades himself to life. This Carneades, when he had been sent by the Athenians as ambassador to Rome, disputed copiously on the subject of justice, in the hearing of Galba

and Cato, who had been censor, who were at that time the greatest of orators. But on the next day the same man overthrew his own argument by a disputation to the contrary effect, and took away the justice which he had praised on the preceding day, not indeed with the gravity of a philosopher, whose prudence ought to be firm and his opinion settled, but as it were by an oratorical kind of exercise of disputing on both sides. And he was accustomed to do this, that he might be able to refute others who asserted anything. L. Furius, in Cicero, makes mention of that discussion in which justice is overthrown. I believe, inasmuch as he was discussing the subject of the state, he did it that he might introduce the defense and praise of that without which he thought that a state could not be governed. But Carneades, that he might refute Aristotle and Plato, the advocates of justice, in that first disputation collected all the arguments which were alleged in behalf of justice, that he might be able to overthrow them, as he did. For it was very easy to shake justice, having no roots, inasmuch as there was then none on the earth, that its nature or qualities might be perceived by philosophers. And I could wish that men, so many and of such a character, had possessed knowledge also, in proportion to their eloquence and spirit, for completing the defense of this greatest virtue, which has its origin in religion, its principle in equity! But those who were ignorant of that first part could not possess the second. But I wish first to show, summarily and concisely, what it is, that it may be understood that the philosophers were ignorant of justice, and were unable to defend that with which they were unacquainted. Although justice embraces all the virtues together, yet there are two, the chief of all, which cannot be torn asunder and separated from it — piety and equity. For fidelity, temperance, uprightness, innocence, integrity, and the other things of this kind, either naturally or through the training of parents, may exist in those men who are ignorant of justice, as they have always existed; for the ancient Romans, who were accustomed to glory in justice, used evidently to glory in those virtues which (as I have said) may proceed from justice, and be separated from the very fountain itself. But piety and equity are, as it were, its veins: for in these two fountains the whole of justice is contained; but its source and origin is in the first, all its force and method in the second. But piety is nothing else but the conception of God, as Trismegistus most truly defined it, as we have said in another place. If, therefore, it is piety to know God, and the sum of this knowledge is that

you worship Him, it is plain that he is ignorant of justice who does not possess the knowledge of God. For how can he know justice itself, who is ignorant of the source from which it arises? Plato, indeed, spoke many things respecting the one God, by whom he said that the world was framed; but he spoke nothing respecting religion: for he had dreamed of God, but had not known Him. But if either he himself or any other person had wished to complete the defense of justice, he ought first of all to have overthrown the religions of the gods, because they are opposed to piety. And because Socrates indeed tried to do this, he was thrown into prison; that even then it might be seen what was about to happen to those men who had begun to defend true justice, and to serve the only God.

The other part of justice, therefore, is equity; and it is plain that I am not speaking of the equity of judging well, though this also is praiseworthy in a just man, but of making himself equal to others, which Cicero calls equability. For God, who produces and gives breath to men, willed that all should be equal, that is, equally matched. He has imposed on all the same condition of living; He has produced all to wisdom; He has promised immortality to all; no one is cut off from His heavenly benefits. For as He distributes to all alike His one light, sends forth His fountains to all, supplies food, and gives the most pleasant rest of sleep; so He bestows on all equity and virtue. In His sight no one is a slave, no one a master; for if all have the same Father, by an equal right we are all children. No one is poor in the sight of God, but he who is without justice; no one is rich, but he who is full of virtues; no one, in short, is excellent, but he who has been good and innocent; no one is most renowned, but he who has abundantly performed works of mercy; no one is most perfect, but he who has filled all the steps of virtue. Therefore neither the Romans nor the Greeks could possess justice, because they had men differing from one another by many degrees, from the poor to the rich, from the humble to the powerful; in short, from private persons to the highest authorities of kings. For where all are not equally matched, there is not equity; and inequality of itself excludes justice, the whole force of which consists in this, that it makes those equal who have by an equal lot arrived at the condition of this life.

CHAPTER 16

OF THE DUTIES OF THE JUST MAN, AND THE EQUITY OF CHRISTIANS

Therefore, since those two fountains of justice are changed, all virtue and all truth are taken away, and justice itself returns to heaven. And on this account the true good was not discovered by philosophers, because they were ignorant both of its origin and effects: which has been revealed to no others but to our people. Some one will say, Are there not among you some poor, and others rich; some servants, and others masters? Is there not some difference between individuals? There is none; nor is there any other cause why we mutually bestow upon each other the name of brethren, except that we believe ourselves to be equal. For since we measure all human things not by the body, but by the spirit, although the condition of bodies is different, yet we have no servants, but we both regard and speak of them as brothers in spirit, in religion as fellow-servants. Riches also do not render men illustrious, except that they are able to make them more conspicuous by good works. For men are rich, not because they possess riches, but because they employ them on works of justice; and they who seem to be poor, on this account are rich, because they are not in want, and desire nothing.

Though, therefore, in lowliness of mind we are on an equality, the free with slaves, and the rich with the poor, nevertheless in the sight of God we are distinguished by virtue. And every one is more elevated in proportion to his greater justice. For if it is justice for a man to put himself on a level even with those of lower rank, although he excels in this very thing, that he made himself equal to his inferiors; yet if he has conducted himself not only as an equal, but even as an inferior, he will plainly obtain a much higher rank of dignity in the judgment of God For assuredly, since all things in this temporal life are frail and liable to decay, men both prefer themselves to others, and contend about dignity; than which nothing is more foul, nothing mere arrogant, nothing more removed from the conduct of a wise man: for these earthly things are altogether opposed to heavenly things. For as the wisdom of men is the greatest foolishness with God, and foolishness is (as I have shown) the greatest wisdom; so he is low and

abject in the sight of God who shall have been conspicuous and elevated on earth. For, not to mention that these present earthly goods to which great honor is paid are contrary to virtue, and enervate the vigor of the mind, what nobility, I pray, can be so firm, what resources, what power, since God is able to make kings themselves even lower than the lowest? And therefore God has consulted our interest in placing this in particular among the divine precepts: “He that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.” And the wholesomeness of this precept teaches that he who shall simply place himself on a level with other men, and carry himself with humility, is esteemed excellent and illustrious in the sight of God. For the sentiment is not false which is brought forward in Euripides to this effect: — “The things which are here considered evil are esteemed good in heaven.”

CHAPTER 17

OF THE EQUITY, WISDOM, AND FOOLISHNESS OF CHRISTIANS

I have explained the reason why philosophers were unable either to find or to defend justice. Now I return to that which I had purposed. Carneades, therefore, since the arguments of the philosophers were weak, undertook the bold task of refuting them, because he understood that they were capable of refutation. The substance of his disputation was this: “That men enacted laws for themselves, with a view to their own advantage, differing indeed according to their characters, and in the case of the same persons often changed according to the times: but that there was no natural law: that all, both men and other animals, were born by the guidance of nature to their own advantage; therefore that there was no justice, or if any did exist, it was the greatest folly, because it injured itself by promoting the interests of others.” And he brought forward these arguments: “That all nations which flourished with dominion, even the Romans themselves, who were masters of the whole world, if they wish to be just, that is, to restore the possessions of others, must return to cottages, and lie down in want and miseries.” Then, leaving general topics, he came to particulars. “If a good man,” he says, “has a runaway slave, or an unhealthy and

infected house, and he alone knows these faults, and on this account offers it for sale, will he give out that the slave is a runaway, and the house which he offers for sale is infected, or will he conceal it from the purchaser? If he shall give it out, he is good indeed, because he will not deceive; but still he will be judged foolish, because he will either sell at a low price or not sell at all. If he shall conceal it, he will be wise indeed, because he will consult his own interest; but he will be also wicked, because he will deceive. Again, if he should find any one who supposes that he is selling copper ore when it is gold, or lead when it is silver, will he be silent, that he may buy it at a small price; or will he give information of it, so that he may buy it at a great price? It evidently appears foolish to prefer to buy it at a great price." From which he wished it to be understood, both that he who is just and good is foolish, and that he who is wise is wicked; and yet that it may possibly happen without ruin, for men to be contented with poverty. Therefore he passed to greater things, in which no one could be just without danger of his life. For he said: "Certainly it is justice not to put a man to death, not to take the property of another. What, then, will the just man do, if he shall happen to have suffered shipwreck, and some one weaker than himself shall have seized a plank? Will he not thrust him from the plank, that he himself may get upon it, and supported by it may escape, especially since there is no witness in the middle of the sea? If he is wise, he will do so; for he must himself perish unless he shall thus act. But if he choose rather to die than to inflict violence upon another, in this case he is just, but foolish, in not sparing his own life while he spares the life of another. Thus also, if the army of his own people shall have been routed, and the enemy have begun to press upon them, and that just man shall have met with a wounded man on horseback, will he spare him so as to be slain himself, or will he throw him from his horse, that he himself may escape from the enemy? If he shall do this, he will be wise, but also wicked; if he shall not do it, he will be just, but also of necessity foolish." When, therefore, he had thus divided justice into two parts, saying that the one was civil, the other natural, he subverted both: because the civil part is wisdom, but not justice; but the natural part is justice, but not wisdom. These arguments are altogether subtle and acute, and such as Marcus Tullius was unable to refute. For when he represents Laelius as replying to Furius, and speaking in behalf of justice, he passed them by as a pitfall without refuting them; so that the same Laelius appears not to have

defended natural justice, which had fallen under the charge of folly, but that civil justice which Furius had admitted to be wisdom, but unjust.

CHAPTER 18

OF JUSTICE, WISDOM, AND FOLLY,

With reference to our present discussion, I have shown how justice bears the resemblance of folly, that it may appear that those are not deceived without reason who think that men of our religion are foolish in appearing to do such things as he proposed. Now I perceive that a greater undertaking is required from me, to show why God wished to enclose justice under the appearance of folly, and to remove it from the eyes of men, when I shall have first replied to Furius, since Laelius has not sufficiently replied to him; who, although he was a wise man, as he was called, yet could not be the advocate of true justice, because he did not possess the source and fountain of justice. But this defense is easier for us, to whom by the bounty of Heaven this justice is familiar and well known, and who know it not in name, but in reality. For Plato and Aristotle desired with an honest will to defend justice, and would have effected something, if their good endeavors, their eloquence, and vigor of intellect had been aided also by a knowledge of divine things. Thus their work, being vain and useless, was neglected: nor were they able to persuade any of men to live according to their precept, because that system had no foundation from heaven. But our work must be more certain, since we are taught of God. For they represented justice in words, and pictured it when it was not in sight; nor were they able to confirm their assertions by present examples. For the hearers might have answered that it was impossible to live as they prescribed in their disputation; so that none have as yet existed who followed that course of life. But we show the truth of our statements not only by words, but also by examples derived from the truth. Therefore Carneades understood what is the nature of justice, except that he did not sufficiently perceive that it was not folly; although I seem to myself to understand with what intention he did this. For he did not really think that he who is just is foolish; but when he knew that he was not so, but did not comprehend the cause why he appeared so,

he wished to show that the truth lay hidden, that he might maintain the dogma of his own sect, the chief opinion of which is, “that nothing can be fully comprehended.”

Let us see, therefore, whether justice has any agreement with folly. The just man, he says, if he does not take away from the wounded man: his horse, and from the shipwrecked man his plank, in order that he may preserve his own life, is foolish. First of all, I deny that it can in any way happen that a man who is truly just should be in circumstances of this kind; for the just man is neither at enmity with any human being, nor desires anything at all which is the property of another. For why should he take a voyage, or what should he seek from another land, when his own is sufficient for him? Or why should he carry on war, and mix himself with the passions of others, when his mind is engaged in perpetual peace with men? Doubtless he will be delighted with foreign merchandise or with human blood, who does not know how to seek gain, who is satisfied with his mode of living, and considers it unlawful not only himself to commit slaughter, but to be present with those who do it, and to behold it! But I omit these things, since it is possible that a man may be compelled even against his will to undergo these things. Do you then, O Furius — or rather O Carneades, for all this speech is his — think that justice is so useless, so superfluous, and so despised by God, that it has no power and no influence in itself which may avail for its own preservation? But it is evident that they who are ignorant of the mystery of man, and who therefore refer all things to this present life, cannot know how great is the force of justice. For when they discuss the subject of virtue, although they understand that it is very full of labors and miseries, nevertheless they say that it is to be sought for its own sake; for they by no means see its rewards, which are eternal and immortal. Thus, by referring all things to the present life, they altogether reduce virtue to folly, since it undergoes such great labors of this life in vain and to no purpose. But more on this subject at another opportunity.

In the meanwhile let us speak of justice, as we began, the power of which is so great, that when it has raised its eyes to heaven, it deserves all things from God. Flaccus therefore rightly said, that the power of innocence is so great, that wherever it journeys, it needs neither arms nor strength for its protection: —

"He whose life hath no flaw, pure from guile, need not borrow
Or the bow or the darts of the Moor, O my Fuscus!
He relies for defense on no quiver that teems with
Poison-steept arrows.

Though his path be along sultry African Syrtes,
Or Caucasian ravines, where no guest finds a shelter,
Or the banks which Hydaspes, the stream weird with fable,
Licks languid-flowing."

It is impossible, therefore, that amidst the dangers of tempests and of wars the just man should be unprotected by the guardianship of Heaven; and that even if he should be at sea in company with parricides and guilty men, the wicked also should not be spared, that this one just and innocent soul may be freed from danger, or at any rate may be alone preserved while the rest perish. But let us grant that the case which the philosopher proposes is possible: what, then, will the just man do, if he shall have met with a wounded man on a horse, or a shipwrecked man on a plank? I am not unwilling to confess he will rather die than put another to death. Nor will justice, which is the chief good of man, on this account receive the name of folly. For what ought to be better and dearer to man than innocence? And this must be the more perfect, the more you bring it to extremity, and choose to die rather than to detract from the character of innocence. It is folly, he says, to spare the life of another in a case which involves the destruction of one's own life. Then do you think it foolish to perish even for friendship?

Why, then, are those Pythagorean friends praised by you, of whom the one gave himself to the tyrant as a surety for the life of the other, and the other at the appointed time, when his surety was now being led to execution, presented himself, and rescued him by his own interposition? Whose virtue would not be held in such glory, when one of them was willing to die for his friend, the other even for his word which had been pledged, if they were regarded as fools. In fine, on account of this very virtue the tyrant rewarded them by preserving both, and thus the disposition of a most cruel man was changed. Moreover, it is even said that he entreated them to admit him as a third party to their friendship, from which it is plain that he regarded them not as fools, but as good and wise men. Therefore I do not see why, since it is reckoned the highest glory to die for friendship and for one's word, it is not glorious to a man to

die even for his innocence. They are therefore most foolish who impute it as a crime to us that we are willing to die for God, when they themselves extol to the heavens with the highest praises him who was willing to die for a man. In short, to conclude this disputation, reason itself teaches that it is impossible for a man to be at once just and foolish, wise and unjust. For he who is foolish is unacquainted with that which is just and good, and therefore always errs. For he is as it were, led captive by his vices; nor can he in any way resist them, because he is destitute of the virtue of which he is ignorant. But the just man abstains from all fault, because he cannot do otherwise, although he has the knowledge of right and wrong.

But who is able to distinguish right from wrong except the wise man? Thus it comes to pass, that he can never be just who is foolish, nor wise who is unjust. And if this is most true, it is plain that he who has not taken away a plank from a shipwrecked man, or a horse from one who is wounded, is not foolish; because it is a sin to do these things, and the wise man abstains from sin. Nevertheless I myself also confess that it has this appearance, through the error of men, who are ignorant of the peculiar character of everything. And thus the whole of this inquiry is refuted not so much by arguments as by definition. Therefore folly is the erring in deeds and words, through ignorance of what is right and good. Therefore he is not a fool who does not even spare himself to prevent injury to another, which is an evil. And this, indeed, reason and the truth itself dictate. For we see that in all animals, because they are destitute of wisdom, nature is the provider of supplies for itself. Therefore they injure others that they may profit themselves, for they do not understand that the committing an injury is evil. But man, who has the knowledge of good and evil, abstains from committing an injury even to his own damage, which an animal without reason is unable to do; and on this account innocence is reckoned among the chief virtues of man. Now by these things it appears that he is the wisest man who prefers to perish rather than to commit an injury, that he may preserve that sense of duty by which he is distinguished from the dumb creation. For he who does not point out the error of one who is offering the gold for sale, in order that he may buy it for a small sum, or he who does not avow that he is offering for sale a runaway slave or an infected house, having an eye to his own gain or advantage, is not a wise man, as Carneades wished it to appear, but

crafty and cunning. Now craftiness and cunning exist in the dumb animals also: either when they lie in wait for others, and take them by deceit, that they may devour them; or when they avoid the snares of others in various ways. But wisdom falls to man alone. For wisdom is understanding either with the purpose of doing that which is good and right, or for the abstaining from improper words and deeds. Now a wise man never gives himself to the pursuit of gain, because he despises these earthly advantages: nor does he allow any one to be deceived, because it is the duty of a good man to correct the errors of men, and to bring them back to the right way; since the nature of man is social and beneficent, in which respect alone he bears a relation to God.

CHAPTER 19

OF VIRTUE AND THE TORTURES OF CHRISTIANS, AND OF THE RIGHT OF A FATHER AND MASTER

But undoubtedly this is the cause why he appears to be foolish who prefers to be in want. or to die rather than to inflict injury or take away the property of another, — namely, because they think that man is destroyed by death. And from this persuasion all the errors both of the common people and also of the philosophers arise. For if we have no existence after death, assuredly it is the part of the most foolish man not to promote the interests of the present life, that it may be long-continued, and may abound with all advantages. But he who shall act thus must of necessity depart from the rule of justice. But if there remains to man a longer and a better life — and this we learn both from the arguments of great philosophers, and from the answers of seers, and the divine words of prophets — it is the part of the wise man to despise this present life with its advantages, since its entire loss is compensated by immortality. The same defender of justice, Laelius, says in Cicero: “Virtue altogether wishes for honor; nor is there any other reward of virtue.” There is indeed another, and that most worthy of virtue, which you, O Laelius, could never have supposed; for you had no knowledge of the sacred writings. And this reward it easily receives, and does not harshly demand. You are greatly mistaken, if you think that a reward can be paid to virtue by man,

since you yourself most truly said in another place: “What riches will you offer to this man? what commands? what kingdoms? He who regards these things as human, judges his own advantages to be divine.” Who, therefore, can think you a wise man, O Laelius, when you contradict yourself, and after a short interval take away from virtue that which you have given to her? But it is manifest that ignorance of the truth makes your opinion uncertain and wavering.

In the next place, what do you add? “But if all the ungrateful, or the many who are envious, or powerful enemies, deprive virtue of its rewards.” Oh how frail, how worthless, have you represented virtue to be, if it can be deprived of its reward! For if it judges its goods to be divine, as you said, how can there be any so ungrateful, so envious, so powerful, as to be able to deprive virtue of those goods which were conferred upon it by the gods? “Assuredly it delights itself,” he says, “by many comforts, and especially supports itself by its own beauty.” By what comforts? by what beauty? since that beauty is often charged upon it as a fault, and turned into a punishment. For what if, as Furius said, a man should be dragged away, harassed, banished, should be in want, be deprived of his hands, have his eyes put out, be condemned, put into chains, be burned, be miserably tortured also? will virtue lose its reward, or rather, will it perish itself? By no means. But it will both receive its reward from God the Judge, and it will live, and always flourish. And if you take away these things, nothing in the life of man can appear to be so useless, so foolish, as virtue, the natural goodness and honor of which may teach us that the soul is not mortal, and that a divine reward is appointed for it by God. But on this account God willed that virtue itself should be concealed under the character of folly, that the mystery of truth and of His religion might be secret; that He might show the vanity and error of these superstitions, and of that earthly wisdom which raises itself too highly, and exhibits great self-complacency, that its difficulty being at length set forth, that most narrow path might lead to the lofty reward of immortality. I have shown, as I think, why our people are esteemed foolish by the foolish. For to choose to be tortured and slain, rather than to take incense in three fingers, and throw it upon the hearth, appears as foolish as, in a case where life is endangered, to be more careful of the life of another than of one’s own. For they do not know how great an act of impiety it is to adore any other

object than God, who made heaven and earth, who fashioned the human race, breathed into them the breath of life, and gave them light. But if he is accounted the most worthless of slaves who runs away and deserts his master, and if he is judged most deserving of stripes and chains, and a prison, and the cross, and of all evil; and if a son, in the same manner, is thought abandoned and impious who deserts his father, that he may not pay him obedience, and on this account is considered deserving of being disinherited, and of having his name removed for ever from his family, — how much more so does he who forsakes God, in whom the two names entitled to equal reverence, of Lord and Father, alike meet? For what benefit does he who buys a slave bestow upon him, beyond the nourishment with which he supplies him for his own advantage? And he who begets a son has it not in his power to effect that he shall be conceived, or born, or live; from which it is evident that he is not the father, but only the instrument of generation. Of what punishments, therefore, is he deserving, who forsakes Him who is both the true Master and Father, but those which God Himself has appointed? who has prepared everlasting fire for the wicked spirits; and this He Himself threatens by His prophets to the impious and the rebellious.

CHAPTER 20

OF THE VANITY AND CRIMES IMPIOUS SUPERSTITIONS, AND OF THE TORTURES OF THE CHRISTIANS

Therefore, let those who destroy their own souls and the souls of others learn what an inexpiable crime they commit; in the first place, because they cause their own death by serving most abandoned demons, whom God has condemned to everlasting punishments; in the next place, because they do not permit God to be worshipped by others, but endeavor to turn men aside to deadly rites, and strive with the greatest diligence that no life may be without injury on earth, which looks to heaven with its condition secured. What else shall I call them but miserable men, who obey the instigations of their own plunderers, whom they think to be gods? of whom they neither know the condition, nor origin, nor names, nor nature; but, clinging to the persuasion of the people, they willingly err, and favor

their own folly. And if you should ask them the grounds of their persuasion, they can assign none, but have recourse to the judgment of their ancestors, saying that they were wise, that they approved them, that they knew what was best; and thus they deprive themselves of all power of perception: they bid adieu to reason, while they place confidence in the errors of others. Thus, involved in ignorance of all things, they neither know themselves nor their gods. And would to heaven that they had been willing to err by themselves, and to be unwise by themselves! But they hurry away others also to be companions of their evil, as though they were about to derive comfort from the destruction of many. But this very ignorance causes them to be so cruel in persecuting the wise; and they pretend that they are promoting their welfare, that they wish to recall them to a good mind.

Do they then strive to effect this by conversation, or by giving some reason? By no means; but they endeavor to effect it by force and tortures. O wonderful and blind infatuation! It is thought that there is a bad mind in those who endeavor to preserve their faith, but a good one in executioners. Is there, then, a bad mind in those who, against every law of humanity, against every principle of justice, are tortured, or rather, in those who inflict on the bodies of the innocent such things, as neither the most cruel robbers, nor the most enraged enemies, nor the most savage barbarians have ever practiced? Do they deceive themselves to such an extent, that they mutually transfer and change the names of good and evil? Why, therefore, do they not call day night — the sun darkness? Moreover, it is the same impudence to give to the good the name of evil, to the wise the name of foolish, to the just the name of impious. Besides this, if they have any confidence in philosophy or in eloquence, let them arm themselves, and refute these arguments of ours if they are able; let them meet us hand to hand, and examine every point. It is befitting that they should undertake the defense of their gods, lest, if our affairs should increase (as they do increase daily), theirs should be deserted, together with their shrines and their vain mockeries; and since they can effect nothing by violence (for the religion of God is increased the more it is oppressed), let them rather act by the use of reason and exhortations.

Let their priests come forth into the midst, whether the inferior ones or the greatest; their flamens, augurs, and also sacrificing kings, and the priests

and ministers of their superstitions. Let them call us together to an assembly; let them exhort us to undertake the worship of their gods; let them persuade us that there are many g beings by whose deity and providence all things are governed; let them show how the origins and beginnings of their sacred rites and gods were handed down to mortals; let them explain what is their source and principle; let them set forth what reward there is in their worship, and what punishment awaits neglect; why they wish to be worshipped by men; what the piety of men contributes to them, if they are blessed: and let them confirm all these things not by their own assertion (for the authority of a mortal man is of no weight), but by some divine testimonies, as we do. There is no occasion for violence and injury, for religion cannot be imposed by force; the matter must be carried on by words rather than by blows, that the will may be affected. Let them unsheath the weapon of their intellect; if their system is true, let it be asserted. We are prepared to hear, if they teach; while they are silent, we certainly pay no credit to them, as we do not yield to them even in their rage. Let them imitate us in setting forth the system of the whole matter: for we do not entice, as they say; but we teach, we prove, we show. And thus no one is detained by us against his will, for he is unserviceable to God who is destitute of faith and devotedness; and yet no one departs from us, since the truth itself detains him. Let them teach in this manner, if they have any confidence in the truth; let them speak, let them give utterance; let them venture, I say, to discuss with us something of this nature; and then assuredly their error and folly will be ridiculed by the old women, whom they despise, and by our boys. For, since they are especially clever, they know from books the race of the gods, and their exploits, and commands, and deaths, and tombs; they may also know that the rites themselves, in which they have been initiated, had their origin either in human actions, or in casualties, or in deaths. It is the part of incredible madness to imagine that they are gods, whom they cannot deny to have been mortal; or if they should be So shameless as to deny it, their own writings, and those of their own people, will refute them; in short, the very beginnings of the sacred rites will convict them. They may know, therefore, even from this very thing, how great a difference there is between truth and falsehood; for they themselves with all their eloquence are unable to persuade, whereas the unskilled and the uneducated are able, because the matter itself and the truth speaks.

Why then do they rage, so that while they wish to lessen their folly, they increase it? Torture and piety are widely different; nor is it possible for truth to be united with violence, or justice with cruelty. But with good reason they do not venture to teach anything concerning divine things, lest they should both be derided by our people and be deserted by their own. For the common people for the most part, if they ascertain that these mysteries were instituted in memory of the dead, will condemn them, and seek for some truer object of worship. "Hence rites of mystic awe" were instituted by crafty men, that the people may not know what they worship. But since we are acquainted with their systems, why do they either not believe us who are acquainted with both, or envy us because we have preferred truth to falsehood? But, they say, the public rites of religion must be defended. Oh with what an honorable inclination the wretched men go astray! For they are aware that there is nothing among men more excellent than religion, and that this ought to be defended with the whole of our power; but as they are deceived in the matter of religion itself, so also are they in the manner of its defense. For religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patient endurance; not by guilt, but by good faith: for the former; belong to evils, but the latter to goods; and it is necessary for that which is good to have place in religion, and not that which is evil. For if you wish to defend religion by bloodshed, and by tortures, and by guilt, it will no longer be defended, but will be polluted and profaned. For nothing is so much a matter of free-will as religion; in which, if the mind of the worshipper is disinclined to it, religion is at once taken away, and ceases to exist. The right method therefore is, that you defend religion by patient endurance or by death; in which the preservation of the faith is both pleasing to God Himself, and adds authority to religion. For if he who in this earthly warfare preserves his faith to his king in some illustrious action, if he shall continue to live, because more beloved and acceptable, and if he shall fall, obtains the highest glory, because he has undergone death for his leader; how much more is faith to be kept towards God, the Ruler of all, who is able to pay the reward of virtue, not only to the living, but also to the dead! Therefore the worship of God, since it belongs to heavenly warfare, requires the greatest devotedness and fidelity. For how will God either love the worshipper, if He Himself is not loved by him, or grant to the petitioner whatever he shall ask, when he draws nigh to offer his prayer

without sincerity or reverence? But these men, when they come to offer sacrifice, present to their gods nothing from within, nothing of their own — no uprightness of mind, no reverence or fear. Therefore, when the worthless sacrifices i are completed, they leave their religion altogether i in the temple, and with the temple, as they had found it; and neither bring with them anything of it, nor take anything back. Hence it is that religious observances of this kind are neither able to make men good, nor to be firm and unchangeable. And thus men are easily led away from them, because nothing is learned in them relating to the life, nothing relating to wisdom, nothing to faith. For what is the religion of those gods? what is its power? what its discipline? what its origin? what its principle? what its foundation? what its substance? what is its tendency? or what does it promise, so that it may be faithfully preserved and boldly defended by man? I see nothing else in it than a rite pertaining to the fingers only. But our religion is on this account firm, and solid, and unchangeable, because it teaches justice, because it is always with us, because it has its existence altogether in the soul of the worshipper, because it has the mind itself for a sacrifice. In that religion nothing else is required but the blood of animals, and the smoke of incense, and the senseless pouring out of libations; but in this of ours, a good mind, a pure breast, an innocent life: those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity. For what can the robber ask when he sacrifices, or the gladiator, but that they may slay? what the poisoner, but that he may escape notice? what the harlot, but that she may sin to the uttermost? what the adulteress, but either the death of her husband, or that her unchastity may be concealed? what the procuress, but that she may deprive many of their property? what the thief, but that he may commit more peculations? But in our religion there is no place even for a slight and ordinary offense; and if any one shall come to a sacrifice without a sound conscience, he hears what threats God denounces against him: that God, I say, who sees the secret places of the heart, who is alway hostile to sins, who requires justice, who demands fidelity. What place is there here for an evil mind or for an evil prayer? But those unhappy men neither understand from their own crimes how evil it is to worship, since, defiled by all crimes, they come to offer prayer; and they imagine that they offer a

pious sacrifice if they wash their skin; as though any streams could wash away, or any seas purify, the lusts which are shut up within their breast. How much better it is rather to cleanse the mind, which is defiled by evil desires, and to drive away all vices by the one layer of virtue and faith! For he who shall do this, although he bears a body which is defiled and sordid, is pure enough.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE WORSHIP OF OTHER GODS AND THE TRUE GOD, AND OF THE ANIMALS WHICH THE EGYPTIANS WORSHIPPED

But they, because they know not the object or the mode of worship, blindly and unconsciously fall into the contrary practice. Thus they adore their enemies, they appease with victims their robbers and murderers, and they place their own souls to be burned with the very incense on detestable altars. The wretched men are also angry, because others do not perish in like manner, with incredible blindness of minds. For what can they see who do not see the sun? As though, if they were gods, they would need the assistance of men against their despisers. Why, therefore, are they angry with us, if they have no power to effect anything? Unless it be that they destroy their gods, whose power they distrust, they are more irreligious than those who do not worship them at all. Cicero, in his Laws, enjoining men to approach with holiness to the sacrifices, says, “Let them put on piety, let them lay aside riches; if any one shall act otherwise, God Himself will be the avenger.” This is well spoken; for it is not right to despair about God, whom you worship on this account, because you think Him powerful. For how can He avenge the wrongs of His worshippers, if He is unable to avenge His own? I wish therefore to ask them to whom especially they think that they are doing a service in compelling them to sacrifice against their will, Is it to those whom they compel? But that is not a kindness which is done to one who refuses it. But we must consult their interests, even against their will, since they know not what is good. Why, then, do they so cruelly harass, torture, and weaken them, if they wish for their safety? or whence is piety so impious, that they either destroy in this wretched manner, or render useless, those whose welfare

they wish to promote? Or do they do service to the gods? But that is not a sacrifice which is extorted from a person against his will. For unless it is offered spontaneously, and from the soul, it is a curse; when men sacrifice, compelled by proscription, by injuries, by prison, by tortures. If they are gods who are worshipped in this manner, if for this reason only, they ought not to be worshipped, because they wish to be worshipped in this manner: they are doubtless worthy of the detestation of men, since libations are made to them with tears, with groaning, and with blood flowing from all the limbs.

But we, on the contrary, do not require that any one should be compelled, whether he is willing or unwilling, to worship our God, who is the God of all men; nor are we angry if any one does not worship Him. For we trust in the majesty of Him who has power to avenge contempt shown towards Himself, as also He has power to avenge the calamities and injuries inflicted on His servants. And therefore, when we suffer such impious things, we do not resist even in word; but we remit vengeance to God, not as they act who would have it appear that they are defenders of their gods, and rage without restraint against those who do not worship them. From which it may be understood how it is not good to worship their gods, since men ought to have been led to that which is good by good, and not by evil; but because this is evil, even its office is destitute of good. But they who destroy religious systems must be punished. Have we destroyed them in a worse manner than the nation of the Egyptians, who worship the most disgraceful figures of beasts and cattle, and adore as gods some things which it is even shameful to speak of? Have we done worse than those same who, when they say that they worship the gods, yet publicly and shamefully deride them? — for they even allow pantomimic representations of them to be acted with laughter and pleasure. What kind of a religion is this, or how great must that majesty be considered, which is adored in temples and mocked in theatres? And they who have done these things do not suffer the vengeance of the injured deity, but even go away honored and praised. Do we destroy them in a worse manner than certain philosophers, who say that there are no gods at all, but that all things are spontaneously produced, and that all things which are done happen by chance? Do we destroy them in a worse manner than the Epicureans, who admit the existence of gods, but deny that they regard anything, and say

that they are neither angry nor are influenced by favor? By which words they plainly persuade men that they are not to be worshipped at all, inasmuch as they neither regard their worshippers, nor are angry with those who do not worship them. Moreover, when they argue against fears, they endeavor to effect nothing else than that no one should fear the gods. And yet these things are willingly heard by men, and discussed with impunity.

CHAPTER 22

OF THE RAGE OF THE DEMONS AGAINST CHRISTIANS, AND THE ERROR OF UNBELIEVERS

They do not therefore rage against us on this account, because their gods are not worshipped by us, but because the truth is on our side, which (as it has been said most truly) produces hatred. What, then, shall we think, but that they are ignorant of what they suffer? For they act with a blind and unreasonable fury, which we see, but of which they are ignorant. For it is not the men themselves who persecute, for they have no cause of anger against the innocent; but those contaminated and abandoned spirits by whom the truth is both known and hated insinuate themselves into their minds, and goad them in their ignorance to fury. For these, as long as there is peace among the people of God, flee from the righteous, and fear them; and when they seize upon the bodies of men, and harass their souls, they are adjured by them, and at the name of the true God are put to flight. For when they hear this name they tremble, cry out, and assert that they are branded and beaten; and being asked who they are, whence they are come, and how they have insinuated themselves into a man, confess it. Thus, being tortured and excruciated by the power of the divine name, they come out of the man. On account of these blows and threats, they always hate holy and just men; and because they are unable of themselves to injure them, they pursue with public hatred those whom they perceive to be grievous to them, and they exercise cruelty, with all the violence which they can employ, that they may either weaken their faith by pain, or, if they are unable to effect that, may take them away altogether from the earth, that there may be none to restrain their wickedness. It does not

escape my notice what reply can be made on the other side. Why, then, does that God of surpassing power, that mighty One, whom you confess to preside over all things, and to be Lord of all, permit these things to be done, and neither avenge nor defend His worshippers? Why, in short, are they who do not worship Him rich, and powerful, and happy? and why do they enjoy honors and kingly state, and have these very persons subject to their power and sway?

We must also give a reason for this, that no error may remain. For this is especially the cause why it is thought that religion has not the power of God, because men are influenced by the appearance of earthly and present goods, which in no way have reference to the care of the mind; and because they see that the righteous are without these goods, and that the unrighteous abound in them, they both judge that the worship of God is worthless, in which they do not see these things contained, and they imagine that the rites of other gods are true, since their worshippers enjoy riches and honors and kingdoms. But they who are of this opinion do not attentively consider the power and method of man, which consists altogether in the mind, and not in the body. For they see nothing more than is seen, namely the body; and because this is to be seen and handled, it is weak, frail, and mortal; and to this belong all those goods which are their desire and admiration, wealth, honors, and governments, since they bring pleasures to the body, and therefore are as liable to decay as the body itself. But the soul, in which alone man consists since it is not exposed to the sight of the eyes, and its goods cannot be seen, for they are placed in virtue only, must t therefore be as firm, and constant, and lasting as virtue itself, in which the good of the soul consists.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE JUSTICE AND PATIENCE OF THE CHRISTIANS

It would be a lengthened task to draw forth all the appearances of virtue, to show respecting each how necessary it is for a wise and just man to be far removed from those goods, the enjoyment of which by the unjust causes the worship of their gods to be regarded as true and efficacious. As our present inquiry is concerned, it will be sufficient to prove our point

from the case of a single virtue. For instance, patience is a great and leading virtue, which the public voices of the people and philosophers and orators alike extol with the highest praises. But if it cannot be denied that this is a virtue of the highest kind, it is necessary that the just and wise man should be in the power of the unjust, for obtaining patience; for patience is the bearing with equanimity of the evils which are either inflicted or happen to fall upon us. Therefore the just and wise man, because he exercises virtue, has patience in himself; but he will be altogether free from this if he shall suffer no adversity. On the other hand, the man who lives in prosperity is impatient, and is without the greatest virtue. I call him impatient, because he suffers nothing. He is also unable to preserve innocency, which virtue is peculiar to the just and wise man. But he often acts unjustly also, and desires the property of others, and seizes upon that which he has desired by injustice, because he is without virtue, and is subject to vice and sin; and forgetful of his frailty, he is puffed up with a mind elated with insolence.

From this cause the unjust, and those who are ignorant of God, abound with riches, and power, and honors. For all these things are the rewards of injustice, because they cannot be perpetual, and they are sought through lust and violence. But the just and wise man, because he deems all these things as human, as it has been said by Laelius, and his own goods as divine, neither desires anything which belongs to another, lest he should injure any one at all in violation of the law of humanity; nor does he long for any power or honor, that he may not do an injury to any one. For he knows that all are produced by the same God, and in the same condition, and are joined together by the right of brotherhood. But being contented with his own, and that a little, because he is mindful of his frailty, he does not seek for anything beyond that which may support his life; and even from that which he has he bestows a share on the destitute, because he is pious; but piety is a very great virtue. To this is added, that he despises frail and vicious pleasures, for the sake of which riches are desired; since he is temperate, and master of his passions. He also, having no pride or insolence, does not raise himself too highly, nor lift up his head with arrogance; but he is calm and peaceful, lowly and courteous, because he knows his own condition. Since, therefore, he does injury to none, nor desires the property of others, and does not even defend his own if it is

taken from him by violence, since he knows how even to bear with moderation an injury inflicted upon him, because he is endued with virtue; it is necessary that the just man should be subject to the unjust, and that the wise should be insulted by the foolish, that the one may sin because he is unjust, and the other may have virtue in himself because he is just.

But if any one shall wish to know more fully why God permits the wicked and the unjust to become powerful, happy, and rich, and, on the other hand, suffers the pious to be humble, wretched, and poor, let him take the book of Seneca which has the title, “Why many evils happen to good men, though there is a providence;” in which book he has said many things, not assuredly with the ignorance of this world, but wisely, and almost with divine inspiration. “God,” he says, “regards men as His children, but He permits the corrupt and vicious to live in luxury and delicacy, because He does not think them worthy of His correction. But He often chastises the good whom He loves, and by continual labors exercises them to the practice of virtue: nor does He permit them to be corrupted and depraved by frail and perishable goods.” From which it ought to appear strange to no one if we are often chastised by God for our faults. Yea, rather, when we are harassed and pressed, then we especially give thanks to our most indulgent Father, because He does not permit our corruption to proceed to greater lengths, but corrects it with stripes and blows. From which we understand that we r are an object of regard to God, since He is angry when we sin. For when He might have bestowed upon His people both riches and kingdoms, as He had before given them to the Jews, whose successors and posterity we are; on this account He would have them live under the power and government of others, lest, being corrupted by the happiness of prosperity, they should glide into luxury and despise the precepts of God; as those ancestors of ours, who, ofttimes enervated by these earthly and frail goods, departed from discipline and burst the bonds of the law. Therefore He foresaw how far He would afford rest to His worshippers if they should keep His commandments, and yet correct them if they did not obey His precepts. Therefore, lest they should be as much corrupted by ease as their fathers had been by indulgence, it was His will that they should be oppressed by those in whose power He placed them, that He may both confirm them when wavering, and renew them to fortitude when corrupted, and try and

prove them when faithful. For how can a general prove the valor of his soldiers, unless he shall have an enemy? And yet there arises an adversary to him against his will, because he is mortal, and is able to be conquered; but because God cannot be opposed, He Himself stirs up adversaries to His name, not to fight against God Himself, but against His soldiers, that He may either prove the devotedness and fidelity of His servants, or may strengthen them, until He corrects their wasting discipline by the stripes of affliction.

There is also another cause why He permits persecutions to be carried on against us, that the people of God may be increased. Nor is it difficult to show why or how this happens. First of all, great numbers are driven from the worship of the false gods by their hatred of cruelty. For who would not shrink from such sacrifices? In the next place, some are pleased with virtue and faith itself. Some suspect that it is not without reason that the worship of the gods is considered evil by so many men, so that they would rather die than do that which others do that they may preserve their life. Some one desires to know what that good is which is defended even to death, which is preferred to all things which are pleasant and beloved in this life, from which neither the loss of goods, nor of the light, nor bodily pain, nor tortures of the vitals deter them. These things have great effect; but these causes have always especially increased the number of our followers. The people who stand around hear them saying in the midst of these very torments that they do not sacrifice to stones wrought by the hand of man, but to the living God, who is in heaven: many understand that this is true, and admit it into their breast. In the next place, as it is accustomed to happen in matters of uncertainty while they make inquiry of one another, what is the cause of this perseverance, many things which relate to religion, being spread abroad and carefully observed by rumor among one another, are learned; and because these are good they cannot fail to please. Moreover, the revenge which follows, as always happens, greatly impels men to believe. Nor, indeed, is it a slight cause that the unclean spirits of demons, having received permission, throw themselves into the bodies of many; and when these have afterwards been driven out, they who have been healed cling to the religion, the power of which they have experienced. These numerous causes being collected together, wonderfully gain over a great multitude to God.

CHAPTER 24

OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE INFLICTED ON THE TORTURERS OF THE CHRISTIANS

Whatever, therefore, wicked princes plan against us, God Himself permits to be done. And yet most unjust persecutors, to whom the name of God was a subject of reproach and mockery, must not think that they will escape with impunity, because they have been, as it were, the ministers of His indignation against us. For they will be punished with the judgment of God, who, having received power, have abused it to an inhuman degree, and have even insulted God in their arrogance, and placed His eternal name beneath their feet, to be impiously and wickedly trampled upon. On this account He promises that He will quickly take vengeance upon them, and exterminate the evil monsters from the earth. But He also, although He is accustomed to avenge the persecutions of His people even in the present world, commands us, however, to await patiently that day of heavenly judgment, in which He Himself will honor or punish every man according to his deserts. Therefore let not the souls of the sacrilegious expect that those whom they thus trample upon will be despised and unavenged. Those ravenous and voracious wolves who have tormented just and innocent souls, without the commission of any crimes, will surely meet with their reward. Only let us labor, that nothing else in us may be punished by men but righteousness alone: let us strive with all our power that we may at once deserve at the hands of God the avenging of our suffering and a reward.

BOOK 6

OF TRUE WORSHIP

CHAPTER 1

OF THE WORSHIP OF THE TRUE GOD, AND OF INNOCENCY, AND OF THE WORSHIP OF FALSE GODS

We have completed that which was the object of our undertaking, through the teaching of the Divine Spirit, and the aid of the truth itself; the cause of asserting and explaining which was imposed upon me both by conscience and faith, and by our Lord Himself, without whom nothing can be known or clearly set forth. I come now to that which is the chief and greatest part of this work — to teach in what manner or by what sacrifice God must be worshipped. For that is the duty of man, and in that one object the sum of all things and the whole course of a happy life consists, since we were fashioned and received the breath of life from Him on this account, not that we might behold the heaven and the sun, as Anaxagoras supposed, but that we might with pure and uncorrupted mind worship Him who made the sun and the heaven. But although in the preceding books, as far as my moderate talent permitted, I defended the truth, yet it may especially be elucidated by the mode of worship itself. For that sacred and surpassing majesty requires from man nothing more than innocence alone; and if any one has presented this to God, he has sacrificed with sufficient piety and religion. But men, neglecting justice, though they are polluted by crimes and outrages of all kinds, think themselves religious if they have stained the temples and altars with the blood of victims, if they have moistened the hearths with a profusion of fragrant and old wine. Moreover, they also prepare sacred feasts and choice banquets, as though, they offered to those who would taste something from them. Whatever is rarely to be viewed, whatever is precious in workmanship or in fragrance, that they judge to be pleasing to their gods, not by any reference to their divinity, of which they

are ignorant, but from their own desires; nor do they understand that God is in no want of earthly resources.

For they have no knowledge of anything except the earth, and they estimate good and evil things by the perception and pleasure of the body alone. And as they judge of religion according to its pleasure, so also they arrange the acts of their whole life. And since they have turned away once for all from the contemplation of the heaven, and have made that heavenly faculty the slave of the body, they give the reins to their lusts, as though they were about to bear away pleasure with themselves, which they hasten to enjoy at every moment; whereas the soul ought to employ the service of the body, and not the booty to make use of the service of the soul. The same men judge riches to be the greatest good. And if they cannot obtain them by good practices, they endeavor to obtain them by evil practices; they deceive, they carry off by violence, they plunder, they lie in wait, they deny on oath; in short, they have no consideration or regard for anything, if only they can glitter with gold, and shine conspicuous with plate, with jewels, and with garments, can spend riches upon their greedy appetite, and always walk attended with crowds of slaves through the people compelled to give way. Thus devoting themselves to the service of pleasures, they extinguish the force and vigor of the mind; and when they especially think that they are alive, they are hastening with the greatest precipitation to death. For, as we showed in the second book. the soul is concerned with heaven, the body with the earth. They who neglect the goods of the soul, and seek those of the body, are engaged with darkness and death, which belong to the earth and to the body, because life and light are from heaven; and they who are without this, by serving the body, are far removed from the understanding of divine things. The same blindness everywhere oppresses the wretched men; for as they know not who is the true God, so they know not what constitutes true worship.

CHAPTER 2

OF THE WORSHIP OF FALSE GODS AND THE TRUE GOD

Therefore they sacrifice fine and fat victims to God, as though He were hungry; they pour forth wine to Him, as though He were thirsty they kindle lights to Him, as though He were in darkness. But if they were able to conjecture or to conceive in their mind what those heavenly goods are, the greatness of which we cannot imagine, while we are still encompassed with an earthly body, they would at once know that they are most foolish with their empty offices. Or if they would contemplate that heavenly light which we call the sun, they will at once perceive how God has no need of their candles, who has Himself given so clear and bright a light for the use of man. And when, in so small a circle, which on account of its distance appears to have a measure no greater than that of a human head, there is still so much brilliancy that mortal eye cannot behold it, and if you should direct your eye to it for a short time mist and darkness would overspread your dimmed eyes, what light, I pray, what brightness, must we suppose that there is in God, with whom there is no night? For He has so attempered this very light, that it might neither injure living creatures by excessive brightness or vehement heat, and has given it so much of these properties as mortal bodies might endure or the ripening of the crops require. Is that man, therefore, to be thought in his senses, who presents the light of candles and torches as an offering to Him who is the Author and Giver of light? The light which He requires from us is of another kind, and that indeed not accompanied with smoke, but (as the poet says) clear and bright; I mean the light of the mind, on account of which we are called by the poets photes, which light no one can exhibit unless he has known God. But their gods, because they are of the earth, stand in need of lights, that they may not be in darkness; and their worshippers, because they have no taste for anything heavenly, are recalled to the earth even by the religious rites to which they are devoted. For on the earth there is need of a light, because its system and nature are dark. Therefore they do not attribute to the gods a heavenly perception, but rather a human one. And on this account they believe that the same things are necessary and pleasing to them as to us, who, when hungry, have need of food; or, when

thirsty, of drink; or, when we are cold, require a garment; or, when the sun has withdrawn himself, require a light that we may be able to see.

From nothing, therefore, can it be so plainly proved and understood that those gods, since they once lived, are dead, as from their worship itself, which is altogether of the earth. For what heavenly influence can there be in the shedding of the blood of beasts, with which they stain their altars? unless by chance they imagine that the gods feed upon that which men shrink from touching. And whoever shall have offered to them this food, although he be an assassin, an adulterer, a sorcerer, or a parricide, he will he happy and prosperous. Him they love, him they defend, to him they afford all things which he shall wish for. Persius therefore deservedly ridicules superstitions of this kind in his own style: “With what bribe,” he says, “dost thou win the ears of gods? Is it with lungs and rich intestines?” He plainly perceived that there is no need of flesh for appeasing the majesty of heaven, but of a pure mind and a just spirit, and a breast, as he himself says, which is generous with a natural love of honor. This is the religion of heaven — not that which consists of corrupt things, but of the virtues of the soul, which has its origin from heaven; this is true worship, in which the mind of the worshipper presents itself as an undefiled offering to God. But how this is to be obtained, how it is to be afforded, the discussion of this book will show; for nothing can be so illustrious and so suited to man as to train men to righteousness.

In Cicero, Catulus in the Hortensius, while he prefers philosophy to all things, says that he would rather have one short treatise respecting duty, than a long speech in behalf of a seditious man Cornelius. And this is plainly to be regarded not as the opinion of Catulus, who perhaps did not utter this saying, but as that of Cicero, who wrote it. I believe that he wrote it for the purpose of recommending these books which he was about to write on Offices, in which cry books he testifies that nothing in the whole range of philosophy is better and more profitable than to give precepts for living. But if this is done by those who do not know the truth, how much more ought we to do it, who are able to give true precepts, being taught and enlightened by God? Nor, however, shall we so teach as though we were delivering the first elements of virtue, which would be an endless task, but as though we had undertaken the instruction of him who, with them, appears to be already perfect. For while their

precepts remain, which they are accustomed to give correctly, with a view to uprightness, we will add to them things which were unknown to them, for the completion and consummation of righteousness, which they do not possess. But I will omit those things which are common to us with them, that I may not appear to borrow from those whose errors I have determined to convict and bring to light.

CHAPTER 3

OF THE WAYS, AND OF VICES AND VIRTUES; AND OF THE REWARDS OF HEAVEN AND THE PUNISHMENTS OF HELL

There are two ways, O Emperor Constantine, by which human life must proceed — the one which leads to heaven, the other which sinks to hell; and these ways poets have introduced in their poems, and philosophers in their disputations. And indeed philosophers have represented the one as belonging to virtues, the other to vices; and they have represented that which belongs to virtues as steep and rugged at the first entrance, in which if any one, having overcome the difficulty, has climbed to the summit. they say that he afterwards has a level path, a bright and pleasant plain, and that he enjoys abundant and delightful fruits of his labors; but that those whom the difficulty of the first approach has deterred, glide and turn aside into the way of vices, which at its first entrance appears to be pleasant and much more beaten, but afterwards, when they have advanced in it a little further, that the appearance of its pleasantness is withdrawn, and that there arises a steep way, now rough with stones, now overspread with thorns, now interrupted by deep waters or violent with torrents, so that they must be in difficulty, hesitate, slip about, and fall. And all these things are brought forward that it may appear that there are very great labors in undertaking virtues, but that when they are gained there are the greatest advantages, and firm and incorruptible pleasures; but that vices ensnare the minds of men with certain natural blandishments, and lead them captivated by the appearance of empty pleasures to bitter griefs and miseries, — an altogether wise discussion, if they knew the forms and limits of the virtues themselves. For they had not learned either what they

are, or what reward awaits them from God: but this we will show in these two books.

But these men, because they were ignorant or in doubt that the souls of men are immortal, estimated both virtues and vices by earthly honors or punishments. Therefore all this discussion respecting the two ways has reference to frugality and luxury. For they say that the course of human life resembles the letter Y, because every one of men, when he has reached the threshold of early youth, and has arrived at the place "where the way divides itself into two parts,'" is in doubt, and hesitates, and does not know to which side he should rather turn himself. If he shall meet with a guide who may direct him wavering to better things — that is, if he shall learn philosophy or eloquence, or some honorable arts by which he may turn to good conduct, which cannot take place without great labor — they say that he will lead a life of honor and abundance; but if he shall not meet with a teacher of temperance, that he falls into the way on the left hand, which assumes the appearance of the better, — that is, he gives himself up to idleness, sloth, and luxury, which seem pleasant for a time to one who is ignorant of true goods, but that afterwards, having lost all his dignity and property, he will live in all wretchedness and ignominy. Therefore they referred the end of those ways to the body, and to this life which we lead on earth. The poets perhaps did better, who would have it that this twofold way was in the lower regions; but they are deceived in this, that they proposed these ways to the dead. Both therefore spoke with truth, but yet both incorrectly; for the ways themselves ought to have been referred to life, their ends to death. We therefore speak better and more truly, who say that the two ways belong to heaven and hell, because immortality is promised to the righteous, and everlasting punishment is threatened to the unrighteous.

But I will explain how these ways either exalt to heaven or thrust down to hell, and I will set forth what these virtues are of which the philosophers were ignorant; then I will show what are their rewards, and also what are vices, and what their punishments. For perhaps some one may expect that I shall speak separately of vices and virtues; whereas, when we discuss the subject of good or evil, that which is contrary may also be understood. For, whether you introduce virtues, vices will spontaneously depart; or if you take away vices, virtues will of their own accord succeed. The nature

of good and evil things is so fixed, that they always oppose and drive out one another: and thus it comes to pass that vices cannot be removed without virtues, nor can virtues be introduced without the removal of vices. Therefore we bring forward these ways in a very different manner from that in which the philosophers are accustomed to present them: first of all, because we say that a guide is proposed to each, and in each case an immortal: but that the one is honored who presides over virtues and good qualities, the other condemned who presides over vices and evils. But they place a guide only on the right side, and that not one only, nor a lasting one; inasmuch as they introduce any teacher of a good art, who may recall men from sloth, and teach them to be temperate. But they do not represent any as entering upon that way except boys and young men; for this reason, that the arts are learned at these ages. We, on the other hand, lead those of each sex, every age and race, into this heavenly path, because God, who is the guide of that way, denies immortality to no human being. The shape also of the ways themselves is not as they supposed. For what need is there of the letter Y in matters which are different and opposed to one another? But the one which is better is turned towards the rising of the sun, the other which is worse towards its setting: since he who follows truth and righteousness, having received the reward of immortality, will enjoy perpetual light; but he who, enticed by that evil guide, shall prefer vices to virtues, falsehood to truth, must be born to the setting of the sun, and to darkness. I will therefore describe each, and will point out their properties and habits.

CHAPTER 4

OF THE WAYS OF LIFE, OF PLEASURES, ALSO OF THE HARDSHIPS OF CHRISTIANS

There is one way, therefore, of virtue and the good, which leads, not, as the poets say, to the Elysian plains, but to the very citadel of the world: —

“The left gives sinners up to pain,
And leads to Tartarus’ guilty reign.”

For it belongs to that accuser who, having invented false religions, turns men away from the heavenly path, and leads them into the way of perdition. And the appearance and shape of this way is so composed to the sight, that it

appears to be level and open, and delightful with all kinds of flowers and fruits. For there are placed in it all things which are esteemed on earth as good things — I mean wealth, honor, repose, pleasure, all kinds of enticements; but together with these also injustice, cruelty, pride, perfidy, lust, avarice, discord, ignorance, falsehood, folly, and other vices. But the end of this way is as follows: When they have reached the point from which there is now no return, it is so suddenly removed, together with all its beauty, that no one is able to foresee the fraud before that he falls headlong into a deep abyss. For whoever is captivated by the appearance of present goods, and occupied with the pursuit and enjoyment of these, shall not have foreseen the things which are about to follow after death, and shall have turned aside from God; he truly will be cast down to hell, and be condemned to eternal punishment.

But that heavenly way is set forth as difficult and hilly, or rough with dreadful thorns, or entangled with stones jutting out; so that every one must walk with the greatest labor and wearing of the feet, and with great precautions against failing. In this he has placed justice, temperance, patience, faith, chastity, self-restraint, concord, knowledge, truth, wisdom, and the other virtues; hut together with these, poverty, ignominy, labor, pain, and all kinds of hardship. For whoever has extended his hope beyond the present, and chosen better things, will be without these earthly goods, that, being lightly equipped and without impediment, he may overcome the difficulty of the way. For it is impossible for him who has surrounded himself with royal pomp, or loaded himself with riches, either to enter upon or to persevere in these difficulties. And from this it is understood that it is easier for the wicked and the unrighteous to succeed in their desires, because their road is downward and on the decline; but that it is difficult for the good to attain to their wishes, because they walk along a difficult and steep path. Therefore the righteous man, since he has entered upon a hard and rugged way, must be an object of contempt, derision, and hatred. For all whom desire or pleasure drags headlong, envy him who has been able to attain to virtue, and take it ill that any one possesses that

which they themselves do not possess. Therefore he will be poor, humble, ignoble, subject to injury, and yet enduring all things which are grievous; and if he shall continue his patience unceasingly to that last step and end, the crown of virtue will be given to him, and he will be rewarded by God with immortality for the labors which he has endured in life for the sake of righteousness. These are the ways which God has assigned to human life, in each of which he has shown both good and evil things, but in a changed and inverted order. In the one he has pointed out in the first place temporal evils followed by eternal goods, which is the better order; in the other, first temporal goods followed by eternal evils, which is the worse order: so that, whosoever has chosen present evils together with righteousness, he will obtain greater and more certain goods than those were which he despised; but whoever has preferred present goods to righteousness, will fall into greater and more lasting evils than those were which he avoided. For as this bodily life is short, therefore its goods and evils must also be short; but since that spiritual life, which is contrary to this earthly life, is everlasting, therefore its goods and evils are also everlasting. Thus it comes to pass, that goods of short duration are succeeded by eternal evils, and evils of short duration by eternal goods.

Since, therefore, good and evil things are set before man at the same time, it is befitting that every one should consider with himself how much better it is to compensate evils of short duration by perpetual goods, than to endure perpetual evils for short and perishable goods. For as, in this life, when a contest with an enemy is set before you, you must first labor that you may afterwards enjoy repose, you must suffer hunger and thirst, you must endure heat and cold, you must rest on the ground, must watch and undergo dangers, that your children, and house, and property being preserved, you may be able to enjoy all the blessings of peace and victory; but if you should choose present ease in preference to labor, you must do yourself the greatest injury: for the enemy will surprise you offering no resistance, your lands will be laid waste, your house plundered, your wife and children become a prey, you yourself will be slain or taken prisoner; to prevent the occurrence of these things, present advantage must be put aside, that a greater and more lasting advantage may be gained; — so in the whole of this life, because God has provided an adversary for us, that we might be able to acquire virtue, present gratification must be laid aside, lest

the enemy should overpower us. We must be on the watch, must post guards, must undertake military expeditions, must shed our blood to the uttermost; in short, we must patiently submit to all things which are unpleasant and grievous, and the more readily because God our commander has appointed for us eternal rewards for our labors. And since in this earthly warfare men expend so much labor to acquire for themselves those things which may perish in the same manner as that in which they were acquired, assuredly no labor ought to be refused by us, by whom that is gained which can in no way be lost.

For God, who created men to this warfare, desired that they should stand prepared in battle array, and with minds keenly intent should watch against the stratagems or open attacks of our single enemy, who, as is the practice of skillful and experienced generals, endeavors to ensnare us by various arts, directing his rage according to the nature and disposition of each. For he infuses into some insatiable avarice, that, being chained by their riches as by fetters, he may drive them from the way of truth. He inflames others with the excitement of anger, that while they are rather intent upon inflicting injury, he may turn them aside from the contemplation of God. He plunges others into immoderate lusts, that, giving themselves to pleasure of the body, they may be unable to look towards virtue. He inspires others with envy, that, being occupied with their own torments, they may think of nothing but the happiness of those whom they hate. He causes others to swell with ambitious desires. These are they who direct the whole occupation and care of their life to the holding of magistracies, that they may set a mark upon the annals, and give a name to the years. The desire of others mounts higher, not that they may rule provinces with the temporal sword, but with boundless and perpetual power may wish to be called lords of the whole human race. Moreover, those whom he has seen to be pious he involves in various superstitions, that he may make them impious. But to those who seek for wisdom, he dashes philosophy before their eyes, that he may blind them with the appearance of light, lest any one should grasp and hold fast the truth. Thus he has blocked up all the approaches against men, and has occupied the way, rejoicing in public errors; but that we might be able to dispel these errors, and to overcome the author of evils himself, God has

enlightened us, and has armed us with true and heavenly virtue, respecting which I must now speak.

CHAPTER 5

OF FALSE AND TRUE VIRTUE; AND OF KNOWLEDGE

But before I begin to set forth the separate virtues, I must mark out the character of virtue itself, which the philosophers have not rightly defined, as to its nature, or in what things it consisted; and I must describe its operation and office. For they only retained the name, but lost its power, and nature, and effect. But whatever they are accustomed to say in their definition of virtue, Lucilius puts together and expresses in a few verses, which I prefer to introduce, lest, while I refute the opinions of many, I should be longer than is necessary: —

"It is virtue, O Albinus, to pay the proper price,
To attend to the matters in which we are engaged, and in which we live.
It is virtue for a man to know the nature of everything.
It is virtue for a man to know what is right and useful and honorable,
What things are good, and what are evil.
What is useless, base, and dishonorable.

It is virtue to know the end of an object to be sought, and the means of procuring it. It is virtue to be able to assign their value to riches.
It is virtue to give that which is really due to honor;
To be the enemy and the foe of bad men and manners, but, on the other hand, the defender of good men and manners;
To esteem these highly, to wish them well, to live in friendship with them,
Moreover, to consider the interest of one's country first;
Then those of parents, to put our own interests in the third and last place."

From these definitions, which the poet briefly puts together, Marcus Tullius derived the offices of living, following Panaetius the Stoic, and included them in three books.

But we shall presently see how false these things are, that it may appear how much the divine condescension has bestowed on us in opening to us the truth. He says that it is virtue to know what is good and evil, what is base, what is honorable, what is useful, what is useless. He might have shortened his treatise if he had only spoken of that which is good and evil;

for nothing can be useful or honorable which is not also good, and nothing useless and base which is not also evil. And this also appears to be thus to philosophers, and Cicero shows it likewise in the third book of the above-mentioned treatise. But knowledge cannot be virtue, because it is not within us, but it comes to us from without. But that which is able to pass from one to the other is not virtue, because virtue is the property of each individual. Knowledge therefore consists in a benefit derived from another; for it depends upon hearing. Virtue is altogether our own; for it depends upon the will of doing that which is good. As, therefore, in undertaking a journey, it is of no profit to know the way, unless we also have the effort and strength for walking, so truly knowledge is of no avail if our virtue fails. For, in general, even they who sin perceive what is good and evil, though not perfectly; and as often as they act improperly, they know that they sin, and therefore endeavor to conceal their actions. But though the nature of good and evil does not escape their notice, they are overpowered by an evil desire to sin, because they are wanting in virtue, that is, the desire of doing right and honorable things. Therefore that the knowledge of good and evil is one thing, and virtue another, appears from this, because knowledge can exist without virtue, as it has been in the case of many of the philosophers; in which, since not to have done what you knew to be right is justly censurable, a depraved will and a vicious mind, which ignorance cannot excuse, will be justly punished. Therefore, as the knowledge of good and evil is not virtue, so the doing that which is good and the abstaining from evil is virtue. And yet [knowledge is so united with virtue, that knowledge precedes virtue, and virtue follows knowledge; because knowledge is of no avail unless it is followed up by action. Horace therefore speaks somewhat better: "Virtue is the fleeing from vice, and the first wisdom is to be free from folly." But he speaks improperly, because he defined virtue by its contrary, as though he should say, That is good which is not evil. For when I know not what virtue is, I do not know what vice is. Each therefore requires definition, because the nature of the case is such that each must be understood or not understood.

But let us do that which he ought to have done. It is a virtue to restrain anger, to control desire, to curb lust; for this is to flee from vice. For almost all things which are done unjustly and dishonestly arise from these affections. For if the force of this emotion which is called anger be blunted,

all the evil contentions of men will be lulled to rest; no one will plot, no one will rush forth to injure another. Also, if desire be restrained, no one will use violence by land or by sea, no one will lead an army to carry off and lay waste the property of others. Also, if the ardor of lusts be repressed, every age and sex will retain its sanctity; no one will suffer, or do anything disgraceful. Therefore all crimes and disgraceful actions will be taken away from the life and character of men, if these emotions are appeased and calmed by virtue. And this calming of the emotions and affections has this meaning, that we do all things which are right. The whole duty of virtue then is, not to sin. And assuredly he cannot discharge this who is ignorant of God, since ignorance of Him from whom good things proceed must thrust a man unawares into vices. Therefore, that I may more briefly and significantly fix the offices of each subject, knowledge is to know God, virtue is to worship Him: the former implies wisdom, the latter righteousness.

CHAPTER 6

OF THE CHIEF GOOD AND VIRTUE, AND OR KNOWLEDGE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

I have said that which was the first thing, that the knowledge of good is not virtue; and secondly, I have shown what virtue is, and in what it consists. It follows that I should show this also, that the philosophers were ignorant of what is good and evil; and this briefly, because it has been almost made plain in the third book, when I was discussing the subject of the chief good. And because they did not know what the chief good was, they necessarily erred in the case of the other goods and evils which are not the chief; for no one can weigh these with a true judgment who does not possess the fountain itself from which they are derived. Now the source of good things is God; but of evils, he who is always the enemy of the divine name, of whom we have often spoken. From these two sources good and evil things have their origin. Those which proceed from God have this object, to procure immortality, which is the greatest good; but those which arise from the other have this office, to call man away from heavenly things and sink him in earthly things, and thus to consign him to

the punishment of everlasting death, which is the greatest evil. Is it therefore doubtful but that all those were ignorant of what was good and evil, who neither knew God nor the adversary of God? Therefore they referred the end of good things to the body, and to this short life, which must be dissolved and perish: they did not advance further. But all their precepts, and all the things which they introduce as goods, adhere to the earth, and lie on the ground, since they die with the body, which is earth; for they do not tend to procure life for man, but either to the acquisition or increase of riches, honor, glory, and power, which are altogether mortal things, as much so indeed as he who has labored to obtain them. Hence is that saying, "It is virtue to know the end of an object to be sought, and the means of procuring it;" for they enjoin by what means and by what practices property is to be sought, for they see that it is often sought unjustly. But virtue of this kind is not proposed to the wise man; for it is not virtue to seek riches, of which neither the finding nor the possession is in our power: therefore they are more easy to be gained and to be retained by the bad than by the good. Virtue, then, cannot consist in the seeking of those things in the despising of which the force and purport of virtue appears; nor will it have recourse to those very things which, with its great and lofty mind, it desires to trample upon and bruise under foot; nor is it lawful for a soul which is earnestly fixed on heavenly goods to be called away from its immortal pursuits, that it may acquire for itself these frail things. But the course of virtue especially consists in the acquisition of those things which neither any man, nor death itself, can take away from us. Since these things are so, that which follows is true: "It is virtue to be able to assign their value to riches:" which verse is nearly of the same meaning as the first two. But neither he nor any of the philosophers was able to know the price itself, either of what nature or what it is; for the poet, and all those whom he followed, thought that it meant to make a right use of riches, — that is, to be moderate in living, not to make costly entertainments, not to squander carelessly, not to expend property on superfluous or disgraceful objects.

Some one will perhaps say, What do you say? Do you deny that this is virtue? I do not deny it indeed; for if I should deny it, I should appear to prove the opposite. But I deny that it is true virtue; because it is not that heavenly principle, but is altogether of the earth, since it produces no

effect but that which remains on the earth. But what it is to make a right use of wealth, and what advantage is to be sought from riches, I will declare more openly when I shall begin to speak of the duty of piety. Now the other things which follow are by no means true; for to proclaim enmity against the wicked, or to undertake the defense of the good, may be common to it with the evil. For some, by a pretense of goodness, prepare the way for themselves to power, and do many things which the good are accustomed to do, and that the more readily because they do them for the sake of deceiving; and I wish that it were as easy to carry out goodness in action as it is to pretend to it. But when they have begun to attain to their purpose and their wish in reaching the highest step of power, then, truly laying aside pretense, these men discover their character; they seize upon everything, and offer violence, and lay waste; and they press upon the good themselves, whose cause they had undertaken; and they cut away the steps by which they mounted, that no one may be able to imitate them against themselves. But, however, let us suppose that this duty of defending the good belongs only to the good man. Yet to undertake it is easy, to fulfill it is difficult; because when you have committed yourself to a contest and an encounter, the victory is placed at the disposal of God, not in your own power. And for the most part the wicked are more powerful both in number and in combination than the good, so that it is not so much virtue which is necessary to overcome them as good fortune. Is any one ignorant how often the better and the juster side has been overcome? From this cause harsh tyrannies have always broken out against the citizens. All history is full of examples, but we will be content with one. Cnoeus Pompeius wished to be the defender of the good, since he took up arms in defense of the commonwealth, in defense of the senate, and in defense of liberty; and yet the same man, being conquered, perished together with liberty itself, and being mutilated by Egyptian eunuchs, was cast forth unburied.

It is not virtue, therefore, either to be the enemy of the bad or the defender of the good, because virtue cannot be subject to uncertain chances.

“Moreover, to reckon the interests of our country as in the first place.”

When the agreement of men is taken away, virtue has no existence at all; for what are the interests of our country, but the inconveniences of

another state or nation? — that is, to extend the boundaries which are violently taken from others, to increase the power of the state, to improve the revenues, — all which things are not virtues, but the overthrowing of virtues: for, in the first place, the union of human society is taken away, innocence is taken away, the abstaining from the property of another is taken away; lastly, justice itself is taken away, which is unable to bear the tearing asunder of the human race, and wherever arms have glittered, must be banished and exterminated from thence. This saying of Cicero is true: “But they who say that regard is to be had to citizens, but that it is not to be had to foreigners, these destroy the common society of the human race; and when this is removed, beneficence, liberality, kindness, and justice are entirely taken away.” For how can a man be just who injures, who hates, who despoils, who puts to death? And they who strive to be serviceable to their country do all these things: for they are ignorant of what this being serviceable is, who think nothing useful, nothing advantageous, but that which can be held b the hand; and this alone cannot be held, because it may be snatched away.

Whoever, then, has gained for his country these goods — as they themselves call them — that is, who by the overthrow of cities and the destruction of nations has filled the treasury with money, has taken lands and enriched his country-men — he is extolled with praises to the heaven: in him there is said to be the greatest and perfect virtue. And this is the error not only of the people and the ignorant, but also of philosophers, who even give precepts for injustice, test folly and wickedness should be wanting in discipline and authority. Therefore, when they are speaking of the duties relating to warfare, all that discourse is accommodated neither to justice nor to true virtue, but to this life and to civil institutions; and that this is not justice the matter itself declares, and Cicero has testified. “But we,” he says, “are not in possession of the real and life-like figure of true law and genuine justice, we have nothing but delineations and sketches; and I wish that we followed even these, for they are taken from the excellent copies made by nature and truth.” It is then a delineation and a sketch which they thought to be justice. But what of wisdom? does not the same man confess that it has no existence in philosophers “Nor,” he says, “when Fabricius or Aristides is called just, is an example of justice sought from these as from a wise man; for none of these is wise in the

sense in which we wish the truly wise to be understood. Nor were they who are esteemed and called wise, Marcus Cato and Caius Laelius, actually wise, nor those well-known seven; but from their constant practice of the 'middle duties,' they bore a certain likeness and appearance of wise men." If therefore wisdom is taken away from the philosophers by their own confession, and justice is taken away from those who are regarded as just, it follows that all those descriptions of virtue must be false, because no one can know what true virtue is but he who is just and wise. But no one is just and wise but he whom God has instructed with heavenly precepts.

CHAPTER 7

OF THE WAY OF ERROR AND OF TRUTH: THAT IT IS SINGLE, NARROW, AND STEEP, AND HAS GOD FOR ITS GUIDE

For all those who, by the confessed folly of others, are thought wise, being clothed with the appearance of virtue, grasp at shadows and outlines, but at nothing true. Which happens on this account, because that deceitful road which; inclines to the west has many paths, on account of the variety of pursuits and systems which are dissimilar and varied in the life of men. For as that way of wisdom contains something which resembles folly, as we showed in the preceding book, so this way, which belongs altogether to folly, contains something which resembles wisdom, and they who perceive the folly of men in general seize upon this; and as it has its vices manifest, so it has something which appears to resemble virtue: as it has its wickedness open, so it has a likeness and appearance of justice. For how could the forerunner of that way, whose strength and power are altogether in deceit, lead men altogether into fraud, unless he showed them some things which resembled the truth? For, that His immortal secret might be hidden, God placed in his way things which men might despise as evil and disgraceful, that, turning away from wisdom and truth, which they were searching for without any guide, they might fall upon that very thing which they desired to avoid and flee from. Therefore he points out that way of destruction and death which has many windings, either because

there are many kinds of life, or because there are many gods who are worshipped.

The deceitful and treacherous guide of this way, that there may appear to be some distinction between truth and falsehood, good and evil, reads the luxurious in one direction, and those who are called temperate in another; the ignorant in one direction, the learned in another; the sluggish in one direction, the active in another; the foolish in one direction, the philosophers in another, and even these not in one path. For those who do not shun pleasures or riches, he withdraws a little from this public and frequented road; but those who either wish to follow virtue, or profess a contempt for things, he drags over certain rugged precipices. But nevertheless all those paths which display an appearance of honors are not different roads, but turnings off and bypaths, which appear indeed to be separated from that common one. and to branch off to the right, but yet return to the same, and all lead at the very end to one issue. For that guide unites them all, where it was necessary that the good should be separated from the bad, the strong from the inactive, the wise from the foolish; namely, in the worship of the gods, in which he slays them all with one sword, because they were all foolish without any distinction, and plunges them into death. But this way — which is that of truth, and wisdom, and virtue, and justice, of all which there is but one fountain, one source of strength, one abode — is both simple, because with like minds, and with the utmost agreement, we follow and worship one God; and it is narrow, because virtue is given to the smaller number; and steep, because goodness, which is very high and lofty, cannot be attained to without the greatest difficulty and labor.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE ERRORS OF PHILOSOPHERS, AND THE VARIABLENESS OF LAW

This is the way which philosophers seek, but do not find on this account, because they prefer to seek it on the earth, where it cannot appear. Therefore they wander, as it were, on the great sea, and do not understand whither they are born, because they neither discern the way nor follow

any guide. For this way of life ought to be sought in the same manner in which their course is sought by ships over the deep: for unless they observe some light of heaven, they wander with uncertain courses. But whoever strives to hold the right course of life ought not to look to the earth, but to the heaven: and, to speak more plainly, he ought not to follow man, but God; not to serve these earthly images, but the heavenly God; not to measure all things by their reference to the body, but by their reference to the soul; not to attend to this life, but the eternal life. Therefore, if you always direct your eyes towards heaven, and observe the sun, where it rises, and take this as the guide of your life, as in the case of a voyage, your feet will spontaneously be directed into the way; and that heavenly light, which is a much brighter sun to sound minds than this which we behold in mortal flesh, will so rule and govern you as to lead you without any error to the most excellent harbor of wisdom and virtue.

Therefore the law of God must be undertaken, which may direct us to this path; that sacred, that heavenly law, which Marcus Tullius, in his third book respecting the Republic, has described almost with a divine voice; whose words have subjoined, that I might not speak at greater length: “There is indeed a true law, right reason, agreeing with nature, diffused among all, unchanging, everlasting, which calls to duty by commanding, deters from wrong by forbidding; which, however, neither commands nor forbids the good in vain, nor affects the wicked by commanding or forbidding. It is not allowable to alter the provisions of this law, nor is it permitted us to modify it, nor can it be entirely abrogated. Nor, truly, can we be released from this law, either by the senate or by the people; nor is another person to be sought to explain or interpret it. Nor will there be one law at Rome and another at Athens; one law at the present time, and another hereafter: but the same law, everlasting and unchangeable, will bind all nations at all times; and there will be one common Master and Ruler of all, even God, the framer, arbitrator, and proposer of this law; and he who shall not obey this will flee from himself, and, despising the nature of man, will suffer the greatest punishments through this very thing, even though he shall have escaped the other punishments which are supposed to exist.” Who that is acquainted with the mystery of God could so significantly relate the law of God, as a man far removed from the knowledge of the truth has set forth that law? But I consider that they who speak true

things unconsciously are to be so regarded as though they prophesied under the influence of some spirit. But if he had known or explained this also, in what precepts the law itself consisted, as he clearly saw the force and purport of the divine law, he would not have discharged the office of a philosopher, but of a prophet. And because he was unable to do this, it must be done by us, to whom the law itself has been delivered by the one great Master and Ruler of all, God.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE LAW AND PRECEPT OF GOD; OF MERCY, AND THE ERROR OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

The first head of this law is, to know God Himself, to obey Him alone, to worship Him alone. For he cannot maintain the character of a man who is ignorant of God, the parent of his soul: which is the greatest impiety. For this ignorance causes him to serve other gods, and no greater crime than this can be committed. Hence there is now so easy a step to wickedness through ignorance of the truth and of the chief good; since God, from the knowledge of whom he shrinks, is Himself the fountain of goodness. Or if he shall wish to follow the justice of God, yet, being ignorant of the divine law, he embraces the laws of his own country as true justice, though they were clearly devised not by justice, but by utility. For why is it that there are different and various laws amongst all people, but that each nation has enacted for itself that which it deemed useful for its own affairs? But how greatly utility differs from justice the Roman people themselves teach, who, by proclaiming war through the Fecials, and by inflicting injuries according to legal forms, by always desiring and carrying off the property of other, have gained for themselves the possession of the whole world. But these persons think themselves just if they do nothing against their own laws; which may be even ascribed to fear, if they abstain from crimes through dread of present punishment. But let us grant that they do that naturally, or, as the philosopher says, of their own accord, which they are compelled to do by the laws. Will they therefore be just, because they obey the institutions of men, who may themselves have erred, or have been unjust? — as it was with the framers of the twelve tables, who

certainly promoted the public advantage according to the condition of the times. Civil law is one thing, which varies everywhere according to customs; but justice is another thing, which God has set forth to all as uniform and simple: and he who is ignorant of God must also be ignorant of justice.

But let us suppose it possible that any one, by natural and innate goodness, should gain true virtues, such a man as we have heard that Cimon was at Athens, who both gave alms to the needy, and entertained the poor, and clothed the naked; yet, when that one thing which is of the greatest importance is wanting — the acknowledgment of God — then all those good things are superfluous and empty, so that in pursuing them he has labored in vain. For all his justice will resemble a human body which has no head, in which, although all the limbs are in their proper position, and figure, and proportion, yet, since that is wanting which is the chief thing of all, it is destitute both of life and of all sensation. Therefore those limbs have only the shape of limbs, but admit of no use, as much so as a head without a body; and he resembles this who is not without the knowledge of God, but yet lives unjustly. For he has that only which is of the greatest importance; but he has it to no purpose, since he is destitute of the virtues, as it were, of limbs.

Therefore, that the body may be alive, and capable of sensation, both the knowledge of God is necessary, as it were the head, and all the virtues, as it were the body. Thus there will exist a perfect and living man; but, however, the whole substance is in the head; and although this cannot exist in the absence of all, it may exist in the absence of some. And it will be an imperfect and faulty animal, but yet it will be alive, as he who knows God and yet sins in some respect. For God pardons sins. And thus it is possible to live without some of the limbs, but it is by no means possible to live without a head. This is the reason why the philosophers, though they may be naturally good, yet have no knowledge and no intelligence. All their learning and virtue is without a head, because they are ignorant of God, who is the Head of virtue and knowledge; and he who is ignorant of Him, though he may see, is blind; though he may hear, is deaf; though he may speak, is dumb. But when he shall know the Creator and Parent of all things, then he will both see, and hear, and speak. For he begins to have a head, in which all the senses are placed, that is, the eyes, and ears, and

tongue. For assuredly he sees who has beheld with the eyes of his mind the truth in which God is, or God in whom the truth is; he hears, who imprints on his heart the divine words and life-giving precepts; he speaks, who, in discussing heavenly things, relates the virtue and majesty of the surpassing God. Therefore he is undoubtedly impious who does not acknowledge God; and all his virtues, which he thinks that he has or possesses, are found in that deadly road which belongs altogether to darkness. Wherefore there is no reason why any one should congratulate himself if he has gained these empty virtues, because he is not only wretched who is destitute of present goods, but he must also be foolish, since he undertakes the greatest labors in his life without any purpose. For if the hope of immortality is taken away, which God promises to those who continue in His religion, for the sake of obtaining which virtue is to be sought, and whatever evils happen are to be endured, it will assuredly be the greatest folly to wish to comply with virtues which in vain bring calamities and labors to man. For if it is virtue to endure and undergo with fortitude, want, exile, pain, and death, which are feared by others, what goodness, I pray, has it in itself, that philosophers should say that it is to be sought for on its own account? Truly they are delighted with superfluous and useless punishments, when it is permitted them to live in tranquillity.

For if our souls are mortal, if virtue is about to have no existence after the dissolution of the body, why do we avoid the goods assigned to us, as though we were ungrateful or unworthy of enjoying the divine gifts? For, that we may enjoy these blessings, we must live in wickedness and impiety, because virtue, that is, justice, is followed by poverty. Therefore he is not of sound mind, who, without having any greater hope set before him, prefers labors, and tortures, and miseries, to those goods which others enjoy in life. But if virtue is to be taken up, as is most rightly said by these, because it is evident that man is born to it, it ought to contain some greater hope, which may apply a great and illustrious solace for the ills and labors which it is the part of virtue to endure. Nor can virtue, since it is difficult in itself, be esteemed as a good in any other way than by having its hardship compensated by the greatest good. We can in no other way equally abstain from these present goods, than if there are other greater goods on account of which it is worth while to leave the pursuit of

pleasures, and to endure all evils. But these are no other, as I have shown in the third book, than the goods of everlasting life. Now who can bestow these except God, who has proposed to us virtue itself? Therefore the sum and substance of everything is contained in the acknowledging and worship of God; all the hope and safety of man centers in this; this is the first step of wisdom, to know who is our true Father, and to worship Him alone with the piety which is due to Him, to obey Him, to yield ourselves to His service with the utmost devotedness: let our entire acting, and care, and attention, be laid out in gaining His favor.

CHAPTER 10

OF RELIGION TOWARDS GOD, AND MERCY TOWARDS MEN; AND OF THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

I have said what is due to God, I will now say what is to be given to man; although this very thing which you shall give to man is given to God, for man is the image of God. But, how ever, the first office of justice is to be united with God, the second with man. But the former is called religion; the second is named mercy or kindness; which virtue is peculiar to the just, and to the worshippers of God, because this alone comprises the principle of common life. For God, who has not given wisdom to the other animals, has made them more safe from attack in danger by natural defenses. But because He made him naked and defenseless, that He might rather furnish him with wisdom, He gave him, besides other things, this feeling of kindness; so that man should protect, love, and cherish man, and both receive and afford assistance against all dangers. Therefore kindness is the greatest bond of human society; and he who has broken this is to be deemed impious, and a parricide. For if we all derive our origin from one man, whom God created, we are plainly of one blood; and therefore it must be considered the greatest wickedness to hate a man, even though guilty. On which account God has enjoined that enmities are never to be contracted by us, but that they are always to be removed, so that we soothe those who are our enemies, by reminding them of their relationship. Likewise, if we are all inspired and animated by one God, what else are we than brothers? And, indeed, the more closely united, because we are united

in soul rather than in body. Accordingly Lucretius does not err when he says: “In short, we are all sprung from a heavenly seed; all have that same father.” Therefore they are to be accounted as savage beasts who injure man; who, in opposition to every law and right of human nature, plunder, torture, slay, and banish.

On account of this relationship of brotherhood, God teaches us never to do evil, but always good. And He also prescribes in what this doing good consists: in affording aid to those who are oppressed and in difficulty, and in bestowing food on those who are destitute. For God, since He is kind, wished us to be a social animal. Therefore, in the case of other men, we ought to think of ourselves. We do not deserve to be set free in our own dangers, if we do not succor others; we do not deserve assistance, if we refuse to render it. There are no precepts of philosophers to this purport, inasmuch as they, being captivated by the appearance of false virtue, have taken away mercy from man, and while they wish to heal, have corrupted. And though they generally admit that the mutual participation of human society is to be retained, they entirely separate themselves from it by the harshness of their inhuman virtue. This error, therefore, is also to be refuted, of those who think that nothing is to be bestowed on any one. They have introduced not one origin only, and cause of building a city; but some relate that those men who were first born from the earth, when they passed a wandering life among the woods and plains, and were not united by any mutual bond of speech or justice, but had leaves and grass for their beds, and caves and grottos for their dwellings, were a prey to the beasts and stronger animals. Then, that those who had either escaped, having been torn, or had seen their neighbors torn, being admonished of their own danger, had recourse to other men, implored protection, and at first made their wishes known by nods; then that they tried the beginnings of conversation, and by attaching names to each object, by degrees completed the system of speech. But when they saw that numbers themselves were not safe against the beasts, they began also to build towns, either that they might make their nightly repose safe, or that they might ward off the incursions and attacks of beasts, not by fighting, but by interposing barriers.

O minds unworthy of men, which produced these foolish trifles! O wretched and pitiable men, who committed to writing and handed down to

memory the record of their own foil),; who, when they saw that the plan of assembling themselves together, or of mutual intercourse, or of avoiding danger, or of guarding against evil, or of preparing for themselves sleeping-places and lairs, was natural even to the dumb animals, thought, however, that men could not have been admonished and learned, except by examples, what they ought to fear, what to avoid, and what to do, or that they would never have assembled together, or have discovered the method of speech, had not the beasts devoured them! These things appeared to others senseless, as they really were; and they said that the cause of their coming together was not the tearing of wild beasts, but rather the very feeling of humanity itself; and that therefore they collected themselves together, because the nature of men avoided solitude, and was desirous of communion and society. The discrepancy between them is not great; since the causes are different, the fact is the same. Each might have been true, because there is no direct opposition. But, however, neither is by any means true, because men were not born from the ground throughout the world, as though sprung from the teeth of some dragon, as the poets relate; but one man was formed by God, and from that one man all the earth was filled with the human race, in the same way as again took place after the deluge, which they certainly cannot deny. Therefore no assembling together of this kind took place at the beginning; and that there were never men on the earth who could not speak except those who were infants, every one who is possessed of sense will understand. Let us suppose, however, that these things are true which idle and foolish old men vainly say, that we may refute them especially by their own feelings and arguments.

If men were collected together on this account, that they might protect their weakness by mutual help, therefore we must succor man, who needs help. For, since men entered into and contracted fellowship with men for the sake of protection, either to violate or not to preserve that compact which was entered into among men from the commencement of their origin, is to be considered as the greatest impiety. For he who withdraws himself from affording assistance must also of necessity withdraw himself from receiving it; for he who refuses his aid to another thinks that he stands in need of the aid of none. But he who withdraws and separates himself from the body at large, must live not after the custom of men, but

after the manner of wild beasts. But if this cannot be done, the bond of human society is by all means to be retained, because man can in no way live without man. But the preservation of society is a mutual sharing of kind offices; that is, the affording help, that we may be able to receive it. But if, as those others assert, the assembling together of men has been caused on account of humanity itself, man ought undoubtedly to recognize man. But if those ignorant and as yet uncivilized men did this, and that, when the practice of speaking was not yet established, what must we think ought to be done by men who are polished, and connected together by interchange of conversation and all business, who, being accustomed to the society of men, cannot endure solitude?

CHAPTER 11

OF THE PERSONS UPON WHOM A BENEFIT IS TO BE CONFERRED

Therefore humanity is to be preserved, if we wish rightly to be called men. But what else is this preservation of humanity than the loving a man because he is a man, and the same as ourselves? Therefore discord and dissension are not in accordance with the nature of man; and that expression of Cicero is true, which says that man, while he is obedient to nature, cannot injure man. Therefore, if it is contrary to nature to injure a man, it must be in accordance with nature to benefit a man; and he who does not do this deprives himself of the title of a man, because it is the duty of humanity to succor the necessity and peril of a man. I ask, therefore, of those who do not think it the part of a wise man to be prevailed upon and to pity, If a man were seized by some beast, and were to implore the aid of an armed man, whether they think that he ought to be succored or not? They are not so shameless as to deny that that ought to be done which humanity demands and requires. Also, if any one were surrounded by fire, crushed by the downfall of a building, plunged in the sea, or carried away by a river, would they think it the duty of a man not to assist him? They themselves are not men if they think so; for no one can fail to be liable to dangers of this kind. Yes, truly, they will say that it is the part of a human being, and of a brave man too, to preserve one who

was on the point of perishing. If, therefore, in casualties of this nature which imperil the life of man, they allow that it is the part of humanity to give succor, what reason is there why they should think that succor is to be withheld if a man should suffer from hunger, thirst, or cold? But though these things are naturally on an equality with those accidental circumstances, and need one and the same humanity, yet they make a distinction between these things, because they measure all things not by the truth itself, but by present utility. For they hope that those whom they rescue from peril will make a return of the favor to them. But because they do not hope for this in the case of the needy, they think that whatever they bestow on men of this kind is thrown away. Hence that sentiment of Plantus is detestable: —

"He deserves ill who gives food to a beggar
For that which he gives is thrown away, and
It lengthens out the life of the other to his misery."

But perhaps the poet spoke for the actor.

What does Marcus Tullius say in his books respecting Offices? Does he not also advise that bounty should not be employed at all? For thus he speaks: "Bounty, which proceeds from our estate, drains the very source of our liberality; and thus liberality is destroyed by liberality: for the more numerous they are towards whom you practice it, the less you will be able to practice it towards many." And he also says shortly afterwards: "But what is more foolish than so to act that you may not be able to continue to do that which you do willingly?" This professor of wisdom plainly keeps men back from acts of kindness, and advises them carefully to guard their property, and to preserve their money-chest in safety, rather than to follow justice. And when he perceived that this was inhuman and wicked, soon afterwards, in another chapter, as though moved by repentance, he thus spoke: "Sometimes, however, we must exercise bounty in giving: nor is this kind of liberality altogether to be rejected; and we must give from our property to suitable persons when they are in need of assistance." What is the meaning of "suitable?" Assuredly those who are able to restore and give back the favor. If Cicero were now alive, I should certainly exclaim: Here, here, Marcus Tullius, you have erred from true justice; and you have taken it away by one word, since you measured the offices of piety and humanity by utility. For we must not bestow our bounty on

suitable objects, but as much as possible on unsuitable objects. For that will be done with justice, piety, and humanity, which you shall do without the hope of any return!

This is that true and genuine justice, of which you say that you have no real and life-like figure. You yourself exclaim in many places that virtue is not mercenary; and you confess in the books of your Laws that liberality is gratuitous, in these words: “Nor is it doubtful that he who is called liberal and generous is influenced by a sense of duty, and not by advantage.” Why therefore do you bestow your bounty on suitable persons, unless it be that you may afterwards receive a reward? With you, therefore, as the author and teacher of justice, whosoever shall not be a suitable person will be worn out with nakedness, thirst, and hunger; nor will men who are rich and abundantly supplied, even to luxuriousness, assist his last extremity. If virtue does not exact a reward; if, as you say, it is to be sought on its own account, then estimate justice, which is the mother and chief of the virtues, at its own price, and not according to your advantage: give especially to him from whom you hope for nothing in return. Why do you select persons? Why do you look at bodily forms? He is to be esteemed by you as a man, whoever it is that implores you, because he considers you a man. Cast away those outlines and sketches of justice, and hold fast justice itself, true and fashioned to the life. Be bountiful to the blind, the feeble, the lame, the destitute, who must die: unless you bestow your bounty upon them. They are useless to men, but they are serviceable to God, who retains them in life, who endues them with breath, who vouchsafes to them the light. Cherish as far as in you lies, and support with kindness, the lives of men, that they may not be extinguished. He who is able to succor one on the point of perishing, if he fails to do so, kills him. But they, because they neither retain their nature, nor know what reward there is in this, while they fear to lose, do lose, and fall into that which they chiefly guard against; so that whatever they bestow is either lost altogether, or profits only for the briefest time. For they who refuse a small gift to the wretched, who wish to preserve humanity without any loss to themselves, squander their property, so that they either acquire for themselves frail and perishable things, or they certainly gain nothing by their own great loss.

For what must be said of those who, induced by the vanity of popular favor, expend on the exhibition of shows wealth that would be sufficient even for great cities? Must we not say that they are senseless and mad who bestow upon the people that which is both lost to themselves, and which none of those on whom it is bestowed receives? Therefore, as all pleasure is short and perishable, and especially that of the eyes and ears, men either forget and are ungrateful for the expenses incurred by another, or they are even offended if the caprice of the people is not satisfied: so that most foolish men, have even acquired evil for themselves by evil; or if they have thus succeeded in pleasing, they gain nothing more than empty favor and the talk of a few days. Thus every day the estates of most trifling men are expended on superfluous matters. Do they then act more wisely who exhibit to their fellow-citizens more useful and lasting gifts? They, for instance, who by the building of public works seek a lasting memory for their name? Not even do they act rightly in burying their property in the earth; because the remembrance of them neither bestows anything upon the dead, nor are their works eternal, inasmuch as they are either thrown down and destroyed by a single earthquake, or are consumed by an accidental fire, or they are overthrown by some attack of an enemy, or at any rate they decay and fall to pieces by mere length of time. For there is nothing, as the orator says, made by the work of man's hand which length of time does not weaken and destroy. But this justice of which we speak, and mercy, flourish more every day. They therefore act better who bestow their bounty on their tribesmen and clients, for they bestow something on men. and profit them; but that is not true and just bounty, for there is no conferring of a benefit where there is no necessity. Therefore, whatever is given to those who are not in need, for the sake of popularity, is thrown away; or it is repaid with interest, and thus it will not be the conferring of a benefit. And although it is pleasing to those to whom it is given, still it is not just, because if it is not done, no evil follows. Therefore the only sure and true office of liberality is to support the needy and unserviceable.

CHAPTER 12

OF THE KINDS OF BENEFICENCE, AND WORKS OF MERCY

This is that perfect justice which protects human society, concerning which philosophers speak. This is the chief and truest advantage of riches; not to use wealth for the particular, pleasure of an individual, but for the welfare of many; not for one's own immediate enjoyment, but for justice, which alone does not perish. We must therefore by all means keep in mind, that the hope of receiving in return must be altogether absent from the duty of showing mercy: for the reward of this work and duty must be expected from God alone; for if you should expect it from man, then that will not be kindness, but the lending of a benefit at interest; nor can he seem to have deserved well who affords that which he does, not to another, but to himself. And yet the matter comes to this, that whatever a man has bestowed upon another, hoping for no advantage from him, he really bestows upon himself, for he will receive a reward from God. God has also enjoined, that if at any time we make a feast, we should invite to the entertainment those who cannot invite us in return, and thus make us a recompense, so that no action of our life should be without the exercise of mercy. Nor, however, let any one think that he is debarred from intercourse with his friends or kindness with his neighbors. But God has made known to us what is our true and just work: we ought thus to live with our neighbors, provided that we know that the one manner of living relates to man, the other to God.

Therefore hospitality is a principal virtue, as the philosophers also say; but they turn it aside from true justice, and forcibly apply it to advantage. Cicero says: "Hospitality was rightly praised by Theophrastus. For (as it appears to me) it is highly becoming that the houses of illustrious men should be open to illustrious guests." He has here committed the same error which he then did, when he said that we must bestow our bounty on "suitable" persons. For the house of a just and wise man ought not to be open to the illustrious, but to the lowly and abject. For those illustrious and powerful men cannot be in want of anything, since they are sufficiently protected and honored by their own opulence. But nothing is to be done by a just man except that which is a benefit. But if the benefit

is returned, it is destroyed and brought to an end; for we cannot possess in its completeness that for which a price has been paid to us. Therefore the principle of justice is employed about those benefits which have remained safe and uncorrupted; but they cannot thus remain by any other means than if they are be stowed upon those men who can in no way profit us. But in receiving illustrious men, he looked to nothing else but utility; nor did the ingenious man conceal what advantage he hoped from it. For he says that he who does that will become powerful among foreigners by the favor of the leading men, whom he will have bound to himself by the right of hospitality and friendship. O by how many arguments might the inconsistency of Cicero be proved, if this were my object! Nor would he be convicted so much by my words as by his own. For he also says, that the more any one refers all his actions to his own advantage, the less he is a good man. He also says, that it is not the part of a simple and open man to ingratiate himself in the favor of others, to pretend and allege anything, to appear to be doing one thing when he is doing another, to feign that he is bestowing upon another that which he is bestowing upon himself; but that this is rather the part of one who is designing and crafty, deceitful and treacherous. But how could he maintain that that ambitious hospitality was not evil intention? "Do you run round through all the gates, that you may invite to your house the chief men of the nations and cities as they arrive, that by their means you may acquire influence with their citizens; and wish yourself to be called just, and kind, and hospitable, though you are studying to promote your own advantage?" But did he not say this rather incautiously? For what is less suitable for Cicero? But through his ignorance of true justice he knowingly and with foresight fell into this snare. And that he might be pardoned for this, he testified that he does not give precepts with reference to true justice, which he does not hold, but with reference to a sketch and outline of justice. Therefore we must pardon this teacher who uses sketches and outlines, nor must we require the truth from him who admits that he is ignorant of it.

The ransoming of captives is a great and noble exercise of justice, of which the same Tullius also approved. "And this liberality," he says, "is serviceable even to the state, that captives should be ransomed from slavery, and that those of slender resources should be provided for. And I greatly prefer this practice of liberality to lavish expenditure on shows.

This is the part of great and eminent men.” Therefore it is the appropriate work of the just to support the poor and to ransom captives, since among the unjust if any do these things they are called great and eminent. For it is deserving of the greatest praise for those to confer benefit from whom no one expected such conduct. For he who does good to a relative, or neighbor, or friend, either deserves no praise, or certainly no great praise, because he is bound to do it, and he would be impious and detestable if he did not do that which both nature itself and relationship require; and if he does it, he does it not so much for the sake of obtaining glory as of avoiding censure. But he who does it to a stranger and an unknown person, he truly is worthy of praise, because he was led to do it by kindness only. Justice therefore exists there, where there is no obligation of necessity for conferring a benefit. He ought not therefore to have preferred this duty of generosity to expenditure on shows; for this is the part of one making a comparison, and of two goods choosing that which is the better. For that profusion of men throwing away their property into the sea is vain and trifling, and very far removed from all justice. Therefore they are not even to be called girls, in which no one receives but he who does not deserve to receive.

Nor is it less a great work of justice to protect and defend orphans and widows who are destitute and stand in need of assistance; and therefore that divine law prescribes this to all, since all good judges deem that it belongs to their office to favor them with natural kindness, and to strive to benefit them. But these works are especially ours, since we have received the law, and the words of God Himself giving us instructions. For they perceive that it is naturally just to protect those who need protection, but they do not perceive why it is so. For God, to whom everlasting mercy belongs, on this account commands that widows and orphans should be defended and cherished, that no one through regard and pity for his pledges should be prevented from undergoing death in behalf of justice and faith, but should encounter it with promptitude and boldness, since he knows that he leaves his beloved ones to the care of God, and that they will never want protection. Also to undertake the care and support of the sick, who need some one to assist them, is the part of the greatest kindness, and of great beneficence; and he who shall do this will both gain a living sacrifice to God, and that which he has given to another for a time

he will himself receive from God for eternity. The last and greatest office of piety is the burying of strangers and the poor; which subject those teachers of virtue and justice have not touched upon at all. For they were unable to see this, who measured all their duties by utility. For in the other things which have been mentioned above, although they did not keep the true path, yet, since they discovered some advantage in these things, retained as it were by a kind of inkling of the truth, they wandered to a less distance; but they abandoned this because they were unable to see any advantage in it.

Moreover, there have not been wanting those who esteemed burial as superfluous, and said that it was no evil to lie unburied and neglected; but their impious wisdom is rejected alike by the whole human race, and by the divine expressions which command the performance of the rite. But they do not venture to say that it ought not to be done, but that, if it happens to be omitted, no inconvenience is the result. Therefore in that matter they discharge the office, not so much of those who give precepts, as of those who suggest consolation, that if this shall by chance have occurred to a wise man, he should not deem himself wretched on this account. But we do not speak of that which ought to be endured by a wise man, but of that which he himself ought to do. Therefore we do not now inquire whether the whole system of burial is serviceable or not; but this, even though it be useless, as they imagine, must nevertheless be practiced, even on this account only, that it appears among men to be done rightly and kindly. For it is the feeling which is inquired into, and it is the purpose which is weighed. Therefore we will not suffer the image and workmanship of God to lie exposed as a prey to beasts and birds, but we will restore it to the earth, from which it had its origin; and although it be in the case of an unknown man, we will fulfill the office of relatives, into whose place, since they are wanting, let kindness succeed; and wherever there shall be need of man, there we will think that our duty is required. But in what does the nature of justice more consist than in our affording to strangers through kindness, that which we render to our own relatives through affection? And this kindness is much more sure and just when it is now afforded, not to the man who is insensible, but to God alone, to whom a just work is a most acceptable sacrifice. Some one will perhaps say: If I shall do all these things, I shall have no possessions. For what if a

great number of men shall be in want, shall suffer cold, shall be taken captive, shall die, since one who acts thus must deprive himself of his property even in a single day, shall I throw away the estate acquired by my own labor or by that of my ancestors, so that after this I myself must live by the pity of others?

Why do you so pusillanimously fear poverty, which even your philosophers praise, and bear witness that nothing is safer and nothing more calm than this? That which you fear is a haven against anxieties. Do you not know to how many dangers, to how many accidents, you are exposed with these evil resources? These will treat you well if they shall pass without your bloodshed. But you walk about laden with booty, and you bear spoils which may excite the minds even of your own relatives. Why, then, do you hesitate to lay that out well which perhaps a single robbery will snatch away from you, or a proscription suddenly arising, or the plundering of an enemy? Why do you fear to make a frail and perishable good everlasting, or to entrust your treasures to God as their preserver, in which case you need not fear thief and robber, nor rust, nor tyrant? He who is rich towards God can never be poor. If you esteem justice so highly, lay aside the burthens which press you, and follow it; free yourself from fetters and chains, that you may run to God without any impedient. It is the part of a great and lofty mind to despise and trample upon mortal affairs. But if you do not comprehend this virtue, that you may bestow your riches upon the altar of God, in order that you may provide for yourself firmer possessions than these frail ones, I will free you from fear. All these precepts are not given to you alone, but to all the people who are united in mind, and hold together as one man. If you are not adequate to the performance of great works alone, cultivate justice with all your power, in such a manner, however, that you may excel others in work as much as you excel them in riches. And do not think that you are advised to lessen or exhaust your property; but that which you would have expended on superfluities, turn to better uses. Devote to the ransoming of captives that from which you purchase beasts; maintain the poor with that from which you feed wild beasts; bury the innocent dead with that from which you provide men for the sword. What does it profit to enrich men of abandoned wickedness, who fight with beasts, and to equip them for crimes? Transfer things about to be miserably thrown

away to the great sacrifice, that in return for these true gifts you may have an everlasting gift from God. Mercy has a great reward; for God promises it, that He will remit all sins. If you shall hear, He says, the prayers of your suppliant, I also will hear yours; if you shall pity those in distress, I also will pity you in your distress. But if you shall not regard nor assist them, I also will bear a mind like your own against you, and I will judge you by your own laws.

CHAPTER 13

OF REPENTANCE, OF MERCY, AND THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS

As often, therefore, as you are asked for aid, believe that you are tried by God, that it may be seen whether you are worthy of being heard. Examine your own conscience, and, as far as you are able, heal your wounds. Nor, however, because offenses are removed by bounty, think that a license is given you for sinning. For they are done away with, if you are bountiful to God because you have sinned; for if you sin through reliance on your bounty, they are not done away with. For God especially desires that men shall be cleansed from their sins, and therefore He commands them to repent. But to repent is nothing else than to profess and to affirm that one will sin no more. Therefore they are pardoned who unawares and incautiously glide into sin; he who sins willfully has no pardon. Nor, however, if any one shall have been purified from all stain of sin, let him think that he may abstain from the work of bounty because he has no faults to blot out. Nay, in truth, he is then more bound to exercise justice when he is become just, so that that which he had before done for the healing of his wounds he may afterwards do for the praise and glory of virtue. To this is added, that no one can be without fault as long as he is burthened with a covering of flesh, the infirmity of which is subject to the dominion of sin in a threefold manner — in deeds, in words, and thoughts.

By these steps justice advances to the greatest height. The first step of virtue is to abstain from evil works; the second, to abstain also from evil worsts; the third, to abstain even from the thoughts of evil things. He who ascends the first step is sufficiently just; he who ascends the second is

now of perfect virtue, since he offends neither in deeds nor in conversation; he who ascends the third appears truly to have attained the likeness of God. For it is almost beyond the measure of man not even to admit to the thought that which is either bad in action or improper in speech. Therefore even just men, who can refrain from every unjust work, are sometimes, however, overcome by frailty itself, so that they either speak evil in anger, or, at the sight of delightful things, they desire them with silent thought. But if the condition of mortality does not suffer a man to be pure from every stain, the faults of the flesh ought therefore to be done away with by continual bounty. For it is the single work of a man who is wise, and just, and worthy of life, to lay out his riches on justice alone; for assuredly he who is without this, although he should surpass Croesus or Crassus in riches, is to be esteemed as poor, as naked, as a beggar. Therefore we must use our efforts that we may be clothed with the garment of justice and piety, of which no one may deprive us, which may furnish us with an everlasting ornament. For if the worshippers of gods adore senseless images, and bestow upon them whatever they have which is precious, though they can neither make use of them nor give thanks because they have received them, how much more just and true is it to reverence the living images of God, that you may gain the favor of the living God! For as these make use of what they have received, and give thanks, so God, in whose sight you shall have done that which is good, will both approve of it and reward your piety.

CHAPTER 14

OF THE AFFECTIONS, AND THE OPINION OF THE STOICS RESPECTING THEM; AND OF VIRTUE, THE VICES, AND MERCY

If, therefore, mercy is a distinguished and excellent gift in man, and that is judged to be very good by the consent both of the good and the evil, it appears that philosophers were far distant from the good of man, who neither enjoined nor practiced anything of this kind, but always esteemed as a vice that virtue which almost holds the first place in man. It pleases me here to bring forward one subject of philosophy, that we may more

fully refute the errors of those who call mercy, desire, and fear, diseases of the soul. They indeed attempt to distinguish virtues from vices, which is truly a very easy matter. For who cannot distinguish a liberal man from one who is prodigal (as they do), or a frugal man from one who is mean, or a calm man from one who is slothful, or a cautious man from one who is timid? Because these things which are good have their limits, and if they shall exceed these limits, fall into vices; so that constancy, unless it is undertaken for the truth, becomes shamelessness. In like manner, bravery, if it shall undergo certain danger, without the compulsion of any necessity, or not for an honorable cause, is changed into rashness. Freedom of speech also, if it attack; others rather than oppose those who attack it, is obstinacy. Severity also, unless it restrain itself within the befitting punishments of the guilty, becomes savage cruelty.

Therefore they say, that those who appear evil do not sin of their own accord, or choose evils by preference, but that, erring through the appearance of good, they fall into evils, while they are ignorant of the distinction between good things and evil. These things are not indeed false, but they are all referred to the body. For to be frugal, or constant, or cautious, or calm, or grave, or severe, are virtues indeed, but virtues which relate to this short life. But we who despise this life have other virtues set before us, respecting which philosophers could not by any means even conjecture. Therefore they regarded certain virtues as vices, and certain vices as virtues. For the Stoics take away from man all the affections, by the impulse of which the soul is moved — desire, joy, fear, sorrow: the two former of which arise from good things, either future or present; the latter from evil things. In the same manner, they call these four (as I said) diseases, not so much inserted in us by nature as undertaken through a perverted opinion; and therefore they think that these can be eradicated, if the false notion of good and evil things is taken away. For if the wise man thinks nothing good or evil, he will neither be inflamed with desire, nor be transported with joy, nor be alarmed with fear, nor suffer his spirits to droop through sadness. We shall presently see whether they effect that which they wish, or what it is which they do effect: in the meantime their purpose is arrogant and almost mad, who think that they apply a remedy, and that they are able to strive in opposition to the force and system of nature.

CHAPTER 15

OF THE AFFECTIONS, AND THE OPINION OF THE PERIPATETICS RESPECTING THEM

For, that these things are natural and not voluntary, the nature of all living beings shows, which is moved by all these affections. There fore the Peripatetics act better, who say that all these cannot be taken from us, because they were born with us; and they endeavor to show how providently and how necessarily God, or nature (for so they term it), armed us with these affections; which, however, because they generally become vicious if they are in excess, can be advantageously regulated by man, — a limit being applied, so that there may be left to man as much as is sufficient for nature. Not an unwise disputation, if, as I said, all things were not referred to this life. The Stoics therefore are mad who do not regulate but cut them out, and wish by some means or other to deprive man of powers implanted in him by nature. And this is equivalent to a desire of taking away timidity from stags, or poison from serpents, or rage from wild beasts, or gentleness from cattle. For those qualities which have been given separately to dumb animals, are altogether given to man at the same time. But if, as physicians affirm, the affection of joy has its seat in the spleen, that of anger in the gall, of desire in the liver, of fear in the heart, it is easier to kill the animal itself than to tear anything from the body; for this is to wish to change the nature of the living creature. But the skillful men do not understand that when they take away vices from man, they also take away virtue, for which alone they are making a place. For if it is virtue in the midst of the impetuosity of anger to restrain and check oneself, which they cannot deny, then he who is without anger is also without virtue. If it is virtue to control the lust of the body, he must be free from virtue who has no lust which he may regulate. If it is virtue to curb the desire from coveting that which belongs to another, he certainly can have no virtue who is without that, to the restraining of which the exercise of virtue is applied. Where, therefore, there are no vices, there is no place even for virtue, as there is no place for victory where there is no adversary. And so it comes to pass that there can be no good in this life without evil. An affection therefore is a kind of natural fruitfulness of the powers of the mind. For as a field which is naturally fruitful produces an

abundant crop of briars, so the mind which is uncultivated is overgrown with vices flourishing of their own accord, as with thorns. But when the true cultivator has applied himself, immediately vices give way, and the fruits of virtues spring up.

Therefore God, when He first made man, with wonderful foresight first implanted in him these emotions of the mind, that he might be capable of receiving virtue, as the earth is of cultivation; and He placed the subject-matter of vices in the affections, and that of virtue in vices. For assuredly virtue will have no existence, or not be in exercise, if those things are wanting by which its power is either shown or exists. Now let us see what they have effected who altogether removes vices. With regard to those four affections which they imagine to arise from the opinion of things good and evil, by the eradication of which they think that the mind of the wise man is to be healed, since they understand that they are implanted by nature, and that without these nothing can be put in motion, nothing be done, they put certain other things into their place and room: for desire they substitute inclination, as though it were not much better to desire a good than to feel inclination for it; they in like manner substitute for joy gladness, and for fear caution. But in the case of the fourth they are at a loss for a method of exchanging the name. Therefore they have altogether taken away grief, that is, sadness and pain of mind, which cannot possibly be done. For who can fail to be grieved if pestilence has desolated his country, or an enemy overthrown it, or a tyrant crushed its liberty? Can any one fail to be grieved if he has beheld the overthrow of liberty, and the banishment or most cruel slaughter of neighbors, friends, or good men? — unless the mind of any one should be so struck with astonishment that all sensibility should be taken from him. Wherefore they ought either to have taken away the whole, or this defective and weak discussion ought to have been completed; that is, something ought to have been substituted in the place of grief, since, the former ones having been so arranged, this naturally followed.

For as we rejoice in good things that are present, so we are vexed and grieved with evil things. If, therefore, they gave another name to joy because they thought it vicious, so it was befitting that another name should be given to grief because they thought it also vicious. From which it appears that it was no, the object itself which was wanting to them, but a

word, through want of which they wished, contrary to what nature allowed, to take away that affection which is the greatest. For I could have refuted those changes of names at greater length, and have shown that many names are attached to the same objects, for the sake of embellishing the style and increasing its copiousness, or at any rate that they do not greatly differ from one another. For both desire takes its beginning from the inclination, and caution arises from fear, and joy is nothing else than the expression of gladness. But let us suppose that they are different, as they themselves will have it. Accordingly they will say that desire is continued and perpetual inclination, but that joy is gladness bearing itself immoderately; and that fear is caution in excess, and passing the limits of moderation. Thus it comes to pass, that they do not take away those things which they think ought to be taken away, but regulate them, since the names only are changed, the things themselves remain. They therefore return unawares to that point at which the Peripatetics arrive by argument, that vices, since they cannot be taken away, are to be regulated with moderation. Therefore they err, be cause they do not succeed in effecting that which they aim at, and by a circuitous route, which is long and rough, they return to the same path.

CHAPTER 16

OF THE AFFECTIONS, AND THE REFUTATION OF THE OPINION OF THE PERIPATETICS CONCERNING THEM; WHAT IS THE PROPER USE OF THE AFFECTIONS, AND WHAT IS A BAD USE OF THEM

But I think that the Peripatetics did not even approach the truth, who allow that they are vices, but regulate them with moderation. For we must be free even from moderate vices; yea, rather, it ought to have been at first effected that there should be no vices. For nothing can be born vicious; but if we make a bad use of the affections they become vices, if we use them well they become virtues. Then it must be shown that the causes of the affections, and not the affections themselves, must be moderated. We must not, they say, rejoice with excessive joy, but moderately and temperately. This is as though they should say that we must not run swiftly, but walk

quietly. But it is possible that he who walks may err, and that he who runs may keep the right path. What if I show that there is a case in which it is vicious not only to rejoice moderately, but even in the smallest degree; and that there is another case, on the contrary, in which even to exult with transports of joy is by no means faulty? What then, I pray, will this mediocrity profit us? I ask whether they think that a wise man ought to rejoice if he sees any evil happening to his enemy; or whether he ought to curb his joy, if by the conquest of enemies, or the overthrow of a tyrant, liberty and safety have been acquired by his countrymen.

No one doubts but that in the former case to rejoice a little, and in the latter to rejoice too little, is a very great crime. We may say the same respecting the other affections. But, as I have said, the object of wisdom does not consist in the regulation of these, but of their causes, since they are acted upon from without; nor was it befitting that these themselves should be restrained; since they may exist in a small degree with the greatest criminality, and in the greatest degree without any criminality. But they ought to have been assigned to fixed times, and circumstances, and places, that they may not be vices, when it is permitted us to make a right use of them. For as to walk in the right course is good, but to wander from it is evil, so to be moved by the affections to that which is right is good, but to that which is corrupt is evil. For sensual desire, if it does not wander from its lawful object, although it be ardent, yet is without fault. But if it desires an unlawful object, although it be moderate, yet it is a great vice. Therefore it is not a disease to be angry, nor to desire, nor to be excited by lust; but to be passionate, to be covetous or licentious, is a disease. For he who is passionate is angry even with him with whom he ought not to be angry or at times when he ought not. He who is covetous desires even that which is unnecessary. He who is licentious pursues even that which is forbidden by the laws. The whole matter ought to have turned on this, that since the impetuosity of these things cannot be restrained, nor is it right that it should be, because it is necessarily implanted for maintaining the duties of life, it might rather be directed into the right way, where it may be possible even to run without stumbling and danger.

CHAPTER 17

OF THE AFFECTIONS AND THEIR USE; OF PATIENCE, AND THE CHIEF GOOD OF CHRISTIANS

But I have been carried too far in my desire of refuting them; since it is my purpose to show that those things which the philosophers thought to be vices, are so far from being vices, that they are even great virtues. Of others, I will take, for the sake of instruction, those which I think to be most closely related to the subject. They regard dread or fear as a very great vice, and think that it is a very great weakness of mind; the opposite to which is bravery: and if this exists in a man, they say that there is no place for fear. Does any one then believe that it can possibly happen that this same fear is the highest fortitude? By no means. For nature does not appear to admit that anything should fall back to its contrary. But yet I, not by any skillful conclusion, as Socrates does in the writings of Plato, who compels those against whom he disputes to admit those things which they had denied, but in a simple manner, will show that the greatest fear is the greatest virtue. No one doubts but that it is the part of a timid and feeble mind either to fear pain, or want, or exile, or imprisonment, or death; and if any one does not dread all these, he is judged a man of the greatest fortitude. But he who fears God is free from the fear of all these things. In proof of which, there is no need of arguments: for the punishments inflicted on the worshippers of God have been witnessed at all times, and are still witnessed through the world, in the tormenting of whom new and unusual tortures have been devised. For the mind shrinks from the recollection of various kinds of death, when the butchery of savage monsters has raged even beyond death itself. But a happy and unconquered patience endured these execrable lacerations of their bodies without a groan. This virtue afforded the greatest astonishment to all people and provinces, and to the torturers themselves, when cruelty was overcome by patience. But this virtue was caused by nothing else than the fear of God. Therefore (as I said) fear is not to be uprooted, as the Stoics maintain, nor to be restrained, as the Peripatetics wish, but to be directed into the right way; and apprehensions are to be taken away, but so that this one only may be left: for since this is the only lawful and true one, it alone effects that all other things may not be feared. Desire also is

reckoned among vices; but if it desires those things which are of the earth, it is a vice; on the other hand, if it desires heavenly things, it is a virtue. For he who desires to obtain justice, God, perpetual life, everlasting light, and all those things which God promises to man, will despise these riches, and honors, and commands, and kingdoms themselves.

The Stoic will perhaps say that inclination is necessary for the attainment of these things, and not desire; but, in truth, the inclination is not sufficient. For many have the inclination; but when pain has approached the vitals, inclination gives way, but desire perseveres: and if it effects that all things which are sought by others are objects of contempt to him, it is the greatest virtue, since it is the mother of self-restraint. And therefore we ought rather to effect this, that we may rightly direct the affections, a corrupt use of which is vice. For these excitements of the mind resemble a harnessed chariot, in the right management of which the chief duty of the driver is to know the way; and if he shall keep to this, with whatever swiftness he may go, he will not strike against an obstacle. But if he shall wander from the course, although he may go calmly and gently, he will either be shaken over rough places, or will glide over precipices, or at any rate will be carried where he does not need to go. So that chariot of life which is led by the affections as though by swift horses, if it keeps the right way, will discharge its duty. Dread, therefore, and desire, if they are cast down to the earth, will become vices, but they will be virtues if they are referred to divine things. On the other hand, they esteem parsimony as a virtue; which, if it is eagerness for possessing, cannot be a virtue, because it is altogether employed in the increase or preservation of earthly goods. But we do not refer the chief good to the body, but we measure every duty by the preservation of the soul only. But if, as I have before taught, we must by no means spare our property that we may preserve kindness and justice, it is not a virtue to be frugal; which name beguiles and deceives under the appearance of virtue. For frugality is, it is true, the abstaining from pleasures; but in this respect it is a vice, because it arises from the love of possessing, whereas we ought both to abstain from pleasures, and by no means to withhold money. For to use money sparingly, that is, moderately, is a kind of weakness of mind, either of one fearing lest he should be in want, or of one despairing of being able to recover it, or of one incapable of the contempt of earthly things. But, on the other hand, they

call him who is not sparing of his property prodigal. For thus they distinguish between the liberal man and the prodigal: that he is liberal who bestows on deserving objects, and on proper occasions, and in sufficient quantities; but that he is prodigal who lavishes on undeserving objects, and when there is no need, and without any regard to his property.

What then? shall we call him prodigal who through pity gives food to the needy? But it makes a great difference, whether on account of lust you bestow your money on harlots, or on account of benevolence on the wretched; whether profligates, gamesters, and pimps squander your money, or you bestow it on piety and God; whether you expend it upon your own appetite, or lay it up in the treasury of justice. As, therefore, it is a vice to lay it out badly, so it is a virtue to lay it out well. If it is a virtue not to be sparing of riches, which can be replaced, that you may support the life of man, which cannot be replaced; then parsimony is a vice. Therefore I can call them by no other name than mad, who deprive man, a mild and sociable animal, of his name; who, having uprooted the affections, in which humanity altogether consists, wish to bring him to an immovable insensibility of mind, while they desire to free the soul from perturbations, and, as they themselves say, to render it calm and tranquil; which is not only impossible, because its force and nature consist in motion, but it ought not even to be so. For as water which is always still and motionless is unwholesome and more muddy, so the soul which is unmoved and torpid is useless even to itself: nor will it be able to maintain life itself; for it will neither do nor think anything, since thought itself is nothing less than agitation of the mind. In fine, they who assert this immoveableness of the soul wish to deprive the soul of life; for life is full of activity, but death is quiet. They also rightly esteem some things as virtues, but they do not maintain their due proportion.

Constancy is a virtue; not that we resist those who injure us, for we must yield to these; and why this ought to be done I will show presently: but that when men command us to act in opposition to the law of God, and in opposition to justice, we should be deterred by no threats or punishments from preferring the command of God to the command of man. Likewise it is a virtue to despise death; not that we seek it, and of our own accord inflict it upon ourselves, as many and distinguished philosophers have often done, which is a wicked and impious thing; but that when compelled

to desert God, and to betray our faith, we should prefer to undergo death, and should defend our liberty against the foolish and senseless violence of those who cannot govern themselves, and with fortitude of spirit we should challenge all the threats and terrors of the world. Thus with lofty and invincible mind we trample upon those things which others fear — pain and death. This is virtue; this is true constancy — to be maintained and preserved in this one thing alone, that no terror and no violence may be able to turn us away from God. Therefore that is a true sentiment of Cicero: “No one,” he says, “can be just who fears death, or pain, or exile, or want.” Also of Seneca, who says, in his books of moral philosophy: “This is that virtuous man, not distinguished by a diadem or purple, or the attendance of lictors, but in no respect inferior, who, when he sees death at hand, is not so disturbed as though he saw a fresh object; who, whether torments are to be suffered by his whole body, or a flame is to be seized by his mouth, or his hands are to be stretched out on the cross, does not inquire what he suffers, but how well.” But he who worships God suffers these things without fear. Therefore he is just. By these things it is effected, that he cannot know or maintain at all either the virtues or the exact limits of the virtues, whoever is estranged from the religion of the one God.

CHAPTER 18

OF SOME COMMANDS OF GOD, AND OF PATIENCE

But let us leave the philosophers, who either know nothing at all, and hold forth this very ignorance as the greatest knowledge; or who, inasmuch as they think they know that of which they are ignorant, are absurdly and arrogantly foolish. Let us therefore (that we may return to our purpose), to whom alone the truth has been revealed by God, and wisdom has been sent from heaven, practice those things which God who enlightens us commands: let us sustain and endure the labors of life, by mutual assistance towards each other; nor, however, if we shall have done any good work, let us aim at glory from it. For God admonishes us that the doer of justice ought not to be boastful, lest he a should appear to have discharged the duties of benevolence, not so much from a desire of obeying

the divine commands, as of pleasing men, and should already have the reward of glory which he has aimed at, and should not receive the recompense of that heavenly and divine reward. The other things which the worshipper of God ought to observe are easy, when these virtues are comprehended, that no one should ever speak falsely for the sake of deceiving or injuring. For it is unlawful for him who cultivates truth to be deceitful in anything, and to depart from the truth itself which he follows. In this path of justice and all the virtues there is no place for falsehood. Therefore the true and just traveler will not use the saying of Lucilius: —

"It is not for me to speak falsely to a man
who is a friend and acquaintance;"

but he will think that it is not his part to speak falsely even to an enemy and a stranger; nor will he at any time so act, that his tongue, which is the interpreter of his mind, should be at variance with his feeling and thought. If he shall have lent any money, he will not receive interest, that the benefit may be unimpaired t which succors necessity, and that he may entirely abstain from the property of another. For in this kind of duty he ought to be content with that which is his own; since it is his duty in other respects not to be sparing of his property, in order that he may do good; but to receive more than he has given is unjust. And he who does this lies in wait in some manner, that he may gain booty from the necessity of another.

But the just man will omit no opportunity of doing anything mercifully: nor will he pollute himself with gain of this kind; but he will so act that without any loss to himself, that which he lends may be reckoned among his good works. He must not receive a gift from a poor man; so that if he himself has afforded anything, it may be good, inasmuch as it is gratuitous. If any one reviles, he must answer him with a blessing; he himself must never revile, that no evil word may proceed out of the mouth of a man who reverences the good Word. Moreover, he must also diligently take care, lest by any fault of his he should at any time make an enemy; and if any one should be so shameless as to inflict injury on a good and just man, he must bear it with calmness and moderation, and not take upon himself his revenge, but reserve it for the judgment of God. He must at all times and in all places guard innocence. And this precept is not limited to this, that lie should not himself inflict injury, but that lie should not avenge it

when inflicted on himself. For there sits on the judgment-seat a very great and impartial Judge, the observer and witness of all. Let him prefer Him to man; let him rather choose that He should pronounce judgment respecting his cause, whose sentence no one can escape, either by the advocacy of any one or by favor. Thus it comes to pass, that a just man is an object of contempt to all; and because it will be thought that he is unable to defend himself, he will be regarded as slothful and inactive; but if any one shall have avenged himself upon his enemy, he is judged a man of spirit and activity — all honor and reverence him. And although the good man has it in his power to profit many, yet they look up to him who is able to injure, rather than to him who is able to profit. But the depravity of men will not be able to corrupt the just man, so that he will not endeavor to obey God; and he would prefer to be despised, provided that he may always discharge the duty of a good man, and never of a bad man. Cicero says in those same books respecting Offices: "But if any one should wish to unravel this indistinct conception of his soul, let him at once teach himself that he is a good man who profits those whom he can, and injures no one unless provoked by injury."

Oh how he marred a simple and true sentiment by the addition of two words! For what need was there of adding these words, "unless provoked by injury?" that he might append vice as a most disgraceful tail to a good man and might represent him as without patience, which is the greatest of all the virtues. He said that a good man would inflict injuries if he were provoked: now he must necessarily lose the name of a good man from this very circumstance, if he shall inflict injury. For it is not less the part of a bad man to return an injury than to inflict it. For from what source do contests, from what source do fightings and contentions, arise among men, except that impatience opposed to injustice often excites great tempests? But if you meet injustice with patience, than which virtue nothing can be found more true, nothing more worthy of a man, it will immediately be extinguished, as though you should pour water upon a fire. But if that injustice which provokes opposition has met with impatience equal to itself, as though overspread with oil, it will excite so great a conflagration, that no stream can extinguish it, but only the shedding of blood. Great, therefore, is the advantage of patience, of which the wise man has deprived the good man. For this alone causes that no evil happens; and if it should

be given to all, there will be no wickedness and no fraud in the affairs of men. What, therefore, can be so calamitous to a good man, so opposed to his character, as to let loose the reins to anger, which deprives him not only of the title of a good man, but even of a man; since to injure another, as he himself most truly says, is not in accordance with the nature of man? For if you provoke cattle or horses, they turn against you either with their hoof or their horn; and serpents and wild beasts, unless you pursue them that you may kill them, give no trouble. And to return to examples of men, even the inexperienced and the foolish, if at any time they receive an injury, are led by a blind and irrational fury, and endeavor to retaliate upon those who injure them. In what respect, then, does the wise and good man differ from the evil and foolish, except that he has invincible patience, of which the foolish are destitute; except that he knows how to govern himself, and to mitigate his anger, which those, because they are without virtue, are unable to curb? But this circumstance manifestly deceived him, because, when inquiry is made respecting virtue, he thought that it is the part of virtue to conquer in every kind of contention. Nor was he able in any way to see, that a man who gives way to grief and anger, and who indulges these affections, against which he ought rather to struggle, and who rushes wherever injustice shall have called him, does not fulfill the duty of virtue. For he who endeavors to return an injury, desires to imitate that very person by whom he has been injured. Thus he who imitates a bad man can by no means be good.

Therefore by two words he has taken away from the good and wise man two of the greatest virtues, innocence and patience. But, as Sallustius relates was said by Appius, because he himself practiced that canine eloquence, be wished man also to live after the manner of a dog, so as, when attacked, to bite in return. And to show how pernicious this repayment of insult is, and what carnage it is accustomed to produce, from what can a more befitting example be sought, than from the most melancholy disaster of the teacher himself, who, while he desired to obey these precepts of the philosophers, destroyed himself? For if, when attacked with injury, he had preserved patience — if he had learned that it is the part of a good man to dissemble and to endure insult, and his impatience, vanity, and madness had not poured forth those noble orations, inscribed with a name derived from another source, he would

never, by his head affixed to them, have polluted the rostra on which he had formerly distinguished himself, nor would that proscription have utterly destroyed the state. Therefore it is not the part of a wise and good man to wish to contend, and to commit himself to danger, since to conquer is not in our power, and every contest is doubtful; but it is the part of a wise and excellent man not to wish to remove his adversary, which cannot be done without guilt and danger, but to put an end to the contest itself, which may be done with advantage and with justice. Therefore patience is to be regarded as a very great virtue; and that the just man might obtain this, God willed, as has been before said, that he should be despised as sluggish. For unless he shall have been insulted, it will not be known what fortitude he has in restraining himself. Now if, when provoked by injury, he has begun to follow up his assailant with violence, he is overcome. But if he shall have repressed that emotion by reasoning, he altogether has command over himself: he is able to rule himself. And this restraining of oneself is rightly named patience, which single virtue is opposed to all vices and affections. This recalls the disturbed and wavering mind to its tranquillity; this mitigates, this restores a man to himself. Therefore, since it is impossible and useless to resist nature, so that we are not excited at all; before, however, the emotion bursts forth to the infliction of injury, as far as is possible let it be calmed in time. God has enjoined us not to let the sun go down upon our wrath, lest he should depart as a witness of our madness. Finally, Marcus Tullius, in opposition to his own precept, concerning which I have lately spoken, gave the greatest praises to the forgetting of injuries. “I entertain hopes,” he says, “O Caesar, who art accustomed to forget nothing except injuries.” But if he thus acted — a man most widely removed not only front heavenly, but also from public and civil justice — how much more ought we to do this, who are, as it were, candidates for immortality?

CHAPTER 19

OF THE AFFECTIONS AND THEIR USE; AND OF THE THREE FURIES

When the Stoics attempt to uproot the affections from man as diseases, they are opposed by the Peripatetics, who not only retain, but also defend them, and say that there is nothing in man which is not produced in him with great reason and foresight. They say this indeed rightly, if they know the true limits of each subject. Accordingly they say that this very affection of anger is the whetstone of virtue, as though no one could fight bravely against enemies unless he were excited by anger; by which they plainly show that they neither know what virtue is, nor why God gave anger to man. And if this was given to us for this purpose, that we may employ it for the slaying of men, what is to be thought more savage than man, what more resembling the wild beasts, than that animal which God formed for communion and innocence? There are, then, three affections which drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust. On which account the poets have said that there are three furies which harass the minds of men: anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures. But God has appointed fixed limits to all of these; and if they pass these limits and begin to be too great, they must necessarily pervert their nature, and be changed into diseases and vices. And it is a matter of no great labor to show what these limits are. Cupidity is given us for providing those things which are necessary for life; concupiscence, for the procreation of offspring; the affection of indignation, for restraining the faults of those who are in our power, that is, in order that tender age may be formed by a severer discipline to integrity and justice: for if this time of life is not restrained by fear, license will produce boldness, and this will break out into every disgraceful and daring action. Therefore, as it is both just and necessary to employ anger towards the young, so it is both pernicious and impious to use it towards those of our own age. It is impious, because humanity is injured; pernicious, because if they oppose, it is necessary either to destroy them or to perish. But that this which I have spoken of is the reason why the affection of anger has been given to man, may be understood from the precepts of God Himself, who commands that we should not be angry with those who revile and injure us, but that we

should always have our hands over the young; that is, that when they err, we should correct them with continual stripes, lest by useless love and excessive indulgence they should be trained to evil and nourished to vices. But those who are inexperienced in affairs and ignorant of reason, have expelled those affections which have been given to man for good uses, and they wander more widely than reason demands. From this cause they live unjustly and impiously. They employ anger against their equals in age: hence disagreements, hence banishments, hence wars have arisen contrary to justice. They use desire for the amassing of riches: hence frauds, hence robberies, hence all kinds of crimes have originated. They use lust only for the enjoyment of pleasures: hence debaucheries, hence adulteries, hence all corruptions have proceeded. Whoever, therefore, has reduced those affections within their proper limits, which they who are ignorant of God cannot do, he is patient, he is brave, he is just.

CHAPTER 20

OF THE SENSES, AND THEIR PLEASURES IN THE BRUTES AND IN MAN; AND OF PLEASURES OF THE EYES, AND SPECTACLES

It remains that I should speak against the pleasures of the five senses, and this briefly, for the measure of the book itself now demands moderation; all of which, since they are vicious and deadly, ought to be overcome and subdued by virtue, or, as I said a little before respecting the affections, be recalled to their proper office. The other animals have no pleasure, except the one only which relates to generation. Therefore they use their senses for the necessity of their nature: they see, in order that they may seek those things which are necessary for the preservation of life; they hear one another, and distinguish one another, that they may be able to assemble together; they either discover from the smell, or perceive from the taste, the things which are useful for food; they refuse and reject the things which are useless, they measure the business of eating and drinking by the fullness of their stomach. But the foresight of the most skillful Creator gave to man pleasure without limit, and liable to fall into vice, because He set before him virtue, which might always be at variance with pleasure, as

with a domestic enemy. Cicero says, in the Cato Major: “In truth, debaucheries, and adulteries, and disgraceful actions are excited by no other enticements than those of pleasure. And since nature or some God has given to man nothing more excellent than the mind, nothing is so hostile to this divine benefit and gift as pleasure. For when lust bears sway there is no place for temperance, nor can virtue have any existence when pleasure reigns supreme.” But, on the other hand, God gave virtue on this account, that it might subdue and conquer pleasure, and that, when it passed the boundaries assigned to it, it might restrain it within the prescribed limits, lest it should soothe and captivate man with enjoyments, render him subject to its control, and punish him with everlasting death.

The pleasure arising from the eyes is various and manifold, which is derived from the sight of objects which are pleasant in intercourse with men, or in nature or workmanship. The philosophers rightly took this away. For they say that it is much more excellent and worthy of man to look upon the heaven rather than carved works, and to admire this most beautiful work adorned with the lights of the stars shining through, as with flowers, than to admire things painted and molded, and varied with jewels. But when they have eloquently exhorted us to despise earthly things, and have urged us to look up to the heaven, nevertheless they do not despise these public spectacles. Therefore they are both delighted with these, and are gladly present at them; though, since they are the greatest incitement to vices, and have a most powerful tendency to corrupt our minds, they ought to be taken away from us; for they not only contribute in no respect to a happy life, but even inflict the greatest injury. For he who reckons it a pleasure, that a man, though justly condemned, should be slain in his sight, pollutes his conscience as much as if he should become a spectator and a sharer of a homicide which is secretly committed. And yet they call these sports in which human blood is shed. So far has the feeling of humanity departed from the men, that when they destroy the lives of men, they think that they are amusing themselves with sport, being more guilty than all those whose blood-shedding they esteem a pleasure. I ask now whether they can be just and pious men, who, when they see men placed under the stroke of death, and entreating mercy, not only suffer them to be put to death, but also demand it, and give cruel and inhuman votes for their death, not being satiated with wounds nor contented with bloodshed. Moreover,

they order them, even though wounded and prostrate, to be attacked again, and their caresses to he wasted with blows, that no one may delude them by a pretended death. They are even angry with the combatants, unless one of the two is quickly slain; and as though they thirsted for human blood, they hate delays. They demand that other and fresh combatants should be given to them, that they may satisfy their eyes as soon as possible. Being imbued with this practice, they have lost their humanity. Therefore they do not spare even the innocent, but practice upon all that which they have learned in the slaughter of the wicked. It is not therefore befitting that those who strive to keep to the path of justice should be companions and sharers in this public homicide. For when God forbids us to kill, He not only prohibits us from open violence, which is not even allowed by the public laws, but He warns us against the commission of those things which are esteemed lawful among men. Thus it will be neither lawful for a just man to engage in warfare, since his warfare is justice itself, nor to accuse any one of a capital charge, because it makes no difference whether you put a man to death by word, or rather by the sword, since it is the act of putting to death itself which is prohibited. Therefore, with regard to this precept of God, there ought to be no exception at all but that it is always unlawful to put to death a man, whom God willed to be a sacred animal.

Therefore let no one imagine that even this is allowed, to strangle newly-born children, which is the greatest impiety; for God breathes into their souls for life, and not for death. But men, that there may be no crime with which they may not pollute their hands, deprive souls as yet innocent and simple of the light which they themselves have not given. Can any one, indeed, expect that they would abstain from the blood of others who do not abstain even from their own? But these are without any controversy wicked and unjust. What are they whom a false piety compels to expose their children? Can they be considered innocent who expose their own offspring as a prey to dogs, and as far as it depends upon themselves, kill them in a more cruel manner than if they had strangled them? Who can doubt that he is impious who gives occasion for the pity of others? For, although that which he has wished should befall the child — namely, that it should be brought up — he has certainly consigned his own offspring either to servitude or to the brothel? But who

does not understand, who is ignorant what things may happen, or are accustomed to happen, in the case of each sex, even through error? For this is shown by the example of Oedipus alone, confused with twofold guilt. It is therefore as wicked to expose as it is to kill. But truly parricides complain of the scantiness of their means, and allege that they have not enough for bringing up more children; as though, in truth, their means were in the power of those who possess them, or God did not daily make the rich poor, and the poor rich. Wherefore, if any one on account of poverty shall be unable to bring up children, it is better to abstain from marriage than with wicked hands to mar the work of God.

If, then, it is in no way permitted to commit homicide, it is not allowed us to be present at all, lest any bloodshed should overspread the conscience, since that blood is offered for the gratification of the people. And I am inclined to think that the corrupting influence of the stage is still more contaminating. For the subject of comedies are the dishonoring of virgins, or the loves of harlots; and the more eloquent they are who have composed the accounts of these disgraceful actions, the more do they persuade by the elegance of their sentiments; and harmonious and polished verses more readily remain fixed in the memory of the hearers. In like manner, the stories of the tragedians place before the eyes the parricides and incests of wicked kings, and represent tragic crimes. And what other effect do the immodest gestures of the players produce, but both teach and excite lusts? whose enervated bodies, rendered effeminate after the gait and dress of women, imitate unchaste women by their disgraceful gestures. Why should I speak of the actors of mimes, who hold forth instruction in corrupting influences, who teach adulteries while they feign them, and by pretended actions train to those which are true? What can young men or virgins do, when they see that these things are practiced without shame, and willingly beheld by all? They are plainly admonished of what they can do, and are inflamed with lust, which is especially excited by seeing; and every one according to his sex forms himself in these representations. And they approve of these things, while they laugh at them, and with vices clinging to them, they return more corrupted to their apartments; and not boys only, who ought not to be inured to vices prematurely, but also old men, whom it does not become at their age to sin. What else does the practice of the Circensian games contain but levity, vanity, and madness?

For their souls are hurried away to mad excitement with as great impetuosity as that with which the chariot races are there carried on; so that they who come for the sake of beholding the spectacle now themselves exhibit more of a spectacle, when they begin to utter exclamations, to be thrown into transports, and to leap from their seats. Therefore all spectacles ought to be avoided, not only that no vice may settle in our breasts, which ought to be tranquil and peaceful; but that the habitual indulgence of any pleasure may not soothe and captivate us, and turn us aside from God and from good works. For the celebrations of the games are festivals in honor of the gods, inasmuch as they were instituted on account of their birthdays, or the dedication of new temples. And at first the huntings, which are called shows, were in honor of Saturnus, and the scenic games in honor of Liber, but the Circensian in honor of Neptune. By degrees, however, the same honor began to be paid also to the other gods, and separate games were dedicated to their names, as Sisinnius Capita teaches in his book on the games. Therefore, if any one is present at the spectacles to which men assemble for the sake of religion, he has departed from the worship of God, and has be-taken himself to those deities whose birthdays and festivals he has celebrated.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE PLEASURES OF THE EARS, AND OF SACRED LITERATURE

Pleasure of the ears is received from the sweetness of voices and strains, which indeed is as productive of vice as that delight of the eyes of which we have spoken. For who would not deem him luxurious and worthless who should have scenic arts at his house? But it makes no difference whether you practice luxury alone at home, or with the people in the theater. But we have already spoken of spectacles: there remains one thing which is to be overcome by us, that we be not captivated by those things which penetrate to the innermost perception. For all those things which are unconnected with words, that is, pleasant sounds of the air and of strings, may be easily disregarded, because they do not adhere to its, and cannot be written. But a well-composed poem, and a speech beguiling with

its sweetness, captivate the minds of men, and impel them in what direction they please. Hence, when learned men have applied themselves to the religion of God, unless they have been instructed by some skillful teacher, they do not believe. For, being accustomed to sweet and polished speeches or poems, they despise the simple and common language of the sacred writings as mean. For they seek that t which may soothe the senses. But whatever is O pleasant to the ear effects persuasion, and while it delights fixes itself deeply within the breast. Is God, therefore, the contriver both of the mind, and of the voice, and of the tongue, unable to speak eloquently? Yea, rather, with the greatest foresight, He wished those things which are divine to be without adornment, that all might understand the things which He Himself spoke to all.

Therefore he who is anxious for the truth, who does not wish to deceive himself, must lay aside hurtful and injurious pleasures, which would bind the mind to themselves, as pleasant food does the body: true things must be preferred to false, eternal things to those which are of short duration, useful things to those which are pleasant. Let nothing be pleasing to the sight but that which you see to be done with piety and justice; let nothing be agreeable to the hearing but that which nourishes the soul and makes you a better man. And especially this sense ought not to be distorted to vice, since it is given to us for this purpose, that we might gain the knowledge of God. Therefore, if it be a pleasure to hear melodies and songs, let it be pleasant to sing and hear the praises of God. This is true pleasure, which is the attendant and companion of virtue. This is not frail and brief, as those which they desire, who, like cattle, are slaves to the body; but lasting, and affording delight without any intermission. And if any one shall pass its limits, and shall seek nothing else from pleasure but pleasure itself, he designs for himself death; for as there is perpetual life in virtue, so there is death in pleasure. For he who shall choose temporal things will be without things eternal; he who shall prefer earthly things will not have heavenly things.

CHAPTER 22

OF THE PLEASURES OF TASTE AND SMELL

But with regard to the pleasures of taste and smell, which two senses relate only to the body, there is nothing to be discussed by us; unless by chance any one requires us to say that it is disgraceful to a wise and good man if he is the slave of his appetite, if he walks along besmeared with unguents and crowned with flowers: and he who does these things is plainly foolish and senseless, and is worthless, and one whom not even a notion of virtue has reached. Perhaps some one will say, Why, then, have these things been made, except that we may enjoy them? However, it has often been said that there would have been no virtue unless it had things which it might overpower. Therefore God made all things to supply a contest between two things. Those enticements of pleasures, then, are the instruments of that whose only business it is to subdue virtue, and to shut out justice from men. With these soothing influences and enjoyments it captivates their souls; for it knows that pleasure is the contriver of death. For as God calls man to life only through virtue and labor, so the other calls us to death by delights and pleasures; and as men arrive at real good through deceitful evils, so they arrive at real evil through deceitful goods. Therefore those enjoyments are to be guarded against, as snares or nets, lest, captivated by the softness of enjoyments, we should be brought under the dominion of death with the body itself, to which we have enslaved ourselves.

CHAPTER 23

DE TACTUS VOLUPTATE ET LIBIDINE,
ATQUE DE MATRIMONIO ET CONTINENTIA

Venio nunc ad eam, quae percipitur ex tactu, voluptatem: qui sensus est quidem totius corporis. Sed ego non de ornamentis, aut vestibus, sed de sola libidine dicendum mihi puto; qum maxime coercenda est, quia maxime nocet. Cure excogitasset Deus duorum sexuum rationero, attribuit iis, ut se invicem appeterent, et conjunctione gauderent. Itaque ardentissimam

cupiditatem cunctorum animantium corporibus admiscuit, ut in hos affectus avidissime ruerent, eaque ratione propagari et multiplicari genera possent. Quae cupiditas et appetentia in homine vehementior et acrior invenitur; vel quia hominum multitudinem voluit esse majorem, vel quoniam virtutem soli homini dedit, ut esset laus et gloria in coercendis voluptatibus, et abstinentia sui. Seit ergo adversarius ille noster, quanta sit vis hujus cupiditatis, quam quidam necessitatem dicere maluerunt; eamque a recto et bono, ad malum et pravum transfert. Illicita enim desideria immittit, ut aliena contaminent, quibus habere propria sine delicto licet. Objicit quippe oculis irritabiles formas, suggeritque fomenta, et vitiis pabulum subministrat: tum intimis visceribus stimulos omnes conturbat et commovet, et naturalem illum incitat atque inflammat ardorem, donee irretitum hominem implicatumque decipiat. Ac ne quis esset, qui poenarum metu abstineret alieno, lupanaria quoque constituit; et pudorem infelicium mulierum publicavit, ut ludibrio haberet tam eos qui faciunt, quam quas pati necesse est.

His obscoenitatibus animas, ad sanctitatem genitas, velut in coeni gurgite demersit, pudorem extinxit, pudicitiam profligavit. Idem etiam mares maribus admiscuit; et nefandos coitus contra naturam contraque institutum Dei machinatus est: sic imbuit homines, et armavit ad nefas omne. Quid enim potest esse sanctum iis, qui aetatem imbecillam et praesidio indigentem, libidini suae depopulandam foedandamque substraverint? Non potest haec res pro magnitudine sceleris enarrari. Nihil amplius istos appellare possum, quam implos et parricidas, quibus non sufficit sexus a Deo datus, nisi eliare suum profane ac petulanter illudant. Haec tamen apud illos levia, et quasi honesta sunt. Quid dicam de iis, qui abominandam non libidinem, sod insaniam potius exercent! Piget dicere: sed quid his fore credamus, quos non piget facere? et tamen dicendum est, quia fit. De istis loquor, quorum teterrima libido et execrabilis furor ne capiti quidem parcit. Quibus hoc verbis, aut qua indignatione tantum nefas prosequar? Vincit officium linguae sceleris magnitudo. Cum igitur libido haec edat opera, et haec facinora designer, armandi adversus earn virtute maxima sumus. Quisquis affectus illos fraenare non potest, cohibeat eos intra praescriptum legitimi tori, ut et illud, quod avide expetat, consequatur, et tamen in peccatum non incidat. Nam quid sibi homines perditi volunt?

Nempe honesta opera voluptas sequitur: si ipsam per se appetunt, justa et legitima frui licet.

Quod si aliqua necessitas prohibebit tum vero maxima adhibenda virtus erit, ut cupiditati continentia reluctetur. Nec tanturn alienis, quae attingere non licet, veriun etiam publicis vulgatisque corporibus abstinendum, Deus praecepit; docetque nos, cum duo inter se corpora fuerint copulata, unum corpus efficere. Ita qui se coeno immerserit, coeno sit oblitus necesse est; et corpus quidem cito ablui potest: mens autem contagione impudici corporis inquinata non potest, nisi et longo tempore, et multis bonis operibus, ab ea quae inhaeserit colluvione purgari. Oportet ergo sibi quemque proponere, duorum sexuum conjunctionem generandi causa datam esse viventibus, eamque legera his affectibus positam, ut successionera parent. Sicut autem dedit nobis oculos Deus, non ut spectemus, voluptatemque capiamus, sed ut videamus propter eos actus, qui pertinent ad vitae necessitatem, ita genitalem corporis partem, quod nomen ipsum docet, nulla alia causa nisi efficiendae sobolis accepimus. Huic divinae legi summa devotione parendum est. Sint omnes, qui se discipulos Dei profitebuntur, ita morati et instituti, ut imperare sibi possint. Nam qui voluptatibus indulgent, qui libidini obsequuntur, ii animam suam corpori mancipant, ad mortemque condemnant: quia se corpori addixerunt, in quod habet mors potestatem. Unusquisque igitur, quantum potest, formet se ad verecundiam, pudorem colat, castitatem conscientia et mente tueatur; nec tantum legibus publicis pareat: sed sit supra omnes leges, qui legem Dei sequitur. Quibus bonis si assueverit, jam pudebit eum ad deteriora desciscere: modo placeant recta et honesta, quae melioribus jucundiora sunt quam prava et inhonesta pejoribus.

Nondum omnia castitatis officio exsecutus sum: quam Deus fion modo intra privatos parietes, sed etiam praescripto lectuli terminat; ut cum quis hobeat uxorem, neque servam, neque liberam habere insuper velit, sed matrimonio fidem server. Non enim, sicut juris publici ratio est, solo mulier adultera est, quae habet allure, maritus outem, etiam si plures habeat, a crimine adulterii solutus est. Sed divina lex ira duos in matrimonium, quod est in corpus unum, pari jure conjungit, ut adulter habeatur, quisquis compagem corporis in diversa distraxerit. Nec ob aliam cansam Deus, cam caeteras animantes suscepto foetu maribus repugnare voluisset, solam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit; scilicet ne foeminis

repugnantibus, libido cogeret viros aliud appetere, eoque facto, castitatis gloriam non tenerent. Sed neque mulier virtutem pudicitiae caperet, si peccare non posset. Nam quis mutum animal pudicum esse dixerit, quod suscepto foetu mari repugnat? Quod ideo facit, quia necesse est in dolorem atque in periculum veniat, si admiserit. Nulla igitur Iaus est, non facere quod facere non possis. Ideo autem pudicitia in homine laudatur, quia non naturalis est, sed voluntaria. Servanda igitur fides ab utroque alteri est: immo exemplo continentia: docenda uxor, ut se caste gerat. Iniquum est enim, ut id exigas, quod praestare ipse non possis. Quae iniquitas effecit profecto, ut essent adulteria, foeminis aegre ferentibus praestare se fidem non exhibentibus mutuam charitatem. Denique nulla est tam perditi pudoris adultera, quae non hanc causam vitiis suis praetendat; injuriam se peccando non facere, sed referre. Quod optime Quintilianus expressit: Homo, inquit, neque alieni matrimonii abstinens, neque sui custos, quae inter se natura. connexa sunt. Nam neque maritus circa corrumpendas aliorum conjuges occupatus potest vacare domesticae sanctitati; et uxor, cum in tale incidit matrimonium, exemplo ipso concitara, out imitari se putat, out vindicari.

Cavendum igitur, ne occasionem vitiis nostra intemperantia demus: sed assuescant invicem mores duorum, et jugum paribus animis ferant. Nos ipsos in altero cogitemus. Nam fere in hoc justitiae summa consistit, ut non facias alteri, quidquid ipse ab altero pati nolis. Haec sunt quae ad continentiam praecipiuntur a Deo. Sed tamen ne quis divina praecepta circumscribere se putet posse, adduntur ilia, ut omnis calumnia, et occasio fraudis removeatur, adulterum esse, qui a marito dimissam duxerit, et eum qui praeter crimen adulterii uxorem dimiserit, ut alteram ducat; dissociari enim corpus et distrahi Deus noluit. Praeterea non tanturn adulterium esse vitandum, sed etiam cogitationem; ne quis aspiciat alienam, et animo concupiscat: adulteram enim fieri mentem, si vel imaginem voluptatis sibi ipsa depinxerit. Mens est enim profecto quae peccat; quae immoderata: libidinis fructum cogitatione complectitur; in hac crimen est, in hac omne delictum. Nam etsi corpus nulla sit lobe maculatum, non constat tamen pudicitiae ratio, si animus incestus est; nec illibata castitas videri potest, ubi conscientiam cupiditas inquinavit. Nec verb aliquis existimet, difficile esse fraenos imponere voluptati, eamque vagam et errantem castitatis pudicitiaeque limitibus includere, cum propositum sit hominibus etiam

vincere, ac plurimi beatam atque incorruptam corporis integritatem retinuerint, multique sint, qui hoc coelesti genere vitae felicissime perfruantur. Quod quidem Deus non ira fieri praecepit, tanquam astringat, quia generari homines oportet; sed tanquam sinat. Scit enim, quantam his affectibus imposuerit necessitatem. Si quis hoc, inquit, facere potuerit, habebit eximiam incomparabilemque mercedem. Quod continentiae genus quasi fastigium est, omniumque consummatio virtutum. Ad quam si quis eniti atque eluctari potuerit, hunc servum dominus, hunc discipulum magister agnoscet; hic terrain triumphabit, hic erit consimilis Deo, qui virtutem Dei cepit. Haec quidem difficilia videntur; sed de eo loquimur, cui calcatis omnibus terrenis, iter in coelum paratur. Nam quia virtus in Dei agnitione consistit, omnia gravia sunt, dum ignores; ubi cognoveris, facilia: per ipsas difficultates nobis exeundum est, qui ad summum bonum tendimus.

CHAPTER 24

OF REPENTANCE, OF PARDON, AND THE COMMANDS OF GOD

Nor, however, let any one be disheartened, or despair concerning himself, if, overcome by passion, or impelled by desire, or deceived by error, or compelled by force, he has turned aside to the way of unrighteousness. For it is possible for him to be brought back, and to be set free, if he repents of his actions, and, turning to better things, makes satisfaction to God. Cicero, indeed. thought that this was impossible, whose words in the third book of the Academics are: “But if, as in the case of those who have gone astray on a journey, it were permitted those who have followed a devious course to correct their error by repentance, it would be more easy to amend rashness.” It is altogether permitted them. For if we think that our children are corrected when we perceive that they repent of their faults, and though we have disinherited and cast them off, we again receive, cherish, and embrace them, why should we despair that the mercy of God our Father may again be appeased by repentance? Therefore He who is at once the Lord and most indulgent Parent promises that He will remit the sins of the penitent, and that He will blot out all the iniquities of him who

shall begin afresh to practice righteousness. For as the uprightness of his past life is of no avail to him who lives badly, because the subsequent wickedness has destroyed his works of righteousness, so former sins do not stand in the way of him who has amended his life, because the subsequent righteousness has effaced the stain of his former life. For he who repents of that which he has done, understands his former error; and on this account the Greeks better and more significantly speak of metanoia, which we may speak of in Latin as a return to a right understanding. For he returns to a right understanding, and recovers his mind as it were from madness, who is grieved for his error; and he reproves himself of madness, and confirms his mind to a better course of life: then he especially guards against this very thing, that he may not again be led into the same snares. In short, even the dumb animals, when they are ensnared by fraud, if by any means they have extricated themselves so as to escape, become more cautious for the future, and always avoid all those things in which they have perceived wiles and snares. Thus repentance makes a man cautious and diligent to avoid the faults into which he has once fallen through deceit.

For no one can be so prudent and so circumspect as not at some time to slip; and therefore God, knowing our weakness, of His compassion has opened a harbor of refuge for man, that the medicine of repentance might aid this necessity to which our frailty is liable. Therefore, if any one has erred, let him retrace his step, and as soon as possible recover and reform himself.

“But upward to retrace the way,
And pass into the light of day,
Then comes the stress of labor.”

For when men have tasted sweet pleasures to their destruction, they can scarcely be separated from them: they would more easily follow right things if they had not tasted their attractions. But if they tear themselves away from this pernicious slavery, all their error will be forgiven them, if they shall have corrected their error by a better life. And let not any one imagine that he is a gainer if he shall have no witness of his fault: for all things are known to Him in whose sight we live; and if we are able to conceal anything from all men, we cannot conceal it from God, to whom nothing can be hidden, nothing secret. Seneca closed his exhortations with

an admirable sentiment: “There is,” he says,” some great deity, and greater than can be imagined; and for him we endeavor to live. Let us approve ourselves to him. For it is of no avail that conscience is confirmed; we lie open to the sight of God.” What can be spoken with greater truth by him who knew God, than has been said by a man who is ignorant of true religion? For he both expressed the majesty of God, by saying that it is too great for the reflecting powers of the human mind to receive; and he touched upon the very fountain of truth, by perceiving that the life of men is not superfluous, as the Epicureans will have it, but that they make it their endeavor to live to God, if indeed they live with justice and piety. He might have been a true worshipper of God, if any one had pointed out to him God; and he might assuredly have despised Zeno, and his teacher Sotion, if he had obtained a true guide of wisdom. Let us approve ourselves to him, he says. A speech truly heavenly, had it not been preceded by a confession of ignorance. It is of no avail that conscience is confined; we lie open to the sight of God. There is then no room for falsehood, none for dissimulation; for the eyes of men are removed by walls, but the divine power of God cannot be removed by the inward parts from looking through and knowing the entire man. The same writer says, in the first book of the same work: “What are you doing? what are you contriving? what are you hiding? Your guardian follows you; one is withdrawn from you by foreign travel, another by death, another by infirm health; this one adheres to you, and you can never be without him. Why do you choose a secret place, and remove the witness? Suppose that you have succeeded in escaping the notice of all, foolish man! What does it profit you not to have a witness, if you have the witness of your own conscience?

And Tully speaks in a manner no less remarkable concerning conscience and God: “Let him remember,” he says, “that he has God as a witness, that is, as I judge, his own mind, than which God has given nothing more divine to man.” Likewise, in speaking of the just and good man, he says: “Therefore such a man will not dare not merely to do, but even to think, anything which he would not dare to proclaim.” Therefore let us cleanse our conscience, which is open to the eyes of God; and, as the same writer says, “let us always so live as to remember that we shall have to give an account;” and let us reckon that we are looked upon at every moment, not,

as he said, in some theater of the world by men, but from above by Him who is about to be both the judge and also the witness, to whom, when He demands an account of our life, it will not be permitted any one to deny his actions. Therefore it is better either to flee from conscience, or ourselves to open our mind of our own accord, and tearing open our wounds to pour forth destruction; which wounds no one else can heat but He alone who made the lame to walk, restored sight to the blind, cleansed the polluted limbs, and raised the dead. He will quench the ardor of desires, He will root out lusts, He will remove envy, He will mitigate anger. He will give true and lasting health. This remedy should be sought by all, inasmuch as the soul is harassed by greater danger than the body, and a cure should be applied as soon as possible to secret diseases. For if any one has his eyesight clear, all his limbs perfect, and his entire body in the most vigorous health, nevertheless I should not call him sound if he is carried away by anger, swollen and puffed up with pride, the slave of lust, and burning with desires; but I should rather call him sound who does not raise his eyes to the prosperity of another, who does not admire riches, who looks upon another's wife with chaste eye, who covets nothing at all, does not desire that which is another's, envies no one, disdains no one; who is lowly, merciful, bountiful, mild, courteous: peace perpetually dwells in his mind.

That man is sound, he is just, he is perfect. Whoever, therefore, has obeyed all these heavenly precepts, he is a worshipper of the true God, whose sacrifices are gentleness of spirit, and an innocent life, and good actions. And he who exhibits all these qualities offers a sacrifice as often as he performs any good and pious action. For God does not desire the sacrifice of a dumb animal, nor of death and blood, but of man and life. And to this sacrifice there is neither need of sacred boughs, nor of purifications, nor of sods of turf, which things are plainly most vain, but of those things which are put forth from the innermost breast. Therefore, upon the altar of God, which is truly very great, and which is placed in the heart of man, and cannot be defiled with blood, there is placed righteousness, patience, faith, innocence, chastity, and abstinence. This is the truest ceremony, this is that law of God, as it is called by Cicero, illustrious and divine, which always commands things which are right and honorable, and forbids things which are wrong and disgraceful; and he who

obeys this most holy and certain law cannot fail to live justly and lawfully. And I have laid down a few chief points of this law, since I promised that I would speak only of those: things which completed the character of virtue and righteousness. If any one shall wish to comprise all the other parts, let him seek them from the fountain itself, from which that stream flowed to us.

CHAPTER 25

OF SACRIFICE, AND OF AN OFFERING WORTHY OF GOD, AND OF THE FORM OF PRAISING GOD

Now let us speak briefly concerning sacrifice itself. “Ivory,” says Plato, “is not a pure offering to God.” What then? Are embroidered and costly textures? Nay, rather nothing is a pure offering to God which can be corrupted or taken away secretly. But as he saw this, that nothing which was taken from a dead body ought to be offered to a living being, why did he not see that a corporeal offering ought not to be presented to an incorporeal being? How much better and more truly does Seneca speak: “Will you think of God as great and placid, and a friend to be reverenced with gentle majesty, and always at hand? not to be worshipped with the immolation of victims and with much blood — for what pleasure arises from the slaughter of innocent animals? — but with a pure mind and with a good and honorable purpose. Temples are not to be built to Him with stones piled up on high; He is to be consecrated by each man in his own breast.” Therefore, if any one thinks that garments, and jewels, and other things which are esteemed precious, are valued by God, he is altogether ignorant of what God is, since he thinks that those things are pleasing to Him which even a man would be justly praised for despising. What, then, is pure, what is worthy of God, but that which He Himself has demanded in that divine law of His?

There are two things which ought to be offered, the gift and the sacrifice; the gift as a perpetual offering, the sacrifice for a time. But with those who by no means understand the nature of the Divine Being, a gift is anything which is wrought of gold or silver; likewise anything which is woven of purple and silk: a sacrifice is a victim, and as many things as are burnt

upon the altar. But God does not make use either of the one or the other, because He is free from corruption, and that is altogether corruptible. Therefore, in each case, that which is incorporeal must be offered to God, for He accepts this. His offering is innocency of soul; His sacrifice praise and a hymn. For if God is not seen, He ought therefore to be worshipped with things which are not seen. Therefore no other religion is true but that which consists of virtue and justice. But in what manner God deals with the justice of man is easily understood. For if man shall be just, having received immortality, he will serve God for ever. But that men are not born except for justice, both the ancient philosophers and even Cicero suspects. For, discussing the Laws, he says: “But of all things which are discussed by learned men, nothing assuredly is of greater importance than that it should be entirely understood that we are born to justice.” We ought therefore to hold forth I and offer to God that alone for the receiving of which He Himself produced us. But how true this twofold kind of sacrifice is, Trismegistus Hermes is a befitting witness, who agrees with us, that is, with the prophets, whom we follow, as much in fact as in words. He thus spoke concerning justice: “Adore and worship this word, O son.” But the worship of God consists of one thing, not to be wicked. Also in that perfect discourse, when he heard Asclepius inquiring from his son whether it pleased him that incense and other odors for divine sacrifice: were offered to his father, exclaimed: “Speak words of good omen, O Asclepius. For it is the greatest impiety to entertain any such thought concerning that being of pre-eminent goodness. For these things, and things resembling these, are not adapted to Him. For He is full of all things, as many as exist, and He has need of nothing at all. But let us give Him thanks, and adore Him. For His sacrifice consists only of blessing.” And he spoke rightly.

For we ought to sacrifice to God in word; inasmuch as God is the Word, as He Himself confessed. Therefore the chief ceremonial in the worship of God is praise from the mouth of a just man directed towards God. That this, however, may be accepted by God, there is need of humility, and fear, and devotion in the greatest degree, lest any one should chance to place confidence in his integrity and innocence, and thus incur the charge of pride and arrogance, and by this deed lose the recompense of his virtue. But that he may obtain the favor of God, and be free from every stain, let

him always implore the mercy of God, and pray for nothing else but pardon for his sins, even though he has none. If he desires anything else, there is no need of expressing it in word to one who knows what we wish; if anything good shall happen to him, let him give thanks; if any evil, let him make amends, and let him confess that the evil has happened to him on account of his faults; and even in evils let him nothing less give thanks, and make amends in good things, that he may be the same at all times, and be firm, and unchangeable, and unshaken. And let him not suppose that this is to be done by him only in the temple, but at home, and even in his very bed. In short, let him always have God with himself, consecrated in his heart, inasmuch as he himself is a temple of God. But if he has served God, his Father and Lord, with this assiduity, obedience, and devotion, justice is complete and perfect; and he who shall keep this, as we before testified, has obeyed God, and has satisfied the obligations of religion and his own duty.

BOOK 7

OF A HAPPY LIFE

CHAPTER 1

OF THE WORLD, AND THOSE WHO ARE ABOUT TO BELIEVE, AND THOSE WHO ARE NOT; AND IN THIS THE CENSURE OF THE FAITHLESS

It is well: the foundations are laid, as the illustrious orator says. But we have not only laid the foundations, which might be firth and suitable for the support of the work; but we have raised the entire edifice, with great and strong buildings, almost to the summit. There remains, a matter which is much easier, either to cover or adorn it; without which, however, the former works are both useless and displeasing. For of what avail is it, either to be freed from false religions or to understand the true one? Of what avail, either to see the vanity of false wisdom, or to know what is true? Of what avail is it, I say, to defend that heavenly justice? Of what avail to hold the worship of God with great difficulties, which is the greatest virtue, unless the divine reward of everlasting blessedness attends it? Of which subject we must speak in this book, lest all that is gone before should appear vain and unprofitable: if. we should leave this, on account of which they were undertaken, in uncertainty, lest any one should by chance think that such great labors are undertaken in vain; while he distrusts their heavenly reward, which God has appointed for him who shall have despised the present sweet enjoyments of earth in comparison of solitary and unrewarded virtue. Let us satisfy this part of our subject also, both by the testimonies of the sacred writings and also by probable arguments, that it may be equally manifest that future things are to be preferred to those which are present; heavenly things to earthly: and eternal things to those which are temporal: since the rewards of vices are temporal, those of virtues are eternal.

I will therefore set forth the system of the world, that it may easily be understood both when and how it was made by God; which Plato, who discoursed about the making of the world, could neither know nor explain, inasmuch as he was ignorant of the heavenly mystery, which is not learned except by the teaching of prophets and God; and therefore he said that it was created for eternity. Whereas the case is far different, since whatever is of a solid and heavy body, as it received a beginning at some time, so it must needs have an end. For Aristotle, when he did not see how so great a magnitude of things could perish, and wished to escape this objection, said that the world always had existed, and always would exist. He did not at all see, that whatever material thing exists must at some time have had a beginning, and that nothing can exist at all unless it bad a beginning. For when we see that earth, and water, and fire perish, are consumed, and extinguished, which are clearly parts of the world, it is understood that that is altogether mortal the members of which are mortal. Thus it comes to pass, that whatever is liable to destruction must have been produced. But everything which comes within the sight of the eyes must of necessity be material, and capable of dissolution. Therefore Epicurus alone, following the authority of Democritus, spoke truly in this matter, who said that it had a beginning at some time, and that it would at some time perish. Nor, however, was he able to assign any reason, either through what causes or at what time this work of such magnitude should be destroyed. But since God has revealed this to us, and we do not arrive at it by conjectures, but by instruction from heaven, we will carefully teach it, that it may at length be evident to those who are desirous of the truth, that the philosophers did not see nor comprehend the truth; but that they had so slight a knowledge of it, that they by no means perceived from what source that fragrance of wisdom, which was so pleasant and agreeable, breathed upon them.

In the meantime, I think it necessary to admonish those who are about to read this, that depraved and vicious minds, since the acuteness of their mind is blunted by earthly passions, which weigh down all the perceptions and render them weak, will either altogether fail to understand these things which we relate, or, even if they shall understand them, they will dissemble and be unwilling for them to be true: because they are drawn away by vices, and they knowingly favor their own evils, by the

pleasantness of which they are captivated, and they desert the way of virtue, by the bitterness of which they are offended. For they who are inflamed with avarice and a certain insatiable thirst for riches — because, when they have sold or squandered the things in which they delight, they are unable to live in a simple style — undoubtedly prefer that by which they are compelled to renounce their eager desires. Also, they who, urged on by the incitements of lusts, as the poet says,

"Rush into madness and fire,"

say that we bring forward things plainly incredible; because the precepts about self-restraint wound their ears, which restrain them from their pleasures, to which they have given up their soul, together with their body. But those who, swollen with ambition or inflamed with the love of power, have bestowed all their efforts on the acquisition of honors, will not, even if we should bear the sun himself in our hands, believe that teaching which commands them to despise all power and honor, and to live in humility, and in such humility that they may be able to receive an injury, and if they have received one, be unwilling to return it. These are the men who cry out in any way against the truth with closed eyes. But they who are or shall be of sound mind, that is, not so immersed in vices as to be incurable, will both believe these things, and will readily approach them; and whatever things we say, they will appear to them open, and plain, and simple, and that which is chiefly necessary, true and unassailable.

No one favors virtue but he who is able to follow it; but it is not easy for all to follow it: they can do so whom poverty and want have exercised, and made capable of virtue. For if the endurance of evils is virtue, it follows that they are not capable of virtue who have always lived in the enjoyment of good things; because they have never experienced evils, nor can they endure them, through their long-continued use and desire of good things, which alone they know. Thus it comes to pass that the poor and humble, who are unencumbered, more readily believe God than the rich, who are entangled with many hindrances; yea, rather, in chains and fetters they are enslaved to the nod of desire, their mistress, which has ensnared them with inextricable bonds; nor are they able to look up to heaven, since their mind is bent down to the earth, and fixed on the ground. But the way

of virtue does not admit those carrying great burthens. The path is very narrow by which justice leads man to heaven; no one can keep this unless he is unencumbered and lightly equipped. For those wealthy men, who are loaded with many and great burthens, proceed along the way of death, which is very broad, since destruction rules with extended sway. The precepts which God gives for justice, and the things which we bring forward under the teaching of God respecting virtue and the truth, are bitter and as poisons to these. And if they shall dare to oppose these things, they must own themselves to be enemies of virtue and justice. I will now come to the remaining part of the subject, that an end may be put to the work. But this remains, that we should treat of the judgment of God, which will then be established when our Lord shall return to the earth to render to every one either a reward or punishment, according to his desert. Therefore, as we spoke in the fourth book concerning His first advent, so in this book we will relate His second advent, which the Jews also both confess and hope for; but in vain, since He must return to the confusion of those for whose call He had before come. For they who impiously treated Him with violence in His humiliation, will experience Him in His power as a conqueror; and, God requiting them, they will suffer all those things which they read and do not understand; inasmuch as, being polluted with all sins, and moreover sprinkled with the blood of the Holy One, they were devoted to eternal punishment by that very One on whom they laid wicked hands. But we shall have a separate subject against the Jews, in which we shall convict them of error and guilt.

CHAPTER 2

OF THE ERROR OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, AND OF THE DIVINE WISDOM, AND OF THE GOLDEN AGE

Now let us instruct those who are ignorant of the truth. It has been so determined by the arrangement of the Most High God, that this unrighteous age, having run the course of its appointed times, should come to an end; and all wickedness being immediately extinguished, and the souls of the righteous being recalled to a happy life, a quiet, tranquil, peaceful, in short, golden age, as the poets call it, should flourish, under

the rule of God Himself. This was especially the cause of all the errors of the philosophers, that they did not comprehend the system of the world, which comprises the whole of wisdom. But it cannot be comprehended by our own perception and innate intelligence, which they wished to do by themselves without a teacher. Therefore they fell into various and ofttimes contradictory opinions, out of which they had no way of escape,

And they remained fixed in the same mire, as the comic writer says, since their conclusion does not correspond with their assumptions; inasmuch as they had assumed things to be true which could not be affirmed, and proved without the knowledge of the truth and of heavenly things. And this knowledge, as I have often said already, cannot exist in a man unless it is derived from the teaching of God. For if a man is able to understand divine things, he will be able also to perform them; for to understand is, as it were, to follow in their track. But he is not able to do the things which God does, because he is clothed with a mortal body; therefore he cannot even understand those things which God does. And whether this is possible is easy for every one to measure, from the immensity of the divine actions and works. For if you will contemplate the world, with all the things which it contains, you will assuredly understand how much the work of God surpasses the works of men. Thus, as great as is the difference between divine and human works, so great must be the distance between the wisdom of God and man. For because God is incorruptible and immortal, and therefore perfect because He is everlasting, His wisdom also is perfect, as He Himself is; nor can anything oppose it, because God Himself is subject to nothing.

But because man is subject to passion, his wisdom also is subject to error; and as many things hinder the life of man, so that it cannot be perpetual, so also his wisdom must be hindered by many things: so that it is not perfect in entirely perceiving the truth. Therefore there is no human wisdom, if it strives by itself to attain to the conception and knowledge of the truth; inasmuch as the mind of man, being bound up with a frail body, and enclosed in a dark abode, is neither able to wander at large, nor clearly to perceive the truth, the knowledge of which belongs to the divine nature. For His works are known to God alone. But man cannot attain this knowledge by reflection or disputation, but by learning and hearing from Him who alone is able to know and to teach. Therefore Marcus Tullius,

borrowing from Plato the sentiment of Socrates, who said that the time had come for himself to depart from life, but that they before whom he was pleading his cause were still alive, says: Which is better is known to the immortal gods; but I think that no man knows. Wherefore all the sects of philosophers must be far removed from the truth, because they who established them were men; nor can those things have any foundation or firmness which are unsupported by any utterances of divine voices.

CHAPTER 3

OF NATURE, AND OF THE WORLD; AND A CENSURE OF THE STOICS AND EPICUREANS

And since we are speaking of the errors of philosophers, the Stoics divide nature into two parts — the one which effects, the other which affords itself tractable for action. They say that in the former is contained all the power of perception, in the latter the material, and that the one cannot act without the other. How can that which handles and that which is handled be one and the same thing? If any one should say that the potter is the same as the clay, or that the clay is the same as the potter, would he not plainly appear to be mad? But these men comprehend under the one name of nature two things which are most widely different, God and the world, the Maker and the work; and say that the one can do nothing without the other, as though God were mixed up in nature with the world. For sometimes they so mix them together, that God Himself is the mind of the world, and that the world is the body of God; as though the world and God began to exist at the same time, and God did not Himself make the world. And they themselves also confess this at other times, when they say that it was made for the sake of men, and that God could, if He willed it, exist without the world, inasmuch as God is the divine andleternal mind, separate and free from a body. And since they were unable to understand His power and majesty, they mixed Him with the world, that is, with His own work. Whence is that saying of Virgil: —

"A spirit whose celestial flame
Glows in each member of the frame,
And stirs the mighty whole."

What, then, becomes of their own saying, that the world was both made and is governed by the divine providence? For if He made the world, it follows that He existed without the world; if He governs it, it is plain that it is not as the mind governs the body, but as a master rules the house, as a pilot the ship, as a charioteer the chariot. Nor, however, are they mixed with those things which they govern. For if all these things which we see are members of God, then God is rendered insensible by them, since the members are without sensibility, and mortal, since we see that the members are mortal.

I can enumerate how often lands shaken by sudden motions have either opened or sunk down precipitously; how often cities and islands have been overwhelmed by waves, and gone into the deep; marshes have inundated fruitful plains, rivers and pools have been dried up; mountains also have either fallen precipitously, or have been leveled with plains. Many districts, and the foundations of many mountains, are laid waste by latent and internal fire. And this is not enough, if God does not spare His own members, unless it is permitted man also to have some power over the body of God. Seas are built up, mountains are cut down, and the innermost bowels of the earth are dug out to draw forth riches. Why, should I say that we cannot even plough without lacerating the divine body? So that we are at once wicked and impious in doing violence to the members of God. Does God, then, suffer His body to be harassed, and endure to weaken Himself, or permit this to be done by man? Unless by chance that divine intelligence which is mixed with the world, and with all parts of the world, abandoned the first outer aspect of the earth, and plunged itself into the lowest depths, that it might be sensible of no pain from continual laceration. But if this is trifling and absurd, then they themselves were as devoid of intelligence as those are who have not perceived that the divine spirit is everywhere diffused, and that all things are held together by it, not however in such a manner that God, who is incorruptible, should Himself be mixed with heavy and corruptible elements. Therefore that is more correct which they derived from Plato, that the world was made by God, and is also governed by His providence. It was therefore befitting that Plato, and those who held the same opinion, should teach and explain what was the cause, what the reason, for the contriving of so great a work; why or for the sake of whom He made it.

But the Stoics also say the world was made for the sake of men I hear But Epicurus is ignorant on what account or who made men themselves. For Lucretius, when he said that the world was not made by the gods, thus spoke:

> “To say, again, that for the sake of men they have willed to set in order the glorious nature of the world” —

then he introduced: —

> “Is sheer folly. For what advantage can our gratitude bestow on immortal and blessed beings, that for our, sake they should take in hand to administer aught?”

And with good reason. For they brought forward no reason why the human race was created or established by God. It is our business to set forth the mystery of the world and man, of which they, being destitute, were able neither to reach nor see the shrine of truth. Therefore, as I said a little before, when they had assumed that which was true, that is, that the world was made by God, and was made for the sake of men, yet, since their argument failed them in the consequences, they were unable to defend that which they had assumed. In fine, Plato, that he might not make the work of God weak and subject to ruin, said that it would remain for ever. If it was made for the sake of men, and so made as to be eternal, why then are not they on whose account it was made eternal? If they are mortal on account of whom it was made, it must also itself be mortal and subject to dissolution, for it is not of more value than those for whose sake it was made. But if his argument were consistent, he would understand that it must perish because it was made, and that nothing can remain for ever except that which cannot be touched.

But he who says that it was not made for the sake of men has no argument. For if he says that the Creator contrived these works of such magnitude on His own account, why then were we produced? Why do we enjoy the world itself? what means the creation of the human race, and of the other living creatures? why do we intercept the advantages of others? why, in short, do we grow, decrease, and perish? What reason is implied in our production itself? what in our perpetual succession? Doubtless God wished us to be seen, and to frame, as it were, impressions with various

representations of Himself, with which He might delight Himself. Nevertheless, if it were so, He would esteem living creatures as His care, and especially man. to whose command He made all things subject. But with regard to those who say that the world always existed: I omit that point, that itself cannot exist without some beginning, from which they are unable to extricate themselves; but I say this, if the world always existed, it can have no systematic arrangement. For what could arrangement have effected in that which never had a beginning? For before anything is done or arranged, there is need of counsel that it may be determined how it should be done; nor can anything be done without the foresight of a settled plan. Therefore the plan precedes every work. Therefore that which has not been made has no plan. But the world has a plan by which it both exists and is governed; therefore also it was made: if it was made, it will also be destroyed. Let them therefore assign a reason, I if they can, why it was either made in the beginning or will hereafter be destroyed.

And because Epicurus or Democritus was unable to teach this, he said that it was produced of its own accord, the seeds coming together in all directions; and that when these are again resolved, discord and destruction will follow. Therefore he perverted that which he had correctly seen, and by his ignorance of system entirely overthrew the whole system, and reduced the world, and all things which are done in it, to the likeness of a most trifling dream, if no plan exists in human affairs. But since the world and all its parts, as we see, are governed by a wonderful plan; since the framing of the heaven, and the course of the stars and of the heavenly bodies, which is harmonious even in variety itself, the constant and wonderful arrangement of the seasons, the varied fruitfulness of the lands, the level plains, the defenses and heapings up of mountains, the verdure and productiveness of the woods, the most salubrious bursting forth of fountains, the seasonable overflowings of rivers, the rich and abundant flowing in of the sea, the opposite and useful breathing of the winds, and all things, are fixed with the greatest regularity: who is so blind as to think that they were made without a cause, in which a wonderful disposition of most provident arrangement shines forth? If, therefore, nothing at all exists nor is done without a cause; if the providence of the Supreme God is manifest from the disposition of things, His excellency from their greatness, and His power from their government: therefore they are dull

and mad who have said that there is no providence. I should not disapprove if they denied the existence of gods with this object, that they might affirm the existence of one; but when they did it with this intent, that they might say that there is none, he who does not think that they were senseless is himself senseless.

CHAPTER 4

THAT ALL THINGS WERE CREATED FOR SOME USE, EVEN THOSE THINGS WHICH APPEAR EVIL; ON WHAT ACCOUNT MAN ENJOYS REASON IN SO FRAIL A BODY

But we have spoken sufficiently on the subject of providence in the first book. For if it has any existence, as appears from the wonderful nature of its works, it must be that the same providence created man and the other animals. Let us therefore see what reason there was for the creation of the human race, since it is evident, as the Stoics say, that the world was made for the sake of men, although they make no slight error in this very matter, in saying it was not made for the sake of man, but of men. For the naming of one individual comprehends the whole human race. But this arises from the fact that they are ignorant that one man only was made by God, and they think that men were produced in all lands and fields like mushrooms. But Hermes was not ignorant that man was both made by God and after the likeness of God. But I return to my subject. There is nothing, as I imagine, which was made on its own account; but whatever is made at all must necessarily be made for some purpose. For who is there either so senseless or so unconcerned as to attempt to do anything at random, from which he expects no utility, no advantage? He who builds a house does not build it merely for this purpose, that it may be a house, but that it may be inhabited. He who builds a ship does not bestow his labor on this account, only that the ship may be visible, but that men may sail in it. Likewise he who designs and forms any vessel does not do it on this account, that he may only appear to have done it, hut that the vessel when made may contain something necessary for use. In like manner, other things, whatever are made, are plainly not made superfluously, but for some useful purposes.

It is plain, therefore, that the world was made by God, not on account of the world itself; for since it is without sensibility, it neither needs the warmth of the sun, or light, or the breath of the winds, or the moisture of showers, or the nourishment of fruits. But it cannot even be said that God made the world for His own sake, since He can exist without the world, as He did before it was made; and God Himself does not make use of all those things which are contained in it, and which are produced. It is evident, therefore, that the world was constructed for the sake of living beings, since living beings enjoy those things of which it consists; and that these may live and exist, all things necessary for them are supplied at fixed times. Again, that the other living beings were made for the sake of man, is plain from this, that they are subservient to man, and were given for his protection and service; since, whether they are of the earth or of the water, they do not perceive the system of the world as man does. We must here reply to the philosophers, and especially to Cicero, who says: "Why should God, when He made all things on our account, make so large a quantity of snakes and vipers? why should He scatter so many pernicious things by land and by sea?" A very wide subject for discussion, but it must be briefly touched upon, as in passing. Since man is formed of different and opposing elements, soul and body, that is, heaven and earth, that which is slight and that which is perceptible to the senses, that which is eternal and that which is temporal, that which has sensibility and that which is senseless, that which is endued with light and that which is dark, reason itself and necessity require that both good and evil things should be set before man — good things which he may use, and evil things which he may guard against and avoid.

For wisdom has been given to him on this account, that, knowing the nature of good and evil things, he may exercise the force of his reason in seeking the good and avoiding the evil. For because wisdom was not given to the other animals, they were both defended with natural clothing and were armed; but in the place of all these He gave to man that which was most excellent, reason only. Therefore He formed him naked and unarmed, that wisdom might be both his defense and covering. He placed his defense and ornament not without, but within not in the body, but in the heart Unless, therefore, there were evils which he might guard against, and which he might distinguish from good and useful things, wisdom was not

necessary for him. Therefore let Marcus Tullius know that reason was either given to man that he might take fishes on account of his own use, and avoid snakes and vipers for the sake of his own safety; or that good and evil things were set before him on this account, because he had received wisdom, the whole force of which is occupied in distinguishing things good and evil. Great, therefore, and right, and admirable is the force, and reason, and power of man, for whose sake God made the world itself and all things, as many as exist, and gave him so much honor that He set him over all things, since he alone could admire the works of God. Most excellently, therefore, does our Asclepiades, in discussing the providence of the Supreme God in that book which he wrote to me, say: “And on this account any one may with good reason think that the divine providence gave the place nearest to itself to him who was able to understand its arrangement. For that is the sun: who so beholds it as to understand why it is the sun, and what amount of influence it has upon the other parts of the system? this is the heaven, who looks up to it? this is the earth, who inhabits it? this is the sea, who sails upon it? this is fire, who makes use of it?” Therefore the Supreme God did not arrange these things on account of Himself, because He stands in need of nothing, but on account of man, who might fitly make use of them.

CHAPTER 5

OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORLD, AND OF THE CHIEF GOOD

Let us now assign the reason why He made man himself. For if the philosophers bad known this, they would either have maintained those things which they had found to be true, or would not have fallen into the greatest errors. For this is the chief thing; this is the point on which everything turns. And if any one does not possess this, the truth altogether glides away from him. It is this, in short, which causes them to be inconsistent with reason;for if this had shone upon them, if they had known all the mystery of man, the Academy would never have been in entire opposition to their disputations, and to all philosophy. As, therefore, God did not make the world for His own sake, because He does

not stand in need of its advantages, but for the sake of man, who has the use of it, so also He made man himself for His own sake. What advantage is there to God in man, says Epicurus, that He should make him for His own sake? Truly, that there might be one who might understand His works; who might be able both to admire with his understanding, and to express with his voice, the foresight displayed in their arrangement, the order of their creation, the power exerted in their completion. And the sum of all these things is, that he should worship God. For he who understands these things worships Him; he follows Him with due veneration as the Maker of all things, He as his true Father, who measures the excellence of His majesty according to the invention, the commencement, and completion of His works. What more evident argument can be brought forward that God both made the world for the sake of man, and man for His own sake, than that he alone of all living creatures has been so formed that his eyes are directed towards heaven, his face looking towards God, his countenance is in fellowship with his Parent, so that God appears, as it were, with outstretched hand to have raised man from the ground, and to have elevated him to the contemplation of Himself. “What, then,” he says, “does the worship paid by man confer on God, who is blessed, and in want of nothing? Or if He gave such honor to man as to create the world for his sake, to furnish him with wisdom, to make him Lord of all things living, and to love him as a son, why did He make him subject to death and decay? why did He expose the object of His love to all evils? when it was befitting that man should be happy, as though closely connected with God, and everlasting as He is, to the worship and contemplation of whom he was formed.”

Although we have taught these things for the most part in a scattered manner in the former books, nevertheless, since the subject now specially requires it, because we have undertaken to discuss the subject of a happy life, these things are to be explained by us more carefully and fully, that the arrangement made by God, and His work and will, may be known. Though He was always able by His own immortal Spirit to produce innumerable souls, as He produced the angels, to whom there exists immortality without any danger and fear of evils, yet He devised an unspeakable work, in what manner He might create an infinite multitude of souls, which being at first united with frail and feeble bodies, He might

place in the midst between good and evil, that He might set virtue before them composed as they were of both natures; that they might not attain to immortality by a delicate and easy course of life, but might arrive at that unspeakable reward of eternal life with the utmost difficulty and great labors. Therefore, that He might clothe them with limbs which were heavy and liable to injury, since they were unable to exist in the middle void, the weight and gravity of the body sinking downwards, He determined that an abode and dwelling-place should first be built for them. And thus with unspeakable energy and power He contrived the surpassing works of the world; and having suspended the light elements on high, and depressed the heavy ones to the depths below, He strengthened the heavenly things, and established the earthly. It is not necessary at present to follow out each point separately, since we discussed them all together in the second book.

Therefore He placed in the heaven lights, whose regularity, and brightness, and motion, were most suitably proportioned to the advantage of living beings. Moreover, He gave to the earth, which He designed as their dwelling-place, fruitfulness for bringing forth and producing various, things, that by the abundance of fruits and green herbs it might supply nourishment according to the nature and requirements of each kind. Then, when He had completed all things which belonged to the condition of the world, He formed man from the earth itself, which He prepared for him from the beginning as a habitation; that is, He clothed and covered his spirit with an earthly body, that, being compacted of different and opposing materials, he might be susceptible of good and evil; and as the earth itself is fruitful for the bringing forth of grain, so the body of man, which was taken from the earth, received the power of producing offspring, that, inasmuch as he was formed of a fragile substance, and could not exist for ever, when the space of his temporal life was past, he might depart, and by a perpetual succession renew that which he bore, which was frail and feeble. Why, then, did He make him frail and mortal, when He had built the world for his sake? First of all, that an infinite number of living beings might be produced, and that He might fill all the earth with a multitude; in the next place, that He might set before man virtue, that is, endurance of evils and labors, by which he might be able to gain the reward of immortality. For since man consists of two parts, body and soul, of which the one is earthly, the other heavenly, two lives have

been assigned to man: the one temporal, which is appointed for the body; the other everlasting, which belongs to the soul. We received the former at our birth we attain to the latter by striving, that immortality might not exist to man without any difficulty. That earthly one is as the body, and therefore has an end; but this heavenly one is as the soul, and therefore has no limit. We received the first when we were ignorant of it, this second knowingly; for it is given to virtue, not to nature, because God wished that we should procure life for ourselves in life.

For this reason He has given us this present life, that we may either lose that true and eternal life by our vices, or win it by virtue. The chief good is not contained in this bodily life, since, as it was given to us by divine necessity, so it will again be destroyed by divine necessity. Thus that which has an end does not contain the chief good. But the chief good is contained in that spiritual life which we acquire by ourselves, because it cannot contain evil, or have an end; to which subject nature and the system of the body afford an argument. For other animals incline towards the ground, because they are earthly, and are incapable of immortality, which is from heaven; but man is upright and looks towards heaven, because immortality is proposed to him; which, however, does not come, unless it is given to man by God. For otherwise there would be no difference between the just and the unjust, since every man who is born would become immortal. Immortality, then, is not the consequence of nature, but the reward and recompense of virtue. Lastly, man does not immediately upon his birth walk upright, but at first on all fours, because the nature of his body and of this present life is common to us with the dumb animals; afterwards, when his strength is confirmed, he raises himself, and his tongue is loosened so that he speaks plainly, and he ceases to be a dumb animal. And this argument teaches that man is born mortal; but that he afterwards becomes immortal, when he begins to live in conformity with the will of God, that is, to follow righteousness, which is comprised in the worship of God, since God raised man to a view of the heaven and of Himself. And this takes place when man, purified in the heavenly laver, lays aside his infancy together with all the pollution of his past life, and having received an increase of divine vigor, becomes a perfect and complete man.

Therefore, because God has set forth virtue before man, although the soul and the body are connected together, yet they are contrary, and oppose one another. The things which are good for the soul are evil to the body, that is, the avoiding of riches, the prohibiting of pleasures, the contempt of pain and death. In like manner, the things which are good for the body are evil to the soul, that is, desire and lust, by which riches are desired, and the enjoyments of various pleasures, by which the soul is weakened and destroyed? Therefore it is necessary, that the just and wise man should be engaged in all evils, since fortitude is victorious over evils; but the unjust in riches, in honors, in power. For these goods relate to the body, and are earthly; and these men also lead an earthly life, nor are they able to attain to immortality. because they have given themselves up to pleasures which are the enemies of virtue. Therefore this temporal life ought to be subject to that eternal life, as the body is to the soul. Whoever, then, prefers the life of the soul must despise the life of the body; nor will he in any other way be able to strive after that which is highest, unless he shall have despised the things which are lowest. But he who shall have embraced the life of the body, and shall have turned his desires downwards to the earth, is unable to attain to that higher life. But he who prefers to live well for eternity, will live badly for a time, and will be subjected to all troubles and labors as long as he shall be on earth, that he may have divine and heavenly consolation. And he who shall prefer to live well for a time, will live ill to eternity; for he will be condemned by the sentence of God to eternal punishment, be cause he has preferred earthly to heavenly goods. On this account, therefore, God seeks to be worshipped, and to be honored by man as a Father, that he may have virtue and wisdom, which alone produce’ immortality. For because no other but Himself is able to confer that immortality, since He alone possesses it, He will grant to the piety of the man, with which he has honored God, this reward, to be blessed to all eternity, and to be for ever in the presence of God and in the society of God.

N.B. - THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS TO THE END OF THE CHAPTER ARE WANTING IN MANY MSS., AND IT IS VERY DOUBTFUL WHETHER THEY WERE WRITTEN BY LACTANTIUS

Nor can any one shelter himself under the pretext that the fault belongs to Him who made both good and evil. For why did He will that evil should exist if He hated it? Why did He not make good only, that no one might sin, no one commit evil? Although I have explained this in almost all the former books, and have touched upon it, though slightly, above, yet it must be mentioned repeatedly, because the whole matter turns on this point. For there could be no virtue unless He had made contrary things; nor can the power of good be at all manifest, except from a comparison with evil. Thus evil is nothing else but the explanation of good. Therefore if evil is taken away, good must also be taken away. If you shall cut off your left hand or foot, your body will not be entire, nor will life itself remain the same. Thus, for the due adjustment of the framework of the body, the left members are most suitably joined with the right. In like manner, if you make chessmen all alike, no one will play. If you shall give one color only to the circus, no one will think it worth while to be a spectator, all the pleasure of the Circensian games being taken away. For he who first instituted the games was a favorer of one color; but he introduced another as a rival, that there might be a contest, and some partisanship in the spectacle. Thus God, when He was fixing that which was good, and giving virtue, appointed also their contraries, with which they might contend. If an enemy and a fight be wanting, there is no victory. Take away a contest, and even virtue is nothing. How many are the mutual contests of men, and with what various arts are they carried on! No one, however, would be regarded as surpassing in bravery, swiftness, or excellence, if he bad no adversary with whom he might contend. And where victory is wanting, there also glory and the reward of victory must be absent together with it. Therefore, that he might strengthen virtue itself by continual exercise, and might make it perfect from its conflict with evils, He gave both together, because each of the two without the other is unable to retain its force. Therefore there is diversity, on which the whole system of truth depends.

It does not escape my notice what may here be urged in opposition by more skillful persons. If good cannot exist without evil, how do you say

that, before he had offended God, the first man lived in the exercise of good only, or that be will hereafter live in the exercise of good only? This question is to be examined by us, for in the former books I omitted it, that I might here fill up the subject. We have said above that the nature of man is made up of opposing elements; for the body, because it is earth, is capable of being grasped, of temporary duration, senseless, and dark. But the soul, because it is from heaven, is unsubstantial, everlasting, endued with sensibility, and full of luster; and because these qualities are opposed to one another, it follows of necessity that man is subject to good and evil. Good is ascribed to the soul, because it is incapable of dissolution; evil to the body, because it is frail. Since, therefore, the body and the soul are connected and united together, the good and the evil must necessarily hold together; nor can they be separated from one another, unless when they (the body and soul) are separated. Finally, the knowledge of good and of evil was given at the same time to the first man; and when he understood this, he was immediately driven from the holy place in which there is no evil; for when he was conversant with that which was good only, he was ignorant that this itself was good. But after that he had received the knowledge of good and evil, it was now unlawful for him to remain in that place of happiness, and he was banished to this common world, that he might at once experience both of those things with the nature of which he had at once become acquainted. It is plain, therefore, that wisdom has been given to man that he may distinguish good from evil — that he may discriminate between things advantageous and things disadvantageous, between things useful and things useless — that he may have judgment and consideration as to what he ought to guard against, what to desire, what to avoid, and what to follow. Wisdom therefore cannot exist without evil; and that first author of the human race, as long as he was conversant with good only, lived as an infant, ignorant of good and evil. But, indeed, hereafter man must be both wise and happy without any evil; but this cannot take place as long as the soul is clothed with the abode of the body.

But when a separation shall have been made between the body and the soul, then evil will be disunited from good; and as the body perishes and the soul remains, so evil will perish and good be permanent. Then man, having received the garment of immortality, will be wise and free from evil, as God is. He, therefore, who wishes that we should be conversant with

good only, especially desires this, that we should live without the body, in which evil is. But if evil is taken away, either wisdom, as I have said, or the body, will be taken from man; wisdom, that he may be ignorant of evil; the body, that he may not be sensible of it. But now, since man is furnished with wisdom to know, and a body to perceive, God willed that both should exist alike in this life, that virtue and wisdom may be in agreement. Therefore He placed man in the midst, between both, that he might have liberty to follow either good or evil. But He mingled with evil some things which appear good, that is, various and delightful enjoyments, that by the enticements of these He might lead men to the concealed evil. And He likewise mingled with good some things which appear evil — that is, hardships, and miseries, and labors — by the harshness and unpleasantness of which the soul, being offended, might shrink back from the concealed good. But here the office of wisdom is needed, that we may see more with the mind than with the body, which very few are able to do; because while virtue is difficult and rarely to be found, pleasure is common and public. Thus it necessarily happens that the wise man is accounted as a fool, who, while he seeks good things which are not seen, permits those which are seen to slip from his hands; and while he avoids evils which are not seen, runs into evils which are before the eyes; which happens to us when we refuse neither torture nor death in behalf of the faith, since we are driven to the greatest wickedness, so as to betray the faith and deny the true God, and to sacrifice to dead and death-bearing gods. This is the cause why God made man mortal, and made him subject to evils, although he had framed the world for his sake, namely, that he might be capable of virtue, and that his virtue might reward him with immortality. Now virtue, as we have shown, is the worship of the true God.

CHAPTER 6

WHY THE WORLD AND MAN WERE CREATED.
HOW UNPROFITABLE IS THE WORSHIP OF FALSE GODS

Now let us mark the whole argument by a brief definition. The world has been created for this purpose, that we may be born; we are born for this end, that we may acknowledge the Maker of the world and of ourselves —

God; we acknowledge Him for this end, that we may worship Him; we worship Him for this end that we may receive immortality as the reward of our labors, since the worship of God consists of the greatest labors; for this end we are rewarded with immortality, that being made like to the angels, we may serve the Supreme Father and Lord for ever, and may be to all eternity a kingdom to God. This is the sum of all things, this the secret of God, this the mystery of the world, from which they are estranged, who, following present gratification, have devoted themselves to the pursuit of earthly and frail goods, and by means of deadly enjoyments have sunk as it were in mire and mud their souls, which were born for heavenly pursuits.

Let us now, in the next place, inquire whether there is anything reasonable in the worship of these gods; for if they are many, if they are worshipped only on this account by men, that they may afford them riches, victories, honors, and all things, which are of no avail except for the present; if we are produced without cause — if no providence is employed in the production of men — if we are brought forth by chance for ourselves, and for the sake of our own pleasure — if we are nothing after death, — what can be so superfluous, so empty, so vain, as the affairs of man, and the world itself? which, though it is of incredible magnitude, and constructed with such wonderful arrangement, is nevertheless occupied with trifling subjects. For why should the breathings of the winds put the clouds in motion? Why should lightnings shine forth, thunders roar, or showers fall, that the earth may bring forth its increase, and nourish its various productions? Why, in short, should all nature labor that nothing may be wanting of those things by which the life of man is sustained, if it is vain, if we utterly perish, if there is in us nothing of greater advantage to God? But if it is unlawful to be spoken, and is not to be thought possible, that that which you see to be most in accordance with reason was not established on account of some reason of importance, what reason can there be in these errors of depraved religions, and in this persuasion of philosophers, by which they imagine that souls perish? Assuredly there is none; for what have they to say why the gods so regularly supply to men everything in its season? Is it that we may present to them corn and wine, and the odor of incense, and the blood of cattle? Which things cannot be acceptable to the immortals, because they are perishable; nor can they be

of use to beings destitute of bodies, because these things have been given for the use of those possessed of bodies; and yet if they required these things, they could bestow them upon themselves when they wished. Whether, therefore, souls perish or exist for ever, what principle is involved in the worship of the gods, or by whom was the world established? Why, or when, or how long, or how far were men produced, or on what account? Why do they arise, die, succeed one another, are renewed? What do the gods obtain from the worship of those who after death are about to have no existence? What do they perform, what do they promise, What do they threaten, which is worthy of men or of gods? Or if souls remain after death, what do they do or are they about to do respecting them? What need is there to them of a treasure-house of souls? From what source do they themselves arise? How, or why, or whence are they so many? Thus it comes to pass, that if you depart from that sum of things which we comprised above, all system is destroyed, and all things return to nothing.

CHAPTER 7

OF THE VARIETY OF PHILOSOPHERS, AND THEIR TRUTH

And because the philosophers did not comprehend this main point, they were neither able to comprehend truth, although they for the most part both saw and explained those things of which the main point itself consists. But different persons brought forward all these things, and in different ways, not connecting the causes of things, nor the consequences, nor the reasons, so that they might join together and complete that main point which comprises the whole. But it is easy to show that almost the whole truth has been divided by philosophers and sects. For we do not overthrow philosophy, as the Academics are accustomed to do, whose plan was to reply to everything, which is rather to calumniate and mock; but we show that no sect was so much out of the way, and no philosopher so vain, as not to see something of the truth. But while they are mad with the desire of contradicting, while they defend their own arguments even though false, and overthrow those of others even though true, not only has the truth escaped from them, which they pretended that they were

seeking, but they themselves lost it chiefly through their own fault. But if there had been any one to collect together the truth which was dispersed amongst individuals and scattered amongst sects, and to reduce it to a body, he assuredly would not disagree with us. But no one is able to do this, unless he has experience and knowledge of the truth. But to know the truth belongs to him only who has been taught by God. For he cannot in any other way reject the things which are false, or choose and approve of those which are true; but if even by chance he should effect this, he would most surely act the part of the philosopher; and though he could not defend those things by divine testimonies, yet the truth would explain itself by its own light. Wherefore the error of those is incredible, who, when they have approved of any sect, and have devoted themselves to it, condemn all others as false and vain, and arm themselves for battle, neither knowing what they ought to defend nor what to refute; and make attacks everywhere, without distinction, upon all things which are brought forward by those who disagree with them.

On account of these most obstinate contentions of theirs, no philosophy existed which made a nearer approach to the truth, for the whole truth has been comprised by these in separate portions. Plato said that the world was made by God: the prophets speak the same; and the same is apparent from the verses of the Sibyl. They therefore are in error, who have said either that all things were produced of their own accord or from an assemblage of atoms; since so great a world, so adorned and of such magnitude, could neither have been made nor arranged and set in order without some most skillful author, and that very arrangement by which all things are perceived to be kept together and to be governed bespeaks an artificer with a most skillful mind. The Stoics say that the world, and all things which are in it, were made for the sake of men: the sacred writings teach us the same thing. Therefore Democritus was in error, who thought that they were poured forth from the earth like worms, without any author or plan. For the reason of man’s creation belongs to a divine mystery; and because he was unable to know this, he drew down man’s life to nothing. Aristo asserted that men were born to the exercise of virtue; we are also reminded of and learn the same from the prophets. Therefore Aristippus is deceived, who made man subject to pleasure, that is, to evil, as though he were a beast. Pherecydes and Plato contended that

souls were immortal; but this is a peculiar doctrine in our religion. Therefore Dicaearchus was mistaken, together with Democritus, who argued that souls perished with the body and were dissolved, Zeno the Stoic taught that there were infernal regions, and that the abodes of the good were separated from the wicked; and that the former enjoyed peaceful and delightful regions, but that the latter suffered punishment in dark places, and in dreadful abysses of mire: the prophets show the same thing. Therefore Epicurus was mistaken, who thought that that was an invention of the poets, and explained those punishments of the infernal regions, which are spoken of, as happening in this life. Therefore the philosophers touched upon the whole truth, and every secret of our holy religion; but when others denied it, they were unable to defend that which they had found, because the system did not agree with the particulars; nor were they able to reduce to a summary those things which they had perceived to be true, as we have done above.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

The one chief good, therefore, is immortality, for the reception of which we were originally formed and born. To this we direct our course; human nature regards this; to this virtue exalts us. And because we have discovered this good, it remains that we should also speak of immortality itself. The arguments of Plato, although they contribute much to the subject, have little strength to prove and fill up the truth, since he had neither summed up and collected into one the plan of the whole of this great mystery, nor had he comprehended the chief good. For although he perceived the truth respecting the immortality of the soul, yet he did not speak respecting it as though it were the chief good. We, therefore, are able to elicit the truth by more certain signs; for we have not collected it by doubtful surmise, but have known it by divine instruction. Now Plato thus reasoned, that whatever has perception by itself, and always moves, is immortal; for that that which has no beginning of motion is not about to have an end, because it cannot be deserted by itself. But this argument would give eternal existence even to dumb animals, unless he had made a

distinction by the addition of wisdom. He added, therefore, that he might escape this common linking together, that the soul of man could not be otherwise than immortal, since its wonderful skill in invention, its quickness in reflection, and its readiness in perceiving and learning, its memory of the past, and its foresight of the future, and its knowledge of innumerable arts and subjects, which other living creatures do not possess, appear divine and heavenly; because of the soul, which conceives such great things, and contains such great things, no origin can be found on earth, since it has nothing of earthly admixture united with it. But that which is ponderous in man, and liable to dissolution, must be resolved into earth; whereas that which is slight and subtle is incapable of division, and when freed from the abode of the body, as from prison, it flies to the heaven, and to its own nature. This is a brief summary of the tenets of Plato, which are widely and copiously explained in his own writings.

Pythagoras also was previously of the same sentiments, and his teacher Pherecydes, whom Cicero reported to have been the first who discoursed respecting the immortality of the soul. And although all these excelled in eloquence, nevertheless in this contest at least, those who argued against this opinion had no less authority; Dicaearchus first, then Democritus, and lastly Epicurus: so that the matter itself, respecting which they were contending, was called into doubt. Finally, Tullius also having set forth the opinions of all these respecting immortality and death, declared that he did not know what was the truth. “Which of these opinions is true,” he said, “some God may see.” And again he says in another place: “Since each of these opinions had most learned defenders, it cannot be divined what is certainty.” But we have no need of divination, since the divinity itself has laid open to us the truth.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, AND OF VIRTUE

By these arguments, therefore, which neither Plato nor any other invented, the immorality of souls can be proved and perceived: which arguments we will briefly collect, since my discourse hastens on to relate the great judgment of God, which will be celebrated on the earth at the approaching

end of the world. Before all things, since God cannot be seen by man, lest any one should imagine from this circumstance that God does not exist, because He was not seen by mortal eyes, among other wonderful arrangements He also made many things the power of which is manifest, but the substance is not seen, as the voice, smell, the wind, that by the token and example of these things we might perceive God from His power and operation and works, although He did not fall under the notice of our eyes. What is clearer than the voice, or stronger than the wind, or more forcible than smell? Yet these, when they are born through the air and come to our senses, and impel them by their efficacy, are not distinguished by the eyesight, but are perceived by other parts of the body. In like manner, God is not to be perceived by us through the sight or other frail sense; but He is to be beheld by the eyes of the mind, since we see His illustrious and wonderful works. For as to those who have altogether denied the existence of God, I should not only refuse to call them philosophers, but even deny them the name of men, who, with a close resemblance to dumb animals, consisted of body only, discerning nothing with their mind, and referring all things to the bodily senses, who thought that nothing existed but that which they beheld with their eyes. And because they saw that adversity befell the wicked, or prosperity happened to the good, they believed that all things were carried on by fortune, and that the world was established by nature, and not by providence.

Hence they at once fell into the absurdities which necessarily followed such a sentiment. But if there is a God who is incorporeal, invisible, and eternal, therefore it is credible that the soul, since it is not seen, does not perish after its departure from the body; for it is manifest that something exists which perceives and is vigorous, and yet does not come into sight. But, it is said, it is difficult to comprehend with the mind how the soul can retain its perception without those parts of the body in which the office of perception is contained. What about God? Is it easy to comprehend how He is vigorous without a body? But if they believe in the existence of gods who, if they exist, are plainly destitute of bodies, it must be that human souls exist in the same way, since it is perceived from reason itself, and discernment, that there is a certain resemblance in man and God. Finally, that proof which even Marcus Tullius saw is of sufficient strength: that the immortality of the soul may be discerned from the fact that there is no

other animal which has any knowledge of God; and religion is almost the only thing which distinguishes man from the dumb creation. And since this falls to man alone, it assuredly testifies that we may aim at, desire, and cultivate that which is about to be familiar and very near.

Can any one, when he has considered the nature of other animals, which the providence of the Supreme God has made abject, with bodies bending down and prostrated to the earth, so that it may be understood from this that they have no intercourse with heaven, fail to understand that man alone of all animals is heavenly and divine, whose body raised from the ground, elevated countenance, and upright position, goes in quest of its origin, and despising, as it were, the lowliness of the earth, reaches forth to that which is on high, because he perceives that the highest good is to be sought by him in the highest place, and mindful of his condition in which God made him illustrious, looks towards his Maker? And Trismegistus most rightly called this looking a contemplation of God, which has no existence in the dumb animals. Since therefore wisdom, which is given to man alone, is nothing else but the knowledge of God, it is evident that the soul does not perish, nor undergo dissolution, but that it remains for ever, because it seeks after and loves God, who is everlasting, by the impulse of its very nature perceiving either from what source it has sprung, or to what it is about to return. Moreover, it is no slight proof of immortality that man alone makes use of the heavenly element. For, since the nature of the world consists of two elements which are opposed to one another — fire and water — of which the one is assigned to the heaven, the other to the earth, the other living creatures, because they are of the earth and mortal, make use of the element which is earthly and heavy: man alone makes use of fire, which is an element light, rising upward, and heavenly. But those things which are weighty depress to death, and those which are light elevate to life; because life is on high, and death below. And as there cannot be light without fire, so there cannot be life without light. Therefore fire is the element of light and life; from which it is evident that man who uses it is a partaker of an immortal condition, because that which causes life is familiar to him.

The gift of virtue also to man alone is a great proof that souls are immortal. For this will not be in accordance with nature if the soul is extinguished; for it is injurious to this present life. For that earthly life, which we lead in

common with dumb animals, both seeks pleasure, by the varied and agreeable fruits of which it is delighted, and avoids pain, the harshness of which, by its unpleasant sensations, injures the nature of living beings, and endeavors to lead them to death, which dissolves the living being. If, therefore, virtue both prohibits man from those goods which are naturally desired, and impels him to endure evils which are naturally avoided, it follows that virtue is an evil, and opposed to nature; and he must necessarily be judged foolish who pursues it, since he injures himself both by avoiding present goods, and by seeking equally evils, without hope of greater advantage. For when it is permitted us to enjoy the sweetest pleasures, should we not appear to be without sense if we should not prefer to live in lowliness, in want, in contempt and ignominy, or not to live at all, but to be tormented with pain, and to die, when from these evils we should gain nothing to compensate us for the pleasure which we have given up? But if virtue is not an evil, and acts honorably, inasmuch as it despises vicious and shameful pleasures, and bravely, inasmuch as it neither fears pain nor death, that it may discharge its duty, therefore it must obtain some greater good than those things are which it despises. But when death has been undergone, what further good can be hoped for except immortality?

CHAPTER 10

OF VICES AND VIRTUES, AND OF LIFE AND DEATH

Let us now in turn pass on to those things which are opposed to virtue, that from these also the immortality of the soul may be inferred. All vices are for a time; for they are excited for the present. The impetuosity of anger is appeased when vengeance has been taken; the pleasure of the body puts an end to lust; desire is destroyed either by the full enjoyment of the objects which it seeks, or by the excitement of other affections; ambition, when it has gained the honors which it wished for, loses its strength; likewise the other vices are unable to stand their ground and remain, but they are ended by the very enjoyment which they desire. Therefore they withdraw and return. But virtue is perpetual, without any intermission; nor can he who has once taken it up depart from it. or if it

should have any interruption if we can at any time do without it, vices, which always oppose virtue, will return. Therefore it has not been grasped, if it deserts its post, if at any time it withdraws itself. But when it has established for itself a firm abode, it must necessarily be engaged in every act; nor can it faithfully drive away and put to flight vices, unless it shall fortify with a perpetual guard the breast which it inhabits. Therefore the uninterrupted duration of virtue itself shows that the soul of man, if it has received virtue, remains permanent, because virtue is perpetual, and it is the human mind alone which receives virtue. Since, therefore, vices are contrary to virtue, the whole systems must of necessity differ from and be contrary to each other. Because vices are commotions and perturbations of the soul; virtue, on the contrary, is mildness and tranquillity of mind. Because vices are temporary, and of short duration; virtue is perpetual and constant, and always consistent with itself. Because the fruits of vices, that is, pleasures, equally with themselves, are short and temporary, therefore the fruit and reward of virtue are everlasting. Because the advantage of vices is immediate, therefore that of virtue is future.

Thus it happens that in this life there is no reward of virtue, because virtue itself still exists. For as, when vices are completed in their performance, pleasure and their rewards follow; so, when virtue has been ended, its reward follows. But virtue is never ended except by death, since its highest office is in the undergoing of death: therefore the reward of virtue is after death. In fine, Cicero, in his Yusculan Disputations, perceived, though with doubt, that the chief good does not happen to man except after death. “A man will go,” he says, “with confident spirit, if circumstances shall so happen, to death in which we have ascertained that there is either the chief good or no evil.” Death, therefore, does not extinguish man, but admits him to the reward of virtue. But he who has contaminated himself, as the same writer says, with vices and crimes, and has been the slave of pleasure, he truly, being condemned, shall suffer eternal punishment, which the sacred writings call the second death, which is both eternal and full of the severest torments. For as two lives are proposed to man, of which the one belongs to the soul, the other to the body; so also two deaths are proposed, — one relating to the body, which all must undergo according to nature, the other relating to the soul, which is acquired by wickedness and avoided by virtue. As this life is temporary and has fixed limits, because it belongs to

the body; so also death is in like manner temporary and has a fixed end, because it affects the body.

CHAPTER 11

OF THE LAST TIMES, AND OF THE SOUL AND BODY

Therefore, when the times which God has appointed for death shall be completed, death itself shall be ended. And because temporal death follows temporal life, it follows that souls rise again to everlasting life, because temporal death has received an end. Again, as the life of the soul is everlasting, in which it receives the divine and unspeakable fruits of its immortality; also its death must be eternal, in which it suffers perpetual punishments and infinite torments for its faults. Therefore things are in this position, that they who are happy in this life, pertaining to the body and the earth, are about to be miserable for ever, because they have already enjoyed the good things which they preferred, which happens to those who adore false gods and neglect the true God. In the next place, they who, following righteousness, have been miserable, and despised, and poor in this life, and have often been harassed with insults and injuries on account of righteousness itself, because virtue cannot otherwise be attained, are about to be always happy, that since they have already endured evils, they may also enjoy goods. Which plainly happens to those who, having despised gods of the earth and frail goods, follow the heavenly religion of God, whose goods are everlasting, as He Himself who gave them. What shall I say of the works of the body and soul? Do not they show that the soul is not subject to death? For, as to the body, since it is itself frail and mortal, whatever works it contrives are equally perishable. For Tullius says that there is nothing which is wrought by the hands of man which is not at some time reduced to destruction, either through injury caused by men, or through length of time, which is the destroyer of all things.

But truly we see that the productions of the mind are immortal. For as many as, devoting themselves to the contempt of present things, have handed down to memory the monuments of their genius and great deeds, have plainly gained by these an imperishable name for their mind and

virtue. Therefore, if the deeds of the body are mortal for this reason, because the body itself is mortal, it follows that the soul is shown to be immortal from this, because we see that its productions are not mortal. In the same manner also, the desires of the body and of the soul declare that the one is mortal, the other everlasting. For the body desires nothing except what is temporal, that is, food, drink, clothing, rest, and pleasure; and it cannot desire or attain to these very things without the assent and assistance of the soul. But the soul of itself desires many things which do not extend to the duty or enjoyment of the body; and those are not frail, but eternal, as the fame of virtue, as the remembrance of the name. For the soul even in opposition to the body desires the worship of God, which consists in abstinence from desires and lusts, in the enduring of pain, in the contempt of death. From which it is credible that the soul does not perish, but is separated from the body, because the body can do nothing without the soul, but the soul can do many and great things without the body. Why should I mention that those things which are visible to the eyes, and capable of being touched by the hand, cannot be eternal, because they admit of external violence; but those things which neither come under the touch nor tinder the sight, but are apparent only in their force and method and effect, are eternal because they suffer no violence from without? But if the body is mortal on this account, because it is equally open to the sight and to the touch, therefore the soul is immortal for this reason, because it can be neither touched nor seen.

CHAPTER 12

OF THE SOUL AND THE BODY, AND OF THEIR UNION AND SEPARATION AND RETURN

Now let us refute the arguments of those who maintain the opposite opinions, which Lucretius has related in his third book. Since, he says, the soul is born together with the body, it must necessarily die with the body. But the two cases are not similar. For the body is solid, and capable of being grasped both by the eyes and the hand; but the soul is slight, and eluding the touch and sight. The body is formed from the earth, and made firm; the soul has in it nothing concrete, nothing of earthly weight, as Plato

maintained. For it could not have such great force, such great skill, such great rapidity, unless it derived its origin from heaven. The body, therefore, since it is made up of a ponderous and corruptible element, and is tangible and visible, is corrupted and dies; nor is it able to repel violence, because it comes under the sight and under the touch; but the soul, which by its slightness avoids all touch, can be dissolved by no attack. Therefore, although they are joined and connected together from birth, and the one which is formed of earthly material is, as it were, the vessel of the other, which is drawn out from heavenly fineness, when any violence has separated the two, which separation is called death, then each returns into its own nature; that which was of earth is resolved into earth; that which is of heavenly breath remains fixed, and flourishes always, since the divine spirit is everlasting. In fine, the same Lucretius, forgetting what he asserted, and what dogma he defended, wrote these verses: —

> “That also which before was from the earth passes back into the earth, and that which was sent from the borders of ether is carried again by the quarters of heaven.”

But this language was not for him to employ, who contended that souls perished with the bodies; but he was overcome by the truth, and the true system stole upon him unawares. Moreover, that very inference which he draws, that the soul suffers dissolution, that is, that it perishes together with the body, since they are produced together, is both false, and is capable of being turned to the opposite direction. For the body does not perish together with the soul; but when the soul departs it remains entire for many days. and frequently by medical preparations it remains entire for a very long time. For if they both perished together, as they are produced together, the soul would not hastily depart and desert the body, but both would be dispersed alike at one point of time; and the body also, while the breath still remained in it, would dissolve and perish as quickly as the soul departs: yes, truly, the body, being dissolved, the soul would vanish, as moisture poured forth from a broken vessel. For if the earthly and frail body after the departure of the soul does not immediately flow away and waste into earth, from which it has its origin, therefore the soul, which is not frail, endures to eternity, since its origin is eternal. He says, since the understanding increases in boys, and is vigorous in young men, and is lessened in the aged, it is evident that it is mortal. First, the soul is

not the same thing as the mind; for it is one thing that we live, another that we reflect. For it is the mind of those who are asleep which is at rest, not the soul; and in those who are mad, the mind is extinguished, the soul remains; and therefore they are not said to be without a soul, but to be deprived of their mind. Therefore the mind, that is, the understanding, is either increased or lessened according to age. The soul is always in its own condition; and from the time when it receives the power of breathing, it remains the same even to the end, until, being sent forth from the confinement of the body, it flies back to its own abode. In the next place, the soul, although inspired by God, yet, because it is shut up in a dark abode of earthly flesh, does not possess knowledge, which belongs to divinity. Therefore it hears and learns all things, and receives wisdom by learning and hearing; and old age does not lessen wisdom, but increases it, if the age of youth has been passed in virtue; and if excessive old age shall have enfeebled the limbs, it is not the fault of the mind if the sight has vanished, if the tongue has become benumbed, if the hearing has grown deaf, but it is the fault of the body. But, it is said, the memory fails. What wonder, if the mind is oppressed by the ruin of the falling house, and forgets the past, not about to be divine on any other condition than if it shall have escaped the prison in which it is confined?

But the soul, be says, is also subject to pain and grief, and loses its senses through drunkenness, whence it is evidently frail and mortal. On this account, therefore, virtue and wisdom are necessary, that both grief, which is contracted by the suffering and the sight of unworthy objects, may be repelled by fortitude, and that pleasure may be overcome, not only by abstaining from drinking, but also from other things. For if it be destitute of virtue, if it be given up to pleasure, and thus rendered effeminate, it will become subject to death, since virtue, as we have shown, is the contriver of immortality, as pleasure is of death. But death, as I have set forth, does not entirely extinguish and destroy, but visits with eternal torments. For the soul cannot entirely perish, since it received its origin from the Spirit of God, which is eternal. The soul, he says, is sensible even of disease of the body, and suffers forgetfulness of itself; and as it grows ill, so also it is often healed. This is therefore the reason why virtue is especially to be used, that the mind — not the soul — may not be harassed by any pain of the body, or undergo oblivion of itself. And since this has its seat in a

certain part of the body, when any violence of disease has vitiated that part, it is moved from its place; and as though shaken, it departs from its station, about to return when a cure and health shall have remodeled its abode. For, since the soul is united with the body, if it is destitute of virtue, it grows sick by the contagion of the body, and from sharing its frailty the weakness extends to the mind. But when it shall be disunited from the body it will flourish by itself; nor will it now be assailed by any, condition of frailty, because it has laid aside its frail covering. As the eye, he says, when torn out and separated from the body, can see nothing, so also the soul, when separated, can perceive nothing, because it is itself also a part of the body. This is false, and dissimilar to the case supposed; for the soul is not a part of the body, but in the body. As that which is contained in a vessel is not a part of the vessel, and these things which are in a house are not said to be a part of the house; so the mind is not a part of the body, because the body is either the vessel or the receptacle of the soul.

Now, that is a much more empty argument which says that the soul appears to be mortal because it is not quickly sent forth from the body, but gradually unfolds itself from all the members, beginning from the extremity of the feet; as though, if it were eternal, it would burst forth in a single moment of time, which takes place in those who die by the sword. But they who are slain by disease are longer in breathing forth their spirit, so that as the limbs grow cold the soul is breathed forth. For, since it is contained in the material of the blood, as light is in the oil, that material being consumed by the heat of fevers, the extremities of the limbs must grow cold; since the more slender veins are extended into the extremities of the body, and the extreme and smaller streams are dried up when the fountain-spring fails. It must not, however, be supposed that, because the perception of the body fails, the sensibility of the soul is extinguished and perishes. For it is not the soul that becomes senseless when the body fails, but it is the body which becomes senseless when the soul takes its departure, because it draws all sensibility with it. But since the soul by its presence gives sensibility to the body, and causes it to live, it is impossible that it should not live and perceive by itself, since it is in itself both consciousness and life. For as to that which says,

> “But if our mind were immortal, it would not when dying complain so much of its dissolution as it would rejoice in passing abroad and quitting its vesture like a snake,”

I never saw any one who complained of his dissolution in death; but he perhaps had seen some Epicurean philosophizing even in death, and with his latest breath discoursing about his dissolution.

How can it be known whether he feels that he is in a state of dissolution, or that he is being set free from the body, when his tongue grows dumb at his departure? For as long as he perceives and has the power of speech, he is not yet dissolved; when he has suffered dissolution, he is now unable either to perceive or to speak, so that either he is not yet able to complain of his dissolution, or he is no longer able. But, it is said, he understands before he undergoes dissolution, that he must undergo it. Why should I mention that we see many of the dying, not complaining that they are undergoing dissolution, but testifying that they are passing out, and setting forth on their journey and walking? and they signify this by gesture, or if they still are able, they express it also by their voice. From which it is evident that it is not a dissolution which takes place, but a separation; and this shows that the soul continues to exist. Other arguments of the Epicurean system are opposed to Pythagoras, who contends that souls migrate from bodies worn out with old age and death, and gain admission into those which are new and recently born; and that the same souls are always reproduced at one time in a man, at another time in a sheep, at another in a wild beast, at another in a bird; and that they are immortal on this account, because they often change their abodes, consisting of various and dissimilar bodies. And this opinion of a senseless man, since it is ridiculous and more worthy of a stage-player than of a school of philosophy, ought not even to have been refuted seriously; for he who does this appears to be afraid lest any one should believe it. Therefore we must pass by those things which have been discussed in behalf of falsehood against falsehood; it is sufficient to have refuted those things which are against the truth.

CHAPTER 13

OF THE SOUL, AND THE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING ITS ETERNITY

I have made it evident, as I think, that the soul is not subject to dissolution. It remains that I bring forward witnesses by whose authority my arguments may be confirmed. And I will not now allege the testimony of the prophets, whose system and divination consist in this alone, the teaching that man was created for the worship of God. and for receiving immortality from Him; but I will rather bring forward those whom they who reject the truth cannot but believe. Hermes, describing the nature of man, that he might show how he was made by God, introduced this statement: "And the same out of two natures — the immortal and the mortal — made one nature, that of man, making the same partly immortal, and partly mortal; and bringing this, he placed it in the midst, between that nature which was divine and immortal, and that which was mortal and changeable, that seeing all things, he may admire all things." But some one may perhaps reckon him in the number of the philosophers, although he has been placed among the gods, and honored by the Egyptians under the name of Mercury, and may give no more authority to him than to Plato or Pythagoras. Let us therefore seek for greater testimony. A certain Polites asked Apollo of Miletus whether the soul remains after death or goes to dissolution; and he replied in these verses: —

> "As long as the soul is bound by fetters to the body, perceiving corruptible sufferings, it yields to mortal pains; but when, after the wasting of the body, it has found a very swift dissolution of mortality, it is altogether born into the air, never growing old, and it remains always uninjured; for the first-born providence of God made this disposition."

What do the Sibylline poems say? Do they not declare that this is so, when they say that the time Will come when God will judge the living and the dead? — whose authority we will hereafter bring forward. Therefore the opinion entertained by Democritus, and Epicurus, and Dicaearchus concerning the dissolution of the soul is false; and they would not venture

to speak concerning the destruction of souls, in the presence of any magician, who knew that souls are called forth from the lower regions by certain incantations, and that they are at hand, and afford themselves to be seen by human eyes, and speak, and foretell future events; and if they should thus venture, they would be overpowered by the fact itself, and by proofs presented to them. But because they did not comprehend the nature of the soul, which is so subtle that it escapes the eyes of the human mind, they said that it perishes. What of Aristoxenus, who denied that there is any soul at all, even while it lives in the body? But as on the lyre harmonious sound, and the strain which musicians call harmony, is produced by the tightening of the strings, so he thought that the power of perception existed in bodies from the joining together of the vitals, and from the vigor of the limbs; than which nothing can be said more senseless. Truly he had his eyes uninjured, but his heart was blind, with which he did not see that he lived, and had the mind by which he had conceived that very thought. But this has happened to many philosophers, that they did not believe in the existence of any object which is not apparent to the eyes; whereas the sight of the mind ought to be much clearer than that of the body, for perceiving those things the force and nature of which are rather felt than seen.

CHAPTER 14

OF THE FIRST AND LAST TIMES OF THE WORLD

Since we have spoken of the immortality of the soul, it follows that we teach how and when it is given to man; that in this also they may see the errors of their perverseness and folly, who imagine that some mortals have become gods by the decrees and dogmas of mortals; either because they had invented arts, or because they had taught the use of certain productions of the earth, or because they had discovered things useful for the life of men, or because they had slain savage beasts. How far these things were from deserving immortality we have both shown in the former books, and we will now show, that it may be evident that it is righteousness alone which procures for man eternal life, and that it is God alone who bestows the reward of eternal life. For they who are said to

have been immortalized by their merits, inasmuch as they possessed neither righteousness nor any true virtue, did not obtain for themselves immortality, but death by their sins and lusts; nor did they deserve the reward of heaven, but the punishment of hell, which impends over them, together with all their worshippers. And I show that the time of this judgment draws near, that the due reward may be given to the righteous, and the deserved punishment may be inflicted on the wicked.

Plato and many others of the philosophers, since they were ignorant of the origin of all things, and of that primal period at which the world was made, said that many thousands of ages had passed since this beautiful arrangement of the world was completed; and in this they perhaps followed the Chaldeans, who, as Cicero has related in his first book respecting divination, foolishly say that they possess comprised in their memorials four hundred and seventy thousand years; in which matter, because they thought that they could not be convicted, they believed that they were at liberty to speak falsely. But we, whom the Holy Scriptures instruct to the knowledge of the truth, know the beginning and the end of the world, respecting which we will now speak in the end of our work, since we have explained respecting the beginning in the second book. Therefore let the philosophers, who enumerate thousands of ages from the beginning of the world, know that the six thousandth year is not yet completed, and that when this number is completed the consummation must take place, and the condition of human affairs be remodeled for the better, the proof of which must first be related, that the matter itself may be plain. God completed the world and this admirable work of nature in the space of six days, as is contained in the secrets of Holy Scripture, and consecrated the seventh day, on which He had rested from His works. But this is the Sabbath-day, which in the language of the Hebrews received its name from the number, whence the seventh is the legitimate and complete number. For there are seven days, by the revolutions of which in order the circles of years are made up; and there are seven stars which do not set, and seven luminaries which are called planets, whose differing and unequal movements are believed to cause the varieties of circumstances and times.

Therefore, since all the works of God were completed in six days, the world must continue in its present state through six ages, that is, six thousand years. For the great day of God is limited by a circle of a

thousand years, as the prophet shows, who says “In Thy sight, O Lord, a thousand years are as one day.” And as God labored during those six days in creating such great works, so His religion and truth must labor during these six thousand years, while wickedness prevails and bears rule. And again, since God, having finished His works, rested the seventh day and blessed it, at the end of the six thousandth year all wickedness must be abolished from the earth, and righteousness reign for a thousand years; and there must be tranquillity and rest from the labors which the world now has long endured. But how that will come to pass I will explain in its order. We have often said that lesser things and things of small importance are figures and previous shadowings forth of great things; as this day of ours, which is bounded by the rising and the setting of the sun, is a representation of that great clay to which the circuit of a thousand years affixes its limits.

In the same manner also the fashioning of the earthly man held forth to the future the formation of the heavenly people. For as, when all things were completed which were contrived for the use of man, last of all, on the sixth day, He made man also, and introduced him into this world as into a home now carefully prepared; so now on the great sixth day the true man is being formed by the word of God, that is, a holy people is fashioned for righteousness by the doctrine and precepts of God. And as then a mortal and imperfect man was formed from the earth, that he might live a thousand years in this world; so now from this earthly age is formed a perfect man, that being quickened by God, he may bear rule in this same world through a thousand years. But in what manner the consummation will take place, and what end awaits the affairs of men, if any one shall examine the divine writings he will ascertain. But the voices also of prophets of the world, agreeing with the heavenly, announce the end and overthrow of all things after a short time, describing as it were the last old age of the wearied and wasting world. But the things which are said by prophets and seers to be about to happen before that last ending comes upon the world, I will subjoin, being collected and accumulated from all quarters.

CHAPTER 15

OF THE DEVASTATION OF THE WORLD AND CHANGE OF THE EMPIRES

It is contained in the mysteries of the sacred writings, that a prince of the Hebrews, compelled by want of corn, passed into Egypt with all his family and relatives. And when his posterity, remaining long in Egypt, had increased into a great nation, and were oppressed by the heavy and intolerable yoke of slavery, God smote Egypt with an incurable stroke, and freed His people, leading them through the midst of the sea, when, the waves being cut asunder and parted on either side, the people went over on dry ground. And the king of the Egyptians endeavoring to follow them as they fled, the sea returning to its place, he was cut off, with all his people. And this deed so illustrious and so wonderful, although for the present it displayed to men the power of God, was also a foreshadowing and figure of a greater deed, which the same God was about to perform at the last consummation of the times, for He will free His people from the oppressive bondage of the world. But since at that time the people of God were one, and in one nation only, Egypt only was smitten. But now, because the people of God are collected out of all languages, and dwell among all nations, and are oppressed by those hearing rule over them, it must come to pass that all nations, that is, the whole world, be beaten with heavenly stripes, that the righteous people, who are worshippers of God, may be set free. And as then signs were given by which the coming destruction was shown to the Egyptians, so at the last time wonderful prodigies will take place throughout all the elements of the world, by which the impending destruction may be understood by all nations.

Therefore, as the end of this world approaches, the condition of human affairs must undergo a change, and through the prevalence of wickedness become worse; so that now these times of ours, in which iniquity and impiety have increased even to the highest degree, may be judged happy and almost golden in comparison of that incurable evil. For righteousness will so decrease, and impiety, avarice, desire, and lust will so greatly increase, that if there shall then happen to be any good men, they will be a prey to the wicked, and will be harassed on all sides by the unrighteous;

while the wicked alone will be in opulence, but the good will be afflicted in all calumnies and in want. All justice will be confounded, and the laws will be destroyed. No one will then have anything except that which has been gained or defended by the hand: boldness and violence will possess all things. There will be no faith among men, nor peace, nor kindness, nor shame, nor truth; and thus also there will be neither security, nor government, nor any rest from evils. For all the earth will be in a state of tumult; wars will everywhere rage; all nations will he in arms, and will oppose one another; neighboring states will carry on conflicts with each other; and first of all, Egypt will pay the penalties of her foolish superstitions, and will be covered with blood as if with a river. Then the sword will traverse the world, mowing down everything, and laying low all things as a crop. And — my mind dreads to relate it, but I will relate it, because it is about to happen — the cause of this desolation and confusion will be this; because the Roman name, by which the world is now ruled, will be taken away from the earth, and the government return to Asia; and the East will again bear rule, and the West he reduced to servitude. Nor ought it to appear wonderful to any one, if a kingdom rounded with such vastness, and so long increased by so many and such men, and in short strengthened by such great resources, shall nevertheless at some time fall. There is nothing prepared by human strength which cannot equally he destroyed by human strength, since the works of mortals are mortal. Thus also other kingdoms in former times, though they had long flourished, were nevertheless destroyed. For it is related that the Egyptians, and Persians, and Greeks, and Assyrians had the government of the world; and after the destruction of them all, the chief power came to the Romans also. And inasmuch as they excel all other kingdoms in magnitude, with so much greater an overthrow will they fall, because those buildings which are higher than others have more weight for a downfall.

Seneca therefore not unskillfully divided the times of the Roman city by ages. For he said that at first was its infancy under King Romulus, by whom Rome was brought into being, and as it were educated; then its boyhood under the other kings, by whom it was increased and fashioned with more numerous systems of instruction and institutions; but at length, in the reign of Tarquinius, when now it had begun as it were to be grown up, it did not endure slavery; and having thrown off the yoke of a haughty

tyranny, it preferred to obey laws rather than kings; and when its youth was terminated by the end of the Punic war, then at length with confirmed strength it began to be manly. For when Carthage was taken away, which was long its rival in power, it stretched out its hands by land and sea over the whole world, until, having subdued all kings and nations, when the materials for war now failed, it abused its strength, by which it destroyed itself. This was its first old age, when, lacerated by civil wars and oppressed by intestine evil, it again fell back to the government of a single ruler, as it were revolving to a second infancy. For, having lost the liberty which it had defended under the guidance and authority of Brutus, it so grew old, as though it had no strength to support itself, unless it depended on the aid of its rulers. But if these things are so, what remains, except that death follow old age? And that it will so come to pass, the predictions of the prophets briefly announce under the cover of other names, so that no one can easily understand them. Nevertheless the Sibyls openly say that Rome is doomed to perish, and that indeed by the judgment of God, because it held His name in hatred; and being the enemy of righteousness, it destroyed the people who kept the truth. Hystaspes also, who was a very ancient king of the Medes, from whom also the river which is now called Hydaspes received its name, handed down to the memory of posterity a wonderful dream upon the interpretation of a boy who uttered divinations, announcing long before the founding of the Trojan nation, that the Roman empire and name would be taken away from the world.

CHAPTER 16

OF THE DEVASTATION OF THE WORLD, AND ITS PROPHETIC OMENS

But, test any one should think this incredible, I will show how it will come to pass. First, the kingdom will be enlarged, and the chief power, dispersed among many and divided, will be diminished. Then civil discords will perpetually be sown; nor will there be any rest from deadly wars, until ten kings arise at the same time, who will divide the world, not to govern, but to consume it. These, having increased their armies to an immense extent, and having deserted the cultivation of the fields, which is the beginning of

overthrow and disaster, will lay waste and break in pieces and consume all things. Then a most powerful enemy will suddenly arise against him from the extreme boundaries of the northern region, who, having destroyed three of that number who shall then be in possession of Asia, shall be admitted into alliance by the others, and shall be constituted prince of all. He shall harass the world with an intolerable rule; shall mingle things divine and human; shall contrive things impious to relate, and detestable; shall meditate new designs in his breast, that he may establish the government for himself: he will change the laws, and appoint his own; he will contaminate, plunder, spoil, and put to death. And at length, the name being changed and the seat of government being transferred, confusion and the disturbance of mankind will follow. Then, in truth, a detestable and abominable time shall come, in which life shall be pleasant to none of men.

Cities shall be utterly overthrown, and shall perish; not only by fire and the sword, but also by continual earthquakes and overflowings of waters, and by frequent diseases and repeated famines. For the atmosphere will be tainted, and become corrupt and pestilential — at one time by unseasonable rains, at another by barren drought, now by colds, and now by excessive heats. Nor will the earth give its fruit to man: no field, or tree, or vine will produce anything; but after they have given the greatest hope in the blossom, they will fail in the fruit. Fountains also shall be dried up, together with the rivers; so that there shall not be a sufficient supply for drinking; and waters shall be changed into blood or bitterness. On account of these things, beasts shall fail on the land, and birds in the air, and fishes in the sea. Wonderful prodigies also in heaven shall confound the minds of men with the greatest terrors, and the trains of comets, and the darkness of the sun, and the color of the moon, and the gliding of the falling stars. Nor, however, will these things take place in the accustomed manner; but there will suddenly appear stars unknown and unseen by the eyes; the sun will be perpetually darkened, so that there will be scarcely any distinction between the night and the day; the moon will now fail, not for three hours only, but overspread with perpetual blood, will go through extraordinary movements, so that it will not be easy for man to ascertain the courses of the heavenly bodies or the system of the times; for there will either be summer in the winter, or winter in the summer. Then the year will be shortened, and the month diminished, and the day contracted into a short

space; and stars shall fall in great numbers, so that all the heaven will appear dark without any lights. The loftiest mountains also will fall, and be leveled with the plains; the sea will be rendered unnavigable.

And that nothing may be wanting to the evils of men and the earth, the trumpet shall be heard from heaven, which the Sibyl foretells in this manner: —

"The trumpet from heaven shall utter its wailing voice."

And then all shall tremble and quake at that mournful sound. But then, through the anger of God against the men who have not known righteousness, the sword and fire, famine and disease, shall reign; and, above all things, fear always overhanging. Then they shall call upon God, but He will not hear them; death shall be desired, but it will not come; not even shall night give rest to their fear, nor shall sleep approach to their eyes, but anxiety and watchfulness shall consume the souls of men; they shall deplore and lament, and gnash their teeth; they shall congratulate the dead, and bewail the living. Through these and many other evils there shall be desolation on the earth, and the world shall be disfigured and deserted, which is thus expressed in the verses of the Sibyl: —

"The world shall be despoiled of beauty, through the destruction of men."

For the human race will be so consumed, that scarcely the tenth part of men will be left; and from whence a thousand had gone forth, scarcely a hundred will go forth. Of the worshippers of God also, two parts will perish; and the third part, which shall have been proved, will remain.

CHAPTER 17

OF THE FALSE PROPHET, AND THE HARDSHIPS OF THE RIGHTEOUS, AND HIS DESTRUCTION

But I will more plainly set forth the manner in which this happens. When the close of the times draws nigh, a great prophet shall be sent from God to turn men to the knowledge of God, and he shall receive the power of doing wonderful things. Wherever men shall not hear him, he will shut up the heaven, and cause it to withhold its rains; he will turn their water into

blood, and torment them with thirst and hunger; and if any one shall endeavor to injure him, fire, shall come forth out of his mouth, and shall bum that man. By these prodigies and powers he shall turn many to the worship of God; and when his works shall be accomplished, another king shall arise out of Syria, born from an evil spirit, the overthrower and destroyer of the human race, who shall destroy that which is left by the former evil, together with himself. He shall fight against the prophet of God, and shall overcome, and slay him, and shall suffer him to lie unburied; but after the third day he shall come to life again; and while all look on and wonder, he shall be caught up into heaven. But that king will not only be most disgraceful in himself, but he will also be a prophet of lies; and he will constitute and call himself God, and will order himself to be worshipped as the Son of God; and power will be given him to do signs and wonders, by the sight of which he may entice men to adore him. He will command fire to come down from heaven, and the sun to stand and leave his course, and an image to speak; and these things shall be done at his word, — by which miracles many even of the wise shall be enticed by him. Then he will attempt to destroy the temple of God, and persecute the righteous people; and there will be distress and tribulation? such as there never has been from the beginning of the world.

As many as shall believe him and unite themselves to him, shall be marked by him as sheep; but they who shall refuse his mark will either flee to the mountains, or, being seized, will be slain with studied tortures. He will also enwrap righteous men with the books of the prophets, and thus burn them; and power will be given him to desolate the whole earth for forty-two months. That will be the time in which righteousness shall be cast out, and innocence be hated; in which the wicked shall prey upon the good as enemies; neither law, nor order, nor military discipline shall be preserved; no one shall reverence hoary locks, nor recognize the duty of piety, nor pity sex or infancy; all things shall be confounded and mixed together against right, and against the laws of nature. Thus the earth shall be laid waste, as though by one common robbery. When these things shall so happen, then the righteous and the followers of truth shall separate themselves from the wicked, and flee into solitudes. And when he hears of this, the impious king, inflamed with anger, will come with a great army, and bringing up all his forces, will surround all the mountain in which the

righteous shall be situated, that he may seize them. But they, when they shall see themselves to be shut in on all sides and besieged, will call upon God with a loud voice, and implore the aid of heaven; and God shall hear them, and send from heaven a great king to rescue and free them, and destroy all the wicked with fire and sword.

CHAPTER 18

OF THE FORTUNES OF THE WORLD AT THE LAST TIME, AND OF THE THINGS FORETOLD BY THE SOOTHSAYERS

That these things will thus take place, all the prophets have announced from the inspiration of God, and also the soothsayers at the instigation of the demons. For Hystaspes, whom I have named above, having described the iniquity of this last time, says that the pious and faithful, being separated from the wicked, will stretch forth their hands to heaven with weeping and mourning, and will implore the protection of Jupiter: that Jupiter will look to the earth, and hear the voices of men, and will destroy the wicked. All which things are true except one, that he attributed to Jupiter those things which God will do. But that also was withdrawn from the account, not without fraud on the part of the demons, viz., that the Son of God would then be sent, who, having destroyed all the wicked, would set at liberty the pious. Which, however, Hermes did not conceal. For in that book which is entitled the Complete Treatise, after an enumeration of the evils concerning which we have spoken, he added these things: “But when these things thus come to pass, then He who is Lord, and Father, and God, and the Creator of the first and one God, looking upon what is done, and opposing to the disorder His own will, that is, goodness, and recalling the wandering and cleansing wickedness, partly inundating it with much water, and partly burning it with most rapid fire, and sometimes pressing it with wars and pestilences, He brought His world to its ancient state and restored it.” The Sibyls also show that it would not be otherwise than that the Son of God should be sent by His supreme Father, to set free the righteous from the hands of the wicked, and to destroy the unrighteous, together with their cruel tyrants. One of whom thus wrote: —

> “He shall come also, wishing to destroy the city of the blest; and a king sent against him from the gods shall slay all the great kings and chief men: then judgment shall thus come from the Immortal to men.”

Also another Sibyl: —

“And then God shall send a king from the sun,
who shall cause all the earth to cease from disastrous war.”

And again another: —

> “He will take away the intolerable yoke of slavery which is placed on our neck, and he will do away with impious laws and violent chains.”

CHAPTER 19

OF THE ADVENT OF CHRIST TO JUDGMENT, AND OF THE OVERCOMING OF THE FALSE PROPHET

The world therefore being oppressed, since the resources of men shall be insufficient for the overthrow of a tyranny of immense strength, inasmuch as it will press upon the captive world with great armies of robbers; that calamity so great will stand in need of divine assistance. Therefore God, being aroused both by the doubtful danger and by the wretched lamentation of the righteous, will immediately send a deliverer. Then the middle of the heaven shall be laid open in the dead and darkness of the night, that the light of the descending God may be manifest in all the world as lightning: of which the Sibyl spoke in these words: —

“When He shall come, there will be fire
and darkness in the midst of the black night.”

This is the night which is celebrated by us in watchfulness on account of the coming of our King and God: of which night there is a twofold meaning; because in it He then received life when He suffered, and hereafter He is about to receive the kingdom of the world. For He is the Deliverer, and Judge, and Avenger, and King, and God, whom we call Christ, who before He descends will give this sign: There shall suddenly

fall from heaven a sword, that the righteous may know that the leader of the sacred warfare is about to descend; and He shall descend with a company of angels to the middle of the earth, and there shall go before Him an unquenchable fire, and the power of the angels shall deliver into the hands of the just that multitude which has surrounded the mountain, and they shall be slain from the third hour until the evening, and blood shall flow like a torrent; and all his forces being destroyed, the wicked one shall alone escape, and his power shall perish from him.

Now this is he who is called Antichrist; but he shall falsely call himself Christ, and shall fight against the truth, and being overcome shall flee; and shall often renew the war, and often be conquered, until in the fourth battle, all the wicked being slain, subdued, and captured, he shall at length pay the penalty of his crimes. But other princes also and tyrants who have harassed the world, together with him, shall be led in chains to the king; and he shall rebuke them, and reprove them, and upbraid them with their crimes, and condemn them, and consign them to deserved tortures. Thus, wickedness being extinguished and impiety suppressed, the world will be at rest, which having been subject to error and wickedness for so many ages, endured dreadful slavery. No longer shall gods made by the hands be worshipped; but the images being thrust out from their temples and couches, shall be given to the fire, and shall be burnt, together with their wonderful gifts: which also the Sibyl, in accordance with the prophets, announced as about to take place: —

"But mortals shall break in pieces the images and all the wealth."

The Erythraean Sibyl also made the same promise: —

"And the works made by the hand of the gods shall be burnt up."

CHAPTER 20

OF THE JUDGMENT OF CHRIST, OF CHRISTIANS, AND OF THE SOUL

After these things the lower regions shall be opened, and the dead shall rise again, on whom the same King and God shall pass judgment, to whom the

supreme Father shall give the great power both of judging and of reigning. And respecting this judgment and reign, it is thus found in the Erythraean Sibyl: —

> "When this shall receive its fated accomplishment, and the judgment of the immortal God shall now come to mortals, the great judgment shall come upon men, and the beginning."

Then in another: —

> ***"And then the gaping earth shall show a Tartarean chaos; and all kings shall come to the judgment-seat of God."***

And in another place in the same: —

> "Rolling along the heavens, I will open the caverns of the earth; and then I will raise the dead, loosing fate and the sting of death; and afterwards I will call them into judgment, judging the life of pious and impious men."

Not all men, however, shall then be judged by God, but those only who have been exercised in the religion of God. For they who have not known God, since sentence cannot be passed upon them for their acquittal, are already judged and condemned, since the Holy Scriptures testify that the wicked shall not arise to judgment. Therefore they who have known God shall be judged, and their deeds, that is, their evil works, shall be compared and weighed against their good ones: so that if those which are good and just are more and weighty, they may be given to a life of blessedness; but if the evil exceed, they may be condemned to punishment. Here, perhaps, some one will say, If the soul is immortal, how is it represented as capable of suffering, and sensible of punishment? For if it shall be punished on account of its deserts, it is plain that it will be sensible of pain, and even of death. If it is not liable to death, not even to pain, it follows that it is not capable of suffering.

This question or argument is thus met by the Stoics: that the souls of men continue to exist, and are not annihilated by the intervention of death: that the souls, moreover, of those who have been just, being pure, and incapable of suffering, and happy, return to the heavenly abodes from which they had their origin, or are born to some happy plains, where they may enjoy wonderful pleasures; but that the wicked, since they have

defiled themselves with evil I passions, have a kind of middle nature, between that of an immortal and a mortal, and have something of weakness, from the contagion of the flesh; and being enslaved to its desires and lusts, they contract an indelible stain and earthly blot; and when this has become entirely inherent through length of time, souls are given over to its nature, so that, though they cannot altogether be extinguished, inasmuch as they are from God, nevertheless they become liable to torment through the taint of the body, which being burnt in by means of sins, produces a feeling of pain. Which sentiment is thus expressed by the poet: —

“Nay, when at last the life has fled,
And left the body cold and dead,
E’en then there passes not away
The painful heritage of clay:
Full many a long contracted stain
Perforce must linger deep in grain.
So penal sufferings they endure
For ancient crime, to make them pure.”

These things are near to the truth. For the semi, when separated from the body, is, as the same poet says, such as

“No vision of the drowsy night,
No airy current half so light,”

because it is a spirit, and by its very slightness incapable of being perceived, but only by us who are corporeal, but capable of being perceived by God, since it belongs to Him to be able to do all things.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE TORMENTS AND PUNISHMENTS OF SOULS

First of all, therefore, we say that the power of God is so great, that He perceives even incorporeal things, and manages them as He will. For even angels fear God, because they can be chastised by Him in some unspeakable manner; and devils dread Him, because they are tormented and punished by Him. What wonder is it, therefore, if souls, though they are immortal, are nevertheless capable of suffering at the hand of God? For

since they have nothing solid and tangible in themselves, they can suffer no violence from solid and corporeal beings; but because they live in their spirits only, they are capable of being handled by God alone, whose energy and substance is spiritual. But, however, the sacred writings inform us in what manner the wicked are to undergo punishment. For because they have committed sins in their bodies, they will again be clothed with flesh, that they may make atonement in their bodies; and yet it will not be that flesh with which God clothed man, like this our earthly body, but indestructible, and abiding for ever, that it may be able to hold out against tortures and everlasting fire, the nature of which is different from this fire of ours, which we use for the necessary purposes of life, and which is extinguished unless it be sustained by the fuel of some material. But that divine fire always lives by itself, and flourishes without any nourishment; nor has it any smoke mixed with it, but it is pure and liquid, and fluid, after the manner of water. For it is not urged upwards by any force, as our fire, which the taint of the earthly body, by which it is held, and smoke intermingled, compels to leap forth, and to fly upwards to the nature of heaven, with a tremulous movement.

The same divine fire, therefore, with one and the same force and power, will both burn the wicked and will form them again, and will replace as much as it shall consume of their bodies, and will supply itself with eternal nourishment: which the poets transferred to the vulture of Tityus. Thus, without any wasting of bodies, which regain their substance, it will only burn and affect them with a sense of pain. But when He shall have judged the righteous, He will also try them with fire. Then they whose sins shall exceed either in weight or in number, shall be scorched by the fire and burnt: but they whom full justice and maturity of virtue has imbued will not perceive that fire; for they have something of God in themselves which repels and rejects the violence of the flame. So great is the force of innocence, that the flame shrinks from it without doing harm; which has received from God this power, that it burns the wicked, and is under the command of the righteous. Nor, however, let any one imagine that souls are immediately judged. after death. For all are detained in one and a common place of confinement, until the arrival of the time in which the great Judge shall make an investigation of their deserts. Then they whose piety shall have been approved of will receive the reward of immortality;

but they whose sins and crimes shall have been brought to light will not rise again, but will be hidden in the same darkness with the wicked, being destined to certain punishment.

CHAPTER 22

OF THE ERROR OF THE POETS, AND THE RETURN OF THE SOUL FROM THE LOWER REGIONS

Some imagine that these things are figments of the poets, not knowing whence the poets received them, and they say that these things are impossible; and it is no wonder that it so appears to them. For the matter is related by the poets in a manner which is different from the truth; for although they are much more ancient than the historians and orators, and other kinds of writers, yet because they were ignorant of the secret of the divine mystery, and mention of a future resurrection had reached them by an obscure rumor, yet they handed it down, when carelessly and lightly heard, after the manner of a feigned story. And yet they also testified that they did not follow a sure authority, but mere opinion, as Maro, who says,

"What ear has beard let tongue make known."

Although, therefore, they have partly corrupted the secrets of the truth, yet the matter itself is found to be more true, because it partly agrees with the prophets: which is sufficient for us as a proof of the matter. Yet some reason is contained in their error. For when the prophets proclaimed with continual announcements that the Son of God was about to judge the dead, and this announcement did not escape their notice; inasmuch as they supposed that there was no other ruler of heaven but Jupiter, they reported that the son of Jupiter was king in the lower regions, but not Apollo, or Liber, or Mercurius, who are supposed to be gods of heaven, but one who was both mortal and just, either Minos, or Aeacus, or Rhadamanthus. Therefore with poetic license they corrupted that which they had received; or, the opinion being scattered through different mouths and various discourses, changed the truth. For inasmuch as they foretold

that, when a thousand years had been passed in the lower regions, they should again be restored to life, as Maro said: _

"All these, when centuries ten times told
The wheel of destiny have rolled,
The voice divine from far and wide
Calls up to Lethe's river side,
That earthward they may pass once more,
Remembering not the things before,
And with a blind propension yearn
To fleshly bodies to return:"

this matter escaped their notice, that the dead will rise again, not after a thousand years from their death, but that, when again restored to life, they may reign with God a thousand years. For God will come, that, having cleansed the world from all defilement, He may restore the souls of the righteous to their renewed bodies, and raise them to everlasting blessedness. Therefore the other things are true, except the water of oblivion, which they feigned on this account, that no one might make this objection: why, therefore, did they not remember that they were at one time alive, or who they were, or what things they accomplished? But nevertheless it is not thought probable, and the whole matter is rejected, as though licentiously and fabulously invented. But when we affirm the doctrine of the resurrection, and teach that souls will return to another life, not forgetful of themselves, but possessed of the same perception and figure, we are met with this objection: So many ages have now passed; what individual ever arose from the dead, that through. his example we may believe it to be possible? But the resurrection cannot take place while unrighteousness still prevails. For in this world men are slain by violence, by the sword, by ambush, by poisons, and are visited with injuries, with want, with imprisonment, with tortures, and with proscriptions. Add to this that righteousness is hated, that all who wish to follow God are not only held in hatred, but are harassed with all reproaches, and are tormented by manifold kinds of punishments, and are driven to the impious worship of gods made with hands, not by reason or truth, but by dreadful laceration of their bodies.

Ought men therefore to rise again to these same things, or to return to a life in which it is impossible for them to be safe? Since the righteous, then, are so lightly esteemed, and so easily taken away, what can we suppose

would have happened if any one returning from the dead had recovered life by a recovery of his former condition? He would assuredly be taken away from the eyes of men, lest, if he were seen or heard, all men with one accord should leave the gods and betake themselves to the worship and religion of the one God. Therefore it is necessary that the resurrection should take place once only when evil shall have been taken away, since it is befitting that those who have risen again should neither die any more, nor be injured in any way, that they may be able to pass a happy life whose death has been annulled. But the poets, knowing that this life abounds with all evils, introduced the river of oblivion, lest the souls, remembering their labors and evils, should refuse to return to the upper regions; whence Virgil says: —

"O Fatherland can thought conceive
That happy souls this realm would leave,
And seek the upper sky,
With sluggish clay to reunite?
This dreadful longing for the light,
Whence comes it, say, and why?"

For they did not know how or when it must take place; and therefore they supposed that souls were born again, and that they returned afresh to the womb, and went back to infancy. Whence also Plato, while discussing the nature of the soul, says that it may be known from this that souls are immortal and divine, because in boys minds are pliant, and easy of perception, and because they so quickly comprehend the subjects which they learn, that they appear not then to be learning for the first time, but to be recalling them to mind and recollecting them: in which matter the wise man most foolishly believed the poets.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOUL, AND THE PROOFS OF THIS FACT

Therefore they will not be born again, which is impossible, but they will rise again, and be clothed by God with bodies, and will remember their former life, and all its actions; and being placed in the possession of

heavenly goods, and enjoying the pleasure of innumerable resources, they will give thanks to God in His immediate presence, because He has destroyed all evil, and because He has raised them to His kingdom and to perpetual life. Respecting which resurrection the philosophers also attempted to speak as corruptly as the poets. For Pythagoras asserted that souls passed into new bodies; but foolishly, that they passed from men into cattle, and from cattle into men; and that he himself was restored from Euphorbus. Chrysippus says better, whom Cicero speaks of as supporting the portico of the Stoics, who, in the books which he wrote concerning providence, when he was speaking of the renewing of the world, introduced these words: “But since this is so, it is evident that nothing is impossible, and that we, after our death, when certain periods of time have again come round, are restored to this state in which we now are.” But let us return from human to divine things. The Sibyl thus speaks: —

> “For the whole race of mortals is hard to be believed; but when the judgment of the world and of mortals shall now come, which God Himself shall institute, judging the impious and the holy at the same time, then at length He shall send the wicked to darkness in fire. But as many as are holy shall live again on the earth, God giving them at the same time a spirit, and honor, and life.”

But if not only prophets, but even bards, and poets, and philosophers, agree that there will be a resurrection of the dead, let no one ask of us how this is possible: for no reason can be assigned for divine works; but if from the beginning God formed man in some unspeakable manner, we may believe that the old man can be restored by Him who made the new man.

CHAPTER 24

OF THE RENEWED WORLD

Now I will subjoin the rest. Therefore the Son of the most high and mighty God shall come to judge the quick and the dead, as the Sibyl testifies and says: —

> “For then there shall be confusion of mortals throughout the whole earth, when the Almighty Himself shall come on His judgment-seat to judge the souls of the quick and dead, and all the world.”

But He, when He shall have destroyed unrighteousness, and executed His great judgment, and shall have recalled to life the righteous, who have lived from the beginning, will be engaged among men a thousand years, and will rule them with most just command. Which the Sibyl proclaims in another place, as she utters her inspired predictions: —

“Hear me, ye mortals; an everlasting King reigns.”

Then they who shall be alive in their bodies shall not die, but during those thousand years shall produce an infinite multitude, and their offspring shall be holy, and beloved by God; but they who shall be raised from the dead shall preside over the living as judges. But the nations shall not be entirely extinguished, but some shall be left as a victory for God, that they may be the occasion of triumph to the righteous, and may be subjected to perpetual slavery. About the same time also the prince of the devils, who is the contriver of all evils, shall be bound with chains, and shall be imprisoned during the thousand years of the heavenly rule in which righteousness shall reign in the world, so that he may contrive no evil against the people of God. After His coming the righteous shall be collected from all the earth, and the judgment being completed, the sacred city shall be planted in the middle of the earth, in which God Himself the builder may dwell together with the righteous, bearing rule in it. And the Sibyl marks out this city when she says: —

“And the city which God made this He made more brilliant than the stars, and sun, and moon.”

Then that darkness will be taken away from the world with which the heaven will be overspread and darkened, and the moon will receive the brightness of the sun, nor will it be further diminished: but the sun will become seven times brighter than it now is; and the earth will open its fruitfulness, and bring forth most abundant fruits of its own accord; the rocky mountains shall drop with honey; streams of wine shall run down, and rivers flow with milk: in short, the world itself shall rejoice, and all nature exult, being rescued and set free from the dominion of evil and impiety, and guilt and error. Throughout this time beasts shall not be

nourished by blood, nor birds by prey; but all things shall be peaceful and tranquil. Lions and calves shall stand together at the manger, the wolf shall not carry off the sheep, the hound shall not hunt for prey; hawks and eagles shall not injure; the infant shall play with serpents. In short, those things shall then come to pass which the poets spoke of as being done in the reign of Saturnus. Whose error arose from this source, — that the prophets bring forward and speak of many future events as already accomplished. For visions were brought before their eyes by the divine Spirit, and they saw these things, as it were, done and completed in their own sight. And when fame had gradually spread abroad their predictions, since those who were uninstructed in the mysteries of religion did not know why they were spoken, they thought that all those things were already fulfilled in the ancient ages, which evidently could not be accomplished and fulfilled under the reign of a man. But when, after the destruction of impious religions and the suppression of guilt, the earth shall be subject to God, —

> "The sailor himself also shall renounce the sea, nor
> shall the naval pine Barter merchandise; all lands shall produce all things. The ground shall not endure the harrow, nor the vineyard the pruning hook; The sturdy ploughman also shall loose the bulls from the yoke. The plain shall by degrees grow yellow with soft ears of corn, The blushing grape shall hang on the uncultivated brambles, And hard oaks shall distill the dewy honey. Nor shall the wool learn to counterfeit various colors; But the ram himself in the meadows shall change his fleece, Now for a sweetly blushing purple, now for saffron dye; Scarlet of its own accord shall cover the lambs as they feed. The goats of themselves shall bring back home their udders distended with milk; Nor shall the herds dread huge lions."

Which things the poet foretold according to the verses of the Cumaean Sibyl. But the Erythraean thus speaks: —

> "But wolves shall not contend with lambs on the mountains, and lynxes shall eat grass with kids; boars shall feed with calves, and with all flocks; and the carnivorous lion shall eat chaff at the

> manger, and serpents shall sleep with infants deprived of their mothers.”

And in another place, speaking of the fruitfulness of all things: —

> “And then shall God give great joy to men; for the earth, and the trees, and the numberless flocks of the earth shall give to men the true fruit of the vine, and sweet honey, and white milk, and corn, which is the best of all things to mortals.”

And another in the same manner: —

> “The sacred land of the pious only will produce all these things, the stream of honey from the rock and from the fountain, and the milk of ambrosia will flow for all the just.”

Therefore men will live a most tranquil life, abounding with resources, and will reign together with God; and the kings of the nations shall come from the ends of the earth with gifts and offerings, to adore and honor the great King, whose name shall be renowned and venerated by all the nations which shall be trader heaven, and by the kings who shall rule on earth.

CHAPTER 25

OF THE LAST TIMES, AND OF THE CITY OF ROME,

These are the things which are spoken of by the prophets as about to happen hereafter: but I have not considered it necessary to bring forward their testimonies and words, since it would be an endless task; nor would the limits of my book receive so great a multitude of subjects, since so many with one breath speak similar things; and at the same time, lest weariness should be occasioned to the readers if I should heap together things collected and transferred froth all; moreover, that I might confirm those very things which I said, not by my own writings, but in an especial manner by the writings of others, and might show that not only among us, but even with those very persons who revile us, the truth is preserved, which they refuse to acknowledge. But he who wishes to know these things more accurately may draw from the fountain itself, and he will know more things worthy of admiration than we have comprised in these

books. Perhaps some one may now ask when these things of which we have spoken are about to come to pass? I have already shown above, that when six thousand years shall be completed this change must take place, and that the last day of the extreme conclusion is now drawing near. It is permitted us to know respecting the signs, which are spoken by the prophets, for they foretold signs by which the consummation of the times is to be expected by us from day to day, and to be feared. When, however, this amount will be completed, those teach, who have written respecting the times, collecting them from the sacred writings and from various histories, how great is the number of years from the beginning of the world. And although they vary, and the amount of the number as reckoned by them differs considerably, yet all expectation does not exceed the limit of two hundred years. The subject itself declares that the fall and ruin of the world will shortly take place; except that while the city of Rome remains it appears that nothing of this kind is to be feared. But when that capital of the world shall have fallen, and shall have begun to be a street, which the Sibyls say shall come to pass, who can doubt that the end has now arrived to the affairs of men and the whole world? It is that city, that only, which still sustains all things; and the God of heaven is to be entreated by us and implored — if, indeed, His arrangements and decrees can be delayed — lest, sooner than we think for, that detestable tyrant should come who will trader-take so great a deed, and dig out that eye, by the destruction of which the world itself is about to fall. Now let us return, to set forth the other things which are then about to follow.

CHAPTER 26

OF THE LOOSING OF THE DEVIL, AND OF THE SECOND AND GREATEST JUDGEMENT

We have said, a little before, that it will come to pass at the commencement of the sacred reign, that the prince of the devils will be bound by God. But he also, when the thousand years of the kingdom, that is, seven thousand of the world, shall begin to be ended, will be loosed afresh, and being sent forth from prison, will go forth and assemble all the nations, which shall then be trader the dominion of the righteous, that they

may make war against the holy city; and there shall be collected together from all the world an innumerable company of the nations, and shall besiege and surround the city. Then the last anger of God shall come upon the nations, and shall utterly destroy them; and first He shall shake the earth most violently, and by its motion the mountains of Syria shall be rent, and the hills shall sink down precipitously, and the walls of all cities shall fall, and God shall cause the sun to stand, so that he set not for three days, and shall set it on fire; and excessive heat and great burning shall descend upon the hostile and impious people, and showers of brimstone, and hailstones, and drops of fire; and their spirits shall melt through the heat, and their bodies shall be bruised by the hail, and they shall smite one another with the sword. The mountains shall be filled with carcasses, and the plains shall be covered with bones; but the people of God during those three days shall be concealed under caves of the earth, until the anger of God against the nations and the last judgment shall be ended.

Then the righteous shall go forth from their hiding-places, and shall find all things covered with carcasses and bones. But the whole race of the wicked shall utterly perish; and there shall no longer be any nation in this world, but the nation of God alone. Then for seven continuous years the woods shall be untouched, nor shall timber be cut from the mountains, but the arms of the nations shall be burnt; and now there shall be no war, but peace and everlasting rest. But when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded together, and the earth shall be changed, and God shall transform men into the similitude of angels, and they shall be white as snow; and they shall always be employed in the sight of the Almighty, and shall make offerings to their Lord, and serve Him for ever. At the same time shall take place that second and public resurrection of all, in which the unrighteous shall be raised to everlasting punishments. These are they who have worshipped the works of their own hands, who have either been ignorant of, or have denied the Lord and Parent of the world. But their Lord with his servants shall be seized and condemned to punishment, together with whom all the band of the wicked, in accordance with their deeds, shall be burnt for ever with perpetual fire in the sight of angels and the righteous.

This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom, which they who worship frail objects, or maintain an empty philosophy, deride as folly and vanity, because we are not accustomed to defend and assert it in public, since God orders us in quietness and silence to hide His secret, and to keep it within our own conscience; and not to strive with obstinate contention against those who are ignorant of the truth, and who rigorously assail God and His religion not for the sake of learning, but of censuring and jeering. For a mystery ought to be most faithfully concealed and covered, especially by us, who bear the name of faith. But they accuse this silence of ours, as though it were the result of an evil conscience; whence also they invent some detestable things respecting those who are holy and blameless, and willingly believe their own inventions.

The address to Constantine is wanting in some mss. and editions, but is inserted in the text by Migne, as found in some important mss., and as in accordance with the style aqnd spirit of Lactantius.

But all fictions have now been hushed, most holy Emperor, since the time when the great God raised thee up for the restoration of the house of justice, and for the protection of the human race; for while thou rulest the Roman state, we worshippers of God are no more regarded as accursed and impious. Since the truth now comes forth from obscurity, and is brought into light, we are not censured as unrighteous who endeavor to perform the works of righteousness. No one any longer reproaches us with the name of God. None of us, who are alone of all men religious, is any more called irreligious; since despising the images of the dead, we worship the living and true God. The providence of the supreme Deity has raised thee to the imperial dignity, that thou mightest be able with true piety to rescind the injurious decrees of others, to correct faults, to provide with a father’s clemency for the safety of men, — in short, to remove the wicked from the state, whom being cast down by pre-eminent piety, God has delivered into your hands, that it might be evident to all in what true majesty consists.

For they who wished to take away the worship of the heavenly and matchless God, that they might defend impious superstitions, lie in ruin. But thou, who defendest and lovest His name, excelling in virtue and

prosperity, enjoyest thy immortal glories with the greatest happiness. They suffer and have suffered the punishment of their guilt. The powerful right hand of God protects thee from all dangers; He bestows on thee a quiet and tranquil reign, with the highest congratulations of all men. And not undeservedly has the Lord and Ruler of the world chosen thee in preference to all others, by whom He might renew His holy religion, since thou alone didst exist of all, who mightest afford a surpassing example of virtue and holiness: in which thou mightest not only equal, but also, which is a very great matter, excel the glory of ancient princes, whom nevertheless fame reckons among the good. They indeed perhaps by nature only resembled the righteous. For he who is ignorant of God, the Ruler of the universe, may attain to a resemblance of righteousness, but he cannot attain to righteousness itself. But thou, both by the innate sanctity of thy character, and by thy acknowledgment of the truth and of God in every action, dost fully perform the works of righteousness. It was therefore befitting that, in arranging the condition of the human race, the Deity should make use of thy authority and service. Whom we supplicate with daily prayers, that He may especially guard thee whom He has wished to be the guardian of the world: then that He may inspire thee with a disposition by which thou mayest always continue in the love of the divine name. For this is serviceable to all, both to thee for happiness, and to others for repose.

CHAPTER 27

AN ENCOURAGEMENT AND CONFIRMATION OF THE PIOUS

Since we have completed the seven courses of the work which we undertook, and have advanced to the goal, it remains that we exhort all to undertake wisdom together with true religion, the strength and office of which depends on this, that, despising earthly things, and laying aside the errors by which we were formerly held while we served frail things, and desired frail things, we may be directed to the eternal rewards of the heavenly treasure. And that we may obtain these, the alluring pleasures of the present life must as soon as possible be laid aside, which soothe the souls of men with pernicious sweetness. How great a happiness must it be

thought, to be withdrawn from these stains of the earth, and to go to that most just Judge and indulgent Father, who in the place of labors gives rest, in the place of death life, in the place of darkness brightness, and in the place of short and earthly goods, gives those which are eternal and heavenly: with which reward the hardships and miseries which we endure in this world, in accomplishing the works of righteousness, can in no way be compared and equaled. Therefore, if we wish to be wise and happy, not only must those sayings of Terence be reflected upon and proposed to us,

"That we must ever grind at the mill, we must be beaten, and put in fetters;"

but things much more dreadful than these must be endured, namely, the prison, chains, and tortures: pains must be undergone, in short, death itself must be undertaken and born, when it is clear to our conscience that that frail pleasure will not be without punishment, nor virtue without a divine reward. All, therefore, ought to endeavor either to direct themselves to the right way as soon as possible, or, having undertaken and exercised virtues, and having patiently performed the labors of this life, to deserve to have God as their comforter. For our Father and Lord, who built and strengthened the heaven, who placed in it the sun, with the other heavenly bodies, who by His power weighed the earth and fenced it with mountains, surrounded it with the sea, and divided it with rivers, and who made and completed out of nothing whatever there is in this workmanship of the world; having observed the errors of men, sent a Guide, who might open to us the way of righteousness: let us all follow Him, let us hear Him, let us obey Him with the greatest devotedness, since He alone, as Lucretius says,

> "Cleansed men's breasts with truth-telling precepts, and fixed a limit to lust and fear, and explained what was the chief good which we all strive to reach, and pointed out the road by which, along a narrow track, we might arrive at it in a straightforward course."

And not only pointed it out, but also went before us in it, that no one might dread the path of virtue on account of its difficulty. Let the way of destruction and deceit, if it is possible, be deserted, in which death is concealed, being covered by the attractions of pleasure.

And the more nearly each one, as his years incline to old age, sees to be the approach of that day in which he must depart from this life, let him reflect how he may leave it in purity, how he may come to the Judge in innocency; not as they do, to whose dark minds the light is denied who, when the strength of their body now fails, are admonished in this of the last pressing necessity, that they should with greater eagerness and ardor apply themselves to the satisfying of their lusts. From which abyss let everyone free himself while it is permitted him, while the opportunity is present, and let him turn himself to God with his whole mind, that he may without anxiety await that day, in which God, the Ruler and Lord of the world, shall judge the deeds and thoughts of each. Whatever things are here desired, let him not only neglect, but also avoid them, and let him judge that his soul is of greater value than those deceitful goods, the possession of which is uncertain and transitory; for they take their departure every clay, and they go forth much more quickly than they had entered, and if it is permitted us to enjoy them even to the last, they must still, without doubt, be left to others. We can take nothing with us, except a well and innocently spent life. That man will appear before God with abundant resources, that man will appear in opulence, to whom there shall belong self-restraint, mercy, patience, love, and faith. This is our inheritance, which can neither be taken away from any one, nor transferred to another. And who is there who would wish to provide and acquire for himself these goods?

Let those who are hungry come, that being fed with heavenly food, they may lay aside their lasting hunger; let those who are athirst come, that they may with full mouth draw forth the water of salvation from an ever-flowing fountain. By this divine food and drink the blind shall both see, and the deaf hear, and the dumb speak, and the lame walk, and the foolish shall be wise, and the sick shall be strong, and the dead shall come to life again. For whoever by his virtue has trampled upon the corruptions of the earth, the supreme and truthful arbiter will raise him to life and to perpetual light. Let no one trust in riches, no one in badges of authority,

no one even in royal power: these things do not make a man immortal. For whosoever shall cast away the conduct becoming a man, and, following present things, shall prostrate himself upon the ground, will be punished as a deserter from his Lord, his commander, and his Father. Let us

therefore apply ourselves to righteousness, which will alone, as an inseparable companion, lead us to God; and "while a spirit rules these limbs," let us serve God with unwearied service, let us keep our posts and watches, let us boldly engage with the enemy whom we know, that victorious and triumphant over our conquered adversary, we may obtain from the Lord that reward of valor which He Himself has promised.

GENERAL NOTE

FOR remarks on the dubious passages which bear upon that of p. 221, *supra*, see the *General Note* suffixed to the tractate on the *Workmanship of God*, p. 300, *Infra*.

THE EPITOME OF THE DIVINE INSTITUTES

ADDRESSED TO HIS BROTHER PENTADIUS

THE PREFACE

THE PLAN AND PURPORT OF THE WHOLE EPITOME, AND OF THE INSTITUTIONS

ALTHOUGH the books of the Divine Institutions which we wrote a long time since to illustrate the truth and religion, may so prepare and mold the minds of the readers, that their length may not produce disgust, nor their copiousness be burthensome; nevertheless you desire, O brother Pentadius, that an epitome of them should be made for you, I suppose for this reason, that I may write something to you, and that your name may be rendered famous by my work, such as it is. I will comply with your desire, although it seems a difficult matter to comprise within the compass of one book those things which have been treated of in seven large volumes. For the whole matter becomes less full when so great a multitude of subjects is to be compressed within a narrow space; and it becomes less clear by its very brevity, especially since many arguments and examples, on which the elucidation of the proofs depends, must of necessity be omitted, since their copiousness is so great, that even by themselves they are enough to make up a book. And when these are removed, what can appear useful, what plain? But I will strive as much as the subject permits, both to contract that which is diffuse and to shorten that which is long; in such a manner, however, that in this work, in which truth is to be brought to light, matter may not seem to be wanting for copiousness, nor clearness for understanding it.

CHAPTER 1

OF THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE

First a question arises: Whether there is any providence which made or governs the world? That there is, no one doubts, since of almost all the philosophers, except the school of Epicurus, there is but one voice and one opinion, that the world could not have been made without a contriver, and that it cannot exist without a ruler. Therefore Epicurus is refuted not only by the most learned men, but also by the testimonies and perceptions of all mortals. For who can doubt respecting a providence, when he sees that the heavens and the earth have been so arranged and that all things have been so regulated, that they might be most befittingly adapted, not only to wonderful beauty and adornment, but also to the use of men, and the convenience of the other living creatures? That, therefore, which exists in accordance with a plan, cannot have had its beginning without a plan: thus it is certain that there is a providence.

CHAPTER 2

THAT THERE IS BUT ONE GOD, AND THAT THERE CANNOT BE MORE

Another question follows: Whether there be one God or more? And this indeed contains much ambiguity. For not only do individuals differ among themselves, but also peoples and nations. But he who shall follow the guidance of reason will understand that there cannot be a Lord except one, nor a Father except one. For if God, who made all things, is also Lord and Father, He must be one only, so that the same may be the head and source of all things. Nor is it possible for the world to exist unless all things be referred to one person, unless one hold the rudder, unless one guide the reins, and, as it were, one mind direct all the members of the body. If there are many kings in a swarm of bees, they will perish or be scattered abroad, while

"Discord attacks the kings with great commotion."

If there are several leaders in a herd, they will contend until one gains the mastery. If there are many commanders in an army, the soldiers cannot obey, since different commands are given; nor can unity be maintained by themselves, since each consults his own interests according to his humors. Thus, in this commonwealth of the world, unless there were one ruler, who was also its founder, either this mass would be dissolved, or it could not have been put together at all.

Moreover, the whole authority, could not exist in many deities, since they separately maintain their own duties and their own prerogatives. No one, therefore, of them can be called omnipotent, which is the true title of God, since he will be able to accomplish that only which depends upon himself, and will not venture to attempt that which depends upon others. Vulcan will not claim for himself water, nor Neptune fire; nor will Ceres claim acquaintance with the arts, nor Minerva with fruits; nor will Mercury lay claim to arms, nor Mars to the lyre; Jupiter will not claim medicine, nor Aesculapius the thunderbolt: he will more easily endure it when thrown by another, than he will brandish it himself. If, therefore, individuals cannot do all things, they have less strength and less power; but he is to be regarded as God who can accomplish the whole, and not he who can only accomplish the smallest part of the whole.

CHAPTER 3

THE TESTIMONIES OF THE POETS CONCERNING THE ONE GOD

There is, then, one God, perfect, eternal, incorruptible, incapable of suffering, subject to no circumstance or power, Himself possessing all things, ruling all things, whom the human mind can neither estimate in thought nor mortal tongue describe in speech. For He is too elevated and great to be conceived by the thought, or expressed by the language of man. In short, not to speak of the prophets, the preachers of the one God, poets also, and philosophers, and inspired women, utter their testimony to the unity of God. Orpheus speaks of the surpassing God who made the heaven and the sun, with the other heavenly bodies; who made the earth and the seas. Also our own Maro calls the Supreme God at one time a

spirit, at another time a mind, and says that it, as though infused into limbs, puts in motion the body of the whole world; also, that God permeates the heights of heaven, the tracts of the sea and lands, and that all living creatures derive their life from Him. Even Ovid was not ignorant that the world was prepared by God, whom he sometimes calls the framer of all things, sometimes the fabricator of the world.

CHAPTER 4

THE TESTIMONIES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS TO THE UNITY OF GOD

But let us come to the philosophers, whose authority is regarded as more certain than that of the poets. Plato asserts His monarchy, saying that there is but one God, by whom the world was prepared and completed with wonderful order. Aristotle, his disciple, admits that there is one mind which presides over the world. Antisthenes says that there is one who is God by nature, the governor of the whole system. It would be a long task to recount the statements which have been made respecting the Supreme God, either by Thales, or by Pythagoras and Anaximenes before him, or afterwards by the Stoics Cleanthes and Chrysippus and Zeno, or of our countrymen, by Seneca following the Stoics, and by Tullius himself, since all these attempted to define the being of God, and affirmed that the world is ruled by Him alone, and that He is not subject to any nature, since all nature derives its origin from Him.

Hermes, who, on account of his virtue and his knowledge of many arts, deserved the name of Trismegistus, who preceded the philosophers in the antiquity of his doctrine, and who is reverenced by the Egyptians as a God, in asserting the majesty of the one God with infinite praises, calls Him Lord and Father. and says that He is without a name because He does not stand in need of a proper name, inasmuch as He is alone, and that He has no parents, since He exists of Himself and by Himself. In writing to his son he thus begins: To understand God is difficult, to describe Him in speech is impossible, even for one to whom it is possible to understand Him; for the perfect cannot be comprehended by the imperfect, nor the invisible by the visible.

CHAPTER 5

THAT THE PROPHETIC WOMEN — THAT IS, THE SIBYLS — DECLARE THAT THERE IS BUT ONE GOD

It remains to speak of the prophetic women. Varro relates that there were ten Sibyls, — the first of the Persians, the second the Libyan, the third the Delphian, the fourth the Cimmerian, the fifth the Erythraean, the sixth the Samian, the seventh the Cumaean, the eighth the Hellespontian, the ninth the Phrygian, the tenth the Tiburtine, who has the name of Albunea. Of all these, he says that there are three books of the Cumaean alone which contain the fates of the Romans, and are accounted sacred, but that there exist. and are commonly regarded as separate, books of almost all the others, but that they are entitled, as though by one name, Sibylline books, excepting that the Erythraean, who is said to have lived in the times of the Trojan war, placed her name in her book: the writings of the others are mixed together.

All these Sibyls of whom I have spoken, except the Cumaean, whom none but the Quindecemviri are allowed to read, bear witness that there is but one God, the ruler, the maker, the parent, not begotten of any, but sprung from Himself, who was from all ages, and will be to all ages; and therefore is alone worthy of being worshipped, alone of being feared, alone of being reverenced, by all living beings; — whose testimonies I have omitted because I was unable to abridge them; but if you wish to see them, you must have recourse to the books themselves. Now let us follow up the remaining subjects.

CHAPTER 6

SINCE GOD IS ETERNAL AND IMMORTAL, HE DOES NOT STAND IN NEED OF SEX AND SUCCESSION

These testimonies, therefore, so many and so great, clearly teach that there is but one government in the world, and one power, the origin of which cannot be imagined, or its force described. They are foolish, therefore, who

imagine that the gods were born of marriage, since the sexes themselves, and the intercourse between them, were given to mortals by God for this reason, that every race might be preserved by a succession of offspring. But what need have the immortals either of sex or succession since neither pleasure nor death affects them? Those, therefore, who are reckoned as gods, since it is evident that they were born as men, and that they begat others, were plainly mortals: but they were believed to be gods, because, when they were great and powerful kings, on account of the benefits which they had conferred upon men, they deserved to obtain divine honors after death; and temples and statues being erected to them, their memory was retained and celebrated as that of immortals.

CHAPTER 7

OF THE WICKED LIFE AND DEATH OF HERCULES

But though almost all nations are persuaded that they are gods, yet their actions, as related both by poets and historians, declare that they were men. Who is ignorant of the times in which Hercules lived, since he both sailed with the Argonauts on their expedition, and having stormed Troy, slew Laomedon, the father of Priam, on account of his perjury? From that time rather more than fifteen hundred years are reckoned. He is said not even to have been born honorably, but to have been sprung from Alcmena by adultery, and to have been himself addicted to the vices of his father. He never abstained from women, or males, and traversed the whole world, not so much for the sake of glory as of lust, nor so much for the slaughter of beasts as for the begetting of children. And though he was unvanquished, yet he was triumphed over by Omphale alone, to whom he gave up his club and lion’s skin; and being clothed in a woman’s garment, and crouching at a woman’s feet, he received his task to execute. He afterwards, in a transport of frenzy, killed his little children and his wife Megara. At last, having put on a garment sent by his wife Deianyra, when he was perishing through ulcers, being unable to endure the pain, he constructed for himself a funeral pile on Mount (Eta, and burnt himself alive. Thus it is effected, that although on account of his excellence he

might have been believed to be a God, nevertheless on account of these things be is believed to have been a man.

CHAPTER 8

OF AESCULAPIUS, APOLLO, MARS, CASTOR AND POLLUX, AND OF MERCURIUS AND BACCHUS

Tarquitius relates that Aesculapius was born of doubtful parents, and that on this account he was exposed; and being taken up by hunters, and fed by the teats of a hound, was given to Chiron for instruction. He lived at Epidaurus, and was buried at Cynosurae, as Cicero says, when he had been killed by lightning. But Apollo, his father, did not disdain to take charge of another’s flock that he might receive a wife; and when he had unintentionally killed a boy whom he loved, he inscribed his own lamentations on a flower. Mars, a man of the greatest bravery, was not free from the charge of adultery, since he was made a spectacle, being bound with a chain together with the adulteress.

Castor and Pollux carried off the brides of others, but not with impunity, to whose death and burial Homer bears witness, not with poetical, but simple faith. Mercurius, who was the father of Androgynus by his intrigue with Venus, deserved to be a God, because he invented the lyre and the paloestra. Father Bacchus, after subduing India as a conqueror, having by chance come to Crete, saw Ariadne on the shore, whom Theseus had forced and deserted. Then, being inflamed by love, he united her in marriage to himself, and placed her crown, as the poets say, conspicuously among the stars. The mother of the gods herself, while she lived in Phrygia after the banishment and death of her husband, though a widow, and aged, was enamored of a beautiful youth; and because he was not faithful, she mutilated, and rendered him effeminate: on which account even now she delights in the Galli as her priests.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE DISGRACEFUL DEEDS OF THE GODS

Whence did Ceres bring forth Proserpine, except from debauchery? Whence did Latona bring forth her twins, except from crime? Venus having been subject to the lusts of gods and men, when she reigned in Cyprus, invented the practice of courtesanship, and commanded women to make traffic of themselves, that she might not alone be infamous. Were the virgins themselves, Minerva and Diana, chaste? Whence, then, did Erichthonius arise? Did Vulcan shed his seed upon the ground, and was man born from that as a fungus? Or why did Diana banish Hippolytus either to a retired place, or give him up to a woman, where he might pass his life in solitude among unknown groves, and having now changed his name, might be called Virbius? What do these things signify but impurity, which the poets do not venture to confess?

CHAPTER 10

OF JUPITER, AND HIS LICENTIOUS LIFE

But respecting the king and father of all these, Jupiter, whom they believe to possess the chief power in heaven, — what power had he, who banished his father Saturnus from his kingdom, and pursued him with arms when he fled? What self-restraint had he, who indulged every kind of lust? For he made Alemena and Leda, the wives of great men, infamous through his adultery: he also, captivated with the beauty of a boy, carried him off with violence as he was hunting and meditating manly things, that he might treat him as a woman. Why should I mention his debaucheries of virgins? and how great a multitude of these there was, is shown by the number of his sons. In the case of Thetis alone he was more temperate. For it bad been predicted that the son whom she should bring forth would be more powerful than his father. Therefore he struggled with his love, that one might not be born greater than himself. He knew, therefore, that he was not of perfect virtue, greatness, and power, since he

feared that which he himself had done to his father. Why, therefore, is he called best and greatest, since he both contaminated himself with faults, which is the part of one who is unjust and bad, and feared a greater than himself, which is the part of one who is weak and inferior?

CHAPTER 11

THE VARIOUS EMBLEMS UNDER WHICH THE POETS VEILED THE TURPITUDE OF JUPITER

But some one will say that these things are feigned by the poets. This is not the usage of the poets, to feign in such a manner that you fabricate the whole, but so that you cover the actions themselves with a figure, and, as it were, with a variegated veil. Poetic license has this limit, not that it may invent the whole, which is the part of one who is false and senseless, but that it may change something consistently with reason. They said that Jupiter changed himself into a shower of gold, that he might deceive Danae. What is a shower of gold? Plainly golden coins, by offering a great quantity of which, and pouring them into her bosom, he corrupted the frailty of her virgin soul by this bribe. Thus also they speak of a shower of iron, when they wish to signify a multitude of javelins. He carried off his catamite upon an eagle. What is the eagle? Truly a legion, since the figure of this animal is the standard of the legion. He carried Europa across the sea on a bull. What is the bull? Clearly a ship, which had its tutelary image fashioned in the shape of a bull. So assuredly the daughter of Inachus was not turned into a cow, nor as such did she swim across, but she escaped the anger of Juno in a ship which had the form of a cow. Lastly, when she had been conveyed to Egypt, she became His, whose voyage is celebrated on a fixed day, in memory of her flight.

CHAPTER 12

THE POETS DO NOT INVENT ALL THOSE THINGS WHICH RELATE TO THE GODS

You see, then, that the poets did not invent all things, and that they prefigured some things, that, when they spoke the truth, they might add something like this of divinity to those whom they called gods; as they did also respecting their kingdoms. For when they say that Jupiter had by lot the kingdom of Coelus, they either menu Mount Olympus, on which ancient stories relate that Saturnus, and afterwards Jupiter, dwelt, or a part of the East, which is, as it were, higher, because the light arises thence; but the region of the West is lower, and therefore they say that Pluto obtained the lower regions; but that the sea was given to Neptune, because he had the maritime coast, with all the islands. Many things are thus colored by the poets; and they who are ignorant of this, censure them as false, but only in word: for in fact they believe them, since they so fashion the images of the gods, that when they make them male and female, and confess that some are married, some parents, and some children, they plainly assent to the poets; for these relations cannot exist without intercourse and the generation of children.

CHAPTER 13

THE ACTIONS OF JUPITER ARE RELATED FROM THE HISTORIAN EUHEMERUS

But let us leave the poets; let us come to history, which is supported both by the credibility of the facts and by the antiquity of the times. Euhemerus was a Messenian, a very ancient writer, who gave an account of the origin of Jupiter, and his exploits, and all his posterity, gathered from the sacred inscriptions of ancient temples; he also traced out the parents of the other gods, their countries, actions, commands, and deaths, and even their sepulchers. And this history Ennius translated into Latin, whose words are these: —

“As these things are written, so is the origin and kindred of Jupiter and his brothers; after this manner it is handed clown to us in the sacred writing.”

The same Euhemerus therefore relates that Jupiter, when he had five times gone round the world, and had distributed governments to his friends and relatives, and had given laws to men, and had wrought many other benefits, being endued with immortal glory and everlasting remembrance, ended his life in Crete, and departed to the gods, and that his sepulcher is in Crete, in the town of Gnossus, and that upon it is engraved in ancient Greek letters Zankronou, which is Jupiter the son of Saturnus. It is plain, therefore, from the things which I have related, that he was a than, and reigned on the earth.

CHAPTER 14

THE ACTIONS OF SATURNUS AND URANUS TAKEN FROM THE HISTORIANS

Let us pass on to former things, that we may discover the origin of the whole error. Saturnus is said to have been born of Coelus and Terra. This is plainly incredible; but there is a certain reason why it is thus related, and he who is ignorant of this rejects it as a fable. That Uranus was the father of Saturnus, both Hermes affirms, and sacred history teaches. When Trismegistus said that there were very few men of perfect learning, he enumerated among them his relatives, Uranus, Saturnus. and Mercurius. Euhemerus relates that the same Uranus was the first who reigned on earth, using these words: “In the beginning Coelus first had the chief power on earth: he instituted and prepared that kingdom for himself together with his brothers.”

CHAPTER 20

OF THE GODS PECULIAR TO THE ROMANS

I have spoken of the religious rites which are common to all nations. I will now speak of the gods which the Romans have peculiar to themselves.

Who does not know that the wife of Faustulus, the nurse of Romulus and Remus, in honor of whom the Larentinalia were instituted, was a harlot? And for this reason she was called Lupa, and represented in the form of a wild beast. Faula also and Flora were harlots, of whom the one was the mistress of Hercules, as Verrius relates; the other, having acquired great wealth by her person, made the people her heir, and on this account the games called Floralia are celebrated in her honor.

Tatius consecrated the statue of a woman which had been found in the principal sewer, and called it by the name of the goddess Cloacina. The Romans, being besieged by the Gauls, made engines for throwing weapons of the hair of women; and on this account they erected an altar and temple to Venus Calva: also to Jupiter Pistor, because he had advised them in a dream to make all their corn into bread, and to throw it upon the enemy; and when this had been done, the Gauls, despairing of being able to reduce the Romans by famine, had abandoned the siege. Tullus Hostilius made Fear and Pallor gods. Mind is also worshipped; but if they had possessed it, they would never, I believe, have thought that it ought to be worshipped. Marcellus originated Honor and Virtue.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE SACRED RITES OF THE ROMAN GODS

But the senate also instituted other false gods of this kind, — Hope, Faith, Concord, Peace, Chastity, Piety; all of which, since they ought truly to be in the minds of men, they have falsely placed within walls. But although these have no substantial existence outside of man, nevertheless I should prefer that they should be worshipped, rather than Blight or Fever, which ought not to be consecrated, but rather to be execrated; than Fornax, together with her sacred ovens; than Stercutus, who first showed men to enrich the ground with manure; than the goddess Muta, who brought forth the Lares; than Cumina, who presides over the cradles of infants; than Caca, who gave information to Hercules respecting the stealing of his cattle, that he might slay her brother. How many other monstrous and ludicrous fictions there are, respecting which it is grievous to speak! I do not, however, wish to omit notice of Terminus, since it is related that he

did not give way even to Jupiter, though he was an unwrought stone. They suppose that he has the custody of the boundaries, and public prayers are offered to him, that he may keep the stone of the Capitol immovable, and preserve and extend the boundaries of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER 22

OF THE SACRED RITES INTRODUCED BY FAUNUS AND NUMA

Faunas was the first in Latium who introduced these follies, who both instituted bloody sacrifices to his grandfather Saturnus, and wished that his father Picus should be worshipped as a God, and placed Fatua Fauna his wife and sister among the gods, and named her the good goddess. Then at Rome, Numa, who burthened those rude and rustic then with new superstitions, instituted priesthoods, and distributed the gods into families and nations, that he might call off the fierce spirits of the people from the pursuits of arms. Therefore Lucilius, in deriding the folly of those who are slaves to vain superstitions, introduced these verses: —

> “Those bugbears the Lamiae, which Faunus and Numa Pompilius and others instituted, at these he trembles; he places everything in this. As infant boys believe that every statue of bronze is a living man, so these imagine that all things reigned are true: they believe that statues of bronze contain a heart. It is a painter’s gallery; nothing is real, everything fictitious.”

Tullius also, writing of the nature of the gods, complains that false and fictitious gods have been introduced, and that from thus source have arisen false opinions, and turbulent errors, and almost old womanly superstitions, which opinion ought in comparison with others to be esteemed more weighty, because these things were spoken by one who was both a philosopher and a priest.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE GODS AND SACRED RITES OF THE BARBARIANS

We have spoken respecting the gods: now we will speak of the rites and practices of their sacred institutions. A human victim used to be immolated to the Cyprian Jupiter, as Teucer had appointed. Thus also the Tauri used to offer strangers to Diana; the Latian Jupiter also was propitiated with human blood. Also before Saturnus, men of sixty years of age, according to the oracle of Apollo, were thrown from a bridge into the Tiber. And the Carthaginians not only offered infants to the same Saturnus; but being conquered by the Sicilians, to make an expiation, they immolated two hundred sons of nobles. And not more mild than these are those offerings which are even now made to the Great Mother and to Bellona, in which the priests make an offering, not with the blood of others, but with their own blood; when, mutilating themselves, they cease to be men, and yet do not pass over to the women; or, cutting their shoulders, they sprinkle the loathsome altars with their own blood. But these things are cruel.

Let us come to those which are mild. The sacred rites of His show nothing else than the manner in which she lost and found her little son, who is called Osiris. For first her priests and attendants, having shaved all their limbs, and beating their breasts, howl, lament, and search, imitating the manner ill which his mother was affected; afterwards the boy is found by Cynocephalus. Thus the mournful rites are ended with gladness. The mystery of Ceres also resembles these, in which torches are lighted, and Proserpine is sought for through the night; and when she has been found, the whole rite is finished with congratulations and the throwing about of torches. The people of Lampsacus, offer an ass to Priapus as an appropriate victim. Lindus is a town of Rhodes, where sacred rites in honor of Hercules are celebrated with revilings. For when Hercules had taken away his oxen from a ploughman, and had slain them, he avenged his injury by taunts; and afterwards having been himself appointed priest, it was ordained that he himself, and other priests after him, should celebrate sacrifices with the same revilings. But the mystery of the Cretan Jupiter represents the manner in which he was withdrawn from his father, or

brought up. The goat is beside him, by the teats of which Amalthea nourished the boy. The sacred rites of the mother of the gods also show the same thing. For because the Corybantes then drowned the cry of the boy by the tinkling of their helmets and the striking of their shields, a representation of this circumstance is now repeated in the sacred rites; but cymbals are beaten instead of helmets, and drums instead of shields, that Saturnus may not hear the cries of the boy.

CHAPTER 24

OF THE ORIGIN OF SACRED RITES AND SUPERSTITIONS

These are the mysteries of the gods. Now let us inquire also into the origin of superstitions, that we may search out by whom and at what times they were instituted. Didymus, in those books which are inscribed Of the Explanation of Pindar, relates that Melisseus was king of the Cretans, whose daughters were Amalthea and Melissa, who nourished Jupiter with goats' milk and honey; that he introduced new rites and ceremonies of sacred things, and was the first who sacrificed to gods, that is, to Vesta, who is called Tellus, — whence the poet says: —

"And the first of the gods, Tellus," —

and afterwards to the mother of the gods. But Euhemerus, in his sacred history, says that Jupiter himself, after that he received the government, erected temples in honor of himself in many places. For in going about the world, as he came to each place he united the chiefs of the people to himself in friendship and the right of hospitality; and that the remembrance of this might be preserved, he ordered that temples should be built to him, and annual festivals be celebrated by those connected with him in a league of hospitality. Thus he spread the worship of himself through all lands. But at what time they lived can easily be inferred. For Thallus writes in his history, that Belus, the king of the Assyrians, whom the Babylonians worship, and who was the contemporary and friend of Saturnus, was three hundred and twenty-two years before the Trojan war, and it is fourteen hundred and seventy years since the taking of Troy. From which it is evident, that it is not more than eighteen hundred years

from the time when mankind fell into error by the institution of new forms of divine worship.

CHAPTER 25

OF THE GOLDEN AGE, OF IMAGES, AND PROMETHEUS, WHO FIRST FASHIONED MAN

The poets, therefore, with good reason say that the golden age, which existed in the reign of Saturnus, was changed. For at that time no gods were worshipped, but they knew of one God only. After that they subjected themselves to frail and earthly things, worshipping idols of wood, and brass, and stone, a change took place from the golden age to that of iron. For having lost the knowledge of God, and broken off that one bond of human society, they began to harass one another, to plunder and subdue. But if they would raise their eyes aloft and behold God, who raised them up to the sight of heaven and Himself, they never would bend and prostrate themselves by worshipping earthly things, whose folly Lucretius severely rebukes, saying:

"And they abase their souls with fear of the gods,
and weigh and press them down to the earth."

Wherefore they tremble, and do not understand how foolish it is to fear those things which you have made, or to hope for any protection from those things which are dumb and insensible, and neither see nor hear the suppliant. What majesty, therefore, or deity can they have, which were in the power of a man, that they should not be made, or that they should be made into some other thing, and are so even now? For they are liable to injury and might be carried off by theft, were it not that they are protected by the law and the guardianship of man. Does he therefore appear to be in possession of his senses, who sacrifices to such deities the choicest victims, consecrates gifts, offers costly garments, as if they who are without motion could use them? With reason, then, did Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily plunder and deride the gods of Greece when he had taken possession of it as conqueror; and after the sacrilegious acts which he had committed, he returned to Sicily with a prosperous voyage, and held the kingdom even to his old age: nor were the injured gods able to punish him.

How much better is it to despise vanities, and to turn to God, to maintain the condition which you have received from God, to maintain your name! For on this account he is called anthropos, because he looks upward. But he looks upward who looks up to the true and living God, who is in heaven; who seeks after the Maker and Parent of his soul, not only with his perception and mind, but also with his countenance and eyes raised aloft. But he who enslaves himself to earthly and humble things, plainly prefers to himself that which is below him. For since he himself is the workmanship of God, whereas an image is the workmanship of man, the human workmanship cannot be preferred to the divine; and as God is the parent of man, so is the man of the statue. Therefore he is foolish and senseless who adores that which he himself has made, of which detestable and foolish handicraft Prometheus was the author, who was born from Iapetus the uncle of Jupiter. For when first of all Jupiter, having obtained supreme dominion, wished to establish himself as a God, and to found temples, and was seeking for some one who was able to imitate the human figure, at that time Prometheus lived, who fashioned the image of a man from thick clay with such close resemblance, that the novelty and cleverness of the art was a wonder. At length the men of his own time, and afterwards the poets, handed him down as the maker of a true and living man; and we, as often as we praise wrought statues, say that they live and breathe. And he indeed was the inventor of earthenware images. But posterity, following him, both carved them out of marble, and molded them out of bronze; then in process of time ornament was added of gold and ivory, so that not only the likenesses, but also the gleam itself, might dazzle the eyes. Thus ensnared by beauty, and forgetful of true majesty, sensible beings considered that insensible objects, rational beings that irrational objects, living beings that lifeless objects, were to be worshipped and reverenced by them.

CHAPTER 26

OF THE WORSHIP OF THE ELEMENTS AND STARS

Now let us refute those also who regard the elements of the world as gods, that is, the heaven, the sun, and the moon; for being ignorant of the Maker

of these things, they admire and adore the works themselves. And this error belongs not to the ignorant only, but also to philosophers; since the Stoics are of opinion that all the heavenly bodies are to be considered as among the number of the gods, since they all have fixed and regular motions, by which they most constantly preserve the vicissitudes of the times which succeed them. They do not then possess voluntary motion, since they obey prescribed laws, and plainly not by their own sense, but by the workmanship of the supreme Creator, who so ordered them that they should complete unerring courses and fixed circuits, by which they might vary the alternations of days and nights, of summer and winter. But if men admire the effects of these, if they admire their courses, their brightness, their regularity, their beauty, they ought to have understood how much more beautiful, more illustrious, and more powerful than these is the maker and con- trivet Himself, even God. But they estimated the Divinity by objects which fall under the sight of men; not knowing that objects which come within the sight cannot be eternal, and that those which are eternal cannot be discerned by mortal eyes.

CHAPTER 27

OF THE CREATION, SIN, AND PUNISHMENT OF MAN; AND OF ANGELS, BOTH GOOD AND BAD

One subject remains, and that the last: that, since it usually happens, as we read in histories, that the gods appear to have displayed their majesty by auguries, by dreams, by oracles, and also by the punishments of those who had committed sacrilege, I may show what cause produced this effect, so that no one even now may fall into the same snares into which those of old fell. When God, according to His excellent majesty, had framed the world out of nothing, and had decked the heaven with lights, and had filled the earth and the sea with living creatures, then He formed man out of clay, and fashioned him after the resemblance of His own likeness, and breathed into him that he might live, and placed him in a garden which He had planted with every kind of fruit-bearing tree, and commanded him not to eat of one tree in which He had placed the knowledge of good and evil, warning him that it would come to pass, that if he did so he would lose his

life, but that if he observed the command of God he would remain immortal. Then the serpent, who was one of the servants of God, envying man because he was made immortal, enticed him by stratagem to transgress the command and law of God. And in this manner he did indeed receive the knowledge of good and evil, but he lost the life which God had given him to be for ever.

Therefore He drove out the sinner from the sacred place, and banished him into this world, that he might seek sustenance by labor, that he might according to his deserts undergo difficulties and troubles; and He surrounded the garden itself with a fence of fire, that none of men even till the day of judgment might attempt secretly to enter into that place of perpetual blessedness. Then death came upon man according to the sentence of God; and yet his life, though it had begun to be temporary, had as its boundary a thousand years, and that was the extent of human life even to the deluge. For after the flood the life of men was gradually shortened, and was reduced to a hundred and twenty years. But that serpent, who from his deeds received the name of devil, that is, accuser or informer, did not cease to persecute the seed of man, whom he had deceived from the beginning. At length he urged him who was first born in this world, under the impulse of envy, to the murder of his brother, that of the two men who were first born he might destroy the one, and make the other a parricide. Nor did he cease upon this from infusing the venom of malice into the breasts of men through each generation, from corrupting and depraving them; in short, from overwhelm-inn them with such crimes, that an instance of justice was now rare, but men lived after the manner of the beasts.

But when God saw this, He sent His angels to instruct the race of men, and to protect them from all evil. He gave these a command to abstain from earthly things, lest, being polluted by any taint, they should be deprived of the honor of angels. But that wily accuser, while they tarried among men, allured these also to pleasures, so that they might defile themselves with women. Then, being condemned by the sentence of God, and cast forth on account of their sins, they lost both the name and substance of angels. Thus, having become ministers of the devil, that they might have a solace of their ruin, they betook themselves to the ruining of men, for whose protection they had come.

CHAPTER 28

OF THE DEMONS, AND THEIR EVIL PRACTICES

These are the demons, of whom the poets often speak in their poems, whom Hesiod calls the guardians of men. For they so persuaded men by their enticements and deceits, that they believed that the same were gods. In fine, Socrates used to give out that he had a demon as the guardian and director of his life from his first childhood and that he could do nothing without his assent and command. They attach themselves, therefore, to individuals, and occupy houses under the name of Genii or Penates. To these temples are built, to these libations are daily offered as to the Lares, to these honor is paid as to the averters of evils. These from the beginning, that they might turn away men from the knowledge of the true God, introduced new superstitions and worship of gods. These taught that the memory of dead kings should be consecrated, temples be built, and images made, not that they might lessen the honor of God, or increase their own, which they lost by sinning, but that they might take away life from men, deprive them of the hope of true light, lest men should arrive at that heavenly reward of immortality from which they fell. They also brought to light astrology, and augury, and divination; and though these things are in themselves false, yet they themselves, the authors of evils, so govern and regulate them that they are believed to be true. They also invented the tricks of the magic art, to deceive the eyes. By their aid it comes to pass, that that which is appears not to be, and that which is not appears to be. They themselves invented necromancies, responses, and oracles, to delude the minds of men with lying divination by means of ambiguous issues. They are present in the temples and at all sacrifices; and by the exhibition of some deceitful prodigies, to the surprise of those who are present, they so deceive men, that they believe that a divine power is present in images and statues. They even enter secretly into bodies. as being slight spirits; and they excite diseases in the vitiated limbs, which when appeased with sacrifices and vows they may again remove. They send dreams either full of terror, that they themselves may be invoked, or the issues of which may correspond with the truth, that they may increase the veneration paid to themselves. Sometimes also they put forth something of vengeance against the sacrilegious, that whoever sees it may become more timid and

superstitious. Thus by their frauds they have drawn darkness over the human race, that truth might be oppressed, and the name of the supreme and matchless God might be forgotten.

CHAPTER 29

OF THE PATIENCE AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD

But some one says: Why, then, does the true God permit these things to be done? Why does He not rather remove or destroy the wicked? Why, in truth, did He from the beginning give power to the demon, so that there should be one who might corrupt and destroy all things? I will briefly say why He willed that this should be so. I ask whether virtue is a good or an evil. It cannot be denied that it is a good. If virtue is a good, vice, on the contrary, is an evil. If vice is an evil on this account, because it opposes virtue, and virtue is on this account a good, because it overthrows vice, it follows that virtue cannot exist without vice; and if you take away vice, the merits of virtue will be taken away. For there can be no victory without an enemy. Thus it comes to pass, that good cannot exist without an evil.

Chrysippus, a man of active mind, saw this when discussing the subject of providence, and charges those with folly who think that good is caused by God, but say that evil is not thus caused. Aulus Gellius has interpreted his sentiment in his books of Attic Nights; thus saying: “They to whom it does not appear that the world was made for the sake of God and men, and that human affairs are governed by providence, think that they use a weighty argument when they thus speak: If there were a providence, there would be no evils. For they say that nothing is less in agreement with providence, than that in this world, on account of which it is said that God made men, the power of troubles and evils should be so great. In reply to these things, Chrysippus, when he was arguing, in his fourth book respecting providence, said: Nothing can be more foolish than those who think that good things could have existed, if there were not evils in the same place. For since good things are contrary to evil, they must of necessity be opposed to, each other, and must stand resting, as it were, on mutual and opposite support. Thus there is no contrary without another

contrary. For how could there be any perception of justice, unless there were injuries? or what else is justice, but the removal of injustice? In like manner, the nature of fortitude cannot be understood. except by placing beside it cowardice, or the nature of self-control except by intemperance. Likewise, in what manner would there be prudence, unless there were the contrary, imprudence? On the same principle, he says, why do the foolish men not require this also, that there should be truth and not falsehood? For there exist together good and evil things, prosperity and trouble, pleasure and pain. For the one being bound to the other at opposite poles, as Plato says, if you take away one, you take away both." You see, therefore, that which I have often said, that good and evil are so connected with one another, that the one cannot exist without the other. Therefore God acted with the greatest foresight in placing the subject-matter of virtue in evils which He made for this purpose, that He might establish for us a contest, in which He would crown the victorious with the reward of immortality.

CHAPTER 30

OF FALSE WISDOM

I have taught, as I imagine, that the honors paid to gods are not only, impious, but also vain, either because they were men whose memory was consecrated after death; or because the images themselves are insensible and deaf, inasmuch as they are formed of earth, and that it is not right for man, who ought to look up to heavenly things, to subject himself to earthly things; or because the spirits who claim to themselves those acts of religious service are unholy and impure, and on this account, being condemned by the sentence of God, fell to the earth, and that it is not lawful to submit to the power of those to whom you are superior, if you wish to be a follower of the true God. It remains that, as we have spoken of false religion, we should also discuss the subject of false wisdom, which the philosophers profess, — men endued with the greatest learning and eloquence, but far removed from the truth, because they neither know God nor the wisdom of God. And although they are clever and learned, yet, because their wisdom is human, I shall not fear to contend with them, that

it may be evident that falsehood can be easily overcome by truth, and earthly things by heavenly.

They thus define the nature of philosophy. Philosophy is the love or pursuit of wisdom. Therefore it is not wisdom itself; for that which loves must be different from that which is loved.

If it is the pursuit of wisdom, not even thus is philosophy identical with wisdom. For wisdom is the object itself which is sought, but the pursuit is that which seeks it. Therefore the very definition or meaning of the word plainly shows that philosophy is not wisdom itself. I will say that it is not even the pursuit of wisdom, in which wisdom is not comprised. For who can be said to devote himself to the pursuit of that to which he can by no means attain? He who gives himself to the pursuit of medicine, or grammar, or oratory, may be said to be studious of that art which he is learning; but when he has learned, he is now said to be a physician, a grammarian, or an orator. Thus also those who are studious of wisdom, after they had learned it, ought to have been called wise. But since they are called students of wisdom as long as they live, it is manifest that that is not the pursuit, because it is impossible to arrive at the object itself which is sought for in the pursuit, unless by chance they who pursue wisdom even to the end of life are about to be wise in another world. Now every pursuit is connected with some end. That, therefore, is not a right pursuit which has no end.

CHAPTER 31

OF KNOWLEDGE AND SUPPOSITION

Moreover, there are two things which appear to fall under the subject of philosophy — knowledge and supposition; and if these are taken away, philosophy altogether falls to the ground. But the chief of the philosophers themselves have taken away both from philosophy. Socrates took away knowledge, Zeno supposition. Let us see whether they were right in doing so. Wisdom is, as Cicero defined it, the knowledge of divine and human things. Now if this definition is true, wisdom does not come within the power of man. For who of mortals can assume this to himself,

to profess that he knows divine and human things? I say nothing of human affairs; for although they are connected with divine, yet, since they belong to man. let us grant that it is possible for man to know them. Certainly he cannot

know divine things by himself, since he is a man; whereas he who knows them must be divine, and therefore God. But man is neither divine nor God. Man, therefore, cannot thoroughly know divine things by himself. No one, therefore, is wise but God, or certainly that man whom God has taught. But they, because they are neither gods. nor taught by God. cannot be wise, that is, acquainted with divine and human things. Knowledge, therefore, is rightly taken away by Socrates and the Academics. Supposition also does not agree with the wise man. For every one supposes that of which he is ignorant. Now, to suppose that you know that of which you are ignorant, is rashness and folly. Supposition, therefore, was rightly taken away by Zeno. If, therefore. there is no knowledge in man, and there ought to be no supposition, philosophy is cut up by the roots.

CHAPTER 32

OF THE SECTS OF PHILOSOPHERS, AND THEIR DISAGREEMENT

To this is added, that it is not uniform; but being divided into sects, and scattered into many and discordant opinions, it has no fixed state. For since they all separately attack and harass one another, and there is none of them which is not condemned of folly in the judgment of the rest, while the members are plainly at variance with one another, the whole body of philosophy is brought to destruction. Hence the Academy afterwards originated. For when the leading men of that sect saw that philosophy was altogether overthrown by philosophers mutually opposing each other, they undertook war against all, that they might destroy all the arguments of all; while they themselves assert nothing except one thing — that nothing can be known. Thus, having taken away knowledge, they overthrew the ancient philosophy. But they did not even themselves retain the name of philosophers, since they admitted their ignorance,

because to be ignorant of all things is not only not the part of a philosopher, but not even of a man. Thus the philosophers, because they have no defense, must destroy one another with mutual wounds, and philosophy itself must altogether consume and put an end to itself by its own arms. But they say it is only natural philosophy which thus gives way. How is it with moral? Does that rest on any firm foundation? Let us see whether philosophers are agreed in this part at any rate, which relates to the condition of life.

CHAPTER 33

WHAT IS THE CHIEF GOOD TO BE SOUGHT IN LIFE

What is the chief good must be an object of inquiry, that our whole life and actions may be directed to it. When inquiry is made respecting the chief good of man, it ought to be settled to be of such a kind, first, that it have reference to man alone; in the next place, that it belong peculiarly to the mind; lastly, that it be sought by virtue. Let us see, therefore, whether the chief good which the philosophers mark out be such that it has reference neither to a dumb animal nor to the body, and cannot be attained without virtue.

Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic sect, who thought that bodily pleasure was the chief good, ought to be removed from the number of philosophers, and from the society of men, because he compared himself to a beast. The chief good of Hieronymus is to be without pain, that of Diodorus to cease to be in pain. But the other animals avoid pain; and when they are without pain, or cease to be in pain, are glad. What distinction, then, will be given to man, if his chief good is judged to be common with the beasts? Zeno thought that the chief good was to live agreeably to nature. But this definition is a general one. For all animals live agreeably to nature, and each has its own nature.

Epicurus maintained that it was pleasure of the soul. What is pleasure of the soul but joy, in which the soul for the most part luxuriates, and unbends itself either to sport or to laughter? But this good befalls even dumb animals, which, when they are satisfied with pasture, relax

themselves to joy and wantonness. Dinomachus and Callipho approved of honorable pleasure; but they either said the same that Epicurus did, that bodily pleasure is dishonorable; or if they considered bodily pleasures to be partly base and partly honorable, then that is not the chief good which is ascribed to the body. The Peripatetics make up the chief good of goods of the soul, and body, and fortune. The goods of the soul may be approved of; but if they require assistance for the completion of happiness, they are plainly weak. But the goods of the body and of fortune are not in the power of man; nor is that now the chief good which is assigned to the body, or to things placed without us, because this double good extends even to the cattle, which have need of being well, and of a due supply of food. The Stoics are believed to have entertained much better views, who said that virtue was the chief good. But virtue cannot be the chief good, since, if it is the endurance of evils and of labors, it is not happy of itself; but it ought to effect and produce the chief good, because it cannot be attained without the greatest difficulty and labor. But, in truth, Aristotle wandered far from reason, who connected honor with virtue, as though it were possible for virtue at any time to be separated from honor, or to be united with baseness.

Herillus the Pyrrhonist made knowledge the chief good. This indeed belongs to man, and to the soul only, but it may happen to him without virtue. For he is not to be considered happy who has either learnt anything by hearing, or has gained the knowledge of it by a little reading; nor is it a definition of the chief good, because there may be a knowledge either of bad things, or at any rate of things that are useless. And if it is the knowledge of good and useful things which you have acquired by labor, nevertheless it is not the chief good, because knowledge is not sought on its own account, but on account of something else. For the arts are learnt on this account, that they may be to us the means of gaining support, or a source of glory, or even of pleasure; and it is plain that these things cannot be the chief goods. Therefore the philosophers do not observe the rule even in moral philosophy, inasmuch as they are at variance with one another on the main point itself, that is, in that discussion by which the life is molded. For the precepts cannot be equal, or resembling one another, when some train men to pleasure, others to honor, others indeed to nature, others to knowledge; some to the pursuit, others to the avoiding of riches;

some to entire insensibility to pain, others to the endurance of evils: in all which, as I have shown before, they turn aside from reason, because they are ignorant of God.

CHAPTER 34

THAT MEN ARE BORN TO JUSTICE

Let us now see what is proposed to the wise man as the chief good. That men are born to justice is not only taught by the sacred writings, but is sometimes acknowledged even by these same philosophers. Thus Cicero says: “But of all things which fall under the discussion of learned men, nothing assuredly is more excellent than that it should be clearly understood that we are born to justice.” This is most true. For we are not born to wickedness, since we are a social and sociable animal. The wild beasts are produced to exercise their fierceness; for they are unable to live in any other way than by prey and bloodshed. These, however, although pressed by extreme hunger, nevertheless refrain from animals of their own kind. Birds also do the same, which must feed upon the carcasses of others. How much more is it befitting, that man, who is united with man both in the interchange of language and in communion of feeling, should spare man, and love him! For this is justice.

But since wisdom has been given to man alone, that he may understand God, and this alone makes the difference between man and the dumb animals, justice itself is bound up in two duties. He owes the one to God as to a father, the other to man as to a brother; for we are produced by the same God. Therefore it has been deservedly and rightly said, that wisdom is the knowledge of divine and human affairs. For it is right that we should know what we owe to God, and what to man; namely, to God religion, to man affection. But the former belongs to wisdom, the latter to virtue; and justice comprises both. If, therefore, it is evident that man is born to justice, it is necessary that the just man should be subject to evils, that he may exercise the virtue with which he is endued. For virtue is the enduring of evils. He will avoid pleasures as an evil: he will despise riches, because they are frail; and if he has them, he will liberally bestow them, to preserve the wretched: he will not be desirous of honors, because they are short and

transitory; he will do injury to no one; if he shall suffer, he will not retaliate; and he will not take vengeance upon one who plunders his property. For he will deem it unlawful to injure a man; and if there shall be any one who would compel him to depart from God, he will not refuse tortures nor death. Thus it will come to pass, that he must necessarily live in poverty and lowliness, and in insults, or even tortures.

CHAPTER 35

THAT IMMORTALITY IS THE CHIEF GOOD

What, then, will be the advantage of justice and virtue, if they shall have nothing but evil in life? But if virtue, which despises all earthly goods, most wisely endures all evils, and endures death itself in the discharge of duty, cannot be without a reward, what remains but that immortality alone is its reward? For if a happy life falls to the lot of man, as the philosophers will have it, and in this point alone they do not disagree, therefore also immortality falls to him. For that only is happy which is incorruptible; that only is incorruptible which is eternal. Therefore immortality is the chief good, because it belongs both to man, and to the soul, and to virtue. We are only directed to this; we are born to the attainment of this. Therefore God proposes to us virtue and justice, that we may obtain that eternal reward for our labors. But concerning that immortality itself we will speak in the proper place. There remains the philosophy of Logic, which contributes nothing to a happy life. For wisdom does not consist in the arrangement of speech, but in the heart and the feeling. But if natural philosophy is superfluous, and this of logic, and the philosophers have erred in moral philosophy, which alone is necessary, because they have been unable in any way to find out the chief good; therefore all philosophy is found to be empty and useless, which was unable to comprehend the nature of man, or to fulfill its duty and office.

CHAPTER 36

OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, NAMELY, EPICURUS AND PYTHAGORAS

Since I have spoken briefly of philosophy, now also I will speak a few things about the philosophers. This is especially the doctrine of Epicurus, that there is no providence. And at the same time he does not deny the existence of gods. In both respects he acts contrary to reason. For if there are gods, it follows that there is a providence. For otherwise we can form no intelligible idea of God, for it is His peculiar province to foresee. But Epicurus says He takes no care about anything. Therefore He disregards not only the affairs of men, but also heavenly things. How, therefore, or from what, do you affirm that He exists? For when you have taken away the divine providence and care, it would naturally follow that you should altogether deny the existence of God whereas now you have left Him in name, but in reality you have taken Him away. Whence, then, did the world derive its origin, if God takes no care of anything? There are, he says, minute atoms, which can neither be seen nor touched, and from the fortuitous meeting of these all things arose, and are continually arising. If they are neither seen nor perceived by any part of the body, how could you know of their existence? In the next place, if they exist, with what mind do they meet together to effect anything? If they are smooth, they cannot cohere: if they are hooked and angular, then they are divisible; for hooks and angles project, and can be cut off. But these things are senseless and unprofitable. Why should I mention that he also makes souls capable of extinction? who is refuted not only by all philosophers and general persuasion, but also by the answers of bards, by the predictions of the Sibyls, and lastly, by the divine voices of the prophets themselves; so that it is wonderful that Epicurus alone existed, who should place the condition of man on a level with the flocks and beasts.

What of Pythagoras, who was first called a philosopher, who judged that souls were indeed immortal, but that they passed into other bodies, either of cattle, or of birds, or of beasts? Would it not have been better that they should be destroyed, together with their bodies, than thus to be condemned to pass into the bodies of other animals? Would it not be

better not to exist at all, than, after having had the form of a man, to live as a swine or a dog? And the foolish man, to gain credit for his saying, said that he himself had been Euphorbus in the Trojan war, and that, when he had been slain, he passed into other figures of animals, and at last became Pythagoras. O happy man! to whom alone so great a memory was given; or rather unhappy, who, when changed into a sheep, was not permitted to be ignorant of what he was!

And would to Heaven that he alone had been thus senseless! He found also some to believe him, and some indeed among the learned, to whom the inheritance of folly passed.

CHAPTER 32

OF SOCRATES AND HIS CONTRADICTION

After him Socrates held the first place in philosophy, who was pronounced most wise even by the oracle, because he confessed that he knew one thing only, — namely, that he knew nothing. And on the authority of this oracle it was right that the natural philosophers should restrain themselves, lest they should either inquire into those things which they could not know, or should think that they knew things which they did not know. Let us, however, see whether Socrates was most wise, as the Pythian God proclaimed. He often made use of this proverb, that that which is above us has also no reference to us. He has now passed beyond the limits of his opinion. For he who said that he knew one thing only, found another thing to speak of, as though he knew it; but that in vain. For God, who is plainly above us, is to be sought for; and religion is to be undertaken, which alone separates us from the brutes, which indeed Socrates not only rejected, but even derided, in swearing by a goose and a dog, as if in truth he could not have sworn by Aesculapius, to whom he had vowed a cock. Behold the sacrifice of a wise man! And because he was unable to offer this in his own person, since he was at the point of death, he entreated his friends to perform the vow after his death, lest forsooth he should be detained as a debtor in the lower regions. He assuredly both pronounced that he knew nothing, and made good his statement.

CHAPTER 38

OF PLATO, WHOSE DOCTRINE APPROACHES MORE NEARLY TO THE TRUTH

His disciple Plato, whom Tully speaks of as the God of philosophers, alone of all so studied philosophy that he approached nearer to the truth; and yet, because he was ignorant of God, he so failed in many things, that no one fell into worse errors, especially because in his books respecting the state he wished all things to be common to all. This is endurable concerning property, though it is unjust. For it ought not to be an injury to any one, if he possesses more than another through his own industry; or to be a profit to any one, if through his own fault he possesses less. But, as I have said, this is capable of being endured in some way. Shall there be a community of wives also, and of children? Shall there be no distinction of blood, or certainty of race? Shall there be neither families, nor relationships, nor affinities, but all things confused and indiscriminate, as in herds of cattle? Shall there be no self-restraint in men, no chastity in women? What conjugal affection can there be in these, between whom on either side there is no sure or peculiar love? Who will he dutiful towards a father, when he knows not from whom he was born? Who will love a son, whom he will reckon as not his own? Moreover, he opened the senate house to women, and en-trusted to them warfare, magistracies, and commands. But how great will be the calamity of that city, in which women shall discharge the duties of men! But of this more fully at another opportunity.

Zeno, the master of the Stoics, who praises virtue, judged that pity, which is a very great virtue, should be cut away, as though it were a disease of the mind, whereas it is at the same time dear to God and necessary for men. For who is there who, when placed in any evil, would be unwilling to be pitied, and would not desire the assistance of those who might succor them, which is not called forth so as to render aid, except by the feeling of pity? Although he calls this humanity and piety, he does not change the matter itself, only the name. This is the affection which has been given to man alone, that by mutual assistance we might alleviate our weakness; and he who removes this affection reduces us to the life of the beasts. For his

assertion that all faults are equal, proceeds from that inhumanity with which also be assails pity as a disease. For he who makes no difference in faults, either thinks that light offenses ought to be visited with severe punishments, which is the part of a cruel judge, or that great offenses should be visited with slight punishments, which is the part of a worthless judge. In either case there is injury to the state. For if the greatest crimes are lightly punished, the boldness of the wicked will increase, and go on to deeds of greater daring; and if a punishment of too great severity is inflicted for slight offenses, inasmuch as no one can be exempt from fault, many citizens will incur peril, who by correction might become better.

CHAPTER 39

OF VARIOUS PHILOSOPHERS, AND OF THE ANTIPODES

These things, truly, are of small importance, but they arise from the same falsehood. Xenophanes said that the orb of the moon is eighteen times larger than this earth of ours; and that within its compass is contained another earth, which is inhabited by men and animals of every kind. About the antipodes also one can neither hear nor speak without laughter. It is asserted as something serious, that we should believe that there are men who have their feet opposite to ours. The ravings of Anaxagoras are more tolerable, who said that snow was black. And not only the sayings, but the deeds, of some are ridiculous. Democritus neglected his land which was left to him by his father, and suffered it to become a public pasture. Diogenes with his company of dogs, who professes that great and perfect virtue in the contempt of all things, preferred to beg for his support, rather than to seek it by honest labor, or to have any property. Undoubtedly the life of a wise man ought to be to others an example of living. If all should imitate the wisdom of these, how will states exist? But perhaps the same Cynics were able to afford an example of modesty, who lived with their wives in public. I know not how they could defend virtue, who took away modesty.

Nor was Aristippus better than these, who, I believe, that he might please his mistress Lais, instituted the Cyrenaic system, by which he placed the end of the chief good in bodily pleasure, that authority might not be

wanting to his faults, or learning to his vices. Are those men of greater fortitude to be more approved, who, that they might be said to have despised death, died by their own hands? Zeno, Empedocles. Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Democritus, and Cato, imitating these, did not know that he who put himself to death is guilty of murder, according to the divine right and law. For it was God who placed us in this abode of flesh: it was He who gave us the temporary habitation of the body, that we should inhabit it as long as He pleased. Therefore it is to be considered impious, to wish to depart from it without the command of God. Therefore violence must not be applied to nature. He knows how to destroy His own work. And if any one shall apply impious bands to that work, and shall tear asunder the bonds of the divine workmanship, he endeavors to flee from God, whose sentence no one will be able to escape, whether alive or dead. Therefore they are accursed and impious, whom I have mentioned above, who even taught what are the befitting reasons for voluntary death; so that it was not enough of guilt that they were self-murderers, unless they instructed others also to this wickedness.

CHAPTER 40

OF THE FOOLISHNESS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

There are innumerable sayings and doings of the philosophers, by which their foolishness may be shown. Therefore, since we are unable to enumerate them all, a few will be sufficient. It is enough that it is understood that the philosophers were neither teachers of justice, of which they were ignorant, nor of virtue, of which they falsely boast. For what can they teach, who often confess their own ignorance? I omit to mention Socrates, whose opinion is well known. Anaxagoras proclaims that all things are over-spread with darkness. Empedocles says that the paths for finding out the truth of the senses are narrow. Democritus asserts that truth lies sunk in a deep well; and because they nowhere find it, they therefore affirm that no wise man has as yet existed. Since, therefore, human wisdom has no existence (Socrates says in the writings of Plato), let us follow that which is divine, and let us give thanks to God, who has revealed and delivered it to us; and let us congratulate ourselves, that

through the divine bounty we possess the truth and wisdom, which, though sought by so many intellects through so many ages, philosophy was not able to discover.

CHAPTER 41

OF TRUE RELIGION AND WISDOM

Now, since we have refuted false religion, which is in the worship of the gods, and false wisdom, which is in the philosophers, let us come to true religion and wisdom. And, indeed, we must speak of them both conjointly, because they are closely connected. For to worship the true God, that and nothing else is wisdom. For that God who is supreme and the Maker of all things, who made man as the image of Himself, on this account conferred on him alone of all animals the gift of reason, that he might pay back honor to Him as his Father and his Lord, and by the exercise of this piety and obedience might gain the reward of immortality. This is a true and divine mystery. But among those, because they are not true, there is no agreement. Neither are sacred rites performed in philosophy, nor is philosophy treated of in sacred things; and on this account their religion is false, because it does not possess wisdom; and on this account their wisdom is false, because it does not possess religion. But where both are joined together, there the truth must necessarily be; so that if it is asked what the truth itself is, it may be rightly said to be either wise religion or religious wisdom.

CHAPTER 42

OF RELIGIOUS WISDOM: THE NAME OF CHRIST KNOWN TO NONE, EXCEPT HIMSELF AND HIS FATHER

I will now say what wise religion, or religious wisdom, is. God, in the beginning, before He made the world, from the fountain of His own eternity, and from the divine and everlasting Spirit, begat for Himself a Son incorruptible, faithful, corresponding to His Father’s excellence and majesty. He is virtue, He is reason, He is the word of God, He is wisdom.

With this artificer, as Hermes says, and counselor, as the Sibyl says, He contrived the excellent and wondrous fabric of this world. In fine, of all the angels, whom the same God formed from His own breath, He alone was admitted into a participation of His supreme power, He alone was called God. For all things were through Him, and nothing was without Him. In fine, Plato, not altogether as a philosopher, but as a seer, spoke concerning the first and second God, perhaps following Trismegistus in this, whose words I have translated from the Greek, and subjoined: “The Lord and Maker of all things, whom we have thought to be called God, created a second God, who is visible and sensible. But by sensible I mean, not that He Himself receives sensation, but that He causes sensation and sight. When, therefore, He had made this, the first, and one, and only one, He appeared to Him most excellent, and full of all good qualities.” The Sibyl also says that God the guide of all was made by God, and another, that

“God the Son of God must be known,”

as those examples which I have brought forward in my books declare. Him the prophets, filled with the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, proclaimed; of whom especially Solomon in the book of Wisdom, and also his father, the writer of divine hymns — both most renowned kings, who preceded the times of the Trojan war by a hundred and eighty years — testify that He was born of God. His name is known to none, except to Himself and the Father, as John teaches in the Revelation. Hermes says that His name cannot be uttered by mortal mouth. Yet by men He is called by two names — Jesus, which is Savior, and Christ, which is King. He is called Savior on this account, because He is the health and safety of all who believe in God through Him. He is called Christ on this account, because He Himself will come from heaven at the end of this dispensation to judge the world, and, having raised the dead, to establish for Himself an everlasting kingdom.

CHAPTER 43

OF THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, AND HIS TWOFOLD NATIVITY

But lest by any chance there should be any doubt in your mind why we call Him Jesus Christ, who was born of God before the world, and who was born of man three hundred years ago, I will briefly explain to you the reason. The same person is the son of God and of man. For He was twice born: first of God, in the spirit, before the origin of the world; afterwards in the flesh of man, in the reign of Augustus; and in connection with this fact is an illustrious and great mystery, in which is contained both the salvation of men and the religion of the Supreme God, and all truth. For when first the accursed and impious worship of gods crept in through the treachery of the demons, then the religion of God remained with the Hebrews alone, who, not by any law, but after the manner of their fathers, observed the worship handed down to them by successive generations, even until the time when they went forth out of Egypt trader the leadership of Moses, the first of all the prophets, through whom the law was given to them from God; and they were afterwards called Jews. Therefore they served God, being bound by the chains of the taw. But they also, by degrees going astray to profane rites, undertook the worship of strange gods, and, leaving the worship of their father, sacrificed to senseless images. Therefore God sent to them prophets filled with the Divine Spirit, to upbraid them with their sins and proclaim repentance, to threaten them with the vengeance which would follow, and announce that it would come to pass, if they persisted in the same faults, that He would send another as the bearer of a new law; and having removed the ungrateful people from their inheritance, He would assemble to Himself a more faithful people from foreign nations. But they not only persisted in their course, but even slew the messengers themselves. Therefore He condemned them on account of these deeds: nor did He any longer send messengers to a stubborn people; but He sent His own Son, to call all nations to the favor of God. Nor, however, did He shut them out, impious and ungrateful as they were, from the hope of salvation: but He sent Him to them before all others, that if they should by chance obey, they might not lose that which they had received; but if they should refuse to receive

their God, then, the heirs being removed, the Gentiles would come into possession. Therefore the supreme Father ordered Him to descend to the earth, and to put on a human body, that, being subject to the sufferings of the flesh, He might teach virtue and patience not only by words, but also by deeds. Therefore He was born a second time as man, of a virgin, without a father, that, as in His first spiritual birth, being born of God alone, He was made a sacred spirit, so in His second and fleshly birth, being born of a mother only, He might become holy flesh, that through Him the flesh, which had become subject to sin, might be freed from destruction.

CHAPTER 44

THE TWOFOLD NATIVITY OF CHRIST IS PROVED FROM THE PROPHETS

That these things should thus take place as I have set them forth, the prophets had before predicted. In the writings of Solomon it is thus written: “The womb of a virgin was strengthened, and conceived: and a virgin was impregned, and became a mother in great pity.” In Isaiah it is thus written: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and ye shall call His name Immanuel;” which, being interpreted, is God with us. For He was with us on the earth, when He assumed flesh; and He was no less God in man, and man in God. That He was both God and man was declared before by the prophets. That He was God, Isaiah thus declares: “They shall fall down unto Thee, they shall make supplication unto Thee; since God is in Thee, and we knew it not, even the God of Israel. They shall be ashamed and confounded, all of them who oppose themselves to Thee, and shall go to confusion.” Also Jeremiah: “This is our God, and there shall none other be compared unto Him; He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved. Afterward He was seen upon earth, and dwelt among men.” Likewise that He was man, the same Jeremiah says: “And He is man, and who knew Him?” Isaiah also thus speaks: “And the Lord shall send them a man who shall save them, and with judgment shall He heal them.” Also Moses himself in the book of Numbers: “There shall come a star out of

Jacob, and a man shall arise out of Israel.” For this cause, therefore, being God, He took upon Him flesh, that, becoming a mediator between God and man, having overcome death, He might by His guidance lead man to God.

CHAPTER 45

THE POWER AND WORKS OF CHRIST ARE PROVED FROM THE SCRIPTURES

We have spoken of His nativity; now let us speak of His power and works, which, when He wrought them among men, the Jews, seeing them to be great and wonderful, supposed that they were done by the influence of magic, not knowing that all those things which were done by Him had been foretold by the prophets. He gave strength to the sick, and to those languishing under various diseases, not by any healing remedy, but instantaneously, by the force and power of His word; He restored the weak, He made the lame to walk, He gave sight to the blind, He made the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear; He cleansed the polluted and unclean, He restored their right mind to those who were maddened with the attack of demons, He recalled to life and light those who were dead or now buried. He also fed and satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. He also walked upon the sea. He also in a tempest commanded the wind to be still, and immediately there was a calm; all which things we find predicted both in the books of the prophets and in the verses of the Sibyls.

When a great multitude resorted to Him on account of these miracles, and, as He truly was, believed Him to be the Son of God, and sent from God, the priests and rulers of the Jews, filled with envy, and at the same time excited with anger, because He reproved their sins and injustice, conspired to put Him to death; and that this would happen, Solomon had foretold a little more than a thousand years before, in the book of Wisdom, using these words: “Let us defraud the righteous, for he is unpleasant to us, and upbraideth us with our offenses against the law. He maketh his boast that he has the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the Son of God. He is made to reprove our thoughts: it grieveth us even to look upon him; for his

life is not like the life of others, his ways are of another fashion. We are counted by him as triflers; he withdraweth himself from our ways, as from filthiness; he commendeth greatly the latter end of the just, and boasteth that he has God for his father. Let us see, therefore, if his words be true; let us prove what end he shall have; let us examine him with rebukes and torments, that we may know his meekness and prove his patience; let us condemn him to a shameful death. Such things have they imagined, and have gone astray; for their own folly hath blinded, them, and they do not understand the mysteries of God."

Therefore, being unmindful of these writings which they read, they incited the people as though against an impious man, so that they seized and led Him to trial, and with impious words demanded His death. But they alleged against Him as a crime this very thing, that He said that He was the Son of God, and that by healing on the Sabbath He broke the law, which He said that He did not break, but fulfilled. And when Pontius Pilate, who then as legate had authority in Syria, perceived that the cause did not belong to the office of the Roman judge, he sent Him to Herod the Tetrarch, and permitted the Jews themselves to be the judges of their own law: who, having received the power of punishing His guilt, sentenced Him to the cross, but first scourged and struck him with their hands, put on Him a crown of thorns, spat upon His face, gave Him gall and vinegar to eat and drink; and amidst these things no word was heard to fall from His lips. Then the executioners, having cast lots over His tunic and mantle, suspended Him on the cross, and affixed Him to it, though on the next day they were about to celebrate the Passover, that is, their festival. Which crime was followed by prodigies, that they might understand the impiety which they had committed; for at the same moment in which He expired, there was a great earthquake, and a withdrawing of the sun, so that the day was turned into night.

CHAPTER 46

IT IS PROVED FROM THE PROPHETS THAT THE PASSION AND DEATH OF CHRIST HAD BEEN FORETOLD

And the prophets had predicted that all these things would thus come to pass. Isaiah thus speaks: “I am not rebellious, nor do I oppose: I gave my back to the scourge, and my cheeks to the hand: I turned not away my face from the foulness of spitting.” The same prophet says respecting His silence: “I was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth.” David also, in the 34th Psalm: “The abjects were gathered together against me, and they knew me not: they were scattered, yet felt no remorse: they tempted me, and gnashed upon me with their teeth.” The same also says respecting food and drink in the 68th Psalm: “They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.” Also respecting the cross of Christ: “And they pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones: they themselves have looked and

stared upon me; they parted my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.” Moses also says in Deuteronomy: “And thy life shall hang in doubt before thine eyes, and thou shall fear day and night, and shall have none assurance of thy life.” Also in Numbers: “God is not in doubt as a man, nor does He suffer threats as the son of man.” Also Zechariah says: “And they shall look on me whom they pierced.” Amos thus speaks of the obscuring of the sun: “In that day, saith the Lord, the sun shall go down at noon, and the clear day shall be dark; and I will turn your feasts into mourning, and your songs into lamentation.” Jeremiah also speaks of the city of Jerusalem, in which He suffered: “Her sun is gone down while it was yet day; she hath been confounded and reviled, and the residue of them will I deliver to the sword.” Nor were these things spoken in vain. For after a short time the Emperor Vespasian subdued the Jews, and laid waste their lands with the sword and fire, besieged and reduced them by famine, overthrew Jerusalem, led the captives in triumph, and prohibited the others who were left from ever returning to their native land. And these things were done by God on account of that crucifixion of Christ, as He before declared this to Solomon in their Scriptures, saying, “And Israel

shall be for perdition and a reproach to the people, and this house shall be desolate; and every one that shall pass by shall be astonished, and shall say, Why hath God done these evils to this land, and to this house? And they shall say, Because they forsook the Lord their God, and persecuted their.

King, who was dearly beloved by God, and crucified Him with great degradation, therefore hath God brought upon them these evils.” For what would they not deserve who put to death their Lord, who had come for their salvation?

CHAPTER 47

OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST, THE SENDING OF THE APOSTLES, AND THE ASCENSION OF THE SAVIOR INTO HEAVEN

After these things they took His body down from the cross, and buried it in a tomb. But on the third day, before daybreak, there was an earthquake, and the stone with which they had closed the sepulcher was removed, and He arose. But nothing was found in the sepulcher except the clothes in which the body had been wrapped. But that He would rise again on the third day, the prophets had long ago foretold. David, in the 15th Psalm: “Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption.” Likewise Hosea: This my Son is wise, therefore He shall not stay long in the anguish of His sons: and I will ransom Him from the hand of the grave. Where is thy judgment, O death, where is thy sting?” The same again says: “After two days He will revive us on the third day.”

Therefore, after His resurrection He went into Galilee, and again assembled His disciples, who had fled through fear; and having given them commands which He wished to be observed, and having arranged for the preaching of the Gospel throughout the whole world, He breathed into them the Holy Spirit, and gave them the power of working miracles, that they might act for the welfare of men as well by deeds as words; and then at length, on the fortieth day, He returned to His Father, being carried up into a cloud.

The prophet Daniel had long before shown this, saying, “I saw in the night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they who stood beside Him brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him a kingdom, and glory, and dominion, and all people, tribes, and languages shall serve Him; and His power is an everlasting one, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.” Also David in the 109th Psalm: “The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.”

CHAPTER 48

OF THE DISINHERITING OF THE JEWS, AND THE ADOPTION OF THE GENTILES

Since, therefore, He sits at the right hand of God, about to tread down His enemies, who tortured Him, when He shall come to judge the world, it is evident that no hope remains to the Jews, unless, turning themselves to repentance, and being cleansed from the blood with which they polluted themselves, they shall begin to hope in Him whom they denied. Therefore Esdras thus speaks: “This passover is our Savior and our refuge. Consider and let it come into your heart, that we have to abase Him in a figure: and after these things we have hoped in Him.”

Now that the Jews were disinherited, because they rejected Christ, and that we, who are of the Gentiles, were adopted into their place, is proved by the Scriptures. Jeremiah thus speaks: “I have forsaken mine house, I have given mine heritage into the hands of her enemies. Mine heritage is become unto me as a lion in the forest; it hath given forth its voice against me: therefore have I hated it.” Also Malachi: “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down thereof, my name shall be great among the Gentiles.” Isaiah also thus speaks: “I come to gather all nations and tongues: and they shall come and see my glory.” The same says in another place, speaking in the person of the Father to the Son: “I the Lord have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thine hand, and will keep Thee, and give Thee for a covenant of my people, for a light of the

Gentiles; to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house."

CHAPTER 49

THAT GOD IS ONE ONLY

If therefore the Jews have been rejected by God, as the faith due to the sacred writings shows, and the Gentiles, as we see, brought in, and freed from the darkness of this present life and from the chains of demons, it follows that no other hope is proposed to man, unless he shall follow true religion and true wisdom, which is in Christ, and he who is ignorant of Him is always estranged from the truth and from God. Nor let the Jews, or philosophers, flatter themselves respecting the Supreme God. He who has not acknowledged the Son has been unable to acknowledge the Father. This is wisdom, and this is the mystery of the Supreme God. God willed that He should be acknowledged and worshipped through Him. On this account He sent the prophets beforehand to announce His coming, that when the things which had been foretold were fulfilled in Him, then He might be believed by men to be both the Son of God and God.

Nor, however, must the opinion be entertained that there are two Coots, for the Father and the Son are one. For since the Father loves the Son, and gives all things to Him, and the Son faithfully obeys the Father, and wills nothing except that which the Father does, it is plain that so close a relationship cannot be separated, so that they should be said to be two in whom there is but one substance, and will, and faith. Therefore the Son is through the Father, and the Father through the Son. One honor is to be given to both, as to one God, and is to be so divided through the worship of the two, that the division itself may be bound by an inseparable bond of union. He will leave nothing to himself, who separates either the Father from the Son, or the Son from the Father.

CHAPTER 50

WHY GOD ASSUMED A MORTAL BODY, AND SUFFERED DEATH

It remains to answer those also, who deem that it was unbecoming and unreasonable that God should be clothed with a mortal body; that He should be in subjection to men; that He should endure insults; that He should even suffer tortures and death. I will speak my sentiments, and I will sum up, as I shall be able, an immense subject in few words. He who teaches anything, ought, as I think, himself to practice what he teaches, that he may compel men to obey. For if he shall not practice them, he will detract from the faith due to his precepts. Therefore there is need of examples, that the precepts which are given may have firmness, and if any one shall prove contumacious, and shall say that they cannot be carried out in practice, the instructor may refute him by actual fact. Therefore a system of teaching cannot be perfect, when it is delivered by words only; but it then becomes perfect, when it is completed by deeds.

Since therefore Christ was sent to men as a teacher of virtue, for the perfection of His teaching it was plainly befitting that He should act as well as teach. But if He had not assumed a human body, He would not have been able to practice what He taught, — that is, not to be angry, not to desire riches, not to be inflamed with lust, not to fear pain, to despise death. These things are plainly virtues, but they cannot be done without flesh. Therefore He assumed a body on this account, that, since He taught that the desires of the flesh must be overcome, He might in person first practice it, that no one might allege the frailty of the flesh as an excuse.

CHAPTER 51

OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS

I will now speak of the mystery of the cross, lest any one should happen to say, If death must be endured by Him, it should have been not one that was manifestly infamous and dishonorable, but one which had some

honor. I know, indeed, that many, while they dislike the name of the cross, shrink from the truth, though there is in it great reasonableness and power, For since He was sent for this purpose, that He might open to the lowest men the way to salvation, He made Himself humble that He might free them. Therefore He underwent that kind of death which is usually inflicted on the humble, that an opportunity of imitation might be given to all. Moreover, since He was about to rise again, it was not allowable that His body should be in any way mutilated, or a bone broken, which happens to those who are beheaded. Therefore the cross was preferred, which reserved the body with the bones uninjured for the resurrection.

To these grounds it was also added, that having undertaken to suffer and to die, it was befitting that He should be lifted up. Thus the cross exalted Him both in fact and in emblem, so that His majesty and power became known to all, together with His passion. For in that He extended His hands on the cross, He plainly stretched out His wings towards the east and the west, under which all nations from either side of the world might assemble and repose. But of what great weight this sign is, and what power it has, is evident, since all the host of demons is expelled and put to flight by this sign. And as He Himself before His passion put to confusion demons by His word and command, so now, by the name and sign of the same passion, unclean spirits, having insinuated themselves into the bodies of men, are driven out, when racked and tormented, and confessing themselves to be demons, they yield themselves to God, who harasses them. What therefore can the Greeks expect from their superstitions and with their wisdom, when they see that their gods, whom they do not deny to be demons also, are subdued by men through the cross?

CHAPTER 52

THE HOPE OF THE SALVATION OF MEN CONSISTS IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUE GOD, AND OF THE HATRED OF THE HEATHENS AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS

There is therefore but one hope of life for men, one harbor of safety, one refuge of liberty, if, laying aside the errors by which they were held, they open the eyes of their mind and recognize God, in whom alone is the

abode of truth; despise earthly things, and those made from the ground esteem as nothing philosophy, which is foolishness with God; and having undertaken O true wisdom, that is, religion, become heirs of immortality. But indeed they are not so much opposed to the truth as to their own safety; and when they hear these things, they abominate them as some inexpiable wickedness. But they do not even endure, to hear: they think that their ears are polluted with impiety if they hear; nor do they now refrain from reproaches, but assail them with the most insulting words; and also, if they have obtained the power, persecute them as public enemies, yea, even as worse than enemies; for enemies, when they have been vanquished, are punished with death or slavery; nor is there any torturing after the laying down of arms, although those deserved to suffer all things who wished so to act, that piety might have place among swords.

Cruelty, combined with innocence, is unheard of, nor is it worthy of the condition of victorious enemies. What is the so powerful cause of this fury? Doubtless, because they cannot contend on the ground of reason, they urge forward their cause by means of violence; and, with the subject not understood, they condemn those as most pernicious persons who have declined to make a stand respecting the fact of their innocence. Nor do they deem it sufficient that those whom they unreasonably hate should die by a speedy and simple death; but they lacerate them with refined tortures, that they may satisfy their hatred, which is not produced by any fault, but by the truth, which is hateful to those who live wickedly, because they take it ill that there are some whom their deeds cannot please. They desire in every way to destroy these, that they may be able to sin without restraint in the absence of any witness.

CHAPTER 53

THE REASONS OF THE HATRED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS ARE EXAMINED AND REFUTED

But they say that they do these things for the defense of their gods. In the first place, if they are gods, and have any power and influence, they have no need of the defense and protection of men, but they manifestly defend

themselves. Or how is man able to hope for aid from them, if they are unable to average even their own injuries? Therefore it is a vain and foolish thing to wish to be avengers of the gods, except that their distrust is more apparent from this. For he who undertakes the protection of the God whom he worships, admits the worthlessness of that God; but if he worships him on this account, because he thinks him powerful, he ought not to wish to defend him, by whom he himself ought to be defended. We therefore act rightly. For when those defenders of false gods, who are rebellious against the true God, persecute His name in us, we resist not either in deed or in word, but with meekness, and silence, and patience, we endure whatever cruelty is able to contrive against us. For we have confidence in God, from whom we expect that retribution will hereafter follow. Nor is this confidence ungrounded, since we have in some cases heard, and in other cases seen, the miserable ends of all those who have dared to commit this crime. Nor has any one had it in his power to insult God with impunity; but he who has been unwilling to learn by word has learned by his own punishment who is the true God.

I should wish to know, when they compel men to sacrifice against their will, what reasoning they have with themselves, or to whom they make that offering. If it is made to the gods, that is not worship, nor an acceptable sacrifice, which is made by those who are displeasing to them, which is extorted by injury, which is enforced by pain. But if it is done to those whom they compel, it is plainly not a benefit, which any one would not receive, he even prefers rather to die. If it is a good to which you call me, why do you invite me with evil? why with blows, and not with words? why not by argument, but by bodily tortures? Whence it is manifest that that is an evil, to which you do not allure me willing, but drag me refusing. What folly is it to wish to consult the good of any one against his will! If any one, under the pressure of evils, attempts to have recourse to death, can you, if you either wrest the sword from his hand, or cut the halter, or drag him away from the precipice, or pour out the poison, boast yourself as the preserver of the man, when be, whom you think that you have preserved, does not thank you, and thinks that you have acted ill towards him, in averting from him the death which be desired, and in not permitting him to reach the end and rest from his labors? For a benefit ought not to be weighed according to the quality of

the action, but according to the feelings of him who receives it. Why should you reckon as a benefit that which is an injury to me? Do you wish me to worship your gods, which I consider deadly to myself? If it is a good, I do not envy it. Enjoy your good by yourself. There is no reason why you should wish to succor my error, which I have undertaken by my judgment and inclination. If it is evil, why do you drag me to a participation in evil? Use your own fortune. I prefer to die in the practice of that which is good, than to live in evil.

CHAPTER 54

OF THE FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE WORSHIP OF GOD

These things may indeed be said with justice. But who will hear, when men of furious and unbridled spirit think that their authority is diminished if there is any freedom in the affairs of men? But it is religion alone in which freedom has placed its dwelling. For it is a matter which is voluntary above all others, nor can necessity be imposed upon any, so as to worship that which he does not wish to worship. Some one may perhaps pretend, he cannot wish it. In short, some, through fear of torments, or overcome by tortures, have assented to detestable sacrifices: they never do that voluntarily which they did from necessity; but when the opportunity is again given to them, and liberty restored, they again betake themselves to God, and appease Him with prayers and tears, repenting not of the will, which they had not, but of the necessity which they endured; and pardon is not denied to those who make satisfaction. What then does he accomplish who pollutes the body, since he cannot change the will?

But, in fact, men of weak understanding, if they have induced any man of spirit to sacrifice to their gods, with incredible alacrity insolently exult, and rejoice, as though they had sent an enemy under the yoke. But if any one, neither frightened by threats nor by tortures, shall have chosen to prefer his faith to his life, cruelty puts forth all its ingenuity against him, plans dreadful and intolerable things; and because they know that death for the cause of God is glorious, and that this is a victory on our side, if, having overcome the torturers, we lay down our life in be-haft of the faith

and religion, they also themselves strive to conquer us. They do not put us to death. but they search out new and unheard-of tortures, that the frailty of the flesh may yield to pains, and if it does not yield, they put off further punishment, and apply diligent care to the wounds, that while the scars are yet fresh, a repetition of the torture may inflict more pain; and while they practice this torture upon the innocent, they evidently consider themselves pious, and just, and religious (for they are delighted with such sacrifices to their gods), but they term the others impious and desperate. What perversity is this, that he who is punished, though innocent, should be called desperate and impious, and that the torturer, on the other hand, should be called just and pious!

CHAPTER 55

THE HEATHENS CHARGE JUSTICE WITH IMPIETY IN FOLLOWING GOD

But they say that those are rightly and deservedly punished, who dislike the public rites of religion handed down to them by their ancestors. What if those ancestors were foolish in undertaking vain religious rites, as we have shown before, shall we be prohibited from following true and better things? Why do we deprive ourselves of liberty, and become enslaved to the errors of others, as though bound, to them? Let it be permitted us to be wise, let it be permitted us to inquire into the truth. But, however, if it pleases them to defend the folly of their ancestors, why are the Egyptians suffered to escape, who worship cattle and beasts of every kind as deities? Why are the gods themselves made the subjects of comics representations? and why is he honored who derides them most wittily? Why are philosophers attended to, who either say that there are no gods, or that, if there are any, they take no interest in, and do not regard the affairs of men, or argue that there is no providence at all, which rules the world?

But they alone of all are judged impious who follow God and the truth. And since this is at once justice, and wisdom, they lay to its charge either impiety or folly, and do not perceive what it is which deceives them, when they call evil good, and good evil. Many indeed of the philosophers, and especially Plato and Aristotle, spoke many things about justice, asserting

and extolling that virtue with the greatest praise, because it gives to each its due, because it maintains equity in all things; and whereas the other virtues are as it were silent, and shut up within, that it is justice alone which is neither concerned for itself only, nor hidden, but altogether shows itself abroad, and is ready for conferring a benefit, so as to assist as many as possible: as though in truth justice ought to be in judges only, and those placed in any post of authority, and not in all men.

And yet there is no one of men, not even of the lowest and of beggars, who is not capable of justice. But because they did not know what it was, from what source it proceeded, and what was its mode of operation, they assigned to a few only that highest virtue, that is, the common good of all, and said that it aimed at no advantages peculiar to itself, but only the interests of others. And not without reason was Carneades raised up, a man of the greatest talent and penetration, to refute their speech, and overthrow the justice, which had no firm foundation; not because he thought that justice was to be blamed, but that he might show that its defenders brought forward no firm or certain argument respecting justice.

CHAPTER 56

OF JUSTICE, WHICH IS THE WORSHIP OF THE TRUE GOD

For if justice is the worship of the true God (for what is so just with respect to equity, so pious with respect to honor, so necessary with respect to safety, as to acknowledge God as a parent, to reverence Him as Lord, and to obey His law or precepts?), it follows that the philosophers were ignorant of justice, for they neither acknowledged God Himself, nor observed His worship and law; and on this account they might have been refuted by Carneades, whose disputation was to this effect, that there is no natural justice, and therefore that all animals defended their own interests by the guidance of nature itself, and therefore that justice, if it promotes the advantages of others and neglects its own, is to be called foolishness. But if all people who are possessed of power, and the Romans themselves, who are masters of the whole world, were willing to follow justice, and to restore to every one his property which they have seized by force and arms, they will return to cottages and a condition of

want. And if they did this, they might indeed be just, but they must of necessity be considered foolish, who proceed to injure themselves for the advantage of others. Then, if any one should find a man who was through a mistake offering for sale gold as mountain-brass, or silver as lead, and necessity should compel him to buy it, will he conceal his knowledge and buy it for a small sum, or will he rather inform the seller of its value? If he shall inform him, he will manifestly be called just; but he will also be foolish, for conferring an advantage upon another, and injuring himself. But it is easy to judge in a case of injury. What if he shall incur danger of his life, so that it shall be necessary for him either to kill another or to die, what will he do? It may happen that, having suffered shipwreck, he may find some feeble person clinging to a plank; or, his army having been defeated, in his flight he may find a wounded man on horseback: will he thrust the one from the plank, the other from his horse, that he himself may be able to escape? If he shall wish to be just, he will not do it; but he will also be judged foolish, who in sparing the life of another shall lose his own. If he shall do it, he will indeed appear wise, because he will provide for his own interests; but he will also be wicked, because he will commit a wrong.

CHAPTER 57

OF WISDOM AND FOOLISHNESS

These things indeed are said with acuteness; but we are able very readily to reply to them. For the imitation of names causes it thus to appear. For justice bears a resemblance to foolishness, and yet it is not foolishness; and at the same time malice bears a resemblance to wisdom, and yet it is not wisdom. But as that malice is intelligent and shrewd in preserving its own interests, it is not wisdom, but cunning and craftiness; so likewise justice ought not to be called foolishness, but innocence, because the just man must be wise, and the foolish man unjust. For neither reason nor nature itself permits that he who is just should not be wise, since it is plain that the just man does nothing except that which is right and good, and always avoids that which is perverted and evil. But who will be able to distinguish between good and evil, depravity and rectitude, but he who

shall be wise? But the fool acts badly, because he is ignorant of what is good and evil. Therefore he does wrong, because he is unable to distinguish between things which are perverted and those which are right. Therefore justice cannot be befitting to the foolish man, nor wisdom to the unjust. He is not then a foolish person who has not thrust off a shipwrecked man from a plank, nor a wounded man from his horse, because he has abstained from injury, which is a sin; and it is the part of the wise man to avoid.

But that he should appear foolish at first sight is caused by this, that they suppose the soul to be extinguished together with the body; and for this reason they refer all advantage to this life. For if there is no existence after death, it is plain that he acts foolishly who spares the life of another to his own loss, or who consults the gain of another more than his own. If death destroys the soul, we must use our endeavors to live for a longer time, and more to our own advantage; but if there remains after death a life of immortality and blessedness, the just and wise man will certainly despise this corporeal existence, with all earthly goods, because he will know what kind of a reward he is about to receive from God. Therefore let us maintain innocency, let us maintain justice, let us undergo the appearance of foolishness, that we may be able to maintain true wisdom. And if it appears to men senseless and foolish to prefer torture and death rather than to sacrifice to gods, and to escape without harm, let us however strive to exhibit faithfulness towards God by all virtue and by all patience. Let not death terrify us, nor pain subdue us, so as to prevent the vigor of our mind and constancy from being preserved unshaken. Let them call us foolish, whilst they themselves are most foolish, and blind and dull, and like sheep; who do not understand that it is a deadly thing to leave the living God, and prostrate themselves in the adoration of earthly objects; who do not know that eternal punishment awaits those who have worshipped senseless images; and that those who have neither refused tortures nor death for the worship and honor of the true God will obtain eternal life. This is the highest faith; this is true wisdom; this is perfect justice. It matters nothing to us what fools may judge, what trifling men may think. We ought to await the judgment of God, that we may hereafter judge those who have passed judgment on us.

CHAPTER 58

OF THE TRUE WORSHIP OF GOD, AND SACRIFICE

I have spoken of justice, what was its nature. It follows that I show what is true sacrifice to God, what is the most just manner of worship-ping Him, lest any one should think that victims, or odors, or precious gifts, are desired by God, who, if He is not subject to hunger, and thirst, and cold, and desire of all earthly things, does not therefore make use of all these things which are presented in temples and to gods of earth; but as corporeal offerings are necessary for corporeal beings, so manifestly an incorporeal sacrifice is necessary for an incorporeal being. But God has no need of those things which He has given to man for his use, since all the earth is under His power: He needs not a temple, since the world is His dwelling; He needs not an image, since He is incomprehensible both to the eyes and to the mind; He needs not earthly lights, for He was able to kindle the light of the sun, with the other stars, for the use of man. What then does God require from man but worship of the mind, which is pure and holy? For those things which are made by the hands, or are outside of man, are senseless, frail, and displeasing. This is true sacrifice, which is brought forth not from the chest but from the heart; not that which is offered by the hand, but by the mind. This is the acceptable victim, which the mind sacrifices of itself. For what do victims bestow? What dotes incense? What do garments? What does silver? What gold? What precious stones, — if there is not a pure mind on the part of the worshipper? Therefore it is justice only which God requires. In this is sacrifice; in this the worship of God, respecting which I must now speak, and show in what works justice must necessarily be contained.

CHAPTER 59

OF THE WAYS OF LIFE, AND THE FIRST TIMES OF THE WORLD

That there are two ways of human life was unknown neither to philosophers nor to poets, but both introduced them in a different manner.

The philosophers wished the one to be the way of industry, the other of idleness; but in this respect they were less correct in their statements, that they referred them to the advantages of this life only. The poets spoke better who said that one of them was the way of the just, the other of the unjust; but they err in this, that they say that they are not in this life, but in the shades below. We manifestly speak more correctly, who say that the one is the way of life, the other that of death. And here, however, we say that there are two ways; but the one on the right hand, in which the just walk, does not lead to Elysium, but to heaven, for they become immortal; the other on the left leads to Tartarus, for the unjust are sentenced to eternal tortures. Therefore the way of justice, which leads to life, is to be held by us. Now the first duty of justice is to acknowledge God as a parent, and to fear Him as a master, to love Him as a father. For the same Being who begat us, who animated us with vital breath, who nourishes and preserves us, has over us, not only as a father but also as a master, authority to correct us, and the power of life and death; wherefore twofold honor is due to Him from man, that is, love combined with fear. The second duty of justice is to acknowledge man as a brother. For if the same God made us, and produced all men on equal terms to justice and eternal life, it is manifest that we are united by the relationship of brotherhood; and he who does not acknowledge this is unjust. But the origin of this evil, by which the mutual society of men, by which the bond of relationship has been torn asunder, arises from ignorance of the true God. For he who is ignorant of that fountain of bounty can by no means be good. Hence it is that, from the time when a multitude of gods began to be consecrated and worshipped by men, justice, as the poets relate, being put to flight, every compact was destroyed, the fellowship of human justice was destroyed. Then every one, consulting his own interest, reckoned might to be right, injured another, attacked by frauds, deceived by treachery, increased his own advantages by the inconvenience of others, did not spare relatives, or children, or parents, prepared poisoned cups for the destruction of men, beset the ways with the sword, infested the seas, gave the rein to his lust, wherever passion led him, — in short, esteemed nothing sacred which his dreadful desire did not violate. When these things were done, then men instituted laws for themselves to promote the public advantage, that they might meanwhile protect themselves from injuries. But the fear of laws did not suppress crimes, but

it checked licentiousness. For laws were able to punish offenses, they were unable to punish the conscience. Therefore the things which before were done openly began to be done secretly. Justice also was evaded by stealth, since they who themselves presided over the administration of the laws, corrupted by, gifts and rewards, made a traffic of their sentences, either to the escape of the evil or to the destruction of the good. To these things were added dissensions, and wars, and mutual depredations; and the laws being crushed, the power of acting with violence was assumed without restraint.

CHAPTER 60

OF THE DUTIES OF JUSTICE

When the affairs of men were in this condition, God pitied us, revealed and displayed Himself to us, that in Himself we might learn religion, faith, purity, and mercy; that having laid aside the error of our former life, together with God Himself we might know ourselves, whom impiety had disunited from Him, and we might choose the divine law, which unites human affairs with heavenly, the Lord Himself delivering it to us; by which law all the errors with which we have been ensnared, together with vain and impious superstitions, might be taken away. What we owe to man, therefore, is prescribed by that same divine law which teaches that whatever you render to man is rendered to God. But the root of justice, and the entire foundation of equity, is that you should not do that which you would be unwilling to suffer, but should measure the feelings of another by your own. If it is an unpleasant thing to bear an injury, and he who has done it appears unjust, transfer to the person of another that which you feel respecting yourself, and to your own person that which you judge respecting another, and you will understand that you act as unjustly if you injure another as another would if he should injure you. If we consider these things, we shall maintain innocence, in which the first step of justice is, as it were, contained. For the first thing is, not to injure; the next is, to be of service. And as in uncultivated lands, before you begin to sow, the fields must be cleansed by tearing up the thorns and cutting off all the roots of trunks, so vices must first be thrust out from our souls, and

then at length virtues must be implanted, from which the fruits of immortality, being engendered by the word of God, may spring up.

CHAPTER 61

OF THE PASSIONS

There are three passions, or, so to speak, three furies, which excite such great perturbations in the souls of men, and sometimes compel them to offend in such a manner, as to permit them to have regard neither for their reputation nor for their personal safety: these are anger, which desires vengeance; love of gain, which longs for riches; lust, which seeks for pleasures. We must above all things resist these vices: these trunks must be rooted up, that virtues may be implanted. The Stoics are of opinion that these passions must be cut off; the Peripatetics think that they must be restrained. Neither of them judge rightly, because they cannot entirely be taken away, since they are implanted by nature, and have a sure and great influence; nor can they be diminished, since, if they are evil, we ought to be without them, even though restrained and used with moderation; if they are good, we ought to use them in their completeness. But we say that they ought not to be taken away nor lessened. For they are not evil of themselves, since God has reasonably implanted them in us; but inasmuch as they are plainly good by nature, — for they are given us for the protection of life, — they become evil by their evil use. And as bravery, if you fight in defense of your country, is a good, if against your country, is an evil, so the passions, if you employ them to good purposes, will be virtues, if to evil uses, they will be called vices. Anger therefore has been given by God for the restraining of offenses, that is, for controlling the discipline of subjects, that fear may suppress licentiousness and restrain audacity. But they who are ignorant of its limits are angry with their equals, or even with their superiors. Hence they rush to deeds of cruelty, hence they rise to slaughters, hence to wars. The love of gain also has been given that we may desire and seek for the necessaries of life. But they who are unacquainted with its boundaries strive insatiably to heap up riches. Hence poisoning, hence defraudings, hence false wills, hence all kinds of frauds have burst forth. Moreover, the passion of lust is implanted and

innate in us for the procreation of children; but they who do not fix its limits in the mind use it for pleasure only. Thence arise unlawful loves, thence adulteries and debaucheries, thence all kinds of corruption. These passions, therefore, must be kept within their boundaries and directed into their right course, in which, even though they should be vehement, they cannot incur blame.

CHAPTER 62

OF RESTRAINING THE PLEASURES OF THE SENSES

Anger is to be restrained when we suffer an injury, that the evil may be suppressed which is imminent from a contest, and that we may retain two of the greatest virtues, harmlessness and patience. Let the desire of gain be broken when we have that which is enough. For what madness is it to labor in heaping up those things which must pass to others, either by robbery, or theft, or by proscription, or by death? Let lust not go beyond the marriage-bed, but be subservient to the procreation of children. For a too great eagerness for pleasure both produces danger and generates disgrace, and that which is especially to be avoided, leads to eternal death. Nothing is so hateful to God as an unchaste mind and an impure soul. Nor let any one think that he must abstain from this pleasure only, quae capitur ex foeminei corporis copulatione, but also from the other pleasures which arise from the rest of the senses, because they also are of themselves vicious, and it is the part of the same virtue to despise them. The pleasure of the eyes is derived from the beauty of objects, that of the ears from harmonious and pleasant sounds, that of the nostrils from pleasant odor, that of taste from sweet food, — all of which virtue ought strongly to resist, lest, en-snared by these attractions, the soul should be depressed from heavenly to earthly things, from things eternal to things temporal, from life immortal to perpetual punishment. In pleasures of the taste and smell there is this danger, that they are able to draw us to luxury. For he who shall be given up to these things, either will have no property, or, if he shall have any, he will expend it, and afterwards live a life to be abominated. But he who is carried away by hearing (to say nothing respecting songs, which often so charm the inmost senses that they even

disturb with madness a settled state of the mind by certain elaborately composed speeches and harmonious poems, or skillful disputations) is easily led aside to impious worship. Hence it is that they who are either themselves eloquent, or prefer to read eloquent writings, do not readily believe the sacred writings, because they appear unpolished; they do not seek things that are true, but things that are pleasant; nay, to them those things appear to be most true which soothe the cars. Thus they reject the truth, while they are captivated by the sweetness of the discourse. But the pleasure which has reference to the sight is manifold. For that which is derived from the beauty of precious objects excites avarice, which ought to be far removed from a wise and just man; but that which is received from the appearance of woman hurries a man to another pleasure, of which we have already spoken above.

CHAPTER 63

THAT SHOWS ARE MOST POWERFUL TO CORRUPT THE MINDS

It remains to speak of public shows, which, since they have a more powerful influence on the corruption of the mind, ought to be avoided by the wise, and to be altogether guarded against, because it is said that they were instituted in celebration of the honors of the gods. For the exhibitions of shows are festivals of Saturnus. The stage belongs to Father Liber; but the Circensian games are supposed to be dedicated to Neptunus: so that now he who takes part in these shows appears to have left the worship of God, and to have passed over to profane rites. But I prefer to speak of the matter itself rather than of its origin. What is so dreadful, what so foul, as the slaughter of man? Therefore our life is protected by the most severe laws; therefore wars are detestable. Yet custom finds how a man may commit homicide without war, and without laws; and this is a pleasure to him, that he has avenged guilt. But if to be present at homicide implies a consciousness of guilt, and the spectator is involved in the same guilt as the perpetrator, then in these slaughters of gladiators, he who is a spectator is no less sprinkled with blood than he who sheds it; nor can he be free from the guilt of bloodshed who wished it to be poured out, or

appear not to have slain, who both favored the slayer and asked a reward for him. What of the stage? Is it more holy, — on which comedy converses on the subject of debaucheries and amours, tragedy of incest and parricide? The immodest gestures also of players, with which they imitate disreputable women, teach the lusts, which they express by dancing. For the pantomime is a school of corruption, in which things which are shameful are acted by a figurative representation, that the things which are true may be done without shame. These spectacles are viewed by youths, whose dangerous age, which ought to be curbed and governed, is trained by these representations to vices and sins. The circus, in truth, is considered more innocent, but there is greater madness in this, since the minds of the spectators are transported with such great madness, that they not only break out into revilings, but often rise to strifes, and battles, and contentions. Therefore all shows are to be avoided, that we may be able to maintain a tranquil state of mind. We must renounce hurtful pleasures, lest, charmed by pestilential sweetness, we fall into the snares of death.

CHAPTER 64

THE PASSIONS ARE TO BE SUBDUED, AND WE MUST ABSTAIN FROM FORBIDDEN THINGS

Let virtue alone please us, whose reward is immortal when it has conquered pleasure. But when the passions have been overcome and pleasures subdued labor in suppressing other things is easy to him who is a follower of God and of truth: he will never revile, who shall hope for a blessing from God; he will not commit perjury, lest he should mock God; but he will not even swear, test at any time, either by necessity or through habit, he should fall into perjury. He will speak nothing deceitfully, nothing with dissimulation; he will not refuse that which he has promised, nor will he promise that which he is unable to perform; he will envy no one, since he is content with himself and with his own possessions; nor will he take away from, or wish ill to another, upon whom, perhaps, the benefits of God are more plenteously bestowed. He will not steal, nor will he covet anything at all belonging to another. He will not give his money to usury, for that is to seek after gain from the evils of others; nor, however,

will he refuse to lend, if necessity shall compel any one to borrow. He must not be harsh towards a son, nor towards a slave: he must remember that he himself has a Father and a Master. He will so act towards these as he will wish that others should act towards him. He will not receive excessive gifts from those who have less resources than himself; for it is not just that the estates of the wealthy should be increased by the losses of the wretched.

It is an old precept not to kill, which ought not to be taken in this light, as though we axe commanded to abstain only from homicide, which is punished even by public laws. But by the intervention of this command, it will not be permitted us to apply peril of death by word, nor to put to death or expose an infant, nor to condemn one's self by a voluntary death. We are likewise commanded not to commit adultery; but by this precept we are not only prohibited from polluting the marriage of another, which is condemned even by the common law of nations, but even to abstain from those who prostitute their persons. For the law of God is above all laws; it forbids even those things which are esteemed lawful, that it may fulfill justice. It is a part of the same law not to utter false witness, and this also itself has a wider meaning. For if false witness by falsehood is injurious to him against whom it is spoken, and deceives him in whose presence it is spoken, we must therefore never speak falsely, because falsehood always deceives or injures. Therefore he is not a just man who, even without inflicting injury, speaks in idle discourse. Nor indeed is it lawful for him to flatter, for flattery is pernicious and deceitful; but he will everywhere guard the truth. And although this may for the present be unpleasant, nevertheless, when its advantage and usefulness shall appear, it will not produce hatred, as the poet says, but gratitude.

CHAPTER 65

PRECEPTS ABOUT THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE COMMANDED, AND OF PITY

I have spoken of those things which are forbidden; I will now briefly say what things are commanded. Closely connected with harmlessness is pity. For the former does not inflict injury, the latter works good; the former

begins justice, the latter completes it. For since the nature of men is more feeble than that of the other animals, which God has provided with means of inflicting violence, and with defenses for repelling it, He has given to us the affection of pity, that we might place the whole protection of our life in mutual aid. For if we are created by one God, and descended from one man, and are thus connected by the law of consanguinity, we ought on this account to love every man; and therefore we are bound not only to abstain from the infliction of injury, but not even to avenge it when inflicted on us, that there may be in us complete harmlessness. And on this account God commands us to pray always even for our enemies. Therefore we ought to be an animal fitted for companionship and society, that we may mutually protect ourselves by giving and receiving assistance. For our frailty is liable to many accidents and inconveniences. Expect that that which you see has happened to another may happen to you also. Thus you will at length be excited to render aid, if you shall assume the mind of him who, being placed in evils, implores your aid. If any one is in need of food, let us bestow it; if any one meets us who is naked, let us clothe him; if any one suffers injury from one who is more powerful than himself, let us rescue him. Let our house be open to strangers, or to those who are in need of shelter. Let cur de-fence not be wanting to wards, or our protection to the defenseless. To ransom captives is a great work of pity, and also to visit and comfort the sick who are in poverty. If the helpless or strangers die, we should not permit them to lie unburied. These are the works, these the duties, of pity; and if any one undertakes these, he will offer unto God a true and acceptable sacrifice. This victim is more adapted for an offering to God, who is not appeased with the blood of a sheep, but with the piety of man, whom God, because He is just, follows up with His own law, and with His own condition. He shows mercy to him whom He sees to be merciful; He is inexorable to him whom He sees to be harsh to those who entreat him. Therefore, that we may be able to do all these things, which are pleasing to God, money is to be despised, and to be transferred to heavenly treasures, where neither thief can break through, nor rust corrupt, nor tyrant take away, but it may be preserved for us under the guardianship of God to our eternal wealth.

CHAPTER 66

OF FAITH IN RELIGION, AND OF FORTITUDE

Faith also is a great part of justice; and this ought especially to be preserved by us, who bear the name of faith, especially in religion, because God is before and to be preferred to man. And if it is a glorious thing to undergo death in behalf of friends, of parents, and of children, that is, in behalf of man, and if he who has done this obtains lasting memory and praise, how much more so in behalf of God, who is able to bestow eternal life in return for temporal death? Therefore, when a necessity of this kind happens. that we are compelled to turn aside from God, and to pass over to the rites of the heathens, no fear, no terror should turn us aside from guarding the faith delivered to us. Let God be before our eyes, in our heart, by whose inward help we may overcome the pain of our flesh, and the torments applied to our body. Then let its think of nothing else but the rewards of an immortal life. And thus, even though our limbs should be torn in pieces, or burnt, we shall easily endure all things which the madness of tyrannical cruelty shall contrive against us. Lastly, let us strive to undergo death itself, not unwillingly or timidly, but willingly and undauntedly, as those who know what glory we are about to bare in the presence of God, having triumphed over the world and coming to the things promised us; with what good things and how great blessedness we shall be compensated for these brief evils of punishments, and the injuries of this life. But if the opportunity of this glory shall be wanting, faith will have its reward even in peace. Therefore let it be observed in all the duties of life, let it be observed in marriage. For it is not sufficient if you abstain from another’s bed, or from the brothel. Let him who has a wife seek nothing further, but, content with her alone, let him guard the mysteries of the marriage-bed. chaste and undefiled. For he is equally an adulterer in the sight of God and impure, who, having thrown off the yoke, wantons in strange pleasure either with a free woman or a slave. But as a woman is bound by the bonds of chastity not to desire any other man, so let the husband be bound by the same law, since God has joined together the husband and the wife in the union of one body. On this account He has commanded that the wife shall not be put away unless convicted of adultery, and that the bond of the conjugal compact shall never be

dissolved, unless unfaithfulness have broken it. This also is added for the completion of chastity, that there should be an absence not only of the offense, but even of the thought. For it is evident that the mind is polluted by the desire, though unaccomplished; and so that a just man ought neither to do, nor to wish to do, that which is unjust. Therefore the conscience must be cleansed; for God, who cannot be deceived, inspects it. The breast must be cleared from every stain, that it may be a temple of God, which is enlightened not by the gleam of gold or ivory, but by the brightness of faith and purity.

CHAPTER 67

OF REPENTANCE, THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, AND OF PROVIDENCE

But it is true all these things are difficult to man, nor does the condition of his frailty permit that any one should be without blemish. Therefore the last remedy is this, that we have recourse to repentance, which has not the least place among the virtues, because it is a correction of oneself; that when we have happened to fail either in deed or in word, we may immediately come to a better mind, and confess that we have offended, and entreat pardon from God, which according to His mercy He will not deny, except to those who persist in their error. Great is the aid, great the solace of repentance. That is the healing of wounds and offenses, that hope, that the harbor of safety; and he who takes away this cuts off from himself the way of salvation, because no one can be so just that repentance is never necessary for him. But we, even though there is no offense of ours, yet ought to confess to God, and to entreat pardon for our faults, and to give thanks even in evils. Let us always offer this obedience to our Lord. For humility is dear and lovely in the sight of God; for since, He rather receives the sinner who confesses his fault, than the just man who is haughty, how much more will He receive the just man who confesses, and exalt him in His heavenly kingdom in proportion to his humility! These are the things which the worshipper of God ought to hold forth; these are the victims, this the sacrifice, which is acceptable; this is true worship, when a man offers upon the altar of God the pledges of his own mind.

That supreme Majesty rejoices in such a worshipper as this, as it takes him as a son and bestows upon him the befitting reward of immortality, concerning which I must now speak, and refute the persuasion of those who think that the soul is destroyed together with the body. For inasmuch as they neither knew God nor were able to perceive the mystery of the world, they did not even comprehend the nature of man and of the soul. For how could they see the consequences, who did not hold the main point? Therefore, in denying the existence of a providence, they plainly denied the existence of God, who is the fountain and source of all things. It followed that they should either affirm that those things which exist have always existed, or were produced of their own accord, or arose from a meeting together of minute seeds.

It cannot be said that that which exists, and is visible, always existed; for it cannot exist of itself without some beginning. But nothing can be produced of its own accord, because there is no nature without one who generates it. But how could there be original seeds, since both the seeds arise from objects, and, in their turn, objects from seeds? Therefore there is no seed which has not origin. Thus it came to pass, that when they supposed that the world was produced by no providence, they did not suppose that even man was produced by any plan. But if no plan was made use of in the creation of man, therefore the soul cannot be immortal. But others, on the other hand, thought there was but one God, and that the world was made by Him, and made for the sake of men, and that souls are immortal. But though they entertained true sentiments, nevertheless they did not perceive the causes, or reasons, or issues of this divine work and design, so as to complete the whole mystery of the truth, and to comprise it within some limit. But that which they were not able to do, because they did not hold the truth in its integrity, must be done by us, who know it on the announcement of God.

CHAPTER 68

OF THE WORLD, MAN, AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD

Let us therefore consider what was the plan of making this so great and so immense a work. God made the world, as Plato thought, but he does not

show why He made it. Because He is good, he says, and envying no one, He made the things which are good. But we see that there are both good and evil things in the system of nature. Some perverse person may stand forth, such as that atheist Theodorus was, and answer Plato: Nay, because He is evil, He made the things which are evil. How will he refute him? If God made the things which are good, whence have such great evils burst forth, which, for the most part, even prevail over those which are good? They were contained, he says, in the matter. If there were evil, therefore there were also good things; so that either God made nothing, or if He made only good things, the evil things which were not made are more eternal than the good things which had a beginning. Therefore the things which at one time began will have an end, and those which always existed will be permanent. Therefore evils are preferable. But if they cannot be preferable, they cannot indeed be more eternal. Therefore they either always existed, and God has been inactive, or they both flowed from one source. For it is more in accordance with reason that God made all things, than that He made nothing.

Therefore, according to the sentiments of Plato, the same God is both good, because He made good things, and evil, because He made evil things. And if this cannot be so, it is evident that the world was not made by God on this account, because He is good. For He comprised all things, both good and evil; nor did He make anything for its own sake, but on account of something else. A house is built not for this purpose only, that there may be a house, but that it may receive and shelter an inhabitant. Likewise a ship is built not for this purpose, that it may appear only to be a ship, but that men may be able to sail in it. Vessels also are made, not only that the vessels may exist, but that they may receive things which are necessary for use. Thus also God must have made the world for some use. The Stoics say that it was made for the sake of then; and rightly so. For men enjoy all these good things which the world contains in itself. But they do not explain why men themselves were made, or what advantage Providence, the Maker of all things, has in them.

Plato also affirms that souls are immortal, but why, or in what manner, or at what time, or by whose instrumentality they attain to immortality, or what is the nature of that great mystery, why those who are about to become immortal are previously born mortal, and then, having completed

the course of their temporal life, and having laid aside the covering of their frail bodies, are transferred to that eternal blessedness, — of all this he has no comprehension. Finally, he did not explain the judgment of God, nor the distinction between the just and the unjust, but supposed that the souls which have plunged themselves into crimes are condemned thus far, that they may be reproduced in the lower animals, and thus atone for their offenses, until they again return to the forms of men, and that this is always taking place, and that there is no end of this transmigration. In my opinion, he introduces some sport resembling a dream, in which there appears to be neither plan, nor government of God, nor any design.

CHAPTER 69

THAT THE WORLD WAS MADE ON ACCOUNT OF MAN, AND MAN ON ACCOUNT OF GOD

I will now say what is that chief point which not even those who spoke the truth were able to connect together, bringing into one view causes and reasons. The world was made by God, that men might be born; again, men are born, that they may acknowledge God as a Father, in whom is wisdom; they acknowledge Him, that they may worship Him, in whom is justice; they worship Him, that they may receive the reward of immortality; they receive immortality, that they may serve God for ever. Do you see how closely connected the first are with the middle, and the middle with the last? Let us look into them separately, and see whether they are consistent with each other. God made the world on account of man. He who does not see this, does not differ ranch from a beast. Who but man looks up to the heaven? who views with admiration the sun, who the stars, who all the works of God? Who inhabits the earth? who receives the fruit from it? Who has in his power the fishes, who the winged creatures, who the quadrupeds, except man? Therefore God made all things on account of man, because all things have turned out for the use of man.

The philosophers saw this, but they did not see the consequence, that He made man himself on His own account. For it was befitting, and pious, and necessary, that since He contrived such great works for the sake of man, when He gave him so much honor, and so much power, that he should bear

rule in the world, man should both acknowledge God, the Author of such great benefits, who made the world itself on his account, and should pay Him the worship and honor due to Him. Here Plato erred; here he lost the truth which he had at first laid hold of, when he was silent concerning the worship of that God whom he confessed to be the framer and parent of all things, and did not understand that man is bound to God by the ties of piety, whence religion itself receives its name, and that this is the only thing on account of which souls become immortal. He perceived, however, that they are eternal, but he did not descend by the regular gradations to that opinion. For the middle arguments being taken away, he rather fell into the truth, as though by some abrupt precipice; nor did he advance further, since he had found the truth by accident, and not by reason. Therefore God is to be worshipped, that by means of religion, which is also justice, man may receive from God immortality, nor is there any other reward of a pious mind; and if this is invisible, it cannot be presented by the invisible God with any reward but that which is invisible.

CHAPTER 70

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL IS CONFIRMED

It may in truth be collected from many arguments that souls are eternal. Plato says that that which always moves by itself, and has no beginning of motion, also has no end; but that the soul of man always moves by itself, and because it is flexible for reflection, subtle for discovery, easy of perception, adapted to learning, and because it retains the past, comprehends the present, foresees the future, and embraces the knowledge of many subjects and arts, that it is immortal, since it contains nothing which is mixed with the contagion of earthly weight. Moreover, the eternity of the soul is understood from virtue and pleasure. Pleasure is common to all animals, virtue belongs only to man; the former is vicious, the latter is honorable; the former is in accordance with nature, the latter is opposed to nature, unless the soul is immortal. For in defense of faith and justice, virtue neither fears want, nor is alarmed at exile, nor dreads imprisonment, nor shrinks from pain, nor refuses death; and because these things are contrary to nature, either virtue is foolishness, if it stands in the

way of advantages, and is injurious to life; or if it is not foolishness, then the soul is immortal, and despises present goods, because other things are preferable which it attains after the dissolution of the body. But that is the greatest proof of immortality, that man alone has the knowledge of God. In the dumb animals there is no notion of religion, because they are earthly and bent down to the earth. Man is upright, and beholds the heaven for this purpose, that he may seek God. Therefore he cannot be other than immortal, who longs for the immortal. He cannot be liable to dissolution, who is connected with God both in countenance and mind. Finally, man alone makes use of the heavenly element, which is fire, For if light is through fire, and life through light, it is evident that he who has the use of fire is not mortal, since this is closely connected, this is intimately related to Him without whom neither light nor life can exist.

But why do we infer from arguments that souls are eternal, when we have divine testimonies? For the sacred writings and the voices of the prophets teach this. And if this appears to any one insufficient, let him read the poems of the Sibyls, let him also weigh the answers of the Milesian Apollo, that he may understand that Democritus, and Epicurus, and Dicaearchus raved, who alone of all mortals denied that which is evident. Having proved the immortality of the soul, it remains to teach by whom, and to whom, and in what manner, and at what time, it is given. Since fixed and divinely appointed times have begun to be filled up, a destruction and consummation of all things must of necessity take place, that the world may be renewed by God. But that time is at hand, as far as may be collected from the number of years, and from the signs which are foretold by the prophets. But since the things which have been spoken concerning the end of the world and the conclusion of the times are innumerable, those very things which are spoken are to be laid down without adornment, since it would be a boundless task to bring forward the testimonies. If any one wishes for them, or does not place full confidence in us, let him approach to the very shrine of the heavenly letters, and being more fully instructed through their trustworthiness, let him perceive that the philosophers have erred, who thought either that this world was eternal, or that there would be numberless thousands of years from the time when it was prepared. For six thousand years have not yet been completed, and when this number shall be made up, then at length all evil will be taken

away, that justice alone may reign. And how this will come to pass, I will explain in few words.

CHAPTER 71

OF THE LAST TIMES

These things are said by the prophets, but as seers, to be about to happen. When the last end shall begin to approach to the world, wickedness will increase; all kinds of vices and frauds will become frequent; justice will perish; faith, peace, mercy, modesty, truth, will have no existence; violence and daring will abound; no one will have anything, unless it is acquired by the hand, and defended by the hand. If there shall be any good men, they will be esteemed as a prey and a laughing-stock. No one will exhibit filial affection to parents, no one will pity an infant or an old man; avarice and lust will corrupt all things. There will be slaughter and bloodshed. There will be wars, and those not only between foreign and neighboring states, but also intestine wars. States will carry on wars among themselves, every sex and age will handle arms. The dignity of government will not be preserved, nor military discipline; but after the manner of robbery, there will be depredation and devastation. Kingly power will be multiplied, and ten men will occupy, portion out, and devour the world. There will arise another by far more powerful and wicked, who, having destroyed three, will obtain Asia, and having reduced and subdued the others under his own power, will harass all the earth. He will appoint new laws, abrogate old ones; he will make the state his own, and will change the name and seat of the government.

Then there will be a dreadful and detestable time, in which no one would choose to live. In fine, such will be the condition of things, that lamentation will follow the living, and congratulation the dead. Cities and towns will be destroyed, at one time by fire and the sword, at another by repeated earthquakes; now by inundation of waters, now by pestilence and famine. The earth will produce nothing, being barren either through excessive cold or heat. All water will be partly changed into blood, partly vitiated by bitterness, so that none of it can be useful for food, or wholesome for drinking. To these evils will also be added prodigies from

heaven, that nothing may be wanting to men for causing fear. Comets will frequently appear. The sun will be overshadowed with perpetual paleness. The moon will be stained with blood, nor will it repair the losses of its light taken away. All the stars will fall, nor will the seasons preserve their regularity, winter and summer being confused. Then both the year, and the month, and the day will be shortened. And Trismegistus has declared that this is the old age and decline of the world. And when this shall have come, it must be known that the time is at hand in which God will return to change the world. But in the midst of these evils there will arise an impious king, hostile not only to mankind, but also to God. He will trample upon, torment, harass and put to death those who have been spared by that former tyrant. Then there will be ever-flowing tears, perpetual wailings and lamentations, and useless prayers to God; there will be no rest from fear, no sleep for a respite. The day will always increase disaster, the night alarm. Thus the world will be reduced almost to solitude, certainly to fewness of men. Then also the impious man will persecute the just and those who are dedicated to God, and will give orders that he himself shall be worshipped as God. For he will say that he is Christ, though he will be His adversary. That he may be believed, he will receive the power of doing wonders, so that fire may descend from heaven, the sun retire from his course, and the image which he shall have set up may speak. And by these prodigies he shall entice many to worship him, and to receive his sign in their hand or forehead. And he who shall not worship him and receive his sign will die with refined tortures. Thus he will destroy nearly two parts, the third will flee into desolate solitudes. But he, frantic and raging with implacable anger, will lead an army and besiege the mountain to which the righteous shall have fled. And when they shall see themselves besieged, they will implore the aid of God with a loud voice, and God shall hear them, and shall send to them a deliverer.

CHAPTER 72

OF CHRIST DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN TO THE GENERAL JUDGMENT, AND OF THE MILLENARIAN REIGN

Then the heaven shall be opened in a tempest, and Christ shall descend with great power, and there shall go before Him a fiery brightness and a countless host of angels, and all that multitude of the wicked shall be destroyed, and torrents of blood shall flow, and the leader himself shall escape, and having often renewed his army, shall for the fourth time engage in battle, in which, being taken, with all the other tyrants, he shall be delivered up to be burnt. But the prince also of the demons himself, the author and contriver of evils, being bound with fiery chains, shall be imprisoned, that the world may receive peace, and the earth, harassed through so many years, may rest. Therefore peace being made, and every evil suppressed, that righteous King and Conqueror will institute a great judgment on the earth respecting the living and the dead, and will deliver all the nations into subjection to the righteous who are alive, and will raise the righteous dead to eternal life, and will Himself reign with them on the earth, and will build the holy city, and this kingdom of the righteous shall be for a thousand years. Throughout that time the stars shall be more brilliant, and the brightness of the sun shall be increased, and the moon shall not be subject to decrease. Then the rain of blessing shall descend from God at morning and evening, and the earth shall bring forth all her fruit without the labor of men. Honey shall drop from rocks, fountains of milk and wine shall abound. The beasts shall lay aside their ferocity and become mild, the wolf shall roam among the flocks without doing harm, the calf shall feed with the lion, the dove shall be united with the hawk, the serpent shall have no poison; no animal shall live by bloodshed. For God shall supply to all abundant and harmless food. But when the thousand years shall be fulfilled, and the prince of the demons loosed, the nations will rebel against the righteous, and an innumerable multitude will come to storm the city of the saints. Then the last judgment of God will come to pass against the nations. For He will shake the earth froth its foundations, and the cities shall be overthrown, and He Shall rain upon the wicked fire with brimstone and hail, and they shall be on fire, and slay each other. But the righteous shall for a little space be concealed under the earth, until the

destruction of the nations is accomplished, and after the third day they shall come forth, and see the plains covered with carcasses. Then there shall be an earthquake, and the mountains shall be rent, and valleys shall sink down to a profound depth, and into this the bodies of the dead shall be heaped together, and its name shall be called Polyandrion. After these things God will renew the world, and transform the righteous into the forms of angels, that, being presented with the garment of immortality, they may serve God for ever; and this will be the kingdom of God, which shall have no end. Then also the wicked shall rise again, not to life but to punishment; for God shall raise these also, when the second resurrection takes place, that, being condemned to eternal torments and delivered to eternal fires, they may suffer the punishments which they deserve for their crimes.

CHAPTER 73

THE HOPE OF SAFETY IS IN THE RELIGION AND WORSHIP OF GOD

Wherefore, since all these things are true and certain, in harmony with the predicted announcement of the prophets, since Trismegistus and Hystaspes and the Sibyls have foretold the same things, it cannot be doubted that all hope of life and salvation is placed in the religion of God alone. Therefore, unless a man shall have received Christ, whom God has sent, and is about to send for our redemption, unless he shall have known the Supreme God through Christ, unless he shall have kept His commandments and law, he will fall into those punishments of which we have spoken. Therefore frail things must be despised, that we may gain those which are substantial; earthly things must be scorned, that we may be honored with heavenly things; temporal things must be shunned, that we may reach those which are eternal. Let every one train himself to justice, mold himself to self-restraint, prepare himself for the contest, equip himself for virtue, that if by any chance an adversary shall wage war, he may be driven from that which is upright and good by no force, no terror, and no tortures, may give, himself up to no senseless fictions, but in his uprightness acknowledge the true and only God, may cast away

pleasures, by the attractions of which the lofty soul is depressed to the earth, may hold fast innocency, may be of service to as many as possible, may gain for himself incorruptible treasures by good works, that he may be able, with God for his judge, to gain for the merits of his virtue either the crown of faith, or the reward of immortality.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(PRINCES AND KINGS, P. 13.)

How memorable the histories, moreover, of Nebuchadnezzar and his decrees; of Darius and his also; but especially of Cyrus and his great monumental edict! The beautiful narratives of the Queen of Sheba and of the Persian consort of Queen Esther (probably Xerxes) are also manifestations of the ways of Providence in giving light to the heathen world through that "nation of priests" in Israel.

But Lactantius, who uses the Sibyls so freely, should not have omitted to show what Sibylline oracles God drew forth from "the princes of this world" also, by the illumination of the pharos which he established in Sion, "to be a light to lighten the Gentiles" until the great Epiphany should rise upon them in "the dayspring from on high."

I extract from a paradoxical but most entertaining author, whom I have often quoted, certain extracts from Philo, which I translate from his note in the *Soirees.* Thus: —

> "Agrippa," says Philo, "having visited Jerusalem in Herod's time, was enchanted by the religion of the Jews, and could never cease to speak of it.... Augustus ordered that every day, at his own expense, and under the legal forms, a bull and *two lambs* should be offered in holocaust to the Most High God on the altar at Jerusalem, though he knew that it contained no image, whether exposed or within the veil; for this great prince, surpassed by none in the philosophic spirit, felt the actual necessity in this world of an altar dedicated to a God invisible."

Philo also says: —

> "Your great-grandmother Julia also made superb presents to the temple; and although women very reluctantly detach themselves

> from images, and rarely conceive of anything apart from sensation, this lady, nevertheless, greatly superior to her sex in culture and in natural endowments, arrived at that point in which she preferred to contemplate such things in the mind rather than in sensible objects, regarding these as mere shadows of the realities."

In the same discourse, wasting words on Caligula, Philo reminds him that Augustus "not only *admired*, nay, rather, he adored (εθαύμαζε καὶ προσέκυνει κ. τ. λ.), this custom of employing *no sort of image to represent, materially, a nature invisible in itself*." Poor De Maistre, who quotes this testimony against images from Philo with intense appreciation, will yet sophisticate himself and others into the very contrary in behalf of his one predominant idea of (προσκύνησις) canine self-abasement to the decrees of the Vatican. On this account I am forced to consider him a sophist as well as a fanatic; but I delight to render justice to his genius, for, wherever he talks and reasons as a *Christian* merely, he fascinates and instructs me. He never conceived of "Catholicity," and lived under the delusion of the Decretals, a disciple of the Jesuits.

2

(THEREFORE THEY WERE NEGLECTED FOR MANY AGES, P. 116.)

The explicit statements of Lactantius, and his profuse quotations from the *Sibyllina*, persuade me that these curious fragments deserve a degree of scientific attention which they have not yet received. The Fathers all cite them, when it must have exposed them to scorn and overwhelming refutation had their quotations not been found in the *Sibylline* books of their adversaries. The influence of the Jewish religion upon the Gentiles under the Babylonian and Medo-Persian monarchies must have been considerable, but after Alexander's time it was vastly increased. Many versions of select prophets were doubtless produced in Greek before the authorized Septuagint. These were soon embedded in the Sibyls' books; and I cannot think the interpolations of early Christians were all frauds, by any means. Their numerous marginal annotations crept into other copies; and very likely, in the time of our author, they were inextricably confused

with the text in the greater part of the “editions,” so to speak, then current with booksellers.

But in vol. viii. we shall have occasion to recur again to this interesting inquiry.

3

(WE MADE PROCLAMATION BEFORE HIM AS CHILDREN, P. 117.)

“Sicut pueri.” This is *not* according to the Septuagint, ὡς παιδίον. It is not the Vulgate, of course; but its radical difference with that raises interesting inquiries: Is it a specimen of one of many African or old Italic versions? Does our author endeavor to translate from the Septuagint? May he not have had in hand a copy of Isaiah from among those which preceded the Septuagint?

The Septuagint reading finds its key in cap. lii. 7, and in the tenth verse, where the “Arm of the Lord” (“His Holy Arm”) is introduced as the personal Loges Incarnate. The thirteenth and fourteenth verses predict the amazing sequel, and its practical and blessed results; and then begins cap. liii., “Who hath believed” our message. To whom is “the Arm of the Lord” revealed? “*Going* before Him (i.e., as heralds), we have proclaimed *Him* as a child, and, as *it were*, a root in a thirsty land; He has no form nor glory,” etc. In other words, “We have prophesied of Him who is elsewhere predicted (“unto us a child is born “) as one who from His childhood is as a rush without water, — prematurely withered, — a man of sorrows, and the Carpenter’s Son.”

It does not hint, therefore, the “obscurity” of the Messiah’s birth, but rather what Irenaeus insists upon, i.e., His (premature) old age; the worn and stricken appearance of senility in comparative youth. This is just what the messengers (Isaiah 52:7) had said in their proclamation (Isaiah 52:14) just before: “His visage was so marred more than any man, and His form more than the sons of men.”

4

(THERE WAS DARKNESS, ETC., PP. 122, 240)

In former instances, where thought has turned to Phlegon the Trallian, I have failed to refer to an author whose excess of candor sometimes gives away more than is called for, in questions on which adversaries have contrived to fasten undue importance, in order to elicit indiscreet defenses. But it is due to my readers that I should refer them to a most learned work, to be found in public libraries only, by my revered friend and instructor Dr. Jarvis. The sixth chapter (part ii.) of his *Chronological Introduction to Church History* is devoted to this matter, and I can do no better than give the summary of its contents as follows: —

"Who Phlegon was; his work lost; extracts from it by Julius Africanus and Eusebius; their works, containing these extracts, lost; all we know is from versions and later writers; collation of extracts as given by the Armenian version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, St. Jerome's Latin version, the *Chronographia* of Syncellus, and the *Chranicon Paschale*; extract by Syncellus from Julius Africanus; remarks upon it; testimony of Origen concerning Phlegon's account; of John Philoponus (St. Maximus) Malala; summary of the whole; account of Phlegon's testimony; not noticed by the learned and voluminous writers of the fourth and fifth centuries when they speak of the darkness, etc.; Dr. Lardner's judgment adopted."

Lardner's view, it will be observed, is thus sustained by an independent and most competent critic. This decision puts honor on the early writers: he thinks they were unwilling to claim a corroboration from evidence about which they were not well assured.

5

(DIVINE AND ETHNIC ORACLES, P. 210, NOTE 2; P. 112, NOTE 9.)

The whole subject of ethnic oracles needs fresh study and illustration. Nothing would be more fascinating in theological inquiry, and Divine

Inspiration might be richly illustrated by it, as anatomical science is clarified by “comparative anatomy.” I commend this subject to men of faith, learning, and intellectual vigor. Notably, let it be observed:

{1} That Balaam’s ass is instanced by St. Peter as miraculously enabled to rebuke the madness of his master; and the same Apostle shortly before gives us the law as to divine inspiration in contrast.

{2} Balaam himself, as mechanically as the beast he rode, had his own mouth opened (see <04206>Numbers 26:16-19).

{3} The wicked Caiaphas in like manner (<43051>John 9:51, 52) spoke prophetically, “not of himself.”

{4} Paul (<44728>Acts 17:28) quotes a heathen oracle very much as does our author. Now, in view of the boldness with which the early Christians follow the example of the Apostle in quoting the *Orphica* and *Sibyllina*, I cannot imagine that these citations were not honestly believed by them to be oracles of a certain sort, by which God permitted the heathen to be enlightened. Observe our author’s moderate but most pregnant remark about such inspiration (on p. 170, *supra*, note 8), “*almost* with a divine voice;” then (on p. 192) compare other *almost* inspired words of poor Tully (at note 2), and of Seneca also.

Finally, and to close the subject, the reader will readily forgive me for introducing the following citations from the “Warburton Lecture” of Dr. Edersheim, on *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah*. Discussing the *pseudepigraphic writings* (in Lecture Eleventh), he says as follows: —

> “The Sibylline oracles, in Greek hexameters, consist, in their present form, of twelve books. *They are full of interpolations*, the really ancient portions forming part of the first two books and the largest part of book third (verses 97-807). These sections *are deeply imbued with the Messianic spirit*, They date from about the year 140 before our era, while another small portion of the same book is supposed to date from the year 32 B.C.

> "As regards the promise of the Messiah, we turn in the first place, and with special interest, to the *Sibylline Oracles*. In the third book of these (such portions as I shall quote date from about 140 B.C.) the Messiah is described as 'the King sent from heaven, who would judge every man in blood and splendor of fire.' And the Vision of Messianic times opens with a reference to 'the King whom God will send from the Sun,' where we cannot fail to perceive a reference to the *Seventy-second* Psalm, especially as we remember that the Greek of the Seventy, *which must have been present to the Hellenist Sibyl*, fully adapted the Messianic application of the passage to a premundane Messiah. We also think of the picture drawn in the prophecies of Isaiah. According to the Sibylline books, King Messiah was not only to come, but He was to be specifically sent of God. He is *supermundane*, a King and a Judge of superhuman glory and splendor. And, indeed, that a superhuman kingdom, such as the Sibylline oracles paint, should have a superhuman king, seems only a natural and necessary inference.... If, as certain modern critics contend, the book of Daniel is not authentic, but dates from Maccabean times,... it may well be asked *to what king* the Sibylline oracles point, for they certainly date from that period; and what is the relationship between the (supposed Maccabean) prophecies of the book of Daniel and the *certainly Messianic* anticipations of the undoubted literature of that period?"

Dr. Edersheim gives us the reference in the margin, to which I would call attention, as directing to the whole *pseudepigraphic* literature. But who can wonder, after what we thus learn, that Constantine was so profoundly impressed with Virgil's *Pollio*? In spite of all that has been said, I cannot but see Isaiah in its entire spirit.

A TREATISE ON THE ANGER OF GOD

ADDRESSED TO DONATUS

CHAPTER 1

OF DIVINE AND HUMAN WISDOM

I HAVE often observed, Donatus, that many persons hold this opinion, which some philosophers also have maintained, that God is not subject to anger; since the divine nature is either altogether beneficent, and that it is inconsistent with His surpassing and excellent power to do injury to any one; or, at any rate, He takes no notice of us at all, so that no advantage comes to us from His goodness, and no evil from His ill-will. But the error of these men, because it is very great, and tends to overthrow the condition of human life, must be refuted by us, lest you yourself also should be deceived, being incited by the authority of men who deem themselves wise. Nor, however, are we so arrogant as to boast that the truth is comprehended by our intellect; but we follow the teaching of God, who alone is able to know and to reveal secret things. But the philosophers, being destitute of this teaching, have imagined that the nature of things can be ascertained by conjecture. But this is impossible; because the mind of man, enclosed in the dark abode of the body, is far removed from the perception of truth: and in this the divine nature differs from the human, that ignorance is the property of the human, knowledge of the divine nature. On which account we have need of some light to dispel the darkness by which the reflection of man is overspread, since, while we live in mortal flesh, we are unable to divine by our senses. But the light of the human mind is God, and he who has known and admitted Him into his breast will acknowledge the mystery of the truth with an enlightened heart; but when God and heavenly instruction are removed, all things are full of errors. And Socrates, though he was the most learned of all the philosophers, yet, that he might prove the ignorance of the others,

who thought that they possessed something, rightly said that he knew nothing, except one thing — that he knew nothing. For he understood that that learning had nothing certain, nothing true in itself; nor, as some imagine, did he pretend, to learning that he might refute others, but he saw the truth in some measure. And he testified even on his trial (as is related by Plato) that there was no human wisdom. He so despised, derided, and cast aside the learning in which the philosophers then boasted, that he professed that very thing as the greatest learning, that he had learnt that he knew nothing. If, therefore, there is no human wisdom, as Socrates taught, as Plato handed down, it is evident that the knowledge of the truth is divine, and belongs to no other than to God. Therefore God must be known, in whom alone is the truth. He is the Parent of the world, and the Framer of all things; who is not seen with the eyes, and is scarcely distinguished by the mind; whose religion is accustomed to be attacked in many ways by those who have neither been able to attain true wisdom, nor to comprehend the system of the great and heavenly secret.

CHAPTER 2

OF THE TRUTH AND ITS STEPS, AND OF GOD

For since there are many steps by which the ascent is made to the abode of truth, it is not easy for any one to reach the summit. For when the eyes are darkened by the brightness of the truth, they who are unable to maintain a firm step fall back to the level ground. Now the first step is to understand false religions, and to throw aside the impious worship of gods which are made by the hand of man. But the second step is to perceive with the mind that there is but one Supreme God, whose power and providence made the world from the beginning, and afterwards continues to govern it. The third step is to know His Servant and Messenger, whom He sent as His ambassador to the earth, by whose teaching being freed from the error in which we were held entangled, and formed to the worship of the true God, we might learn righteousness. From all of these steps, as I have said, there is a rapid and easy gliding to a downfall, unless the feet are firmly planted with unshaken steadfastness.

We see those shaken off from the first step, who, though they understand things which are false, do not, however, discover that which is true; and though they despised earthly and frail images, do not betake themselves to the worship of God, of whom they are ignorant. But viewing with admiration the elements of the universe, they worship the heaven, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies.

But we have already reproved their ignorance in the second book of . But we say that those fall from the second step, who, though they understand that there is but one Supreme God, nevertheless, ensnared by the philosophers, and captivated by false arguments, entertain opinions concerning that excellent majesty far removed from the truth; who either deny that God has any figure, or think that He is moved by no affection, because every affection is a sign of weakness, which has no existence in God. But they are precipitated from the third step, who, though they know the Ambassador of God, who is also the Builder of the divine and immortal temple, either do not receive Him, or receive Him otherwise than faith demands; whom we have partly refuted in the fourth book of the above-named work. And we will hereafter refute more carefully, when we shall begin to reply to all the sects, which, while they dispute, have destroyed the truth.

But now we will argue against those who, falling from the second step, entertain wrong sentiments respecting the Supreme God. For some say that He neither does a kindness to any one, nor becomes angry, but in security and quietness enjoys the advantages of His own immortality. Others, indeed, take away anger, but leave to God kindness; for they think that a nature excelling in the greatest virtue, while it ought not to be malevolent, ought also to be benevolent. Thus all the philosophers are agreed on the subject of anger, but are at variance respecting kindness. But, that my speech may descend in order to the proposed subject, a division of this kind must be made and followed by me, since anger and kindness are different, and opposed to one another. Either anger must be attributed to God, and kindness taken from Him; or both alike must be taken from Him; or anger must be taken away, and kindness attributed to Him; or neither must be taken away. The nature of the case admits of nothing else besides these; so that the truth, which is sought for, must necessarily be

found in some one of these. Let us consider them separately, that reason and arrangement may conduct us to the hiding-place of truth.

CHAPTER 3

OF THE GOOD AND EVIL THINGS IN HUMAN AFFAIRS, AND OF THEIR AUTHOR

First, no one ever said this respecting God, that He is only subject to anger, and is not influenced by kindness. For it is unsuitable to God, that He should be endowed with a power of this kind, by which He may injure and do harm, but be unable to profit and to do good. What means, therefore, what hope of safety, is proposed to men, if God is the author of evils only? For if this is so, that venerable majesty will now be drawn out, not to the power of the judge, to whom it is permitted to preserve and set at liberty, but to the office of the torturer and executioner. But whereas we see that there are not only evils in human affairs, but also goods, it is plain that if God is the author of evils, there must be another who does things contrary to God, and gives to us good things. If there is such a one, by what name must he be called? Why is he who injures us more known to us than He who benefits us? But if this can be nothing besides God, it is absurd and vain to suppose that the divine power, than which nothing is greater or better, is able to injure, but unable to benefit; and accordingly no one has ever existed who ventured to assert this, because it is neither reasonable nor in any way credible. And because this is agreed upon, let us pass on and seek after the truth elsewhere.

CHAPTER 4

OF GOD AND HIS AFFECTIONS, AND THE CENSURE OF EPICURUS

That which follows is concerning the school of Epicurus; that as there is no anger in God, so indeed there is no kindness. For when Epicurus thought that it was inconsistent with God to injure and to inflict harm, which for the most part arises from the affection of anger, he took away

from Him beneficence also, since he saw that it followed that if God has anger, He must also have kindness. Therefore, lest he should concede to Him a vice, he deprived Him also of virtue? From this, he says, He is happy and uncorrupted, because He cares about nothing, and neither takes trouble Himself nor occasions it to another. Therefore He is not God, if He is neither moved, which is peculiar to a living being, nor does anything impossible for man, which is peculiar to God, if He has no will at all, no action, in short, no administration, which is worthy of God. And what greater, what more worthy administration can be attributed to God, than the government of the world, and especially of the human race, to which all earthly things are subject?

What happiness, then, can there be in God, if He is always inactive, being at rest and unmoveable? if He is deaf to those who pray to Him, and blind to His worshippers? What is so worthy of God, and so befitting to Him, as providence? But if He cares for nothing, and foresees nothing, He has lost all His divinity. What else does he say, who takes from God all power and all substance, except that there is no God at all? In short, Marcus Tullius relates that it was said by Posidonius, that Epicurus understood that there were no gods, but that he said those things which he spoke respecting the gods for the sake of driving away odium; and so that he leaves the gods in words, but takes them away in reality, since he gives them no motion, no office. But if this is so, what can be more deceitful than him? And this ought to be foreign to the character of a wise and weighty man. But if he understood one thing and spoke another, what else is he to be called than a deceiver, double-tongued, wicked, and moreover foolish? But Epicurus was not so crafty as to say those things with the desire of deceiving, when he consigned these things also by his writings to everlasting remembrance; but he erred through ignorance of the truth. For, being led from the beginning by the probability of a single opinion, he necessarily fell into those things which followed. For the first opinion was, that anger was not consistent with the character of God. And when this appeared to him to be true and unassailable, he was unable to refuse the consequences; because one affection being removed, necessity itself compelled him to remove from God the other affections also. Thus, he who is not subject to anger is plainly uninfluenced by kindness, which is the opposite feeling to anger. Now, if there is neither anger nor kindness in

Him, it is manifest that there is neither fear, nor joy, nor grief, nor pity. For all the affections have one system, one motion, which cannot he the case with God. But if there is no affection in God, because whatever is subject to affections is weak, it follows that there is in Him neither the care of anything, nor providence.

The disputation of the wise man extends thus far: he was silent as to the other things which follow; namely, that because there is in Him neither care nor providence, therefore there is no reflection nor any perception in Him, by which it is effected that He has no existence at all. Thus, when he had gradually descended, he remained on the last step, because he now saw the precipice. But what does it avail to have remained silent, and concealed the danger? Necessity compelled him even against his will to fall. For he said that which he did not mean, because he so arranged his argument that he necessarily came to that point which he wished to avoid. You see, therefore, to what point he comes, when anger is removed and taken away from God. In short, either no one believes that, or a very few, and they the guilty and the wicked, who hope for impunity for their sins. But if this also is found to be false, that there is neither anger nor kindness in God, let us come to that which is put in the third place.

CHAPTER 5

THE OPINION OF THE STOICS CONCERNING GOD; OF HIS ANGER AND KINDNESS

The Stoics and some others are supposed to have entertained much better sentiments respecting the divine nature, who say that there is kindness in God, but not anger. A very pleasing and popular speech, that God is not subject to such littleness of mind as to imagine that He is injured by any one, since it is impossible for Him to be injured; so that that serene and holy majesty is excited, disturbed, and maddened, which is the part of human frailty. For they say that anger is a commotion and perturbation of the mind, which is inconsistent with God. Since, when it fails upon the mind of any one, as a violent tempest it excites such waves that it changes the condition of the mind, the eyes gleam, the countenance trembles, the tongue stammers, the teeth chatter, the countenance is alternately stained

now with redness spread over it, now with white paleness. But if anger is unbecoming to a man, provided he be of wisdom and authority, how much more is so foul a change unbecoming to God! And if man, when he has authority and power, inflicts widespread injury through anger, sheds blood, overthrows cities, destroys communities, reduces provinces to desolation, bow much more is it to be believed that God, since He has power over the whole human race, and over the universe itself, would have been about to destroy all things if He were angry.

Therefore they think that so great and so pernicious an evil ought to be absent from Him. And if anger and excitement are absent from Him, because it is disfiguring and injurious, and He inflicts injury on no one, they think that nothing else remains, except that He is mild calm, propitious, beneficent, the preserver. For thus at length He may be called the common Father of all, and the best and greatest, which His divine and heavenly nature demands. For if among men it appears praiseworthy to do good rather than to injure, to restore to life rather than to kill, to save rather than to destroy, and innocence is not undeservedly numbered among the virtues, — and he who does these things is loved, esteemed, honored, and celebrated with all blessings and vows, — in short, on account of his deserts and benefits is judged to be most like to God; how much more right is it that God Himself, who excels in divine and perfect virtues, and who is removed from all earthly taint, should conciliate the whole race of man by divine and heavenly benefits! Those things are spoken speciously and in a popular manner, and they allure many to believe them but they who entertain these sentiments approach nearer indeed to the truth, but they partly fail, not sufficiently considering the nature of the case. For if God is not angry with the impious and the unrighteous, it is clear that He does not love the pious and the righteous. Therefore the error of those is more consistent who take away at once both anger and kindness. For in opposite matters it is necessary to be moved to both sides or to neither. Thus, he who loves the good also hates the wicked, and he who does not hate the wicked does not love the good; because the loving of the good arises from the hatred of the wicked, and the hating of the wicked has its rise from the love of the good. There is no one who loves life without a hatred of death, nor who is desirous of light, but he who avoids darkness.

These things are so connected by nature, that the one cannot exist without the other.

If any master has in his household a good and a bad servant, it is evident that he does not hate them both, or confer upon both benefits and honors; for if he does this, he is both unjust and foolish. But he addresses the one who is good with friendly words, and honors him and sets him over his house and household, and all his affairs; but punishes the bad one with reproaches, with stripes, with nakedness, with hunger, with thirst, with fetters: so that the latter may be an example to others to keep them from sinning, and the former to conciliate them; so that fear may restrain some, and honor may excite others. He, therefore, who loves also hates, and he who hates also loves; for there are those who ought to be loved, and there are those who ought to be hated. And as he who loves confers good things on those whom he loves, so he who hates inflicts evils upon those whom he hates; which argument, because it is true, can in no way be refuted. Therefore the opinion of those is vain and false, who, when they attribute the one to God, take away the other, not less than the opinion of those who take away both. But the latter, as we have shown, in part do not err, but retain that which is the better of the two; whereas the former, led on by the accurate method of their reasoning, fall into the greatest error, because they have assumed premises which are altogether false. For they ought not to have reasoned thus: Because God is not liable to anger, therefore He is not moved by kindness; but in this manner: Because God is moved by kindness, therefore He is also liable to anger. For if it had been certain and undoubted that God is not liable to anger, then the other point would necessarily be arrived at. But since the question as to whether God is angry is more open to doubt, while it is almost perfectly plain that He is kind, it is absurd to wish to subvert that which is certain by means of an uncertainty, since it is easier to confirm uncertain things by means of those which are certain.

CHAPTER 6

THAT GOD IS ANGRY

These are the opinions entertained by the philosophers respecting God. But if we have discovered that these things which have been spoken are false, there remains that one last resource, in which alone the truth can be found, which has never been embraced by philosophers, nor at any time defended: that it follows that God is angry, since He is moved by kindness. This opinion is to be maintained and asserted by us; for this is the sum and turning-point on which the whole of piety and religion depend: and no honor can be due to God, if He affords nothing to His worshippers; and no fear, if He is not angry with him who does not worship Him.

CHAPTER 7

OF MAN, AND THE BRUTE ANIMALS, AND RELIGION

Though philosophers have often turned aside from reason through their ignorance of the truth, and have fallen into inextricable errors (for that is wont to happen to these which happens to a traveler ignorant of the way, and not confessing that he is ignorant, — namely, that he wanders about, while he is ashamed to inquire from those whom he meets), no philosopher, however, has ever made the assertion that there is no difference between man and the brutes. Nor has any one at all, provided that he wished to appear wise, reduced a rational animal to the level of the mute and irrational; which some ignorant persons do, resembling the brutes themselves, who, wishing to give themselves up to the indulgence of their appetite and pleasure, say that they are born on the same principle as all living animals, which it is impious for man to say. For who is so unlearned as not to know, who is so void of understanding as not to perceive, that there is something divine in man? I do not as yet come to the excellences of the soul and of the intellect, by which there is a manifest affinity between man and God. Does not the position of the body itself, and the fashion of the countenance, declare that we are not on a level with the dumb creation?

Their nature is prostrated to the ground and to their pasture, and has nothing in common with the heaven, which they do not look upon. But man, with his erect position, with his elevated countenance raised to the contemplation of the universe, compares his features with God, and reason recognizes reason.

And on this account there is no animal, as Cicero says, except man, which has any knowledge of God. For he alone is furnished with wisdom, so that he alone understands religion; and this is the chief or only difference between man and the dumb animals. For the other things which appear to be peculiar to man, even if there are not such in the dumb animals, nevertheless may appear to be similar. Speech is peculiar to man; yet even in these there is a certain resemblance to speech. For they both distinguish one another by their voices; and when they are angry, they send forth a sound resembling altercation; and when they see one another after an interval of time, they show the office of congratulation by their voice. To us, indeed, their voices appear uncouth, as ours perhaps do to them; but to themselves, who understand one another, they are words. In short, in every affection they utter distinct expressions of voice by which they may show their state of mind. Laughter also is peculiar to man; and yet we see certain indications of joy in other animals, when they use passionate gestures with a view to sports, hang down their ears, contract their mouth, smooth their forehead, relax their eyes to sportiveness. What is so peculiar to man as reason and the foreseeing of the future?

But there are animals which open several outlets in different directions from their lairs, that if any danger comes upon them, an escape may be open for them shut in; but they would not do this unless they possessed intelligence and reflection. Others are provident for the future, as

"Ants, when they plunder a great heap of corn, mindful of the winter, and lay it up in their dwelling;"

again, —

"As bees, which alone know a country and fixed abodes; and mindful of the winter which is to come, they practice labor in the summer, and lay up their gains as a common stock."

It would be a long task if I should wish to trace out the things most resembling the skill of man, which are accustomed to be done by the

separate tribes of animals. But if, in the case of all these things which are wont to be ascribed to man, there is found to be some resemblance even in the dumb animals, it is evident that religion is the only thing of which no trace can be found in the dumb animals, nor any indication. For justice is peculiar to religion, and to this no other animal attains. For man alone bears rule; the other animals are subjected to him. But the worship of God is ascribed to justice; and he who does not embrace this, being far removed from the nature of man, will live the life of the brutes under the form of man. But since we differ from the other animals almost in this respect alone, that we alone of all perceive the divine might and power, while in the others there is no understanding of God, it is surely impossible that in this respect either the dumb animals should have more wisdom, or human nature should be unwise, since all living creatures, and the whole system of nature, are subject to man on account of his wisdom. Wherefore if reason, if the force of man in this respect, excels and surpasses the rest of living creatures, inasmuch as he alone is capable of the knowledge of God, it is evident that religion can in no way be overthrown.

CHAPTER 8

OF RELIGION

But religion is overthrown if we believe Epicurus speaking thus: —

> “For the nature of gods must ever in itself of necessity enjoy immortality together with supreme repose, far removed and withdrawn from our concerns; since, exempt from every pain, exempt from all dangers, strong in its own resources, not wanting aught of us, it is neither gained by favors nor moved by anger.”

Now, when he says these things, does he think that any worship is to be paid to God, or does he entirely overthrow religion? For if God confers nothing good on any one, if He repays the obedience of His worshipper with no favor, what is so senseless, what so foolish, as to build temples, to offer sacrifices, to present gifts, to diminish our property, that we may obtain nothing? But (it will be said) it is right that an excellent nature should be honored. What honor can be due to a being who pays no regard

to us, and is ungrateful? Can we be bound in any manner to him who has nothing in common with us? “Farewell to God,” says Cicero, “if He is such as to be influenced by no favor, and by no affection of men. For why should I say ‘may He be propitious? for He can be propitious to no one.” What can be spoken more contemptible with respect to God? Farewell to Him, he says, that is, let Him depart and retire, since He is able to profit no one. But if God takes no trouble, nor occasions trouble to another, why then should we not commit crimes as often as it shall be in our power to escape the notice of men? and to cheat the public laws? Wherever we shall obtain a favorable opportunity of escaping notice, let us take advantage of the occasion: let us take away the property of others, either without bloodshed or even with blood, if there is nothing else besides the laws to be reverenced.

While Epicurus entertains these sentiments, he altogether destroys religion; and when this is taken away, confusion and perturbation of life will follow. But if religion cannot be taken away without destroying our hold of wisdom, by which we are separated from the brutes, and of justice, by which the public life may be more secure, how can religion itself be maintained or guarded without fear? For that which is not feared is despised, and that which is despised is plainly not reverenced. Thus it comes to pass that religion, and majesty, and honor exist together with fear; but there is no fear where no one is angry. Whether, therefore, you take away from God kindness, or anger, or both, religion must be taken away, without which the life of men is full of folly, of wickedness, and enormity. For conscience greatly curbs men, if we believe that we are living in the sight of God; if we imagine not only that the actions which we perform are seen from above, but also that our thoughts and our words are heard by God. But it is profitable to believe this, as some imagine, not for the sake of the truth, but of utility, since laws cannot punish conscience unless some terror from above hangs over to restrain offenses. Therefore religion is altogether false, and there is no divinity; but all things are made up by skillful men, in order that they may live more uprightly and innocently. This is a great question, and foreign to the subject which we have proposed; but because it necessarily occurs, it ought to be handled, however briefly.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, AND OF OPINIONS OPPOSED TO IT

When the philosophers of former times had agreed in their opinions respecting providence, and there was no doubt but that the world was set in order by God and reason, and was governed by reason, Protagoras, in the times of Socrates, was the first of all who said that it was not clear to him whether there was any divinity or not. And this disputation of his was judged so impious, and so contrary to the truth and to religion, that the Athenians both banished him from their territories, and burnt in a public assembly those books of his in which these statements were contained. But there is no need to speak respecting his opinions, because he pronounced nothing certain. After these things Socrates and his disciple Plato, and those who flowed forth from the school of Plato like rivulets into different directions, namely, the Stoics and Peripatetics, were of the same opinion as those who went before them.

Afterwards Epicurus said that there was indeed a God, because it was necessary that there should be in the world some being of surpassing excellence, distinction, and blessedness; yet that there was no providence, and thus that the world itself was ordered by no plan, nor art, nor workmanship, but that the universe was made up of certain minute and indivisible seeds. But I do not see what can be said more repugnant to the truth. For if there is a God, as God He is manifestly provident; nor can divinity be attributed to Him in any other way than if He retains the past, and knows the present, and foresees the future. Therefore, in taking away providence, he also denied the existence of God. But when he openly acknowledged the existence of God, at the same time he also admitted His providence for the one cannot exist at all, or be understood, without the other. But in those later times in which philosophy had now lost its vigor, there lived a certain Diagoras of Melos, who altogether denied the existence of God, and on account of this sentiment was called atheist; also Theodorus of Cyrene: both of whom, because they were unable to discover anything new, all things having already been said and found out, preferred even, in opposition to the truth, to deny that in which all

preceding philosophers had agreed without any ambiguity. These are they who attacked providence, which had been asserted and defended through so many ages by so many intellects. What then? Shall we refute those trifling and inactive philosophers by reason, or by the authority of distinguished men, or rather by both? But we must hasten onwards, lest our speech should wander too far from our subject.

CHAPTER 10

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD, AND THE NATURE OF AFFAIRS, AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD

They who do not admit that the world was made by divine providence, either say that it is composed of first principles coming together at random, or that it suddenly came into existence by nature, but hold, as Straton does, that nature has in itself the power of production and of diminution, but that it has neither sensibility nor figure, so that we may understand that all things were produced spontaneously, without any artificer or author. Each opinion is vain and impossible. But this happens to those who are ignorant of the truth, that they devise anything, rather than perceive that which the nature of the subject requires. First of all, with respect to those minute seeds, by the meeting together of which they say that the whole world came into existence, I ask where or whence they are. Who has seen them at any time? Who has perceived them? Who has heard them? Had none but Leucippus eyes? Had he alone a mind, who assuredly alone of all men was blind and senseless, since he spoke those things which no sick man could have uttered in his ravings, or one asleep in his dreams?

The ancient philosophers argued that all things were made up of four elements. He would not admit this, lest he should appear to tread in the footsteps of others; but he held that there were other first principles of the elements themselves, which can neither be seen, nor touched, nor be perceived by any part of the body. They are so minute, he says, that there is no edge of a sword so flue that they can be cut and divided by it. From which circumstance he gave them the name of atoms. But it occurred to him, that if they all had one and the same nature, they could not make up

different objects of so great a variety as we see to be present in the world. He said, therefore, that there were smooth and rough ones, and round, and angular, and hooked. How much better had it been to be silent, than to have a tongue for such miserable and empty uses! And, indeed, I fear lest he who thinks these things worthy of refutation, should appear no less to rave. Let us, however, reply as to one who says something. If they are soft and round, it is plain that they cannot lay hold of one another, so as to make some body; as, though any one should wish to bind together millet into one combination, the very softness of the grains would not permit them to come together into a mass. If they are rough, and angular, and hooked, so that they may be able to cohere, then they are divisible, and capable of being cut; for hooks and angles must project, so that they may possibly be cut off.

Therefore that which is able to be cut off and torn away, will be able both to be seen and held. “These,” he says, “flutter about with restless motions through empty space, and are carried hither and thither, just as we see little particles of dust in the sun when it has introduced its rays and light through a window. From these there arise trees and herbs, and all fruits of the earth; from these, animals, and water, and fire, and all things are produced, and are again resolved into the same elements.” This can be born as long as the inquiry is respecting small matters. Even the world itself was made up of these. He has reached to the full extent of perfect madness: it seems impossible that anything further should be said, and yet he found something to add. “Since everything,” he says, “is infinite, and nothing can be empty, it follows of necessity that there are innumerable worlds.” What force of atoms had been so great, that masses so incalculable should be collected from such minute elements? And first of all I ask, What is the nature or origin of those seeds? For if all things are from them, whence shall we say that they themselves are? What nature supplied such an abundance of matter for the making of innumerable worlds? But let us grant that he raved with impunity concerning worlds; let us speak respecting this in which we are, and which we see. He says that all things are made from minute bodies which are incapable of division.

If this were so, no object would ever need the seed of its own kind. Birds would be born without eggs, or eggs without bringing forth; likewise the

rest of the living creatures without coition: trees and the productions of the earth would not have their own seeds, which we daily handle and sow. Why does a corn-field arise from grain, and again grain from a corn-field? In short, if the meeting together and collecting of atoms would effect all things, all things would grow together in the air, since atoms flutter about through empty space. Why cannot the herb, why cannot the tree or grain, arise or be increased without earth, without roots, without moisture, without seed? From which it is evident that nothing is made up from atoms, since everything has its own peculiar and fixed nature, its own seed, its own law given from the beginning. Finally, Lucretius, as though forgetful of atoms, which he was maintaining, in order that he might refute those who say that all things are produced from nothing, employed these arguments, which might have weighed against himself. For he thus spoke: —

"If things came from nothing, any kind might be born of anything; nothing would require seed."

Likewise afterwards: —

> "We must admit, therefore, that nothing can come from nothing, since things require seed before they can severally be born, and be brought out into the buxom fields of air."

Who would imagine that he had brain when he said these things, and did not see that they were contrary to one another? For that nothing is made by means of atoms, is apparent from this, that everything has a definite seed, unless by chance we shall believe that the nature both of fire and water is derived from atoms. Why should I say, that if materials of the greatest hardness are struck together with a violent blow, fire is struck out? Are atoms concealed in the steel, or in the flint? Who shut them in? Or why do they not leap forth spontaneously? Or how could the seeds of fire remain in a material of the greatest coldness?

I leave the subject of the flint and steel. If you hold in the sun an orb of crystal filled with water, fire is kindled from the light which is reflected from the water, even in the most severe cold. Must we then believe that fire is contained in the water? And yet fire cannot be kindled from the sun even in summer. If you shall breathe upon wax, or if a light vapor shall touch anything — either the hard surface of marble or a plate of metal —

water is gradually condensed by means of the most minute drops. Also from the exhalation of the earth or sea mist is formed, which either, being dispersed, moistens whatever it has covered, or being collected, is carried aloft by the wind to high mountains, and compressed into cloud, and sends down great rains. Where, then, do we say that fluids are produced? Is it in the vapor? Or in the exhalation? Or in the wind? But nothing can be formed in that which is neither touched nor seen. Why should I speak of animals, in whose bodies we see nothing formed without plan, without arrangement, without utility, without beauty, so that the most skillful and careful marking out of all the parts and members repels the idea of accident and chance? But let us suppose it possible that the limbs, and bones, and nerves, and blood should be made up of atoms. What of the senses, the reflection, the memory, the mind, the natural capacity: from what seeds can they be compacted? He says, From the most minute. There are therefore others of greater size. How, then, are they indivisible?

In the next place, if the things which are not seen are formed from invisible seeds, it follows that those which are seen are from visible seeds. Why, then, does no one see them? But whether any one regards the invisible parts which are in man, or the parts which can be touched, and which are visible, who does not see that both parts exist in accordance with design? How, then, can bodies which meet together without design effect anything reasonable? For we see that there is nothing in the whole world which has not in itself very great and wonderful design. And since this is above the sense and capacity of man, to what can it be more rightly attributed than to the divine providence? If a statue, the resemblance of man, is made by the exercise of design and art, shall we suppose that man himself is made up of fragments which come together at random? And what resemblance to the truth is there in the thing produced, when the greatest and most surpassing skill can imitate nothing more than the mere outline and extreme lineaments of the body? Was the skill of man able to give to his production any motion or sensibility? I say nothing of the exercise of the sight, of hearing, and of smelling, and the wonderful uses of the other members, either those which are in sight or those which are hidden from view. What artificer could have fabricated either the heart of man, or the voice, or his very wisdom? Does any man of sound mind, therefore, think that that which man cannot do by reason and judgment, may be accomplished by a

meeting together of atoms everywhere adhering to each other? You see into what foolish ravings they have fallen, while they are unwilling to assign to God the making and the care of all things

Let us, however, concede to them that the things which are earthly are made froth atoms: are the things also which are heavenly? They say that the gods are without contamination, eternal, and blessed; and they grant to them alone an exemption, so that they do not appear to be made up of a meeting together of atoms. For if the gods also had been made up of these, they would be liable to be dispersed, the seeds at length being resolved, and returning to their own nature. Therefore, if there is something which the atoms could not produce, why may we not judge in the same way of the others? But I ask why the gods did not build for themselves a dwelling-place before those first elements produced the world? It is manifest that, unless the atoms had come together and made the heaven, the gods would still be suspended through the midst of empty space. By what counsel, then, by what plan, did the atoms from a confused mass collect themselves, so that from some the earth below was formed into a globe, and the heaven stretched out above, adorned with so great a variety of constellations that nothing can be conceived more embellished? Can he, therefore, who sees such and so great objects, imagine that they were made without any design, without any providence, without any divine intelligence, but that such great and wonderful things arose out of fine and minute atoms? Does it not resemble a prodigy, that there should be any human being who might say these things, or that there should be those who might believe them — as Democritus, who was his hearer, or Epicurus, to whom all folly flowed forth from the fountain of Leucippus? But, as others say, the world was made by Nature, which is without perception and figure. But this is much more absurd. If Nature made the world, it must have made it by judgment and intelligence; for it is lie that makes something who has either the inclination to make it, or knowledge. If nature is without perception and figure, how can that be made by it which has both perception and figure, unless by chance any one thinks that the fabric of animals, which is so delicate, could have been formed and animated by that which is without perception, or that that figure of heaven, which is prepared with such foresight for the uses of living beings,

suddenly came into existence by some accident or other, without a builder, without an artificer?

“If there is anything,” says Chrysippus, “which effects those things which man, though he is endowed with reason, cannot do, that assuredly is greater, and stronger, and wiser than man.” But man cannot make heavenly things; therefore that which shall produce or has produced these things surpasses man in art, in design, in skill, and in power. Who, therefore, can it be but God? But Nature, which they suppose to be, as it were, the mother of all things, if it has not a mind, will effect nothing, will contrive nothing; for where there is no reflection there is neither motion nor efficacy. But if it uses counsel for the commencement of anything, reason for its arrangement, art for its accomplishment, energy for its consummation, and power to govern and control, why should it be called Nature rather than God? Or if a concourse of atoms, or Nature without mind, made those things which we see, I ask why it was able to make the heaven, but unable to make a city or a house? Why it made mountains of marble, but did not make columns and statues? But ought not atoms to have come together to effect these things, since they leave no position untried? For concerning Nature, which has no mind, it is no wonder that it forgot to do these things. What, then, is the case? It is plain that God, when He commenced this work of the world, — than which nothing can be better arranged with respect to order, nor more befitting as to utility, nor more adorned as to beauty, nor greater as to bulk, — Himself made the things which could not be made by man; and among these also man himself, to whom He gave a portion of His own wisdom, and furnished him with reason, as much as earthly frailty was capable of receiving, that he might make for himself the things which were necessary for his own uses.

But if in the commonwealth of this world, so to speak, there is no providence which rules, no God who administers, no sense at all prevails in this nature of things. From what source therefore will it be believed that the human mind, with its skill and its intelligence, had its origin? For if the body of man was made from the ground, from which circumstance man received his name; it follows that the soul, which has intelligence, and is the ruler of the body, which the limbs obey as a king and commander, which can neither be looked upon nor comprehended, could not have come

to man except from a wise nature. But as mind and soul govern everybody, so also does God govern the world. For it is not probable that lesser and humble things bear rule, but that greater and highest things do not bear rule. In short, Marcus Cicero, in his Tusculan Disputations, and in his Consolation, says: “No origin of souls can be found on earth. For there is nothing, he says, mixed and compound in souls, or which may appear to be produced and made up from the earth; nothing moist or airy, or of the nature of fire. For in these natures there is nothing which has the force of memory, of mind and reflection, which both retains the past and foresees the future, and is able to comprise the present; which things alone are divine. For no source will ever be found from which they are able to come to man, unless it be from God.” Since, therefore, with the exception of two or three vain calumniators, it is agreed upon that the world is governed by providence, as also it was made, and there is no one who ventures to prefer the opinion of Diagoras and Theodorus, or the empty fiction of Leucippus, or the levity of Democritus and Epicurus, either to the authority of those seven ancient men who were called wise, or to that of Pythagoras or of Socrates or Plato, and the other philosophers who judged that there is a providence; therefore that opinion also is false, by which they think that religion was instituted by wise men for the sake of terror and fear, in order that ignorant men might abstain from sins.

But if this is true, it follows that we are derided by the wise men of old. But if they invented religion for the sake of deceiving us, and moreover of deceiving the whole human race, therefore they were not wise, because falsehood is not consistent with the character of the wise man. But grant that they were wise; what great success in falsehood was it, that they were able to deceive not only the unlearned, but Plato also, and Socrates, and so easily to delude Pythagoras, Zeno, and Aristotle, the chiefs of the greatest sects? There is therefore a divine providence, as those men whom I have named perceived, by the energy and power of which all things which we see were both made and are governed. For so vast a system of things? such arrangement and such regularity in preserving the settled orders and times, could neither at first have arisen without a provident artificer, or have existed so many ages without a powerful inhabitant, or have been perpetually governed without a skillful and intelligent ruler; and reason itself declares this. For whatever exists which has reason, must have arisen

from reason. Now reason is the part of an intelligent and wise nature; but a wise and intelligent nature can be nothing else than God. Now the world, since it has reason, by which it is both governed and kept together, was therefore made by God. But if God is the maker and ruler of the world, then religion is rightly and truly established; for honor and worship are due to the author and common parent of all things.

CHAPTER 11

OF GOD, AND THAT THE ONE GOD, AND BY WHOSE PROVIDENCE THE WORLD IS GOVERNED AND EXISTS

Since it is agreed upon concerning providence, it follows that we show whether it is to be believed that it belongs to many, or rather to one only. We have sufficiently taught, as I think, in our Institutions, that there cannot be many gods; because, if the divine energy and power be distributed among several, it must necessarily be diminished. But that which is lessened is plainly mortal; but if He is not mortal, He can neither be lessened nor divided. Therefore there is but one God, in whom complete energy and power can neither be lessened nor increased. But if there are many, while they separately have something of power and authority, the sum itself decreases; nor will they separately be able to have the whole, which they have in common with others: so much will be wanting to each as the others shall possess. There cannot therefore be many rulers in this world, nor many masters in one house, nor many pilots in one ship, nor many leaders in one herd or flock, nor many queens in one swarm. But there could not have been many suns in heaven, as there are not several souls in one body; so entirely does the whole of nature agree in unity. But if the world

"Is nourished by a soul, A spirit whose celestial flame
Glows IN each member of the frame,
And stirs the mighty whole,"

it is evident from the testimony of the poet, that there is one God who inhabits the world, since the whole body cannot be inhabited and governed except by one mind. Therefore all divine power must be in one person, by whose will and command all things are ruled; and therefore He is so great,

that He cannot be described in words by man, or estimated by the senses. From what source, therefore, did the opinion or persuasion respecting many gods come to men? Without doubt, all those who are worshipped as gods were men, and were also the earliest and greatest kings; but who is ignorant that they were invested with divine honors after death, either on account of the virtue by which they had profited the race of men, or that they obtained immortal memory on account of the benefits and inventions by which they had adorned human life? And not only men, but women also. And this, both the most ancient writers of Greece, whom they call theologi, and also Roman writers following and imitating the Greeks, teach; of whom especially Euhemerus and our Ennius, who point out the birthdays, marriages, offspring, governments, exploits, deaths, and tombs of all of them. And Tullius, following them, in his third book, On the Nature of the Gods, destroyed the public religions; but neither he himself nor any other person was able to introduce the true one, of which he was ignorant. And thus he himself testified that that which was false was evident; that the truth, however, lay concealed. “Would to heaven,” he says, “that I could as easily discover true things as refute those that are false!” And this he proclaimed not with dissimulation as an Academic, but truly and in accordance with the feeling of his mind, because the truth cannot be uprooted from human perceptions: that which the foresight of man was able to attain to, he attained to, that he might expose false things. For whatever is fictitious and false, because it is supported by no reason, is easily destroyed. There is therefore one God, the source and origin of all things, as Plato both felt and taught in the Timoeus, whose majesty he declares to be so great, that it can neither be comprehended by the mind nor be expressed by the tongue.

Hermes bears the same testimony, whom Cicero asserts to be reckoned by the Egyptians among the number of the gods. I speak of him who, on account of his excellence and knowledge of many arts, was called Trismegistus; and he was far more ancient not only than Plato, but than Pythagoras, and those seven wise men. In Xenophon, Socrates, as he discourses, says that “the form of God ought not to be inquired about:” and Plato, in his Book Laws, says: “What God is, ought not to be the subject of inquiry, because it can neither be found out nor related.” Pythagoras also admits that there is but one God, saying that there is an

incorporeal mind, which, being diffused and stretched through all nature, gives vital perception to all living creatures; but Antisthenes, in his Physics, said that there was but one natural God, although the nations and cities have gods of their own people. Aristotle, with his followers the Peripatetics, and Zeno with his followers the Stoics, say nearly the same things. Truly it would be a long task to follow up the opinions of all separately, who, although they used different names, nevertheless agreed in one power which governed the world. But, however, though philosophers and poets, and those, in short, who worship the gods, often acknowledge the Supreme God, yet no one ever inquired into, no one discussed, the subject of His worship and honors; with that persuasion, in truth, with which, always believing Him to be bounteous and incorruptible, they think that He is neither angry with any one, nor stands in need of any worship. Thus there can be no religion where there is no fear.

CHAPTER 12

OF RELIGION AND THE FEAR OF GOD

Now, since we have replied to the impious and detestable wisdom, or rather senselessness of some, let us return to our proposed subject. We have said that, if religion is taken away, neither wisdom nor justice can be retained: wisdom, because the understanding of the divine nature, in which we differ from the brutes, is found in man alone; justice, because unless God, who cannot be deceived, shall restrain our desires, we shall live wickedly and impiously. Therefore, that our actions should be viewed by God, pertains not only to the usefulness of common life, but even to the truth; because, if religion and justice are taken away, having lost our reason, we either descend to the senselessness of the herds; or to the savageness of the beasts, yea, even more so, since the beasts spare animals of their own kind. What will be more savage, what more unmerciful, than man, if, the fear of a superior being taken away, he shall be able either to escape the notice of or to despise the might of the laws? It is therefore the fear of God alone which guards the mutual society of men, by which life itself is sustained, protected, and governed. But that fear is taken away if

man is persuaded that God is without anger; for that He is moved and indignant when unjust actions are done, not only the common advantage, but even reason itself, and truth, persuade us. We must again return to the former subjects, that, as we have taught that the world was made by God, we may teach why it was made.

CHAPTER 13

OF THE ADVANTAGE AND USE OF THE WORLD AND OF THE SEASONS

If any one considers the whole government of the world, he will certainly understand how true is the opinion of the Stoics, who say that the world was made on our account. For all the things of which the world is composed, and which it produces from itself, are adapted to the use of man. Man, accordingly, uses fire for the purpose of warmth and light, and of softening his food, and for the working of iron; he uses springs for drinking, and for baths; he uses rivers for irrigating the fields, and assigning boundaries to countries; he uses the earth for receiving a variety of fruits, the hills for planting vineyards, the mountains for the use of trees and firewood, the plains for crops of grain; he uses the sea not only for commerce, and for receiving supplies from distant countries, but also for abundance of every kind of fish. But if he makes use of these elements to which he is nearest, there is no doubt that he uses the hear-en also, since the offices even of heavenly things are regulated for the fertility of the earth from which we live. The sun, with its ceaseless courses and unequal intervals, completes its annual circles, and either at his rising draws forth the day for labor, or at his setting brings on the night for repose; and at one time by his departure farther towards the south, at another time by his approach nearer towards the north, he causes the vicissitudes of winter and summer, so that both by the moistures and frosts of winter the earth becomes enriched for fruitfulness, and by the heats of summer either the produce of grass is hardened by maturity, or that which is in moist places, being seethed and heated, becomes ripened. The moon also, which governs the time of night, regulates her monthly courses by the alternate loss and recovery of light, and by the brightness of her shining illumines the nights

obscure with gloomy darkness, so that journeys in the summer heat, and expeditions, and works, may be performed without labor and inconvenience; since

"By night the light stubble, by night
The dry meadows are better mown."

The other heavenly bodies also, either at their rising or setting, supply favorable times by their fixed positions. Moreover, they also afford guidance to ships, that they may not wander through the boundless deep with uncertain course, since the pilot duly observing them arrives at the harbor of the shore at which he aims. Clouds are attracted by the breath of the winds, that the fields of sown grain may be watered with showers, that the vines may abound with produce, and the trees with fruits. And these things are exhibited by a succession of changes throughout the year, that nothing may at any time be wanting by which the life of men is sustained. But (it is said) the same earth nourishes the other living creatures, and by the produce of the same even the dumb animals are fed. Has not God labored also for the sake of the dumb animals? By no means; because they are void of reason. On the contrary, we understand that even these themselves in the same manner were made by God for the use of man, partly for food, partly for clothing, partly to assist him in his work; so that it is manifest that the divine providence wished to furnish and adorn the life of men with an abundance of objects and resources, and on this account He both filled the air with birds, and the sea with fishes, and the earth with quadrupeds. But the Academics, arguing against the Stoics, are accustomed to ask why, if God made all things for the sake of men, many things are found even opposed, and hostile, and injurious to us, as well in the sea as on the land. And the Stoics, without any regard to the truth, most foolishly repelled this. For they say that there are many things among natural productions, and reckoned among animals, the utility of which hitherto escapes notice, but that this is discovered in process of the times, as necessity and use have already discovered many things which were unknown in former ages. What utility, then, can be discovered in mice, in beetles, in serpents, which are troublesome and pernicious to man? Is it that some medicine lies concealed in them? If there is any, it will at some time be found out, namely, as a remedy against evils, whereas they complain that it is altogether evil. They say that the viper, when

burnt and reduced to ashes, is a remedy for the bite of the same beast. How much better had it been that it should not exist at all, than that a remedy should be required against it drawn from itself?

They might then have answered with more conciseness and truth after this manner. When God had formed man as it were His own image, that which was the completion of His workmanship, He breathed wisdom into him alone, so that he might bring all things into subjection to his own authority and government, and make use of all the advantages of the world. And yet He set before him both good and evil things, inasmuch as He gave to him wisdom, the whole nature of which is employed in discerning things evil and good: for no one can choose better things, and know what is good, unless he at the same time knows to reject and avoid the things which are evil. They are both mutually connected with each other, so that, the one being taken away, the other must also be taken away. Therefore, good and evil things being set before it, then at length wisdom discharges its office, and desires the good for usefulness, but rejects the evil for safety. Therefore, as innumerable good things have been given which it might enjoy, so also have evils, against which it might guard. For if there is no evil, no danger — nothing, in short, which can injure man — all the material of wisdom is taken away, and will be unnecessary for man. For if only good things are placed in sight, what need is there of reflection, of understanding, of knowledge, of reason? since, wherever he shall extend his hand, that is befitting and adapted to nature; so that if any one should wish to place a most exquisite dinner before infants, who as yet have no taste, it is plain that each will desire that to which either impulse, or hunger, or even accident, shall attract them; and whatever they shall take, it will be useful and salutary to them. What injury will it therefore be for them always to remain as they are, and always to be infants and unacquainted with affairs? But if you add a mixture either of bitter things, or things useless, or even poisonous, they are plainly deceived through their ignorance of good and evil, unless wisdom is added to them, by which they may have the rejection of evil things and the choice of good things. You see, therefore, that we have greater need of wisdom on account of evils; and unless these things had been proposed to us, we should not be a rational animal. But if this account is true, which the Stoics were in no manner able to see, that argument also of Epicurus is done away. God, he

says, either wishes to take away evils, and is unable; or He is able, and is unwilling; or He is neither willing nor able, or He is both willing and able. If He is willing and is unable, He is feeble, which is not in accordance with the character of God; if He is able and unwilling, He is envious, which is equally at variance with God; if He is neither willing nor able, He is both envious and feeble, and therefore not God; if He is both willing and able, which alone is suitable to God, from what source then are evils? or why does He not remove them? I know that many of the philosophers, who defend providence, are accustomed to be disturbed by this argument, and are almost driven against their will to admit that God takes no interest in anything, which Epicurus especially aims at; but having examined the matter, we easily do away with this formidable argument. For God is able to do whatever He wishes, and there is no weakness or envy in God. He is able, therefore, to take away evils; but He does not wish to do so, and yet He is not on that account envious. For on this account He does not take them away, because He at the same time gives wisdom, as I have shown; and there is more of goodness and pleasure in wisdom than of annoyance in evils. For wisdom causes us even to know God, and by that knowledge to attain to immortality, which is the chief good. Therefore, unless we first know evil, we shall be unable to know good. But Epicurus did not see this, nor did any other, that if evils are taken away, wisdom is in like manner taken away; and that no traces of virtue remain in man, the nature of which consists in enduring and overcoming the bitterness of evils. And thus, for the sake of a slight gain in the taking away of evils, we should be deprived of a good, which is very great, and true, and peculiar to us. It is plain, therefore, that all things are proposed for the sake of man, as well evils as also goods.

CHAPTER 14

WHY GOD MADE MAN

It follows that I show for what purpose God made man himself. As He contrived the world for the sake of man, so He formed man himself t on His own account, as it were a priest of a divine temple, a spectator of His works and of heavenly objects. For he is the only being who, since he is

intelligent and capable of reason, is able to understand God, to admire His works, and perceive His energy and power; for on this account he is furnished with judgment, intelligence, and prudence. On this account he alone, beyond the other living creatures, has been made with an upright body and attitude, so that he seems to have been raised up for the contemplation of his Parent. On this account he alone has received language, and a tongue the interpreter of his thought, that he may be able to declare the majesty of his Lord. Lastly, for this cause all things were placed under his control, that he himself might be under the control of God, their Maker and Creator. If God, therefore, designed man to be a worship per of Himself, and on this account gave him so much honor, that he might rule over all things; it is plainly most just that he should worship Him who bestowed upon him such great gifts, and love man, who is united with us in the participation of the divine justice. For it is not right that a worshipper of God should he injured by a worshipper of God. From which it is understood that man was made for the sake of religion and justice. And of this matter Marcus Tullius is a witness in his books respecting the Laws, since he thus speaks: “But of all things concerning which learned men dispute, nothing is of greater consequence than that it should be altogether understood that we are born to justice.” And if this is most true, it follows that God will have all men to be just, that is, to have God and man as objects of their affection; to honor God in truth as a Father, and to love man as a brother: for in these two things the whole of justice is comprised. But he who either fails to acknowledge God or acts injuriously to man, lives unjustly and contrary to his nature, and in this manner disturbs the divine institution and law.

CHAPTER 15

WHENCE SINS EXTENDED TO MAN

Here perhaps some one may ask, Whence sins extended to man, or what perversion distorted the rule of the divine institution to worse things, so that, though he was born to justice, he nevertheless performs unjust works. I have already in a former place explained, that God at the same time set before him good and evil, and that He loves the good, and hates

the evil which is contrary to this; but that He permitted the evil on this account, that the good also might shine forth, since, as I have often taught, we understand that the one cannot exist without the other; in short, that the world itself is made up of two elements opposing and connected with one another, of fire and moisture, and that light could not have been made unless there has also been darkness, since there cannot be a higher place without a lower, nor a rising without a setting, nor warmth without cold, nor softness without hardness. Thus also we are composed of two substances equally opposed to one another — soul and body: the one of which is assigned to the heaven, because it is slight and not to be handled; the other to the earth, because it is capable of being laid hold of: the one is firm and eternal, the other frail and mortal. Therefore good clings to the one, and evil to the other: light, life, and justice to the one; darkness, death, and injustice to the other. Hence there arose among men the corruption of their nature, so that it was necessary that a law should be established, by which vices might be prohibited, and the duties of virtue be en-joined. Since, therefore, there are good and evil things in the affairs of men, the nature of which I have set forth, it must be that God is moved to both sides, both to favor when He sees that just things are done, and to anger when He perceives unjust things.

But Epicurus opposes us, and says: “If there is in God the affection of joy leading Him to favor, and of hatred influencing Him to anger, He must of necessity have both fear, and inclination, and desire, and the other affections which belong to human weakness.” It does not follow that he who is angry must fear, or that he who feels joy must grieve; in short, they who are liable to anger are less timid, and they who are of a joyful temperament are less affected with grief. What need is there to speak of the affections of humanity, to which our nature yields? Let us weigh the divine necessity; for I am unwilling to speak of nature, since it is believed that our God was never born. The affection of fear has a subject-matter in man, but it has none in God. Man, inasmuch as he is liable to many accidents and dangers, fears lest any greater violence should arise which may strike, despoil, lacerate, dash down, and destroy him. But God, who is liable neither to want, nor injury, nor pain, nor death, can by no means fear, because there is nothing which can offer violence to Him. Also the reason and cause of desire is manifest in man. For, inasmuch as he was

made frail and mortal, it was necessary that another and different sex should be made, by union with which offspring might be produced to continue the perpetuity of his race. But this desire has no place in God, because frailty and death are far removed from Him; nor is there with Him any female in whose union He is able to rejoice; nor does He stand in need of succession, since He will live for ever. The same things may be said respecting envy and passion, to which, from sure and manifest causes, man is liable, but to which God is by no means liable. But, in truth, favor and anger and pity have their substance in God, and that greatest and matchless power employs them for the preservation of the world.

CHAPTER 16

OF GOD, AND HIS ANGER AND AFFECTIONS

Some one will ask what this substance is. First of all, when evils befall them, men in their dejected state for the most part have recourse to God: they appease and entreat Him, believing that He is able to repel injuries from them. He has therefore an occasion of exercising pity; for He is not so unmerciful and a despiser of men as to refuse aid to those who are in distress. Very many, also, who are persuaded that justice is pleasing to God, both worship Him who is Lord and Parent of all, and with continual prayers and repeated vows offer gifts and sacrifices, follow up His name with praises, striving to gain His favor by just and good works. There is therefore a reason, on account of which God may and ought to favor them. For if there is nothing so befitting God as beneficence, and nothing so unsuited to His character as to be ungrateful, it is necessary that He should make some return for the services of those who are excellent, and who lead a holy life, that He may not be liable to the charge of ingratitude which is worthy of blame even in the case of a man. But, on the contrary, others are daring and wicked, who pollute all things with their lusts, harass with slaughters, practice fraud, plunder, commit perjury, neither spare relatives nor parents, neglect the laws, and even God Himself. Anger, therefore, has a befitting occasion in God.

For it is not right that, when He sees such things, He should not be moved, and arise to take vengeance upon the wicked, and destroy the pestilent and

guilty, so as to promote the interests of all good men. Thus even in anger itself there is also contained a showing of kindness. Therefore the arguments are found to be empty and false, either of those who, when they will not admit that God is angry, will have it that He shows kindness, because this, indeed, cannot take place without anger; or of those who think that there is no emotion of the mind in God. And because there are some affections to which God is not liable, as desire, fear, avarice, grief, and envy, they have said that He is entirely free from all affection. For He is not liable to these, because they are vicious affections; but as to those which belong to virtue, — that is, anger towards the wicked, regard towards the good, pity towards the afflicted, — inasmuch as they are worthy of the divine power, He has affections of His own, both just and true. And if He is not possessed of them, the life of man will be thrown into confusion, and the condition of things will come to such disturbance that the laws will be despised and overpowered, and audacity alone reign, so that no one can at length be in safety unless he who excels in strength. Thus all the earth will be laid waste, as it were, by a common robbery. But now, since the wicked expect punishment, and the good hope for favor, and the afflicted look for aid, there is place for virtues, and crimes are more rare. But it is said, ofttimes the wicked are more prosperous, and the good more wretched, and the just are harassed with impunity by the unjust. We will hereafter consider why these things happen. In the meantime let us explain respecting anger, whether there be any in God; whether He takes no notice at all, and is unmoved at those things which are done with impiety.

CHAPTER 17

OF GOD, HIS CARE AND ANGER

God, says Epicurus, regards nothing; therefore He has no power. For he who has power must of necessity regard affairs. For if He has power, and does not use it, what so great cause is there that, I will not say our race, but even the universe itself, should be contemptible in His sight? On this account he says He is pure and happy, because He is always at rest. To whom, then, has the administration of so great affairs been entrusted, if

these things which we see to be governed by the highest judgment are neglected by God? or how can he who lives and perceives be at rest? For rest belongs either to sleep or to death. But sleep has not rest. For when we are asleep, the body indeed is at rest, but the soul is restless and agitated: it forms for itself images which it may behold, so that it exercises its natural power of motion by a variety of visions, and calls itself away from false things, until the limbs are satiated, and receive vigor from rest. Therefore eternal rest belongs to death alone. Now if death does not affect God, it follows that God is never at rest. But in what can the action of God consist, but in the administration of the world? But if God carries on the care of the world, it follows that He cares for the life of men, and takes notice of the acts of individuals, and He earnestly desires that they should be wise and good. This is the will of God, this the divine law; and he who follows and observes this is beloved by God. It is necessary that He should be moved with anger against the man who has broken or despised this eternal and divine law. If, he says, God does harm to any one, therefore He is not good. They are deceived by no slight error who defame all censure, whether human or divine, with the name of bitterness and malice, thinking that He ought to be called injurious who visits the injurious with punishment. But if this is so, it follows that we have injurious laws, which enact punishment for offenders, and injurious judges who inflict capital punishments on those convicted of crime. But if the law is just which awards to the transgressor his due, and if the judge is called upright and good when he punishes crimes, — for he guards the safety of good men who punishes the evil, — it follows that God, when He opposes the evil, is not injurious; but he himself is injurious who either injures an innocent man, or spares an injurious person that he may injure many.

I would gladly ask from those who represent God as immovable, if any one had property, a house, a household” of slaves, and his slaves, despising the forbearance of their master, should attack all things, and themselves take the enjoyment of his goods, if his household should honor them, while the master was despised by all, insulted, and deserted: could he be a wise man who should not avenge the insults, but permit those over whom he had power to have the enjoyment of his property? Can such forbearance be found in any one? If, indeed, it is to be called forbearance,

and not rather a kind of insensible stupor. But it is easy to endure contempt. What if those things were done which are spoken of by Cicero? “For I ask, if any head of a family, when his children had been put to death by a slave, his wife slain and his house set on fire, should not exact most severe punishment from that slave, whether he would appear to be kind and merciful, or inhuman and most cruel?” But if to pardon deeds of this kind is the part of cruelty rather than of kindness, it is not therefore the part of goodness in God not to be moved at those things which are done unjustly. For the world is, as it were, the house of God, and men, as it were, His slaves; and if His name is a mockery to them, what kind or amount of forbearance is it to give up His own honors, to see wicked and unjust things done, and not to be indignant, which is peculiar and natural to Him who is displeased with sins! To be angry, therefore, is the part of reason: for thus faults are removed, and licentiousness is curbed; and this is plainly in accordance with justice and wisdom.

But the Stoics did not see that there is a distinction between right and wrong, that there is a just and also an unjust anger; and because they did not find a remedy for the matter, they wished altogether to remove it. But the Peripatetics said that it was not to be cut out, but moderated; to whom we have made a sufficient reply in the sixth book of the Institutions. Now, that the philosophers were ignorant of the nature of anger, is plain from their definitions, which Seneca enumerated in the books which he composed on the subject of anger. “Anger is,” he says, “the desire of avenging an injury.” Others, as Posidonius says, describe it as the desire of punishing him by whom you think that you have been unfairly injured. Some have thus defined it: “Anger is an incitement of the mind to injure him who either has committed an injury, or who has wished to do so.” The definition of Aristotle does not differ greatly from ours; for he says that “anger is the desire of requiting pain.” This is the unjust anger, con-coming which we spoke before, which is contained even in the dumb animals; but it is to be restrained in man, lest he should rush to some very great evil through rage. This cannot exist in God, because He cannot be injured; but it is found in man, inasmuch as he is frail. For the inflicting of injury inflames anguish, and anguish produces a desire of revenge. Where, then, is that just anger against offenders? For this is evidently not the desire of revenge, inasmuch as no injury precedes. I do not speak of those

who sin against the laws; for although a judge may be angry with these without incurring blame, let us, however, suppose that he ought to be of a sedate mind when he sentences the guilty to punishment, because he is the executor of the laws, not of his own spirit or power; for so they wish it who endeavor to extirpate anger. But I speak of those in particular who are in our own power, as slaves, children, wives, and pupils; for when we see these offend, we are incited to restrain them.

For it cannot fail to be, that he who is just and good is displeased with things which are bad, and that he who is displeased with evil is moved when he sees it practiced. Therefore we arise to take vengeance, not because we have been injured, but that discipline may be preserved, morals may be corrected, and licentiousness be suppressed. This is just anger; and as it is necessary in man for the correction of wickedness, so manifestly is it necessary in God, from whom an example comes to man. For as we ought to restrain those who are subject to our power, so also ought God to restrain the of-fences of all. And in order that He may do this, He must be angry; because it is natural for one who is good to be moved and incited at the fault of another. Therefore they ought to have given this definition: Anger is an emotion of the mind arousing itself for the restraining of faults. For the definition given by Cicero, “Anger is the desire of taking vengeance,” does not differ much from those already mentioned. But that anger which we may call either fury or rage ought not to exist even in man, because it is altogether vicious; but the anger which relates to the correction of vices ought not to be taken away from man; nor can it be taken away from God, because it is both serviceable for the affairs of men, and necessary.

CHAPTER 18

OF THE PUNISHMENT OF FAULTS, THAT IT CANNOT TAKE PLACE WITHOUT ANGER

What need is there, they say, of anger, since faults can be corrected without this affection? But there is no one who can calmly see any one committing an offense. This may perhaps be possible in him who presides over the laws, because the deed is not committed before his eyes, but it is

brought before him as a doubtful matter from another quarter. Nor can any wickedness be so manifest, that there is no place for a de-fence; and therefore it is possible that a judge may not be moved against him who may possibly be found to be innocent; and when the detected crime shall have come to light, he now no longer uses his own opinion, but that of the laws. It may be granted that he does that which he does without anger; for he has that which he may follow. We, undoubtedly, when an offense is committed by our household at home, whether we see or perceive it, must be indignant; for the very sight of a sin is unbecoming. For he who is altogether unmoved either approves of faults, which is more disgraceful and unjust, or avoids the trouble of reproving them, which a tranquil spirit and a quiet mind despises and refuses, unless anger shall have aroused and incited it. But when any one is moved, and yet through unseasonable leniency grants pardon more frequently than is necessary, or at all times, he evidently both destroys the life of those whose audacity he is fostering for greater crimes, and furnishes himself with a perpetual source of annoyances. Therefore the restraining of one’s anger in the case of sins is faulty.

Archytas of Tarentum is praised, who, when he had found everything ruined on his estate, rebuking the fault of his bailiff, said, “Wretch, I would have beaten you to death if I had not been angry.” They consider this to be a singular example of forbearance; but influenced by authority, they do not see how foolishly he spoke and acted. For if (as Plato says) no prudent man punishes because there is an offense, but to prevent the occurrence of an offense, it is evident how evil an example this wise man put forth. For if slaves shall perceive that their master uses violence when he is not angry, and abstains from violence when he is angry, it is evident that they will not commit slight offenses, lest they should be beaten; but will commit the greatest offenses, that they may arouse the anger of the perverse man, and escape with impunity. But I should praise him if, when he was enraged, he? had given space to his anger, that the excitement of his mind might calm down through the interval of time, and his chastisement might be confined within moderate limits. Therefore, on account of the magnitude of the anger, punishment ought not to have been inflicted, but to have been delayed, lest it should inflict upon the offender pain greater than is just, or occasion an outburst of fury in the punisher. But now, how

is it equitable or wise, that any one should be punished on account of a slight offense, and should be unpunished on account of a very great one? But if he had learned the nature and causes of things, he never would have professed so unsuitable a forbearance, that a wicked slave should rejoice that his master has been angry with him. For as God has furnished the human body with many and various senses which are necessary for the use of life, so also He has assigned to the soul various affections by which the course of life might be regulated; and as He has given desire for the sake of producing offspring, so has He given anger for the sake of restraining faults.

But they who are ignorant of the ends of good and evil things, as they employ sensual desire for the purposes of corruption and pleasure, in the same manner make use of anger and passion for the inflicting of injury, while they are angry with those whom they regard with hatred. Therefore they are angry even with those who commit no offense, even with their equals, or even with their superiors. Hence they daily rush to monstrous deeds; hence tragedies often arise. Therefore Archytas would be deserving of praise, if, when he had been enraged against any citizen or equal who injured him, he had curbed himself, and by forbearance mitigated the impetuosity of his fury. This self-restraint is glorious, by which any great evil which impends is restrained; but it is a fault not to check the faults of slaves and children; for through their escaping without punishment they will proceed to greater evil. In this case anger is not to be restrained; but even if it is in a state of inactivity, it must be aroused. But that which we say respecting man, we also say respecting God, who made man like to Himself. I omit making mention of the figure of God, because the Stoics say that God has no form, and another great subject will arise if we should wish to refute them. I only speak respecting the soul. If it belongs to God to reflect, to be wise, to understand, to foresee. to excel, and of all animals man alone has these qualities, it follows that he was made after the likeness of God; but on this account he goes on to vice, because, being mingled with frailty derived from earth, he is unable to preserve pure and uncontaminated that which he has received from God, unless he is imbued with the precepts of justice by the same God.

CHAPTER 19

OF THE SOUL AND BODY, AND OF PROVIDENCE

But since he is made up, as we have said, of two parts, soul and body, the virtues are contained in the one, and vices in the other, and they mutually oppose each other. For the good properties of the soul, which consist in restraining lusts, are contrary to the body; and the good properties of the body, which consist in every kind of pleasure, are hostile to the soul. But if the virtue of the soul shall have resisted the desires, and suppressed them, he will be truly like to God. From which it is evident that the soul of man, which is capable of divine virtue, is not mortal. But there is this distinction, that since virtue is attended with bitterness, and the attraction of pleasure is sweet, great numbers are overcome and are drawn aside to the pleasantness; but they who have given themselves up to the body and earthly things are pressed to the earth, and are unable to attain to the favor of the divine bounty, because they have polluted themselves with the defilements of vices. But they who, following God, and in obedience to Him, have despised the desires of the body, and, preferring virtue to pleasures, have preserved innocence and righteousness, these God recognizes as like to Himself.

Since, therefore, He has laid down a most holy law, and wishes all men to be innocent and beneficent, is it possible that He should not be angry when He sees that His law is despised, that virtue is rejected, and pleasure made the object of pursuit? But if He is the governor of the world, as He might to be, He surely does not despise that which is even of the greatest importance in the whole world. If He has fore- sight, as it is befitting that God should have, it is plain that He consults the interests of the human race, in order that our life may be more abundantly supplied, and better, and safer. If He is the Father and God of all, He is undoubtedly delighted with the virtues of men, and provoked by their vices. Therefore He loves the just, and hates the wicked. There is no need (one says) of hatred; for He once for all has fixed a reward for the good, and punishment for the wicked. But if any one lives justly and innocently, and at the same time neither worships God nor has any regard for Him, as Aristides, and Timon, and others of the philosophers, will he escape with impunity,

because, though he has obeyed the law of God, he has nevertheless despised God Himself? There is therefore something on account of which God may be angry with one rebelling against Him, as it were, in reliance upon His integrity. If He can be angry with this man on account of his pride, why not more so with the sinner, who has despised the law together with the Lawgiver? The judge cannot pardon offenses, because he is subject to the will of another. But God can pardon, because He is Himself the arbitrator and judge of His own law; and when He laid down this, He did not surely deprive Himself of all power, but He has the liberty of bestowing pardon.

CHAPTER 20

OF OFFENSES, AND THE MERCY OF GOD

If He is able to pardon, He is therefore able also to be angry. Why, then, some one will say, does it often occur, that they who sin are prosperous, and they who live piously are wretched? Because fugitives and disinherited persons live without restraint, and they who are under the discipline of a father or master live in a more strict and frugal manner. For virtue is proved and fixed by means of ills; vices by means of pleasure. Nor, however, ought he who sins to hope for lasting impunity, because there is no lasting happiness.

> “But, in truth, the last day is always to be looked for by man and no one ought to be called happy before his death and last funeral rites,”

as the not inelegant poet says. It is the end which proves happiness, and no one is able to escape the judgment of God, either when alive or after death. For He has the power both to cast down the living from on high, and to punish the dead with eternal torments. Nay, he says, if God is angry, He ought to have inflicted vengeance at once, and to have punished every one according to his desert. But (it is replied) if He had done this, no one would survive. For there is no one who offends in no respect, and there are many things which excite to the commission of sin — age, intemperance, want, opportunity, reward. To such an extent is the frailty

of the flesh with which we are clothed liable to sin, that unless God were indulgent to this necessity, perhaps too few would live. On this account He is most patient, and restrains His anger. For because there is in Him perfect virtue, it follows of necessity that His patience also is perfect, which is itself also a virtue. How many men, from having been sinners, have afterwards become righteous; from being injurious, have become good; from being wicked, have become temperate! How many who were in early life base, and condemned by the judgment of all, afterwards have turned out praiseworthy? But it is plain that this could not happen if punishment followed every offense. The public laws condemn those who are manifestly guilty; but there are great numbers whose offenses are concealed, great numbers who restrain the accuser either by entreaties or by reward, great numbers who elude justice by favor or influence. But if the divine censure should condemn all those who escape the punishment of men, there would be few or even no men on the earth. In short, even that one reason for destroying the human race might have been a just one, that men, despising the living God, pay divine honor to earthly and frail images, as though they were of heaven, adoring works made by human hands. And though God their Creator made them of elevated countenance and upright figure, and raised them to the contemplation of the heaven and the knowledge of God, they have preferred, like cattle, to bend themselves to the earth. For he is low, and curved, and bent downward, who, turning away from the sight of heaven and God his Father, worships things of the earth, which he ought to have trodden upon, that is, things made and fashioned from earth. Therefore, amidst such great impiety and such great sins of men, the forbearance of God attains this object, that men, condemning the errors of their past life, correct themselves. In short, there are many who are just and good; and these, having laid aside the worship of earthly things, acknowledge the majesty of the one and only God. But though the forbearance of God is very great and most useful; yet, although late, He punishes the guilty, and does not suffer them to proceed further, when He sees that they are incorrigible.

CHAPTER 21

OF THE ANGER OF GOD AND MAN

There remains one question, and that the last. For some one will perhaps say, that God is so far from being angry, that in His precepts He even forbids man to be angry. I might say that the anger of man ought to be curbed, because he is often angry unjustly; and he has immediate emotion, because he is only for a time. Therefore, lest those things should be done which the low, and those of moderate station, and great kings do in their anger, his rage ought to have been moderated and suppressed, lest, being out of his mind, he should commit some inexpiable crime. But God is not angry for a short time, because He is eternal and of perfect virtue, and He is never angry unless deservedly. But, however, the matter is not so; for if He should altogether prohibit anger, He Himself would have been in some measure the censurer of His own workmanship, since He from the beginning had inserted anger in the liver of man, since it is believed that the cause of this emotion is contained in the moisture of the gall. Therefore He does not altogether prohibit anger, because that affection is necessarily given, but He forbids us to persevere in anger. For the anger of mortals ought to be mortal; for if it is lasting, enmity is strengthened to lasting destruction. Then, again, when He enjoined us to be angry, and yet not to sin, it is plain that He did not tear up anger by the roots, but restrained it, that in every correction we might preserve moderation and justice. Therefore He who commands us to be angry is manifestly Himself angry; He who enjoins us to be quickly appeased is manifestly Himself easy to be appeased: for He has enjoined those things which are just and useful for the interests of society.

But because I had said that the anger of God is not for a time only, as is the case with man, who becomes inflamed with an immediate excitement, and on account of his frailty is unable easily to govern himself, we ought to understand that because God is eternal, His anger also remains to eternity; but, on the other hand, that because He is endued with the greatest excellence, He controls His anger, and is not ruled by it, but that He regulates it according to His will. And it is plain that this is not opposed to that which has just been said. For if His anger had been

altogether immortal, there would be no place after a fault for satisfaction or kind feeling, though He Himself commands men to be reconciled before the setting of the sun. But the divine anger remains for ever against those who ever sin. Therefore God is appeased not by incense or a victim, not by costly offerings, which things are all corruptible, but by a reformation of the morals: and he who ceases to sin renders the anger of God mortal. For this reason He does not immediately punish every one who is guilty, that man may have the opportunity of coming to a right mind, and correcting himself.

CHAPTER 22

OF SINS, AND THE VERSES OF THE SIBYLS RESPECTING THEM RECITED

This is what I had to say, most beloved Donatus, respecting the anger of God, that you might know how to refute those who represent God as being without emotions. It only remains that, after the practice of Cicero, I should use an epilogue by way of peroration. As he did in the Tusculan Disputations, when discoursing on the subject of death, so we in this work ought to bring forward divine testimonies, which may be believed, to refute the persuasion of those who, believing that God is without anger, destroy all religion, without which, as we have shown, we are either equal to the brutes in savageness, or to the cattle in foolishness; for it is in religion only — that is, in the knowledge of the Supreme God — that wisdom consists. All the prophets, being filled with the Divine Spirit, speak nothing else than of the favor of God towards the righteous, and His anger against the ungodly. And their testimony is indeed sufficient for us; but because it is not believed by those who make a display of wisdom by their hair and dress, it was necessary to refute them by reason and arguments. For they act so preposterously, that human things give authority to divine things, whereas divine things ought rather to give authority to human. But let us now leave these things, lest we should produce no effect upon them, and the subject should be indefinitely drawn out. Let us therefore seek those testimonies which they can either believe, or at any rate not oppose.

Authors of great number and weight have made mention of the Sibyls; of the Greeks, Aristo the Chian, and Apollodorus the Erythraean; of our writers, Varro and Fenestella. All these relate that the Erythraean Sibyl was distinguished and noble beyond the rest. Apollodorus, indeed, boasts of her as his own citizen and countrywoman. But Fenestella also relates that ambassadors were sent by the senate to Erythrae, that the verses of this Sibyl might be conveyed to Rome, and that the consuls Curio and Octavius might take care that they should be placed in the Capitol, which had then been restored under the care of Quintus Catulus. In her writings, verses of this kind are found respecting the Supreme God and Maker of the world: —

> "The incorruptible and eternal Maker who dwells in the heaven, holding forth good to the good, a much greater reward, but stirring up anger and rage against the evil and unjust."

Again, in another place, enumerating the deeds by which God is especially moved to anger, she introduced these things: —

> "Avoid unlawful services, and serve the living God. Abstain from adultery and impurity; bring up a pure generation of children; do not kill: for the Immortal will be angry with every one who may sin."

Therefore He is angry with sinners.

CHAPTER 23

OF THE ANGER OF GOD AND THE PUNISHMENT OF SINS, AND A RECITAL OF THE VERSES OF THE SIBYLS RESPECTING IT; AND, MOREOVER, A REPROOF AND EXHORTATION

But because it is related by most learned men that there have been many Sibyls, the testimony of one may not be sufficient to confirm the truth, as we purpose to do. The volumes, indeed, of the Cumaean Sibyl, in which are written the fates of the Romans are kept secret; but the writings of all the others are, for the most part, not prohibited from being in common

use. And of these another, denouncing the anger of God against all nations on account of the impiety of men, thus began: —

> "Since great anger is coming upon a disobedient world, I disclose the commands of God to the last age, prophesying to all men from city to city."

Another Sibyl also said, that the deluge was caused by the indignation of God against the unrighteous in a former age, that the wickedness of the human race might be extinguished: —

> "From the time when, the God of heaven being enraged against the cities themselves and all men, a deluge having burst forth, the sea covered the earth."

In like manner she foretold a conflagration about to take place hereafter, in which the impiety of men should again be destroyed: —

> "And at some time, God no longer soothing His anger, but increasing it, and destroying the race of men, and laying waste the whole of it by fire."

From which mention is thus made concerning Jupiter by Ovid: —

> "He remembers also that it is fated that the time shall come in which the sea, the earth, and the palace of heaven, being caught by fire, shall be burnt, and the curiously wrought framework of the world be in danger."

And this must come to pass at the time when the honor and worship of the Supreme shall have perished among men. The same Sibyl, however, testifying that He was appeased by reformation of conduct and self-improvement, added these things: —

"But, ye mortals, in pity turn yourselves now,
and do not lead the great God to every kind of auger."

And also a little later: —

"He will not destroy, but will again restrain His anger,
if you all practice valuable piety in your minds."

Then another Sibyl declares that the Father of heavenly and earthly things ought to be loved, lest His indignation should arise, to the destruction of men: —

> "Lest by chance the immortal God should be angry, and destroy the whole race of men, their life and shameless race, it is befitting that we love the wise, ever-living God the Father."

From these things it is evident that the arguments of the philosophers are vain, who imagine that God is without anger, and among His other praises reckon that which is most useless, detracting from Him that which is most salutary for human affairs, by which majesty itself exists. For this earthly, kingdom and government, unless guarded by fear, is broken down. Take away anger from a king, and he will not only cease to be obeyed, but he will even be cast down headlong from his height. Yea, rather take away this affection from any person of low degree, and who will not plunder him? Who will not deride him? Who will not treat him with injury? Thus he will be able to have neither clothing, nor an abode, nor food, since others will deprive him of whatever he has; much less can we suppose that the majesty of the heavenly government can exist without anger and fear. The Milesian Apollo being consulted concerning the religion of the Jews, inserted these things in his answer: —

> "God, the King and Father of all, before whom the earth trembles, and the heaven and sea, and whom the recesses of Tartarus and the demons dread."

If He is so mild, as the philosophers will have it, how is it that not only the demons and ministers of such great power, but even the heaven and earth, and the whole system of the universe, tremble at His presence? For if no one submits to the service of another except by compulsion, it follows that all government exists by fear, and fear by anger. For if any one is not aroused against one who is unwilling to obey, it will not be possible for him to be compelled to obedience. Let any one consult his own feelings; he will at once understand that no one can be subdued to the command of another without anger and chastisement. Therefore, where there shall be no anger, there will be no authority. But God has authority; therefore also He must have anger, in which authority consists. Therefore let no one, induced by the empty prating of the philosophers, train himself

to the contempt of God, which is the greatest impiety. We all are bound both to love Him, because He is our Father; and to reverence Him, because He is our Lord: both to pay Him honor, because He is bounteous; and to fear Him, because He is severe: each character in Him is worthy of reverence. Who can preserve his piety, and yet fail to love the parent of his life? or who can with impunity despise Him who, as ruler of all things, has true and everlasting power over all? If you consider Him in the character of Father, He supplies to us our entrance to the light which we enjoy: through Him we live, through Him we have entered into the abode of this world. If you contemplate Him as God, it is. He who nourishes us with innumerable re sources: it is He who sustains us, we dwell in His house, we are His household; and if we are less obedient than was befitting, and less attentive to our duty than the endless merits of our Master and Parent demanded: nevertheless it is of great avail to our obtaining pardon, if we retain the worship and knowledge of Him; if, laying aside low and earthly affairs and goods, we meditate upon heavenly and divine things which are everlasting. And that we may be able to do this, God must be followed by us, God must be adored and loved; since there is in Him the substance of things, the principle of the virtues, and the source of all that is good. For what is greater in power than God, or more perfect in reason, or brighter in clearness? And since He begat us to wisdom, and produced us to righteousness, it is not allowable for man to forsake God, who is the giver of intelligence and life and to serve earthly and frail things, or, intent upon seeking temporal goods, to turn aside from innocence and piety. Vicious and deadly pleasures do not render a man happy; nor does opulence, which is the inciter of lusts; nor empty ambition; nor frail honors, by which the human soul, being ensnared and enslaved to the body, is condemned to eternal death: but innocence and righteousness alone, the lawful and due reward of which is immortality, which God from the beginning appointed for holy and uncorrupted minds, which keep themselves pure and uncontaminated from vices, and from every earthly impurity. Of this heavenly and eternal reward they cannot be partakers, who have polluted their conscience by deeds of violence, frauds, rapine, and deceits; and who, by injuries inflicted upon men, by impious actions, have branded themselves with indelible stains. Accordingly it is befitting that all who wish deservedly to be called wise, who wish to be called men, should despise frail things, should trample

upon earthly things, and should look down upon base things, that they may be able to be united in a most blissful relationship with God.

Let impiety and discords be removed; let turbulent and deadly dissensions be allayed, by which human societies and the divine union of the public league are broken in upon, divided, and dispersed; as far as we can, let “us aim at being good and bounteous: if we have a supply of wealth and resources, let it not be devoted to the pleasure of a single person, but bestowed on the welfare of many. For pleasure is as shortlived as the body to which it does service. But justice and kindness are as immortal as the mind and soul, which by good works attain to the likeness of God. Let God be consecrated by us, not in temples, but in our heart. All things which are made by the hand are destructible. Let us cleanse this temple, which is defiled not by smoke or dust, but by evil thoughts which is lighted not by blazing tapers? but by the brightness and light of wisdom. And if we believe that God is always present in this temple, to whose divinity the secrets of the heart are open, we shall so live as always to have Him propitious, and never to fear His anger.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

It is worth while to direct attention to (book vi. cap. 2) what our author has said of “*true* worship,” just now, when the most violent and persistent efforts are made to sensualize Christian worship, and to explain away the testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers on this important subject. The argument of our author, in its entire drift, is as applicable to our own times as to his; and, deeply as I value beauty in the public worship of God, I cannot, as a Nicene Catholic, do less than adopt the universal sentiment of the early Fathers as to the limits of decoration.

ON THE WORKMANSHIP OF GOD,

OR THE FORMATION OF MAN

A TREATISE ADDRESSED TO HIS PUPIL DEMETRIANUS

CHAPTER 1

THE INTRODUCTION, AND EXHORTATION TO DEMETRIANUS

How disturbed I am, and in the greatest necessities, you will be able to judge from this little book which I have written to you, Demetrianus, almost in unadorned words, as the mediocrity of my talent permitted, that you might know my daily pursuit, and that I might not be wanting to you, even now an instructor, but of a more honorable subject and of a better system. For if you afforded yourself a ready hearer in literature, which did nothing else than form the style, how much more teachable ought you to be in these true studies, which have reference even to the life! And I now profess to you, that I am hindered by no necessity of circumstance or time from composing something by which the philosophers of our sect which we uphold may become better instructed and more learned for the future, although they now have a bad reputation, and are commonly reproved, as living otherwise than is befitting for wise men, and as concealing their vices under the covering of a name; whereas they ought either to have remedied them, or to have altogether avoided them, that they might render the name of wisdom happy and uncorrupted, their life itself agreeing with their precepts. I, however, shrink from no labor that I may at once instruct ourselves and others. For I am not able to forget myself, and especially at that time when it is most necessary for me to remember; as also you do not forget yourself, as I hope and wish. For although the necessity of the

state may turn you aside from true and just works, yet it is impossible that a mind conscious of rectitude should not from time to time look to the heaven.

I indeed rejoice that all things which are esteemed blessings turn out prosperously to you, but only on condition of their changing nothing of your state of mind. For I fear lest custom and the pleasantness of these subjects should, as usually happens, creep by degrees into your mind. Therefore I advise you,

"And repeating it, will again and again advise you,"

not to believe that you have these enjoyments of the earth as great or true blessings, since they are not only deceitful because they are doubtful, but also treacherous because they are pleasant. For you know how crafty that wrestler and adversary of ours is, and also often violent, as we now see that he is. He employs all these things which are able to entice as snares, and with such subtilty that they escape the notice of the eyes of the mind, so that they cannot be avoided by the foresight of man. Therefore it is the highest prudence to advance step by step, since he occupies the passes on both sides, and secretly places stumbling-blocks for our feet. Accordingly I advise you, either to disregard, if you are able according to your virtue, your prosperity in which you live, or not to admire it greatly. Remember your true parent, and in what city you have given your name, and of what rank you have been. You understand assuredly what I say. For I do not charge you with pride, of which there is not even a suspicion in your case; but the things which I say are to be referred to the mind, not to the body, the whole system of which has been arranged on this account, that it may be in subjection to the soul as to a master, and may be ruled by its will. For it is in a certain manner an earthen vessel in which the soul, that is, the true man himself, is contained, and that vessel indeed not made by Prometheus, as the poets say, but by that supreme Creator and Artificer of the world, God, whose divine providence and most perfect excellence it is neither possible to comprehend by the perception, nor to express in word.

I will attempt, however, since mention has been made of the body and soul, to explain the nature of each, as far as the weakness of my understanding sees through; and I think that this duty is especially to be

undertaken on this account, because Marcus Tullius, a man of remarkable talent, in his fourth book on the Republic, when he had attempted to do this, concluded a subject of wide extent within narrow limits, lightly selecting the chief points. And that there might be no excuse, because he had not followed up this subject, he testified that neither inclination nor attention had been wanting to him. For in his first book concerning the Laws, when he was concisely summing up the same subject, he thus spoke: “Scipio, as it appears to me, has sufficiently expressed this subject in those books which you have read.” Afterwards, however, in his second book concerning the Nature of the Gods, he endeavored to follow up the same subject more extensively. But since he did not express it sufficiently even there, I will approach this office, and will take upon myself boldly to explain that which a man of the greatest eloquence has almost left untouched. Perhaps you may blame me for attempting to discuss something in matters of obscurity, when you see that there have been men of such rashness who are commonly called philosophers, that they scrutinized those things which God willed to be abstruse and hidden, and investigated the nature of things in heaven and on earth, which are far removed from us, and cannot be examined by the eyes, nor touched by the hand, nor perceived by the senses; and yet they so dispute concerning the nature of these things, as to wish that the things, which they bring forward may appear to be proved and known. What reason is there, I pray, why any one should think it an invidious thing in us, if we wish to look into and contemplate the system of our body, which is not altogether obscure, because from the very offices of the limbs, and the uses of the several parts, it is permitted us to understand with what great power of providence each part has been made?

CHAPTER 2

OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE BEASTS AND OF MAN

For our Creator and Parent, God, has given to man perception and reason, that it might be evident from this that we are descended from Him, because He Himself is intelligence, He Himself is perception and reason. Since He did not give that power of reason to the other animals, He provided

beforehand in what manner their life might be more safe. For He clothed them all with their own natural hair, in order that they might more easily be able to endure the severity of frosts and colds. Moreover, He has appointed to every kind its own peculiar defense for the repelling of attacks from without; so that they may either oppose the stronger animals with natural weapons, or the feebler ones may withdraw themselves from danger by the swiftness of their flight, or those which require at once both strength and swiftness may protect themselves by craft, or guard themselves in hiding-places. And so others of them either poise themselves aloft with light plumage, or are supported by hoofs, or are furnished with horns; some have arms in their mouth — namely, their teeth — or hooked talons on their feet; and none of them is destitute of a defense for its own protection.

But if any fall as a prey to the greater animals, that their race might not utterly perish, they have either been banished to that region where the greater ones cannot exist, or they have received a more abundant fruitfulness in production, that food might be supplied from them to the beasts which are nourished by blood, and yet their very multitude might survive the slaughter inflicted upon them, so as to preserve the race. But He made man — reason being granted to him, and the power of perceiving and speaking being given to him — destitute of those things which are given to the other animals, because wisdom was able to supply those things which the condition of nature had denied to him. He made him naked and defenseless, because he could be armed by his talent, and clothed by his reason. But it cannot be expressed how wonderfully the absence of those things which are given to the brutes contributes to the beauty of man. For if He had given to man the teeth of wild beasts, or horns, or claws, or hoofs, or a tail, or hairs of various color, who cannot perceive how misshapen an animal he would be, as the dumb animals, if they were made naked and defenseless? For if you take from these the natural clothing of their body, or those things by which they are armed of themselves, they can be neither beautiful nor safe, so that they appear wonderfully furnished if you think of utility, and wonderfully adorned if you think of appearance: in such a wonderful manner is utility combined with beauty.

But with reference to man, whom He formed an eternal and immortal being, He did not arm him, as the others, without, but within; nor did He place his protection in the body, but in the soul: since it would have been superfluous, when He had given him that which was of the greatest value, to cover him with bodily defenses, especially when they hindered the beauty of the human body. On which account I am accustomed to wonder at the senselessness of the philosophers who follow Epicurus, who blame the works of nature, that they may show that the world is prepared and governed by no providence; but they ascribe the origin of all things to indivisible and solid bodies, from the fortuitous meetings of which they say that all things are and were produced. I pass by the things relating to the work itself with which they find fault, in which matter they are ridiculously mad; I assume that which belongs to the subject of which we are now treating.

CHAPTER 3

OF THE CONDITION OF THE BEASTS AND MAN

They complain that man is born in a more feeble and frail condition than that in which the other animals are born: for that these, as soon as they are produced from the womb, immediately raise themselves on their feet, and express their joy by running to and fro, and are at once fit for enduring the air, inasmuch as they have come forth to the light protected by natural coverings; but man, on the contrary, being naked and defenseless, is cast forth, and driven, as it were, from a shipwreck, to the miseries of this life; who is neither able to move himself from the place where he has been born, nor to seek the nourishment of milk, nor to endure the injury of time. Therefore they say that Nature is not the mother of the human race, but a stepmother, who has dealt so liberally with the dumb creation, but has so produced man, that, without resources, and without strength, and destitute of all aid, he can do nothing else than give tokens of the state of his frailty by wailing and lamentations;

"as well he may, whose destiny it is to go through in life so many ills."

And when they say these things they are believed to be very wise, because every one without consideration is displeased with his own condition; but I contend that they are never more foolish than when they say these things. For when I consider the condition of things, I understand that nothing ought to have been otherwise than it is — not to say could have been otherwise, for God is able to do all things: but it must be, that that most provident majesty made that which was better and more right.

I should like, therefore, to ask those censurers of the divine works, what they think to be wanting in man, on account of his being born in a more feeble condition. Do they think that men are, on this account, brought up worse? Or that they advance the less to the greatest strength of age? Or that weakness is a hindrance to their growth or safety, since reason bestows the things which are wanting? But, they say, the bringing up of man costs the greatest labors: in truth, the condition of the brute creation is better, because all these, when they have brought forth their young, have no care except for their own food; from which it is effected that, their teats being spontaneously distended, the nourishment of milk is supplied to their offspring, and that they seek this nourishment by the compulsion of nature, without any trouble on the part of the mothers. How is it with birds, which have a different nature? do they not undergo the greatest labors in bringing up their young, so that they sometimes appear to have something of human intelligence? For they either build their nests of mud, or construct them with twigs and leaves, and they sit upon the eggs without taking food; and since it has not been given to them to nourish their young from their own bodies, they convey to them food, and spend whole days in going to and fro in this manner; but by night they defend, cherish, and protect them. What more can men do? unless it be this only, that they do not drive away their young when grown up, but retain them bound by perpetual relationship and the bond of affection. Why should I say that the offspring of birds is much more fragile than that of man? Inasmuch as they do not bring forth the animal itself from the body of the mother, but that which, being warmed by the nourishment and heat of the body of the mother, produces the animal; and this, even when animated by breath, being unfledged and tender, is not only without the power of flying, but even of walking. Would he not, therefore, be most senseless, if any one should think that nature has dealt badly with birds, first, because

they are twice born, and then because they are so weak, that they have to be nourished by food sought with labor by their parents? But they select the stronger, and pass by the more feeble animals.

I ask, therefore, from those who prefer the condition of the beasts to their own, what they would choose if God should give them the choice: would they prefer the wisdom of man together with his weakness, or the strength of the beasts together with their nature? In truth, they are not so much like the beasts as not to prefer even a much more fragile condition, provided that it be human, to that strength of theirs unattended with reason. But, in truth, prudent men neither desire the reason of man together with frailty, nor the strength of the dumb animals without reason. Therefore it is nothing so repugnant or contradictory, that either reason or the condition of nature should of necessity prepare each animal. If it is furnished with natural protection, reason is superfluous. For what will it contrive? What will it do? Or what will it plan? Or in what will it display that light of the intellect, when Nature of its own accord grants those things which are able to be the result of reason? But if it be endued with reason, what need will there be of defenses for the body, when reason once granted is able to supply the office of nature? And this has such power for the adorning and protection of man, that nothing greater or better can be given by God. Finally, since man is possessed of a body which is not great, and of slight strength, and of infirm health, nevertheless, since he has received that which is of greater value, he is better equipped than the other animals, and more adorned. For though he is born frail and feeble, yet he is safe from all the dumb animals, and all those which are born with greater strength, though they are able to bear patiently the inclemency of the sky, yet are unable to be safe from man. Thus it comes to pass that reason bestows more on man than nature does on the dumb animals; since, in their case, neither greatness of strength nor firmness of body can prevent them from being oppressed by us, or from being made subject to our power.

Can any one, then, when he sees that even elephants, with their vast bodies and strength, are subservient to man, complain respecting God, the Maker of all things, because he has received moderate strength, and a small body; and not estimate according to their deserts the divine benefits towards himself, which is the part of an ungrateful man, or (to speak more truly) of a madman? Plato, I believe, that he might refute these ungrateful

men, gave thanks to nature that he was born a man. How much better and more soundly did he act, who perceived that the condition of man was better, than they did who would have preferred that they had been born beasts! For if God should happen to change them into those animals whose condition they prefer to their own, they would now immediately desire to return to their previous state, and o would with great outcries eagerly demand their former condition, because strength and firmness of body are not of such consequence that you should be without the office of the tongue; or the free course of birds through the air, that you should be without the hands. For the hands o are of greater service than the lightness and use n of the wings; the tongue is of greater service y than the strength of the whole body. What h madness is it, therefore, to prefer those things which, if they were given, you would refuse to receive!

CHAPTER 4

OF THE WEAKNESS OF MAN

They also complain that man is liable to diseases, and to untimely death. They are indignant, it appears, that they are not born gods. By no means, they say; but we show from this, that man was made with no foresight, which ought to have been otherwise. What if I shall show, that this very thing was foreseen with great reason, that he might be able to be harassed by diseases, and that his life might often be cut short in the midst of its course? For, since God had known that the animal which He had made, of its own accord passed to death, that it might be capable of receiving death itself, which is the dissolution of nature, He gave to it frailty, which might find an approach for death in order to the dissolution of the animal. For if it had been of such strength that disease and sickness could not approach it, not even could death, since death is the consequence of diseases. But how could a premature death be absent from him, for whom a mature death had been appointed? Assuredly they wish that no man should die, unless when he has completed his hundredth year. How can they maintain their consistency in so great an opposition of circumstances? For, in order that no one may be capable of dying before a hundred years, something of the strength which is immortal must be given to him; and when this is

granted, the condition of death must necessarily be excluded. But of what kind can that be, which can render a man firm and impregnable against diseases and attacks from without? For, inasmuch as he is composed of bones, and nerves, and flesh, and blood, which of these can be so firm as to repel frailty and death? That man, therefore, may not be liable to dissolution before that time which they think ought to have been appointed for him, of what material will they assign to him a body? All things which can be seen and touched are frail. It remains that they seek something from heaven, since there is nothing on earth which is not weak.

Since, therefore, man had to be so formed by God, that he should at some time be mortal, the matter itself required that he should be made with a frail and earthly body. It is necessary, therefore, that he should at some time receive death, since he is possessed of a body; for every body is liable to dissolution and to death. Therefore they are most foolish who complain of premature death, since the condition of nature makes a place for it. Thus it will follow that he is subject also to diseases; for nature does not admit that infirmity can be absent from that body which is at some time to undergo dissolution. But let us suppose it to be possible, as they wish, that man is not born under those conditions by which he is subject to disease or death, unless, having completed the course of his life, he shall have arrived at the extremity of old age. They do not, therefore, see what would be the consequence if it were so arranged, that it would be plainly impossible to die at another time; but if any one can be deprived of nourishment by another, it will be possible for him to die. Therefore the case requires that man, who cannot die before an appointed day, should have no need of the nourishment of food, because it may be taken from him; but if he shall have no need of food, he will now not be a man, but will become a God. Therefore, as I have already said, they who complain of the frailty of man, make this complaint especially, that they were not born immortal and everlasting. No one ought to die unless he is old. On this account, in truth, he ought to die, because he is not God. But mortality cannot be united with immortality: for if a man is mortal in old age, he cannot be immortal in youth; neither is the condition of death foreign to him who is at some time about to die; nor is there any immortality to which a limit is appointed. Thus it comes to pass, that the

exclusion of immortality for ever, and the reception of mortality for a time, place man in such a condition that he is at some time mortal.

Therefore the necessity is in all points suitable, that he ought not to have been otherwise than he is, and that it was impossible. But they do not see the order of consequences, because they have once committed an error in the main point itself. For the divine providence having been excluded from the affairs of men, it necessarily followed that all things were produced of their own accord. Hence they invented the notion of those blows and fortuitous meetings together of minute seeds, because they did not see the origin of things. And when they had thrown themselves into this difficulty, necessity now compelled them to think that souls were born together with bodies, and in like manner were extinguished together with bodies; for they had made the assumption, that nothing was made by the divine mind. And they were unable to prove this in any other way, than by showing that there were some things in which the system of providence appeared to be at fault. Therefore they blamed those things in which providence wonderfully expressed its divinity, as those things which I have related concerning diseases and premature death; whereas they ought to have considered, these things being assumed, what would be the necessary consequences (but those things which I have spoken are the consequences) if he were not liable to diseases, and did not require a dwelling, nor clothing. For why should he fear the winds, or rains, or colds, the power of which consists in this, that they bring diseases? For on this account he has received wisdom, that he may guard his frailty against things that would injure him. The necessary consequence is, that since he is liable to diseases for the sake of retaining his wisdom, he must also be liable to death; because he to whom death does not come, must of necessity be firm. But infirmity has in itself the condition of death; but where there shall be firmness, neither can old age have any place, nor death, which follows old age.

Moreover, if death were appointed for a fixed age, man would become most arrogant, and would be destitute of all humanity. For almost all the rights of humanity, by which we are united with one another, arise from fear and the consciousness of frailty. In short, all the more feeble and timid animals herd together, that, since they are unable to protect themselves by strength, they may protect themselves by their multitude; but the stronger

animals seek solitudes, since they trust in their force and strength. If man also, in the same manner, had sufficient strength for the repelling of dangers, and did not stand in need of the assistance of any other, what society would there be? Or what system? What humanity? Or what would be more harsh than man? What more brutal? What more savage? But since he is feeble, and not able to live by himself apart from man, he desires society, that his life, passed in intercourse with others, may become both more adorned and more safe. You see, therefore, that the whole reason of man centers most of all in this, that he is born naked and fragile, that he is attacked by diseases, that he is punished by premature death. And if these things should be taken away from man, reason also, and wisdom, must necessarily be taken away. But I am discussing too long respecting things which are manifest, since it is clear that nothing ever was made, or could have been made, without providence. And if I should now wish to discuss respecting all its works in order, the subject would be infinite. But I have purposed to speak so much concerning the body of man only, that I may show in it the power of divine providence, how great it has been in those things only which are easy of comprehension and open; for those things which relate to the soul can neither be subjected to the eyes, nor comprehended. Now we speak concerning the vessel itself of man, which we see.

CHAPTER 5

OF THE FIGURES AND LIMBS OF ANIMALS

In the beginning, when God was forming the animals, He did not wish to conglobate and collect them into a round shape, that they might be able easily to put themselves in motion for walking, and to turn themselves in any direction; but from the highest part of the body He lengthened out the head. He also carried out to a greater length some of the limbs, which are called feet, that, being fixed on the ground with alternate motions, they might lead forward the animal wherever his inclination had born him, or the necessity of seeking food had called him. Moreover, He made four limbs standing out from the very vessel of the body: two behind, which are in all animals — the feet; also two close to the head and neck, which supply

various uses to animals. For in cattle and wild beasts they are feet like the hinder ones; but in man they are hands, which are produced not for walking, but for acting and controlling. There is also a third class, in which those former limbs are neither feet nor hands; but wings, which, having feathers arranged in order, supply the use of flying. Thus one formation has different forms and uses; and that He might firmly hold together the density itself of the body, by binding together greater and small bones, He compacted a kind of keel, which we call the spine; and He did not think fit to form it of one continued bone, lest the animal should not have the power of walking and bending itself. From its middle part, as it were, He has extended in a different direction transverse and fiat bones, by which, being slightly curved, and almost drawn together to themselves as into a circle, the inward organs may be covered, that those parts which needed to be soft and less strong might be protected by the encircling of a solid framework. Bat at the end of that joining together which we have said to resemble the keel of a ship, He placed the head, in which might be the government of the whole living creature; and this name was given to it, as indeed Varro writes to Cicero, because from this the senses and the nerves take their beginning.

But those parts, which we have said to be lengthened out from the body, either for the sake of walking, or of acting, or of flying, He would have to consist of bones, neither too long, for the sake of rapidity of motion, nor too short, for the sake of firmness, but of a few, and those large. For either they are two as in man, or four as in a quadruped. And these He did not make solid, lest in walking sluggishness and weight should retard; but He made them hollow, and full of marrow within, to preserve the vigor of the body. And again, He did not make them equally extended to the end; but He conglobated their extremities with coarse knots, that they might be able more easily to be bound with sinews, and to be turned more easily, from which they are called joints. These knots He made firmly solid, and covered with a soft kind of covering, which is called cartilage; for this purpose, that they might be bent without galling or any sense of pain. He did not, however, form these after one fashion. For He made some simple and round into an orb, in those joints at least in which it was befitting that the limbs should move in all directions, as in the shoulders, since it is necessary that the hands should move and be twisted about in any

direction; but others He made broad, and equal, and round towards one part, and that plainly in those places where only it was necessary for the limbs to be bent, as in the knees, and in the elbows, and in the hands themselves. For as it was at the same time pleasant to the sight, and useful, that the hands should move in every direction from that position from which they spring; so assuredly, if this same thing should happen to the elbows, a motion of that kind would be at once superfluous and unbecoming. For then the hand, having lost the dignity which it now has, through its excessive flexibility, would appear like the trunk of an elephant; and man would be altogether snake-handed, — an instance of which has been wonderfully effected in that monstrous beast. For God, who wished to display His providence and power by a wonderful variety of many things, inasmuch as He had not extended the head of that animal to such a length that he might be able to touch the earth with his mouth, which would have been horrible and hideous, and because He bad so armed the mouth itself with extended tusks, that even if he touched the earth the tusks would still deprive him of the power of feeding, He lengthened out between these from the top of the forehead a soft and flexible limb, by which he might be able to grasp and lay hold of anything, lest the prominent magnitude of the tusks, or the shortness of the neck, should interfere with the arrangement for taking food.

CHAPTER 6

OF THE ERROR OF EPICURUS, AND OF THE LIMBS AND THEIR USE

I cannot here be prevented from again showing the folly of Epicurus. For all the ravings of Lucretius belong to him, who, in order that he might show that animals are not produced by any contrivance of the divine mind, but, as he is wont to say, by chance, said that in the beginning of the world innumerable other animals of wonderful form and magnitude were produced; but that they were unable to be permanent, because either the power of taking food, or the method of uniting and generating, had failed them. It is evident that, in order to make a place for his atoms flying about through the boundless and empty space, he wished to exclude the divine

providence. But when he saw that a wonderful system of providence is contained in all things which breathe, what vanity was it (e mischievous one!) to say that there had been animals of immense size, in which the system of production ceased!

Since, therefore, all things which we see are produced with reference to a plan — for nothing but a plan can effect this very condition of being born — it is manifest that nothing could have been born without a plan. For it was previously foreseen in the formation of everything, how it should use the service of the limbs for the necessaries of life; and how the offspring, being produced from the union of bodies, might preserve all living creatures by their several species. For if a skillful architect, when he designs to construct some great building, first of all considers what will be the effect of the complete building, and previously ascertains by measurement what situation is suitable for a light weight, in what place a massive part of the structure will stand, what will be the intervals between the columns, what or where will be the descents and outlets of the falling waters and the reservoirs, — he first, I say, foresees these things, that he may begin together with the very foundations whatever things are necessary for the work when now completed, — why should any one suppose that, in the contrivance of animals, God did not foresee what things were necessary for living, before giving life itself? For it is manifest that life could not exist, unless those things by which it exists were previously arranged.

Therefore Epicurus saw in the bodies of animals the skill of a divine plan; but that he might carry into effect that which he had before imprudently assumed, he added another absurdity agreeing with the former. For he said that the eyes were not produced for seeing, nor the ears for hearing, nor the feet for walking, since these members were produced before there was the exercise of seeing, hearing, and walking; but that all the offices of these members arose from hem after their production. I fear lest the refutation of such extravagant and ridiculous stories should appear to be no less foolish; but it pleases me to be foolish, since we are dealing with a foolish man, lest he should think himself too clever. What do you say, Epicurus? Were not the eyes produced for seeing? Why, then, do they see? Their use, he says, afterwards showed itself. Therefore they were produced for the sake of seeing, since they can do nothing else but see. Likewise, in the case of the

other limbs, use itself shows for what purpose they were produced. For it is plain that this use could have no existence, unless all the limbs had been made with such arrangement and foresight, that they might be able to have their use.

For what if you should say, that birds were not made to fly, nor wild beasts to rage, nor fishes to swim, nor men to be wise, when it is evident that living creatures are subject to that natural disposition and office to which each was created? But it is evident that he who has lost the main point itself of the truth must always be in error. For if all things are produced not by providence, but by a fortuitous meeting together of atoms, why does it never happen by chance, that those first principles meet together in such a way as to make an animal of such a kind, that it might rather hear with its nostrils, smell with its eyes, and see with its ears? For if the first principles leave no kind of position untried, monstrous productions of this kind ought daily to have been brought forth, in which the arrangement of the limbs might be distorted, and the use far different from that which prevails. But since all the races of animals, and all the limbs, observe their own laws and arrangements, and the uses assigned to them, it is plain that nothing is made by chance, since a perpetual arrangement of the divine plan is preserved. But we will refute Epicurus at another time. Now let us discuss the subject of providence, as we have begun.

CHAPTER 7

OF ALL THE PARTS OF THE BODY

God therefore connected and bound together the parts which strengthen the body, which we call bones, being knotted and joined to one another by sinews, which the mind might make use of, as bands, if it should wish to hasten forward or to lag behind; and, indeed, without any labor or effort, but with a very slight inclination, it might moderate and guide the mass of the whole body. But He covered these with the inward organs, as was befitting to each place, that the parts which were solid might be enclosed and concealed. Also He mixed with the inward organs, veins as streams divided through the whole body, through which the moisture and the

blood, running in different directions, might be-dew all the limbs with the vital juices; and He fashioned these inward organs after that manner which was befitting to each kind and situation, and covered them with skin drawn over them, which He either adorned with beauty only, or covered with thick hair, or fenced with scales, or adorned with brilliant feathers. But that is a wonderful contrivance of God, that one arrangement and one state exhibits innumerable varieties of animals. For in almost all things which breathe there is the same connection and arrangement of the limbs. For first of all is the head, and annexed to this the neck; also the breast adjoined to the neck, and the shoulders projecting from it, the belly adhering to the breast; also the organs of generation subjoined to the belly; in the last place, the thighs and feet. Nor do the limbs only keep their own course and position in all, but also the parts of the limbs. For in the head itself alone the ears occupy a fixed position the eyes a fixed position likewise the nostrils, the mouth also, and in it the teeth and tongue. And though all these things are the same in all animals, yet there is an infinite and manifold diversity of the things formed; because those things of which I have spoken, being either more drawn out or more contracted, are comprehended by lineaments differing in various ways. What! is not that divine, that in so great a multitude of living creatures each animal is most excellent in its own class and species? — so that if any part should be taken from one to another, the necessary result would be, that nothing would be more embarrassed for use, nothing more unshapely to look upon; as if you should give a prolonged neck to an elephant, or a short neck to a camel; or if you should attach feet or hair to serpents, in which the length of the body equally stretched out required nothing else, except that being marked as to their backs with spots, and supporting themselves by their smooth scales, with winding courses they should glide into slippery tracts. But in quadrupeds the same designer lengthened out the arrangement of the spine, which is drawn out from the top of the head to a greater length on the outside of the body, and pointed it into a tail, that the parts of the body which are offensive might either be covered on account of their unsightliness, or be protected on account of their tenderness, so that by its motion certain minute and injurious animals might be driven away from the body; and if you should take away this member, the animal would be imperfect and weak. But where there is reason and the hand, that is not so necessary as a covering of hair. To such an extent are all things most

befittingly arranged, each in its own class, that nothing can be conceived more unbecoming than a quadruped which is naked, or a man that is covered.

But, however, though nakedness itself on the part of man tends in a wonderful manner to beauty, yet it was not adapted to his head; for what great deformity there would be in this, is evident from baldness. Therefore He clothed the head with hair; and because it was about to be on the top, He added it as an ornament, as it were, to the highest summit of the building. And this ornament is not collected into a circle, or rounded into the figure of a cap, lest it should be unsightly by leaving some parts bare; but it is freely poured forth in some places, and with drawn in others, according to the comeliness of each place. Therefore, the forehead entrenched by a circumference, and the hair put forth from the temples before the ears, and the uppermost parts of these being surrounded after the manner of a crown, and all the back part of the head covered, display an appearance of wonderful comeliness. Then the nature of the beard contributes in an incredible degree to distinguish the maturity of bodies, or to the distinction of sex, or to the beauty of manliness and strength; so that it appears that the system of the whole work would not have been in agreement, if anything had been made otherwise than it is.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE PARTS OF MAN: THE EYES AND EARS,

Now I will show the plan of the whole man, and will explain the uses and habits of the several members which are exposed to view in the body, or concealed. When, therefore, God had determined of all the animals to make man alone heavenly, and all the rest earthly, He raised him erect to the contemplation of the heaven, and made him a biped, doubtless that he might look to the same quarter from which he derives his origin; but He depressed the others to the earth, that, inasmuch as they have no expectation of immortality, being cast down with their whole body to the ground, they might be subservient to their appetite and food. And thus the right reason and elevated position of man alone, and his countenance, shared with and closely resembling God his Father, bespeak his origin and

Maker. His mind, nearly divine, because it has obtained the rule not only over the animals which are on the earth, but even over his own body, being situated in the highest part, the head, as in a lofty citadel, looks out upon and observes all things. He formed this its palace, not drawn out and extended, as in the case of the dumb animals, but like an orb and a globe, because all roundness belongs to a perfect plan and figure. Therefore the mind and that divine fire is covered with it, as with a vault; and when He had covered its highest top with a natural garment, He alike furnished and adorned the front part which is called the, face, with the necessary services of the members.

And first, He closed the orbs of the eyes with concave apertures, from which boring' Varro thought that the forehead derived its name; and He would have these to be neither less nor more than two, because no number is more perfect as to appearance than that of two: as also He made the ears two, the doubleness of which bears with it an incredible degree of beauty, both because each part is adorned with a resemblance, and that voices coming from both sides may more easily be collected. For the form itself is fashioned after a wonderful manner: because He would not have their apertures to be naked and uncovered, which would have been less becoming and less useful; since the voice might fly beyond the narrow space of simple caverns, and be scattered, did not the apertures themselves confine it, received through hollow windings and kept back from reverberation, like those small vessels, by the application of which narrow-mouthed vessels are accustomed to be filled.

These ears, then, which have their name from the drinking in of voices, from which Virgil says, or because the Greeks call the voice itself αὐδήν, from hearing, — the ears (aures) were named as though audes by the change of a letter,-God would not form of soft skins, which, hanging down and flaccid, might take away beauty; nor of hard and solid bones, lest, being stiff and immovable, they should be inconvenient for use. But He designed that which might be between these, that a softer cartilage might bind them, and that they might have at once a befitting and flexible firmness. In these the office of bearing only is placed, as that of seeing is in the eyes, the acuteness of which is especially inexplicable and wonderful; for He covered their orbs, presenting the similitude of gems in that part with which they had to see, with transparent membranes, that the images

of objects placed opposite them, being refracted as in a mirror, might penetrate to the innermost perception. Through these membranes, therefore, that faculty which is called the mind sees those things which are without; lest you should happen to think that we see either by the striking” of the images, as the philosophers discuss, since the office of seeing ought to be in that which sees, not in that which is seen; or in the tension of the air together with the eyesight; or in the outpouring of the rays: since, if it were so, we should see the ray towards which we turn with our eyes, until the air, being extended together with the eyesight, or the rays being poured out, should arrive at the object which was to be seen.

But since we see at the same moment of time, and for the most part, while engaged on other business, we nevertheless behold all things which are placed opposite to us, it is more true and evident that it is the mind which, through the eves, sees those things which are placed opposite to it, as though through windows covered with pellucid crystal or transparent stone; and therefore the mind and inclination are often known from the eyes. For the refutation of which Lucretius employed a very senseless argument. For if the mind, he says, sees through the eye, it would see better if the eyes were torn out and dug up, inasmuch as doors being torn up together with the door-posts let in more light than if they were covered. Truly his eyes, or rather those of Epicurus who taught him, ought to have been dug out, that they might not see, that the torn-out orbs, and the burst fibers of the eyes, and the blood flowing through the veins, and the flesh increasing from wounds, and the scars drawn over at last can admit no light; unless by chance he would have it that eyes are produced resembling cars, so that we should see not so much with eyes as with apertures, than which there can be nothing more unsightly or more useless. For how little should we be able to see, if from the innermost recesses of the head the mind should pay attention through Slight fissures of caverns; as, if any one should wish to look through a stalk of hemlock. he would see no more than the capability of the stalk itself admitted! For sight, therefore, it was rather needful that the members should be collected together into an orb, that the sight might be spread in breadth and the parts which adjoined them in the front of the face, that they might freely behold all things. Therefore the unspeakable power of the divine providence made

two orbs most resembling each other, and so bound them together that they might be able not only to be altogether turned, but to be moved and directed with moderation. And He willed that the orbs themselves should be full of a pure and clear moisture, in the middle part of which sparks of lights might be kept shut up, which we call the pupils, in which, being pure and delicate, are contained the faculty and method of seeing. The mind therefore directs itself through these orbs that it may see, and the sight of both the eyes is mingled and joined together in a wonderful manner.

CHAPTER 9

OF THE SENSES AND THEIR POWER

It pleases me in this place to censure the folly of those who, while they wish to show that the senses are false, collect many instances in which the eyes are deceived; and among them this also, that all things appear double to the mad and intoxicated, as though the cause of that error were obscure. For it happens on this account, because there are two eyes. But hear how it happens. The sight of the eyes consists in the exertion of the soul. Therefore, since the mind, as has been above said, uses the eyes as windows, this happens not only to those who are intoxicated or mad, but even to those who are of sound mind, and sober. For if you place any object too near, it will appear double, for there is a certain interval and space in which the sight of the eyes meets together. Likewise, if you call the soul back as if to reflection, and relax the exertion of the mind, then the sight of each eye is drawn asunder, and they each begin to see separately.

If you, again, exert the mind and direct the eyesight, whatever appeared double unites into one. What wonder, therefore, if the mind, impaired by poison and the powerful influence of wine, cannot direct itself to seeing, as the feet cannot to walking when they are weak through the numbness of the sinews, or if the force of madness raging against the brain disunites the agreement of the eyes? Which is so true, that in the case of one-eyed men, if they become either mad or intoxicated, it can by no means happen that they see any object double. Wherefore, if the reason is evident why the eyes are deceived, it is clear that the senses are not false: for they either are

not deceived if they are pure and sound; or if they are deceived, yet the mind is not deceived which recognizes their error.

CHAPTER 10

OF THE OUTER LIMBS OF MAN, AND THEIR USE

But let us return to the works of God. That the eyes, therefore, might be better protected from injury, He concealed them with the coverings of the eyelashes, from which Varro thinks that the eyes derived their name. For even the eyelids themselves, in which there is the power of rapid motion, and to which throbbing gives their name, being protected by hairs standing in order, afford a most becoming fence to the eyes; the continual motion of which, meeting with incomprehensible rapidity, does not impede the course of the sight, and relieves the eyes. For the pupil — that is, the transparent membrane — which ought not to be drained and to become dry, unless it is cleansed by continual moisture so that it shines clearly, loses its power. Why should I speak of the summits of the eyebrows themselves, furnished with short hair? Do they not, as it were by mounds, both afford protection to the eyes. so that nothing may fall into them from above, and at the same time ornament? And the nose, arising from the confines of these, and stretched out, as it were, with an equal ridge, at once serves to separate and to protect the two eyes. Below also, a not unbecoming swelling of the cheeks, gently rising after the similitude of hills, makes the eyes safer on every side; and it has been provided by the great Artificer, that if there shall happen to be a more violent blow, it may be repelled by the projecting parts. But the upper part of the nose as far as the middle has been made solid; but the lower part has been made with a softened cartilage annexed to it, that it may be pliant to the use of the fingers. Moreover, in this, though a single member, three offices are placed: one, that of drawing the breath; the second, that of smelling; the third, that the secretions of the brain may escape through its caverns. And in how wonderful, how divine a manner did God contrive these also, so that the very cavity of the nose should not deform the beauty of the face: which would certainly have been the case if one single aperture only were open. But He enclosed and divided that, as though by a wall drawn through the

middle, and made it most beautiful by the very circumstance of its being double. From which we understand of how much weight the twofold number, made firm by one simple connection, is to the perfection of things.

For though the body is one, yet the whole could not be made up of single members, unless it were that there should be parts on the right hand or on the left. Therefore, as the two feet and also hands not only avail to some utility and practice either of walking or of doing something, but also bestow an admirable character and comeliness; so in the head, which is, as it were, the crown of the divine work, the hearing has been divided by the great Artificer into two ears, and the sight into two eyes, and the smelling into two nostrils, because the brain, in which is contained the system of the sensation, although it is one, yet is divided into two parts by the intervening membrane. But the heart also, which appears to be the abode of wisdom, although it is one, yet has two recesses within, in which are contained the living fountains of blood, divided by an intervening barrier: that as in the world itself the chief control, being twofold from simple matter, or simple from a twofold matter, governs and keeps together the whole; so in the body, all the parts, being constructed of two, might present an inseparable unity. Also how useful and how becoming is the appearance and the opening of the mouth transversely cannot be expressed; the use of which consists in two offices, that of taking food and speaking.

The tongue enclosed within, which by its motions divides the voice into words, and is the interpreter of the mind, cannot, however, by itself alone fulfill the office of speaking, unless it strikes its edge against the palate, unless aided by striking against the teeth or by the compression of the lips. The teeth, however, contribute more to speaking: for infants do not begin to speak before they have teeth; and old men, when they have lost their teeth, so lisp that they appear to have returned afresh to infancy. But these things relate to man alone, or to birds, in which the tongue, being pointed and vibrating with fixed motions, expresses innumerable inflexions of songs and various kinds of sounds. It has, moreover, another office also, which it exercises in all, and this alone in the dumb animals, that it collects the food when bruised and ground by the teeth, and by its force presses it down when collected into bails, and transmits it to the belly. Accordingly,

Varro thinks that the name of tongue was given to it from binding the food. It also assists the beasts in drinking: for with the tongue stretched out and hollowed they draw water; and when they have taken it in the hollow of the tongue, lest by slowness and delay it should flow away, they dash it against the palate with swift rapidity. This, therefore, is covered by the concave part of the palate as by a shell, and God has surrounded it with the enclosure of the teeth as with a wall.

But He has adorned the teeth themselves, which are arranged in order in a wonderful manner, lest, being bare and exposed, they should be a terror rather than an ornament, with soft gums, which are so named from producing teeth, and then with the coverings of the lips; and the hardness of the teeth, as in a millstone, is greater and rougher than in the other bones, that they might be sufficient for bruising the food and pasture. But how befittingly has He divided the lips themselves, which as it were before were united! the upper of which, under the very middle of the nostrils, He has marked with a kind of slight cavity, as with a valley: He has gracefully spread out the lower for the sake of beauty. For, as far as relates to the receiving of flavor, he is deceived, whoever he is, who thinks that this sense resides in the palate; for it is the tongue by which flavors are perceived, and not the whole of it: for the parts of it which are more tender on either side, draw in the flavor with the most delicate perceptions. And though nothing is diminished from that which is eaten or drunk, yet the flavor in an indescribable manner penetrates to the sense, in the same way in which the taking of the smell detracts nothing from any material.

And how beautiful the other parts are can scarcely be expressed. The chin, gently drawn down from the cheeks, and the lower part of it so closed that the lightly imprinted division appears to mark its extreme point: the neck stiff and well rounded: the shoulders let down as though by gentle ridges from the neck: the fore-arms powerful, and braced by sinews for firmness: the great strength of the upper-arms standing out with remarkable muscles: the useful and becoming bending of the elbows. What shall I say of the hands, the ministers of reason and wisdom? Which the most skillful Creator made with a flat and moderately concave bend, that if anything was to be held, it might conveniently rest upon them, and terminated them in the fingers; in which it is difficult to explain whether the appearance or

the usefulness is greater. For the perfection and completeness of their number, and the comeliness of their order and gradation, and the flexible bending of the equal joints, and the round form of the nails, comprising and strengthening the tips of the fingers with concave coverings, lest the softness of the flesh should yield in holding any object, afford great adornment. But this is convenient for use, in wonderful ways, that one separated from the rest rises together with the hand itself, and is enlarged in a different direction, which, offering itself as though to meet the others, possesses all the power of holding and doing either alone, or in a special manner, as the guide and director of them all; from which also it received the name of thumb, because it prevails among the others by force and power. It has two joints standing out, not as the others, three; but one is annexed by flesh to the hand for the sake of beauty: for if it had been with three joints, and itself separate, the foul and unbecoming appearance would have deprived the hand of all grace.

Again, the breadth of the breast, being elevated, and exposed to the eyes, displays a wonderful dignity of its condition; of which this is the cause, that God appears to have made man only, as it were, reclining with his face upward: for scarcely any other animal is able to lie upon its back. But He appears to have formed the dumb animals as though lying on one side, and to have pressed them to the earth. For this reason He gave them a narrow breast, and removed from sight, and prostrate towards the earth. But He made that of man open and erect, because, being full of reason given from heaven, it was not befitting that it should be humble or unbecoming. The nipples also gently rising, and crowned with darker and small orbs, add something of beauty; being given to females for the nourishment of their young, to males for grace only, that the breast might not appear misshapen, and, as it were, mutilated. Below this is placed the fiat surface of the belly, about the middle of which the navel distinguishes by a not unbecoming mark, being made for this purpose, that through it the young, while it is in the womb, may be nourished.

CHAPTER 11

OF TITLE INTESTINES IN MAN, AND THEIR USE

It necessarily follows that I should begin to speak of the inward parts also, to which has been assigned not beauty, because they are concealed from view, but incredible utility, since it was necessary that this earthly body should be nourished with some moisture from food and drink, as the earth itself is by showers and frosts. The most provident Artificer placed in the middle of it a receptacle for articles of food, by means of which, when digested and liquefied, it might distribute the vital juices to all the members. But since man is composed of body and soul, that receptacle of which I have spoken above affords nourishment only to the body; to the soul, in truth, He has given another abode. For He has made a kind of intestines soft and thin, which we call the lungs, into which the breath might pass by an alternate interchange; and He did not form this after the fashion of the uterus, lest the breath should all at once be poured forth, or at once inflate it. And on this account He did not make it a full intestine, but capable of being inflated, and admitting the air, so that it might gradually receive the breath; while the vital air is spread through that thinness, and might again gradually give it back, while it spreads itself forth from it: for the very alternation of blowing and breathing, and the process of respiration, support life in the body.

Since, therefore, there are in man two receptacles, — one of the air which nourishes the soul, the other of the food which nourishes the body, — there must be two tubes through the neck for food, and for breath, the upper of which leads from the mouth to the belly, the lower from the nostrils to the lungs. And the plan and nature of these are different: for the passage which is from the mouth has been made soft, and which when closed always adheres to itself, as the month itself; since drink and food, being corporeal, make for themselves a space for passage, by moving aside and opening the gullet. The breath, on the other hand, which is incorporeal and thin, because it was unable to make for itself a space, has received an open way, which is called the windpipe. This is composed of flexible and soft bones, as though of rings fitted together after the manner of a hemlock stalk, and adhering together; and this passage is always open. For the

breath can have no cessation in passing; because it, which is always passing to and fro, is checked as by a kind of obstacle through means of a portion of a member usefully sent down from the brain, and which is called the uvula, lest, drawn by pestilential air, it should come with impetuosity and spoil the slightness of its abode, or bring the whole violence of the injury upon the inner receptacles. And on this account also the nostrils are slightly open, which are therefore so named, because either smell or breath does not cease to flow through these, which are, as it were, the doors of this tube. Yet this breathing-tube lies open not only to the nostrils, but also to the mouth in the extreme regions of the palate, where the risings of the jaws, looking towards the uvula, begin to raise themselves into a swelling. And the reason of this arrangement is not obscure: for we should not have the power of speaking if the windpipe were open to the nostrils only, as the path of the gullet is to the mouth only; nor could the breath proceeding from it cause the voice, without the service of the tongue.

Therefore the divine skill opened a way for the voice from that breathing-tube, so that the tongue might be able to discharge its office, and by its strokes divide into words the even course of the voice itself. And this passage, if by any means it is intercepted, must necessarily cause dumbness. For he is assuredly mistaken, whoever thinks that there is any other cause why men are dumb. For they are not tongue-tied, as is commonly believed; but they pour forth that vocal breath through the nostrils, as though bellowing, because there is either no passage at all for the voice to the mouth, or it is not so open as to be able to send forth the full voice. And this generally comes to pass by nature; sometimes also it happens by accident that this entrance is blocked up and does not transmit the voice to the tongue, and thus makes those who can speak dumb. And when this happens, the hearing also must necessarily be blocked up; so that because it cannot emit the voice, it is also incapable of admitting it. Therefore this passage has been opened for the purpose of speaking. It also affords this advantage, that in frequenting the bath, because the nostrils are not able to endure the heat, the hot air is taken in by the mouth; also, if phlegm contracted by cold shall have happened to stop up the breathing pores of the nostrils, we may be able to draw the air through the mouth, lest, if the passage should be obstructed, the breath should be

stifled. But the food being received into the stomach, and mixed with the moisture of the drink, when it has now been digested by the heat, its juice, being in an indescribable manner diffused through the limbs, bedews and invigorates the whole body.

The manifold coils also of the intestines, and their length rolled together on themselves, and yet fastened with one band, are a wonderful work of God. For when the stomach has sent forth from itself the food softened, it is gradually thrust forth through those windings of the intestines, so that whatever of the moisture by which the body is nourished is in them, is divided to all the members. And yet, lest in any place it should happen to adhere and remain fixed, which might have taken place on account of the turnings of the coils, which often turn back to themselves, and which could not have happened without injury, He has spread over these from within a thicker juice, that the secretions of the belly might more easily work their way through the slippery substance to their outlets. It is also a most skillful arrangement, that the bladder, which birds do not use, though it is separated from the intestines, and has no tube by which it may draw the urine from them, is nevertheless filled and distended with moisture. And it is not difficult to see how this comes to pass. For the parts of the intestines which receive the food and drink from the belly are more open than the other coils, and much more delicate. These entwine themselves around and encompass the bladder; and when the meat and the drink have arrived at these parts in a mixed state, the excrement becomes more solid, and passes through, but all the moisture is strained through those tender parts, and the bladder, the membrane of which is equally fine and delicate, absorbs and collects it, so as to send it forth where nature has opened an outlet.

CHAPTER 12

DE UTERO, ET CONCEPTIONE ATQUE SEXIBUS

De utero quoque et conceptione, quoniam de internis loquimur, dici necesse est, ne quid praeterisse videamur; quae quamquam in operto latent, sensum tamen atque intelligentiam latere non possunt. Vena in maribus, quae seminium continet, duplex est, paulo interior, quam illud humoris

obscoeni receptaculum. Sicut enim renes duo sunt, itemque testes, ita et venae seminales duae, in una tamen compage cohaerentes; quod videmus in corporibus animalium, cum interfecta patefiunt. Sed illa dexterior masculinum continet semen, sinisterior foemininum; et omnino in toto corpore pars dextra masculina est, sinistra veto foeminina. Ipsum semen quidam putant ex medullis tantum, quidam ex omni corpore ad venam genitalem confluere, ibique concrescere. Sed hoc, humana mens, quomodo fiat, non potest comprehendere. Item in foeminis uterus in duas se dividit partes, quae in diversum diffussae ac reflexae, circumplicantur, sicut arietis cornua. Quae pars in dextram retorquetur, masculina est; quae in sinistram, foeminina.

Conceptum igitur Varro et Aristoteles sic fieri arbitrantur. Aiunt non tantum maribus inesse semen, verum etiam foeminis, et inde plerumque matribus similes procreari; sed earum semen sanguinem esse purgatum, quod si recte cum virili mixture sit, utraque concreta et simul co-agulata informari: et primum quidem cor hominis effingi, quod in eo sit et vita omnis et sapientia; denique totum opus quadragesimo die consummari. Ex abortionibus haec fortasse collecta sunt. In avium tamen foetibus primurn oculos fingi dubium non est, quod in ovis saepe deprehendimus. Unde fieri non posse arbitror quin fictio a capite sumat exordium.

Similitudines autem in corporibus filiorum sic fieri putant. Cum semina inter se permixta coalescunt, si virile superaverit, patri similem provenire, seu marem, seu foeminam; si muliebre praevaluerit, progeniem cujusque sexus ad imaginem respondere maternam. Id autem praevalet O duobus, quod fuerit uberius; alterum enim quodammodo amplectitur et includit: hinc plerumque fled, ut unius tantum lineamenta praetendat. Si vero aequa fuerit ex pari semente permixtio, figuras quoque misceri, ut soboles illa communis aut neutrum referre videatur, quia totum ex altero non habet; aut utrumque, quia partem de singulis mutuata est. Nam in cor-poribus animalium videmus aut confundi parentum colores, ac fieri tertium neutri generantium simile; aut utriusque sic exprimi, ut discoloribus membris per omne corpus concors mixtura varietur. Dispares quoque naturae hoc modo fieri putantur. Cum forte in laevam uteri partem masculinae stirpis semen inciderit, marem quidem gigni opinatio est; sed quia sit in foeminina parte conceptus, aliquid in se habere foemineum, supra quam decus virile patiatur; vel formam insignem, vel nimium candorem, vel cor-poris

levitatem, vel artus delicatos, vel staturam brevem, vel vocem gracilem, vel animum imbecillum, vel ex his plura. Item, si partem in dextram semen foeminini sexus influxerit, foeminam quidem procreari; sed quoniam in masculina parte concepta sit, habere in se aliquid virilita-tis, ultra quam sexus; ratio permittat; aut valida membra, aut immoderatam Iongitudinem, aut fuscum colorem, aut hispidam faciem, aut vulture indecorum, aut vocem robustam, aut animum audacem, aut ex his plura.

Si vero masculinum in dexteram, foemininum in sinistram pervenerit, utrosque foetus recte provenire; ut et foeminis per omnia naturae suae decus constet, et maribus tam mente, quam corpore robur virile servetur. Istud vero ipsum quam mirabile institutum Dei, quod ad conservationem generum singulorum, duos sexus maris ac foeminae machinatus est; quibus inter se per voluptatis illecebras copulatis, successiva soboles pareretur, ne omne genus viventium conditio mortalitatis extingueret. Sed plus roboris maribus attributum est, quo facilius ad patientiam jugi maritalis foeminae cogerentur. Vir itaque nominatus est, quod major in eo vis est, quire in foemina; et hinc virtus nomen accepit. Item mulier (ut Varro interpretatur) a mollitie, immutata et detracta littera, velut mollier; cui suscepto foetu, cum partus appropinquare jam coepit, turgescentes mammae dulcibus succis distenduntur, et ad nutrimenta nascentis fontibus lacteis foecundum pectus exuberat. Nec enim decebat aliud quam ut sapiens animal a corde alimoniam duceret. Idque ipsum solertissime comparatum est, ut candens ac pinguis humor teneritudinem novi corporis irrigaret, donec ad capiendos fortiores cibos, et dentibus instruatur, et viribus roboretur. Sed redeamus ad propositum, ut caetera, quae supersunt, breviter explicemus.

CHAPTER 13

OF THE LOWER MEMBERS

Poteram nunc ego ipsorum quoque genitalium membrorum mirificam rationem tibi exponere, nisi me pudor ab hujusmodi sermone revocaret: itaque a nobis indumento verecundiae, quae sunt pudenda velentur. Quod ad hanc rem attinet, queri satis est, homines impios ac profanos summum nefas admittere, qui divinum et admirabile Dei opus, ad propagandam successionem inexcogitabili ratione provisum et effectum, vel ad

turpissimos quaestus, vel ad obscoenae libidinis pudenda opera convertunt, ut jam nihil aliud ex re sanctissima petant, quam inanem et sterilem voluptatem.

How is it with respect to the other parts of the body? Are they without order and beauty? The flesh rounded off into the hates, how adapted to the office of sitting! and this also more firm than in the other limbs, lest by the pressure of the bulk of the body it should give way to the bones. Also the length of the thighs drawn out, and strengthened by broader muscles, in order that it might more easily sustain the weight of the body; and as this is gradually contracted, it is bounded by the knees, the comely joints of which supply a bend which is most adapted for walking and sitting. Also the legs not drawn out in an equal manner, lest an unbecoming figure should deform the feet; but they are at once strengthened and adorned by well-turned calves gently standing out and gradually diminishing.

But in the soles of the feet there is the same plan as in the hands, but yet very different: for since these are, as it were, the foundations of the whole body, the admirable Artificer has not made them of a round appearance, lest man should be unable to stand, or should need other feet for standing, as is the case with quadrupeds; but He has formed them of a longer and more extended shape, that they might make the body firm by their flatness, from which circumstance their name was given to them. The toes are of the same number with the fingers, for the sake of appearance rather than utility; and on this account they are both joined together, and short, and put together by gradations; and that which is the greatest of these, since it was not befitting that it should be separated from the others, as in the hand, has been so arranged in order, that it appears to differ from the others in magnitude and the small space which intervenes. This beautiful union of them strengthens the pressure of the feet with no slight aid; for we cannot be excited to running, unless, our toes being pressed against the ground, and resting upon the soil, we take an impetus and a spring. I appear to have explained all things of which the plan is capable of being understood. I now come to those things which are either doubtful or obscure.

CHAPTER 14

OF THE UNKNOWN PURPOSE OF SOME OF THE INTESTINES

It is evident that there are many things in the body, the force and purpose of which no one can perceive but He who made them. Can any one suppose that he is able to relate what is the advantage, and what the effect, of that slight transparent membrane by which the stomach is netted over and covered? What the twofold resemblance of the kidneys? which Varro says are so named because streams of foul moisture arise from these; which is far from being the case, because, rising on either side of the spine, they are united, and are separated from the intestines. What is the use of the spleen? What of the liver? Organs which appear as it were to be made up of disordered blood. What of the very bitter moisture of the gall? What of the heart? unless we shall happen to think that they ought to be believed, who think that the affection of anger is placed in the gall, that of fear in the heart, of joy in the spleen. But they will have it that the office of the liver is, by its embrace and heat, to digest the food in the stomach; some think that the desires of the amorous passions are contained in the liver.

First of all, the acuteness of the human sense is unable to perceive these things, because their offices lie concealed; nor, when laid open, do they show their uses. For, if it were so, perhaps the more gentle animals would either have no gall at all, or less than the wild beasts; the more timid ones would have more heart, the more lustful would have more liver, the more playful more spleen. As, therefore, we perceive that we bear with our ears, that we see with our eyes, that we smell with our nostrils; so assuredly we should perceive that we are angry with the gall, that we desire with the liver, that we rejoice with the spleen. Since, therefore, we do not at all perceive from what part those affections come, it is possible that they may come from another source, and that those organs may have a different effect to that which we suppose. We cannot prove, however, that they who discuss these things speak falsely. But I think that all things which relate to the motions of the mind and soul, are of so obscure and profound a nature, that it is beyond the power of man to see through them clearly. This, however, ought to be sure and undoubted, that so many objects and

so many organs have one and the same office — to retain the soul in the body. But what office is particularly assigned to each, who can know, except the Designer, to whom alone His own work is known?

CHAPTER 15

OF THE VOICE

But what account can we give of the voice? Grammarians, indeed, and philosophers, define the voice to be air struck by the breath; from which words derive their name: which is plainly false. For the voice is not produced outside of the mouth, but within, and therefore that opinion is more probable, that the breath, being compressed, when it has struck against the obstacle presented by the throat, forces out the sound of the voice: as when we send down the breath into an open hemlock stalk, having applied it to the lips, and the breath, reverberating from the hollow of the stalk, and rolled back from the bottom, while it returns to that descending through meeting with itself, striving for an outlet, produces a sound; and the wind, rebounding by itself, is animated into vocal breath. Now, whether this is true, God, who is the designer, may see. For the voice appears to arise not from the mouth, but from the innermost breast. In fine, even when the mouth is closed, a sound such as is possible is emitted from the nostrils. Moreover, also, the voice is not affected by that greatest breath with which we gasp, but with a light and not compressed breath, as often as we wish. It has not therefore been comprehended in what manner it takes place, or what it is altogether. And do not imagine that I am now failing into the opinion of the Academy, for all things are not incomprehensible. For as it must be confessed that many things are unknown, since God has willed that they should exceed the understanding of man; so, however, it must be acknowledged that there are many which may

both be perceived by the senses and comprehended by the reason. But we shall devote an entire treatise to the refutation of the philosophers. Let us therefore finish the course over which we are now running.

CHAPTER 16

OF THE MIND AND ITS SEAT

That the nature of the mind is also incomprehensible, who can be ignorant, but he who is altogether destitute of mind, since it is not known in what place the mind is situated, or of what nature it is? Therefore various things have been discussed by philosophers concerning its nature and place. But I will not conceal what my own sentiments are: not that I should affirm that it is so — for in a doubtful matter it is the part of a foolish person to do this; but that when I have set forth the difficulty of the matter, you may understand how great is the magnitude off the divine works. Some would have it, that the seat of the mind is in the breast. But if this is so, how wonderful is it, that a faculty which is situated in an obscure and dark habitation should be employed in so great a light of reason and intelligence; then that the senses from every part of the body come together to it, so that it appears to be present in any quarter of the limbs! Others have said that its seat is in the brain: and, indeed, they have used probable arguments, saying that it was doubtless befitting that that which had the government of the whole body should especially have its abode in the highest place, as though in the citadel of the body; and that nothing should be in a more elevated position than that which governs the whole by reason,: just as the Lord Himself, and Ruler of the universe, is in the highest place. Then they say, that the organs which are the ministers of each sense, that is, of hearing, and seeing, and smelling, are situated in the head, and that the channels of all these lead not to the breast, but to the brain: otherwise we must be more slow in the exercise of our senses, until the power of sensation by a long course should descend through the neck even to the breast. These, in truth, do not greatly err, or perchance not at all. For the mind, which exercises control over the body, appears to be placed in the highest part, the head, as God is in heaven; but when it is engaged in any reflection, it appears to pass to the breast, and, as it were, to withdraw to some secret recess, that it may elicit and draw forth counsel, as it were, from a hidden treasury. And therefore, when we are intent upon reflection, and when the mind, being occupied, has withdrawn itself to the inner depth, we are accustomed neither to hear the things which sound about us, nor to see the things which stand in our way. But

whether this is the case, it is assuredly a matter of admiration how this takes place, since there is no passage from the brain to the breast. But if it is not so, nevertheless it is no less a matter of admiration that, by some divine plan or other, it is caused that it appears to be so. Can any fail to admire that that living and heavenly faculty which is called the mind or the soul, is of such volubility that it does not rest even then when it is asleep; of such rapidity, that it surveys the whole heaven at one moment of time; and, if it wills, flies over seas, traverses lands and cities, — in short, places in its own sight all things which it pleases, however far and widely they are removed?

And does any one wonder if the divine mind of God, being extended through all parts of the universe, runs to and fro, and rules all things, governs all things, being everywhere present, everywhere diffused; when the strength and power of the human mind, though enclosed within a mortal body, is so great, that it can in no way be restrained even by the barriers of this heavy and slothful body, to which it is bound, froth bestowing upon itself, in its impatience of rest, the power of wandering without restraint? Whether, therefore, the mind has its dwelling in the head or in the breast, can any one comprehend what power of reason effects, that that incomprehensible faculty either remains fixed in the marrow of the brain, or in that blood divided into two parts which is enclosed in the heart; and not infer from this very circumstance how great is the power of God, because the soul does not see itself, or of what nature or where it is; and if it did see, yet it would not be able to perceive in what manner an incorporeal substance is united with one which is corporeal? Or if the mind has no fixed locality, but runs here and there scattered through the whole body, — which is possible, and was asserted by Xenocrates, the disciple of Plato, — then, inasmuch as intelligence is present in every part of the body, it cannot be understood what that mind is, or what its qualities are, since its nature is so subtle and refined, that, though infused into solid organs by a living and, as it were, ardent perception, it is mingled with all the members.

But take care that you never think it probable, as Aristoxenus said, that the mind has no existence, but that the power of perception exists from the constitution of the body and the construction of the organs, as harmony does in the case of the lyre. For musicians call the stretching and

sounding of the strings to entire strains, without any striking of notes in agreement with them, harmony. They will have it, therefore, that the soul in man exists in a manner like that by which harmonious modulation exists on the lyre; namely, that the firm uniting of the separate parts of the body and the vigor of all the limbs agreeing together, makes that perceptible motion, and adjusts the mind, as well-stretched things produce harmonious sound. And as, in the lyre, when anything has been interrupted or relaxed, the whole method of the strain is disturbed and destroyed; so in the body, when any part of the limbs receives an injury, the whole are weakened, and all being corrupted and thrown into confusion, the power of perception is destroyed: and this is called death. But he, if he had possessed any mind, would never have transferred harmony from the lyre to man. For the lyre cannot of its own accord send forth a sound, so that there can be in this any comparison and resemblance to a living person; but the soul both reflects and is moved of its own accord. But if there were in us anything resembling harmony, it would be moved by a blow from without, as the strings of the lyre are by the hands; whereas without the handling of the artificer, and the stroke of the fingers, they lie mute and motionless. But doubtless he ought to have beaten by the hand, that he might at length observe; for his mind, badly compacted From his members, was in a state of torpor.

CHAPTER 17

OF THE SOUL, AND THE OPINION OF PHILOSOPHERS CONCERNING IT

It remains to speak of the soul, although its system and nature cannot be perceived. Nor, therefore, do we fail to understand that the soul. is immortal, since whatever is vigorous and is in motion by itself at all times, and cannot be seen or touched, must he eternal. But what the soul is, is not yet agreed upon by philosophers, and perhaps will never be agreed upon. For some have said that it is blood, others that it is fire, others wind, from which it has received its name of anima, or animus, because in Greek the wind is called anemos and yet none of these appears to have spoken anything. For if the soul appears to be extinguished when the blood is

poured forth through a wound, or is exhausted by the heat of fevers, it does not therefore follow that the system of the soul is to be placed in the material of the blood; as though a question should arise as to the nature of the light which we make use of, and the answer should be given that it is oil, for when that is consumed the light is extinguished: since they are plainly different, but the one is the nourishment of the other. Therefore the soul appears to be like light, since it is not itself blood, but is nourished by the moisture of the blood, as light is by oil.

But they who have supposed it to be fire made use of this argument, that when the soul is present the body is warm, but on its departure the body grows cold. But fire is both without perception and is seen, and burns when touched. But the soul is both endowed with perception and cannot be seen, and does not burn. From which it is evident that the soul is something like God. But they who suppose that it is wind are deceived by this, because we appear to live by drawing breath from the air. Varro gives this definition: “The soul is air conceived in the mouth, warmed in the lungs, heated in the heart, diffused into the body.” These things are most plainly false. For I say that the nature of things of this kind is not so obscure, that we do not even understand what cannot be true. If any one should say to me that the heaven is of brass, or crystal, or, as Empedocles says, that it is frozen air, must I at once assent because I do not know of what material the heaven is? For as I know not this, I know that. Therefore the soul is not air conceived in the mouth, because the soul is produced much before air can be conceived in the mouth. For it is not introduced into the body after birth, as it appears to some philosophers, but immediately alter conception, when the divine necessity has formed the offspring in the womb; for it so lives within the bowels of its mother, that it is increased in growth, and delights to bound with repeated beatings. In short, there must be a miscarriage if the living young within shall die. The other parts of the definition have reference to this, that during those nine months in which we were in the womb we appear to have been dead. None, therefore. of these three opinions is true. We cannot, however, say that they who held these sentiments were false to such an extent that they said nothing at all; for we live at once by the blood, and heat, and breath. But since the soul exists in the body by the union of all these, they did not

express what it was in its own proper sense; for as it cannot be seen, so it cannot be expressed.

CHAPTER 18

OF THE SOUL AND THE MIND, AND THEIR AFFECTIONS

There follows another, and in itself an inexplicable inquiry: Whether the soul and the mind are the same, or there be one faculty by which we live, and another by which we perceive and have discernment. There are not wanting arguments on either side. For they who say that they are one faculty make use of this argument, that we cannot live without perception, nor perceive without life, and therefore that that which is incapable of separation cannot be different; but that whatever it is, it has the office of living and the method of perception. On which account two Epicurean poets speak of the mind and the soul indifferently. But they who say that they are different argue in this way: That the mind is one thing, and the soul another, may be understood from this, that the mind may be extinguished while the soul is uninjured, which is accustomed to happen in the case of the insane; also, that the soul is put to rest by death, the mind by sleep, and indeed in such a manner that it is not only ignorant of what is taking place, or where it is, but it is even deceived by the contemplation of false objects. And how this takes place cannot accurately be perceived; why it takes place can be perceived. For we can by no means rest unless the mind is kept occupied by the similitudes of visions. But the mind lies hid, oppressed with sleep, as fire buried by ashes drawn over it; but if you stir it a little it again blazes, and, as it were, wakes up. Therefore it is called away by images, until the limbs, bedewed with sleep, are invigorated; for the body while the perception is awake, although it lies motionless, yet is not at rest, because the perception burns in it, and vibrates as a flame, and keeps all the limbs bound to itself. But when the mind is transferred from its application to the contemplation of images, then at length the whole body is resolved into rest. But the mind is transferred from dark thought, when, under the influence of darkness, it has begun to be alone with itself. While it is intent upon those things concerning which it is reflecting, sleep suddenly creeps on, and the thought

itself imperceptibly turns aside to the nearest appearances: thus it begins also to see those things which it had placed before its eyes. Then it proceeds further, and finds diversions for itself, that it may not interrupt the most healthy repose of the body. For as the mind is diverted in the day by true sights, so that it does not sleep; so is it diverted in the night by false sights, so that it is not aroused. For if it perceives no images, it will follow of necessity either that it is awake, or that it is asleep in perpetual death. Therefore the system of dreaming has been given by God for the sake of sleeping; and, indeed, it has been given to all animals in common; but this especially to man, that when God gave this system on account of rest, He left to Himself the power of teaching man future events by means of the dream. For narratives often testify that there have been dreams which have had an immediate and a remarkable accomplishment, and the answers of our prophets have been after the character of a dream. On which account they are not always true, nor always false, as Virgil testified, who supposed that there were two gates for the passage of dreams. But those which are false are seen for the sake of sleeping; those which are true are sent by God, that by this revelation we may learn impending goods or evils.

CHAPTER 19

OF THE SOUL, AND IT GIVEN BY GOD

A question also may arise respecting this, whether the soul is produced from the father, or rather from the mother, or indeed from both. But I think that this judgment is to be formed as though in a doubtful matter. For nothing is true of these three opinions, because souls are produced neither from both nor from either. For a body may be produced from a body, since something is contributed from both; but a soul cannot be produced from souls, because nothing can depart from a slight and incomprehensible subject. Therefore the manner of the production of souls belongs entirely to God alone.

"In fine, we are all sprung from a heavenly seed, all have that same Father."

as Lucretius says. For nothing but what is mortal can be generated from mortals. Nor ought he to be deemed a father who in no way perceives that he has transmitted or breathed a soul from his own; nor, if he perceives it, comprehends in his mind when or in what manner that effect is produced.

From this it is evident that souls are not given by parents, but by one and the same God and Father of all, who alone has the law and method of their birth, since He alone produces them. For the part of the earthly parent is nothing more than with a sense of pleasure to emit the moisture of the body, in which is the material of birth, or to receive it; and to this work man's power is limited, nor has he any further power. Therefore men wish for the birth of sons, because they do not themselves bring it about. Everything beyond this is the work of God, — namely, the conception itself, and the molding of the body, and the breathing in of life, and the bringing forth in safety, and whatever afterwards contributes to the preservation of man: it is His gift that we breathe, that we live, and are vigorous. For, besides that we owe it to His bounty that we are safe in body, and that He supplies us with nourishment from various sources, He also gives to man wisdom, which no earthly father can by any means give; and therefore it often happens that foolish sons are born from wise parents, and wise sons from foolish parents, which some persons attribute to fate and the stars. But this is not now the time to discuss the subject of fate. It is sufficient to say this, that even if the stars hold together the efficacy of all things, it is nevertheless certain that all things are done by God, who both made and set in order the stars themselves. They are therefore senseless who detract this power from God, and assign it to His work.

He would have it, therefore, to be in our own power, whether we use or do not use this divine and excellent gift of God. For, having granted this, He bound man himself by the mystery of virtue, by which he might be able to gain life. For great is the power, great the reason, great the mysterious purpose of man; and if any one shall not abandon this, nor betray his fidelity and devotedness, he must be happy: he, in short, to sum up the matter in few words, must of necessity resemble God. For he is in error whosoever judges of man by his flesh. For this worthless body with which we are clothed is the receptacle of man. For man himself, can neither be touched, nor looked upon, nor grasped, because he lies hidden within this

body, which is seen. And if he shall be more luxurious and delicate in this life than its nature demands, if he shall despise virtue, and give himself to the pursuit of fleshly lusts, he will fall and be pressed down to the earth; but if (as his duty is) he shall readily and constantly maintain his position, which is right for him, and he has rightly obtained, — if he shall not be enslaved to the earth, which he ought to trample upon and overcome, he will gain eternal life.

CHAPTER 20

OF HIMSELF AND THE TRUTH

These things I have written to you, Demetrianus, for the present in few words, and perhaps with more obscurity than was befitting, in accordance with the necessity of circumstances and the time, with which you ought to be content, since you are about to receive more and better things if God shall favor us. Then, accordingly, I will exhort you with greater clearness and truth to the learning of true philosophy. For I have determined to commit to writing as many things as I shall be able, which have reference to the condition of a happy life; and that indeed against the philosophers, since they are pernicious and weighty for the disturbing of the truth. For the force of their eloquence is incredible, and their subtlety in argument and disputation may easily deceive any one; and these we will refute partly by our own weapons, but partly by weapons borrowed from their mutual wrangling, so that it may be evident that they rather introduced error than removed it.

Perhaps you may wonder that I venture to undertake so great a deed. Shall we then suffer the truth to be extinguished or crushed? I, in truth, would more willingly fail even under this burthen. For if Marcus Tullius, the unparalleled example of eloquence itself, was often vanquished by men void of learning and eloquence, — who, however, were striving for that which was true, — why should we despair that the truth itself will by its own peculiar force and clearness avail against deceitful and captious eloquence? They indeed are wont to profess themselves advocates of the truth; but who can defend that which he has not learned, or make clear to others that which he himself does not know? I seem to promise a great

thing; but there is need of the favor of Heaven, that ability and time may be given us for following our purpose. But if life is to be wished for by a wise man, assuredly I should wish to live for no other reason than that I may effect something which may be worthy of life, and which may be useful to my readers, if not for eloquence, because there is in me but a slight stream of eloquence, at any rate for living, which is especially needful. And when I have accomplished this, I shall think that I have lived enough, and that I have discharged the duty of a man, if my labor shall have freed some men from errors, and have directed them to the path which leads to heaven.

GENERAL NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

Just here I economize a little spare room to note the cynical Gibbon's ideas about Lactantius and his works. He quotes him freely, and recognizes his Ciceronian Latinity, and even the elegance of his rhetoric, and the spirit and eloquence with which he can garnish the "dismal tale" of coming judgments, based on the Apocalypse. But then, again he speaks of him as an "obscure rhetorician," and affects a doubt as to his sources of information, notably in doubting the conversation between Galerius and Diocletian which forced the latter to abdicate. This is before he decides to attribute the work on the *Deaths of Persecutors* to somebody else, or, rather, to quote its author ambiguously as Caecilius. And here we may insert what he says on this subject, as follows: —

> "It is certain that this... was composed and published while Licinius, sovereign of the East, still preserved the friendship of Constantine and of the Christians. Every reader of taste must perceive that the style is of a very different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and such, indeed, is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner. Three arguments (from the title of the book and from the names of Donatus and Caecilius) are produced by the advocates of Lactantius. Each of these proofs is, singly, weak and defective; *but their concurrence has great weight*. I have often fluctuated, and shall *tamely* follow the Colbert MS. in calling the author, whoever he was, *Caecilius*."

After this the critic adheres to this ambiguity. I have no wish to argue otherwise. Quite as important are his notes on the *Institutes*. He states the probable conjecture of *two* original editions, — the one under Diocletian, and the other under Licinius. Then he says: —

> "I am *almost* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his *Institutions* to the sovereign of Gaul at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius, persecuted the Christians; that is, between the years A.D. 306 and A.D. 311

On the dubious passages he remarks: —

> “The first and most important of these is, indeed, wanting in twenty-eight MSS., but is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those MSS., one,... in the King of France’s library, may be alleged in its favor. But the passage is omitted in the correct MS. of Bologna, which the Pere de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century. The taste of most of the editors has *felt* the genuine style of Lactantius.”

Do not many indications point to the natural suggestion of a *third* original edition, issued after the conversion of Constantine? Or the questionable passages may be the interpolations of Lactantius himself.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PERSECUTORS DIED

ADDRESSED TO DONATUS

CHAPTER 1

THE Lord has heard those supplications which you, my best beloved Donatus, pour forth in His presence all the day long, and the supplications of the rest of our brethren, who by a glorious confession have obtained an everlasting crown, the reward of their faith. Behold, all the adversaries are destroyed, and tranquillity having been re-established throughout the Roman empire, the late oppressed Church arises again, and the temple of God, overthrown by the hands of the wicked, is built with more glory than before. For God has raised up princes to rescind the impious and sanguinary edicts of the tyrants and provide for the welfare of mankind; so that now the cloud of past times is dispelled, and peace and serenity gladden all hearts. And after the, furious whirlwind and black tempest, the heavens are now become calm, and the wished-for light has shone forth; and now God, the hearer of prayer, by His divine aid has lifted His prostrate and afflicted servants from the ground, has brought to an end the united devices of the wicked, and wiped off the tears from the faces of those who mourned. They who insulted over the Divinity, lie low; they who cast down the holy temple, are fallen with more tremendous ruin; and the tormentors of just men have poured out their guilty souls amidst plagues inflicted by Heaven, and amidst deserved tortures. For God delayed to punish them, that, by great and marvelous examples, He might teach posterity that He alone is God, and that with fit vengeance He executes judgment on the proud, the impious, and the persecutors.

Of the end of those men I have thought good to publish a narrative, that all who are afar off, and all who shall arise hereafter, may learn how the Almighty manifested His power and sovereign greatness in rooting out and utterly destroying the enemies of His name. And this will become evident,

when I relate who were the persecutors of the Church from the time of its first constitution, and what were the punishments by which the divine Judge, in His severity, took vengeance on them.

CHAPTER 2

In the latter days of the Emperor Tiberius, in the consulship of Ruberius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, and on the tenth of the kalends of April, as I find it written, Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews. After He had risen again on the third day, He gathered together His apostles, whom fear, at the time of His being laid hold on, had put to flight; and while He sojourned with them forty days, He opened their hearts, interpreted to them the Scripture, which hitherto had been wrapped up in obscurity, ordained and fitted them for the preaching of His word and doctrine, and regulated all things concerning the institutions of the New Testament; and this having been accomplished, a cloud and whirlwind enveloped Him, and caught Him up from the sight of men unto heaven.

His apostles were at that time eleven in number, to whom were added Matthias, in the room of the traitor Judas, and afterwards Paul. Then were they dispersed throughout all the earth to preach the Gospel, as the Lord their Master had commanded them; and during twenty-five years, and until the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Nero, they occupied themselves in laying the foundations of the Church in every province and city. And while Nero reigned, the Apostle Peter came to Rome, and, through the power of God committed unto him, wrought certain miracles, and, by turning many to the true religion, built up a faithful and steadfast temple unto the Lord. When Nero heard of those things, and observed that not only in Rome, but in every other place, a great multitude revolted daily from the worship of idols, and, condemning their old ways, went over to the new religion, he, an execrable and pernicious tyrant, sprung forward to raze the heavenly temple and destroy the true faith. He it was who first persecuted the servants of God; he crucified Peter, and slew Paul: nor did he escape with impunity; for God looked on the affliction of His people; and therefore the tyrant, bereaved of authority, and precipitated from the height of empire, suddenly disappeared, and even the burial-place of that noxious wild beast was nowhere to be seen. This has led some persons of

extravagant imagination to suppose that, having been conveyed to a distant region, he is still reserved alive; and to him they apply the Sibylline verses concerning

> "The fugitive, who slew his own mother, being to come from the uttermost boundaries of the earth;"

as if he who was the first should also be the last persecutor, and thus prove the forerunner of Antichrist! But we ought not to believe those who, affirming that the two prophets Enoch and Elias have been translated into some remote place that they might attend our Lord when He shall come to judgment, also fancy that Nero is to appear hereafter as the forerunner of the devil, when he shall come to lay waste the earth and overthrow mankind.

CHAPTER 3

After an interval of some years from the death of Nero, there arose another tyrant no less wicked (Domitian), who, although his government was exceedingly odious, for a very long time oppressed his subjects, and reigned in security, until at length he stretched forth his impious hands against the Lord. Having been instigated by evil demons to persecute the righteous people, he was then delivered into the power of his enemies, and suffered due punishment. To be murdered in his own palace was not vengeance ample enough: the very memory of his name was erased. For although he had erected many admirable edifices, and rebuilt the Capitol, and left other distinguished marks of his magnificence, yet the senate did so persecute his name, as to leave no remains of his statues, or traces of the inscriptions put up in honor of him; and by most solemn and severe decrees it branded him, even after death, with perpetual infamy. Thus, the commands of the tyrant having been rescinded, the Church was not only restored to her former state, but she shone forth with additional splendor, and became more and more flourishing. And in the times that followed, while many well-deserving princes guided the helm of the Roman empire, the Church suffered no violent assaults from her enemies, and she extended her hands unto the east and unto the west, insomuch that now there was not any the most remote corner of the earth to which the divine religion

had not penetrated, or any nation of manners so barbarous that did not, by being converted to the worship of God, become mild and gentle.

CHAPTER 4

This long peace, however, was afterwards interrupted. Decius appeared in the world, an accursed wild beast, to afflict the Church, — and who but a bad man would persecute religion? It seems as if he had been raised to sovereign eminence, at once to rage against God, and at once to fall; for, having undertaken an expedition against the Carpi, who had then possessed themselves of Dacia and Moefia, he was suddenly surrounded by the barbarians, and slain, together with great part of his army; nor could he be honored with the rites of sepulture, but, stripped and naked, he lay to be devoured by wild beasts and birds, — a fit end for the enemy of God.

CHAPTER 5

And presently Valerian also, in a mood alike frantic, lifted up his impious hands to assault God, and, although his time was short, shed much righteous blood. But God punished him in a new and extraordinary manner, that it might be a lesson to future ages that the adversaries of Heaven always receive the just recompense of their iniquities. He, having been made prisoner by the Persians, lost not only that power which he had exercised without moderation, but also the liberty of which be had deprived others; and he wasted the remainder of his days in the vilest condition of slavery: for Sapores, the king of the Persians, who had made him prisoner, whenever he chose to get into his carriage or to mount on horseback, commanded the Roman to stoop and present his back; then, setting his foot on the shoulders of Valerian, he said, with a smile of reproach, “This is true, and not what the Romans delineate on board or plaster.” Valerian lived for a considerable time under the well-merited insults of his conqueror; so that the Roman name remained long the scoff and derision of the barbarians: and this also was added to the severity of his punishment, that although he had an emperor for his son, he found no

one to revenge his captivity and most abject and servile state; neither indeed was he ever demanded back Afterward, when he had finished this shameful life under so great dishonor, he was flayed, and his skin, stripped from the flesh, was dyed with vermilion, and placed in the temple of the gods of the barbarians, that the remembrance of a triumph so signal might be perpetuated, and that this spectacle might always be exhibited to our ambassadors, as an admonition to the Romans, that, beholding the spoils of their captived emperor in a Persian temple, they should not place too great confidence in their own strength.

Now since God so punished the sacrilegious, is it not strange that any one should afterward have dared to do, or even to devise, aught against the majesty of the one God, who governs and supports all things?

CHAPTER 6

Aurelian might have recollected the fate of the captived emperor, yet, being of a nature outrageous and headstrong, he forgot both his sin and its punishment, and by deeds of cruelty irritated the divine wrath. He was not, however, permitted to accomplish what he had devised; for just as he began to give a loose to his rage, he was slain. His bloody edicts had not yet reached the more distant provinces, when he himself lay all bloody on the earth at Caenophrurium in Thrace, assassinated by his familiar friends, who had taken up groundless suspicions against him.

Examples of such a nature, and so numerous, ought to have deterred succeeding tyrants; nevertheless they were not only not dismayed, but, in their misdeeds against God, became more bold and presumptuous.

CHAPTER 7

While Diocletian, that author of ill, and deviser of misery, was ruining all things, he could not withhold his insults, not even against God. This man, by avarice partly, and partly by timid counsels, overturned the Roman empire. For he made choice of three persons to share the government with him; and thus, the empire having been quartered, armies were multiplied,

and each of the four princes strove to maintain a much more considerable military force than any sole emperor had done in times past. There began to be fewer men who paid taxes than there were who received wages; so that the means of the husbandmen being exhausted by enormous impositions, the farms were abandoned, cultivated grounds became woodland, and universal dismay prevailed. Besides, the provinces were divided into minute portions, and many presidents and a multitude of inferior officers lay heavy on each territory, and almost on each city. There were also many stewards of different degrees, and deputies of presidents. Very few civil causes came before them: but there were condemnations daily, and forfeitures frequently inflicted; taxes on numberless commodities, and those not only often repeated, but perpetual, and, in exacting them, intolerable wrongs.

Whatever was laid on for the maintenance of the soldiery might have been endured; but Diocletian, through his insatiable avarice, would never allow the sums of money in his treasury to be diminished: he was constantly heaping together extraordinary aids and free gifts, that his original hoards might remain untouched and inviolable. He also, when by various extortions he had made all things exceedingly dear, attempted by an ordinance to limit their prices. Then much blood was shed for the veriest trifles; men were afraid to expose aught to sale, and the scarcity became more excessive and grievous than ever, until, in the end, the ordinance, after having proved destructive to multitudes, was from mere necessity abrogated. To this there were added a certain endless passion for building, and on that account, endless exactions from the provinces for furnishing wages to laborers and artificers, and supplying carriages and whatever else was requisite to the works which he projected. Here public halls, there a circus, here a mint, and there a workhouse for making implements of war; in one place a habitation for his empress, and in another for his daughter. Presently great part of the city was quitted, and all men removed with their wives and children, as from a town taken by enemies; and when those buildings were completed, to the destruction of whole provinces, he said, “They are not right, let them be done on another plan.” Then they were to be pulled down, or altered, to undergo perhaps a future demolition. By such folly was he continually endeavoring to equal Nicomedia with the city Rome in magnificence.

I omit mentioning how many perished on account of their possessions or wealth; for such evils were exceedingly frequent, and through their frequency appeared almost lawful. But this was peculiar to him, that whenever he saw a field remarkably well cultivated, or a house of uncommon elegance, a false accusation and a capital punishment were straightway prepared against the proprietor; so that it seemed as if Diocletian could not be guilty of rapine without also shedding blood.

CHAPTER 8

What was the character of his brother in empire, Maximian, called Herculius? Not unlike to that of Diocletian; and, indeed, to render their friendship so close and faithful as it was, there must have been in them a sameness of inclinations and purposes, a corresponding will and unanimity in judgment. Herein alone they were different, that Diocletian was more avaricious and less resolute, and that Maximian, with less avarice, had a bolder spirit, prone not to good, but to evil. For while he possessed Italy, itself the chief seat of empire, and while other very opulent provinces, such as Africa and Spain, were near at hand, he took little care to preserve those treasures which he had such fair opportunities of amassing. Whenever he stood in need of more, the richest senators were presently charged, by suborned evidences, as guilty of aspiring to the empire; so that the chief luminaries of the senate were daily extinguished. And thus the treasury, delighting in blood, overflowed with ill-gotten wealth.

Add to all this the incontinency of that pestilent wretch, not only in debauching males, which is hateful and abominable, but also in the violation of the daughters of the principal men of the state; for wherever he journeyed, virgins were suddenly torn from the presence of their parents. In such enormities he placed his supreme delight, and to indulge to the utmost his lust and flagitious desires was in his judgment the felicity of his reign.

I pass over Constantius, a prince unlike the others, and worthy to have had the sole government of the empire.

CHAPTER 9

But the other Maximian (Galerius), chosen by Diocletian for his son-in-law, was worse, not only than those two princes whom our own times have experienced, but worse than all the bad princes of former days. In this wild beast there dwelt a native barbarity and a savageness foreign to Roman blood; and no wonder, for his mother was born beyond the Danube, and it was an inroad of the Carpi that obliged her to cross over and take refuge in New Dacia. The form of Galerius corresponded with his manners. Of stature tall, full of flesh, and swollen to a horrible bulk of corpulency; by his speech, gestures, and looks, he made himself a terror to all that came near him. His father-in-law, too, dreaded him excessively. The cause was this. Narseus, king of the Persians, emulating the example set him by his grandfather Sapores, assembled a great army, and aimed at becoming master of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. Diocletian, apt to be low-spirited and timorous in every commotion, and fearing a fate like that of Valerian, would not in person encounter Narseus; but he sent Galerius by the way of Armenia, while he himself halted in the eastern provinces, and anxiously watched the event. It is a custom amongst the barbarians to take everything that belongs to them into the field. Galerius laid an ambush for them, and easily overthrew men embarrassed with the multitude of their followers and with their baggage. Having put Narseus to flight, and returned with much spoil, his own pride and Diocletian’s fears were greatly increased. For after this victory he rose to such a pitch of haughtiness as to reject the appellation of Caesar; and when he heard that appellation in letters addressed to him, he cried out, with a stern look and terrible voice, “How long am I to be Caesar?” Then he began to act extravagantly, insomuch that, as if he had been a second Romulus, he wished to pass for and to be called the offspring of Mars; and that he might appear the issue of a divinity, he was willing that his mother Romula should be dishonored with the name of adulteress. But, not to confound the chronological order of events, I delay the recital of his actions; for indeed afterwards, when Galerius got the title of emperor, his father-in-law having been divested of the imperial purple, he became altogether outrageous, and of unbounded arrogance.

While by such a conduct, and with such associates, Diocles — for that was the name of Diocletian before he attained sovereignty — occupied himself in subverting the commonweal, there was no evil which his crimes did not deserve: nevertheless he reigned most prosperously, as long as he forbore to defile his hands with the blood of the just; and what cause he had for persecuting them, I come now to explain.

CHAPTER 10

Diocletian, as being of a timorous disposition, was a searcher into futurity, and during his abode in the East he began to slay victims, that from their livers he might obtain a prognostic of events; and while he sacrificed, some attendants of his, who were Christians, stood by, and they put the immortal sign on their foreheads. At this the demons were chased away, and the holy rites interrupted. The soothsayers trembled, unable to investigate the wonted marks on the entrails of the victims. They frequently repeated the sacrifices, as if the former had been unpropitious; but the victims, slain from time to time, afforded no tokens for divination. At length Tages, the chief of the soothsayers, either from guess or from his own observation, said, “There are profane persons here, who obstruct the rites.” Then Diocletian, in furious passion, ordered not only all who were assisting at the holy ceremonies, but also all who resided within the palace, to sacrifice, and, in case of their refusal, to be scourged. And further, by letters to the commanding officers, he enjoined that all soldiers should be forced to the like impiety, under pain of being dismissed the service. Thus far his rage proceeded; but at that season he did nothing more against the law and religion of God. After an interval of some time he went to winter in Bithynia; and presently Galerius Caesar came thither, inflamed with furious resentment, and purposing to excite the inconsiderate old man to carry on that persecution which he had begun against the Christians. I have learned that the cause of his fury was as follows.

CHAPTER 11

The mother of Galerius, a woman exceedingly superstitious, was a votary of the gods of the mountains. Being of such a character, she made sacrifices almost every day, and she feasted her servants on the meat offered to idols: but the Christians of her family would not partake of those entertainments; and while she feasted with the Gentiles, they continued in fasting and prayer. On this account she conceived ill-will against the Christians, and by woman-like complaints instigated her son, no less superstitious than herself, to destroy them. So, during the whole winter, Diocletian and Galerius held councils together, at which no one else assisted; and it was the universal opinion that their conferences respected the most momentous affairs of the empire. The old man long opposed the fury of Galerius, and showed how pernicious it would be to raise disturbances throughout the world and to shed so much blood; that the Christians were wont with eagerness to meet death; and that it would be enough for him to exclude persons of that religion from the court and the army. Yet he could not restrain the madness of that obstinate man. He resolved, therefore, to take the opinion of his friends. Now this was a circumstance in the bad disposition of Diocletian, that whenever he determined to do good, he did it without advice, that the praise might be all his own; hut whenever he determined to do ill, which he was sensible would be blamed, he called in many advisers, that his own fault might be imputed to other men: and therefore a few civil magistrates, and a few military commanders, were admitted to give their counsel; and the question was put to them according to priority of rank. Some, through personal ill-will towards the Christians, were of opinion that they ought to be cut off, as enemies of the gods and adversaries of the established religious ceremonies. Others thought differently, but, having understood the will of Galerius, they, either from dread of displeasing or from a desire of gratifying him, concurred in the opinion given against the Christians. Yet not even then could the emperor be prevailed upon to yield his assent. He determined above all to consult his gods; and to that end he despatched a soothsayer to inquire of Apollo at Miletus, whose answer was such as might be expected from an enemy of the divine religion. So Diocletian was drawn over from his purpose. But although he could struggle no longer

against his friends, and against Caesar and Apollo, yet still he attempted to observe such moderation as to command the business to be carried through without bloodshed; whereas Galerius would have had all persons burnt alive who refused to sacrifice.

CHAPTER 12

A fit and auspicious day was sought out for the accomplishment of this undertaking; and the festival of the God Terminus, celebrated on the sevens of the kalends of March, was chosen, in preference to all others, to terminate, as it were, the Christian religion.

"That day, the harbinger of death, arose,
First cause of ill, and long enduring woes;"

of woes which befell not only the Christians, but the whole earth. When that day dawned, in the eighth consulship of Diocletian and seventh of Maximian, suddenly, while it was yet hardly light, the prefect, together with chief commanders, tribunes, and officers of the treasury, came to the church in Nicomedia, and the gates having been forced open, they searched everywhere for an image of the Divinity. The books of the Holy Scriptures were found, and they were committed to the flames; the utensils and furniture of the church were abandoned to pillage: all was rapine, confusion, tumult. That church, situated on rising ground, was within view of the palace; and Diocletian and Galerius stood, as if on a watch-tower, disputing long whether it ought to be set on fire. The sentiment of Diocletian prevailed, who dreaded lest, so great a fire being once kindled, some part of the city might he burnt; for there were many and large buildings that surrounded the church. Then the Pretorian Guards came in battle array, with axes and other iron instruments, and having been let loose everywhere, they in a few hours leveled that very lofty edifice with the ground.

CHAPTER 13

Next day an edict was published, depriving the Christians of all honors and dignities; ordaining also that, without any distinction of rank or degree,

they should be subjected to tortures, and that every suit at law should be received against them; while, on the other hand, they were debarred from being plaintiffs in questions of wrong, adultery, or theft; and, finally, that they should neither be capable of freedom, nor have right of suffrage. A certain person tore down this edict, and cut it in pieces, improperly indeed, but with high spirit, saying in scorn, “These are the triumphs of Goths and Sarmatians.” Having been instantly seized and brought to judgment, he was not only tortured, but burnt alive, in the forms of law; and having displayed admirable patience under sufferings, he was consumed to ashes.

CHAPTER 14

But Galerius, not satisfied with the tenor of the edict, sought in another way to gain on the emperor. That he might urge him to excess of cruelty in persecution, he employed private emissaries to set the palace on fire; and some part of it having been burnt, the blame was laid on the Christians as public enemies; and the very appellation of Christian grew odious on account of that fire. It was said that the Christians, in concert with the eunuchs, had plotted to destroy the princes; and that both of the princes had well-nigh been burnt alive in their own palace. Diocletian, shrewd and intelligent as he always chose to appear, suspected nothing of the contrivance, but, inflamed with anger, immediately commanded that all his own domestics should be tortured to force a confession of the plot. He sat on his tribunal, and saw innocent men tormented by fire to make discovery. All magistrates, and all who had superintendency in the imperial palace, obtained special commissions to administer the torture; and they strove with each other who should be first in bringing to light the conspiracy. No circumstances, however, of the fact were detected anywhere; for no one applied the torture to any domestics of Galerius. He himself was ever with Diocletian, constantly urging him, and never allowing the passions of the inconsiderate old man to cool. Then, after an interval of fifteen days, he attempted a second fire; but that was perceived quickly, and extinguished. Still, however, its author remained unknown. On that very day, Galerius, who in the middle of winter had prepared for

his departure, suddenly hurried out of the city, protesting that he fled to escape being burnt alive.

CHAPTER 15

And now Diocletian raged, not only against his own domestics, but indiscriminately against all; and he began by forcing his daughter Valeria and his wife Prisca to be polluted by sacrificing. Eunuchs, once the most powerful, and who had chief authority at court and with the emperor, were slain. Presbyters and other officers of the Church were seized, without evidence by witnesses or confession, condemned, and together with their families led to execution. In burning alive, no distinction of sex or age was regarded; and because of their great multitude, they were not burnt one after another, but a herd of them were encircled with the same fire; and servants, having millstones tied about their necks, were cast into the sea. Nor was the persecution less grievous on the rest of the people of God; for the judges, dispersed through all the temples, sought to compel every one to sacrifice. The prisons were crowded; tortures, hitherto unheard of, were invented; and lest justice should be inadvertently administered to a Christian, altars were placed in the courts of justice, hard by the tribunal, that every litigant might offer incense before his cause could be heard. Thus judges were no otherwise approached than divinities. Mandates also had gone to Maximian Herculius and Constantius, requiring their concurrence in the execution of the edicts; for in matters even of such mighty importance their opinion was never once asked. Herculius, a person of no merciful temper, yielded ready obedience, and enforced the edicts throughout his dominions of Italy. Constantius, on the other hand, lest he should have seemed to dissent from the injunctions of his superiors, permitted the demolition of churches, — mere walls, and capable of being built up again, — but he preserved entire that true temple of God, which is the human body.

CHAPTER 16

Thus was all the earth afflicted; and from east to west, except in the territories of Gaul, three ravenous wild beasts continued to rage.

"Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
A voice of brass, and adamantine lungs,
Not half the dreadful scene could I disclose,"

or recount the punishments inflicted by the rulers in every province on religious and innocent men.

But what need of a particular recital of those things, especially to you, my best beloved Donatus, who above all others was exposed to the storm of that violent persecution? For when you had fallen into the hands of the prefect Flaccinian, no puny murderer, and afterwards of Hierocles, who from a deputy became president of Bithynia, the author and adviser of the persecution, and last of all into the hands of his successor Priscillian, you displayed to mankind a pattern of invincible magnanimity. Having been nine times exposed to racks and diversified torments, nine times by a glorious profession of your faith you foiled the adversary; in nine combats you subdued the devil and his chosen soldiers; and by nine victories you triumphed, over this world and its terrors. How pleasing the spectacle to God, when He beheld you a conqueror, yoking in your chariot not white horses, nor enormous elephants, but those very men who had led captive the nations! After this sort to Lord it over the lords of the earth is triumph indeed! Now, by your valor were they conquered, when you set at defiance their flagitious edicts, and, through steadfast faith and the fortitude of your soul, you routed all the vain terrors of tyrannical authority. Against you neither scourges, nor iron claws, nor fire, nor sword, nor various kinds of torture, availed aught; and no violence could bereave you of your fidelity and persevering resolution. This it is to be a disciple of God, and this it is to be a soldier of Christ; a soldier whom no enemy can dislodge, or wolf snatch, from the heavenly camp; no artifice ensnare, or pain of body subdue, or torments overthrow. At length, after those nine glorious combats, in which the devil was vanquished by you, he dared not to enter the lists again with one whom, by repeated trials, he had found unconquerable; and he abstained from challenging you any more, lest

you should have laid hold on the garland of victory already stretched out to you; an unfading garland, which, although you have not at present received it, is laid up in the kingdom of the Lord for your virtue and deserts. But let us now return to the course of our narrative.

CHAPTER 17

The wicked plan having been carried into execution, Diocletian, whom prosperity had now abandoned, set out instantly for Rome, there to celebrate the commencement of the twentieth year of his reign. That solemnity was performed on the twelfth of the kalends of December; and suddenly the emperor, unable to bear the Roman freedom of speech, peevishly and impatiently burst away from the city. The kalends of January approached, at which day the consulship, for the ninth time, was to be offered to him; yet, rather than continue thirteen days longer in Rome, he chose that his first appearance as consul should be at Ravenna. Having, however, begun his journey in winter, amidst intense cold and incessant rains, he contracted a slight but lingering disease: it harassed him without intermission, so that he was obliged for the most part to be carried in a litter. Then, at the close of summer, he made a circuit along the banks of the Danube, and so came to Nicomedia. His disease had now become more grievous and oppressing; yet he caused himself to be brought out, in order to dedicate that circus which, at the conclusion of the twentieth year of his reign, he had erected. Immediately he grew so languid and feeble, that prayers for his life were put up to all the gods. Then suddenly, on the ides of December, there was heard in the palace sorrow, and weeping, and lamentation, and the courtiers ran to and fro; there was silence throughout the city, and a report went of the death, and even of the burial, of Diocletian: but early on the morrow it was suddenly rumored that he still lived. At this the countenance of his domestics and courtiers changed from melancholy to gay. Nevertheless there were who suspected his death to be kept secret until the arrival of Galerius Caesar, lest in the meanwhile the soldiery should attempt some change in the government; and this suspicion grew so universal, that no one would believe the emperor alive, until, on the kalends of March, he appeared in public, but so wan, his illness having lasted almost a year, as hardly to be known again. The fit of

stupor, resembling death, happened on the ides of December; and although he in some measure recovered, yet he never attained to perfect health again, for he became disordered in his judgment, being at certain times insane and at others of sound mind.

CHAPTER 18

Within a few days Galerius Caesar arrived, not to congratulate his father-in-law on the re-establishment of his health, but to force him to resign the empire. Already he had urged Maximian Herculius to the like purpose, and by the alarm of civil wars terrified the old man into compliance; and he now assailed Diocletian. At first, in gentle and friendly terms, he said that age and growing infirmities disabled Diocletian for the charge of the commonweal, and that he had need to give himself some repose after his labors. Galerius, in confirmation of his argument, produced the example of Nerva, who laid the weight of empire on Trajan.

But Diocletian made answer, that it was unfit for one who had held a rank, eminent above all others and conspicuous, to sink into the obscurity of a low station; neither indeed was it safe, because in the course of so long a reign he must unavoidably have made many enemies. That the case of Nerva was very different: he, after having reigned a single year, felt himself, either from age or from inexperience in business, unequal to affairs so momentous, and therefore threw aside the helm of government, and returned to that private life in which he had already grown old. But Diocletian added, that if Galerius wished for the title of emperor, there was nothing to hinder its being conferred on him and Constantius, as well as on Maximian Herculius.

Galerius, whose imagination already grasped at the whole empire, saw that little but an unsubstantial name would accrue to him from this proposal, and therefore replied that the settlement made by Diocletian himself ought to be inviolable; a settlement which provided that there should be two of higher rank vested with supreme power, and two others of inferior, to assist them. Easily might concord be preserved between two equals, never amongst four; that he, if Diocletian would not resign, must consult his own interests, so as to remain no longer in an inferior rank, and the last of that

rank; that for fifteen years past he had been confined, as an exile, to Illyricum and the banks of the Danube, perpetually struggling against barbarous nations, while others, at their ease, governed dominions more extensive than his, and better civilized.

Diocletian already knew, by letters from Maximian Herculius, all that Galerius had spoken at their conference, and also that he was augmenting his army; and now, on hearing his discourse, the spiritless old man burst into tears, and said, “Be it as you will.”

It remained to choose Caesars by common consent. “But,” said Galerius, “why ask the advice of Maximian and Constantius, since they must needs acquiesce in whatever we do?” — “Certainly they will,” replied Diocletian, “for we must elect their sons.”

Now Maximian Herculius had a son, Maxentius, married to the daughter of Galerius, a man of bad and mischievous dispositions, and so proud and stubborn withal, that he would never pay the wonted obeisance either to his father or father-in-law, and on that account he was hated by them both. Constantius also had a son, Constantine, a young man of very great worth, and well meriting the high station of Caesar. The distinguished comeliness of his figure, his strict attention to all military duties, his virtuous demeanor and singular affability, had endeared him to the troops, and made him the choice of every individual. He was then at court, having long before been created by Diocletian a tribune of the first order.

“What is to be done?” said Galerius, “for that Maxentius deserves not the office. He who, while yet a private man, has treated me with contumely, how will he act when once he obtains power?” — “But Constantine is amiable, and will so rule as hereafter, in the opinion of mankind, to surpass the mild virtues of his father.” — “Be it so, if my inclinations and judgment are to be disregarded. Men ought to be appointed who are at my disposal, who will dread me, and never do anything unless by my orders.” — “Whom then shall we appoint?” — “Severus.” — “How! that dancer, that habitual drunkard, who turns night into day, and day into night?” — “He deserves the office, for he has approved himself a faithful paymaster and purveyor of the army; and, indeed, I have already despatched him to receive the purple from the hands of Maximian.” — “Well, I consent; but whom else do you suggest?” — “Him,” said Galerius, pointing out Daia, a

young man, half-barbarian. Now Galerius had lately bestowed part of his own name on that youth, and called him Maximin, in like manner as Diocletian formerly bestowed on Galerius the name of Maximian, for the omen's sake, because Maximian Herculius had served him with unshaken fidelity. — "Who is that you present?" — "A kinsman of mine." — "Alas!" said Diocletian, heaving a deep sigh, "you do not propose men fit for the charge of public affairs!" — "I have tried them." — "Then do you look to it, who are about to assume the administration of the empire: as for me, while I continued emperor, long and diligent have been my labors in providing for the security of the commonweal; and now, should anything disastrous ensue, the blame will not be mine."

CHAPTER 19

Matters having been thus concerted, Diocletian and Galerius went in procession to publish the nomination of Caesars. Every one looked at Constantine; for there was no doubt that the choice would fall on him. The troops present, as well as the chief soldiers of the other legions, who had been summoned to the solemnity, fixed their eyes on Constantine, exulted in the hope of his approaching election, and occupied themselves in prayers for his prosperity. Near three miles from Nicomedia there is an eminence, on the summit of which Galerius formerly received the purple; and there a pillar, with the statue of Jupiter, was placed. Thither the procession went. An assembly of the soldiers was called. Diocletian, with tears, harangued them, and said that he was become infirm, that he needed repose after his fatigues, and that he would resign the empire into hands more vigorous and able, and at the same time appoint new Caesars. The spectators, with the utmost earnestness, waited for the nomination. Suddenly he declared that the Caesars were Severus and Maximin. The amazement was universal. Constantine stood near in public view, and men began to question amongst themselves whether his name too had not been changed into Maximin; when, in the sight of all, Galerius, stretching back his hand, put Constantine aside, and drew Daia forward, and, having divested him of the garb of a private person, set him in the most conspicuous place. All men wondered who he could be, and from whence he came; but none ventured to interpose or move objections, so

confounded were their minds at the strange and unlooked-for event. Diocletian took off his purple robe, put it on Daia, and resumed his own original name of Diocles. He descended from the tribunal, and passed through Nicomedia in a chariot; and then this old emperor, like a veteran soldier freed from military service, was dismissed into his own country; while Daia, lately taken from the tending of cattle in forests to serve as a common soldier, immediately made one of the lifeguard, presently a tribune, and next day Caesar, obtained authority to trample under foot and oppress the empire of the East; a person ignorant alike of war and of civil affairs, and from a herdsman become a leader of armies.

CHAPTER 20

Galerius having effected the expulsion of the two old men, began to consider himself alone as the sovereign of the Roman empire. Necessity had required the appointment of Constantius to the first rank; but Galerius made small account of one who was of an easy temper, and of health declining and precarious. He looked for the speedy death of Constantius. And although that prince should recover, it seemed not difficult to force him to put off the imperial purple; for what else could he do, if pressed by his three colleagues to abdicate? Galerius had Licinius ever about his person, his old and intimate acquaintance, and his earliest companion in arms, whose counsels he used in the management of all affairs; yet he would not nominate Licinius to the dignity of Caesar, with the title of son, for he purposed to nominate him, in the room of Constantius, to the dignity of emperor, with the title of brother, while he himself might hold sovereign authority, and rule over the whole globe with unbounded license. After that, he meant to have solemnized the vicennial festival; to have conferred on his son Candidianus, then a boy of nine years of age, the office of Caesar; and, in conclusion, to have resigned, as Diocletian had done. And thus, Licinius and Severus being emperors, and Maximin and Candidianus in the next station of Caesars, he fancied that, environed as it were by an impregnable wall, he should lead an old age. of security and peace. Such were his projects; but God, whom he had made his adversary, frustrated all those imaginations.

CHAPTER 21

Having thus attained to the highest power, he bent his mind to afflict that empire into which he had opened his way. It is the manner and practice of the Persians for the people to yield themselves slaves to their kings, and for the kings to treat their people as slaves. This flagitious man, from the time of his victories over the Persians, was not ashamed incessantly to extol such an institution, and he resolved to establish it in the Roman dominions; and because he could not do this by an express law, he so acted, in imitation of the Persian kings, as to bereave men of their liberties. He first of all degraded those whom he meant to punish; and then not only were inferior magistrates put to the torture by him, but also the chief men in cities, and persons of the most eminent rank, and this too in matters of little moment, and in civil questions. Crucifixion was the punishment ready prepared in capital cases; and for lesser crimes, fetters. Matrons of honorable station were dragged into workhouses; and when any man was to be scourged, there were four posts fixed in the ground, and to them he was tied, after a manner unknown in the chastisement of slaves. What shall I say of his apartment for sport, and of his favorite diversions? He kept bears, most resembling himself in fierceness and bulk, whom he had collected together during the course of his reign. As often as he chose to indulge his humor, he ordered some particular bear to be brought in, and men were thrown to that savage animal, rather to be swallowed up than devoured; and when their limbs were torn asunder, he laughed with excessive complacency: nor did he ever sup without being spectator of the effusion of human blood. Men of private station were condemned to be burnt alive; and he began this mode of execution by edicts against the Christians, commanding that, after torture and condemnation, they should be burnt at a slow fire. They were fixed to a stake, and first a moderate flame was applied to the soles of their feet, until the muscles, contracted by burning, were torn from the bones; then torches, lighted and put out again, were directed to all the members of their bodies, so that no part had any exemption. Meanwhile cold water was continually poured on their faces, and their mouths moistened, lest, by reason of their jaws being parched, they should expire. At length they did expire, when, after many hours, the violent heat had consumed their skin and penetrated into their

intestines. The dead carcasses were laid on a funeral pile, and wholly burnt; their bones were gathered, ground to powder, and thrown into the river, or into the sea.

CHAPTER 22

And now that cruelty, which he had learned in torturing the Christians, became habitual, and he exercised it against all men indiscriminately. He was not wont to inflict the slighter sorts of punishment, as to banish, to imprison, or to send criminals to work in the mines; but to burn, to crucify, to expose to wild beasts, were things done daily, and without hesitation. For smaller offenses, those of his own household and his stewards were chastised with lances, instead of rods; and, in great offenses, to be beheaded was an indulgence shown to very few; and it seemed as a favor, on account of old services, when one was permitted to die in the easiest manner. But these were slight evils in the government of Galerius, when compared with what follows. For eloquence was extinguished, pleaders cut off, and the learned in the laws either exiled or slain. Useful letters came to be viewed in the same light as magical and forbidden arts; and all who possessed them were trampled upon and execrated, as if they had been hostile to government, and public enemies. Law was dissolved, and unbounded license permitted to judges, — to judges chosen from amongst the soldiery, rude and illiterate men, and let loose upon the provinces, without assessors to guide or control them.

CHAPTER 23

But that which gave rise to public and universal calamity, was the tax imposed at once on each province and city. Surveyors having been spread abroad, and occupied in a general and severe scrutiny, horrible scenes were exhibited, like the outrages of victorious enemies, and the wretched state of captives. Each spot of ground was measured, vines and fruit-trees numbered, lists taken of animals of every kind, and a capitation-roll made up. In cities, the common people, whether residing within or without the walls, were assembled, the market-places filled with crowds of families, all

attended with their children and slaves, the noise of torture and scourges resounded, sons were hung on the rack to force discovery of the effects of their fathers, the most trusty slaves compelled by pain to bear witness against their masters, and wives to bear witness against their husbands, In default of all other evidence, men were tortured to speak against themselves; and no sooner did agony oblige them to acknowledge what they had not, but those imaginary effects were noted down in the lists. Neither youth, nor old age, nor sickness, afforded any exemption. The diseased and the infirm were carried in; the age of each was estimated; and, that the capitation-tax might be enlarged, years were added to the young and struck off from the old. General lamentation and sorrow prevailed. Whatever, by the laws of war, conquerors had done to the conquered, the like did this man presume to perpetrate against Romans and the subjects of Rome, because his forefathers had been made liable to a like tax imposed by the victorious Trajan, as a penalty on the Dacians for their frequent rebellions. After this, money was levied for each head, as if a price had been paid for liberty to exist; yet full trust was not reposed on the same set of surveyors, but others and others still were sent round to make further discoveries; and thus the tributes were redoubled, not because the new surveyors made any fresh discoveries, but because they added at pleasure to the former rates, lest they should seem to have been employed to no purpose. Meanwhile the number of animals decreased, and men died; nevertheless taxes were paid even for the dead, so that no one could either live or cease to live without being subject to impositions. There remained mendicants alone, from whom nothing could be exacted, and whom their misery and wretchedness secured from ill-treatment. But this pious man had compassion on them, and determining that they should remain no longer in indigence, he caused them all to be assembled, put on board vessels, and sunk in the sea. So merciful was he in making provision that under his administration no man should want! And thus, while he took effectual measures that none, under the reigned pretext of poverty, should elude the tax, he put to death a multitude of real wretches, in violation of every law of humanity.

CHAPTER 24

Already the judgment of God approached him, and that season ensued in which his fortunes began to droop and to waste away. While occupied in the manner that I have described above, he did not set himself to subvert or expel Constantius, but waited for his death, not imagining, however, that it was so nigh. Constantius, having become exceedingly ill, wrote to Galerius, and requested that his son Constantine might be sent to see him. He had made a like request long before, but in vain; for Galerius meant nothing less than to grant it. On the contrary, he laid repeated snares for the life of that young man, because he durst not use open violence, lest he should stir up civil wars against himself, and incur that which he most dreaded, the hate and resentment of the army. Under pretense of manly exercise and recreation, he made him combat with wild beasts: but this device was frustrated; for the power of God protected Constantine, and in the very moment of jeopardy rescued him from the hands of Galerius. At length, Galerius, when he could no longer avoid complying with the request of Constantius, one evening gave Constantine a warrant to depart, and commanded him to set out next morning with the imperial despatches. Galerius meant either to find some pretext for detaining Constantine, or to forward orders to Severus for arresting him on the road. Constantine discerned his purpose; and therefore, after supper, when the emperor was gone to rest, he hasted away, carried off from the principal stages all the horses maintained at the public expense, and escaped. Next day the emperor, having purposely remained in his bed-chamber until noon, ordered Constantine to be called into his presence; but he learnt that Constantine had set out immediately after supper. Outrageous with passion, he ordered horses to be made ready, that Constantine might be pursued and dragged back; and hearing that all the horses had been carried off from the great road, he could hardly refrain from tears. Meanwhile Constantine, journeying with incredible rapidity, reached his father, who was already about to expire. Constantius recommended his son to the soldiers, delivered the sovereign authority into his hands, and then died, as his wish had long been, in peace and quiet.

Constantine Augustus, having assumed the government, made it his first care to restore the Christians to the exercise of their worship and to their God; and so began his administration by reinstating the holy religion.

CHAPTER 25

Some few days after, the portrait of Constantine, adorned with laurels, was brought to the pernicious wild beast, that, by receiving that symbol, he might acknowledge Constantine in the quality of emperor. He hesitated long whether to receive it or not, and he was about to commit both the portrait and its bearer to the flames, but his confidants dissuaded him from a resolution so frantic. They admonished him of the danger, and they represented that, if Constantine came with an armed force, all the soldiers, against whose inclination obscure or unknown Caesars had been created, would acknowledge him, and crowd eagerly to his standard. So Galerius, although with the utmost unwillingness, accepted the portrait, and sent the imperial purple to Constantine, that he might seem of his own accord to have received that prince into partnership of power with him. And now his plans were deranged, and he could not, as he intended formerly, admit Licinius, without exceeding the limited number of emperors. But this he devised, that Severus, who was more advanced in life, should be named emperor, and that Constantine, instead of the title of emperor, to which he had been named, should receive that of Caesar in common with Maximin Daia, and so be degraded from the second place to the fourth.

CHAPTER 26

Things seemed to be arranged in some measure to the satisfaction of Galerius, when another alarm was brought, that his son-in-law Maxentius had been declared emperor at Rome. The cause was this: Galerius having resolved by permanent taxes to devour the empire, soared to such extravagance in folly, as not to allow an exemption from that thralldom even to the Roman people. Tax-gatherers therefore were appointed to go to Rome, and make out lists of the citizens. Much about the same time Galerius had reduced the Pretorian Guards. There remained at Rome a few

soldiers of that body, who, profiting of the opportunity, put some magistrates to death, and, with the acquiescence of the tumultuary populace, clothed Maxentius in the imperial purple. Galerius, on receiving this news, was disturbed at the strangeness of the event, but not much dismayed. He hated Maxentius, and he could not bestow on him the dignity of Caesar already enjoyed by two (Daia and Constantine); besides, he thought it enough for him to have once bestowed that dignity against his inclination. So he sent for Severus, exhorted him to regain his dominion and sovereignty, and he put under his command that army which Maximian Herculius had formerly commanded, that he might attack Maxentius at Rome. There the soldiers of Maximian had been oftentimes received with every sort of luxurious accommodation, so that they were not only interested to preserve the city, but they also longed to fix their residence in it.

Maxentius well knew the enormity of his own offenses; and although he had as it were an hereditary claim to the services of his father’s army, and might have hoped to draw it over to himself, yet he reflected that this consideration might occur to Galerius also, and induce him to leave Severus in Illyricum, and march in person with his own army against Rome. Under such apprehensions, Maxentius sought to protect himself from the danger that hung over him. To his father, who since his abdication resided in Campania, he sent the purple, and saluted him again Augustus. Maximian, given to change, eagerly resumed that purple of which he had unwillingly divested himself. Meanwhile Severus marched on, and with his troops approached the walls of the city. Presently the soldiers raised up their ensigns, abandoned Severus, and yielded themselves to Maxentius, against whom they had come. What remained but flight for Severus, thus deserted? He was encountered by Maximian, who had resumed the imperial dignity. On this he took refuge in Ravenna, and shut himself up there with a few soldiers. But perceiving that he was about to be delivered up, he voluntarily surrendered himself, and restored the purple to him from whom he had received it; and after this he obtained no other grace but that of an easy death, for he was compelled to open his veins, and in that gentle manner expired.

CHAPTER 27

But Maximian, who knew the outrageous temper of Galerius, began to consider that, fired with rage on hearing of the death of Severus, he would march into Italy, and that possibly he might be joined by Data, and so bring into the field forces too powerful to be resisted. Having therefore fortified Rome, and made diligent provision for a defensive war, Maximian went into Gaul, that he might give his younger daughter Fausta in marriage to Constantine, and thus win over that prince to his interest. Meantime Galerius assembled his troops, invaded Italy, and advanced towards Rome, resolving to extinguish the senate and put the whole people to the sword. But he found everything shut and fortified against him. There was no hope of carrying the place by storm, and to besiege it was an arduous undertaking; for Galerius had not brought with him an army sufficient to invest the walls. Probably, having never seen Rome, he imagined it to be little superior in size to those cities with which be was acquainted. But some of his legions, detesting the wicked enterprise of a father against his son-in-law, and of Romans against Rome, renounced his authority, and carried over their ensigns to the enemy. Already had his remaining soldiers begun to waver, when Galerius, dreading a fate like that of Severus, and having his haughty spirit broken and humiliated, threw himself at the feet of his soldiers, and continued to beseech them that he might not be delivered to the foe, until, by the promise of mighty largesses, he prevailed on them. Then he retreated from Rome, and fled in great disorder. Easily might he have been cut off in his flight, had any one pursued him even with a small body of troops. He was aware of his danger, and allowed his soldiers to disperse themselves, and to plunder and destroy far and wide, that, if there were any pursuers, they might be deprived of all means of subsistence in a mined country. So the parts of Italy through which that pestilent band took its course were wasted, all things pillaged, matrons forced, virgins violated, parents and husbands compelled by torture to disclose where they had concealed their goods, and their wives and daughters; flocks and herds of cattle were driven off like spoils taken from barbarians. And thus did he, once a Roman emperor, but now the ravager of Italy, retire into his own territories, after having afflicted all men indiscriminately with the calamities of war. Long ago, indeed, and at the

very time of his obtaining sovereign power, he had avowed himself the enemy of the Roman name; and he proposed that the empire should be called, not the Roman, but the Dacian empire.

CHAPTER 28

After the flight of Galerius, Maximian, having returned from Gaul, held authority in common with his son; but more obedience was yielded to the young man than to the old: for Maxentius had most power, and had been longest in possession of it; and it was to him that Maximian owed on this occasion the imperial dignity. The old man was impatient at being denied the exercise of uncontrolled sovereignty, and envied his son with a childish spirit of rivalry; and therefore he began to consider how he might expel Maxentius and resume his ancient dominion. This appeared easy, because the soldiers who deserted Severus had originally served in his own army. He called an assembly of the people of Rome, and of the soldiers, as if he had been to make an harangue on the calamitous situation of public affairs. After having spoken much on that subject, he stretched his hands towards his son, charged him as author of all ills and prime cause of the calamities of the state, and then tore the purple from his shoulders. Maxentius, thus stripped, leaped headlong from the tribunal, and was received into the arms of the soldiers. Their rage and clamor confounded the unnatural old man, and, like another Tarquin the Proud, he was driven from Rome.

CHAPTER 29

Then Maximian returned into Gaul; and after having made some stay in those quarters, he went to Galerius, the enemy of his son, that they might confer together, as he pretended, about the settlement of the commonweal; but his true purpose was, under color of reconciliation, to find an opportunity of murdering Galerius, and of seizing his share of the empire, instead of his own, from which he had been everywhere excluded. Diocles was at the court of Galerius when Maximian arrived; for Galerius, meaning now to invest Licinius with the ensigns of supreme power in the room of Severus, had lately sent for Diocles to be present at the solemnity. So it

was performed in presence both of him and of Maximian; and thus there were six who ruled the empire at one and the same time.

Now the designs of Maximian having been frustrated, he took flight, as he had done twice before, and returned into Gaul, with a heart full of wickedness, and intending by treacherous devices to overreach Constantine, who was not only his own son-in-law, but also the child of his son-in-law; and that he might the more successfully deceive, he laid aside the imperial purple. The Franks had taken up arms. Maximian advised the unsuspecting Constantine not to lead all his troops against them, and he said that a few soldiers would suffice to subdue those barbarians. He gave this advice that an army might be left for him to win over to himself, and that Constantine, by reason of his scanty forces, might be overpowered. The young prince believed the advice to be judicious, because given by an aged and experienced commander; and he followed it, because given by a father-in-law. He marched, leaving the most considerable part of his forces behind. Maximian waited a few days; and as soon as, by his calculation, Constantine had entered the territory of the barbarians, he suddenly resumed the imperial purple, seized the public treasures, after his wont made ample donatives to the soldiery, and feigned that such disasters had befallen Constantine as soon after befell himself. Constantine was presently informed of those events, and, by marches astonishingly rapid, he flew back with his army. Maximian, not yet prepared to oppose him, was overpowered at unawares, and the soldiers returned to their duty. Maximian had possessed himself of Marseilles (he fled thither), and shut the gates. Constantine drew nigh, and seeing Maximian on the walls, addressed him in no harsh or hostile language, and demanded what he meant, and what it was that he wanted, and why he had acted in a way so peculiarly unbecoming him. But Maximian from the walls incessantly uttered abuse and curses against Constantine. Then, of a sudden, the gates on the opposite side having been unbarred, the besiegers were admitted into the city. The rebel emperor, and unnatural parent and a perfidious father-in-law, was dragged into the presence of Constantine, heard a recital made of his crimes, was divested of his imperial robe, and, after this reprimand, obtained his life.

CHAPTER 30

Maximian, having thus forfeited the respect due to an emperor and a father-in-law, grew impatient at his abased condition, and, emboldened by impunity, formed new plots against Constantine. He addressed himself to his daughter Fausta, and, as well by entreaties as by the soothing of flattery, solicited her to betray her husband. He promised to obtain for her a more honorable alliance than that with Constantine; and he requested her to allow the bed-chamber of the emperor to be left open, and to be slightly guarded. Fausta undertook to do whatever he asked, and instantly revealed the whole to her husband. A plan was laid for detecting Maximian in the very execution of his crime. They placed a base eunuch to be murdered instead of the emperor. At the dead of night Maximian arose, and perceived all things to be favorable for his insidious purpose. There were few soldiers on guard, and these too at some distance from the bed-chamber. However, to prevent suspicion, he accosted them, and said that he had had a dream which he wished to communicate to his son-in-law. He went in armed, slew the eunuch, sprung forth exultingly, and avowed the murder. At that moment Constantine showed himself on the opposite side with a band of soldiers; the dead body was brought out of the bed-chamber; the murderer, taken in the fact, all aghast,

"Stood like a stone, silent and motionless;"

while Constantine upbraided him for his impiety and enormous guilt. At last Maximian obtained leave that the manner of his death should be at his own choice, and he strangled himself.

Thus that mightiest sovereign of Rome — who ruled so long with exceeding glory, and who celebrated his twentieth anniversary — thus that most haughty man had his neck broken, and ended his detestable life by a death base and ignominious.

CHAPTER 31

From Maximian, God, the avenger of religion and of His people, turned his eyes to Galerius, the author of the accursed persecution, that in his

punishment also He might manifest the power of His majesty. Galerius, too, was purposing to celebrate his twentieth anniversary; and as, under that pretext, he had, by new taxes payable in gold and silver, oppressed the provinces, so now, that he might recompense them by celebrating. the promised festival, he used the like pretext for repeating his oppressions. Who can relate in fit terms the methods used to harass mankind in levying the tax, and especially with regard to corn and the other fruits of the earth? The officers, or rather the executioners, of all the different magistrates, seized on each individual, and would never let go their hold. No man knew to whom he ought to make payment first. There was no dispensation given to those who had nothing; and they were required, under pain of being variously tortured, instantly to pay, notwithstanding their inability. Many guards were set round, no breathing time was granted, or, at any season of the year, the least respite from exactions. Different magistrates, or the officers of different magistrates, frequently contended for the right of levying the tax from the same persons. No threshing-floor without a tax-gatherer, no vintage without a watch, and nought left for the sustenance of the husbandman! That food should be snatched from the mouths of those who had earned it by toil, was grievous: the hope, however, of being afterwards relieved, might have made that grievance supportable; but it was necessary for every one who appeared at the anniversary festival to provide robes of various kinds, and gold and silver besides. And one might have said," How shall I furnish myself with those things, O tyrant void of understanding, if you carry off the whole fruits of my ground, and violently seize its expected produce?" Thus, throughout the dominions of Galerius, men were spoiled of their goods, and all was raked together into the imperial treasury, that the emperor might be enabled to perform his vow of celebrating a festival which he was doomed never to celebrate.

CHAPTER 32

Maximin Daia was incensed at the nomination of Licinius to the dignity of emperor, and he would no longer be called Caesar, or allow himself to be ranked as third in authority. Galerius, by repeated messages, besought Daia to yield, and to acquiesce in his arrangement, to give place to age, and

to reverence the gray hairs of Licinius. But Daia became more and more insolent. He urged that, as it was he who first assumed the purple, so, by possession, he had right to priority in rank; and he set at nought the entreaties and the injunctions of Galerius. That brute animal was stung to the quick, and bellowed when the mean creature whom he had made Caesar, in expectation of his thorough obsequiousness, forgot the great favor conferred on him, and impiously withstood the requests and will of his benefactor. Galerius at length, overcome by the obstinacy of Daia, abolished the subordinate title of Caesar, gave to himself and Licinius that of the Augusti, and to Daia and Constantine that of sons of the Augusti. Daia, some time after, in a letter to Galerius, took occasion to observe, that at the last general muster he had been saluted by his army under the title of Augustus. Galerius, vexed and grieved at this, commanded that all the four should have the appellation of emperor.

CHAPTER 33

And now, when Galerius was in the eighteenth year of his reign, God struck him with an incurable plague. A malignant ulcer formed itself low down in his secret parts, and spread by degrees. The physicians attempted to eradicate it, and healed up the place affected. But the sore, after having been skinned over, broke out again; a vein burst, and the blood flowed in such quantity as to endanger his life. The blood, however, was stopped, although with difficulty. The physicians had to undertake their operations anew, and at length they cicatrized the wound. In consequence of some slight motion of his body, Galerius received a hurt, and the blood streamed more abundantly than before. He grew emaciated, pallid, and feeble, and the bleeding then stanched. The ulcer began to be insensible to the remedies applied, and a gangrene seized all the neighboring parts. It diffused itself the wider the more the corrupted flesh was cut away, and everything employed as the means of cure served but to aggravate the disease.

"The masters of the healing art withdrew."

Then famous physicians were brought in from all quarters; but no human means had any success. Apollo and Aesculapius were besought

importunately for remedies: Apollo did prescribe, and the distemper augmented. Already approaching to its deadly crisis, it had occupied the lower regions of his body: his bowels came out, and his whole seat putrefied. The luckless physicians, although without hope of overcoming the malady, ceased not to apply fomentations and administer medicines. The humors having been repelled, the distemper attacked his intestines, and worms were generated in his body. The stench was so foul as to pervade not only the palace, but even the whole city; and no wonder, for by that time the passages from his bladder and bowels, having been devoured by the worms, became indiscriminate, and his body, with intolerable anguish, was dissolved into one mass of corruption.

"Stung to the soul, he bellowed with the pain,
So roars the wounded bull."
— PITT.

They applied warm flesh of animals to the chief seat of the disease, that the warmth might draw out those minute worms; and accordingly, when the dressings were removed, there issued forth an innumerable swarm: nevertheless the prolific disease had hatched swarms much more abundant to prey upon and consume his intestines. Already, through a complication of distempers, the different parts of his body had lost their natural form: the superior part was dry, meager, and haggard, and his ghastly-looking skin had settled itself deep amongst his bones while the inferior, distended like bladders, re rained no appearance of joints. These things happened in the course of a complete year; and at length, overcome by calamities, he was obliged to acknowledge God, and he cried aloud, in the intervals of raging pain, that he would re-edify the Church which he had demolished, and make atonement for his misdeeds; and when he was near his end, he published an edict of the tenor following: —

CHAPTER 34

"Amongst our other regulations for the permanent advantage of the commonweal, we have hitherto studied to reduce all things to a conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans.

“It has been our aim in an especial manner, that the Christians also, who had abandoned the religion of their forefathers, should return to right opinions. For such willfulness and folly had, we know not how, taken possession of them, that instead of observing those ancient institutions, which possibly their own forefathers had established, they, through caprice, made laws to themselves, and drew together into different societies many men of widely different persuasions.

“After the publication of our edict, ordaining the Christians to betake themselves to the observance of the ancient institutions, many of them were subdued through the fear of danger, and moreover many of them were exposed to jeopardy; nevertheless, because great numbers still persist in their opinions, and because we have perceived that at present they neither pay reverence and due adoration to the gods, nor yet worship their own God, therefore we, from our wonted clemency in bestowing pardon on all, have judged it fit to extend our indulgence to those men, and to permit them again to be Christians, and to establish the places of their religious assemblies; yet so as that they offend not against good order.

“By another mandate we purpose to signify unto magistrates how they ought herein to demean themselves.

“Wherefore it will be the duty of the Christians, in consequence of this our toleration, to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the public, and for their own; that the commonweal may continue safe in every quarter, and that they themselves may live securely in their habitations.”

CHAPTER 35

This edict was promulgated at Nicomedia on the day preceding the kalends of May, in the eighth consulship of Galerius, and the second of Maximin Daia. Then the prison-gates having been thrown open, you, my best beloved Donatus, together with the other confessors for the faith, were set at liberty from a jail, which had been your residence for six years. Galerius, however, did not, by publication of this edict, obtain the divine forgiveness. In a few days after he was consumed by the horrible disease that had brought on an universal putrefaction. Dying, he recommended his wife and son to Licinius, and delivered them over into his hands. This

event was known at Nicomedia before the end of the month. His vicennial anniversary was to have been celebrated on the ensuing kalends of March.

CHAPTER 36

Daia, on receiving this news, hasted with relays of horses from the East, to seize the dominions of Galerius, and, while Licinius lingered in Europe, to arrogate to himself all the country as far as the narrow seas of Chalcedon. On his entry into Bithynia, he, with the view of acquiring immediate popularity, abolished Galerius' tax, to the great joy of all. Dissension arose between the two emperors, and almost an open war. They stood on the opposite shores with their armies. Peace, however, and amity were established under certain conditions. Licinius and Daia met on the narrow sees, concluded a treaty, and in token of friendship joined hands. Then Daia, believing all things to be in security, returned (to Nicomedia), and was in his new dominions what he had been in Syria and Egypt. First of all, he took away the toleration and general protection granted by Galerius to the Christians, and, for this end, he secretly procured addresses from different cities, requesting that no Christian church might be built within their walls; and thus he meant to make that which was his own choice appear as if extorted from him by importunity. In compliance with those addresses, he introduced a new mode of government in things respecting religion, and for each city he created a high priest, chosen from among the persons of most distinction. The office of those men was to make daily sacrifices to all their gods, and, with the aid of the former priests, to prevent the Christians from erecting churches, or from worshipping God either publicly or in private; and he authorized them to compel the Christians to sacrifice to idols, and, on their refusal, to bring them before the civil magistrate; and, as if this had not been enough, in every province he established a superintendent priest, one of chief eminence in the state; and he commanded that all those priests newly instituted should appear in white habits, that being the most honorable distinction of dress. And as to the Christians, he purposed to follow the course that he had followed in the East, and, affecting the show of clemency, he forbade the slaying of God's servants, but he gave command that they should be mutilated. So

the confessors for the faith had their ears and nostrils slit, their hands and feet lopped off, and their eyes dug out of the sockets.

CHAPTER 37

While occupied in this plan, he received letters from Constantine which deterred him from proceeding in its execution, so for a time he dissembled his purpose; nevertheless any Christian that fell within his power was privily thrown into the sea. Neither did he cease from his custom of sacrificing every day in the palace. It was also an invention of his to cause all animals used for food to be slaughtered, not by cooks, but by priests at the altars.; so that nothing was ever served up, unless foretasted, consecrated, and sprinkled with wine, according to the rites of paganism; and whoever was invited to an entertainment must needs have returned from it impure and defiled. In all things else he resembled his preceptor Galerius. For if aught chanced to have been left untouched by Diocles and Maximian, that did Daia greedily and shamelessly carry off. And now the granaries, of each individual were shut, and all warehouses sealed up, and taxes, not yet due, were levied by anticipation. Hence famine, from neglect of cultivation, and the prices of all things enhanced beyond measure. Herds and flocks were driven from their pasture for the daily sacrifice. By gorging his soldiers with the flesh of sacrifices, he so corrupted them, that they disdained their wonted pittance in corn, and wantonly threw it away. Meanwhile Daia recompensed his bodyguards, who were very numerous, with costly raiment and gold medals, made donatives in silver to the common soldiers and recruits, and bestowed every sort of largess on the barbarians who served in his army. As to grants of the property of living persons, which he made to his favorites whenever they chose to ask what belonged to another, I know not whether the same thanks might not be due to him that are given to merciful robbers, who spoil without murdering.

CHAPTER 38

But that which distinguished his character, and in which he transcended all former emperors, was his desire of debauching women. What else can I call

it but a blind and headstrong passion? Yet such epithets feebly express my indignation in reciting his enormities. The magnitude of the guilt overpowers my tongue, and makes it unequal to its office. Eunuchs and panders made search everywhere, and no sooner was any comely face discovered, than husbands and parents were obliged to withdraw. Matrons of quality and virgins were stripped of their robes, and all their limbs were inspected, lest any part should be unworthy of the bed of the emperor. Whenever a woman resisted, death by drowning was inflicted on her; as if, under the reign of this adulterer, chastity had been treason. Some men there were, who, beholding the violation of wives whom for virtue and fidelity they affectionately loved, could not endure their anguish of mind, and so killed themselves. While this monster ruled, it was singular deformity alone which could shield the honor of any female from his savage desires. At length he introduced a custom prohibiting marriage unless with the imperial permission; and he made this an instrument to serve the purposes of his lewdness. After having debauched freeborn maidens, he gave them for wives to his slaves. His conflicts also imitated the example of the emperor, and violated with impunity the beds of their dependants. For who was there to punish such offenses? As for the daughters of men of middle rank, any who were inclined took them by force. Ladies of quality, who could not be taken by force, were petitioned for, and obtained from the emperor by way of free gift. Nor could a father oppose this; for the imperial warrant having been once signed, he had no alternative bat to die, or to receive some barbarian as his son-in-law. For hardly was there any person in the lifeguard except of those people, who, having been driven from their habitations by the Goths in the twentieth year of Diocletian, yielded themselves to Galerius. and entered into his service. It was ill for humankind, that men who had fled from the bondage of barbarians should thus come to Lord it over the Romans. Environed by such guards, Daia oppressed and insulted the Eastern empire.

CHAPTER 39

Now Daia, in gratifying his libidinous desires, made his own will the standard of right; and therefore he would not refrain from soliciting the widow of Galerius, the Empress Valeria, to whom he had lately given the

appellation of mother. After the death of her husband, she had repaired to Daia, because she imagined that she might live with more security in his dominions than elsewhere, especially as he was a married man; but the flagitious creature became instantly inflamed with a passion for her. Valeria was still in weeds, the time of her mourning not being yet expired. He sent a message to her proposing marriage, and offering, on her compliance, to put away his wife. She frankly returned an answer such as she alone could dare to do: first, that she would not treat of marriage while she was in weeds, and while the ashes of Galerius, her husband, and, by adoption, the father of Daia, were yet warm; next, that he acted impiously, in proposing to divorce a faithful wife to make room for another, whom in her turn he would also cast off; and, lastly, that it was indecent, unexampled, and unlawful for a woman of her title and dignity to engage a second time in wedlock. This bold answer having been reported to Daia, presently his desires changed into rage and furious resentment. He pronounced sentence of forfeiture against the princess, seized her goods, removed her attendants, tortured her eunuchs to death, and banished her and her mother Prisca: but he appointed no particular place for her residence while in banishment; and hence he insultingly expelled her from every abode that she took in the course of her wanderings; and, to complete all, he condemned the ladies who enjoyed most of her friendship and confidence to die on a false accusation of adultery.

CHAPTER 40

There was a certain matron of high rank who already had grandchildren by more than one son. Her Valeria loved like a second mother, and Daia suspected that her advice had produced that refusal which Valeria gave to his matrimonial offers; and therefore he charged the president Eratineus to have her put to death in a way that might injure her fame. To her two others, equally noble, were added. One of them, who had a daughter a Vestal virgin at Rome, maintained an intercourse by stealth with the banished Valeria. The other, married to a senator, was; intimately connected with the empress. Excellent beauty and virtue proved the cause of their death. They were dragged to the tribunal, not of an upright judge, but of a robber. Neither indeed was there any accuser, until a certain Jew,

one charged with other offenses, was induced, through hope of pardon, to give false evidence against the innocent. The equitable and vigilant magistrate conducted him out of the city under a guard, lest the populace should have stoned him. This tragedy was acted at Nicaea. The Jew was ordered to the torture till he should speak as he had been instructed, while the torturers by blows prevented the women from speaking in their own defense. The innocent were condemned to die. Then there arose wailing and lamentation, not only of the senator, who attended on his well-deserving consort, but amongst the spectators also, whom this proceeding, scandalous and unheard of, had brought together; and, to prevent the multitude from violently rescuing the condemned persons out of the hands of the executioners, military commanders followed with light infantry and archers. And thus, under a guard of armed soldiers, they were led to punishment. Their domestics having been forced to flee, they would have remained without burial, had not the compassion of friends interred them by stealth. Nor was the promise of pardon made good to the feigned adulterer, for he was fixed to a gibbet, and then he disclosed the whole secret contrivance; and with his last breath he protested to all the beholders that the women died innocent.

CHAPTER 41

But the empress, an exile in some desert region of Syria, secretly informed her father Diocletian of the calamity that had befallen her. He despatched messengers to Daia, requesting that his daughter might be sent to him. He could not prevail. Again and again he entreated; yet she was not sent. At length he employed a relation of his, a military man high in power and authority, to implore Daia by the remembrance of past favors. This messenger, equally unsuccessful in his negotiation as the others. reported to Diocletian that his prayers were vain.

CHAPTER 42

At this time, by command of Constantine, the statues of Maximian Herculius were thrown down, and his portraits removed; and, as the two

old emperors were generally delineated in one piece, the portraits of both were removed at the same time. Thus Diocletian lived to see a disgrace which no former emperor had ever seen, and, trader the double load of vexation of spirit and bodily maladies, he resolved to die. Tossing to and fro, with his soul agitated by grief, he could neither eat nor take rest. He sighed, groaned, and wept often, and incessantly threw himself into various postures, now on his couch, and now on the ground. So he, who for twenty years was the most prosperous of emperors, having been cast down into the obscurity of a private station, treated in the most contumelious manner, and compelled to abhor life, became incapable of receiving nourishment, and, worn out with anguish of mind, expired.

CHAPTER 43

Of the adversaries of God there still remained one, whose overthrow and end I am now to relate.

Daia had entertained jealousy and ill-will against Licinius from the time that the preference was given to him by Galerius; and those sentiments still subsisted, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately concluded between them. When Daia heard that the sister of Constantine was betrothed to Licinius, he apprehended that the two emperors, by contracting this affinity, meant to league against him; so he privily sent ambassadors to Rome, desiring a friendly alliance with Maxentius: he also wrote to him in terms of cordiality. The ambassadors were received courteously, friendship established, and in token of it the effigies of Maxentius and Daia were placed together in public view. Maxentius willingly embraced this, as if it had been an aid from heaven; for he had already declared war against Constantine, as if to revenge the death of his father Maximian. From this appearance of filial piety a suspicion arose, that the detestable old man had but feigned a quarrel with his son that he might have an opportunity to destroy his rivals in power, and so make way for himself and his son to possess the whole empire. This conjecture, however, had no foundation; for his true purpose was to have destroyed his son and the others, and then to have reinstated himself and Diocletian in sovereign authority.

CHAPTER 44

And now a civil war broke out between Constantine and Maxentius. Although Maxentius kept himself within Rome, because the soothsayers had foretold that if he went out of it he should perish, yet he conducted the military operations by able generals. In forces he exceeded his adversary; for he had not only his father's army, which deserted from Severus, but also his own, which he had lately drawn together out of Mauritania and Italy. They fought, and the troops of Maxentius prevailed. At length Constantine, with steady courage and a mind prepared for every event, led his whole forces to the neighborhood of Rome, and encamped them opposite to the Milvian bridge. The anniversary of the reign of Maxentius approached, that is, the sixth of the kalends of November, and the fifth year of his reign was drawing to an end.

Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round thus at the top, being the cipher of CHRIST. Having this sign, his troops stood to arms. The enemies advanced, but without their emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met, and fought with the utmost exertions of valor, and firmly maintained their ground. In the meantime a sedition arose at Rome, and Maxentius was reviled as one who had abandoned all concern for the safety of the commonweal; and suddenly, while he exhibited the Circensian games on the anniversary of his reign, the people cried with one voice, "Constantine cannot be overcome!" Dismayed at this, Maxentius burst from the assembly, and having called some senators together, ordered the Sibylline books to be searched. In them it was found that: —

"On the same day the enemy of the Romans should perish."

Led by this response to the hopes of victory, he went to the field. The bridge in his rear was broken down. At sight of that the battle grew hotter. The hand of the Lord prevailed, and the forces of Maxentius were routed. He fled towards the broken bridge; but the multitude pressing on him, he was driven headlong into the Tiber.

This destructive war being ended, Constantine was acknowledged as emperor, with great rejoicings, by the senate and people of Rome. And now he came to know the perfidy of Daia; for he found the letters written to Maxentius, and saw the statues and portraits of the two associates which had been set up together. The senate, in reward of the valor of Constantine, decreed to him the title of Maximus (the Greatest), a title which Daia had always arrogated to himself. Daia, when he heard that Constantine was victorious and Rome freed, expressed as much sorrow as if he himself had been vanquished; but afterwards, when he heard of the decree of the senate, he grew outrageous, avowed enmity towards Constantine, and made his title of the Greatest a theme of abuse and raillery.

CHAPTER 45

Constantine having settled all things at Rome, went to Milan about the beginning of winter. Thither also Licinius came to receive his wife Constantia. When Daia understood that they were busied in solemnizing the nuptials, he moved out of Syria in the depth of a severe winter, and by forced marches he came into Bithynia with an army much impaired; for he lost all his beasts of burden, of whatever kind, in consequence of excessive rains and snow, miry ways, cold and fatigue. Their carcasses, scattered about the roads, seemed an emblem of the calamities of the impending war, and the presage of a like destruction that awaited the soldiers. Daia did not halt in his own territories; but immediately crossed the Thracian Bosphorus, and in a hostile manner approached the gates of Byzantium. There was a garrison in the city, established by Licinius to check any invasion that Daia might make. At first Daia attempted to entice the soldiers by the promise of donatives, and then to intimidate them by assault and storm. Yet neither promises nor force availed aught. After eleven days had elapsed, within which time Licinius might have learned the state of the garrison, the soldiers surrendered, not through treachery, but because they were too weak to make a longer resistance. Then Daia moved on to Heraclea (otherwise called Perinthus), and by delays of the like nature before that place lost some days. And now Licinius by expeditious marches had reached Adrianople, but with forces not numerous. Then

Daia, having taken Perinthus by capitulation, and remained there for a short space, moved forwards eighteen miles to the first station. Here his progress was stopped; for Licinius had already occupied the second station, at the distance also of eighteen miles. Licinius, having assembled what forces he could from the neighboring quarters, advanced towards Daia rather indeed to retard his operations than with any purpose of fighting, or hope of victory: for Daia had an army of seventy thousand men, while he himself had scarce thirty thousand; for his soldiers being dispersed in various regions, there was not time, on that sudden emergency, to collect all Of them together.

CHAPTER 46

The armies thus approaching each other, seemed on the eve of a battle. Then Daia made this vow to Jupiter, that if he obtained victory he would extinguish and utterly efface the name of the Christians. And on the following night an angel of the Lord seemed to stand before Licinius while he was asleep, admonishing him to arise immediately, and with his whole army to put up a prayer to the Supreme God, and assuring him that by so doing he should obtain victory. Licinius fancied that, hearing this, he arose, and that his monitor, who was nigh him, directed how be should pray, and in what words. Awaking from sleep, he sent for one of his secretaries, and dictated these words exactly as he had heard them: —

> “Supreme God, we beseech Thee; Holy God, we beseech Thee; unto Thee we commend all right; unto Thee we commend our safety; unto Thee we commend our empire. By Thee we live, by Thee we are victorious and happy. Supreme Holy God, hear our prayers; to Thee we stretch forth our arms. Hear, Holy Supreme God.”

Many copies were made of these words, and distributed amongst the principal commanders, who were to teach them to the soldiers under their charge. At this all men took fresh courage, in the confidence that victory had been announced to them from heaven. Licinius resolved to give battle on the kalends of May; for precisely eight years before Daia had received the dignity of Caesar, and Licinius chose that day in hopes that Daia might

be vanquished on the anniversary of his reign, as Maxentius had been on his. Daia, however, purposed to give battle earlier, to fight on the day before those kalends, and to triumph on the anniversary of his reign. Accounts came that Daia was in motion; the soldiers of Licinius armed themselves; and advanced. A barren and open plain, called Campus Serenus, lay between the two armies. They were now in sight of one another. The soldiers of Licinius placed their shields on the ground, took off their helmets, and, following the example of their leaders, stretched forth their hands towards heaven. Then the emperor uttered the prayer, and they all repeated it after him. The host, doomed to speedy destruction, heard the murmur of the prayers of their adversaries. And now, the ceremony having been thrice performed, the soldiers of Licinius became full of courage, buckled on their helmets again, and resumed their shields. The two emperors advanced to a conference: but Daia could not be brought to peace; for he held Licinius in contempt, and imagined that the soldiers would presently abandon an emperor parsimonious in his donatives, and enter into the service of one liberal even to profusion. And indeed it was on this notion that he began the war. He looked for the voluntary surrender of the armies of Licinius; and, thus reinforced, he meant forthwith to have attacked Constantine.

CHAPTER 47

So the two armies drew nigh; the trumpets gave the signal; the military ensigns advanced; the troops of Licinius charged. But the enemies, panic-struck, could neither draw their swords nor yet throw their javelins. Daia went about, and, alternately by entreaties and promises, attempted to seduce the soldiers of Licinius. But he was not hearkened to in any quarter, and they drove him back. Then were the troops of Daia slaughtered, none making resistance; and such numerous legions, and forces so mighty, were mowed down by an inferior enemy. No one called to mind his reputation, or former valor, or the honorable rewards which had been conferred on him. The Supreme God did so place their necks under the sword of their foes, that they seemed to have entered the field, not as combatants, but as men devoted to death. After great numbers had fallen, Daia perceived that everything went contrary to his hopes; and therefore

he threw aside the purple, and having put on the habit of a slave, hasted across the Thracian Bosphorus. One half of his army perished in battle, and the rest either surrendered to the victor or fled; for now that the emperor himself had deserted, there seemed to be no shame in desertion Before the expiration of the kalends of May, Daia arrived at Nicomedia, although distant one hundred and sixty miles from the field of battle. So in the space of one day and two nights he performed that journey. Having hurried away with his children and wife, and a few officers of his court, he went towards Syria; but having been joined by some troops from those quarters, and having collected together a part of his fugitive forces, he halted in Cappadocia, and then he resumed the imperial garb.

CHAPTER 48

Not many days after the victory, Licinius, having received part of the soldiers of Daia into his service, and properly distributed them, transported his army into Bithynia, and having made his entry into Nicomedia, he returned thanks to God, through whose aid he had overcome; and on the ides of June, while he and Constantine were consuls for the third time, he commanded the following edict for the restoration of the Church, directed to the president of the province, to be promulgated: —

“When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview at Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonweal, it seemed to us that, amongst those things that are profitable to mankind in general, the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to every one under our government. And therefore we judged it a salutary measure, and one highly consonant to right reason, that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, that thus the supreme Divinity, to whose worship we freely devote ourselves, might continue to vouchsafe His favor and beneficence to us. And accordingly we give you to know that, without regard to any

provisos in our former orders to you concerning the Christians, all who choose that religion are to be permitted, freely and absolutely, to remain in it, and not to be disturbed any ways, or molested. And we thought fit to be thus special in the things committed to your charge, that you might understand that the indulgence which we have granted in matters of religion to the Christians is ample and unconditional; and perceive at the same tithe that the open and free exercise of their respective religions is granted to all others, as well as to the Christians. For it befits the well-ordered state and the tranquillity of our times that each individual be allowed, according to his own choice, to worship the Divinity; and we mean not to derogate aught from the honor due to any religion or its votaries. Moreover, with respect to the Christians, we formerly gave certain orders concerning the places appropriated for their religious assemblies; but now we will that all persons who have purchased such places, either from our exchequer or from any one else, do restore them to the Christians, without money demanded or price claimed, and that this be performed peremptorily and unambiguously; and we will also, that they who have obtained any right to such places by form of gift do forthwith restore them to the Christians: reserving always to such persons, who have either purchased for a price, or gratuitously acquired them, to make application to the judge of the district, if they look on themselves as entitled to any equivalent from our beneficence.

“All those places are, by your intervention, to be immediately restored to the Christians. And because it appears that, besides the places appropriated to religious worship, the Christians did possess other places, which belonged not to individuals, but to their society in general, that is, to their churches, we comprehend all such within the regulation aforesaid, and we will that you cause them all to be restored to the society or churches, and that without hesitation or controversy: Provided always, that the persons making restitution without a price paid shall be at liberty to seek indemnification from our bounty. In furthering all which things for the behoof of the Christians, you are to use your utmost diligence, to the end that our orders be speedily obeyed, and our gracious purpose in securing the public tranquillity promoted. So shall that divine favor which, in affairs of the mightiest importance, we have already experienced, continue to give success to us, and in our successes make the commonweal happy.

And that the tenor of this our gracious ordinance may be made known unto all, we will that you cause it by your authority to be published everywhere.”

Licinius having issued this ordinance, made an harangue, in which he exhorted the Christians to rebuild their religious edifices.

And thus, from the overthrow of the Church until its restoration, there was a space of ten years and about four months.

CHAPTER 49

While Licinius pursued with his army, the fugitive tyrant retreated, and again occupied the passes of mount Taurus; and there, by erecting parapets and towers, attempted to stop the march of Licinius. But the victorious troops, by an attack made on the right, broke through all obstacles, and Daia at length fled to Tarsus. There, being hard pressed both by sea and land, he despaired of finding any place for refuge; and in the anguish and dismay of his mind, he sought death as the only remedy of those calamities that God had heaped on him. But first he gorged himself with food, and large draughts of wine, as those are wont who believe that they eat and drink for the last time; and so he swallowed poison. However, the force of the poison, repelled by his full stomach, could not immediately operate, but it produced a grievous disease, resembling the pestilence; and his life was prolonged only that his sufferings might be more severe. And now the poison began to rage, and to burn up everything within him, so that he was driven to distraction with the intolerable pain; and during a fit of frenzy, which lasted four days, he gathered handfuls of earth, and greedily devoured it. Having undergone various and excruciating torments, he dashed his forehead against the wall, and his eyes started out of their sockets. And now, become blind, he imagined that he saw God, with His servants arrayed in white robes, sitting in judgment on him. He roared out as men on the rack are wont, and exclaimed that not he, but others, were guilty. In the end, as if he had been racked into confession, he acknowledged his own guilt, and lamentably implored Christ to have mercy upon him. Then, amidst groans, like those of one burnt alive, did he breathe out his guilty soul in the most horrible kind of death.

CHAPTER 50

Thus did God subdue all those who persecuted His name, so that neither root nor branch of for Licinius, as soon as he was established in sovereign authority, commanded that Valeria should be put to death. Daia, although exasperated against her, never ventured to do this, not even after his discomfiture and flight, and when he knew that his end approached. Licinius commanded that Candidianus also should be put to death. He was the son of Galerius by a concubine, and Valeria, having no children, had adopted him. On the news of the death of Daia, she came in disguise to the court of Licinius, anxious to observe what might befall Candidianus. The youth, presenting himself at Nicomedia, had an outward show of honor paid to him, and, while he suspected no harm, was killed. Hearing of this catastrophe, Valeria immediately fled. The Emperor Severus left a son, Severianus, arrived at man's estate, who accompanied Daia in his flight from the field of battle. Licinius caused him to be condemned and executed, under the pretense that, on the death of Daia, he had intentions of assuming the imperial purple. Long before this time, Candidianus and Severianus, apprehending evil from Licinius, had chosen to remain with Daia; while Valeria favored Licinius, and was willing to bestow on him that which she had denied to Daia, all rights accruing to her as the widow of Galerius. Licinius also put to death Maximus, the son of Daia, a boy eight years old, and a daughter of Daia, who was seven years old, and had been betrothed to Candidianus. But before their death, their mother had been thrown into the Orontes, in which river she herself had frequently commanded chaste women to be drowned. So, by the unerring and just judgment of God, all the implores received according to the deeds that they had done.

CHAPTER 51

Valeria, too, who for fifteen months had wandered under a mean garb from province to province, was at length discovered in Thessalonica, was apprehended, together with her mother Prisca, and suffered capital punishment. Both the ladies were conducted to execution; a fall from grandeur which moved the pity of the multitude of beholders that the

strange sight had gathered together. They were beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Thus the chaste demeanor of Valeria, and the high rank of her and her mother, proved fatal to both of them.

CHAPTER 52

I relate all those things on the authority of well-informed persons; and I thought it proper to commit them to writing exactly as they happened, lest the memory of events so important should perish, and lest any future historian of the persecutors should corrupt the truth, either by suppressing their offenses against God, or the judgment of God against them. To His everlasting mercy ought we to render thanks, that, having at length looked on the earth, He deigned to collect again and to restore His flock, partly laid waste by ravenous wolves, and partly scattered abroad, and to extirpate those noxious wild beasts who had trod down its pastures, and destroyed its resting-places. Where now are the surnames of the Jovii and the Herculii, once so glorious and renowned amongst the nations; surnames insolently assumed at first by Diocles and Maximian, and afterwards transferred to their successors? The Lord has blotted them out and erased them from the earth. Let us therefore with exultation celebrate the triumphs of God, and oftentimes with praises make mention of His victory; let us in our prayers, by night and by day, beseech Him to confirm for ever that peace which, after a warfare of ten years, He has bestowed on His own: and do you, above all others, my best beloved Donatus, who so well deserve to be heard, implore the Lord that it would please Him propitiously and mercifully to continue His pity towards His servants, to protect His people from the machinations and assaults of the devil, and to guard the now flourishing churches in perpetual felicity.

ELUCIDATION

(ON THE TENTH OF THE KALENDS OF APRIL, P. 301.)

SERIOUS difficulties are encountered by the learned in reconciling Lactantius with himself, if, indeed, the fault be not one of his copyists rather than his own. In the fourth book of the *Institutes* his language is thus given by Baluzius: —

> "Extremis temporibus Tiberii Caesaris, *ut scriptum legimus*, Dominus noster Jesus Christus, a Judaeis cruciatus est *post diem decimum kalendarum Aprilis*, duobus Geminis consulibus."

Lactantius was writing in Nicomedia, and may have quoted from memory what he had read, perhaps in the report of Pilate himself. The expression *post diem decimum kalendarum Aprilis* is ambiguous: and Jarvis says, "My impression is, that it means 'after the tenth day before the kalends of April;' that is, after the 23rd of March."

But here our author says, according to the accurate edition of Walchius (A.D. 1715), —

> "Exinde tetrarchas habuerunt usque ad Herodem, qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Caesaris: cujus anno quinto decimo, id est duobus Geminis consulibus, *ante diem septimam Calendarum Aprilium*, Judaei Christum cruci affixerunt."

But here, on the authority of forty manuscripts, Du Fresnoy reads, "*ante* diem decimam," which he labors to reconcile with "*post* diem decimum," as above. Jarvis adheres to the reading *septimam*, supported by more than fifty manuscripts, and decides for the 23rd of March.

He cites Augustine to the same effect in the noted passage: —

> "Ille autem mense conceptum et passum esse Christum, et Paschae observatio et dies ecclesiis notissimus Nativitatis ejus ostendit. Qui enim mense nono natus est octavo kalendas Janvarias profecto mense primo conceptus est circa octavum kalendas Aprilis, quod tempus passionis ejus fuit."

This, Augustine considers to be “seething a kid in mother’s milk,” after a mystical sense; cruelly making the cross to coincide with the maternity of the Virgin, who beheld her Son an innocent victim on the anniversary of her salutation by the angel.

FRAGMENTS OF LACTANTIUS

I. FEAR, love, joy, sadness, lust, eager desire, anger, pity, emulation, admiration, — these motions or affections of the mind exist from the beginning of man's creation by the Lord; and they were usefully and advantageously introduced into human nature, that by governing himself by these with method, and in accordance with reason, man may be able, by acting manfully, to exercise those good qualities, by means of which he would justly have deserved to receive from the Lord eternal life. For these affections of the mind being restrained within their proper limits, that is, being rightly employed, produce at present good qualities, and in the future eternal rewards. But when they advance beyond their boundaries, that is, when they turn aside to an evil course, then vices and iniquities come forth, and produce everlasting punishments.

II. Within our memory, also, Lactantius speaks of meters, — the pentameter (he says) and the tetrameter.

III. Firmianus, writing to Probus on the meters of comedies, thus speaks: "For as to the question which you proposed concerning the meters of comedies, I also know that many are of opinion that the plays of Terence in particular have not the meter of Greek comedy, — that is, of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, which consist of trimeter verses; for our ancient writers of comedies, in the modulation of their plays, preferred to follow Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes, as has been before said." That there is a measure — that is, meter — in the plays of Terence and PIautus, and of the other comic and tragic writers, let these declare: Cicero, Scaurus, and Firmianus.

IV. We will bring forward the sentiments of our Lactantius, which he expressed in words in his third volume to Probus on this subject. The Gauls, he says, were from ancient times called Galatians, from the whiteness of their body; and thus the Sibyl terms them. And this is what the poet intended to signify when he said, —

"Gold collars deck their milk-white necks,"

when he might have used the word white. It is plain that from this the province was called Galatia, in which, on their arrival in it, the Gauls united themselves with Greeks, from which circumstance that region was called Gallograecia, and afterwards Galatia. And it is no wonder if he said this concerning the Galatians, and related that a people of the West, having passed over so great a distance in the middle of the earth, settled in a region of the East.

THE PHOENIX

BY AN UNCERTAIN AUTHOR. ATTRIBUTED TO LACTANTIUS

THERE is a happy spot, retired in the first East, where the great gate of the eternal pole lies open. It is not, however, situated near to his rising in summer or in winter, but where the sun pours the day from his vernal chariot. There a plain spreads its open tracts; nor does any mound rise, nor hollow valley open itself. But through twice six ells that place rises above the mountains, whose tops are thought to be lofty among us. Here is the grove of the sun; a wood stands planted with many a tree, blooming with the honor of perpetual foliage. When the pole had blazed with the fires of Phaethon, that place was uninjured by the flames; and when the deluge had immersed the world in waves, it rose above the waters of Deucalion. No enfeebling diseases, no sickly old age, nor cruel death, nor harsh fear, approaches hither, nor dreadful crime, nor mad desire of riches, nor Mars, nor fury, burning with the love of slaughter. Bitter grief is absent, and want clothed in rags, and sleepless cares, and violent hunger. No tempest rages there, nor dreadful violence of the wind; nor does the hoar-frost cover the earth with cold dew. No cloud extends its fleecy covering above the plains, nor does the turbid moisture of water fall from on high; but there is a fountain in the middle, which they call by the name of “living;” it is clear, gentle, and abounding with sweet waters, which, bursting forth once during the space of each month, twelve times irrigates all the grove with waters. Here a species of tree, rising with lofty stem, bears mellow fruits not about to fall on the ground. This grove, these woods, a single bird, the phoenix, inhabits, — single, but it lives reproduced by its own death. It obeys and submits to Phoebus, a remarkable attendant. Its parent nature has given it to possess this office. When at its first rising the saffron morn grows red, when it puts to flight the stars with its rosy light, thrice and four times she plunges her body into the sacred waves, thrice and four times she sips water from the living stream. She is raised aloft, and takes her seat on the highest top of the lofty tree, which alone looks down upon the whole grove; and turning herself to the fresh risings of the nascent Phoebus, she awaits his rays and rising beam. And when the sun has thrown back the threshold of the

shining gate, and the light gleam of the first light has shone forth, she begins to pour strains of sacred song, and to hail the new light with wondrous voice, which neither the notes of the nightingale nor the flute of the Muses can equal with Cyrrhaean strains. But neither is it thought that the dying swan can imitate it, nor the tuneful strings of the lyre of Mercury. After that Phoebus has brought back his horses to the open heaven, and continually advancing, has displayed his whole orb; she applauds with thrice-repeated flapping of her wings, and having thrice adored the fire-bearing head, is silent. And she also distinguishes the swift hours by sounds not liable to error by day and night: an overseer of the groves, a venerable priestess of the wood, and alone admitted to thy secrets, O Phoebus. And when she has now accomplished the thousand years of her life, and length of days has rendered her burdensome, in order that she may renew the age which has glided by, the fates pressing her, she flees from the beloved couch of the accustomed grove. And when she has left the sacred places, through a desire of being born again, then she seeks this world, where death reigns. Full of years, she directs her swift flight into Syria, to which Venus herself has given the name of Phoenice; and through trackless deserts she seeks the retired groves in the place, where a remote wood lies concealed through the glens. Then she chooses a lofty palm, with top reaching to the heavens, which has the pleasing name of phoenix from the bird, and where no hurtful living creature can break through, or slimy serpent, or any bird of prey. Then Aeolus shuts in the winds in hanging caverns, lest they should injure the bright air with their blasts, or lest a cloud collected by the south wind through the empty sky should remove the rays of the sun, and be a hindrance to the bird. Afterwards she builds for herself either a nest or a tomb, for she perishes that she may live; yet she produces herself. Hence she collects juices and odors, which the Assyrian gathers from the rich wood, which the wealthy Arabian gathers; which either the Pygmaean nations, or India crops, or the Sabaean land produces from its soft bosom. Hence she heaps together cinnamon and the odor of the far-scented amomum, and balsams with mixed leaves. Neither the twig of the mild cassia nor of the fragrant acanthus is absent, nor the tears and rich drop of frankincense. To these she adds tender ears of flourishing spikenard, and joins the too pleasing pastures of myrrh. Immediately she places her body about to be changed on the strewed nest, and her quiet limbs on such a couch. Then with her

mouth she scatters juices around and upon her limbs, about to die with her own funeral rites. Then amidst various odors she yields up her life, nor fears the faith of so great a deposit. In the meantime her body, destroyed by death, which proves the source of life, is hot, and the heat itself produces a flame; and it conceives fire afar off from the light of heaven: it blazes, and is dissolved into burnt ashes. And these ashes collected in death it fuses, as it were, into a mass, and has an effect resembling seed. From this an animal is said to arise without limbs, but the worm is said to be of a milky color. And it suddenly increases vastly with an imperfectly formed body, and collects itself into the appearance of a well-rounded egg. After this it is formed again, such as its figure was before, and the phoenix, having burst her shell, shoots forth, even as caterpillars in the fields, when they are fastened by a thread to a stone, are wont to be changed into a butterfly. No food is appointed for her in our world, nor does any one make it his business to feed her while unfledged. She sips the delicate ambrosial dews of heavenly nectar which have fallen from the star-bearing pole. She gathers these; with these the bird is nourished in the midst of odors, until she bears a natural form. But when she begins to flourish with early youth, she flies forth now about to return to her native abode. Previously, however, she encloses in an ointment of balsam, and in myrrh and dissolved frankincense, all the remains of her own body, and the bones or ashes, and relics of herself, and with pious mouth brings it into a round form, and carrying this with her feet, she goes to the rising of the sun, and tarrying at the altar, she draws it forth in the sacred temple. She shows and presents herself an object of admiration to the beholder; such great beauty is there, such great honor abounds. In the first place, her color is like the brilliancy of that which the seeds of the pomegranate when ripe take under the smooth rind; such color as is contained in the leaves which the poppy produces in the fields, when Flora spreads her garments beneath the blushing sky. Her shoulders and beautiful breasts shine with this covering; with this her head, with this her neck, and the upper parts of her back shine. And her tail is extended, varied with yellow metal, in the spots of which mingled purple blushes. Between her wings there is a bright mark above, as Tris on high is wont to paint a cloud from above. She gleams resplendent with a mingling of the green emerald, and a shining beak of pure horn opens itself. Her eyes are large; you might believe that they were two jacinths; from the middle of which a bright flame shines. An

irradiated crown is fitted to the whole of head, resembling on high the glory of the head of Phoebus. Scales cover her thighs spangled with yellow metal, but a rosy color paints her claws with honor. Her form is seen to blend the figure of the peacock with that of the painted bird of Phasis. The winged creature which is produced in the lands of the Arabians, whether it be beast or bird, can scarcely equal her magnitude. She is not, however, slow, as birds which through the greatness of their body have sluggish motions, and a very heavy weight. But she is light and swift, full of royal beauty. Such she always shows herself in the sight of men. Egypt comes hither to such a wondrous sight, and the exulting crowd salutes the rare bird. Immediately they carve her image on the consecrated marble, and mark both the occurrence and the day with a new title. Birds of every kind assemble together; none is mindful of prey, none of fear. Attended by a chorus of birds, she flies through the heaven, and a crowd accompanies her, exulting in the pious duty. But when she has arrived at the regions of pure ether, she presently returns; afterwards she is concealed in her own regions. But oh, bird of happy lot and fate, to whom the God himself granted to be born from herself! Whether it be female, or male, or neither, or both, happy she, who enters into no compacts of Venus. Death is Venus to her; her only pleasure is in death: that she may be born, she desires previously to die. She is an offspring to herself, her own father and heir, her own nurse, and always a foster-child to herself. She is herself indeed, but not the same, since she is herself, and not herself, having gained eternal life by the blessing of death.

A POEM ON THE PASSION OF THE LORD

FORMERLY ASCRIBED TO LACTANTIUS

WHOEVER you are who approach, and are entering the precincts of the middle of the temple, stop a little and look upon me, who, though innocent, suffered for your crime; lay me up in your mind, keep me in your breast. I am He who, pitying the bitter misfortunes of men, came hither as a messenger of offered peace, and as a full atonement for the fault of men. Here the brightest light from above is restored to the earth; here is the merciful image of safety; here I am a rest to you, the right way, the

true redemption, the banner of God, and a memorable sign of fate. It was on account of you and your life that I entered the Virgin's womb, was made man, and suffered a dreadful death; nor did I find rest anywhere in the regions of the earth, but everywhere threats, everywhere labors. First of all a wretched dwelling in the land of Judged was a shelter for me at my birth, and for my mother with me: here first, amidst the outstretched sluggish cattle, dry grass gave me a bed in a narrow stall. I passed my earliest years in the Pharian regions, being an exile in the reign of Herod; and after my return to Judaea I spent the rest of my years, always engaged in fastings, and the extremity of poverty itself, and the lowest circumstances; always by healthful admonitions applying the minds of men to the pursuit of genial uprightness, uniting with wholesome teaching many evident miracles: on which account impious Jerusalem, harassed by the raging cares of envy and cruel hatred, and blinded by madness, dared to seek for me, though innocent, by deadly punishment, a cruel death on the dreadful cross. And if you yourself wish to discriminate these things more fully, and if it delights you to go through all my groans, and to experience griefs with me, put together the designs and plots, and the impious price of my innocent blood; and the pretended kisses of a disciple, and the insults and strivings of the cruel multitude; and, moreover, the blows, and tongues prepared for accusations. Picture to your mind both the witnesses, and the accursed judgment of the blinded Pilate, and the immense cross pressing my shoulders and wearied back, and my painful steps to a dreadful death. Now survey me from head to foot, deserted as I am, and lifted up afar from my beloved mother. Behold and see my locks clotted with blood, and my blood-stained neck under my very hair, and my head drained with cruel thorns, and pouring down like rain from all sides a stream of blood over my divine face. Survey my compressed and sightless eyes, and my afflicted cheeks; see my parched tongue poisoned with gall, and my countenance pale with death. Behold my hands pierced with nails, and my arms drawn out, and the great wound in my side; see the blood streaming from it, and my perforated feet, and blood-stained limbs. Bend your knee, and with lamentation adore the venerable wood of the cross, and with lowly countenance stooping to the earth, which is wet with innocent blood, sprinkle it with rising tears, and at times bear me and my admonitions in your devoted heart. Follow the footsteps of my life, and while you look upon my torments and cruel death, remembering my

innumerable pangs of body and soul, learn to endure hardships, and to watch over your own safety. These memorials, if at any time you find pleasure in thinking over them, if in your mind there is any confidence to bear anything like my sufferings), if the piety due, and gratitude worthy of my labors shall arise, will be incitements to true virtue, and they will be shields against the snares of an enemy, aroused by which you will be safe, and as a conqueror bear off the palm in every contest. If these memorials shall turn away your senses, which are devoted to a perishable world, from the fleeting shadow of earthly beauty, the result will be, that you will not venture, enticed by empty hope, to trust the frail enjoyments of fickle fortune, and to place your hope in the fleeting years of life. But, truly, if you thus regard this perishable world, and through your love of a better country deprive yourself of earthly riches and the enjoyment of present things, the prayers of the pious will bring you up in sacred habits, and in the hope of a happy life, amidst severe punishments, will cherish you with heavenly dew, and feed you with the sweetness of the promised good. Until the great favor of God shall recall your happy" soul to the heavenly regions, your body being left after the fates of death. Then freed from all labor, then joyfully beholding the angelic choirs, and the blessed companies of saints in perpetual bliss, it shall reign with me in the happy abode of perpetual peace.

GENERAL NOTE

THERE is no MS. authority for ascribing the above to Lactantius. "It does not, in the leash come up to the purity and eloquence of his style," says Dupin; and the same candid author notes the "adoration of the cross" as fatal to any such claim.

Of the following poem, on Easter, Dupin says: "It is attributed to Venantius upon the testimony of some MSS. in the Vatican Library." This writer became known to Gregory of Tours, who died about A.D. 595, and seems to have succeeded him as bishop, dying soon after. Bede quotes his verse on St. Alban, —

"Albanum egregium fecunda Britannia profert,"

but styles him “presbyter Fortunatus.” He was the author of a poem on *St. Martin*, and another, *In Laude Virginum*. His works were edited by Brouverius, a Jesuit.

POEM OF VENANTIUS HONORIUS CLEMENTIANUS FORTUNATUS, ON EASTER

The seasons blush varied with the flowery, fair weather, and the gate of the pole lies open with greater light. His path in the heaven raises the fire-breathing sun higher, who goes forth on his course, and enters the waters of the ocean. Armed with rays traversing the liquid elements, in this brief night he stretches out the day in a circle. The brilliant firmament puts forth its clear countenance, and the bright stars show their joy. The fruitful earth pours forth its gifts with varied increase, when the year has well returned I its vernal riches. Soft beds of violets paint the purple plain; the meadows are green with plants, and the plant shines with its leaves. By degrees gleaming brightness of the flowers comes forth; all the herbs smile with their blossoms. The seed being deposited, the corn springs up far and wide in the fields, promising to be able to overcome the hunger of the husbandman. Having deserted its stem, the vine-shoot bewails its joys; the vine gives water only from the source from which it is wont to give wine. The swelling bud, rising with tender down from the back of its mother, prepares its bosom for bringing forth. Its foliage having been torn off in the wintry season, the verdant grove now renews its leafy shelter. Mingled together, the willow, the fir, the hazel, the osier, the elm, the maple, the walnut, each tree applauds, delightful with its leaves. Hence the bee, about to construct its comb, leaving the hive, humming over the flowers, carries off honey with its leg. The bird which, having closed its song, was dumb, sluggish with the wintry cold, returns to its strains. Hence Philomela attunes her notes with her own instruments, and the air becomes sweeter with the re-echoed melody. Behold, the favor of the reviving world bears witness that all gifts have returned together with its Lord. For in honor of Christ rising triumphant after His descent to the gloomy Tartarus, the grove on every side with its leaves expresses approval, the plants with their flowers express approval. The light, the heaven, the fields, and the sea duly praise the God ascending above the

stars, having crushed the laws of hell. Behold, He who was crucified reigns as God over all things, and all created objects offer prayer to their Creator. Hail, festive day, to be reverenced throughout the world, on which God has conquered hell, and gains the stars! The changes of the year and of the months, the bounteous light of the days, the splendor of the hours, all things with voice applaud. Hence, in honor of you, the wood with its foliage applauds; hence the vine, with its silent shoot, gives thanks. Hence the thickets now resound with the whisper of birds; amidst these the sparrow sings with exuberant love. O Christ, Thou Savior of the world, merciful Creator and Redeemer, the only offspring from the Godhead of the Father, flowing in an indescribable manner from the heart of Thy Parent, Thou self-existing Word, and powerful from the mouth of Thy Father, equal to Him, of one mind with Him, His fellow, coeval with the Father, from whom at first the world derived its origin! Thou dost suspend the firmament, Thou heapest together the soil, Thou dost pour forth the seas, by whose government all things which are fixed in their places flourish. Who seeing that the human race was plunged in the depth of misery, that Thou mightest rescue man, didst Thyself also become man: nor wert Thou willing only to be born with a body, but Thou becamest flesh, which endured to be born and to die. Thou dost undergo funeral obsequies, Thyself the author of life and framer of the world, Thou dost enter the path of death, in giving the aid of salvation. The gloomy chains of the infernal law yielded, and chaos feared to be pressed by the presence of the light. Darkness perishes, put to flight by the brightness of Christ; the think pall of eternal night falls. But restore the promised pledge, I pray Thee, O power benign! The third day has returned; arise, my buried One; it is not becoming that Thy limbs should lie in the lowly sepulcher, nor that worthless stones should press that which is the ransom of the world. It is unworthy that a stone should shut in with a confining rock, and cover Him in whose fist all things are enclosed. Take away the linen clothes, I pray; leave the napkins in the tomb: Thou art sufficient for us, and without Thee there is nothing. Release the chained shades of the infernal prison, and recall to the upper regions whatever sinks to the lowest depths. Give back Thy face, that the world may see the light; give back the day which flees from us at Thy death. But returning, O holy conqueror! Thou didst altogether fill the heaven! Tartarus lies depressed, nor retains its rights. The ruler of the lower regions, insatiably opening his hollow

jaws, who has always been a spoiler, becomes a prey to Thee. Thou rescuest an innumerable people from the prison of death, and they follow in freedom to the place whither their leader approaches. The fierce monster in alarm vomits forth the multitude whom he had swallowed up, and the Lamb withdraws the sheep from the jaw of the wolf. Hence re-seeking the tomb from the lower regions, having resumed Thy flesh, as a warrior Thou carriest back ample trophies to the heavens. Those whom chaos held in punishment he has now restored; and those whom death might seek, a new life holds, Oh, sacred King, behold a great part of Thy triumph shines forth, when the sacred layer blesses pure souls! A host, clad in white, come forth from the bright waves, and cleanse their old fault in a new stream. The white garment also designates bright souls, and the shepherd has enjoyments from the snow-white flock. The priest Felix is added sharing in this reward, who wishes to give double talents to his Lord. Drawing those who wander in Gentile error to better things, that a beast of prey may not carry them away, He guards the fold of God. Those whom guilty Eve had before infected, He now restores, fed with abundant milk at the bosom of the Church. By cultivating rustic hearts with mild conversations, a crop is produced from a briar by the bounty of Felix. The Saxon, a fierce nation, living as it were after the manner of wild beasts, when you, O sacred One! apply a remedy, the beast of prey resembles the sheep. About to remain with you through an age with the return of a hundred-fold, you fill the barns with the produce of an abundant harvest. May this people, free from stain, be strengthened in your arms, and may you bear to the stars a pure pledge to God. May one crown be bestowed on you from on high gained from yourself, may another flourish gained from your people.

GENERAL NOTE

A fine passage illustrating the gush of early Christian devotion at Easter, “breaking into all the heavenly joy of the new creation,” will be found in Professor Milligan’s remarkable work on The Resurrection of our Lord (London, Macmillan, 1884). The author is “professor of divinity and biblical criticism in the University of Aberdeen.”

ASTERIUS URBANUS

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

ASTERIUS URBANUS

(*Circa* A.D. 232) Finding these fragments relegated, by the Edinburgh editors, to a place (unaccountably chosen) among the spurious Decretals, and dismissed as of dubious character, it looked as if modern light had been shed upon this author, and as if he had better, perhaps, be classed with the apocryphal works of our concluding volume. But, after considerable inquiry, I see no reason to dismiss Asterius from the respectable position assigned him by Lardner; and I now wish I had appended these fragments to those of the Roman presbyter Caius, to which the reader is referred. It is true, Lardner is quite undecided as to this author, though he accepts Tillemont's conjecture as probable; viz., that the Asterius Urbanus mentioned by Eusebius is the author of the fragments, and that his work against the Montanists was written in the eleventh year of the Emperor Alexander, *circa* 232. It is doubtful whether the author was a presbytery there, and particularly of Abercius Marcellus, to whom it is inscribed.

The translator is not named, but here follows the very unsatisfactory preface of the Edinburgh edition: —

NOTHING is known of Asterius Urbanus. The name occurs in Fragment IV.; and from the allusion made to him there, some have inferred that he was the author of the work against the Montanists, from which Eusebius has made these extracts. The inference is unfounded. There is no clue to the authorship. It has been attributed by different critics to Apollinaris, Apollonius, and Rhodon.

THE EXTANT WRITINGS

OF

ASTERIUS URBANUS

1

THE EXORDIUM

HAVING now for a very long and surely a very sufficient period had the charge pressed upon me by thee, my dear Avircius Marcellus, to write some sort of treatise against the heresy that bears the name of Miltiades, I have somehow been very doubtfully disposed toward the task up till now; not that I felt any difficulty in refuting the falsehood, and in bearing my testimony to the truth, but that I was apprehensive and fearful lest I should appear to any to be adding some new word or precept to the doctrine of the Gospel of the New Testament, with respect to which indeed it is not possible for one who has chosen to have his manner of life in accordance with the Gospel itself, either to add anything to it or to take away anything from

Being recently, however, at Ancyra, a town of Galatia, and finding the church in Pontus greatly agitated by this new prophecy, as they call it, but which should rather be called this false prophecy, as shall be shown presently, I discoursed to the best of my ability, with the help of God, for many days in the church, both on these subjects and on various others which were brought under my notice by them. And this I did in such manner that the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, while the adversaries were forthwith routed, and the opponents put to grief. And the presbyters of the place accordingly requested us to leave behind us some memorandum of the things which we alleged in opposition to the adversaries of the truth, there being present also our fellow-presbyter Zoticus Otrenus. This, however, we did not; but we promised, if the Lord

gave us opportunity, to write down the matters here, and send them to them with all speed.

2

FROM BOOK 1

Now the attitude of opposition which they have assumed, and this new heresy of theirs which puts them in a position of separation from the Church, had their origin in the following manner. There is said to be a certain village called Ardaba in the Mysia, which touches Phrygia. There, they say, one of those who had been but recently converted to the faith, a person of the name of Montanus, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, gave the adversary entrance against himself by the excessive lust of his soul after taking the lead. And this person was carried away in spirit; and suddenly being seized with a kind of frenzy and ecstasy, he raved, and began to speak and to utter strange things, and to prophesy in a manner contrary to the custom of the Church, as handed down from early times and preserved thenceforward in a continuous succession. And among those who were present on that occasion, and heard those spurious utterances, there were some who were indignant, and rebuked him as one frenzied, and under the power of demons, and possessed by the spirit of delusion, and agitating the multitude, and debarred him from speaking any more; for they were mindful of the Lord’s distinction and threatening, whereby He warned them to be on their guard vigilantly against the coming of the false prophets. But there were others too, who, as if elated by the Holy Spirit and the prophetic gift, and not a little puffed up, and forgetting entirely the Lord’s distinction, challenged the maddening and insidious and seductive spirit, being themselves cajoled and misled by him, so that there was no longer any checking him to silence. And thus by a kind of artifice, or rather by such a process of craft, the devil having devised destruction against those who were disobedient to the Lord’s warning, and being unworthily honored by them, secretly excited and inflamed their minds that had already left the faith which is according to truth, in order to play the harlot with error. For he stirred up two others also, women, and filled them with the spurious spirit, so that they too spoke in a frenzy and

unseasonably, and in a strange manner, like the person already mentioned, while the spirit called them happy as they rejoiced and exulted proudly at his working, and puffed them up by the magnitude of his promises; while, on the other hand, at times also he condemned them skillfully and plausibly, in order that he might seem to them also to have the power of reproof. And those few who were thus deluded were Phrygians. But the same arrogant spirit taught them to revile the Church universal under heaven, because that false spirit of prophecy found neither honor from it nor entrance into it. For when the faithful throughout Asia met together often and in many places of Asia for deliberation on this subject, and subjected those novel doctrines to examination, and declared them to be spurious, and rejected them as heretical, they were in consequence of that expelled from the Church and debarred from communion.

3

FROM BOOK 2

Wherefore, since they stigmatized us as slayers of the prophets because we did not receive their loquacious prophets, — for they say that these are they whom the Lord promised to send to the people, — let them answer us in the name of God, and tell us, O friends, whether there is any one among those who began to speak from Montanus and the women onward that was persecuted by the Jews or put to death by the wicked? There is not one. Not even one of them is there who was seized and crucified for the name of Christ. No; certainly not. Neither assuredly was there one of these women who was ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned. No; never anywhere. It is indeed by another kind of death that Montanus and Maximillia are said to have met their end. For the report is, that by the instigation of that maddening spirit both of them hung themselves; not together indeed, but at the particular time of the death of each as the common story goes. And thus they died, and finished their life like the traitor Judas. Thus, also, the general report gives it that Theodotus — that astonishing person who was, so to speak, the first procurator of their so-called prophecy, and who, as if he were sometime taken up and received into the heavens, fell into spurious ecstasies, and

gave himself wholly over to the spirit of delusion — was at last tossed by him into the air, and met his end miserably. People say then that this took place in the way we have stated. But as we did not see them ourselves, we do not presume to think that we know any of these things with certainty. And it may therefore have been in this way perhaps, and perhaps in some other way, that Montanus and Theodotus and the woman mentioned above perished.

4

And let not the spirit of Maximilla say (as it is found in the same book of Asterius Urbanus), “I am chased like a wolf from the sheep; I am no wolf. I am word, and spirit, and power.” But let him clearly exhibit and prove the power in the spirit. And by the spirit let him constrain to a confession those who were present at that time for the very purpose of trying and holding converse with the talkative spirit — those men so highly reputed as men and bishops — namely, Zoticus of the village of Comana, and Julian of Apamea, whose mouths Themison and his followers bridled, and prevented the false and seductive spirit from being confuted by them.

5

And has not the falsity of this also been made manifest already? For it is now upwards of thirteen years since the woman died, and there has arisen neither a partial nor a universal war in the world. Nay, rather there has been steady and continued peace to the Christians by the mercy of God.

6

FROM BOOK 3

But as they have been refuted in all their allegations, and are thus at a loss what to say, they try to take refuge in their martyrs. For they say that they have many martyrs, and that this is a sure proof of the power of their so-called prophetic spirit. But this allegation as it seems, carries not a whit

more truth with it than the others. For indeed some of the other heresies have also a great multitude of martyrs; but yet certainly we shall not on that account agree with them, neither shall we acknowledge that they have truth in them. And those first heretics, who from the heresy of Marcion are called Marcionites, allege that they have a great multitude of martyrs for Christ. But yet they do not confess Christ Himself according to truth.

7

Hence, also, whenever those who have been called to martyrdom for the true faith by the Church happen to fall in with any of those so-called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they always separate from them, and die without having fellowship with them, because they do not choose to give their assent to the spirit of Montanus and the women. And that this is truly the case, and that it has actually taken place in our own times at Apamea, a town on the Maeander, in the case of those who suffered martyrdom with Caius and Alexander, natives of Eumenia, is clear to all.

8

As I found these things in a certain writing of theirs directed against the writing of our brother Alcibiades, in which he proves the impropriety of a prophet’s speaking in ecstasy, I made an abridgment of that work.

9

But the false prophet falls into a spurious ecstasy, which is accompanied by a want of all shame and fear. For beginning with a voluntary (designed) rudeness, he ends with an involuntary madness of soul, as has been already stated. But they will never be able to show that any one of the Old Testament prophets, or any one of the New, was carried away in spirit after this fashion. Nor will they be able to boast that Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or the woman Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or indeed any of the others who do not in any respect belong to them, were moved in this way.

10

For if, after Quadratus and the woman Ammia in Philadelphia, as they say, the women who attached themselves to Montanus succeeded to the gift of prophecy, let them show us which of them thus succeeded Montanus and his women. For the apostle deems that the gift of prophecy should abide in all the Church up to the time of the final advent. But they will not be able to show the gift to be in their possession even at the present time, which is the fourteenth year only from the death of Maximilla.

GENERAL NOTE

The reader wil do well to turn back to my Introductory Notice on the *Epistle of Hermas*, and also to the elucidations which are appended to that Epistle. If any value attaches to this fragment, it must be found in its illustrations of Hermas and Tertullian. These, in turn, shed light on it.

ELUCIDATION

(AVIRICIUS MARCELLUS, P. 355, *SUPRA*.)

LIKE his great predecessor in Patristic research (Bishop Pearson), the learned and indefatigable Bishop Lightfoot will leave us gold-dust in the mere sweepings of his literary work. His recent voluminous edition of the *Apostolic Fathers* is encyclopedic in its treatment of the subject; and I had hardly corrected the last proofs of the fragments ascribed to Asterius Urbanus when I discovered, in one of his notes on Polycarp, a most brilliant elucidation of a matter which I had supposed involved in twofold obscurity. Asterius is a mere name embedded in Eusebius, and in his fragments there preserved is embedded the yet obscurer name of Aviricius Marcellus, which the reader will find, with its various spellings, in one of the translator’s notes. Who could have supposed that even the learning and ingenuity of Lightfoot could fish out of very dark waters such shining booty as fills the network about “Abercius of Hierapolis?” While he does

not even name Asterius, the mere *nominis umbra* of Aviricius Marcellus is material for a truly remarkable dissertation covering nine pages of fine print, and enabling us to conclude that this Aviricius is none other than the same “bishop of Hierapolis” about whom there is such a long story in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*. The story is a silly legend, but Lightfoot understands the art *ex fumo dare lucem*; and any one who enjoys following up such elaborations will find most curious and delightful reading in the pages to which I have referred. Our Aviricius, then, was bishop of “Hieropolis of Lesser Phrygia,” not of Hierapolis on the Maeander, and flourished about A.D. 163, during the reign of M. Aurelius. This date, therefore, must correct the conjecture of Tillemont and the date which I had accepted from him on the authority of Dr. Lardner.

VICTORINUS

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. ROBERT ERNEST WALLIS, PH.D.]

ON THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

To me, as I meditate and consider in my mind concerning the creation of this world in which we are kept enclosed, even such is the rapidity of that creation; as is contained in the book of Moses, which he wrote about its creation, and which is called Genesis. God produced that entire mass for the adornment of His majesty in six days; on the seventh to which He consecrated it... with a blessing. For this reason, therefore, because in the septenary number of days both heavenly and earthly things are ordered, in place of the beginning I will consider of this seventh day after the principle of all matters pertaining to the number of seven; and as far as I shall be able, I will endeavor to portray the day of the divine power to that consummation.

In the beginning God made the light, and divided it in the exact measure of twelve hours by day and by night, for this reason, doubtless, that day might bring over the night as an occasion of rest for men's labors; that, again, day might overcome, and thus that labor might be refreshed with this alternate change of rest, and that repose again might be tempered by the exercise of day. "On the fourth day He made two lights in the heaven, the greater and the lesser, that the one might rule over the day, the other over the night," — the lights of the sun and moon and He placed the rest of the stars in heaven, that they might shine upon the earth, and by their positions distinguish the seasons, and years, and months, and days, and hours.

Now is manifested the reason of the truth why the fourth day is called the Tetras, why we fast even to the ninth hour, or even to the evening, or why there should be a passing over even to the next day. Therefore this world of ours is composed of four elements — fire, water, heaven, earth. These

four elements, therefore, form the quaternion of times or seasons. The sun, also, and the moon constitute throughout the space of the year four seasons — of spring, summer, autumn, winter; and these seasons make a quaternion. And to proceed further still from that principle, lo, there are four living creatures before God's throne, four Gospels, four rivers flowing in paradise; four generations of people from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ the Lord, the Son of God; and four living creatures, viz., a man, a calf, a lion, an eagle; and four rivers, the Pison, the Gihon. the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The man Christ Jesus, the originator of these things whereof we have above spoken, was taken prisoner by wicked hands, by a quaternion of soldiers. Therefore on account of His captivity by a quaternion, on account of the majesty of His works, — that the seasons also, wholesome to humanity, joyful for the harvests, tranquil for the tempests, may roll on, — therefore we make the fourth day a station or a supernumerary fast.

On the fifth day the land and water brought forth their progenies. On the sixth day the things that were wanting were created; and thus God raised up man from the soil, as Lord of all the things which He created upon the earth and the water. Yet He created angels and archangels before He created man, placing spiritual beings before earthly ones. For light was made before sky and the earth. This sixth day is called parasceve, that is to say, the preparation of the kingdom. For He perfected Adam, whom He made after His image and likeness. But for this reason He completed His works before He created angels and fashioned man, lest perchance they should falsely assert that they had been His helpers. On this day also. on account of the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ, we make either a station to God, or a fast. On the seventh day He rested from all His works, and blessed it, and sanctified it. On the former day we are accustomed to fast rigorously, that on the Lord's day we may go forth to our bread with giving of thanks. And let the parasceve become a rigorous fast, lest we should appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews, which Christ Himself, the Lord of the Sabbath, says by His prophets that "His soul hateth;" which Sabbath He in His body abolished, although, nevertheless, He had formerly Himself commanded Moses that circumcision should not pass over the eighth day, which day very frequently happens on the Sabbath, as we read written in the Gospel. Moses, foreseeing the hardness

of that people, on the Sabbath raised up his hands, therefore, and thus figuratively fastened himself to a cross. And in the battle they were sought for by the foreigners on the Sabbath-day, that they might be taken captive, and, as if by the very strictness of the law, might be fashioned to the avoidance of its teaching.

And thus in the sixth Psalm for the eighth day, David asks the Lord that He would not rebuke him in His anger, nor judge him in His fury; for this is indeed the eighth day of that future judgment, which will pass beyond the order of the sevenfold arrangement. Jesus also, the son of Nave, the successor of Moses, himself broke the Sabbath-day; for on the Sabbath-day he commanded the children of Israel to go round the walls of the city of Jericho with trumpets, and declare war against the aliens. Matthias also, prince of Judah, broke the Sabbath; for he slew the prefect of Antiochus the king of Syria on the Sabbath, and subdued the foreigners by pursuing them. And in Matthew we read, that it is written Isaiah also and the rest of his colleagues broke the Sabbath — that that true and just Sabbath should be observed in the seventh millenary of years. Wherefore to those seven days the Lord attributed to each a thousand years; for thus went the warning: “In Thine eyes, O Lord, a thousand years are as one day.” Therefore in the eyes of the Lord each thousand of years is ordained, for I find that the Lord’s eyes are seven. Wherefore, as I have narrated, that true Sabbath will be in the seventh millenary of years, when Christ with His elect shall reign. Moreover, the seven heavens agree with those days; for thus we are warned: “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the powers of them by the spirit of His mouth.” There are seven spirits. Their names are the spirits which abode on the Christ of God, as was intimated in Isaiah the prophet: “And there rests upon Him the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of wisdom and of piety, and the spirit of God’s fear hath filled Him.” Therefore the highest heaven is the heaven of wisdom; the second, of understanding; the third, of counsel; the fourth, of might; the fifth, of knowledge; the sixth, of piety; the seventh, of God’s fear. From this, therefore, the thunders bellow, the lightnings are kindled, the fires are heaped together; fiery darts appear, stars gleam, the anxiety caused by the dreadful comet is aroused. Sometimes it happens that the sun and moon approach one another, and cause those more than frightful appearances,

radiating with light in the field of their aspect. But the author of the whole creation is Jesus. His name is the Word; for thus His Father says: “My heart hath emitted a good word.” John the evangelist thus says: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made that was made.” Therefore, first, was made the creation; secondly, man, the Lord of the human race, as says the apostle. Therefore this Word, when it made light, is called Wisdom; when it made the sky, Understanding; when it made land and sea, Counsel; when it made sun and moon and other bright things, Power; when it calls forth land and sea, Knowledge; when it formed man, Piety; when it blesses and sanctifies man, it has the name of God’s fear.

Behold the seven horns of the Lamb, the seven eyes of God — the seven eyes are the seven spirits of the Lamb; seven torches burning before the throne of God seven golden candlesticks, seven young sheep, the seven women in Isaiah, the seven churches in Paul, seven deacons, seven angels, seven trumpets, seven seals to the book, seven periods of seven days with which Pentecost is completed, the seven weeks in Daniel, also the forty-three weeks in Daniel; with Noah, seven of all clean things in the ark; seven revenges of Cain, seven years for a debt to be acquitted, the lamp with seven orifices, seven pillars of wisdom in the house of Solomon.

Now, therefore, you may see that it is being told you of the unerring glory of God in providence; yet, as far as my small capacity shall be able, I will endeavor to set it forth. That He might re-create that Adam by means of the week, and bring aid to His entire creation, was accomplished by the nativity of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Who, then, that is taught in the law of God, who that is filled with the Holy Spirit, does not see in his heart, that on the same day on which the dragon seduced Eve, the angel Gabriel brought the glad tidings to the Virgin Mary; that on the same day the Holy Spirit overflowed the Virgin Mary, on which He made light; that on that day He was incarnate in flesh, in which He made the land and water; that on the same day He was put to the breast, on which He made the stars; that on the same day He was circumcised, on which the land and water brought forth their offspring; that on the same day He was incarnated, on which He formed man out of the ground; that on the same day Christ was born, on which He formed man; that on that day He

suffered, on which Adam fell; that on the same day He rose again from the dead, on which He created light? He, moreover, consummates His humanity in the number seven: of His nativity, His infancy, His boyhood, His youth, His young-manhood, His mature age, His death. I have also set forth His humanity to the Jews in these manners: since He is hungry, is thirsty; since He gave food and drink; since He walks, and retired; since He slept upon a pillow; since, moreover, He walks upon the stormy seas with His feet, He commands the winds, He cures the sick and restores the lame, He raises the blind by His speech, — see ye that He declares Himself to them to be the Lord.

The day, as I have above related, is divided into two parts by the number twelve — by the twelve hours of day and night; and by these hours too, months, and years, and seasons, and ages are computed. Therefore, doubtless, there are appointed also twelve angels of the day and twelve angels of the night, in accordance, to wit, with the number of hours. For these are the twenty-four witnesses of the days and nights which sit before the throne of God, having golden crowns on their heads, whom the Apocalypse of John the apostle and evangelist calls elders, for the reason that they are older both than the other angels and than men.

COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE

OF THE BLESSED JOHN

FROM THE FIRST CHAPTER

1. *"THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to Him, and showed unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass, and signified it. Blessed are they who read and hear the words of this prophecy, and keep the things which are written."*] The beginning of the book promises blessing to him that reads and hears and keeps, that he who takes pains about the reading may thence learn to do works, and may keep the precepts.

4. *"Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come."*] He is, because He endures continually; He was, because with the Father He made all things, and has at this time taken a beginning from the Virgin; He is to come, because assuredly He will come to judgment. *"And from the seven spirits which are before His throne."*] We read of a sevenfold spirit in Isaiah, — namely, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, of knowledge and of piety, and the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

5. *"And from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first-begotten of the dead."*] In taking upon Him manhood, He gave a testimony in the world, wherein also having suffered, He freed us by His blood from sin; and having vanquished hell, He was the first who rose from the dead and *"death shall have no more dominion over Him,"* but by His own reign the kingdom of the world is destroyed.

6. *"And He made us a kingdom and priests unto God and His Father."*] That is to say, a Church of all believers; as also the Apostle Peter says: *"A holy nation, a royal priesthood."*

7. *"Behold, He shall come with clouds, and every eye shall see Him."*] For He who at first came hidden in the manhood that He had undertaken, shall after a little while come to judgment manifest in majesty and glory. And what saith He?

12. *"And I turned, and saw seven golden candlesticks; and in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks one like unto the Son of man."*] He says that He was like Him after His victory over death, when He had ascended into the heavens, after the union in His body of the power which He received from the Father with the spirit of His glory.

13. *"As it were the Son of man walking in the midst of the golden candlesticks."*] He says, in the midst of the churches, as it is said in Solomon, *"I will walk in the midst of the paths of the just,"* whose antiquity is immortality, and the fountain of majesty.

"Clothed with a garment down to the ankles."] In the long, that is, the priestly garment, these words very plainly deliver the flesh which was not corrupted in death, and has the priesthood through suffering.

"And He was girt about the paps with a golden girdle."] His paps are the two testaments, and the golden girdle is the choir of saints, as gold tried in the fire. Otherwise the golden girdle bound around His breast indicates the enlightened conscience, and the pure and spiritual apprehension that is given to the churches.

14. *"And His head and His hairs were white as it were white wool, and as it were snow."*] On the head the whiteness is shown; *"but the head of Christ is God."* in the white hairs is the multitude of abbots like to wool, in respect of simple sheep; to snow, in respect of the innumerable crowd of candidates taught from heaven.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire."] God's preceipts are those which minister light to believers, but to unbelievers burning.

16. *"And in His face was brightness as the sun."*] That which He called brightness was the appearance of that in which He spoke to men face to face. But the glory of the sun is less than the glory of the Lord. Doubtless on account of its rising and setting, and rising again, that He was born and

suffered and rose again, therefore the Scripture gave this similitude, likening His face to the glory of the sun.

15. *"His feet were like unto yellow brass, as if burned in a furnace."*] He calls the apostles His feet, who, being wrought by suffering, preached His word in the whole world; for He rightly named those by whose means the preaching went forth, feet. Whence also the prophet anticipated this, and said: *"We will worship in the place where His feet have stood."* Because where they first of all stood and confirmed the Church, that is, in Judea, all the saints shall assemble together, and will worship their Lord.

16. *"And out of His mouth was issuing a sharp two-edged sword."*] By the twice-sharpened sword going forth out of His mouth is shown, that it is He Himself who has both now declared the word of the Gospel, and previously by Moses declared the knowledge of the law to the whole world. But because from the same word, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, He will assert Himself upon the whole human race, therefore He is spoken of as two-edged. For the sword arms the soldier, the sword slays the enemy, the sword punishes the deserter. And that He might show to the apostles that He was announcing judgment, He says: *"I came not to send peace, but a sword."* And after He had completed His parables, He says to them: *"Have ye understood all these things? And they said, We have. And He added, Therefore is every scribe instructed in the kingdom of God like unto a man that is a father of a family, bringing forth from his treasure things new and old,"* — the new, the evangelical words of the apostles; the old, the precepts of the law and the prophets: and He testified that these proceeded out of His mouth. Moreover, He also says to Peter: *"Go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that shall first come up; and having opened its mouth, thou shalt find a stater (that is, two denarii), and thou shalt give it for me and for thee."* And similarly David says by the Spirit: *"God spake once, twice I have heard the same."* Because God once decreed from the beginning what shall be even to the end. Finally, as He Himself is the Judge appointed by the Father. on account of His assumption of humanity, wishing to show that men shall be judged by the word that He had declared, He says: *"Think ye that I will judge you at the last day? Nay, but the word,"* says He, *"which I have spoken unto you, that shall judge you in the last day."* And Paul, speaking of Antichrist to the Thessalonians, says: *"Whom the Lord Jesus*

will slay by the breath of His mouth." And Isaiah says: *"By the breath of His lips He shall slay the wicked."* This, therefore, is the two-edged sword issuing out of His mouth.

15. *"And His voice as it were the voice of many waters."*] The many waters are understood to be many peoples, or the gift of baptism that He sent forth by the apostles, saying: *"Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."*

16. *"And He had in His right hand seven stars."*] He said that in His right hand He had seven stars, because the Holy Spirit of sevenfold agency was given into His power by the Father. As Peter exclaimed to the Jews: *"Being at the right hand of God exalted, He hath shed forth this Spirit received from the Father, which ye both see and hear."* Moreover, John the Baptist had also anticipated this, by saying to his disciples: *"For God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him. The Father,"* says he, *"loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands."* Those seven stars are the seven churches, which he names in his addresses by name, old calls them to whom he wrote epistles. Not that they are themselves the only, or even the principal churches; but what he says to one, he says to all. For they are in no respect different, that on that ground any one should prefer them to the larger number of similar small ones. In the whole world Paul taught that all the churches are arranged by sevens, that they are called seven, and that the Catholic Church is one. And first of all, indeed, that he himself also might maintain the type of seven churches, he did not exceed that number. But he wrote to the Romans, to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Thessalonians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians; afterwards he wrote to individual persons, so as not to exceed the number of seven churches. And abridging in a short space his announcement, he thus says to Timothy: *"That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the Church of the living God."* We read also that this typical number is announced by the Holy Spirit by the month of Isaiah: *"Of seven women which took hold of one man."* The one man is Christ, not born of seed; but the seven women are seven churches, receiving His bread, and clothed with his apparel, who ask that their reproach should be taken away, only that His name should be called upon them. The bread is the Holy Spirit, which nourishes to eternal life, promised to them, that is, by faith. And His garments wherewith they

desire to be clothed are the glory of immortality, of which Paul the apostle says: *“For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on mortality.”* Moreover, they ask that their reproach may be taken away — that is, that they may be cleansed from their sins: for the reproach is the original sin which is taken away in baptism, and they begin to be called Christian men, which is, *“Let thy name be called upon us.”* Therefore in these seven churches, of one Catholic Church are believers, because it is one in seven by the quality of faith and election. Whether writing to them who labor in the world, and live of the frugality of their labors, and are patient, and when they see certain men in the Church wasters, and pernicious, they hear them, lest there should become dissension, he yet admonishes them by love, that in what respects their faith is deficient they should repent; or to those who dwell in cruel places among persecutors, that they should continue faithful; or to those who, under the pretext of mercy, do unlawful sins in the Church, and make them manifest to be done by others; or to those that are at ease in the Church; or to those who are negligent, and Christians only in name; or to those who are meekly instructed, that they may bravely persevere in faith; or to those who study the Scriptures, and labor to know the mysteries of their announcement, and are unwilling to do God’s work that is mercy and love: to all he urges penitence, to all he declares judgment.

FROM THE SECOND CHAPTER

2. *“I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience.”*] In the first epistle He speaks thus: I know that thou sufferest and workest, I see that thou art patient; think not that I am staying long from thee.

“And that thou canst not bear them that are evil, and who say that they are Jews and are not, and thou has found them liars, and thou hast patience for My name’s sake.”] All these things tend to praise, and that no small praise; and it behoves such men, and such a class, and such elected persons, by all means to be admonished, that they may not be defrauded of such privileges granted to them of God. These few things He said that He had against them.

4, 5. *“And thou hast left thy first love: remember whence thou hast fallen.”*] He who falls, falls from a height: therefore He said whence:

because, even to the very last, works of love must be practiced; and this is the principal commandment. Finally, unless this is done, He threatened to remove their candlestick out of its place, that is, to disperse the congregation.

6. *"This thou hast also, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes."*] But because thou thyself hatedst those who hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitanes, thou expectest praise. Moreover, to hate the works of the Nicolaitanes, which He Himself also hated, this tends to praise. But the works of the Nicolaitanes were in that time false and troublesome men, who, as ministers under the name of Nicolaus, had made for themselves a heresy, to the effect that what had been offered to idols might be exorcised and eaten, and that whoever should have committed fornication might receive peace on the eighth day. Therefore He extols those to whom He is writing; and to these men, being such and so great, He promised the tree of life, which is in the paradise of His God.

The following epistle unfolds the mode of life and habit of another order which follows. He proceeds to say: —

9. *"I know thy tribulation and thy poverty, but thou art rich."*] For He knows that with such men there are riches hidden with Him, and that they deny the blasphemy of the Jews, who say that they are Jews and are not; but they are the synagogue of Satan, since they are gathered together by Antichrist; and to them He says: —

10. *"Be thou faithful unto death."*] That they should continue to be faithful even unto death.

11. *"He that shall overcome, shall not be hurt by the second death."*] That is, he shalt not be chastised in hell.

The third order of the saints shows that they are men who are strong in faith, and who are not afraid of persecution; but because even among them there are some who are inclined to unlawful associations, He says: —

14-16. *"Thou hast there some who hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught in the case of Balak that he should put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat and to commit fornication. So also hast thou them who hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes; but I will fight with them with the*

sword of my mouth."] That is, I will say what I shall command, and I will tell you what you shall do. For Balaam, with his doctrine, taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the eyes of the children of Israel, to eat what was sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication, — a thing which is known to have happened of old. For he gave this advice to the king of the Moabites, and they caused stumbling to the people. Thus, says He, ye have among you those who hold such doctrine; and under the pretext of mercy, you would corrupt others.

17. *"To him that overcometh I will give the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone."*] The hidden manna is immortality; the white gem is adoption to be the son of God; the new name written on the stone is *"Christian."*

The fourth class intimates the nobility of the faithful, who labor daily, and do greater works. But even among them also He shows that there are men of an easy disposition to grant unlawful peace, and to listen to new forms of prophesying; and He reproves and warns the others to whom this is not pleasing, who know the wickedness opposed to them: for which evils He purposes to bring upon the head of the faithful both sorrows and dangers; and therefore He says: —

24. *"I will not put upon you any other burden."*] That is, I have not given you laws, observances, and duties, which is another burden.

25, 26. *"But that which ye have, hold fast until I come; and he that overcometh, to him will I give power over all peoples."*] That is, him I will appoint as judge among the rest of the saints.

28. *"And I will give him the morning star."*] To wit, the first resurrection. He promised the morning star, which drives away the night, and announces the light, that is, the beginning of day.

FROM THE THIRD CHAPTER

The fifth class, company, or association of saints, sets forth men who are careless, and who are carrying on in the world other transactions than those which they ought — Christians only in name. And therefore He exhorts them that by any means they should be turned away from negligence, and be saved; and to this effect He says: —

2. *"Be watchful, and strengthen the other things which were ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God."*] For it is not enough for a tree to live and to have no fruit, even as it is not enough to be called a Christian and to confess Christ, but not to have Himself in our work, that is, not to do His precepts.

The sixth class is the mode of life of the best election. The habit of saints is set forth; of those, to wit, who are lowly in the world, and unskilled in the Scriptures, and who hold the faith immovably, and are not at all broken down by any chance, or withdrawn from the faith by any fear. Therefore He says to them: —

8. *"I have set before thee an open door, because thou hast kept the word of my patience."*] In such little strength.

10. *"And I will keep thee from the hour of temptation."*] That they may know His glory to be of this kind, that they are not indeed permitted to be given over to temptation.

12. *"He that overcometh shall be made a pillar in the temple of God."*] For even as a pillar is an ornament of the building, so he who perseveres shall obtain a nobility in the Church.

Moreover, the seventh association of the Church declares that they are rich men placed in positions of dignity, but believing that they are rich, among whom indeed the Scriptures are discussed in their bedchamber, while the faithful are outside; and they are understood by none, although they boast themselves, and say that they know all things, — endowed with the confidence of learning, but ceasing from its labor. And thus He says: —

15. *"That they are neither cold nor hot."*] That is, neither unbelieving nor believing, for they are all things to all men. And because he who is neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, gives nausea, He says: —

16. *"I will vomit thee out of My mouth."*] Although nausea is hateful, still it hurts no one; so also is it with men of this kind when they have been cast forth. But because there is time of repentance, He says: —

18. *"I persuade thee to buy of Me gold tried in the fire."*] That is, that in whatever manner you can, you should suffer for the Lord's name tribulations and passions.

"And anoint thine eyes with eye-salve."] That what you gladly know by the Scripture, you should strive also to do the work of the same. And because, if in these ways men return out of great destruction to great repentance, they are not only useful to themselves, but they are able also to be of advantage to many, He promised them no small reward, — to sit, namely, on the throne of judgment.

FROM THE FOURTH CHAPTER

"After this, I beheld, and, lo, a door was opened in heaven."] The new testament is announced as an open door in heaven.

"And the first voice which I heard was, as it were, of a trumpet talking with me, saying, Come up hither."] Since the door is shown to be opened, it is manifest that previously it had been closed to men. And it was sufficiently and fully laid open when Christ ascended with His body to the Father into heaven. Moreover, the first voice which he had heard when he says that it spoke with him, without contradiction condemns those who say that one spoke in the prophets, another in the Gospel; since it is rather He Himself who comes, that is the same who spoke in the prophets. For John was of the circumcision, and all that people which had heard the announcement of the Old Testament was edified with his word.

"That very same voice," said he, *"that I had heard, that said unto me, Come up hither."*] That is the Spirit, whom a little before he confesses that he had seen walking as the Son of man in the midst of the golden candlesticks. And he now gathers from Him what had been foretold in similitudes by the law, and associates with this scripture all the former prophets, and opens up the Scriptures. And because our Lord invited in His own name all believers into heaven, He forthwith poured out the Holy Spirit, who should bring them to heaven. He says: —

2. *"Immediately I was in the Spirit."*] And since the mind of the faithful is opened by the Holy Spirit, and that is manifested to them which was also foretold to the fathers, he distinctly says: —

“And, behold, a throne was set in heaven.”] The throne set: what is it but the throne of judgment and of the King?

3. *“And He that sate upon the throne was, to look upon, like a jasper and a sardine stone.”*] Upon the throne he says that he saw the likeness of a jasper and a sardine stone. The jasper is of the color of water, the sardine of fire. These two are thence manifested to be placed as judgments upon God’s tribunal until the consummation of the world, of which judgments one is already completed in the deluge of water, and the other shall be completed by fire.

“And there was a rainbow about the throne.”] Moreover, the rainbow round about the throne has the same colors. The rainbow is called a bow from what the Lord spake to Noah and to his sons, that they should not fear any further deluge in the generation of God, but fire. For thus He says: I will place my bow in the clouds, that ye may now no longer fear water, but fire.

6. *“And before the throne there was, as it were, a sea of glass like to crystal.”*] That is the gift of baptism which He sheds forth through His Son in time of repentance, before He executes judgment. It is therefore before the throne, that is, the judgment. And when he says a sea of glass like to crystal, he shows that it is pure water, smooth, not agitated by the wind, not flowing down as on a slope, but given to be immovable as the house of God. *“And round about the throne were four living creatures.”*] The four living creatures are the four Gospels.

7-10. *“The first living creature was like to a lion, and the second was like to a calf, and the third had a face like to a man, and the fourth was like to a flying eagle; and they had six wings, and round about and within they were full of eyes; and they had no rest, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord Omnipotent. And the four and twenty elders, failing down before the throne, adored God.”*] The four and twenty elders are the twenty-four books of the prophets and of the law, which give testimonies of the judgment. Moreover, also, they are the twenty-four fathers — twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs. And in that the living creatures are different in appearance, this is the reason: the living creature like to a lion designates Mark, in whom is heard the voice of the lion roaring in the desert. And in the figure of a man, Matthew strives to declare to us the genealogy of

Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Therefore, in enumerating from Abraham to David, and thence to Joseph, he spoke of Him as if of a man: therefore his announcement sets forth the image of a man. Luke, in narrating the priesthood of Zacharias as he offers a sacrifice for the people, and the angel that appears to him with respect of the priesthood, and the victim in the same description bore the likeness of a calf. John the evangelist, like to an eagle hastening on uplifted wings to greater heights, argues about the Word of God. Mark, therefore, as an evangelist thus beginning, *"The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet;"* The voice of one crying in the wilderness," — has the effigy of a lion. And Matthew, *"The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham:"* this is the form of a man. But Luke said, *"There was a priest, by name Zachariah, of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron:"* this is the likeness of a calf. But John, when he begins, *"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"* sets forth the likeness of a flying eagle. Moreover, not only do the evangelists express their four similitudes in their respective openings of the Gospels, but also the Word itself of God the Father Omnipotent, which is His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, bears the same likeness in the time of His advent. When He preaches to us, He is, as it were, a lion and a lion's whelp. And when for man's salvation He was made man to overcome death, and to set all men free, and that He offered Himself a victim to the Father on our behalf, He was called a calf. And that He overcame death and ascended into the heavens, extending His wings and protecting His people, He was named a flying eagle. Therefore these announcements, although they are four, yet are one, because it proceeded from one mouth. Even as the river in paradise, although it is one, was divided into four heads. Moreover, that for the announcement of the New Testament those bring creatures had eyes within and without, shows the spiritual providence which both looks into the secrets of the heart, and beholds the things which are coming after that are within and without.

8. *"Six wings."*] These are the testimonies of the books of the Old Testament. Thus, twenty and four make as many as there are elders sitting upon the thrones. But as an animal cannot fly unless it have wings, so, too, the announcement of the New Testament gains no faith unless it have

the fore-announced testimonies of the Old Testament, by which it is lifted from the earth, and flies. For in every case, what has been told before, and is afterwards found to have happened, that begets an undoubting faith. Again, also, if wings be not attached to the living creatures, they have nothing whence they may draw their life. For unless what the prophets foretold had been consummated in Christ, their preaching was vain. For the Catholic Church holds those things which were both before predicted and afterwards accomplished. And it flies, because the living animal is reasonably lifted up from the earth. But to heretics who do not avail themselves of the prophetic testimony, to them also there are present living creatures; but they do not fly, because they are of the earth. And to the Jews who do not receive the announcement of the New Testament there are present wings; but they do not fly, that is, they bring a vain prophesying to men, not adjusting facts to their words. And the books of the Old Testament that are received are twenty-four, which you will find in the epitomes of Theodore. But, moreover (as we have said), four and twenty elders, patriarchs and apostles, are to judge His people. For to the apostles, when they asked, saying, *"We have forsaken all that we had, and followed Thee: what shall we have?"* our Lord replied, *"When the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."* But of the fathers also who should judge, says the patriarch Jacob, *"Dan also himself shall judge his people among his brethren, even as one of the tribes in lsrael."*

9. *"And from the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices, and thunders, and seven torches of fire burning."*] And the lightnings, and voices, and thunders proceeding from the throne of God, and the seven torches of fire burning, signify announcements, and promises of adoption, and threatenings. For lightnings signify the Lord's advent, and the voices the announcements of the New Testament, and the thunders, that the words are from heaven. The burning torches of fire signify the gift of the Holy Spirit, that it is given by the wood of the passion. And when these things were doing, he says that all the elders fell down and adored the Lord; while the living creatures — that is, of course, the actions recorded in the Gospels and the teaching of the Lord — gave Him glory and honor. In that they had fulfilled the word that had been previously foretold by them, they worthily and with reason exult, feeling that they have ministered the

mysteries and the word of the Lord. Finally, also, because He had come who should remove death, and who alone was worthy to take the crown of immortality, all for the glory of His most excellent doing had crowns.

10. *"And they cast their crowns under His feet."*] That is, on account of the eminent glory of Christ's victory, they cast all their victories under His feet. This is what in the Gospel the Holy Spirit consummated by showing, For when about finally to suffer, our Lord had come to Jerusalem, and the people had gone forth to meet Him, some strewed the road with palm branches cut down, others threw down their garments, doubtless these were setting forth two peoples — the one of the patriarchs, the other of the prophets; that is to say, of the great men who had any kind of palms of their victories against sin, and cast them under the feet of Christ, the victor of all. And the palm and the crown signify the same things, and these are not given save to the victor.

FROM THE FIFTH CHAPTER

1. *"And I saw in the right hand of Him that sate upon the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals."*] This book signifies the Old Testament, which has been given into the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, who received from the Father judgment.

2, 3. *"And I saw an angel full of strength proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no one was found worthy, neither in the earth nor under the earth, to open the book."*] Now to open the book is to overcome death for man. 4. *"There was none found worthy to do this."*] Neither among the angels of heaven, nor among men in earth, nor among the souls of the saints in rest, save Christ the Son of God alone, whom he says that he saw as a Lamb standing as it were slain, having seven horns. What had not been then announced, and what the law had contemplated for Him by its various oblations and sacrifices, it behooved Himself to fulfill. And because He Himself was the testator, who had overcome death, it was just that Himself should be appointed the Lord's heir, that He should possess the substance of the dying man, that is, the human members.

5. *"Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed."*] We read in Genesis that this lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered,

when the patriarch Jacob says, *“Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee; thou hast lain down and slept, and hast risen up again as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp.”* For He is called a lion for the overcoming of death; but for the suffering for men He was led as a lamb to the slaughter. But because He overcame death, and anticipated the duty of the executioner, He was called as it were slain. He therefore opens and seals again the testament, which He Himself had sealed. The legislator Moses intimating this, that it behooved Him to be sealed and concealed, even to the advent of His passion, veiled his face, and so spoke to the people; showing that the words of his announcement were veiled even to the advent of His time. For he himself, when he had read to the people, having taken the wool purpled with the blood of the calf, with water sprinkled the whole people, saying, *“This is the blood of His testament who hath purified you.”* It should therefore be observed that the Man is accurately announced, and that all things combine into one. For it is not sufficient that that law is spoken of, but it is named as a testament. For no law is called a testament, nor is any thing else called a testament, save what persons make who are about to die. And whatever is within the testament is sealed, even to the day of the testator’s death. Therefore it is with reason that it is only sealed by the Lamb slain, who, as it were a lion, has broken death in pieces, and has fulfilled what had been foretold; and has delivered man, that is, the flesh, from death, and has received as a possession the substance of the dying person, that is, of the human members; that as by one body all men had fallen under the obligation of its death, also by one body all believers should be born again unto life, and rise again. Reasonably, therefore, His face is opened and unveiled to Moses; and therefore He is called Apocalypse, Revelation. For now His book is unsealed — now the offered victims are perceived — now the fabrication of the priestly chrism; moreover the testimonies are openly understood.

8, 9. *“Twenty-four elders and four living creatures, having harps and phials, and singing a new song.”*] The proclamation of the Old Testament associated with the New, points out the Christian people singing a new song, that is, bearing their confession publicly. It is a new thing that the Son of God should become man. It is a new thing to ascend into the heavens with a body. It is a new thing to give remission of sins to men. It is a new thing for men to be sealed with the Holy Spirit. It is a new thing

to receive the priesthood of sacred observance, and to look for a kingdom of unbounded promise. The harp, and the chord stretched on its wooden frame, signifies the flesh of Christ linked with the wood of the passion. The phial signifies the Confession, and the race of the new Priesthood. But it is the praise of many angels, yea, of all, the salvation of all, and the testimony of the universal creation, bringing to our Lord thanksgiving for the deliverance of men from the destruction of death. The unsealing of the seals, as we have said, is the opening of the Old Testament, and the foretelling of the preachers of things to come in the last times, which, although the prophetic Scripture speaks by single seals, yet by all the seals opened at once, prophecy takes its rank.

FROM THE SIXTH CHAPTER

1, 2. *"And when the Lamb had opened one of the seven seals, I saw, and heard one of the four living creatures saying, Come and see. And, lo, a white horse, and He who sate upon him had a bow."*] The first seal being opened, he says that he saw a white horse, and a crowned horseman having a bow. For this was at first done by Himself. For after the Lord ascended into heaven and opened all things, He sent the Holy Spirit, whose words the preachers sent forth as arrows reaching to the human heart, that they might overcome unbelief. And the crown on the head is promised to the preachers by the Holy Spirit. The other three horses very plainly signify the wars, famines, and pestilences announced by our Lord in the Gospel. And thus he says that one of the four living creatures said (because all four are one), *"Come and see." "Come"* is said to him that is invited to faith; *"see"* is said to him who saw not. Therefore the white horse is the word of preaching with the Holy Spirit sent into the world. For the Lord says, *"This Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall come the end."*

3, 4. *"And when He had opened the second seal, I heard the second living creature saying, Come and see. And there went out another horse that was red, and to him that sate upon him was given a great sword."*] The red horse, and he that sate upon him, having a sword, signify the coming wars, as we read in the Gospel: *"For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be great earthquakes in divers places."* This is the ruddy horse.

5. *“And when He had opened the third seal. I heard the third living creature saying, Come and see. And, lo, a black horse; and he who sate upon it had a balance in his hand.”*] The black horse signifies famine, for the Lord says, *“There shall be famines in divers places;”* but the word is specially extended to the times of Antichrist, when there shall be a great famine, and when all shall be injured. Moreover, the balance in the hand is the examining scales, wherein He might show forth the merits of every individual. He then says: —

6. *“Hurt not the wine and the oil.”*] That is, strike not the spiritual man with thy inflictions. This is the black horse.

7, 8. *“And when He had opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth living creature saying, Come and see. And, lo, a pale horse; and he who sate upon him was named Death.”*] For the pale horse and he who sate upon him bore the name of Death. These same things also the Lord had promised among the rest of the coming destructions — great pestilences and deaths; since, moreover, he says: —

“And hell followed him.”] That is, it was waiting for the devouring of many unrighteous souls. This is the pale horse.

9. *“And when He had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain.”*] He relates that he saw under the altar of God, that is, under the earth, the souls of them that were slain. For both heaven and earth are called God’s altar, as saith the law, commanding in the symbolical form of the truth two altars to be made, — a golden one within, and a brazen one without. But we perceive that the golden altar is thus called heaven, by the testimony that our Lord bears to it; for He says, *“When thou bringest thy gift to the altar”* (assuredly our gifts are the prayers which we offer), *“and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar.”* Assuredly prayers ascend to heaven. Therefore heaven is understood to be the golden altar which was within; for the priests also were accustomed to enter once in the year — as they who had the anointing — to the golden altar, the Holy Spirit signifying that Christ should do this once for all. As the golden altar is acknowledged to be heaven, so also by the brazen altar is understood the earth, under which is the Hades, — a region withdrawn from punishments and fires, and a place of repose for the saints, wherein indeed the righteous

are seen and heard by the wicked, but they cannot be carried across to them. He who sees all things would have us to know that these saints, therefore — that is, the souls of the slain — are asking for vengeance for their blood, that is, of their body, from those that dwell upon the earth; but because in the last time, moreover, the reward of the saints will be perpetual, and the condemnation of the wicked shall come, it was told them to wait. And for a solace to their body, there were given unto each of them white robes. They received, says he, white robes, that is, the gift of the Holy Spirit.

12. *"And I saw, when he had opened the sixth seal, there was a great earthquake."*] In the sixth seal, then, was a great earthquake: this is that very last persecution.

"And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair."] The sun becomes as sackcloth; that is, the brightness of doctrine will be obscured by unbelievers.

"And the entire moon became as blood."] By the moon of blood is set forth the Church of the saints as pouring out her blood for Christ.

13. *"And the stars fell to the earth."*] The falling of the stars are the faithful who are troubled for Christ's sake.

"Even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs."] The fig-tree, when shaken, loses its untimely figs — when men are separated from the Church by persecution.

14. *"And the heaven withdrew as a scroll that is rolled up."*] For the heaven to be rolled away, that is, that the Church shall be taken away.

"And every mountain and the islands were moved from their places."] Mountains and islands removed from their places intimate that in the last persecution all men departed from their places; that is, that the good will be removed, seeking to avoid the persecution.

FROM THE SEVENTH CHAPTER

2. *"And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God"* He speaks of Elias the prophet, who is the precursor of the times of Antichrist, for the restoration and establishment of the churches

from the great and intolerable persecution. We read that these things are predicted in the opening of the Old and New Testament; for He says by Malachi: *"Lo, I will send to you Elias the Tishbite, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, according to the time of calling, to recall the Jews to the faith of the people that succeed them."* And to that end He shows, as we have said, that the number of those that shall believe, of the Jews and of the nations, is a great multitude which no man was able to number. Moreover, we read in the Gospel that the prayers of the Church are sent from heaven by an angel, and that they are received against wrath, and that the kingdom of Antichrist is cast out and extinguished by holy angels; for He says: *"Pray that ye enter not into temptation: for there shall be a great affliction, such as has not been from the beginning of the world; and except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved."* Therefore He shall send these seven great archangels to smite the kingdom of Antichrist; for He Himself also thus said: *"Then the Son of man shall send His messengers; and they shall gather together His elect from the four corners of the wind, from the one end of heaven even to the other end thereof."* For, moreover, He previously says by the prophet: *"Then shall there be peace for our land, when there shall arise in it seven shepherds and eight attacks of men; and they shall encircle Assur,"* that is, Antichrist, *"in the trench of Nimrod,"* that is, in the nation of the devil, by the spirit of the Church. Similarly when the keepers of the house shall be moved. Moreover, the Lord Himself, in the parable to the apostles, when the laborers had come to Him and said, *"Lord, did not we sow good seed in Thy field? whence, then, hath it tares? answered them, An enemy hath done this. And they said to Him, Lord, wilt Thou, then, that we go and root them up? And He said, Nay, but let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, that they gather the tares and make bundles of them, and burn them with fire everlasting, but that they gather the wheat into my barns."* The Apocalypse here shows, therefore, that these reapers, and shepherds, and laborers, are the angels. And the trumpet is the word of power. And although the same thing recurs in the phials, still it is not said as if it occurred twice, but because what is decreed by the Lord to happen shall be once for all; for this cause it is said twice. What, therefore, He said too little in the trumpets, is here found in the phials. We must not regard the order of what is said, because frequently the Holy Spirit, when He has traversed even to the end of the

last times, returns again to the same times, and fills up what He had before failed to say. Nor must we look for order in the Apocalypse; but we must follow the meaning of those things which are prophesied. Therefore in the trumpets and phials is signified either the desolation of the plagues that are sent upon the earth, or the madness of Antichrist himself, or the cutting off of the peoples, or the diversity of the plagues, or the hope in the kingdom of the saints, or the ruin of states, or the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state.

9. *"After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man was able to number, of every nation, tribe, and people, and tongue, clothed with white robes."*] What the great multitude out of every tribe implies, is to show the number of the elect out of all believers, who, being cleansed by baptism in the blood of the Lamb, have made their robes white, keeping the grace which they have received.

FROM THE EIGHTH CHAPTER

1. *"And when He had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour."*] Whereby is signified the beginning of everlasting rest; but it is described as partial, because the silence being interrupted, he repeats it in order. For if the silence had continued, here would be an end of his narrative.

13 *"And I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven."*] By the angel flying through the midst of heaven is signified the Holy Spirit beating witness in two of the prophets that a great wrath of plagues was imminent. If by any means, even in the last times, any one should be willing to be converted, any one might even still be saved.

FROM THE NINTH CHAPTER

13, 14. *"And I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is in the presence of God, saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels."*] That is, the four corners of the earth which hold the four winds.

"Which are bound in the great river Euphrates."] By the corners of the earth, or the four winds across the river Euphrates, are meant four nations,

because to every nation is sent an angel; as said the law, *"He determined them by the number of the angels of God,"* until the number of the saints should be filled up. They do not overpass their bounds, because at the last they shall come with Antichrist.

FROM THE TENTH CHAPTER

1, 2. *"I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire: and he had in his hand an open book: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth."*] He signifies that that mighty angel who, he says, descended from heaven, clothed with a cloud, is our Lord, as we have above narrated.

"His face was as it were the sun."] That is, with respect to the resurrection.

"Upon his head was a rainbow."] He points to the judgment which is executed by Him, of shall be.

"An open book."] A revelation of works in the future judgment, or the Apocalypse which John received.

"His feet,"] as we have said above, are the apostles. For that both things in sea and land are trodden under foot by Him, signifies that all things are placed under His feet. Moreover, he calls Him an angel, that is, a messenger, to wit, of the Father; for He is called the Messenger of great counsel. He says also that He cried with a loud voice. The great voice is to tell the words of the Omnipotent God of heaven to men, and to bear witness that after penitence is closed there will be no hope subsequently.

3. *"Seven thunders uttered their voices."*] The seven thunders uttering their voices signify, the Holy Spirit of sevenfold power, who through the prophets announced all things to come, and by His voice John gave his testimony in the world; but because he says that he was about to write the things which the thunders had uttered, that is, whatever things had been obscure in the announcements of the Old Testament; he is forbidden to write them, but he was charged to leave them sealed, because he is an apostle, nor was it fitting that the grace of the subsequent stage should be given in the first. *"The time,"* says he, *"is at hand."* For the apostles, by

powers, by signs, by portents, and by mighty works, have overcome unbelief. After them there is now given to the same completed Churches the comfort of having the prophetic Scriptures subsequently interpreted, for I said that after the apostles there would be interpreting prophets.

For the apostle says: *"And he placed in the Church indeed, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers,"* and the rest. And in another place he says: *"Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge."* And he says: *"Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoreth her head"* And when he says, *"Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge,"* he is not speaking in respect of the Catholic prophecy of things unheard and unknown, but of things both announced and known. But let them judge whether or not the interpretation is consistent with the testimonies of the prophetic utterance. It is plain, therefore, that to John, armed as he was with superior virtue, this was not necessary, although the body of Christ, which is the Church, adorned with His members, ought to respond to its position.

10. *"I took the book from the hand of the angel, and ate it up."*] To take the book and eat it up, is, when exhibition of a thing is made to one, to commit it to memory.

"And it was in my mouth as sweet as honey."] To be sweet in the mouth is the reward of the preaching of the speaker, and is most pleasant to the hearers; but it is most bitter both to those that announce it, and to those that persevere in its commandments through suffering.

11. *"And He says unto me, Thou must again prophesy to the peoples, and to the tongues, and to the nations, and to many kings."*] He says this, because when John said these things he was in the island of Patmos, condemned to the labor of the mines by Caesar Domitian. There, therefore, he saw the Apocalypse; and when grown old, he thought that he should at length receive his quittance by suffering, Domitian being killed, all his judgments were discharged. And John being dismissed from the mines, thus subsequently delivered the same Apocalypse which he had received from God. This, therefore, is what He says: Thou must again prophesy to all nations, because thou seest the crowds of Antichrist rise up; and

against them other crowds shall stand, and they shall fall by the sword on the one side and on the other.

FROM THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER

1. *“And there was shown unto me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.”*] A reed was shown like to a rod. This itself is the Apocalypse which he subsequently exhibited to the churches; for the Gospel of the complete faith he subsequently wrote for the sake of our salvation. For when Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were scattered abroad throughout the world, there assembled together to him from the neighboring provinces all the bishops, and compelled him himself also to draw up his testimony. Moreover, we say that the measure of God’s temple is the command of God to confess the Father Almighty, and that His Son Christ was begotten by the Father before the beginning of the world, and was made man in very soul and flesh, both of them having overcome misery and death; and that, when received with His body into heaven by the Father, He shed forth the Holy Spirit, the gift and pledge of immortality, that He was announced by the prophets, He was described by the law, He was God’s hand, and the Word of the Father from God, Lord over all, and founder of the world: this is the reed and the measure of faith; and no one worships the holy altar save he who confesses this faith.

2. *“The court which is within the temple leave out.”*] The space which is called the court is the empty altar within the walls: these being such as were not necessary, he commanded to be ejected from the Church.

“It is given to be trodden down by the Gentiles.”] That is, to the men of this world, that it may be trodden under foot by the nations, or with the nations. Then he repeats about the destruction and slaughter of the last time, and says: —

3. *“They shall tread the holy city down for forty and two months; and I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall predict a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth.”*] That is, three years and six months: these make forty-two months. Therefore their preaching is three years and six months, and the kingdom of Antichrist as much again.

5. *"If any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies."*] That fire proceedeth out of the mouth of those prophets against the adversaries, bespeaks the power of the world. For all afflictions, however many there are, shall be sent by their messengers in their word. Many think that there is Elisha, or Moses, with Elijah; but both of these died; while the death of Elijah is not heard of, with whom all our ancients have believed that it was Jeremiah. For even the very word spoken to him testifies to him, saying, *"Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations."* But he was not a prophet unto the nations; and thus the truthful word of God makes it necessary, which it has promised to set forth, that he should be a prophet to the nations.

4. *"These are the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth."*] These two candlesticks and two olive trees He has to this end spoken of, and admonished you that if, when you have read of them elsewhere, you have not understood, you may understand here. For in Zechariah, one of the twelve prophets, it is thus written: *"These are the two olive trees and two candlesticks which stand in the presence of the Lord of the earth;"* that is, they are in paradise. Also, in another sense, standing in the presence of the Lord of the earth, that is, in the presence of Antichrist. Therefore they must be slain by Antichrist.

7. *"And the beast which ascendeth from the abyss."*] After many plagues completed in the world, in the end he says that a beast ascended from the abyss. Bat that he shall ascend from the abyss is proved by many testimonies; for he says in the thirty-first chapter of Ezekiel: *"Behold, Assur was a cypress in Mount Lebanon."* Assur, deeply rooted, was a lofty and branching cypress — that is, a numerous people — in Mount Lebanon, in the kingdom of kingdoms, that is, of the Romans. Moreover, that he says he was beautiful in offshoots, he says he was strong in armies. The water, he says, shall nourish him, that is, the many thousands of men which were subjected to him; and the abyss increased him, that is, belched him forth. For even Isaiah speaks almost in the same words; moreover, that he was in the kingdom of the Romans, and that he was among the Caesars. The Apostle Paul also bears witness, for he says to the Thessalonians: *"Let him who now restraineth restrain, until he be*

taken out of the way; and then shall appear that Wicked One, even he whose coining is after the working of Satan, with signs and lying wonders." And that they might know that he should come who then was the prince, he added: *"He already endeavors after the secret of mischief"* — that is, the mischief which he is about to do he strives to do secretly; but he is not raised up by his own power, nor by that of his father, but by command of God, of which thing Paul says in the same passage: *"For this cause, because they have not received the love of God, He will send upon them a spirit of error, that they all may be persuaded of a lie, who have not been persuaded of the truth."* And Isaiah saith: *"While they waited for the light, darkness arose upon them."* Therefore the Apocalypse sets forth that these prophets are killed by the same, and on the fourth day rise again, that none might be found equal to God.

8. *"And their dead bodies shall lie in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt."*] But He calls Jerusalem Sodom and Egypt, since it had become the heaping up of the persecuting people. Therefore it behoves us diligently, and with the utmost care, to follow the prophetic announcement, and to understand what the Spirit from the Father both announces and anticipates, and how, when He has gone forward to the last times, He again repeats the former ones. And now, what He will do once for all, He sometimes sets forth as if it were done; and unless you understand this, as sometimes done, and sometimes as about to be done, you will fall into a great confusion. Therefore the interpretation of the following sayings has shown therein, that not the order of the reading, but the order of the discourse, must be understood.

19. *"And the temple of God was opened which is in heaven."*] The temple opened is a manifestation of our Lord. For the temple of God is the Son, as He Himself says: *"Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."* And when the Jews said, *"Forty and six years was this temple in building,"* the evangelist says, *"He spake of the temple of His body."*

"And there was seen in His temple the ark of the Lord's testament."] The preaching of the Gospel and the forgiveness of sins, and all the gifts whatever that came with Him, he says, appeared therein.

FROM THE TWELFTH CHAPTER

1. *“And there was seen a great sign in heaven. A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child, she cried out travailing, and bearing torments that she might bring forth.”*] The woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet, and wearing a crown of twelve stars upon her head, and travailing in her pains, is the ancient Church of fathers, and prophets, and saints, and apostles, which had the groans and torments of its longing until it saw that Christ, the fruit of its people according to the flesh long promised to it, had taken flesh out of the selfsame people. Moreover, being clothed with the sun intimates the hope of resurrection and the glory of the promise. And the moon intimates the fall of the bodies of the saints under the obligation of death, which never can fail. For even as life is diminished, so also it is increased. Nor is the hope of those that sleep extinguished absolutely, as some think, but they have in their darkness a light such as the moon. And the crown of twelve stars signifies the choir of fathers, according to the fleshly birth, of whom Christ was to take flesh.

3. *“And there appeared another sign in heaven; and behold a red dragon, having seven heads.”*] Now, that he says that this dragon was of a red color — that is, of a purple color — the result of his work gave him such a color. For from the beginning (as the Lord says) he was a murderer; and he has oppressed the whole of the human race, not so much by the obligation of death, as, moreover, by the various forms of destruction and fatal mischiefs. His seven heads were the seven kings of the Romans, of whom also is Antichrist, as we have said above.

“And ten horns.”] He says that the ten kings in the latest times are the same as these, as we shall more fully set forth there.

4. *“And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them upon the earth.”*] Now, that he says that the dragon’s tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, this may be taken in two ways. For many think that he may be able to seduce the third part of the men who believe. But it should more truly be understood, that of the angels that were subject to him, since he was still a prince when he descended from his estate, he seduced the third part; therefore what we said above, the Apocalypse says.

“And the dragon stood before the woman who was beginning to bring forth, that, when she had brought forth, he might devour her child.”] The red dragon standing and desiring to devour her child when she had brought him forth, is the devil, — to wit, the traitor angel, who thought that the perishing of all men would be alike by death; but He, who was not born of seed, owed nothing to death: wherefore he could not devour Him — that is, detain Him in death — for on the third day He rose again. Finally, also, and before He suffered, he approached to tempt Him as man; but when he found that He was not what he thought Him to be, he departed from Him, even till the time. Whence it is here said: —

5. *“And she brought forth a son, who begins to rule all nations with a rod of iron.”*] The rod of iron is the sword of persecution.

“I saw that all men withdrew from his abodes.”] That is, the good will be removed, flying from persecution.

“And her son was caught up to God, and to His throne.”] We read also in the Acts of the Apostles that He was caught up to God’s throne, just as speaking with the disciples He was caught up to heaven.

6. *“But the woman fled into the wilderness, and there were given to her two great eagle’s wings.”*] The aid of the great eagle’s wings — to wit, the gift of prophets — was given to that Catholic Church, whence in the last times a hundred and forty-four thousands of men should believe on the preaching of Elias; but, moreover, he here says that the rest of the people should be found alive on the coming of the Lord. And the Lord says in the Gospel: *“Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains;”* that is, as many as should be gathered together in Judea, let them go to that place which they have ready, and let them be supported there for three years and six months from the presence of the devil.

14. *“Two great wings”*] are the two prophets — Elias, and the prophet who shall be with him.

15. *“And the serpent cast out of his mouth after the woman water as a flood, that he might carry her away with the flood.”*] He signifies by the water which the serpent cast out of his mouth, the people who at his command would persecute her.

16. *"And the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth."*] That the earth opened her month and swallowed up the waters, sets forth the vengeance for the present troubles. Although, therefore, it may signify this woman bringing forth, it shows her afterwards flying when her offspring is brought forth, because both things did not happen at one time; for we know that Christ was born, but that the time should arrive that she should flee from the face of the serpent: (we do not know) that this has happened as yet. Then he says: —

7-9. *"There was a battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought with the dragon; and the dragon warred, and his angels, and they prevailed not; nor was their place found any more in heaven. And that great dragon was cast forth, that old serpent: he was cast forth into the earth."*] This is the beginning of Antichrist yet previously Elias must prophesy, and there must be times of peace. And afterwards, when the three years and six months are completed in the preaching of Elias, he also must be cast down from heaven, where up till that time he had had the power of ascending; and all the apostate angels, as well as Antichrist, must be roused up from hell. Paul the apostle says: *"Except there come a falling away first, and the man of sin shall appear, the son of perdition; and the adversary who exalted himself above all which is called God, or which is worshipped."*

FROM THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

1. *"And I saw a beast rising up from the sea, like unto a leopard."*] This signifies the kingdom of that time of Antichrist, and the people mingled with the variety of nations.

2. *"His feet were as the feet of a bear."*] A strong and most unclean beast, the feet are to be understood as his leaders.

"And his mouth as the mouth of a lion."] That is, his mouth armed for blood is his bidding, and a tongue which will proceed to nothing else than to the shedding of blood.

18. *"His number is the name of a man, and his number is Six hundred threescore and six."*] As they have it reckoned from the Greek characters, they thus find it among many to be τειταν, for τειταν has this number,

which the Gentiles call Sol and Phoebus; and it is reckoned in Greek thus: τ three hundred, O five, ι ten, τ three hundred, α one, ν fifty, — which taken together become six hundred and sixty-six. For as far as belongs to the Greek letters, they fill up this number and name; which name if you wish to turn into Latin, it is understood by the antiphrase DICLUX, which letters are reckoned in this manner: since D figures five hundred, I one, C a hundred,lfifty, V five, X ten, — which by the reckoning up of the letters makes similarly six hundred and sixty-six, that is, what in Greek gives τειταν, to wit, what in Latin is called DICLUX; by which name, expressed by and-phrases, we understand Antichrist, who, although he be cut off from the supernal light, and deprived thereof, yet transforms himself into an angel of light, daring to call himself light. Moreover, we find in a certain Greek codex αντεμος, which letters being reckoned up, you will find to give the number as above: α one, ν fifty, τ three hundred, O five, in forty, ο seventy, ς two hundred, — which together makes six hundred and sixty-six, according to the Greeks. Moreover, there is another name in Gothic of him, which will be evident of itself, that is, γενσήρικος, which in the same way you will reckon in Greek letters: γ three, O five, ν fifty,two hundred, η eight, ρ a hundred, ι ten, κ twenty, ο seventy, ς also two hundred, which, as has been said above, make six hundred and sixty-six.

11. *"And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth."*] He is speaking of the great and false prophet who is to do signs, and portents, and falsehoods before him in the presence of men.

"And he had two horns like a lamb — that is, the appearance within of a man — and he spoke like a dragon."] But the devil speaks full of malice; for he shall do these things in the presence of men, so that even the dead appear to rise again.

13. *"And he shall make fire come down from heaven in the sight of men."*] Yes (as I also have said), in the sight of men. Magicians do these things, by the aid of the apostate angels, even to this day. He shall cause also that a golden image of Antichrist shall be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, and that the apostate angel should enter, and thence utter voices and oracles. Moreover, he himself shall contrive that his servants and children should receive as a mark on their foreheads, or on their right hands, the number of

his name, lest any one should buy or sell them. Daniel had previously predicted his contempt and provocation of God. *"And he shall place,"* says he, *"his temple within Samaria, upon the illustrious and holy mountain that is at Jerusalem, an image such as Nebuchadnezzar had made."* Thence here he places, and by and by here he renews, that of which the Lord, admonishing His churches concerning the last times and their dangers, says: *"But when ye shall see the contempt which is spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place, let him who readeth understand."* It is called a contempt when God is provoked, because idols are worshipped instead of God, or when the dogma of heretics is introduced in the churches. But it is a turning away because steadfast men, seduced by false signs and portents, are turned away from their salvation.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

6. *"And I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven."*] The angel flying through the midst of heaven, whom he says that he saw, we have already treated of above, as being the same Elias who anticipates the kingdom of Anti-Christ in his prophecy.

8. *"And another angel following him."*] The other angel following, he speaks of as the same prophet who is the associate of his prophesying.

But that he says, —

15. *"Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather in the grapes of the vine,"*] he signifies it of the nations that should perish on the advent of the Lord. And indeed in many forms he shows this same thing, as if to the dry harvest, and the seed for the coming of the Lord, and the consummation of the world, and the kingdom of Christ, and the future appearance of the kingdom of the blessed.

19, 20. *"And the angel thrust in the sickle, and reaped the vine of the earth, and cast it into the wine-press of the wrath of God. And the wine-press of His fury was trodden down without the city."*] In that he says that it was cast into the wine-press of the wrath of God, and trodden down without the city, the treading of the wine-press is the retribution on the sinner.

"And blood went out from the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles."] The vengeance of shed blood as was before predicted, *"In blood thou hast sinned, and blood shall follow thee."*

"For a thousand and six hundred furlongs."] That is, through all the four parts of the world: for there is a quadrate put together by fours, as in four faces and four appearances, and wheels by fours; for forty times four is one thousand six hundred. Repeating the same persecution, the Apocalypse says: —

FROM THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

1. *"And I saw another great and wonderful sign, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is completed the indignation of God."*] For the wrath of God always strikes the obstinate people with seven plagues, that is, perfectly, as it is said in Leviticus; and these shall be in the last time, when the Church shall have gone out of the midst.

2. *"Standing upon the sea of glass, having harps."*] That is, that they stood steadfastly in the faith upon their baptism, and having their confession in their mouth, that they shall exult in the kingdom before God. But let us return to what is set before us.

FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER

1-6. *"There came one of the seven angels, which have the seven bowls, and spake with me, saying, Come, I will show thee the judgment of that great whore who sitteth upon many waters. And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs."*] The decrees of that senate are always accomplished against all, contrary to the preaching of the true faith; and now already mercy being cast aside, itself here gave the decree among all nations.

3. *"And I saw the woman herself sitting upon the scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy."*] But to sit upon the scarlet beast, the author of murders, is the image of the devil. Where also is treated of his captivity, concerning which we have fully considered. I remember, indeed, that this is called Babylon also in the Apocalypse, on account of confusion; and in Isaiah also; and Ezekiel called it Sodom. In fine, if you compare what is

said against Sodom, and what Isaiah says against Babylon, and what the Apocalypse says, you will find that they are all one.

9. *"The seven heads are the seven hills, on which the woman sitteth."*] That is, the city of Rome.

10. *"And there are seven kings: five have fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he is come, he will be for a short time."*] The time must be understood in which the written Apocalypse was published, since then reigned Caesar Domitian; but before him had been Titus his brother, and Vespasian, Otho, Vitellius, and Galba. These are the five who have fallen. One remains, under whom the Apocalypse was written — Domitian, to wit. *"The other has not yet come,"* speaks of Nerva; *"and when he is come, he will be for a short time,"* for he did not complete the period of two years.

11. *"And the beast which thou sawest is of the seven."*] Since before those kings Nero reigned.

"And he is the eighth."] He says only when this beast shall come, reckon it the eighth place, since in that is the completion. He added: — *"And shall go into perdition."* For that ten kings received royal power when he shall move from the east, he says. He shall be sent from the city of Rome with his armies. And Daniel sets forth the ten horns and the ten diadems. And that these are eradicated from the former ones, — that is, that three of the principal leaders are killed by Antichrist: that the other seven give him honor and wisdom and power, of whom he says: —

16. *"These shall hate the whore, to wit, the city, and shall burn her flesh with fire."*] Now that one of the heads was, as it were, slain to death, and that the stroke of his death was directed, he speaks of Nero. For it is plain that when the cavalry sent by the senate was pursuing him, he himself cut his throat. Him therefore, when raised up, God will send as a worthy king, but worthy in such a way as the Jews merited. And since he is to have another name, He shall also appoint another name, that so the Jews may receive him as if he were the Christ. Says Daniel: *"He shall not know the lust of women, although before he was most impure, and he shall know no God of his fathers: for he will not be able to seduce the people of the circumcision, unless he is a judge of the law."* Finally, also, he will recall

the saints, not to the worship of idols, but to undertake circumcision, and, if he is able, to seduce any; for he shall so conduct himself as to be called Christ by them. But that he rises again from hell, we have said above in the word of Isaiah: *"Water shall nourish him, and hell hath increased him;"* who, however, must come with name unchanged, and doings unchanged, as says the Spirit.

FROM THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER

11. *"And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sate upon him was called Faithful and True."*] The horse, and He that sits upon him, sets forth our Lord coming to His kingdom with the heavenly army. Because from the sea of the north, which is the Arabian Sea, even to the sea of Phoenice, and even to the ends of the earth, they will command these greater parts in the coming of the Lord Jesus, and all the souls of the nations will be assembled to judgment.

FROM THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER

1-3. *"And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And he held the dragon, that old serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and cast him into the abyss, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be finished: after this he must be loosed a little season."*] Those years wherein Satan is bound are in the first advent of Christ, even to the end of the age; and they are called a thousand, according to that mode of speaking, wherein a part is signified by the whole, just as is that passage, *"the word which He commanded for a thousand generations,"* although they are not a thousand. Moreover that he says, *"and he cast him into the abyss,"* he says this, because the devil, excluded from the hearts of believers, began to take possession of the wicked, in whose hearts, blinded day by day, he is shut up as if in a profound abyss. And he shut him up, says he, and put a seal upon him, that he should not deceive the nations until the thousand years should be finished. *"He shut the door upon him,"* it is said, that is, he forbade and restrained his seducing those who belong to Christ. Moreover, he put a seal upon him, because it is hidden who belong to the side of the devil, and who to that of Christ. For we know not of those who

seem to stand whether they shall not fall, and of those who are down it is uncertain whether they may rise. Moreover, that he says that he is bound and shut up, that he may not seduce the nations, the nations signify the Church, seeing that of them it itself is formed, and which being seduced, he previously held until, he says, the thousand years should be completed, that is, what is left of the sixth day, to wit, of the sixth age, which subsists for a thousand years; after this he must be loosed for a little season. The little season signifies three years and six months, in which with all his power the devil will avenge himself trader Antichrist against the Church. Finally, he says, after that the devil shall be loosed, and will seduce the nations in the whole world, and will entice war against the Church, the number of whose foes shall be as the sand of the sea.

4, 5. *"And I saw thrones, and them that sate upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were slain on account of the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his writing on their forehead or in their hand; and they reigned with Christ for a thousand years: the rest of them lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection."*] There are two resurrections. But the first resurrection is now of the souls that are by the faith, which does not permit men to pass over to the second death. Of this resurrection the apostle says: *"If ye have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above."*

6. *"Blessed and holy is he who has part in this resurrection: on them the second death shall have no power, but they shall be priests of God and Christ, and they shall reign with Him a thousand years."*] I do not think the reign of a thousand years is eternal; or if it is thus to be thought of, they cease to reign when the thousand years are finished. But I will put forward what my capacity enables me to judge. The tenfold number signifies the decalogue, and the hundredfold sets forth the crown of virginity: for he who shall have kept the undertaking of virginity completely, and shall have faithfully fulfilled the precepts of the decalogue, and shall have destroyed the untrained nature or impure thoughts within the retirement of the heart, that they may not rule over him, this is the true priest of Christ, and accomplishing the millenary number thoroughly, is thought to reign with Christ; and truly in his case

the devil is bound. But he who is entangled in the vices and the dogmas of heretics, in his case the devil is loosed. But that it says that when the thousand years are finished he is loosed, so the number of the perfect saints being completed, in whom there is the glory of virginity in body and mind, by the approaching advent of the kingdom of the hateful one, many, seduced by that love of earthly things, shall be overthrown, and together with him shall enter the lake of fire.

8-10. *"And they went up upon the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil who seduced them was cast into the take of fire and brimstone, where both the beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."*] This belongs to the last judgment. And after a little time the earth was made holy, as being at least that wherein lately had reposed the bodies of the virgins, when they shall enter upon an eternal kingdom with an immortal King, as they who are not only virgins in body, but, moreover, with equal inviolability have protected themselves, both in tongue and thought, from wickedness; and these, it shows, shall dwell in rejoicing for ever with the Lamb.

FROM THE TWENTY-FIRST AND TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTERS

16. *"And the city is placed in a square."*] The city which he says is squared, he says also is resplendent with gold and precious stones, and has a sacred street, and a river through the midst of it, and the tree of life on either side, bearing twelve manner of fruits throughout the twelve months; and that the light of the sun is not there, because the Lamb is the light of it; and that its gates were of single pearls; and that there were three gates on each of the four sides, and that they could not be shut. I say, in respect of the square city, he shows forth the united multitude of the saints, in whom the faith could by no means waver. As Noah is commanded to make the ark of squared beams, that it might resist the force of the deluge, by the precious stones he sets forth the holy men who cannot waver in persecution, who could not be moved either by the tempest of persecutors, or be dissolved from the true faith by the force of the rain, because they are associated of pure gold, of whom the city of the great

King is adorned. Moreover, the streets set forth their hearts purified from all uncleanness, transparent with glowing light, that the Lord may justly walk up and down in them. The river of life sets forth that the grace of spiritual doctrine flowed through the minds of the faithful, and that manifold flourishing forms of odors germinated therein. The tree of life on either bank sets forth the Advent of Christ, according to the flesh, who satisfied the peoples wasted with famine, that received life from One by the wood of the Cross, with the announcement of God's word. And in that he says that the sun is not necessary in the city, he shows, evidently, that the Creator as the immaculate light shines in the midst of it, whose brightness no mind has been able to conceive, nor tongue to tell.

In that he says there are three gates placed on each of the four sides, of single pearls, I think that these are the four virtues, to wit, prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance, which are associated with one another. And, being involved together, they make the number twelve. But the twelve gates we believe to be the number of the apostles, who, shining in the four virtues as precious stones, manifesting the light of their doctrine among the saints, cause it to enter the celestial city, that by intercourse with them the choir of angels may be gladdened. And that the gates cannot be shut, it is evidently shown that the doctrine of the apostles can be separated from rectitude by no tempest of contradiction. Even though the floods of the nations and the vain superstitions of heretics should revolt against their true faith, they are overcome, and shall be dissolved as the foam, because Christ is the Rock by which, and on which, the Church is founded. And thus it is overcome by no traces of maddened men. Therefore they are not to be heard who assure themselves that there is to be an earthly reign of a thousand years; who think, that is to say, with the heretic Cerinthus. For the kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints, although the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the resurrection.

DIONYSIUS

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ROME

(A.D. 259-269.) Dionysius is no exception to the rule that Latin Christianity had no place in Rome till after the Nicene Council. He was a Greek by birth, and reflects the spirit and orthodoxy of the Greek Fathers; and what we have from him is written in the Greek language. We find it in Athanasius, where, remarks Waterland, its genuineness cannot be suspected, because "Athanasius did not entirely approve of it, and would certainly never have forged an interpretation different from his own." He concurred with the Easterns in the discipline of Paul of Samosata. Waterland says of the following fragment: *"It is of admirable use* for showing the doctrine of the Trinity as professed by the Church of Christ at that time."

The purely receptive character of the Roman See during the Ante-Nicene period must be sufficiently apparent to the possessors of the volumes of this series. Until after the Council of Nice, as a Roman pontiff has testified, she was unfelt in the churches as a teaching church. Irenaeus has justly stated her case: as the *focus* of the empire, she was the natural center of exchange and social commerce among all nations. Thither all Christians converged, and there at all times might be found representatives of all the churches, — those of Gaul and Britain; those of Asia Minor and Syria; those of Alexandria and Egypt; those of North Africa, where Latin Christianity had begun to exist, and where it had reached a vigorous maturity at the Nicene Period. Hence, form all these churches came into Rome *a Catholic testimony,* which was thus preserved at the metropolis by the pressure from without.

This in the fact which gives importance to the earliest dogmatic testimony proceeding from the See of Rome. Dionysius has the great distinction of sustaining the orthodoxy which Hippolytus and other comprovincial bishops had established against the heresy of two of his predecessors; and this little essay, embedded in the works of Athanasius, comes forth as a genuine “bee” out of his precious amber, sweet with the honey of truth, and pungent with the sting of an acute and piercing testimony against error.

For the necessary preface to this essay or synodical letter, the reader must turn to the history of Dionysius of Alexandria, surnamed the Great, and to the letters he wrote to his namesake of Rome. For a complete view of the whole matter, and for the originals of both these great prelates, the student will not fail to consult Routh. Athanasius, the touchstone of orthodoxy, does not altogether commend the idioms of either; but he sustains the essential orthodoxy of both with that vast sweep of genius which could insist upon Nicene idioms after the council, but sustain those who, in defective language, fought previously for essential truth.

For a just view of Novatian and of the orthodoxy of Rome in the times of Dionysius, as that unhappy but competent witness sets it forth, the reader would do well to consult Dr. Waterland. For a vindication of the Alexandrian Dionysius, to whom his contemporaries gave the surname *Magnus,* see the same lucid expounder of antiquity. For a sententious statement of the *subordination* of the Son, on which so much hinges in these inquires, consult the same theologian.

I might have suffixed this essay to the works of the great Dionysius but for several important considerations: I was glad to give due prominence to this exceptional voice from old Rome, and to place Dionysius with due dignity before the reader; as the Bishop of Rome was without a hearing at Nicaea, I was anxious to show what good Sylvester would have said had he been able to attend the council; I was not willing, therefore, to hide this writer’s light under the bushel of the pages devoted to the Alexandrian school; I was anxious to close this important volume by a just exhibition of the Ante-Nicene doctrine, previous to the compilation of the Great Symbol; I considered it judicious to elucidate Dionysius by the doctrines of Athanasius, to whom we owe the preservation of the fragment itself;

and I felt that here was the place to record the “Athanasian Confession” (so called), which, apocryphal though it be, as a “creed” under his name is allowed to embody the principles for which the whole life of Athanasius was a contest unparalleled in the history of Christianity.

AGAINST THE SABELLIANS

1. Now truly it would be just to dispute against those who, by dividing and rending the monarchy, which is the most august announcement of the Church of God, into, as it were, three powers, and distinct substances (hypostases), and three deities, destroy it. For I have heard that some who preach and teach the word of God among you are teachers of this opinion, who indeed diametrically, so to speak, are opposed to the opinion of Sabellius. For he blasphemes in saying that the Son Himself is the Father, and vice versa; but these in a certain manner announce three gods, in that they divide the holy unity into three different substances, absolutely separated from one another. For it is essential that the Divine Word should be united to the God of all, and that the Holy Spirit should abide and dwell in God; and thus that the Divine Trinity should be reduced and gathered into one, as if into a certain head — that is, into the omnipotent God of all. For the doctrine of the foolish Marcion, which Gilts and divides the monarchy into three elements, is assuredly of the devil, and is not of Christ's true disciples, or of those to whom the Savior's teaching is agreeable. For these indeed rightly know that the Trinity is declared in the divine Scripture, but that the doctrine that there are three gods is, neither taught in the Old nor in the New Testament.

2. But neither are they less to be blamed who think that the Son was a creation, and decided that the Lord was made just as one of those things which really were made; whereas the divine declarations testify that He was begotten, as is fitting and proper, but not that He was created or made. It is therefore not a trifling, but a very great impiety, to say that the Lord was in any wise made with hands. For if the Son was made, there was a time when He was not; but He always was, if, as He Himself declares, He is undoubtedly in the Father. And if Christ is the Word, the Wisdom, and the Power, — for the divine writings tell us that Christ is these, as ye yourselves know, — assuredly these are powers of God. Wherefore, if the Son was made, there was a time when these were not in existence; and thus there was a time when God was without these things, which is utterly absurd. But why should I discourse at greater length to you about these matters, since ye are men filled with the Spirit, and

especially understanding what absurd results follow from the opinion which asserts that the Son was made? The leaders of this view seem to me to have given very little heed to these things, and for that reason to have strayed absolutely, by explaining the passage otherwise than as the divine and prophetic Scripture demands. “The Lord created me the beginning of His ways.” For, as ye know, there is more than one signification of the word “created;” and in this place “created” is the same as “set over” the works made by Himself — made, I say, by the Son Himself. But this “created” is not to be understood in the same manner as “made.” For to make and to create are different from one another. “Is not He Himself thy Father, that hath possessed thee and created thee?” says Moses in the great song of Deuteronomy. And thus might any one reasonably convict these men. Oh reckless and rash men! was then “the first-born of every creature” something made? — “He who was begotten from the womb before the morning star?” — He who in the person of Wisdom says, “Before all the hills He begot me?” Finally, any one may read in many parts of the divine utterances that the Son is said to have been begotten, but never that He was made. From which considerations, they who dare to say that His divine and inexplicable generation was a creation, are openly convicted of thinking that which is false concerning the generation of the Lord.

3. That admirable and divine unity, therefore, must neither be separated into three divinities, nor must the dignity and eminent greatness of the Lord be diminished by having applied to it the name of creation, but we must believe on God the Father Omnipotent, and on Christ Jesus His Son, and on the Holy Spirit. Moreover, that the Word is united to the God of all, because He says, “I and the Father are one;” and, “I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me.” Thus doubtless will be maintained in its integrity the doctrine of the divine Trinity, and the sacred announcement of the monarchy.

ELUCIDATIONS.

1

THE Confession, improperly called “the Creed of Athanasius,” is acknowledged to embody the (Athanasian) doctrine of the Nicene Council; and I append it here as an index to the state of theology at the period which is the limit of our series. Nothing is properly a “creed” which has never been accepted as such by the whole Church, and the Greeks knew no other creed than that called *Nicene*. The Anglo-American Church has ceased to recite this Confession in public worship, but does not depart from it as doctrine. The “Reformed” communion in America retains it among her liturgical forms, and I suppose the same is true of the Lutherans. It is a Western Confession, and, like the *Te Deum*, is a hymn rather than a symbol, though breathing the spirit of the Creed.

Usher adopts A.D. 447 as its date, and Beveridge assigns it to the fourth century. Dupin gives it a later origin than Usher, and a considerable number of eminent authorities agree with him in the date A.D. 484.

What are called the anathemas are the *enacting clauses* (so to speak), and, like the same in the Nicene Creed, may be regarded as no part of the Confession itself. If they have disappeared from the Great Symbol itself, as unsuitable to liturgical recitation, why not apply the same rule here?

CONFESSION OF OUR CHRISTIAN FAITH, COMMONLY CALLED THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS

QUICUNQUE VULT

Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith. Which Faith except everyone do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

1

And the Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.

For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the God-head of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father un-create, the Son un-create: and the Holy Ghost un-create.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible: and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal. And yet they are not three eternal: but one eternal.

As also there are not three incomprehensible, nor three un-created: but one un-created, and one incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty. And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord: and the Holy Ghost is Lord.

And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord;

So we are forbidden by the Catholick Religion: to say, there be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created, but begotten.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father *and of the Son*: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another;

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together: and co-equal.

So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.

HE THEREFORE THAT WILL BE SAVED:
MUST THUS THINK OF THE TRINITY

2

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess; that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the Substance of His Mother, born in the world;

Perfect God, and perfect Man: of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;

Equal to the Father, as touching His God-head' and inferior to the Father, as touching His Manhood.

Who although He be God and Man: yet He is not two, but one Christ;

One; not by conversion of the God-head into flesh: but by taking of the Manhood into God;

One altogether; not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ;

Who suffered for our Salvation: descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead.

He ascended into heaven, He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty: from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies: and shall give account for their own works.

And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

THIS IS THE CATHOLICK FAITH: WHICH EXCEPT A MAN BELIEVE FAITHFULLY, HE CANNOT BE SAVED

2

It is with regret that I am forced to take exception to the most useful Ecclesiastical History of the learned Professor Schaff, in this connection. I quote from that work as follows: —

"He, Dionysius, maintained distinctly, in

(a) controversy with Dionysius of Alexandria, at once the unity of essence and the real personal distinction, etc.,... and avoided tritheism, Sabellianism, and

(b) *subordination*, with the instinct of orthodoxy, and also with the art of anathematizing,

(c) already familiar to

(d) the popes."

Such a paragraph must convey to the youthful student a great confusion of ideas; all the greater, because the same valuable work elsewhere invites him to conclusions quite the reverse. Thus,

(a) there was no *controversy* whatever between the two Dionysii; with a holy jealousy they entered into fraternal explanations of the same truth, held by each, but by neither very *technically* elucidated. The *mere* reader would probably infer that the greater of the two was guilty of tritheism or Sabellianism, although that is not the meaning of these unguarded expressions. But

(b) the "subordinationism" which he repudiated was the doctrine of the *subjection* of the Son, not of the *subordination*, which orthodoxy has always maintained. Again,

(c) I see no such "anathematizing" in the letter of Dionysius as is here charged; indeed, it contains no *anathema* whatever, much less the artificial cursing of the Papacy which is thus assumed. And last,

(d) what can be meant by the expression, "already familiar *to the popes*?" The learned pages of the same author sufficiently prove that there were no such things as "popes" till a much later period of history; and, as to the "art of anathematizing," if it existed at all in those days, we find it much more freely exemplified by the Greek Fathers than by bishops of Rome. I say, *if it existed at all*, because the *primitive* anathema was a purely scriptural enforcement of St. Paul's great canon (<BIB>Galatians 1:8, 9); while the "*art* of anathematizing," so justly credited to "the popes," was a vindictive and monstrous assertion, at a later date, of prerogatives which they impiously arrogated to themselves, against other churches.

THE TEACHING

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

THE interest so generally excited in the learned world by the ("Bryennios") discovery of a very primitive document, rendered it indispensable that this republication should be enriched by it, in connection with the *Apostolic Constitutions* (so called), which had been reserved for the concluding volume of the series. The critics were greatly divided as to the genuiness of the *Bryennios* MS.; and, in order to gain time, I had relegated the *Constitutions*, with this document as its sequel or its preface, to a place with the *Apocrypha*. Dissatisfied with my own impressions and conjectures, I soon decided that the task of editing the *Teaching*, as the Bryennios document is entitled, must be entrusted to an "expert," and that, if possible, it should be taken in hand with the *Constitutions*. In order to give sufficient time, I entrusted the task, a year ago, to the well-qualified head and hands of Professor Riddle of Hartford, who most kindly accepted my proposals, and who now enables me to present his completed work to the public with the volume to which it properly belongs. It will be hailed by literary men generally as a timely reviewal of the whole subject, nor should I be surprised to find Dr. Riddle's estimate of the *Teaching* accepted as the most important contribution yet made to the literature of inquiry touching its worth and character. Appearing, as it does in the place, in close relations with the

Constitutions, and with the editorial comparisons so felicitously introduced by the learned annotator, the student will find himself in a position to weigh and to decide for himself all the questions that have been raised in previous examinations of the case. Without risking any judgment of my own upon the decisions which have been reached by Dr. Riddle in the exercise of his great critical skill, I cannot withhold an expression of gratitude for the impartiality and scientific conscientiousness with which he has handled the matter. Uninfluenced by prepossessions, he presents the case with judicial calmness and with due consideration of what others have suggested. I am gratified to find that impressions of my own are strengthened by his conclusions. In an early notice of the Bryennios discovery, contributed to a leading publication, I stated my surmise that the *Teaching,* and its parallels in the *Constitutions* and other primitive writings, would prove to be based upon some original document, common to all. Even Lactantius, in his *Institutes,* shapes his instructions to Constantine by the *Duae Viae,* which seem to have been formulated in the earliest ages for the training of catechumens. The elementary nature and the "childishness" of the work are thus accounted for, and I am sure that the "mystagogic" teaching of Cyril receives light from this view of the matter. This work was "food for lambs:" it was not meant to meet the wants of those "of full age." It may prove, as Dr. Riddle hints, that the *Teaching* as we have it, in the Bryennios document, is tainted by the views of some nascent sect or heresy, or by the incompetency of some obscure local church as yet unvisited by learned teachers and evangelists. It seems to me not improbably influenced by views of the *charismata,* teachers and evangelists. It seems to me not improbably influenced by views of the *charismata,* which ripened into Montanism, and which are illustrated by the warnings and admonitions of Hermas.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE
BY PROFESSOR M. B. RIDDLE, D.D.

SECTION 1

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CODES, AND ITS CONTENTS

In 1873 Philotheos Bryennios, then Head Master of the higher Greek school at Constantinople, but now Metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered a remarkable collection of manuscripts in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople. This collection is bound in one volume, and written by the same hand. It is signed "Leon, notary and sinner," and bears the Greek date of 6564 = A.D. 1056. There is no reason to doubt the age of the manuscripts. The documents have been examined by Professor Albert L. Long of Robert College, Constantinople; and some of the pages, reproduced by photography, were published by the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, April, 1885. The jealousy of its guardians does not imply any lack of confidence in the age and value of the Codex. The contents of the 120 folios (240 pp.) are as follows: —

I. Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments, by St. Chrysostom (fol. 1-32).

II. The Epistle of Barnabas (fol. 33-51*b*).

III. The two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians (fol. 51*b*-76*a*).

IV. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (fol. 76*a*-80).

V. The Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli to Ignatius (fol. 81-82*a*).

VI. Twelve Epistles of Ignatius (fol. 82*a*-120*a*).

The last part of fol. 120*a* contains the signature and date; then follows an account of the genealogy of Joseph, continued on the other page of the leaf.

Schaff (p. 6) gives a facsimile of fol. 120*a*.

Of these, I. supplies some unpublished portions, and furnishes matter for textual criticism. II. gives the second Greek copy of Barnabas, also furnishing new readings. III. is very valuable; the text of both Epistles is now complete. Two-fifths of that of the second was previously unknown. The value for purposes of textual criticism is also great. IV. is the *Teaching*, the value of which is discussed below. V. and VI. both belong to the Ignatian literature, and furnish new readings, which have already appeared in the editions of Funk (*Opera Patr. Apost.*, ii., Tubingen, 1881) and Lightfoot (*Epistles of St. Ignatius*, London and Cambridge, 1995).

SECTION 2

PUBLICATION OF THE DISCOVERED WORKS: THE EFFECT

In 1875 Bryennios, who had been chosen Metropolitan of Serrae during his absence at the Old Catholic conference in Bonn, published at Constantinople the two Epistles of Clement, with prolegomena and notes; giving the text found in the Jerusalem Codex, as he termed it. All patristic scholars welcomed his work, which bore every mark of care and learning; showing the results of his contact, as a student, with German methods. Bishop Lightfoot and many others at once made use of this new material. The remaining contents of the Codex were named in the volume of Bryennios, and some interest awakened by the mention of the *Teaching*. The learned Metropolitan furnished new readings from other parts of the Codex to German scholars. At the close of 1883 he published in Constantinople the text of the *Teaching* with prolegomena and notes. A copy of the volume was received in Germany in January, 1884; was translated into German, and published Feb. 3, 1884; translated from German into English, and published in America, Feb. 28, 1884; Archdeacon Farrar published (*Contemporary Review*) a version from the Greek in May, 1884. Before the close of the year the literature on the subject, exclusive of newspaper articles, covered fifty titles (given by Schaff) in Western Europe and America.

SECTION 3

CONTENTS OF TEACHING, AND RELATION TO OTHER WORKS

In the Babel of conflicting opinions, it is best to notice first the obvious internal phenomena. The first part of the *Teaching* (now distinguished as chaps. i.-vi.) sets forth the duty of the Christian; in chaps. vii.-x., xiv., we find a directory for worship; chaps. xi.-xiii., xv., give advice respecting church officers, extraordinary and local, and the reception of Christians; the closing chapter (xvi.) enjoins watchfulness in view of the coming of Christ, which is then described.

The amount of matter is not so great as that of the Sermon on the Mount.

The peculiarities of language are marked, but can only be indicated here in footnotes. They point to a period of transition from New-Testament usage to that of ecclesiastical Greek. The citations from the Scriptures resemble those of the Apostolic Fathers. The Gospel of Matthew is most frequently used, especially chaps. 5-7 and 24; but some of the passages fairly imply a knowledge of the Gospel of Luke. There are some remarkable correspondences with expressions and thoughts found in the Gospel of John, while there is good reason for inferring the writer's acquaintance with all the groups of Pauline Epistles. His allusions to the other New-Testament books are less marked. There is nothing to prove that he did not know all of our canonical books. If an early date is accepted, the tone of the whole opposes the tendency-theory of the Tubingen school.

The most striking internal phenomena are, however, the correspondences of this document with early Christian writings, from A.D. 125 to the fourth century. With the so-called *Epistle to Barnabas*, chaps. xviii.-xx., the resemblances are so marked as to demand a critical theory which can account for them. A few passages in the *Shepherd of Hermas* show some resemblance; but only two sentences, in Commandment Second, are verbally the same. There is a still greater agreement with the so-called *Apostolical Church Order,* of Egyptian origin, probably as old as the third century. It is now known in the Coptic (Memphitic), and also in Arabic

and Greek. The first thirteen canons correspond quite closely, both in order and words, with chaps. i.-iv. of the *Teaching.*

Most noteworthy, however, is the parallel with the *Apostolic Constitutions,* vii. 1-32, which contain more than half the *Teaching,* in precisely the same order, with very close verbal rememblances. The parts omitted are in most cases such as had lost their pertinence in the fourth century, while they seem appropriate to a much earlier period. The details will be found in the footnotes to the *Teaching* in this volume. These phenomena have called fourth voluminous discussions, and are the most important facts in determining the authenticity and age of the *Teaching.*

SECTION 4

AUTHENTICITY

By this is meant, in this case, the substantial identity of the recently discovered document with the work known and referred to by early Christian writers under the same (or a similar) title. Of apostolic origin no one should presume to speak, since the text of the document makes no such claim, and internal evidence is obviously against such a suggestion. On the other hand, there is no reason for doubting the age of the Codex, or the accuracy of the edition published by Bryennios.

Eusebius (*d.* 340.) of Caesarea, in the famous passage of his history (in. 25) which treats of the canonical books of the New Testament, names among the "spurious" works (νόθοι) "the so-called *Teachings of the apostles"* (τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί). The plural form does not forbid a reference to the work under discussion, since Athanasius (*d.* 373) has a notice clearly pointing to the same writing, in which he uses the singular (*Festal Epistle,* 39). Rufinus (*d.* 410) speaks of a brief work called *The Two Ways,* or *The Judgment of Peter;* and this fact, in view of the contents of the *Teaching,* furnishes one of the most important data for the critical discussion. The last notice of the *Teaching* was made by Nicephorus (*d.* 828) more than two hundred years before Leon made this copy. Clement of Alexandria (*d. circa* 216) and Irenaeus (*mart.* 202) use expressions that may indicate an acquaintance with this writing. The more

extended correspondences with Barnabas and later disciplinary works are noticed above (sec. 3). The existence of an old Latin translation of the *Teaching*, of the tenth century, a fragment of which has been preserved, furnishes general evidence to the authenticity of the Greek copy, but by its variations suggests the presence of many textual corruptions. Its closer correspondence with Barnabas has led to the theory that the translator used both documents. Others suppose that its form points to a document which was the common source of the Greek form of the *Teaching* and of Barnabas.

The various theories based on the above facts cannot even be stated. The following positions seem, on the whole, most tenable: —

1. The Greek Codex presents substantially the writing referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius.

2. Owing to an absence of other copies, we cannot determine the purity of the text; but there is every probability of many minor corruptions.

3. This probability calls for care that we do not infer too much from verbal resemblances.

4. The resemblances to book vii., *Apostolic Constitutions*, are, however, of such a character as establish, not only a literary connection between the two works, but also the priority of the *Teaching*.

5. In the case of Barnabas, the resemblances can be accounted for (*a*) by accepting the priority of the *Teaching*, or (*b*) by assuming a common (earlier and unknown) source, or (*c*) by accepting the priority of Barnabas, and assuming such corruptions in the Greek copy of the *Teaching* as will account for the supposed marks of its priority. Despite the general adoption of (*a*), there remains a strong probability that (*b*) is the correct solution of the problem.

6. The *Duae Viae*, spoken of by Rufinus, may be the common source. We have no positive evidence, but the “two ways” form so prominent a topic in most of these documents which indicate literary relationship, as to encourage this theory. If there was a common source, it probably contained only matter similar to chaps. i.-v., which was variously used

by the subsequent compilers. Here a number of theories have been suggested. None of them, however, necessarily call for a very late date of the *Teaching,* or compel us to deny that Eusebius and Athanasius referred to substantially the same work as that now existing in the Codex at Constantinople. Many resemblances have been noticed in other works. Probably in the course of a few years all the data will have been collected, and a well-defined result based upon them. But, even in this period of discussion, there is remarkable agreement among critics in regard to the main question of authenticity.

SECTION 5

TIME AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

Granting the general authenticity of the Greek work, the time of composition must be at least as early as the fist half of the second century. If the *teaching* is older than Barnabas, then it cannot be later than A.D. 120. If both are form a common source, the interval of time was probably not very great. The document itself bears many marks of an early date: —

(1.) Its simplicity, almost amounting to childishness, not only discountenances all idea of forgery, but points to the sub-apostolic age, during which Christianity manifested this characteristic. The fact is an important one in the discussion of the canon of the New Testament.

(2.) The undeveloped Christian thought, as well as the indications of undeveloped heresy, confirms this position. Christianity was at first a life, for which the Apostles furnished a basis of revealed thought. But the Christians of the sub-apostolic age had not consciously assimilated the thought to any large extent, while their ethical striving was stimulated by the gross sins surrounding them.

(3.) The Church polity indicated in the *Teaching* is less developed than that of the genuine Ignatian Epistles, and shows the existence of extraordinary traveling teachers (“Apostles” and “Prophets,” chap. xi.). This points to a date not later than the first half of the second century, probably as early as the first quarter.

Most of these phenomena would, however, consist with a date as late as that of the Ignatian Epistles on the theory that the *Teaching* was written for a community of Christians in some obscure locality. But this theory must admit that there existed for along time great variety of Church polity and worship. Of this there is, indeed, considerable evidence. The undeveloped form of the doctrinal elements of the work constitutes the most serious objection to the theory of a late origin. On the other hand, it seems on many accounts improbable that the work, in its present form, was written earlier than the beginning of the second century: Such a document would not be penned during the lifetime of any of the Apostles. There is no allusion in chap. xvi. to the destruction of Jerusalem. If the author was a Jewish Christian, as seems most probable, such silence implies an interval of at least one generation. The position of the document in the Codex is *after* the Clementine Epistles, and *before* the Ignatian. This probably marks the chronological position. The extreme simplicity scarcely consists with the view that the author was nearly contemporary with the Apostles.

Bryennios and Harnack assign, as the date, between 120 and 160; Hilgenfeld, 160 and 190; English and American scholars very between A.D. 80 and 120. Until the priority to Barnabas is more positively established, the two may be regarded as of the same age, about 120, although a more positively established, the two may be regarded as of the same age, about 120, although a date slightly later is not impossible. All attempts to discover the author are, with our present lack of data, necessarily futile. Even the region in and for which it was composed cannot be determined. Jewish-Christian tendencies are not sufficiently indicated to warrant the assumption of a polemical aim. The document has been assigned to Alexandria, to Antioch, to Jerusalem; indeed, many other places have been named. In favor of the Syrian origin is the literary connection with the *Apostolic Constitutions,* while the correspondences with the Epistle to Barnabas suggest Egypt as the locality. If the *Teaching* and Barnabas have a common basis, e.g. the *Duae Viae,* the last may be assigned to Egypt, and the *Teaching,* in its present form, to Syria. The Palestinian origin is urged by those who lay stress upon the absence of Pauline doctrine in the *Teaching.* (If meant for catechumens only, this fact is sufficiently accounted for.).

The question is still and open one.

As regards the doctrine, polity, usages, and ethics expressed and implied in the *Teaching*, the reader can judge for himself. The writer is of the opinion that the work represents, on many of these points, only a very small fraction of the Christians during the second century, and that, while it casts some light upon usages of the period, it cannot be regarded as an authoritative witness concerning the universal faith and practice of believers at the date usually assigned to it. The few notices of it, and its early disappearance, confirm this position. The theory of a composite origin also accords with this estimate of the document as a whole.

The version of the *Teaching* here given is that of Professor Isaac H. Hall and Mr. John T. Napier, which first appeared in the *Sunday-School Times* (Philadelphia), April 12, 1884. It is now republished by permission of the editor of that periodical and of the joint authors. A few slight changes have been made, some of them in accordance with suggestions from Professor Hall, others to indicate correspondences with book vii. of *Apostolic Constitutions.*

The division of verses agrees with that of Harnack as given by Schaff. The headings to the chapters have been inserted by the editor. The Scripture references have been selected and verified. The notes have been kept within narrow limits. They serve to indicate the relation of the matter to that in other early writings, mainly the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and to give various readings and renderings. Occasionally explanations and comments have been inserted. In dealing with this, as with most other books, the best method of study is historico-exegetical. To read the book intelligently is better than to read about it. The editor has sought to furnish some help in this method.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

THE LORD'S TEACHING THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE NATIONS

CHAPTER 1

THE TWO WAYS;THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

THERE are two ways, one of life and one of death; but a great difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, thou shalt love God who made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst should not occur to thee, thou also to another do not do. And of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you. For what thank is there, if ye love them that love you? Do not also the Gentiles do the same? But do ye love them that hate you; and ye shall not have an enemy. Abstain thou from fleshly and worldly lusts. If one give thee a blow upon thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and thou shalt be perfect. If one impress thee for one mile, go with him two. If one take away thy cloak, give him also thy coat. If one take from thee thine own, ask it not back? for indeed thou art not able. Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask it not back; for the Father willeth that to all should be given of our own blessings (free gifts). Happy is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth; for if one having need receiveth, he is guiltless; but he that receiveth not having need, shall pay the penalty, why he received and for what, and, coming into straits (confinement), he shall be examined concerning the things which he hath done, and he shall not escape thence until he pay back the last farthing. But also now concerning this, it hath been said, Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou know to whom thou Shouldst give.

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND COMMANDMENT: GROSS SIN FORBIDDEN

And the second commandment of the Teaching; Thou shalt not commit murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit paederasty, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practice magic, thou shalt not practice witchcraft, thou shalt not murder a child by abortion nor kill that which is begotten. Thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak, evil, thou shalt bear no grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for to be double-tongued is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor evil disposed, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not hate any man; but some thou shalt reprove, and concerning some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy own life.

CHAPTER 3

OTHER SINS FORBIDDEN

1 My child, flee from every evil thing, and from every likeness of it. Be not prone to anger, for anger leadeth the way to murder; neither jealous, nor quarrelsome, nor of hot temper; for out of all these murders are engendered. My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered. My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth the way to idolatry; neither an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, nor be willing to took at these things; for out of all these idolatry is engendered. My child, be not a liar, since a lie leadeth the way to theft; neither money-loving, nor vainglorious, for out of all these thefts are engendered. My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth the way to blasphemy; neither self-willed nor evil-minded, for out of all these blasphemies are engendered. But be thou meek, since the meek shall inherit

the earth. Be long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and gentle and good and always trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor give over-confidence to thy soul. Thy soul shall not be joined with lofty ones, but with just and lowly 10 ones shall it have its intercourse. The workings that befall thee receive as good, knowing that apart from God nothing cometh to pass.

CHAPTER 4

VARIOUS PRECEPTS

My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of God remember night and day; and thou shalt honor him as the Lord; for in the place whence lordly rule is uttered, there is the Lord. And thou shalt seek out day by day the faces of the saints, in order that thou mayest rest upon their words. Thou shalt not long for division, but shalt bring those who contend to peace. Thou shalt judge righteously, thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions. Thou shalt not be undecided whether it shall be or no. Be not a stretcher forth of the hands to receive and a drawer of them back to give. If thou hast aught, through thy hands thou shalt give ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor murmur when thou givest; for thou shalt know who is the good repayer of the hire. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want, but thou shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are partakers in that which is immortal, how much more in things which are mortal? Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth shalt teach them the fear of God. Thou shalt not enjoin aught in thy bitterness upon thy bondman or maidservant, who hope in the same God, lest ever they shall fear not God who is over both; for he cometh not to call according to the outward appearance, but unto them whom the Spirit hath prepared. And ye bondmen shall be subject to your masters as to a type of God, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord. Do thou in no wise forsake the commandments of the Lord; but thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking away therefrom. In

the church thou shalt acknowledge thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come near for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAPTER 5

THE WAY OF DEATH

And the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving a lie, not knowing a reward for righteousness, not cleaving to good nor to righteous judgment, watching not for that which is good, but for that which is evil; from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities, pursuing requital, not pitying a poor man, not laboring for the afflicted, not knowing Him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the handiwork of God, turning away from him that is in want afflicting him that is distressed, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, utter sinners. Be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAPTER 6

AGAINST FALSE TEACHERS, AND FOOD OFFERED TO IDOLS

See that no one cause thee to err from this way of the Teaching, since apart from God it teacheth thee. For if thou art able to bear all the yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able that do. And concerning food, bear what thou art able; but against that which is sacrificed to idols be exceedingly on thy guard; for it is the service of dead gods.

CHAPTER 7

CONCERNING BAPTISM

And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptizer fast, and the baptized, and whatever others can; but thou shalt order the baptized to fast one or two days before.

CHAPTER 8

CONCERNING FASTING AND PRAYER (THE LORD'S PRAYER)

But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week; but do ye fast on the fourth day and the Preparation(Friday). Neither pray as the hypocrites; but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us today our daily (needful) bread, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one (or, evil); for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Thrice in the day thus pray.

CHAPTER 9

THE THANKSGIVING (EUCHARIST)

Now concerning the Thanksgiving (Eucharist), thus give thanks. First, concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank

Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou modest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever. But let no one eat or drink of your Thanksgiving (Eucharist), but they who have been baptized into the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAPTER 10

PRAYER AFTER COMMUNION

1 But after ye are filled, thus give thanks: We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou didst cause to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou modest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Master almighty, didst create all things for Thy name’s sake; Thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to Thee; but to us Thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy Servant. Before all things we thank Thee that Thou art mighty; to Thee be the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God(Son) of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But permit the prophets to make Thanksgiving as much as they desire.

CHAPTER 11

CONCERNING TEACHERS, APOSTLES, AND PROPHETS

Whosoever, therefore, cometh and teacheth you all these things that have been said before, receive him. But if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to the destruction of this, hear him not; but if he teach so as to increase righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the decree of the Gospel, thus do. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain except one day; but if there be need, also the next; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goeth away, let him take nothing but bread until he lodgeth; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet that speaketh in the Spirit ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet; but only if he hold the ways of the Lord. Therefore from their ways shall the false prophet and the prophet be known. And every prophet who ordereth a meal in the Spirit eateth not from it, except indeed he be a false prophet; and every prophet 10 who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. And every prophet, proved true, working unto the mystery of the Church in the world, yet not teaching others to do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for with God he hath his judgment; for so did also the ancient prophets. But whoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him.

CHAPTER 12

RECEPTION OF CHRISTIANS

1 But let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, and afterward ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if

need be. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian, he shall not live with you idle. But if he willeth not to do, he is a Christ-monger. Watch that ye keep aloof from such.

CHAPTER 13

SUPPORT OF PROPHETS

But every true prophet that willeth to abide among you is worthy of his support. So also a true teacher is himself worthy, as the workman, of his support. Every first-fruit, therefore, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets, for they are your high priests. But if ye have not a prophet, give it to the poor. If thou makest a batch of dough, take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment.

So also when thou openest a jar of wine or of oil, take the first-fruit and give it to the prophets; and of money (silver) and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAPTER 14

CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY ON THE LORD’S DAY

But every Lord’s day do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one that is at variance with his fellow come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: In every place and time offer to me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.

CHAPTER 15

BISHOPS AND DEACONS; CHRISTIAN REPROOF

Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for they are your honored ones, together with the prophets and teachers. And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have it in the Gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent. But your prayers and alms and all your deeds so do, as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord.

CHAPTER 16

WATCHFULNESS; THE COMING OF THE LORD

1 Watch for your life's sake. Let not your lamps be quenched, nor your loins unloosed; but be ye ready, for ye know not the hour in

2 which our Lord cometh. But often shall ye come together, seeking the things which are befitting to your souls: for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time. For in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; for when lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning. Then shall the creation of men come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish; but they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, the sign of an out-spreading in heaven; then the sign of the sound of the trumpet; and the third, the resurrection of the dead; yet not of all, but as it is said: The Lord shall come and all His saints

with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(THUS BAPTIZO YE, P. 379.)

IF we compare this chapter with the corresponding one in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Teaching* seems to me to be a somewhat abridged form of a common original. This being designed for the *catechumens*, there is an omission of what they are afterwards to know. A form originally drawn up for clergy and people has been very inartificially expurgated for the instruction of young disciples. This appears from the ninth chapter, where only certain receptive or responsive forms are given. The liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, book viii., embodies what was studiously kept from all but the τέλειοι, i.e., those "of full age."

2

(CONCERNING APOSTLES, P. 380, NOTO 16.)

The reference to "apostles," probably itinerant, in Revelation 2:2, corresponds with this. There were officers known in the Apostolic day (compare 2 Corinthians 8:23, *Greek*) as ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, for the *pseud-apostles* of the Apocalypse could not have pretended what they did had it been otherwise. Neither would it have been needful to "*try* those who said they were apostles," in that case: the mere assertion of such a pretense would have sufficiently convicted them.

The very childish directions (suited to mere *catechumens*) given in the text illustrates Revelation 2:2, and is, so far, evidence of the very early origin of the *Teaching.*

The name *apostles* was made *technical* by Christ Himself: “He *named* them Apostles” (<406>Luke 6:13). And the word is never used in the loose way which Bishop Lightfoot hazardously suggests, as I must venture to believe.

3

(INCIPIENT FANATICISM, P. 381, NOTO 25.)

Unquestionably, for even in St. Paul’s day his admonitions imply nothing less. See 1 Corinthians chapter 14, *passim*. But, as in the Introductory Notice I hinted my suspicions of incipient Montanism in the *Teaching*, so I am strengthened in this idea by the learned critic to whose note I venture to append this remark for the purpose of asking a reference to my annotations of Hermas in vol. ii. of this series. May I also ask a reference to the same volume, pp. 4, 5, and 6? The “meal” (note 23, p. 380) of the *Teaching* is doubtless the *Agape*, which had been abused at so early a day, that St. Peter himself was forced to denounce the “false prophets” who polluted this feast of charity.

CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE

HOLY APOSTLES

[EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY JAMES DONALDSON, D.D.]

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

HAVING learned from the erudite Beveridge what I long supposed to be a just view of the *Constitutions*, I have found in the recent literature of the subject not a little to increase my confidence in the general conclusions to which he was led by all that could be known in his times. The treatise of Krabbe guided me to some results of more modern investigations; and Dr. Bunsen, though not apart from his critics, has enabled me still further to correct some of my impressions. But, in connection with the late discovery of Bryennios, the field of discussion and inquiry has been so much enlarged, that I have felt it due to the readers and students of this republication to invoke the aid of Professor Riddle, who is able to enrich the work with the results of genuine learning and much patient research. Whatever may be my own convictions on some subordinate points, I have been glad to secure the judgment of a critical scholar who, I am persuaded, aims to shed upon the subject the colorless light of scientific investigation. This is all I can desire, anxious only to see facts clearly established and historic truth illustrated, no matter to what results they may seem to point. Where the professor's decisions coincide with my own impressions, I am naturally gratified by his valued and independent

corroboration: where the case is otherwise, I am hardly less gratified to present my indulgent readers with opinions deserving of their highest respect, and by which they will be stimulated, as well as influenced, in forming convictions for themselves.

The *Constitutions* are so full of material on which it is well for one in my position not to speak very freely in such a work as this, that I rejoice all the more to confide the task of annotation almost exclusively to another and to one from whom American Christians must ever be glad to hear on subjects requiring in an almost equal degree the skill of an expert critic and the candor of a conscientious Christian.

I prefix Professor Riddle's PREFACE to the Introductory Notice of the Edinburgh editor, as follows: —

NEW interest has been awakened in the *Apostolic Constitutions* by the discovery of an ancient manuscript in Constantinople. While it does not contain the *Constitutions*, it affords much material for discussion respecting the sources and authorship of this compilation. The so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, found in the Codex at Constantinople, and published by Bryennios in 1883, is recognized as the basis of the seventh book of the *Constitutions*. The verbal coincidences, the order of topics, and other obvious phenomena, leave little room for reasonable doubt on this point. That the reader may be in possession of the main facts, the corresponding portions have been indicated both in book vii. of the *Constitutions* and in the version of the *Teaching* inserted in this volume. This literary connection has some bearing on the discussion as to the age of the *Constitutions*. If the *Teaching* is substantially the early work bearing that name, then some of the references by early writers which have been applied to the larger work must now be regarded as pointing to the *Teaching*; still, this only bears against the theory of a date as early as the third century. The new critical material furnished by the Bryennios manuscript for the Ignatian controversy has a bearing on the question respecting the work before us. The opinion has been strengthened (see below), that the same hand enlarged the Ignatian Epistles and adapted earlier matter (such as the *Teaching*) for the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

We may accept as established the following positions: —

1. The *Apostolic Constitutions* are a compilation, the material being derived from sources differing in age.

2. The first six books are the oldest; the seventh, in its present form, somewhat later, but, from its connection with the *Teaching*, proven to contain matter of a very ancient date. The eighth book is of latest date.

3. It now seems to be generally admitted that the entire work is not later than the fourth century, although the usual allowance must be made for later textual changes, whether by accident or design.

Dr. Von Drey regards the first six books as of Eastern origin (mainly Syrian), and to be assigned to the second half of the third century. The seventh and eighth were more recent, he thinks, but united with the others before A.D. 325. With this, Schaff (in his *Church History*, vol. ii, rev. ed., p. 185) substantially agreed; but, in his later work on the Teaching, seems to assign the completion of the compilation to a date somewhat later. This is the view of Harnack, who, “by a critical analysis and comparison, comes to the conclusion that pseudo-Clement, *alias* pseudo-Ignatius, was a Eusebian, a semi-Arian, and rather worldly-minded and-ascetic Bishop of Syria, a friend of the Emperor Constantius between (340) and (360); that he enlarged and adapted the *Didascalia* of the third and the *Didache* of the second century, as well as the Ignatian Epistles, to his own view of morals, worship, and discipline, and clothed them with Apostolic authority.”

This is, at all events, a more reasonable view than that of Krabbe, who assigns the first six books to the end of the third century, and the eighth to the beginning of the fifth. The latter, it is true, he regards a compilation from older sources. The purpose of the whole, in his view, was to confirm the episcopal hierarchy, and to establish the unity of the Catholic Church on the basis of the unity of the priesthood, etc. But it is now generally held that the purpose of the compilation was merely to present a manual of instruction, worship, polity, and usage for both clergy and laity. Had it been designed to further some ecclesiastical tendency, it would be far less valuable, since it would less fairly reproduce the ecclesiastical life of the age or ages in which it originated. Bishop Beveridge at first attributed the *Constitutions* to Clemens Alexandrinus (end of second century), but afterwards accepted the third century as the more probable date. The

views now prevalent do full justice to his opinions, but seem to be better sustained in detail.

The collection of *Canons* at the close of the *Constitutions* is undoubtedly a compilation. Some are evidently much more ancient than others, and there is every evidence that various collections or recensions existed. That of Dionysius (about A.D. 500), in Latin, contained fifty canons; that of John (Scholasticus) of Antioch (about A.D. 565) contained eighty-five canons: and "it is undeniable that the Greek copy which Dionysius had before him belonged to a (different family of collections from that used by John Scholasticus, for they differ frequently, if not essentially, both in text and in the way of numbering the canons."

Bishop Beveridge sought to trace these *Canons* to the synods of the first two centuries, while Daille held that the collection was made as late as the fifth century. The latter view is not generally accepted, though the existence of a variety of collections tells against some of the views of Bishop Beveridge. It is impossible to enter into a full discussion here. It seemed better to annotate the *Canons* from the results of Drey and Hefele, two most candid and scholarly Roman-Catholic investigators. The brief notes indicate the sources according to these authors. The reader will at once perceive from the views tires suggested, as well as from the contents of the *Canons*, that, while some canons are presumably quite ancient, a number belong to the fourth century, and that, as a complete collection, they cannot antedate the compilation of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Indeed, Drey, who accepts the latter as Ante-Nicene (see above), thinks five of the canons (30, 67, 74, 81, 83) were derived from the canons of the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and quite a number of others he traces to synods and councils of the fourth century. Hefele doubts the positions taken by Drey in regard to most of these. He does not, however, insist that the collection is Ante-Nicene, while he traces the origin of many of the canons to the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

[The following is Dr. Donaldson's INTRODUCTORY NOTICE: —]

THERE has always existed a great diversity of opinion as to the author and date of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Earlier writers were inclined to assign them to the apostolic age, and to Clement; but much discussion ensued, and the questions to which they give rise are still unsettled.

The most peculiar opinion in regard to them is that of Whiston, who devoted a volume (vol. in.) of his *Primitive Christianity Revived* to prove that “they are the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament;” for “these sacred Christian laws or constitutions were delivered at Jerusalem, and in Mount Sion, by our Savior to the eleven apostles there assembled after His resurrection.”

Krabbe, who wrote an elaborate treatise on the origin and contents of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, tried to show that the first seven books were written “towards the end of the third century.” The eighth book, he thinks, must have been written at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth.

Bunsen thinks that, if we expunge a few interpolations of the fourth and fifth centuries, “we find ourselves unmistakably in the midst of the life of the Church of the second and third centuries.” “I think,” he says, “I have proved in my analysis, more clearly than has been hitherto done, the Ante-Nicene origin of a book, or rather books, called by an early fiction *Apostolical Constitutions*, and consequently the still higher antiquity of the materials, both ecclesiastical and literary, which they contain. I have shown that the compilers made use of the Epistle of Barnabas, which belongs to the first half of the second century; that the eighth is an extract or transcript of Hippolytus; and that the first six books are so full of phrases found in the second interpolation of the Ignatian Epistles, that their last compiler, the author of the present text, must either have lived soon after that interpolation was made, or *vice versa*, or the interpolator and compiler must have been one and the same person. This last circumstance renders it probable that at least the first six books of the Greek compilation, like the Ignatian forgeries, were the produce of Asia Minor. Two points are self-evident — their Oriental origin, and that they belong neither to Antioch nor to Alexandria. I suppose nobody now will trace them to Palestine.”

Modern critics are equally at sea in determining the date of the collections of canons given at the end of the eighth book. Most believe that some of them belong to the apostolic age, while others are of a comparatively late date. The subject is very fully discussed in Krabbe.

Bovius first gave a complete edition of the *Constitutions* (Venice, 1563), but only in a Latin form. The Greek was first edited by the Jesuit Turrianus (Venice, 1563). It was reprinted several times. Cotelerius gave it in his *Apostolical Fathers*. In the second edition of this work, as prepared by Clericus (1724), the readings of two Vienna manuscripts were given. These V. MSS. and Oxford MS. of book viii. are supposed by Bunsen to be nearer the original than the others, alike in what they give and in what they omit. The *Constitutions* have been edited by Ultzen (1853), and by Lagarde in Bunsen's *Analecta Ante-Nicoena*, vol. ii. (1854). Lagarde has partially introduced readings from the Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Coptic forms of the *Constitutions*. Whiston devoted the second volume of his *Primitive Christianity* to the *Constitutions* and *Canons*, giving both the Greek and English. It is his translation which we have republished, with considerable alterations. We have not deemed it necessary to give a tithe of the various readings, but have confined ourselves to those that seem important. We have also given no indication of the Syriac form of the first six books. We shall give this form by itself. The translation of Whiston was reprinted by Irah Chase, D.D., very carefully revised, with a translation of Krabbe's *Essay on the Origin and Contents of the Constitutions*, and his *Dissertation an the Canons* (New York, 1848).

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

BOOK 1

CONCERNING THE LAITY

SECTION 1

GENERAL COMMANDMENTS

THE apostles and elders to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace and peace from Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you in the acknowledgment of Him.

The Catholic Church is the plantation of God and His beloved vineyard; containing those who have believed in His unerring divine religion; who are the heirs by faith of His everlasting kingdom; who are partakers of His divine influence, and of the communication of the Holy Spirit; who are armed through Jesus, and have received His fear into their hearts; who enjoy the benefit of the sprinkling of the precious and innocent blood of Christ; who have free liberty to call Almighty God, Father; being fellow-heirs and joint-partakers of His beloved Son: hearken to this holy doctrine, you who enjoy His promises, as being delivered by the command of your Savior, and agreeable to His glorious words. Take care, ye children of God, to do all things in obedience to God; and in all things please Christ our Lord. For if any man follows unrighteousness, and does those things that are contrary to the will of God, such a one will be esteemed by God as the disobedient heathen.

CONCERNING COVETOUSNESS

I. Abstain, therefore, from all unlawful desires and injustice. For it is written in the law, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor’s;” for all coveting of these things is from the evil one. For he that covets his neighbor’s wife, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, is already in his mind an adulterer and a thief; and if he does not repent, is condemned by our Lord Jesus Christ: through whom glory be to God for ever, Amen. For He says in the Gospel, recapitulating, and confirming, and fulfilling the ten commandments of the law: “It is written in the law, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that is, I said in the law, by Moses. But now I say unto you myself, Whosoever shall look on his neighbor’s wife to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” Such a one is condemned of adultery, who covets his neighbor’s wife in his mind. But does not he that covets an ox or an ass design to steal them to apply them to his own use, and to lead them away? Or, again, does not he that covets a field, and continues in such a disposition, wickedly contrive how to remove the landmarks, and to compel the possessor to part with somewhat for nothing? For as the prophet somewhere speaks: “Woe to those who join house to house, and lay field to field, that they may deprive their neighbor of somewhat which was his.” Wherefore he says: “Must you alone inhabit the earth? For these things have been heard in the ears of the Lord of hosts.” And elsewhere: “Cursed be he who removeth his neighbor’s landmarks: and all the people shall say, Amen.” Wherefore Moses says: “Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor’s landmarks which thy fathers have set.” Upon this account, therefore, terrors, death, tribunals, and condemnations follow such as these from God. But as to those who are obedient to God, there is one law of God, simple, true, living, which is this: “Do not that to another which thou hatest another should do to thee.” Thou wouldst not that any one should look upon thy wife with an evil design to corrupt her; do not thou, therefore, look upon thy neighbor’s wife with a wicked intention. Thou wouldst not that thy garment should be taken away; do not thou therefore, take away another’s. Thou wouldst not be beaten, reproached, affronted; do not thou, therefore, serve any other in the like manner.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO RETURN INJURIES, NOR REVENGE OURSELVES ON HIM THAT DOES US WRONG

II. But if any one curse thee, do thou bless him. For it is written in the book of Numbers: “He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed.” In the same manner it is written inn the Gospel: “Bless them that curse you.” Being injured, do not avenge yourselves, but bear it with patience; for the Scripture speaks thus: “Say not thou, I will avenge myself on my enemy for what injuries he has offered me; but acquiesce under them, that the Lord may right thee, and bring vengeance upon him who injures thee.” For so says He again in the Gospel: “Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; and ye shall be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and raineth on the just and unjust.” Let us therefore, beloved, attend to these commandments, that we may be found to be the children of light by doing them. Bear, therefore, with one another, ye servants and sons of God.

SECTION 2

COMMANDMENTS TO MEN CONCERNING THE ADORNMENT OF OURSELVES, AND THE SIN WHICH ARISES FROM THENCE

Let the husband not be insolent nor arrogant towards his wife; but compassionate, bountiful, willing to please his own wife alone, and treat her honorably and obligingly, endeavoring to be agreeable to her; (**III.**) not adorning thyself in such a manner as may entice another woman to thee. For if thou art overcome by her, and sinnest with her, eternal death will overtake thee from God; and thou wilt be punished with sensible and bitter torments. Or if thou dost not perpetrate such a wicked act, but shakest her off, and refusest her, in this case thou art not wholly innocent, even though thou art not guilty of the crime itself, but only in so far as through thy adorning thou didst entice the woman to desire thee. For thou art the cause that the woman was so affected, and by her lusting after thee was guilty of adultery with thee: yet art thou not so guilty, because thou

didst not send to her, who was ensnared by thee; nor didst thou desire her. Since, therefore, thou didst not deliver up thyself to her, thou shalt find mercy with the Lord thy God, who hath said, “Thou shalt not commit adultery,” and, “Thou shalt not covet.” For if such a woman, upon sight of thee, or unseasonable meeting with thee, was smitten in her mind, and sent to thee, but thou as a religious person didst refuse her, if she was wounded in her heart by thy beauty, and youth, and adorning, and fell in love with thee, thou wilt be found guilty of her transgressions, as having been the occasion of scandal to her, and shalt inherit a woe. Wherefore pray thou to the Lord God that no mischief may befall thee upon this account: for thou art not to please men, so as to commit sin; but God, so as to attain holiness of life, and be partaker of everlasting rest. That beauty which God and nature has bestowed on thee, do not further beautify; but modestly diminish it before men. Thus, do not thou permit the hair of thy head to grow too long, but rather cut it short; lest by a nice combing thy hair, and wearing it long, and anointing thyself, thou draw upon thyself such ensnared or ensnaring women. Neither do thou wear over-fine garments to seduce any; neither do thou, with an evil subtilty, affect over-fine stockings or shoes for thy feet, but only such as suit the measures of decency and usefulness. Neither do thou put a gold ring upon thy fingers; for all these ornaments are the signs of lasciviousness, which if thou be solicitous about in an indecent manner, thou wilt not act as becomes a good man: for it is not lawful for thee, a believer and a man of God, to permit the hair of thy head to grow long, and to brush it up together, nor to suffer it to spread abroad, nor to puff it up, nor by nice combing and platting to make it curl and shine; since that is contrary to the law, which says thus, in its additional precepts: “You shall not make to yourselves curls and round rasures.” Nor may men destroy the hair of their beards, and unnaturally change the form of a man. For the law says: “Ye shall not mar your beards.” For God the Creator has made this decent for women, but has determined that it is unsuitable for men. But if thou do these things to please men, in contradiction to the law, thou wilt be abominable with God, who created thee after His own image. If, therefore, thou wilt be acceptable to God, abstain from all those things which He hates, and do none of those things that are unpleasing to Him.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE OVER-CURIOUS ABOUT THOSE WHO LIVE WICKEDLY, BUT TO BE INTENT UPON OUR OWN PROPER EMPLOYMENT

IV. Thou shalt not be as a wanderer and gadder abroad, rambling about the streets, without just cause, to spy out such as live wickedly. But by minding thy own trade and employment, endeavor to do what is acceptable to God. And keeping in mind the oracles of Christ, meditate in the same continually. For so the Scripture says to thee: “Thou shalt meditate in His law day and night; when thou walkest in the field, and when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up, that thou mayest have understanding in all things.” Nay, although thou beest rich, and so dost not want a trade for thy maintenance, be not one that gads about, and walks abroad at random; but either go to some that are believers, and of the same religion, and confer and discourse with them about the lively oracles of God: —

WHAT BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE WE OUGHT TO READ

V. Or if thou stayest at home, read the books of the Law, of the Kings, with the Prophets; sing the hymns of David; and peruse diligently the Gospel, which is the completion of the other.

THAT WE OUGHT TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL THE BOOKS OF THOSE THAT ARE OUT OF THE CHURCH

VI. Abstain from all the heathen books. For what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? For what defect dost thou find in the law of God, that thou shouldest have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if thou hast a mind to read history, thou hast the books of the Kings; if books of wisdom or poetry, thou hast those of the Prophets, of Job, and the Proverbs, in which thou wilt find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God. If thou desirest something to sing, thou hast the Psalms; if the origin of things, thou hast Genesis; if laws and statutes, thou hast the glorious law of the Lord God. Do thou therefore utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books. Nay, when thou readest the law, think not

thyself bound to observe the additional precepts; though not all of them, yet some of them. Read those barely for the sake of history, in order to the knowledge of them, and to glorify God that He has delivered thee from such great and so many bonds. Propose to thyself to distinguish what rules were from the law of nature, and what were added afterwards, or were such additional rules as were introduced and given in the wilderness to the Israelites after the making of the calf; for the law contains those precepts which were spoken by the Lord God before the people fell into idolatry, and made a calf like the Egyptian Apis — that is, the ten commandments. But as to those bonds which were further laid upon them after they had sinned, do not thou draw them upon thyself: for our Savior came for no other reason but that He might deliver those that were obnoxious thereto from the wrath which was reserved far them, that He might fulfill the Law and the Prophets, and that He might abrogate or change those secondary bonds which were superadded to the rest of the law. For therefore did He call to us and say, “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will dive you rest.” When, therefore, thou hast read the Law, which is agreeable to the Gospel and to the Prophets, read also the books of the Kings, that thou mayest thereby learn which of the kings were righteous, and how they were prospered by God, and how the promise of eternal life continued with them from Him; but those kings which went a — whoring from God did soon perish in their apostasy by the righteous judgment of God, and were deprived of His life, inheriting, instead of rest, eternal punishment. Wherefore by reading these books thou wilt be mightily strengthened in the faith, and edified in Christ, whose body and member thou art. Moreover, when thou walkest abroad in public, and hast a mind to bathe, make use of that bath which is appropriated to men, lest, by discovering thy body in an unseemly manner to women, or by seeing a sight not seemly for men, either thou beest ensnared, or thou ensnarest and enticest to thyself those women who easily yield to such temptations. Take care, therefore, and avoid such things, lest thou admit a snare upon thy own soul.

CONCERNING A BAD WOMAN

VII. For let us learn what the sacred word says in the book of Wisdom: “My son, keep my words, and hide my commandments with thee. Say

unto Wisdom, Thou art my sister; and make understanding familiar with thee: that she may keep thee from the strange and wicked woman, in case such a one accost thee with sweet words. For from the window of her house she looks into the street, to see if she can espy some young man among the foolish children, without Understanding, walking in the market-place, in the meeting of the street near her house, and talking in the dusk of the evening, or in the silence and darkness of the night. A woman meets him in the appearance of an harlot, who steals away the hearts of young persons. She rambles about and is dissolute; her feet abide not in her house sometimes she is without, sometimes in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner. Then she catches him, and kisses him, and with an impudent face says unto him, I have peace-offerings with me; this day do I pay my vows: therefore came I forth to meet thee; earnestly I have desired thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings; with tapestry from Egypt have I adorned it. I have perfumed my bed with saffron, and my house with cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning; come, let us solace ourselves with love," etc. To which he adds: "With much discourse she seduced him, with snares from her lips she forced him. He goes after her like a silly bird." And again: "Do not hearken to a wicked woman; for though the lips of an harlot are like drops from an honey-comb, which for a while is smooth in thy throat, yet afterwards thou wilt find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than any two-edged sword." And again: "But get away quickly, and tarry not fix not thine eyes upon her: for she hath thrown down many wounded; yea, innumerable multitudes have been slain by her." "If not," says he, "yet thou wilt repent at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed, and wilt say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart has avoided the reproofs of the righteous! I have not hearkened to the voice of my instructor, nor inclined mine ear to my teacher. I have almost been in all evil." But we will make no more quotations; and if we have omitted any, be so prudent as to select the most valuable out of the Holy Scriptures, and confirm yourselves with them, rejecting all things that are evil, that so you may be found holy with God in eternal life.

SECTION 3

COMMANDMENTS TO WOMEN CONCERNING THE SUBJECTION OF A WIFE TO HER HUSBAND, AND THAT SHE MUST BE LOVING AND MODEST

VIII. Let the wife be obedient to her own proper husband, because "the husband is the head of the wife." But Christ is the head of that husband who walks in the way of righteousness; and "the head of Christ is God," even His Father. Therefore, O wife, next after the Almighty, our God and Father, the Lord of the present world and of the world to come, the Maker of everything that breathes, and of every power; and after His beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to God, do thou fear thy husband, and reverence him, pleasing him alone, rendering thyself acceptable to him in the several affairs of life, that so on thy account thy husband may be called blessed, according to the Wisdom of Solomon, which thus speaks: "Who can find a virtuous woman? for such a one is more precious than costly stones. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil: for she does good to her husband all the days of her life. She buyeth wool and flax, and worketh profitable things-with her hands. She is like the merchants ships, she bringeth her food from far. She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth" meat to her household, and food to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She tasteth that it is good to labor; her lamp goeth not out all the whole night. She stretcheth out her arms for useful work, and layeth her hands to the spindle. She openeth her hands to the needy; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the poor. Her husband takes no care of the affairs of his house; for all that are with her are clothed with double garments. She maketh coats for her husband, clothings of silk and purple. Her husband is eminent in the gates, when he sitteth with the elders of the land. She maketh fine linen, and selleth it to the Phoenicians, and girdles to the Canaanites. She is clothed with glory and beauty, and she rejoices in the last days. She openeth her mouth with wisdom and discretion, and puts her words in order. The ways of her household are strict; she eateth not the bread of

idleness. She will open her mouth with wisdom and caution, and upon her tongue are the laws of mercy. Her children arise up and praise her for her riches, and her husband joins in her praises. Many daughters have obtained wealth and done worthily, but thou surpassest and excellest them all. May lying flatteries and the vain beauty of a wife be far from thee. For a religious wife is blessed. Let her praise the fear of the Lord: give her of the fruits of her lips, and let her husband be praised in the gates." And again: "A virtuous wife is a crown to her husband." And again: "Many wives have built an house." You have learned what great commendations a prudent and loving wife receives from the Lord God. If thou desirest to be one of the faithful, and to please the Lord, O wife, do not superadd ornaments to thy beauty, in order to please other men; neither affect to wear fine broidering, garments, or shoes, to entice those who are allured by such things. For although thou dost not these wicked things with design of sinning thyself, but only for the sake of ornament and beauty, yet wilt thou not so escape future punishment, as having compelled another to look so hard at thee as to lust after thee, and as not having taken care both to avoid sin thyself, and the affording scandal to others. But if thou yield thyself up, and commit the crime, thou art both guilty of thy own sin, and the cause of the ruin of the other's soul also. Besides, when thou hast committed lewdness with one man, and beginnest to despair, thou wilt again turn away from thy duty, and follow others, and grow past feeling; as says the divine word: "When a wicked man comes into the depth of evil, he becomes a scorner, and then disgrace and reproach come upon him." For such a woman afterward being wounded, ensnares without restraint the souls of the foolish. Let us learn, therefore, how the divine word, triumphs over such women, saying: "I hated a woman who is a snare and net to the heart of men worse than death; her hands are fetters." And in another passage: "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty in a wicked woman." And again: "As a worm in wood, so does a wicked woman destroy her husband." And again: "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a contentious and an angry woman." You, therefore, who are Christian women, do not imitate such as these. But thou who designest to be faithful to thine own husband, take care to please him alone. And when thou art in the streets, cover thy head; for by such a covering thou wilt avoid being viewed of idle persons. Do not paint thy face, which is God's workmanship; for there is no part of

thee which wants ornament, inasmuch as all things which God has made are very good. But the lascivious additional adorning of what is already good is an affront to the bounty of the Creator. Look downward when thou walkest abroad, veiling thyself as becomes women.

THAT A WOMAN MUST NOT BATHE WITH MEN

IX. Avoid also that disorderly practice of bathing in the same place with men; for many are the nets of the evil one. And let not a Christian woman bathe with an hermaphrodite; for if she is to veil her face, and conceal it with modesty from strange men, how can she bear to enter naked into the bath together with men? But if the bath be appropriated to women, let her bathe orderly, modestly, and moderately. But let her not bathe without occasion, nor much, nor often, nor in the middle of the day, nor, if possible, every day; and let the tenth hour of the day be the set time for such seasonable bathing. For it is convenient that thou, who art a Christian woman, shouldst ever constantly avoid a curiosity which has many eyes.

CONCERNING A CONTENTIOUS AND BRAWLING WOMAN

X. But as to a spirit of contention, be sure to curb it as to all men, but principally as to thine husband; lest, if he be an unbeliever or an heathen, he may have an occasion of scandal or of blaspheming God, and thou be partaker of a woe from God. For, says He, “Woe to him by whom My name is blasphemed among the Gentiles;” and lest, if thy husband be a Christian, he be forced, from his knowledge of the Scriptures, to say that which is written in the book of Wisdom: “It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and an angry woman.” You wives, therefore, demonstrate your piety by your modesty and meekness to all without the Church, whether they be women or men, in order to their conversion and improvement in the faith. And since we have warned you, and instructed you briefly, whom we do esteem our sisters, daughters, and members, as being wise yourselves, persevere all your lives in an unblameable course of life. Seek to know such kind of learning whereby you may arrive at the kingdom of our Lord, and please Him, and so rest for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK 2

OF BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS

SECTION 1

ON EXAMINING CANDIDATES FOR THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE THAT A BISHOP MUST BE WELL INSTRUCTED AND EXPERIENCED IN THE WORD

I. BUT concerning bishops, we have heard from our Lord, that a pastor who is to be ordained a bishop for the churches in every parish, must be unblameable, unreprovable, free from all kinds o wickedness common among men, not under fifty years of age; for such a one is in good part past youthful disorders, and the slanders of the heathen, as well as the reproaches which are sometimes cast upon many persons by some false brethren, who do not consider the word of God in the Gospel: "Whosoever speaketh an idle word shall give an account thereof to the Lord in the day of judgment." And again: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Let him therefore, if it is possible, be well educated; but if he be unlettered, let him at any rate be skillful in the word, and of competent age. But if in a small parish one advanced in years is not to be found, let some younger person, who has a good report among his neighbors, and is esteemed by them worthy of the office of a bishop, — who has carried himself from his youth with meekness and regularity, like a much elder person, — after examination, and a general good report, be ordained in peace. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously, and in like manner Joash governed the people at seven years of age. Wherefore, although the person be young, let him be meek, gentle, and quiet. For the Lord God says by Esaias: "Upon whom will I look, but upon him who is humble and quiet, and always trembles at my words?" In like manner it is in the Gospel also: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." Let him also be merciful; for again it is said: "Blessed are

the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy." Let him also be a peacemaker; for again it is said: "Blessed sons of God." Let him also be one of a good conscience, purified from all evil, and wickedness, and unrighteousness; for it is said again: "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

WHAT OUGHT TO BE THE CHARACTERS OF A BISHOP AND OF THE REST? OF THE CLERGY

II. Let him therefore be sober, prudent, decent, firm, stable, not given to wine; no striker, but gentle; not a brawler, not covetous; "not a novice, test, being puffed up with pride, be fall into condemnation, and the snare of the devil: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abused." Such a one a bishop ought to be, who has been the "husband of one wife," who also has herself had no other husband, "ruling well his own house." In this manner let examination be made when he is to receive ordination, and to be placed in his bishopric, whether he be grave, faithful, decent; whether he hath a grave and faithful-wife, or has formerly had such a one; whether he hath educated his children piously, and has "brought them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" whether his domestics do fear and reverence him, and are all obedient to him: for if those who are immediately about him for worldly concerns are seditious and disobedient, how will others not of his family, when they are under his management, become obedient to him?

IN WHAT THINGS A BISHOP IS TO BE EXAMINED BEFORE HE IS ORDAINED

III. Let examination also be made whether he be unblameable as to the concerns of this life; for it is written: "Search diligently for all the faults of him who is to be ordained for the priesthood."

SECTION 2

ON THE CHARACTER AND TEACHING OF THE BISHOP

On which account let him also be void of anger; for Wisdom says: "Anger destroys even the prudent." Let him also be merciful, of a generous and

loving temper; for our Lord says: “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.” Let him be also ready to give, a lover of the widow and the stranger; ready to serve, and minister, and attend; resolute in his duty; and let him know who is the most worthy of his assistance.

THAT CHARITABLE DISTRIBUTIONS ARE NOT TO BE MADE TO EVERY WIDOW, BUT THAT SOMETIMES A WOMAN WHO HAS A HUSBAND IS TO BE PREFERRED: AND THAT NO DISTRIBUTIONS ARE TO BE MADE TO ANY ONE WHO IS GIVEN TO GLUTTONY, DRUNKENNESS, AND IDLENESS

IV. For if there be a widow who is able to support herself, and another woman who is not a widow, but is needy by reason of sickness, or the bringing up many children, or infirmity of her hands, let him stretch out his hand in charity rather to this latter. But if any one be in want by gluttony, drunkenness, or idleness, he does not deserve any assistance, or to be esteemed a member of the Church of God. For the Scripture, speaking of such persons, says: “The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom, and is not able to bring it to his mouth again.” And again: “The sluggard folds up his hands, and eats his own flesh.” “For every drunkard and whoremonger shall come to poverty, and every drowsy person shall be clothed with tatters and rags.” And in another passage: “If thou give thine eyes to drinking and cups, thou shalt afterwards walk more naked than a pestle.” For certainly idleness is the mother of famine.

THAT A BISHOP MUST BE NO ACCEPTER OF PERSONS IN JUDGMENT; THAT HE MUST POSSESS A GENTLE DISPOSITION, AND BE TEMPERATE IN HIS MODE OF LIFE

V. A bishop must be no accepter of persons; neither revering nor flattering a rich man contrary to what is right, nor overlooking nor domineering over a poor man. For, says God to Moses, “Thou shalt not accept the person of the rich, nor shalt thou pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgment is the Lord’s.” And again: “Thou shalt with exact justice follow that which is right” Let a bishop be frugal, and contented with a little in his meat and drink, that he may be ever in a sober frame, and disposed to instruct and admonish the ignorant; and let him not be costly

in his diet, a pamperer of himself, given to pleasure, or fond of delicacies. Let him he patient and gentle in his admonitions, well instructed himself, meditating in and diligently studying the Lord's books, and reading them frequently, that so he may be able carefully to interpret the Scriptures, expounding the Gospel in correspondence with the prophets and with the law; and let the expositions from the law and the prophets correspond to the Gospel. For the Lord Jesus says: "Search the Scriptures; for they are those which testify of me." And again: "For Moses wrote of 'me." But, above all, let him carefully distinguish between the original law and the additional precepts, and show which are the laws for believers, and which the bonds for the unbelievers, lest any should fall under those bonds. Be careful, therefore, O bishop, to study the word, that thou mayest be able to explain everything exactly, and that thou mayest copiously nourish thy people with much doctrine, and enlighten them with the light of the law; for God says: "Enlighten yourselves with the light of knowledge, while we have yet opportunity."

THAT A BISHOP MUST NOT BE GIVEN TO FILTHY LUCRE, NOR BE A SURETY NOR AN ADVOCATE

VI. Let not a bishop be given to filthy lucre, especially before the Gentiles, rather suffering than offering injuries; not covetous, nor rapacious; no purloiner; no admirer of the rich, nor hater of the poor; no evil-speaker, nor false witness; not given to anger; no brawler; not entangled with the affairs of this life; not a surety for any one, nor an accuser in suits about money; not ambitious; not double-minded, nor double-tongued; not ready to hearken to calumny or evil-speaking; not a dissembler; not addicted to the heathen festivals; not given to vain deceits; not eager after worldly things, nor a lover of money. For all these things are opposite to God, and pleasing to demons. Let the bishop earnestly give all these precepts in charge to the laity also, persuading them to imitate his conduct. For, says He, "Do ye make the children of Israel pious." Let him be prudent, humble, apt to admonish with the instructions of the Lord, well-disposed, one who has renounced all the wicked projects of this world, and all heathenish lusts; let hint be orderly, sharp in observing the wicked, and taking heed of them, but yet a friend to all; just, discerning; and whatsoever qualities are commendable among men, let the

bishop possess them in himself. For if the pastor be unblameable as to any wickedness, he will compel his own disciples, and by his very mode of life press them to become worthy imitators of his own actions. As the prophet somewhere says, “And it will be, as is the priest, so is the people;” for our Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, the San of God, began first to do, and then to teach, as Luke somewhere. “which Jesus began to do and to teach.” says: Wherefore he says: “Whosoever shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of God.” For you bishops are to be guides and watchmen to the people, as you yourselves have Christ for your guide and watchman. Do you therefore become good guides and watchmen to the people of God. For the Lord says by Ezekiel, speaking to every one of you: “Son of man, I have given thee for a watchman to the house of Israel; and thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and shalt observe, and shalt declare it from me. When t say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his wickedness, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, and his blood will I require at thine hand. But if thou warn the wicked from his way, that he may turn from it, and he does not turn from it, he shall die in his iniquity, and thou hast delivered thy soul.” “In the same manner, if the sword of war be approaching, and the people set a watchman to watch, and he see the same approach, and does not forewarn them, and the sword come and take one of them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood shall be required at the watchman’s hand, because he did not blow the trumpet. But if he blew the trumpet, and he who heard it would not take warning, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon him, because he heard the trumpet and took not warning. But he who took warning has delivered his soul; and the watchman, because he gave warning, shall surely live.” The sword here is the judgment; the trumpet is the holy Gospel; the watchman is the bishop, who is set in the Church, who is obliged by his preaching to testify and vehemently to forewarn concerning that judgment. If ye do not declare and testify this to the people, the sins of those who are ignorant of it will be found upon you. Wherefore do you warn and reprove the uninstructed with boldness, teach the ignorant, confirm those that understand, bring back those that go astray. If we repeat the very same things on the same occasions, brethren, we shall not do amiss. For by frequent hearing it is to be hoped that some will be made ashamed, and at least do some good action, and avoid some

wicked one. For says God by the prophet: “Testify those things to them; perhaps they will hear thy voice.” And again: “If perhaps they will hear, if perhaps they will submit.” Moses also says to the people: “If hearing thou wilt hear the Lord God, and do that which is good and fight in His eyes.” And again: “Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord.” And our Lord is often recorded in the Gospel to have said: “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” And wise Solomon says: “My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and reject not the laws of thy mother.” And, indeed, to this day men have not heard; for while they seem to have heard, they have not heard aright, as appears by their having left the one and only true God, and their being drawn into destructive and dangerous heresies, concerning which we shall speak again afterwards.

SECTION 3

HOW THE BISHOP IS TO TREAT THE INNOCENT, THE GUILTY, AND THE PENITENT WHAT OUGHT TO BE THE CHARACTER OF THE INITIATED

VII. Beloved, be it known to you that those who are baptized into the death of our Lord Jesus are obliged to go on no longer in sin; for as those who are dead cannot work wickedness any longer, so those who are dead with Christ cannot practice wickedness. We do not therefore believe, brethren, that any one who has received the washing of life continues in the practice of the licentious acts of transgressors. Now he who sins after his baptism, unless he repent and forsake his sins, shall be condemned to hell-fire.

CONCERNING A PERSON FALSELY ACCUSED, OR A PERSON CONVICTED

VIII. But if any one be maliciously prosecuted by the heathen, because he will not still go along with them to the same excess of riot, let him know that such a one is blessed of God, according as our Lord says in the Gospel: “Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, or persecute you, or say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven.” If, therefore, any one

be slandered and falsely accused, such a one is blessed; for the Scripture says, “A man that is a reprobate is not tried by God.” But if any one be convicted as having done a wicked action, such a one not only hurts himself, but occasions the whole body of the Church and its doctrine to be blasphemed; as if we Christians did not practice those things that we declare to be good and honest, and we ourselves shall be reproached by the Lord, that “they say and do not.” Wherefore the bishop must boldly reject such as these upon full conviction, unless they change their course of life.

THAT A BISHOP OUGHT NOT TO RECEIVE BRIBES

IX. For the bishop must not only himself give no offense, but must be no respecter of persons; in meekness instructing those that offend. But if he himself has not a good conscience, and is a respecter of persons for the sake of filthy lucre, and receiving of bribes, and spares the open offender, and permits him to continue in the Church, he disregards the voice of God and of our Lord, which says, “Thou shalt exactly execute right judgment.” “Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment: thou shalt not justify the ungodly.” “Thou shalt not receive gifts against any one’s life; for gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.” And elsewhere He says: “Take away from among yourselves that wicked person.” And Solomon says in his Proverbs: “Cast out a pestilent fellow from the congregation, and strife will go out along with him.”

THAT A BISHOP WHO BY WRONG JUDGMENT SPARES AN OFFENDER IS HIMSELF GUILTY

X. But he who does not consider these things, will, contrary to justice, spare him who deserves punishment; as Saul spared Agag, and Eli his sons, “who knew not the Lord.” Such a one profanes his own dignity, and that Church of God which is in his parish. Such a one is esteemed unjust before God and holy men, as affording occasion of scandal to many of the newly baptized, and to the catechumens; as also to the youth of both sexes, to whom a woe belongs, add “a mill-stone about his neck,” and drowning, on account of his guilt. For, observing what a person their governor is, through his wickedness and neglect of justice they will grow skeptical, and, indulging the same disease, will be compelled to perish with him; as was the case of the people joining with Jeroboam, and those which

were in the conspiracy with Corah. But if the offender sees that the bishop and deacons are innocent and unblameable, and the flock pure, he will either not venture to despise their authority, and to enter into the Church of God at all, as one smitten by his own conscience: or if he values nothing, and ventures to enter in, either he will be convicted immediately, as Uzza at the ark, when he touched it to support it; and as Achan, when he stole the accursed thing; and as Gehazi, when he coveted the money of Naaman, and so will be immediately punished: or else he will be admonished by the pastor, and drawn to repentance. For when he looks round the whole Church one by one, and can spy no blemish, neither in the bishop nor in the people who are under his care, he will be put to confusion, and pricked at the heart, and in a peaceable manner will go his way with shame and many tears, and the flock will remain pure. He will apply himself to God with tears, and will repent of his sins, and have hope. Nay, the whole flock, at the sight of his tears, will be instructed, because a sinner avoids destruction by repentance.

HOW A BISHOP OUGHT TO JUDGE OFFENDERS

XI. Upon this account, therefore, O bishop, endeavor to be pure in thy actions, and to adorn thy place and dignity, which is that of one sustaining the character of God among men, as being set over all men, over priests, kings, rulers, fathers, children, teachers, and in general over all those who are subject to thee: and so sit in the Church when thou speakest, as having authority to judge offenders. For to you, O bishops, it is said: “Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”

INSTRUCTION AS TO HOW A BISHOP OUGHT TO BEHAVE HIMSELF TO THE PENITENT

XII. Do thou therefore, O bishop, judge with authority like God, yet receive the penitent; for God is a God of mercy. Rebuke those that sin, admonish those that are not converted, exhort those that stand to persevere in their goodness, receive the penitent; for the Lord God has promised with an oath to afford remission to the penitent for what things they have done amiss. For He says by Ezekiel: “Speak unto them, As I live, saith the Lord, I would not the death of a sinner, but that the wicked

turn from his evil way, and live. Turn ye therefore front your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" Here the word affords hope to sinners, that if they will repent they shall have hope of salvation, lest otherwise out of despair they yield themselves up to their transgressions; but that, having hope of salvation, they may he converted, and may address to God with tears, on account of their sins, and may repent from their hearts, and so appease His displeasure towards them; so shall they receive a pardon from Him, as from a merciful Father.

THAT WE OUGHT TO BEWARE HOW WE MAKE TRIAL OF ANY SINFUL COURSE

XIII. Yet it is very necessary that those who are yet innocent should continue so, and not make an experiment what sin is, that they may not have occasion for trouble, sorrow, and those lamentations which are in order to forgiveness. For how dost thou know, O man, when thou sinnest, whether thou shalt live any number of days in this present state, that thou mayest have time to repent? For the time of thy departure out of this world is uncertain; and if thou diest in sin, there will remain no repentance for thee; as God says by David, "In the grave who will confess to Thee?" It behoves us, therefore. to be ready in the doing of our duty, that so we may await our passage into another world without sorrow. Wherefore also the Divine Word exhorts, speaking to thee by the wise Solomon, "Prepare thy works against thy exit, and provide all beforehand in the field," lest some of the things necessary to thy journey be wanting; as the oil of piety was deficient in the five foolish virgins mentioned in the Gospel, when they, on account of their having extinguished their lamps of divine knowledge, were shut out of the bride-chamber. Wherefore he who values the security of his soul will take care to be out of danger, by keeping free from sin, that so he may preserve the advantage of his former good works to himself. Do thou, therefore, so judge as executing judgment for God. For, as the Scripture says, "the judgment is the Lord's." In the first place, therefore, condemn the guilty person with authority; afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion, and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation if he will change his course of life, and become a penitent; and when he does repent, and has submitted to his chastisement,

receive him: remembering that our Lord has said, “There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.”

CONCERNING THOSE WHO AFFIRM THAT PENITENTS ARE NOT TO BE RECEIVED INTO THE CHURCH. THAT A RIGHTEOUS PERSON, ALTHOUGH HE CONVERSE WITH A SINNER, WILL NOT PERISH WITH HIM.

That No Person Is Punished For Another, But Every One Must Give An Account Of Himself. That We Must Assist Those Who Are Weak In The Faith; And That A Bishop Must Not Be Governed By Any Turbulent Person Among The Laity

XIV. But if thou refusest to receive him that repents, thou exposest him to those who lie in wait to destroy, forgetting what David says: “Deliver not my soul, which confesses to Thee, unto destroying beasts.” Wherefore Jeremiah, when he is exhorting men to repentance, says thus: “Shall not he that falleth arise? or he that turneth away, cannot he return? Wherefore have my people gone back by a shameless backsliding? and they are hardened in their purpose. Turn, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings.” Receive, therefore, without any doubting, him that repents. Be not hindered by such unmerciful men, who say that we must not be defiled with such as those, nor so much as speak to them: for such advice is from men that are unacquainted with God and His providence, and are unreasonable judges, and unmerciful brutes. These men are ignorant that we ought to avoid society with offenders, not in discourse, but in actions: for “the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.” And again: “If a land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, and I stretch out my hand upon it, and break the staff of bread upon it, and send famine upon it, and destroy man and beast therein: though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in the midst of it, they shall only save their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.” The Scripture most clearly shows that a righteous man that converses with a wicked man does not perish with him. For in the present world the righteous and the wicked are mingled together in the common affairs of life, but not in holy communion: and in this the friends and favorites of God are guilty of no sin. For they do but imitate “their Farther which is in heaven, who maketh His sun to rise on

the righteous and unrighteous, and sendeth His rain on the evil and on the good;” and the righteous man undergoes no peril on this account. For those who conquer and those who are conquered are in the same place of running, but only those who have bravely undergone the race are where the garland is bestowed; and “no one is crowned, unless he strive lawfully.” For every one shall give account of himself, and God will not destroy the righteous with the wicked; for with Him it is a constant rule, that innocence is never punished. For neither did He drown Noah, nor burn up Lot, nor destroy Rahab for company. And if you desire to know how this matter was among us, Judas was one of us, and took the like part of the ministry which we had; and Simon the magician received the seal of the Lord. Yet both the one and the other proving wicked, the former hanged himself, and the latter, as he flew in the air in a manner unnatural, was dashed against the earth. Moreover, Noah and his sons with him were in the ark; but Ham, who alone was found wicked, received punishment in his son. But if fathers are not punished for their children, nor children for their fathers, it is thence clear that neither will wives be punished for their husbands, nor servants for their masters, nor one relation for another, nor one friend for another, nor the righteous for the wicked. But every one will be required an account of his own doing. For neither was punishment inflicted on Noah for the world, nor was Lot destroyed by fire for the Sodomites, nor was Rahab slain for the inhabitants of Jericho, nor lsrael for the Egyptians. For not the dwelling together, but the agreement in their sentiments, alone could condemn the righteous with the wicked. We ought not therefore to hearken to such persons who call for death, and hate mankind, and love accusations, and under fair pretenses bring men to death. For one man shall not die for another, but “every one is held with the chains of his own sins.” And, “behold, the man and his work is before his face.” Now we ought to assist those who are with us, and are in danger, and fall, and, as far as lies in our power, to reduce them to sobriety by our exhortations, and so save them from death. For “the whole have no need of the physician, but the sick;” since “it is not pleasing in the sight of your Father that one of these little ones should perish.” For we ought not to establish the will of hard-hearted men, but the will of the God and Father of the universe, which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

For it is not equitable that thou, O bishop, who art the head, shouldst submit to the tail, that is, to some seditious person among the laity, to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For it is thy privilege to govern those under thee, but not to be governed by them. For neither does a son, who is subject by the course of generation, govern his father; nor a slave, who is subject by law, govern his master; nor does a scholar govern his teacher, nor a soldier his king, nor any of the laity his bishop. For that there is no reason to suppose that such as converse with the wicked, in order to their instruction in the word, are defiled by or partake of their sins, Ezekiel, as it were on purpose preventing the suspicions of ill-disposed persons, says thus: “Why do you speak this proverb concerning the land of lsrael? The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord Coot, ye shall not henceforth have occasion to use this proverb in Israel. For all souls are mine, in like manner as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But the man who is righteous, and does judgment and justice” (and so the prophet reckons up the rest of the virtues, and then adds for a conclusion, “Such a one is just”), “he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. And if he beget a son who is a robber, a shedder of blood, and walks not in the way of his righteous father” (and when the prophet had added what follows, he adds in the conclusion), “he shall certainly not live: he has done all this wickedness; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him. Yet they will ask thee, Why? Does not the son bear the iniquity of the father; or his righteousness, having exercised righteousness and mercy himself? And thou shalt say unto them, The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.” And a little after he says: “When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, all his righteousness, by reason of all his wickedness which he has committed, shall not be mentioned to him: in his iniquity which he hath committed, and in his sin which he hath sinned, in them shall he die.” And a little after he adds: “When the wicked turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doth judgment and justice, he hath preserved his soul, he hath turned away from all his ungodliness which he hath done; he shall

surely live, he shall not die." And afterwards: "I will judge every one of you according to his ways, O house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

THAT A PRIEST MUST NEITHER OVERLOOK OFFENSES, NOR BE RASH IN PUNISHING THEM

XV. Observe, you who are our beloved sons, how merciful yet righteous the Lord our God is; how gracious and kind to men; and yet most certainly "He will not acquit the guilty:" though He welcomes the returning sinner, and revives him, leaving no room for suspicion to such as wish to judge sternly and to reject offenders entirely, and to refuse to vouchsafe to them exhortations which might bring them to repentance. In contradiction to such, God by Isaiah says to the bishops: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, ye priests: speak comfortably to Jerusalem." It therefore behoves you, upon hearing those words of His, to encourage those who have offended, and lead them to repentance, and afford them hope, and not vainly to suppose that you shall be partakers of their offenses on account of such your love to them. Receive the penitent with alacrity, and rejoice over them, and with mercy and bowels of compassion judge the sinners. For if a person was walking by the side of a river, and ready to stumble, and thou shouldest push him and thrust him into the river, instead of offering him thy hand for his assistance, thou wouldst be guilty of the murder of thy brother; whereas thou oughtest rather to lend thy helping hand as he was ready to fall, lest he perish without remedy, that both the people may take warning, and the offender may not utterly perish. It is thy duty, O bishop, neither to overlook the sins of the people, nor to reject those who are penitent, that thou mayst not unskillfully destroy the Lord's flock, or dishonor His new name, which is imposed on His people, and thou thyself beest reproached as those ancient pastors were, of whom God speaks thus to Jeremiah: "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard; they have polluted my heritage." And in another passage: "My anger is waxed hot against the shepherds, and against the lambs shall I have indignation." And elsewhere: "Ye are the priests that dishonor my name."

OF REPENTANCE, THE MANNER OF IT, AND RULES ABOUT IT

XVI. When thou seest the offender, with severity command him to be cast out; and as he is going out, let the deacons also treat him with severity, and then let them go and seek for him, and detain him out of the Church; and when they come in, let them entreat thee for him. For our Savior Himself entreated His Father for those who had sinned, as it is written in the Gospel: “Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.” Then order the offender to come in; and if upon examination thou findest that he is penitent, and fit to be received at all into the Church when thou hast afflicted him his days of fasting, according to the degree of his offense — as two, three, five, or seven weeks — so set him at liberty, and speak such things to him as are fit to be said in way of reproof, instruction, and exhortation to a sinner for his reformation, that so he may continue privately in his humility, and pray to God to be merciful to him, saying: “If Thou, O Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who should stand? For with Thee there is propitiation.” Of this sort of declaration is that which is said in the book of Genesis to Cain: “Thou hast sinned; be quiet;” that is, do not go on in sin. For that a sinner ought to be ashamed for his own sin, that oracle of God delivered to Moses concerning Miriam is a sufficient proof, when he prayed that she might be forgiven. For says God to him: “If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed? Let her be shut out of the camp seven days, and afterwards let her come in again.” We therefore ought to do so with offenders, when they profess their repentance, — namely, to separate them some determinate time, according to the proportion of their offense, and afterwards, like fathers to children, receive them again upon their repentance.

THAT A BISHOP MUST BE UNBLAMEABLE, AND A PATTERN FOR THOSE WHO ARE UNDER HIS CHARGE

XVII. But if the bishop himself be an offender, how will he be able any longer to prosecute the offense of another? Or how will he be able to reprove another, either he or his deacons, if by accepting of persons, or receiving of bribes, they have not all a clear conscience? For when the ruler asks, and the judge receives, judgment is not brought to perfection; but when both are “companions of thieves, and regardless of doing justice to

the widows," those who are under the bishop will not be able to support and vindicate him: for they will say to him what is written in the Gospel, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" Let the bishop, therefore, with his deacons, dread to bear any such thing; that is, let him give no occasion for it. For an offender, when he sees any other doing as bad as himself, will be encouraged to do the very same things; and then the wicked one, taking occasion from a single instance, works in others, which God forbid: and by that means the flock will be destroyed. For the greater number of offenders there are, the greater is the mischief that is done by them: for sin which passes without correction grows worse and worse, and spreads to others; since "a little leaven infects the whole lump," and one thief spreads the abomination over a whole nation and "dead flies spoil the whole pot of sweet ointment;" and "when a king hearkens to unrighteous counsel, all the servants under him are wicked." So one scabbed sheep, if not separated from those that are whole, infects the rest with the same distemper; and a man infected with the plague is to be avoided by all men; and a mad dog is dangerous to every one that he touches. If, therefore, we neglect to separate the transgressor from the Church of God, we shall make the "Lord's house a den of thieves." For it is the bishop's duty not to be silent in the case of offenders, but to rebuke them, to exhort them, to beat them down, to afflict them with fastings, that so he may strike a pious dread into the rest: for, as He says, "make ye the children of Israel pious." For the bishop must be one who discourages sin by his exhortations, and sets a pattern of righteousness, and proclaims those good things which are prepared by God, and declares that wrath which will come at the day of judgment, lest he contemn and neglect the plantation of God; and, on account of his carelessness, hear that which is said in Hosea: "Why have ye held your peace at impiety, and have reaped the fruit thereof?"

THAT A BISHOP MUST TAKE CARE THAT HIS PEOPLE DO NOT SIN, CONSIDERING THAT HE IS SET FOR A WATCHMAN AMONG THEM

XVIII. Let the bishop, therefore, extend his concern to all sorts of people: to those who have not offended, that they may continue innocent;

to those who offend, that they may repent. For to you does the Lord speak thus: “Take heed that ye offend not one of these little ones.” It is your duty also to give remission to the penitent. For as soon as ever one who has offended says, in the sincerity of his soul, “I have sinned against the Lord,” the Holy Spirit answers, “The Lord also hath forgiven thy sin; be of good cheer, thou shalt not die.” Be sensible, therefore, O bishop, of the dignity of thy place, that as thou hast received the power of binding, so hast thou also that of loosing. Having therefore the power of loosing, know thyself, and behave thyself in this world as becomes thy place, being aware that thou hast a great account to give. “For to whom,” as the Scripture says, “men have entrusted much. of him they will require the more.” For no one man is free from sin, excepting Him that was made man for us; since it is written: “No man is pure from filthiness; no, not though he be but one day old.” Upon which account the lives and conduct of the ancient holy men and patriarchs are described; not that we may reproach them from our reading, but that we ourselves may repent, and have hope that we also shall obtain forgiveness. For their blemishes are to us both security and admonition, because we hence learn, when we have offended, that if we repent we shall have pardon. For it is written: “Who can boast that he has a clean heart? and who dare affirm that he is pure from sin?” No man, therefore, is without sin. Do thou therefore labor to the utmost of thy power to be unblameable; and be solicitous oflall the parts of thy flock, lest any one be scandalized on thy account, and thereby perish. For the layman is solicitous only for himself, but thou for all, as having a greater burden, and carrying a heavier load. For it is written: “And the Lord said unto Moses, Thou and Aaron shall bear the sins of the priesthood.” Since, therefore, thou art to give an account of all, take care of all. Preserve those that are sound, admonish those that sin; and when thou hast afflicted them with fasting, give them ease by remission; and when with tears the offender begs readmission, receive him, and let the whole Church pray for him; and when by imposition of thy hand thou hast admitted him, give him leave to abide afterwards in the flock. But for the drowsy and the careless, do thou endeavor to convert and confirm, and warn and cure them, as sensible how great a reward thou shalt have for doing so, and how great danger thou wilt incur if thou beest negligent therein. For Ezekiel speaks thus to those overseers who take no care of the people: “Woe unto the shepherds of lsrael, for they have fed themselves;

the shepherds feed not the sheep, but themselves. Ye eat the milk, and are clothed with the wool; ye slay the strong, ye do not feed the sheep. The weak have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but, violently ye chastised them with insult: and they, were scattered, because there was no shepherd; and they became meat to all the beasts of the forest." And again: "The shepherds did not search for my sheep; and the shepherds fed themselves, but they fed not my sheep." And a little after: "Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding my sheep, neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; and I will deliver my sheep out of their hands, and they shall not be meat for them." And he also adds, speaking to the people: "Behold, I will judge between sheep and sheep, and between rams and rams. Seemed it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, and to have trodden down with your feet the residue of your pasture, and that the sheep have eaten what was trodden down with your feet?" And a little after He adds: "And ye shall know that I am the Lord, and you the sheep of my pasture; ye are my men, and I am your God, saith the Lord God."

THAT A SHEPHERD WHO IS CARELESS OF HIS SHEEP WILL BE CONDEMNED, AND THAT A SHEEP WHICH WILL NOT BE LED BY THE SHEPHERD IS TO BE PUNISHED

XIX. Hear, O ye bishops; and hear, O ye of; the laity, how God speaks: "I will judge between ram and ram, and between sheep and sheep." And He says to the shepherds: "Ye shall be judged for your unskillfulness, and for destroying the sheep." That is, I will judge between one bishop and another, and between one lay person and another, and between one ruler and another (for these sheep and these rams are not irrational, but rational creatures): lest at any time a lay person should say, I am a sheep and not a shepherd, and I am not concerned for myself; let the shepherd look to that, for he alone will be required to give an account for me. For as that sheep that will not follow its good shepherd is exposed to the wolves, to its destruction; so that which follows a bad shepherd is also exposed to

unavoidable death, since his shepherd will devour him. Wherefore care must be had to avoid destructive shepherds.

HOW THE GOVERNED ARE TO OBEY THE BISHOPS WHO ARE SET OVER THEM

XX. As to a good shepherd, let the lay person honor him, love him, reverence him as his Lord, as his master, as the high priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that heareth him, heareth Christ; and he that rejecteth him, rejecteth Christ; and he who does not receive Christ, does not receive His God and Father: for, says He, “He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that rejecteth you, rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me, rejecteth Him that sent me.” In like manner, let the bishop love the laity as his children, fostering and cherishing them with affectionate diligence; as eggs, in order to the hatching of young ones; or as young ones, taking them in his arms, to the rearing them into birds: admonishing all men; reproving all who stand in need of reproof; reproving, that is, but not striking; beating them down to make them ashamed, but not overthrowing them; warning them in order to their conversion: chiding them in order to their reformation and better course of life; watching the strong, that is, keeping him firm in the faith who is already strong; feeding the people peaceably; strengthening the weak, that is, confirming with exhortation that which is tempted; healing that which is sick, that is, curing by instruction that which is weak in the faith through doubtfulness of mind; binding up that which is broken, that is, binding up by comfortable admonitions that which is gone astray, or wounded, bruised, or broken by their sins, and put out of the way; leasing it of its offenses, and giving hope: by this means restore it in strength to the Church, bringing it back into the flock. Bring again that which is driven away, that is, do not permit that which is in its sins, and is cast out by way of punishment, to continue excluded; but receiving it, and bringing it back, restore it to the flock, that is, to the people of the undefiled Church. Seek for that which is lost, that is, do not suffer that which desponds of its salvation, by reason of the multitude of its offenses, utterly to perish. Do thou search for that which is grown sleepy, drowsy, and sluggish, and that which is unmindful of its own life, through the depth of its sleep, and which is at a great distance from its own flock, so as to be in danger of falling among the wolves, and

being devoured by them. Bring it back by admonition, exhort it to be watchful; and insinuate hope, not permitting it to say that which was said by some: “Our impieties are upon us, and we pine away in them; how shall we then live?” As far as possible, therefore, let the bishop make the offense his own, and say to the sinner, Do thou but return, and I will undertake to suffer death for thee, as our Lord suffered death for me, and for all men. For “the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep; but he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, that is, the devil, and he leaveth the sheep, and fleeth, and the wolf seizes upon them.” We must know, therefore, that God is very merciful to those who have offended, and hath promised repentance with an oath. But he who has offended, and is unacquainted with this promise of God concerning repentance, and does not understand His long-suffering and forbearance, and besides is ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, which proclaim repentance, inasmuch as he has never learned them from you, perishes through his folly. But do thou, like a compassionate shepherd, and a diligent feeder of the flock, search out, and keep an account of thy flock. Seek that which is wanting; as the Lord God our gracious Father has sent His own Son, the good Shepherd and Savior, our Master Jesus, and has commanded Him to “leave the ninety-nine upon the mountains, and to go in search after that which was lost, and when He had found it, to take it upon His shoulders, and to carry it into the flock, rejoicing that He had found that which was lost.” In like manner, be obedient, O bishop, and do thou seek that which was lost, guide that which has wandered out of the right way, bring back that which is gone astray: for thou hast authority to bring them back, and to deliver those that are broken-hearted by remission. For by thee does our Savior say to him who is discouraged under the sense of his sins, “Thy sins are forgiven thee: thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.” But this peace and haven of tranquillity is the Church of Christ, into which do thou, when thou hast loosed them from their sins, restore them, as being now sound and unblameable, of good hope, diligent, laborious in good works. As a skillful and compassionate physician, heal all such as have wandered in the ways of sin; for “they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For the Son of man came to save and to seek that which was lost.” Since thou art therefore a physician of the Lord’s Church, provide remedies suitable to every patient’s case. Cure them, heal them by all

means possible; restore them sound to the Church. Feed the flock, “not with insolence and contempt, as lording it over them,” but as a gentle shepherd, “gathering the lambs into thy bosom, and gently leading those which are with young.”

THAT IT IS A DANGEROUS THING TO JUDGE WITHOUT HEARING BOTH SIDES, OR TO DETERMINE OF PUNISHMENT AGAINST A PERSON BEFORE HE IS CONVICTED

XXI. Be gentle, gracious, mild, without guile, without falsehood; not rigid, not insolent, not severe, not arrogant, not unmerciful, not puffed up, not a man-pleaser, not timorous, not double-minded, not one that insults over the people that are under thee, not one that conceals the divine laws and the promises to repentance, not hasty in thrusting out and expelling, but steady, not one that delights in severity, not heady. Do not admit less evidence to convict any one than that of three witnesses, and those of known and established reputation; inquire whether they do not accuse out of ill-will or envy: for there are many that delight in mischief, forward in discourse, slanderous, haters of the brethren, making it their business to scatter the sheep of Christ; whose affirmation if thou admittest without nice scanning the same, thou wilt disperse thy flock, and betray it to be devoured by wolves, that is, by demons and wicked men, or rather not men, but wild beasts in the shape of men — by the heathen, by the Jews, and by the atheistic heretics. For those destroying wolves soon address themselves to any one that is cast out of the Church, and esteem him as a lamb delivered for them to devour, reckoning his destruction their own gain. For he that is “their father, the devil, is a murderer.” He also who is separated unjustly by thy want of care in judging will be overwhelmed with sorrow, and be disconsolate, and so will either wander over to the heathen, or be entangled in heresies, and so will be altogether estranged from the Church and from hope in God, and will be entangled in impiety, whereby thou wilt be guilty of his perdition: for it is not fair to be too hasty in casting out an offender, but slow in receiving him when he returns; to be forward in cutting off, but unmerciful when he is sorrowful, and ought to be healed. For of such as these speaks the divine Scripture: “Their feet run to mischief; they are hasty to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known. The

fear of God is not before their eyes." Now the way of peace is our Savior Jesus Christ, who has taught us, saying: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. Give, and it shall be given to you;" that is, give remission of sins, and your offenses shall be forgiven you. As also He instructed us by His prayer to say unto God: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." If, therefore, you do not forgive offenders, how can you expect the remission of your own sins? Do not you rather bind yourselves faster, by pretending in your prayers to forgive, when you really do not forgive? Will you not be confronted with your own words, when you say you forgive and do not forgive? For know ye, that he who casts out one who has not behaved himself wickedly, or who will not receive him that returns, is a murderer of his brother, and sheds his blood, as Cain did that of his brother Abel, and his "blood cries to God," and will be required. For a righteous man unjustly slain by any one will be in rest with God for ever. The same is the case of him who without cause is separated by his bishop. He who has cast him out as a pestilent fellow when he was innocent, is more furious than a murderer. Such a one has no regard to the mercy of God, nor is mindful of His goodness to those that are penitent, nor keeping in his eye the examples of those who, having been once great offenders, received forgiveness upon their repentance. Upon which account, he who casts off an innocent person is more cruel than he that murders the body. In like manner, he who does not receive the penitent, scatters the flock of Christ, being really against Him. For as God is just in judging of sinners, so is He merciful in receiving them when they return. For David, the man after God's own heart, in his hymns ascribes both mercy and judgment to Him.

THAT DAVID, THE NINEVITES, HEZEKIAH, AND HIS SON MANASSEH, ARE EMINENT EXAMPLES OF REPENTANCE, THE PRAYER OF MANASSEH KING OF JUDAH

XXII. It is also thy duty, O bishop, to have before thine eyes the examples of those that have gone before, and to apply them skillfully to the cases of those who want words of severity or of consolation. Besides, it is reasonable that in thy administration of justice thou shouldest follow the will of God; and as God deals with sinners, and with those who return, that thou shouldest act accordingly in thy judging. Now, did not God by Nathan reproach David for his offense? And yet as soon as he said he

repented, He delivered him from death, saying, “Be of good cheer; thou shalt not die.” So also, when God had caused Jonah to be swallowed up by the sea and the whale, upon his refusal to preach to the Ninerites, when yet he prayed to Him out of the belly of the whale, He retrieved his life from corruption. And when Hezekiah had been puffed up for a while, yet, as soon as he prayed with lamentation, He remitted his offense. But, O ye bishops, hearken to an instance useful upon this occasion. For it is written thus in the fourth book of Kings and the second book of Chronicles: “And Hezekiah died; and Manasseh his son reigned. He was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem; and his mother’s name was Hephzibah. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord: he did not abstain from the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed from the face of the children of Israel. And Manasseh returned and built the high places which Hezekiah his father had overthrown; and he reared pillars for Baal, and set up an altar for Baal, and made groves, as did Ahab king of Israel. And he made altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord spake to David and to Solomon his son, saying, Therein will I put my name. And Manasseh set up altars, and by them served Baal, and said, My name shall continue for ever. And he built altars to the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord; and he made his children pass through the fire in a place named Ge Benennom; and he consulted enchanters, and dealt with wizards and familiar spirits, and with conjurers and observers of times, and with teraphim. And he sinned exceedingly in the eyes of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger. And he set a molten and a graven image, the image of his grove, which he made in the house of the Lord, wherein the Lord had chosen to put His name in Jerusalem, the holy city, for ever, and had said, I will no more remove my foot from the land of Israel, which I gave to their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the precepts that my servant Moses commanded them. And they hearkened not. And Manasseh seduced them to do more evil before the Lord than did the nations whom the Lord cast out from the face of the children of Israel. And the Lord spake concerning Manasseh and concerning His people by the hand of His servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah has done all these wicked abominations in a higher degree than the Amorite did which was before him, and hath made Judah to sin with his idols, thus saith the Lord God of lsrael, Behold,

I bring evils upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of them, both his ears shall tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab; and I will blot out Jerusalem as a table-book is blotted out by wiping it. And I will turn it upside down; and I will give up the remnant of my inheritance, and will deliver them into the hands of their enemies, and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies, because of all the evils which they have done in mine eyes, and have provoked me to anger from the day that I brought their fathers out of the land of Egypt even until this day. Moreover, Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another, beside his sins wherewith he made Judah to sin in doing evil in the sight of the Lord. And the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, and they caught Manasseh in bonds, and they bound him in fetters of brass, and brought him to Babylon; and he was bound and shackled with iron all over in the house of the prison. And bread made of bran was given unto him scantily, and by weight, and water mixed with vinegar but a little and by measure, so much as would keep him alive; and he was in straits and sore affliction. And when he was violently afflicted, he besought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the face of the Lord God of his fathers. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, almighty God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof, who hast bound the sea by the word of Thy commandment, who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by Thy terrible and glorious name, whom all men fear and tremble before Thy power; for the majesty of Thy glory cannot be born, and Thine angry threatening towards sinners is insupportable. But Thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for Thou art the most high Lord, of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and repentest of the evils of men. Thou, O Lord, according to Thy great goodness, hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against Thee, and of Thine infinite mercy hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. Thou therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, has not appointed repentance to the just as to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, which have not sinned against Thee; but Thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner: for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O

Lord, are multiplied; my transgressions are multiplied, and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven for the multitude of mine iniquity. I am bowed down with many iron bands; for I have provoked Thy wrath, and done evil before Thee, setting up abominations, and multiplying offenses. Now, therefore, I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching Thee of grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge mine iniquities; wherefore I humbly beseech Thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; neither condemn me into the lower part of the earth. For Thou art the God, even the God of them that repent, and in me Thou wilt show Thy goodness; for Thou wilt save me that am unworthy, according to Thy great mercy. Therefore I will praise Thee for ever all the days of my life; for all the powers of the heavens do praise Thee, and Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. And the Lord heard his voice, and had compassion upon him. And there appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains which were about him fell off; and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction, and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom: and Manasseh knew that the Lord He is God alone. And he worshipped the Lord God alone with all his heart, and with all his soul, all the days of his life; and he was esteemed righteous. And he took away the strange gods and the graven image out of the house of the Lord, and all the altars which he had built in the house of the Lord, and all the altars in Jerusalem, and he cast them out of the city. And he repaired the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon peace-offerings and thank-offerings. And Manasseh spake to Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel. And he slept in peace with his fathers; and Amon his son reigned in his stead. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord according to all things that Manasseh his father had done in the former part of his reign. And he provoked the Lord his God to anger.”

Ye have heard, our beloved children, how the Lord God for a while punished him that was addicted to idols, and had slain many innocent persons; and yet that He received him when he repented, and forgave him his offenses, and restored him to his kingdom. For He not only forgives the penitent, but reinstates them in their former dignity.

AMON MAYBE AN EXAMPLE TO SUCH AS SIN WITH AN HIGH HAND

XXIII. There is no sin more grievous than idolatry, for it is an impiety against God: and yet even this sin has been forgiven, upon sincere repentance. But if any one sin in direct opposition, and on purpose to try whether God will punish the wicked or not, such a one shall have no remission, although he say with himself, “All is well, and I will walk according to the conversation of my evil heart.” Such a one was Amon the son of Manasseh. For the Scripture says: “And Amon reasoned an evil reasoning of transgression, and said, My father from his childhood was a great transgressor, and repented in his old age; and now I will walk as my soul lusteth, and afterwards I will return unto the Lord. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him. And the Lord God soon destroyed him utterly from His good land. And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house, and he reigned two years only.”

THAT CHRIST JESUS OUR LORD CAME TO SAVE SINNERS BY REPENTANCE

XXIV. Take heed, therefore, ye of the laity, lest any one of you fix the reasoning of Amon in his heart, and be suddenly cut off, and perish. In the same manner, let the bishop take all the care he can that those which are vet innocent may not fall into sin; and let him heal and receive those which turn from their sins. But if he is pitiless, and will not receive the repenting sinner, he will sin against the Lord his God, pretending to be more just than God’s justice, and not receiving him whom He has received, through Christ; for whose sake He sent His Son upon earth to men, as a man; for whose sake God was pleased that He, who was the Maker of man and woman, should be born of a woman; for whose sake He did not spare Him from the cross, from death, and burial, but permitted Him to die, who by nature could not suffer, His beloved Son, God the Word, the Angel of His great council, that he might deliver those from death who were obnoxious to death. Him do those provoke to anger who do not receive the penitent. For He was not ashamed of me, Matthew, who had been formerly a publican; and admitted of Peter, when he had through fear denied Him three times, but had appeased Him by repentance, and had wept bitterly;

nay, He made him a shepherd to His own lambs. Moreover, He ordained Paul, our fellow-apostle, to be of a persecutor an apostle, and declared him a chosen vessel, even when he had heaped many mischiefs upon us before, and had blasphemed His sacred name. He says also to another, a woman that was a sinner: “Thy sins, which are many, are forgiven, for thou lovest much.” And when the elders had set another woman which had sinned before Him, and had left the sentence to Him, and were gone out, our Lord, the Searcher of the hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, He said unto her: “Go thy way therefore, for neither do I condemn thee.” This Jesus, O ye bishops, our Savior, our King, and our God, ought to be set before you as your pattern; and Him you ought to imitate, in being meek, quiet, compassionate, merciful, peaceable, without passion, apt to teach, and diligent to convert, willing to receive and to comfort; no strikers, not soon angry, not injurious, not arrogant, not supercilious, not wine-bibbers, not drunkards, not vainly expensive, not lovers of delicacies, not extravagant, using the gifts of God not as another’s, but as their own, as good stewards appointed over them, as those who will be required by God to give an account of the same.

SECTION 4

ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THE RESOURCES COLLECTED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY, AND THE RELIEF OF THE POOR

Let the bishop esteem such food and raiment sufficient as suits necessity and decency. Let him not make use of the Lord’s goods as another’s, but moderately; “for the laborer is worthy of his reward.” Let him not be luxurious in diet, or fond of idle furniture, but contented with so much alone as is necessary for his sustenance.

OF FIRST-FRUITS AND TITHES, AND AFTER WHAT MANNER THE BISHOP IS HIMSELF TO PARTAKE OF THEM, OR TO DISTRIBUTE THEM TO OTHERS

XXV. Let him use those tenths and first-fruits, which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God; as also let him dispense in a right manner the free-will offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, to the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who has committed the disposition to him. Distribute to all those in want with righteousness, and yourselves use the things which belong to the Lord, but do not abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all up by yourselves: communicate with those that are in want, and thereby show yourselves unblameable before God. For if you shall consume them by yourselves, you will be reproached by God, who says to such unsatiable people, who alone devour all, “Ye eat up the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool;” and in another passage, “Must you alone live upon the earth

Upon which account you are commanded in the law, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” Now we say these things, not as if you might not partake of the fruits of your labors; for it is written, “Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treadeth out the corn;” but that you should do it with moderation and righteousness. As, therefore, the ox that labors in the threshing-floor without a muzzle eats indeed, but does not eat all up; so do you who labor in the threshing-floor, that is, in the Church eat of the Church: which was also the case of the Levites, who served in the tabernacle of the testimony, which was in all things a type of the Church. Nay, further, its very name implied that that tabernacle was fore-appointed for a testimony of the Church. Here, therefore, the Levites also, who attended upon the tabernacle partook of those things that were offered to God by all the people, — namely, gifts, offerings, and first-fruits, and tithes, and sacrifices, and oblations, without disturbance, they and their wives, and their sons and their daughters. Since their employment was the ministration to the tabernacle, therefore they had not any lot or inheritance in the land among the children of lsrael, because the oblations of the people were the lot of Levi, and the inheritance of their tribe. You, therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the holy Catholic Church; who stand at

the altar of the Lord your God, and offer to Him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices through Jesus the great High Priest. You are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors, and kings; the mediators between God and His faithful people, who receive and declare His word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. Ye are the voice of and witnesses of His will, who bear the sins of all, and intercede for all; whom, as you have heard, the word severely threatens if you hide the key of knowledge from men, who are liable to perdition if you do not declare His will to the people that are under you; who shall have a certain reward from God, and unspeakable honor and glory, if you duly minister to the holy tabernacle. For as yours is the burden, so you receive as your fruit the supply of food and other. necessaries. For you imitate Christ the Lord; and as He “bare the sins of us all upon the tree” at His crucifixion, the innocent for those who deserved punishment, so also you ought to make the sins of the people your own. For concerning our Savior it is said in Isaiah, “He bears our sins, and is afflicted for us.” And again: “He bare the sins of many, and was delivered for our offenses.” As, therefore, you are patterns for others, so have you Christ for your pattern. As, therefore, He is concerned for all, so be you for the laity under you. For do not thou imagine that the office of a bishop is an easy or light burden. As, therefore, you bear the weight, so have you a right to partake of the fruits before others, and to impart to those that are in want, as being to give an account to Him, who without bias will examine your accounts. For those who attend upon the Church ought to be maintained by the Church, as being priests, Levites, presidents, and ministers of God; as it is written in the book of Numbers concerning the priests: “And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou, and thy sons, and the house of thy family, shall bear the iniquities of the holy things of priesthood.” “Behold, I have given unto you the charge of the first-fruits, from all that are sanctified to me by the children of lsrael; I have given them for a reward to thee, and to thy sons after thee, by an ordinance for ever. This shall be yours out of the holy things, out of the oblations, and out of the gifts, and out of all the sacrifices, and out of every trespass-offering, and sin-offerings; and all that they render unto me out of all their holy things, they shall belong to thee, and to thy sons: in the sanctuary shall they eat them.” And a little after: “All the first-fruits of the oil, and of the wine, and of the wheat, all which they shall give unto the Lord, to thee have I given them; and all that is first ripe, to thee have I

given it, and every devoted thing. Every first-born of man and of beast, clean and unclean, and of sacrifice, with the breast, and the right shoulder, all these appertain to the priests, and to the rest of those belonging to them, even to the Levites."

Hear this, you of the laity also, the elect Church of God. For the people were formerly called "the people of God," and "an holy nation." You, therefore, are the holy and sacred "Church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people," a bride adorned for the Lord God, a great Church, a faithful Church. Hear attentively now what was said formerly: oblations and tithes belong to Christ our High Priest, and to those who minister to Him. Tenths of salvation are the first letter of the name of Jesus. Hear, O thou Holy Catholic Church, who hast escaped the ten plagues, and hast received the ten commandments, and hast learned the law, and hast kept the faith, and hast believed in Jesus, and hast known the decad, and hast believed in the iota which is the first letter of the name of Jesus, and art named after His name, and art established, and shinest in the consummation of His glory. Those which were then the sacrifices now are prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings. Those which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, now are oblations, which are presented by holy bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who has died for them. For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites; as are also your readers, your singers, your porters, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans: but He who is above all these is the High Priest.

ACCORDING TO WHAT PATTERNS AND DIGNITY EVERY ORDER OF THE CLERGY IS APPOINTED BY GOD

XXVI. The bishop, he is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God trod you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and, next after God, he is your father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit. He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly God, who has a right to be honored by you. For concerning him, and such as he, it is that God pronounces, "I have said, Ye are gods; and ye are all children of the Most

High." And, "Ye shall not speak evil of the gods." For let the bishop preside over you as one honored with the authority of God, which he is to exercise over the clergy, and by which he is to govern all the people. But let the deacon minister to him, as Christ does to His Father; and let him serve him unblameably in all things, as Christ does nothing of Himself, but does always those things that please His Father. Let also the deaconess be honored by you in the place of the Holy Ghost, and not do or say anything without the deacon; as neither does the Comforter say or do anything of Himself, but gives glory to Christ by waiting for His pleasure. And as we cannot believe on Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so let not any woman address herself to the deacon or bishop without the deaconess. Let the presbyters be esteemed by you to represent us the apostles, and let them be the teachers of divine knowledge; since our Lord, when He sent us, said, "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing the altar of burnt-offering; and let the virgins be honored as representing the altar of incense, and the incense itself.

THAT IT IS A HORRIBLE THING FOR A MAN TO THRUST HIMSELF INTO ANY SACERDOTAL OFFICE, AS DID CORAH AND HIS COMPANY, SAUL AND UZZIAH

XXVII. As, therefore, it was not lawful for one of another tribe, that was not a Levite, to offer anything, or to approach the altar without the priest, so also do you do nothing without the bishop; for if any one does anything without the bishop, he does it to no purpose. For it will not be esteemed as of any avail to him. For as Saul, when he had offered without Samuel, was told, "It will not avail for thee;" so every person among the laity, doing anything without the priest, labors in vain. And as Uzziah the king, who was not a priest, and yet would exercise the functions of the priests, was smitten with leprosy for his transgression; so every lay person shall not be unpunished who despises God, and is so mad as to affront His priests, and unjustly to snatch that honor to himself: not imitating Christ, "who glorified not Himself to be made an high priest;" but waited till He heard from His Father, "The Lord swear, and will not

repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.” If, therefore, Christ did not glorify Himself without the Father, how dare any man thrust himself into the priesthood who has not received that dignity from his superior, and do such things which it is lawful only for the priests to do? Were not the followers of Corah, even though they were of the tribe of Levi, consumed with fire, because they rose up against Moses and Aaron, and meddled with such things as did not belong to them? And Dathan and Abiram went down quick into hell; and the rod that budded put a stop to the readiness of the multitude, and demonstrated who was the high priest ordained by God. You ought therefore, brethren, to bring your sacrifices and your oblations to the bishop, as to your high priest, either by yourselves or by the deacons; and do you bring not those only, but also your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your free-will offerings to him. For he knows who they are that are in affliction, and gives to every one as is convenient, that so one may not receive alms twice or oftener the same day, or the same week, while another has nothing at all. For it is reasonable rather to supply the wants of those who really are in distress, than of those who only appear to be so.

OF AN ENTERTAINMENT, AND AFTER WHAT MANNER EACH DISTINCT ORDER OF THE CLERGY IS TO BE TREATED BY THOSE WHO INVITE THEM TO IT

XXVIII. If any determine to invite elder women to an entertainment of love, or a feast, as our Savior calls it, let them most frequently send to such a one whom the deacons know to be in distress. But let what is the pastor’s due, I mean the first-fruits, be set apart in the feast for him, even though he be not at the entertainment, as being your priest, and in honor of that God who has entrusted him with the priesthood. But as much as is given to every one of the elder women, let double so much be given to the deacons, in honor of Christ. Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters, as for such who labor continually about the word and doctrine, upon the account of the apostles of our Lord, whose place they sustain, as the counselors of the bishop and the crown of the Church. For they are the Sanhedrim and senate of the Church. If there be a reader there, let him receive a single portion, in honor of the prophets, and let the singer and the porter have as much. Let the laity, therefore, pay proper honors in their

presents, and utmost marks of respect to each distinct order. But let them not on all occasions trouble their governor, but let them signify their desires by those who minister to him, that is, by the deacons, with whom they may be more free. For neither may we address ourselves to Almighty God, but only by Christ. In the same manner, therefore, let the laity make known all their desires to the bishop by the deacon, and accordingly let them act as he shall direct them. For there was no holy thing offered or done in the temple formerly without the priest. “For the priest’s lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth,” as the prophet somewhere says, “for he is the messenger of the Lord Almighty.” For if the worshippers of demons, in their hateful, abominable, and impure performances, imitate the sacred rules till this very day(it is a wide comparison indeed. and there is a vast distance between their abominations and God’s sacred worship), in their mockeries of worship they neither offer nor do anything without their pretended priest, but esteem him as the very mouth of their idols of stone, waiting to see what commands he will lay upon them. And whatsoever he commands them, that they do, and without him they do nothing; and they honor him, their pretended priest, and esteem his name as venerable in honor of lifeless statues, and in order to the worship of wicked spirits. If these heathens, therefore, who give glory to lying vanities, and place their hope upon nothing that is firm, endeavor to imitate the sacred rules, how much more reasonable is it that you, who have a most certain faith and undoubted hope, and who expect glorious, and eternal, and never-failing promises, should honor the Lord God in those set over you, and esteem your bishop to be the mouth of God!

WHAT IS THE DIGNITY OF A BISHOP AND OF A DEACON

XXIX. For if Aaron, because he declared to Pharaoh the words of God from Moses, is called a prophet; and Moses himself is called a God to Pharaoh, on account of his being at once a king and a high priest, as God says to him, “I have made thee a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet;” why do not ye also esteem the mediators of the word to be prophets, and reverence them as gods?

AFTER WHAT MANNER THE LAITY ARE TO BE OBEDIENT TO THE DEACON

XXX. For now the deacon is to you Aaron, and the bishop Moses. If, therefore, Moses was called a God by the Lord, let the bishop be honored among you as a God, and the deacon as his prophet. For as Christ does nothing without His Father, so neither does the deacon do anything without his bishop; and as the Son without His Father is nothing, so is the deacon nothing without his bishop; and as the Son is subject to His Father, so is every deacon subject to his bishop; and as the Son is the messenger and prophet of the Father, so is the deacon the messenger and prophet of his bishop. Wherefore let all things that he is to do with any one be made known to the bishop, and be finally ordered by him.

THAT THE DEACON MUST NOT DO ANYTHING WITHOUT THE BISHOP

XXXI. Let him not do anything at all without his bishop, nor give anything without his consent. For if he gives to any one as to a person in distress without the bishop's knowledge, he gives it so that it must tend to the reproach of the bishop, and he accuses him as careless of the distressed. But he that casts reproach on his bishop, either by word or deed, opposes God, not hearkening to what He says: "Thou shalt not speak evil of the gods." For He did not make that law concerning deities of wood and of stone, which are abominable, because they are falsely called gods, but concerning the priests and the judges, to whom He also said, "Ye are gods, and children of the Most High."

THAT THE DEACON MUST NOT MAKE ANY DISTRIBUTIONS WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE BISHOP, BECAUSE THAT WILL TURN TO THE REPROACH OF THE BISHOP

XXXII. If therefore, O deacon, thou knowest any one to be in distress, put the bishop in mind of him, and so give to him; but do nothing in a clandestine way, so as may tend to his reproach, lest thou raise a murmur against him; for the murmur will not be against him, but against the Lord God: and the deacon, with the rest, will hear what Aaron and Miriam heard, when they spake against Moses: "How is it that ye were not afraid

to speak against my servant Moses?" And again, Moses says to those who rose up against him: "Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord our God." For if he that calls one of the laity Raka, or fool, shall not be unpunished, as doing injury to the name of Christ, how dare any man speak against his bishop, by whom the Lord gave the Holy Spirit among you upon the laying on of his hands, by whom ye have learned the sacred doctrines, and have known God, and have believed in Christ, by whom ye were known of God, by whom ye were sealed with the oil of gladness and the ointment of understanding, by whom ye were declared to be the children of light, by whom the Lord in your illumination testified by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and sent out His sacred voice upon every one of you, saying, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee?" By thy bishop, O man, God adopts thee for His child. Acknowledge, O son, that right hand which was a mother to thee. Love him who, after God, is become a father to thee, and honor him.

AFTER WHAT MANNER THE BISHOPS ARE TO BE HONORED, AND TO BE REVERENCED AS OUR SPIRITUAL PARENTS

XXXIII. For if the divine oracle says, concerning our parents according to the flesh, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee;" and, "He that curseth his father or his mother, let him die the death;" how much more should the word exhort you to honor your spiritual parents, and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God, who have regenerated you by water, and endued you with the fullness of the Holy Spirit, who have fed you with the word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you by their admonitions, who have imparted to you the saving body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promise of God! Reverence these, and honor them with all kinds of honor; for they have obtained from God the power of life and death, in their judging of sinners, and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also of loosing returning sinners from their sins, and of restoring them to a new life.

THAT PRIESTS ARE TO BE PREFERRED BEFORE RULERS AND KINGS

XXXIV. Account these worthy to be esteemed your rulers and your kings, and bring them tribute as to kings; for by you they and their families ought to be maintained. As Samuel made constitutions for the people concerning a king, in the first book of Kings, and Moses did so concerning priests in Leviticus, so do we also make constitutions for you concerning bishops. For if there the multitude distributed the inferior services in proportion to so great a king, ought not therefore the bishop much more now to receive of you those things which are determined by God for the sustenance of himself and of the rest of the clergy belonging to him? But if we may add somewhat further, let the bishop receive more than the other received of old: for he only managed the affairs of the soldiery, being entrusted with war and peace for the preservation of men's bodies; but the other is entrusted with the exercise of the priestly office in relation to God, in order to preserve both body and soul from dangers. By how much, therefore, the soul is more valuable than the body, so much the priestly office is beyond the kingly. For it binds and looses those that are worthy of punishment or of remission. Wherefore you ought to love the bishop as your father, and fear him as your king, and honor him as your Lord, bringing to him your fruits and the works of your hands, for a blessing upon you, giving to him your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your oblations, and your gifts, as to the priest of God; the first-fruits of your wheat, and wine, and oil, and autumnal fruits, and wool, and all things which the Lord God gives thee. And thy offering shall be accepted as a savor of a sweet smell to the Lord thy God; and the Lord will bless the works of thy hands, and will multiply the good things of the land. "For a blessing is upon the head of him that giveth."

THAT BOTH THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL PRESCRIBE OFFERINGS

XXXV. Now you ought to know, that although the Lord has delivered you from the additional bonds, and has brought you out of them to your refreshment, and does not permit you to sacrifice irrational creatures for sin-offerings, and purifications, and scapegoats, and continual washings and sprinklings, yet has He nowhere freed you from those oblations which

you owe to the priests, nor from doing good to the poor. For the Lord says to you in the Gospel: “Unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven.” Now herein will your righteousness exceed theirs, if you take greater care of the priests, the orphans, and the widows; as it is written: “He hath scattered abroad; he hath given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever.” And again: “By acts of righteousness and faith iniquities are purged.” And again: “Every bountiful soul is blessed.” So therefore shalt thou do as the Lord has appointed, and shalt, give to the priest what things are due to him, the first-fruits of thy floor, and of thy wine-press, and sin-offerings, as to the mediator between God and such as stand in need of purgation and forgiveness. For it is thy duty to give, and his to administer, as being the administrator and disposer of ecclesiastical affairs. Yet shalt thou not call thy bishop to account, nor watch his administration, how he does it, when, or to whom, or where, or whether he do it well or ill, or indifferently; for he has One who will call him to an account, the Lord God, who put this administration into his hands, and thought him worthy of the priesthood of so great dignity.

THE RECITAL OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, AND AFTER WHAT MANNER THEY DO HERE PRESCRIBE TO US

XXXVI. Have before thine eyes the fear of God, and always remember the ten commandments of God, — to love the one and only Lord God with all thy strength; to give no heed to idols, or any other beings, as being lifeless gods, or irrational beings or daemons. Consider the manifold workmanship of God, which received its beginning through Christ. Thou shalt observe the Sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from His work of creation, but ceased not from His work of providence: it is a rest for meditation of the law, not for idleness of the hands. Reject every unlawful lust, everything destructive to men, and all anger. Honor thy parents, as the authors of thy being. Love thy neighbor as thyself. Communicate the necessaries of-life to the needy. Avoid swearing falsely, and swearing often, and in vain; for thou shalt not be held guiltless. Do not appear before the priests empty, and offer thy free-will offerings continually. Moreover, do not leave the church of Christ; but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again meet there in the evening, to return thanks

to God that He has preserved thy life. Be diligent, and constant, and laborious in thy calling. Offer to the Lord thy free-will offerings; for says He, “Honor the Lord with the fruit of thy honest labors.” If thou art not able to cast anything considerable into the Corban, yet at least bestow upon the strangers one, or two, or five mites. “Lay up to thyself heavenly treasure, which neither the moth nor thieves can destroy.” And in doing this, do not judge thy bishop, or any of thy neighbors among the laity; for if thou judge thy brother, thou becomest a judge, without being constituted such by anybody, for the priests are only entrusted with the power of judging. For to them it is said, “Judge righteous judgment;” and again “Approve yourselves to be exact money-changers.” For to you this is not entrusted; for, on the contrary, it is said to those who are not of the dignity of magistrates or ministers: “Judge not, and ye shall not be judged.”

SECTION 5

ON ACCUSATIONS, AND THE TREATMENT OF ACCUSERS CONCERNING ACCUSERS AND FALSE ACCUSERS, AND HOW A JUDGE IS NOT RASHLY EITHER TO BELIEVE THEM OR DISBELIEVE THEM, BUT AFTER AN ACCURATE EXAMINATION

XXXVII. But it is the duty of the bishop to judge rightly, as it is written, “Judge righteous judgment;” and elsewhere, “Why do ye not even of yourselves judge what is right?” Be ye therefore as skillful dealers in money: for as these reject bad money, but take to themselves what is current, in the same manner it is the bishop’s duty to retain the unblameable, but either to heal, or, if they be past cure, to cast off those that are blameworthy, so as not to be hasty in cutting off, nor to believe all accusations; for it sometimes happens that some, either through passion or envy, do insist on a false accusation against a brother, as did the two elders in the case of Susanna in Babylon, and the Egyptian woman in the case of Joseph. Do thou therefore, as a man of God, not rashly receive such accusations, lest thou take away the innocent and slay the righteous; for he that will receive such accusations is the author of anger rather than of peace. But where there is anger, there the Lord is not; for that anger, which

is the friend of Satan — I mean that which is excited unjustly by the means of false brethren — never suffers unanimity to be in the Church. Wherefore, when you know such persons to be foolish, quarrelsome, passionate, and such as delight in mischief, do not give credit to them; but observe such as they are, when you hear anything from them against their brother: for murder is nothing in their eyes, and they cast a man down in such a way as one would not suspect. Do thou therefore consider diligently the accuser, wisely observing his mode of life, what, and of what sort it is; and in case thou findest him a man of veracity, do according to the doctrine of our Lord, and taking him who is accused, rebuke him, that he may repent, when nobody is by. But if he be not pervaded, take with thee out or two more, and so show him his fault, and admonish him with mildness and instruction; for "wisdom will rest upon an heart that is good, but is not understood in the heart of the foolish."

THAT SINNERS ARE PRIVATELY TO BE REPROVED, AND THE PENITENT TO BE RECEIVED, ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR LORD

XXXVIII. If, therefore, he be persuaded by the mouth of you three, it is well. But if any one hardens himself, "tell it to the Church: but if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican;" and receive him no longer into the Church as a Christian, but reject him as an heathen. But if he be willing to repent, receive him. For the Church does not receive an heathen or a publican to communion, before they every one repent of their former impieties; for our Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, has appointed place for the acceptance of men upon their repentance.

EXAMPLES OF REPENTANCE

XXXIX. For I Matthew, one of those twelve which speak to you in this doctrine, am an apostle, having myself been formerly a publican, but now have obtained mercy through believing, and have repented of my former practices, and have been vouchsafed the honor to be an apostle and preacher of the word. And Zacchaeus, whom the Lord received upon his repentance and prayers to Him, was also himself in the same manner a publican at first. And, besides, even the soldiers and multitude of

publicans, who came to hear the word of the Lord about repentance, heard this from the prophet John, after he had baptized them: “Do nothing more than that which is appointed you.” In like manner, life is not refused to the heathen, if they repent and cast away their unbelief. Esteem, therefore, every one that is convicted of any wicked action, and has not repented, as a publican or an heathen. But if he afterward repents, and turns from his error, then, as we receive the heathen, when they wish to repent, into the Church indeed to hear the word, but do not receive them to communion until they have received the seal of baptism, and are made complete Christians; so do we also permit such as these to enter only to hear, until they show the fruit of repentance, that by hearing the word they may not utterly and irrecoverably perish. But let them not be admitted to communion in prayer; and let them depart after the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel, that by such departure they may be made better in their course of life, by endeavoring to meet every day about the public assemblies, and to be frequent in prayer, that they also may be at length admitted, and that those who behold them may be affected, and be more secured by fearing to fall into the same condition.

THAT WE ARE NOT TO BE IMPLACABLE TO HIM WHO HAS ONCE OR TWICE OFFENDED

XL. But yet do not thou, O bishop, presently abhor any person who has fallen into one or two offenses, nor shalt thou exclude him from the word of the Lord, nor reject him from common intercourse, since neither did the Lord refuse to eat with publicans and sinners; and when He was accused by the Pharisees on this account, He said: “They that are well have no need of the physician, but they that are sick.” Do you, therefore, live and dwell with those who are separated from you for their sins; and take care of them, comforting them, and confirming them, and saying to them: “Be strengthened, ye weak hands and feeble knees.” For we ought to comfort those that mourn, and afford encouragement to the fainthearted, lest by immoderate sorrow they degenerate into distraction, since “he that is fainthearted is exceedingly distracted.”

AFTER WHAT MANNER WE OUGHT TO RECEIVE A PENITENT; HOW WE OUGHT TO DEAL WITH OFFENDERS, AND WHEN THEY ARE TO BE CUT OFF FROM THE CHURCH

XLI. But if any one returns, and shows forth the fruit of repentance, then do ye receive him to prayer, as the lost son, the prodigal, who had consumed his father's substance with harlots, who fed swine, and desired to be fed with husks, and could not obtain it. This son, when he repented, and returned to his father, and said, "I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son;" the father, full of affection to his child, received him with music, and restored him his old robe, and ring, and shoes, and slew the fatted calf, and made merry with his friends. Do thou therefore, O bishop, act in the same manner. And as thou receivest an heathen after thou hast instructed and baptized him, so do thou let all join in prayers for this man, and restore him by imposition of hands to his ancient place among the flock, as one purified by repentance; and that imposition of hands shall be to him instead of baptism: for by the laying on of our hands the Holy Ghost was given to believers. And in case some one of those brethren who had stood immovable accuse thee, because thou art reconciled to him, say to him: "Thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found." For that God does not only receive the penitent, but restores them to their former dignity, holy David is a sufficient witness, who, after his sin in the matter of Uriah, prayed to God, and said: "Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and uphold me with Thy free Spirit." And again: "Turn Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine offenses. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in my inward parts. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." Do thou therefore, as a compassionate physician, heal all that have sinned, making use of saving methods of cure; not only cutting and searing, or using corrosives, but binding up, and putting in tents, and using gentle healing medicines, and sprinkling comfortable words. If it be an hollow wound, or great gash, nourish it with a suitable plaister, that it may be filled up, and become even with the rest of the whole flesh. If it be foul, cleanse it with corrosive powder, that is, with the words of reproof. If it have proud flesh, eat it down with a sharp plaister

— the threats of judgment. If it spreads further, sear it, and cut off the putrid flesh, mortifying him with fastings. But if, after all that thou hast done, thou perceivest that from the feet to the head there is no room for a fomentation, or oil, or bandage, but that the malady spreads and prevents all cure, as a gangrene which corrupts the entire member; then, with a great deal of consideration, and the advice of other skillful physicians, cut off the putrefied member, that the whole body of the Church be not corrupted. Be not therefore ready and hasty to cut off, nor do thou easily have recourse to the saw, with its many teeth; but first use a lancet to lay open the wound, that the inward cause whence the pain is derived being drawn out, may keep the body free from pain. But if thou seest any one past repentance, and he is become insensible, then cut off the incurable from the Church with sorrow and lamentation. For: "Take out from among yourselves that wicked person." And: "Ye shall make the children of Israel to fear." And again: "'Thou shalt not accept the persons of the rich in judgment." And: "Thou shalt not pity a poor man in his cause: for the judgment is the Lord's."

THAT A JUDGE MUST NOT BE A RESPECTER OF PERSONS

XLII. But if the slanderous accusation be false, and you that are the pastors, with the deacons, admit of that falsehood for truth, either by acceptance of persons or receiving of bribes, as willing to do that which will he pleasing to the devil, and so you thrust out from the Church him that is accused, but is clear of the crime, you shall give an account in the day of the Lord. For it is written: "The innocent and the righteous thou shalt not slay." "Thou shalt not take girls to smite the soul: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the words of the righteous." And again: "They that justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him." Be careful, therefore, not to condemn any persons unjustly, and so to assist the wicked. For "woe to him that calls evil good, and good evil; bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; that puts light for darkness, and darkness for light." Take care, therefore, lest by any means ye become acceptors of persons, and thereby fall under this voice of the Lord. For if you condemn others unjustly, you pass sentence against yourselves. For the Lord says: "With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and as you condemn, you shall be condemned." If, therefore, ye

judge without respect of persons, ye will discover that accuser who bears false witness against his neighbor, and will prove him to be a sycophant, a spiteful person, and a murderer, causing perplexity by accusing the man as if he were wicked, inconstant in his words, contradicting himself in what he affirms, and entangled with the words of his own mouth; for his own lips are a dangerous, snare to him: whom, when thou hast convicted him of speaking falsely, thou shalt judge severely, and shalt deliver him to the fiery sword, and thou shalt do to him as he wickedly proposed to do to his brother; for as much as in him lay he slew his brother, by forestalling the ears of the judge. Now it is written, that "he that sheddeth man's blood, for that his own blood shall be shed." And: "Thou shalt take away that innocent blood, which was shed without cause, from thee."

AFTER WHAT MANNER FALSE ACCUSERS ARE TO BE PUNISHED

XLIII. Thou shalt therefore cast him out of the congregation as a murderer of his brother. Some time afterwards, if he says that he repents, mortify him with fastings, and afterwards ye shall lay your hands upon him and receive him, but still securing him, that he does not disturb anybody a second time. But if, when he is admitted again, he be alike troublesome, and will not cease to disturb and to quarrel with his brother, spying faults out of a contentious spirit, cast him out as a pernicious person, that he may not lay waste the Church of God. For such a one is the raiser of disturbances in cities; for he, though he be within, does not become the Church, but is a superfluous and vain member, casting a blot, as far as in him lies, on the body of Christ. For if such men as are born with superfluous members of their body, which hang to them as fingers, or excrescences of flesh, cut them away from themselves on account of their indecency, whereby the unseemliness vanishes, and the man recovers his natural good shape by the means of the surgeon; how much more ought you, the pastors of the Church (for the Church is a perfect body, and sound members; of such as believe in God, in the fear of the Lord, and in love), to do the like when there is found in it a superfluous member with wicked designs, and rendering the rest of the body unseemly, and disturbing it with sedition, and war, and evil-speaking; causing fears, disturbances, blots, evil-speaking, accusations, disorders, and doing the

like works of the devil, as if he were ordained by the devil to cast a reproach on the Church by calumnies, and mighty disorders, and strife, and division! Such a one, therefore, when he is a second time cast out of the Church, is justly cut off entirely from the congregation of the Lord. And now the Church of the Lord will be more beautiful than it was before, when it had a superfluous, and to itself a disagreeable member. Wherefore henceforward it will be free from blame and reproach, and become clear of such wicked, deceitful, abusive, unmerciful, traitorous persons; of such as are "haters of those that are good, lovers of pleasure," affecters of vainglory, deceivers, and pretenders to wisdom; of such as make it their business to scatter, or rather utterly to disperse, the lambs of the Lord.

SECTION 6

THE DISPUTES OF THE FAITHFUL TO BE SETTLED BY THE DECISIONS OF THE BISHOP, AND THE FAITHFUL TO BE RECONCILED

Do thou therefore, O bishop, together with thy subordinate clergy, endeavor rightly to divide the word of truth. For the Lord says: "If you walk cross-grained to me, I will walk cross-grained to you." And elsewhere: "With the holy Thou wilt be holy, and with the perfect man Thou wilt be perfect, and with the froward Thou wilt be froward." Walk therefore holily, that you may rather appear worthy of praise from the Lord than of complaint from the adversary.

THAT THE DEACON IS TO EASE THE BURTHEN OF THE BISHOPS, AND TO ORDER THE SMALLER MATTERS HIMSELF

XLIV. Be ye of one mind, O ye bishops, one with another, and be at peace with one another; sympathize with one another, love the brethren, and feed the people with care; with one consent teach those that are under you to be of the same sentiments and to be of the same opinions about the same matters, "that there may be no schisms among you; that ye may be one body and one spirit, perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," according to the appointment of the Lord. And let the

deacon refer all things to the bishop, as Christ does to His Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord did from His Father the power of creation and of providence. But the weighty matters let the bishop judge; but let the deacon be the bishop's ear, and eye, and mouth, and heart, and soul, that the bishop may not be distracted with many cares, but with such only as are more considerable, as Jethro did appoint for Moses, and his counsel was received.

THAT CONTENTIONS AND QUARRELS ARE UNBECOMING CHRISTIANS

XLV. It is therefore a noble encomium for a Christian to have no contest with any one; but if by any management or temptation a contest arises with any one, let him endeavor that it may be composed, though thereby he be obliged to lose somewhat; and let it not come before an heathen tribunal. Nay, indeed, you are not to permit that the rulers of this world should pass sentence against your people; for by them the devil contrives mischief to the servants of God, and occasions a reproach to be cast upon us, as though we had not "one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren," or to decide their controversies.

THAT BELIEVERS OUGHT NOT TO GO TO LAW BEFORE UNBELIEVERS; NOR OUGHT ANY UNBELIEVER TO BE CALLED FOR A WITNESS AGAINST BELIEVERS

XLVI. Let not the heathen therefore know of your differences among One another, nor do you receive unbelievers as witnesses against yourselves, nor be judged by them, nor owe them anything on account of tribute or fear; but "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," as tribute, taxes, or poll-money, as our Lord by giving a piece of money was freed from disturbance. Choose therefore rather to suffer harm, and to endeavor after those things that make for peace, not only among the brethren, but also among the unbelievers. For by suffering loss in the affairs of this life, thou wilt be sure not to suffer in the concerns of piety, and wilt live religiously, and according to the command of Christ. But if brethren have lawsuits one with another, which God forbid, you who are the rulers ought thence to

learn that such as these do not do the work of brethren in the Lord, but rather of public enemies; and one of the parties will be found to be mild, gentle, and the child of light; but the other unmerciful, insolent, and covetous. Let him, therefore, who is condemned be rebuked, let him be separated, let him undergo the punishment of his hatred to his brother. Afterwards, when he repents, let him be received; and so, when they have learned prudence, they will ease your judicatures. It is also a duty to forgive each other's trespasses — not the duty of those that judge, but of those that have quarrels; as the Lord determined when I Peter asked Him, "How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" He replied, "I say not unto thee, Until seven times, but until seventy times seven." For so would our Lord have us to be truly His disciples, and never to have anything against anybody; as, for instance, anger without measure, passion without mercy, covetousness without justice, hatred without reconciliation. Draw by your instruction those who are angry to friendship, and those who are at variance to agreement. For the Lord says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

THAT THE JUDICATURES OF CHRISTIANS OUGHT TO BE HELD ON THE SECOND DAY OF THE WEEK

XLVII. Let your judicatures be held on the second day of the week, that if any controversy arise about your sentence, having an interval till the Sabbath, you may be able to set the controversy right, and to reduce those to peace who have the contests one with another against the Lord's day. Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness. When, therefore, both the parties are come, according as the law says, those that have the controversy shall stand severally in the middle of the court; and when you have heard them, give your votes holily, endeavoring to make them both friends before the sentence of the bishop, that judgment against the offender may not go abroad into the world; knowing that he has in the court the Christ of God as conscious of and confirming his judgment. But if any persons are accused by any one, and their fame suffers as if they did not walk uprightly in the Lord. in like manner you shall hear both parties — the accuser and accused; but not with prejudice,

nor with hearkening to one part only, but with righteousness, as passing a sentence concerning eternal life or death. For says God: “He shall prosecute that which is right justly.” For he that is justly punished and separated by you is rejected from eternal life and glory; he becomes dishonorable among holy men, and one condemned of God.

THAT THE SAME PUNISHMENT IS NOT TO BE INFLICTED FOR EVERY OFFENSE, BUT DIFFERENT PUNISHMENTS FOR DIFFERENT OFFENDERS

XLVIII. Do not pass the same sentence for every sin, but one suitable to each crime, distinguishing all the several sorts of offenses with much prudence, the great from the little. Treat a wicked action after one manner, and a wicked word after another; a bare intention still otherwise. So also in the case of a contumely or suspicion. And some thou shalt curb by threatenings alone; some thou shalt punish with fines to the poor; some thou shalt mortify with fastings; and others thou shalt separate according to the greatness of their several crimes. For the law did not allot the same punishment to every offense, but had a different regard to a sin against God, against the priest, against the temple, or against the sacrifice; from a sin against the king, or ruler, or a soldier, or a fellow-subject; and so were the offenses different which were against a servant, a possession, or a brute creature. And again, sins were differently rated according as they were against parents and kinsmen, and those differently which were done on purpose from those that happened involuntarily. Accordingly the punishments were different: as death either by crucifixion or by stoning, fines, scourgings, or the suffering the same mischiefs they had done to others. Wherefore do you also allot different penalties to different offenses, lest any injustice should happen, and provoke God to indignation. For of what unjust judgment soever you are the instruments, of the same you shall receive the reward from God. “For with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged.”

WHAT ARE TO BE THE CHARACTERS OF ACCUSERS AND WITNESSES

XLIX. When, therefore, you are set down at your tribunal, and the parties are both of them present (for we will not call them brethren until

they receive each other in peace), examine diligently concerning those who appear before you; and first concerning the accuser, whether this be the first person he has accused, or whether he has advanced accusations against some others before, and whether this contest and accusation of theirs does not arise from some quarrel, and what sort of life the accuser leads. Yet, though he be of a good conscience, do not give credit to him alone, for that is contrary to the law; but let him have others to join in his testimony, and those of the same course of life. As the law says: “At the mouth of two or three witnesses everything shall be established.” But why did we say that the character of the witnesses was to be inquired after, of what sort it is? Because it frequently happens that two and more testify for mischief, and with joint consent prefer a lie; as did the two elders against Susanna in Babylon, and the sons of transgressors against Naborb in Samaria, and the multitude of the Jews against our Lord at Jerusalem, and against Stephen His first martyr. Let the witnesses therefore be meek, free from anger, full of equity, kind, prudent, continent, free from wickedness, faithful, religious; for the testimony of such persons is firm on account of their character, and true on account of their mode of life. But as to those of a different character, do not ye receive their testimony, although they seem to agree together in their evidence against the accused; for it is ordained in the law: “Thou shalt not be with a multitude for wickedness; thou shalt not receive a vain report; thou shalt not consent with a multitude to pervert judgment.” You ought also particularly to know him that is accused; what he is in his course and mode of life; whether he have a good report as to his life; whether he has been unblameable; whether he has been zealous in holiness; whether he be a lover of the widows, a lover of the strangers, a lover of the poor, and a lover of the brethren; whether he be not given to filthy lucre; whether he be not an extravagant person, or a spendthrift; whether he be sober, and free from luxury, or a drunkard, or a glutton; whether he be compassionate and charitable.

THAT FORMER OFFENSES DO SOMETIMES RENDER AFTER ACCUSATIONS CREDIBLE

L. For if he has been before addicted to wicked works, the accusations which are now brought against him will thence in some measure appear to

be true, unless justice do plainly plead for hint. For it may be, that though he had formerly been an offender, yet that he may not be guilty of this crime of which he is accused. Wherefore be exactly cautious about such circumstances, and so render your sentences, when pronounced against the offender convicted, safe and firm. And if, after his separation, he begs pardon, and falls down before the bishop, and acknowledges his fault, receive him. But neither do you suffer a false accuser to go unpunished, that he may not calumniate another who lives well, or encourage some other person to do like him. Nor, to be sure, do ye suffer a person convicted to go off clear, lest another be ensnared in the same crimes. For neither shall a witness of mischiefs be unpunished, nor shall he that offends be without censure.

AGAINST JUDGING WITHOUT HEARING BOTH SIDES

LI. We said before that judgment ought not to be given upon hearing only one of the parties; for if you hear one of them when the other is not there, and so cannot make his defense to the accusation brought against him, and rashly give your votes for condemnation, you will be found guilty of that man's destruction, and partaker with the false accuser before God, the just Judge. For "as he that holdeth the tail of a dog, so is he that presides at unjust judgment." But if ye become imitators of the elders in Babylon, who, when they had born witness against Susanna, unjustly condemned her to death, you will become obnoxious to their judgment and condemnation. For the Lord by Daniel delivered Susanna from the hand of the ungodly, but condemned to the fire those elders who were guilty of her blood, and reproaches you by him, saying: "Are ye so foolish, ye children of Israel? Without examination, and without knowing the truth, have ye condemned a daughter of Israel? Return again to the place of judgment, for these men have born false witness against her."

THE CAUTION OBSERVED AT HEATHEN TRIBUNALS BEFORE THE CONDEMNATION OF CRIMINALS AFFORDS CHRISTIANS A GOOD EXAMPLE

LII. Consider even the judicatures of this world, by whose power we see murderers, adulterers, wizards, robbers of sepulchers, and thieves brought to trial; and those that preside, when they have received their accusations

from those that brought them, ask the malefactor whether those things be so. And though he does not deny the crimes, they do not presently send him out to punishment; but for several days they make inquiry about him with a full council, and with the veil interposed. And he that is to pass the final decree and suffrage of death against him, lifts up his hands to the sun, and solemnly affirms that he is innocent of the blood of the man. Though they be heathens, and know not the Deity, nor the vengeance which will fall upon men from God on account of those that are justly condemned, they avoid such unjust judgments.

THAT CHRISTIANS OUGHT NOT TO BE CONTENTIOUS ONE WITH ANOTHER

LIII. But you who know who our God is, and what are His judgments, how can you bear to pass an unjust judgment, since your sentence will be immediately known to God? And if you have judged righteously, you will be deemed worthy of the recompenses of righteousness, both now and hereafter; but if unrighteously, you will partake of the like. We therefore advise you, brethren, rather to deserve commendation from God than rebukes; for the commendation of God is eternal life to men, as is His rebuke everlasting death. Be ye therefore righteous judges, peacemakers, and without anger. For “he that is angry with his brother without a cause is obnoxious to the judgment.” But if it happens that by any one’s contrivance you are angry at anybody, “let not the sun go down upon your wrath;” for says David, “Be angry and sin not;” that is, be soon reconciled, lest your wrath continue so long that it turn to a settled hatred, and work sin. “For the souls of those that bear a settled hatred are to death,” says Solomon. But our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ says in the Gospels: “If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift to God.” Now the gift to God is every one’s prayer and thanksgiving. If, therefore, thou hast anything against thy brother, or he has anything against thee, neither will thy prayers be heard, nor will thy thanksgivings be accepted, by reason of that hidden anger. But it is your duty, brethren, to pray continually. Yet, because God hears not those which are at enmity with their brethren by unjust quarrels, even though

they should pray three times an hour, it is our duty to compose all our enmity and littleness of soul, that we may be able to pray with a pure and unpolluted heart. For the Lord commanded us to love even our enemies, and by no means to hate our friends. And the lawgiver says: “Thou shalt not hate any man; thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy mind. Thou shalt certainly reprove thy brother, and not incur sin on his account.” “Thou shalt not hate an Egyptian, for thou wast a sojourner with him. Thou shalt not hate an Idumaean, for he is thy brother.” And David says: “If I have repaid those that requited me evil.” Wherefore, if thou wilt be a Christian, follow the law of the Lord: “Loose every band of wickedness; for the Lord has given thee authority to remit those sins to thy brother which he has committed against thee as far as “seventy times seven,” that is, four hundred and ninety times. How oft, therefore, hast thou remitted to thy brother, that thou art unwilling to do it now, when thou also hast heard Jeremiah saying, “Do not any of you impute the wickedness of his neighbor in your hearts?” But thou rememberest in juries, and keepest enmity, and comest into judgment, and art suspicious of His anger and thy prayer is hindered. Nay, if thou hast remitted to thy brother four hundred and ninety times, do thou still multiply thy acts of gentleness more, to do good for thy own sake. Although he does not do so, yet, however, do thou endeavor to forgive thy brother for God’s sake, “that thou mayest be the son of thy Father which is in heaven,” and when thou prayest, mayest be heard as a friend of God.

THAT THE BISHOPS MUST BY THEIR DEACON PUT THE PEOPLE IN MIND OF THE OBLIGATION THEY ARE UNDER TO LIVE PEACEABLY TOGETHER

LIV. Wherefore, O bishop, when you are to go to prayer after the lessons, and the psalmody, and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the deacon stand nigh you, and with a loud voice say: Let none have any quarrel with another; let none come in hypocrisy; that if there be any controversy found among any of you, they may be affected in conscience, and may pray to God, and be reconciled to their brethren. For if, upon coming into any one’s house, we are to say, “Peace be to this house,” like sons of peace bestowing peace on those who are worthy, as it is written, “He came and preached peace to you that are nigh, and them that are far

off, whom the Lord knows to be His," much more is it incumbent on those that enter into the Church of God before all things to pray for the peace of God. But if he prays for it upon others, much more let himself be within the same, as a child of light; for he that has it not within himself is not fit to bestow it upon others. Wherefore, before all things, it is our duty to be at peace in our own minds; for he that does not find any disorder in himself will not quarrel with another, but will be peaceable, friendly, gathering the Lord's people, and a fellow-worker with him, in order to the increasing the number of those that shall be saved in unanimity. For those who contrive enmities, and strifes, and contests, and lawsuits, are wicked, and aliens from God.

AN ENUMERATION OF THE SEVERAL INSTANCES OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, AND HOW IN EVERY AGE FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD GOD HAS INVITED ALL MEN TO REPENTANCE

LV. For God, being a God of mercy from the beginning, called every generation to repentance by righteous men and prophets. He instructed those before the flood by Abel and Sem, and Seth, also by Enos, and by Enoch that was translated; those at the flood by Noah; the inhabitants of Sodom by hospitable Lot; those after the flood by Melchizedek, and the patriarchs, and Job the beloved of God; the Egyptians by Moses; the Israelites by him, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas, and the rest; those after the law by angels and prophets, and the same by His own incarnation of the Virgin; those a little before His bodily appearance by John His forerunner, and the same by the same person after Christ's birth, saying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" those after His passion by us, the twelve apostles, and Paul the chosen vessel. We therefore, who have been vouchsafed the favor of being the witnesses of His appearance, together with James the brother of our Lord, and the other seventy-two disciples, and his seven deacons, have heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by exact knowledge declare "what is the will of God, that good, and acceptable, and perfect will" which is made known to us by Jesus; that none should perish, but that all men with one accord should believe in Him, and send unanimously praise to Him, and thereby live for ever.

THAT IT IS THE WILL OF GOD THAT MEN SHOULD BE OF ONE MIND IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, IN ACCORD WITH THE HEAVENLY POWERS

LVI. For this is that which our Lord taught us when we pray to say to His Father, “Thy will be done, as in heaven, so upon earth;” that as the heavenly natures of the incorporeal powers do all glorify God with one consent, so also upon earth all men with one mouth and one purpose may glorify the only, the one, and the true God, by Christ His only-begotten. It is therefore His will that men should praise Him with unanimity, and adore Him with one consent. For this is His will in Christ, that those who are saved by Him may be many; but that you do not occasion any loss or diminution to Him, nor to the Church, or lessen the number by one soul of man, as destroyed by you, which might have been saved by repentance; and which therefore perishes not only by its own sin, but also by your treachery besides, whereby you fulfill that which is written, “He that gathereth not with me, scattereth.” Such a one is a disperser of the sheep, an adversary, an enemy of God, a destroyer of those lambs whose Shepherd was the Lord, and we were the collectors out of various nations and tongues, by much pains and danger, and perpetual labor, by watchings, by fastings, by lyings on the ground, by persecutions, by stripes, by imprisonments, that we might do the will of God, and fill the feast-chamber with guests to sit down at His table, that is, the holy and Catholic Church, with joyful and chosen people, singing hymns and praises to God that has called them by us to life. And you, as much as in you lies, have dispersed them. Do you also of the laity be at peace with one another, endeavoring like wise men to increase the Church, and to turn back, and tame, and restore those which seem wild. For this is the greatest reward by His promise from God, “If thou fetch out the worthy and precious from the unworthy, thou shalt be as my mouth.”

SECTION 7

ON ASSEMBLING IN THE CHURCH

An exact description of a church and the clergy, and what things in particular every one is to do in the solemn assemblies of the clergy and laity for, religious worship.

LVII. But be thou, O bishop, holy, unblameable, no striker, not soon angry, not cruel; but a builder up, a converter, apt to teach, forbearing of evil, of a gentle mind, meek, long-suffering, ready to exhort, ready to comfort, as a man of God. When thou callest an assembly of the Church as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill, charging the deacons as mariners to prepare places for the brethren as for passengers, with all due care and decency. And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end, and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the bishop's throne be placed, and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship: with regard to these, let the laity sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order. And let the women sit by themselves, they also keeping silence. In the middle, let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels, both those which I Matthew and John have delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul received and left to you, Luke and Mark. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written: "Be silent, and hear, O lsrael." And again: "But do thou stand there, and hear." In the next place, let the presbyters one by one, not all

together, exhort the people, and the bishop in the last place, as being the commander. Let the porters stand at the entries of the men, and observe them. Let the deaconesses also stand at those of the women, like shipmen. For the same description and pattern was both in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple of God. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the deacon, as a manager of the foreship, and be removed into the place proper for him; for the Church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheepfold. For as the shepherds place all the brute creatures distinctly, I mean goats and sheep, according to their kind and age, and still every one runs together, like to his like; so is it to be in the Church. Let the young persons sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; if not, let them stand upright. But let those that are already stricken in years sit in order. For the children which stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to them. Let the younger women also sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; but if there be not, let them stand behind the women. Let those women which are married, and have children, be placed by themselves; but let the virgins, and the widows, and the elder women, stand or sit before all the rest; and let the deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that comes in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner, let the deacon oversee the people, that nobody may whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod; for all ought in the church to stand wisely, and soberly, and attentively, having their attention fixed upon the word of the Lord. After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east; remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east, from whence the first man, when he had yielded to the persuasion of the serpent, and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled. As to the deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord’s body with fear. Let others of them watch the multitude, and keep them silent. But let that deacon who is at the high priest’s hand say to the people, Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy. Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord’s kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the whole Church, for the whole world, and the several parts of

it, and the fruits of it; for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and the peace of the universe. After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people, in these words: “The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace.” Let the bishop pray for the people, and say: “Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, which Thou hast obtained with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood, and an holy nation.” After this let the sacrifice follow, the people standing, and praying silently; and when the oblation has been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord’s body and precious blood in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their king. Let the women approach with their heads covered, as is becoming the order of women; but let the door be watched, lest any unbeliever, or one not yet initiated, come in.

OF COMMENDATORY LETTERS IN FAVOR OF STRANGERS, LAY PERSONS, CLERGYMEN, AND BISHOPS; AND THAT THOSE WHO COME INTO THE CHURCH ASSEMBLIES ARE TO BE RECEIVED WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR QUALITY

LVIII. If any brother, man or woman, come in from another parish, bringing recommendatory letters, let the deacon be the judge of that affair, inquiring whether they be of the faithful, and of the Church? whether they be not defiled by heresy? and besides, whether the party be a married woman or a widow? And when he is satisfied in these questions, that they are really of the faithful, and of the same sentiments in the things of the Lord, let him conduct every one to the place proper for him. And if a presbyter comes from another parish, let him be received to communion by the presbyters; if a deacon, by the deacons; if a bishop, let him sit with the bishop, and be allowed the same honor with himself; and thou, O bishop, shalt desire him to speak to the people words of instruction: for the exhortation and admonition of strangers is very acceptable, and exceeding profitable. For, as the Scripture says, “no prophet is accepted in his own country.” Thou shalt also permit him to offer the Eucharist; but if, out of reverence to thee, and as a wise man, to preserve the honor belonging to thee, he will not offer, at least thou shalt compel him to give

the blessing to the people. But if, after the congregation is sat down, any other person comes upon you of good fashion and character in the world, whether he be a stranger, or one of your own country, neither do thou, O bishop, if thou art speaking the word of God, or hearing him that sings or reads, accept persons so far as to leave the ministry of the word, that thou mayest appoint an upper place for him; but continue quiet, not interrupting thy discourse, nor thy attention. But let the brethren receive him by the deacons; and if there be not a place, let the deacon by speaking, but not in anger, raise the junior, and place the stranger there. And it is but reasonable that one that loves the brethren should do so of his own accord; but if he refuse, let him raise him up by force, and set him behind all, that the rest may be taught to give place to those that are more honorable. Nay, if a poor man, or one of a mean family, or a stranger, comes upon you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the deacon shall find a place for even these, and that with all his heart; that, instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration towards God may be well-pleasing. The very same thing let the deaconess do to those women, whether poor or rich, that come unto them.

THAT EVERY CHRISTIAN OUGHT TO FREQUENT THE CHURCH DILIGENTLY BOTH MORNING AND EVENING

LIX. When thou instructest the people, O bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to church morning and evening every day, and by no means to forsake it on any account, but to assemble together continually; neither to diminish the Church by withdrawing themselves, and causing the body of Christ to be without its member. For it is not only spoken concerning the priests, but let every one of the laity hearken to it as concerning himself, considering that it is said by the Lord: “He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.” Do not you therefore scatter yourselves abroad, who are the members of Christ, by not assembling together, since you have Christ your head, according to His promise, present, and communicating to you. Be not careless of yourselves, neither deprive your Savior of His own members, neither divide His body nor disperse His members, neither prefer the occasions of this life to the word of God; but assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and

praying in the Lord's house: in the morning saying the sixty-second Psalm, and in the evening the hundred and fortieth, but principally on the Sabbath-day. And on the day of our Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's day, meet more diligently, sending praise to God that made the universe by Jesus, and sent Him to us, and condescended to let Him suffer, and raised Him from the dead. Otherwise what apology will he make to God who does not assemble on that day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection, on which we pray thrice standing in memory of Him who arose in three days, in which is performed the reading of the prophets, the preaching of the Gospel, the oblation of the sacrifice, the gift of the holy food?

THE VAIN ZEAL WHICH THE HEATHENS AND JEWS SHOW IN FREQUENTING THEIR TEMPLES AND SYNAGOGUES IS A PROPER EXAMPLE AND MOTIVE TO EXCITE CHRISTIANS TO FREQUENT THE CHURCH

LX. And how can he be other than an adversary to God, who takes pains about temporary things night and day, but takes no care of things eternal? who takes care of washings and temporary food every day, but does not take care of those that endure for ever? How can such a one even now avoid hearing that word of the Lord, "The Gentiles are justified more than you?" as He says, by way of reproach, to Jerusalem, "Sodom is justified rather than thou." For if the Gentiles every day, when they arise from sleep, run to their idols to worship them, and before all their work and all their labors do first of all pray to them, and in their feasts and in their solemnities do not keep away, but attend upon them; and not only those upon the place, but those living far distant do the same; and in their public shows all come together, as into a synagogue: in the same manner those which are vainly called Jews, when they have worked six days. on the seventh day rest, and come together into their synagogue, never leaving nor neglecting either rest from labor or assembling together, while yet they are deprived of the efficacy of the word in their unbelief, nay, and of the force of that name Judah, by which they call themselves, — for Judah is interpreted Confession, — but these do not confess to God (having unjustly occasioned the suffering on the cross), so as to be saved on their repentance; — if, therefore, those who are not saved frequently assemble

together for such purposes as do not profit them, what apology wilt thou make to the Lord God who forsakest His Church, not imitating so much as the heathen, but by such thy absence growest slothful, or turnest apostate, or actest wickedness? To whom the Lord says by Jeremiah: “Ye have not kept my ordinances; nay, ye have not walked according to the ordinances of the heathen, and you have in a manner exceeded them.” And again: “lsrael has justified his soul more than treacherous Judah.” And afterwards: “Will the Gentiles change their gods which are not gods? Wherefore pass over to the isles of Chittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and observe diligently whether such things have been done. For those nations have not changed their ordinances; but,” says He, “my people has changed its glory for that which will not profit.” How, therefore, will any one make his apology who has despised or absented himself from the church of God?

THAT WE MUST NOT PREFER THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE TO THOSE WHICH CONCERN THE WORSHIP OF GOD

LXI. But if any one allege the pretense of his own work, and so is a despiser, “offering pretenses for his sins,” let such a one know that the trades of the faithful are works by the by, but the worship of God is their great work. Follow therefore your trades as by the by, for your maintenance, but make the worship of God your main business; as also our Lord said: “Labor not for the meat which perishes, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life.” And again: “This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent.” Endeavor therefore never to leave the Church of God; but if any one overlooks it, and goes either into a polluted temple of the heathens, or into a synagogue of the Jews or heretics, what apology will such a one make to God in the day of judgment, who has forsaken the oracles of the living God, and the living and quickening oracles, such as are able to deliver from eternal punishment, and has gone into an house of demons, or into a synagogue of the murderers of Christ, or the congregation of the wicked? — not hearkening unto him that says: “I have hated the congregation of the wicked, and I will not enter with the ungodly. I have not sat with the assembly of vanity, neither will I sit with the ungodly.” And again: “Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way

of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night." But thou, forsaking the gathering together of the faithful, the Church of God, and His laws, hast respect to those "dens of thieves," calling those things holy which He has called profane, and making such things unclean which He has sanctified. And not only so, but thou already runnest after the pomps of the Gentiles, and hastenest to their theatres, being desirous to be reckoned one of those that enter into them, and to partake of unseemly, not to say abominable words; not hearkening to Jeremiah, who says, "O Lord, I have not sat in their assemblies, for they are scorners; but I was afraid because of Thy hand;" nor to Job, who speaks in like manner, "If I have gone at any time with the scornful; for I shall be weighed in a just balance." But why wilt thou be a partaker of the heathen oracles, which are nothing but dead men declaring by the inspiration of the devil deadly things, and such as tend to subvert the faith, and to draw those that attend to them to polytheism? Do you therefore, who attend to the laws. of God, esteem those laws more honorable than the necessities of this life, and pay a greater respect to them, and run together to the Church of the Lord, "which He has purchased with the blood of Christ, the beloved, the first-born of every creature." For this Church is the daughter of the Highest, which has been in travail of you by the word of grace, and has "formed Christ in you," of whom you are made partakers, and thereby become His holy and chosen members, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but as being holy and unspotted in the faith, ye are complete in Him, after the image of God that created you."

THAT CHRISTIANS MUST ABSTAIN FROM ALL THE IMPIOUS PRACTICES OF THE HEATHENS

LXII. Take heed, therefore, not to join yourselves in your worship with those that perish, which is the assembly of the Gentiles, to your deceit and destruction. For there is no fellowship between God and the devil; for he that assembles himself with those that favor the things of the devil, will be esteemed one of them, and will inherit a woe. Avoid also indecent spectacles: I mean the theatres and the pomps of the heathens; their enchantments, observations of omens, soothsayings, purgations, divinations, observations of birds; their necromancies and invocations. For

it is written: “There is no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel.” And again: “Divination is iniquity.” And elsewhere: “Ye shall not be soothsayers, and follow observers of omens, nor diviners, nor dealers with familiar spirits. Ye shall not preserve alive wizards.” Wherefore Jeremiah exhorts, saying: “Walk ye not according to the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven.” So that it is the duty of a believer to avoid the assemblies of the ungodly, of the heathen, and of the Jews, and of the rest of the heretics, lest by uniting ourselves to them we bring snares upon our own souls; that we may not by joining in their feasts, which are celebrated in honor of demons, be partakers with them in their impiety. You are also to avoid their public meetings, and those sports which are celebrated in them. For a believer ought not to go to any of those public meetings, unless to purchase a slave, and save a soul? and at the same time to buy such other things as suit their necessities. Abstain, therefore, from all idolatrous pomp and state, all their public meetings, banquets, duels, and all shows belonging to demons.

SECTION 8

ON THE DUTY OF WORKING FOR A LIVELIHOOD

That A Christian Who Will Not Work Must Not Eat, As Peter And The Rest Of The Apostles Were Fishermen, But Paul And Aquila Tentmakers, Jude The Son Of James An Husbandman.

LXIII. Let the young persons of the Church endeavor to minister diligently in all necessaries: mind your business with all becoming seriousness, that so you may always have sufficient to support yourselves and those that are needy, and not burden the Church of God. For we ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the Gospel, do not neglect our inferior employments. For some of us are fishermen, some tentmakers, some husbandmen, that so we may never be idle. So says Solomon somewhere: “Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways diligently, and become wiser than she. For she, having neither field, overseer, nor ruler, prepareth her food in the summer, and layeth up a great store in the harvest. Or else go to the bee, and learn how laborious she is, and her work how valuable it is, whose labors both kings and mean

men make use of for their health. She is desirable and glorious, though she be weak in strength, yet by honoring wisdom she is improved, etc. How long wilt thou lie on thy bed, O sluggard? When wilt thou awake out of thy sleep? Thou sleepest awhile thou liest down awhile, thou slumberest awhile, thou foldest thy hands on thy breast to sleep awhile. Then poverty comes on thee like an evil traveler, and want as a swift racer. But if thou beest diligent, thy harvest shall come as a fountain, and want shall fly from thee as an evil runagate." And again: "He that manageth his own land shall be filled with bread." And elsewhere he says: "The slothful has folded his own hands together, and has eaten his own flesh." And afterwards: "The sluggard hides his hand; he will not be able to bring it to his mouth." And again: "By slothfulness of the hands a floor will be brought low." Labor therefore continually; for the blot of the slothful is not to be healed. But "if any one does not work, let not such a one eat" among you. For the Lord our God hates the slothful. For no one of those who are dedicated to God ought to be idle.

ELUCIDATION

(TO PURCHASE A SLAVE, AND SAVE A SOUL)

THE calm and patient course of the Church in gradually obliterating slavery has been well defended by the pious Spanish Ultramontane writer Jacques Balmas. Of course, he imagines that "the Catholic Church," which wrought the change, was his own Tridentine Communion, Lecky's remarks on the gladiators and slavery as the product of famines and distress are worthy of note, and even he is forced to recognize the ameliorating influences of Christianity from the beginning. He says: —

"Christianity for the first time made charity a rudimentary virtue, giving it a foremost place in the moral type and in the exhortations of its teachers. Besides its general influence in stimulating the affections, it effected a complete revolution in this sphere, by representing the poor as the special representatives of the Christian founder, and thus making the love of Christ rather than the love of man the principle of charity. Even in the days of persecution, collections for the relief of the poor were made at the Sunday meetings. The *agapoe*, or feasts of love, were intended mainly for

the poor; and food that was saved by the fasts was devoted to their benefit. A vast organization of charity, presided over by the bishops, and actively directed by the deacons, soon ramified over Christendom, till the bond of charity became the bond of unity, and the most distant sections of the Christian Church corresponded by the interchange of mercy. Long before the era of Constantine it was observed that the charities of the Christians were so extensive — it may perhaps be said so excessive — that they drew very many impostors to the Church; and, when the victory of Christianity was achieved, the enthusiasm for charity displayed itself in the erection of numerous institutions that were altogether unknown to the pagan world.”

BOOK 3

SECTION 1

CONCERNING WIDOWS THE AGE AT WHICH WIDOWS SHOULD BE CHOSEN

I. CHOOSE your "widows not under sixty years of age," that in some measure the suspicion of a second marriage may be prevented by their age. But if you admit one younger into the order of widows, and she cannot bear her widowhood in her youth, and marries, she will procure indecent reflections on the glory of the order of the widows, and shall give an account to God; not because she married a second time, but because she has "waxed wanton against Christ," and not kept her promise, because she did not came and keep her promise with faith and the fear of God. Wherefore such a promise ought not to be rashly made, but with great caution: "for it is better for her not to vow, than to vow and not to pay." But if any younger woman, who has lived but a while with her husband, and has lost him by death or some other occasion, and remains by herself, having the gift of widowhood, she will be found to be blessed, and to be like the widow of Sarepta, belonging to Sidon, with whom the holy prophet of God, Elijah, lodged. Such a one may also be compared to "Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, which departed not from the temple, but continued in supplications and prayers night and day, who was fourscore years old, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, who glorified the coming of Christ, and gave thanks to the Lord, and spake concerning Him to all those who looked for redemption in Israel." Such a widow will have a good report, and will be honored, having both glory with men upon earth, and eternal praise with God in heaven.

THAT WE MUST AVOID THE CHOICE OF YOUNGER WIDOWS, BECAUSE OF SUSPICION

II. But let not the younger widows be placed in the order of widows, lest, under pretense of inability to contain in the flower of their age, they come to a second marriage, and become subject to imputation. But let them be assisted and supported, that so they may not, under pretense of being deserted, come to a second marriage, and so be ensnared in an unseemly imputation. For you ought to know this, that once marrying according to the law is righteous, as being according to the will of God; but second marriages, after the promise, are wicked, not on account of the marriage itself, but because of the falsehood. Third marriages are indications of incontinency. But such marriages as are beyond the third are manifest fornication, and unquestionable uncleanness. For God in the creation gave one woman to one man; for “they two shall be one flesh.” But to the younger women let a second marriage be allowed after the death of their first husband, lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil, and many snares, and foolish lusts, which are hurtful to souls, and which bring upon them punishment rather than rest.

WHAT CHARACTER THE WIDOWS OUGHT TO BE OF, AND HOW THEY OUGHT TO BE SUPPORTED BY THE BISHOP

III. But the true widows are those which have had only one husband, having a good report among the generality for good works; widows indeed, sober, chaste, faithful, pious, who have brought up their children well, and have entertained strangers unblameably, which are to be supported as devoted to God. Besides, do thou, O bishop, be mindful of the needy, both reaching Gilt thy helping hand and making provision for them as the steward of God, distributing seasonably the oblations to every one of them, to the widows, the orphans, the friendless, and those tried with affliction.

THAT WE OUGHT TO BE CHARITABLE TO ALL SORTS OF PERSONS IN WANT

IV. For what if some are neither widows nor widowers, but stand in need of assistance, either through poverty or some disease, or the maintenance

of a great number of children? It is thy duty to oversee all people, and to take care of them all. For they that give gifts do not of their own head give them to the widows, but barely bring them in, calling them free-will offerings, that so thou that knowest those that are in affliction mayest as a good steward give them their portion of the gift. For God knows the giver, though thou distributest it to those in want when he is absent. And he has the reward of well-doing, but thou the blessedness of having dispensed it with a good conscience. But do thou tell them who was the giver, that they may pray for him by name. For it is our duty to do good to all men, not fondly preferring one or another, whoever they be. For the Lord says: "Give to every one that asketh of thee." It is evident that it is meant of every one that is really in want, whether he be friend or foe, whether he be a kinsman or a stranger, whether he be single or married. For in all the Scripture the Lord gives us exhortations about the needy, saying first by Isaiah: "Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor which have no covering into thine house. If thou seest the naked, do thou cover him; and thou shalt not overlook those which are of thine own family and seed." And then by Daniel He says to the potentate: "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel please thee, and purge thy sins by acts of mercy, and thine iniquities by bowels of compassion to the needy." And He says by Solomon: "By acts of mercy and of faith iniquities are purged." And He says again by David: "Blessed is he that has regard to the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the evil day." And again: "He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the needy, his righteousness remaineth for ever." And Solomon says: "He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord; according to his gift it shall be repaid him again." And afterwards: "He that stoppeth his ear, that he may not hear him that is in want, he also shall call himself, and there shall be none to hear him."

THAT THE WIDOWS ARE TO BE VERY CAREFUL OF THEIR BEHAVIOR

V. Let every widow be meek, quiet, gentle, sincere, free from anger, not talkative, not clamorous, not hasty of speech, not given to evil-speaking, not captious, not double-tongued, not a busybody. If she see or hear anything that is not right, let her be as one that does not see, and as one that does not hear. And let the widow mind nothing but to pray for those

that give, and for the whole Church; and when she is asked anything by any one, let her not easily answer, excepting questions concerning the faith, and righteousness, and hope in God, remitting those that desire to be instructed in the doctrines of godliness to the governors. Let her only answer so as may tend to the subversion of the error of polytheism, and let her demonstrate the assertion concerning the monarchy of God. But of the remaining doctrines let her not answer anything rashly, lest by saying anything unlearnedly she should make the word to be blasphemed. For the Lord has taught us that the word is like "a grain of mustard seed," which is of a fiery nature, which if any one uses unskillfully, he will find it bitter. For in the mystical points we ought not to be rash, but cautious; for the Lord exhorts us, saying: "Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and turn again and rend you." For unbelievers, when they hear the doctrine concerning Christ not explained as it ought to be, but defectively, and especially that concerning His incarnation or His passion, will rather reject it with scorn, and laugh at it as false, than praise God for it. And so the aged women will be guilty of rashness, and of causing blasphemy, and will inherit a woe. For says He, "Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."

THAT WOMEN OUGHT NOT TO TEACH, BECAUSE IT IS UNSEEMLY; AND WHAT WOMEN FOLLOWED OUR LORD

VI. We do not permit our "women to teach in the Church," but only to pray and hear those that teach; for our Master and Lord, Jesus Himself, when He sent us the twelve to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although He did not want such. For there were with us the mother of our Lord and His sisters; also Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Martha and Mary the sisters of Lazarus; Salome, and certain others. For, had it been necessary for women to teach, He Himself had first commanded these also to instruct the people with us. For "if the head of the wife be the man," it is not reasonable that the rest of the body should govern the head. Let the widow therefore own herself to be the "altar of God," and let her sit in her house, and not enter into the houses of the faithful, under any pretense, to receive anything; for the altar of God never runs about, but is fixed in one place. Let, therefore, the virgin and the widow be such as do not run about,

or gad to the houses of those who are alien from the faith. For such as these are gadders and impudent: they do not make their feet to rest in one place, because they are not widows, but purses ready to receive, triflers, evil-speakers, counselors of strife, without shame, impudent, who being such, are not worthy of Him that called them. For they do not come to the common station of the congregation on the Lord's day, as those that are watchful; but either they slumber, or trifle, or allure men, or beg, or ensnare others, bringing them to the evil one; not suffering them to be watchful in the Lord, but taking care that they go out as vain as they came in, because they do not hear the word of the Lord either taught or read. For of such as these the prophet Isaiah says: "Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxen gross, and they hear heavily with their ears."

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERS OF WIDOWS FALSELY SO CALLED

VII. In the same manner, therefore, the ears of the hearts of such widows as these are stopped, that they will not sit within in their cottages to speak to the Lord, but will run about with the design of getting, and by their foolish prattling fulfill the desires of the adversary. Such widows, therefore, are not affixed to the altar of Christ: for there are some widows which esteem gain their business; and since they ask without shame, and receive without being satisfied, render the generality more backward in giving. For when they ought to be content with their subsistence from the Church, as having moderate desires, on the contrary, they run from one of their neighbors' houses to another, and disturb them, heaping up to themselves plenty of money, and lend at bitter usury, and are only solicitous about mammon, whose bag is their God; who prefer eating and drinking before all virtue, saying, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die;" who esteem these things as if they were durable and not perishing things. For she that uses herself to nothing but talking of money, worships mammon instead of God, — that is, is a servant to gain, but cannot be pleasing to God, nor resigned to His worship; not being able to intercede with Him continuously on account that her mind and disposition run after money: for "where the treasure is, there will the heart be also." For she is thinking in her mind whither she may go to receive, or that a certain

woman her friend has forgot her, and she has somewhat to say to her. She that thinks of such things as these will no longer attend to her prayers, but to that thought which offers itself; so that though sometimes she would pray for anybody, she will not be beard, because she does not offer her petition to the Lord with her whole heart, but with a divided mind. But she that will attend to God will sit within, and mind the things of the Lord day and night, offering her sincere petition with a mouth ready to utter the same without ceasing. As therefore Judith, most famous for her wisdom, and of a good report for her modesty, “prayed to God night and day for Israel;” so also the widow who is like to her will offer her intercession without ceasing for the Church to God. And He will hear her, because her mind is fixed on this thing alone, and is not disposed to be either insatiable, or covetous, or expensive; when her eye is pure, and her hearing clean, and her hands undefiled, and her feet quiet, and her mouth prepared for neither gluttony nor trifling, but speaking the things that are fit, and partaking of only such things as are necessary for her maintenance. So, being grave, and giving no disturbance, she will be pleasing to God; and as soon as she asks anything, the gift will come to her: as He says, “While thou art speaking, I will say, Behold, I am here.” Let such a one also be free from the love of money, free from arrogance, not given to filthy lucre, not insatiable, not gluttonous, but continent, meek, giving nobody disturbance, pious, modest, sitting at home, singing, and praying, and reading, and watching, and fasting; speaking to God continually in songs and hymns. And let her take wool, and rather assist others than herself want from them; being mindful of that widow who is honored in the Gospel with the Lord’s testimony, who, coming into the temple, “cast into the treasury two mites, which make a farthing. And Christ our Lord and Master, and Searcher of hearts, saw her, and said, Verily I say unto you, that this widow hath cast into the treasury more than they all: for all they have cast in of their abundance, but this woman of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.”

The widows therefore ought to be grave, obedient to their bishops, and their presbyters, and their deacons, and besides these to the deaconesses, with piety, reverence, and fear; not usurping authority, nor desiring to do anything beyond the constitution without the consent of the deacon: as, suppose, the going to any one to eat or drink with him, or to receive

anything from anybody. But if without direction she does any one of these things, let her be punished with fasting, or else let her be separated on account of her rashness.

THAT THE WIDOWS OUGHT NOT TO ACCEPT OF ALMS FROM THE UNWORTHY NO MORE THAN THE BISHOP, OR ANY OTHER OF THE FAITHFUL

VIII. For how does such a one know of what character the person is from whom she receives? or from what sort of ministration he supplies her with food, whether it does not arise from rapine or some other ill course of life? while the widow does not remember that if she receives in a way unworthy of God, she must give an account for every one of these things. For neither will the priests at any time receive a free-will offering from such a one, as, suppose, from a rapacious person or from a harlot. For it is written, “Thou shalt not covet the goods that are thy neighbor’s;” and, “Thou shalt not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord God.” From such as these no offerings ought to be accepted, nor indeed from those that are separated from the Church. Let the widows also be ready to obey the commands given them by their superiors, and let them do according to the appointment of the bishop, being obedient to him as to God; for he that receives from such a one who is worthy of blame, or from one excommunicated, and prays for him, while he purposes to go on in a wicked course, and while he is not willing at any time to repent, holds communion with him in prayer, and grieves Christ, who rejects the unrighteous, and confirms them by means of the unworthy gift, and is defiled with them, not suffering them to come to repentance, so as to fall down before God with lamentation, and pray to Him.

THAT WOMEN OUGHT NOT TO BAPTIZE, BECAUSE IT IS IMPIOUS, AND CONTRARY TO THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

IX. Now, as to women’s baptizing, we let you know that there is no small peril to those that undertake it. Therefore we do not advise you to it; for it is dangerous, or rather wicked and impious. For if the “man be the head of the woman,” and he be originally ordained for the priesthood, it is not just to abrogate the order of the creation, and leave the principal to come to the extreme part of the body. For the woman is the body of the

man, taken from his side, and subject to him, from whom she was separated for the procreation of children. For says He, “He shall rule over thee.” For the principal part of the woman is the man, as being her head. But if in the foregoing constitutions we have not permitted them to teach, how will any one allow them, contrary to nature, to perform the office of a priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of the Gentile atheism, to ordain women priests to the female deities, not one of the constitutions of Christ. For if baptism were to be administered by women, certainly our Lord would have been baptized by His own mother, and not by John; or when He sent us to baptize, He would have sent along with us women also for this purpose. But now He has nowhere, either by constitution or by writing, delivered to us any such thing; as knowing the order of nature, and the decency of the action; as being the Creator of nature, and the Legislator of the constitution.

THAT A LAYMAN OUGHT NOT TO DO ANY OFFICE O THE PRIESTHOOD: HE OUGHT NEITHER TO BAPTIZE, NOR OFFER, NOR LAY ON HANDS, NOR GIVE THE BLESSING

X. Neither do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater: for “no one taketh this honor to himself, but he that is called of God.” For such sacred offices are conferred by the laying on of the hands of the bishop. But a person to whom such an office is not committed, but he seizes upon it for himself, he shall undergo the punishment of Uzziah.

THAT NONE BUT A BISHOP AND PRESBYTER, NONE EVEN OF THE INFERIOR RANKS OF THE CLERGY, ARE PERMITTED TO DO THE OFFICES OF THE PRIESTS; THAT ORDINATION BELONGS WHOLLY TO THE BISHOP, AND TO NOBODY ELSE

XI. Nay, further, we do not permit to the rest of the clergy to baptize, — as, for instance, neither to readers, nor singers, nor porters, nor ministers, — but to the bishops and presbyters alone, yet so that the deacons are to minister to them therein. But those who venture upon it shall undergo the punishment of the companions of Corah. We do not permit presbyters to

ordain deacons, or deaconesses, or readers, or ministers, or singers, or porters, but only bishops; for this is the ecclesiastical order and harmony.

THE REJECTION OF ALL UNCHARITABLE ACTIONS

XII. Now, as concerning envy, or jealousy, or evil-speaking, or strife, or the love of contention, we have said already to you, that these are alien from a Christian, and chiefly in the case of widows. But because the devil, who works in men, is in his conduct cunning, and full of various devices, he goes to those that are not truly widows, as formerly to Cain (for some say they are widows, but do not perform the injunctions agreeable to the widowhood; as neither did Cain discharge the duties due to a brother: for they do not consider how it is not the name of widowhood that will bring them to the kingdom of God, but true faith and holy works). But if any one possesses the name of widowhood, but does the works of the adversary, her widowhood will not be imputed, but she will be thrust out of the kingdom, and delivered to eternal punishment. For we hear that some widows are jealous, envious calumniators, and envious at the quiet of others. Such widows as these are not the disciples of Christ, nor of His doctrine; for it becomes them, when one of their fellow-widows is clothed by any one, or receives money, or meat, or drink, or shoes, at the sight of the refreshment of their sister to say: —

HOW THE WIDOWS ARE TO PRAY FOR THOSE THAT SUPPLY THEIR NECESSITIES

XIII. Thou art blessed, O God, who hast refreshed my fellow-widow. Bless, O Lord, and glorify him that has bestowed these things upon her, and let his good work ascend in truth to Thee, and remember him for good in the day of his visitation. And as for my bishop, who has so well performed his duty to Thee, and has ordered such a seasonable alms to be bestowed on my fellow-widow, who was naked, do Thou increase his glory, and give him a crown of rejoicing in the day of the revelation of Thy visitation. In the same manner, let the widow who has received the alms join with the other in praying for him who ministered to her.

THAT SHE WHO HAS BEEN KIND TO THE POOR OUGHT NOT TO MAKE A STIR AND TELL ABROAD HER NAME, ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LORD

XIV. But if any woman has been good, let her, as a prudent person, conceal her own name, not sounding a trumpet before her, that her alms may be with God in secret, as the Lord says: “Thou, when thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand cloth, that thine alms may be in secret.” And let the widow pray for him that gave her the alms, whosoever he be, as being the holy altar of Christ; and “the Father, who seeth in secret, will render to him that did good openly.” But those widows which will not live according to the command of God, are solicitous and inquisitive what deaconess it is that gives the charity, and what widows receive it. And when she has learned those things, she murmurs at the deaconess who distributed the charity, saying, Dost not thou see that I am in more distress, and want of thy charity? Why, therefore, hast thou preferred her before me? She says these things foolishly, not understanding that this does not depend on the will of man, but the appointment of God. For if she is herself a witness that she was nearer, and, upon inquiry, was in greater want, and more naked than the other, she ought to understand who it is that made this constitution, and to hold her peace, and not to murmur at the deaconess who distributed the charity, but to enter into her own house, and to cast herself prostrate on her face to make supplication to God that her sin may be forgiven her. For God commanded the deaconess who brought the charity not to proclaim the same, and this widow murmured because she did not publish her name, that so she might know it, and run to receive; nay, did not only murmur, but also cursed her, forgetting Him that said: “He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed.” But the Lord says: “When ye enter into an house, say, Peace be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; but if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you.”

THAT IT DOES NOT BECOME US TO REVILE OUR NEIGHBORS, BECAUSE CURSING IS CONTRARY TO CHRISTIANITY

XV. If, therefore, peace returns upon those that sent it, nay, upon those that before had actually given it, because it did not find persons fit to receive it, much rather will a curse return upon the head of him that unjustly sent it, because he to whom it was sent was not worthy to receive it: for all those who abuse others without a cause curse themselves, as Solomon says: “As birds and sparrows fly away, so the curse causeless shall not come upon any one.” And again he says: “Those that bring reproaches are exceeding foolish.” But as the bee, a creature as to its strength feeble, if she stings any one, loses her sting, and becomes a drone; in the same manner you also, whatsoever injustice you do to others, will bring it upon yourselves. “He hath graven and digged a pit, and he shall fall into the same ditch that he has made.” And again: “He that diggeth a pit for his neighbor, shall fall into it.” Wherefore he that avoids a curse, let him not curse another; for “what thou hatest should be done to thee, do not thou to another.” Wherefore admonish the widows that are feeble-minded, strengthen those of them that are weak, and praise such of them as walk in holiness. Let them rather bless, and not calumniate. Let them make peace, and not stir up contention.

SECTION 2

ON DEACONS AND DEACONESSES, THE REST OF THE CLERGY, AND ON BAPTISM

Let not therefore either a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon, or any one else of the sacerdotal catalogue, defile his tongue with calumny, lest he inherit a curse instead of a blessing; and let it also be the bishop’s business and care that no lay person utter any curse: for he ought to take care of all, — of the clergy, of the virgins, of the widows, of the laity. For which reason, O bishop, do thou ordain thy fellow-workers, the laborers for life and for righteousness, such deacons as are pleasing to God, such whom thou provest to be worthy among all the people, and such as shall be ready for the necessities of their ministration. Ordain also a deaconess who

is faithful and holy, for the ministrations towards women. For sometimes he cannot send a deacon, who is a man, to the women, on account of unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore send a woman, a deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad. For we stand in need of a woman, a deaconess, for many necessities; and first in the baptism of women, the deacon shall anoint only their forehead with the holy oil, and after him the deaconess shall anoint them: for there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men; but only in the laying on of hands the bishop shall anoint her head, as the priests and kings were formerly anointed, not because those which are now baptized are ordained priests, but as being Christians, or anointed, from Christ the Anointed, “a royal priesthood, and an holy nation, the Church of God, the pillar and ground of the marriage-chamber,” who formerly were not a people, but now are beloved and chosen, upon whom is called His new name? as Isaiah the prophet witnesses, saying: “And they shall Call the people by His new name, which the Lord shall name for them.”

CONCERNING THE SACRED INITIATION OF HOLY BAPTISM

XVI. Thou therefore, O bishop, according to that type, shalt anoint the head of those that are to be baptized, whether they be men or women, with the holy oil, for a type of the spiritual baptism. After that, either thou, O bishop, or a presbyter that is under thee, shall in the solemn form name over them the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and shall dip them in the water; and let a deacon receive the man, and a deaconess the woman, that so the conferring of this inviolable seal may take place with a becoming decency. And after that, let the bishop anoint those that are baptized with ointment.

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF BAPTISM INTO CHRIST, AND ON WHAT ACCOUNT EVERYTHING IS THERE SAID OR DONE

XVII. This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus: the water is instead of the burial, and the oil instead of the Holy Ghost; the seal instead of the cross; the ointment is the confirmation of the confession; the mention of the Father as of the Author and Sender; the joint mention of the Holy Ghost as of the witness; the descent into the water the dying together with Christ; the ascent out of the water the rising again with Him.

The Father is the God over all; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory; the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, who is sent by Christ, land taught by Him, and proclaims Him.

OF WHAT CHARACTER HE OUGHT TO BE WHO IS INITIATED

XVIII. But let him that is to be baptized be free from all iniquity; one that has left off to work sin, the friend of God, the enemy of the devil, the heir of God the Father, the fellow-heir of His Son; one that has renounced Satan, and the demons, and Satan's deceits; chaste, pure, holy, beloved of God, the son of God, praying as a son to his father, and saying, as from the common congregation of the faithful, thus: "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one: for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERS OF A DEACON

XIX. Let the deacons be in all things unspotted, as the bishop himself is to be, only more active; in number according to the largeness of the Church, that they may minister to the infirm as workmen that are not ashamed. And let the deaconess be diligent in taking care of the women; but both of them ready to carry messages, to travel about, to minister, and to serve, as spake Isaiah concerning the Lord, saying: "To justify the righteous, who serves many faithfully." Let every one therefore know his proper place, and discharge it diligently with one consent, with one mind, as knowing the reward of their ministration; but let them not be ashamed to minister to those that are in want, as even our" Lord Jesus Christ came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." So therefore ought they also to do, and not to scruple it, if they should be obliged to lay down their life for a brother. For the Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ did not scruple to "lay down His life," as Himself says, "for His friends." If, therefore, the Lord of heaven and earth underwent all His sufferings for us, how then do you make a difficulty to minister to such as are in want, who ought to imitate Him who underwent

servitude, and want, and stripes, and the cross for us? We ought therefore also to serve the brethren, in imitation of Christ. For says He: “He that will be great among you, let him be your minister; and he that will be first among you, let him be your servant.” For so did He really, and not in word only, fulfill the prediction of, “serving many faithfully.” For “when He had taken a towel, He girded Himself. Afterward He puts water into a bason; and as we were sitting at meat, He came and washed the feet of us all, and wiped them with the towel.” By doing this He demonstrated to us His kindness and brotherly affection, that so we also might do the same to one another. If, therefore, our Lord and Master so humbled Himself, how can you, the laborers of the truth, and administrators of piety, be ashamed to do the same to such of the brethren as are weak and infirm? Minister therefore with a kind mind, not murmuring nor mutinying; for ye do not do it on the account of man, but on the account of God, and shall receive from Him the reward of your ministry in the day of your visitation. It is your duty who are deacons to visit all those who stand in need of visitation. And tell your bishop of all those that are in affliction; for you ought to be like his soul and senses — active and attentive in all things to hint as to your bishop, and father and master.

THAT A BISHOP OUGHT TO BE ORDAINED BY THREE OR BY TWO BISHOPS, BUT NOT BY ONE; FOR THAT WOULD BE INVALID

XX. We command that a bishop be ordained by three bishops, or at least by two; but it is not lawful that he be set over you by one; for the testimony of two or three witnesses is more firm and secure. But a presbyter and a deacon are to be ordained by one bishop and the rest of the clergy. Nor must either a presbyter or a deacon ordain from the laity into the clergy; but the presbyter is only to teach, to offer, to baptize, to bless the people, and the deacon is to minister to the bishop, and to the presbyters, that is, to do the office of a ministering deacon, but not to meddle with the other offices.

BOOK 4

SECTION 1

ON HELPING THE POOR THOSE WHO HAVE NO CHILDREN SHOULD ADOPT ORPHANS, AND TREAT THEM AS THEIR OWN CHILDREN

I. WHEN any Christian becomes an orphan, whether it be a young man or a maid, it is good that some one of the brethren who is without a child should take the young man, and esteem him in the place of a son; and he that has a son about the same age, and that is marriageable, should marry the maid to him: for they which do so perform a great work, and become, fathers to the orphans, and shall receive the reward of this charity from the Lord God. But if any one that walks in the way of man-pleasing is rich, and therefore is ashamed of orphans, the Father of orphans and Judge of widows will make provision for the orphans, but himself shall have such an heir as will spend what he has spared; and it shall happen to him according as it is said: “What things the holy people have not eaten, those shall the Assyrians eat.” As also Isaiah says: “Your land, strangers devour it in your presence,”

HOW THE BISHOP OUGHT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ORPHANS

II. Do you therefore, O bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to the orphans the care of parents; to the widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to the unable, commiseration; to the strangers, an house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance. Besides these, have a greater care of the orphans, that nothing may be wanting to them; and that as to the maiden, till she arrives at the age of marriage, and ye give her in marriage to a brother: to the young man assistance, that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it; that so, when he is dextrous in the management of it, he may thereby be enabled to

buy himself the tools of his trade, that so he may no longer burden any of the brethren, or their sincere love to him, but may support himself: for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support himself, and does not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow.

WHO OUGHT TO BE SUPPORTED ACCORDING TO THE LORD'S CONSTITUTION

III. Since even the Lord said: "The giver was happier than the receiver." For it is again said by Him: "Woe to those that have, and receive in hypocrisy; or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others: for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment." But an orphan who, by reason of his youth, or he that by the feebleness of old age, or the incidence of a disease, or the bringing up of many children, receives alms, such a one shall not only not be blamed, but shall be commended: for he shall be esteemed an altar to God, and be honored by God, because of his zealous and constant prayers for those that give to him; not receiving idly, but to the uttermost of his power recompensing what is given him by his prayer. Such a one therefore shall be blessed by God in eternal life. But he that hath, and receives in hypocrisy or through idleness, instead of working and assisting others, shall be obnoxious to punishment before God, because he has snatched away the morsel of the needy.

OF THE LOVE OF MONEY

IV. For he that has money and does not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself, is like the serpent, which they say sleeps over the treasures; and of him is that scripture true which says, "He has gathered riches of which he shall not taste;" and they will be of no use to him when he perishes justly. For it says, "Riches will not profit in the day of wrath." For such a one has not believed in God, but in his own gold; esteeming that his God, and trusting therein. Such a one is a dissembler of the truth, an accepter of persons, unfaithful, cheating, fearful, unmanly, light, of no value, a complainer, ever in pain, his own enemy, and nobody's friend. Such a one's money shall perish, and a man that is a stranger shall consume it, either by theft while he is alive, or by inheritance when he is dead. "For riches unjustly gotten shall be vomited up."

WITH WHAT FEAR MEN OUGHT TO PARTAKE OF THE LORD'S OBLATIONS

V. We exhort, therefore, the widows and orphans to partake of those things that are bestowed upon them with all fear, and all pious reverence, and to return thanks to God who gives food to the needy, and to lift up their eyes to Him. For, says He, "Which of you shall eat, or who shall drink without Him? For He openeth His hand, and filleth every living thing with His kindness: giving wheat to the young men, and wine to the maidens, and oil for the joy of the living, grass for the cattle, and green herb for the service of men, flesh for the wild beasts, seeds for the birds, and suitable food for all creatures." Wherefore the Lord says: "Consider the fowls of heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, and your Father feedeth them. Are not ye much better than they? Be not therefore solicitous, saying, What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." Since ye therefore enjoy such a providential care from Him, and are partakers of the good things that are derived from Him, you ought to return praise to Him that receives the orphan and the widow, to Almighty God, through His beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; through whom glory be to God in spirit and truth for ever. Amen.

WHOSE OBLATIONS ARE TO BE RECEIVED, AND WHOSE NOT TO BE RECEIVED

VI. Now the bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not receive their gifts. "For, a corrupt dealer. shall not be justified from sin."For of them it was that Isaiah reproached lsrael, and said, "Thy corrupt dealers mingle wine with water." He is also to avoid fornicators, for "thou shall not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord." He is also to avoid extortioners, and such as covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God. Also those that oppress the widow and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes, and hunger, and hard service, nay, destroy whole cities; do thou, O bishop, avoid such as these, and their odious oblations. Thou shalt also refuse rogues, and such pleaders that plead on the side of injustice, and idol-makers, and thieves,

and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures, and a soldier who is a false accuser and not content with his wages, but does violence to the needy, a murderer, a cut-throat, and an unjust judge, a subverter of causes, him that lies in wait for men, a worker of abominable wickedness, a drunkard, a blasphemer, a sodomite, an usurer, and every one that is wicked and opposes the will of God. For the Scripture says that all such as these are abominable with God. For those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and orphans, shall be obnoxious to the judgment-seat of God; as Adonias the prophet, in the book of Kings, when he disobeyed God, and both "eat bread and drank water in the place which the Lord had forbid him," because of the impiety of Jeroboam, was slain by a lion. For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labor is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine. For the Scripture says: "Better is a little to the righteous, than much riches of the sinners." Now, although a widow, who eats and is filled from the impious, pray for them, she shall not be heard. For God, who knows the heart, with judgment has declared concerning the impious, saying, "If Moses and Samuel stand before my face in their behalf, I will not hear them;" and, "Pray thou not for this people, and do not ask mercy for them, and do not intercede with me for them, for I will not hear thee."

THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNWORTHY, WHILE THEY ARE SUCH, DO NOT ONLY NOT PROPITIATE GOD, BUT ON THE CONTRARY PROVOKE HIM TO INDIGNATION

VII. And not these only, but those that are in sin and have not repented, will only not be heard when they pray, but will provoke God to anger, as putting Him in mind of their own wickedness. Avoid therefore such ministrations, as you would the price of a dog and the hire of an harlot; for both of them are forbidden by the laws. For neither did Elisha receive the presents which were brought by Hazael, nor Ahijah those from Jeroboam; but if the prophets of God did not admit of presents from the impious, it is reasonable, O bishops, that neither should you. Nay, when Simon the magician offered money to me Peter and John, and tried to obtain the invaluable grace by purchase, we did not admit it, but bound him with everlasting maledictions, because he thought to possess the gift of God,

not by a pious mind towards God, but by the price of money. Avoid therefore such oblations to God's altar as are Hot from a good conscience. For says He: "Abstain from all injustice, and thou shalt not fear, and trembling shall not come nigh thee."

THAT IT IS BETTER TO AFFORD, THOUGH IT BE INCONSIDERABLE AND FEW, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WIDOWS FROM OUR OWN LABORS, THAN THOSE WHICH ARE MANY AND LARGE RECEIVED FROM THE UNGODLY; FOR IT IS BETTER TO PERISH BY FAMINE THAN TO RECEIVE AN OBLATION FROM THE UNGODLY

VIII. But if ye say that those who give alms are such as these, and if we do not receive from them, whence shall we administer to the widows? And whence shall the poor among the people be maintained? Ye shall hear from us, that therefore have ye received the gift of the Levites, the oblations of your people, that ye might have enough for yourselves, and for those that are in want; and that ye might not be so straitened as to receive from the wicked. But if the churches be so straitened, it is better to perish than to receive anything from the enemies of God, to the reproach and abuse of His friends. For of such as these the prophet speaks: "Let not the oil of a sinner moisten my head." Do ye therefore examine such persons, and receive from such as walk holily, and supply the afflicted. But receive not from those that are excommunicated, until they are thought worthy to become the members of the Church. But if a gift be wanting, inform the brethren, and make a collection from them, and thence minister to the orphans and widows in righteousness.

THAT THE PEOPLE OUGHT TO BE EXHORTED BY THE PRIEST TO DO GOOD TO THE NEEDY, AS SAYS SOLOMON THE WISE

IX. Say unto the people under thee what Solomon the wise says: "Honor the Lord out of thy just labors, and pay thy first-fruits to Him out of thy fruits of righteousness, that thy garners may be filled with fullness of wheat, and thy presses may burst out with wine." Therefore maintain and clothe those that are in want from the righteous labor of the faithful. And such sums of money as are collected from them in the manner aforesaid,

appoint to be laid out in the redemption of the saints, the deliverance of slaves, and of captives, and of prisoners, and of those that have been abused, and of those that have been condemned by tyrants to single combat and death on account of the name of Christ. For the Scripture says: “Deliver those that are led to death, and redeem those that are ready to be slain, do not spare.”

A CONSTITUTION, THAT IF ANY ONE OF THE UNGODLY BY FORCE WILL CAST MONEY TO THE PRIESTS, THEY SPEND IT IN WOOD AND COALS, BUT NOT IN FOOD

X. But if at any time you be forced unwillingly to receive money from any ungodly person, lay it out in wood and coals, that so neither the widow nor the orphan may receive any of it, or be forced to buy with it either meat or drink, which it is unfit to do. For it is reasonable that such gifts of the ungodly should be fuel for the fire, and not food for the pious. And this method is plainly appointed by the law, when it calls a sacrifice kept too long a thing not fit to be eaten, and commands it to be consumed with fire. For such oblations are not evil in their nature, but on account of the mind of those that bring them. And this we ordain, that we may not reject those that come to us, as knowing that the common conversation of the pious has often been very profitable to the ungodly, but religious communion with them is alone hurtful. And so much, beloved, shall suffice to have spoken to you in order to your security.

SECTION 2

ON DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

XI. Ye fathers, educate your children in the Lord, bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them such trades as are agreeable and suitable to the word, lest they by such opportunity become extravagant, and continue without punishment from their parents, and so get relaxation before their time, and go astray from that which is good. Wherefore be not afraid to reprove them, and to teach them wisdom with severity. For your corrections will not kill them, but rather preserve them.

As Solomon says somewhere in the book of Wisdom: “Chasten thy son, and he will refresh thee; so wilt thou have good hope of him. Thou verily shalt smite him with the rod, and shall deliver his soul from death.” And again, says the same Solomon thus, “He that spareth his rod, hateth his son;” and afterwards, “Beat his sides whilst he is an infant, lest he be hardened and disobey thee.” He, therefore, that neglects to admonish and instruct his own son, hates his own child. Do you therefore teach your children the word of the Lord. Bring them under with cutting stripes, and make them subject from their infancy, teaching them the Holy Scriptures, which are Christian and divine, and delivering to them every sacred writing, “not giving them such liberty that they get the mastery,” and act against your opinion, not permitting them to club together for a treat with their equals. For so they will be turned to disorderly courses, and will fall into fornication; and if this happen by the carelessness of their parents, those that begat them will be guilty of their souls. For if the offending children get into the company of debauched persons by the negligence of those that begat them, they will not be punished alone by themselves; but their parents also will be condemned on their account. For this cause endeavor, at the time when they are of an age fit for marriage, to join them in wedlock, and settle them together, test in the heat and fervor of their age their course of life become dissolute, and you be required to give an account by the Lord God in the day of judgment.

OF SERVANTS AND MASTERS

XII. But as to servants, what can we say more than that the slave bring a good will to his master, with the fear of God, although he be impious and wicked, but yet not to yield any compliance as to his worship? And let the master love his servant, although he be his superior. Let him consider wherein they are equal, even as he is a man. And let him that has a believing master love him both as his master, and as of the same faith, and as a father, but still with the preservation of his authority as his master: “not as an eye-servant, but as a lover of his master; as knowing that God will recompense to him for his subjection.” In like manner, let a master who has a believing servant love him as a son or as a brother, on account of their communion in the faith, but still preserving the difference of a servant.

IN WHAT THINGS WE OUGHT TO BE SUBJECT TO THE RULERS OF THIS WORLD

XIII. Be ye Subject to all royal power and dominion in things which are pleasing to God, as to the ministers of God, and the punishers of the ungodly. Render all the fear that is due to them, all offerings, all customs, all honor, gifts, and taxes. For this is God's command, thatlyou owe nothing to any one but the pledge of love, which God has commanded by Christ.

OF VIRGINS

XIV. Concerning virginity we have received no commandment; but we leave it to the power of those that are willing, as a vow: exhorting them so far in this matter that they do not promise anything rashly; since Solomon says, "It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay." Let such a virgin, therefore, be holy in body and soul, as the temple of God, as the house of Christ, as the habitation of the Holy Spirit. For she that vows ought to do such works as are suitable to her vow; and to show that her vow is real, and made on account of leisure for piety, not to cast a reproach on marriage. Let her not be a gadder abroad, nor one that rambles about unseasonably; not double-minded, but grave, continent, sober, pure, avoiding the conversation of many, and especially of those that are of ill reputation.

BOOK 5

SECTION 1

CONCERNING THE MARTYRS THAT IT IS REASONABLE FOR THE FAITHFUL TO SUPPLY THE WANTS OF THOSE WHO ARE AFFLICTED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRIST BY THE UNBELIEVERS, ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LORD

I. IF any Christian, on account of the name of Christ, and love and faith towards God, be condemned by the ungodly to the games, to the beasts, or to the mines, do not ye overlook him; but send to him from your labor and your very sweat for his sustenance, and for a reward to the soldiers, that he may be eased and be taken care of; that, as far as lies in your power, your blessed brother may not be afflicted: for he that is condemned for the name of the Lord God is an holy martyr, a brother of the Lord, the son of the Highest, a receptacle of the Holy Spirit, by whom every one of the faithful has received the illumination of the glory of the holy Gospel, by being vouchsafed the incorruptible crown, and the testimony of Christ's sufferings, and the fellowship of His blood, to be made conformable to the death of Christ for the adoption of children. For this cause do you, all ye of the faithful, by your bishop, minister to the saints of your substance and of your labor. But if any one has not, let him fast a day, and set apart that, and order it for the saints. But if any one has superfluities, let him minister more to them according to the proportion of his ability. But if he can possibly sell all his livelihood, and redeem them out of prison, he will be blessed, and a friend of Christ. For if he that gives his goods to the poor be perfect, supposing his knowledge of divine things, much more is he so that does it on account of the martyrs. For such a one is worthy of God, and will fulfill His will by supplying those who have confessed Him before nations and kings, and the children of Israel; concerning whom our Lord declared, saying: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father." And if these be such as to be attested to by Christ before His Father, you ought not to be ashamed to go to them in

the prisons. For if you do this, it will be esteemed to you for a testimony, because the real trial was to them a testimony; and your readiness will be so to you, as being partakers of their combat: for the Lord speaks somewhere to such as these, saying: “Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say, Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, and fed Thee? or thirsty, and gave Thee drink? When saw we Thee naked, and clothed Thee? or sick, and visited Thee? When saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? or in prison, and came unto Thee? And He will answer and say unto them, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. And these shall go away into life everlasting. Then shall He say unto them on His left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer and say, Lord when saw we Thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto Thee? Then shall He answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, neither have ye done it unto me. And these shall go away unto everlasting punishment.”

THAT WE ARE TO AVOID INTERCOURSE WITH FALSE BRETHREN WHEN THEY CONTINUE IN THEIR WICKEDNESS

II. But if any one who calls himself a brother is seduced by the evil one, and acts wickedness, and is convicted and condemned to death as an adulterer, or a murderer, depart from him, that ye may be secure, and none of you may be suspected as a partner in such an abominable practice; and that no evil report may be spread abroad, as if all Christians took a pleasure in unlawful actions. Wherefore keep far from them. But do you assist with all diligence those that for the sake of Christ are abused by the ungodly and shut up in prison, or who are given over to death, or bonds, or banishment, in order to deliver your fellow-members from wicked

hands. And if any one who accompanies with them is caught, and falls into misfortune, he is blessed, because he is partaker with the martyr, and is one that imitates the sufferings of Christ; for we ourselves also, when we oftentimes received stripes from Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas, for Christ's sake, "went out rejoicing that we were counted worthy to suffer such things for our Savior." Do you also rejoice when ye suffer such things, for ye shall be blessed in that day.

THAT WE OUGHT TO AFFORD AN HELPING HAND TO SUCH AS ARE SPOILED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRIST, ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD INCUR DANGER OURSELVES

III. Receive also those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and who "fly from city to city" on account of the Lord's commandment; and assist them as martyrs, rejoicing that ye are made partakers of their persecution, as knowing that they are esteemed blessed by the Lord; for Himself says: "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because your reward is great in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before us." And again: "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." And afterwards: "If they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another. For in the world ye have tribulation: for they shall deliver you into the synagogues; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, and for a testimony to them." And, "He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved." For he that is persecuted for the sake of the faith, and bears witness in regard to Him, Christ, and endures, is truly a man of God.

THAT IT IS AN HORRIBLE AND DESTRUCTIVE THING TO DENY CHRIST

IV. But he that denies himself to be a Christian, that he may not be hated of men, and so loves his own life more than he does the Lord, in whose hand his breath is, is wretched and miserable, as being detestable and abominable, who desires to be the friend of men, but is the enemy of God, having no longer his portion with the saints, but with those that are accursed; choosing instead of the kingdom of the blessed, that eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: not being any longer hated

by men, but rejected by God, and cast out from His presence. For of such a one our Lord declared, saying: “Whosoever shall deny me before men, and shall be ashamed of my name, I also will deny and be ashamed of him before my Father which is in heaven.” And again He speaks thus to us ourselves, His disciples: “He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?” And afterwards: “Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.”

THAT WE OUGHT TO IMITATE CHRIST IN SUFFERING, AND WITH ZEAL TO FOLLOW HIS PATIENCE

V. Every one therefore who learns any art, when he sees his master by his diligence and skill perfecting his art, does himself earnestly endeavor to make what he takes in hand like to it. If he is not able, he is not perfected in his work. We therefore who have a Master, our Lord Jesus Christ, why do we not follow His doctrine? — since He renounced repose, pleasure, glory, riches, pride, the power of revenge, His mother and brethren, nay, and moreover His own life, on account of His piety towards His Father, and His love to us the race of mankind; and suffered not only persecution and stripes, reproach and mockery, but also crucifixion, that He might save the penitent, both Jews and Gentiles. If therefore He for our sakes renounced His repose, was not ashamed of the cross, and did not esteem death inglorious, why do not we imitate His sufferings, and renounce on His account even our own life, with that patience which He gives us? For He did all for our sakes, but we do it for our own sakes: for He does not stand in need of us, but we stand in need of His mercy. He only requires the sincerity and readiness of our faith, as the Scripture says: “If thou beest righteous, what doest thou give to Him? or what will He receive at thy hand? Thy wickedness is to a man like thyself, and thy righteousness to a son of man.”

THAT A BELIEVER OUGHT NEITHER RASHLY TO RUN INTO DANGER THROUGH SECURITY, NOR TO BE OVER-TIMOROUS THROUGH PUSILLANIMITY, BUT TO FLY AWAY FOR FEAR; YET THAT IF HE DOES FALL INTO THE ENEMY'S HAND, TO STRIVE EARNESTLY, UPON ACCOUNT OF THE CROWN THAT IS LAID UP FOR HIM

VI. Let us therefore renounce our parents, and kinsmen, and friends, and wife, and children, and possessions, and all the enjoyments of life, when any of these things become an impediment to piety. For we ought to pray that we may not enter into temptation; but if we be called to martyrdom, with constancy to confess His precious name, and if on this account we be punished, let us rejoice, as hastening to immortality. When we are persecuted, let us not think it strange; let us not love the present world, nor the praises which come from men, nor the glory and honor of rulers, according as some of the Jews wondered at the mighty works of our Lord, yet did not believe on Him, for fear of the high priests and the rest of the rulers: "For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." But now, by confessing a good confession, we not only save ourselves, but we confirm those who are newly illuminated, and strengthen the faith of the catechumens. But if we remit any part of our confession, and deny godliness by the faintness of our persuasion, and the fear of a very short punishment, we not only deprive ourselves of everlasting glory, but we shall also become the causes of the perdition of others; and shall suffer double punishment, as affording suspicion, by our denial that that truth which we gloried in so much before is an erroneous doctrine. Wherefore neither let us be rash and hasty to thrust ourselves into dangers, for the Lord says: "Pray that ye fall not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak." Nor let us, when we do fall into dangers, be fearful or ashamed of our profession.

For if a person, by the denial of his own hope, which is Jesus the Son of God, should be delivered from a temporary death, and the next day should fall dangerously sick upon his bed, with a distemper in his bowels, his stomach, or his head, or any of the incurable diseases, as a consumption, or gangrene, or looseness, or iliac passion, or dropsy, or colic, and has a sudden catastrophe, and departs this life; is not he deprived of the things present, and loses those eternal? Or rather, he is within the verge of eternal

punishment, “and goes into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth.” But let him who is vouchsafed the honor of martyrdom rejoice with joy in the Lord, as obtaining thereby so great a crown, and departing out of this life by his confession. Nay, though he be trot a catechumen, let him depart without trouble; for his suffering for Christ will be to him a more genuine baptism, because he does really die with Christ, but the rest only in a figure. Let him therefore rejoice in the imitation of his Master, since is it thus ordained: “Let every one be perfect, as his Master is.” Now his and our Master, Jesus the Lord, was smitten for our sake: He underwent reproaches and revilings with long-suffering. He was spit upon, He was smitten on the face, He was buffeted; and when He had been scourged, He was nailed to the cross. He had vinegar and gall to drink; and when He had fulfilled all things that were written, He said to His God and Father, “Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.” Wherefore let him that desires to be His disciple earnestly follow His conflicts: let him imitate His patience, knowing that, although he be burned in the fire by men, he will suffer nothing, like the three children; or if he does suffer anything, he shall receive a reward from the Lord, believing in the one and the only true God and Father, through Jesus Christ, the great High Priest, and Redeemer of our souls, and rewarder of our sufferings. To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

SEVERAL DEMONSTRATIONS CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION, CONCERNING THE SIBYL, AND WHAT THE STOICS SAY CONCERNING THE BIRD CALLED THE PHOENIX

VII. For the Almighty God Himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to His infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world; and we shall then be such as we now are in our present form, without any defect or corruption. For we shall rise incorruptible: whether we die at sea, or are scattered on the earth, or are torn to pieces by wild beasts and birds, He will raise us by His own power; for the whole world is held together by the hand of God. Now He says: “An hair of your head shall not perish.” Wherefore He exhorts us, saying: “In your patience possess ye your souls.” But as concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the recompense of reward for the martyrs, Gabriel speaks to Daniel: “And

many of them that sleep shall arise out of the dust of the earth, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that understand shall shine as the sun, and as the firmament, and as the stars.” Therefore the most holy Gabriel foretold that the saints should shine like the stars: for His sacred name did witness to them, that they might understand the truth. Nor is a resurrection only declared for the martyrs, but for all men, righteous and unrighteous, godly and ungodly, that every one may receive according to his desert. For God, says the Scripture, “will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.” This resurrection was not believed by the Jews, when of old they said, “Our bones are withered, and we are gone.” To whom God answered, and said: “Behold, I open your graves, and will bring you out of them; and I will put my Spirit into you, and ye shall live: and ye shall know that I the Lord have spoken it, and will do it.” And He says by Isaiah: “The dead shall rise, and those that are in the graves shall be raised up. And those that rest in the earth shall rejoice, for the dew which is from Thee shall be healing to them.” There are indeed many and various things said concerning the resurrection, and concerning the continuance of the righteous in glory, and concerning the punishment of the ungodly, their fall, rejection, condemnation, shame, “eternal fire, and endless worm.” Now that, if it had pleased Him that all men should be immortal, it was in His power, He showed in the examples of Enoch and Elijah, while He did not suffer them to have any experience of death. Or if it had pleased Him in every generation to raise those that died, that this also He was able to do He hath made manifest both by Himself and by others; as when He raised the widow’s son by Elijah, and the Shunammite’s son by Elisha. But we are persuaded that death is not a retribution of punishment, because even the saints have undergone it; nay, even the Lord of the saints, Jesus Christ, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead. Upon this account, therefore, according to the ancient practice, for those who live in the great city, after the combats He brings a dissolution for a while, that, when He raises up every one, He may either reject him or crown him. For He that made the body of Adam out of the earth will raise up the bodies of the rest, and that of the first man, after their dissolution, (to pay what is owing to the rational nature of man; we mean the continuance in being through all ages. He, therefore, who brings on the dissolution, will Himself procure the resurrection. And He

that said, “The Lord took dust from the ground, and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul,” added after the disobedience, “Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return;” the same promised us a resurrection afterwards.) For says He: “All that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.” Besides these arguments, we believe there is to be a resurrection also from the resurrection of our Lord. For it is He that raised Lazarus, when he had been in the grave four days, and Jairus’ daughter, and the widow’s son. It is He that raised Himself by the command of the Father in the space of three days, who is the pledge of our resurrection. For says He: “I am the resurrection and the life.” Now He that brought Jonas in the space of three days, alive and unhurt, out of the belly of the whale, and the three children out of the furnace of Babylon, and Daniel out of the mouth of the lions, does not want power to raise us up also. But if the Gentiles laugh at us, and disbelieve our Scriptures, let at least their own prophetess Sibylla oblige them to believe, who says thus to them in express words: —

“But when all things shall be reduced to dust and ashes,
And the immortal God who kindled the fire shall have quenched it,
God shall form those bones and that ashes into a man again,
And shall place mortal men again as they were before.
And then shall be the judgment, wherein God will do justice,
And judge the world again. But as many mortals as have sinned through impiety Shall again be covered under the earth;

But so many as have been pious shall live again in the world. When God puts His Spirit into them, and gives those at once that are godly both life and favor, Then shall all see themselves.”

If, therefore, this prophetess confesses the resurrection, and does not deny the restoration of all things, and distinguishes the godly from the ungodly, it is in vain for them to deny our doctrine. Nay, indeed, they say they can show a resemblance of the resurrection, while they do not themselves believe the things they declare: for they say that there is a bird single in its kind which affords a copious demonstration of the resurrection, which they say is without a mate, and the only one in the creation. They call it a phoenix, and relate that every five hundred years it comes into Egypt, to that which is called the altar of the sun, and brings with it a great quantity of cinnamon, and cassia, and balsam-wood, and standing towards the east,

as they say, and praying to the sun, of its own accord is burnt, and becomes dust; but that a worm arises again out of those ashes, and that when the same is warmed it is formed into a new-born phoenix; and when it is able to fly, it goes to Arabia, which is beyond the Egyptian countries. If, therefore, as even themselves say, a resurrection is exhibited by the means of an irrational bird, wherefore do they vainly disparage our accounts, when we profess that He who by His power brings that into being which was not in being before, is able to restore this body, and raise it up again after its dissolution? For on account of this full assurance of hope we undergo stripes, and persecutions, and deaths. Otherwise we should to no purpose undergo such things if we had not a full assurance of these promises, whereof we profess ourselves to be the preachers. As, therefore, we believe Moses when he says, “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth;” and we know that He did not want matter, but by His will alone brought those things into being which Christ was commanded to make; we mean the heaven, the earth, the sea, the light, the night, the day, the luminaries, the stars, the fowls, the fishes, and four-footed beasts, the creeping things, the plants, and the herbs; so also will He raise all men up by His will, as not wanting any assistance. For it is the work of the same power to create the world and to raise the dead. And then He made man, who was not a man before, of different parts, giving to him a soul made out of nothing. But now He will restore the bodies, which have been dissolved, to the souls that are still in being: for the rising again belongs to things laid down, not to things which have no being. He therefore that made the original bodies out of nothing, and fashioned various forms of them, will also again revive and raise up those that are dead. For He that formed man in the womb out of a little seed, and created in him a soul which was not in being before, — as He Himself somewhere speaks to Jeremiah, “Before I formed thee in the womb I knew thee;” and elsewhere, “I am the Lord who established the heaven, and laid the foundations of the earth, and formed the spirit of man in him,” — will also raise up all men, as being His workmanship; as also the divine Scripture testifies that God said to Christ, His only-begotten, “Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness. And God made man: after the image of God made He him; male and female made He them.” And the most divine and patient Job, of whom the Scripture says that it is written, that “he was to rise again with those whom the Lord raises up,”

speaks to God thus: “Hast not Thou milked me like milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favor, and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. Having these things within me, I know that Thou canst do all things, and that nothing is impossible with Thee.” Wherefore also our Savior and Master Jesus Christ says, that “what is impossible with men is possible with God.” And David, the beloved of God, says: “Thine hands have made me, and fashioned me.” And again: “Thou knowest my frame.” And afterward: “Thou hast fashioned me, and laid Thine hand upon me. The knowledge of Thee is declared to be too wonderful for me; it is very great, I cannot attain unto it.” “Thine eyes did see my substance, being yet imperfect; and all men shall be written in Thy book.” Nay, and Isaiah says in his prayer to Him: “We are the clay, and Thou art the framer of us.” If, therefore, man be His workmanship, made by Christ, by Him most certainly will he after he is dead be raised again, with intention either of being crowned for his good actions or punished for his transgressions. But if He, being the legislator, judges with righteousness; as He punishes the ungodly, so does He do good to and saves the faithful. And those saints who for His sake have been slain by men, “some of them He will make light as the stars, and make others bright as the luminaries,” as Gabriel said to Daniel. All we of the faithful, therefore, who are the disciples of Christ, believe His promises. For He that has promised it cannot lie; as says the blessed prophet David: “The Lord is faithful in all His words, and holy in all His works.” For He that framed for Himself a body out of a virgin, is also the Former of other men. And He that raised Himself from the dead, will also raise again all that are laid down. He who raises wheat out of the ground with many stalks from one grain, He who makes the tree that is cut down send forth fresh branches, He that made Aaron’s dry rod put forth buds, will raise us up in glory; He that raised Him up that had the palsy whole, and healed him that had the withered hand, He that supplied a defective part to him that was born blind from clay and spittle, will raise us up; He that satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, and caused a remainder of twelve baskets, and out of water made wine, and sent a piece of money out of a fish’s mouth by me Peter to those that demanded tribute, will raise the dead. For we testify all these things concerning Him, and the prophets testify the other. We who have eaten and drunk with Him, and

have been spectators of His wonder fill works, and of His life, and of His conduct, and of His words, and of His sufferings, and of His death, and of His resurrection from the dead, and who associated with Him forty days after His resurrection, and who received a command from Him to preach the Gospel to all the world, and to make disciples of all nations, and to baptize them into His death by the authority of the God of the universe, who is His Father, and by the testimony of the Spirit, who is His Comforter, — we teach you all these things which He appointed us by His constitutions, before "He was received up in our sight into heaven," to Him that sent Him. And if you will believe, you shall be happy; but if you will not believe, we shall be found innocent, and clear from your incredulity.

CONCERNING JAMES THE BROTHER OF THE LORD, AND STEPHEN THE FIRST MARTYR

VIII. Now concerning the martyrs, we say to you that they are to be had in all honor with you, as we honor the blessed James the bishop, and the holy Stephen our fellow-servant. For these are reckoned blessed by God, and are honored by holy men, who were pure from all transgressions, immovable when tempted to sin, or persuaded from good works, without dispute deserving encomiums: of whom also David speaks, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His holy ones;" and Solomon says, "The memory of the just is with encomiums:" of whom also the prophet speaks, "Righteous men are taken away."

CONCERNING FALSE MARTYRS

IX. These things we have said concerning those that in truth have been martyrs for Christ, but not concerning false martyrs, concerning whom the oracle speaks, "The name of the ungodly is extinguished." For "a faithful witness will not lie, but an unjust witness inflames lies." For he that departs this life in his testimony without lying, for the sake of the truth, is a faithful martyr, worthy to be believed in such things wherein he strove for the word of piety by his own blood.

SECTION 2

ALL ASSOCIATION WITH IDOLS IS TO BE AVOIDED AMORAL ADMONITION, THAT WE ARE TO ABSTAIN FROM VAIN TALKING, OBSCENE TALKING, JESTING, DRUNKENNESS, LASCIVIOUSNESS, AND LUXURY

X. Now we exhort you, brethren and fellow-servants, to avoid vain talk and obscene discourses, and jesting, drunkenness, lasciviousness, luxury, unbounded passions, with foolish discourses, since we do not permit you so much as on the Lord's days, which are days of joy, to speak or act anything unseemly; for the Scripture somewhere says: "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling." Even your very rejoicings therefore ought to be done with fear and trembling: for a Christian who is faithful ought neither to repeat an heathen hymn nor an obscene song, because he will be obliged by that hymn to make mention of the idolatrous names of demons; and instead of the Holy Spirit, the wicked one will enter into him.

AN ADMONITION INSTRUCTING MEN TO AVOID THE ABOMINABLE SIN OF IDOLATRY

XI. You are also forbidden to swear by them, or to utter their abominable names through your mouth, and to worship them, or fear them as gods; for they are not gods, but either wicked demons or the ridiculous contrivances of men. For somewhere God says concerning the Israelites: "They have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods." And afterwards: "I will take away the names of your idols out of their mouth." And elsewhere: "They have provoked me to jealousy with them that are no gods; they have provoked me to anger with their idols." And in all the Scriptures these things are forbidden by the Lord God.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO SING AN HEATHEN OR AN OBSCENE SONG, NOR TO SWEAR BY AN IDOL BECAUSE IT IS AN IMPIOUS THING, AND CONTRARY TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

XII. Nor do the legislators give us only prohibitions concerning idols, but also warn us concerning the luminaries, not to swear by them, nor to serve them. For they say: “Lest, when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, thou shouldest be seduced to worship them.” And elsewhere: “Do not ye learn to walk after the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven.” For the stars and the luminaries were given to men to shine upon them, but not for worship; although the Israelites, by the perverseness of their temper, “worshipped the creature instead of the Creator,” and acted insultingly to their Maker, and admired the creature more than is fit. And sometimes they made a calf, as in the wilderness; sometimes they worshipped Baalpeor; another time Baal, and Thamuz, and Astarte of Sidon; and again Moloch and Chamos; another time the sun, as it is written in Ezekiel; nay, and besides, brute creatures, as among the Egyptians Apis, and the Mendesian goat, and gods of silver and gold, as in Judea. On account of all which things He threatened them, and said by the prophet: “Is it a small thing to the house of Judah to do these abominations which they have done? For they have filled the land with their wickedness, to provoke me to anger: and, behold, they are as those that mock. And I will act with anger. Mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have mercy; and they shall cry in mine ears with a great voice, and I will not hearken unto them.” Consider, beloved, how many things the Lord declares against idolaters, and the worshippers of the sun and moon. Wherefore it is the duty of a man of God, as he is a Christian, not to swear by the sun, or by the moon, or by the stars; nor by the heaven, nor by the earth, by any of the elements, whether small or great. For if our Master charged us not to swear by the true God, that our word might be firmer than an oath, nor by heaven itself, for that is a piece of heathen wickedness, nor by Jerusalem, nor by the sanctuary of God, nor the altar, nor the gift, nor the gilding of the altar, nor one’s own head, for this custom is a piece of Judaic corruption, and on that account was forbidden; and if He exhorts the faithful that their yea be yea, and their nay, nay, and says that “what is more than these is of the evil one,” how much more blamable are those who appeal to deities falsely so called as the objects of

an oath, and who glorify imaginary beings instead of those that are real, whom God for their perverseness “delivered over to foolishness, to do those things that are not convenient!”

SECTION 3

ON FEAST DAYS AND FAST DAYS A CATALOGUE OF THE FEASTS OF THE LORD WHICH ARE TO BE KEPT, AND WHEN EACH OF THEM OUGHT TO BE OBSERVED

XIII. Brethren, observe the festival days; and first of all the birthday which you are to celebrate on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month; after which let the Epiphany be to you the most honored, in which the Lord made to you a display of His own Godhead, and let it take place on the sixth of the tenth month; after which the fast of Lent is to be observed by you as containing a memorial of our Lord’s mode of life and legislation. But let this solemnity be observed before the fast of the passover, beginning from the second day of the week, and ending at the day of the preparation. After which solemnities, breaking off your fast, begin the holy week of the passover, fasting in the same all of you with fear and trembling, praying in them for those that are about to perish.

CONCERNING THE PASSION OF OUR LORD, AND WHAT WAS DONE ON EACH DAY OF HIS SUFFERINGS; AND CONCERNING JUDAS, AND THAT JUDAS WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN THE LORD DELIVERED THE MYSTERIES TO HIS DISCIPLES

XIV. For they began to hold a council against the Lord on the second day of the week, in the first month, which is Xanthicus; and the deliberation continued on the third day of the week; but on the fourth day they determined to take away His life by crucifixion. And Judas knowing this, who for a long time had been perverted, but was then smitten by the devil himself with the love of money, although he had been long entrusted with the purse. and used to steal what was set apart for the needy, yet was he not cast off by the Lord, through much long-suffering; nay, and when we were once feasting with Him, being willing both to reduce him to his duty and instruct us in His own foreknowledge, He said: “Verily, verily, I say

unto you, that one of you will betray me;” and every one of us saying, “Is it I?” And the Lord being silent, I, who was one of the twelve, and more beloved by Him than the rest, arose up from lying in His bosom. and besought Him to tell who it should be that should betray Him. Yet neither then did our good Lord declare His name, but gave two signs of the betrayer: one by saying, “he that dippeth with me in the dish;” a second, “to whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it.” Nay, although he himself said, “Master, is it I?” the Lord did not say Yes, but, “Thou hast said.” And being willing to affright him in the matter, He said: “Woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for him if he had never been born. Who, when he had heard that, went his way, and said to the priests, What will ye give me, and I will deliver Him unto you? And they bargained with him for thirty pieces of silver.” And the scripture was fulfilled, which said, “And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the house of the potter.” And on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten the passover with Him, and when Judas had dipped his hand into the dish, and received the sop, and was gone out by night, the Lord said to us: “The hour is come that ye shall be dispersed, and shall leave me alone;” and every one vehemently affirming that they would not forsake Him, I Peter adding this promise, that I would even die with Him, He said, “Verily I say unto thee, Before the cock crows, thou shall thrice deny that thou knowest me.” And when He had delivered to us the representative mysteries of His precious body and blood, Judas not being present with us, He went out to the Mount of Olives, near the brook Cedron, where there was a garden; and we were with Him, and sang an hymn according to the custom. And being separated not far from us, He prayed to His Father, saying: “Father, remove this cup away from me; yet not my will, but Thine be done.” And when He had done this thrice, while we out of despondency of mind were fallen asleep, He came and said: “The hour is come, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. And behold Judas, and with him a multitude of ungodly men,” to whom he shows the signal by which he was to betray Him — a deceitful kiss. But they, when they had received the signal agreed on, took hold of the Lord; and having bound Him, they led Him to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, wherein were assembled many, not the people, but a great rout, not an holy council, but an assembly of the wicked and council of the

ungodly, who did many things against Him, and left no kind of injury untried, spitting upon Him, caviling at Him, beating Him, smiting Him on the face, reviling Him, tempting Him, seeking vain divination instead of true prophecies from Him, calling Him a deceiver, a blasphemer, a transgressor of Moses, a destroyer of the temple, a taker away of sacrifices, an enemy to the Romans, an adversary to Caesar. And these reproaches did these bulls and dogs in their madness cast upon Him, till it was very early in the morning, and then they lead Him away to Annas, who was father-in-law to Caiaphas; and when they had done the like things to Him there, it being the day of the preparation, they delivered Him to Pilate the Roman governor, accusing Him of many and great things, none of which they could prove. Whereupon the governor, as out of patience with them, said: “I find no cause against Him.” But they bringing two lying witnesses, wished to accuse the Lord falsely; but they being found to disagree, and so their testimony not conspiring together, they altered the accusation to that of treason, saying, “This fellow says that He is a king, and forbids to give tribute to Caesar.” And themselves became accusers, and witnesses, and judges, and authors of the sentence, saying, “Crucify Him, crucify Him;” that it might be fulfilled which is written by the prophets concerning Him, “Unjust witnesses were gathered together against me, and injustice lied to itself;” and again, “Many dogs compassed me about, the assembly of the wicked laid siege against me;” and elsewhere, “My inheritance became to me as a lion in a wood, and has sent forth her voice against me.” Pilate therefore, disgracing his authority by his pusillanimity, convicts himself of wickedness by regarding the multitude more than this just person, and bearing witness to Him that He was innocent, yet as guilty delivering Him up to the punishment of the cross, although the Romans had made laws that no man unconvicted should be put to death. But the executioners took the Lord of glory and nailed Him to the cross, crucifying Him indeed at the sixth hour, but having received the sentence of His condemnation at the third hour. After this they gave to Him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall. Then they divided His garments by lot. Then they crucified two malefactors with Him, on each side one, that it might be fulfilled which was written: “They gave me gall to eat, and when I was thirsty they gave me vinegar to drink.” And again: “They divided my garment among themselves, and upon my vesture have they cast lots.” And in another place: “And I was reckoned with the

transgressors." Then there was darkness for three hours, from the sixth to the ninth, and again light in the evening; as it is written: "It shall not be day nor night, and at the evening there shall be light." All which things, when those malefactors saw that were crucified with Him the one of them reproached Him as though He was weak and unable to deliver Himself; but the other rebuked the ignorance of his fellow and turning to the Lord, as being enlightened by Him, and acknowledging who He was that suffered, he prayed that He would remember him in His kingdom hereafter. He then presently granted him the forgiveness of his former sins, and brought him into paradise to enjoy the mystical good things; who also cried out about the ninth hour, and said to His Father: "My God! my God! why hast Thou forsaken me?" And a little afterward, when He had cried with a loud voice, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and had added, "Into Thy hands I commit my spirit," He gave up the ghost, and was buried before sunset in a new sepulcher. But when the first day of the week dawned He arose from the dead, and fulfilled those things which before His passion He foretold to us, saying: "The Son of man must continue in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." And when He was risen from the dead, He appeared first to Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, then to Cleopas in the way, and after that to us His disciples, who had fled away for fear of the Jews, but privately were very inquisitive about Him. But these things are also written in the Gospel.

OF THE GREAT WEEK, AND ON WHAT ACCOUNT THEY ENJOIN US TO FAST ON WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY

XV. He therefore charged us Himself to fast these six days on account of the impiety and transgression of the Jews, commanding us withal to bewail over them, and lament for their perdition. For even He Himself "wept over them, because they knew not the time of their visitation." But He commanded us to fast on the fourth and sixth days of the week; the former on account of His being betrayed, and the latter on account of His passion. But He appointed us to break our fast on the seventh day at the cock-crowing, but to fast on the Sabbath-day. Not that the Sabbath-day is a day of fasting, being the rest from the creation, but because we ought to fast on this one Sabbath only, while on this day the Creator was under the

earth. For on their very feast-day they apprehended the Lord, that that oracle might be fulfilled which says: “They placed their signs in the middle of their feast, and knew them not.” Ye ought therefore to bewail over them, because when the Lord came they did not believe on Him, but rejected His doctrine, judging themselves unworthy of salvation. You therefore are happy who once were not a people, but are now an holy nation, delivered from the deceit of idols, from ignorance, from impiety, who once had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy through your hearty obedience: for to you, the converted Gentiles, is opened the gate of life, who formerly were not beloved, but are now beloved; a people ordained for the possession of God, to show forth His virtues, concerning whom our Savior said, “I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. I said, Behold me, to a nation which did not call upon my name.” For when ye did not seek after Him, then were ye sought for by Him; and you who have believed in Him have hearkened to His call, and have left the madness of polytheism, and have fled to the true monarchy, to Almighty God, through Christ Jesus, and are become the completion of the number of the saved — “ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;” as it is written in David, “A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand;” and again, “The chariots of God are by tens of thousands, and thousands of the prosperous.” But unto unbelieving lsrael He says: “All the day long have I stretched out mine hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, which go in a way that is not good, but after their own sins, a people provoking me before my face.”

AN ENUMERATION OF THE PROPHETICAL PREDICTIONS WHICH DECLARE CHRIST, WHOSE COMPLETION THOUGH THE JEWS SAW, YET OUT OF THE EVIL TEMPER OF THEIR MIND THEY DID NOT BELIEVE HE WAS THE CHRIST OF GOD, AND CONDEMNED THE LORD OF GLORY TO THE CROSS

XVI. See how the people provoked the Lord by not believing in Him! Therefore He says: “They provoked the Holy Spirit, and He was turned to be their enemy.” For blindness is cast upon them, by reason of the wickedness of their mind, because when they saw Jesus they did not believe Him to be the Christ of God, who was before all ages begotten of

Him, His only-begotten Son, God the Word, whom they did not own through their unbelief, neither on account of His mighty works, nor yet on account of the prophecies which were written concerning Him. For that He was to be born of a virgin, they read this prophecy: “Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Emanuel.” “For to us a Child is born, to us a Son is given, whose government is upon His shoulders; and His name is called the Angel of His Great Council, the Wonderful Counselor, the Mighty God, the Potentate, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the Future Age.” Now, that because of their exceeding great wickedness they would not believe in Him, the Lord shows in these words: “Who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?” And afterward: “Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross.” Wherefore knowledge was taken from them, because seeing they overlooked, and hearing they heard not. But to you, the converted of the Gentiles, is the kingdom given, because you, who knew not God, have believed by preaching, and “have known Him, or rather are known of Him,” through Jesus, the Savior and Redeemer of those that hope in Him. For ye are translated from your former vain and tedious mode of life and have contemned the lifeless idols, and despised the demons, which are in darkness, and have run to the “true light,” and by it have “known the one and only true God and Father,” and so are owned to be heirs of His kingdom. For since ye have “been baptized into the Lord’s death,” and into His resurrection, as “new-born babes,” ye ought to be wholly free from all sinful actions; “for you are not your own, but His that bought you” with His own blood. For concerning the former Israel the Lord speaks thus, on account of their unbelief: “The kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof;” that is to say, that having given the kingdom to you, who were once far estranged from Him, He expects the fruits of your gratitude and probity. For ye are those that were once sent into the vineyard, and did not obey, but these they that did obey; but you have repented of your denial, and you work therein now. But they, being uneasy on account of their own covenants, have not only left the vineyard uncultivated, but have also killed the stewards of the Lord of the vineyard, — one with stones, another with the sword; one they sawed asunder, another they slew in the holy place, “between the temple and the altar;” nay, at last

they “cast the Heir Himself out of the vineyard, and slew Him.” And by them He was rejected as an unprofitable stone, but by you was received as the corner-stone. Wherefore He says concerning you: “A people whom I knew not have served me, and at the hearing of the ear have they obeyed me.”

HOW THE PASSOVER OUGHT TO BE CELEBRATED

XVII. It is therefore your duty, brethren, who are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, to observe the days of the passover exactly, with all care, after the vernal equinox, lest ye be obliged to keep the memorial of the one passion twice in a year. Keep it once only in a year for Him that died but once.

Do not you yourselves compute, but keep it when your brethren of the circumcision do so: keep it together with them; and if they err in their computation, be not you concerned. Keep your nights of watching in the middle of the days of unleavened bread. And when the Jews are feasting, do you fast and wail over them, because an the day of their feast they crucified Christ; and while they are lamenting and eating unleavened bread in bitterness, do you feast. But no longer be careful to keep the feast with the Jews, for we have now no communion with them; for they have been led astray in regard to the calculation itself, which they think they accomplish perfectly, that they may be led astray on every hand, and be fenced off from the truth. But do you observe carefully the vernal equinox, which occurs on the twenty-second of the twelfth month, which is Dystros(March), observing carefully until the twenty-first of the moon, test the fourteenth of the moon shall fall on another week, and an error being committed, you should through ignorance celebrate the passover twice in the year, or celebrate the day of the resurrection of our Lord on any other day than a Sunday.

A CONSTITUTION CONCERNING THE GREAT PASSOVER WEEK

XVIII. Do you therefore fast on the days of the passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the preparation, and the Sabbath, six days, making use of only bread, and salt, and herbs, and water for your

drink; but do you abstain on these days from wine and flesh, for they are days of lamentation and not of feasting. Do ye who are able fast the day of the preparation and the Sabbath-day entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; but if any one is not able to join them both together, at least let him observe the Sabbath-day; for the Lord says somewhere, speaking of Himself: “When the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, in those days shall they fast.” In these days, therefore, He was taken from us by the Jews, falsely so named, and fastened to the cross, and “was numbered among the transgressors.”

CONCERNING THE WATCHING ALL THE NIGHT OF THE GREAT SABBATH, AND CONCERNING THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION

XIX. Wherefore we exhort you to fast on those days, as we also fasted till the evening, when He was taken away from us; but on the rest of the days, before the day of the preparation, let every one eat at the ninth hour, or at the evening, or as every one is able. But from the even of the fifth day till cock-crowing break your fast when it is daybreak of the first day of the week, which is the Lord’s day. From the even till cock-crowing keep awake, and assemble together in the church, watch and pray, and entreat God; reading, when you sit up all night, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, until cock-crowing, and baptizing your catechumens, and reading the Gospel with fear and trembling, and speaking to the people such things as tend to their salvation: put an end to your sorrow, and beseech God that Israel may be converted, and that He will allow them place of repentance, and the remission of their impiety; for the judge, who was a stranger, “washed his hands, and said, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it. But Israel cried out, His blood be on us, and on our children.” And when Pilate said, “Shall I crucify your king? they cried out, We have no king but Caesar: crucify Him, crucify Him; for every, one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar.” And, “If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar’s friend.” And Pilate the governor and Herod the king commanded Him to be crucified; and that oracle was fulfilled which says, “Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ;” and, “They

cast away the Beloved, as a dead man, who is abominable." And since He was crucified on the day of the Preparation, and rose again at break of day on the Lord's day, the scripture was fulfilled which saith, "Arise, O God; judge the earth: for Thou shalt have an inheritance in all the nations;" and again, "I will arise, saith the Lord; I will put Him in safety, I will wax bold through Him;" and," But Thou, Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up again, and I shall requite them." For this reason do you also, now the Lord is risen, offer your sacrifice, concerning which He made a constitution by us, saying, "Do this for a remembrance of me;" and thenceforward leave off your fasting, and rejoice, and keep a festival, because Jesus Christ, the pledge of our resurrection, is risen from the dead. And let this be an everlasting ordinance till the consummation of the world, until the Lord come. For to Jews the Lord is still dead, but to Christians He is risen: to the former, by their unbelief; to the latter, by their full assurance of faith. For the hope in Him is immortal and eternal life. After eight days let there be another feast observed with honor, the eighth day itself, on which He gave me Thomas, who was hard of belief, full assurance, by showing me the print of the nails, and the wound made in His side by the spear. And again, from the first Lord's day count forty days, from the Lord's day till the fifth day of the week, and celebrate the feast of the ascension of the Lord, whereon He finished all His dispensation and constitution, and returned to that God and Father that sent Him, and sat down at the right hand of power, and remains there until His enemies are put under His feet; who also will come at the consummation of the world with power and great glory, to judge the quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works. And then shall they see the beloved Son of God whom they pierced; and when they know Him, they shall mourn for themselves, tribe by tribe, and their wives apart.

A PROPHETIC PREDICTION CONCERNING CHRIST JESUS

XX. For even now, on the tenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when they assemble together, they read the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which it is said, "The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord was taken in their destructions;" and Baruch, in whom it is written, "This is our God; no other shall be esteemed with Him. He found out every way of knowledge,

and showed it to Jacob His son, and lsrael His beloved. Afterwards He was seen upon earth, and conversed with men." And when they read them, they lament and bewail, as themselves suppose, that desolation which happened by Nebuchadnezzar; but, as the truth shows, they unwillingly make a prelude to that lamentation which will overtake them. But after ten days from the ascension, which from the first Lord's day is the fiftieth day, do ye keep a great festival: for on that day, at the third hour, the Lord Jesus sent on us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we were filled with His energy, and we "spake with new tongues, as that Spirit did suggest to us;" and we preached both to Jews and Gentiles, that He is the Christ of God, who is "determined by Him to be the Judge, of quick and dead." To Him did Moses bear witness, and said: "The Lord received fire from the Lord, and rained it down." Him did Jacob see as a man, and said: "I have seen God face to face, and my soul is preserved." Him did Abraham entertain, and acknowledge to be the Judge, and his Lord. Him did Moses see in the bush; concerning Him did he speak in Deuteronomy: "A Prophet will the Lord your God raise up unto you out of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever He shall say unto you. And it shall be, that every soul that will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among his people." Him did Joshua the son of Nun see, as the captain of the Lord's host, in armor, for their assistance against Jericho; to whom he fell down, and worshipped, as a servant does to his master. Him Samuel knew as the "Anointed of God," and thence named the priests and the kings the anointed. Him David knew, and sung an hymn concerning Him, "A song concerning the Beloved;" and adds in his person, and says, "Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Thou who art mighty in Thy beauty and renown: go on, and prosper, and reign, for the sake of truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and Thy right hand shall guide Thee after a wonderful manner. Thy darts are sharpened, O Thou that art mighty; the people shall fall under Thee in the heart of the king's enemies. Wherefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." Concerning Him also spake Solomon, as in His person: "The Lord created me the beginning of His ways, for His works: before the world He founded me, in the beginning before He made the earth, before the fountains of waters came, before the mountains were fastened; He begat me before all the hills." And again: "Wisdom built herself an house." Concerning Him also Isaiah said: "A Branch shall come out of the root of Jesse, and a

Flower shall spring out of his root.” And, “There shall be a root of Jesse; and He that is to rise to reign over the Gentiles, in Him shall the Gentiles trust.” And Zechariah says: “ Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, just, and having salvation; meek, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.” Him Daniel describes as “the Son of man coming to the Father,” and receiving all judgment and honor from Him; and as “the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth,” dashing to pieces the many governments of the smaller countries, and the polytheism of gods, but preaching the one God, and ordaining the monarchy of the Romans. Concerning Him also did Jeremiah prophesy, saying: “The Spirit before His face, Christ the Lord, was taken in their snares: of whom we said, Under His shadow we shall live among the Gentiles.” Ezekiel also, and the following prophets, affirm everywhere that He is the Christ, the Lord, the King, the Judge, the Lawgiver, the Angel of the Father, the only-begotten God. Him therefore do we also preach to you, and declare Him to be God the Word, who ministered to His God and Father for the creation of the universe. By believing in Him you shall live, but by disbelieving you shall be punished. For “he that is disobedient to the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.” Therefore, after you have kept the festival of Pentecost, keep one week more festival, and after that fast; for it is reasonable to rejoice for the gift of God, and to fast after that relaxation: for both Moses and Elijah fasted forty days, and Daniel for “three weeks of days did not eat desirable bread, and flesh and wine did not enter into his mouth.” And blessed Hannah, when she asked for Samuel, said: “I have not drunk wine nor strong drink, and I pour out my soul before the Lord.” And the Ninevites, when they fasted three days and three nights, escaped the execution of wrath. And Esther, and Mordecai, and Judith, by fasting, escaped the insurrection of the ungodly Holofernes and Haman. And David says: “My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth for want of oil.” Do you therefore fast, and ask your petitions of God. We enjoin you to fast every fourth day of the week, and every day of the preparation, and the surplusage of your fast bestow upon the needy; every Sabbath-day excepting one, and every Lord’s day, hold your solemn assemblies, and rejoice: for he will be guilty of sin who fasts on the Lord’s day, being the day of the resurrection, or during the time of Pentecost, or,

in general, who is sad on a festival day to the Lord. For on them we ought to rejoice, and not to mourn.

BOOK 6

SECTION 1

ON HERESIES WHO THEY WERE THAT VENTURED TO MAKE SCHISMS, AND DID NOT ESCAPE PUNISHMENT

I. ABOVE all things, O bishop, avoid the sad and dangerous and most atheistical heresies, eschewing them as fire that burns those that come near to it. Avoid also schisms: for it is neither lawful to turn one's mind towards wicked heresies, nor to separate from those of the same sentiment out of ambition. For some who ventured to set up such practices of old did not escape punishment. For Dathan and Abiram, who set up in opposition to Moses, were swallowed up into the earth. But Corah, and those two hundred and fifty who with him raised a sedition against Aaron, were consumed by fire. Miriam also, who reproached Moses, was cast out of the camp for seven days; for she said that Moses had taken an Ethiopian to wife. Nay, in the case of Azariah and Uzziah, the latter of which was king of Judah, but venturing to usurp the priesthood, and desiring to offer incense, which it was not lawful for him to do, was hindered by Azariah the high priest, and the fourscore priests; and when he would not obey he found the leprosy to arise in his forehead, and he hastened to go out, because the Lord had reproved him.

THAT IT IS NOT LAWFUL TO RISE UP EITHER AGAINST THE KINGLY OR THE PRIESTLY OFFICE

II. Let us therefore, beloved, consider what sort of glory that of the seditious is, and what their condemnation. For if he that rises up against kings is worthy of punishment, even though he be a son or a friend, how much more he that rises up against the priests! For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the royal power, as having its concern about the soul, so much has he a greater punishment who ventures to oppose the priesthood, than he who ventures to oppose the royal power, although neither of them goes unpunished. For neither did Absalom nor Abdadan

escape without punishment; nor Corah and Dathan. The former rose against David, and strove concerning the kingdom; the latter against Moses, concerning pre-eminence. And they both spake evil; Absalom of his father David, as of an unjust judge, saying to every one: “Thy words are good, but there is no one that will hear thee, and do thee justice. Who will make me a ruler?” But Abdadan: “I have no part in David, nor any inheritance in the son of Jesse.” It is plain that he could not endure to be under David’s government, of whom God spake: “I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart, who will do all my commands.” But Dathan and Abiram, and the followers of Corah, said to Moses: “Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us out of the land of Egypt, out of a land flowing with milk and honey? And why hast thou put out our eyes? And wilt thou rule over us?” And they gathered together against him a great congregation; and the followers of Corah said: “Has God spoken alone to Moses? Why is it that He has given the high-priesthood to Aaron alone? Is not all the congregation of the Lord holy? And why is Aaron alone possessed of the priesthood?” And before this, one said: “Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?”

CONCERNING THE VIRTUE OF MOSES AND THE INCREDULITY OF THE JEWISH NATION, AND WHAT WONDERFUL WORKS GOD DID AMONG THEM

III. And they raised a sedition against Moses the servant of God, the meekest of all men, and faithful, and affronted so great a man with the highest ingratitude; him who was their lawgiver, and guardian, and high priest, and king, the administrator of divine things; one that showed as a creator the mighty works of the Creator; the meekest man, freest from arrogance, and full of fortitude, and most benign in his temper; one who had delivered them from many dangers, and freed them from several deaths by his holiness; who had done so many signs and wonders from God before the people, and had performed glorious and wonderful works for their benefit; who had brought the ten plagues upon the Egyptians; who had divided the Red Sea, and had separated the waters as a wall on this side and on that side, and had led the people through them as through a dry wilderness, and had drowned Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and all that were in company with them; and had made the fountain sweet for them

with wood, and had brought water out of the stony rock for them when they were thirsty; and had given them manna out of heaven, and had distributed flesh to them out of the air; and had afforded them a pillar of fire in the night to enlighten and conduct them, and a pillar of a cloud to shadow them in the day, by reason of the violent heat of the sun; and had exhibited to them the law of God, engraven from the mouth, and hand, and writing of God, in tables of stone, the perfect number of ten commandments; "to whom God spake face to face, as if a man spake to his friend;" of whom He said, "And there arose not a prophet like unto Moses." Against him arose the followers of Corah, and the Reubenites, and threw stones at Moses, who prayed, and said: "Accept not Thou their offering." And the glory of God appeared, and sent some down into the earth, and burnt up others with fire; and so, as to those ringleaders of this schismatical deceit which said, "Let us make ourselves a leader," the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them up, and their tents, and what appertained to them, and they went down alive into hell; but tie destroyed the followers of Corah with fire.

SECTION 2

HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF HERESIES THAT SCHISM IS MADE. NOT BY HIM WHO SEPARATES HIMSELF FROM THE UNGODLY, BUT WHO DEPARTS FROM THE GODLY

IV. If therefore God inflicted punishment immediately on those that made a schism on account of their ambition, how much rather will He do it upon those who are the leaders of impious heresies! Will not He inflict severer punishment on those that blaspheme His providence or His creation? But do you, brethren, who are instructed out of the Scripture, take care not to make divisions in opinion, nor divisions in unity. For those who set up unlawful opinions are marks of perdition to the people. In like manner, do not you of the laity come near to such as advance doctrines contrary to the mind of God; nor be you partakers of their impiety. For says God: "Separate yourselves from (he midst of these men, lest you perish together with them." And again: "Depart from the midst of them, and

separate yourselves, says the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you."

UPON WHAT ACCOUNT ISRAEL, FALSELY SO NAMED, IS REJECTED BY GOD, DEMONSTRATED FROM THE PROPHETIC PREDICTIONS

V. For those are most certainly to be avoided who blaspheme God. The greatest part of the ungodly, indeed, are ignorant of God; but these men, as fighters against God, are possessed with a willful evil disposition, as with a disease. For from the wickedness of these heretics "pollution is gone out upon all the earth," as says the prophet Jeremiah. For the wicked synagogue is now cast off by the Lord God, and His house is rejected by Him, as He somewhere speaks: "I have forsaken mine house, I have left mine inheritance." And again, says Isaiah: "I will neglect my vineyard, and it shall not be pruned nor digged, and thorns shall spring up upon it, as upon a desert; and I will command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it." He has therefore "left His people as a tent in a vineyard, and as a garner in a fig or olive yard, and as a besieged city." He has taken away from them the Holy Spirit, and the prophetic rain, and has replenished His Church with spiritual grace, as the "river of Egypt in the time of first-fruits;" and has advanced the same "as an house upon an hill, or as an high mountain; as a mountain fruitful for milk and fatness, wherein it has pleased God to dwell. For the Lord will inhabit therein to the end." And He says in Jeremiah: "Our sanctuary is an exalted throne of glory." And He says in Isaiah: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord shall be glorious, and the house of the Lord shall be upon the top of the mountains, and shall be advanced above the hills." Since, therefore, He has forsaken His people, He has also left His temple desolate, and rent the veil of the temple, and took from them the Holy Spirit; for says He, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." And He has bestowed upon you, the converted of the Gentiles, spiritual grace, as He says by Joel: "And it shall come to pass after these things, saith God, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons shall prophesy, and your daughters shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." For God has taken away all the power and efficacy of His word, and such like visitations, from that people, and has transferred it to

you, the converted of the Gentiles. For on this account the devil himself is very angry at the holy Church of God: he is removed to you, and has raised against you adversities, seditions, and reproaches, schisms, and heresies. For he had before subdued that people to himself, by their slaying of Christ. But you who have left his vanities he tempts in different ways, as he did the blessed Job. For indeed he opposed that great high priest Joshua the son of Josedek; and he oftentimes sought to sift us, that our faith might fail. But our Lord and Master, having brought him to trial, said unto him: “The Lord rebuke thee, O devil; and the Lord, who hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee. Is not this plucked out of the fire as a brand?” And who said then to those that stood by the high priest, “Take away his ragged garments from him;” and added, “Behold, I have taken thine iniquities away from thee;” He will say now, as He said formerly of us when we were assembled together, “I have prayed that your faith may not fail.”

THAT EVEN AMONG THE JEWS THERE AROSE THE DOCTRINE OF SEVERAL HERESIES HATEFUL TO GOD

VI. For even the Jewish nation had wicked heresies: for of them were the Sadducees, who do not confess the resurrection of the dead; and the Pharisees, who ascribe the practice of sinners to fortune and fate; and the Basmotheans, who deny providence, and say that the world is made by spontaneous motion, and take away the immortality of the soul; and the Hemerobaptists, who every day, unless they wash, do not eat, — nay, and unless they cleanse their beds and tables, or platters and cups and seats, do not make use of any of them; and those who are newly risen amongst us, the Ebionites, who will have the Son of God to be a mere man, begotten by human pleasure, and the conjunction of Joseph and Mary. There are also those that separate themselves from all these, and observe the laws of their fathers, and these are the Essenes. These, therefore, arose among the former people. And now the evil one, who is wise to do mischief, and as for goodness, knows no such good thing, has cast out some from among us, and has wrought by them heresies and schisms.

WHENCE THE HERESIES SPRANG, AND WHO WAS THE RINGLEADER OF THEIR IMPIETY

VII. Now the original of the new heresies began thus: the devil entered into one Simon, of a village called Gitthae, a Samaritan, by profession a magician, and made him the minister of his wicked design. For when Philip our fellow-apostle, by the gift of the Lord and the energy of His Spirit, performed the miracles of healing in Samaria, insomuch that the Samaritans were affected, and embraced the faith of the God of the universe, and of the Lord Jesus, and were baptized into His name; nay, and that Simon himself, when he saw the signs and wonders which were done without any magic ceremonies, fell into admiration, and believed, and was baptized, and continued in fasting and prayer, — we heard of the grace of God which was among the Samaritans by Philip, and came down to them; and enlarging much upon the word of doctrine, we laid our hands upon all that were baptized, and we conferred upon them the participation of the Spirit. But when Simon saw that the Spirit was given to believers by the imposition of our hands, he took money, and offered it to us, saying, "Give me also the power, that on whomsoever I also shall lay my hand, he may receive the Holy Ghost;" being desirous that as the devil deprived Adam by his tasting of the tree of that immortality which was promised him, so also that Simon might entice us by the receiving of money, and might thereby cut us off from the gift of God, that so by exchange we might sell to him for money the inestimable gift of the Spirit. But as we were all troubled at this offer, I Peter, with a fixed attention on that malicious serpent which was in him, said to Simon: "Let thy money go with thee to perdition, because thou hast thought to purchase the gift of God with money. Thou hast no part in this matter, nor lot in this faith; for thy heart is not fight in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray to the Lord, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive thou art in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity." But then Simon was terrified, and said: "I entreat you, pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of those things which ye have spoken come upon me."

WHO WERE THE SUCCESSORS OF SIMON'S IMPIETY, AND WHAT HERESIES THEY SET UP

VIII. But when we went forth among the Gentiles to preach the word of life, then the devil wrought in the people to send after us false apostles to the corrupting of the word; and they sent forth one Cleobius, and joined him with Simon, and these became disciples to one Dositheus, whom they despising, put him down from the principality. Afterwards also others were the authors of absurd doctrines: Cerinthus, and Marcus, and Menander, and Basilides, and Saturnilus. Of these some own the doctrine of many gods, some only of three, but contrary to each other, without beginning, and ever with one another, and some of an infinite number of them, and those unknown ones also. And some reject marriage; and their doctrine is, that it is not the appointment of God; and others abhor some kinds of food: some are impudent in uncleanness, such as those who are falsely called Nicolaitans. And Simon meeting me Peter, first at Caesarea Stratonis (where the faithful Cornelius, a Gentile, believed on the Lord Jesus by me), endeavored to pervert the word of God; there being with me the holy children, Zacchaeus, who was once a publican, and Barnabas; and Nicetas and Aquila, brethren of Clement the bishop and citizen of Rome, who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle and fellow-helper in the Gospel. I thrice discoursed before them with him concerning the true Prophet, and concerning the monarchy of God; and when I had overcome him by the power of the Lord, and had put him to silence, I drove him away into Italy.

HOW SIMON, DESIRING TO FLY BY SOME MAGICAL ARTS, FELL DOWN HEADLONG FROM ON HIGH AT THE PRAYERS OF PETER, AND BRAKE HIS FEET, AND HANDS, AND ANKLE-BONES

IX. Now when he was in Rome, he mightily disturbed the Church, and subverted many, and brought them over to himself, and astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic, insomuch that once, in the middle of the day, he went into their theater, and commanded the people that they should bring me also by force into the theater, and promised he would fly in the air; and when all the people were in suspense at this, I prayed by myself. And indeed he was carried up into the air by demons, and did fly

on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from thence. And the people making acclamations to him, as to a God, I stretched out my hands to heaven, with my mind, and besought God through the Lord Jesus to throw down this pestilent fellow, and to destroy the power of those demons that made use of the same for the seduction and perdition of men, to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him. And then, fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him: “If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety, and not of deceit, as thou art, Simon, I command the wicked powers of the apostate from piety, by whom Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, that he may be exposed to the laughter of those that have been seduced by him.” When I had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and ankle-bones broken; and the people cried out, saying, “There is one only God, whom Peter rightly preaches in truth.” And many left him; but some who were worthy of perdition continued in his wicked doctrine. And after this manner the most atheistical heresy of the Simonians was first established in Rome; and the devil wrought by the rest of the false apostles also.

HOW THE HERESIES DIFFER FROM EACH OTHER, AND FROM THE TRUTH

X. Now all these had one and the same design of atheism, to blaspheme Almighty God, to spread their doctrine that He is an unknown being, and not the Father of Christ, nor the Creator of the world; but one who cannot be spoken of, ineffable, not to be named, and begotten by Himself; that we are not to make use of the law and the prophets; that there is no providence and no resurrection to be believed; that there is no judgment nor retribution; that the soul is trot immortal; that we must only indulge our pleasures, and turn to any sort of worship without distinction. Some of them say that there are many gods, some that there are three gods without beginning, some that there are two unbegotten gods, some that there are innumerable Aeons. Further, some of them teach that men are not to marry, and must abstain from flesh and wine, affirming that marriage, and the begetting of children, and the eating of certain foods, are

abominable; that so, as sober persons, they may make their wicked opinions to be received as worthy of belief. And some of them absolutely prohibit the eating of flesh, as being the flesh not of brute animals, but of creatures that have a rational soul, as though those that ventured to slay them would be charged with the crime of murder. But others of them affirm that we must only abstain from swine's flesh, but may eat such as are clean by the law; and that we ought to be circumcised, according to the law, and to believe in Jesus as in an holy man and a prophet. But others teach that men ought to be impudent in uncleanness, and to abuse the flesh, and to go through all unholy practices, as if this were the only way for the soul to avoid the rulers of this world. Now all these are the instruments of the devil, and the children of wrath.

SECTION 2

THE HERESIES ATTACKED BY THE APOSTLES AN EXPOSITION OF THE PREACHING OF THE APOSTLES

XI. But we, who are the children of God and the sons of peace, do preach the holy and right word of piety, and declare one only God, the Lord of the law and of the prophets, the Maker of the world, the Father of Christ; not a being that caused Himself, or begat Himself, as they suppose, but eternal, and without original, and inhabiting light inaccessible; not two or three, or manifold, but eternally one only; not a being that cannot be known or spoken of, but who was preached by the law and the prophets; the Almighty, the Supreme Governor of all things, the All-powerful Being; the God and Father of the Only-begotten, and of the First-born of the whole creation; one God, the Father of one Son, not of many; the Maker of one Comforter by Christ, the Maker of the other orders, the one Creator of the several creatures by Christ, the same their Preserver and Legislator by Him; the cause of the resurrection, and of the judgment, and of the retribution which shall be made by Him: that this same Christ was pleased to become man, and went through life without sin, and suffered, and rose from the dead, and, returned to Him that sent Him. We also say that every creature of God is good, and nothing abominable; that everything for the support of life, when it is partaken of righteously, is

very good: for, according to the Scripture, “all things were very good.” We believe that lawful marriage, and the begetting of children, is honorable and undefiled; for difference of sexes was formed in Adam and Eve for the increase of mankind. We acknowledge with us a soul that is incorporeal and immortal, — not corruptible as bodies are, but immortal, as being rational and free. We abhor all unlawful mixtures, and that which is practiced by some against nature as wicked and impious. We profess there will be a resurrection both of the just and unjust, and a retribution. We profess that Christ is not a mere man, but God the Word, and man the Mediator between God and men, the High Priest of the Father; nor are we circumcised with the Jews, as knowing that He is come “to whom the inheritance was reserved,” and on whose account the families were kept distinct-“the expectation of the Gentiles,” Jesus Christ, who sprang out of Judah, the Son from the branch, the flower from Jesse, whose government is upon His shoulder.

FOR THOSE THAT CONFESS CHRIST, BUT ARE DESIROUS TO JUDAIZE

XII. But because this heresy did then seem the more powerful to seduce men, and the whole Church was in danger, we the twelve assembled together at Jerusalem (for Matthias was chosen to be an apostle in the room of the betrayer, and took the lot of Judas; as it is said, “His bishopric let another take”). We deliberated, together with James the Lord’s brother, what was to be done; and it seemed good to him and to the elders to speak to the people words of doctrine. For certain men likewise went down from Judea to Antioch, and taught the brethren who were there, saying: “Unless ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, and walk according to the other customs which he ordained, ye cannot be saved.” When, therefore, there had been no small dissension and disputation, the brethren which were at Antioch, when they knew that we were all met together about this question, sent out unto us men who were faithful and understanding in the Scriptures to learn concerning this question. And they, when they were come to Jerusalem, declared to us what questions were arisen in the church of Antioch, — namely, that some said men ought to be circumcised, and to observe the other purifications. And when some said one thing, and some another, I Peter stood up, and

said unto them: “Men and brethren, ye know how that from ancient days God made choice among you that the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel by my mouth, and believe; and God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness. For an angel of the Lord appeared on a certain time to Cornelius, who was a centurion of the Roman government, and spake to him concerning me, that he should send for me, and hear the word, of life from my mouth. He therefore sent for me from Joppa to Caesarea Stratonis; and when I was ready to go to him, I would have eaten. And while they made ready I was in the upper room praying; and I saw heaven opened, and a vessel, knit at the four corners like a splendid sheet, let down to the earth, wherein were all manner of four-looted beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the heaven. And there came a voice out of heaven to me, saying, Arise, Peter; kill, and eat. And I said, By no means, Lord: for I have never eaten anything common or unclean. And there came a voice a second time, saying, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common. And this was done thrice, and the vessel was received up again into heaven. But as I doubted what this vision should mean, the Spirit said to me, Behold, men seek thee; but rise up, and go thy way with them, nothing doubting, for I have sent them. These men were those which came from the centurion, and so by reasoning I understood the word of the Lord which is written: ‘Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.’ And again: ‘All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the families of the heathen shall worship before Him: for the kingdom is in the Lord’s, and He is the governor of the nations.’ And observing that there were expressions everywhere concerning the calling of the Gentiles, I rose up, and went with them, and entered into the man’s house. And while I was preaching the word, the Holy ‘Spirit fell upon him, and upon those that were with him, as it did upon us at the beginning; and He put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. And I perceived that God is no respecter of persons; but that in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, will be accepted with Him. But even the believers which were of the circumcision were astonished at this. Now therefore why tempt ye God, to lay an heavy yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord, we believe we shall be saved, even as they. For the Lord has loosed us from our bonds, and has made our burden light, and has loosed the

heavy yoke from us by His clemency.” While I spake these things, the whole multitude kept silence. But James the Lord’s brother answered and said: “Men and brethren, hearken unto me; Simeon hath declared how God at first visited to take out a people from the Gentiles for His name. And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written: ‘Afterwards I will return, and will raise again and rebuild the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will rebuild its ruins, and will again set it up, that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the nations upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doth these things.’ Known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world. Wherefore my sentence is, that we do not trouble those who from among the Gentiles turn unto God: but to charge them that they abstain from the pollutions of the Gentiles, and from what is sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; which laws were given to the ancients who lived before the law, under the law of nature, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Job, and if there be any other of the same sort.” Then it seemed good to us the apostles, and to James the bishop, and to the elders, with the whole Church, to send men chosen from among our own selves, with Barnabas, and Paul of Tarsus, the apostle of the Gentiles, and Judas who was called Barsabbas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren, and wrote by their hand, as follows: “The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia of the Gentiles, send greeting: Since we have heard that some from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, to whom we gave no such commandment, it has seemed good to us, when we were met together with one accord, to send chosen men to you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom ye sent unto us. We have sent also with them Judas and Silas, who shall themselves declare the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay no other burden upon you than these necessary things; that ye abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which things if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.” We accordingly sent this epistle; but we ourselves remained in Jerusalem many days, consulting together for the public benefit, for the well ordering of all things.

THAT WE MUST SEPARATE FROM HERETICS

XIII. But after a long time we visited the brethren, and confirmed them with the word of piety, and charged them to avoid those who, under the name of Christ and Moses, war against Christ and Moses, and in the clothing of sheep hide the wolf. For these are false Christs, and false prophets, and false apostles, deceivers and corrupters, portions of foxes, the destroyers of the herbs of the vineyards: “for whose sake the love of many will wax cold. But he that endureth steadfast to the end, the same shall be saved. Concerning whom, that He might secure us, the Lord declared, saying: “There will come to you men in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits; take care of them. For false Christs and false prophets shall arise and shall deceive many.”

WHO WERE THE PREACHERS OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE, AND WHICH ARE THE COMMANDMENTS GIVEN BY THEM

XIV. On whose account also we, who are now assembled in one place, — Peter and Andrew; James and John, sons of Zebedee; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew; James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbaeus who is surnamed Thaddaeus; and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias, who instead of Judas was numbered with us; and James the brother of the Lord and bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, the chosen vessel, having all met together, have written to you this Catholic doctrine for the confirmation of you, to whom the oversight of the universal Church is committed: wherein we declare unto you, that there is only one God Almighty, besides whom there is no other, and that you must worship and adore Him alone, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in the most holy Spirit; that you are to make use of the sacred Scriptures, the law, and the prophets; to honor your parents; to avoid all unlawful actions; to believe the resurrection and the judgment, and to expect the retribution; and to use all His creatures with thankfulness, as the works of God, and having no evil in them; to marry after a lawful manner, for such marriage is unblameable. For “the woman is suited to the man by the Lord;” and the Lord says: “He that made them from the beginning, made them male and female; and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they two shall be one

flesh." Nor let it be esteemed lawful after marriage to put her away who is without blame. For says He: "Thou shalt take care to thy spirit, and shalt not forsake the wife of thy youth; for she is the partner of thy life, and the remains of thy spirit. I and no other have made her." For the Lord says: "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder." For the wife is the partner of life, united by God unto one body from two. But he that divides that again into two which is become one, is the enemy of the creation of God, and the adversary of His providence. In like manner, he that retains her that is corrupted is a transgressor of the law of nature; since "he that retains an adulteress is foolish and impious." For says He, "Cut her off from thy flesh;" for she is not an help, but a snare, bending her mind from thee to another. Nor be ye circumcised in your flesh, but let the circumcision which is of the heart by the Spirit suffice for the faithful; for He says, "Be ye circumcised to your God, and be circumcised in the foreskin of your heart."

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO REBAPTIZE, NOR TO RECEIVE THAT BAPTISM WHICH IS GIVEN BY THE UNGODLY, WHICH IS NOT BAPTISM, BUT A POLLUTION

XV. Be ye likewise contented with one baptism alone, that which is into the death of the Lord; not that which is conferred by wicked heretics, but that which is conferred by unblameable priests, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" and let not that which comes from the ungodly be received by you, nor let that which is done by the godly be disannulled by a second. For as there is one God, one Christ, and one Comforter, and one death of the Lord in the body, so let that baptism which is unto Him be but one. But those that receive polluted baptism from the ungodly will become partners in their opinions. For they are not priests. For God says to them: "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee from the office of a priest to me." Nor indeed are those that are baptized by them initiated, but are polluted, not receiving the remission of sins, but the bond of impiety. And, besides, they that attempt to baptize those already initiated crucify the Lord afresh, slay Him a second time, laugh at divine and ridicule holy things, affront the Spirit, dishonor the sacred blood of Christ as common blood, are impious against Him that sent, Him that suffered, and Him that witnessed. Nay, he

that, out of contempt, will not be baptized, shall be condemned as an unbeliever, and shall be reproached as ungrateful and foolish. For the Lord says: “Except a man be baptized of water and of the Spirit, he shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven.” And again: “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.” But he that says, When I am dying I will be baptized, lest I should sin and defile my baptism, is ignorant of God, and forgetful of his own nature. For “do not thou delay to turn unto the Lord, for thou knowest not what the next day will bring forth.” Do you also baptize your infants, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God. For says He: “Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.”

CONCERNING BOOKS WITH FALSE INSCRIPTIONS

XVI. We have sent all these things to you, that ye may know our opinion, what it is; and that ye may not receive those books which obtain in our name, but are written by the ungodly. For you are not to attend to the names of the apostles, but to the nature of the things, and their settled opinions. For we know that Simon and Cleobius, and their followers, have compiled poisonous books under the name of Christ and of His disciples, and do carry them about in order to deceive you who love Christ, and us His servants. And among the ancients also some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elijah, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth. The same things even now have the wicked heretics done, reproaching the creation, marriage, providence, the begetting of children, the law, and the prophets; inscribing certain barbarous names, and, as they think, of angels, but, to speak the truth, of demons, which suggest things to them: whose doctrine eschew, that ye may not be partakers of the punishment due to those that write such things for the seduction and perdition of the faithful and unblameable disciples of the Lord Jesus.

MATRIMONIAL PRECEPTS CONCERNING CLERGYMEN

XVII. We have already said, that a bishop, a presbyter, and a deacon, when they are constituted, must be but once married, whether their wives be alive or whether they be dead; and that it is not lawful for them, if they are unmarried when they are ordained, to be married afterwards; or if they

be then married, to marry a second time, but to be content with that wife. which they had when they came to ordination. We also appoint that the ministers, and singers, and readers, and porters, shall be only once married. But if they entered into the clergy before they were married, we permit them to many, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin and incur punishment. But we do not permit any one of the clergy to take to wife either a courtesan, or a servant, or a widow, or one that is divorced, as also the law says. Let the deaconess be a pure virgin; or, at the least, a widow who has been but once married, faithful, and well esteemed.

AN EXHORTATION COMMANDING TO AVOID THE COMMUNION OF THE IMPIOUS HERETICS

XVIII. Receive ye the penitent, for this is the will of God in Christ. Instruct the catechumens in the elements of religion, and then baptize them. Eschew the atheistical heretics, who are past repentance, and separate them from the faithful, and excommunicate them from the Church of God, and charge the faithful to abstain entirely from them, and not to partake with them either in sermons or prayers: for these are those that are enemies to the Church, and lay snares for it; who corrupt the flock, and defile the heritage of Christ, pretenders only to wisdom, and the vilest of men; concerning whom Solomon the wise said: “The wicked doers pretend to act piously.” For, says he, “there is a way which seemeth right to some, but the ends thereof look to the bottom of hell.” These are they concerning whom the Lord declared His mind with bitterness and severity, saying that “they are false Christs and false teachers;” who have blasphemed the Spirit of grace, and done despite to the gift they had from Him after the grace of baptism, “to whom forgiveness shall not be granted, neither in this world nor in that which is to come;” who are both more wicked than the Jews and more atheistical than the Gentiles; who blaspheme the God over all, and tread under foot His Son, and do despite to the doctrine of the Spirit; who deny the words of God, or pretend hypocritically to receive them, to the affronting of God, and the deceiving of those that come among them; who abuse the Holy Scriptures, and as for righteousness, they do not so much as know what it is; who spoil the Church of God, as the “little foxes do the vineyard;” whom we exhort you to avoid, lest you lay traps for your own souls. “For he that walketh with wise men shall be

wise, but he that walketh with the foolish shall be known.” For we ought neither to run along with a thief, nor put in our lot with an adulterer; since holy David says: “O Lord, I have hated them that hate Thee, and I am withered away on account of Thy enemies. I hated them with a perfect hatred: they were to me as enemies.” And God reproaches Jehoshaphat with his friendship towards Ahab, and his league with him and with Ahaziah, by Jonah the prophet: “Art thou in friendship with a sinner? Or dost thou aid him that is hated by the Lord?” “For this cause the wrath of the Lord would be upon thee suddenly, but that thy heart is found perfect with the Lord. For this cause the Lord hath spared thee; yet are thy works shattered, and thy ships broken to pieces.” Eschew therefore their fellowship, and estrange yourselves from their friendship. For concerning them did the prophet declare, and say: “It is not lawful to rejoice with the ungodly,” says the Lord. For these are hidden wolves, dumb dogs, that cannot bark, who at present are but few, but in process of time, when the end of the world draws nigh, will be more in number and more troublesome, of whom said the Lord, “Will the Son of man, when He comes, find faith on the earth?” and, “Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold;” and, “There shall come false Christs and false prophets, and shall show signs in the heaven, so as, if it were possible, to deceive the elect:” from whose deceit God, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope, will deliver us. For we ourselves, as we passed through the nations, and confirmed the churches. curing some with much exhortation and healing words, restored them again when they were in the certain way to death. But those that were incurable we cast out from the flock, that they might not infect the lambs, which were found with their scabby disease, but might continue before the Lord God pure and undefiled, sound and unspotted. And this we did in every city, everywhere through the whole world, and have left to you the bishops and to the rest of the priests this very Catholic doctrine worthily and righteously, as a memorial or confirmation to those who have believed in God; and we have sent it by our fellow-minister Clement, our most faithful and intimate son in the Lord, together with Barnabas, and Timothy our most dearly beloved son, and the genuine Mark, together with whom we recommend to you also Titus and Luke, and Jason and Lucius, and Sosipater.

SECTION 4

OF THE LAW

By whom also we exhort you in the Lord to abstain from your old conversation, vain bonds, separations, observances, distinction of meats, and daily washings: for “old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.”

TO THOSE THAT SPEAK EVIL OF THE LAW,

XIX. For since ye have known God through Jesus Christ, and all His dispensation, as it has been from the beginning, that He gave a plain law to assist the law of nature, such a one as is pure, saving, and holy, in which His own name was inscribed, perfect, which is never to fail, being complete in ten commands, unspotted, converting souls; which, when the Hebrews forgot, He put them in mind of it by the prophet Malachi, saying, “Remember ye the law of Moses, the man of God, who gave you in charge commandments and ordinances.” Which law is so very holy and righteous, that even our Savior, when on a certain time He healed one leper, and afterwards nine, said to the first, “Go, show thyself to the high priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them;” and afterwards to the nine, “Go, show yourselves to the priests.” For He nowhere has dissolved the law, as Simon pretends, bat fulfilled it; for He says: “One iota, or one tittle, shall not pass from the law until all be fulfilled.” For says He, “I come not to dissolve the law, but to fulfill it.” For Moses himself, who was at once the lawgiver, and the high priest, and the prophet, and the king, and Elijah, the zealous follower of the prophets, were present at our Lord’s transfiguration in the mountain, and witnesses of His incarnation and of His sufferings, as the intimate friends of Christ, but not as enemies and strangers. Whence it is demonstrated that the law is good and holy, as also the prophets.

WHICH IS THE LAW OF NATURE, AND WHICH IS THAT AFTERWARDS INTRODUCED, AND WHY IT WAS INTRODUCED

XX. Now the law is the decalogue, which the Lord promulgated to them with an audible voice, before the people made that calf which represented the Egyptian Apis. And the law is righteous, and therefore is it called the law, because judgments are thence made according to the law of nature, which the followers of Simon abuse, supposing they shall not be judged thereby, and so shall escape punishment. This law is good, holy, and such as lays no compulsion in things positive. For He says: “If thou wilt make me an altar, thou shalt make it of earth.” It does not say, “Make one,” but, “If thou wilt make.” It does not impose a necessity, but gives leave to their own free liberty. For God does not stand in need of sacrifices, being by nature above all want. But knowing that, as of old, Abel, beloved of God, and Noah and Abraham, and those that succeeded, without being required, but only moved of themselves by the law of nature, did offer sacrifice to God out of a grateful mind; so He did now permit the Hebrews, not commanding, but, if they had a mind, permitting them; and if they offered from a right intention, showing Himself pleased with their sacrifices. Therefore He says: “If thou desirest to offer, do not offer. to me as to one that stands in need of it, for I stand in need of nothing; for the world is mine, and the fullness thereof.” But when this people became forgetful of that, and called upon a calf as God, instead of the true God, and to him did ascribe the cause of their coming out of Egypt, saying, “These are thy gods, O lsrael, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt;” and when these men had committed: wickedness with the “similitude of a calf that eateth hay;” and denied God who had visited them by Moses in their afflictions, and had done signs with his hand and rod, and had smitten the Egyptians with ten plagues; who had divided the waters of the Red Sea into two parts; who had led them in the midst of the water, as a horse upon the ground; who had drowned their enemies, and those that laid wait for them; who at Marah had made sweet the bitter fountain; who had brought water out of the sharp rock till they were satisfied; who had overshadowed them with a pillar of a cloud on account of the immoderate heat, and with a pillar of fire which enlightened and guided them when they knew not which way they were to go; who gave

them manna from heaven, and gave them quails for flesh from the sea; who gave them the law in the mountain; whose voice He had vouchsafed to let them hear; Him did they deny, and said to Aaron, “Make us gods who shall go before us;” and they made a molten calf, and sacrificed to an idol; — then was God angry, as being ungratefully treated by them, and bound them with bonds which could not be loosed, with a mortifying burden and a hard collar, and no longer said, “If thou makest,” but, “Make an altar,” and sacrifice perpetually; for thou art forgetful and ungrateful. Offer burnt-offerings therefore continually, that thou mayest be mindful of me. For since thou hast wickedly abused thy power, I lay a necessity upon thee for the time to come, and I command thee to abstain from certain meats; and I ordain thee the distinction of clean and unclean creatures, although every creature is good, as being made by me; and I appoint thee several separations, purgations, frequent washings and sprinklings, several purifications, and several times of rest; and if thou neglectest any of them, I determine that punishment which is proper to the disobedient, that being pressed and galled by thy collar, thou mayest depart from the error of polytheism, and laying aside that, “These are thy gods, O Israel,” mayest be mindful of that, “Hear, O lsrael, the Lord thy God is one Lord;” and mayest run back again to that law which is inserted by me in the nature of all men, “that there is only one God in heaven and on earth, and to love Him with all thy heart, and all thy might, and all thy mind,” and to fear none but Him, nor to admit the names of other gods into thy mind, nor to let thy tongue utter them out of thy mouth. He bound them for the hardness of their hearts, that by sacrificing, and resting, and purifying themselves, and by similar observances, they might come to the knowledge of God, who ordained these things for them.

THAT WE WHO BELIEVE IN CHRIST ARE UNDER GRACE AND NOT UNDER THE SERVITUDE OF THAT ADDITIONAL LAW

XXI. “But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear.” Yours, I say, who have believed in the one God, not by necessity, but by a sound understanding, in obedience to Him that called you. For you are released from the bonds, and freed from the servitude. For says He: “I call you no longer servants, but friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father have I made known unto you.” For to them that would

not see nor hear, not for the want of those senses, but for the excess of their wickedness, “I gave statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they would not live;” they are looked upon as not good, as burnings and a sword, and medicines are esteemed enemies by the sick, and impossible to be observed on account of their obstinacy: whence also they brought death upon them being not obeyed.

THAT THE LAW FOR SACRIFICES IS ADDITIONAL, WHICH CHRIST WHEN HE CAME TOOK AWAY

XXII. You therefore are blessed who are delivered from the curse, For Christ, the Son of God, by His coming has confirmed and completed the law, but has taken away the additional precepts, although not all of them, yet at least the more grievous ones; having confirmed the former, and abolished the latter, and has again set the free-will of man at liberty, not subjecting him to the penalty of a temporal death, but giving laws to him according to another constitution. Wherefore He says: “If any man will come after me, let him come.” And again: “Will ye also go away?” And besides, before His coining He refused the sacrifices of the people, while they frequently offered them, when they sinned against Him, and thought He was to be appeased by sacrifices, but not by repentance. For thus He speaks: “Why dost thou bring to me frankincense from Saba, and cinnamon from a remote land? Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices are not sweet to me.” And afterwards: “Gather your burnt-offerings, together with your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I did not command you, when I brought you out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices.” And He says by Isaiah: “To what purpose do ye bring me a multitude of sacrifices? saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and I will not accept the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and of goats. Nor do you come and appear before me; for who hath required these things at your hands? Do not go on to tread my courts any more. If you bring me fine flour, it is vain: incense is an abomination unto me: your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and your great day, I cannot bear them: your fasts, and your rests, and your feasts, my soul hateth them; I am over-full of them.” And He says by another: “Depart from me; the sound of thine hymns, and the psalms of thy musical instruments, I will not hear.” And Samuel says to Saul, when he

thought to sacrifice: “Obedience is better than sacrifice, and hearkening than the fat of rams. For, behold, the Lord does not so much delight in sacrifice, as in obeying Him.” And He says by David: “I will take no calves out of thine house, nor he-goats out of thy flock. If I should be hungry, I would not tell thee; for the whole world is mine, and the fullness thereof. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High.” And in all the Scriptures in like manner He refuses their sacrifices on account of their sinning against Him. For “the sacrifices of the impious are an abomination with the Lord, since they offer them in an unlawful manner.” And again: “Their sacrifices are to them as bread of lamentation; all that eat of them shall be defiled.” If, therefore, before His coining He sought for “a clean heart and a contrite spirit” more than sacrifices, much rather would He abrogate those sacrifices, I mean those by blood, when He came. Yet He so abrogated them as that He first fulfilled them. For He was both circumcised, and sprinkled, and offered sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, and made use of the rest of their customs. And He that was the Lawgiver became Himself the fulfilling of the law; not taking away the law of nature, but abrogating those additional laws that were afterwards introduced, although not all of them neither.

HOW CHRIST BECAME A FULFILLER OF THE LAW, AND WHAT PARTS OF IT HE PUT A PERIOD TO, OR CHANGED, OR TRANSFERRED

XXIII. For He did not take away the law of nature, but confirmed it. For He that said in the law, “The Lord thy God is one Lord;” the same says in the Gospel, “That they might know Thee, the only true God.” And He that said, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,” says in the Gospel, renewing the same precept, “A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.” He who then forbade murder, does now forbid causeless anger. He that forbade adultery, does now forbid all unlawful lust. He that forbade stealing, now pronounces him most happy who supplies those that are in want out of his own labors. He that forbade hatred, now pronounces him blessed that loves his enemies. He that forbade revenge, now commands long-suffering; not as if just revenge were an unrighteous thing, but because long-suffering is more excellent. Nor did

He make laws to root out our natural passions, but only to forbid the excess of them. He who had commanded to honor our parents, was Himself subject to them. He who had commanded to keep the Sabbath, by resting thereon for the sake of meditating on the laws, has now commanded us to consider of the law of creation, and of providence every day, and to return thanks to God, He abrogated circumcision when He had Himself fulfilled it. For He it was “to whom the inheritance was reserved, who was the expectation of the nations.” He who made a law for swearing rightly, and forbade perjury, has now charged us not to swear at all. He has in several ways changed baptism, sacrifice, the priesthood, and the divine service, which was confined to one place: for instead of daily baptisms, He has given only one, which is that into His death. Instead of one tribe, He has appointed that out of every nation the best should be ordained for the priesthood; and that not their bodies should be examined for blemishes, but their religion and their lives. Instead of a bloody sacrifice, He has appointed that reasonable and unbloody mystical one of His body and blood, which is performed to represent the death of the Lord by symbols. Instead of the divine service confined to one place, He has commanded and appointed that He should be glorified from sun-rising to sunsetting in every place of His dominion. He did not therefore take away the law from us, but the bonds. For concerning the law Moses says: “Thou shalt meditate on the word which I command thee, sitting in thine house, and rising up, and walking in the way.” And David says: “His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law will he meditate day and night.” For everywhere would he have us subject to His laws, but not transgressors of them. For says He: “Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that search out His testimonies; with their whole heart shall they seek Him.” And again: “Blessed are we, O Israel, because those things that are pleasing to God are known to us.” And the Lord says: “If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.”

THAT IT PLEASED THE LORD THAT THE LAW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS SHOULD BE DEMONSTRATED BY THE ROMANS

XXIV. Nor does He desire that the law of righteousness should only be demonstrated by us; but He is pleased that it should appear and shine by means of the Romans. For these Romans, believing in the Lord, left off their polytheism and injustice, and entertain the good, and punish the bad. But they hold the Jews under tribute, and do not suffer them to make use of their own ordinances.

HOW GOD, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR IMPIETY TOWARDS CHRIST, MADE THE JEWS CAPTIVES, AND PLACED THEM UNDER TRIBUTE

XXV. Because, indeed, they drew servitude upon themselves voluntarily, when they said, “We have no king but Caesar;” and, “If we do not slay Christ, all men will believe in Him, and the Romans will come and will take away both our place and nation.” And so they prophesied unwittingly. For accordingly the nations believed on Him, and they themselves were deprived by the Romans of their power, and of their legal worship; and they have been forbidden to slay whom they please, and to sacrifice when they will. Wherefore they are accursed, as not able to perform the things they are commanded to do. For says He: “Cursed be he that does not continue in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them.” Now it is impossible in their dispersion, while they are among the heathen, for them to perform all things in their law. For the divine Moses forbids both to rear an altar out of Jerusalem, and to read the law out of the bounds of Judea. Let us therefore follow Christ, that we may inherit His blessings. Let us walk after the law and the prophets by the Gospel. Let us eschew the worshippers of many gods, and the murderers of Christ, and the murderers of the prophets, and the wicked and atheistical heretics. Let us be obedient to Christ as to our King, as having authority to change several constitutions, and having, as a legislator, wisdom to make new constitutions in different circumstances; yet so that everywhere the laws of nature be immutably preserved.

SECTION 5

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES IN OPPOSITION TO JEWISH AND GENTILE SUPERSTITIONS, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO MARRIAGE AND FUNERALS THAT WE OUGHT TO AVOID THE HERETICS AS THE CORRUPTERS OF SOULS

XXVI. Do you therefore, O bishops, and ye of the laity, avoid all heretics who abuse the law and the prophets. For they are enemies to God Almighty, and disobey Him, and do not confess Christ to be the Son of God. For they also deny His generation according to the flesh; they are ashamed of the cross; they abuse His passion and His death; they know not His resurrection; they take away His generation before all ages. Nay, some of them are impious after another manner, imagining the Lord to be a mere man, supposing Him to consist of a soul and body. But others of them suppose that Jesus Himself is the God over all, and glorify Him as His own Father, and suppose Him to be both the Son and the Comforter; than which doctrines what can be more detestable? Others, again, of them do refuse certain meats, and say that marriage with the procreation of children is evil, and the contrivance of the devil; and being ungodly themselves, they are not willing to rise again from the dead on account of their wickedness. Wherefore also they ridicule the resurrection, and say, We are holy people, unwilling to eat and to drink; and they fancy that they shall rise again from the dead demons without flesh, who shall be condemned for ever in eternal fire. Fly therefore from them, lest ye perish with them in their impieties.

OF SOME JEWISH AND GENTILE OBSERVANCES

XXVII. Now if any persons keep to the Jewish customs and observances concerning the natural emission and nocturnal pollutions, and the lawful conjugal acts, let them tell us whether in those hours or days, when they undergo any such thing, they observe not to pray, or to touch a Bible, or to partake of the Eucharist? And if they own it to be so, it is plain they are void of the Holy Spirit, which always continues with the faithful. For concerning holy persons Solomon says: “That every one may prepare himself, that so when he sleeps it may keep him, and when he

arises it may talk with him.” For if thou thinkest, O woman, when thou art seven days in thy separation, that thou art void of the Holy Spirit, then if thou shouldest die suddenly thou wilt depart void of the Spirit, and without assured hope in God; or else thou must imagine that the Spirit always is inseparable from thee, as not being in a place. But thou standest in need of prayer and the Eucharist, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, as having been guilty of no fault in this matter. For neither lawful mixture, nor child-bearing, nor the menstrual purgation, nor nocturnal pollution, can defile the nature of a man, or separate the Holy Spirit from him. Nothing but impiety and unlawful practice can do that. For the Holy Spirit always abides with those that are possessed of it, so long as they are worthy; and those from whom it is departed, it leaves them desolate, and exposed to the wicked spirit. Now every man is filled either with the holy or with the unclean spirit; and it is not possible to avoid the one or the other, unless they can receive opposite spirits. For the Comforter hates every lie, and the devil hates all truth. But every one that is baptized agreeably to the truth is separated from the diabolical spirit, and is under the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit remains with him so long as he is doing good, and fills him with wisdom and understanding, and suffers not the wicked spirit to approach him, but watches over his goings. Thou therefore, O woman, if, as thou sayest, in the days of thy separation thou art void of the Holy Spirit, thou art then filled with the unclean one; for by neglecting to pray and to read thou wilt invite him to thee, though he were unwilling. For this spirit, of all others, loves the ungrateful, the slothful, the careless, and the drowsy, since he himself by ingratitude was distempered with evil mind, and was thereby deprived by God his dignity; having rather chosen to be a devil than an archangel. Wherefore, O woman, eschew such vain words, and be ever mindful of God that created thee, and pray to Him. For He is thy Lord, and the Lord of the universe; and meditate in His laws without observing any such things, such as the natural purgation, lawful mixture, child-birth, a miscarriage, or a blemish of the body; since such observations are the vain inventions of foolish men, and such inventions as have no sense in them. Neither the burial of a man, nor a dead man’s bone, nor a sepulcher, nor any particular sort of food, nor the nocturnal pollution, can defile the soul of man; but only impiety towards God, and transgression, and injustice towards one’s neighbor; I mean rapine, violence, or if there be anything contrary to His righteousness, adultery or fornication.

Wherefore, beloved, avoid and eschew such observations, for they are heathenish. For we do not abominate a dead man, as do they, seeing we hope that he will live again. Nor do we hate lawful mixture; for it is their practice to act impiously in such instances. For the conjunction of man and wife, if it be with righteousness, is agreeable to the mind of God. “For He that made them at the beginning made them male and female; and He blessed them, and said, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth.” If, therefore, the difference of sexes was made by the will of God for the generation of multitudes, then must the conjunction of male and female be also acceptable to His mind.

OF THE LOVE OF BOYS, ADULTERY, AND FORNICATION

XXVIII. But we do not say so of that mixture that is contrary to nature, or of any unlawful practice; for such are enmity to God. For the sin of Sodom is contrary to nature, as is also that with brute beasts. But adultery and fornication are against the law; the one whereof is impiety, the other injustice, and, in a word, no other than a great sin. But neither sort of them is without its punishment in its own proper nature. For the practicers of one sort attempt the dissolution of the world, and endeavor to make the natural course of things to change for one that is unnatural; but those of the second son — the adulterers — are unjust by corrupting others’ marriages, and dividing into two what God hath made one, rendering the children suspected, and exposing the true husband to the snares of others. And fornication is the destruction of one’s own flesh, not being made use of for the procreation of children, but entirely for the sake of pleasure, which is a mark of incontinency, and not a sign of virtue. All these things are forbidden by the laws; for thus say the oracles: “Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind.” “For such a one is accursed, and ye shall stone them with stones: they have wrought abomination.” “Every one that lieth with a beast, slay ye him: he has wrought wickedness in his people.” “And if any one defile a married woman, slay ye them both: they have wrought wickedness; they are guilty; let them die.” And afterwards: “There shall not be a fornicator among the children of Israel, and there shall not be an whore among the daughters of Israel. Thou shalt not offer the hire of an harlot to the Lord thy God upon the altar, nor the price things the laws have forbidden, but they have honored marriage, and have

called it blessed, since God has blessed it who joined male and of a dog." "For the vows arising from the hire of an harlot are not clean." These female together. And wise Solomon somewhere says: "A wife is suited to her husband by the Lord." And David says: "Thy wife is like a flourishing vine in the sides of thine house; thy children like olive-branches round about thy table. Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord." Wherefore "marriage is honorable" and comely, and the begetting of children pure, for there is no evil in that which is good. Therefore neither is the natural purgation abominable before God, who has ordered it to happen to women within the space of thirty days for their advantage and healthful state, who do less move about, and keep usually at home in the house. Nay, moreover, even in the Gospel, when the woman with the perpetual purgation of blood touched the saving border of the Lord's garment in hope of being healed, He was not angry at her, nor did complain of her at all; but, on the contrary, He healed her, saying, "Thy faith hath saved thee." When the natural purgations do appear in the wives, let not their husbands approach them, out of regard to the children to be begotten; for the law has forbidden it, for it says: "Thou shalt not come near thy wife when she is in her separation." Nor, indeed, let them frequent their wives' company when they are with child. For they do this not for the begetting of children, but for the sake of pleasure. Now a lover of God ought not to be a lover of pleasure.

HOW WIVES OUGHT TO BE SUBJECT TO THEIR OWN HUSBANDS, AND HUSBANDS OUGHT TO LOVE THEIR OWN WIVES

XXXIX. Ye wives, be subject to your own husbands, and have them in esteem, and serve them with fear and love, as holy Sarah honored Abraham. For she could not endure to call him by his name, but called him Lord, when she said, "My Lord is old." In like manner, ye husbands, love your own wives as your own members, as partners in life, and fellow-helpers for the procreation of children. For says He, "Rejoice with the wife of thy youth. Let her conversation be to thee as a loving hind, and a pleasant foal; let her alone guide thee, and be with thee at all times: for if thou beest every way encompassed with her friendship, thou wilt be happy in her society." Love them therefore as your own members, as your

very bodies; for so it is written, “The Lord has testified between thee and between the wife of thy youth; and she is thy partner, and another has not made her: and she is the remains of thy spirit;” and, “Take heed to your spirit, and do not forsake the wife of thy youth.” An husband, therefore, and a wife, when they company together in lawful marriage, and rise from one another, may pray without any observations, and without washing are clean. But whosoever corrupts and defiles another man’s wife, or is defiled with an harlot, when he arises up from her, though he should wash himself in the entire ocean and all the rivers, cannot be clean.

SECTION 6

CONCLUSION OF THE WORK. THAT IT IS THE CUSTOM OF JEWS AND GENTILES TO OBSERVE NATURAL PURGATIONS, AND TO ABOMINATE THE REMAINS OF THE DEAD; BUT THAT ALL THIS IS CONTRARY TO CHRISTIANITY

XXX. Do not therefore keep any such observances about legal and natural purgations, as thinking you are defiled by them. Neither do you seek after Jewish separations, or perpetual washings, or purifications upon the touch of a dead body. But without such observations assemble in the dormitories, reading the holy books, and singing for the martyrs which are fallen asleep, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that are asleep in the Lord, and offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ, both in your churches and in the dormitories; and in the funerals of the departed, accompany them with singing, if they were faithful in Christ. For "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." And again: "O my soul, return unto thy rest, for the Lord hath done thee good." And elsewhere: "The memory of the just is with encomiums." And, "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God." For those that have believed in God, although they are asleep, are not dead. For our Savior says to the Sadducees: "But concerning the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which is written, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God, therefore, is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live to Him." Wherefore, of those that live with God, even their very relics are not without honor. For even Elisha the prophet, after he was fallen asleep, raised up a dead man who was slain by the pirates of Syria. For his body touched the bones of Elisha, and he arose and revived. Now this would not have happened unless the body of Elisha were holy. And chaste Joseph embraced Jacob after he was dead upon his bed; and Moses and Joshua the son of Nun carried away the relics of Joseph, and did not esteem it a defilement. Whence you also, O bishops, and the rest, who without such observances touch the departed, ought not to think yourselves defiled. Nor abhor the relics of such persons, but avoid such observances, for they are foolish. And adorn yourselves with holiness and

chastity, that ye may become partakers of immortality, and partners of the kingdom of God, and may receive the promise of God, and may rest for ever, through Jesus Christ our Savior.

To Him, therefore, who is able to open the ears of your hearts to the receiving the oracles of God administered to you both by the Gospel and by the teaching of Jesus Christ of Nazareth; who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and Herod, and died, and rose again from the dead, and will come again at the end of the world with power and great glory, and will raise the dead, and put an end to this world, and distribute to every one according to his deserts: to Him that has given us Himself for an earnest of the resurrection; who was taken up into the heavens by the power of His God and Father in our sight, who ate and drank with Him for forty days after He arose from the dead; who is sat down on the right hand of the throne of the majesty of Almighty God upon the cherubim; to whom it was said, “Sit Thou on my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool;” whom the most blessed Stephen saw standing at the right hand of power, and cried out, and said, “Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God,”as the High Priest of all the rational orders, — through Him, worship, and majesty, and glory be given to Almighty God, both now and for evermore. Amen.

BOOK 7

CONCERNING THE CHRISTIAN LIFE, AND THE EUCHARIST, AND THE INITIATION INTO CHRIST

SECTION 1

ON THE TWO WAYS, — THE WAY OF LIFE AND THE WAY OF DEATH

That there are two ways, — the one natural, of life, and the other introduced afterwards, of death; and that the former is from God, and the latter of error, from the snares of the adversary.

1. THE lawgiver Moses said to the Israelites, "Behold, I have set before your face the way of life and the way of death;" and added, "Choose life, that thou mayest live." Elijah the prophet also said to the people: "How long will you halt with both your legs? If the Lord be God, follow Him." The Lord Jesus also said justly: "No one can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other." We also, following our teacher Christ, "who is the Savior of all men, especially of those that believe," are obliged to say that there are two ways — the one of life, the other of death; which have no comparison one with another, for they are very different, or rather entirely separate; and the way of life is that of nature, but that of death was afterwards introduced, — it not being according to the mind of God, but from the snares of the adversary.

MORAL EXHORTATIONS OF THE LORD'S CONSTITUTIONS AGREEING WITH THE ANCIENT PROHIBITIONS OF THE DIVINE LAWS. THE PROHIBITION OF ANGER, SPITE, CORRUPTION, ADULTERY, AND EVERY FORBIDDEN ACTION

II. The first way, therefore, is that of life; and is this, which the law also does appoint: "To love the Lord God with all thy mind, and with all thy

soul, who is the one and only God, besides whom there is no other;” “and thy neighbor as thyself.”And whatsoever thou wouldest not should be done to thee, that do not thou to another.” “Bless them that curse you; pray for them that despitefully use you.” “Love your enemies; for what thanks is it if ye love those that love you? for even the Gentiles do the same.” “But do ye love those that hate you, and ye shall have no enemy.” For says He, “Thou shalt not hate any man; no, not an Egyptian, nor an Edomite;” for they are all the workmanship of God. Avoid not the persons, but the sentiments, of the wicked. “Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.” “If any one gives thee a stroke on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.” Not that revenge is evil, but that patience is more honorable. For David says, “If I have made returns to them that repaid me evil.” “If any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.” And, “He that will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.” “And from him that taketh thy goods, require them not again.” “Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee do not shut thy hand.” For “the righteous man is pitiful, and lendeth.” For your Father would have you give to all, who Himself “maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth His rain on the just and on the unjust.” It is therefore reasonable to give to all out of thine own labors; for says He, “Honor the Lord out of thy righteous labors,” but so that the saints be preferred. “Thou shalt not kill;” that is, thou shalt not destroy a man like thyself: for thou dissolvest what was well made. Not as if all killing were wicked, but only that of the innocent: but the killing which is just is reserved to the magistrates alone. “Thou shalt not commit adultery:” for thou dividest one flesh into two. “They two shall be one flesh:” for the husband and wife are one in nature, in consent, in union, in disposition, and the conduct of life; but they are separated in sex and number. “Thou shall not corrupt boys:” for this wickedness is contrary to nature, and arose from Sodom, which was therefore entirely consumed with fire sent from God. “Let such a one be accursed: and all the people shall say, So be it.” “Thou shall not commit fornication:” for says He, “There shall not be a fornicator among the children of Israel.” “Thou shalt not steal:” for Achan, whet he had stolen in Israel at Jericho, was stoned to death; and Gehazi, who stole, and told a lie, inherited the leprosy of Naaman; and Judas, who stole the poor’s money, betrayed the Lord of glory to the Jews, and repented, and hanged himself, and burst asunder in

the midst, and all his bowels gushed out; and Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who stole their own goods, and “tempted the Spirit of the Lord,” were immediately, at the sentence of Peter our fellow-apostle, struck dead.

THE PROHIBITION OF CONJURING, MURDER OF INFANTS, PERJURY, AND FALSE WITNESS

III. Thou shalt not use magic. Thou shalt not use witchcraft; for He says, “Ye shall not suffer a witch to live.” Thou shall not slay thy child by causing abortion, nor kill that which is begotten; for “everything that is shaped, and has received a soul from God, if it be slain, shall be avenged, as being unjustly destroyed.” “Thou shalt not covet the things that belong to thy neighbor, as his wife, or his servant, or his ox, or his field.” “Thou shalt not forswear thyself;

for it is said, “Thou shalt not swear at all.” But if that cannot be avoided, thou shalt swear truly; for” every one that swears by Him shall be commended.” “Thou shalt not bear false witness;” for “he that falsely accuses the needy provokes to anger Him that made him.”

THE PROHIBITION OF EVIL-SPEAKING AND PASSION, OF DECEITFUL CONDUCT, OR IDLE WORDS, LIES, COVETOUSNESS, AND HYPOCRISY

IV. Thou shall not speak evil; for says He, “Love not to speak evil, lest thou beest taken away.” Nor shalt thou be mindful of injuries; for “the ways of those that remember injuries are unto death.” Thou shall not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for “a man’s own lips are a strong snare to him,” and “a talkative person shall not be prospered upon earth.” Thy words shall not be vain; for “ye shall give an account of every idle word.” Thou shalt not tell lies: for says He, “Thou shalt destroy all those that speak lies.” Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious: for says He, “Woe to him that is covetous towards his neighbor with an evil covetousness.”

THE PROHIBITION OF MALIGNITY, ACCEPTATION OF PERSONS, WRATH, MALICE, AND ENVY

V. Thou shalt not be an hypocrite, lest thy "portion be with them." Thou shalt not be ill-natured nor proud: for "God resisteth the proud." "Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment; for the judgment is the Lord's." "Thou shalt not hate any man; thou shalt surely reprove thy brother, and not become guilty on his account;" and, "Reprove a wise man, and he will love thee." Eschew all evil, and all that is like it: for says He, "Abstain from injustice, and trembling shall not come nigh thee." Be not soon angry, nor spiteful, nor passionate, nor furious, nor daring, lest thou undergo the fate of Cain, and of Saul, and of Joab: for the first of these slew his brother Abel, because Abel was found to be preferred before him with God, and because Abel's sacrifice was preferred; the second persecuted holy David, who had slain Goliah the Philistine, being envious of the praises of the women who danced; the third slew two generals of armies — Abner of Israel, and Amasa of Judah.

CONCERNING AUGURY AND ENCHANTMENTS

VI. Be not a diviner, for that leads to idolatry; for says Samuel, "Divination is sin;" and, "There shall be no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel." Thou shalt not use enchantments or purgations for thy child. Thou shall not be a soothsayer nor a diviner by great or little birds. Nor shalt thou learn wicked arts; for all these things has the law forbidden. Be not one that wishes for evil, for thou wilt be led into intolerable sins. Thou shalt not speak obscenely, nor use wanton glances, nor be a drunkard; for from such causes arise whoredoms and adulteries. Be not a lover of money, lest thou "serve mammon instead of God." Be not vainglorious, nor haughty, nor high-minded. For from all these things arrogance does spring. Remember him who said: "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty: I have not exercised myself in great matters, nor in things too high for me; but I was humble."

THE PROHIBITION OF MURMURING, INSOLENCE, PRIDE, AND ARROGANCE

VII. Be not a murmurer, remembering the punishment which those underwent who murmured against Moses. Be not self-willed, be not malicious, be not hard-hearted, be not passionate, be not mean-spirited; for all these things lead to blasphemy. But be meek, as were Moses and David, since "the meek shall inherit the earth."

CONCERNING LONG-SUFFERING, SIMPLICITY, MEEKNESS, AND PATIENCE

VIII. Be slow to wrath; for such a one is very prudent, since "he that is hasty of spirit is a very fool." Be merciful; for "blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy." Be sincere, quiet, good, "trembling at the word of God." Thou shalt not exalt thyself, as did the Pharisee; for "every one that exalteth himself shall be abased," and "that which is of high esteem with man is abomination with God." Thou shalt not entertain confidence in thy soul; for "a confident man shall fall into mischief." Thou shalt not go along with the foolish, but with the wise and righteous; for "he that walketh with wise men shall be wise, but he that walketh with the foolish shall be known." Receive the afflictions that fall upon thee with an even mind, and the chances of life without over-much sorrow, knowing that a reward shall be given to thee by God, as was given to Job and to Lazarus.

THAT IT IS OUR DUTY TO ESTEEM OUR CHRISTIAN TEACHERS ABOVE OUR PARENTS — THE FORMER BEING THE MEANS OF OUR WELL-BEING, THE OTHER ONLY OF OUR BEING

IX. Thou shalt honor him that speaks to thee the word of God, and be mindful of him day and night; and thou shalt reverence him, not as the author of thy birth, but as one that is made the occasion of thy well-being. For where the doctrine concerning God is, there God is present. Thou shalt every day seek the face of the saints, that thou mayest acquiesce in their words.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO DIVIDE OURSELVES FROM THE SAINTS, BUT TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THOSE THAT QUARREL, TO JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND NOT TO ACCEPT PERSONS

X. Thou shalt not make schisms among the saints, but be mindful of the followers of Corah. Thou shalt make peace between those that are at variance, as Moses did when he persuaded them to be friends. Thou shalt judge righteously; for "the judgment is the Lord's." Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest for sins; but do as Elijah and Micaiah did to Ahab, and Ebedmelech the Ethiopian to Zedekiah, and Nathan to David, and John to Herod.

CONCERNING HIM THAT IS DOUBLE-MINDED AND DESPONDING

XI. Be not of a doubtful mind in thy prayer, whether it shall be granted or no. For the Lord said to me Peter upon the sea: "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" "Be not thou ready to stretch out thy hand to receive, and to shut it when thou shouldst give."

CONCERNING DOING GOOD

XII. If thou hast by the work of thy hands, give, that thou mayest labor for the redemption of thy sins; for "by alms and acts of faith sins are purged away." Thou shalt not grudge to give to the poor, nor when thou hast given shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who will repay thee thy reward. For says he: "He that hath mercy on the poor man lendeth to the Lord; according to his gift, so shall it be repaid him again." Thou shalt not turn away from him that is needy; for says he: "He that stoppeth his ears, that he may not hear the cry of the needy, himself also shall call, and there shall be none to hear him." Thou shall communicate in all things to thy brother, and shall not say thy gods are thine own; for the common participation of the necessaries of life is appointed to all men by God. Thou shalt not take off thine hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth; for says he: "Correct thy son, so shall he afford thee good hope."

HOW MASTERS OUGHT TO BEHAVE THEMSELVES TO THEIR SERVANTS, AND HOW SERVANTS OUGHT TO BE SUBJECT

XIII. Thou shall not command thy man-servant, or lily maid-servant, who trust in the same God, with bitterness of soul, lest they groan against thee, and wrath be upon thee from God. And, ye servants, "be subject to your masters," as to the representatives of God, with attention and fear, "as to the Lord, and not to men."

CONCERNING HYPOCRISY, AND OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS, AND CONFESSION OF SINS

XIV. Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy; and whatsoever is pleasing to the Lord, that shalt thou do. By no means forsake the commands of the Lord. But thou shalt observe what things thou hast received from Him, neither adding to them nor taking away from them. "For thou shalt not add unto His words, lest He convict thee, and thou becomest a liar." Thou shalt confess thy sins unto the Lord thy God; and thou shalt not add unto them, that it may be well with thee from the Lord thy God, who willeth not the death of a sinner, but his repentance.

CONCERNING THE OBSERVANCE DUE TO PARENTS

XV. Thou shalt be observant to thy father and mother as the causes of thy being born, that thou mayest live long on the earth which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Do not overlook thy brethren or thy kinsfolk; for "thou shalt not overlook those nearly related to thee."

CONCERNING THE SUBJECTION DUE TO THE KING AND TO RULERS

XVI. Thou shalt fear the king, knowing that his appointment is of the Lord. His rulers thou shalt honor as the ministers of God, for they are the revengers of all unrighteousness; to whom pay taxes, tribute, and every oblation with a willing mind.

CONCERNING THE PURE CONSCIENCE OF THOSE THAT PRAY

XVII. Thou shalt not proceed to thy prayer in the day of thy wickedness, before thou hast laid aside thy bitterness. This is the way of life, in which may ye be found, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

THAT THE WAY WHICH WAS AFTERWARD INTRODUCED BY THE SNARES OF THE ADVERSARY IS FULL OF IMPIETY AND WICKEDNESS

XVIII. But the way of death is known by its wicked practices: for therein is the ignorance of God, and the introduction of many evils, and disorders, and disturbances; whereby come murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, unlawful lusts, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false-witnesses, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, malice, insolence, covetousness, obscene talk, jealousy, confidence, haughtiness, arrogance, impudence, persecution of the good, enmity to truth, love of lies, ignorance of righteousness. For they who do such things do not adhere to goodness, or to righteous judgment: they watch not for good, but for evil; from whom meekness and patience are far off, who love vain things, pursuing after reward, having no pity on the poor, not laboring for him that is in misery, nor knowing Him that made them; murderers of infants, destroyers of the workmanship of God, that turn away from the needy, adding affliction to the afflicted, the flatterers of the rich, the despisers of the poor, full of sin. May you, children, be delivered from all these.

THAT WE MUST NOT TURN FROM THE WAY OF PIETY EITHER TO THE RIGHT HAND OR TO THE LEFT. AN EXHORTATION OF THE LAWGIVER

XIX. See that no one seduce thee from piety; for says He: “Thou mayst not turn aside from it to the right hand, or to the left, that thou mayst have understanding in all that thou doest.” For if thou dost not turn out of the right way, thou wilt not be ungodly.

SECTION 2

ON THE FORMATION OF THE CHARACTER OF BELIEVERS, AND ON GIVING OF THANKS TO GOD

That we ought not to despise any of the sorts of food that are set before us, but gratefully and orderly to partake of them.

XX. Now concerning the several sorts of food, the Lord says to thee, "Ye shall eat the good things of the earth;" and, "All sorts of flesh shall ye eat, as the green herb;" but, "Thou shalt pour out the blood." For "not those things that go into the mouth, but those that come out of it, defile a man;" I mean blasphemies, evil-speaking, and if there be any other thing of the like nature. But "do thou eat the fat of the land with righteousness." For "if there be anything pleasant, it is His; and if there be anything good, it is His. Wheat for the young men, and wine to cheer the maids." For "who shall eat or who shall drink without Him?" Wise Ezra does also admonish thee and say: "Go your way, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and be not sorrowful."

THAT WE OUGHT TO AVOID THE EATING OF THINGS OFFERED TO IDOLS

XXI. But do ye abstain from things offered to idols; for they offer them in honor of demons, that is, to the dishonor of the one God, that ye may not become partners with demons.

A CONSTITUTION OF OUR LORD, HOW WE OUGHT TO BAPTIZE, AND INTO WHOSE DEATH

XXII. Now concerning baptism, O bishop, or presbyter, we have already given direction, and we now say, that thou shalt so baptize as the Lord commanded us, saying: "Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost(teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you):" of the Father who sent, of Christ who came, of the Comforter who testified. But thou shalt beforehand anoint the person with the holy oil, and afterward baptize him with the water, and in the conclusion shall seal him with the

ointment; that the anointing with oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water the symbol of the death of Christ, and the ointment the seal of the covenants. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is sufficient both for the anointing, and for the seal, and for the confession of Him that is dead, or indeed is dying together with Christ. But before baptism, let him that is to be baptized fast; for even the Lord, when He was first baptized by John, and abode in the wilderness, did afterward fast forty days and forty nights. But He was baptized, and then fasted, not having Himself any need of cleansing, or of fasting, or of purgation, who was by nature pure and holy; but that He might testify the truth to John, and afford an example to us. Wherefore our Lord was not baptized into His own passion, or death, or resurrection — for none of those things had then happened — but for another purpose. Wherefore He by His own authority fasted after His baptism, as being the Lord of John. But he who is to be initiated into His death ought first to fast, and then to be baptized. For it is not reasonable that he who has been buried with Christ, and is risen again with Him, should appear dejected at His very resurrection. For man is not Lord of our Savior's constitution, since one is the Master and the other the servant.

WHICH DAYS OF THE WEEK WE ARE TO FAST, AND WHICH NOT, AND FOR WHAT REASONS

XXIII. But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week. But do you either fast the entire five days, or on the fourth day of the week, and on the day of the Preparation, because on the fourth day the condemnation went out against the Lord, Judas then promising to betray Him for money; and you must fast on the day of the Preparation, because on that day the Lord suffered the death of the cross under Pontius Pilate. But keep the Sabbath, and the Lord's day festival; because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection. But there is one only Sabbath to be observed by you in the whole year, which is that of our Lord's burial, on which men ought to keep a fast, but not a festival. For inasmuch as the Creator was then under the earth, the sorrow for Him is more forcible than the joy for the creation; for the Creator is more honorable by nature and dignity than His own creatures.

WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE OUGHT TO PRAY THAT PRAYER THAT WAS GIVEN BY THE LORD

XXIV. Now, “when ye pray, be not ye as the hypocrites; “ but as the Lord has appointed us in the Gospel, so pray ye: “Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom for ever. Amen.” Pray thus thrice in a day, preparing yourselves beforehand, that ye may be worthy of the adoption of the Father; lest, when you call Him Father unworthily, you be reproached by Him, as Israel once His first-born son was told: “If I be a Father, where is my glory? And if I be a Lord, where is my fear?” For the glory of fathers is the holiness of their children, and the honor of masters is the fear of their servants, as the contrary is dishonor and confusion. For says He: “Through you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.”

A MYSTICAL THANKSGIVING

XXV. Be ye always thankful, as faithful and honest servants; and concerning the eucharistical thanksgiving say thus: We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus Thy Son, by whom Thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole world; whom Thou hast sent to become man for our salvation; whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die; whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set Him down on Thy right band; by whom Thou hast promised us the resurrection of the dead. Do thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together Thy Church from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom, as this corn was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank Thee for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us and for His precious body, whereof we celebrate this representation, as Himself appointed us, “to show forth His death.” For through Him glory is to be given to Thee for ever. Amen. Let no one eat of these things that is not initiated; but those only who have been baptized into the death of the Lord. But if any one that is not initiated conceal himself, and partake of the same, “he eats eternal damnation;” because, being not of the faith of Christ, he has partaken of

such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one is a partaker through ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out and despise you.

A THANKSGIVING AT THE DIVINE PARTICIPATION

XXVI. After the participation, give thanks in this manner: We thank thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Savior, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to inhabit among us; and that knowledge, faith, love, and immortality which Thou hast given us through Thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord, the God of the universe, hast created the world, and the things that are therein, by Him; and hast planted a law in our souls, and beforehand didst prepare things for the convenience of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, Thy faithful servants; Thou, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Thy promises; who didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ to live with men, as a man, when He was God the Word, and man, to take away error by the roots: do Thou even now, through Him, be mindful of this Thy holy Church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Thy love and Thy truth, and gather us all together into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared. Let this Thy kingdom come. “Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord” — God the Lord, who was manifested to us in the flesh. If any one be holy, let him draw near; but if any one be not such, let him become such by repentance. Permit also to your presbyters to give thanks.

A THANKSGIVING ABOUT THE MYSTICAL OINTMENT

XXVII. Concerning the ointment give thanks in this manner: We give Thee thanks, O God, the Creator of the whole world, both for the flagrancy of the ointment, and for the immortality which Thou hast made known to us by Thy Son Jesus. For Thine is the glory and the power for ever. Amen. Whosoever comes to you, and gives thanks in this manner, receive him as a disciple of Christ. But if he preach another doctrine, different from that which Christ by us has delivered to you, such a one you must not permit to give thanks; for such a one rather affronts God than glorifies Him.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BE INDIFFERENT ABOUT COMMUNICATING

XXVIII. But whosoever comes to you, let him be first examined, and then received: for ye have understanding, and are able to know the right hand from the left, and to distinguish false teachers from true teachers. But when a teacher comes to you, supply him with what he wants with all readiness. And even when a false teacher comes, you shall give him for his necessity, but shall not receive his error. Nor indeed may ye pray together with him, lest ye be polluted as well as he. Every true prophet or teacher that comes to you is worthy of his maintenance, as being a laborer in the word of righteousness.

A CONSTITUTION CONCERNING OBLATIONS

XXIX. All the first-fruits of the winepress, the threshing-floor, the oxen, and the sheep, shalt thou give to the priests, that thy storehouses and garners and the products of thy land may be blessed, and thou mayst be strengthened with corn and wine and oil, and the herds of thy cattle and flocks of thy sheep may be increased. Thou shalt give the tenth of thy increase to the orphan, and to the widow, and to the poor, and to the stranger. All the first-fruits of thy hot bread of thy barrels of wine, or oil, or honey, or nuts, or grapes, or the first-fruits of other things, shalt thou give to the priests; but those of silver, and of garments, and of all sort of possessions, to the orphan and to the widow.

HOW WE OUGHT TO ASSEMBLE TOGETHER, AND TO CELEBRATE THE FESTIVAL DAY OF OUR SAVIOR'S RESURRECTION

XXX. On the day of the resurrection of the Lord, that is, the Lord's day, assemble yourselves together, without fail, giving thanks to God, and praising Him for those mercies God has bestowed upon you through Christ, and has delivered you from ignorance, error, and bondage, that your sacrifice may be unspotted, and acceptable to God, who has said concerning His universal Church: "In every place shall incense and a pure sacrifice be offered unto me; for I am a great King, saith the Lord Almighty, and my name is wonderful among the heathen."

WHAT QUALIFICATIONS THEY OUGHT TO HAVE WHO ARE TO BE ORDAINED

XXXI. Do you first ordain bishops worthy of the Lord, and presbyters and deacons, pious men, righteous, meek, free from the love of money, lovers of truth, approved, holy, not accepters of persons, who are able to teach the word of piety, and rightly dividing the doctrines of the Lord. And do ye honor such as your fathers, as your lords, as your benefactors, as the causes of your well-being. Reprove ye one another, not in anger, but in mildness, with kindness and peace. Observe all things that are commanded you by the Lord. Be watchful for your life. “Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning, and ye like unto men who wait for their Lord, when He will come, at even, or in the morning, or at cock-crowing, or at midnight. For at what hour they think not, the Lord will come; and if they open to Him, blessed are those servants, because they were found watching. For He will gird Himself, and will make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.” Watch therefore, and pray, that ye do not sleep unto death. For your former good deeds will not profit you, if at the last part of your life you go astray from the true faith.

PREDICTION CONCERNING FUTURITIES

XXXII. For in the last days false prophets shall be multiplied, and such as corrupt the word; and the sheep shall be changed into wolves, and love into hatred: for through the abounding of iniquity the love of many shall wax cold. For men shall hate, and persecute, and betray one another. And then shall appear the deceiver of the world, the enemy of the truth, the prince of lies, whom the Lord Jesus “shall destroy with the spirit of His mouth, who takes away the wicked with His lips; and many shall be offended at Him. But they that endure to the end, the same shall be saved. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven;” and afterwards shall be the voice of a trumpet by the archangel; and in that interval shall be the revival of those that were asleep. And then shall the Lord come, and all His saints with Him, with a great concussion above the clouds, with the angels of His power, in the throne of His kingdom, to condemn the devil, the deceiver of the world, and to render to every one according to his deeds. “Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting

punishment, but the righteous shall go into life eternal," to inherit those things "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God hath prepared for them that love Him;" and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus. Since we are vouchsafed such great blessings from Him, let us become His suppliants, and call upon Him by continual prayer, and say: —

A PRAYER DECLARATIVE OF GOD'S VARIOUS PROVIDENCE

XXXIII. Our eternal Savior, the King of gods, who alone art almighty, and the Lord, the God of all beings, and the God of our holy and blameless fathers, and of those before us; the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob; who art merciful and compassionate, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; to whom every heart is naked, and by whom every heart is seen, and to whom every secret thought is revealed: to Thee do the souls of the righteous cry aloud, upon Thee do the hopes of the godly trust, Thou Father of the blameless, Thou hearer of the supplication of those that call upon Thee with uprightness, and who knowest the supplications that are not uttered: for Thy providence reaches as far as the inmost parts of mankind; and by Thy knowledge Thou searchest the thoughts of every one, and in every region of the whole earth the incense of prayer and supplication is sent up to Thee. O Thou who hast appointed this present world as a place of combat to righteousness, and hast opened to all the gate of mercy, and hast demonstrated to every man by implanted knowledge, and natural judgment, and the admonitions of the law, how the possession of riches is not everlasting, the ornament of beauty is not perpetual, our strength and force are easily dissolved; and that all is vapor and vanity; and that only the good conscience of faith unfeigned passes through the midst of the heavens, and returning with truth, takes hold of the right hand of the joy, which is to come. And withal, before the promise of the restoration of all things is accomplished, the soul itself exults in hope, and is joyful. For from that truth which was in our forefather Abraham, when he changed his way Thou didst guide him by a vision, and didst teach him what kind of state this world is; and knowledge went before his faith, and faith was the consequence of his knowledge; and the covenant did follow after his faith. For Thou saidst: "I will make thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the seashore."

Moreover, when Thou hadst given him Isaac, and knewest him to be like him in his mode of life, Thou wast then called his God, saying: “I will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee.” And when our father Jacob was sent into Mesopotamia, Thou showedst him Christ, and by him speakest, saying: “Behold, I am with thee, and I will increase thee, and multiply thee exceedingly.” And so spakest Thou to Moses, Thy faithful and holy servant, at the vision of the bush: “I am He that is; this is my name for ever, and my memorial for generations of generations.” O Thou great protector of the posterity of Abraham, Thou art blessed for ever.

A PRAYER DECLARATIVE OF GOD’S VARIOUS CREATION

XXXIV. Thou art blessed, O Lord, the King of ages, who by Christ hast made the whole world, and by Him in the beginning didst reduce into order the disordered parts; who dividedst the waters from the waters by a firmament, and didst put into them a spirit of life; who didst fix the earth, and stretch out the heaven, and didst dispose every creature by an accurate constitution. For by Thy power, O Lord, the world is beautified, the heaven is fixed as an arch over us, and is rendered illustrious with stars for our comfort in the darkness. The light also and the sun were begotten for days and the production of fruit, and the moon for the change of seasons, by its increase and diminutions; and one was called Night, and the other Day. And the firmament was exhibited in the midst of the abyss, and Thou commandedst the waters to be gathered together, and the dry land to appear. But as for the sea itself, who can possibly describe it, which comes with fury from the ocean, yet rims back again, being stopped by the sand at Thy command? For Thou hast said: “Thereby shall her waves be broken.” Thou hast also made it capable of supporting little and great creatures, and made it navigable for ships. Then did the earth become green, and was planted with all sorts of flowers, and the variety of several trees; and the shining luminaries, the nourishers of those plants, preserve their unchangeable course, and in nothing depart from Thy command. But where Thou biddest them, there do they rise and set for signs of the seasons and of the years, making a constant return of the work of men. Afterwards the kinds of the several animals were created — those belonging to the land, to the water, to the air, and both to air and water; and the artificial wisdom of Thy providence does still impart to every one

a suitable providence. For as He was not unable to produce different kinds, so neither has He disdained to exercise a different providence towards every one. And at the conclusion of the creation Thou gavest direction to Thy Wisdom, and formedst a reasonable creature as the citizen of the world, saying, “Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness;” and hast exhibited him as the ornament of the world, and formed him a body out of the four elements, those primary bodies, but hadst prepared a soul out of nothing, and bestowedst upon him his five senses, and didst set over his sensations a mind as the conductor of the soul. And besides all these things, O Lord God, who can worthily declare the motion of the rainy clouds, the shining of the lightning, the noise of the thunder, in order to the supply of proper food, and the most agreeable temperature of the air? But when man was disobedient, Thou didst deprive him of the life which should have been his reward. Yet didst Thou not destroy him for ever, but laidst him to sleep for a time; and Thou didst by oath call him to a resurrection, and loosedst the bond of death, O Thou reviver of the dead, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope.

A PRAYER, WITH THANKSGIVING, DECLARATIVE OF GOD’S PROVIDENCE OVER THE BEINGS HE HAS MADE

XXXV. Great art thou, O Lord Almighty, and great is Thy power, and of Thy understanding there is no number. Our Creator and Savior, rich in benefits, long-suffering, and the bestower of mercy, who dost not take away Thy salvation from Thy creatures: for Thou art good by nature, and sparest sinners, and invitest them to repentance; for admonition is the effect of Thy bowels of compassion. For how should we abide if we were required to come to judgment immediately, when, after so much long-suffering, we hardly get clear of our miserable condition? The heavens declare Thy dominion, and the earth shakes with earthquakes, and, hanging upon nothing, declares Thy unshaken steadfastness. The sea raging with waves, and feeding a flock of ten thousand creatures, is bounded with sand, as standing in awe at Thy command, and compels all men to dry out: “How great are Thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy creation.” And the bright host of angels and the intellectual spirits say to Palmoni, “There is but one holy Being;” and the holy seraphim, together with the six-winged cherubim, who sing to Thee

their triumphal song, cry out with never ceasing voices, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory;” and the other multitudes of the orders, angels archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers cry aloud, and say, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of His place.” But lsrael, Thy Church on earth, taken out of the Gentiles, emulating the heavenly powers night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul sings, “The chariot of God is ten thousandfold thousands of them that rejoice: the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.” The heaven knows Him who fixed it as a cube of stone, in the form of an arch, upon nothing, who united the land and water to one another, and scattered the vital air all abroad, and conjoined fire therewith for warmth, and the comfort against darkness. The choir of stars strikes us with admiration, declaring Him that numbers them, and showing Him that names them; the animals declare Him that puts life into them; the trees show Him that makes them grow: all which creatures, being made by Thy word, show forth the greatness of Thy power. Wherefore every man ought to send up an hymn from his very soul to Thee, through Christ, in the name of all the rest, since He has power over them all by Thy appointment. For Thou art kind in Thy benefits, and beneficent in Thy bowels of compassion, who alone art almighty: for when Thou willest, to be able is present with Thee; for Thy eternal power both quenches flame, and stops the mouths of lions, and tames whales, and raises up the sick, and overrules the power of all things, and over, turns the host of enemies, and casts down a people numbered in their arrogance. Thou art He who art in heaven, He who art on earth, He who art in the sea, He who art in finite things, Thyself unconfined by anything. For of Thy majesty there is no boundary; for it is not ours, O Lord, but the oracle of Thy servant, who said, “And thou shalt know in thine heart that the Lord thy God He is God in heaven above, and on earth beneath, and there is none other besides Thee:” for there is no God besides Thee alone, there is none holy besides Thee, the Lord, the God of knowledge, the God of the saints, holy above all holy beings; for they are sanctified by Thy hands. Thou art glorious, and highly exalted, invisible by nature, and unsearchable in Thy judgments; whose life is without want, whose duration can never alter or fail, whose operation is without toil, whose greatness is unlimited, whose excellency is perpetual, whose habitation is inaccessible, whose dwelling is unchangeable, whose knowledge is without beginning, whose truth is

immutable, whose work is without assistants, whose dominion cannot be taken away, whose monarchy is without succession, whose kingdom is without end, whose strength is irresistible, whose army is very numerous: for Thou art the Father of wisdom, the Creator of the creation, by a Mediator, as the cause; the Bestower of providence, the Giver of laws, the Supplier of want, the Punisher of the ungodly, and the Rewarder of the righteous; the God and Father of Christ, and the Lord of those that are pious towards Him, whose promise is infallible, whose judgment without bribes, whose sentiments are immutable, whose piety is incessant, whose thanksgiving is everlasting, through whom adoration is worthily due to Thee from every rational and holy nature.

A PRAYER COMMEMORATIVE OF THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST, AND HIS VARIOUS PROVIDENCE TO THE SAINTS

XXXVI. O Lord Almighty Thou hast created the world by Christ, and hast appointed the Sabbath in memory thereof, because that on that day Thou hast made us rest from our works, for the meditation upon Thy laws. Thou hast also appointed festivals for the rejoicing of our souls, that we might come into the remembrance of that wisdom which was created by Thee; how He submitted to be made of a woman on our account; He appeared in life, and demonstrated Himself in His baptism; how He that appeared is both God and man; He suffered for us by Thy permission, and died, and rose again by Thy power: on which account we solemnly assemble to celebrate the feast of the resurrection on the Lord’s day, and rejoice on account of Him who has conquered death, and has brought life and immortality to light. For by Him Thou hast brought home the Gentiles to Thyself for a peculiar people, the true Israel beloved of God, and seeing God. For Thou O Lord, broughtest our fathers out of the land of Egypt, and didst deliver them out of the iron furnace, from clay and brick-making, and didst redeem them out of the hands of Pharaoh, and of those under him, and didst lead them through the sea as through dry land, and didst bear their manners in the wilderness, and bestow on them all sorts of good things. Thou didst give them the law or decalogue, which was pronounced by Thy voice and written with Thy hand. Thou didst enjoin the observation of the Sabbath, not affording them an occasion of idleness, but an opportunity of piety, for their knowledge of Thy power, and the

prohibition of evils; having limited them as within an holy circuit for the sake of doctrine, for the rejoicing upon the seventh period. On this account was there appointed one week, and seven weeks, and the seventh month, and the seventh year, and the revolution of these, the jubilee, which is the fiftieth year for remission, that men might have no occasion to pretend ignorance. On this account He permitted men every Sabbath to rest, that so no one might be willing to send one word out of his mouth in anger on the day of the Sabbath. For the Sabbath is the ceasing of the creation, the completion of the world, the inquiry after laws, and the grateful praise to God for the blessings He has bestowed upon men. All which the Lord's day excels, and shows the Mediator Himself, the Provider, the Lawgiver, the Cause of the resurrection, the First-born of the whole creation, God the Word, and man, who was born of Mary alone, without a man, who lived holily, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead. So that the Lord's day commands us to offer unto Thee, O Lord, thanksgiving for all. For this is the grace afforded by Thee, which on account of its greatness has obscured all other blessings.

A PRAYER CONTAINING THE MEMORIAL OF HIS PROVIDENCE, AND AN ENUMERATION OF THE VARIOUS BENEFITS AFFORDED THE SAINTS BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD THROUGH CHRIST

XXXVII. Thou who hast fulfilled Thy promises made by the prophets, and hast had mercy on Zion, and compassion on Jerusalem, by exalting the throne of David, Thy servant, in the midst of her, by the birth of Christ, who was born of his seed according to the flesh, of a virgin alone; do Thou now, O Lord God, accept the prayers which proceed from the lips of Thy people which are of the Gentiles, which call upon Thee in truth, as Thou didst accept of the gifts of the righteous in their generations. In the first place Thou did respect the sacrifice of Abel, and accept it as Thou didst accept of the sacrifice of Noah when he went out of the ark; of Abraham, when he went out of the land of the Chaldeans; of Isaac at the Well of the Oath; of Jacob in Bethel; of Moses in the desert; of Aaron between the dead and the living; of Joshua the son of Nun in Gilgal; of Gideon at the rock, and the fleeces, before his sin; of Manoah and his wife in the field; of Samson in his thirst before the transgression; of Jephtha in the war before

his rash vow; of Barak and Deborah in the days of Sisera; of Samuel in Mizpeh; of David in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite; of Solomon in Gibeon and in Jerusalem: of Elijah in Mount Carmel; of Elisha at the barren fountain; of Jehoshaphat in war; of Hezekiah in his sickness, and concerning Sennacherib; of Manasseh in the land of the Chaldeans, after his transgression; of Josiah in Phassa; of Ezra at the return; of Daniel in the den of lions; of Jonah in the whale's belly; of the three children in the fiery furnace; of Hannah in the tabernacle before the ark; of Nehemiah at the rebuilding of the walls; of Zerubbabel; of Mattathias and his sons in their zeal; of Jael in blessings. Now also do Thou receive the prayers of Thy people which are offered to Thee with knowledge, through Christ in the Spirit.

A PRAYER FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE RIGHTEOUS

XXXVIII. We give Thee thanks for all things, O Lord Almighty, that Thou hast not taken away Thy mercies and Thy compassions from us; but in every succeeding generation Thou dost save, and deliver, and assist, and protect for Thou didst assist in the days of Enos and Enoch, in the days of Moses and Joshua, in the days of the judges, in the days of Samuel and of Elijah and of the prophets, in the days of David and of the kings, in the days of Esther and Mordecai, in the days of Judith, in the days of Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, and in our days hast Thou assisted us by Thy great High Priest, Jesus Christ Thy Son. For He has delivered us from the sword, and hath freed us from famine, and sustained us; has delivered us from sickness, has preserved us from an evil tongue. For all which things do we give Thee thanks through Christ, who has given us an articulate voice to confess withal, and added to it a suitable tongue as an instrument to modulate withal, and a proper taste, and a suitable touch, and a sight for contemplation, and the hearing of sounds, and the smelling of vapors, and hands for work, and feet for walking. And all these members dost Thou form from a little drop in the womb; and after the formation dost Thou bestow on it an immortal soul, and producest it into the light as a rational creature, even man. Thou hast instructed him by Thy laws, improved him by Thy statutes; and when Thou bringest on a dissolution for a while, Thou hast promised a resurrection. Wherefore what life is sufficient, what length of ages will be long enough, for men to

be thankful? To do it worthily it is impossible, but to do it according to our ability is just and right. For Thou hast delivered us from the impiety of polytheism, and from the heresy of the murderers of Christ; Thou hast delivered us from error and ignorance; Thou hast sent Christ among men as a man, being the only begotten God; Thou hast made the Comforter to inhabit among us; Thou hast set angels over us; Thou hast put the devil to shame; Thou hast brought us into being when we were not. Thou takest care of us when made; Thou measurest out life to us; Thou affordest us food; Thou hast promised repentance. Glory and worship be to Thee for all these things, through Jesus Christ, now and ever, and through all ages. Amen. Meditate on these things, brethren; and the Lord be With you upon earth, and in the kingdom of His Father, who both sent Him, and has "delivered us by Him from the bondage of corruption into His glorious liberty;" and has promised life to those who through Him have believed in the God of the whole world.

SECTION 3

ON THE INSTRUCTION OF CATECHUMENS, AND THEIR INITIATION INTO BAPTISM

Now, after what manner those ought to live that are initiated into Christ, and what thanksgivings they ought to send up to God through Christ, has been said in the foregoing directions. But it is reasonable not to leave even those who are not yet initiated without assistance.

HOW THE CATECHUMENS ARE TO BE INSTRUCTED IN THE ELEMENTS

XXXIX. Let him, therefore, who is to be taught the truth in regard to piety be instructed before his baptism in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost. Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence, the different dispensations of Thy laws. Let him be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let him also know his own nature, of what sort it is; let him be taught how God punished the wicked

with water and fire, and did glorify the saints in every generation — I mean Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham and his posterity, and Melchizedek, and Job, and Moses, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and those that were holy in every generation; and how God still took care of and did not reject mankind, but called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgment of the truth at various seasons, reducing them from bondage and impiety unto liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life. Let him that offers himself to baptism learn these and the like things during the time that he is a catechumen; and let him who lays his hands upon him adore God, the Lord of the whole world, and thank Him for His creation, for His sending Christ His only begotten Son, that He might save man by blot-ring out his transgressions, and that He might remit ungodliness and sins, and might "purify him from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," and sanctify man according to the good pleasure of His kindness, that He might inspire him with the knowledge of His will, and enlighten the eyes of his heart to consider of His wonderful works, and make known to him the judgments of righteousness, that so he might hate every way of iniquity, and walk in the way of truth, that he might be thought worthy of the layer of regeneration, to the adoption of sons, which is in Christ, that "being planted together in the likeness of the death of Christ," in hopes of a glorious communication, he may be mortified to sin, and may live to God, as to his mind, and word, and deed, and may be numbered together in the book of the living. And after this thanksgiving, let him instruct him in the doctrines concerning our Lord's incarnation, and in those concerning His passion, and resurrection from the dead, and assumption.

A CONSTITUTION HOW THE CATECHUMENS ARE TO BE BLESSED BY THE PRIESTS IN THEIR INITIATION, AND WHAT THINGS ARE TO BE TAUGHT THEM

XL. And when it remains that the catechumen is to be baptized, let him learn what concerns the renunciation of the devil, and the joining himself with Christ; for it is fit that he should first abstain from things contrary, and then be admitted to the mysteries. He must beforehand purify his heart from all wickedness of disposition, from all spot and wrinkle, and then partake of the holy things; for as the skillfullest husbandman does

first purge his ground of the thorns which are grown up therein, and does then sow his wheat, so ought you also to take away all impiety from them, and then to sow the seeds of piety in them, and vouchsafe them baptism. For even our Lord did in this manner exhort us, saying first, “Make disciples of all nations;” and then He adds this, “and baptize them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Let, therefore, the candidate for baptism declare thus in his renunciation: —

THE RENUNCIATION OF THE ADVERSARY, AND THE DEDICATION TO THE CHRIST OF GOD

XLI. I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his worships, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him. And after his renunciation let him in his consociation say: And I associate myself to Christ, and believe, and am baptized into one unbegotten Being, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and into the Lord Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, the First-born of the whole creation, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth, visible and invisible; who in the last days descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and did converse holily according to the laws of His God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after His passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and again is to come at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, hut was afterwards sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Savior and Lord, Jesus Christ; and after the apostles, to all those that believe in the Holy Catholic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come. And after this vow, he comes in order to the anointing with oil.

A THANKSGIVING CONCERNING THE ANOINTING WITH THE MYSTICAL OIL

XLII. Now this is blessed by the high priest for the remission of sins, and the first preparation for baptism. For he calls thus upon the unbegotten God, the Father of Christ, the King of all sensible and intelligible natures, that He would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and impart to it spiritual grace and efficacious strength, the remission of sins, and the first preparation for the confession of baptism, that so the candidate for baptism, when he is anointed may be freed from all ungodliness, and may become worthy of initiation, according to the command of the Only-begotten.

A THANKSGIVING CONCERNING THE MYSTICAL WATER

XLIII. After this he comes to the water, and blesses and glorifies the Lord God Almighty, the Father of the only begotten God; and the priest returns thanks that He has sent His Son to become man on our account, that He might save us; that He has permitted that He should in all things become obedient to the laws of that incarnation, to preach the kingdom of heaven, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the dead. Moreover, he adores the only begotten God Himself, after His Father, and for Him, giving Him thanks that He undertook to die for all men by the cross, the type of which He has appointed to be the baptism of regeneration. He glorifies Him also, for that God who is the Lord of the whole world, in the name of Christ and by His Holy Spirit, has not cast off mankind but has suited His providence to the difference of seasons: at first giving to Adam himself paradise for an habitation of pleasure, and afterwards giving a command on account of providence, and casting out the offender justly, but through His goodness not utterly casting him off, but instructing his posterity in succeeding ages after various manners; on whose account, in the conclusion of the world, He has sent His Son to become man for man’s sake, and to undergo all human passions without sin. Him, therefore, let the priest even now call upon in baptism, and let him say: Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water, and give it grace and power, that so he that is to be baptized, according to the command of Thy Christ, may be crucified with Him, and may die with Him, and may be buried with Him, and may rise with Him to the adoption which is in Him, that he may be

dead to sin and live to righteousness. And after this, when he has baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he shall anoint him with ointment, and shall add as follows: —

A THANKSGIVING CONCERNING THE MYSTICAL OINTMENT

XLIV. O Lord God, who art without generation, and without a superior, the Lord of the whole world, who hast scattered the sweet odor of the knowledge of the Gospel among all nations, do Thou grant at this time that this ointment may be efficacious upon him that is baptized, that so the sweet odor of Thy Christ may continue upon him firm and fixed; and that now he has died with Him, he may arise and live with Him. Let him say these and the like things, for this is the efficacy of the laying on of hands on every one; for unless there be such a recital made by a pious priest over every one of these, the candidate for baptism does only descend into the water as do the Jews, and he only puts off the filth of the body, not the filth of the soul. After this let him stand up, and pray that prayer which the Lord taught us. But, of necessity, he who is risen again ought to stand up and pray, because he that is raised up stands upright. Let him, therefore, who has been dead with Christ, and is raised up with Him, stand up. But let him pray towards the east. For this also is written in the second book of the Chronicles, that after the temple of the Lord was finished by King Solomon, in the very feast of dedication the priests and the Levites and the singers stood up towards the east, praising and thanking God with cymbals and psalteries, and saying, “Praise the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever.”

A PRAYER FOR THE NEW FRUITS

XLV. But let him pray thus after the foregoing prayer, and say: O God Almighty, the Father of Thy Christ, Thy only begotten Son, give me a body undefiled, a heart pure, a mind watchful, an unerring knowledge, the influence of the Holy Ghost for the obtaining and assured enjoying of the truth, through Thy Christ, by whom glory be to Thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen. We have thought it reasonable to make these constitutions concerning the catechumens.

SECTION 4

ENUMERATION ORDAINED BY APOSTLES WHO WERE THEY THAT THE HOLY APOSTLES SENT AND ORDAINED?

XLVI. Now concerning those bishops which have been ordained in our lifetime, we let you know that they are these: — James the bishop of Jerusalem, the brother of our Lord; upon whose death the second was Simeon the son of Cleopas; after whom the third was Judas the son of James. Of Caesarea of Palestine, the first was Zacchaeus, who was once a publican; after whom was Cornelius, and the third Theophilus. Of Antioch, Euodius, ordained by me Peter; and Ignatius by Paul. Of Alexandria, Annianus was the first, ordained by Mark the evangelist; the second Avilius by Luke, who was also an evangelist. Of the church of Rome, Linus the son of Claudia was the first, ordained by Paul; and Clemens, after Linus' death, the second, ordained by me Peter. Of Ephesus, Timotheus, ordained by Paul; and John, by me John. Of Smyrna, Aristo the first; after whom Strataeas the son of Lois; and the third Aristo. Of Pergamus, Gains. Of Philadelphia, Demetrius, by me. Of Cenchrea, Lucius, by Paul. Of Crete, Titus. Of Athens, Dionysius. Of Tripoli in Phoenicia, Marathones. Of Laodicea in Phrygia, Archippus. Of Colossae, Philemon. Of Borea in Macedonia, Onesimus, once the servant of Philemon. Of the churches of Galatia, Crescens. Of the parishes of Asia, Aquila and Nicetas. Of the church of Aeginae, Crispus. These are the bishops who are entrusted by us with the parishes in the Lord; whose doctrine keep ye always in mind, and observe our words. And may the Lord be with you now, and to endless ages, as Himself said to us when He was about to be taken up to His own God and Father. For says He, "Lo, I am with you all the days, until the end of the world. Amen."

SECTION 5

DAILY PRAYERS A MORNING PRAYER

XLVII. "Glory be to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, goodwill among men." We praise Thee, we sing hymns to Thee, we bless Thee; we

glorify Thee, we worship Thee by Thy great High Priest; Thee who art the true God, who art the One Unbegotten, the only inaccessible Being. For Thy great glory, O Lord and heavenly King, O God the Father Almighty, O Lord God, the Father of Christ the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, Thou that sittest upon the cherubim. For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all created nature, and our King, by whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee.

AN EVENING PRAYER

XLVIII. "Ye children, praise the Lord: praise the name of the Lord." We praise Thee, we sing hymns to Thee, we bless Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord our King, the Father of Christ the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world. Praise becomes Thee, hymns become Thee, glory becomes Thee, the God and Father, through the Son, in the most holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. "Now, O Lord, lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people, a light for the revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel."

A PRAYER AT DINNER

XLIX. Thou art blessed, O Lord, who nourishest me from my youth, who givest food to all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having always what is sufficient for us, we may abound to every good work, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom glory, honor, and power be to Thee for ever. Amen.

GENERAL NOTE

COMPARING the *Teaching* with chapters xxv. and xxvi. of these *Constitutions*, it seems to me that the nature of the eucharistic (thanksgiving) prayers becomes apparent. They presuppose the formulas to be found in the eighth book of the *Constitutions*, and are such instructions as were imparted only to *catechumens*; the part peculiar to presbyters being withheld, of course, as *esoteric* mysteries, until further

knowledge was canonically appropriate. See Elucidation IV. vol. vi; and in this volume, Elucidation I. The Bryennios MS. is cleared from nearly all difficulties by Dr. Riddle's lucid notes, when compared with corresponding passages in the *Constitutions*, or illustrated by such as are supplementary.

BOOK 8

CONCERNING GIFTS, AND ORDINATIONS, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS

SECTION 1

ON THE DIVERSITY OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS ON WHOSE ACCOUNT THE POWERS OF MIRACLES ARE PERFORMED

1. JESUS CHRIST, our God and Savior, delivered to us the great mystery of godliness, and called both Jews and Gentiles to the acknowledgment of the one and only true God His Father, as Himself somewhere says, when He was giving thanks for the salvation of those that had believed, "I have manifested Thy name to men, I have finished the work Thou gavest me;" and said concerning us to His Father, "Holy Father, although the world has not known Thee, yet have I known Thee; and these have known Thee." With good reason did He say to all of us together, when we were perfected concerning those gifts which were given from Him by the Spirit: "Now these signs shall follow them that have believed in my name: they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them: they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover." These gifts were first bestowed on us the apostles when we were about to preach the Gospel to every creature, and afterwards were of necessity afforded to those who had by our means believed; not for the advantage of those who perform them, but for the conviction of the unbelievers, that those whom the word did not persuade, the power of signs might put to shame: for signs are not for us who believe, but for the unbelievers, both for the Jews and Gentiles. For neither is it any profit to us to cast out demons, but to those who are so cleansed by the power of the Lord; as the Lord Himself somewhere instructs us, and shows, saying: "Rejoice ye, not because the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice, because your names are written in heaven." Since the former is done by His power, but this by our good

disposition and diligence, yet (it is manifest) by His assistance. It is not therefore necessary that every one of the faithful should cast out demons, or raise the dead, or speak with tongues; but such a one only who is vouchsafed this gift, for some cause which may be advantage to the salvation of the unbelievers, who are often put to shame, not with the demonstration of the world, but by the power of the signs; that is, such as are worthy of salvation: for all the ungodly are not affected by wonders; and hereof God Himself is a witness, as when He says in the law: “With other tongues will I speak to this people, and with other lips, and yet will they by no means believe.” For neither did the Egyptians believe in God, when Moses had done so many signs and wonders; nor did the multitude of the Jews believe in Christ, as they believed Moses, who yet had healed every sickness and every disease among them. Nor were the former shamed by the rod which was turned into a living serpent, nor by the hand which was made white with leprosy, nor by the river Nile turned into blood; nor the latter by the blind who recovered their sight, nor by the lame who walked, nor by the dead who were raised.” The one was resisted by Jannes and Jambres, the other by Annas and Caiaphas. Thus signs do not shame all into belief, but only those of a good disposition; for whose sake also it is that God is pleased, as a wise steward of a family, to appoint miracles to be wrought, not by the power of men, but by His own will. Now we say these things, that those who have received such gifts may not exalt themselves against those who have not received them; such gifts, we mean, as are for the working of miracles. For otherwise there is no man who has believed in God through Christ, that has not received some spiritual gift: for this very thing, having been delivered from the impiety of polytheism, and having believed in God the Father through Christ, this is a gift of God. And the having cast off the veil of Judaism, and having believed that, by the good pleasure of God, His only begotten Son, who was before all ages, was in the last time born of a virgin, without the company of a man, and that He lived as a man, yet without sin, and fulfilled all that righteousness which is of the law; and that, by the permission of God, He who was God the Word endured the cross, and despised the shame; and that He died, and was buried, and rose within three days; and that after His resurrection, having continued forty days with His apostles, and completed His whole constitutions, He was taken up in their sight to His God and Father, who sent Him: he who has

believed these things, not at random and irrationally, but with judgment and full assurance, has received the gift of God. So also has He who is delivered from every heresy. Let not, therefore, any one that works signs and wonders judge any one of the faithful who is not vouchsafed the same: for the gifts of God which are bestowed by Him through Christ are various; and one man receives one gift, and another another. For perhaps one has the word of wisdom, and another the word of knowledge; another, discerning of spirits; another, foreknowledge of things to come; another, the word of teaching; another, long-suffering; another, continence according to the law: for even Moses, the man of God, when he wrought signs in Egypt, did not exalt himself against his equals: and when he was called a God, he did not arrogantly despise his own prophet Aaron. Nor did Joshua the son of Nun, who was the leader of the people after him, though in the war with the Jebusites he had made the sun stand still over against Gibeon, and the moon over against the valley of Ajalon because the day was not long enough for their victory, insult over Phineas or Caleb. Nor did Samuel, who had done so many surprising things, disregard David the beloved of God: yet they were both prophets, and the one was high priest, and the other was king. And when there were only seven thousand holy men in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, Elijah alone among them, and his disciple Elisha, were workers of miracles. Yet neither did Elijah despise Obadiah the steward, who feared God, but wrought no signs; nor did Elisha despise his own disciple when he trembled at the enemies. Moreover, neither did the wise Daniel who was twice delivered from the mouths of the lions, nor the three children who were delivered from the furnace of fire, despise the rest of their fellow-Israelites: for they knew that they had not escaped these terrible miseries by their own might; but by the power of God did they both work miracles, and were delivered from miseries. Wherefore let none of you exalt himself against his brother, though he be a prophet, or though he be a worker of miracles: for if it happens that there be no longer an unbeliever, all the power of signs will thenceforwards be superfluous. For to be pious is from any one’s good disposition; but to work wonders is from the power of Him that works them by us: the first of which respects ourselves; but the second respects God that works them, for the reasons which we have already mentioned. Wherefore neither let a king despise his officers that are under him, nor the rulers those who are subject. For where there are none to be ruled over,

rulers are superfluous; and where there are no officers, the kingdom will not stand. Moreover, let not a bishop be exalted against his deacons and presbyters, nor the presbyters against the people: for the subsistence of the congregation depends on each other. For the bishops and the presbyters are the priests with relation to the people; and the laity are the laity with relation to the clergy. And to be a Christian is in our own power; but to be an apostle, or a bishop, or in any other such office, is not in our own power, but at the disposal of God, who bestows the gifts. And thus much concerning those who are vouchsafed gifts and dignities.

CONCERNING UNWORTHY BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS

11. We add, in the next place, that neither is every one that prophesies holy, nor every one that casts out devils religious: for even Balaam the son of Beor the prophet did prophesy, though he was himself ungodly; as also did Caiaphas, the falsely-named high priest. Nay, the devil foretells many things, and the demons, about Him; and yet for all that, there is not a spark of piety in them: for they are oppressed with ignorance, by reason of their voluntary wickedness. It is manifest, therefore, that the ungodly, although they prophesy, do not by their prophesying cover their own impiety; nor will those who cast out demons be sanctified by the demons being made subject to them: for they only mock one another, as they do who play childish tricks for mirth, and destroy those who give heed to them. For neither is a wicked king any longer a king, but a tyrant; nor is a bishop oppressed with ignorance or an evil disposition a bishop, but falsely so called, being not one sent out by God, but by men, as Ananiah and Samecab in Jerusalem, and Zedekiah and Achiah the false prophets in Babylon. And indeed Balaam the prophet, when he had corrupted Israel by Baal-peor, suffered punishment; and Caiaphas at last was his own murderer; and the sons of Sceva, endeavoring to cast out demons, were wounded by them, and fled away in an unseemly manner; and the kings of Israel and of Judah, when they became impious, suffered all sorts of punishments. It is therefore evident how bishops and presbyters, also falsely so called, will not escape the judgment of God. For it will be said to them even now: “O ye priests that despise my name, I will deliver you up to the slaughter, as I did Zedekiah and Achiah, whom the king of Babylon fried in a frying-pan,” as says Jeremiah the prophet. We say these things,

not in contempt of true prophecies, for we know that they are wrought in holy men by the inspiration of God, but to put a stop to the boldness of vainglorious men; and add this withal, that from such as these God takes away His grace: for “God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.” Now Silas and Agabus prophesied in our times; yet did they not equal themselves to the apostles, nor did they exceed their own measures though they were beloved of God. Now women prophesied also. Of old, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, and after her Deborah, and after these Huldah and Judith” — the former under Josiah, the latter under Darius. The mother of the Lord did also prophesy, and her kinswoman Elisabeth, and Anna; and in our time the daughters of Philip: yet were not these elated against their husbands, but preserved their own measures. Wherefore if among you also there be a man or a woman, and such a one obtains any gift let him be humble that God ma be pleased with him. For says He: Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and trembles at my words?”

SECTION 2

ELECTION AND ORDINATION OF BISHOPS: FORM OF SERVICE ON SUNDAYSTHAT TO MAKE CONSTITUTIONS ABOUT THE OFFICES TO BE PERFORMED IN THE CHURCHES IS OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE

III. We have now finished the first part of this discourse concerning gifts, whatever they be, which God has bestowed upon men according to His own will; and how He rebuked the ways of those who either attempted to speak lies, or were moved by the spirit of the adversary; and that God often employed the wicked For prophecy and the performance of wonders. But now our discourse hastens as to the principal part, that is, the constitution of ecclesiastical affairs, that so, when ye have learned this constitution from us, ye who are ordained bishops by us at the command of Christ, may perform all things according to the commands delivered you, knowing that he that heareth us heareth Christ, and he that heareth Christ heareth His God and Father, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING ORDINATIONS

IV. Wherefore we, the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge those divine constitutions concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with us Paul the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle, and James the bishop, and the rest of the presbyters, and the seven deacons. In the first place, therefore, I Peter say, that a bishop ordained is to be, as we have already, all of us, appointed, unblameable in all things, a select person, chosen by the whole people, who, when he is named and approved, let the people assemble, with the presbytery and bishops that are present, an the Lord’s day, and let them give their consent. And let the principal of the bishops ask the presbytery and people whether this be the person whom they desire for their ruler. And if they give their consent, let him ask further whether he has a good testimony from all men as to his worthiness for so great and glorious an authority; whether all things relating to his piety towards God be right; whether justice towards men has been observed by him; whether the

affairs of his family have been well ordered by him; whether he has been unblameable in the course of his life. And if all the assembly together do according to truth, and not according to prejudice, witness that he is such a one, let them the third time, as before God the Judge, and Christ, the Holy Ghost being also present, as well as all the holy and ministering spirits, ask again whether he be truly worthy of this ministry, that so "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established." And if they agree the third time that he is worthy, let them all be demanded their vote; and when they all give it willingly, let them be heard. And silence being made, let one of the principal bishops, together with two others, stand near to the altar, the rest of the bishops and presbyters praying silently, and the deacons holding the divine Gospels open upon the head of him that is to be ordained, and say to God thus: —

THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE ORDINATION OF A BISHOP

V. O Thou the great Being, O Lord God Almighty, who alone art unbegotten, and ruled over by none; who always art, and wast before the world; who standest in need of nothing, and art above all cause and beginning; who only art true, who only art wise; who alone art the most high; who art by nature invisible; whose knowledge is without beginning; who only art good, and beyond compare; who knowest all things before they are; who art acquainted with the most secret things; who art inaccessible, and without a superior; the God and Father of Thy only begotten Son, of our God and Savior; the Creator of the whole world by Him; whose providence

OXFORD MS

V. God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, who knowest all things before they take place; Thou who didst appoint the rules of the Church through the word of Thy grace who didst appoint beforehand the race righteous from the beginning that came from Abraham to be rulers, and didst constitute them priests, not leaving Thy sanctuary without ministers; who from the foundation of the world didst deprovides for and takes the care of all; the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation; who dwellest in the highest heavens, and yet lookest down on things below: Thou who didst appoint the rules

of the Church, by the coming of Thy Christ in the flesh; of which the Holy Ghost is the witness, by Thy apostles, and by us the bishops, who by Thy grace are here present; who hast fore-ordained priests from the beginning for the government of Thy people — Abel in the first place, Seth and Enos, and Enoch and Noah, and Melchisedec and Job; who didst appoint Abraham, and the rest of the patriarchs, with Thy faithful servants Moses and Aaron, and Eleazar and Phineas; who didst choose from among them rulers and priests in the tabernacle of Thy testimony; who didst choose Samuel for a priest and a prophet; who didst not leave Thy sanctuary without ministers; who didst delight in those whom Thou chosest to be glorified in. Do Thou, by us, pour down the influence of Thy free Spirit, through the mediation of Thy Christ, which is committed to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; which He bestowed according to Thy will on the holy apostles of Thee the eternal God. Grant by Thy name, O God, who searchest the hearts, that this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen to be a bishop, may feed Thy holy flock, and discharge the office of an high priest to Thee, and minister to Thee, unblameably night and day; that he may appease Thee, and gather together the number of those that shall be saved, and may light in those whom Thou chosest to be glorified in; and now pour down the influence of Thy free Spirit, which through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ Thou hast bestowed on Thy holy apostles, who set up the Church in the place of the sanctuary, to unending glory and praise of Thy name: O Thou, who knowest the hearts of all, grant that this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen to the holy office of Thy bishop, may discharge the duty of a high priest to Thee, and minister to Thee unblameably night and day; that he may appease Thee unceasingly, and present to Thee the gifts of Thy holy Church, and in the spirit of the high-priesthood have power to remit sins according to Thy commandment, to give lots according to Thy injunction, to loose every bond according to the power which Thou hast given to the apostles, and be well-pleasing to Thee, in meekness and a pure heart offering a smell of sweet savor through Thy Son Jesus Christ *our* Lord, with whom to Thee be glory, power, and honor, along with the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen. offer to Thee the girls of Thy holy Church. Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, through Thy Christ, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, that so he may have power to remit sins according to Thy command; to give forth lots according to Thy command; to loose every bond, according to the

power which Thou gavest the apostles; that he may please Thee in meekness and a pure heart, with a steadfast, unblameable, and unreprovable mind; to offer to Thee a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which by Thy Christ Thou hast appointed as the mystery of the new covenant, for a sweet savor, through Thy holy child Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, through whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for all ages. And when he has prayed for these things, let the rest of the priests add, Amen; and together with them all the people. And after the prayer let one of the bishops elevate the sacrifice upon the hands of him that is ordained, and early in the morning let him be placed in his throne, in a place set apart far him among the rest of the bishops, they all giving him the kiss in the Lord. And after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels, let him that is ordained salute they Church, saying, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all; and let them all answer, and with Thy Spirit. And after these words let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he has ended his word of doctrine (I Andrew the brother of Peter speak), all standing up, let the deacon ascend upon some high seat, and proclaim, Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers stay; and silence being made, let him say: —

THE DIVINE LITURGY, WHEREIN IS THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THE CATECHUMENS

VI. Ye catechumens, pray, and let all the faithful pray for them in their mind, saying: Lord, have mercy upon them. And let the deacon bid prayers for them, saving: Let us all pray unto God for the catechumens, that He that is good, He that is the lover of mankind, will mercifully hear their prayers and their supplications, and so accept their petitions as to assist them and give them those desires of their hearts which are for their advantage, and reveal to them the Gospel of His Christ; give them illumination and understanding, instruct them in the knowledge of God, teach them His commands and His ordinances, implant in them His pure and saving fear, open the ears of their hearts, that they may exercise themselves in His law day and night; strengthen them in piety, unite them to and number them with His holy flock; vouchsafe them the layer of

regeneration, and the garment of incorruption, which is the true life; and deliver them from all ungodliness, and give no place to the adversary against them; “and cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them, by His Christ; bless their goings out and their comings in, and order their affairs for their good.” Let us still earnestly put up our supplications for them, that they may obtain the forgiveness of their transgressions by their admission, and so may be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and of constant communion with the saints. Rise up, ye catechumens, beg for yourselves the peace of God through His Christ, a peaceable day, and free from sin, and the like for the whole time of your life, and your Christian ends of it; a compassionate and merciful God; and the forgiveness of your transgressions. Dedicate yourselves to the only unbegotten God, through His Christ. Bow down your heads, and receive the blessing. But at the naming of every one by the deacon, as we said before, let the people say, Lord, have mercy upon him; and let the children say it first. And as they have bowed down their heads, let the bishop who is newly ordained bless them with this blessing: O God Almighty, unbegotten and inaccessible, who only art the true God, the God and Father of Thy Christ, Thy only begotten Son; the God of the Comforter, and Lord of the whole world; who by Christ didst appoint Thy disciples to be teachers for the teaching of piety; do Thou now also look down upon Thy servants, who are receiving instruction in the Gospel of Thy Christ, and “give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit in their inward parts, that they may both know and do Thy will with full purpose of heart, and with a willing soul. Vouchsafe them an holy admission, and unite them to Thy holy Church, and make them partakers of Thy divine mysteries, through Christ, who is our hope, and who died for them; by whom glory and worship be given to Thee in the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen. And after this, let the deacon say: Go out, ye catechumens, in peace. And after they are gone out, let him say: Ye energumens, afflicted with unclean spirits, pray, and let us all earnestly, pray for them, that God, the lover of mankind, will by Christ rebuke the unclean and wicked spirits, and deliver His supplicants from the dominion of the adversary. May He that rebuked the legion of demons, and the devil, the prince of wickedness, even now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver His own workmanship from his power, and cleanse those creatures which He has made with great wisdom. Let us still pray earnestly for them. Save

them, O God, and raise them up by Thy power. Bow down your heads, ye energumens, and receive the blessings. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say: —

FOR THE ENERGUMENS

VII. Thou, who hast bound the strong man, and spoiled all that was in his house, who hast given us power over serpents and scorpions to tread upon them, and upon all the power of the enemy; who hast delivered the serpent, that murderer of men, bound to us, as a sparrow to children, whom all things dread, and tremble before the face of Thy power; who hast cast him down as lightning from heaven to earth, not with a fall from a place, but from honor to dishonor, on account of his voluntary evil disposition; whose look dries the abysses, and threatening melts the mountains, and whose truth remains for ever; whom the infants praise, and sucking babes bless; whom angels sing hymns to, and adore; who lookest upon the earth, and makest it tremble; who touchest the mountains, and they smoke; who threatenest the sea, and driest it up, and makest all its rivers as desert, and the clouds are the dust of His feet; who walkest upon the sea as upon the firm ground; Thou only begotten God, the Son of the great Father, rebuke these wicked spirits, and deliver the works of Thy hands from the power of the adverse spirit. For to Thee is due glory, honor, and worship, and by Thee to Thy Father, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Go out, ye energumens. And after them, let him cry aloud: Ye that are to be illuminated, pray. Let all us, the faithful, earnestly pray for them, that the Lord will vouchsafe that, being initiated into the death of Christ, they may rise with Him, and become partakers of His kingdom, and may be admitted to the communion of His mysteries; unite them to, number them among, those that are saved in His holy Church. Save them, and raise them up by Thy grace. And being sealed to God through His Christ, let them bow down their heads, and receive this blessing from the bishop: —

FOR THE BAPTIZED

VIII. Thou who hast formerly said by Thy holy prophets to those that be initiated, “Wash ye, become clean,” and hast appointed spiritual regeneration by Christ, do Thou now also look down upon these that are

baptized, and bless them, and sanctify them, and prepare them that they may become worthy of Thy spiritual gift, and of the true adoption of Thy spiritual mysteries, of being gathered together with those that are saved through Christ our Savior; by whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Go out, ye that are preparing for illumination. And after that let him proclaim: Ye penitents, pray; let us all earnestly pray for our brethren in the state of penitence, that God, the lover of compassion, will show them the way of repentance, and accept their return and their confession, and bruise Satan under their feet suddenly, and redeem them from the snare of the devil, and the ill-usage of the demons, and free them from every unlawful word, and every absurd practice and wicked thought; forgive them all their offenses, both voluntary and involuntary, and blot out that handwriting which is against them, and write them in the book of life; cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and restore and unite them to His holy flock. For He knoweth our frame. For who can glory that he has a clean heart? And who can boldly say, that he is pure from sin? For we are all among the blameworthy. Let us still pray for them more earnestly, for there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, that, being converted from every evil work, they may be joined to all good practice; that God, the lover of mankind, will suddenly accept their petitions, will restore to them the joy of His salvation, and strengthen them with His free Spirit; that they may not be any more shaken, but be admitted to the communion of His most holy things, and become partakers of His divine mysteries, that appearing worthy of His adoption, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all still earnestly say on their account: Lord, have mercy upon them. Save them, O God, and raise them up by Thy mercy. Rise up, and bow your heads to God through His Christ, and receive the blessings. Let the bishop then add this prayer:

IMPOSITION OF HANDS; PRAYER FOR PENLTENTS

IX. Almighty, eternal God, Lord of the whole world, the Creator and Governor of all things, who hast exhibited man as the ornament of the world through Christ, and didst give him a law both naturally implanted and written, that he might live according to law, as a rational creature; and when he had sinned, Thou gavest him Thy goodness as a pledge in order to

his repentance: Look down upon these persons who have bended the neck of their soul and body to Thee; for Thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he turn from his wicked way, and live. Thou who didst accept the repentance of the Ninevites, who willest that all men be saved, and come to the acknowledgment of the truth; who didst accept of that son who had consumed his substance in riotous living, with the bowels of a father, on account of his repentance; do Thou now accept of the repentance of Thy supplicants: for there is no man that will not sin; for "if Thou, O Lord, markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? For with Thee there is propitiation." And do Thou restore them to Thy holy Church, into their former dignity and honor, through Christ our God and Savior, by whom glory and adoration be to Thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen. Then let the deacon say, Depart, ye penitents; and let him add, Let none of those who ought not to come draw near. All we of the faithful, let us bend our knee: let us all entreat God through His Christ; let us earnestly beseech God through His Christ.

THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THE FAITHFUL

X. Let us pray for the peace and happy settlement of the world, and of the holy churches; that the God of the whole world may afford us His everlasting peace, and such as may not be taken away from us; that He may preserve us in a full prosecution of such virtue as is according to godliness. Let us pray for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church which is spread from one end of the earth to the other; that God would preserve and keep it unshaken, and free from the waves of this life, until the end of the world, as founded upon a rock; and for the holy parish in this place, that the Lord of the whole world may vouchsafe us without failure to follow after His heavenly hope, and without ceasing to pay Him the debt of our prayer. Let us pray for every episcopacy which is under the whole heaven, of those that rightly divide the word of Thy truth. And let us pray for our bishop James, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Clement, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Euodius, and his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Annianus, and his parishes: that the compassionate God may grant them to continue in His holy churches in health, honor, and long life, and afford them an honorable old age in godliness and righteousness. And let us pray for our presbyters, that the

Lord may deliver them from every unreasonable and wicked action, and afford them a presbyterate in health and honor. Let us pray for all the deacons and ministers in Christ, that the Lord may grant them an unblameable ministration. Let us pray for the readers, singers, virgins, widows, and orphans. Let us pray for those that are in marriage and in child-bearing, that the Lord may have mercy upon them all. Let us pray for the eunuchs who walk holily. Let us pray for those in a state of continence and piety. Let us pray for those that bear fruit in the holy Church, and give alms to the needy. And let us pray for those who offer sacrifices and oblations to the Lord our God, that God, the fountain of all goodness, may recompense them with His heavenly gifts, and “give them in this world an hundredfold, and in the world to come life everlasting;” and bestow upon them for their temporal things, those that are eternal; for earthly things, those that are heavenly. Let us pray for our brethren newly enlightened, that the Lord may strengthen and confirm them. Let us pray for our brethren exercised with sickness, that the Lord may deliver them from every sickness and every disease, and restore them sound into His holy Church. Let us pray for those that travel by water or by land. Let us pray for those that are in the mines, in banishments, in prisons, and in bonds, for the name of the Lord. Let us pray for those that are afflicted with bitter servitude. Let us pray for our enemies, and those that hate us. Let us pray for those that persecute us for the name of the Lord, that the Lord may pacify their anger, and scatter their wrath against us. Let us pray for those that are without, and are wandered out of the way, that the Lord may convert them. Let us be mindful of the infants of the Church, that the Lord may perfect them in His fear, and bring them to a complete age. Let us pray one for another, that the Lord may keep us and preserve us by His grace to the end, and deliver us from the evil one. and from all the scandals of those that work iniquity, and preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom. Let us pray for every Christian soul. Save us, and raise us up, O God, by Thy mercy. Let us rise up, and let us pray earnestly, and dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God, through His Christ. And let the high priest add this prayer, and say:

THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE FAITHFUL

XI. O Lord Almighty, the Most High, who dwellest on high, the Holy One, that restest among the saints, without beginning, the Only Potentate, who hast given to us by Christ the preaching of knowledge, to the acknowledgment of Thy glory and of Thy name, which He has made known to us, for our comprehension, do Thou now also look down through Him upon this Thy flock, and deliver it from all ignorance and wicked practice, and grant that we may fear Thee in earnest, and love Thee with affection, and have a due reverence of Thy glory. Be gracious and merciful to them, and hearken to them when they pray unto Thee; and keep them, that they may be unmoveable, unblameable, and unreprovable, that they may be holy in body and spirit, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that they may be complete, and none of them may be defective or imperfect. O our support, our powerful God, who dost not accept persons, be Thou the assister of this Thy peopled which Thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of Thy Christ; be Thou their protector, aider, provider, and guardian, their strong wall of defense, their bulwark and security. For "none can snatch out of Thy hand:" for there is no other God like Thee; for on Thee is our reliance. "Sanctify them by Thy truth: for Thy word is truth." Thou who dost nothing for favor, Thou whom none can deceive, deliver them from every sickness, and every disease, and every offense, every injury and deceit, "from fear of the enemy, from the dart that flieth in the day, from the mischief that walketh about in darkness;" and vouchsafe them that everlasting life which is in Christ Thy only begotten Son, our God and Savior, through whom glory and worship be to Thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen. And after this let the deacon say, Let us attend. And let the bishop salute the church, and say, The peace of God be with you all. And let the people answer, And with thy spirit; and let the deacon say to all, Salute ye one another with the holy kiss. And let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women. And let the children stand at the reading-desk; and let another deacon stand by them, that they may not be disorderly. And let other deacons walk about and watch the men and women, that no tumult may be made, and that no one nod, or whisper, or slumber; and let the deacons stand at the doors of the men, and the sub-deacons at those of the women, that no one go out, nor a

door be opened, although it be for one of the faithful, at the the of the oblation. But let one of the sub-deacons bring water to wash the hands of the priests, which is a symbol of the purity of those souls that are devoted to God.

THE CONSTITUTION OF JAMES THE BROTHER OF JOHN, THE SON OF ZEBEDEE

XII. And I James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, say, that the deacon shall immediately say, Let none of the catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here. You who have prayed the foregoing prayer, depart. Let the mothers receive their children; let no one have anything against any one; let no one come in hypocrisy; let us stand upright before the Lord with fear and trembling, to offer. When this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and let the presbyters stand on his right hand, and on his left, as disciples stand before their Master. But let two of the deacons, on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made up of thin membranes, or of the feathers of the peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away the small animals that fly about, that they may not come near to the cups. Let the high priest, therefore, together with the priests, pray by himself; and let him put on his shining garment, and stand at the altar, and make the sign of the cross upon his forehead with his hand, and say: The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. And let all with one voice say: And with thy spirit. The high priest: Lift up your mind. All the people: We lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people: It is meet and right so to do. Then let the high priest say: It is very meet and fight before all things to sing an hymn to Thee, who art the true God, who art before all beings, “from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named;” who only art unbegotten, and without beginning, and without a ruler, and without a master; who standest in need of nothing; who art the bestower of everything that is good; who art beyond all cause and generation; who art alway and immutably the same; from whom all things came into being, as from their proper original. For Thou art eternal knowledge, everlasting sight, unbegotten hearing, untaught wisdom, the first by nature, and the measure of being, and beyond all

number; who didst bring all things out of nothing into being by Thy only begotten Son, but didst beget Him before all ages by Thy will, Thy power, and Thy goodness, without any instrument, the only begotten Son, God the Word, the living Wisdom, “the First-born of every creature, the angel of Thy Great Counsel,” and Thy High Priest, but the King and Lord of every intellectual and sensible nature, who was before all things, by whom were all things. For Thou, O eternal God, didst make all things by Him, and through Him it is that Thou vouchsafest Thy suitable providence over the whole world; for by the very same that Thou bestowedst being, didst Thou also bestow well-being: the God and Father of Thy only begotten Son, who by Him didst make before all things the cherubim and the seraphim, the aeons and hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and after all these, didst by Him make this visible world, and all things that are therein. For Thou art He who didst frame the heaven as an arch, and “stretch it out like the covering of a tent,” and didst found the earth upon nothing by Thy mere will; who didst fix the firmament, and prepare the night and the day; who didst bring the light out of Thy treasures, and on its departure didst bring on darkness, for the rest of the living creatures that move up and down in the world; who didst appoint the sun in heaven to rule over the day, and the moon to rule over the night, and didst inscribe in heaven the choir of stars to praise Thy glorious majesty; who didst make the water for drink and for cleansing, the air in which we live for respiration and the affording of sounds, by the means of the tongue, which strikes the air, and the hearings which co-operates therewith, so as to perceive speech when it is received by it, and falls upon it; who madest fire for our consolation in darkness, for the supply of our want, and that we might be warmed and enlightened by it; who didst separate the great sea from the land, and didst render the former navigable and the latter fit for walking, and didst replenish the former with small and great living creatures, and filledst the latter with the same, both tame and wild; didst furnish it with various plants, and crown it with herbs, and beautify it with flowers, and enrich it with seeds; who didst ordain the great deep, and on every side madest a mighty cavity for it, which contains seas of salt waters heaped together, yet didst Thou every way bound them with barriers of the smallest sand; who sometimes dost raise it to the height of mountains by the winds, and sometimes dost smooth it into a plain; sometimes dost enrage it with a

tempest, and sometimes dost still it with a calm, that it may be easy to seafaring men in their voyages; who didst encompass this world, which was made by Thee through Christ, with rivers, and water it with currents, and moisten it with springs that never fail, and didst bind it round with mountains for the immovable and secure consistence of the earth: for Thou hast replenished Thy world, and adorned it with sweet-smelling and with healing herbs, with many and various living creatures, strong and weak, for food and for labor, tame and wild; with the noises of creeping things, the sounds of various sorts of flying creatures; with the circuits of the years, the numbers of months and days, the order of the seasons, the courses of the rainy clouds, for the production of the fruits and the support of living creatures. Thou hast also appointed the station of the winds, which blow when commanded by Thee, and the multitude of the plants and herbs. And Thou hast not only created the world itself, but hast also made man for a citizen of the world, exhibiting him as the ornament of the world; for Thou didst say to Thy Wisdom: “Let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the heaven.” Wherefore also Thou hast made him of an immortal soul and of a body liable to dissolution — the former out of nothing, the latter out of the four elements — and hast given him as to his soul rational knowledge, the discerning of piety and impiety, and the observation of right and wrong; and as to his body, Thou hast granted him five senses and progressive motion: for Thou, O God Almighty, didst by Thy Christ plant a paradise in Eden, in the east, adorned with all plants fit for food, and didst introduce him into it, as into a rich banquet. And when Thou madest him, Thou gavest him a law implanted within him, that so he might have at home and within himself the seeds of divine knowledge; and when Thou hadst brought him into the paradise of pleasure, Thou allowedst him the privilege of enjoying all things, only forbidding the tasting of one tree, in hopes of greater blessings; that in case he would keep that command, he might receive the reward of it, which was immortality. But when he neglected that command, and tasted of the forbidden fruit, by the seduction of the serpent and the counsel of his wife, Thou didst justly cast him out of paradise. Yet of Thy goodness Thou didst not overlook him, nor suffer him to perish utterly, for he was Thy creature; but Thou didst subject the whole creation to him, and didst grant him liberty to procure himself food by his own sweat and labors,

whilst Thou didst cause all the fruits of the earth to spring up, to grow, and to ripen. But when Thou hadst laid him asleep for a while, Thou didst with an oath call him to a restoration again, didst loose the bond of death, and promise him life after the resurrection. And not this only; but when Thou hadst increased his posterity to an innumerable multitude, those that continued with Thee Thou didst glorify, and those who did apostatize from Thee Thou didst punish. And while Thou didst accept of the sacrifice of Abel as of an holy person, Thou didst reject the gift of Cain, the murderer of his brother, as of an abhorred wretch. And besides these, Thou didst accept of Seth and Enos, and didst translate Enoch: for Thou art the Creator of men, and the giver of life, and the supplier of want, and the giver of laws, and the rewarder of those that observe them, and the avenger of those that transgress them; who didst bring the great flood upon the world by reason of the multitude of the ungodly, and didst deliver righteous Noah from that flood by an ark, with eight souls, the end of the foregoing generations, and the beginning of those that were to come; who didst kindle a fearful fire against the five cities of Sodom, and “didst turn a fruitful land into a salt lake for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein,” but didst snatch holy Lot out of the conflagration. Thou art He who didst deliver Abraham from the impiety of his fore-fathers, and didst appoint him to be the heir of the world, and didst discover to him Thy Christ; who didst aforehand ordain Melchisedec an high priest for Thy worship; who didst render Thy patient servant Job the conqueror of that serpent who is the patron of wickedness; who madest Isaac the son of the promise, and Jacob the father of twelve sons, and didst increase his posterity to a multitude, and bring him into Egypt with seventy-five souls. Thou, O Lord, didst not overlook Joseph, but grantedst him, as a reward of his chastity for Thy sake, the government over the Egyptians. Thou, O Lord, didst not overlook the Hebrews when they were afflicted by the Egyptians, on account of the promises made unto their fathers; but Thou didst deliver them and punish the Egyptians. And when men had corrupted the law of nature, and had sometimes esteemed the creation the effect of chance, and sometimes honored it more than they ought, and equaled it to the God of the universe, Thou didst not, however, suffer them to go astray, but didst raise up Thy holy servant Moses, and by him didst give the written law for the assistance of the law of nature, and didst show that the creation was Thy work, and didst banish away the error of

polytheism. Thou didst adorn Aaron and his posterity with the priesthood, and didst punish the Hebrews when they sinned, and receive them again when they returned to Thee. Thou didst punish the Egyptians with a judgment of ten plagues, and didst divide the sea, and bring the Israelites through it, and drown and destroy the Egyptians who pursued after them. Thou didst sweeten the bitter water with wood; Thou didst bring water out of the rock of stone; Thou didst rain manna from heaven, and quails, as meat out of the air; Thou didst afford them a pillar of fire by night to give them light, and a pillar of a cloud by day to overshadow them from the heat; Thou didst declare Joshua to be the general of the army, and didst overthrow the seven nations of Canaan by him; Thou didst divide Jordan, and dry up the rivers of Etham; Thou didst overthrow walls without instruments or the hand of man. For all these things, glory be to Thee, O Lord Almighty. Thee do the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers, Thine everlasting armies, adore. The cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, with twain covering their feet, with twain their heads, and with twain flying, say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be Thou blessed for ever. Amen.” And afterwards let the high priest say: For Thou art truly holy, and most holy, the highest and most highly exalted for ever. Holy also is Thy only begotten Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who in all things ministered to His God and Father, both in Thy various creation and Thy suitable providence, and has not overlooked lost mankind. But after the law of nature, after the exhortations in the positive law, after the prophetical reproofs and the government of the angels, when men had perverted both the positive law and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughters of the inhabitant of Palestine, and being just ready to perish universally after an unparalleled manner, He was pleased by Thy good will to become man, who was man’s Creator; to be under the laws, who was the Legislator; to be a sacrifice, who was an High Priest; to be a sheep, who was the Shepherd. And He appeased Thee, His God and Father, and reconciled Thee to the world, and freed all men from the wrath to come, and was made of a virgin, and was in flesh, being God

the Word, the beloved Son, the first-born of the whole creation, and was, according to the prophecies which were foretold concerning Him by Himself, of the seed of David and Abraham, of the tribe of Judah. And He was made in the womb of a virgin, who formed all mankind that are born into the world; He took flesh, who was without flesh; He who was begotten before time, was born in time; He lived holily, and taught according to the law; He drove away every sickness and every disease from men, and wrought signs and wonders among the people; and He was partaker of meat, and drink, and sleep, who nourishes all that stand in need of food, and "fills every living creature with His goodness;" "He manifested His name to those that knew it not;" He drave away ignorance; He revived piety, and fulfilled Thy will; He finished the work which Thou gavest Him to do; and when He had set all these things right, He was seized by the hands of the ungodly, of the high priests and priests, falsely so called, and of the disobedient people, by the betraying of him who was possessed of wickedness as with a confirmed disease; He suffered many things from them, and endured all sorts of ignominy by Thy permission; He was delivered to Pilate the governor, and He that was the Judge was judged, and He that was the Savior was condemned; He that was impassable was nailed to the cross, and He who was by nature immortal died, and He that is the giver of life was buried, that He might loose those for whose sake He came from suffering and death, and might break the bonds of the devil, and deliver mankind from his deceit. He arose from the dead the third day; and when He had continued with His disciples forty days, He was taken up into the heavens, and is sat down on the right hand of Thee, who art His God and Father. Being mindful, therefore, of those things that He endured for our sakes, we give Thee thanks, O God Almighty, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able, and fulfill His constitution: "For in the same night that He was betrayed, He took bread" in His holy and undefiled hands, and, looking up to Thee His God and Father, "He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant: take of it, and eat. This is my body, which is broken for many, for the remission of sins." In like manner also "He took the cup," and mixed it of wine and water, and sanctified it, and delivered it to them, saying: "Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood which is shed for many, for the remission of sins: do this in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show

forth my death until I come." Being mindful, therefore, of His passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second appearing, wherein He is to come with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works, we offer to Thee, our King and our God, according to His constitution, this bread and this cup, giving Thee thanks, through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand before Thee, and to sacrifice to Thee; and we beseech Thee that Thou wilt mercifully look down upon these gifts which are here set before Thee, O Thou God, who standest in need of none of our offerings. And do Thou accept them, to the honor of Thy Christ, and send down upon this sacrifice Thine Holy Spirit, the Witness of the Lord Jesus' sufferings, that He may show this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of Thy Christ, that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of Thy Christ, and may obtain eternal, life upon Thy reconciliation to them, O Lord Almighty. We further pray unto Thee, O Lord, for thy holy Church spread from one end of the world to another, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, that Thou wilt preserve it unshaken and free from disturbance until the end of the world; for every episcopate who rightly divides the word of truth. We further pray to Thee for me, who am nothing, who offer to Thee, for the whole presbytery, for the deacons and all the clergy, that Thou wilt make them wise, and replenish them with the Holy Spirit. We further pray to Thee, O Lord, "for the king and all in authority," for the whole army, that they may be peaceable towards us, that so, leading the whole time of our life in quietness and unanimity, we may glorify Thee through Jesus Christ, who is our hope. We further offer to Thee also for all those holy persons who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world — patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, and lay persons, with all whose names Thou knowest. We further offer to Thee for this people, that Thou wilt render them, to the praise of Thy Christ, "a royal priesthood and an holy nation;" for those that are in virginity and purity; for the widows of the Church; for those in honorable marriage and child-bearing; for the infants of Thy people, that Thou wilt

not permit any of us to “become castaways.” We further beseech Thee also for this city and its inhabitants; for those that are sick; for those in bitter servitude; for those in banishments; for those in prison; for those that travel by water or by land; that Thou, the helper and assister of all men, wilt be their supporter. We further also beseech Thee for those that hate us and persecute us for Thy name’s sake; for those that are without, and wander out of the way; that Thou wilt convert them to goodness, and pacify their anger. We further also beseech Thee for the catechumens of the Church, and for those that are vexed by the adversary, and for our brethren the penitents, that Thou wilt perfect the first in the faith, that Thou wilt deliver the second from the energy of the evil one, and that Thou wilt accept the repentance of the last, and forgive both them and us our offenses. We further offer to Thee also for the good temperature of the air, and the fertility of the fruits, that so, partaking perpetually of the good things derived from Thee, we may praise Thee without ceasing, “who gavest food to all flesh.” We further beseech Thee also for those who are absent on a just cause, that Thou wilt keep us all in piety, and gather us together in the kingdom of Thy Christ, the God of all sensible and intelligent nature, our King that Thou wouldst keep us immovable, unblameable, and unreprovable: for to Thee belongs all glory and worship, and thanksgiving, honor and adoration, the Father, with the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and always, and for everlasting, and endless ages for ever. And let all the people say, Amen. And let the bishop say, “The peace of God be with you all.” And let all the people say, “And with thy spirit.” And let the deacon proclaim again: —

THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THE FAITHFUL AFTER THE DLVINE OBLATION

XIII. Let us still further beseech God through His Christ, and let us beseech Him on account of the gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the good God will accept it, through the mediation of His Christ, upon His heavenly altar, for a sweet-smelling savor. Let us pray for this church and people. Let us pray for every episcopate, every presbytery, all the deacons and ministers in Christ, for the whole congregation, that the Lord will keep and preserve them all. Let us pray “for kings and those in authority,” that they may be peaceable toward us, “that so we may have

and lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.” Let us he mindful of the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to be partakers of their trial. Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith. Let us pray for the good temperature of the air, and the perfect maturity of the fruits. Let us pray for those that are newly enlightened, that they may be strengthened in the faith, and all may be mutually comforted by one another. Raise us up, O God, by Thy grace. Let us stand up, and dedicate ourselves to God, through His Christ. And let the bishop say: O God, who art great, and whose name is great, who art great in counsel and mighty in works, the God and Father of Thy holy child Jesus, our Savior; look down upon us, and upon this Thy flock, which Thou hast chosen by Him to the glory of Thy name; and sanctify our body and soul, and grant us the favor to be “made pure from all filthiness of flesh and spirit,” and may obtain the good things laid up for us, and do not account any of us unworthy; but be Thou our comforter, helper, and protector, through Thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, praise, doxology, and thanksgiving be to Thee and to the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen. And after that all have said Amen, let the deacon say: Let us attend. And let the bishop speak thus to the people: Holy things for holy persons. And let the people answer: There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, one Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father. Amen. “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill among men. Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord,” being the Lord God who appeared to us, “Hosanna in the highest.” And after that, let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; and then of the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and then all the people in order, with reverence and godly fear, without tumult. And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, The body of Christ; and let him that receiveth say, Amen. And let the deacon take the cup; and when he gives it, say, The blood of Christ, the cup of life; and let him that drinketh say, Amen. And let the thirty-third psalm be said, while the rest are partaking; and when all, both men and women, have partaken, let the deacons carry what remains into the vestry. And when the singer has done, let the deacon say: —

THE BIDDING PRAYER AFTER THE PARTICIPATION

XIV. Now we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who has thought us worthy to partake of these His holy mysteries; and let us beseech Him that it may not be to us for condemnation, but for salvation, to the advantage of soul and body, to the preservation of piety, to the remission of sins, and to the life of the world to come. Let us arise, and by the grace of Christ let us dedicate ourselves to God, to the only unbegotten God, and to His Christ. And let the bishop give thanks: —

THE FORM OF PRAYER AFTER THE PARTICIPATION

XV. O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy Christ, Thy blessed Son, who hearest those who call upon Thee with uprightness, who also knowest the supplications of those who are silent; we thank Thee that Thou hast thought us worthy to partake of Thy holy mysteries, which Thou hast bestowed upon us, for the entire confirmation of those things we have rightly known, for the preservation of piety, for the remission of our offenses; for the name of thy Christ is called upon us, and we are joined To Thee. O Thou that hast separated us froth the communion of the ungodly, unite us with those that are consecrated to Thee in holiness; confirm us in the truth, by the assistance of Thy Holy Spirit; reveal to us what things we are ignorant of, supply what things we are defective in, confirm us in what things we already know, preserve the priests blameless in Thy worship; keep the kings in peace, and the rulers in righteousness, the air in a good temperature, the fruits in fertility, the world in an all-powerful providence; pacify the warring nations, convert those that are gone astray, sanctify Thy people, keep those that are in virginity, preserve those in the faith that are in marriage, strengthen those that are in purity, bring the infants to complete age, confirm the newly admitted; instruct the catechumens, and render them worthy of admission; and gather us all together into Thy kingdom of heaven, by Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee, in the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down to God through His Christ, and receive the blessing. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say: O God Almighty, the true God, to whom nothing can be compared, who art everywhere, and present in all things, and art in nothing

as one of the things themselves; who art not bounded by place, nor grown old by time; who art not terminated by ages, nor deceived by words; who art not subject to generation, and wantest no guardian; who art above all corruption, free from all change, and invariable by nature; “who inhabitest light inaccessible;” who art by nature invisible, and yet art known to all reasonable natures who seek Thee with a good mind, and art comprehended by those that seek after Thee with a good mind; the God of Israel, Thy people which truly see, and which have believed in Christ: Be gracious to me, and hear me, for Thy name’s sake, and bless those that bow down their necks unto Thee, and grant them the petitions of their hearts, which are for their good, and do not reject any one of them from Thy kingdom; but sanctify, guard, cover, and assist them; deliver them from the adversary and every enemy; keep their houses, and guard “their comings in and their goings out.” For to Thee belongs the glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to Thy Son Jesus, Thy Christ, our Lord and God and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen. And the deacon shall say, Depart in peace. These constitutions concerning this mystical worship, we, the apostles, do ordain for you, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

SECTION 3

ORDINATION AND DUTIES OF THE CLERGY CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS -THE CONSTITUTION OF JOHN, WHO WAS BELOVED BY THE LORD

XVI. Concerning the ordination of presbyters, I who am loved by the Lord make this constitution for you the bishops: When thou ordainest a presbyter, O bishop, lay thy hand upon his head, in the presence of the presbyters and deacons, and pray, saying: O Lord Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Christ, and dost in like manner take care of the whole world by Him; for He who had power to make different creatures, has also power to take care of them, according to their different natures; on which account, O God, Thou takest care of immortal beings by bare preservation, but of those that are mortal by succession — of the soul by the provision of laws, of the body by the supply of its wants. Do

Thou therefore now also look down upon Thy holy Church, and increase the same, and multiply those that preside in it, and grant them power, that they may labor both in word and work for the edification of Thy people. Do Thou now also look down upon this Thy servant, who is put into the presbytery by the vote and determination of the whole clergy; and do Thou replenish him with the Spirit of grace and counsel, to assist and govern Thy people with a pure heart, in the same manner as Thou didst look down upon Thy chosen people, and didst command Moses to choose elders, whom Thou didst fill with Thy Spirit. Do Thou also now, O Lord, grant this, and preserve in us the Spirit of Thy grace, that this person, being filled with the gifts of healing and the word of teaching, may in meekness instruct Thy people, and sincerely serve Thee with a pure mind and a willing soul, and may fully discharge the holy ministrations for Thy people, through Thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF DEACONS — THE CONSTITUTION OF PHILIP

XVII. Concerning the ordination of deacons, I Philip make this constitution: Thou shalt ordain a deacon, O bishop, by laying thy hands upon him in the presence of the whole presbytery, and of the deacons, and shall pray, and say: —

THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE ORDINATION OF A DEACON

XVIII. O God Almighty, the true and faithful God, who art rich unto all that call upon Thee in truth, who art fearful in counsels, and wise in understanding, who art powerful and great, hear our prayer, O Lord, and let Thine ears receive our supplication, and “cause the light of Thy countenance to shine upon this Thy servant,” who is to be ordained for Thee to the office of a deacon; and replenish him with Thy Holy Spirit, and with power, as Thou didst replenish Stephen, who was Thy martyr, and follower of the sufferings of Thy Christ. Do Thou render him worthy to discharge acceptably the ministration of a deacon, steadily, unblameably, and without reproof, that thereby he may attain an higher

degree, through the mediation of Thy only begotten Son, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING THE DEACONESS — THE CONSTITUTION OF BARTHOLOMEW

XIX. Concerning a deaconess, I Bartholomew make this constitution: O bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her in the presence of the presbytery, and of the deacons and deaconesses, and shall say: —

THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE ORDINATION OF A DEACONESS

XX. O Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and of woman, who didst replenish with the Spirit Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah; who didst not disdain that Thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple, didst ordain women to be keepers of Thy holy gates, — do Thou now also look down upon this Thy servant, who is to be ordained to the office of a deaconess, and grant her Thy Holy Spirit, and "cleanse her from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," that she may worthily discharge the work which is committed to her to Thy glory, and the praise of Thy Christ, with whom glory and adoration be to Thee and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING THE SUB-DEACONS — THE CONSTITUTION OF THOMAS

XXI. Concerning the sub-deacons, I Thomas make this constitution for you the bishops: When thou dost ordain a sub-deacon, O bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon him, and say: O Lord God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things that are therein; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony didst appoint overseers and keepers of Thy holy vessels; do Thou now look down upon this Thy servant, appointed a sub-deacon; and grant him the Holy Spirit, that he may worthily handle the vessels of Thy ministry, and do Thy will always, through Thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING THE READERS — THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTHEW

XXII. Concerning readers, I Matthew, also coiled Levi, who was once a tax-gatherer, make a constitution: Ordain a reader by laying thy hands upon him, and pray unto God, and say: O Eternal God, who art plenteous in mercy and compassions, who hast made manifest the constitution of the world by Thy operations therein, and keepest the number of Thine elect, do Thou also now look down upon Thy servant, who is to be entrusted to read Thy Holy Scriptures to Thy people, and give him Thy Holy Spirit, the prophetic Spirit. Thou who didst instruct Esdras Thy servant to read Thy laws to the people, do Thou now also at our prayers instruct Thy servant, and grant that he may without blame perfect the work committed to him, and thereby be declared worthy of an higher degree, through Christ, with whom glory and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen.

CONCERNING THE CONFESSORS — THE CONSTITUTION OF JAMES THE SON OF ALPHEUS

XXIII. And I James, the son of Alphaeus, make a constitution in regard to confessors: A confessor is not ordained; for he is so by choice and patience, and is worthy of great honor, as having confessed the name of God, and of His Christ, before nations and kings. But if there be occasion, he is to be ordained either a bishop, priest, or deacon. But if any one of the confessors who is not ordained snatches to himself any such dignity upon account of his confession, let the same person be deprived and rejected; for he is not in such an office, since he has denied the constitution of Christ, and is “worse than an infidel.”

THE SAME APOSTLE’S CONSTITUTION CONCERNING VIRGINS

XXIV. I, the same, make a constitution in regard to virgins: A virgin is not ordained, for we have no such command from the Lord; for this is a state of voluntary trial, not for the reproach of marriage, but an account of leisure for piety.

THE CONSTITUTION OF LEBBAEUS, WHO WAS SURNAMED THADDAEUS, CONCERNING WIDOWS

XXV. And I Lebbaeus, surnamed Thaddaeus, make this constitution in regard to widows: A widow is not ordained; yet if she has lost her husband a great while, and has lived soberly and unblameably, and has taken extraordinary care of her family, as Judith and Anna — those women of great reputation — let her be chosen into the order of widows. But if she has lately lost her yokefellow, let her not be believed, but let her youth be judged of by the time; for the affections do sometimes grow aged with men, if they be not restrained by a better bridle.

THE SAME APOSTLE CONCERNING THE EXORCIST

XXVI. I the same make a constitution in regard to an exorcist. An exorcist is not ordained. For it is a trial of voluntary goodness, and of the grace of God through Christ by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. For he who has received the gift of healing is declared by revelation from God, the grace which is in him being manifest to all. But if there be occasion for him, he must be ordained a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon.

SIMON THE CANAANITE CONCERNING THE NUMBER NECESSARY FOR THE ORDINATION OF A BISHOP

XXVII. And I Simon the Canaanite make a constitution to determine by how many a bishop ought to be elected. Let a bishop be ordained by three or two bishops; but if any one be ordained by one bishop, let him be deprived, both himself and he that ordained him. But if there be a necessity that he have only one to ordain him, because more bishops cannot come together, as in time of persecution, or for such like causes, let him bring the suffrage of permission from more bishops.

THE SAME APOSTLE'S CANONS CONCERNING BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, DEACONS, AND THE REST OF THE CLERGY

XXVIII. Concerning the canons I the same make a constitution. A bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing. He lays on hands, ordains, offers, receives the blessing from bishops, but by no means from presbyters. A bishop deprives any clergyman who deserves deprivation,

excepting a bishop; for of himself he has not power to do that. A presbyter blesses, but does not receive the blessing; yet does he receive the blessing from the bishop or a fellow-presbyter. In like manner does he give it to a fellow-presbyter. He lays on hands, but does not ordain; he does not deprive, yet does he separate those that are under him, if they be liable to such a punishment. A deacon does not bless, does not give the blessing, but receives it from the bishop and presbyter: he does not baptize, he does not offer; but when a bishop or presbyter has offered, he distributes to the people, not as a priest, but as one that ministers to the priests. But it is not lawful for any one of the other clergy to do the work of a deacon. A deaconess does not bless, nor perform anything belonging to the office of presbyters or deacons, but only is to keep the doors, and to minister to the presbyters in the baptizing of women, on account of decency. A deacon separates a sub-deacon, a reader, a singer, and a deaconess, if there be any occasion, in the absence of a presbyter. It is not lawful for a sub-deacon to separate either one of the clergy or laity; nor for a reader, nor for a singer, nor for a deaconess, for they are the ministers to the deacons.

SECTION 4

CERTAIN PRAYERS AND LAWS CONCERNING THE BLESSING OF WATER AND OIL — THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTHIAS

XXIX. Concerning the water and the oil, I Matthias make a constitution. Let the bishop bless the water, or the oil. But if he be not there, let the presbyter bless it, the deacon standing by. But if the bishop be present, let the presbyter and deacon stand by, and let him say thus: O Lord of hosts, the God of powers, the creator of the waters, and the supplier of oil, who art compassionate, and a lover of mankind, who hast given water for drink and for cleansing, and oil to give man a cheerful and joyful countenance; do Thou now also sanctify this water and this oil through Thy Christ, in the name of him or her that has offered them, and grant them a power to restore health, to drive away diseases, to banish demons, and to disperse all snares through Christ our hope, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever. Amen.

THE SAME APOSTLE'S CONSTITUTION CONCERNING FIRST-FRUITS AND TITHES

XXX. I the same make a constitution in regard to first-fruits and tithes. Let all first-fruits be brought to the bishop, and to the presbyters. and to the deacons, for their maintenance; but let all the tithe be for the maintenance of the rest of the clergy, and of the virgins and widows, and of those under the trial of poverty. For the first-fruits belong to the priests, and to those deacons that minister to them.

THE SAME APOSTLE'S CONSTITUTIONS CONCERNING THE REMAINING OBLATIONS

XXXI. I the same make a constitution in regard to remainders. Those eulogies which re main at the mysteries, let the deacons distribute them among the clergy, according to the mind of the bishop or the presbyters: to a bishop; four parts; to a presbyter, three parts; to a deacon, two parts; and to the rest of the sub-deacons, or readers, or singers, or deaconesses, one part. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, that every one be honored according to his dignity; for the Church is the school, not of confusion, but of good order.

VARIOUS CANONS OF PAUL THE APOSTLE CONCERNING THOSE THAT OFFER THEMSELVES TO BE BAPTIZED — WHOM WE ARE TO RECEIVE, AND WHOM TO REJECT

XXXII. I also, Paul, the least of the apostles, do make the following constitutions for you, the bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, concerning canons. Those, that first come to the mystery of godliness, let them be brought to the bishop or to the presbyters by the deacons, and let them be examined as to the causes wherefore they come to the word of the Lord; and let those that bring them exactly inquire about their character, and give them their testimony. Let their manners and their life be inquired into, and whether they he slaves or freemen. And if any one be a slave, let him be asked who is his master. If he be slave to one of the faithful, let his master be asked if he can give him a good character. If he cannot, let him be rejected, until he show himself to be worthy to his master. But if he does give him a good character, let him be admitted. But if he be household slave

to an heathen, let him be taught to please his master, that the word be not blasphemed. If, then, he have a wife, or a woman hath an husband, let them be taught to be content with each other; but if they be unmarried, let them learn not to commit fornication, but to enter into lawful marriage. But if his master be one of the faithful, and knows that he is guilty of fornication, and yet does not give him a wife, or to the woman an husband, let him be separated; but if any one hath a demon, let him indeed be taught piety, but not received into communion before he be cleansed; yet if death be near, let him be received. If any one be a maintainer of harlots, let him either leave off to prostitute women, or else let him be rejected. If a harlot come, let her leave off whoredom, or else let her be rejected. If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected. If one belonging to the theater come, whether it be man or woman, or charioteer, or dueler, or racer, or player of prizes, or Olympic gamester, or one that plays on the pipe, on the lute, or on the harp at those games, or a dancing-master or an huckster, either let them leave off their employments, or let them be rejected. If a soldier come, let him be taught to “do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with his allotted wages:” if he submit to those rules, let him be received; but if he refuse them, let him be rejected. He that is guilty of sins not to be named, a sodomite, an effeminate person, a magician, an enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, an user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, one that makes amulets, a charmer, a soothsayer, a fortune-teller, an observer of palmistry; he that, when he meets you, observes defects in the eyes or feet of the birds or cats, or noises, or symbolical sounds: let these be proved for some time, for this sort of wickedness is hard to be washed away; and if they leave off those practices, let them be received; but if they will not agree to that, let them be rejected. Let a concubine, who is slave to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected. If one of the faithful hath a concubine, if she be a bond-servant, let him leave off that way, and marry in a legal manner: if she be a free woman, let him marry her in a lawful manner; if he does not, let him be rejected. Let him that follows the Gentile customs, or Jewish fables, either reform, or let him be rejected. If any one follows the sports of the theater, their huntings, or horse-races, or combats, either let him leave them off, or let him be rejected. Let him who is to be a catechumen be a catechumen for three years; but if any one be

diligent, and has a goodwill to his business, let him be admitted: for it is not the length of time, but the course of life, that is judged. Let him that teaches, although he be one of the laity, yet, if he be skillful in the word and grave in his manners, teach; for “they shall be all taught of God.” Let all the faithful, whether men or women, when they rise from sleep, before they go to work, when they have washed themselves, pray; but if any catechetic instruction be held, let the faithful person prefer the word of piety before his work. Let the faithful person, whether man or woman, treat servants kindly, as we have ordained in the foregoing books, and have taught in our epistles.

UPON WHICH DAYS SERVANTS ARE NOT TO WORK

XXXIII. I Peter and Paul do make the following constitutions. Let the slaves work five days; but on the Sabbath-day and the Lord’s day let them have leisure to go to church for instruction in piety. We have said that the Sabbath is on account of the creation, and the Lord’s day of the resurrection. Let slaves rest from their work all the great week, and that which follows it — for the one in memory of the passion, and the other of the resurrection; and there is need they should be instructed who it is that suffered and rose again, and who it is permitted Him to suffer, and raised Him again. Let them have rest from their work on the Ascension, because it was the conclusion of the dispensation by Christ. Let them rest at Pentecost, because of the coming of the Holy Spirit, which was given to those that believed in Christ. Let them rest on the festival of His birth, because on it the unexpected favor was granted to men, that Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, should be born of the Virgin Mary, for the salvation of the world. Let them rest on the festival of Epiphany, because on it a manifestation took place of the divinity of Christ, for the Father bore testimony to Him at the baptism; and the Paraclete, in the form of a dove, pointed out to the bystanders Him to whom testimony was born. Let them rest on the days of the apostles: for they were appointed your teachers to bring you to Christ, and made you worthy of the Spirit. Let them rest on the day of the first martyr Stephen, and of the other holy martyrs who preferred Christ to their own life.

AT WHAT HOURS, AND WHY, WE ARE TO PRAY

XXXIV. Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening, and at cock-crowing: in the morning, returning thanks that the Lord has sent you light, that He has brought you past the night, and brought on the day; at the third hour, because at that hour the Lord received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate; at the sixth, because at that hour He was crucified; at the ninth, because all things were in commotion at the crucifixion of the Lord, as trembling at the bold attempt of the impious Jews, and not bearing the injury offered to their Lord; in the evening, giving thanks that He has given you the night to rest from the daily labors; at cock-crowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper for the light. But if it be not possible to go to the church on account of the unbelievers, thou, O bishop, shalt assemble them in a house, that a godly man may not enter into an assembly of the ungodly. For it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the man the place. And if the ungodly possess the place, do thou avoid it, because it is profaned by them. For as holy priests sanctify a place, so do the profane ones defile it. If it be not possible to assemble either in the church or in a house, let every one by himself sing, and read, and pray, or two or three together. For "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there all I in the midst of them." Let not one of the faithful pray with a catechumen, no, not in the house: for it is not reasonable that he who is admitted should be polluted with one not admitted. Let not one of the godly pray with an heretic, no, not in the house. For "what fellowship hath light with darkness?" Let Christians, whether men or women, who have connections with slaves, either leave them off, or let them be rejected.

THE CONSTITUTION OF JAMES THE BROTHER OF CHRIST CONCERNING EVENING PRAYER

XXXV. I James, the brother of Christ according to the flesh, but His servant as the only be-begotten God, and one appointed bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself, and the Apostles, do ordain thus: When it is evening, thou, O bishop, shall assemble the church; and after the repetition of the psalm at the lighting up the lights, the deacon shall bid prayers for the catechumens, the energumens, the illuminated, and the

penitents, as we have formerly said. But after the dismission of these, the deacon shall say: So many as are of the faithful, let us pray to the Lord. And after the bidding prayer, which is formerly set down, he shall say: —

THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THE EVENING

XXXVI. Save us, O God, and raise us up by Thy Christ. Let us stand up, and beg for the mercies of the Lord, and His compassions, for the angel of peace, for what things are good and profitable, for a Christian departure out of this life, an evening and a night of peace, and free from sin; and let us beg that the whole course of our life may be unblameable. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through His Christ. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say: —

THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE EVENING

XXXVII. O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker of the whole world by Christ, and the Provider for it, but before all His God and Father, the Lord of the Spirit, and the King of intelligible and sensible beings; who hast made the day for the works of light, and the night for the refreshment of our infirmity, — for "the day is Thine, the night also is Thine: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun," — do Thou now, O Lord, Thou lover of mankind, and Fountain of all good, mercifully accept of this our evening thanksgiving. Thou who hast brought us through the length of the day, and hast brought us to the beginnings of the night, preserve us by Thy Christ, afford us a peaceable evening, and a night free from sin, and vouchsafe us everlasting life by Thy Christ, through whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee in the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands. And let the bishop say: O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, who didst form man of Thy wisdom a rational creature, and be loved of God more than the other beings upon this earth, and didst give him authority to rule over the creatures upon the earth, and didst ordain by Thy will rulers and priests — the former for the security of life, the latter for a regular worship, — do Thou now also look down, O Lord Almighty, and cause Thy face to shine upon Thy people, who bow down the neck of their heart, and bless them by Christ; through whom Thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and hast revealed Thyself to us; with whom worthy adoration

is due from every rational and holy nature to Thee, and to the Spirit, who is the Comforter, for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: “Depart in peace.” In like manner, in the morning, after the repetition of the morning psalm, and his dismission of the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, and after the usual bidding of prayers, that we may not again repeat the same things, let the deacon add after the words, Save us, O God, and raise us up by Thy grace: Let us beg of the Lord His mercies and His compassions, that this morning and this day may be with peace and without sin, as also all the time of our sojourning; that He will grant us His angel of peace, a Christian departure out of this life, and that God will be merciful and gracious. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God through His Only-begotten. And let the bishop add this prayer, and say: —

THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE MORNING

XXXVIII. O God, the God of spirits and of all flesh, who art beyond compare, and standest in need of nothing, who hast given the sun to have rule over the day, and the moon and the stars to have rule over the night, do Thou now also look down upon us with gracious eyes, and receive our morning thanksgivings, and have mercy upon us; for we have not “spread out our hands unto a strange God;” for there is not among us any new God, but Thou, the eternal God, who art without end, who hast given us our being through Christ, and given us our well-being through Him. Do Thou vouchsafe us also, through Him, eternal life; with whom glory, and honor, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down for the laying on of hands. And let the bishop add this prayer, saying: —

THE IMPOSITION OF HANDS FOR THE MORNING

XXXIX. O God, who art faithful and true, who “hast mercy on thousands and ten thousands of them that love Thee,” the lover of the humble, and the protector of the needy, of whom all things stand in need, for all things are subject to Thee; look down upon this Thy people, who bow down their heads to Thee, and bless them with spiritual blessing. “Keep them as the apple of an eye,” preserve them in piety and righteousness, and vouchsafe them eternal life in Christ Jesus Thy beloved

Son, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: “Depart in peace.” And when the first-fruits are offered, the bishop gives thanks in this manner: —

THE FORM OF PRAYER FOR THE FIRST-FRUITS

XL. We give thanks to Thee, O Lord Almighty, the Creator of the whole world, and its Preserver, through Thy only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, for the first-fruits which are offered to Thee, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able. For what man is there that can worthily give Thee thanks for those things Thou hast given them to partake of? The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, and of all the saints, who madest all things fruitful by Thy word, and didst command the earth to bring forth various fruits for our rejoicing and our food; who hast given to the duller and more sheepish sort of creatures juices — herbs to them that feed on herbs, and to some flesh, to others seeds, but to us corn, as advantageous and proper food, and many other things — some for our necessities, some for our health, and some for our pleasure. On all these accounts, therefore, art Thou worthy of exalted hymns of praise for Thy beneficence by Christ, through whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee. in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen. Concerning those that are at rest in Christ: After the bidding prayer, that we may not repeat it again, the deacon shall add as follows: —

THE BIDDING PRAYER FOR THOSE DEPARTED

XLI. Let us pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ, that God, the lover of mankind, who has received his soul, may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary, and may be merciful and gracious to him, and give him his lot in the land of the pious that are sent into the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, with all those that have pleased Him and done His will from the beginning of the world, whence all sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished. Let us arise, let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the eternal God, through that Word which was in the beginning. And let the bishop say: O Thou who art by nature immortal, and hast no end of Thy being, from whom every creature, whether immortal or mortal, is derived; who didst make man a rational creature, the

citizen of this world, in his constitution mortal, and didst add the promise of a resurrection; who didst not suffer Enoch and Elijah to taste of death: “the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, who art the God of them, not as of dead, but as of living persons: for the souls of all men live with Thee, and the spirits of the righteous are in Thy hand, which no torment can touch;” for they are all sanctified under Thy hand: do Thou now also look upon this Thy servant, whom Thou hast selected and received into another state, and forgive him if voluntarily or involuntarily he has sinned, and afford him merciful angels, and place him in the bosom of the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and of all those that have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, where there is no grief, sorrow, nor lamentation; but the peaceable region of the godly, and the undisturbed land of the upright, and of those that therein see, the glory of Thy Christ; by whom glory, honor, and worship, thanksgiving, and adoration be to Thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen. And let the deacon say: Bow down, and receive the blessing. And let the bishop give thanks for them, saying as follows: “O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance,” which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ. Feed them under Thy right hand, and cover them under Thy wings, and grant that they may “fight the good fight, and finish their course, and keep the faith” immutably, unblameably, and unreprovably, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom glory, honor, and worship be to Thee and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

HOW AND WHEN WE OUGHT TO CELEBRATE THE MEMORIALS OF THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED, AND THAT WE OUGHT THEN TO GIVE SOMEWHAT OUT OF THEIR GOODS TO THE POOR

XLII. Let the third day of the departed be celebrated with psalms, and lessons, and prayers, on account of Him who arose within the space of three days; and let the ninth day be celebrated in remembrance of the living, and of the departed; and the fortieth day according to the ancient pattern: for so did the people lament Moses, and the anniversary day in memory of him. And let alms be given to the poor out of his goods for a memorial of him.

THAT MEMORIALS OR MANDATES DO NOT AT ALL PROFIT THE UNGODLY WHO ARE DEAD

XLIII. These things we say concerning the pious; for as to the ungodly, if thou givest all the world to the poor, thou wilt not benefit him at all. For to whom the Deity was an enemy while he was alive, it is certain it will be so also when he is departed; for there is no unrighteousness with Him. For "the Lord is righteous, and has loved righteousness." And, "Behold the man and his work."

CONCERNING DRUNKARDS

XLIV. Now, when you are invited to their memorials, do you feast with good order, and the fear of God, as disposed to intercede for those that are departed. For since you are the presbyters and deacons of Christ, you ought always to be sober, both among yourselves and among others, that so you may be able to warn the unruly. Now the Scripture says, "The men in power are passionate. But let them not drink wine, lest by drinking they forget wisdom, and are not able to judge aright." Wherefore both the presbyters and the deacons are those of authority in the Church next to God Almighty and His beloved Son. We say this, not they are not to drink at all, otherwise it would be to the reproach of what God has made for cheerfulness, but that they be not disordered with wine. For the Scripture does not say, Do not drink wine; but what says it? "Drink not wine to drunkenness;" and again, "Thorns spring up in the hand of the drunkard." Nor do we say this only to those of the clergy, but also to every lay Christian, upon whom the name of our Lord Jesus Christ is called. For to them also it is said, "Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath uneasiness? who hath babbling? who hath red eyes? who hath wounds without cause? Do not these things belong to those that tarry long at the wine, and that go to seek where drinking meetings are?"

CONCERNING THE RECEIVING SUCH AS ARE PERSECUTED FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

XLV. Receive ye those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and who fly from city to city, as mindful of the words of the Lord. For, knowing that though "the spirit be willing, the flesh is weak," they fly

away, and prefer the spoiling of their goods, that they may preserve the name of Christ in themselves without denying it. Supply them therefore with what they want, and thereby fulfill the commandment of the Lord.

SECTION 5

ALL THE APOSTLES URGE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE ORDER OF THE CHURCH

That every one ought to remain in that rank wherein he is placed, but not snatch such offices to himself which are not entrusted to him.

XLVI. Now this we all in common do charge you, that every one remain in that rank which is appointed him, and do not transgress his proper bounds; for they are not ours, but God's. For says the Lord: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me." And, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me." For if those things that are without life do observe good order, as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, and the hours, and are subservient to the uses appointed them, according to that which is said, "Thou hast set them a bound which they shall not pass;" and again, concerning the sea, "I have set bounds thereto, and have encompassed it with bars and gates; and I said to it, Hitherto shalt thou come, and thou shalt go no farther;" how much more ought ye not to venture to remove those things which we, according to God's will, have determined for you! But because many think this a small matter, and venture to confound the orders, and to remove the ordination which belongs to them severally, snatching to themselves dignities which were never given them, and allowing themselves to bestow that authority in a tyrannical manner which they have not themselves, and thereby provoke God to anger (as did the followers of Corah and King Uzziah, who, having no authority, usurped the high-priesthood without commission from God; and the former were burnt with fire, and the latter was struck with a leprosy in his forehead); and provoke Christ Jesus to anger, who has made this constitution; and also grieve the Holy Spirit, and make void His testimony: therefore,

foreknowing the danger that hangs over those who do such things, and the neglect about the sacrifices and eucharistical offices which will arise from their being impiously offered by those who ought not to offer them; who think the honor of the high-priesthood, which is an imitation of the great High Priest Jesus Christ our King, to be a matter of sport; we have found it necessary to give you warning in this matter also. For some are already turned aside after their own vanity. We say that Moses the servant of God (“ to whom God spake face to face, as if a man spake to his friend;” to whom He said, “I know thee above all men;” to whom He spake directly, and not by obscure methods, or dreams, or angels, or riddles), — this person, when he made constitutions and divine laws, distinguished what things were to be performed by the high priests, what by the priests, and what by the Levites; distributing to every one his proper and suitable office in the divine service. And those things which are allotted for the high priests to do, those might not be meddled with by the priests; and what things were allotted to the priests, the Levites might not meddle with; but every one observed those ministrations which were written down and appointed for them. And if any would meddle beyond the tradition, death was his punishment. And Saul’s example does show this most plainly, who, thinking he might offer sacrifice without the prophet and high priest Samuel, drew upon himself a sin and a curse without remedy. Nor did even his having anointed him king discourage the prophet. But God showed the same by a more visible effect in the case of Uzziah, when He without delay exacted the punishment due to this transgression, and he that madly coveted after the high-priesthood was rejected from his kingdom also. As to those things that have happened amongst us, you yourselves are not ignorant of them. For ye know undoubtedly that those that are by us named bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, were made by prayer, and by the laying on of hands; and that by the difference of their names is showed the difference of their employments. For not every one that will is ordained, as the case was in that spurious and counterfeit priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam; but he only who is called of God. For if there were no rule or distinction of orders, it would suffice to perform all the offices under one name. But being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the high-priesthood to the bishops, those of the priesthood to the presbyters, and the ministration under them both to the deacons; that the divine worship might be performed in purity. For

it is not lawful for a deacon to offer the sacrifice, or to baptize, or to give either the greater or the lesser blessing. Nor may a presbyter perform ordination; for it is not agreeable to holiness to have this order perverted. For “God is not the God of confusion,” that the subordinate persons should tyrannically assume to themselves the functions belonging to their superiors, forming a new scheme of laws to their own mischief, not knowing that “it is hard for them to kick against the pricks;” for such as these do not fight against us, or against the bishops, but against the universal Bishop and the High Priest of the Father, Jesus Christ our Lord. High priests, priests, and Levites were ordained by Moses, the most beloved of God. By our Savior were we apostles, thirteen in number, ordained; and by the apostles James, and Clement, and others with us, were ordained, that we may not make the catalogue of all those bishops over again. And in common, presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and readers, were ordained by all of us. The great High Priest therefore, who is so by nature, is Christ the only begotten; not having snatched that honor to Himself, but having been appointed such by the Father; who being made man for our sake, and offering the spiritual sacrifice to His God and Father, before His suffering gave it us alone in charge to do this, although there were others with us who had believed in Him. But he that believes is not presently appointed a priest, or obtains the dignity of the high-priesthood. But after His ascension we offered, according to His constitution, the pure and unbloody sacrifice; and ordained bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, seven in number: one of which was Stephen, that blessed martyr, who was not inferior to us as to his pious disposition of mind towards God; who showed so great piety towards God, by his faith and love towards our Lord Jesus Christ, as to give his life for Him, and was stoned to death by the Jews, the murderers of the Lord. Yet still this so great and good a man, who was fervent in spirit, who saw Christ on the right hand of God, and the gates of heaven opened, does nowhere appear to have exercised functions which did not appertain to his office of a deacon, nor to have offered the sacrifices, nor to have laid hands upon any, but kept his order of a deacon unto the end. For so it became him, who was a martyr for Christ, to preserve good order. But if some do blame Philip our deacon, and Ananias our faithful brother, that the one did baptize the eunuch, and the other me Paul, these men do not understand what we say. For we have affirmed only that no one snatches the

sacerdotal dignity to himself, but either receives it from God, as Melchisedec and Job, or from the high priest, as Aaron from Moses. Wherefore Philip and Ananias did not constitute themselves, but were appointed by Christ, the High Priest of that God to whom no being is to be compared.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS OF THE SAME HOLY APOSTLES.

XLVII.

1. Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops.

2. A presbyter by one bishop, as also a deacon, and the rest of the clergy.

3. If any bishop or presbyter, otherwise than our Lord has ordained concerning the sacrifice, offer other things at the altar of God, as honey, milk, or strong beer instead of wine, any necessaries, or birds, or animals, or pulse, otherwise than is ordained, let him be deprived; excepting grains of new corn, or ears of wheat, or bunches of grapes in their season.

4. For it is not lawful to offer anything besides these at the altar, and oil for the holy lamp, and incense in the time of the divine oblation.

5. But let all other fruits be sent to the house of the bishop, as first-fruits to him and to the presbyters, but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the bishop and presbyters are to divide them to the deacons and to the rest of the clergy.

6. Let not a bishop, a priest, or a deacon cast off his own wife under pretense of piety; but if he does cast her off, let him be suspended. If he go on in it, let him be deprived.

7. Let not a bishop, a priest, or deacon undertake the cares of this world; but if he do, let him be deprived.

8. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon shall celebrate the holiday of the passover before the vernal equinox with the Jews, let him be deprived.

9. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the priesthood, when the oblation is over, does not communicate, let him give his reason; and if it be just, let him be forgiven; but if he does not do it, let him be suspended, as becoming the cause of damage to the people, and occasioning a suspicion against him that offered, as of one that did not rightly offer.

10. All those of the faithful that enter into the holy church of God, and hear the sacred Scriptures, but do not stay during prayer and the holy communion, must be suspended, as causing disorder in the church.

11. If any one, even in the house, prays with a person excommunicate, let him also be suspended.

12. If any clergyman prays with one deprived as with a clergyman, let himself also be deprived.

13. If any clergyman or layman who is suspended, or ought not to be received, goes away, and is received in another city without commendatory letters, let both those who received him and he that was received be suspended. But if he be already suspended, let his suspension be lengthened, as lying to and deceiving the Church of God.

14. A bishop ought not to leave his own parish and leap to another, although the multitude should compel him, unless there be some good reason forcing him to do this, as that he can contribute much greater profit to the people of the new parish by the word of piety; but this is not to be settled by himself, but by the judgment of many bishops, and very great supplication.

15. If any presbyter or deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the clergy, leaves his own parish and goes to another, and, entirely removing himself, continues in that other parish without the consent of his own bishop, him we command no longer to go on in his ministry, especially in case his bishop calls upon him to return, and he does not obey, but continues in his disorder. However, let him communicate there as a layman.

16. But if the bishop with whom they are undervalues the deprivation decreed against them, and receives them as clergymen, let him be suspended as a teacher of disorder.

17. He who has been twice married after his baptism, or has had a concubine, cannot be made a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue.

18. He who has taken a widow, or a divorced woman, or an harlot, or a servant, or one belonging to the theater, cannot be either a bishop, priest, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue. **19**. He who has

married two sisters, or his brother's or sister's daughter, cannot be a clergyman.

20. Let a clergyman who becomes a surety be deprived.

21. Let an eunuch, if he be such by the injury of men, or his virilia were taken away in the persecution, or he was born such, and yet is worthy of episcopacy, be made a bishop.

22. Let not him who has disabled himself be made a clergyman; for he is a self-murderer, and an enemy to the creation of God.

23. If any one who is of the clergy disables himself, let him be deprived, for he is a murderer of himself.

24. Let a layman who disables himself be separated for three years, for he lays a snare for his own life.

25. Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who is taken in fornication, or perjury, or stealing, be deprived, but not suspended; far the Scripture says: "Thou shall not avenge twice far the same crime by affliction."

26. In like manner also as to the rest of the clergy.

27. Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we permit only the readers and singers, if they have a mind, to marry afterward.

28. We command that a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who strikes the faithful that offend, or the unbelievers who do wickedly, and thinks to terrify them by such means, be deprived, for our Lord has nowhere taught us such things. On the contrary, "when Himself was stricken, He did not strike again; when He was reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not."

29. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who is deprived justly for manifest crimes, does venture to meddle with that ministration which was once entrusted to him, let the same person be entirely cut off from the Church.

30. If any bishop obtains that dignity by money, or even a presbyter or deacon, let him and the person that ordained him be deprived; and let him be entirely cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was by me Peter.

31. If any bishop makes use of the rulers of this world, and by their means obtains to be a bishop of a church, let him be deprived and suspended, and all that communicate with him.

32. If any presbyter despises his own bishop, and assembles separately, and fixes another altar, when he has nothing to condemn in his bishop either as to piety or righteousness, let him be deprived as an ambitious person; for he is a tyrant, and the rest of the clergy, whoever join themselves to him. And let the laity be suspended. But let these things be done after one and a second, or even a third admonition from the bishop.

33. If any presbyter or deacon be put under suspension by his bishop, it is not lawful for any other to receive him, but for him only who put him under suspension, unless it happens that he who put him under suspension die.

34. Do not ye receive any stranger, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, without commendatory letters; and when such are offered, let them be examined. And if they be preachers of piety, let them be received; but if not, supply their wants, but do not receive them to communion: for many things are done by surprise.

35. The bishops of every country ought to know who is the chief among them, and to esteem him as their head, and not to do any great thing without his consent; but every one to manage only the affairs that belong to his own parish, and the places subject to it. But let him not do anything without the consent of all; for it is by this means there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified by Christ, in the Holy Spirit.

36. A bishop must not venture to ordain out of his own bounds for cities or countries that are not subject to him. But if he be convicted of having done so without the consent of such as governed those cities or countries, let him be deprived, both the bishop himself and those whom he has ordained.

37. If any bishop that is ordained does not undertake his office, nor take care of the people committed to him, let him be suspended until he do undertake it; and in the like manner a presbyter and a deacon. But if he goes, and is not received, not because of the want of his own consent, but because of the ill temper of the people, let him continue bishop; but let the

clergy of that city be suspended, because they have not taught that disobedient people better.

38. Let a synod of bishops be held twice in the year, and let them ask one another the doctrines of piety; and let them determine the ecclesiastical disputes that happen — once in the fourth week of Pentecost, and again on the twelfth of the month Hyperberetaeus.

39. Let the bishop have the care of ecclesiastical revenues, and administer them as in the presence of God. But it is not lawful for him to appropriate any part of them to himself, or to give the things of God to his own kindred. But if they be poor, let him support them as poor; but let him not, under such pretenses, alienate the revenues of the Church.

40. Let not the presbyters and deacons do anything without the consent of the bishop, for it is he who is entrusted with the people of the Lord, and will be required to give an account of their souls. Let the proper goods of the bishop, if he has any, and those belonging to the Lord, be openly distinguished, that he may have power when he dies to leave his own goods as he pleases, and to whom he pleases; that, under pretense of the ecclesiastical revenues, the bishop’s own may not come short, who sometimes has a wife and children, or kinsfolk, or servants. For this is just before God and men, that neither the Church suffer any loss by the not knowing which revenues are the bishop’s own, nor his kindred, under pretense of the Church, be undone, or his relations fall into lawsuits, and so his death be liable to reproach.

41. We command that the bishop have power over the goods of the Church; for if he be entrusted with the precious souls of men, much more ought he to give directions about goods, that they all be distributed to those in want, according to his authority, by the presbyters and deacons, and be used for their support with the fear of God, and with all reverence. He is also to partake of those things he wants, if he does want them, for his necessary occasions, and those of the brethren who live with him, that they may not by any means be in straits: for the law of God appointed that those who waited at the altar should be maintained by the altar; since not so much as a soldier does at any time bear arms against the enemies at his own charges.

42. Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who indulges himself in dice or drinking, either leave off those practices, or let him be deprived.

43. If a sub-deacon, a reader, or a singer does the like, either let him leave off, or let him be suspended; and so for one of the laity.

44. Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who requires usury of those he lends to, either leave off to do so, or let him be deprived.

45. Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who only prays with heretics, be suspended; but if he also permit them to perform any part of the office of a clergyman, let him be deprived.

46. We command that a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon who receives the baptism, or the sacrifice of heretics, be deprived: “For what agreement is there between Christ and Belial? or what part hath a believer with an infidel?”

47. If a bishop or presbyter rebaptizes him who has had true baptism, or does not baptize him who is polluted by the ungodly, let him be deprived, as ridiculing the cross and the death of the Lord, and not distinguishing between real priests and counterfeit ones.

48. If a layman divorces his own wife, and takes another, or one divorced by another, let him be suspended.

49. If any bishop or presbyter does not baptize according to the Lord’s constitution, into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but into three beings without beginning, or into three Sons, or three Comforters, let him be deprived.

50. If any bishop or presbyter does not perform the three immersions of the one admission, but one immersion, which is given into the death of Christ, let him be deprived; for the Lord did not say, “Baptize into my death,” but, “Go ye and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Do ye, therefore, O bishops, baptize thrice into one Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the will of Christ, and our constitution by the Spirit.

51. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, abstains from marriage, flesh, and wine, not for his

own exercise, but because he abominates these things, forgetting that “all things were very good,” and that “God made man male and female,” and blasphemously abuses the creation, either let him reform, or let him be deprived, and be cast out of the Church; and the same for one of the laity.

52. If any bishop or presbyter does not receive him that returns from his sin, but rejects him, let him be deprived; because he grieves Christ, who says, “There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.”

53. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon does not on festival days partake of flesh or wine, let him be deprived, as “having a seared conscience,” and becoming a cause of scandal to many.

54. If any one of the clergy be taken eating in a tavern, let him be suspended, excepting when he is forced to bait at an inn upon the road.

55. If any one of the clergy abuses his bishop unjustly, let him be deprived; for says the Scripture, “Thou shall not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.”

56. If any one of the clergy abuses a presbyter or a deacon, let him be separated.

57. If any one of the clergy mocks at a lame, a deaf, or a blind man, or at one maimed in his feet, let him be suspended; and the like for the laity.

58. Let a bishop or presbyter who takes no care of the clergy or people, and does not instruct them in piety, be separated; and if he continues in his negligence, let him be deprived.

59. If any bishop or presbyter, when any one of the clergy is in want, does not supply his necessity, let him be suspended; and if he continues in it, let him be deprived, as having killed his brother.

60. If any one publicly reads in the Church the spurious books of the ungodly, as if they were holy, to the destruction of the people and of the clergy, let him be deprived.

61. If there be an accusation against a Christian for fornication, or adultery, or any other forbidden action, and he be convicted, let him not be promoted into the clergy.

62. If any one of the clergy for fear of men, as of a Jew, or a Gentile, or an heretic, shall deny the name of Christ, let him be suspended; but if he deny the name of a clergyman, let him be deprived; but when he repents, let him be received as one of the laity.

63. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, eats flesh with the blood of its life, or that which is torn by beasts, or which died of itself, let him be deprived; for this the law itself has forbidden. But if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

64. If any one of the clergy be found to fast on the Lord's day, or on the Sabbath-day, excepting one only, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

65. If any one, either of the clergy or laity, enters into a synagogue of the Jews or heretics to pray, let him be deprived and suspended.

66. If any one of the clergy strikes one in a quarrel, and kills him by that one stroke, let him be deprived, on account of his rashness; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

67. If any one has offered violence to a virgin not betrothed, and keeps her, let him be suspended. But it is not lawful for him to take another to wife; but he must retain her whom he has chosen, although she be poor.

68. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, receives a second ordination from any one, let him be deprived, and the person who ordained him, unless he can show that his former ordination was from the heretics; for those that are either baptized or ordained by such as these, can be neither Christians nor clergymen.

69. If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or reader, or singer, does not fast the fast of forty days, or the fourth day of the week, and the day of the Preparation, let him be deprived, except he be hindered by weakness of body. But if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

70. If any bishop, or any other of the clergy, fasts with the Jews, or keeps the festivals with them, or accepts of the presents from their festivals, as unleavened bread or some such thing, let him be deprived; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

71. If any Christian carries oil into an heathen temple, or into a synagogue of the Jews, or lights up lamps in their festivals, let him be suspended.

72. If any one, either of the clergy or laity, takes away from the holy Church an honeycomb, or oil, let him be suspended, and let him add the fifth part to that which he took away.

73. A vessel of silver, or gold, or linen, which is sanctified, let no one appropriate to his own use, for it is unjust; but if any one be caught, let him be punished with suspension.

74. If a bishop be accused of any crime by credible and faithful persons, it is necessary that he be cited by the bishops; and if he comes and makes his apology, and yet is convicted, let his punishment be determined. But if, when he is cited, he does not obey, let him be cited a second time, by two bishops sent to him. But if even then he despises them, and will not come, let the synod pass what sentence they please against him, that he may not appear to gain advantage by avoiding their judgment.

75. Do not ye receive an heretic in a testimony against a bishop; nor a Christian if he be single. For the law says, “In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established.”

76. A bishop must not gratify his brother, or his son, or any other kinsman, with the episcopal dignity, or ordain whom he pleases; for it is not just to make heirs to episcopacy, and to gratify human affections in divine matters. For we must not put the Church of God under the laws of inheritance; but if any one shall do so, let his ordination be invalid, and let him be punished with suspension.

77. If any one be maimed in an eye, or lame of his leg, but is worthy of the episcopal dignity, let him be made a bishop; for it is not a blemish of the body that can defile him, but the pollution of the soul.

78. But if he be deaf and blind, let him not be made a bishop; not as being a defiled person, but that the ecclesiastical affairs may not be hindered.

79. If any one hath a demon, let him not be made one of the clergy. Nay, let him not pray with the faithful; but when he is cleansed, let him be received; and if he be worthy, let him be ordained.

80. It is not right to ordain him bishop presently who is just come in from the Gentiles, and baptized; or from a wicked mode of life: for it is unjust that he who has not yet afforded any trial of himself should be a teacher of others, unless it anywhere happens by divine grace.

81. We have said that a bishop ought not to let himself into public administrations, but to attend on all opportunities upon the necessary affairs of the Church. Either therefore let him agree not to do so, or let him be deprived. For, “no one can serve two masters,” according to the Lord’s admonition.

82. We do not permit servants to be ordained into the clergy without their masters’ consent; for this would grieve those that owned them. For such a practice would occasion the subversion of families. But if at any time a servant appears worthy to be ordained into an high office, such as our Onesimus appeared to be, and if his master allows of it, and gives him his freedom, and dismisses him from his house, let him be ordained.

83. Let a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, who goes to the army, and desires to retain both the Roman government and the sacerdotal administration, be deprived. For “the things of Caesar belong to Caesar, and the things of God to God.”

84. Whosoever shall abuse the king or the governor unjustly, let him suffer punishment; and if he be a clergyman, let him be deprived; but if he be a layman, let him be suspended.

85. Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by you, both of the clergy and laity. Of the Old Covenant: the five books of Moses — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; one of Joshua the son of Nun, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kings, two of the Chronicles, two of Ezra, one of Esther, one of Judith, three of the Maccabees, one of Job, one hundred and fifty psalms; three books of Solomon — Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; sixteen prophets. And besides these, take care that your young persons learn the Wisdom of the very learned Sirach. But our sacred books, that is, those of the New Covenant, are these: the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the

Constitutions dedicated to you the bishops by me Clement, in eight books; which it is not fit to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles.

Let these canonical rules be established by us for you, O ye bishops; and if you continue to observe them, ye shall be saved, and shall have peace; but if you be disobedient, you shall be punished, and have everlasting war one with another, and undergo a penalty suitable to your disobedience.

Now, God who alone is unbegotten, and the Maker of the whole world, unite you all through His peace, in the Holy Spirit; perfect you unto every good work, immovable, unblameable, and unreprovable; and vouchsafe to you eternal life with us, through the mediation of His beloved Son Jesus Christ our God and Savior; with whom glory be to Thee, the God over all, and the Father, in the Holy Spirit the Comforter, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

The end of the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles by Clement, which are the Catholic doctrine.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(THE BIDDING PRAYER, ETC., P. 485.)

THE PAULINE NORM.

1. SUPPLICATIONS

2. PRAYERS, PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS

3. INTERCESSIONS

4. GENERAL THANKSGIVING. THE KISS OF PEACE

5. ANAPHORA

The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread: And when He had given thanks, He brake it, And said, Take, eat: this is my Body, which is broken for you: This do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, Saying, This cup is the New Testament in my Blood: This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come.

6. OUR FATHER, ETC

7. COMMUNION

Let us note also that the Apostle had "delivered" unto the Corinthians (<46123>1 Corinthians 11:23), as doubtless to others (<46107>7:17), certain institutions which he *ordained* in all the churches, and for departing from

which he censures the Corinthians in this place (verse 17 compared with verse 2) in certain particulars. In chapter 14 at verse [4140]40, he refers to these ordinances as a τάξις, in the performance of which they were to proceed (κοσμίως) with due order, *becomingly*; not with mere decency, but with a beautiful decorum of service.

Finally, let me suggest that there are fragments of the Apostle's (παράδοσεις) instructions everywhere scattered through his Epistles, such as the minute canon concerning the veiling of women in acts of worship, insisting upon it with a length of argument which in one of the Apostolic Fathers would be considered childish. He also insisted that his τάξις is from the Lord. Fragments of the primitive hymns are also scattered through the Apostles' writings, as, e.g., —

Ἔγειραι ὁ καθεύδων,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

Of such passages the formula (διὸ λέγει) "It saith" seems to be a frequent index.

May we not conclude also that the sublime prayer and doxology of [4014]Ephesians 3:14-21 is a quotation from the Apostle's own eucharistic τάξις for the whole state of Christ's Church militant?

Might not the same be more constantly used in our days as an intercession for the whole flock of the one Shepherd?

2

(FULFILL HIS CONSTITUTION, P. 489.)

The Pauline Norm being born in mind, we shall best comprehend this Clementine liturgy, as to its primitive claims, by taking the testimony of Justin, writing in Rome to the Antonines A.D. 160. Referring to the *Apology* in our first volume, we observe that the order kept up in his day was this: —

1. Prayers for all estates of men.

2. The kiss of peace.

3. Oblation of bread and wine.

4. Thanksgiving.

5. Words of institution.

6. The prayer ending with *Amen.*

7. Communion.

Now, a century later, we may suppose the *original* of this *Clementine* to have taken a fuller shape; of which still later this *Clementine* is the product.

Bear in mind that the early Roman use was (Greek) borrowed wholly from the East; and, comparing the testimony of Justin with the *Pauline Norm*, may we not suppose that this norm in Rome was augmented by the *Eastern uses*, and so preserves a true name in that of the first Bishop of Rome, who accepted it from Jerusalem or Antioch?

3

(THAT HE MAY SHOW THIS BREAD, ETC., P. 489.)

From a recent essay by Dr. Williams, the erudite bishop of Connecticut, I am permitted to cite, as follows: —

COMPARE THE ORIGINAL TEXTS THUS: —

CLEMENTINE

ὁπως αποφηνῃ τὸν αρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ινα οἱ μεταλαβόντες, κ. τ. λ.

ὅπως ἀποφηνῇ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοὺ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα του Χριστοῦ ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες, κ. τ. λ.

Bishop Williams then proceeds to inquire: —

> "How is this striking agreement to be explained? Does Irenaeus quote from the Clementine, or the Clementine from him? Or is it not much more likely that they are independent witnesses to primitive uses, going back to the period of the persecutions, and extending far beyond the limits of Syria or Palestine'?"

I shall recur to these passages in the elucidations to *Early Liturgies* (*infra*): but here I beg the reader to consult Pfaff, to whom we owe the discovery of the fragment cited from Irenaeus; also Grabe, in the same volume of Pfaff, whom I have already introduced to the reader.

POSTSCRIPT

THE American editor had been promised the aid of his beloved friend the Rev. Dr. Hobart in the elucidation of the liturgies; but a sudden and almost fatal prostration of his health has deprived the reader of the admirable comments with which he would have enriched these pages, had Providence permitted.

AN ANCIENT HOMILY

COMMONLY STYLED

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

It is gratifying that our series is marked by tokens of critical progress, and not less cheering tokens of scientific research. The clearing-up of much that has perplexed us about Hermas; the Bryennios discovery; and, not least, the completion of this fragment, which has long been a scandal to patristic inquiry, — are surely such tokens. They enrich the reader with definite ideas on many collateral subjects. May they not stimulate American scholarship and American affluence to fresh enterprises of the same character for the advancement of learning, and the glory of the world's Redeemer and Illuminator?

The very early date to which this homily is now assigned makes its slightest *allusions* to the New-Testament canon of very great importance. I have ventured to indicate a few such, even where they may be mere allusions, not textual quotations: as, e.g., on p. 517, at notes 20 and 22, slight indications of a reference to the Second Epistle of St. Peter and to the Apocalypse.

I shall have occasion to refer to this work in the elucidation of the *Liturgies* which are to follow. If it be, as Bishop Lightfoot supposes, a homily of the second century, it may lend important retrospective aid to the student of these volumes in other particulars; but, having entrusted this interesting relic to the editorial care of a most competent scholar, I shall not presume to anticipate his judgment in any matter.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY PROFESSOR M. B. RIDDLE, D.D

SECTION 1

TEXT

In this volume will be found a brief account of the Codex discovered by Bryennios, now Metropolitan of Nicomedia. It remains in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulcher at Constantinople. While the publication of the Greek text of the *Teaching* awakened unusual interest, the recovery of that document has not been the only valuable result of this important discovery. The Codex, as was speedily known, contains the only complete copy of the Greek text of the two Epistles of Clement. The *lacunoe* previously existing in the genuine Epistle were not extensive; but, as now appears, the Alexandrian manuscript contains only three-fifths of the second Epistle. The entire Greek text of both Epistles was given to the public by Bryennios, in 1875.

This at once led to a revision of some recent editions, notably those of Hilgenfeld, and of Gebhardt and Harnack. Many monographs soon appeared. But the discovery of a new (Syriac) source for the text in 1876, while not affecting the general problem, gave to patristic scholars more abundant critical material. Bishop Lightfoot's Appendix contains the most convenient and accessible collation of this material, as well as the most clear statements on all points affected by the two discoveries. The Syriac manuscript, containing a version of the two Epistles of Clement, was purchased by the Cambridge University Library in 1876, from the collection of "the late Oriental scholar M. Jules Mohl of Paris" (Lightfoot). It embraces the entire New Testament, except the Apocalypse, in the Harkleian recension of the Philoxenian (or later) Syriac version; but the scribe has inserted the two Epistles of Clement (entire) between the Catholic and Pauline Epistles. The value of the manuscript for New-Testament criticism is great, and the phenomena it presents interesting, as bearing on the discussion of the New-Testament canon; but the paucity of sources for the text of the Clementine Epistles gives special importance to the discovery of a version of these writings so soon after

the recovery of the entire Greek text. A discussion of the textual questions is forbidden by the limits of this Introductory Notice, but a few points may be stated: —

1. A comparison of the three authorities (the Alexandrian, the Constantinopolitan, and the Syriac), in the parts they in common contain, shows that the first is most trustworthy, and that the Syriac is usually more correct than the Constantinopolitan.

2. Hence, in the recovered portions, the authority of the Syriac is very valuable in correcting the obvious blunders of the Greek copy. This should teach caution in accepting the text of the *Teaching*, where the same Greek manuscript is our only authority.

3. The genuine Epistle of Clement, which stands next in age to the canonical books of the New Testament, now stands next in accuracy of text also. Doubt in regard to textual questions decreases as the critical material increases.

SECTION 2

PLACE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION; AUTHOR

The recovery of the entire text of the *Second Epistle* settles the question as to the *purpose* of the work. As was previously surmised, it is a homily (comp. chaps. xvii., xix., xx.); moreover, it was “read” by the author at public worship after the Scripture lesson (see Chapter 19). But as to *place*, *date*, and *author*, there is still diversity of opinion. The three questions are closely related. The view of Bishop Lightfoot seems, on the whole, most tenable. He regards the homily as of Corinthian origin, delivered, in all probability, between A.D. 120 and 140, but the work of an unknown author, who seems to have been one of the presbyters of the church, — possibly the bishop. The allusions to the athletic games are in favor of Corinth. On this theory the title is thus accounted for: The genuine Epistle of Clement was addressed to the Corinthians, and read in the church of that city from time to time. This homily was probably read in the same manner, and at length united in a manuscript copy with the other. Each was “to the Corinthians:” hence it was gradually inferred that

both were Epistles of Clement. Of this succession or movement Lightfoot finds some indications in the manuscript authorities.

The internal evidence of an early date has been increased by the discovery of the concluding portion, but there is nothing to determine the exact time of composition. The distinction made in Chapter 14. between the Old and New Testaments, as well as the use of the Gospel of the Egyptians (at the close of Chapter 12.), taken in connection with the unmistakable citations of New-Testament passages as of Divine authority, point to the first half of the second century as the probable period. The absence of all direct opposition to Gnosticism points to an origin within the same limits. All these considerations make against the view of Hilgenfeld, who attributes the homily to Clement of Alexandria, thus assigning it to the latter half of the second century.

In regard to the author, nothing further is learned from the newly recovered portion, except the fact that he was a preacher. Even this does not determine his ecclesiastical position, since at that early date much freedom of utterance was permitted in Christian assemblies. It is, however, very probable that the author was a presbyter; and it is not improbable that he was the chief presbyter, or local bishop.

The homily is still attributed to a person named Clement, but there are three theories as to what Clement. Bryennios stands almost alone in claiming that the document is the work of Clemens Romanus. The internal evidence against this view was quite sufficient before the full text of the two Epistles was known; now it is to be regarded as abundantly conclusive. Even the English version of the two writings will suggest to the intelligent reader the points of difference. As intimated above, Hilgenfeld regards Clement of Alexandria as the author; but this places the homily too late. Moreover, the writings of the Alexandrian Father stand immensely above this feeble, commonplace, and chaotic production. Even the citation from the Gospel of the Egyptians, common to both, is differently used by the two authors; Clement of Alexandria opposing the interpretation favored in this homily, as well as objecting to the authority of that apocryphal Gospel. Hilgenfeld’s argument from the word φιλοσοφεῖν in Chapter xix., is invalidated by the improbability of that reading; see note in loco. The most plausible view, as Bishop Lightfoot admits, is that of

Harnack. He assigns the homily to a third Clement, referred to, as he supposes, in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and living somewhat later than Clement of Rome. In favor of this may be urged: some similarity to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the probability that at the date of the later writing Clement of Rome was not living, and the easy explanation it affords of the traditional title. But, while a third Clement may have lived at Rome, we have no evidence other than the doubtful hint in the *Shepherd.* The allusion in that work seems far more appropriate to the well-known Clement of Rome. The argument from the later date of the *Shepherd* proves very little; not only is the date uncertain, but the visions are placed quite early. The editor of this series, while accepting A.D. 160 as the probable date of the *Shepherd*, regards it as a compilation, introducing "Hermas and Clement to identify the times which are idealized in his allegory." The view of Bishop Lightfoot, therefore, seems to be the safest.

SECTION 3

CHARACTER AND CONTENTS

The style of the homily is poor. It abounds in connectives, which link unconnected ideas; its thought is feeble, its theology peculiar though not false, its arrangement confused. While it furnishes some historical data for practical theology, it is, in homiletical method and matter, in sharp contrast with the Apostolic writings and with the homilies of Origen. Though referring to Scripture, it has none of the virtues of the expository discourse; though hortatory in tone, it has little of the unity and directness of better sermons of that class. Its chief excellence is its brevity.

It is difficult to make an analysis of the contents. The theme is the duty of fulfilling the commands of Christ.

1. This obedience is the true confession of Christ, answering to the greatness of His salvation; mainly in chaps. 1-4.

2. Thus the Christian shows his opposition to the world; chaps. 5.-8.

3. This obedience will be rewarded in the future world; chaps. 9.-17.

4. The conclusion: the preacher's confession (18.), justification of his exhortation (19.); concluding word of consolation, with doxology (20.). But the treatment is not strictly logical, nor are the parts clearly distinguished.

The theology shows no traces of heresy, nor does it sharply oppose any false doctrinal views. It lacks the dogmatic precision of a later age, but emphasizes rigid views of the relation of the sexes. "Repentance and good works seem to be the main articles of its creed. Of regeneration there seems to be no definite idea: to be called is the same as to be saved. The Church is pre-existent; the kingdom of God is in the future; no worth is left to this world or to the life in it. The principal argument urged in favor of standing firm in faith is the good issue of it in the next life" (C. J. H. Ropes).

The hints given in regard to public worship agree with the famous description of Justin Martyr, and there are indications that the early freedom of exhortation had not yet disappeared. Bishop Lightfoot aptly concludes his dissertation with these words: "The homily itself, as a literary work, is almost worthless. As the earliest example of its kind, however, and as the product of an important age of which we possess only the scantiest remains, it has the highest value. Nor will its intellectual poverty blind us to its true grandeur, as an example of the lofty moral earnestness and the triumphant faith which subdued a reluctant world, and laid it prostrate at the foot of the cross."

SECTION 4

THE VERSION IN THIS VOLUME

Greater unity would have been secured by a new translation of the entire work. Since, however, this was not possible, the aim of the editor has been to give the reader, as far as practicable, the benefit of the light shed upon the whole by the recently discovered authorities. The portion already translated in the Edinburgh volume has been supplied with critical annotations, and a few exegetical points have been treated. The recent editions of the Greek text have, of course, been consulted.

The newly recovered portion has been re-translated. Bishop Lightfoot's version is so excellent that the temptation to use it was very great. It has, of course, influenced the editor in many places. But the following version differs from it mainly in two respects: An effort has been made to preserve the verbal correspondences between the language of the homily and that of the New Testament: hence the English word used in the Revised Version as an equivalent of a Greek term is given here as a similar equivalent. The view of the Greek tenses indicated in Lightfoot's renderings does not always accord with that of the editor.

It may be added, that Professor C. J. H. Ropes of Bangor, Me., kindly sent, for use in the preparation of the Epistle for this volume, his manuscript translation and notes. These have been very helpful, and are entitled to this acknowledgment. It will be found that the American translation is less paraphrastic than the Edinburgh. The new portions, both text and notes, have been printed without brackets when they are the work of the editor. The rare additions of the general editor are always bracketed, that the reader may readily recognize to whom the literary responsibility in each case properly belongs.

The following is the EDINBURGH INTRODUCTORY NOTICE: —

The first certain reference which is made by any early writer to this so-called Epistle of Clement is found in these words of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, in. 38): "We must know that there is also a second Epistle of Clement. But we do not regard it as being equally notable with the former, since we know of none of the ancients that have made use of it." Several critics in modern times have endeavored to vindicate the authenticity of this Epistle. But it is now generally regarded as one of the many writings which have been falsely ascribed to Clement. Besides the want of external evidence, indicated even by Eusebius in the above extract, the diversity of style clearly points to a different writer from that of the first Epistle. A commonly accepted opinion among critics at the present day is, that this is not an Epistle at all, but a fragment of one of the many homilies falsely ascribed to Clement. There can be no doubt, however, that in the catalogue of writings contained in the Alexandrian Ms. it is both styled an Epistle, and, as well as the other which accompanies it, is attributed to Clement. As the Ms. is certainly not later than the fifth century, the opinion

referred to must by that time have taken firm root in the Church; but in the face of internal evidence, and in want of all earlier testimony, such a fact goes but a small way to establish its authenticity.

THE HOMILY

CHAPTER 1

WE OUGHT TO THINK HIGHLY OF CHRIST

BRETHREN, it is fitting that you should think of Jesus Christ as of God, — as the Judge of the living and the dead. And it does not become us to think lightly of our salvation; for if we think little of Him, we shall also hope but to obtain little from Him. And those of us who hear carelessly of these things, as if they were of small importance, commit sin, not knowing whence we have been called, and by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ submitted to suffer for our sakes. What return, then, shall we make to Him? or what fruit that shall be worthy of that which He has given to us? For, indeed, how great are the benefits which we owe to Him! He has graciously given us light; as a Father, He has called us sons; He has saved us when we were ready to perish. What praise, then, shall we give to Him, or what return shall we make for the things which we have received? We were deficient in understanding, worshipping stones and wood, and gold, and silver, and brass, the works of men's hand; and our whole life was nothing else than death. Involved in blindness, and with such darkness before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped. For He had compassion on us, and mercifully saved us, observing the many errors in which we were entangled, as well as the destruction to which we were exposed, and that we had no hope of salvation except it came to us from Him. For He called us when we were not, and willed that out of nothing we should attain a real existence.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHURCH, FORMERLY BARREN, IS NOW FRUITFUL

“Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband.” In that He said, “Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not,” He referred to us, for our Church was barren before that children were given to her. But when He said, “Cry out, thou that travailest not,” He means this, that we should sincerely offer up our prayers to God, and should not, like women in travail, show signs of weakness. And in that He said, “For she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband,” He means that our people seemed to be outcast from God, but now, through believing, have become more numerous than those who are reckoned to possess God. And another Scripture saith, “I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.” This means that those who are perishing must be saved. For it is indeed a great and admirable thing to establish, not the things which are standing, but these that are falling. Thus also did Christ desire to save the things which were perishing, and has saved many by coming and calling us when hastening to destruction.

CHAPTER 3

THE DUTY OF CONFESSING CHRIST

Since, then, He has displayed so great mercy towards us, and especially in this respect, that we who are living should not offer sacrifices to gods that are dead, or pay them worship, but should attain through Him to the knowledge of the true Father, whereby shall we show that we do indeed know Him, but by not denying Him through whom this knowledge has been attained? For He Himself declares, “Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I confess before My Father.” This, then, is our reward if we shall confess Him by whom we have been saved. But in what way shall we confess Him? By doing what He says, and not transgressing His commandments, and by honoring Him not with our lips only, but with

all our heart and all our mind. For He says in Isaiah, “This people honoreth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me.”

CHAPTER 4

TRUE CONFESSION OF CHRIST

Let us, then, not only call Him Lord, for that will not save us. For He saith, “Not every one that saith to Me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that worketh righteousness.” Wherefore, brethren, let us confess Him by our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, or speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy; but being continent, compassionate, and good. We ought also to sympathize with one another, and not be avaricious. By such works let us confess Him, and not by those that are of an opposite kind. And it is not fitting that we should fear men, but rather God. For this reason, if we should do such wicked things, the Lord hath said, “Even though ye were gathered together to Me in My very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep My commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from Me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.”

CHAPTER 5

THIS WORLD SHOULD BE DESPISED

Wherefore, brethren, leaving willingly our sojourn in this present world, let us do the will of Him that called us, and not fear to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, “Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.” And Peter answered and said unto Him, “What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?” Jesus said unto Peter, “The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear not ye them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.” And consider, brethren, that the sojourning in the flesh in this world is but brief and transient, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom to come, and of life everlasting.

By what course of conduct, then, shall we attain these things, but by leading a holy and righteous life, and by deeming these worldly things as not belonging to us, and not fixing our desires upon them? For if we desire to possess them, we fall away from the path of righteousness.

CHAPTER 6

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE WORLDS ARE ENEMIES TO EACH OTHER

Now the Lord declares, “No servant can serve two masters.” If we desire, then, to Serve both God and mammon, it will be unprofitable for us. “For what will it profit if a man gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?” This world and the next are two enemies. The one urges to adultery and corruption, avarice and deceit; the other bids farewell to these things. We cannot therefore be the friends of both; and it behoves us, by renouncing the one, to make sure of the other. Let us reckon that it is better to hate the things present, since they are trifling, and transient, and corruptible; and to love those which are to come, as being good and incorruptible. For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; otherwise, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we disobey His commandments. For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, “If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity.” Now, if men so eminently righteous are not able by their righteousness to deliver their children, how can we hope to enter into the royal residence of God unless we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found possessed of works of holiness and righteousness?

CHAPTER 7

WE MUST STRIVE IN ORDER TO BE CROWNED

Wherefore, then, my brethren, let us struggle with all earnestness, knowing that the contest is in our case close at hand, and that many undertake long voyages to strive for a corruptible reward; yet all are not crowned, but those only that have labored hard and striven gloriously, Let us therefore

so strive, that we may all be crowned, Let us run the straight course, even the race that is incorruptible; and let us in great numbers set out for it, and strive that we may be crowned, And should we not all be able to obtain the crown, let us at least come near to it, We must remember that he who strives in the corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly, is taken away and scourged, and cast forth from the lists. What then think ye? If one does anything unseemly in the incorruptible contest, what shall he have to bear? For of those who do not preserve the seal" unbroken, the Scripture saith, "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh."

CHAPTER 8

THE NECESSITY OF REPENTANCE WHILE WE ARE ON EARTH

As long, therefore, as we are upon earth, let us practice repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer. For as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be distorted or broken in his hands, fashions it over again; but if he have before this cast it into the furnace of fire, can no longer find any help for it: so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance. For after we have gone out of the world, no further power of confessing or repenting will there belong to us. Wherefore, brethren, by doing the will of the Father, and keeping the flesh holy, and observing the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. For the Lord saith in the Gospel, "If ye have not kept that which was small, who will commit to you the great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much." This, then, is what He means: "Keep the flesh holy and the seal undefiled, that ye may receive eternal life."

CHAPTER 9

WE SHALL BE JUDGED IN THE FLESH

And let no one of you say that this very flesh shall not be judged, nor rise again. Consider ye in what state ye were saved, in what ye received sight, if not while ye were in this flesh. We must therefore preserve the flesh as the temple of God. For as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall also come to be judged in the flesh. As Christ the Lord who saved us, though He was first a Spirit, became flesh, and thus called us, so shall we also receive the reward in this flesh. Let us therefore love one another, that we may all attain to the kingdom of God. While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God that healeth us, and give to Him a recompense. Of what sort? Repentance out of a sincere heart; for He knows all things beforehand, and is acquainted with what is in our hearts. Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that He may accept us as sons. For the Lord has said, “Those are My brethren who do the will of My Father.”

CHAPTER 10

VICE IS TO BE FORSAKEN, AND VIRTUE FOLLOWED

Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father who called us, that we may live; and let us earnestly follow after virtue, but forsake every wicked tendency which would lead into transgression; and flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we are diligent in doing good, peace will follow us. On this account, such men cannot find it, i.e., peace, as are influenced by human terrors, and prefer rather present enjoyment to the promise which shall afterwards be fulfilled. For they know not what torment present enjoyment incurs, or what felicity is involved in the future promise. And if, indeed, they themselves only did such things, it would be the more tolerable; but now they persist in imbuing innocent souls with their pernicious doctrines, not knowing that they shall receive a double condemnation, both they and those that hear them.

CHAPTER 11

WE OUGHT TO SERVE GOD, TRUSTING IN HIS PROMISES

Let us therefore serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we do not serve Him, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be miserable. For the prophetic word also declares, “Wretched are those of a double mind, and who doubt in their heart, who say, All these things have we heard even in the times of our fathers; but though we have waited day by day, we have seen none of them accomplished. Ye fools! compare yourselves to a tree; take, for instance, the vine. First of all it sheds its leaves, then the bud appears; after that the sour grape, and then the fully-ripened fruit. So, likewise, my people have born disturbances and afflictions, but afterwards shall they receive their good things.” Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be of a double mind, but let us hope and endure, that we also may obtain the reward. For He is faithful who has promised that He will bestow on every one a reward according to his works. If, therefore, we shall do righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom, and shall receive the promises, “which ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man.”

CHAPTER 12

WE ARE CONSTANTLY TO LOOK FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Let us expect, therefore, hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of the appearing of God. For the Lord Himself, being asked by one when His kingdom would come, replied, “When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.” Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies. And “that which is without as that which is within” meaneth this: He calls the soul “that which is within,” and the body “that which is without.” As, then, thy body is visible to sight, so also let thy

soul be manifest by good works. And “the male with the female, neither male nor female,” this...

[The newly recovered portion follows:] —

... meaneth, that a brother seeing a sister should think nothing about her as of a female, nor she think anything about him as of a male. If ye do these things, saith He, the kingdom of my Father shall come.

CHAPTER 13

DISOBEDIENCE CAUSETH GOD’S NAME TO BE BLASPHEMED

Therefore, brethren, let us now at length repent; let us be sober unto what is good; for we are full of much folly and wickedness. Let us blot out from us our former sins, and repenting from the soul let us be saved; and let us not become men-pleasers, nor let us desire to please only one another, but also the men that are without, by our righteousness, that the Name be not blasphemed on account of us. For the Lord also saith “Continually My name is blasphemed among all the Gentiles,” and again, “Woe to him on account of whom My name is blasphemed.” Wherein is it blasphemed? In your not doing what I desire. For the Gentiles, when they hear from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at them as beautiful and great; afterwards, when they have learned that our works are not worthy of the words we speak, they then turn themselves to blasphemy, saying that it is some fable and delusion. For when they hear from us that God saith, “There is no thank unto you, if ye love them that love you; but there is thank unto you, if ye love your enemies and them that hate you;” when they hear these things, they marvel at the excellency of the goodness; but when they see that we not only do not love them that hate us, but not even them that love us, they laugh us to scorn, and the Name is blasphemed.

CHAPTER 14

THE LIVING CHURCH IS THE BODY OF CHRIST

Wherefore, brethren, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the first Church, that is, spiritual, that hath been created before the sun and moon; but if we do not the will of the Lord, we shall be of the scripture that saith, “My house was made a den of robbers.” So then let us choose to be of the Church of life, that we may be saved. I do not, however, suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ; for the Scripture saith, “God made man, male and female.” The male is Christ, the female is the Church. And the Books and the Apostles plainly declare that the Church is not of the present, but from the beginning. For she was spiritual, as our Jesus also was, but was manifested In the last days that He might save us. Now the Church, being spiritual, was manifested in the flesh of Christ, thus signifying to us that, if any of us keep her in the flesh and do not corrupt her, he shall receive her again so in the Holy Spirit: for this flesh is the copy of the spirit. No one then who corrupts the copy, shall partake of the original. This then is what He meaneth, “Keep the flesh, that ye may partake of the spirit.” But if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit Christ, then he that hath shamefully used the flesh hath shamefully used the Church. Such a one then shall not partake of the spirit, which is Christ. Such life and incorruption this flesh can partake of, when the Holy Spirit is joined to it. No one can utter or speak “what the Lord hath prepared” for His elect.

CHAPTER 15

FAITH AND LOVE THE PROPER RETURN TO GOD

Now I do not think I have given you any light counsel concerning self-control, which if any one do he will not repent of it, but will save both himself and me who counseled him. For it is no light reward to turn again a wandering and perishing soul that it may be saved. For this is the recompense we have to return to God who created us, if he that speaketh and heareth both speaketh and heareth with faith and love. Let us therefore

abide in the things which we believed, righteous and holy, that with boldness we may ask of God who saith, “While thou art yet speaking, I will say, Lo, I am here.” For this saying is the sign of a great promise; for the Lord saith of Himself that He is more ready to give than he that asketh to ask. Being therefore partakers of so great kindness, let us not be envious of one another in the obtaining of so many good things. For as great as is the pleasure which these sayings have for them that have done them, so great is the condemnation they have for them that have been disobedient.

CHAPTER 16

THE EXCELLENCE OF ALMSGIVING

Wherefore, brethren, having received no small occasion for repentance, while we have the opportunity, let us turn unto God that called us, while we still have Him as One that receiveth us. For if we renounce these enjoyments and conquer our soul in not doing these its evil desires, we shall partake of the mercy of Jesus. But ye know that the day of judgment even now “cometh as a burning oven,” and some “of the heavens shall melt,” and all the earth shall be as lead melting on the fire, and then the hidden and open works of men shall appear. Almsgiving therefore is a good thing, as repentance from sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both; “but love covereth a multitude of sins.” But prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every one that is found full of these; for alms-giving lighteneth the burden of sin.

CHAPTER 17

THE DANGER OF IMPENITENCE

Let us therefore repent from the whole heart, that no one of us perish by the way. For if we have commandments that we should also practice this, to draw away men from idols and instruct them, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish! Let us therefore assist one another that we may also lead up those weak as to what is good, in order that all may be saved; and let us convert and admonish one another. And

let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters, but also when we have returned home, remembering the commandments of the Lord; and let us not be dragged away by worldly lusts, but coming more frequently let us attempt to make advances in the commandments of the Lord, that all being of the same mind we may be gathered together unto life. For the Lord said," I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and tongues." This He speaketh of the day of His appearing, when He shall come and redeem us, each one according to his works. And the unbelievers "shall see His glory," and strength; and they shall think it strange when they see the sovereignty of the world in Jesus, saying, Woe unto us, Thou wast He, and we did not know and did not believe, and we did not obey the presbyters when they declared unto us concerning our salvation. And "their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh." He speaketh of that day of judgment, when they shall see those among us that have been ungodly and acted deceitfully with the commandments of Jesus Christ. But the righteous who have done well and endured torments and hated the enjoyments of the soul, when they shall behold those that have gone astray and denied Jesus through their words or through their works, how that they are punished with grievous torments in unquenchable fire, shall be giving glory to God, saying, There will be hope for him that hath served God with his whole heart.

CHAPTER 18

THE PREACHER CONFESSETH HIS OWN SINFULNESS

Let us also become of the number of them that give thanks, that have served God, and not of the ungodly that are judged. For I myself also, being an utter sinner, and not yet escaped from temptation, but still being in the midst of the engines of the devil, give diligence to follow after righteousness, that I may have strength to come even near it, fearing the judgment to come.

CHAPTER 19

HE JUSTIFIETH HIS EXHORTATION

Wherefore, brethren and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard, I read to you an entreaty that ye may give heed to the things that are written, in order that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth among you. For as a reward I ask of you that ye repent with the whole heart, thus giving to yourselves salvation and life. For by doing this we shall set a goal for all the young who are minded to labor on behalf of piety and the goodness of God. And let us not, unwise ones that we are, be affronted and sore displeased, whenever some one admonisheth and turneth us from iniquity unto righteousness. For sometimes while we are practicing evil things we do not perceive it on account of the double-mindedness and unbelief that is in our breasts, and we are "darkened in our understanding" by our vain lusts. Let us then practice righteousness that we may be saved unto the end. Blessed are they that obey these ordinances. Even if for a little time they suffer evil in the world, they shall enjoy the immortal fruit of the resurrection. Let not then the godly man

be grieved, if he be wretched in the times that now are; a blessed time waits for him. He, living again above with the fathers, shall be joyful for an eternity without grief.

CHAPTER 20

CONCLUDING WORD OF CONSOLATION. DOXOLOGY

But neither let it trouble your understanding, that we see the unrighteous having riches and the servants of God straitened. Let us therefore, brethren and sisters, be believing: we are striving in the contest of the living God, we are exercised by the present life, in order that we may be crowned by that to come. No one of the righteous received fruit speedily, but awaiteth it. For if God gave shortly the recompense of the righteous, straightway we would be exercising ourselves in business, not in godliness; for we

would seem to be righteous, while pursuing not what is godly but what is gainful. And on this account Divine judgment surprised a spirit that was not righteous, and loaded it with chains.

To the only God invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth to us the Savior and Prince of incorruption, through whom also He manifested to us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE NICENE CREED

THE CREED

AS SET FORTH AT NICOEA, A.D. 325

WE believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father;

God of God; Light of light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father,

By whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth:

Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man:

He suffered, and rose again the third day:

And ascended into heaven:

And shall come again to judge the quick and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost, etc.

THE RATIFICATION

And those who say There was a time when He was not, or that Before He was begotten He was not, or that He was made out of nothing; or who say that The Son of God is of any other substance, or that He is changeable or unstable, — these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

ADDENDA

AS AUTHORIZED AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381

(A) Of Heaven And Earth.

(B) Begotten Of The Father Before All Worlds.

(C) By The Holy Ghost Of The Virgin Mary.

(D) Was Crucified Also For Us, Under Pontius Pilate,

(E) And Was Buried.

(F) Sitteth On The Right Hand Of The Father,

(G) Whose Kingdom Shall Have No End.

(H) The Lord, The Giver Of Life,

Who proceedeth from the Father;

Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified;

Who spake by the prophets:

In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.

We look for the resurrection of the dead,

And the life of the world to come. Amen.

This Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed was solemnly ratified by the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) with the decree that “No one shall be permitted to introduce, write, or compose *any other faith*, besides that which was defined by the holy Fathers assembled in the city of Nice, with *the presence of* the Holy Ghost.”

EARLY LITURGIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO

EARLY LITURGIES

It is in curious contrast with the work of Brett and others like-minded that we have in these Edinburgh translations a reflection from the minds of divines who are unused to liturgies, and who have no interest in their elucidation. For the mere reader this is not an advantage; but the student who goes to the originals will find that it affords at times no inconsiderable help. These translations are "inartificially drawn," as the lawyers say. They are so much Greek and Latin rendered grammatically by competent scholars, who have no theories to sustain, and who are equally devoid of *technique* and of a disposition to exhibit it for the support of preconceptions. Not infrequently one gets a new view of certain stereotyped expressions from the way in which they are here handled. The liturgiologist finds his researches freshened by etymologies he had hardly thought of, here literally rendered. Of course, these are mere specimens, and no one can use them for argument, except by comparison with the Greek, or the Latin of Renaudot, or the originals in Syriac or Coptic; but they will prove very useful in many ways. The whole science is in its infancy; and we have no specimen of a primitive liturgy unless it be the Clementine, so called. The specimens here given are like cloth of gold ([1953]Psalm 45:13), moth-eaten and patched, and spangled over with tinsel; and the true artist has only the one object in view, — to restore it, that is, to the king's daughter, as it was aforetime.

The following is the announcement of the Messrs. Clark in the Edinburgh edition: "The Liturgy of St. James has been translated by William Macdonald, M.A.; that of the Evangelist Mark by George Ross Merry, B.A.; and that of the Holy Apostles by Dr. Donaldson."

It will be observed that the translations are given in the Edinburgh series with hardly a line of comment, and with no editorial helps to the reader whatever. These have been scantily supplied, here and there, where the case seemed to require some elucidation; and in a few instances I have ventured to reduce a word or two in the rendering to liturgical phraseology.

The interest which has recently been awakened in *liturgiology*, and which exists among the learned so generally, will justify me in stating somewhat at large the considerations which are prerequisites to an intelligent study of these compilations. I shall not depart from my rule, nor formulate my personal convictions; but I must indicate sources of information not mentioned by the Edinburgh editors, only remarking, that, while they have cited the learned and excellent Dr. Neale, with others who advance untenable claims in some instances, I shall refer to writers of a more moderate school, such as have taken a less narrow and more historic view of the whole matter. By claiming too much, and by reading their own ideas back into the ancient exemplars, with the artificial systems of post-Nicene ages. Earnest and worthy of respect as they are, I must therefore prefer a class of writers who breathe the spirit of the ante-Nicene Fathers as better elucidating the primitive epoch and its principles, alike in doctrine and worship.

Hippolytus, in a few terse sentences, has pointed out the epoch of David, in its vast import, as the dawning of Christianity itself. More elaborately, a recent writer of great erudition has expounded the same historic fact, and given us the pivot of Hebrew history on which turns the whole system of the “goodly fellowship of prophets” who heralded the Sun of righteousness as successive constellations rise before the day. The learned Dean Payne-Smith, more minutely than Hippolytus, identifies Samuel, the master of David, as the great instrument of God in shaping the institutions of Moses to be a prelude tot he Advent; in other words, transforming a local and tribal religion into that of Catholicity. The value of the Dean’s condensed and luminous elaboration of this cardinal truth can hardly be overstated.

But, to go behind even the Dean’s stand-point, we shall better comprehend the era of which, under God, Samuel was the author, by noting the immense importance of that specific Mosaic ordinance which

not only made it possible, but which proves that an all-wise *prolepsis* governed the whole law of Moses. We generally conceive of the Mosaic system as one of unlimited hecatombs and burnt-offerings. On the contrary, it was a system restricting and limiting the unsystematized primeval institution of sacrifice, which had done its work by passing into the universal religions and rituals of Gentilism. When the seminal idea of expiation, atonement, and the blood of innocence as a propitiation for guilt, was communicated to all the families of the earth, the Mosaic institutions limited sacrifices for the faithful, and localized them with marvelous significance. Previously the faithful everywhere had imitated the sacrifices of their fathers, Noah and Abraham, who reared their altars everywhere, as Job also did, — wherever they dwelt or sojourned. Now mark the first step towards a more spiritual worship, based, nevertheless, on the fundamental principle of sacrifice. Moses ordains as follows: —

1. "When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you, ... then *there shall be a place* which the Lord your God shall choose to cause His name to dwell there; *thither shall ye bring all that I command you,* your burnt-offerings," etc.

2. "Take heed to thyself that thou offer not they burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest; but *in the place which the Lord shall choose* in one of the tribes, *there* shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee.

3. "If the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put His name there, be too far from thee" (i.e., *for frequent sacrifices; observe, nevertheless, the law as to the sanctity of blood in thy common use of meats, and forbear to sacrifice, till the opportunity comes*), "only thy *holy things* which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and *go unto the place which the Lord shall choose;* and thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the Lord thy God."

4. "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God, *in the place which He shall choose.*"

5. "Thou mayest not sacrifice THE PASSOVER within any of thy gates; . . . but *at the place which the Lord thy God shall choose* to place His name in, *there thou shalt sacrifice the Passover.*"

Note, further, that all this provision and *pre*vision was part of the great Messianic system, which reached its crisis in the time of David, as prophetic of "the Son of David."

It was the office of Samuel to take the Mosaic ordinances just there, and to shape them for the advent of the Lamb of God, for His sacrifice upon Calvary, and for the setting-up of His universal kingdom.

The Institutions of Samuel, therefore, were *in essence* institutions for the Gospel-day, and they were completed by the anointing of David as king, and by his prophetic mission to provide the Psalter (of which more, by and by); then the Ark came out of curtains, and the Lord chose and appointed *the place* of which Moses had spoken, — none other than the spot where Abraham had rehearsed in type the Sacrifice and Resurrection of Christ, according as it was written: "Jehovah-Jireh . . . *in the mount of the Lord* it shall be seen." Thus, all sacrifice acceptable to God was shown to have reference to the Paschal Lamb, who on that mount of the Lord should be sacrificed, and rise again, as was accomplished in a figure aforetime.

And next, the Psalmist commemorates the putting away of the migratory Tabernacle, and the *rest* of the Ark of the Covenant in the place designed for the grand accomplishment of redemption ("the sure mercies of David"), as follows: —

> "He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: but chose the tribe of Judah, *the Mount Zion* which He loved. And He built His sanctuary like high palaces, like the earth which He hath established for ever."

Thus, localized sacrifice was made to designate *the spot* where the one propitiatory sacrifice should be offered, "for the sins of the whole world;" and that spot in turn interpreted the great canon of redemption, --

"Without shedding of blood is no remission:"

and all this, being accomplished in the Messiah, passed away for ever. The veil of the Temple was rent when Jesus cried, "It is finished."

And now let us note the "Institutions of Samuel." The localizing of the Temple-worship made way for the clearer revelation of spiritual sacrifices:

the Temple itself was to be supplied with an expository liturgy. Moreover, a liturgical system, revolving about the central worship of the Temple, was to be brought to every man's door by the establishment of the synagogue for the villages of Israel. The synagogue-worship became, therefore, the education and preparation of the faithful for the simple and spiritual worship of the new law. This our Lord Himself expounded in the grand Catholicity of His words to the outcast Samaritans: —

> "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." etc.

We have seen that the hour promised by Malachi was supposed by the Ante-Nicene Fathers to be here intended: "My name shall be great among the Gentiles; and *in every place* incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering."

The student of this series must have observed that the primitive writers were universally impressed with these principles, and they are essential to the study of the liturgies here introduced into the series by the Edinburgh editors. For other purposes, expounding the prophetic system, on a text of St. Peter, Dean Payne-Smith has incidentally elucidated these ideas so fully, and with such originality, that I leave the student to consult his pages, with only the following important hints to those who may fail to see them: —

1. We find the prophet Samuel instituting "Schools of the Prophets," out of which grew the synagogue system supplying the Rabbinical education to Israel, and furnishing chiefs to the synagogues. See <4024>Acts 3:24; and compare <0905>1 Samuel 10:5, <0920>19:20, and <1922>1 Chronicles 9:22.

2. We find the institution of choral worship and the chanting of hymns — e.g., of Moses and Miriam, and Hannah (Samuel's mother) — in full operation under Samuel.

3. We find David at this juncture inspired, as "the sweet singer of Israel," to supply the Psalter, which in divers arrangements has continued among Christians to be the marrow of public worship "in every place," and throughout the world.

4. The reading of the law and the prophets was now set in order; and not only was the Temple supplied with teachers, but also the villages in every tribe.

5. Thus the Christian Church was provided with a system of worship from the hour of its institution, the synaxis succeeding the synagogue; the "ministration of the word" being enriched by Gospels and Epistles, by psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, and by "the prayers" (based upon the *Shemone esre*) which now began to be composed and multiplied in the churches. Touching "free prayer" as exemplified in the first ages, see St. Cyprian's *Epistles* more especially: "Let us pray for the lapsed," etc.

6. It is most significant, that, as St. Paul was not present at the institution of the Lord's Supper, he was, nevertheless, "not behind the chiefest of the Apostles," even in this. He also "received" the whole knowledge of the institution, and became, in so far, the author of an original Gospel in his details of Christ's great oblation of Himself. Hereupon, he adds the sacrificial expositions of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and "delivered the ordinances" to *every church* (κατὰ τάξιν), providing for order and decorum in divine offices.

This he seems to have done as "Liturge" and "Hierurge," or evangelical priest, "*ministering in sacrifice* the Gospel of God," etc.

Compare, then, with the Scriptures, Justin Martyr's account of the early worship of Christians; and after consulting the (so-called) "Clementine Liturgy," the student will be qualified to form an enlightened judgment upon the primitive and the interpolated elements of the following liturgies. For we must bear in mind that they are reflected from MSS., not one of which has any claim to represent the *Ante-Nicene* period. To purify them, therefore, by Scripture, and the truly primitive testimonies of this series, is a task yet remaining to be accomplished, and one which may well invoke the most conscientious and patient labors of the most learned in the land.

Here follows the Edinburgh INTRODUCTORY NOTICE: —

The word *Liturgy* has a special meaning as applied to the following documents. It denotes the service used in the celebration of the Eucharist.

Various liturgies have come down to us from antiquity; and their age, authorship, and genuineness have been matter of keen discussion. In our own country two writers on this subject stand specially prominent: the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., who in his *Origines Liturgicae* gave a dissertation on Primitive Liturgies; and the Rev. J. Mason Neale, who devoted a large portion of his life to liturgies, edited four of them in his *Tetralogia Liturgica,* five of them in his *Liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil,* and discussed them in a masterly manner in several works, but especially in his *General Introduction to a History of the Holy Eastern Church.*

Ancient liturgies are generally divided into four families, — the Liturgy of the Jerusalem Church, adopted throughout the East; the Alexandrian, used in Egypt and the neighboring countries; and the Roman and Gallican Liturgies. To these Neale has added a fifth, the Liturgy of Persia or Edessa.

There is also a liturgy not included in any of these families — the Clementine. It seems never to have been used in any public service. It forms part of the eighth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions.*

The age ascribed to these documents depends very much on the temperament and inclination of the inquirer. Those who have great reverence for them think that they must have had an apostolic origin, that they contain the apostolic form, first handed down by tradition, and then committed to writing, but they allow that there is a certain amount of interpolation and addition of a date later than the Nicene Council. Such words as “consubstantial” and “mother of God” bear indisputable witness to this. Others think that there is no real historical proof of their early existence at all, — that they all belong to a late date, and bear evident marks of having been written long after the age of the apostles.

There can scarcely be a doubt that they were not committed to writing till a comparatively late day. Those who think that their origin was apostolic allow this. “The period,” says Palmer, “when liturgies were first committed to writing is uncertain, and has been the subject of some controversy. Le Brun contends that no liturgy was written till the fifth century; but his arguments seem quite insufficient to prove this, and he is accordingly opposed by Muratori and other eminent ritualists. It seems certain, on the other hand, that the lituragy of the *Apostolical Constitutions*

was written at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century; and there is no reason to deny that others may have been written about the same time, or not long after."

Neale sums up the results of his study in the following words: I shall content myself therefore with assuming, that these liturgies, though not composed by the Apostles whose names they bear, were the legitimate development of their unwritten tradition respecting the Christian Sacrifice; the words, probably, in the most important parts, the general tenor in all portions, descending unchanged from the apostolic authors. That the liturgy of St. James is of earlier date, as to its main fabric, than A.D. 200; that the Clementine Office is at least not later than 260; that the Liturgy of St. Mark is nearly coeval with that of St. James; while those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are to be referred respectively to the saints by whom they purport to be composed. In all these cases, several manifest insertions and additions do not alter the truth of the general statement."

1. The Roman Liturgy. The first writer who is supposed to allude to a Roman Liturgy is Innocentius, in the beginning of the fifth century; but it may well be doubted whether his words refer to any liturgy now extant. Some have attributed the authorship of the Roman Liturgy to Leo the Great, who was made bishop of Rome in A.D. 451; some to Gelasius, who was made bishop of Rome in A.D. 492; and some to Gregory the First, who was made bishop of Rome in A.D. 590. Such being the opinions of those who have given most study to the subject, we have not deemed it necessary to translate it, though Probst, in his *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Fahrhunderte*, probably out of affection for his own Church, has given it a place beside the Clementine and those of St. James and St. Mark.

2. The Gallican has still less claim to antiquity. In fact, Daniel marks it among the spurious. Mabillon tries to prove that three ecclesiastics had a share in the authorship of his liturgy: Musaeus, presbyter of Marseilles, who died after the middle of the fifth century; Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne, who died A.D. 494; and Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, who died A.D. 366. Palmer strives to show with great ingenuity that it is not improbable that the Gallican Liturgy may have been originally derived from St. John; but his arguments are merely conjectures.

3. The Liturgy of St. James, the Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem. Asseman, Zaccaria, Dr. Brett, Palmer, Trollope, and Neale, think that the main structure of this liturgy is the work of St. James, while they admit that it contains some evident interpolations. Leo Allatius, Bona, Bellarmine, Baronius, and some others, think that the whole is the genuine production of the apostle. Cave, Fabricius, Dupin, Le Nourry, Basnage, Tillemont, and many others, think that it is entirely destitute of any claim to an apostolic origin, and that it belongs to a much later age.

"From the Liturgy of St. James," says Neale, "are derived, on the one hand, the forty Syro-Jacobite offices: on the other, the Caesarean office, or Liturgy of St. Basil, with its offshoots; that of St. Chrysostom, and the Armeno-Gregorian."

There are only two manuscripts of the Greek Liturgy of St. James, — one of the tenth, the other of the twelfth century, — with fragments of a third. The first edition appeared at Rome in 1526. In more recent times it has been edited by Rev. W. Trollope, M.A., Neale in the two works mentioned above, and Daniel in his *Codex Liturgiucus.* Bishop Rattray edited the *Anaphora,* and attempted to separate the original from the interpolations, "though," says Neale, "the supposed restoration is unsatisfactory enough." Bunsen, in his *Analecta Ante-Nicaena,* has tried to restore the *Anaphora* to the state in which it may have been in the fourth century, "as far as was possible — *quantum fieri potuit.*"

4. The Liturgy of St. Mark, the liturgy of the church of Alexandria. The same difference of opinion exists in regard to the age and genuiness of this liturgy as we found existing in regard to that of St. James, and the same scholars occupy the same relative position.

The offshoots from St. Mark's Liturgy are St. Basil, St. Cyril, and St. Gregory, and the Ethiopic Canon or Liturgy of All Apostles. In regard to the Liturgy of St. Cyril, Neale says that it is "to all intents and purposes the same as that of St. Mark; and it seems highly probable that the Liturgy of St. Mark came, as we have it now, from the hands of St. Cyril, or, to use the expression of Abu'lberkat, that Cyril 'perfected' it."

There is only one manuscript of the Liturgy of St. Mark, probably belonging to the twelfth century. The first edition appeared at Paris in

1583. The liturgy is given in Renoudot's *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio,* tom. i. pp. 120-148, in Neale's two works, and in Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus.*

5. The Liturgy of the Apostles Adaeus and Maris. This liturgy has been brought prominently forward by Neale, who says: "It is generally passed over as of very inferior importance, and Renoudot alone seems to have been prepared to acknowledge in some degree its great antiquity." He thinks that it is "one of the earliest, and perhaps the very earliest, of the many formularies of the Christian Sacrifice." It is one of the tree Nestorian liturgies, the other two being that of Nestorius and that of Theodore the interpreter.

A Latin translation of it is given in Renoudot's *Collectio,* which is reprinted in Daniel's *Codex Liturgiucus.* It is from this version that our translation is made. Several prayers and hymns are indicated only by the initial words, and the rubrical directions are probably of a much later date than the text.

The Liturgies are divided into two parts, — the part before "Lift we up our hearts," and the part after this. The first is termed the Proanaphoral Part, the second the Anaphora.

Trollope describes what he conceives to be the form of worship in the early Church, thus: "The service of this day divided itself into two parts; at the latter of which, called in the Eastern churches *Liturgia mystica,* and in the Western *Missa fidelium,* none but perfect and approved Christians were allowed to be present. To the *Missa Catechumenorum,* or that part of the service which preceded the prayers peculiar to communicants only, not only believers, but Gentiles, were admitted, in the hope that some might possibly become converts to the faith. After the Psalms and Lessons with which the service commenced, as on ordinary occasions, a section from the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles was read; after which the deacon or presbyter read the Gospel. Then followed an exhortation from one or more of the presbyters; and the bishop or president delivered a *Homily* or *Sermon,* explanatory, it should seem, of the Scripture which had been read, and exciting the people to an imitation of the virtues therein exemplified. When the preacher had concluded his discourse with a doxology in praise of the Holy Trinity, a deacon made

proclamation for all infidels and non-communicants to withdraw; then came the dismissal of the several classes of catechumens, energumens, competents, and penitents, after the prayers for each respectively, as on ordinary days; and the *Missa fidelium* commenced. This office consisted of two parts, essentially distinct: viz., of *prayers for the faithful,* and for mankind in general, introductory to the Oblation; and the *Anaphora* or *Oblation* itself. The introductory part varied considerably in the formularies of different churches; but in the *Anaphora* all the existing liturgies so closely agree, in substance at least, if not in words, that they can always be the same; but the following essential points belong, without exception, to them all: —

1. The Kiss of Peace;

2. The form beginning, *Lift up your hearts*;

3. The Hymn, *Therefore with angels,* etc.;

4. Commemoration of the words of Institution;

5. The Oblation;

6. Prayer of Consecration;

7. Prayers for the Church on Earth;

8. Prayers for the dead;

9. The Lord's Prayer;

10. Breaking of the Bread;

11. Communion."

Neale gives a more minute account of the different parts of the service. He divides the *Proanaphoral* portion into parts in the following manner: —

1. LITURGY (OR *MISSA*) OF THE CATECHUMENS

I. The Preparatory Prayers.

II. The Initial Hymn or Introit.

III. The Little Entrance.

IV. The Trisagion.

V. The Lections.

VI. The Prayers after the Gospel, and expulsion of the Catechumen.

LITURGY (OR *MISSA*) OF THE FAITHFUL

I. The Prayers for the Faithful.

II. The Great Entrance.

III. The Offertory.

IV. The Kiss of Peace.

V. The Creed."

The *Anaphora* he divides into four parts in the following manner: —

THE GREAT EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

I. The Preface.

II. The Prayer of the Triumphal Hymn.

III. The Truimphal Hymn.

IV. Commemoration of Our Lord's Life.

V. Commemoration of Institution.

THE CONSECRATION

VI. Words of Institution of the Bread.

VII. Words of Institution of the Wine.

VIII. Oblation of the Body and Blood.

IX. Introductory Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

X. Prayer for the Sanctification of Elements.

THE GREAT INTERCESSORY PRAYER

XI. General Intercession for Quick and Dead.

XII. Prayer before the Lord's Prayer.

XIII. The Lord's Prayer.

XIV. The Embolismus.

THE COMMUNION

XV. The Prayer of Inclination.

XVI. The *Holy Things for Holy Persons.*

XVII. The Fraction.

XVIII. The Confession.

XIX. The Communion.

XX. The Antidoron: and Prayers of Thanksgiving.

The whole subject is discussed by Mr. Neale with extraordinary minuteness, fullness of detail, and perfect mastery of his subject; and to his work we refer those who wish to prosecute the study of the subject.

GENERAL NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

I HAVE found a few less noted works most useful in my own studies, which began with Palmer's *Orignes* on their first publication, followed up by *Brett*, and then by *Renaudot.* The publications of Dr.'s Neale and Littledale are sufficiently referred to elsewhere; and I purposely omit the mention of many purely Anglican authorities, as well as costly works from other European sources.

1. Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, etc. A work of incomparable utility to those who would comprehend the Jewish ritual and its preparations for Christian worship.

2. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals.*

3. Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church;* replete with information hitherto inaccessible.

4. Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica;* Anglican, but full of general information.

5. Trevor's *Catholic Doctrine of Sacrifice,* etc.; a candid and learned study of this subject, and free from fanatical or visionary conceptions.

6. Hammond's *Liturgies,* etc., elsewhere spoken of.

7. Burbidge, *Liturgies and Offices,* of which I have only lately discovered the value.

9. Pfaffius, Christ. Hath. His invaluable *Dissertatio de Oblatione,* etc. A high Lutheran authority of great learning.

10. Marriott's *Testimony of the Catacombs,* learned and instructive.

EARLY LITURGIES

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF JAMES, THE HOLY APOSTLE AND BROTHER OF THE LORD.

1

THE PRIEST

1. O SOVEREIGN Lord our God, contemn me not, defiled with a multitude of sins: for, behold, I have come to this Thy divine and heavenly mystery, not as being worthy; but looking only to Thy goodness, I direct my voice to Thee: God be merciful to me, a sinner; I have sinned against Heaven, and before Thee, and am unworthy to come into the presence of this Thy holy and spiritual table, upon which Thy only-begotten Son, and our Lord Jesus Christ, is mystically set forth as a sacrifice for me, a sinner, and stained with every spot. Wherefore I present to Thee this supplication and thanksgiving, that Thy Spirit the Comforter may be sent down upon me, strengthening and fitting me for this service; and count me worthy to make known without condemnation the word, delivered from Thee by me to the people, in Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening, and consubstantial Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

PRAYER OF THE STANDING BESIDE THE ALTAR

II. Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, the triune light of the Godhead, which is unity subsisting in trinity, divided, yet indivisible: for the Trinity is the one God Almighty, whose glory the heavens declare, and the earth His dominion, and the sea His might, and every sentient and intellectual creature at all times proclaims His majesty: for all glory becomes Him, and honor and might, greatness and magnificence, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

PRAYER OF THE INCENSE AT THE BEGINNING

III. Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ, O Word of God, who didst freely offer Thyself a blameless sacrifice upon the cross to God even the Father, the coal of double nature, that didst touch the lips of the prophet with the tongs, and didst take away his sins, touch also the hearts of us sinners, and purify us from every stain, and present us holy beside Thy holy altar, that we may offer Thee a sacrifice of praise: and accept from us, Thy unprofitable servants, this incense as an odor of a sweet smell, and make fragrant the evil odor of our soul and body, and purify us with the sanctifying power of Thy all-holy Spirit: for Thou alone art holy, who sanctifiest, and art communicated to the faithful; and glory becomes Thee, with Thy eternal Father, and Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

PRAYER OF THE COMMENCEMENT

IV. O beneficent King eternal, and Creator of the universe, receive Thy Church, coming unto Thee through Thy Christ: fulfill to each what is profitable; lead all to perfection, and make us perfectly worthy of the grace of Thy sanctification, gathering us together within Thy holy Church, which Thou hast purchased by the precious blood of Thy only-begotten Son, and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, with whom Thou art blessed and glorified, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE DEACON

V. Let us again pray to the Lord.

THE PRIEST, PRAYER OF THE INCENSE AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE CONGREGATION

God, who didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifice of Noah and of Abram, the incense of Aaron and of Zacharias, accept also from the hand of us sinners this incense for an odor of a sweet smell, and for remission of our sins, and those of all Thy people; for blessed art Thou, and glory becomes Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE DEACON

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who through exceeding goodness and love not to be restrained wast crucified, and didst not refuse to be pierced by the spear and nails; who didst provide this mysterious and awful service as an everlasting memorial for us perpetually: bless Thy ministry in Christ the God, and bless our entrance, and fully complete the presentation of this our service by Thy unutterable compassion, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE RESPONSIVE PRAYER FROM THE DEACON

VI. The Lord bless us, and make us worthy seraphically to offer gifts, and to sing the oft-sung hymn of the divine Trisagion, by the fullness and exceeding abundance of all the perfection of holiness, now and ever.

THEN THE DEACON BEGINS TO SING IN THE ENTRANCE

Thou who art the only-begotten Son and Word of God, immortal; who didst submit for our salvation to become flesh of the holy God-mother, and ever-virgin Mary; who didst immutably become man and wast crucified, O Christ our God and didst by Thy death tread death under foot; who art one of the Holy Trinity glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, save us.

THE PRIEST SAYS THIS PRAYER FROM THE GATES TO THE ALTAR

VII. God Almighty, Lord great in glory, who hast given to us an entrance into the Holy of Holies, through the sojourning among men of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord, and God, and Savior Jesus Christ, we supplicate and invoke Thy goodness, since we are fearful and trembling when about to stand at Thy holy altar; send forth upon us, O God, Thy good grace, and sanctify our souls, and bodies, and spirits, and turn our thoughts to piety, in order that with a pure conscience we may bring unto

Thee gifts, offerings, and fruits for the remission of our transgressions, and for the propitiation of all Thy people, by the grace and mercies and loving-kindness of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed to all eternity. Amen.

AFTER THE APPROACH TO THE ALTAR, THE PRIEST SAYS:

VIII. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE PRIEST

The Lord bless us all, and sanctify us for the entrance and celebration of the divine and pure mysteries, giving rest to the blessed souls among the good and just, by His grace and loving-kindness, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THEN THE DEACON SAYS THE BIDDING PRAYER

IX. In Peace Let Us Beseech The Lord

For the peace that is from above, and for God’s love to man, and for the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord.

For the peace of the whole world, for the unity of all the holy churches of God, let us beseech the Lord.

For the remission of our sins, and forgiveness of our transgressions, and for our deliverance from all tribulation, wrath, danger, and distress, and from the uprising of our enemies, let us beseech the Lord.

THEN THE SINGERS SING THE TRISAGION HYMN

Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us.

THEN THE PRIEST PRAYS, BOWING

X. O compassionate and merciful, long-suffering, and very gracious and true God, look from Thy prepared dwelling-place, and hear us Thy suppliants, and deliver us from every temptation of the devil and of man; withhold not Thy aid from us, nor bring on us chastisements too heavy for our strength: for we are unable to overcome what is opposed to us; but Thou art able, Lord, to save us from everything that is against us. Save us, O God, from the difficulties of this world, according to Thy goodness, in order that, having drawn nigh with a pure conscience to Thy holy altar, we may send up to Thee without condemnation the blessed hymn Trisagion, together with the heavenly powers, and that, having performed the service, well pleasing to Thee and divine, we may be counted worthy of eternal life.

(ALOUD.)

Because Thou art holy, Lord our God, and dwellest and abidest in holy places, we send up the praise and the hymn Trisagion to Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. The People.

Amen.

THE PRIEST

XI. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE SINGERS

Alleluia.

Then there are read in order the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and of the prophets; and the incarnation of the Son of God is set forth, and His sufferings and resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, and

His second appearing with glory; and this takes place daily in the holy and divine service.

AFTER THE READING AND INSTRUCTION
THE DEACON SAYS:-

XII. Let us all say, Lord, be merciful.

Lord Almighty, the God of our fathers;

We beseech Thee, hear us.

For the peace which is from above, and for the salvation of our souls;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For the peace of the whole world, and the unity of all the holy churches of God;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For the salvation and help of all the Christ-loving people;

We beseech Thee, hear us.

For our deliverance from all tribulation, wrath, danger, distress, from captivity, bitter death, and from our iniquities;

We beseech Thee, hear us.

For the people standing round, and waiting for the rich and plenteous mercy that is from Thee;

We beseech Thee, be merciful and gracious.

Save Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance.

Visit Thy world in mercy and compassion.

Exalt the horn of Christians by the power of the precious and quickening cross.

We beseech Thee, most merciful Lord, hear us praying to Thee, and have mercy upon us.

THE PEOPLE (THRICE)

Lord, have mercy upon us.

THE DEACON

XIII. For the remission of our sins, and forgiveness of our transgressions, and for our deliverance from all tribulation, wrath, danger, and distress, let us beseech the Lord.

Let us all entreat from the Lord, that we may pass the whole day, perfect, holy, peaceful, and without sin.

Let us entreat from the Lord a messenger of peace, a faithful guide, a guardian of our souls and bodies.

Let us entreat from the Lord forgiveness and remission of our sins and transgressions.

Let us entreat from the Lord the things which are good and proper for our souls, and peace for the world.

Let us entreat from the Lord, that we may spend the remaining period of our life in peace and health.

Let us entreat that the close of our lives may be Christian, without pain and without shame, and a good plea at the dread and awful judgment-seat of Christ.

THE PRIEST

XIV. For Thou art the gospel and the light, Savior and keeper of our souls and bodies, God, and Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

God, who hast taught us Thy divine and saving oracles, enlighten the souls of us sinners for the comprehension of the things which have been before spoken, so that we may not only be seen to be hearers of spiritual things, but also doers of good deeds, striving after guileless faith, blameless life, and pure conversation.

(Aloud.)

In Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, good, and quickening Spirit, now and always, and for ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

XV. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to Thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

THE PEOPLE

To Thee, Lord.

THE PRIEST PRAYS, SAYING: —

O Sovereign giver of life, and provider of good things, who didst give to mankind the blessed hope of eternal life, our Lord Jesus Christ, count us worthy in holiness, and perfect this Thy divine service to the enjoyment of future blessedness.

(ALOUD.)

So that, guarded by Thy power at all times, and led into the light of truth, we may send up the praise and the thanksgiving to Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE DEACON

XVI. Let none remain of the catechumens, none of the unbaptized, none of those who are unable to join with us in prayer. Look at one another. The door.

All erect: let us again pray to the Lord.

2

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF INCENSE

Sovereign Almighty, King of Glory, who knowest all things before their creation, manifest Thyself to us calling upon Thee at this holy hour, and redeem us from the shame of our transgressions; cleanse our mind and our thoughts from impure desires, from worldly deceit, from all influence of the devil; and accept from the bands of us sinners this incense, as Thou didst accept the offering of Abel, and Noah, and Aaron, and Samuel, and of all Thy saints, guarding us from everything evil, and preserving us for continually pleasing, and worshipping, and glorifying Thee, the Father, and Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever.

AND THE READERS BEGIN THE CHERUBIC HYMN

Let all mortal flesh be silent, and stand with fear and trembling, and meditate nothing earthly within itself: —

For the King of kings and Lord of lords, Christ our God, comes forward to be sacrificed, and to be given for food to the faithful; and the bands of angels go before Him with every power and dominion, the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim, covering their faces, and crying aloud the hymn, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

THE PRIEST, BRINGING IN THE HOLY GIFTS, SAYS THIS PRAYER: —

XVII. O God, our God, who didst send forth the heavenly bread, the food of the whole world, our Lord Jesus Christ, to be a Savior, and Redeemer, and Benefactor, blessing and sanctifying us, do Thou Thyself bless this offering, and graciously receive it to Thy altar above the skies:

Remember in Thy goodness and love those who have brought it, and those for whom they have brought it, and preserve us without condemnation in the service of Thy divine mysteries: for hollowed and glorified is Thy all-honored and great name, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST

Blessed be God, who blesseth and sanctifieth us all at the presentation of the divine and pure mysteries, and giveth rest to the blessed souls among the holy and just, now and always, and to all eternity.

THE DEACON

XVIII. Let us attend in wisdom.

THE PRIEST BEGINS

I believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: and the rest of the Creed.

THEN HE PRAYS, BOWING HIS NECK

XIX. God and Sovereign of all, make us, who are unworthy, worthy of this hour, lover of mankind; that being pure from all deceit and all hypocrisy, we may be united with one another by the bond of peace and love, being confirmed by the sanctification of Thy divine knowledge through Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE DEACON

XX. Let us stand well, let us stand reverently, let us stand in the fear of God, and with compunction of heart. In peace let us pray to the Lord.

THE PRIEST

For God of peace, mercy, love, compassion, and loving-kindness art Thou, and Thine only-begotten Son, and Thine all-holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Let us salute one another with an holy kiss. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

THE PRIEST BOWS, SAYING THIS PRAYER: —

XXI. Only Lord and merciful God, on those who are bowing their necks before Thy holy altar, and seeking the spiritual gifts that come from Thee, send forth Thy good grace; and bless us all with every spiritual blessing, that cannot be taken from us, Thou, who dwellest on high, and hast regard unto things that are lowly.

(ALOUD.)

For worthy of praise and worship and most glorious is Thy all-holy name, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, now and always, and to all eternity.

THE DEACON

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST

The Lord will bless us, and minister with us all by His grace and loving-kindness.

AND AGAIN

The Lord will bless us, and make us worthy to stand at His holy altar, at all times, now and always, and for ever.

AND AGAIN

Blessed be God, who blesseth and sanctifieth us all in our attendance upon, and service of, His pure mysteries, now and always, and for ever.

THE DEACON MAKES THE UNIVERSAL LITANY

XXII. In peace let us pray to the Lord.

THE PEOPLE

O Lord, have mercy.

THE DEACON

Save us, have mercy upon us, pity and keep us, O God, by Thy grace.

For the peace that is from above, and the loving-kindness of God, and the salvation of our souls;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For the peace of the whole world, and the unity of all the holy churches of God;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For those who bear fruit, and labor honorably in the holy churches of God; for those who remember the poor, the widows and the orphans, the strangers and needy ones; and for those who have requested us to mention them in our prayers;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For those who are in old age and infirmity, for the sick and suffering, and those who are troubled by unclean spirits, for their speedy cure from God and their salvation;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For those who are passing their days in virginity, and celibacy, and discipline, and for those in holy matrimony; and for the holy fathers and brethren agonizing in mountains, and dens, and caves of the earth;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For Christians sailing, traveling, living among strangers, and for our brethren in captivity, in exile, in prison, and in bitter slavery, their peaceful return;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For the remission of our sins, and forgiveness of our transgressions, and for our deliverance from all tribulation, wrath, danger, and constraint, and uprising against us of enemies;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For favorable weather, peaceful showers, beneficent dews, abundance of fruits, the perfect close of a good season, and for the crown of the year;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For our fathers and brethren present, and praying with us in this holy hour, and at every season, their zeal, labor, and earnestness;

Let us beseech the Lord. For every Christian soul in tribulation and distress, and needing the mercy and succor of God; for the return of the erring, the health of the sick, the deliverance of the captives, the rest of the fathers and brethren that have fallen asleep aforetime;

Let us beseech the Lord.

For the hearing and acceptance of our prayer before God, and the sending down on us His rich mercies and compassion.

Let us beseech the Lord.

And for the offered, precious, heavenly, unutterable, pure, glorious, dread, awful, divine gifts, and the salvation of the priest who stands by and offers them;

Let us offer supplication to God the Lord.

THE PEOPLE

O Lord, have mercy.

(THRICE.)

Then the Priest makes the sign of the cross on the gifts, and, standing, speaks separately thus: —

XXIII. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill among men, etc.

(THRICE.)

Lord, Thou wilt open my lips, and my mouth shall show forth Thy praise.

(THRICE.)

Let my mouth be filled with Thy praise, O Lord, that I may tell of Thy glory, of Thy majesty, all the day.

(THRICE.)

Of the Father. Amen. And of the Son. Amen. And of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Now and always, and to all eternity. Amen.

AND BOWING TO THIS SIDE AND TO THAT, HE SAYS: —

XXIV. Magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together.

AND THEY ANSWER, BOWING: —

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.

THEN THE PRIEST, AT GREAT LENGTH: —

O Sovereign Lord, who hast visited us in compassion and mercies, and bast freely given to us, Thy humble and sinful and unworthy servants, boldness to stand at Thy holy altar, and to offer to Thee this dread and bloodless sacrifice for our sins, and for the errors of the people, look upon me Thy unprofitable servant, and blot out my transgressions for Thy compassion’s sake; and purify my lips and heart from all pollution of flesh and spirit; and remove from me every shameful and foolish thought, and fit me by the power of Thy all-holy Spirit for this service; and receive me graciously by Thy goodness as I draw nigh to Thy altar.

And be pleased, O Lord, that these gifts brought by our hands may be acceptable, stooping to my weakness; and cast me not away from Thy presence, and abhor not my unworthiness; but pity me according to Thy great mercy, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies pass by my transgressions, that, having come before Thy glory without condemnation, I may be counted worthy of the protection of Thy only-begotten Son, and of the illumination of Thy all-holy Spirit, that I may not be as a slave of sin cast out, but as Thy servant may find grace and mercy and forgiveness

of sins before Thee, both in the world that now is and in that which is to come.

I beseech Thee, Almighty Sovereign, all-powerful Lord, hear my prayer; for Thou art He who workest all in all, and we all seek in all things the help and succor that come from Thee and Thy only-begotten Son, and the good and quickening and consubstantial Spirit, now and ever.

XXV. O God, who through Thy great and unspeakable love didst send forth Thy only-begot-ten Son into the world, in order that He might turn back the lost sheep, turn not away us sinners, laying hold of Thee by this dread and bloodless sacrifice; for we trust not in our own righteousness, but in Thy good mercy, by which Thou purchasest our race.

We entreat and beseech Thy goodness that it may not be for condemnation to Thy people that this mystery for salvation has been administered by us, but for remission of sins, for renewal of souls and bodies, for the well-pleasing of Thee, God and Father, in the mercy and love of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy and good and quickening Spirit, now and always, and for ever.

XXVI. O Lord God, who didst create us, and bring us into life, who hast shown to us ways to salvation, who hast granted to us a revelation of heavenly mysteries, and hast appointed us to this ministry in the power of Thy all-holy Spirit, grant, O Sovereign, that we may become servants of Thy new testament, ministers of Thy pure mysteries, and receive us as we draw near to Thy holy altar, according to the greatness of Thy mercy, that we may become worthy of offering to Thee girls and sacrifices for our transgressions and for those of the people; and grant to us, O Lord, with all fear and a pure conscience to offer to Thee this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice, and graciously receiving it unto Thy holy and spiritual altar above the skies for an odor of a sweet spiritual smell, send down in answer on us the grace of Thy all-holy Spirit.

And, O God, look upon us, and have regard to this our reasonable service, and accept it, as Thou didst accept the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the priestly offices of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel, the repentance of David, the incense of Zacharias. As Thou didst accept from the hand of Thy apostles this true service, so accept also in

Thy goodness from the hands of us sinners these offered gifts; and grant that our offering may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, as a propitiation for our transgressions and the errors of the people; and for the rest of the souls that have fallen asleep aforetime; that we also, Thy humble, sinful, and unworthy servants, being counted worthy without guile to serve Thy holy altar, may receive the reward of faithful and wise stewards, and may find grace and mercy in the terrible day of Thy just and good retribution.

PRAYER OF THE VEIL

XXVII. We thank Thee, O Lord our God, that Thou hast given us boldness for the entrance of Thy holy places, which Thou hast renewed to us as a new and living way through the veil of the flesh of Thy Christ. We therefore, being counted worthy to enter into the place of the tabernacle of Thy glory, and to be within the veil, and to behold the Holy of Holies, cast ourselves down before Thy goodness:

Lord, have mercy on us: since we are full of fear and trembling, when about to stand at Thy holy altar, and to offer this dread and bloodless sacrifice for our own sins and for the errors of the people: send forth, O God, Thy good grace, and sanctify our souls, and bodies, and spirits; and turn our thoughts to holiness, that with a pure conscience we may bring to Thee a peace-offering, the sacrifice of praise:

(ALOUD.)

By the mercy and loving-kindness of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and always:

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Let us stand reverently, let us stand in the fear of God, and with contrition: let us attend to the holy communion service, to offer peace to God.

THE PEOPLE

The offering of peace, the sacrifice of praise.

THE PRIEST

[*A veil is now withdrawn from the oblation of bread and wine.*]

And, uncovering the veils that darkly invest in symbol this sacred ceremonial, do Thou reveal it clearly to us: fill our intellectual vision with absolute light, and having purified our poverty from every pollution of flesh and spirit, make it worthy of this dread and awful approach: for Thou art an all-merciful and gracious God, and we send up the praise and the. thanksgiving to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now, and always, and for ever.

3

THE ANAPHORA

THEN HE SAYS ALOUD: —

XXVIII. The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Lord and Son, and the fellowship and the gift of the Holy Spirit, be with us all.

THE PEOPLE

And with thy spirit.

THE PRIEST

Let us lift up our minds and our hearts.

THE PEOPLE

It is becoming and right.

THEN THE PRIEST PRAYS

Verily it is becoming and right, proper and due to praise Thee, to sing of Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, to give Thee thanks, Maker of every creature visible and invisible, the treasure of eternal good things, the fountain of life and immortality, God and Lord of all:

Whom the heavens of heavens praise, and all the host of them; the sun, and the moon, and all the choir of the stars; earth, sea, and all that is in them; Jerusalem, the heavenly assembly, and church of the first-born that are written in heaven; spirits of just men and of prophets; souls of martyrs and of apostles; angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and authorities, and dread powers; and the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim, which cover their faces with two wings, their feet with two, and with two they fly, crying one to another with unresting lips, with unceasing praises:

(ALOUD.)

With loud voice singing the victorious hymn of Thy majestic glory, crying aloud, praising, shouting, and saying: —

THE PEOPLE

Holy, holy, holy, O Lord of Sabaoth, the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

THE PRIEST, MAKING THE SIGN OF THE CROSS ON THE GIFTS, SAYS: —

XXIX. Holy art Thou, King of eternity, and Lord and giver of all holiness; holy also Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom Thou hast made all things; holy also Thy Holy Spirit, which searches all things, even Thy deep things, O God: holy art Thou, almighty,

all-powerful, good, dread, merciful, most compassionate to Thy creatures; who didst make man from earth after Thine own image and likeness; who didst give him the joy of paradise; and when he transgressed Thy commandment, and fell away, didst not disregard nor desert him, O Good One, but didst chasten him as at merciful father, call him by the law, instruct him by the prophets; and afterwards didst send forth Thine only-begotten Son Himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, that He by His coming might renew and restore Thy image;

Who, having descended from heaven, and become flesh of the Holy Spirit and Virgin Godmother Mary, and having sojourned among men, fulfilled the dispensation for the salvation of our race; and being about to endure His voluntary and life-giving death by the cross, He the sinless for us the sinners, in the night in which He was betrayed, nay, rather delivered Himself up for the life and salvation of the world,

THEN THE PRIEST HOLDS THE BREAD IN HIS HAND, AND SAYS: —

XXX. Having taken the bread in His holy and pure and blameless and immortal hands, lifting up His eyes to heaven, and showing it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and brake, and gave it to us, His disciples and apostles, saying: —

THE DEACONS SAY: —

For the remission of sins and life everlasting.

THEN HE SAYS ALOUD: —

Take, eat: this is my body, broken for you, and given for remission of sins.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THEN HE TAKES THE CUP, AND SAYS: —

In like manner, after supper, He took the cup, and having mixed wine and water, lifting up His eyes to heaven, and presenting it to Thee, His God

and Father, He gave thanks, and hollowed and blessed it, and filled it with the Holy Spirit, and gave it to us His disciples, saying, Drink ye all of it; this is my blood of the new testament shed for you and many, and distributed for the remission of sins.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

This do in remembrance of me; for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death, and confess His resurrection, till He come.

THE DEACONS SAY: —

We believe and confess:

THE PEOPLE

We show forth Thy death, O Lord, and confess Thy resurrection.

THE PRIEST (OBLATION)

XXXI. Remembering, therefore, His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross, His death and His burial, and resurrection from the dead on the third day, and His ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of Thee, our God and Father, and His second glorious and awful appearing, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to His works; even we, sinful men, offer unto Thee, O Lord, this dread and bloodless sacrifice, praying that Thou wilt not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities;

But that Thou, according to Thy mercy and Thy unspeakable loving-kindness, passing by and blotting out the handwriting against us Thy suppliants, wilt grant to us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts (which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man) that thou hast prepared, O God, for those who love Thee;

and reject not, O loving Lord, the people for my sake, or for my sin's sake:

THEN HE SAYS, THRICE: —

For Thy people and Thy Church supplicate Thee.

THE PEOPLE

Have mercy on us, O Lord our God, Father Almighty.

AGAIN THE PRIEST SAYS (INVOCATION): —

XXXII. Have mercy upon us, O God Almighty. Have mercy upon us, O God our Savior. Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, and send forth on us, and on these offered gifts, Thy all-holy Spirit.

THEN, BOWING HIS NECK, HE SAYS: —

The sovereign and quickening Spirit, that sits upon the throne with Thee, our God and Father, and with Thy only-begotten Son, reigning with Thee; the consubstantial and co-eternal; that spoke in the law and in the prophets, and in Thy New Testament; that descended in the form of a dove on our Lord Jesus Christ at the river Jordan, and abode on Him; that descended on Thy apostles in the form of tongues of fire in the upper room of the holy and glorious Zion on the day of Pentecost: this Thine all-holy Spirit, send down, O Lord, upon us, and upon these offered holy gifts;

AND RISING UP, HE SAYS ALOUD: —

That coming, by His holy and good and glorious appearing, He may sanctify this bread, and make it the holy body of Thy Christ.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

And this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST BY HIMSELF STANDING

XXXIII. That they may be to all that partake of them for remission of sins, and for life everlasting, for the sanctification of souls and of bodies, for bearing the fruit of good works, for the stablishing of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou hast founded on the Rock of Faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail against it; delivering it from all heresy and scandals, and from those who work iniquity, keeping it till the fullness of the time.

AND HAVING BOWED, HE SAYS: —

XXXIV. We present them to Thee also, O Lord, for the holy places, which Thou hast glorified by the divine appearing of Thy Christ, and by the visitation of Thy all-holy Spirit; especially for the glorious Zion, the mother of all the churches; and for Thy Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church throughout the world: even now, O Lord, bestow upon her the rich gifts of Thy all-holy Spirit.

Remember also, O Lord, our holy fathers and brethren in it, and the bishops in all the world, who rightly divide the word of Thy truth.

Remember also, O Lord, every city and country, and those of the true faith dwelling in them, their peace and security.

Remember, O Lord, Christians sailing, traveling, sojourning in strange lands; our fathers and brethren, who are in bonds, prison, captivity, and exile; who are in mines, and under torture, and in bitter slavery.

Remember, O Lord, the sick and afflicted, and those troubled by unclean spirits, their speedy healing from Thee, O God, and their salvation.

Remember, O Lord, every Christian soul in affliction and distress, needing Thy mercy and succor, O God; and the return of the erring.

Remember, O Lord, our fathers and brethren, toiling hard, and ministering unto us, for Thy holy name's sake.

Remember all, O Lord, for good: have mercy on all, O Lord, be reconciled to us all: give peace to the multitudes of Thy people: put away scandals: bring wars to an end: make the uprising of heresies to cease: grant Thy peace and Thy love to us, O God our Savior, the hope of all the ends of the earth.

Remember, O Lord, favorable weather, peaceful showers, beneficent dews, abundance of fruits, and to crown the year with Thy goodness; for the eyes of all wait on Thee, and Thou givest their food in due season: thou openest Thy hand, and fillest every living thing with gladness.

Remember, O Lord, those who bear fruit, and labor honorably in the holy of Thy Church; and those who forget not the poor, the widows, the orphans, the strangers, and the needy; and all who have desired us to remember them in our prayers.

Moreover, O Lord, be pleased to remember those who have brought these offerings this day to Thy holy altar, and for what each one has brought them or with what mind, and those persons who have just now been mentioned to Thee.

Remember, O Lord, according to the multitude of Thy mercy and compassion, me also, Thy humble and unprofitable servant; and the deacons who surround Thy holy altar, and graciously give them a blameless life, keep their ministry undefiled, and purchase for them a good degree, that we may find mercy and grace, with all the saints that have been well pleasing to Thee since the world began, to generation and generation — grandsires, sires, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, teachers, saints, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ.

XXXV. Hail, Mary, highly favored: the Lord is with Thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb, for thou didst bear the Savior of our souls.

THE DEACONS

XXXVI. Remember us, O Lord God.

THE PRIEST, BOWING, SAYS: —

Remember, O Lord God, the spirits and all flesh, of whom we have made mention, and of whom we have not made mention, who are of the true faith, from righteous Abel unto this day: unto them do Thou give rest there in the land of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the joy of paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, our holy fathers; whence pain, and grief, and lamentation have fled: there the light of Thy countenance looks upon them, and enlightens them for ever.

Make the end of our lives Christian, acceptable, blameless, and peaceful, O Lord, gathering us together, O Lord, under the feet of Thine elect, when Thou wilt, and as Thou wilt; only without shame and transgressions, through Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ: for He is the only sinless one who hath appeared on the earth.

THE DEACON

And *let us pray*: —

For the peace and establishing of the whole world, and of the holy churches of God, and for the purposes for which each one made his offering, or according to the desire he has: and for the people standing round, and for all men, and all women:

THE PEOPLE

And for all men and all women. (Amen.)

THE PRIEST SAYS ALOUD: —

Wherefore, both to them and to us, do Thou in Thy goodness and love:

THE PEOPLE

Forgive, remit, pardon, O God, our transgressions, voluntary and involuntary: in deed and in word: in knowledge and in ignorance: by night

and by day: in thought and intent: in Thy goodness and love, forgive us them all.

THE PRIEST

Through the grace and compassion and love of Thy only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed and glorified, together with the all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

XXXVII. Peace be to all:

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Again, and continually, in peace let us pray to the Lord.

For the gifts to the Lord God presented and sanctified, precious, heavenly, unspeakable, pure, glorious, dread, awful, divine;

Let us pray.

That the Lord our God, having graciously received them to His altar that is holy and above the heavens, rational and spiritual, for the odor of a sweet spiritual savor, may send down in answer upon us the divine grace and the gift of the all-holy Spirit;

Let us pray.

Having prayed for the unity of the faith, and the communion of His all-holy and adorable Spirit;

Let us commend ourselves and one another, and our whole life, to Christ our God:

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

XXXVIII. God and Father of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, the glorious Lord, the blessed essence, the bounteous goodness, the God and Sovereign of all, who art blessed to all eternity, who sittest upon the cherubim, and art glorified by the seraphim, before whom stand thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand hosts of angels and archangels: Thou hast accepted the gifts, offerings, and fruits brought unto Thee as an odor of a sweet spiritual smell, and hast been pleased to sanctify them, and make them perfect, O good One, by the grace of Thy Christ, and by the presence of Thy all-holy Spirit.

Sanctify also, O Lord, our souls, and bodies, and spirits, and touch our understandings, and search our consciences, and cast out from us every evil imagination, every impure feeling, every base desire, every unbecoming thought, all envy, and vanity, and hypocrisy, all lying, all deceit, every worldly affection, all covetousness, all vainglory, all indifference, all vice, all passion, all anger, all malice, all blasphemy, every motion of the flesh and spirit that is not in accordance with Thy holy will:

(ALOUD.)

And count us worthy, O loving Lord, with boldness, without condemnation, in a pure heart, with a contrite spirit, with unshamed face, with sanctified lips, to dare to call upon Thee, the holy God, Father in heaven, and to say,

THE PEOPLE

Our Father, which art in heaven: hollowed be Thy name; and so on to the doxology.

THE PRIEST, BOWING, SAYS (THE EMBOLISM): —

And lead us not into temptation, Lord, Lord of Hosts, who knowest our frailty, but deliver us from the evil one and his works, and from all his

malice and craftiness, for the sake of Thy holy name, which has been placed upon our humility:

(ALOUD.)

For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and for ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

XXXIX. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

THE PEOPLE

To Thee, O Lord.

The Priest prays, speaking thus: —

To Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our heads before Thy holy altar, waiting for the rich mercies that are from Thee.

Send forth upon us, O Lord, Thy plenteous grace and Thy blessing; and sanctify our souls, bodies, and spirits, that we may become worthy communicants and partakers of Thy holy mysteries, to the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting:

(ALOUD.)

For adorable and glorified art Thou, our God, and Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST SAYS ALOUD: —

And the grace and the mercies of the holy and consubstantial, and uncreated, and adorable Trinity, shall be with us all.

THE PEOPLE

And with thy spirit.

THE DEACON

In the fear of God, let us attend.

THE PRIEST SAYS SECRETLY: —

O holy Lord, that abidest in holy places, sanctify us by the word of Thy grace, and by the visitation of Thy all-holy Spirit: for Thou, O Lord, hast said, Ye will be holy, for I am holy. O Lord our God, incomprehensible Word of God, one in substance with the Father and the Holy Spirit, co-eternal and indivisible, accept the pure hymn, in Thy holy and bloodless sacrifices; with the cherubim, and seraphim, and from me, a sinful man, crying and saying: —

HE TAKES UP THE GIFTS AND SAITH ALOUD: —

XL. The holy things unto holy. The People.

One only is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory to all eternity.

THE DEACON

XLI. For the remission of our sins, and the propitiation of our souls, and for every soul in tribulation and distress, needing the mercy and succor of God, and for the return of the erring, the healing of the sick, the deliverance of the captives, the rest of our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep aforetime;

Let us all say fervently, Lord, have mercy:

THE PEOPLE (TWELVE TIMES)

Lord, have mercy.

THEN THE PRIEST BREAKS THE BREAD, AND HOLDS THE HALF IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE HALF IN HIS LEFT, AND DIPS THAT IN HIS RIGHT HAND IN THE CHALICE, SAYING: —

The union of the all-holy body and precious blood of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ.

THEN HE MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS ON THAT IN HIS LEFT HAND: THEN WITH THAT WHICH HAS BEEN SIGNED THE OTHER HALF: THEN FORTHWITH HE BEGINS TO DIVIDE, AND BEFORE ALL TO GIVE TO EACH CHALICE A SINGLE PIECE, SAYING: —

It has been made one, and sanctified, and perfected, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever.

AND WHEN HE MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS ON THE BREAD, HE SAYS: —

Behold the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, that taketh away the sin of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world.

AND WHEN HE GIVES A SINGLE PIECE TO EACH CHALICE HE SAYS: —

A holy portion of Christ, full of grace and truth, of the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, to whom be the glory and the power to all eternity.

THEN HE BEGINS TO DIVIDE, AND TO SAY: —

XLII. The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want. In green pastures, and so on.

THEN,

I will bless the Lord at all times, and so an.

THEN,

I will extol Thee, my God, O King, and so on.

THEN,

O praise the Lord, all ye nations, and so on.

THE DEACON

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST

The Lord will bless us, and keep us without condemnation for the communion of His pure gifts, now and always, and for ever.

AND WHEN THEY HAVE FILLED, THE DEACON SAYS: —

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

The Lord will bless us, and make us worthy with the pure touchings of our fingers to take the live coal, and place it upon the mouths of the faithful for the purification and renewal of their souls and bodies, now and always.

THEN,

O taste and see that the Lord is good; who is parted and not divided; distributed to the faithful and not expended; for the remission of sins, and the life everlasting; now and always, and for ever.

THE DEACON

In the peace of Christ, let us sing:

THE SINGERS

O taste and see that the Lord is good.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER BEFORE THE COMMUNION

O Lord our God, the heavenly bread, the life of the universe, I have sinned against Heaven, and before Thee, and am not worthy to partake of Thy pure mysteries; but as a merciful God, make me worthy by Thy grace, without condemnation to partake of Thy holy body and precious blood, for the remission of sins, and life everlasting.

XLIII. *Then he distributes to the clergy; and when the deacons take the disks and the chalices for distribution to the people, the Deacon, who takes the first disk, says: —*

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST REPLIES: —

Glory to God who has sanctified and is sanctifying us all.

THE DEACON SAYS: —

Be Thou exalted, O God, over the heavens, and Thy glory over all the earth, and Thy kingdom endureth to all eternity.

AND WHEN THE DEACON IS ABOUT TO PUT IT ON THE SIDE-TABLE

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

Blessed be the name of the Lord our God for ever.

THE DEACON

In the fear of God, and in faith and love, draw nigh.

THE PEOPLE

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

AND AGAIN, WHEN HE SETS DOWN THE DISK UPON THE SIDE-TABLE, HE SAYS: —

Sir, pronounce the blessing.

THE PRIEST

Save Thy people, O God, and bless Thine inheritance.

THE PRIEST AGAIN

Glory to our God, who has sanctified us all.

AND WHEN HE HAS PUT THE CHALICE BACK AN THE HOLY TABLE, THE PRIEST SAYS:

Blessed be the name of the Lord to all eternity.

THE DEACONS AND THE PEOPLE SAY: —

Fill our mouths with Thy praise, O Lord, and fill our lips with joy, that we may sing of Thy glory, of Thy greatness all the day.

AND AGAIN: —

We render thanks to Thee, Christ our God, that Thou hast made us worthy to partake of Thy body and blood, for the remission of sins, and for life everlasting. Do Thou, in Thy goodness and love, keep us, we pray Thee, without condemnation.

THE PRAYER OF INCENSE AT THE LAST ENTRANCE

XLIV. We render thanks to Thee, the Savior and God of all, for all the good things Thou hast given us, and for the participation of Thy holy and pure mysteries, and we offer to Thee this incense, praying: Keep us under the shadow of Thy wings, and count us worthy till our last breath to partake of Thy holy rites for the sanctification of our souls and bodies, for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven: for Thou, O God, art our sanctification, and we send up praise and thanksgiving to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

THE DEACON BEGINS IN THE ENTRANCE

Glory to Thee, glory to Thee, glory to Thee, O Christ the King, only-begotten Word of the Father, that Thou hast counted us, Thy sinful and unworthy servants, worthy to enjoy thy pure mysteries for the remission of sins, and for life everlasting: glory to Thee.

AND WHEN HE HAS MADE THE ENTRANCE, THE DEACON BEGINS TO SPEAK THUS: —

XLV. Again and again, and at all times, in peace, let us beseech the Lord.

That the participation of His Holy rites may be to us for the turning away from every wicked thing, for our support on the journey to life everlasting, for the communion and gift of the Holy Spirit;

Let us pray.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

Commemorating our all-holy, pure, most glorious, blessed Lady, the God-Mother and Ever-Virgin Mary, and all the saints that have been well-pleasing to Thee since the world began, let us devote ourselves, and one another, and our whole life, to Christ our God:

THE PEOPLE

To Thee, O Lord.

THE PRIEST

XLVI. O God, who through Thy great and unspeakable love didst condescend to the weakness of Thy servants, and hast counted us worthy to partake of this heavenly table, condemn not us sinners for the participation of Thy pure mysteries; but keep us, O good One, in the sanctification of Thy Holy Spirit, that being made holy, we may find part and inheritance with all Thy saints that have been well-pleasing to Thee since the world began, in the light of Thy countenance, through the mercy of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and

quickening Spirit: for blessed and glorified is Thy all-precious and glorious name, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

XLVII. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

THE PRIEST

O God, great and marvelous, look upon Thy servants, for we have bowed our heads to Thee. Stretch forth Thy hand, strong and full of blessings, and bless Thy people. Keep Thine inheritance, that always and at all times we may glorify Thee, our only living and true God, the holy and consubstantial Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and to all eternity.

(ALOUD.)

For unto Thee is becoming and is due praise from us all, and honor, and adoration, and thanksgiving, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever.

THE DEACON

XLVIII. In the peace of Christ let us sing:

AND AGAIN HE SAYS: —

In the peace of Christ let us go on:

THE PEOPLE

In the name of the Lord. Sir, pronounce the blessing.

DISMISSION PRAYER, SPOKEN BY THE DEACON

Going on from glory to glory, we praise Thee, the Savior of our souls. Glory to Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit now and ever, and to all eternity. We praise Thee, the Savior of our souls.

THE PRIEST SAYS A PRAYER FROM THE ALTAR TO THE SACRISTY

XLIX. Going on from strength to strength, and having fulfilled all the divine service in Thy temple, even now we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, make us worthy of perfect loving-kindness; make straight our path: root us in Thy fear, and make us worthy of the heavenly kingdom, in Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom Thou art blessed, together with Thy all-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and always, and for ever.

THE DEACON

L. Again and again, and at all times, in peace let us beseech the Lord.

PRAYER SAID IN THE SACRISTY AFTER THE DISMISSAL

Thou hast given unto us, O Lord, sanctification in the communion of the all-holy body and precious blood of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; give unto us also the grace of Thy good Spirit, and keep us blameless in the faith, lead us unto perfect adoption and redemption, and to the coming joys of eternity; for Thou art our sanctification and light, O God, and Thy only-begotten Son, and Thy all-holy Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE DEACON

In the peace of Christ let us keep watch.

THE PRIEST

Blessed is God, who blesseth and sanctifieth through the communion of the holy, and quickening, and pure mysteries, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THEN THE PRAYER OF PROPITIATION

O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Lamb and Shepherd, who takest away the sin of the world, who didst freely forgive their debt to the two debtors, and gavest remission of her sins to the woman that was a sinner, who gavest healing to the paralytic, with the remission of his sins; forgive, remit, pardon, O God, our offenses, voluntary and involuntary, in knowledge and in ignorance, by transgression and by disobedience, which Thy all-holy Spirit knows better than Thy servants do:

And if men, carnal and dwelling in this world, have in aught erred from Thy commandments, either moved by the devil, whether in word or in deed, or if they have come under a curse, or by reason of some special vow, I entreat and beseech Thy unspeakable loving-kindness, that they may be set free from their word, and released from the oath and the special vow, according to Thy goodness.

Verily, O Sovereign Lord, hear my supplication on behalf of Thy servants, and do Thou pass by all their errors, remembering them no more; forgive them every transgression, voluntary and involuntary; deliver them from everlasting punishment: for Thou art He that hast commanded us, saying, Whatsoever things ye bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever things ye loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven: for, thou art our God, a God able to pity, and to save and to forgive sins; and glory is due unto Thee, with the eternal Father, and the quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF THE HOLY APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST MARK, THE DISCIPLE OF THE HOLY PETER.

THE PRIEST

I. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Pray.

THE PEOPLE

Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

THE PRIEST PRAYS SECRETLY

We give Thee thanks, yea, more than thanks, O Lord our God, the Father of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, for all Thy goodness at all times and in all places, because Thou hast shielded, rescued, helped, and guided us all the days of our lives, and brought us unto this hour, permitting us gain to stand before Thee in Thy holy place, that we may implore forgiveness of our sins and propitiation to all Thy people. We pray and beseech Thee, merciful God, to grant in Thy goodness that we may spend this holy day and all the time of our lives without sin, in fullness of joy, health, safety, holiness, and reverence of Thee. But all envy, all fear, all temptation, all the influence of Satan, all the snares of wicked men, do Thou, O Lord, drive away from us, and from Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Bestow upon us, O Lord, what is good and meet. Whatever sin we commit in thought, word, or deed, do Thou in Thy goodness and mercy be pleased to pardon. Leave us not, O Lord, while we hope in Thee; nor lead us into temptation, but deliver us from

the evil one and from his works, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son.

(IN A LOUD VOICE.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, in Thy most holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

II. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Pray for the king.

THE PEOPLE

Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

O God, Sovereign Lord, the Father of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech Thee to grant that our king may enjoy peace, and be just and brave. Subdue under him, O God, all his adversaries and enemies. Gird on thy shield and armor, and rise to his aid. Give him the victory, O God, that his heart may be set on peace and the praise of Thy holy name, that we too in his peaceful reign may spend a calm and tranquil life in all reverence and godly fear, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son:

(IN A LOUD VOICE.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with Thy most holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

III. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Pray for the papas and the bishop.

THE PEOPLE

Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

THE PRIEST

O Sovereign and Almighty God, the Father of our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech Thee to defend in Thy good mercy our most holy and blessed high priest our Father in God Δ, and our most reverend Bishop Δ. Preserve them for us through many years in peace, while they according to Thy holy and blessed will fulfill the sacred priesthood committed to their care, and dispense aright the word of truth; with all the orthodox bishops, elders, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, and laity, with the entire body of the Holy and only Catholic Church. Graciously bestow upon them peace, health, and salvation. The prayers they offer up for us, and we for them, do Thou, O Lord, receive at Thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar. But all the enemies of Thy Holy Church put Thou speedily under their feet, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son:

(ALOUD.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

IV. Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Stand and pray.

THE PEOPLE

Lord have mercy *(thrice).*

THE PRIEST OFFERS UP THE PRAYER OF ENTRANCE, AND FOR INCENSE

THE PRIEST

O Sovereign Lord our God, who hast chosen the lamp of the twelve apostles with its twelve lights, and hast sent them forth to proclaim throughout the whole world and teach the Gospel of Thy kingdom, and to heal sickness and every weakness among the people, and hast breathed upon their faces and said unto them, Receive the Holy Spirit the Comforter: whose-soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained: Breathe also Thy Holy Spirit upon us Thy servants, who, standing around, are about to enter on Thy holy service, upon the bishops, elders, deacons, readers, singers, and laity, with the entire body of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

From the curse and execration, from condemnation, imprisonment, and banishment, and from the portion of the adversary;

O Lord, deliver us.

Purify our lives and cleanse our hearts from all pollution and from all wickedness, that with pure heart and conscience we may offer to Thee this incense for a sweet-smelling savor, and for the remission of our sins and the sins of all Thy people, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son:

(ALOUD.)

Through whom and with whom be the glory and the power to Thee, with Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE DEACON

V. Stand.

THEY SING: —

Only-begotten Son and Word, etc.

THE GOSPEL IS CARRIED IN, AND THE DEACON SAYS: —

Let us pray.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Let us pray.

THE PEOPLE

Lord, have mercy.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF THE TRISAGION

O Sovereign Lord Christ Jesus, the co-eternal Word of the eternal Father, who wast made in all things like as we are, but without sin, for the salvation of our race; who hast sent forth Thy holy disciples and apostles to proclaim and teach the Gospel of Thy kingdom, and to heal all disease, all sickness among Thy people, be pleased now, O Lord, to send forth Thy light and Thy truth. Enlighten the eyes of our minds, that we may understand Thy divine oracles. Fit us to become hearers, and not only hearers, but doers of Thy word, that we, becoming fruitful, and yielding good fruit from thirty to an hundred fold, may be deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven. (Aloud.)

Let Thy mercy speedily overtake us, O Lord. For Thou art the bringer of good tidings, the Savior and Guardian of our souls and bodies and we offer glory, thanks, and the Trisagion to Thee, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen. Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal. Holy, holy, holy, etc.

VI. AFTER THE TRISAGION THE PRIEST MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS OVER THE PEOPLE, AND SAYS: —

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

Then follow the Let us attend; The Apostle and Prologue of the Hallelujah.

THE DEACONS, AFTER A PRESCRIBED FORM, SAY: —

Lord, bless us.

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

May the Lord in His mercy bless and help us, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PRIEST, BEFORE THE GOSPEL IS READ, OFFERS INCENSE, AND SAYS: —

Accept at Thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar, O Lord, the incense we offer in presence of Thy sacred glory. Send down upon us in return the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, for Thou art blessed, and let Thy glory encircle us.

VII. THE DEACON, WHEN HE IS ABOUT TO READ THE GOSPEL, SAYS: —

Lord, bless us.

THE PRIEST

May the Lord, who is the blessed God, bless and strengthen us, and make us hearers of His holy Gospel, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

Amen.

THE DEACON

Stand and let us hear the holy Gospel.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

VIII. THE DEACON READS THE GOSPEL, AND THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF THE COLLECT

Look down in mercy and compassion, O Lord, and heal the sick among Thy people.

May all our brethren who have gone or who are about to go abroad, safely reach their destination in due season.

Send down the gracious rain upon the thirsty lands, and make the rivers flow in full stream, according to Thy grace.

The fruits of the land do Thou, O Lord, fill with seed and make ripe for the harvest.

In peace, courage, justice, and tranquillity preserve the kingdom of Thy servant, whom Thou hast deemed worthy to reign over this land.

From evil days, from famine and pestilence, from the assault of barbarians, defend, O Lord, this Christ-loving city, lowly and worthy of Thy compassion, as Thou didst spare Nineveh of old.

For Thou art full of mercy and compassion, and rememberest not the iniquities of men against them.

Thou hast said through Thy prophet Isaiah, — I will defend this city, to save it for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

Wherefore we pray and beseech Thee to defend in Thy good mercy this city, for the sake of the martyr and evangelist Mark, who has shown us the way of salvation through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son.

(ALOUD.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit.

THE DEACON

IX. Begin.

THEN THEY SAY THE VERSE.
THE DEACON SAYS —THE THREE

THE PRIEST

O Sovereign and Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech Thee to fill our hearts with the peace of heaven, and to bestow moreover the peace of this life. Preserve for us through many years our most holy and blessed Papas Δ, and our most pious Bishop Δ, while they, according to Thy holy and blessed will, peacefully fulfill the holy priesthood committed to their care, and dispense aright the word of truth, with all the orthodox bishops, elders, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, with the entire body of the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Bless our meetings, O Lord. Grant that we may hold them without let or hindrance, according to Thy holy will. Be pleased to give to us, and Thy servants after us for ever, houses of praise and prayer. Rise, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered. Let all who hate Thy holy name be put to flight. Bless Thy faithful and orthodox people. Multiply them by thousands and tens of thousands.

Let no deadly sin prevail against them, or against Thy holy people, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son.

(ALOUD.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE DEACON

Take care that none of the catechumens —

2

THEN THEY SING THE CHERUBIC HYMN

X. THE PRIEST OFFERS INCENSE AT THE ENTRANCE, AND PRAYS: —

O Lord our God, who lackest nothing, accept this incense offered by an unworthy hand, and deem us all worthy of Thy blessing, for Thou art our sanctification, and we ascribe glory to Thee.

THE HOLY THINGS ARE CARRIED TO THE ALTAR, AND THE PRIEST PRAYS THUS: —

O holy, highest, awe-inspiring God, who dwellest among the saints, sanctify us, and deem us worthy of Thy reverend priesthood. Bring us to Thy precious altar with a good conscience, and cleanse our hearts from all pollution. Drive away from us all unholy thoughts, and sanctify our souls and minds. Grant that, with reverence of Thee, we may perform the service of our holy fathers, and propitiate Thy presence through all time; for Thou art He who blesseth and sanctifieth all things, and to Thee we ascribe glory and thanks.

THE DEACON

XI. Salute one another.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF SALUTATION

O Sovereign and Almighty Lord, look down from heaven on Thy Church, on all Thy people, and on all Thy flock. Save us all, Thy unworthy servants, the sheep of Thy fold. Give us Thy peace, Thy help, and Thy love, and send to us the gift of Thy Holy Spirit, that with a pure heart and a good conscience we may salute one another with an holy kiss, without

hypocrisy, and with no hostile purpose, but guileless and pure in one spirit, in the bond of peace and love, one body and one spirit, in one faith, even as we have been called in one hope of our calling, that we may all meet in the divine and boundless love, in Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom Thou art blessed.

THEN THE PRIEST OFFERS THE INCENSE, AND SAYS: —

The incense is offered to Thy name. Let it ascend, we implore Thee, from the hands of Thy poor and sinful servants to Thy heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savor, and the propitiation of all Thy people. For all glory, honor, adoration, and thanks are due unto Thee, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen.

AFTER THE SALUTATION, THE DEACON IN A LOUD VOICE SAYS: —

XII. Stand and make the offering duly.

THE PRIEST, MAKING THE SIGN OF THE CROSS OVER THE DISKS AND CHALICES, SAYS IN A LOUD VOICE (THE NICENE CREED): —

I believe in one God, etc.

THE DEACON

Stand for prayer.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Pray for those who present the offering.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF THE OBLATION

O Sovereign Lord, Christ Jesus the Word, who art equal in power with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the great high priest; the bread that came down

from heaven, and saved our souls from ruin; who gavest Thyself, a spotless Lamb, for the life of the world...

We pray and beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy mercy, to let Thy presence rest upon this bread and these chalices on the all-holy table, while angels, archangels, and Thy holy priests stand round and minister for Thy glory and the renewing of our souls, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son, through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee.

AND WHEN THE PEOPLE SAY,

And from the Holy Spirit was He made flesh;

THE PRIEST MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS, AND SAYS: —

And was crucified for us.

THE PRIEST MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS AGAIN, AND SAYS: —

And to the Holy Spirit.

3

XIII. IN LIKE MANNER ALSO, AS AFTER THE CREED, HE MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS UPON THE PEOPLE, AND SAYS ALOUD: —

The Lord be with all.

THE PEOPLE

And with thy spirit.

THE PRIEST

Let us lift up our hearts.

THE PEOPLE

We lift them up to the Lord.

THE PRIEST

Let us give thanks to the Lord.

THE PEOPLE

It is meet and right.

The Priest begins the Anaphoral prayer.

O Lord God, Sovereign and Almighty Father, truly it is meet and right, holy and becoming, and good for our souls, to praise, bless, and thank Thee; to make open confession to Thee by day and night with voice, lips, and heart without ceasing;

To Thee who hast made the heaven, and all that is therein; the earth, and all that is therein;

The sea, fountains, rivers, lakes, and all that is therein;

To Thee who, after Thine own image and likeness, hast made man, upon whom Thou didst also bestow the joys of Paradise;

And when he trespassed against Thee, Thou didst neither neglect nor forsake him, good Lord,

But didst recall him by Thy law, instruct him by Thy prophets, restore and renew him by this awful, life-giving, and heavenly mystery.

And all this Thou hast done by Thy Wisdom and the Light of truth, Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ,

Through whom, thanking Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit,

We offer this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice, which all nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun, from the north and the south, present to Thee, O Lord; for great is Thy name among all peoples, and in all places are incense, sacrifice, and oblation offered to Thy holy name.

XIV. We pray and beseech Thee, O *lover of men, O good Lord*, remember in Thy good mercy the Holy and only Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the whole world, and all Thy people, and all the sheep of this fold. Vouchsafe to the hearts of all of us the peace of heaven, but grant us also the peace of this life.

Guide and direct in all peace the king, army, magistrates, councils, peoples, and neighbor-hoods, and all our outgoings and incomings.

O King of Peace, grant us Thy peace in unity and love. May we be Thine, O Lord; for we know no other God but Thee, and name no other name but Thine. Give life unto the souls of all of us, and let no deadly sin prevail against us, or against all Thy people.

Look down in mercy and compassion, O Lord, and heal the sick among Thy people. Deliver them and us, O Lord, from sickness and disease, and drive away the spirit of weakness.

Raise up those who have been long afflicted, and heal those who are vexed with unclean spirits.

Have mercy on all who are in prison, or in mines, or on trial, or condemned, or in exile, or crushed by cruel bondage or tribute. Deliver them, O Lord, for Thou art our God, who settest the captives free; who raisest up the downtrodden; who givest hope to the hopeless, and help to the helpless; who liftest up the fallen; who givest refuge to the shipwrecked, and vengeance to the oppressed.

Pity, relieve, and restore every Christian soul that is afflicted or wandering.

But do Thou, O Lord, the physician of our souls and bodies, the guardian of all flesh, look down, and by Thy saving power heal all the diseases of soul and body.

Guide and prosper our brethren who have gone or who are about to go abroad. Whether they travel by land, or river, or lake, by public road, or in whatever way journeying, bring them everywhere to a safe and tranquil haven. Be pleased to be with them by land and sea, and restore them in health and joy to joyful and healthful homes. Ever defend, O Lord, our journey through this life from trouble and storm.

Send down rich and copious showers on the dry and thirsty lands.

Gladden and revive the face of the earth, that it may spring forth and rejoice in the raindrops.

Make the waters of the river flow in full stream.

Gladden and revive the face of the earth with the swelling waters.

Fill all the channels of the streams, and multiply the fruits of the earth.

Bless, O Lord, the fruits of the earth, and keep them safe and unharmed. Fill them with seed, and make them ripe for the harvest.

Bless even now, O Lord, Thy yearly crown of blessing for the sake of the poor of Thy people, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, and for the sake of all of us who have our hope in Thee and call upon Thy holy name; for the eyes of all are upon Thee, and Thou givest them bread in due season.

O Thou who givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that at all times, having all sufficiency, we may abound to every good work in Christ Jesus our Lord.

O King of kings and Lord of lords, defend the kingdom of Thy servant, our orthodox and Christ-loving sovereign, whom Thou hast deemed worthy to reign over this land in peace, courage, and justice.

Subdue under him, O Lord, every enemy and adversary, whether at home or abroad. Gird on Thy shield and armor, and rise to his aid. Draw Thy sword, and help him to fight against them that persecute him. Shield him in the day of battle, and grant that the fruit of his loins may sit upon his throne.

Be kind to him, O Lord, for the sake of Thy Holy and Apostolic Church, and all Thy Christ-loving people, that we too in his peaceful reign may live a calm and tranquil life, in all reverence and godliness.

O Lord our God, give peace to the souls of our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep in Jesus, remembering our forefathers of old, our fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, and the souls of all the holy and just men who have died in the Lord.

Especially remember those whose memory we this day celebrate, and our holy father Mark, the apostle and evangelist, who has shown us the way of salvation.

THE DEACON

Lord, bless us.

THE PRIEST

The Lord will bless thee in His grace, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE DEACON READS THE RECORD OF THE DEAD

THE PRIEST BOWS AND PRAYS

XV. Give peace, O Sovereign Lord our God, to the souls of all who dwell in the tabernacles of Thy saints. Graciously bestow upon them in Thy kingdom Thy promised blessing, which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man what Thou, O God, hast prepared for those who love Thy holy name. Give peace to their souls, and deem them worthy of the kingdom of heaven.

Grant that we may end our lives as Christians, acceptable unto Thee and without sin, and be pleased to give us part and lot with all Thy saints.

Accept, O God, by Thy ministering archangels at Thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar in the spacious heavens, the thank-offerings of those who offer sacrifice and oblation, and of those who desire to offer much or little, in secret or openly, but have it not to give.

Accept the thank-offerings of those who have presented them this day, as Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel:

THE PRIEST OFFERS INCENSE, AND SAYS: —

As Thou didst accept the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow’s two mites, accept also the thank-offerings of these, and give them for the things of time the things of eternity, and for the things of earth the things of heaven. Defend, O

Lord, our most holy and blessed Papas Δ, whom Thou hast fore-ordained to rule over Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and our most pious Bishop Δ, that they through many years of peace may, according to Thy holy and blessed will, fulfill the sacred priesthood committed to their care, and dispense aright the word of truth.

Remember the orthodox bishops everywhere, the elders, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, singers, monks, virgins, widows, and laity.

Remember, O Lord, the holy city of our God, Jesus Christ; and the imperial city; and this city of ours, and all cities and all lands, and the peace and safety of those who dwell therein in the orthodox faith of Christ. Be mindful, O Lord, of the return of the back-sliding, and of every Christian soul that is afflicted and oppressed, and in need of Thy divine mercy and help.

Be mindful, O Lord, of our brethren in captivity. Grant that they may find mercy and compassion with those who have led them captive.

Be mindful also of us, O Lord, Thy sinful and unworthy servants, and blot out our sins in Thy goodness and mercy.

Be mindful also of me, Thy lowly, sinful, and unworthy servant, and in Thy mercy blot out my sins.

Be with us, O Lord, who minister unto Thy holy name.

Bless our meetings, O Lord.

Utterly uproot idolatry from the world.

Crush under our feet Satan, and all his wicked influence.

Humble now, as at all times, the enemies of Thy Church.

Lay bare their pride.

Speedily show them their weakness.

Bring to naught the wicked plots they contrive against us.

Arise, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered, and let all who hate Thy holy name be put to flight.

Do Thou bless a thousand times ten thousand Thy faithful and orthodox people while they do Thy holy will.

THE DEACON

Let those who are seated stand.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE FOLLOWING PRAYER: —

Deliver the captive; rescue the distressed feed the hungry; comfort the faint-hearted, convert the erring; enlighten the darkened; raise the fallen; confirm the wavering; heal the sick; and guide them all, good Lord, into the way of salvation, and into Thy sacred fold. Deliver us from our iniquities; protect and defend us at all times.

THE DEACON

Turn to the east.

THE PRIEST BOWS AND PRAYS

For Thou art far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. Round Thee stand ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands of holy angels and hosts of archangels; and Thy two most honored creatures, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim. With twain they cover their faces, and with twain they cover their feet, and with twain they do fly; and they cry one to another for ever with the voice of praise, and glorify Thee, O Lord, singing aloud the triumphal and thrice-holy hymn to Thy great glory: —

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

(ALOUD.)

Thou dost ever sanctify all men; but with all who glorify Thee, receive also, O Sovereign Lord, our sanctification, who with them celebrate Thy praise, and say: —

THE PEOPLE

Holy, holy, holy Lord.

THE PRIEST MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS OVER THE SACRED MYSTERIES

XVI. For truly heaven and earth are full of Thy glory, through the manifestation of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ. Fill, O God, this sacrifice with Thy blessing, through the inspiration of Thy all-holy Spirit. For the Lord Himself, our God and universal King, Christ Jesus, reclining at meat the same night on which He delivered Himself up for our sins and died in the flesh for all, took bread in His holy, pure, and immaculate hands, and lifting His eyes to His Father, our God, and the God of all, gave thanks; and when He had blessed, hallowed, and broken the bread, gave it to His holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying: —

(ALOUD.)

Take, eat.

THE DEACON

Pray earnestly.

The Priest (aloud).

For this is my body, which is broken for you, and divided for the remission of sins.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

After the same manner also, when He had supped, He took the cup of wine mingled with water, and lifting His eyes to Thee, His Father, our God, and the God of all, gave thanks; and when He had blessed and filled it

with the Holy Spirit, gave it to His holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying: —

(ALOUD.)

Drink ye all of it.

THE DEACON

Pray earnestly again.

THE PRIEST (ALOUD)

For this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for you and for many, and distributed among you for the remission of sins.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST PRAYS THUS: —

This do ye in remembrance of me; for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death and acknowledge my resurrection and ascension until I come. O Sovereign and Almighty Lord, King of heaven, while we show forth the death of Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ, and acknowledge His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day, we do also openly declare His ascension into heaven, and His sitting on the right hand of Thee, God and Father, and await His second terrible and dreadful coming, in which He will come to judge righteously the quick and the dead, and to render to each man according to his works.

XVII. O Lord our God, we have placed before Thee what is Thine from Thine own mercies. We pray and beseech Thee, O good and merciful God, to send down from Thy holy heaven, from the mansion Thou hast prepared, and from Thine infinite bosom, the Paraclete Himself, holy, powerful, and life-giving, the Spirit of truth, who spoke in the law, the apostles, and prophets; who is everywhere present, and filleth all things, freely working sanctification. in whom He will with Thy good pleasure;

one in His nature; manifold in His working; the fountain of divine blessing; of like substance with Thee, and proceeding from Thee; sitting with Thee on the throne of Thy kingdom, and with Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ. Send down upon us also and upon this bread and upon these chalices Thy Holy Spirit, that by His all-powerful and divine influence He may sanctify and consecrate them, and make this bread the body.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST (ALOUD)

And this cup the blood of the new testament, of the very Lord, and God, and Savior, and universal King Christ Jesus.

THE DEACON

Deacons, come down.

THE PRIEST (ALOUD)

That to all of us who partake thereof they may tend unto faith, sobriety, healing, temperance, sanctification, the renewal of soul, body, and spirit, participation in the blessedness of eternal life and immortality, the glory of Thy most holy name, and the remission of sins, that Thy most holy, precious, and glorious name may be praised and glorified in this as in all things.

THE PEOPLE

As it was and is.

THE PRIEST

XVIII. Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Pray.

THE PRIEST PRAYS IN SECRET

O God of light, Father of life, Author of grace, Creator of worlds, Founder of knowledge, Giver of wisdom, Treasure of holiness, Teacher of pure prayers, Benefactor of our souls, who givest to the faint-hearted who put their trust in Thee those things into which the angels desire to look: O Sovereign Lord, who hast brought us up from the depths of darkness to light, who hast given us life from death, who hast graciously bestowed upon us freedom from slavery, who hast scattered the darkness of sin within us, through the presence of Thine only-begotten Son, do Thou now also, through the visitation of Thy all-holy Spirit, enlighten the eyes of our understanding, that we may partake without fear of condemnation of this heavenly and immortal food, and sanctify us wholly in soul, body, and spirit, that with Thy holy disciples and apostles we may say this prayer to Thee: Our Father who art in heaven, etc.

(ALOUD.)

And grant, O Sovereign Lord, in Thy mercy, that we with freedom of speech, without fear of condemnation, with pure heart and enlightened soul, with face that is not ashamed, and with hollowed lips, may venture to call upon Thee, the holy God who art in heaven, as our Father, and say: —

THE PEOPLE

Our Father who art in heaven, etc.

THE PRIEST PRAYS: —

Verily, Lord, Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thy abundant mercy showeth that we through our great infirmity are unable to resist it.

Grant that we may find a way whereby we may be able to withstand temptation; for Thou hast given us power to tread upon serpents, and scorpions, and all the power of the enemy.

(ALOUD.)

For Thine is the kingdom and power.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

xix. Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Bow your heads to Jesus.

THE PEOPLE

Thou, Lord.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

O Sovereign and Almighty Lord, who sittest upon the cherubim, and art glorified by the seraphim; who hast made the heaven out of waters, and adorned it with choirs of stars; who hast placed an unbodied host of angels in the highest heavens to sing Thy praise for ever; before Thee have we bowed our souls and bodies in token of our bondage. We beseech Thee to repel the dark assaults of sin from our understanding, and to gladden our minds with the divine radiance of Thy Holy Spirit, that, filled with the knowledge of Thee, we may worthily partake of the mercies set before us, the pure body and precious blood of Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ. Pardon all our sins in Thy abundant and unsearchable goodness, through the grace, mercy, and love of Thine only-begotten Son:

(ALOUD.)

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with the all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit.

THE PRIEST

xx. Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

With the fear of God.

THE PRIEST PRAYS

O holy, highest, awe-inspiring God, who dwellest among the saints, sanctify us by the word of Thy grace and by the inspiration of Thy all-holy Spirit; for Thou hast said, O Lord our God, Be ye holy; for I am holy. O Word of God, past finding out, consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and sharer of their sovereignty, accept the pure song which cherubim and seraphim, and the unworthy lips of Thy sinful and unworthy servant, sing aloud.

THE PEOPLE

Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

THE PRIEST (ALOUD)

Holy things for the holy.

THE PEOPLE

One Father holy, one Son holy, one Spirit holy, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

THE DEACON

For salvation and help.

THE PRIEST MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS UPON THE PEOPLE,

AND SAITH IN A LOUD VOICE: —

The Lord be with all.

THE PRIEST BREAKS THE BREAD, AND SAITH: —

Praise ye God.

THE PRIEST DIVIDES
IT AMONG THOSE PRESENT, AND SAITH: —

The Lord will bless and help you through His great mercy.

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

Command.

THE CLERGY SAY: —

The Holy Spirit commands and sanctifies.

THE PRIEST

Lo, they are sanctified and consecrated.

THE CLERGY

One holy Father, etc. (thrice).

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

The Lord be with all.

THE CLERGY

And with thy spirit.

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

The Lord Himself hath blessed it.

THE PRIEST PARTAKES, AND PRAYS

According to Thy loving-kindness, etc.

OR,

As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, etc.

WHEN HE GIVES THE BREAD TO THE CLERGY, HE SAYS: —

The holy body.

AND WHEN HE GIVES THE CHALICE, HE SAYS: —

The precious blood of our Lord, and God, and Savior.

4

AFTER THE SERVICE IS COMPLETED, THE DEACON SAYS: —

XXI. Stand for prayer.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE DEACON

Pray.

THE PRIEST SAYS THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

O Sovereign Lord our God, we thank Thee that we have partaken of Thy holy, pure, immortal, and heavenly mysteries, which Thou hast given for our good, and for the sanctification and salvation of our souls and bodies. We pray and beseech Thee, O Lord, to grant in Thy good mercy, that by partaking of the holy body and precious blood of Thine only-begotten Son, we may have faith that is not ashamed, love that is unfeigned, fullness of holiness, power to eschew evil and keep Thy commandments, provision for eternal life, and an acceptable defense before the awful tribunal of Thy Christ:

IN A LOUD VOICE

Through whom and with whom be glory and power to Thee, with Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit.

THE PRIEST THEN TURNS TO THE PEOPLE, AND SAYS: —

XXII. O mightiest King, co-eternal with the Father, who by Thy might hast vanquished hell and trodden death trader foot, who hast bound the strong man, and by Thy miraculous power and the enlightening radiance of Thy unspeakable Godhead hast raised Adam from the tomb, send forth Thy invisible right hand, which is full of blessing, and bless us all.

Pity us, O Lord, and strengthen us by Thy divine power.

Take away from us the sinful and wicked influence of carnal desire.

Let the light shine into our souls, and dispel the surrounding darkness of sin.

Unite us to the all-blessed assembly that is well-pleasing unto Thee; for through Thee and with Thee, all praise, honor, power, adoration, and thanksgiving are due unto the Father and the Holy Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE DEACON

Depart in peace:

THE PEOPLE

In the name of the Lord.

THE PRIEST (ALOUD)

XXIII. The love of God the Father; the grace of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; the communion and gift of the All-holy Spirit, be with us all, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

THE PRIEST PRAYS IN THE SACRISTY, AND SAYS: —

O Lord, Thou hast given us sanctification by partaking of the all-holy body and precious blood of Thine only-begotten Son; give us the grace and gift of the All-holy Spirit. Enable us to lead blameless lives; and guide us unto the perfect redemption, and adoption, and the everlasting joys of the world to come. For Thou art our sanctification, and we ascribe glory unto Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the All-holy Spirit, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

THE PEOPLE

Amen.

THE PRIEST

Peace be to all.

THE PEOPLE

And to thy spirit.

THE PRIES T DISMISSES THEM, AND SAYS: —

May God bless, who blesseth and sanctifieth, who defendeth and preserveth us all through the partaking of His holy mysteries; and who is blessed for ever. Amen.

THE LITURGY OF THE BLESSED APOSTLES

COMPOSED BY ST. ADAEUS AND ST. MARIS, TEACHERS OF THE EASTERNS

1. First: Glory To God In The Highest, Etc

Our Father which art in heaven.

PRAYER

Strengthen, O our Lord and God, our weakness through Thy mercy, that we may administer the holy mystery which has been given for the renovation and salvation of our degraded nature, through the mercies of Thy beloved Son the Lord of all.

ON COMMON DAYS

Adored, glorified, lauded, celebrated, exalted, and blessed in heaven and on earth, be the adorable and glorious name of Thine ever-glorious Trinity, O Lord of all.

On common days they sing the Psalm , Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle? entire with its canon, of the mystery of the sacraments.

(ALOUD.)

Who shall shout with joy? etc.

PRAYER

11. Before the resplendent throne of Thy majesty, O Lord, and the exalted and sublime throne of Thy glory, and on the awful seat of the strength of Thy love and the propiatory altar which Thy will hath established, in the region of Thy pasture, with thousands of cherubim praising Thee, and ten thousands of seraphim sanctifying Thee, we draw near, adore, thank, and glorify Thee always, O Lord of all.

ON COMMEMORATIONS AND FRIDAYS

Thy name, great and holy, illustrious and blessed, the blessed and incomprehensible name of Thy glorious Trinity, and Thy kindness to our race, we ought at all times to bless, adore, and glorify, O Lord of all.

RESPONSORY AT THE CHANCEL, AS ABOVE

Who commanded, etc.

To the priest, etc.

PRAYER

How breathes in us, O our Lord and God, the sweet fragrance of the sweetness of Thy love; illumined are our souls, through the knowledge of Thy truth: may we be rendered worthy of receiving the manifestation of Thy beloved from Thy holy heavens: there shall we render thanks unto Thee, and, in the meantime, glorify Thee without ceasing in Thy Church, crowned and filled with every aid and blessing, because Thou art Lord and Father, Creator of all.

III. *Prayer of Incense.*

We shall repeat the hymn to Thy glorious Trinity, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

ON FAST-DAYS

And on account, etc.

AT THE COMMEMORATION OF SAINTS

Thou, O Lord, art truly the raiser up of our bodies: Thou art the good Savior of our souls, and the secure preserver of our life; and we ought to thank Thee continually, to adore and glorify Thee, O Lord of all.

AT THE LESSONS

Holy art Thou, worthy of praise, mighty, immortal, who dwellest in the holies, and Thy will resteth in them: have regard unto us, O Lord; be

merciful unto us, and pity us, as Thou art our helper in all circumstances, O Lord of all.

IV. At The Apostle

Enlighten, O our Lord and God, the movements of our meditations to hear and understand the sweet listenings to Thy life-giving and divine commands; and grant unto us through Thy grace and mercy to gather from them the assurance of love, and hope, and salvation suitable to soul and body, and we shall sing to Thee everlasting glory without ceasing and always, O Lord of all.

ON FAST-DAYS

To Thee, the wise governor, etc.

V. Descending, He Shall Salute The Gospel, Saying This Prayer Before The Altar

Thee, the renowned seed of Thy Father, and the image of the person of Thy Father, who wast revealed in the body of our humanity, and didst arise to us in the light of Thy annunciation, Thee we thank, adore, etc.

AND AFTER THE PROCLAMATION: —

Thee, O Lord God Almighty, we beseech and entreat, perfect with us Thy grace, and pour out through our hands Thy gift, the pity and compassion of Thy divinity. May they be to us for the propitiation of the offenses of Thy people, and for the forgiveness of the sins of the entire flock of Thy pasture, through Thy grace and tender mercies, O good friend of men, O Lord of all.

VI. The Deacons Say:

Bow your heads.

THE PRIEST SAYS THIS SECRET PRAYER IN THE SANCTUARY: —

O Lord God Omnipotent, Thine is the Holy Catholic Church, inasmuch as Thou, through the great passion of Thy Christ, didst buy the sheep of Thy pasture; and from the grace of the Holy Spirit, who is indeed of one nature with Thy glorious divinity, are granted the degrees of the true priestly ordination; and through Thy clemency Thou didst vouchsafe, O Lord, to make our weakness spiritual members in the great body of Thy Holy Church, that we might administer spiritual aid to faithful souls. Now, O Lord, perfect Thy grace with us, and pour out Thy gift through our hands: and may Thy tender mercies and the clemency of Thy divinity be upon us, and upon the people whom Thou hast chosen for Thyself.

(ALOUD.)

And grant unto us, O Lord, through Thy clemency, that we may all together, and equally every day of our life, please Thy divinity, and be rendered worthy of the aid of Thy grace to offer Thee praise, honor, thanksgiving, and adoration at all times, O Lord.

VII. And The Deacons Ascend To The Altar, And Say:

He who has not received baptism, etc.

AND THE PRIEST BEGINS THE RESPONSORY OF THE MYSTERIES, AND THE SACRISTAN AND DEACON PLACE THE DISK AND THE CHALICE UPON THE ALTAR. THE PRIEST CROSSES HIS HANDS, AND SAYS: —

We offer praise to Thy glorious Trinity at all times and for ever.

AND PROCEEDS: —

May Christ, who was offered for our salvation, and commanded us to commemorate His death and His resurrection, Himself receive this sacrifice from the hands of our weakness, through His grace and mercies for ever. Amen.

AND PROCEEDS: —

Laid are the renowned holy and life-giving mysteries upon the altar of the mighty Lord, even until His advent, for ever. Amen.

Praise, etc.

Thy memory, etc.

Our Father, etc.

The apostles of the Father, etc.

Upon the holy altar, etc.

They who have slept, etc.

Matthew Mark, Luke, etc.

THE CREED.

VIII. The Priest Draws Near To Celebrate, And Thrice Bows Before The Altar, The Middle Of Which He Kisses, Then The Right And The Left Horn Of The Altar; And Bows To The Gospel Side, And Says: —

Bless, O Lord, etc.

Pray for me, my fathers, brethren, and masters, that God may grant unto me the capability and power to perform this service to which I have drawn near, and that this oblation may be accepted from the hands of my weakness, for myself, for you, and for the whole body of the Holy Catholic Church, through His grace and mercies for ever. Amen.

AND THEY RESPOND: —

May Christ listen to thy prayers, and be pleased with thy sacrifice, receive thy oblation, and honor thy priesthood, and grant unto us, through thy mediation, the pardon of our offenses, and the forgiveness of our sins, through His grace and mercies for ever.

PRESENTLY HE BOWS AT THE OTHER SIDE, UTTERING THE SAME WORDS; AND THEY RESPOND IN THE SAME MANNER: THEN HE BOWS TO THE ALTAR, AND SAYS: —

God, Lord of all, be with us through His grace and mercies for ever. Amen.

AND BOWING TOWARDS THE DEACON, WHO IS ON THE LEFT(EPISTLE SIDE), HE SAYS:

God, the Lord of all, confirm thy words, and secure to thee peace, and accept this oblation from my hands for me, for thee, for the whole body of the Holy Catholic Church, and for the entire world, through His grace and mercies for ever.

HE KNEELS AT THE ALTAR, AND SAYS IN SECRET: —

IX. O our Lord and God, look not on the multitude of our sins, and let not Thy dignity be turned away on account of the heinousness of our iniquities; but through Thine unspeakable grace sanctify this sacrifice of Thine, and grant through it power and capability, so that Thou mayest forget our many sins, and be merciful when Thou shalt appear at the end of time, in the man whom Thou hast assumed from among us, and we may find before Thee grace and mercy, and be rendered worthy to praise Thee with spiritual assemblies.

HE RISES, AND SAYS THIS PRAYER IN SECRET: —

We thank Thee, O our Lord and God, for the abundant riches of Thy grace to us:

AND HE PROCEEDS: —

Us who were sinful and degraded, on account of the multitude of Thy clemency, Thou hast made worthy to celebrate the holy mysteries of the body and blood of Thy Christ. We beg aid from Thee for the strengthening of our souls, that in perfect love and true faith we may administer Thy gift to us.

CANON

And we shall ascribe to Thee praise, glory, thanksgiving, and adoration, now, always, and for ever and ever.

HE SIGNS HIMSELF WITH THE SIGN OF THE CROSS, AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

X. And He Proceeds: —

Peace be with you:

THEY RESPOND: —

With thee and with thy spirit.

AND THEY GIVE THE (KISS OF) PEACE TO EACH OTHER, AND SAY: —

For all:

THE DEACON SAYS: —

Let us thank, entreat, and beseech.

THE PRIEST SAYS THIS PRAYER IN SECRET: —

O Lord, mighty God, help my weakness through Thy clemency and the aid of Thy grace; and make me worthy of offering before Thee this oblation, as for the common aid of all, and to the praise of Thy Trinity, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

ANOTHER PRAYER

O our Lord and God, restrain our thoughts, that they wander not amid the vanities of this world. O Lord our God, grant that I may be united to the affection of Thy love, unworthy though I be. Glory be to Thee, O Christ.

Ascend into the chamber of Thy renowned light, O Lord; sow in me the good seed of humility; and under the wings of Thy grace hide me through Thy mercy. If Thou wert to mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? Because there is mercy with Thee.

[THE PRIEST SAYS THE FOLLOWING PRAYER IN SECRET: —

O mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, beseech for me the only-begotten Son, who was born of thee, to forgive me my offenses and my sins, and to accept from my feeble and sinful hands this sacrifice which my weakness offers upon this altar, through thy intercession for me, O holy mother.]

XI. When The Deacon Shall Say, With Watchfulness And Care, Etc., Immediately The Priest Rises Up And Uncovers The Sacraments, Taking Away The Veil With Which They Were Covered: He Blesses The Incense, And Says A Canon With A Loud Voice: —

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, now, etc.

HE SIGNS THE SACRAMENTS, AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

THE PRIEST PROCEEDS: —

Lift up your minds:

THEY RESPOND: —

They are towards Thee, O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, O glorious King.

THE PRIEST

The oblation is offered to God, the Lord of all.

THEY RESPOND: —

It is meet and right.

THE DEACON

Peace be with you.

**THE PRIEST PUTS ON THE INCENSE,
AND SAYS THIS PRAYER: —**

O Lord, Lord, grant me an open countenance before Thee, that with the confidence which is from Thee we may fulfill this awful and divine sacrifice with consciences free from all iniquity and bitterness. Sow in us, O Lord, affection, peace, and concord towards each other, and toward every one.

AND STANDING, HE SAYS IN SECRET: —

Worthy of glory from every mouth, and of thanksgiving from all tongues, and of adoration and exaltation from all creatures, is the adorable and glorious name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who created the world through His grace, and its inhabitants through His clemency, who saved men through His mercy, and showed great favor towards mortals. Thy majesty, O Lord, thousands of thousands of heavenly spirits, and ten thousand myriads of holy angels, hosts of spirits, ministers of fire and spirit, bless and adore; with the holy cherubim and the spiritual seraphim they sanctify and celebrate Thy name, crying and praising, without ceasing crying unto each other.

THEY SAY WITH A LOUD VOICE: —

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; full are the heavens and the earth of His glory.

THE PRIEST IN SECRET: —

Holy, holy, holy art Thou, O Lord God Almighty; the heavens and the earth are full of His glory and the nature of His essence, as they are glorious with the honor of His splendor; as it is written, The heaven and the earth are full of me, saith the mighty Lord.

Holy art Thou, O God our Father, truly the only one, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. Holy art Thou, Eternal Son, through

whom all things were made. Holy art Thou, Holy, Eternal Spirit, through whom all things are sanctified.

Woe to me, woe to me, who have been astonied, because I am a man of polluted lips, and dwell among a people of polluted lips, and my eyes have seen the King, the mighty Lord. How terrible today is this place! For this is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven; because Thou hast been seen eye to eye, O Lord.

Now, I pray, may Thy grace be with us, O Lord; purge away our impurities, and sanctify our lips; unite the voices of our insignificance with the sanctification of seraphim and archangels. Glory be to Thy tender mercies, because Thou hast associated the earthly with the heavenly.

AND HE PROCEEDS, SAYING IN SECRET THIS PRAYER, IN A BOWING POSTURE: —

XII. And with those heavenly powers we give Thee thanks, even we, Thine insignificant, pithless, and feeble servants; because Thou hast granted unto us Thy great grace which cannot be repaid. For indeed Thou didst take upon Thee our human nature, that Thou mightest bestow life on us through Thy divinity; Thou didst exalt our low condition; Thou didst raise our ruined state; Thou didst rouse up our mortality; Thou didst wash away our sins; Thou didst blot out the guilt of our sins; Thou didst enlighten our intelligence, and Thou didst condemn our enemy, O Lord our God; and Thou didst cause the insignificance of our pithless nature to triumph.

HERE FOLLOW THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION, AFTER WHICH: —

Through the tender mercies of Thy grace poured out, O clement One, pardon our offenses and sins; blot out my offenses in the judgment. And on account of all Thy aids and Thy favors to us, we shall ascribe unto Thee praise, honor, thanksgiving, and adoration, now, always, and for ever and ever.

**THE PRIEST SIGNS THE SACRAMENTS.
THE RESPONSE IS MADE**

Amen.

THE DEACON

In your minds. Pray for peace with us.

**THE PRIEST SAYS
THIS PRAYERS BOWING, AND IN A LAW VOICE: —**

O Lord God Almighty, accept this oblation for the whole Holy Catholic Church, and for all the pious and righteous fathers who have been pleasing to Thee, and for all the prophets and apostles, and for all the martyrs and confessors, and for all that mourn, that are in straits, and are sick, and for all that are under difficulties and trials, and for all the weak and the oppressed, and for all the dead that have gone from amongst us; then for all that ask a prayer from our weakness, and for me, a degraded and feeble sinner. O Lord our God, according to Thy mercies and the multitude of Thy favors, look upon Thy people, and on me, a feeble man, not according to my sins and my follies, but that they may become worthy of the forgiveness of their sins through this holy body, which they receive with faith, through the grace of Thy mercy for ever and ever. Amen.

**THE PRIEST SAYS THIS PRAYER OF
INCLINATION IN SECRET: —**

XIII. Do Thou, O Lord, through Thy many and ineffable mercies, make the memorial good and acceptable with that of all the pious and righteous fathers who have been pleading before Thee in the commemoration of the body and blood of Thy Christ, which we offer to Thee upon Thy pure and holy altar, as Thou hast taught us; and grant unto us Thy rest all the days of this life.

HE PROCEEDS WITH THE GREAT OBLATION: —

O Lord our God, bestow on us Thy rest and peace all the days of this life, that all the inhabitants of the earth may know Thee, that Thou art the only

true God the Father, and Thou didst send our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son and Thy beloved; and He Himself our Lord and God came and taught us all purity and holiness. Make remembrance of prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, doctors, priests, deacons, and all the sons of the Holy Catholic Church who have been signed with the sign of life, of holy baptism. We also, O Lord:

HE PROCEEDS: —

We, Thy degraded, weak, and feeble servants who are congregated in Thy name, and now stand before Thee, and have received with joy the form which is from Thee, praising, glorifying, and exalting, commemorate and celebrate this great, awful, holy, and divine mystery of the passion, death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

And may Thy Holy Spirit come, O Lord, and rest upon this oblation of Thy servants which they offer, and bless and sanctify it; and may it be unto us, O Lord, for the propitiation of our offenses and the forgiveness of our sins, and for a grand hope of resurrection from the dead, and for a new life in the kingdom of the heavens, with all who have been pleasing before Him. And on account of the whole of Thy wonderful dispensation towards us, we shall render thanks unto Thee, and glorify Thee without ceasing in Thy Church, redeemed by the precious blood of Thy Christ, with open mouths and joyful countenances:

CANON

Ascribing praise, honor, thanksgiving, and adoration to Thy holy, loving, and life-giving name, now, always, and for ever.

THE PRIEST SIGNS THE MYSTERIES WITH THE CROSS, AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

THE PRIEST BOWS HIMSELF AND KISSES THE ALTAR, FIRST IN THE MIDDLE, THEN AT THE TWO SIDES RIGHT AND LEFT, AND SAYS THIS PRAYER: —

Have mercy upon me, O God, down to the words, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee: and unto Thee lift I up mine eyes, down to have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us. Also stretch forth Thy hand, and let Thy right hand save me, O Lord; may Thy mercies remain upon me, O Lord, for ever, and despise not the works of Thy hands.

THEN HE SAYS THIS PRAYER: —

XIV. O Christ, peace of those in heaven and great rest of those below, grant that Thy rest and peace may dwell in the four parts of the world, but especially in Thy Holy Catholic Church; grant that the priesthood with the government may have peace; cause wars to cease from the ends of the earth, and scatter the nations that delight in wars, that we may enjoy the blessing of living in tranquillity and peace, in all temperance and fear of God. Spare the offenses and sins of the dead, through Thy grace and mercies for ever.

AND TO THOSE WHO ARE AROUND THE ALTAR HE SAYS: —

Bless, O Lord. Bless, O Lord.

AND HE PUTS ON THE INCENSE WITH WHICH HE FUMES HIMSELF, AND SAYS: —

Sweeten, O Lord our God, the unpleasing savor of our souls through the sweetness of Thy love, and through it cleanse me from the stains of my sin, and forgive me my offenses and sins, whether known or unknown to me.

A SECOND TIME HE TAKES THE INCENSE WITH BOTH HANDS, AND CENSES THE MYSTERIES; PRESENTLY HE SAYS: —

The clemency of Thy grace, O our Lord and God, gives us access to these renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries, unworthy though we be.

THE PRIEST REPEATS THESE WORDS ONCE AND AGAIN, AND AT EACH INTERVAL UNITES HIS HANDS OVER HIS BREAST IN THE FORM OF A CROSS. HE KISSES THE ALTAR IN THE MIDDLE, AND RECEIVES WITH BOTH HANDS THE UPPER OBLATION;

AND LOOKING UP, SAYS: —

Praise be to Thy holy name, O Lord Jesus Christ, and adoration to Thy majesty, always and for ever. Amen.

For He is the living and life-giving bread which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the whole world, of which they who eat die not; and they who receive it are saved by it, and do not see corruption, and live through it for ever; and Thou art the antidote of our mortality, and the resurrection of our entire frame.

XV.

XVI. Praise to Thy holy name, O Lord. (As above.)

THE PRIEST KISSES THE HOST IN THE FORM OF A CROSS; IN SUCH A WAY, HOWEVER, THAT HIS LIPS DO NOT TOUCH IT, BUT APPEAR TO KISS IT; AND HE SAYS:

Glory to Thee, O Lord; glory to Thee, O Lord, on account of Thine unspeakable gift to us, for ever.

THEN HE DRAWS NIGH TO THE FRACTION OF THE HOST, WHICH HE ACCOMPLISHES WITH BOTH HIS HANDS, SAYING: —

We draw nigh, O Lord, with true faith, and break with thanksgiving and sign through Thy mercy the body and blood of our Life-giver, Jesus Christ, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

AND, NAMING THE TRINITY, HE BREAKS THE HOST, WHICH HE HOLDS IN HIS HANDS, INTO TWO PARTS: AND THE ONE WHICH IS IN HIS LEFT HAND HE LAYS DOWN ON THE DISK; WITH THE OTHER, WHICH HE HOLDS IN HIS RIGHT HAND, HE SIGNS THE CHALICE, SAYING: —

The precious blood is signed with the holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost for ever.

AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

THEN HE DIPS IT EVEN TO THE MIDDLE IN THE CHALICE, AND SIGNS WITH IT THE BODY WHICH IS IN THE PATEN, SAYING: —

The holy body is signed with the propitiatory blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost for ever.

AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

AND HE UNITES THE TWO PARTS, THE ONE WITH THE OTHER, SAYING: —

Divided, sanctified, completed, perfected, united, and commingled have been these renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries, the one with the other, in the adorable and glorious name of Thy glorious Trinity, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that they may be to us, O Lord, for the propitiation of our offenses and the forgiveness of our sins; also for the grand hope of a resurrection from the dead, and of a new life in the kingdom of the heavens, for us and for the Holy Church of Christ our Lord, here and in every place whatsoever, now and always, and for ever.

XVII. In the meantime he signs the host with his right thumb in the form of a cross from the lower part to the upper, and from the right to the left, and thus forms a slight fissure in it where it has been dipped in the blood. He puts a part of it into the chalice in the farm of a cross: the lower part is placed towards the priest, the upper towards the chalice, so that the place of the fissure looks to the chalice. He bows, and rising, says: —

Glory be to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, who hast made me, unworthy though I be, through Thy grace, a minister and mediator of Thy renowed, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries: through the grace of Thy mercy, make me worthy of the pardon of my offenses and the forgiveness of my sins.

HE SIGNS HIMSELF WITH THE SIGN OF THE CROSS AN HIS FOREHEAD, AND DOES THE SAME TO THOSE STANDING ROUND HIM

THE DEACONS APPROACH, AND HE SIGNS EACH ONE OF THEM AN THE FOREHEAD, SAYING: —

Christ accept thy ministry: Christ cause thy face to shine: Christ save thy life: Christ make thy youth to grow.

AND THEY RESPOND: —

Christ accept thy oblation.

XVIII. All return to their own place; and the priest, after bowing, rises and says, in the tone of the gospel: —

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with us all.

THE PRIEST SIGNS HIMSELF, AND LIFTS UP HIS HAND OVER HIS HEAD, SO THAT IT SHOULD BE IN THE AIR, AND THE PEOPLE BE PARTAKERS IN THE SINGING: —

THE DEACON SAYS: —

We all with fear, etc.

AND AT THESE WORDS: —

He hath given to us His mysteries:

THE PRIEST BEGINS TO BREAK THE BODY, AND SAYS: —

Be merciful, O Lord, through Thy clemency to the sins and follies of Thy servants, and sanctify our lips through Thy grace, that they may give the fruits of glory and praise to Thy divinity, with all Thy saints in Thy kingdom.

AND, RAISING HIS VOICE, HE SAYS: —

And make us worthy, O Lord our God, to stand before Thee continually without stain, with pure heart, with open countenance, and with the confidence which is from Thee, mercifully granted to us: and let us all with one accord invoke Thee, and say thus: Our Father, etc.

THE PEOPLE SAY: —

Our Father, etc.

THE PRIEST

O Lord God Almighty, O Lord and our good God, who art full of mercy, we beg Thee, O Lord our God, and beseech the clemency of Thy goodness; lead us not into temptation, but deliver and save us from the evil one and his hosts; because Thine is the kingdom, the power, the strength, the might, and the dominion in heaven and on earth, now and always.

HE SIGNS HIMSELF, AND THEY RESPOND: —

Amen.

XIX. And He Proceeds: —

Peace be with you.

THEY RESPOND: —

With thee and with thy spirit.

HE PROCEEDS: —

It is becoming that the holy things should be to the holy in perfection.

AND THEY SAY: —

One holy Father: one holy Son: one Holy Ghost. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE DEACON

Praise ye.

AND THEY SAY THE RESPONSORY. AND WHEN THE DEACON COMES TO CARRY THE CHALICE, HE SAYS: —

Let us pray for peace with us.

THE PRIEST SAYS: —

The grace of the Holy Ghost be with thee, with us, and with those who receive Him.

AND HE GIVES THE CHALICE TO THE DEACON. THE DEACON SAYS: —

Bless, O Lord.

THE PRIEST

The gift of the grace of our Life-giver and Lord Jesus Christ be completed, in mercies, with all.

AND HE SIGNS THE PEOPLE WITH THE CROSS. IN THE MEANTIME THE RESPONSORIES ARE SAID

Brethren, receive the body of the Son, cries the Church, and drink ye His chalice with faith in the house of His kingdom.

ON FEAST-DAYS

Strengthen, O Lord, etc.

ON THE LORD'S DAY

O Lord Jesus Christ, etc.

DAILY

The mysteries which we have received, etc.

THE RESPONSORIES BEING ENDED, THE DEACON SAYS: —

All therefore, etc.

AND THEY RESPOND: —

Glory be to Himself on account of His ineffable gift.

THE DEACON

Let us pray for peace with us.

THE PRIEST AT THE MIDDLE OF THE ALTAR SAYS THIS PRAYER: —

XX. It is meet, O Lord, just and right in all days, times, and hours, to thank, adore, and praise the awful name of Thy majesty, because Thou hast through Thy grace, O Lord, made us, mortal men possessing a frail nature, worthy to sanctify Thy name with the heavenly beings, and to become partakers of the mysteries of Thy gift, and to be delighted with the sweetness of Thy oracles. And voices of glory and thanksgiving we ever offer up to Thy sublime divinity, O Lord.

ANOTHER

Christ, our God, Lord, King, Savior, and Life-giver, through His grace has made us worthy to receive His body and His precious and all-sanctifying blood. May He grant unto us that we may be pleasing unto Him in our words, works, thoughts, and deeds, so that that pledge which we have received may be to us for the pardon of our offenses, the forgiveness of our sins, and the grand hope of a resurrection from the dead, and a new and true life in the kingdom of the heavens, with all who have been pleasing before Him, through His grace and His mercies for ever.

ON ORDINARY DAYS

Praise, O Lord, honor, blessing, and thanksgiving we ought to ascribe to Thy glorious Trinity for the gift of Thy holy mysteries, which Thou hast given to us for the propitiation of our offenses, O Lord of all.

ANOTHER

Blessed be Thy adorable honor, from Thy glorious place, O Christ, the propitiator of our offenses and our sins, and who takest away our follies through Thy renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries. Christ the hope of our nature always and for ever. Amen.

OBSIGNATION OR FINAL BENEDICTION

May our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom we have ministered, and whom we have seen and honored in His renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries, Himself render us worthy of the splendid glory of His kingdom, and of gladness with His holy angels, and for confidence before Him, that we may stand at His right hand.

And on our entire congregation may His mercies and compassion be continually poured out, now and always, and ever.

ON THE LORD’S DAY AND ON FEAST-DAYS

May He Himself who blessed us with all spiritual blessings in the heavens, through Jesus Christ our Lord, and prepared us for His kingdom, and called us to the desirable good things which neither cease nor perish, as

He promised to us in His life-giving Gospel, and said to the blessed congregation of His disciples — Verily, verily I say unto you, that every one who eateth my body and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and I will raise him up at the last day; and he cometh not to judgment, but I will make him pass from death to eternal life:

May He Himself now bless this congregation, and maintain our position, and render glorious our people who have come and rejoiced in receiving His renowned, holy, life-giving, and divine mysteries; and may ye be sealed and guarded by the holy sign of the Lord's cross from all evils, secret and open, now and always.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(DISCIPLE OF THE HOLY PETER, P. 551.)

THE early use of the originals of this liturgy in the Alexandrian patriarchate accounts for its bearing the name of St. Mark, — "sister's son to Barnabas," as St. Paul calls him. That he was St. Peter's pupil may be inferred from that Apostle's language, — "Marcus, my son." See Clement's testimony concerning him (with Eusebius) in vol. ii. this series. That he founded the "Evangelical See," though resting on great historic authority, seems to be doubted in our times by some.

2

(OUR HOLY FATHER MARK, P. 566.)

While St. Mark could not have written this, it may, of course, have been added at a very early date. This most touching prayer bears marks of great antiquity, the reference to our "Christ-loving sovereign" comporting better with the early enthusiasm inspired by Constantine's conversion than with the disappointments incurred under his Arianizing or apostate successors.

Now, this commemoration of St. Mark would of itself attach his name to the liturgy.

But here is the place to note the principles of these primitive prayers for saints departed. They could only be offered in behalf of the holy dead who had fallen asleep in full communion with Christ and His Church; They were not prayers for their deliverance out of one place into another; They recognized the *repose* (not yet the *triumph*) of the faithful departed as incomplete, and hence invoked for them a blessed consummation of peace and joy in the resurrection.

Now, all this is fatal to the Roman dogmas and usages, because they thus include St. Mark and the Blessed Virgin in these commemorations; while Rome teaches, not only that these great saints went immediately to the excellent glory, and there have reigned with Christ ever since they died, but that on this very ground, and that of their *supererogatory* merits, the Pontiff holds a purse of their excessive righteousness to dispense to meaner Christians.

St. Augustine speaks of his dear Nebridius as in Abraham's bosom, but finds comfort in commemorating him and Monica his mother, "because it is so comfortable." This is his idea, in a word: "Et credo jam feceris quod to rogo, sed (Psalm 119:108) *voluntaria* oris mei, approba, Domine."

3

(HOLY THINGS FOR THE HOLY, P. 559.)

Bingham has so fully elucidated this by quotations from Chrysostom (Hom. vii.) and others, that one might think it useless to attach to it any other meaning than that which Chrysostom understands in it; viz., "Holy things for holy persons." It occurs just before the communicating of the faithful, and has nothing whatever to do with the "elevation of the host," — a Western ceremony of the fourteenth century. Yet, in an otherwise (generally) useful manual of liturgies, an attempt is made to give it this meaning; and the preceding prayer of "Intense Adoration," addressed to the Great High Priest in the heavens, is debased to eke out the weak idea. Nothing could be more averse to the primitive principle of worship; but it

is sufficient to note the fact that the “elevation of the host” revolutionized the eucharistic worship of the West as soon as it was established. It abolished the Eucharist practically as the *synaxis*, or communion of the faithful, and made it only a sacrifice *for* them in their behalf; not to be eaten and received, but to be gazed at; not for all the faithful at all times, excluding even catechumens from beholding it, but to be displayed to all eyes in pompous ceremonials, carried through the streets, and dispensed only in half-communion, once a year, to the individual communicant. All these ancient liturgies, corrupted as they are in all the mss. we possess, are yet liturgies for communicating the faithful, in their turns, one and all; and, so far, they are true to the Scriptures and the precepts of Christ and His Apostles. But well does the pious Hirscher exclaim, with reference to the Mass, as he was obliged to celebrate it in his own gorgeous cathedral at Freiburg in the Breisgau: “What would an Apostle think we were doing, should he enter during Our ceremonies?” Also, “I know all that can be said in their favor. I know just as well that by them *the spirit is turned apart from internal godliness*, and born away; and that, with such appeals to sense, withdrawal from things of sense becomes impossible.... God is a Spirit: He looks to be adored *in spirit and in truth*, and all ceremonial which dulls the adoration of the spirit is odious to God. To glorify self, as His minister, before the King of kings, before the majesty of the Creator, before His Christ, naked and crucified, — is it not an absurdity, a ceremony of contradictions? The people no longer comprehend the ceremonial... to see them satisfied by mere corporal attendance, is it not deplorable? They do not understand Latin. Is it not melancholy that they take no real part in the touching offices of the Holy Week? Is not a deplorable indifference the result; in France, for example? Nay, at Rome also?”

His remonstrances were vain; he was cruelly censured, yet he died in the Papal communion. Dear Hirscher! The venerable man kissed me when I parted from him in 1851, and gave me his blessing with a primitive spirit of Christian charity. I gratefully quote him here.

In Germany a passing stranger often sees the pious peasantry at Mass, singing with all their hearts their beautiful German hymns. It misleads, however. They are not attending to the Mass, but consoling themselves by spiritual songs, while it goes on without their assistance. The bell rings:

they adore the host, but that is all their relation to the worship of the Christian liturgies. Hirscher loved their hymns, but bewailed the utter loss of their liturgic communion, once common to the faithful.

4

(TEACHERS OF THE EASTERNS, ETC., P. 561.)

The apostle Thaddeus is called *Addai* in Syriac. Maris is said to have been one of the seventy disciples, but his name is not on the list ascribed to Hippolytus. He was the first bishop of the people now called "Nestorians," but whom Dr. Badger prefers to call "the Christians of Assyria."

We have this liturgy in another form in Dr. Badger's important work, *Nestorians and their Rituals*. He selects that called "the Liturgy of Nestorius" from three which are in use among the Assyrians, but criticises the translation of Renaudot as not entirely faultless. It is selected by Dr. Badger because of its reputed Nestorianism; while Hammond gives us what is here translated, in Renaudot's Latin. We must bear in mind, that, since the Ephesine Council (A.D. 431), these Christians have been separated from the communion of Eastern orthodoxy.

The Malabar Liturgy should be carefully compared with this by the student. A convenient translation of it is to be found in Neale and Littledale. A most important fact, by the way, is noted in their translation; viz., that in this Malabar "the invocation of the Holy Ghost, *contrary to the use of every other Oriental liturgy*, preceded the words of institution;" that is to say, in the work of *the Portuguese revisers*, a work from which Dr. Neale and his colleague feel justified in making "a considerable alteration" as to the order of the prayers.

The words of institution are found in the Malabar, and suggest that they belong not less to this Liturgy of the Assyrians, though, *ex summa verecundia*, they are omitted from the transcript, as the Lord's Prayer is omitted in the Clementine. The normal form of this corrupted liturgy is credited with extreme antiquity by Dr. Neale. To his learned and cogent reasoning on the subject the student should by all means refer.

5

(FOR ALL THE PROPHETS AND CONFESSORS, P. 565.)

These commemorations of the dead, it will be noted, are in behalf of the most glorious apostles and saints, and for martyrs who go straight to glory. Obviously, as Usher has said, for whatever purpose, then, the departed were commemorated, it was not to change their estate before the resurrection, much less to relieve them from purgatorial penalties. This comes out in the "Liturgy of St. Chrysostom" (so called), where it is said: "We offer to Thee this reasonable service for those who have fallen asleep in faith,... patriarchs, apostles, evangelists, martyrs,... and every *just one made perfect in* the faith: *especially* our all-holy, undefiled, most blessed Lady, *Theotokos* and ever-virgin Mary," etc. But she, they tell us, was *assumed* into glory, like Christ Himself, and reigns with Him as "Queen of Angels," etc. See Elucidation II.

6

(THE PROPITIATORY BLOOD, ETC., P. 566.)

The peril of confounding the early use of this idea of propitiation with the mediaeval theory, which is quite another, is well pointed out and enforced by Burbidge. The primitive writers and the ancient liturgies "do not regard the Eucharist as being *itself* a propitiatory offering," but it is the perpetual pleading of the blood of propitiation once offered. Thus St. Chrysostom: "We do not offer another sacrifice, but *always the same.*" So far, his words might be quoted to favor the Middle-Age doctrine; but he guards himself, and adds: "or, *rather, we make a memorial* of the sacrifice."

The rhetoric of the liturgies and of the Fathers was unhappily made into the logic of the Schoolmen, and hence the stupendous system of propitiatory Masses, with Masses for the dead, and that traffic in Masses which so fearfully defiles the priesthood of Western Europe and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America. In vain does the pious Hirscher complain: "The rich, then, are the happy sinners in this respect:

they can buy innumerable Masses, and establish them in perpetuity; their privileges have no limit, and their advantages over the poor extend through all eternity." His book was put into the Index (<44169>Acts 16:19, 19:27), but it was never answered.

7

Let me now recur to Elucidation III. on p. 507, to which I would here add the following from Bishop Williams, as there quoted: —

"In both the Mozarabic and the Gallican Liturgies there was an invocation as well as an oblation. Irenaeus says (and he, writing at Lyons, must have in mind the Gallican Liturgy),'The bread which is of the earth, having received the *invocation of God*, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist.' The word translated 'invocation' is ἐπίκλησιν; and it is worthy of notice that Basil and Cyril of Jerusalem use the same word in evidently the same technical sense (Harvey's *Irenaeus*, vol. ii. pp. 205-207 and notes). In another passage Irenaeus speaks even more distinctly: 'We offer to God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks to Him for that He hath commanded the earth to bring forth these fruits for our nourishment; and, having finished the offering. we invoke the Holy Spirit that He may exhibit (or declare, ἀποφήνῃ) this sacrifice and bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, that they who shall receive these antitypes may obtain remission of sins and everlasting life' (Harvey's *Irenaeus*, vol. ii. p. 502). This passage is a remarkable one. It proves beyond question, that, in the time of Irenaeus d. A.D. 202 or 208), the Liturgy of Gaul contained an invocation of the Holy Ghost following the oblation of the bread and cup. Moreover, when we compare the words of Irenaeus with those of the Clementine Liturgy, their agreement is too clear and precise to be explained as a mere chance-matter. The liturgy reads, 'Send down Thy Holy Spirit on this sacrifice, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may exhibit (ἀποφήνῃ) this bread, the body of Thy Christ, and this cup, the blood of Thy Christ, that they who shall receive,' etc. Irenaeus says as above, using the same word (ἀποφήνῃ), a word which is found, it is believed, in no liturgy but the Clementine."

Now I humbly suggest that Justin Martyr and Irenaeus *concur* in giving us evidence that the *Clementine Liturgy* is substantially that which was used in Rome and Gaul in their times. The latter may have received it from Polycarp. The use of the Roman and the Greek churches was uniform in his day, as may be inferred from the intercourse of Polycarp and Victor.

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THE

ANTE-NICENE FATHERS

The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325

THE REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.,

EDITORS

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VOLUME 8

THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, EXCERPTS AND EPISTLES

THE CLEMENTINA

APOCRYPHA

DECRETALS

MEMOIRS OF EDESSA AND SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

REMAINS OF THE FIRST AGES.

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FATHERS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

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AMERICAN EDITION

CHRONICALLY ARRANGED, WITH NOTES, PREFACES, AND ELUCIDATIONS,

BY

A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω

The Nicene Council

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THE TESTAMENTS

OF THE

TWELVE PATRIARCHS

1

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN CONCERNING THOUGHTS

1. The copy of the Testament of Reuben, what things he charged his sons before he died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. When he was sick two years after the death of Joseph, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And he said to them, My children, I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And when he saw there Judah and Gad and Asher, his brethren, he said to them, Raise me up, my brethren, that I may tell to my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for from henceforth my strength faileth me. And he arose and kissed them, and said, weeping: Hear, my brethren, give ear to Reuben your father, what things I command you. And, behold, I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the ignorance of youth and fornication wherein I ran greedily, and I defiled the bed of Jacob my father. For I tell you that He smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not Jacob our father prayed for me to the Lord, surely the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old when I did this evil in the sight of the Lord, and for seven months I was sick even unto death; and I repented for seven years in the set purpose of my soul before the Lord. Wine and strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I tasted not pleasant food, mourning over my sin, for it was great. And it shall not so be done in Israel.

2. And now hear me, my children, what things I saw in my repentance concerning the seven spirits of error. Seven spirits are given against man

from Beliar, and they are chief of the works of youth; and seven spirits are given to him at his creation, that in them should be done every work of man. The first spirit is of life, with which man's whole being is created. The second spirit is of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third spirit is of hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth spirit is of smelling, with which taste is given to draw air and breath. The fifth spirit is of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The sixth spirit is of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by them strength is produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh spirit is of begetting and sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sin also entereth in: wherefore it is the last in order of creation, and the first of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, which leadeth the young as a blind man to a pit, and as cattle to a precipice.

3. Besides all these, there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is created entrancement of man's nature, and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error. The first , the spirit of fornication, dwelleth in the nature and in the senses; the second spirit of insatiateness in the belly; the third spirit of fighting in the liver and the gall. The fourth is the spirit of fawning and trickery, that through over-officiousness a man may be fair in seeming. The fifth is the spirit of arrogance, that a man may be stirred up and become high-minded. The sixth is the spirit of lying, in perdition and in jealousy to feign words, and to conceal words from kindred and friends. The seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are theft and pilferings, that a man may work the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by means of craft. Besides all these, the spirit of sleep, the eighth spirit, is conjoined with error and fantasy. And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth.

And now, children, love the truth, and it shall preserve you. I counsel you, hear ye Reuben your father. Pay no heed to the sight of a woman, nor yet associate privately with a female under the authority of a husband, nor meddle with affairs of womankind. For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity. For my mind, dwelling on the woman's nakedness, suffered me not to sleep until I had done the abominable deed. For while Jacob our father was absent with

Isaac his father, when we were in Gader, near to Ephratha in Bethlehem, Bilhah was drunk, and lay asleep uncovered in her chamber; and when I went in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought that impiety, and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father Jacob concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.

4. Pay no heed, therefore, to the beauty of women, and muse not upon their doings; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and be laboring in works, and roaming in study and among your flocks, until the Lord give to you a wife whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did. Until my father's death I had not boldness to look steadfastly into the face of Jacob, or to speak to any of my brethren, because of my reproach; and even until now my conscience afflicteth me by reason of my sin. And my father comforted me; for he prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass away from me, even as the Lord showed me. From henceforth, then, I was protected, and I sinned not. Therefore, my children, observe all things whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For fornication is the destruction of the soul, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and understanding, and bringeth down young men into hell before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, it maketh him a reproach and a laughing-stock with Beliar and the sons of men. For in that Joseph kept himself from every woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, he found favor before the Lord and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and called for magicians, and offered him love potions, and the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. Therefore the God of my fathers delivered him from every visible and hidden death. For if fornication overcome not the mind, neither shall Beliar overcome you.

5. Hurtful are women, my children; because, since they have no power or strength over the man, they act subtly through outward guise how they may draw him to themselves; and whom they cannot overcome by strength, him they overcome by craft. For moreover the angel of God told me concerning them, and taught me that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and they devise in their heart against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and instill

the poison by the glance of their eye, and then they take them captive by their doings, for a woman cannot overcome a man by force.

Therefore flee fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters that they adorn not their heads and their faces; because every woman who acteth deceitfully in these things hath been reserved to everlasting punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers before the flood; and as these continually beheld them, they fell into desire each of the other, and they conceived the act in their mind, and changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them in their congress with their husbands; and the women, having in their minds desire toward their apparitions, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6. Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in your mind, guard your senses against every woman. And command them likewise not to company with men, that they also be pure in their mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an irremediable disease, and to us an everlasting reproach of Beliar; for fornication hath neither understanding nor godliness in itself, and all jealousy dwelleth in the desire thereof. Therefore ye will be jealous against the sons of Levi, and will seek to be exalted over them; but ye shall not be able, for God will work their avenging, and ye shall die by an evil death. For to Levi the Lord gave the sovereignty, and to Judah, and to me also with them, and to Dan and Joseph, that we should be for rulers. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgment and sacrifice for all Israel until the completion of the times of Christ, the High Priest whom the Lord hath declared. I adjure you by the God of heaven to work truth each one with his neighbor; and draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel; and specially Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to rule over all the peoples. And worship we his Seed, because He shall die for us in wars visible and invisible, and shall be among you an everlasting king.

7. And Reuben died after that he had given command to his sons; and they placed him in a coffin until they bore him up from Egypt, and buried him in Hebron in the double cave where his fathers were.

2

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON CONCERNING ENVY

1. The copy of the words of Simeon, what things he spake to his sons before he died, in the hundred and twentieth year of his life, in the year in which Joseph died. For they came to visit him when he was sick, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said to them: —

2. Hear, O my children, hear Simeon your father, what things I have in my heart. I was born of Jacob my father, his second son; and my mother Leah called me Simeon, because the Lord heard her prayer. I became strong exceedingly; I shrank from no deed, nor was I afraid of anything. For my heart was hard, and my mind was unmoveable, and my bowels unfeeling: because valor also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and in body. And at that time I was jealous of Joseph because our father loved him; and I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, that I regarded him not as a brother, and spared not Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him out of my hands. For when I went into Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to Dotham, where were our necessaries and all our stores, Judah our brother sold him to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came he was grieved, for he wished to have restored him safe to his father. But I was wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and for five months I continued wrathful against him; but God restrained me, and withheld from me all working of my hands, for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my children, that because of Joseph this happened to me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the Lord that He would restore my hand unto me, and that I might be kept from all pollution and envy, and from all folly. For I knew that I had devised an evil deed before the Lord and Jacob my father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.

3. And now, children, take heed of the spirit of deceit and of envy. For envy ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him neither to eat, nor to drink, nor to do any good thing: it ever suggesteth to him to destroy

him that he envieth; and he that is envied ever flourisheth, but he that envieth fades away. Two years of days I afflicted my soul with fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God. If a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind becometh easy. And henceforward he sympathizeth with him whom he envied, and condemneth not those who love him, and so ceaseth from his envy.

4. And my father asked concerning me, because he saw that I was sad; and I said, I am pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph. And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound the as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly, and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: compassionate and pitiful, he bore not malice against me; nay, he loved me even as the rest of his brothers. Take heed, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of soul and with good heart, keeping in mind the brother of your father, that God may give to you also grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in him. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own soul, and beyond his own sons; and he glorified us, and gave riches, and cattle, and fruits freely to us all. Do ye then also, my beloved children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and remove from you the spirit of envy, for this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it turneth his purposes into anger and war, and stirreth up unto blood, and leadeth the mind into frenzy, and suffereth not prudence to act in men: moreover, it taketh away sleep, and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body. For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth at his soul, and with wicked spirits disturbeth it, and causeth the body to be troubled, and the mind to awake from sleep in confusion; and as though having a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5. Therefore was Joseph fair in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because there dwelt not in him any wickedness; for in trouble of the spirit the face declareth it. And now, my children, make your hearts good before the Lord, and your ways straight before men, and ye shall find grace before God and men. And take heed not to commit fornication, for fornication is mother of all evils, separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar. For I

have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall with you be corrupted in fornication, and shall do wrong against Levi with the sword. But they shall not prevail against Levi, for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer all your hosts; and there shall be a few divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also my father Jacob prophesied in his blessings.

6. Behold, I have foretold you all things, that I may be clear from the sin of your souls. Now, if ye remove from you your envy, and all your stiffneckedness, as a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel, and as a lily my flesh in Jacob, and my odor shall be as the odor of Libanus; and as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever, and their branches shall stretch afar off. Then shall perish the seed of Canaan, and a remnant shall not be to Amalek, and all the Cappadocians shall perish, and all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed. Then shall fail the land of Ham, and every people shall perish. Then shall all the earth rest from trouble, and all the world under heaven from war. Then shall Shem be glorified, because the Lord God, the Mighty One of Israel, shall appear upon earth as man, and saved by Him Adam. Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trampled under foot, and men shall rule over the wicked spirits. Then will I arise in joy, and will bless the Most High because of His marvelous works, because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men.

7. And now, my children, obey Levi, and in Judah shall ye be redeemed: and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for from them shall arise to you the salvation of God. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a Priest, and from Judah as it were a King, God and man. So shall He save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel. Therefore I command you all things, in order that ye also may command your children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8. And Simeon made an end of commanding his sons, and slept with his fathers, being an hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a coffin of incorruptible wood, to take up his bones to Hebron. And they carried them up in a war of the Egyptians secretly: for the bones of Joseph the Egyptians guarded in the treasure-house of the palace; for the sorcerers told them that at the departure of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout the whole of Egypt darkness and gloom, and an exceeding great

plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

9. And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father according to the law of mourning, and they were in Egypt until the day of their departure from Egypt by the hand of Moses.

3

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI CONCERNING THE PRIESTHOOD AND ARROGANCE

1. The copy of the words of Levi, what things he appointed to his sons, according to all that they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgment. He was in sound health when he called them to him, for it had been shown to him that he should die. And when they were gathered together be said to them: —

2. I Levi was conceived in Haran and born there, and after that I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about twenty years of age, when with Simeon I wrought the vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And when we were feeding our flocks in Abel-Maul, a spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built to itself walls, and iniquity sat upon towers; and I grieved for the race of men, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain: this is the mountain of Aspis in Abel-Maul. And behold, the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter. And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there water hanging between the one and the other. And I saw a third heaven far brighter than those two, for there was in it a height without bounds. And I said to the angel, Wherefore is this? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at these, for thou shall see four other heavens brighter than these, and without comparison, when thou shall have ascended thither: because thou shalt stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister, and shall declare His mysteries to men, and shalt proclaim concerning Him who shall redeem Israel; and by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, saving in

them every race of men; and of the portion of the Lord shall be thy life, and He shall be thy field and vineyard, fruits, gold, silver.

3. Hear, then, concerning the seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause more gloomy, in that it is near all the iniquities of men. The second hath fire, snow, ice, ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord, in the righteous judgment of God: in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the wicked. In the third are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And the heavens up to the fourth above these are holy, for in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness. In the heaven next to it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the ignorances of the righteous; and they offer to the Lord a reasonable sweet-smelling savor, and a bloodless offering. And in the heaven below this are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord. And in the heaven next to this are thrones, dominions, in which hymns are ever offered to God. Therefore, whenever the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses, are shaken at the presence of His majesty; but the sons of men, regarding not these things, sin, and provoke the Most High.

4. Now, therefore, know that the Lord will execute judgment upon the sons of men; because when the rocks are rent, and the sun quenched, and the waters dried up, and the fire trembling, and all creation troubled, and the invisible spirits melting away, and the grave spoiled in the suffering of the Most High, men unbelieving will abide in their iniquity, therefore with punishment shall they be judged. Therefore the Most High hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldest become to Him a son, and a servant, and a minister of His presence. A shining light of knowledge shalt thou shine in Jacob, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And a blessing shall be given to thee, and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the heathen in the tender mercies of His Son, even for ever. Nevertheless thy sons shall lay hands upon Him to crucify Him; and therefore have counsel and understanding been given thee, that thou mightest instruct thy sons concerning Him, because he that blesseth Him shall be blessed, but they that curse Him shall perish.

5. And the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and the Most High upon a throne of glory. And He said to me, Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until that I shall come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me to the earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said, Work vengeance on Shechem because of Dinah, and I will be with thee, because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tablets. And I said to Him, I pray Thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And He said, I am the angel who intercedeth for the race of Israel, that He smite them not utterly, because every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I was as it were awaked, and blessed the Most High, and the angel that intercedeth for the race of Israel, and for all the righteous.

6. And when I came to my father I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, on the right side of Abila; and I kept these words in my heart. I took counsel with my father, and with Reuben my brother, that he should bid the sons of Hamor that they should be circumcised; for I was jealous because of the abomination which they had wrought in Israel. And I slew Shechem at the first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this our brethren came and smote the city with the edge of the sword; and our father heard it and was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been put to death, and in his blessings he dealt otherwise with us. For we sinned because we had done this thing against his will, and he was sick upon that day. But I knew that the sentence of God was for evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah as they did to Dinah our sister, and the Lord hindered them. And so they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a stranger, and they harried his flocks when they were multiplied upon him; and Jeblae his servant, born in his house, they shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force, and the men themselves driving into exile. But the wrath of the Lord came suddenly upon them to the uttermost.

7. And I said to my father, Be not angry, sir, because by thee will the Lord bring to nought the Canaanites, and will give their land to thee, and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be called a city of them that are without understanding; for as a man mocketh at a fool, so did

we mock them, because they wrought folly in Israel to defile our sister. And we took our sister from thence, and departed, and came to Bethel.

8. And there I saw a thing again even as the former, after we had passed seventy days. And I saw seven men in white raiment saying to me, Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the diadem of faith, and the tiara of miracle, and the ephod of prophecy. And each one of them bearing each of these things put them on me, and said, From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the rod of judgment. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine, the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like to an ephod. The fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave to me a branch of rich olive. The sixth placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, so that I served as a priest to the Lord. And they said to me, Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three branches, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come; and first shall he be that hath been faithful; no portion shall be greater than his. The second shall be in the priesthood. The third — a new name shall be called over Him, because He shall arise as King from Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles, to all the Gentiles. And His appearing shall be unutterable, as of an exalted prophet of the seed of Abraham our father. Every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed, and everything fair to look upon shall ye eat, and the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion, and some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes; for by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded. And when I awoke, I understood that this thing was like unto the former. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.

9. And after two days I and Judah went up to Isaac after our father; and the father of my father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen: and he would not come with us to Bethel. And when we came to Bethel, my father Jacob saw in a vision concerning me, that I should be to them for a priest unto the Lord; and he rose up early in the morning, and paid tithes of all to the Lord through me. And we came to

Hebron to dwell there, and Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the angel of God showed to me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices, whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, free-will offerings, thank-offerings. And each day he was instructing me, and was busied for me before the Lord. And he said to me, Take heed, my child, of the spirit of fornication; for this shall continue, and shall by thy seed pollute the holy things. Take therefore to thyself, while yet thou art young, a wife, not having blemish, nor yet polluted, nor of the race of the Philistines or Gentiles. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the sacrifice, wash; and again when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees ever having leaves, offer up the fruits to the Lord, as also Abraham taught me; and of every clean beast and clean bird offer a sacrifice to the Lord, and of every firstling and of wine offer first-fruits; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10. Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have heard from my fathers I have made known to you. I am clear from all your ungodliness and transgression which ye will do in the end of the ages against the Savior of the world, acting ungodly, deceiving Israel, and raising up against it great evils from the Lord. And ye will deal lawlessly with Israel, so that Jerusalem shall not endure your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the heathen, and shall be for a reproach and for a curse, and for a trampling under foot. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11. Therefore, when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And she conceived and bare a son, and she called his name Gersham, for we were sojourners in our land: for Gersham is interpreted sojourning. And I saw concerning him that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in my thirty-fifth year, towards the east. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath, which meaneth, beginning of majesty and instruction. And thirdly, she bare to me Merari, in the fortieth year of my life; and since his mother bare him with difficulty, she called him Merari, which meaneth my bitterness, because he

also died. And Jochebed was born in my sixty-fourth year, in Egypt, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

12. And Gersham took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath, Ambram, Isaar, Chebro, and Ozel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli and Homusi. And in my ninety-fourth year Ambram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took a wife, and at forty years I went into Egypt. And behold, ye are my children, my children even of a third generation. In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.

13. And now, my children, I command you that ye fear our Lord with your whole heart, and walk in simplicity according to all His law. And do ye also teach your children learning, that they may have understanding in all their life, reading unceasingly the law of God; for every one who shall know the law of God shall be honored, and shall not be a stranger wheresoever he goeth. Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his forefathers; and many men shall desire to serve him, and to hear the law from his mouth. Work righteousness, my children, upon the earth, that ye may find treasure in the heavens, and sow good things in your souls, that ye may find them in your life. For if ye sow evil things, ye shall reap all trouble and affliction. Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence; for though there shall be a leading into captivity, and cities be destroyed, and lands and gold and silver and every possession shall perish, the wisdom of the wise none can take away, save the blindness of ungodliness and the palsy of sin: for even among his enemies shall it be to him glorious, and in a strange country a home, and in the midst of foes shall it be found a friend. If a man teach these things and do them, he shall be enthroned with kings, as was also Joseph our brother.

14. And now, my children, I have learnt from the writing of Enoch that at the last ye will deal ungodly, laying your hands upon the Lord in all malice; and your brethren shall be ashamed because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall it become a mocking. For our father Israel shall be pure from the ungodliness of the chief priests who shall lay their hands upon the Savior of the world. Pure is the heaven above the earth, and ye are the

lights of the heaven as the sun and the moon. What shall all the Gentiles do if ye be darkened in ungodliness? So shall ye bring a curse upon our race for whom came the light of the world, which was given among you for the lighting up of every man. Him will ye desire to slay, teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God. The offerings of the Lord will ye rob, and from His portion will ye steal; and before ye sacrifice to the Lord, ye will take the choicest parts, in despitefulness eating them with harlots. Amid excesses will ye teach the commandments of the Lord, the women that have husbands will ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem will ye defile; and with harlots and adulteresses will ye be joined. The daughters of the Gentiles will ye take for wives, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah in ungodliness. And ye will be puffed up because of the priesthood lifting yourselves up against men. And not only so, but being puffed up also against the commands of God, ye will scoff at the holy things, mocking in despitefulness.

15. Therefore the temple which the Lord shall choose shall be desolate in uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations, and ye shall be an abomination among them, and ye shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgment of God; and all who see you shall flee from you. And were it not for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob our fathers, not one from my seed should be left upon the earth.

16. And now I have learnt in the book of Enoch that for seventy weeks will ye go astray, and will profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices, and corrupt the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets. In perverseness ye will persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the faithful will ye abhor, and the man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High will ye call a deceiver; and at last, as ye suppose, ye will slay Him, not understanding His resurrection, wickedly taking upon your own heads the innocent blood. Because of Him shall your holy places be desolate, polluted even to the ground, and ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion, until He shall again look upon you, and in pity shall take you to Himself through faith and water.

17. And because ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood; for in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. In the first jubilee, the first who is anointed into the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a Father; and his priesthood shall be filled with the fear of the Lord, and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world. In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his priesthood shall be honored, and shall be glorified among all. And the third priest shall be held fast in sorrow; and the fourth shall be in grief, because unrighteousness shall be laid upon him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbor. The fifth shall be held fast in darkness, likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh there shall be such pollution as I am not able to express, before the Lord and men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they be in captivity and for a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed. And in the fifth week they shall return into their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the Lord. And in the seventh week shall come the priests, worshippers of idols, contentious, lovers of money, proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.

18. And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, then will the Lord raise up to the priesthood a new Priest, to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed; and He shall execute a judgment of truth upon the earth, in the fullness of days. And His star shall arise in heaven, as a king shedding forth the light of knowledge in the sunshine of day, and He shall be magnified in the world until His ascension. He shall shine forth as the sun in the earth, and shall drive away all darkness from the world under heaven, and there shall be peace in all the earth. The heavens shall rejoice in His days, and the earth shall be glad, and the clouds shall be joyful, and the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of seas; and the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in Him. The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall the sanctification come upon Him with the Father’s voice, as from Abraham the father of Isaac. And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over Him, and the spirit of understanding and of sanctification shall rest upon Him in the water. He shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore; and there shall none succeed

Him for all generations, even for ever. And in His priesthood shall all sin come to an end, and the lawless shall rest from evil, and the just shall rest in Him. And He shall open the gates of paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam; and He shall give to His saints to eat from the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be on them. And Beliar shall be bound by Him, and He shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits. And the Lord shall rejoice in His children, and the Lord shall be well pleased in His beloved for ever. Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob be joyful, and I will be glad, and all the saints shall put on gladness.

19. And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose therefore for yourselves either the darkness or the light, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And we answered our father, saying, Before the Lord will we walk according to His law. And our father said, The Lord is witness, and His angels are witnesses, and I am witness, and ye are witnesses, concerning the word of your mouth. And we said, We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased giving charge to his sons; and he stretched out his feet, and was gathered to his fathers, after he had lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried him in Hebron, by the side of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.

4

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH CONCERNING FORTITUDE, AND LOVE OF MONEY, AND FORNICATION

1. The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered themselves together, and came to him, and he said to them: I was the fourth son born to my father, and my mother called me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given to me even a fourth son. I was swift and active in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honored my mother and my mother’s sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father Jacob prayed over me, saying, Thou shall be a king, and prosperous in all things.

2. And the Lord showed me favor in all my works both in the field and at home. When I saw that I could run with the hind, then I caught it, and prepared meat for my father. I seized upon the roes in the chase, and all that was in the plains I outran. A wild mare I outran, and I caught it and tamed it; and I slew a lion, and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw, and rolled it over a cliff; and if any beast turned upon me, I rent it like a dog. I encountered the wild boar, and overtaking it in the chase, I tore it. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon the dog, and I caught it by the tail, and flung it from me, and it was dashed to pieces in the coasts of Gaza. A wild ox feeding in the field I seized by the horns; and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me, and slew it.

3. And when the two kings of the Canaanites came in warlike array against our flocks, and much people with them, I by myself rustled upon King Sur and seized him; and I beat him upon the legs, and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other king, Taphue, I slew as he sat upon his horse, and so I scattered all the people. Achor the king, a man of giant stature, hurling darts before and behind as he sat on horseback, I slew; for I hurled a stone of sixty pounds weight, and cast it upon his horse, and killed him. And I fought with Achor for two hours, and I killed him; and I clave his shield into two parts, and I chopped off his feet. And as I stripped off his breastplate, behold, eight men his companions began to fight with me. I wound round therefore my garment in my hand; and I slang stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled. And Jacob my father slew Beelisa, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high; and fear fell upon them, and they ceased from making war with us. Therefore my father had no care in the wars when I was among my brethren. For he saw in a vision concerning me, that an angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.

4. And in the south there befell us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and four kings. And I went up against them upon the wall, and two other kings I slew; and so we freed Hebron, and took all the captives of the kings.

5. On the next day we departed to Areta, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death. Therefore I and Gad approached

on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the west and south. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, charged down upon us; and so our brethren secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by ladders, and entered into the city, while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword; and those who had taken refuge in the tower, — we set fire to the tower, and took both it and them. And as we were departing the men of Thaffu set upon our captives, and we took it with our sons, and fought with them even to Thaffu; and we slew them, and burnt their city, and spoiled all the things that were therein.

6. And when I was at the waters of Chuzeba, the men of Jobel came against us to battle, and we fought with them; and their allies from Selom we slew, and we allowed them no means of escaping, and of coming against us. And the men of Machir came upon us on the fifth day, to carry away our captives; and we attacked them, and overcame them in fierce battle: for they were a host and mighty in themselves, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent of the hill. And when we came to their city, their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and utterly destroyed the whole city.

7. And the next day it was told us that the cities of the two kings with a great host were coming against us. I therefore and Dan reigned ourselves to be Amorites, and went as allies into their city. And in the depth of night our brethren came, and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the refuge of the hostile kings. Then having received hurt I was wroth, and charged upon them to the brow of the hill; and they slang at me with stones and darts; and had not Dan my brother aided me, they would have been able to slay me. We came upon them therefore with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them, and we did to them no hurt, but made a truce with them, and restored to them all the captives. And I built Thamna, and my father built Rhambael. I was twenty years old when this war befell, and the Canaanites feared me and my brethren.

8. Moreover, I had much cattle, and I had for the chief of my herdsmen Iran the Adullamite. And when I went to him I saw Barsan, king of Adullam, and he made us a feast; and he entreated me, and gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan, and Shelah; and the two of them the Lord smote that they died childless: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

9. Eighteen years we abode at peace, our father and we, with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with much people and strong; and he fell by the bow of Jacob, and was taken up dead in Mount Seir: even as he went above Iramna was he slain. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter into it, and we encamped around, and besieged them. And when they opened not to us after twenty days, I set up a ladder in the sight of all, and with my shield upon my head I climbed up, assailed with stones of three talents' weight; and I climbed up, and slew four who were mighty among them. And the next day Reuben and Gad entered in and slew sixty others. Then they asked from us terms of peace; and being aware of our father's purpose, we received them as tributaries. And they gave us two hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, fifteen hundred measures of wine, until we went down into Egypt.

10. After these things, my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram. Now Er was wicked, and he doubted concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land of Canaan. And on the third day an angel of the Lord smote him in the night, and he had not known her, according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children from her. In the days of the wedding-feast I espoused Onan to her; and he also in wickedness knew her not, though he lived with her a year. And when I threatened him, he lay with her, ... according to the command of his mother, and he also died in his wickedness. And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but my wife Bathshua suffered it not; for she bore a spite against Tamar, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she herself was.

11. And I knew that the race of Canaan was wicked, but the thoughts of youth blinded my heart. And when I saw her pouring out wine, in the drunkenness of wine was I deceived, and I fell before her. And while I was away, she went and took for Shelah a wife from the land of Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of my soul, and she also died in the wickedness of her sons.

12. And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up to shear my sheep; then she decked herself in bridal array, and sat over against the city by the gate. For it is a law of the Amorites, that she who is about to marry sit in fornication seven days by the gate. I therefore, being drunk at the waters of Chozeb, recognized her not by reason of wine; and her beauty deceived me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said, I would enter in to thee. And she said to me, What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and my royal crown; and I lay with her, and she conceived. I then, not knowing what she had done, wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And when I called her, I heard also the secret words which I spoke when lying with her in my drunkenness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in subtlety, and received the pledge from another woman: but I came near her no more till my death, because I had done this abomination in all Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city said that there was no bride in the city, because she came from another place, and sat for awhile in the gate, and she thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into Egypt to Joseph, because of the famine. Forty and six years old was I, and seventy and three years lived I there.

13. And now, my children, in what things soever I command you hearken to your father, and keep all my sayings to perform the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the command of the Lord God. And walk not after your lusts, nor in the thoughts of your imaginations in the haughtiness of your heart; and glory not in the works of the strength of youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. For since I also gloried that in wars the face of no woman of goodly form ever deceived me, and upbraided Reuben my brother concerning Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves within me, until I fell before

Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar who was espoused to my sons, And I said to my father-in-law, I will counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf, for he was a king. And he decked her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the feast in womanly beauty. And the wine led my eyes astray, and pleasure blinded my heart; and I loved her, and I fell, and transgressed the commandment of the Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me according to the thought of my heart, insomuch that I had no joy in her children.

14. And now, my children, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away from the truth, and kindleth in it the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasures to the mind; for these two take away the power from a man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, he disturbeth his mind with filthy thoughts to fornication, and exciteth his body to carnal union; and if the cause of the desire be present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is wine, my children; for he who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, because before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I worked a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of the shame of my sons. After that I drank wine I reverenced not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. Wherefore, my children, he who drinketh wine needeth discretion; and herein is discretion in drinking wine, that a man should drink as long as he keepeth decency; but if he go beyond this bound, the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind and worketh his will; and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to exult in his dishonor, accounting himself to do well.

15. He that committeth fornication, and uncovereth his nakedness, hath become the servant of fornication, and escapeth not from the power thereof, even as I also was uncovered. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my kingdom. Then I repented for these things, and took no wine or flesh until my old age, nor did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over king and beggar alike;

and from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his strength, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16. Observe therefore, my children, moderation in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits — of (I) lust, of wrath, of riot, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, with shamefacedness, with the fear of God, ye shall live. For if ye drink not with shamefacedness, and the fear of God departeth from you, then cometh drunkenness, and shamelessness stealeth in. But even if ye drink not at all, take heed lest ye sin in words of outrage, and fighting, and slander, and transgression of the commandments of God; so shall ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men to aliens, even as I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish Bathshua, to whom God forbade to declare them. And wine also is a cause of war and confusion.

17. I charge you, therefore, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. For I know that because of these two things shall ye who are my race fall into wickedness; for even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never disobeyed a word of Jacob my father, for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Abraham, the father of my father, blessed me that I should be king in Israel, and Isaac further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

18. For I have read also in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye shall do in the last days. Take heed, therefore, my children, of fornication and the love of money; hearken to Judah your father, for these things do withdraw you from the law of God, and blind the understanding of the soul, and teach arrogance, and suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbor: they rob his soul of all goodness, and bind him in toils and troubles, and take away his sleep and devour his flesh, and hinder the sacrifices of God; and he remembereth not blessing, and he hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh, and is vexed at the word of godliness. For

one who serveth two passions contrary to the commandments of God cannot obey God, because they have blinded his soul, and he walketh in the day-time as in the night.

19. My children, the love of money leadeth to idols; because, when led astray through money, men make mention of those who are no gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness. For the sake of money I lost my children, and but for the repentance of my flesh, and the humbling of my soul, and the prayers of Jacob my father, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers, who is pitiful and merciful, pardoned me, because I did it in ignorance. For the prince of deceit blinded me, and I was ignorant as a man and as flesh, being corrupted in sins; and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself unconquerable.

20. Learn therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man — the spirit of truth and the spirit of error; and in the midst is the spirit of the understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will. And the works of truth and the works of error are written upon the breast of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth. And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid from Him; for on the bones of his breast hath he been written down before the Lord. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and he who sinneth is burnt up by his own heart, and cannot raise his face unto the Judge.

21. And now, my children, love Levi, that ye may abide, and exalt not yourselves against him, lest ye be utterly destroyed. For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the kingdom upon the earth. For the Lord chose him above thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table and first-fruits, even the choice things of the sons of Israel, and thou shall be to them as a sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, some taken into captivity while others are enriched, so also shall every race of men be in thee, some are in jeopardy and taken captive, and others shall grow rich by means of plunder. For they who rule will be as great sea-monsters, swallowing up men like fishes: free sons and daughters do they enslave; houses, lands, flocks, money, will they plunder; and with the

flesh of many will they wrongfully feed the ravens and the cranes; and they will go on further in evil, advancing on still in covetousness. And there shall be false prophets like tempests, and they shall persecute all righteous men.

22. And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions one against another, and there shall be continual wars in Israel; and among men of other race shall my kingdom be brought to an end, until the salvation of Israel shall come, until the appearing of the God of righteousness, that Jacob and all the Gentiles may rest in peace. And he shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever: for the Lord swear to me with an oath that the kingdom should never fail from me, and from my seed for all days, even for ever.

23. Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness, and witchcrafts, and idolatries, which ye will work against the kingdom, following them that have familiar spirits ye will make your daughters singing girls and harlots for divinations and demons of error, and ye will be mingled in the pollutions of the Gentiles: for which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, avenging siege, and dogs for the rending in pieces of enemies, and revilings of friends, destruction and blighting of eyes, children slaughtered, wives carried off, possessions plundered, temple of God in flames, your land desolated, your own selves enslaved among the Gentiles, and they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives; and whenever ye will return to the Lord with humility of heart, repenting and walking in all the commandments of God, then will the Lord visit you in mercy and in love, bringing you from out of the bondage of your enemies.

24. And after these things shall a Star arise to you from Jacob in peace, and a Man shall rise from my seed, like the Sun of righteousness, walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness, and no sin shall be found in Him. And the heavens shall be opened above Him, to shed forth the blessing of the Spirit from the Holy Father; and He shall shed forth a spirit of grace upon you, and ye shall be unto Him sons in truth, and ye shall walk in His commandments, the first and the last. This is the Branch of God Most High, and this the Well-spring unto life for all flesh. Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth, and from your root shall arise

a stem; and in it shall arise a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, to judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.

25. And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren will be chiefs, even your sceptre in Israel: Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi; the Angel of the Presence, me; the powers of glory, Simeon; the heaven, Reuben; the earth, Issachar; the sea, Zebulun; the mountains, Joseph; the tabernacle, Benjamin; the lights of heaven, Dan; the fatness of earth, Naphtali; the sun, Gad; the olive, Asher: and there shall be one people of the Lord, and one tongue; and there shall no more be a spirit of deceit of Beliar, for he shall be cast into the fire for ever. And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy, and they who have lived in poverty for the Lord's sake shall be made rich, and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be made strong, and they who have been put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake in life. And the harts of Jacob shall run in joyfulness, and the eagles of Israel shall fly in gladness; but the ungodly shall lament, and sinners all weep, and all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.

26. Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who follow His way aright. And he said to them: I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and nineteen years old. Let no one bury me in costly apparel, nor tear open my bowels, for this shall they who are kings do: and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers.

5

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR CONCERNING SIMPLICITY

1. The record of the words of Issachar. He called his sons, and said to them: Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father; give ear to my words, ye who are beloved of the Lord. I was the fifth son born to Jacob, even the

hire of the mandrakes. For Reuben brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these mandrakes were sweet-smelling apples which the land of Aram produced on high ground below a ravine of water. And Rachel said, I will not give them to thee, for they shall be to me instead of children. Now there were two apples; and Leaf said, Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken the husband of my virginity: wilt thou also take these? And she said, Behold, let Jacob be to thee this night instead of the mandrakes of thy son. And Leah said to her, Boast not, and vaunt not thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said, How so? for to me was he first espoused, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years. What shall I do to thee, because the craft and the subtlety of men are increased, and craft prospereth upon the earth? And were it not so, thou wouldest not now see the face of Jacob. For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived me, and removed me on that night, and suffered me not to see him; for had I been there, it had not happened thus. And Rachel said, Take one mandrake, and for the other thou shalt hire him from me for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she conceived and bare me, and on account of the hire I was called Issachar.

2. Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying, Two children shall Rachel bear; for she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah my mother given up the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have born eight sons; and for this thing she bare six, and Rachel two: because on account of the mandrakes the Lord visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and not for lust of pleasure. For she went further, and on the morrow too gave up Jacob that she might receive also the other mandrake. Therefore the Lord hearkened to Rachel because of the mandrakes: for though she desired them, she ate them not, but brought them to the priest of the Most High who was at that time, and offered them up in the house of the Lord.

3. When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my parents and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to their season; and my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in simplicity. And I was not a

busybody in my doings, nor malicious and slanderous against my neighbor. I never spoke against any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, but walked in the simplicity of my eyes. Therefore when I was thirty years old I took to myself a wife, for my labor wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; but through my labor my sleep sufficed me, and my father always rejoiced in my simplicity. For on whatever I labored I offered first to the Lord, by the hands of the priests, of all my produce and all first-fruits; then to my father, and then took for myself. And the Lord increased twofold His benefits in my hands; and Jacob also knew that God aided my simplicity, for on every poor man and every one in distress I bestowed the good things of the earth in simplicity of heart.

4. And now hearken to me, my children, and walk in simplicity of heart, for I have seen in it all that is well-pleasing to the Lord. The simple coveteth not gold, defraudeth not his neighbor, longeth not after manifold dainties, delighteth not in varied apparel, doth not picture to himself to live a long life, but only waiteth for the will of God, and the spirits of error have no power against him. For he cannot allow within his mind a thought of female beauty, that he should not pollute his mind in corruption. No envy can enter into his thoughts, no jealousy melteth away his soul, nor doth he brood over gain with insatiate desire; for he walketh in uprightness of life, and beholdeth all things in simplicity, not admitting in his eyes malice from the error of the world, lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.

5. Keep therefore the law of God, my children, and get simplicity, and walk in guilelessness, not prying over-curiously into the commands of God and the business of your neighbor; but love the Lord and your neighbor, have compassion on the poor and weak. Bow down your back unto husbandry, and labor in tillage of the ground in all manner of husbandry, offering gifts unto the Lord with thanksgiving; for with the first-fruits of the earth did the Lord bless me, even as He blessed all the saints from Abel even until now. For no other portion is given to thee than of the fatness of the earth, whose fruits are raised by toil; for our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord made choice of them, and to the one He gave the priesthood, to the

other the kingdom. Them therefore obey, and walk in the simplicity of your father; for unto Gad hath it been given to destroy the temptations that are coming upon Israel.

6. I know, my children, that in the last times your sons will forsake simplicity, and will cleave unto avarice, and leaving guilelessness will draw near to malice, and forsaking the commandments of the Lord will cleave unto Beliar, and leaving husbandry will follow after their wicked devices, and shall be dispersed among the Gentiles, and shall serve their enemies. And do you therefore command these things to your children, that if they sin they may the more quickly return to the Lord; for He is merciful, and will deliver them even to bring them back into their land.

7. I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and I know not against myself a sin unto death. Except my wife, I have not known any woman. I never committed fornication in the haughtiness of my eyes; I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby; I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbor's; guile never entered in my heart; a lie never passed through my lips; if any man grieved, I wept with him, and I shared my bread with the poor. I never ate alone; I moved no landmark; in all my days I wrought godliness and truth. I loved the Lord with all my strength; likewise also did I love every man even as my own children. So ye also do these things, my children, and every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you, and no deed of malicious men shall rule over you; and every wild beast shall ye subdue, having with yourselves the God of heaven walking with men in simplicity of heart.

And he commanded them that they should carry him up to Hebron, and bury him there in the cave with his fathers. And he stretched out his feet and died, the fifth son of Jacob, in a good old age; and with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

6

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN CONCERNING COMPASSION AND MERCY

1. The record of Zebulun, which he enjoined his children in the hundred and fourteenth year of his life, thirty-two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them: Hearken to me sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I am Zebulun, a good gift to my parents. For when I was born our father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks and herds, when with the streaked rods he had his portion. I know not, my children, that in all my days I have sinned, save only in thought. Nor do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph; for I screened my brethren, not telling to my father what had been done. And I wept sore in secret, for I feared my brethren, because they had all agreed together, that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain with the sword. But when they wished to kilt him, I adjured them much with tears not to be guilty of this iniquity.

2. For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph to kill him. And Joseph fell upon his face, and said unto them, Pity me, my brethren, have compassion upon the bowels of Jacob our father lay not upon me your hands to shed innocent blood, for I have not sinned against you; yea, if I have sinned, with chastening chastise me, but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our father. And as he spoke these words, I pitied him and began to weep, and my heart melted within me, and all the substance of my bowels was loosened within my soul. And Joseph also wept, and I too wept with him; and my heart throbbed fast, and the joints of my body trembled, and I was not able to stand. And when he saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. And Reuben rose and said, My brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits which our fathers digged and found no water. For this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order that Joseph might be preserved; and the Lord appointed it so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

3. For in the price of Joseph, my children, I had no share; but Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, their wives, and their children, saying, We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but will tread it down under foot, because he said that he was king over us, and so let us see what his dreams mean. Therefore is it written in the writing of the law of Enoch, that whosoever will not raise up seed to his brother, his sandal shall be unloosed, and they shall spit into his face. And the brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed unto them the sandal of Joseph. For when they came into Egypt they were unloosed by the servants of Joseph before the gate, and so made obeisance to Joseph after the fashion of Pharaoh. And not only did they make obeisance to him, but were spit upon also, falling down before him forthwith, and so they were put to shame before the Egyptians; for after this the Egyptians heard all the evils which we had done to Joseph.

4. After these things they brought forth food; for I through two days and two nights tasted nothing, through pity for Joseph. And Judah ate not with them, but watched the pit; for he feared lest Simeon and Gad should run back and slay him. And when they saw that I also ate not, they set me to watch him until he was sold. And he remained in the pit three days and three nights, and so was sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that while he was away Joseph had been sold, he rent his clothes about him, and mourned, saying, How shall I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he took the money, and ran after the merchants, and found no one; for they had left the main road, and journeyed hastily through rugged byways. And Reuben ate no food on that day, Dan therefore came to him, and said, Weep not, neither grieve for I have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and we will say, Look, if this is the coat of thy son: for they stripped off from Joseph the coat of our father when they were about to sell him, and put upon him an old garment of a slave. Now Simeon had the coat, and would not give it up, wishing to rend it with his sword; for he was angry that Joseph lived, and that he had not slain him. Them we all rose up together against him, and said, If thou give it not up, we will say that thou alone didst this wickedness in Israel; and so he gave it up, and they did even as Dan had said.

5. And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, and to show mercy upon your neighbor, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts. For for this thing's sake the Lord blessed me; and when all my brethren were sick I escaped without sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have therefore compassion in your hearts, my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbor, even so also will the Lord do to him. For the sons of my brethren were sickening, were dying on account of Joseph, because they showed not mercy in their hearts; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And when I was in Canaan, by the sea-coast, I caught spoil of fish for Jacob my father; and when many were choked in the sea, I abode unhurt.

6. I was the first who made a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding and wisdom therein; and I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail on an upright mast in the midst; and sailing therein along the shores, I caught fish for the house of my father until we went into Egypt; and through compassion, I gave of my fish to every stranger. And if any man were a stranger, or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish and dressed them well, and offered them to all men as every man had need, bringing them together and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord granted me to take much fish: for he that imparteth unto his neighbor, receiveth manifold more from the Lord. For five years I caught fish, and gave thereof to every man whom I saw, and brought sufficient for all the house of my father. In the summer I caught fish, and in the winter I kept sheep with my brethren.

7. Now I will declare unto you what I did, I saw a man in distress and nakedness in wintertime, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my house, and gave it to him who was in distress. Do you therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth upon you, show compassion and mercy impartially to all men, and give to every man with a good heart. And if ye have not at the time wherewith to give to him that asketh you, have compassion for him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not at the time wherewith to give to him that asked me, and I walked with him weeping for more than seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him unto compassion.

8. Have therefore yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the Lord also may have compassion upon you, and have mercy upon you; because also in the last days God sendeth His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy, He dwelleth in him. For how much compassion a man hath upon his neighbors, so much also hath the Lord upon him. For when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us, and when he saw me he was filled with compassion. And looking towards him, do ye also, my children, approve yourselves without malice, and love one another; and reckon not each one the evil of his brother, for this breaketh unity, and divideth all kindred, and troubleth the soul: for he who beareth malice hath not bowels of mercy.

9. Mark the waters, that they flow together, and sweep along stones, trees, sand; but if they are divided into many streams, the earth sucketh them up, and they become of no account. So also shall ye be if ye be divided. Divide not yourselves into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head; He gave two shoulders, hands, feet, but all the members are subject unto the one head. I have learnt by the writing of my fathers, that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord, and be divided in Israel, and ye will follow two kings, and will work every abomination, and every idol will ye worship, and your enemies shall lead you captive, and ye shall dwell among the nations with all infirmities and tribulations and anguish of soul. And after these things ye will remember the Lord, and will repent, and He will lead you back; for He is merciful and full of compassion, not imputing evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh, and the spirits of error deceive them in all their doings, And after these things shall the Lord Himself arise to you, the Light of righteousness, and healing and compassion shall be upon His wings. He shall redeem all captivity of the sons of men from Beliar, and every spirit of error shall be trodden down. And He shall bring back all the nations to zeal for Him, and ye shall see God in the fashion of a man whom the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is His name. And again with the wickedness of your words will ye provoke Him to anger, and ye shall be cast away, even unto the time of consummation.

10. And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be troubled in that I am passing away from you. For I shall arise once more in the midst

of you, as a ruler in the midst of his sons; and I will rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as have kept the law of the Lord, and the commandments of Zebulun their father. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring everlasting fire, and will destroy them throughout all generations. I am hastening away unto my rest, as did my fathers; but do ye fear the Lord your God with all your strength all the days of your life. And when he had said these things he fell calmly asleep, and his sons laid him in a coffin; and afterwards they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

7

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN CONCERNING ANGER AND LYING

1. The record of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days. In the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life he called together his family, and said: Hearken to my words, ye sons of Dan; give heed to the words of the mouth of your father. I have proved in my heart, and in my whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well-pleasing to God, and that lying and anger are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess this day to you, my children, that in my heart I rejoiced concerning the death of Joseph, a true and good man; and I rejoiced at the selling of Joseph, because his father loved him more than us. For the spirit of jealousy and of vainglory said to me, Thou also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar wrought with me, saying, Take this sword, and with it slay Joseph; so shall thy father love thee when he is slain. This is the spirit of anger that counseled me, that even as a leopard devoureth a kid, so should I devour Joseph. But the God of Jacob our father gave him not over into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffered me to work this iniquity, that two tribes should be destroyed in Israel.

2. And now, my children, I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and long-suffering, ye shall perish. There is blindness in anger, my children, and no wrathful man regardeth any, person with truth: for though it be a father or a mother, he behaveth towards them as enemies; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he

disobeyeth him; though a righteous man, he regardeth him not; a friend he doth not acknowledge. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the nets of deceit, and blindeth his natural eyes, and through lying darkeneth his mind, and giveth him a sight of his own making. And wherewith encompasseth he his eyes? In hatred of heart; and he giveth him a heart of his own against his brother unto envy.

3. My children, mischievous is anger, for it becometh as a soul to the soul itself; and the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and it bestoweth upon the body its own power, that it may work all iniquity; and whenever the soul doeth aught, it justifieth what has been done, since it seeth not. Therefore he who is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a treble might in his anger; one by the might and aid of his servants, and a second by his wrath, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh in injustice: and having a third of the nature of his own body, and of his own self working the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath he a might twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in mischief. This spirit goeth always with lying at the right hand of Satan, that his works may be wrought with cruelty and lying.

4. Understand ye therefore the might of wrath, that it is vain. For it first of all stingeth him in word: then by deeds it strengtheneth him who is angry, and with bitter punishments disturbeth his mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved unto anger, And if any man praiseth you as good, be not lifted up nor elated, either to the feeling or showing of pleasure. For first it pleaseth the hearing, and so stirreth up the understanding to understand the grounds for anger; and then, being wrathful, he thinketh that he is justly angry. If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, be hot troubled; for this very spirit maketh men desire that which hath perished, in order that they may he inflamed by the desire. If ye suffer loss willingly, be not vexed, for from vexation he raiseth up wrath with lying. And wrath with lying is a twofold mischief; and they speak one with another that they may disturb the mind; and when the soul is continually, disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5. Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord, and keep His law; and depart from wrath, and hate lying, that the Lord may dwell among you, and Beliar may flee from you. Speak truth each one with his neighbor, so shall ye not fall into lust and confusion; but ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace, so shall no war prevail over you. Love the Lord through all your life, unit one another with a true heart. For I know that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord, and will provoke Levi unto anger, and will fight against Judah; but ye shall not prevail against them. For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both; for by them shall Israel stand. And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye will walk in all evil, working the abominations of the Gentiles, going astray with women of them that are ungodly; and the spirits of error shall work in you with all malice. For I have read in the book of Enoch the righteous, that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of fornication and pride shall be subject unto Levi, to lay a snare for the sons of Levi, to came them to sin before the Lord. And my sons will draw near unto Levi, and sin with them in all things; and the sons of Judah will be covetous, plundering other men's goods like lions. Therefore shall ye be led away with them in captivity, and there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt, and all the malice of the Gentiles: and so, when ye return to the Lord, ye shall obtain mercy, and He shall bring you into His sanctuary, calling peace upon you; and there shall arise unto you from the tribe of Judah and of Levi the salvation of the Lord; and He shall make war against Beliar, and He shall give the vengeance of victory to our coasts. And the captivity shall He take from Beliar, even the souls of the saints, and shall turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord, and shall give to them who call upon Him everlasting peace; and the saints shall rest in Eden, and the righteous shall rejoice in the new Jerusalem, which shall be unto the glory of God for ever and ever. And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation, nor Israel be led captive; for the Lord shall be in the midst of her, dwelling among men, even the Holy One of Israel reigning over them in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth on Him shall reign in truth in the heavens.

6. And now, my children, fear the Lord, and take heed unto yourselves of Satan and his spirits; and draw near unto God, and to the Angel that intercedeth for you, for He is a Mediator between God and man for the peace of Israel. He shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy;

therefore is the enemy eager to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that in the day on which Israel shall believe, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end; and the very angel of peace shall strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the iniquity of Israel, that the Lord will depart from them, and will go after him that doeth His will, for unto none of His angels shall it be as unto him. And His name shall be in every place of Israel, and among the Gentiles — Savior. Keep therefore yourselves, my children. from every evil work, and cast away wrath and all lying, and love truth and long-suffering; and the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye also impart to your children, that the Father of the Gentiles may receive you: for He is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and teacheth by His works the law of God. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto, the righteousness of the law of the Lord: and bury me near my fathers.

7. And when he had said these things he kissed them, and slept the long sleep. And his sons buried him, and after that they carried up his bones to the side of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. Nevertheless, as Dan had prophesied unto them that they should forget the law of their God, and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance, and from the race of Israel, and from their kindred, so also it came to pass.

8

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI CONCERNING NATURAL GOODNESS

1. The record of the testament of Naphtali, what things he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred and thirty-second year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, the fourth day of the month, he, being yet in good health, made them a feast and good cheer. And after he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And he blessed the Lord; and affirmed that after yesterday’s feast he should die. He began then to say to his sons: Hear, my children; ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from Bilhah; and because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in

place of herself to Jacob, and she bore me upon Rachel's lap, therefore was I called Naphtali. And Rachel loved me because I was born upon her lap; and when I was of young and tender form, she was wont to kiss me, and say, Would that I might see a brother of thine from my own womb, like unto thee: whence also Joseph was like unto me in all things, according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, and she was born on one and the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, fearing God, free-born and noble; and he was taken captive, and was bought by Laban; and he gave him Aena his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her Zilpah, after the name of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying, My daughter is eager after what is new, for immediately that she was born she was eager for the breast.

2. And since I was swift on my feet like a deer, my father Jacob appointed me for all errands and messages, and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, what it containeth, and bringeth clay thereto, so also doth the Lord make the body in accordance with the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit, and the one is not deficient from the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule is every creature of the Most High. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, whereto it sufficeth, so also doth the Lord know the body, how far it is capable for goodness, and when it beginneth in evil; for there is no created thing and no thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His own image. As man's strength, so also is his work; and as his mind, so also is his work; and as his purpose, so also is his doing; as his heart, so also is his mouth; as his eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar. And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; neither is it to be said that there is any superiority in anything, either of the face or of other like things. For God made all things good in their order, the five senses in the head, and He joineth on the neck to the head, the hair also for comeliness, the heart moreover for understanding, the belly for the dividing of the stomach, the calamus for health, the liver for wrath, the gall

for bitterness. the spleen for laughter, the reins for craftiness, the loins for power, the ribs for containing, the back for strength, and so forth. So then, my children, be ye orderly unto good things in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither in darkness can ye do the works of light.

3. Be ye not therefore eager to corrupt your doings through excess, or with empty words to deceive your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall be able to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of the devil. Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so also ye shall not change the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. Nations went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and followed stones and stocks, following after spirits of error. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made them all, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of its nature. in like manner also the Watchers changed the order of their nature, whom also the Lord cursed at the flood, and for their sakes made desolate the earth, that it should be uninhabited and fruitless.

4. These things I say, my children, for I have read in the holy writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also will depart from the Lord, walking according to all wickedness of the Gentiles, and ye will do according to all the iniquity of Sodom. And the Lord will bring captivity upon you, and there shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be covered with all affliction and tribulation, until the Lord shall have consumed you all. And after that ye shall have been diminished and made few, ye will return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He will bring you back into your own land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, after that they shall come into the land of their fathers, they will again forget the Lord and deal wickedly; and the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a Man working righteousness and showing mercy unto all them that are afar off, and them that are near.

5. For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw in a vision that the sun and the moon were standing still on the Mount of Olives, at the east of Jerusalem. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, saith to us, Run and lay hold of

them, each one according to his strength; and he that seizeth them, his shall be the sun and the moon. And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them. And when Levi became as a sun, a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under his feet were twelve rays. And Levi and Judah ran, and laid hold each of the other. And, lo, a bull upon the earth, having two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon his back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. For Joseph outstripped us, and took him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Elamites, Gelachaeans, Chaldeans, Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

6. And again, after seven months, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we his sons were with him. And, behold, there came a ship sailing by, full of dried flesh, without sailors or pilot: and there was written upon the ship, Jacob. And our father saith to us, Let us embark on our ship. And when we had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a tempest of mighty wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, flew away from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were born along over the: sea; and the ship was filled with water and beaten about with a mighty wave, so that it was well-nigh broken in pieces. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, and we all were divided upon twelve boards, and Levi and Judah were together. We therefore all were scattered even unto afar off. Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased, immediately the ship reached the land, as though in peace. And, lo, Jacob our father came, and we rejoiced with one accord.

7. These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me, These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things. Then my father saith unto me, I believe that Joseph liveth, for I see always that the Lord numbereth him with you. And he said, weeping, Thou livest, Joseph, my child, and I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee. And he caused us also to weep at these words of his, and I burned in my heart to declare that he had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

8. Behold, my children, I have shown unto you the last times, that all shall come to pass in Israel. Do ye also therefore charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah. For through Judah shall salvation arise unto Israel, and in Him shall Jacob be blessed. For through his tribe shall God be seen dwelling among men on the earth, to save the race of Israel, and He shall gather together the righteous from the Gentiles. If ye work that which is good, my children, both men and angels will bless you; and God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles, and the devil will flee from you, and the wild beasts will fear you, and the angels will cleave to you. For as if a man rear up a child well, he hath a kindly remembrance thereof; so also for a good work there is a good remembrance with God. But him who doeth not that which is good, men and angels shall curse and God will be dishonored among the heathen through him, and the devil maketh him his own as his peculiar instrument, and every wild beast shall master him, and the Lord will hate him. For the commandments of the law are twofold, and through prudence must they be fulfilled. For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife, and a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer. So then there are two commandments; and unless they be done in due order, they bring about sin. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God, and prudent, understanding the order of the commandments. and the laws of every work, that the Lord may love you.

9. And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should remove his bones to Hebron, and should bury him with his fathers. And when he had eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to all things whatsoever Naphtali their father had charged them.

9

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD CONCERNING HATRED

1. The record of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-seventh year of his life, saying: I was the seventh son born to Jacob, and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. I guarded at night the flock; and whenever the lion came, or wolf, or leopard,

or bear, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and with my hand seizing its foot, and whirling it round, I stunned it, and hurled it over two furlongs, and so killed it. Now Joseph was feeding the flock with us for about thirty days, and being tender, he fell sick by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to his father, who made him lie down near him, because he loved him. And Joseph told our father that the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah were slaying the best of the beasts, and devouring them without the knowledge of Judah and Reuben. For he saw that I delivered a lamb out of the mouth of the bear, and I put the bear to death; and the lamb I slew, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and we ate it, and he told our father. And I was wroth with Joseph for that thing until the day that he was sold into Egypt. And the spirit of hatred was in me, and I wished not either to see Joseph or to hear him. And he rebuked us to our faces for having eaten of the flock without Judah. And whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.

2. I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him to the death, and there were in no wise in me bowels of mercy towards him. Moreover, I hated him yet more because of his dreams; and I would have devoured him out of the land of the living, even as a calf devoureth the grass from the earth. Therefore I and Judah sold him to the Ishmaelites for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren: and so through my covetousness I was fully bent on his destruction. And the God of my fathers delivered him from my hands, that I should not work iniquity in Israel.

3. And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the Most High, and not go astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of men. Whatsoever a man doeth, that doth the hater abhor: though he worketh the law of the Lord, he praiseth him not; though he feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is righteous, he loveth him not: he dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that ordereth his way aright, he delighteth in evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred hath blinded his soul; even as I also looked on Joseph.

4. Take heed therefore, my children, of hatred; for it worketh iniquity against the Lord Himself: for it will not hear the words of His

commandments concerning the loving of one's neighbor, and it sinneth against God. For if a brother stumble, immediately it wisheth to proclaim it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and slain. And if it be a servant, it accuseth him to his master, and with all affliction it deviseth against him, if it be possible to slay him. For hatred worketh in envy, and it ever sickeneth with envy against them that prosper in well-doing, when it seeth or heareth thereof. For as love would even restore to life the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that have offended in a small matter it would not suffer to live. For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan through hastiness of spirit in all things unto men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the salvation of men.

5. Hatred is evil, because it continually abideth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and giveth heed to darkness as to light, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and war, and violence, and every excess of evil; and it filleth the heart with devilish poison. And these things I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may flee hatred, and cleave to the love of the Lord. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth hatred. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do wrong, being reproved not of another, but of his own heart, because the Lord vieweth his intent: he speaketh not against any man, because the fear of the Most High overcometh hatred. For, fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do any wrong to any man, no, not even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after that I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort destroyeth unbelief, and driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and guideth the mind to salvation; and those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the heart; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father intervened, it had hardly failed that my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. For in that my heart was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my heart too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a thee as I had been envious against Joseph until he was sold.

6. And now, my children, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, loving one another in deed, and in word, and in thought of the soul. For in the presence of our father I spake peaceably with Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and moved my soul to slay him. Love ye therefore one another from your hearts; and if a man sin against thee, tell him of it gently, and drive out the poison of hatred, and foster not guile in thy soul. And if he confess and repent, forgive him; and if he deny it, strive not with him, lest he swear, and thou sin doubly. Let not a stranger hear your secrets amid your striving, lest he hate and become thy enemy, and work great sin against thee; for ofttimes he will talk guilefully with thee, or evilly overreach thee, taking his poison from himself. Therefore, if he deny it, and is convicted and put to shame, and is silenced, do not tempt him on. For he who denieth repenteth, so that he no more doeth wrong against thee; yea also, he will honor thee, and fear thee, and be at peace with thee. But if he be shameless, and abideth in his wrongdoing, even then forgive him from the heart, and give the vengeance to God.

7. If a man prospereth more than you, be not grieved, but pray also for him, that he may have perfect prosperity. For perchance it is expedient for you thus; and if he be further exalted, be not envious, remembering that all flesh shall die: and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and profitable to all men. Seek out the judgments of the Lord, and so shall thy mind rest and he at peace. And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau the brother of my father, be not jealous; but wait for the end of the Lord. For either He taketh His benefits away from the wicked, or leaveth them still to the repentant, or to the unrepentant reserveth punishment for ever. For the poor man who is free from envy, giving thanks to the Lord in all things, is rich among all men, because he hath not evil jealousy of men. Put away, therefore, hatred from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.

8. And do ye also tell these things to your children, that they honor Judah and Levi, for from them shall the Lord raise up a Savior to Israel. For I know that at the last your children shall depart from them, and shall walk in all wickedness, and mischief, and corruption before the Lord. And when he had rested for a little while, he said again to them, My children, obey your father, and bury me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and

fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up, and laid him in Hebron with his fathers.

10

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER
CONCERNING TWO FACES OF VICE AND VIRTUE

1. The record of the testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and twentieth year of his life. While he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is right in the sight of God. Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two minds, and two doings, and two places, and two ends. Therefore all things are by twos, one corresponding to the other. There are two ways of good and evil, with which are the two minds in our breasts distinguishing them. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in good, all its actions are in righteousness; and though it sin, it straightway repenteth. For, having his mind set upon righteousness, and casting away maliciousness, he straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth the sin. But if his mind turn aside in evil, all doings are in maliciousness, and he driveth away the good, and taketh unto him the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; and even though he work what is good, he perverteth it in evil. For whenever he beginneth as though to do good, he bringeth the end of his doing to work evil, seeing that the treasure of the devil is filled with the poison of an evil spirit.

2. There is then, he saith, a soul which speaketh the good for the sake of the evil, and the end of the doing leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil, And there is a man that loveth him that worketh evil; he likewise dwelleth in evil, because he chooseth even to die in an evil cause for his sake: and concerning this it is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work. And though there is love, it is but wickedness concealing the evil, even as it beareth a name that seemeth good, but the end of the doing tendeth unto evil. Another stealeth, worketh unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil.

Defrauding his neighbor he provoketh God, and sweareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and refresheth the poor; he defileth the soul, and maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and he pitieth a few: and this, too, hath a twofold aspect. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats; yet in his fasting he worketh evil, and by his power and his wealth perverteth many, and out of his excessive wickedness worketh the commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Such men are as swine or hares; for they are half clean, but in very deed are unclean. For God in the Heavenly Tablets hath thus declared.

3. Do not ye therefore, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but cleave unto goodness only, for in goodness doth God rest, and men desire it. From wickedness flee away, destroying the devil by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4. For good men, even they that are single of face, though they be thought by them that are double-faced to err, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, an evil by a good; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth him that showeth mercy, and doeth wrong to the adulterer and the thief: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole work is good, because he followeth the Lord’s example, in that he receiveth not that which seemeth good with that which is really bad. Another desireth not to see good days with them that riot, lest he defile his mouth and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is good, for such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in a wild condition they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because they walk in a zeal for God, and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, and they ward off the evil from the good.

5. Ye see therefore, my children, how that there are two in all things, one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other. Death succeedeth to life, dishonor to glory, night to day, and darkness to light; and all things are under the day, and just things trader life: wherefore also everlasting life

awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light, even as all things are under God. All these things I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking with singleness of face according to all my strength unto that which is good.

6. Take heed therefore ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth with singleness of face, for they that are double-faced receive twofold punishment. Hate the spirits of error, which strive against men. Keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is good indeed, and keep it in all commandments of the Lord, having your conversation unto Him, and resting in Him: for the ends at which men aim do show their righteousness, and know the angels of the Lord from the angels of Satan. For if the soul depart troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works; but if quietly and with joy it hath known the angel of peace, it shall comfort him in life.

7. Become not, my children, as Sodom, which knew not the angels of the Lord, and perished for ever, For I know that ye will sin, and ye shall be delivered into the hands of your enemies, and your land shall be made desolate, and ye shall be scattered unto the four corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the Dispersion as useless water, until the Most High shall visit the earth; and He shall come as man, with men eating and drinking, and in peace breaking the head of the dragon through water. He shall save Israel and all nations, God speaking in the person of man. Therefore tell ye these things to your children, that they disobey Him not. For I have read in the Heavenly Tablets that in very deed ye will disobey Him, and act ungodly against Him, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men. Therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and as Dan my brethren, who shall know not their own lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through the hope of His tender mercy, for the sake of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.

8. And when he had said these things unto them, he charged them, saying: Bury me in Hebron. And he fell into a peaceful sleep, and died; and after this his sons did as he had charged them, and they carried him up and buried him with his fathers.

11

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH CONCERNING SOBRIETY

1. The record of the testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them: My children and brethren, hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel; give ear, my sons, unto your father. I have seen in my life envy and death, and I wandered not in the truth of the Lord. These my brethren hated me, and the Lord loved me: they wished to slay me, and the God of my fathers guarded me: they let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again: I was sold for a slave, and the Lord made me free: I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succored me: I was kept in hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me: I was alone, and God comforted me: I was sick, and the Most High visited me: I was in prison, and the Savior showed favor unto me; in bonds, and He released me; amid slanders, and He pleaded my cause; amid bitter words of the Egyptians, and He rescued me; amid envy and guile, and He exalted me.

2. And thus Potiphar the chief cook of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house, and I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father guarded me from the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, I was mocked; and the Lord granted me to find pity in the sight of the keeper of the prison. For He will in no wise forsake them that fear Him, neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities. For not as man is God ashamed, nor as the son of man is He afraid, nor as one that is earth-born is He weak, or can He be thrust aside; but in all places is He at hand, and in divers ways doth He comfort, departing for a little to try the purpose of the soul. In ten temptations He showed me approved, and in all of them I endured; for endurance is a mighty charm, and patience giveth many good things.

3. How often did the Egyptian threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back, and threaten me when I would not company with her! And she said to me, Thou shalt be Lord of me, and all that is mine, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shall be as our master. Therefore I remembered the words of the fathers of my

father Jacob, and I entered into my chamber and prayed unto the Lord; and I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to my master as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. And if one gave me wine, I drank it not; and I fasted for three days, and took my food and gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, and at night she came to me under the pretense of visiting me; and at first, because she had no male child, she feigned to count me as a son. And I prayed unto the Lord, and she bare a male child; therefore for a thee she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not. Last of all, she sought to draw me into fornication. And when I perceived it, I sorrowed even unto death; and when she had gone out I came to myself, and I lamented for her many days, because I saw her guile and her deceit. And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.

4. How often has she fawned upon me with words as a holy man, with guile in her talk, praising my chastity before her husband, while desiring to destroy me when we were alone. She lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me, Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity, so that even should one tell him concerning us he would in no wise believe. For all these things I lay upon the ground in sackcloth, and I besought God that the Lord would deliver me from the Egyptian. And when she prevailed nothing, she came again to me under the plea of instruction, that she might know the word of the Lord. And she said unto me, If thou wiliest that I should leave my idols, be persuaded by me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her, The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery. And she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord should deliver me from her.

5. And again at another time she said unto me, If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband, and so will I lawfully take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my garment, and said, Woman, reverence the Lord, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be utterly destroyed; for I will declare thy ungodly thought unto all men. She therefore, being afraid, besought that I would declare to no one her

wickedness. And she departed, soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6. And she sendeth to me food sprinkled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and I perceived that her scheme was for the deception of my soul. And when he had gone out I wept, nor did I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food, and said unto me, What is this; that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her, It is because thou filledst it with death; and how saidst thou, I come not near to idols but to the Lord alone? Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by an angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayest see it and repent. But that thou mayest learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that reverence God in chastity, I took it and ate it before her, saying, The God of my fathers and the Angel of Abraham shall be with me. And she fell upon her face at my feet, and wept; and I raised her up and admonished her, and she promised to do this iniquity no more.

7. But because her heart was set upon me to commit lewdness, she sighed, and her countenance fell. And when her husband saw her, he said unto her, Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said, I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit do oppress me; and so he comforted her who was not sick. Then she rushed in to me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me, I will hang myself, or cast myself into a well or over a cliff, if thou wilt not consent unto me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord, and said unto her, Why art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded in sins? Remember that if thou killest thyself, Sethon, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children, and will destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me, Lo then thou lovest me; this alone is sufficient for me, that thou carest for my life and my children: I have expectation that I shall enjoy my desire. And she knew not that because of my God I spake thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire, then by that hath he become enslaved, even as also was she. And if he hear any good thing with regard to the passion whereby he is vanquished, he receiveth it unto his wicked desire.

8. I declare unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all that day, and continued all the night; and about dawn I rose up weeping, and praying for a release from the Egyptian. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connection with her. When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was forcibly holding my garments, I fled away naked. And she falsely accused me to her husband, and the Egyptian cast me into the prison in his house; and on the morrow, having scourged me, the Egyptian sent me into the prison in his house. When, therefore, I was in fetters, the Egyptian woman fell sick from her vexation, and listened to me how I sang praises unto the Lord while I was in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced and glorified my God only because by a pretext I had been rid of the Egyptian woman.

9. How often hath she sent unto me, saying, Consent to fulfill my desire, and I will release thee from thy bonds, and I will free time from the darkness! And not even in thoughts did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of darkness fasteth with chastity, rather than him who in secret chambers liveth delicately without restraint. And whosoever liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and if the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this also upon him, even as upon me. How often, though she were sick, did she come down to me at unlooked-for times, and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. For when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, that I might fall before her; for she was very beautiful, splendidly adorned for my deception. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

10. Ye see therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. And if ye therefore follow after sobriety and purity in patience and humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth sobriety. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though a man fall into envy, or slavery, or slander, the Lord who dwelleth in him, for his sobriety’s sake not only delivereth him from evil, but also exalteth and glorifieth him, even as me. For in every way the man is guarded, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren know how my father loved me, and I was not exalted in my heart; although I was a child, I had the fear of God in my thoughts. For I knew that all things should pass

away, and I kept myself within bounds, and I honored my brethren; and through fear of them I held my peace when I was sold, and revealed not my family to the Ishmaelites, that I was the son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.

11. Do ye also, therefore, have the fear of God in your works, and honor your brethren. For every one who worketh the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, and I said that I was a slave from their house, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me, Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest concerning thee. And he threatened me even unto death. But I said that I was their slave. Now when we came into Egypt, they strove concerning me. which of them should buy me and take me. Therefore it secured good to all that I should remain in Egypt with a merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord gave me favor in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And the Lord blessed him by my means, and increased him in silver and gold, and I was with him three months and five days.

12. About that time the Memphian wife of Potiphar passed by with great pomp, and cast her eyes upon me, because her eunuchs told her concerning me. And she told her husband concerning the merchant, that he had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, saying, And they say that men have indeed stolen him out of the land of Canaan. Now therefore execute judgment with him, and take away the youth to be thy steward; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.

13. And Potiphar was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him, What is this that I hear, that thou stealest souls out of the land of the Hebrews, and sellest them for slaves? The merchant therefore fell upon his face, and besought him, saying, I beseech thee, my Lord, I know not what thou sayest. And he said, Whence then is thy Hebrew servant? And he said, The Ishmaelites entrusted him to me until they should return. And he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted, Potiphar said, Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did obeisance to the chief of the eunuchs — for he was third in rank with

Pharaoh, being chief of all the eunuchs, and having wives and children and concubines. And he took me apart from him, and said unto me, Art thou a slave or free? And I said, A slave. And he said unto me, Whose slave art thou? And I said unto him, The Ishmaelites'. And again he said unto me, How becamest thou their slave? And I said, They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he believed me not, and said, Thou liest: and he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.

14. Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window while I was being beaten, and she sent unto her husband, saying, Thy judgment is unjust; for thou dost even punish a free man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I gave no other answer though I was beaten, he commanded that we should be kept in guard, until, said he, the owners of the boy shall come. And his wife said unto him, Wherefore dost thou detain in captivity this noble child, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and wait upon thee? For she wished to see me in desire of sin, and I was ignorant concerning all these things. Then said he to his wife, It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take away that which belongeth to others before proof is given. This he said concerning the merchant, and concerning me, that I must be imprisoned.

15. Now, after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; and having heard that Jacob my father was mourning because of me, they said unto me, How is it that thou saidst that thou wept a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of Canaan, and thy father grieveth for thee in sackcloth. And again I would have wept, but I restrained myself, that I should not put my brethren to shame. And I said, I know not, I am a slave. Then they take counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they feared Jacob, lest he should work upon them a deadly vengeance. For it had been heard that he was mighty with the Lord and with men. Then said the merchant unto them, Release me from the judgment of Potiphar. They therefore came and asked for me, saying, He was bought by us with money, And he sent us away.

16. Now the Memphian woman pointed me out to her husband, that he should buy me; for I hear, said she, that they are selling him. And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me; and since he was not willing to traffic with them, he returned. So when the eunuch had made

trial of them, he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave. And she sent another eunuch, saying, Even though they demand two minae of gold, take heed not to spare the gold; only buy the boy, and bring him hither. And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for me, and told his mistress that a hundred had been given for me. And when I saw it I held my peace, that the eunuch should not be punished.

17. Ye see, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to shame. Do ye also love one another, and with long-suffering hide ye one another's faults. For God delighteth in the unity of brethren, and in the purpose of a heart approved unto love. And when my brethren came into Egypt, and learnt that I returned their money unto them, and upbraided them not, yea, that I even comforted them, and alter the death of Jacob I loved them more abundantly, and all things whatsoever he commanded I did very abundantly, then they marveled. For I suffered them not to be afflicted even unto the smallest matter; and all that was in my hand I gave unto them. Their children were my children, and my children were as their servants; their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness was my infirmity. My land was their land, my counsel their counsel, and I exalted not myself among them in arrogance because of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least.

18. If ye also therefore walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, do ye by well-doing pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil. For, behold, ye see that through long-suffering I took unto wife even the daughter of my master. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her; for the Lord made them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower above the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me unto old age in strength and in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

19. Hear ye also, my children, the visions which I saw. There were twelve deer feeding, and the nine were divided and scattered in the land, likewise also the three. And I saw that from Judah was born a virgin wearing a linen garment, and from her went forth a Lamb, without spot, and on His left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the beasts rushed against Him, and

the lamb overcame them, and destroyed them, and trod them under foot. And because of Him the angels rejoiced, and men, and all the earth. And these things shall take place in their season, in the last days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honor Judah and Levi; for from them shall arise unto you the Lamb of God, by grace saving all the Gentiles and Israel. For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not be shaken; but my kingdom among yogi shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer will not appear.

20. I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will undertake your cause, and will bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But carry ye up my bones with you; for when my bones are taken up, the Lord will be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians. And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and lay her near Bilhah, by the hippodrome, by the side of Rachel. And when he had said these things, he stretched out his feet, and slept the long sleep. And all Israel bewailed him, and all Egypt, with a great lamentation. For he felt even for the Egyptians even as his own members, and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

12

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN CONCERNING A PURE MIND

1. The record of the words of Benjamin, which he set forth to his sons, after he had lived a hundred and twenty years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham in his hundredth year, so also was I to Jacob. Now since Rachel died in giving me birth, I had no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years after that she had born Joseph: and she prayed the Lord with fasting twelve days, and she conceived and bare me. For our father loved Rachel dearly, and prayed that he might see two sons born from her: therefore was I called the son of days, which is Benjamin.

2. When therefore I went into Egypt, and Joseph my brother recognized me, he said unto me, What did they tell my father in that they sold me?

And I said unto him, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said, Look if this is the coat of thy son. And he said to me, Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a girdle, and scourged me, and bade me run. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him; and so his fellows were afraid, and sold me to their companions.

3. Do ye also therefore, my children, love the Lord God of heaven, and keep His commandments, and be followers of the good and holy man Joseph; and let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me. He that hath his mind good seeth all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbor; and even though the spirits of Beliar allure you into all troublous wickedness, yet shall no troublous wickedness have dominion over you, even as it bad not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbor cannot be smitten by Beliar's spirit of the air, being shielded by the fear of God; nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or of beasts, for he is aided by the love of the Lord which he hath towards his neighbor. For he even besought our father Jacob that he would pray for our brethren, that the Lord would not impute to them the evil that they devised concerning Joseph. And thus Jacob cried out, My child Joseph, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying, In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven concerning the Lamb of God, even the Savior of the world, that spotless shall He be delivered up for transgressors, and sinless shall He be put to death for ungodly men in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar, and them that serve him.

4. Know ye, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his compassion in a good mind, that ye also may wear crowns of glory. The good man hath not a dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners, even though they devise evil concerning him. So he that doeth good overcometh the evil, being shielded by Him that is good; and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; he trusteth and laudeth him that is sober-minded; he showeth mercy to the poor; he is kindly disposed toward the weak; he

singeth the praises of God; as for him who hath the fear of God, he protecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he aideth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit, he loveth even as his own soul.

5. If ye have a good mind, my children, then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you and turn unto good; and the covetous shall not only cease from their inordinate desire, but shall even give the fruits of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If ye do well, even the unclean spirits shall flee from you; yea, the very beasts shall flee from you in dread. For where the reverence for good works is present unto the mind, darkness fleeth away from him. For if any one is injurious to a holy man, he repenteth; for the holy man showeth pity on his reviler, and holdeth his peace. And if any one betray a righteous soul, and the righteous man, though praying, be humbled for a little while, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

6. The mind of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guideth his soul. He gazeth not passionately on corruptible things, nor gathereth together riches unto desire of pleasure; he delighteth not in pleasure, he hurteth not his neighbor, be pampereth not himself with food, he erreth not in the pride of his eyes, for the Lord is his portion. The good mind admitted not the glory and dishonor of men, neither knoweth it any guile or lie, fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men at every time. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of cursing, of insult and of honor, of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of trouble, of hypocrisy and of truth, of poverty and of wealth; but it hath one disposition, pure and uncorrupt, concerning all men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, or speaketh, or seeth, he knoweth that the Lord watcheth his soul, and he cleanseth his mind that he be not condemned by God and men. But of Beliar every work is twofold, and hath no singleness.

7. Flee ye therefore, my children, the evil-doing of Beliar; for it giveth a sword to them that obeyeth, and the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar, and first there is envy; secondly,

desperation; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, captivity; fifthly, neediness; sixthly, trouble; seventhly, desolation. Therefore also Cain is delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him. Two hundred years he suffered, and in the nine hundredth year he was brought to desolation at the flood, for Abel his righteous brother's sake. In seven hundred years was Cain judged, and Lamech in seventy times seven; because for ever those who are likened unto Cain in envy unto hatred of brethren shall be judged with the same punishment.

8. Do ye also therefore, my children, flee ill-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman unto fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth in him. For as the sun is not defiled by shining over dung and mire, but rather drieth up both and driveth away the ill smell: so also the pure mind, constrained among the defilements of the earth, rather edifieth, and itself suffereth no defilement.

9. Now I suppose, from the words of the righteous Enoch, that there will be also evil-doings among you: for ye will commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish all save a few, and will multiply inordinate lusts with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for forthwith He will take it away. Nevertheless the temple of God shall be built in your portion, and shall be glorious among you. For He shall take it, and the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of His only-begotten one. And He shall enter into the front of the temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall descend upon the Gentiles as fire poured forth. And He shall arise from the grave, and shall ascend from earth into heaven: and I know how lowly He all be upon the earth, and how glorious in the heaven.

10. Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his visage and the form of his countenance; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, in his full and perfect shape. Know ye therefore, my children, that I am dying. Work therefore truth and righteousness each one with his neighbor, and judgment unto faithful

doing, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments; for these things do I teach you instead of all inheritance. Do ye also therefore give them to your children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. All these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying, Keep the commandments of God until the Lord shall reveal His salvation to all nations. Then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, arising on the right hand in gladness. Then shall we also arise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, who appeared upon the earth in the form of a man of humility. And as many as believed on Him on the earth shall rejoice with Him; and then shall all men arise, some unto glory and some unto shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, even for the wrong they did unto Him; for when He appeared as a deliverer, God in the flesh, they believed Him not. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, as many as believed Him not when He appeared upon earth. And He shall reprove Israel among the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau among the Midianites, who deceived their brethren, so that they fell into fornication and idolatry; and they were alienated from God, and became as they that were no children in the portion of them that fear the Lord. But if ye walk in holiness in the presence of the Lord, ye shall dwell in hope again in me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

11. And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. And one shall rise up from my seed in the latter times, beloved of the Lord, hearing upon the earth His voice, enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, bursting in upon Israel for salvation with the light of knowledge, and tearing it away from it like a wolf, and giving it to the synagogue of the Gentiles. And until the consummation of the ages shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all; and he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever; and because of him my father Jacob instructed me, saying, He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe. 12. And when he finished his words, he said: I charge you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and twenty-five years old, in a good old age, and they placed him

in a coffin. And in the ninety-first year of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly in a place which is called Canaan; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned from the land of Canaan, and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departing from the land of Egypt.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

I had prepared annotations for these pages which I find will require more space than this overloaded volume can afford. Let me indicate some sources of information which the student may find convenient. Thus, in Liddon's *Bampton Lecture* (4th ed., London, 1869), consult p. 71 for remarks on Philo and Alexandrian Jews; see also p. 91. Concerning the "Book of Enoch," pp. 7 and 302; see Westcott, *Study of the Gospels* (London, 1867), p. 109, a reference to the *Book of Jubilees*, and its lack of reference to Messiah. See Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, pp. 86, 143, 151; the "Book of Henoch," pp. 69, 93, 101; apocryphal words of Jews, p. 428. He places the "Book of Henoch" earlier than the "Book of Jubilees," and the "Twelve Patriarchs" after that. Compare Westcott's *Historic Faith* (London, 1883), a quotation from Gold-win Smith, on "the blood of Christ," note 8, p. 237.

I cannot forbear to note, among useful suggestions in these *Testaments*, that of the share of Simeon in the persecution of Joseph. It explains the real purpose of Joseph in selecting Simeon as the hostage to be left in Egypt (Gen. 42:21-24.) Joseph heard the mutual reproaches of his brothers, and foresaw that Simeon would be made to suffer as most guilty: so he was withdrawn. Again, a like anxiety (Gen. 45:2) appears when Simeon was sent back with them to his father. Other suggestions may be noted as substantially illustrating the sacred narrative.

EXCERPTS OF THEODOTUS

OR

SELECTIONS FROM THE PROPHETIC SCRIPTURES

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. WILLIAM WILSON, M.A.]

I. Those around Sedrach, Misak, and Abednago in the furnace of fire say as they praise God, “Bless, ye heavens, the Lord; praise and exalt Him for ever;” then, “Bless, ye angels, the Lord;” then, “Bless the Lord, all ye waters that are above heaven.” So the Scriptures assign the heavens and the waters to the class of pure powers as is shown in Genesis. Suitably, then, inasmuch as “power” is used with a variety of meaning, Daniel adds, “Let every power bless the Lord;” then, further, “Bless the Lord, sun and moon;” and, “Bless the Lord, ye stars of heaven. Bless the Lord, all ye that worship Him; praise and confess the God of gods, for His mercy is for ever.” It is written in Daniel, on the occasion of the three children praising in the furnace.

II. “Blessed art Thou, who lookest on the abysses as Thou sittest on the cherubim,” says Daniel, in agreement with Enoch, who said, “And I saw all sorts of matter.” For the abyss, which is in its essence boundless, is bounded by the power of God. These material essences then, from which the separate genera and their species are produced, are called abysses; since you would not call the water alone the abyss, although matter is allegorically called water, the abyss.

III. “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth,” both terrestrial and celestial things. And that this is true, the Lord said to Osee, “Go, take to thyself a wife of fornication, and children of fornication: because the land committing fornication, shall commit fornication, departing from the Lord.” For it is not the element of earth that he speaks

of, but those that dwell in the element, those who have an earthly disposition.

IV. And that the Son is the beginning or head, Hosea teaches clearly: “And it shall be, that in the place in which it was said to them, Ye are not my people, they shall be called the children of the living God: and the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered to the same place, and they shall place over them one head, and they shall come up out of the land; for great is the day of Jezreel.” For whom one believes, him He chooses. But one believes the Son, who is the head; wherefore also he said in addition: “But I will have mercy on the sons of Judah, and will save them by the Lord their God.” Now the Savior who saves is the Son of God. He is then the head.

V. The Spirit by Osee says, “I am your Instructor;” “Blow ye the trumpet upon the hills of the Lord; sound upon the high places.” And is not baptism itself, which is the sign of regeneration, an escape from matter, by the teaching of the Savior, a great impetuous stream, ever rushing on and bearing us along? The Lord accordingly, leading us out of disorder, illumines us by bringing us into the light, which is shadow-less and is material no longer.

VI. This river and sea of matter two prophets cut asunder and divided by the power of the Lord, the matter being bounded, through both divisions of the water. Famous leaders both, by whom the signs were believed, they complied with the will of God, so that the righteous man may proceed from matter, having journeyed through it first. On the one of these commanders also was imposed the name of our Savior.

VII. Now, regeneration is by water and spirit, as was all creation: “For the Spirit of God moved on the abyss.” And for this reason the Savior was baptized, though not Himself needing to be so, in order that He might consecrate the whole water for those who were being regenerated. Thus it is not the body only, but the soul, that we cleanse. It is accordingly a sign of the sanctifying of our invisible part, and of the straining off from the new and spiritual creation of the unclean spirits that have got mixed up with the soul.

VIII. “The water above the heaven.” Since baptism is performed by water and the Spirit as a protection against the twofold fire, — that which lays hold of what is visible, and that which lays hold of what is invisible; and of necessity, there being an immaterial element of water and a material, is it a protection against the twofold fire. And the earthly water cleanses the body; but the heavenly water, by reason of its being immaterial and invisible, is an emblem of the Holy Spirit, who is the purifier of what is invisible, as the water of the Spirit, as the other of the body.

IX. God, out of goodness, hath mingled fear with goodness. For what is beneficial for each one, that He also supplies, as a physician to a sick man, as a father to his insubordinate child: “For he that spareth his rod hateth his son.” And the Lord and His apostles walked in the midst of fear and labors. When, then, the affliction is sent in the person of a righteous man, it is either from the Lord rebuking him for a sin committed before, or guarding him on account of the future, or not preventing by the exercise of His power an assault from without, — for some good end to him and to those near, for the sake of example.

X. Now those that dwell in a corrupt body, like those who sail in an old ship, do not lie on their back, but are ever praying, stretching their hands to God.

XI. The ancients were exceedingly distressed, unless they had always some suffering in the body. For they were afraid, that if they received not in this world the punishment of the sins which, in numbers through ignorance, accompany those that are in the flesh, they would in the other world suffer the penalty all at once. So that they preferred curative treatment here. What is to be dreaded is, then, not external disease, but sins, for which disease comes, and disease of the soul, not of the body: “For all flesh is grass,” and corporeal and external good things are temporary; “but the things which are unseen are eternal.”

XII. As to knowledge, some elements of it we already possess; others, by what we do possess, we firmly hope to attain. For neither have we attained all, nor do we lack all. But we have received, as it were, an earnest of the eternal blessings, and of the ancestral riches. The provisions for the Lord’s way are the Lord’s beatitudes. For He said: “Seek,” and anxiously

seek, “the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added to you: for the Father knoweth what things ye have need of.” Thus He limits not only our occupations, but our cares. For He says: “Ye cannot, by taking thought, add aught to your stature.” For God knows well what it is good for us to have and what to want. He wishes, therefore, that we, emptying ourselves of worldly cares, should be filled with that which is directed towards God. “For we groan, desiring to be clothed upon with that which is incorruptible, before putting off corruption.” For when faith is shed abroad, unbelief is nonplussed. Similarly also with knowledge and righteousness. We must therefore not only empty the soul, but fill it with God. For no longer is there evil in it, since that has been made to cease; nor yet is there good, since it has not yet received good. But what is neither good nor evil is nothing. “For to the swept and empty house return,” if none of the blessings of salvation has been put in, the unclean spirit that dwelt there before, taking with him seven other unclean spirits. Wherefore, after emptying the soul of what is evil, we must fill with the good God that which is His chosen dwelling-place. For when the empty rooms are filled, then follows the seal, that the sanctuary may be guarded for God.

XIII. “By two and three witnesses every word is established.” By Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, by whose witness and help the prescribed commandments ought to be kept.

XIV. Fasting, according to the signification of the word, is abstinence from food. Now food makes us neither more righteous nor less. But mystically it shows that, as life is maintained in individuals by sustenance, and want of sustenance is the token of death; so also ought we to fast from worldly things, that we may die to the world, and after that, by partaking of divine sustenance, live to God. Especially does fasting empty the soul of matter, and make it, along with the body, pure and light for the divine words. Worldly food is, then, the former life and sins; but the divine food is faith, hope, love, patience, knowledge, peace, temperance. For “blessed are they that hunger and thirst after” God’s “righteousness; for they shall be filled.” The soul, but not the body, it is which is susceptible of this craving.

XV. The Savior showed to the believing apostles prayer to be stronger than faith in the case of a demoniac, whom they could not cleanse, when

He said, Such things are accomplished by prayer. He who has believed has obtained forgiveness of sins from the Lord; but he who has attained knowledge, inasmuch as he no longer sins, obtains from himself the forgiveness of the rest.

XVI. For as cures, and prophecies, and signs are performed by the agency of men, God working in them, so also is Gnostic teaching. For God shows His power through men. And the prophecy rightly says, “I will send to them a man who will save them.” Accordingly He sends forth at one thee prophets, at another apostles, to be saviors of men. Thus God does good by the agency of men. For it is not that God can do some things, and cannot do others: He is never powerless in anything. No more are some things done with, and some things against His will; and some things by Him, and some things by another. But He even brought us into being by means of men, and trained us by means of men.

XVII. God made us, having previously no existence. For if we had a previous existence, we must have known where we were, and how and why we came hither. But if we had no pre-existence, then God is the sole author of our creation. As, then, He made us who had no existence; so also, now that we are made, He saves us by His own grace, if we show ourselves worthy and susceptible; if not, He will let us pass to our proper end. For He is Lord both of the living and the dead.

XVIII. But see the power of God, not only in the case of men, in bringing to existence out of non-existence, and making them when brought into being grow up according to the progress of the thee of life, but also in saving those who believe, in a way suitable to each individual. And now He changes both hours, and times, and fruits, and elements. For this is the one God, who has measured both the beginning and the end of events suitably to each one.

XIX. Advancing from faith and fear to knowledge, man knows how to say Lord, Lord; but not as His slave, he has learned to say, Our Father. Having set free the spirit of bondage, which produces fear, and advanced by love to adoption, he now reverences from love Him whom he feared before. For he no longer abstains from what he ought to abstain from out

of fear, but out of love clings to the commandments. “The Spirit itself,” it is said, “beareth witness when we cry, Abba, Father.”

XX. Now the Lord with His precious blood redeems us, freeing us from our old bitter masters, that is, our sins, on account of which the spiritual powers of wickedness ruled over us. Accordingly He leads us into the liberty of the Father, — sons that are co-heirs and friends. “For,” says the Lord, “they that do the will of my Father are my brethren and fellow-heirs.” “Call no man, therefore, father to yourselves on earth.” For it is masters that are on earth. But in heaven is the Father, of whom is the whole family, both in heaven and on earth. For love rules willing hearts, but fear the unwilling. One kind of fear is base; but the other, leading us as a pedagogue to good, brings us to Christ, and is saving.

XXI. Now if one has a conception of God, it by no means corresponds with His worthiness. For what can the worthiness of God be? But let him, as far as is possible, conceive of a great and incomprehensible and most beautiful light; inaccessible, comprehending all good power, all comely virtue; caring for all, compassionate, passionless, good; knowing all things, foreknowing all things, pure, sweet, shining, stainless.

XXII. Since the movement of the soul is self-originated, the grace of God demands from it what the soul possesses, willingness as its contribution to salvation. For the soul wishes to be its own good; which the Lord, however, gives it. For it is not devoid of sensation so as to be carried along like a body. Having is the result of taking, and taking of willing and desiring; and keeping hold of what one has received, of the exercise of care and of ability. Wherefore God has endowed the soul with free choice, that He may show it its duty, and that it choosing, may receive and retain.

XXIII. As through the body the Lord spake and healed, so also formerly by the prophets, and now by the apostles and teachers. For the Church is the minister of the Lord’s power. Thence He then assumed humanity, that by it He might minister to the Father’s will. And at all times, the God who loves humanity invests Himself with man for the salvation of men, — in former tithes with the prophets, and now with the Church. For it is fitting that like should minister to like, in order to a like salvation.

XXIV. For we are of the earth.... Caesar is the prince, for the thee being, whose earthly image is the old man, to which he has returned. To him, then, we are to render the earthly things, which we bore in the image of the earthly, and the things of God to God. For each one of the passions is on us as a letter, and stamp, and sign. Now the Lord marks us with another stamp, and with other names and letters, faith instead of unbelief, and so forth. Thus we are translated from what is material to what is spiritual, “having born the image of the heavenly.”

XXV. John says: “I indeed baptize you with water, but there cometh after me He that baptizeth with the Spirit and fire.” But He baptized no one with fire. But some, as Heraclius says, marked with fire the ears of those who were sealed; understanding so the apostolic saying, “For His fan is in His hand, to purge His floor: and He will gather the wheat into the garner; but the chaff He will burn with fire unquenchable.” There is joined, then, the expression “by fire” to that” by the Spirit;” since He separates the wheat from the chaff, that is, from the material husk, by the Spirit; and the chaff is separated, being fanned by the wind: so also the Spirit possesses a power of separating material forces. Since, then, some things are produced from what is unproduced and indestructible, -that is, the germs of life, — the wheat also is stored, and the material part, as long as it is conjoined with the superior part, remains; when separated from it, it is destroyed; for it had its existence in another thing. This separating element, then, is the Spirit, and the destroying element is the fire: and material fire is to be understood. But since that which is saved is like wheat, and that which grows in the soul like chaff, and the one is incorporeal, and that which is separated is material; to the incorporeal He opposes spirit, which is rarefied and pure -almost more so than mind; and to the material He opposes fire, not as being evil or bad, but as strong and capable of cleansing away evil. For fire is conceived as a good force and powerful, destructive of what is baser, and conservative of what is better. Wherefore this fire is by the prophets called wise.

XXVI. Thus also, then, when God is called “a consuming fire,” it is because a name and sign, not of wickedness, but of power, is to be selected. For as fire is the most potent of the elements, and masters all things; so also God is all-powerful and almighty, who is able to hold, to create, to make, to nourish, to make grow, to save, having power of body

and soul. As, then, fire is superior to the elements, so is the Almighty Ruler to gods, and powers, and principalities. The power of fire is twofold: one power conduces to the production and maturing of fruits and of animals, of which the sun is the image; and the other to consumption and destruction, as terrestrial fire. When, then, God is called a consuming fire, He is called a mighty and resist-less power, to which nothing is impossible, but which is able to destroy.

Respecting such a power, also, the Savior says, “I came to send fire upon the earth,” indicating a power to purify what is holy, but destructive, as they say, of what is material; and, as we should say, disciplinary. Now fear pertains to fire, and diffusion to light.

XXVII. Now the more ancient men did not write, as they neither wished to encroach on the thee devoted to attention bestowed on what they handed down, in the way of teaching, by the additional attention bestowed on writing, nor spent the thee for considering what was to be said on writing. And, perhaps convinced that the function of composition and the department of teaching did not belong to the same cast of mind, they gave way to those who had a natural turn for it. For in the case of a speaker, the stream of speech flows unchecked and impetuous, and you may catch it up hastily. But that which is always tested by readers, meeting with strict examination, is thought worthy of the utmost pains, and is, so to speak, the written confirmation of oral instruction, and of the voice so wafted along to posterity by written composition. For that which was committed in trust to the elders, speaking in writing, uses the writer’s help to hand itself down to those who are to read it. As, then, the magnet, repelling other matter, attracts iron alone by reason of affinity; so also books, though many read them, attract those alone who are capable of comprehending them. For the word of truth is to some “foolishness,” and to others a “stumbling-block;” but to a few “wisdom.” So also is the power of God found to be. But far from the Gnostic be envy. For it is for this reason also that he asks whether it be worse to give to the unworthy, or not commit to the worthy; and runs the risk, from his abundant love of communicating, not only to every one who is qualified, but sometimes also to one unworthy, who asks importunately; not on account of his entreaty (for he loves not glory), but on account of the persistency of the petitioner who bends his mind towards faith with copious entreaty.

XXVIII. There are those calling themselves Gnostics who are envious of those in their own house more than strangers. And, as the sea is open to all, but one swims, another sails, and a third catches fish; and as the land is common, but one walks, another ploughs, another hunts, — somebody else searches the mines, and another builds a house: so also, when the Scripture is read, one is helped to faith, another to morality, and a third is freed from superstition by the knowledge of things. The athlete, who knows the Olympic stadium, strips for training, contends, and becomes victor, tripping up his antagonists who contend against his scientific method, and fighting out the contest. For scientific knowledge is necessary both for the training of the soul and for gravity of conduct; making the faithful more active and keen observers of things. For as there is no believing without elementary instruction, so neither is there comprehension without science.

XXIX. For what is useful and necessary to salvation, such as the knowledge of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and also of our own soul, are wholly requisite; and it is at once beneficial and necessary to attain to the scientific account of them. And to those who have assumed the lead in doing good, lunch experience is advantageous; so that none of the things which appear to be known necessarily and eruditely by others may escape their notice. The exposition, too, of heterodox teaching affords another exercise of the inquiring soul, and keeps the disciple froth being seduced from the truth, by his having already had practice beforehand in sounding all round on warlike instruments of music.

XXX. The life of the Gnostic rule, (as they say that Crete was barren of deadly animals,) is pure from every evil deed, and thought, and word; not only hating no one, but beyond envy and hatred, and all evil-speaking and slander.

XXXI. In length of days, it is not on account of his having lived long that the man is to be regarded happy, to whose lot it has also fallen, through his having lived, to be worthy of living for ever. He has pained no one, except in instructing by the word the wounded in heart, as it were by a salutary honey, which is at once sweet and pungent. So that, above all, the Gnostic preserves the decorous along with that which is in accordance with reason. For passion being cut away and stript off from the whole

soul, he henceforth consorts and lives with what is noblest, which has now become pure, and emancipated to adoption.

XXXII. Pythagoras thought that he who gave things their names, ought to be regarded not only the most intelligent, but the oldest of the wise men. We must, then, search the Scriptures accurately, since they are admitted to be expressed in parables, and from the names hunt out the thoughts which the Holy Spirit, pro-pounding respecting things, teaches by imprinting His mind, so to speak, on the expressions; that the names used with various meanings, being made the subject of accurate investigation, may be explained, and that that which is hidden trader many integuments may, being handled and learned, come to light and gleam forth. For so also lead turns white as you rub it; white lead being produced from black. So also scientific knowledge (gnosis), shedding its light and brightness on things, shows itself to be in truth the divine wisdom, the pure light, which illumines the men whose eyeball is clear, unto the sure vision and comprehension of truth.

XXXIII. Lighting, then, our torch at the source of that light, by the passionate desire which has it for its object, and striving as much as possible to be assimilated to it, we become men full of light, Israelites indeed. For He called those friends and brethren who by desire and pursuit aimed after likeness to the Divinity.

XXXIV. Pure places and meadows have received voices and visions of holy phantasms. But every man who has been perfectly purified, shall be thought worthy of divine teaching and of power.

XXXV. Now I know that the mysteries of science (gnosis) are a laughing-stock to many, especially when not patched up with sophistical figurative language. And the few are at first startled at them; as when light is suddenly brought into a convivial party in the dark. Subsequently, on getting used and accustomed, and trained to reasoning, as if gladdened and exulting for delight, they praise the Lord.... For as pleasure has for its essence release from pain; so also has knowledge the removal of ignorance. For as those that are most asleep think they are most awake, being under the power of dream-visions very vivid and fixed; so those that are most ignorant think that they know most. But blessed are they who rouse

themselves from this sleep and derangement, and raise their eyes to the light and the truth.

XXXVI. It is, therefore, equally requisite for him who wishes to have a pupil who is docile, and has blended faith with aspiration, to exercise himself and constantly to study by himself, investigating the truth of his speculations; and when he thinks himself right, to descend to questions regarding things contiguous. For the young birds make attempts to fly in the nest, exercising their wings.

XXXVII. For Gnostic virtue everywhere makes man good, and meek, and harmless, and painless, and blessed, and ready to associate in the best way with all that is divine, in the best way with men, at once a contemplative and active divine image, and turns him into a lover of what is good by love. For what is good, as there it is contemplated and comprehended by wisdom, is here by self-control and righteousness carried into effect through faith: practicing in the flesh an angelic ministry; hallowing the soul in the body, as in a place clear and stainless.

XXXVIII. Against Tatian, who says that the words, “Let there be light,” are supplicatory. If, then, He is supplicating the supreme God, how does He say, “I am God, and beside me there is none else?” We have said that there are punishments for blasphemies, for nonsense. for outrageous expressions; which are punished and chastised by reason.

XXXIX. And he said, too, that on account of their hair and finery, women are punished by the Power that is set over these matters; which also gave to Samson strength in his hair; which punishes the women who allure to fornication through the adornment of their hair.

XL. As by the effluence of good, people are made good; in like manner are they made bad. Good is the judgment of God, and the discrimination of the believing from the unbelieving, and the judgment beforehand, so as not to fall into greater judgment — this judgment being correction.

XLI. Scripture says that infants which are exposed are delivered to a guardian angel, and that by him they are trained and reared. “And they shall be,” it says, “as the faithful in this world of a hundred years of age.” Wherefore also Peter, in the Revelation, says: “And a flash of fire, leaping

from those infants, and striking the eyes of the women." For the just shines: forth as a spark in a reed, and will judge the nations.

XLII. "With the holy Thou wilt be holy." "According to thy praise is thy name glorified;" God being glorified through our knowledge, and through the inheritance. Thus also it is said, "The Lord liveth," and "The Lord hath risen."

XLIII. "A people whom I knew not hath served me;" — by covenant I knew them not, alien sons, who desired what pertained to another.

XLIV. "Magnifying the salvations of His king." All the faithful are called kings, brought to royalty through inheritance.

XLV. Long-suffering is sweetness above honey; not because it is long-suffering, but in consequence of the fruit of long-suffering. Since, then, the man of self-control is devoid of passion, inasmuch as he restrains the passions, not without toil; but when habit is formed, he is no longer a man of self-control, the man having come trader the influence of one habit and of the Holy Spirit.

XLVI. The passions that are in the soul are called spirits, — not spirits of power, since in that case the man under the influence of passion would be a legion of demons; but they are so called in consequence of the impulse they communicate. For the soul itself, through modifications, taking on this and that other sort of qualities of wickedness, is said to receive spirits.

XLVII. The Word does not bid us renounce property; but to manage property without inordinate affection; and on anything happening, not to be vexed or grieved; and not to desire to acquire. Divine Providence bids keep away from possession accompanied with passion, and from all inordinate affection, and from this turns back those still remaining in the flesh.

XLVIII. For instance, Peter says in the Apocalypse, that abortive infants shall share the better fate; that these are committed to a guardian angel, so that, on receiving knowledge, they may obtain the better abode, having had the same experiences which they would have had had they been in the body. But the others shall obtain salvation merely, as being injured and pitied, and remain without punishment, receiving this reward.

XLIX. The milk of women, flowing from the breasts and thickening, says Peter in the Apocalypse, will produce minute beasts, that prey on flesh, and running back into them will consume them: teaching that punishments arise for sins. He says that they are produced from sins; as it was for their sins that the people were sold. And for their want of faith in Christ, as the apostle says, they were bitten by serpents.

L. An ancient said that the embryo is a living thing; for that the soul entering into the womb after it has been by cleansing prepared for conception, and introduced by one of the angels who preside over generation, and who knows the time for conception, moves the woman to intercourse; and that, on the seed being deposited, the spirit, which is in the seed, is, so to speak, appropriated, and is thus assumed into conjunction in the process of formation. He cited as a proof to all, how, when the angels give glad tidings to the barren, they introduce souls before conception. And in the Gospel "the babe leapt" as a living thing. And the barren are barren for this reason, that the soul, which unites for the deposit of the seed, is not introduced so as to secure conception and generation.

LI. "The heavens declare the glory of God." The heavens are taken in various meanings, both those defined by space and revolution, and those by covenant, — the immediate operation of the first-created angels. For the covenants caused a more especial appearance of angels, — that in the case of Adam, that in the case of Noah, that in the case of Abraham, that in the case of Moses. For, moved by the Lord, the first-created angels exercised their influence on the angels attached to the prophets, considering the covenants the glory of God. Furthermore, the things done on earth by angels were done by the first-created angels to the glory of God.

LII. It is the Lord that is principally denominated the Heavens, and then the First-created; and after these also the holy men before the Law, as the patriarchs, and Moses, and the prophets; then also the apostles. "And the firmament showeth His handiwork." He applies the term "firmament" to God, the passionless and immovable, as also elsewhere the same David says, "I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength and my refuge." Accordingly, the firmament itself shows forth the work of His hands, — that is, shows

and manifests the work of His angels. For He shows forth and manifests those whom He hath made.

LIII. “Day unto day uttereth speech.” As the heavens have various meanings, so also has day. Now speech is the Lord; and He is also frequently called day. “And night unto night showeth forth knowledge.” The devil knew that the Lord was to come. But he did not believe that He was God; wherefore also he tempted Him, in order to know if He were powerful. It is said, “he left Him, and departed from Him for a season;” that is, he postponed the discovery till the resurrection. For he knew that He who was to rise was the Lord. Likewise also the demons; since also they suspected that Solomon was the Lord, and they knew that he was not so, on his sinning. “Night to night.” All the demons knew that He who rose after the passion was the Lord. And already Enoch had said, that the angels who transgressed taught men astronomy and divination, and the rest of the arts.

LIV. “There are no speeches or words whose voices are not heard,” neither of days nor nights. “Their sound is gone forth unto all the earth.” He has transferred the discourse to the saints alone, whom he calls both heavens and days.

LV. The stars, spiritual bodies, that have communications with the angels set over them, and are governed by them, are not the cause of the production of things, but are signs of what is taking place, and will take place, and have taken place in the case of atmospheric changes, of fruitfulness and barrenness, of pestilence and fevers, and in the case of men. The stars do not in the least degree exert influences, but indicate what is, and will be, and has been.

LVI. “And in the sun hath He set His tabernacle.” There is a transposition here. For it is of the second coming that the discourse is. So, then, we must read what is transposed in its due sequence: “And he, as a bridegroom issuing from his chamber, will rejoice as a giant to run his way. From heaven’s end is his going forth; and there is no one who shall hide himself from his heat;” and then, “He hath set His tabernacle in the sun.”

Some say that He deposited the Lord's body in the sun, as Hermogenes. And "His tabernacle," some say, is His body, others the Church of the faithful.

Our Pantaenus used to say, that prophecy utters its expressions indefinitely for the most part, and uses the present for the future, and again the present for the past. Which is also seen here. For "He hath set" is put both for the past and the future. For the future, because, on the completion of this period, which is to run according to its present constitution, the Lord will come to restore the righteous, the faithful, in whom He rests, as in a tent, to one and the same unity; for all are one body, of the same race, and have chosen the same faith and righteousness. But sortie as head, some as eyes, some as ears, some as hands, some as breasts, some as feet, shall be set, resplendent, in the sun. "Shine forth as the sun," or in the sun; since an angel high in command is in the sun. For he is appointed for rule over days; as the moon is for ruling over night. Now angels are called days. Along with the angels in the sun, it is said, they shall have assigned to them one abode, to be for some time and in some respects the sun, as it were the head of the body which is one. And, besides, they also are the rulers of the days, as that angel in the sun, for the greater purpose for which he before them migrated to the same place. And again destined to ascend progressively, they reach the first abode, in accordance with the past "He hath set:" so that the first-created angels shall no longer, according to providence, exercise a definite ministry, but may be in repose, and devoted to the contemplation of God alone; while those next to them shall be promoted to the post which they have left; and so those beneath them similarly.

LVII. There are then, according to the apostle, those on the summit, the first-created. And they are thrones, although Powers, being the first-created, inasmuch as God rests in them, as also in those who believe. For each one, according to his own stage of advancement possesses the knowledge of God in a way special to himself; and in this knowledge God reposes, those who possess knowledge being made immortal by knowledge. And is not "He set His tabernacle in the sun" to be understood thus? God "set in the sun," that is, in the God who is beside Him, as in the Gospel, Eli, Eli, instead of my God, my God. And what is above all rule, and authority, and power, and every name that is named," are those from

among men that are made perfect as angels and archangels, so as to rise to the nature of the angels first-created. For those who are changed from men to angels are instructed for a thousand years by the angels after they are brought to perfection. Then those who have taught are translated to archangelic authority; and those who have learned instruct those again who from men are changed to angels. Thus afterwards, in the prescribed periods, they are brought to the proper angelic state of the body.

LVIII. “The law of God is perfect, converting souls.” The Savior Himself is called Law and Word, as Peter in “the Preaching,” and the prophet: “Out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”

LIX. “The testimony of the Lord is sure, making children wise.” The covenant of the Lord is true, making wise children; those free from evil, both the apostles, and then also us. Besides, the testimony of the Lord, according to which He rose again after His passion, having been verified by fact, led the Church to confirmation in faith.

LX. “The fear of the Lord is pure, enduring for ever.” He says that those who have been turned from fear to faith and righteousness endure for ever.

“The judgments of the Lord are true,” — sure, and incapable of being overturned; and giving rewards according to what is right, bringing the righteous to the unity of the faith. For this is shown in the words, “justified for the same.” “Such desires are above gold and precious stone.”

LXI. “For also Thy servant keeps them.” Not that David alone is called servant; but the whole people saved is called the servant of God, in virtue of obedience to the command.

LXII. “Cleanse me from my secret faults;” — thoughts contrary to right reason — defects. For He calls this foreign to the righteous man.

LXIII. “If they have not dominion over me, then shall I be innocent.” If those who persecute me as they did the Lord, do not have dominion over me, I shall not be innocent. For no one becomes a martyr unless he is persecuted; nor appears righteous, unless, being wronged, he takes no revenge; nor forbearing...

TWO EPISTLES

CONCERNING VIRGINITY

ATTRIBUTED TO CLEMENT OF ROME

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. B. P. PRATTEN]

CHAPTER 1

THE SALUTATION

To all those who love and cherish their life which is in Christ through God the Father, and obey the truth of God in hope of eternal life; to those who bear affection towards their brethren and towards their neighbors in the love of God; to the blessed brother virgins, who devote themselves to preserve virginity “for the sake of the kingdom of heaven;” and to the holy sister virgins: the peace which is in God.

CHAPTER 2

FOR TRUE VIRGINITY PERFECT VIRTUE IS NECESSARY

Of all virgins of either sex who have truly resolved to preserve virginity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven — of each and every one of them it is required that he be worthy of the kingdom of heaven in every thing. For not by eloquence or renown, by station and descent, or by beauty or strength, or by length of life, is the kingdom of heaven obtained; but it is obtained by the power of faith, when a man exhibits the works of faith. For whosoever is truly righteous, his works testify concerning his faith, that he is truly a believer, with a faith which is great, a faith which is perfect, a faith which is in God, a faith which shines in good works, that the Father of all may be glorified through Christ. Now, those who are truly

virgins for the sake of God give heed to Him who hath said, “Let not righteousness and faith fail thee; bind them on thy neck, and thou shall find favor for thyself; and devise thou good things before God and before men.” “The paths,” therefore, “of the righteous shine as the light, and the light of them advances until the day is perfect.” For the beams of their light illumine i the whole creation even now by good works, as those who are truly “the light of the world,” giving light to “those who sit in darkness,” that they may arise and go forth from the darkness by the light of the good works of the fear of God, “that they may see our good works and glorify our Father who is in heaven.” For it is required of the man of God, that in all his words and works he be perfect, and that in his life he be adorned with all exemplary and well-ordered behavior, and do all his deeds in righteousness, as a man of God.

CHAPTER 3

TRUE VIRGINS PROVE THEMSELVES SUCH BY SELF-DENIAL, AS DOES THE TRUE BELIEVER BY GOOD WORKS

For virgins are a beautiful pattern to believers, and to those who shall believe. The name alone, indeed, without works, does not introduce into the kingdom of heaven; but, if a man be truly a believer, such an one can be saved. For, if a person be only called a believer in name, whilst he is not such in works, he cannot possibly be a believer. “Let no one,” therefore, “lead you astray with the empty words of error.” For, merely because a person is called a virgin, if he be destitute of works excellent and comely, and suitable to virginity, he cannot possibly be saved. For our Lord called such virginity as that “foolish,” as He said in the Gospel; and because it had neither oil nor light, it was left outside of the kingdom of heaven, and was shut out from the joy of the bridegroom, and was reckoned with His enemies. For such persons as these “have the appearance only of the fear of God, but the power of it they deny.” For they “think with themselves that they are something, whilst they are nothing, and are deceived. But let every one constantly try his works,” and know himself; for empty worship does he offer, whosoever he be that makes profession of virginity and sanctity, “and denies its power.” For virginity of such a kind is

impure, and disowned by all good works. For “every tree whatsoever is known from its fruits.” “See that thou understand what I say: God will give thee understanding.” For whosoever engages before God to preserve sanctity must be girded with all the holy power of God. And, if with true fear he crucify his body, he for the sake of the fear of God excuses himself from that word in which the Scripture has said: “Be fruitful, and multiply,” and shuns all the display, and care, and sensuality, and fascination of this world, and its revelries and its drunkenness, and all its luxury and ease, and withdraws from the entire life of this world, and from its snares, and nets, and hindrances; and, whilst thou walkest upon the earth, be zealous that thy work and thy business be in heaven.

CHAPTER 4

CONTINUATION OF THE REMARKS ON SELF-DENIAL; OBJECT AND REWARD OF TRUE VIRGINS

For he who covets for himself these things so great and excellent, withdraws and severs himself on this account from all the world, that he may go and live a life divine and heavenly, like the holy angels, in work pure and holy, and “in the holiness of the Spirit of God,” and that he may serve God Almighty through Jesus Christ for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. On this account he severs himself from all the appetites of the body. And not only does he excuse himself from this command, “Be fruitful, and multiply,” but he longs for the “hope promised” and prepared “and laid up in heaven” by God, who has declared with His mouth, and He does not lie, that it is “better thou sons and daughters,” and that He will give to virgins a notable place in the house of God, which is something “better than sons and daughters,” and better than the place of those who have passed a wedded life in sanctity, and whose “bed has not been defiled.” For God will give to virgins the kingdom of heaven, as to the holy angels, by reason of this great and noble profession.

CHAPTER 5

THE IRKSOMENESS AND THE ENEMIES OF VIRGINITY

Thou desirest, then, to be a virgin? Knowest thou what hardship and irksomeness there is in true virginity — that which stands constantly at all seasons before God, and does not withdraw from His service, and "is anxious how it may please its Lord with a holy body, and with its spirit?" Knowest thou what great glory pertains to virginity, and is it for this that thou dost set thyself to practice it? Dost thou really know and understand what it is thou art eager to do? Art thou acquainted with the noble task of holy virginity? Dost thou know how, like a man, to enter "lawfully" upon this contest and "strive," that, in the might of the Holy Spirit, thou choosest this for thyself, that thou mayest be crowned with a crown of light, and that they may lead thee about in triumph through "the Jerusalem above"? If so be, then, that thou longest for all these things, conquer the body; conquer the appetites of the flesh; conquer the world in the Spirit of God; conquer these vain things of time, which pass away and grow old, and decay, and come to an end; conquer the dragon; conquer the lion; conquer the serpent; conquer Satan; — through Jesus Christ, who doth strengthen thee by the hearing of His words and the divine Eucharist. "Take up thy cross and follow" Him who makes thee clean, Jesus Christ thy Lord. Strive to run straight forward and boldly, not with fear, but with courage, relying on the promise of thy Lord, that thou shalt obtain the victor-crown of thy "calling on high" through Jesus Christ. For whosoever walks perfect in faith, and not fearing, doth in very deed receive the crown of virginity, which is great in its toil and great in its reward. Dost thou understand and know how honorable a thing is sanctity? Dost thou understand how great and exalted and excellent is the glory of virginity?

CHAPTER 6

DIVINITY OF VIRGINITY

The womb of a holy virgin carried our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and the body which our Lord wore, and in which He carried on the conflict

in this world, He put on from a holy virgin. From this, therefore, understand the greatness and dignity of virginity. Dost thou wish to be a Christian? Imitate Christ in everything. John, the ambassador, he who came before our Lord, he “than whom there was not a greater among those born of women,” the holy messenger of our Lord, was a virgin. Imitate, therefore, the ambassador of our Lord, and be his follower in every thing. That John, again, who “reclined on the bosom of our Lord, and whom He greatly loved,” — he, too, was a holy person. For it was not without reason that our Lord loved him. Paul, also, and Barnabas, and Timothy, with all the others, “whose names are written in the book of life,” — these, I say, all cherished and loved sanctity, and ran in the contest, and finished their course without blemish, as imitators of Christ, and as sons of the living God. Moreover, also, Elijah and Elisha, and many other holy men, we find to have lived a holy and spotless life. If, therefore, thou desirest to be like these, imitate them with all thy power. For the Scripture has said, “The elders who are among you, honor; and, seeing their manner of life and conduct, imitate their faith.” And again it saith, “Imitate me, my brethren, as I irritate Christ.”

CHAPTER 7

THE TRUE VIRGIN

Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, imitate Him earnestly. For those who have “put on Christ” in truth, express His likeness in their thoughts, and in their whole life, and in all their behavior: in word, and in deeds, and in patience, and in fortitude, and in knowledge, and in chastity, and in long-suffering, and in a pure heart, and in faith, and in hope, and in full and perfect love towards Cool. No virgin, therefore, unless they be in everything as Christ, and as those “who are Christs,” can be saved. For every virgin who is in God is holy in her body and in her spirit, and is constant in the service of her Lord, not turning away from it any whither, but waiting upon Him always in purity and holiness in the Spirit of God, being “solicitous how she may please her Lord,” by living purely and without stain, and solicitous to be pleasing before Him in every thing. She

who is such does not withdraw from our Lord, but in spirit is ever with her Lord: as it is written, “Be ye holy, as I am holy, saith the Lord.”

CHAPTER 8

VIRGINS, BY THE LAYING ASIDE OF ALL CARNAL AFFECTION, ARE IMITATORS OF GOD

For, if a man be only in name called holy, he is not holy; but he must be holy in everything: in his body and in his spirit. And those who are virgins rejoice at all times in becoming like God and His Christ, and are imitators of them. For in those that are such there is not “the mind of the flesh.” In those who are truly believers, and “in whom the Spirit of Christ dwells” -in them “the mind of the flesh” cannot be: which is fornication, uncleanness, wantonness; idolatry, sorcery; enmity, jealousy, rivalry, wrath, disputes, dissensions, ill-will; drunkenness, revelry; buffoonery, foolish talking, boisterous laughter; backbiting, insinuations; bitterness, rage; clamor, abuse, insolence of speech; malice, inventing of evil, falsehood; talkativeness, babbling; threatenings, gnashing of teeth, readiness to accuse, jarring, disdainings, blows; perversions of the right, laxness in judgment; haughtiness, arrogance, ostentation, pompousness, boasting of family, of beauty, of position, of wealth, of an arm of flesh; quarrelsomeness, injustice, eagerness for victory; hatred, anger, envy, perfidy, retaliation; debauchery, gluttony, “overreaching (which is idolatry),” “the love of money (which is the root of all evils);” love of display, vainglory, love of rule, assumption, pride (which is called death, and which “God fights against “). Every man with whom are these and such like things — every such man is of the flesh. For, “he that is born of the flesh is flesh; and he that is of the earth speaketh of the earth,” and his thoughts are of the earth. And “the mind of the flesh is enmity towards God. For it does not submit itself to the law of God; for it cannot do so,” because it is in the flesh, “in which dwells no good,” because the Spirit of God is not in it. For this cause justly does the Scripture say regarding such a generation as this: “My Spirit shall not dwell in men for ever, because they are flesh.” “Whosoever, therefore, has not the Spirit of God in him, is

none of His:” as it is written, “The Spirit of God departed from Saul, and an evil spirit troubled him, which was sent upon him from God.”

CHAPTER 9

CONTINUATION OF THE SUBJECT OF MORTIFICATION; DIGNITY OF PERSONS CONSECRATED TO GOD

He in whomsoever the Spirit of God is, is in accord with the will of the Spirit of God; and, because he is in accord with the Spirit of God, therefore does he mortify, the deeds of the body and live unto God, “treading down and subjugating the body and keeping it under; so that, while preaching to others,” he may be a beautiful example and pattern to believers, and may spend his life in works which are worthy of the Holy Spirit, so that tie may “not be cast away,” but may be approved before God and before men. For in “the man who is of God,” with him I say there is nothing of the mind of the flesh; and especially in virgins of either sex; but the fruits of all of them are “the fruits of the Spirit” and of life, and they are truly the city of God, and the houses and temples in which God abides and dwells, and among which He walks, as in the holy city of heaven. For in this “do ye appear to the world as lights, in that ye give heed to the Word of life,” and thus ye are in truth the praise, and the boast, and the crown of rejoicing, and the delight of good servants in our Lord Jesus Christ. For all who see you will “acknowledge that ye are the seed which the Lord hath blessed;” in very deed a seed honorable and holy, and “a priestly kingdom, a holy people, the people of the inheritance,” the heirs of the promises of God; of things which do not decay, nor wither; of “that which eye hath not seen, and car hath not heard, and which hath not come up into the heart of man; of that which God hath prepared for those who love Him and keep His commandments.”

CHAPTER 10

DENUNCIATION OF DANGEROUS AND SCANDALOUS ASSOCIATION WITH MAIDENS

Now, we are persuaded of you, my brethren, that your thoughts are occupied about those things which are requisite for your salvation. But we speak thus in consequence of the evil rumors and reports concerning shameless men, who, under pretext of the fear of God, have their dwelling with maidens, and so expose themselves to danger, and walk with them along the road and in solitary places alone — a course which is full of dangers, and full of stumbling-blocks and snares and pitfalls; nor is it in any respect right for Christians and those who fear God so to conduct themselves. Others, too, eat and drink with them at entertainments allowing themselves in loose behavior and much uncleanness — such as ought not to be among believers, and especially among those who have chosen for themselves a life of holiness. Others, again, meet together for vain and trifling conversation and merriment, and that they may speak evil of one another; and they hunt up tales against one another, and are idle: persons with whom we do not allow you even to eat bread. Then, others gad about among the houses of virgin brethren or sisters, on pretense of visiting them, or reading the Scriptures to them, or exorcising them. Forasmuch as they are idle and do no work, they pry into those things which ought not to be inquired into, and by means of plausible words make merchandise of the name of Christ. These are men from whom the divine apostle kept aloof, because of the multitude of their evil deeds; as it is written: “Thorns sprout in the hands of the idle;” and, “The ways of the idle are full of thorns.”

CHAPTER 11

PERNICIOUSNESS OF IDLENESS; WARNING AGAINST THE EMPTY LONGING TO BE TEACHERS; ADVICE ABOUT TEACHING AND THE USE OF DIVINE GIFTS

Such are the ways of all those who do not work, but go hunting for tales, and think to themselves that this is profitable and right. For such persons are like those idle and prating widows "who go wandering about among houses" with their prating, and hunt for idle tales, and carry them from house to house with much exaggeration, without fear of God. And besides all this, barefaced men as they are, under pretense of teaching, they set forth a variety of doctrines. And would that they taught the doctrines of truth! But it is this which is so disquieting, that they understand not what they mean, and assert that which is not true: because they wish to be teachers, and to display themselves as skillful in speaking; because they traffic in iniquity in the name of Christ — which it is not right for the servants of God to do. And they hearken not to that which the Scripture has said: "Let not many be teachers among you, my brethren, and be not all of you prophets." For "he who does not transgress in word is a perfect man, able to keep down and subjugate his whole body." And, "If a man speak, let him speak in the words of God." And, "If there is in thee understanding, give an answer to thy brother but if not, put thy hand on thy mouth." For, "at one thee it is proper to keep silence, and at another thee to speak." And again it says "When a man speaks in season, it is honorable to him." And again it says: "Let your speech be seasoned with grace. For it is required of a man to know how to give an answer to every one in season." For "he that utters whatsoever comes to his mouth, that man produces strife; and he that utters a superfluity of words increases vexation; and he that is hasty with his lips falls into evil. For because of the unruliness of the tongue cometh anger; but the perfect man keeps watch over his tongue, and loves his soul's life." For these are they "who by good words and fair speeches lead astray the hearts of the simple, and, while offering them blessings, lead them astray." Let us, therefore, fear the judgment which awaits teachers. For a severe judgment will those teachers receive "who teach, but do not," and those who take upon them the name of Christ falsely, and say: We teach the truth, and yet go wandering about

idly, and exalt themselves, and make their boast" in the mind of the flesh." These, moreover, are like "the blind man who leads the blind man, and they both fall into the ditch." And they will receive judgment, because in their talkativeness and their frivolous teaching they teach natural wisdom and the "frivolous error of the plausible words of the wisdom of men," "according to the will of the prince of the dominion of the air, and of the spirit which works in those men who will not obey, according to the training of this world, and not according to the doctrine of Christ." But if thou hast received "the word of knowledge, or the word of instruction, or of prophecy," blessed be God, "who helps every man without grudging — that God who gives to every man and does not upbraid him." With the gift, therefore, which thou hast received from our Lord, serve thy spiritual brethren, the prophets who know that the words which thou speakest are those of our Lord; and declare the gift which thou hast received in the Church for the edification of the brethren in Christ (for good and excellent are those things which help the men of God), if so be that they are truly with thee.

CHAPTER 12

RULES FOR VISITS, EXORCISMS, AND HOW PEOPLE ARE TO ASSIST THE SICK, AND TO WALK IN ALL THINGS WITHOUT OFFENSE

Moreover, also, this is comely and useful, that a man "visit orphans and widows," and especially those poor persons who have many children. These things are, without controversy, required of the servants of God, and comely and suitable for them. This also, again, is suitable and right and comely for those who are brethren in Christ, that they should visit those who are harassed by evil spirits, and pray and pronounce adjurations over them, intelligently, offering such prayer as is acceptable before God; not with a multitude of fine words, well prepared and arranged, so that they may appear to men eloquent and of a good memory. Such men are "like a sounding pipe, or a tinkling cymbal;" and they bring no help to those over whom they make their adjurations; but they speak with terrible words, and affright people, but do not act with true faith, according to the

teaching of our Lord, who hath said: “This kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer,” offered unceasingly and with earnest mind. And let them holily ask and beg of God, with cheerfulness and all circumspection and purity, without hatred and without malice. In this way let us approach a brother or a sister who is sick, and visit them in a way that is right, without guile, and without covetousness, and without noise, and without talkativeness, and without such behavior as is alien from the fear of God, and without haughtiness, but with the meek and lowly spirit of Christ. Let them, therefore, with fasting and with prayer make their adjurations, and not with the elegant and wall-arranged and fitly-ordered words of learning, but as men who have received the gift of healing from God, confidently, to the glory of God. By your fastings and prayers and perpetual watching, together with your other good works, mortify the works of the flesh by the power of the Holy Spirit. He who acts thus “is a temple of the Holy Spirit of God.” Let this man cast out demons, and God will help him. For it is good that a man help those that are sick. Our Lord hath said: “Cast out demons,” at the same thee commanding many other acts of healing; and, “Freely ye have received, freely give.” For such persons as these a goodly recompense is laid up by God, because they serve their brethren with the gifts which have been given them by the Lord. This is also comely and helpful to the servants of God, because they act according to the injunctions of our Lord, who hath said: “I was sick, and ye visited Me, and so on.” And this is comely and right and just, that we visit our neighbors for the sake of God with all seemliness of manner and purity of behavior; as the Apostle hath said: “Who is sick, and I am not sick? who is offended, and I am not offended?” But all these things are spoken in reference to the love with which a man should love his neighbor. And in these things let us occupy ourselves, without giving offense, and let us not do anything with partiality or for the shaming of others, but let us love the poor as the servants of God, and especially let us visit them. For this is comely before God and before men, that we should remember the poor, and be lovers of the brethren and of strangers, for the sake of God and for the sake of those who believe in God, as we have learnt from the law and from the prophets, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, concerning the love of the brotherhood and the love of strangers: for ye know the words which have been spoken concerning the love of the brotherhood and

the love of strangers; powerfully are the words spoken to all those who do them.

CHAPTER 13

WHAT PRIESTS SHOULD BE AND SHOULD NOT BE

Beloved brethren! that a man should build up and establish the brethren on the faith in one God, this also is manifest and well-known. This too, again, is comely, that a man should not be envious of his neighbor. And moreover, again, it is suitable and comely that all those who work the works of the Lord should work the works of the Lord in the fear of God. Thus is it required of them to conduct themselves. That “the harvest is great, but the workmen are few,” this also is well-known and manifest. Let us, therefore, “ask of the Lord of the harvest” that He would send forth workmen into the harvest; such workmen as “shall skillfully dispense the word of truth;” workmen “who shall not be ashamed;” faithful workmen; workmen who shall be “the light of the world;” workmen who “work not for the food that perisheth, but for that food which abideth unto life eternal;” workmen who shall be such as the apostles; workmen who imitate the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; who are concerned for the salvation of men; not “hireling” workmen; not workmen to whom the fear of God and righteousness appear to be gain; not workmen who “serve their belly;” not workmen who “with fair speeches and pleasant words mislead the hearts of the innocent;” not workmen who imitate the children of light, while they are not light but darkness — “men whose end is destruction;” not workmen who practice iniquity and wickedness and fraud; not “crafty workmen;” not workmen “drunken” and “faithless;” nor workmen who traffic in Christ; not misleaders; not “lovers of money; not malevolent.”

Let us, therefore, contemplate and imitate the faithful who have conducted themselves well in the Lord, as is becoming and suitable to our calling and profession. Thus let us do service before God in justice and righteousness, and without blemish, “occupying ourselves with things good and comely before God and also before men.” For this is comely, that God be glorified in us in all things.

Here endeth the first Epistle of Clement.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE SAME CLEMENT

CHAPTER 1

HE DESCRIBES THE CIRCUMSPECTNESS OF HIS INTERCOURSE WITH THE OTHER SEX, AND TELLS HOW IN HIS JOURNEYS HE ACTS AT PLACES WHERE THERE ARE BRETHREN ONLY

I would, moreover, have you know, my brethren, of what sort is our conduct in Christ, as well as that of all our brethren, in the various places in which we are. And if so be that you approve it, do ye also conduct yourselves in like manner in the Lord. Now we, if God help us, conduct ourselves thus: with maidens we do not dwell, nor have we anything in common with them; with maidens we do not eat, nor drink; and, where a maiden sleeps, we do not sleep; neither do women wash our feet, nor anoint us; and on no account do we sleep where a maiden sleeps who is unmarried or has taken the vow: even though she be in some other place if she be alone, we do not pass the night there. Moreover, if it chance that the time for rest overtake us in a place, whether in the country, or in a village, or in a town, or in a hamlet, or wheresoever we happen to be, and there are found brethren in that place, we turn in to one who is a brother, and call together there all the brethren, and speak to them words of encouragement and exhortation. And those among us who are gifted in speaking will speak such words as are earnest, and serious, and chaste, in the fear of God, and exhort them to please God in everything, and abound and go forward in good works, and” be free fromanxious care in everything,” as is fit and right for the people of God.

CHAPTER 2

HIS BEHAVIOR IN PLACES WHERE THERE WERE CHRISTIANS OF BOTH SEXES

And if, moreover, it chance that we are distant from our homes and from our neighbors, and the day decline and the eventide overtake us, and the brethren press us, through love of the brotherhood and by reason of their affection for strangers, to stay with them, so that we may watch with them, and they may hear the holy word of God and do it, and be fed with the words of the Lord, so that they may be mindful of them, and they set before us bread and water and that which God provides, and we be willing and consent to stay through the night with them; if there be there a holy man, with him we turn in and lodge, and that same brother will provide and prepare whatever is necessary for us; and he himself waits upon us, and he himself washes our feet for us and anoints us with ointment, and he himself gets ready a bed for us, that we may sleep in reliance on God. All these things will that consecrated brother, who is in the place in which we tarry, do in his own person. He will himself serve the brethren, and each one of the brethren who are in the same place will join with him in rendering all those services which are requisite for the brethren. But with us may no female, whether young maiden or married woman, be there at that thee; nor she that is aged. nor she that has taken the vow; not even a maid-servant, whether Christian or heathen; but there shall only be men with men. And, if we see it to be requisite to stand and pray for the sake of the women, and to speak words of exhortation and edification, we call together the brethren and all the holy sisters and maidens, and likewise all the other women who are there, inviting them with all modesty and becoming behavior to come and feast on the truth. And those among us who are skilled in speaking speak to them, and exhort them in those words which God has given us. And then we pray, and salute one another, the men the men. But the women and the maidens will wrap their hands in their garments; and we also, with circumspection and with all purity, our eyes looking upwards, shall wrap our right hand in our garments; and then they will come and give us the salutation on our right hand wrapped in our garments. Then we go where God permits us.

CHAPTER 3

RULES FOR THE CONDUCT OF CELIBATE BRETHREN IN PLACES WHERE THERE ARE ONLY MARRIED CHRISTIANS

And if again we chance to come into a place where there is no consecrated brother, but all are married, all those who are there will receive the brother who comes to them, and minister to him, and care for his wants in everything, assiduously, with goodwill. And the brother shall be ministered to by them in the way that is suitable. And the brother will say to the married persons who are in that place: We holy men do not eat or drink with women, nor are we waited on by women or by maidens, nor do women wash our feet for us, nor do women anoint us, nor do women prepare our bed for us, nor do we sleep where women sleep, so that we may be without reproach in everything, lest any one should be offended or stumble at us. And, whilst we observe all these things, “we are without offense to every man.” As persons, therefore, “who know the fear of the Lord, we persuade men, and to God we are made manifest.”

CHAPTER 4

CONDUCT OF THE HOLY MAN WHERE THERE ARE WOMEN ONLY

But if we chance to come into a place where there are no Christian men, but all the believers are women and maidens, and they press us to pass the night there in that place, we call them all together to some suitable place, and ask them how they do; and according to that which we learn from them, and what we see to be their state of mind, we address them in a suitable man-Her, as men fearing God. And when they have all assembled and come together, and we see that they are in peace, we address to them words of exhortation in the fear of God, and read the Scripture to them, with purity and in the concise and weighty words of the fear of God. We do everything as for their edification. And as to those who are married, we speak to them in the Lord in a manner suited to them. And if, moreover, the day decline and the eventide draw on, we select, in order to pass the

night there, a woman who is aged and the most exemplary of them all; and we speak to her to give us a place all to ourselves, where no woman enters, nor maiden. And this old woman herself will bring us a lamp, and whatever is requisite for us she will herself bring us. From love to the brethren, she will bring whatever is requisite for the service of stranger brethren. And she herself, when the thee for sleep is come, will depart and go to her house in peace.

CHAPTER 5

WHERE THERE IS ONLY ONE WOMAN, THE FATHER DOES NOT MAKE A STAY; HOW CAREFULLY STUMBLING-BLOCKS MUST BE AVOIDED

But if, moreover, we chance upon a place, and find there one believing woman only, and no other person be there but she only, we do not stop there, nor pray there, nor read the Scriptures there, but we flee as from before the face of a serpent, and as from before the face of sin. Not that we disdain the believing woman — far be it from us to be so minded towards our brethren in Christ! — but, because she is alone, we are afraid lest any one should make insinuations against us in words of falsehood. For the hearts of men are firmly sets on evil. And, that we may not give a pretext to those who desire to get a pretext against us and to speak evil of us, and that we may not be a stumbling-block to any one, on this account we cut off the pretext of those who desire to get a pretext against us; on this account we must be “on our guard that we be to no one a stumbling-block, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor yet to the Church of God; and we must not seek that which is profitable to ourselves only, but that which is for the profit of many, so that they may be saved.” For this does not profit us, that another stumble because of us. Let us, therefore, be studiously on our guard at all times, that we do not smite our brethren and give them to drink of a disquieting conscience through our being to them a stumbling-block. For “if for the sake of meat our brother be made sad, or shocked, or made weak, or caused to stumble, we are not walking in the love of God. For the sake of meat thou causest him to perish for whose sake Christ died.” For, in “thus sinning against your brethren and

wounding their sickly consciences, ye sin against Christ Himself. For, if for the sake of meat my brother is made to stumble," let us who are believers say, "Never will we eat flesh, that we may not make our brother to stumble." These things, moreover, does ever one who truly loves God, who truly takes up his cross, and puts on Christ, and loves his neighbor; the man who watches over himself that he be not a stumbling-block to any one, that no one be caused to stumble because of him and die because he is constantly with maidens and lives in the same house with them — a thing which is not right — to the overthrow of those who see and hear. Evil conduct like this is fraught with stumbling and peril, and is akin to death. But blessed is that man who is circumspect and fearful in everything for the sake of purity!

CHAPTER 6

HOW CHRISTIANS SHOULD BEHAVE THEMSELVES AMONG HEATHENS

If, moreover, it chance that we go to a place in which there are no Christians, and it be important for us to stay there a few days, let us be "wise as serpents, and harmless as doves;" and let us "not be as the foolish, but as the wise," in all the self-restraint of the fear of God, that God may be glorified in everything through our Lord Jesus Christ, through our chaste and holy behavior. For, "whether we eat, or drink, or do anything else, let us do it as for the glory of God." Let "all those who see us acknowledge that we are a blessed seed," "sons of the living God," in everything — in all our words in shamefastness, in purity, in humility, forasmuch as we do not copy the heathen in anything, nor are as believers like other men, but in everything are estranged from the wicked. And we "do not cast that which is holy before dogs, nor pearls before swine;" but with all possible self-restraint, and with all discretion, and with all fear of God, and with earnestness of mind we praise God. For we do not minister where heathens are drinking and blaspheming in their feasts with words of impurity, because of their wickedness. Therefore do we not sing psalms to the heathens, nor do we read to them the Scriptures, that we may not be like common singers, either those who play on the lyre, or those who sing

with the voice, or like soothsayers, as many are, who follow these practices and do these things, that they may sate themselves with a paltry mouthful of bread, and who, for the sake of a sorry cup of wine, go about "singing the songs of the Lord in the strange land" of the heathen, and doing what is not right. Do not so, my brethren; we beseech you, my brethren, let not these deeds be done among you; but put away those who choose thus to behave themselves with infamy and disgrace. It is not proper, my brethren, that these things should be so. But we beseech you, brethren in righteousness, that these things be so done with you as with us, as for a pattern of believers, and of those who shall believe. Let us be of the flock of Christ, in all righteousness, and in all holy and unblemished conduct, behaving ourselves with uprightness and sanctity, as is right for believers, and observing those things which are praiseworthy, and pure, and holy, and honorable, and noble; and do ye promote all those things which are profitable. For ye are "our joy, and our crown," and our hope, and our life, "if so be that ye stand in the Lord." So be it!

CHAPTER 7

USES OF CONSIDERING ADMONITORY EXAMPLES, AS WELL AS INSTRUCTIVE PATTERNS

Let us consider, therefore, my brethren, and see how all the righteous fathers conducted themselves during the whole time of their sojourn in this life, and let us search and examine from the law down to the New Testament. For this is both becoming and profitable, that we should know how many men there have been, and who they, were, that have perished through women; and who and how many have been the women that have perished through men, by reason of the constancy with which they have associated with one another. And further, also, for the same reason, I will show how many have been the men, and who they were, that lived all their lifetime, and continued even to the close, with one another in the performance of chaste works without blemish. And it is manifest and well-known that this is so.

CHAPTER 8

JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE; OF WHAT KIND LOVE TO FEMALES OUGHT TO BE

There is Joseph, faithful, and intelligent, and wise, and who feared God in everything. Did not a woman conceive an excessive passion for the beauty of this chaste and upright man? And, when he would not yield and consent to gratify her passionate desire, she cast the righteous man into every kind of distress and torment, to within a little of death, by bearing false witness. But God delivered him from all the evils that came upon him through this wretched woman. Ye see, my brethren, what distresses the constant sight of the person of the Egyptian woman brought upon the righteous man. Therefore, let us not be constantly with women, nor with maidens. For this is not profitable for those who truly wish to "gird up their loins." For it is required that we love the sisters in all purity and chasteness, and with all curbing of thought, in the fear of God, not associating constantly with them, nor finding access to them at every hour.

CHAPTER 9

SAMSON'S ADMONITORY FALL

Hast thou not heard concerning Samson the Nazarite, "with whom was the Spirit of God," the man of great strength? This man, who was a Nazarite, and consecrated to God, and who was gifted with strength and might, a woman brought to ruin with her wretched body, and with her vile passion. Art thou, perchance, such a man as he? Know thyself, and know the measure of thy strength. "The married woman catcheth precious souls." Therefore, we do not allow any man whatsoever to sit with a married woman; much less to live in the same house with a maiden who has taken the vow, or to sleep where she sleeps, or to be constantly with her. For this is to be hated and abominated by those who fear God.

CHAPTER 10

DAVID'S SIN, SE ADMONITORY TO US WEAK MEN

Does not the case of David instruct thee, whom God "found a man after His heart," one faithful, faultless, pious, true? This same man saw the beauty of a woman — I mean of Bathsheba — when he saw her as she was cleansing herself and washing unclothed. This woman the holy man saw, and was thoroughly captivated with desire by the sight of her. See, then, what evils he committed because of a woman, and haw this righteous man sinned, and gave command that the husband of this woman should be killed in battle. Ye have seen what wicked schemes he laid and executed, and how, because of his passion for a woman, he perpetrated a murder — he, David, who was called "the anointed of the Lord." Be admonished, O man: for, if such men as these have been brought to ruin through women, what is thy righteousness, or what art thou among the holy, that thou consortest with women and with maidens day and night, with much silliness, without fear of God? Not thus, my brethren, not thus let us conduct ourselves; but let us be mindful of that word which is spoken concerning a woman: "Her hands lay snares, and her heart spreadeth nets; but the just shall escape from her, whilst the wicked falleth into her hands." Therefore let us, who are consecrated, be careful not to live in the same house with females who have taken the vow. For such conduct as this is not becoming nor right for the servants of God.

CHAPTER 11

ADMONITORY HISTORY OF THE INCESTUOUS CHILDREN OF DAVID

Hast thou not read concerning Amnon and Tamar, the children of David? This Amnon conceived a passion for his sister, and humbled her, and did not spare her, because he longed for her with a shameful passion; and he proved wicked and profligate because of his constant intercourse with her, without the fear of God, and he "wrought uncleanness in Israel." Therefore, it is not proper for us, nor right for us, to associate with sisters,

indulging in laughter and looseness; but we ought to behave towards them with all chasteness and purity, and in the fear of the Lord.

CHAPTER 12

SOLOMON'S INFATUATION THROUGH WOMEN

Hast thou not read the history of Solomon, the son of David, the man to whom God gave wisdom, and knowledge, and largeness of mind, and riches, and much glory, beyond all men? Yet this same man, through women, came to ruin, and departed from the Lord.

CHAPTER 13

THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA TEACHES CIRCUMSPECTION WITH THE EYES AND IN SOCIETY

Hast thou not read, and dost thou not know, concerning those elders who were in the days of Susanna, who, because they were constantly with women, and looking upon the beauty which was another's, fell into the depths of wantonness, and were not able to keep themselves in a chaste mind, but were overcome by a depraved disposition, and came suddenly upon the blessed Susanna to corrupt her. But she did not consent to their foul passion, but cried unto God, and God saved her out of the hands of the bad old men. Does it not, therefore, behoove us to tremble and be afraid, forasmuch as these old men, judges and elders of the people of God, fell from their dignity because of a woman? For they did not keep in mind that which is said: "Look thou not on the beauty which is another's" and, "The beauty of woman has destroyed many;" and "With a married woman do not sit;" and that, again, in which it says: "Is there any one that puts fire in his bosom, and does not burn his clothes;" or, "Does a man walk on fire, and his feet are not scorched? So whosoever goeth in to another man's wife is not pure from evil, and whosoever comes near to her shall not escape." And again it says: "Thou shall not long after the beauty a woman, lest she take thee captive with her eyelids;" and, "Thou shalt not look upon a maiden, lest thou perish through desire of her;" and, "With a

woman that sings beautifully thou shall not constantly be;" and, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

CHAPTER 14

EXAMPLES OF CIRCUMSPECT BEHAVIOR FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT

But see what it says also concerning those holy men, the prophets, and concerning the apostles of our Lord. Let us see whether any one of these holy men was constantly with maidens, or with young married women, or with such widows as the divine apostle declines to receive. Let us consider, in the fear of God, the manner of life of these holy men. Lo! we find it written concerning Moses and Aaron, that they acted and lived in the company of men, who themselves also followed a course of conduct like theirs. And thus did Joshua also, the son of Nun. Woman was there none with them; but they by themselves used holily to minister before God, men with men. And not only so; but they taught the people, that, whensoever the host moved, every tribe should move on apart, and the women with the women apart, and that they should go into the rear behind the host, and the men also apart by their tribes. And, according to the command of the Lord, so did they set out, like a wise people, that there might be no disorder on account of the women when the host moved. With beautiful and well-ordered arrangements did they march without stumbling. For lo! the Scriptures bear testimony to my words: "When the children of Israel had crossed over the Sea of Suth, Moses and the children of Israel sang the praises of the Lord, and said: We will praise the Lord, because He is exceedingly to be praised." And, after that Moses had finished singing praises, then Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, took a timbrel in her hands, and all the women went out after her, and sang praises with her, women with women apart, and men with men apart. Then again, we find that Elisha and Gehazi and the sons of the prophets lived together in the fear of God, and that they had no females living with them. Micah too, and all the prophets likewise, we find to have lived in this manner in the fear of the Lord.

CHAPTER 15

THE EXAMPLE OF JESUS HOW WE MAY ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE SERVED BY WOMEN

And, not to extend our discourse to too great length, what shall we say concerning our Lord Jesus Christ? Our Lord Himself was constantly with His twelve disciples when He had come forth to the world. And not only so; but also, when He was sending them out, He sent them out two and two together, men with men; but women were not sent with them, and neither in the highway nor in the house did they associate with women or with maidens: and thus they pleased God in everything. Also, when our Lord Jesus Christ Himself was talking with the woman of Samaria by the well alone, “His disciples came” and found Him talking with her, “and wondered that Jesus was standing and talking with a woman.” Is He not a rule, such as may not be set aside, an example, and a pattern to all the tribes of men? And not only so; but also, when our Lord was risen from the place of the dead, and Mary came to the place of sepulture, she ran and fell at the feet of our Lord and worshipped Him, and would have taken hold of Him. But He said to her: “Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended to My Father.” Is it not, then, matter for astonishment, that, while our Lord did not allow Mary, the blessed woman, to touch His feet, yet thou livest with them, and art waited on by women and maidens, and sleepest where they sleep, and women wash thy feet for thee, and anoint thee! Alas for this culpable state of mind! Alas for this state of mind which is destitute of fear! Alas for this affrontery and folly, which is without fear of God! Dost thou not judge thine own self? Dost thou not examine thine own self? Dost thou not know thine own self and the measure of thy strength? These things, moreover, are trustworthy, and these things are true and right; and these are rules immutable for those who behave themselves uprightly in our Lord. Many holy women, again, ministered to holy men of their substance, as the Shunammite woman ministered to Elisha; but she did not live with him, but the prophet lived in a house apart. And, when her son died, she wanted to throw herself at the feet of the prophet; but his attendant would not allow her, but restrained her. But Elisha said to his servant: “Let her alone, because her soul is distressed.” From these things, then, we ought to understand their manner

of life. To Jesus Christ our Lord women ministered of their substance: but they did not live with him; but chastely, and holily, and unblameably they behaved before the Lord, and finished their course, and received the crown in our Lord God Almighty.

CHAPTER 16

EXHORTATION TO UNION AND TO OBEDIENCE; CONCLUSION

Therefore, we beseech you, our brethren in our Lord, that these things be observed with you, as with us, and that we may be of the same mind, that we may be one in you and ye may be one in us, and that in everything we may be of one soul and one heart in our Lord. Whosoever knoweth the Lord heareth us; and every one who is not of God heareth not us. He who desires truly to keep sanctity heareth us; and the virgin who truly desires to keep virginity heareth us; but she who does not truly desire to keep virginity doth not hear us. Finally, farewell in our Lord, and rejoice in the Lord, all ye saints Peace and joy be with you from God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord. So be it.

Here endeth the Second Epistle of Clement, the disciple of Peter. His prayer be with us! So be it.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE LITERATURE

RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT

RUFINUS, PRESBYTER OF AQUILEIA;

HIS PREFACE TO CLEMENT'S BOOK OF RECOGNITIONS.

TO BISHOP GAUDENTIUS

To thee, indeed, O Gaudentius, thou choice glory of our doctors, belongs such vigor of mind, yea, such grace of the Spirit, that whatever you say even in the course of your daily preaching, whatever you deliver in the church, ought to be preserved in books, and handed down to posterity for their instruction. But we, whom slenderness of wit renders less ready, and now old age renders slow and inactive, though after many delays, yet at length present to you the work which once the virgin Sylvia of venerable memory enjoined upon us, that we should render Clement into our language, and you afterwards by hereditary right demanded of us; and thus we contribute to the use and profit of our people, no small spoil, as I think, taken from the libraries of the Greeks, so that we may feed with foreign nourishment those whom we cannot with our own. For foreign things usually seem both more pleasant, and sometimes also more profitable. In short, almost everything is foreign that brings healing to our bodies, that opposes diseases, and neutralizes poisons. For Judaea sends us Lacryma balsami, Crete Coma dictamni, Arabia her flower of spices, India reaps her crop of spikenard; which, although they reach us in a somewhat more broken condition than when they leave their native fields, yet retain entire the sweetness of their odor and their healing virtue. Receive therefore, my soul, Clement returning to you; receive him now in a

Roman dress. And wonder not if haply the florid countenance of eloquence appear less in him than usual. It matters not, provided the sense tastes the same. Therefore we transport foreign merchandise into our country with much labor. And I know not with how grateful countenances my countrymen welcome me, bringing to them the rich spoils of Greece, and unlocking hidden treasures of wisdom with the key of our language. But may God grant your prayers, that no unlucky eye nor any livid aspect may meet us, lest, by an extreme kind of prodigy, while those from whom he is taken do not envy, yet those upon whom he is bestowed should repine. Truly it is right to point out the plan of our translation to you, who have read these works also in Greek, lest haply in some parts you may think the order of translation not kept. I suppose you are aware that there are two editions in Greek of this work of Clement, — the Αναγνώσεις, that is, Recognitions; and that there are two collections of books, differing in some points, but in many containing the same narrative. In short, the last part of this work, in which is the relation concerning the transformation of Simon, is contained in one of the collections, but is not at all in the other. There are also in both collections some dissertations concerning the Unbegotten God and the Begotten, and on some other subjects, which, to say nothing more, are beyond our comprehension. These, therefore, as being beyond our powers, I have chosen to reserve for others, rather than to produce in an imperfect state. But in the rest, we have given our endeavor, so far as we could, not to vary either from the sentiments or even from the language and modes of expression; and this, although it renders the style of the narrative less ornate, yet it makes it more faithful. The epistle in which the same Clement, writing to James the Lord’s brother, informs him of the death of Peter, and that he had left him his successor in his chair and teaching, and in which also the whole subject of church order is treated, I have not prefixed to this work, both because it is of later date, and because I have already translated and published it. But I do not think it out of place to explain here what in that letter will perhaps seem to some to be inconsistent. For some ask, Since Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before this Clement, how could Clement himself, writing to James, say that the chair of teaching was handed over to him by Peter? Now of this we have heard this explanation, that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, but during the lifetime of Peter: that is, that they undertook the

care of the episcopate, and that he fulfilled the office of apostleship; as is found also to have been the case at Caesarea, where, when he himself was present, he yet had Zacchaeus, ordained by himself, as bishop. And in this way both statements will appear to be true, both that these bishops are reckoned before Clement, and yet that Clement received the teacher's seat on the death of Peter. But now let us see how Clement, writing to James the Lord's brother, begins his narrative.

RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT

BOOK 1

CHAPTER 1

CLEMENT'S EARLY HISTORY; DOUBTS

I Clement, who was born in the city of Rome, was from my earliest age a lover of chastity; while the bent of my mind held me bound as with chains of anxiety and sorrow. For a thought that was in me — whence originating, I cannot tell — constantly led me to think of my condition of mortality, and to discuss such questions as these: Whether there be for me any life after death, or whether I am to be wholly annihilated: whether I did not exist before I was born, and whether there shall be no remembrance of this life after death, and so the boundlessness of time shall consign all things to oblivion and silence; so that not only we shall cease to be, but there shall be no remembrance that we have ever been. This also I revolved in my mind: when the world was made, or what was before it was made, or whether it has existed from eternity. For it seemed certain, that if it had been made, it must be doomed to dissolution; and if it be dissolved, what is to be afterwards? — unless, perhaps, all things shall be buried in oblivion and silence, or something shall be, which the mind of man cannot now conceive.

CHAPTER 2

HIS DISTRESS

While I was continually revolving in my mind these and such like questions, suggested I know not how, I was pining away wonderfully through excess of grief; and, what was worse, if at any time I thought to

cast aside such cares, as being of little use, the waves of anxiety rose all the higher upon me. For I had in me that most excellent companion, who would not suffer me to rest — the desire of immortality: for, as the subsequent issue showed, and the grace of Almighty God directed, this bent of mind led me to the quest of truth, and the acknowledgment of the true light; and hence it came to pass, that ere long I pitied those whom formerly in my ignorance I believed to be happy.

CHAPTER 3

HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOLS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

Having therefore such a bent of mind from my earliest years, the desire of learning something led me to frequent the schools of the philosophers. There I saw that nought else was done, save that doctrines were asserted and controverted without end, contests were waged, and the arts of syllogisms and the subtleties of conclusions were discussed. If at any time the doctrine of the immortality of the soul prevailed, I was thankful; if at any time it was impugned, I went away sorrowful. Still, neither doctrine had the power of truth over my heart. This only I understood, that opinions and definitions of things were accounted true or false, not in accordance with their nature and the truth of the arguments, but in proportion to the talents of those who supported them. And I was all the more tortured in the bottom of my heart, because I was neither able to lay hold of any of those things which were spoken as firmly established, nor was I able to lay aside the desire of inquiry; but the more I endeavored to neglect and despise them, so much the more eagerly, as I have said, did a desire of this sort, creeping in upon me secretly as with a kind of pleasure, take possession of my heart and mind.

CHAPTER 4

HIS INCREASING DISQUIET

Being therefore straitened in the discovery of things, I said to myself, Why do we labor in vain, since the end of things is manifest? For if after death I shall be no more, my present torture is useless; but if there is to be for me a life after death, let us keep for that life the excitements that belong to it, lest perhaps some sadder things befall me than those which I now suffer, unless I shall have lived piously and soberly; and, according to the opinions of some of the philosophers, I be consigned to the stream of dark-rolling Phlegethon, or to Tartarus, like Sisyphus and Tityus, and to eternal punishment in the infernal regions, like Ixion and Tantalus. And again I would answer to myself: But these things are fables; or if it be so, since the matter is in doubt, it is better to live piously. But again I would ponder with myself, How should I restrain myself from the lust of sin, while uncertain as to the reward of righteousness? — and all the more when I have no certainty what righteousness is, or what is pleasing to God; and when I cannot ascertain whether the soul be immortal, and be such that it has anything to hope for; nor do I know what the future is certainly to be. Yet still I cannot rest from thoughts of this sort.

CHAPTER 5

HIS DESIGN TO TEST THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

What, then, shall I do? This shall I do. I shall proceed to Egypt, and there I shall cultivate the friendship of the hierophants or prophets, who preside at the shrines. Then I shall win over a magician by money, and entreat him, by what they call the necromantic art, to bring me a soul from the infernal regions, as if I were desirous of consulting it about some business. But this shall be my consultation, whether the soul be immortal. Now, the proof that the soul is immortal will be put past doubt, not from what it says, or from what I hear, but from what I see: for seeing it with my eyes, I shall ever after hold the surest conviction of its immortality; and no fallacy of words or uncertainty of hearing shall ever be able to disturb the persuasion

produced by sight. However, I related this project to a certain philosopher with whom I was intimate, who counseled me not to venture upon it; “for,” said he, “if the soul should not obey the call of the magician, you henceforth will live more hopelessly, as thinking that there is nothing after death, and also as having tried things unlawful. If, however, you seem to see anything, what religion or what piety can arise to you from things unlawful and implores? For they say that transactions of this sort are hateful to the Divinity, and that God sets Himself in opposition to those who trouble souls after their release from the body.” When I heard this, I was indeed staggered in my purpose; yet I could not in any way either lay aside my longing, or cast off the distressing thought.

CHAPTER 6

HEARS OF CHRIST

Not to make a long story of it, whilst I was tossed upon these billows of my thought, a certain report, which took its rise in the regions of the East in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, gradually reached us; and gaining strength as it passed through every place, like some good message sent from God, it was filling the whole world, and suffered not the divine will to be concealed in silence. For it was spread over all places, announcing that there was a certain person in Judaea, who, beginning in the spring-time, was preaching the kingdom of God to the Jews, and saying that those should receive it who should observe the ordinances of His commandments and His doctrine. And that His speech might be believed to be worthy of credit, and full of the Divinity, He was said to perform many mighty works, and wonderful signs and prodigies by His mere word; so that, as one having power from God, He made the deaf to hear, and the blind to see, and the lame to stand erect, and expelled every infirmity and all demons from men; yea, that He even raised dead persons who were brought to Him; that He cured letters also, looking at them from a distance; and that there was absolutely nothing which seemed impossible to Him. These and such like things were confirmed in process of time, not now by frequent rumors, but by the plain statements of persons coming from

those quarters; and clay by day the truth of the matter was further disclosed.

CHAPTER 7

ARRIVAL OF BARNABAS AT ROME

At length meetings began to be held in various places in the city, and this subject to be discussed in conversation, and to be a matter of wonder who this might be who had appeared, and what message He had brought from God to men; until, about the same year, a certain man, standing in a most crowded place in the city, made proclamation to the people, saying: “Hear me, O ye citizens of Rome. The Son of God is now in the regions of Judaea, promising eternal life to ever), one who will hear Him, but upon condition that he shall regulate his actions according to the will of Him by whom He hath been sent, even of God the Father. Wherefore turn ye from evil things to good, from things temporal to things eternal. Acknowledge that there is one God, ruler of heaven and earth, in whose righteous sight ye unrighteous inhabit His world. But if ye be converted, and act according to His will, then, coming to the world to come, and being made immortal, ye shall enjoy His unspeakable blessings and rewards.” Now, the man who spoke these things to the people was from the regions of the East, by nation a Hebrew, by name Barnabas, who said that he himself was one of His disciples, and that he was sent for this end, that he should declare these things to those who would hear them. When I heard these things, I began, with the rest of the multitude, to follow him, and to hear what he had to say. Truly I perceived that there was nothing of dialectic artifice in the man, but that he expounded with simplicity, and without any craft of speech, such things as he had heard from the Son of God, or had seen. For he did not confirm his assertions by the force of arguments, but produced, from the people who stood round about him, many witnesses of the sayings and marvels which he related.

CHAPTER 8

HIS PREACHING

Now, inasmuch as the people began to assent willingly to the things which were sincerely spoken, and to embrace his simple discourse, those who thought themselves learned or philosophic began to laugh at the man, and to flout him, and to throw out for him the grappling-hooks of syllogisms, like strong arms. But he, unterrified, regarding their subtleties as mere ravings, did not even judge them worthy of an answer, but boldly pursued the subject which he had set before him. At length, some one having proposed this question to him as he was speaking, Why a gnat has been so formed, that though it is a small creature, and has six feet, yet it has got wings in addition; whereas an elephant, though it is an immense animal, and has no wings, yet has only four feet; he, paying no attention to the question, went on with his discourse, which had been interrupted by the unseasonable challenge, only adding this admonition at every interruption: “We have it in charge to declare to you the words and the wondrous works of Him who hath sent us, and to confirm the truth of what we speak, not by artfully devised arguments, but by witnesses produced from amongst yourselves. For I recognize many standing in the midst of you whom I remember to have heard along with us the things which we have heard, and to have seen what we have seen. But be it in your option to receive or to spurn the tidings which we bring to you. For we cannot keep back what we know to be for your advantage, because, if we be silent, woe is to us; but to you, if you receive not what we speak, destruction. I could indeed very easily answer your foolish challenges, if you asked for the sake of learning truth, — I mean as to the difference of a gnat and an elephant; but now it were absurd to speak to you of these creatures, when the very Creator and Framer of all things is unknown by you.”

CHAPTER 9

CLEMENT'S INTERPOSITION ON BEHALF OF BARNABAS

When he had thus spoken, all, as with one consent, with rude voice raised a shout of derision, to put him to shame, and to silence him, crying out that he was a barbarian and a madman. When I saw matters going on in this way, being filled, I know not whence, with a certain zeal, and inflamed with religious enthusiasm, I could not keep silence, but cried out with all boldness, "Most righteously does Almighty God hide His will from you, whom He foresaw to be unworthy of the knowledge of Himself, as is manifest to those who are really wise, from what you are now doing. For when you see that preachers of the will of God have come amongst you, because their speech makes no show of knowledge of the grammatical art, but in simple and unpolished language they set before you the divine commands, so that all who hear may be able to follow and to understand the things that are spoken, you deride the ministers and messengers of your salvation, not knowing that it is the condemnation of you who think yourselves skillful and eloquent, that rustic and barbarous men have the knowledge of the truth; whereas, when it has come to you, it is not even received as a guest, while, if your intemperance and lust did not oppose, it ought to have been a citizen and a native. Thus you are convicted of not being friends of truth and philosophers, but followers of boasting and vain speakers. Ye think that truth dwells not in simple, but in ingenious and subtle words, and produce countless thousands of words which are not to be rated at the worth of one word. What, then, do ye think will become of you, all ye crowd of Greeks, if there is to be, as he says, a judgment of God? But now give over laughing at this man to your own destruction, and let any one of you who pleases answer me; for, indeed, by your barking you annoy the ears even of those who desire to be saved, and by your clamor you turn aside to the fall of infidelity the minds that are prepared for faith. What pardon can there be for you who deride and do violence to the messenger of the truth when he offers to you the knowledge of God? whereas, even if he brought you nothing of truth, yet, even for the kindness of his intentions towards you, you ought to receive with gratitude and welcome."

CHAPTER 10

INTERCOURSE WITH BARNABAS

While I was urging these and similar arguments, a great excitement was stirred up amongst the bystanders, some being moved with pity as towards a stranger, and approving my speech as in accordance with that feeling; others, petulant and stolid, rousing the anger of their undisciplined minds as much against me as against Barnabas. But as the day was declining to evening, I laid hold of Barnabas by the right hand, and led him away, although reluctantly, to my house; and there I made him remain, lest perchance any one of the rude rabble should lay hands upon him. While we were thus placed in contact for a few days, I gladly heard him discoursing the word of truth; yet he hastened his departure, saying that he must by all means celebrate at Judaea a festal day of his religion which was approaching, and that there he should remain in future with his countrymen and his brethren, evidently indicating that he was horrified at the wrong that had been done to him.

CHAPTER 11

DEPARTURE OF BARNABAS

At length I said to him, “Only expound to me the doctrine of that man who you say has appeared, and I will arrange your sayings in my language, and will preach the kingdom and righteousness of Almighty God; and after that, if you wish it, I shall even sail along with you, for I am extremely desirous to see Judaea, and perhaps I shall remain with you always.” To this he answered, “If indeed you wish to see our country, and to learn those things which you desire, set sail with me even now; or, if there be anything that detains you now, I shall leave with you directions to my dwelling, so that when you please to come you may easily find me; for tomorrow I shall set out on my journey.” When I saw him determined, I went down with him to the harbor, and carefully took from him the directions which he gave me to find his dwelling. I told him that, but for the necessity of getting some money which was due to me, I should not at

all delay, but that I should speedily follow him. Having told him this, I commended him to the kindness of those who had charge of the ship, and returned sad; for I was possessed of the memory of the intercourse which I had had with an excellent guest and a choice friend.

CHAPTER 12

CLEMENT'S ARRIVAL AT CAESAREA, AND INTRODUCTION TO PETER

Having then stopped for a few days, and having in some measure finished the business of collecting what was owing to me (for I neglected many things through my desire of hastening, that I might not be hindered from my purpose), I set sail direct for Judaea, and after fifteen days landed at Caesarea Stratonis, which is the largest city in Palestine. When I had landed, and was seeking for an inn, I learned from the conversation of the people, that one Peter, a most approved disciple of Him who appeared in Judaea, and showed many signs and miracles divinely performed among men, was going to hold a discussion of words and questions the next day with one Simon, a Samaritan. Having heard this, I asked to be shown his lodging; and having founder it, and standing before the door, I informed the doorkeeper who I was, and whence I came; and, behold, Barnabas coming out, as soon as he saw me rushed into my arms, weeping for joy, and, seizing me by the hand, led me in to Peter. Having pointed him out to me at a distance. "This," said he, "is Peter, of whom I spoke, to you as the greatest in the wisdom of God, and to whom also I have spoken constantly of you. Enter, therefore, as one well known to him. For he is well acquainted with all the good that is in thee, and has carefully made himself aware of your religious purpose, whence also he is greatly desirous to see you. Therefore I present you to him today as a great gift." At the same time, presenting me, he said, "This, O Peter, is Clement."

CHAPTER 13

HIS CORDIAL RECEPTION BY PETER

But Peter most kindly, when he heard my name, immediately ran to me and kissed me. Then, having made me sit down, he said, “Thou didst well to receive as thy guest Barnabas, preacher of the truth, nothing fearing the rage of the insane people. Thou shalt be blessed. For as you have deemed an ambassador of the truth worthy of all honor, so the truth herself shall receive thee a wanderer and a stranger, and shall enroll thee a citizen of her own city; and then there shall be great joy to thee, because, imparting a small favor, thou shalt be written heir of eternal blessings. Now, therefore, do not trouble yourself to explain your mind to me; for Barnabas has with faithful speech informed me of all things about you and your dispositions, almost daily and without ceasing, recalling the memory of your good qualities And to point out to you shortly, as to a friend already of one mind with us, what is your best course; if there is nothing to hinder you, come along with us, and hear the word of the truth, which we are going to speak in every place until we come even to the city of Rome; and now, if you wish anything, speak.”

CHAPTER 14

HIS ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF

Having detailed to him what purpose I had conceived from the beginning, and how I had been distracted with vain inquiries, and all those things which at first I intimated to thee, my Lord James, so that I need not repeat the same things now, I willingly agreed to travel with him; “for that,” said I, “is just what I was most eagerly desirous of. But first I should wish the scheme of truth to be expounded to the, that I may know whether the soul is mortal or immortal; and if immortal, whether it shall be brought into judgment for those things which it does here. Further, I desire to know what that righteousness is, which is pleasing to God; then, further, whether the world was created, and why it was created, and whether it is to be dissolved, and whether it is to be renovated and made better, or

whether after this there shall be no world at all; and, not to mention everything, I should wish to be told what is the case with respect to these and such like things." To this Peter answered, "I shall briefly impart to you the knowledge of these things, O Clement: therefore listen.

CHAPTER 15

PETER'S FIRST INSTRUCTION: CAUSES OF IGNORANCE

"The will and counsel of God has for many reasons been concealed from men; first, indeed, through bad instruction, wicked associations, evil habits, unprofitable conversation, and unrighteous presumptions. On account of all these, I say, first error, then contempt, then infidelity and malice, covetousness also, and vain boasting, and other such like evils, have filled the whole house of this world, like some enormous smoke, and preventing those who dwell in it from seeing its Founder aright, and from perceiving what things are pleasing to Him. What, then, is fitting for those who are within, excepting with a cry brought forth from their inmost hearts to invoke His aid, who alone is not shut up in the smoke-filled house, that He would approach and open the door of the house, so that the smoke may be dissipated which is within, and the light of the sun which shines without may be admitted.

CHAPTER 16

INSTRUCTION CONTINUED: THE TRUE PROPHET

"He, therefore, whose aid is needed for the house filled with the darkness of ignorance and the smoke of vices, is He, we say, who is called the true Prophet, who alone can enlighten the souls of men, so that with their eyes they may plainly see the way of safety. For otherwise it is impossible to get knowledge of divine and eternal things, unless one learns of that true Prophet; because, as you yourself stated a little ago, the belief of things, and the opinions of causes, are estimated in proportion to the talents of their advocates: hence, also, one and the same cause is now thought just,

now unjust; and what now seemed true, anon becomes false on the assertion of another. For this reason, the credit of religion and piety demanded the presence of the true Prophet, that He Himself might tell us respecting each particular, how the truth stands, and might teach us how we are to believe concerning each. And therefore, before all else, the credentials of the prophet himself must be examined with all care; and when you have once ascertained that he is a prophet, it behoves you thenceforth to believe him in everything, and not further to discuss the particulars which he teaches, but to hold the things which he speaks as certain and sacred; which things, although they seem to be received by faith, yet are believed on the ground of the probation previously instituted. For when once at the outset the truth of the prophet is established on examination, the rest is to be heard and held on the ground of the faith by which it is already established that he is a teacher of truth. And as it is certain that all things which pertain to divine knowledge ought to be held according to the rule of truth, so it is beyond doubt that from none but Himself alone can it be known what is true."

CHAPTER 17

PETER REQUESTS HIM TO BE HIS ATTENDANT

Having thus spoken, he set forth to me so openly and so clearly who that Prophet was, and how He might be found, that I seethed to have before my eyes, and to handle with my hand, the proofs which he produced concerning the prophetic truth; and I was struck with intense astonishment, how no one sees, though placed before his eyes, those things which all are seeking for. Whence, by his command, reducing into order what he had spoken to me, I compiled a book concerning the true Prophet, and sent it to you from Caesarea by his command. For he said that he had received a command from you to send you every year an account of his sayings and doings. Meantime, at the beginning of his discourse which he delivered to me the first day, when he had instructed me very fully concerning the true Prophet, and very many things besides, he added also this: "See," said he, "for the future, and be present at the discussions which whenever any necessity arises, I shall hold with those

who contradict; against whom, when I dispute, even if I shall seem to be worsted, I shall not be afraid of your being led to doubt of those things which I have stated to you; because, even if I shall seem to be beaten, yet those things shall not therefore seem to be uncertain which the true Prophet has delivered to us. Yet I hope that we shall not be overcome in disputations either, if only our hearers are reasonable, and friends of truth, who can discern the force and bearing of words, and recognize what discourse comes from the sophistical art, not containing truth, but an image of truth; and what that is, which, uttered simply and without craft, depends for all its power not on show and ornament, but on truth and reason."

CHAPTER 18

HIS PROFITING BY PETER'S INSTRUCTION

To this I answered: "I give thanks to God Almighty, because I have been instructed as I wished and desired. At all events, you may depend upon me so far, that I can never come to doubt of those things which I have learned of you; so that even if you yourself should at any time wish to transfer my faith from the true Prophet, you should not be able, because I have drunk in with all my heart what you have spoken. And that you may not think that I am promising you a great thing when I say that I cannot be moved away from this faith, it is with me a certainty, that whoever has received this account of the true Prophet, can never afterwards so much as doubt of its truth. And therefore I am confident with respect to this heaven-taught doctrine, in which all the art of malice is overborne. For in opposition to this prophecy neither any art can stand, nor the subtleties of sophisms and syllogism; but every one who hears of the true Prophet must of necessity long immediately for the truth itself, nor will he afterwards, under pretext of seeking the truth, endure diverse errors. Wherefore, O my Lord Peter, be not further anxious about me, as if I were one who does not know what he has received, and how great a gift has been conferred on him. Be assured that you have conferred a favor on one who knows and understands its value: nor can I be easily deceived on that account, because I seem to have gotten quickly what I long desired; for it

may be that one who desires gets quickly, while another does not even slowly attain the things which he desires."

CHAPTER 19

PETER'S SATISFACTION

Then Peter, when he heard me speak thus, said: "I give thanks to my God, both for your salvation and for my own peace; for I am greatly delighted to see that you have understood what is the greatness of the prophetic virtue, and because, as you say, not even I myself, if I should wish it (which God forbid!), should be able to turn you away to another faith. Now henceforth begin to be with us, and tomorrow be present at our discussions, for I am to have a contest with Simon the magician." When he had thus spoken, he retired to take food along with his friends; but he ordered me to eat by myself; and after the meal, when he had sung praise to God and given thanks, he rendered to me an account of this proceeding, and added, "May the Lord grant to thee to be made like to us in all things, that, receiving baptism, thou mayest be able to meet with us at the same table." Having thus spoken, he ordered me to go to rest, for by this time both fatigue and the time of the day called to sleep.

CHAPTER 20

POSTPONEMENT OF DISCUSSION WITH SIMON MAGUS

Early next morning Zacchaeus came in to us, and after salutation, said to Peter: "Simon puts off the discussion till the eleventh day of the present month, which is seven days hence, for he says that then he will have more leisure for the contest. But to me it seems that his putting off is also advantageous to us, so that more may come together, who may be either hearers or judges of our disputation. However, if it seem proper to you, let us occupy the interval in discussing among ourselves the things which, we suppose, may come into the controversy; so that each of us, knowing what things are to be proposed, and what answers are to be given, may consider with himself if they are all right, or if an adversary shall be able to

find anything to object, or to set aside the things which we bring against him. But if the things which are to be spoken by us are manifestly impregnable on every side, we shall have confidence in entering upon the examination. And indeed, this is my opinion, that first of all it ought to be inquired what is the origin of all things, or what is the immediate thing which may be called the cause of all things which are: then, with respect to all things that exist, whether they have been made, and by whom, through whom, and for whom; whether they have received their subsistence from one, or from two, or from many; and whether they have been taken and fashioned from none previously subsisting, or from some: then, whether there is any virtue in the highest things, or in the lower; whether there is anything which is better than all, or anything that is inferior to all; whether there are any motions, or none; whether those things which are seen were always, and shall be always; whether they have come into existence without a creator, and shall pass away without a destroyer. If, I say, the discussion begin with these things, I think that the things which shall be inquired into, being discussed with diligent examination, will be easily ascertained. And when these are ascertained, the knowledge of those that follow will be easily found. I have stated my opinion; be pleased to intimate what you think of the matter.

CHAPTER 21

ADVANTAGE OF THE DELAY

To this Peter answered: “Tell Simon in the meantime to do as he pleases, and to rest assured that, Divine Providence granting, he shall always find us ready.” Then Zacchaeus went out to intimate to Simon what he had been told. But Peter, looking at us, and perceiving that I was saddened by the putting off of the contest, said: “He who believes that the world is administered by the providence of the Most High God. ought not, O Clement, my friend, to take it amiss, in whatever way particular things happen, being assured that the righteousness of God guides to a favorable and fitting issue even those things which seem superfluous or contrary in any business, and especially towards those who worship Him more intimately; and therefore he who is assured of these things, as I have said,

if anything occur contrary to his expectation, he knows how to drive away grief from his mind on that account, holding it unquestionable in his better judgment, that, by the government of the good God, even what seems contrary may be turned to good. Wherefore, O Clement, even now let not this delay of the magician Simon sadden you: for I believe that it has been done by the providence of God, for your advantage; that I may be able, in this interval of seven days, to expound to you the method of our faith without any distraction, and the order continuously, according to the tradition of the true Prophet, who alone knows the past as it was, the present as it is, and the future as it shall be: which things were indeed plainly spoken by Him, but are not plainly written; so much so, that when they are read, they cannot be understood without an expounder, on account of the sin which has grown up with men, as I said before. Therefore I shall explain all things to you, that in those things which are written you may clearly perceive what is the mind of the Lawgiver."

CHAPTER 22

REPETITION OF INSTRUCTIONS

When he had said this, he began to expound to me point by point of those chapters of the law which seemed to be in question, from the beginning of the creation even to that point of time at which I came to him at Caesarea, telling me that the delay of Simon had contributed to my learning all things in order. "At other times." said he, "we shall discourse more fully on individual points of which we have now spoken shortly, according as the occasion of our conversation shall bring them before us; so that, according to my promise, you may gain a full and perfect knowledge of all. Since, then, by this delay we have today on our hands, I wish to repeat to you again what has been spoken, that it may be the better recalled to your memory." Then he began in this way to refresh my recollection of what he had said: "Do you remember, O friend Clement, the account I gave you of the eternal age, that knows no end?" Then said I, "Never, O Peter, shall I retain anything, if I can lose or forget that."

CHAPTER 23

REPETITION CONTINUED

Then Peter, having heard my answer with pleasure, said: “I congratulate you because you have answered thus, not because you speak of these things easily, but because you profess that you remember them; for the most sublime truths are best honored by means of silence. Yet, for the credit of those things which you remember concerning things not to be spoken, tell me what you retain of those things which we spoke of in the second place, which can easily be spoken out, that, perceiving your tenacity of memory, I may the more readily point out to you, and freely open, the things of which I wish to speak.” Then I, when I perceived that he rejoiced in the good memory of his hearers, said: “Not only am I mindful of your definition, but also of that preface which was prefixed to the definition; and of almost all things that you have expounded, I retain the sense complete, though not all the words; because the things that you have spoken have been made, as it were, native to my soul, and inborn. For you have held out a most sweet cup to me in my excessive thirst. And that you may not suppose that I am occupying you with words, being unmindful of things, I shall now call to mind the things which were spoken, in which the order of your discussion greatly helps me; for the way in which the things that you said followed by consequence upon one another, and were arranged in a balanced man-her, makes them easily recalled to memory by the lines of their order. For the order of sayings is useful for remembering them: for when you begin to follow them point by point in succession, when anything is wanting, immediately the sense seeks for it; and when it has found it, retains it, or at all events, if it cannot discover it, there will be no reluctance to ask it of the master. But not to delay in granting what you demand of me, I shall shortly rehearse what you delivered to me concerning the definition of truth.

CHAPTER 24

REPETITION CONTINUED

“There always was, there is now, and there ever shall be, that by which the first Will begotten from eternity consists; and from the first Will proceeds a second Will. After these came the world; and from the world came time: from this, the multitude of men; from the multitude the election of the beloved, from whose oneness of mind the peaceful kingdom of God is constructed. But the rest, which ought to follow these, you promised to tell me at another time. After this, when you had explained about the creation of the world, you intimated the decree of God, “which He, of His own good pleasure, announced in the presence of all the first angels,” and which He ordained as an eternal law to all; and how He established two kingdoms, — I mean that of the present time and that of the future, — and appointed times to each, and decreed that a day of judgment should be expected, which He determined, in which a severance is to be made of things and of souls: so that the wicked indeed shall be consigned to eternal fire for their sins; but those who have lived according to the will of God the Creator, having received a blessing for their good works, effulgent with brightest light, introduced into an eternal abode, and abiding in incorruption, shall receive eternal gifts of ineffable blessings.”

CHAPTER 25

REPETITION CONTINUED

While I was going on thus, Peter, enraptured with joy, and anxious for me as if I had been his son, lest perhaps I should fail in recollection of the rest, and be put to shame on account of those who were present, said: “It is enough, O Clement; for you have stated these things more clearly than I myself explained them.” Then said I, “Liberal learning has conferred upon me the power of orderly narration, and of stating those things clearly for which there is occasion. And if we use learning in asserting the errors of antiquity, we ruin ourselves by gracefulness and smoothness of speech; but if we apply learning and grace of speech to the assertion of the truth, I

think that not a little advantage is thereby gained. Be that as it may, my Lord Peter, you can but imagine with what thankfulness I am transported for all the rest of your instruction indeed, but especially for the statement of that doctrine which you gave: There is one God, whose work the world is, and who, because He is in all respects righteous, shall render to every one according to his deeds. And after that you added: For the assertion of this dogma countless thousands of words will be brought forward; but in those to whom is granted knowledge of the true Prophet, all this forest of words is cut down. And on this account, since you have delivered to me a discourse concerning the true Prophet, you have strengthened me with all confidence of your assertions." And then, having perceived that the sum of all religion and piety consists in this, I immediately replied: "You have proceeded most excellently, O Peter: wherefore, in future, expound unhesitatingly, as to one who already knows what are the foundations of faith and piety, the traditions of the true Prophet, who alone, as has been clearly proved, is to be believed. But that exposition which requires assertions and arguments, reserve for the unbelievers, to whom you have not yet judged it proper to commit the indubitable faith of prophetic grace." When I had said this, I added: "You promised that you would give at the proper time two things: first this exposition, at once simple and entirely free from error; and then an exposition of each individual point as it may be evolved in the course of the various questions which shall be raised. And after this you expounded the sequence of things in order from the beginning of the world, even to the present time; and if you please, I can repeat the whole from memory."

CHAPTER 26

FRIENDSHIP OF GOD; HOW SECURED

To this Peter answered: "I am exceedingly delighted, O Clement, that I commit my words to so safe a heart; for to be mindful of the things that are spoken is an indication of having in readiness the faith of works. But he from whom the wicked demon steals away the words of salvation, and snatches them away from his memory, cannot be saved, even though he wish it; for he loses the way by which life is reached. Wherefore let us the

rather repeat what has been spoken, and confirm it in your heart, that is, in what manner or by whom the world was made, that we may proceed to the friendship of the Creator. But His friendship is secured by living well, and by obeying His will; which will is the law of all that live. We shall therefore unfold these things briefly to you, in order that they may be the more surely remembered.

CHAPTER 27

ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION

“In the beginning, when God had made the heaven and the earth, as one house, the shadow which was cast by the mundane bodies involved in darkness those things which were enclosed in it. But when the will of God had introduced light, that darkness which had been caused by the shadows of bodies was straightway dispelled: then at length light is appointed for the day, darkness for the night. And now the water which was within the world, in the middle space of that first heaven and earth, congealed as if with frost, and solid as crystal, is distended, and the middle spaces of the heaven and earth are separated as by a firmament of this sort; and that firmament the Creator called heaven, so called by the name of that previously made: and so He divided into two portions that fabric of the universe, although it was but one house. The reason of the division was this, that the upper portion might afford a dwelling-place to angels, and the lower to men. After this, the place of the sea and the chaos which had been made received that portion of the water which remained below, by order of the eternal Will; and these flowing down to the sunk and hollow places, the dry land appeared; and the gatherings of the waters were made seas. And after this the earth, which had appeared, produced various species of herbs and shrubs. It gave forth fountains also, and rivers, not only in the plains, but on the mountains. And so all things were prepared, that men who were to dwell in it might have it in their power to use all these things according to their will, that is, either for good or evil.

CHAPTER 28

ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION CONTINUED

“After this He adorns that visible heaven with stars. He places in it also the sun and the moon, that the day might enjoy the light of the one, the night that of the other; and that at the same time they might be for an indication of things past, present, and future. For they were made for signs of seasons and of days, which, although they are seen indeed by all, are understood only by the learned and intelligent. And when, after this, He had ordered living creatures to be produced from the earth and the waters, He made Paradise, which also He named a place of delights. But after all these things He made man, on whose account He had prepared all things, whose internal species is older, and for whose sake all things that are were made, given up to his service, and assigned to the uses of his habitation.

CHAPTER 29

THE GIANTS: THE FLOOD

“All things therefore being completed which are in heaven, and in earth, and in the waters, and the human race also having multiplied, in the eighth generation, righteous men, who had lived the life of angels, being allured by the beauty of women, fell into promiscuous and illicit connections with these; and thenceforth acting in all things without discretion, and disorderly, they changed the state of human affairs and the divinely prescribed order of life, so that either by persuasion or force they compelled all men to sin against God their Creator. In the ninth generation are born the giants, so called from of old, not dragon-footed, as the fables of the Greeks relate, but men of immense bodies, whose bones, of enormous size, are still shown in some places for confirmation. But against these the righteous providence of God brought a flood upon the world, that the earth might be purified from their pollution, and every place might be turned into a sea by the destruction of the wicked. Yet there was then found one righteous man, by name Noah, who, being delivered in an ark with his three sons and their wives, became the colonizer of the world

after the subsiding of the waters, with those animals and seeds which he had shut up with him.

CHAPTER 30

NOAH'S SONS

"In the twelfth generation, when God had blessed men, and they had begun to multiply, they received a commandment that they should not taste blood, for on account of this also the deluge had been sent. In the thirteenth generation, when the second of Noah's three sons had done an injury to his father, and had been cursed by him, he brought the condition of slavery upon his posterity. His elder brother meantime obtained the lot of a dwelling-place in the middle region of the world, in which is the country of Judaea; the younger obtained the eastern quarter, and he the western. In the fourteenth generation one of the cursed progeny first erected an altar to demons. for the purpose of magical arts, and offered there bloody sacrifices. In the fifteenth generation, for the first time, men set up an idol and worshipped it. Until that time the Hebrew language, which had been given by God to men, bore sole sway. In the sixteenth generation the sons of men migrated from the east, and, coming to the lands that had been assigned to their fathers, each one marked the place of his own allotment by his own name. In the seventeenth generation Nimrod I. reigned in Babylonia, and built a city, and thence migrated to the Persians, and taught them to worship fire.

CHAPTER 31

WORLD AFTER THE FLOOD

"In the eighteenth generation walled cities were built, armies were organized and armed, judges and laws were sanctioned, temples were built, and the princes of nations were adored as gods. In the nineteenth generation the descendants of him who had been cursed after the flood, going beyond their proper bounds which they had obtained by lot in the western regions, drove into the eastern lands those who had obtained the

middle portion of the world, and pursued them as far as Persia, while themselves violently took possession of the country from which they expelled them. In the twentieth generation a son for the first time died before his father, on account of an incestuous crime.

CHAPTER 32

ABRAHAM

“In the twenty-first generation there was a certain wise man, of the race of those who were expelled, of the family of Noah’s eldest son, by name Abraham, from whom our Hebrew nation is derived. When the whole world was again overspread with errors, and when for the hideousness of its crimes destruction was really for it, this time not by water, but fire, and when already the scourge was hanging over the whole earth, beginning with Sodom, this man, by reason of his friendship with God, who was well pleased with him, obtained from God that the whole world should not equally perish. From the first this same man, being an astrologer, was able, from the account and order of the stars, to recognize the Creator, while all others were in error, and understood that all things are regulated by His providence. Whence also an angel, standing by him in a vision, instructed him more fully concerning those things which he was beginning to perceive. He showed him also what belonged to his race and posterity, and promised him that those districts should be restored rather than given to them.

CHAPTER 33

ABRAHAM: HIS POSTERITY

“Therefore Abraham, when he was desirous to learn the causes of things, and was intently pondering upon what had been told him, the true Prophet appeared to him, who alone knows the hearts and purpose of men, and disclosed to him all things which he desired. He taught him the knowledge of the Divinity; intimated the origin of the world, and likewise its end; showed him the immortality of the soul, and the manner of life which was

pleasing to God; declared also the resurrection of the dead, the future judgment, the reward of the good, the punishment of the evil, — all to be regulated by righteous judgment: and having given him all this information plainly and sufficiently, He departed again to the invisible abodes. But while Abraham was still in ignorance, as we said to you before, two sons were born to him, of whom the one was called Ismael, and the other Heliesdros. From the one are descended the barbarous nations, from the other the people of the Persians, some of whom have adopted the manner of living and the institutions of their neighbors, the Brachmans. Others settled in Arabia, of whose posterity some also have spread into Egypt. From them some of the Indians and of the Egyptians have learned to be circumcised, and to be of purer observance than others, although in process of time most of them have turned to impiety what was the proof and sign of purity.

CHAPTER 34

THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT

“Nevertheless, as he had got these two sons during the time while he still lived in ignorance of things, having received the knowledge of God, he asked of the Righteous One that he might merit to have offspring by Sarah, who was his lawful wife, though she was barren. She obtained a son. whom he named Isaac, from whom came Jacob, and from him the twelve patriarchs, and from these twelve seventy-two. These, when famine befell came into Egypt with all their family; and in the course of four hundred years, being multiplied by the blessing and promise of God, they were afflicted by the Egyptians. And when they were afflicted the true Prophet appeared to Moses, and struck the Egyptians with ten plagues, when they refused to let the Hebrew people depart from them, and return to their native land; and he brought the people of God out of Egypt. But those of the Egyptians who survived the plagues, being infected with the animosity of their king, pursued after the Hebrews. And when they had overtaken them at the sea-shore, and thought to destroy and exterminate them all, Moses, pouring out prayer to God, divided the sea into two parts, so that the water was held on the right hand and on the left as if it had been

frozen, and the people of God passed as over a dry road; but the Egyptians who were pursuing them, rashly entering, were drowned. For when the last of the Hebrews came out, the last of the Egyptians went down into the sea; and straightway the waters of the sea, which by his command were held bound as with frost, were loosed by his command who had bound them, and recovering their natural freedom, inflicted punishment on the wicked nation.

CHAPTER 35

THE EXODUS

“After this, Moses, by the command of God, whose providence is over all, led out the people of the Hebrews into the wilderness; and, leaving the shortest road which leads from Egypt to Judaea, he led the people through long windings of the wilderness, that, by the discipline of forty years, the novelty of a changed manner of life might root out the evils which had clung to them by a long-continued familiarity with the customs of the Egyptians. Meantime they came to Mount Sinai, and thence the law was given to them with voices and sights from heaven, written in ten precepts, of which the first and greatest was that they should worship God Himself alone, and not make to themselves any appearance or form to worship. But when Moses had gone up to the mount, and was staying there forty days, the people, although they had seen Egypt struck with the ten plagues, and the sea parted and passed over by them on foot, manna also given to them from heaven for bread, and drink supplied to them out of the rock that followed them, which kind of food was turned into whatever taste any one desired; and although, being placed under the torrid region of heaven, they were shaded by a cloud in the day-time, that they might not be scorched by the heat, and by night were enlightened by a pillar of fire, lest the horror of darkness should be added to the wasteness of the wilderness; — those very people, I say, when Moses stayed in the mount, made and worshipped a golden calf’s head, after the fashion of Apis, whom they had seen worshipped in Egypt; and after so many and so great marvels which they had seen, were unable to cleanse and wash out from themselves the defilements of old habit. On this account, leaving the short

road which leads from Egypt to Judaea, Moses conducted them by an immense circuit of the desert, if haply he might be able, as we mentioned before, to shake off the evils of old habit by the change of a new education.

CHAPTER 36

ALLOWANCE OF SACRIFICE FOR A TIME

“When meantime Moses, that faithful and wise steward, perceived that the vice of sacrificing to idols had been deeply ingrained into the people from their association with the Egyptians, and that the root of this evil could not be extracted from them, he allowed them indeed to sacrifice, but permitted it to be done only to God, that by any means he might cut off one half of the deeply ingrained evil, leaving the other half to be corrected by another, and at a future time; by Him, namely, concerning whom he said himself, ‘A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you, whom ye shall hear even as myself, according to all things which He shall say to you. Whosoever shall not hear that prophet, his soul shall be cut off from his people.’

CHAPTER 37

THE HOLY PLACE

“In addition to these things, he also appointed a place in which alone it should be lawful to them to sacrifice to God. And all this was arranged with this view, that when the fitting time should come, and they should learn by means of the Prophet that God desires mercy and not sacrifice, they might see Him who should teach them that the place chosen of God, in which it was suitable that victims should be offered to God, is his Wisdom; and that on the other hand they might hear that this place, which seemed chosen for a time, often harassed as it had been by hostile invasions and plunderings, was at last to be wholly destroyed. And in order to impress this upon them, even before the coming of the true Prophet, who was to reject at once the sacrifices and the place, it was often plundered by enemies and burnt with fire, and the people carried

into captivity among foreign nations, and then brought back when they betook themselves to the mercy of God; that by these things they might be taught that a people who offer sacrifices are driven away and delivered up into the hands of the enemy, but they who do mercy and righteousness are without sacrifices freed from captivity, and restored to their native land. But it fell out that very few understood this; for the greater number, though they could perceive and observe these things, yet were held by the irrational opinion of the vulgar: for right opinion with liberty is the prerogative of a few.

CHAPTER 38

SINS OF THE ISRAELITES

“Moses, then, having arranged these things, and having set over the people one Auses to bring them to the land of their fathers, himself by the command of the living God went up to a certain mountain, and there died. Yet such was the manner of his death, that till this day no one has found his burial-place. When, therefore, the people reached their fathers’ land, by the providence of God, at their first onset the inhabitants of wicked races are routed, and they enter upon their paternal inheritance, which was distributed among them by lot. For some time thereafter they were ruled not by kings, but judges, and remained in a somewhat peaceful condition. But when they sought for themselves tyrants rather than kings, then also with regal ambition they erected a temple in the place which had been appointed to them for prayer; and thus, through a succession of wicked kings, the people fell away to greater and still greater impiety.

CHAPTER 39

BAPTISM INSTITUTED IN PLACE OF SACRIFICES

“But when the time began to draw near that what was wanting in the Mosaic institutions should be supplied, as we have said, and that the Prophet should appear, of whom he had foretold that He should warn them by the mercy of God to cease from sacrificing; lest haply they might

suppose that on the cessation of sacrifice there was no remission of sins for them, He instituted baptism by water amongst them, in which they might be absolved from all their sins on the invocation of His name, and for the future, following a perfect life, might abide in immortality, being purified not by the blood of beasts, but by the purification of the Wisdom of God. Subsequently also an evident proof of this great mystery is supplied in the fact, that every one who, believing in this Prophet who had been foretold by Moses, is baptized in His name, shall be kept unhurt from the destruction of war which impends over the unbelieving nation, and the place itself; but that those who do not believe shall be made exiles from their place and kingdom, that even against their will they may understand and obey the will of God.

CHAPTER 40

ADVENT OF THE TRUE PROPHET

“These things therefore having been fore-arranged, He who was expected comes, bringing signs and miracles as His credentials by which He should be made manifest. But not even so did the people believe, though they had been trained during so many ages to the belief of these things. And not only did they not believe, but they added blasphemy to unbelief, saying that He was a gluttonous man and a belly-slave, and that He was actuated by a demon, even He who had come for their salvation. To such an extent does wickedness prevail by the agency of evil ones; so that, but for the Wisdom of God assisting those who love the truth, almost all would have been involved in impious delusion. Therefore He chose us twelve, the first who believed in Him, whom He named apostles; and afterwards other seventy-two most approved disciples, that, at least in this way recognizing the pattern of Moses, the multitude might believe that this is He of whom Moses foretold, the Prophet that was to come.

CHAPTER 41

REJECTION OF THE TRUE PROPHET

“But some one perhaps may say that it is possible for any one to imitate a number; but what shall we say of the signs and miracles which He wrought? For Moses had wrought miracles and cures in Egypt. He also of whom he foretold that He should rise up a prophet like unto himself, though He cured every sickness and infirmity among the people, wrought innumerable miracles, and preached eternal life, was hurried by wicked men to the cross; which deed was, however, by His power turned to good. In short, while He was suffering, all the world suffered with Him; for the sun was darkened, the mountains were torn asunder, the graves were opened, the veil of the temple was rent, as in lamentation for the destruction impending over the place. And yet, though all the world was moved, they themselves are not even now moved to the consideration of these so great things.

CHAPTER 42

CALL OF THE GENTILES

“But inasmuch as it was necessary that the Gentiles should be called into the room of those who remained unbelieving, so that the number might be filled up which had been shown to Abraham, the preaching of the blessed kingdom of God is sent into all the world. On this account worldly spirits are disturbed, who always oppose those who are in quest of liberty, and who make use of the engines of error to destroy God’s building; while those who press on to the glory of safety and liberty, being rendered braver by their resistance to these spirits, and by the toil of great struggles against them, attain the crown of safety not without the palm of victory. Meantime, when He had suffered, and darkness had overwhelmed the world from the sixth even to the ninth hour, as soon as the sun shone out again, and things were returned to their usual course, even wicked men returned to themselves and their former practices, their fear having abated. For some of them, watching the place with all care, when they could not

prevent His rising again, said that He was a magician; others pretended that he was stolen away.

CHAPTER 43

SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL

“Nevertheless, the truth everywhere prevailed; for, in proof that these things were done by divine power, we who had been very few became in the course of a few days, by the help of God, far more than they. So that the priests at one thee were afraid, lest haply, by the providence of God, to their confusion, the whole of the people should come over to our faith. Therefore they often sent to us, and asked us to discourse to them concerning Jesus, whether He were the Prophet whom Moses foretold, who is the eternal Christ. For on this point only does there seem to be any difference between us who believe in Jesus, and the unbelieving Jews. But while they often made such requests to us, and we sought for a fitting opportunity, a week of years was completed from the passion of the Lord, the Church of the Lord which was constituted in Jerusalem was most plentifully multiplied and grew, being governed with most righteous ordinances by James, who was ordained bishop in it by the Lord

CHAPTER 44

CHALLENGE BY CAIAPHAS

“But when we twelve apostles, on the day of the passover, had come together with an immense multitude, and entered into the church of the brethren, each one of us, at the request of James, stated briefly, in the hearing of the people, What we had done in every place. While this was going on, Caiaphas, the high priest, sent priests to us, and asked us to come to him, that either we should prove to him that Jesus is the eternal Christ, or he to us that He is not, and that so all the people should agree upon the one faith or the other; and this he frequently entreated us to do. But we often put it off, always seeking for a more convenient time.” Then I, Clement, answered to this: “I think that this very question, whether He

is the Christ, is of great importance for the establishment of the faith; otherwise the high priest would not so frequently ask that he might either learn or teach concerning the Christ." Then Peter: "You have answered rightly, O Clement; for as no one can see without eyes, nor hear without ears, nor smell without nostrils, nor taste without a tongue, nor handle anything without hands, so it is impossible, without the true Prophet, to know what is pleasing to God." And I answered: "I have already learned from your instruction that this true prophet is the Christ; but I should wish to learn what the Christ means, or why He is so called, that a matter of so great importance may not be vague and uncertain to me."

CHAPTER 45

THE TRUE PROPHET: WHY CALLED THE CHRIST

Then Peter began to instruct me in this manner: "When God had made the world, as Lord of the universe, He appointed chiefs over the several creatures, over the trees even, and the mountains, and the fountains, and the rivers, and all things which He had made, as we have told you; for it were too long to mention them one by one. He set, therefore, an angel as chief over the angels, a spirit over the spirits, a star over the stars, a demon over the demons, a bird over the birds, a beast over the beasts, a serpent over the serpents, a fish over the fishes, a man over men, who is Christ Jesus. But He is called Christ by a certain excellent rite of religion; for as there are certain names common to kings, as Arsaces among the Persians, Caesar among the Romans, Pharaoh among the Egyptians, so among the Jews a king is called Christ And the reason of this appellation is this: Although indeed He was the Son of God, and the beginning of all things, He became man; Him first God anointed with oil which was taken from the wood of the tree of life: from that anointing therefore He is called Christ. Thence, moreover, He Himself also, according to the appointment of His Father, anoints with similar oil every one of the pious when they come to His kingdom, for their refreshment after their labors, as having got over the difficulties of the way; so that their light may shine, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, they may be endowed with immortality. But it

occurs to me that I have sufficiently explained to you the whole nature of that branch from which that ointment is taken.

CHAPTER 46

ANOINTING

“But now also I shall, by a very short representation, recall you to the recollection of all these things. In the present life, Aaron, the first high priest, was anointed with a composition of chrism, which was made after the pattern of that spiritual ointment of which we have spoken before. He was prince of the people, and as a king received first-fruits and tribute from the people, man by man; and having undertaken the office of judging the people, he judged of things clean and things unclean. But if any one else was anointed with the same ointment, as deriving virtue from it, he became either king, or prophet, or priest. If, then, this temporal grace, compounded by men, had such efficacy, consider now how potent was that ointment extracted by God from a branch of the tree of life, when that which was made by men could confer so excellent dignities among men. For what in the present age is more glorious than a prophet, more illustrious than a priest, more exalted than a king?”

CHAPTER 47

ADAM ANOINTED A PROPHET

To this, I replied: “I remember, Peter, that you told me of the first man that he was a prophet; but you did not say that he was anointed. If then there be no prophet without anointing, how could the first man be a prophet, since he was not anointed?” Then Peter, smiling, said: “If the first man prophesied, it is certain that he was also anointed. For although he who has recorded the law in his pages is silent as to his anointing, yet he has evidently left us to understand these things. For as, if he had said that he was anointed, it would not be doubted that he was also a prophet, although it were not written in the law; so, since it is certain that he was a prophet, it is in like manner certain that he was also anointed, because

without anointing he could not be a prophet. But you should rather have said, If the chrism was compounded by Aaron, by the perfumer's art, how could the first man be anointed before Aaron's time, the arts of composition not yet having been discovered?" Then I answered, "Do not misunderstand me, Peter; for I do not speak of that compounded ointment and temporal oil, but of that simple and eternal ointment, which you told me was made by God, after whose likeness you say that that other was compounded by men."

CHAPTER 48

THE TRUE PROPHET, A PRIEST

Then Peter answered, with an appearance of indignation: "What! do you suppose, Clement, that all of us can know all things before the thee? But not to be drawn aside now from our proposed discourse, we shall at another time, when your progress is more manifest, explain these things more distinctly.

"Then, however, a priest or a prophet, being anointed with the compounded ointment, putting fire to the altar of God, was held illustrious in all the world. But after Aaron, who was a priest, another is taken out of the waters. I do not speak of Moses, but of Him who, in the waters of baptism, was called by God His Son. For it is Jesus who has put out, by the grace of baptism, that fire which the priest kindled for sins; for, from the thee when He appeared, the chrism has ceased, by which the priesthood or the prophetic or the kingly office was conferred.

CHAPTER 49

TWO COMINGS OF CHRIST

"His coming, therefore, was predicted by Moses, who delivered the law of God to men; but by another also before him, as I have already informed you. He therefore intimated that He should come, humble indeed in His first coming, but glorious in His second. And the first, indeed, has been

already accomplished; since He has come and taught, and He, the Judge of all, has been judged and slain. But at His second coming He shall come to judge, and shall indeed condemn the wicked, but shall take the pious into a share and association with Himself in His kingdom. Now the faith of His second coming depends upon His first. For the prophets — especially Jacob and Moses — spoke of the first, but some also of the second. But the excellency of prophecy is chiefly shown in this, that the prophets spoke not of things to come, according to the sequence of things; otherwise they might seem merely as wise men to have conjectured what the sequence of things pointed out.

CHAPTER 50

HIS REJECTION BY THE JEWS

“But what I say is this: It was to be expected that Christ should be received by the Jews, to whom He came, and that they should believe on Him who was expected for the salvation of the people, according to the traditions of the fathers; but that the Gentiles should be averse to Him, since neither promise nor announcement concerning Him had been made to them, and indeed he had never been made known to them even by name. Yet the prophets, contrary to the order and sequence of things, said that He should be the expectation of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews. And so it happened. For when He came, he was not at all acknowledged by those who seemed to expect Him, in consequence of the tradition of their ancestors; whereas those who had heard nothing at all of Him, both believe that He has come, and hope that he is to come. And thus in all things prophecy appears faithful, which said that He was the expectation of the Gentiles. The Jews, therefore, have erred concerning the first coming of the Lord; and on this point only there is disagreement betwixt us and them. For they themselves know and expect that Christ shall come; but that he has come already in humility — even he who is called Jesus — they do not know. And this is a great confirmation of His coming, that all do not believe on Him.

CHAPTER 51

THE ONLY SAVIOR

“Him, therefore, has God appointed in the end of the world; because it was impossible that the evils of men could be removed by any other, provided that the nature of the human race were to remain entire, i.e., the liberty of the will being preserved. This condition, therefore, being preserved inviolate, He came to invite to His kingdom all righteous ones, and those who have been desirous to please Him. For these He has prepared unspeakable good things, and the heavenly city Jerusalem, which shall shine above the brightness of the sun, for the habitation of the saints. But the unrighteous, and the wicked and those who have despised God, and have devoted the life given them to diverse wickednesses, and have given to the practice of evil the thee which was given them for the work of righteousness He shall hand over to fitting and condign vengeance. But the rest of the things which shall then be done, it is neither in the power of angels nor of men to tell or to describe. This only it is enough for us to know, that God shall confer upon the good an eternal possession of good things.”

CHAPTER 52

THE SAINTS BEFORE CHRIST’S COMING

When he had thus spoken, I answered: “If those shall enjoy the kingdom of Christ, whom His coming shall final righteous, shall then those be wholly deprived of the kingdom who have died before His coming?” Then Peter says: “You compel me, O Clement, to touch upon things that are unspeakable. But so far as it is allowed to declare them, I shall not shrink from doing so. Know then that Christ, who was from the beginning, and always, was ever present with the pious, though secretly, through all their generations: especially with those who waited for Him, to whom He frequently appeared. But the thee was not yet that there should be a resurrection of the bodies that were dissolved; but this seemed rather to be their reward from God, that whoever should be found righteous, should

remain longer in the body; or, at least, as is clearly related in the writings of the law concerning a certain righteous man, that God translated him. In like manner others were dealt with, who pleased His will, that, being translated to Paradise, they should be kept for the kingdom. But as to those who have not been able completely to fulfill the rule of righteousness, but have had some remnants of evil in their flesh, their bodies are indeed dissolved, but their souls are kept in good and blessed abodes, that at the resurrection of the dead, when they shall recover their own bodies, purified even by the dissolution, they may obtain an eternal inheritance in proportion to their good deeds. And therefore blessed are all those who shall attain to the kingdom of Christ; for not only shall they escape the pains of hell, but shall also remain incorruptible, and shall be the first to see God the Father, and shall obtain the rank of honor among the first in the presence of God.

CHAPTER 53

ANIMOSITY OF THE JEWS

“Wherefore there is not the least doubt concerning Christ; and all the unbelieving Jews are stirred up with boundless rage against us, fearing lest haply He against whom they have sinned should be He. And their fear grows all the greater, because they know that, as soon as they fixed Him on the cross, the whole world showed sympathy with Him; and that His body, although they guarded it with strict care, could nowhere be found; and that innumerable multitudes are attaching themselves to His faith. Whence they, together with the high priest Caiaphas, were compelled to send to us again and again, that an inquiry might be instituted concerning the truth of His name. And when they were constantly entreating that they might either learn or teach concerning Jesus, whether He were the Christ, it seemed good to us to go up into the temple, and in the presence of all the people to bear witness concerning Him, and at the same thee to charge the Jews with many foolish things which they were doing. For the people was now divided into many parties, ever since the days of John the Baptist.

CHAPTER 54

JEWISH SECTS

“For when the rising of Christ was at hand for the abolition of sacrifices, and for the bestowal of the grace of baptism, the enemy, understanding from the predictions that the thee was at hand, wrought various schisms among the people, that, if haply it might be possible to abolish the former sin, the latter fault might be incorrigible. The first schism, therefore, was that of those who were called Sadducees, which took their rise almost in the thee of John. These. as more righteous than others, began to separate themselves from the assembly of the people, and to deny the resurrection of the dead, and to assert that by an argument of infidelity, saying that it was unworthy that God should be worshipped, as it were, under the promise of a reward. The first author of this opinion was Dositheus; the second was Simon. Another schism is that of the Samaritans; for they deny the resurrection of the dead, and assert that God is not to be worshipped in Jerusalem, but on Mount Gerizim. They indeed rightly, from the predictions of Moses, expect the one true Prophet; but by the wickedness of Dositheus they were hindered from believing that Jesus is He whom they were expecting. The scribes also, and Pharisees, are led away into another schism; but these, being baptized by John, and holding the word of truth received from the tradition of Moses as the key of the kingdom of heaven, have hid it from the hearing of the people. Yea, some even of the disciples of John, who seemed to be great ones, have separated themselves from the people, and proclaimed their own master as the Christ. But all these schisms have been prepared, that by means of them the faith of Christ and baptism might be hindered.

CHAPTER 55

PUBLIC DISCUSSION

“However, as we were proceeding to say, when the high priest had often sent priests to ask us that we might discourse with one another concerning Jesus; when it seemed a fit opportunity, and it pleased all the Church, we

went up to the temple, and, standing on the steps together with our faithful brethren, the people kept perfect silence; and first the high priest began to exhort the people that they should hear patiently and quietly, and at the same thee witness and judge of those things that were to be spoken. Then, in the next place, exalting with many praises the rite or sacrifice which had been bestowed by God upon the human race for the remission of sins, he found fault with the baptism of our Jesus, as having been recently brought in in opposition to the sacrifices. But Matthew, meeting his propositions, showed clearly, that whosoever shall not obtain the baptism of Jesus shall not only be deprived of the kingdom of heaven, but shall not be without peril at the resurrection of the dead, even though he be for-titled by the prerogative of a good life and an upright disposition. Having made these and such like statements, Matthew stopped.

CHAPTER 56

SADDUCEES REFUTED

“But the party of the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection of the dead, were in a rage, so that one of them cried out from amongst the people, saying that those greatly err who think that the dead ever arise. In opposition to him, Andrew, my brother, answering, declared that it is not an error, but the surest matter of faith, that the dead rise, in accordance with the teaching of Him of whom Moses foretold that He should come the true Prophet. ‘Or if,’ says he, ‘you do not think that this is He whom Moses foretold, let this first be inquired into, so that when this is clearly proved to be He, there may be no further doubt concerning the things which He taught.’ These, and many such like things, Andrew proclaimed, and then stopped.

CHAPTER 57

SAMARITAN REFUTED

“But a certain Samaritan, speaking against the people and against God, and asserting that neither are the dead to rise, nor is that worship of God to be

maintained which is in Jerusalem, but that Mount Gerizim is to be reverenced, added also this in opposition to us, that our Jesus was not He whom Moses foretold as a Prophet to come into the world. Against him. and another who supported him in what he said, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, strove vigorously; and although they had a command not to enter into their cities, nor to bring the word of preaching to them, yet, lest their discourse, unless it were confined, should hurt the faith of others, they replied so prudently and so powerfully, that they put them to perpetual silence. For James made an oration concerning the resurrection of the dead, with the approbation of all the people; while John showed that if they would abandon the error of Mount Gerizim, they should consequently acknowledge that Jesus was indeed He who, according to the prophecy of Moses, was expected to come; since, indeed, as Moses wrought signs and miracles, so also did Jesus. And there is no doubt but that the likeness of the signs proves Him to be that prophet of whom he said that He should come, ‘like himself.’ Having declared these things, and more to the same effect, they ceased.

CHAPTER 58

SCRIBES REFUTED

“And, behold, one of the scribes, shouting silt from the midst of the people, says: ‘The signs and miracles which your Jesus wrought, he wrought not as a prophet, but as a magician.’ Him Philip eagerly encounters, showing that by this argument he accused Moses also. For when Moses wrought signs and miracles in Egypt, in like manner as Jesus also did in Judaea, it cannot be doubted that what was said of Jesus might as well be said of Moses. Having made these and such like protestations, Philip was silent.

CHAPTER 59

PHARISEES REFUTED

“Then a certain Pharisee, hearing this, chid Philip because he put Jesus on a level with Moses. To whom Bartholomew, answering, boldly declared that we do not only say that Jesus was equal to Moses, but that He was greater than he, because Moses was indeed a prophet, as Jesus was also, but that Moses was not the Christ, as Jesus was, and therefore He is doubtless greater who is both a prophet and the Christ, than he who is only a prophet. After following out this train of argument, he stopped. After him James the son of Alphaeus gave an address to the people, with the view of showing that we are not to believe on Jesus on the ground that the prophets foretold concerning Him, but rather that we are to believe the prophets, that they were really prophets, because the Christ bears testimony to them; for it is the presence and coming of Christ that show that they are truly prophets: for testimony must be born by the superior to his inferiors, not by the inferiors to their superior. After these and many similar statements, James also was silent. After him Lebbaeus began vehemently to charge it upon the people that they did not believe in Jesus, who had done them so much good by teaching them the things that are of God, by comforting the afflicted, healing the sick, relieving the poor; yet for all these benefits their return bad been hatred and death. When he had declared these and many more such things to the people, he ceased.

CHAPTER 60

DISCIPLES OF JOHN REFUTED

“And, behold, one of the disciples of John asserted that John was the Christ, and not Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus Himself declared that John was greater than all men and all prophets. ‘If, then,’ said he, ‘he be greater than all, he must be held to be greater than Moses, and than Jesus himself. But if he be the greatest of all, then must he be the Christ.’ To this Simon the Canaanite, answering, asserted that John was indeed greater than all the prophets, and all who are born of women, yet that he is not greater than

the Son of man. Accordingly Jesus is also the Christ, whereas John is only a prophet: and there is as much difference between him and Jesus, as between the forerunner and Him whose forerunner he is; or as between Him who gives the law, and him who keeps the law. Having made these and similar statements, the Canaanite also was silent. After him Barnabas, who also is called Matthias, who was substituted as an apostle in the place of Judas, began to exhort the people that they should not regard Jesus with hatred, nor speak evil of Him. For it were far more proper, even for one who might be in ignorance or in doubt concerning Jesus, to love than to hate Him. For God has affixed a reward to love, a penalty to hatred. ‘For the very fact,’ said he, ‘that He assumed a Jewish body, and was born among the Jews, how has not this incited us all to love Him?’ When he had spoken this, and more to the same effect, he stopped.

CHAPTER 61

CAIAPHAS ANSWERED

“Then Caiaphas attempted to impugn the doctrine of Jesus, saying that He spoke vain things, for He said that the poor are blessed; and promised earthly rewards; and placed the chief gift in an earthly inheritance; and promised that those who maintain righteousness shall be satisfied with meat and drink; and many things of this sort He is charged with teaching. Thomas, in reply, proves that his accusation is frivolous; showing that the prophets, in whom Caiaphas believes, taught these things much more, and did not show in what manner these things are to be, or how they are to be understood; whereas Jesus pointed out how they are to be taken. And when he had spoken these things, and others of like kind, Thomas also held his peace.

CHAPTER 62

FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING

“Therefore Caiaphas, again looking at me, and sometimes in the way of warning and sometimes in that of accusation, said that, I ought for the

future to refrain from preaching Christ Jesus, lest I should do it to my own destruction, and lest, being deceived myself, I should also deceive others. Then, moreover, he charged me with presumption, because, though I was unlearned, a fisherman, and a rustic, I dared to assume the office of a teacher. As he spoke these things, and many more of like kind, I said in reply, that I incurred less danger, if, as he said, this Jesus were not the Christ, because I received Him as a teacher of the law; but that he was in terrible danger if this be the very Christ, as assuredly He is: for I believe in Him who has appeared; but for whom else, who has never appeared, does he reserve his faith? But if I, an unlearned and uneducated man, as you say, a fisherman and a rustic, have more understanding than wise elders, this, said I, ought the more to strike terror into you. For if I disputed with any learning, and won over you wise and learned men, it would appear that I had acquired this power by long learning, and not by the grace of divine power; but now, when, as I have said, we unskilled men convince and overcome you wise men, who that has any sense does not perceive that this is not a work of human subtlety, but of divine will and gift?

CHAPTER 63

APPEAL TO THE JEWS

“Thus we argued and bore witness; and we who were unlearned men and fishermen, taught the priests concerning the one only God of heaven; the Sadducees, concerning the resurrection of the dead; the Samaritans, concerning the sacredness of Jerusalem (not that we entered into their cities, but disputed with them in public); the scribes and Pharisees, concerning the kingdom of heaven; the disciples of John, that they should not suffer John to be a stumbling-block to them; and all the people, that Jesus is the eternal Christ. At last, however, I warned them, that before we should go forth to the Gentiles, to preach to them the knowledge of God the Father, they should themselves be reconciled to God, receiving His Son; for I showed them that in no way else could they be saved, unless through the grace of the Holy Spirit they hasted to be washed with the baptism of threefold invocation, and received the Eucharist of Christ the Lord, whom alone they ought to believe concerning those things which He

taught, that so they might merit to attain eternal salvation; but that otherwise it was utterly impossible for them to be reconciled to God, even if they should kindle a thousand altars and a thousand high altars to Him.

CHAPTER 64

TEMPLE TO BE DESTROYED

"' For we.' said I, 'have ascertained beyond doubt that God is much rather displeased with the sacrifices which you offer, the thee of sacrifices having now passed away; and because ye will not acknowledge that the thee for offering victims is now past, therefore the temple shall be destroyed, and the abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place; and then the Gospel shall be preached to the Gentiles for a testimony against you, that your unbelief may be judged by their faith. For the whole world at different times suffers under divers maladies, either spreading generally over all, or affecting specially. Therefore it needs a physician to visit it for its salvation. We therefore bear witness to you, and declare to you what has been hidden from every one of you. It is for you to consider what is for your advantage.'

CHAPTER 65

TUMULT STILLED BY GAMALIEL

"When I had thus spoken, the whole multitude of the priests were in a rage, because I had foretold to them the overthrow of the temple. Which when Gamaliel, a chief of the people, saw — who was secretly our brother in the faith, but by our advice remained among them — because they were greatly enraged and moved with intense fury against us, he stood up, and said, 'Be quiet for a lithe, O men of Israel, for ye do not perceive the trial which hangs over you. Wherefore refrain from these men; and if what they are engaged in be of human counsel, it will soon come to an end; but if it be from God, why will you sin without cause, and prevail nothing? For who can overpower the will of God? Now therefore, since the day is declining towards evening. I shall myself dispute with these men tomorrow, in this

same place, in your hearing, so that I may openly oppose and clearly confute every error.' By this speech of his their fury was to some extent checked, especially in the hope that next day we should be publicly convicted of error; and so he dismissed the people peacefully.

CHAPTER 66

DISCUSSION RESUMED

"Now when we had come to our James, while we detailed to him all that had been said and done, we supped, and remained with him, spending the whole night in supplication to Almighty God, that the discourse of the approaching disputation might show the unquestionable truth of our faith. Therefore, on the following day, James the bishop went up to the temple with us, and with the whole church. There we found a great multitude, who had been waiting for us from the middle of the night. Therefore we took our stand in the same place as before, in order that, standing on an elevation, we might be seen by all the people. Then, when profound silence was obtained, Gamaliel, who, as we have said, was of our faith, but who by a dispensation remained amongst them, that if at any thee they should attempt anything unjust or wicked against us, he might either check them by skillfully adopted counsel, or might warn us, that we might either be on our guard or might turn it aside; — he therefore, as if acting against us, first of all looking to James the bishop, addressed him in this manner: —

CHAPTER 67

SPEECH OF GAMALIEL

"'If I, Gamaliel, deem it no reproach either to my learning or to my old age to learn something from babes and unlearned ones, if haply there be anything which it is for profit or for I safety to acquire (for he who lives reasonably knows that nothing is more precious than the soul), ought not this to be the object of love and desire to all, to learn what they do not know, and to teach what they have learned? For it is most certain that

neither friendship, nor kindred, nor lofty power, ought to be more precious to men than truth. Therefore you, O brethren, if ye know anything more, shrink not from laying it before the people of God who are present, and also before your brethren; while the whole people shall willingly and in perfect quietness hear what you say. For why should not the people do this, when they see even me equally with themselves willing to learn from you, if haply God has revealed something further to you? But if you in anything are deficient, be not ye ashamed in like manner to be taught by us, that God may fill up whatever is wanting on either side. But if any fear now agitates you on account of some of our people whose minds are prejudiced against you, and if through fear of their violence you dare not openly speak your sentiments, in order that I may deliver you from this fear, I openly swear to you by Almighty God, who liveth for ever, that I will suffer no one to lay hands upon you. Since, then, you have all this people witnesses of this my oath, and you hold the covenant of our sacrament as a fitting pledge, let each one of you, without any hesitation, declare what he has learned; and let us, brethren, listen eagerly and in silence.'

CHAPTER 68

THE RULE OF FAITH

"These sayings of Gamaliel did not much please Caiaphas; and holding him in suspicion, as it seemed, he began to insinuate himself cunningly into the discussions: for, smiling at what Gamaliel had said, the chief of the priests asked of James, the chief of the bishops, that the discourse concerning Christ should not be drawn but from the Scriptures; 'that we may know,' said he, 'whether Jesus be the very Christ or no.' Then said James, 'We must first inquire from what Scriptures we are especially to derive our discussion.' Then he, with difficulty, at length overcome by reason, answered, that it must be derived from the law; and afterwards he made mention also of the prophets.

CHAPTER 69

TWO COMINGS OF CHRIST

“To him our James began to show, that whatsoever things the prophets say they have taken from the law, and what they have spoken is in accordance with the law. He also made some statements respecting the books of the Kings in: what way, and when, and by whom they were written, and how they ought to be used. And when he had discussed most fully concerning the law, and had, by a most clear exposition, brought into light whatever things are in it concerning Christ, he showed by most abundant proofs that Jesus is the Christ, and that in Him are fulfilled all the prophecies which related to His humble advent. For he showed that two advents of Him are foretold: one in humiliation, which He has accomplished; the other in glory, which is hoped for to be accomplished, when He shall come to give the kingdom to those who believe in Him, and who observe all things which He has commanded. And when he had plainly taught the people concerning these things, he added this also: That unless a man be baptized in water, in the name of the threefold blessedness, as the true Prophet taught, he can neither receive remission of sins nor enter into the kingdom of heaven; and he declared that this is the prescription of the unbegotten God. To which he added this also: ‘Do not think that we speak of two unbegotten Gods, or that one is divided into two, or that the same is made male and female. But we speak of the only-begotten Son of God, not sprung from another source, but ineffably self-originated; and in like manner we speak of the Paraclete. But when he had spoken some things also concerning baptism, through seven successive days he persuaded all the people and the high priest that they should hasten straightway to receive baptism.

CHAPTER 70

TUMULT RAISED BY SAUL

“And when matters were at that point that they should come and be baptized, some one of our enemies, entering the temple with a few men,

began to cry out, and to say, ‘What mean ye, O men of Israel? Why are you so easily hurried on? Why are ye led headlong by most miserable men, who are deceived by Simon, a magician?’ While he was thus speaking, and adding more to the same effect, and while James the bishop was refuting him, he began to excite the people and to raise a tumult. so that the people might not be able to hear what was said. Therefore he began to drive all into confusion with shouting, and to undo what had been arranged with much labor, and at the same time to reproach the priests, and to enrage them with revilings and abuse, and, like a madman, to excite every one to murder, saying, ‘What do ye? Why do ye hesitate? Oh sluggish and inert, why do we not lay hands upon them, and pull all these fellows to pieces?’ When he had said this, he first, seizing a strong brand from the altar, set the example of smiting. Then others also, seeing him, were carried away with like readiness. Then ensued a tumult on either side, of the beating and the beaten. Much blood is shed; there is a confused flight, in the midst of which that enemy attacked James, and threw him headlong from the top of the steps; and supposing him to be dead, he cared not to inflict further violence upon him.

CHAPTER 71

FLIGHT TO JERICHO

“But our friends lifted him up, for they were both more numerous and more powerful than the others; but, from their fear of God, they rather suffered themselves to be killed by an inferior force, than they would kill others. But when the evening came the priests shut up the temple, and we returned to the house of James, and spent the night there in prayer. Then before daylight we went down to Jericho, to the number of 5000 men. Then after three days one of the brethren came to us from Gamaliel, whom we mentioned before, bringing to us secret tidings that that enemy had received a commission from Caiaphas, the chief priest, that he should arrest all who believed in Jesus, and should go to Damascus with his letters, and that there also, employing the help of the unbelievers, he should make havoc among the faithful; and that he was hastening to Damascus chiefly on this account, because he believed that Peter had fled

thither. And about thirty days thereafter he stopped on his way while passing through Jericho going to Damascus. At that time we were absent, having gone out to the sepulchers of two brethren which were whitened of themselves every year, by which miracle the fury of many against us was restrained, because they saw that our brethren were had in remembrance before God.

CHAPTER 72

PETER SENT TO CAESAREA

“While, therefore, we abode in Jericho, and gave ourselves to prayer and fasting, James the bishop sent for me, and sent me here to Caesarea, saying that Zacchaeus had written to him from Caesarea, that one Simon, a Samaritan magician, was subverting many of our people, asserting that he was one Stans, — that is, in other words, the Christ, and the great power of the high God, which is superior to the Creator of the world; at the same time that he showed many miracles, and made some doubt, and others fall away to him. He informed me of all things that had been ascertained respecting this man from those who had formerly been either his associates or his disciples, and had afterwards been converted to Zacchaeus. ‘Many therefore there are, O Peter,’ said James,’ for whose safety’s sake it behoves you to go and to refute the magician, and to teach the word of truth. Therefore make no delay; nor let it grieve you that you set out alone, knowing that God by Jesus will go with you, and will help you, and that soon, by His grace, you will have many associates and sympathizers. Now be sure that you send me in writing every year an account of you sayings and doings, and especially at the end of every seven years.’ With these expressions he dismissed me, and in six days I arrived at Caesarea.

CHAPTER 73

WELCOMED BY ZACCHAEUS

“When I entered the city, our most beloved brother Zacchaeus met me; and embracing me, brought me to this lodging, in which he himself stayed, inquiring of me concerning each of the brethren, especially concerning our honorable brother James. And when I told him that he was still lame on one foot, on his immediately asking the cause of this, I related to him all that I have now detailed to you, how we had been called by the priests and Caiaphas the high priest to the temple, and how James the archbishop, standing on the top of the steps, had for seven successive days shown the whole people from the Scriptures of the Lord that Jesus is the Christ; and how, when all were acquiescing that they should be baptized by him in the name of Jesus, an enemy did all those things which I have already mentioned, and which I need not repeat.

CHAPTER 74

SIMON MAGUS CHALLENGES PETER

“When Zacchaeus had heard these things, he told me in return of the doings of Simon; and in the meantime Simon himself — how he heard of my arrival I do not know — sent a message to me, saying, ‘Let us dispute tomorrow in the hearing of the people.’ To which I answered, ‘Be it so, as it pleaseth you.’ And this promise of mine was known over the whole city, so that even you, who arrived on that very day, learned that I was to hold a discussion with Simon on the following day, and having found out my abode, according to the directions which you had received from Barnabas, came to me. But I so rejoiced at your coming, that my mind, moved I know not how, hastened to expound all things quickly to you, yet especially that which is the main point in our faith, concerning the true Prophet, which alone, I doubt not, is a sufficient foundation for the whole of our doctrine. Then, in the next place, I unfolded to you the more secret meaning of the written law, through its several heads, which there was occasion to unfold; neither did I conceal from you the good things of the

traditions. But what remains, beginning from tomorrow, you shall hear from day to day in connection with the questions which will be raised in the discussion with Simon, until by God’s favor we reach that city of Rome to which we believe that our journey is to be directed.”

I then declared that I owed him all thanks for what he had told me, and promised that I would most readily do all that he commanded. Then, having taken food, he ordered me to rest, and he also betook himself to rest.

BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1

POWER OF HABIT

WHEN the day dawned which had been fixed for the discussion with Simon, Peter, rising at the first cock-crowing, aroused us also: for we were sleeping in the same apartment, thirteen of us in all; of whom, next to Peter, Zacchaeus was first, then Sophonius, Joseph and Michaeas, Eliesdrus, Phineas, Lazarus, and Elisaeus: after these I (Clement) and Nicodemus; then Niceta and Aquila, who had formerly been disciples of Simon, and were converted to the faith of Christ under the teaching of Zacchaeus. Of the women there was no one present. As the evening light was still lasting, we all sat down; and Peter, seeing that we were awake, and that we were giving attention to him, having saluted us, immediately began to speak, as follows: —

"I confess, brethren, that I wonder at the power of human nature, which I see to be fit and suited to every call upon it. This, however, it occurs to me to say of what I have found by experience, that when the middle of the night is passed, I awake of my own accord, and sleep does not come to me again. This happens to me for this reason, that I have formed the habit of recalling to memory the words of my Lord, which I heard from Himself; and for the longing I have towards them, I constrain my mind and my thoughts to be roused, that, awaking to them, and recalling and arranging them one by one, I may retain them in my memory. From this, therefore, whilst I desire to cherish the sayings of the Lord with all delight in my heart, the habit of waking has come upon me, even if there be nothing that I wish to think of. Thus, in some unaccountable way, when any custom is established, the old custom is changed, provided indeed you do not force it above measure, but as far as the measure of nature admits. For it is not possible to be altogether without sleep; otherwise night would not have been made for rest."

CHAPTER 2

CURTAILMENT OF SLEEP

Then I, when I heard this, said: “You have very well said, O Peter; for one custom is superseded by another. For when I was at sea, I was at first distressed, and all my system was disordered, so that I felt as if I had been beaten, and could not bear the tossing and tumult of the sea; but after a few days, when I had got accustomed to it, I began to bear it tolerably, so that I was glad to take food immediately in the morning along with the sailors, whereas before it was not my custom to eat anything before the seventh hour. Now, therefore, simply from the custom which I then acquired, hunger reminds me about that time at which I used to eat with the sailors; which, however, I hope to get rid of, when once another custom shall have been formed. I believe, therefore, that you also have acquired the habit of wakefulness, as you state; and you have wished at a fitting time to explain this to us, that we also may not grudge to throw off and dispense with some portion of our sleep, that we may be able to take in the precepts of the living doctrine. For when the food is digested, and the mind is under the influence of the silence of night, those things which are seasonably taught abide in it.”

CHAPTER 3

NEED OF CAUTION

Then Peter, being pleased to hear that I understood the purport of his preface, that he had delivered it for our advantage; and commending me, doubtless for the purpose of encouraging, and stimulating me, began to deliver the following discourse: “It seems to me to be seasonable and necessary to have some discussion relating to those things that are near at hand; that is, concerning Simon. For I should wish to know of what character and of what conduct he is. Wherefore, if any one of you has any knowledge of him, let him not fail to inform me; for it is of consequence to know these things beforehand. For if we have it in charge, that when we enter into a city we should first learn who in it is worthy, that we may eat

with him, how much more is it proper for us to ascertain who or what sort of man he is to whom the words of immortality are to be committed! For we ought to be careful, yea, extremely careful, that we cast not our pearls before swine.

CHAPTER 4

PRUDENCE IN DEALING WITH OPPONENTS

“But for other reasons also it is of importance that I should have some knowledge of this man. For if I know that in those things concerning which it cannot be doubted that they are good, he is faultless and irreproachable, — that is to say, if he is sober, merciful, upright, gentle, and humane, which no one doubts to be good qualities, — then it will seem to be fitting, that upon him who possesses these good virtues, that which is lacking of faith and knowledge should be conferred; and so his life, which is in other respects worthy of approbation, should be amended in those points in which it shall appear to be imperfect. But if he remains wrapped up and polluted in those sins which are manifestly such, it does not become me to speak to him at all of the more secret and sacred things of divine knowledge, but rather to protest and confront him, that he cease from sin, and cleanse his actions from vice. But if he insinuate himself, and lead us on to speak what he, while he acts improperly, ought not to hear, it will be our part to parry him cautiously. For not to answer him at all does not seem proper, for the sake of the hearers, lest haply they may think that we decline the contest through want of ability to answer him, and so their faith may be injured through their misunderstanding of our purpose.”

CHAPTER 5

SIMON MAGUS, A FORMIDABLE ANTAGONIST

When Peter had thus spoken to us, Niceta asks permission to say something to him; and Peter having granted permission, he says: “With your. pardon, I beseech you, my Lord Peter, to hear me, who am very anxious for thee, and who am afraid lest, in the contest which you have in

band with Simon, you should seem to be overmatched. For it very frequently happens that he who defends the truth does not gain the victory, since the hearers are either prejudiced, or have no great interest in the better cause. But over and above all this, Simon himself is a most vehement orator, trained in the dialectic art. and in the meshes of syllogisms; and what is worse than all, he is greatly skilled in the magic art. And therefore I fear, test haply, being so strongly fortified on every side, he shall be thought to be defending the truth, whilst he is alleging falsehoods, in the presence of those who do not know him. For neither should we ourselves have been able to escape from him, and to be converted to the Lord, had it not been that, while we were his assistants, and the sharers of his errors, we had ascertained that he was a deceiver and a magician."

CHAPTER 6

SIMON MAGUS: HIS WICKEDNESS

When Niceta had thus spoken, Aquila also, asking that he might be permitted to speak, proceeded in manner following: "Receive, I entreat thee, most excellent Peter, the assurance of my love towards thee; for indeed I also am extremely anxious on thy account. And do not blame us in this, for indeed to be concerned for any one cometh of affection; whereas to be indifferent is no less than hatred. But I call God to witness that I feel for thee, not as knowing thee to be weaker in debate, — for indeed I was never present at any dispute in which thou wert engaged, — bit because I well know the impieties of this man, I think of thy reputation, and at the same time the souls of the hearers, and above all, the interests of the truth itself. For this magician is vehement towards all things that he wishes, and wicked above measure. For in all things we know him well, since from boyhood we have been assistants and ministers of his wickedness; and had not the love of God rescued is from him, we should even now be engaged in the same evil deeds with him. But a certain inborn love towards God rendered his wickedness hateful to us, and the worship of God attractive to us. Whence I think also that it was the work of Divine Providence, that we, being first made his associates, should take knowledge in what manner

or by what art the effects the prodigies which he seems to work. For who is there that would not be astonished at the wonderful things which he does? Who would not think that he was a God come down from heaven for the salvation of men? For myself, I confess, if I had not known him intimately, and had taken part in his doings, I would easily have been carried away with him. Whence it was no great thing for us to be separated from his society, knowing as we did that he depends upon magic arts and wicked devices. But if thou also thyself wish to know all about him — who, what, and whence he is, and bow he contrives what he does — then listen.

CHAPTER 7

SIMON MAGUS: HIS HISTORY

"This Simon's father was Antonius, and his mother Rachel. By nation he is a Samaritan, from a village of the Gettones; by profession a magician yet exceedingly well trained in the Greek literature; desirous of glory, and boasting above all the human race, so that he wishes himself to be believed to be an exalted power, which is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called the Standing One. And he uses this name as implying that he can never be dissolved, asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity. Hence, therefore, he is called the Standing One, as though he cannot fall by any corruption.

CHAPTER 8

SIMON MAGUS: HIS HISTORY

"For after that John the Baptist was killed, as you yourself also know, when Dositheus had broached his heresy, with thirty other chief disciples, and one woman, who was called Luna — whence also these thirty appear to have been appointed with reference to the number of the days, according to the course of the moon — this Simon ambitious of evil glory, as we have said, goes to Dositheus, and pretending friendship, entreats

him, that if any one of those thirty should die, he should straightway substitute him in room of the dead: for it was contrary to their rule either to exceed the fixed number, or to admit any one who was unknown, or not yet proved; whence also the rest, desiring to become worthy of the place and number, are eager in every way to please, according to the institutions of their sect each one of those who aspire after admittance into the number, hoping that he may be deemed worthy to be put into the place of the deceased, when, as we have said, any one dies. Therefore Dositheus, being greatly urged by this man, introduced Simon when a vacancy occurred among the number.

CHAPTER 9

SIMON MAGUS: HIS PROFESSION

“But not long after he fell in love with that woman whom they call Luna; and he confided all things to us as his friends: how he was a magician, and how he loved Luna, and how, being desirous of glory, he was unwilling to enjoy her ingloriously, but that he was waiting patiently till he could enjoy her honorably; yet so if we also would conspire with him towards the accomplishment of his desires. And he promised that, as a reward of this service, he would cause us to be invested with the highest honors, and we should be believed by men to be gods; ‘Only, however, on condition,’ says he, ‘that you confer the chief place upon me, Simon, who by magic art am able to show many signs and prodigies, by means of which either my glory or our sect may be established. For I am able to render myself invisible to those who wish to lay hold of me, and again to be visible when I am willing to be seen. If I wish to flee, I can dig through the mountains, and pass through rocks as if they were clay. If I should throw myself headlong from a lofty mountain, I should be born unhurt to the earth, as if I were held up; when bound, I can loose myself, and bind those who had bound me; being shut up in prison, I can make the barriers open of their own accord; I can render statues animated, so that those who see suppose that they are men. I can make new trees suddenly spring up, and produce sprouts at once. I can throw myself into the fire, and not be burnt; I can change my countenance, so that I cannot be recognized; but I can show

people that I have two faces. I shall change myself into a sheep or a goat; I shall make a beard to grow upon little boys; I shall ascend by flight into the air; I shall exhibit abundance of gold, and shall make and unmake kings. I shall be worshipped as God; I shall have divine honors publicly assigned to me, so that an image of me shall be set up, and I shall be worshipped and adored as God. And what need of more words? Whatever I wish, that I shall be able to do. For already I have achieved many things by way of experiment. In short,' says he, 'once when my mother Rachel ordered me to go to the field to reap, and I saw a sickle lying, I ordered it to go and reap; and it reaped ten times more than the others. Lately, I produced many new sprouts from the earth, and made them bear leaves and produce fruit in a moment; and the nearest mountain I successfully bored through.'

CHAPTER 10

SIMON MAGUS: HIS DECEPTION

"But when he spoke thus of the production of sprouts and the perforation of the mountain, I was confounded on this account, because he wished to deceive even us, in whom he seemed to place confidence; for we knew that those things bad been from the days of our fathers, which he represented as having been done by himself lately. We then, although we heard these atrocities from him, and worse than these, yet we followed up his crimes, and suffered others to be deceived by him, telling also many lies on his behalf; and this before he did any of the things which he had promised, so that while as yet he had done nothing, he was by some thought to be God.

CHAPTER 11

SIMON MAGUS,
AT THE HEAD OF THE SECT OF DOSITHEUS

"Meantime, at the outset, as soon as he was reckoned among the thirty disciples of Dositheus, he began to depreciate Dositheus himself, saying that he did not teach purely or perfectly, and that this was the result not of ill intention, but. of ignorance. But Dositheus, when he perceived that

Simon was depreciating him, fearing lest his reputation among men might be obscured (for he himself was supposed to be the Standing One), moved with rage, when they met as usual at the school, seized a rod, and began to beat Simon; hut suddenly the rod seemed to pass through his body, as if it had been smoke. On which Dositheus, being astonished, says to him, 'Tell me if thou art the Standing One, that I may adore thee.' And when Simon answered that he was, then Dositheus, perceiving that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped him, and gave up his own place as chief to Simon, ordering all the rank of thirty men to obey him; himself taking the inferior place which Simon formerly occupied. Not long after this he died.

CHAPTER 12

SIMON MAGUS AND LUNA

"Therefore, after the death of Dositheus Simon took Luna to himself; and with her he still goes about, as you see, deceiving multitudes, and asserting that he himself is a certain power which is above God the Creator, while Luna, who is with him, has been brought down from the higher heavens, and that she is Wisdom, the mother of all things, for whom, says he, the Greeks and barbarians contending, were able in some measure to see an image of her; but of herself, as she is, as the dweller with the first and only God, they were wholly ignorant. Propounding these and other things of the same sort, he has deceived many. But I ought also to state this, which I remember that I myself saw. Once, when this Luna of his was in a certain tower, a great multitude had assembled to see her, and were standing around the tower on all sides; but she was seen by all the people to lean forward, and to look out through all the windows of that tower. Many other wonderful things lie did and does; so that men, being astonished at them, think that he himself is the great God.

CHAPTER 13

SIMON MAGUS: SECRET OF HIS MAGIC

“Now when Niceta and I once asked him to explain to us how these things could be effected by magic art, and what was the nature of that thing, Simon began thus to explain it to us as his associates. ‘I have,’ said he, ‘made the soul of a boy, unsullied and violently slain, and invoked by unutterable adjurations, to assist me; and by it all is done that I command.’ ‘But,’ said I ‘is it possible for a soul to do these things?’ He answered: ‘I would have you know this, that the soul of man holds the next place after God, when once it is set free from the darkness of his body. And immediately it acquires prescience: wherefore it is invoked for necromancy.’ Then I answered: ‘Why, then, do not the souls of persons who are slain take vengeance on their slayers?’ ‘Do you not remember,’ said he, ‘that I told you, that when it goes out of the body it acquires knowledge of the future?’ ‘I remember,’ said I. ‘Well, then,’ said he, ‘as soon as it goes out of the body, it immediately knows that there is a judgment to come, and that every one shall suffer punishment for those evils that he hath done; and therefore they are unwilling to take vengeance on their slayers, because they themselves are enduring torments for their own evil deeds which they had done here, and they know that severer punishments await them in the judgment. Moreover, they are not permitted by the angels who preside over them to go out, or to do anything.’ ‘Them’ I replied, ‘if the angels do not permit them to come hither, or to do what they please, how can the souls obey the magician who invokes them?’ ‘It is not,’ said he, ‘that they grant indulgence to the souls that are willing to come: but when the presiding angels are adjured by one greater than themselves, they have the excuse of our violence who adjure them, to permit the souls which we invoke to go out: for they do not sin who suffer violence, but we who impose necessity upon them.’ Thereupon Niceta, not able longer to refrain, hastily answered, as indeed I also was about to do, only I wished first to get information from him on several points; but, as I said, Niceta, anticipating me, said: ‘And do you not fear the day of judgment, who do violence to angels, and invoke souls, and deceive men, and bargain for divine honor to yourself from then? And how do you persuade us that there shall be no judgment, as some of the

Jews confess, and that souls are not immortal, as many suppose, though you see them with your very eyes, and receive from them assurance of the divine judgment?'

CHAPTER 14

SIMON MAGUS, PROFESSES TO BE GOD

"At those sayings of his Simon grew pale; but after a little, recollecting himself, he thus answered: 'Do not think that I am a man of your race. I am neither magician, nor lover of Luna, nor son of Antonius. For before my mother Rachel and he came together, she, still a virgin, conceived me, while it was in my power to be either small or great, and to appear as a man among men. Therefore I have chosen you first as my friends, for the purpose of trying you, that I may place you first in my heavenly and unspeakable places when I shall have proved you. Therefore I have pretended to be a man, that I might more clearly ascertain if you cherish entire affection towards me.' But when I heard that, judging him indeed to be a wretch, yet wondering at his impudence; and blushing for him, and at the same thee fearing lest he should attempt some evil against us, I beckoned to Niceta to feign for a little along with me, and said to him: 'Be not angry with us, corruptible men, O thou incorruptible God, but rather accept our affection, and our mind willing to know who God is; for we did not till now know who thou art, nor did we perceive that thou art he whom we were seeking.'

CHAPTER 15

SIMON MAGUS, PROFESSED TO HAVE MADE A BOY OF AIR

"As we spoke these and such like words with looks suited to the occasion, this most vain fellow believed that we were deceived; and being thereby the more elated, he added also this: 'I shall now be propitious to you, for the affection which you bear towards me as God; for you loved me while you did not know me, and were seeking me in ignorance. But I would not have you doubt that this is truly to be God, when one is able to become

small or great as he pleases; for I am able to appear to man in whatever manner I please. Now, then, I shall begin to unfold to you what is true. Once on a thee, I, by my power, turning air into water, and water again into blood, and solidifying it into flesh, formed a new human creature — a boy — and produced a much nobler work than God the Creator. For He created a man from the earth, but I from air — a far more difficult matter; and again I unmade him and restored him to air, but not until I had placed his picture and image in my bed-chamber, as a proof and memorial of my work.' Then we understood that he spake concerning that boy, whose soul, after he had been slain by violence, he made use of for those services which he required.

CHAPTER 16

SIMON MAGUS: HOPELESSNESS OF HIS CASE

But Peter, hearing these things, said with: tears: "Greatly do I wonder at the infinite patience of God, and, on the other hand, at the audacity of human rashness in some. For what further reason can be found to persuade Simon that God judges the unrighteous, since he persuades himself that he employs the obedience of souls for the service of his crimes? But, in truth, he is deluded by demons. Yet, although he is sure by these very things that souls are immortal, and are judged for the deeds which they have done, and although he thinks that he really sees those things which we believe by faith; though, as I said, he is deluded by demons, yet he thinks that he sees the very substance of the soul. How shall such a man, I say, be brought to confess either that he acts wickedly while he occupies such an evil position, or that he is to be judged for those things which he hath done, who, knowing the judgment of God, despises it, and shows himself an enemy to God, and dares commit such horrid things? Wherefore it is certain, my brethren, that some oppose the truth and religion of God, not because it appears to them that reason can by no means stand with faith, but because they are either involved in excess of wickedness, or prevented by their own evils, or elated by the swelling of their heart, so that they do not even believe those things which they think that they see with their own eyes.

CHAPTER 17

MEN ENEMIES TO GOD

“But, inasmuch as inborn affection towards God the Creator seemed to suffice for salvation to those who loved Him, the enemy studies to pervert this affection in men, and to render them hostile and ungrateful to their Creator. For I call heaven and earth to witness, that if God permitted the enemy to rage as much as he desires. all men should have perished long ere now; but for His mercy’s sake God doth not suffer him. But if men would turn their affection towards God, all would doubtless be saved, even if for some faults they might seem to be corrected for righteousness But now the most of men have been made enemies of God, whose hearts the wicked one has entered, and has turned aside towards himself the affection which God the Creator had implanted in them, that they might have it towards Him. But of the rest, who seemed for a thee to be watchful, the enemy, appearing in a phantasy of glory and splendor, and promising them certain great and mighty things, has caused their mind and heart to wander away from God; yet it is for some just reason that he is permitted to accomplish these things.”

CHAPTER 18

RESPONSIBILITY OF MEN

“To this Aquila answered: “How, then, are men in fault, if the wicked one, transforming himself into the brightness of light, promises to men greater things than the Creator Himself does?” Then Peter answered: “I think,” says he “that nothing is more unjust than this; and now listen while I tell you how unjust it is. If your son, whom you have trained and nourished with all care, and brought to man’s estate, should be ungrateful to you, and should leave you and go to another, whom perhaps he may have seen to be richer, and should show to him the honor which he owed to you, and, through hope of greater profit, should deny his birth, and refuse you your paternal rights, would this seem to you right or wicked?” Then Aquila answered: “It is manifest to all that it would be wicked.” Then Peter said:

“If you say that this would be wicked among men, how much more so is it in the case of God, who, above all men, is worthy of honor from men; whose benefits we not only enjoy, but by whose means and power it is that we began to be when we were not, and whom, if we please, we shall obtain from Him to be for ever in blessedness! In order, therefore, that the unfaithful may be distinguished from the faithful, and the pious from the impious, it has been permitted to the wicked one to use those arts by which the affections of every one towards the true Father may be proved. But if there were in truth some strange God, were it right to leave our own God, who created us, and who is our Father and our Maker, and to pass over to another?” “God forbid!” said Aquila. Then said Peter: “How, then, shall we say that the wicked one is the cause of our sin, when this is done by permission of God, that those may be proved and condemned in the day of judgment, who, allured by greater promises, have abandoned their duty towards their true Father and Creator; while those who have kept the faith and the love of their own Father, even with poverty, if so it has befallen, and with tribulation, may enjoy heavenly gifts and immortal dignities in His kingdom But we shall expound these things more carefully at another time. Meantime I desire to know what Simon did after this.”

CHAPTER 19

DISPUTATION BEGUN

And Niceta answered: “When he perceived that we had found him out, having spoken to one another concerning his crimes we left him, and came to Zacchaeus, telling him those same things which we have now told to you. But he, receiving us most kindly, and instructing us concerning the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, enrolled us in the number of the faithful.” When Niceta had done speaking, Zacchaeus, who had gone out a little before, entered, saying, “It is thee, Peter, that you proceed to the disputation; for a great crowd, collected in the court of the house, is awaiting you, in the midst of whom stands Simon, supported by many attendants.” Then Peter, when he heard this, ordering me to withdraw for the sake of prayer (for I had not yet been washed from the sins which I had committed in ignorance), said to the rest, “Brethren, let its pray that

God, for His unspeakable mercy through His Christ, would help me going out on behalf of the salvation of men who have been created by Him." Having said this, and having prayed, he went forth to the court of the house, in which a great multitude of people were assembled; and when he saw them all looking intently on him in profound silence, and Simon the magician standing in the midst of them like a standard-bearer, he began in manner following.

CHAPTER 20

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS

"Peace be to all of you who are prepared to give your right hands to truth: for whosoever are obedient to it seem indeed themselves to confer some favor upon God; whereas they do themselves obtain from Him the gift of His greatest bounty, walking in His paths of righteousness. Wherefore the first duty of all is to inquire, into the righteousness of God and His kingdom; His righteousness, that we may be taught to act rightly; His kingdom, that we may know what is the reward appointed for labor and patience; in which kingdom there is indeed a bestowal of eternal good things upon the good, but upon those who have acted contrary to the will of God, a worthy infliction of penalties in proportion to the doings of every one. It becomes you, therefore, whilst you are here, — that is, whilst you are in the present life, — to ascertain the will of God, while there is opportunity also of doing it. For if any one, before he amends his doings, wishes to investigate concerning things which he cannot discover, such investigation will be foolish and ineffectual. For the thee is short, and the judgment of God shall be occupied with deeds, not questions. Therefore before all things let us inquire into this, what or in what manner we must act that we may merit to obtain eternal life.

CHAPTER 21

RIGHTEOUSNESS THE WAY TO THE KINGDOM

“For if we occupy the short thee of this life with vain and useless questions, we shall without doubt go into the presence of God empty and void of good works, when, as I have said, our works shall be brought into judgment. For everything has its own thee and place. This is the place, this the thee of works; the world to come, that of recompenses. That we may not therefore be entangled, by changing the order of places and times, let us inquire, in the first place, what is the righteousness of God; so that, like persons going to set out on a journey, we may be filled with good works as with abundant provision, so that we may be able to come to the kingdom of God, as to a very great city. For to those who think aright, God is manifest even by the operations of the world which He hat made, using the evidence of His creation; and therefore, since there ought to be no doubt! about God, we have now to inquire only about His righteousness and His kingdom. But if our mind suggest to us to make any inquiry concerning secret and hidden things before we inquire into the works of righteousness, we ought to render to ourselves a reason, because if acting well we shall merit to obtain salvation: then, going to God chaste and clean, we shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, and shall know all things that are secret and hidden, without any caviling of questions; whereas now, even if any one should spend the whole of his life in inquiring into these things, he not only shall not be able to find them, but shall involve himself in greater errors, because he did not first enter through the way of righteousness, and strive to reach the haven of life.

CHAPTER 22

RIGHTEOUSNESS; WHAT IT IS

“And therefore I advise that His righteousness be first inquired into, that, pursuing our journey through it, and placed in the way of truth, we may be able to find the true Prophet, running not with swiftness of foot, but with goodness of works, and that, enjoying His guidance, we may be

trader no danger of mistaking the way. For if under His guidance we shall merit to enter that city to which we desire to come, all things concerning which we now inquire we shall see with our eyes, being made, as it were, heirs of all things. Understand, therefore, that the way is this course of our life; the travelers are those who do good works; the gate is the true Prophet, of whom we speak; the city is the kingdom in which dwells the Almighty Father, whom only those can see who are of pure heart. Let us not then think the labor of this journey hard, because at the end of it there shall be rest. For the true Prophet Himself also from the beginning of the world, through the course of time, hastens to rest. For He is present with us at all times; and if at any thee it is necessary, He appears and corrects us, that He may bring to eternal life those who obey Him. Therefore this is my judgment, as also it is the pleasure of the true Prophet, that inquiry should first be made concerning righteousness, by those especially who profess that they know God. If therefore any one has anything to propose which he thinks better, let him speak; and when he has spoken, let him hear, hut with patience and quietness: for in order to this at the first, by way of salutation, I prayed for peace to you all."

CHAPTER 23

SIMON REFUSES PEACE

To this Simon answered: "We have no need of your peace; for if there be peace and concord, we shall not be able to make any advance towards the discovery of truth. For robbers and debauchees have peace among themselves, and every wickedness agrees with itself; and if we have met with this view, that for the sake of peace we should give assent to all that is said, we shall confer no benefit upon the hearers; but. on the contrary, we shall impose upon them, and shall depart friends. Wherefore, do not invoke peace, but rather battle, which is the mother of peace; and if you can, exterminate errors. And do not seek for friendship obtained by unfair admissions; for this I would have you know, above all, that when two fight with each other, then there will be peace when one has been defeated and has fallen. And therefore fight as best you can, and do not expect

peace without war, which is impossible; or if it can be attained, show us how."

CHAPTER 24

PETER'S EXPLANATION

To this Peter answered: "Hear with all attention, O men, what we say. Let us suppose that this world is a great plain, and that from two states, whose kings are at variance with each other, two generals were sent to fight: and suppose the general of the good king gave this counsel, that both armies should without bloodshed submit to the authority of the better king, whereby all should be safe without danger; but that the opposite general should say, No, hut we must fight; that not he who is worthy, but who is stronger, may reign, with those who shall escape; — which, I ask you, would you rather choose? I doubt not hut that you would give your hands to the better king, with the safety of all. And I do not now wish, as Simon says that I do, that assent should be given, for the sake of peace, to those things that are spoken amiss but that truth be sought for with quietness and order.

CHAPTER 25

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE DISCUSSION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED

"For some, in the contest of disputations, when they perceive that their error is confuted, immediately begin, for the sake of making good their retreat, to create a disturbance, and to stir up strifes, that it may not be manifest to all that they are defeated; and therefore I frequently entreat that the investigation of the matter in dispute may be conducted with all patience and quietness, so that if perchance anything seem to be not rightly spoken, it may be allowed to go back over it, and explain it more distinctly. For sometimes a thing may be spoken in one way and heard in another, while it is either advanced too obscurely, or not attended to with sufficient care; and on this account I desire that our conversation should be

conducted patiently, so that neither should the one snatch it away from the other, nor should the unseasonable speech of one contradicting interrupt the speech of the other; and that we should not cherish the desire of finding fault, but that we should be allowed, as I have said, to go over again what has not been clearly enough spoken, that by fairest examination the knowledge of the truth may become clearer. For we ought to know, that if any one is conquered by the truth, it is not he that is conquered, but the ignorance which is in him, which is the worst of all demons; so that he who can drive it out receives the palm of salvation. For it is our purpose to benefit the hearers, not that we may conquer badly, but that we may be well conquered for the acknowledgment of the truth. For if our speech be actuated by the desire of seeking the truth, even although we shall speak anything imperfectly through human frailty, God in His unspeakable goodness will fill up secretly in the understandings of the hearers those things that are lacking. For He is righteous; and according to the purpose of every one, He enables some to find easily what they seek, while to others He renders even that obscure which is before their eyes. Since, then, the way of God is the way of peace, let us with peace seek the things which are God's. If any one has anything to advance in answer to this, let him do so; but if there is no one who wishes to answer, I shall begin to speak, and I myself shall bring forward what another may object to me, and shall refute it."

CHAPTER 26

SIMON'S INTERRUPTION

When therefore Peter had begun to continue his discourse, Simon, interrupting his speech, said: "Why do you hasten to speak whatever you please? I understand your tricks. You wish to bring forward those matters whose explanation you have well studied, that you may appear to the ignorant crowd to be speaking well; but I shall not allow you this subterfuge. Now therefore, since you promise, as a brave man, to answer to all that any one chooses to bring forward, be pleased to answer me in the first place." Then Peter said: "I am ready, only provided that our discussion may be with peace." Then Simon said: "Do not you see, O

simpleton, that in pleading for peace you act in opposition to your Master, and that what you propose is not suitable to him who promises that he will overthrow ignorance? Or, if you are right in asking peace from the audience, then your Master was wrong in saying, ‘I have not come to send peace on earth, but a sword. For either you say well, and he not well; or else, if your Master said well, then you not at all well: for you do not understand that your statement is contrary to his, whose disciple you profess yourself to be.”

CHAPTER 27

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Then Peter: “Neither He who sent me did amiss in sending a sword upon the earth, nor do I act contrary to Him in asking peace of the hearers. But you both unskillfully and rashly find fault with what you do not understand: for you have heard that the Master came not to send peace on earth; but that He also said, ‘Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the very sons of God,” you have not heard. Wherefore my sentiments are not different from those of the Master when I recommend peace, to the keepers of which He assigned blessedness.” Then Simon said: “In your desire to answer for your Master, O Peter, you have brought a much more serious charge against him, if he himself came not to make peace, yet enjoined upon others to keep it. Where, then, is the consistency of that other saying of his, ‘it is enough for the disciple that he be as his master? ‘“

CHAPTER 28

CONSISTENCY OF CHRIST’S TEACHING

To this Peter answered: “Our Master, who was the true Prophet, and ever mindful of Himself, neither contradicted Himself, nor enjoined upon us anything different from what Himself practiced. For whereas He said, ‘I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword; and henceforth you shall see father separated from son, son from father, husband from wife and

wife from husband, mother from daughter and daughter from mother, brother from brother, father-in-law from daughter-in-law friend from friend,' all these contain the doctrine of peace; and; will tell you how. At the beginning of His preaching, as wishing to invite and lead all to salvation, and induce them to bear patiently labors and trials, He blessed the poor, and promised that they should obtain the kingdom of heaven for their endurance of poverty, in order that under the influence of such a hope they might bear with equanimity the weight of poverty, despising covetousness; for covetousness is one, and the greatest, of most pernicious sins. But He promised also that the hungry and the thirsty should be satisfied with the eternal blessings of righteousness, in order that they might bear poverty patiently, and not be led by it to undertake any unrighteous work. In like manner. also, He said that the pure in heart are blessed, and that thereby they should see God, in order that every one desiring so great a good might keep himself from evil and polluted thoughts.

CHAPTER 29

PEACE AND STRIFE

"Thus, therefore, our Master, inviting His disciples to patience, impressed upon them that the blessing of peace was also to be preserved with the labor of patience. But, on the other hand, He mourned over those who lived in riches and luxury, who bestowed nothing upon the poor; proving that they must render an account, because they did not pity their neighbors, even when they were in poverty, whom they ought to I love as themselves. And by such sayings as these He brought some indeed to obey Him, but others He rendered hostile. The believers therefore, and the obedient, He charges to have peace among themselves. and says to them, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the very sons of God.' But to those who not only did not believe, but set themselves in opposition to His doctrine, He proclaims the war of the word and of confutation, and says that 'henceforth ye shall see son separated from father, and husband from wife, and daughter from mother. and brother from brother, and daughter-in-law from mother-in-law, and a man's foes

shall be they of his own house.’ For in every house, when there begins to be a difference betwixt believer and unbeliever, there is necessarily a contest: the unbelievers, on the one hand. fighting against the faith; and the believers on the other, confuting the old error and the vices of sins in them.

CHAPTER 30

PEACE TO THE SONS OF PEACE

“In like manner, also, during the last period of His teaching, He wages war against the scribes and Pharisees, charging them with evil deeds and unsound doctrine, and with hiding the key of knowledge which they had handed down to them from Moses, by which the gate of the heavenly kingdom might be opened. But when our Master sent us forth to preach, He commanded as, that into whatsoever city or house we should enter, we should say, ‘Peace be to this house.’ ‘And if,’ said He, ‘a son of peace be there, your peace shall come upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return to you.’ Also that, going out from that house or city, we should shake off upon them the very dust which adhered to our feet. But it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city or house.’ This indeed He commanded to be done at length, if first the word of truth be preached in the city or house, whereby they who receive the faith of the truth may become sons of peace and sons of God; and those who will not receive it may be convicted as enemies of peace and of God.

CHAPTER 31

PEACE AND WAR

“Thus, therefore, we, observing the commands of our Master, first offer peace to our hearers, that the way of salvation may be known without any tumult. But if any one do not receive the words of peace, nor acquiesce in the truth, we know how to direct against him the war of the word, and to rebuke him sharply by confuting his ignorance and charging home upon him his sins. Therefore of necessity we offer peace, that if any one is a son

of peace, our peace may come upon him; but from him who makes himself an enemy of peace, our peace shall return to ourselves. We do not therefore, as you say, propose peace by agreement with the wicked, for indeed we should straightway have given you the right hand; but only in order that, through our discussing quietly and patiently, it might be more easily ascertained by the hearers which is the true speech. But if you differ and disagree with yourself, how shall you stand? He must of necessity fall who is divided in himself; 'for every kingdom divided against itself shall not stand.' If you have aught to say to this, say on."

CHAPTER 32

SIMON'S CHALLENGE

Then said Simon: "I am astonished at your folly. For you so propound the words of your Master, as if it were held to be certain concerning him that he is a prophet; while I can very easily prove that he often contradicted himself. In short, I shall refute you from those words which you have yourself brought forward. For you say, that he said that every kingdom or every city divided in itself shall not stand; and elsewhere you say, that he said that he would send a sword, that he might separate those who are in one house, so that son shall be divided from father, daughter from mother, brother from brother; so that if there be five in one house, three shall be divided against two, and two against three. if, then, everything that is divided falls, he who makes divisions furnishes causes of falling; and if he is such, assuredly he is wicked. Answer this if you can."

CHAPTER 33

AUTHORITY

Then Peter: "Do not rashly take exception, O Simon, against the things which you do not understand. In the first place, I shall answer your assertion, that I set forth the words of my Master, and from them resolve matters about which there is still doubt. Our Lord, when He sent us apostles to preach, enjoined us to teach all nations the things which were

committed to us. We cannot therefore speak those things as they were spoken by Himself. For our commission is not to speak, but to teach those things, and from them to show how every one of them rests upon truth. Nor, again, are we permitted to speak anything of our own. For we are sent; and of necessity he who is sent delivers the message as he has been ordered, and sets forth the will of the sender. For if I should speak anything different from what He who sent me enjoined me, I should be a false apostle, not saying what I am commanded to say, but what seems good to myself. Whoever does this, evidently wishes to show himself to be better than he is by whom he is sent, and without doubt is a traitor. If, on the contrary, he keeps by the things that he is commanded, and brings forward most clear assertions of them, it will appear that he is accomplishing the work of an apostle; and it is by striving to fulfill this that I displease you. Blame me not, therefore, because I bring forward the words of Him who sent me. But if there is aught in them that is not fairly spoken, you have liberty to confute me; but this can in no wise be done, for He is a prophet, and cannot be contrary to Himself. But if you do not think that He is a prophet, let this be first inquired into."

CHAPTER 34

ORDER OF PROOF

Then said Simon: "I have no need to learn this from you, but how these things agree with one another. For if he shall be shown to be inconsistent, he shall be proved at the same thee not to be a prophet." Then says Peter: "But if I first show Him to be a prophet, it will follow that what seems to be inconsistency is not such. For no one can be proved to be a prophet merely by consistency, because it is possible for many to attain this; but if consistency does not make a prophet, much more inconsistency does not. Because, therefore, there are many things which to some seem inconsistent, which yet have consistency in them on a more profound investigation; as also other things which seem to have consistency, but which, being more carefully discussed, are found to be inconsistent; for this reason I do not think there is any better way to judge of these things than to ascertain in the first instance whether He be a prophet who has

spoken those things which appear to be inconsistent. For it is evident that, if He be found a prophet, those things which seem to be contradictory must have consistency, but are misunderstood. Concerning these things, therefore, proofs will be properly demanded. For we apostles are sent to expound the sayings and affirm the judgments of Him who has sent us; but we are not commissioned to say anything of our own, but to unfold the truth, as I have said, of His words."

CHAPTER 35

HOW ERROR CANNOT STAND WITH TRUTH

Then Simon said: "Instruct us, therefore, how it can be consistent that he who causes divisions, which divisions cause those who are divided to fall, can either seem to be good, or to have come for the salvation of men." Then Peter said: "I will tell you how our Master said that every, kingdom and every house divided against itself cannot stand; and whereas He Himself did this, see how it makes for salvation. By the word of truth He certainly divides the kingdom of the world, which is founded in error, and every home in it, that error may fall, and truth may reign. But if it happen to any house, that error, being introduced by any one, divides the truth, then, where error has gained a footing, it is certain that truth cannot stand." Then Simon said: "But it is uncertain whether your master divides error or truth." Then Peter: "That belongs to another question; but if you are agreed that everything which is divided falls, it remains that I show, if only you will hear in peace, that our Jesus has divided and dispelled error by teaching truth."

CHAPTER 36

ALTERCATION

Then said Simon: "Do not repeat again and again your talk of peace, but expound briefly what it is that you think or believe." Peter answered: "Why are you afraid of hearing frequently of peace? or do you not know that peace is the perfection of law? For wars and disputes spring from

sins; and where there is no sin, there is peace of soul; but where there is peace, truth is found in disputations, righteousness in works." Then Simon: "You seem to me not to be able to profess what you think." Then Peter: "I shall speak, but according to my own judgment, not under constraint of your tricks. For I desire that what is salutary and profitable be brought to the knowledge of all and therefore I shall not delay to state it as briefly as possible. There is one God; and He is the creator of the world. a righteous judge, rendering to every one at some time or other according to his deeds. But now for the assertion of these things I know that countless thousands of words can be called forth."

CHAPTER 37

SIMON'S SUBTLETY

Then Simon said: "I admire, indeed, the quickness of your wit, yet I do not embrace the error of your faith. For you have wisely foreseen that you may be contradicted; and you have even politely confessed, that for the assertion of these things countless thousands of words will be called forth, for no one agrees with the profession of your faith. In short, as to there being one God, and the world being His work, who can receive this doctrine? Neither, I think, any one of the Pagans, even if he be an unlearned man, and certainly no one of the philosophers; but not even the rudest and most wretched of the Jews, nor I myself, who am well acquainted with their law." Then Peter said: "Put aside the opinions of those who are not here, and tell us face to face what is your own." Then Simon said: "I can state what I really think; but this consideration makes me reluctant to do so, that if I say what is neither acceptable to you, nor seems right to this unskilled rabble, you indeed, as confounded, will straightway shut your ears, that they may not he polluted with blasphemy, forsooth, and will take to flight because you cannot find an answer; while the unreasoning populace will assent to you, and embrace you as one teaching those things Which are commonly received among them; and will curse me, as professing things new and unheard of, and instilling my error into the minds of others."

CHAPTER 38

SIMON'S CREED

Then Peter: "Are not you making use of long preambles, as you accused us of doing, because you have no truth to bring forward? or if you have, begin without circumlocution, if you have so much confidence. And if, indeed, what you say be displeasing to any one of the hearers, he will withdraw; and those who remain shall be compelled by your assertion to approve what is true. Begin, therefore, to expound what seemeth to you to be right." Then Simon said: "I say that there are many gods; but that there is one incomprehensible and unknown to all, and that He is the God of all these gods." Then Peter answered: "This God whom you assert to he incomprehensible and unknown to all, can you prove His existence from the Scriptures of the Jews, which are held to be of authority, or from some others of which we are all ignorant, or from the Greek authors, or from your own writings? Certainly you are at liberty to speak from whatever writings you please, yet so that you first show that they are prophetic; for so their authority will be held without question."

CHAPTER 39

ARGUMENT FOR POLYTHEISM

Then Simon said: "I shall make use of assertions from the law of the Jews only. For it is manifest to all who take interest in religion, that this law is of universal authority, yet that every one receives the understanding of this law according to his own judgment. For it has so been written by Him who created the world, that the faith of things is made to depend upon it. Whence, whether any one wishes to bring forward truth, or any one to bring forward falsehood, no assertion will be received without this law. Inasmuch, therefore, as my knowledge is most fully in accordance with the law, I rightly declared that there are many gods, of whom one is more eminent than the rest, and incomprehensible, even He who is God of gods. But that there are many gods, the law itself informs me. For, in the first place, it says this in the passage where one in the figure of a serpent

speaks to Eve, the first woman, ‘On the day ye eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, ye shall be as gods, that is, as those who made man; and after they have tasted of the tree, God Himself testifies, saying to the rest of the gods, ‘Behold, Adam is become as one of us;’ thus, therefore, it is manifest that there were many gods engaged in the making of man. Also, whereas at the first God said to the other gods, ‘Let us make man after our image and likeness;’ also His saying, ‘Let us drive him out;’ and again, ‘Come, let us go down, and confound their language;’ all these things indicate that there are many gods. But this also is written, ‘Thou shalt not curse the gods, nor curse the chief of thy people;’ and again this writing, ‘God alone led them, and there was no strange God with them,’ shows that there are many gods. There are also many other testimonies which might be adduced from the law, not only obscure, but plain, by which it is taught that there are many gods. One of these was chosen by lot, that he might be the God of the Jews. But it is not of him that I speak, but of that God who is also his God, whom even the Jews themselves did not know. For he is not their God, but the God of those who know him.”

CHAPTER 40

PETER’S ANSWER

When Peter had heard this, he answered: “Fear nothing, Simon: for, behold, we have neither shut our ears, nor fled; but we answer with words of truth to those things which you have spoken falsely, asserting this first, that there is one God, even the God of the Jews, who is the only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who is also the God of all those whom you call gods. If, then, I shall show you that none is superior to Him, but that He Himself is above all, you will confess that your error is above all.” Then Simon said: “Why, indeed, though I should be unwilling to confess it, would not the hearers who stand by charge me with unwillingness to profess the things that are true?”

CHAPTER 41

THE ANSWER, CONTINUED

“Listen, then,” says Peter, “that you may know, first of all, that even if there are many gods, as you say, they are subject to the God of the Jews, to whom no one is equal, than whom no one can be greater; for it is written that the prophet Moses thus spoke to the Jews: ‘The Lord your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of lords, the great God.’ Thus, although there are many that are called gods, yet He who is the God of the Jews is alone called the God of gods. For not every one that is called God is necessarily God. Indeed, even Moses is called a God to Pharaoh, and it is certain that he was a man; and judges were called gods, and it is evident that they were mortal. The idols also of the Gentiles are called gods, and we all know that they are not; but this has been inflicted as a punishment on the wicked, that because they would not acknowledge the true God, they should regard as God whatever form or image should occur to them. Because they refused to receive the knowledge of the One who, as I said, is God of all, therefore it is permitted to them to have as gods those who can do nothing for their worshippers. For what can either dead images or living creatures confer upon men, since the power of all things is with One?

CHAPTER 42

GUARDIAN ANGELS

“Therefore the name God is applied in three ways: either because he to whom it is given is truly God, or because be is the servant of him who is truly; and for the honor of the sender, that his authority may be full, he that is sent is called by the name of him who sends, as is often done in respect of angels: for when they appear to a man, if he is a wise and intelligent man, he asks the name of him who appears to him, that he may acknowledge at once the honor of the sent, and the authority of the sender. For every nation has an angel, to whom God has committed the government of that nation; and when one of these appears, although he be

thought and called God by those over whom he presides, yet, being asked, he does not give such testimony to himself. For the Most High God, who alone holds the power of all things, has divided all the nations of the earth into seventy-two parts, and over these He hath appointed angels as princes. But to the one among the archangels who is greatest, was committed the government of those who, before all others, received the worship and knowledge of the Most High God. But holy men also, as we have said, are made gods to the wicked, as having received the power of life and death over them, as we mentioned above with respect to Moses and the judges. Wherefore it is also written concerning them, ‘Thou shalt not curse the gods, and thou shalt not curse the prince of thy people.’ Thus the princes of the several nations are called gods. But Christ is God of princes, who is Judge of all. Therefore neither angels, nor men, nor any creature, can be truly gods, forasmuch as they are placed under authority, being created and changeable: angels, for they were not, and are; men, for they are mortal; and every creature, for it is capable of dissolution, if only He dissolve it who made it. And therefore He alone is the true God, who not only Himself lives, but also bestows life upon others, which He can also take away when it pleaseth Him.

CHAPTER 43

NO GOD BUT JEHOVAH

“Wherefore the Scripture exclaims in name of the God of the Jews, saying, ‘Behold, behold, seeing that I am God, and there is none else besides me, I will kill, and I will make alive; I will smite, and I will heal; and there is none who can deliver out of my hands.’ See therefore how, by some ineffable virtue, the Scripture, opposing the future errors of those who should affirm that either in heaven or on earth there is any other God besides Him who is the God of the Jews, decides thus: ‘The Lord your God is one God, in heaven above, and in the earth beneath; and besides Him there is none else.’ How, then, hast thou dared to say that there is any other God besides Him who is the God of the Jews? And again the Scripture says, ‘Behold, to the Lord thy God belong the heaven, and the heaven of heavens, the earth, and all things that are in them: nevertheless I

have chosen your fathers, that I might love them, and you after them.' Thus that judgment is supported by the Scripture on every side, that He who created the world is the true and only God.

CHAPTER 44

THE SERPENT, THE AUTHOR OF POLYTHEISM

"But even if there be others, as we have said, who are called gods, they are under the power of the God of the Jews; for thus saith the Scripture to the Jews, 'The Lord our God, He is God of gods, and Lord of lords.' Him alone the Scripture also commands to be worshipped, saying, 'Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve;' and, 'Hear, O lsrael: the Lord thy God is one God.' Yea, also the saints, filled with the Spirit of God, and bedewed with the drops of His mercy, cried out, saying, 'Who is like unto Thee among the gods? O Lord, who is like unto Thee?' And again, 'Who is God, but the Lord; and who is God, but our Lord?' Therefore Moses, when he saw that the people were advancing, by degrees initiated them in the understanding of the monarchy and the faith of one God, as he says in the following words: 'Thou shalt not make negation of the names of other gods;' doubtless remembering with what penalty the serpent was visited, which had first named gods. For it is condemned to feed upon dust, and is judged worthy of such food, for this cause. that it first of all introduced the name of gods into the world. But if you also wish to introduce many gods, see that you partake not the serpent's doom.

CHAPTER 45

POLYTHEISM INEXCUSABLE

"For be sure of this. that you shall not have us participators in this attempt; nor will we suffer ourselves to be deceived by you. For it will not serve us for an excuse in the judgment, if we say that you deceived us; because neither could it excuse the first woman, that she had unhappily believed the serpent; but she was condemned to death, because she

believed badly. For this cause therefore, Moses, also commending the faith of one God to the people, says, ‘Take heed to thyself, that thou be not seduced from the Lord thy God.’ Observe that he makes use of the same word which the first woman also made use of in excusing herself, saying that she was seduced; but it profited her nothing. But over and above all this, even if some true prophet should arise, who should perform signs and miracles, but should wish to persuade us to worship other gods besides the God of the Jews, we should never be able to believe him. For so the divine law has taught us, handing down a secret injunction more purely by means of tradition, for thus it saith: ‘If there arise among you a prophet, or one dreaming a dream, and give you signs or wonders, and these signs or wonders come to pass, and he say to you, Let us go and worship strange gods, whom ye know not; ye shall not hear the words of that prophet, nor the dream of that dreamer, because proving he hath proved you, that he may see if ye love the ‘Lord your God.’

CHAPTER 46

CHRIST ACKNOWLEDGED THE GOD OF THE JEWS

“Wherefore also our Lord, who wrought signs and wonders, preached the God of the Jews; and therefore we are right in believing what He preached. But as for you, even if you were really a prophet, and performed signs and wonders, as you promise to do, if you were to announce other gods besides Him who is the true God, it would be manifest that you were raised up as a trial to the people of God; and therefore you can by no means be believed. For He alone is the true God, who is the God of the Jews; and for this reason our Lord Jesus Christ did not teach them that they must inquire after God, for Him they knew well already, but that they must seek His kingdom and righteousness, which the scribes and Pharisees, having received the key of knowledge, had not shut in, but shut out. For if they had been ignorant of the true God, surely He would never have left the knowledge of this thing, which was the chief of all, and blamed them for small and little things, as for enlarging their fringes, and claiming the uppermost rooms in feasts, and praying standing in the

highways, and such like things; which assuredly, in comparison of this great charge, ignorance of God, seem to be small and insignificant matters.”

CHAPTER 47

SIMON’S CAVIL

To this Simon replied: “From the words of your master I shall refute you, because even he introduces to all men a certain God who was known. For although both Adam knew the God who was his creator, and the maker of the world; and Enoch knew him, inasmuch as he was translated by him; and Noah, since he was ordered by him to construct the ark; and although Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and all, even every people and all nations, know the maker of the world, and confess him to be a God, yet your Jesus, who appeared long after the patriarchs, says: ‘No one knows the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, but the Son, and he to whom the Son has been pleased to reveal Him.’ Thus, therefore, even your Jesus confesses that there is another God, incomprehensible and unknown to all.

CHAPTER 48

PETER’S ANSWER

Then Peter says: “You do not perceive that you are making statements in opposition to yourself. For if our Jesus also knows Him whom ye call the unknown God. then He is not known by you alone. Yea, if our Jesus knows Him, then Moses also, who prophesied that Jesus should come, assuredly could not himself be ignorant of Him. For he was a prophet; and he who prophesied of the Son doubtless knew the Father. For if it is in the option of the Son to reveal the Father to whom He will, then the Son, who has been with the Father from the beginning, and through all generations, as He revealed the Father to Moses, so also to the other prophets; but if this be so, it is evident that the Father has not been unknown to any of them. But how could the Father be revealed to you, who do not believe in the Son, since the Father is known to none except him to whom the Son is

pleased to reveal Him? But the Son reveals the Father to those who honor the Son as they honor the Father."

CHAPTER 49

THE SUPREME LIGHT

Then Simon said: "Remember that you said that God has a son, which is doing Him wrong; for how can He have a son, unless He is subject to passions, like men or animals? But on these points there is not time now to show your profound folly, for I hasten to make a statement concerning the immensity of the supreme light; and so now listen. My opinion is, that there is a certain power of immense and ineffable light, whose greatness may be held to be incomprehensible, of which power even the maker of the world is ignorant, and Moses the lawgiver, and Jesus your master."

CHAPTER 50

SIMON'S PRESUMPTION

Then Peter: "Does it not seem to you to be madness, that any one should take upon himself to assert that there is another God than the God of all; and should say that he supposes there is a certain power, and should presume to affirm this to others, before he himself is sure of what he says? Is any one so rash as to believe your words, of which he sees that you are yourself doubtful, and to admit that there is a certain power unknown to God the Creator, and to Moses, and the prophets, and the law, and even to Jesus our Master, which power is so good, that it will not make itself known to any but to one only, and that one such an one as thou! Then, further, if that is a new power, why does it not confer upon us some new sense, in addition to those five which we possess, that by that new sense. bestowed upon us by it, we may be able to receive and understand itself which is new? Or if it cannot bestow such a sense upon us, how has it bestowed it upon you? Or if it has revealed itself to you, why not also to us? But if you of yourself understand things which not even the prophets were able to perceive or understand, come, tell us what each one of us is

thinking now; for if there is such a spirit in you that you know those things which are above the heavens, which are unknown to all, and incomprehensible by all, much more easily do you know the thoughts of men upon the earth. But if you cannot know the thoughts of us who are standing here, how can you say that you know those things which, you assert, are known to none?

CHAPTER 51

THE SIXTH SENSE

“But believe me, that you could never know what light is unless you had received both vision and understanding from light itself; so also in other things. Hence, having received understanding, you are framing in imagination something greater and more sublime, as if dreaming, but deriving all your hints from those five senses, to whose Giver you are unthankful. But be sure of this, that until you find some new sense which is beyond those five which we all enjoy, you cannot assert the existence of a new God.” Then Simon answered: “Since all things that! exist are in accordance with those five senses, that power which is more excellent than all cannot add anything new.” Then Peter said: “It is false; for there is also a sixth sense, namely that of foreknowledge: for those five senses are capable of knowledge, but the sixth is that of foreknowledge: and this the prophets possessed. How, then, can you know a God who is unknown. to all, who do not know the prophetic sense, which is that of prescience?” Then Simon began to say: “This power of which I speak, incomprehensible and more excellent than all, ay, even than that God who made the world, neither any of the angels has known, nor of the i demons, nor of the Jews, nay, nor any creature i which subsists by means of God the creator. How, then, could that creator’s law teach me that which the creator himself did not know, since neither did the law itself know it, that it might teach it?”

CHAPTER 52

REDUCTIE AD ABSURDUM

Then Peter said: “I wonder how you have been able to learn more from the law than the law was able to know or to teach; and how you say that you adduce proofs from the law of those things which you are pleased to assert, when you declare that neither the law, nor He who gave the law — that is, the Creator of the world — knows those things of which you speak! But this also I wonder at, how you, who alone know these things, should be standing here now with us all, circumscribed by the limits of this small court.” Then Simon, seeing Peter and all the people laughing, said: “Do you laugh, Peter, while so great and lofty matters are under discussion?” Then said Peter: “Be not enraged, Simon, for we are doing no more than keeping our promise: for we are neither shutting our ears, as you said, nor did we take to flight as soon as we heard you propound your unutterable things; but we have not even stirred from the place. For indeed you do not even propound things that have any resemblance to truth, which might to a certain extent frighten us. Yet, at all events, disclose to us the meaning of this saying, how from the law you have learned of a God whom the law itself does not know. and of whom He who gave the law is ignorant.” Then Simon said: “If you have done laughing, I shall prove it by clear assertions.” Then Peter said: “Assuredly I shall give over, that I may learn from you how you have learned from the law what neither the law nor the God of the law Himself knows.”

CHAPTER 53

SIMON’S BLASPHEMY

Then says Simon: “Listen: it is manifest to all, and ascertained in a manner of which no account can be given, that there is one God, who is better than all, from whom all that is took its beginning; whence also of necessity, all things that are after him are subject to him, as the chief and most excellent of all. When, therefore, I had ascertained that the God who created the world, according to what the law teachers, is in many respects weak,

whereas weakness is utterly incompatible with a perfect God, and I saw that he is not perfect, I necessarily concluded that there is another God who is perfect. For this God, as I have said, according to what the writing of the law teaches, is shown to be weak in many things. In the first place, because the man whom he formed was not able to remain such as be had intended him to be; and because he cannot be good who gave a law to the first man, that he should eat of all the trees of paradise, but that he should not touch the tree of knowledge; and if be should eat of it, be should die. For why should he forbid him to eat, and to know what is good and what evil, that, knowing, he might shun the evil and choose the good? But this he did not permit; and because he did eat in violation of the commandment, and discovered what is good, and learned for the sake of honor to cover his nakedness (for he perceived it to be unseemly to stand naked before his Creator), he condemns to death him who had learned to do honor to God, and curses the serpent who had shown him these things. But truly, if man was to be injured by this means, why did he place the cause of injury in paradise at all? But if that which he placed in paradise was good, it is not the part of one that is good to restrain another from good.

CHAPTER 54

HOW SIMON LEARNED FROM THE LAW WHAT THE LAW DOES NOT TEACH

“Thus then, since he who made man and the world is, according to what the law relates, imperfect, we are given to understand, without doubt, that there is another who is perfect. For it is of necessity that there be one most excellent of all, on whose account also every creature keeps its rank. Whence also I, knowing that it is every way necessary that there be some one more benignant and more powerful than that imperfect God who gave the law, understanding what is perfect from comparison of the imperfect, understood even from the Scripture that God who is not mentioned there. And in this way I was able, O Peter, to learn from the law what the law did not know. But even if the law had not given indications from which it might be gathered that the God who made the world is imperfect, it was still possible for me to infer from those evils which are done in this world,

and are not corrected, either that its creator is powerless, if be cannot correct what is done amiss; or else, if he does not wish to remove the evils, that he is himself evil; but if he neither can nor will, that he is neither powerful nor good. And from this it cannot but be concluded that there is another God more excellent and more powerful than all. If you have aught to say to this, say on."

CHAPTER 55

SIMON'S OBJECTIONS TURNED AGAINST HIMSELF

Peter answered: "O Simon, they are wont to conceive such absurdities against God who do not read the law with the instruction of masters, but account themselves teachers, and think that they can understand the law, though he has not explained it to them who has learned of the Master. Nevertheless now, that we also may seem to follow the book of the law according to your apprehension of it; inasmuch as you say that the creator of the world is shown to be both impotent and evil, how is it that you do not see that that power of yours, which you say is superior to all, fails and lies under the very same charges? For the very same thing may be said of it, that it is either powerless, since it does not correct those things which here are done amiss; or if it can and will not, it is evil; or if it neither can nor will, then it is both impotent and imperfect. Whence that new power of yours is not only found liable to a similar charge, but even to a worse one, if, in addition to all these things, it is believed to be, when it is not. For He who created the world, His existence is manifest by His very operation in creating the world, as you yourself also confess. But this power which you say that you alone know, affords no indication of itself, by which we might perceive, at least, that it is, and subsists.

CHAPTER 56

NO GOD ABOVE THE CREATOR

"What kind of conduct, then, would it be that we should forsake God, in whose world we live and enjoy all things necessary for life, and follow I

know not whom, from whom we not only obtain no good, but cannot even know that he exists? Nor truly does he exist. For whether you call him light, and brighter than that light which we see, you borrow that very name from the Creator of the world; or whether you say that he is a substance above all, you derive from Him the idea with enlargement of speech. Whether you make mention of mind, or goodness, or life, or whatever else, you borrow the words from Him. Since, then, you have nothing new concerning that power you speak of, not only as regards understanding, but even in respect of naming him, how do you introduce a new God, for whom you cannot even find a new name? For not only is the Creator of the world called a Power, but even the ministers of His glory, and all the heavenly host. Do you not then think it better that we should follow our Creator God, as a Father who trains us and endows us as He knows how? But if, as you say, there be some God more benignant than all, it is certain that he will not be angry with us; or if he be angry, he is evil. For if our God is angry and punishes, He is not evil, but righteous, for He corrects and amends His own sons. But he who has no concern with us, if he shall punish us, how should he be good? Inflicting punishments upon us because we have not been drawn by vain imaginations to forsake our own Father and follow him, how can you assert that he is so good, when he cannot be regarded as even just?”

CHAPTER 57

SIMON’S INCONSISTENCY

Then Simon: “Do you so far err, Peter, as not to know that our souls were made by that good God, the most excellent of all, but they have been brought down as captives into this world?” To this Peter answered: “Then he is not unknown by all, as you said a little while ago; and yet how did the good God permit his souls to be taken captive, if he be a power over all?” Then Simon said: “He sent God the creator to make the world; and he, when he had made it, gave out that himself was God.” Then Peter said: “Then be is not, as you said, unknown to Him who made the world; nor are souls ignorant of him, if indeed they were stolen away from him. To whom, then, can he be unknown, if both the Creator of the world know

him, as having been sent by him; and all souls I know him, as baring been violently withdrawn from him? Then, further, I wish you would tell us whether he who sent the creator of the world did not know that he would not keep faith? For if he did not know it, then he was not prescient; while if he foreknew it, and suffered it, he is himself guilty of this deed, since he did not prevent it; but if he could not, then he is not omnipotent. But if, knowing it as good, he did not prohibit it, he is found to be better, who presumed to do that which he who sent him did not know to be good."

CHAPTER 58

SIMON'S GOD UNJUST

Then Simon said: "He receives those who will come to him, and does them good." Peter answered: "But there is nothing new in this; for He whom you acknowledge to be the Creator of the world also does so." Then Simon: "But the good God bestows salvation if he is only acknowledged; but the creator of the world demands also that the law be fulfilled." Then said Peter: "He saves adulterers and men-slayers, if they know him; but good, and sober, and merciful persons, if they do not know him, in consequence of their having no information concerning him, he does not save! Great and good truly is he whom you proclaim, who is not so much the savior of the evil, as he is one who shows no mercy to the good." Then Simon: "It is truly very difficult for man to know him, as long as he is in the flesh; for blacker than all darkness, and heavier than all clay, is this body with which the soul is surrounded." Then says Peter: "That good God of yours demands things which are difficult; but He who is truly God seeks easier things. Let him then, since he is so good, leave us with our Father and Creator; and when once we depart from the body, and leave that darkness that you speak of, we shall more easily know Him; and then the soul shall better understand that God is its Creator, and shall remain with Him, and shall no more be harassed with diverse imaginations; nor shall wish to betake itself to another power, which is known to none but Simon only, and which is of such goodness that no one can come to it, unless he be first guilty of impiety towards his own father! I know not

how this power can be called either good or just, which no one can please except by acting impiously towards him by whom he was made!”

CHAPTER 59

THE CREATOR OUR FATHER,

Then Simon: “It is not impious for the sake of greater profit and advantage to rice to him who is of richer glory.” Then Peter: “If, as you say, it is not impious to flee to a stranger, it is at all events much more pious to remain with our own father, even if he be poor. But if you do not think it impious to leave our father, and flee to another, as being better than he; and you do not believe that our Creator will take this amiss; much more the good God will not be angry, because, when we were strangers to him, we have not fled to him, but have remained with our own Creator. Yea, I think he will rather commend us the more for this, that we have kept faith with God our Creator; for he will consider that, if we had been his creatures, we should never have been seduced by the allurements of any other to forsake him. For if any one, allured by richer promises, shall leave his own father and betake himself to a stranger, it may be that he will leave him in his turn, and go to another who shall promise him greater things, and this the rather because he is not his son, since he could leave even him who by nature was his father.” Then Simon said: “But what if souls are from him, and do not know him, and he is truly their father?”

CHAPTER 60

THE CREATOR THE SUPREME GOD

Then Peter said: “You represent him as weak enough. For if, as you say, he is more powerful than all, it can never be believed the weaker wrenched the spoils from the stronger. Or if God the Creator was able by violence to bring down souls into this world, how can it be that, when they are separated from the body and freed from the bonds of captivity, the good God shall call them to the sufferance of punishment, on the ground that they, either through his remissness or weakness, were dragged away to

this place, and were involved in the body, as in the darkness of ignorance? You seem to me not to know what a father and a God is: but I could tell you both whence souls are, and when and how they were made; but it is not permitted to me now to disclose these things to you, who are in such error in respect of the knowledge of God." Then said Simon: "A time will come when you shall be sorry that you did not understand me speaking of the ineffable power." Then said Peter: "Give us then, as I have often said, as being yourself a new God, or as having yourself come down from him, some new sense, by means of which we may know that new God of whom you speak; for those five senses, which God our Creator has given us, keep faith to their own Creator, and do not perceive that there is any other God, for so their nature necessitates them."

CHAPTER 61

IMAGINATION

To this Simon answered: "Apply your mind to those things which I am going to say, and cause it, walking in peaceable paths, to attain to those things which I shall demonstrate. Listen now, therefore. Did you never in thought reach forth your mind into regions or islands situated far away, and remain so fixed in them, that you could not even see the people that were before you, or know where yourself were sitting, by reason of the delightfulness of those things on which you were gazing?" And Peter said: "It is true, Simon, this has often occurred to me." Then Simon said: "In this way now reach forth your sense into heaven, yea above the heaven, and behold that there must be some place beyond the world, or outside the world, in which there is neither heaven nor earth, and where no shadow of these things produces darkness; and consequently, since there are neither bodies in it, nor darkness occasioned by bodies, there must of necessity be immense light; and consider of what sort that light must be, which is never succeeded by darkness. For if the light of this sun fills this whole world, how great do you suppose that bodiless and infinite light to be? So great, doubtless, that this light of the sun would seem to be darkness and not light, in comparison."

CHAPTER 62

PETER'S EXPERIENCE OF IMAGINATION

When Simon thus spoke, Peter answered: "Now listen patiently concerning both these matters, that is, concerning the example of stretching out the senses, and concerning the immensity of light. I know that I myself, O Simon, have sometimes in thought extended my sense, as you say, into regions and islands situated afar off, and have seen them with my mind not less than if it had been with my eyes. When I was at Capernaum, occupied in the taking of fishes, and sat upon a rock, holding in my hand a hook attached to a line, and fitted for deceiving the fishes, I was so absorbed that I did not feel a fish adhering to it while my mind eagerly ran through my beloved Jerusalem, to which I had frequently gone up, waking, for the sake of offerings and prayers. But I was accustomed also to admire this Caesarea, hearing of it from others, and to long to see it; and I seemed to myself to see it, although I had never been in it; and I thought of it what was suitable to be thought of a great city, its gates, walls, baths, streets, lanes, markets, and the like, in accordance with what I had seen in other cities; and to such an extent was I delighted with the intentness of such inspection, that, as you said, neither saw one who was present and standing by me, nor knew where myself was sitting." Then said Simon: "Now you say well."

CHAPTER 63

PETER'S REVERIE

Then Peter: "In short, when I did not perceive, through the occupation of my mind, that I had caught a very large fish which was attached to the hook, and that although it was dragging the hook-line from my hand, my brother Andrew. who was sitting by me, seeing me in a reverie and almost ready to fall, thrusting his elbow into my side as if he would awaken me from sleep, said: 'Do you not see, Peter, what a large fish you have caught? Are you out of your senses, that you are thus in a stupor of astonishment? Tell me, What is the matter with you?' But i was angry

with him for a little, because he had withdrawn me from the delight of those things which I was contemplating; then I answered that I was not suffering from any malady, but that I was mentally gazing on the beloved Jerusalem, and at the same time on Caesarea; and that, while I was indeed with him in the body, in my mind I was wholly carried away thither. But he, I know not whence inspired, uttered a hidden and secret word of truth.

CHAPTER 64

ANDREW'S REBUKE

"'Give over,' says he, 'O Peter. What is it that you are doing? For those who are beginning to be possessed with a demon, or to be disturbed in their minds, begin in this way. They are first carried away by fancies to some pleasant and delightful things, then they are poured out in vain and fond motions towards things which have no existence. Now this happens from a certain disease of mind, by reason of which they see not the things which are, but long to bring to their sight those which are not. But thus it happens also to those who are suffering frenzy, and seem to themselves to see many images, because their soul, being torn and withdrawn from its place by excess of cold or of heat, suffers a failure of its natural service. But those also who are in distress through thirst, when they fall asleep, seem to themselves to see rivers and fountains, and to drink; but this befalls them through being distressed by the dryness of the unmoistened body. Wherefore it is certain that this occurs through some ailment either of the soul or body.'

CHAPTER 65

FALLACY OF IMAGINATION

"In short, that you may receive the faith of the matter; concerning Jerusalem, which I had often seen, I told my brother what places and what gatherings of people I had seemed to myself to see. But also concerning Caesarea, which I had never seen, I nevertheless contended that it was such as I had conceived it in my mind and thought. But when I came

hither, and saw nothing at all like to those things which I had seen in phantasy, I blamed myself, and observed distinctly, that I had assigned to it gates, and walls, and buildings from others which I had seen, taking the likeness in reality from others. Nor indeed can any one imagine anything new, and of which no form has ever existed. For even if any one should fashion from his imagination bulls with five heads, he only forms them with five heads out of those which he has seen with one head. And you therefore, now, if truly you seem to yourself to perceive anything with your thought, and to look above the heavens, there is no doubt but that you imagine them from those things which you see, placed as you are upon the earth. But if you think that there is easy access for your mind above the heavens, and that you are able to conceive the things that are there, and to apprehend knowledge of that immense light, I think that for him who can comprehend these things, it were easier to throw his sense, which knows how to ascend thither, into the heart and breast of some one of us who stand by, and to tell what thoughts he is cherishing in his breast. If therefore you can declare the thoughts of the heart of any one of us, who is not pre-engaged in your favor, we shall perhaps be able to believe you, that you are able to know those things that are above the heavens, although these are much loftier."

CHAPTER 66

EXISTENCE AND CONCEPTION

To this Simon replied: "O thou who hast woven a web of many frivolities, listen now. It is impossible that anything which comes into a man's thoughts should not also subsist in truth and reality. For things that do not subsist, have no appearances; but things that have no appearances, cannot present themselves to our thoughts." Then said Peter: "If everything that can come into our thoughts has a subsistence, then, with respect to that place of immensity which you say is outside the world, if one thinks in his heart that it is light, and another that it is darkness, how can one and the same place be both light and darkness, according to their different thoughts concerning it?" Then said Simon: "Let pass for the present what I have said; and tell us what you suppose to be above the heavens."

CHAPTER 67

THE LAW TEACHES OF IMMENSITY

Then said Peter: “If you believed concerning the true fountain of light, I could instruct you what and of what sort is that which is immense, and should render, not a vain fancy, but a consistent and necessary account of the truth, and should make use, not of sophistical assertions, but testimonies of the law and nature, that you might know that the law especially contains what we ought to believe in regard to immensity. But if the doctrine of immensity is not unknown to the law, then assuredly, nought else can be unknown to it; and therefore it is a false supposition of yours, that there is anything of which the law is not cognizant. Much more shall nothing be unknown to Him who gave the law. Yet I cannot speak anything to you of immensity and of those things which are without limit, unless first you either accept our account of those heavens which are bounded by a certain limit, or else propound your own account of them. But if you cannot understand concerning those which are comprehended within fixed boundaries, much more can you neither know nor learn anything concerning those which are without limit.”

CHAPTER 68

THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE HEAVEN

To this Simon answered: “It seems to me to be better to believe simply that God is, and that that heaven which we see is the only heaven in the whole universe.” But Peter said: “Not so; but it is proper to confess one God who truly is; but that there are heavens, which were made by Him, as also the law says, of which one is the higher, in which also is contained the visible firmament; and that that higher heaven is perpetual and eternal, with those who dwell in it; but that this visible heaven is to be dissolved and to pass away at the end of the world, in order that that heaven which is older and higher may appear after the judgment to the holy and the worthy.” To this Simon answered: “That these things are so, as you say, may appear to those who believe them; but to him who seeks for reasons

of these things, it is impossible that they can be produced from the law, and especially concerning the immensity of light."

CHAPTER 69

FAITH AND REASON

Then Peter: "Do not think that we say that these things are only to be received by faith, but also that they are to be asserted by reason. For indeed it is not safe to commit these things to bare faith without reason, since assuredly truth cannot be without reason. And therefore he who has received these things fortified by reason, call never lose them; whereas he who receives them without proofs, by an assent to a simple statement of them, can neither keep them safely, nor is certain if they are true; because he who easily believes, also easily yields. But he who has sought reason for those things which he has believed and received, as though bound by chains of reason itself, can never be torn away or separated from those things which he hath believed. And therefore, according as any one is more anxious in demanding a reason, by so much will he be the firmer in preserving his faith."

CHAPTER 70

ADJOURNMENT

To this Simon replied: "It is a great thing which you promise, that the eternity of boundless light can be shown from the law." And when Peter said, "I shall show it whenever you please," Simon answered: "Since now it is a late hour, I shall stand by you and oppose you tomorrow; and if you can prove that this world was created, and that souls are immortal, you shall have me to assist you in your preaching." When he had said thus, he departed, and was followed by a third part of all the people who had conic with him, who were about one thousand men. But the rest with bended knees prostrated themselves before Peter; and he, invoking upon them the name of God, cured some who had demons, healed others who were sick, and so dismissed the people rejoicing, commanding them to

come early the next day. But Peter, when the crowds had withdrawn, commanded the table to be spread on the ground, in the open air, in the court where the disputation had been held, and sat down together with those eleven; but I dined reclining with some others who also had made a beginning of hearing I the word of God, and were greatly beloved.

CHAPTER 71

SEPARATION FROM THE UNCLEAN

But Peter, most benignantly regarding me, lest haply that separation might cause me sorrow, says to me: “It is not from pride, O Clement, that I do not eat with those who have not yet been purified; but I fear lest perhaps I should injure myself, and do no good to them. For this I would have you know for certain, that every one who has at any time worshipped idols, and has adored those whom the pagans call gods, or has eaten of the things sacrificed to them, is not without an unclean spirit; for he has become a guest of demons, and has been partaker with that demon of which he has formed the image in his mind, either through fear or love. And by these means he is not free from an unclean spirit, and therefore needs the purification of baptism, that the unclean spirit may go out of him, which has made its abode in the inmost affections of his soul, and what is worse, gives no indication that it lurks within, for fear it should be exposed and expelled.

CHAPTER 72

THE REMEDY

“For these unclean spirits love to dwell in the bodies of men, that they may fulfill their own desires by their service, and, inclining the motions of their souls to those things which they themselves desire, may compel them to obey their own lusts, that they may become wholly vessels of demons. One of whom is this Simon, who is seized with such disease, and cannot now be healed, because he is sick in his will and purpose. Nor does the demon dwell in him against his will; and therefore, if any one would

drive it out of him, since it is inseparable from himself, and, so to speak, has now become his very soul, he should seem rather to kill him, and to incur the guilt of manslaughter. Let no one of you therefore be saddened at being separated from eating with us, for every one ought to observe that it is for just so long a time as he pleases. For he who wishes soon to be baptized is separated but for a little time, but he for a longer who wishes to be baptized later. Every one therefore has it in his own power to demand a shorter or a longer time for his repentance; and therefore it lies with you, when you wish it, to come to our table; and not with us, who are not permitted to take food with any one who has not been baptized. It is rather you, therefore, who hinder us from eating with you, if you interpose delays in the way of your purification, and defer your baptism." Having said thus, and having blessed, he took food. And afterwards, when he had given thanks to God, he went into the house and went to bed; and we all did the like, for it was now night.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

Meantime Peter, rising at the crowing of the cock, and wishing to rouse us, found us awake, the evening light still burning; and when, according to custom, he had saluted us, and we had all sat down, he thus began. "Nothing is more difficult, thy brethren, than to reason concerning the truth in the presence of a mixed multitude of people. For that which is may not be spoken to all as it is, on account of those who hear wickedly and treacherously; yet it is not proper to deceive, on account of those who desire to hear the truth sincerely. What, then, shall he do who has to address a mixed multitude? Shall he conceal what is true? How, then, shall he instruct those who are worthy? But if he set forth pure truth to those who do not desire to obtain salvation, he does injury to Him by whom he has been sent, and from whom he has received commandment not to throw the pearls of His words before swine and dogs, who, striving against them with arguments and sophisms, roll them in the mud of carnal understanding, and by their barkings and base answers break and weary the preachers of God's word. Wherefore I also, for the most part, by using a certain circumlocution, endeavor to avoid publishing the chief knowledge concerning the Supreme Divinity to unworthy ears." Then, beginning from the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, he briefly and plainly expounded to us, so that all of us hearing him wondered that men have forsaken the truth, and have turned themselves to vanity.

CHAPTER 12

SECOND DAY'S DISCUSSION

But when the day had dawned, some one came in and said: "There is a very great multitude waiting in the court, and in the midst of them stands

Simon, endeavoring to preoccupy the ears of the people with most wicked persuasions." Then Peter, immediately going out, stood in the place where he had disputed the day before, and all the people turning to him with joy, gave heed to him. But when Simon perceived that the people rejoiced at the sight of Peter, and were moved to love him, he said in confusion: "I wonder at the folly of then, who call me a magician, and love Peter; whereas, having knowledge of me of old, they ought to love me rather. And therefore from this sign those who have sense may understand that Peter may rather seem to be the magician, since affection is not born to me, to whom it is almost due from acquaintance, but is abundantly expended upon him, to whom it is not due by any familiarity."

CHAPTER 13

SIMON A SEDUCER

While Simon was talking on in this style, Peter, having saluted the people in his usual way. thus answered: "O Simon, his own conscience is sufficient for every one to confute him; but if you wonder at this, that those who are acquainted with you not only do not love you but even hate you, learn the reason from me. Since you are a seducer you profess to proclaim the truth; and on this account you had many friends who had a desire to learn the truth. But when they saw in you things contrary to what you professed, they being, as I said, lovers of truth, began not only not to love you, but even to hate you. But yet they did not immediately forsake you, because you still promised that you could show them what is true. As long, therefore, as no one was present who could show them, they bore with you; but since the hope of better instruction has dawned upon them, they despise you, and seek to know what they understand to be better. And you indeed, acting by nefarious arts, thought at first that you should escape detection. But you are detected. For you are driven into a corner, and, contrary to your expectation, you are made notorious, not only as being ignorant of the truth, but as being unwilling to hear it from those who know it. For if you had been willing to hear, that saying would have been exemplified in you, of Him who said that 'there is nothing

hidden which shall not be known, nor covered which shall not be disclosed.'"

CHAPTER 14

SIMON CLAIMS THE FULFILLMENT OF PETER'S PROMISE

While Peter spoke these words, and others to the same effect, Simon answered: "I will not have you detain me with long speeches, Peter; I claim from you what you promised yesterday. You then said that you could show that the law teaches concerning the immensity of the eternal light, and that there are only two heavens, and these created, and that the higher is the abode of that light, in which the ineffable Father dwells alone for ever; but that after the pattern of that heaven is made this visible heaven, which you asserted is to pass away. You said, therefore, that the Father of all is one, because there cannot be two infinites; else neither of them would be infinite, because in that in which the one subsists, he makes a limit of the subsistence of the other. Since then you not only promised this, but are able to show it from the law, leave off other matters and set about this." Then Peter said: "If I were asked to speak of these things only on your account, who come only for the purpose of contradicting, you should never hear a single discourse from me; but seeing it is necessary that the husbandman, wishing to sow good ground, should sow some seeds, either in stony places, or places that are to be trodden of men, or in places filled with brambles and briers (as our Master also set forth, indicating by these the diversities of the purposes of several souls), I shall not delay."

CHAPTER 15

SIMON'S ARROGANCE

Then said Simon: "You seem to me to be angry; but if it be so, it is not necessary to enter into the conflict." Then Peter: "I see that you perceive that you are to be convicted, and you wish politely to escape from the contest; for what have you seen to have made me angry against you, a man

desiring to deceive so great a multitude, and when you have nothing to say, pretending moderation, who also command, forsooth, by your authority that the controversy shall be conducted as you please, and not as order demands?" Then Simon: "I shall enforce myself to bear patiently your unskillfulness, that I may show that you indeed wish to seduce the people, but that I teach the truth. But now I refrain from a discussion concerning that boundless light. Answer me, therefore, what I ask of you. Since God, as you say, made all things, whence comes evil?" Then said Peter: "To put questions in this way is not the part of an opponent, but of a learner. If therefore you wish to learn, confess it; and I shall first teach you how you ought to learn, and when you have learned to listen, then straightway I shall begin to teach you. But if you do not wish to learn, as though you knew all things, I shall first set forth the faith which I preach, and do you also set forth what you think to be true; and when the profession of each of us has been disclosed, let our hearers judge whose discourse is supported by truth." To this Simon answered: "This is a good joke: behold a fellow who offers to teach me! Nevertheless I shall suffer you, and bear with your ignorance and your arrogance. I confess, then, I do wish to learn; let us see how you can teach me."

CHAPTER 16

EXISTENCE OF EVIL

Then Peter said: "If you truly wish to learn, I then first learn this, how unskillfully you have framed your question; for you say, Since. God has created all things, whence is evil? But before you asked this, three sorts of questions should have had the precedence: First, Whether there be evil? Secondly, What evil is? Thirdly, To whom it is, and whence?" To this Simon answered:" Oh thou most unskillful and unlearned, is there any man who does not confess that there is evil in this life? Whence I also, thinking that you had even the common sense of all men, asked, whence evil is; not as wishing to learn, since I know all things, least of all from you, who know nothing, but that I might show you to be ignorant of all things. And that you may not suppose that it is because I am angry that I speak somewhat sternly, know that I am moved with compassion for those who

are present, whom you are attempting to deceive." Then Peter said: "The more wicked are you, if you can do such wrong, not being angry; but smoke must rise where there is fire. Nevertheless I shall tell you, lest I should seem to take you up with words, so as not to answer to those things which you have spoken disorderly. You say that all confess the existence of evil, which is verily false; for, first of all, the whole Hebrew nation deny its existence."

CHAPTER 17

NOT ADMITTED BY ALL

Then Simon, interrupting his discourse, said: "They do rightly who say that there is no evil."

Then Peter answered: "We do not propose to speak of this now, but only to state the fact that the existence of evil is not universally admitted. But the second question that you should have asked is, What is evil? — a substance, an accident, or an act? And many other things of the same sort. And after that, towards what, or how it is, or to whom it is evil, — whether to God, or to angels, or to men, to the righteous or the wicked, to all or to some, to one's self or to no one? And then you should inquire, Whence it is? — whether from God, or from nothing; whether it has always been, or has had its beginning in time; whether it is useful or useless? and many other things which a proposition of this sort demands." To this Simon answered: "Pardon me; I was in error concerning the first question; but suppose that I now ask first, whether evil is or not?"

CHAPTER 18

MANNER OF CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSION

Then Peter said: "In what way do you put the question; as wishing to learn, or to teach or for the sake of raising the question? If indeed as wishing to learn, I have something to teach you first, that coining by consequence and the right order of doctrine, you may understand from

yourself what evil is. But if you put the question as an instructor, I have no need to be taught by you, for I have a Master from whom I have learned all things. But if you ask merely for the sake of raising a question and disputing, let each of us first set forth his opinion, and so let the matter be debated. For it is not reasonable that you should ask as one wishing to learn, and contradict as one teaching, so that after my answer it should be in your discretion to say whether I have spoken well or ill. Wherefore you cannot stand in the place of a gainsayer and be judge of what we say. And therefore, as I said, if a discussion is to be held, let each of us state his sentiments; and while we are placed in conflict, these religious hearers will be just judges."

CHAPTER 19

DESIRE OF INSTRUCTION

Then Simon said: "Does it not seem to you to be absurd that an unskilled people should sit in judgment upon our sayings?" Then Peter: "It is not so; for what perhaps is less clear to one, can be investigated by many, for oftentimes even a popular rumor has the aspect of a prophecy. But in addition to all this, all these people stand here constrained by the love of i God, and by a desire to know the truth, and therefore all these are to he regarded as one, by reason of their affection being one and the same towards the truth; as, on the other hand, two are many and diverse, if they disagree with each other. But if you wish to receive an indication how all these people who stand before us are as one man, consider from their very silence and quietness how with all patience, as you see, they do honor to the truth of God, even before they learn it, for they have not yet learned the greater observance which they owe to it. Wherefore I hope, through the mercy of God, that He will accept the religious purpose of their mind towards Him, and will give the palm of victory to him who preaches the truth, that He may make manifest to them the herald of truth."

CHAPTER 20

COMMON PRINCIPLES

Then Simon: “On what subject do you wish the discussion to be held? Tell me, that I also may define what I think, and so the inquiry may begin.” And Peter answered: “If indeed, you will do as I think right, I would have it done according to the precept of my Master, who first of all commanded the Hebrew nation, whom He knew to have knowledge of God, and that it is He who made the world, not that they should inquire about Him whom they knew, but that, knowing Him, they should investigate His will and His righteousness; because it is placed in men’s power that, searching into these things, they may find, and do, and observe those things concerning which they are to be judged. Therefore He commanded us to inquire, not whence evil cometh, as you asked just now, but to seek the righteousness of the good God, and His kingdom; and all these things, says He, shall be added to you.” Then Simon said: “Since these things are commanded to Hebrews, as having a right knowledge of God, and being of opinion that every one has it in his power to do these things concerning which he is to be judged, — but my opinion differs from theirs, — where do you wish me to begin?”

CHAPTER 21

FREEDOM OF THE WILL

Then said Peter: “I advise that the first inquiry be, whether it be in our power to know whence we are to be judged.” But Simon said: “Not so; but concerning God, about whom all who are present are desirous to hear.” Then Peter: “You admit, then, that something is in the power of the will: only confess this, if it is so, and let us inquire, as you say, concerning God.” To this Simon answered: “By no means” Then Peter said: “If, then, nothing is in our power, it is useless for us to inquire anything concerning God, since it is not in the power of those who seek to find; hence I said well, that this should be the first inquiry, whether anything is in the power of the will.” Then said Simon: “We cannot even understand this that you

say, if there is anything in the power of the will." But Peter, seeing that he was turning to contention, and, through fear of being overcome, was confounding all things as being in general uncertain, answered: "How then do you know that it is not in the power of man to know anything, since this very thing at least you know?"

CHAPTER 22

RESPONSIBILITY

Then Simon said: "I know not whether I know even this; for every one, according as it is decreed to him by fate, either does, or understands, or suffers." Then Peter said: "See, my brethren, into what absurdities Simon has fallen, who before my coining was teaching that men have it in their power to be wise and to do what they will, hut now, driven into a corner by the force of my arguments, he denies that man has any power either of perceiving or of acting; and yet he presumes to profess himself to be a teacher! But tell me how then God judges according to truth every one for his doings, if men have it not in their own power to do anything? If this opinion he held, all things are torn up by the roots; vain will be the desire of following after goodness; yea, even in vain do the judges of the world administer laws and punish those who do amiss, for they had it not in their power not to sin; vain also will be the laws of nations which assign penalties to evil deeds. Miserable also will those be who laboriously keep righteousness; but blessed those who, living in pleasure, exercise tyranny, living in luxury and wickedness. According to this. therefore, there can be neither righteousness, nor goodness, nor any virtue, nor, as you would have it, any God. But, O Simon, I know why you have spoken thus: truly because you wished to avoid inquiry, lest you should be openly confuted; and therefore you say that it is not in the power of man to perceive or to discern anything. But if this had really been your opinion, you would not surely, before my coming, have professed yourself before the people to be a teacher. I say, therefore, that man is under his own control." Then said Simon: "What is the meaning of being under his own control? Tell us." To this Peter: "If nothing can he learned, why do you wish to hear?" And Simon said: "You have nothing to answer to this."

CHAPTER 23

ORIGIN OF EVIL

Then said Peter: “I shall speak, not as under compulsion from you, but at the request of the hearers. The power of choice is the sense of the soul, possessing a quality by which it can be inclined towards what acts it wills.” Then Simon, applauding Peter for what he had spoken, said: “Truly you have expounded it magnificently and incomparably, for it is my duty to bear testimony to your speaking well. Now if you will explain to me this which I now ask you, in all things else I shall submit to you. What I wish to learn, then, is this: if what God wishes to be, is; and what He does not wish to be, is not. Answer me this.” Then Peter: “If you do not know that you are asking an absurd and incompetent question, I shall pardon you and explain; but if you are aware that you are asking inconsequently, you do not well.” Then Simon said: “I swear by the Supreme Divinity, whatsoever that may be, which judges and punishes those who sin, that I know not what I have said inconsequently, or what absurdity there is in my words, that is, in those that I have just uttered.”

CHAPTER 24

GOD THE AUTHOR OF GOOD, NOT OF EVIL

To this Peter answered: “Since, then, you confess that you are ignorant, now learn. Your question demanded our deliverance on two matters that are contrary to one another. For every motion is divided into two parts, so that a certain part is moved by necessity, and another by will; and those things which are moved by necessity are always in motion, those which are moved by will, not always. For example, the sun’s motion is performed by necessity to complete its appointed circuit, and every state and service of heaven depends upon necessary motions. But man directs the voluntary motions of his own actions. And thus there are some things which have been created for this end, that in their services they should he subject to necessity, and should be unable to do aught else than what has been assigned to them; and when they have accomplished this service, the

Creator of all things. who thins arranged them according to His will, preserves them. But there are other things, in which there is a power of will, and which have a free choice of doing what they will. These, as I have said, do not remain always in that order in which they were created: but according as their will leads them, and the judgment of their mind inclines them, they effect either good or evil; and therefore He hath proposed rewards to those who do well, and penalties to those who do evil.

CHAPTER 25

"WHE HATH RESISTED HIS WILL?"

You say, therefore, if God wishes anything to he, it is; and if He do not wish it, it is not. But if I were to answer that what He wishes is, and what He wishes not is not, you would say that then He wishes the evil things to be which are done in the world, since everything that He wishes is, and everything that He wishes not is not. But if I had answered that it is not so that what God wishes is, and what He wishes not is not, then you would retort upon me that God must then be powerless, if He cannot do what He wills; and you would be all the more petulant, as thinking that you had got a victory, though had said nothing to the point. Therefore you are ignorant, O Simon, yea very ignorant, how the will of God acts in each individual case. For some things, as we have said, He has so willed to be, that they cannot be otherwise than as they are ordained by Him; and to these He has assigned neither rewards nor punishments; but those which He has willed to be so that they have it in their power to do what they will, He has assigned to them according to their actions and their wills, to earn either rewards or punishments. Since, therefore, as I have informed you, all things that are moved are divided into two parts, according to the distinction that I formerly stated, everything that God wills is, and everything that He wills not is not.

CHAPTER 26

NO GOODNESS WITHOUT LIBERTY

To this Simon answered: “Was not He able to make us all such that we should be good, and that we should not have it in our power to be otherwise?” Peter answered: “This also is an absurd question. For if He had made us of an unchangeable nature and incapable of being moved away from good, we should not be really good, because we could not be aught else; and it would not be of our purpose that we were good; and what we did would not be ours, but of the necessity of our nature. But how can that be called good which is not done of purpose? And on this account the world required long periods, until the number of souls which were predestined to fill it should be completed, and then that visible heaven should be folded up like a scroll, and that which is higher should appear, and the souls of the blessed, being restored to their bodies, should be ushered into light; but the souls of the wicked, for their impure actions being surrounded with fiery spirit, should be plunged into the abyss of unquenchable fire, to endure punishments through eternity. Now that these things are so, the true Prophet. has testified to us; concerning whom, if you wish to know that He is a prophet, I shall instruct you by innumerable declarations. For of those things which were spoken by Him, even now everything that He said is being fulfilled; and those things which He spoke with respect to the future are believed to be about to be fulfilled, for faith is given to the future from those things which have already come to pass.”

CHAPTER 27

THE VISIBLE HEAVEN: WHY MADE

But Simon, perceiving that Peter was clearly assigning a reason from the head of prophecy, from which the whole question is settled, declined that the discourse should take this turn; and thus answered: “Give me an answer to the questions that I put, and tell me, if that visible heaven is. as you say, to be dissolved, why was it made at first?” Peter answered: “It

was made for the sake of this present life of men, that there might be some sort of interposition and separation, lest any unworthy one might see the habitation of the celestials and the abode of God Himself, which are prepared in order to be seen by those only who are of pure heart. But now, that is in the time of the conflict, it has pleased Him that those things be invisible, which are destined as a reward to the conquerors." Then Simon said: "If the Creator is good, and the world is good, how shall He who is good ever destroy that which is good? But if He shall destroy that which is good, how shall He Himself be thought to be good? But if He shall dissolve and destroy it as evil, how shall He not appear to be evil, who has made that which is evil?"

CHAPTER 28

WHY TO BE DISSOLVED

To this Peter replied: "Since we have promised not to run away from your blasphemies, we endure them patiently, for you shall yourself render an account for the things that you speak. Listen now, therefore. If indeed that heaven which is visible and transient had been made for its own sake, there would have been some reason in what you say, that it ought not to be dissolved. But if it was made not for its own sake, but for the sake of something else, it must of necessity be dissolved, that that for which it seems to have been made may appear. As I might say, by way of illustration, however fairly and carefully the shell of the egg may seem to have been formed, it is yet necessary that it be broken and opened, that the chick may issue from it, and that may appear for which the form of the whole egg seems to have been molded. So also, therefore, it is necessary that the condition of this world pass away, that that sublimer condition of the heavenly kingdom may shine forth."

CHAPTER 29

CORRUPTIBLE AND TEMPORARY THINGS MADE BY THE INCORRUPTIBLE AND ETERNAL

Then Simon: “It does not seem to me that the heaven, which has been made by God, can be dissolved. For things made by the Eternal One are eternal, while things made by a corruptible one are temporary and decaying.” Then Peter: “It is not so. Indeed corruptible and temporary things of all sorts are made by mortal creatures; but the Eternal does not always make things corruptible, nor always incorruptible; but according to the will of God the Creator, so will be the things which He creates. For the power of God is not subject to law, but His will is law to His creatures.” Then Simon answered: “I call you back to the first question. You said now that God is visible to no one; but when that heaven shall be dissolved, and that superior condition of the heavenly kingdom shall shine forth, then those who are pure in heart shall see God; which statement is contrary to the law, for there it is written that God said, ‘None shall see my face and live.’”

CHAPTER 30

HOW THE PURE IN HEART SEE GOD

Then Peter answered: “To those who do not read the law according to the tradition of Moses, my speech appears to be contrary to it; but I will show you how it is not contradictory. God is seen by the mind, not by the body; by the spirit, not by the flesh. Whence also angels, who are spirits, see God; and therefore men, as long as they are men, cannot see Him. But after the resurrection of the dead, when they shall have been made like the angels, they shall be able to see God. And thus my statement is not contrary to the law; neither is that which our Master said, ‘Blessed are they of a pure heart, for they shall see God.’ For He showed that a time shall come in which of men shall be made angels, who in the spirit of their mind shall see God.” After these and many similar sayings, Simon began to assert with many oaths, saying: “Concerning one thing only render me a

reason, whether the soul is immortal, and I shall submit to your will in all things. But let it be tomorrow, for today it is late." When therefore Peter began to speak, Simon went out, and with him a very few of his associates; and that for shame. But all the rest, turning to Peter, on bended knees prostrated themselves before him; and some of those who were afflicted with diverse sicknesses, or invaded by demons, were healed by the prayer of Peter, and departed rejoicing, as having obtained at once the doctrine of the true God, and also His mercy. When therefore the crowds had withdrawn, and only we his attendants remained with him, we sat down on couches placed on the ground, each one recognizing his accustomed place, and having taken food, and given thanks to God, we went to sleep.

CHAPTER 31

DILIGENCE IN STUDY

But on the following day, Peter, as usual, rising before dawn, found us already awake and ready to listen; and thus began: "I entreat you, my brethren and fellow-servants, that if any of you is not able to wake, he should not torment himself through respect to my presence, because sudden change is difficult; but if for a long time one gradually accustoms himself, that will not be distressing which comes of use. For we had not all the same training; although in course of time we shall be able to be molded into one habit, for they say that custom holds the place of a second nature. But I call God to witness that I am not offended, if any one is not able to wake; but rather by this, if, when any one sleeps all through the night, he does not in the course of the day fulfill that which he omitted in the night. For it is necessary to give heed intently and unceasingly, to the study of doctrine, that our mind may be filled with the thought of God only: because in the mind which is filled with the thought of God, no place will be given to the wicked one."

CHAPTER 32

PETER'S PRIVATE INSTRUCTION

When Peter spoke thus to us, every one of us eagerly assured him, that ere now we were awake, being satisfied with short sleep, but that we were afraid to arouse him, because it did not become the disciples to command the master; "and yet even this O Peter we had almost ventured to take upon ourselves, because our hearts, agitated with longing for your words, drove sleep wholly from our eves. But again our affection towards you opposed it, and did not suffer us violently to rouse you." Then Peter said: "Since therefore you assert that you are willingly awake through desire of hearing, I wish to repeat to you more carefully, and to explain in their order, the things that were spoken yesterday without arrangement. And this I propose to do throughout these daily disputations, that by night, when privacy of time and place is afforded, I shall unfold in correct order, and by a straight line of explanation, anything that in the controversy has not been stated with sufficient fullness." And then he began to point out to us how the yesterday's discussion ought to have been conducted, and how it could not be so conducted on account of the contentiousness or the unskillfulness of his opponent; and how therefore he only made use of assertion, and only overthrew what was said by his adversary, but did not expound his own doctrines either completely or distinctly. Then repeating the several matters to us, he discussed them in regular order and with full reason.

CHAPTER 33

LEARNERS AND CAVILLERS

But when the day began to be light, after prayer he went out to the crowds and stood in his accustomed place, for the discussion; and seeing Simon standing in the middle of the crowd, he saluted the people in his usual way, and said to them: "I confess that I am grieved with respect to some men, who come to us in this way that they may learn something, but when we begin to teach them, they profess that they themselves are masters,

and while indeed they ask questions as ignorant persons, they contradict as knowing trees. But perhaps some one will say, that he who puts a question, puts it indeed in order that he may learn, but when that which he hears does not seem to him to be right, it is necessary that he should answer, and that seems to he contradiction which is not contradiction, but further inquiry.

CHAPTER 34

AGAINST ORDER IS AGAINST REASON

“Let such a one then hear this: The teaching of all doctrine has a certain order, and there are some things which must be delivered first, others in the second place, and others in the third, and so all in their order; and if these things be delivered in their order, they become plain; but if they be brought forward out of order, they will seem to be spoken against reason. And therefore order is to be observed above all things, if we seek for the purpose of finding what we seek. For he who enters rightly upon the road, will observe the second place in due order, and from the second will more easily find the third; and the further he proceeds, so much the more will the way of knowledge become open to him, even until he arrive at the city of truth, whither he is bound, and which he desires to reach. But he who is unskillful, and knows not the way of inquiry, — as a traveler in a foreign country, ignorant and wandering, if he will not employ a native of the country as a guide, — undoubtedly when he has strayed from the way of truth, shall remain outside the gates of life, and so, involved in the darkness of black night, shall walk through the paths of perdition. Inasmuch therefore, as, if those things which are to be sought, be sought in an orderly manner, they can most easily be found, but the unskillful man is ignorant of the order of inquiry, it is right that the ignorant man should yield to the knowing one, and first learn’ the order of inquiry, that so at length he may find the method of asking and answering.

CHAPTER 35

LEARNING BEFORE TEACHING

To this Simon replied: “Then truth is not the property of all, but of those only who know the art of disputation, which is absurd; for it cannot be, since He is equally the God of all, that all should not be equally able to know His will.” Then Peter: “All were made equal by Him, and to all He has given equally to be receptive of truth. But that none of those who are born, are born with education, but education is subsequent to birth, no one can doubt. Since, therefore, the birth of men holds equity in this respect, that all are equally capable of receiving discipline, the difference is not in nature, but in education. Who does not know that the things which any one learns, he was ignorant of before he learned them?” Then Simon said: “You say truly.” Then Peter said “If then in those arts which are in common use, one first learns and then teaches, how much more ought those who profess to be the educators of souls, first to learn, and so to teach, that they may not expose themselves to ridicule, if they promise to afford knowledge to others, when they themselves are unskillful?” Then Simon: “This is true in respect of those arts which are in common use; but in the word of knowledge, as soon as any one has heard, he has learned.”

CHAPTER 36

SELF-EVIDENCE OF THE TRUTH,

Then said Peter: “If indeed one hear in an orderly and regular manner he is able to know what is true; but he who refuses to submit to the rule of a reformed life and a pure conversation, which truly is the proper result of knowledge of the truth, will not confess that he knows what he does know. For this is exactly what we see in the case of some who, abandoning the trades which they learned in their youth, betake themselves to other performances, and by way of excusing their own sloth, begin to find fault with the trade as unprofitable.” Then Simon: “Ought all who hear to believe that whatever they hear is true?” Then Peter: “Whoever hears an orderly statement of the truth, cannot by any means gainsay it, but knows

that what is spoken is true, provided he also willingly submit to the rules of life. But those who, when they hear, are unwilling to betake themselves to good works, are prevented by the desire of doing evil from acquiescing in those things which they judge to be right. Hence it is manifest that it is in the power of the hearers to choose which of the two they prefer. But if all who hear were to obey, it would be rather a necessity of nature, leading all in one way. For as no one can be persuaded to become shorter or taller, because the force of nature does not permit it; so also, if either all were converted to the truth by a word, or all were not converted, it would be the force of nature which compelled all in the one case, and none at all in the other, to be converted."

CHAPTER 37

GOD RIGHTEOUS AS WELL AS GOOD

Then said Simon: "Inform us, therefore, what he who desires to know the truth must first learn." Then Peter: "Before all things it must be inquired what it is possible for man to find out. For of necessity the judgment of God turns upon this, if a man was able to do good and did it not. And therefore men must inquire whether they have it in their power by seeking to find what is good, and to do it when they have found it; for this is that for which they are to be judged. But more than this there is no occasion for any one but a prophet to know: for what is the need for men to know how the world was made? This, indeed, would be necessary to be learned if we had to enter upon a similar construction. But now it is sufficient for us, in order to the worship of God, to know that He made the world; hut how He made it is no subject of inquiry for us, because, as I have said, it is not incumbent upon us to acquire the knowledge of that art, as though we were about to make something similar. But neither are we to be judged for this, why we have not learned how the world was made, but only for that, if we be without knowledge of its Creator. For we shall know that the Creator of the world is the righteous and good God, if we seek Him in the paths of righteousness. For if we only know regarding Him that He is good, such knowledge is not sufficient for salvation. For in the present life not only the worthy, but also the unworthy, enjoy His goodness and His

benefits. But if we believe Him to be not only good, but also righteous, and if, according to what we believe concerning God, we observe righteousness in the whole course of our life, we shall enjoy His goodness for ever. In a word, to the Hebrews, whose opinion concerning God was that He is only good, our Master said that they should seek also His righteousness; that is, that they should know that He is good indeed in this present time, that all may live in His goodness, but that He shall be righteous at the day of judgment, to bestow eternal rewards upon the worthy, from which the unworthy shall be excluded.

CHAPTER 38

GOD'S JUSTICE SHOWN AT THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

Then Simon: "How can one and the same being be both good and righteous?" Peter answered: "Because without righteousness, goodness would be unrighteousness; for it is the part of a good God to bestow His sunshine and rain equally on the just and the unjust; but this would seem to be unjust, if He treated the good and the bad always with equal fortune, and were it not that He does it for the sake of the fruits, which all may equally enjoy who are born in this world. But as the rain given by God equally nourishes the corn and the tares, but at the time of harvest the crops are gathered into the barn, but the chaff or the tares are burnt in the fire, so in the day of judgment, when the righteous shall be introduced into the kingdom of heaven, and the unrighteous shall be cast out, then also the justice of God shall be shown. For if He remained for ever alike to the evil and the good, this would not only not be good, but even unrighteous and unjust; that the righteous and the unrighteous should be held by Him in one order of desert."

CHAPTER 39

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

Then said Simon: "The one point on which I should wish to be satisfied is, whether the soul is immortal; for I cannot take up the burden of

righteousness unless I know first concerning the immortality of the soul; for indeed if it is not immortal, the profession of your preaching cannot stand." Then said Peter: "Let us first inquire whether God is just; for if this were ascertained, the perfect order of order of religion would straight-way be established." Then Simon: "With all your boasting of your knowledge of the order of discussion, you seem to me now to have answered contrary to order; for when I ask you to show whether the soul is immortal, you say that we must first inquire whether God is just." Then said Peter: "That is perfectly right and regular." Simon: "I should wish to learn how."

CHAPTER 40

PROVED BY THE SUCCESS OF THE WICKED IN THIS LIFE

"Listen, then," said Peter: "Some men who are blasphemers against God, and who spend their whole life in injustice and pleasure die in their own bed and obtain honorable burial; while others who worship God, and maintain their life frugally with all honesty and sobriety, die in deserted places for their observance of righteousness, so that they are not even thought worthy of burial. Where, then, is the justice of God, if there be no immortal soul to suffer punishment in the future for impious deeds, or enjoy rewards for piety and rectitude?" Then Simon said: "It is this indeed that makes me incredulous, because many well-doers perish miserably, and again many evil-doers finish long lives in happiness."

CHAPTER 41

CAVILS OF SIMON

Then said Peter: "This very thing which draws you into incredulity, affords to us a certain conviction that there shall be a judgment. For since it is certain that God is just, it is a necessary consequence that there is another world, in which every one receiving according to his deserts, shall prove the justice of God. But if all men were now receiving according to their deserts, we should truly seem to be deceivers when we say that there

is a judgment to come; and therefore this very fact, that in the present life a return is not made to every one according to his deeds, affords, to those who know that God is just, an indubitable proof that there shall be a judgment." Then said Simon: "Why, then, am I not persuaded of it?" Peter: "Because you have not heard the true Prophet saying, 'Seek first His righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you.'" Then said Simon: "Pardon me if I am unwilling to seek righteousness, before I know if the soul is immortal." Then Peter: "You also pardon me this one thing, because I cannot do otherwise than the Prophet of truth has instructed me." Then said Simon: "It is certain that you cannot assert that the soul is immortal, and therefore you cavil, knowing that if it be proved to be mortal, the whole profession of that religion which you are attempting to propagate will be plucked up by the roots. And therefore, indeed, I commend your prudence, while I do not approve your persuasiveness; for you persuade many to embrace your religion, and to submit to the restraint of pleasure, in hope of future good things; to whom it happens that they lose the enjoyment of things present, and are deceived with hopes of things future. For as soon as they die, their soul shall at the same time be extinguished."

CHAPTER 42

"FULL OF ALL SUBTLETY AND ALL MISCHIEF."

But Peter, when he heard him speak thus, grinding his teeth, and rubbing his forehead with his hand, and sighing with profound grief, said: "Armed with the cunning of the old serpent, you stand forth to deceive souls; and therefore, as the serpent is more subtle than any other beast, you profess that you are a teacher from the beginning. And again, like the serpent you wished to introduce many gods; but now, being confuted in that, you assert that there is no God at all. For by occasion of I know not what unknown God, you denied that the Creator of the world is God, but asserted that He is either an evil being, or that He has many equals, or, as we have said, that He is not God at all. And when you had been overcome in this position, you now assert that the soul is mortal, so that men may not live righteously and uprightly in hope of things to come. For if there

be no hope for the future, why should not mercy be given up, and men indulge in luxury and pleasures, from which it is manifest that all unrighteousness springs? And while you introduce so impious a doctrine into the miserable life of men, you call yourself pious, and me impious, because, under the hope of future good things, I will not suffer men to take up arms and fight against one another, plunder and subvert everything, and attempt whatsoever lust may dictate. And what will be the condition of that life which you would introduce, that men will attack and be attacked, be enraged and disturbed, and live always in fear.? For those who do evil to others must expect like evil to themselves. Do you see that you are a leader of disturbance and not of peace, of iniquity and not of equity? But I feigned anger, not because I could not prove that the soul is immortal, but because I pity the souls which you are endeavoring to deceive. I shall speak, therefore, but not as compelled by you; for I know how I should speak; and you will be the only one who wants not so much persuasion as admonition on this subject. But those who are really ignorant of this, I shall instruct as is suitable."

CHAPTER 43

SIMON'S SUBTERFUGES

Then says Simon: "If you are angry, I shall neither ask you any questions, nor do I wish to hear you." Then Peter: "If you are now seeking a pretext for escaping, you have full liberty, and need not use any special pretext. For all have heard you speaking all amiss, and have perceived that you can prove nothing, but that you only asked questions for the sake of contradiction; which any one can do. For what difficulty is there in replying, after the clearest proofs have been adduced, 'You have said nothing to the purpose?' But that you may know that I am able to prove to you in a single sentence that the soul is immortal, I shall ask you with respect to a point which all know; answer me, and I shall prove to you in one sentence that it is immortal." Then Simon, who had thought that he had got, from the anger of Peter, a pretext for departing, stopped on account of the remarkable promise that was made to him, and said: "Ask

me then, and I shall answer you what all know, that I may hear in a single sentence, as you have promised, how the soul is immortal."

CHAPTER 44

SIGHT OR HEARING?

Then Peter: "I shall speak so that it may be proved to you before all the rest. Answer me, therefore, which of the two can better persuade an incredulous man. seeing or hearing?" Then Simon said: "Seeing." Then Peter: "Why then do you wish to learn from me by words, what is proved to you by the thing itself and by sight?" Then Simon: "I know not what you mean." Then Peter: "If you do not know, go now to your house, and entering the inner bed-chamber you will see an image placed, containing the figure of a murdered boy clothed in purple; ask him, and he will inform you either by hearing or seeing. For what need is there to hear from him if the soul is immortal, when you see it standing before you? For if it were not in being, it assuredly' could not be seen. But if you know not what image I speak of, let us straightway go to your house, with ten other men, of those who are here present."

CHAPTER 45

A HOME-THRUST

But Simon hearing this, and being smitten by his conscience, changed color and became bloodless; for he was afraid, if he denied it, that his house would be searched, or that Peter in his indignation would betray him more openly, and so all would learn what he was. Thus he answered: "I beseech thee, Peter, by that good God who is in thee, to overcome the wickedness that is in me. Receive me to repentance, and you shall have me as an. assistant in your preaching. For now I have learned in very deed that you are a prophet of the true God, and therefore you alone know the secret and hidden things of men." Then said Peter: "You see, brethren, Simon seeking repentance; in a little while you shall see him returning again to his infidelity. For, thinking that I am a prophet, forasmuch as I have disclosed

his wickedness, which he supposed to be secret and hidden, he has promised that he will repent. But it is not lawful for me to lie, nor must I deceive, whether this infidel be saved or not saved. For I call heaven and earth to witness, that I spoke not by a prophetic spirit what I said, and what I intimated, as far as was possible, to the listening crowds; liter I learned from some who once were his associates in his works, but have now been converted to our faith, what things he did in secret. Therefore I spoke what I knew, not what I foreknew."

CHAPTER 46

SIMON'S RAGE

But when Simon heard this, he assailed Peter with curses and reproaches, saying: "Oh most wicked and most deceitful of men, to whom fortune, not truth, hath given the victory. But I sought repentance not for defect of knowledge, but in order that you, thinking that by repentance I should become your disciple, might entrust to me all the secrets of your profession. and so at length, knowing them all, I might confute you. But as you cunningly understood for what reason I had pretended penitence, and acquiesced as if you did not understand my stratagem, that you might first expose me in presence of the people as unskillful, then fore-seeing that being thus exposed to the people, I must of necessity be indignant, and confess that I was not truly penitent, you anticipated me, that you might say, that I should, after my penitence, again return to my infidelity, that you might seem to have conquered on all sides, both if I continued in the penitence which I hart professed, and if I did not continue; and so you should be believed to be wise, because you had foreseen these things, while I should seem to be deceived, because I did not foresee your trick. But you foreseeing mine, have used subtlety and circumvented me. But, as I said, your victory is the result of fortune, not of truth: yet I know why I did not foresee this; because I stood by you and spoke with you in my, goodness, and bore patiently with you. But now I shall show you the power of my divinity, so that you shall quickly fall down and worship me.

CHAPTER 47

SIMON'S VAUNT

"I am the first power, who am always, and without beginning. But having entered the womb of Rachel, I was born of her as a man, that I might be visible to men. I have flown through the air; I have been mixed with fire, and been made one betty with it; I have made statues to move; I have animated lifeless things; I have made stones bread; I have flown front mountain to mountain; I have moved from place to place, upheld by angels' hands, and have lighted on the earth. Not only bare I done these things; but even now I am able to do them, that by facts I may prove to all, that I am the Son of God, enduring to eternity, and that I can make those who believe on me endure in like manner for ever. But your words are all vain; nor can you perform any real works such as I have now mentioned, as he also who sent you is a magician, who yet could not deliver himself from the suffering of the cross."

CHAPTER 48

ATTEMPTS TO CREATE A DISTURBANCE

To this speech of Simon, Peter answered: "Do not meddle with the things that belong to others; for that you are a magician, you have confessed and made manifest by the very deeds that you have done; but our Master, who is the Son of God and of man, is manifestly good; and that he is truly the Son of God has been told, and shall be told to those to whom it is fitting. But if your will not confess that you are a magician, let us go, with all this multitude, to your house, and then it will be evident who is a magician." While Peter was speaking thus, Simon began to assail him with blasphemies and curses, that he might make a riot, and excite all so that he could not be refuted, and that Peter, withdrawing on account of his blasphemy, might seem to be overcome. But he stood fast, and began to charge him more vehemently.

CHAPTER 49

SIMON'S RETREAT

Then the people in indignation cast Simon from the court, and drove him forth from the gate of the house; and only one person followed him when he was driven out. Then silence being obtained, Peter began to address the people in this manner: "You ought, brethren, to bear with wicked men patiently; knowing that although God could cat them off, yet He suffers them to remain even till the day appointed, in which judgment shall pass upon all. Why then should not we bear with those whom, God suffers? Why should not we bear with fortitude the wrongs that they do to us, when He who is almighty does not take vengeance on them, that both His own goodness and the impiety of the wicked may be known? But if the wicked one had not found Simon to be his minister, he would doubtless have found another: for it is of necessity that in this life offenses come, 'but woe to that man by whom they come;' and therefore Simon is rather to be mourned over, because he has become a choice vessel for the wicked one, which undoubtedly would not have happened had he not received power over him for ills former sins. For why should I further say that he once believed in our Jesus, and was persuaded that Souls are immortal? Although in this he is deluded by demons, yet he has persuaded himself that he has the soul of a murdered boy ministering to him in whatever he pleases to employ it in; in which truly, as I have said, he is deluded by demons, and therefore I spoke to him according to his own ideas: for he has learned from the Jews, that judgment and vengeance are to be brought forth against those who set themselves against the true faith, and do not repent. But here are men to whom, as being perfect in crimes, the wicked one appears, that he may deceive them, so that they may never be turned to repentance.

CHAPTER 50

PETER'S BENEDICTION

"You therefore who are turned to the Lord by repentance, bend to Him your knees." When he had said this, all the multitude bent their knees to God; and Peter, looking towards heaven, prayed for them with tears that God, for His goodness, would deign to receive those betaking themselves to Him. And after he had prayed and had instructed them to meet early the next day, he dismissed the multitude. Then according to custom, having taken food, we went to sleep.

CHAPTER 51

PETER'S ACCESSIBILITY

Peter, therefore, rising at the usual hour of the night. found us waking; and when, saluting us, in his usual manner, he had taken his seat, first of all Niceta, said: "If you will permit me, my Lord Peter, I have something to ask of you." Then Peter said: "I permit not only you, but all, and not only now, but always, that every one confess what moves him, and the part in his mind that is pained, in order that he may obtain healing. For things which are covered with silence, and are not made known to us, are cured with difficulty, like maladies of long standing; and therefore, since the medicine of seasonable and necessary discourse cannot easily be applied t those who keep silence, every one ought to declare in what respect his mind is feeble through ignorance. But to him who keeps silence, it belongs to God alone to give a remedy. We indeed also can do it, but by the lapse of a long time. For it is necessary than the discourse of doctrine, proceeding in order from the beginning, and meeting each single question, should disclose all things, and resolve and reach to all things, even to that which every one required in his mind; but that, as I have said, can only be done in the course of a long time. Now, then, ask what you please."

CHAPTER 52

FALSE SIGNS AND MIRACLES

Then Niceta said: “I give you abundant thanks, O most clement Peter; but this is what I desire to learn. how Simon, who is the enemy of God, is able to do such and so great things? For indeed he told no lie in his declaration of what he has done.” To this the blessed Peter thus answered: “God, who is one and true, has resolved to prepare good and faithful friends for His first begotten; but knowing that none can be good, unless they have in their power that perception by which they may become good, that they may be of their own intent what they choose to be, — and otherwise they could not be truly good, if they were kept in goodness not by purpose, but by necessity, — has given to every one the power of his own will, that he may be what he wishes to be. And again, foreseeing that that power of will would make some choose good things and others evil, and so that the human race would necessarily be divided into two classes, He has permitted each class to choose both a place and a king, whom they would. For the good King; rejoices in the good, and the wicked one in the evil. And although I have expounded those things more fully to you, O Clement, in that treatise in which I discoursed on predestination and the end, yet it is fitting that I should now make clear to Niceta also, as he asks me, what is the reason than Simon, whose thoughts are against God, is able to do so great marvels.

CHAPTER 53

SELF-LOVE THE FOUNDATION OF GOODNESS

“First of all, then, he is evil, in the judgment of God, who will not inquire what is advantageous to himself. For how can any one love another, if he does not love himself? Or to whom will that man not be an enemy, who cannot be a friend to himself? In order, therefore, that there might be a distinction between those who choose good and those who choose evil, God has concealed that which is profitable to men, i.e., the possession of the kingdom of heaven, and has laid it up and hidden it as a secret treasure,

so that no one can easily attain it by his own power or knowledge. Yet He has brought the report of it, under various names and opinions, through successive generations, to the hearing of all: so that whosoever should be lovers of good, hearing it, might inquire and discover what is profitable and salutary to them; but that they should ask it, not from themselves, but from Him who has hidden it, and should pray that access and the way of knowledge might be given to them: which way is opened to those only who love it above all the good things of this world; and on no other condition can any one even understand it, however wise he may seem; but that those who neglect to inquire what is profitable and salutary to themselves, as self-haters and self-enemies, should be deprived of its good things, as lovers of evil things.

CHAPTER 54

GOD TO BE SUPREMELY LOVED

“It behoves, therefore, the good to love that way above all things, that is, above riches, glory, rest, parents, relatives, friends, and everything in the world. But he who perfectly loves this possession of the kingdom of heaven, will undoubtedly cast away all practice of evil habit, negligence, sloth, malice, anger, and such like. For if you prefer any of these to it, as loving the vices of your own lust more than God, you shall not attain to the possession of the heavenly kingdom; for truly it is foolish to love anything more than God. For whether they be parents, they die; or relatives, they do not continue; or friends, they change. But God alone is eternal, and abideth unchangeable. He, therefore, who will not seek after that which is profitable to himself, is evil, to such an extent that his wickedness exceeds the very prince of impiety. For he abuses the goodness of God to the purpose of his own wickedness, and pleases himself; but the other neglects the good things of his own salvation, that by his own destruction he may please the evil one.

CHAPTER 55

TEN COMMANDMENTS CORRESPONDING TO THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT

“On account of those, therefore, who by neglect of their own salvation please the evil one, and those who by study of their own profit seek to please the good One, ten things have been prescribed as a test to this present age, according to the number of the ten plagues which were brought upon Egypt. For when Moses, according to the commandment of God, demanded of Pharaoh that he should let the people go, and in token of his heavenly commission showed signs, his rod being thrown upon the ground was turned into a serpent. And when Pharaoh could not by these means be brought to consent, as having freedom of will, again the magicians seemed to do similar signs, by permission of God, that the purpose of the king might be proved from the freedom of his will, whether he would rather believe the signs wrought by Moses, who was sent by God, or those which the magicians rather seemed to work than actually wrought. For truly he ought to have understood from their very name that they were not workers of truth, because they were not called messengers of God, but magicians, as the tradition also intimates. Moreover, they seemed to maintain the contest up to a certain point, and afterwards they confessed of themselves, and yielded to their superior. Therefore the last plague is inflicted, the destruction of the first-born, and then Moses is commanded to consecrate the people by the sprinkling of blood; and so, gifts being presented, with much entreaty he is asked to depart with the people.

CHAPTER 56

SIMON RESISTED PETER, AS THE MAGICIANS MOSES

“In a similar transaction I see that I am even now engaged. For as then, when Moses exhorted the king to believe God, the magicians opposed him by a pretended exhibition of similar signs, and so kept back the unbelievers

from salvation; so also now, when I have come forth to teach all nations to believe in the true God, Simon the magician resists me, acting in opposition to me, as they also did in opposition to Moses; in order that whosoever they be from among the nations that do not use sound judgment, they may be made manifest; but that those may be saved who rightly distinguish signs from signs." While Peter thus spoke, Niceta answered: "I beseech you that you would permit me to state whatever occurs to my mind." Then Peter, being delighted with the eagerness of his disciples, said: "Speak what you will."

CHAPTER 57

MIRACLES OF THE MAGICIANS

Then said Niceta: "In what respect did the Egyptians sin in not believing Moses, since the magicians wrought like signs, even although they were done rather in appearance than in truth? For if I had been there then, should I not have thought, from the fact that the magicians did like things to those which Moses did, either that Moses was a magician, or that the magicians wrought their signs by divine commission? For I should not have thought it likely that the same things could be effected by magicians, even in appearance, which he who was sent by God performed. And now, in what respect do they sin who believe Simon, since they see him do so great marvels? Or is it not marvelous to fly through the air, to be so mixed with fire as to become one body with it, to make statues walk, brazen dogs bark, and other such like things, which assuredly are sufficiently wonderful to those who know not how to distinguish? Yea, he has also been seen to make bread of stones. But if he sins who believes those who do signs, how shall it appear that he also does not sin who has believed our Lord for His signs and works of power?"

CHAPTER 58

TRUTH VEILED WITH LOVE

Then said Peter: “I take it well that you bring the truth to the rule, and do not suffer hindrances of faith to lurk in your soul. For thus you can easily obtain the remedy. Do you remember that I said, that the worst of all things is when any one neglects to learn what is for his good?” Niceta answered: “I remember.” Then Peter: “And again, that God has veiled His truth, that He may disclose it to those who faithfully follow Him?” “Neither,” said Niceta, “have I forgotten this.” Then said Peter: “What think you then? That God has buried His truth deep in the earth, and has heaped mountains upon it, that it may be found by those only who are able to dig down into the depths? It is not so; but as He has surrounded the mountains and the earth with the expanse of heaven, so hath He veiled the truth with the curtain of His own love, that he alone may be able to reach it, who has first knocked at the gate of divine love.

CHAPTER 59

GOOD AND EVIL IN PAIRS

“For, as I was beginning to say, God has appointed for this world certain pairs; and he who comes first of the pairs is of evil, he who comes second, of good. And in this is given to every man an occasion of right judgment, whether he is simple or prudent. For if he is simple, and believes him who comes first, though moved thereto by signs and prodigies, he must of necessity, for the same reason, believe him who comes second; for he will be persuaded by signs and prodigies, as he was before. When he believes this second one, he will learn from him that he ought not to believe the first, who comes of evil; and so the error of the former is corrected by the emendation of the latter. But if he will not receive the second, because he has believed the first, he will deservedly be condemned as unjust; for unjust it is, that when he believed the first on account of his signs, he will not believe the second, though he bring the same, or even greater signs. But if he has not believed the first, it follows that he may be moved to believe

the second. For his mind has not become so completely inactive but that it may be roused by the redoubling of marvels. But if he is prudent, he can make distinction of the signs. And if indeed he has believed in the first, he will be moved to the second by the increase in the miracles, and by comparison he will apprehend which are better; although clear tests of miracles are recognized by all learned men, as we have shown in the regular order of our discussion. But if any one, as being whole and not needing a physician, is not moved to the first, he will be drawn to the second by the very continuance of the thing, and will make a distinction of signs and marvels after this fashion; — he who is of the evil one, the signs that he works do good to no one; but those which the good man worketh are profitable to men.

CHAPTER 60

USELESSNESS OF PRETENDED MIRACLES

“For tell me, I pray you, what is the use of showing statues walking, dogs of brass or stone barking, mountains dancing, of flying through the air, and such like things, which you say that Simon did? But those signs which are of the good One, are directed to the advantage of men. as are those which were done by our Lord, who gave sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf, raised up the feeble and the lame, drove away sicknesses and demons, raised the dead, and did other like things, as you see also that I do. Those signs, therefore, which make for the benefit of men, and confer some good upon them, the wicked one cannot do, excepting only at the end of the world. For then it shall be permitted him to mix hip with his signs some good ones, as the expelling of demons or the healing of diseases; by this means going beyond his bounds, and being divided against himself, and fighting against himself, he shall be destroyed. And therefore the Lord has foretold, that in the last t rues there shall be such temptation, that, if it be possible, the very elect shall be deceived; that is to say, that by the marks of signs being confused, even those must be disturbed who seem to be expert in discovering spirits and distinguishing miracles.

CHAPTER 61

TEN PAIRS

“The ten pairs of which we have spoken have therefore been assigned to this world from the beginning of time. Cain and Abel were one pair. The second was the giants and Noah; the third, Pharaoh and Abraham; the fourth, the Philistines and Isaac; the fifth, Esau and Jacob; the sixth, the magicians and Moses the lawgiver; the seventh, the tempter and the Son of man; the eighth, Simon and I, Peter; the ninth, all nations, and he who shall be sent to sow the word among the nations; the tenth, Antichrist and Christ. Concerning these pairs we shall give you fuller information at another time.” When Peter spoke thus, Aquila said: “Truly there is need of constant teaching, that one may learn what is true about everything.”

CHAPTER 62

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

But Peter said: “Who is he that is earnest toward instruction, and that studiously inquires into every particular, except him who loves his own soul to salvation, and renounces all the affairs of this world, that he may have leisure to attend to the word of God only? Such is he whom alone the true Prophet deems wise, even he who sells all that he has and buys the one true pearl, who understands what is the difference between temporal things and eternal, small and great, men and God. For he understands what is the eternal hope in presence of the true and good God. But who is he that loves God, save him who knows His wisdom? And how can any one obtain knowledge of God’s wisdom, unless he be constant in hearing His word? Whence it comes, that he conceives a love for Him, and venerates Him with worthy honor, pouring out hymns and prayers to Him, and most pleasantly resting in these, accounteth it his greatest damage if at any time he speak or do aught else even for a moment of time; because, in reality, the soul which is filled with the love of God can neither look upon anything except what pertains to God, nor, by reason of love of Him, can be satisfied with meditating upon those things which it knows to be

pleasing to Him. But those who have not conceived affection for Him, nor bear His love lighted up in their mind, are as it were placed in darkness and cannot see light; and therefore, even before they begin to learn anything of God, they immediately faint as though worn out by labor; and filled with weariness, they are straightway hurried by their own peculiar habits to those words with which they are pleased. For it is wearisome and annoying to such persons to hear anything about God; and that for the reason I have stated, because their mind has received no sweetness of divine love."

CHAPTER 63

A DESERTER FROM SIMON'S CAMP

While Peter was thus speaking, the day dawned; and, behold, one of the disciples of Simon came, crying out: "I beseech thee, O Peter, receive me, a wretch, who have been deceived by Simon the magician, to whom I gave heed as to a heavenly God, by reason of those miracles which I saw him perform. But when I heard your discourses, I began to think him a man, and indeed a wicked man; nevertheless, when he went out from this I alone followed him, for I had not yet clearly perceived his impieties. But when he saw me following him, he called me blessed, and led me to his house; and about the middle of the night he said to me, 'I shall make you better than all men, if you will remain with me even till the end.' When I had promised him this, he demanded of me an oath of perseverance; and having got this, he placed upon my shoulders some of his polluted and accursed secret things, that I might carry them, and ordered me to follow him. But when we came to the sea, he went aboard a boat which happened to be there, and took from my neck what he had ordered me to carry. And as he came out a little after, bringing nothing with him, he must have thrown it into the sea. Then he asked me to go with him, saying that he was going to Rome, and that there he would please the people so much, that he should be reckoned a God, and publicly gifted with divine honors. 'Then,' said he, 'if you wish to return hither, I shall send you back, loaded with all riches, and upheld by various services.' When I heard this, and saw nothing in him in accordance with this profession, but perceived that he was a

magician and a deceiver, I answered: ‘Pardon me, I pray you; for I have a pain in my feet, and therefore I ant not able to leave Caesarea. Besides, I have a wife and little children, whom I cannot leave by any means.’ When he heard this, he charged me with sloth, and set out towards Dora, saying, ‘You will be sorry, when you hear what glory I shall get in the city of Rome.’ And after this he set out for Rome, as he said; but I hastily returned hither, entreating you to receive me to penitence, because I have been deceived by him.”

CHAPTER 64

DECLARATION OF SIMON’S WICKEDNESS

When he who had returned from Simon had thus spoken, Peter ordered him to sit down in the court. And he himself going forth, and seeing immense crowds, far more than on the previous days, stood in his usual place; and pointing out him who had come, began to discourse as follows: “This man whom I point out to you, brethren, has just come to me, telling me of the wicked practices of Simon, and how he has thrown the implements of his wickedness into the sea, not induced to do so by repentance, but being afraid lest, being detected, he should be subjected to the public laws. And he asked this man, as he tells me, to remain with him, promising him immense gifts; and when he could not persuade him to do so, he left him, reproaching him for sluggishness, and set out for Rome.” When Peter had intimated this to the crowd, the man himself who had returned from Simon stood up, and began to state to the people everything relating to Simon’s crimes. And when they were shocked by the things which they heard that Simon had done by his magical acts, Peter said:

CHAPTER 65

PETER RESOLVES TO FOLLOW SIMON

“Be not, my brethren, distressed by those things that have been done, but give heed to the future: for what is passed is ended; but the things which threaten are dangerous to those who shall fall in with them. For offenses

shall never be wanting in this world, so long as the enemy is permitted to act according to his will; in order that the prudent and those who understood his wiles may be conquerors in the contests which he raises against them; but that those who neglect to learn the things that pertain to the salvation of their souls, may be taken by him with merited deceptions. Since, therefore, as you have heard, Simon has gone forth to preoccupy the ears of the Gentiles who are called to salvation, it is necessary that I also follow upon his track, so that whatever disputations he raises may be corrected by us. But inasmuch as it is right that greater anxiety should be felt concerning you who are already received within the walls of life, — for if that which has been actually acquired perish, a positive loss is sustained; while with respect to that which has not yet been acquired, if it can be got, there is so much gain; but if not, the only loss is that there is no gain; — in order, therefore, that you may be more and more confirmed in the truth, and the nations who are called to salvation may in no way be prevented by the wickedness of Simon, I have thought good to ordain Zacchaeus as pastor over you, and to remain with you myself for three months; and so to go to the Gentiles, lest through our delaying longer, and the crimes of Simon stalking in every direction, they should become incurable."

CHAPTER 66

ZACCHAEUS MADE BISHOP OF CAESAREA; PRESBYTERS AND DEACONS ORDAINED

At this announcement all the people wept, hearing that he was going to leave them; and Peter, sympathizing with them, himself also shed tears; and looking up to heaven, he said: "To Thee, O God, who hast made heaven and earth, and all things that are in them, we pour out the prayer of supplication, that Thou wouldest comfort those who have recourse to Thee in their tribulation. For by reason of the affection that they have towards Thee, they do love me who have declared to them Thy truth. Wherefore guard them with the right hand of Thy compassion; for neither Zacchaeus nor any other man can be a sufficient guardian to them." When he had said this, and more to the same effect, he laid his hands upon Zacchaeus, and prayed that he might blamelessly discharge the duty of his

bishopric. Then he ordained twelve presbyters and four deacons, and said: “I have ordained you this Zacchaeus as a bishop, knowing that he has the fear of God, and is expert in the Scriptures. You ought therefore to honor him as holding the place of Christ, obeying him for your salvation, and knowing that whatever honor and whatever injury is done to him, redounds to Christ, and from Christ to God. Hear him therefore with all attention, and receive from him the doctrine of the faith; and from the presbyters the monitions of life; and from the deacons the order of discipline. Have a religious care of widows; vigorously assist orphans; take pity on the poor; teach the young modesty; — and in a word, sustain one another as circumstances shall demand; worship God, who created heaven and earth; believe in Christ; love one another; be compassionate to all; and fulfill charity not only in word, but in act and deed.”

CHAPTER 67

INVITATION TO BAPTISM

When he had given them these and such like precepts, he made proclamation to the people, saying: “Since I have resolved to stay three months with you, if any one desires it, let him be baptized; that, stripped of his former evils, he may for the future, in consequence of his own conduct, become heir of heavenly blessings, as a reward for his good actions. Whosoever will, then, let him come to Zacchaeus and give his name to him, and let him hear from him the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Let him attend to frequent fastings, and approve himself in all things, that at the end of these three months he may be baptized on the day of the festival. But every one of you shall be baptized in ever flowing waters, the name of the Trine Beatitude being invoked over him; he being first anointed with oil sanctified by prayer, that so at length, being consecrated by these things, he may attain a perception of holy things.”

CHAPTER 68

TWELVE SENT BEFORE HIM

And when he had spoken at length on the subject of baptism, he dismissed the crowd, and betook himself to his usual place of abode; and there, while the twelve stood around him (viz. Zacchaeus and Sophonias, Joseph and Michaeus, Eleazar and Phineas, Lazarus and Eliseus, I Clement and Nicodemus, Niceta and Aquila), he addressed us to the following effect: “Let us, my brethren, consider what is right; for it is our duty to bring some help to the nations, which are called to salvation. You have yourselves heard that Simon has set out, wishing to anticipate our journey. Him we should have followed step by step, that wheresoever he tries to subvert any, we might immediately confute him. But since it appears to me to be unjust to forsake those who have been already converted to God, and to bestow our care upon those who are still afar off, I think it right that I should remain three months with those in this city who have been turned to the faith, and should strengthen them; and yet that we should not neglect those who are still far off, lest haply, if they be long infected with the power of pernicious doctrine, it be more difficult to recover them. Therefore I wish (only, however, if you also think it right), that for Zacchaeus, whom we have now ordained bishop, Benjamin the son of Saba be substituted; and for Clement (whom I have resolved to have always by me, because, coming from the Gentiles, he has a great desire to hear the word of God) there be substituted Ananias the son of Safra; and for Niceta and Aquila, who have been but lately converted to the faith of Christ, Rubelus the brother of Zacchaeus, and Zacharias the builder. I wish, therefore, to complete the number of twelve by substituting these four for the other four, that Simon may feel that I in them am always with him.”

CHAPTER 69

ARRANGEMENTS APPROVED BY ALL THE BRETHREN

Having therefore separated me, Clement, and Niceta and Aquila, he said to those twelve: “I wish you the day after tomorrow to proceed to the

Gentiles, and to follow in the footsteps of Simon, that you may inform me of all his proceedings. You will also inquire diligently the sentiments of every one, and announce to them that I shall come to them without delay; and, in short, in all places instruct the Gentiles to expect my coming." When he had spoken these things, and others to the same effect, he said: "You also, my brethren, if you have anything to say to these things, say on, lest haply it be not right which seems good to me alone." Then all, with one voice applauding him, said: "We ask you rather to arrange everything according to your own judgment, and to order what seems good to yourself; for this we think to be the perfect work of piety, if we fulfill what you command."

CHAPTER 70

DEPARTURE OF THE TWELVE

Therefore, on the day appointed, when they had ranged themselves before Peter, they said: "Do not think, O Peter, that it is a small grief to us that we are to be deprived of the privilege of hearing you for three months; but since it is good for us to do what you order, we shall most readily obey. We shall always retain in our hearts the remembrance of your face; and so we set out actively, as you have commanded us." Then he, having poured out a prayer to the Lord for them, dismissed them. And when those twelve who had been sent forward had gone, Peter entered, according to custom, and stood in the place of disputation. And a multitude of people had come together, even a larger number than usual; and all with tears gazed upon him, by reason of what they had heard from him the day before, that he was about to go forth on account of Simon. Then, seeing them weeping, he himself also was similarly affected, although he endeavored to conceal and to restrain his tears. But the trembling of his voice, and the interruption of his discourse, betrayed that he was distressed by similar emotion.

CHAPTER 71

PETER PREPARES THE CAESAREANS FOR HIS DEPARTURE

However, rubbing his forehead with his hand, he said: “Be of good courage, my brethren, and comfort your sorrowful hearts by means of counsel, referring all things to God, whose will alone is to be fulfilled and to be preferred in all things. For let us suppose for a moment, that by reason of the affection that we have towards you, we should act against His will, and remain with you, is He not able, by sending death upon me, to appoint to me a longer separation from you? And therefore it is better for us to carry out this shorter separation with His will, as those to whom it is prescribed to obey God in all things. Hence you also ought to obey Him with like submission, inasmuch as you love me from no other reason than on account of your love of Him. As friends of God, therefore, acquiesce in His will; but also judge yourselves what is right. Would it not have seemed wicked, if, when Simon was deceiving you, I had been detained by the brethren in Jerusalem, and had not come to you, and that although you had Zacchaeus among you, a good and eloquent man? So now also consider that it would be wicked, if, when Simon has gone forth to assail the Gentiles, who are wholly without a defender, I should be detained by you, and should not follow him. Wherefore let us see to it, that we do not, by an unreasonable affection, accomplish the will of the wicked one.

CHAPTER 72

MORE THAN TEN THOUSAND BAPTIZED

“Meantime I shall remain with you three months, as I promised. Be ye constant in hearing the word; and at the end of that time, if any are able and willing to follow us, they may do so, if duty will admit of it. And when I say if duty will admit I mean that no one by his departure must sadden any one who ought not to be saddened, as by leaving parents who ought not to be left, or a faithful wife, or any other person to whom he is

bound to afford comfort for God's sake." Meantime, disputing and teaching day by day, he filled up the tithe appointed with the labor of teaching; and when the festival day arrived, upwards of ten thousand were baptized.

CHAPTER 73

TIDINGS OF SIMON

But in those days a letter was received from the brethren who had gone before, in which were detailed the crimes of Simon, how going from city to city he was deceiving multitudes, and everywhere maligning Peter, so that, when he should come, no one might afford him a hearing. For he asserted that Peter was a magician, a godless man, injurious, cunning, ignorant, and professing impossible things. "For," says he, "he asserts that the dead shall rise again, which is impossible. But if any one attempts to confute him, he is cut off by secret snares by him, through means of his attendants. Wherefore, I also," says he, "when I had vanquished him and triumphed over him, fled for fear of his snares, lest he should destroy me by incantations, or compass my death by plots." They intimated also that he mainly stayed at Tripolis.

CHAPTER 74

FAREWELL TO CAESAREA

Peter therefore ordered the letter to be read to the people; and after the reading of it, he addressed them and gave them full instructions about everything, but especially that they should obey Zacchaeus, whom he had ordained bishop over them. Also he commended the presbyters and the deacons to the people, and not less the people to them. And then, announcing that he should spend the winter at Tripolis, he said: "I commend you to the grace of God, being about to depart tomorrow, with God's will. But during the whole three months which he spent at Caesarea, for the sake of instruction, whatever he discoursed of in the presence of the people in the day-time, he explained more fully and

perfectly in the night, in private to us, as more faithful and completely approved by him. And at the same time he commanded me, because he understood that I carefully stored in my memory what I heard, to commit to writing whatever seemed worthy of record, and to send it to you, my Lord James, as also I did, in obedience to his command.

CHAPTER 75

CONTENTS OF CLEMENT'S DESPATCHES TO JAMES

The first book, therefore, of those that I formerly sent to you, contains an account of the true Prophet, and of the peculiarity of the understanding of the law, according to what the tradition of Moses teacheth. The second contains an account of the beginning, and whether there be one beginning or many, and that the law of the Hebrews knows what immensity is. The third, concerning God, and those things that have been ordained by Him. The fourth, that though there are many that are called gods, there is but one true God, according to the testimonies of the Scriptures. The fifth, that there are two heavens, one of which is that visible firmament which shall pass away, but the other is eternal and invisible. The sixth, concerning good and evil; and that all things are subjected to good by the Father; and why, and how, and whence evil is, and that it co-operates with good, but not with a good purpose; and what are the signs of good, and what those of evil; and what is the difference between duality and conjunction. The seventh, what are the things which the twelve apostles treated of in the presence of the people in the temple. The eighth, concerning the words of the Lord which seem to be contradictory, but are not; and what is the explanation of them. The ninth, that the law which has been given by God is righteous and perfect, and that it alone can make pure. The tenth, concerning the carnal birth of men, and concerning the generation which is by baptism; and what is the succession of carnal seed in man; and what is the account of his soul, and how the freedom of the will is in it, which, seeing it is not unbegotten, but made, could not be immovable from good. Concerning these several subjects, therefore, whatever Peter discoursed at Caesarea, according to his command, as I have said, I have sent you written in ten volumes. But on the next day, as

had been determined, we set out from Caesarea with some faithful men, who had resolved to accompany Peter.

BOOK 4

CHAPTER 1

HALT AT DORA

HAVING set out from Caesarea on the way to Tripolis, we made our first stoppage at a small town called Dora, because it was not far distant; and almost all those who had believed through the preaching of Peter could scarcely bear to be separated from him, but walked along with us, again and again gazing upon him, again and again embracing him, again and again conversing with him, until we came to the inn. On the following day we came to Ptolemais, where we stayed ten days; and when a considerable number had received the word of God, we signified to some of them who seemed particularly attentive, and wished to detain us longer for the sake of instruction, that they might, if so disposed, follow us to Tripolis. We acted in the same way at Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus, and announced to those who desired to hear further discourses, that we were to spend the winter at Tripolis. Therefore, as all those who were anxious followed Peter from each city, we were a great multitude of elect ones when we entered into Tripolis. On our arrival, the brethren who had been sent before met us before the gates of the city; and taking us under their charge, conducted us to the various lodgings which they bad prepared. Then there arose a commotion in the city, and a great assemblage of persons desirous to see Peter.

CHAPTER 2

RECEPTION IN THE HOUSE OF MARO

And when we had come to the house of Maro, in which preparation had been made for Peter, he turned to the crowd, and told them that he would address them the day after tomorrow. Therefore the brethren who had been sent before assigned lodgings to all who had come with us. Then,

when Peter had entered into the house of Maro, and was asked to partake of food, he answered that he would by no means do so, until he had ascertained whether all those that had accompanied him were provided with lodgings. Then he learned from the brethren who had been sent before, that the citizens had received them not only hospitably, but with all kindness, by reason of their love towards Peter; so much so, that several were disappointed because there were no guests for them; for that all had made such preparations, that even if many more had come, there would still have been a deficiency of guests for the hosts, not of hosts for the guests.

CHAPTER 3

SIMON'S FLIGHT

Thereupon Peter was greatly delighted, and praised the brethren, and blessed them, and requested them to remain with him. Then, when he had bathed in the sea, and had taken food, he went to sleep in the evening; and rising, as usual, at cock-crow, while the evening light was still burning, he found us all awake. Now there were in all sixteen of us, viz. Peter and I, Clement, Niceta and Aquila, and those twelve who had preceded us. Saluting us, then, as was his wont, Peter said: "Since we are not taken up with others today, let us be taken up with ourselves. I shall tell you what took place at Caesarea after your departure, and you shall tell us of the doings of Simon here." And while the conversation was going on on these subjects, at daybreak some of the members of the family came in and told Peter that Simon, when he heard of Peter's arrival, departed in the night, on the way to Syria. They also stated that the crowds thought that the day which he had said was to intervene was a very long time for their affection, and that they were standing in impatience before the gate, conversing among themselves about those things which they wished to hear, and that they hoped that they should by all means see him before the time appointed; and that as the day became lighter the multitudes were increasing, and that they were trusting confidently, whatever they might be presuming upon, that they should hear a discourse from him. "Now then "said they "instruct us to tell them what seems good to you; for it is

absurd that so great a multitude should have come together, and should depart with sadness, through no answer being returned to them. For they will not consider that it is they that have not waited for;the appointed day but rather they will think that you are slighting them.”

CHAPTER 4

THE HARVEST PLENTEOUS,

Then Peter, filled with admiration, said: “You see, brethren, how every word of the Lord spoken prophetically is fulfilled. For I remember that He said, ‘The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few; ask therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send out laborers into His harvest.’ Behold, therefore, the things which are foretold in a mystery are fulfilled. But whereas He said also, ‘Many shall come from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and shall recline in the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob;’ this also is, as you see, in like manner fulfilled. Wherefore I entreat you, my fellow-servants and helpers, that you would learn diligently the order of preaching, and the ways of absolutions, that ye may be able to save the souls of men, which by the secret power of God acknowledge whom they ought to love, even before they are taught. For you see that these men, like good servants, long for him whom they expect to announce to them the coming of their Lord, that they may be able to fulfill His will when they have learned it. The desire, therefore, of hearing the word of God, and inquiring into His will, they have from God; and this is the beginning of the gift of God, which is given to the Gentiles, that by this they may be able to receive the doctrine of truth.

CHAPTER 5

MOSES AND CHRIST

“For so also it was given to the people of the Hebrews from the beginning, that they should love Moses, and believe his word; whence also it is written: ‘The people believed God, and Moses His servant. What,

therefore, was of peculiar gift from God toward the nation of the Hebrews, we see now to be given also to those who are called from among the Gentiles to the faith. But the method of works is put into the power and will of every one, and this is their own; but to have an affection towards a teacher of truth. this is a gift of the heavenly Father. But salvation is in this, that you do His will of whom you have conceived a love and affection through the gift of God; lest that saying of His be addressed to you which He spoke, ‘Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not what I say?’ It is therefore the peculiar gift bestowed by God upon the Hebrews, that they believe Moses; and the peculiar gift bestowed upon the Gentiles is that they love Jesus. For this also the Master intimated, when He said, ‘I will confess’ to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast concealed these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes. By which it is certainly declared, that the people of the Hebrews, who were instructed out of the law, did not know Him; but the people of the Gentiles have acknowledged Jesus, and venerate Him; on which account also they shall be saved, not only acknowledging Him, but also doing His will. But he who is of the Gentiles, and who has it of God to believe Moses, ought also to have it of his own purpose to love Jesus also. And again, the Hebrew, who has it of God to believe Moses, ought to have it also of his own purpose to believe in Jesus; so that each of them, having in himself something of the divine gift, and something of his own exertion, may be perfect by both. For concerning such an one our Lord spoke, as of a rich man, ‘Who brings forth from his treasures things new and old.’

CHAPTER 6

A CONGREGATION

“But enough has been said of these things for time presses, and the religious devotion of the people invites us to address them.” And when he had thus spoken, he asked where there was a suitable place for discussion. And Maro said: “I have a very spacious hall which can hold more than five hundred men, and there is also a garden within the house; or if it please you to be in some public place, all would prefer it, for there is nobody

who does not desire at least to see your face.” Then Peter said: “Show me the hall, or the garden.” And when he had seen the hall, he went in to see the garden also; and suddenly the whole multitude, as if some one had called them, rushed into the house, and thence broke through into the garden, where Peter was already standing, selecting a fit place for discussion.

CHAPTER 7

THE SICK HEALED

But when he saw that the crowds had, like the waters of a great river, poured over the narrow passage, he mounted upon a pillar which happened to stand near the wall of the garden, and first saluted the people in a religious manner. But some of those who were present, and who had been for a long time distressed by demons, threw themselves on the ground, while the unclean spirits entreated that they might be allowed but for one day to remain in the bodies that they had taken possession of. But Peter rebuked them, and commanded them to depart; and they went out without delay. After these, others who had been afflicted with long-standing sicknesses asked Peter that they might receive healing; and he promised that he would entreat the Lord for them as soon as his discourse of instruction was completed. But as soon as he promised, they were freed from their sicknesses; and he ordered them to sit down apart, with those who had been freed from the demons, as after the fatigue of labor. Meantime, while this was going on, a vast multitude assembled, attracted not only by the desire of hearing Peter, but also by the report of the cures which had been accomplished. But Peter, beckoning with his hand to the people to he still, and settling the crowds in tranquillity, began to address them as follows: —

CHAPTER 8

PROVIDENCE VINDICATED

“It seems to me necessary, at the outset of a discourse concerning the true worship of God, first of all to instruct those who have not as yet acquired any knowledge of the subject, that throughout the divine providence must be maintained to be without blame, by which the world is ruled and governed. Moreover, the reason of the present undertaking, and the occasion offered by those whom the power of God has healed, suggest this subject for a beginning, viz. to show that for good reason very many persons are possessed of demons, that so the justice of God may appear. For ignorance will be found to be the mother of almost all evils. But now let us come to the reason.

CHAPTER 9

STATE OF INNOCENCE A STATE OF ENJOYMENT

“When God had made man after His own image and likeness, He grafted into His work a certain breathing and odor of His divinity, that so men, being made partakers of His Only-begotten, might through Him be also friends of God and sons of adoption. Whence also He Himself, as the true Prophet, knowing with what actions the Father is pleased, instructed them in what way they might obtain that privilege. At that time, therefore, there was among men only one worship of God — a pure mind and an uncorrupted spirit. Anti for this reason every creature kept an inviolable covenant with the human race. For by reason of their reverence of the Creator, no sickness, or bodily disorder, or corruption of food, had power over them; whence it came to pass, that a life of a thousand years did not fall into the frailty of old age.

CHAPTER 10

SIN THE CAUSE OF SUFFERING

“But when men, leading a life void of distress, began to think that the continuance of good things was granted them not by the divine bounty, but by the chance of things, and to accept as a debt of nature, not as a gift of God’s goodness, their enjoyment without any exertion of the delights of the divine complaisance, — men, being led by these things into contrary and impious thoughts, came at last, at the instigation of idleness, to think that the life of gods was theirs by nature, without any labors or merits on their part. Hence they go from bad to worse, to believe that neither is the world governed by the providence of God, nor is there any place for virtues, since they knew that they themselves possessed the fullness of ease and delights, without the assignment of any works previously, and without any labors were treated as the friends of God.

CHAPTER 11

SUFFERING SALUTARY

“By the most righteous judgment of God, therefore, labors and afflictions are assigned as a remedy to men languishing in the vanity of such thoughts. And when labor and tribulations came upon them, they were excluded from the place of delights and amenity. Also the earth began to produce nothing to them without labor; and then men’s thoughts being turned in them, they were warned to seek the aid of their Creator, and by prayers and vows to ask for the divine protection. And thus it came to pass, that the worship of God, which they had neglected by reason of their prosperity, they recovered through their adversity; and their thoughts towards God, which indulgence had perverted, affliction corrected. So therefore the divine providence, seeing that this was more profitable to man, removed from them the ways of benignity and abundance, as being hurtful, and introduced the way of vexation and tribulation.

CHAPTER 12

TRANSLATION OF ENOCH

“But that He might show that these things were done on account of the ungrateful, He translated to immortality a certain one of the first race of men, because He saw that he was not unmindful of His grace, and because he hoped to call on the name of God; while the rest, who were so ungrateful that they could not be amended and corrected even by labors and tribulations, were condemned to a terrible death. Yet amongst them also He found a certain one, who was righteous with his house, whom He preserved, having enjoined him to build an ark, in which he and those who were commanded to go with him might escape, when all things should be destroyed by a deluge: in order that, the wicked being cut off by the overflow of waters, the world might receive a purification; and he who had been preserved for the continuance of the race, being purified by water, might anew repair the world.

CHAPTER 13

ORIGIN OF IDOLATRY

“But when all these things were done, men turned again to impiety; and on this account a law was given by God to instruct them in the manner of living. But in process of time, the worship of God and righteousness were corrupted by the unbelieving and the wicked, as we shall show more fully by and by. Moreover, perverse and erratic religions were introduced, to which the greater part of men gave themselves up, by occasion of holidays and solemnities, instituting drinkings and banquets, following pipes, and flutes, and harps, and diverse kinds of musical instruments, and indulging themselves in all kinds of drunkenness and luxury. Hence every kind of error took rise; hence they invented groves and altars, fillets and victims, and after drunkenness they were agitated as if with mad emotions. By this means power was given to the demons to enter into minds of this sort, so that they seemed to lead insane dances and to rave like Bacchanalians; hence were invented the gnashing of teeth, and bellowing from the depth of

their bowels; hence a terrible countenance and a fierce aspect in men, so that he whom drunkenness had subverted and a demon had instigated, was believed by the deceived and the erring to be filled with the Deity.

CHAPTER 14

GOD BOTH GOOD AND RIGHTEOUS

“Hence, since so many false and erratic religions have been introduced into the world, we have been sent, as good merchants, bringing unto you the worship of the true God, handed down from the fathers, and preserved; as the seeds of which we scatter these words amongst you, and place it in your choice to choose what seems to you to be right. For if you receive those things which we bring you, you shall not only be able yourselves to escape the incursions of the demon, but also to drive them away from others; and at the same time you shall obtain the rewards of eternal good things. But those who shall refuse to receive those things which are spoken by us, shall be subject in the present life to diverse demons and disorders of sicknesses, and their souls after their departure from the body shall be tormented for ever. For God is not only good, but also just; for if He were always good, and never just to render to every one according to his deeds, goodness would be found to be injustice. For it were injustice if the impious and the pious were treated by Him alike.

CHAPTER 15

HOW DEMONS GET POWER OVER MEN

“Therefore demons, as we have just said, when once they have been able, by means of opportunities afforded them, to convey themselves through base and evil actions into the bodies of men, if they remain in them a long time through their own negligence, because they do not seek after what is profitable to their souls, they necessarily compel them for the future to fulfill the desires of the demons who dwell in them. But what is worst of all, at the end of the world, when that demon shall be consigned to eternal

fire, of necessity the soul also which obeyed him, shall with him be tortured in eternal fires, together with its body which it hath polluted.

CHAPTER 16

WHY THEY WISH TO POSSESS MEN

“Now that the demons are desirous of occupying the bodies of men, this is the reason. They are spirits baring their purpose turned to wickedness. Therefore by immoderate eating and drinking, and lust, they urge men on to sin, but only those who entertain the purpose of sinning, who, while they seem simply desirous of satisfying the necessary cravings of nature, give opportunity to the demons to enter into them, because through excess they do not maintain moderation. For as long as the measure of nature is kept, and legitimate moderation is preserved, the mercy of God does not give them liberty to enter into men. But when either the mind falls into impiety, or the body is filled with immoderate meat or drink, then, as if invited by the will and purpose of those who thus neglect themselves, they receive power as against those who have broken the law imposed by God.

CHAPTER 17

THE GOSPEL GIVES POWER OVER DEMONS

“You see, then, how important is the acknowledgment of God, and the observance of the divine religion, which not only protects those who believe from the assaults of the demon, but also gives them command over those who rule over others. And therefore it is necessary for you, who are of the Gentiles, to betake yourselves to God, and to keep yourselves from all uncleanness, that the demons may be expelled, and God may dwell in you And at the same time, by prayers, commit yourselves to God, and call for His aid against the impudence of the demons; for ‘whatever things ye ask, believing, ye shall receive.’ But even the demons themselves, in proportion as they see faith grow in a man, in that proportion they depart from him, residing only in that part in which something of infidelity still

remains; but from those who believe with full faith, they depart without any delay. For when a soul has come to the faith of God, it obtains the virtue of heavenly water, by which it extinguishes the demon like a spark of fire.

CHAPTER 18

THIS POWER IN PROPORTION TO FAITH

“There is therefore a measure of faith, which, if it be perfect, drives the demon perfectly from the soul; but if it has any defect, something on the part of the demon still remains in the portion of infidelity; and it is the greatest difficulty for the soul to understand when or how, whether fully or less fully, the demon has been expelled from it. For if he remains in any quarter, when he gets an opportunity, he suggests thoughts to men’s hearts; and they, not knowing whence they come, believe the suggestions of the demons, as if they were the perceptions of their own souls. Thus they suggest to some to follow pleasure by occasion of bodily necessity; they excuse the passionateness of others by excess of gall; they color over the madness of others by the vehemence of melancholy; and even extenuate the folly of some as the result of abundance of phlegm. But even if this were so, still none of these could be hurtful to the body, except from the excess of meats and drinks; because, when these are taken in excessive quantities, their abundance, which the natural warmth is not sufficient to digest, curdles into a sort of poison, and it, flowing through the bowels and all the veins like a common sewer, renders the motions of the body unhealthy and base. Wherefore moderation is to be attained in all things, that neither may place be given to demons, nor the soul, being possessed by them, be delivered along with them to be tormented in eternal fires.

CHAPTER 19

DEMONS INCITE TO IDOLATRY

“There is also another error of the demons, which they suggest to the senses of men, that they should think that those things which they suffer, they suffer from such as are called gods, in order that thereby, offering sacrifices and gifts, as if to propitiate them, they may strengthen the worship of false religion, and avoid us who are interested in their salvation, that they may be freed from error; but this they do, as I have said, not knowing that these thing are suggested to them by demons, for fear they should be saved. It is therefore in the power of every one, since man has been made possessed of free-will, whether he shall hear us to life, or the demons to destruction. Also to some, the demons, appearing visibly under various figures, sometimes throw out threats, sometimes promise relief from sufferings, that they may instill into those whom they deceive the opinion of their being gods, and that it may not be known that they are demons. But they are not concealed from us, who know the mysteries of the creation, and for what reason it is permitted to the demons to do those things in the present world; how it is allowed them to transform themselves into what figures they please, and to suggest evil thoughts, and to convey themselves, by means of meats and of drink consecrated to them, into the minds or bodies of those who partake of it, and to concoct vain dreams to further the worship of some idol.

CHAPTER 20

FOLLY OF IDOLATRY

“And yet who can be found so senseless as to be persuaded to worship an idol, whether it be made of gold or of any other metal? To whom is it not manifest that the metal is just that which the artificer pleased? How then can the divinity be thought to be in that which would not be at all unless the artificer had pleased? Or how can they hope that future things should be declared to them by that in which there is no perception of present things? For although they should divine something, they should not

straightway be held to be gods; for divination is one thing, divinity is another. For the Pythons also seem to divine, yet they are not gods; and, in short, they are driven out of men by Christians. And how can that be God which is put to flight by a man? But perhaps you will say, What as to their effecting cures, and their showing how one can be cured? On this principle, physicians ought also to be worshipped as gods, for they cure many; and in proportion as any one is more skillful, the more he will cure.

CHAPTER 21

HEATHEN ORACLES

“Whence it is evident that they since they are demoniac spirits, know some things both more quickly and more perfectly than men; for they are not retarded in their learning by the heaviness of a body. And therefore they, as being spirits, know without delay and without difficulty what physicians attain after a long time and by much labor. It is not wonderful, therefore, if they know somewhat more than men do; but this is to be observed, that what they know they do not employ for the salvation of souls, but for the deception of them, that by means of it they may indoctrinate them in the worship of false religion. But God, that the error of so great deception might not be concealed, and that He Himself might not seem to be a cause of error in permitting them so great license to deceive men by divinations, and cures, and dreams, has of His mercy furnished men with a remedy, and has made the distinction of falsehood and truth patent to those who desire to know. This, therefore, is that distinction: what is spoken by the true God, whether by prophets or by diverse visions, is always true; but what is foretold by demons is not always true. It is therefore an evident sign that those things are not spoken by the true God, in which at any time there is falsehood; for in truth there is never falsehood. But in the case of those who speak falsehoods, there may occasionally be a slight mixture of truth, to give as it were seasoning to the falsehoods.

CHAPTER 22

WHY THEY SOMETIMES COME TRUE

“But if any one say, What is the use of this, that they should be permitted even sometimes to speak truth, and thereby so much error be introduced amongst men? let him take this for answer: If they had never been allowed to speak any truth, then they would not foretell anything at all; while if they did not foretell, they would not be known to be demons. But if demons were not known to be in this world, the cause of our struggle and contest would be concealed from us, and we should suffer openly what was done in secret, that is, if the power were granted to them of only acting against us, and not of speaking. But now, since they sometimes speak truth, and sometimes falsehood, we ought to acknowledge, as I have said, that their responses are of demons, and not of God, with whom there is never falsehood.

CHAPTER 23

EVIL NOT IN SUBSTANCE

“But if any one, proceeding more curiously, inquire: What then was the use of God’s making these evil things, which should have so great a tendency to subvert the minds of men? To one proposing such a question, we answer that we must first of all inquire whether there is any evil in substance. And although it would be sufficient to say to him that it is not suitable that the creature judge the Creator, but that to judge the work of another belongs to him who is either of equal skill or equal power; yet, to come directly to the point, we say absolutely that there is no evil in substance. But if this be so, then the Creator of substance is vainly blamed.

CHAPTER 24

WHY GOD PERMITS EVIL

“But you will meet me by saying, Even if it has come to this through freedom of will, was the Creator ignorant that those whom He created would fall away into evil? He ought therefore not to have created those who, He foresaw, would deviate from the path of righteousness. Now we tell those who ask such questions, that the purpose of assertions of the sort made by us is to show why the wickedness of those who as yet were not, did not prevail over the goodness of the Creator. For if, wishing to fill up the number and measure of His creation, He had been afraid of the wickedness of those who were to be, and like one who could find no other way of remedy and cure, except only this, that He should refrain from His purpose of creating, lest the wickedness of those who were to be should be ascribed to Him; what else would this show but unworthy suffering and unseemly feebleness on the part of the Creator, who should so fear the actings of those who as yet were not, that He refrained from His purposed creation?

CHAPTER 25

EVIL BEINGS TURNED TO GOOD ACCOUNT

“But, setting aside these things, let us consider this earnestly, that God the Creator of the universe, foreseeing the future differences of His creation, foresaw and provided diverse ranks and different offices to each of His creatures, according to the peculiar movements which were produced from freedom of will; so that while all men are of one substance in respect of the method of creation, there should yet be diversity in ranks and offices, according to the peculiar movements of minds, to be produced from liberty of will. Therefore He foresaw that there would be faults in His creatures; and the method of His justice demanded that punishment should follow faults, for the sake of amendment. It behooved, therefore, that there should be ministers of punishment, and yet that freedom of will should draw them into that order. Moreover, those also must have enemies to conquer,

who had undertaken the contests for the heavenly rewards. Thus, therefore, neither are those things destitute of utility which are thought to be evil, since the conquered unwillingly acquire eternal rewards for those by whom they are conquered. But let this suffice on these points, for in process of time even more secret things shall be disclosed.

CHAPTER 26

EVIL ANGELS SEDUCERS

“Now therefore, since you do not yet understand how great darkness of ignorance surrounds you, meantime I wish to explain to you whence the worship of idols began in this world. And by idols, I mean those lifeless images which you worship, whether made of wood, or earthenware, or stone, or brass, or any other metals: of these the beginning was in this wise. Certain angels, having left the course of their proper order, began to favor the vices of men, and in some measure to lend unworthy aid to their lust, in order that by these means they might indulge their own pleasures the more; and then, that they might not seem to be inclined of their own accord to unworthy services, taught men that demons could, by certain arts — that is, by magical invocations — be made to obey men; and so, as from a furnace and workshop of wickedness, they filled the whole world with the smoke of impiety, the light of piety being withdrawn.

CHAPTER 27

HAM THE FIRST MAGICIAN

“For these and some other causes, a flood was brought upon the world, as we have said already, and shall say again; and all who were upon the earth were destroyed, except the family of Noah, who survived, with his three sons and their wives. One of these, by name Ham, unhappily discovered the magical act, and handed down the instruction of it to one of his sons, who was called Mesraim, from whom the race of the Egyptians and Babylonians and Persians are descended. Him the nations who then existed called Zoroaster, admiring him as the first author of the magic art; trader

whose name also many books on this subject exist. He therefore, being much and frequently intent upon the stars, and wishing to be esteemed a God among them, began to draw forth, as it were, certain sparks from the stars, and to show them to men, in order that the rude and ignorant might be astonished, as with a miracle; and desiring to increase this estimation of him, he attempted these things again and again, until he was set on fire, and consumed by the demon himself, whom he accosted with too great importunity.

CHAPTER 28

TOWER OF BABEL

“But the foolish men who were then, whereas they ought to have abandoned the opinion which they bad conceived of him, inasmuch as they had seen it confuted by his mortal punishment, extolled him the more. For raising a sepulcher to his honor, they went so far as to adore him as a friend of God, and one who had been removed to heaven in a chariot of lightning, and to worship him as if he were a living star. Hence also his name was called Zoroaster after his death — that is, living star — by those who, after one generation, had been taught to speak the Greek language. In fine, by this example, even now many worship those who have been struck with lightning, honoring them with sepulchers, and worshipping them as friends of God. But this man was born in the fourteenth generation, and died in the fifteenth, in which the tower was built, and the languages of men were divided into many.

CHAPTER 29

FIRE-WORSHIP OF THE PERSIANS

“First among whom is named a certain king Nimrod, the magic art having been handed down to him as by a flash, whom the Greeks, also called Ninus, and from whom the city of Nineveh took its name. Thus, therefore, diverse and erratic superstitions took their beginning from the magic art. For, because it was difficult to draw away the human race from the love of

God, and attach them to deaf and lifeless images, the magicians made use of higher efforts, that men might be turned to erratic worship, by signs among the stars, and motions brought down as it were from heaven, and by the will of God. And those who had been first deceived, collecting the ashes of Zoroaster, — who, as we have said, was burnt up by the indignation of the demon, to whom he had been too troublesome, — brought them to the Persians, that they might be preserved by them with perpetual watching, as divine fire fallen from heaven, and might be worshipped as a heavenly God.

CHAPTER 30

HERO-WORSHIP

“By a like example, other men in other places built temples, set up statues, instituted mysteries and ceremonies and sacrifices, to those whom they had admired, either for some arts or for virtue, or at least had held in very great affection; and rejoiced, by means of all things belonging to gods, to hand down their fame to posterity; and that especially, because, as we have already said, they scented to be supported by some phantasies of magic art, so that by invocation of demons something seemed to be done and moved by them towards the deception of men. To these they add also certain solemnities, and drunken banquets, in which men might with all freedom indulge; and demons, conveyed into them in the chariot of repletion, might be mixed with their very bowels, and holding a place there, might bind the acts and thoughts of men to their own will. Such errors, then, having been introduced from the beginning, and having been aided by lust and drunkenness, in which carnal men chiefly delight, the religion of God, which consisted in continence and sobriety, began to become rare amongst men, and to be well-nigh abolished.

CHAPTER 31

IDOLATRY LED TO ALL IMMORALITY

“For whereas at first, men worshipping a righteous and all-seeing God, neither dared sin nor do injury to their neighbors, being persuaded that God sees the actions and movements of every one; when religious worship was directed to lifeless images, concerning which they were certain that they were incapable of hearing, or sight, or motion, they began to sin licentiously, and to go forward to every crime, because they had no fear of suffering anything at the hands of those whom they worshipped as gods. Hence the madness of wars burst out; hence plunderings, rapines, captivities, and liberty reduced to slavery; each one, as he could, satisfied his lust and his covetousness, although no power can satisfy covetousness. For as fire, the more fuel it gets, is the more extensively kindled and strengthened, so also the madness of covetousness is made greater and more vehement by means of those things which it acquires.

CHAPTER 32

INVITATION

“Wherefore begin now with better understanding to resist yourselves in those things which you do not rightly desire; if so be that you can in any way repair and restore in yourselves that purity of religion and innocence of life which at first were bestowed upon man by God, that thereby also the hope of immortal blessings may be restored to you. And give thanks to the bountiful Father of all, by Him whom He has constituted King of peace, and the treasury of unspeakable honors, that even at the present time your sins may be washed away with the water of the fountain, or river, or even sea: the threefold name of blessedness being called over you, that by it not only evil spirits may be driven out, if any dwell in you, but also that, when you have forsaken your sins, and have with entire faith and entire purity of mind believed in God, you may drive out wicked spirits and demons from others also, and may be able to set others free from sufferings and sicknesses. For the demons themselves know and

acknowledge those who have given themselves up to God, and sometimes they are driven out by the mere presence of such, as you saw a little while ago, how, when we had only addressed to you the word of salutation, straightway the demons, on account of their respect for our religion, began to cry out, and could not bear our presence even for a little.

CHAPTER 33

THE WEAKEST CHRISTIAN MORE POWERFUL THAN THE STRONGEST DEMON

“Is it, then, that we are of another and a superior nature, and that therefore the demons are afraid of us? Nay, we are of one and the same nature with you, but we differ in religion. But if you will also be like us, we do not grudge it, but rather we exhort you, and wish you to be assured, that when the same faith and religion and innocence of life shall be in you that is in us, you will have equal and the same power and virtue against demons, through God rewarding your faith. For as he who has soldiers under him, although he may be inferior, and they superior to him in strength, yet ‘says to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to another, Do this, and he doeth it;’ and this he is able to do, not by his own power, but by the fear of Caesar; so every faithful one commands the demons, although they seem to he much stronger than men, and that not by means of his own power, but by means of the power of God, who has put them in subjection. For even that which we have just spoken of, that Caesar is held in awe by all soldiers, and in every camp, and in his whole kingdom, though he is but one man, and perhaps feeble in respect of bodily strength, this is not effected but by the power of God, who inspires all with fear, that they may be subject to one.

CHAPTER 34

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

“This we would have you know assuredly, that a demon has no power against a man, unless one voluntarily submit himself to his desires.

Whence even that one who is the prince of wickedness, approached Him who, as we have said, is appointed of God King of peace, tempting Him, and began to promise Him all the glory of the world; because he knew that when he had offered this to others, for the sake of deceiving them, they had worshipped him. Therefore, impious as he was, and unmindful of himself, which indeed is the special peculiarity of wickedness, he presumed that he should be worshipped by Him by whom he knew that he was to be destroyed. Therefore our Lord, confirming the worship of one God, answered him: 'It is written, Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' And he, terrified by this answer, and fearing lest the true religion of the one and true God should be restored, hastened straightway to send forth into this world false prophets, and false apostles, and false teachers, who should speak indeed in the name of Christ, but should accomplish the will of the demon.

CHAPTER 35

FALSE APOSTLES

"Wherefore observe the greatest caution, that you believe no teacher, unless he bring from Jerusalem the testimonial of James the Lord's brother, or of whosoever may come after him. For no one, unless he has gone up thither, and there has been approved as a fit and faithful teacher for preaching the word of Christ, — unless, I say, he brings a testimonial thence, is by any means to be received. But let neither prophet nor apostle be looked for by you at this time, besides us. For there is one true Prophet, whose words we twelve apostles preach; for He is the accepted year of God, having us apostles as His twelve months. But for what reason the world itself was made, or what diversities have occurred in it, and why our Lord, coming for its restoration, has chosen and sent us twelve apostles, shall be explained more at length at another time. Meantime He has commanded us to go forth to preach, and to invite you to the supper of the heavenly King, which the Father hath prepared for the marriage of His Son, and that we should give you wedding garments, that is, the grace of baptism; which whosoever obtains, as a spotless robe with which he is to enter to the supper of the King, ought to beware that it

be not in any part of it stained with sin, and so he be rejected as unworthy and reprobate.

CHAPTER 36

THE GARMENTS UNSPOTTED

“But the ways in which this garment may be spotted are these: If any one withdraw from God the Father and Creator of all, receiving another teacher besides Christ, who alone is the faithful and true Prophet, and who has sent us twelve apostles to preach the word; if any one think otherwise than worthily of the substance of the Godhead, which excels all things; — these are the things which even fatally pollute the garment of baptism. But the things which pollute it in actions are these: murders, adulteries, hatreds, avarice, evil ambition. And the things which pollute at once the soul and the body are these: to partake of the table of demons, that is, to taste things sacrificed, or blood, or a carcass which is strangled, and if there be aught else which has been offered to demons. Be this therefore the first step to you of three; which step brings forth thirty commands, and the second sixty, and the third a hundred, as we shall expound more fully to you at another time.”

CHAPTER 37

THE CONGREGATION DISMISSED

When he had thus spoken, and had charged them to come to the same place in good time on the following day, he dismissed the crowds; and when they were unwilling to depart, Peter said to them: “Do me this favor on account of the fatigue of yesterday’s journey; and now go away. and meet in good time tomorrow.” And so they departed with joy. But Peter, commanding me to withdraw a little for the purpose of prayer, afterwards ordered the couches to be spread in the part of the garden which was covered with shade; and every one, according to custom, recognizing the place of his own rank, we took food. Then, as there was still some portion

of the day left, he conversed with us concerning the Lord’s miracles; and when evening was come, he entered his bed-chamber and went to sleep.

BOOK 5

CHAPTER 1

PETER'S SALUTATION

BUT on the following day, Peter rising a little earlier than usual, found us asleep; and when he saw it, he gave orders that silence should be kept for him, as though he himself wished to sleep longer, that we might not be disturbed in our rest. But when we rose refreshed with sleep, we found him, having finished his prayer, waiting for us in his bed-chamber. And as it was already dawn, he addressed us shortly, saluting us according to his custom, and forthwith proceeded to the usual place for the purpose of teaching; and when he saw that many had assembled there, having invoked peace upon them according to the first religious form, he began to speak as follows: —

CHAPTER 2

SUFFERING THE EFFECT OF SIN

"God, the Creator of all, at the beginning made man after His own image, and gave him dominion over the earth and sea, and over the air; as the true Prophet has told us, and as the very reason of things instructs us: for man alone is rational, and it is fitting that reason should rule over the irrational. At first, therefore, while he was still righteous, he was superior to all disorders and all frailty; but when he sinned, as we taught you yesterday, and became the servant of sin, he became at the same time liable to frailty. This therefore is written, that men may know that, as by impiety they have been made liable to suffer, so by piety they may be made free from suffering; and not only free from suffering, but by even a little faith in God be able to cure the sufferings of others. For thus the true Prophet promised us, saying, 'Verily I say to you, that if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence, and it shall

remove.’ Of this saving you have yourselves also had proofs; for you saw yesterday how at our presence the demons removed and were put to flight, with those sufferings which they had brought upon men.

CHAPTER 3

FAITH AND UNBELIEF

“Whereas therefore some men suffer, and others cure those who suffer, it is necessary, to know the cause at once of the suffering and the cure; and this is proved to be nought else than unbelief on the part of the sufferers, and faith on the part of those who cure them. For unbelief, while it does not believe that there is to be a judgment by God, affords license to sin, and sin makes men liable to sufferings; but faith, believing that there is to be a judgment of God, restrains men from sin; and those who do not sin are not only free from demons and sufferings, but can also put to flight the demons and sufferings of others.

CHAPTER 4

IGNORANCE THE MOTHER OF EVILS

“From all these things, therefore, it is concluded that all evil springs from ignorance; and ignorance herself, the mother of all evils, is sprung from carelessness and sloth, and is nourished, and increased, and rooted in the senses of men by negligence; and if any one teach that she is to be put to flight, she is with difficulty and indignantly torn away, as from an ancient and hereditary abode. And therefore we must labor for a little, that we may search out the presumptions of ignorance, and cut them off by means of knowledge, especially in those who are preoccupied with some erroneous opinions, by means of which ignorance is the more firmly rooted in them, as under the appearance of a certain kind of knowledge; for nothing is worse than for one to believe that he knows what he is ignorant of, and to maintain that to be true which is false. This is as if a drunk man should think himself to be sober, and should act indeed in all respects as a drunk man, and yet think himself to be sober, and should wish to be called

so by others. Thus, therefore, are those also who do not know what is true, yet hold some appearance of knowledge, and do many evil things as if they were good, and hasten destruction as if it were to salvation.

CHAPTER 5

ADVANTAGES OF KNOWLEDGE

“Wherefore we must, above all things, hasten to the knowledge of the truth, that, as with a light kindled thereat, we may be able to dispel the darkness of errors: for ignorance, as we have said, is a great evil; but because it has no substance, it is easily dispelled by those who are: in earnest. For ignorance is nothing else than not knowing what is good for us; once know this, and ignorance perishes. Therefore the knowledge of truth ought to be eagerly sought after; and no one can confer it except the true Prophet. For this is the gate of life to those who will enter, and the road of good works to those going to the city of salvation.

CHAPTER 6

FREE-WILL

“Whether any one, truly hearing the word of the true Prophet; is willing or unwilling to receive it, and to embrace His burden, that is, the precepts of life, he has either in his power, for we are free in will. For if it were so, that those who hear had it not in their power to do otherwise than they had heard, there were some power of nature in virtue of which it were not free to him to pass over to another opinion. Or if, again, no one of the hearers could at all receive it, this also were a power of nature which should compel the doing of some one thing, and should leave no place for the other course. But now, since it is free for the mind to turn its judgment to which side it pleases, and to choose the way which it approves, it is clearly manifest that there is in men a liberty of choice.

CHAPTER 7

RESPONSIBILITY OF KNOWLEDGE

“Therefore, before any one hears what is good for him, it is certain that he is ignorant; and being ignorant, he wishes and desires to do what is not good for him; wherefore he is not judged for that. But when once he has heard the causes of his error, and has received the method of truth, then, if he remain in those errors with which he had been long ago preoccupied, he shall rightly be called into judgment, to suffer punishment, because he has spent in the sport of errors that portion of life which was given him to be spent in living well. But he who, hearing those things, willingly receives them, and is thankful that the teaching of good things has been brought to him, inquires more eagerly, and does not cease to learn, until he ascertains whether there be truly another world, in which rewards are prepared for the good. And when he is assured of this, he gives thanks to God because He has shown him the light of truth; and for the future directs his actions in all good works, for which he is assured that there is a reward prepared in the world to come; while he constantly wonders and is astonished at the errors of other men, and that no one sees the truth which is placed before his eyes. Yet he himself, rejoicing in the riches of wisdom which he hath found, desires insatiably to enjoy them, and is delighted with the practice of good works; hastening to attain, with a clean heart and a pure conscience, the world to come, when he shall be able even to see God, the king of all.

CHAPTER 8

DESIRES OF THE FLESH TO BE SUBDUED

“But the sole cause of our wanting and being deprived of all these things is ignorance. For while men do not know how much good there is in knowledge, they do not suffer the evil of ignorance to be removed from them; for they know not how great a difference is involved in the change of one of these things for the other. Wherefore I counsel every learner willingly to lend his ear to the word of God, and to hear with love of the

truth what we say, that his mind, receiving the best seed, may bring forth joyful fruits by good deeds. For if, while I teach the things which pertain to salvation, any one refuses to receive them, and strives to resist them with a mind occupied by evil opinions, he shall have the cause of his perishing, not from us, but from himself. For it is his duty to examine with just judgment the things which we say, and to understand that we speak the words of truth, that, knowing how things are, and directing his life in good actions, he may be found a partaker of the kingdom of heaven, subjecting to himself the desires of the flesh, and becoming Lord of them, that so at length he himself also may become the pleasant possession of the Ruler of all.

CHAPTER 9

THE TWO KINGDOMS

“For he who persists in evil, and is the servant of evil, cannot be made a portion of good so long as he persists in evil, because from the beginning, as we have said, God instituted two kingdoms, and has given to each man the power of becoming a portion of that kingdom to which he shall yield himself to obey. And since it is decreed by God that no one man can be a servant of both kingdoms, therefore endeavor with all earnestness to betake yourselves to the covenant and laws of the good King. Wherefore also the true Prophet, when He was present with us, and saw some rich men negligent with respect to the worship of God, thus unfolded the truth of this matter: ‘No one,’ said He, ‘can serve two masters; ye cannot serve God and mammon; ‘ calling riches, in the language of His country, mammon.

CHAPTER 10

JESUS THE TRUE PROPHET

“He therefore is the true Prophet, who appeared to us, as you have heard, in Judaea, who, standing in public places, by a simple command made the blind see, the deaf hear, cast out demons, restored health to the sick, and

life to the dead; and since nothing was impossible to Him, He even perceived the thoughts of men, which is possible for none but God only. He proclaimed the kingdom of God; and we believed Him as a true Prophet in all that He spoke, deriving the confirmation of our faith not only from His words, but also from His works; and also because the sayings of the law, which many generations before had set forth His coming, were fulfilled in Him; and the figures of the doings of Moses, and of the patriarch Jacob before him, bore in all respects a type of Him. It is evident also that the time of His advent, that is, the very time at which He came, was foretold by them; and, above all, it was contained in the sacred writings, that He was to be waited for by the Gentiles. And all these things were equally fulfilled in Him.

CHAPTER 11

THE EXPECTATION OF THE GENTILES

“But that which a prophet of the Jews foretold, that He was to be waited for by the Gentiles, confirms above measure the faith of truth in Him. For if he had said that He was to be waited for by the Jews, he would not have seemed to prophesy anything extraordinary, that He whose coming had been promised for the salvation of the world should be the object of hope to the people of the same tribe with Himself, and to His own nation: for that this would take place, would seem rather to be a matter of natural inference than one requiring the grandeur of a prophetic utterance. But now, whereas the prophets say that all that hope which is set forth concerning the salvation of the world, and the newness of the kingdom which is to be established by Christ, and all things which are declared concerning Him are to be transferred to the Gentiles; the grandeur of the prophetic office is confirmed, not according to the sequence of things, but by an incredible fulfillment of the prophecy. For the Jews from the beginning had understood by a most certain tradition that this man should at some time come, by whom all things should be restored; and daily meditating and looking out for His coming, when they saw Him amongst them, and accomplishing the signs and miracles, as had been written of Him, being blinded with envy, they could not recognize Him when

present, in the hope of whom they rejoiced while He was absent; yet the few of us who were chosen by Him understood it.

CHAPTER 12

CALL OF THE GENTILES

“But this happened by the providence of God, that the knowledge of this good One should be handed over to the Gentiles, and those who had never heard of Him, nor had learned from the prophets, should acknowledge Him, while those who had acknowledged Him in their daily meditations should not know Him. For, behold, by you who are now present, and desire to hear the doctrine of His faith, and to know what, and how, and of what sort is His coming, the prophetic truth is fulfilled. For this is what the prophets foretold, that He is to he sought for by you, who never heard of Him. And, therefore, seeing that the prophetic sayings are fulfilled even in yourselves, you rightly believe in Him alone, you rightly wait for Him, you rightly inquire concerning Him, that you not only may wait for Him, but also believing, you may obtain the inheritance of His kingdom; according to what Himself said, that every one is made the servant of him to whom he yields subjection.

CHAPTER 13

INVITATION OF THE GENTILES

“Wherefore awake, and take to yourselves our Lord and God, even that Lord who is Lord both of heaven and earth, and conform yourselves to His image and likeness, as the true Prophet Himself teaches, saying, ‘Be ye merciful, as also your heavenly Father is merciful, who makes His sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust.’ Imitate Him, therefore, and fear Him, as the commandment is given to men, ‘Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.’ For it is profitable to you to serve this Lord alone, that through Him knowing the one God, ye may be freed from the many whom ye vainly feared. For he who fears not God the Creator of all, but fears those

whom he himself with his own hands hath made, what does he do but make himself subject to a vain and senseless fear, and render himself more vile and abject than those very things, the fear of which he has conceived in his mind? But rather, by the goodness of Him who inviteth you, return to your former nobleness, and by good deeds show that you bear the image of your Creator, that by contemplation of His likeness ye may be believed to be even His sons.

CHAPTER 14

IDOLS UNPROFITABLE

“Begin, therefore, to cast out of your minds the vain ideas of idols, and your useless and empty fears, that at the same time you may also escape the condition of unrighteous bondage. For those have become your lords, who could not even have been profitable servants to you. For how should lifeless images seem fit even to serve you, when they can neither hear, nor see, nor feel anything? Yea, even the material of which they are made, whether it be gold or silver, or even brass or wood, though it might have profiled you for necessary uses, you have rendered wholly inefficient and useless by fashioning gods out of it. We therefore declare to you the true worship of God, and at the same time warn and exhort the worshippers, that by good deeds they, imitate Him whom they worship, and hasten to return to His image and likeness, as we said before.

CHAPTER 15

FOLLY OF IDOLATRY

“But I should like if those who worship idols would tell me if they wish to become like to those whom they worship? Does any one of you wish to see in such sort as they see? or to hear after the manner of their hearing? or to have such understanding as they have? Far be this from any of my hearers! For this were rather to be thought a curse and a reproach to a man, who bears in himself the image of God, although he has lost the likeness. What sort of gods, then, are they to be reckoned, the imitation of whom

would be execrable to their worshippers, and to have whose likeness would be a reproach? What then? Melt your useless images, and make useful vessels. Melt the unserviceable and inactive metal, and make implements fit for the use of men. But, says one, human laws do not allow us. He says well; for it is human laws, and not their own power, that prevents it. What kind of gods, then, are those which are defended by human laws, and not by their own energies? And so also they are preserved from thieves by watch-dogs and the protection of bolts, at least if they be of silver, or gold, or even of brass; for those that are of stone and earthenware are protected by their own worthlessness, for no one will steal a stone or a crockery God. Hence those seem to be the more miserable whose more precious metal exposes them to the greater danger. Since, then, they can be stolen, since they must be guarded by men, since they can be melted, and weighed out, and forged with hammers, ought men possessed of understanding to hold them as gods?

CHAPTER 16

GOD ALONE A FIT OBJECT OF WORSHIP

“Oh! into what wretched plight the understanding of men has fallen! For if it is reckoned the greatest folly to fear the dead, what shall we judge of those who fear something that is worse than the dead are? For those images are not even to be reckoned among the number of the dead, because they were never alive. Even the sepulchers of the dead are preferable to them, since, although they are now dead, yet they once had life; but those whom you worship never possessed even such base life as is in all, the life of frogs and owls. But why say more about them, since it is enough to say to him who adores them: Do you not see that he whom you adore sees not, hear that he whom you adore hears not, and understand that he understands not? — for he is the work of man’s hand, and necessarily is void of understanding. You therefore worship a God without sense, whereas every one who has sense believes that not even those things are to be worshipped which have been made by God and have sense, such as the sun, moon, and stars, and all things that are in heaven and upon earth. For they think it reasonable, that not those things which have been made for

the service of the world, but the Creator of those things themselves, and of the whole world, should be worshipped. For even these things rejoice when He is adored and worshipped, and do not take it well that the honor of the Creator should be bestowed on the creature. For the worship of God alone is acceptable to them, who alone is uncreated, and all things also are His creatures. For as it belongs to him who alone is uncreated to be God, so everything that has been created is not truly God

CHAPTER 17

SUGGESTIONS OF THE OLD SERPENT

“Above all, therefore, you ought to understand the deception of the old serpent and his cunning suggestions, who deceives you as it were by prudence, and as by a sort of reason creeps through your senses; and beginning at the head, he glides through your inner marrow, accounting the deceiving of you a great gain. Therefore he insinuates into your minds opinions of gods of whatsoever kinds, only that he may withdraw you from the faith of one God knowing that your sin is his comfort. For he, for his wickedness, was condemned from the beginning to eat dust, for that he caused to be again resolved into dust him who had been taken from the dust, even till the time when your souls shall be restored, being brought through the fire; as we shall instruct you more fully at another time. From him, therefore, proceed all the errors and doubts, by which you are driven from the faith and belief of one God.

CHAPTER 18

HIS FIRST SUGGESTION

“And first of all he suggests to men’s thoughts not to hear the words of truth, by which they might put to flight the ignorance of those things which are evils. And this he does, as by the presentation of another knowledge, making a show of that opinion which very many hold, to think that they shall not be held guilty if they have been in ignorance, and that they shall not be called to account for what they have not heard; and

thereby he persuades them to turn aside from hearing the word. But I tell you, in opposition to this, that ignorance is in itself a most deadly poison, which is sufficient to ruin the soul without any aid from without. And therefore there is no one who is ignorant who shall escape through his ignorance, bill it is certain that he shall perish. For the power of sin naturally destroys the sinner. But since the judgment shall be according to reason, the cause and origin of ignorance shall be inquired into, as well as of every sin. For he who is unwilling to know how he may attain to life, and prefers to be in ignorance lest he thereby be made guilty, from this very fact is judged as if he knew and had knowledge. For he knew what it was that he was unwilling to hear; and the cunning obtained by the artifice of the serpent will avail him nothing for an excuse, for he will have to do with Him to whom the heart is open. But that you may know that ignorance of itself brings destruction, I assure you that when the soul departs from the body, if it leave it in ignorance of Him by whom it was created, and from whom in this world it obtained all things that were necessary for its uses, it is driven forth from the light of His kingdom as ungrateful and unfaithful.

CHAPTER 19

HIS SECOND SUGGESTION

“Again, the wicked serpent suggests another opinion to men, which many of you are in the habit of bringing forward, — that there is, as we say, one God, who is Lord of all; but these also, they say, are gods. For as there is one Caesar, and he has under him many judges, — for example, prefects, consuls, tribunes, and other officers, — in like manner we think, that while there is one God greater than all, yet still that these gods are ordained in this world, after the likeness of those officers of whom we have spoken, subject indeed to that greater God, yet ruling us and the things that are in this world. In answer to this, I shall show you how, in those very things which you propose for deception, you are confuted by the reasons of truth. You say that God occupies the place of Caesar, and those who are called gods represent His judges and officers. Hold then, as you have adduced it, by the example of Caesar; and know that, as one of Caesar’s

judges or administrators, as prefects, proconsuls, generals, or tribunes, may lawfully take the name of Caesar, — or else both he who should take it and those who should confer it should be destroyed together, — so also in this case you ought to observe, that if any one give the name of God to any but Himself, and he accept it, they shall partake one and the same destruction, by a much more terrible fate than the servants of Caesar. For he who offends against Caesar shall undergo temporal destruction; but he who offends against Him who is the sole and true God, shall suffer eternal punishment, and that deservedly, as having injured by a wrongful condition the name which is unique.

CHAPTER 20

EGYPTIAN IDOLATRY,

“Although this word GOD is pot the name of God, but meantime that word is employed by men as His name; and therefore, as I have said, when it is used reproachfully, the reproach is referred to the injury of the true name. In short, the ancient Egyptians, who thought that they had discovered the theory of the heavenly revolutions and the nature of the stars, nevertheless, through the demon’s blocking up their senses, subjected the incommunicable name to all kinds of indignity. For some taught that their ox, which is called Apis, ought to be worshipped; others taught that the he-goat, others that cats, the ibis, a fish also, a serpent, onions, drains, crepitus ventris, ought to be regarded as deities, and innumerable other things, which I am ashamed even to mention.”

CHAPTER 21

EGYPTIAN IDOLATRY MORE REASONABLE THAN OTHERS

When Peter was speaking thus, all we who heard him laughed. Then said Peter: “You laugh at the absurdities of others, because through long custom you do not see your own. For indeed it is not without reason that you laugh at the folly of the Egyptians, who worship dumb animals, while they themselves are rational. But I will tell you how they also laugh at

you; for they say, We worship living animals, though mortal; but you worship and adore things which never were alive at all. They add this also, that they are figures and allegories of certain powers by whose help the race of men is governed. Taking refuge in this for shame, they fabricate these and similar excuses, and so endeavor to screen their error. But this is not the time to answer the Egyptians, and leaving the care of those who are present to heal the disease of the absent. For it is a certain indication that you are held to be free from sickness of this sort, since you do not grieve over it as your own, but laugh at it as that of others.

CHAPTER 22

SECOND SUGGESTION CONTINUED

“But let us come back to you, whose opinion it is that God should be regarded as Caesar, and the gods as the ministers and deputies of Caesar. Follow me attentively, and I shall presently show you the lurking-places of the serpent, which lie in the crooked windings of this argument. It ought to be regarded by all as certain and beyond doubt, that no creature can be on a level with God, because He was made by none, but Himself made all things; nor indeed can any one be found so irrational, as to suppose that the thing made can be compared with the maker. If therefore the human mind, not only by reason, but even by a sort of natural instinct, rightly holds this opinion, that that is called God to which nothing can be compared or equaled, but which exceeds all and excels all; how can it be supposed that that name which is believed to be above all, is rightly given to those whom you think to be employed for the service and comfort of human life? But we shall add this also. This world was undoubtedly made, and is corruptible, as we shall show more fully by and by; meantime it is admitted both that it has been made and that it is corruptible. If therefore the world cannot be called God, and rightly so, because it is corruptible, how shall parts of the world take the name of God? For inasmuch as the whole world cannot be God, much more its parts cannot. Therefore, if we come back to the example of Caesar, you will see how far you are in error. It is not lawful for any one, though a man of the same nature with him, to be compared with Caesar: do you think, then, that any one ought to be

compared with God, who excels all in this respect, that He was made by none, but Himself made all things? But, indeed, you dare not give the name of Caesar to any other, because he immediately punishes one who offends against him; you dare give that of God to others, because He delays the punishment of offenders against Him, in order to their repentance.

CHAPTER 23

THIRD SUGGESTION

“Through the mouths of others also that serpent is wont to speak in this wise: We adore visible images in honor of the invisible God. Now this is most certainly false. For if you really wished to worship the image of God, you would do good to man, and so worship the true image of God in him. For the image of God is in every man, though His likeness is not in all, but where the soul is benign and the mind pure. If, therefore, you wish truly to honor the image of God, we declare to you what is true, that you should do good to and pay honor and reverence to man, who is made in the image of God; that you minister food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, hospitality to the stranger, and necessary things to the prisoner; and that is what will be regarded as truly bestowed upon God. And so far do these things go to the honor of God’s image, that he who does not these things is regarded as casting reproach upon the divine image. What, then, is that honor of God which consists in running from one stone or wooden figure to another, in venerating empty and lifeless figures as deities, and despising men in whom the image of God is of a truth? Yea, rather be assured, that whoever commits murder or adultery, or anything that causes suffering or injury to men, in all these the image of God is violated. For to injure men is a great impiety towards God. Whenever, therefore, you do to another what you would not have another do to you, you defile the image of God with undeserved distresses. Understand, therefore, that that is the suggestion of the serpent lurking within you, which persuades you that you may seem to be pious when you worship insensible things, and may not seem impious when you injure sensible and rational beings.

CHAPTER 24

FOURTH SUGGESTION

“But to these things the serpent answers us with another mouth, and says: If God did not wish these things to he, then they should not be. I am not telling you how it is that many contrary things are permitted to be in this world for the probation of every one’s mind. But this is what is suitable to be said in the meantime: If, according to you, everything that was to be worshipped ought not to have been, there would have been almost nothing in this world. For what is there that you have left without worshipping it? The sun, the moon, the stars, the water, the earth, mountains, trees, stones, men; there is no one of these that ye have not worshipped. According to your saying, therefore, none of these ought to have been made by God, that you might not have anything that you could worship! Yea, He ought not even to have made men themselves to be the worshippers! But this is the very thing which that serpent which lurks within you desires: for he spares none of you; he would have no one of you escape from destruction. But it shall not be so. For I tell you, that not that which is worshipped is in fault, but he who worships. For with God is righteous judgment; and He judges in one way the sufferer, and in another way the doer, of wrong.

CHAPTER 25

FIFTH SUGGESTION

“But you say: Then those who adore what ought not to be adored, should be immediately destroyed by God, to prevent others doing the like. But are you wiser than God, that you should offer Him counsel? He knows what to do. For with all who are placed in ignorance He exercises patience, because He is merciful and gracious; and He foresees that many of the ungodly become godly, and that even some of those who worship impure statues and polluted images have been converted to God, and forsaking their sins and doing good works, attain to salvation. But it is said: We ought never to have come even to the thought of doing these things. You

do not know what freedom of will is, and you forget that he is good who is so by his own intention; but, he who is retained in goodness by necessity cannot be called good, because it is not of himself that he is so. Because, therefore, there is in every one liberty to choose good or evil, he either acquires rewards, or brings destruction on himself. Nay it is said, God brings to our minds whatsoever we think. What mean ye, O then? Ye blaspheme. For if He brings all our thoughts into our minds, then it is He that suggests to us thoughts of adultery, and covetousness, and blasphemy, and every kind of effeminacy. Cease, I entreat of you, these blasphemies, and understand what is the honor worthy of God. And say not, as some of you are wont to say, that God needs not honor from men. Indeed, He truly is in need of none; but you ought to know that the honor which you bestow upon God is profitable to yourselves. For what is so execrable, as for a man not to render thanks to his Creator?

CHAPTER 26

SIXTH SUGGESTION

“But it is said: We do better, who give thanks both to Himself, and to all with Him. In this you do not understand that there is the ruin of your salvation. For it is as if a sick man should call in for his cure at once a physician and poisoners; since these could indeed injure him, but not cure him; and the true physician would refuse to mix his remedies with their poisons, lest either the man’s destruction should be ascribed to the good, or his recovery, to the injurious. But you say: Is God then indignant or envious, if, when He benefits us, our thanks be rendered to others? Even if He be not indignant, at all events He does not wish to be the author of error, that by means of His work credit should be given to a vain idol. And what is so impious, so ungrateful, as to obtain a benefit from God, and to render thanks to blocks of wood and stone? Wherefore arise, and understand your salvation. For God is in need of no one, nor does He require anything, nor is He hurt by anything; but we are either helped or hurt, in that we are grateful or ungrateful. For what does God gain from our praises, or what does He lose by our blasphemies? Only this we must remember, that God brings into proximity and friendship with Himself the

soul that renders thanks to Him. But the wicked demon possesses the ungrateful soul.

CHAPTER 27

CREATURES TAKE VENGEANCE ON SINNERS

“But this also I would have you know, that upon such souls God does not take vengeance directly, but His whole creation rises up and inflicts punishments upon the impious; and although in the present world the goodness of God bestows the light of the world and the services of the earth alike upon the pious and the impious, yet not without grief does the sun afford his light, and the other elements perform their service, to the impious. And, in short, sometimes even in opposition to the goodness of the Creator, the elements are wearied out by the crimes of the wicked; and thence it is that either the fruit of the earth is blighted, or the composition of the air is vitiated, or the heat of the sun is increased beyond measure, or there is an excessive amount of rain or of cold. Thence pestilence, and famine, and death in various forms stalk forth, for the creature hastens to take vengeance on the wicked; yet the goodness of God restrains it, and bridles its indignation against the wicked, and compels it to be obedient to His mercy, rather than to be inflamed by the sins and the crimes of men. For the patience of God waiteth for the conversion of men, as long as they are ill this body.

CHAPTER 28

ETERNITY OF PUNISHMENTS

“But if any persist in impiety till the end of life, then as soon as the soul, which is immortal, departs, it shall pay the penalty of its persistence in impiety. For even the souls of the impious are immortal, though perhaps they themselves would wish them to end with their bodies. But it is not so; for they endure without end the torments of eternal fire, and to their destruction they have not the quality of mortality. But perhaps you will say to me, You terrify us, O Peter. And how shall we speak to you the

things which are in reality? Can we declare to you the truth by keeping silence? We cannot state the things which are, otherwise than as they are. But if we were silent, we should make ourselves the cause of the ignorance that is ruinous to you, and should satisfy the serpent that lurks within you, and blocks up your senses, who cunningly suggests these things to you, that he may make you always the enemies of God. But we are sent for this end, that we may betray his disguises to you; and melting your enmities, may reconcile you to God, that you may be converted to Him, and may please Him by good works. For man is at enmity with God, and is in an unreasonable and impious state of mind and wicked disposition towards Him, especially when he thinks that he knows something, and is in ignorance. But when you lay aside these, and begin to he pleased and displeased with the same things which please and displease God, and to will what God willeth then ye shall truly be called His friends.

CHAPTER 29

GOD'S CARE OF HUMAN THINGS

"But perhaps some of you will say, God has no care of human things; and if we cannot even attain to the knowledge of Him, how shall we attain to His friendship? That God does concern Himself with the affairs of men, His government of the world bears witness: for the sun daily waits upon it, the showers minister to it; the fountains, rivers, winds, and all elements, attend upon it; and the more these things become known to men, the more do they indicate God's care over men. For unless by the power of the. Most High, the more powerful would never minister to the inferior; and by this God is shown to have not only a care over men, but some great affection, since He has deputed such noble elements to their service. But that men may also attain to the friendship of God, is proved to us by the example of those to whose prayers He has been so favorable, that He has withheld the heaven from rain when they wished, and has again opened it when they prayed. And many other things He has bestowed upon those who does His will, which could not be bestowed but upon His friends. But you will say, What harm is done to God if these things also are worshipped by us? If any one of you should pay to another the honor

that is due to his father, from whom he has received innumerable benefits, and should reverence a stranger and foreigner as his father, should you not think that he was undutiful towards his father, and most deserving to be disinherited?

CHAPTER 30

RELIGION OF FATHERS TO BE ABANDONED

“Others say, It is wicked if we do not worship those idols which have come down to us from our fathers, and prove false to the religion bequeathed to us by our ancestors. On this principle, if any one’s father was a robber or a base fellow, he ought not to change the manner of life handed down to him by his fathers, nor to be recalled from his father’s errors to a better way; and it is reckoned impious if one do not sin with his parents, or does not persist in impiety with them. Others say, We ought not to be troublesome to God, and to be always burdening Him with complaints of our miseries, or with the exigencies of our petitions. How foolish and witless an answer! Do you think it is troublesome to God if you thank Him for His benefits, while you do not think it troublesome to Him if, for His gifts, you render thanks to stocks and stones? And how comes it, that when rain is withheld in a long drought, we all turn our eyes to heaven, and entreat the gift of rain from God Almighty, and all of us with our little ones pour out prayers on God and entreat His compassion? But truly ungrateful souls, when they obtain the blessing, quickly forget: for as soon as they have gathered in their harvest or their vintage, straightway they offer the first-fruits to deaf and dumb images, and pay vows in temples or groves for those things which God has bestowed upon them, and then offer sacrifices to demons; and having received a favor, deny the bestower of the favor.

CHAPTER 31

PAGANISM, ITS ENORMITIES

“But some say, These things are instituted for the sake of joy, and for refreshing our minds; and they have been devised for this end, that the human mind may be relaxed for a little from cares and sorrows. See now what a charge you yourselves bring upon the things which you practice. If these things have been invented for the purpose of lightening sorrow and affording enjoyment, how is it that the invocations of demons are performed in groves and woods? What is the meaning of the insane whirlings, and the slashing of limbs, and the cutting off of members? How is it that mad rage is produced in them? How is insanity produced? How is it that women are driven violently, raging with disheveled hair? Whence the shrieking and gnashing of teeth? Whence the bellowing of the heart and the bowels, and all those things which, whether they are pretended or are contrived by the ministration of demons, are exhibited to the terror of the foolish and ignorant? Are these things done for the sake of lightening the mind, or rather for the sake of oppressing it? Do ye not yet perceive nor understand, that these are the counsels of the serpent lurking within you, which draws you away from the apprehension of truth by irrational suggestions of errors, that he may hold you as slaves and servants of lust and concupiscence and every disgraceful thing?

CHAPTER 32

TRUE RELIGION CALLS TO SOBRIETY AND MODESTY

“But I protest to you with the clear voice of preaching, that, on the contrary, the religion of God calls you to sobriety and modesty; orders you to refrain from effeminacy and madness, and by patience and gentleness to prevent the inroads of anger; to be content with your own possessions, and with the virtue of frugality; not even when driven by poverty to plunder the goods of others, bat in all things to observe justice; to withdraw yourselves wholly from the idol sacrifices: for by these things you invite demons to you, and of your own accord give them the power of

entering into you; and so you admit that which is the cause either of madness or of unlawful love.

CHAPTER 33

ORIGIN OF IMPIETY

“Hence is the origin of all impiety; hence murders, adulteries, thefts; and a nursery is formed of all evils and wickednesses, while you indulge in profane libations and odors, and give to wicked spirits an opportunity of ruling and obtaining some sort of authority over you. For when they invade your senses, what do they else than work the things which belong to lust and injustice and cruelty, and compel you to be obedient to all things that are pleasing to them? God, indeed, permits you to suffer this at their hands by a certain righteous judgment, that from the very disgrace of your doings and your feelings you may understand how unworthy it is to be subject to demons and not to God. Hence also, by the friendship of demons, men are brought to disgraceful and base deeds; hence, men proceed even to the destruction of life, either through the fire of lust, or through the madness of anger through excess of grief, so that, as is well known, some have even laid violent hands upon themselves. And this, as we have said, by a just sentence of God they are not prevented from doing, that they may both understand to whom they have yielded themselves in subjection, and know whom they have forsaken.

CHAPTER 34

WHE ARE WORSHIPPERS OF GOD?

“But some one will say, These passions sometimes befall even those who worship God. It is not true. For we say, that he is a worshipper of God, who does the will of God, and observes the precepts of His law. For in God’s estimation he is not a Jew who is called a Jew among men (nor is he a Gentile that is called a Gentile), but he who, believing in God, fulfills His law and does His will, though he be not circumcised. He is the true worshipper of God, who not only is himself free from passions, but also

sets others free from them; though they be so heavy that they are like mountains, he removes them by means of the faith with which he believes in God. Yea, by faith be truly removes mountains with their trees, if it be necessary. But be who seems to worship Cool, but is neither fortified by a full faith, nor by obedience to the commandments, but is a sinner, has given a place in himself, by reason of his sins, to passions, which are appointed of God for the punishment of those who sin, that they may exact from them the deserts of their sins by means of punishments inflicted, and may bring them purified to the general judgment of all, provided always that their faith do not fail them in their chastisement. For the chastisement of unbelievers in the present life is a judgment, by which they begin to be separated from future blessings; but the chastisement of those who worship God, while it is inflicted upon them for sins into which they have fallen, exacts from them the due of what they have done, that, preventing the judgment, they may pay the debt of their sin in the present life, and be freed, at least in half, from the eternal punishments which are there prepared.

CHAPTER 35

JUDGMENT TO COME

“But he does not receive these things as true who does not believe that there is to be a judgment of God, and therefore, being bound by the pleasures of the present life, is shut out from eternal good things; and therefore we do not neglect to proclaim to you what we know to be necessary for your salvation, and to show you what is the true worship of God, that, believing in God, you may be able, by means of good works, to be heirs with us of the world to come. But if you are not yet convinced that what we say is true, meantime, in the first instance, you ought not to take it amiss and to be hostile to us because we announce to you the things which we consider to be good, and because we do not grudge to bestow also upon you that which we believe brings salvation to ourselves, laboring, as I have said, with all eagerness, that we may have you as fellow-heirs of the blessings which we believe are to befall ourselves. But whether those things which we declare to you are certainly true, you shall

not be able to know otherwise than by rendering obedience to the things which are commanded, that you may be taught by the issue of things, and the most certain end of blessedness.

CHAPTER 36

CONCLUSION OF DISCOURSE

“And, therefore, although the serpent lurking within you occupies your senses with a thou sand arts of corruption, and throws in your way a thousand obstacles, by which he may turn you away from the hearing of saving instruction, all the more ought you to resist him, and despising his suggestions, to come together the more frequently to hear the word and receive instruction from us, because nobody can learn anything who is not taught.”

And when he had done speaking, he ordered those to be brought to him who were oppressed by sickness or demons, and laid his hands upon them with prayer; and so he dismissed the crowds, charging them to resort to the hearing of the word during the days that he was to remain there. Therefore, when the crowds had departed, Peter washed his body in the waters which ran through the garden, with as many of the others as chose to do so; and then ordered the couches to be spread on the ground under a very shady tree, and directed us to recline according to the order established at Caesarea. And thus, having taken food and given thanks to God after the manner of the Hebrews, as there was yet some portion of the day remaining, he ordered us to question him on any matters that we pleased. And although we were with him twenty in all, he explained to every one whatever he pleased to ask of him; the particulars of which I set down in books and sent to you some time ago. And when evening came we entered with him into the lodging, and went to sleep, each one in his own place.

BOOK 6

CHAPTER 1

DILIGENCE IN STUDY

BUT as soon as day began to advance the dawn upon the retiring darkness, Peter having gone into the garden to pray, and returning thence and coming to us, by way of excuse for awaking and coming to us a little later than usual, said this: “Now that the spring-time has lengthened the day, of course the night is shorter; if, therefore, one desires to occupy some portion of the night in study, he must not keep the same hours for waking at all seasons, but should spend the same length of time in sleeping, whether the night be longer or shorter, and be exceedingly careful that he do not cut off from the period which he is wont to have for study, and so add to his sleep and lessen his time of keeping awake. And this also is to be observed, lest haply if sleep be interrupted while the food is still undigested, the undigested mass lead the mind, and by the exhalation of crude spirits render the inner sense confused and disturbed. It is right, therefore, that that part also be cherished with sufficient rest, so that, those things being sufficiently accomplished which are due to it, the body may be able in other things to render due service to the mind.”

CHAPTER 2

MUCH TO BE DONE IN A LITTLE TIME

When he had said this, as very many had already assembled in the accustomed place of the garden to hear him, Peter went forth; and having saluted the crowds in his usual manner, began to speak as follows: “Since, indeed, as land neglected by the cultivator necessarily produces thorns and thistles, so your sense, by long neglect, has produced a plentiful crop of noxious opinions of things and dogmas of false science; there is need now of much care in cultivating the field of your mind, that the word of truth,

which is the true and diligent husbandman of the heart, may cultivate it with continual instructions. It is therefore your part render obedience to it, and to lop off superfluous occupations and anxieties, lest a noxious growth choke the good seed of the word. For it may be that a short and earnest diligence may repair a long time's neglect; for the time of every one's life is uncertain, and therefore we must hasten to salvation, lest haply sudden death seize upon him who delays.

CHAPTER 3

RIGHTEOUS ANGER

"And all the more eagerly must we strive on this account, that while there is time, the collected vices of evil custom may be cut off. And this you shall not be able to do otherwise, than by being angry with yourselves on account of your profitless and base doings. For this is righteous and necessary anger, by which every one is indignant with himself, and accuses himself for those things in which he has erred and done amiss; and by this indignation a certain fire is kindled in us, which, applied as it were to a barren field, consumes and burns up the roots of vile pleasure, and renders the soil of the heart more fertile for the good seed of the word of God. And I think that you have sufficiently worthy causes of anger, from which that most righteous fire may be kindled, if you consider into what errors the evil of ignorance has drawn you, and how it has caused you to fall and rush headlong into sin, from what good things it has withdrawn you, and into what evils it has driven you, and, what is of more importance than all the rest, how it has made you liable to eternal punishments in the world to come. Is not the fire of most righteous indignation kindled within you for all these things, now that the light of truth has shone upon you; and does not the flame of that anger which is pleasing to God rise within you, that every sprout may be burnt up and destroyed from the root, if haply any shoot of evil concupiscence has budded within you?

CHAPTER 4

NOT PEACE, BUT A SWORD

Hence, also, He who hath sent us, when He had come, and had seen that all the world had fallen into wickedness, did not forthwith give peace to him who is in error, lest He should confirm him in evil; but set the knowledge of truth in opposition to the ruins of ignorance of it, that, if haply men would repent and look upon the light of truth, they might rightly grieve that they hall been deceived and drawn away into the precipices of error, and might kindle the fire of salutary anger against the ignorance that had deceived, them. On this account, therefore, He said, ‘I have come to send fire on the earth; and how I wish that it were kindled!’ There is therefore a certain fight, which is to be fought by us in this life; for the word of truth and knowledge necessarily separates men from error and ignorance, as we have often seen putrefied and dead flesh in the body separated by the cutting knife from its connection with the living members. Such is the effect produced by knowledge of the truth. For it is necessary that, for the sake of salvation, the son, for example, who has received the word of truth, be separated from his unbelieving parents; or again, that the father. be separated from his son, or the daughter from her mother. And in this manner the battle of knowledge and ignorance, of truth and error, arises between believing and unbelieving kinsmen and relations. And therefore He who has sent us said again ‘I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.’

CHAPTER 5

HOW THE FIGHT BEGINS

“But if any one say, How does it seem right for men to be separated from their parents? I will tell you how. Because, if they remained with them in error, they would do no good to them, and they would themselves perish with them. It is therefore right, and very right, that he who will be saved be separated from him who will not. But observe this also, that this separation does not come from those who understand aright; for they wish

to be with their relatives, and to do them good, and to teach them better things. But it is the vice peculiar to ignorance, that it will not bear to have near it the light of truth, which confutes it; and therefore that separation originates with them. For those who receive the knowledge of the truth, because it is full of goodness, desire, if it be possible, to share it with all, as given by the good God; yea, even with those who hate and persecute them: for they know that ignorance is the cause of their sin. Wherefore, in short, the Master Himself, when He was being led to the cross by those who knew Him not, prayed the Father for His murderers, and said, 'Father, forgive their sin, for they know not what they do!' The disciples also, in imitation of the Master, even when themselves were suffering, in like manner prayed for their murderers. But if we are taught to pray even for our murderers and persecutors, how ought we not to bear the persecutions of parents and relations, and to pray for their conversion?

CHAPTER 6

GOD TO BE LOVED MORE THAN PARENTS

"Then let us consider carefully, in the next place, what reason we have for loving our parents. For this cause, it is said, we love them, because they seem to be the authors of our life. But our parents are not authors of our life, but means of it. For they do not bestow life, but afford the means of our entering into this life; while the one and sole author of life is God. If, therefore we would love the Author of our life, let us know that it is He that is to be loved. But then it is said, We cannot know Him; but them we know, and hold in affection. Be it so: you cannot know what God is, but you can very easily know what God is not. For how can any man fail to know that wood, or stone, or brass, or other such matter, is not God? But if you will not give your mind to consider the things which you might easily apprehend, it is certain that you are hindered in the knowledge of God, not by impossibility, but by indolence; for if you had wished it, even from these useless images you might have been set on the way of understanding.

CHAPTER 7

THE EARTH MADE FOR MEN

“For it is certain that these images are made with iron tools; but iron is wrought by fire, which fire is extinguished by water. But water is moved by spirit; and spirit has its beginning from God. For thus saith the prophet Moses: ‘In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. But the earth was invisible, and unarranged; and darkness was over the deep: and the Spirit of God was upon the waters.’ Which Spirit. like the Creator’s hand, by command of God separated light from darkness; and after that invisible heaven produced this visible one, that He might make the higher places a habitation for angels, and the lower for men. For your sake, therefore, by command of God, the water which was upon the face of the earth withdrew, that the earth might produce fruits for you; and into the earth also He inserted veins of moisture, that fountains and rivers might flow forth from it for you. For your sake it was commanded to bring forth living creatures, and all things which could serve for your use and pleasure. Is it not for you that the winds blow, that the earth, conceiving by them, may bring forth fruits? Is it not for you that the showers fall, and the seasons change? Is it not for you that the sun rises and sets, and the moon undergoes her changes? For you the sea offers its service, that all things may be subject to you, ungrateful as you are. For all these things shall there not be a righteous punishment of vengeance, because beyond all else you are ignorant of the bestower of all these things, whom you ought to acknowledge and reverence above all?

CHAPTER 8

NECESSITY OF BAPTISM

“But now I lead you to understanding by the same paths. For you see that all things are produced from waters. But water was made at first by the Only-begotten; and the Almighty God is the head of the Only-begotten, by whom we come to the Father in such order as we have stated above. But when you have come to the Father you will learn that this is His will,

that you be born anew by means of waters, which were first created. For he who is regenerated by water, having filled up the measure of good works, is made heir of Him by whom he has been regenerated in incorruption. Wherefore, with prepared minds, approach as sons to a father, that your sins may be washed away, and it may be proved before God that ignorance was their sole cause. For if, after the learning of these things, you remain in unbelief, the cause of your destruction will be imputed to yourselves, and not to ignorance. And do you suppose that you can have hope towards God, even if you cultivate all piety and all righteousness, but do not receive baptism. Yea rather, he will be worthy or greater punishment, who does good works not well; for merit accrues to men from good works, but only if they be done as God commands. Now God has ordered every one who worships Him to be sealed by baptism; hut if you refuse, and obey your own will rather than God's, you are doubtless contrary and hostile to His will.

CHAPTER 9

USE OF BAPTISM,

"But you will perhaps say, What does the, baptism of water contribute towards the worship of God? In the first place, because that which hath pleased God is fulfilled. In the second place, because, when you are regenerated and born again of water and of God, the frailty of your former birth, which you have through men, is cut off, and so at length you shall be able to attain salvation; hut otherwise it is impossible. For thus hath the true prophet testified to its with an oath: 'Verily I say to you, That unless a man is born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Therefore make haste; for there is in these waters a certain power of mercy which was born upon them at the beginning, and acknowledges those who are baptized under the name of the threefold sacrament, and rescues them from future punishments, presenting as a gift to God the souls that are consecrated by baptism. Betake yourselves therefore to these waters, for they alone can quench the violence of the future fire; and he who delays to approach to them, it is evident that the idol of unbelief remains in him, and by it be is prevented from hastening to the waters which confer salvation.

For whether you be righteous or unrighteous, baptism is necessary for you in every respect: for the righteous, that perfection may be accomplished in him, and he may be born again to God; for the unrighteous, that pardon may he vouchsafed him of the sins which he has committed in ignorance. Therefore all should hasten to he horn again to God without delay, because the end of every one's life is uncertain.

CHAPTER 10

NECESSITY OF GOOD WORKS

"But when you have been regenerated by water, show by good works the likeness in you of that Father who hath begotten you. Now you know God, honor Him as a father; and His honor is, that you live according to His will. And His will is, that you so live as to know nothing of murder or adultery, to flee from hatred and covetousness, to put away anger, pride, and boasting, to abhor envy, and to count all such things entirely unsuitable to you. There is truly a certain peculiar observance of our religion, which is not so much imposed upon men, as it is sought out by every worshipper of God by reason of its purity. By reason of chastity, I say, of which there are many kinds, but first, that every one be careful that he 'come not near a menstruous woman;' for this the law of God regards as detestable. But though the law had given no admonition concerning these things, should we willingly, like beetles, roll ourselves in filth? For we ought to have something more than the animals, as reasonable men, and capable of heavenly senses, whose chief study it ought to be to guard the conscience from every defilement of the heart.

CHAPTER 11

INWARD AND OUTWARD CLEANSING

"Moreover, it is good, and tends to purity, also to wash the body with water. I call it good, not as if it were that prime good of the purifying of the mind, but because this of the washing of the body is the sequel of that good. For so also our Master rebuked some of the Pharisees and scribes,

who seemed to be better than others, and separated from the people, calling them hypocrites, because they purified only those things which were seen of men, but left defiled and sordid their hearts, which God alone sees. To some therefore of them — not to all — He said, ‘Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but the inside is full of pollution. O blind Pharisees, first make clean what is within, and what is without shall be clean also.’ For truly, if the mind be purified by the light of knowledge, when once it is clean and clear, then it necessarily takes care of that which is without a man, that is, his flesh, that it also may he purified. But when that which is without, the cleansing of the flesh, is neglected, it is certain that there is no care taken of the purity of the mind and the cleanness of the heart. Thus therefore it comes to pass, that he who is clean inwardly is without doubt cleansed outwardly also, but not always that he who is clean outwardly is also cleansed inwardly — to wit, when he does these things that he may please men.

CHAPTER 12

IMPORTANCE OF CHASTITY

“But this kind of chastity is also to be observed, that sexual intercourse must not take place heedlessly and for the sake of mere pleasure, but for the sake of begetting children. And since this observance is found even amongst some of the lower animals, it were a shame if it be not observed by men, reasonable, and worshipping God. But there is this further reason why chastity should be observed by those who hold the trite worship of God, in those forms of it of which we have spoken, and others of like sort, that it is observed strictly even amongst those who are still held by the devil in error, for even amongst them there is in some degree the observance of chastity. What then? Will you not observe, now that you are reformed, what you observed when you were in error?

CHAPTER 13

SUPERIORITY OF CHRISTIAN MORALITY

“But perhaps some one of you will say, Must we then observe all things which we did while we worshipped idols? Not all. But whatever things were done well, these you ought to observe even now; because, if anything is rightly done by those who are in error, it is certain that that is derived from the truth; whereas, if anything is not rightly done in the true religion, that is, without doubt, borrowed from error. For good is good, though it be done by those who are in error; and evil is evil, though it be done by those who follow the truth. Or shall we be so foolish, that if we sue a worshipper of idols to be sober, we shall refuse to be sober, lest we should seem to do the same things which he does who worships idols? It is not so. But let this be our study, that if those who err do not commit murder, we should not even be angry; if they do not commit adultery, we should not even covet another’s wife; if they love their neighbors, we should love even our enemies; if they lend to those who have the means of paying, we should give to those from whom we do not hope to receive anything. And in all things, we who hope for the inheritance of the eternal world ought to excel those who know only the present world; knowing that if their works, when compared with our works, be found like and equal in the day of judgment, there will be confusion to us, because we are found equal in our works to those who are condemned on account of ignorance, and had no hope of the world to come.

CHAPTER 14

KNOWLEDGE ENHANCES RESPONSIBILITY

“And truly confusion is our worthy portion, if we have done no more than those who are inferior to us in knowledge. But if it be confusion to us, to be found equal to them in works, what shall become of us if the examination that is to take place find us inferior and worse than them? Hear, therefore, how our true Prophet has taught us concerning these things; for, with respect to those who neglect to hear the words of

wisdom, He speaks thus: ‘The queen of the south shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here, and they hear Him not.” But with respect to those who refused to repent of their evil deeds, He spoke thus: ‘The men of Nineve shall rise in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.’ You see, therefore, how He condemned those who were instructed out of the law, by adducing the example of those who came from Gentile ignorance, and showing that the former were not even equal to those who seemed to live in error. From all these things, then, the statement that He propounded is proved, that chastity, which is observed to a certain extent even by those who live in error, should be held much more purely and strictly, in all its forms, as we showed above, by us who follow the truth; and the rather because with us eternal rewards are assigned to its observance.”

CHAPTER 15

BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, DEACONS, AND WIDOWS ORDAINED AT TRIPOLIS

When he had said these things, and others to the same effect, he dismissed the crowds; and having, according to his custom, supped with his friends, he went to sleep. And while in this manner he was teaching the word of God for three whole months, and converting multitudes to the faith, at the last he ordered me to fast; and after the fast he conferred on me the baptism of ever-flowing water, in the fountains which adjoin the sea. And when, for the grace of regeneration divinely conferred upon me, we had joyfully kept holiday with our brethren, Peter ordered those who had been appointed to go before him, to proceed to Antioch, and there to wait three months more. And they having gone, he himself led down to the fountains, which, I have said, are near the sea, those who had fully received the faith of the Lord, and baptized them; and celebrating the Eucharist with them, he appointed, as bishop over them, Maro, who had entertained him in his house, and who was now perfect in all things; and with him he ordained

twelve presbyters and deacons at the same time. He also instituted the order of widows, and arranged all the services of the Church; and charged them all to obey Maro their bishop in all things that he should command them. And thus all things being suitably arranged, when the three months were fulfilled, we bade farewell to those who were at Tripolis, and set out for Antioch.

BOOK 7

CHAPTER 1

JOURNEY FROM TRIPOLIS

AT length leaving Tripolis, a city of Phoenicia, we made our first halt at Ortosias, not far from Tripolis; and there we remained the next day also, because almost all those that hart believed in the Lord, unable to part from Peter, followed him thus far. Thence we came to Antharadus. But because there were many in our company, Peter said to Niceta and Aquila: “As there are immense crowds of brethren with as, and we bring upon ourselves no title envy as we enter into every city, it seems to me that we must take means, without doing so unpleasing a thing as to prevent their following us, to secure that the wicked one shall not stir up envy against us on account of any display! I wish, therefore, that you, Niceta and Aquila, would go before us with them, so that you may lead the multitude divided into two sections, that we may enter every city of the Gentiles traveling apart, rather than in one assemblage.

CHAPTER 2

DISCIPLES DIVIDED INTO TWO BANDS

“But I know that you think it sad to be separated from me for the space of at least two days. Believe me, that in whatever degree you love me, my diction towards you is tenfold greater. But if, by reason of our mutual affection, we will not do the things that are right and honorable, such love will appear to be unreasonable. And therefore, without bating a tittle of our love, let us attend to those things which seem useful and necessary; especially since not a day can pass in which you may not be present at my discussions. For I purpose to pass through the most noted cities of the provinces one by one, as you also know, and to reside three months in each for the sake of teaching. Now, therefore, go before me to Laodicea,

which is the nearest city, and I shall follow you after two or three days, so far as I purpose. But you shall wait for me at the inn nearest to the gate of the city; and thence again, when we have spent a few days there, you shall go before me to more distant cities. And this I wish you to do at every city, for the sake of avoiding envy as much as in us lies, and also that the brethren who are with us, finding lodgings prepared in the several cities by your foresight, may not seem to be vagabonds."

CHAPTER 3

ORDER OF MARCH

When Peter thus spoke, they of course acquiesced, saying: "It does not greatly sadden us to do this, because we are ordered by you, who have been chosen by the foresight of Christ to I do and to counsel well in all things; but also because, while it is a heavy loss not to see our Lord Peter for one, or it may be two days, yet it is not intolerable. And we think of our twelve brethren who go before us, and who are deprived of the advantage of hearing and seeing you for a whole month out of the three that you stay in every city. Therefore we shall not delay doing as you order, because you order all things aright." And thus saying, they went forward, having received instructions that they should speak to the brethren who journeyed with them outside the city, and request them not to enter the cities in a crowd and with tumult, but apart, and divided

CHAPTER 4

CLEMENT'S JOY AT REMAINING WITH PETER

But when they were gone, I Clement rejoiced greatly because he had kept me with himself, and I said to him: "I give thanks to God that you have not sent me forward with the others, for I should have died through sadness." Then said Peter: "And what will happen if necessity shall demand that you be sent anywhere for the purpose of teaching? Would you die if you were separated from me for a good purpose? Would you not put a restraint upon yourself, to bear patiently what necessity has laid

upon you? Or do you not know that friends are always together, and are joined in memory, though they be separated bodily; as, on the other hand, some. persons are near to one another in body, but are separate in mind?”

CHAPTER 5

CLEMENT’S AFFECTION FOR PETER

Then I answered: “Think not, my Lord, that I suffer these things unreasonably; hut there is a certain cause and reason of this affection of mine towards you. For I have you alone as the object of all my affections, instead of father and mother, and brethren; bat above all this, is the fact that you alone are the cause of my salvation and knowledge of the truth. And also this I do not count of least moment, that my youthful age is subject to the snares of lusts; and I am afraid to he without you, by whose sole presence all effeminacy, however irrational it be, is put to shame; although I trust, by the mercy of God, that even my mind, from what it has conceived through your instruction, shall be unable to receive aught else into its thoughts. Besides, I remember your saying at Caesarea, ‘If any one wishes to accompany me, without violating dutifulness, let him accompany me.’ And by this you meant that he should not make any one sad, to whom he ought according to God’s appointment to cleave; for example, that he should not leave a faithful wife, or parents, or the like. Now from these I am entirely free, and so I am fit for following you; and I wish you would grant me that I might perform to you the service of a servant.”

CHAPTER 6

PETER’S SIMPLICITY OF LIFE

Then Peter, laughing. said: “And do you not think, Clement, that very necessity must make you my servant? For who else can spread my sheets, and arrange my beautiful coverlets? Who will be at hand to keep my rings, and prepare my robes, which I must be constantly changing? Who shall superintend my cooks, and provide various and choice meats to be

prepared by most recondite and various art; and all those things which are procured at enormous expense, and are brought together for men of delicate up-bringing, yea rather, for their appetite, as for some enormous beast? But perhaps, although you live with me, you do not know my manner of life. I live on bread alone, with olives, and seldom even with pot-herbs; and my dress is what you see, a tunic with a pallium: and having these, I require nothing more. This is sufficient for me, because my mind does not regard things present, but things eternal, and therefore no present and visible thing delights me. Whence I embrace and admire indeed your good mind towards me; and I commend you the more, because, though you have been accustomed to so great abundance, you have been able so soon to abandon it, and to accommodate yourself to this life of ours, which makes use of necessary things alone. For we — that is, I and my brother Andrew — have grown up from our childhood not only orphans, but also extremely poor, and through necessity have become used to labor, whence now also we easily bear the fatigues of our journeyings. But rather, if you would consent and allow it, I, who am a working man, could more easily discharge the duty of a servant to you."

CHAPTER 7

PETER'S HUMILITY

But I trembled when I heard this, and my tears immediately gushed forth, because so great a man, who is worth more than the whole world, had addressed such a proposal to me. Then he, when he saw me weeping, inquired the reason; and I answered him: "How have I so sinned against you, that you should distress me with such a proposal?" Then Peter: "If it is evil that I said I should serve you, you were first in fault in saying the same thing to me." Then said I: "The cases are not alike: for it becomes me to do this to you; but it is grievous that you, who are sent as the herald of the Most High God to save the souls of men, should say it to me." Then said Peter: "I should agree with you, were it not that our Lord, who came for the salvation of the whole world, and who was nobler than any creature, submitted to be a servant, that He might persuade us not to be ashamed to perform the ministry of servants to our brethren." Then said I:

“It were foolishness in me to suppose that I can prevail with you; nevertheless i give thanks to the providence of God, because I have merited to have you instead of parents.”

CHAPTER 8

CLEMENT’S FAMILY HISTORY

Then said Peter: “Is there then no one of your family surviving?” I answered: “There are indeed many powerful men, coming of the stock of Caesar; for Caesar himself gave a wife to my father, as being his relative, and educated along with him, and of a suitably noble family. By her my father had twin sons, born before me, not very like one another, as my father told me; for I never knew them. But indeed I have not a distinct recollection even of my mother; but I cherish the remembrance of her face, as if I had seen it in a dream. My mother’s name was Matthidia, my father’s Faustinianus: my brothers’, Faustinus and Faustus. Now, when I was barely five years old, my mother saw a vision — so I learned from my father — by which she was warned that, unless she speedily for the city with her twin sons, and was absent for ten years, she and her children should perish by a miserable fate.

CHAPTER 9

DISAPPEARANCE OF HIS MOTHER AND BROTHERS

“Then my father, who tenderly loved his sons, put them on board a ship with their mother, and sent them to Athens to be educated, with slaves and maid-servants, and a sufficient supply of money; retaining me only to be a comfort to him, and thankful for this, that the vision had not commanded me also to go with my mother. And at the end of a year my father sent men to Athens with money for them, desiring also to know how they did; but those who were sent never returned. Again, in the third year, my sorrowful father sent other men with money, who returned in the fourth year, and related that they had seen neither my mother nor my

brothers, that they had never reached Athens, and that no trace had been found of any one of those who had been with them.

CHAPTER 10

DISAPPEARANCE OF HIS FATHER

“My father hearing this, and confounded with excessive sorrow, not knowing whither to go or where to seek, went down with me to the harbor, and began to ask of the sailors whether any of them had seen or heard of the bodies of a mother and two little children being cast ashore anywhere, four years ago; when one told one story and another, but nothing definite was disclosed to us searching in this boundless sea. Yet my father, by reason of the great affection which he bore to his wife and children, was fed with vain hopes, until he thought of placing me under guardians and leaving me at Rome, as I was now twelve years old, and himself going in quest of them. Therefore he went down to the harbor weeping, and going on board a ship, took his departure; and from that time till now I have never received any letters from him, nor do I know whether he is alive or dead. But I rather suspect that he also has perished, either through a broken heart or by shipwreck; for twenty years have now elapsed since then, and no tidings of him have ever reached me.”

CHAPTER 11

DIFFERENT EFFECTS OF SUFFERING ON HEATHENS AND CHRISTIANS

Peter, hearing this, shed tears of sympathy, and said to his friends who were present: “If any man who is a worshipper of God had endured what this man’s father has endured, immediately men would assign his religion as the cause of his calamities; but when these things happen to miserable Gentiles, they charge their misfortunes upon fate. I call them miserable, because they are both vexed with errors here, and are deprived of future hope; whereas, when the worshippers of God suffer these things, their patient endurance of them contributes to their cleansing from sin.”

CHAPTER 12

EXCURSION TO ARADUS

After this, one of those present began to ask Peter, that early next day we should go to a neighboring island called Aradus, which was not more than six furlongs off, to see a certain wonderful work that was in it, viz. vine-wood columns of immense size. To this Peter assented, as he was very complaisant; but he charged us that, when we left the ship, we should not rush all together to see it: “for,” said he, “I do not wish you to be noticed by the crowd.” When therefore, next day, we reached the island by ship in the course of an hour forthwith we hastened to the place where the wonderful columns were. They were placed in a certain temple, in which there were very magnificent works of Phidias, on which every one of us gazed earnestly.

CHAPTER 13

THE BEGGAR WOMAN

But when Peter had admired only the columns, being no wise ravished with the grace of the painting, he went out, and saw before the gates a poor woman asking alms of those who went in; and looking earnestly at her, he said: “Tell me, O woman, what member of your body is wanting, that you subject yourself to the indignity of asking alms, and do not rather gain your bread by laboring with your hands which God has given you.” But she, sighing, said: “Would that I had hands which could be moved; but now only the appearance of hands has been preserved, for they are lifeless, and have been rendered feeble and without feeling by my gnawing of them.” Then Peter said: “What has been the cause of your inflicting so great an injury upon yourself?” “Want of courage,” said she, “and nought else; for if I had had any bravery in me, I could either have thrown myself from a precipice, or cast myself into the depths of the sea, and so ended my griefs.”

CHAPTER 14

THE WOMAN'S GRIEF

Then Peter said: "Do you think, O woman, that those who destroy themselves are set free from torments, and not rather that the souls of those who lay violent hands upon themselves are subjected to greater punishments?" Then said she: "I wish I were sure that souls live in the infernal regions, for I would gladly embrace the suffering of the penalty of suicide, only that I might see my darling children, if it were but for an hour." Then Peter: "What thing is it so great, that effects you with so heavy sadness? I should like to know. For if you informed me of the cause, I might be able both to show you clearly, O woman, that souls do live in the infernal regions; and instead of the precipice or the deep sea, I might give you some remedy, that you may be able to end your life without torment."

CHAPTER 15

THE WOMAN'S STORY

Then the woman, hearing this welcome promise, began to say: "It is neither easy of belief, nor do I think it necessary to tell, what is my extraction, or what is my country. It is enough only to explain the cause of my grief, why I have rendered my hands powerless by gnawing them. Being born of noble parents, and having become the wife of a suitably powerful man, I had two twin sons, and after them one other. But my husband's brother was vehemently enflamed with unlawful love towards me; and as I valued chastity above all things, and would neither consent to so great wickedness, nor wished to disclose to my husband the baseness of his brother, I considered whether in any way I could escape unpolluted, and yet not set brother against brother, and so bring the whole race of a noble family into disgrace. I made up my mind, therefore, to leave my country with my two twins, until the incestuous love should subside, which the sight of me was fostering and inflaming; and I thought that our other son should remain to comfort his father to some extent.

CHAPTER 16

THE WOMAN'S STORY CONTINUED

"Now in order to carry out this plan, I pretended that I had had a dream, in which some deity stood by me in a vision, and told me that I should immediately depart from the city with my twins, and should be absent until he should command me to return; and that, if I did not do so, I should perish with all my children. And so it was done. For as soon as I told the dream to my husband, he was terrified; and sending with me my twin sons, and also slaves and maid-servants, and giving me plenty of money, he ordered me to sail to Athens, where I might educate my sons, and that I should stay there until he who commanded me to depart should give me leave to return. While I was sailing along with my sons, I was shipwrecked in the night by the violence of the winds, and, wretch that I am, was driven to this place; and when all had perished, a powerful wave caught me, and cast me upon a rock. And while I sat there with this only hope, that haply I might be able to find my sons, I did not throw myself into the deep, although then my soul, disturbed and drunk with grief, had both the courage and the power to do it.

CHAPTER 17

THE WOMAN'S STORY CONTINUED

"But when the day dawned, and I with shouting and howling was looking around, if I could even see the corpses of my unhappy sons anywhere washed ashore, some of those who saw me were moved with compassion, and searched, first over the sea, and then also along the shores, if they could find either of my children. But when neither of them was anywhere found, the women of the place, taking pity on me, began to comfort me, every one telling her own griefs, that I might take consolation from the likeness of their calamities to my own. But this saddened me all the more; for my disposition was not such that I could regard the misfortunes of others as comforts to me. And when many desired to receive me hospitably, a certain poor I woman who dwells here constrained me to

enter into her hut, saying that she had had a husband who was a sailor, and that he had died at sea while a young man, and that, although many afterwards asked her in marriage, she preferred widowhood through love of her husband. ‘Therefore,’ said she. ‘we shall share whatever we can gain by the labor of our hands.’

CHAPTER 18

THE WOMAN’S STORY CONTINUED

“And, not to detain you with a long and profitless story, I willingly dwelt with her on account of the faithful affection which she retained for her husband. But not long after, my hands (unhappy woman that I was!), long torn with gnawing, became powerless, and she who had taken me in fell into palsy, and now lies at home in her bed; also the affection of those women who had formerly pitied me grew cold. We are both helpless. I, as you see, sit begging; and when I get anything, one meal serves two wretches. Behold, now you have heard enough of my affairs; why do you delay the fulfillment of your promise, to give me a remedy, by which both of us may end our miserable life without torment?”

CHAPTER 19

PETER’S REFLECTIONS ON THE STORY

While she was speaking, Peter, being distracted with much thought, stood like one thunder-struck; and I Clement coming up, said: “I have been seeking you everywhere, and now what are we to do?” But he commanded me to go before him to the ship, and there to wait for him; and because he must not be gainsayed, I did as he commanded me. But he, as he afterwards told me the whole, being struck with a sort of suspicion, asked of the woman her family, and her country, and the names of her sons; “and straightway,” he said, “if you tell me these things, I shall give you the remedy.” But she, like one suffering violence, because she would not confess these things, and yet was desirous of the remedy, reigned one thing after another, saying that she was an Ephesian, and her husband a

Sicilian, and giving false names to her sons. Then Peter, supposing that she had answered truly, said: “Alas! O woman, I thought that some great joy should spring up to us today; for I suspected that you were a certain woman, concerning whom I lately learned certain like things.” But she adjured him, saying: “I entreat you to tell me what they are, that I may know if amongst women there be one more unfortunate than myself.”

CHAPTER 20

PETER’S STATEMENT TO THE WOMAN

Then Peter, incapable of deception, and moved with compassion, began to say: “There is a certain young man among those who follow me for the sake of religion and sect, a Roman citizen, who told me that he had a father and two twin brothers, of whom not one is left to him. My mother,’ he said, ‘as I learned from my father, saw a vision, that she should depart from the Roman city for a time with her twin sons, else they should perish by a dreadful death; and when she had departed, she was never more seen.’ And afterwards his father set out to search for his wife and sons, and was also lost.”

CHAPTER 21

A DISCOVERY

When Peter had thus spoken, the woman, struck with astonishment, fainted. Then Peter began to hold her rip, and to comfort her, and to ask what was the matter, or what she suffered. But she at length, with difficulty recovering her breath, and nerving herself up to the greatness of the joy which she hoped for, and at the same time wiping her face, said: “Is he here, the youth of whom you speak?” But Peter, when he understood the matter, said: “Tell me first, or else you shall not see him.” Then she said: “I am the mother of the youth.” Then says Peter: “What is his name?” And she answered: “Clement.” Then said Peter: “It is himself; and he it was that spoke with me a little while ago, and whom I ordered to go before me to the ship.” Then she fell down at Peter’s feet and began to

entreat him that he would hasten to the ship. Then Peter said: “Yes if you will promise me that you will do as I say.” Then she said: “I will do anything; only show me my only son, for I think that in him I shall see my twins also.” Then Peter said: “When you have seen him, dissemble for a little time, until we leave the island.” “I will do so,” she said.

CHAPTER 22

A HAPPY MEETING

Then Peter, holding her hand, led her to the ship. And when I saw him giving his hand to the woman, I began to laugh; yet, approaching to do him honor, I tried to substitute my hand for his, and to support the woman. But as soon as I touched her hand, she uttered a loud scream, and rushed into my embrace, and began to devour me with a mother’s kisses. But I, being ignorant of the whole matter, pushed her off as a mad woman; and at the same time, though with reverence, I was somewhat angry with Peter.

CHAPTER 23

A MIRACLE

But he said: “Cease: what mean you, O Clement, my son? Do not push away your mother.” But I as soon as I heard these words, immediately bathed in tears, fell upon my mother, who had fallen down, and began to kiss her, For as soon as I heard, by degrees I recalled her countenance to my memory; and the longer I gazed, the more familiar it grew to me. Mean time a great multitude assembled, hearing that the woman who used to sit and beg was recognized by her son, who was a good man. And when we wished to sail hastily away from the island, my mother said to me: “My darling son, it is right that I should bid farewell to the woman who took me in; for she is poor, and paralytic, and bedridden.” When Peter and all who were present heard this, they admired the goodness and prudence of the woman; and immediately Peter ordered some to go and to bring the woman in her bed as she lay. And when she had been brought, and placed in the midst of the crowd, Peter said, in the presence of all: “If I am a preacher of

truth, for confirming the faith of all those who stand by, that they may know and believe that there is one God, who made heaven and earth, in the name of Jesus Christ, His Son, let this woman rise." And as soon as he had said this, she arose whole, and fell down at Peter's feet; and greeting her friend and acquaintance with kisses asked of her was the meaning of it all. But she shortly related to her the whole proceeding of the Recognition, so that the crowds standing around wondered.

CHAPTER 24

DEPARTURE FROM ARADUS

Then Peter, so far as he could, and as time permitted, addressed the crowds on the faith of God, and the ordinances of religion; and then added, that if any one wished to know more accurately about these things, he should come to Antioch, "where," said he, "we have resolved to stay three months, and to teach fully the things which pertain to salvation. For if," said he, "men leave their country and their parents for commercial or military purposes, and do not fear to undertake long voyages, why should it be thought burdensome or difficult to leave home for three months for the sake of eternal life?" When he had said these things, and more to the same purpose, I presented a thousand drachmas to the woman who had entertained my mother, and who bad recovered her health by means of Peter, and in the presence of all committed her to the charge of a certain good man, the chief person in that town, who promised that he would gladly do what we demanded of him. I also distributed a little money among some others, and among those women who were said formerly to have comforted my mother in her miseries, to whom I also expressed my thanks. And after this we sailed, along with my mother, to Antaradus.

CHAPTER 25

JOURNEYINGS

And when we had come to our lodging, my mother began to ask of me what had become of my father; and I told her that he had gone to seek her,

and never returned. But she, hearing this, only sighed; for her great joy on my account lightened her other sorrows. And the next clay she journeyed with us, sitting with Peter's wife; and we came to Balaneae, where we stayed three days, and then went on to Pathos, and afterwards to Gabala; and so we arrived at Laodicea, where Niceta and Aquila met us before the gates, and kissing us, conducted us to a lodging. But Peter, seeing that it was a large and splendid city, said that it was worthy that we should stay in it ten days, or even longer. Then Niceta and Aquila asked of me who was this unknown woman; and I answered: "It is my mother, whom God has given back to me by means of my Lord Peter."

CHAPTER 26

RECAPITULATION

And when I had said this, Peter began to relate the whole matter to them in order, and said. "When we had come to Aradus, and I had ordered you to go on before us, the same day after you had gone, Clement was led in the course of conversation to tell me of his extraction and his family, and how he had been deprived of his parents, and had had twin brothers older than himself, and that, as his father told him, his mother once saw a vision, by which she was ordered to depart from the city of Rome with her twin sons, else she and they should suddenly perish. And when she had told his father the dream, he, loving his sons with tender affection, and afraid of any evil befalling them, put his wife and sons on board a ship with all necessaries, and sent them to Athens to be educated. Afterwards he sent once and again persons to inquire after them, but nowhere found even a trace of them. At last the father himself went on the search, and until now he is nowhere to be found. When Clement had given me this narrative, there came one to us, asking us to go to the neighboring island of Aradus, to see vine-wood columns of wonderful size. I consented; and when we came to the place, all the rest went into the interior of the temple; but I — for what reason I know not — had no mind to go farther.

CHAPTER 27

RECAPITULATION CONTINUED

“But while I was waiting outside for them, I began to notice this woman, and to wonder in what part of her body she was disabled, that she did not seek her living by the labor of her hands, but submitted to the shame of beggary. I therefore asked of her the reason of it. She confessed that she was sprung of a noble race, and was married to a no less noble husband, ‘whose brother,’ said she, ‘being inflamed by unlawful love towards me, desired to defile his brother’s bed. This I abhorring, and yet not daring to tell my husband of so great wickedness, lest I should stir up war between the brothers. and bring disgrace upon the family, judged it better to depart from my country with my two twin sons, leaving the younger boy to be a comfort to his father. And that this might be done with an honorable appearance, I thought good to feign a dream, and to tell my husband that there stood by me in a vision a certain deity, who told me to set out from the city immediately with my two twins, and remain until he should instruct me to return.’ She told me that her husband, when he heard this, believed her, and sent her to Athens, with the twin children to be educated there; but that they were driven by a terrible tempest upon that island, where, when the ship had gone to pieces, she was lifted by a wave upon a rock, and delayed killing herself only for this, ‘until,’ said she, ‘I could embrace at least the dead limbs of my unfortunate sons, and commit them to burial. But when the day dawned, and crowds had assembled, they took pity upon me, and threw a garment over me. But I, miserable, entreated them with many tears, to search if they could find anywhere the booties of my unfortunate sons. And I, tearing all my body with my teeth, with wailing and howlings cried out constantly, Unhappy woman that I am, where is my Faustus? where my Faustinus?’”

CHAPTER 28

MORE RECOGNITIONS

And when Peter said this, Niceta and Aquila suddenly started up, and being astonished, began to be greatly agitated, saying: “O Lord, Thou Ruler and God of all, are these things true, or are we in a dream?” Then Peter said: “Unless we be mad, these things are true.” But they, after a short pause, and wiping their faces, said: “We are Faustinus and Faustus: and even at the first, when you began this narrative, we immediately fell into a suspicion that the matters that you spoke of might perhaps relate to us; yet again considering that many like things happen in men’s lives, we kept silence, although our hearts were struck by some hope. Therefore we waited for the end of your story, that, if it were entirely manifest that it related to us, we might then confess it.” And when they had thus spoken, they went in weeping to our mother. And when they found her asleep, and wished to embrace her, Peter prevented them, saying: “Permit me first to prepare your mother’s mind, lest haply by the great and sudden joy she lose her reason, and her understanding he disturbed, especially as she is now stupefied with sleep.”

CHAPTER 29

“NOTHING COMMON OR UNCLEAN.”

Therefore, when our mother had risen from her sleep, Peter began to address her, saying: “I wish you to know, O woman an observance of our religion. We worship one God, who made the world, and we keep His law, in which He commands us first of all to worship Him, and to reverence His name, to honor our parents, and to preserve chastity and uprightness. But this also we observe, not to have a common table with Gentiles, unless when they believe, and on the reception of the truth are baptized, and consecrated by a certain threefold invocation of the blessed name; and then we eat with them. Otherwise, even if it were a father or a mother, or wife:, or sons, or brothers, we cannot have a common table with them. Since, therefore, we do this for the special cause of religion, let it not seem

hard to you that your son cannot eat with you, until you have the same judgment of the faith that he has."

CHAPTER 30

"WHE CAN FORBID WATER?"

Then she, when she heard this, said: "And what hinders me to be baptized today? For even before I saw you I was wholly alienated t from those whom they call gods because they were not able to do anything for me, although I frequently, and almost daily, sacrificed to them. And as to chastity, what shall I say, when neither in former times did pleasures deceive me, nor afterwards did poverty compel me to sin? But I think you know well enough how great was my love of chastity, when I pretended that dream that I might escape the snares of unhallowed love, and that I might go abroad with my two twins. and when I left this my son Clement alone to be a comfort to his father. For if two were scarcely enough for me, how much more it would have saddened their father, if he had had none at all? For he was wretched through his great affection towards our sons, so that even the authority of the dream could scarce prevail upon him to give up to me Faustinus and Faustus, the brothers of this Clement, and that himself should be content with Clement alone. "

CHAPTER 31

TOO MUCH JOY

While she was yet speaking, my brothers could contain themselves no longer, but rushed into their mother's embrace with many tears, and kissed her. But she said: "What 'is the meaning of this" Then said Peter: "Be not disturbed, O woman; be firm. These are your sons Faustinus and Faustus, whom you supposed to have perished in the deep; but how they are alive, and how they escaped in that horrible night, and how the one of them is called Niceta and the other Aquila, they will be able to explain to you themselves, and we also shall hear it along with you." When Peter had said this, our mother fainted, being overcome with excess of joy; and after some

time, being restored and come to herself, she said; “I beseech you, darling sons, tell me what has befallen you since that dismal and cruel night.”

CHAPTER 32

“HE BRINGETH THEM UNTO THEIR DESIRED HAVEN.”

Then Niceta began to say: “On that night, O mother, when the ship was broken up, and we were being tossed upon the sea, supported on a fragment of the wreck, certain men, whose business it was to rob by sea, found us, and placed us in their boat, and overcoming the power of the waves by rowing, by various stretches brought us to Caesarea Stratonis. There they starved us, and heat us, and terrified us, that we might not disclose the truth; and having changed our names, they sold us to a certain widow, a very honorable women, named Justa. She, having bought us, treated us as sons, so that she carefully educated us in Greek literature and liberal arts. And when we grew up, we also attended to philosophic studies, that we night be able to confute the Gentiles, by supporting the doctrines of the divine religion by philosophic disputations.

CHAPTER 33

ANOTHER WRECK PREVENTED

“But we adhered, for friendship’s sake and boyish companionship, to one Simon, a magician, who was educated along with us, so that we were almost deceived by him. For there is mention made in our religion of a certain Prophet, whose coming was hoped for by all who observe that religion, through whom immortal and happy life is promised to be given to those who believe in Him. Now we thought that this Simon was he. But these things shall be explained to you, O mother, at a more convenient season. Meanwhile, when we were almost deceived by Simon, a certain colleague of my Lord Peter, Zacchaeus by name, warned us that we should not be duped by the magician, but presented us to Peter on his arrival, that by him we might be taught the things which were sound and perfect. And this we hope will happen to you also, even as God has vouchsafed it to

us, that we may be able to eat and have a common table with you. Thus therefore it was, O mother, that you believed that we were drowned in the sea, while we were stolen by pirates."

CHAPTER 34

BAPTISM MUST BE PRECEDED BY FASTING

When Niceta had spoken thus, our mother fell down at Peter's feet, entreating and beseeching him that both herself and her hostess might be baptized without delay; "that," said she, "I may not even for a single clay suffer the loss of the company and society of my sons." In like manner, we her sons also entreated Peter. But he said: "What! Do you think that I alone am unpitiful, and that I do not wish you to enjoy your mother's society at meals? But she must fast at least one day first, and so be baptized; and this because I have heard from her a certain declaration, by which her faith has been made manifest to me, and which has given evidence of her belief; otherwise she must have been instructed and taught many days before she could have been baptized."

CHAPTER 35

DESIRING THE SALVATION OF OTHERS

Then said I: "I pray you, my Lord Peter, tell us what is that declaration which you say afforded you evidence of her faith?" Then Peter: "It is her asking that her hostess, whose kindnesses she wishes to requite, may be baptized along with her. Now she would not ask that this grace be bestowed upon her whom she loves, unless she believed that there is some great boon in baptism. Whence, also, I find fault with very many, who, when they are themselves baptized and believe, yet do nothing worthy of faith with those whom they love, such as wives, or children, or friends, whom they do not exhort to that which they themselves have attained, as they would do if indeed they believed that eternal life is thereby bestowed. In short, if they see them to be sick, or to be subject to any danger bodily, they grieve and mourn, because they are sure that in this destruction

threatens them. So, then, if they were sure of this, that the punishment of eternal fire awaits those who do not worship God, when would they cease warning and exhorting? Or, if they refused, how would they not mourn and bewail them, being sure that eternal torments awaited them? Now, therefore, we shall send for that woman at once, and see if she loves the faith of our religion; and as we find, so shall we act. But since your mother has judged so faithfully concerning baptism, let her fast only one day before baptism."

CHAPTER 36

THE SONS' PLEADING

But she declared with an oath, in presence of my Lord Peter's wife, that from the time she recognized her son, she had been unable to take any food from excess of joy, excepting only that yesterday she drank a cup of water. Peter's wife also bore witness, saying that it was even so. Then Aquila said: "What, then, hinders her being baptized?" Then Peter, smiling, said: "But this is not the fast of baptism, for it was not done in order to baptism." Then Niceta said: "But perhaps God, wishing that our mother, on our recognition, should not be separated even for one day from participation of our table, pre-ordained this fasting. For as in her ignorance she preserved her chastity, that it might profit her in order to the grace of baptism; so she fasted before she knew the reason of fasting, that it might profit her in order to baptism, and that immediately, from the beginning of our acquaintance, she might enjoy communion of the table with us."

CHAPTER 37

PETER INEXORABLE

Then said Peter: "Let not the wicked one prevail against us, taking occasion from a mother's love; but let you, and me with you, fast this day along with her, and tomorrow she shall be baptized: for it is not right that the precepts of truth be relaxed and weakened in favor of any person or friendship. Let us not shrink, then, from suffering along with her, for it is a

sin to transgress any commandment. But let us teach our bodily senses, which are without us, to be in subjection to our inner senses; and not compel our inner senses, which savor the things that be of God, to follow the outer senses, which savor the things that be of the flesh. For to this end also the Lord commanded, saying: ‘Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.’ And to this He added: ‘If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell-fire.’ He does not say, has offended thee, that you should then east away the cause of sin after you have sinned; but if it offend you, that is, that before you sin you should cut off the cause of the sin that provokes and irritates you. But let none of you think, brethren, that the Lord commended the cutting off of the members. His meaning is, that the purpose should be cut off, not the members, and the causes which allure to sin, in order that our thought, born up on the chariot of sight, may push towards the love of God, supported by the bodily senses; and not give loose reins to the eyes of the flesh as to wanton horses, eager to turn their running outside the way of the commandments, but may subject the bodily sight to the judgment of the mind, and not suffer those eyes of ours, which God intended to be viewers and witnesses of His work, to become panders of evil desire. And therefore let the bodily senses as well as the internal thought be subject to the law of God, and let them serve His will, whose work they acknowledge themselves to be.”

CHAPTER 38

REWARD OF CHASTITY

Therefore, as the order and reason of the mystery demanded, on the following day she was baptized in the sea, and returning to the lodging, was initiated in all the mysteries of religion in their order. And we her sons, Niceta and Aquila, and I Clement, were present. And after this we dined with her, and glorified God with her, thankfully acknowledging the zeal and teaching of Peter, who showed us, by the example of our mother, that the good of chastity is not lost with God; “as, on the other hand,”

said he, “unchastity does not escape punishment, though it may not be punished immediately, but slowly. But so well pleasing,” said he, “is chastity to God, that it confers some grace in the present life even upon those who are in error; for future blessedness is laid up for those only who preserve chastity and righteousness by the grace of baptism. In short, that which has befallen your mother is an example of this, for all this welfare has been restored to her in reward of her chastity, for the guarding and preserving of which continence alone is not sufficient; but when any one perceives that snares and deceptions are being prepared, he must straightway flee as from the violence of fire or the attack of a mad dog, and not trust that he can easily frustrate snares of this kind by philosophizing or by humoring them; but, as I have said, he must flee and withdraw to a distance, as your mother also did through her true and entire love of chastity. And on this account she has been preserved to you, and you to her; and in addition, she has been endowed with the knowledge of eternal life” When he had said this, and much more to the same effect, the evening having come, we went to sleep.

BOOK 8

CHAPTER 1

THE OLD WORKMAN

NOW the next morning Peter took my brothers and me with him, and we went down to the harbor to bathe in the sea, and thereafter we retired to a certain secret place for prayer. But a certain poor old man, a workman, as he appeared by his dress, began to observe us eagerly, without our seeing him, that he might see what we were doing in secret. And when he saw us praying, he waited till we came out, and then saluted us, and said: “If you do not take it amiss, and regard me as an inquisitive and importunate person, I should wish to converse with you; for I take pity on you, and would not have you err under the appearance of truth, and be afraid of things that have no existence; or if you think that there is any truth in them, then declare it to me. If, therefore, you take it patiently, I can in a few words instruct you in what is right; but if it be unpleasant to you, I shall go on, and do my business.” To him Peter answered: “Speak what you think good, and we will gladly hear, whether it be true or false; for you are to be welcomed, because, like a father anxious on behalf of his children, you wish to put us in possession of what you regard as good.”

CHAPTER 2

GENESIS

Then the old man proceeded to say: “I saw you bathe in the sea, and afterwards retire into a secret place; wherefore observing, without your noticing me, what you were doing, I saw you praying. Therefore, pitying your error, I waited till you came out, that I might speak to you, and instruct you not to err in an observance of this sort; because there is neither any God, nor any worship, neither is there any providence in the world, but all things are done by fortuitous chance and genesis, as I have

discovered most clearly for thyself, being accomplished beyond others in the discipline of learning. Do not err, therefore: for whether you pray, or whether you do not pray, whatever your genesis contains, that shall befall you." Then I Clement was affected, I know not how, in my heart, recollecting many things in him that seemed familiar to me; for some one says well, that that which is sprung from any one, although it may be long absent, yet a spark of relationship is never extinguished. Therefore I began to ask of him who and whence he was, and how descended. But he, not wishing to answer these questions, said: "What has that to do with what I have told you? But first, if you please, let us converse of those matters which we have pro-pounded; and afterwards, if circumstances require, we can disclose to one another, as friends to friends, our names, and families, and country, and other things connected with these." Yet we all admired the eloquence of the man, and the gravity of his manners, and the calmness of his speech.

CHAPTER 3

A FRIENDLY CONFERENCE

But Peter, walking along leisurely while conversing, was looking out for a suitable place for a conference. And when he saw a quiet recess near the harbor, he made us sit down; and so he himself first began. Nor did he hold the old man in any contempt, nor did he look down upon him because his dress was poor and mean. He said, therefore: "Since you seem to me to be a learned man, and a compassionate, inasmuch as you have come to us, and wish that to be known to us which you consider to be good, we also wish to expound to you what things we believe to be good and right; and if you do not think them true, you will take in good part our good intentions towards you, as we do yours towards us." While Peter was thus speaking, a great multitude assembled. Then said the old man: "Perhaps the presence of a multitude disconcerts you." Peter replied: "Not at all, except only on this account, that I am afraid lest haply, when the truth is made manifest in the course of our discussion, you be ashamed in presence of the multitude to yield and assent to the things which you may have understood to be spoken truly." To this the old man answered: "I am not

such a fool in my old age, that, understanding what is true, I should deny it for the favor of the rabble.”

CHAPTER 4

THE QUESTION STATED

Then Peter began to say: “Those who speak the word of truth, and who enlighten the souls of men, seem to me to be like the rays of the sun, which, when once they have come forth and appeared to the world, can no longer be concealed or hidden, while they are not so much seen by men, as they afford sight to all. There fore it was well said by One to the heralds of the truth, ‘Ye are the light of the world, and a city set upon a hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle and put it tinder a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may enlighten all who are in the house.’” Then said the old man: “He said well, whoever he is. But let one of you state what, according to his opinion, ought to be followed, that we may direct our speech to a definite aim. For, in order to find the truth, it is Dot sufficient to overthrow the things that are spoken on the other side, but also that one should himself bring forward what he who is on the other side may oppose. Therefore, in order that both parties may be on an equal footing, it seems to me to be right that each of us should first enunciate what opinion he holds. And, if you please, I shall begin first. I say, then, that the world is not governed according to the providence of God, because we see that many things in it are done unjustly and disorderly; but I say that it is genesis that does and regulates all things.”

CHAPTER 5

FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION ALLOWED

When Peter was about to reply to this, Niceta, anticipating him, said: “Would my Lord Peter allow me to answer to this; and let it not be thought forward that I, a young man, should have an encounter with an old man, but rather let me converse as a son with a father.” Then said the old man: “Not only do I wish, my son, that you should set forth your

opinions; but also if any one of your associates, if any one even of the bystanders, thinks that he knows anything, let him unhesitatingly state it: we shall gladly hear it; for it is by the contribution of many that the things that are unknown are more easily found out." Then Niceta therefore answered: "Do not deem me to have done rashly, my father, because I have interrupted the speech of my Lord Peter; but rather I meant to honor him by doing this. For he is a man of God, full of all knowledge, who is not ignorant even of Greek learning, because he is filled with the Spirit of God, to whom nothing is unknown. But because it is suitable to him to speak of heavenly things, I shall answer concerning those things which pertain to the babbling of the Greeks. But after we have disputed in the Grecian manner, and we have come to that point where no issue appears, then he himself, as filled with the knowledge of God, shall openly and clearly disclose to us the truth on all matters, so that not we only, but also all who are around us as hearers, shall learn the way of truth. And therefore now let him sit as umpire; and when either of us shall yield, then let him, taking up the matter, give an unquestionable judgment."

CHAPTER 6

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION STATED

When Niceta had thus spoken, those who had assembled conversed among themselves: "Is this that Peter of whom we heard, the most approved disciple of Him who appeared in Judaea, and wrought many signs and miracles?" And they stood gazing upon him with great fear and veneration, as conferring upon the Lord the honor of His good servant. Which when Peter observed, he said to them: "Let us hear with all attention, holding an impartial judgment of what shall be said by each; and after their encounter we also shall add what may seem necessary." And when Peter had said this, the crowds rejoiced. Then Niceta began to speak as follows: "You have laid down, my father, that the world is not governed by the providence of God, but that all things are subject to genesis, whether the things which relate to the dispositions, or those which relate to the doings of every one. This I could answer immediately; but because it is right to observe order, we also lay down what we hold, as you yourself requested

should be done. I say that the world is governed by the providence of God, at least in those things which need His government. For He it is alone who holds all things in His hand, who also made the world; the just God, who shall at some time render to every one according to his deeds. Now, then, you have our position; go on as you please, either overthrowing mine or establishing your own, that I may meet your statements. Or if you wish me to speak first, I shall not hesitate."

CHAPTER 7

THE WAY CLEARED

Then the old man answered: "Whether it pleases you, my son, to speak first, or whether you prefer that I should speak, makes no difference, especially with those who discuss in a friendly spirit. However, speak you first, and I will gladly hear; and I wish you may be able even to follow out those things that are to be spoken by me, and to put in opposition to them those things that are contrary to them, and from the comparison of both to show the truth." Niceta answered: "If you wish it, I can even state your side of the argument, and then answer it." Then the old man: "Show me first how you can know what I have not yet spoken, and so I shall believe that you can follow out my side of the argument." Then Niceta: "Your sect is manifest, even by the proposition which you have laid down, to those who are skilled in doctrines of this sort; and its consequence is certain. And because I am not ignorant what are the propositions of the philosophers, I know what follows from those things which you have propounded; especially because I have frequented the schools of Epicurus in preference to the other philosophers. But my brother Aquila has attended more to the Pyrrhonists, and our other brother to the Platonists and Aristotelians; therefore you have to do with learned hearers." Then said the old man: "You have well and logically informed us how you perceived the things that follow from the statements which have been enunciated. But I professed something more than the tenet of Epicurus; for I introduced the genesis, and asserted that it is the cause of all the doings of men."

CHAPTER 8

INSTINCTS

When the old man had said this, I Clement said to him: “Hear, my father: if my brother Niceta bring you to acknowledge that the world is not governed without the providence of God, I shall be able to answer you in that part which remains concerning the genesis; for I am well acquainted with this doctrine.” And when I had thus spoken, my brother Aquila said: “What is the use of our calling him father, when we are commanded to call no man father upon earth?” Then, looking to the old man, he said, “Do not take it amiss, my father, that I have found fault with my brother for calling you father, for we have a precept not to call any one by that name.” When Aquila said that, all the assembly of the bystanders, as well as the old man and Peter, laughed. And when Aquila asked the reason of their all laughing, I said to him: “Because you yourself do the very thing which you find fault with in another; for you called the old man father.” But he denied it, saying: “I am not aware that I called him father.” Meantime Peter was moved with certain suspicions, as he told us afterwards; and looking to Niceta, he said, “Go on with what you have proposed.”

CHAPTER 9

SIMPLE AND COMPOUND

Then Niceta began as follows: “Everything that is, is either simple or compound. That which is simple is without number, division, color, difference, roughness, smoothness, weight, lightness, quality, quantity, and therefore without end. But that which is compound is either compounded of two, or of three, or even of four elements, or at all events of several; and things which are compounded can also of necessity be divided.” The old man, hearing this, said: “You speak most excellently and learnedly, my son.” Then Niceta went on: “Therefore that which is simple, and which is without any of those things by which that which subsists can be dissolved, is without doubt incomprehensible and infinite, knowing neither beginning nor end, and therefore is one and alone, and

subsisting without an author. But that which is compound is subject to number, and diversity, and division, — is necessarily compounded by some, author, and is a diversity collected into one species. That which is infinite is therefore, in respect of goodness, a Father; in respect of power, a Creator. Nor can the power of creating cease in the Infinite, nor the goodness be quiescent; but He is impelled by goodness to change existing things, and by power to arrange and strengthen them. Therefore some things, as we have said, are changed, and composed of two or three, some of four, others of more elements. But since our inquiry at present is concerning the method of the world and its substance, which, it is agreed, is compounded of four elements, to which all those ten differences belong which we have mentioned above, let us begin at these lower steps, and come to the higher. For a way is afforded us to intellectual and invisible things from those which we see and handle; as is contained in arithmetical instructions, where, when inquiry is made concerning divine things, we rise from the lower to the higher numbers; but when the method respecting present and visible things is expounded, the order is directed from the higher to the lower numbers. Is it not so?”

CHAPTER 10

CREATION IMPLIES PROVIDENCE

Then the old man said: “You are following it out exceedingly well.” Then Niceta: “Now, then, we must inquire concerning the method of the world; of which the first inquiry is divided into two parts. For it is asked whether it has been made or not? And if it has not been made, itself must be that Unbegotten from which all things are. But if it has been made, concerning this again the question is divided into two parts, whether it was made by itself, or by another. And if indeed it was made by itself, then without doubt providence is excluded. If providence is not admitted, in vain is the mind incited to virtue. in vain justice is maintained, if there be no one to render to the just man according to his merits. But even the soul itself will not appear to be immortal, if there be no dispensation of providence to receive it after its escape from the body.

CHAPTER 11

GENERAL OR SPECIAL PROVIDENCE

“Now, if it be taught that there is a providence, and that the world was made by it, other questions meet us which must be discussed. For it will be asked, In what way providence acts, whether generally towards the whole, or specially towards the parts, or generally also towards the parts, or both generally towards the whole, and specially towards the parts? But by general providence we mean this: as if God, at first making the world, has given an order and appointed a course to things, and has ceased to take any further care of what is done. But special providence towards the parts is of this sort, that He exercises providence over some men or places, but not over others. But general over all, and at the same time special over the parts, is in this wise: if God made all things at first, and exercises providence over each individual even to the end, and renders to every one according to his deeds.

CHAPTER 12

PRAYER INCONSISTENT WITH GENESIS

“Therefore that first proposition, which declares that God made all things in the beginning, and having imposed a course and order upon things, takes no further account of them, affirms that all things are done according to, genesis. To this, therefore, we shall first reply; and especially to those who worship the gods and defend genesis. Assuredly, these men, when they sacrifice to the gods and pray to them, hope that they shall obtain something in opposition to genesis, and so they annul genesis. But when they laugh at those who incite to virtue and exhort to continence, and say that nobody can do or suffer anything unless what is decreed to him by fate, they assuredly Cut up by the roots all worship of the Divinity. For why should you worship those from whom you can obtain nothing which the method of what is decreed does not allow? Let this suffice in the meantime, in opposition to these men. But I say that the world is made by God, and that it is at some time to be destroyed by Him, that hat world

may appear which is eternal, and which is made for this end, that it may be always, and that it may receive those who, in the judgment of God, are worthy of it. But that there is another and invisible world, which contains this visible world within itself, — after we have finished our discussion concerning the visible world, we shall come to it also.

CHAPTER 13

A CREATOR NECESSARY

“Now, in the meantime, that this visible world has been made, very many wise men among the philosophers do testify. But that we may not seem to make use of assertions as witnesses, as though we needed them, let us inquire, if you please, concerning its principles. That this visible world is material, is sufficiently evident from the fact that it is visible. But every body receives one of two DIFFERENTIAE; for it is either compact and solid, or divided and separate. And if the body of which the world was made was compact and solid, and that body was parted and divided through diverse species and parts according to its differences, there must necessarily be understood to have been some one to separate the body which was compact and solid, and to draw it into many parts and diverse forms; or if all this mass of the world was compounded and compacted from diverse and dispersed parts of bodies, still there must be understood to have been some one to collect into one the dispersed parts, and to invest these things with their different species.

CHAPTER 14

MODE OF CREATION

“And, indeed, I know that several of the philosophers were rather of this opinion, that God the Creator made divisions and distinctions from one body, which they call MATTER, which yet consisted of four elements, mingled into one by a certain tempering of divine providence. For I think that what some have said is vain, that the body of the world is simple, that is, without any conjunction; since it is evident that what is simple can

neither be a body, nor can be mixed, or propagated, or dissolved; all which, we see, happen to the bodies of the world. For how could it be dissolved if it were simple, and had not within it that from which it might be resolved and divided? But if bodies seem to be composed of two, or three, or even of four elements, — who that has even a small portion of sense does not perceive that there must have been some one who collected several into one, and preserving the measure of tempering, made a solid body out of diverse parts? This some one, therefore, we call God, the Creator of the world, and acknowledge Him as the author of the universe.

CHAPTER 15

THEORIES OF CREATION

"For the Greek philosophers, inquiring into the beginnings of the world, have gone, some in one way and some in another. In short, Pythagoras says that numbers are the elements of its beginnings; Callistratus, that qualities; Alcmaeon, that contrarieties; Anaximander, that immensity; Anaxagoras, that equalities of parts; Epicurus, that atoms; Diodorus, that ἀμερῆ, that is, things in which there are no parts; Asclepius, that ὄγκοι, which we may call tumors or swellings; the geometricians, that ends; Democritus, that ideas; Thales, that water; Heraclitus, that fire; Diogenes, that air; Parmenides, that earth; Zeno, Empedocles, Plato, that fire, water, air, and earth. Aristotle also introduces a fifth element, which be called ἀκατονόμαστον; that is, that which cannot be named; without doubt indicating Him who made the world, by joining the four elements into one. Whether, therefore, there be two, or three, or four, or more, or innumerable elements, of which the world consists, in every supposition there is shown to be a God, who collected many into one, and again drew them, when collected, into diverse species; and by this it is proved that the machine of the world could not have subsisted without a maker and a disposer.

CHAPTER 16

THE WORLD MADE OF NOTHING BY A CREATOR

“But from this fact also, that in the conjunction of the elements, if one be deficient or in excess, the others are loosened and fall, is shown that they took their beginning from nothing. For if for example, moisture be wanting in any body, neither will the dry stand; for dry is fed by moisture, as also cold by heat; in which, as we have said, if one be defective, the whole are dissolved. And in this they give indications of their origin, that they were made out of nothing. Now if matter itself is proved to have been made, how shall its parts and its species, of which the world consists, be thought to be unmade? But about matter and its qualities this is not the time to speak: only let it suffice to have taught this, that God is the Creator of all things, because neither, if the body of which the world consists was solid and united, could it be separated and distinguished without a Creator; nor, if it was collected into one from diverse and separate parts, could it be collected and mixed without a Maker. Therefore, if God is so clearly shown to be the Creator of the world, what room is there for Epicurus to introduce atoms, and to assert that not only sensible bodies, but even intellectual and rational minds, are made of insensible corpuscles?

CHAPTER 17

DOCTRINE OF ATOMS UNTENABLE

“But you will say, according to the opinion of Epicurus, that successions of atoms coming in a ceaseless course, and mixing with one another, and conglomerating through unlimited and endless periods of time, are made solid bodies. I do not treat this opinion as a pure fiction, and that, too, a badly contrived one; but let us examine it, whatever be its character, and see if what is said can stand. For they say that those corpuscles, which they call atoms, are of different qualities: that some are moist, and therefore heavy, and tending downwards; others dry and earthy, and therefore still heavy; but others fiery, and therefore always pushing upwards; others cold and inert, and always remaining in the middle. Since

then some, as being fiery, always tend upward, and others, as being moist and dry, always downwards, and others keep a middle and unequal course, how could they meet together and form one booty? For if any one throw down from a height small pieces of straw, for example, and pieces of lead of the same size, will the light straws be able to keep up with the pieces of lead, though they be equal in size? Nay; the heavier reach the bottom for more quickly. So also atoms, though they be equal in size, yet, being unequal in weight, the lighter will never be able to keep pace with the heavier; but if they cannot keep pace, certainly neither can they be mixed or form one body.

CHAPTER 18

THE CONCOURSE OF ATOMS COULD NOT MAKE THE WORD

“Then, in the next place, if they are ceaselessly born about, and always coming, and being added to things whose measure is already complete, how can the universe stand, when new weights are always being heaped upon so vast weights? And this also I ask: If this expanse of heaven which we see was constructed by the gradual concurrence of atoms, how did it not collapse while it was in construction, if indeed t the yawning top of the structure was not propped and bound by any stays? For as those who build circular domes, unless they bind the fastening of the central top, the whole falls at once; so also the circle of the world, which we see to be brought together in so graceful a form, if it was not made at once, and under the influence of a single forth-putting of divine energy by the power of a Creator, but by atoms gradually concurring and constructing it, not as reason demanded, but as a fortuitous issue befell, how did it not fall down and crumble to pieces before it could be brought together and fastened? And further, I ask this: What is the pavement on which the foundations of such an immense mass are laid? And again, what you call the pavement, on what does it rest? And again that other, what supports it? And so I go on asking, until the answer comes to nothing and vacuity!

CHAPTER 19

MORE DIFFICULTIES OF THE ATOMIC THEORY

“But if any one say that atoms of a fiery quality, being joined together, formed a body, and because the quality of fire does not tend downwards, but upwards, that the nature of fire, always pushing upwards, supports the mass of the world placed upon it; to this we answer: How could atoms of a fiery quality, which always make for the highest place, descend to the lower, and be found in the lowest place of all, so as to form a foundation for all; whereas rather the heavier qualities, that is, the earthy or watery, always come before the lighter, as we have said; hence, also, they assert that the heaven, as the higher structure, is composed of fiery atoms, which are lighter, and always fly upwards? Therefore the world cannot have foundations of fire, or any other: nor can there be any association or compacting of the heavier atoms with the lighter, that is, of those which are always born downwards, with those that always fly upwards. Thus it is sufficiently shown that the bodies of the world are consolidated by the union of atoms; and that insensible bodies, even if they could by any means concur and be united, could not give forms and measures to bodies, form limbs, or effect qualities, or express quantities; all which, therefore, by their exactness, attest the hand of a Maker, and show the operation of reason, which reason I call the Word, and God.

CHAPTER 20

PLATO’S TESTIMONY

“But some one will say that these things are done by nature. Now, in this, the controversy is about a name. For while it is evident that it is a work of mind and reason, what you call nature, I call God the Creator. It is evident that neither the species of bodies, arranged with so necessary distinctions, nor the faculties of minds, could or can be made by irrational and senseless work. But if you regard the philosophers as fit witnesses, Plato testifies concerning these things in the Timoeus, where, in a discussion on the making of the world, he asks, whether it has existed always, or had a

beginning, and decides that it was made. ‘For,’ says he, ‘it is visible and palpable, and corporeal; but it is evident that all things which are of this sort have been made; but what has been made has doubtless an author, by whom it was made. This Maker and Father of all, however, it is difficult to discover; and when discovered, it is impossible to declare Him to the vulgar.’ Such is the declaration of Plato; but though he and the other Greek philosophers had chosen to be silent about the making of the world, would it not be manifest to all who have any understanding? For what man is there, having even a particle of sense, who, when he sees a house having all things necessary for useful purposes, its roof fashioned into the form of a globe, painted with various splendor and diverse figures, adorned with large and splendid lights; who is there, I say, that, seeing such a structure, would not immediately pronounce that it was constructed by a most wise and powerful artificer? And so, who can be found so foolish, as, when he gazes upon the fabric of the heaven, perceives the splendor of the sun and moon, sees the courses and beauty of the stars, and their paths assigned to them by fixed laws and periods, will not cry out that these things are made, not so much by a wise and rational artificer, as by wisdom and reason itself?

CHAPTER 21

MECHANICAL THEORY

“But if you would rather have the opinions of others of the Greek philosophers, — and you are acquainted with mechanical science, — you are of course familiar with what is their deliverance concerning the heavens. For they suppose a sphere, equally rounded in every direction, and looking indifferently to all points, and at equal distances in all directions from the center of the earth, and so stable buy its own symmetry, that its perfect equality does not permit it to fall off to any side; and so the sphere is sustained, although supported by no prop. Now if the fabric of the world really has this form, the divine work is evident in it. But if, as others think, the sphere is placed upon the waters, and is supported by them, or floating in them, even so the work of a great contriver is shown in it.

CHAPTER 22

MOTIONS OF THE STARS

“But lest the assertion may seem doubtful respecting things which are not manifest to all, let us come to those things of which nobody is ignorant. Who disposed the courses of the stars with so great reason, ordained their risings and settings, and appointed to each one to accomplish the circuit of the heavens in certain and regular times? Who assigned to some to be always approaching to the setting, and others to be returning to the rising? Who put a measure upon the courses of the sun, that he might mark out, by his diverse motions, hours, and days, and months, and changes of seasons? — that he might distinguish, by the sure measurement of his course, now winter, then spring, summer, and afterwards autumn, and always, by the same changes of the year, complete the circle with variety, without confusion? Who, I say, will not pronounce that the director of such order is the very wisdom of God? And these things we have spoken according to the relations given us by the Greeks respecting the science of the heavenly bodies.

CHAPTER 23

PROVIDENCE IN EARTHLY THINGS

“But what of those things also which we see on the earth, or in the sea? Are we not plainly taught, that not only the work, but also the providence, of God is in them? For whereas there are on the earth lofty mountains in certain places, the object of this is, that the air, being compressed and confined by them through the appointment of God, may be forced and pressed out into winds, by which fruits may germinate, and the summer heat may be moderated when the Pleiades glow, fired with the blaze of the sun. But you still say, Why that blaze of the sun, that moderating should be required? How, then, should fruits be ripened which are necessary for the uses of men? But observe this also, that at the meridian axis, where the heat is greatest, there is no great collection of clouds, nor an abundant fall of rain, lest disease should be produced among

the inhabitants; for watery clouds, if they are acted on by rapid heat, render the air impure and pestilential. And the earth also, receiving the warm rain, does not afford nourishment to the crops, but destruction. In this who can doubt that there is the working of divine providence? In short, Egypt, which is scorched with the heat of Aethiopia, in its neighborhood, lest its air should be incurably vitiated by the effects of showers, its plains do not receive rain furnished to them from the clouds, but, as it were, an earthly shower from the overflow of the Nile.

CHAPTER 24

RIVERS AND SEAS

“What shall we say of fountains and rivers, which flow with perpetual motion into the sea? And, by the divine providence, neither does their abundant supply fail, nor does the sea, though it receives so great quantities of water, experience any increase, but both those elements which contribute to it and those which are thus contributed remain in the same proportion. But you will say to me: The salt water naturally consumes the fresh water which is poured into it. Well, in this is manifest the work of providence, that it made that element salt into Which it turned the courses of all the waters which it had provided for the use of men. So that through so great spaces of time the channel of the sea has not been filled, and produced a deluge destructive to the earth and to men. Nor will any one be so foolish as to think that this so great reason and so great providence has been arranged by irrational nature.

CHAPTER 25

PLANTS AND ANIMALS

“But what shall I say of plants, and what of animals? Is it not providence that has ordained that plants, when they decay by old age, should be reproduced by the suckers or the seeds which they have themselves produced, and animals by propagation? And by a certain wonderful dispensation of providence, milk is prepared in the udders of the dams for

the animals before they are born; and as soon as they are born, with no one to guide them, they seek out the store of nourishment provided for them. And not only males are produced, but females also, that by means of both the race may be perpetuated. But lest this should seem, as some think, to be done by a certain order of nature, and not by the appointment of the Creator, He has, as a proof and indication of His providence, ordained a few animals to preserve their stock on the earth in an exceptional way: for example, the crow conceives through the mouth, and the weasel brings forth through the ear; and some birds, such as hens, sometimes produce eggs conceived of wind or dust; other animals convert the male into the female, and change their sex every year, as hares and hyenas, which they call monsters; others spring from the earth, and get their bodies from it, as moles; others from ashes, as vipers; others from putrefying flesh, as wasps from horseflesh, bees from ox-flesh; others from cow-dung, as beetles; others from herbs, as the scorpion from the basil; and again, herbs from animals, as parsley and asparagus from the horn of the stag or the she goat.

CHAPTER 26

GERMINATION OF SEEDS

“And what occasion is there to mention more instances in which divine providence has ordained the production of animals to be effected in various ways, that order being superseded which is thought to be assigned by nature, from which not an irrational course of things, but one arranged by his own reason, might be evinced? And in this also is there not a full work of providence shown, when seeds sown are prepared by means of earth and water for the sustenance of men? For when these seeds are committed to the earth, the soil milks upon the seeds, as from its teats, the moisture which it has received into itself by the will of God. For there is in water a certain power of the spirit given by God from the beginning, by whose operation the structure of the body that is to be begins to be formed in the seed itself, and to he developed by means of the blade and the car; for the grain of seed being swelled by the moisture, that power of the spirit which has been made to reside in water, running as an

incorporeal substance through certain strait passages of veins, excites the seeds to growth, and forms the species of the growing plants. By means, therefore, of the moist element in which that vital spirit is contained and inborn, it is caused that not only is it revived, but also that an appearance and form in all respects like to the seeds that had been sown is reproduced. Now, who that has even a particle of sense will think that this method depends upon irrational nature, and not upon divine wisdom? Lastly, also these things are done in a resemblance of the birth of men; for the earth seems to take the place of the womb, into which the seed being east, is both formed and nourished by the power of water and spirit, as we have said above.

CHAPTER 27

POWER OF WATER

“But in this also the divine providence is to be admired, that it permits us to see and know the things that are made, but has placed in secrecy and concealment the way and manner in which they are done, that they may not be competent to the knowledge of the unworthy, but may be laid open to the worthy and faithful, when they shall have deserved it. But to prove by facts and examples that nothing is imparted to seeds of the substance of the earth, but that all depends upon the element of water, and the power of the spirit which is in it, — suppose, for example, that a hundred talents’ weight of earth are placed in a very large trough, and that there are sown in it several kinds of seeds, either of herbs or of shrubs, and that water enough is supplied for watering them, and that that care is taken for several years, and that the seeds which are gathered are stored up, for example of corn or barley and other sorts separately from year to year, until the seeds of each sort amount to a hundred talents’ weight, then also let the stalks be pulled up by the roots and weighed; and after all these have been taken from the trough, let the earth be weighed, it will still give back its hundred talents’ weight undiminished. Whence, then, shall we say that all that weight, and all the quantity of different seeds and stalks, has come? Does it not appear manifestly that it has come from the water? For the earth retains entire what is its own, but the water which has been

poured in all through is nowhere, on account of the powerful virtue of the divine condition, which by the one species of water both prepares the substances of so many seeds and shrubs, and forms their species, and preserves the kind while multiplying the increase.

CHAPTER 28

THE HUMAN BODY

“From all these things I think it is sufficiently and abundantly evident that all things are produced; and the universe consists by a designing sense, and not by the irrational operation of nature. But let us come now, if you please, to our own substance, that is, the substance of man, who is a small world, a microcosm, in the great world; and let us consider with what reason it is compounded: and from this especially you will understand the wisdom of the Creator. For although man consists of different substances, one mortal and the other immortal, yet, by the skillful contrivance of the Creator, their diversity does not prevent their union, and that although the substances be diverse and alien the one from the other. For the one is taken from the earth and formed by the Creator, but the other is given from immortal substances; and yet the honor of its immortality is not violated by this union. Nor does it, as some think, consist of reason, and concupiscence, and passion, but rather such affections seem to be in it, by which it may be moved in each of these directions. For the body, which consists of bones and flesh, takes its beginning from the seed of a than, which is extracted from the marrow by warmth, and conveyed into the womb as into a soil, to which it adheres, and is gradually moistened from the fountain of the blood, and so is changed into flesh and bones, and is formed into the likeness of him who injected the seed.

CHAPTER 29

SYMMETRY OF THE BODY

“And mark in this the work of the Designer, how He has inserted the bones like pillars, on which the flesh might be sustained and carried. Then,

again, how an equal measure is preserved on either side, that is, the right and the left, so that foot answers to foot, hand to hand, and even finger to finger, so that each agrees in perfect equality with each; and also eye to eye, and ear to ear, which not only are suitable to and matched with each other, but also are formed fit for necessary uses. The hands, for instance, are so made as to be fit for work; the feet for walking; the eyes, protected with sentinel eyebrows, to serve the purpose of sight; the ears so formed for hearing, that, like a cymbal, they vibrate the sound of the word that falls upon them, and send it inward, and transmit it even in the understanding of the heart; whereas the tongue, striking against the teeth in speaking, performs the part of a fiddle-bow. The teeth also are formed, some for cutting and dividing the food, and handing it over to the inner ones; and these, in their turn, bruise and grind it like a mill, that it may be more conveniently digested when it is conveyed into the stomach; whence also they are called grinders.

CHAPTER 30

BREATH AND BLOOD

“The nostrils also are made for the purpose of collecting, inspiring, and expiring air, that by the renewal of the breath, the natural heat which is in the heart may, by means of the lungs, be either warmed or cooled, as the occasion may require; while the lungs are made to abide in the breast, that by their softness they may soothe and cherish the vigor of the heart, in which the life seems to abide; — the life, I say, not the soul. And what shall I say of the substance of the blood, which, proceeding as a river from a fountain, and first born along in one channel, and then spreading through innumerable veins, as through canals, irrigates the whole territory of the human body with vital streams, being supplied by the agency of the liver, which is placed in the right side, for effecting the digestion of food and turning it into blood? But in the left side is placed the spleen, which draws to itself, and in some way cleanses, the impurities of the blood.

CHAPTER 31

THE INTESTINES

“What reason also is employed in the intestines, which are arranged in long circular windings, that they may gradually carry off the refuse of the food, so as neither to render places suddenly empty, and so as not to be hindered by the food that is taken afterwards! But they are made like a membrane, that the parts that are outside of them may gradually receive moisture, which if it were poured out suddenly would empty the internal parts; and not hindered by a thick skin, which would render the outside dry, and disturb the whole fabric of man with distressing thirst.

CHAPTER 32

GENERATION

“Moreover, the female form, and the cavity of the womb, most suitable for receiving, and cherishing, and vivifying the germ, who does not believe that it has been made as it is by reason and foresight? — because in that part alone of her body the female differs from the male, in which the fetus being placed, is kept and cherished. And again the male differs from the female only in that part of his body in which is the power of injecting seed and propagating mankind. And in this there is a great proof of providence, from the necessary difference of members; but more in this, where, under a likeness of form there is found to be diversity of use and variety of office. For males and females equally have teats, but only those of the female are filled with milk; that, as soon as they have brought forth, the infant may find nourishment suited to him. But if we see the members in man arranged with such method, that in all the rest there is seen to be similarity of form, and a difference only in those in which their use requires a difference, and we neither see anything superfluous nor anything wanting in man, nor in woman anything deficient or in excess, who will not, from all these things, acknowledge the operation of reason, and the wisdom of the Creator?

CHAPTER 33

CORRESPONDENCES IN CREATION

“With this agrees also the reasonable difference of other animals, and each one being suited to its own use and service. This also is testified by the variety of trees and the diversity of herbs, varying both in form and in juices. This also is asserted by the change of seasons, distinguished into four periods, and the circle closing the year with certain hours, days, months, and not deviating from the appointed reckoning by a single hour. Hence, in short, the age of the world itself is reckoned by a certain and fixed account, and a definite number of years.

CHAPTER 34

TIME OF MAKING THE WORLD

“But you will say, When was the world made? And why so late? This you might have objected, though it had been made sooner. For you might say, Why not also before this? And so, going back through unmeasured ages, you might still ask, And why not sooner? But we are not now discussing this, why it was not made sooner; but whether it was made at all. For if it is manifest that it was made, it is necessarily the work of a powerful and supreme Artificer; and if this is evident, it must be left to the choice and judgment of the wise Artificer when He should please to make it; unless indeed you think that all this wisdom, which has constructed the immense fabric of the world, and has given to the several objects their forms and kinds, assigning to them a habit not only in accordance with beauty, but also most convenient and necessary for their future uses, — unless, I say, you think that this alone has escaped it, that it should choose a convenient season for so magnificent a work of creation. He has doubtless a certain reason and evident causes why, and when, and how He made the world; but it were not proper that these should be disclosed to those who are reluctant to inquire into and understand the things which are placed before their eyes, and which testify of His providence. For those things which are kept in secret, and are hidden within the senses of

Wisdom, as in a royal treasury, are laid open to none but those who have learned of Him, with whom these things are sealed and laid up. It is God, therefore, who made all things, and Himself was made by none. But those who speak of nature instead of God, and declare that all things were made by nature, do not perceive the mistake of the name which they use. For if they think that nature is irrational, it is most foolish to suppose that a rational creature can proceed from an irrational creator. But if it is Reason — that is, Logos — by which it appears that all things were made, they change the name without purpose, when they make statements concerning the reason of the Creator. If you have anything to say to these things, my father, say on."

CHAPTER 35

A CONTEST OF HOSPITALITY

When Niceta had thus spoken, the old man answered: "You indeed, my son, have conducted your argument wisely and vigorously; so much so, that I do not think the subject of providence could be better treated. But as it is now late, I wish to say some things tomorrow in answer to what you have argued; and if on these you can satisfy me, I shall confess myself a debtor to your favor." And when the old man said this, Peter rose up. Then one of those present, a chief man of the Laodiceans, requested of Peter and us that he might give the old man other clothes instead of the mean and torn ones that he wore. This man Peter and we embraced; and praising him for his honorable and excellent intention, said: "We are not so foolish and impious as not to bestow the things which are necessary for bodily uses upon him to whom we have committed so precious words; and we hope that he will willingly receive them, as a father from his sons, and also we trust that he will share with us our house and our living." While we said this, and that chief man of the city strove to take the old man away from us with the greatest urgency and with many blandishments, while we the more eagerly strove to keep him with us, all the people cried out that it should rather be done as the old man himself pleased; and when silence was obtained, the old man, with an oath, said: "Today I shall stay with no one, nor take anything from any one, lest the

choice of the one should prove the sorrow of the other; afterwards these things may be, if so it seem right."

CHAPTER 36

ARRANGEMENTS FOR TOMORROW

And when the old man had said this, Peter said to the chief man of the city: "Since you have shown your goodwill in our presence, it is not right that you should go away sorrowful; but we will accept from you favor for favor. Show us your house, and make it ready, so that the discussion which is to be tomorrow may be held there, and that any who wish to be present to hear it may be admitted." When the chief man of the city heard this, he rejoiced greatly; and all the people also heard it gladly. And when the crowds had dispersed, he pointed out his house; and the old man also was preparing to depart. But I commanded one of my attendants to follow the old man secretly, and find out where he stayed. And when we returned to our lodging, we told our brethren all our dealings with the old man; and so, as usual, we supped and went to sleep.

CHAPTER 37

"THE FORM OF SOUND WORDS,

WHICH YE HAVE HEARD OF ME."

But on the following day Peter arose early and called us, and we went together to the secret place in which we had been on the previous day, for the purpose of prayer. And when, after prayer, we were coming thence to the appointed place, he exhorted us by the way, saying: "Hear me, most beloved fellow-servants: It is good that every one of you, according to his ability, contribute to the advantage of those who are approaching to the faith of our religion; and therefore do not shrink from instructing the ignorant, and teaching according to the wisdom which has been bestowed upon you by the providence of God, yet so that you only join the eloquence of your discourse with those things which you have heard from

me, and which have been committed to you. But do not speak anything which is your own, and which has not been committed to you, though it may seem to yourselves to be true; but hold forth those things, as I have said, which I myself have received from the true Prophet, and have delivered to you, although they may seem to be less full of authority. For thus it often happens that men turn away from the truth, while they believe that they have found out, by their own thoughts, a form of truth more true and powerful."

CHAPTER 38

THE CHIEF MAN'S HOUSE

To these counsels of Peter we willingly assented, saying to him that we should do nothing but what was pleasing to him. Then said he: "That you may therefore be exercised without danger, each of you conduct the discussion in my presence, one succeeding another, and each one elucidating his own questions. Now, then, as Niceta discoursed sufficiently yesterday, let Aquila conduct the discussion today; and after Aquila, Clement; and then I, if the case shall require it, will add something." Meantime, while we were talking in this way, we came to the house; and the master of the house welcomed us, and led us to a certain apartment, arranged after the manner of a theater, and beautifully built. There we found great crowds waiting for us, who had come during the night, and amongst them the old than who had argued with us yesterday. Therefore we entered, having Peter in the midst of us, looking about if we could see the old man anywhere; and when Peter saw him hiding in the midst of the crowd, he called him to him, saying: "Since you possess a soul more enlightened than most, why do you hide yourself, and conceal yourself in modesty? Rather come hither, and propound your sentiments."

CHAPTER 39

RECAPITULATION OF YESTERDAY'S ARGUMENT

When Peter had thus spoken, immediately the crowd began to make room for the old man. And when he had come forward, he thus began: "Although I do not remember the words of the discourse which the young man delivered yesterday, yet I recollect the purport and the order of it; and therefore I think it necessary, for the sake of those who were not present yesterday, to call up what was said, and to repeat everything shortly, that, although something may have escaped me, I may he reminded of it by him who delivered the discourse, who is now present. This, then, was the purport of yesterday's discussion: that all things that we see, inasmuch as they consist in a certain proportion, and art, and form, and species, must be believed to have been made by intelligent power; but if it be mind and reason that has formed them, it follows that the world is governed by the providence of the same reason, although the things which are done in the world may seem to us to be not quite rightly done. But it follows, that if God and mind is the creator of all things, He must also be just; but if He is just, He necessarily judges. If He judges, it is of necessity that men be judged with respect to their doings; and if every one is judged in respect of his doings, there shall at some time be a righteous separation between righteous men and sinners. This, I think, was the substance of the whole discourse.

CHAPTER 40

GENESIS

"If, therefore, it can be shown that mind and reason created all things, it follows that those things which come after are also managed by reason and providence. But if unintelligent and blind nature produces all things, the reason of judgment is undoubtedly overthrown; and there is no ground to expect either punishment of sin or reward of well-doing where there is no judge. Since, then, the whole matter depends upon this, and hangs by this head, do not take it amiss, if I wish this to be discussed and handled

somewhat more fully. For in this the first gate, as it were, is shut towards all things which are propounded, and therefore I wish first of all to have it opened to me. Now therefore hear what in doctrine is; and if any one of you pleases, let him reply to me: for I shall not be ashamed to learn, if I hear that which is true, and to assent to him who speaks rightly. The discourse, then, which you delivered yesterday, which asserted that all things consist by art, and measure, and reason, does not fully persuade me that it is mind and reason that has made the world; for I have many things which I can show to consist by competent measure, and form, and species, and which yet were not made by mind and reason. Then, besides, I see that many things are done in the world without arrangement, consequence, or justice, and that nothing can be done without the course of GENESIS. This I shall in the sequel prove most clearly from my own case."

CHAPTER 41

THE RAINBOW

When the old man had thus spoken, Aquila answered: "As you yourself proposed that any one who pleased should have an opportunity of answering to what you might say, my brother Niceta permits me to conduct the argument today." Then the old man: "Go on, my son, as you please." And Aquila answered: "You promised that you would show that there are many things in the world which have a form and species arranged by equal reason, which vet it is evident were not effected by God as their Creator. Now, then, as you have promised, point out these things." Then said the old man: "Behold, we see the bow in the heaven assume a circular shape, completed in all proportion, and have an appearance of reality, which perhaps neither mind could have constructed nor reason described; and yet it is not made by any mind. Behold, I have set forth the whole in a word: now answer me."

CHAPTER 42

TYPES AND FORMS

Then said Aquila: “If anything is expressed from a type and form, it is at once understood that it is from reason, and that it could not be made without mind; since the type itself, which expresses figures and forms, was not made without mind. For example, if wax be applied to an engraved ring, it takes the stamp and figure from the ring, which undoubtedly is without sense; but then the ring, which expresses the figure, was engraven by the hand of a workman, and it was mind and reason that gave the type to the ring. So then the bow also is expressed in the air; for the sun, impressing its rays on the clouds in the process of rarefaction, and affixing the type of its circularity to the cloudy moisture, as it were to soft wax, produces the appearance of a bow; and this, as I have said, is effected by the reflection of the sun’s brightness upon the clouds, and reproducing the brightness of its circle from them. Now this does not always take place, but only when the opportunity is presented by the rarefaction of moistened clouds. And consequently, when the clouds again are condensed and unite, the form of the bow is dissolved and vanishes. Finally, the bow never is seen without sun and clouds, just as the image is not produced, unless there be the type, and wax, or some other material. Nor is it wonderful if God the Creator in the beginning made types, from which forms and species may now be expressed. But this is similar to that, that in the beginning God created insensible elements, which He might use for forming and developing all other things. But even those who form statues, first make a mold of clay or wax, and from it the figure of the statue is produced. And then afterwards a shadow is also produced from the statue, which shadow always bears the form and likeness of the statue. What shall we say then? That the insensible statue forms a shadow finished with as diligent care as the statue itself? Or shall the finishing of the shadow be unhesitatingly ascribed to him who has also fashioned the statue?

CHAPTER 43

THINGS APPARENTLY USELESS AND VILE MADE BY GOD

“If, then, it seems to you that this is so, and what has been said on this subject is enough, let us come to inquire into other matters; or if you think that something is still wanting, let us go over it again.” And the old man said: “I wish you would go over this again, since there are many other things which I see to be made in like manner: for both the fruits of trees are produced in like manner, beautifully formed and wonderfully rounded; and the appearance of the leaves is formed with immense gracefulness, and the green membrane is woven with exquisite art: then, moreover, fleas, mice, lizards, and such like, shall we say that these are made by God? Hence, from these vile objects a conjecture is derived concerning the superior, that they are by no means formed by the art of mind.” “You infer well,” said Aquila, “concerning the texture of leaves, and concerning small animals, that from these belief is withdrawn from the superior creatures; but let not these things deceive you, that you should think that God, working as it were only with two hands, could not complete all things that are made; but remember how my brother Niceta answered you yesterday, and truly disclosed the mystery before the time, as a son speaking with his father, and explained why and how things are made which seem to be useless.”

CHAPTER 44

ORDINATE AND INORDINATE

Then the old man: “I should like to hear from you why those useless things are made by the will of that supreme mind?” “If,” said he, “it is fully manifest to you that there is in them the work of mind and reason, then you will not hesitate to say also why they were made, and to declare that they have been rightly made.” To this the old man answered: “I am not able, my son, to say that those things which seem formed by art are made by mind, by reason of other things which we see to be done unjustly and disorderly in the world.” “If,” says Aquila, “those things which are done disorderly do not allow you say that they are done by the

providence of God, why do not those things which are done orderly compel you to say that they are done by God, and that irrational nature cannot produce a rational work? For it is certain, nor do we at all deny, that in this world some things are done orderly, and some disorderly. Those things, therefore, that are done rationally, believe that they are done by providence; but those that are done irrationally and inordinately, that they befall naturally, and happen accidentally. But I wonder that men do not perceive, that where there is sense things may be done ordinately and inordinately, but where there is no sense neither the one nor the other can be done; for reason makes order, and the course of order necessarily produces something inordinate, if anything contrary happen to disturb order." Then the old man: "This very thing I wish you to show me."

CHAPTER 45

MOTIONS OF THE SUN AND MOON

Says Aquila: "I shall do so without delay. Two visible signs are shown in heaven — one of the sun, the other of the moon; and these are followed by five other stars, each describing its own separate orbit. These, therefore, God has placed in the heaven, by which the temperature of the air may be regulated according to the seasons, and the order of vicissitudes and alternations may be kept. But by means of the very same signs, if at any time plague and corruption is sent upon the earth for the sins of men, the air is disturbed, pestilence is brought upon animals, blight upon crops, and a destructive year in every way upon men; and thus it is that by one and the same means order is both kept and destroyed. For it is manifest even to the unbelieving and unskillful, that the course of the sun, which is useful and necessary to the world, and which is assigned by providence, is always kept orderly; but the courses of the moon, in comparison of the course of the sun, seem to the unskillful to be inordinate and unsettled in her waxings and wanings. For the sun moves in fixed and orderly periods: for from him are hours, from him the day when he rises, from him also the night when he sets; from him months and years are reckoned, from him the variations of seasons are produced; while, rising to the higher regions, he tempers the spring; but when he reaches the top of the heaven, he kindles

the summer's heats: again, sinking, he produces the temper of autumn; and when he returns to his lowest circle, he bequeaths to us the rigor of winter's cold from the icy binding of heaven.

CHAPTER 46

SUN AND MOON MINISTERS BOTH OF GOOD AND EVIL

"But we shall discourse at greater length on these subjects at another time. Now, meantime, we remark that though he is that good servant for regulating the changes of the seasons, yet, when chastisement is inflicted upon men according to the will of God, he glows more fiercely, and burns up the world with more vehement fires. In like manner also the course of the moon, and that changing which seems to the unskillful to be disorderly, is adapted to the growth of crops, and cattle, and all living creatures; for by her waxings and wanings, by a certain wonderful contrivance of providence, everything that is born is nourished and grows; concerning which we could speak more at length and unfold the matter in detail, but that the method of the question proposed recalls us. Yet, by the very same appliances by which they are produced, all things are nourished and increased; but when, from any just cause, the regulation of the appointed order is changed, corruption and distemper arise, so that chastisement may come upon men by the will of God, as we have said above.

CHAPTER 47

CHASTISEMENTS ON THE RIGHTEOUS AND THE WICKED

"But perhaps you will say, What of the fact that, in that common chastisement, like things befall the pious and the impious? It is true, and we confess it; but the chastisement turns to the advantage of the pious, that, being afflicted in the present life, they may come more purified to the future, in which perpetual rest is prepared for them, and that at the same time even the impious may somewhat profit from their chastisement, or else that the just sentence of the future judgment may be passed upon them; since in the same chastisements the righteous give thanks to God,

while the unrighteous blaspheme. Therefore, since the opinion of things is divided into two parts, that some things are done by order and others against order, it ought, from those things which are done according to order, to be believed that there is a providence; but with respect to those things which are done against order, we should inquire their causes from those who have learned them by prophetic teaching: for those who have become acquainted with prophetic discourse know when, and for what reason, blight, hail, and pestilence, and such like, have occurred in every generation, and for what sins these have been sent as a punishment; whence causes of sadness, lamentations, and griefs have befallen the human race; whence also trembling sickness has ensued, and that this has been from the beginning the punishment of parricide.

CHAPTER 48

CHASTISEMENTS FOR SINS

“For in the beginning of the world there were none of these evils, but they took their: rise from the impiety of men; and thence, with the constant increase of iniquities, the number of evils has also increased. But for this reason divine providence has decreed a judgment with respect to all men, because the present life was not such that every one could be dealt with according to his deservings. Those things, therefore, which were well and orderly appointed from the beginning, when no causes of evil existed, are not to be judged of from the evils which have befallen the world by reason of the sins of men. In short, as an indication of the things which were from the beginning, some nations are found which are strangers to these evils. For the Seres, because they live chastely, are kept free from them all; for with them it is unlawful to come at a woman after she has conceived, or while she is being purified. No one there eats unclean flesh, no one knows aught of sacrifices; all are judges to themselves according to justice. For this reason they are not chastened with those plagues which we have spoken of; they live to extreme old age, and die without sickness. But we, miserable as we are, dwelling as it were with deadly serpents — I mean with wicked men — necessarily suffer with them the plagues of afflictions

in this world, but we cherish hope from the comfort of good things to come.”

CHAPTER 49

GOD’S PRECEPTS DESPISED

“If,” said the old man, “even the righteous are tormented on account of the iniquities of others, God ought, as foreseeing this, to have commanded men not to do those things from which it should be necessary that the righteous be afflicted with the unrighteous; or if they did them, He ought to have applied some correction or purification to the world.” “God,” said Aquila, “did so command, and gave precepts by the prophets how men ought to live; but even these precepts they despised: yea, if any desired to observe them, them they afflicted with various injuries, until they drove them from their purposed observance, and turned them to the rabble of infidelity, and made them like unto themselves.

CHAPTER 50

THE FLOOD

“Wherefore, in short, at the first, when all the earth had been stained with sins, God brought a I flood upon the world, which you say happened trader Deucalion; and at that time He saved a certain righteous man, with his sons, in an ark, and with him the race of all plants and animals. And yet even those who sprang from them, after a time. again did deeds like to those of their predecessors; for those things that had befallen them were forgotten, so that their descendants did not even believe that the flood had taken place. Wherefore God also decreed that there should not be another flood in the present world, else there should have been one in every generation, according to the account of their sins by reason of their unbelief; but He rather granted that certain angels who delight in evil should bear sway over the several nations — and to them was given power over individual men, yet only on this condition, if any one first had made himself subject to them by sinning — until He should come who delights

in good, and by Him the number of the righteous should be completed, and by the increase of the number of pious men all over the world impiety should be in some measure repressed, and it should be known to all that all that is good is done by God.

CHAPTER 51

EVILS BROUGHT IN BY SIN

“But by the freedom of the will, every man, while he is unbelieving in regard to things to come, by evil deeds runs into evils. And these are the things in the world which seem to be done contrary to order, which owe their existence to unbelief. Therefore the dispensation of divine providence is withal to be admired, which Ranted to those men in the beginning, walking in the good way of life, to enjoy incorruptible good things; but when they sinned, they gave birth to evil by sin. And to every good thing evil is joined as by a certain covenant of alliance on the part of sin, since indeed the earth has been polluted with human blood, and altars have been lighted to demons, and they have polluted the very air by the filthy smoke of sacrifices; and so at length the elements, being first corrupted, have handed over to men the fault of their corruption, as roots communicate their qualities to the branches and the fruit.

CHAPTER 52

“NO ROSE WITHOUT ITS THORN.”

“Observe therefore in this, as I have said, how justly divine providence comes to the help of things vitiated; that, inasmuch as evils which had derived their origin from sin were associated with the good things of God, He should assign rive chiefs to these two departments. And accordingly, to Him who rejoices in good He has appointed the ordering of good things, that He might bring those who believe in Him to the faith of His providence; but to him who rejoices in evil, He has given over those things which are done without order and uselessly, from which of course the faith of His providence comes into doubt; and thus a just division has been

made by a just God. Hence therefore it is, that whereas the orderly course of the stars produces faith that the world was made by the hand of a designer, on the other hand, the disturbance of the air, the pestilent breeze, the uncontrolled fire of the lightning, cast doubt upon the work of providence. For, as we have said, every good thing has its corresponding contrary evil thing joined with it; as hail is opposite to the fertilizing showers, the corruption of mildew is associated with the gentle dew, the whirlwinds of storms are joined with the soft winds, unfruitful trees with fruitful, noxious herbs with useful, wild and destructive animals with gentle ones. But all these things are arranged by God, because that the choice of men's will has departed from the purpose of good, and fallen away to evil.

CHAPTER 53

EVERYTHING HAS ITS CORRESPONDING CONTRARY

"Therefore this division holds in all the things of the world; and as there are pious men, so there are also impious; as there are prophets, so also there are false prophets; and amongst the Gentiles there are philosophers and false philosophers. Also the Arabian nations, and many others, have imitated the circumcision of the Jews for the service of their impiety. So also the worship of demons is contrary to the divine worship, baptism to baptism, laws to the law, false apostles to apostles, and false teachers to teachers. And hence it is that among the philosophers some assert providence, others deny it; some maintain that there is one God, others that there are more than one: in short, the matter has come to this, that whereas demons are expelled by the word of God, by which it is declared that there is a providence, the magical art, for the confirmation of infidelity, has found out ways of imitating this by contraries. Thus has been discovered the method of counteracting the poison of serpents by incantations, and the effecting of cures contrary to the word and power of God. The magic art has also found out ministries contrary to the angels of God, placing the calling up of souls and the figments of demons in opposition to these. And, not to prolong the discourse by a further enumeration, there is nothing whatever that makes for the belief of

providence, which has not something, on the other hand, prepared for unbelief; and therefore they who do not know that division of things, think that there is no providence, by reason of those things in the world which are discordant from themselves. But do you, my father, as a wise man, choose from that division the part which preserves order and makes for the belief of providence, and do not only follow that part which runs against order and neutralizes the belief of providence."

CHAPTER 54

AN ILLUSTRATION

To this the old man answered: "Show me a way, my son, by which I may establish in my mind one or other of these two orders. the one of which asserts, and the other denies, providence." "To one having a right judgment," says Aquila, "the decision is easy. For this very thing that you say, order and disorder, may be produced by a contriver, but not by insensible nature. For let us suppose, by way of illustration, that a great mass were torn from a high rock, and cast down headlong, and when clashed upon the ground were broken into many pieces, could it in any way happen that, amongst that multitude of fragments, there should be found even one which should have any perfect figure and shape?" The old man answered: "'It is impossible." "But," said Aquila, "if there be present a statuary, he can by his skillful hand and reasonable mind form the stone cut from the mountain into whatever figure he pleases." The old man said: "That is true." "Therefore," says Aquila, "when there is not a rational mind, no figure can be formed out of the mass; but when there is a designing mind, there may be both form and deformity: for example, if a workman cuts from the mountain a block to which he wishes to give a form, he must first cut it out unformed and rough; then, by degrees hammering and hewing it by the rule of his art, he expresses the form which he has conceived in his mind. Thus, therefore, from infirmity or deformity, by the hand of the workman form is attained, and both proceed from the workman. In like manner, therefore, the things which are done in the world are accomplished by the providence of a contriver, although they may seem not quite orderly. And therefore, because these two ways

have been, made known to you, and you have heard the divisions of them, flee from the way of unbelief, lest haply it lead you to that prince who delights in evils; but follow the way of faith, that you may come to that King who delighteth in good men."

CHAPTER 55

THE TWO KINGDOMS

To this the old man answered: "But why was that prince made who delights in evil? And from what was he made? Or was he not made?" Aquila said: "The treatment of that subject belongs to another time; but that you may not go away altogether without an answer to this, I shall give a few hints on this subject also. God, foreseeing all things before the creation of the world, knowing that the men who were to be would some of them indeed incline to good, but others to the opposite, assigned those who should choose the good to His own government and His own cure, and called them His peculiar inheritance; but He gave over the government of those who should turn to evil to those angels who, not by their substance, but by opposition, were unwilling to remain with God, being corrupted by the vice of envy and pride. Those, therefore, he made worthy princes of worthy subjects; yet he so delivered them over to those angels, that they have not the power of doing what they will against them, unless they transgress the bounds assigned to them from the I beginning. And this is the bound assigned, that unless one first do the will of the demons, the demons have no power over him."

CHAPTER 56

ORIGIN OF EVIL

Then the old man said: "You have stated it excellently, my son. It now remains only that you tell me whence is the substance of evil: for if it was made by God, the evil fruit shows that the root is in fault; for it appears that it also is of an evil nature. But if this substance was co-eternal with God, how can that which was equally unproduced and co-eternal be

subject to the other?" "It was not always," said Aquila; "but neither does it necessarily follow, if it was made by God, that its Creator should be thought to be such as is that which has been made by Him. For indeed God made the substance of all things; but if a reasonable mind, which has been made by God, do not acquiesce in the laws of its Creator, and go beyond the bounds of the temperance prescribed to it, how does this reflect on the Creator? Or if there is any reason higher than this, we do not know it; for we cannot know anything perfectly, and especially concerning those things for our ignorance of which we are not to be judged. But those things for which we are to be judged are most easy to be understood, and are despatched almost in a word. For almost the whole rule of our actions is summed up in this, that what we are unwilling to suffer we should not do to others. For as you would not be killed, you must beware of killing another; and as you would not have your own marriage violated, you must not defile another's bed; you would not be stolen from, neither must you steal; and every matter of men's actions is comprehended within this rule."

CHAPTER 57

THE OLD MAN UNCONVINCED

Then the old man: 'Do not take amiss, my son, what I am going to say. Though your words are powerful, yet they cannot lead me to believe that anything can be done apart from GENESIS. For I know that all things have happened to me by the necessity of GENESIS? and therefore I cannot be persuaded that either to do well or to do ill is in our power; and if we have not our actions in our power, it cannot be believed that there is a judgment to come, by which either punishments may be inflicted on the evil, or rewards bestowed on the good. In short, since I see that you are initiated in this sort of learning, I shall lay before you a few things from the art itself. "If," says Aquila, "you wish to add anything from that science, my brother Clement will answer you with all care, since he has attended more fully to the science of mathematics. For I can maintain in other ways that our actions are in our own power; but I ought not to presume upon those things which I have not learned."

CHAPTER 58

SITTING IN JUDGMENT UPON GOD

When Aquila had thus spoken, then I Clement said: “Tomorrow, my father, you shall speak as you please, and we will gladly hear you; for I suppose it will also be gratifying to you that you have to do with those who are not ignorant of the science which you profess.” When, therefore, it had been settled between the old man and me, that on the following day we should hold a discussion on the subject of GENESIS — whether all things are done under its influence, or there be anything in us which is not done by GENESIS, but by the judgment of the mind — Peter rose up, and began to speak to the following effect: “To me it is exceedingly wonderful, that things which can easily be found out men make difficult by recondite thoughts and words; and those especially who think themselves wise, and who, wishing to comprehend the will of God, treat God as if He were a man, yea, as if He were something less than a man: for no one can know the purpose or mind of a man unless he himself reveal his thoughts; and neither can any one learn a profession unless he be for a long time instructed by a master. How much more must it be, that no one can know the mind or the work of the invisible and incomprehensible God, unless He Himself send a prophet to declare His purpose, and expound the way of His creation, so far as it is lawful for men to learn it! Hence I think it ridiculous when men judge of the power of God in natural ways, and think that this is possible and that impossible to Him, or this greater and that less, while they are ignorant of everything; who, being unrighteous men, judge the righteous God; unskilled, judge the contriver; corrupt, judge the incorruptible; creatures, judge the Creator.

CHAPTER 59

THE TRUE PROPHET

But I would not have you think, that in saying this I take away the power of judging concerning things; but I give counsel that no one walk through devious places, and rush into errors without end. And therefore I advise

not only wise men, but indeed all men who have a desire of knowing what is advantageous to them, that they seek after the true Prophet; for it is He alone who knoweth all things, and who knoweth what and how every man is seeking. For He is within the mind of every one of us, but in those who have no desire of the knowledge of God and His righteousness, He is inoperative; but He works in those who seek after that which is profitable to their souls, and kindles in them the light of knowledge. Wherefore seek Him first of all; and if you do not find Him, expect not that you shall learn anything from any other. But He is soon found by those who diligently seek Him through love of the truth, and whose souls are not taken possession of by wickedness. For He is present with those who desire Him in the innocency of their spirits, who bear patiently, and draw sighs from the bottom of their hearts through love of the truth; but He deserts malevolent minds, because as a prophet He knows the thoughts of every one. And therefore let no one think that he can find Him by his own wisdom, unless, as we have said, he empty his mind of all wickedness, and conceive a pure and faithful desire to know Him. For when any one has so prepared himself, He Himself as a prophet, seeing a mind prepared for Him, of His own accord offers Himself to his knowledge.

CHAPTER 60

HIS DELIVERANCES NOT TO BE QUESTIONED

“Therefore, if any one wishes to learn all things, he cannot do it by discussing them one by one; for, being mortal, he shall not be able to trace the counsel of God, and to scan immensity itself. But if, as we have said, he desires to learn all things, let him seek after the true Prophet; and when he has found Him, let him not treat with Him by questions and disputations and arguments; but if He has given any response, or pronounced any judgment, it cannot be doubted that this is certain. And therefore, before all things, let the true Prophet be sought, and His words be laid hold of. In respect to these this only should be discussed by every one, that he may satisfy himself if they are truly His prophetic words; that is, if they contain undoubted faith of things to come, if they mark out definite times, if they preserve the order of things, if they do not relate as

last those things which are first, nor as first those things which were done last, if they contain nothing subtle, nothing composed by magic art to deceive, or if they have not transferred to themselves things which were revealed to others, and have mixed them with falsehoods. And when, all these things having been discussed by fight judgment, it is established that they are prophetic words, so they ought to be at once believed concerning all things on which they have spoken and answered.

CHAPTER 61

IGNORANCE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

“For let us consider carefully the work of divine providence. For whereas the philosophers have introduced certain subtle and difficult words, so that not even the terms that they use in their discourses can be known and understood by all, God has shown that those who thought themselves word-framers are altogether unskillful as respects the knowledge of the truth. For the knowledge of things which is imparted by the true Prophet is simple, and plain, and brief; which those men walking through devious places, and through the stony difficulties of words, are wholly ignorant of. Therefore, to modest and simple minds, when they see things come to pass which have been foretold, it is enough, and more, than enough, that they may receive most certain knowledge from most certain prescience; and for the rest may be at peace, having received evident knowledge of the truth. For all other things are treated by opinion, in which there can be nothing firm. For what speech is there which may not be contradicted? And what argument is there that may not be overthrown by another argument? And hence it is, that by disputation of this sort men can never come to any end of knowledge and learning, but find the end of their life sooner than the end of their questions.

CHAPTER 62

END OF THE CONFERENCE

“And, therefore, since amongst these philosophers are things uncertain, we must come to the true Prophet. Him God the Father wished to be loved by all, and accordingly He has been pleased wholly to extinguish those opinions which have originated with men, and in regard to which there is nothing like certainty — that He the true Prophet might be the more sought after, and that He whom they had obscured should show to men the way of truth. For on this account also God made the world, and by Him the world is filled; whence also He is everywhere near to them who seek Him, though He be sought in the remotest ends of the earth. But if any one seek Him not purely, nor holily, nor faithfully, He is indeed within him, because He is everywhere, and is found within the minds of all men; but, as we have said before, He is dormant to the unbelieving, and is held to be absent from those by whom His existence is not believed.” And when Peter had said this, and more to the same effect, concerning the true Prophet, he dismissed the crowds; and when he very earnestly entreated the old man to remain with us, he could prevail nothing; but he also departed, to return next day, as had been agreed upon. And after this, we also, with Peter, went to our lodging, and enjoyed our accustomed food and rest.

BOOK 9

CHAPTER 1

AN EXPLANATION

ON the following day, Peter, along with us, hastened early to the place in which the discussion had been held the day before; and when he saw that great crowds had assembled there to hear, and saw the old man with them, he said to him: “Old man, it was agreed yesterday that you should confer today with Clement; and that you should either show that nothing takes place apart from genesis, or that Clement should prove that there is no such thing as genesis, but that what we do is in our own power.” To this the old man answered: “I both remember what was agreed upon, and I keep in memory the words which you spoke after the agreement was made, in which you taught that it is impossible for man to know any thing, unless he learn from the true Prophet.” Then Peter said: “You do not know what I meant; but I shall now explain to you. I spoke of the will and purpose of God, which He had before the world was, and by which purpose He made the world, appointed times, gave the law, promised a world to come to the righteous for the rewarding of their good deeds, and decreed punishments to the unjust according to a judicial sentence. I said that this counsel and this will of God cannot be found out by men, because no man can gather the mind of God from conjectures and opinion, unless a prophet sent by Him declare it. I did not therefore speak of any doctrines or studies, that they cannot be found out or known without a prophet; for I know that both arts and sciences can be known and practiced by men, which they have learned, not froth the true Prophet, but from human instructors.

CHAPTER 2

PRELIMINARIES

"Since, therefore, you profess to be conversant with the position of the stars and the courses of the heavenly bodies, and that from these you can convince Clement that all things are subject to GENESIS, or that you will learn from him that all things are governed by providence, and that we have something in our own power, it is now time for you two to set about this." To this the old man answered: "Now indeed it was not necessary to raise questions of this kind, if it were possible for us to learn from the true Prophet, and to hear in a definite proposition, that anything depends on is and on the freedom of our will; for your yesterday's discourse affected me greatly, in which you disputed concerning the prophetic power. Whence also I assent to and confirm your judgment, that nothing can be known by man with certainty, and without doubt, seeing that he has but a short period of life, and a brief and slender breath, by which he seems to be kept in life. However, since I am understood to have promised to Clement, before I heard anything of the prophetic power, that I should show that all things are subject to GENESIS, or that I should learn from him that there is something in ourselves, let him do me this favor, that he first begin, and propound and explain what may be objected: for I, ever since I heard from you a few words concerning the power of prophecy, have, I confess, been confounded, considering the greatness of prescience; nor do I think that anything ought to be received which is collected from conjectures and opinion."

CHAPTER 3

BEGINNING OF THE DISCUSSION

When the old man had said this, I Clement began to speak as follows: "God by His Son created the world as a double house, separated by the interposition of this firmament, which is called heaven; and appointed angelic powers to dwell in the higher, and a multitude of men to be born in this visible world, from amongst whom He might choose friends for His

Son, with whom He might rejoice, and who might be prepared for Him as a beloved bride for a bridegroom. But even till the time of the marriage, which is the manifestation of the world to come, He has appointed a certain power, to choose out and watch over the good ones of those who are born in this world, and to preserve them for His Son, set apart in a certain place of the world, which is without sin; in which there are already some, who are there being prepared, as I said, as a bride adorned for the coming of the bridegroom. For the prince of this world and of the present age is like an adulterer, who corrupts and violates the minds of men, and, seducing them from the love of the true bride groom, allures them to strange lovers.

CHAPTER 4

WHY THE EVIL PRINCE WAS MADE

But some one will say, How then was it necessary that that prince should be made, who was to turn away the minds of men from the true prince? Because God, who, as I have said, wished to prepare friends for His Son, did not wish them to be such as by necessity of nature could not be aught else, but such as should desire of their own choice and will to be good; because neither is that praiseworthy which is not desirable, nor is that judged to be good which is not sought for with purpose. For there is no credit in being that from which the necessity of your nature does not admit of your changing. Therefore the providence of God has willed that a multitude of men should be born in this world, that those who should choose a good life might be selected from many. And because He foresaw that the present world could not consist except by variety and inequality, He gave to each mind freedom of motions, according to the diversities of present things, and appointed this prince, through his suggestion of those things which run contrary, that the choice of better things might depend upon the exercise of virtue?

CHAPTER 5

NECESSITY OF INEQUALITY

“But to make our meaning plainer, we shall explain it by particulars. Was it proper, for example, that all men in this world should be kings, or princes, or lords, or teachers, or lawyers, or geometers, or goldsmiths, or bakers, or smiths, or grammarians, or rich men, or farmers, or perfumers, or fishermen, or poor men? It is certain that all could not be these. Yet all these professions, and many more, the life of men requires, and without these it cannot be passed; therefore inequality is necessary in this world. For there cannot be a king, unless he has subjects over whom he may rule and reign; nor can there be a master, unless he has one over whom he may bear sway; and in like manner of the rest.

CHAPTER 6

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE WORLD FOR THE EXERCISE OF VIRTUE

“Therefore the Creator, knowing that no one would come to the contest of his own accord, while labor is shunned, — that is, to the practice of those professions which we have mentioned, by means of which either the justice or the mercy of every one can be manifested, — made for men a body susceptible of hunger, and thirst, and cold, in order that men, being compelled for the sake of supporting their bodies, might come down to all the professions which we have mentioned, by the necessity of livelihood. For we are taught to cultivate every one of these arts, for the sake of food, and drink, and clothing. And in this the purpose of each one’s mind is shown, whether he will supply the demands of hunger and cold by means of thefts, and murders, and perjuries, and other crimes of that sort; or whether, keeping justice and mercy and continence, he will fulfill the service of imminent necessity by the practice of a profession and the labor of his hands. For if he supply his bodily wants with justice, and piety, and mercy, he comes forth as a victor in the contest set before him, and is chosen as a friend of the Son of God. But if he serve carnal lusts, by

frauds, iniquities, and crimes, he becomes a friend of the prince of this world, and of all demons; by whom he is also taught this, to ascribe to the courses of the stars the errors of his own evil doings, although he chose them of purpose, and willingly. For arts are learned and practiced, as we have said, under the compulsion of the desire of food and drink; which desire, when the knowledge of the truth comes to any one, becomes weaker, and frugality takes its place. For what expense have those who use water and bread, and only expect it from God?

CHAPTER 7

THE OLD AND THE NEW BIRTH

“There is therefore, as we have said, a certain necessary inequality in the dispensation of the world. Since indeed all men cannot know all things, and accomplish all works, yet all need t the use and service of almost all. And on this t account it is necessary that one work, and another pay him for his work; that one be servant, and another be master; that one be subject, another be king. But this inequality, which is a necessary provision for the life of men, divine providence has turned into an occasion of justice, mercy, and humanity: that while these things are transacted between man and man, every one may have an opportunity of acting justly with him to whom he has to pay wages for his work; and of acting mercifully, to him who, perhaps through sickness or poverty, cannot pay his debt; and of acting humanely towards those who by their creation seem to be subject to him; also of maintaining gentleness towards subjects, and of doing all things according to the law of God. For He has given a law, thereby aiding the minds of men, that they may the more easily perceive how they ought to act with respect to everything, in what way they may escape evil, and in what way tend to future blessings; and how, being regenerate in water, they may by good works extinguish the fire of their old birth. For our first birth descends through the fire of lust, and therefore, by the divine appointment, this second birth is introduced by water, which may extinguish the nature of fire; and that the soul, enlightened by the heavenly Spirit, may cast away the fear of the first birth: provided, however, it so live for the time to come, that it do not at all seek after any of the

pleasures of this world, but be, as it were, a pilgrim and a stranger, and a citizen of another city.

CHAPTER 8

USES OF EVILS

“But perhaps you will say, that in those things indeed in which the necessity of nature demands the service of arts and works, any one may have it in his power to maintain justice, and to put what restraint he pleases either upon his desires or his actions; but what shall we say of the sicknesses and infirmities which befall men, and of some being harassed with demons, and fevers, and cold fits, and some being attacked with madness, or losing their reason, and all those things which overwhelm the race of man with innumerable misfortunes? To this we say, that if any one consider the reason of the whole mystery, he will pronounce these things to be more just than those that we have already explained. For God has given a nature to men, by which they may be taught concerning what is good, and to resist evil; that is, they may learn arts, and to resist pleasures, and to set the law of God before them in all things. And for this end He has permitted certain contrary powers to wander up and down in the world, and to strive against us, for the reasons which have been stated before, that by striving with them the palm of victory and the merit of rewards may accrue to the righteous.

CHAPTER 9

“CONCEIVED IN SIN.”

“From this, therefore, it sometimes happens, that if any persons have acted incontinently, and have been willing not so much to resist as to yield, and to give harbor to these demons in themselves, by their noxious breath an intemperate, ill-conditioned, and diseased progeny is begotten. For while lust is wholly gratified, and no care is taken in the copulation, undoubtedly a weak generation is affected with the defects and frailties of those demons by whose instigation these things are done. And therefore

parents are responsible for their children's defects of this sort, because they have not observed the law of intercourse. Though there are also more secret causes, by which souls are made subject to these evils, which it is not to our present purpose to state, yet it behoves every one to acknowledge the law of God, that he may learn from it the observance of generation, and avoid causes of impurity, that that which is begotten may be pure. For it is not right, while in the planting of shrubs and the sowing of crops a suitable season is sought for, and the land is cleaned, and all things are suitably prepared, lest haply the seed which is sown be injured and perish, that in the case of man only, who is over all these things, there should be no attention or caution in sowing his seed.

CHAPTER 10

TOO SMEARED WITH PITCH

"But what, it is said, of the fact that some who in their childhood are free from any bodily defect, yet in process of time fall into those evils, so that some are even violently hurried on to death? Concerning these also the account is at hand, and is almost the same: for those powers which we have said to be contrary to the human race, are in some way invited into the heart of every one by many and diverse lusts, and find a way of entrance; and they have in them such influence and power as can only encourage and incite, but cannot compel or accomplish. If, therefore, any one consents to them, so as to do those things which he wickedly desires, his consent and deed shall find the reward of destruction and the worst kind of death. But if, thinking of the future judgment, he be checked by fear, and reclaim himself, so that he do not accomplish in action what he has conceived in his evil thought, he shall not only escape present destruction, but also future punishments. For every cause of sin seems to be like tow smeared over with pitch, which immediately breaks into flame as soon as it receives the heat of fire; and the kindling of this fire is understood to be the work of demons. If, therefore, any one be found smeared with sins and lusts as with pitch, the fire easily gets the mastery of him. But if the tow be not steeped in the pitch of sin, but in the water

of purification and regeneration, the fire of the demons shall not be able to be kindled in it.

CHAPTER 11

FEAR

“But some one will say, And what shall we do now, whom it has already happened to us to be smeared with sins as with pitch? I answer: Nothing; but hasten to be washed, that the fuel of the fire may be cleansed out of you by the invocation of the holy name, and that for the future you may bridle your lusts by fear of the judgment to come, and with all constancy beat back the hostile powers whenever they approach your senses. But you say, If any one fall into love, how shall he be able to contain himself, though he see before his eyes even that river of fire which they call Pyriphlegethon? This is the excuse of those who will not be converted to repentance. But now I would not have you talk of Pyriphlegethon. Place before you human punishments, and see what influence fear has. When any one is brought to punishment for the crime of love, and is bound to the stake to be burned, can he at that time conceive any desire of her whom he loved, or place her image before his eyes? By no means, you will say. You see, then, that present fear cuts off unrighteous desires. But if those who believe in God, and who confess the judgment to come, and the penalty of eternal fire, — if they do not refrain from sin, it is certain that they do not believe with full faith: for if faith is certain, fear also becomes certain; but if there be any detect in faith, fear also is weakened, and then the contrary powers find opportunity of entering. And when they have consented to their persuasions, they necessarily become subject also to their power, and by their instigation are driven to the precipices of sin.

CHAPTER 12

ASTROLOGERS

“Therefore the astrologers, being ignorant of such mysteries, think that these things happen by the courses of the heavenly bodies: hence also, in

their answers to those who go to them to consult them as to future things, they are deceived in very many instances. Nor is it to be wondered at, for they are not prophets; but, by long practice, the authors of errors find a sort of refuge in those things by which they were deceived, and introduce certain CLIMACTERIC PERIODS, that they may pretend a knowledge of uncertain things. For they represent these CLIMACTERICS as times of danger, in which one sometimes is destroyed, sometimes is not destroyed, not knowing that it is not the course of the stars, but the operation of demons, that regulates these things; and those demons, being anxious to confirm the error of astrology, deceive men to sin by mathematical calculations, so that when they suffer the punishment of sin, either by the permission of God or by legal sentence, the astrologer may seem to have spoken truth. And yet they are deceived even in this; for if men be quickly turned to repentance, and remember and fear the future judgment, the punishment of death is remitted to those who are converted to God by the grace of baptism.

CHAPTER 13

RETRIBUTION HERE OR HEREAFTER

“But some one will say, Many have committed even murder, and adultery, and other crimes, and have suffered no evil. This indeed rarely happens to men, but to those who know not the counsel of God it frequently seems to happen. But God, who knows all things, knows how and why he who sins does sin, and what cause leads each one to sin. This, however, is in general to be noticed, that if any are evil, not so much in their mind as in their doings, and are not born to sin under the incitement of purpose, upon them punishment is inflicted more speedily, and more in the present life; for everywhere and always God renders to every one according to his deeds, as He judges to be expedient. But those who practice wickedness of purpose, so that they sometimes even rage against those from whom they have received benefits, and who take no thought for repentance — their punishment He defers to the future. For these men do not, like those of whom we spoke before, deserve to end the punishment of their crimes in the present life; but it is allowed them to occupy the present time as they

will, because their correction is not such as to need temporal chastisements, but such as to demand the punishment of eternal fire in heir; and there their souls shall seek repentance, where they shall not be able to find it.

CHAPTER 14

KNOWLEDGE DEADENS LUSTS

“But if, while in this life, they had placed before their eyes the punishments which they shall then suffer, they would certainly have bridled their lusts, and would in nowise have fallen into sin. For the understanding in the soul has much power for cutting off all its desires, especially when it has acquired the knowledge of heavenly things, by means of which, having received the light of truth, it will turn away from all darkness of evil actions. For as the sun obscures and conceals all the stars by the brightness of his shining, so also the mind, by the light of knowledge, renders all the lusts of the soul ineffective and inactive, sending out upon them the thought of the judgment to come as its rays, so that they can no longer appear in the soul.

CHAPTER 15

FEAR OF MEN AND OF GOD

“But as a proof that the fear of God has much efficacy for the repressing of lusts, take the example of human fear. Who is there among men that does not covet his neighbor’s goods? And yet they are restrained, and act honestly, through fear of the punishment which is prescribed by the laws. Through fear, nations are subject to their kings, and armies obey with arms in their hands. Slaves, although they are stronger than their masters, yet through fear submit to their masters’ rule. Even wild beasts are tamed by fear; the strongest bulls submit their necks to the yoke, and huge elephants obey their masters, through fear. But why do we use human examples, when even divine are not wanting? Does not the earth itself remain under the fear of precept, which it testifies by its motion and quaking? The sea

keeps its prescribed bounds; the angels maintain peace; the stars keep their order, and the rivers their channels: it is certain also that demons are put to flight by fear. And not to lengthen the discourse by too many particulars, see how the fear of God, restraining everything, keeps all things in proper harmony, and in their fixed order. How much more, then, may you be sure that the lusts of demons which arise in your hearts may be extinguished and wholly abolished by the admonition of the fear of God, when even the inciters of lust are themselves put to flight by the influence of fear? You know that these things are so; but if you have anything to answer, proceed."

CHAPTER 16

IMPERFECT CONVICTION

Then said the old man: "My son Clement has wisely framed his argument, so that he has left us nothing to say to these things; but all his discourse which he has delivered on the nature of men has this bearing, that along with the fact that freedom of will is in man, there is also some cause of evil without him, whereby men are indeed incited by various lusts, yet are not compelled to sin; and that for this reason, be said, because fear is much more powerful than they, and it resists and checks the violence of desires, so that, although natural emotions may arise, yet sin may not be committed, those demons being put to flight who incite and inflame these emotions. But these things do not convince me; for I am conscious of certain things from which I know well, that by the arrangement of the heavenly bodies men become murderers or adulterers, and perpetrate other evils; and in like manner honorable and modest women are compelled to act well.

CHAPTER 17

ASTROLOGICAL LORE

"In short, when Mars, holding the center in his house, regards Saturn quarterly, with Mercury towards the center, the full moon coming upon

him, in the daily GENESIS, he produces murderers, and those who are to fall by the sword, bloody, drunken, lustful, devilish men, inquirers into secrets, malefactors, sacrilegious persons, and such like; especially when there was no one of the good stars looking on. But again Mars himself, having a quarterly position with respect to Venus, in a direction toward the center, while no good star looks on, produces adulterers and incestuous persons. Venus with the Moon, in the borders and houses of Saturn, if she was with Saturn, and Mars looking on, produces women that are viragos, ready for agriculture, building, and every manly work, to commit adultery with whom they please, and not to be convicted by their husbands, to use no delicacy, no ointments, nor feminine robes and shoes, but to live after the fashion of men. But the unpropitious Venus makes men to be as women, and not to act in any respect as men, if she is with Mars in Aries; on the contrary, she produces women if she is in Capricorn or Aquarius."

CHAPTER 18

THE REPLY

And when the old man had pursued this subject at great length, and had enumerated every kind of mathematical figure, and also the position of the heavenly bodies, wishing thereby to show that fear is not sufficient to restrain lusts, I answered again: "Truly, my father, you have argued most learnedly and skillfully; and reason herself invites me to say something in answer to your discourse, since indeed I am acquainted with the science of mathematics, and gladly hold a conference with so learned a man. Listen therefore, while I reply to what you have said that you may learn distinctly that GENESIS is not at all from the stars, and that it is possible for those to resist the assault of demons who have recourse to God; and, as I said before, that not only by the fear of God can natural lusts be restrained, but even by the fear of men, as we shall now instruct you.

CHAPTER 19

REFUTATION OF ASTROLOGY

“There are, in every country or kingdom, laws imposed by men, enduring either by writing or simply through custom, which no one easily transgresses. In short, the first Seres, who dwell at the beginning of the world, have a law not to know murder, nor adultery, nor whoredom, and not to commit theft, and not to worship idols; and in all that country, which is very large, there is neither temple, nor image, nor harlot, nor adulteress, nor is any thief brought to trial. But neither is any man ever slain there; and no man’s liberty of will is compelled, according to your doctrine, by the fiery star of Mars, to use the sword for the murder of man; nor does Venus in conjunction with Mars compel to adultery, although of course with them Mars occupies the middle circle of heaven every day. But amongst the Seres the fear of laws is more powerful than the configuration of GENESIS.

CHAPTER 20

BRAHMANS

“There are likewise amongst the Bactrians, in the Indian countries, immense multitudes of Brahmans, who also themselves, from the tradition of their ancestors, and peaceful customs and laws, neither commit murder nor adultery, nor worship idols, nor have the practice of eating animal food, are never drunk, never do anything maliciously, but always fear God. And these things indeed they do, though the rest of the Indians commit both murders and adulteries, and worship idols, and are drunken, and practice other wickednesses of this sort. Yea, in the western parts of India itself there is a certain country, where strangers, when they enter it, are taken and slaughtered and eaten; and neither have good stars prevented these men from such wickednesses and from accursed food, nor have malign stars compelled the Brahmans to do any evil. Again, there is a custom among the Persians to marry mothers, and sisters, and daughters. In all that district the Persians contract incestuous marriages.

CHAPTER 21

DISTRICTS OF HEAVEN

“And that those who study mathematics may not have it in their power to use that subterfuge by which they say that there are certain districts of heaven to which it is granted to have some things peculiar to themselves, some of that nation of Persians have gone to foreign countries, who are called Magusaei, of whom there are some to this day in Media, others in Parthia, some also in Egypt, and a considerable number in Galatia and Phrygia, all of whom maintain the form of this incestuous tradition without variation, and hand it down to their posterity to be observed, even although they have changed their district of heaven; nor has Venus with the Moon in the confines and houses of Saturn, with Saturn also and Mars looking on, compelled them to have a GENESIS among other men.

CHAPTER 22

CUSTOMS OF THE GELONES

“Amongst the Geli also there is a custom, that women cultivate the fields, build, and do everymanly work; and they are also allowed to have intercourse with whom they please, and are not found fault with by their husbands, or called adulteresses: for they have promiscuous intercourse everywhere, and especially with strangers; they do not use ointments; they do not wear dyed garments, nor shoes. On the other hand, the men of the Gelones are adorned, combed, clothed in soft and various-colored garments, decked with gold, and besmeared with ointments, and that not through lack of manliness, for they are most warlike, and most keen hunters. Yet the whole women of the Gelones had not at their birth the unfavorable Venus in Capricornus or Aquarius; nor had all their men Venus placed with Mars in Aries, by which configuration the Chaldean science asserts that men are born effeminate and dissolute.

CHAPTER 23

MANNERS OF THE SUSIDAE

"But, further, in Susae the women use ointments, and indeed of the best sort, being decked with ornaments and precious stones; also they go abroad supported by the aid of their maidservants, with much greater ambition than the men. They do not, however, cultivate modesty, but have intercourse indifferently with whomsoever they please, with slaves and guests, such liberty being allowed them by their husbands; and not only are they not blamed for this, but they also rule over their husbands. And yet the GENESIS of all the Susian women has not Venus, with Jupiter and Mars in the middle of the heaven in the houses of Jupiter. In the remoter parts of the East, if a boy be treated unnaturally, when it is discovered, he is killed by his brothers, or his parents, or any of his relations, and is left unburied. And again, among the Gauls, an old law allows boys to be thus treated publicly; and no disgrace is thought to attach to it. And is it possible, that all those who are so basely treated among the Gauls, have had Lucifer with Mercury in the houses of Saturn and the confines of Mars?

CHAPTER 24

DIFFERENT CUSTOMS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

"In the regions of Britain several men have one wife; in Parthia many women have one husband; and each part of the world adheres to its own manners and institutions. None of the Amazons have husbands, but, like animals, they go out from their own territories once a year about the vernal equinox, and live with the men of the neighboring nation, observing a sort of solemnity the while, and when they have conceived by them they return; and it they bring forth a male child, they cast him away, and rear only females. Now, since the birth of all is at one season, it is absurd to suppose that in the case of males Mars is at the time in equal portions with Saturn, but never in the GENESIS of females; and that they have not Mercury placed with Venus in his own houses, so as to produce either

painters, or sculptors, or money-changers; or in the houses of Venus, so that perfumers, or singers, or poets might be produced. Among the Saracens, and Upper Libyans, and Moors, and the dwellers about the mouths of the ocean, and also in the remote districts of Germany, and among the Sarmatians and Scythians, and all the nations who dwell in the regions of the Pontic shore, and in the island Chrysea, there is never found a money-changer, nor a sculptor, nor a painter, nor an architect, nor a geometrician, nor a tragedian, nor a poet. Therefore the influence of Mercury and Venus must be wanting among them.

CHAPTER 25

NOT GENESIS, BUT FREE-WILL

"The Medes alone in all the world, with the greatest care, throw men still breathing to be devoured by dogs; yet they have not Mars with the Moon placed in Cancer all through their daily GENESIS. The Indians burn their dead, and the wives of the dead voluntarily offer themselves, and are burned with them. But all the Indian women who are burned alive have not the Sun under the earth in nightly GENESIS, with Mars in the regions of Mars. Very many of the Germans end their lives by the halter; but all have not therefore the Moon with Hora begirt by Saturn and Mars. From all this it appears that the fear of the laws bears sway in every country, and the freedom of will which is implanted in man by the Spirit complies with the laws; and GENESIS Can neither compel the Seres to commit murder, nor the Brahmans to eat flesh, nor the Persians to shun incest, nor the Indians to refrain from burning, nor the Medes from being devoured by dogs, nor the Parthians from having many wives, nor the women of Mesopotamia from preserving their chastity, nor the Greeks from athletic exercises, nor the Gallic boys from being abused; nor can it compel the barbarous nations to be instructed in the studies of the Greeks; but, as wet have said, each nation observes its own laws according to free-will, and annuls the decrees of GENESIS by the strictness of laws.

CHAPTER 26

CLIMATES

"But some one skilled in the science of mathematics will say that GENESIS is divided into seven parts, which they call climates, and that over each climate one of the seven heavenly bodies bears rule; and that those diverse laws to which we have referred are not given by men, but by those dominant stars according to their will, and that that which pleases the star is observed by men as a law. To this we shall answer, in the first place, that the world is not divided into seven parts; and in the second place, that if it were so, we find many different laws in one part and one country; and therefore there are neither seven laws according to the number of the heavenly bodies, nor twelve according to the number of the signs, nor thirty-six according to that of the divisions of ten degrees; but they are innumerable.

CHAPTER 27

DOCTRINE OF "CLIMATES" UNTENABLE

"Moreover, we ought to remember the things which have been mentioned, that in the one country of India there are both persons who feed on human flesh, and persons who abstain even from the flesh of sheep, and birds, and all living creatures; and that the Magusaei marry their mothers and daughters not only in Persia, but that in every nation where they dwell they keep up their incestuous customs. Then, besides, we have mentioned also innumerable nations, which are wholly ignorant of the studies of literature, and also some wise men have changed the laws themselves in several places; and some laws have been voluntarily abandoned, on account of the impossibility of observing them, or on account of their baseness. Assuredly we can easily ascertain how many rulers have changed the laws and customs of nations which they have conquered, and subjected them to their own laws. This is manifestly done by the Romans, who have brought under the Roman law and the civil decrees almost the whole world, and all nations who formerly lived under various laws and

customs of their own. It follows, therefore, that the stars of the nations which have been conquered by the Romans have lost their climates and their portions.

CHAPTER 28

JEWISH CUSTOMS

"I shall add another thing which may satisfy even the most incredulous. All the Jews who live under the law of Moses circumcise their sons on the eighth day without fail, and shed the blood of the tender infant. But no one of the Gentiles has ever submitted to this on the eighth day; and, on the other hand, no one of the Jews has ever omitted it. How then shall the account of GENESIS stand with this, since Jews live in all parts of the world, mixed with Gentiles, and on the eighth day suffer the cutting of a member? And no one of the Gentiles, but only they themselves, as I have said, do this, induced to it not by the compulsion of any star, nor by the perfusion of blood, but by the law of their religion; and in whatever part of the world they are, this sign is familiar to them. But also the fact that one name is among, them all, wheresoever they are, does this also come through GENESIS? And also that no child born among them is ever exposed, and that on every seventh day they all rest, wherever they may be, and do not go upon a journey, and do not use fire? Why is it, then, that no one of the Jews is compelled by GENESIS to go on a journey, or to build, or to sell or buy anything on that day?

CHAPTER 29

THE GOSPEL MORE POWERFUL THAN "GENESIS."

"But I shall give a still stronger proof of the matters in hand. For, behold, scarcely seven years have yet passed since the advent of the righteous and true Prophet; and in the course of these, inert of all nations coming to Judaea, and moved both by the signs and miracles Which they saw, and by the grandeur of His doctrine, received His faith; and then going back to their own countries, they rejected the lawless rites of the Gentiles, and

their incestuous marriages. In short, among the Parthians — as Thomas, who is preaching the Gospel amongst them, has written to us — not many now are addicted to polygamy; nor among the Medes do many throw their dead to dogs; nor are the Persians pleased with intercourse with their mothers, or incestuous marriages with their daughters; nor do the Susian women practice the adulteries that were allowed them; nor has GENESIS been able to force those into crimes whom the teaching of religion restrained.

CHAPTER 30

"GENESIS" INCONSISTENT WITH GOD'S JUSTICE

"Behold, from the very matter in which we are now engaged? draw an inference, and from the circumstances in which we are now placed deduce a conclusion, how, through a rumor only reaching the ears of men that a Prophet had appeared in Judaea to teach men with signs and miracles to worship one God, all were expecting with prepared and eager minds, even before the coming of my Lord Peter, that some one would announce to them what He taught who had appeared. But lest I should seem to carry the enumeration too far, I shall tell you what conclusion ought to be drawn from the whole. Since God is righteous, and since He Himself made the nature of men, how could it be that He should place GENESIS in opposition to us, which should compel us to sin, and then that He should punish us when we do sin? Whence it is certain that God punishes no sinner either in the present life or in that to come, except because He knows that he could have conquered, but neglected victory. For even in the present world He takes vengeance upon men, as He did upon those who perished in the deluge, who were all destroyed in one day, yea, in one hour, although it is certain that they were not all born in one hour according to the order of genesis. But it is most absurd to say that it befalls us by nature to suffer evils, if sins had not gone before.

CHAPTER 31

VALUE OF KNOWLEDGE

"And therefore, if we desire salvation, we ought above all to seek after knowledge, being sure that if our mind remain in ignorance, we shall endure not only the evils of genesis, but also whatever other evils from without the demons may please, unless fear of laws and of the judgment to come resist all our desires, and check the violence of sinning. For even human fear does much good, and also much evil, unknown to GENESIS, as we have shown above. Therefore our mind is subject to errors in a threefold manner: from those things which come to us through evil custom; or from those lusts which the body naturally stirs up in us; or from those which hostile powers compel us to. But the mind has it in its own nature to oppose and fight against these, when the knowledge of truth shines upon it, by which knowledge is imparted fear of the judgment to come, which is a fit governor of the mind, and which can recall it from the precipices of lusts. That these things, therefore, are in our power, has been sufficiently stated.

CHAPTER 32

STUBBORN FACTS

"Now, old man, if you have any thing to say in answer to these things, say on." Then said the old man: "You have most fully argued, my son; but I, as I said at first, am prevented by my own consciousness from according assent to all this incomparable statement of yours. For I know both my own GENESIS and that of my wife, and I know that those things have happened which our GENESIS prescribed to each of us; and I cannot now be withdrawn by words from those things which I have ascertained by facts and deeds. In short, since I perceive that you are excellently skilled in this sort of learning, hear the horoscope of my wife, and you shall find the configuration whose issue has occurred. For she had Mars with Venus above the center, and the Moon setting in the houses of Mars and the confines of Saturn. Now this configuration leads women to be

adulteresses, and to love their own slaves, and to end their days in foreign travel and in waters. And this has so come to pass. For she fell in love with her slave, and fearing at once danger and reproach, she fled with him, and going abroad, where she satisfied her love, she perished in the sea."

CHAPTER 33

AN APPROACHING RECOGNITION

Then I answered: "How know you that she cohabited with her slave abroad, and died in his society?" Then the old man said: "I know it with perfect certainty; not indeed that she was married to the slave, as indeed I had not even discovered that she loved him. But after she was gone, my brother gave me the whole story, telling me that first she had loved himself; but he, being honorable as a brother, would not pollute his brother's bed with the stain of incest. But she, being both afraid of me, and unable to bear the unhappy reproaches (and yet she should not be blamed for that to which her GENESIS compelled her), pretended a dream, and said to me: 'Some one stood by me in a vision, who ordered me to leave the city without delay with my two twins.' When I heard this, being anxious for her safety' and that of my sons, I immediately sent away her and the children, retaining with myself one who was younger. For this she said that he had permitted who had given her warning in her sleep."

CHAPTER 34

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

Then I Clement, understanding that he perchance was my father, was drowned in tears, and my brothers also were ready to rush forward and to disclose the matter; but Peter restrained them, saying: "Be quiet, until I give you permission." Therefore Peter, answering, said to the old man: "What was the name of your younger son?" And he said: "Clement." Then Peter: "If I shall this day restore to you your most chaste wife and your three sons, will you believe that a modest mind can overcome unreasonable impulses, and that all things that have been spoken by us are true, and that

GENESIS is nothing?" Then said the old man: "As it is impossible for you to perform what you have promised, so it is impossible that anything can take place apart from GENESIS." Then says Peter: "I wish to have all who are here present as witnesses that I shall this day hand over to you your wife, who is living most chastely, with your three sons. And now take a token of these things from this, that I know the whole story much more accurately than you do; and I shall relate the whole occurrences in order, both that you may know them, and that those who are present may learn."

CHAPTER 35

REVELATIONS

When he had said this, he turned to the crowds, and thus began: "This person whom you see, O men, in this poor garb, is a citizen of the city Rome, descended of the stock of Caesar himself. His name is Faustinianus. He obtained as his wife a woman of the highest rank, Matthidia by name. By her he had three sons, two of whom were twins; and the one who was the younger, whose name was Clement, is this man!" When he said this, he pointed to me with his finger. "And his twin sons are these men, Niceta and Aquila, the one of whom was formerly called Faustinus and the other Faustus." But as soon as Peter pronounced our names, all the old man's limbs were weakened, and he fell down in a swoon. But we his sons rushed to him, and embraced and kissed him, fearing that we might not be able to recall his spirit. And while these things were going on, the people were confounded with very wonder.

CHAPTER 36

NEW REVELATIONS

But Peter ordered us to rise from embracing our father, lest we should kill him; and he himself, laying hold of his hand, and lifting him up as from a deep sleep, and gradually reviving him, began to set forth to him the whole transactions as they had really happened: how his brother had fallen in love with Matthidia, and how she, being very modest, had been unwilling

to inform her husband of his brother's lawless love, lest she should stir up hostility between the brothers, and bring disgrace upon the family; and how she had wisely pretended a dream, by which she was ordered to depart from the city with her twin sons, leaving the younger one with his father; and how on their voyage they had suffered shipwreck through the violence of a storm; and how, when they were cast upon an island called Antaradus, Matthidia was thrown by a wave upon a rock, but her twin children were seized by pirates and carried to Caesarea, and there sold to a pious woman, who treated them as sons, and brought them up, and caused them to be educated as gentlemen; and how the pirates had changed their names, and called the one Niceta and the other Aquila; and how afterwards, through common studies and acquaintanceship, they had adhered to Simon; and how they had turned away from him when they saw him to be a magician and a deceiver, and had come to Zacchaeus; and how subsequently they had been associated with himself; and how Clement also, setting out from the city for the sake of learning the truth, had, through his acquaintance with Barnabas, come to Caesarea. and had become known to him, and had adhered to him, and how he had been taught by him the faith of his religion; and also how he had found and recognized his mother begging at Antaradus, and how the whole island rejoiced at his recognition of her; and also concerning her sojourn with her most chaste hostess, and the cure that he bad wrought upon her, and concerning the liberality of Clement to those who bad been kind to his mother; and how afterwards, when Niceta and Aquila asked who the strange woman was, and had heard the whole story from Clement, they cried out that they were her twin sons Faustinus and Faustus; and how they had unfolded the whole history of what had befallen them; and how afterwards, by the persuasion of Peter himself, they were presented to their mother with caution, lest she should be cut off by the sudden joy.

CHAPTER 37

ANOTHER RECOGNITION

But while Peter was detailing these things in the hearing of the old man, in a narrative which was most pleasing to the crowd, so that the hearers wept

through wonder at the events, and through compassion for sufferings incident to humanity, my mother, hearing (I know not how) of the recognition of my father, rushed into the middle of us in breathless haste, crying out, and saying: “Where is my husband, my Lord Faustinianus, who has been so long afflicted, wandering from city to city in search of me?” While she shouted thus like one demented, and gazed around, the old man, running up, began to embrace and hug her with many tears. And while these things were going on, Peter requested the crowds to disperse, saying that it was unseemly to remain longer; but that opportunity must be afforded them of seeing one another more privately. “But tomorrow,” said he, “if any of you wish it, let them assemble to hear the word.”

CHAPTER 38

“ANGELS UNAWARES.”

When Peter had said this, the crowds dispersed; and when we also were intending to go to our lodging, the master of the house said to us: “It is base and wicked that such and so great men should stay in a hostelry, when I have almost my whole house empty, and very many beds spread, and all necessary things provided.” But when Peter refused, the wife of the householder prostrated herself before him with her children, and besought him, saying, “I entreat you, stay with us.” But not even so did Peter consent, until the daughter of those people who asked him, who had been for a long time vexed with an unclean spirit, and bound with chains, who had been shut up in a closet, having had the demon expelled from her, and the door of the closet opened, came with her chains and fell down at Peter’s feet, saying: “It is right, my lord, that you keep my deliverance-feast here today, and not sadden me or my parents.” But when Peter asked what was the meaning of her chains and of her words, her parents, gladdened beyond hope by the recovery of their daughter, were, as it were, thunderstruck with astonishment, and could not speak; but the servants who were in attendance said: “This girl has been possessed of a demon from her seventh year, and used to cut, and bite, and even to tear in pieces, all who attempted to approach her, and this she has never ceased to do for twenty years till the present time. Nor could any one ‘cure her,

or even approach her, for she rendered many helpless, and even destroyed some; for she was stronger than any man, being doubtless strengthened by the power of the demon. But now, as you see, the demon has fled from your presence, and the doors which were shut with the greatest strength have been opened, and she herself stands before you in her sound mind, asking of you to make the clay of her recovery gladsome both to herself and her parents, and to remain with them." When one of the servants had made this statement, and the chains of their own accord were loosened from her hands and feet, Peter, being sure that it was by his means that soundness was restored to the girl, consented to remain with them. And he ordered those also who had remained in the lodging, with his wife, to come over; and every one of us having got a separate bed-chamber, we remained; and having taken food in the usual manner, and given praises to God, we went to sleep in our several apartments.

BOOK 10

CHAPTER 1

PROBATION

But in the morning, after sunrise, I Clement, and Niceta and Aquila, along with Peter, came to the apartment in which my father and mother were sleeping; and finding them still asleep, we sat down before the door, when Peter addressed us in such terms as these: “Listen to me, most beloved fellow-servants: I know that you have a great affection for your father; therefore I am afraid that you will urge him too soon to take upon himself the yoke of religion, while he is not yet prepared for it; and to this he may perhaps consent, through his affection for you. Bat this is not to be depended on; for what is done for the sake of men is not worthy of approbation, and soon falls to pieces. Therefore it seems to me, that you should permit him to live for a year according to his own judgment; and during that time he may travel with us, and while we are instructing others he may hear with simplicity; and as he hears, if he has any right purpose of acknowledging the truth, he will himself request that he may take up the yoke of religion; or if he do not please to take it, he may remain a friend. For those who do not take it up heartily, when they begin not to be able to bear it, not only cast off that which they had taken up, but by way of excuse, as it were. for their weakness, they begin to speak evil of the way of religion, and to malign those whom they have not been able to follow or to imitate.”

CHAPTER 2

A DIFFICULTY

To this Niceta answered: “My Lord Peter, I say nothing against your right and good counsels; but I wish to say one thing, that thereby I may learn something that I do not know. What if my father should die within the

year during which you recommend that he should be put off? He will go down to hell helpless, and so be tormented for ever." Then said Peter: "I embrace your kindly purpose towards your father, and I forgive you in respect of things of which you are ignorant. For do you suppose that, if any one is thought to have lived righteously, he shall forthwith be saved? Do you not think that he must be examined by Him who knows the secrets of men, as to how he has lived righteously, whether perchance according to the rule of the Gentiles, obeying their institutions and laws; or for the sake of the friendship of men; or merely from custom, or any other cause; or from necessity, and not on account of righteousness itself, and for the sake of God? For those who have lived righteously, for the sake of God alone and His righteousness, they shall come to eternal rest, and shall receive the perpetuity of the heavenly kingdom. For salvation is not attained by force, but by liberty; and not through the favor of men, hut by the faith of God. Then, besides, you ought to consider that God is prescient, and knows whether this man is one of His. But if He knows that he is not, what shall we do with respect to those things which leave been determined by Him from the beginning? But wherein I can, I give counsel: when he is awake, and we sit down together, then do you, as if you wished to learn something, ask a question about those matters which it is titling for him to learn; and while we speak to one another, he will gain instruction. But yet wait first to see if he himself ask anything; for if he do so, the occasion of discourse will be the fitter. But if he do not ask anything, let us by turns put questions to one another, wishing to learn something, as I have said. Such is my judgment, state what is yours."

CHAPTER 3

A SUGGESTION

And when we had commended his right counsel, I Clement said: "In all things, the end for the most part looks back upon the beginning, and the issue of things is similar to their commencement. I hope, therefore, with respect to our father also, since God by your means has given a good beginning, that He will bestow also an ending suitable to the beginning, and worthy of Himself. However, I make this suggestion, that if, as you have

said, we begin to speak, in presence of my father, as if for the purpose of discussing some subject, or learning something from one another, you, my Lord Peter, ought not to occupy the place of one who has anything to learn; for if he see this, he will rather be offended. For he is convinced that you fully know all things, as indeed you do. How then will it be, if he see you pretending ignorance? This, as I have said, will rather hurt him, being ignorant of your design. But if we brothers, while we converse among ourselves, are in any doubt, let a fitting solution be given by you to our inquiry. For if he see even you hesitating and doubting, then truly he will think that no one has knowledge of the truth."

CHAPTER 4

FREE INQUIRY

To this Peter answered: "Let us not concern ourselves about this; and if indeed it is fitting that he enter the gate of life, God will afford a fitting opportunity; and there shall be a beginning from God, and not from man. And therefore, as I have said, let him journey with us, and hear our discussions; but because I saw you in haste, therefore I said that opportunity must be sought; and when God shall give it, do you comply with my advice in what I shall say." While we were thus talking, a boy came to tell us that our father was now awake; and when we were intending to go in to him, he himself came to us, and saluting us with a kiss, after we had sat down again, he said: "Is it permitted to one to ask a question, if he wishes it; or is silence enforced, after the manner of the Pythagoreans?" Then said Peter: "We do not compel those who come to us either to keep silence continually, or to ask questions; but we leave them free to do as they will knowing that he who is anxious about his salvation, if he feels pain in any part of his soul, does not suffer it to be silent. But he who neglects his salvation, no advantage its conferred upon him if he is compelled to ask, excepting this only, that he may seem to be earnest and diligent. Wherefore, if you wish to get any information, ask on."

CHAPTER 5

GOOD AND EVIL

Then the old man said: “There is a saying very prevalent among the Greek philosophers, to the effect that there is in reality neither good nor evil in the life of man; hut that men call things good or evil as they appear to them, prejudiced by the use and custom of life. For not even murder is really an evil, because it sets the soul free from the bonds of the flesh. Further, they say that even just judges put to death those who commit crimes; but if they knew homicide to be an evil, just men would not do that. Neither do they say that adultery is an evil; for if the husband does not know, or does not care, there is, they say, no evil in it. But neither, say they is theft an evil; for it takes away what one does, not possess from another who has it. And, indeed, it ought to be taken freely and openly; but in that it is done secretly, that is rather a reproof of his inhumanity from whom it is secretly taken. For all men ought to have the common use of all things that are in this world; but through injustice one says that this is his, and another that that is his, and so division is caused among men. In short, a certain man, the wisest among the Greeks, knowing that these things are so, says that friends should have all things common. Now, in all things unquestionably wives are included. He says also that, as the air and the sunshine cannot be divided, so neither ought other things to be divided, which are given in this world to all to be possessed in common, but should be so possessed. But I wished to say this, because I am desirous to turn to well-doing, and I cannot act well unless I first learn what is good; and if I can understand that, I shall thereby perceive what is evil, that is, opposite to good.

CHAPTER 6

PETER’S AUTHORITY

“But I should like that one of you, and not Peter, should answer what I have said; for it is not fitting to take words and instruction at his hand, with questions; but when he gives a deliverance on any subject, that

should be held without answering again. And therefore let us keep him as an umpire; so that if at any time our discussion does not come to an issue, he may declare what seems good to him, and so give an undoubted end to doubtful matters. And now therefore I could believe, content with his sole opinion, if he expressed any opinion; and this is what I shall do at last. Yet I wish first to see if it is possible by discussion to find what is sought. My wish therefore is, that Clement should begin first, and should show if there is any good or evil in substance or in actions."

CHAPTER 7

CLEMENT'S ARGUMENT

To this I answered: "Since indeed you wish to learn from me if there is any good or evil in nature or in act, or whether it is not rather that men, prejudiced by custom, think some things to be good, and others to be evil, forasmuch as; they have made a division among themselves of common things, which ought, as you say, to be as common as the air and the sunshine; I think that I ought not to bring before you any statements from any other quarter than from those studies in which you are well versed, and which you support, so that what I say you will receive without hesitation. You assign certain boundaries of all the elements and the heavenly bodies, and these, you say, meet in some without hurt, as in marriages; but in others they are hurtfully united, as in adulteries. And you say that some things are general to all, but other things do not belong to all, and are not general. But not to make a long discussion, I shall speak briefly of the matter. The earth which is dry is in need of the addition and admixture of water, that it may be able to produce fruits, without which man cannot live: this is therefore a legitimate conjunction. On the contrary if the cold of hoar-frost be mixed with the earth, or heat with the water, a conjunction of this sort produces corruption; and this, in such things, is adultery."

CHAPTER 8

ADMITTED EVILS

Then my father answered: “But as the harmfulness of can inharmonious conjunction of elements or stars is immediately betrayed, so ought also adultery to he immediately shown that it is an evil.” Then I: “First tell me this, whether, as you yourself have confessed, evils are produced from incongruous and inharmonious mixture; and then after that we shall inquire into the other matter.” Then my father said: “The nature of things is as you say, my son.” Then I answered: “Since, then, you wish to learn of these things, see how many things there are which no one doubts to be evils. Do you think that a fever, a fire, sedition, the fall of a house, murder, holds, racks, pains, mournings, and such like, are evils?” Then said my father: “It is true, my son, that these things are evil, and very evil; or, at all events, whoever denies that they are evil, let him suffer them!”

CHAPTER 9

EXISTENCE OF EVIL ON ASTROLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Then I answered: “Since, therefore, I have to deal with one who is skilled in astrological science, I shall treat the matter with you according to that science, that, taking my method from those things with which you are familiar, you may the more readily acquiesce. Listen now, therefore: you confess that those things which we have mentioned are evils, such as fevers, conflagrations, and such like. Now these, according to you, are said to be produced by malignant stars, such as the humid Saturn and the hot Mars; but things contrary to these are produced by benignant stars, such as the temperate Jupiter and the humid Venus. Is it not so?” My father answered: “It is so, my son; and it cannot be otherwise.” Then said I: “Since you say, therefore, that good things are produced by good stars — by Jupiter and Venus, for example — let us see what is the product where any one of the evil stars is mixed with the good, and let us understand that that is evil. For you lay it down that Venus makes marriages, and if she have Jupiter in her configuration she makes the marriages chaste; but if

Jupiter he not regarding, and Mars be present, then you pronounce that the marriages are corrupted by adultery." Then said my father: "It is even so." Then I answered: "Therefore adultery is an evil, seeing that it is committed through the admixture of evil stars; and, to state it in a word all things that you say that the good stars suffer from the mixture of evil stars, are undoubtedly to be pronounced to be evil. Those stars, therefore, by whose admixture we have said that fevers, configurations, and other such like evils are produced, — those, according to you, work also murders, adulteries, thefts, and also produce haughty and stolid men."

CHAPTER 10

HOW TO MAKE PROGRESS

Then my father said: "Truly you have shown briefly and incomparably that there are evils in actions; but still I should wish to learn this how God justly judges those who sin, as you say, if Genesis compels them to sin?" Then I answered: "I am afraid to speak anything to you, my father, because it becomes me to hold you in all honor, else I have an answer to give you, if it were becoming." Then says my father: "Speak what occurs to you, my son; for it is not you, but the method of inquiry, that does the wrong, as a modest woman to an incontinent man, if she is indignant for her safety and her honor." Then I answered "If we do not hold by the principles that we have acknowledged and confessed, but if those things which have been defined are always loosened by forgetfulness, we shall seem to be weaving Penelope's web, undoing what we have done. And therefore we ought either not to acquiesce too easily, before we have diligently examined the doctrine propounded; or if we have once acquiesced, and the proposition has been agreed to, then we ought to keep by what has been once determined, that we may go on with our inquiries respecting other matters." And my father said: "You say well, my son; and I know why you say this: it is because in the discussion yesterday on natural causes, you showed that some malignant power, transferring itself into the order of the stars, excites the lusts of men, provoking them in various ways to sin, yet not compelling or producing sins." To this I answered: "It is well that you remember it; and yet, though you to

remember it, you have fallen into error." Then said my father: "Pardon me, my son; for I have not yet much practice in these things: for indeed your discourses yesterday, by their truth, shut me up to agree with you; yet in my consciousness there are, as it were, some remains Of fevers, which for a little hold me back from faith, as from health. For I am distracted, because I know that many things, yea, almost all things, have befallen me according to GENESIS."

CHAPTER 11

TEST OF ASTROLOGY

Then I answered: "I shall therefore tell you, my father, what is the nature of mathematics, and do you act according to what I tell you. Go to a mathematician,' and tell him first that such and such evils have befallen you at such a time, and that you wish to learn of him whence, or how, or through what stars they have befallen you. He will no doubt answer you that a malignant Mars or Saturn has ruled your times, or that some one of them has been periodic; or that some one has regarded you diametrically, or in conjunction, or centrally; or some such answer will he give, adding that in all these some one was not in harmony with the malignant one, or was invisible, or was in the figure, or was beyond the division, or was eclipsed, or was not in contact. or was among the dark stars; and many other like things will he answer, according to his own reasons, and will condescend upon particulars. After him go to another mathematician, and tell him the opposite, that such and such good happened to you at that time, mentioning to him the same time, and ask him from what parts of your Genesis this good has come to you, and take care, as I said, that the times are the same with those about which you asked concerning evils. And when you have deceived him concerning the times, see what figures he will invent for you, by which to show that good things ought to have befallen you at those very times. For it is impossible for those treating of the Genesis of men not to find in every quarter, as they call it, of the heavenly bodies, some stars favorably placed, and some unfavorably; for the circle is equally complete in every part, according to mathematics,

admitting of diverse and various causes, from which they can take occasion of saying whatever they please.

CHAPTER 12

ASTROLOGY BAFFLED BY FREE-WILL

“For, as usually happens when Inert see unfavorable dreams, and can make nothing certain out of them, when any event occurs, then they adapt what they saw in the dream to what has occurred; so also is mathematics. For before anything happens, nothing is declared will certainty; but after something has happened. they gather the causes of the event. And thus often, when they have been at fault, and the thing has fallen out otherwise, they take the blame to themselves, saying that it was such and such a star which opposed, and that they did not see it; not knowing that their error does not proceed from their unskillfulness in their art, but from the inconsistency of the whole system. For they do not know what those things are which we indeed desire to do, but in regard to which we do not indulge our desires. But we who have learned the reason of this mystery know the cause, since, having freedoms of will, we sometimes oppose our desires, and sometimes yield to them. And therefore the issue of human doings is uncertain, because it depends upon freedom of will. For a mathematician can indeed indicate the desire which a malignant power produces; but whether the acting or the issue of this desire shall be fulfilled or not, no one can know before the accomplishment of the thing, because it depends upon freedom of will. And this is why ignorant astrologers have invented to themselves the talk about climacterics as their refuge in uncertainties, as we showed fully yesterday.

CHAPTER 13

PEOPLE ADMITTED

“If you have anything that you wish to say to this, say on.” Then my father: “Nothing can be more true, my son, than what you have stated.” And while we were thus speaking among ourselves, some one informed us

that a great multitude of people were standing outside, having assembled for the purpose of hearing. Then Peter ordered them to be admitted, for the place was large and convenient. And when they had come in, Peter said to us: “If any one of you wishes, let him address the people, and discourse concerning idolatry.” To whom I Clement answered: “Your great benignity and gentleness and patience towards all encourages us, so that we dare speak in your presence, and ask what we please; and therefore, as I said, the gentleness of your disposition invites and encourages all to undertake the precepts of saving doctrine. This I never saw before in any one else, but in you only, with whom there is neither envy nor indignation. Or what do you think?

CHAPTER 14

NO MAN HAS UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE

Then Peter said: “These things come not only from envy or indignation; but sometimes there is a bashfulness in some persons, lest haply (they may not be able to answer fully the questions that may be proposed, and so they avoid the discovery of their want of skill. But no one ought to be ashamed of this, because there is no man who ought to profess that he knows all things; for there is only One who knows all things, even He who also made all things. For if our Master declared that He knew not the day and the hour whose signs even He foretold, and referred the whole to the Father, how shall we account it disgraceful to confess that we are ignorant of some things, since in this we have the example of our Master? But this only we profess, that we know those things which we have learned from the true Prophet; and that those things have been delivered to us by the true Prophet, which He judged to be sufficient for human knowledge.”

CHAPTER 15

CLEMENT’S DISCLOSURE

Then I Clement went on to speak thus: “At Tripolis, when you were disputing against the Gentiles, my Lord Peter, I greatly wondered at you,

that although you were instructed by your father according to the fashion of the Hebrews and in observances of your own law, and were never polluted by the studies of Greek learning, you argued so magnificently and so incomparably; and that you even touched upon some things concerning the histories of the gods, which are usually declaimed in the theatres. But as I perceived that their fables and blasphemies are not so well known to you, I shall discourse upon these in your hearing, repeating them from the very beginning, if it please you." Then says Peter: Say on; you do well to assist my preaching." Then said I: "I shall speak, therefore, because you order me, not by way of teaching you, but of making public what foolish opinions the Gentiles entertain of the gods."

CHAPTER 16

WORLD THAT ALL GOD'S PEOPLE WERE PROPHETS

But when I was about to speak, Niceta, biting his lip, beckoned to me to be silent. And when Peter saw him, he said: "Why would you repress his liberal disposition and noble nature, that you would have him be silent for my honor, which is nothing? Or do you not know, that if all nations, after they have heard from me the preaching of the truth, and have believed, would betake themselves to teaching, they would gain the greater glory for me, if indeed you think me desirous of glory? For what so glorious as to prepare disciples for Christ, not who shall be silent, and shall be saved alone, but who shall speak what they have learned, and shall do good to others? I wish indeed that both you, Niceta, and you, beloved Aquila, would aid me in preaching the word of God, and the rather because those things in which the Gentiles err are well known to you; and not you only, but all who hear me, I wish, as I have said, so to hear and to learn, that they may be able also to teach: for the world needs many helpers, by whom men may be recalled from error." When he had spoken thus, he said to me: "Go on then, Clement, with what you have begun."

CHAPTER 17

GENTILE COSMOGONY

And I immediately rejoined: “Seeing that when you were disputing at Tripolis, as I said, you discoursed much concerning the gods of the Gentiles profitably and convincingly, I desire to set forth in your presence the ridiculous legends concerning their origin, both that you may not be unacquainted with the falsehood of this vain superstition, and that the hearers who are present may know the disgraceful character of their error. The wise men, then, who are among the Gentiles, say that first of all things was chaos; that this, through a long time solidifying its outer parts, made bounds to itself and a sort of foundation, being gathered, as it were, into the manner and form of a huge egg, within which, in the course of a long time, as within the shell of the egg, there was cherished and vivified a certain animal; and that afterwards, that huge globe being broken, there came forth a certain kind of man of double sex, which they call masculo-feminine. This they called Phanetas, from appearing, because when it appeared, they say, then also light shone forth. And from this, they say that there were produced substance, prudence, motion, and coition, and from these the heavens and the earth were made. From the heaven they say that six males were produced, whom they call Titans; and in like manner, from the earth six females, whom they called Titanides. And these are the names of the males who sprang from the heaven: Oceanus, Coeus, Crios, Hyperion, Iapetus, Chronos, who amongst us is called Saturn. In like manner, the names of the females who sprang from the earth are these: Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys, Hebe.

CHAPTER 18

FAMILY OF SATURN

“Of all these, the first-born of the heaven took to wife the first-born of earth; the second the second, and in like manner all the rest. The first male, therefore, who had married the first female, was on her account drawn downwards; but the second female rose upwards, by reason of him to

whom she was married; and so each doing in their order, remained in those places which fell to their share by the nuptial lot. From their intercourse they assert that innumerable others sprang. But of these six males, the one who is called Saturn received in marriage Rhea, and having been warned by a certain oracle that he who should be born of her should be more powerful than himself, and should drive him from his kingdom, he determined to devour all the sons that should be born to him. First, then, there is born to him a son called Aides, who amongst us is called Orcus; and him, for the reason we have just stated, he took and devoured. After him he begot a second son, called Neptune; and him he devoured in like manner. Last of all, he begot him whom they call Jupiter; but him his mother Rhea pitying, by stratagem withdrew from his father when he was about to devour him. And first, indeed, that the crying of the child might not be noticed, she made certain Corybantes strike cymbals and drums, that by the deafening sound the crying of the infant might not be heard.

CHAPTER 19

THEIR DESTINIES

“But when he understood from the lessening of her belly that her child was born, he demanded it, that he might devour it; then Rhea presented him with a large stone, and told him that that was what she had brought forth. And he took it, and swallowed it; and the stone, when it was devoured, pushed and drove forth those sons whom he had formerly swallowed. Therefore Orcus, coming forth first, descended, and occupies the lower, that is, the infernal regions. The second, being above him — he whom they call Neptune — is thrust forth upon the waters. The third, who survived by the artifice of his mother Rhea, she put upon a she-goat and sent into heaven.

CHAPTER 20

DOINGS OF JUPITER

“But enough of the old wife’s fables and genealogy of the Gentiles; for it were endless if I should set forth all the generations of those whom they call gods, and their wicked doings. But by way of example, omitting the rest, I shall detail the wicked deeds of him only whom they hold to be the greatest and the chief, and whom they call Jupiter. For they say that he possesses heaven, as being superior to the rest; and he, as soon as he grew up, married his own sister, whom they call Juno, in which truly he at once becomes like a beast. Juno bears Vulcan; but, as they relate, Jupiter was not his father. However, by Jupiter himself she became mother of Medea; and Jupiter having received a response that one who should be born of her should be more powerful than himself, and should expel him from his kingdom, took her and devoured her. Again Jupiter produced Minerva from his brain, and Bacchus from his thigh. After this, when he had fallen in love with Thetis, they say that Prometheus informed him that, if he lay with her, he who should be born of her should be more powerful than his father; and for fear of this, he gave her in marriage to one Peleus. Subsequently he had intercourse with Persephone, who was his own daughter by Ceres and by her be begot Dionysius, who was torn in pieces by the Titans. But calling to mind, it is said, that perhaps his own father Saturn might beget another son, who might be more powerful than himself, and might expel him from the kingdom, he went to war with his father, along with his brothers the Titans; and having beaten them, he at last threw his father into prison, and cut off his genitals, and threw them into the sea. But the blood which flowed from the wound, being mixed with the waves, and turned into foam by the constant churning, produced her whom they call Aphrodite, and whom with us they call Venus. From his intercourse with her who was thus his own sister, they say that this same Jupiter begot Cypris, who, they say, was the mother of Cupid.

CHAPTER 21

A BLACK CATALOGUE

“Thus much of his incests; I shall now speak of his adulteries. He defiled Europa, the wife of Oceanus, of whom was born Dodonaeus; Helen, the wife of Pandion, of whom Musaeus; Eurynome, the wife of Asopus, of whom Ogygias; Hermione, the wife of Oceanus, of whom the Graces, Thalia, Euphrosyne, Aglaia; Themis, his own sister, of whom the Hours, Eurynomia, Dice, Irene; Themisto, the daughter of Inachus, of whom Arcas; Idaea, the daughter of Minos, of whom Asterion; Phoenissa, the daughter of Alphion, of whom Eudymion; Io, the daughter of Inachus, of whom Epaphus; Hippodamia and Isione, daughters of Danaus, of whom Hippodamia was the wife of Olenus, and Isione of Orchomenus or Chryses; Carme, the daughter of Phoenix, of whom was born Britomartis, who was an attendant of Diana; Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, of whom Orcas; Lybee, the daughter of Munantius, of whom Belus; Latona, of whom Apollo and Diana; Leandia, the daughter of Eurymedon, of whom Coron; Lysithea, the daughter of Evenus, of whom Helenus; Hippodamia, the daughter of Bellerophon, of whom Sarpedon; Megaclite, the daughter of Macarius, of whom Thebe and Locrus; Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, of whom Argus and Pelasgus; Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, of whom Alexander; Pyrrha, the daughter of Prometheus, of whom Helmetheus; Protogenia and Pandora, daughters of Deucalion, of whom he begot Aethelius, and Dorus, and Melera, and Pandorus; Thaicrucia, the daughter of Proteus, of whom was born Nympheus; Salamis, the daughter of Asopus, of whom Saracon; Taygete, Electra, Maia, Plutide, daughters of Atlas, of whom respectively he begot Lacedaemon, Dardanus. Mercury, and Tantalus; Phthia, the daughter of Phoroneus, of whom be begot Achaeus; Chonia, the daughter of Aramnus, of whom he begot Lacon; Chalcea, a nymph, of whom was born Olympus; Charidia, a nymph, of whom Alcanus; Chloris, who was the wife of Ampycus, of whom Mopsus was born; Cotonia, the daughter of Lesbus, of whom Polymedes; Hippodamia, the daughter of Anicetus; Chrysogenia, the daughter of Peneus, of whom was born Thissaeus.

CHAPTER 22

VILE TRANSFORMATION OFF JUPITER

“There are also innumerable adulteries of his, of which no offspring was the result, which it were tedious to enumerate. But amongst those whom we have mentioned, he violated some being transformed, like a magician. In short, he seduced Antiope, the daughter of Nycteus, when turned into a satyr, and of her were born Amphion and Zethus; Alcmene, when changed into her husband Amphitryon, and of her was born Hercules; Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, when changed into an eagle, of whom Aeacus was born. So also he defiled Ganymede, the son of Dardanus, being changed into an eagle; Manthea, the daughter of Phocus, when changed into a bear, of whom was born Arctos; Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, being changed into gold, of whom Perseus; Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, changed into a bull, of whom were born Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon; Eurymedusa, the daughter of Achelaus, being changed into an ant, of whom Myrmidon; Thalia, the nymph, being changed into a vulture, of whom were born the Palisci, in Sicily; Imandra, the daughter of Geneanus, at Rhodes, being changed into a shower; Cassiopeia, being changed into her husband Phoenix, and of her was born Anchinos; Leda, the daughter of Thestius, being changed into a swan, of whom was born Helen; and again the same, being changed into a star, and of her were born Castor and Pollux; Lamia, being changed into a lapwing; Mnemosyne, being changed into a shepherd, of whom were born the nine Muses; Nemesis, being changed into a goose; the Cadmian Semele, being changed into fire, and of her was born Dionysius. By his own daughter Ceres he begot Persephone, whom also herself he defiled, being changed into a dragon.

CHAPTER 23

WHY A GOD?

“He also committed adultery with Europa, the wife of his own uncle Oceanus, and with her sister Eurynome, and punished their father; and he committed adultery with Plute, the daughter of his own son Atlas, and

condemned Tantalus, whom she bore to him. Of Larisse, the daughter of Orchomenus, he begot Tityon, whom also he consigned to punishment. He carried off Dia, the wife of his own son Ixion, and subjected him to perpetual punishment; and almost all the sons who sprang from his adulteries he put to violent deaths; and indeed the sepulchers of almost all of them are well known. Yea, the sepulcher of this parricide himself, who destroyed his uncles and defiled their wives, who committed whoredom with his sisters, this magician of many transformations, is shown among the Cretans, who, although they know and acknowledge his horrid and incestuous deeds, and tell them to all, yet are not ashamed to confess him to be a God. Whence it seems to me to be wonderful, yea, exceeding wonderful, how he who exceeds all men in wickedness and crimes, has received that holy and good name which is above every name, being called the father of gods and men; unless perhaps he who rejoices in the evils of men has persuaded unhappy souls to confer honor above all others upon him whom he saw to excel all others in crimes, in order that he might allure all to the imitation of his evil deeds.

CHAPTER 24

FOLLY OF POLYTHEISM

“But also the sepulchers of his sons, who are regarded amongst these the Gentiles as gods, are openly pointed out, one in one place, and another in another: that of Mercury at Hermopolis; that of the Cyprian Venus at Cyprus; that of Mars in Thrace; that of Bacchus at Thebes, where he is said to have been torn in pieces; that of Hercules at Tyre, where he was burnt with fire; that of Aesculapius in Epidaurus. And all these are spoken of, not only as men who have died, but as wicked men who have been punished for their crimes; and yet they are adored as gods by foolish men.

CHAPTER 25

DEAD MEN DEIFIED

“But if they choose to argue, and affirm that these are rather the places of their birth than of their burial or death, the former and ancient doings shall be convicted from those at hand and still recent, since we have shown that they worship those whom they themselves confess to have been men, and to have died, or rather to have been punished; as the Syrians worship Adonis, and the Egyptians Osiris; the Trojans, Hector; Achilles is worshipped at Leuconesus, Patroclus at Pontus, Alexander the Macedonian at Rhodes; and many others are worshipped, one in one place and another in another, whom they do not doubt to have been dead men. Whence it follows that their predecessors also, falling into a like error, conferred divine honor upon dead men, who perhaps had had some power or some skill, and especially if they had stupefied stolid men by magical phantasies.

CHAPTER 26

METAMORPHOSES

“Hence there has now been added, that the poets also adorn the falsehoods of error by elegance of words, and by sweetness of speech persuade that mortals have been made immortal; yea more, they say that men are changed into stars, and trees, and animals, and flowers, and birds, and fountains, and rivers. And but that it might seem to be a waste of words, I could even enumerate almost all the stars, and trees, and fountains, and rivers, which they assert to have been made of men; yet, by way of example, I shall mention at least one of each class. They say that Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, was turned into a star; Daphne, the daughter of the river Lado, into a tree; Hyacinthus, beloved of Apollo, into a flower; Callisto into the constellation which they call Arctos; Progne and Philomela, with Tereus, into birds; that Thysbe in Cilicia was dissolved into a fountain; and Pyramus, at the same place, into a river. And they

assert that almost all the stars, trees, fountains, and rivers, flowers, animals, and birds, were at one time human beings."

CHAPTER 27

INCONSISTENCY OF POLYTHEISTS

But Peter, when he heard this, said: "According to them, then, before men were changed into stars, and the other things which you mention, the heaven was without stars, and the earth without trees and animals; and there were neither fountains, nor rivers, nor birds. And without these, how did those men themselves live, who afterwards were changed into them, since it is evident that, without these things, men could not live upon the earth?" Then I answered: "But they are not even able to observe the worship of their own gods consistently; for every one of those whom they worship has something dedicated to himself, from which his worshippers ought to abstain: as they say the olive is dedicated to Minerva, the she-goat to Jupiter, seeds to Ceres, wine to Bacchus, water to Osiris, the ram to Hammon, the stag to Diana, the fish and the dove to the demon of the Syrians, fire to Vulcan; and to each one, as I have said, is there something specially consecrated, from which the worshippers are bound to abstain, for the honor of those to whom they are consecrated. But were one abstaining from one thing, and another from another, by doing honor to one of the gods, they incur the anger of all the rest; and therefore, if they would conciliate them all, they must abstain from all things for the honor of all, so that, being self-condemned by a just sentence before the day of judgment, they should perish by a most wretched death through starvation.

CHAPTER 28

BUTTRESSES OF GENTILISM

"But let us return to our purpose. What reason is there, yea, rather, what madness possesses the minds of men, that they worship and adore as a God, a man whom they not only know to be impious, wicked, profane —

I mean Jupiter — incestuous, a parricide, an adulterer, but even proclaim him publicly as such in their songs in the theatres? Or if by means of these deeds he has deserved to be a God, then also, when they hear of any murderers, adulterers, parricides incestuous persons, they ought to worship them also as gods. But I cannot understand why they venerate in him what they execrate in others." Then Peter answered: "Since you say that you cannot understand it, learn of me why they venerate wickedness in him. In the first place, it is that, when they themselves do like deeds, they may know that they shall be acceptable to him, inasmuch as they have but imitated him in his wickedness. In the second place, because the ancients have left these things skillfully composed in their writings, and elegantly engrafted in their verses. And now, by the aid of youthful education, since the knowledge of these things adheres to their tender and simple minds, it cannot without difficulty be torn from them and cast away."

CHAPTER 29

ALLEGORIES

When Peter had said this, Niceta answered: "Do not suppose, my Lord Peter, but that the learned men of the Gentiles have certain plausible arguments, by which they support those things which seem to be blameworthy and disgraceful. And this I state, not as wishing to confirm their error (for far be it from me that such a thing should ever come into my thought); but yet I know that there are amongst the more intelligent of them certain defenses, by which they are accustomed to support and color over those things which seem to be absurd. And if it please you that I should state some of them — for I am to some extent acquainted with them — I shall do as you order me." And when Peter had given him leave, Niceta proceeded as follows.

CHAPTER 30

COSMOGONY OF ORPHEUS

“All the literature among the Greeks which is written on the subject of the origin of antiquity, is based upon many authorities, but especially two, Orpheus and Hesiod. Now their writings are divided into two parts, in respect of their meaning, — that is the literal and the allegorical; and the vulgar crowd has flocked to the literal, but all the eloquence of the philosophers and learned men is expended in admiration of the allegorical. It is Orpheus, then, who says that at first there was chaos, eternal, unbounded, unproduced, and that from it all things were made. He says that this chaos was neither darkness nor light, neither moist nor dry, neither hot nor cold, but that it was all things mixed together, and was always one unformed mass; yet that at length, as it were after the manner of a huge egg, it brought forth and produced from itself a certain double form, which had been wrought through immense periods of time, and which they call masculo-feminine, a form concrete from the contrary admixture of such diversity; and that this is the principle of all things, which came of pure matter, and which, coming forth, effected a separation of the four elements, and made heaven of the two elements which are first, fire and air, and earth of the others, earth and water; and of these he says that all things now are born and produced by a mutual participation of them. So far Orpheus.

CHAPTER 31

HESIOD’S COSMOGONY

“But to this Hesiod adds, that after chaos the heaven and the earth were made immediately, from which he says that those eleven were produced (and sometimes also he speaks of them as twelve) of whom he makes six males and five females. And these are the names that he gives to the males: Oceanus, Coeus, Crius, Hyperion, Iapetus, Chronos, who is also called Saturn. Also the names of the females are: Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Tethys. And these names they thus interpret allegorically.

They say that the number is eleven or twelve: that the first is nature itself, which also they would have to be called Rhea, from FLOWING; and they say that the other ten are her accidents, which also they call qualities; yet they add a twelfth, namely Chronos, who with us is called Saturn, and him they take to be time. Therefore they assert that Saturn and Rhea are time and matter; and these, when they are mixed with moisture and dryness, heat and cold, produce all things.

CHAPTER 32

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION

“She therefore (Rhea, or nature), it is said, produced, as it were, a certain bubble which had been collecting for a long time; and it being gradually collected from the spirit which was in the waters, swelled, and being for some time driven over the surface of matter, from which it had come forth as from a womb, and being hardened by the rigor of cold, and always increasing by additions of ice, at length was broken off and sunk into the deep, and drawn by its own weight, went down to the infernal regions; and because it became invisible it was called Aides, and is also named Orcus or Pluto. And since it was sunk from the top to the bottom, it gave place to the moist element to flow together; and the grosser part, which is the earth, was laid bare by the retirement of the waters. They say, therefore, that this freedom of the waters, which was formerly restrained by the presence of the bubble, was called Neptune after the bubble attained the lowest place. After this, when the cold element had been sucked down to the lower regions by the concretion of the icy bubble, and the dry and the moist element had been separated, there being now no hindrance, the warm element rushed by its force and lightness to the upper regions of the air, being born up by wind and storm. This storm, therefore, which in Greek is called καταιγίς, they called AEGIS — that is, a she-goat; and the fire which ascended to the upper regions they called Jupiter; wherefore they say that he ascended to Olympus riding on a she-goat.

CHAPTER 33

ALLEGORY OF JUPITER, ETC

“Now this Jupiter the Greeks would have to be called from his living, or giving life, but our people from his giving succor. They say, therefore, that this is the living substance, which, placed in the upper regions, and drawing all things to itself by the influence of heat, as by the convolution of the brain, and arranging them by the moderation of a certain tempering, is said from his head to have produced wisdom, whom they call Minerva, who was called Ἀθήνη by the Greeks on account of her immortality; who, because the father of all created all things by his wisdom, is also said to have been produced from his head, and from the principal place of all, and is represented as having formed and adorned the whole world by the regulated admixture of the elements. Therefore the forms which were impressed upon matter, that the world might be made, because they are constrained by the force of heat, are said to be held together by the energy of Jupiter. And since there are enough of these, and they do not need anything new to be added to them, but each thing is repaired by the produce of its own seed, the hands of Saturn are said to be bound by Jupiter; because, as I have said, time now produces from matter nothing new: but the warmth of seeds restores all things according to their kinds; and no birth of Rhea — that is, no increase of flowing matter — ascends further. And therefore they call that first division of the elements the mutilation of Saturn, because he cannot any more produce a world.

CHAPTER 34

OTHER ALLEGORIES

“And of Venus they give forth an allegory to this effect. When, say they, the sea was put under the air, and when the brightness of the heavens shone more pleasantly, being reflected from the waters, the loveliness of things, which appeared fairer from the waters, was called Venus; and she, it, being united with the air as with her, its, own brother, so as to produce beauty, which might be the object of desire, is said to have given birth to

Cupid. In this way, therefore, as we have said, they teach that Chronos, who is Saturn, is allegorically time; Rhea is matter; Aides — that is, Orcus — is the depth of the infernal regions; Neptune is water; Jupiter is air — that is, the element of heat; Venus is the loveliness of things; Cupid is desire, which is in all things, and by which posterity is propagated, or even the reason of things, which gives delight when wisely looked into. Hera — that is, Juno — is said to be that middle air which descends from heaven to earth. To Diana, whom they call Proserpine, they hand over the air below. They say that Apollo is the Sun himself, which goes round the heaven; that Mercury is speech, by which a reason is rendered for everything; that Mars is unrestrained fire, which consumes all things. But not to delay you by enumerating everything, those who have the more abstruse intelligence concerning such things think that they give fair and just reasons, by applying this sort of allegory to every one of their objects of worship."

CHAPTER 35

USELESSNESS OF THESE ALLEGORIES

When Niceta had thus spoken, Aquila answered: "Whoever he was that was the author and inventor of these things, he seems to me to have been very impious, since he covered over those things which seem to be pleasant and seemly, and made the ritual of his superstition to consist in base and shameful observances, since those things which are written according to the letter are manifestly unseemly and base; and the whole observance of their religion consists in these, that by such crimes and impieties they may teach men to imitate their gods whom they worship. For in these allegories what profit can there be to them? For although they are framed so as to be decent, yet no use is derived from them for worship, nor for amendment of morals.

CHAPTER 36

THE ALLEGORIES AN AFTERTHOUGHT

“Whence it is the more evident that prudent men, when they saw that the common superstition was so disgraceful, so base, and yet they had not learned any way of correcting it, or any knowledge, endeavored with what arguments and interpretations they could to veil unseemly things under seemly speech, and not, as they say, to conceal seemly reasons under unseemly fables. For if this were the case, surely their statues and their pictures would never be made with representations of their vices and crimes. The swan, which committed adultery with Leda, would not be represented, nor the bull which committed adultery with Europa; nor would they turn into a thousand monstrous shapes, him whom they think better than all. And assuredly, if the great and wise men who are amongst them knew that all this is fiction and not truth, would not they charge with impiety and sacrilege those who should exhibit a picture or carve an image of this sort, to the injury of the gods? In short, let them present a king of their own time in the form of an ox, or a goose, or an ant, or a vulture, and let them write the name of their king upon it, and set up such a statue or figure in a public place, and they will soon be made to feel the wrong of their deed, and the greatness of its punishment.

CHAPTER 37

LIKE GODS, LIKE WORSHIPPERS

“But since those things rather are true which the public baseness testifies, and concealments have been sought and fabricated by prudent men to excuse them by seemly speeches, therefore are they not only not prohibited, but even in the very mysteries figures are produced of Saturn devouring his sons, and of the boy hidden by the cymbals and drums of the Corybantes; and with respect to the mutilation of Saturn, what better proof of its truth could there be, than that even his worshippers are mutilated, by a like miserable fate, in honor of their God? Since then these things are manifestly seen, who shall be found of so little sense, yea, of

such stolidity, that he does not perceive that those things are true concerning the unfortunate gods, which their more unfortunate worshippers attest by the wounding and mutilation of their bodies?

CHAPTER 38

WRITINGS OF THE POETS

“But if, as they say, these things, so creditably and piously done, are dispensed by so discreditable and impious a ritual, assuredly he is sacrilegious, whoever either gave forth these things at first, or persists in fulfilling them, now that they have unhappily been given forth. And what shall we say of the books of the poets? Ought not they, if they have debased the honorable and pious deeds of the gods with base fables, to be forthwith cast away and thrown into the fire, that they may not persuade the still tender age of boys that Jupiter himself, the chief of the gods, was a parricide towards his parents, incestuous towards his sisters and his daughters, and even impure towards boys; that Venus and Mars were adulterers, and all those things which have been spoken of above? What do you think of this matter, my Lord Peter?”

CHAPTER 39

ALL FOR THE BEST

Then he answered: “Be sure, beloved Aquila, that all things are done by the good providence of God, that the cause which was to be contrary to the truth should not only be infirm and weak, but also base. For if the assertion of error had been stronger and more truth-like, any one who had been deceived by it would not easily return to the path of truth. If even now, when so many wicked and disgraceful things are related concerning the gods of the Gentiles, scarce any one forsakes the base error, how much more if there had been in it anything seemly and truth-like? For the mind is with difficulty transferred from those things with which it has been imbued in early youth; and on this account, as I said, it has been effected by divine providence, that the substance of error should be both weak and

base. But all other things also divine providence dispenses filly and advantageously, although the method of the divine dispensation, as good, and the best possible, is not clear to us who are ignorant of the causes of things."

CHAPTER 40

FURTHER INFORMATION SOUGHT

When Peter had thus said, I Clement asked Niceta that he would explain to us, for the sake of instruction, some things concerning the allegories of the Gentiles, which he had carefully studied; "for," said I, "it is useful that when we dispute with the Gentiles, we should not be unacquainted with these things." Then said Niceta: "If my Lord Peter permits me, I can do as you ask me." Then said Peter: "Today I have given you leave to speak in opposition to the Gentiles, as you know." And Niceta said: "Tell me then, Clement, what you would have me speak about." And I said to him: "Inform us how the Gentiles represent matters concerning the supper of the gods, which they had at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. What do they make of the shepherd Paris, and what of less Juno, Minerva, and Venus, between whom he acted as judge? What of Mercury? and what of the apple, and the other things which follow in order?"

CHAPTER 41

EXPLANATION OF MYTHOLOGY

Then Niceta: "The affair of the supper of the gods stands in this wise. They say that the banquet is the world, that the order of the gods sitting at table is the position of the heavenly bodies. Those whom Hesiod calls the first children of heaven and earth, of whom six were males and six females, they refer to the number of the twelve signs, which go round all the world. They say that the dishes of the banquet are the reasons and causes of things, sweet and desirable, which in the shape of inferences from the positions of the signs and the courses of the stars, explain how the world is ruled and governed. Yet they say these things exist after the free manner

of a banquet, inasmuch as the mind of every one has the option whether he shall taste aught of this sort of knowledge, or whether he shall refrain; and as in a banquet no one is compelled, but every one is at liberty to eat, so also the manner of philosophizing depends upon the choice of the will. They say that discord is the lust of the flesh, which rises up against the purpose of the mind, and hinders the desire of philosophizing; and therefore they say that the thee was that in which the marriage was celebrated. Thus they make Peleus and the nymph Thetis to be the dry and the moist element, by the admixture of which the substance of bodies is composed. They hold that Mercury is speech, by which instruction is conveyed to the mind; that Juno is chastity, Minerva courage, Venus lust, Paris the understanding. If therefore, say they, it happens that there is in a man a barbarous and uncultivated understanding, and ignorant of right judgment, he will despise chastity and courage, and will give the prize, which is the apple, to lust; and thereby, ruin and destruction will come not only upon himself, but also upon his countrymen and the whole race. These things, therefore, it is in their power to compose from whatever matter they please; yet they can be adapted to every man; because if any one has a pastoral and rustic and uncultivated understanding, and does not wish to be instructed, when the heat of his body shall make suggestions concerning the pleasure of lust, straightway he despises the virtues of studies and the blessings of knowledge, and turns his mind to bodily pleasures. And hence it is that implacable wars arise, cities are destroyed, countries fall, even as Paris, by the abduction of Helen, armed the Greeks and the barbarians to their mutual destruction."

CHAPTER 42

INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE

Then Peter, commending his statement, said: "Ingenious men, as I perceive, take many verisimilitudes from the things which they read; and therefore great care is to be taken, that when the law of God is read, it be not read according to the understanding of our own mind. For there are many sayings in the divine Scriptures which can be drawn to that sense which every one has preconceived for himself; and this ought not to be

done. For you ought not to seek a foreign and extraneous sense, which you have brought from without, which you may confirm from the authority of the Scriptures, but to take the sense of truth from the Scriptures themselves; and therefore it behoves you to learn the meaning of the Scriptures from him who keeps it according to the truth handed down to him from his fathers, so that he can authoritatively declare what he has rightly received. But when one has received an entire and firm rule of truth from the Scriptures, it will not be improper if he contribute to the establishment of true doctrine anything from common education and from lib-oral studies, which, it may be, he has attached himself to in his boyhood; yet so that, when he has learned the truth, he renounce falsehood and pretense."

CHAPTER 43

A WORD OF EXHORTATION

And when he had said this, he looked to our father, and said: "You therefore, old man, if indeed you care for your soul's safety, that when you desire to be separated from the body, it may, in consequence of tills short conversion, find eternal rest, ask about whatever you please, and seek counsel, that you may be able to cast off any doubt that remains in you. For even to young men the thee of life is uncertain; but to old men it is not even uncertain, for there is no doubt that there is but little time remaining to them. And therefore both young and old ought to be very earnest about their conversion and repentance, and to be taken up with the adornment of their souls for the future with the worthiest ornaments, such as the doctrines of truth, the grace of chastity, the splendor of righteousness, the fairness of piety, and all other things with which it becomes a reasonable mind to be adorned. Then, besides, they should break off from unseemly and unbelieving companions, and keep company with the faithful, and frequent those assemblies in which subjects are handled relating to chastity, righteousness and piety; to pray to God always heartily, and to ask of Him those things which ought to be asked of God; to give thanks to Him; to repent truly of their past doings; in some measure also, if possible, by deeds of mercy towards the poor, to help

their penitence: for by these means pardon will be more easily bestowed, and mercy will be sooner shown to the merciful.

CHAPTER 44

EARNESTNESS

“But if he who comes to repentance is of more advanced age, he ought the more to give thanks to God, because, having received the knowledge of the truth, after all the violence of carnal lust has been broken, there awaits him no fight of contest, by which to repress the pleasures of the body rising against the mind. It remains, therefore, that he be exercised in the learning of the truth, and in works of mercy, that he may bring forth fruits worthy of repentance; and that he do not suppose that the proof of conversion is shown by length of time, but by strength of devotion and of purpose. For minds are manifest to God; and He does not take account of times, but of hearts. For He approves if any one, on hearing the preaching of the truth, does not delay, nor spend time in negligence, but immediately, and if I may say so, in the same moment, abhorring the past, begins to desire things to come, and burns with love of the heavenly kingdom.

CHAPTER 45

ALL OUGHT TO REPENT

“Wherefore, let no one of you longer dissemble nor look backwards, but willingly approach to the Gospel of the kingdom of God. Let not the poor man say, When I shall become rich, then I shall be converted. God does not ask money of you, but a merciful heart and a pious mind. Nor let the rich man delay his conversion by reason of worldly care, while he thinks how he may dispose the abundance of his fruits; nor say within himself, ‘What shall I do? where shall I bestow my fruits?’ Nor say to his soul, ‘Thou hast much goods laid up for many years; feast and rejoice.’ For it shall be said to him, ‘Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be taken from time, and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?’ Therefore let every age, every sex, every condition, haste to repentance,

that they may obtain eternal life. Let the young be thankful that they put their necks under the yoke of discipline in the very violence of their desires. The old also are themselves praise-worthy, because they change for the fear of God, the custom of a long time in which they have been unhappily occupied.

CHAPTER 46

THE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY

“Let no one therefore put off. Let no one delay. For what occasion is there for delaying to do well? Or are you afraid, lest, when you have done well, you do not find the reward as you supposed? And what loss will you sustain if you do well without reward? Would not conscience alone be sufficient in this? But if you find as you anticipate, shall you not receive great things for small, and eternal for temporal? But I say this for the sake of the unbelieving. For the things which we preach are as we preach them; because they cannot be otherwise, since they have been promised by the prophetic word.

CHAPTER 47

“A FAITHFUL SAYING, AND WORTHY OF ALL ACCEPTATION.”

“But if any one desires to learn exactly the truth of our preaching, let him come to hear, and let him ascertain what the true Prophet is; and then at length all doubtfulness will cease to him, unless with obstinate mind he resist those things which he finds to be true. For there are some whose only object it is to gain the victory in any way whatever, and who seek praise for this rather than their salvation. These ought not to have a single word addressed to them, lest both the noble word suffer injury, and condemn to eternal death him who is guilty of the wrong done to it. For what is there in respect of which any one ought to oppose our preaching? or in respect of which the word of our preaching is found to be contrary to the belief of what is true and honorable? It says that the God the Father, the Creator of all, is to be honored, as also His Son, who alone knows Him

and His will, and who alone is to be believed concerning all things which He has enjoined. For He alone is the law and the Lawgiver, and the righteous Judge, whose law decrees that God, the Lord of all, is to be honored by a sober, chaste, just, and merciful life, and that all hope is to be placed in Him alone.

CHAPTER 48

ERRORS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

“But some one will say that precepts of this sort are given by the philosophers also. Nothing of the kind: for they do indeed give commandments concerning justice and sobriety, but they are ignorant that God is the recompenser of good and evil deeds; and therefore their laws and precepts only shun a public accuser, but cannot purify the conscience. For why should one fear to sin in secret, who does not know that there is a witness and a judge of secret things? Besides, the philosophers in their precepts add that even the gods, who are demons, are to be honored; and this alone, even if in other respects they seemed worthy of approbation, is sufficient to convict them of the most dreadful impiety, and condemn them by their own sentence, since they declare indeed that there is one God, yet command that many be worshipped, by way of humoring human error. But also the philosophers say that God is not angry, not knowing what they say. For anger is evil, when it disturbs the mind, so that it loses right counsel. But that anger which punishes the wicked does not bring disturbance to the mind; but it is one and the same affection, so to speak, which assigned rewards to the good and punishment to the evil; for if He should bestow blessings upon the good and the evil, and confer equal rewards upon the pious and the impious, He would appear to be unjust rather than good.

CHAPTER 49

GOD'S LONG-SUFFERING

"But you say, Neither ought God to do evil. You say truly; nor does He. But those who have been created by Him, while they do not believe that they are to be judged, indulging their pleasures, have fallen away from piety and righteousness. But you will say, If it is right to punish the wicked, they ought to be punished immediately when they do wickedly. You indeed do well to make haste; but He who is eternal, and from whom nothing is secret, inasmuch as He is without end, in the same proportion is His patience extended, and He regards not the swiftness of vengeance, but the causes of salvation. For He is not so much pleased with the death as with the conversion of a sinner. Therefore, in short, He has bestowed upon men holy baptism, to which, if any one makes haste to come, and for the future remains without stain, all his sins are thenceforth blotted out, which were committed in the time of his ignorance.

CHAPTER 50

PHILOSOPHERS NOT BENEFACTORS OF MEN

"For what have the philosophers contributed to the life of man, by saying that God is not angry with men? Only to teach them to have no fear of any punishment or judgment, and thereby to take away all restraint from sinners. Or what have they benefited the human race, who have said that there is no God, but that all things happen by chance and accident? What but that men, hearing this, and thinking that there is no judge, no guardian of things, are driven headlong, without fear of any one, to every deed which either rage, or avarice, or lust may dictate. For they truly have much benefited the life of man who have said that nothing can be done apart from GENESIS; that is, that every one, ascribing the cause of his sin to GENESIS, might in the midst of his crimes declare himself innocent, while he does not wash out his guilt by repentance, but doubles it by laying the blame upon fate. And what shall I say of those philosophers who have maintained that the gods are to be worshipped, and such gods as were

described to you a little while ago? What else was this but to decree that vices, crimes, and base deeds should be worshipped? I am ashamed of you, and I pity you, if you have not yet discovered that these things were unworthy of belief, and impious, and execrable, or if, having discovered and ascertained them to be evil, ye have nevertheless worshipped them as if they were good, yea, even the best.

CHAPTER 51

CHRIST THE TRUE PROPHET

“Then, besides, of what sort is that which some of the philosophers have presumed to speak even concerning God, though they are mortal, and can only speak by opinion concerning invisible things, or concerning the origin of the world, since they were not present when it was made, or concerning the end of it, or concerning the treatment and judgment of souls in the infernal regions, forgetting that it belongs indeed to a reasonable man to know things present and visible, but that it is the part of prophetic prescience alone to know things past, and things future, and things invisible? These things, therefore, are not to be gathered from conjectures and opinions, in which men are greatly deceived, but from faith in prophetic truth, as this doctrine of ours is. For we speak nothing of ourselves, nor announce things gathered by human judgment; for this were to deceive our hearers. But we preach the things which have been committed and revealed to us by the true Prophet. And concerning His prophetic prescience and power, if any one, as I have said, wishes to receive clear proofs, let him come instantly and be alert to hear, and we shall give evident proofs by which he shall seem not only to hear the power of prophetic prescience with his ears, but even to see it with his eyes and handle it with his hand; and when he has entertained a sure faith concerning Him, he will without any labor take upon him the yoke of righteousness and piety; and so great sweetness will he perceive in it, that not only will be not find fault with any labor being in it, but will even desire something further to be added and imposed upon him.”

CHAPTER 52

APPION AND ANUBION

And when he had said this, and more to the same purpose, and had cured some who were present who were infirm and possessed of demons, he dismissed the crowds, while they gave thanks and praised God, charging them to come to the same place on the following days also for the sake of hearing. And when we were together at home, and were preparing to eat, one entering told us that Appion Pleistonices, with Anubion, were lately come from Antioch, and were lodging with Simon. Then my father, when he heard this, rejoiced, and said to Peter: “If you permit me, I should like to go and salute Appion and Anubion, for they are great friends of mine; and perhaps I shall be able to persuade Anubion to dispute with Clement on the subject of GENESIS.” Then Peter said: “I consent; and I commend you, because you respect your friends. But consider how all things occur to you according to your wish by God’s providence; for, behold, not only have the objects of proper affection been restored to you by the appointment of God, but also the presence of your friends is arranged for you.” Then said my father: “Truly I consider that it is so as you say.” And when he had said this, he went away to Anubion.

CHAPTER 53

A TRANSFORMATION

But we, sitting with Peter the whole night, asking questions, and learning of him on many subjects, remained awake through very delight in his teaching and the sweetness of his words; and when it was daybreak, Peter, looking at me and my brothers, said: “I wonder what has befallen your father.” And while he was speaking my father came in, and found Peter speaking to us about him. And when he had saluted he began to apologize, and to explain the reason why he had remained abroad. But we, looking at him, were horrified; for we saw on him the face of Simon, yet we heard the voice of our father. And when we shrank from him, and cursed him, my father was astonished at our treating him so harshly and barbarously. Yet

Peter was the only one who saw his natural countenance; and he said to us: “Why do you curse your father?” And we, along with our mother, answered him: “He appears to us to be Simon, though he has our father’s voice.” Then Peter: “You indeed know only his voice, which has not been changed by the sorceries; but to me also his face, which to others appears changed by Simon’s art, is known to be that of your father Faustinianus.” And looking at my father, he said: “The cause of the dismay of your wife and your sons is this, — the appearance of your countenance does not seem to be as it was, but the face of the detestable Simon appears in you.”

CHAPTER 54

EXCITEMENT IN ANTIOCH

And while he was thus speaking, one of those returned who had gone before to Antioch, and said to Peter: “I wish you to know, my Lord Peter, that Simon at Antioch, doing many signs and prodigies in public, has inculcated upon the people nothing but what tends to excite hatred against you, calling you a magician, a sorcerer, a murderer; and to such an extent has he stirred up hatred against you, that they greatly desire, if they can find you anywhere, even to devour your flesh. And therefore we who were sent before, seeing the city greatly moved against you, met together in secret, and considered what ought to be done.

CHAPTER 55

A STRATAGEM

“And when we saw no way of getting out of the difficulty, there came Cornelius the centurion, being sent by Caesar to the president of Caesarea on public business. Him we sent for alone, and told him the reason why we were sorrowful, and entreated him that, if he could do anything, he should help us. Then he most readily promised that he would straightway put him to flight, if only we would aid his plans. And when we promised that we would be active in doing everything, he said, ‘Caesar has ordered sorcerers to be sought out and destroyed in the city of Rome and through

the provinces, and a great number of them have been already destroyed. I shall therefore give out, through my friends, that I am come to apprehend that magician, and that I am sent by Caesar for this purpose, that he may be punished with the rest of his fraternity. Let your people, therefore, who are with him in disguise, intimate to him, as if they had heard it from some quarter, that I am sent to apprehend him; and when he hears this, he is sure to take to flight. Or if you think of anything better, tell me. Why need I say more?' It was so done by those of ours who were with him, disguised for the purpose of acting as spies on him. And when Simon learned that this was come upon him, he received the information as a great kindness conferred upon him by them, and took to flight. He therefore departed from Antioch, and, as we have heard, came hither with Athenodorus.

CHAPTER 56

SIMON'S DESIGN IN THE TRANSFORMATION

"All we, therefore, who went before you, considered that in the meantime you should not go up to Antioch, till we see if the hatred of you which he has sown among the people be in any degree lessened by his departure." When he who had come from Antioch had imparted this information, Peter, looking to our father, said, "Faustinianus, your countenance has been transformed by Simon Magus, as is evident; for he, thinking that he was being sought for by Caesar for punishment, has fled in terror, and has placed his own countenance upon you, if haply you might be apprehended instead of him, and put to death, that so he might cause sorrow to your sons." But my father, when he heard this, crying out, said with tears: "You have judged rightly, O Peter: for Anubion also, who is very friendly with me, began to inform me in a certain mysterious way of his plots; but unhappily I did not believe him, because I had done him no harm.'

CHAPTER 57

GREAT GRIEF

And when all of us, along with my father, were agitated with sorrow and weeping, meantime Anubion came to us, intimating to us that Simon had fled during the night, making for Judaea. But seeing our father lamenting and bewailing himself, and saying, “Wretch that I am, not to believe when I heard that he is a magician! What has befallen wretched me, that on one day, being recognized by my wife and my sons, I have not been able to rejoice with them, but have been rolled back to the former miseries which I endured in my wandering!” — but my mother, tearing her disheveled hair, bewailed much more bitterly, — we also, confounded at the change of our father’s countenance, were, as it were, thunderstruck and beside ourselves, and could not understand what was the matter. But Anubion, seeing us all thus afflicted, stood like one dumb. Then Peter, looking at us his sons, said: “Believe me that this is your very father; wherefore also I charge you that you respect him as your father. For God will afford some opportunity on which he shall be able to put off the countenance of Simon, and to recover the manifest figure of your father — that is, his own.”

CHAPTER 58

HOW IT ALL HAPPENED

Then, turning to my father, he said: “I gave you leave to salute Appion and Anubion, who, you said, were your friends from boyhood, but not that you should speak with Simon.” Then my father said: “I confess I have sinned.” Then said Anubion: “I also with him beg and entreat of you to pardon the old man — good and noble man as he is. He was unhappily seduced and imposed upon by the magician in question; for I will tell you how the thing was done. When he came to salute us, it happened that at that very time we were standing around him, hearing him tell that he intended to flee away that night, for that he had heard that some persons had come even to this city of Laodicea to apprehend him by command of

the emperor, but that he wished to turn all their rage against this Faustinianus, who has lately come hither. And he said to us: ‘Only you make him sup with us, and I shall compound a certain ointment, with which, when he has supped, he shall anoint his face, and from that time he shall seem to all to have my countenance. But you first anoint your faces with the juice of a certain herb, that you may not be deceived as to the change of his countenance, so that to all except you he shall seem to be Simon.’

CHAPTER 59

A SCENE OF MOURNING

“And when he said this, I said to him, ‘And what advantage will you gain from this deed?’ Then Simon said: ‘In the first place, that those who are seeking me may lay hold on him, and so give over the search for me. But if he be punished by Caesar, that his sons may have much sorrow, who forsook me, and fled to Peter, and are now his assistants.’ Now I confess to you, Peter, what is true. I did not dare then tell Faustinianus; but neither did Simon give us opportunity of speaking with him in private, and disclosing to him fully Simon’s design. Meantime, about the middle of the night, Simon has fled away, making for Judaea. And Athenodorus and Appion have gone to convoy him; but I pretended bodily indisposition, that I might remain at home, and make him return quickly to you, if haply he may in any way be concealed with you, lest, being seized by those who are in quest of Simon, he be brought before Caesar, and perish without cause. And now, in my anxiety about him, I have come to see him, and to return before those who have gone to convoy Simon come back.” And turning to us, Anubion said: “I, Anubion, indeed see the true countenance of your father, because I was previously anointed by Simon himself, as I have told you, that the real face of Faustinianus might appear to my eyes; whence I am astonished and wonder at the art of Simon Magus, because you standing here do not recognize your father.” And while my father and mother, and all of us, wept for the things which had befallen, Anubion, moved with compassion, also wept.

CHAPTER 60

A COUNTERPLOT

Then Peter, moved with compassion, promised that he would restore the face of our father, saying to him: “Listen, Faustinianus: As soon as the error of your transformed countenance shall have conferred some advantage on us, and shall have subserved the designs which we have in view, then I shall restore to you the true form of your countenance; on condition, however, that you first despatch what I shall command you.” And when my father promised that he would with all his might fulfill everything that he might charge him with, provided only that he might recover his own countenance, Peter thus began: “You have heard with your own ears, that one of those who had been sent before has returned from Antioch, and told us how Simon, while he was there, stirred up the multitudes against me, and inflamed the whole city into hatred of me, declaring that I am a magician, and a murderer, and a deceiver, so that they are eager, if they see me, even to eat my flesh. Do therefore what I tell you: leave Clement with me, and go before us to Antioch, with your wife, and your sons Faustus and Faustinus. And I shall also send others with you, whom I think fit, who shall observe whatsoever I command them.

CHAPTER 61

A MINE DUG

“When therefore you come with them to Antioch, as you will be thought to be Simon, stand in a public place, and proclaim your repentance, and say: ‘I Simon declare to you, and confess that all that I said concerning Peter was false: for he is neither a seducer, nor a magician, nor a murderer, nor any of the things that I spoke against him; but I said all these things under the instigation of madness. I therefore entreat you, even I myself, who erewhile gave you causes of hatred against him, that you think no such thing concerning him. But lay aside your hatred cease from your indignation; because he is truly sent by God for the salvation of the world — a disciple and apostle of the true Prophet. Wherefore I advise, exhort,

and charge you that you hear him, and believe him when he preaches to you the truth, lest haply, if you despise him, your very city suddenly perish. But I will tell you why I now make this confession to you. This night an angel of God rebuked me for my wickedness, and scourged me terribly, because was an enemy to the herald of the truth. Therefore I entreat you, that even if I myself should ever again come to you, and attempt to say anything against Peter, you will not receive nor believe me. For I confess to you, I was a magician, a seducer, a deceiver; but I repent, for it is possible by repentance to blot out former evil deeds.'"

CHAPTER 62

A CASE OF CONSCIENCE

When Peter made this intimation to my father, he answered: "I know what you wish; do not trouble yourself further: for I understand and know what I am to undertake when I come to the place." And Peter gave him further instruction, saying: "When therefore you come to the place, and see the people turned by your discourse, and laying aside their hatred, and returning to their longing for me, send and tell me, and I shall come immediately; and when I come, I shall without delay set you free from this strange countenance, and restore to you your own, which is known to all your friends." And having said this, he ordered my brothers to go with him, and at the same time our mother Matthidia, and some of our friends. But my mother refused to go along with him, and said: "It seems as if I should be an adulteress if I were to associate with the countenance of Simon; but if I be compelled to go along with him, it is at all events impossible that I can lie in the same bed with him; but I do not know if I can consent even to go with him." And when she stoutly refused. Anubion began to exhort her, saying: "Believe me and Peter. But does not even his voice persuade you that he is your husband Faustinianus, whom truly I love not less than you do? And, in short, I also myself shall come with you." And when Anubion had said this, my mother promised that she would go with him.

CHAPTER 63

A PIOUS FRAUD

Then said I: “God arranges our affairs to our liking; for we have with us Anubion an astrologer, with whom, if we come to Antioch, we shall dispute with all earnestness on the subject of GENESIS.” And when our father had set out, after the middle of the night, with those whom Peter had ordered to accompany him, and with Anubion; in the morning, before Peter went to the discussion, those men returned who had convoyed Simon, namely Appion and Athenodorus, and came to us inquiring after my father. But Peter, when he was informed of their coming, ordered them to enter. And when they were seated, they asked, “Where is Faustinianus?” Peter answered: “We do not know; for since the evening that he went to you, no one of his friends has seen him. But yesterday morning Simon came inquiring for him; and because we gave him no answer, I know not what he meant, but he said that he was Faustinianus. But when nobody believed him, he went and lamented, and threatened that he would destroy himself; and afterwards he went away towards the

CHAPTER 64

A COMPETITION IN LYING

When Appion heard this, and those who were with him, they raised a great howling, saying: “Why have you done this? Why did you not receive him?” And when Athenodorus was going to tell me that it was my father Faustinianus himself, Appion prevented him, and said: “We have learned from some one that he has gone with Simon, and that at the entreaty of Faustinianus himself, being unwilling to see his sons, because they are Jews. When therefore we heard this, we came to inquire after him here; but since he is not here, it appears that he must have spoken truly who told us that he has gone with Simon. This, therefore, we tell you.” But I Clement, when I understood the designs of Peter, that he wished to make them suppose that the old man would be required at their hands, so that they might be afraid and flee away, I began to aid his design, and said to

Appion: “Listen, dear Appion: what we believe to be good, we wish to deliver to our father also; but if he will not receive it, but rather, as you say, flees away through abhorrence of us — it may perhaps be harsh to say so — we care nothing about him.” And when I had said this, they departed, cursing my cruelty, and followed the track of Simon, as we learned on the following day.

CHAPTER 65

SUCCESS OF THE PLOT

Meantime, while Peter was daily, according to his custom, teaching the people, and working many miracles and cures, after ten days came one of our people from Antioch, sent by my father, informing us how my father stood in public, accusing Simon, whose face indeed he seemed to wear, and extolling Peter with unmeasured praises, and commending him to all the people, and making them long for him, so that all were changed by his speech, and longed to see him; and that many had come to love Peter so much, that they raged against my father in his character of Simon, and thought of laying hands on him, because he had done such wrong to Peter! “Wherefore,” said he, “make haste, lest haply he be murdered; for be sent me with speed to you, being in great fear, to ask you to come without delay, that you may find him alive, and also that you may appear at the favorable moment, when the city is growing in affection towards you.” He also told us how, as soon as my father entered the city of Antioch, the whole people were gathered to him, supposing him to be Simon; and he began to make public confession to them all, according to what the restoration of the people demanded: for all, as many as came, both noble and common, both rich and poor, hoping that some prodigies would be wrought by him in his usual way, he addressed thus: —

CHAPTER 66

TRUTH TOLD BY LYING LIPS

“It is long that the divine patience bears with me, Simon the most unhappy of men; for whatever you have wondered at in me was done, not by means of truth, but by the lies and tricks of demons, that I might subvert your faith and condemn my own soul. I confess that all things that I said about Peter were lies; for he never was either a magician or a murderer, but has been sent by God for the salvation of you all; and if from this hour you think that he is to be despised, be assured that your very city may suddenly be destroyed. But, you will ask, what is the reason that I make this confession to you of my own accord? I was vehemently rebuked by an angel of God this night, and most severely scourged, because I was his enemy. I therefore entreat you, that if from this hour even I myself shall ever open my mouth against him, you will drive me from your sight; for that foul demon, who is an enemy to the salvation of men, speaks against him through my mouth, that you may not attain to life by his means. For what miracle could the magic art show you through me? I made brazen dogs bark, and statues move, men change their appearances, and suddenly vanish from men’s sight; and for these things you ought to have cursed the magic art, which bound your souls with devilish fetters, that I might show you a vain miracle, that you might not believe Peter, who cures the sick in the name of Him by whom he is sent, and expels demons, and gives sight to the blind, and restores health to the palsied, and raises the dead.”

CHAPTER 67

FAUSTINIANUS IS HIMSELF AGAIN

Whilst he made these and similar statements, the people began to curse him, and to weep and lament because they had sinned against Peter, believing him to be a magician or wicked man. But the same day, at evening, Faustinianus had his own face restored to him, and the appearance of Simon Magus left him. Now Simon, hearing that his face on

Faustinianus had contributed to the glory of Peter, came in haste to anticipate Peter, and intending to cause by his art that his likeness should be taken from Faustinianus, when Christ had already accomplished this according to the word of His apostle. But Niceta and Aquila, seeing their father's face restored after the necessary proclamation, gave thanks to God, and would not suffer him to address the people any more.

CHAPTER 68

PETER'S ENTRY INTO ANTIOCH

But Simon began, though secretly, to go amongst his friends and acquaintances, and to malign Peter more than before. Then all spat in his face, and drove him from the city, saying: "You will be chargeable with your own death, if you think of coming hither again, speaking against Peter." These things being known at Laodicea, Peter ordered the people to meet on the following day; and having ordained one of those who followed him as bishop over them, and others as presbyters, and having baptized multitudes, and restored to health all who were troubled with sicknesses or demons, he stayed there three days longer; and all things being properly arranged, he bade them farewell, and set out from Laodicea, being much longed for by the people of Antioch. And the whole city began to hear, through Niceta and Aquila, that Peter was coming. Then all the people of the city of Antioch, hearing of Peter's arrival, went to meet him, and almost all the old men and the nobles came with ashes sprinkled on their heads, in this way testifying their repentance, because they had listened to the magician Simon, in opposition to his preaching.

CHAPTER 69

PETER'S THANKSGIVING

Stating these and such like things, they bring to him those distressed with sicknesses, and tormented with demons, paralytics also, and those suffering diverse perils; and there was an infinite number of sick people collected. And when Peter saw that they not only repented of the evil

thoughts they had entertained of him through means of Simon, but also that they showed so entire faith in God, that they believed that all who suffered from every sort of ailment could be healed by him, he spread out his hands towards heaven, pouring out prayers with tears, and gave thanks to God, saying: “I bless thee, O Father, worthy of all praise, who hast deigned to fulfill every word and promise of Thy Son, that every creature may know that Thou alone art God in heaven and in earth.”

CHAPTER 70

MIRACLES

With such sayings, he went up on a height, and ordered all the multitude of sick people to be ranged before him, and addressed them all in these words: “As you see me to be a man like to yourselves, do not suppose that you can recover your health from me, but through Him who, coming down from heaven, has shown to those who believe in Him a perfect medicine for body and soul. Hence let all this people be witnesses to your declaration, that with your whole heart you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, that they may know that themselves also may be saved by Him.” And when all the multitude of the sick with one voice cried out that He is the true God whom Peter preaches, suddenly an overpowering light of the grace of God appeared in the midst of the people; and the paralytics being cured, began to run to Peter’s feet, the blind to shout on the recovery of their sight, the lame to give thanks on regaining the power of walking, the sick to rejoice in restored health; some even who were barely alive, being already without consciousness or the power of speech, were raised up; and all the lunatics, and those possessed of demons, were set free.

CHAPTER 71

SUCCESS

So great grace of His power did the Holy Spirit show on that day, that all, from the least to the greatest, with one voice confessed the Lord; and not to delay you with many words, within seven days, more than ten

thousand men, believing in God, were baptized and consecrated by sanctification: so that Theophilus, who was more exalted than all the men of power in that city, with all eagerness of desire consecrated the great palace of his house under the name of a church, and a chair was placed in it for the Apostle Peter by all the people; and the whole multitude assembling daily to hear the word, believed in the healthful doctrine which was avouched by the efficacy of cures.

CHAPTER 72

HAPPY ENDING

Then I Clement, with my brothers and our mother, spoke to our father, asking him whether any remnants of unbelief remained in him. And he said: “Come, and you shall see, in the presence of Peter, what an increase of faith has grown in me.” Then Faustinianus approached, and fell down at Peter’s feet, saying: “The seeds of your word, which the field of my mind has received, are now sprung up, and have so advanced to fruitful maturity, that nothing is wanting but that you separate me from the chaff by that spiritual reaping-hook of yours, and place me in the garner of the Lord, making me partaker of the divine table.” Then Peter, with all alacrity grasping his hand, presented him to me Clement, and my brothers, saying: “As God has restored your sons to you, their father, so also your sons restore their father to God.” And he proclaimed a fast to all the people, and on the next Lord’s day he baptized him; and in the midst of the people, taking occasion from his conversion, he related all his fortunes, so that the whole city received him as an angel, and paid him no less honor than they did to the apostle. *And these things being known, Peter ordered the people to meet an the following day; and having ordained one of his followers as bishop, and others as presbyters, he baptized also a great number of people, and restored to health all who had been distressed with sicknesses*.

EPISTLE OF PETER TO JAMES

PETER TO JAMES, THE LORD AND BISHOP OF THE HOLY CHURCH, UNDER THE FATHER OF ALL, THROUGH JESUS CHRIST, WISHES PEACE ALWAYS

CHAPTER 1

DOCTRINE OF RESERVE

Knowing, my brother, your eager desire after that which is for the advantage of us all, I beg and beseech you not to communicate to any one of the Gentiles the books of my preachings which I sent to you, nor to any one of our own tribe before trial; but if any one has been proved and found worthy, then to commit them to him, after the manner in which Moses delivered his books to the Seventy who succeeded to his chair. Wherefore also the fruit of that caution appears even till now. For his countrymen keep the same rule of monarchy and polity everywhere, being unable in any way to think otherwise, or to be led out of the way of the much-indicating Scriptures. For, according to the rule delivered to them, they endeavor to correct the discordances of the Scriptures, if any one, haply not knowing the traditions, is confounded at the various utterances of the prophets. Wherefore they charge no one to teach, unless he has first learned how the Scriptures must be used. And thus they have amongst them one God, one law, one hope.

CHAPTER 2

MISREPRESENTATION OF PETER'S DOCTRINE

In order, therefore, that the like may also happen to those among us as to these Seventy, give the books of my preachings to our brethren, with the like mystery of initiation, that they may indoctrinate those who wish to take part in teaching; for if it be not so done, our word of truth will be rent

into many opinions. And this I know, not as being a prophet, but as already seeing the beginning of this very evil. For some from among the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, attaching themselves to certain lawless and trifling preaching of the man who is my enemy. And these things some have attempted while I am still alive, to transform my words by certain various interpretations, in order to the dissolution of the law; as though I also myself were of such a mind, but did not freely proclaim it, which God forbid! For such a thing were to act in opposition to the law of God which was spoken by Moses, and was born witness to by our Lord in respect of its eternal continuance; for thus he spoke: “The heavens and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law.” And this He has said, that all things might come to pass. But these men, professing, I know not how, to know my mind, undertake to explain my words, which they have heard of me, more intelligently than I who spoke them, telling their catechumens that this is my meaning, which indeed I never thought of. But if, while I am still alive, they dare thus to misrepresent me, how much more will those who shall come after me dare to do so!

CHAPTER 3

INITIATION

Therefore, that no such thing may happen, for this end I have prayed and besought you not to communicate the books of my preaching which I have sent you to any one, whether of our own nation or of another nation, before trial; but if any one, having been tested, has been found worthy, then to hand them over to him, according to the initiation of Moses, by which he delivered his books to the Seventy who succeeded to his chair; in order that thus they may keep the faith, and everywhere deliver the rule of truth, explaining all things after our tradition; lest being themselves dragged down by ignorance, being drawn into error by conjectures after their mind, they bring others into the like pit of destruction. Now the things that seemed good to me, I have fairly pointed out to you; and what seems good to you, do you, my Lord, becomingly perform. Farewell.

CHAPTER 4

AN ADJURATION CONCERNING THE RECEIVERS OF THE BOOK

1. Therefore James, having read the epistle, sent for the elders; and having read it to them, said: “Our Peter has strictly and becomingly charged us concerning the establishing of the truth, that we should not communicate the books of his preachings, which have been sent to us, to any one at random, but to one who is good and religious, and who wishes to teach, and who is circumcised, and faithful. And these are not all to be committed to him at once; that, if he be found injudicious in the first, the others may not be entrusted to him. Wherefore let him be proved not less than six years. And then according to the initiation of Moses, he that is to deliver the books should bring him to a river or a fountain, which is living water, where the regeneration of the righteous takes place, and should make him, not swear — for that is not lawful — but to stand by the water and adjure, as we ourselves, when we were re-generated, were made to do for the sake of not stoning.

2. “And let him say: ‘I take to witness heaven, earth, water, in which all things are comprehended, and in addition to all these, that, air also which pervades all things, and without which I cannot breathe, that I shall always be obedient to him who gives me the books of the preachings; and those same books which he may give me, I shall not communicate to any one in any way, either by writing them, or giving them in writing, or giving them to a writer, either myself or by another, or through any other initiation, or trick, or method, or by keeping them carelessly, or placing them before any one, or granting him permission to see them, or in any way or manner whatsoever communicating them to another; unless I shall ascertain one to be worthy, as I myself have been judged, or even more so, and that after a probation of not less than six years; but to one who is religious and good, chosen to teach, as I have received them, so I will commit them, doing these things also according to the will of my bishop.

3. “‘But otherwise, though he were my son or my brother, or my friend, or otherwise in any way pertaining to me by kindred, if he be unworthy,

that I will not vouchsafe the favor to him, as is not meet; and I shall neither be terrified by plot nor mollified by gifts. But if even it should ever seem to me that the books of the preachings given to me are not true, I shall not so communicate them, but shall give them back. And when I go abroad, I shall carry them with me, whatever of them I happen to possess. But if I be not minded to carry them about with me, I shall not suffer them to be in my house, but shall deposit them with my bishop, having the same faith, and setting out from the same persons as myself. But if it befall me to be sick, and in expectation of death, and if I be childless, I shall act in the same manner. But if I die having a son who is not worthy, or not yet capable, I shall act in the same manner. For I shall deposit them with my bishop, in order that if my son, when he grows up, be worthy of the trust, he may give them to him as his father's bequest, according to the terms of this engagement.

4. "'And that I shall thus do, I again call to witness heaven, earth, water, in which all things are enveloped, and in addition to all these, the all-pervading air, without which I cannot breathe, that I shall always be obedient to him who giveth me these books of the preachings, and shall observe in all things as I have engaged, or even something more. To me, therefore, keeping this covenant, there shall be a part with the holy ones; but to me doing anything contrary to what I have covenanted, may the universe be hostile to me, and the all-pervading ether, and the God who is over all, to whom none is superior, than whom none is greater. But if even I should come to the acknowledgment of another God, I now swear by him also, be he or be he not, that I shall not do otherwise. And in addition to all these things, if I shall lie, I shall be accursed living and dying, and shall be punished with everlasting punishment.

"And after this, let him partake of bread and salt with him who commits them to him."

CHAPTER 5

THE ADJURATION ACCEPTED

James having thus spoken, the elders were in an agony of terror. Therefore James, perceiving that they were greatly afraid, said: “Hear me, brethren and fellow-servants. If we should give the books to all indiscriminately, and they should be corrupted by any daring men, or be perverted by interpretations, as you have heard that some have already done, it will remain even for those who really seek the truth, always to wander in error. Wherefore it is better that they should be with us, and that we should communicate them with all the fore-mentioned care to those who wish to live piously, and to save others. But if any one, after taking this adjuration, shall act otherwise, he shall with good reason incur eternal punishment. For why should not he who is the cause of the destruction of others not be destroyed himself?” The elders, therefore, being pleased with the sentiments of James exclaimed, “Blessed be He who, as foreseeing all things, has graciously appointed thee as our bishop;” and when they had said this, we all rose up, and prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO JAMES

CLEMENT to James, the Lord, and the bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy church of the Hebrews, and the churches everywhere excellently rounded by the providence of God, with the elders and deacons, and the rest of the brethren, peace be always.

CHAPTER 1

PETER'S MARTYRDOM

Be it known to you, my Lord, that Simon, who, for the sake of the true faith, and the most sure foundation of his doctrine, was set apart to be the foundation of the Church, and for this end was by Jesus Himself, with His truthful mouth, named Peter, the first-fruits of our Lord, the first of the apostles; to whom first the Father revealed the Son; whom the Christ, with good reason, blessed; the called, and elect, and associate at table and in the journeyings of Christ; the excellent and approved disciple, who, as being fittest of all, was commanded to enlighten the darker part of the world, namely the West, and was enabled to accomplish it, — and to what extent do I lengthen my discourse, not wishing to indicate what is sad, which yet of necessity, though reluctantly, I must tell you, — he himself, by reason of his immense love towards men, having come as far as Rome, clearly and publicly testifying, in opposition to the wicked one who withstood him, that there is to be a good King over all the world, while saving men by his God-inspired doctrine, himself, by violence, exchanged this present existence for life.

CHAPTER 2

ORDINATION OF CLEMENT

But about that time, when he was about to die, the brethren being assembled together, he suddenly seized my hand, and rose up, and said in presence of the church: “Hear me, brethren and fellow-servants. Since, as I have been taught by the Lord and Teacher Jesus Christ, whose apostle I am, the day of my death is approaching, I lay hands upon this Clement as your bishop; and to him I entrust my chair of discourse, even to him who has journeyed with me from the beginning to the end, and thus has heard all my homilies — who, in a word, having had a share in all my trials, has been found steadfast in the faith; whom I have found, above all others, pious, philanthropic, pure, learned, chaste, good, upright, large-hearted, and striving generously to bear the ingratitude of some of the catechumens. Wherefore I communicate to him the power of binding and loosing, so that with respect to everything which he shall ordain in the earth, it shall be decreed in the heavens. For he shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed, as knowing the role of the Church. Therefore hear him, as knowing that he who grieves the president of the truth, sins against Christ, and offends the Father of all. Wherefore he shall not live; and therefore it becomes him who presides to hold the place of a physician, and not to cherish the rage of an irrational beast.”

CHAPTER 3

NOLE EPISCOPARI

While he thus spoke, I knelt to him, and entreated him, declining the honor and the authority of the chair. But he answered: “Concerning this matter do not ask me; for it has seemed to me to be good that thus it be, and all the more if you decline it. For this chair has not need of a presumptuous man, ambitious of occupying it, but of one pious in conduct and deeply skilled in the word of God. But show me a better than yourself, who has traveled more with me, and has heard more of my discourses, and has learned better the regulations of the Church, and I shall not force you to do

well against your will. But it will not be in your power to show me your superior; for you are the choice first-fruits of the multitudes saved through me. However, consider this further, that if you do not undertake the administration of the Church, through fear of the danger of sin, you may be sure that you sin more, when you have it in your power to help the godly, who are, as it were, at sea and in danger, and will not do so, providing only for your own interest, and not for the common advantage of all. But that it behoves you altogether to undertake the danger, while I do not cease to ask it of you for the help of all, you well understand. The sooner, therefore, you consent, so much the sooner will you relieve me from anxiety.

CHAPTER 4

THE RECOMPENSE OF THE REWARD

“But I myself also, O Clement, know the griefs and anxieties, and dangers and reproaches, that are appointed you from the uninstructed multitudes; and these you will be able to bear nobly, looking to the great reward of patience bestowed on you by God. But also consider this fairly with me: When has Christ need of your aid? Now, when the wicked one has sworn war against His bride; or in the time to come, when He shall reign victorious, having no need of further help? Is it not evident to any one who has even the least understanding, that it is now? Therefore with all goodwill hasten in the time of the present necessity to do battle on the side of this good King, whose character it is to give great rewards after victory. Therefore take the oversight gladly; and all the more in good time, because you have learned from me the administration of the Church, for the safety of the brethren who have taken refuge with us.

CHAPTER 5

A CHARGE

“However, I wish, in the presence of all, to remind you, for the sake of all, of the things belonging to the administration. It becomes you, living

without reproach, with the greatest earnestness to shake off all the cares of life, being neither a surety, nor an advocate, nor involved in any other secular business. For Christ does not wish to appoint you either a judge or an arbitrator in business, or negotiator of the secular affairs of the present life, lest, being confined to the present cares of men, you should not have leisure by the word of truth to separate the good among men from the bad. But let the disciples perform these offices to one another, and not withdraw you from the discourses which are able to save. For as it is wicked for you to undertake secular cares, and to omit the doing of what you have been commanded to do, so it is sin for every layman, if they do not stand by one another even in secular necessities. And if all do not understand to take order that you be without care in respect of the things in which you ought to be, let them learn it from the deacons; that you may have the care of the Church always, in order both to your administering it well, and to your holding forth the words of truth.

CHAPTER 6

THE DUTY OF A BISHOP

“Now, if you were occupied with secular cares, you should deceive both yourself and your hearers. For not being able, on account of occupation, to point out the things that are advantageous, both you should be punished, as not having taught what was profitable, and they, not having learned, should perish by reason of ignorance. Wherefore do you indeed preside over them without occupation, so as to send forth seasonably the words that are able to save them; and so let them listen to you, knowing that whatever the ambassador of the truth shall bind upon earth is bound also in heaven, and what he shall loose is loosed. But you shall bind what ought to be bound, and loose what ought to be loosed. And these, and such like, are the things that relate to you as president.

CHAPTER 7

DUTIES OF PRESBYTERS

“And with respect to the presbyters, take these instructions. Above all things, let them join the young betimes in marriage, anticipating the entanglements of youthful lusts. But neither let them neglect the marriage of those who are already old; for lust is vigorous even in some old men. Lest, therefore, fornication find a place among you, and bring upon you a very pestilence, take precaution, and search, lest at any time the fire of adultery be secretly kindled among you. For adultery is a very terrible thing, even such that it holds the second place in respect of punishment, the first being assigned to those who are in error, even although they be chaste. Wherefore do you, as elders of the Church, exercise the spouse of Christ to chastity (by the spouse I mean the body of the Church); for if she be apprehended to be chaste by her royal Bridegroom, she shall obtain the greatest honor; and you, as wedding guests, shall receive great commendation. But if she be caught having sinned, she herself indeed shall be cast out; and you shall suffer punishment, if at any time her sin has been through your negligence.

CHAPTER 8

“DO GOOD UNTO ALL?”

“Wherefore above all things be careful about chastity; for fornication has been marked out as a bitter thing in the estimation of God. But there are many forms of fornication, as also Clement himself will explain to you. The first is adultery, that a man should not enjoy his own wife alone, or a woman not enjoy her own husband alone. If any one be chaste, he is able also to be philanthropic, on account of which he shall obtain eternal mercy. For as adultery is a great evil, so philanthropy is the greatest good. Wherefore love all your brethren with grave and compassionate eyes, performing to orphans the part of parents, to widows that of husbands, affording them sustenance with all kindliness, arranging marriages for those who are in their prime, and for those who are without a profession, the

means of necessary support through employment; giving work to the artificer, and alms to the incapable.

CHAPTER 9

"LET BROTHERLY LOVE CONTINUE."

"But I know that ye will do these things if you fix love into your minds; and for its entrance there is one only fit means, viz., the common partaking of food. Wherefore see to it that ye be frequently one another's guests, as ye are able, that you may not fail of it. For it is the cause of well-doing, and well-doing of salvation. Therefore all of you present your provisions in common to all your brethren in God, knowing that, giving temporal things, you shall receive eternal things. Much more feed the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and clothing to the naked; visit the sick; showing yourselves to those who are in prison, help them as ye are able, and receive strangers into your houses with all alacrity. However, not to speak in detail, philanthropy will teach you to do everything that is good, as misanthropy suggests ill-doing to those who will not be saved,

CHAPTER 10

"WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE HONEST."

"Let the brethren who have causes to be settled not be judged by the secular authorities; but let them by all means be reconciled by the elders of the church, yielding ready obedience to them. Moreover, also, flee avarice, inasmuch as it is able, under pretext of temporal gain, to deprive you of eternal blessings. Carefully keep your balances, your measures, your weights, and the things belonging to your traffic, just. Be faithful with respect to your trusts. Moreover, you will persevere in doing these things, and things similar to these, until the end, if you have in your hearts an ineradicable remembrance of the judgment that is from God. For who would sin, being persuaded that at the end of life there is a judgment appointed of the righteous God, who only now is long-suffering and good, that the good may in future enjoy for ever unspeakable blessings; but the

sinners being found as evil, shall obtain an eternity of unspeakable punishment. And, indeed, that these things are so, it would be reasonable to doubt, were it not that the Prophet of the truth has said and sworn that it shall be.

CHAPTER 11

DOUBTS TO BE SATISFIED

“Wherefore, being disciples of the true Prophet, laying aside double-mindedness, from which comes ill-doing, eagerly undertake well-doing. But if any of you doubt concerning the things which I have said are to be, let him confess it without shame, if he cares for his own soul, and he shall be satisfied by the president. But if he has believed rightly, let his conversation be with confidence, as fleeing from the great fire of condemnation, and entering into the eternal good kingdom of God.

CHAPTER 12

DUTIES OF DEACONS

“Moreover let the deacons of the church, going about with intelligence, be as eyes to the bishop, carefully inquiring into the doings of each member of the church, ascertaining who is about to sin, in order that, being arrested with admonition by the president, he may haply not accomplish the sin. Let them check the disorderly, that they may not desist from assembling to hear the discourses, so that they may be able to counteract by the word of truth those anxieties that fall upon the heart from every side, by means of worldly casualties and evil communications; for if they long remain fallow, they become fuel for the fire. And let them learn who are suffering under bodily disease, and let them bring them to the notice of the multitude who do not know of them, that they may visit them, and supply their wants according to the judgment of the president. Yea, though they do this without his knowledge, they do nothing amiss. These things, then, and things like to these, let the deacons attend to.

CHAPTER 13

DUTIES OF CATECHISTS

“Let the catechists instruct, being first instructed; for it is a work relating to the souls of men. For the teacher of the word must accommodate himself to the various judgments of the learners. The catechists must therefore be learned, and unblameable, of much experience, and approved, as you will know that Clement is, who is to be your instructor after me. For it were too much for me now to go into details. However, if ye be of one mind, you shall be able to reach the haven of rest, where is the peaceful city of the great King.

CHAPTER 14

THE VESSEL OF THE CHURCH

“For the whole business of the Church is like unto a great ship, bearing through a violent storm men who are of many places, and who desire to inhabit the city of the good kingdom. Let, therefore, God be your shipmaster; and let the pilot be likened to Christ, the mate to the bishop, and the sailors to the deacons, the midshipmen to the catechists, the multitude of the brethren to the passengers, the world to the sea; the foul winds to temptations, persecutions, and dangers; and all manner of afflictions to the waves; the land winds and their squalls to the discourses of deceivers and false prophets; the promontories and rugged rocks to the judges in high places threatening terrible things; the meetings of two seas, and the wild places, to unreasonable men and those who doubt of the promises of truth. Let hypocrites be regarded as like to pirates. Moreover, account the strong whirlpool, and the Tartarean Charybdis, and murderous wrecks, and deadly founderings, to be nought but sins. In order, therefore, that, sailing with a fair wind, you may safely reach the haven of the hoped-for city, pray so as to be heard. But prayers become audible by good deeds.

CHAPTER 15

INCIDENTS OF THE VOYAGE,

“Let therefore the passengers remain quiet, sitting in their own places, lest by disorder they occasion rolling or careening. Let the midshipmen give heed to the fare. Let the deacons neglect nothing with which they are entrusted; let the presbyters, like sailors, studiously arrange what is needful for each one. Let the bishop, as the mate, wakefully ponder the words of the pilot alone. Let Christ, even the Savior, be loved as the pilot, and alone believed in the matters of which He speaks; and let all pray to God for a prosperous voyage. Let those sailing expect every tribulation, as traveling over a great and troubled sea, the world: sometimes, indeed, disheartened, persecuted, dispersed, hungry, thirsty, naked, hemmed in; and, again, sometimes united, congregated, at rest; but also sea-sick, giddy, vomiting, that is, confessing sins, like disease-producing bile, — I mean the sins proceeding from bitterness, and the evils accumulated from disorderly lusts, by the confession of which, as by vomiting, you are relieved of your disease, attaining healthful safety by means of carefulness.

CHAPTER 16

THE BISHOP’S LABORS AND REWARD

“But know all of you that the bishop labors more than you all; because each of you suffers his own affliction, but he his own and that of every one. Wherefore, O Clement, preside as a helper to every one according to your ability, being careful of the cares of all. Whence I know that in your undertaking the administration, I do not confer, but receive, a favor. But take courage and bear it generously, as knowing that God will recompense you when you enter the haven of rest, the greatest of blessings, a reward that cannot be taken from you, in proportion as you have undertaken more labor for the safety of all. So that, if many of the brethren should hate you on account of your lofty righteousness, their hatred shall nothing hurt you, but the love of the righteous God shall greatly benefit you. Therefore endeavor to shake off the praise that arises from injustice, and to attain the

profitable praise that is from Christ on account of righteous administration.”

CHAPTER 17

THE PEOPLE’S DUTIES

Having said this, and more than this, he looked again upon the multitude, and said: “And you also, my beloved brethren and fellow-servants, be subject to the president of the truth in all things, knowing this, that he who grieves him has not received Christ, with whose chair he has been entrusted; and he who has not received Christ shall be regarded as having despised the Father; wherefore he shall be cast out of the good kingdom. On this account, endeavor to come to all the assemblies, lest as deserters you incur the charge of sin through the disheartening of your captain. Wherefore all of you think before all else of the things that relate to him, knowing this, that the wicked one, being the more hostile on account of every one of you, wars against him alone. Do you therefore strive to live in affection towards him, and in kindliness towards one another, and to obey him, in order that both he may he comforted and you may be saved.

CHAPTER 18

“AS A HEATHEN MAN AND A PUBLICAN

“But some things also you ought of yourselves to consider, on account of his not being able to speak openly by reason of the plots. Such as: if he be hostile to any one, do not wait for his speaking; and do not take part with that man, but prudently follow the bishop’s will, being enemies to those to whom he is an enemy, and not conversing with those with whom he does not converse, in order that every one, desiring to have you all as his friends, may be reconciled to him and be saved, listening to his discourse. But if any one remain a friend of those to whom he is an enemy, and speak to those with whom he does not converse, he also himself is one of those who would waste the church. For, being with you in body, but not with you in judgment, he is against you; and is much worse than the open

enemies from without, since with seeming friendship he disperses those who are within.”

CHAPTER 19

INSTALLATION OF CLEMENT

Having thus spoken, he laid his hands upon me in the presence of all, and compelled me to sit in his own chair. And when I was seated, he immediately said to me: “I entreat you, in the presence of all the brethren here, that whensoever I depart from this life, as depart I must, you send to James the brother of the Lord a brief account of your reasonings from your boyhood, and how from the beginning until now you have journeyed with me, hearing the discourses preached by me in every city, and seeing my deeds. And then at the end you will not fail to inform him of the manner of my death, as I said before. For that event will not grieve him very much, when he knows that I piously went through what it behooved me to suffer. And he will get the greatest comfort when he learns, that not an unlearned man, or one ignorant of life-giving words, or not knowing the rule of the Church, shall be entrusted with the chair of the teacher after me. For the discourse of a deceiver destroys the souls of the multitudes who heat.”

CHAPTER 20

CLEMENT’S OBEDIENCE

Whence I, my Lord James, having promised as I was ordered, have not failed to write in books by chapters the greater part of his discourses in every city, which have been already written to you, and sent by himself, as for a token; and thus I despatched them to you, inscribing them “Clement’s Epitome of the Popular Sermons of Peter.” However, I shall begin to set them forth, as I was ordered.

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES

BOOKS 1. TO 5. HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED BY REV. THOMAS SMITH, D.D.; BOOKS 6.-12. HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED BY PETER PETERSON, M.A.; BOOKS 13.-20. HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED BY DR. DONALDSON.

HOMILY 1

CHAPTER 1

BOYISH QUESTIONINGS

I CLEMENT, being a Roman citizen, even from my earliest youth was able to live chastely, my mind from my boyhood drawing away the lust that was in me to dejection and distress. For I had a habit of reasoning — how originating I know not — making frequent cogitations concerning death: When I die, shall I neither exist, nor shall any one ever have any remembrance of me, while boundless time bears all things of all men into forgetfulness? and shall I then be without being, or acquaintance with those who are; neither knowing nor being known, neither having been nor being? And has the world ever been made? and was there anything before it was made? For if it has been always, it shall also continue to be; but if it has been made, it shall also be dissolved. And after its dissolution, shall there ever be anything again, unless, perhaps, silence and forgetfulness? Or perhaps something shall be which is not possible now to conceive.

CHAPTER 2

GOOD OUT OF EVIL

As I pondered without ceasing these and such like questions — I know not whence arising — I had such bitter grief, that, becoming pale, I wasted

away; and, what was most terrible, if at any time I wished to drive away this meditation as unprofitable, my suffering became all the more severe; and I grieved over this, not knowing that I had a fair inmate, even my thought, which was to be to me the cause of a blessed immortality, as I afterwards knew by experience, and gave thanks to God, the Lord of all. For it was by this thought, which at first afflicted me, that I was compelled to come to the search and the finding of things; and then I pitied those whom at first, through ignorance, I ventured to call blessed.

CHAPTER 3

PERPLEXITY

From my boyhood, then, being involved in such reasonings, in order to learn something definite, I used to resort to the schools of the philosophers. But nought else did I see than the setting up and the knocking down of doctrines, and strifes, and seeking for victory, and the arts of syllogisms, and the skill of assumptions; and sometimes one opinion prevailed, — as, for example, that the soul is immortal, and sometimes that it is mortal. If, therefore, at any time the doctrine prevailed that it is immortal, I was glad; and when the doctrine prevailed that it is mortal, I was grieved. And again, I was the more disheartened because I could not establish either doctrine to my satisfaction. However, I perceived that the opinions on subjects under discussion are taken as true or false, according to their defenders, and do not appear as they really are. Perceiving, therefore, now that the acceptance does not depend on the real nature of the subjects discussed, but that opinions are proved to be true or false, according to ability of those who defend them, I was still more than ever at a loss in regard of things. Wherefore I groaned from the depth of my soul. For neither was I able to establish anything, nor could I shake off the consideration of such things, though, as I said before, I wished it. For although I frequently charged myself to be at peace, in some way or other thoughts on these subjects, accompanied with a feeling of pleasure, would come into my mind.

CHAPTER 4

MORE PERPLEXITY

And again, living in doubt, I said to myself, Why do I labor in vain, when the matter is clear, that if I lose existence when I die, it is not fitting that I should distress myself now while I do exist? Wherefore I shall reserve my grief till that day, when, ceasing to exist, I shall not be affected with grief. But if I am to exist, what does it profit me now to distress myself gratuitously? And immediately after this another reasoning assailed me; for I said, Shall I not have something worse to suffer then than that which distresses me now, if I have not lived piously; and shall I not be delivered over, according to the doctrines of some philosophers, to Pyriphlegethon and Tartarus, like Sisyphus, or Tityus, or Ixion, or Tantalus, and be punished for ever in Hades? But again I replied, saying: But there are no such things as these. Yet again I said: But if there be? Therefore, said I, since the matter is uncertain, the safer plan is for me rather to live piously. But how shall I be able, for the sake of righteousness, to subdue bodily pleasures, looking, as I do, to an uncertain hope? But I am neither fully persuaded what is that righteous thing that is pleasing to God, nor do I know whether the soul is immortal or mortal. Neither can I find any well-established doctrine, nor can I abstain from such debatings.

CHAPTER 5

A RESOLUTION

What, then, am I to do, unless this? I shall go into Egypt, and I shall become friendly with the hierophants of the shrines, and with the prophets; and I shall seek and find a magician, and persuade him with large bribes to effect the calling up of a soul, which is called necromancy, as if I were going to inquire of it concerning some business. And the inquiry shall be for the purpose of learning whether the soul is immortal. But the answer of the soul that it is immortal shall not give me the knowledge from its speaking or my hearing, but only from its being seen; so that, seeing it with my very eyes, I may have a self-sufficient and fit assurance, from the

very fact of its appearing, that it exists; and never again shall the uncertain words of hearing be able to overturn the things which the eyes have made their own. However, I submitted this very plan to a certain companion who was a philosopher; and he counseled me not to venture upon it, and that on many accounts. “For if,” said he, “the soul shall not listen to the magician, you will live with an evil conscience, as having acted against the laws which forbid the doing of these things. But if it shall listen to him, then, besides your living with an evil conscience, I think that matters of piety will not be promoted to you on account of your making this attempt. For they say that the Deity is angry with those who disturb souls after their release from the body.” And I, when I heard this, became indeed more backward to undertake such a thing, but I did not abandon my original plan; but I was distressed, as being hindered in the execution of it.

CHAPTER 6

TIDINGS FROM JUDAEA

And, not to discuss such matters to you in a long speech, while I was occupied with such reasonings and doings, a certain report, taking its rise in the spring-time, in the reign of Tiberius Caesar, gradually grew everywhere, and ran through the world as truly the good tidings of God, being unable to stifle the counsel of God in silence. Therefore it everywhere became greater and louder, saying that a certain One in Judaea, beginning in the spring season, was preaching to the Jews the kingdom of the invisible God, and saying that whoever of them would reform his manner of living should enjoy it. And in order that He might be believed that He uttered these things full of the Godhead, He wrought many wonderful miracles and signs by His mere command, as having received power from God. For He made the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to walk, raised up the bowed down, drove away every disease, put to flight every demon; and even scabbed lepers, by only looking on Him from a distance, were sent away cured by Him; and the dead being brought to Him, were raised; and there was nothing which He could not do. And as time advanced, so much the greater, through the arrival of more persons, and the stronger grew — I say not now the report, but — the truth of the

thing; for now at length there were meetings in various places for consultation and inquiry as to who He might be that had appeared, and what was His purpose.

CHAPTER 7

THE GOSPEL IN ROME

And then in the same year, in the autumn season, a certain one, standing in a public place, cried and said, “Men of Rome, hearken. The Son of God is come in Judaea, proclaiming eternal life to all who will, if they shall live according to the counsel of the Father, who hath sent Him. Wherefore change your manner of life from the worse to the better, from things temporal to things eternal; for know ye that there is one God, who is in heaven, whose world ye unrighteously dwell in before His righteous eyes. But if ye be changed, and live according to His counsel, then, being born into the other world, and becoming eternal, ye shall enjoy His unspeakable good things. But if ye be unbelieving, your souls, after. the dissolution of the body, shall be thrown into the place of fire, where, being punished eternally, they shall repent of their unprofitable deeds. For every one, the term of repentance is the present life.” I therefore, when I heard these things, was grieved, because no one among so great multitudes, hearing such an announcement, said: I shall go into Judaea, that I may know if this man who tells us these things speaks the truth, that the Son of God has come into Judaea, for the sake of a good and eternal hope, revealing the will of the Father who sent Him. For it is no small matter which they say that He preaches: for He asserts that the souls of some, being themselves immortal, shall enjoy eternal good things; and that those of others, being thrown into unquenchable fire, shall be punished for ever.

CHAPTER 8

DEPARTURE FROM ROME

While I spoke thus concerning others, I also lectured myself, saying, Why do I blame others, being myself guilty of the very same crime of

heedlessness? But I shall hasten into Judaea, having first arranged my affairs. And when I had thus made up my mind, there occurred a long time of delay, my worldly affairs being difficult to arrange. Therefore, meditating further on the nature of life, that by involving men in hope it lays snares for those who are making haste, yea, and how much time I had been robbed of while tossed by hopes, and that we men die while thus occupied, I left all my affairs as they were, and sped to Portus; and coming to the harbor, and being taken on board a ship, I was born by adverse winds to Alexandria instead of Judaea; and being detained there by stress of weather, I consorted with the philosophers, and told them about the rumor and the sayings of him who had appeared in Rome. And they answered that indeed they knew nothing of him who had appeared in Rome; but concerning Him who was born in Judaea, and who was said by the report to be the Son of God, they had heard from many who had come from thence, and had learned respecting all the wonderful things that He did with a word.

CHAPTER 9

PREACHING OF BARNABAS

And when I said that I wished I could meet. with some one of those who had seen Him, they immediately brought me to one, saying, “There is one here who not only is acquainted with Him, but is also of that country, a Hebrew, by name Barnabas, who says that he himself is one of His disciples; and hereabouts he resides, and readily announces to those who will the terms of His promise.” Then I went with them; and when I came, I stood listening to his words with the crowd that stood round him; and I perceived that he was speaking the truth not with dialectic art, but was setting forth simply and without preparation what he had heard and seen the manifested Son of God do and say. And even from the crowd who stood around him he produced many witnesses of the miracles and discourses which he narrated.

CHAPTER 10

CAVILS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

But while the multitudes were favorably disposed towards the things that he so artlessly spoke, the philosophers, impelled by their worldly learning, set upon laughing at him and making sport of him, upbraiding and reproaching him with excessive presumption, making use of the great armory of syllogisms. But he set aside their babbling, and did not enter into their subtle questioning, but without embarrassment went on with what he was saying. And then one of them asked, Wherefore it was that a gnat, although it be so small, and has six feet, has wings also; while an elephant, the largest of beasts, is wingless, and has but four feet? But he, after the question had been put, resuming his discourse, which had been interrupted, as though he had answered the question, resumed his original discourse, only making use of this preface after each interruption: We have a commission only to tell you the words and the wondrous doings of Him who sent us; and instead of logical demonstration, we present to you many witnesses from amongst yourselves who stand by, whose faces I remember, as living images. These sufficient testimonies it is left to your choice to submit to, or to disbelieve. But I shall not cease to declare unto you what is for your profit; for to be silent were to me a loss, and to disbelieve is ruin to you. But indeed I could give answers to your frivolous questions, if you asked them through love of truth. But the reason of the different structure of the gnat and elephant it is not fitting to tell to those who are ignorant of the God of all.”

CHAPTER 11

CLEMENT’S ZEAL

When he said this, they all, as in concert, set up a shout of laughter, trying to silence him and put him out, as a barbarous madman. But I, seeing this, and seized, I know not how, with enthusiasm, could no longer keep silence with righteous indignation, but boldly cried out, saying, “Well has God ordained that His counsel should be incapable of being received by you,

foreseeing you to be unworthy, as appears manifestly to such of those who are now present as have minds capable of judging. For whereas now heralds of His counsel have been sent forth, not making a show of grammatical art, but setting forth His will in simple and inartificial words, so that whosoever hear can understand what is spoken, and not with any invidious feeling, as though unwilling to offer it to all; you come here, and besides your not understanding what is for your advantage, to your own injury you laugh at the truth, which, to your condemnation, consorts with the barbarians, and which you will not entertain when it visits you, by reason of your wickedness and the plainness of its words, lest you be convicted of being merely lovers of words, and not lovers of truth and lovers of wisdom. How long will you be learning to speak, who have not the power of speech? For many sayings of yours are not worth one word. What, then, will your Grecian multitude say, being of one mind, if, as he says, there shall be a judgment? “Why, O God, didst Thou not proclaim to us Thy counsel?” Shall you not, if you be thought worthy of an answer at all, be told this? “I, knowing before the foundation of the world all characters that were to be, acted towards each one by anticipation according to his deserts without making it known; but wishing to give full assurance to those who have fled to me that this is so, and to explain why from the beginning, and in the first ages, I did not suffer my counsel to be publicly proclaimed; I now, in the end of the world, have sent heralds to proclaim my will, and they are insulted and flouted by those who will not be benefited, and who willfully reject my friendship. Oh, great wrong! The preachers are exposed to danger even to the loss of life, and that by the men who are called to salvation.

CHAPTER 12

CLEMENT’S REBUKE OF THE PEOPLE

“And this wrongful treatment of my heralds would have been against all from the beginning, if from the beginning the unworthy had been called to salvation. For that which is now done wrongfully by these men serves to the vindication of my righteous foreknowledge, that it was well that I did not choose from the beginning to expose uselessly to public contempt the

word which is worthy of honor; but determined to suppress it, as being honorable, not indeed from those who were worthy from the beginning — for to them also I imparted it — but from those, and such as those, unworthy, as you see them to be, — those who hate me, and who will not love themselves. And now, give over laughing at this man, and hear me with respect to his announcement, or let any one of the hearers who pleases answer. And do not bark like vicious dogs, deafening with disorderly clamor the ears of those who would be saved, ye unrighteous and God-haters, and perverting the saving method to unbelief. How shall you be able to obtain pardon, who scorn him who is sent to speak to you of the Godhead of God? And this you do towards a man whom you ought to have received on account of his goodwill towards you, even if he did not speak truth."

CHAPTER 13

CLEMENT INSTRUCTED BY BARNABAS

While I spake these words, and others to the same effect, there arose a great excitement among the crowd; and some as pitying Barnabas, sympathized with me; but others, being senseless, terribly gnashed their teeth against me. But, as the evening had already come, I took Barnabas by the hand, and by force conducted him, against his will, to my lodging, and constrained him to remain there, lest some one might lay hands on him. And having spent several days, and instructed me briefly in the true doctrine, as well as he could in a few days, he said that he should hasten into Judaea for the observance of the festival, and also because he wished for the future to consort with those of his own nation.

CHAPTER 14

DEPARTURE OF BARNABAS

But it plainly appeared to me that he was disconcerted. For when I said to him, "Only set forth to me the words which you have heard of the Man who has appeared, and I will adorn them with my speech, and preach the

counsel of God; and if you do so, within a few days I will sail with you, for I greatly desire to go to the land of Judaea, and perhaps I shall dwell with you all my life;" — when he heard this, he answered: "If you wish to inquire into our affairs, and to learn what is for your advantage, sail with me at once. But if you will not, I shall now give you directions to my house, and that of those whom you wish to meet, that when you choose to come you may find us. For I shall set out tomorrow for my home?" And when I saw that he could not be prevailed upon, I went with him as far as the harbor; and having learned of him the directions which he had promised to give me for finding the dwellings, I said to him, "Were it not that tomorrow I am to recover a debt that is due to me, I should straightway set sail with you. But I shall soon overtake you." And having said this, and having given him in charge to those who commanded the ship, I returned grieving, remembering him as an excellent and dear friend.

CHAPTER 15

INTRODUCTION TO PETER

But having spent same days, and not having been able to recover the whole debt, for the sake of speed I neglected the balance, as being a hindrance, and myself also set sail for Judaea, and in fifteen days arrived at Caesarea Stratonis. And when I had landed, and was seeking for a lodging, I learned that one named Peter, who was the most esteemed disciple of the Man who had appeared in Judaea, and had done signs and wonders, was going to have a verbal controversy next day with Simon, a Samaritan of Gitthi. When I heard this, I begged to be shown his lodging; and as soon as I learned it, I stood before the door. And those who were in the house, seeing me, discussed the question who I was, and whence I had come. And, behold, Barnabas came out; and as soon as he saw me he embraced me, rejoicing greatly, and weeping. And he took me by the hand, and conducted me to where Peter was, saying to me, "This is Peter, of whom I told you as being the greatest in the wisdom of God, and I have spoken to him of you continually. Therefore enter freely, for I have told him your excellent qualities, without falsehood; and, at the same time, have disclosed to him your intention, so that he himself also is desirous to see you.

Therefore I offer him a great gift when by my hands I present you to him." Thus saying, he presented me, and said, "This, O Peter, is Clement."

CHAPTER 16

PETER'S SALUTATION

Then the blessed man, springing forward as soon as he heard my name, kissed me; and making me sit down, straightway said, "You acted nobly in entertaining Barnabas, a herald of the truth, to the honor of the living God, being magnanimously not ashamed, nor fearing the resentment of the rude multitude. Blessed shall you be. For as you thus with all honor entertained the ambassador of the truth, so also truth herself shall constitute you, who are a stranger, a citizen of her own city. And thus you shall greatly rejoice, because you have now lent a small favor; I mean the kindness of good words. You shall be heir of blessings which are both eternal and cannot possibly be taken from you. And do not trouble yourself to detail to me your manner of life; for the veracious Barnabas has detailed to us everything relating to you, making favorable mention of you almost every day. And in order that I may tell to you briefly, as to a genuine friend, what is in hand, travel with us, unless anything hinders you, partaking of the words of truth which I am going to speak from city to city, as far as Rome itself. And if you wish to say anything, speak on."

CHAPTER 17

QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED

Then I set forth my purpose from the beginning, and how I had spent myself upon difficult questions, and all the things that I disclosed to you at the outset, so that I need not write the same things again. Then I said, "I hold myself in readiness to journey with you; for this, I know not how, I gladly wish. However, I wish first to be convinced concerning the truth, that I may know whether the soul is mortal or immortal; and whether, if it is eternal, it is to be judged concerning the things which it hath done here. Also, whether there is anything that is righteous and well-pleasing to God;

and whether the world was made, and for what end it was made; and whether it shall be dissolved; and if it shall be dissolved, whether it shall be made better, or shall not be at all." And not to mention them in detail, I said that I wished to learn these things, and things consequent upon these. And to this he answered: "I shall shortly convey to you, O Clement, the knowledge of the things that are; and even now listen.

CHAPTER 18

CAUSES OF IGNORANCE

"The will of God has been kept in obscurity in many ways. In the first place, there is evil instruction, wicked association, terrible society, unseemly discourses, wrongful prejudice. Thereby is error, then fearlessness, unbelief, fornication, covetousness, vainglory; and ten thousand other such evils, filling the world as a quantity of smoke fills a house, have obscured the sight of the men inhabiting the world, and have not suffered them to look up and become acquainted with God the Creator from the delineation of Himself which He has given, and to know what is pleasing to Him. Wherefore it behoves the lovers of truth, crying out inwardly from their breasts, to call for aid, with truth-loving reason, that some one living within the house which is filled with smoke may approach and open the door, so that the light of the sun which is without may be admitted into the house, and the smoke of the fire which is within may be driven out.

CHAPTER 19

THE TRUE PROPHET

"Now the Man who is the helper I call the true Prophet; and He alone is able to enlighten the souls of men, so that with our own eyes we may be able to see the way of eternal salvation. But otherwise it is impossible, as you also know, since you said a little while ago that every doctrine is set up and pulled down, and the same is thought true or false, according to the power of him who advocates it; so that doctrines do not appear as they

are, but take the appearance of being or not being truth or falsehood from those who advocate them. On this account the whole business of religion needed a true prophet, that he might tell us things that are, as they are, and how we must believe concerning all things. So that it is first necessary to test the prophet by every prophetic sign, and having ascertained that he is true, thereafter to believe him in every thing, and not to sit in judgment upon his several sayings, but to receive them as certain, being accepted indeed by seeming faith, yet by sure judgment. For by our initial proof, and by strict inquiry on every side, all things are received with right reason. Wherefore before all things it is necessary to seek after the true Prophet, because without Him it is impossible that any certainty can come to men."

CHAPTER 20

PETER'S SATISFACTION WITH CLEMENT

And, at the same time, he satisfied me by expounding to me who He is, and how He is found, and holding Him forth to me as truly to be found, showing that the truth is more manifest to the ear by the discourse of the prophet than things that are seen with the eye; so that I was astonished, and wondered that no one sees those things which are sought after by all, though they lie before him. However, having written this discourse concerning the Prophet by his order, he caused the volume to be despatched to you from Caesarea Stratonis, saying that he had a charge from you to send his discourses and his acts year by year. Thus, on the very first day, beginning only concerning the prophet of the truth, he confirmed me in every respect; and then he spoke thus: "Henceforth give heed to the discussions that take place between me and those on the other side; and even if I come off at a disadvantage, I am not afraid of your ever doubting of the truth that has been delivered to you, knowing well that I seem to be beaten, but not the doctrine that has been delivered to us by the Prophet. However, I hope not to come off in our inquiries at a disadvantage with men who have understanding — I mean lovers of truth, who are able to know what discourses are specious, artificial, and pleasant,

and what are unartificial and simple, trusting only to the truth that is conveyed through them."

CHAPTER 21

UNALTERABLE CONVICTION

When he had thus spoken, I answered: "Now do I thank God; for as I wished to be convinced, so He has vouchsafed to me. However, so far as concerns me, be you so far without anxiety that I shall never doubt; so much so, that if you yourself should ever wish to remove me from the prophetic doctrine, you should not be able, so well do I know what I have received. And do not think that it is a great thing that I promise you that I shall never doubt; for neither I myself, nor any man who has heard your discourse concerning the Prophet, can ever doubt of the true doctrine, having first heard and understood what is the truth of the prophetic announcement. Wherefore have confidence in the God-willed dogma; for every art of wickedness has been conquered. For against prophecy, neither arts of discourses, nor tricks of sophisms, nor syllogisms, nor any other contrivance, can prevail anything; that is, if he who has heard the true Prophet really is desirous of truth, and does not give heed to aught else under pretext of truth. So that, my Lord Peter, be not disconcerted, as though you bad presented the greatest good to a senseless person; for you have presented it to one sensible of the favor, and who cannot be seduced from the truth that has been committed to him. For I know that it is one of those things which one wishes to receive quickly, and not to attain slowly. Therefore I know that I should not despise, on account of the quickness with which I have got it, what has been committed to me, what is incomparable, and what alone is safe."

CHAPTER 22

THANKSGIVING

When I had thus spoken, Peter said: "I give thanks to God, both for your salvation and for my satisfaction. For I am truly pleased to know that you

apprehend what is the greatness of prophecy. Since, then, as you say, if I myself should ever wish — which God forbid — to transfer you to another doctrine, I shall not be able to persuade you, begin from tomorrow to attend upon me in the discussions with the adversaries. And tomorrow I have one with Simon Magus.” And having spoken thus, and he himself having partaken of food in private, he ordered me also to partake; and having blessed the food, and having given thanks after being satisfied, and having giving me an account of this matter, he went on to say: “May God grant you in all things to be made like unto me, and having been baptized, to partake of the same table with me.” And having thus spoken, he enjoined me to go to rest; for now indeed my bodily nature demanded sleep.

HOMILY 2

CHAPTER 1

PETER'S ATTENDANTS

Therefore the next day, I Clement, awaking from sleep before dawn, and learning that Peter was astir, and was conversing with his attendants concerning the worship of God (there were sixteen of them, and I have thought good to set forth their names, as I subsequently learned them, that you may also know who they were. The first of them was Zacchaeus, who was once a publican, and Sophonias his brother; Joseph and his foster-brother Michaias; also Thomas and Eliezer the twins; also Aeneas and Lazarus the priests; besides also Elisaeus, and Benjamin the son of Saphrus; as also Rubilus and Zacharias the builders; and Ananias and Haggaeus the Jamminians; and Nicetas and Aquila the friends), — accordingly I went in and saluted him, and at his request sat down.

CHAPTER 2

A SOUND MIND IN A SOUND BODY

And he, breaking off the discourse in which he was engaged, assured me, by way of apology, why he had not awakened me that I might hear his discourses, assigning as the reason the discomfort of my voyage. As he wished this to be dispelled, he had suffered me to sleep. "For," said he, "whenever the soul is distracted concerning some bodily want, it does not properly approach the instructions that are presented to it. On this account I am not willing to converse, either with those who are greatly grieving through some calamity, or are immoderately angry, or are turned to the frenzy of love, or are suffering trader bodily exhaustion, or are distressed with the cares of life, or are harassed with any other sufferings, whose soul, as I said, being downcast, and sympathizing with the suffering body, occupies also its own intelligence therewith.

CHAPTER 3

FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED

“And let it not be said, Is it not, then, proper to present comforts and admonitions to those who are in any bad case? To this I answer, that if, indeed, any one is able, let him present them; but if not, let him bide his time. For I know that all things have their proper season. Wherefore it is proper to ply men with words which strengthen the soul in anticipation of evil; so that, if at any time any evil comes upon them, the mind, being forearmed with the right argument, may be able to bear up under that which befalls it: for then the mind knows in the crisis of the struggle to have recourse to him who succored it by good counsel.

CHAPTER 4

A REQUEST

“However, I have learned, O Clement, how that in Alexandria Barnabas perfectly expounded to you the word respecting prophecy. Was it not so?” I answered, “Yes, and exceeding well.” Then Peter: “Therefore it is not necessary now to occupy with the instructions which you know, the time which may serve us for other instructions which you do not know.” Then said I: “You have rightly said, O Peter. But vouchsafe this to me, who purpose always to attend upon you, continuously to expound to me, a delighted hearer, the doctrine of the Prophet. For, apart from Him, as I learned from Barnabas, it is impossible to learn the truth.”

CHAPTER 5

EXCELLENCE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUE PROPHET

And Peter, being greatly pleased with this, answered: “Already hath the rectifying process taken its end, as regards you, knowing as you do the greatness of the infallible prophecy, without which it is impossible for any

one to receive that which is supremely profitable. For of many and diverse blessings which are in the things which are or which may be, the most blessed of all — whether it be eternal life, or perpetual health, or a perfect understanding, or light, or joy, or immortality, or whatever else there is or that can be supremely good in the nature of things — cannot be possessed without first knowing things as they are; and this knowledge cannot be otherwise obtained than by first becoming acquainted with the Prophet of the truth.

CHAPTER 6

THE TRUE PROPHET

“Now the Prophet of the truth is He who always knows all things — things past as they were, things present as they are, things future as they shall be; sinless, merciful, alone entrusted with the declaration of the truth. Read, and you shall find that those were deceived who thought that they had found the truth of themselves. For this is peculiar to the Prophet, to declare the truth, even as it is peculiar to the sun to bring the clay. Wherefore, as many as have even desired to know the truth, but have not had the good fortune to learn it from Him, have not found it, but have died seeking it. For how can he find the truth who seeks it from his own ignorance? And even if he find it, he does not know it, and passes it by as if it were not. Nor yet shall he be able to obtain possession of the truth from another, who, in like manner, promises to him knowledge from ignorance; excepting only the knowledge of morality and things of that sort, which can be known through reason, which affords to every one the knowledge that he ought not to wrong another, through his not wishing himself to be wronged.

CHAPTER 7

UNAIDED QUEST OF TRUTH PROFITLESS

“All therefore who ever sought the truth, trusting to themselves to be able to find it, fell into a snare. This is what both the philosophers of the

Greeks, and the more intelligent of the barbarians, have suffered. For, applying themselves to things visible, they have given decisions by conjecture on things not apparent, thinking that that was truth which at any time presented itself to them as such. For, like persons who know the truth, they, still seeking the truth, reject some of the suppositions that are presented to them, and lay hold of others, as if they knew, while they do not know, what things are true and what are false. And they dogmatize concerning truth, even those who are seeking after truth, not knowing that he who seeks truth cannot learn it from his own wandering. For not even, as I said, can he recognize her when she stands by him, since he is unacquainted with her.

CHAPTER 8

TEST OF TRUTH

“And it is by no means that which is true, but that which is pleasing, which persuades every one who seeks to learn from himself. Since, therefore, one thing is pleasing to one, and another to another, one thing prevails over one as truth, and another thing over another. But the truth is that which is approved by the Prophet, not that which is pleasant to each individual. For that which is one would be many, if the pleasing were the true; which is impossible. Wherefore also the Grecian philologers — rather than philosophers — going about matters by conjectures, have dogmatized much and diversely, thinking that the apt sequence of hypotheses is truth, not knowing that when they have assigned to themselves false beginnings, their conclusion has corresponded with the beginning.

CHAPTER 9

“THE WEAK THINGS OF THE WORLD.”

“Whence a man ought to pass by all else, and commit himself to the Prophet of the truth alone. And we are all able to judge of Him, whether he is a prophet, even although we be wholly unlearned, and novices in sophisms, and unskilled in geometry, and uninitiated in music. For God, as

caring for all, has made the discovery concerning Himself easier to all, in order that neither the barbarians might be powerless, nor the Greeks unable to find Him. Therefore the discovery concerning Him is easy; and thus it is: —

CHAPTER 10

TEST OF THE PROPHET

"If he is a Prophet, and is able to know how the world was made, and the things that are in it, and the things that shall be to the end, if He has foretold us anything, and we have ascertained that it has been perfectly accomplished, we easily believe that the things shall be which He says are to be, from the things that have been already; we believe Him, I say, as not only knowing, but foreknowing. To whom then, however limited an understanding he may have, does it not appear, that it behoves us, with respect to the things that are pleasing to God, to believe beyond all others Him who beyond all men knows, even though He has not learned? Wherefore, if any one should be unwilling to concede the power of knowing the truth to such an one — I mean to Him who has foreknowledge through the divinity of the Spirit that is in Him — conceding the power of knowing to any one else, is he not void of understanding, in conceding to him who is no prophet, that power of knowing which he would not concede to the Prophet?

CHAPTER 11

IGNORANCE, KNOWLEDGE, FOREKNOWLEDGE

"Wherefore, before all things, we must test the Prophet with all judgment by means of the prophetic promise; and having ascertained Him to be the Prophet, we must undoubtingly follow the other words of His teaching; and having confidence concerning things hoped for, we must conduct ourselves according to the first judgment, knowing that He who tells us these things has not a nature to lie. Wherefore, if any of the things that are afterwards spoken by Him do not appear to us to be well spoken, we

must know that it is not that it has been spoken amiss, but that it is that we have not conceived it aright. For ignorance does not judge knowledge, and so neither is knowledge competent truly to judge foreknowledge; but foreknowledge affords knowledge to the ignorant.

CHAPTER 12

DOCTRINE OF THE TRUE PROPHET

“Hence, O beloved Clement, if you would know the things pertaining to God, you have to learn them from Him alone, because He alone knows the truth. For if any one else knows anything, he has received it from Him or from His disciples. And this is His doctrine and true proclamation, that there is one God, whose work the world is; who being altogether righteous, shall certainly at some time render to every one according to his deeds.

CHAPTER 13

FUTURE REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

“For there is every necessity, that he who says that God is by His nature righteous, should believe also that the souls of men are immortal: for where would be His justice, when some, having lived piously, have been evil-treated, and sometimes violently cut off, while others who have been wholly impious, and have indulged in luxurious living, have died the common death of men? Since therefore, without all contradiction, God who is good is also just, He shall not otherwise be known to be just, unless the soul after its separation from the body be immortal, so that the wicked man, being in hell, as having here received his good things, may there be punished for his sins; and the good man, who has been punished here for his sins, may then, as in the bosom of the righteous, be constituted an heir of good things. Since therefore God is righteous, it is fully evident to us that there is a judgment, and that souls are immortal.

CHAPTER 14

RIGHTEOUSNESS AND UNRIGHTEOUSNESS

“But if any one, according to the opinion of this Simon the Samaritan, will not admit that God is just, to whom then can any one ascribe justice, or the possibility of it? For if the Root of all have it not, there is every necessity to think that it must be impossible to find it in human nature, which, is, as it were, the fruit. And if it is to be found in man, how much more in God! But if righteousness can be found nowhere, neither in God nor in man, then neither can unrighteousness. But there is such a thing as righteousness, for unrighteousness takes its name from the existence of righteousness; for it is called unrighteousness, when righteousness is compared with it, and is found to be opposite to it.

CHAPTER 15

PAIRS

“Hence therefore God, teaching men with respect to the truth of existing things, being: Himself one, has distinguished all principles into pairs and opposites, Himself being one and sole God from the beginning, having made heaven and earth, day and night, light and fire, sun and moon, life and death. But man alone amongst these He made self-controlling, having a fitness to be either righteous or unrighteous. To him also he hath varied the figures of combinations, placing before him small things first, and great ones afterwards, such as the world and eternity. But the world that now is, is temporary; that which shall be, is eternal. First is ignorance, then knowledge. So also has He arranged the leaders of prophecy. For, since the present world is female, as a mother bringing forth the souls of her children, but the world to come is male, as a father receiving his children from their mother, therefore in this world there come a succession of prophets, as being sons of the world to come, and having knowledge of men. And if pious men had understood this mystery, they would never have gone astray, but even now they should have known that Simon, who

now enthralls all men, is a fellow-worker of error and deceit. Now, the doctrine of the prophetic rule is as follows.

CHAPTER 16

MAN'S WAYS OPPOSITE TO GOD'S

"As in the beginning God, who is one, like a right hand and a left, made the heavens first and then the earth, so also He constituted all the combinations in order; but upon men He no more does this, but varies all the combinations. For whereas from Him the greater things come first, and the inferior second, we find the opposite in men — the first worse, and the second superior. Therefore from Adam, who was made after the image of God, there sprang first the unrighteous Cain, and then the righteous Abel. Again, from him who amongst you is called Deucalion, two forms of spirits were sent forth, the impure namely, and the pure, first the black raven, and then the white dove. From Abraham also, the patriarchs of our nation, two firsts sprang — Ishmael first, then Isaac, who was blessed of God. And from Isaac himself, in like manner, there were again two — Esau the profane, and Jacob the pious. So, first in birth, as the first born in the world, was the high priest Aaron, then the lawgiver Moses.

CHAPTER 17

FIRST THE WORSE, THEN THE BETTER

"In like manner, the combination with respect to Elias, which behooved to have come, has been willingly put off to another time, having determined to enjoy it conveniently hereafter. Wherefore, also, he who was among those born of woman came first; then he who was among the sons of men came second It were possible, following this order, to perceive to what series Simon belongs, who came before me to the Gentiles, and to which I belong who have come after him, and have come in upon him as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as healing upon disease. And thus, as the true Prophet has told us, a false prophet must first come from some deceiver; and then, in like manner, after the removal of the holy place, the

true Gospel must be secretly sent abroad for the rectification of the heresies that shall be. After this, also, towards the end, Antichrist must first come, and then our Jesus must be revealed to be indeed the Christ; and after this, the eternal light having sprung up, all the things of darkness must disappear.

CHAPTER 18

IS TAKE ABOUT SIMON MAGUS

“Since, then, as I said, some men do not know the rule of combination, thence they do not know who is my precursor Simon. For if he were known, he would not be believed; but now, not being known, he is improperly believed; and though his deeds are those of a hater, he is loved; and though an enemy, he is received as a friend; and though he be death, he is desired as a savior; and though fire, he is esteemed as light; and though a deceiver, he is believed as a speaker of truth.”

Then I Clement, when I heard this, said, “Who then, I pray you, is this who is such a deceiver? I should like to be informed.” Then said Peter: “If you wish to learn, it is in your power to know it from those from whom I also got accurate information on all points respecting him.

CHAPTER 19

JUSTA, A PROSELYTE

“There is amongst us one Justa, a Syro-Phoenician, by race a Canaanite, whose daughter was oppressed with a grievous disease. And she came to our Lord, crying out, and entreating that He would heal her daughter. But He, being asked also by us, said, ‘It is not lawful to heal the Gentiles, who are like to dogs on account of their using various meats and practices, while the table in the kingdom has been given to the sons of Israel.’ But she, hearing this, and begging to partake like a dog of the crumbs that fall from this table, having changed what she was, by living like the sons of the kingdom, she obtained healing for her daughter, as she asked. For she being

a Gentile, and remaining in the same course of life, He would not have healed had she remained a Gentile, on account of its not being lawful to heal her as a Gentile.

CHAPTER 20

DIVORCED FOR THE FAITH

“She, therefore, having taken up a manner of life according to the law, was, with the daughter who had been healed, driven out from her home by her husband, whose sentiments were opposed to ours. But she, being faithful to her engagements, and being in affluent circumstances, remained a widow herself, but gave her daughter in marriage to a certain man who was attached to the true faith, and who was poor. And, abstaining from marriage for the sake of her daughter, she bought two boys and educated them, and had them in place of sons. And they being educated from their boyhood with Simon Magus, have learned all things concerning him. For such was their friendship, that they were associated with him in all things in which he wished to unite with them.

CHAPTER 21

JUSTA’S ADOPTED SONS, ASSOCIATES WITH SIMON

“These men having fallen in with Zacchaeus, who sojourned here, and having received the word of truth from him, and having repented of their former innovations, and immediately denouncing Simon as being privy with him in all things, as soon as I came to sojourn here, they came to me with their foster-mother, being presented to me by him, Zacchaeus, and ever since they continue with me, enjoying instructions in the truth.” When Peter had said this, he sent for them, and charged them that they should accurately relate to me all things concerning Simon. And they, having called God to witness that in nothing they would falsify, proceeded with the relation.

CHAPTER 22

DOCTRINES OF SIMON

First Aquila began to speak in this wise: “Listen, O dearest brother, that you may know accurately everything about this man, whose he is, and what, and whence; and what the things are which he does, and how and why he does them. This Simon is the son of Antonius and Rachel, a Samaritan by race, of the village of Gitthae, which is six schoeni distant from the city. He having disciplined himself greatly in Alexandria, and being very powerful in magic, and being ambitious, wishes to be accounted a certain supreme power, greater even than the God who created the world. And sometimes intimating that he is Christ, he styles himself the Standing One. And this epithet he employs, as intimating that he shall always stand, and as not having any cause of corruption so that his body should fall. And he neither says that the God who created the world is the Supreme, nor does he believe that the dead will be raised. He rejects Jerusalem, and substitutes Mount Gerizzim for it. Instead of our Christ, he proclaims himself. The things of the lair he explains by his own presumption; and he says, indeed, that there is to be a judgment, but he does not expect it. For if he were persuaded that he shall be judged by God, he would not dare be impious towards God Himself. Whence some not knowing that, using religion as a cloak, he spoils the things of the truth, and faithfully believing the hope and the judgment which in some way he says are to be, are ruined.

CHAPTER 23

SIMON A DISCIPLE OF THE BAPTIST

“But that he came to deal with the doctrines of religion happened on this wise. There was one John, a day-baptist, who was also, according to the method of combination, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus; and as the Lord had twelve apostles, bearing the number of the twelve months of the sun, so also he, John, had thirty chief men, fulfilling the monthly reckoning of the moon, in which number was a certain woman called Helena, that not

even this might be without a dispensational significance. For a woman, being half a man, made up the imperfect number of the triacontad; as also in the case of the moon, whose revolution does not make the complete course of the month. But of these thirty, the first and the most esteemed by John was Simon; and the reason of his not being chief after the death of John was as follows: —

CHAPTER 24

ELECTIONEERING STRATAGEMS

“He being absent in Egypt for the practice of magic, and John being killed, Dositheus desiring the leadership, falsely gave out that Simon was dead, and succeeded to the seat. But Simon, returning not long after, and strenuously holding by the place as his own, when he met with Dositheus did not demand the place, knowing that a man who has attained power beyond his expectations cannot be removed from it. Wherefore with pretended friendship he gives himself for a while to the second place, under Dositheus. But taking his place after a few days among the thirty fellow-disciples, he began to malign Dositheus as not delivering the instructions correctly. And this he said that he did, not through unwillingness to deliver them correctly, but through ignorance. And on one occasion, Dositheus, perceiving that this artful accusation of Simon was dissipating the opinion of him with respect to many, so that they did not think that he was the Standing One, came in a rage to the usual place of meeting, and finding Simon, struck him with a staff. But it seemed to pass through the body of Simon as if he had been smoke. Thereupon Dositheus, being confounded, said to him, ‘If you are the Standing One, I also will worship you.’ Then Simon said that he was; and Dositheus, knowing that he himself was not the Standing One, fell down and worshipped; and associating himself with the twenty-nine chiefs, he raised Simon to his own place of repute; and thus, not many days after, Dositheus himself, while he (Simon) stood, fell down and died.

CHAPTER 25

SIMON'S DECEIT

"But Simon is going about in company with Helena, and even till now, as you see, is stirring up the people. And he says that he has brought down this Helena from the highest heavens to the world; being queen, as the all-bearing being, and wisdom, for whose sake, says he, the Greeks and barbarians fought, having before their eyes but an image of truth; for she, who really is the truth, was then with the chiefest God. Moreover, by cunningly explaining certain things of this sort, made up from Grecian myths, he deceives many; especially as he performs many signal marvels, so that if we did not know that he does these things by magic, we ourselves should also have been deceived. But whereas we were his fellow-laborers at the first, so long as be did such things without doing wrong to the interests of religion; now that he has madly begun to attempt to deceive those who are religious, we have withdrawn from him.

CHAPTER 26

HIS WICKEDNESS

"For he even began to commit murder? as himself disclosed to us, as a friend to friends, that, having separated the soul of a child from its own body by horrid incantations, as his assistant for the exhibition of anything that he pleased, and having drawn the likeness of the boy, he has it set up in the inner room where he sleeps, saying that he once formed the boy of air, by divine arts, and having painted his likeness, he gave him back again to the air. And he explains that he did the deed thus. He says that the first soul of man, being turned into the nature of heat, drew to itself, and sucked in the surrounding air, after the fashion of a gourd; and then that he changed it into water, when it was within the form of the spirit; and he said that he changed into the nature of blood the air that was in it, which could not be poured out on account of the consistency of the spirit, and that he made the blood solidified into flesh; then, the flesh being thus consolidated, that he exhibited a man not made from earth, but from air.

And thus, having persuaded himself that he was able to make a new sort of man, he said that he reversed the changes, and again restored him to the air. And when he told this to others, he was believed; but by us who were present at his ceremonies he was religiously disbelieved. Wherefore we denounced his impieties, and withdrew from him."

CHAPTER 27

HIS PROMISES

When Aquila had thus spoken, his brother Nicetas said: "It is necessary, O Clement our brother, for me to mention what has been left out by Aquila. For, in the first place, God is witness that we assisted him in no impious work, but that we looked on while he wrought; and as long as he did harmless things, and exhibited them, we were also pleased. But when, in order to deceive the godly, he said that he did, by means of godhead, the things that were done by magic, we no longer endured him, though he made us many promises, especially that our statues should be thought worthy of a place in the temple, and that we should be thought to be gods, and should be worshipped by the multitude, and should be honored by kings, and should be thought worthy of public honors, and enriched with boundless wealth.

CHAPTER 28

FRUITLESS COUNSEL

"These things, and things reckoned greater than these, he promised us, on condition only that we should associate with him, and keep silence as to the wickedness of his undertaking, so that the scheme of his deceit might succeed. But still we would not consent, but even counseled him to desist from such madness, saying to him: 'We, O Simon, remembering our friendship towards you from our childhood, and out of affection for you, give you good counsel. Desist from this attempt. You cannot be a God. Fear Him who is really God. Know that you are a man, and that the time of your life is short; and though you should get great riches, or even

become a king, few things accrue to the short time of your life for enjoyment, and things wickedly gotten soon flee away, and procure everlasting punishment for the adventurer. Wherefore we counsel you to fear God, by whom the soul of every one must be judged for the deeds that he hath done here.'

CHAPTER 29

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

"When he heard this he laughed; and when we asked him why he laughed at us for giving him good counsel, he answered: 'I laugh at your foolish supposition, because you believe that the soul of man is immortal.' Then I said: 'We do not wonder, O Simon, at your attempting to deceive us, but we are confounded at the way in which you deceive even yourself. Tell me, O Simon, even if no one else has been fully convinced that the soul is immortal, at all events you and we ought to be so: you as having separated one from a human body, and conversed with it, and laid your commands upon it; and we as having been present, and heard your commands, and clearly witnessed the performance of what was ordered.' Then said Simon: 'I know what you mean; but you know nothing of the matters concerning which you reason.' Then said Nicetas: 'If you know, speak; but if you do not know, do not suppose that we can be deceived by your saying that you know, and that we do not. For we are not so childish, that you can sow in us a shrewd suspicion that we should think that you know some unutterable things, and so that you should take and hold us in subjection, by holding us in restraint through means of desire.'

CHAPTER 30

AN ARGUMENT

"Then Simon said: 'I am aware that you know that I separated a soul from a human body; but I know that you are ignorant that it is not the soul of the dead person that ministers to me, for it does not exist; but a certain demon works, pretending to be the soul.' Then said Nicetas: 'Many

incredible things we have heard in our lifetime, but aught more senseless than this speech we do not expect ever to hear. For if a demon pretends to be the soul of the dead person, what is the use of the soul at all, that it should be separated from the body? Were I not we ourselves present and heard you conjuring the soul from the body? And how comes it that, when one is conjured, another who is not conjured obeys, as if it were frightened? And you yourself, when at any time we have asked you why the conferences sometimes cease, did not you say that the soul, having fulfilled the time upon earth which it was to have passed in the body, goes to Hades? And you added, that the souls of those who commit suicide are not easily permitted to come, because, having gone home into Hades, they are guarded.'"

CHAPTER 31

A DILEMMA

Nicetas having thus spoken, Aquila himself in turn said: "This only should I wish to learn of you, Simon, whether it is the soul or whether it is a demon that is conjured: what is it afraid of, that it does not despise the conjuration? Then Simon said: 'It knows that it should suffer punishment if it were disobedient.' Then said Aquila: 'Therefore, if the soul comes when conjured, there is also a judgment. If, therefore, souls are immortal, assuredly there is also a judgment. As you say, then, that those which are conjured on wicked business are punished if they disobey, how are you not afraid to compel them, when those that are compelled are punished for disobedience? For it is not wonderful that you do not already suffer for your doings, seeing the judgment has not yet come, when you are to suffer the penalty of those deeds which you have compelled others to do, and when that which has been done under compulsion shall be pardoned, as having been out of respect for the oath which led to the evil action.' And he hearing this was enraged, and threatened death to us if we did not keep silence as to his doings."

CHAPTER 32

SIMON'S PRODIGIES

Aquila having thus spoken, I Clement inquired: "What, then, are the prodigies that he works?" And they told me that he makes statues walk, and that he rolls himself on the fire, and is not burnt; and sometimes he flies; and he makes loaves of stones; he becomes a serpent; he transforms himself into a goat; he becomes two-faced; he changes himself into gold; he opens lockfast gates; he melts iron; at banquets he produces images of all manner of forms. In his house he makes dishes be seen as born of themselves to wait upon him, no bearers being seen. I wondered when I heard them speak thus; but many bore witness that they had been present, and had seen such things.

CHAPTER 33

DOCTRINE OF PAIRS

These things having been thus spoken, the excellent Peter himself also proceeded to speak: "You must perceive, brethren. the truth of the rule of conjunction, from which he who departs not cannot be misled. For since, as we have said, we see all things in pairs and contraries, and as the night is first, and then the day; and first ignorance, then knowledge; first disease, then healing, so the things of error come first into our life, then truth supervenes, as the physician upon the disease. Therefore straightway, when our God-loved nation was about to be ransomed from the oppression of the Egyptians, first diseases were produced by means of the rod turned into a serpent, which was given to Aaron, and then remedies were superinduced by the prayers of Moses. And now also, when the Gentiles are about to be ransomed from the superstition with respect to idols, wickedness, which reigns over them, has by anticipation sent forth her ally like another serpent, even this Simon whom you see, who works wonders to astonish and deceive, not signs of healing to convert and save. Wherefore it behoves you also from the miracles that are done to judge the doers, what is the character of the performer, and what that of the deed. If

he do unprofitable miracles, he is the agent of wickedness; but if he do profitable things, he is a leader of goodness.

CHAPTER 34

USELESS AND PHILANTHROPIC MIRACLES

“Those, then, are useless signs, which you say that Simon did. But I say that the making statues walk, and rolling himself on burning coals, and becoming a dragon, and being changed into a goat, and flying in the air, and all such things, not being for the healing of man, are of a nature to deceive many. But the miracles of compassionate truth are philanthropic, such as you have heard that the Lord did, and that I after Him accomplish by my prayers; at which most of you have been present, some being freed from all kinds of diseases, and some from demons, some having their hands restored, and some their feet, some recovering their eyesight, and some their hearing, and whatever else a man can do, being of a philanthropic spirit.”

CHAPTER 35

DISCUSSION POSTPONED

When Peter had thus spoken, towards dawn Zacchaeus entered and saluted us, and said to Peter: “Simon puts off the inquiry till tomorrow; for today is his Sabbath, which occurs at intervals of eleven days.” To him Peter answered: “Say to Simon, Whenever thou wishest; and know thou that we are always in readiness to meet thee, by divine providence, when thou desirest.” And Zacchaeus hearing this, went out to return the answer.

CHAPTER 36

ALL FOR THE BEST

But he (Peter) saw me disheartened, and asked the reason; and being told that it proceeded from no cause but the postponement of the inquiry, he said: “He who has apprehended that the world is regulated by the good providence of God, O beloved Clement, is not vexed by things howsoever occurring, considering that things take their course advantageously under the providence of the Ruler. Whence, knowing that He is just, and living with a good conscience, he knows how by right reason to shake off from his soul any annoyance that befalls him, because, when complete, it must come to some unknown good. Now then, let not Simon the magician’s postponement of the inquiry grieve you; for perhaps it has happened from the providence of God for your profit. Wherefore I shall not scruple to speak to you as being my special friend.

CHAPTER 37

SPIES IN THE ENEMY’S CAMP

“Some of our people attend feignedly upon Simon as companions, as if they were persuaded by his most atheistic error, in order that they may learn his purpose and disclose it to us, so that we may be able to encounter this terrible man on favorable terms. And now I have learned from them what arguments he is going to employ in the discussion. And knowing this, I give thanks to God on the one hand, and I congratulate you on the other, on the postponement of the discussion; for you, being instructed by me before the discussion, of the arguments that are to be used by him for the destruction of the ignorant, will be able to listen without danger of falling.

CHAPTER 38

CORRUPTION OF THE LAW

“For the Scriptures have had joined to them many falsehoods against God on this account. The prophet Moses having by the order of God delivered the law, with the explanations, to certain chosen men, some seventy in number, in order that they also might instruct such of the people as chose, after a little the written law had added to it certain falsehoods contrary to the law of God, who made the heaven and the earth, and all things in them; the wicked one having dared to work this for some righteous purpose. And this took place in reason and judgment, that those might be convicted who should dare to listen to the things written against God, and those who, through love towards Him, should not only disbelieve the things spoken against Him, but should not even endure to hear them at all, even if they should happen to be true, judging it much safer to incur danger with respect to religious faith, than to live with an evil conscience on account of blasphemous words.

CHAPTER 39

TACTICS

“Simon, therefore, as I learn, intends to come into public, and to speak of those chapters against God that are added to the Scriptures, for the sake of temptation, that he may seduce as many wretched ones as he can from the love of God. For we do not wish to say in public that these chapters are added to the Bible, since we should thereby perplex the unlearned multitudes, and so accomplish the purpose of this wicked Simon. For they not having yet the power of discerning, would flee from us as impious; or, as if not only the blasphemous chapters were false, they would even withdraw from the word. Wherefore we are under a necessity of assenting to the false chapters, and putting questions in return to him concerning them, to draw him into a strait, and to give in private an explanation of the chapters that are spoken against God to the well-disposed after a trial of their faith; and of this there is but one way, and that a brief one. It is this.]

CHAPTER 40

PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTION

“Everything that is spoken or written against God is false. But that we say this truly, not only for the sake of reputation, but for the sake of truth, I shall convince you when my discourse has proceeded a little further. Whence you, my most beloved Clement, ought not to be sorry at Simon’s having interposed a day between this and the discussion. For today, before the discussion, you shall be instructed concerning the chapters added to the Scriptures; and then in the discussion concerning the only one and good God, the Maker also of the world, you ought not to be distracted. But in the discussion you will even wonder how impious men, overlooking the multitudes of things that are spoken in the Scriptures for God, and looking at those that are spoken against Him, gladly bring these forward; and thus the hearers, by reason of ignorance, believing the things against God, become outcasts from His kingdom. Wherefore you, by advantage of the postponement, learning the mystery of the Scriptures, and gaining the means of not sinning against God, will incomparably rejoice.”

CHAPTER 41

ASKING FOR INFORMATION, NOT CONTRADICTION

Then I Clement, hearing this, said: “Truly I rejoice, and I give thanks to God, who in all things doeth well. However, he knows that I shall be able to think nothing other than that all things are for God. Wherefore do not suppose that I ask questions, as doubting the words concerning God, or those that are to be spoken, but rather that I may learn, and so be able myself to instruct another who is ingenuously willing to learn. Wherefore tell me what are the falsehoods added to the Scriptures, and how it comes that they are really false.” Then Peter answered: “Even although you had not asked me, I should have gone on in order, and afforded you the exposition of these matters, as I promised. Learn, then, how the Scriptures

misrepresent Him in many respects, that you may know when you. happen upon them.

CHAPTER 42

RIGHT NOTIONS OF GOD ESSENTIAL TO HOLINESS

“But what I am going to tell you will be sufficient by way of example. But I do not think, my dear Clement, that any one who possesses ever so little love to God and ingenuousness, will be able to take in, or even to hear, the things that are spoken against Him. For how is it that he can have a monarchic soul, and be holy, who supposes that there are many gods, and not one only? But even if there be but one, who will cherish zeal to be holy, that finds in Him many defects, since he will hope that the Beginning of all things, by reason of the defects of his own nature, will not visit the crimes of others?

CHAPTER 43

A PRIORI ARGUMENT ON THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

“Wherefore, far he it from us to believe that the Lord of all, who made the heaven and the earth, and all things that are in them, shares His government with others, or that He lies. For if He lies, then who speaks truth? Or that He makes experiments as in ignorance; for then who foreknows? And if He deliberates, and changes His purpose, who is perfect in understanding and permanent in design? If He envies, who is above rivalry? If He hardens hearts, who makes wise? If He makes blind and deaf, who has given sight and hearing? If He commits pilfering, who administers justice? If He mocks, who is sincere? If He is weak, who is omnipotent? If He is unjust, who is just? If He makes evil things, who shall make good things? If He does evil, who shall do good?

CHAPTER 44

THE SAME CONTINUED

“But if He desires the fruitful hill, whose then are all things? If He is false, who then is true? If He dwells in a tabernacle, who is without bounds? If He is fond of fat, and sacrifices, and offerings, and drink-offerings, who then is without need, and who is holy, and pure, and perfect? If He is pleased with candles and candlesticks, who then placed the luminaries in heaven? If He dwells in shadow, and darkness, and storm, and smoke, who is the light that lightens the universe? If He comes with trumpets, and shoutings, and darts, and arrows, who is the looked-for tranquillity of all? If He loves war, who then wishes peace? If He makes evil things, who makes good things? If He is without affection, who is a lover of men? If He is not faithful to His promises, who shall be trusted? If He loves the wicked, and adulterers, and murderers, who shall be a just judge? If He changes His mind, who is steadfast? If He chooses evil men, who then takes the part of the good?

CHAPTER 45

HOW GOD IS TO BE THOUGHT OF

“Wherefore, Clement, my son, beware of thinking otherwise of God, than that He is the only God, and Lord, and Father, good and righteous, the Creator, long-suffering, merciful, the sustainer, the benefactor, ordaining love of men, counseling purity, immortal and making immortal, incomparable, dwelling in the souls of the good, that cannot be contained and yet is contained, who has fixed the great world as a center in space, who has spread out the heavens and solidified the earth, who has stored up the water, who has disposed the stars in the sky, who has made the fountains flow in the earth, has produced faults, has raised up mountains, hath set bounds to the sea, has ordered winds and blasts, who by the spirit of counsel has kept safely the body comprehended in a boundless sea.

CHAPTER 46

JUDGMENT TO COME

“This is our Judge, to whom it behoves us to look. and to regulate our own souls, thinking all things in His favor, speaking well of Him, persuaded that by His long-suffering He brings to light the obstinacy of all, and is alone good. And He, at the end of all, shall sit as a just Judge upon every one of those who have attempted what they ought not.”

CHAPTER 47

A PERTINENT QUESTION

When I Clement heard this, I said, “Truly, this is a godliness; truly this is piety.” And again I said: “I would learn, therefore, why the Bible has written anything of this sort? For I remember that you said that it was for the conviction of those who should dare to believe anything that was spoken against God. But since you permit us, we venture to ask, at your command: If any one, most beloved Peter, should choose to say to us, ‘The Scriptures are true, although to you the things spoken against God seem to be false,’ how should we answer him?”

CHAPTER 48

A PARTICULAR CASE

Then Peter answered: “You speak well in your inquiry; for it will be for your safety. Therefore listen: Since there are many things that are spoken by the Scriptures against God, as time presses on account of the evening, ask with respect to any one matter that you please, and I will explain it, showing that it is false, not only because it is spoken against God, but because it is really false.” Then I answered: “I wish to learn how, when the Scriptures say that God is ignorant, you can show that He knows?”

CHAPTER 49

REDUCTIE AD ABSURDUM

Then Peter answered: “You have presented us with a matter that can easily be answered. However, listen, how God is ignorant of nothing, but even foreknows. But first answer me what I ask of you. He who wrote the Bible, and told how the world was made, and said that God does not foreknow, was he a man or not?” Then I said: “He was a man.” Then Peter answered: “How, then, was it possible for him, being a man, to know assuredly how the world was made, and that God does not foreknow?”

CHAPTER 50

A SATISFACTORY ANSWER

Then I, already perceiving the explanation, smiled, and said that he was a prophet. And Peter said: “If, then, he was a prophet, being a man, he was ignorant of nothing, by reason of his having received foreknowledge from God; how then, should He, who gave to man the gift of foreknowledge, being God, Himself be ignorant?” And I said: “You have spoken rightly.” Then Peter said: “Come with me one step further. It being acknowledged by us that God foreknows all things, there is every necessity that the scriptures are false which say that He is ignorant, and those are true which say that He knows.” Then said I: “It must needs be so.”

CHAPTER 51

WEIGH IN THE BALANCE

Then Peter said: “If, therefore, some of the Scriptures are true and some false, with good reason said our Master, ‘Be ye good money-changers,’ inasmuch as in the Scriptures there are some true sayings and some spurious. And to those who err by reason of the false scriptures He fitly showed the cause of their error, saying, ‘Ye do therefore err, not knowing

the true things of the Scriptures; for this reason ye are ignorant also of the power of God.'" Then said I: "You have spoken very excellently."

CHAPTER 52

SINS OF THE SAINTS DENIED

Then Peter answered: "Assuredly, with good reason, I neither believe anything against God, nor against the just men recorded in the law, taking for granted that they are impious imaginations. For, as I am persuaded, neither was Adam a transgressor, who was fashioned by the hands of God; nor was Noah drunken, who was found righteous above all the world; nor did Abraham live with three wives at once, who, on account of his sobriety, was thought worthy of a numerous posterity; nor did Jacob associate with four — of whom two were sisters — who was the father of the twelve tribes, and who intimated the coining of the presence of our Master; nor was Moses a murderer, nor did he learn to judge from an idolatrous priest — he who set forth the law of God to all the world, and for his right judgment has been testified to as a faithful steward.

CHAPTER 53

CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

"But of these and such like things I shall afford you an explanation in due time. But for the rest, since, as you see, the evening has come upon us, let what has been said be enough for today. But whenever you wish, and about whatever you wish, ask boldly of us, and we shall gladly explain it at once." Thus having spoken, he rose up. And then, having partaken of food, we turned to sleep, for the night had come upon us.

HOMILY 3

CHAPTER 1

THE MORNING OF THE DISCUSSION

Two days, therefore, having elapsed, and while the third was dawning, I Clement, and the rest of our companions, being roused about the second cock-crowing, in order to the discussion with Simon, found the lamp still alight, and Peter kneeling in prayer. Therefore, having finished his supplication, and turning round, and seeing us in readiness to hear, he said: —

CHAPTER 2

SIMON'S DESIGN

"I wish you to know that those who, according to our arrangement, associate with Simon that they may learn his intentions, and submit them to us, so that we may be able to cope with his variety of wickedness, these men have sent to me, and informed me that Simon today is, as he arranged, prepared to come before all, and show from the Scriptures that He who made the heaven and the earth, and all things in them, is not the Supreme God, but that there is another, unknown and supreme, as being in an unspeakable manner God of gods; and that He sent two gods, one of whom is he who made the world, and the other he who gave the law. And these things he contrives to say, that he may dissipate the right faith of those who would worship the one and only God who made heaven and earth.

CHAPTER 3

HIS OBJECT

“When I heard this, how was I not disheartened! Wherefore I wished you also, my brethren, who associate with me, to know that I am beyond measure grieved in my soul, seeing the wicked one awake for the temptation of men, and men wholly indifferent about their own salvation. For to those from amongst the Gentiles who were about being persuaded respecting the earthly images that they are no gods, he has contrived to bring in opinions of many other gods, in order that, if they cease from the polytheo-mania, they may be deceived to speak otherwise, and even worse than they now do, against the sole government of God, so that they may not yet value the truths connected with that monarchy, and may never be able to obtain mercy. And for the sake of this attempt Simon comes to do battle with us, armed with the false chapters of the Scriptures. And what is more dreadful, he is not afraid to dogmatize thus against the true God from the prophets whom he does not in fact believe.

CHAPTER 4

SNARES LAID FOR THE GENTILES

“And with us, indeed, who have had handed down from our forefathers the worship of the God who made all things, and also the mystery of the books which are able to deceive, he will not prevail; but with those from amongst the Gentiles who have the polytheistic fancy bred in them, and who know not the falsehoods of the Scriptures, he will prevail much. And not only he; but if any other shall recount to those from among the Gentiles any vain, dreamlike, richly set out story against God, he will be believed, because from their childhood their minds are accustomed to take in things spoken against God. And few there shall be of them, as a few out of a multitude, who through ingenuousness shall not be willing so much as to hear an evil word against the God who made all things. And to these alone from amongst the Gentiles it shall be vouchsafed to be saved. Let not any one of you, therefore, altogether complain of Simon, or of any one

else; for nothing happens unjustly, since even the falsehoods of Scripture are with good reason presented for a test.”

CHAPTER 5

USE OF ERRORS

Then I Clement, hearing this, said: “How say you, my Lord, that even the falsehoods of the Scriptures are set forth happily for the proof of men?” And he answered: “The falsehoods of the Scriptures have been permitted to be written for a certain righteous reason, at the demand of evil. And when I say happily, I mean this: In the account of God, the wicked one, not loving God less than the good one, is exceeded by the good in this one thing only, that he, not pardoning those who are impious on account of ignorance, through love towards that which is profound, desires the destruction of the impious; but the good one desires to present them with a remedy. For the good one desires all to be healed by repentance, but saves those only who know God. But those who know Him not He does not heal: not that He does not wish to do so, hut because it is not lawful to afford to those who, through want of judgment, are like to irrational animals, the good things which have been prepared for the children of the kingdom.

CHAPTER 6

PURGATORY AND HELL

“Such is the nature of the one and only God, who made the world, and who created us, and who has given us all things, that as long as any one is within the limit of piety, and does not blaspheme His Holy Spirit, through His love towards him He brings the soul to Himself by reason of His love towards it. And although it be sinful, it is His nature to save it, after it has been suitably punished for the deeds it hath done. But if any one shall deny Him, or in any other way be guilty of impiety against Him, and then shall repent, he shall be punished indeed for the sins he hath committed against Him, but he shall be saved, because he turned and lived. And

perhaps excessive piety and supplication shall even be delivered from punishment, ignorance being admitted as a reason for the pardon of sin after repentance. But those who do not repent shall be destroyed by the punishment of fire, even though in all other things they are most holy. But, as I said, at an appointed time a fifth part, being punished with eternal fire, shall be consumed. For they cannot endure for ever who have been impious against the one God.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT IS IMPIETY?

“But impiety against Him is, in the matter of religion, to die saying there is another God, whether superior or inferior, or in any way saying that there is one besides Him who really is. For He who truly is, is He whose form the body of man bears; for whose sake the heaven and all the stars, though in their essence superior, submit to serve him who is in essence inferior, on account of the form of the Ruler. So much has God blessed man above all, in order that, loving the Benefactor in proportion to the multitude of His benefits, by means of this love he may be saved for the world to come.

CHAPTER 8

WILES OF THE DEVIL

“Therefore the love of men towards God is sufficient for salvation. And this the wicked one knows; and while we are hastening to sow the love towards Him which makes immortal in the souls of those who from among the Gentiles are ready to believe in the one and only God, this wicked one, having sufficient armor against the ignorant for their destruction, hastens to sow the supposition of many gods, or at least of one greater, in order that men, conceiving and being persuaded of what is not wisdom, may die, as in the crime of adultery, and be cast out from His kingdom.

CHAPTER 9

UNCERTAINTY OF THE SCRIPTURES

“Worthy, therefore, of rejection is every one who is willing so much as to hear anything against the monarchy of God; but if any one dares to hear anything against God, as trusting in the Scriptures, let him first of all consider with me that if any one, as he pleases, form a dogma agreeable to himself, and then carefully search the Scriptures, he will be able to produce many testimonies from them in favor of the dogma that he has formed. How, then, can confidence be placed in them against God, when what every man wishes is found in them?

CHAPTER 10

SIMON’S INTENTION

“Therefore Simon, who is going to discuss in public with us tomorrow, is bold against the monarchy of God, wishing to produce many statements from these Scriptures, to the effect that there are many gods, and a certain one who is not He who made this world, but who is superior to Him; and, at the same time, he is going to offer many scriptural proofs. But we also can easily show many passages from them that He who made the world alone is God, and that there is none other besides Him But if any one shall wish to speak otherwise, he also shall be able to produce proofs from them at his pleasure. For the Scriptures say all manner of things, that no one of those who inquire ungratefully may find the truth, but simply what he wishes to find, the truth being reserved for the grateful now gratitude is to preserve our love to Him who is the cause of our being.

CHAPTER 11

DISTINCTION BETWEEN PREDICTION AND PROPHECY

“Whence it must before all things be known, that nowhere can truth be found unless from a prophet of truth. But He is a true Prophet, who always knows all things, and even the thoughts of all men, who is without sin, as being convinced respecting the judgment of God. Wherefore we ought not simply to consider respecting His foreknowledge, but whether His foreknowledge can stand, apart from other cause. For physicians predict certain things, having the pulse of the patient as matter submitted to them; and some predict by means of having fowls, and some by having sacrifices, and others by having many various matters submitted to them; yet these are not prophets.

CHAPTER 12

THE SAME

“But if any one should say that the foreknowledge shown by these predictions is like to that foreknowledge which is really implanted, he were much deceived. For he only declares such things as being present, and that if he speaks truth. However, even these things are serviceable to me, for they establish that there is such a thing as foreknowledge. But the foreknowledge of the one true Prophet does not only know things present, but stretches out prophecy without limit as far as the world to come, and needs nothing for its interpretation, not prophesying darkly and ambiguously, so that the things spoken would need another prophet for the interpretation of them; but clearly and simply, as our Master and Prophet, by the inborn and ever-flowing Spirit, always knew all things.

CHAPTER 13

PROPHETIC KNOWLEDGE CONSTANT

“Wherefore He confidently made statements respecting things that are to be — I mean sufferings, places, limits. For, being a faultless Prophet, and looking upon all things with the boundless eye of His soul, He knows hidden things. But if we should hold, as many do, that even the true Prophet, not always, but sometimes, when He has the Spirit, and through it, foreknows, but when He has it not is ignorant, — if we should suppose thus, we should deceive ourselves and mislead others. For such a matter belongs to those who are madly inspired by the spirit of disorder — to those who are drunken beside the altars, and are gorged with fat.

CHAPTER 14

PROPHETIC SPIRIT CONSTANT

“For if it were permitted to any one who will profess prophecy to have it believed in the cases in which he was found false, that then he had not the Holy Spirit of foreknowledge, it will be difficult to convict him of being a false prophet; for among the many things that he speaks, a few come to pass, and then he is believed to have the Spirit, although he speaks the first things last, and the last first; speaks of past events as future, and future as already past; and also without sequence; or things borrowed from others and altered, and some that are lessened, unformed, foolish, ambiguous, unseemly, obscure, proclaiming all unconscientiousness.

CHAPTER 15

CHRIST’S PROPHECIES

“But our Master did not prophesy after this fashion; but, as I have already said, being a prophet by an inborn and ever-flowing Spirit, and knowing all things at all times, He confidently set forth, plainly as I said

before, suffer-lugs, places, appointed times, manners, limits. Accordingly, therefore, prophesying concerning the temple, He said: ‘See ye these buildings? Verily I say to you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be taken away; and this generation shall not pass until the destruction begin. For they shall come, and shall sit here, and shall besiege it, and shall slay your children here.” And in like manner He spoke in plain words the things that were straightway to happen, which we can now see with our eyes, in order that the accomplishment might be among those to whom the word was spoken. For the Prophet of truth utters the word of proof in order to the faith of His hearers.

CHAPTER 16

DOCTRINE OF CONJUNCTION

“However, there are many proclaimers of error, having one chief, even the chief of wickedness, just as the Prophet of truth, being one, and being also the chief of piety, shall in His own times have as His prophets all who are found pure. But the chief cause of men being deceived is this, their not understanding beforehand the doctrine of conjunction, which I shall not fail to expound to you in private every day, summarily; for it were too long to speak in detail. Be you therefore to me truth-loving judges of the things that are spoken.

CHAPTER 17

WHETHER ADAM HAD THE SPIRIT

“But I shall begin the statement now. God having made all things, if any one will not allow to a man, fashioned by His hands, to have possessed His great and Holy Spirit of foreknowledge, how does not he greatly err who attributes it to another born of a spurious stock! And I do not think that he will obtain pardon, though he be misled by spurious scripture to think dreadful things against the Father of all. For he who insults the image and the things belonging to the eternal King, has the sin reckoned as committed against Him in whose likeness the image was made. But then,

says he, the Divine Spirit left him when he sinned. In that case the Spirit sinned along with him; and how can he escape peril who says this? But perhaps he received the Spirit after he sinned. Then it is given to the unrighteous; and where is justice? But it was afforded to the just and the unjust. This were most unrighteous of all. Thus every falsehood, though it be aided by ten thousand reasonings, must receive its refutation, though after a long time.

CHAPTER 18

ADAM NOT IGNORANT

"Be not deceived. Our father was ignorant of nothing; since, indeed, even the law publicly current, though charging him with the crime of ignorance for the sake of the unworthy, sends to him those desirous of knowledge, saying, 'Ask your father, and he will tell you; your elders, and they will declare to you.' This father, these ciders ought to be inquired of. But you have not inquired whose is the time of the kingdom, and whose is the seat of prophecy, though He Himself points out Himself, saying, The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things whatsoever they say to you, hear them." Hear them, He said, as entrusted with the key of the kingdom, which is knowledge, which alone can open the gate of life, through which alone is the entrance to eternal life. But truly, He says, they possess the key, but those wishing to enter they do not suffer to do so.

CHAPTER 19

REIGN OF CHRIST

"On this account, I say, He Himself, rising from His seat as a father for his children, proclaiming the things which from the beginning were delivered in secret to the worthy, extending mercy even to the Gentiles, and compassionating the souls of all, neglected His own kindred. For He, being thought worthy to be King of the world to come, fights against him who, by predestination, has usurped the kingdom that now is. And the thing which exceedingly grieved Him is this, that by those very persons for

whom, as for sons, he did battle, He was assailed, on account of their ignorance. And vet He loved even those who hated Him, and wept over the unbelieving, and blessed those who slandered Him, and prayed for those who were enmity against Him. And not only did He o this as a father, but also taught His disciples to do the like, bearing themselves as towards brethren. This did our Father, this did our, Prophet. This is reasonable, that He should be King over His children; that by the affection of a father towards his children, and the engrafted respect of children towards their father, eternal peace might be produced. For when the good man reigneth, there is true joy among those who are ruled over, on account of him who rules.

CHAPTER 20

CHRIST THE ONLY PROPHET HAS APPEARED IN DIFFERENT AGES

"But give heed to my first discourse of the truth. If any one do not allow the man fashioned by the hands of God to have had the Holy Spirit of Christ, how is he not guilty of the greatest impiety in allowing another born of an impure stock to have it? But he would act most piously, if he should not allow to another to have it, but should say that he alone has it, who has changed his forms and his names from the beginning of the world, and so reappeared again and again in the world, until coming upon his own times, and being anointed with mercy for the works of God, he shall enjoy rest for ever. His honor it is to bear rule and lordship over all things, in air, earth, and waters. But in addition to these, himself having made man, he had breath, the indescribable garment of the soul, that he might be able to be immortal.

CHAPTER 21

THE EATING OF THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT DENIED

"He himself being the only true prophet, fittingly gave names to each animal, according to the merits of its nature, as having made it. For if he

gave a name to any one, that was also the name of that which was made, being given by him who made it. How, them had he still need to partake of a tree, that he might know what is good and what is evil, if he was commanded not to eat of it? But this senseless men believe, who think that a reasonless beast was more powerful than the God who made these things.

CHAPTER 22

MALE AND FEMALE

“But a companion was created along with him, a female nature, much differing from him, as quality from substance, as the moon from the sun, as fire from light. She, as a female ruling the present world as her like, was entrusted to be the first prophetess, announcing prophecy with all amongst those born of woman? But the other, as the son of man, being a male, prophesies better things to the world to come as a male.

CHAPTER 23

TWO KINDS OF PROPHECY

“Let us then understand that there are two kinds of prophecy: the one male; and let it be defined that the first, being the male, has been ranked after the other in the order of advent; but the second, being female, has been appointed to come first in the advent of the pairs. This second, therefore, being amongst those born of woman, as the female superintendent of this present world, wishes to be thought masculine. Wherefore, stealing thelseeds of the male, and sowing them with her own seeds of the flesh, she brings forth the fruits — that is, words — as wholly her own. And she promises that she will give the present earthly riches as a dowry, wishing to change the slow for the swift, the small for the greater.

CHAPTER 24

THE PROPHETESS A MISLEADER

“However, she, not only presuming to say and to hear that there are many gods, but also believing herself to be one, and in hope of king that which she had not a nature to be, and throwing away what she had, and as a female being in her courses at the offering of sacrifices, is stained with blood; and then she pollutes those who touch her. But when she conceives and brings forth temporary kings, she stirs up wars, shedding much blood; and those who desire to learn truth from her, by telling them all things contrary, and presenting many and various services, she keeps them always seeking and finding nothing, even until death. For from the beginning a cause of death lies upon blind men; for she, prophesying deceit, and ambiguities, and obliquities, deceives those who believe her.

CHAPTER 25

CAIN’S NAME AND NATURE

“Hence the ambiguous name which she gave to her first-born son, calling him CAIN, which has a capability of interpretation in two ways; for it is interpreted both POSSESSION and ENVY, as signifying that in the future he was to envy either a woman, or possessions, or the love of the parents towards her. But if it be none of these, then it will befall him to be called the POSSESSION. For she possessed him first, which also was advantageous to him. For he was a murderer and a liar, and with his sins was not willing to be at peace with respect to the government. Moreover, those who came forth by succession from him were the first adulterers. And there were psalteries, and harps, and forgers of instruments of war. Wherefore also the prophecy of his descendants being full of adulterers and of psalteries, secretly by means of pleasures excites to wars.

CHAPTER 26

ABEL'S NAME AND NATURE

"But he who amongst the sons Of men had prophecy innate to his soul as belonging to it, expressly, as being a male, indicating the hopes of the world to come, called his own son Abel, which without any ambiguity is translated GRIEF. For he assigns to his sons to grieve over their deceived brethren. He does not deceive them when he promises them comfort in the world to come. When he says that we must pray to one only God, he neither himself speaks of gods, nor does he believe another who speaks of them. He keeps the good which he has, and increases more and more. He hates sacrifices, bloodshed, and libations; he loves the chaste, the pure, the holy. He quenches the fire of altars, represses wars, teaches pious preachers wisdom, purges sins, sanctions marriage, approves temperance, leads all to chastity, makes men liberal, prescribes justice, seals those of them who are perfect, publishes the word of peace, prophesies mention of the eternal fire of punishment, constantly announces the kingdom of God, indicates heavenly riches, promises unfading glory, shows the remission of sins by works.

CHAPTER 27

THE PROPHET AND THE PROPHETESS

"And what need is there to say more? The male is wholly truth, the female wholly falsehood. But he who is born of the male and the female, in some things speaks truth, in some falsehood. For the female, surrounding the white seed of the male with her own blood, as with red fire, sustains her own weakness with the extraneous supports of bones, and, pleased with the temporary flower of flesh, and spoiling the strength of the judgment by short pleasures, leads the greater part into fornication, and thus deprives them of the coming excellent Bridegroom. For every person is a bride, whenever, being sown with the true Prophet's whole word of truth, he is enlightened in his understanding.

CHAPTER 28

SPIRITUAL ADULTERY

“Wherefore, it is fitting to hear the one only Prophet of the truth, knowing that the word that is sown by another bearing the charge of fornication, is, as it were, cast out by the Bridegroom from His kingdom. But to those who know the mystery, death is also produced by spiritual adultery. For whenever the soul is sown by others, then it is forsaken by the Spirit, as guilty of fornication or adultery; and so the living body, the life-giving Spirit being withdrawn, is dissolved into dust, and the rightful punishment of sin is suffered at the time of the judgment by the soul, after the dissolution of the body; even as, among men, she who is caught in adultery is first cast out from the house, and then afterwards is condemned to punishment.”

CHAPTER 29

THE SIGNAL GIVEN

While Peter was about to explain fully to us this mystic word, Zacchaeus came, saying: “Now indeed, O Peter, is the time for you to go out and engage in the discussion; for a great crowd awaits you, packed together in the court; and in the midst of them stands Simon, like a war-chieftain attended by his spearmen.” And Peter, hearing this, ordered me to withdraw for prayer, as not yet having received baptism for salvation, and then said to those who were already perfected: “Let us rise and pray that God, by His unfailing mercies, may help me striving for the salvation of the men whom He has made.” And having thus said, and having prayed, he went out into the uncovered portion of the court, which was a large space; and there were many come together for the purpose of seeing him, his pre-eminence having made them more eagerly hasten to hear.

CHAPTER 30

APOSTOLIC SALUTATION

Therefore, standing and seeing all the people gazing upon him in profound silence, and Simon the magician standing in the midst, he began to speak thus: “Peace be to all you who are in readiness to give your right hands to the truth of God, which, being His great and incomparable gift in the present world, He who sent us, being an infallible Prophet of that which is supremely profitable, gave us in charge, by way of salutation before our words of instruction, to announce to you, in order that if there be any son of peace among you, peace may take hold of him through our teaching; but if any of you will not receive it, then we, shaking off for a testimony the road-dust of our feet, which we have born through our toils, and brought to you that you may be saved, will go to the abodes and the cities of others.

CHAPTER 31

FAITH IN GOD

“And we tell you truly, it shall be more tolerable in the day of judgment to dwell in the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, than in the place of unbelief. In the first place, because you have not preserved of yourselves what is reasonable; in the second place, because, hearing the things concerning us, you have not come to us; and in the third place, because you have disbelieved us when we have come to you. Wherefore, being concerned for you, we pray of our own accord that our peace may come upon you. If therefore ye will have it, you must readily promise not to do injustice, and generously to bear wrong; which the nature of man would not sustain, unless it first received the knowledge of that which is supremely profitable, which is to know the righteous nature of Him who is over all, that He defends and avenges those who are wronged, and does good for ever to the pious.

CHAPTER 32

INVITATION

“Do you, therefore, as thankful servants of God, perceiving of yourselves what is reasonable, take upon you the manner of life that is pleasing to Him, that so, loving Him, and being loved of Him, you may enjoy good for ever. For to Him alone is it most possible to bestow it, who gave being to things that were not, who created the heavens, settled the earth, set bounds to the sea, stored up the things that are in Hades, and filled all places with air.

CHAPTER 33

WORKS OF CREATION

“He alone turned into the four contrary elements the one, first, simple substance. Thus combining them, He made of them myriads of compounds, that, being turned into opposite natures, and mingled, they might effect the pleasure of life from the combination of contraries. In like manner, He alone, having created races of angels and spirits by the FIAT of His will, peopled the heavens; as also He decked the visible firmament with stars, to which also He assigned their paths and arranged their courses. He compacted the earth for the production of fruits. He set bounds to the sea, marking out a dwelling-place on the dry land. He stores up the things in Hades, designating it as the place of souls; and He filled all places with air, that all living creatures might be able to breathe safely in order that they might live.

CHAPTER 34

EXTENT OF CREATION

“O the great hand of the wise God, which doeth all in all! For a countless multitude of birds have been made by Him, and those various, differing in

all respects from one another; I mean in respect of their colors, beaks, talons, looks, senses, voices, and all else. And how many different species of plants, distinguished by boundless variety of colors, qualities, and scents! And how many animals on the land and in the water, of which it were impossible to tell the figures, forms, habitats, color, food, senses, natures, multitude! Then also the multitude and height of mountains, the varieties of stones, awful caverns, fountains, rivers, marshes, seas, harbors, islands, forests, and all the inhabited world, and places uninhabited!

CHAPTER 35

"THESE ARE A PART OF HIS WAYS."

"And how many things besides are unknown, having eluded the sagacity of men! And of those that are within our comprehension, who of mankind knows the limit? I mean. how the heaven rolls, how the stars are born in their courses, and what forms they have, and the subsistence of their being, and what are their ethereal paths. And whence the blasts of winds are born around, and have different energies; whence the fountains ceaselessly spring, and the rivers, being ever flowing, run down into the sea, and neither is that fountain emptied whence they come, nor do they fill that sea whither they come! How far reaches the unfathomable depth of the boundless Tartarus! Upon what the heaven is upborne which encircles all! How the clouds spring from air, and are absorbed into air! What is the nature of thunder and lightning, snow, hail, mist, ice, storms, showers, hanging clouds! And how He makes plants and animals! And these things, with all accuracy, continually perfected in their countless varieties!

CHAPTER 36

DOMINION OVER THE CREATURES

"Therefore, if any one shall accurately scan the whole with reason, he shall find that God has made them for the sake of man. For showers fall for the sake of fruits, that man may partake of them, and that animals may be fed,

that they may be useful to men. And the sun shines, that he may turn the air into four seasons, and that each time may afford its peculiar service to man. And the fountains spring, that drink may be given to men. And, moreover, who is Lord over the creatures, so far as is possible? Is it not man, who has received wisdom to till the earth, to sail the sea: to make fishes, birds, and beasts his prey; to investigate the course of the stars, to mine the earth, to sail the sea; to build cities, to define kingdoms, to ordain laws, to execute justice, to know the invisible God, to be cognizant of the names of angels, to drive away demons, to endeavor to cure diseases by medicines, to find charms against poison-darting serpents, to understand antipathies?

CHAPTER 37

"WHOM TO KNOW IS LIFE ETERNAL."

But if thou art thankful, O man, understanding that God is thy benefactor in all things, thou mayest even be immortal, the things that are made for thee having continuance through thy gratitude. And now thou art able to become incorruptible, if thou acknowledge Him whom thou didst not know, if thou love Him whom thou didst forsake, if thou pray to Him alone who is able to punish or to save thy booty and soul. Wherefore, before all things, consider that no one shares His rule, no one has a name in common with Him — that is, is called God. For He alone is both called and is God. Nor is it lawful to think that there is any other, or to call any other by that name. And if any one should dare do so, eternal punishment of soul is his."

CHAPTER 38

SIMON'S CHALLENGE

When Peter had thus spoken, Simon, at the outside of the crowd, cried aloud: "Why would you lie, and deceive the unlearned multitude standing around you, persuading them that it is unlawful to think that there are gods, and to call them so, when the books that are current among the Jews

say that there are many gods? And now I wish, in the presence of all, to discuss with you from these books on the necessity of thinking that there are gods; first showing respecting him whom you call God, that he is not the supreme and omnipotent Being, inasmuch as he is without foreknowledge, imperfect, needy, not good, and underlying many and innumerable grievous passions. Wherefore, when this has been shown from the Scriptures, as I say, it follows that there is another, not written of, foreknowing, perfect, without want, good, removed froth all grievous passions. But he whom you call the Creator is subject to the opposite evils.

CHAPTER 39

DEFECTS ASCRIBED TO GOD

"Therefore also Adam, being made at first after his likeness, is created blind, and is said not to have knowledge of good or evil, and is found a transgressor, and is driven out of paradise, and is punished with death. In like manner also, he who made him, because be sees not in all places, says with reference to the overthrow of Sodom, 'Come, and let us go down, and see whether they do according to their cry which comes to me; or if not, that I may know.' Thus he shows himself ignorant And in his saying respecting Adam, 'Let us drive him out, lest he put forth his hand and touch the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever;' in saying LEST he is ignorant; and in driving him out lest he should eat and live for ever, he is also envious. And whereas it is written that 'God repented that he had made man,' this implies both repentance and ignorance. For this reflection is a view by which one, through ignorance, wishes to inquire into the result of the things which he wills, or it is the act of one repenting on account of the event not being according to his expectation. And whereas it is written, 'And the Lord smelled a scent of sweetness,' it is the part of one in need; and his being pleased with the fat of flesh is the part of one who is not good. But his tempting, as it is written, 'And God did tempt Abraham,' is the part of one who is wicked, and who is ignorant of the issue of the experiment."

CHAPTER 40

PETER'S ANSWER

In like manner Simon, by taking many passages from the Scriptures, seemed to show that God is subject to every infirmity. And to this Peter said: "Does he who is evil, and wholly wicked, love to accuse himself in the things in which he sins? Answer me this." Then said Simon: "He does not." Then said Peter: "How, then, can God be evil and wicked, seeing that those evil things which have been commonly written regarding Him, have been added by His own will!." Then said Simon: "It may be that the charge against Him is written by another power, and not according to His choice." Then said Peter: "Let us then, in the first place, inquire into this. If, indeed, He has of His own will accused Himself, as you formerly acknowledged, then He is not wicked; but if it is done by another power, it must be inquired and investigated with all energy who hath subjected to all evils Him who alone is good."

CHAPTER 41

"STATUS QUAESTIONIS."

Then said Simon: "You are manifestly avoiding the hearing of the charge from the Scriptures against your God." Then Peter: "You yourself appear to me to be doing this; for he who avoids the order of inquiry, does not wish a true investigation to be made. Hence I, who proceed in an orderly manner, and wish that the writer should first be considered, am manifestly desirous to walk in a straight path." Then Simon: "First confess that if the things written against the Creator are true, he is not above all, since, according to the Scriptures, he is subject to all evil; then afterwards we shall inquire as to the writer." Then said Peter: "That I may not seem to speak against your want of order through unwillingness to enter upon the investigation, I answer you. I say that if the things written against God are true, they do not show that God is wicked." Then said Simon: "How can you maintain that?"

CHAPTER 42

WAS ADAM BLIND?

Then said Peter: “Because things are written opposite to those sayings which speak evil of him; wherefore neither the one nor the other can be confirmed.” Then Simon: “How, then, is the truth to be ascertained, of those Scriptures that say he is evil, or of those that say he is good?” Then Peter: “Whatever sayings of the Scriptures are in harmony with the creation that was made by Him are true, but whatever are contrary to it are false.” Then Simon said: “How can you show that the Scriptures contradict themselves?” And Peter said: “You say that Adam was created blind, which was not so; for He would not have pointed out the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to a blind man, and commanded him not to taste of it.” Then said Simon: “He meant that his mind was blind.” Then Peter: “How could he be blind in respect of his mind, who, before tasting of the tree, in harmony with Him who made him, imposed appropriate names on all the animals?” Then Simon: “If Adam had foreknowledge, how did he not foreknow that the serpent would deceive his wife?” Then Peter: “If Adam had not foreknowledge, how did he give names to the sons of men as they were born with reference to their future doings, calling the first Cain (which is interpreted ‘envy’), who through envy killed his brother Abel (which is interpreted ‘grief’); for his parents grieved over him, the first slain?

CHAPTER 43

GOD’S FOREKNOWLEDGE

“But if Adam, being the work of God, had foreknowledge, much more the God who created him. And that is false which is written that God reflected, as if using reasoning on account of ignorance; and that the Lord tempted Abraham, that He might know if he would endure it; and that which is written, ‘Let us go down, and see if they are doing according to the cry of them which cometh to me; and if not, that I may know.’ And, not to extend my discourse too far, whatever sayings ascribe ignorance to

Him, or anything else that is evil, being upset by other sayings which affirm the contrary, are proved to be false. But because He does indeed foreknow, He says to Abraham, ‘Thou shalt assuredly know that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land that is not their own; and they shall enslave them, and shall evil entreat them, and humble them four hundred years. But the nation to which they shall be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall come out hither with much property; but thou shall depart to thy fathers with peace, being nourished in a good old age; and in the fourth generation they shall return hither, for the sins of the Amorites are hitherto not filled up.’

CHAPTER 44

GOD’S DECREES

“But what? Does not Moses pre-intimate the sins of the people, and predict their dispersion among the nations? But if He gave foreknowledge to Moses, how can it be that He had it not Himself? But He has it. And if He has it, as we have also shown, it is an extravagant saying that He reflected, and that He repented, and that He went down to see, and whatever else of this sort. Whatsoever things being fore-known before they come to pass as about to befall, take issue by a wise economy, without repentance.

CHAPTER 45

SACRIFICES

“But that He is not pleased with sacrifices, is shown by this, that those who lusted after flesh were slain as soon as they tasted it, and were consigned to a tomb, so that it was called the grave of lusts. He then who at the first was displeased with the slaughtering of animals, not wishing them to be slain, did not ordain sacrifices as desiring them; nor from the beginning did He require them. For neither are sacrifices accomplished without the slaughter of animals, nor can the first-fruits be presented. But how is it possible for Him to abide in darkness, and smoke, and storm (for

this also is written), who created a pure heaven, and created the sun to give light to all, and assigned the invariable order of their revolutions to innumerable stars? Thus, O Simon, the handwriting of God — I mean the heaven — shows the counsels of Him who made it to be pure and stable.

CHAPTER 46

DISPARAGEMENTS OF GOD

“Thus the sayings accusatory of the God who made the heaven are both rendered void by the opposite sayings which are alongside of them, and are refuted by the creation. For they were not written by a prophetic hand. Wherefore also they appear opposite to the hand of God, who made all things.” Then said Simon: “How can you show this?”

CHAPTER 47

FOREKNOWLEDGE OF MOSES

Then said Peter: “The law of God was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men, to be handed down, that the government might be carried on by succession. But after that Moses was taken up, it was written by some one, but not by Moses. For in the law itself it is written, ‘And Moses died; and they buried him near the house of Phogor, and no one knows his sepulcher till this day.’ But how could Moses write that Moses died? And whereas in the time after Moses, about 500 years or thereabouts, it is found lying in the temple which was built, and after about 500 years more it is carried away, and being burnt in the time of Nebuchadnezzar it is destroyed; and thus being written after Moses, and often lost, even this shows the foreknowledge of Moses, because he, foreseeing its disappearance, did not write it; but those who wrote it, being convicted of ignorance through their not foreseeing its disappearance, were not prophets.”

CHAPTER 48

TEST OF TRUTH

Then said Simon: “Since, as you say, we must understand the things concerning God by comparing them with the creation, how is it possible to recognize the other things in the law which are from the tradition of Moses, and are true, and are mixed up with these falsehoods?” Then Peter said: “A certain verse has been recorded without controversy in the written law, according to the providence of God, so as to show clearly which of the things written are true and which are false.” Then said Simon: “Which is that? Show it us.”

CHAPTER 49

THE TRUE PROPHET

Then Peter said: “I shall tell you forthwith. It is written in the first book of the law, towards the end: ‘A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until He come whose it is; and He is the expectation of the nations.’ If, therefore, any one can apprehend Him who came after the failure of ruler and leader from Judah, and who was to be expected by the nations, he will be able by this verse to recognize Him as truly having come; and believing His teaching, he will know what of the Scriptures are true and what are false.” Then said Simon: “I understand that you speak of your Jesus as Him who was prophesied of by the scripture. Therefore let it be granted that it is so. Tell us, then, how he taught you to discriminate the I Scriptures.”

CHAPTER 50

HIS TEACHING CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES

Then Peter: “As to the mixture of truth with falsehood, I remember that on one occasion He, finding fault with the Sadducees, said, ‘Wherefore ye

do err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures; and on this account ye are ignorant of the power of God.' But if He cast up to their that they knew not the true things of the Scriptures, it is manifest that there are false things in them. And also, inasmuch as He said, 'Be ye prudent money-changers,' it is because there are genuine and spurious words. And whereas He said, 'Wherefore do ye not perceive that which is reasonable in the Scriptures?' He makes the understanding of him stronger who voluntarily judges soundly.

CHAPTER 51

HIS TEACHING CONCERNING THE LAW

"And His sending to the scribes and teachers of the existing Scriptures, as to those who knew the true things of the law that then was, is well known. And also that He said, 'I am not come to destroy the law,' and yet that He appeared to be destroying it, is the part of one intimating that the things which He destroyed did not belong to the law. And His saying, 'The heaven and the earth shall pass away, but one jot or one tittle shall not pass froth the law,' intimated that the things which pass away before the heaven and the earth do not belong to the law in reality.

CHAPTER 52

OTHER SAYINGS OF CHRIST

"Since, then, while the heaven and the earth still stand, sacrifices have passed away, and kingdoms, and prophecies among those who are born of woman, and such like, as not being ordinances of God; hence therefore He says, 'Every plant which the heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up.' Wherefore He, being the true Prophet, said, 'I am the gate of life; he who entereth through me entereth into life,' there being no other teaching able to save. Wherefore also He cried, and said, 'Come unto me, all who labor,' that is, who are seeking the truth, and not finding it; and again, 'My sheep hear my voice;' and elsewhere, 'Seek and find,' since the truth does not lie on the surface.

CHAPTER 53

OTHER SAYINGS OF CHRIST

“But also a witnessing voice was heard from heaven, saying, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him.’ And in addition to this, willing to convict more fully of error the prophets from whom they asserted that they had learned, He proclaimed that they died desiring the truth, but not having learned it, saying, ‘Many prophets and kings desired to see what ye see, and to hear what you hear; and verily I say to you, they neither saw nor heard.’ Still further He said, ‘I am he concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying, A Prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me: Him hear in all things; and whosoever will not hear that Prophet shall die.’

CHAPTER 54

OTHER SAYINGS

“Whence it is impossible without His teaching to attain to saving truth, though one seek it for ever where the thing that is sought is not. But it was, and is, in the word of our Jesus. Accordingly, He, knowing the true things of the law, said to the Sadducees, asking on what account Moses permitted to marry seven, “Moses gave you commandments according to your hard-heartedness; for from the beginning it was not so: for He who created man at first, made him male and female.’

CHAPTER 55

TEACHING OF CHRIST

“But to those who think, as the Scriptures teach, that God swears, He said, ‘Let your yea be yea, and nay, nay; for what is more than these is of the evil one.’ And to those who say that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob are dead, He said, ‘God is not of the dead, but of the living.’ And to those

who suppose that God tempts, as the Scriptures say, He said, ‘The tempter is the wicked one,’ who also tempted Himself. To those who suppose that God does not foreknow, He said, ‘For your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things before ye ask Him.’ And to those who believe, as the Scriptures say, that He does not see all things, He said, ‘Pray in secret, and your Father, who seeth secret things, will reward you.’

CHAPTER 56

TEACHING OF CHRIST

“And to those who think that He is not good, as the Scriptures say, He said, ‘From which of you shall his son ask bread, and he will give him a stone; or shall ask a fish, and he will give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to those who ask Him, and to those who do His will!’ But to those who affirmed that He was in the temple, He said, ‘Swear not by heaven, for it is God’s throne; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet.’ And to those who supposed that God is pleased with sacrifices, He said, ‘God wishes mercy, and not sacrifices’ — the knowledge of Himself, and not holocausts.

CHAPTER 57

TEACHING OF CHRIST

“But to those who are persuaded that He is evil, as the Scriptures say, He said, ‘Call not me good, for One only is good.’ And again, ‘Be ye good and merciful, as your Father in the heavens, who makes the sun rise on good and evil men, and brings rain upon just and unjust.’ But to those who were misled to imagine many gods, as the Scriptures say, He said, ‘Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God is one Lord.’”

CHAPTER 58

FLIGHT OF SIMON

Therefore Simon, perceiving that Peter was driving him to use the Scriptures as Jesus taught, was unwilling that the discussion should go into the doctrine concerning God, even although Peter had changed the discussion into question and answer, as Simon himself asked. However, the discussion occupied three days. And while the fourth was dawning, he set off darkling as far as Tyre of Phoenicia. And not many days after, some of the precursors came and said to Peter: “Simon is doing great miracles in Tyre, and disturbing many of the people there; and by many slanders he has made you to be hated.”

CHAPTER 59

PETER’S RESOLUTION TO FOLLOW

Peter, hearing this, on the following night assembled the multitude of hearers; and as soon as they were come together, he said: “While I am going forth to the nations which say that there are many gods, to teach and to preach that God is one, who made heaven and earth, and all things that are in them, in order that they may love Him and be saved, evil has anticipated me, and by the very law of conjunction has sent Simon before me, in order that these men, if they shall cease to say that there are many gods, disowning those upon earth that are called gods, may think that there are many gods in heaven; so that, not feeling the excellency of the monarchy, they may perish with eternal punishment. And what is most dreadful, since true doctrine has incomparable power, he forestalls me with slanders, and persuades them to this, not even at first to receive me; lest he who is the slanderer be convicted of being himself in reality a devil, and the true doctrine be received and believed. Therefore I must quickly catch him up, lest the false accusation, through gaining time, wholly get hold of all men.

CHAPTER 60

SUCCESSOR TO BE APPOINTED

“Since, therefore, it is necessary to set apart some one instead of me to fill my place, let us all with one consent pray to God, that He would make manifest who amongst us is the best, that, sitting in the chair of Christ, he may piously rule His Church. Who, then, shall be set apart? For by the counsel of God that man is set forth as blessed, ‘whom his Lord shall appoint over the ministry of his fellow-servants, to give them their meat in their season, not thinking and saying in his heart, My Lord delayeth His coming, and who shall not begin to beat his fellow-servants, eating and drinking with harlots and drunkards. And the Lord of that servant shall come in an hour when he doth not look for Him, and in a day when he is not aware, and shall cut him in sunder, and shall assign his unfaithful part with the hypocrites.’

CHAPTER 61

MONARCHY

“But if any one of those present, being able to instruct the ignorance of men, shrink from it, thinking only of his own ease, let him expect to hear this sentence: ‘O wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have given my money to the exchangers, and I at my coming should have got my own. Cast out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness.’ And with good reason; ‘for,’ says He, ‘it is thine, O man, to prove my words, as silver and money are proved among the exchangers.’ Therefore the multitude of the faithful ought to obey some one, that they may live in harmony. For that which tends to the government of one person, in the form of monarchy, enables the subjects to enjoy peace by means of good order; but in case of all, through desire of ruling, being unwilling to submit to one only, they must altogether fall by reason of division.

CHAPTER 62

OBEDIENCE LEADS TO PEACE

“But, further, let the things that are happening before your eyes persuade you; how wars are constantly arising through there being now many kings all over the earth. For each one holds the government of another as a pretext for war. But if one were universal superior, he, having no reason why he should make war, would have perpetual peace. In short, therefore, to those who are thought worthy of eternal life, God appoints one universal King in the world that shall then be, that by means of monarchy there may be unfailing peace. It behoves all, therefore, to follow some one as a leader, honoring him as the image of God; and it behoves the leader to be acquainted with the road that entereth into the holy city.

CHAPTER 63

ZACCHAEUS APPOINTED

“But of those who are present, whom shall I choose but Zacchaeus, to whom also the Lord went in and rested, judging him worthy to be saved?” And having said this, he laid his hand upon Zacchaeus, who stood by, and forced him to sit down in his own chair. But Zacchaeus, falling at his feet, begged that he would permit him to decline the rulership; promising, at the same time, and saying, “Whatever it behoves the ruler to do, I will do; only grant me not to have this name; for I am afraid of assuming the name of the rulership, for it teems with bitter envy and danger. “

CHAPTER 64

THE BISHOPRIC

Then Peter said: “If you are afraid of this, do not be called RULER, but THE APPOINTED ONE, the Lord having permitted you to be so called, when He said, ‘Blessed is that man whom his Lord shall APPOINT to the

ministry of his fellow-servants.’ But if you wish it to be altogether unknown that you have authority of administration, you seem to me to be ignorant that the acknowledged authority of the president has great influence as regards the respect of the multitude. For every one obeys him who has received authority, having conscience as a great constraint. And are you not well aware that you are not to rule as the rulers of the nations, but as a servant ministering to them, as a father to the oppressed, visiting them as a physician, guarding them as a shepherd, — in short, taking all care for their salvation? And do you think that I am not aware what labors I compel you to undertake, desiring you to be judged by multitudes whom it is impossible for any one to please? But it is most possible for him who does well to please God. Wherefore I entreat you to undertake it heartily, by God, by Christ, for the salvation of the brethren, for their ordering, and your own profit.

CHAPTER 65

NOLE EPISCOPARI

“And consider this other thing, that in proportion as there is labor and danger in ruling the Church of Christ, so much greater is the reward. And yet again the greater is also the punishment to him who can, and refuses. I wish, therefore, knowing that you are the best instructed of my attendants, to turn to account those noble powers of judging with which you have been entrusted by the Lord, in order that you may be saluted with the WELL DONE, GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT, and not be found fault with, and declared liable to punishment, like him who hid the one talent. But if you will not be appointed a good guardian of the Church, point out another in your stead, more learned and more faithful than yourself. But you cannot do this; for you associated with the Lord, and witnessed His marvelous doings, and learned the administration of the Church.

CHAPTER 66

DANGER OF DISOBEDIENCE

“And your work is to order what things are proper; and that of the brethren is to submit, and not to disobey. Therefore submitting they shall be saved, but disobeying they shall be punished by the Lord, because the president is entrusted with the place of Christ. Wherefore, indeed, honor or contempt shown to the president is handed on to Christ, and from Christ to God. And this I have said, that these brethren may not be ignorant of the danger they incur by disobedience to you, because whosoever disobeys your orders, disobeys Christ; and he who disobeys Christ offends God.

CHAPTER 67

DUTIES OF CHURCH OFFICE-BEARERS

“It is necessary, therefore, that the Church, as a city built upon a hill, have an order approved of God, and good government. In particular, let the bishop, as chief, be heard in the things which he speaks; and let the elders give heed that the things ordered be done. Let the deacons, going about, look after the bodies and the souls of the brethren, and report to the bishop. Let all the rest of the brethren bear wrong patiently; but if they wish judgment to be given concerning wrongs done to them, let them be reconciled in presence of the elders; and let the elders report the reconciliation to the bishop.

CHAPTER 68

“MARRIAGE ALWAYS HONORABLE.”

“And let them inculcate marriage not only upon the young, but also upon those advanced in years, lest burning lust bring a plague upon the Church by reason of whoredom or adultery. For, above every other sin, the

wickedness of adultery is hated by God, because it not only destroys the person himself who sins, but those also who eat and associate with him. For it is like the madness of a dog, because it has the nature of communicating its own madness. For the sake of chastity, therefore, let not only the elders, but even all, hasten to accomplish marriage. For the sin of him who commits adultery necessarily comes upon all. Therefore, to urge the brethren to be chaste, this is the first charity. For it is the healing of the soul. For the nourishment of the body is rest.

CHAPTER 69

NOT FORSAKING THE ASSEMBLING OF YOURSELVES TOGETHER.”

“But if you love your brethren, take nothing from them, but share with them such things as ye have. Feed the hungry; give drink to the thirsty; clothe the naked; visit the sick; so far as you can, help those in prison; receive strangers gladly into your own abodes; hate no one. And how you must be pious, your own mind will teach you, judging rightly. But before all else, if indeed I need say it to you, come together frequently, if it were every hour, especially on the appointed days of meeting. For if you do this, you are within a wall of safety. For disorderliness is the beginning of perdition. Let no one therefore forsake the assembly on the ground of envy towards a brother. For if any one of you forsake the assembly, he shall be regarded as of those who scatter the Church of Christ, and shall be cast out with adulterers. For as an adulterer, under the influence of the spirit that is in him, he separates himself on some pretext, and gives place to the wicked one against himself, — a sheep for the stealing, as one found outside the fold.

CHAPTER 70

“HEAR THE BISHOP.”

“However, hear your bishop, and do not weary of giving all honor to him; knowing that, by showing it to him, it is born to Christ, and from Christ it

is born to God; and to him who offers it, is requited manifold. Honor, therefore, the throne of Christ. For you are commanded even to honor the chair of Moses, and that although they who occupy it are accounted sinners. And now I have said enough to you; and I deem it superfluous to say to him how he is to live unblameably, since he is an approved disciple of Him who taught me also.

CHAPTER 71

VARIOUS DUTIES OF CHRISTIANS

“But, brethren, there are some things that you must not wait to hear, but must consider of yourselves what is reasonable. Zacchaeus alone having given himself up wholly to labor for you, and needing sustenance, and not being able to attend to his own affairs, how can he procure necessary support? Is it not reasonable that you are to take forethought for his living? not waiting for his asking you, for this is the part of a beggar. But he will rather die of hunger than submit to do this. And shall not you incur punishment, not considering that the workman is worthy of his hire? And let no one say: Is, then, the word sold which was freely given? Far be it. For if any one has the means of living, and takes anything, he sells the word; but if he who has not takes support in order to live — as the Lord also took at supper and among His friends, having nothing, though He alone is the owner of all things — he sins not. Therefore suitably honor elders, catechists, useful deacons, widows who have lived well, orphans as children of the Church. But wherever there is need of any provision for an emergency, contribute all together. Be kind one to another, not shrinking from the endurance of anything whatever for your own salvation.”

CHAPTER 72

ORDINATION

And having thus spoken, he placed his hand upon Zacchaeus, saying, “O Thou Ruler and Lord of all, Father and God, do Thou guard the shepherd with the flock. Thou art the cause, Thou the power. We are that which is

helped; Thou the helper, the physician, the savior, the wall, the life, the hope, the refuge, the joy, the expectation, the rest. In a word, Thou art all things to us. In order to the eternal attainment of salvation, do Thou co-operate, preserve, protect. Thou canst do all things. For Thou art the Ruler of rulers, the Lord of lords, the Governor of kings. Do Thou give power to the president to loose what ought to be loosed, to bind what ought to be bound. Do Thou make him wise. Do Thou, as by His name, protect the Church of Thy Christ as a fair bride. For Thine is eternal glory. Praise to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost to all ages. Amen."

CHAPTER 73

BAPTISMS

And having thus spoken, he afterwards said: "Whoever of you Wish to be baptized, begin from tomorrow to fast, and have hands laid upon you day by day, and inquire about what matters you please. For I mean still to remain with you ten days." And after three days, having begun to baptize, he called me, and Aquila, and Nicetas, and said to us: "As I am going to set out for Tyre after seven days, I wish you to go away this very day, and to lodge secretly with Bernice the Canaanite, the daughter of Justa, and to learn from her, and write accurately to me what Simon is about. For this is of great consequence to me, that I may prepare myself accordingly. Therefore depart straightway in peace." And leaving him baptizing, as he commanded, we preceded him to Tyre of Phoenicia.

HOMILY 4

CHAPTER 1

BERNICE'S HOSPITALITY

THUS I Clement, departing from Caesarea Stratonis, together with Nicetas and Aquila, entered into Tyre of Phoenicia; and according to the injunction of Peter, who sent us, we lodged with Bernice, the daughter of Justa the Canaanitess. She received us most joyfully; and striving with much honor towards me, and with affection towards Aquila and Nicetas, and speaking freely as a friend, through joy she treated us courteously, and hospitably urged us to take bodily refreshment. Perceiving, therefore, that she was endeavoring to impose a short delay upon us, I said: "You do well, indeed, to busy yourself in fulfilling the part of love; but the fear of our God must take the precedence of this. For, having a combat on hand on behalf of many souls, we are afraid of preferring our own ease before their salvation.

CHAPTER 2

SIMON'S PRACTICES

"For we hear that Simon the magician, being worsted at Caesarea in the discussion with our Lord Peter, immediately hastened hither, and is doing much mischief. For he is slandering Peter, in opposition to truth, to all the adversaries, and stealing away the souls of the multitude. For he being a magician, calls him a magician; and he being a deceiver, proclaims him as a deceiver. And although in the discussions he was beaten in all points, and fled, yet he says that he was victorious; and he constantly charges them that they ought not to listen to Peter, — as if, forsooth, he were anxious that they may not be fascinated by a terrible magician.

CHAPTER 3

OBJECT OF THE MISSION

“Therefore our Lord Peter, having learned these things, has sent us to be investigators of the things that have been told him; that if they be so, we may write to him and let him know, so that he may come and convict him face to face of the accusations that he has uttered against him. Since, therefore, danger on the part of many souls lies before us, on this account we must neglect bodily rest for a short time; and we would learn truly from you who live here, whether the things which we have heard be true. Now tell us particularly.”

CHAPTER 4

SIMON’S DOINGS

But Bernice, being asked, said: “These things are indeed as you have heard; and I will tell you other things respecting this same Simon, which perhaps you do not know. For he astonishes the whole city every day, by making specters and ghosts appear in the midst of the market-place; and when he walks abroad, statues move, and many shadows go before him, which, he says, are souls of the dead. And many who attempted to prove him an impostor he speedily reconciled to him; and afterwards, under pretense of a banquet, having slain an ox, and given them to eat of it, he infected them with various diseases, and subjected them to demons. And in a word, having injured many, and being supposed to be a God, he is both feared and honored.”

CHAPTER 5

DISCRETION THE BETTER PART OF VALOR

“Wherefore I do not think that any one will be able to quench such a fire as has been kindled. For no one doubts his promises; but every one affirms

that this is so. Wherefore, lest you should expose yourselves to danger, I advise you not to attempt anything against him until Peter come, who alone shall be able to resist such a power, being the most esteemed disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ. For so much do I fear this man, that if he had not elsewhere been vanquished in disputing with my Lord Peter, I should counsel you to persuade even Peter himself not to attempt to oppose Simon."

CHAPTER 6

SIMON'S DEPARTURE

Then I said: "If our Lord Peter did not know that he himself alone can prevail against this power, he would not have sent us before him with orders to get information secretly concerning Simon, and to write to him." Then, as evening had come on, we took supper, and went to sleep. But in the morning, one of Bernice's friends came and said that Simon had set sail for Sidon, and that he had left behind him Appion Pleistonices, — a man of Alexandria, a grammarian by profession, whom I knew as being a friend of my father; and a certain astrologer, Annubion the Diospolitan, and Athenodorus the Athenian, attached to the doctrine of Epicurus. And we, having learned these things concerning Simon, in the morning wrote and despatched a letter to Peter, and went to take a walk.

CHAPTER 7

APPION'S SALUTATION

And Appion met us, not only with the two companions just named, but with about thirty other men. And as soon as he saw me, he saluted and kissed me, and said, "This is Clement, of whose noble birth and liberal education I have often told you; for he, being related to the family of Tiberius Caesar, and equipped with all Grecian learning, has been seduced by a certain barbarian called Peter to speak and act after the manner of the Jews. Wherefore I beg of you to strive together with me for the setting of him right. And in your presence I now ask him. Let him tell me, since he

thinks that he has devoted himself to piety, whether he is not acting most impiously, in forsaking the customs of his country, and falling away to those of the barbarians."

CHAPTER 8

A CHALLENGE

I answered: "I accept, indeed, your kindly affection towards me, but I take exception to your ignorance. For your affection is kindly, because you wish to continue in those customs which you consider to be good. But your inaccurate knowledge strives to lay a snare for me, under the guise of friendship." Then said Appion: "Does it seem to you to be ignorance, that one should observe the customs of his fathers, and judge after the manner of the Greeks?" Then I answered: "It behoves one who desires to be pious not altogether to observe the customs of his fathers; but to observe them if they be pious, and to shake them off if they be impious. For it is possible that one who is the son of an impious father, if he wishes to be pious, should not desire to follow the religion of his father." Then answered Appion: "What then? Do you say that your father was a man of an evil life?" Then said I: "He was not of an evil life, but of an evil opinion." Then Appion: "I should like to know what was his evil apprehension." Then said I: "Because he believed the false and wicked myths of the Greeks." Then Appion asked: "What are these false and evil myths of the Greeks?" Then I said: "The wrong opinion concerning the gods, which, if you will bear with me, you shall hear, with those who are desirous to learn.

CHAPTER 9

UNWORTHY ENDS OF PHILOSOPHERS

"Wherefore, before beginning our conversation, let us now withdraw into some quieter place, and there I shall converse with you. And the reason why I wish to speak privately is this, because neither the multitude, nor even all the philosophers, approach honestly to the judgment of things as they are. For we know many, even of those who pride themselves on their

philosophy, who are vainglorious, or who have put on the philosopher's robe for the sake of gain, and not for the sake of virtue itself; and they, if they do not find that for which they take to philosophy, turn to mockery. Therefore, on account of such as these, let us choose some place fit for private conference."

CHAPTER 10

A COOL RETREAT

And a certain one amongst them — a rich man, and possessing a garden of evergreen plants — said: "Since it is very hot, let us retire for a little from the city to my gardens." Accordingly they went forth, and sat down in a place where there were pure streams of cool water, and a green shade of all sorts of trees. There I sat pleasantly, and the others round about me; and they being silent, instead of a verbal request made to me, showed by their eager looks to me that they required the proof of my assertion. And therefore I proceeded to speak thus: —

CHAPTER 11

TRUTH AND CUSTOM

"There is a certain great difference, O men of Greece, between truth and custom. For truth is found when it is honestly sought; but custom, whatsoever be the character of the custom received, whether true or false, is strengthened by itself without the exercise of judgment; and he who has received it is neither pleased with it as being true, nor grieved with it as false. For such an one has believed not by judgment, but by prejudice, resting his own hope on the opinion of those who have lived before him on a mere peradventure. And it is not easy to cast off the ancestral garment, though it be shown to himself to be wholly foolish and ridiculous.

CHAPTER 12

GENESIS

“Therefore I say that the whole learning of the Greeks is a most dreadful fabrication of a wicked demon. For they have introduced many gods of their own, and these wicked, and subject to all kinds of passion; so that he who wishes to do the like things may not be ashamed, which belongs to a man, having as an example the wicked and unquiet lives of the mythological gods. And through his not being ashamed, such an one affords no hope of his repenting. And others have introduced fate, which is called genesis, contrary to which no one can suffer or do anything. This, therefore, also is like to the first. For any one who thinks that no one has aught to do or suffer contrary to genesis easily falls into sin; and having sinned, he does not repent of his impiety, holding it as his apology that he was born on by genesis to do these things. And as he cannot rectify genesis, he has no reason to be ashamed of the sins he commits.

CHAPTER 13

DESTINY

“And others introduce an unforeseeing destiny, as if all things revolved of their own accord, without the superintendence of any master. But thus to think these things is, as we have said, the most grievous of all opinions. For, as if there were no one superintending and fore-judging and distributing to every one according to his deserving, they easily do everything as they can through fearlessness. Therefore those who have such opinions do not easily, or perhaps do not at all, live virtuously; for they do not foresee the danger which might have the effect of converting them. But the doctrine of the barbarous Jews, as you call them, is most pious, introducing One as the Father and Creator of all this world, by nature good and righteous; good, indeed, as pardoning sins to those who repent; but righteous, as visiting to every one after repentance according to the worthiness of his doings.

CHAPTER 14

"DOCTRINE ACCORDING TO GODLINESS."

"This doctrine, even if it also be mythical, being pious, would not be without advantage for this life. For every one, in expectation of being judged by the all-seeing God, receives the greater impulse towards virtue. But if the doctrine be also true, it withdraws him who has lived virtuously from eternal punishment, and endows him with eternal and unspeakable blessings from God.

CHAPTER 15

WICKEDNESS OF THE GODS

"But I return to the foremost doctrine of the Greeks, that which states in stories that there are gods many, and subject to all kinds of passions. And not to spend much time upon things that are clear, referring to the impious deeds of every one of those who are called gods, I could not tell all their amours; those of Zeus and Poseidon, of Pluto and Apollo, of Dionysus and Hercules, and of them all singly. And of these you are yourselves not ignorant, and have been taught their manners of life, being instructed in the Grecian learning, that, as competitors with the gods, you might do like things.

CHAPTER 16

WICKEDNESS OF JUPITER

"But I shall begin with the most royal Zeus, whose father Kronos, having, as you say, devoured his own children, and having shorn off the members of his father Uranus with a sickle of adamant, showed to those who are zealous for the mysteries of the gods an example of piety towards parents and of love towards children. And Jupiter himself bound his own father, and imprisoned him in Tartarus; and he also punishes the other gods. And

for those who wish to do things not to be spoken of, he begat Metis, and devoured her. But Metis was seed; for it is impossible to devour a child. And for an excuse to abusers of themselves with mankind, he carries away Ganymedes. And as a helper of adulterers in their adultery, he is often found an adulterer. And to those who wish to commit incest with sisters, he sets the example in his intercourse with his sisters Hera and Demeter, and the heavenly Aphrodite, whom some call Dodona. And to those who wish to commit incest with their daughters, there is a wicked example from his story, in his committing incest with Persephone. But in myriads of instances he acted impiously, that by reason of his excessive wickedness the fable of his being a God might be received by impious men.

CHAPTER 17

"THEIR MAKERS ARE LIKE UNTO THEM."

"You will hold it reasonable for ignorant men to be moderately indignant at these fancies. But what must we say to the learned, some of whom, professing themselves to be grammarians and sophists, affirm that these acts are worthy of gods? For, being themselves incontinent, they lay hold of this mythical pretext; and as imitators of the gods, they practice unseemly things with freedom.

CHAPTER 18

SECOND NATURE

"On this account, they who live in the country sin much less than they do, not having been indoctrinated in those things in which they have been indoctrinated who dare do these things, having learned from evil instruction to be impious. For they who from their childhood learn letters by means of such fables, while their soul is yet pliant, engraft the impious deeds of those who are called gods into their own minds; whence, when they are grown up, they ripen fruit, like evil seeds cast into the soul. And what is worst of all, the rooted impurities cannot be easily cut down, when they are perceived to be bitter by them when they have attained to

manhood. For every one is pleased to remain in those habits which he forms in childhood; and thus, since custom is not much less powerful than nature, they become difficult to be converted to those good things which were not sown in their souls from the beginning.

CHAPTER 19

"WHERE IGNORANCE IS BLISS."

"Wherefore it behoves the young not to be satisfied with those corrupting lessons, and those who are in their prime should carefully avoid listening to the mythologies of the Greeks. For lessons about their gods are much worse than ignorance, as we have shown from the case of those dwelling in the country, who sin less through their not having been instructed by Greeks. Truly, such fables of theirs, and spectacles, and books, ought to be shunned, and if it were possible, even their cities. For those who are full of evil learning, even with their breath infect as with madness those who associate with them, with their own passions. And what is worst, whoever is most instructed among them, is so much the more turned from the judgment which is according to nature.

CHAPTER 20

FALSE THEORIES OF PHILOSOPHERS

"And some of those amongst them who even profess to be philosophers, assert that such sins are indifferent, and say that those who are indignant at such practices are senseless. For they say that such things are not sins by nature, but have been proscribed by laws made by wise men in early times, through their knowing that men, through the instability of their minds, being greatly agitated on these accounts, wage war with one another; for which reason, wise men have made laws to proscribe such things as sins. But this is a ridiculous supposition. For how can they be other than sins, which are the cause of tumults, and murders, and every confusion? For do not shortcomings of life and many more evils proceed from adultery?

CHAPTER 21

EVILS OF ADULTERY

“But why, it is said, if a man is ignorant of his wife’s being an adulteress, is he not indignant, enraged, distracted? why does he not make war? Thus these things are not evil by nature, but the unreasonable opinion of men make them terrible. But I say, that even if these dreadful things do not occur, it is usual for a woman, through association with an adulterer, either to forsake her husband, or if she continue to live with him, to plot against him, or to bestow upon the adulterer the goods procured by the labor of her husband; and having conceived by the adulterer while her husband is absent, to attempt the destruction of that which is in her womb, through shame of conviction, and so to become a child-murderer; or even, while destroying it, to be destroyed along with it. But if while her husband is at home she conceives by the adulterer and bears a child, the child when he grows up does not know his father, and thinks that he is his father who is not; and thus he who is not the father, at his death leaves his substance to the child of another. And how many other evils naturally spring from adultery! And the secret evils we do not know. For as the mad dog destroys all that he touches, infecting them with the unseen madness, so also the hidden evil of adultery, though it be not known, effects the cutting off of posterity.

CHAPTER 22

A MORE EXCELLENT WAY

“But let us pass over this now. But this we all know, that universally men are beyond measure enraged on account of it, that wars have been waged, that there have been overthrows of houses, and captures of cities, and myriads of other evils. On this account I betook myself to the holy God and law of the Jews, putting my faith in the well-assured conclusion that the law has been assigned by the righteous judgment of God, and that the soul must at some time receive according to the desert of its deeds.”

CHAPTER 23

"WHITHER SHALL I GO FROM THY PRESENCE?"

When I had thus spoken, Appion broke in upon my discourse. "What!" said he; "do not the laws of the Greeks also forbid wickedness, and punish adulterers?" Then said I: "Then the gods of the Greeks, who acted contrary to the laws, deserve punishment. But how shall I be able to restrain myself, if I suppose that the gods themselves first practiced all wickednesses as well as adultery, and did not suffer punishment; whereas they ought the rather to have suffered, as not being slaves to lust? But if they were subject to it, how were they gods?" Then Appion said: "Let us have in our eye not the gods, but the judges; and looking to them, we shall be afraid to sin." Then I said: "This is not fitting, O Appion: for he who has his eye upon men will dare to sin, in hope of escaping detection; but he who sets before his soul the all-seeing God, knowing that he cannot escape His notice, will refrain from sinning even in secret."

CHAPTER 24

ALLEGORY

When Appion heard this, he said: "I knew, ever since I heard that you were consorting with Jews, that you had alienated your judgment. For it has been well said by some one, Evil communications corrupt good manners.'" Then said I: "Therefore good communications correct evil manners." And Appion said: "Today I am fully satisfied to have learned your position; therefore I permitted you to speak first. But tomorrow, in this place, if it is agreeable to you, I will show, in the presence of these friends when they meet, that our gods are neither adulterers, nor murderers, nor corrupters of children, nor guilty of incest with sisters or daughters. But the ancients, wishing that only lovers of learning should know the mysteries, veiled them with those fables of which you have spoken. For they speak physiologically of boiling substance under the name of Zen, and of time under that of Kronos, and of the ever-flowing nature of water under that of Rhea. However, as I have promised, I shall

tomorrow exhibit the truth of things, explaining them one by one to you when you come together in the morning." In reply to this I said: "Tomorrow, as you have promised, so do. But now hear something in opposition to what you are going to say.

CHAPTER 25

AN ENGAGEMENT FOR TOMORROW

"If the doings of the gods, being good, have been veiled with evil fables, the wickedness of him who wove the veil is shown to have been great, because he concealed noble things with evil narratives, that no one imitate them. But if they really did things impious, they ought, on the contrary, to have veiled them with good narratives, lest men, regarding them as their superiors, should set about sinning in like manner." As I spoke thus, those present were evidently beginning to be well-disposed towards the words spoken by me; for they repeatedly and earnestly asked me to come on the following day, and departed.

HOMILY 5

CHAPTER 1

APPION DOES NOT APPEAR

THE next day, therefore, in Tyre, as we had agreed, I came to the quiet place, and there I found the rest, with some others also. Then I saluted them. But as I did not see Appion, I asked the reason of his not being present; and some one said that he had been unwell ever since last evening. Then, when I said that it was reasonable that we should immediately set out to visit him, almost all begged me first to discourse to them, and that then we could go to see him. Therefore, as all were of one opinion, I proceeded to say: —

CHAPTER 2

CLEMENT'S PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF APPION

"Yesterday, when I left this, O friends, I confess that, through much anxiety about the discussion that was to take place with Appion, I was not able to get any sleep. And while I was unable to sleep, I remembered a trick that I played upon him in Rome. It was this. From my boyhood I Clement was a lover of truth, and a seeker of the things that are profitable for the soul, and spending my time in raising and refuting theories; but being unable to find anything perfect, through distress of mind I fell sick. And while I was confined to bed Appion came to Rome, and being my father's friend, he lodged with me; and hearing that I was in bed, he came to me, as being not unacquainted with medicine, and inquired the cause of my being in bed. But I, being aware that the man exceedingly hated the Jews, as also that he had written many books against them, and that he had formed a friendship with this Simon, not through desire of learning, but because he knew that he was a Samaritan and a hater of the Jews, and that he had come forth in opposition to the Jews, therefore he had formed

an alliance with him, that he might learn something from him against the Jews;

CHAPTER 3

CLEMENT'S TRICK

"I knowing this before concerning Appion, as soon as he asked me the cause of my sickness, answered feignedly, that I was suffering and distressed in my mind after the manner of young men. And to this he said, 'My son, speak freely as to a father: what is your soul's ailment?' And when I again groaned feignedly, as being ashamed to speak of love, by means of silence and down-looking I conveyed the impression of what I wished to intimate. But he, being persuaded that I was in love with a woman, said: 'There is nothing in life which does not admit of help. For indeed I myself, when I was young, being in love with a most accomplished woman, not only thought it impossible to obtain her, but did not even hope ever to address her. And yet, having fallen in with a certain Egyptian who was exceedingly well versed in magic, and having become his friend, I disclosed to him my love, and not only did he assist me in all that I wished, but, honoring me more bountifully, he hesitated not to teach me an incantation by means of which I obtained her; and as soon as I had obtained her, by means of his secret instruction, being persuaded by the liberality of my teacher, I was cured of love.

CHAPTER 4

APPION'S UNDERTAKING

"'Whence, if you also suffer any such thing after the manner of men, use freedom with me with all security; for within seven days I shall put you fully in possession of her.' When I heard this, looking at the object I had in view, I said: 'Pardon me that I do not altogether believe in the existence of magic; for I have already tried many who have made many promises, and have deceived me. However, your undertaking influences me, and leads me to hope. But when I think of the matter, I am afraid that the demons are

sometimes not subject to the magicians with respect to the things that are commanded them.’

CHAPTER 5

THEORY OF MAGIC

“Then Appion said: ‘Admit that I know more of these things than you do. However, that you may not think that there is nothing in what you have heard from me in reference to what you have said, I will tell you how the demons are under necessity to obey the magicians in the matters about which they are commanded. For as it is impossible for a soldier to contradict his general, and impossible for the generals themselves to disobey the king — for if any one oppose those set over him, he is altogether deserving of punishment — so it is impossible for the demons not to serve the angels who are their generals; and when they are adjured by them, they yield trembling, well knowing that if they disobey they shall be fully punished. But the angels also themselves, being adjured by the magicians in the name of their ruler, obey, lest, being found guilty of disobedience, they be destroyed. For unless all things that are living and rational foresaw vengeance from the ruler, confusion would ensue, all revolting against one another.’

CHAPTER 6

SCRUPLES

“Then said I: ‘Are those things correct, then, which are spoken by poets and philosophers, that in Hades the souls of the wicked are judged and punished for their attempts; such as those of Ixion, and Tantalus, and Tityus, and Sisyphus, and the daughters of Danaus, and as many others as have been impious here? And how, if these things are not so, is it possible that magic can subsist?’ Then he having told me that these things are so in Hades, I asked him: ‘Why are not we ourselves afraid of magic, being persuaded of the punishment in Hades for adultery? For I do not admit that it is a righteous thing to compel to adultery a woman who is

unwilling; but if any one will engage to persuade her, I am ready for that, besides confessing my thanks.'

CHAPTER 7

A DISTINCTION WITH A DIFFERENCE

"Then Appion said: 'Do you not think it is the same thing, whether you obtain her by magic, or by deceiving her with words?' Then said I: 'Not altogether the same; for these differ widely from one another. For he who constrains an unwilling woman by the force of magic, subjects himself to the most terrible punishment, as having plotted against a chaste woman; but he who persuades her with words, and puts the choice in her own power and will, does not force her. And I am of opinion, that he who has persuaded a woman will not stiffer so great punishment as he who has forced her. Therefore, if you can persuade her, I shall be thankful to you when I have obtained her; but otherwise, I had rather die than force her against her will.'

CHAPTER 8

FLATTERY OR MAGIC

"Then Appion, being really puzzled, said: 'What am I to say to you? For at one time, as one perturbed with love, you pray to obtain her; and anon, as if you loved her not, you make more account of your fear than your desire: and you think that if you can persuade her you shall be blameless, as without sin; but obtaining her by the power of magic, you will incur punishment. But do you not know that it is the end of every action that is judged, the fact that it has been committed, and that no account is made of the means by which it has been effected? And if you commit adultery, being enabled by magic, shall you be judged as having done wickedly; and if by persuasion, shall you be absolved from sin in respect of the adultery?' Then I said: 'On account of my love, there is a necessity for me to choose one or other of the means that are available to procure the object of my love; and I shall choose, as far as possible, to cajole her rather than

to use magic. But neither is it easy to persuade her by flattery, for the woman is very much of a philosopher.’

CHAPTER 9

A LOVE-LETTER

“Then Appion said: ‘I am all the more hopeful to be able to persuade her, as you wish, provided only we be able to converse with her.’ ‘That,’ said I, ‘is impossible.’ Then Appion asked if it were possible to scud a letter to her. Then I said: ‘That indeed may be done.’ Then Appion said: ‘This very night I shall write a paper on encomiums of adultery, which you shall get from me and despatch to her; and I hope that she shall be persuaded, and consent.’ Appion accordingly wrote the paper, and gave it to me; and I thought of it this very night, and I remembered that fortunately I have it by me, along with other papers which I carry about with me.” Having thus spoken, I showed the paper to those who were present, and read it to them as they wished to hear it; and having read it, I said: “This, O men, is the instruction of the Greeks, affording a bountiful license to sin without fear. The paper was as follows: —

CHAPTER 10

THE LOVER TO THE BELOVED ONE

“‘Anonymously, on account of the laws of foolish men. At the bidding of Love, the first-born of all, salutation: I know that you are devoted to philosophy, and for the sake of virtue you affect the life of the noble. But who are nobler than the gods among all, and philosophers among men? For these alone know what works are good or evil by nature, and what, not being so, are accounted so by the imposition of laws. Now, then, some have supposed that the action which is called adultery is evil, although it is in every respect good. For it is by the appointment of Eros for the increase of life. And Eros is the eldest of all the gods. For without Eros there can be no mingling or generation either of elements, or gods, or men, or irrational animals, or aught else. For we are all instruments of Eros. He,

by means of us, is the fabricator of all that is begotten, the mind inhabiting our souls. Hence it is not when we ourselves wish it, but when we are ordered by him, that we desire to do his will. But if, while we desire according to his will, we attempt to restrain the desire for the sake of what is called chastity, what do we do but the greatest impiety, when we oppose the oldest of all gods and men?

CHAPTER 11

"ALL UNCLEANNESS WITH GREEDINESS."

"'But let all doors be opened to him, and let all baneful and arbitrary laws be set aside, which have been ordained by fanatical men, who, under the power of senselessness, and not willing to understand what is reasonable, and, moreover, suspecting those who are called adulterers, are with good reason mocked with arbitrary laws by Zeus himself, through Minos and Rhadamanthus. For there is no restraining of Eros dwelling in our souls; for the passion of lovers is not voluntary. Therefore Zeus himself, the giver of these laws, approached myriads of women; and, according to some wise men, he sometimes had intercourse with human beings, as a benefactor for the production of children. But in the case of those to whom he knew that his being unknown would be a favor, he changed his form, in order that he might neither grieve them, nor seem to act in opposition to the laws given by himself. It becomes you, therefore, who are debaters of philosophy, for the sake of a good life, to imitate those who are acknowledged to be the nobler, who have had sexual intercourse ten thousand times.

CHAPTER 12

JUPITER'S AMOURS

"'And not to spend the time to no purpose in giving more examples, I shall begin with mentioning some embraces of Zeus himself, the father of gods and men. For it is impossible to mention all, on account of their multitude. Hear, therefore, the amours of this great Jupiter, which he

concealed by changing his form, on account of the fanaticism of senseless men. For, in the first place, wishing to show to wise men that adultery is no sin, when he was going to marry, being, according to the multitude, knowingly an adulterer, in his first marriage, but not being so in reality, by means, as I said, of a seeming sin be accomplished a sinless marriage. For he married his own sister Hera, assuming the likeness of a cuckoo's wing; and of her were born Hebe and Ilithyia. For he gave birth to Metis without copulation with any one, as did also Hera to Vulcan.

CHAPTER 13

JUPITER'S AMOURS CONTINUED

"'Then he committed incest with his sister, who was born of Kronos and Thalasse, after the dismemberment of Kronos, and of whom were born Eros and Cypris, whom they call also Dodone. Then, in the likeness of a satyr, he had intercourse with Antiope the daughter of Nycteus, of whom were born Amphion and Zethus. And he embraced Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, in the form of her husband Amphitryon, of whom was born Hercules. And, changed into an eagle, he approached Aegina, the daughter of Asclepius, of whom Aeacus was born. And in the form of a bear he lay with Amalthea the daughter of Phocus; and in a golden shower he fell upon Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, of whom sprang Perseus. He became wild as a lion to Callisto the daughter of Lycaon and begat Arcus the second. And with Europa the daughter of Phoenix he had intercourse by means of a bull, of whom sprang Minos, and Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon; and with Eurymedusa the daughter of Achelous, changing himself into an ant, of whom was born Myrmidon. With a nymph of Hersaeus, in the form of a vulture, from whom sprang the wise men of old in Sicily. He came to Juno the earth-born in Rhodes, and of her were born Pergaeus, Kronius, Kytis. And he deflowered Ossia, taking the likeness of her husband Phoenix, of whom Anchinous was born to him. Of Nemesis the daughter of Thestius, who is also thought to be Leda, he begot Helena, in the form of a swan or goose; and again, in the form of a star, he produced Castor and Polydeuces. With Lamia he was transformed into a hoopoo.

CHAPTER 14

JUPITER'S UNDISGUISED AMOURS

"'In the likeness of a shepherd he made Mnemosyne mother of the Muses. Setting himself on fire, he married Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, of whom he begat Dionysus. In the likeness of a dragon he deflowered his daughter Persephone, thought to be the wife of his brother Pluto. He had intercourse with many other women without undergoing any change in his form; for the husbands had no ill-will to him as if it were a sin, but knew well that in associating with their wives he bountifully produced children for them, bestowing upon them the Hermeses, the Apollos, the Dionysi, the Endymions, and others whom we have spoken of, most excellent in beauty through his fatherhood.

CHAPTER 15

UNNATURAL LUSTS

"'And not to spend the time in an endless exposition, you will find numerous unions with Jupiter of all the gods. But senseless men call these doings of the gods adulteries; even of those gods who did not refrain from the abuse of males as disgraceful, but who practiced even this as seemly. For instance, Jupiter himself was in love with Ganymede: Poseidon with Pelops; Apollo with Cinyras, Zacyinthus, Hyacinthus, Phorbas, Hylas, Admetus, Cyparissus, Amyclas, Troilus, Branchus the Tymnaean, Parus the Potnian, Orpheus; Dionysus with Laonis, Ampelus, Hymenaeus, Hermaphrodites, Achilles; Asclepius with Hippolytus, and Hephaestus with Peleus; Pan with Daphnis; Hermes with Perseus, Chrysas, Theseus, Odrysus; Hercules with Abderus, Dryops, Jocastus, Philoctetes, Hylas, Polyphemus, Haemon, Chonus, Eurystheus.

CHAPTER 16

PRAISE OF UNCHASTITY

"'Thus have I in part set before you the amours of all the more noted gods, beloved, that you may know that fanaticism respecting this thing is confined to senseless men. Therefore they are mortal, and spend their lives sadly, because through their zeal they proclaim those things to be evil which the gods esteem as excellent. Therefore for the future you will be blessed, imitating the gods, and not men. For men, seeing you preserving that which is thought to be chastity, on account of what they themselves feel, praise you indeed, but do not help you. But the gods, seeing you like unto themselves, will both praise and help.

CHAPTER 17

THE CONSTELLATIONS

"'For reckon to me how many mistresses they have rewarded, some of whom they have placed among the stars; and of some they have blessed both the children and the associates. Thus Zeus made Callisto a constellation, called the Little Bear, which some also call the Dog's Tail. Poseidon also placed the dolphin in the sky for the sake of Amphitrite; and he gave a place among the stars to Orion the son of Euryale, the daughter of Minos, for the sake of his mother Euryale. And Dionysus made a constellation of the crown of Ariadne, and Zeus invested the eagle which assisted him in the rape of Ganymede, and Ganymede himself with the honor of the Water-pourer. Also he honored the bull for the sake of Europa; and also having bestowed Castor, and Polydeuces, and Helena upon Leda, he made them stars. Also Perseus for the sake of Danae; and Arcus for the sake of Callisto. The virgin who also is Dice, for the sake of Themis; and Heracles for the sake of Alcmene. But I do not enlarge further; for it were long to tell particularly how many others the gods have blessed for the sake of their many mistresses. in their intercourse with human beings, which senseless men repudiate as evil deeds, not knowing that pleasure is the great advantage among men.

CHAPTER 18

THE PHILOSOPHERS ADVOCATES OF ADULTERY

"'But why? Do not the celebrated philosophers extol pleasure, and have they not had intercourse with what women they would? Of these the first was that teacher of Greece, of whom Phoebus himself said, "Of all men, Socrates is the wisest." Does not he teach that in a well-regulated state women should be common? and did he not conceal the fair Alcibiades under his philosopher's gown? And the Socratic Antisthenes writes of the necessity of not abandoning what is called adultery. And even his disciple Diogenes, did not he freely associate with Lais, for the hire of carrying her on his shoulders in public? Does not Epicurus extol pleasure? Did not Aristippus anoint himself with perfumes, and devote himself wholly to Aphrodite? Does not Zeno, intimating indifference, say that the deity pervades all things, that it may be known to the intelligent, that with whomsoever a man has intercourse, it is as with himself; and that it is superfluous to forbid what are called adulteries, or intercourse with mother, or daughter, or sister, or children. And Chrysippus, in his erotic epistles, makes mention of the statue in Argos, representing Hera and Zeus in an obscene position.

CHAPTER 19

CLOSE OF THE LOVE-LETTER

"'I know that to those uninitiated in the truth these things seem dreadful and most base; but not so to the gods and the philosophers of the Greeks, nor to those initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus and Demeter. But above all these, not to waste time in speaking of the lives of all the gods, and all the philosophers, let the two chief be your marks — Zeus the greatest of the gods, and Socrates of philosophic men. And the other things which I have mentioned in this letter, understand and attend to, that you may not grieve your lover; since, if you act contrarily to gods and heroes, you will be judged wicked, and will subject yourself to fitting punishment. But if you offer yourself to every lover, then, as an imitator

of the gods, you shall receive benefits from them. For the rest, dearest one, remember what mysteries I have disclosed to you, and inform me by letter of your choice. Fare thee well.’

CHAPTER 20

THE USE MADE OF IT

“I therefore, having received this billet from Appion, as though I were really going to send it to a beloved one, pretended as if she had written in answer to it; and the next day, when Appion came, I gave him the reply, as if from her, as follows: —

CHAPTER 21

ANSWER TO APPION’S LETTER

“‘I wonder how, when you commend me for wisdom, you write to me as to a fool. For, wishing to persuade me to your passion, you make use of examples from the mythologies of the gods, that Eros is the eldest of all, as you say, and above all gods and men, not being afraid to blaspheme, that you might corrupt my soul and insult my body. For Eros is not the leader of the gods, — he, I mean, who has to do with lusts. For if he lusts willingly, he is himself his own suffering and punishment; and he who should suffer willingly could not be a God. But if against his will he lust for copulation, and, pervading our souls as through the members of our bodies, is born into intermeddling with our minds, then he that impels him to love is greater than he. And again, he who impels him, being himself impelled by another desire, another greater than he is found impelling him. And thus we come to an endless succession of lovers, which is impossible. Thus, neither is there an impeller nor an impelled; but it is the lustful passion of the lover himself, which is increased by hope and diminished by despair.

CHAPTER 22

LYING FABLES

"'But those who will not subdue base lusts belie the gods, that, by representing the gods as first doing the things which they do, they may be set free from blame. For if those who are called gods committed adulteries for the sake of begetting children, and not through lasciviousness, why did they also debauch males? But it is said they complimented their mistresses by making them stars. Therefore before this were there no stars, until such time as, by reason of wantonness, the heaven was adorned with stars by adulterers? And how is it that the children of those who have been made stars are punished in Hades, — Atlas loaded, Tantalus tortured with thirst, Sisyphus pushing a stone, Tityus thrust through the bowels, Ixion continually rolled round a wheel? How is it that these divine lovers made stars of the women whom they defiled, but gave no such grace to these?

CHAPTER 23

THE GODS NO GODS

"'They were not gods, then, but representations of tyrants. For a certain tomb is shown among the Caucasian mountains, not in heaven, but in earth, as that of Kronos, a barbarous man and a devourer of children. Further, the tomb of the lascivious Zeus, so famed in story, who in like manner devoured his own daughter Metis, is to be seen in Crete, and those of Pluto and Poseidon in the Acherusian lake; and that of Helius in Astra, and of Selene in Carrae, of Hermes in Hermopolis, of Ares in Thrace, of Aphrodite in Cyprus, of Dionysus in Thebes, and of the rest in other places. At all events, the tombs are shown of those that I have named; for they were men, and in respect of these things, wicked men and magicians. For else they should not have become despots — I mean Zeus, renowned in story, and Dionysus — but that by changing their forms they prevailed over whom they pleased, for whatever purpose they designed.

CHAPTER 24

IF A PRINCIPLE BE GOOD, CARRY IT OUT

"'But if we must emulate their lives, let us imitate not only their adulteries, but also their banquets. For Kronos devoured his own children, and Zeus in like manner his own daughter. And what must I say? Pelops served as a supper for all the gods. Wherefore let us also, before unhallowed marriages, perpetrate a supper like that of the gods; for thus the supper would be worthy of the marriages. But this you would never consent to; no more will I to adultery. Besides this, you threaten me with the anger of Eros as of a powerful God. Eros is not a God, as I conceive him, but a desire occurring from the temperament of the living creature in order to the perpetuation of life, according to the foresight of Him who worketh all things, that the whole race may not fail, but by reason of pleasure another may be produced out of the substance of one who shall die, springing forth by lawful marriage, that he may know to sustain his own father in old age. And this those born from adultery cannot do, not having the nature of affection towards those who have begotten them.

CHAPTER 25

BETTER TO MARRY THAN TO BURN

"'Since, therefore, the erotic desire occurs for the sake of continuation and legitimate increasing, as I have said, it behoves parents providing for the chastity of their children to anticipate the desire, by imbuing them with instruction by means of chaste books, and to accustom them beforehand by excellent discourses; for custom is a second nature. And in addition to this, frequently to remind them of the punishments appointed by the laws, that, using fear as a bridle, they may not run on in wicked pleasures. And it behoves them also, before the springing of the desire, to satisfy the natural passion of puberty by marriage, first persuading them not to look upon the beauty of another woman.

CHAPTER 26

CLOSE OF THE ANSWER

"'For our mind, whenever it is impressed delightfully with the image of a beloved one, always seeing the form as in a mirror, is tormented by the recollection; and if it do not obtain its desire, it contrives ways of obtaining it; but if it do obtain it, it is rather increased, like fire having a supply of wood, and especially when there is no fear impressed upon the soul of the lover before the rise of passion. For as water extinguishes fire, so fear is the extinguisher of unreasonable desire. Whence I, having learned from a certain Jew both to understand and to do the things that are pleasing to God, am not to be entrapped into adultery by your lying fables. But may God help you in your wish and efforts to be chaste, and afford a remedy to your soul burning with love.'

CHAPTER 27

A REASON FOR HATRED

"When Appion heard the pretended answer, he said: "Is it without reason that I hate the Jews? Here now some Jew has fallen in with her, and has converted her to his religion, and persuaded her to chastity, and it is henceforth impossible that she ever have intercourse with another man; for these fellows, setting God before them as the universal inspector of actions, are extremely persistent in chastity, as being unable to be concealed from Him.'

CHAPTER 28

THE HOAX CONFESSED

"When I heard this, I said to Appion: 'Now I shall confess the truth to you. I was not enamored of the woman, or of any one else, my soul being exceedingly spent upon other desires, and upon the investigation of true

doctrines. And till now, although I have examined many doctrines of philosophers, I have inclined to none of them, excepting only that of the Jews, — a certain merchant of theirs having sojourned here in Rome, selling linen clothes, and a fortunate meeting having set simply before me the doctrine of the unity of God.’

CHAPTER 29

APPION’S RESENTMENT

“Then Appion, having heard from me the truth, with his unreasonable hatred of the Jews, and neither knowing nor wishing to know what their faith is, being senselessly angry, forthwith quitted Rome in silence. And as this is my first meeting with him since then, I naturally expect his anger in consequence. However, I shall ask him in your presence what he has to say concerning those who are called gods, whose lives, fabled to be filled with all passions, are constantly celebrated to the people, in order to their imitation; while, besides their human passions as I have said, their graves are also shown in different places.”

CHAPTER 30

A DISCUSSION PROMISED

The others having heard these things from me, and desiring to learn what would ensue, accompanied me to visit Appion. And we found him bathed, and sitting at a table furnished. Wherefore we inquired but little into the matter concerning the gods. But he, understanding, I suppose, our wish, promised that next day he would have something to say about the gods, and appointed to us the same place where he would converse with us. And we, as soon as he had promised, thanked him, and departed, each one to his home.

HOMILY 6

CHAPTER 1

CLEMENT MEETS APPION

AND on the third day, when I came with my friends to the appointed place in Tyre, I found Appion sitting between Anubion and Athenodorus, and waiting for us, along with many other learned men. But in no wise dismayed, I greeted them, and sat down opposite Appion. And in a little he began to speak: —

"I wish to start from the following point, and to come with all speed at once to the question. Before you, my son Clement, joined us, my friend Anubion here, and Athenodorus, who yesterday were among those who heard you discourse, were reporting to me what you said of the numerous false accusations I brought against the gods when I was visiting you in Rome, at the time you were shamming love, how I charged them with pederasty, lasciviousness, and numerous incests of all kinds. But, my son, you ought to have known that I was not in earnest when I wrote such things about the gods, but was concealing the truth, from my love to you. That truth, however, if it so please you, you may hear from me now.

CHAPTER 2

THE MYTHS ARE NOT TO BE TAKEN LITERALLY

"The wisest of the ancients, men who had by hard labor learned all truth, kept the path of knowledge hid from those who were unworthy and had no taste for lessons in divine things. For it is not really true that from Ouranos and his mother GO were born twelve children, as the myth counts them: six sons, Okeanos, Koios, Krios, Hyperion, Japetos, Kronos; and six daughters, Thea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Demeter, Tethys, and Rhea. Nor that Kronos, with the knife of adamant, mutilated his father

Ouranos, as you say, and threw the part into the sea; nor that Aphrodite sprang from the drops of blood which flowed from it; nor that Kronos associated with Rhea, and devoured his first-begotten son Pluto, because a certain saying of Prometheus led him to fear that a child born from him would wax stronger than himself, and spoil him of his kingdom; nor that he devoured in the same way Poseidon, his second child; nor that, when Zeus was born next, his mother Rhea concealed him, and when Kronos asked for him that he might devour him, gave him a stone instead; nor that this, when it was devoured, pressed those who had been previously devoured, and forced them out, so that Pluto, who was devoured first, came out first, and after him Poseidon, and then Zeus; nor that Zeus, as the story goes, preserved by the wit of his mother, ascended into heaven, and spoiled his father of the kingdom; nor that he punished his father's brothers; nor that he came down to lust after mortal women; nor that he associated with his sisters, and daughters, and sisters-in-law, and was guilty of shameful pederasty; nor that he devoured his daughter Metis, in order that from her he might make Athene be born out of his own brain (and from his thigh might bear Dionysos, who is said to have been rent in pieces by the Titans); nor that he held a feast at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; nor that he excluded Erie (discord) from the marriage; nor that Erie on her part, thus dishonored, contrived an occasion of quarreling and discord among the feasters; nor that she took a golden apple from the gardens of the Hesperides, and wrote on it 'For the fair.' And then they fable how Hera, and Athena, and Aphrodite, found the apple, and quarreling about it, came to Zeus; and he did not decide it for them, but sent them by Hermes to the shepherd Paris, to be judged of their beauty. But there was no such judging of the goddesses; nor did Paris give the apple to Aphrodite; nor did Aphrodite, being thus honored, honor him in return, by giving him Helen to wife. For the honor bestowed by the goddess could never have furnished a pretext for a universal war, and that to the ruin of him who was honored, himself nearly related to the race of Aphrodite. But, my son, as I said, such stories have a peculiar and philosophical meaning, which can be allegorically set forth in such a way that you yourself would listen with wonder." And I said, "I beseech you not to torment me with delay." And he said, "Do not be afraid; for I shall lose no time, but commence at once.

CHAPTER 3

APPION PROCEEDS TO INTERPRET THE MYTHS

“There was once a time when nothing existed but chaos and a confused mixture of orderless elements, which were as yet simply heaped together. This nature testifies, and great men have been of opinion that it was so. Of these great men I shall bring forward to you him who excelled them all in wisdom, Homer, where he says, with a reference to the original confused mass, ‘But may you all become water and earth;’ implying that from these all things had their origin, and that all things return to their first state, which is chaos, when the watery and earthy substances are separated. And Hesiod in the THEOGONY says, ‘Assuredly chaos was the very first to come into being.’ Now, by ‘come into being,’ he evidently means that chaos came into being, as having a beginning, and did not always exist, without beginning. And Orpheus likens chaos to an egg, in which was the confused mixture of the primordial elements. This chaos, which Orpheus calls an egg, is taken for granted by Hesiod, having a beginning, produced from infinite matter, and originated in the following way.

CHAPTER 4

ORIGIN OF CHAOS

“This matter, of four kinds, and endowed with life, was an entire infinite abyss, so to speak, in eternal stream, born about without order, and forming every now and then countless but ineffectual combinations (which therefore it dissolved again from want of order); ripe indeed, but not able to be bound so as to generate a living creature. And once it chanced that this infinite sea, which was thus by its own nature driven about with a natural motion, flowed in an orderly manner from the same to the same (back on itself), like a whirlpool, mixing the substances in such a way that from each there flowed down the middle of the universe (as in the funnel of a mold) precisely that which was most useful and suitable for the generation of a living creature. This was carried down by the all-carrying whirlpool, drew to itself the surrounding spirit, and having been so

conceived that it was very fertile, formed a separate substance. For just as a bubble is usually formed in water, so everything round about contributed to the conception of this ball-like globe. Then there came forth to the light, after it had been conceived in itself, and was born upwards by the divine spirit which surrounded it, perhaps the greatest thing ever born; a piece of workmanship, so to speak, having life in it which had been conceived from that entire infinite abyss, in shape like an egg, and as swift as a bird.

CHAPTER 5

KRONOS AND RHEA EXPLAINED

“Now you must think of Kronos as time (CHRONOS), and Rhea as the flowing (RHEON) of the watery substance. For the whole body of matter was born about for some TIME, before it brought forth, like an egg, the sphere-like, all-embracing heaven (OURANOS), which at first was full of productive marrow, so that it was able to produce out of itself elements and colors of all sorts, while from the one substance and the one color it produced all kinds of forms. For as a peacock’s egg seems to have only one color, while potentially it has in it all the colors of the animal that is to be, so this living egg, conceived out of infinite matter, when set in motion by the underlying and ever-flowing matter, produces many different forms. For within the circumference a certain living creature, which is both male and female, is formed by the skill of the indwelling divine spirit. This Orpheus calls Phanes, because when it appeared (PHANEIS) the universe shone forth from it, with the luster of that most glorious of the elements, fire, perfected in moisture. Nor is this incredible, since in glowworms nature gives us to see a moist light.

CHAPTER 6

PHANES AND PLUTO

“This egg, then, which was the first substance, growing somewhat hot, was broken by the living creature within, and then there took shape and came forth something; such as Orpheus also speaks of, where he says,

‘when the capacious egg was broken,’ etc. And so by the mighty power of that which appeared (PHANEIS) and came forth, the globe attained coherency, and maintained order, while it itself took its seat, as it were, on the summit of heaven, there in ineffable mystery diffusing light through endless ages. But the productive matter left inside the globe, separated the substances of all things. For first its lower part, just like the dregs, sank downwards of its own weight; and this they called Pluto from its gravity, and weight, and great quantity (POLU) of underlying matter, styling it the king of Hades and the dead.

CHAPTER 7

POSEIDON, ZEUS, AND METIS

“When, then, they say that this primordial substance, although most filthy and rough, was devoured by Kronos, that is, time, this is to be understood in a physical sense, as meaning that it sank downwards. And the water which flowed together after this first sediment, and floated on the surface of the first substance, they called Poseidon. And then what remained, the purest and noblest of all, for it was translucent fire, they called Zeus, from its glowing (ZEOUSA) nature, Now since fire ascends, this was not swallowed, and made to descend by time or Kronos; but, as I said, the fiery substance, since it has life in it, and naturally ascends, flew right up into the air, which from its purity is very intelligent. By his own proper heat, then, Zeus — that is, the glowing substance — draws up what is left in the underlying moisture, to wit, that very strong and divine spirit which they called Metis.

CHAPTER 8

PALLAS AND HERA

“And this, when it had reached the summit of the aether, was devoured by it (moisture being mixed with heat, so to say); and causing in it that ceaseless palpitation, it begat intelligence, which they call Pallas from this palpitating (PALLESTHAI). And this is artistic wisdom, by which the

ethereal artificer wrought out the whole world. And from all-pervading Zeus, that is, from this very hot aether, air (AER) extends all the way to our earth; and this they call Hera. Wherefore, because it has come below the aether, which is the purest substance (just as a woman, as regards purity, is inferior), when the two were compared to see which was the better, she was rightly regarded as the sister of Zeus, in respect of her origin from the same substance, but as his spouse, as being inferior like a wife.

CHAPTER 9

ARTEMIS

"And Hera we understand to be a happy tempering of the atmosphere, and therefore she is very fruitful; but Athena, as they call Pallas, was reckoned a virgin, because on account of the intense heat she could produce nothing. And in a similar fashion Artemis is explained: for her they take as the lowest depth of air, and so they called her a virgin, because she could not bear anything on account of the extreme cold. And that troubled and drunken composition which arises from the upper and lower vapors they called Dionysus, as troubling the intellect. And the water under the earth, which is in nature indeed one, but which flows through all the paths of earth, and is divided into many parts, they called Osiris, as being cut in pieces. And they understand Adonis as favorable seasons, Aphrodite as coition and generation, Demeter as the earth, the Girl (Proserpine) as seeds; and Dionysus some understand as the vine.

CHAPTER 10

ALL SUCH STORIES ARE ALLEGORICAL

"And I must ask you to think of all such stories as embodying some such allegory. Look on Apollo as the wandering Sun (PERI-POLON), a son of Zeus, who was also called Mithras, as completing the period of a year. And these said transformations of the all-pervading Zeus must be regarded as the numerous changes of the seasons, while his numberless wives you

must understand to be years, or generations. For the power which proceeds from the aether and passes through the air unites with all the years and generations in turn, and continually varies them, and so produces or destroys the crops. And ripe fruits are called his children, the barrenness of some seasons being referred to unlawful unions.”

CHAPTER 11

CLEMENT HAS HEARD ALL THIS BEFORE

While Appion was allegorizing in this way, I became plunged in thought, and seemed not to be following what he was saying. So he interrupted his discourse, and said to me, “If you do not follow what I am saying, why should I speak at all?” And I answered, “Do not suppose that I do not understand what you say. I understand it thoroughly; and that the more that this is not the first time I have heard it. And that you may know that I am not ignorant of these things, I shall epitomize what you have said, and supply in their order, as I have heard them from others, the allegorical interpretations of those stories you have omitted.” And Appion said: “Do so.”

CHAPTER 12

EPITOME OF APPION’S EXPLANATION

And I answered: “l shall not at present speak particularly of that living egg, which was conceived by a happy combination out of infinite matter, and from which, when it was broken, the masculo-feminine Phanes leaped forth, as some say. I say little about all that, up to the point when this broken globe attained coherency, there being left in it some of its marrow-like matter; and I shall briefly run over the description of what took place in it by the agency of this matter, with all that followed. For from Kronos and Rhea were born, as you say — that is, by time and matter — first Pluto, who represents the sediment which settled down; and then Poseidon, the liquid substance in the middle, which floated over the heavier body below; and the third child — that is, Zeus — is the

aether, and is highest of all. It was not devoured; but as it is a fiery power, and naturally ascends, it flew up as with a bound to the very highest aether.

CHAPTER 13

KRONOS AND APHRODITE

“And the bonds of Kronos are the binding together of heaven and earth, as I have heard others allegorizing; and his mutilation is the separation and parting of the elements; for they all were severed and separated, according to their respective natures, that each kind might be arranged by itself. And time no longer begets anything; but the things which have been begotten of it, by a law of nature, produce their successors. And the Aphrodite who emerged from the sea is the fruitful substance which arises out of moisture, with which the warm spirit mixing, causes that sexual desire, and perfects the beauty of the world.

CHAPTER 14

PELEUS AND THETIS, PROMETHEUS, ACHILLES, AND POLYXENA

“And the marriage banquet, at which Zeus held the feast on the occasion of the marriage of the Nereid Thetis and the beautiful Peleus, has in it this allegory, — that you may know, Appion, that you are not the only one from whom I have heard this sort of thing. The banquet, then, is the world, and the twelve are these heavenly props of the Fates, called the Zodiac. Prometheus is foresight (PROMETHEIA), by which all things arose; Peleus is clay (PELOS), namely, that which was COLLECTED from the earth and mixed with Nereis, or water, to produce man; and from the mixing of the two, i.e., water and earth, the first offspring was not begotten, but fashioned complete, and called Achilles, because he never put his lips (CHEILE) to the breast. Still in the bloom of life, he is slain by an arrow while desiring to have Polyxena, that is, something other than the

truth, and foreign (XENE) to it, death stealing on him through a wound in his foot.

CHAPTER 15

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS

“Then Hera, and Athena, and Aphrodite, and Eris, and the apple, and Hermes, and the judgment, and the shepherd, have some such hidden meaning as the following: — Hera is dignity; Athena, manliness; Aphrodite, pleasure; Hermes, language, which interprets (HERMENEUTIKOS) thought; the shepherd Paris, unreasoned and brutish passion. Now if, in the prime of life, reason, that shepherd of the soul, is brutish, does not regard its own advantage, will have nothing to do with manliness and temperance, chooses only pleasure, and gives the prize to lust alone, bargaining that it is to receive in return from lust what, may delight it, — he who thus judges incorrectly will choose pleasure to his own destruction and that of his friends. And Eris is jealous spite; and the golden apples of the Hesperides are perhaps riches, by which occasionally even temperate persons like Hera are seduced, and manly ones like Athena are made jealous, so that they do things which do not become them, and the soul’s beauty like Aphrodite is destroyed under the guise of refinement. To speak briefly, in all men riches provoke evil discord.

CHAPTER 16

HERCULES

“And Hercules, who slew the serpent which led and guarded riches, is the true philosophical reason which, free from all wickedness, wanders all over the world, visiting the souls of men, and chastising all it meets, — namely, men like fierce lions, or timid stags, or savage boars, or multiform hydras; and so with all the other fabled labors of Hercules, they all have a hidden reference to moral valor. But these instances must suffice, for all our time would be insufficient if we were to go over each one.

CHAPTER 17

THEY ARE BLAMEWORTHY WHE INVENTED SUCH STORIES

“Now, since these things can be clearly, profitably, and without prejudice to piety, set forth in an open and straightforward manner, I wonder you call those men sensible and wise who concealed them under crooked riddles, and overlaid them with filthy stories, and thus, as if impelled by an evil spirit, deceived almost all men. For either these things are not riddles, but real crimes of the gods, in which case they should not have been exposed to contempt, nor should these their needs have been set before men at all as models; or things falsely attributed to the gods were set forth in an allegory, and then, Appion, they whom you call wise erred, in that, by concealing under unworthy stories things in themselves worthy, they led men to sin, and that not without dishonoring those whom they believed to be gods.

CHAPTER 18

THE SAME

“Wherefore do not suppose that they were wise men, but rather evil spirits, who could cover honorable actions with wicked stories, in order that they who wish to imitate their betters may emulate these deeds of so-called gods, which yesterday in my discourse I spoke so freely of, — namely, their parricides, their murders of their children, their incests of all kinds, their shameless adulteries and countless impurities. The most impious of them are those who wish these stories to be believed, in order that they may not be ashamed when they do the like. If they had been disposed to act reverently, they ought, as I said a little ago, even if the gods really did the things which are sting of them, to have veiled their indecencies under more seemly stories, and not, on the contrary, as you say they did, when the deeds of the gods were honorable, clothed them in wicked and indecent forms, which, even when interpreted, can only be understood by much labor; and when they were understood by some, they indeed got for their much toil the privilege of not being deceived, which

they might have had without the toil, while they who were deceived were utterly ruined. (Those, however, who trace the allegories to a more honorable source I do not object to; as, for instance, those who explain one allegory by saying that it was wisdom which sprang from the head of Zeus.) On the whole, it seems to me more probable that wicked men, robbing the gods of their honor, ventured to promulgate these insulting stories.

CHAPTER 19

NONE OF THESE ALLEGORIES ARE CONSISTENT

“Nor do we find the poetical allegory about any of the gods consistent with itself. To go no further than the fashioning of the universe, the poets now say that nature was the first cause of the whole creation, now that it was mind. For, say they, the first moving and mixture of the elements came from nature, but it was the foresight of mind which arranged them in order. Even when they assert that it was nature which fashioned the universe, being unable absolutely to demonstrate this on account of the traces of design in the work, they inweave the foresight of mind in such a way that they are able to entrap even the wisest. But we say to them: If the world arose from self-moved nature, how did it ever take proportion and shape, which cannot come but from a superintending wisdom, and can be comprehended only by knowledge, which alone can trace such things? If, on the other hand, it is by wisdom that all things subsist and maintain order, how can it be that those things arose from self-moved chance?

CHAPTER 20

THESE GODS WERE REALLY WICKED MAGICIANS

“Then those who chose to make dishonorable allegories of divine things — as, for instance, that Metis was devoured by Zeus — have fallen into a dilemma, because they did not see that they who in these stories about the gods indirectly taught physics, denied the very existence of the gods, revolving all kinds of gods into mere allegorical representations of the

various substances of the universe. And so it is more likely that the gods these persons celebrate were some sort of wicked magicians, who were in reality wicked men, but by magic assumed different shapes, committed adulteries, and took away life, and thus to the men of old who did not understand magic seemed to be gods by the things they did; and the bodies and tombs of these men are to be seen in many towns.

CHAPTER 21

THEIR GRAVES ARE STILL TO BE SEEN

"For instance, as I have mentioned already, in the Caucasian mountains there is shown the tomb of a certain Kronos, a man, and a fierce monarch who slew his children. And the son of this man, called Zeus, became worse than his father; and having by the power of magic been declared ruler of the universe, he committed many adulteries, and inflicted punishment on his father and uncles, and so died; and the Cretans show his tomb. And in Mesopotamia there lie buried a certain Helios at Atir, and a certain Selene at Carrhae. A certain Hermes, a man, lies buried in Egypt; Ares in Thrace; Aphrodite in Cyprus; Aesculapius in Epidaurus; and the tombs of many other such persons are to be seen.

CHAPTER 22

THEIR CONTEMPORARIES, THEREFORE, DID NOT LOOK ON THEM AS GODS

"Thus, to right-thinking men, it is clear that they were admitted to be mortals. And their contemporaries, knowing that they were mortal, when they died paid them no more heed; and it was length of thee which clothed them with the glory of gods. Nor need you wonder that they who lived in the times of Aesculapius and Hercules were deceived, or the contemporaries of Dionysus or any other of the men of that time, when even Hector in Ilium, and Achilles in the island of Leuce, are worshipped by the inhabitants of those places; and the Opuntines worship Patroclus, and the Rhodians Alexander of Macedon.

CHAPTER 23

THE EGYPTIANS PAY DIVINE HONORS TO A MAN

“Moreover, among the Egyptians even to the present day, a man is worshipped as a God before his death. And this truly is a small impiety, that the Egyptians give divine honors to a man in his lifetime; but what is of all things most absurd is, that they worship birds and creeping things, and all kinds of beasts. For the mass of men neither think nor do anything with discretion. But look, I pray you, at what is most disgraceful of all: he who is with them the father of gods and men is said by them to have had intercourse with Leda; and many of them set up in public a painting of this, writing above it the name Zeus. To punish this insult, I could wish that they would paint their own present king in such base embraces as they have dared to do with Zeus, and set it up in public, that from the anger of a temporary monarch, and him a mortal, they might learn to render honor where it is due. This I say to you, not as myself already knowing the true God; but I am happy to say that even if I do not know who is God, I think I at least know clearly what God is.

CHAPTER 24

WHAT IS NOT GOD

“And first, then, the four original elements cannot be God, because they have a cause. Nor can that mixing be God, nor that compounding, nor that generating, nor that globe which surrounds the visible universe; nor the dregs which flow together in Hades, nor the water which floats over them; nor the fiery substance, nor the air which extends from it to our earth. For the four elements, if they lay outside one another, could not have been mixed together so as to generate animal life without some great artificer. If they have always been united, even in this case they are fitted together by an artistic mind to what is requisite for the limbs and parts of animals, that they may be able to preserve their respective proportions, may have a clearly defined shape, and that all the inward parts may attain the fitting coherency. In the same way also the positions suitable for each are

determined, and that very beautifully, by the artificer mind. To be brief, in all other things which a living creature must have, this great being of the world is in no respect wanting.

CHAPTER 25

THE UNIVERSE IS THE PRODUCT OF MIND

“Thus we are shut up to the supposition that there is an unbegotten artificer, who brought the elements together, if they were separate; or, if they were together, artistically blended them so as to generate life, and perfected from all one work. For it cannot be that a work which is completely wise can be made without a mind which is greater than it. Nor will it do to say that love is the artificer of all things, or desire, or power, or any such thing. All these are liable to change, and transient in their very nature. Nor can that be God which is moved by another, much less what is altered by time and nature, and can be annihilated.”

CHAPTER 26

PETER ARRIVES FROM CAESAREA

While I was saying these things to Appion, Peter drew near from Caesarea, and in Tyre the people were flocking together, hurrying to meet him and unite in an expression of gratification at his visit. And Appion withdrew, accompanied by Anubion and Athenodorus only; but the rest of us hurried to meet Peter, and I was the first to greet him at the gate, and I led him towards the inn. When we arrived, we dismissed the people; and when he deigned to ask what had taken place, I concealed nothing, but told him of Simon’s slanders, and the monstrous shapes he had taken, and all the diseases he had sent after the sacrificial feast, and that some of the sick persons were still there in Tyre, while others had gone on with Simon to Sidon just as I arrived, hoping to be cured by him, but that I had heard that none of them had been cured by him. I also told Peter of the controversy I had with Appion; and he, from his love to me, and desiring to encourage

me, praised and blessed me. Then, having supped, he betook himself to the rest the fatigues of his journey rendered so necessary.

HOMILY 7

CHAPTER 1

PETER ADDRESSES THE PEOPLE

AND on the fourth day of our stay in Tyre, Peter went out about daybreak, and there met him not a few of the dwellers round about, with very many of the inhabitants of Tyre itself, who cried out, and said, “God through you have mercy upon us, God through you heal us!” And Peter stood on a high stone, that all might see him; and having greeted them in a godly manner, thus began: —

CHAPTER 2

REASON OF SIMON’S POWER

“God, who created the heavens and the whole universe, does not want occasion for the salvation of those who would be saved. Wherefore let no one, in seeming evils, rashly charge Him with unkindness to man. For men do not know the issue of those things which happen to them, nay, suspect that the result will be evil; but God knows that they will turn out well. So is it in the case of Simon. He is a power of the left hand of God, and has authority to do harm to those who know not God, so that he has been able to involve you in diseases; but by these very diseases, which have been permitted to come upon you by the good providence of God, you, seeking and finding him who is able to cure, have been compelled to submit to the will of God on the occasion of the cure of the body, and to think of believing, in order that in this way you may have your souls as well as your bodies in a healthy state.

CHAPTER 3

THE REMEDY

“Now I have been told, that after he had sacrificed an ox he feasted you in the middle of the forum, and that you, being carried away with much wine, made friends with not only the evil demons, but their prince also, and that in this way the most of you were seized by these sicknesses, unwittingly drawing upon yourselves with your own hands the sword of destruction. For the demons would never have had power over you, had not you first supped with their prince. For thus from the beginning was a law laid by God, the Creator of all things, on each of the two princes, him of the right hand and him of the left, that neither should have power over any one whom they might wish to benefit or to hurt, unless first he had sat down at the same table with them. As, then, when you partook of meat offered to idols, you became servants to the prince of evil, in like manner, if you cease from these things, and flee for refuge to God through the good Prince of His right hand, honoring Him without sacrifices, by doing whatsoever He wills, know of a truth that not only will your bodies be healed, but your souls also will become healthy. For He only, destroying with His left hand, can quicken with His right; He only can both smite and raise the fallen.

CHAPTER 4

THE GOLDEN RULE

“Wherefore, as then ye were deceived by the forerunner Simon, and so became dead in your souls to God, and were smitten in your bodies; so now, if you repent, as I said, and submit to those things which are well-pleasing to God, you may get new strength to your bodies, and recover your soul’s health. And the things which are well-pleasing to God are these: to pray to Him, to ask from Him, recognizing that He is the giver of all things, and gives with discriminating law; to abstain from the table of devils, not to taste dead flesh, not to touch blood; to be washed from all pollution; and the rest in one word, — as the God-fearing Jews

have heard, do you also hear, and be of one mind in many bodies; let each man be minded to do to his neighbor those good things he wishes for himself. And you may all find out what is good, by holding some such conversation as the following with yourselves: You would not like to be murdered; do not murder another man: you would not like your wife to be seduced by another; do not you commit adultery: you would not like any of your things to be stolen from you; steal nothing from another. And so understanding by yourselves what is reasonable, and doing it, you will become dear to God, and will obtain healing; otherwise in the life which now is your bodies will be tormented, and in that which is to come your souls will be punished."

CHAPTER 5

PETER DEPARTS FOR SIDON

After Peter had spent a few days in teaching them in this way, and in healing them, they were baptized. And after that, all sat down together in the market-places in sackcloth and ashes, grieving because of his other wondrous works, and repenting their former sins. And when they of Sidon heard it, they did likewise, and sent to beseech Peter, since they could not come themselves for their diseases. And Peter did not spend many days in Tyre; but when he had instructed all its inhabitants, and freed them from all manners of diseases and had rounded a church, and set over it as bishop one of the elders who were with him, he departed for Sidon. But when Simon heard that Peter was coming, he straightway fled to Beyrout with Appion and his friends.

CHAPTER 6

PETER IN SIDON

And as Peter entered Sidon, they brought many in couches, and laid them before him. And he said to them: "Think not, I pray you, that I can do anything to heal you, who am a mortal man, myself subject to many evils. But I shall not refuse to show you the way in which you must be saved.

For I have learned from the Prophet of truth the conditions fore-ordained of God before the foundation of the world; that is to say, the evil deeds which if men do He has ordained that they shall be injured by the prince of evil, and in like manner the good deeds for which He has decreed that they who have believed in Him as their Physician shall have their bodies made whole, and their souls established in safety.

CHAPTER 7

THE TWO PATHS

“Knowing, then, these good and evil deeds, I make known unto you as it were two paths, and I shall show you by which travelers are lost and by which they are saved, being guided of God. The path of the lost, then, is broad and very smooth — it ruins them without troubling them; but the path of the saved is narrow, rugged, and in the end it saves, not without much toil, those who have journeyed through it. And these two paths are presided over by unbelief and faith; and these journey through the path of unbelief, those who have preferred pleasure, on account of which they have forgotten the day of judgment, doing that which is not pleasing to God, and not caring to save their souls by the word, and have not anxiously sought their own good. Truly they know not that the counsels of God are not like men’s counsels; for, in the first place, He knows the thoughts of all men, and all must give an account not only of their actions, but also of their thoughts. And their sin is much less who strive to understand well and fall, than that of those who do not at all strive after good things. Because it has pleased God that he who errs in his knowledge of good, as men count errors, should be saved after being slightly punished. But they who have taken no care at all to know the better way, even though they may have done countless other good deeds, if they have not stood in the service He has Himself appointed, come under the charge of indifference, and are severely punished, and utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER 8

THE SERVICE OF GOD'S APPOINTMENT

"And this is the service He has appointed: To worship Him only, and trust only in the Prophet of truth, and to be baptized for the remission of sins, and thus by this pure baptism to be born again unto God by saving water; to abstain from the table of devils, that is, from food offered to idols, from dead carcasses, from animals which have been suffocated or caught by wild beasts, and from blood; not to live any longer impurely; to wash after intercourse; that the women on their part should keep the law of purification; that all should be sober-minded, given to good works, refraining from wrongdoing, looking for eternal life from the all-powerful God, and asking with prayer and continual supplication that they may win it." Such was Peter's counsel to the men of Sidon also. And in few days many repented and believed, and were healed. And Peter having founded a church, and set over it as bishop one of the elders who were with him, left Sidon.

CHAPTER 9

SIMON ATTACKS PETER

No sooner had he reached Beyrout than an earthquake took place; and the multitude, running to Peter, said, "Help us, for we are afraid we shall all utterly perish." Then Simon ventured, along with Appion and Anubion and Athenodorus, and the rest of his companions, to cry out to the people against Peter in public: "Flee, friends, from this man! he is a magician; trust us, he it was who caused this earthquake: he sent us these diseases to terrify us, as if he were God Himself." And many such false charges did Simon and his friends bring against Peter, as one who could do things above human power. But as soon as the people gave him a moment's quiet, Peter with surprising boldness gave a little laugh, and said, "Friends, I admit that I can do, God willing, what these men say; and more than that, I am ready, if you do not believe what I say, to overturn your city from top to bottom."

CHAPTER 10

SIMON IS DRIVEN AWAY

And the people were afraid, and promised to do whatever he should command. “Let none of you, then,” said Peter, “either hold conversation with these sorcerers, or have any thing to do with them.” And as soon as the people heard this concise command, they took up sticks, and pursued them till they had driven them wholly out of the town. And they who were sick and possessed with devils came and cast themselves at Peter’s feet. And he seeing all this, and anxious to free them from their terror, said to them: —

CHAPTER 11

THE WAY OF SALVATION

“Were I able to cause earthquakes, and do all that I wish, I assure you I would not destroy Simon and his friends (for not to destroy men am I sent), but would make him my friend, that he might no longer, by his slanders against my preaching the truth, hinder the salvation of many. But if you believe me, he himself is a magician; he is a slanderer; he is a minister of evil to them who know not the truth. Therefore he has power to bring diseases on sinners, having the sinners themselves to help him in his power over them. But I am a servant of God the Creator of all things, and a disciple of His Prophet who is at His right hand. Wherefore I, being His apostle, preach the truth: to serve a good man I drive away diseases, for I am His second messenger, since first the disease comes, but after that the healing. By that evil-working magician, then, you were stricken with disease because you revolted from God. By me, if you believe on Him ye shall be cured: and so having had experience that He is able, you may turn to good works, and have your souls saved.”

CHAPTER 12

PETER GOES TO BYBLUS AND TRIPOLIS

As he said these things, all fell on their knees before his feet. And he, lifting up his hands to heaven, prayed to God, and healed them all by his simple prayer alone. And he remained not many days in Beyrout; but after he had accustomed many to the service of the one God, and had baptized them, and had set over them a bishop from the elders who were with him, he went to Byblus. And when he came there, and learned that Simon had not waited for them for a day, but had gone straightway to Tripolis, he remained there only a few days; and after that he had healed not a few, and exercised them in the Scriptures, he followed in Simon’s track to Tripolis, preferring to pursue him rather than flee from him.

HOMILY 8

CHAPTER 1

PETER'S ARRIVAL AT TRIPOLIS

Now, as Peter was entering Tripolis, the people from Tyre and Sidon, Berytus and Byblus, who were eager to get instruction, and many from the neighborhood, entered along with him; and not least were there gatherings of the multitudes from the city itself wishing to see him. Therefore there met with us in the suburbs the brethren who had been sent forth by him to ascertain as well other particulars respecting the city, as the proceedings of Simon, and to come and explain them. They received him, and conducted him to the house of Maroones.

CHAPTER 2

PETER'S THOUGHTFULNESS

But he, when he was at the very gate of his lodging, turned round, and promised to the multitudes that after the next day he would converse with them on the subject of religion. And when he had gone in, the forerunners assigned lodgings to those who had come with him. And the hosts and the entertainers did not fall short of the desire of those who sought hospitality. But Peter, knowing nothing of this, being asked by us to partake of food, said that he would not himself partake until those who had come with him were settled. And on our assuring him that this was already done, all having received them eagerly by reason of their affection towards him, so that those were grieved beyond measure who had no guests to entertain, — Peter hearing this, and being pleased with their eager philanthropy, blessed them and went out, and having bathed in the sea, partook of food with the forerunners; and then, the evening having come, he slept.

CHAPTER 3

A CONVERSATION INTERRUPTED

But awaking about the second cock-crowing, he found us astir. We were in all sixteen, viz., Peter himself, and I Clement, Nicetas and Aquila, and the twelve who had preceded us. Having therefore saluted us, he said, “Today, not being occupied with those without, we are free to be occupied with one another. Wherefore I shall tell you the things that happened after your departure from Tyre; and do you minutely relate to me what have been the doings of Simon here.” While, therefore, we were answering one another by narratives on either side, one of our friends entered, and announced to Peter that Simon, learning of his arrival, had set off for Syria, and that the multitudes, thinking this one night to be like a year’s time, and not able to wait for the appointment which he had made, were standing before the doors conversing with one another in knots and circles about the accusation brought by Simon, and how that, having raised their expectations, and promised that he would charge Peter when he came with many evils, he had fled by night when he knew of his arrival. “However,” said he, “they are eager to hear you; and I know not whence some rumor has reached them to the effect that you are going to address them today. In order, therefore, that they may not when they are very tired be dismissed without reason, you yourself know what it is proper for you to do.”

CHAPTER 4

MANY CALLED

Then Peter, wondering at the eagerness of the multitudes, answered, “You see, brethren, how the words of our Lord are manifestly fulfilled. For I remember His saying, “Many shall come from the east and from the west, the north and the south, and shall recline on the bosoms of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.’ ‘But many,’ said He also, ‘are called, but few chosen.’ The coming, therefore, of these called ones is fulfilled. But inasmuch as it is not of themselves, but of God who has called them and caused them to come, on this account alone they have no reward, since it is not of

themselves but of Him who has wrought in them. But if, after being called, they do things that are excellent, for this is of themselves, then for this they shall have a reward.

CHAPTER 5

FAITH THE GIFT OF GOD

“For even the Hebrews who believe Moses, and do not observe the things spoken by him, are not saved, unless they observe the things that were spoken to them. For their believing Moses was not of their own will, but of God, who said to Moses, ‘Behold, I come to thee in a pillar of cloud, that the people may hear me speaking to thee, and may believe thee for ever.’ Since, therefore, both to the Hebrews and to those who are called from the Gentiles, believing in the teachers of truth is of God, while excellent actions are left to every one to do by his own judgment, the reward is righteously bestowed upon those who do well. For there would have been no need of Moses, or of the coming of Jesus, if of themselves they would have understood what is reasonable. Neither is there salvation in believing in teachers and calling them lords.

CHAPTER 6

CONCEALMENT AND REVELATION

“For on this account Jesus is concealed from the Jews, who have taken Moses as their teacher, and Moses is hidden from those who have believed Jesus. For, there being one teaching by both, God accepts him who has believed either of these. But believing a teacher is for the sake of doing the things spoken by God. And that this is so our Lord Himself says, ‘I thank thee, Father of heaven and earth, because Thou hast concealed these things from the wise and elder, and hast revealed them to sucking babes.’ Thus God Himself has concealed a teacher from some, as foreknowing what they ought to do, and has revealed him to others, who are ignorant what they ought to do.

CHAPTER 7

MOSES AND CHRIST

“Neither, therefore, are the Hebrews condemned on account of their ignorance of Jesus, by reason of Him who has concealed Him, if, doing the things commanded by Moses, they do not hate Him whom they do not know. Neither are those from among the Gentiles condemned, who know not Moses on account of Him who hath concealed him, provided that these also, doing the things spoken by Jesus, do not hate Him whom they do not know. And some will not be profited by calling the teachers lords, but not doing the works of servants. For on this account our Jesus Himself said to one who often called Him Lord, but did none of the things which He prescribed, ‘Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?’ For it is not saying that will profit any one, but doing. By all means, therefore, is there need of good works. Moreover, if any one has been thought worthy to recognize both as preaching one doctrine, that man has been counted rich in God, understanding both the old things as new in time, and the new things as old.”

CHAPTER 8

A LARGE CONGREGATION

While Peter was thus speaking, the multitudes, as if they had been called by some one, entered into the place where Peter was. Then he, seeing a great multitude, like the smooth current of a river gently flowing towards him, said to Maroones, “Have you any place here that is better able to contain the crowd?” Then Maroones conducted him to a garden-plot in the open air, and the multitudes followed. But Peter, standing upon a base of a statue which was not very high, as soon as he had saluted the multitude in pious fashion, knowing that many of the crowd that stood by were tormented with demons and many sufferings of long standing, and hearing them shrieking with lamentation, and falling down before him in supplication, rebuked them, and commanded them to hold their peace; and

promising healing to them after the discourse, began to speak on this wise: —

CHAPTER 9

"VINDICATE THE WAYS OF GOD TO MEN."

"While beginning to discourse on the worship of God to those who are altogether ignorant of everything, and whose minds have been corrupted by the accusations of our adversary Simon, I have thought it necessary first of all to speak of the blamelessness of the God who hath made all things, starting from the occasion seasonably afforded by Him according to His providence, that it may be known how with good reason many are held by many demons, and subjected to strange sufferings, that in this the justice of God may appear; and that those who through ignorance blame Him, now may learn by good speaking and well-doing what sentiments they ought to hold, and recall themselves from their previous accusation, assigning ignorance as the cause of their evil presumption, in order that they may be pardoned.

CHAPTER 10

THE ORIGINAL LAW

"But thus the matter stands. The only good God having made all things well, and having handed them over to man, who was made after His image, he who had been made breathing of the divinity of Him who made him, being a true prophet and knowing all things, for the honor of the Father who had given all things to him, and for the salvation of the sons born of him, as a genuine father preserving his affection towards the children born of him, and wishing them, for their advantage, to love God and be loved of Him, showed them the way which leads to His friendship, teaching them by what deeds of men the one God and Lord of all is pleased; and having exhibited to them the things that are pleasing to Him, appointed a perpetual law to all, which neither can be abrogated by enemies, nor is vitiated by any impious one, nor is concealed in any place, but which can

be read by all. To them, therefore, by obedience to the law, all things were in abundance, — the fairest of fruits, fullness of years, freedom from grief and from disease, bestowed upon them without fear, with all salubrity of the air.

CHAPTER 11

CAUSE OF THE FALL OF MAN

“But they, because they had at first no experience of evils, being insensible to the gift of good things, were turned to ingratitude by abundance of food and luxuries, so that they even thought that there is no Providence, since they had not by previous labor got good things as the reward of righteousness, inasmuch as no one of them had fallen into any suffering or disease, or any other necessity; so that, as is usual for men afflicted on account of wicked transgression, they should look about for the God who is able to heal them. But immediately after their despite, which proceeded from fearlessness and secure luxury, a certain just punishment met them, as following from a certain arranged harmony, removing from them good things as having hurt them, and introducing evil things instead, as advantageous.

CHAPTER 12

METAMORPHOSES OF THE ANGELS

“For of the spirits who inhabit the heaven, the angels who dwell in the lowest region, being grieved at the ingratitude of men to God, asked that they might come into the life of men, that, really becoming men, by more intercourse they might convict those who had acted ungratefully towards Him, and might subject every one to adequate punishment. When, therefore, their petition was granted, they metamorphosed themselves into every nature; for, being of a more godlike substance, they are able easily to assume any form. So they became precious stones, and goodly pearl, and the most beauteous purple, and choice gold, and all matter that is held in most esteem. And they fell into the hands of some, and into the bosoms of

others, and suffered themselves to be stolen by them. They also changed themselves into beasts and reptiles, and fishes and birds, and into whatsoever they pleased. These things also the poets among yourselves, by reason of fearlessness, sing, as they befell, attributing to one the many and diverse doings of all.

CHAPTER 13

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

"But when, having assumed these forms, they convicted as covetous those who stole them, and changed themselves into the nature of men, in order that, living holily, and showing the possibility of so living, they might subject the ungrateful to punishment, yet having become in all respects men, they also partook of human lust, and being brought tinder its subjection they fell into cohabitation with women; and being involved with them, and sunk in defilement and altogether emptied of their first power, were unable to turn back to the first purity of their proper nature, their members turned away from their fiery substance: for the fire itself, being extinguished by the weight of lust, and changed into flesh, they trode the impious path downward. For they themselves, being fettered with the bonds of flesh, were constrained and strongly bound; wherefore they have no more been able to ascend into the heavens.

CHAPTER 14

THEIR DISCOVERIES

"For after the intercourse, being asked to show what they were before, and being no longer able to do so, on account of their being unable to do aught else after their defilement, yet wishing to please their mistresses, instead of themselves, they showed the bowels of the earth; I mean, the choice metals, gold, brass, silver, iron, and the like, with all the most precious stones. And along with these charmed stones, they delivered the arts of the things pertaining to each, and imparted the discovery of magic, and taught astronomy, and the powers of roots, and whatever was impossible

to be found out by the human mind; also the reeking of gold and silver, and the like, and the various dyeing of garments. And all things, in short, which are for the adornment and delight of women, are the discoveries of these demons bound in flesh.

CHAPTER 15

THE GIANTS

“But from their unhallowed intercourse spurious men sprang, ranch greater in stature than ordinary men, whom they afterwards called giants; not those dragon-footed giants who waged war against God, as those blasphemous myths of the Greeks do sing, but wild in manners, and greater than men in size, inasmuch as they were sprung of angels; yet less than angels, as they were born of women. Therefore God, knowing that they were barbarized to brutality, and that the world was not sufficient to satisfy them (for it was created according to the proportion of men and human use), that they might not through want of food turn, contrary to nature, to the eating of animals, and yet seem to be blameless, as having ventured upon this through necessity, the Almighty God rained manna upon them, suited to their various tastes; and they enjoyed all that they would. But they, on account of their bastard nature, not being pleased with purity of food, longed only after the taste of blood. Wherefore they first tasted flesh.

CHAPTER 16

CANNIBALISM

“And the men who were with them there for the first time were eager to do the like. Thus, although we are born neither good nor bad, we become one or the other; and having formed habits, we are with difficulty drawn from them. But when irrational animals fell short, these bastard men tasted also human flesh. For it was not a long step to the consumption of flesh like their own, having first tasted it in other forms.

CHAPTER 17

THE FLOOD

“But by the shedding of much blood, the pure air being defiled with impure vapor, and sickening those who breathed it, rendered them liable to diseases, so that thenceforth men flied prematurely. But the earth being by these means greatly defiled, these first teemed with poison-darting and deadly creatures. All things, therefore, going from bad to worse, on account of these brutal demons, God wished to cast them away like an evil leaven, lest each generation from a wicked seed, being like to that before it, and equally impious, should empty the world to come of saved men. And for this purpose, having warned a certain righteous man, with his three sons, together with their wives and their children, to save themselves in an ark, He sent a deluge of water, that all being destroyed, the purified world might be handed over to him who was saved in the ark, in order to a second beginning of life. And thus it came to pass.

CHAPTER 18

THE LAW TO THE SURVIVORS

“Since, therefore, the souls of the deceased giants were greater than human souls, inasmuch as they also excelled their bodies, they, as being a new race, were called also by g new name. And to those who survived in the world a law was prescribed of God through an angel, how they should live. For being bastards in race, of the fire of angels and the blood of women, and therefore liable to desire a certain race of their own, they were anticipated by a certain righteous law. For a certain angel was sent to them by God, declaring to them His will, and saying:

CHAPTER 19

THE LAW TO THE GIANTS OR DEMONS

"'These things seem good to the all-seeing God, that you Lord it over no man; that you trouble no one, unless any one of his own accord subject himself to you, worshipping you, and sacrificing and pouring libations, and partaking of your table, or accomplishing aught else that they ought not, or shedding blood, or tasting dead flesh, or filling themselves with that which is torn of beasts, or that which is cut, or that which is strangled, or aught else that is unclean. But those who betake themselves to my law, you not only shall not touch, but shall also do honor to, and shall flee from, their presence. For whatsoever shall please them, being just, respecting you, that you shall be constrained to suffer. But if any of those who worship me go astray, either committing adultery, or practicing magic, or living impurely, or doing any other of the things which are not well-pleasing to me, then they will have to suffer something at your hands or those of others, according to my order. But upon them, when they repent, I, judging of their repentance, whether it be worthy of pardon or not, shall give sentence. These things, therefore, ye ought to remember and to do, well knowing that not even your thoughts shall be able to be concealed from Him.'

CHAPTER 20

WILLING CAPTIVES

"Having charged them to this effect, the angel departed. But you are still ignorant of this law, that every one who worships demons, or sacrifices to them, or partakes with them of their table, shall become subject to them and receive all punishment from them, as being under wicked lords. And you who, on account of ignorance of this law, have been corrupted beside their altars, and have been satiated with food offered to them, have come under their power, and do not know how you have been in every way injured in respect of your bodies. But you ought to know that the demons have no power over any one, unless first he be their table-companion;

since not even their chief can do anything contrary to the law imposed upon them by God, wherefore he has no power over any one who does not worship him; but neither can any one receive from them any of the things that he wishes, nor in anything be hurt by them, as you may learn from the following statement.

CHAPTER 21

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

“For once the king of the present time came to our King of righteousness, using no violence, for this was not in his power, but inducing and persuading, because the being persuaded lies in the power of every one. Approaching Him, therefore, as being king of things present, he said to the King of things future, ‘All the kingdoms of the present world are subject to me; also the gold and the silver and all the luxury of this world are under my power. Wherefore fall down and worship me, and I will give you all these things.’ And this he said, knowing that after He worshipped him he would have power also over Him, and thus would rob Him of the future glory and kingdom. But He, knowing all things, not only did not worship him, but would not receive aught of the things that were offered by him. For He pledged Himself with those that are His, to the effect that it is not lawful henceforth even to touch the things that are given over to him. Therefore He answered and said, ‘Thou shall fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve.’

CHAPTER 22

THE MARRIAGE SUPPER

“However, the king of the impious, striving to bring over to his own counsel the King of the pious, and not being able, ceased his efforts, undertaking to persecute Him for the remainder of His life. But you, being ignorant of the fore-ordained law, are under his power through evil deeds. Wherefore you are polluted in body and soul, and in the present life you are tyrannized over by sufferings and demons, but in that which is to come

you shall have your souls to be punished. And this not you alone suffer through ignorance, but also some of our nation, who by evil deeds having been brought trader the power of the prince of wickedness, like persons invited to a supper by a father celebrating the marriage of his son, have not obeyed. But instead of those who through preoccupation disobeyed, the Father celebrating the marriage of his Son, has ordered us, through the Prophet of the truth, to come into the partings of the ways, that is, to you, and to invest you with the clean wedding-garment, which is baptism, which is for the remission of the sins done by you, and to bring the good to the supper of God by repentance, although at the first they were left out of the banquet.

CHAPTER 23

THE ASSEMBLY DISMISSED

“If, therefore, ye wish to be the vesture of the Divine Spirit, hasten first to put off your base presumption, which is an unclean spirit and a foul garment. And this you cannot otherwise put off, than by being first baptized in good works. And thus being pure in body and in soul, you shall enjoy the future eternal kingdom. Therefore neither believe in idols, nor partake with them of the impure table, nor commit murder, nor adultery, nor hate those whom it is not right to hate, nor steal, nor set upon any evil deeds; since, being deprived of the hope of future blessings in the present life, you shall be subjected to evil demons and terrible sufferings, and in the world to come you shall be punished with eternal fire. Now, then, what has been said is enough for today. For the rest, those of you who are afflicted with ailments remain for healing; and of the others, you who please go in peace.”

CHAPTER 24

THE SICK HEALED

When he had thus spoken, all of them remained, some in order to be healed, and others to see those who obtained cures. But Peter, only laying

his hands upon them, and praying, healed them; so that those who were straightway cured were exceeding glad, and those who looked on exceedingly wondered, and blessed God, and believed with a firm hope, and with those who had been healed departed to their own homes, having received a charge to meet early on the following day. And when they had gone, Peter remained there with his associates, and partook of food, and refreshed himself with sleep.

HOMILY 9

CHAPTER 1

PETER'S DISCOURSE RESUMED

THEREFORE on the next day, Peter going out with his companions, and coming to the former place, and taking his stand, proceeded to say: "God having cut off by water all the impious men of old, having found one alone amongst them all that was pious, caused him to be saved in an ark, with his three sons and their wives. Whence may be perceived that it is His nature not to care for a multitude of wicked, nor to be indifferent to the salvation of one pious. Therefore the greatest impiety of all is forsaking the sole Lord of all, and worshipping many, who are no gods, as if they were gods.

CHAPTER 2

MONARCHY AND POLYARCHY

"If, therefore, while I expound and show you that this is the greatest sin, which is able to destroy you all, it occur to your mind that you are not destroyed, being great multitudes, you are deceived. For you have the example of the old world deluged. And yet their sin was much less than that which is chargeable against you. For they were wicked with respect to their equals, murdering or committing adultery. But you are wicked against the God of all, worshipping lifeless images instead of Him or along with Him, and attributing His divine name to every kind of senseless matter. In the first place, therefore, you are unfortunate in not knowing the difference between monarchy and polyarchy — that monarchy, on the one hand, is productive of concord, but polyarchy is effective of wars. For unity does not fight with itself, but multitude has occasion of undertaking battle one against another.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILY OF NOE

“Therefore straightway after the flood, Noe continued to live three hundred and fifty years with the multitude of his descendants in concord, being a king according to the image of the one God. But after his death many of his descendants were ambitious of the kingdom, and being eager to reign, each one considered how it might be effected; and one attempted it by war, another by deceit, another by persuasion, and one in one way and another in another; one of whom was of the family of Ham, whose descendant was Mestren, from whom the tribes of the Egyptians and Babylonians and Persians were multiplied.

CHAPTER 4

ZOROASTER

“Of this family there was born in due time a certain one, who took up with magical practices, by name Nebrod, who chose, giant-like, to devise things in opposition to God. Him the Greeks have called Zoroaster. He, after the deluge, being ambitious of sovereignty, and being a great magician, by magical arts compelled the world-guiding star of the wicked one who now rules, to the bestowal of the sovereignty as a gift from him. But he, being a prince, and having authority over him who compelled him, wrathfully poured out the fire of the kingdom, that he might both bring to allegiance, and might punish him who at first constrained him.

CHAPTER 5

HERO-WORSHIP

“Therefore the magician Nebrod, being destroyed by this lightning falling on earth from heaven, for this circumstance had his name changed to Zoroaster, on account of the living (ζῶσαν) stream of the star (ἀστέρος)

being poured upon him. But the unintelligent amongst the men who then were, thinking that through the love of God his soul had been sent for by lightning, buried the remains of his body, and honored his burial-place with a temple among the Persians, where the descent of the fire occurred, and worshipped him as a God. By this example also, others there bury those who die by lightning as beloved of God, and honor them with temples, and erect statues of the dead in their own forms. Thence, in like manner, the rulers in different places were emulous of like honor, and very many of them honored the tombs of those who were beloved of them, though not dying by lightning, with temples and statues, and lighted up altars, and ordered them to be adored as gods. And long after, by the lapse of time, they were thought by posterity to be really gods.

CHAPTER 6

FIRE-WORSHIP

“Thus, in this fashion, there ensued many partitions of the one original kingdom. The Persians, first taking coals from the lightning which fell from heaven, preserved them by ordinary fuel, and honoring the heavenly fire as a God, were honored by the fire itself with the first kingdom, as its first worshippers. After them the Babylonians, stealing coals from the fire that was there, and conveying it safetly to their own home, and worshipping it, they themselves also reigned in order. And the Egyptians, acting in like manner, and calling the fire in their own dialect PHTHAE, which is translated HEPHAISTUs or OSIRIS, he who first reigned amongst them is called by its name. Those also who reigned in different places, acting in this fashion, and making an image, and kindling altars in honor of fire, most of them were excluded from the kingdom.

CHAPTER 7

SACRIFICIAL ORGIES

“But they did not cease to worship images, by reason of the evil intelligence of the magicians, who found excuses for them, which had

power to constrain them to the foolish worship For, establishing this things by magical ceremonies, they assigned them feasts from sacrifices, libations, flutes, and shoutings, by means of which senseless men, being deceived, and their kingdom being taken from them, yet did not desist from the worship that they had taken up with. To such an extent did they prefer error, on account of its pleasantness, before truth. They also howl after their sacrificial surfeit, their soul from the depth, as it were by dreams, forewarning them of the punishment that is to befall such deeds of theirs.

CHAPTER 8

THE BEST MERCHANDISE

“Many forms of worship, then, having passed away in the world, we come, bringing to you, as good merchantmen, the worship that has been handed down to us from our fathers, and preserved; showing you, as it were, the seeds of plants, and placing them under your judgment and in your power. Choose that which seems good unto you. If, therefore, ye choose our wares, not only shall ye be able to escape demons, and the sufferings which are inflicted by demons, but yourselves also putting them to flight, and having them reduced to make supplication to you, shall for ever enjoy future blessings.

CHAPTER 9

HOW DEMONS GET POWER OVER MEN

“Since, on the other hand, you are oppressed by strange sufferings inflicted by demons, on your removal from the body you shall have your souls also punished for ever; not indeed by God’s inflicting vengeance, but because such is the judgment of evil deeds. For the demons, having power by means of the food given to them, are admitted into your bodies by your own hands; and lying hid there for a long time, they become blended with your souls. And through the carelessness of those who think not, or even wish not, to help themselves, upon the dissolution of their bodies, their

souls being united to the demon, are of necessity born by it into whatever places it pleases. And what is most terrible of all, when at the end of all things the demon is first consigned to the purifying fire, the soul which is mixed with it is under the necessity of being horribly punished, and the demon of being pleased. For the soul, being made of light, and not capable of bearing the heterogeneous flame of fire, is tortured; but the demon, being in the substance of his own kind, is greatly pleased, becoming the strong chain of the soul that he has swallowed up.

CHAPTER 10

HOW THEY ARE TO BE EXPELLED

“But the reason why the demons delight in entering into men’s bodies is this. Being spirits, and having desires after meats and drinks, and sexual pleasures, but not being able to partake of these by reason of their being spirits, and wanting organs fitted for their enjoyment, they enter into the bodies of men, in order that, getting organs to minister to them, they may obtain the things that they wish, whether it be meat, by means of men’s teeth, or sexual pleasure, by means of men’s members. Hence, in order to the putting of demons to flight, the most useful help is abstinence, and fasting, and suffering of affliction. For if they enter into men’s bodies for the sake of sharing pleasures, it is manifest that they are put to flight by suffering. But inasmuch as some, being of a more malignant kind, remain by the body that is undergoing punishment, though they are punished with it, therefore it is needful to have recourse to God by prayers and petitions, refraining from every occasion of impurity, that the hand of God may touch him for his cure, as being pure and faithful.

CHAPTER 11

UNBELIEF THE DEMON’S STRONGHOLD

“But it is necessary in our prayers to acknowledge that we have had recourse to God, and to bear witness, not to the apathy, but to the slowness of the demon. For all things are done to the believer, nothing to

the unbeliever. Therefore the demons themselves, knowing the amount of faith of those of whom they take possession, measure their stay proportionately. Wherefore they stay permanently with the unbelieving, tarry for a while with the weak in faith; but with those who thoroughly believe, and who do good, they cannot remain even for a moment. For the soul being turned by faith, as it were, into the nature of water, quenches the demon as a spark of fire. The labor, therefore, of every one is to be solicitous about the putting to flight of his own demon. For, being mixed up with men's souls, they suggest to every one's mind desires after what things they please, in order that he may neglect his salvation.

CHAPTER 12

THEORY OF DISEASE

"Whence many, not knowing how they are influenced, consent to the evil thoughts suggested by the demons, as if they were the reasoning of their own souls. Wherefore they become less active to come to those who are able to save them, and do not know that they themselves are held captive by the deceiving demons. Therefore the demons who lurk in their souls induce them to think that it is not a demon that is distressing them, but a bodily disease, such as some acrid matter, or bile, or phlegm, or excess of blood, or inflammation of a membrane, or something else. But even if this were so, the case would not be altered of its being a kind of demon. For the universal and earthly soul, which enters on account of all kinds of food, being taken to excess by over-much food, is itself united to the spirit, as being cognate, which is the soul of man; and the material part of the food being united to the body, is left as a dreadful poison to it. Wherefore in all respects moderation is excellent.

CHAPTER 13

DECEITS OF THE DEMONS

"But some of the maleficent demons deceive in another way. For at first they do not even show their existence, in order that care may not be taken

against them; but in due time, by means of anger, love, or some other affection, they suddenly injure the body, by sword, or halter, or precipice, or something else, and at last bring to punishment the deceived souls of those who have been mixed up with them, as we said, withdrawing into the purifying fire. But others, who are deceived in another way, do not approach us, being seduced by the instigations of maleficent demons, as if they suffered these things at the hands of the gods themselves, on account of their neglect of them, and were able to reconcile them by sacrifices, and that it is not needful to come to us, but rather to flee from and hate us. And at the same time they hate and flee from those who have greater compassion for them, and who follow after them in order to do good to them.

CHAPTER 14

MORE TRICKS

“Therefore shunning and hating us they are deceived, not knowing how it happens that they devise things opposed to their health. For neither can we compel them against their will to incline towards health, since now we have no such power over them, nor are they able of themselves to understand the evil instigation of the demon; for they know not whence these evil instigations are suggested to them. And these are they whom the demons affright, appearing in such forms as they please. And sometimes they prescribe remedies for those who are diseased, and thus they receive divine honors from those who have previously been deceived. And they conceal from many that they are demons, but not from us, who know their mystery, and why they do these things, changing themselves in dreams against those over whom they have power; and why they terrify some, and give oracular responses to others, and demand sacrifices from them, and command them to eat With them, that they may swallow up their souls.

CHAPTER 15

TEST OF IDOLS

“For as dire serpents draw sparrows to them by their breath, so also these draw to their own will those who partake of their table, being mixed up with their understanding by means of food and drink, changing themselves in dreams according to the forms of the images, that they may increase error. For the image is neither a living creature, nor has it a divine spirit, but the demon that appeared abused the form. How many, in like manner, have been seen by others in dreams; and when they have met one another when awake, and compared them with what they saw in their dream, they have not accorded: so that the dream is not a manifestation, but is either the production of a demon or of the soul, giving forums to present fears and desire. For the soul, being struck with fear, conceives forms in dreams. But if you think that images, as being alive, can accomplish such things, place them on a beam accurately balanced, and place. an equipoise in the other scale, then ask them to become either heavier or lighter: and if this be done, then they are alive. But it does not so happen. But if it were so, this would not prove them to be gods. For this might be accomplished by the finger of the demon. Even maggots move, yet they are not called gods.

CHAPTER 16

POWERS OF THE DEMONS

“But that the soul of each man embodies the forms of demons after his own preconceptions, and that those who are called gods do not appear, is manifest from the fact that they do not appear to the Jews. But some one will say, How then do they give oracular responses, forecasting future things? This also is false. But suppose it were true, this does not prove them to be gods; for it does not follow, if anything prophesies, that it is a God. For pythons prophesy, yet they are cast out by us as demons, and put to flight. But some one will say, They work cures for some persons. It is false. But suppose it were true, this is no proof of Godhead; for physicians also heal many, yet are not gods. But, says one, physicians do

not completely heal those of whom they take charge, but these heal oracularly. But the demons know the remedies that are suited to each disease. Wherefore, being skillful physicians, and able to cure those diseases which can be cured by men, and also being prophets, and knowing when each disease is healed of itself, they so arrange their remedies that they may gain the credit of producing the cure.

CHAPTER 17

REASONS WHY THEIR DECEITS ARE NOT DETECTED

“For why do they oracularly foretell cures after a long time? And why, if they are almighty, do they not effect cures without administering any medicine? And for what reason do they prescribe remedies to some of those who pray to them, while to some, and it may be more suitable cases, they give no response? Thus, whenever a cure is going to take place spontaneously, they promise, in order that they may get the credit of the cure; and others, having been sick, and having prayed, and having recovered spontaneously, attributed the cure to those whom they had invoked, and make offerings to them. Those, however, who, after praying, have failed, are not able to offer their sacrifices. But if the relatives of the dead, or any of their children, inquired into the losses, you would find the failures to be more than the successes. But no one who has been taken in by them is willing to exhibit an accusation against them, through shame or fear; but, on the other hand, they conceal the crimes which they believe them to be guilty of.

CHAPTER 18

PROPS OF THE SYSTEM

“And how many also falsify the responses given and the cures effected by them, and confirm them with an oath! And how many give themselves up to them for hire, undertaking falsely to suffer certain things, and thus proclaiming their suffering, and being restored by remedial means, they say that they oracularly promised them healing, in order that they may assign

as the cause the senseless worship: And how many of these things were formerly done by magical art, in the way of interpreting dreams, and divining! Yet in course of time these things have disappeared. And how many are there now, who, wishing to obtain such things, make use of charms! However, though a thing be prophetical or healing, it is not divine.

CHAPTER 19

PRIVILEGES OF THE BAPTIZED

“For God is almighty. For He is good and righteous, now long-suffering to all, that those who will, repenting of the evils which they have done, and living well, may receive a worthy reward in the day in which all things are judged. Wherefore now begin to obey God by reason of good knowledge, and to oppose your evil lusts and thoughts, that you may be able to recover the original saving worship which was committed to humanity. For thus shall blessings straightway spring up to you, which, when you receive, you will thenceforth quit the trial of evils. But give thanks to the Giver; being kings for ever of unspeakable good things, with the King of peace. But in the present life, washing in a flowing river, or fountain, or even in the sea, with the thrice-blessed invocation, you shall not only be able to drive away the spirits which lurk in you; but yourselves no longer sinning, and undoubtingly believing God, you shall drive out evil spirits and dire demons, with terrible diseases, from others. And sometimes they shall flee when you but look on them. For they know those who have given themselves up to God. Wherefore, honoring them, they flee affrighted, as you saw yesterday, how, when after the address I delayed praying for those who were suffering these maladies, through respect towards the worship they cried out, not being able to endure it for a short hour.

CHAPTER 20

"NOT ALMOST, BUT ALTOGETHER SUCH AS I AM."

"Do not then suppose that we do not fear demons on this account, that we are of a different nature from you. For we are of the same nature, but not of the same worship. Wherefore, being not only much but altogether superior to you, we do not grudge you becoming such as we are; but, on the other hand, counsel you, knowing that all these demons beyond measure honor and fear those who are reconciled to God.

CHAPTER 21

THE DEMONS SUBJECT TO THE BELIEVER

"For, in like manner as the soldiers who are put under one of Caesar's captains know to honor him who has received authority on account of him who gave it, so that the commanders say to this one, Come, and he comes, and to another, Go, and he goes; so also he who has given himself to God, being faithful, is heard when he only speaks to demons and diseases; and the demons give place, though they be much stronger than they who command them. For with unspeakable power God subjects the mind of every one to whom He pleases. For as many captains, with whole camps and cities, fear Caesar, who is but a man, every one's heart being eager to honor the image of all; for by the will of God, all things being enslaved by fear, do not know the cause; so also all disease-producing spirits, being awed in some natural way, honor and flee from him who has had recourse to God, and who carries right faith as His image in his heart.

CHAPTER 22

"RATHER REJOICE."

"But still, though all demons, with all diseases, flee before you, you are not to rejoice in this only, but in that, through grace, your names, as of the

ever-living, are written in heaven. Thus also the Divine Holy Spirit rejoices, because man hath overcome death; for the putting of the demons to flight makes for the safety of another. But this we say, not as denying that we ought to help others, but that we ought not to be inflated by this and neglect ourselves. It happens, also, that the demons flee before some wicked men by reason of the honored name, and both he who expels the demon and he who witnesses it are deceived: he who expels him, as if he were honored on account of righteousness, not knowing the wickedness of the demon. For he has at once honored the name, and by his flight has brought the wicked man into a thought of his righteousness, and so deceived him away from repentance. But the looker-on, associating with the expeller as a pious man, hastens to a like manner of life, and is ruined. Sometimes also they pretend to flee before adjurations not made in the name of God, that they may deceive men, and destroy them whom they will.

CHAPTER 23

THE SICK HEALED

“This then we would have you know, that unless any one of his own accord give himself over as a slave to demons, as I said before, the demon has no power against him. Choosing, therefore, to worship one God, and refraining from the table of demons, and undertaking chastity with philanthropy and righteousness, and being baptized with the thrice-blessed invocation for the remission of sins, and devoting yourselves as much as you can to the perfection of purity, you can escape everlasting punishment, and be constituted heirs of eternal blessings.”

Having thus spoken, he ordered those to approach who were distressed with diseases; and thus many approached, having come together through the experience of those who had been healed yesterday. And he having laid his hands upon them and prayed, and immediately healed them, and having charged them and the others to come earlier, he bathed and partook of food, and went to sleep.

HOMILY 10

CHAPTER 1

THE THIRD DAY IN TRIPOLIS

THEREFORE on the third day in Tripolis, Peter rose early and went into the garden, where there was a great water-reservoir, into which a full stream of water constantly flowed. There having bathed, and then having prayed, he sat down; and perceiving us sitting around and eagerly observing him, as wishing to hear something from him, he said: —

CHAPTER 2

IGNORANCE AND ERROR

"There seems to me to be a great difference between the ignorant and the erring. For the ignorant man seems to me to be like a man who does not wish to set out for a richly stored city, through his not knowing the excellent things that are there; but the erring man to be like one who has learned indeed the good things that are in the city, but who has forsaken the highway in proceeding towards it, and so has wandered. Thus, therefore, it seems to me that there is a great difference between those who worship idols and those who are faulty in the worship of God. For they who worship idols are ignorant of eternal life, and therefore they do not desire it; for what they do not know, they cannot love. But those who have chosen to worship one God, and who have learned of the eternal life given to the good, if they either believe or do anything different from what is pleasing to God, are like to those who have gone out from the city of punishment, and are desirous to come to the well-stored city, and on the road have strayed from the right path."

CHAPTER 3

MAN THE LORD OF ALL

While he was thus discoursing to us, there entered one of our people, who had been appointed to make the following announcement to him, and said: “My Lord Peter, there are great multitudes standing before the doors.” With his consent, therefore, a great multitude entered. Then he rose up, and stood on the basis, as he had done the day before; and having saluted them in religious fashion, he said: “God having formed the heaven and the earth, and having made all things in them, as the true Prophet has sad to us man, being made after the image and likeness of God, was appointed to be ruler and Lord of things I say in air and earth and water, as may be known from the very fact that by his intelligence he brings down the creatures that are in the air, and brings up those that are in the deep, hunts those that are on the earth, and that although they are much greater in strength than he; I mean elephants, and lions, and such like.

CHAPTER 4

FAITH AND DUTY

“While, therefore, he was righteous, he was also superior to all sufferings, as being unable by his immortal body to have any experience of pain; but when he sinned, as I showed you yesterday and the day before, becoming as it were the servant of sin, he became subject to all sufferings, being by a righteous judgment deprived of all excellent things. For it was not reasonable, the Giver having been forsaken, that the gifts should remain with the ungrateful. Whence, of His abundant mercy, in order to our receiving, with the first, also future blessings, He sent His Prophet. And the Prophet has given in charge to us to tell you what you ought to think, and what to do. Choose, therefore; and this is in your power. What, therefore, you ought to think is this, to worship the God who made all things; whom if you receive in your minds, you shall receive from Him, along with the first excellent things, also the future eternal blessings.

CHAPTER 5

THE FEAR OF GOD

“Therefore you shall be able to persuade yourselves with respect to the things that are profitable, if, like charmers, you say to the horrible serpent which lurks in your heart, ‘The Lord God thou shall fear, and Him alone thou shall serve.’ On every account it is advantageous to fear Him alone, not as an unjust, but as a righteous God. For one fears an unjust being, lest he be wrongfully destroyed, but a righteous one, lest he be caught in sin and punished. You can therefore, by fear towards Him, he freed from many hurtful fears. For if you do not fear the one Lord and Maker of all, you shall be the slaves of all evils to your own hurt, I mean of demons and diseases, and of everything that can in any way hurt you.

CHAPTER 6

RESTORATION OF THE DIVINE IMAGE

“Therefore approach with confidence to God, you who at first were made to be rulers and lords of all things: ye who have His image in your bodies, have in like manner the likeness of His judgment in your minds. Since, then, by acting like irrational animals, you have lost the soul of man from your soul, becoming like swine, you are the prey of demons. If, therefore, you receive the law of God, you become men. For it cannot be said to irrational animals, ‘Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal,’ and so forth. Therefore do not refuse, when invited, to return to your first nobility; for it is possible, if ye be conformed to God by good works. And being accounted to be sons by reason of your likeness to Him, you shall be reinstated as lords of all.

CHAPTER 7

UNPROFITABLENESS OF IDOLS

“Begin, then, to divest yourselves of the injurious fear of vain idols, that you may escape unrighteous bondage. For they have become your masters, who even as servants are unprofitable to you. I speak of the material of the lifeless images, which are of no use to you as far as service is concerned. For they neither bear nor see nor feel, nor can they be moved. For is there any one of you who would like to see as they see, and to hear as they hear, and to feel as they feel, and to be moved as they are? God forbid that such a wrong should be done to any man bearing the image of God, though he have lost His likeness.

CHAPTER 8

NO GODS WHICH ARE MADE WITH HANDS

“Therefore reduce your gods of gold and silver, or any other material, to their original nature; I mean into cups and basins and all other utensils, such as may be useful to you for service; and those good things which were given you at first shall be able to be restored. But perhaps you will say, The laws of the emperors do not permit us to do this. You say well that it is the law, and not the power of the vain idols themselves, which is nothing. How, then, have ye regarded them as gods, who are avenged by human laws, guarded by dogs, kept by multitudes? — and that if they are of gold, or silver. or brass. For those of wood or earthenware are preserved by their worthlessness, because no man desires to steal a wooden or earthenware God! So that your gods are exposed to danger in proportion to the value of the material of which they are made. How, then, can they be gods, which are stolen, molten, weighed, guarded?

CHAPTER 9

"EYES HAVE THEY, BUT THEY SEE NOT."

"Oh the minds of wretched men, who fear things deader than dead men! For I cannot call them even dead, which have never lived, unless they are the tombs of ancient men. For sometimes a person, visiting unknown places, does not know whether the temples which he sees are monuments of dead men, or whether they belong to the so-called gods; but on inquiring and bearing that they belong to the gods, he worships, without being ashamed that if he had not learned on inquiring, he would have passed them by as the monuments of a dead man, on account of the strictness of the resemblance. However, it is not necessary that I should adduce much proof in regard to such superstition. For it is easy for any one who pleases to understand that it, an idol, is noticing, unless there be any one who does not see. However, now at least hear that it does not hear, and understand that it does not understand. For the hands of a man who is dead made it. If, then, the maker is dead, how can it be that which was made by him shall not be dissolved? Why, then, do you worship the work of a mortal which is altogether senseless? whereas those who have reason do not worship animals, nor do they seek to propitiate the elements which have been made by God, — I mean the heaven, the sun, the moon, lightning, the sea, and all things in them, — rightly judging not to worship the things that He has made, but to reverence the Maker and Sustainer of them. For in this they themselves also rejoice, that no one ascribes to them the honor that belongs to their Maker.

CHAPTER 10

IDOLATRY A DELUSION OF THE SERPENT

"For His alone is the excellent glory of being alone uncreated, while all else is created. As, therefore, it is the prerogative of the uncreated to be God, so whatever is created is not God indeed. Before all things, therefore, you ought to consider the evil-working suggestion of the deceiving serpent that is in you, which seduces you by the promise of better reason, creeping

from your brain to your spinal marrow, and setting great value upon deceiving you.

CHAPTER 11

WHY THE SERPENT TEMPTS TO SIN

“For he knows the original law, that if he bring you to the persuasion of the so-called gods, so that you sin against the one good of monarchy your overthrow becomes a gain to him. And that for this reason, because he being condemned eats earth, he has power to eat him who through sin being dissolved into earth, has become earth, your souls going into his belly of fire. In order, therefore, that you may suffer these things, he suggests every thought to your hurt.

CHAPTER 12

IGNORANTIA NEMINEM EXCUSAT

“For all the deceitful conceptions against the monarchy are sown in your mind by him to your hurt. First, that you may not hear the discourses of piety, and so drive away ignorance, which is the occasion of evils, he ensnares you by a pretense of knowledge, giving in the first instance, and using throughout this presumption, which is to think and to be unhappily advised, that if any one do not hear the word of piety, he is not subject to judgments. Wherefore also some, being thus deceived, are not willing to hear, that they may be ignorant, not knowing that ignorance is of itself a sufficient deadly drug. For if any one should take a deadly drug in ignorance, does he not die? So naturally sins destroy the sinner, though he commit them in ignorance of what is right.

CHAPTER 13

CONDEMNATION OF THE IGNORANT

“But if judgment follows upon disobedience to instruction, much more shall God destroy those who will not undertake His worship. For he who will not learn, lest that should make him subject to judgment, is already judged as knowing, for he knew what he will not hear; so that imagination avails nothing as an apology in presence of the heart-knowing God. Wherefore avoid that cunning thought suggested by the serpent to your minds. But if any one end this life in real ignorance, this charge will lie against him, that, having lived so long, he did not know who was the bestower of the food supplied to him: and as a senseless, and ungrateful, and very unworthy servant, he is rejected from the kingdom of God.

CHAPTER 14

POLYTHEISTIC ILLUSTRATION

“Again, the terrible serpent suggests this supposition to you, to think and to say that very thing which most of you do say; viz., We know that there is one Lord of all, but there also are gods. For in like manner as there is one Caesar, but he has under him procurators, proconsuls, prefects, commanders of thousands, and of hundreds, and of tens; in the same way, there being one great God, as there is one Caesar, there also, after the manner of inferior powers, are gods, inferior indeed to Him, but ruling over us. Hear, therefore, ye who have been led away by this conception as by a terrible poison — I mean the evil conception of this illustration — that you may know what is good and what is evil. For you do not yet see it, nor do you look into the things that you utter.

CHAPTER 15

ITS INCONCLUSIVENESS

“For if you say that, after the manner of Caesar, God has subordinate powers — those, namely, which are called gods — you do not thus go by your illustration. For if you went by it, you must of necessity know that it is not lawful to give the name of Caesar to another, whether he be consul, or prefect, or captain, or any one else, and that he who gives such a name shall not live, and he who takes it shall be cut off. Thus, according to your own illustration, the name of God must not be given to another; and he who is tempted either to take or give it is destroyed. Now, if this insult of a man induces punishment, much more they who call others gods shall be subject to eternal punishment, as insulting God. And with good reason; because you subject to all the insult that you can the name which it was committed to you to honor, in order to His monarchy. For GOD is not properly His name; but you having in the meantime received it, insult what has been given you, that it may be accounted as done against the real name, according as you use that. But you subject it to every kind of insult.

CHAPTER 16

GODS OF THE EGYPTIANS

“Therefore you ringleaders among the Egyptians, boasting of meteorology, and promising to judge the natures of the stars, by reason of the evil opinion lurking in them, subjected that name to all manner of dishonor as far as in them lay. For some of them taught the worship of an ox called Apis, some that of a he-goat, some of a cat, some of a serpent; yea, even of a fish, and of onions, and rumblings in the stomach, and common sewers, and members of irrational animals, and to myriads of other base abominations they gave the name of God.”

CHAPTER 17

THE EGYPTIANS' DEFENSE OF THEIR SYSTEM

On Peter's saying this, the surrounding multitude laughed. Then Peter said to the laughing multitude: "You laugh at their proceedings, not knowing that you are yourselves much more objects of ridicule to them. But you laugh at one another's proceedings; for, being led by evil custom into deceit, you do not see your own. But I admit that you have reason to laugh at the idols of the Egyptians, since they, being rational, worship irrational animals, and these altogether dying. But listen to what they say when they deride you. We, they say, though we worship dying creatures, yet still such as have once had life: but you reverence things that never lived. And in addition to this, they say, We wish to honor the form of the one God, but we cannot find out what it is, and so we choose to give honor to every form. And so, making some such statements as these, they think that they judge more rightly than you do.

CHAPTER 18

ANSWER TO THE EGYPTIANS

"Wherefore answer them thus: You lie, for you do not worship these things in honor of the true God, for then all of you would worship every form; not as ye do. For those of you who suppose the onion to be the divinity, and those who worship rumblings in the stomach, contend with one another; and thus all in like manner preferring some one thing, revile those that are preferred by others. And with diverse judgments, one reverences one and another of the limbs of the same animal. Moreover, those of them who still have a breath of right reason, being ashamed of the manifest baseness, attempt to drive these things into allegories, wishing by another vagary to establish their deadly error. But we should confute the allegories, if we were there, the foolish passion for which has prevailed to such an extent as to constitute a great disease of the understanding. For it is not necessary to apply a plaster to a whole part of the body, but to a diseased part. Since then, you, by your laughing at the Egyptians, show

that you are not affected with their disease, with respect to your own disease it were reasonable I should afford to you a present cure of your own malady.

CHAPTER 19

GOD'S PECULIAR ATTRIBUTE

"He who would worship God ought before all things to know what alone is peculiar to the nature of God, which cannot pertain to another, that, looking at His peculiarity, and not finding it in any other, he may not be seduced into ascribing godhead to another. But this is peculiar to God, that He alone is, as the Maker of all, so also the best of all. That which makes is indeed superior in power to that which is made; that which is boundless is superior in magnitude to that which is bounded: in respect of beauty, that which is comeliest; in respect of happiness, that which is most blessed; in respect of understanding, that which is most perfect. And in like manner, in other respects, He has incomparably the pre-eminence. Since then, as I said, this very thing, viz., to be the best of all, is peculiar to God, and the all-comprehending world was made by Him, none of the things made by Him can come into equal comparison with Him.

CHAPTER 20

NEITHER THE WORLD NOR ANY OF ITS PARTS CAN BE GOD

"But the world, not being incomparable and unsurpassable, and altogether in all respects without defect, cannot be God. But if the whole world cannot be God, in respect of its having been made, how much more should not its parts be reasonably called God; I mean the parts that are by you called gods, being made of gold and silver, brass and stone, or of any other material whatsoever; and they constructed by mortal hand. However, let us further see how the terrible serpent through man's mouth poisons those who are seduced by his solicitations.

CHAPTER 21

IDOLS NOT ANIMATED BY THE DIVINE SPIRIT

“For many say, We do not worship the gold or the silver, the wood or the stone, of the objects of our worship. For we also know that these are nothing but lifeless matter, and the art of mortal man. But the spirit that dwells in them, that we call God. Behold the immorality of those who speak thus! For when that which appears is easily proved to be nothing, they have recourse to the invisible, as not being able to be convicted in respect of what is non-apparent. However, they agree with us in part, that one half of their images is not God, but senseless matter. It remains for them to show how we are to believe that these images have a divine spirit. But they cannot prove to us that it is so, for it is not so; and we do not believe them when they say that they have seen it. We shill afford them proofs that they have not a divine spirit, that lovers of truth, hearing the refutation of the thought that they are animated, may turn away from the hurtful delusion.

CHAPTER 22

CONFUTATION OF IDOL-WORSHIP

“In the first place, indeed, if you worship them as being animated, why do you also worship the sepulchers of memorable men of old, who confessedly had no divine spirit? Thus you do not at all speak truth respecting this. But if your objects of worship were really animated, they would move of themselves; they would have a voice; they would shake off the spiders that are on them; they would thrust forth those that wish to surprise and to steal them; they would easily capture those who pilfer the offerings. But now they do none of these things, but are guarded, like culprits, and especially the more costly of them, as we have already said. But what? Is it not so, that the rulers demand of you imposts and taxes on their account, as if you were greatly benefited by them? But what? Have they not often been taken as plunder by enemies, and been broken and scattered? And do not the priests, more than the outside worshippers,

carry off many of the offerings, thus acknowledging the uselessness of their worship?

CHAPTER 23

FOLLY OF IDOLATRY

“Nay, it will be said; but they are detected by their foresight. It is false; for how many of them have not been detected? And if on account of the capture of some it be said that they have power, it is a mistake. For of those who rob tombs, some are found out and some escape; but it is not by the power of the dead that those who are apprehended are detected. And such ought to be our conclusion with respect to those who steal and pilfer the gods. But it will be said, The gods that are in them take no care of their images. Why, then, do you tend them, wiping them, and washing them, and scouring them, crowning them, and sacrificing to them? Wherefore agree with me that you act altogether without right reason. For as you lament over the dead, so you sacrifice and make libations to your gods.

CHAPTER 24

IMPOTENCE OF IDOLS

“Nor yet is that in harmony with the illustration of Caesar, and of the powers under him, to call them administrators; whereas you take all care of them, as I said, tending your images in every respect. For they, having no power, do nothing. Wherefore tell us what do they administer? what do they of that sort which rulers in different places do? and what influence do they exert, as the stars of God? Do they show anything like the sun, or do you light lamps before them? Are they able to bring showers, as the clouds bring rain, — they which cannot even move themselves, unless men carry them? Do they make the earth fruitful to your labors, these to whom you supply sacrifices? Thus they can do nothing.

CHAPTER 25

SERVANTS BECOME MASTERS

“But if they were able to do something, you should not be right in calling them gods: for it is not right to call the elements gods, by which good things are supplied; but only Him who ordereth them, to accomplish all things for our use, and who commandeth them to be serviceable to man, — Him alone we call God in propriety of speech, whose beneficence you do not perceive, but permit those elements to rule over you which have been assigned to you as your servants. And why should I speak of the elements, when you not only have made and do worship lifeless images, but deign to be subject to them in all respects as servants? Wherefore, by reason of your erroneous judgments, you have become subject to demons. However, by acknowledgment of God Himself, by good deeds you can again become masters, and command the demons as slaves, and as sons of God be constituted heirs of the eternal kingdom.”

CHAPTER 26

THE SICK HEALED

Having said this, he ordered the demoniacs, and those taken with diseases, to be brought to him; and when they were brought, he laid his hands on them, and prayed, and dismissed them healed, reminding them and the rest of the multitude to attend upon him there every day that he should discourse. Then, when the others had withdrawn, Peter bathed in the reservoir that was there, with those who pleased; and then ordering a table to be spread on the ground under the thick foliage of the trees, for the sake of shade, he ordered us each to recline, according to our worth; and thus we partook of food. Therefore having blessed and having given thanks to God for the enjoyment, according to the accustomed faith of the Hebrews; and there being still a long time before us, he permitted us to ask him questions about whatever we pleased; and thus, though there were twenty of us putting questions to him all round, he satisfied every one. And now

evening having descended, we all went with him into the largest apartment of the lodging, and there we all slept.

HOMILY 11

CHAPTER 1

MORNING EXERCISES

THEREFORE On the fourth day at Tripolis, Peter rising and finding us awake, saluted us and went out to the reservoir, that he might bathe and pray; and we also did so after him. To us, therefore, when we had prayed together, and were set down before him, he gave a discourse touching the necessity of purity. And when thereafter it was day, he permitted the multitudes to enter. Then, when a great crowd had entered, he saluted them according to custom, and began to speak.

CHAPTER 2

"GIVING ALL DILIGENCE."

"Inasmuch as, by long-continued neglect on your part, to your own injury, your mind has caused to sprout many hurtful conceptions about religion, and ye have become like land fallow by the carelessness of the husbandman, you need a long time for your purification, that your mind, receiving like good seed the true word that is imparted to you, may not choke it with evil cares, and render it unfruitful with respect to works that are able to save you. Wherefore it behoves those who are careful of their own salvation to hear more constantly, that their sins which have been long multiplying may, in the short time that remains, be matched with constant care for their purification. Since, therefore, no one knows the time of his end, hasten to pluck out the many thorns of your hearts; but not by little and little, for then you cannot be purified, for you have been long fallow.

CHAPTER 3

"BEHOLD WHAT INDIGNATION."

"But not otherwise will you endure to undertake much care for your purification unless you be angry with yourselves, and chastise yourselves for those things with which, as unprofitable servants, you have been ensnared, consenting to your evil lusts, that you may be able to let in your righteous indignation upon your mind, as fire upon a fallow field. If, therefore, ye have not righteous fire, I mean indignation, against evil lusts, learn from what good things ye have been seduced, and by whom ye have been deceived, and for what punishment ye are prepared; and thus, your mind being sober, and kindled into indignation like fire by the teaching of Him who sent us, may be able to consume the evil things of lust. Believe me, that if you will, you can rectify all things.

CHAPTER 4

THE GOLDEN RULE

"Ye are the image of the invisible God. Whence let not those who would be pious say that idols are images of God, and therefore that it is right to worship them. For the image of God is man. He who wishes to be pious towards God does good to man, because the body of man bears the image of God. But all do not as yet bear His likeness, but the pure mind of the good soul does. However, as we know that man was made after the image and after the likeness of God, we tell you to be pious towards him, that the favor may be accounted as done to God, whose image he is. Therefore it behoves you to give honor to the image of God, which is man — in this wise: food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, care to the sick, shelter to the stranger, and visiting him who is in prison, to help him as you can. And not to speak at length, whatever good things any one wishes for himself, so let him afford to another in need, and then a good reward can be reckoned to him as being pious towards the image of God. And by like reason, if he will not undertake to do these things, he shall be punished as neglecting the image.

CHAPTER 5

FORASMUCH AS YE DID IT UNTO ONE OF THESE

“Can it therefore be said that, for the sake of piety towards God, ye worship every form, while in all things ye injure man who is really the image of God, committing murder, adultery, stealing, and dishonoring him in many other respects? But you ought not to do even one evil thing on account of which man is grieved. But now you do all things on account of which man is disheartened, for wrong is also distress. Wherefore you murder and spoil his goods, and whatever else you know which you would not receive from another. But you, being seduced by some malignant reptile to malice, by the suggestion of polytheistic doctrine, are impious towards the real image, which is man, and think that ye are pious towards senseless things.

CHAPTER 6

WHY GOD SUFFERS OBJECTS OF IDOLATRY TO SUBSIST

“But some say, Unless He wished these things to be, they should not be, but He would take them away. But I say this shall assuredly be the case, when all shall show their preference for Him, and thus there shall be a change of the present world. However, if you wished him to act thus, so that none of the things that are worshipped should subsist, tell me what of existing things you have not worshipped. Do not some of you worship the sun, and some the moon, and some water, and some the earth, and some the mountains, and some plants, and some seeds, and some also man, as in Egypt? Therefore God must have suffered nothing, not even you, so that there should have been neither worshipped nor worshipper. Truly this is what the terrible serpent which lurks in you would have, and spares you not. But so it shall not be. For it is not the thing that is worshipped that sins; for it suffers violence at the hands of him who will worship it. For though unjust judgment is passed by all men, yet not by God. For it is not just that the sufferer and the disposer receive the same punishment, unless he willingly receive the honor which belongs only to the Most Honorable.

CHAPTER 7

"LET BOTH GROW TOGETHER TILL THE HARVEST."

"But it will be said that the worshippers themselves ought to be taken away by the true God, that others may not do it. But you are not wiser than God, that you should give Him counsel as one more prudent than He. He knows what He does; for He is long-suffering to all who are in impiety, as a merciful and philanthropic father, knowing that impious men become pious. And of those very worshippers of base and senseless things, many becoming sober have ceased to worship these things and to sin, and many Greeks have been saved so as to pray to the true God.

CHAPTER 8

LIBERTY AND NECESSITY

"But, you say, God ought to have made us at first so that we should not have thought at all of such things. You who say this do not know what is free-will, and how it is possible to be really good; that he who is good by his own choice is really good; but he who is made good by another under necessity is not really good, because he is not what he is by his own choice. Since therefore every one's freedom constitutes the true good, and shows the true evil, God has contrived that friendship or hostility should be in each man by occasions. But no, it is said: everything that we think He makes us to think. Stop! Why do you blaspheme more and more, in saying this? For if we are under His influence in all that we think, you say that He is the cause of fornications, lusts, avarice, and all blasphemy. Cease your evil-speaking, ye who ought to speak well of Him, and to bestow all honor upon Him. And do not say that God does not claim any honor; for if He Himself claims nothing, you ought to look to what is right, and to answer with thankful voice Him who does you good in all things.

CHAPTER 9

GOD A JEALOUS GOD

“But, you say, we do better when we are thankful at once to Him and to all others. Now, when you say this, you do not know the plot that is formed against you. For as, when many physicians of no power promise to cure one patient, one who is really able to cure him does not apply his remedy, considering that, if he should cure him, the others would get the credit; so also God does not do you good, when He is asked along with many who can do nothing. What! it will be said, is God enraged at this, if, when He cures, another gets the credit? I answer: Although He be not indignant, at all events He will not be an accomplice in deceit; for when He has conferred a benefit, the idol, which has done nothing, is credited with the power. But also I say to you, if he who crouches in adoration before senseless idols had not been injured naturally, perhaps He(God) would have endured even this. Wherefore watch ye that you may attain to a reasonable understanding on the matter of salvation? For God being without want, neither Himself needs anything, nor receives hurt; for it belongs to us to be profiled or injured. For in like manner as Caesar is neither hurt when he is evil spoken of, nor profiled when he is thanked, but safety accrues to the renderer of thanks, and ruin to the evil-speaker, so they who speak well of God indeed profit Him nothing, but save themselves; and in like manner, those who blaspheme Him do not indeed injure Him, but themselves perish.

CHAPTER 10

THE CREATURES AVENGE GOD’S CAUSE

“But it will be said that the cases are not parallel between God and man; and I admit that they are not parallel: for the punishment is greater to him who is guilty of impiety against the greater, and less to him who sins against the less. As, therefore, God is greatest of all, so he who is impious against Him shall endure greater punishment, as sinning against the greater; not through His defending Himself with His own hand, but the whole

creation being indignant at him, and naturally taking vengeance on him. For to the blasphemer the sun will not give his light, nor the earth her fruits, nor the fountain its water, nor in Hades shall he who is there constituted prince give rest to the soul; since even now, while the constitution of the world subsists, the whole creation is indignant at him. Wherefore neither do the clouds afford sufficient rains, nor the earth fruits, whereby many perish; yea, even the air itself, inflamed with anger, is turned to pestilential courses. However, whatsoever good things we enjoy, He of His mercy compels the creature to our benefits. Still, against you who dishonor the Maker of all, the whole creation is hostile.

CHAPTER 11

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

“And though by the dissolution of the body you should escape punishment, how shall you be able by corruption to flee from your soul, which is incorruptible? For the soul even of the wicked is immortal, for whom it were better not to have it incorruptible. For, being punished with endless torture trader unquenchable fire, and never dying, it can receive no end of its misery. But perhaps some one of you will say, ‘You terrify us, O Peter.’ Teach us then how we can be silent about these things, and yet tell you things as they are, for not otherwise can we tell you them. But if we should be silent, you should be ensnared by evils through ignorance. But if we speak, we are suspected of terrifying you with a false theory. How then shall we charm that wicked serpent that lurks in your soul, and subtly insinuates suspicions hostile to God, under the guise of love of God? Be reconciled with yourselves; for in order to your salvation recourse is to Him with well-doing. Unreasonable lust in you is hostile to God, for by conceit of wisdom it strengthens ignorance.

CHAPTER 12

IDOLS UNPROFITABLE

“But others say, God does not care for us. This also is false. For if really He did not care, He would neither cause His sun to rise on the good and the evil, nor send His rain on the just and the unjust. But others say, We are more pious than you, since we worship both him and images. I do not think, if one were to say to a king, ‘I give you an equal share of honor with that which I give to corpses and to worthless dung’ — I do not think that he would profit by it. But some one will say, Do you call our objects of worship dung? I say Yes, for you have made them useless to yourselves by setting them aside for worship, whereas their substance might perhaps have been serviceable for some other purpose, or for the purpose of manure. But now it is not useful even for this purpose, since you have changed its shape and worship it. And how do you say that you are more pious, you who are the most wicked of all, who deserve destruction of your souls by this very one incomparable sin, at the hands of Him who is true, if you abide in it? For as if any son having received many benefits from his father, give to another, who is not his father, the honor that is due to his father, he is certainly disinherited; but if he live according to the judgment of his father, and so thanks him for his kindnesses, he is with good reason made the heir.

CHAPTER 13

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF IDOLATRY ANSWERED

“But others say, We shall act impiously if we forsake the objects of worship handed down to us by our fathers; for it is like the guarding of a deposit. But on this principle the son of a robber or a debauchee ought not to be sober and to choose the better part, lest he should act impiously, and sin by doing differently from his parents! How foolish, then, are they who say, We worship these things that we may not be troublesome to Him; as if God were troubled by those who bless Him, and not troubled by those who ungratefully blaspheme Him. Why is it, then, that when there is a

withholding of rain, you look only to heaven and pour out prayers and supplications; and when you obtain it, you quickly forget? For when you have reaped your harvest or gathered your vintage, you distribute your first-fruits among those idols which are nothing, quickly forgetting God your benefactor; and thus you go into groves and temples, and offer sacrifices and feasts. Wherefore some of you say, These things have been excellently devised for the sake of good cheer and feasting.

CHAPTER 14

HEATHEN ORGIES

“Oh men without understanding! Judge ye rightly of what is said. For if it were necessary to give one’s self to some pleasure for the refreshment of the body, whether were it better to do so among the rivers and woods and groves, where there are entertainments and convivialities and shady places, or where there is the madness of demons, and cuttings of bands, and emasculations, and fury and mania, and disheveling of hair, and shoutings and enthusiasms and howlings, and all those things which are done with hypocrisy for the confounding of the unthinking, when you offer your prescribed prayers and thanksgivings even to those who are deader than the dead?

CHAPTER 15

HEATHEN WORSHIPPERS UNDER THE POWER OF THE DEMON

“And why do ye take pleasure in these doings? Since the serpent which lurks in you, which has sown in you fruitless lust, will not tell you. I shall speak and put it on record. Thus the case stands. According to the worship of God, the proclamation is made to be sober, to be chaste, to restrain passion, not to pilfer other men’s goods, to live uprightly, moderately, fearlessly, gently; rather to restrain one’s self in necessities, than to supply his wants by wrongfully taking away the property of another. But with the so-called gods the reverse is done. And ye renounce

some things as done by you, in order to the admiration of your righteousness; whereas, although you did all that you are commanded, ignorance with respect to God is alone sufficient for your condemnation. But meeting together in the places which you have dedicated to them, you delight in making yourselves drunk, and you kindle your altars, of which the diffused odor through its influence attracts the blind and deaf spirits to the place of their fumigation. And thus, of those who are present, some are filled with inspirations, and some with strange fends, and some betake themselves to lasciviousness, and some to theft and murder. For the exhalation of blood, and the libation of wine, satisfies even these unclean spirits, which lurk within you and cause you to take pleasure in the things that are transacted there, and in dreams surround you with false phantasies, and punish you with myriads of diseases. For under the show of the so-called sacred victims you are filled with dire demons, which, cunningly concealing themselves, destroy you, so that you should not understand the plot that is laid for you. For, under the guise of some injury, or love, or anger, or grief, or strangling you with a rope, or drowning you, or throwing you from a precipice, or by suicide, or apoplexy, or some other disease, they deprive you of life.

CHAPTER 16

ALL THINGS WORK FOR GOOD TO THEM THAT LOVE GOD

“But no one of us can suffer such a thing; but they themselves are punished by us, when, having entered into any one, they entreat us that they may go out slowly. But some one will say perhaps, Even some of the worshippers of God fall under such sufferings. I say that is impossible. For he is a worshipper of God, of whom I speak, who is truly pious, not one who is such only in name, but who really performs the deeds of the law that has been given him. If any one acts impiously, he is not pious; in like manner as, if he who is of another tribe keeps the law, he is a Jew; but he who does not keep it is a Greek. For the Jew believes God and keeps the law, by which faith he removes also other sufferings, though like mountains and heavy. But he who keeps not the law is manifestly a deserter through not believing God; and thus as no Jew, but a sinner, he is

on account of his sin brought into subjection to those sufferings which are ordained for the punishment of sinners. For, by the will of God prescribed at the beginning, punishment righteously follows those who worship Him on account of transgressions; and this is so, in order that having reckoned with them by punishment for sin as for a debt, he may set forth those who have turned to Him pure in the universal judgment. For as the wicked here enjoy luxury to the loss of eternal blessings, so punishments are sent upon the Jews who transgress for a settlement of accounts, that, expiating their transgression here, they may there be set free from eternal punishments.

CHAPTER 17

SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE

“But you cannot speak thus; for you do not believe that things are then as we say; I mean, when there is a recompense for all. And on this account, you being ignorant of what is advantageous, are seduced by temporal pleasures from taking hold of eternal things. Wherefore we attempt to make to you exhibitions of what is profitable, that, being convinced of the promises that belong to piety, you may by good deeds inherit with us the griefless world. Until then you know us, do not be angry with us, as if we spoke falsely of the good things which we desire for you. For the things which are regarded by us as true and good, these we have not scrupled to bring to you, but, on the contrary, have hastened to make you fellow-heirs of good things, which we have considered to be such. For thus it is necessary to speak to the unbelievers. But that we really speak the truth in what we say, you cannot know otherwise than by first listening with love of the truth.

CHAPTER 18

CHARMING OF THE SERPENT

“Wherefore, as to the matter in hand, although in ten thousand ways the serpent that lurks in you suggesting evil reasonings and hindrances, wishes to ensnare you, therefore so much the more ought ye to resist him, and to

listen to us assiduously. For it behoves you, consulting, as having been grievously deceived, to know how he must be charmed. But in no other way is it possible. But by charming I mean the setting yourselves by reason in opposition to their evil counsels, remembering that by promise of knowledge he brought death into the world at the first.

CHAPTER 19

NOT PEACE, BUT A SWORD

“Whence the Prophet of the truth, knowing that the world was much in error, and seeing it ranged on the side of evil, did not choose that there should be peace to it while it stood in error. So that till the end he sets himself against all those who are in concord with wickedness, setting truth over against error, sending as it were fire upon those who are sober, namely wrath against the seducer, which is likened to a sword, and by holding forth the word he destroys ignorance by knowledge, cutting, as it were, and separating the living from the dead. Therefore, while wickedness is being conquered by lawful knowledge, war has taken hold of all. For the submissive son is, for the sake of salvation, separated from the unbelieving father, or the father from the son, or the mother from the daughter, or the daughter from the mother, and relatives from relatives, and friends from associates.

CHAPTER 20

WHAT IF IT BE ALREADY KINDLED?

“And let not any one say, How is this just, that parents should be separated from their children, and children from their parents? It is just, even entirely. For if they remained with them, and, after profiting them nothing, were also destroyed along with them, how is it not just that he who wishes to be saved should be separated from him who will not, but who wishes to destroy him along with himself. Moreover, it is not those who judge better that wish to be separated, but they wish to stay with them, and to profit them by the exposition of better things; and therefore

the unbelievers, not wishing to hearken to them, make war against them, banishing, persecuting, hating them. But those who suffer these things, pitying those who are ensnared by ignorance, by the teaching of wisdom pray for those who contrive evil against them, having learned that ignorance is the cause of their sin. For the Teacher Himself, being nailed to the cross, prayed to the Father that the sin of those who slew Him might be forgiven, saying, 'Father, forgive them their sins, for they know not what they do.' They also therefore, being imitators of the Teacher in their sufferings, pray for those who contrive them, as they have been taught. Therefore they are not separated as hating their parents, since they make constant prayers even for those who are neither parents nor relatives, but enemies, and strive to love them, as they have been commanded.

CHAPTER 21

"IF I BE A FATHER, WHERE IS MY FEAR?"

"But tell me, how do you love your parents? If, indeed, you do it as always regarding what is right, I congratulate you; but if you love them as it happens, then not so, for then you may on a small occasion become their enemies. But if you love them intelligently, tell me, what are parents? You will say they are the sources of our being. Why, then, do ye not love the source of the being of all things, if indeed you have with right understanding elected to do this? But you will now say again, we have not seen Him. Why, then, do ye not seek for Him, but worship senseless things? But what? If it were even difficult for you to know what God is, you cannot fail to know what is not God, so as to reason that God is not wood, nor stone, nor brass, nor anything else made of corruptible matter.

CHAPTER 22

"THE GODS THAT HAVE NOT MADE THE HEAVENS."

"For are not they graven with iron? And has not the graying iron been softened by fire? And is not the fire itself extinguished with water? And has not the water its motion from the spirit? And has not the spirit the

beginning of its course from the God who hath made all things? For thus said the prophet Moses: ‘In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was unsightly, and unadorned; and darkness was over the deep: and the Spirit of God was born above the waters.’ Which Spirit, at the bidding of God, as it were His hand, makes all things, dividing light from darkness, and after the invisible heaven spreading out the visible, that the places above might be inhabited by the angels of light, and those below by man, and all the creatures that were made for his use.

CHAPTER 23

“TO WHOM MUCH IS GIVEN.”

“For on thy account, O man, God commanded the water to retire upon the face of the earth, that the earth might be able to bring forth fruits for thee. And He made water-courses. that He might provide for thee fountains, and that river-beds might be disclosed, that animals might teem forth; in a word, that He might furnish thee with all things. For is it not for thee that the winds blow, and the rains fall, and the seasons change for the production of fruits? Moreover, it is for thee that the sun and moon, with the other heavenly bodies, accomplish their risings and settings; and rivers and pools, with all fountains, serve thee. Whence to thee, O senseless one, as the greater honor has been given, so for thee, ungrateful, the greater punishment by fire has been prepared, because thou wouldest not know Him whom it behooved thee before all things to know.

CHAPTER 24

“BORN OF WATER.”

“And now from inferior things learn the cause of all, reasoning that water makes all things, and water receives the production of its movement from spirit, and the spirit has its beginning from the God of all. And thus you ought to have reasoned, in order that by reason you might attain to God, that, knowing your origin, and being born again by the first-born water,

you may be constituted heir of the parents who have begotten you to incorruption.

CHAPTER 25

GOOD WORKS TO BE WELL DONE

“Wherefore come readily, as a son to a father, that God may assign ignorance as the cause of your sins. But if after being called you will not, or delay, you shall he destroyed by the just judgment of God, not being willed, through your not willing. And do not think, though you were more pious than all the pious that ever were, but if you be unbaptized, that you shall ever obtain hope. For all the more, on this account, you shall endure the greater punishment, because you have done excellent works not excellently. For well-doing is excellent when it is done as God has commanded. But if you will not be baptized according to His pleasure, you serve your own will and oppose His counsel.

CHAPTER 26

BAPTISM

“But perhaps some one will say, What does it contribute to piety to be baptized with water? In the first place, because you do that which is pleasing to God; and in the second place, being born again to God of water, by reason of fear you change your first generation, which is of lust, and thus you are able to obtain salvation. But otherwise it is impossible. For thus the prophet has sworn to us, saying, “Verily I say to you, Unless ye be regenerated by living water into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. Wherefore approach. For there is there something that is merciful from the beginning, home upon the water, and rescues from the future punishment those who are baptized with the thrice blessed invocation, offering as gifts to God the good deeds of the baptized whenever they are done after their baptism. Wherefore flee to the waters, for this alone can quench the violence of fires. He who will not now come to it still bears the spirit of strife, on

account of which he will not approach the living water for his own salvation.

CHAPTER 27

ALL NEED BAPTISM

“Therefore approach, be ye righteous or unrighteous. For if you are righteous, baptism alone is lacking in order to salvation. But if you are unrighteous, come to be baptized for the remission of the sins formerly committed in ignorance. And to the unrighteous man it remains that his well-doing after baptism be according to the proportion of his previous impiety. Wherefore, be ye righteous or unrighteous, hasten to be born to God, because delay brings danger, on account of the fore-appointment of death being unrevealed; and show by well-doing your likeness to the Father, who begetteth you of water. As a lover of truth, honor the true God as your Father. But His honor is that you live as He, being righteous, would have you live. And the will of the righteous One is that you do no wrong. But wrong is murder, hatred, envy, and such like; and of these there are many forms.

CHAPTER 28

PURIFICATION

“However, it is necessary to add something to these things which has not community with man, but is peculiar to the worship of God. I mean purification, not approaching to a man’s own wife when she is in separation, for so the law of God commands. But what? If purity be not added to the service of God, you would roll pleasantly like the dung-flies. Wherefore as man, having something more than the irrational animals, namely, rationality, purify your hearts from evil by heavenly reasoning, and wash your bodies in the bath. For purification according to the truth is not that the purity of the body precedes purification after the heart, but that purity follows goodness. For our Teacher also, dealing with certain of the Pharisees and Scribes among us, who are separated, and as Scribes

know the matters of the law more than others, still He reproved them as hypocrites, because they cleansed only the things that appear to men, but omitted purity of heart and the things seen by God alone.

CHAPTER 29

OUTWARD AND INWARD PURITY

“Therefore He made use of this memorable expression, speaking the truth with respect to the hypocrites of them, not with respect to all. For to some He said that obedience was to be rendered, because they were entrusted with the chair of Moses. However, to the hypocrites he said, ‘Woe to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, hut the inside is full of filth. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup and the platter, that their outsides may be clean also.’ And truly: for when the mind is enlightened by knowledge, the disciple is able to be good, and thereupon purity follows; for from the understanding within a good care of the body without is produced. As from negligence with respect to the body, care of the understanding cannot be produced, so the pure man can purify both that which is without and that which is within. And he who, purifying the things without, does it looking to the praise of men, and by the praise of those who look on, he has nothing from God.

CHAPTER 30

“WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE PURE.”

“But who is there to whom it is not manifest that it is better not to have intercourse with a woman in her separation, but purified and washed. And also after copulation it is proper to wash. But if you grudge to do this, recall to mind how you followed after the parts of purity when you served senseless idols; and be ashamed that now, when it is necessary to attain, I say not more, but to attain the one and whole of purity, you are more slothful. Consider, therefore, Him who made you, and you will understand who He is that casts upon you this sluggishness with respect to purity.

CHAPTER 31

"WHAT DE YE MORE THAN OTHERS?"

"But some one of you will say, Must we then do whatsoever things we did while we were idolaters? I say to you, Not all things; but whatsoever you did well, you must do now, and more: for whatsoever is welt done in error hangs upon truth, as if anything be ill done in the truth it is from error. Receive, therefore, from all quarters the things that are your own, and not those that are another's, and do not say, If those who are in error do anything well we are not bound to do it. For, on this principle, if any one who worships idols do not commit murder, we ought to commit murder, because he who is in error does not commit it.

CHAPTER 32

"TO WHOM MUCH IS GIVEN."

"No; but rather, if those who are in error do not kill, let us not be angry; if he who is in error do not commit adultery, let us not lust even in the smallest degree; if he who is in error loves him who loves him, let us love even those who hate us; if he who is in error lends to those who have, let us give to those who have not. Unquestionably we ought — we who hope to inherit eternal life — to do better things than the good things that are done by those who know only the present life, knowing that if their works, being judged with ours in the day of judgment, be found equal in goodness, we shall have shame, and they perdition, having acted against themselves through error. And I say that we shall be put to shame on this account, because we have not done more than they, though we have known more than they. And if we shall be put to shame if we show well-doing equal to theirs, and no more, how much more if we show less than their well-doing?

CHAPTER 33

THE QUEEN OF THE SOUTH AND THE MEN OF NINEVEH

“But that indeed in the day of judgment the doings of those who have known the truth are compared with the good deeds of those who have been in error, the unlying One Himself has taught us, saying to those who neglected to come and listen to Him, ‘The queen of the south shall rise up with this generation, and shall condemn it; because she came from the extremities of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon: and behold, a greater than Solomon is here,’ and ye do not believe Him. And to those amongst the people who would not repent at His preaching He said, ‘The men of Nineveh shall rise up with this generation and shall condemn it, for they heard and repented on the preaching of Jonas: and behold, a greater is here, and no one believes.’ And thus, setting over against all their impiety those from among the Gentiles who have done well, in order to Condemn those who, possessing the true religion, had not acted so well as those who were in error, he exhorted those having reason not only to do equally with the Gentiles whatsoever things are excellent, but more than they. And this speech has been suggested to me, taking occasion from the necessity of respecting the separation, and of washing after copulation, and of not denying such purity, though those who are in error do the same, since those who in error do well, without being saved, are for the condemnation of those who are in the worship of God, and do ill; because their respect for purity is through error, and not through the worship of the true Father and God of all.”

CHAPTER 34

PETER’S DAILY WORK

Having said this, he dismissed the multitudes; and according to his custom, having partaken of food with those dearest to him, he Went to rest. And thus doing and discoursing day by day, he strongly buttressed the law of God, challenging the reputed gods with the reputed GENESIS, and arguing

that there is no automatism, but that the world is governed according to providence.

CHAPTER 35

"BEWARE OF FALSE PROPHETS."

Then after three months were fulfilled, he ordered me to fast for several days, and then brought me to the fountains that are near to the sea, and baptized me as in ever-flowing water. Thus, therefore, when our brethren rejoiced at my God-gifted regeneration, not many days after he turned to the elders in presence of all the church, and charged them, saying: "Our Lord and Prophet, who hath sent us, declared to us that the wicked one, having disputed with Him forty days, and having prevailed nothing against Him, promised that he would send apostles from amongst his subjects, to deceive. Wherefore, above all, remember to shun apostle or teacher or prophet who does not first accurately compare his preaching with that of James, who was called the brother of my Lord, and to whom was entrusted to administer the church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem, — and that even though he come to you with witnesses: lest the wickedness which disputed forty days with the Lord, and prevailed nothing, should afterwards, like lightning falling from heaven upon the earth, send a preacher to your injury, as now he has sent Simon upon us, preaching, under pretense of the truth, in the name of the Lord, and sowing error. Wherefore He who hath sent us, said, 'Many shall come to me in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them.'"

CHAPTER 36

FAREWELL TO TRIPOLIS

Having spoken thus, he sent the harbingers into Antioch of Syria, bidding them expect him there forthwith. Then when they had gone, Peter having driven away diseases, sufferings, and demons from great multitudes who were persuaded, and having baptized them in the fountains which are near

to the sea, and having celebrated the Eucharist, and having appointed Maroones, who had received him into his house, and was now perfected, as their bishop, and having set apart twelve elders, and having designated deacons, and arranged matters relating to widows, and having discoursed on the common good what was profitable for the ordering of the church, and having counseled them to obey the bishop Maroones, three months being now fulfilled; he bade those in Tripolis of Phoenicia farewell, and took his journey to Antioch of Syria, all the people accompanying us with due honor.

HOMILY 12

CHAPTER 1

TWO BANDS

THEREFORE starting from Tripolis of Phoenicia to go to Antioch of Syria, on the same day we came to Orthasia, and there stayed. And on account of its being near the city which we had left, almost all having heard the preaching before, we stopped there only one day, and set out to Antaradus. And as there were many who journeyed with us, Peter, addressing Nicetus and Aquila, said, “Inasmuch as the great crowd of those who journey with us draws upon us no little envy as we enter city after city, I have thought that we must of necessity arrange, so that neither, on the one hand, these may be grieved at being prevented from accompanying us, nor, on the other hand, we, by being so conspicuous, may fall under the envy of the wicked. Wherefore I wish you, Nicetus and Aquila, to go before me in two separate bodies, and enter secretly into the Gentile cities.

CHAPTER 2

LOVE OF PREACHERS AND THEIR CONVERTS

“I know, indeed, that you are distressed at being told to do this, being separated from me by a space of two days. I would have you know, therefore, that we the persuaders love you the persuaded much more than you love us who have persuaded you. Therefore loving one another as we do by not unreasonably doing what we wish, let us provide, as much as in us lies, for safety. For I prefer, as you also know, to go into the more notable cities of the provinces, and to remain some days, and discourse. And for the present lead the way into the neighboring Laodicea, and, after two or three days, so far as it depends upon my choice, I shall overtake you. And do you alone receive me at the gates, on account of the

confusion, that thus we may enter along with you without tumult. And thence, in like manner, after some days' stay, others in your stead will go forward by turns to the places beyond, preparing lodgings for us."

CHAPTER 3

SUBMISSION

When Peter had thus spoken they were compelled to acquiesce, saying, "It does not altogether grieve us, my Lord, to do this on account of its being your command; in the first place, indeed, because you have been chosen by the providence of God, as being worthy to think and counsel well in all things; and in addition to this, for the most part we shall be separated from you only for two days by the necessity of preceding you. And that were indeed a long time to be without sight of thee, O Peter, did we not consider that they will be more grieved who are sent much farther forward, being ordered to wait for thee longer in every city, distressed that they are longer deprived of the sight of thy longed-for countenance. And we, though not less distressed than they, make no opposition, because you order us to do it for profit." Thus, having spoken, they went forward, having it in charge that at the first stage they should address the accompanying multitude that they should enter the cities apart from one another.

CHAPTER 4

CLEMENT'S JOY

When, therefore, they had gone, I, Clement, rejoiced greatly that he had ordered me to remain with himself. Then I answered and said, "I thank God that you have not sent me away as you have done the others, as I should have died of grief." But he said, "But what? If there shall ever be any necessity that you be sent away for the sake of teaching, would you, on account of being separated for a little while from me, and that for an advantageous purpose, would you die for that? Would you not rather impress upon yourself the duty of bearing the things that are arranged for you through necessity, and cheerfully submit? And do you not know that

friends are present with one another in their memories, although they are separated bodily; whereas some, being bodily present, wander from their friends in their souls, by reason of want of memory?”

CHAPTER 5

CLEMENT’S OFFICE OF SERVICE

Then I answered, “Do not think, my Lord, that I should endure that grief foolishly, but with some good reason. For since I hold you, my Lord, in place of all, father, mother, brothers, relatives, you who are the means through God of my having the saving truth, holding you in place of all, I have the greatest consolation. And in addition to this, being afraid of my natural youthful lust, I was concerned lest, being left by you (being but a young man, and having now such a resolution that it would be impossible to desert you without incurring the anger of God,) I should be overcome by lust. But since it is much better and safer for me to remain with you, when my mind is with good reason set upon venerating, therefore I pray that I may always remain with you. Moreover, I remember you saying in Caesarea, ‘If any one wishes to journey with me, let him piously journey.’ And by PIOUSLY you meant, that those who are devoted to the worship of God should grieve no one in respect of God, such as by leaving parents, an attached wife, or any others. Whence I am in all respects a fitting fellow-traveler for you, to whom, if you would confer the greatest favor, you would allow to perform the functions of a servant.”

CHAPTER 6

PETER’S FRUGALITY

Then Peter, hearing, smiled and said, “What think you, then, O Clement? Do you not think that you are placed by very necessity in the position of my servant? For who else shall take care of those many splendid tunics, with all my changes of rings and sandals? And who shall make ready those pleasant and artistic dainties, which, being so various, need many skillful cooks, and all those things which are procured with great eagerness, and

are prepared for the appetite of effeminate men as for some great wild beast? However, such a choice has occurred to you, perhaps, without you understanding or knowing my manner of life, that I use only bread and olives, and rarely pot-herbs; and that this is my only coat and cloak which I wear; and I have no need of any of them, nor of aught else: for even in these I abound. For my mind, seeing all the eternal good things that are there, regards none of the things that are here. However, I accept of your good will; and I admire and commend you, for that you, a man of refined habits, have so easily submitted your manner of living to your necessities. For we, from our childhood, both I and Andrew, my brother, who is also my brother as respects God, not only being brought up in the condition of orphans, but also accustomed to labor through poverty and misfortune, easily bear the discomforts of our present journeys. Whence, if you would obey me, you would allow me, a working man, to fulfill the part of a servant to you."

CHAPTER 7

NOT TO BE MINISTERED UNTO, BUT TO MINISTER."

But I, when I heard this, fell a-trembling and weeping, that such a word should be spoken by a man to whom all the men of this generation are inferior in point of knowledge and piety. But he, seeing me weeping, asked the cause of my tears. Then I said, "In what have I sinned so that you have spoken to me such a word?" Then Peter answered, "If it were wrong of me to speak of being your servant, you were first in fault in asking to be mine," Then I said, "The cases are not parallel; for to do this indeed becomes me well; but it is terrible for you, the herald of God, and who savest our souls, to do this to me." Then Peter answered, "I should agree with you, but that our Lord, who came for the salvation of all the world, being alone noble above all, submitted to the condition of a servant, that He might persuade us not to be ashamed to perform the ministrations of servants to our brethren, however well-born we may be." Then I said, "If I think to overcome you in argument, I am foolish. However, I thank the providence of God, that I have been thought worthy to have you instead of parents."

CHAPTER 8

FAMILY HISTORY

Then Peter inquired, “Are you really, then, alone in your family?” Then I answered, “There are indeed many and great men, being of the kindred of Caesar. Wherefore Caesar himself gave a wife of his own family to my father, who was his foster-brother; and of her three sons of us were born, two before me, who were twins and very like each other, as my father told me. But I scarcely know either them or our mother, but bear about with me an obscure image of them, as through dreams. My mother’s name was Mattidia, and my father’s, Faustus; and of my brothers one was called Faustinus, and the other Faustinianus. Then after I, their third son, was ‘born, my mother saw a vision — so my father told me — which told her, that unless she immediately took away her twin sons, and left the city of Rome for exile for twelve years, she and they must die by an all-destructive fate.

CHAPTER 9

THE LOST ONES

“Therefore my father, being fond of his children, supplying them suitably for the journey with male and female servants, put them on board ship, and sent them to Athens with her to be educated, and kept me alone of his sons with him for his comfort; and for this I am very thankful, that the vision had not ordered me also to depart with my mother from the city of Rome. Then, after the lapse of a year, my father sent money to them to Athens, and at the same time to learn how they did. But those who went on this errand did not return. And in the third year, my father being distressed, sent others in like manner with supplies, and they returned in the fourth year with the tidings that they had seen neither my mother nor my brothers, nor had they ever arrived at Athens, nor had they found any trace of any one of those who set out with them.

CHAPTER 10

THE SEEKER LOST

“Then my father, hearing this, and being stupefied with excessive grief, and not knowing where to go in quest of them, used to take me with him and go down to the harbor, and inquire of many where any one of them had seen or heard of a shipwreck four years ago. And one turned one place, and another another. Then he inquired whether they had seen the body of a woman with two children cast ashore. And when they told him they had seen many corpses. in many places, my father groaned at the information. But, with his bowels yearning, he asked: unreasonable questions, that he might try to search so great an extent of sea. However, he was pardonable, because, through affection towards those whom he was seeking for, he fed on vain hopes. And at last, placing me under guardians, and leaving me at Rome when I was twelve years old, he himself, weeping, went down to the harbor, and went on board ship, and set out upon the search. And from that day till this I have neither received a letter from him, nor do I know whether he be alive or dead. But I rather suspect that he is dead somewhere, either overcome by grief, or perished by shipwreck. And the proof of that is that it is now the twentieth year that I have heard no true intelligence concerning him.”

CHAPTER 11

THE AFFLICTIONS OF THE RIGHTEOUS

But Peter, hearing this, wept through sympathy, and immediately said to the gentlemen who were present: “If any worshipper of God had suffered these things, such as this man’s father hath suffered, he would immediately have assigned the cause of it to be his worship of God, ascribing it to the wicked one. Thus also it is the lot of the wretched Gentiles to suffer; and we worshippers of God know it not. But with good reason I call them wretched, because here they are ensnared, and the hope that is thine they obtain not. For those who in the worship of God suffer afflictions, suffer them for the expiation of their transgressions.”

CHAPTER 12

A PLEASURE TRIP

When Peter had spoken thus, a certain one amongst us ventured to invite him, in the name of all, that next day, early in the morning, he should sail to Aradus, an island opposite, distant, I suppose, not quite thirty stadia, for the purpose of seeing two pillars of vine-wood that were there, and that were of very great girth. Therefore the indulgent Peter consented, saying, “When you leave the boat, do not go many of you together to see the things that you desire to see; for I do not wish that the attention of the inhabitants should he turned to you.” And so we sailed, and in short time arrived at the island. Then landing from the boat, we went to the place where the vine-wood pillars were, and along with them we looked at several of the works of Phidias.

CHAPTER 13

A WOMAN OF A SORROWFUL SPIRIT

But Peter alone did not think it worth while to look at the sights that were there; but noticing a certain woman sitting outside before the doors, begging constantly for her support, he said to her, “O woman, is any of your limbs defective, that you submit to such disgrace — I mean that of begging, — and do not rather work with the hands which God has given you, and procure your daily food?” But she, groaning, answered, “Would that I had hands able to work! But now they retain only the form of hands, being dead and rendered useless by my gnawing of them.” Then Peter asked her, “What is the cause of your suffering so terribly?” And she answered, “Weakness of soul; and nought else. For if I had the mind of a man, there was a precipice or a pool whence I should have thrown myself, and have been able to rest from my tormenting misfortunes.”

CHAPTER 14

BALM IN GILEAD

Then said Peter, “What then? Do you suppose, O woman, that those who destroy themselves are freed from punishment? Are not the souls of those who thus die punished with a worse punishment in Hades for their suicide?” But she said, “Would that I were persuaded that souls are really found alive in Hades; then I should love death, making light of the punishment, that I might see, were it but for an hour, my longed for sons!” Then said Peter, “What is it that grieves you? I should like to know, O woman. For if you inform me, in return for this favor, I shall satisfy you that souls live in Hades; and instead of precipice or pool, I shall give you a drug, that you may live and die without torment.”

CHAPTER 15

THE WOMAN’S STORY

Then the woman, not understanding what was spoken ambiguously, being pleased with the promise, began to speak thus: — “Were I to speak of my family and my country, I do not suppose that I should be able to persuade any one. But of what consequence is it to you to learn this, excepting only the reason why in my anguish I have deadened my hands by gnawing them? Yet I shall give you an account of myself, so far as it is in your power to hear it. I, being very nobly born, by the arrangement of a certain man in authority, became the wife of a man who was related to him. And first I had twins sons, and afterwards another son. But my husband’s brother, being thoroughly mad, was enamored of wretched me, who exceedingly affected chastity. And I, wishing neither to consent to my lover nor to expose to my husband his brother’s love of me, reasoned thus: that I may neither defile myself by the commission of adultery nor disgrace my husband’s bed, nor set brother at war with brother, nor subject the whole family, which is a great one, to the reproach of all, as I said. I reasoned that it was best for me to leave the city for some time with my twin children, until the impure love should cease of him who flattered

me to my disgrace. The other son, however, I left with his father, to remain for a comfort to him.

CHAPTER 16

THE SHIPWRECK

“However, that matters might be thus arranged, I resolved to fabricate a dream, to the effect that some one stood by me by night, and thus spoke: ‘O woman, straightway leave the, city with your twin children for some time, until I shall charge you to return hither again; otherwise you forthwith shall die miserably, with your husband and all your children.’ And so I did. For as soon as I told the false dream to my husband, he being alarmed, sent me off by ship to Athens with my two sons, and with slaves, maids, and abundance of money, to educate the boys, until, said he, it shall please the giver of the oracle that you return to me. But, wretch that I am, while sailing with my children, I was driven by the fury of the winds into these regions, and the ship having gone to pieces in the night, I was wrecked. And all the rest having died, my unfortunate self alone was tossed by a great wave and cast upon a rock; and while I sat upon it in my misery, I was prevented, by the hope of finding my children alive, from throwing myself into the deep then, when I could easily have done it, having my soul made drunk by the waves.

CHAPTER 17

THE FRUITLESS SEARCH

“But when the day dawned, I shouted aloud, and howled miserably, and looked around, seeking for the dead bodies of my hapless children. Therefore the inhabitants took pity on me, and seeing me naked, they first clothed me and then sounded the deep, seeking for my children. And when they found nothing of what they sought, some of the hospitable women came to me to comfort me, and every one told her own misfortunes, that I might obtain comfort from the occurrences of similar misfortunes. But this only grieved me the more for I said that I was not so wicked that I could

take comfort from the misfortunes of others. And so, when many of them asked me to accept their hospitality, a certain poor woman with much urgency constrained me to come into her cottage, saying to me, ‘Take courage, woman, for my husband, who was a sailor, also died at sea, while he was still in the bloom of his youth; and ever since, though many have asked me in marriage, I have preferred living as a widow, regretting the loss of my husband. But we shall have in common whatever we can both earn with our hands.’

CHAPTER 18

TROUBLE UPON TROUBLE

“And not to lengthen out unnecessary details, I went to live with her, on account of her love to her husband. And not long after, my hands were debilitated by my gnawing of them; and the woman who had taken me in, being wholly seized by some malady, is confined in the house. Since then the former compassion of the women has declined, and I and the woman of the house are both of us helpless. For a long time I have sat here, as you see, begging; and whatever I get I convey to my fellow-sufferer for our support. Let this suffice about my affairs. For the rest, what hinders your fulfilling of your promise to give me the drug, that I may give it to her also, who desires to die; and thus I also, as you said, shall be able to escape from life?”

CHAPTER 19

EVASIONS

While the woman thus spoke, Peter seemed to be in suspense on account of many reasonings. But I came up and said. “I have been going about seeking you for a long time. And now, what is in hand?” But Peter ordered me to lead the way, and wait for him at the boat; and because there was no gainsaying when he commanded, I did as I was ordered. But Peter, as he afterwards related the whole matter to me, being struck in his heart with some slight suspicion, inquired of the woman, saying, “Tell me, O woman,

your family, and your city, and the names of your children, and presently I shall give you the drug.” But she, being put under constraint, and not wishing to speak, yet being eager to obtain the drug, cunningly said one thing for another. And so she said that she was an Ephesian and her husband a Sicilian; and in like manner she changed the names of the three children. Then Peter, supposing that she spoke the truth, said, “Alas! O woman, I thought that this day was to bring you great joy, suspecting that you are a certain person of whom I was thinking, and whose affairs I have heard and accurately know.” But she adjured him, saying, “Tell me, I entreat of you, that I may know if there is among women any one more wretched than myself.”

CHAPTER 20

PETER’S ACCOUNT OF THE MATTER

Then Peter, not knowing that she had spoken falsely, through pity towards her, began to tell her the truth: “There is a certain young man in attendance upon me, thirsting after the discourses on religion, a Roman citizen, who told me how that, having a father and two twin brothers, he has lost sight of them all. For,” says he, “my mother, as my father related to me, having seen a vision, left the city Rome for a time with her twin children, lost she should perish by an evil fate, and having gone away with them, she cannot be found; and her husband, the young man’s father, having gone in search of her, he also cannot be found.”

CHAPTER 21

A DISCLOSURE

While Peter thus spoke, the woman, who had listened attentively, swooned away as if in stupor. But Peter approached her, and caught hold of her, and exhorted her to restrain herself, persuading her to confess what was the matter with her. But she, being powerless in the rest of her body, as through intoxication, turned her head round, being able to sustain the greatness of the hoped for joy, and rubbing her face: “Where,” said she, “is

this youth?" And he, now seeing through the whole affair, said, "Tell me first; for otherwise you cannot see him." Then she earnestly said, "I am that youth's mother." Then said Peter, "What is his name?" And she said, "Clement." Then Peter said, "It is the same, and he it was that spoke to me a little while ago, whom I ordered to wait for me in the boat. And she, falling at Peter's feet, entreated him to make haste to come to the boat." Then Peter, "If you will keep terms with me, I shall do so." Then she said, "I will do anything; only show me my only child. For I shall seem to see in him my two children who died here." Then Peter said, "When ye see him, be quiet, until we depart from the island." And she said, "I will."

CHAPTER 22

THE LOST FOUND

Peter, therefore, took her by the hand, and led her to the boat. But I, when I saw him leading the woman by the hand, laughed, and approaching, offered to lead her instead of him, to his honor. But as soon as I touched her hand, she gave a motherly shout, and embraced me violently, and eagerly kissed me as her son. But I, being ignorant of the whole affair, shook her off as a madwoman. But, through my respect for Peter, I checked myself.

CHAPTER 23

REWARD OF HOSPITALITY

But Peter said, "Alas! What are you doing, my son Clement, shaking off your real mother?" But I, when I heard this, wept, and falling down by my mother, who had fallen, I kissed her. For as soon as this was told me, I in some way recalled her appearance indistinctly. Then great crowds ran together to see the beggar woman, telling one another that her son had recognized her, and that he was a man of consideration. Then, when we would have straightway left the island with my mother, she said to us, "My much longed-for son. it is right that I should bid farewell to the woman who entertained me, who, being poor and wholly debilitated, lies

in the house." And Peter hearing this, and all the multitude who stood by, admired the good disposition of the woman. And immediately Peter ordered some persons to go and bring the woman on her couch. And as soon as the couch was brought and set down, Peter said, in the hearing of the whole multitude, "If I be a herald of the truth, in order to the faith of the bystanders, that they may know that there is one God, who made the world, let her straightway rise whole." And while Peter was still speaking, the woman arose healed, and fell down before Peter, and kissed her clear associate, and asked her what it all meant. Then she briefly detailed to her the whole business of the recognition, to the astonishment of the hearers. Then also my mother, seeing her hostess cured, entreated that she herself also might obtain healing. And his placing his hand upon her, cured her also.

CHAPTER 24

ALL WELL ARRANGED

And then Peter having discoursed concerning God and the service accorded to Him, he concluded as follows: "If any one wishes to learn these things accurately, let him come to Antioch, where I have resolved to remain some length of time, and learn the things that pertain to his salvation. For if you are familiar with leaving your country for the sake of trading or of warfare, and coming to far-off places, you should not be unwilling to go three days' journey for the sake of eternal salvation." Then, after the address of Peter, I presented the woman who had been healed, in the presence of all the multitude, with a thousand drachmas, for her support, giving her in charge to a certain good man, who was the chief man of the city, and who of his own accord joyfully undertook the charge. Further, having distributed money amongst many other women, and thanked those who at any time had comforted my mother, I sailed away to Antaradus, along with my mother, and Peter, and the rest of our companions; and thus we proceeded to our lodging.

CHAPTER 25

PHILANTHROPY AND FRIENDSHIP

And when we were arrived and had partaken of food, and given thanks according to our custom, there being still time, I said to Peter: “My Lord Peter, my mother has done a work of philanthropy ill remembering the woman her hostess.” And Peter answered, “Have you indeed, O Clement, thought truly that your mother did a work of philanthropy in respect of her treatment of the woman who took her in after her shipwreck, or have you spoken this word by way of greatly complimenting your mother? But if you spoke truly, and not by way of compliment, you seem to me not to know what the greatness of philanthropy is, which is affection towards any one whatever in respect of his being a man, apart from physical persuasion. But not even do I venture to call the hostess who received your mother after her shipwreck, philanthropic; for she was impelled by pity, and persuaded to become the benefactress of a woman who had been shipwrecked, who was grieving for her children, — a stranger, naked, destitute, and greatly deploring her misfortunes. When, therefore, she was in such circumstances, who that saw her, though he were impious, could but pity her? So that it does not seem to me that even the stranger-receiving woman did a work of philanthropy, but to have been moved to assist her by pity for her innumerable misfortunes. And how much more is it true of your mother, than when she was in prosperous circumstances land requited her hostess, she did a deed, not of philanthropy, but of friendship! for there is much difference between friendship and philanthropy, because friendship springs from requital. But philanthropy, apart from physical persuasion, I loves and benefits every, man as he is a man. If, therefore, while she pitied her hostess, she also pitied and did good to her enemies who have wronged her, she would be philanthropic; but if, on one account site is friendly or hostile, and on another account is hostile or friendly, such an one is the friend or enemy of some quality, not of man as man.”

CHAPTER 26

WHAT IS PHILANTHROPY

Then I answered, “Do you not think, then, that even the stranger-receiver was philanthropic, who did good to a stranger whom she did not know?” Then Peter said, “Compassionate, indeed, I can call her, but I dare not call her philanthropic, just as I cannot call a mother philoteknic, for she is prevailed on to have an affection for them by her pangs, and by her rearing of them. As the lover also is gratified by the company and enjoyment of his mistress, and the friend by return of friendship, so also the compassionate man by misfortune. However the compassionate man is near to the philanthropic, in that he is impelled, apart from hunting after the receipt of anything, to do the kindness. But he is not yet philanthropic.” Then I said, “By what deeds, then, can any one be philanthropic?” And Peter answered, “Since I see that you are eager to hear what is the work of philanthropy, I shall not object to telling you. He is the philanthropic man who does good even to his enemies. And that it is so, listen: Philanthropy is masculo-feminine; and the feminine part of it is called COMPASSION, and the male part is named love to our neighbor. But every man is neighbor to every man, and not merely this man or that; for the good and the bad, the friend and the enemy, are alike men. It behoves, therefore, him who practices philanthropy to be an imitator of God, doing good to the righteous and the unrighteous, as God Himself vouchsafes His sun and His heavens to all in the present world. But if you will do good to the good, but not to the evil, or even will punish them, you undertake to do the work of a judge, you do not strive to hold by philanthropy.”

CHAPTER 27

WE CAN JUDGE

Then I said, “Then even God, who, as you teach us, is at some time to judge, is not philanthropic.” Then said Peter, “You assert a contradiction; for because He shall judge, on that very account He is philanthropic. For

he who loves and compassionates those who have been wronged, avenges those who have wronged,, them." Then I said, "If, then, I also do good to the good, and punish the wrong-doers in respect of their injuring men, am I not philanthropic?" And Peter answered," If along with knowledge you had also authority to judge, you would do this rightly on account of your, having received authority to judge those whom God made, and on account of your knowledge infallibly justifying some as the righteous, and condemning some as unrighteous. Then I said, "You have spoken rightly and truly; for it is impossible for any one who has not knowledge to judge rightly. For sometimes some persons seem good, though they perpetrate wickedness in secret, and some good persons are conceived to be bad through the accusation of their enemies. But even if one judges, having the power of torturing and examining, not even so should he altogether judge righteously. For some persons, being murderers, have sustained the tortures, and have come off as innocent; while others, being innocent, have not been able to sustain the tortures, but have confessed falsely against themselves, and have been punished as guilty."

CHAPTER 28

DIFFICULTY OF JUDGING

Then said Peter, "These things are ordinary: now hear what is greater. There are some men whose sins or good deeds are partly their own, and partly those of others; but it is right that each one be punished for his own sins, and rewarded for his own merits. But it is impossible for any one except a prophet, who alone has omniscience, to know with respect to the things that are done by any one, which are his own, and which are not; for all are seen as done by him." Then I said, "I would learn how some of men's wrong-doings or right-doings are their own, and some belong to others."

CHAPTER 29

SUFFERINGS OF THE GOOD

Then Peter answered, “The prophet of the truth has said, ‘Good things must needs come, and blessed, said he, is he by whom they come; in like manner evil things must needs come, but woe to him through whom they come.’ But if evil things come by means of evil men, and good things are brought by good men, it must needs be in each man as his own to be either good or bad, and proceeding from what he has proposed, in order to the coming of the subsequent good or evil, which, being of his own choice, are not arranged by the providence of God to come from him. This being so, this is the judgment of God, that he who, as by a combat, comes through all misfortune and is found blameless, he is deemed worthy of eternal life; for those who by their own will continue in goodness, are tempted by those who continue in evil by their own will, being persecuted, hated, slandered, plotted against, struck, cheated, accused, tortured, disgraced, — suffering all these things by which it seems reasonable that they should be enraged and stirred up to vengeance.

CHAPTER 30

OFFENSES MUST COME

“But the Master knowing that those who wrongfully do these things are guilty by means of their former sins, and that the spirit of wickedness works these things by means of the guilty, has counseled to compassionate men, as they are men, and as being the instruments of wickedness through sin; and this counsel He has given to His disciples as Claiming philanthropy, and, as much as in us lies, to absolve the wrong-doers from condemnation, that, as it were, the temperate may help the drunken, by prayers, fastings, and benedictions, not resisting, not avenging, lest they should compel them to sin more. For when a person is condemned by any one to suffer, it is not reasonable for him to be angry with him by whose means the suffering comes; for he ought to reason, that if he had not ill-used him, yet because he was to be ill-used, he must have

suffered it by means of another. Why, then, should I be angry with the dispenser, when I was condemned at all events to suffer? But yet, further: if we do these same things to the evil on pretense of revenge, we who are good do the very things which the evil do, excepting that they do them first, and we second; and, as I said, we ought not to be angry, as knowing that in the providence of God, the evil punish the good. Those, therefore, who are bitter against their punishers, sin, as disdaining the messengers of God; but those who honor them, and set themselves in opposition to those who think to injure them, are pious towards God who has thus decreed."

CHAPTER 31

" HOWBEIT, THEY MEANT IT NOT."

To this I answered, "Those, therefore, who do wrong are not guilty, because they wrong the just by the judgment of God." Then Peter said, "They indeed sin greatly, for they have given themselves to sin. Wherefore knowing this, Good chooses from among them some to punish those who righteously repented of their former sins, that the evil things done by the just before their repentance may be remitted through this punishment. But to the wicked who punish and desire to ill-use them, and will not repent, it is permitted to ill-use the righteous for the filling up of their own punishment. For without the will of God, not even a sparrow can fall into a girn. Thus even the hairs of the righteous are numbered by God.

CHAPTER 32

THE GOLDEN RULE

"But he is righteous who for the sake of what is reasoning fights with nature. For example, it is natural to all to love those who love them. But the righteous man tries also to love his enemies and to bless those who slander him, and even to pray for his enemies, and to compassionate those who do him wrong. Wherefore also he refrains from doing wrong, and blesses those who curse him, pardons those who strike him, and submits

to those who persecute him, and salutes those who do not salute him, shares such things as he has with those who have not, persuades him that is angry with him, conciliates his enemy, exhorts the disobedient, instructs the unbelieving, comforts the mourner; being distressed, be endures being ungratefully treated, he is not angry. But having devoted himself to love his neighbor as himself, he is not afraid of poverty, but becomes poor by sharing his possessions with those who have none. But neither does he punish the sinner. For he who loves his neighbor as himself, as he knows that when he has sinned he does not wish to be punished, so neither does he punish those who sin. And as he wishes to be praised, and blessed, and honored, and to have all his sins forgiven, thus he does to his neighbor, loving him as himself. In one word, what he wishes for himself, he wishes also for his neighbor. For this is the law of God and of the prophets this is the doctrine of truth. And this perfect love towards every man is the male part of philanthropy, but the female part of it is compassion; that is, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to take in the stranger, to show herself to, and help to the utmost of her power, him who is in prison, and, in short, to have compassion on him who is in misfortune."

CHAPTER 33

FEAR AND LOVE

But I, hearing this, said: "These things, indeed, it is impossible to do; but to do good to enemies, bearing all their insolences, I do not think can possibly be in human nature." Then Peter answered: "You have said truly; for philanthropy, being the cause of immortality, is given for much." Then I said, "How then is it possible to get it in the mind?" Then Peter answered: "O beloved Clement, the way to get it is this: if any one be persuaded that enemies, ill-using for a time those whom they hate, become the cause to them of deliverances from eternal punishment; and forthwith he will ardently love them as benefactors. But the way to get it, O dear Clement, is but one, which is the fear of God. For he who fears God cannot indeed from the first love his neighbor as himself; for such an order does not occur to the soul. But by the fear of God he is able to do the

things of those who love; and thus, while he does the deeds of love, the bride Love is, as it were. brought to the bridegroom Fear. And thus this bride, bringing forth philanthropic thoughts, makes her possessor immortal, as an accurate image of God, which cannot be subject in its nature to corruption.” Thus while he expounded to us the doctrine of philanthropy, the evening having set in, we turned to sleep.

HOMILY 13

CHAPTER 1

JOURNEY TO LAODICEA

Now at break of day Peter entered, and said: “Clement, and his mother Mattidia, and my wife, must take their seats immediately on the wagon.” And so they did straightway. And as we were hastening along the road to Balanaeae, my mother asked me how my father was; and I said: “My father went in search of you, and of my twin brothers Faustinus and Faustinianus, and is now nowhere to be found. But I fancy he must have died long ago, either perishing by shipwreck, or losing his way, or wasted away by grief.” When she heard this, she burst into tears, and groaned through grief; but the joy which she felt at finding me, mitigated in some degree the painfulness of her recollections. And so we all went down together to Balanaeae. And on the following day we went to Paltus, and from that to Gabala; and on the next day we reached Laodicea. And, lo! before the gates of the city Nicetas and Aquila met us, and embracing us, brought us to our lodging. Now Peter, seeing that the city was beautiful and great, said: “It is worth our while to stay here for some days; for, generally speaking, a populous place is most capable of yielding us those whom we seek.” Nicetas and Aquila asked me who that strange woman was; and I said: “My mother, whom God, through my Lord Peter, has granted me to recognize.”

CHAPTER 2

PETER RELATES TO NICETAS AND AQUILA THE HISTORY OF CLEMENT AND HIS FAMILY

On my saying this, Peter gave them a summary account of all the incidents, — how, when they had gone on before, I Clement had explained to him my descent, the journey undertaken by my mother with her twin

children on the false pretext of the dream; and furthermore, the journey undertaken by my father in search of her; and then how Peter himself, after hearing this, went into the island, met with the woman, saw her begging, and asked the reason of her so doing; and then ascertained who she was, and her mode of life, and the feigned dream, and the names of her children — that is, the name born by me, who was left with my father, and the names of the twin children who traveled along with her, and who, she supposed, had perished in the deep.

CHAPTER 3

RECOGNITION OF NICETAS AND AQUILA

Now when this summary narrative had been given by Peter, Nicetas and Aquila in amazement said: “Is this indeed true, O Ruler and Lord of the universe, or is it a dream?” And Peter said: “Unless we are asleep, it certainly is true.” On this they waited for a little in deep meditation, and then said: “We are Faustinus and Faustinianus. From the commencement of your conversation we looked at each other, and conjectured much with regard to ourselves, whether what was said had reference to us or not; for we reflected that many coincidences take place in life. Wherefore we remained silent while our hearts beat fast. But when you came to the end of your narrative, we saw clearlythat your statements referred to us, and then we avowed who we were.” And on saying this, bathed in tears, they rushed in to see their mother; and although they found her asleep, they were yet anxious to embrace her. But Peter forbade them, saying: “Let me bring you and present you to your mother, lest she should, in consequence of her great and sudden joy, lose her reason, as she is slumbering, and her spirit is held fast by sleep.”

CHAPTER 4

THE MOTHER MUST NOT TAKE FOOD WITH HER SON. THE REASON STATED

As soon as my mother had enough of sleep, she awoke, and Peter at once began first to talk to her of true piety, saying: “I wish you to know, O woman, the course of life involved in our religion. We worship one God, who made the world which you see; and we keep His law, which has for its chief injunctions to worship Him alone, and to hallow His name, and to honor our parents, and to be chaste, and to live piously. In addition to this, we do not live with all indiscriminately; nor do we take our food from the same table as Gentiles, inasmuch as we cannot eat along with them, because they live impurely. But when we have persuaded them to have true thoughts, and to follow a right course of action, and have baptized them with a thrice blessed invocation, then we dwell with them. For not even if it were our father, or mother, or wife, or child, or brother, or any other one having a claim by nature on our affection, can we venture to take our meals with him; for our religion compels us to make a distinction. Do not, therefore, regard it as an insult if your son does not take his food along with you, until you come to have the same opinions and adopt the same course of conduct as he follows.”

CHAPTER 5

MATTIDIA WISHES TO BE BAPTIZED

When she heard this, she said: “What, then, prevents me from being baptized this day? for before I saw you I turned away from the so-called gods, induced by the thought that, though I sacrificed much to them almost every day, they did not aid me in my necessities. And with regard to adultery, what need I say? for not even, hen I was rich was I betrayed into this sin by luxury, and the poverty which succeeded has been unable to force me into it, since I cling to my chastity as constituting the greatest beauty, on account of which I fell into so great distress. But I do not at all imagine that you, my Lord Peter, are ignorant that the greatest temptation

arises when everything looks bright. And therefore, if I was chaste in my prosperity, I do not in my despondency give myself up to pleasures. Yea, indeed, you are not to suppose that my soul has now been freed from distress, although it has received some measure of consolation by the recognition of Clement. For the gloom which I feel in consequence of the loss of my two children rushes in upon me, and throws its shadow to some extent over my joy; for I am grieved, not so much because they perished in the sea, but because they were destroyed, both soul and body, without possessing true piety towards God. Moreover, my husband, their father, as I have learned from Clement, went away in search of me and his sons, and for so many years has not been heard of; and, without doubt, he must have died. For the miserable man, loving me as he did in chastity, was fond of his children; and therefore the old man, deprived of all of us who were dear to him above everything else, died utterly broken-hearted."

CHAPTER 6

THE SONS REVEAL THEMSELVES TO THE MOTHER

The sons, on hearing their mother thus speak, could no longer, in obedience to the exhortation of Peter, restrain themselves, but rising up, they clasped her in their arms, showering down upon her tears and kisses. But she said: "What is the meaning of this?" And Peter answered: "Courageously summon up your spirits, O woman, that you may enjoy your children; for these are Faustinus and Faustinianus, your sons, who, you said, had perished in the deep. For how they are alive, after they had in your opinion died on that most disastrous night, and how one of them now bears the name of Nicetas, and the other that of Aquila, they will themselves be able to tell you; for we, as well as you, have yet to learn this." When Peter thus spoke, my mother fainted away through her excessive joy, and was like to die. But when we had revived her she sat up, and coming to herself, she said: "Be so good, my darling children, as tell us what happened to you after that disastrous night.

CHAPTER 7

NICETAS TELLS WHAT BEFELL HIM

And Nicetas, who in future is to be called Faustinus, began to speak. “On that very night when, as you know, the ship went to pieces, we were taken up by some men, who did not fear to follow the profession of robbers on the deep. They placed us in a boat, and brought us along the coast, sometimes rowing and sometimes sending for provisions, and at length took us to Caesarea Stratonis, and there tormented us by hunger, fear, and blows, that we might not recklessly disclose anything which they did not wish us to tell; and, moreover, changing our names, they succeeded in selling us. Now the woman who bought us was a proselyte of the Jews, an altogether worthy person, of the name of Justa. She adopted us as her own children, and zealously brought us up in all the learning of the Greeks. But we, becoming discreet with our years, were strongly attached to her religion, and we paid good heed to our culture, in order that, disputing with the other nations, we might be able to convince them of their error. We also made an accurate study of the doctrines of the philosophers, especially the most atheistic, — I mean those of Epicurus and Pyrrho, — in order that we might be the better able to refute them.

CHAPTER 8

NICETAS LIKE TO BE DECEIVED BY SIMON MAGUS

“We were brought up along with one Simon, a magician; and in consequence of our friendly intercourse with him, we were in danger of being led astray. Now there is a report in regard to some man, that, when he appears, the mass of those who have been pious are to live free from death and pain in his kingdom. This matter, however, mother, will be explained more fully at him proper time. But when we were going to be led astray by Simon, a friend of our Lord Peter, by name Zacchaeus, came to us and warned us not to be led astray by the magician; and when Peter came, he brought us to him that he might give us full information, and convince us in regard to those matters that related to piety. Wherefore we

beseech you, mother, to partake of those blessings which have been vouchsafed to us, that we may unite around the same table! This, then, is the reason, mother, why you thought we were dead. On that disastrous night we had been taken up in the sea by pirates, but you supposed that we had perished."

CHAPTER 9

THE MOTHER BEGS BAPTISM FOR HERSELF AND HER HOSTESS

When Faustinus had said this, our mother fell down at Peter's feet, begging and entreating him to send for her and her hostess, and baptize; them immediately, in order that, says she, not a single clay may pass after the recovery of my children, without my taking food with them. When we united with our mother in making the same request, Peter said: "What can you imagine? Am I alone heartless, so as not to wish that you should take your meals with your mother, baptizing her this very day? But yet it is incumbent on her to fast one day before she be baptized. And it is only one day, because, in her simplicity, she said something in her own behalf, which I looked on as a sufficient indication of her faith; otherwise, her purification must have lasted many days."

CHAPTER 10

MATTIDIA VALUES BAPTISM ARIGHT

And I said: "'Tell us what it was that she said which made her faith manifest." And Peter, said: "Her request that her hostess and benefactress should be baptized along with her. For she would not have besought this to be granted to her whom she loves, had she not herself first felt that baptism was a great gift. And for this reason I condemn many that, after being baptized, and asserting that they have faith, they yet do nothing worthy of faith; nor do they urge those whom they love — I mean their wives, or sons, or friends — to be baptized. For if they had believed that God grants eternal life with good works on the acceptance of baptism,

they without delay would urge those whom they loved to be baptized. But some one of you will say, ‘They do love them, and care for them.’ Thatlis nonsense. For do they not, most assuredly, when they see them sick, or led away along the road that ends in death, or enduring any other trial, lament over them and pity them? So, if they believed that eternal fire awaits those who worship not God, they would not cease admonishing them, or being in deep distress for them as unbelievers, if they saw them disobedient, being fully assured that punishment awaits them. But now I shall send for the hostess, and question her as to whether she deliberately accepts the law which is proclaimed through us; and so, according to her state of mind, shall we do what ought to be done.

CHAPTER 11

MATTIDIA HAS UNINTENTIONALLY FASTED ONE DAY

“But since your mother has real confidence in the efficacy of baptism, let her fast at least one day before her baptism.” But she swore: “During the two past days, while 1 related to the woman all the events connected with the recognition, I could not, in consequence of my excessive joy, partake of food: only yesterday I took a little water.” Peter’s wife bore testimony to her statement with an oath, saying: “In truth she did not taste anything.” And Aquila. who must rather be called Faustinianus in future, said: “There is nothing, therefore, to prevent her being baptized.” And Peter, smiling, replied: “But that is not a baptismal fast which has not taken place on account of the baptism itself.” And Faustinus answered: “Perhaps God, not wishing to separate our mother a single day after our recognition from our table, has arranged beforehand the fast. For as she was chaste in the times of her ignorance, doing what the true religion inculcated, so even now perhaps God has arranged that she should fast one day before for the sake of the true baptism, that, from the first day of her recognizing us, she might take her meals along with us.”

CHAPTER 12

THE DIFFICULTY SOLVED

And Peter said: “Let not wickedness have dominion over us, finding a pretext in Providence and your affection for your mother; but rather abide this day in your fast, and I shall join you in it, and tomorrow she will be baptized. And, besides, this hour of the day is not suitable for baptism.” Then we all agreed that it should be so.

CHAPTER 13

PETER ON CHASTITY

That same evening we all enjoyed the benefit of Peter’s instruction. Taking occasion by what had happened to our mother, he showed us how the results of chastity are good, while those of adultery are disastrous, and naturally bring destruction on the whole race. if not speedily, at all events slowly. “And to such an extent,” he says. “do deeds of chastity please God, that in this life He bestows some small favor on account of it, even on those who are in error; for salvation in the other world is granted only to those who have been baptized on account of their trust in Him, and who act chastely and righteously. This ye yourselves have seen in the case of your mother, that the results of chastity are in the end good. For perhaps she would have been cut off if she had committed adultery; but God took pity on her for having behaved chastely, rescued her from the death that threatened her, and restored to her her lost children.

CHAPTER 14

PETER’S SPEECH CONTINUED

“But some one will say, ‘How many have perished on account of chastity!’ Yes; but it was because they did not perceive the danger. For the woman who perceives that she is in love with any one, or is beloved

by any one, should immediately shun all association with him as she would shun a blazing fire or a mad dog. And this is exactly what your mother did, for she really loved chastity as a blessing: wherefore she was preserved, and, along with you, obtained the full knowledge of the everlasting kingdom. The woman who wishes to be chaste, ought to know that she is envied by wickedness, and that because of love many lie in wait for her. If, then, she remain holy through a steadfast persistence in chastity, she will gain the victory over all temptations, and be saved; whereas, even if she were to do all that is right, and yet should once commit the sin of adultery, she must be punished, as said the prophet.

CHAPTER 15

PETER'S SPEECH CONTINUED

"The chaste wife doing the will of God, is at good reminiscence of His first creation; for God, being one, created one woman for one man. She is also still more chaste if she does not forget her own creation, and has future punishment before her eyes, and is not ignorant of the loss of eternal blessings. The chaste woman takes pleasure in those who wish to be saved, and is a pious example to the pious, for she is the model of a good life. She who wishes to be chaste, cuts off all occasions for slander; but if she be slandered as by an enemy, though affording him no pretext, she is blessed and avenged by God. The chaste woman longs for God, loves God, pleases God, glorifies God; and to men she affords no occasion for slander. The chaste woman perfumes the Church with her good reputation, and glorifies it by her piety. She is, more over, the praise of her teachers, and a helper to them in their chastity.

CHAPTER 16

PETER'S SPEECH CONTINUED

"The chaste woman is adored with the Son of God as with a bridegroom. She is clothed with holy light. Her beauty lies well-regulated soul; and she is fragrant with ointment, even with a good reputation. She is arrayed in

beautiful vesture, even in modesty. She wears about her precious pearls, even chaste words. And she is radiant, for her mind has been brilliantly lighted up. Onto a beautiful mirror does she look, for she looks into God. Beautiful cosmetics does she use, namely, the fear of God, with which she admonishes her soul. Beautiful is the woman not because she has chains of gold on her, but because she has been set free from transient lusts. The chaste woman is greatly desired by the great King; she has been wooed, watched, and loved by Him. The chaste woman does not furnish occasions for being desired, except by her own husband. The chaste woman is grieved when she is desired by another. The chaste woman loves her husband from the heart, embraces, soothes, and pleases him, acts the slave to him, and is obedient to him in all things, except when she would be disobedient to God. For she who obeys God is without the aid of watchmen chaste in soul and pure in body.

CHAPTER 17

PETER'S SPEECH CONTINUED

"Foolish, therefore, is every husband who separates his wife from the fear of God; for she who does not fear God is not afraid of her husband. If she fear not God, who sees what is invisible, how will she be chaste in her unseen choice? And how will she be chaste, who does not come to the assembly to hear chaste-making words? And how could she obtain admonition? And how will she be chaste without watchmen, if she be not informed in regard to the coming judgment of God, and if she be not fully assured that eternal punishment is the penalty for the slight pleasure? Wherefore, on the other hand, compel her even against her will always to come to hear the chaste-making word, yea, coax her to do so

CHAPTER 18

PETER'S SPEECH CONTINUED

"Much better is it if you will take her by the hand and come, in order that you yourself may become chaste; for you will desire to become chaste,

that you may experience the full fruition of a holy marriage, and you will not scruple, if you desire it, to become a father, to love your own children, and to be loved by your own children. He who wishes to have a chaste wife is also himself chaste, gives her what is due to a wife, takes his meals with her, keeps company with her, goes with her to the word that makes chaste, does not grieve her, does not rashly quarrel with her, does not make himself hateful to her, furnishes her with all the good things he can, and when he has them not, he makes up the deficiency by caresses. The chaste wife does not expect to be caressed, recognizes her husband as her Lord, bears his poverty when he is poor, is hungry with him when he is hungry, travels with him when he travels, consoles him when he is grieved, and if she have a large dowry, is subject to him as if she had nothing at all. But if the husband have a poor wife, let him reckon her chastity a great dowry. The chaste wife is temperate in her eating and drinking, in order that the weariness of the body, thus pampered, may not drag the soul down to unlawful desires. Moreover, she never assuredly remains alone with young men, and she suspects the old; she turns away from disorderly laughter, gives herself up to God alone; she is not led astray; she delights in listening to holy words, but turns away from those which are not spoken to produce chastity.

CHAPTER 19

PETER’S SPEECH ENDED

“God is my witness: one adultery is as bad as many murders; and what is terrible in it is this, that the fearfulness and impiety of its murders are not seen. For, when blood is shed, the dead body remains lying, and all are struck by the terrible nature of the occurrence. But the murders of the soul caused by adultery, though they are more frightful, yet, since they are not seen by men, do not make the daring a whir less eager in their impulse. Know, O man, whose breath it is that thou hast to keep thee in life, and thou shalt not wish that it be polluted. By adultery alone is the breath of God polluted. And therefore it drags him who has polluted it into the fire; for i: hastens to deliver up its insurer to everlasting punishment,”

CHAPTER 20

PETER ADDRESSES MATTIDIA

While Peter was saying this, he saw the good and chaste Mattidia weeping for joy; but thinking that she was grieved at having suffered so much in past times, he said: 4. “Take courage, O woman; for while many have suffered many evils on account of adultery, you have suffered on account of chastity, and therefore you did not die. But if you had died, your soul would have been saved. You left your native city of Rome on account of chastity, but through it you found the truth, the diadem of the eternal kingdom. You underwent danger in the deep, but you did not die; and even if you had died, the deep itself would have proved to you, dying on account of chastity, a baptism for the salvation of your soul. You were deprived of your children for a little; but these, the true offspring of your husband, have been found in better circumstances. When starving, you begged for food, hut you did not defile your body by fornication. You exposed your body to torture, but you saved your soul; you fled from the adulterer, that you might not defile the couch of your husband: but, on account of your chastity, God, who knows your flight, will fill up the place of your husband. Grieved and left desolate, you were for a short time deprived of husband and children, but all these you must have been deprived of, some time or other, by death, the preordained lot of man. But better is it that you were willingly deprived of thorn on account of chastity, than that you should have perished unwillingly after a time, simply on account of sins.

CHAPTER 21

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

“Much better is it, then, that your first circumstances should be distressing. For when this is the case, they do not so deeply grieve you, because you hope that they will pass away, and they yield joy though the expectation of better circumstances. But, above all, I wish you to know how much chastity is pleasing to God. The chaste woman is God’s choice,

God’s good pleasure, God’s glory, God’s child. So great a blessing is chastity, that if there had not been a law that not even a righteous person should enter into the kingdom of God unbaptized, perhaps even the erring Gentiles might have been saved solely on account of chastity. Wherefore I am exceedingly sorry for those erring ones who are chaste because they shrink from baptism — thus choosing to be chaste without good hope. Wherefore they are not saved; for the decree of God is clearly set down, that an unbaptized person cannot enter into His kingdom.” When he said this, and much more, we I turned to sleep.

HOMILY 14

CHAPTER 1

MATTIDIA IS BAPTIZED IN THE SEA

Much earlier than usual Peter awoke, and came to us, and awaking as, said: “Let Faustinus and Faustinianus, along with Clement and the household, accompany me, that we may go to some sheltered spot by the sea, and there be able to baptize her without attracting observation.” Accordingly, when we had come to the sea-shore, he baptized her between some rocks, which supplied a place at once free from wind and dust. But we brothers, along with our brother and some others, retired because of the women and bathed, and coming again to the women, we took them along with us, and thus we went to a secret place and prayed. Then Peter, on account of the multitude, sent the women on before, ordering them to go to their lodging by another way, and he permitted us alone of the men to accompany our mother and the rest of the women. We went then to our lodging, and while waiting for Peter’s arrival, we conversed with each other. Peter came several hours after, and breaking the bread for the Eucharist, and putting salt upon it, he gave it first to our mother, and, after her, to us her sons. And thus we took food along with her and blessed God.

CHAPTER 2

THE REASON OF PETER’S LATENESS

Then, at length, Peter seeing that the multitude had entered, sat down, and bidding us sit down beside him, he related first of all why be had sent us on before him after the baptism, and why he himself had been late in returning. He said that the following was the reason: “At the time that you came up,” he says, “an old man, a workman, entered along with you, concealing himself out of curiosity. He had watched us before, as he himself afterwards confessed, in order to see what we were doing when we

entered into the sheltered place, and then he came out secretly and followed us. And coming up to me at a convenient place, and addressing me, he said, ‘For a long time I have been following you and wishing to talk with you, but I was afraid that you might be angry with me, as if I were instigated by curiosity; but now I shall tell you, if you please, what I think is the truth.’ And I replied, ‘Tell us what you think is good, and we shall approve your conduct, even should what you say not be really good, since with a good purpose you have been anxious to state what you deem to be good.’

CHAPTER 3

THE OLD MAN DOES NOT BELIEVE IN GOD OR PROVIDENCE

“The old man began to speak as follows: ‘When I saw you after you had bathed in the sea retire into the secret place, I went up and secretly watched what might be your object in entering into a secret place, and when I saw you pray, I retired; but taking pity on you, I waited that I might speak with you when you came out, and prevail on you not to be led astray. For there is neither God nor providence; but all things are subject to Genesis. Of this I am fully assured in consequence of what I have myself endured, having for a long time made a careful study of the science. Do not therefore be deceived, my child. For whether you pray or not, you must endure what is assigned to you by Genesis. For if prayers could have done anything or any good, I myself should now be in better circumstances. And now, unless my needy garments mislead you, you will not refuse to believe what I say. I was once in affluent circumstances; I sacrificed much to the gods, I gave liberally to the needy; and yet, though I prayed and acted piously, I was not able to escape my destiny.’ And I said: ‘What are the calamities you have endured?’ And he answered: ‘I need not tell you now; perhaps at the end you shall learn who I am, and who are my parents, and into what straitened circumstances I have fallen. But at present I wish you to become fully assured that everything is subject to Genesis.’

CHAPTER 4

PETER'S ARGUMENTS AGAINST GENESIS

"And I said: 'If all things are subject to Genesis, and you are fully convinced that this is the case, your thoughts and advice are contrary to your own opinion.' For if it is impossible even to think in opposition to Genesis, why do you toil in vain, advising me to do what cannot be done? Yea, moreover, even if Genesis subsists, do not make haste to prevail on me not to worship Him who is also Lord of the stars, by whose wish that a thing should not take place, that thing becomes an impossibility. For always that which is subject must obey that which rules. As far, however, as the worship of the common gods is concerned, that is superfluous, if Genesis has sway. For neither does anything happen contrary to what seems good to fate, nor are they themselves able to do anything, since they are subject to their own universal Genesis. If Genesis exists, there is this objection to it, that that which is not first has the rule; or, in other words, the uncreated cannot be subject, for the uncreated, as being uncreated, has nothing that is older than itself.'

CHAPTER 5

PRACTICAL REFUTATION OF GENESIS

"While we were thus talking, a great multitude gathered round us. And then I looked to the multitude, and said: 'I and my tribe have had handed clown to us from our ancestors the worship of God, and we have a commandment to give no heed to Genesis, I mean to the science of astrology; and therefore I gave no attention to it. For this reason I have no skill in astrology, but I shall state that in which I have skill. Since I am unable to refute Genesis by an appeal to the science Which relates to Genesis, I wish to prove in another way that the affairs of this world are managed by a providence, and that each one will receive reward or punishment according to his actions. Whether he shall do so now or hereafter, is a matter of no consequence to me; all I affirm is, that each one without doubt will reap the fruit of his deeds. The proof that there is no

Genesis is this. If any one of you present has been deprived of eyes, or has his hand maimed, or his foot lame, or some other part of the body wrong, and if it is utterly incurable, and entirely beyond the range of the medical profession, — a case, indeed, which not even the astrologers profess to cure, for no such cure has taken place within the lapse of a vast period, — yet I praying to God will cure it, although it could never have been set right by Genesis. Since this is so, do not they sin who blaspheme the God that fashioned all things?' And the old man answered: 'Is it then blasphemy to say that all things are subject to Genesis?' And I replied: 'Most certainly it is. For if all the sins of men, and all their acts of impiety and licentiousness, owe their origin to the stars, and if the stars have been appointed by God to do this work, so as to be the efficient causes of all evils, then the sins of all are traced up to Him who placed Genesis in the stars.'

CHAPTER 6

THE OLD MAN OPPOSES HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE TO THE ARGUMENT OF PETER

"And the old man answered: 'You have spoken truly, and yet, notwithstanding all your incomparable demonstration, I am prevented from yielding assent by my own personal knowledge. For I was an astrologer, and dwelt first at Rome; and then forming a friendship with one who was of the family of Caesar, I ascertained accurately the genesis of himself and his wife. And tracing their history, I find all the deeds actually accomplished in exact accordance with their genesis, and therefore I cannot yield to your argument. For the arrangement of her genesis was that which makes women commit adultery, fall in love with their own slaves, and perish abroad in the water. And this actually took place; for she fell in love with her own slave, and not being able to bear the reproach, she fled with him, hurried to a foreign land, shared his bed, and perished in the sea.'

CHAPTER 7

THE OLD MAN TELLS HIS STORY

“And I answered: ‘How then do you know that she who fled and took up her residence in a foreign land married the slave, and marrying him died?’ And the old man said: ‘I am quite sure that this is true, not indeed that she married him, for I did not know even that she fell in love with him; but after her departure, a brother of her husband’s told me the whole story of her passion, and how he acted as an honorable man, and did not, as being his brother, wish to pollute his couch, and how she the wretched woman (for she is not blamable, inasmuch as she was compelled to do and suffer all this in consequence of Genesis) longed for him, and yet stood in awe of him and his reproaches, and how she devised a dream, whether true or false I cannot tell; for he stated that she said,” Some one in a vision stood by me, and ordered me to leave the city of the Romans immediately with my children.” But her husband being anxious that she should be saved with his sons, sent them immediately to Athens for their education, accompanied by their mother and slaves, while he kept the third and youngest son with himself, for he who gave the warning in the dream permitted this son to remain with his father. And when a long time had elapsed, during which he received no letters from her, he himself sent frequently to Athens, and at length took me, as the truest of all his friends, and went in search of her. And much did I exert myself along with him in the course of our travels with all eagerness; for I remembered that, in the old times of his prosperity, he had given me a share of all he bad and loved reel above all his friends. At length we set sail from Rome itself, and so we arrived in these parts of Syria, and we landed at Seleucia, and not many days after we had landed he died of a broken heart. But I came here, and have procured my livelihood from that day till this by the work of

CHAPTER 8

THE OLD MAN GIVES INFORMATION IN REGARD TO FAUSTUS THE FATHER OF CLEMENT

“When the old man bad thus spoken, I knew from what he said that the old man who he stated had died, was no other than your father. I did not wish, however, to communicate your t circumstances to him until I should confer with you. But I ascertained where his lodging was, and I pointed out mine to him; and to make sure that my conjecture was right, I put this one question to him: ‘What was the name of the old man?’ And he said, ‘Faustus.’ ‘And what were the names of his twin sons?’ And he answered, ‘Faustinus and Faustinianus.’ ‘What was the name of the third son?’ He said, Clement.’ ‘What was their mother’s name?’ He said, ‘Mattidia.’ Accordingly, from compassion, I shed tears along with him, and, dismissing the multitudes, I came to you, in order that I might take counsel with you after we had partaken of food together. But I did not wish to disclose the matter to you before we had partaken of food, lest perchance you should be overcome by sorrow, and continue sad on the day of baptism, when even angels rejoice.” At these statements of Peter we all fell a weeping along with our mother. But he beholding us in tears, said: “Now let each one of you, through fear of God, bear bravely what has been said: for certainly it was not today that your father died, but long ago, as you conjecturing said.”

CHAPTER 9

FAUSTUS HIMSELF APPEARS

When Peter said this, our mother could no longer endure it, but cried out, “Alas! my husband! loving us, you died by your own decision, while we are still alive, see the light, and have just partaken of food.” This one scream had not yet ceased, when, lo! the old man came in, and at the same time wishing to inquire into the cause of the cry, he looked on the woman and said,” What does this mean? Whom do I see?” And going up to her, and looking at her, and being looked at more carefully, be embraced her.

But they were like to die through the sudden joy, and wishing to speak to each other, they could not get the power in consequence of their unsatisfied joy, for they were seized with speechlessness. But not long after, our mother said to him: “I now have you, Faustus, in every way the dearest being to me. How then are you alive, when we heard a short time ago that you were dead? But these are our sons, Faustinus, Faustinianus, and Clement.” And when she said this. we all three fell on him, and kissed him, and in rather an distinct way we recalled his form to our memory.

CHAPTER 10

FAUSTUS EXPLAINS HIS NARRATIVE TO PETER

Peter seeing this, said: “Are you Faustus, the husband of this woman, and the father of her children?” And he said: “I am.” And Peter said: “How, then, did you relate to me your own history as if it were another’s; telling me of your toils, and sorrow, and burial?” And our father answered: “Being of the family of Caesar, and not wishing to be discovered, I devised the narrative in another’s name, in order that it might not be perceived who I was. For I knew that, if I were recognized, the governors in the place would learn this, and recall me to gratify Caesar, and would bestow upon me that former prosperity to which I had formerly bidden adieu with all the resolution I could summon. For I could not give myself up to a luxurious life when I had pronounced the strongest condemnation on myself, because I believed that I had been the cause of death to those who were loved by me.”

CHAPTER 11

DISCUSSION ON GENESIS

And Peter said: “You did this according to your resolution. But in regard to Genesis, were you merely playing a part when you affirmed it, or were you in earnest in asserting that it existed?” Our father said: “I will not speak falsely to you. I was in earnest when I maintained that Genesis existed. For I am not uninitiated in the science; on the contrary, I

associated with one who is the best of the astrologers, an Egyptian of the name of Annubion, who became my friend in the commencement of my travels, and disclosed to me the death of my wife and children." And Peter said: "Are you not now convinced by facts, that the doctrine of Genesis has no firm foundation?" And my father answered: "I must lay before you all the ideas that occur to my mind, that listening to them I may understand your refutation of them. I know, indeed, that astrologers both make many mistakes, and frequently speak the truth. I suspect, therefore, that they speak the truth so far as they are accurately acquainted with the science, and that their mistakes are the [result of ignorance; so that I conjecture that the science has a firm foundation, but that the astrologers themselves speak what is false solely on account of ignorance, because they cannot know all things with absolute accuracy." And Peter answered: "Consider whether their speaking of the truth is not accidental, and whether they do not make their declarations without knowing the matters accurately. For it must by all means happen that, when many prophecies are uttered, some of them should come true." And the old man said: "How, then, is it possible to be fully convinced of this, whether the science of Genesis has a sure foundation or not?"

CHAPTER 12

CLEMENT UNDERTAKES THE DISCUSSION

When both were silent, I said: "Since I know accurately the science, but our Lord mad our father are not in this condition, I should like if Annubion himself were here, to have a discussion with him in the presence of my father. For thus would the matter be able to become public, when one practically acquainted with the subject has held the discussion with one equally informed." And our father answered: "Where, then, is it possible to fall in with Annubion?" And Peter said: "In Antioch, for I learn that Simon Magus is there, whose inseparable companion Annubion is. When, then, we go there, if we come upon them, the discussion can take place." And so, when we had discussed many subjects, and rejoiced at the recognition and given thanks to God, evening came down upon us, and we turned to sleep.

HOMILY 15

CHAPTER 1

PETER WISHES TO CONVERT FAUSTUS

AT break of day our father, with our mother and his three sons, entered the place where Peter was, and accosting him, sat down. Then we also did the same at his request; and Peter looking at our father, said: “I am anxious that you should become of the same mind as your wife and children, in order that here you may live along with them, and in the other world, after the separation of the soul from the body, you will continue to be with them free from sorrow. For does it not grieve you exceedingly that you should not associate with each other?” And my father said: “Most assuredly.” And Peter said: “If, then, separation from each other here gives you pain, and if without doubt the penalty awaits you that after death you should not be with each other, how much greater will your grief be that you, a wise man, should be separated from your own family on account of your opinions? They too, must feel the more distressed from the consciousness that eternal punishment awaits you because you entertain different opinions from theirs, and deny the established truth.”

CHAPTER 2

REASON FOR LISTENING TO PETER’S ARGUMENTS

Our father said: “But it is not the case, my very dear friend, that souls are punished in Hades, for the soul is dissolved into air as soon as it leaves the body.” And Peter said: “Until we convince you in regard to this point, answer me, does it not appear to you that you are not grieved as having no faith in a future punishment, but they who have full faith in it must be vexed in regard to you?” And our father said: “You speak sense.” And Peter said: “Why, then, will you not free them from the greatest grief they can have in regard to you by agreeing to their religion, not, I mean, through

dread, but through kindly feeling, listening and judging about what is said by me, whether it be so or not? and if the truth is as we state it, then here you will enjoy life with those who are dearest to you, and in the other world you will have rest with them; but if, in examining the arguments, you show that what is stated by us is a fictitious story, you will thus be doing good service, for you will have your friends on your side, and you will put an end to their leaning upon false hopes, and you will free them from false fears."

CHAPTER 3

OBSTACLES TO FAITH

And our father said: "There is evidently much reason in what you say." And Peter said: "What is it, then, that prevents you from coming to our faith? Tell me, that we may begin our discussion with it. For many are the hindrances. The faithful are hindered by occupation with merchandise, or public business, or the cultivation of the soil, or cares, and such like; the unbelievers, of whom you also are one, are hindered by ideas such as that the gods, which do not exist, really exist, or that all things are subject to Genesis, or chance, or that souls are mortal, or that our doctrines are false because there is no providence.

CHAPTER 4

PROVIDENCE SEEN IN THE EVENTS OF THE LIFE OF FAUSTUS AND HIS FAMILY

"But I maintain, from what has happened to you, that all things are managed by the providence of God, and that your separation from your family for so many years was providential; for since, if they had been with you, they perhaps would not have listened to the doctrines of the true religion, it was arranged that your children should travel with their mother, should be shipwrecked, should be supposed to have perished, and should be sold; moreover, that they should be educated in the learning of the Greeks, especially in the atheistic doctrines, in order that, as being

acquainted with them, they might be the better able to refute them; and in addition to this, that they should become attached to the true religion, and be enabled to be united with me, so as to help me in my preaching; furthermore, that their brother Clement should meet in the same place, and that thus his mother should be recognized, and through her cure should be fully convinced of the right worship of God; that after no long interval the twins should recognize and be recognized, and the other day should fall in with you, and that you should receive back your own. I do not think, then, that such a speedy filling in of circumstances, coining as it were from all quarters, so as to accomplish one design, could have happened without the direction of Providence."

CHAPTER 5

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TRUE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

And our father began to say: "Do not suppose, my dearest Peter, that I am not thinking of the doctrines preached by you. I was thinking of them. But during the past night, when Clement urged me earnestly to give in my adhesion to the truth preached by you, I at last answered, 'Why should I? for what new commandment can any one give more than what the ancients urged us to obey?' And he, with a gentle smile, said,' There is a great difference, father, between the doctrines of the true religion and those of philosophy; for the true religion receives its proof from prophecy, while philosophy, furnishing us with beautiful sentences, seems to present its proofs from conjecture.' On saying this, he took an instance, and set before us the doctrine of philanthropy, which you had explained to him, which rather appeared to me to be very unjust, and I shall tell you how. He alleged that it was right to present to him who strikes you on the one cheek the other also, and to give to him who takes away your cloak your tunic also, and to go two miles with him who compels you to go one, and such like."

CHAPTER 6

THE LOVE OF MAN

And Peter answered: “You have deemed unjust what is most just. If you are inclined, will you listen to me?” And my father said: “With all my heart.” And Peter said: “What is your opinion? Suppose that there were two kings, enemies to each other, and having their countries cut off from each other; and suppose that some one of the subjects of one of them were to be caught in the country of the other, and to incur the penalty of death on this account: now if he were let off from the punishment by receiving a blow instead of death, is it not plain that he who let him off is a lover of man?” And our father said: “Most certainly.” And Peter said: “Now suppose that this same person were to steal from some one something belonging to him or to another; and if when caught he were to pay double, instead of suffering the punishment that was due. to him, namely, paying four times the amount, and being also put to death, as having been caught in the territories of the enemy; is it not your opinion that he who accepts double, and lets him off from the penalty of death, is a lover of man?” And our father said: “He certainly seems so.” And Peter said: “Why then? Is it not the duty of him who is in the kingdom of another, and that, too, a hostile and wicked monarch, to be pleasing to all for the sake of life, and when force is applied to him, to yield still more, to accost those who do not accost him, to reconcile enemies, not to quarrel with those who are angry, to give his own property freely to all who ask, and such like?” And our father said: “He should with reason endure all things rather, if he prefers life to them.”

CHAPTER 7

THE EXPLANATION OF A PARABLE; THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE LIFE

And Peter said: “Are not those, then, who you said received injustice, themselves transgressors, inasmuch as they are in the kingdom of the other, and is it not by overreaching that they have obtained all they

possess? while those who are thought to act unjustly are conferring a favor on each subject of the hostile kingdom, so far as they permit him to have property. For these possessions belong to those who have chosen the present And they are so far kind as to permit he others to live. This, then, is the parable; now listen to the actual truth. The prophet of the truth who appeared on earth taught us that the Maker and God of all gave two kingdoms to two, good and evil; granting to the evil the sovereignty over the present world along with law, so that he, it, should have the right to punish those who act unjustly; but to the good tie gave the eternal to come. But He made each man free with the power to give himself up to whatsoever he prefers, either to the present evil or the future good. Those men who choose the present have power to be rich, to revel in luxury, to indulge in pleasures, and to do whatever they can. For they will possess none of the future goods. But those who have determined to accept the blessings of the future reign have no right to regard as their own the things that are here, since they belong to a foreign king, with the exception only of water and bread, and those things procured with sweat to maintain life (for it is not lawful for them to commit suicide), and also one garment, for they are not permitted to go naked on account of the all-seeing Heaven.

CHAPTER 8

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

“If, then, you wish to have an accurate account of the matter, listen. Those of whom you said a little before that they receive injustice, rather act unjustly themselves; for they who have chosen the future blessings, live along with the bad in the present world, having many enjoyments the same as the bad, — such as life itself, light, bread, water, clothing, and others of a like nature. But they who are thought by you to act unjustly, shall not live with the good men in the coming age.” And our father replied to this: “Now when you have convinced me that those who act unjustly suffer injustice themselves, while those who suffer injustice have by far the advantage, the whole affair seems to me still more the most unjust of transactions; for those who seem to act unjustly grant many things to those who have chosen the future blessings, but those who seem to receive

injustice do themselves commit injustice, because they do not give in the other world, to those who have given them blessings here, the same advantages which these gave to them." And Peter said: "This is not unjust at all, because each one has the power to choose the present or the future goods, whether they be small or great. He who chooses by his own individual judgment and wish, receives no injustice, — I mean, not even should his choice rest on what is small, since the great lay within his choice, as in fact did also the small." And our father said: "You are right; for it has been said by one of the wise men of the Greeks, 'The blame rests with those who chose — God is blameless.'

CHAPTER 9

POSSESSIONS ARE TRANSGRESSIONS

"Will you be so good as to explain this matter also? I remember Clement saying to me, that we suffer injuries and afflictions for the forgiveness of our sins." Peter said: "This is quite correct. For we, who have chosen the future things, in so far as we possess more goods than these, whether they be clothing, or food or drink, or any other thing, possess sins, because we ought not to have anything, as I explained to you a little ago. To all of us possessions are sins. The deprivation of these, in whatever way it may take place, is the removal of sins." And our father said: "That seems reasonable, as you explained that these were the two boundary lines of the two kings, and that it was in the power of each to choose whatever he wished of what was under their authority. But why are the afflictions sent, or do we suffer them justly?" And Peter said: "Most justly; for since the boundary line of the saved is, as I said, that no one should possess anything, but since many have many possessions, or in other words sins, for this reason the exceeding love of God sends afflictions on those who do not act in purity of heart, that on account of their having some measure of the love of God, they might, by temporary inflictions, be saved from eternal punishments."

CHAPTER 10

POVERTY NOT NECESSARILY RIGHTEOUS

And our father said: “How then is this? Do we not see many impious men poor? Then do these belong to the saved on this account?” And Peter said: “Not at all; for that poverty is not acceptable which longs for what it ought not. So that some are rich as far as their choice goes, though poor in actual wealth, and they are punished because they desire to have more. But one is not unquestionably righteous because he happens to be poor. For he can be a beggar as far as actual wealth is concerned, but he may desire and even do what above everything he ought not to do. Thus he may worship idols, or be a blasphemer or fornicator, or he may live indiscriminately, or perjure himself, or lie, or live the life of an unbeliever. But our teacher pronounced the faithful poor blessed; and he did so, not because they had given anything, for they had nothing, but because they were not to be condemned, as having done no sin, simply because they gave no alms, because they had nothing to give.” And our father said: “In good truth all seems to go right as far as the subject of discussion is concerned; wherefore I have resolved to listen to the whole of your argument in regular order.”

CHAPTER 11

EXPOSITION OF THE TRUE RELIGION PROMISED

And Peter said: “Since, then, you are eager henceforth to learn what relates to our religion, I ought to explain it in order, beginning with God Himself, and showing that we ought to call Him alone God, and that we neither ought to speak of the others as gods nor deem them such, and that he who acts contrary to this will be punished eternally, as having shown the greatest impiety to Him who is the Lord of all.” And saying this, he laid his hands on those who were vexed by afflictions, and were diseased, and possessed by demons; and, praying, he healed them, and dismissed the multitudes. And then entering in this way, he partook of his usual food, and went to sleep.

HOMILY 16

CHAPTER 1

SIMON WISHES TO DISCUSS WITH PETER THE UNITY OF GOD

AT break of day Peter went out, and reaching the place where he was wont to discourse, he saw a great multitude assembled. At the very tithe when he was going to discourse, one of his deacons entered, and said: "Simon has come from Antioch, starting as soon as it was evening, having learned that you promised to speak on the unity of God; and he is ready, along with Athenodorus the Epicurean, to come to hear your speech, in order that he may publicly oppose all the arguments ever adduced by you for the unity of God." Just as the deacon said this, lo! Simon himself entered, accompanied by Athenodorus and some other friends. And before Peter spoke at all, he took the first word, and said: —

CHAPTER 2

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

"I heard that you promised yesterday to Faustus to prove this day giving out your arguments in regular order, and beginning with Him who is Lord of the universe, that we ought to say that He alone is God. and that we ought neither to say nor to think that there are other gods, because he that acts contrary to this will be punished eternally. But, above all, I am truly amazed at your madness in hoping to convert a wise man, and one far advanced in years, to your state of mind. But you will not succeed in your designs; and all the more that I am present, and can thoroughly refute your false arguments. For perhaps, if I had not been present, the wise old man might have been led astray, because he has no critical acquaintance with the books publicly believed in amongst the Jews. At present I shall omit much, in order that I may the more speedily refute that which you have

promised to prove. Wherefore begin to speak what you promised to say before us, who know the Scriptures. But if, fearing our refutation, you are unwilling to fulfill your promise In our presence, this of itself will be sufficient proof that you are wrong, because you did venture to speak in the presence of those who know the Scriptures. And now, why should I wait till you tell me, when I have a most satisfactory witness of your promise in the old man who is present?" And, saying this, he looked to my father, and said: "Tell me, most excellent of all men, is not this the man who promised to prove to you today that God is one, and that we ought not to say or think that there is any other God, and that he who acts contrary to this will be punished eternally, as committing the most heinous sin? Do you, then, refuse to reply to me?"

CHAPTER 3

THE MODE OF THE DISCUSSION

And our father said: "Well might you have demanded testimony from me, Simon, if Peter had first denied that he had made the promise. But now I shall feel no shame in saying what I am bound to say. I think that you wish to enter on the discussion inflamed with anger. Now this is a state of mind in which it is improper for you to speak and for us to listen to you; for we are no longer being helped on to the truth. but we are watching the progress of a contest. And now, having learned from Hellenic culture how those who seek the truth ought to act, I shall remind you. Let each of you give an exposition of his own opinion, and let the right of speech pass from the one to the other. For if Peter alone should wish to expound his thought, but you should be silent as to yours, it is possible that some argument adduced by you might crush both your and his opinion; and both of you, though defeated by this argument, would not appear defeated, but only the one who expounded his opinion; while he who did not expound his, though equally defeated, would not appear defeated, but would even be thought to have conquered." And Simon answered: "I will do as you say; but I am afraid lest you do not turn out a truth-loving judge, as you have been already prejudiced by his arguments."

CHAPTER 4

THE PREJUDICES OF FAUSTUS RATHER ON THE SIDE OF SIMON THAN ON THAT OF PETER

Our father answered: “Do not compel me to agree with you without any exercise of my judgment in order that I may seem to be a truth-loving judge; but if you wish me to tell you the truth, my prepossessions are rather the side of your opinions.” And Simon said “How is this the case, when you do not know what my opinions are?” And our father said: “It is easy to know this, and I will tell you how. You promised that you would convict Peter of error in maintaining the unity of God; but if one undertakes to convict of error him who maintains the unity of God. it is perfectly plain that he, as being in the right, does not hold the same opinion. For if he holds the same opinion as the man who is thoroughly in error, then he himself is in error; but if he gives his proofs holding opposite opinions, then he is in the right. Not well then do you assert that he who maintains the unity of God is wrong, unless you believe that there are many gods. Now I maintain that there are many gods. Holding, therefore, the same opinion as you before the discussion, I am prepossessed rather in your favor. For this reason you ought to have no anxiety in regard to me, but Peter ought, for I still hold opinions contrary to his. And so after your discussion I hope that, as a truth-loving judge, who has stripped himself of his prepossessions, I shall agree to that doctrine which gains the victor.” When my father said this, a murmur of applause burst insensibly from the multitudes because my father had thus spoken.

CHAPTER 5

PETER COMMENCES THE DISCUSSION

Peter then said: “I am ready to do as the umpire of our discussion has said; and straight-way without any delay I shall set forth my opinion in regard to God. I then assert that there is one God who made the heavens and the earth, and all things that are in them. And it is not right to say or to think

that there is any other." And Simon said: "But I maintain that the Scriptures believed in amongst the Jews say that there are many gods, and that God is not angry at this, because He has Himself spoken of many gods in His Scriptures.

CHAPTER 6

SIMON APPEALS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT TO PROVE THAT THERE ARE MANY GODS

"For instance, in the very first words of the law, He evidently speaks of them as being like even unto Himself. For thus it is written, that, when the first man received a commandment from God to eat of every tree that was in the garden, but not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the serpent having persuaded them by means of the woman, through the promise that they would become gods, made them look up; and then, when they had thus looked up, God said, 'Behold, Adam is become as one of us.' When, then, the serpent said, Ye shall be as gods,' he plainly speaks in the belief that gods exist; all the more as God also added His testimony, saying, 'Behold, Adam is become as one of us.' The serpent, then, who said that there are many gods, did not speak falsely. Again, the scripture, 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people,' points out many gods whom it does not wish even-to be cursed. But it is also somewhere else written,` Did another God dare to enter and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, as did I the Lord God?' When He says, 'Did another God dare?' He speaks on the supposition that other gods exist. And elsewhere: 'Let the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth perish;' as if those who had made them were not to perish. And in another place, when it says, 'Take heed to thyself lest thou go and serve other gods whom thy fathers knew not,' it speaks as if other gods existed whom they were not to follow. And again: 'The names of other gods shall not ascend upon thy lips.' Here it mentions many gods whose names it does not wish to be uttered. And again it is written, 'Thy God is the Lord, He is God of gods.' And again: 'Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the Gods?' And again: 'God is Lord of gods.' And again: 'God stood in the assembly of gods: He judgeth among the gods.'

Wherefore I wonder how, when there are so many passages in writing which testify that there are many gods, you have asserted that we ought neither to say nor to think that there are many. Finally, if you have anything to say against what has been spoken so distinctly, say it in the presence of all."

CHAPTER 7

PETER APPEALS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT TO PROVE THE UNITY OF GOD

And Peter said: "I shall reply briefly to what you have said. The law, which frequently speaks of gods, itself says to the Jewish multitude, 'Behold, the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, with all that therein is;' implying that, even if there are gods, they are under Him, that is, under the God of the Jews. And again: 'The Lord thy God, He is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath, and there is none other except Him.' And somewhere else the Scripture says to the Jewish multitude, 'The Lord your God is God of gods;' so that, even if there are gods, they are under the God of the Jews. And somewhere else the Scripture says in regard to Him? God, the great and true, who regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward, He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow.' The Scripture, in calling the God of the Jews great and true, and executing judgment, marked out the others as small, and not true. But also somewhere else the Scripture says, 'As I live, saith the Lord, there is no other God but me. I am the first, I am after this; except me there is no God.' And again: 'Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' And again: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord.' And many passages besides seal with an oath that God is one, and except Him there is no God. Whence I wonder how, when so many passages testify that there is one God, you say that there are many."

CHAPTER 8

SIMON AND PETER CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION

And Simon said: ‘My original stipulation with you was that I should prove from the Scriptures that you were wrong in maintaining that we ought not to speak of many gods. Accordingly I adduced many written passages to show that the divine Scriptures themselves speak of many gods.” And Peter said: “Those very Scriptures which speak of many gods, also exhorted us, saying, ‘The names of other gods shall not ascend upon thy lips.’ Thus, Simon, I did not speak contrary to what was written.” And Simon said: “Do you, Peter, listen to what I have to say. You seem to me to sin in speaking against them, when the Scripture says, ‘Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people.’” And Peter said: “I am not sinning, Simon, in pointing out their destruction according to the Scriptures; for thus it is written: ‘Let the gods who did not make the heavens and the earth perish.’ And He said thus, not as though SOME had made the heavens and were not to perish, as you interpreted the passage. For it is plainly declared that He who made them is one in the very first part of Scripture: ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And it did not say,’ the gods.’ And somewhere else it says, ‘And the firmament showeth His handiwork.’ And in another place it is written, ‘The heavens themselves shall perish, but Thou shalt remain for ever.’”

CHAPTER 9

SIMON TRIES TO SHOW THAT THE SCRIPTURES CONTRADICT THEMSELVES

And Simon said: “I adduced clear passages from the Scriptures to prove that there are many gods; and you, in reply, brought forward as many or more from the same Scriptures, showing that God is one, and He the God of the Jews. And when I said that we ought not to revile gods, you proceeded to show that He who created is one, because those who did not create will perish. And in reply to my assertion that we ought to maintain that there are gods, because the Scriptures also say so, you showed that

we ought not to utter their names, because the same Scripture tells us not to utter the names of other gods. Since, then, these very Scriptures say at one time that there are many gods, and at another that there is only one; and sometimes that they ought not to be reviled, and at other times that they ought; what conclusion ought we to come to in consequence of this, but that the Scriptures themselves lead us astray?”

CHAPTER 10

PETER’S EXPLANATION OF THE APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS OF SCRIPTURE

And Peter said: “They do not lead astray, but convict and bring to light the evil disposition against God which lurks like a serpent in each one. For the Scriptures lie before each one like many divers types. Each one, then, has his own disposition like wax, and examining the Scriptures and finding everything in them, he molds his idea of God according to his wish, laying upon them, as I said, his own disposition, which is like wax. Since, then, each one finds in the Scriptures whatever opinion he wishes to have in regard to God, for this reason he, Simon, molds from them the forms of many gods, while we molded the form of Him who truly exists, coming to the knowledge of the true type from our own shape. For assuredly the soul within us is clothed with His image for immortality. If I abandon the parent of this soul, it also will abandon me to just judgment, making known the injustice by the very act of daring; and as coming from one who is just, it will justly abandon me; and so, as far as the soul is concerned, I shall, after punishment, be destroyed, having abandoned the help that comes from it. But if there is another God, first let him put on another form, another shape, in order that by the new shape of the body I may recognize the new God. But if he should change the shape, does he thereby change the substance of the soul? But if he should change it also, then I am no longer myself, having become another both in shape and in substance. Let him, therefore, create others, if there is another. But there is not. For if there had been, he would have created. But since he has not created, then let him, as nonexistent, leave him who is really existent. For he is nobody,

except only in the opinion of Simon. I do not accept of any other God but Him alone who created me."

CHAPTER 11

GENESIS 1:26 APPEALED TO BY SIMON

And Simon said: "Since I see that you frequently speak of the God who created you, learn from me how you are impious even to him. For there are evidently two who created, as the Scripture says: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Now 'let us make,' implies two or more; certainly not one only."

CHAPTER 12

PETER'S EXPLANATION OF THE PASSAGE

And Peter answered: "One is He who said to His Wisdom, 'Let us make a man.' But His Wisdom was that with which He Himself always rejoiced as with His own spirit. It is united as soul to God, but it is extended by Him, as hand, fashioning the universe. On this account, also, one man was made, and from him went forth also the female. And being a unity generically, it is yet a duality, for by expansion and contraction the unity is thought to be a duality. So that I act rightly in offering up all the honor to one God as to parents." And Simon said: "What then? Even if the Scriptures say that there are other gods, will you not accept the opinion?"

CHAPTER 13

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES INTENDED TO TRY THOSE WHE READ THEM

And Peter answered: "If the Scriptures or prophets speak of gods, they do so to try those who hear. For thus it is written: 'If there arise among you a prophet, giving signs and wonders, and that sign and wonder shall then

come to pass, and he say to thee, Let us go after and worship other gods which thy fathers have not known, ye shall not hearken to the words of that prophet; let thy hands be among the first to stone him. For he hath tried to turn thee from the Lord thy God. But if thou say in thy heart, How did he do that sign or wonder? thou shalt surely know that he who tried thee, tried thee to see if thou dost fear the Lord thy God.' The words 'he who tried thee, tried thee,' have reference to the earliest times; but it appears to be otherwise after the removal to Babylon. For God, who knows all things, would not, as can be proved by many arguments, try in order that He Himself might know, for He fore-knows all things. But, if you like, let us discuss this point, and I shall show that God foreknows. But it has been proved that the opinion is false that He does not know, and that this was written to try us. Thus we, Simon, can be led astray neither by the Scriptures nor by any one else; i nor are we deceived into the admission of many gods, nor do we agree to any statement that is made against God.

CHAPTER 14

OTHER BEINGS CALLED GODS

"For we ourselves also know that angels are called gods by the Scriptures, — as, for instance, He who spake at the bush, and wrestled with Jacob, — and the name is likewise applied to Him who is born Emmanuel, and who is called the mighty God. Yea, even Moses became a God to Pharaoh, though in reality he was a man. The same is the case also with the idols of the Gentiles. But we have but one God, one who made creation and arranged the universe, whose Son is the Christ. Obeying Christ, we learn to know what is false from the Scriptures. Moreover, being furnished by our ancestors with the truths of the Scriptures, we know that there is only one who has made the heavens and the earth, the God of the Jews, and of all who choose to worship Him. Our fathers, with pious thought, setting down a fixed belief in Him as the true God, handed down this belief to us, that we may know that if any thing is said against God, it is a falsehood. I shall add this remark over and above what I need say: If the case be not as

I have said, then may I, and all who love the truth, incur danger in regard to the praise of the God who made us."

CHAPTER 15

CHRIST NOT GOD, BUT THE SON OF GOD

When Simon heard this, he said: "Since you say that we ought not to believe even the prophet that gives signs and wonders if he say that there is another God, and that you know that he even incurs the penalty of death, therefore your, teacher also was with reason cut off for having given signs and wonders." And Peter answered: "Our Lord neither asserted that there were gods except the Creator of all, nor did He proclaim Himself to be God, but He with reason pronounced blessed him who called Him the Son of that God who has arranged the universe." And Simon answered: "Does it not seem to you, then, that he who comes from God is God?" And Peter said: "Tell us how this is possible; for we cannot affirm this, because we did not hear it from Him.

CHAPTER 16

THE UNBEGOTTEN AND THE BEGOTTEN NECESSARILY DIFFERENT FROM EACH OTHER

"In addition to this, it is the peculiarity of the Father not to have been begotten, but of the Son to have been begotten; but what is begotten cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten or self-begotten." And Simon said: "Is it not the same on account of its origin?" And Peter said: "He who is not the same in all respects as some one, cannot have all the same appellations applied to him as that person." And Simon said: "This is to assert, not to prove." And Peter said: "Why, do you not see that if the one happens to be self-begotten or unbegotten, they cannot be called the same; nor can it be asserted of him who has been begotten that he is of the same substance as he is who has begotten him? Learn this also: The booties of men have immortal souls, which have been clothed with the breath of God; and having come forth from God, they are of the same

substance, but they are not gods. But if they are gods, then in this way the souls of all men, both those who have died, and those who are alive, and those who shall come into being, are gods. But if in a spirit of controversy you maintain that these also are gods, what great matter is it, then, for Christ to be called God? for He has only what all have.

CHAPTER 17

THE NATURE OF GOD

“We call Him God whose peculiar attributes cannot belong to the nature of any other; for, as He is called the Unbounded because He is boundless on every side, it must of necessity be the case that it is no other one’s peculiar attribute to be called unbounded, as another cannot in like manner be boundless. But if any one says that it is possible, he is wrong; for two things boundless on every side cannot co-exist, for the one is bounded by the other. Thus it is in the nature of things that the unbegotten is one. But if he possesses a figure, even in this case the figure is one and incomparable. Wherefore He is called the Most High, because, being higher than all, He has the universe subject to Him.”

CHAPTER 18

THE NAME OF GOD

And Simon said: Is this word ‘God’ His ineffable name, which all use, because you maintain so strongly in regard to a name that it cannot be given to another?” And Peter said: ‘I know that this is not His ineffable name, but one which is given by agreement among men; but if you give it to another, you will also assign to this other that which is not used; and that, too, deliberately. The name which is used is the forerunner of that which is not used. In this way insolence is attributed even to that which has not yet been spoken, just as honor paid to that which is known is handed on to that which has not yet been known.”

CHAPTER 19

THE SHAPE OF GOD IN MAN

And Simon said: “I should like to know, Peter, if you really believe that the shape of man has been molded after the shape of God.” And Peter said: “I am really quite certain, Simon, that this is the case.” And Simon said: “How can death dissolve the body, impressed as it has thus been with the greatest seal?” And Peter said: “It is the shape of the just God. When, then, the body begins to act unjustly, the form which is in it takes to flight, and thus the body is dissolved, by the shape disappearing, in order that an unjust body may not have the shape of the just God. The dissolution, however, does not take place in regard to the seal, but in regard to the sealed body. But that which is sealed is not dissolved without Him who sealed it. And thus it is not permitted to die without judgment.” And Simon said: What necessity was there to give the shape of such a being to man, who was raised from the earth?” And Peter said: “This was done because of the love of God, who made man. For while, as far as substance is concerned, all things are superior to the flesh of man, — I mean the ether, the sun, the moon, the stars, the air, the water, the fire — in a word, all the other things which have been made for the service of man, — yet, though superior in substance, they willingly endure to serve the inferior in substance, because of the shape of the superior. For as they who honor the clay image of a king have paid honor to the king. himself, whose shape the clay happens to have, so the whole creation with joy serves man, who is made from earth, looking to the honor thus paid to God.

CHAPTER 20

THE CHARACTER OF GOD

“Behold, then, the character of that God to whom you, Simon, wish to persuade us to be ungrateful, and the earth continues to bear you, perhaps wishing to see who will venture to entertain similar opinions to yours. For you were the first to dart what no other dared: you were the first to utter

what we first heard. We first and alone have seen the boundless long-suffering of God in bearing with such great impiety as yours, and that God no other than the Creator of the world, against whom you have dared to act impiously. And yet openings of the earth took not place, and fire was not sent down from heaven and went not forth to burn up men, and rain was not poured out, and a multitude of beasts was not sent from the thickets, and upon us ourselves the destructive wrath of God did not begin to show itself, on account of one who sinned the sin, as it were, of spiritual adultery, which is worse than the carnal. For it is not God the Creator of heaven and earth that in former times punished sins, since now, when He is blasphemed in the highest degree, He would inflict the severest punishment. But, on the contrary, He is long-suffering, calls to repentance, having the arrows which end in the destruction of the impious laid up in His treasures, which He will discharge like living animals when He shall sit down to give judgment to those that are His. Wherefore let us fear the just God, whose shape the body of man bears for honor."

CHAPTER 21

SIMON PROMISES TO APPEAL TO THE TEACHING OF CHRIST. PETER DISMISSES THE MULTITUDES

When Peter said this, Simon answered: "Since I see you skillfully hinting that what is written in the books against the framer of the world does not happen to be true, tomorrow I shall show, from the discourses of your teacher, that he asserted that the framer of the world was not the highest God." And when Simon said this, he went out. But Peter said to the assembled multitudes: "If Simon can do no other injury to us in regard to God, he at least prevents you from listening to the words that can purify the soul." On Peter saying this, much whispering arose amongst the crowds, saying, "What necessity is there for permitting him to come in here, and utter his blasphemies against God?" And Peter heard, and said, "Would that the doctrines against God which are intended to try men went no further than Simon! For there will be, as the Lord said, false apostles, false prophets, heresies, desires for supremacy, who, as I conjecture, finding their beginning in Simon, who blasphemes God, will work together

in the assertion of the same opinions against God as those of Simon.” And saying this with tears, he summoned the multitudes to him by his hand; and when they came, he laid his hands upon them and prayed, and then dismissed them, telling them to come at an earlier hour next day. Saying this, and groaning, he entered and went to sleep, without taking food.

HOMILY 17

CHAPTER 1

SIMON COMES TO PETER

THE next day, therefore, as Peter was to hold a discussion with Simon, he rose earlier than usual and prayed. On ceasing to pray, Zacchaeus I came in, and said: “Simon is seated without, discoursing with about thirty of his own special followers.” And Peter said: “Let him talk until the multitude assemble, and then let us begin the discussion in the following way. We shall hear all that has been said by him, and having fitted our reply to this, we shall go out and discourse.” And assuredly so it happened. Zacchaeus, therefore, went out, and not long after entered again, and communicated to Peter the discourse delivered by Simon against him.

CHAPTER 2

SIMON’S SPEECH AGAINST PETER

Now he said: “He accuses you, Peter, of being the servant of wickedness, of having great power in magic, and as charming the souls of men in a way worse than idolatry. To prove that you are a magician, he seemed to me to adduce the following evidence, saying: ‘I am conscious of this, that when I come to hold a discussion with him, I do not remember a single word of what I have been meditating on by myself. For while he is discoursing, and my mind is engaged in recollecting what it is that I thought of saying on coming to a conference with him, I do not hear anything whatsoever of what he is saying. Now, since I do not experience this in the presence of any other than in his alone, is it not plain that I am under the influence of his magic? And as to his doctrines being worse than those of idolatry, I can make that quite clear to any one who has understanding. For there is no other benefit than this, that the soul should be freed from images of every kind. For when the soul brings an image before its eye, it is bound by fear,

and it pines away through anxiety lest it should suffer some calamity; and being altered, it falls under the influence of a demon; and being trader his influence, it seems to the mass to be wise.

CHAPTER 3

SIMON'S ACCUSATION OF PETER

"'Peter does this to you while promising to make you wise. For, under the pretext of proclaiming one God, he seems to free you from many lifeless images, which do not at all injure those who worship them, because they are seen by the eyes themselves to be made of stone, or brass, or gold, or of some other lifeless material. Wherefore the soul, because it knows that what is seen is nothing, cannot be spell-bound by fear in an equal degree by means of what is visible. But looking to a terrible God through the influence of deceptive teaching, it has all its natural foundations overturned. And I say this, not because I exhort you to worship images, but because Peter, seeming to free your souls from terrible images, drives mad the mind of each one of you by a more terrible image, introducing God in a shape, and that, too, a God extremely just, — an image which is accompanied by what is terrible and awful to the contemplative soul, by that which can entirely destroy the energy of a sound mind. For the mind, when in the midst of such a storm, is like the depth stirred by a violent wind, perturbed and darkened. Wherefore, if he comes to benefit you, let him not, while seeming to dissolve your fears which gently proceed from lifeless shapes, introduce in their stead the terrible shape of God. But has God a shape? If He has, He possesses a figure. And if He has a figure, how is He not limited? And if limited, He is in space. But if He is in space, He is less than the space which encloses Him. And if less than anything, how is He greater than all, or superior to all, or the highest of all? This, then, is the state of the case.

CHAPTER 4

IT IS ASSERTED THAT CHRIST'S TEACHING IS DIFFERENT FROM PETER'S

"'And that he does not really believe even the doctrines proclaimed by his teacher is evident, for he proclaims doctrines opposite to his. For he said to some one, as I learn, "Call me not God for the good is one." Now, in speaking of the good one, he no longer speaks of that just one, whom the Scriptures proclaim, who kills and makes alive, — kills those who sin, and makes alive those who live according to His will. But that he did not really call Him who is the framer of the world good, is plain to any one who can reflect. For the framer of the world was known to Adam whom He had made, and to Enoch who pleased Him, and to Noah who was seen to be just by Him; likewise to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; also to Moses, and the people, and the whole world. But Jesus, the teacher of Peter himself, came and said, "No one knew the Father except the Son, as no one knoweth even the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him." If, then, it was the Son himself who was present, it was from the time of his appearance that he began to reveal to those to whom he wished, Him who was unknown to all. And thus the Father was unknown to all who lived before him, and could not thus be He who was known to all.

CHAPTER 5

JESUS INCONSISTENT IN HIS TEACHING

"'In saying this, Jesus is consistent not even with himself. For sometimes by other utterances, taken from the Scriptures, he presents God as being terrible and just, saying, "Fear not him who killeth the body, but can do nothing to the soul; but fear Him who is able to cast both body and soul into the Gehenna of fire. Yea, I say unto you, fear Him." But that he asserted that He is really to be feared as being a just God, to whom he says those who receive injustice cry, is shown in a parable of which he gives the interpretation, saying: "If, then, the unjust judge did so, because

he was continually entreated, how much more will the Father avenge those who cry to Him day and night? Or do you think that, because He bears long with them, He will not do it? Yea, I say to you, He will do it, and that speedily." Now he who speaks of God as an avenging and rewarding God, presents Him as naturally just, and not as good. Moreover he gives thanks to the Lord of heaven and earth. But if He is Lord of heaven and earth, He is acknowledged to be the framer of the world, and if framer, then He is just. When, therefore, he sometimes calls Him good and sometimes just, he is not consistent with himself in this point. But his wise disciple maintained yesterday a third point, that real sight is more satisfactory than vision, not knowing that real sight can be human, but that vision confessedly proceeds from divinity.

CHAPTER 6

PETER GOES OUT TO ANSWER SIMON

"These and such like were the statements, Peter, which Simon addressed to the multitudes while he stood outside; and he seems to me to be disturbing the minds of the greater number. Wherefore go forth immediately, and by the power of truth break down his false statements."

When Zacchaeus said this, Peter prayed after his usual manner and went out, and standing in the place where he spoke the day before, and saluting the multitudes according to the custom enjoined by his religion, he began to speak as follows: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true prophet (as I shall prove conclusively at: the proper time), made concise declarations in I regard to those matters that relate to the truth, for these two reasons: first, because He was in the habit of addressing the pious, who had knowledge enough to enable them to believe the opinions uttered by Him by way of declaration; for His statements were not strange to their usual mode of thought; and in the second place, because, having a limited time assigned Him for preaching, He did not employ the method of demonstration in order that He might not spend all His limited time in arguments, for in this way it might happen that He would be fully occupied in giving the solutions of a few problems which might be understood by mental exertion, while He would not have given us to any

great extent those statements which relate to the truth. Accordingly He stated any opinions He wished, as to a people who were able to understand Him, to whom we also belong, who, whenever we did not understand anything of what had been said by Him, — a thing which rarely happened, — inquired of Him privately, that nothing said by Him might be unintelligible to us,

CHAPTER 7

MAN IN THE SHAPE OF GOD

“Knowing therefore that we knew all that was spoken by Him, and that we could supply the proofs, He sent us to the ignorant Gentiles to baptize them for remission of sins, and commanded us to teach them first. Of His commandments this is the first and great one, to fear the Lord God, and to serve Him only. But He meant us to fear that God whose angels they are who are the angels of the least of the faithful amongst us, and who stand in heaven continually beholding the face of the Father For He has shape, and He has every limb primarily and solely for beauty’s sake, and not for use. For He has not eyes that He may see with them; for He sees on every side, since He is incomparably more brilliant in His body than the visual spirit which is in us, and He is more splendid than everything, so that in comparison with Him the light of the sun may be reckoned as darkness. Nor has He cars that He may hear; for He hears. perceives, moves, energizes, acts on every side. But He has the most beautiful shape on account of man, that the pure in heart, may be able to see Him, that they may rejoice because they suffered. For He molded man in His own shape as in the grandest seal, in order that he may be the ruler and Lord of all, and that all may be subject to him. Wherefore, judging that He is the universe, and that man is His image (for He is Himself invisible, but His image man is visible), the man who wishes to worship Him honors His visible image, which is man. Whatsoever therefore any one does to man, be it good or bad, is regarded as being done to Him. Wherefore the judgment which proceeds from Him shall go before, giving to every one according to his merits. For He avenges His own shape.

CHAPTER 8

GOD'S FIGURE: SIMON'S OBJECTION THEREFROM REFUTED

"But someone will say, If He has shape, then He has figure also, and is in space; but if He is in space, and is, as being less, enclosed by it, how is He great above everything? How can He be everywhere if He has figure? The first remark I have to make to him who urges these objections is this: The Scriptures persuade us to have such sentiments and to believe such statements in regard to Him; and we know that their declarations are true, for witness is born to them by our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose orders we are bound to afford proofs to you that such is the case. But first I shall speak of space. The space of God is the non-existent, but God is that which exists. But that which is non-existent cannot be compared with that which is existent. For how can space be existent? unless it be a second space, such as heaven, earth, water, air, and if there is any other body that fills up the vacuity, which is called vacuity on this account. that it is nothing. For 'nothing' is its more appropriate name. For what is that which is called vacuity but as it were a vessel which contains nothing, except the vessel itself? But being vacuity, it is not itself space; but space is that in which vacuity itself is, if indeed it is the vessel. For it must be the case that that which exists is in that which does not exist. But by this which is non-existent I mean that which is called by some, space, which is nothing. But being nothing, how can it be compared with that which is, except by expressing the contrary, and saying that it is that which does not exist, and that that which does not exist is called space? But even if it were something, there are many examples which I have at hand, but I shall content myself with one only, to show that that which encloses is not unquestionably superior to that which is enclosed. The sun is a circular figure, and is entirely enclosed by air, yet it lightens up the air, it warms it, it divides it; and if the sun be away from it, it is enveloped in darkness; and from whatsoever part of it the sun is removed, it becomes cold as if it were dead; but again it is illuminated by its rising, and when it has been warmed up by it, it is adorned with still greater beauty. And it does this by giving a share of itself, though it has its substance limited. What, then, is there to prevent God, as being the Framer and Lord of this and everything else, from possessing figure and shape and beauty, and having

the communication of these qualities proceeding from Himself extended infinitely?

CHAPTER 9

GOD THE CENTER OR HEART OF THE UNIVERSE

“One, then, is the God who truly exists, who presides in a superior shape, being the heart of that which is above and that which is below twice, which sends forth from Him as from a center the life-giving and incorporeal power; the whole universe with the stars and regions of the heaven, the air, the fire, and if anything else exists, is proved to be a substance infinite in height, boundless in depth, immeasurable in breadth, extending the life-giving and wise nature from Him over three infinites. It must be, therefore, that this infinite which proceeds from Him on every slate exists, having as its heart Him who is above all, and who thus possesses figure; for wherever He be, He is as it were in the center of the infinite, being the limit of the universe. And the extensions taking their rise with Him, possess the nature of six infinites; of whom the one taking its rise with Him penetrates into the height above, another into the depth below, another to the right hand, another to the left, another in front, and another behind; to whom He Himself, looking as to a number that is equal on every side, completes the world in six temporal intervals, Himself being the rest, and having the infinite age to come as His image, being the beginning and the end. For in Him the six infinites end, and from Him they receive their extension to infinity.

CHAPTER 10

THE NATURE AND SHAPE OF GOD

“This is the mystery of the hebdomad. For He Himself is the rest of the whole who grants Himself as a rest to those who imitate His greatness within their little measure. For He is alone, sometimes comprehensible, sometimes incomprehensible, sometimes limitable, sometimes illimitable, having extensions which proceed from Him into infinity. For thus He is

comprehensible and incomprehensible, near and far, being here and there, as being the only existent one, and as giving a share of that mind which is infinite on every hand, in consequence of which souls breathe and possess life; and if they be separated from the body and be found with a longing for Him, they are born along into His bosom, as in the winter time the mists of the mountains, attracted by the rays of the sun, are born along immortals to it. What affection ought therefore to arise within us if we gaze with our mind on His beautiful shape! But otherwise it is absurd to speak of beauty. For beauty cannot exist apart from shape; nor can one be attracted to the love of God, nor even deem that he can see Him, if God has no form.

CHAPTER 11

THE FEAR OF GOD

“But some who are strangers to the truth, and who give their energies to the service of evil, on pretext of glorifying God, say that He has no figure, in order that, being shapeless and formless, He may be visible to no one, so as not to be longed for. For the mind, not seeing the form of God, is empty of Him. But how can any one pray if he has no one to whom he may flee for refuge, on whom he may lean? For if he meets with no resistance, he falls out into vacuity. Yea, says he, we ought not to fear God, but to love Him. I agree; but the consciousness of having done well in each good act will accomplish this. Now well-doing proceeds from fearing. But fear, says he, strikes death into the soul. Nay, but I affirm that it does not strike death, but awakens the soul, and converts it. And perhaps the injunction not to fear God might be right, if we men did not fear many other things; such, for instance, as plots against us by those who are like us, and wild beasts, serpents, diseases, sufferings, demons, and a thousand other ills. Let him, then, who asks us not to fear God, rescue us from these, that we may not fear them; but if he cannot, why should he grudge that we should be delivered from a thousand fears by one fear, the fear of the Just One, and that it should be possible by a slight faith in Him to remove a thousand afflictions from ourselves and others, and receive instead an exchange of blessings, and that, doing no ill in consequence of

fear of the God who sees everything, we should continue in peace even in the present life.

CHAPTER 12

THE FEAR AND LOVE OF GOD

“Thus, then, grateful service to Him who is truly Lord, renders us free from service to all other masters. If, then, it is possible for any one to be free from sin without fearing God, let him not fear; for under the influence of love to Him one cannot do what is displeasing to Him. For, on the one hand, it is written that we are to fear Him, and we have been commanded to love Him, in order that each of us may use that prescription which is suitable to his constitution. Fear Him, therefore, because He is just; but whether you fear Him or love Him, sin not. And may it be the case that any one who fears Him shall be able to gain the victory over unlawful desires, shall not lust after what belongs to others, shall practice kindness, shall be sober, and act justly! For I see some who are imperfect in their fear of Him sinning very much. Let us therefore fear God, not only because He is just; for it is through pity for those who have received injustice that He inflicts punishment on those who have done the injustice. As water therefore quenches fire, so does fear extinguish the desire for evil practices. He who teaches fearlessness does not himself fear; but he who does not fear, does not believe that there will be a judgment, strengthens his lusts, acts as a magician, and accuses others of the deeds which be himself does.”

CHAPTER 13

THE EVIDENCE OF THE SENSES CONTRASTED WITH THAT FROM SUPERNATURAL VISION

Simon, on hearing this, interrupted him, and said: “I know against whom you are making these remarks; but in order that I may not spend any time in discussing subjects which I do not wish to discuss, repeating the same statements to refute you, reply to that which is concisely stated by us.

You professed that you had well understood the doctrines and deeds of your teacher because you saw them before you with your own eyes, and heard them with your own ears, and that it is not possible for any other to have anything similar by vision or apparition. But I shall show that this is false. He who hears any one with his own ears, is not altogether fully assured of the truth of what is said; for his mind has to consider whether he is wrong or not, inasmuch as he is a man as far as appearance goes. But apparition not merely presents an object to view, but inspires him who sees it with confidence, for it comes from God. Now reply first to this."

CHAPTER 14

THE EVIDENCE OF THE SENSES MORE TRUSTWORTHY THAN THAT OF SUPERNATURAL VISION

And Peter said: "You proposed to speak to one point, you replied to another. For your proposition was, that one is better able to know more fully, and to attain confidence, when he hears in consequence of an apparition, than when he hears with his own ears; but when you set about the matter, you were for persuading us that he who hears through an apparition is surer than he who hears with his own ears. Finally, you alleged that, on this account, you knew more satisfactorily the doctrines of Jesus than I do, because you heard His words through an apparition. But I shall reply to the proposition you made at the beginning. The prophet, because he is a prophet, having first given certain information with regard to what is objectively said by him, is believed with confidence; and being known beforehand to be a true prophet, and being examined and questioned as the disciple wishes, he replies: But he who trusts to apparition or vision and dream is insecure. For he does not know to whom he is trusting. For it is possible either that he may be an evil demon or a deceptive spirit, pretending in his speeches to be what he is not. But if any one should wish to inquire of him who he is who has appeared, he can say to himself whatever he likes. And thus, gleaming forth like a wicked one, and remaining as long as he likes, he is at length extinguished, not remaining with the questioner so long as he wished him to do for the purpose of consulting him. For any one that sees by means of dreams

cannot inquire about whatever he may wish. For reflection is not in the special power of one who is asleep. Hence we, desiring to have information in regard to something in our waking hours, inquire about something else in our dreams; or without inquiring, we hear about matters that do not concern us, and awaking from sleep we are dispirited because we have neither heard nor inquired about those matters which we were eager to know."

CHAPTER 15

THE EVIDENCE FROM DREAMS DISCUSSED

And Simon said: "If you maintain that apparitions do not always reveal the truth, yet for all that, visions and dreams, being God-sent, do not speak falsely in regard to those matters which they wish to tell." And Peter said: "You were right in saying that, being God-sent, they do not speak falsely. But it is uncertain if he who sees has seen a God-sent dream." And Simon said: "If he who has had the vision is just, he has seen a true vision." And Peter said: "You were right. But who is just, if he stands in need of a vision that he may learn what he ought to learn, and do what he ought to do?" And Simon said: "Grant me this, that the just man alone can see a true vision, and I shall then reply to that other point. For I have come to the conclusion that an impious man does not see a true dream." And Peter said: "This is false; and I can prove it both apart from Scripture and by Scripture; but I do not undertake to persuade you. For the man who is inclined to fall in love with a bad woman, does not change his mind so as to care for a lawful union with another woman in every respect good; but sometimes they love the worse woman through prepossessions, though they are conscious that there is another who is more excellent. And you are ignorant, in consequence of some such state of mind." And Simon said: "Dismiss this subject, and discuss the matter on which you promised to speak. For it seems to me impossible that impious men should receive dreams from God in any way whatever.

CHAPTER 16

NONE BUT EVIL DEMONS APPEAR TO THE IMPIOUS

And Peter said: “I remember that I promised to prove this point, and to give my proofs in regard to it from Scripture and apart from Scripture. sand now listen to what I say. We know that there are many (if you will pardon me the statement; and if you don’t, I can appeal to those who are present as judges) who worship idols, commit adultery, and sin in every way, and yet they see true visions and dreams, and some of them have also apparitions of demons. For I maintain that the eyes of mortals cannot see the incorporeal form of the Father or Son, because it is illumined by exceeding great light. Wherefore it is not because God envies, but because He pities, that He cannot be seen by man who has been turned into flesh. For he who sees God cannot live. For the excess of light dissolves the flesh of him who sees; unless by the secret power of God the flesh be changed into the nature of light, so that it can see light, or the substance of light be changed into flesh, so that it can be seen by flesh. For the power to see the Father, without undergoing any change, belongs to the Son alone. But the just shall also in like manner behold God; for in the resurrection of the dead, when they have been changed, as far as their bodies are concerned, into light, and become like the angels, they shall be able to see Him. Finally, then, if any angel be sent that be may he seen by a man, he is changed into flesh, that he may be able to be seen by flesh. For no one can see the incorporeal power not only of the Son, but not even of an angel. But if one sees an apparition, he should know that this is the apparition of an evil demon.

CHAPTER 17

THE IMPIOUS SEE TRUE DREAMS AND VISIONS

“But it is manifest that the impious see true visions and dreams, and I can prove it from Scripture. Finally, then, it is written in the law, how Abimelech, who was impious, wished to defile the wife of just Abraham by intercourse, and how he heard the commandment from God in his

sleep, as the Scripture saith, not to touch her, because she was dwelling with her husband. Pharaoh, also an impious man, saw a dream in regard to the fullness and thinness of the ears of corn, to whom Joseph said, when he gave the interpretation, that the dream had come from God. Nebuchadnezzar, who worshipped images, and ordered those who worshipped God to be cast into fire, saw a dream extending over the whole age of the world. And let no one say, 'No one who is impious sees a vision when awake.' That is false. Nebuchadnezzar himself, having ordered three men to be cast into fire, saw a fourth when he looked into the furnace, and said, 'I see the fourth as the Son of God.' And nevertheless, though they saw apparitions, visions, and dreams, they were impious. Thus, we cannot infer with absolute certainty that the man who has seen visions, and dreams, and apparitions, is undoubtedly pious. For in the case of the pious man, the truth gushes up natural and pure in his mind, not worked tip through dreams, but granted to the good through intelligence.

CHAPTER 18

THE NATURE OF REVELATION

"Thus to me also was the Son revealed by the Father. Wherefore I know what is the meaning of revelation, having learned it in my own case. For at the very time when the Lord said, 'Who do they say that I am?' and when I heard one saying one thing of Him, and another another, it came into my heart to say (and I know not, therefore, how I said it), 'Thou art the Son of the living God.' But He, pronouncing me blessed, pointed out to me that it was the Father who had revealed it to me; and from this time I learned that revelation is knowledge gained without instruction, and without apparition and dreams. And this is indeed the case. For in the soul which has been placed in us by God, there is all the truth; but it is covered and revealed by the hand of God, who works so far as each one through his knowledge deserves. But the declaration of anything by means of apparitions and dreams from without is a proof, not that it comes from revelation, but from wrath. Finally, then, it is written in the law, that God, being angry, said to Aaron and Miriam, 'If a prophet arise from amongst you, I shall make myself known to him through visions and dreams, but

not so as to my servant Moses; because I shall speak to him in an outward appearance, and not through dreams, just as one will speak to his own friend.' You see how the statements of wrath are made through visions and dreams, but the statements to a friend are made face to face, in outward appearance, and not through riddles and visions and dreams, as to an enemy.

CHAPTER 19

OPPOSITION TO PETER UNREASONABLE

"If, then, our Jesus appeared to you in a vision, made Himself known to you, and spoke to you, it was as one who is enraged with an adversary; and this is the reason why it was through visions and dreams, or through revelations that were from without, that He spoke to you. But can any one be rendered fit for instruction through apparitions? And if you will say, 'It is possible,' then I ask, 'Why did our teacher abide and discourse a whole year to those who were awake?' And how are we to believe your word, when you tell us that He appeared to you? And how did He appear to you, when you entertain opinions contrary to His teaching? But if you were seen and taught by Him, and became His apostle for a single hour, proclaim His utterances, interpret His sayings, love His apostles, contend not with me who companied with Him. For in direct opposition to me, who am a firm rock, the foundation of the Church, you now stand. If you were not opposed to me, you would not accuse me, and revile the truth proclaimed by me, in order that I may not be believed when I state what I myself have heard with my own ears from the Lord, as if I were evidently a person that was condemned and in bad repute. But if you say that I am condemned, you bring an accusation against God, who revealed the Christ to me, and you inveigh against Him who pronounced me blessed on account of the revelation. But if, indeed, you really wish to work in the cause of truth, learn first of all from us what we have learned from Him, and, becoming a disciple of the truth, become a fellow-worker with us."

CHAPTER 20

ANOTHER SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION PROPOSED

When Simon heard this, he said: “Far be it from me to become his or your disciple. For I am not ignorant of what I ought to know; but the inquiries which I made as a learner were made that I may see if you can prove that actual sight is more distinct than apparition. But you spoke according to your own pleasure; you did not prove. And now, tomorrow I shall come to your opinions in regard to God, whom you affirmed to be the framer of the world; and in my discussion with you, I shall show that he is not the highest, nor good, and that your teacher made the same statements as I now do; and I shall prove that you have not understood him.” On saying this he went away, not wishing to listen to what might be said to the propositions which he had laid down.

HOMILY 18

CHAPTER 1

SIMON MAINTAINS THAT THE FRAMER OF THE WORLD IS NOT THE HIGHEST GOD

AT break of day, when Peter went forth to discourse, Simon anticipated him, and said: “When I went away yesterday, I promised to you to return today, and in a discussion show that he who flamed the world is not the highest God, but that the highest God is another who alone is good, and who has remained unknown up to this time. At once, then, state to me whether you maintain that the framer of the world is the same as the lawgiver or not? If, then, he is the lawgiver, he is just; but if he is just, he is not good. But if he is not good, then it was another that Jesus proclaimed, when he said, ‘Do not call me good; for one is good, the Father who is in the heavens.’ Now a lawgiver cannot be both just and good, for these qualities do not harmonize.” And Peter said: “First tell us what are the actions which in your opinion constitute a person good, and what are those which constitute him just, in order that thus we may address our words to the same mark.” And Simon said: “Do you state first what in your opinion is goodness, and what justice.”

CHAPTER 2

DEFINITION OF GOODNESS AND JUSTICE

And Peter said: “That I may not waste my time in contentious discussions, while I make the fair demand that you should give answers to my propositions, I shall myself answer those questions which I put, as is your wish. I then affirm that the man who bestows goods is good, just as I see the Framer of the world doing when He gives the sun to the good, and the rain to the just and unjust.” And Simon said: “It is most unjust that he should give the same things to the just and the unjust.” And Peter said:

“Do you, then, in your turn state to us what course of conduct would constitute Him good.” And Simon said: “It is you that must state this.” And Peter said: “I will. He who gives the same things to the good and just, and also to the evil and unjust, is not even just according to you; but you would with reason call Him just if He gave goods to the good and evils to the evil. What course of conduct, then, would He adopt, if He does not adopt the plan of giving things temporal to the evil, if perchance they should be converted, and things eternal to the good, if at least they remain good? And thus by giving to all, but by gratifying the more excellent, His justice is good; and all the more long-suffering in this, that to sinners who repent He freely grants forgiveness of their sins, and to those who have acted well He assigns even eternal life. But judging at last, and giving to each one what he deserves, He is just. If, then, this is right, confess it; but if it appears to you not to be right, refute it.”

CHAPTER 3

GOD BOTH GOOD AND JUST

And Simon said: “I said once for all, ‘Every lawgiver, looking to justice, is just.’” And Peter said: “If it is the part of him who is good not to lay down a law, but of him who is just to lay down a law, in this way the Framer of the world is both good and just. He is good, inasmuch as it is plain that He did not lay down a law in writing from the times of Adam to Moses; but inasmuch as He had a written law from Moses to the present times, He is just also.” And Simon said: “Prove to me from the utterances of your teacher that it is within the power of the same man to be good and just; for to me it seems impossible that the lawgiver who is good should also be just.” And Peter said: “I shall explain to you how goodness itself is just. Our teacher Himself first said to the Pharisee who asked Him, ‘What shall I do to inherit eternal life?’ ‘Do not call me good; for one is good, even the Father who is in the heavens;’ and straightway He introduced these words, ‘But if thou shalt wish to enter into life, keep the commandments.’ And when he said, ‘What commandments?’ He pointed him to those of the law. Now He would not, if He were indicating some other good being, have referred him to the commandments of the Just One.

That indeed justice and goodness are different I allow, but you do not know that it is within the power of the same being to be good and just. For He is good, in that He is now long-suffering with the penitent, and welcomes them; but just, when acting as judge He will give to every one according to his deserts."

CHAPTER 4

THE UNREVEALED GOD

And Simon said: "How, then, if the framer of the world, who also fashioned Adam, was known, and known too by those who were just according to the law, and moreover by the just and unjust, and the whole world, does your teacher, coming after all these, say, 'No one has known the Father but the Son, even as no one knoweth the Son but the Father, and those to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him?' But he would not have made this statement, had he not proclaimed a Father who was still unrevealed, whom the law speaks of as the highest, and who has not given any utterance either good or bad (as Jeremiah testifies in the Lamentations); who also, limiting the nations to seventy languages, according to the number of the sons of Israel who entered Egypt, and according to the boundaries of these nations, gave to his own Son, who is also called Lord, and who brought into order the heaven and the earth, the Hebrews as his portion, and defined him to be God of gods, that is, of the gods who received the other nations as their portions. Laws, therefore, proceeded from all the so-called gods to their own divisions, which consist of the other nations. In like manner also from the Son of the Lord of all came forth the law which is established among the Hebrews. And this state of matters was determined on, that if any one should seek refuge in the law of any one, he should belong to the division of him whose law he undertook to obey. No one knew the highest Father, who was unrevealed, just as they did not know that his Son was his Son. Accordingly at this moment you yourself, in assigning the special attributes of the unrevealed Most High to the Son, do not know that he is the Son, being the Father of Jesus, who with you is called the Christ.

CHAPTER 5

PETER DOUBTS SIMON'S HONESTY

When Simon had made these statements, Peter said to him: "Can you call to witness that these are your beliefs that being Himself, — I do not mean Him whom you speak of now as being unrevealed, but Him in whom you believe, though you do not confess Him? For you are talking nonsense when you define one thing in stead of another. Wherefore, if you call Him to witness that you believe what you say, I shall answer you. But if you continue discussing with me what you do not believe, you compel me to strike the empty air." And Simon said: "It is from some of your own disciples that I have heard that this is the truth." And Peter said:. "Do not bear false witness?" And Simon said: "Do not rebuke me, most insolent man." And Peter said: "So long as you do not tell who it was who said so, I affirm that you are a liar." And Simon said: "Suppose that I myself have got up these doctrines, or that I heard them from some other, give me your answer to them. For if they cannot be overturned, then I have learned that this is the truth." And Peter said: "If it is a human invention, I will not reply to it; but if you are held fast by the supposition that it is the truth, acknowledge to me that this is the case, and I can then myself say something in regard to the matter." And Simon said: "Once for all, then, these doctrines seem to me to be true. Give me your reply, if you have aught to say against them."

CHAPTER 6

THE NATURE OF REVELATION

And Peter said: "If this is the case, you are acting most impiously. For if it belongs to the Son, who arranged heaven and earth, to reveal His unrevealed Father to whomsoever He wishes, you are, as I said, acting most impiously in revealing Him to those to whom He has not revealed Him." And Simon said: "But he himself wishes me to reveal him." And Peter said: "You do not understand what I mean, Simon. But listen and understand. When it is said that the Son will reveal Him to whom He

wishes, it is meant that such an one is to learn of Him not by instruction, but by revelation only. For it is revelation when that which lies secretly veiled in all the hearts of men is revealed unveiled by His God's own will without any utterance. And thus knowledge comes to one, not because he has been instructed, but because he has understood. And yet the person who understands it cannot demonstrate it to another, since he did not himself receive it by instruction; nor can he reveal it, since he is not himself the Son, unless he maintains that he is himself the Son. But you are not the standing Son. For if you were the Son, assuredly you would know those who are worthy of such a revelation. But you do not know them. For if you knew them, you would do as they do who know."

CHAPTER 7

SIMON CONFESSES HIS IGNORANCE

And Simon said: "I confess I have not understood what you mean by the expression, 'You would do as they do who know.'" And Peter said: "If you have not understood it, then you cannot know the mind of every one; and if you are ignorant of this, then you do not know those who are worthy of the revelation. You are not the Son, for the Son knows. Wherefore He reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes, because they are worthy." And Simon said: "Be not deceived. I know those who are worthy, and I am not the Son. And yet I have not understood what meaning you attach to the words, 'He reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes.' But I said that I did not understand it, not because I did not know it, but because I knew that those who were present did not understand it, in order that you may state it more distinctly, so that they may perceive what are the reasons why we are carrying on this discussion." And Peter said: "I cannot state the matter more clearly: explain what meaning you have attached to the words." And Simon said: "There is no necessity why I should state your opinions." And Peter said: "You evidently, Simon, do not understand it, and yet you do not wish to confess, that you may not be detected in your ignorance, and thus be proved not to be the standing Son. For you hint this, though you do not wish to state it plainly; and, indeed, I who am not a prophet, but a disciple of the true Prophet, know

well from the hints you have given what your wishes are. For you, though you do not understand even what is distinctly said, wish to call yourself son in opposition to us." And Simon said: "I will remove every pretext from you. I confess I do not understand what can be the meaning of the statement, 'The Son reveals Him to whomsoever He wishes.' State therefore what is its meaning more distinctly."

CHAPTER 8

THE WORK OF REVELATION BELONGS TO THE SON ALONE

And Peter said: "Since, at least in appearance, you have confessed that you do not understand it, reply to the question I put to you, and you will learn the meaning of the statement. Tell me, do you maintain that the Son, whoever he be, is just, or that he is not just?" And Simon said: "I maintain that he is most just." And Peter said: "Seeing He is just, why does He not make the revelation to all, but only to those to whom He wishes?" And Simon said: "Because, being just, he wishes to make the revelation only to the worthy." And Peter said: "Must He not therefore know the mind of each one, in order that He may make the revelation to the worthy?" And Simon said: "Of course he must." And Peter said: "With reason, therefore, has the work of giving the revelation been confined to Him alone, for He alone knows the mind of every one; and it has not been given to you, who are not able to understand even that which is stared by us."

CHAPTER 9

HOW SIMON BEARS HIS EXPOSURE

When Peter said this, the multitudes applauded. But Simon, being thus exposed, blushed through shame, and rubbing his forehead, said: "Well, then, do they declare that I, a magician, yea, even I who syllogize, am conquered by Peter? It is not so. But if one should syllogize, though carried away and conquered, he still retains the truth that is in him. For the weakness in the defender is not identical with the truth in the conquered man. But I assure you that I have judged all those who are bystanders

worthy to know the unrevealed Father. Wherefore, because I publicly reveal him to them, you yourself, through envy, are angry with me who wish to confer a benefit on them.”

CHAPTER 10

PETER’S REPLY TO SIMON

And Peter said: “Since you have thus spoken to please the multitudes who are present, I shall speak to them, not to please them, but to tell them the truth. Tell me how you know all those who are present to be worthy, when not even one of them agreed with your exposition of the subject; for the giving of applause to me in opposition to you is not the act of those who agree with you, but of those who agree with me, to whom they gave the applause for having spoken the truth. But since God, who is just, judges the mind of each one — a doctrine which you affirm to be true — He would not have wished this to be given through the left hand to those on the right hand, exactly as the man who receives anything from a robber is himself guilty. So that, on this account, He did not wish them to receive what is brought by you; but they are to receive the revelation through the Son, who has been set apart for this work. For to whom is it reasonable that the Father should give a revelation, but to His only Son, because He knows Him to be worthy of such a revelation? And so this is a matter which one cannot teach or be taught, but it must be revealed by the ineffable hand to him who is worthy to know it.”

CHAPTER 11

SIMON PROFESSES TO UTTER HIS REAL

And Simon said: It contributes much to victory, if the man who wars uses his own weapons; for what one loves he can in real earnest defend, and that which is defended with genuine earnestness has no ordinary power in it. Wherefore in future I shall lay before you my real opinions. I maintain that there is some unrevealed power, unknown to all, even to the Creator himself, as Jesus himself has also declared, though he did not know what

he said, For when one talks a great deal he sometimes hits the truth, not knowing what he is saying. I am referring to the statement which he uttered, ‘No one knows the Father.’” And Peter said: “Do not any longer profess that you know His doctrines. And Simon said: “I do not profess to believe his doctrines; but I am discussing points in which he was by accident right.” And Peter said: “Not to give you any pretext for escape, I shall carry on the discussion with you in the way you wish. At the same time, I call all to witness that you do not yet believe the statement which you just now made. For I know your opinions. And in order that you may not imagine that I am not speaking the truth, I shall expound yore opinions, that you may know that you are discussing with one who is well acquainted with them.

CHAPTER 12

SIMON’S OPINIONS EXPOUNDED BY PETER

“We, Simon, do not assert that from the great power, which is also called the dominant power, two angels were sent forth, the one to create the world, the other to give the law; nor that each one when he came proclaimed himself, on account of what he had done, as the sole creator; nor that there is one who stands, will stand, and is opposed. Learn how you disbelieve even in respect to this subject. If you say that there is an unrevealed power, that power is full of ignorance. For it did not foreknow the ingratitude of the angels who were sent by it.” And Simon became exceedingly angry with Peter for saying this, and interrupted his discourse, saying: “What nonsense is this you speak, you daring and most impudent of men, revealing plainly before the multitudes the secret doctrines, so that they can be easily learned?” And Peter said: “Why do you grudge that the present audience should receive benefit?” And Simon said: “Do you then allow that such knowledge is a benefit?” And Peter said: “I allow it: for the knowledge of a false doctrine is beneficial, inasmuch as you do not fall into it because of ignorance.” And Simon said: “You are evidently not able to reply to the propositions I laid before you. I maintain that even your teacher affirms that there is some Father unrevealed.

CHAPTER 13

PETER'S EXPLANATION OF THE PASSAGE

And Peter said: "I shall reply to that which you wish me to speak of, — namely, the passage, 'No one knows the Father but the Son, nor does any one know the Son but the Father, and they to whom the Son may wish to reveal Him.' First, then, I am astonished that, while this statement admits of countless interpretations, you should have chosen the very dangerous position of maintaining that the statement is made in reference to the ignorance of the Creator (Demiurge), and all who are under him. For, first, the statement can apply to all the Jews who think that David is the father of Christ, and that Christ himself is his son, and do not know that He is the Son of God. Wherefore it is appropriately said, 'No one knows the Father,' since, instead of God, they affirmed David to be His father; and the additional remark, that no one knows even the Son, is quite correct, since they did not know that He was the Son. The statement also, 'to whomsoever the Son may wish to reveal Him,' is also correct; for He being the Son from the beginning, was alone appointed to give the revelation to those to whom He wishes to give it. And thus the first man (protoplast) Adam must have heard of Him; and Enoch, who pleased God, must have known Him; and Noah, the righteous one, must have become acquainted with Him; and Abram His friend must have understood Him; and Isaac must have perceived Him; and Jacob, who wrestled with Him, must have believed in Him; and the revelation must have been given to all among the people who were worthy.

CHAPTER 14

SIMON REFUTED

"But if, as you say, it will be possible to know Him, because He is now revealed to all through Jesus, are you not stating what is most unjust, when you say that these men did not know Him, who were the seven pillars of the world, and who were able to please the most just God, and that so many now from all nations who were impious know Him in every

respect? Were not those who were superior to every one not deemed worthy to know Him? And how can that be good which is not just? unless you wish to give the name of ‘good,’ not to him who does good to those who act justly, but to him who loves the unjust, even though they do not believe, and reveals to them the secrets which he would not reveal to the just. But such conduct is befitting neither in one who is good nor just, but in one who has come to hate the pious. Are not you, Simon, the standing one, who have the boldness to make these statements which never have been so made before?”

CHAPTER 15

MATTHEW 11:25 DISCUSSED

And Simon, being vexed at this, said: “Blame your own teacher, who said, ‘I thank Thee, Lord of heaven and earth, that what was concealed from the wise, Thou hast revealed to suckling babes.’” And Peter said: “This is not the way in which the statement was made; but I shall speak of it as if it had been made in the way that has seemed good to you. Our Lord, even if He had made this statement, ‘What was concealed from the wise, the Father revealed to babes,’ could not even thus be thought to point out another God and Father in addition to Him who created the world. For it is possible that the concealed things of which He spoke may be those of the Creator (Demiurge) him self; because Isaiah says, ‘I will open my mouth in parables, and I will belch forth things concealed from the foundation of the world. Do you allow, then, that the prophet was not ignorant of the things concealed, which Jesus says were concealed from the wise, but revealed to babes? And how was the Creator (Demiurge) ignorant of them, if his prophet Isaiah was not ignorant of them? But our Jesus did not in reality say ‘what was concealed,’ but He said what seems a harsher statement; for He said, ‘Thou hast concealed these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to sticking babes.’ Now the word ‘Thou hast concealed’ implies that they had once been known to them; for the key of the kingdom of heaven, that is, the knowledge of the secrets, lay with them.

CHAPTER 16

THESE THINGS HIDDEN JUSTLY FROM THE WISE

“And do not say He acted impiously towards the wise in hiding these things from them. Far be such a supposition from us. For He did not act impiously; but since they hid the knowledge of the kingdom, and neither themselves entered nor allowed those who wished to enter, on this account, and justly, inasmuch as they hid the ways from those who wished, were in like manner the secrets hidden from them, in order that they themselves might experience what they had done to others, and with what measure they had measured, an equal measure might be meted out to them. For to him who is worthy to know, is due that which he does not know; but from him who is not worthy, even should he seem to have any thing it is taken away, even if he be wise in other matters; and it is given to the worthy, even should they be babes as far as the times of their discipleship are concerned.

CHAPTER 17

THE WAY TO THE KINGDOM NOT CONCEALED FROM THE ISRAELITES

“But if one shall say nothing was concealed from the sons of Israel, because it is written, ‘Nothing escaped thy notice, O Israel for do not say, O Jacob, The way is hid from me),’ lie ought to understand that the things that belong to the kingdom had been hid from them, but that the way that leads to the kingdom, that is, the mode of life, had not been hid from them. Wherefore it is that He says, ‘For say not that the way has been hid from me.’ But by the way is meant the mode of life; for Moses says, ‘Behold, I have set before thy face the way of life and the way of death.’ And the Teacher spoke in harmony with this: ‘Enter ye through the strait and narrow way, through which ye shall enter into life.’ And somewhere else, when one asked Him, ‘What shall I do to inherit eternal life?’ He pointed out to him the commandments of the law.

CHAPTER 18

ISAIAH 1:3 EXPLAINED

“From the circumstance that Isaiah said, in the person of God, ‘But Israel hath not known me, and the people hath not understood me,’ it is not to be inferred that Isaiah indicated another God besides Him who is known; but he meant that the known God was in another sense unknown, because the people sinned, being ignorant of the just character of the known God, and imagined that they would not be punished by the good God. Wherefore, after he said, ‘But Israel hath not known me, and the people hath not understood me,’ he adds, ‘Alas! a sinful nation, a people laden with sins.’ For, not being afraid, in consequence of their ignorance of His justice, as I said, they became laden with sins, supposing that He was merely good, and would not therefore punish them for their sins.

CHAPTER 19

MISCONCEPTION OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

“And some sinned thus, on account of imagining that there would be no judgment because of His goodness. But others took an opposite course For, supposing the expressions of the Scriptures which are against God, and are unjust and false. to be true` they did not know His real divinity and power. Therefore, in the belief that He was ignorant and rejoiced in murder, and let off the wicked in consequence of the gifts of sacrifices; yea, moreover, that He deceived and spake falsely, and did every thing that is unjust, they themselves did things like to what their God did, and thus sinning, asserted that they were acting piously. Wherefore it was impossible for them to change to the better, and when warned they took no heed. For they were not afraid, since they became like their God through such actions.

CHAPTER 20

SOME PARTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT WRITTEN TO TRY US

"But one might with good reason maintain that it was with reference to those who thought Him to be such that the statement was made, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, as no one knoweth even the Son, but the Father.' And reasonably. For if they had known, they would not have sinned, by trusting to the books written against God, really for the purpose of trying. But somewhere also He says, wishing to exhibit the cause of their error more distinctly to them, 'On this account ye do err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures, on which account ye are ignorant also of the power of God.' Wherefore every man who wishes to be saved must become, as the Teacher said, a judge of the books written to try us. For thus He spake: 'Become experienced bankers.' Now the need of bankers arises from the circumstance that the spurious is mixed up with the genuine."

CHAPTER 21

SIMON'S ASTONISHMENT AT PETER'S TREATMENT OF THE SCRIPTURES

When Peter said this, Simon pretended to be utterly astonished at what was said in regard to the Scriptures; and as if in great agitation, he said: "Far be it from me, and those who love me, to listen to your discourses. And, indeed, as long as I did not know that you held these opinions in regard to the Scriptures, I endured you, and discussed with you; but now I retire. Indeed, I ought at the first to have withdrawn, because I heard you say, 'I, for my part, believe no one who says anything against Him who created the world, neither angels, nor prophets, nor Scriptures, nor priests, nor teachers, nor any one else, even though one should work signs and miracles, even though he should lighten brilliantly in the air, or should make a revelation through visions or through dreams.' Who, then, can succeed in changing your mind, whether well or ill, so as that you should

hold opinions different from what you have determined on, seeing that you abide so persistently and immovably in your own decision?”

CHAPTER 22

PETER WORSHIPS ONE GOD

When Simon said this, and was going to depart, Peter said: “Listen to this one other remark, and then go where you like.” Whereupon Simon turned back and remained, and Peter said: “I know how you were then astonished when you heard me say, ‘Whosoever says anything whatever against God who created the world, I do not believe him.’ But listen now to something additional, and greater than this. If God who created the world has in reality such a character as the Scriptures assign Him, and if somehow or other He is incomparably wicked, more wicked than either the Scriptures were able to represent Him, or any other can even conceive Him to be, nevertheless I shall not give up worshipping Him alone, and doing His will. For I wish you to know and to be convinced, that he who has not affection for his own Creator, can never have it towards another. And if he has it towards another, he has it contrary to nature, and he is ignorant that he has this passion for the unjust from the evil one. Nor will he be able to retain even it steadfastly. And, indeed, if there is another above the Creator (Demiurge), he will welcome me, since he is good, all the more that I love my own Father; and he will not welcome you, as he knows that you have abandoned your own natural Creator: for I do not call Him Father, influenced by a greater hope, and not caring for what is reasonable. Thus, even if you find one who is superior to Him, he knows that you will one day abandon him; and the more so that he has not been your father, since you have abandoned Him who was really your Father.

CHAPTER 23

SIMON RETIRES

“But you will say, ‘He knows that there is no other above him, and on this account he cannot be abandoned.’ Thanks, then, to there being no

other; but He knows that the state of your mind is one inclined to ingratitude. But if, knowing you to be ungrateful, He welcomes you, and knowing me to be grateful, He does not receive me, He is inconsiderate, according to your own assertion, and does not act reasonably. And thus, Simon, you are not aware that you are the servant of wickedness.” And Simon answered: “Whence, then, has evil arisen? tell us.” And Peter said: “Since today you were the first to go out, and you declared that you would not in future listen to me as being a blasphemer, come tomorrow, if indeed you wish to learn, and I shall explain the matter to you, and I will permit you to ask me any questions you like, without any dispute.” And Simon said: “I shall do as shall seem good to me.” And saying this, he went away. Now, none of those who entered along with him went out along with him; but, falling at Peter’s feet, they begged that they might be pardoned for having been carried away with Simon, and on repenting, to be welcomed. But Peter, admitting those persons who repented, and the rest of the multitudes, laid his hands upon them, praying, and healing those who were sick amongst them; and thus dismissing them, he urged them to return early about dawn. And saying this, and going in with his intimate friends, he made the usual preparations for immediate repose, for it was now evening.

HOMILY 19

CHAPTER 1

SIMON UNDERTAKES TO PROVE THAT THE CREATOR OF THE WORLD IS NOT BLAMELESS

THE next day Peter came forth earlier than usual; and seeing Simon with many others waiting for him, he saluted the multitude, and began to discourse. But no sooner did he begin than Simon interrupted him, and said: "Pass by these long introductions of yours, and answer directly the questions I put to you. Since I perceive that you (as I know from what I heard at the beginning, that you have no other purpose, than by every contrivance to show that the Creator himself is alone the blameless God), — since, as I said, I perceive that you have such a decided desire to maintain this, that you venture to declare to be false some portions of the Scriptures that clearly speak against him, for this reason I have determined today to prove that it is impossible that he, being the Creator of all, should be blameless. But thus proof I can now begin, if you reply to the questions which I put to you.

CHAPTER 2

THE EXISTENCE OF THE DEVIL AFFIRMED

"Do you maintain that there is any prince of evil or not? For if you say that there is not, I can prove to you from many statements, and those too of your teacher, that there is; but if you honestly allow that the evil one exists, then I shall speak in accordance with this belief." And Peter said: "It is impossible for me to deny the assertion of my Teacher. Wherefore I allow that the evil one exists, because my Teacher, who spoke the truth in all things, has frequent]y asserted that he exists. For instance, then, he acknowledges that he conversed with Him, and tempted Him for forty days. And I know that He has said somewhere else. 'If Satan casts out

Satan, he is divided against' himself: how then is his kingdom to stand?' And He pointed out that He saw the evil one like lightning falling down from heaven. And elsewhere He said, 'He who sowed the bad seed is the devil.' And again, 'Give no pretext to the evil one.' Moreover, in giving advice, He said, 'Let your yea be and be yea, and your nay nay; for what is more than these is of the evil one.' Also, in the prayer which He delivered to us, we have it said, 'Deliver its from the evil one.' And in another place, He promised that He would say to those who are impious, 'Go ye into outer darkness, which the Father prepared for the devil and his angels.' And not to prolong this statement further, I know that my Teacher often said that there is an evil one. Wherefore I also agree in thinking that he exists. If, then, in future you have anything to say in accordance with this belief, say it, as you promised."

CHAPTER 3

PETER REFUSES TO DISCUSS CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN REGARD TO THE DEVIL

And Simon said: "Since, then, you have honestly confessed, on the testimony of the Scriptures that the evil one exists, state to us how he has come into existence, if indeed he has come into existence, and by whom, and why." And Peter said: "Pardon me, Simon, if I do not dare to affirm what has not been written. But if you say that it has been written, prove it. But if, since it has not been written, you cannot prove it, why, should we run risk in stating our opinions in regard to what has not been written?

For if we discourse too daringly in regard to God, it is either because we do not believe that we shall be judged, or that we shall be judged only in respect to that which we do, but not also in regard to what we believe and speak." But Simon, understanding that Peter referred to his own madness, said: "Permit me to run the risk; but do not you make what you assert to be blasphemy a pretext for retiring. For I perceive that you wish to withdraw, in order that you may escape refutation before the masses, sometimes as if you were afraid to listen to blasphemies, and at other times by maintaining that, as nothing has been written as to how, and by whom, and why the evil one came into existence, we ought not to dare to

assert more than the Scripture. Wherefore also as a pious man you affirm this only, that he exists. But by these contrivances you deceive yourself, not knowing that, if it is blasphemy to inquire accurately regarding the evil one, the blame rests with me, the accuser, and not with you, the defender of God. And if the subject inquired into is not in Scripture, and on this account you do not wish to inquire into it, there are some satisfactory methods which can prove to you what is Sought not less effectively than the Scriptures. For instance, must it not be the case that the evil one, who you assert exists, is either originated or unoriginated?"

CHAPTER 4

SUPPOSITIONS IN REGARD TO THE DEVIL'S ORIGIN

And Peter said: "It must be so." And Simon: "Therefore, if he is originated, he has been made by that very God who made all things, being either born as an animal, or sent forth substantially, and resulting from an external mixture of elements. For either the matter, being living or lifeless, from which he was made was outside of Him, or he came into being through God Himself, or through his own self, or he resulted from things non-existent, or he is a mere relative thing, or he always existed. Having thus, as I think, clearly, pointed out all the possible ways by which we may find him, in going along some one of these we must find him. We must therefore go along each one of these in search of his origin; and when we find him who is his author, we must perceive that he is to blame. Or how does the matter seem to you?"

CHAPTER 5

GOD NOT DESERVING OF BLAME IN PERMITTING THE EXISTENCE OF THE DEVIL

And Peter said: "It is my opinion that, even if it be evident that he was made by God, the Creator who made him should not be blamed; for it might perchance be found that the service he performs was an absolute necessity. But if, on the other hand, it should be proved that he was not

created, inasmuch as he existed for ever, not even is the Creator to be blamed in this respect, since He is better than all others, even if He has not been able to put an end to a being who had no beginning, because his nature did not admit of it; or if, being able, He does not make away with him, deeming it unjust to put an end to that which did not receive a beginning, and pardoning that which was by nature wicked, because he could not have become anything else, even if he were to wish to do so. But if, wishing to do good, He is not able, even in this case He is good in that He has the will, though He has not the power; and while He has not the power, He is yet the most powerful of all, in that the power is not left to another. But if there is some other that is able, and yet does not accomplish it, it must be allowed that, in so far as, being able, he does not accomplish it, he is wicked in not putting an end to him, as if he took pleasure in the deeds done by him. But if not even he is able, then he is better who, though unable, is yet not unwilling to benefit us according to his ability."

CHAPTER 6

PETER ACCUSES SIMON OF BEING WORSE THAN THE DEVIL

And Simon said: "When you have discussed all the subjects which I have laid before you, I shall show you the cause of evil. Then I shall also reply to what you have now said, and prove that that God whom you affirm to be blameless is blamable." And Peter said: "Since I perceive from what you say at the commencement that you are striving after nothing else than to subject God, as being the author of evil, to blame, I have resolved to go along with you all the ways you like, and to prove that God is entirely free from blame." And Simon said: "You say this as loving God, whom you suppose you know; but you are not right." And Peter said: "But you, as being wicked, and hating God whom you have not known, utter blasphemous words." And Simon said: "Remember that you have likened me to the author of evil." And Peter said: "I confess it, I was wrong in comparing you to the evil one; for I was compelled to do so, because I have not found one who is your equal, or worse than you. For this reason I likened you to the evil one; for you happen to be much more wicked than

the author of evil. For no one can prove that the evil one spoke against God; but all of us who are present see you speaking daringly against Him." And Simon said: "He who seeks the truth ought not to gratify any one in any respect contrary to what is really true. For why does he make the inquiry at all? Why, I ask? for I am not also able; laying aside the accurate investigation of things, to spend all my time in the praise of that God whom I do not know."

CHAPTER 7

PETER SUSPECTS SIMON OF NOT BELIEVING EVEN IN A GOD

And Peter said: "You are not so blessed as to praise Him, nor indeed can you do such a good deed as this; for then you would be full of Him. For thus said our Teacher, who always spoke the truth: 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' Whence you, abounding in evil purposes, through ignorance speak against the only good God. And not yet suffering what you deserve to suffer for the words which you have dared to utter, you either imagine that there will be no judgment, or perchance you think that there is not even a God. Whence, not comprehending such long-suffering as His, you are moving on to still greater madness." And Simon said: "Do not imagine that you will frighten me into not investigating the truth of your examples. For I am so eager for the truth, that for its sake I will not shrink from undergoing danger. If, then, you have anything to say in regard to the propositions made by me at the commencement, say it now."

CHAPTER 8

PETER UNDERTAKES TO DISCUSS THE DEVIL'S ORIGIN

And Peter said: "Since you compel us, after we have made accurate investigations into the contrivances of God, to venture to state them, and that, too, to men who are not able to comprehend thoroughly the contrivances of their fellow-men, for the sake at least of those who are present, I, instead of remaining silent — a course which would be most

pious — shall discuss the subjects of which you wish me to speak. I agree with you in believing that there is a prince of evil, of whose origin the Scripture has ventured to say nothing either true or false. But let us follow out the inquiry in many ways, as to how he has come into existence, if it is the fact that he has come into existence; and of the opinions which present themselves, let us select that which is most reverential, since in the case of probable opinions, that one is assumed with confidence which is based on the principle that we ought to attribute to God that which is more reverential; and all the more so, if, when all other suppositions are removed, there still remains one which is adequate and involves less danger. But I promise you, before I proceed with the investigation, that every method in the investigation can show that God alone is blameless.

CHAPTER 9

THEORIES IN REGARD TO THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVIL

“But, as you said, if the evil one is created either he has been begotten as an animal, or he has been sent forth substantially by Him, or he has been compounded externally, or his will has arisen through composition; or it happened that he came into existence from things non-existent, without composition and the will of God; or he has been made by God from that which in no manner and nowhere exists; or the matter, being lifeless or living, from which he has arisen was outside of God; or he fashioned himself, or he was made by God, or he is a relative thing, or he ever existed: for we cannot say that he does not exist, since we have agreed in thinking that he does exist.” And Simon said: “Well have you distinguished all the methods of accounting for his existence in a summary manner. Now it is my part to examine these various ideas, and to show that the Creator is blamable. But it is your business to prove, as you promised, that he is free from all blame. But I wonder if you will be able. For, first, if the devil has been begotten from God as an animal, the vice which is his is accordingly the same as that of him who sends him forth.” And Peter said: “Not at all. For we see many men who are good the fathers of wicked children, and others who are wicked the fathers of good children, and others again who are wicked producing both good and wicked children, and

others who are good having both wicked and good children. For instance, the first man who was created produced the unrighteous Cain and the righteous Abel." To this Simon said: "You are acting foolishly, in using human examples when discoursing about God." And Peter said: "Speak you, then, to us about God without using human examples, and yet so that what you say can be understood; but you are not able to do so.

CHAPTER 10

THE ABSOLUTE GOD ENTIRELY INCOMPREHENSIBLE BY MAN

"For instance, then, what did you say in the beginning? If the wicked one has been begotten of God, being of the same substance as He, then God is wicked. But when I showed you, from the example which you yourself adduced, that wicked beings come from good, and good from wicked, you did not admit the argument, for you said that the example was a human one. Wherefore I now do not admit that the term 'being begotten' can be used with reference to God; for it is characteristic of man, and not of God, to beget. Not only so; but God cannot be good or evil, just or unjust. Nor indeed can He have intelligence, or life, or any of the other attributes which can exist in man; for all these are peculiar to man. And if we must not, in our investigations in regard to God, give Him the good attributes which belong to man, it is not possible for us to have any thought or make any statement in regard to God; but all we can do is to investigate One point alone, — namely, what is His will which He has Himself allowed us to apprehend, in order that, being judged, we might be without excuse in regard to those laws which we have not observed, though we knew them."

CHAPTER 11

THE APPLICATION OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF MAN TO GOD

And Simon, bearing this, said: "You will not force me through shame to remain silent in regard to His substance, and to inquire into His will alone. For it is possible both to think and to speak of His substance. I mean from

the good attributes that belong to man. For instance, life and death are attributes of man; but death is not an attribute of God, but life, and eternal life. Furthermore, men may be both evil and good; but God can be only incomparably good. And, not to prolong the subject too much, the better attributes of man are eternal attributes of God." And Peter said: "Tell me, Simon, is it an attribute of man to beget evil and good, and to do evil and good?" And Simon said: "It is." And Peter said: "Since you made this assertion, we must assign the better attributes of man to God; and so, while men beget evil and good, God can beget good only and while men do evil and good God rejoices only in doing good. Thus, with regard to God, we must either not predicate any of the attributes of man and be silent, or it is reasonable that we should assign the best of the good attributes to Him. And thus He alone is the cause of all good things."

CHAPTER 12

GOD PRODUCED THE WICKED ONE, BUT NOT EVIL

And Simon said: "If, then, God is the cause only of what is good, what else can we think than that some other principle begot the evil one; or is evil unbegotten?" And Peter said: "No other power begot the wicked one, nor is evil unbegotten, as I shall show in the conclusion; for now my object is to prove, as I promised in the commencement, that God is blameless in every respect. We have granted, then, that God possesses in an incomparable way the better attributes that belong to men. Wherefore also it is possible for Him to have been the producer of the four substances, — heat, I mean, and cold, moist and dry. These, as being at first simple and unmixed, were naturally indifferent in their desire; but being produced by God, and mixed externally, they would naturally become a living being, possessing the free choice to destroy those who are evil. And thus, since all things have been begotten from Him, the wicked one is from no other source. Nor has he derived his evil from the God who has created all things (with whom it is impossible that evil should exist), because the substances were produced by Him in a state of indifference, and carefully separated from each other; and when they were externally blended through his art, there arose through volition the desire for the destruction of the evil ones.

But the good cannot be destroyed by the evil that arose, even though it should wish to do so: for it exercises its power only against those who sin. Ignorant, then, of the character of each, he makes his attempt against him, and convicting him, he punishes him." And Simon said: "God being able to mingle the elements, and to make His mixtures so as to produce any dispositions that He may wish, why did He not make the composition of each such as that it would prefer what is good?"

CHAPTER 13

GOD THE MAKER OF THE DEVIL

And Peter said: "Now indeed our object is to show how and by whom the evil one came into being, since he did come into being; but we shall show if he came into being blamelessly, when we have finished the subject now in hand. Then I shall show how and on account of what he came into being, and I shall fully convince you that his Creator is blameless. We said, then, that the four substances were produced by God. And thus, through the volition of Him who mingled them, arose, as He wished, the choice of evils. For if it had arisen contrary to His determination, or from some other substance or cause, then God would not have had firmness of will: for perchance, even though He should not wish it, leaders of evil might continually arise, who would war against His wishes. But it is impossible that this should be the case. For no living being, and especially one capable of giving guidance, can arise from accident: for everything that is produced must be produced by some one."

CHAPTER 14

IS MATTER ETERNAL?

And Simon said: "But what if matter, being coeval with Him, and possessing equal power, produces as His foe leaders who hinder His wishes?" And Peter said: "if matter is eternal, then it is the foe of no one: for that which exists for ever is impassable, and what is impassable is blessed; but what is blessed cannot be receptive of hatred, since, on

account of its eternal creation, it does not fear that it will be deprived of anything. But how does not matter rather love the Creator, when it evidently sends forth its fruits to nourish all who are made by Him? And how does it not fear Him as superior, as trembling through earthquakes it confesses, and as, though its billows ran high, yet, when the Teacher was sailing on it and commanded a calm, it immediately obeyed and became still? What! did not the demons go out through fear and respect for Him, and others of them desired to enter into swine; but they first entreated Him before going, plainly because they had no power to enter even into swine without His permission?"

CHAPTER 15

SIN THE CAUSE OF EVIL

And Simon said: "But what if, being lifeless, it possesses a nature capable of producing what is evil and what is good?" And Peter said: "According to this statement, it is neither good nor evil, because it does not act by free choice, being lifeless and insensible. Wherefore it is possible to perceive distinctly in this matter, how, being lifeless, it produces as if it were living; and being insensible, it yet plainly fashions artistic shapes both in animals and plants." And Simon said: "What! if God Himself gave it life, is not He, then, the cause of the evils which it produces?" And Peter said: "If God gave it life according to His own will, then it is His Spirit that produces it, and no longer is it anything hostile to God, or of equal power with Him; or it is impossible that everything made by Him is made according as He wishes. But you will say, He Himself is the cause of evil, since He Himself produces the evils through it. What sort, then, are the evils of which you speak? Poisonous serpents and deadly plants, or demons, or any other of those things that can disturb men? — which things would not have been injurious had not man sinned, for which reason death came in. For if man were sinless, the poison of serpents would have no effect, nor the activities of injurious plants, nor would there be the disturbances of demons, nor would man naturally have any other suffering; but losing his immortality on account of his sin, he has become, as I said, capable of every suffering. But if you say, Why, then, was the nature of man made at

the beginning capable of death? I tell you, because of free-will; for if we were not capable of death, we could not, as being immortal, be punished on account of our voluntary sin. And thus, on account of our freedom from suffering, righteousness would be still more weakened if we were wicked by choice; for those who should have evil purposes could not be punished, on account of their being incapable of suffering.

CHAPTER 16

WHY THE WICKED ONE IS ENTRUSTED WITH POWER

And Simon said to this: “I have one thing more to say in regard to the wicked one. Assuredly, since God made him out of nothing, he is in this respect wicked, especially since he was able to make him good, by giving him at his creation a nature in no way capable of selecting wickedness.” And Peter said: “The statement that He created him out of nothing, with a power of choice, is like the statement we have made above, that, buying made such a constitution as can rejoice in evils, He Himself appears to be the cause of what took place. But since there is one explanation of both statements, we shall show afterwards why, it was that He made him rejoice in the destruction of the wicked.” And Simon said: “If he made the angels also voluntary agents, and the wicked one departed from a state of righteousness, why has he been honored with a post of command? Is it not! plain that he who thus honored him takes pleasure in the wicked, in that he has thus honored him?” And Peter said: “If God set him by law, when he rebelled, to rule over those who were like him, ordering him to inflict punishment on those who sin, He is not unjust. But if it he the case that He has honored him even after his revolt, He who honored him saw beforehand his usefulness; for the honor is temporary, and it is right that the wicked should be ruled by the wicked one, and that sinners should be punished by him.”

CHAPTER 17

THE DEVIL HAS NOT EQUAL POWER WITH GOD

And Simon said: “If, then, he exists for ever, is not the fact of the sole government of God thus destroyed, since there is another power, namely, that concerned with matter, which rules along with Him?” And Peter said: “If they are different in their substances, they are different also in their powers, and the superior rules the inferior. But if they are of the same substance, then they are equal in power, and they are in like manner good or bad. But it is plain that they are not equal in power; for the Creator put matter into that shape of a world into which He willed to put it. Is it then at all possible to maintain that it always existed, being a substance; and is not matter, as it were, the storehouse of God? For it is not possible to maintain that there was a time when God possessed nothing, but He always was the only ruler of it. Wherefore also He is an eternal sole ruler; and on this account it would justly be said to belong to Him who exists, and rules, and is eternal.” And Simon said: “What then? Did the wicked one make himself? And was God good in such a way, that, knowing be would be the cause of evil, he yet did not destroy him at his origination, when he could have been destroyed, as not yet being perfectly made? For if he came into being suddenly and complete, then on that account he is at war with the Creator, as having come suddenly into being, possessed of equal power with him.”

CHAPTER 18

IS THE DEVIL A RELATION?

And Peter said: “What you state is impossible; for if he came into existence by degrees, He could have cut him off as a foe by His own free choice. And knowing beforehand that he was coming into existence, He would not have allowed him as a good, had He not known that by reason of him what was useful was being brought into existence. And he could not have come into existence suddenly, complete, of his own power. For he who did not exist could not fashion himself; and he neither could become

complete out of nothing, nor could any one justly say that he bad substance, so as always to be equal in power if lie were begotten." And Simon said: "Is he then a mere relation, and in this way wicked? — being injurious, as water is injurious to fire, but good for the seasonably thirsty land; as iron is good for the cultivation of the land, but bad for murders; and lust is not evil in respect of marriage, but bad in respect of adultery; as murder is an evil, but good for the murderer so far as his purpose is concerned; and cheating is an evil, but pleasant to the man who cheats; and other things of a like character are good and bad in like manner. In this way, neither is evil, nor good; for the one produces the other. For does not that which seems to be done injuriously rejoice the doer, but punish the sufferer? And though it seems unjust that a man should, out of self-love, gratify himself by every means in his power, to whom, on the other hand, does it not seem unjust that a man should suffer severe punishments at the hand of a just judge for having loved himself?"

CHAPTER 19

SOME ACTIONS REALLY WICKED

And Peter said: "A man ought to punish himself through self-restraint, when his lust wishes to hurry on to the injury of another, knowing that the wicked one can destroy the wicked, for he has received power over them from the beginning. And not yet is this an evil to those who have done evil; but that their souls should remain punished after the destruction, you are right in thinking to be really harsh, though the man who has been fore-ordained for evil should say that it is right. Wherefore, as I said, we ought to avoid doing injury to another for the sake of a shortlived pleasure, that we may not involve ourselves in eternal punishment for the sake of a little pleasure." And Simon said "Is it the case, then, that there is nothing either bad or good by nature, but the difference arises through law and custom? For is it not the habit of the Persians to marry their own mothers, sisters and daughters, while marriage with other women is prohibited as most barbarous? Wherefore, if it is not settled what things are evil, it is not possible for all to look forward to the judgment of God." And Peter said: "This cannot hold; for it is plain to all

that cohabitation with mothers is abominable, even though the Persians, who are a mere fraction of the whole, should under the effects of a bad custom fail to see the iniquity of their abominable conduct. Thus also the Britons publicly cohabit in the sight of all, and are not ashamed; and some men eat the flesh of others, and feel no disgust; and others eat the flesh of dogs; and others practice other unmentionable deeds. Thus, then we ought not to form our judgments with a perception which through habit has been perverted from its natural action. For to be murdered is an evil, even if all were to deny it; for no one wishes to suffer it himself, and in the case of theft no one rejoices at his own punishment. If, then, no one were at all ever to confess that these are sins, it is right even then to look forward of necessity to a judgment in regard to sins." When Peter said this, Simon answered: "Does this, then, seem to you to be the truth in regard to the wicked one? Tell me."

CHAPTER 20

PAIN AND DEATH THE RESULT OF SIN

And Peter said: "We remember that our Lord and Teacher, commanding us, said, 'Keep the mysteries for me and the sons of my house.' Wherefore also He explained to His disciples privately the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. But to you who do battle with us, and examine into nothing else but our statements, whether they be true or false, it would be impious to state the hidden truths. But that none of the bystanders may imagine that I am contriving excuses, because I am unable to reply to the assertions made by you, I shall answer you by first putting the question, If there had been a state of painlessness, what is the meaning of the statement. 'The evil one was?'" And Simon said: "The words have no meaning." And Peter: "Is then evil the same as pain and death?" And Simon: "It seems so." And Peter said: "Evil, then, does not exist always, yea, it cannot even exist at all substantially; for pain and death belong to the class of accidents, neither of which can co-exist with abiding strength. For what is pain but the interruption of harmony? And what is death but the separation of soul from body? There is therefore no pain when there is harmony. For death does not even at all belong to those things which

substantially exist: for death is nothing, as I said, but the separation of soul from body; and when this takes place, the body, which is by nature incapable of sensation, is dissolved; but the soul, being capable of sensation, remains in life and exists substantially. Hence, when there is harmony there is no pain, no death, no, not even deadly plants nor poisonous reptiles, nor anything of such a nature that its end is death. And hence, where immortality reigns, all things will appear to have been made with reason. And this will be the case when, on account of righteousness, man becomes immortal through the prevalence of the peaceful reign of Christ, when his composition will be so well arranged as not to give rise to sharp impulses; and his knowledge, moreover, will be unerring, so as that he shall not mistake evil for good; and he will suffer no pain, so that he will not be mortal."

CHAPTER 21

THE USES OF LUST, ANGER, GRIEF

And Simon said: "You were right in saying this; but in the present world does not man seem to you to be capable of every kind of affection, — as, for instance, of lust; anger, grief, and the like?" And Peter said: "Yes, these belong to the things that are accidental, not to those that always exist, and it will be found that they now occur with advantage to the soul. For lust has, by the will of Him who created all things well, been made to arise within the living being, that, led by it to intercourse, he may increase humanity, from a selection of which a multitude of superior beings arise who are fit for eternal life. But if it were not for lust, no one would trouble himself with intercourse with his wife; but now, for the sake of pleasure, and, as it were, gratifying himself, man carries out His will. Now, if a man uses lust for lawful marriage, he does not act impiously; but if he rushes to adultery, he acts impiously, and he is punished because he makes a bad use of a good ordinance. And in the same way, anger has been made by God to be lighted up naturally within us, in order that we may be induced by it to ward off injuries. Yet if any one indulges it without restraint, he acts unjustly; but if he uses it within. due bounds, he does what is right. Moreover, we are capable of grief, that we may be moved with sympathy

at the death of relatives, of a wife, or children, or brothers, or parents, or friends, or some others, since, if we were not capable of sympathy, we should be inhuman. In like manner, all the other affections will be found to be adapted for us, if at least the reason for their existence be considered."

CHAPTER 22

SINS OF IGNORANCE

And Simon: "Why is it, then, that some die prematurely, and periodical diseases arise; and that there are, moreover, attacks of demons, and of madness, and all other kinds of afflictions which can greatly punish?" And Peter said: "Because men, following their own pleasure in all things, cohabit without observing the proper times; and thus the deposition of seed, taking place unseasonably, naturally produces a multitude of evils. For they ought to reflect, that as a season has been fixed suitable for planting and sowing, so days have been appointed as appropriate for cohabitation, which are carefully to be observed. Accordingly some one well instructed in the doctrines taught by Moses, finding fault with the people for their sins, called them sons of the new moons and the sabbaths. Yet in the beginning of the world then lived long, and had no diseases. But when through carelessness they neglected the observation of the proper times, then the sons in succession cohabiting through ignorance at times when they ought not, place their children under innumerable afflictions. Whence our Teacher, when we inquired of Him in regard to the man who was blind from his birth, and recovered his sight, if this man sinned, or his parents, that he should be born blind, answered, 'Neither did he sin at all, nor his parents, but that the power of God might be made manifest through him in healing the sins of ignorance.' And, in truth, such afflictions arise because of ignorance; as, for instance, by not knowing when one ought to cohabit with his wife, as if she be pure from her discharge. Now the afflictions which you mentioned before are the result of ignorance, and not, assuredly, of any wickedness that has been perpetrated. Moreover, give me the man who sins not, and I will show you the man who suffers not; and you will find that he not only does not suffer himself, but that he is able to heal others. For instance, Moses, on account of his piety,

continued free from suffering all his life, and by his prayers he healed the Egyptians when they suffered on account of their sins.”

CHAPTER 23

THE INEQUALITIES OF LOT IN HUMAN LIFE

And Simon said: “Let me grant that this is the case: does not the inequality of lot amongst men seem to you most unjust? For one is in penury, another is rich; one is sick, another is in good health: and there are innumerable differences of a like character in human life.” And Peter said: “Do you not perceive, Simon, that you are again shooting your observations beyond the mark? For while we were discussing evil, you have made a digression, and introduced the question of the anomalies that appear in this world. But I shall speak even to this point. The world is an instrument artistically contrived, that for the male who is to exist eternally, the female may bear eternal righteous sons. Now they could not have been rendered perfectly pious here, had there been no needy ones for them to help. In like manner there are the sick, that they may have objects for their care. And the other afflictions admit of a like explanation.” And Simon said: “Are not those in humble circumstances unfortunate? for they are subjected to distress, that others may be made righteous.” And Peter said: “If their humiliation were eternal, their misfortune would be very great. But the humiliations and exaltations of men take place according to lot; and he who is not pleased with his lot can appeal, and by trying his case according to law, he can exchange his mode of life for another.” And Simon said: “What do you mean by this lot and this appeal?” And Peter said: “You are now demanding the exposition of another topic; but if you permit me, we can show you how, being born again, and changing your origin, and living according to law, you will obtain eternal salvation.”

CHAPTER 24

SIMON REBUKED BY FAUSTUS

And Simon hearing this, said: “Do not imagine that, when I, while questioning you, agreed with you in each topic, I went to the next, as being fully assured of the truth of the previous; but I appeared to yield to your ignorance, that you might go on to the next topic, in order that, becoming acquainted with the whole range of your ignorance, I might condemn you, not through mere conjecture, but from full knowledge. Allow me now to retire for three days, and I shall come back and show that you know nothing.” When Simon said this, and was on the point of going out, my father said: “Listen to me, Simon, for a moment, and then go wherever you like. I remember that in the beginning, before the discussion, you accused me of being prejudiced, though as yet you had no experience of me. But now, having heard you discuss in turn, and judging that Peter has the advantage, and now assigning to him the merit of speaking the truth, do I appear to you to judge correctly, and with knowledge; or is it not so? For if you should say that I have judged correctly, but do not agree, then you are plainly prejudiced, inasmuch as you do not wish to agree, after confessing your defeat. But if I was not correct in maintaining that Peter has the advantage in the discussion, do you convince us how we have not judged correctly, or you will ceaseto discuss with him before all, since you will always be defeated and agree, and in consequence your own soul will suffer pain, condemned as you will be, and in disgrace, through your own conscience, even if you do not feel shame before all the listeners as the greatest torture; for we have seen you conquered, in fact, and we have heard your own lips confess it. Finally, therefore, I am of opinion that you will not return to the discussion, as you promised; but that you may seem not to have been defeated, you have promised, when going away, that you will return.”

CHAPTER 25

SIMON RETIRES. SOPHONIAS ASKS PETER TO STATE HIS REAL OPINIONS IN REGARD TO EVIL

And Simon hearing this, gnashed his teeth for rage, and went away in silence. But Peter (for a considerable portion of the day still remained) laid his hands on the large multitude to heal them; and having dismissed them, went into the house with his more intimate friends, and sat down. And one of his attendants, of the name of Sophonias, said: “Blessed is God, O Peter, who selected you and instructed you for the comfort of the good. For, in truth, you discussed with Simon with dignity and great patience. But we beg of you to discourse to us of evil; for we expect that you will state to us your own genuine belief in regard to it, — not, however at the present moment, but tomorrow, if it seems good to you: for we spare you, because of the fatigue you feel on account of your discussion.” And Peter said: “I wish you to know, that he who does anything with pleasure. finds rest in the very toils themselves; but he who does not do what he wishes, is rendered exceedingly weary by the very rest he takes. Wherefore you confer on me a great rest when you make me discourse on topics which please me.” Content, then, with his disposition, and sparing him on account of his fatigue, we requested him to put the discussion off till the night, when it was his custom to discourse to his genuine friends. And partaking of salt, we turned to sleep.

HOMILY 20

CHAPTER 1

PETER IS WILLING TO GRATIFY SOPHONIAS

IN the night-time Peter rose up and wakened us, and then sat down in his usual way, and said "Ask me questions about anything you like." And Sophonias was the first to begin to speak to him: "Will you explain to us who are eager to learn what is the real truth in regard to evil?" And Peter said: "I have already explained it in the course of my discussion with Simon; but because I stated the truth in regard to it in combination with other topics, it was not altogether clearly put; for many topics that seem to be of equal weight with the truth afford some kind of knowledge of the truth to the masses. So that, if now I state what I formerly stated to Simon along with many topics, do not imagine that you are not honored with honor equal to his." And Sophonias said: "You are right; for if you now separate it for us from many of the topics that were then discussed, you will make the truth more evident."

CHAPTER 2

THE TWO AGES

And Peter said: "Listen, therefore, to the truth of the harmony in regard to the evil one. God appointed two kingdoms, and established two ages, determining that the present world should be given to the evil one, because it is small, and passes quickly away; but He promised to preserve for the good one the age to come, as it will be great and eternal. Man, therefore, He created with free-will, and possessing the capability of inclining to whatever actions he wishes. And his body consists of three parts, deriving its origin from the female; for it has lust, anger, and grief, and what is consequent on these. But the spirit not being uniform, but consisting of three parts, derives its origin from the male; and it is capable of reasoning,

knowledge, and fear, and what is consequent on these. And each of these triads has one root, so that man is a compound of two mixtures, the female and the male. Wherefore also two ways have been laid before him — those of obedience and disobedience to law; and two kingdoms, have been established, — the one called the kingdom of heaven, and the other the kingdom of those who are now kings upon earth. Also two kings have been appointed, of whom the one is selected to rule by law over the present and transitory world, and his composition is such that he rejoices in the destruction of the wicked. But the other and good one, who is the King of the age to come, loves the whole nature of man; but not being able to have boldness in the present world, he counsels what is advantageous, like one who tries to conceal who he really is.

CHAPTER 3

THE WORK OF THE GOOD ONE AND OF THE EVIL ONE

“But of these two, the one acts violently towards the other by the command of God. Moreover, each man has power to obey whichever of them he pleases for the doing of good or evil. But if any one chooses to do what is good, he becomes the possession of the fixture good king; but if any one should do evil, he becomes the servant of the present evil one, who, having received power over him by just judgment on account of his sins, and wishing to use it before the coming age, rejoices in punishing him in the present life, and thus by gratifying, as it were, his own private passion, he accomplishes the will of God. But the other, being made to rejoice in power over the righteous, when he finds a righteous man, is exceedingly glad, and saves him with eternal life; and he also, as if gratifying himself, traces the gratification which he feels on account of these to God. Now it is within the power of every unrighteous than to repent and be saved; and every righteous man may nave to undergo punishment for sins committed at the end of his career. Moreover, these two leaders are the swift hands of God, eager to anticipate Him so as to accomplish His will. But that this is so, has been said even by the law in the person of God: ‘I will kill, and, I will make alive; I will strike, and I will heal. For, in truth, He kills and makes alive. He kills through the left

hand, that is, through the evil one, who has been so composed as to rejoice in afflicting the impious. And he saves and benefits through the right band, that is, through the good one, who has been made to rejoice in the good deeds and salvation of the righteous. Now these have not their substances outside of God: for there is no other primal source. Nor, indeed, have they been sent forth as animals from God, for they were of the same mind with Him; nor are they accidental, arising spontaneously in opposition to His will, since thus the greatest exercise of His power would have been destroyed. But from God have been sent forth the four first elements — heat and cold, moist and dry. In consequence of this, He is the father of every substance, but not of the disposition which may arise from the combination of the elements; for when these were combined from without, disposition was begotten in them as a child. The wicked one, then, having served God blamelessly to the end of the present world, can become good by a change in his composition, since he assuredly is not of one uniform substance whose sole bent is towards sin. For not even more does he do evil, although he is evil, since he has received power to afflict lawfully."

CHAPTER 4

MEN SIN THROUGH IGNORANCE

When Peter said this, Micah, who was himself one of his followers, asked: "What, then, is the reason why men sin?" And Peter said: "It is because they are ignorant that they will without doubt be punished for their evil deeds when judgment takes place. For this reason they, having lust, as I elsewhere said, for the continuance of life, gratify it in any accidental way, it may be by the vitiation of boys, or by some other flattering sin. For in consequence of their ignorance, as I said before, they are urged on through fearlessness to satisfy their lust in an unlawful manner. Wherefore God is not evil, who has rightly placed lust within man, that there may be a continuance of life, but they are most impious who have used the good of lust badly. The same considerations apply to anger also, that if one uses it righteously, as is within his power, he is pious; but going beyond measure, and taking judgment to himself, he is impious."

CHAPTER 5

SOPHONIAS MAINTAINS THAT GOD CANNOT PRODUCE WHAT IS UNLIKE HIMSELF

And Sophonias said again: “Your great patience, my Lord Peter, gives us boldness to ask you many questions for the sake of accuracy. Wherefore we make our inquiries with confidence in every direction. I remember, then, that Simon said yesterday, in his discussion with you, that the evil one, if he was born of God, possesses in consequence the same substance as He does who sent him forth, and he ought to have been good, and not wicked. But you answered that this was not always the case, since many wicked sons are born of good parents, as from Adam two unlike sons were begotten, one of whom was bad and the other good. And when Simon found fault with you for having used human examples, you answered that in this way we ought not to admit that God begets at all; for this also is a human example. And I, Sophonias, admit that God begets; but I do not allow that He begets what is bad, even though the good among men beget bad children. And do not imagine that I am without reason attributing to God some of the qualities that distinguish men, and refusing to attribute others, when I grant that He begets, but do not allow that He begets what is unlike Himself. For men, as you might expect, beget sons who are unlike them in their dispositions for the following reason. Being composed of four parts, they change their bodies variously, according to the various changes of the year; and thus, the appropriate change either of increase or decrease taking place in the human booty, each season destroys the harmonious combination. Now, when the combinations do not always remain exactly in the same position, the seeds, having sometimes one combination, sometimes another, are sent off; and these are followed, according to the combination belonging to the season, by dispositions either good or bad. But in the case of God we cannot suppose any such thing; for, being unchangeable and always existing, whenever He wishes to send forth, there is an absolute necessity that what is sent forth should be in all respects in the same position as that which has begotten, I mean in regard to substance and disposition. But if any one should wish to maintain that He is changeable, I do not know how it is possible for him to maintain that He is immortal.”

CHAPTER 6

GOD'S POWER OF CHANGING HIMSELF

When Peter heard this, he thought for a little, and said: "I do not think that any one can converse about evil without doing the will of the evil one. Therefore knowing this, I do not know what I shall do, whether I shall be silent or speak. For if I be silent, I should incur the laughter of the multitude, because, professing to proclaim the truth, I am ignorant of the explanation of vice But if I should state my opinion, I am afraid lest it be not at all pleasing to God that we should seek after evil, for only seeking after good is pleasing to Him. However, in my reply to the statements of Sophonias, I shall make my ideas more plain. I then agree with him in thinking that we ought not to attribute to God all the qualities of men. For instance, men not having bodies that are convertible are not converted; but they have a nature that admits of alteration by the lapse of time through the seasons of the year. But this is not the case with God; for through His inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes. And one can the more easily believe this, as the air, which has received such a nature from Him, is converted into dew by the incorporeal mind permeating it, and being thickened becomes water, and water being compacted becomes stone and earth, and stones through collision light up fire. According to such a change and conversion, air becomes first water, and ends in being fire through conversions, and the moist is converted into its natural opposite. Why? Did not God convert the rod of Moses into an animal, making it a serpent, which He reconverted into a rod? And by means of this very converted rod he converted the water of the Nile into blood, which again he reconverted into water. Yea, even man, who is dust, He changed by the inbreathing of His breath into flesh, and changed him back again into dust. And was not Moses, who himself was flesh, converted into the grandest light, so that the sons of Israel could not look him in the face? Much more, then, is God completely able to convert Himself into whatsoever He wishes.

CHAPTER 7

THE OBJECTION ANSWERED, THAT ONE CANNOT CHANGE HIMSELF

“But perhaps some one of you thinks that one may become something under the influence of one, and another under the influence of another, but no one can change himself into whatever he wishes, and that it is the characteristic of one who grows old, and who must die according to his nature, to change, but we ought not to entertain such thoughts of immortal beings. For were not angels, who are free from old age, and of a fiery substance, changed into flesh, — those, for instance, who received (the hospitality of Abraham, whose feet men washed, as if they were the feet of men of like substance? Yea, moreover, with Jacob, who was a man, there wrestled an angel, converted into flesh that he might be able to come to close quarters with him. And, in like manner, after he had wrestled by his own will, he was converted into his own natural form; and now, when he was changed into fire, he did not burn up the broad sinew of Jacob, but he inflamed it, and made him lame. Now, that which cannot become anything else, whatever it may wish, is mortal, inasmuch as it is subject to its own nature; but he who can become whatever he wishes, whenever he wishes, is immortal, returning to a new condition, inasmuch as he has control over his own nature. Wherefore much more does the power of God change the substance of the body into whatever He wishes and whenever He wishes; and by the change that takes place He sends forth what, on the one hand, is of similar substance, but, on the other, is not of equal power. Whatever, then, he who sends forth turns into a different substance, that he can again turn back into his own; but he who is sent forth, arising in consequence of the change which proceeds from him, and being his child, cannot become anything else without the will of him who sent him forth, unless he wills it.”

CHAPTER 8

THE ORIGIN OF THE GOOD ONE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE EVIL ONE

When Peter said this, Micah, who was himself also one of the companions that attended on him, said: “I also should like to learn from you if the good one has been produced in the same way that the evil one came into being. But if they came into being in a similar manner, then they are brothers in my opinion.” And Peter said: “They have not come into being in a similar way: for no doubt you remember what I said in the beginning, that the substance of the body of the wicked one, being fourfold in origin, was carefully selected and sent forth by God; but when it was combined externally, according to the will of Him who sent it forth, there arose, in consequence of the combination, the disposition which rejoices in evils: so that you may see that the substance, fourfold in origin, which was sent forth by Him, and which also always exists, is the child of God; but that the accidentally arising disposition which rejoices in evils has supervened when the substance was combined externally by him. And thus disposition has not been begotten by God, nor by any one else, nor indeed has it been sent forth by Him, nor has it come forth spontaneously, nor did it always exist, like the substance before the combination; but it has come on as an accident by external combination, according to the will of God. And we have often said that it must be so. But the good one having been begotten from the most beautiful change of God, and not having arisen accidentally through an external combination, is really His Son. Yet, since these doctrines are unwritten, and are confirmed to us only by conjecture, let us by no means deem it as absolutely certain that this is the true state of the case. For if we act otherwise, our mind will cease from investigating the truth, in the belief that it has already fully comprehended it. Remember these things, therefore; for I must not state such things to all, but only to those who are found after trial most trustworthy. Nor ought we rashly to maintain such assertions towards each other, nor ought ye to dare to speak as if you were accurately acquainted with the discovery of secret truths, but you ought simply to reflect over them in silence; for in stating, perchance, that a matter is so, he who says it will err, and he will

suffer punishment for having dared to speak even to himself what has been honored with silence."

CHAPTER 9

WHY THE WICKED ONE IS APPOINTED OVER THE WICKED BY THE RIGHTEOUS GOD

When Peter said this, Lazarus, who also was one of his followers, said: "Explain to us the harmony, how it can be reasonable that the wicked one should be appointed by the righteous God to be the punisher of the impious, and yet should himself afterwards be sent into lower darkness along with his angels and with sin- nets: for I remember that the Teacher Himself said this." And Peter said: "I indeed allow that the evil one does no evil, inasmuch as he is accomplishing the law given to him. And although he has an evil disposition, yet through fear of God he does nothing unjustly; but, accusing the teachers of truth so as to entrap the unwary, he is himself named the accuser (the devil). But the statement of our unerring Teacher, that he and his angels, along with the deluded sinners, shall go into lower darkness, admits of the following explanation. The evil one, having obtained the lot of rejoicing in darkness according to his composition, delights to go down to the darkness of Tartarus along with angels who are his fellow-slaves; for darkness is dear to fire. But the souls of men, being drops of pure light, are absorbed by the substance fire, which is of a different class; and not possessing a nature capable of dying, they are punished according to their deserts. But if he who is the leader of men into vice is not sent into darkness, as not rejoicing in it, then his composition, which rejoices in evils, cannot be changed by another combination into the disposition for good. And thus he will be adjudged to be with the good, all the more because, having obtained a composition which rejoices in evils, through fear of God he has done nothing contrary to the decrees of the law of God. And did not the Scripture by a mysterious hint point out by the statement that the rod of the high priest Aaron became a serpent, and was again converted into a rod, that a change in the composition of the wicked one would afterwards take place?"

CHAPTER 10

WHY SOME BELIEVE, AND OTHERS DE NOT

And after Lazarus, Joseph, who also was one of his followers, said: “You have spoken all things rightly. Teach me also this, as I am eager to know it, why, when you give the same discourses to all, some believe and others disbelieve?” And Peter said: “It is because my discourses are not charms, so that every one that hears them must without hesitation believe them. The fact that some believe, and others do not, points out to the intelligent the freedom of the will.” And when he said this, we all blessed him.

CHAPTER 11

ARRIVAL OF APPION AND ANNUBION

And as we were going to take our meals, some one ran in and said: “Appion Pleistonices has just come with Annubion from Antioch, and he is lodging with Simon.” And my father hearing this, and rejoicing, said to Peter: “If you permit me, I shall go to salute Appion and Annubion, who have been my friends from childhood. For perchance I shall persuade Annubion to discuss genesis with Clement.” And Peter said: “I permit you, and I praise you for fulfilling the duties of a friend. But now consider how in the providence of God there come together from all quarters considerations which contribute to your full assurance, rendering the harmony complete. But I say this because the arrival of Annubion happens advantageously for you.” And my father: “In truth, I see that this is the case.” And saying this, he went to Simon.

CHAPTER 12

FAUSTUS APPEARS TO HIS FRIENDS WITH THE FACE OF SIMON

Now all of us who were with Peter asked each other questions the whole of the night, and continued awake, because of the pleasure and joy we derived from what was said. But when at length the dawn began to break, Peter, looking at me and my brothers, said: “I am puzzled to think what your father has been about.” And just as he was saying this, our father came in and caught Peter talking to us of him; and seeing him displeased, he accosted him, and rendered an apology for having slept outside. But we were amazed when we looked at him: for we saw the form of Simon, but heard the voice of our father Faustus. And when we were fleeing from him, and abhorring him, our father was astonished at receiving such harsh and hostile treatment from us. But Peter alone saw his natural shape, and said to us: “Why do you in horror turn away from your own father?” But we and our mother said: “It is Simon that we see before us, with the voice of our father.” And Peter said: “You recognize only his voice, which is unaffected by magic; but as my eyes also are unaffected by magic, I can see his form as it really is, that he is not Simon, but your father Faustus.” Then, looking to my father, he said: “It is not your own true form that is seen by them, but that of Simon, our deadliest foe, and a most impious man.”

CHAPTER 13

THE FLIGHT OF SIMON

While Peter was thus talking, there entered one of those who had gone before to Antioch, and who, coming back from Antioch, said to Peter: “I wish you to know, my Lord, that Simon, by doing many miracles publicly in Antioch, and calling you a magician and a juggler and a murderer, has worked them up to such hatred against you, that every man is eager to taste your very flesh if you should sojourn there. Wherefore we who went before, along with our brethren who were in pretense attached by you to

Simon, seeing the city raging wildly against you, met secretly and considered what we ought to do. And assuredly, while we were in great perplexity, Cornelius the centurion arrived, who had been sent by the emperor to the governor of the province. He was the person whom our Lord cured when he was possessed of a demon in Caesarea. This man we sent for secretly; and informing him of the cause of our despondency, we begged his help. He promised most readily that he would alarm Simon, and make him take to flight, if we should assist him in his effort. And when we all promised that we should readily do everything, he said,' I shall spread abroad the news through many friends that I have secretly come to apprehend him; and I shall pretend that I am in search of him, because the emperor, having put to death many magicians, and having received information in regard to him, has sent me to search him out, that he may punish him as he punished the magicians before him; while those of your party who are with him must report to him, as if they had heard it from a secret source, that I have been sent to apprehend him. And perchance when he hears it from them, he will be alarmed and take to flight.' When, therefore, we had intended to do something else, nevertheless the affair turned out in the following way. For when he heard the news from many strangers who gratified him greatly by secretly informing him, and also from our brethren who pretended to be attached to him, and took it as the opinion of his own followers, he resolved on retiring. And hastening away from Antioch, he has come here with Athenodorus, as we have heard. Wherefore we advise you not yet to enter that city, until we ascertain whether they can forget in his absence the accusations which he brought against you."

CHAPTER 14

THE CHANGE IN THE FORM OF FAUSTUS CAUSED BY SIMON

When the person who had gone before gave this report, Peter looked to my father, and said: "You hear, Faustus; the change in your form has been caused by Simon the magician, as is now evident. For, thinking that a servant of the emperor was seeking him to punish him, he became afraid and fled, putting you into his own shape, that if you were put to death,

your children might have sorrow." When my father heard this, he wept and lamented, and said: "You have conjectured rightly, Peter. For Annubion, who is my dear friend, hinted his design to me; but I did not believe him, miserable man that I am, since I deserved to suffer."

CHAPTER 15

THE REPENTANCE OF FAUSTUS

When my father said this, after no long time Annubion came to us to announce to us the flight of Simon, and how that very night he had hurried to Judaea. And he found our father wailing, and with lamentations saying: "Alas, alas! unhappy man! I did not believe when I was told that he was a magician. Miserable man that I am! I have been recognized for one day by my wife and children, and have speedily gone back to my previous sad condition when I was still ignorant." And my mother lamenting, plucked her hair; and we groaned in distress on account of the transformation of our father, and could not comprehend what in the world it could be. But Annubion stood speechless, seeing and hearing these things; while Peter said to us, his children, in the presence of all: "Believe me, this is Faustus your father. Wherefore I urge you to attend to him as being your father. For God will vouchsafe some occasion for his putting off the shape of Simon, and exhibiting again distinctly that of your father." And saying this, and looking to my father, he said: "I permitted you to salute Appion and Annubion, since you asserted that they were your friends from childhood, but I did not permit you to associate with the magician Simon."

CHAPTER 16

WHY SIMON GAVE TO FAUSTUS HIS OWN SHAPE

And my father said: "I have sinned; I confess it." And Annubion said: "I also along with him beg you to forgive the noble and good old man who has been deceived: for the unfortunate man has been the sport of that notorious fellow. But I shall tell you how it took place. The good old man came to salute us. But at that very hour we who were there happened to

be listening to Simon, who wished to run away that night, for he had heard that some people had come to Laodicea in search of him by the command of the emperor. But as Faustus was entering, he turned his own rage on him, and thus addressed us: ‘Make him, when he comes, share your meals; and I will prepare an ointment, so that, when he has supped, he may take some of it, and anoint his face with it, and then he will appear to all to have my shape. But I will anoint you with the juice of some plant, and then you will not be deceived by his new shape; but to all others Faustus will seem to be Simon.’

CHAPTER 17

ANNUBION’S SERVICES TO FAUSTUS

“And while he stated this beforehand, I said, ‘What, then, is the advantage you now expect to get from such a contrivance?’ And Simon said, ‘First, those who seek me, when they apprehend him, will give up the search after me. But if he be executed by the hand of the emperor, very great sorrow will fall upon his children, who left me, and fleeing to Peter, now aid him in his work.’ And now, Peter, I confess the truth to you: I was prevented by fear of Simon from informing Faustus of this. But Simon did not give us an opportunity for private conversation, lest some one of us might revealto him the wicked design of Simon. Simon then rose up in the middle of the night and fled to Judaea, convoyed by Appion and Athenodorus. Then I pretended that I was sick, in order that, remaining after they had gone, I might make Faustus go back immediately to his own people, if by any chance he might be able, by being concealed with you, to escape observation, lest, being caught as Simon by those who were in search of Simon, he might be put to death through the wrath of the emperor. At the dead of night, therefore, I sent him away to you; and in my anxiety for him I came by night to see him, with the intention of returning before those who convoyed Simon should return.” And looking to us, he said: “I, Annubion, see the true shape of your father; for I was anointed, as I related to you before, by Simon himself, that the true shape of Faustus might be seen by my eyes. Astonished, therefore, I exceedingly wonder at the magic power of Simon, in that standing you do not

recognize your own father." And while our father and our mother and we ourselves wept on account of the calamity common to all of us, Annubion also through sympathy wept with us.

CHAPTER 18

PETER PROMISES TO RESTORE TO FAUSTUS HIS OWN SHAPE

Then Peter promised to us to restore the shape of our father, and he said to him: "Faustus, you heard how matters stand with us. When, therefore, the deceptive shape which invests you has been useful to us, and you have assisted us in doing what I shall tell you to do, then I shall restore to you your true form, when you have first performed my commands." And when my father said, "I shall do everything that is in my power most willingly; only restore to my own people my own form;" Peter answered, "You yourself heard with your own ears how those who went before me came back from Antioch, and said that Simon had been there, and had strongly excited the multitudes against me by calling me a magician and a murderer, a deceiver and a juggler, to such an extent that all the people there were eager to taste my flesh. You will do, then, as I tell you. You will leave Clement with me, and you will go before us into Antioch with your wife, and your sons Faustinus and Faustinianus. And some others will accompany you whom I deem capable of helping forward my design.

CHAPTER 19

PETER'S INSTRUCTIONS TO FAUSTUS

"When you are with these in Antioch, while you look like Simon, proclaim publicly your repentance, saying, 'I Simon proclaim this to you: I confess that all my statements in regard to Peter are utterly false; for he is not a deceiver, nor a murderer, nor a juggler; nor are any of the evil things true which I, urged on by wrath, said previously in regard to him. I myself therefore beg of you, I who have been the cause of your hatred to him, cease from hating him; for he is the true apostle of the true Prophet that

was sent by God for the salvation of the world. Wherefore also I counsel you to believe what he preaches; for if you do not, your whole city will be utterly destroyed. Now I wish you to know for what reason I have made this confession to you. This night angels of God scourged me, the impious one, terribly, as being an enemy to the herald of the truth. I beseech you, therefore, do not listen to me, even if I myself should come at another time and attempt to say anything against Peter. For I confess to you I am a magician, I am a deceiver, I am a juggler. Yet perhaps it is possible for me by repentance to wipe out the sins which were formerly committed by me.'"

CHAPTER 20

FAUSTUS, HIS WIFE, AND SONS, PREPARE TO GO TO ANTIOCH

When Peter suggested this, my father said: "I know what you want; wherefore take no trouble. For assuredly I shall take good care, when I reach that place, to make such statements in regard to you as I ought to make." And Peter again suggested: "When, then, you perceive the city changing from its hatred of me, and longing to see me, send information to me of this, and I shall come to you immediately. And when I arrive there, that same day I shall remove the strange shape which now invests you, and I shall make your own unmistakably visible to your own people and to all others." Saying this, he made his sons, my brothers, and our mother Mattidia to go along with him; and he also commanded some of his more intimate acquaintances to accompany him. But my mother was unwilling to go with him, and said: "I seem to be an adulteress if I associate with the shape of Simon; but if I shall be compelled to go along with him, it is impossible for me to recline on the same couch with him! But I do not know if I shall be persuaded to go along with him." And while she was very unwilling to go, Annubion urged her, saying: "Believe me and Peter, and the very voice itself, that this is Faustus your husband, whom I love not less than you. And I myself will go along with him." When Annubion said this, our mother promised to go with him.

CHAPTER 21

APPION AND ATHENODORUS RETURN IN QUEST OF FAUSTUS

But Peter said: “God arranges our affairs in a most satisfactory manner; for we have with us Annubion the astrologer. For when we arrive at Antioch, he will in future discourse regarding genesis, giving us his genuine opinions as a friend.” Now when, after midnight, our father hurried with those whom Peter had ordered to go along with him and with Annubion to Antioch, which was near, early next day, before Peter went forth to discourse, Appion and Athenodorus, who had convoyed Simon, returned to Laodicea in search of our father. But Peter, ascertaining the fact, urged them to enter. And when they came in and sat down, and said, “Where is Faustus?” Peter answered: “We know not; for since the evening, when he went to you, he has not been seen by his kinsmen. But yesterday morning Simon came in search of him; and when we made no reply to him, something seemed to come over him, for he called himself Faustus; but not being believed, he wept and lamented, and threatened to kill himself, and then rushed out in the direction of the sea.”

CHAPTER 22

APPION AND ATHENODORUS RETURN TO SIMON

When Appion and those who were with him heard this, they howled and lamented, saying: “Why did you not receive him?” And when at the same time Athenodorus wished to say to me, “It was Faustus, your father;” Appion anticipated him, and said, “We learned from some one that Simon, finding him, urged him to go along with him, Faustus himself entreating him, since he did not wish to see his sons after they had become Jews. And hearing this, we came, for his own sake, in search of him. But since he is not here, it is plain that he spake the truth who gave us the information which we, hearing it from him, have given to you.” And I Clement, perceiving the design of Peter, that he wished to beget a suspicion in them that he intended to look out among them for the old man, that they might

be afraid and take to flight, assisted in his design, and said to Appion: “Listen to me, my dearest Appion. We were eager to give to him, as being our father, what we our- selves deemed to be good. But if he himself did not wish to receive it, but, on the contrary, fled from us in horror, I shall make a somewhat harsh remark, ‘Nor do we care for him.’” And when I said this, they went away, as if irritated by my savageness; and, as we learn next day, they went to Judaea in the track of Simon.

CHAPTER 23

PETER GOES TO ANTIOCH

Now, when ten days had passed away, there came one of our people from our father to announce to us how our father stood forward publicly in the shape of Simon, accusing him; and how by praising Peter he had made the whole city of Antioch long for him: and in consequence of this, all said that they were eager to see him, and that there were some who were angry with him as being Simon, on account of their surpassing affection for Peter, and wished to lay hands on Faustus, believing he was Simon. Wherefore he, fearing that he might be put to death, had sent to request Peter to come immediately if he wished to meet him alive, and to appear at the proper time to the city, when it was at the height of its longing for him. Peter, hearing this, called the multitude together to deliberate, and appointed one of his attendants bishop; and having remained three days in Laodicea baptizing and healing, he hastened to the neighboring city of Antioch. Amen.

APOCRYPHA

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

[TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER, ESQ., ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS FOR SCOTLAND.]

THE PROTEVANGELIUM OF JAMES

THE BIRTH OF MARY THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD, AND VERY GLORIOUS MOTHER OF JESUS CHRIST

1. IN the records of the twelve tribes of lsrael was Joachim, a man rich exceedingly; and he brought his offerings double, saying: There shall be of my superabundance to all the people, and there shall be the offering for my forgiveness to the Lord for a propitiation for me. For the great day of the Lord was at hand, and the sons of lsrael were bringing their offerings. And there stood over against him Rubim, saying: It is not meet for thee first to bring thine offerings, because thou hast not made seed in Israel. And Joachim was exceedingly grieved, and went away to the registers of the twelve tribes of the people, saying: I shall see the registers of the twelve tribes of lsrael, as to whether I alone have not made seed in lsrael. And he searched, and found that all the righteous had raised up seed in lsrael. And he called to mind the patriarch Abraham, that in the last day God gave him a son Isaac. And Joachim was exceedingly grieved, and did not come into the presence of his wife; but he retired to the desert, and there pitched his tent, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying in himself: I will not go down either for food or for drink until the Lord my God shall look upon me, and prayer shall be my food and drink.

2. And his wife Anna mourned in two mournings, and lamented in two lamentations, saying: I shall bewail my widowhood; I shall bewail my childlessness. And the great day of the Lord was at hand; and Judith her maid-servant said: How long dost thou humiliate thy soul? Behold, the great day of the Lord is at hand, and it is unlawful for thee to mourn. But take this head-band, which the woman that made it gave to me; for it is not proper that I should wear it, because I am a maid-servant, and it has a royal appearance. And Anna said: Depart from me; for I have not done such things, and the Lord has brought me very low. I fear that some wicked person has given it to thee, and thou hast come to make me a sharer in thy sin. And Judith said: Why should I curse thee, seeing that the Lord hath shut thy womb, so as not to give thee fruit in Israel? And Anna was grieved exceedingly, and put off her garments of mourning, and cleaned her head, and put on her wedding garments, and about the ninth hour went down to the garden to walk. And she saw a laurel, and sat under it, and prayed to the Lord, saying: O God of our fathers, bless me and hear my prayer, as Thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and didst give her a son Isaac.

3. And gazing towards the heaven, she saw a sparrow's nest in the laurel, and made a lamentation in herself, saying: Alas! who begot me? and what womb produced me? because I have become a curse in the presence of the sons of Israel, and I have been reproached, and they have driven me in derision out of the temple of the Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like the fowls of the heaven, because even the fowls of the heaven are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like the beasts of the earth, because even the beasts of the earth are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like these waters, because even these waters are productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? I am not like this earth, because even the earth bringeth forth its fruits in season, and blesseth Thee, O Lord.

4. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by, saying: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath heard thy prayer, and thou shalt conceive, and shall bring forth; and thy seed shall be spoken of in all the world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God liveth, if I beget either male or female, I will bring it as a gift to the Lord my God; and it shall minister to Him in holy things all the

days of its life. And, behold, two angels came, saying to her: Behold, Joachim thy husband is coming with his flocks. For an angel of the Lord went down to him, saying: Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God hath heard thy prayer Go down hence; for, behold, thy wife Anna shall conceive. And Joachim went down and called his shepherds, saying: Bring me hither ten she-lambs without spot or blemish, and they shall be for the Lord my God; and bring me twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests and the elders; and a hundred goats for all the people. And, behold, Joachim came with his flocks; and Anna stood by the gate, and saw Joachim coming, and she ran and hung upon his neck, saying: Now I know that the Lord God hath blessed me exceedingly; for, behold the widow no longer a widow, and I the childless shall conceive. And Joachim rested the first day in his house.

5. And on the following day he brought his offerings, saying in himself: If the Lord God has been rendered gracious to me, the plate on the priest's forehead will make it manifest to me. And Joachim brought his offerings, and observed attentively the priest's plate when he went up to the altar of the Lord, and he saw no sin in himself. And Joachim said: Now I know that the Lord has been gracious unto me, and has remitted all my sins. And he went down from the temple of the Lord justified, and departed to his own house. And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said to the midwife: What have I brought forth? and she said: A girl. And said Anna: My soul has been magnified this day. And she laid her down. And the days having been fulfilled, Anna was purified, and gave the breast to the child, and called her name Mary.

6. And the child grew strong day by day; and when she was six months old, her mother set her on the ground to try whether she could stand, and she walked seven steps and came into her bosom; and she snatched her up, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, thou shall not walk on this earth until I bring thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her bed-chamber, and allowed nothing common or unclean to pass through her. And she called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they led her astray. And when she was a year old, Joachim made a great feast, and invited the priests, and the scribes, and the elders, and all the people of Israel. And Joachim brought the child to the priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God of our fathers, bless this child, and give her an everlasting

name to be named in all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it, amen. And he brought her to the chief priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God most high, look upon this child, and bless her with the utmost blessing, which shall be for ever. And her mother snatched her up, and took her into the sanctuary of her bed-chamber, and gave her the breast. And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying: I will sing a song to the Lord my God, for He hath looked upon me, and hath taken away the reproach of mine enemies; and the Lord hath given me the fruit of His righteousness, singular in its kind, and richly endowed before Him. Who will tell the sons of Rubim that Anna gives suck? Hear, hear, ye twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna gives suck. And she laid her to rest in the bed-chamber of her sanctuary, and went out and ministered unto them. And when the supper was ended, they went down rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

7. And her months were added to the child. And the child was two years old, and Joachim said: Let us take her up to the temple of the Lord, that we may pay the vow that we have vowed, lest perchance the Lord send to us, and our offering be not received. And Anna said: Let us wait for the third year, in order that the child may not seek for father or mother. And Joachim said: So let us wait. And the child was three years old, and Joachim said: Invite the daughters of the Hebrews that are undefiled, and let them take each a lamp, and let them stand with the lamps burning, that the child may not turn back, and her heart be captivated from the temple of the Lord. And they did so until they went up into the temple of the Lord. And the priest received her, and kissed her, and blessed her, saying: The Lord has magnified thy name in all generations. In thee, on the last of the days, the Lord will manifest His redemption to the sons of lsrael. And he set her down upon the third step of the altar, and the Lord God sent grace upon her; and she danced with her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her.

8. And her parents went down marveling, and praising the Lord God, because the child had not turned back. And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel. And when she was twelve years old there was held a council of the priests, saying: Behold, Mary has reached the age of twelve years in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her, test

perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord? And they said to the high priest: Thou standest by the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray concerning her; and whatever the Lord shall manifest unto thee, that also will we do. And the high priest went in, taking the robe with the twelve bells into the holy of holies; and he prayed concerning her. And behold an angel of the Lord stood by him, saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and assemble the widowers of the people, and let them bring each his rod; and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife shall she be. And the heralds went out through all the circuit of Judaea, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all ran.

9. And Joseph, throwing away his axe, went out to meet them; and when they had assembled, they went away to the high priest, taking with them their rods. And he, taking the rods of all of them, entered into the temple, and prayed; and having ended his prayer, he took the rods and came out, and gave them to them: but there was no sign in them, and Joseph took his rod last; and, behold, a dove came out of the rod, and flew upon Joseph's head. And the priest said to Joseph, Thou hast been chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of the Lord. But Joseph refused, saying: I have children, and I am an old man, and she is a young girl. I am afraid lest I become a laughing-stock to the sons of lsrael. And the priest said to Joseph: Fear the Lord thy God, and remember what the Lord did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah; how the earth opened, and they were swallowed up on account of their contradiction. And now fear, O Joseph, lest the same things happen in thy house. And Joseph was afraid, and took her into his keeping. And Joseph said to Mary: Behold, I have received thee from the temple of the Lord; and now I leave thee in my house, and go away to build my buildings, and I shall come to thee. The Lord will protect thee.

10. And there was a council of the priests, saying: Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Call to me the undefiled virgins of the family of David. And the officers went away, and sought, and found seven virgins. And the priest remembered the child Mary, that she was of the family of David, and undefiled before God. And the officers went away and brought her. And they brought them into the temple of the Lord. And the priest said: Choose for me by lot who shall spin the gold, and the white, and the fine linen, and the silk, and the blue, and the scarlet,

and the true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary, and she took them, and went away to her house. And at that time Zacharias was dumb, and Samuel was in his place until the time that Zacharias spake. And Mary took the scarlet, and span it.

11. And she took the pitcher, and went out to fill it with water. And, behold, a voice saying: Hail, thou who hast received grace; the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women! And she looked round, on the right hand and on the left, to see whence this voice came. And she went away, trembling, to her house, and put down the pitcher; and taking the purple, she sat down on her seat, and drew it out. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found grace before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive, according to His word. And she hearing, reasoned with herself, saying: Shall I conceive by the Lord, the living God? and shall I bring forth as every woman brings forth? And the angel of the Lord said: Not so, Mary; for the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Most High. And thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. And Mary said: Behold, the servant of the Lord before His face: let it be unto me according to thy word.

12. And she made the purple and the scarlet, and took them to the priest. And the priest blessed her, and said: Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shall be blessed in all the generations of the earth. And Mary, with great joy, went away to Elizabeth her kinswoman, and knocked at the door. And when Elizabeth heard her, she threw away the scarlet, and ran to the door, and opened it; and seeing Mary, she blessed her, and said: Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, behold, that which is in me leaped and blessed thee. But Mary had forgotten the mysteries of which the archangel Gabriel had spoken, and gazed up into heaven, and said: Who am I, O Lord, that all the generations of the earth should bless me? And she remained three months with Elizabeth; and day by day she grew bigger. And Mary being afraid, went away to her own house, and hid herself from the sons of Israel. And she was sixteen years old when these mysteries happened.

13. And she was in her sixth month; and, behold, Joseph came back from his building, and, entering into his house, he discovered that she was big with child. And he smote his face, and threw himself on the ground upon the sackcloth, and wept bitterly, saying: With what face shall I look upon the Lord my God? and what prayer shall I make about this maiden? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and I have not watched over her. Who is it that has hunted me down? Who has done this evil thing in my house, and defiled the virgin? Has not the history of Adam been repeated in me? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise, and the serpent came, and found Eve alone, and completely deceived her, so it has happened to me also. And Joseph stood up from the sackcloth, and called Mary, and said to her: O thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this and forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying: I am innocent, and have known no man. And Joseph said to her: Whence then is that which is in thy womb? And she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I do not know whence it is to me.

14. And Joseph was greatly afraid, and retired from her, and considered what he should do in regard to her. And Joseph said: If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the sons of lsrael, I am afraid lest that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death. What then shall I do with her? I will put her away from me secretly. And night came upon him; and, behold, an angel of the Lord appears to him in a dream, saying: Be not afraid for this maiden, for that which is in her is of the Holy Spirit; and she will bring forth a Son, and thou shall call His name Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins. And Joseph arose from sleep, and glorified the God of lsrael, who had given him this grace; and he kept her.

15. And Annas the scribe came to him, and said: Why hast thou not appeared in our assembly? And Joseph said to him: Because I was weary from my journey, and rested the first day. And he turned, and saw that Mary was with child. And he ran away to the priest? and said to him: Joseph, whom thou didst vouch for, has committed a grievous crime. And the priest said: How so? And he said: He has defiled the virgin whom he

received out of the temple of the Lord, and has married her by stealth, and has not revealed it to the sons of lsrael. And the priest answering, said: Has Joseph done this? Then said Annas the scribe: Send officers, and thou wilt find the virgin with child. And the officers went away, and found it as he had said; and they brought her along with Joseph to the tribunal. And the priest said: Mary, why hast thou done this? and why hast thou brought thy soul low, and forgotten the Lord thy God? Thou that wast reared in the holy of holies, and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel, and didst hear the hymns, and didst dance before Him, why hast thou done this? And she wept bitterly, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, I am pure before Him, and know not a man. And the priest said to Joseph: Why hast thou done this? And Joseph said: As the Lord liveth, I am pure concerning her. Then said the priest: Bear not false witness, but speak the truth. Thou hast married her by stealth, and hast not revealed it to the sons of Israel, and hast not bowed thy head under the strong hand, that thy seed might be blessed. And Joseph was silent.

16. And the priest said: Give up the virgin whom thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord. And Joseph burst into tears. And the priest said: I will give you to drink of the water of the ordeal of the Lord, and He shall make manifest your sins in your eyes. And the priest took the water, and gave Joseph to drink and sent him away to the hill-country; and he returned unhurt. And he gave to Mary also to drink, and sent her away to the hill-country; and she returned unhurt. And all the people wondered that sin did not appear in them. And the priest said: If the Lord God has not made manifest your sins, neither do I judge you. And he sent them away. And Joseph took Mary, and went away to his own house, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.

17. And there was an order from the Emperor Augustus, that all in Bethlehem of Judaea should be enrolled. And Joseph said: I shall enroll my sons, but what shall I do with this maiden? How shall I enroll her? As my wife? I am ashamed. As my daughter then? But all the sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord shall itself bring it to pass as the Lord will. And he saddled the ass, and set her upon it; and his son led it, and Joseph followed. And when they had come within three miles, Joseph turned and saw her sorrowful; and he said to himself: Likely that which is in her distresses her. And again Joseph turned and saw her

laughing. And he said to her: Mary, how is it that I see in thy face at one time laughter, at another sorrow? And Mary said to Joseph: Because I see two peoples with my eyes; the one weeping and lamenting, and the other rejoicing and exulting. And they came into the middle of the road, and Mary said to him: Take me down from off the ass, for that which is in me presses to come forth. And he took her down from off the ass, and said to her: Whither shall I lead thee, and cover thy disgrace? for the place is desert.

18. And he found a cave there, and led her into it; and leaving his two sons beside her, he went out to seek a midwife in the district of Bethlehem.

And I Joseph was walking, and was not walking; and I looked up into the sky, and saw the sky astonished; and I looked up to the pole of the heavens, and saw it standing, and the birds of the air keeping still. And I looked down upon the earth, and saw a trough lying, and work-people reclining: and their hands were in the trough. And those that were eating did not eat, and those that were rising did not carry it up, and those that were conveying anything to their mouths did not convey it; but the faces of all were looking upwards. And I saw the sheep walking, and the sheep stood still; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up. And I looked upon the current of the river, and I saw the mouths of the kids resting on the water and not drinking, and all things in a moment were driven from their course.

19. And I saw a woman coming down from the hill-country, and she said to me: O man, whither art thou going? And I said: I am seeking an Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel? And I said to her: Yes. And she said: And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave? And I said: A woman betrothed to me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary that was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has conceived of the Holy Spirit.

And the midwife said to him: Is this true? And Joseph said to her: Come and see. And the midwife went away with him. And they stood in the place of the cave, and behold a luminous cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said: My soul has been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things — because salvation has been brought forth

to lsrael. And immediately the cloud disappeared out of the cave, and a great light shone in the cave, so that the eyes could not bear it. And in a little that light gradually decreased, until the infant appeared, and went and took the breast from His mother Mary. And the midwife cried out, and said: This is a great day to me, because I have seen this strange sight. And the midwife went forth out of the cave, and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, I have a strange sight to relate to thee: a virgin has brought forth — a thing which her nature admits not of. Then said Salome: As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger, and search the parts, I will not believe that a virgin has brought forth.

20. And the midwife went in, and said to Mary: Show thyself; for no small controversy has arisen about thee. And Salome put in her finger, and cried out, and said: Woe is me for mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God; and, behold, my hand is dropping off as if burned with fire. And she bent her knees before the Lord, saying: O God of my fathers, remember that I am the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; do not make a show of me to the sons of Israel, but restore me to the poor; for Thou knowest, O Lord, that in Thy name I have performed my services, and that I have received my reward at Thy hand. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by her, saying to her: Salome, Salome, the Lord hath heard thee. Put thy hand to the infant, and carry it, and thou wilt have safety and joy. And Salome went and carried it, saying: I will worship Him, because a great King has been born to lsrael. And, behold, Salome was immediately cured, and she went forth out of the cave justified. And behold a voice saying: Salome, Salome, tell not the strange things thou hast seen, until the child has come into Jerusalem.

21. And, behold, Joseph was ready to go into Judaea. And there was a great commotion in Bethlehem of Judaea, for Magi came, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And when Herod heard, he was much disturbed, and sent officers to the Magi. And he sent for the priests, and examined them, saying: How is it written about the Christ? where is He to be born? And they said: In Bethlehem of Judaea, for so it is written. And he sent them away. And he examined the Magi, saying to them: What sign have you seen in reference to the king that has been born? And the Magi said: We have seen a star of great size shining among these stars, and

obscuring their light, so that the stars did not appear; and we thus knew that a king has been born to Israel, and we have come to worship him. And Herod said: Go and seek him; and if you find him, let me know, in order that I also may go and worship him. And the Magi went out. And, behold, the star which they had seen in the east went before them until they came to the cave, and it stood over the top of the cave. And the Magi saw the infant with His mother Mary; and they brought forth from their bag gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And having been warned by the angel not to go into Judaea, they went into their own country by another road.

22. And when Herod knew that he had been mocked by the Magi, in a rage he sent murderers, saying to them: Slay the children from two years old and under. And Mary, having heard that the children were being killed, was afraid, and took the infant and swaddled Him, and put Him into an ox-stall. And Elizabeth, having heard that they were searching for John, took him and went up into the hill-country, and kept looking where to conceal him. And there was no place of concealment. And Elizabeth, groaning with a loud voice, says: O mountain of God, receive mother and child. And immediately the mountain was cleft, and received her. And a light shone about them, for an angel of the Lord was with them, watching over them.

23. And Herod searched for John, and sent officers to Zacharias, saying: Where hast thou hid thy son? And he, answering, said to them: I am the servant of God in holy things, and I sit constantly in the temple of the Lord: I do not know where my son is. And the officers went away, and reported all these things to Herod. And Herod was enraged, and said: His son is destined to be king over Israel. And he sent to him again, saying: Tell the truth; where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy life is in my hand. And Zacharias said: I am God’s martyr, if thou sheddest my blood; for the Lord will receive my spirit, because thou sheddest innocent blood at the vestibule of the temple of the Lord. And Zacharias was murdered about daybreak. And the sons of lsrael did not know that he had been murdered.

24. But at the hour of the salutation the priests went away, and Zacharias did not come forth to meet them with a blessing, according to his custom. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias to salute him at the prayer,

and to glorify the Most High. And he still delaying, they were all afraid. But one of them ventured to go in, and he saw clotted blood beside the altar; and he heard a voice saying: Zacharias has been murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped up until his avenger come. And hearing this saying, he was afraid, and went out and told it to the priests. And they ventured in, and saw what had happened; and the fretwork of the temple made a wailing noise, and they rent their clothes from the top even to the bottom. And they found not his body, but they found his blood turned into stone. And they were afraid, and went out and reported to the people that Zacharias had been murdered. And all the tribes of the people heard, and mourned, and lamented for him three days and three nights. And after the three days, the priests consulted as to whom they should put in his place; and the lot fell upon Simeon. For it was he who had been warned by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.

And I James that wrote this history in Jerusalem, a commotion having arisen when Herod died, withdrew myself to the wilderness until the commotion in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord God, who had given me the gift and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory to ages of ages. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW

HERE beginneth the book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of the Savior. Written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome.

To their well-beloved brother Jerome the Presbyter, Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus in the Lord, greeting.

The birth of the Virgin Mary, and the nativity and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we find in apocryphal books. But considering that in them many things contrary to our faith are written, we have believed that they ought all to be rejected, lest perchance we should transfer the joy of Christ to Antichrist. While, therefore, we were considering these things, there came holy men, Parmenius and Varinus, who said that your Holiness had found a Hebrew volume, written by the hand of the most blessed Evangelist Matthew, in which also the birth of the virgin mother herself, and the infancy of our Savior, were written. And accordingly we entreat your affection by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, to render it from the Hebrew into Latin, not so much for the attainment of those things which are the insignia of Christ, as for the exclusion of the craft of heretics, who, in order to teach bad doctrine, have mingled their own lies with the excellent nativity of Christ, that by the sweetness of life they might hide the bitterness of death. It will therefore become your purest piety, either to listen to us as your brethren entreating, or to let us have as bishops exacting, the debt of affection which you may deem due.

REPLY TO THEIR LETTER BY JEROME

To my lords the holy and most blessed Bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus, Jerome, a humble servant of Christ, in the Lord greeting.

He who digs in ground where he knows that there is gold, does not instantly snatch at whatever the uptorn trench may pour forth; but, before the stroke of the quivering spade raises aloft the glittering mass, he meanwhile lingers over the sods to turn them over and lift them up, and

especially he who has not added to his gains. An arduous task is enjoined upon me, since what your Blessedness has commanded me, the holy Apostle and Evangelist Matthew himself did not write for the purpose of publishing. For if he had not done it somewhat secretly, he would have added it also to his Gospel which he published. But he composed this book in Hebrew; and so little did he publish it, that at this day the book written in Hebrew by his own hand is in the possession of very religious men, to whom in successive periods of time it has been handed down by those that were before them. And this book they never at any time gave to any one to translate. And so it came to pass, that when it was published by a disciple of Manichaeus named Leucius, who also wrote the falsely styled Acts of the Apostles, this book afforded matter, not of edification, but of perdition; and the opinion of the Synod in regard to it was according to its deserts, that the ears of the Church should not be open to it. Let the snapping of those that bark against us now cease; for we do not add this little book to the canonical writings, but we translate what was written by an Apostle and Evangelist, that we may disclose the falsehood of heresy. In this work, then, we obey the commands of pious bishops as well as oppose impious heretics. It is the love of Christ, therefore, which we fulfill, believing that they will assist us by their prayers, who through our obedience attain to a knowledge of the holy infancy of our Savior.

There is extant another letter to the same bishops, attributed to Jerome: —

You ask me to let you know what I think of a book held by some to be about the nativity of St. Mary. And so I wish you to know that there is much in it that is false. For one Seleucus, who wrote the Sufferings of the Apostles, composed this book. But, just as he wrote what was true about their powers, and the miracles they worked, but said a great deal that was false about their doctrine; so here too he has invented many untruths out of his own head. I shall take care to render it word for word, exactly as it is in the Hebrew, since it is asserted that it was composed by the holy Evangelist Matthew, and written in Hebrew, and set at the head of his Gospel. Whether this be true or not, I leave to the author of the preface and the trustworthiness of the writer: as for myself, I pronounce them doubtful; I do not affirm that they are clearly false. But this I say freely — and I think none of the faithful will deny it — that, whether these stories be true or inventions, the sacred nativity of St. Mary was preceded by

great miracles, and succeeded by the greatest; and so by those who believe that God can do these things, they can be believed and read without damaging their faith or imperiling their souls. In short, so far as I can, following the sense rather than the words of the writer, and sometimes walking in the same path, though not in the same footsteps, sometimes digressing a little, but still keeping the same road, I shall in this way keep by the style of the narrative, and shall say nothing that is not either written there, or might, following the same train of thought, have been written.

CHAPTER 1

In those days there was a man in Jerusalem, Joachim by name, of the tribe of Judah. He was the shepherd of his own sheep, fearing the Lord in integrity and singleness of heart. He had no other care than that of his herds, from the produce of which he supplied with food all that feared God, offering double gifts in the fear of God to all who labored in doctrine, and who ministered unto Him. Therefore his lambs, and his sheep, and his wool, and all things whatsoever he possessed, he used to divide into three portions: one he gave to the orphans, the widows, the strangers, and the poor; the second to those that worshipped God; and the third he kept for himself and all his house. And as he did so, the Lord multiplied to him his herds, so that there was no man like him in the people of Israel. This now he began to do when he was fifteen years old. And at the age of twenty he took to wife Anna, the daughter of Achar, of his own tribe, that is, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David. And though they had lived together for twenty years, he had by her neither sons nor daughters.

CHAPTER 2

And it happened that, in the time of the feast, among those who were offering incense to the Lord, Joachim stood getting ready his gifts in the sight of the Lord. And the priest, Ruben by name, coming to him, said: It is not lawful for thee to stand among those who are doing sacrifice to God, because God has not blessed thee so as to give thee seed in lsrael. Being

therefore put to shame in the sight of the people, he retired from the temple of the Lord weeping, and did not return to his house, but went to his flocks, taking with him his shepherds into the mountains to a far country, so that for five months his wife Anna could hear no tidings of him. And she prayed with tears, saying: O Lord, most mighty God of Israel, why hast Thou, seeing that already Thou hast not given me children, taken from me my husband also? Behold, now five months that I have not seen my husband; and I know not where he is tarrying; nor, if I knew him to be dead, could I bury him. And while she wept excessively, she entered into the court of His house; and she fell on her face in prayer, and poured out her supplications before the Lord. After this, rising from her prayer, and lifting her eyes to God, she saw a sparrow's nest in a laurel tree, and uttered her voice to the Lord with groaning, and said: Lord God Almighty, who hast given offspring to every creature, to beasts wild and tame, to serpents, and birds, and fishes, and they all rejoice over their young ones, Thou hast shut out me alone from the gift of Thy benignity. For Thou, O God, knowest my heart, that from the beginning of my married life I have vowed that, if Thou, O God, shouldst give me son or daughter, I would offer them to Thee in Thy holy temple. And while she was thus speaking, suddenly an angel of the Lord appeared before her, saying: Be not afraid, Anna, for there is seed for thee in the decree of God; and all generations even to the end shall wonder at that which shall be born of thee. And when he had thus spoken, he vanished out of her sight. But she, in fear and dread because she had seen such a sight, and heard such words, at length went into her bed-chamber, and threw herself on the bed as if dead. And for a whole day and night she remained in great trembling and in prayer. And after these things she called to her her servant, and said to her: Dost thou see me deceived in my widowhood and in great perplexity, and hast thou been unwilling to come in to me? Then she, with a slight murmur, thus answered and said: If God hath shut up thy womb, and hath taken away thy husband from thee, what can I do for thee? And when Anna heard this, she lifted up her voice, and wept aloud.

CHAPTER 3

At the same time there appeared a young man on the mountains to Joachim while he was feeding his flocks, and said to him: Why dost thou not return to thy wife? And Joachim said: I have had her for twenty years, and it has not been the will of God to give me children by her. I have been driven with shame and reproach from the temple of the Lord: why should I go back to her, when I have been once cast off and utterly despised? Here then will I remain with my sheep; and so long as in this life God is willing to grant me light, I shall willingly, by the hands of my servants, bestow their portions upon the poor, and the orphans, and those that fear God. And when he had thus spoken, the young man said to him: I am an angel of the Lord, and I have today appeared to thy wife when she was weeping and praying, and have consoled her; and know that she has conceived a daughter from thy seed, and thou in thy ignorance of this hast left her. She will be in the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit shall abide in her; and her blessedness shall be greater than that of all the holy women, so that no one can say that any before her has been like her, or that any after her in this world will be so. Therefore go down from the mountains, and return to thy wife, whom thou wilt find with child. For God hath raised up seed in her, and for this thou wilt give God thanks; and her seed shall be blessed, and she herself shall be blessed, and shall be made the mother of eternal blessing. Then Joachim adored the angel, and said to him: If I have found favor in thy sight, sit for a little in my tent, and bless thy servant. And the angel said to him: Do not say servant, but fellow-servant; for we are the servants of one Master. But my food is invisible, and my drink cannot be seen by a mortal. Therefore thou oughtest not to ask me to enter thy tent; but if thou wast about to give me anything, offer it as a burnt-offering to the Lord. Then Joachim took a lamb without spot, and said to the angel: I should not have dared to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord, unless thy command had given me the priest’s right of offering. And the angel said to him: I should not have invited thee to offer unless I had known the will of the Lord. And when Joachim was offering the sacrifice to God, the angel and the odor of the sacrifice went together straight up to heaven with the smoke.

Then Joachim, throwing himself on his face, lay in prayer from the sixth hour of the day even until evening. And his lads and hired servants who were with him saw him, and not knowing why he was lying down, thought that he was dead; and they came to him, and with difficulty raised him from the ground. And when he recounted to them the vision of the angel, they were struck with great fear and wonder, and advised him to accomplish the vision of the angel without delay, and to go back with all haste to his wife. And when Joachim was turning over in his mind whether he should go back or not, it happened that he was overpowered by a deep sleep; and, behold, the angel who had already appeared to him when awake, appeared to him in his sleep, saying: I am the angel appointed by God as thy guardian: go down with confidence, and return to Anna, because the deeds of mercy which thou and thy wife Anna have done have been told in the presence of the Most High; and to you will God give such fruit as no prophet or saint has ever had from the beginning, or ever will have. And when Joachim awoke out of his sleep, he called all his herdsmen to him, and told them his dream. And they worshipped the Lord, and said to him: See that thou no further despise the words of the angel. But rise and let us go hence, and return at a quiet pace, feeding our flocks.

And when, after thirty days occupied in going back, they were now near at hand, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Anna, who was standing and praying, and said: Go to the gate which is called Golden, and meet thy husband in the way, for today he will come to thee. She therefore went towards him in haste With her maidens, and, praying to the Lord, she stood a long time in the gate waiting for him. And when she was wearied with long waiting, she lifted up her eyes and saw Joachim afar off coming with his flocks; and she ran to him and hung on his neck, giving thanks to God, and saying: I was a widow, and behold now I am not so: I was barren, and behold I have now conceived. And so they worshipped the Lord, and went into their own house. And when this was heard of, there was great joy among all their neighbors and acquaintances, so that the whole land of lsrael congratulated them.

CHAPTER 4

After these things, her nine months being fulfilled, Anna brought forth a daughter, and called her Mary. And having weaned her in her third year, Joachim, and Anna his wife, went together to the temple of the Lord to offer sacrifices to God, and placed the infant, Mary by name, in the community of virgins, in which the virgins remained day and night praising God. And when she was put down before the doors of the temple, she went up the fifteen steps so swiftly, that she did not look back at all; nor did she, as children are wont to do, seek for her parents. Whereupon her parents, each of them anxiously seeking for the child, were both alike astonished, until they found her in the temple, and the priests of the temple themselves wondered.

CHAPTER 5

Then Anna, filled with the Holy Spirit, said before them all: The Lord Almighty, the God of Hosts, being mindful of His word, hath visited His people with a good and holy visitation, to bring down the hearts of the Gentiles who were rising against us, and turn them to Himself. He hath opened His ears to our prayers: He hath kept away from us the exulting of all our enemies. The barren hath become a mother, and hath brought forth exultation and gladness to lsrael. Behold the gifts which I have brought to offer to my Lord, and mine enemies have not been able to hinder me. For God hath turned their hearts to me, and Himself hath given me everlasting joy.

CHAPTER 6

And Mary was held in admiration by all the people of Israel; and when she was three years old, she walked with a step so mature, she spoke so perfectly, and spent her time so assiduously in the praises of God, that all were astonished at her, and wondered; and she was not reckoned a young infant, but as it were a grown-up person of thirty years old. She was so constant in prayer, and her appearance was so beautiful and glorious, that

scarcely any one could look into her face. And she occupied herself constantly with her wool-work, so that she in her tender years could do all that old women were not able to do. And this was the order that she had set for herself: From the morning to the third hour she remained in prayer; from the third to the ninth she was occupied with her weaving; and from the ninth she again applied herself to prayer. She did not retire from praying until there appeared to her the angel of the Lord, from whose hand she used to receive food; and thus she became more and more perfect in the work of God. Then, when the older virgins rested from the praises of God, she did not rest at all; so that in the praises and vigils of God none were found before her, no one more learned in the wisdom of the law of God, more lowly in humility, more elegant in singing, more perfect in all virtue. She was indeed steadfast, immovable, unchangeable, and daily advancing to perfection. No one saw her angry, nor heard her speaking evil. All her speech was so full of grace, that her God was acknowledged to be in her tongue. She was always engaged in prayer and in searching the law, and she was anxious lest by any word of hers she should sin with regard to her companions. Then she was afraid lest in her laughter, or the sound of her beautiful voice, she should commit any fault, or lest, being elated, she should display any wrong-doing or haughtiness to one of her equals. She blessed God without intermission; and lest perchance, even in her salutation, she might cease from praising God; if any one saluted her, she used to answer by way of salutation: Thanks be to God. And from her the custom first began of men saying, Thanks be to God, when they saluted each other. She refreshed herself only with the food which she daily received from the hand of the angel; but the food which she obtained from the priests she divided among the poor. The angels of God were often seen speaking with her, and they most diligently obeyed her. If any one who was unwell touched her, the same hour he went home cured.

CHAPTER 7

Then Abiathar the priest offered gifts without end to the high priests, in order that he might obtain her as wife to his son. But Mary forbade them, saying: It cannot be that I should know a man, or that a man should know me. For all the priests and all her relations kept saying to her: God is

worshipped in children and adored in posterity, as has always happened among the sons of Israel. But Mary answered and said unto them: God is worshipped in chastity, as is proved first of all. For before Abel there was none righteous among men, and he by his offerings pleased God, and was without mercy slain by him who displeased Him. Two crowns, therefore, he received — of oblation and of virginity, because in his flesh there was no pollution. Elias also, when he was in the flesh, was taken up in the flesh, because he kept his flesh unspotted. Now I, from my infancy in the temple of God, have learned that virginity can be sufficiently dear to God. And so, because I can offer what is dear to God, I have resolved in my heart that I should not know a man at all.

CHAPTER 8

Now it came to pass, when she was fourteenyears old, and on this account there was occasion for the Pharisees' saying that it was now a custom that no woman of that age should abide in the temple of God, they fell upon the plan of sending a herald through all the tribes of lsrael, that on the third day all should come together into the temple of the Lord. And when all the people had come together, Abiathar the high priest rose, and mounted on a higher step, that he might be seen and heard by all the people; and when great silence had been obtained, he said: Hear me, O sons of Israel, and receive my words into your ears. Ever since this temple was built by Solomon, there have been in it virgins, the daughters of kings and the daughters of prophets, and of high priests and priests; and they were great, and worthy of admiration. But when they came to the proper age they were given in marriage, and followed the course of their mothers before them, and were pleasing to God. But a new order of life has been found out by Mary alone, who promises that she will remain a virgin to God. Wherefore it seems to me, that through our inquiry and the answer of God we should try to ascertain to whose keeping she ought to be entrusted. Then these words found favor with all the synagogue. And the lot was east by the priests upon the twelve tribes, and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah. And the priest said: Tomorrow let every one who has no wife come, and bring his rod in his hand. Whence it happened that Joseph brought his rod along with the young men. And the rods having been

handed over to the high priest, he offered a sacrifice to the Lord God, and inquired of the Lord. And the Lord said to him: Put all their rods into the holy of holies of God, and let them remain there, and order them to come to thee on the morrow to get back their rods; and the man from the point of whose rod a dove shall come forth, and fly towards heaven, and in whose hand the rod, when given back, shall exhibit this sign, to him let Mary be delivered to be kept.

On the following day, then, all having assembled early, and an incense-offering having been made, the high priest went into the holy of he-lies, and brought forth the rods. And when he had distributed the rods, and the dove came forth out of none of them, the high priest put on the twelve bells and the sacerdotal robe; and entering into the holy of holies, he there made a burnt-offering, and poured forth a prayer. And the angel of the Lord appeared to him, saying: There is here the shortest rod, of which thou hast made no account: thou didst bring it in with the rest, but didst not take it out with them. When thou hast taken it out, and hast given it him whose it is, in it will appear the sign of which I spoke to thee. Now that was Joseph’s rod; and because he was an old man, he had been cast off, as it were, that he might not receive her, but neither did he himself wish to ask back his rod. And when he was humbly standing last of all, the high priest cried out to him with a loud voice, saying: Come, Joseph, and receive thy rod; for we are waiting for thee. And Joseph came up trembling, because the high priest had called him with a very loud voice. But as soon as he stretched forth his hand, and laid hold of his rod, immediately from the top of it came forth a dove whiter than snow, beautiful exceedingly, which, after long flying about the roofs of the temple, at length flew towards the heavens. Then all the people congratulated the old man, saying: Thou hast been made blessed in thine old age, O father Joseph, seeing that God hath shown thee to be fit to receive Mary. And the priests having said to him, Take her, because of all the tribe of Judah thou alone hast been chosen by God; Joseph began bashfully to address them, saying: I am an old man, and have children; why do you hand over to me this infant, who is younger than my grandsons? Then Abiathar the high priest said to him: Remember, Joseph, how Dathan and Abiron and Core perished, because they despised the will of God. So will it happen to thee, if thou despise this which is commanded

thee by God. Joseph answered him: I indeed do not despise the will of God; but I shall be her guardian until I can ascertain concerning the will of God, as to which of my sons can have her as his wife. Let some virgins of her companions, with whom she may meanwhile spend her time, be given for a consolation to her. Abiathar the high priest answered and said: Five virgins indeed shall be given her for consolation, until the appointed day come in which thou mayst receive her; for to no other can she be joined in marriage.

Then Joseph received Mary, with the other five virgins who were to be with her in Joseph's house. These virgins were Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Cael; to whom the high priest gave the silk, and the blue, and the fine linen, and the scarlet, and the purple, and the fine flax. For they cast lots among themselves what each virgin should do, and the purple for the veil of the temple of the Lord fell to the lot of Mary. And when she had got it, those virgins said to her: Since thou art the last, and humble, and younger than all, thou hast deserved to receive and obtain the purple. And thus saying, as it were in words of annoyance, they began to call her queen of virgins. While, however, they were so doing, the angel of the Lord appeared in the midst of them, saying: These words shall not have been uttered by way of annoyance, but prophesied as a prophecy most true. They trembled, therefore, at the sight of the angel, and at his words, and asked her to pardon them, and pray for them.

CHAPTER 9

And on the second day, while Mary was at the fountain to fill her pitcher, the angel of the Lord appeared to her, saying: Blessed art thou, Mary; for in thy womb thou hast prepared an habitation for the Lord. For, lo, the light from heaven shall come and dwell in thee, and by means of thee will shine over the whole world.

Again, on the third day, while she was working at the purple with her fingers, there entered a young man of ineffable beauty. And when Mary saw him, she exceedingly feared and trembled. And he said to her: Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And when she heard these words,

she trembled, and was exceedingly afraid. Then the angel of the Lord added: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favor with God: Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a King, who fills not only the earth, but the heaven, and who reigns from generation to generation.

CHAPTER 10

While these things were doing, Joseph was occupied with his work, house-building, in the districts by the sea-shore; for he was a carpenter. And after nine months he came back to his house, and found Mary pregnant. Wherefore, being in the utmost distress, he trembled and cried out, saying: O Lord God, receive my spirit; for it is better for me to die than to live any longer. And the virgins who were with Mary said to him: Joseph, what art thou saying? We know that no man has touched her; we can testify that she is still a virgin, and untouched. We have watched over her; always has she continued with us in prayer; daily do the angels of God speak with her; daily does she receive food from the hand of the Lord. We know not how it is possible that there can be any sin in her. But if thou wishest us to tell thee what we suspect, nobody but the angel of the Lord has made her pregnant. Then said Joseph: Why do you mislead me, to believe that an angel of the Lord has made her pregnant? But it is possible that some one has pretended to be an angel of the Lord, and has beguiled her. And thus speaking, he wept, and said: With what face shall I look at the temple of the Lord, or with what face shall I see the priests of God? What am I to do? And thus saying, he thought that he would flee, and send her away.

CHAPTER 11

And when he was thinking of rising up and hiding himself, and dwelling in secret, behold, on that very night, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in sleep, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; receive Mary as thy wife: for that which is in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. And she shall bring forth a son, and His name shall be called Jesus, for He will save His

people from their sins. And Joseph, rising from his sleep, gave thanks to God, and spoke to Mary and the virgins who were with her, and told them his vision. And he was comforted about Mary, saying: I have sinned, in that I suspected thee at all.

CHAPTER 12

After these things there arose a great report that Mary was with child. And Joseph was seized by the officers of the temple, and brought along with Mary to the high priest. And he with the priests began to reproach him, and to say: Why hast thou beguiled so great and so glorious a virgin, who was fed like a dove in the temple by the angels of God, who never wished either to see or to have a man, who had the most excellent knowledge of the law of God? If thou hadst not done violence to her, she would still have remained in her virginity. And Joseph vowed, and swore that he had never touched her at all. And Abiathar the high priest answered him: As the Lord liveth, I will give thee to drink of the water of drinking of the Lord, and immediately thy sin will appear.

Then was assembled a multitude of people which could not be numbered, and Mary was brought to the temple. And the priests, and her relatives, and her parents wept, and said to Mary: Confess to the priests thy sin, thou that wast like a dove in the temple of God, and didst receive food from the hands of an angel. And again Joseph was summoned to the altar, and the water of drinking of the Lord was given him to drink. And when any one that had lied drank this water, and walked seven times round the altar, God used to show some sign in his face. When, therefore, Joseph had drunk in safety, and had walked round the altar seven times, no sign of sin appeared in him. Then all the priests, and the officers, and the people justified him, saying: Blessed art thou, seeing that no charge has been found good against thee. And they summoned Mary, and said: And what excuse canst thou have? or what greater sign can appear in thee than the conception of thy womb, which betrays thee? This only we require of thee, that since Joseph is pure regarding thee, thou confess who it is that has beguiled thee. For it is better that thy confession should betray thee, than that the wrath of God should set a mark on thy face, and expose thee in the midst of the people. Then Mary said, steadfastly and without

trembling: O Lord God, King over all, who knowest all secrets, if there be any pollution in me, or any sin, or any evil desires, or unchastity, expose me in the sight of all the people, and make me an example of punishment to all. Thus saying, she went up to the altar of the Lord boldly, and drank the water of drinking, and walked round the altar seven times, and no spot was found in her.

And when all the people were in the utmost astonishment, seeing that she was with child, and that no sign had appeared in her face, they began to be disturbed among themselves by conflicting statements: some said that she was holy and unspotted, others that she was wicked and defiled. Then Mary, seeing that she was still suspected by the people, and that on that account she did not seem to them to be wholly cleared, said in the hearing of all, with a loud voice, As the Lord Adonai liveth, the Lord of Hosts before whom I stand, I have not known man; but I am known by Him to whom from my earliest years I have devoted myself. And this vow I made to my God from my infancy, that I should remain unspotted in Him who created me, and I trust that I shall so live to Him alone, and serve Him alone; and in Him, as long as I shall live, will I remain unpolluted. Then they all began to kiss her feet and to embrace her knees, asking her to pardon them for their wicked suspicions. And she was led down to her house with exultation and joy by the people, and the priests, and all the virgins. And they cried out, and said: Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, because He hath manifested thy holiness to all His people Israel.

CHAPTER 13

And it came to pass some little time after, that an enrollment was made according to the edict of Caesar Augustus, that all the world was to be enrolled, each man in his native place. This enrollment was made by Cyrinus, the governor of Syria, It was necessary, therefore, that Joseph should enroll with the blessed Mary in Bethlehem, because to it they belonged, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the house and family of David. When, therefore, Joseph and the blessed Mary were going along the road which leads to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph: I see two peoples before me, the one weeping, and the other rejoicing. And Joseph answered: Sit still on thy beast, and do not speak superfluous words. Then there

appeared before them a beautiful boy, clothed in white raiment, who-said to Joseph: Why didst thou say that the words which Mary spoke about the two peoples were superfluous? For she saw the people of the Jews weeping, because they have departed from their God; and the people of the Gentiles rejoicing, because they have now been added and made near to the Lord, according to that which He promised to our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: for the time is at hand when in the seed of Abraham all nations shall be blessed.

And when he had thus said, the angel ordered the beast to stand, for the time when she should bring forth was at hand; and he commanded the blessed Mary to come down off the animal, and go into a recess under a cavern, in which there never was light, but always darkness, because the light of day could not reach it. And when the blessed Mary had gone into it, it began to shine with as much brightness as if it were the sixth hour of the day. The light from God so shone in the cave, that neither by day nor night was light wanting as long as the blessed Mary was there. And there she brought forth a son, and the angels surrounded Him when He was being born. And as soon as He was born, He stood upon His feet, and the angels adored Him, saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good pleasure. Now, when the birth of the Lord was at hand, Joseph had gone away to seek midwives. And when he had found them, he returned to the cave, and found with Mary the infant which she had brought forth. And Joseph said to the blessed Mary: I have brought thee two midwives — Zelomi and Salome; and they are outside before the entrance to the cave, not daring to come in hither, because of the exceeding brightness. And when the blessed Mary heard this, she smiled; and Joseph said to her: Do not smile; but prudently allow them to visit thee, in case thou shouldst require them for thy cure. Then she ordered them to enter. And when Zelomi had come in, Salome having stayed without, Zelomi said to Mary: Allow me to touch thee. And when she had permitted her to make an examination, the midwife cried out with a loud voice, and said: Lord, Lord Almighty, mercy on us! It has never been heard or thought of, that any one should have her breasts full of milk, and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin. But there has been no spilling of blood in his birth, no pain in bringing him forth. A virgin has conceived, a virgin has brought forth, and a virgin she remains. And hearing these

words, Salome said: Allow me to handle thee, and prove whether Zelomi have spoken the truth. And the blessed Mary allowed her to handle her. And when she had withdrawn her hand from handling her, it dried up, and through excess of pain she began to weep bitterly, and to be in great distress, crying out, and saying: O Lord God, Thou knowest that I have always feared Thee, and that without recompense I have cared for all the poor; I have taken nothing from the widow and the orphan, and the needy have I not sent empty away. And, behold, I am made wretched because of mine unbelief, since without a cause I wished to try Thy virgin.

And while she was thus speaking, there stood by her a young man in shining garments, saying: Go to the child, and adore Him, and touch Him with thy hand, and He will heal thee, because He is the Savior of the world, and of all that hope in Him. And she went to the child with haste, and adored Him, and touched the fringe of the cloths in which He was wrapped, and instantly her hand was cured. And going forth, she began to cry aloud, and to tell the wonderful things which she had seen, and which she had suffered, and how she had been cured; so that many through her statements believed.

And some shepherds also affirmed that they had seen angels singing a hymn at midnight, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying: There has been born the Savior of all, who is Christ the Lord, in whom salvation shall be brought back to Israel.

Moreover, a great star, larger than any that had been seen since the beginning of the world, shone over the cave from the evening till the morning. And the prophets who were in Jerusalem said that this star pointed out the birth of Christ, who should restore the promise not only to Israel, but to all nations.

CHAPTER 14

And on the third day after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Mary went forth out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in the stall, and the ox and the ass adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Isaiah the prophet, saying: The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib. The very animals, therefore, the ox

and the ass, having Him in their midst, incessantly adored Him. Then was fulfilled that which was said by Abacuc the prophet, saying: Between two animals thou art made manifest. In the same place Joseph remained with Mary three days.

CHAPTER 15

And on the sixth day they entered Bethlehem, where they spent the seventh day. And on the eighth day they circumcised the child, and called His name Jesus; for so He was called by the angel before He was conceived in the womb. Now, after the days of the purification of Mary were fulfilled according to the law of Moses, then Joseph took the infant to the temple of the Lord. And when the infant had received parhithomus, — parhithomus, that is, circumcision — they offered for Him a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons.

Now there was in the temple a man of God, perfect and just, whose name was Symeon, a hundred and twelve years old. He had received the answer from the Lord, that he should not taste of death till he had seen Christ, the Son of God, living in the flesh. And having seen the child, he cried out with a loud voice, saying: God hath visited His people, and the Lord hath fulfilled His promise. And he made haste, and adored Him. And after this he took Him up into his cloak and kissed His feet, and said: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel.

There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she had now been a widow eighty-four years. And she never left the temple of the Lord, but spent her time in fasting and prayer. She also likewise adored the child, saying: In Him is the redemption of the world.

CHAPTER 16

And when the second year was past, Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, bringing great gifts. And they made strict inquiry of the Jews, saying: Where is the king who has been born to you? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And word of this came to King Herod, and so alarmed him that he called together the scribes and the Pharisees, and the teachers of the people, asking of them where the prophets had foretold that Christ should be born. And they said: In Bethlehem of Judah. For it is written: And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means the least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a Leader who shall rule my people Israel. Then King Herod summoned the magi to him, and strictly inquired of them when the star appeared to them. Then, sending them to Bethlehem, he said: Go and make strict inquiry about the child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also. And while the magi were going on their way, there appeared to them the star, which was, as it were, a guide to them, going before them until they came to where the child was. And when the magi saw the star, they rejoiced with great joy; and going into the house, they saw the child Jesus sitting in His mother's lap. Then they opened their treasures, and presented great gifts to the blessed Mary and Joseph. And to the child Himself they offered each of them a piece of gold. And likewise one gave gold, another frankincense, and the third myrrh. And when they were going to return to King Herod, they were warned by an angel in their sleep not to go back to Herod; and they returned to their own country by another road.

CHAPTER 17

And when Herod saw that he had been made sport of by the magi, his heart swelled with rage, and he sent through all the roads, wishing to seize them and put them to death. But when he could not find them at all; he sent anew to Bethlehem and all its borders, and slew all the male children whom he found of two years old and under, according to the time that he had ascertained from the magi.

Now the day before this was done Joseph was warned in his sleep by the angel of the Lord, who said to him: Take Mary and the child, and go into Egypt by the way of the desert. And Joseph went according to the saying of the angel.

CHAPTER 18

And having come to a certain cave, and wishing to rest in it, the blessed Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her bosom. And there were with Joseph three boys, and with Mary a girl, going on the journey along with them. And, lo, suddenly there came forth from the cave many dragons; and when the children saw them, they cried out in great terror. Then Jesus went down from the bosom of His mother, and stood on His feet before the dragons; and they adored Jesus, and thereafter retired. Then was fulfilled that which was said by David the prophet, saying: Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons; ye dragons, and all ye deeps And the young child Jesus, walking before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But Mary and Joseph were very much afraid lest the child should be hurt by the dragons. And Jesus said to them: Do not be afraid, and do not consider me to be a little child; for I am and always have been perfect; and all the beasts of the forest must needs be tame before me.

CHAPTER 19

Lions and panthers adored Him likewise, and accompanied them in the desert. Wherever Joseph and the blessed Mary went, they went before them showing them the way, and bowing their heads; and showing their submission by wagging their tails, they adored Him with great reverence. Now at first, when Mary saw the lions and the panthers, and various kinds of wild beasts, coming about them, she was very much afraid. But the infant Jesus looked into her face with a joyful countenance, and said: Be not afraid, mother; for they come not to do thee harm, but they make haste to serve both thee and me. With these words He drove all fear from her heart. And the lions kept walking with them, and with the oxen, and

the asses, and the beasts of burden which carried their baggage, and did not hurt a single one of them, though they kept beside them; but they were tame among the sheep and the rams which they had brought with them from Judaea, and which they had with them. They walked among wolves, and feared nothing; and no one of them was hurt by another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet: Wolves shall feed with lambs; the lion and the ox shall eat straw together. There were together two oxen drawing a wagon with provision for the journey, and the lions directed them in their path.

CHAPTER 20

And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed. And after they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, waiting the order to rise from Him who bad commanded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it: Raise thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the companion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it rose up immediately, and at its root there began to come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring of water, they rejoiced with

great joy, and were satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God.

CHAPTER 21

And on the day after, when they were setting out thence, and in the hour in which they began their journey, Jesus turned to the palm, and said: This privilege I give thee, O palm tree, that one of thy branches be carried away by my angels, and planted in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I will confer upon thee, that it shall be said of all who conquer in any contest, You have attained the palm of victory. And while He was thus speaking, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared, and stood upon the palm tree; and taking off one of its branches, flew to heaven with the branch in his hand. And when they saw this, they fell on their faces, and became as it were dead. And Jesus said to them: Why are your hearts possessed with fear? Do you not know that this palm, which I have caused to be transferred to paradise, shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of delights, as it has been prepared for us in this place of the wilderness? And they were filled with joy; and being strengthened, they all rose up.

CHAPTER 22

After this, while they were going on their journey, Joseph said to Jesus: Lord, it is a boiling heat; if it please Thee, let us go by the sea-shore, that we may be able to rest in the cities on the coast. Jesus said to him: Fear not, Joseph; I will shorten the way for you, so that what you would have taken thirty days to go over, you shall accomplish in this one day. And while they were thus speaking, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the mountains and cities of Egypt.

And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of Hermopolis, and entered into a certain city of Egypt which is called Sotinen; and because they knew no one there from whom they could ask hospitality, they went into a temple which was called the Capitol of Egypt. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols, to each of which on its own day divine honors and sacred rites were paid. For the

Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told them how many sacrifices were offered each day, according to the honor in which the God was held.

CHAPTER 23

And it came to pass, when the most blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that all of them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces; and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled that which was said by the prophet Isaiah: Behold, the Lord will come upon a swift cloud, and will enter Egypt, and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be moved at His presence.

CHAPTER 24

Then Affrodosius, that governor of the city, when news of this was brought to him, went to the temple with all his army. And the priests of the temple, when they saw Affrodosius with all his army coming into the temple, thought that he was making haste only to see vengeance taken on those on whose account the gods had fallen down. But when he came into the temple, and saw all the gods lying prostrate on their faces, he went up to the blessed Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and adored Him, and said to all his army and all his friends: Unless this were the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before Him; nor would they be lying prostrate in His presence: wherefore they silently confess that He is their Lord. Unless we, therefore, take care to do what we have seen our gods doing, we may run the risk of His anger, and all come to destruction, even as it happened to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, who, not believing in powers so mighty, was drowned in the sea, with all his army. Then all the people of that same city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 25

After no long time the angel said to Joseph: Return to the land of Judah, for they are dead who sought the child's life.

CHAPTER 26

And it came to pass, after Jesus had returned out of Egypt, when He was in Galilee, and entering on the fourth year of His age, that on a Sabbath-day He was playing with some children at the bed of the Jordan. And as He sat there, Jesus made to Himself seven pools of clay, and to each of them He made passages, through which at His command He brought water from the torrent into the pool, and took it back again. Then one of those children, a son of the devil, moved with envy, shut the passages which supplied the pools with water, and overthrew what Jesus had built up. Then said Jesus to him: Woe unto thee, thou son of death, thou son of Satan! Dost thou destroy the works which I have wrought? And immediately he who had done this died. Then with great uproar the parents of the dead boy cried out against Mary and Joseph, saying to them: Your son has cursed our son, and he is dead. And when Joseph and Mary heard this, they came forthwith to Jesus, on account of the outcry of the parents of the boy, and the gathering together of the Jews. But Joseph said privately to Mary: I dare not speak to Him; but do thou admonish Him, and say: Why hast Thou raised against us the hatred of the people; and why must the troublesome hatred of men be born by us? And His mother having come to Him, asked Him, saying: My Lord, what was it that he did to bring about his death? And He said: He deserved death, because he scattered the works that I had made. Then His mother asked Him, saying: Do not so, my Lord, because all men rise up against us. But He, not wishing to grieve His mother, with His right foot kicked the hinder parts of the dead boy, and said to him: Rise, thou son of iniquity for thou art not worthy to enter into the rest of my Father, because thou didst destroy the works which I had made. Then he who had been dead rose up, and went away. And Jesus, by the word of His power, brought water into the pools by the aqueduct.

CHAPTER 27

And it came to pass, after these things, that in the sight of all Jesus took clay froth the pools which He had made, and of it made twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this, and there were very many children with Him. When, therefore, one of the Jews had seen Him doing this, he said to Joseph: Joseph, dost thou not see the child Jesus working on the Sabbath at what it is not lawful for him to do? for he has made twelve sparrows of clay. And when Joseph heard this, he reproved him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath such things as are not lawful for us to do? And when Jesus heard Joseph, He struck His hands together, and said to His sparrows: Fly! And at the voice of His command they began to fly. And in the sight and hearing of all that stood by, He said to the birds: Go and fly through the earth, and through all the world, and live. And when those that were there saw such miracles, they were filled with great astonishment. And some praised and admired Him, but others reviled Him. And certain of them went away to the chief priests and the heads of the Pharisees, and reported to them that Jesus the son of Joseph had done great signs and miracles in the sight of all the people of Israel. And this was reported in the twelve tribes of Israel.

CHAPTER 28

And again the son of Annas, a priest of the temple, who had come with Joseph, holding his rod in his hand in the sight of all, with great fury broke down the dams which Jesus had made with His own hands, and let out the water which He had collected in them from the torrent. Moreover, he shut the aqueduct by which the water came in, and then broke it down. And when Jesus saw this, He said to that boy who had destroyed His dams: O most wicked seed of iniquity! O son of death! O workshop of Satan! verily the fruit of thy seed shall be without strength, and thy roots without moisture, and thy branches withered, bearing no fruit. And immediately, in the sight of all, the boy withered away, and died.

CHAPTER 29

Then Joseph trembled, and took hold of Jesus, and went with Him to his own house, and His mother with Him. And, behold, suddenly from the opposite direction a boy, also a worker of iniquity, ran up and came against the shoulder of Jesus, wishing to make sport of Him, or to hurt Him, if he could. And Jesus said to him: Thou shall not go back safe and sound from the way that thou goest. And immediately he fell down, and died. And the parents of the dead boy, who had seen what happened, cried out, saying: Where does this child come from? It is manifest that every word that he says is true; and it is often accomplished before he speaks. And the parents of the dead boy came to Joseph, and said to him: Take away that Jesus from this place, for he cannot live with us in this town; or at least teach him to bless, and not to curse. And Joseph came up to Jesus, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things? For already many are in grief and against thee, and hate us on thy account, and we endure the reproaches of men because of thee. And Jesus answered and said unto Joseph: No one is a wise son but he whom his father hath taught, according to the knowledge of this time; and a father's curse can hurt none but evil-doers. Then they came together against Jesus, and accused him to Joseph. When Joseph saw this, he was in great terror, fearing the violence and uproar of the people of Israel. And the same hour Jesus seized the dead boy by the ear, and lifted him up from the earth in the sight of all: and they saw Jesus speaking to him like a father to his son. And his spirit came back to him, and he revived. And all of them wondered.

CHAPTER 30

Now a certain Jewish schoolmaster named Zachyas heard Jesus thus speaking; and seeing that He could not be overcome, from knowing the power that was in Him, he became angry, and began rudely and foolishly, and without fear, to speak against Joseph. And he said: Dost thou not wish to entrust me with thy son, that he may be instructed in human learning and in reverence? But I see that Mary and thyself have more regard for your son than for what the elders of the people of Israel say

against him. You should have given more honor to us, the elders of the whole church of Israel, both that he might be on terms of mutual affection with the children, and that among us he might be instructed in Jewish learning. Joseph, on the other hand, said to him: And is there any one who can keep this child, and teach him? But if thou canst keep him and teach him, we by no means hinder him from being taught by thee those things which are learned by all. And Jesus, having heard what Zachyas had said, answered and said unto him: The precepts of the law which thou hast just spoken of, and all the things that thou hast named, must be kept by those who are instructed in human learning; but I am a stranger to your law-courts, because I have no father after the flesh. Thou who readest the law, and art learned in it, abidest in the law; but I was before the law, But since thou thinkest that no one is equal to thee in learning, thou shalt be taught by me, that no other can teach anything but those things which thou hast named. But he alone can who is worthy. For when I shall be exalted on earth, I will cause to cease all mention of your genealogy. For thou knowest not when thou wast born: I alone know when you were born, and how long your life on earth will be. Then all who heard these words were struck with astonishment, and cried out: Oh! oh! oh! this marvelously great and wonderful mystery. Never have we heard the like! Never has it been heard from any one else, nor has it been said or at any time heard by the prophets, or the Pharisees, or the scribes. We know whence he is sprung, and he is scarcely five years old; and whence does he speak these words? The Pharisees answered: We have never heard such words spoken by any other child so young. And Jesus answered and said unto them: At this do ye wonder, that such things are said by a child? Why, then, do ye not believe me in those things which I have said to you? And you all wonder because I said to you that I know when you were born. I will tell you greater things, that you may wonder more. I have seen Abraham, whom you call your father, and have spoken with him; and he has seen me. And when they heard this they held their tongues, nor did any of them dare to speak. And Jesus said to them: I have been among you with children, and you have not known me; I have spoken to you as to wise men, and you have not understood my words; because you are younger than I am, and of little faith.

CHAPTER 31

A second time the master Zachyas, doctor of the law, said to Joseph and Mary: Give me the boy, and I shall hand him over to master Levi, who shall teach him his letters and instruct him. Then Joseph and Mary, soothing Jesus, took Him to the schools, that He might be taught His letters by old Levi. And as soon as He went in He held His tongue. And the master Levi said one letter to Jesus, and, beginning from the first letter Aleph, said to Him: Answer. But Jesus was silent, and answered nothing. Wherefore the preceptor Levi was angry, and seized his storax-tree rod, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus said to the teacher Levi: Why dost thou strike me? Thou shall know in truth, that He who is struck can teach him who strikes Him more than He can be taught by him. For I can teach you those very things that you are saying. But all these are blind who speak and hear, like sounding brass or tinkling cymbal, in which there is no perception of those things which are meant by their sound. And Jesus in addition said to Zachyas: Every letter from Aleph even to Thet is known by its arrangement. Say thou first, therefore, what Thet is, and I will tell thee what Aleph is. And again Jesus said to them: Those who do not know Aleph, how can they say Thet, the hypocrites? Tell me what the first one, Aleph, is; and I shall then believe you when you have said Beth. And Jesus began to ask the names of the letters one by one, and said: Let the master of the law tell us what the first letter is, or why it has many triangles, gradate, subacute, mediate, obduced, produced, erect, prostrate, curvistrate. And when Levi heard this, he was thunderstruck at such an arrangement of the names of the letters. Then he began in the heating of all to cry out, and say: Ought such a one to live on the earth? Yea, he ought to be hung on the great cross. For he can put out fire, and make sport of other modes of punishment. I think that he lived before the flood, and was born before the deluge. For what womb bore him? or what mother brought him forth? or what breasts gave him suck? I flee before him; I am not able to withstand the words from his mouth, but my heart is astounded to hear such words. I do not think that any man can understand what he says, except God were with him. Now I, unfortunate wretch, have given myself up to be a laughing-stock to him. For when I thought I had a scholar, I, not knowing him, have found my master. What shall I say? I cannot withstand

the words of this child: I shall now flee from this town, because I cannot understand them. An old man like me has been beaten by a boy, because I can find neither beginning nor end of what he says. For it is no easy matter to find a beginning of himself. I tell you of a certainty, I am not lying, that to my eyes the proceedings of this boy, the commencement of his conversation, and the upshot of his intention, seem to have nothing in common with mortal man. Here then I do not know whether he be a wizard or a God; or at least an angel of God speaks in him. Whence he is, or where he comes from, or who he will turn out to be, I know not. Then Jesus, smiling at him with a joyful countenance, said in a commanding voice to all the sons of Israel standing by and hearing: Let the unfruitful bring forth fruit, and the blind see, and the lame walk right, and the poor enjoy the good things of this life, and the dead live, that each may return to his original state, and abide in Him who is the root of life and of perpetual sweetness. And when the child Jesus had said this, forthwith all who had fallen under malignant diseases were restored. And they did not dare to say anything more to Him, or to hear anything from Him.

CHAPTER 32

After these things, Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus into the city of Nazareth; and He remained there with His parents. And on the first of the week, when Jesus was playing with the children on the roof of a certain house, it happened that one of the children pushed another down from the roof to the ground, and he was killed. And the parents of the dead boy, who had not seen this, cried out against Joseph and Mary, saying: Your son has thrown our son down to the ground, and he is dead. But Jesus was silent, and answered them nothing. And Joseph and Mary came in haste to Jesus.; and His mother asked Him, saying: My Lord, tell me if thou didst throw him down. And immediately Jesus went down from the roof to the ground, and called the boy by his name, Zeno. And he answered Him: My Lord. And Jesus said to him: Was it I that threw thee down from the roof to the ground? And he said: No, my Lord. And the parents of the boy who had been dead wondered, and honored Jesus for the miracle that had been wrought. And Joseph and Mary departed thence with Jesus to Jericho.

CHAPTER 33

Now Jesus was six years old, and His mother sent Him with a pitcher to the fountain to draw water with the children. And it came to pass, after He had drawn the water, that one of the children came against Him, and struck the pitcher, and broke it. But Jesus stretched out the cloak which He had on, and took up in His cloak as much water as there had been in the pitcher, and carried it to His mother. And when she saw it she wondered, and reflected within herself, and laid up all these things in her heart.

CHAPTER 34

Again, on a certain day, He went forth into the field, and took a little wheat from His mother's barn, and sowed it Himself. And it sprang up, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly. And at last it came to pass that He Himself reaped it, and gathered as the produce of it three kors, and gave it to His numerous acquaintances.

CHAPTER 35

There is a road going out of Jericho and leading to the river Jordan, to the place where the children of Israel crossed: and there the ark of the covenant is said to have rested. And Jesus was eight years old, and He went out of Jericho, and went towards the Jordan. And there was beside the road, near the bank of the Jordan, a cave where a lioness was nursing her cubs; and no one was safe to walk that way. Jesus then, coming from Jericho, and knowing that in that cave the lioness bad brought forth her young, went into it in the sight of all. And when the lions saw Jesus, they ran to meet Him, and adored Him. And Jesus was sitting in the cavern, and the lion's cubs ran hither and thither round His feet, fawning upon Him, and sporting. And the older lions, with their heads bowed down, stood at a distance, and adored Him, and fawned upon Him with their tails. Then the people who were standing afar off, not seeing Jesus, said: Unless he or his parents had committed grievous sins, he would not of his own accord have offered himself up to the lions. And when the people were thus reflecting

within themselves, and were lying under great sorrow, behold, on a sudden, in the sight of the people, Jesus came out of the cave, and the lions went before Him, and the lion's cubs played with each other before His feet. And the parents of Jesus stood afar off, with their heads bowed down, and watched; likewise also the people stood at a distance, on account of the lions; for they did not dare to come close to them. Then Jesus began to say to the people: How much better are the beasts than you, seeing that they recognize their Lord, and glorify Him; while you men, who have been made after the image and likeness of God, do not know Him! Beasts know me, and are tame; men see me, and do not acknowledge me.

CHAPTER 36

After these things Jesus crossed the Jordan, in the sight of them all, with the lions; and the water of the Jordan was divided on the right hand and on the left. Then He said to the lions, in the hearing of all: Go in peace, and hurt no one; but neither let man injure you, until you return to the place whence you have come forth. And they, bidding Him farewell, not only with their gestures but with their voices, went to their own place. But Jesus returned to His mother.

CHAPTER 37

Now Joseph was a carpenter, and used to make nothing else of wood but ox-yokes, and ploughs, and implements of husbandry, and wooden beds. And it came to pass that a certain young man ordered him to make for him a couch six cubits long. And Joseph commanded his servant to cut the wood with an iron saw, according to the measure which he had sent. But he did not keep to the prescribed measure, but made one piece of wood shorter than the other. And Joseph was in perplexity, and began to consider what he was to do about this. And when Jesus saw him in this state of cogitation, seeing that it was a matter of impossibility to him, He addresses him with words of comfort, saying: Come, let us take hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and let us put them together, end to end,

and let us fit them exactly to each other, and draw to us, for we shall be able to make them equal. Then Joseph did what he was bid, for he knew that He could do whatever He wished. And Joseph took hold of the ends of the pieces of wood, and brought them together against the wall next himself, and Jesus took hold of the other ends of the pieces of wood, and drew the shorter piece to Him, and made it of the same length as the longer one. And He said to Joseph: Go and work, and do what thou hast promised to do. And Joseph did what he had promised.

CHAPTER 38

And it came to pass a second time, that Joseph and Mary were asked by the people that Jesus should be taught His letters in school. They did not refuse to do so; and according to the commandment of the elders, they took Him to a master to be instructed in human learning. Then the master began to teach Him in an imperious tone, saying: Say Alpha. And Jesus said to him: Do thou tell me first what Betha is, and I will tell thee what Alpha is. And upon this the master got angry and struck Jesus; and no sooner had he struck Him, than he fell down dead.

And Jesus went home again to His mother. And Joseph, being afraid, called Mary to him, and said to her: Know of a surety that my soul is sorrowful even unto death on account of this child. For it is very likely that at some time or other some one will strike him in malice, and he will die. But Mary answered and said: O man of God! do not believe that this is possible. You may believe to a certainty that He who has sent him to be born among men will Himself guard him from all mischief, and will in His own name preserve him from evil.

CHAPTER 39

Again the Jews asked Mary and Joseph a third time to coax Him to go to another master to learn. And Joseph and Mary, fearing the people, and the overbearing of the princes, and the threats of the priests, led Him again to school, knowing that He could learn nothing from man, because He had perfect knowledge from God only. And when Jesus had entered the

school, led by the Holy Spirit, He took the book out of the hand of the master who was teaching the law, and in the sight and hearing of all the people began to read, not indeed what was written in their book; but He spoke in the Spirit of the living God, as if a stream of water were gushing forth from a living fountain, and the fountain remained always full. And with such power He taught the people the great things of the living God, that the master himself fell to the ground and adored Him. And the heart of the people who sat and heard Him saying such things was turned into astonishment. And when Joseph heard of this, he came running to Jesus, fearing that the master himself was dead. And when the master saw him, he said to him: Thou hast given me not a scholar, but a master; and who can withstand his words? Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Psalmist: The river of God is full of water: Thou hast prepared them corn, for so is the provision for it.

CHAPTER 40

After these things Joseph departed thence with Mary and Jesus to go into Capernaum by the sea-shore, on account of the malice of his adversaries. And when Jesus was living in Capernaum, there was in the city a man named Joseph, exceedingly rich. But he had wasted away under his infirmity, and died, and was lying dead in his couch. And when Jesus heard them in the city mourning, and weeping, and lamenting over the dead man, He said to Joseph: Why dost thou not afford the benefit of thy favor to this man, seeing that he is called by thy name? And Joseph answered him: How have I any power or ability to afford him a benefit? And Jesus said to him: Take the handkerchief which is upon thy head, and go and put it on the face of the dead man, and say to him: Christ heal thee; and immediately the dead man will be healed, and will rise from his couch. And when Joseph heard this, he went away at the command of Jesus, and ran, and entered the house of the dead man, and put the handkerchief which he was wearing on his head upon the face of him who was lying in the couch, and said: Jesus heal thee. And forthwith the dead man rose from his bed, and asked who Jesus was.

CHAPTER 41

And they went away from Capernaum into the city which is called Bethlehem; and Joseph lived with Mary in his own house, and Jesus with them. And on a certain day Joseph called to him his first-born son James, and sent him into the vegetable garden to gather vegetables for the purpose of making broth. And Jesus followed His brother James into the garden; but Joseph and Mary did not know this. And while James was collecting the vegetables, a viper suddenly came out of a hole and struck his hand, and he began to cry out from excessive pain. And, becoming exhausted, he said, with a bitter cry: Alas! alas! an accursed viper has struck my hand. And Jesus, who was standing opposite to him, at the bitter cry ran up to James, and took hold of his hand; and all that He did was to blow on the hand of James, and cool it: and immediately James was healed, and the serpent died. And Joseph and Mary did not know what had been done; but at the cry of James, and the command of Jesus, they ran to the garden, and found the serpent already dead, and James quite cured.

CHAPTER 42

And Joseph having come to a feast with his sons, James, Joseph, and Judah, and Simeon and his two daughters, Jesus met them, with Mary His mother, along with her sister Mary of Cleophas, whom the Lord God had given to her father Cleophas and her mother Anna, because they had offered Mary the mother of Jesus to the Lord. And she was called by the same name, Mary, for the consolation of her parents. And when they had come together, Jesus sanctified and blessed them, and He was the first to begin to eat and drink; for none of them dared to eat or drink, or to sit at table, or to break bread, until He had sanctified them, and first done so. And if He happened to be absent, they used to wait until He should do this. And when He did not wish to come for refreshment, neither Joseph nor Mary, nor the sons of Joseph, His brothers, came. And, indeed, these brothers, keeping His life as a lamp before their eyes, observed Him, and feared Him. And when Jesus slept, whether by day or by night, the brightness of God shone upon Him. To whom be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

THE GOSPEL OF THE NATIVITY OF MARY

CHAPTER 1

The blessed and glorious ever-virgin Mary, sprung from the royal stock and family of David, born in the city of Nazareth, was brought up at Jerusalem in the temple of the Lord. Her father was named Joachim, and her mother Anna. Her father's house was from Galilee and the city of Nazareth, but her mother's family from Bethlehem. Their life was guileless and right before the Lord, and irreproachable and pious before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts. One part they spent upon the temple and the temple servants; another they distributed to strangers and the poor; the third they reserved, for themselves and the necessities of their family. Thus, dear to God, kind to men, for about twenty years they lived in their own house, a chaste married life, without having any children. Nevertheless they vowed that, should the Lord happen to give them offspring, they would deliver it to the service of the Lord; on which account also they used to visit the temple of the Lord at each of the feasts during the year.

CHAPTER 2

And it came to pass that the festival of the dedication was at hand; wherefore also Joachim went up to Jerusalem with some men of his own tribe. Now at that time Issachar was high priest there. And when he saw Joachim with his offering among his other fellow-citizens, he despised him, and spurned his gifts, asking why he, who had no offspring, presumed to stand among those who had; saying that his gifts could not by any means be acceptable to God, since He had deemed him unworthy of off-spring: for the Scripture said, Cursed is every one who has not begot a male or a female in Israel. He said, therefore, that he ought first to be freed from this curse by the begetting of children; and then, and then

only, that be should come into the presence of the Lord with his offerings. And Joachim, covered with shame from this reproach that was thrown in his teeth, retired to the shepherds, who were in their pastures with their flocks; nor would he return home, test perchance he might be branded with the same reproach by those of his own tribe, who were there at the time, and had heard this from the priest.

CHAPTER 3

Now, when he had been there for some time, on a certain day when he was alone, an angel of the Lord stood by him in a great light. And when he was disturbed at his appearance, the angel who had appeared to him restrained his fear, saying: Fear not, Joachim, nor be disturbed by my appearance; for I am the angel of the Lord, sent by Him to thee to tell thee that thy prayers have been heard, and that thy charitable deeds have gone up into His presence. For He hath seen thy shame, and hath heard the reproach of unfruitfulness which has been unjustly brought against thee. For God is the avenger of sin, not of nature: and, therefore, when He shuts up the womb of any one, He does so that He may miraculously open it again; so that that which is born may be acknowledged to be not of lust, but of the gift of God. For was it not the case that the first mother of your nation — Sarah — was barren up to her eightieth year? And, nevertheless, in extreme old age she brought forth Isaac, to whom the promise was renewed of the blessing of all nations. Rachel also, so favored of the Lord, and so beloved by holy Jacob, was long barren; and yet she brought forth Joseph, who was not only the Lord of Egypt, but the deliverer of many nations who were ready to perish of hunger. Who among the judges was either stronger than Samson, or more holy than Samuel? And yet the mothers of both were barren. If, therefore, the reasonableness of my words does not persuade thee, believe in fact that conceptions very late in life, and births in the case of women that have been barren, are usually attended with something wonderful. Accordingly thy wife Anna will bring forth a daughter to thee, and thou shall call her name Mary: she shall be, as you have vowed, consecrated to the Lord from her infancy, and she shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from her mother’s womb. She shall neither eat nor drink any unclean thing, nor shall she spend her life among

the crowds of the people without, but in the temple of the Lord, that it may not be possible either to say, or so much as to suspect, any evil concerning her. Therefore, when she has grown up, just as she herself shall be miraculously born of a barren woman, so in an incomparable manner she, a virgin, shall bring forth the Son of the Most High, who shall be called Jesus, and who, according to the etymology of His name, shall be the Savior of all nations. And this shall be the sign to thee of those things which I announce: When thou shalt come to the Golden gate in Jerusalem, thou shalt there meet Anna thy wife, who, lately anxious from the delay of thy return, will then rejoice at the sight of thee. Having thus spoken, the angel departed from him.

CHAPTER 4

Thereafter he appeared to Anna his wife, saying: Fear not, Anna, nor think that it is a phantom which thou seest. For I am that angel who has presented your prayers and alms before God; and now have I been sent to you to announce to you that thou shalt bring forth a daughter, who shall be called Mary, and who shall be blessed above all women. She, full of the favor of the Lord even from her birth, shall remain three years in her father’s house until she be weaned. Thereafter, being delivered to the service of the Lord, she shall not depart from the temple until she reach the years of discretion. There, in fine, serving God day and night in fastings and prayers, she shall abstain from every unclean thing; she shall never know man, but alone, without example, immaculate, uncorrupted, without intercourse with man, she, a virgin, shall bring forth a son; she, His hand-maiden, shall bring forth the Lord — both in grace, and in name, and in work, the Savior of the world. Wherefore arise, and go up to Jerusalem; and when thou shalt come to the gate which, because it is plated with gold, is called Golden, there, for a sign, thou shalt meet thy husband, for whose safety thou hast been anxious. And when these things shall have so happened, know that what I announce shall without doubt be fulfilled.

CHAPTER 5

Therefore, as the angel had commanded, both of them setting out from the place where they were, went up to Jerusalem; and when they had come to the place pointed out by the angel's prophecy, there they met each other. Then, rejoicing at seeing each other, and secure in the certainty of the promised offspring, they gave the thanks due to the Lord, who exalteth the humble. And so, having worshipped the Lord, they returned home, and awaited in certainty and in gladness the divine promise. Anna therefore conceived, and brought forth a daughter; and according to the command of the angel, her parents called her name Mary.

CHAPTER 6

And when the circle of three years had rolled round, and the time of her weaning was fulfilled, they brought the virgin to the temple of the Lord with offerings. Now there were round the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, fifteen steps going up; for, on account of the temple having been built on a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which stood outside, could not be reached except by steps. On one of these, then, her parents placed the little girl, the blessed virgin Mary. And when they were putting off the clothes which they had worn on the journey, and were putting on, as was usual, others that were neater and cleaner, the virgin of the Lord went up all the steps, one after the other, without the help of any one leading her or lifting her, in such a manner that, in this respect at least, you would think that she had already attained full age. For already the Lord in the infancy of His virgin wrought a great thing, and by the indication of this miracle foreshowed how great she was to be. Therefore, a sacrifice having been offered according to the custom of the law, and their vow being perfected, they left the virgin within the enclosures of the temple, there to be educated with the other virgins, and themselves returned home.

CHAPTER 7

But the virgin of the Lord advanced in age and in virtues; and though, in the words of the Psalmist, her father and mother had forsaken her, the Lord took her up. For daily was she visited by angels, daily did she enjoy a divine vision, which preserved her from all evil, and made her to abound in all good. And so she reached her fourteenth year; and not only were the wicked unable to charge her with anything worthy of reproach, but all the good, who knew her life and conversation, judged her to be worthy of admiration. Then the high priest publicly announced that the virgins who were publicly settled in the temple, and had reached this time of life, should return home and get married, according to the custom of the nation and the ripeness of their years. The others readily obeyed this command; but Mary alone, the virgin of the Lord, answered that she could not do this, saying both that her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord, and that, moreover, she herself had made to the Lord a vow of virginity, which she would never violate by any intercourse with man. And the high priest, being placed in great perplexity of mind, seeing that neither did he think that the vow should be broken contrary to the Scripture, which says, Vow and pay, nor did he dare to introduce a custom unknown to the nation, gave order that at the festival, which was at hand, all the chief persons from Jerusalem and the neighborhood should be present, in order that from their advice he might know what was to be done in so doubtful a case. And when this took place, they resolved unanimously that the Lord should be consulted upon this matter. And when they all bowed themselves in prayer, the high priest went to consult God in the usual way. Nor had they long to wait: in the hearing of all a voice issued from the oracle and from the mercy-seat, that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, a man should be sought out to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused. For it is clear that Isaiah says: A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall ascend from his root; and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of wisdom and piety; and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord. According to this prophecy, therefore, he predicted that all of the house and family of David that were unmarried and fit for marriage should bring

there rods to the altar; and that he whose rod after it was brought should produce a flower, and upon the end of whose rod the Spirit of the Lord should settle in the form of a dove, was the man to whom the virgin ought to be entrusted and espoused.

CHAPTER 8

Now there was among the rest Joseph, of the house and family of David, a man of great age: and when all brought there rods, according to the order, he alone withheld his. Wherefore, when nothing in conformity with the divine voice appeared, the high priest thought it necessary to consult God a second time; and He answered, that of those who had been designated, he alone to whom the virgin ought to be espoused had not brought his rod. Joseph, therefore, was found out. For when he had brought his rod, and the dove came from heaven; and settled upon the top of it, it clearly appeared to all that he was the man to whom the virgin should be espoused. Therefore, the usual ceremonies of betrothal having been gone through, he went back to the city of Bethlehem to put his house in order, and to procure things necessary for the marriage. But Mary, the virgin of the Lord, with seven other virgins of her own age, and who had been weaned at the same time, whom she had received from the priest, returned to the house of her parents in Galilee.

CHAPTER 9

And in those days, that is, at the time of her first coming into Galilee, the angel Gabriel was sent to her by God, to announce to her the conception of the Lord, and to explain to her the manner and order of the conception. Accordingly, going in, he filled the chamber where she was with a great light; and most courteously saluting her, he said: Hail, Mary! O virgin highly favored by the Lord, virgin full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou above all women, blessed above all men that have been hitherto born. And the virgin, who was already well acquainted with angelic faces, and was not unused to the light from heaven, was neither terrified by the vision of the angel, nor astonished at the greatness of the

light, but only perplexed by his words; and she began to consider of what nature a salutation so unusual could be, or what it could portend, or what end it could have. And the angel, divinely inspired, taking up this thought, says: Fear not, Mary, as if anything contrary to thy chastity were hid under this salutation. For in choosing chastity, thou hast found favor with the Lord; and therefore thou, a virgin, shalt conceive without sin, and shalt bring forth a son. He shall be great, because He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth; and He shall be called the Son of the Most High, because He who is born on earth in humiliation, reigns in heaven in exaltation; and the Lord God will give Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end; forasmuch as He is King of kings and Lord of lords, and His throne is from everlasting to everlasting. The virgin did not doubt these words of the angel; but wishing to know the manner of it, she answered: How can that come to pass? For while, according to my vow, I never know man, how can I bring forth without the addition of man's seed? To this the angel says: Think not, Mary, that thou shalt conceive in the manner of mankind: for without any intercourse with man, thou, a virgin, wilt conceive; thou, a virgin, wilt bring forth; thou, a virgin, wilt nurse: for the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, without any of the heats of lust; and therefore that which shall be born of thee shall alone be holy, because it alone, being conceived and born without sin, shall be called the Son of God. Then Mary stretched forth her hands, and raised her eyes to heaven, and said: Behold the hand-maiden of the Lord, for I am not worthy of the name of lady; let it be to me according to thy word.

It will be long, and perhaps to some even tedious, if we insert in this little work every thing which we read of as having preceded or followed the Lord's nativity: wherefore, omitting those things which have been more fully written in the Gospel, let us come to those which are held to be less worthy of being narrated.

CHAPTER 10

Joseph therefore came from Judaea into Galilee, intending to marry the virgin who had been betrothed to him; for already three months had

elapsed, and it was the beginning of the fourth since she had been betrothed to him. In the meantime, it was evident from her shape that she was pregnant, nor could she conceal this from Joseph. For in consequence of his being betrothed to her, coming to her more freely and speaking to her more familiarly, he found out that she was with child. He began then to be in great doubt and perplexity, because he did not know what was best for him to do. For, being a just man, he was not willing to expose her; nor, being a pious man, to injure her fair fame by a suspicion of fornication. He came to the conclusion, therefore, privately to dissolve their contract, and to send her away secretly. And while he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in his sleep, saying: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not; that is, do not have any suspicion of fornication in the virgin, or think any evil of her; and fear not to take her as thy wife: for that which is begotten in her, and which now vexes thy soul, is the work not of man, but of the Holy Spirit. For she alone of all virgins shall bring forth the Son of God, and thou shalt call His name Jesus, that is, Savior; for He shall save His people from their sins. Therefore Joseph, according to the command of the angel, took the virgin as his wife; nevertheless he knew her not, but took care of her, and kept her in chastity. And now the ninth month from her conception was at hand, when Joseph, taking with him his wife along with what things he needed, went to Bethlehem, the city from which he came. And it came to pass, while they were there, that her days were fulfilled that she should bring forth; and she brought forth her first-born son, as the holy evangelists have shown, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns God from everlasting to everlasting.

THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH THE CARPENTER

IN the name of God, of one essence and three persons.

The History of the death of our father, the holy old man, Joseph the carpenter.

May his blessings and prayers preserve us all, O brethren! Amen.

His whole life was one hundred and eleven years, and his departure from this world happened on the twenty-sixth of the month Abib, which answers to the month Ab. May his prayer preserve us! Amen. And, indeed, it was our Lord Jesus Christ Himself who related this history to His holy disciples on the Mount of Olives, and all Joseph's labor, and the end of his days. And the holy apostles have preserved this conversation, and have left it written down in the library at Jerusalem. May their prayers preserve us! Amen.

1. It happened one day, when the Savior, our Master, God, and Savior Jesus Christ, was sitting along with His disciples, and they were all assembled on the Mount of Olives, that He said to them: O my brethren and friends, sons of the Father who has chosen you from all men, you know that I have often told you that I must be crucified, and must die for the salvation of Adam and his posterity, and that I shall rise from the dead. Now I shall commit to you the doctrine of the holy gospel formerly announced to you, that you may declare it. throughout the whole world. And I shall endow you with power from on high, and fill you with the Holy Spirit. And you shall declare to all nations repentance and remission of sins. For a single cup of water, if a man shall find it in the world to come, is greater and better than all the wealth of this whole world. And as much ground as one foot can occupy in the house of my Father, is greater and more excellent than all the riches of the earth. Yea, a single hour in the joyful dwelling of the pious is more blessed and more precious than a thousand years among sinners: inasmuch as their weeping and lamentation shall not come to an end, and their tears shall not cease, nor shall they find for themselves consolation and repose at any time for ever. And now, O

my honored members, go declare to all nations, tell them, and say to them: Verily the Savior diligently inquires into the inheritance which is due, and is the administrator of justice. And the angels will cast down their enemies, and will fight for them in the day of conflict. And He will examine every single foolish and idle word which men speak, and they shall give an account of it. For as no one shall escape death, so also the works of every man shall be laid open on the day of judgment, whether they have been good or evil. Tell them also this word which I have said to you today: Let not the strong man glory in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him who wishes to glory, glory in the Lord.

2. There was a man whose name was Joseph, sprung from a family of Bethlehem, a town of Judah, and the city of King David. This same man, being well furnished with wisdom and learning, was made a priest in the temple of the Lord. He was, besides. skillful in his trade, which was that of a carpenter; and after the manner of all men, he married a wife. Moreover, he begot for himself sons and daughters, four sons, namely, and two daughters. Now these are their names — Judas, Justus, James, and Simon. The names of the two daughters were Assia and Lydia. At length the wife of righteous Joseph, a woman intent on the divine glory in all her works, departed this life. But Joseph, that righteous man, my father after the flesh, and the spouse of my mother Mary, went away with his sons to his trade, practicing the art of a carpenter.

3. Now when righteous Joseph became a widower, my mother Mary, blessed, holy, and pure, was already twelve years old. For her parents offered her in the temple when she was three years of age, and she remained in the temple of the Lord nine years. Then when the priests saw that the virgin, holy and God-fearing, was growing up, they spoke to each other, saying: Let us search out a man, righteous and pious, to whom Mary may be entrusted until the time of her marriage; lest, if she remain in the temple, it happen to her as is wont to happen to women, and lest on that account we sin, and God be angry with us.

4. Therefore they immediately sent out, and assembled twelve old men of the tribe of Judah. And they wrote down the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. And the lot fell upon the pious old man, righteous Joseph. Then the priests answered, and said to my blessed mother: Go with Joseph, and be

with him till the time of your marriage. Righteous Joseph therefore received my mother, and led her away to his own house. And Mary found James the Less in his father's house, broken-hearted and sad on account of the loss of his mother, and she brought him up. Hence Mary was called the mother of James. Thereafter Joseph left her at home, and went away to the shop where he wrought at his trade of a carpenter. And after the holy virgin had spent two years in his house her age was exactly fourteen years, including the time at which he received her.

5. And I chose her of my own will, with the concurrence of my Father, and the counsel of the Holy Spirit. And I was made flesh of her, by a mystery which transcends the grasp of created reason. And three months after her conception the righteous man Joseph returned from the place where he worked at his trade; and when he found my virgin mother pregnant, he was greatly perplexed, and thought of sending her away secretly. But from fear, and sorrow, and the anguish of his heart, he could endure neither to eat nor drink that day.

6. But at mid-day there appeared to him in a dream the prince of the angels, the holy Gabriel, furnished with a command from my Father; and he said to him: Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife: for she has conceived of the Holy Spirit; and she will bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus. He it is who shall rule all nations with a rod of iron. Having thus spoken, the angel departed from him. And Joseph rose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord had said to him; and Mary abode with him.

7. Some time after that, there came forth an order from Augustus Caesar the king, that all the habitable world should be enrolled, each man in his own city. The old man therefore, righteous Joseph, rose up and took the virgin Mary and came to Bethlehem, because the time of her bringing forth was at hand. Joseph then inscribed his name in the list; for Joseph the son of David, whose spouse Mary was, was of the tribe of Judah. And indeed Mary, my mother, brought me forth in Bethlehem, in a cave near the tomb of Rachel the wife of the patriarch Jacob, the mother of Joseph and Benjamin.

8. But Satan went and told this to Herod the Great, the father of Archelaus. And it was this same Herod who ordered my friend and relative

John to be beheaded. Accordingly he searched for me diligently, thinking that my kingdom was to be of this world. But Joseph, that pious old man, was warned of this by a dream. Therefore he rose and took Mary my mother, and I lay in her bosom. Salome also was their fellow-traveler. Having therefore set out from home, he retired into Egypt, and remained there the space of one whole year, until the hatred of Herod passed away.

9. Now Herod died by the worst form of death, atoning for the shedding of the blood of the children whom he wickedly cut off, though there was no sin in them. And that impious tyrant Herod being dead, they returned into the land of Israel, and lived in a city of Galilee which is called Nazareth. And Joseph, going back to his trade of a carpenter, earned his living by the work of his hands; for, as the law of Moses had commanded, he never sought to live for nothing by another's labor.

10. At length, by increasing years, the old man arrived at a very advanced age. He did not, however, labor under any bodily weakness, nor had his sight failed, nor had any tooth perished from his mouth. In mind also, for the whole time of his life, he never wandered; but like a boy he always in his business displayed youthful vigor, and his limbs remained unimpaired, and free from all pain. His life, then, in all, amounted to one hundred and eleven years, his old age being prolonged to the utmost limit.

11. Now Justus and Simeon, the elder sons of Joseph, were married, and had families of their own. Both the daughters were likewise married, and lived in their own houses. So there remained in Joseph's house, Judas and James the Less, and my virgin mother. I moreover dwelt along with them, not otherwise than if I had been one of his sons. But I passed all my life without fault. Mary I called my mother, and Joseph father, and I obeyed them in all that they said; nor did I ever contend against them, but complied with their commands, as other men whom earth produces are wont to do; nor did I at any time arouse their anger, or give any word or answer in opposition to them. On the contrary, I cherished them with great love, like the pupil of my eye.

12. It came to pass, after these things, that the death of that old man, the pious Joseph, and his departure from this world, were approaching, as happens to other men who owe their origin to this earth. And as his body was verging on dissolution, an angel of the Lord informed him that his

death was now close at hand. Therefore fear and great perplexity came upon him. So he rose up and went to Jerusalem; and going into the temple of the Lord, he poured out his prayers there before the sanctuary, and said:

13. O God! author of all consolation, God of all compassion, and Lord of the whole human race; God of my soul, body, and spirit; with supplications I reverence thee, O Lord and my God. If now my days are ended, and the time draws near when I must leave this world, send me, I beseech Thee, the great Michael, the prince of Thy holy angels: let him remain with me, that my wretched soul may depart from this afflicted body without trouble, without terror and impatience. For great fear and intense sadness take hold of all bodies on the day of their death, whether it be man or woman, beast wild or tame, or whatever creeps on the ground or flies in the air. At the last all creatures under heaven in whom is the breath of life are struck with horror, and their souls depart from their bodies with strong fear and great depression. Now therefore, O Lord and my God, let Thy holy angel be present with his help to my soul and body, until they shall be dissevered from each other. And let not the face of the angel, appointed my guardian from the day of my birth, be turned away from me; but may he be the companion of my journey even until he bring me to Thee: let his countenance be pleasant and gladsome to me, and let him accompany me in peace. And let not demons of frightful aspect come near me in the way in which I am to go, until I come to Thee in bliss. And let not the doorkeepers hinder my soul from entering paradise. And do not uncover my sins, and expose me to condemnation before Thy terrible tribunal. Let not the lions rush in upon me; nor let the waves of the sea of fire overwhelm my soul — for this must every soul pass through — before I have seen the glory of Thy Godhead. O God, most righteous Judge, who in justice and equity wilt judge mankind, and wilt render unto each one according to his works, O Lord and my God, I beseech Thee, be present to me in Thy compassion, and enlighten my path that I may come to Thee; for Thou art a fountain overflowing with all good things, and with glory for evermore. Amen.

14. It came to pass thereafter, when he returned to his own house in the city of Nazareth, that he was seized by disease, and had to keep his bed. And it was at this time that he died, according to the destiny of all

mankind. For this disease was very heavy upon him, and he had never been ill, as he now was, from the day of his birth. And thus assuredly it pleased Christ to order the destiny of righteous Joseph. He lived forty years unmarried; thereafter his wife remained under his care forty-nine years, and then died. And a year after her death, my mother, the blessed Mary, was entrusted to him by the priests, that he should keep her until the time of her marriage. She spent two years in his house; and in the third year of her stay with Joseph, in the fifteenth year of her age, she brought me forth on earth by a mystery which no creature can penetrate or understand, except myself, and my Father and the Holy Spirit, constituting one essence with myself.

15. The whole age of my father, therefore, that righteous old man, was one hundred and eleven years, my Father in heaven having so decreed. And the day on which his soul left his body was the twenty-sixth of the month Abib. For now the fine gold began to lose its splendor, and the silver to be worn down by use — I mean his understanding and his wisdom. He also loathed food and drink, and lost all his skill in his trade of carpentry, nor did he any more pay attention to it. It came to pass, then, in the early dawn of the twenty-sixth day of Abib, that Joseph, that righteous old man, lying in his bed, was giving up his unquiet soul. Wherefore he opened his mouth with many sighs, and struck his hands one against the other, and with a loud voice cried out, and spoke after the following manner: —

16. Woe to the day on which I was born into the world! Woe to the womb which bare me! Woe to the bowels which admitted me! Woe to the breasts which suckled me! Woe to the feet upon which I sat and rested! Woe to the hands which carried me and reared me until I grew up! For I was conceived in iniquity, and in sins did my mother desire me. Woe to my tongue and my lips, which have brought forth and spoken vanity, detraction, falsehood, ignorance, derision, idle tales, craft, and hypocrisy! Woe to mine eyes, which have looked upon scandalous things! Woe to mine ears, which have delighted in the words of slanderers! Woe to my hands, which have seized what did not of right belong to them! Woe to my belly and my bowels, which have lusted after food unlawful to be eaten! Woe to my throat, which like a fire has consumed all that it found! Woe to my feet, which have too often walked in ways displeasing to God! Woe to my body; and woe to my miserable soul, which has already turned aside

from God its Maker! What shall I do when I arrive at that place where I must stand before the most righteous Judge, and when He shall call me to account for the works which I have heaped up in my youth? Woe to every man dying in his sins! Assuredly that same dreadful hour, which came upon my father Jacob, when his soul was flying forth from his body, is now, behold, near at hand for me. Oh! how wretched I am this day, and worthy of lamentation! But God alone is the disposer of my soul and body; He also will deal with them after His own good pleasure.

17. These are the words spoken by Joseph, that righteous old man. And I, going in beside him, found his soul exceedingly troubled, for he was placed in great perplexity. And I said to him: Hail! my father Joseph, thou righteous man; how is it with thee? And he answered me: All hail! my well-beloved son. Indeed, the agony and fear of death have already environed me; but as soon as I heard Thy voice, my soul was at rest. O Jesus of Nazareth! Jesus, my Savior! Jesus, the deliverer of my soul! Jesus, my protector! Jesus! O sweetest name in my mouth, and in the mouth of all those that love it! O eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hear me! I am Thy servant; this day I most humbly reverence Thee, and before Thy face I pour out my tears. Thou art altogether my God; Thou art my Lord, as the angel has told me times without number, and especially on that day when my soul was driven about with perverse thoughts about the pure and blessed Mary, who was carrying Thee in her womb, and whom I was thinking of secretly sending away. And while I was thus meditating, behold, there appeared to me in my rest angels of the Lord, saying to me in a wonderful mystery: O Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take Mary as thy wife; and do not grieve thy soul, nor speak unbecoming words of her conception, because she is with child of the Holy Spirit, and shall bring forth a son, whose name shall be called Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins. Do not for this cause wish me evil, O Lord! for I was ignorant of the mystery of Thy birth. I call to mind also, my Lord, that day when the boy died of the bite of the serpent. And his relations wished to deliver Thee to Herod, saying that Thou hadst killed him; but Thou didst raise him from the dead, and restore him to them. Then I went up to Thee, and took hold of Thy hand, saying: My son, take care of thyself. But Thou didst say to me in reply: Art thou not my father after the flesh? I shall teach thee who I am. Now therefore, O

Lord and my God, do not be angry with me, or condemn me on account of that hour. I am Thy servant, and the son of Thine handmaiden; but Thou art my Lord, my God and Savior, most surely the Son of God.

18. When my father Joseph had thus spoken, he was unable to weep more. And I saw that death now had dominion over him. And my mother, virgin undefiled, rose and came to me, saying: O my beloved son, this pious old man Joseph is now dying. And I answered: Oh my dearest mother, assuredly upon all creatures produced in this world the same necessity of death lies; for death holds sway over the whole human race. Even thou, O my virgin mother, must look for the same end of life as other mortals. And yet thy death, as also the death of this pious man, is not death, but life enduring to eternity. Nay more, even I must die, as concerns the body which I have received from thee. But rise, O my venerable mother, and go in to Joseph, that blessed old man, in order that thou mayst see what will happen as his soul ascends from his body.

19. My undefiled mother Mary, therefore, went and entered the place where Joseph was. And I was sitting at his feet looking at him, for the signs of death already appeared in his countenance. And that blessed old man raised his head, and kept his eyes fixed on my face; but he had no power of speaking to me, on account of the agonies of death, which held him in their grasp. But he kept fetching many sighs. And I held his hands for a whole hour; and he turned his face to me, and made signs for me not to leave him. Thereafter I put my hand upon his breast, and perceived his soul now near his throat, preparing to depart from its receptacle.

20. And when my virgin mother saw me touching his body, she also touched his feet. And finding them already dead and destitute of heat, she said to me: O my beloved son, assuredly his feet are already beginning to stiffen, and they are as cold as snow. Accordingly she summoned his sons and daughters, and said to them: Come, as many as there are of you, and go to your father; for assuredly he is now at the very point of death. And Assia, his daughter, answered and said: Woe’s me, O my brothers, this is certainly the same disease that my beloved mother died of. And she lamented and shed tears; and all Joseph’s other children mourned along with her. I also, and my mother Mary, wept along with them.

21. And turning my eyes towards the region of the south, I saw Death already approaching, and all Gehenna with him, closely attended by his army and his satellites; and their clothes, their faces, and their mouths poured forth flames. And when my father Joseph saw them coming straight to him, his eyes dissolved in tears, and at the same time he groaned after a strange manner. Accordingly, when I saw the vehemence of his sighs, I drove back Death and all the host of servants which accompanied him. And I called upon my good Father, saying: —

22. O Father of all mercy, eye which seest, and ear which hearest, hearken to my prayers and supplications in behalf of the old man Joseph; and send Michael, the prince of Thine angels, and Gabriel, the herald of light, and all the light of Thine angels, and let their whole array walk with the soul of my father Joseph, until they shall have conducted it to Thee. This is the hour in which my father has need of compassion. And I say unto you, that all the saints, yea, as many men as are born in the world, whether they be just or whether they be perverse, must of necessity taste of death.

23. Therefore Michael and Gabriel came to the soul of my father Joseph, and took it, and wrapped it in a shining wrapper. Thus he committed his spirit into the hands of my good Father, and He bestowed upon him peace. But as yet none of his children knew that he had fallen asleep. And the angels preserved his soul from the demons of darkness which were in the way, and praised God even until they conducted it into the dwelling-place of the pious.

24. Now his body was lying prostrate and bloodless; wherefore I reached forth my hand, and put right his eyes and shut his mouth, and said to the virgin Mary: O my mother, where is the skill which he showed in all the time that he lived in this world? Lo! it has perished, as if it had never existed. And when his children heard me speaking with my mother, the pure virgin, they knew that he had already breathed his last, and they shed tears, and lamented. But I said to them: Assuredly the death of your father is not death, but life everlasting: for he has been freed from the troubles of this life, and has passed to perpetual and everlasting rest. When they heard these words, they rent their clothes, and wept.

25. And, indeed, the inhabitants of Nazareth and of Galilee, having heard of their lamentation, flocked to them, and wept from the third hour even to

the ninth. And at the ninth hour they all went together to Joseph's bed. And they lifted his body, after they had anointed it with costly unguents. But I entreated my Father in the prayer of the celestials — that same prayer which with any own hand I made before I was carried in the womb of the virgin Mary, my mother. And as soon as I had finished it, and pronounced the amen, a great multitude of angels came up; and I ordered two of them to stretch out their shining garments, and to wrap in them the body of Joseph, the blessed old man.

26. And I spoke to Joseph, and said: The smell or corruption of death shall not have dominion over thee, nor shall a worm ever come forth from thy body. Not a single limb of it shall be broken, nor shall any hair on thy head be changed. Nothing of thy body shall perish, O my father Joseph, but it will remain entire and uncorrupted even until the banquet of the thousand years. And whosoever shall make an offering on the day of thy remembrance, him will I bless and recompense in the congregation of the virgins; and whosoever shall give food to the wretched, the poor, the widows, and orphans from the work of his hands, on the day on which thy memory shall be celebrated, and in thy name, shall not be in want of good things all the days of his life. And whosoever shall have given a cup of water, or of wine, to drink to the widow or orphan in thy name, I will give him to thee, that thou mayst go in with him to the banquet of the thousand years. And every man who shall present an offering on the day of thy commemoration will I bless and recompense in the church of the virgins: for one I will render unto him thirty, sixty, and a hundred. And whosoever shall write the history of thy life, of thy labor, and thy departure from this world, and this narrative that has issued from my mouth, him shall I commit to thy keeping as long as he shall have to do with this life. And when his soul departs from the body, and when he must leave this world, I will bum the book of his sins, nor will I torment him with any punishment in the day of judgment; but he shall cross the sea of flames, and shall go through it without trouble or pain. And upon every poor man who can give none of those things which I have mentioned this is incumbent: viz., if a son is born to him, he shall call his name Joseph. So there shall not take place in that house either poverty or any sudden death for ever.

27. Thereafter the chief men of the city came together to the place where the body of the blessed old man Joseph had been laid, bringing with them burial-clothes; and they wished to wrap it up in them after the manner in which the Jews are wont to arrange their dead bodies. And they perceived that he kept his shroud fast; for it adhered to the body in such a way, that when they wished to take it off, it was found to be like iron — impossible to be moved or loosened. Nor could they find any ends in that piece of linen, which struck them with the greatest astonishment. At length they carried him out to a place where there was a cave, and opened the gate, that they might bury his body beside the bodies of his fathers. Then there came into my mind the day on which he walked with me into Egypt, and that extreme trouble which he endured on my account. Accordingly, I bewailed his death for a long time; and lying upon his body, I said: —

28. O Death! who makest all knowledge to vanish away, and raisest so many tears and lamentations, surely it is God my Father Himself who hath granted thee this power. For men die for the transgression of Adam and his wife Eve, and Death spares not so much as one. Nevertheless, nothing happens to any one, or is brought upon him, without the command of my Father. There have certainly been men who have prolonged their life even to nine hundred years; but they died. Yea, though some of them have lived longer, they have, notwithstanding, succumbed to the same fate; nor has any one of them ever said: I have not tasted death. For the Lord never sends the same punishment more than once, since it hath pleased my Father to bring it upon men. And at the very moment when it, going forth, beholds the command descending to it from heaven, it says: I will go forth against that man, and will greatly move him. Then, without delay, it makes an onset on the soul, and obtains the mastery of it, doing with it whatever it will. For, because Adam did not the will of my Father, but transgressed His commandment, the wrath of my Father was kindled against him, and He doomed him to death; and thus it was that death came into the world. But if Adam had observed my Father’s precepts, death would never have fallen to his lot. Think you that I can ask my good Father to send me a chariot of fire, which may take up the body of my father Joseph, and convey it to the place of rest, in order that it may dwell with the spirits? But on account of the transgression of Adam, that trouble and violence of death has descended upon all the

human race. And it is for this cause that I must die according to the flesh, for my work which I have created, that they may obtain grace.

29. Having thus spoken, I embraced the body of my father Joseph, and wept over it; and they opened the door of the tomb, and placed his body in it, near the body of his father Jacob. And at the time when he fell asleep he had fulfilled a hundred and eleven years. Never did a tooth in his mouth hurt him, nor was his eyesight rendered less sharp, nor his body bent, nor his strength impaired; but he worked at his trade of a carpenter to the very last day of his life; and that was the six-and-twentieth of the month Abib.

30. And we apostles, when we heard these things from our Savior, rose up joyfully, and prostrated ourselves in honor of Him, and said: O our Savior, show us Thy grace. Now indeed we have heard the word of life: nevertheless we wonder, O our Savior, at the fate of Enoch and Elias, inasmuch as they had not to undergo death. For truly they dwell in the habitation of the righteous even to the present day, nor have their bodies seen corruption. Yet that old man Joseph the carpenter was, nevertheless, Thy father after the flesh. And Thou hast ordered us to go into all the world and preach the holy Gospel; and Thou hast said: Relate to them the death of my father Joseph, and celebrate to him with annual solemnity a festival and sacred day. And whosoever shall take anything away from this narrative, or add anything to it, commits sin. We wonder especially that Joseph, even from that day on which Thou wast born in Bethlehem, called Thee his son after the flesh. Wherefore, then, didst Thou not make him immortal as well as them, and Thou sayest that he was righteous and chosen?

31. And our Savior answered and said: Indeed, the prophecy of my Father upon Adam, for his disobedience, has now been fulfilled. And all things are arranged according to the will and pleasure of my Father. For if a man rejects the commandment of God, and follows the works of the devil by committing sin, his life is prolonged; for be is preserved in order that he may perhaps repent, and reflect that he must be delivered into the hands of death. But if any one has been zealous of good works, his life also is prolonged, that, as the fame of his old age increases, upright men may imitate him. But when you see a man whose mind is prone to anger, assuredly his days are shortened; for it is these that are taken away in the

flower of their age. Every prophecy, therefore, which my Father has pronounced concerning the sons of men, must be fulfilled in every particular. But with reference to Enoch and Elias, and how they remain alive to this day, keeping the same bodies with which they were born; and as to what concerns my father Joseph, who has not been allowed as well as they to remain in the body: indeed, though a man live in the world many myriads of years, nevertheless at some time or other he is compelled to exchange life for death. And I say to you, O my brethren, that they also, Enoch and Elias, must towards the end of time return into the world and die — in the day, namely, of commotion, of terror, of perplexity, and affliction. For Antichrist will slay four bodies, and will pour out their blood like water, because of the reproach to which they shall expose him, and the ignominy with which they, in their lifetime, shall brand him when they reveal his impiety.

32. And we said: O our Lord, our God and Savior, who are those four whom Thou hast said Antichrist will cut off from the reproach they bring upon him? The Lord answered: They are Enoch, Elias, Schila, and Tabitha. When we heard this from our Savior, we rejoiced and exulted; and we offered all glory and thanksgiving to the Lord God, and our Savior Jesus Christ. He it is to whom is due glory, honor, dignity, dominion, power, and praise, as well as to the good Father with Him, and to the Holy Spirit that giveth life, henceforth and in all time for evermore. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

FIRST GREEK FORM

THOMAS THE ISRAELITE PHILOSOPHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE INFANCY OF THE LORD

1. I THOMAS, an Israelite, write you this account, that all the brethren from among the heathen may know the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ in His infancy, which He did after His birth in our country. The beginning of it is as follows:

2. This child Jesus, when five years old, was playing in the ford of a mountain stream; and He collected the flowing waters into pools, and made them clear immediately, and by a word alone He made them obey Him. And having made some soft clay, He fashioned out of it twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when He did these things. And there were also many other children playing with Him. And a certain Jew, seeing what Jesus was doing, playing on the Sabbath, went off immediately, and said to his father Joseph: Behold, thy son is at the stream, and has taken clay, and made of it twelve birds, and has profaned the Sabbath. And Joseph, coming to the place and seeing, cried out to Him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath what it is not lawful to do? And Jesus clapped His hands, and cried out to the sparrows, and said to them: Off you go! And the sparrows flew, and went off crying. And the Jews seeing this were amazed, and went away and reported to their chief men what they had seen Jesus doing.

3. And the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph; and he took a willow branch, and let out the waters which Jesus bad collected. And Jesus, seeing what was done, was angry, and said to him: O wicked, impious, and foolish! what harm did the pools and the waters do to thee? Behold, even now thou shalt be dried up like a tree, and thou shalt not bring forth either leaves, or root, or fruit. And straightway that boy was quite dried up. And Jesus departed, and went to Joseph's house. But the

parents of the boy that had been dried up took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and reproached him because, said they, thou hast such a child doing such things.

4. After that He was again passing through the village; and a boy ran up against Him, and struck His shoulder. And Jesus was angry, and said to him: Thou shalt not go back the way thou camest. And immediately he fell down dead. And some who saw what had taken place, said: Whence was this child begotten, that every word of his is certainly accomplished? And the parents of the dead boy went away to Joseph, and blamed him, saying: Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village; or else teach him to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children.

5. And Joseph called the child apart, and admonished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things, and these people suffer, and hate us, and persecute us? And Jesus said: I know that these words of thine are not thine own; nevertheless for thy sake I will be silent; but they shall bear their punishment. And straightway those that accused Him were struck blind. And those who saw it were much afraid and in great perplexity, and said about Him: Every word which he spoke, whether good or bad, was an act, and became a wonder. And when they saw that Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph rose and took hold of His ear, and pulled it hard. And the child was very angry, and said to him: It is enough for thee to seek, and not to find; and most certainly thou hast not done wisely. Knowest thou not that I am thine? Do not trouble me.

6. And a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, was standing in a certain place, and heard Jesus thus speaking to his father; and he wondered exceedingly, that, being a child, he should speak in such a way. And a few days thereafter he came to Joseph, and said to him: Thou hast a sensible child, and he has some mind. Give him to me, then, that he may learn letters; and I shall teach him along with the letters all knowledge, both how to address all the elders, and to honor them as forefathers and fathers, and how to love those of his own age. And He said to him all the letters from the Alpha even to the Omega, clearly and with great exactness. And He looked upon the teacher Zacchaeus, and said to him: Thou who art ignorant of the nature of the Alpha, how canst thou teach others the Beta?

Thou hypocrite! first, if thou knowest. teach the A, and then we shall believe thee about the B. Then He began to question the teacher about the first letter, and he was not able to answer Him. And in the hearing of many, the child says to Zacchaeus: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and notice here how it has lines, and a middle stroke crossing those which thou seest common; (lines) brought together; the highest part supporting them, and again bringing them under one head; with three points of intersection; of the same kind; principal and subordinate; of equal length. Thou hast the lines of the A.

7. And when the teacher Zacchaeus heard the child speaking such and so great allegories of the first letter, he was at a great loss about such a narrative, and about His teaching. And He said to those that were present: Alas! I, wretch that I am, am at a loss, bringing shame upon myself by having dragged this child hither. Take him away, then, I beseech thee, brother Joseph. I cannot endure the sternness of his look; I cannot make out his meaning at all. That child does not belong to this earth; he can tame even fire. Assuredly he was born before the creation of the world. What sort of a belly bore him, what sort of a womb nourished him, I do not know. Alas! my friend, he has carried me away; I cannot get at his meaning: thrice wretched that I am, I have deceived myself. I made a struggle to have a scholar, and I was found to have a teacher. My mind is filled with shame, my friends, because I, an old man, have been conquered by a child. There is nothing for me but despondency and death on account of this boy, for I am not able at this hour to look him in the face; and when everybody says that I have been beaten by a little child, what can I say? And how can I give an account of the lines of the first letter that he spoke about? I know not, O my friends; for I can make neither beginning nor end of him. Therefore, I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him home. What great thing he is, either God or angel, or what I am to say, I know not.

8. And when the Jews were encouraging Zacchaeus, the child laughed aloud, and said: Now let thy learning bring forth fruit, and let the blind in heart see. I am here from above, that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, as He that sent me on your account has commanded me. And when the child ceased speaking, immediately all were made whole who had fallen under His curse. And no one after that dared to make Him angry, lest He should curse him, and he should be maimed.

9. And some days after, Jesus was playing in an upper room of a certain house, and one of the children that were playing with Him fell down from the house, and was killed. And, when the other children saw this, they ran away, and Jesus alone stood still. And the parents of the dead child coming, reproached... and they threatened Him. And Jesus leaped down from the roof, and stood beside the body of the child, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Zeno — for that was his name — stand up, and tell me; did I throw thee down? And he stood up immediately, and said: Certainly not, my Lord; thou didst not throw me down, but hast raised me up. And those that saw this were struck with astonishment. And the child's parents glorified God on account of the miracle that had happened, and adored Jesus.

10. A few days after, a young man was splitting wood in the corner, and the axe came down and cut the sole of his foot in two, and he died from loss of blood. And there was a great commotion, and people ran together, and the child Jesus ran there too. And He pressed through the crowd, and laid hold of the young man's wounded foot, and he was cured immediately. And He said to the young man: Rise up now, split the wood, and remember me. And the crowd seeing what had happened, adored the child, saying: Truly the Spirit of God dwells in this child.

11. And when He was six years old, His mother gave Him a pitcher, and sent Him to draw water, and bring it into the house. But He struck against some one in the crowd, and the pitcher was broken. And Jesus unfolded the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother. And His mother, seeing the miracle that had happened, kissed Him, and kept within herself the mysteries which she had seen Him doing.

12. And again in seed-time the child went out with His father to sow corn in their land. And while His father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one gain of corn. And when He had reaped it, and threshed it, He made a hundred kors; and calling all the poor of the village to the threshing-floor, He gave them the corn, and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. And He was eight years old when He did this miracle.

13. And His father was a carpenter, and at that time made ploughs and yokes. And a certain rich man ordered him to make him a couch. And one of what is called the cross pieces being too short, they did not know what

to do. The child Jesus said to His father Joseph: Put down the two pieces of wood, and make them even in the middle. And Joseph did as the child said to him. And Jesus stood at the other end, and took hold of the shorter piece of wood, and stretched it, and made it equal to the other. And His father Joseph saw it, and wondered, and embraced the child, and blessed Him, saying: Blessed am I, because God has given me this child.

14. And Joseph, seeing that the child was vigorous in mind and body, again resolved that He should not remain ignorant of the letters, and took Him away, and handed Him over to another teacher. And the teacher said to Joseph: I shall first teach him the Greek letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher was aware of the trial that had been made of the child, and was afraid of Him. Nevertheless he wrote out the alphabet, and gave Him all his attention for a long time, and He made him no answer. And Jesus said to him: If thou art really a teacher, and art well acquainted with the letters, tell me the power of the Alpha, and I will tell thee the power of the Beta. And the teacher was enraged at this, and struck Him on the head. And the child, being in pain, cursed him; and immediately he swooned away, and fell to the ground on his face. And the child returned to Joseph’s house; and Joseph was grieved, and gave orders to His mother, saying: Do not let him go outside of the door, because those that make him angry die.

15. And after some time, another master again, a genuine friend of Joseph, said to him: Bring the child to my school; perhaps I shall be able to flatter him into learning his letters. And Joseph said: If thou hast the courage, brother, take him with thee. And he took Him with him in fear and great agony; but the child went along pleasantly. And going boldly into the school, He found a book lying on the reading-desk; and taking it, He read not the letters that were in it, but opening His mouth, He spoke by the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to those that were standing round. And a great crowd having come together, stood by and heard Him, and wondered at the ripeness of His teaching, and the readiness of His words, and that He, child as He was, spoke in such a way. And Joseph hearing of it, was afraid, and ran to the school, in doubt test this master too should be without experience. And the master said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have taken the child as a scholar, and he is full of much grace and wisdom; but I beseech thee, brother, take him home. And when the child heard this,

He laughed at him directly, and said: Since thou hast spoken aright, and witnessed aright, for thy sake he also that was struck down shall be cured. And immediately the other master was cured. And Joseph took the child, and went away home.

16. And Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and bring it home, and the child Jesus also followed him. And when James was gathering the fagots, a viper bit James' hand. And when he was racked with pain, and at the point of death, Jesus came near and blew upon the bite; and the pain ceased directly, and the beast burst, and instantly James remained safe and sound.

17. And after this the infant of one of Joseph's neighbors fell sick and died, and its mother wept sore. And Jesus heard that there was great lamentation and commotion, and ran in haste, and found the child dead, and touched his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, be not dead, but live, and be with thy mother. And directly it looked up and laughed. And He said to the woman: Take it, and give it milk, and remember me. And seeing this, the crowd that was standing by wondered, and said: Truly this child was either God or an angel of God, for every word of his is a certain fact. And Jesus went out thence, playing with the other children.

18. And some time after there occurred a great commotion while a house was building, and Jesus stood up and went away to the place. And seeing a man lying dead, He took him by the hand, and said: Man, I say to thee, arise, and go on with thy work. And directly he rose up, and adored Him. And seeing this, the crowd wondered, and said: This child is from heaven, for he has saved many souls from death, and he continues to save during all his life.

19. And when He was twelve years old His parents went as usual to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their fellow-travelers. And after the passover they were coming home again. And while they were coming home, the child Jesus went back to Jerusalem. And His parents thought that He was in the company. And having gone one day's journey, they sought for Him among their relations; and not finding Him, they were in great grief, and turned back to the city seeking for Him. And after the third day they found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and asking them questions. And they were

all attending to Him, and wondering that He, being a child, was shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the people, explaining the main points of the law and the parables of the prophets. And His mother Mary coming up, said to Him: Why hast thou done this to us, child? Behold, we have been seeking for thee in great trouble. And Jesus said to them: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I must be about my Father's business? And the scribes and the Pharisees said: Art thou the mother of this child? And she said: I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, for God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such glory, and such virtue and wisdom, we have neither seen nor heard ever. And Jesus rose up, and followed His mother, and was subject to His parents. And His mother observed all these things that had happened. And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and stature, and grace.To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SECOND GREEK FORM

THE WRITING OF THE HOLY APOSTLE THOMAS CONCERNING THE CHILDHOOD OF THE LORD

1. I THOMAS the Israelite have deemed it necessary to make known to all the brethren of the heathen the great things which our Lord Jesus Christ did in His childhood, when He dwelt in the body in the city of Nazareth, going in the fifth year of His age.

2. On one of the days, there being a rainstorm, He went out of the house where His mother was, and played on the ground where the waters were flowing. And He made pools, and brought in the waters, and the pools were filled with water. Then He says: It is my will that you become clear and excellent waters. And they became so directly. And a certain boy, the son of Annas the scribe, came past, and with a willow branch which he was carrying threw down the pools, and the water flowed out. And Jesus turning, said to him: O impious and wicked, how have the pools wronged thee, that thou hast emptied them? Thou shall not go on thy way, and thou shalt be dried up like the branch which thou art carrying. And as he went along, in a short time he fell down and died. And when the children

that were playing with him saw this, they wondered, and went away and told the father of the dead boy. And he ran and found his child dead, and he went away and reproached Joseph.

3. And Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows, and it was the Sabbath. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child is playing about the stream, and of the clay he has made sparrows, which is not lawful. And when he heard this, he went, and said to the child: Why dost thou do this, profaning the Sabbath? But Jesus gave him no answer, but looked upon the sparrows, and said: Go away, fly, and live, and remember me. And at this word they flew, and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it, he wondered.

4. And some days after, when Jesus was going through the midst of the city, a boy threw a stone at Him, and struck Him on the shoulder. And Jesus said to him: Thou shalt not go on thy way. And directly failing down, he also died. And they that happened to be there were struck with astonishment, saying: Whence is this child, that every word he says is certainly accomplished? And they also went and reproached Joseph, saying: It is impossible for thee to live with us in this city: but if thou wishest to do so, teach thy child to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our children, and everything that he says is certainly accomplished.

5. And Joseph was sitting in his seat, and the child stood before him; and he took hold of Him by the ear, and pinched it hard. And Jesus looked at him steadily, and said: It is enough for thee.

6. And on the day after he took Him by the hand, and led Him to a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, and says to him: O master, take this child, and teach him his letters. And he says: Hand him over to me, brother, and I shall teach him the Scripture; and I shall persuade him to bless all, and not to curse. And Jesus hearing, laughed, and said to them: You say what you know; but I know more than you, for I am before the ages. And I know when your fathers' fathers were born; and I know how many are the years of your life. And hearing this, they were struck with astonishment. And again Jesus said to them: You wonder because I said to you that I knew how many are the years of your life. Assuredly I know when the world was created. Behold, you do not believe me now. When you see my

cross, then will ye believe that I speak the truth. And they were struck with astonishment when they heard these things.

7. And Zacchaeus, having written the alphabet in Hebrew, says to Him: Alpha. And the child says: Alpha. And again the teacher: Alpha; and the child likewise. Then again the teacher says the Alpha for the third time. Then Jesus, looking in the master's face, says: How canst thou, not knowing the Alpha, teach another the Beta? And the child, beginning from the Alpha, said by Himself the twenty-two letters. Then also He says again: Hear, O teacher, the order of the first letter, and know how many entrances and lines it has, and strokes common, crossing and coming together. And when Zacchaeus heard such an account of the one letter, he was so struck with astonishment, that he could make no answer. And he turned and said to Joseph: This child assuredly, brother, does not belong to the earth. Take him, then, away from me.

8. And after these things, on one of the days Jesus was playing with other children on the roof of a house. And one boy was pushed by another, and hurled down upon the ground, and he died. And seeing this, the boys that were playing with him ran away; and Jesus only was left standing upon the roof from which the boy had been hurled down. And when the news was brought to the parents of the dead boy, they ran weeping; and finding their boy lying dead upon the ground, and Jesus standing above, they supposed that their boy had been thrown down by Him; and fixing their eyes upon Him, they reviled Him. And seeing this, Jesus directly came down from the roof, and stood at the head of the dead body, and says to him: Zeno, did I throw thee down? Stand up, and tell us. For this was the name of the boy. And at the word the boy stood up and adored Jesus, and said: My Lord, thou didst not throw me down, but thou hast brought me to life when I was dead.

9. And a few days after, one of the neighbors, when splitting wood, cut away the lower part of his foot with the axe, and was on the point of death from loss of blood. And a great number of people ran together, and Jesus came with them to the place. And He took hold of the young man's wounded foot, and cured him directly, and says to him: Rise up, split thy wood. And he rose up and adored Him, giving thanks, and splitting the wood. Likewise also all that were there wondered, and gave thanks to Him.

10. And when He was six years old, Mary His mother sent Him to bring water from the fountain. And as He went along, the pitcher was broken. And going to the fountain He unfolded His overcoat, and drew water from the fountain, and filled it, and took the water to His mother. And seeing this, she was struck with astonishment, and embraced Him, and kissed Him.

11. And when Jesus had come to the eighth year of His age, Joseph was ordered by a certain rich man to make him a couch. For he was a carpenter. And he went out into the field to get wood; and Jesus went with him. And having cut two pieces of wood, and smoothed them with the axe, he put the one beside the other; and in measuring he found it too short. And when he saw this he was grieved, and sought to find another piece. And seeing this, Jesus says to him: Put these two pieces together, so as to make both ends even. And Joseph, in doubt as to what the child should mean, did as he was told. And He says to him again: Take a firm hold of the short piece. And Joseph, in astonishment, took hold of it. Then Jesus also, taking hold of the other end, drew it towards Himself, and make it equal to the other piece of wood. And He says to Joseph: Grieve no more, but do thy work without hindrance. And seeing this, he wondered greatly, and says to himself: Blessed am I, because God has given me such a boy. And when they came back to the city, Joseph gave an account of the matter to Mary. And when she heard and saw the strange miracles of her son, she rejoiced and glorified Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and for evermore. Amen.

LATIN FORM

HERE BEGINNETH THE TREATISE OF THE BOYHOOD OF JESUS ACCORDING TO THOMAS

CHAPTER 1

HOW MARY AND JOSEPH FLED WITH HIM INTO EGYPT

WHEN a commotion took place in consequence of the search made by Herod for our Lord Jesus Christ to kill Him, then an angel said to Joseph: Take Mary and her boy, and flee into Egypt from the face of those who seek to kill Him. And Jesus was two years old when He went into Egypt.

And as He was walking through a field of corn, He stretched forth His hand, and took of the ears, and put them over the fire, and rubbed them, and began to eat.

And when they had come into Egypt, they received hospitality in the house of a certain widow, and they remained in the same place one year.

And Jesus was in His third year. And seeing boys playing, He began to play with them. And He took a dried fish, and put it into a basin, and ordered it to move about. And it began to move about. And He said again to the fish: Throw out thy salt which thou hast, and walk into the water. And it so came to pass. And the neighbors, seeing what had been done, told it to the widow woman in whose house Mary His mother lived. And as soon as she heard it, she thrust them out of her house with great haste.

CHAPTER 2

HOW A SCHOOLMASTER THRUST HIM OUT OF THE CITY

And as Jesus was walking with Mary His mother through the middle of the city market-place, He looked and saw a schoolmaster teaching his

scholars. And behold twelve sparrows that were quarreling fell over the wall into the bosom of that schoolmaster, who was teaching the boys. And seeing this, Jesus was very much amused, and stood still. And when that teacher, saw Him making merry, he said to his scholars with great fury: Go and bring him to me. And when they had carried Him to the master, he seized Him by the ear, and said: What didst thou see, to amuse thee so much? And He said to him: Master, see my hand full of wheat. I showed it to them, and scattered the wheat among them, and they carry it out of the middle of the street where they are in danger; and on this account they fought among themselves to divide the wheat. And Jesus did not pass from the place until it was accomplished. And this being done, the master began to thrust Him out of the city, along with His mother.

CHAPTER 3

HOW JESUS WENT OUT OF EGYPT

And, lo, the angel of the Lord met Mary, and said to her: Take up the boy, and return into the land of the Jews, for they who sought His life are dead. And Mary rose up with Jesus; and they proceeded into the city of Nazareth, which is among the possessions of her father. And when Joseph went out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he kept Him in the desert until there should be quietness in Jerusalem on the part of those who were seeking the boy’s life. And he gave thanks to God because He had given him understanding, and because he had found favor in the presence of the Lord God. Amen.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT THE LORD JESUS DID IN THE CITY OF NAZARETH

It is glorious that Thomas the Israelite and apostle of the Lord gives an account also of the works of Jesus after He came out of Egypt into Nazareth. Understand all of you, my dearest brethren, what the Lord

Jesus did when He was in the city of Nazareth; the first chapter of which is as follows: —

And when Jesus was five years old, there fell a great rain upon the earth, and the boy Jesus walked up and down through it. And there was a terrible rain, and He collected it into a fish-pond, and ordered it by His word to become clear. And immediately it became so. Again He took of the clay which was of that fish-pond, and made of it to the number of twelve sparrows. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus did this among the boys of the Jews. And the boys of the Jews went away, and said to Joseph His father: Behold, thy son was playing along with us, and he took clay and made sparrows, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath; and he has broken it. And Joseph went away to the boy Jesus, and said to Him: Why hast thou done this, which it was not lawful to do on the Sabbath? And Jesus opened His hands, and ordered the sparrows, saying: Go up into the air, and fly; nobody shall kill you. And they flew, and began to cry out, and praise God Almighty. And the Jews seeing what had happened, wondered, and went away and told the miracles which Jesus had done. But a Pharisee who was with Jesus took an olive branch, and began to let the water out of the fountain which Jesus had made. And when Jesus saw this, He said to him in a rage: Thou impious and ignorant Sodomite, what harm have my works the fountains of water done thee? Behold, thou shalt become like a dry tree, having neither roots, nor leaves, nor fruit. And immediately he dried up, and fell to the ground, and died. And his parents took him away dead, and reproached Joseph, saying: See what thy son has done; teach him to pray, and not to blaspheme.

CHAPTER 5

HOW THE CITIZENS WERE ENRAGED AGAINST JOSEPH ON ACCOUNT OF THE DOINGS OF JESUS

And a few days after, as Jesus was walking through the town with Joseph, one of the children ran up and struck Jesus on the arm. And Jesus said to him: So shalt thou not finish thy journey. And immediately he fell to the ground, and died. And those who saw these wonderful things cried out, saying: Whence is that boy? And they said to Joseph: It is not right for

such a boy to be among us. And Joseph went and brought Him. And they said to him: Go away from this place; but if thou must live with us, teach him to; pray, and not to blaspheme: hut our children have been killed. Joseph called Jesus, and reproved Him, saying: Why dost thou blaspheme? For these people who live here hate us And Jesus said: I know that these words are not mine, but thine; but I will hold my tongue for thy sake: and let them see to it in their wisdom. And immediately those who were speaking against Jesus became blind. And they walked up and down, and said: All the words which proceed from his mouth are accomplished. And Joseph seeing what Jesus bad done, in a fury seized Him by the ear; and Jesus said to Joseph in anger: It is enough for thee to see me, not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am; but if thou didst know, thou wouldst not make me angry. And although just now I am with thee, I was made before thee.

CHAPTER 6

HOW JESUS WAS TREATED BY THE SCHOOLMASTER

Therefore a certain man named Zacheus listened to all that Jesus was saying to Joseph, and in great astonishment said to himself: Such a boy speaking in this way I have never seen. And he went up to Joseph, and said: That is an intelligent boy of thine; hand him over to me to learn his letters; and when he has thoroughly learned his letters, I shall teach him honorably, so that he may be no fool. But Joseph answered and said to him: No one can teach him but God alone. You do not believe that that little boy will be of little consequence? And when Jesus heard Joseph speaking in this way, He said to Zacheus: Indeed, master, whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And before all I was Lord, but you are foreigners. To me has been given the glory of the ages, to you has been given nothing; because I am before the ages. And I know how many years of life thou wilt have, and that thou wilt be carried into exile: and my Father hath appointed this, that thou mayest understand that whatever proceeds from my mouth is true. And the Jews who were standing by, and hearing the words which Jesus spoke, were astonished, and said: We have seen such wonderful things, and heard such words from that boy, as we

have never heard, nor are likely to hear from any other human being, — either from the high priests, or the masters, or the Pharisees. Jesus answered and said to them: Why do you wonder? Do you consider it incredible that I have spoken the truth? I know when both you and your fathers were born, and to tell you more, when the world was made: I know also who sent me to you. And when the Jews heard the words which the child had spoken, they wondered, because that they were not able to answer. And, communing with Himself, the child exulted and said: I have told you a proverb; and I know that you are weak and ignorant.

And that schoolmaster said to Joseph: Bring him to me, and I shall teach him letters. And Joseph took hold of the boy Jesus, and led Him to the house of a certain schoolmaster, where other boys were being taught. Now the master in soothing words began to teach Him His letters, and wrote for Him the first line, which is from A to T, and began to stroke Him and teach Him. And that teacher struck the child on the head: and when He had received the blow, the child said to him: I should teach thee, and not thou me; I know the letters which thou wishest to teach me, and I know that you are to me like vessels from which there come forth only sounds, and no wisdom. And, beginning the line, He said the letters from A to T in full, and very fist. And He looked at the master, and said to him: Thou indeed canst not tell us what A and B are; how dost thou wish to teach others? O hypocrite, if thou knowest and will tell me about the A, then will I tell thee about the B. And when that teacher began to tell about the first letter, he was unable to give any answer. And Jesus said to Zacheus: Listen to me, master; understand the first letter. See how it has two lines; advancing in the middle, standing still, giving, scattering, varying, threatening; triple intermingled with double; at the same time homogeneous, having all common.

And Zacheus, seeing that He so divided the first letter, was stupefied about the first letter, and about such a human being and such learning; and he cried out, and said: Woe’s me, for I am quite stupefied; I have brought disgrace upon myself through, that child. And he said to Joseph: I earnestly entreat thee, brother, take him away from me, because I cannot look upon his face, nor hear his mighty words. Because that child can tame fire and bridle the sea: for he was born before the ages. What womb brought him forth, or what mother nursed him, I know not. Oh, my

friends, I am driven out of my senses; I have become a wretched laughing-stock. And I said that I had got a scholar; but he has been found to be my master. And my disgrace I cannot get over, because I am an old man; and what to say to him I cannot find. All I have to do is to fall into some grievous illness, and depart from this world; or to leave this town, because all have seen my disgrace. An infant has deceived me. What answer can I give to others, or what words can I say, because he has got the better of me in the first letter? I am struck dumb, O my friends and acquaintances; neither beginning nor end can I find of an answer to him. And now I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him away from me, and lead him home, because he is a master, or the Lord, or an angel. What to say I do not know. And Jesus turned to the Jews who were with Zacheus, and said to them: Let all not seeing see, and not understanding understand; let the deaf hear, and let those who are dead through me rise again; and those who are exalted, let me call to still higher things, as He who sent me to you hath commanded me. And when Jesus ceased speaking, all who had been affected with any infirmity through His words were made whole. And they did not dare to speak to Him.

CHAPTER 7

HOW JESUS RAISED A BOY TO LIFE

One day, when Jesus was climbing on a certain house, along with the children, He began to play with them. And one of the boys fell down through a back-door, and died immediately: And when the children saw this, they all ran away; but Jesus remained in the house. And when the parents of the boy who had died had come, they spoke against Jesus: Surely it was thou who made him fall down; and they reviled Him. And Jesus, coming down from the house. stood over the dead child, and with a loud voice called out the name of the child: Sinoo, Sinoo, rise and say whether it was I that made thee fall down. And suddenly he rose up, and said: No, my Lord. And his parents, seeing such a great miracle done by Jesus, glorified God, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 8

HOW JESUS HEALED A BOY'S FOOT

And a few days thereafter, a boy in that town was splitting wood, and struck his foot. And a great crowd went to him, and Jesus too went with them. And He touched the foot which had been hurt, and immediately it was made whole. And Jesus said to him: Rise, and split the wood, and remember me. And when the crowd saw the miracles that were done by Him, they adored Jesus, and said: Indeed we most surely believe that Thou art God.

CHAPTER 9

HOW JESUS CARRIED WATER IN A CLOAK

And when Jesus was six years old, His mother sent Him to draw water. And when Jesus had come to the fountain, or to the well, there were great crowds there, and they broke His pitcher. And He took the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother Mary. And His mother, seeing the miracles which Jesus had done, kissed Him, and said: O Lord, hear me, and save my son.

CHAPTER 10

HOW JESUS SOWED WHEAT

In the time of sowing, Joseph went out to sow wheat, and Jesus followed him. And when Joseph began to sow, Jesus stretched out His hand, and took as much wheat as He could hold in His fist, and scattered it. Joseph therefore came at reaping-time to reap his harvest. Jesus came also, and collected the ears which He had scattered, and they made a hundred pecks of the best grain; and he called the poor, and the widows, and the orphans, and distributed to them the wheat which He had made. Joseph also took a little of the same wheat, for the blessing of Jesus to his house.

CHAPTER 11

HOW JESUS MADE A SHORT PIECE OF WOOD OF THE SAME LENGTH AS A LONGER ONE

And Jesus reached the age of eight years, Joseph was a master builder, and used to make ploughs and ox-yokes. And one day a rich man said to Joseph: Master, make me a couch, both useful and beautiful. And Joseph was in distress, because the wood which he had brought for the work was too short. And Jesus said to him: Do not be annoyed. Take hold of this piece of wood by one end, and I by the other;I and let us draw it out. And they did so; and immediately he found it useful for that which he wished. And He said to Joseph: Behold, do the work which thou wishest. And Joseph, seeing what He had done, embraced Him, and said: Blessed am I, because God hath given me such a son.

CHAPTER 12

HOW JESUS WAS HANDED OVER TO LEARN HIS LETTERS

And Joseph, seeing that He had such favor, and that He was increasing in stature, thought it right to take Him to learn His letters. And he handed Him over to another teacher to be taught. And that teacher said to Joseph: What letters dost thou wish me to teach that boy? Joseph answered and said: First teach him the Gentile letters, and then the Hebrew. For the teacher knew that He was very intelligent, and willingly took Him in hand. And writing for Him the first line, which is A and B, he taught Him for some hours. But Jesus was silent, and made him no answer. Jesus said to the master: If thou art indeed a master, and if thou indeed knowest the letters, tell me the power of the A, and I shall tell thee the power of the B. Then His master was filled with fury, and struck Him on the head. And Jesus was angry, and cursed him; and he suddenly fell down, and died.

And Jesus returned home. And Joseph gave orders to Mary His mother, not to let Him go out of the court of his house.

CHAPTER 13

HOW HE WAS HANDED OVER TO ANOTHER MASTER

Many days after came another teacher, a friend of Joseph, and said to him: Hand him over to me, and I with much sweetness will teach him his letters. And Joseph said to him: If thou art able, take him and teach him. May it be attended with joy. When the teacher had taken Him, he went along in fear and in great firmness, and held Him with exultation. And when He had come to the teacher's house, He found a book lying there, and took it and opened it, and did not read what was written in the book; but opened His mouth, and spoke from the Holy Spirit, and taught the law. And, indeed, all who were standing there listened to Him attentively; and the master sat down beside Him, and listened to Him with pleasure, and entreated Him to teach them more. And a great crowd being gathered together, they heard all the holy teaching which He taught, and the choice words which I came forth from the mouth of Him who, child as He was, spake such things. And Joseph, hearing of this, was afraid, and running ... the master, where Jesus was, said to Joseph: Know, brother, that I have received thy child to teach him or train him; but he is filled with much gravity and wisdom. Lo, now, take him home with joy, my brother; because the gravity which he has, has been given him by the Lord. And Jesus, hearing the master thus speaking, became cheerful, and said: Lo, now, master, thou hast truly said. For thy sake, he who is dead shall rise again. And Joseph took Him home.

CHAPTER 14

HOW JESUS DELIVERED JAMES FROM THE BITE OF A SERPENT

And Joseph sent James to gather straw, and Jesus followed him. And while James was gathering the straw, a viper bit him; and he fell to the ground, as if dead from the poison. And Jesus seeing this, blew upon his wound; and immediately James was made whole, and the viper died.

CHAPTER 15

HOW JESUS RAISED A BOY TO LIFE

A few days after, a child, His neighbor, died, and his mother mourned for him sore. Jesus, hearing this, went and stood over the boy, and knocked upon his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, do not die, but live. And immediately the child rose up. And Jesus said to the boy's mother: Take thy son, and give him the breast, and remember me. And the crowd, seeing this miracle, said: In truth, this child is from heaven; for already has he freed many souls from death, and he has made whole all that hope in him.

The scribes and Pharisees said to Mary: Art thou the mother of this child? And Mary said: Indeed I am. And they said to her: Blessed art thou among women, since God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb, seeing that He hath given thee such a glorious child, and such a gift of wisdom, as we have never seen nor heard of. Jesus rose up and followed His mother. And Mary kept in her heart all the great miracles that Jesus had done among the people, in healing many that were diseased. And Jesus grew in stature and wisdom; and all who saw Him glorified God the Father Almighty, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

And all these things I Thomas the Israelite have written what I have seen, and have recounted them to the Gentiles and to our brethren, and many other things done by Jesus, who was born in the land of Judah. Behold, the house of lsrael has seen all, from the first even to the last; how great signs and wonders Jesus did among them, which were exceedingly good, and invisible to their father, as holy Scripture relates, and the prophets have born witness to His works in all the peoples of Israel. And He it is who is to judge the world according to the will of immortality, since He is the Son of God throughout all the world. To Him is due all glory and honor for ever, who lives and reigns God through all ages of ages. Amen.

THE ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY OF THE SAVIOR

IN the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God.

With the help and favor of the Most High we begin to write a book of the miracles of our Lord and Master and Savior Jesus Christ, which is called the Gospel of the Infancy: in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

1. We find what follows in the book of Joseph the high priest, who lived in the time of Christ. Some say that he is Caiaphas. He has said that Jesus spoke, and, indeed, when He was lying in His cradle said to Mary His mother: I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth, as the Angel Gabriel announced to thee; and my Father has sent me for the salvation of the world.

2. In the three hundred and ninth year of the era of Alexander, Augustus put forth an edict, that every man should be enrolled in his native place. Joseph therefore arose, and taking Mary his spouse, went away to Jerusalem, and came to Bethlehem, to be enrolled along with his family in his native city. And having come to a cave, Mary told Joseph that the time of the birth was at hand, and that she could not go into the city; but, said she, let us go into this cave. This took place at sunset. And Joseph went out in haste to go for a woman to be near her. When, therefore, he was busy about that, he saw an Hebrew old woman belonging to Jerusalem, and said: Come hither, my good woman, and go into this cave, in which there is a woman near her time.

3. Wherefore, after sunset, the old woman, and Joseph with her, came to the cave, and they both went in. And, behold, it was filled with lights more beautiful than the gleaming of lamps and candles, and more splendid than the light of the sun. The child, enwrapped in swaddling clothes, was sucking the breast of the Lady Mary His mother, being placed in a stall. And when both were wondering at this light, the old woman asks the Lady Mary: Art thou the mother of this Child? And when the Lady Mary gave her assent, she says: Thou art not at all like the daughters of Eve. The Lady Mary said: As my son has no equal among children, so his mother

has no equal among women. The old woman replied: My mistress, I came to get payment; I have been for a long time affected with palsy. Our mistress the Lady Mary said to her: Place thy hands upon the child. And the old woman did so, and was immediately cured. Then she went forth, saying: Henceforth I will be the attendant and servant of this child all the days of my life.

4. Then came shepherds; and when they had lighted a fire, and were rejoicing greatly, there appeared to them the hosts of heaven praising and celebrating God Most High. And while the shepherds were doing the same, the cave was at that time made like a temple of the upper world, since both heavenly and earthly voices glorified and magnified God on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. And when that old Hebrew woman saw the manifestation of those miracles, she thanked God, saying: I give Thee thanks, O God, the God of Israel, because mine eyes have seen the birth of the Savior of the world.

5. And the time of circumcision, that is, the eighth day, being at hand, the child was to be circumcised according to the law. Wherefore they circumcised Him in the cave. And the old Hebrew woman took the piece of skin; but some say that she took the navel-string, and laid it past in a jar of old oil of nard. And she had a son, a dealer in unguents, and she gave it to him, saying: See that thou do not sell this jar of unguent of nard, even although three hundred denarii should be offered thee for it. And this is that jar which Mary the sinner bought and poured upon the head and feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, which thereafter she wiped with the hair of her head. Ten days after, they took Him to Jerusalem; and on the fortieth day after His birth they carried Him into the temple, and set Him before the Lord, and offered sacrifices for Him, according to the command-meet of the law of Moses, which is: Every male that openeth the womb shall be called the holy of God.

6. Then old Simeon saw Him shining like a pillar of light, when the Lady Mary, His virgin mother, rejoicing over Him, was carrying Him in her arms. And angels, praising Him, stood round Him in a circle, like life guards standing by a king. Simeon therefore went up in haste to the Lady Mary, and, with hands stretched out before her, said to the Lord Christ: Now, O my Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word;

for mine eyes have seen Thy compassion, which Thou hast prepared for the salvation of all peoples, a light to all nations, and glory to Thy people Israel. Hanna also, a prophetess, was present, and came up, giving thanks to God, and calling the Lady Mary blessed.

7. And it came to pass, when the Lord Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judaea, in the time of King Herod, behold, magi came from the east to Jerusalem, as Zeraduscht had predicted; and there were with them gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And they adored Him, and presented to Him their gifts. Then the Lady Mary took one of the swaddling-bands, and, on account of the smallness of her means, gave it to them; and they received it from her with the greatest marks of honor. And in the same hour there appeared to them an angel in the form of that star which had before guided them on their journey; and they went away, following the guidance of its light, until they arrived in their own country.

8. And their kings and chief men came together to them, asking what they had seen or done, how they had gone and come back, what they had brought with them. And they showed them that swathing-cloth which the Lady Mary had given them. Wherefore they celebrated a feast, and, according to their custom, lighted a fire and worshipped it, and threw that swathing-cloth into it; and the fire laid hold of it, and enveloped it. And when the fire had gone out, they took out the swathing-cloth exactly as it had been before, just as if the fire had not touched it. Wherefore they began to kiss it, and to put it on their heads and their eyes, saying: This verily is the truth without doubt. Assuredly it is a great thing that the fire was not able to burn or destroy it. Then they took it, and with the greatest honor laid it up among their treasures.

9. And when Herod saw that the magi had left him, and not come back to him, he summoned the priests and the wise men, and said to them: Show me where Christ is to be born. And when they answered, In Bethlehem of Judaea, he began to think of putting the Lord Jesus Christ to death. Then appeared an angel of the Lord to Joseph in his sleep, and said: Rise, take the boy and His mother, and go away into Egypt. He rose, therefore, towards cockcrow, and set out.

10. While he is reflecting how be is to set about his journey, morning came upon him after he had gone a very little way. And now he was

approaching a great city, in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of the Egyptians offered gifts and vows. And there stood before this idol a priest ministering to him, who, as often as Satan spoke from that idol, reported it to the inhabitants of Egypt and its territories. This priest had a son, three years old, beset by several demons; and he made many speeches and utterances; and when the demons seized him, he tore his clothes, and remained naked, and threw stones at the people. And there was a hospital in that city dedicated to that idol. And when Joseph and the Lady Mary had come to the city, and had turned aside into that hospital, the citizens were very much afraid; and all the chief men and the priests of the idols came together to that idol, and said to it: What agitation and commotion is this that has arisen in our land? The idol answered them: A God has come here in secret, who is God indeed; nor is any God besides Him worthy of divine worship, because He is truly the Son of God. And when this land became aware of His presence, it trembled at His arrival, and was moved and shaken; and we are exceedingly afraid from the greatness of His power. And in the same hour that idol fell down, and at its fall all, inhabitants of Egypt and others, ran together.

11. And the son of the priest, his usual disease having come upon him, entered the hospital, and there came upon Joseph and the Lady Mary, from whom all others had fled. The Lady Mary had washed the cloths of the Lord Christ, and had spread them over some wood. That demoniac boy, therefore, came and took one of the cloths, and put it on his head. Then the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth. The boy, being immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ, began to praise God, and then to give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. And when his father saw him restored to health, My son, said he, what has happened to thee? and by what means hast thou been healed? The son answered: When the demons had thrown me on the ground, I went into the hospital, and there I found an august woman with a boy, whose newly-washed cloths she had thrown upon some wood: one of these I took up and put upon my head, and the demons left me and fled. At this the father rejoiced greatly, and said: My son, it is possible that this boy is the Son of the living God who created the heavens and the earth: for when he came over to us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell, and perished by the power of his magnificence.

12. Here was fulfilled the prophecy which says, Out of Egypt have I called my son. Joseph indeed, and Mary, when they heard that that idol had fallen down and perished, trembled, and were afraid. Then they said: When we were in the land of Israel, Herod thought to put Jesus to death, and on that account slew all the children of Bethlehem and its confines; and there is no doubt that the Egyptians, as soon as they have heard that this idol has been broken, will burn us with fire.

13. Going out thence, they came to a place where there were robbers who had plundered several men of their baggage and clothes, and had bound them. Then the robbers heard a great noise, like the noise of a magnificent king going out of his city with his army, and his chariots and his drums; and at this the robbers were terrified, and left all their plunder. And their captives rose up, loosed each other's bonds, recovered their baggage, and went away. And when they saw Joseph and Mary coming up to the place, they said to them: Where is that king, at the hearing of the magnificent sound of whose approach the robbers have left us, so that we have escaped safe? Joseph answered them: He will come behind us.

14. Thereafter they came into another city, where there was a demoniac woman whom Satan, accursed and rebellious, had beset, when on one occasion she had gone out by night for water. She could neither bear clothes, nor live in a house; and as often as they tied her up with chains and thongs, she broke them, and fled naked into waste places; and, standing in cross-roads and cemeteries, she kept throwing stones at people, and brought very heavy calamities upon her friends. And when the Lady Mary saw her, she pitied her; and upon this Satan immediately left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying: Woe to me from thee, Mary, and from thy son. So that woman was cured of her torment, and being restored to her senses, she blushed on account of her nakedness; and shunning the sight of men, went home to her friends. And after she put on her clothes, she gave an account of the matter to her father and her friends; and as they were the chief men of the city, they received the Lady Mary and Joseph with the greatest honor and hospitality.

15. On the day after, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away, and on the evening of that day arrived at another town, in which they were celebrating a marriage; but, by the arts of

accursed Satan and the work of enchanters, the bride had become dumb, and could not speak a word. And after the Lady Mary entered the town, carrying her son the Lord Christ, that dumb bride saw her, and stretched out her hands towards the Lord Christ, and drew Him to her, and took Him into her arms, and held Him close and kissed Him, and leaned over Him, moving His body back and forwards. Immediately the knot of her tongue was loosened, and her ears were opened; and she gave thanks and praise to God, because He had restored her to health. And that night the inhabitants of that town exulted with joy, and thought that God and His angels had come down to them.

16. There they remained three days, being held in great honor, and living splendidly. Thereafter, being supplied by them with provision for their journey, they went away and came to another city, in which, because it was very populous, they thought of passing the night. And there was in that city an excellent woman: and once, when she had gone to the river to bathe, lo, accursed Satan, in the form of a serpent, had leapt upon her, and twisted himself round her belly; and as often as night came on, he tyrannically tormented her. This woman, seeing the mistress the Lady Mary, and the child, the Lord Christ, in her bosom, was struck with a longing for Him, and said to the mistress the Lady Mary: O mistress, give me this child, that I may carry him, and kiss him. She therefore gave Him to the woman; and when He was brought to her, Satan let her go, and fled and left her, nor did the woman ever see him after that day. Wherefore all who were present praised God Most High, and that woman bestowed on them liberal gifts

17. On the day after, the same woman took scented water to wash the Lord Jesus; and after she had washed Him, she took the water with which she had done it, and poured part of it upon a girl who was living there, whose body was white with leprosy, and washed her with it. And as soon as this was done, the girl was cleansed from her leprosy. And the townspeople said: There is no doubt that Joseph and Mary and that boy are gods, not men. And when they were getting ready to go away from them, the girl who had labored under the leprosy came up to them, and asked them to let her go with them.

18. When they had given her permission, she went with them. And afterwards they came to a city, in which was the castle of a most illustrious prince, who kept a house for the entertainment of strangers. They turned into this place; and the girl went away to the prince's wife; and she found her weeping and sorrowful, and she asked why she was weeping. Do not be surprised, said she, at my tears; for I am overwhelmed by a great affliction, which as yet I have not endured to tell to any one. Perhaps, said the girl, if you reveal it and disclose it to me, I may have a remedy for it. Hide this secret, then, replied the princess, and tell it to no one. I was married to this prince, who is a king and ruler over many cities, and I lived long with him, but by me he had no son. And when at length I produced him a son, he was leprous; and as soon as he saw him, he turned away with loathing, and said to me: Either kill him, or give him to the nurse to be brought up in some place from which we shall never hear of him more. After this I can have nothing to do with thee, and I will never see thee more. On this account I know not what to do, and I am overwhelmed with grief. Alas! my son. Alas! my husband. Did I not say so? said the girl. I have found a cure for thy disease, and I shall tell it thee. For I too was a leper; but I was cleansed by God, who is Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary. And the woman asking her where this God was whom she had spoken of, Here, with thee, said the girl; He is living in the same house. But how is this possible? said she. Where is he? There, said the girl, are Joseph and Mary; and the child who is with them is called Jesus; and He it is who cured me of my disease and my torment. But by what means, said she, wast thou cured of thy leprosy? Wilt thou not tell me that? Why not? said the girl. I got from His mother the water in which He had been washed, and poured it over myself; and so I was cleansed from my leprosy. Then the princess rose up, and invited them to avail themselves of her hospitality. And she prepared a splendid banquet for Joseph in a great assembly of the men of the place. And on the following day she took scented water with which to wash the Lord Jesus, and thereafter poured the same water over her son, whom she had taken with her; and immediately her son was cleansed from his leprosy. Therefore, singing thanks and praises to God, she said: Blessed is the mother who bore thee, O Jesus; dost thou so cleanse those who share the same nature with thee with the water in which thy body has been washed? Besides, she

bestowed great gifts upon the mistress the Lady Mary, and sent her away with great honor.

19. Coming thereafter to another city, they wished to spend the night in it. They turned aside, therefore, to the house of a man newly married, but who, under the influence of witchcraft, was not able to enjoy his wife; and when they had spent that night with him, his bond was loosed. And at daybreak, when they were girding themselves for their journey, the bridegroom would not let them go, and prepared for them a great banquet.

20. They set out, therefore, on the following day; and as they came near another city, they saw three women weeping as they came out of a cemetery. And when the Lady Mary beheld them, she said to the girl who accompanied her: Ask them what is the matter with them, or what calamity has befallen them. And to the girl's questions they made no reply, but asked in their turn: Whence are you, and whither are you going? for the day is already past, and night is coming on apace. We are travelers, said the girl, and are seeking a house of entertainment in which we may pass the night. They said: Go with us, and spend the night with us. They followed them, therefore, and were brought into a new house with splendid decorations and furniture. Now it was winter; and the girl, going into the chamber of these women, found them again weeping and lamenting. There stood beside them a mule, covered with housings of cloth of gold, and sesame was put before him; and the women were kissing him, and giving him food. And the gift said: What is all the ado, my ladies, about this mule? They answered her with tears, and said: This mule, which thou seest, was our brother, born of the same mother with ourselves. And when our father died, and left us great wealth, and this only brother, we did our best to get him married, and were preparing his nuptials for him, after the manner of men. But some women, moved by mutual jealousy, bewitched him unknown to us; and one night, a little before daybreak, when the door of our house was shut, we saw that this our brother had been turned into a mule, as thou now beholdest him. And we are sorrowful, as thou seest, having no father to comfort us: there is no wise man, or magician, or enchanter in the world that we have omitted to send for; but nothing has done us any good. And as often as our hearts are overwhelmed with grief, we rise and go away with our mother here, and weep at our father's grave, and come back again.

21. And when the girl heard these things, Be of good courage, said she, and weep not: for the cure of your calamity is near; yea, it is beside you, and in the middle of your own house. For I also was a leper; but when I saw that woman, and along with her that young child, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which His mother had washed Him, and I was cured. And I know that He can cure your affliction also. But rise, go to Mary my mistress; bring her into your house, and tell her your secret; and entreat and supplicate her to have pity upon you. After the woman had heard the girl's words, they went in haste to the Lady Mary, and brought her into their chamber, and sat down before her weeping, and saying: O our mistress, Lady Mary, have pity on thy hand-maidens; for no one older than ourselves, and no head of the family, is left — neither father nor brother — to live with us; but this mule which thou seest was our brother, and women have made him such as thou seest by witchcraft. We beseech thee, therefore, to have pity upon us. Then, grieving at their lot, the Lady Mary took up the Lord Jesus, and put Him on the mule's back; and she wept as well as the women, and said to Jesus Christ: Alas! my son, heal this mule by Thy mighty power, and make him a man endowed with reason as he was before. And when these words were uttered by the Lady Mary, his form was changed, and the mule became a young man, free from every defect. Then he and his mother and his sisters adored the Lady Mary, and lifted the boy above their heads, and began to kiss Him, saying: Blessed is she that bore Thee, O Jesus, O Savior of the world; blessed are the eyes which enjoy the felicity of seeing Thee.

22. Moreover, both the sisters said to their mother: Our brother indeed, by the aid of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the salutary intervention of this girl, who pointed out to us Mary and her son, has been raised to human form. Now, indeed, since our brother is unmarried, it would do very well for us to give him as his wife this girl, their servant. And having asked the Lady Mary, and obtained her consent, they made a splendid wedding for the girl; and their sorrow being changed into joy, and the beating of their breasts into dancing, they began to be glad, to rejoice, to exult, and sing — adorned, on account of their great joy, in most splendid and gorgeous attire. Then they began to recite songs and praises, and to say: O Jesus, son of David, who turnest sorrow into gladness, and lamentations into joy! And Joseph and Mary remained there ten clays. Thereafter they set

out, treated with great honors by these people, who bade them farewell, and from bidding them farewell returned weeping, especially the girl.

23. And turning away from this place, they came to a desert; and hearing that it was infested by robbers, Joseph and the Lady Mary resolved to cross this region by night. But as they go along, behold, they see two robbers lying in the way, and along with them a great number of robbers, who were their associates, sleeping. Now those two robbers, into whose hands they had fallen, were Titus and Dumachus. Titus therefore said to Dumachus: I beseech thee to let these persons go freely, and so that our comrades may not see them. And as Dumachus refused, Titus said to him again: Take to thyself forty drachmas from me, and hold this as a pledge. At the same time he held out to him the belt which he had about his waist, to keep him from opening his mouth or speaking. And the Lady Mary, seeing that the robber had done them a kindness, said to him: The Lord God will sustain thee by His right hand, and will grant thee remission of thy sins. And the Lord Jesus answered, and said to His mother: Thirty years hence, O my mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem, and these two robbers will be raised upon the cross along with me, Titus on my right hand and Dumachus on my left; and after that day Titus shall go before me into Paradise. And she said: God keep this from thee, my son. And they went thence towards a city of idols, which, as they came near it, was changed into sand-hills.

24. Hence they turned aside to that sycamore which is now called Matarea, and the Lord Jesus brought forth in Matarea a fountain in which the Lady Mary washed His shirt. And from the sweat of the Lord Jesus which she sprinkled there, balsam was produced in that region.

25. Thence they came down to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and remained three years in Egypt; and the Lord Jesus did in Egypt very many miracles which are recorded neither in the Gospel of the Infancy nor in the perfect Gospel.

26. And at the end of the three years He came back out of Egypt, and returned. And when they had arrived at Judaea, Joseph was afraid to enter it; but hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son had succeeded him, he was afraid indeed, but he went into Judaea. And an

angel of the Lord appeared to him, and said: O Joseph, go into the city of Nazareth, and there abide.

Wonderful indeed, that the Lord of the world should be thus born and carried about through the world!

27. Thereafter, going into the city of Bethlehem, they saw there many and grievous diseases infesting the eyes of the children, who were dying in consequence. And a woman was there with a sick son, whom, now very near death, she brought to the Lady Mary, who saw him as she was washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman to her: O my Lady Mary, look upon this son of mine, who is laboring under a grievous disease. And the Lady Mary listened to her, and said: Take a little of that water in which I have washed my son, and sprinkle him with it. She therefore took a little of the water, as the Lady Mary had told her, and sprinkled it over her son. And when this was done his illness abated; and after sleeping a little, he rose up from sleep safe and sound. His mother rejoicing at this, again took him to the Lady Mary. And she said to her: Give thanks to God, because He hath healed this thy son.

28. There was in the same place another woman, a neighbor of her whose son had lately been restored to health. And as her son was laboring under the same disease, and his eyes were now almost blinded, she wept night and day. And the mother of the child that had been cured said to her: Why dost thou not take thy son to the Lady Mary, as I did with mine when he was nearly dead? And he got well with that water with which the body of her son Jesus had been washed. And when the woman heard this from her, she too went and got some of the same water, and washed her son with it, and his body and his eyes were instantly made well. Her also, when she had brought her son to her, and disclosed to her all that had happened, the Lady Mary ordered to give thanks to God for her son’s restoration to health, and to tell nobody of this matter.

29. There were in the same city two women, wives of one man, each having a son ill with fever. The one was called Mary, and her son’s name was Cleopas. She rose and took up her son, and went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offering her a beautiful mantle, said: O my Lady Mary, accept this mantle, and for it give me one small bandage. Mary did so, and the mother of Cleopas went away, and made a shirt of it, and put

it on her son. So he was cured of his disease; but the son of her rival died. Hence there sprung up hatred between them; and as they did the house-work week about, and as it was the turn of Mary the mother of Cleopas, she heated the oven to bake bread; and going away to bring the lump that she had kneaded, she left her son Cleopas beside the oven. Her rival seeing him alone — and the oven was very hot with the fire blazing under it — seized him and threw him into the oven, and took herself off. Mary coming back, and seeing her son Cleopas lying in the oven laughing, and the oven quite cold, as if no fire had ever come near it, knew that her rival had thrown him into the fire. She drew him out, therefore, and took him to the Lady Mary, and told her of what had happened to him. And she said: Keep silence, and tell nobody of the affair; for I am afraid for you if you divulge it. After this her rival went to the well to draw water; and seeing Cleopas playing beside the well, and nobody near, she seized him and threw him into the well, and went home herself. And some men who had gone to the well for water saw the boy sitting on the surface of the water; and so they went down and drew him out. And they were seized with a great admiration of that boy, and praised God. Then came his mother, and took him up, and went weeping to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, see what my rival has done to my son, and how she has thrown him into the well; she will be sure to destroy him some day or other. The Lady Mary said to her: God will avenge thee upon her. Thereafter, when her rival went to the well to draw water, her feet got entangled in the rope, and she fell into the well. Some men came to draw her out, but they found her skull fractured and her bones broken. Thus she died a miserable death, and in her came to pass that saying: They have digged a well deep, but have fallen into the pit which they had prepared.

30. Another woman there had twin sons who had fallen into disease, and one of them died, and the other was at his last breath. And his mother, weeping, lifted him up, and took him to the Lady Mary, and said: O my lady, aid me and succor me. For I had two sons, and I have just buried the one, and the other is at the point of death. See how I am going to entreat and pray to God. And she began to say: O Lord, Thou art compassionate, and merciful, and full of affection. Thou gavest me two sons, of whom Thou hast taken away the one: this one at least leave to me. Wherefore the Lady Mary, seeing the fervor of her weeping, had compassion on her, and

said: Put thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes. And when she had put him in the bed in which Christ was lying, he had already closed his eyes in death; but as soon as the smell of the clothes of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, he opened his eyes, and, calling upon his mother with a loud voice, he asked for bread, and took it and sucked it. Then his mother said: O Lady Mary, now I know that the power of God dwelleth in thee, so that thy son heals those that partake of the same nature with himself, as soon as they have touched his clothes. This boy that was healed is he who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

31. Moreover, there was there a leprous woman, and she went to the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said: My lady, help me. And the Lady Mary answered: What help dost thou seek? Is it gold or silver? or is it that thy body be made clean from the leprosy? And that woman asked: Who can grant me this? And the Lady Mary said to her: Wait a little, until I shall have washed my son Jesus, and put him to bed. The woman waited, as Mary had told her; and when she had put Jesus to bed, she held out to the woman the water in which she had washed His body, and said: Take a little of this water, and pour it over thy body. And as soon as she had done so, she was cleansed, and gave praise and thanks to God.

32. Therefore, after staying with her three days, she went away; and coming to a city, saw there one of the chief men, who had married the daughter of another of the chief men. But when he saw the woman, he beheld between her eyes the mark of leprosy in the shape of a star; and so the marriage was dissolved, and became null and void. And when that woman saw them in this condition, weeping and overwhelmed with sorrow, she asked the cause of their grief. But they said: Inquired not into our condition, for to no one living can we tell our grief, and to none but ourselves can we disclose it. She urged them, however, and entreated them to entrust it to her, saying that she would perhaps be able to tell them of a remedy. And when they showed her the girl, and the sign of leprosy which appeared between her eyes, as soon as she saw it, the woman said: I also, whom you see here, labored under the same disease, when, upon some business which happened to come in my way, I went to Bethlehem. There going into a cave, I saw a woman named Mary, whose son was he who was named Jesus; and when she saw that I was a leper. she took pity on me, and handed me the water with which she had washed her son's body.

With it I sprinkled my body, and came out clean. Then the woman said to her: Wilt thou not, O lady, rise and go with us, and show us the Lady Mary? And she assented; and they rose and went to the Lady Mary, carrying with them splendid gifts. And when they had gone in, and presented to her the gifts, they showed her the leprous girl whom they had brought. The Lady Mary therefore said: May the compassion of the Lord Jesus Christ descend upon you; and handling to them also a little of the water in which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she ordered the wretched woman to be bathed in it. And when this had been done, she was immediately cured; and they, and all standing by, praised God. Joyfully therefore they returned to their own city, praising the Lord for what He had done. And when the chief heard that his wife had been cured, he took her home, and made a second marriage, and gave thanks to God for the recovery of his wife's health.

33. There was there also a young woman afflicted by Satan; for that accursed wretch repeatedly appeared to her in the form of a huge dragon, and prepared to swallow her. He also sucked out all her blood, so that she was left like a corpse. As often as he came near her, she, with her hands clasped over her head, cried out, and said: Woe, woe's me, for nobody is near to free me from that accursed dragon. And her father and mother, and all who were about her or saw her, bewailed her lot; and men stood round her in a crowd, and all wept and lamented, especially when she wept, and said: Oh, my brethren and friends, is there no one to free me from that murderer? And the daughter of the chief who had been healed of her leprosy, hearing the girl's voice, went up to the roof of her castle, and saw her with her hands clasped over her head weeping, and all the crowds standing round her weeping as wall. She therefore asked the demoniac's husband whether his wife's mother were alive. And when he answered that both her parents were living, she said: Send for her mother to come to me. And when she saw that he had sent for her, and she had come, she said: Is that distracted girl thy daughter? Yes, O lady, said that sorrowful and weeping woman, she is my daughter. The chiefs daughter answered: Keep my secret, for I confess to thee that I was formerly a leper; but now the Lady Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, has healed me. But if thou wishest thy daughter to be healed, take her to Bethlehem, and seek Mary the mother of Jesus, and believe that thy daughter will be healed; I indeed

believe that thou wilt come back with joy, with thy daughter healed. As soon as the woman heard the words of the chief's daughter, she led away her daughter in haste; and going to the place indicated, she went to the Lady Mary, and revealed to her the state of her daughter. And the Lady Mary hearing her words, gave her a little of the water in which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and ordered her to pour it on the body of her daughter. She gave her also from the clothes of the Lord Jesus a swathing-cloth, saying: Take this cloth, and show it to thine enemy as often as thou shalt see him. And she saluted them, and sent them away.

34. When, therefore, they had gone away from her, and returned to their own district, and the time was at hand at which Satan was wont to attack her, at this very time that accursed one appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl was afraid at the sight of him. And her mother said to her: Fear not, my daughter; allow him to come near thee, and then show him the cloth which the Lady Mary hath given us, and let us see what will happen. Satan, therefore, having come near in the likeness of a terrible dragon, the body of the girl shuddered for fear of him; but as soon as she took out the cloth, and placed it on her head, and covered her eyes with it, flames and live coals began to dart forth from it, and to be cast upon the dragon. O the great miracle which was done as soon as the dragon saw the cloth of the Lord Jesus, from which the fire darted, and was cast upon his head and eyes! He cried out with a loud voice: What have I to do with thee, O Jesus, son of Mary? Whither shall I fly from thee? And with great fear he turned his back and departed from the girl, and never afterwards appeared to her. And the girl now had rest from him, and gave praise and thanks to God, and along with her all who were present at that miracle.

35. Another woman was living in the same place, whose son was tormented by Satan. He, Judas by name, as often as Satan seized him, used to bite all who came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs. The mother of this wretched creature, then, hearing the fame of the Lady Mary and her son Jesus, rose up and brought her son Judas with her to the Lady Mary. In the meantime, James and Joses had taken the child the Lord Jesus with them to play with the other children; and they had gone out of the house and sat down, and the Lord Jesus with them. And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at

Jesus' right hand: then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon He began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog. And this boy who struck Jesus, and out of whom Satan went forth in the shape of a dog, was Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Him to the Jews; and that same side on which Judas struck Him, the Jews transfixed with a lance.

36. Now, when the Lord Jesus had completed seven years from His birth, on a certain day He was occupied with boys of His own age. For they were playing among clay, from which they were making images of asses, oxen, birds, and other animals; and each one boasting of his skill, was praising his own work. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys: The images that I have made I will order to walk. The boys asked Him whether then he were the son of the Creator; and the Lord Jesus bade them walk. And they immediately began to leap; and then, when He had given them leave, they again stood still. And He had made figures of birds and sparrows, which flew when He told them to fly, and stood still when He told them to stand, and ate and drank when He handed them food and drink. After the boys had gone away and told this to their parents, their fathers said to them: My sons, take care not to keep company with him again, for he is a wizard: flee from him, therefore, and avoid him, and do not play with him again after this.

37. On a certain day the Lord Jesus, running about and playing with the boys, passed the shop of a dyer, whose name was Salem; and he had in his shop many pieces of cloth which he was to dye. The Lord Jesus then, going into his shop, took up all the pieces of cloth, and threw them into a tub full of indigo. And when Salem came and saw his cloths destroyed, he began to cry out with a loud voice, and to reproach Jesus, saying: Why hast thou done this to me, O son of Mary? Thou hast disgraced me before all my townsmen: for, seeing that every one wished the color that suited himself, thou indeed hast come and destroyed them all. The Lord Jesus answered: I shall change for thee the color of any piece of cloth which thou shalt wish to be changed. And immediately He began to take the pieces of cloth out of the tub, each of them of that color which the dyer wished, until He had taken them all out. When the Jews saw this miracle and prodigy, they praised God.

38. And Joseph used to go about through the whole city, and take the Lord Jesus with him, when people sent for him in the way of his trade to make for them doors, and milk-pails, and beds, and chests; and the Lord Jesus was with him wherever he went. As often, therefore, as Joseph had to make anything a cubit or a span longer or shorter, wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus stretched His hand towards it; and as soon as He did so, it became such as Joseph wished. Nor was it necessary for him to make anything with his own hand, for Joseph was not very skillful in carpentry.

39. Now, on a certain day, the king of Jerusalem sent for him, and said: I wish thee, Joseph, to make for me a throne to fit that place in which I usually sit. Joseph obeyed, and began the work immediately, and remained in the palace two years, until he finished the work of that throne. And when he had it carried to its place, he perceived that each side wanted two spans of the prescribed measure. And the king, seeing this, was angry with Joseph; and Joseph, being in great fear of the king, spent the night without supper, nor did he taste anything at all. Then, being asked by the Lord Jesus why he was afraid, Joseph said: Because I have spoiled all the work that I have been two years at. And the Lord Jesus said to him: Fear not, and do not lose heart; but do thou take hold of one side of the throne; I shall take the other; and we shall put that to rights. And Joseph, having done as the Lord Jesus had said and each having drawn by his own side, the throne was put to rights, and brought to the exact measure of the place. And those that stood by and saw this miracle were struck with astonishment, and praised God. And the woods used in that throne were of those which are celebrated in the time of Solomon the son of David; that is, woods of many and various kinds.

40. On another day the Lord Jesus went out into the road, and saw the boys that had come together to play, and followed them; but the boys hid themselves from Him. The Lord Jesus, therefore, having come to the door of a certain house, and seen some women standing there, asked them where the boys had gone; and when they answered that there was no one there, He said again: Who are these whom you see in the furnace?’ They replied that they were kids of three years old. And the Lord Jesus cried out, and said: Come out hither, O kids, to your Shepherd. Then the boys, in the form of kids, came out, and began to dance round Him; and the women, seeing this, were very much astonished, and were seized with trembling,

and speedily, supplicated and adored the Lord Jesus, saying: O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, Thou art of a truth that good Shepherd of Israel; have mercy on Thy handmaidens who stand before Thee, and who have never doubted: for Thou hast come, O our Lord, to heal, and not to destroy. And when the Lord Jesus answered that the sons of Israel were like the Ethiopians among the nations, the women said: Thou, O Lord, knowest all things, nor is anything hid from Thee; now, indeed, we beseech Thee, and ask Thee of Thy affection to restore these boys Thy servants to their former condition. The Lord Jesus therefore said: Come, boys, let us go and play. And immediately, while these women were standing by, the kids were changed into boys.

41. Now in the month Adar, Jesus, after the manner of a king, assembled the boys together. They spread their clothes on the ground, and He sat down upon them. Then they put on His head a crown made of flowers, and, like chamber-servants, stood in His presence, on the right and on the left, as if He were a king. And whoever passed by that way was forcibly dragged by the boys, saying: Come hither, and adore the king; then go thy way.

42. In the meantime, while these things were going on, some men came up carrying a boy. For this boy had gone into the mountain with those of his own age to seek wood, and there he found a partridge's nest; and when he stretched out his hand to take the eggs from it, a venomous serpent bit him from the middle of the nest, so that he called out for help. His comrades accordingly went to him with haste, and found him lying on the ground like one dead. Then his relations came and took him up to carry him back to the city. And after they had come to that place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the rest of the boys standing round Him like His servants, the boys went hastily forward to meet him who had been bitten by the serpent, and said to his relations: Come and salute the king. Bat when they were unwilling to go, on account of the sorrow in I which they were, the boys dragged them by force against their will. And when they had come up to the Lord Jesus, He asked them why they were carrying the boy. And when they answered that a serpent had bitten him, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Let us go and kill that serpent. And the parents of the boy asked leave to go away, because their son was in the agony of death; but the boys answered them, saying: Did you not hear the

king saying: Let us go kill the serpent? and will you not obey him? And so, against their will the could was carried back. And when they came to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys: Is this the serpent's place? They saint that it was; and the serpent, at the call of the Lord, came forth without delay, and submitted itself to Him. And He said to it: Go away, and suck out all the poison which thou hast infused into this boy. And so the serpent crawled to the boy, and sucked out all its poison. Then the Lord Jesus cursed it, and immediately on this being done it burst asunder; and the Lord Jesus stroked the boy with his hand, and he was healed. And he began to weep; but Jesus said: Do not weep, for by and by thou shalt be my disciple. And this is Simon the Cananite, of whom mention is made in the Gospel.

43. On another day, Joseph sent his son James to gather wood, and the Lord Jesus went with him as his companion. And when they had come to the place where the wood was, and James had begun to gather it, behold, a venomous viper bit his band, so that he began to cry out and weep. The Lord Jesus then, seeing him in this condition, went up to him, and blew upon the place where the viper had bitten him; and this being done, he was healed immediately.

44. One day, when the Lord Jesus was again with the boys playing on the roof of a house, one of the boys fell down from above, and immediately expired. And the rest of the boys fled in all directions, and the Lord Jesus was left alone on the roof. And the relations of the boy came up and said to the Lord Jesus: It was thou who didst throw our son headlong from the roof. And when He denied it, they cried out, saying: Our son is dead, and here is he who has killed him. And the Lord Jesus said to them: Do not bring an evil report against me; but if you do not believe me, come and let us ask the boy himself, that be may bring the truth to light. Then the Lord Jesus went down, and standing over the dead body, said, with a loud voice: Zeno, Zeno, who threw thee down from the roof? Then the dead boy answered and said: My Lord, it was not thou who didst throw me down, but such a one cast me down from it. And when the Lord commanded those who were standing by to attend to His words, all who were present praised God for this miracle.

45. Once upon a time the Lady Mary bad ordered the Lord Jesus to go and bring her water from the well. And when He had gone to get the water, the pitcher already full was knocked against something, and broken. And the Lord Jesus stretched out His handkerchief, and collected the water, and carried it to His mother; and she was astonished at it. And she hid and preserved in her heart all that she saw.

46. Again, on another day, the Lord Jesus was with the boys at a stream of water, and they had again made little fish-ponds. And the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and had arranged them round His fish-pond, three on each side. And it was the Sabbath-day. Wherefore a Jew, the son of Hanan, coming up, and seeing them thus engaged, said in anger and great indignation: Do you make figures of clay on the Sabbath-day? And he ran quickly, and destroyed their fish-ponds. But when the Lord Jesus clapped His hands over the sparrows which He had made, they flew away chirping.

Then the son of Hanan came up to the fish-pond of Jesus also, and kicked it with his shoes, and the water of it vanished away. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As that water has vanished away, so thy life shall likewise vanish away. And immediately that boy dried up.

47. At another time, when the Lord Jesus was returning home with Joseph in the evening. He met a boy, who ran up against Him with so much force that He fell. And the Lord Jesus said to him: As thou hast thrown me down, so thou shall fall and not rise again. And the same hour the boy fell down, and expired.

48. There was, moreover, at Jerusalem, a certain man named Zacchaeus, who taught boys. He said to Joseph: Why, O Joseph, dost thou not bring Jesus to the to learn his letters? Joseph agreed to do so, and reported the matter to the Lady Mary. They therefore took Him to the master; and he, as soon as he saw Him, wrote out the alphabet for Him, and told Him to say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered Him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord Jesus said to him: Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master threatened to flog Him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meanings of the letters Aleph and Beth; also which figures of the letter were straight, which crooked, which drawn round into a spiral, which marked with

points, which without them, why one letter went before another; and many other things He began to recount and to elucidate which the master himself had never either heard or read in any book. The Lord Jesus, moreover, said to the master: Listen, and I shall say them to thee. And He began clearly and distinctly to repeat Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, on to Tau. And the master was astonished, and said: I think that this boy was born before Noah. And turning to Joseph, be said: Thou hast brought to me to be taught a boy more learned than all the masters. To the Lady Mary also be said: This son of thine has no need of instruction.

49. Thereafter they took Him to another and a more learned master, who, when be saw Him, said: Say Aleph. And when He had said Aleph, the master ordered him to pronounce Beth. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and said: First tell me the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I shall pronounce Beth. And when the master hereupon raised his hand and flogged Him, immediately his hand dried up, and he died. Then said Joseph, to the Lady Mary: From this time we shall not let him go out of the house, since every one who opposes him is struck dead.

50. And when He was twelve years old, they took Him to Jerusalem to the feast. And when the feast was finished, they indeed returned; but the Lord Jesus remained in the temple among the teachers and elders and learned men of the sons of Israel, to whom He put various questions upon the sciences, and gave answers in His turn. For He said to them: Whose son is the Messias? They answered Him: The son of David. Wherefore then, said He, does he in the Spirit call him his Lord, when he says, The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, that I may put thine enemies under thy footsteps? Again the chief of the teachers said to Him: Hast thou read the books? Both the books, said the Lord Jesus, and the things contained in the books. And He explained the books, and the law, and the precepts, and the statutes, and the mysteries, which are contained in the books of the prophets — things which the understanding of no creature attains to. That teacher therefore said: I hitherto have neither attained to nor heard of such knowledge: Who, pray, do you think that boy will be?

51. And a philosopher who was there present, a skillful astronomer, asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied astronomy. And the Lord Jesus answered him, and explained the number of the spheres, and of the

heavenly bodies, their natures and operations; their opposition; their aspect, triangular, square, and sextile; their course, direct and retrograde; the twenty-fourths, and sixtieths of twenty-fourths; and other things beyond the reach of reason.

52. There was also among those philosophers one very skilled in treating of natural science, and he asked the Lord Jesus whether He had studied medicine. And He, in reply, explained to him physics and metaphysics, hyperphysics and hypophysics, the powers likewise and humors of the body, and the effects of the same; also the number of members and bones, of veins, arteries, and nerves; also the effect of heat and dryness, of cold and moisture, and what these give rise to; what was the operation of the soul upon the body, and its perceptions and powers; what was the operation of the faculty of speech, of anger, of desire; lastly, their conjunction and disjunction, and other things beyond the reach of any created intellect. Then that philosopher rose up, and adored the Lord Jesus, and said: O Lord, from this time I will be thy disciple and slave.

53. While they were speaking to each other of these and other things, the Lady Mary came, after having gone about seeking Him for three days along with Joseph. She therefore, seeing Him sitting among the teachers asking them questions, and answering in His turn, said to Him: My son, why hast thou treated us thus? Behold, thy father and I have sought thee with great trouble. But He said: Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I ought to occupy myself in my Father’s house? But they did not understand the words that He spoke to them. Then those teachers asked Mary whether He were her son; and when she signified that He was, they said: Blessed art thou, O Mary, who hast brought forth such a son. And returning with them to Nazareth, He obeyed them in all things. And His mother kept all these words of His in her heart. And the Lord Jesus advanced in stature, and in wisdom, and in favor with God and man.

54. And from this day He began to hide His miracles and mysteries and secrets, and to give attention to the law, until He completed His thirtieth year, when His Father publicly declared Him at the Jordan by this voice sent down from heaven: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; the Holy Spirit being present in the form of a white dove.

55. This is He whom we adore with supplications, who hath given us being and life, and who hath brought us from our mothers' wombs; who for our sakes assumed a human body, and redeemed us, that He might embrace us in eternal compassion, and show to us His mercy according to His liberality, and beneficence, and generosity, and benevolence. To Him is glory, and beneficence, and power, and dominion from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

HERE ENDETH THE WHOLE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, WITH THE AID OF GOD MOST HIGH, ACCORDING TO WHAT WE HAVE FOUND IN THE ORIGINAL

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART 1 — THE ACTS OF PILATE

FIRST GREEK FORM

MEMORIALS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, DONE IN THE TIME OF PONTIUS PILATE

PROLOGUE. — I Ananias, of the propraetor's body-guard, being learned in the law, knowing our Lord Jesus Christ from the Holy Scriptures, coming to Him by faith, and counted worthy of the holy baptism, searching also the memorials written at that time of what was done in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews had laid up in the time of Pontius Pilate, found these memorials written in Hebrew, and by the favor of God have translated them into Greek for the information of all who call upon the name of our Master Jesus Christ, in the seventeenth year of the reign of our Lord Flavius Theodosius, and the sixth of Flavius Valentinianus, in the ninth indiction.

All ye, therefore, who read and transfer into other books, remember me, and pray for me, that God may be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I have sinned against Him.

Peace be to those who read, and to those who hear and to their households. Amen.

In the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, and Herod being king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth day before the Kalends of April, which is the twenty-fifth of March, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high priest of the Jews.

The account that Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew, after the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior God, and left to those that came after him, is as follows: —

CHAPTER 1

Having called a council, the high priests and scribes Annas and Caiaphas and Seines and Dathaes, and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nephthalim, Alexander and Jairus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate accusing Jesus about many things, saying: We know this man to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king; moreover, he profanes the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says: And what are the things which he does, to show that he wishes to do away with it? The Jews say: We have a law not to cure any one on the Sabbath; but this mans has on the Sabbath cured the lame and the crooked, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and the demoniac, by evil practices. Pilate says to them: What evil practices? They say to him: He is a magician, and by Beelzebul prince of the demons be casts out the demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says to them: This is not casting out the demons by an unclean spirit, but by the God Aesculapius. The Jews say to Pilate: we entreat your highness that he stand at thy tribunal, and be heard. And Pilate having called them, says: Tell me how I, being a procurator, can try a king? They say to him: W do not say that he is a king, but he himself says that he is. And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with respect. And the runner going out, and recognizing Him, adored Him, and took his cloak into his hand, and spread it on the ground, and says to him: My Lord, walk on this, and come in, for the procurator calls thee. And the Jews seeing what the runner had done, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner, and not by a crier? for assuredly the runner, when he saw him, adored him, and spread his doublet on the ground, and made him walk like a king.

And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Why hast thou done this, and spread out thy cloak upon the earth, and made Jesus walk upon it? The runner says to him: My Lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the sons of the

Hebrews held branches in their hands, and shouted; and other spread their clothes under him saying, Save now, thou who art in the highest: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The Jews cry out, and say, to the runner: The soils of the Hebrews shouted in Hebrew; whence then hast thou the Greek? The runner says to them: I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it they are shouting in Hebrew? And he interpreted it for me. Pilate says to them: And what did they shout in Hebrew? The Jews say to him: HOSANNA MEMBROME BARUCHAMMA ADONAI. Pilate says to them: And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted? The Jews say to him: Save now in the highest; blessed is he; that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate says to them: If you bear witness to the words spoken by the children, in what has the runner done wrong? And they were silent. And the procurator says to the runner: Go out, and bring him in what way thou wilt. And the runner going out, did in the same manner as before, and says to Jesus: My Lord, come in; the procurator calleth thee.

And Jesus going in, and the standard-bearers holding their standards, the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus. And the Jews seeing the bearing of the standards, how they were bent down and adored Jesus, cried out vehemently against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews: Do you not wonder how the tops of the standards were bent down, and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: We saw how the standard-bearers bent them down, and adored him. And the procurator having called the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you done this? They say to Pilate: We are Greeks and temple-slaves, and how could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were holding them up, the tops bent down of their own accord, and adored him.

Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Do you choose for yourselves men strong and powerful, and let them hold up the standards, and let us see whether they will bend down with them. And the elders of the Jews picked out twelve men powerful and strong, and made them hold up the standards six by six; and they were placed in front of the procurator’s tribunal. And Pilate says to the runner: Take him outside of the praetorium, and bring him in again in whatever way may please thee. And Jesus and the runner went out of the praetorium. And

Pilate, summoning those who had formerly held up the standards, says to them: I have sworn by the health of Caesar, that if the standards do not bend down when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus to walk on his cloak. And He walked on it, and went ill. And as He went in, the standards were again bent down, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 2

And Pilate seeing this, was afraid, and sought to go away from the tribunal; but when he was still thinking of going away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on his account this night. And Pilate, summoning the Jews, says to them: You know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and prefers to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you. They say to him: Yes; we know. Pilate says to them: Behold, my wife has sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, say unto Pilate: Did we not tell thee that he was a sorcerer? behold, he has sent a dream to thy wife. And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to Him: What do these witness against thee? Sayest thou nothing? And Jesus said: Unless they had the power, they would say nothing; for every one has the power of his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They shall see to it.

And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus: What shall we see? first, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, pious men of the Jews, say: we deny that he was born of fornication; for we know that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow-countrymen of yours say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: All the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and

are not believed; these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They are by birth children of the Greeks, and have now become Jews. And those that said that He was not born of fornication, viz. — Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Atones, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippas, and Judas — say: We are not proselytes, but are children of the Jews, and speak of the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

And Pilate, calling these twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, says to them: I adjure you by the health of Caesar, to tell me whether it be true that you say, that he was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate: We have a law against taking oaths, because it is a sin; but they will swear by the health of Caesar, that it is not as we have said, and we are liable to death. Pilate says to Annas and Caiaphas: Have you nothing to answer to this? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: These twelve are believed when they say that he was not born of fornication; all the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and that he is a sorcerer, and he says that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

And Pilate orders all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, and he ordered Jesus to be separated from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: They are angry because he cures on the Sabbath. Pilate says: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes.

CHAPTER 3

And Pilate, filled with rage, went outside of the praetorium, and said to them: I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the procurator: Unless this man were an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him to thee. And Pilate said, Do you take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate: It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. Pilate said: Has God said that you are not to put to death, but that I am?

And Pilate went again into the praetorium, and spoke to Jesus privately, and said to Him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate: Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus: Am I also a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from thence. Pilate said to Him: Art thou then a king? Jesus answered him: Thou sayest that I am a king. Because for this have I been born, and have I come, in order that every one who is of the truth might hear my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says to him: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is truth not upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Thou seest how those who speak the truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth.

CHAPTER 4

And leaving Jesus within the praetorium, Pilate went out to the Jews, and said to them: I find no fault in him. The Jews say to him: He said, I can destroy this temple, and in three days build it. Pilate says: What temple? The Jews say: The one that Solomon built in forty-six years, and this man speaks of pulling it down and building it in three days. Pilate says to them: I am innocent of the blood of this just man. See you to it. The Jews say: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

And Pilate having summoned the elders and priests and Levites, said to them privately: Do not act thus, because no charge that you bring against him is worthy of death; for your charge is about curing and Sabbath profanation. The elders and the priests and the Levites say: If any one speak evil against Caesar, is he worthy of death or not? Pilate says: He is worthy of death The Jews say to Pilate: If any one speak evil against Caesar, he is worthy of death; but this man has spoken evil against God.

And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the praetorium; and summoning Jesus, he says to Him: What shall I do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: As it has been given to thee. Pilate says: How given? Jesus says: Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and

resurrection. And the Jews noticing this, and hearing it, say to Pilate: What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy? Pilate says to the Jews: If these words be blasphemous, do you take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue, and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: Our law bears that a man who wrongs his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty save one; but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with stones.

Pilate says to them: Do you take him, and punish him in whatever way you please. The Jews say to Pilate: we wish that he be crucified. Pilate says: He is not deserving of crucifixion.

And the procurator, looking round upon the crowds of the Jews standing by, sees many of the Jews weeping, and says: All the multitude do not wish him to die. The elders of the Jews say: For this reason all the multitude of us have come, that he should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should he die? The Jews say: Because he called himself Son of God, and King.

CHAPTER 5

And one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the procurator, and said: I beseech your honor, let me say a few words. Pilate says: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, What do you seek to do with this man? This man many miracles and strange things, which no one has done or will do. Let him go, and do not wish any evil against him. If the miracles which he does are of God, they will stand; but if man, they will come to nothing. For assuredly Moses, being sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles, which the Lord commanded him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And there were there Jannes and Jambres, servants of Pharaoh, and they also did not a few of the miracles which Moses did; and the Egyptians took them to be gods this Jannes and this Jambres. But, since the miracles which they did were not of God, both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. And now release this man, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and therefore thou defendest him. Nicodemus says to them: Perhaps, too, the procurator has become his disciple, because he defends him. Has the emperor not appointed him to this place of dignity? And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to I them: Why do you gnash your teeth against him when you hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said.

CHAPTER 6

One of the Jews, stepping up, asked leave of the procurator to say a word. The procurator says: If thou wishest to say any thing, say on And the Jew said: Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs, and many lying ill of various diseases, were cured by him. And some young men, taking pity on me, carried me, bed and all, and took me to him. And when Jesus saw me, bed had compassion on me, and said to me: Take up thy couch and walk. And I took up my couch, and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him on what day it was that he was cured. He that had been cured says: On a Sabbath. The Jews say: Is not this the very thing that we said, that on a Sabbath he cures and casts out demons?

And another Jew stepped up and said: I was born blind; I heard sounds, but saw not a face. And as Jesus passed by, I cried out with a loud voice, Pity me, O son of David. And he pitied me, and put his hands upon my eyes, and I instantly received my sight. And another Jew stepped up and said: I was crooked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was a leper, and he cured me with a word.

CHAPTER 7

And a woman cried out from a distance, and said: I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the issue of blood which I had had for twelve years was stopped. The Jews say: we have a law, that a woman’s evidence is not to be received.

CHAPTER 8

And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out, saying: This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to them who said that the demons were subject to Him: Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said: He raised Lazarus from the tomb after he had been dead four days. And the procurator trembled, and said to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to pour out innocent blood?

CHAPTER 9

And having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men that said He was not born of fornication, he says to them: What shall I do, because there is an insurrection among the people? They say to him: We know not; let them see to it. Again Pilate, having summoned all the multitude of the Jews, says: You know that it is customary, at the feast of unleavened bread, to release one prisoner to you. I have one condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Barabbas, and this man standing in your presence, Jesus, in whom I find no fault. Which of them do you wish me to release to you? And they cry out: Barabbas. Pilate says: What, then, shall we do to Jesus who is called Christ? The Jews say: Let him be crucified. And others said: Thou art no friend of Caesar’s if thou release this man, because he called himself Son of God and king. You wish, then, this man to be king, and not Caesar?

And Pilate, in a rage, says to the Jews: Always has your nation been rebellious, and you always speak against your benefactors. The Jews say: What benefactors? He says to them: Your God led you out of the land of Egypt from bitter slavery, and brought you safe through the sea as through dry land, and in the desert fed you with manna, and gave you quails, and quenched your thirst with water from a rock, and gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked your God to anger, and sought a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and He sought to slay you. And Moses prayed for you, and you were not put to death. And now you charge me with hating the emperor.

And rising up from the tribunal, he sought to go out. And the Jews cry out, and say: We know that Caesar is king, and not Jesus. For assuredly the magi brought gifts to him as to a king. And when Herod heard from the magi that a king had been born, he sought to slay him; and his father Joseph, knowing this, took him and his mother, and they fled into Egypt. And Herod hearing of it, destroyed the children of the Hebrews that had been born in Bethlehem.

And when Pilate heard these words, he was afraid; and ordering the crowd to keep silence, because they were crying out, he said to them: So this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say: Yes, it is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see you to it. Again the Jews cry out: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

Then Pilate ordered the curtain of the tribunal where he was sitting to be drawn, and says to Jesus: Thy nation has charged thee with being a king. On this account I sentence thee, first to be scourged, according to the enactment of venerable kings, and then to be fastened on the cross in the garden where thou wast seized. And let Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

CHAPTER 10

And Jesus went forth out of the praetorium, and the two malefactors with Him. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of his clothes, and girded Him with a towel, and put a crown of thorns on Him round His head. And they crucified Him; and at the same time also they hung up the two malefactors along with Him. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His clothes among them; and the people stood looking at Him. And the chief priests, and the rulers with them, mocked Him, saying: He saved others; let him save himself. If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers made sport of Him, coming near and offering Him vinegar mixed with gall, and said: Thou art the king of the Jews; save thyself.

And Pilate, after the sentence, ordered the charge made against Him to be inscribed as a superscription in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, according to what the Jews had said: He is king of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors hanging up spoke to Him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself and us. And Dysmas answering, reproved him, saying: Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the fit punishment of our deeds; but this man has done no evil. And he said to Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Amen, amen; I say to thee, Today shall thou be with me in Paradise.

CHAPTER 11

And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the earth until the ninth hour, the sun being darkened; and the curtain of the temple was split in the middle. And crying out with a loud voice, Jesus said: Father, BADDACH EPHKID RUEL, which is, interpreted: Into Thy hands I commit my spirit. And having said this, He gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what had happened, glorified God, and said: This was a just man. And all the crowds that were present at this spectacle, when they saw what had happened, beat their breasts and went away.

And the centurion reported what had happened to the procurator. And when the procurator and his wife heard it, they were exceedingly grieved, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews, and said to them: Have you seen what has happened? And they say: There has been an eclipse of the sun in the usual way.

And His acquaintances were standing at a distance, and the women who came with Him from Galilee, seeing these things. And a man named Joseph, a councilor from the city of Arimathaea, who also waited for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in clean linen, and placed it in a tomb hewn out of the rock, in which no one had ever lain.

CHAPTER 12

And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the booty of Jesus, sought him and the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others who had stepped up before Pilate and declared His good works. And of all these that were hid, Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them: How have you come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: How hast thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen. And likewise Joseph also stepped out and said to them: Why are you angry against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the tomb. And you have acted not well against the just man, because you have not repented of crucifying him, but also have pierced him with a spear. And the Jews seized Joseph, and ordered him to be secured until the first day of the week, and said to him: Know that the time does not allow us to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning; and know that thou shall not be deemed worthy of burial, but we shall give thy flesh to the birds of the air. Joseph says to them: These are the words of the arrogant Goliath, who reproached the living God and holy David. For God has said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. And now he that is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, has taken water, and washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I am afraid lest the wrath of God come upon you, and upon your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing these words, were embittered in their souls, and seized Joseph, and locked him into a room where there was no window; and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

And on the Sabbath, the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising up early, all the multitude in the synagogue consulted by what death they should slay him. And when the Sanhedrin was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much

indignity. And having opened the door, they found him not. And all the people were surprised, and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken. and because Caiaphas had the key. And they no longer dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before Pilate in Jesus' behalf.

CHAPTER 13

And while they were still sitting in the synagogue, and wondering about Joseph, there come some of the guard whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to guard the tomb of Jesus, that His disciples might not come and steal Him. And they reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened: how there had been a great earthquake; and we saw an angel coming down from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the tomb, and sat upon it; and he shone like snow, and like lightning. And we were very much afraid, and lay like dead men; and we heard the voice of the angel saying to the women who remained beside the tomb, Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here: He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay: and go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee. The Jews say: To what women did he speak? The men of the guard say: We do not know who they were. The Jews say: At what time was this? The men of the guard say: At midnight. The Jews say: And wherefore did you not lay hold of them? The men of the guard say: We were like dead men from fear, not expecting to see the light of day, and how could we lay hold of them? The Jews say: As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you. The men of the guard say to the Jews: You have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us? And assuredly you have done well to swear that the Lord liveth, for indeed He does live. Again the men of the guard say: We have heard that you have locked up the man that begged the body of Jesus, and put a seal on the door; and that you have opened it, and not found him. Do you then give us the man whom you were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph has gone away to his own city. The men of the guard say to the Jews: And Jesus has risen, as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee.

And when the Jews heard these words, they were very much afraid, and said: We must take care lest this story he heard, and all incline to Jesus. And the Jews called a council, and paid down a considerable sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say, while we slept, his disciples came by night and stole him; and if this come to the ears of the procurator, we shall persuade him, and keep you out of trouble. And they took it, and said as the had been instructed.

CHAPTER 14

And Phinees a priest, and Adas a teacher, and Haggai a Levite, came down from Galilee to Jerusalem, and said to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch; and he said to his disciples, Go into all the world, and preach to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well. And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up to heaven.

The elders and the priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to Him whether you have heard and seen those things of which you have given us an account. And those who had given the account said: As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The ciders and the priests and the Levites say to them: Have you come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God? And they say: To offer prayer to God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them: If you have come to offer prayer to God, why then have you told these idle tales in the presence of all the people? Says Phinees the priest, and Atlas the teacher, and Haggai the Levite to the rulers of the synagogues. and the priests and the Levites: If what we have said and seen be sinful, behold, we are before you; do to us as seems good in your eyes. And they took the law, and made them swear upon it, not to give any more an account of these matters to any one. And they gave them to cat and drink, and sent

them out of the city, having given them also money, and three men with them; and they sent them away to Galilee.

And these men having gone into Galilee, the chief priests, and the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders, came together into the synagogue, and locked the door, and lamented with a great lamentation, saying: Is this a miracle that has happened in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Why are you so much moved? Why do you weep? Do you not know that his disciples have given a sum of gold to the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? And the priests and the elders sand: Be it that his disciples have stolen his body; how is it that the life has come into his body, and that he is going, about in Galilee? And they being unable to give an answer to these things, said, after great hesitation: It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised.

CHAPTER 15

And Nicodemus stood up, and stood before the Sanhedrin, saying: You say well; you are not ignorant, you people of the Lord, of these men that come down from Galilee, that they fear God, and are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of peace; and they have declared with an oath. We saw Jesus upon the mountain Mamilch with his disciples, and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them in what form he went up. For assuredly, as the book of the Holy Scriptures taught us, Helias also was taken up into heaven, and Elissaeus cried out with a loud voice, and Helias threw his sheepskin upon Elissaeus, and Elissaeus threw his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and crossed, and came into Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him, and said, O Elissaeus, where is thy master Helias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elissaeus, Has not a spirit seized him, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us take our servants with us, and seek him. And they persuaded Elissaeus, and he went away with them. And they sought him three days, and did not find him; and they knew he had been taken up. And now listen to me, and let us send into every district of Israel, and see lest perchance Christ has been taken up by a spirit, and thrown upon one of the

mountains? And this proposal pleased all. And they sent into every district of Israel, and sought Jesus, and did not find Him; but they found Joseph in Arimathaea, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

And they reported to the elders, and the priests, and the Levites: We have gone round to every district of Israel, and have not found Jesus; but Joseph we have found in Arimathaea. And hearing about Joseph, they were glad, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, took a piece of paper, and wrote to Joseph as follows: —

Peace to thee! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and we have prayed to the God of Israel, that thou shouldst deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we have all been grieved. For having opened the door, we did not find thee. And we know that we have counseled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord has defended thee, and the Lord Himself has scattered to the winds our counsel against thee, O honorable father Joseph.

And they chose from all Israel seven men, friends of Joseph, whom also Joseph himself was acquainted with; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, say to them: Take notice: if, after receiving our letter, he read it, know that he will come with you to us; but if he do not read it, know that he is ill-disposed towards us. And having saluted him in peace, return to us. And having blessed the men, they dismissed them. And the men came to Joseph, and did reverence to him, and said to him: Peace to thee! And he said: Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph having received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and blessed God, and said: Blessed be the Lord God, who has delivered Israel, that they should not shed innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out His angel, and covered me under his wings. And he set a table for them; and they ate and drank, and slept there. And they rose up early, and prayed. And Joseph saddled his ass, and set out with the men; and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph, and cried out: Peace to thee in thy coming in! And he said to all the people: Peace to you! and he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of

him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites to his house. And they rejoiced, eating and drinking with Joseph; and after singing hymns, each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the following day, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites went early to the house of Nicodemus; and Nicodemus met them, and said: Peace to you! And they said: Peace to thee, and to Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph! And he brought them into his house. And all the Sanhedrin sat down, and Joseph sat down between Annas and Caiaphas: and no one dared to say a word to him. And Joseph said: Why have you called me? And they signaled to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said to Joseph: Father, thou knowest that the honorable teachers, and the priests and the Levites, see to learn a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give Him confession; for Achar being made to swear by the prophet Jesus, did not forswear himself, but declared unto him all, and did not hide a word from him. Do thou also accordingly not hide from us to the extent of a word. And Joseph said: I shall not hide from you one word. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved because thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured thee in a room where there was no windows: and we put locks and seals upon the doors and guards kept watching where thou wast locked in And on the first day of the week we opened, and found thee not, and were grieved exceedingly; and astonishment fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now relate to us what has happened to thee.

And Joseph said: On the preparation, about the tenth hour, you locked me up, and I remained all the Sabbath. And at midnight, as I was standing and praying, the room where you locked me in was hung up by the four corners, and I saw a light like lightning into my eyes. And I was afraid, and fell to the ground. And some one took me by the hand, and removed me from the place where I had fallen; and moisture of water was poured from my head even to my feet, and a smell of perfumes came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face, and kissed me, and said to me, Fear not, Joseph;

open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking up, I saw Jesus. And I trembled and thought it was a phantom; and I said the commandments, and he said them with me. Even so you are not ignorant that a phantom, if it meet anybody, and hear the commandments, takes to flight. And seeing that he said them with the, I said to him, Rabbi Helias. And he said to me, I am not Helias. And I said to him, Who art thou, my Lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou didst clothe me with clean, linen. and didst put a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the tomb. And I said to him that was speaking to me, Show me the place where I laid thee. And he carried me away, and showed me the place where I laid him; and the linen cloth was lying in it, and the napkin for his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand, and placed me, though the doors were locked, in the middle of my house, and led me away to my bed, and said to me, Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me, For forty days go not forth out of thy house; for, behold, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

CHAPTER 16

And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, when they heard these words from Joseph, became as dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your souls, because tomorrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up, and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and departed every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath our teachers and the priests and Levites sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? for we know his father and mother. Levi, a teacher, says: I know that his parents fear God, and do not withdraw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him to this place, and gave sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. And when the great teacher Symeon took him into his arms, he said, Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, Lord, according to Thy word, in peace;

for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all the peoples: a light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, I give thee good news about this child. And Mary said, It is well, my Lord. And Symeon said to her, It is well; behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against; and of thee thyself a sword shall go through the soul, in order that the reasoning of many hearts may be revealed.

They say to the teacher Levi: How knowest thou these things? Levi says to them: Do you not know that from him I learned the law? The Sanhedrin say to him: We wish to see thy father. And they sent for his father. And they asked him; and he said to them: Why have you not believed my son? The blessed and just Symeon himself taught him the law. The Sanhedrin says to Rabbi Levi: Is the word that you have said true? And he said: It is true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to themselves: Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men that came and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this saying pleased all. And they sent away the three men who had already gone away into Galilee with them; and they say to them: Say to Rabbi Adas, and Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai: Peace to you, and all who are with you! A great inquiry having taken place in the Sanhedrin, we have been sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

And the men set out into Galilee, and found them sitting and considering the law; and they saluted them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them: Peace upon all Israel! And they said: Peace to you! And they again said to them: Why have you come? And those who had been sent said: The Sanhedrin call you to the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrin, they prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank, and rose up, and set out in peace to Jerusalem.

And on the following day the Sanhedrin sat in the synagogue, and asked them, saying: Did you really see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch teaching his eleven disciples, and did you see him taken up? And the men answered them, and said: As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

Annas says: Take them away from one another, and let us see whether their account agrees. And they took them away from one another. And first they call Adas, and say to him: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? Adas says: While he was yet sitting on the mountain Mamilch, and teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing both him and his disciples. And the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their face upon the earth. And they call Phinees the priest, and ask him also, saying: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he spoke in like manner. And they again asked Haggai, and he spoke in like manner. And the Sanhedrin said: The law of Moses holds: At the mouth of two or three every word shall be established. Buthem, a teacher, says: It is written in the law, And Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him. Jairus, a readier, said: And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulcher unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said: Why did Rabbi Symeon say, when he saw Jesus, “Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against?” And Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name has been called upon him.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said: Rightly have you said what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the death of Moses; hut Jesus was tried before Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put about him a crown of thorns, and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two robbers with him; and they gave him to drink vinegar with gall, and Longinus the soldier pierced his side with a spear; and Joseph our honorable father begged his body, and, as he says, he is risen; and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up into heaven; and Rabbi Levi has given evidence of what was said by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said, Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against. And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord: If this was from the Lord, and is wonderful in your eyes, knowing you shall know, O house of Jacob, that it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. And another Scripture teaches: The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth

shall be destroyed. And the priests and the Levites said to each other: If his memorial be until the year that is called Jobel, know that it shall it endure for ever, and he hath raised for himself a new people. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, announced to all Israel, saying: Cursed is that man who shall worship the work of man's hand, and cursed is the man who shall worship the creatures more than the Creator. And all the people said, Amen, amen.

And all the people praised the Lord, and said: Blessed is the Lord, who hath given rest to His people Israel, according to all that He hath spoken; there hath not fallen one word of every good word of His that He spoke to Moses His servant. May the Lord our God be with us, as He was with our fathers: let Him not destroy us. And let Him not destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to Him, that we may walk in all His ways, that we may keep His commandments and His judgments which He commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be for a king over all the earth in that day; and there shall he one Lord, and His name one. The Lord is our king: He shall save us. There is none like Thee, O Lord. Great art Thou, O Lord, and great is Thy name. By Thy power heal us. O Lord, and we shall be healed: save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved; because we are Thy lot and heritage. And the Lord will not leave His people, for His great name's sake; for the Lord has begun to make us into His people.

And all, having sung praises, went away each man to his own house, glorifying God; for His is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SECOND GREEK FORM

A NARRATIVE about the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His holy resurrection.

Written by a Jew, Aeneas by name, and translated out of the Hebrew tongue into the Romaic language by Nicodemus, a Roman toparch.

After the dissolution of the kingdom of the Hebrews, four hundred years having run their course, and the Hebrews also coming at last under the kingdom of the Romans, and the king of the Romans appointing them a king; when Tiberius Caesar at last swayed the Roman sceptre, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he appointed as king of Judaea, Herod, the son

of the Herod who had formerly slaughtered the infants in Bethlehem, and he made Pilate procurator in Jerusalem; when Annas and Caiaphas held the high-priesthood of Jerusalem, Nicodemus, a Roman toparch, having summoned a Jew, Aeneas by name, asked him to write an account of the things done in Jerusalem about Christ in the times of Annas and Caiaphas. The Jew accordingly did this, and delivered it to Nicodemus; and he, again, translated it from the Hebrew writing into the Romaic language. And the account is as follows: —

CHAPTER 1

Our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought in Judaea many and great and extraordinary miracles, and on account of this being hated by the Hebrews, while Pilate was procurator in Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas high priests, there came of the Jews to the chief priests, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus, and many others, speaking against Christ. And these chief priests sent them away to say these things to Pilate also. And they went away, and said to him: A man walks about in this city whose father is called Joseph, and his mother Mary; and he calls himself king and Son of God; and being a Jew, he overturns the Scriptures, and does away with the Sabbath. Pilate then asked, in order to learn from them in what manner lie did away with the Sabbath. And they answered, saying: He cures the sick on the Sabbath. Pilate says: If he makes the sick whole, he does no evil. They say to him: If he effected the cures properly, small would be the evil; but by using magic he does these things, and by having the demons on his side. Pilate says: To cure a person that is ill is not a diabolic work, but a grace from God.

The Hebrews said: We beseech your highness to summon him, in order that thou mayst make accurate inquiry into what we say. Pilate therefore, throwing off his cloak, gave it to one of his officers, saying: Go away, and show this to Jesus, and say to him, Pilate the procurator calls thee to come before him. The officer accordingly went away, and finding Jesus, summoned Him, having unfolded on the ground also Pilate’s mantle, and urged Him to walk upon it. And the Hebrews, seeing this, and being greatly enraged, came to Pilate, murmuring against him, how he had deemed Jesus worthy of so great honor.

And he, having inquired of the officer who had been sent how he had done so, the officer answered: When thou didst send me to the Jew Alexander, I came upon Jesus entering the gate of the city, sitting upon an ass. And I saw that the Hebrews spread their garments in the way, and the ass walked upon the garments; and others cut branches, and they went forth to meet him, and cried out, Hosanna in the highest! Thus, therefore, it was necessary for me also to do.

The Jews, hearing these words, said to him: How didst thou, being a Roman, know what was said by the Hebrews? The officer answered: I asked one of the Hebrews, and he told the these things. Pilate said: What means Hosanna? The Jews said: Save us, O Lord. Pilate answered: Since you confess that your children said so, how now do you bring charges, and say against Jesus what you do say? The Jews were silent, and had nothing to answer.

Now, as Jesus was coming to Pilate, the soldiers of Pilate adored Him. And others also were standing before Pilate holding standards. And as Jesus was coming, the standards also bowed down, and adored Him. As Pilate, therefore, was wondering at what had happened, the Jews said to him: My Lord, it was not the standards that adored Jesus, but the soldiers who were holding them carelessly.

Pilate says to the ruler of the synagogue: Choose twelve powerful men, and give them the standards, so that they may hold them firmly. And this having taken place, Pilate ordered the officer to take Jesus outside, and bring Him in again. And as He was coming in, the standards again bowed down, and adored Him. Pilate therefore wondered greatly. But the Jews said: He is a magician, and through that he does these things.

CHAPTER 2

Pilate says to Jesus: Hearest thou what these testify against thee, and answerest thou not? And Jesus answered and said: Every man has power to speak either good or bad, as he wishes; these also, therefore, having power, say what they wish.

The Jews said to Him: What have we to say about thee? First, that thou wast begotten from sin; second, that on account of thee, when thou wast born, the infants were murdered; third, that thy father and thy mother fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people.

To these the Jews who were there present, God-fearing men, answered and said: We say that his birth is not from sin; for we know that Joseph received into keeping his mother Mary, according to the practice of betrothal. Pilate said: Consequently you lie who say that his birth is from sin. They say again to Pilate: All the people testify that he is a magician. The God-fearing Jews answered and said: We also were at the betrothal of his mother, and we are Jews, and know all his daily life; but that he is a magician, that we do not know. And the Jews that thus said were these: Lazarus, Astharius, Antonius, James, Zaras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Dagrippus, Amese, and Judas.

Pilate therefore says to them: By the life of Caesar, I wish you to swear whether the birth of this man is without sin. They answered: Our law lays down that we are to swear not at all, because an oath is great sin. Notwithstanding, by the life of Caesar we swear that his birth is without sin; and if we lie, order us all to be beheaded. And when they had thins spoken, the Jews that were bringing the charge answered Pilate, and said: And dost thou believe these twelve single Jews more than all the multitude and us, who know for certain that he is a magician and blasphemer, and that he names himself Son of God?

Then Pilate ordered them all to go forth out of the praetorium except the said twelve alone. And when this had been done, Pilate says to them privately: As to this man, it appears that from envy and madness the Jews wish to murder him: for of one thing — that he does away with the Sabbath — they accuse him; but he then does a good work, because he cures the sick. For this, sentence of death is not upon the man. The twelve also say to him: Assuredly, my Lord, it is so.

CHAPTER 3

Pilate therefore went outside in rage and anger, and says to Annas and Caiaphas, and to the crowd who brought Jesus: I take the sun to witness

that I find no fault in this man. The crowd answered: If he were not a sorcerer, and a magician, and a blasphemer, we should not have brought him to your highness. Pilate said: Try him yourselves; and since you have a law, do as your law says. The Jews said: Our law permits to put no man to death. Pilate says: If you are unwilling to put him to death, how much more am I!

Then Pilate returned to the palace, and says to Jesus: Tell me, art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered: Dost thou say this, or have the other Jews said this to thee, that thou mightst question me? Pilate said: Thou dost not think that I am a Hebrew? I am not a Hebrew. Thy people and the chief priests have delivered thee into my hands; and tell me if thou art king of the Jews? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were in this world, my soldiers would not be unconcerned at my being seized: wherefore my kingdom is not in this world. Pilate says: But art thou a king? Jesus said: Thou hast said: for this was I born, to bear witness to the truth; and if any one be a man of the truth, he believes my word, and does it. Pilate says: What is the truth? Jesus answered: The truth is from the heavens. Pilate says: On earth, then, is there no truth? Christ says: I am the truth; and how is the truth judged on earth by those that have earthly power!

CHAPTER 4

Pilate therefore, leaving Christ alone, went outside, and says to the Jews: I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered: Let us tell your highness what he said. He said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and in three days to build it. Pilate says: And what temple did he say that he was to destroy? The Hebrews say: The temple of Solomon, which Solomon built in forty-six years.

Pilate says privately to the chief priests and the scribes and the Pharisees: I entreat you, do nothing evil against this man; for if you do evil against him, you will do unjustly: for it is not just that such a man should die, who has done great good to many men. They said to Pilate: If, my Lord, he who has dishonored Caesar is worthy of death, how much more this man who dishonors God!

Then Pilate dismissed them, and they all went outside. Thereupon he says to Jesus: dost thou wish that I shall do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: Do to me as is determined. Pilate says: How is it determined? Jesus answered: Moses and the prophets wrote about me being crucified, and rising again. The Hebrews, hearing this, said to Pilate: Why do you seek to hear a greater insult out of him against God? Pilate says: These words are not an insult against God, since they are written in the books of the prophets. The Hebrews said: Our Scripture says, If a man offend against a man, that is to say, if he insult him, he is worthy to receive forty strokes with a rod; but if any one insult God, to be stoned.

Then came a messenger from Procle, the wife of Pilate, to him; and the message said: Take care that thou do not agree that any evil should happen to Jesus the good man; because during this night I have seen fearful dreams on account of him. And Pilate spoke to the Hebrews, saying: If you hold as insult against God the words which you declare Jesus to have spoken, take and judge him yourselves according to your law. The Jews said to Pilate: We wish that you should crucify him. Pilate says: This is not good.

And Pilate, turning towards the people, saw many weeping, and said: To me it seems that it is not the wish of all the people that this man should die. The priests and the scribes say: We on this account have brought all the people, that thou mightst have full conviction that all wish his death. Pilate says: For what evil hath he done? The Hebrews said: He says that he is a king, and the Son of God.

CHAPTER 5

A God-fearing Jew, therefore, Nicodemus by name, stood up in the midst, and said to Pilate: I entreat your highness to permit me to say a few words. Say on, said Pilate. Nicodemus says: I, being present in the synagogue, said to the priests, and the Levites, and the scribes, and the people, What have you to say against this man? This man does many miracles, such as man has never yet done nor will do. Let him go, therefore; and if indeed what he does be from God, it will stand; but if from man, it will be destroyed. Just as happened also when God sent Moses into Egypt, and Pharaoh king of Egypt told him to do a miracle,

and he did it. Then Pharaoh had also two magicians, Jannes and Jambres; and they also did miracles by the use of magic art, but not such as Moses did. And the Egyptians held these magicians to be gods; but because they were not from God, what they did was destroyed. This Jesus, then, raised up Lazarus, and he is alive. On this account I entreat thee, my Lord, by no means to allow this man to be put to death.

The Hebrews were enraged against Nicodemus, and said: Mayst thou receive the truth of Jesus, and have a portion with him. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; be it to me as you say.

CHAPTER 6

And when Nicodemus had thus spoken, another Hebrew rose up, and said to Pilate: I beg of thee, my Lord Pilate, hear me also. Pilate answered: Say what thou wishest. The Hebrew says: I lay sick in bed thirty-eight years; and when he saw me he was grieved, and said to me, Rise, take up thy couch, and go into thine house. And while he was saying the word to me, I rose and walked about. The Hebrews say: Ask him on what day of the week this happened. He says: On Sabbath. The Jews said: And consequently we say truly, that he does not keep the Sabbath.

Another, again, standing in the midst, said: I was born blind; and as Jesus was going along the road, I cried to him, saying, Have mercy upon me, Lord, thou son of David. And he took clay, and anointed mine eyes; and straight, way I received my sight. Another said: I was crooked; and seeing him, I cried, Have mercy upon me, O Lord. And he took me by the hand, and I was immediately raised. Another said: I was a leper, and he healed me merely by a word.

CHAPTER 7

There was found there also a woman named Veronica, and she said: Twelve years I was in an issue of blood, and I only touched the edge of his garment, and directly I was cured. The Jews say: Our law does not admit the testimony of a woman.

CHAPTER 8

Other men cried: This man is a prophet, and the demons are afraid of him. Pilate says: And how were the demons not at all thus afraid of your parents also? They say: We do not know. Others, again, said: Lazarus, after having been four days in the tomb, he raised by a single word. Pilate therefore, hearing of the raising of Lazarus, was afraid, and said to the people: Why do you wish to shed the blood of a just man?

CHAPTER 9

Then he summoned Nicodemus and the twelve God-fearing Jews, and said to them: What do you say that I should do? because the people are in commotion They say: We do not know: do as thou wilt; but what the people do, they do unjustly, in order to kill him. Pilate again went outside, and said to the people: You know that in the feasts of unleavened bread it is customary that I free on your account one of the criminals kept in custody. I have, then, one malefactor in the prison, a robber named Barabbas. I have also Jesus, who has never done any evil. Which of the two, then, do you wish that I release to you? The people answered: Release to us Barabbas. Pilate says: What then shall I do with Jesus? They say: Let him be crucified. Again, others of them cried out: If thou release Jesus, thou art no friend of Caesar, because he calls himself Son of God, and king. And if thou free him, he becomes a king, and will take Caesar's kingdom.

Pilate therefore was enraged, and said: Always has your nation been devilish and unbelieving; and ever have you been adversaries to your benefactors. The Hebrews say: And who were our benefactors? Pilate says: God, who freed you out of the hand of Pharaoh, and brought you through the Red Sea as upon dry land, and fed you with quails, and gave you water to drink out of the dry rock, and who gave you a law which, denying God you broke; and if Moses had not stood and entreated God, you would have perished by a bitter death. All these, then, you have forgotten. Thus also, even now, you say that I do not at all love Caesar, but bate him, and wish to plot against his kingdom.

And having thus spoken, Pilate rose up from the throne with anger, wishing to flee from them. The Jews therefore cried out, saying: We wish Caesar to be king over us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the Magi. And Herod also heard this — that there was going to be a king — and wished to put him to death, and for this purpose sent and put to death all the infants that were in Bethlehem. And on this account also his father Joseph and iris mother fleet from fear of him into Egypt.

So then Pilate, hearing this, silenced all the people, and said: This, then, is the Jesus whom Herod then sought that he might put him to death? They say to him: Yes. Pilate therefore, having ascertained that he was of the jurisdiction of Herod, as being derived of the race of the Jews, sent Jesus to him. And Herod, seeing Him, rejoiced greatly, because he had been long desiring to see Him, hearing of the miracles which He did. He put on Him, therefore, white garments. Then he began to question Him. But Jesus did not give him an answer. And Herod, wishing to see also some miracle or other done by Jesus, and not seeing it, and also because He did not answer him a single word, sent Him back again to Pilate. Pilate. seeing this, ordered his officers to bring water. Washing, then, his bands with the water, he said to the people: I am innocent of the blood of this good man. See you to it. that he is unjustly put to death, since neither I have found a fault in him, nor Herod; for because of this he has sent him back again to me. The Jews said: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

Then Pilate sat down upon his throne to pass sentence. He gave order, therefore, and Jesus came before him. And they brought a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and a reed into His right hand. Then he passed sentence, and said to Him: Thy nation says, and testifies against thee, that thou wishest to be a king. Therefore I decree that they shall beat thee first with a rod forty strokes, as the laws of the kings decree, and that they shall mock thee; and finally, that they shall crucify thee.

CHAPTER 10

The sentence to this effect, then, having been passed by Pilate, the Jews began to strike Jesus, some with roots, others with their hands, others with their feet; some also spat in His face. Immediately, therefore, they

got ready the cross, and gave it to Him, and flew to take the road. And thus going along, bearing also the cross, He came as far as the gate of the city of Jerusalem. But as He, from the many blows and the weight of the cross, was unable to walk, the Jews, out of the eager desire they had to crucify Him as quickly as possible, took the cross from Him, and gave it to a man that met them, Simon by name, who had also two sons, Alexander and Rufus. And he was from the city of Cyrene. They gave the cross, then, to him, not because they pitied Jesus, and wished to lighten Him of the weight, but because they eagerly desired, as has been said, to put Him to death more speedily.

Of His disciples, therefore, John followed Him there. Then he came fleeing to the mother of God. and said to her: Where hast thou been, that thou hast not come to see what has happened? She answered: What is it that has happened? John says: Know that the Jews have laid hold of my Master, and are taking Him away to crucify Him. Hearing this, His mother cried out with a loud voice, saying: My son, my son, what evil then hast thou done, that they are taking thee away to crucify thee? And she rose up as if blinded, and goes along the road weeping. And women followed her — Martha, and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and other virgins. And John also was with her. When, therefore, they came to the multitude of the crowd, the mother of God says to John: Where is my son? John says: Seest thou Him bearing the crown of thorns, and having His hands bound? And the mother of God, hearing this, and seeing Him, fainted, and fell backwards to the ground, and lay a considerable time. And the women, as many as followed her, stood round her, and wept. And as soon as she revived and rose up, she cried out with a loud voice: My Lord, my son, where has the beauty of thy form sunk? how shall I endure to see thee suffering such things? And thus saying, she tore her face with her nails, and beat her breast. Where are they gone, said she, the good deeds which thou didst in Judaea? What evil hast thou done to the Jews? The Jews, then, seeing her thus lamenting and crying, came and drove her from the road; but she would not flee, but remained, saying: Kill me first, ye lawless Jews.

Then they got safe to the place called Cranium, which was paved with stone; and there the Jews set up the cross. Then they stripped Jesus, and the soldiers took His garments, and divided them among themselves; and

they put on Him a tattered robe of scarlet, and raised Him, and drew Him up on the cross at the sixth hour of the day. After this they brought also two robbers, the one on His right, the other on His left.

Then the mother of God, standing and looking, cried out with a loud voice, saying: My son! my son: And Jesus, turning to her, and seeing John near her, and weeping with the rest of the women, said: Behold thy son! Then He says also to John: Behold thy mother! And she wept much, saying: For this I weep, my son, because thou sufferest unjustly, because the lawless Jews have delivered thee to a bitter death. Without thee, my son, what will become of me? How shall I live without thee? What sort of life shall I spend? Where are thy disciples, who boasted that they would die with thee? Where those healed by thee? How has no one been found to help thee? And looking to the cross, she said: Bend down, O cross, that I may embrace and kiss my son, whom I suckled at these breasts after a strange manner, as not having known than. Bend down, O cross; I wish to throw my arms round my son. Bend down, O cross, that I may bid farewell to my son like a mother. The Jews, hearing these words, came forward, and drove to a distance both her and the women and John.

Then Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: Father, let not this sin stand against them; for they know not what they do. Then He says: I thirst. And immediately there ran one of the soldiers, and took a sponge, and filled it with gall and vinegar mixed, and put it on a reed, and gave Jesus to drink. And having tasted it, He would not drink it. And the Jews standing and looking on laughed at Him, and said: If thou truly sayst that thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross, and immediately, that we may believe in thee. Others said mocking: Others he saved, others he cured, and he healed the sick, the paralytic, the lepers, the demoniacs, the blind, the lame, the dead; and himself he cannot cure.

In the same manner also, the robber crucified on His left hand said to Him: If thou art the Son of God, come down and save both thyself and us. His name was Gistas. And he that was crucified on the right, Dysmas by name, reproved that robber, saying: O wretched and miserable man, dost thou not fear God? We suffer the due punishment of what we have done; but this man has done no evil at all. And turning to Jesus, he says to Him:

Lord, when Thou shalt reign do not forget me. And He said to him: Today, I tell thee truth, I shall have thee in paradise with me.

CHAPTER 11

Then Jesus, crying out with a loud voice, Father, into Thy hands I shall commit my spirit, breathed His last. And immediately one could see the rocks rent: for there was an earthquake over all the earth; and from the earthquake being violent and great, the rocks also were rent. And the tombs of the dead were opened, and the curtain of the temple was rent, and there was darkness from the sixth hour till the ninth. And from all these things that had happened the Jews were afraid, and said: Certainly this was a just man. And Longinus, the centurion who stood by, said: Truly this was a son of God. Others coming and seeing Him, beat their breasts from fear, and again turned back.

And the centurion having perceived all these so great miracles, went away and reported them to Pilate. And when he heard, he wondered and was astonished, and from his fear and grief would neither eat nor drink that day. And he sent notice, and all the Sanhedrin came to him as soon as the darkness was past; and he said to the people: You know how the sun has been darkened; you know how the curtain has been rent. Certainly I did well in being by no means willing to put to death the good man. And the malefactors said to Pilate: This darkness is an eclipse of the sun, such as has happened also at other times. Then they say to him: We hold the feast of unleavened bread tomorrow; and we entreat thee, since the crucified are still breathing, that their bones be broken, and that they be brought down. Pilate said: It shall be so. He therefore sent soldiers, and they found the two robbers yet breathing, and they broke their legs; but finding Jesus dead, they did not touch Him at all, except that a soldier speared Him in the right side, and immediately there came forth blood and water.

And as the day of the preparation was drawing towards evening, Joseph, a man well-born and rich, a God-fearing Jew, finding Nicodemus, whose sentiments his foregoing speech had shown, says to him: I know that thou didst love Jesus when living, and didst gladly hear his words, and I saw thee fighting with the Jews on his account. If, then, it seem good to thee,

let us go to Pilate, and beg the body of Jesus for burial, because it is a great sin for him to lie unburied. I am afraid, said Nicodemus, lest Pilate should be enraged, and some evil should befall me. But if thou wilt go alone, and beg the dead, and take him, then will I also go with thee, and help thee to do everything necessary for the burial. Nicodemus having thus spoken, Joseph directed his eyes to heaven, and prayed that he might not fail in his request; and he went away to Pilate, and having saluted him, sat down. Then he says to him: I entreat thee, my Lord, not to be angry with me, if I shall ask anything contrary to what seems good to your highness. And he said: And what is it that thou askest? Joseph says: Jesus, the good man whom through hatred the Jews have taken away to crucify, him I entreat that thou give me for burial. Pilate says: And what has happened, that we should deliver to be honored again the dead body of him against whom evidence of sorcery was brought by his nation, and who was in suspicion of taking the kingdom of Caesar, and so was given up by us to death? And Joseph, weeping and in great grief, fell at the feet of Pilate, saying: My Lord, let no hatred fall upon a dead man; for all the evil that a man has done should perish with him in his death. And I know your highness, how eager thou wast that Jesus should not be crucified, and how much thou saidst to the Jews on his behalf, now in entreaty and again in anger, and at last how thou didst wash thy hands, and declare that thou wouldst by no means take part with those who wished him to be put to death; for all which reasons I entreat thee not to refuse my request. Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus lying, and supplicating, and weeping, raised him up, and said: Go, I grant thee this dead man; take him, and do whatever thou wilt.

And then Joseph, having thanked Pilate, and kissed his hands and his garments, went forth, rejoicing indeed in heart as having obtained his desire, but carrying tears in his eyes. Thus also, though grieved, he was glad. Accordingly he goes away to Nicodemus, and discloses to him all that had happened. Then, having bought myrrh and aloes a hundred pounds, and a new tomb, they, along with the mother of God and Mary Magdalene and Salome, along with John, and the rest of the women, did what was customary for the body with white linen, and placed it in the tomb.

And the mother of God said, weeping: How am I not to lament thee, my son? How should I not tear my face with my nails? This is that, my son, which Symeon the elder foretold to me when I brought thee, an infant of forty days old, into the temple. This is the sword which now goes through my soul. Who shall put a stop to my tears, my sweetest son? No one at all except thyself alone, if, as thou saidst, thou shalt rise again in three days.

Mary Magdalene said, weeping: Hear, O peoples, tribes, and tongues, and learn to what death the lawless Jews have delivered him who did them ten thousand good deeds. Hear, and be astonished. Who will let these things be heard by all the world? I shall go alone to Rome, to the Caesar. I shall show him what evil Pilate hath done in obeying the lawless Jews. Likewise also, Joseph lamented, saying: Ah, me! sweetest Jesus, most excellent of men, if indeed it be proper to call thee man, who hast wrought such miracles as no man has ever done. How shall I enshroud thee? How shall I entomb thee? There should now have been here those whom thou fedst with a few loaves; for thus should I not have seemed to fail in what is due.

Then Joseph, along with Nicodemus, went home; and likewise also the mother of God, with the women, John also being present with them.

CHAPTER 12

When the Jews were made acquainted with these things done by Joseph and Nicodemus, they were greatly stirred up against them. And the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas sent for Joseph, and said: Why hast thou done this service to Jesus? Joseph says: I know that Jesus was a man just, and true, and good in all respects; and I know also that you, through hatred, managed to murder him: and therefore I buried him. Then the high priests were enraged, and laid hold of Joseph, and threw him into prison, and said to him: If we had not tomorrow the feast of unleavened bread, tomorrow also should we have put thee, like him, to death; but being kept in the meantime, early in the morning of the Lord’s day thou shall be given up to death. Thus they spoke, and affixed their seal to the prison, having secured it by fastenings of all sorts.

Thus, therefore, when the Preparation was ended, early on the Sabbath the Jews went away to Pilate, and said to him: My Lord, that deceiver said, that after three days he should rise again. Lest, therefore, his disciples should steal him by night, and lead the people astray by such deceit, order his tomb to be guarded. Pilate therefore, upon this, gave them five hundred soldiers, who also sat round the sepulcher so as to guard it, after having put seals upon the stone of the tomb.

The Lord's day, then, having dawned, the chief priests, along with the Jews, called a council, and sent to take Joseph out of the prison, in order to put him to death. But having opened it, they found him not. And they were astonished at this — how, with the doors shut, and the bolts safe, and the seals unbroken, Joseph had disappeared.

CHAPTER 13

And upon this there came up one of the soldiers guarding the tomb, and he said in the synagogue: Learn that Jesus has risen. The Jews say: How? And he said: First there was an earthquake; then an angel of the Lord, clothed with lightning, came from heaven, and rolled the stone from the tomb, and sat upon it. And from fear of him, all of us soldiers became as dead, and were able neither to flee nor speak. And we heard the angels saying to the women who came there to see the tomb: Be not you afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus. He is not here, but is risen, as He told you before. Bend down and see the tomb where His body lay; but go and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead, and let them go into Galilee, for there shall they find Him. For this reason I tell you this first.

The Jews say to the soldiers: What sort of women were they who came to the tomb? and why did you not lay hold of them? The soldiers say: From the fear and the mere sight of the angel, we were able neither to speak nor move. The Jews said: As the God of Israel liveth, we do not believe a word you say. The soldiers say: Jesus did so great wonders, and you believed not, and are you going to believe us? You say truly that God liveth; and certainly he whom you crucified truly liveth. But we have heard that you had Joseph shut up in the prison, and that you afterwards opened the doors, and did not find him. Do you then present Joseph, and

so we also shall present Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph, that fled from the prison, you will find in Arimathaea, his own country. And the soldiers say: Go you too into Galilee, and you will find Jesus, as the angel said to the women.

At these words the Jews were afraid, and said to the soldiers: See that you tell this story to nobody, or all will believe in Jesus. And for this reason they gave them also much money. And the soldiers said: We are afraid lest by any chance Pilate hear that we have taken money, and he will kill us. And the Jews said: Take it; and we pledge ourselves that we shall speak to Pilate in your defense. Only say that you were asleep, and in your slumber the disciples of Jesus came and stole him from the tomb. The soldiers therefore took the money, and said as they were bid. And up to this day this same lying tale is told among the Jews.

CHAPTER 14

And a few days after there came from Galilee to Jerusalem three men. One of them was a priest, by name Phinees; the second a Levite, by name Aggai; and the third a soldier, by name Adas. These came to the chief priests, and said to them and to the people: Jesus, whom you crucified, we have seen in Galilee with his eleven disciples upon the Mount of Olives, teaching them, and saying, Go into all the world, and proclaim the good news; and whosoever will believe and be baptized shall be saved; but whosoever will not believe shall be condemned. And having thus spoken, he went up into heaven. And both we and many others of the five hundred besides were looking on.

And when the chief priests and the Jews heard these things, they said to these three: Give glory to the God of Israel, and repent of these lies that you have told. They answered: As the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we do not lie, but tell you the truth. Then the high priest spoke, and they brought the old covenant of the Hebrews out of the temple, and he made them swear, and giving them also money, he sent them into another place, in order that they might not proclaim in Jerusalem the resurrection of Christ.

And when these stories had been heard by all the people, the crowd came together into the temple, and there was a great commotion. For many said: Jesus has risen from the dead, as we hear, and why did you crucify him? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Do not believe, ye Jews, what the soldiers say; and do not believe that they saw an angel coming down from heaven. For we have given money to the soldiers, in order that they should not tell such tales to any one; and thus also have the disciples of Jesus given them money, in order that they should say that Jesus has risen from the dead.

CHAPTER 15

Nicodemus says: O children of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the prophet Helias went up into the height of heaven with a fiery chariot, and it is nothing incredible if Jesus too has risen; for the prophet Helias was a prototype of Jesus, in order that you, hearing that Jesus has risen, might not disbelieve. I therefore say and advise, that it is befitting that we send soldiers into Galilee, to that place where these men testify, that they saw him with his disciples, in order that they may go round about and find him, and that thus we may ask pardon of him for the evil which we have done to him. This proposal pleased them; and they chose soldiers, and sent them away into Galilee. And Jesus indeed they did not find; but they found Joseph in Arimathaea.

When, therefore, the soldiers had returned, the chief priests, having ascertained that Joseph was found, brought the people together, and said: What shall we do to get Joseph to come to us? After deliberating, therefore, they wrote to him a letter to the following effect: — O father Joseph, peace be to thee and all thy house, and thy friends! We know that we have offended against God, and against thee His servant. On account of this, we entreat thee to come here to us thy children. For we bare wondered much how thou didst escape from the prison, and we say in truth that we had an evil design against thee. But God, seeing that our designs against thee were unjust, has delivered thee out of our hands. But come to us, for thou art the honor of our people.

This letter the Jews sent to Arimathaea, with seven soldiers, friends of Joseph. And they went away and found him; and having respectfully

saluted him, as they had been ordered, they gave him the letter, And after receiving it and reading it, he glorified God, and embraced the soldiers; and having set a table, ate and drank with them during all the day and the night.

And on the following day he set out with them to Jerusalem; and the people came forth to meet him, and embraced him. And Nicodemus received him into his own house. And the day after, Annas and Caiaphas, the chief priests, having summoned him to the temple, said to him: Give glory to the God of Israel, and tell us the truth. For we know that thou didst bury Jesus; and on this account we laid hold of thee, and locked thee up in the prison. Thereafter, when we sought to bring thee out to be put to death, we did not find thee, and we were greatly astonished and afraid. Moreover, we prayed to God that we might find thee, and ask thee. Tell us therefore the truth.

Joseph said to them: In the evening of the Preparation, when you secured me in prison, I fell a-praying throughout the whole night, and throughout the whole day of the Sabbath. And at midnight I see the prison-house that four angels lifted it up, holding it by the four corners. And Jesus came in like lightning, and I fell to the ground from fear. Taking hold of me, therefore, by the hand, he raised me, saying, Fear not, Joseph. Thereafter, embracing me, he kissed me, and said, Turn thyself, and see who I am. Turning myself, therefore, and looking, I said, My Lord, I know not who thou art. He says, I am Jesus, whom thou didst bury the day before yesterday. I say to him, Show me the tomb, and then I shall believe. He took me, therefore, by the hand, and led me away to the tomb, which had been opened. And seeing the linen and the napkin, and recognizing him, I said, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and I adored him. Then taking me by the hand, and accompanied by the angels, he brought me to my house in Arimathaea, and said to me, Sit here for forty days; for I go to my disciples, in order that I may enable them fully to proclaim my resurrection.

CHAPTER 16

When Joseph had thus spoken, the chief priests cried out to the people: We know that Jesus had a father and mother; how can we believe that he is

the Christ? One of the Levites answered and said: I know the family of Jesus, noble-minded men, great servants of God, and receiving tithes from the people of the Jews. And I know also Symeon the elder, that he received him when he was an infant, and said to him: Now thou sendest away Thy servant, O Lord.

The Jews said: Let us now find the three men that saw him on the Mount of Olives, that we may question them, and learn the truth more accurately. They found them, and brought them before all, and made them swear to tell the truth. And they said: As the God of Israel liveth, we saw Jesus alive on the Mount of Olives, and going up into heaven.

Then Annas and Caiaphas took the three apart, one by one, and questioned them singly in private. They agreed with one another, therefore, and gave, even the three, one account. The chief priests answered, saying: Our Scripture says that every word shall be established by two or three witnesses. Joseph, then, has confessed that he, along with Nicodemus, attended to his body, and buried him, and how it is the truth that he has risen.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART 2 — THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HELL

GREEK FORM

CHAPTER 1

Joseph says: And why do you wonder that Jesus has risen? But it is wonderful that He has not risen alone, but that He has also raised many others of the dead who have appeared in Jerusalem to many. And if you do not know the others, Symeon at least, who received Jesus, and his two sons whom He has raised up

them at least you know. For we buried them not long ago; but now their tombs are seen open and empty, and they are alive, and dwelling in Arimathaea. They therefore sent men, and they found their tombs open and empty. Joseph says: Let us go to Arimathaea and find them.

Then rose up the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, and Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, and others with them, and went away to Arimathaea, and found those whom Joseph spoke of. They made prayer, therefore, and saluted each other. Then they came with them to Jerusalem, and brought them into the synagogue, and secured the doors, and placed in the midst the old covenant of the Jews; and the chief priests said to them: We wish you to swear by the God of Israel and Adonai, and so that you tell the truth, how you have risen, and who has raised you from the dead.

The men who had risen having heard this, made upon their faces the sign of the cross, and said to the chief priests: Give us paper and ink and pen. These therefore they brought. And sitting down, they wrote thus: —

CHAPTER 2

O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the world, grant us grace that we may give an account of Thy resurrection, and Thy miracles which Thou didst in Hades. We then were in Hades, with all who had fallen asleep since the beginning of the world. And at the hour of midnight there rose a light as if of the sun, and shone into these dark regions; and we were all lighted up, and saw each other. And straightway our father Abraham was united with the patriarchs and the prophets, and at the same time they were filled with joy, and said to each other: This light is from a great source of light. The prophet Hesaias, who was there present, said: This light is from the Father, and from the Son, and from the Holy Spirit; about whom I prophesied when yet alive, saying, The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, the people that sat in darkness, have seen a great light.

Then there came into the midst another, an ascetic from the desert; and the patriarchs said to him: Who art thou? And he said: I am John, the last of the prophets, who made the paths of the Son of God straight, and proclaimed to the people repentance for the remission of sins. And the Son of God came to me; and I, seeing Him a long way off, said to the people: Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. And with my hand I baptized Him in the river Jordan, and I saw like a dove also the Holy Spirit coming upon Him; and I heard also the voice of God, even the Father, thus saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And on this account He sent me also to you, to proclaim how the only begotten Son of God is coming here, that whosoever shall believe in Him shall be saved, and whosoever shall not believe in Him shall be condemned. On this account I say to you all, in order that when you see Him you all may adore Him, that now only is for you the time of repentance for having adored idols in the vain upper world, and for the sins you have committed, and that this is impossible at any other time.

CHAPTER 3

While John, therefore, was thus teaching those in Hades, the first created and forefather Adam heard, and said to his son Seth: My son, I wish thee to tell the forefathers of the race of men and the prophets where I sent thee, when it fell to my lot to die. And Seth said: Prophets and patriarchs, hear. When my father Adam, the first created, was about to fall once upon a time into death, he sent me to make entreaty to God very close by the gate of paradise, that He would guide me by an angel to the tree of compassion and that I might take oil and anoint my father, and that he might rise up from his sickness: which thing, therefore, I also did. And after the prayer an angel of the Lord came, and said to me: What, Seth, dost thou ask? Dost thou ask oil which raiseth up the sick, or the tree from which this oil flows, on account of the sickness of thy father? This is not to be found now. Go, therefore, and tell thy father, that after the accomplishing of five thousand five hundred years from the creation of the world, thou shall come into the earth the only begotten Son of God, being made man; and He shall anoint him with this oil, and shall raise him up; and shall wash clean, with water and with the Holy Spirit, both him and those out of him, and then shall he be healed of every disease; but now this is impossible.

When the patriarchs and the prophets heard these words, they rejoiced greatly.

CHAPTER 4

And when all were in such joy, came Satan the heir of darkness, and said to Hades: O all-devouring and insatiable, hear my words. There is of the race of the Jews one named Jesus, calling himself the Son of God; and being a man, by our working with them the Jews have crucified him: and now when he is dead, be ready that we may secure him here. For I know that he is a man, and I heard him also saying, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death. He has also done me many evils when living with mortals in the upper world. For wherever he found my servants, he persecuted them; and whatever men I made crooked, blind, lame, lepers, or

any such thing, by a single word he healed them; and many whom I had got ready to be buried, even these through a single word he brought to life again.

Hades says: And is this man so powerful as to do such things by a single word? or if he be so, canst thou withstand him? It seems to me that, if he be so, no one will be able to withstand him. And if thou sayest that thou didst hear him dreading death, he said this mocking thee, and laughing, wishing to seize thee with the strong hand; and woe, woe to thee, to all eternity!

Satan says: O all-devouring and insatiable Hades, art thou so afraid at hearing of our common enemy? I was not afraid of him, but worked in the Jews, and they crucified him, and gave him also to drink gall with vinegar. Make ready, then, in order that you may lay fast hold of him when he comes.

Hades answered: Heir of darkness, son of destruction, devil, thou hast just now told me that many whom thou hadst made ready to be buried, be brought to life again by a single word. And if he has delivered others from the tomb, how and with what power shall he be laid hold of by us? For I not long ago swallowed down one dead, Lazarus by name; and not long after, one of the living by a single word dragged him up by force out of my bowels: and I think that it was he of whom thou speakest. If, therefore, we receive him here, I am afraid lest perchance we be in danger even about the rest. For, lo, all those that I have swallowed from eternity I perceive to be in commotion, and I am pained in my belly. And the snatching away of Lazarus beforehand seems to me to be no good sign: for not like a dead body, but like an eagle, he flew out of me; for so suddenly did the earth throw him out. Wherefore also I adjure even thee, for thy benefit and for mine, not to bring him here; for I think that he is coming here to raise all the dead. And this I tell thee: by the darkness in which we live, if thou bring him here, not one of the dead will be left behind in it to me.

CHAPTER 5

While Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other, there was a great voice like thunder, saying: Lift up your gates, O ye rulers; and be ye lifted

up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. When Hades heard, he said to Satan: Go forth, if thou art able, and withstand him. Satan therefore went forth to the outside. Then Hades says to his demons: Secure well and strongly the gates of brass and the bars of iron, and attend to my bolts, and stand in order, and see to everything; for if he come in here, woe will seize us.

The forefathers having heard this, began all to revile him, saying: O all-devouring and insatiable! open, that the King of glory may come in. David the prophet says: Dost thou not know, O blind, that I when living in the world prophesied this saying: Lift up your gates, O ye rulers? Hesaias said: I, foreseeing this by the Holy Spirit, wrote: The dead shall rise up, and those in their tombs shall be raised, and those in the earth shall rejoice. And where, O death, is thy sting? where, O Hades, is thy victory?

There came, then, again a voice saying: Lift up the gates. Hades, hearing the voice the second time, answered as if forsooth he did not know, and says: Who is this King of glory? The angels of the Lord say: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. And immediately with these words the brazen gates were shattered, and the iron bars broken, and all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons, and we with the n And the King of glory came in in the form of a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up.

CHAPTER 6

Immediately Hades cried out: We have been conquered: woe to us! But who art thou, that hast such power and might? and what art thou, who comest here without sin who art seen to be small and yet of great power, lowly and exalted, the slave and the master, the soldier and the king, who hast power over the dead and the living? Thou wast nailed on the cross, and placed in the tomb; and now thou art free, and hast destroyed all our power. Art thou then the Jesus about whom the chief satrap Satan told us, that through cross and death thou art to inherit the whole world?

Then the King of glory seized the chief satrap Satan by the head, and delivered him to His angels, and said: With iron chains bind his hands and

his feet, and his neck, and his mouth. Then He delivered him to Hades, and said: Take him, and keep him secure till my second appearing.

CHAPTER 7

And Hades receiving Satan, said to him: Beelzebul, heir of fire and punishment, enemy of the saints, through what necessity didst thou bring about that the King of glory should be crucified, so that he should come here and deprive us of our power? Turn and see that not one of the dead has been left in me, but all that thou hast gained through the tree of knowledge, all hast thou lost through the tree of the cross: and all thy joy has been turned into grief; and wishing to put to death the King of glory, thou hast put thyself to death. For, since i have received thee to keep thee safe, by experience shall thou learn how many evils I shall do unto thee. O arch-devil, the beginning of death, root of sin, end of all evil, what evil didst thou find in Jesus, that thou shouldst compass his destruction? how hast thou dared to do such evil? how hast thou busied thyself to bring down such a man into this darkness, through whom thou hast been deprived of all who have died from eternity?

CHAPTER 8

While Hades was thus discoursing to Satan, the King of glory stretched out His right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam, and raised him. Then turning also to the rest, He said: Come all with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched: for, behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross. Thereupon He brought them all out, and our forefather Adam seemed to be filled with joy, and said: I thank Thy majesty, O Lord, that Thou hast brought me up out of the lowest Hades. Likewise also all the prophets and the saints said: We thank Thee, O Christ, Savior of the world, that Thou hast brought our life up out of destruction.

And after they had thus spoken, the Savior blessed Adam with the sign of the cross on his forehead, and did this also to tire patriarchs, and prophets, and martyrs, and forefathers; and He took them, and sprang up out of

Hades. And while He was going, the holy fathers accompanying Him sang praises, saying: Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord: Alleluia; to Him be the glory of oil the saints.

CHAPTER 9

And setting out to paradise, He took hold of our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the just, to the archangel Michael. And as they were going into the door of paradise, there met them two old men, to whom the holy fathers said: Who are you, who have not seen death, and have not come down into Hades, but who dwell in paradise in your bodies and your souls? One of them answered, and said: I am Enoch, who was well-pleasing to God, and who was translated hither by Him; and this is Helias the Thesbite; and we are also to live until the end of the world; and then we are to be sent by God to withstand Antichrist, and to be slain by him, and after three days to rise again, and to be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord.

CHAPTER 10

While they were thus speaking, there came another lowly man, carrying also upon his shoulders a cross, to whom the holy fathers said: Who art thou, who hast the look of a robber; and what is the cross which thou bearest upon thy shoulders? He answered: I, as you say, was a robber and a thief in the world, and for these things the Jews laid hold of me, and delivered me to the death of the cross, along with our Lord Jesus Christ. While, then, He was hanging upon the cross, I, seeing the miracles that were done, believed in Him, and entreated Him, and said, Lord, when Thou shall be King, do not forget me. And immediately He said to me, Amen, amen: today, I say unto thee, shall thou be with me in paradise. Therefore I came to paradise carrying my cross; and finding the archangel Michael, I said to him, Our Lord Jesus, who has been crucified, has sent me here; bring me, therefore, to the gate of Eden. And the flaming sword, seeing the sign of the cross, opened to me, and I went in. Then the archangel says to me, Wait a little, for there cometh also the forefather of the race of men,

Adam, with the just, that they too may come in. And now, seeing you, I came to meet you.

The saints hearing these things, all cried out with a loud voice: Great is our Lord, and great is His strength.

CHAPTER 11

All these things we saw and heard; we, the two brothers, who also have been sent by Michael the archangel, and have been ordered to proclaim the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go away to the Jordan and to be baptized. Thither also we have gone, and have been baptized with the rest of the dead who have risen. Thereafter also we came to Jerusalem, and celebrated the passover of the resurrection. But now we are going away, being unable to stay here. And the love of God, even the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all.

Having written these things, and secured the rolls, they gave the half to the chief priests, and the half to Joseph and Nicodemus. And they immediately disappeared: to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART 1 — ACTS OF PILATE

LATIN FORM

I AENEAS was at first a protector of the Hebrews, and follower of the law; then the grace of the Savior and His great gift took possession of me. I recognized Christ Jesus in holy Scripture; I came to Him, and embraced His faith, so that I might become worthy of His holy baptism. First of all I searched for the memoirs written in those times about our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews published in the age of Pontius Pilate, and we found them in Hebrew writings, drawn up in the age of the Lord Jesus Christ; and I translated them into the language of the Gentiles, in the reign of the eminent Theodosius, who was fulfilling his seventeenth consulship, and of Valentinian, consul for the fifth time in the ninth indiction. Whosoever of you read this book, and transfer it to other copies, remember me, and pray for me, Aeneas, least of the servants of God, that He be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I have committed against Him. Peace be to all who shall read these, and to all their house, for ever! Amen.

Now it came to pass, in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, and of Herod, son of Herod king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on the eighth day before the kalends of April, which is the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, in the consulship of Rufinus and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the 202d Olympiad, under the rule of Joseph and Caiaphas, priests of the Jews: the things done by the chief priests and the rest of the Jews, which Nicodemus recorded after the cross and passion of the Lord, Nicodemus himself committed to Hebrew letters.

CHAPTER 1

Annas and Caiaphas, Summas and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Neptalim, Alexander and Jairus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate, accusing the Lord Jesus Christ of many things, and saying: We know him to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king. Not only so, but he also breaks the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says: What is it that he does, and wishes to destroy the law? The Jews say: we have a law, not to heal any one on the Sabbath; but he, by evil arts, heals on the Sabbath the lame and the hunchbacked, the blind, the palsied, the lepers, and the demoniacs. Pilate says to them: By what evil arts? They say to him: He is a sorcerer; and by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casts out demons, and they are all subject to him. Pilate says to them: It is not in an unclean spirit to cast out demons, but in the God of Scolapius.

The Jews say: We pray thy majesty to set him before thy tribunal to be heard. Pilate, calling the Jews to him, says to them: How can I, seeing that I am a governor, hear a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says he is. And Pilate, calling a runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with kindness. And the runner, going out and recognizing Him, adored Him, and spread on the ground the cloak which he carried in his hand, saying: My Lord, walk upon this, and come in, because the governor calls thee. But the Jews, seeing what the runner did, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why didst not thou make him come in by the voice of a crier, but by a runner? for the runner, too, seeing him, has adored him, and has spread out before him on the ground the cloak which he held in his hand, and has said to him: My Lord, the governor calls thee. And Pilate, calling the runner, says to him: Wherefore hast thou done this, and honored Jesus, who is called Christ? The runner says to him: When thou didst send me into Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews breaking branches from the trees, strewing them in the way; and others held branches in their hands; and others spread their garments in the way, shouting and saying, Save, therefore, Thou who art in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!

The Jews cried out, saying against the runner: The children of the Hebrews indeed cried out in Hebrew. How canst thou, a Gentile, know this? The runner says to them: I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it that they cry out in Hebrew? and he explained to me. Pilate says to them: And how did they cry out in Hebrew? The Jews said: Osanna in the highest! Pilate says to them: What is the meaning of Osanna in the highest? They say to him: Save us, Thou who art in the highest. Pilate says to them: If you yourselves bear witness to the terms and words in which the children cried out, in what has the runner sinned? And they were silent. The governor says to the runner: Go out, and lead him in, in whatever way thou wilt. And the runner, going forth, did after the same form as before, and says to Jesus: My Lord, go in, because the governor calls thee.

As Jesus, then, was going in, and the standard-bearers bearing the standards, the heads of the standards were bowed of themselves, and adored Jesus. And the Jews, seeing the standards, how they bowed themselves and adored Jesus, cried out the more against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews: Do you not wonder at the way in which the standards have bowed themselves and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: we saw bow the men carrying the standards bowed themselves and adored Jesus. And the governor, calling the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you so done? They say to Pilate: We are Gentile men, and slaves of the temples: how had we to adore him? for when we were holding the figures, they themselves bowed and adored him.

Pilate says to the chiefs of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Choose ye men powerful and strong, and let them hold the standards, and let us see whether they will bow of themselves. And the elders of the Jews, taking twelve men very strong and powerful, made them hold the standards, six and six; and they stood before the governor’s tribunal. Pilate says to the runner: Take out Jesus outside of the praetorium, and bring him in again, In whatever way thou wilt. And Jesus and the runner went outside of the praetorium. And Pilate, calling those who had formerly held the standards, said to them: By the health of Caesar, if the standards do not bow themselves when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the governor ordered Jesus to come in a second time. And the runner did after the same form as before, and besought Jesus much that He would go

up and walk upon his cloak. And He walked upon it, and went in. And as Jesus was going in, immediately the standards bowed themselves, and adored Jesus.

CHAPTER 2

And Pilate seeing, fear seized him, and immediately he wished to rise from the tribunal. And while he was thinking of this, viz., to rise and go away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And Pilate, calling the Jews, said to them: Ye know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and in Judaism thinks rather with you. The Jews say to him: So it is, and we know. Pilate says to them: Lo, my wife has sent to me, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, said to Pilate: Did we not say to thee that he is a magician? Lo, he has sent a vision of dreams to thy wife.

Pilate called Jesus, and said to him: What is it that these witness against thee, and sayest thou nothing to them? And Jesus answered: If they had not the power, they would not speak. Every one has power over his own mouth to say good and evil; let them see to it.

And the elders of the Jews answering, say to Jesus: What shall we see? First, that thou wast born of fornication; second, that at thy birth in Bethlehem there took place a massacre of infants; third, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, kind men of the Jews, say: We say that he was not born of fornication; but we know that Mary, was espoused to Joseph, and that he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This speech of yours is not true, seeing that the betrothal took place, as these of your nation say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: We with all the multitude say that he was born of fornication, and that he is a magician; but these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They have been born sons of the Gentiles, and then have become Jews. Then answered those who testified that Jesus was not born

of fornication, Lazarus and Asterius, Antonius and James, Annes and Azaras, Samuel and Isaac, Finees and Crispus, Agrippa and Judas: We were not born proselytes, but are sons of the Jews, and we speak the truth; for we were present at the betrothal of Mary.

And Pilate, calling to him those twelve men who proved that Jesus had not been born of fornication, said to them: I adjure you by the health of Caesar, tell me if it be true that Jesus was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate We have a law not to swear, because it is a sin; but let them swear by the health of Caesar that it is not as we say, and we are worthy of death. Then said Pilate to Annas and Caiaphas: Answer you nothing to those things which these testify? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: Those twelve are believed that he is not born of fornication; we — all the people — cry out that he was born of fornication, and is a magician, and says that he himself is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

And Pilate ordered all the multitude to go outside, except the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, and ordered to separate Jesus from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do the Jews wish to put Jesus to death? And they say to him: They are angry because he heals on the Sabbath. Pilate said: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes, my Lord.

CHAPTER 3

Pilate, filled with fury, went forth outside of the praetorium, and says to them: I take the sun to witness that I find in this man not even one fault. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If he were not an evil-doer, we should never have delivered him to thee. Pilate says to them: Take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews answered: It is not permitted to us to put any one to death. Pilate says to them: Has God said to you not to put any one to death? has He therefore said to me that I am to kill?

Pilate, having again gone into the praetorium, called Jesus to him privately, and said to Him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate: Speakest thou this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered: Am I a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have delivered

thee to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answering, said: My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would assuredly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said to Him: Art thou then a king? Jesus said to him: Thou sayest that I am a king. For I for this was born, and for this have I come, that I should bear witness to the truth; and every one who is of the truth hears my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is not there truth upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Notice now the truth-speaking are judged by those who have power upon earth.

CHAPTER 4

Pilate therefore, leaving Jesus within the praetorium, went out to the Jews, and says to them: I find not even one fault in him. The Jews say to him: He said, I can destroy that temple, and in three days raise it again. Pilate said to them: What temple? The Jews say to him: The temple which Solomon built in forty and six years; and he says that he can destroy and build it in three days. Pilate says to them: I am innocent of the blood of this man; see ye to it. The Jews say to him: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

And Pilate, calling the elders and priests and Levites, says to them privately: Do not do so; for in nothing, though you accuse him, do I find him deserving of death, not even about the healing and the breaking of the Sabbath. The priests and Levites and elders say: Tell us, if any one blaspheme Caesar, is he deserving of death or not? Pilate says to them: He deserves to die. The Jews answered him: How much more is he who has blasphemed God deserving to die!

And the governor ordered the Jews to go outside of the praetorium; and calling Jesus, said to Him: What am I to do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: As it has been given thee. Pilate says: How has it been given? Jesus says: Moses and the prophets made proclamation of my death and resurrection. And the Jews, hearing this, say to Pilate: Why do you desire any more to hear blasphemy? And Pilate said: If this speech is blasphemous, do you take him, and lead him to your synagogue, and judge him according to your

law. The Jews say to Pilate: Our law holds, If a man have sinned against a man, he is worthy to receive forty less one; but he who has blasphemed against God, to be stoned.

Pilate says to them: Then judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: we wish that he be crucified. Pilate says to them: He does not deserve to be crucified.

And the governor, looking upon the people of the Jews standing round, saw very many of the Jews weeping, and said: All the multitude does not wish him to die. The elders say to Pilate: And for this reason have we come — the whole multitude — that he should die. Pilate said to the Jews: What has he done that he should die? They say: Because he said that he was the Son of God, and a king.

CHAPTER 5

But one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the governor, and said: I entreat, mercifully allow me to say a few words. Pilate says to him: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and the Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews, in the synagogue, What have you to do with this man? This man does many wonders and signs, which no one of men has done or can do, Let him go, and do not devise any evil against him: if the signs which he does are of God, they will stand; but if of men, they will come to nothing. For Moses also, being sent by God into Egypt, did many signs, which God told him to do before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And the sorcerers Jamnes and Mambres were there healing, and they did, they also, the signs which Moses did, but not all; and the Egyptians deemed them as gods, Jamnes and Mambres. And since the signs which they did were not of God, they perished, both they and those who believed in them. And now let this man go, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and takest his part. Nicodemus says to them: Has the governor also become his disciple, and does he take his part? Has not Caesar set him over that dignity? And the Jews were raging and gnashing with their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash with your teeth against him, when you are hearing the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou

receive his truth, and a portion with him! Nicodemus says: Amen, amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said!

CHAPTER 6

And of the Jews a certain other one, starting up, asks the governor that he might say a word. The governor says: What thou wishest to say, say. And he said: For thirty-eight years I lay in infirmity in my bed in very grievous pain. And at the coming of Jesus, many demoniacs, and persons held down by divers infirmities, were healed by him. And some young men had pity on me; and carrying me in my bed, laid me before him. And Jesus, seeing, had pity on me, and said the word to me, Take up thy bed, and walk. And immediately I was made whole; I took up my bed, and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him what was the day on which he was healed. He said: The Sabbath. The Jews say: Have we not so informed thee, that on the Sabbath he heals, and drives out demons?

And a certain other Jew starting up, said: I was born blind; I heard a voice, and saw no man. And as Jesus was passing by, I cried out with a loud voice, Have pity upon me, thou son of David. And he had pity upon me, and laid his hands upon my eyes, and I saw immediately. And another Jew starting up, said: I was hunchbacked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was leprous, and he healed me with a word.

CHAPTER 7

And also a certain woman, Veronica by name, from afar off cried out to the governor: I was flowing with blood for twelve years; and I touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately the flowing of my blood stopped. The Jews say: We have a law, that a woman does not come to bear witness.

CHAPTER 8

And certain others, a multitude of men and women, cried out, saying: That man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to those who said the demons are subject to him: And your masters, why are they not subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said to Pilate: He raised up dead Lazarus from the tomb after four days. The governor, hearing this, said trembling to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to shed innocent blood?

CHAPTER 9

And Pilate, calling Nicodemus and the twelve men who said that He was not born of fornication, says to them: What am I to do, seeing that there is a sedition among the people? They say to him: We do not know; let them see to it. Again Pilate, calling all the multitude of the Jews, said: You know that you have a custom during the day of unleavened bread, that I should release to you one that is bound. I have a notable one bound in the prison, a murderer who is called Barabbas, and Jesus who is called Christ, in whom I find no cause of death. Whom do you wish that I should release unto you? And they all cried out, saying: Release unto us Barabbas. Pilate says to them: What, then, am I to do with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say: Let him be crucified. Again the Jews said: Thou art no friend of Caesar's if thou release; this man, for he called himself the Son of God, and a king; unless, perhaps, thou wishest this man to be king, and not Caesar.

Then, filled with fury, Pilate said to them: Always has your nation been seditious, and always have you been opposed to those who were for you. The Jews answered: Who are for us? Pilate says to them: Your God, — who rescued you from the hard slavery of the Egyptians, and led you forth out of Egypt through the sea as if through dry land, and fed you in the desert with manna and quail, and brought water to you out of the rock, and gave you to drink, and gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked your God, and sought for yourselves a God, a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and He wished to slay you; and Moses made

supplication for you, that ye should not die. And now you say that I hate the king.

And rising up from the tribunal, he wished to go outside. And the Jews cried out, and said to him: We know that Caesar is king, and not Jesus. For the Magi also presented gifts to him as to a king; and Herod, hearing from the Magi that a king was born, wished to slay him. But when this was known, his father Joseph took him and his mother, and fled into Egypt; and Herod hearing, destroyed the infants of the Jews which were born in Bethlehem.

Pilate, hearing those words, was afraid. And silence being made among the people, who were crying out, Pilate said: This, then, is he whom Herod sought? They say to him: It is he. And taking water, Pilate washed his hands in presence of the people, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. Again the Jews cried out, saying: His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

Then Pilate ordered the veil to be loosened, and said to Jesus: Thine own nation have brought charges against thee as a king; and therefore I have sentenced thee first to be scourged on account of the statutes of the emperors, and then to be crucified on a cross.

CHAPTER 10

And when Jesus was scourged, he delivered Him to the Jews to be crucified, and two robbers with Him; one by name Dismas, and the other by name Gestas. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of His garments, and girt Him about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon His head. Likewise also they hanged the two robbers with Him, Dismas on the right and Gestas on the left. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His garments among them. And the people stood waiting; and their chief priests and judges mocked Him, saying among themselves: He saved others, now let him save himself; if he is the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers mocked Him, falling prostrate before Him, and offering vinegar with gall, and saying: If thou art the King of the Jews, set thyself free.

And Pilate, after sentence, ordered a title to be written in Hebrew. Greek, and Latin letters, according to what the Jews said: This is the King of the Jews.

And one of the robbers who were hanged, by name Gestas, said to Him: If thou art the Christ, free thyself and us. And Dismas answering, rebuked him, saying: Dost not even thou fear God, who art in this condemnation? for we justly and deservedly have received those things which we endure; but He has done no evil. And he kept saying to Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Verily I say unto thee, that today shalt thou be with me in paradise.

CHAPTER 11

And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the whole earth; and the sun was obscured, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And crying out with a loud voice, He said: Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. And thus saying, He gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what was done, glorified God, saying: This was a just man. And all the people who were present at that spectacle, seeing what was done, beating their breasts, returned.

And the centurion reported to the governor what was done. And the governor and his wife hearing, were very sorrowful, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate, calling together the Jews, said to them: Have you seen what has been done? And they said to the governor: There has been an eclipse of the sun, as is usual.

And his acquaintances also stood afar off, and the women who had followed Him from Galilee, seeing these things. And lo, a certain man, by name Joseph, holding office, a man good and just, who did not consent to their counsels nor their deeds, from Arimathaea, a city of the Jews, waiting, he also, for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And taking Him down from the cross, he wrapped Him in clean linen, and laid Him in his own new tomb, in which no one had been laid.

CHAPTER 12

And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought for him; and those twelve men who had said that He was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others, who had stood before Pilate and declared His good works. And all of them being hid, Nicodemus alone appeared to them, because he was a chief man of the Jews; and he says to them: How have ye come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: And thou, how hast thou come into the synagogue, seeing that thou consentest with him? May his portion be with thee in the world to come! Nicodemus said: Amen, amen, amen. Likewise also Joseph, coming forth, said to them: Why are you enraged against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Lo, I have laid him in my own new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the cave. And ye have not acted well against a just man, since you have not born in mind how you crucified him, and pierced him with a lance. The Jews therefore, laying hold of Joseph, ordered him to be imprisoned because of the Sabbath-day; and they say to him: Know that the hour compels us not to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning. But understand that thou art worthy not even of burial, but we will give thy, flesh to the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth. Joseph says to them: That is the speech of proud Goliath, who reviled the living God against holy David. And God hath said, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. And Pilate, intercepted in his heart, took water, and washed his hands before the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I fear that some time or other the wrath of God will come upon you and your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing this, were embittered in heart; and taking Joseph, shut him up in a house where there was no window, and set guards at the gates, and sealed the gate where Joseph had been shut up.

And on the Sabbath morning they took counsel with the priests and the Levites, that they should all be assembled after the Sabbath-day. And awaking at dawn, all the multitude in the synagogue took counsel by what death they should slay him. And when the assembly was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity; and opening the gate, they

found him not. All the people therefore were in terror, and wondered with exceeding astonishment, because they found the seals sealed, and because Caiaphas had the keys. And no longer did they dare to lay hand upon those who spoke before Pilate in Jesus' defense.

CHAPTER 13

And while they were sitting in the synagogue, and recriminating about Joseph, there came certain of the guards whom they had asked from Pilate to guard the sepulcher of Jesus, lest His disciples coming should steal Him. And they reported, saying to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what had happened: how there had happened a great earthquake, and we saw how an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb, and sat upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment like snow. And for fear. we became as dead. And we heard the voice of the angel speaking to the women who had come to the sepulcher, and saying, Be not ye afraid; for I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified: He is not here; He has risen, as He said: come and see the place where the Lord was laid. And go immediately and tell His disciples that He has risen from the dead, and will go before you into Galilee, as He said to you.

The Jews say: To what women was he speaking? The soldiers say: We do not know who the women were. The Jews say: At what hour was it? The guards say: At midnight. The Jews say: And why did you not detain them? The guards say: We became as dead from fear of the angel, not hoping now to see the light of day; and how could we detain them? The Jews says: As the Lord God liveth, we do not believe you. And the guards said to the Jews: You have seen so great signs in that man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us, that the Lord lives? For well have ye sworn that the Lord Jesus Christ lives. Again the guards say to the Jews: we have heard that you have shut up Joseph, who begged the body of Jesus, in the prison, and have sealed it with your rings; and on opening, that you have not found him. Give us Joseph, then, and we shall give you Jesus Christ. The Jews said: Joseph has gone to Arimathea, his own city. The guards say to the Jews: And Jesus, as we have heard from the angel, is in Galilee.

And the Jews, hearing these sayings, feared exceedingly, saying: Lest at some time or other this saying be heard, and all believe in Jesus. And the Jews, taking counsel among themselves, brought forth a sufficient number of silver pieces, and gave to the soldiers, saying: Say that, while we slept, his disciples came and stole him. And if this be heard by the governor, we shall persuade him, and make you secure. And the soldiers, taking the money, said as they were advised by the Jews; and their saying was spread abroad among all.

CHAPTER 14

And Finees a certain priest, and Addas a teacher, and Egias a Levite, coming down from Galilee to Jerusalem, reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, how they had seen Jesus sitting, and his disciples with him, on the Mount of Olivet, which is called Mambre or Malech. And he said to his disciples: Go into all the world, and declare to every creature the Gospel of the kingdom of God. He who believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he who believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall follow them who believe: In my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak in new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they have drunk any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands upon the sick, and they shall be well. And as Jesus was thus speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

The priests and the Levites and the elders say to them: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to Him, whether you have both heard and seen those things which you have related. Those who had made the report say: As the Lord God of our fathers liveth, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, we have heard and seen. The Jews say to them: Have you come for this — to tell us? or have you come to give prayer to God? They said: We have come to give prayer to God. The elders and chief priests and Levites say to them: And if you have come to give prayer to God, why have you murmured before all the people about that foolish tale? Finees the priest, and Addas the teacher, and Egias the Levite, say to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: If those words which we have spoken, which we have

seen and heard, be sin, behold, we are in your presence; do unto us according to that which is good in your eyes. And they, taking the law, adjured them to report the words to no one thereafter. And they gave them to eat and drink, and put them outside of the city, giving them silver and pieces, and three men with them, who should conduct them as far as Galilee.

Then the Jews took counsel among themselves when those men had gone up into Galilee; and the rulers of the synagogue shut themselves in, and were cut up with great fury, saying: What sign is this which hath come to pass in Israel? And Annas and Caiaphas say: Why are your souls sorrowful? Are we to believe the soldiers, that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? No; but that his disciples have given much gold to those who were guarding the sepulcher, and have taken Jesus away, and have taught them thus to say: Say ye that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb. Do you not know that it is unlawful for Jews to believe foreigners in a single word, knowing that these same who received sufficient gold from us have said as we taught them?

CHAPTER 15

And Nicodemus rising up, stood in the midst of the counsel, and said: You have said rightly. And are not the men who have come down from Galilee God-fearing, men of peace, hating a lie? And they recounted with an oath, how “we saw Jesus sitting on Mount Mambre with his disciples, and he taught them in our hearing,” and that they saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them this: How he was taken up into heaven. And, as the writing of the holy book teaches us, holy Elias too was taken up into heaven, and Elisaeus cried out with a loud voice, and Elias threw his sheepskin over Elisaeus; and again Elisaeus threw that sheepskin over the Jordan, and went over and came to Jericho. And the sons of the prophets met him, and said to Elisaeus, Where is thy master Elias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elisaeus, Has a spirit snatched him away, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But rather let us take our boys with us and seek him. And they persuaded

Elisaeus, and he went with them. And they sought him for three days and three nights, and found him not, because he was taken up. And now, men, hear me, and let us send into all Israel, and see lest Jesus can have been taken up somewhere or other, and thrown upon one of the mountains. And that saying pleased all. And they sent to all the mountains of Israel to seek Jesus, and they found Him not; but they found Joseph of Arimathaea, and no one dared to lay hold of him.

And they reported to the elders and priests and Levites: We have gone round all the mountains of Israel, and not found Jesus; but we have found Joseph in Arimathaea. And hearing of Joseph, they rejoiced, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, taking counsel in what manner they should send to Joseph, took paper, and wrote to Joseph: —

Peace to thee and all that is thine! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and thou hast prayed to the God of Israel, and He has delivered thee out of our hands. And now deign to come to thy fathers and thy children, because we have been vehemently grieved. We have all sought for thee — we who opened the door, and found thee not. We know that we counseled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord hath supplanted our counsel against thee. Thou art worthy to be honored, father Joseph, by all the people.

And they chose out of all Israel seven men friendly to Joseph, whom also Joseph knew to be friendly; and the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites say to them: See, if he take the letter and read it, for certain he will come with you to us; but if he do not read it, you may know that he is ill-disposed toward us, and, saluting him in peace, return to us. And blessing them, they sent them away. And they came to Arimathaea to Joseph, and adored him on their face upon the ground, and said: Peace to thee and all thine! And Joseph said: Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph took and read it, and rolled up the letter, and blessed God, and said: Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel from shedding innocent blood; and blessed be God, who sent His angel, and covered me under his wings. And he kissed them, and set a table for them; and they ate and drank, and slept there.

And they rose in the morning; and Joseph saddled his ass, and traveled with them, and they came into the holy city Jerusalem. And there met them all the people, crying out, and saying: Peace be in thy coming in, father Joseph! To whom he answered and said: The peace of the Lord be upon all the people! And they all kissed him. And they prayed with Joseph, and were terrified at the sight of him. And Nicodemus took him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders and chief priests and Levites, to his house. And making merry, and eating and drinking with Joseph, they blessed God, and went every one to his own house. And Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the next day, which is the preparation, the priests and the rulers of the synagogue and the Levites rose early, and came to the house of Nicodemus. And Nicodemus met them, and said to them: Peace to you! And they said to him: Peace to thee and Joseph, and to thy house and Joseph's house! And Nicodemus brought them into his house. And the council sat; and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas, and no one dared to say a word. And Joseph said to them: Why have you called me? And they made signs with their eyes to Nicodemus, that he should speak with Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said: Father Joseph, thou knowest that the reverend teachers, priests, and Levites seek to hear a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas, taking up the law, adjured Joseph, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to Him, that thou wilt not hide any word from us. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved that thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. Therefore we shut thee up in a house where there was no window, and put a lock and a seal on the gate; and on the first day of the week we opened the gates, and found thee not. We were therefore exceedingly grieved, and astonishment came over all the people of God. And therefore hast thou been sent for; and now tell us what has happened.

Then said Joseph: On the day of the Preparation, about the tenth hour, you shut me in, and I remained there the whole Sabbath in full. And when midnight came, as I was standing and praying, the house where you shut me in was hung up by the four corners, and there was a flashing of light in mine eyes. And I fell to the ground trembling. Then some one lifted me up from the place where I had fallen, and poured over me an abundance of

water from the head even to the feet, and put round my nostrils the odor of a wonderful ointment, and rubbed my face with the water itself, as if washing me, and kissed me, and said to me, Joseph, fear not; but open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking, I saw Jesus; and being terrified, I thought it was a phantom. And with prayer and the commandments I spoke to him, and he spoke with me. And I said to him: Art thou Rabbi Elias? And he said to me: I am not Elias. And I said: Who art thou, my Lord? And he said to me: I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate, and wrap in clean linen; and thou didst lay a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and roll a stone to the door of the tomb. Then I said to him that was speaking to me: Show me, Lord, where I laid thee. And he led me, and showed me the place where I laid him, and the linen which I had put on him, and the napkin which I had wrapped upon his face; and I knew that it was Jesus. And he took hold of me with his hand, and put me in the midst of my house though the gates were shut, and put me in my bed, and said to me: Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me: For forty days go not out of thy house; for, lo, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

CHAPTER 16

And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, hearing these words from Joseph, became as it were dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Joseph and Nicodemus entreated them, saying: Arise and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and comfort your souls, seeing that tomorrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they arose, and entreated the Lord, and ate and drank, and went every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath the teachers and doctors sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? because we know his father and mother. Levi the teacher said: I know that his parents fear God, and never depart from prayer, and give tithes thrice a-year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him up to this place, and gave to God sacrifices and burnt-offerings. And assuredly the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, saying: Now Thou sendest away Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen

Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And he blessed Mary his mother, and said, I make an announcement to thee concerning this child. And Mary said, Well, my Lord. And Simeon said, Well. And he said again, Lo, he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; and a sword shall pierce thine own soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

And the Jews said to Levi: And how knowest thou these things? Levi says: Do you note know that from him I learned the law? They of the council say: We wish to see thy father. And they searched out his father, and got information; for he said: Why did you not believe my son? The blessed and just Simeon taught him the law. The council says to Rabbi Levi: The saying which thou hast spoken is true. The chief priests and rulers of the synagogue, and Levites, said to each other: Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men who came hither and gave an account of his teaching and his being taken up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up into heaven. And that saying pleased all. Then they sent three men into Galilee; and Go, said they, say to Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Finees and Rabbi Egias, Peace to you and yours! Many investigations have been made in the council concerning Jesus; therefore have we been instructed to call you to the holy place, to Jerusalem.

The men went to Galilee, and found them sitting, and meditating on the law. And they saluted them in peace. And they said: Why have you come? The messengers said: The council summon you to the holy city Jerusalem. And the men, hearing that they were sought for by the council, prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank with them. And rising in the morning, they went to Jerusalem in peace.

And on the morrow the council sat; and they questioned them, saying: Did you plainly see Jesus sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples, and taken up into heaven?

First Addas the teacher says: I really saw him sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples; and a shining cloud overshadowed him and his disciples, and he went up into heaven; and his disciples prayed upon their faces on the ground. And calling Finees the priest, they questioned him

also, saying: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he said the same as the other. And again they called the third, Rabbi Egias, and questioned him, and he said the same as the first and second. And those who were in the council said: The law of Moses holds that by the mouth of two or three every word should stand. Abudem, a teacher, one of the doctors, says: It is written in the law, Enoch walked with God, and was translated; for God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said: And we have heard of the death of holy Moses, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, And Moses died according to the word of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his burying even to the present day. Rabbi Levi said: What is it that Rabbi Simeon said: Lo, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against? Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law, Lo, I send mine angel, who shall go before thy face to keep thee in every good way, because I have brought his new name.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said: Rightly have ye said that these things are written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the burying of holy Moses. And Jesus gave account to Pilate, and we saw him scourged, and receiving spitting on his face; and the soldiers put a crown of thorns on him, and he received sentence from Pilate; and then he was crucified, and they gave him gall and vinegar to drink, and two robbers were crucified with him, and the soldier Longinus pierced his side with a lance; and our honorable father Joseph begged his body, and he has risen again, and, as they say, the three teachers have seen him taken up into heaven. And Rabbi Levi has born witness to what was said by Simeon the elder — that he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.

Then Didas, a teacher, said to all the assembly: If all the things which these have born witness to have come to pass in Jesus, they are from God, and let it not be wonderful in our eyes. The chiefs of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, said to each other how our law holds, saying: His name shall be blessed for ever: His place endureth before the sun, and His seat before the moon: and all the tribes of earth shall be blessed in Him, and all nations shall serve Him; and kings shall come from far, adoring and magnifying Him.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS

PART 2 — CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL

LATIN. FIRST VERSION

CHAPTER 1

And Joseph rose up and said to Annas and Caiaphas: Truly and well do you wonder, since you have heard that Jesus has been seen alive from the dead, ascending up into heaven. But it is more to be wondered at that he is not the only one who has risen from the dead: but he has raised up alive out of their tombs many others of the dead, and they have been seen by many in Jerusalem. And hear me now, that we all know the blessed Simeon, the great priest, who took up with his hands Jesus, when an infant, in the temple. And Simeon himself had two sons, full brothers; and we all were at their filling asleep, and at their burial. Go, therefore, and see their tombs: for they are open, because they have risen; and, behold, they are in the city of Arimathaea, living together in prayers. And, indeed, they are heard crying out, but speaking with nobody, and they are silent as the dead. But come, let us go to them; let us conduct them to us with all honor and respect. And if we adjure them, perhaps they will speak to us of the mystery of their resurrection.

At hearing this they all rejoiced. And Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus, and Joseph, and Gamaliel, went, and did not find them in their sepulchers; but, walking into the city of Arimathea, they found them there, on their bended knees, and spending their time in prayer. And kissing them, they conducted them to Jerusalem, into the synagogue, with all veneration and fear of God. And shutting the doors, and lifting up the law of the Lord, they put it in their hands, adjuring them by the God Adonai, and the God of Israel, who by the law and the prophets spoke to our fathers, saying: Do you believe that it was Jesus who raised you from the dead? Tell us how you have risen from the dead.

Karinus and Leucius, hearing this adjuration, trembled in their body, and groaned, being disturbed in heart. And together they looked towards heaven, and with their fingers made the sign of the cross on their tongues, and immediately they spoke together, saying: Give each of us sheets of paper, and let us write what we have seen and heard. And they gave it to them. And they sat down, and each of them wrote, saying: —

CHAPTER 2

O Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection and the life of the dead, permit us to speak mysteries through the death of Thy cross, because we have been adjured by Thee. For Thou didst order Thy servants to relate to no one the secrets of Thy divine majesty which Thou didst in Hades. And when we were, along with all our fathers, lying in the deep, in the blackness of darkness, suddenly there appeared a golden heat of the sun, and a purple royal light shining upon us. And immediately the father of all the human race, with all the patriarchs and prophets, exulted, saying: That light is the source of eternal light, which hath promised to transmit to us co-eternal light. And Esaias cried out, and said: This is the light of the Father, the Son of God, as I predicted when I was alive upon earth: The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim across Jordan, Galilee of the nations, the people who sat in darkness, have seen a great light; and light was shining among those who are in the region of the shadow of death. And now it has come and shone upon us sitting in death.

And when we were all exulting in the light which shone over us, there came up to us our father Simeon; and he said, exulting: Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; because I took Him up when born, an infant, in my hands in the temple; and instigated by the Holy Spirit, I said to Him, confessing: Now mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared in the sight of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of Thy people Israel. When they beard this, all the multitude of the saints exulted more.

And after this there comes up, as it were, a dweller in the desert; and he is asked by all: Who art thou? To whom he says in answer: I am John, the voice and prophet of the Most High, going before the face of His coming

to prepare His ways, to give the knowledge of salvation to His people for the remission of their sins. And seeing Him coming to me, instigated by the Holy Spirit, I said: Behold the Lamb of God! behold Him who taketh away the sins of the world! And I baptized Him in the river of Jordan, and I saw the Holy Spirit descending upon Him in the form of a dove; and I heard a voice from the heavens saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And now I have gone before His face, and have descended to announce to you that the rising Son of God is close at hand to visit us, coming from on high to us sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

CHAPTER 3

And when the first created, father Adam, had heard this, that Jesus was baptized in Jordan, he cried out to his son Seth: Tell thy sons, the patriarchs and the prophets, all that thou heardest from Michael the archangel when I sent thee to the gates of paradise to implore God that he might send thee His angel to give thee oil from the tree of mercy, with which to anoint my body when I was sick. Then Seth, coming near to the holy patriarchs and prophets, said: When I, Seth, was praying to the Lord at the gates of paradise, behold Michael, the angel of the Lord, appeared to me, saying, I have been sent to thee by the Lord. I am set over the human race. And to thee, Seth, I say, do not labor with tears in prayers and supplications on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pain of his body, because in no wise shalt thou receive of it, except in the last days and times, except when five thousand and five hundred years have been fulfilled: then will come upon the earth the most beloved Son of God, to raise up again the body of Adam, and the bodies of the dead; and He, when He comes, will be baptized in Jordan. And when he shall have come out of the water of Jordan, then with the oil of His mercy shall He anoint all that believe on Him; and that oil of mercy shall be for the generation of those who shall be born out of water and the Holy Spirit into life eternal. Then, descending upon earth, Christ Jesus, the most beloved Son of God, will lead our father Adam into paradise to the tree of mercy.

And when they heard all these things from Seth, all the patriarchs and prophets exulted with great exultation.

CHAPTER 4

And when all the saints were exulting, lo, Satan, the prince and leader of death, said to Hades: Make thyself ready to receive Jesus, who boasts himself to be the Son of God, and is a man fearing death, and saying, My soul is sorrowful, even unto death. And he has withstood me much, doing me evil; and many whom I made blind, lame, deaf, leprous, and demoniac, he has healed with a word; and those whom I have brought to thee dead, he has dragged away from thee.

Hades, answering, said to Prince Satan: Who is he that is so powerful, when he is a man in fear of death? For all the powerful of the earth are kept in subjection by my power, whom thou hast brought into subjection by thy power. If then, thou art powerful, what is that man Jesus like, who, though fearing death, withstands thy power? If he is so powerful in humanity, verily I say unto thee, he is all-powerful in divinity, and his power can no one resist. And when he says that he fears death, he wishes to lay hold on thee, and woe will be to thee to the ages of eternity. And Satan, prince of Tartarus, answered and said: Why hast thou doubted, and feared to receive this Jesus, thy adversary and mine? For I have tempted him, and I have roused up my ancient people the Jews with hatred and anger against him; I have sharpened a lance to strike him; I have mixed gall and vinegar to give him to drink; and I have prepared wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him, and his death is near at hand, that I may bring him to thee, subject to thee and me.

Tartarus answered and said: Thou hast told me that it is he himself who has dragged away the dead from me. Now there are many who are here kept by me, who, while they lived on earth, took the dead from me, not by their own powers, but by godly prayers, and their almighty God dragged them away from me. Who is that Jesus, who by his word has withdrawn the dead from me without prayers? Perhaps he is the same who, by, the word of his command, brought alive Lazarus, after he had been four days in stench and corruption, whom I kept dead. Satan prince of death answered and said: That Jesus is the same. And when Hades heard this he said to him: I adjure thee by thy powers and mine, do not bring him to me. For I at that time, when I heard the command of his word, trembled with

terror and dismay, and all my officers at the same time were confounded along with me. Nor could we keep that Lazarus; but, shaking himself like an eagle, he sprang out, and went forth from us with all activity and speed, and the same ground which held the dead body of Lazarus immediately gave him forth alive. So now, I know that that man who could do these things is God, strong in authority, powerful in humanity, and He is the Savior of the human race. But if thou bring Him to me, all who are here shut up in the cruelty of the prison, and bound by their sins in chains that cannot be loosened, He will let loose, and will bring to the life of His divinity for ever.

CHAPTER 5

And as Prince Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other in turn, suddenly there was a voice as of thunders, and a shouting of spirits: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades hearing this, said to Prince Satan: Retire from me, and go outside of my realms: if thou art a powerful warrior, fight against the King of glory. But what hast thou to do with Him? And Hades thrust Satan outside of his realms. And Hades said to his impious officers: Shut the cruel gates of brass, and put up the bars of iron, and resist bravely, that we, holding captivity, may not take Him captive.

And all the multitude of the saints, hearing this, said to Hades, with the voice of reproach: Open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. And David cried out, saying: Did I not, when I was alive upon earth, prophesy to you: Let them confess to the Lord His tender mercies and His wonderful works to the children of men: for He has shattered the brazen gates, and burst the iron bars; He has taken them up out of the way of their iniquity? And after this, in like manner, Esaias said: Did not I, when I was alive upon earth, prophesy to you: The dead shall rise up, and those who are in their tombs shall rise again, and those who are upon earth shall exult; because the dew, which is from the Lord, is their health? And again I said, Where, O Death, is thy sting? where, O Hades, is thy victory?

And when all the saints heard this from Esaias, they said to Hades: Open thy gates. Since thou art now conquered, thou wilt be weak and powerless.

And there was a great voice, as of thunders, saying: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye infernal gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades, seeing that they had twice shouted out this, says, as if not knowing: Who is the king of glory? David says, in answer to Hades: I recognize those words of the shout, since I prophesied the same by His Spirit. And now, what I have said above I say to thee, The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle; He is the King of glory. And the Lord Himself hath looked down from heaven upon earth, to hear the groans of the prisoners, and to release the sons of the slain. And now, most filthy and most foul Hades, open thy gates, that the King of glory may come in. While David was thus speaking, there came to Hades, in the form of a man, the Lord of majesty, and lighted up the eternal darkness, and burst asunder the indissoluble chains; and the aid of unconquered power visited us, sitting in the profound darkness of transgressions, and in the shadow of death of sins.

CHAPTER 6

When this was seen by Hades and Death, and their impious officers, along with their cruel servants, they trembled at perceiving in their own dominions the clearness of so great a light, when they saw Christ suddenly in their abodes; and they cried out, saying: We have been overcome by thee. Who art thou, that to the Lord directest our confusion? Who art thou, that, undestroyed by corruption, the uncorrupted proof of thy majesty, with fury condemnest our power? Who art thou, so great and little, lowly and exalted, soldier and commander, wonderful warrior in the form of a slave, and the king of glory dead and alive, whom slain the cross has carried? Thou, who didst lie dead in the sepulcher, hast come down to us alive; and in thy death every creature trembled, and the stars in a body were moved; and now thou hast been made free among the dead, and disturbest our legions. Who art thou, that settest free those who art held captive, bound by original sin, and recallest them to their former liberty? Who art thou, who sheddest a divine, and splendid, and illuminating light upon those who have been blinded by the darkness of their sins?

In like manner, also, all the legions of the demons, terror-stricken with like fear from their fearful overthrow, cried out, saying: Whence art thou, O

Jesus, a man so powerful and splendid in majesty, so excellent, without spot, and free from guilt? For that world of earth which has been subject to us always until now, which used to pay tribute for our uses, has never sent us such a dead man, has never destined such gifts for the powers below. Who therefore art thou, that hast so intrepidly entered our bounds, and who hast not only no fear of our punishments, but, moreover, attemptest to take all away from our chains? Perhaps thou art that Jesus of whom our prince Satan said, that by thy death of the cross thou wast destined to receive the dominion of the whole world.

Then the King of glory, trampling on death by His majesty, and seizing Prince Satan, delivered him to the power of Hades, and drew Adam to His brightness.

CHAPTER 7

Then Hades, receiving Prince Satan, said to him, with vehement revilings: O prince of perdition, and leader of extermination, Beelzebub, derision of angels, to be spit upon by the just, why didst thou wish to do this? Didst thou wish to crucify the King of glory, in whose death thou didst promise us so great spoils? Like a fool, thou didst not know what thou wast doing. For, behold, that Jesus by the splendor of His divinity is putting to flight all the darkness of death, and He has broken into the strong lowest depths of our dungeons, and has brought out the captives, and released those who were bound. And all who used to groan under our torments insult us, and by their prayers our dominions are taken by stem, and our realms conquered, and no race of men has now any respect for us. Moreover, also, we are grievously threatened by the dead, who have never been haughty to us, and who have not at any time been joyful as captives. O Prince Satan, father of all impious wretches and renegades, why didst thou wish to do this? Of those who from the beginning, even until now, have despaired of salvation and life, no bellowing after the usual fashion is now heard here; and no groaning of theirs resounds, nor in any of their faces is a trace of tears found. O Prince Satan, possessor of the keys of the lower regions, all thy riches which thou hadst acquired by the tree of transgression and the loss of paradise, thou hast now lost by the tree of the cross, and all thy joy has perished. When thou didst hang up that

Christ Jesus the King of glory, thou wast acting against thyself and against me. Henceforth thou shall know what eternal torments and infinite punishments thou art to endure in my everlasting keeping. O Prince Satan, author of death, and source of all pride, thou oughtest first to have inquired into the bad cause of that Jesus. Him in whom thou perceivedst no fault, why, without reason, didst thou dare unjustly to crucify? and why hast thou brought to our regions one innocent and just, and lost the guilty, the impious, and the unjust of the whole world?

And when Hades had thus spoken to Prince Satan, then the King of glory said to Hades: Satan the prince will be in thy power for ever, in place of Adam and his sons, my just ones.

CHAPTER 8

And the Lord stretched out His hand, and said: Come to me, all my saints, who have my image and likeness. Do you, who have been condemned through the tree and the devil and death, now see the devil and death condemned through the tree. Immediately all the saints were brought together under the hand of the Lord. And the Lord, holding Adam by the right hand, said to him: Peace be to thee, with all thy children, my righteous ones! And Adam fell down at the knees of the Lord, and with tearful entreaty praying, said with a loud voice: I will extol Thee, O Lord; for Thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord God, I cried unto Thee, and Thou hast healed me. O Lord, Thou hast brought out my soul from the powers below; Thou hast saved me from them that go down into the pit. Sing praises to the Lord, all His saints, and confess to the memory of His holiness; since there is anger in His indignation, and life in His goodwill. In like manner also all the saints of God, falling on their knees at the feet of the Lord, said with one voice: Thou hast come, O Redeemer of the world: as Thou hast foretold by the law and Thy prophets, so hast Thou fulfilled by Thy deeds. Thou hast redeemed the living by Thy cross; and by the death of the cross Thou hast come down to us, to rescue us from the powers below, and from death, by Thy majesty. O Lord, as Thou hast set the title of Thy glory in heaven, and hast erected as the title of redemption Thy cross upon earth, so, O

Lord, set in Hades the sign of the victory of Thy cross, that death may no more have dominion.

And the Lord, stretching forth His hand, made the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all His saints; and holding Adam by the right hand, went up from the powers below: and all the saints followed Him. Then holy David cried out aloud, saying: Sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done wonderful things; His right hand and His holy arm have brought salvation to Himself. The Lord hath made known His salvation; His righteousness hath He revealed in the sight of the heathen. And all the multitude of the saints answered, saying: This is glory to all His saints. Amen, alleluia.

And after this the prophet Habacuc cried out, saying: Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, to deliver Thine elect. And all the saints answered, saying: Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord; God is the Lord, and He hath shone upon us. Amen, alleluia. In like manner after this the prophet Michaeas also cried out, saying: Who is a God like unto thee, O Lord, taking away iniquities and passing by sins? And now Thou dost withhold Thine anger for a testimony against us, because Thou delightest in mercy. And Thou turnest again, and hast compassion upon us, and pardonest all our iniquities; and all our sins hast Thou sunk in the multitude of death, as Thou hast sworn unto our fathers in the days of old. And all the saints answered, saying: This is our God to eternity, and for ever and ever; and He will direct us for evermore. Amen, alleluia. So also all the prophets, quoting the sacred writings concerning His praises, and all the saints crying, Amen, alleluia, followed the Lord.

CHAPTER 9

And the Lord, holding the hand of Adam, delivered him to Michael the archangel: and all the saints followed Michael the archangel, and he led them all into the glorious grace of paradise. And there met them two men, ancient of days. The saints asked them: Who are you, that have not yet been dead, along with us in the regions below, and have been placed in paradise in the body? One of them answered, and said: I am Enoch, who by the word of the Lord have been translated hither; and he who is with

me is Elias the Thesbite, who was taken up by a fiery chariot. Here also even until now we have not tasted death, but have been reserved to the coming of Antichrist, by divine signs and wonders to do battle with him, and, being killed by him in Jerusalem, after three days and half a day to be taken up alive again in the clouds.

CHAPTER 10

And while the saints Enoch and Elias were thus speaking, behold, there came up another man, most wretched, carrying on his shoulders the sign of the cross. And seeing him, all the saints said to him: Who art thou? because thy appearance is that of a robber. Anti what is the sign which thou carriest on thy shoulders? In answer to them, he said: Truly have you said that I was a robber, doing all sorts of evil upon the earth. And the Jews crucified me along with Jesus; and I saw the miracles in created things which were done through the cross of Jesus crucified, and I believed Him to be the Creator of all created things, and the King omnipotent; and I entreated Him, saying, Be mindful of me, Lord, when Thou shall have come into Thy kingdom. Immediately He accepted my entreaty, and said to me, Amen; I say to thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise. And He gave me this sign of the cross, saying, Walk into paradise carrying this; and if the guardian angel of paradise will not let thee go in, show him the sign of the cross, and thou shall say to him, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who has now been crucified, has sent me. Having done so, I said all this to the guardian angel of paradise. And when he heard this, he immediately opened, and led me in, and placed me at the right of paradise, saying, Lo, hold a little, and there will come in the father of the whole human race, Adam, with all his children, holy and just, after the triumph and glory of the ascension of Christ the crucified Lord. Hearing all these words of the robber, all the holy patriarchs and prophets with one voice said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord Almighty, Father of everlasting benefits, and Father of mercies, who hast given such grace to Thy sinners, and hast brought them back into the grace of paradise, and into Thy rich pastures; for this is spiritual life most sure. Amen, amen.

CHAPTER 11

These are the divine and sacred mysteries which we saw and heard, I Karinus, and Leucius. More we are not allowed to tell of the other mysteries of God, as Michael the archangel adjured us, and said: You shall go into Jerusalem with your brethren, and continue in prayers, and you shall cry out, and glorify the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, who has raised you up again from the dead with Himself. And with none of men shall you speak; and you shall sit as if dumb, until the hour shall come when the Lord Himself shall permit you to relate the mysteries of His divinity. And Michael the archangel ordered us to walk across Jordan into a place rich and fertile, where there are many who rose again along with us for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord; because only three days were allowed to us who have risen from the dead to celebrate in Jerusalem the passover of the Lord, with our living relations, for an evidence of the resurrection of Christ the Lord: and we have been baptized in the holy river of Jordan, receiving each of us white robes. And after three days, when we had celebrated the passover of the Lord, all who rose again along with us were snatched up into the clouds. and taken across the Jordan, and were no longer seen by any one. But we were told to remain in the city of Arimathaea in prayers. These are the things which the Lord commanded us to relate to you. Give Him praise and confession, and be penitent, that He may have mercy upon you. Peace be to you from the same Lord Jesus Christ, and the Savior of all of us! Amen.

And after they had finished all, writing on separate sheets of paper, they arose. And Karinus gave what he wrote into the hands of Annas and Caiaphas and Gamaliel; in like manner also Leucius gave what he wrote into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph. And being suddenly transfigured, they became exceedingly white, and were seen no more. And their writings were found exactly the same, not one letter more or less.

All the synagogue of the Jews, hearing all these wonderful sayings of Karinus and Leucius, said to each other: Truly all these things have been done by the Lord, and blessed be the Lord for ever and ever. Amen. And they all went out with great anxiety, beating their breasts with fear and trembling; and they went away, each to his own house.

All these things which were said by the Jews in their synagogue Joseph and Nicodemus immediately reported to the proconsul. And Pilate himself wrote all which had been done and said concerning Jesus by the Jews, and he placed all the words in the public records of his praetorium.

CHAPTER 12

After this, Pilate going into the temple of the Jews, assembled all the chief priests, and learned men, and scribes, and teachers of the law, and went in with them into the sanctuary of the temple, and ordered that all the gates should be shut, and said to them: We have heard that you have a certain great collection of books in this temple: therefore I ask you that it be presented before us. And when four officers brought in that collection of books, adorned with gold and precious gems, Pilate said to all: I adjure you by the God of your fathers, who ordered you to build this temple in the place of his sanctuary, not to conceal the truth from me. You all know what is written in that collection of books; but now say whether you have found in the writings that Jesus, whom you have crucified, to be the Son of God that was to come for the salvation of the human race, and in how many revolutions of the seasons he ought to come. Declare to me whether you crucified him in ignorance of this, or knowing it.

Being thus adjured, Annas and Caiaphas ordered all the others who were with them to go out of the sanctuary; and themselves shut all the gates of the temple and the sanctuary, and said to Pilate: We have been adjured by thee, O good judge, by the building of this temple, to give thee the truth, and a clear account of this matter. After we had crucified Jesus, not knowing Him to be the Son of God, thinking that He did miracles by means of some charm, we made a great synagogue in this temple. And conferring with each other of the signs of the miracles which Jesus had done, we found many witnesses of our nation who said that they had seen Jesus alive after suffering death, and that He had penetrated into the height of heaven. And we have seen two witnesses, whom Jesus raised up again from the dead, who told us many wonderful things that Jesus did among the dead, which we have in our hands, written out. And our custom is, every year before our synagogue, to open that holy collection of books, and seek out the testimony of God. And we have found in the first book

of the LXX., where the archangel Michael spoke to the third son of Adam, the first man, of five thousand and five hundred years, in which the Christ, the most beloved Son of God, was to come from the heavens; and upon this we have considered that perhaps He was the God of Israel who said to Moses, Make to thee the ark of the covenant, two cubits and a half in length, one cubit and a half in breadth, one cubit and a half in height. In these five and a half cubits we have understood and recognized, from the structure of the ark of the old covenant, that in five and a half thousands of years, Jesus Christ was to come in the ark of the body; and we have found Him to be the God of Israel, the Son of God. Because after His passion, we, the chief priests, wondering at the signs which happened on account of Him, opened this collection of books, searching out all the generations, even to the generation of Joseph, and reckoning that Mary the mother of Christ was of the seed of David; and we have found that from the time that God made the heaven and the earth and the first man, to the deluge, are two thousand two hundred and twelve years; and from the deluge to the building of the tower, five hundred and thirty-one years; and from the building of the tower to Abraham, six hundred and six years; and from Abraham to the arrival of the children of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and seventy years; from the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt to the building of the temple, five hundred and eleven years; and from the building of the temple to the destruction of the same temple, four hundred and sixty-four years. Thus far have we found in the book of Esdras. After searching, we find that from the burning of the temple to the advent of Christ, and His birth, there are six hundred and thirty-six years, which together were five thousand five hundred years, as we have found written in the book that Michael the archangel foretold to Seth the third son of Adam, that in five and a half thousands of years Christ the Son of God would come. Even until now we have told no one, that there might be no dissension in our synagogues. And now thou hast adjured us, O good judge, by this holy book of the testimonies of God, and we make it manifest to thee. And now we adjure thee, by thy life and safety, to make manifest these words to no one in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 13

Pilate, hearing these words of Annas and Caiaphas, laid them all up in the acts of our Lord and Savior, in the public records of his praetorium, and wrote a letter to Claudius, king of the city of Rome, saying: —

Pontius Pilate to Claudius his king, greeting. It has lately happened, as I myself have also proved, that the Jews, through envy, have punished themselves and their posterity by a cruel condemnation. In short, when their fathers had a promise that their God would send them from heaven his holy one, who should deservedly be called their king, and promised that he would send him by a virgin upon the earth: when, therefore, while I was procurator, he had come into Judaea, and when they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing the lepers, curing the paralytics, making demons flee from men, even raising the dead, commanding the winds, walking dryshod upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other signs of miracles; and when all the people of the Jews said that he was the Son of God, the chief priests felt envy against him, and seized him, and delivered him to me; and, telling me one lie after another, they said that he was a sorcerer, and was acting contrary to their law.

And I believed that it was so, and delivered him to be scourged, according to their will. And they crucified him, and set guards over him when buried. And he rose again on the third day, while my soldiers were keeping guard. But so flagrant was the iniquity of the Jews, that they gave money to my soldiers, saying, Say that his disciples have stolen his body. But after receiving the money they could not keep secret what had been done; for they bore witness both that he had risen again, that they had seen him, and that they had received money from the Jews.

This accordingly I have done, test any one should give a different and a false account of it, and lost thou shouldst think that the lies of the Jews are to be believed.

LATIN. SECOND VERSION

CHAPTER 1

Then Rabbi Addas, and Rabbi Finees, and Rabbi Egias, the three men who had come from Galilee, testifying that they had seen Jesus taken up into heaven, rose up in the midst of the multitude of the chiefs of the Jews, and said before the priests and the Levites, who had been called together to the council of the Lord: When we were coming from Galilee, we met at the Jordan a very great multitude of men, fathers who had been some time dead. And present among them we saw Karinus and Leucius. And they came up to us, and we kissed each other, because they were dear friends of ours; and we asked them, Tell us, friends and brothers, what is this breath of life and flesh? and who are those with whom you are going? and how do you, who have been some time dead, remain in the body?

And they said in answer: We have risen again along with Christ from the lower world, and He has raised us up again from the dead. And from this you may know that the gates of death and darkness have been destroyed, and the souls of the saints have been brought out thence, and have ascended into heaven along with Christ the Lord. And indeed to us it has been commanded by the Lord Himself, that for an appointed time we should walk over the banks of Jordan and the mountains; not, however, appearing to every one, nor speaking to every one, except to those to whom He has permitted us. And just now we could neither have spoken nor appeared to you, unless it had been allowed to us by the Holy Spirit.

And when they heard this, all the multitude who were present in the council were struck with fear and trembling, and wondered whether these things had really happened which these Galilaeans testified. Then Caiaphas and Annas said to the council: What these have testified, first and last, must shortly be altogether made clear: If it shall be found to be true that Karinus and Leucius remain alive in the body, and if we shall be able to behold them with our own eyes, then what they testify is altogether true; and if we find them, they will inform us of everything; but if not, you may know that it is all lies.

Then the council having suddenly risen, it pleased them to choose men fit for the duty, fearing God, and who knew when they died, and where they were buried, to inquire diligently, and to see whether it was as they had heard. The men therefore proceeded to the same place, fifteen in number, who through all were present at their falling asleep, and had stood at their feet when they were buried, and had beheld their tombs. And they came and found their tombs open, and very many others besides, and found a sign neither of their bones nor of their dust. And they returned in all haste, and reported what they had seen.

Then all their synagogue was in great grief and perplexity, and they said to each other: What shall we do? Annas and Caiaphas said: Let us turn to where we have heard that they are, and let us send to them men of rank, asking and entreating them: perhaps they will deign to come to us. Then they sent to them Nicodemus and Joseph, and the three men, the Galilaean rabbis who had seen them, asking that they should deign to come to them. And they went, and walked round all the region of Jordan and of the mountains, and they were coming back without finding them.

And, behold, suddenly there appeared coming down from Mount Amalech a very great number, as it were, twelve thousand men, who had risen with the Lord. And though they recognized very many there, they were not able to say anything to them for fear and the angelic vision; and they stood at a distance gazing and hearing them, how they walked along singing praises, and saying: The Lord has risen again from the dead, as He had said; let us all exult and be glad, since He reigns for ever. Then those who had been sent were astonished, and fell to the ground for fear, and received the answer from them, that they should see Karinus and Leucius in their own houses.

And they rose up and went to their houses, and found them spending their time in prayer. And going in to them, they fell on their faces to the ground, saluting them; and being raised up, they said: O friends of God, all the multitude of the Jews have directed us to you, hearing that you have risen from the dead, asking and beseeching you to come to them, that we all may know the great things of God which have happened around us in our times. And they immediately, at a sign from God, rose up, and came with them, and entered their synagogue. Then the multitude of the Jews, with

the priests, put the books of the law in their hands, and adjured them by the God Heloi, and the God Adonai, and by the law and the prophets, saying: Tell us how you have risen from the dead, and what are those wonderful things which have happened in our times, such as we have never heard to have happened at any other time; because already for fear all our bones have been benumbed, and have dried up, and the earth moves itself under our feet: for we have joined all our hearts to shed righteous and holy blood.

Then Karinus and Leucius signed to them with their hands to give them a sheet of paper and ink. And this they did, because the Holy Spirit did not allow them to speak to them. And they gave each of them paper, and put them apart, the one from the other in separate cells. And they, making with their fingers the sign of the cross of Christ, began to write on the separate sheets; and after they had finished, as if out of one mouth from the separate cells, they cried out, Amen. And rising up, Karinus gave his paper to Annas, and Leucius to Caiaphas; and saluting each other, they went out, and returned to their sepulchers.

Then Annas and Caiaphas, opening the sheet of paper, began each to read it in secret. But all the people took it ill, and so all cried out: Read these writings to us openly; and after they have been read through we shall keep them, lest perchance this truth of God be turned through willful blindness, by unclean and deceitful men, into falsehood. At this Annas and Caiaphas fell a-trembling, and delivered the sheet of paper to Rabbi Addas, and Rabbi Finees, and Rabbi Egias, who had come from Galilee, and announced that Jesus had been taken up into heaven. All the multitude of the Jews trusted to them to read this writing. And they read the paper containing these words: —

CHAPTER 2

I KARINUS. O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, permit me to speak of Thy wonders which Thou hast done in the lower world. When, therefore, we were kept in darkness and the shadow of death in the lower world, suddenly there shone upon us a great light, and Hades and the gates of death trembled. And then was heard the voice of the Son of the Father

most high, as if the voice of a great thunder; and loudly proclaiming, He thus charged them: Lift up your gates, ye princes; lift up the everlasting gates; the King of glory, Christ the Lord, will come up to enter in.

Then Satan, the leader of death, came up, fleeing in terror, saying to his officers and the powers below: My officers, and all the powers below, run together, shut your gates, put up the iron bars, and fight bravely, and resist, lest they lay hold of us, and keep us captive in chains. Then all his impious officers were perplexed, and began to shut the gates of death with all diligence, and by little and little to fasten the locks and the iron bars, and to hold all their weapons grasped in their hands, and to utter howlings in a direful and most hideous voice.

CHAPTER 3

Then Satan said to Hades: Make thyself ready to receive him whom I shall bring down to thee. Thereupon Hades thus replied to Satan: That voice was from nothing else than the cry of the Son of the Father most high, because the earth and all the places of the world below so trembled trader it: wherefore I think that myself and all my dungeons are now lying open. But I adjure thee, Satan, head of all evils, by thy power and my own, bring him not to me, lest, while we wish to take him, we be taken captive by him. For if, at his voice only, all my power has been thus destroyed, what do you think he will do when he shall come in person?

To him Satan, the leader of death, thus replied: What art thou crying out about? Do not be afraid, my old most wicked friend, because I have stirred up the people of the Jews against him; I have told them to strike him with blows on the face, and I have brought upon him betrayal by one of his disciples; and he is a man in great fear of death, because from fear he said, My soul is sorrowful, even unto death; and I have brought him to this, that he has just been lifted up and hanged on the cross. Then Hades said to him: If he be the same who, by the mere word of his command, made Lazarus fly away like an eagle from my bosom, when he had already been dead four days, he is not a man in humanity, but God in majesty. I entreat thee not to bring him to me. And Satan says to him: Make thyself ready nevertheless; be not afraid; because he is already hanging on the cross, I

can do nothing else. Then Hades thus replied to Satan: If, then, thou canst do nothing else, behold, thy destruction is at hand. I, in short, shall remain cast down and dishonored; thou, however, wilt be tortured under my power.

CHAPTER 4

And the saints of God heard the wrangling of Satan and Hades. They, however, though as yet not at all recognizing each other, were, notwithstanding, in the possession of their faculties. But our holy father Adam thus replied to Satan at once: O captain of death, why dost thou fear and tremble? Behold, the Lord is coming, who will now destroy all thy, inventions; and thou shalt be taken by Him, and bound throughout eternity.

Then all the saints, hearing the voice of our father Adam, how boldly he replied to Satan in all points, were strengthened in joy; and all running together to father Adam, were crowded in one place. Then our father Adam, gazing on all that multitude, wondered greatly whether all of them had been begotten from him into the world. And embracing those who were standing everywhere around him, and shedding most bitter tears, he addressed his son Seth, saying: Relate, my son Seth, to the holy patriarchs and prophets what the guardian of paradise said to thee, when I sent thee to bring to me of that oil of compassion, in order to anoint my body when I was ill.

Then he answered: I, when thou sentest me before the gates of paradise, prayed and en-treated the Lord with tears, and called upon the guardian of paradise to give me of it therefrom. Then Michael the archangel came out, and said to me, Seth, why then dost thou weep? Know, being informed beforehand, that thy father Adam will not receive of this oil of compassion now, but after many generations of time. For the most beloved Son of God will come down from heaven into the world, and will be baptized by John in the river Jordan; and then shall thy father Adam receive of this oil of compassion, and all that believe in him. And of those who have believed in him, their kingdom will endure for ever.

CHAPTER 5

Then all the saints, hearing this again, exulted in joy. And one of those standing round, Isaias by name, cried out aloud, and thundered: Father Adam, and all standing round, hear my declaration. When I was on earth, and by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, in prophecy I sang of this light: The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light; to them dwelling in the region of the shadow of death light has arisen. At these words father Adam, and all of them, turned and asked him: Who art thou? because what thou sayest is true. And he subjoined, and said: My name is Isaias.

Then appeared. another near him, as if a hermit. And they asked him, saying: Who art thou, who bearest such an appearance in thy body? And he firmly answered: I am John the Baptist, voice and prophet of the Most High. i went before the face of the same Lord, that I might make the waste and rough places into plain ways. I with my finger pointed out and made manifest the Lamb of the Lord, and Son of God, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. I baptized Him in the river Jordan. I heard the voice of the Father from heaven thundering over Him, and proclaiming, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. I received from Him the answer that He would descend to the lower world Then father Adam, hearing this, cried with a loud voice, exclaiming: Alleluia! which is, interpreted, The Lord is certainly coming.

CHAPTER 6

After that, another standing there, pre-eminent as it were, with a certain mark of an emperor, David by name, thus cried out, and said: When I was upon earth, I made revelations to the people of the mercy of God and His visitation, prophesying future joys, saying through all ages, Let them make confession to the Lord of His tender mercy and His wonderful works to the sons of men, because He has shattered the gates of brass, and broken the bars of iron. Then the holy patriarchs and prophets began mutually to recognize each other, and each to quote his prophecies.

Then holy Jeremias, examining his prophecies, said to the patriarchs and prophets: When was upon earth, I prophesied of the Son of God, that He was seen upon earth, and dwelt with men.

Then all the saints, exulting in the light of the Lord, and in the sight of father Adam, and in the answering of all the patriarchs and prophets, cried out, saying: Alleluia! blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord; so that at their crying out Satan trembled, and sought a way of escape. And he could not, because Hades and his satellites kept him bound in the lower regions, and guarded at all points. And they said to him: Why dost thou tremble? We by no means allow thee to go forth hence. But receive this, as thou art worthy, from Him whom thou didst daily assail; but if not, know that thou, bound by Him, shall be in my keeping.

CHAPTER 7

And again there came the voice of the Son of the Father most high, as it were the voice of a great thunder, saying: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory will come in. Then Satan and Hades cried out, saying: Who is the king of glory? And it was answered to them in the voice of the Lord: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

After this voice there came a man, whose appearance was that of a robber, carrying a cross on his shoulder, crying from the outside of the door, and saying: Open to me, that I may come in. And Satan, opening to him a little, brought him inside into his dwelling, and again shut the door after him. And all the saints saw him most clearly, and said to him forthwith: Thy appearance is that of a robber. Tell us what it is that thou carriest on thy back. And he answered, and said with humility: Truly I was a robber altogether; and the Jews hung me up on a cross, along with my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father most high. I, in fine, have come heralding Him; He indeed is coming immediately behind me.

Then holy David, inflamed with anger against Satan, cried out aloud: Open thy gates, most vile wretch, that the King of glory may come in. In like manner also all the saints of God rose up against Satan, and would have seized him, and divided him among them. And again a cry was heard

within: Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. Hades and Satan, at that clear voice, again asked, saying: Who is this king of glory? And it was said to them by that wonderful voice: The Lord of powers, He is the King of glory.

CHAPTER 8

And, behold, suddenly Hades trembled, and the gates of death and the bolts were shattered, and the iron bars were broken and fell to the ground, and everything was laid open. And Satan remained in the midst, and stood confounded and downcast, bound with fetters on his feet. And, behold, the Lord Jesus Christ, coming in the brightness of light from on high, compassionate, great, and lowly, carrying a chain in His hand, bound Satan by the neck; and again tying his hands behind him, dashed him on his back into Tartarus, and placed His holy foot on his throat, saying: Through all ages thou hast done many evils; thou hast not in any wise rested. Today I deliver thee to everlasting fire. And Hades being suddenly summoned, He commanded him, and said: Take this most wicked and impious one, and have him in thy keeping even to that day in which I shall command thee. And he, as soon as he received him, was plunged under the feet of the Lord along with him into the depth of the abyss.

CHAPTER 9

Then the Lord Jesus, the Savior of all, affectionate and most mild, saluting Adam kindly, said to him: Peace be to thee, Adam, with thy children, through immeasurable ages of ages! Amen. Then father Adam, falling forward at the feet of the Lord, and being raised erect, kissed His hands, and shed many tears, saying, testifying to all: Behold. the hands which fashioned me! And he said to the Lord: Thou hast come, O King of glory, delivering men, and bringing them into Thy everlasting kingdom. Then also our mother Eve in like manner fell forward at the feet of our Lord, and was raised erect, and kissed His hands, and poured forth tears in abundance, and said, testifying to all: Behold the hands which made me!

Then all the saints, adoring Him, cried out, saying: Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord! The Lord God hath shone upon us — amen — through all ages. Alleluia for ever and ever! Praise, honor, power, glory! because Thou hast come from on high to visit us. Singing Alleluia continually, and rejoicing together concerning His glory, they ran together under the hands of the Lord. Then the Savior, inquiring thoroughly about all, seized Hades, immediately threw some down into Tartarus, and led some with Him to the upper world.

CHAPTER 10

Then all the saints of God asked the Lord to leave as a sign of victory the sign of His holy cross in the lower world, that its most impious officers might not retain as an offender any one whom the Lord had absolved. And so it was done. And the Lord set His cross in the midst of Hades, which is the sign of victory, and which will remain even to eternity.

Then we all went forth thence along with the Lord, leaving Satan and Hades in Tartarus. And to us and many others it was commanded that we should rise in the body, giving in the world a testimony of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of those things which had been done in the lower world.

These are the things, dearest brethren, which we have seen, and which, adjured by you, we testify, He bearing witness who died for us, and rose again; because, as it was written, so has it been done in all points.

CHAPTER 11

And when the paper was finished and read through, all that heard it fell on their faces, weeping bitterly, and cruelly beating their breasts, crying out, and saying through all: Woe to us! Why has this happened to us wretched? Pilate flees; Annas and Caiaphas flee; the priests and Levites flee; moreover also the people of the Jews, weeping and saying, Woe to us wretched! we have shed sacred blood upon the earth.

For three days, therefore, and three nights, they did not taste bread and water at all; nor did any of them return to the synagogue. But on the third day again the council was assembled, and the other paper of Leucius was read through; and it was found neither more nor less, to a single letter, than that which the writing of Karinus contained. Then the synagogue was perplexed; and they all lamented forty days and forty nights, looking for destruction from God, and the vengeance of God. But He, pitier affectionate and most high, did not immediately destroy them, bountifully giving them a place of repentance. But they were not found worthy to be turned to the Lord.

These are the testimonies of Karinus and Leucius, dearest brethren, concerning Christ the Son of God, and His holy deeds in the lower world; to whom let us all give praise and glory through immeasurable age of ages. Amen.

THE LETTER OF PONTIUS PILATE

WHICH HE WROTE TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR, CONCERNING OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Pontius Pilate to Tiberius Caesar the emperor, greeting.

Upon Jesus Christ, whose case I had dearly set forth to thee in my last, at length by the will of the people a bitter punishment has been inflicted, myself being in a sort unwilling and rather afraid. A man, by Hercules, so pious and strict, no age has ever had nor will have. But wonderful were the efforts of the people themselves, and the unanimity of all the scribes and chief men and elders, to crucify this ambassador of truth, notwithstanding that their own prophets, and after our manner the sibyls, warned them against it: and supernatural signs appeared while he was hanging, and, in the opinion of philosophers, threatened destruction to the whole world. His disciples are flourishing, in their work and the regulation of their lives not belying their master; yea, in his name most beneficent. Had I not been afraid of the rising of a sedition among the people, who were just on the point of breaking out, perhaps this man would still have been alive to us; although, urged more by fidelity to thy dignity than induced by my own wishes, I did not according to my strength resist that innocent blood free from the whole charge brought against it, but unjustly, through the malignity of men, should be sold and suffer, yet, as the Scriptures signify, to their own destruction. Farewell, 28th March.

THE REPORT OF PILATE THE PROCURATOR CONCERNING OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

SENT TO THE AUGUST CAESAR IN ROME

FIRST GREEK FORM

In those days, our Lord Jesus Christ having been crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Palestine and Phoenicia, these records were made in Jerusalem as to what was done by the Jews against the Lord. Pilate therefore, along with his private report, sent them to the Caesar in Rome, writing thus: —

To the most mighty, venerable, most divine, and most terrible, the august Caesar, Pilate the governor of the East sends greeting. I have, O most mighty, a narrative to give thee, on account of which I am seized with fear and trembling. For in this government of mine, of which one of the cities is called Jerusalem, all the people of the Jews have delivered to me a man named Jesus, bringing many charges against him, which they were not able to convict him of by the consistency of their evidence. And one of the heresies they had against him was, that Jesus said that their Sabbath should not be a day of leisure, and should not be observed. For he performed many cures on that day: he made the blind receive their sight, the lame walk; he raised up the dead, he cleansed the lepers; he healed paralytics that were not at all able to make any movement of their body, or to keep their nerves steady, but who had only speech and the modulation of their voice, and he gave them the power of walking and running, removing their illness by a single word. Another thing again, more powerful still, which is strange even with our gods: he raised up one that had been dead four days, summoning him by a single word, when the dead man had his blood corrupted, and when his body was destroyed by the worms produced in it, and when it had the stink of a dog And seeing him lying in the tomb, he ordered him to run. Nor had he anything of a dead body about him at all; but as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth from the tomb filled with very great fragrance. And strangers that were manifestly demoniac, and that had their dwelling in deserts, and ate their own flesh, living like beasts and creeping things, even these he

made to be dwellers in cities, and by his word restored them to soundness of mind, and rendered them wise and able and reputable, eating with all the enemies of the unclean spirits that dwelt in them for their destruction, which he cast down into the depths of the sea. And again there was another having a withered hand; and not the hand only, but rather the half of the body of the man, was petrified, so that he had not the form of a than, or the power of moving his body. And him by a word he healed, and made sound. And a woman that had an issue of blood for many years, and whose joints and veins were drained by the flowing of the blood, so that she did not present the appearance of a human being, but was like a corpse, and was speechless every day, so that all the physicians of the district could not cure her. For there was not any hope of life left to her. And when Jesus passed by, she mysteriously received strength through his overshadowing her; and she took hold of his fringe behind, and immediately in the same hour power filled up what in her was empty, so that, no longer suffering any pain, she began to run swiftly to her own city Kepharnaum, so as to accomplish the journey in six days.

And these are the things which I lately had in my mind to report, which Jesus accomplished on the Sabbath. And other signs greater than these he did, so that I have perceived that the wonderful works done by him are greater than can be done by the gods whom we worship.

And him Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me, making a great uproar against me that I should try him. I therefore ordered him to be crucified, having first scourged him, and having found against him no cause of evil accusations or deeds.

And at the time he was crucified there was darkness over all the world, the sun being darkened at mid-day, and the stars appearing, but in them there appeared no luster; and the moon, as if turned into blood, failed in her light. And the world was swallowed up by the lower regions, so that the very sanctuary of the temple, as they call it, could not be seen by the Jews in their fall; and they saw below them a chasm of the earth, with the roar of the thunders that fell upon it. And in that terror dead men were seen that had risen, as the Jews themselves testified; and they said that it was Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses and Job, that had died, as they say, three thousand five hundred years before.

And there were very many whom I also saw appearing in the body; and they were making a lamentation about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that bad come to pass through them, and the destruction of the Jews and of their law.

And the fear of the earthquake remained from the sixth hour of the preparation until the ninth hour. And on the evening of the first day of the week there was a sound out of the heaven, so that the heaven became enlightened sevenfold more than all the days. And at the third hour of the night also the sun was seen brighter than it had ever shone before, lighting up all the heaven. And as lightnings come suddenly in winter, so majestic men appeared in glorious robes, an innumerable multitude, whose voice was heard as that of a very great thunder, crying out: Jesus that was crucified is risen: come up out of Hades, ye that have been enslaved in the underground regions of Hades. And the chasm of the earth was as if it had no bottom; but it was as if the very foundations of the earth appeared along with those that cried out in the heavens, and walked about in the body in the midst of the dead that had risen. And he that raised up all the dead, and bound Hades, said: Say to my disciples, He goes before you into Galilee; there shall you see him.

And all that night the light did not cease shining. And many of the Jews died, swallowed up in the chasm of the earth, so that on the following day most of those who had been against Jesus could not be found. Others saw the appearing of those that had risen, whom no one of us had ever seen. And only one synagogue of the Jews was left in this Jerusalem, since all disappeared in that fall.

With that terror, being in perplexity, and seized with a most frightful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time, and have reported to thy majesty. Having set in order also what was done by the Jews against Jesus, I have sent it, my Lord, to thy divinity.

THE REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE, PROCURATOR OF JUDAEA

SENT TO ROME TO TIBERIUS CAESAR
SECOND GREEK FORM

To the most mighty, venerable, awful, most divine, the august, — Pilatus Pontius, the governor of the East: I have to report to thy reverence, through this writing of mine, being seized with great trembling and fear, O most mighty emperor, the conjuncture of the present times, as the end of these things has shown. For while I, my Lord, according to the commandment of thy clemency, was discharging the duties of my government, which is one of the cities of the East, Jerusalem by name, in which is built the temple of the Jewish nation, all the multitude of the Jews came together, and delivered to me a certain man named Jesus, bringing against him many and groundless charges; and they were not able to convict him in anything. And one heresy of theirs against him was, that he said that the Sabbath was not their right rest. And that man wrought many cures, in addition to good works. He made the blind see; he cleansed lepers; he raised the dead; he healed paralytics who could not move at all, except that they only had their voice, and the joining of their bones; and he gave them the power of walking about and running, commanding them by a single word. And another mightier work he did, which was strange even with our gods: he raised up a dead man, Lazarus, who had been dead four days, by a single word ordering the dead man to be raised, although his body was already corrupted by the worms that grow in wounds; and that ill-smelling body lying in the tomb he ordered to run; and as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth out of the tomb, filled with exceeding fragrance. And some that were cruelly vexed by demons, and had their dwellings in deserts, and ate the flesh of their own limbs, and lived along with reptiles and wild beasts, he made to be dwellers in cities in their own houses, and by a word he rendered them sound-minded; and he made those that were troubled by unclean spirits to be intelligent and reputable; and sending away the demons in them into a herd of swine, he suffocated them in the sea. Another man, again, who had a withered hand, and lived in sorrow, and had not even the half of his body sound, he rendered sound by

a single word. And a woman that had a flow of blood for many years, so that, in consequence of the flowing of her blood, all the joinings of her bones appeared, and were transparent like glass; and assuredly all the physicians had left her without hope, and had not cleansed her, for there was not in her a single hope of health: once, then, as Jesus was passing by, she took hold of the fringe of his clothes behind, and that same hour the power of her body was completely restored, and she became whole, as if nothing were the matter with her, and she began to run swiftly to her own city Paneas.

And these things indeed were so. And the Jews gave information that Jesus did these things on the Sabbath. And I also ascertained that the miracles done by him were greater than any which the gods whom we worship could do.

Him then Herod and Archelaus and Philip, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me to try him. And as many were exciting an insurrection against me, I ordered him to be crucified.

And when he had been crucified, there was darkness over the whole earth, the sun having been completely hidden, and the heaven appearing dark though it was day, so that the stars appeared, but had at the same time their brightness darkened, as I suppose your reverence is not ignorant of, because in all the world they lighted lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon, being like blood, did not shine the whole night, and yet she happened to be at the full. And the stars also, and Orion, made a lament about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had been done by them.

And on the first of the week, about the third hour of the night, the sun was seen such as it had never at any time shone, and all the heaven was lighted up. And as lightnings come on in winter, so majestic men of indescribable splendor of dress and of glory appeared in the air, and an innumerable multitude of angels crying out, and saying: Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, among men goodwill: come up out of Hades, ye who have been kept in slavery in the underground regions of Hades. And at their voice all the mountains and hills were shaken, and the rocks were burst asunder; and great chasms were made in the earth, so that also what was in the abyss appeared.

And there were seen in that terror dead men raised up, as the Jews that saw them said: We have seen Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, that died two thousand five hundred years ago; and we have seen Noah manifestly in the body. And all the multitude walked about, and sang praises to God with a loud voice, saying: The Lord our God that has risen from the dead has brought to life all the dead, and has plundered Hades, and put him to death.

All that night therefore, my Lord, O king, the light ceased not. And many of the Jews died, and were engulfed and swallowed up in the chasms in that night, so that not even their bodies appeared. Those, I say, of the Jews suffered that had spoken against Jesus. And one synagogue was left in Jerusalem, since all those synagogues that had been against Jesus were engulfed.

From that fear, then, being in perplexity, and seized with much trembling, at that same hour I ordered what had been done by them all to be written; and I have reported it to thy mightiness.

THE GIVING UP OF PONTIUS PILATE

AND the writings having come to the city of the Romans, and having been read to the Caesar, with not a few standing by, all were astounded, because through the wickedness of Pilate the darkness and the earthquake had come over the whole world. And the Caesar, filled with rage, sent soldiers, and ordered them to bring Pilate a prisoner.

And when he was brought to the city of the Romans, the Caesar, hearing that Pilate had arrived, sat in the temple of the gods, in the presence of all the senate, and with all the army, and all the multitude of his power; and he ordered Pilate to stand forward. And the Caesar says to him: Why hast thou, O most impious, dared to do such things, having seen so great miracles in that man? By daring to do an evil deed, thou hast destroyed the whole world.

And Pilate said: O almighty king, I am innocent of these things; but the multitude of the Jews are violent and guilty. And the Caesar said: And who are they? Pilate says: Herod, Archelaus, Philip, Annas and Caiaphas,

and all the multitude of the Jews. The Caesar says: For what reason didst thou follow out their counsel? And Pilate says: Their nation is rebellious and insubmissive, not submitting themselves to thy power. And the Caesar said: When they delivered him to thee, thou oughtest to have made him secure, and to have sent him to me, and not to have obeyed them in crucifying such a man, righteous as he was, and one that did such good miracles, as thou hast said in thy report. For from such miracles Jesus was manifestly the Christ, the King of the Jews.

And as the Caesar was thus speaking, when he named the name of Christ, all the multitude of the gods fell down in a body, and became as dust, where the Caesar was sitting with the senate. And the people standing beside the Caesar all began to tremble, on account of the speaking of the word, and the fall of their gods; and being seized with terror, they all went away, each to his own house, wondering at what had happened. And the Caesar ordered Pilate to be kept in security, in order that he might know the truth about Jesus.

And on the following day, the Caesar, sitting in the Capitol with all the senate, tried again to question Pilate. And the Caesar says: Tell the truth, O most impious, because through thy impious action which thou hast perpetrated against Jesus, even here the doing of thy wicked deeds has been shown by the gods having been cast down. Say, then, who is he that has been crucified; because even his name has destroyed all the gods? Pilate said: And indeed the records of him are true; for assuredly I myself was persuaded from his works that he was greater than all the gods whom we worship. And the Caesar said: For what reason, then, didst thou bring against him such audacity and such doings, if thou wert not ignorant of him, and altogether devising mischief against my kingdom? Pilate said: On account of the wickedness and rebellion of the lawless and ungodly Jews, I did this.

And the Caesar, being filled with rage, held a council with all his senate and his power, and ordered a decree to be written against the Jews as follows: — To Licianus, the governor of the chief places of the East, greeting. The reckless deed which has been done at the present time by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the cities of the Jews round about, and their wicked action, has come to my knowledge, that they have forced Pilate to crucify

a certain God named Jesus, and on account of this great fault of theirs the world has been darkened and dragged to destruction. Do thou then speedily, with a multitude of soldiers, go to them there, and make them prisoners, in accordance with this decree. Be obedient, and take action against them, and scatter them, and make them slaves among all the nations; and having driven them out of the whole of Judaea, make them the smallest of nations, so that it may not any longer be seen at all, because they are full of wickedness.

And this decree having come into the region of the East, Licianus, obeying from fear of the decree, seized all the nation of the Jews; and those that were left in Judaea he scattered among the nations, and sold for slaves: so that it was known to the Caesar that these things had been done by Licianus against the Jews in the region of the East; and it pleased him.

And again the Caesar set himself to question Pilate; and he orders a captain named Albius to cut off Pilate’s head, saying: Just as he laid hands upon the just man named Christ, in like manner also shall he fall, and not find safety.

And Pilate, going away to the place, prayed. in silence, saying: Lord, do not destroy me along with the wicked Hebrews, because I would not have laid hands upon Thee, except for the nation of the lawless Jews, because they were exciting rebellion against me. But Thou knowest that I did it in ignorance. Do not then destroy me for this my sin; but remember not evil against me, O Lord, and against Thy servant Procla, who is standing with me in this the hour of my death, whom Thou didst appoint to prophesy that Thou shouldest be nailed to the cross. Do not condemn her also in my sin; but pardon us, and make us to be numbered in the portion of Thy righteous.

And, behold, when Pilate had finished his prayer, there came a voice out of the heaven, saying: All the generations and families of the nations shall count thee blessed, because under thee have been fulfilled all those things said about me by the prophets; and thou thyself shall be seen as my witness at my second appearing, when I shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and those that have not owned my name. And the prefect struck off the head of Pilate; and, behold, an angel of the Lord received it. And his wife Procla, seeing the angel coming and receiving his head, being filled

with joy herself also, immediately gave up the ghost, and was buried along with her husband.

THE DEATH OF PILATE, WHO CONDEMNED JESUS

AND when Tiberius Caesar, the emperor of the Romans, was laboring under a grievous disease, and understanding that there was at Jerusalem a certain physician, Jesus by name, who by a single word cured all infirmities, he, not knowing that the Jews and Pilate had put Him to death, ordered a certain friend of his named Volusianus: Go as quickly as possible across the seas; and thou shalt tell Pilate, my servant and friend, to send me this physician, that he may restore me to my former health. And this Volusianus, having heard the emperor's command, immediately departed, and came to Pilate, as he had been commanded. And he related to the same Pilate what had been entrusted to him by Tiberius Caesar, saying: Tiberius Caesar, the emperor of the Romans, thy master, having heard that in this city there is a physician who by his word alone heals infirmities, begs thee earnestly to send him to him for the curing of his infirmity. Pilate, hearing this, was very much afraid, knowing that through envy he had caused Him to be put to death. Pilate answered the same messenger thus, saying: This man was a malefactor, and a man who drew to himself all the people; so a council of the wise men of the city was held, and I caused him to be crucified. And this messenger returning to his inn, met a certain woman named Veronica, who had been a friend of Jesus; and he said: O woman, a certain physician who was in this city, who cured the sick by a word alone, why have the Jews put him to death? And she began to weep, saying: Ah me! my Lord, my God and my Lord, whom Pilate for envy delivered, condemned, and ordered to be crucified. Then he, being exceedingly grieved, said: I am vehemently grieved that I am unable to accomplish that for which my Lord had sent me. And Veronica said to him: When my Lord was going about preaching, and I, much against my will, was deprived of His presence, I wished His picture to be painted for me, in order that, while I was deprived of His presence, the figure of His picture might at least afford me consolation. And when I was carrying the canvas to the painter to be painted, my Lord met me, and asked whither I

was going. And when I had disclosed to Him the cause of my journey, He asked of me the cloth, and gave it back to me impressed with the image of His venerable face. Therefore, if thy Lord will devoutly gaze upon His face, he shall obtain forthwith the benefit of health. And he said to her: Is a picture of such a sort procurable by gold or silver? She said to him: No; but by the pious influence of devotion. I shall therefore set out with thee, and shall carry the picture to be seen by Caesar, and shall come back again.

Volusianus therefore came with Veronica to Rome, and said to Tiberius the emperor: Jesus, whom thou hast been longing for, Pilate and the Jews have delivered to an unjust death, and have through envy affixed to the gibbet of the cross. There has therefore come with me a certain matron, bringing a picture of Jesus himself; and if thou wilt devoutly look upon it, thou shall immediately obtain the benefit of thy health. Caesar therefore ordered the way to be strewn with silk cloths, and the picture to be presented to him; and as soon as he had looked upon it, he regained his former health.

Pontius Pilate, therefore, by the command of Caesar, is taken and brought through to Rome. Caesar. hearing that Pilate had arrived at Rome, was filled with exceeding fury against him, and caused him to be brought to him. But Pilate brought down with him the seamless tunic of Jesus; and he wore it on him in presence of the emperor. And as soon as the emperor saw him, he laid aside all his anger, and forthwith rose up to meet him. Nor was he able to speak harshly to him in anything; and he who seemed so terrible and fierce in his absence, now in his presence is somehow found to be mild. And when he had sent him away, immediately he blazed out against him terribly, crying out that he was a wretch, inasmuch as he had not at all shown him the fury of his heart. And immediately he made him be called back, swearing and declaring that he was the son of death, and that it was infamous that he should live upon the earth. And as soon as he saw him, he forthwith saluted him, and threw away all the ferocity of his mind. All wondered; and he himself wondered that he should thus blaze out against Pilate when he was absent, and that while he was present he could say nothing to him roughly. Then, by a divine impulse, or perhaps by the advice of some Christian, he caused him to be stripped of that tunic, and immediately resumed against him his former ferocity of mind. And when at this the emperor wondered very much, it was told him that that tunic had belonged to the Lord Jesus. Then the emperor ordered him

to be kept in prison, until he should deliberate in a council of the wise men what ought to be done with him. And a few days after, sentence was therefore passed upon Pilate, that he should be condemned to the most disgraceful death. Pilate, hearing this, killed himself with his own knife, and by such a death ended his life.

When Caesar knew of the death of Pilate, he said: Truly he has died by a most disgraceful death, whom his own hand has not spared. He is therefore bound to a great mass, and sunk into the river Tiber. But malignant and filthy spirits in his malignant and filthy body, all rejoicing together, kept moving themselves in the waters, and in a terrible manner brought lightnings and tempests, thunders and hail-storms, in the air, so that all men were kept in horrible fear. Wherefore the Romans, drawing him out of the river Tiber, in derision carried him down to Vienna, and sunk him in the river Rhone. For Vienna is called, as it were, Via Gehennoe, the way of Gehenna, because it was then a place of cursing. But there evil spirits were present, working the same things in the same place. Those men therefore, not enduring such a visitation of demons, removed froth themselves that vessel of malediction, and sent him to be buried in the territory of Losania. And they, seeing that they were troubled by the aforesaid visitations, removed him from themselves, and sunk him in a certain pit surrounded by mountains, where to this day, according to the account of some, certain diabolical machinations are said to bubble up.

THE NARRATIVE OF JOSEPH

**NARRATIVE OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA,
THAT BEGGED THE LORD'S BODY;
IN WHICH ALSE HE BRINGS IN
THE CASES OF THE TWO ROBBERS**

CHAPTER 1

I am Joseph of Arimathaea, who begged from Pilate the body of the Lord Jesus for burial, and who for this cause was kept close in prison by the murderous and God-fighting Jews, who also, keeping to the law, have by Moses himself become partakers in tribulation and having provoked their Lawgiver to anger, and not knowing that He was God, crucified Him and made Him manifest to those that knew God. In those days in which they condemned the Son of God to be crucified, seven days before Christ suffered, two condemned robbers were sent from Jericho to the procurator Pilate; and their case was as follows: —

The first, his name Gestas, put travelers to death, murdering them with the sword, and others he exposed naked. And he hung up women by the heels, head down, and cut off their breasts, and drank the blood of infants limbs, never having known God, not obeying the laws, being violent from the beginning, and doing such deeds.

And the case of the other was as follows: He was called Demas, and was by birth a Galilaean, and kept an inn. He made attacks upon the rich, but was good to the poor — a thief like Tobit, for he buried the bodies of the poor. And he set his hand to robbing the multitude of the Jews, and stole the law itself in Jerusalem, and stripped naked the daughter of Caiaphas, who was priestess of the sanctuary, and took away from its place the mysterious deposit itself placed there by Solomon. Such were his doings.

And Jesus also was taken on the third day before the passover, in the evening. And to Caiaphas and the multitude of the Jews it was not a passover, but it was a great mourning to them, on account of the

plundering of the sanctuary by the robber. And they summoned Judas Iscariot, and spoke to him, for he was son of the brother of Caiaphas the priest. He was not a disciple before the face of Jesus; but all the multitude of the Jews craftily supported him, that he might follow Jesus, not that he might be obedient to the miracles done by Him, nor that he might confess Him, but that he might betray Him to them, wishing to catch up some lying word of Him, giving him gifts for such brave, honest conduct to the amount of a half shekel, of gold each day. And he did this for two years with Jesus, as says one of His disciples called John.

And on the third day, before Jesus was laid hold of, Judas says to the Jews: Come, let us hold a council; for perhaps it was not the robber that stole the law, but Jesus himself, and I accuse him. And when these words had been spoken, Nicodemus, who kept the keys of the sanctuary, came in to us, and said to all: Do not do such a deed. For Nicodemus was true, more than all the multitude of the Jews. And the daughter of Caiaphas, Sarah by name, cried out, and said: He himself said before all against this holy place, I am able to destroy this temple, and in three days to raise it. The Jews say to her: Thou hast credit with all of us. For they regarded her as a prophetess. And assuredly, after the council had been held, Jesus was laid hold of.

CHAPTER 2

And on the following day, the fourth day of the week, they brought Him at the ninth hour into the hall of Caiaphas. And Annas and Caiaphas say to Him: Tell us, why hast thou stolen our law, and renounced the ordinances of Moses and the prophets? And Jesus answered nothing. And again a second time, the multitude also being present, they say to Him: The sanctuary which Solomon built in forty and six years, why dost thou wish to destroy in one moment? And to these things Jesus answered nothing. For the sanctuary of the synagogue had been plundered by the robber. And the evening of the fourth day being ended, all the multitude sought to burn the daughter of Caiaphas, on account of the loss of the law; for they did not know how they were to keep the passover. And she said to them: Wait, my children, and let us destroy this Jesus, and the law will be found, and the holy feast will be fully accomplished. And secretly

Annas and Caiaphas gave considerable money to Judas Iscariot, saying: Say as thou saidst to us before, I know that the law has been stolen by Jesus, that the accusation may be turned against him, and not against this maiden, who is free from blame. And Judas having received this command, said to them: Let not all the multitude know that I have been instructed by you to do this against Jesus; but release Jesus, and I persuade the multitude that it is so. And craftily they released Jesus.

And Judas, going into the sanctuary at the dawn of the fifth day, says to all the people: What will you give me, and I will give up to you the overthrower of the law, and the plunderer of the prophets? The Jews say to him: If thou wilt give him up to us, we will give thee thirty pieces of gold. And the people did not know that Judas was speaking about Jesus, for many of them confessed that he was the Son of God. And Judas received the thirty pieces of gold.

And going out at the fourth hour, and at the fifth, he finds Jesus walking in the street. And as evening was coming on, Judas says to the Jews: Give me the aid of soldiers with swords and staves, and I will give him up to you. They therefore gave him officers for the purpose of seizing Him. And as they were going along, Judas says to them: Lay hold of the man whom I shall kiss, for he has stolen the law and the prophets. Going up to Jesus, therefore, he kissed Him, saying: Hail, Rabbi! it being the evening of the fifth day. And having laid hold of Him, they gave Him up to Caiaphas and the chief priests, Judas saying: This is he who stole the law and the prophets. And the Jews gave Jesus an unjust trial, saying: Why hast thou done these things? And be answered nothing.

And Nicodemus and I Joseph, seeing the seat of the plagues, stood off from them, not wishing to perish along with the counsel of the ungodly.

CHAPTER 3

Having therefore done many and dreadful things against Jesus that night, they gave Him up to Pilate the procurator at the dawn of the preparation, that he might crucify Him; and for this purpose they all came together. After a trial, therefore, Pilate the procurator ordered Him to be nailed to

the cross, along with the two robbers. And they were nailed up along with Jesus, Gestas on the left. and Demas on the right.

And he that was on the left began to cry out, saying to Jesus: See how many evil deeds I have done in the earth; and if I had known that thou wast the king, I should have cut off thee also. And why dost thou call thyself Son of God, and canst not help thyself in necessity? how canst thou afford it to another one praying for help? If thou art the Christ, come down from the cross, that I may believe in thee. But now I see thee perishing along with me, not like a man, but like a wild beast. And many other things he began to say against Jesus, blaspheming and gnashing his teeth upon Him. For the robber was taken alive in the snare of the devil.

But the robber on the right hand, whose name was Demas, seeing the Godlike grace of Jesus, thus cried out: I know Thee, Jesus Christ, that Thou art the Son of God. I see Thee, Christ, adored by myriads of myriads of angels. Pardon me my sins which I have done. Do not in my trial make the stars come against me, or the moon, when Thou shall judge all the world; because in the night I have accomplished my wicked purposes. Do not urge the sun, which is now darkened on account of Thee, to tell the evils of my heart, for no gift can I give Thee for the remission of my sins. Already death is coming upon me because of my sins; but Thine is the propitiation. Deliver me, O Lord of all, from Thy fearful judgment. Do not give the enemy power to swallow me up, and to become heir of my soul, as of that of him who is hanging on the left; for I see how the devil joyfully takes his soul, and his body disappears. Do not even order me to go away into the portion of the Jews; for I see Moses and the patriarchs in great weeping, and the devil rejoicing over them. Before, then, O Lord, my spirit departs, order my sins to be washed away, and remember me the sinner in Thy kingdom, when upon the great most lofty throne thou shalt judge the twelve tribes of Israel. For Thou hast prepared great punishment for Thy world on account of Thyself.

And the robber having thus spoken, Jesus says to him: Amen, amen; I say to thee, Demas, that today thou shalt be with me in paradise. And the sons of the kingdom, the children of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And thou alone shalt dwell in paradise until my second

appearing, when I am to judge those who do not confess my name. And He said to the robber: Go away, and tell the cherubim and the powers, that turn the flaming sword, that guard paradise from the time that Adam, the first created, was in paradise, and sinned, and kept not my commandments, and I cast him out thence. And none of the first shall see paradise until I am to come the second time to judge living and dead. And He wrote thus: Jesus Christ the Son of God, who have come down from the heights of the heavens, who have come forth out of the bosom of the invisible Father without being separated from Him, and who have come down into the world to be made flesh, and to be nailed to a cross, in order that I might save Adam, whom I fashioned, — to my archangelic powers, the gatekeepers of paradise, to the officers of my Father: I will and order that he who has been crucified along with me should go in, should receive remission of sins through me; and that he, having put on an incorruptible body, should go in to paradise, and dwell where no one has ever been able to dwell.

And, behold, after He had said this, Jesus gave up the ghost, on the day of the preparation, at the ninth hour. And there was darkness over all the earth; and from a great earthquake that happened, the sanctuary fell down, and the wing of the temple.

CHAPTER 4

And I Joseph begged the body of Jesus, and put it in a new tomb, where no one had been put. And of the robber on the right the body was not found; but of him on the left, as the form of a dragon, so was his body.

And after I had begged the body of Jesus to bury, the Jews, carried away by hatred and rage, shut me up in prison, where evil-doers were kept under restraint. And this happened to me on the evening of the Sabbath, whereby our nation transgressed the law. And, behold, that same nation of ours endured fearful tribulations on the Sabbath.

And now, on the evening of the first of the week, at the fifth hour of the night, Jesus comes to me in the prison, along with the robber who had been crucified with Him on the right, whom He sent into paradise. And there was a great light in the building. And the house was hung up by the

four corners, and the place was opened, and I came out. Then I first recognized Jesus, and again the robber, bringing a letter to Jesus. And as we were going into Galilee, there shone a great light, which the creation did not produce. And there was also with the robber a great fragrance out of paradise.

And Jesus, having sat down in a certain place, thus read: We, the cherubim and the six-winged, who have been ordered by Thy Godhead to watch the garden of paradise, make the following statement through the robber who was crucified along with Thee, by Thy arrangement: When we saw the print of the nails of the robber crucified along with Thee, and the shining light of the letter of Thy Godhead, the fire indeed was extinguished, not being able to bear the splendor of the print; and we crouched down, being in great fear. For we heard that the Maker of heaven and earth, and of the whole creation, had come down from on high to dwell in the lower parts of the earth, on account of Adam, the first created. And when we beheld the undefiled cross shining like lightning from the robber, gleaming with sevenfold the light of the sun, trembling fell upon us. We felt a violent shaking of the world below; and with a loud voice, the ministers of Hades said, along with us: Holy, holy, holy is He who in the beginning was in the highest. And the powers sent up a cry: O Lord, Thou hast been made manifest in heaven and in earth, bringing joy to the world; and, a greater gift than this, Thou hast freed Thine own image from death by the invisible purpose of the ages.

CHAPTER 5

After I had beheld these things, as I was going into Galilee with Jesus and the robber, Jesus was transfigured, and was not as formerly, before He was crucified, but was altogether light; and angels always ministered to Him, and Jesus spoke with them. And I remained with Him three days. And no one of His disciples was with Him, except the robber alone.

And in the middle of the feast of unleavened bread, His disciple John comes, and we no longer beheld the robber as to what took place. And John asked Jesus: Who is this, that Thou hast not made me to be seen by him? But Jesus answered him nothing. And falling down before Him, he

said: Lord, I know that Thou hast loved me from the beginning, and why dost Thou not reveal to me that man? Jesus says to him: Why dost thou seek what is hidden? Art thou still without understanding? Dost thou not perceive the fragrance of paradise filling the place? Dost thou not know who it is? The robber on the cross has become heir of paradise. Amen, amen; I say to thee, that it shall belong to him alone until that the great day shall come. And John said: Make me worthy to behold him.

And while John was yet speaking, the robber suddenly appeared; and John, struck with astonishment, fell to the earth. And the robber was not in his first form, as before John came; but he was like a king in great power, having on him the cross. And the voice of a great multitude was sent forth: Thou hast come to the place prepared for thee in paradise. We have been commanded by Him that has sent thee, to serve thee until the great day. And after this voice, both the robber and I Joseph vanished, and I was found in my own house; and I no longer saw Jesus.

And I, having seen these things, have written them down, in order that all may believe in the crucified Jesus Christ our Lord, and may no longer obey the law of Moses, but may believe in the signs and wonders that have happened through Him, and in order that we who have believed may inherit eternal life, and be found in the kingdom of the heavens. For to Him are due glory, strength, praise, and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

THE AVENGING OF THE SAVIOR

THIS version of the legend of Veronica is written in very barbarous Latin, probably of the seventh or eighth century. An Anglo-Saxon version, which Tischendorf concludes to be derived from the Latin, was edited and translated for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, by C. W. Goodwin, in 1851. The Anglo-Saxon text is from a MS. in the Cambridge Library, one of a number presented to the Cathedral of Exeter by Bishop Leofric in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The reader will observe that there are in this document two distinct legends, somewhat clumsily joined together — that of Nathan's embassy, and that of Veronica.

HERE BEGINNETH THE AVENGING OF THE SAVIOR

IN the days of the Emperor Tiberius Caesar, when Herod was tetrarch, Christ was delivered under Pontius Pilate by the Jews, and revealed by Tiberius.

In those days Titus was a prince under Tiberius in the region of Equitania, in a city of Libia which is called Burgidalla. And Titus had a sore in his right nostril, on account of a cancer, and he bad his face torn even to the eye. There went forth a certain man from Judaea, by name Nathan the son of Nahum; for he was an Ishmaelite who went from land to land, and from sea to sea, and in all the ends of the earth. Now Nathan was sent from Judaea to the Emperor Tiberius, to carry their treaty to the city of Rome. And Tiberius was ill, and full of ulcers and fevers, and had nine kinds of leprosy. And Nathan wished to go to the city of Rome. But the north wind blew and hindered his sailing, and carried him down to the harbor of a city of Libia. Now Titus, seeing the ship coming, knew that it was from Judaea; and they all wondered, and said that they had never seen any vessel so coming from that quarter. And Titus ordered the captain to come to him, and asked him who he was. And he said: I am Nathan the son of

Nahum, of the race of the Ishmaelites, and I am a subject of Pontius Pilate in Judaea. And I have been sent to go to Tiberius the Roman emperor, to carry a treaty from Judaea. And a strong wind came down upon the sea, and has brought me to a country that I do not know.

And Titus says: If thou couldst at any time find anything either of cosmetics or herbs which could cure the wound that I have in my face, as thou seest, so that I should become whole, and regain my former health, I should bestow upon thee many good things. And Nathan said to him: I do not know, nor have I ever known, of such things as thou speakest to me about. But for all that, if thou hadst been some time ago in Jerusalem, there thou wouldst have found a choice prophet, whose name was Emanuel, for He will save His people from their sins. And He, as His first miracle in Cana of Galilee, made wine from water; and by His word He cleansed lepers, He enlightened the eyes of one born blind, He healed paralytics, He made demons flee, He raised up three dead; a woman caught in adultery, and condemned by the Jews to be stoned, He set free; and another woman, named Veronica, who suffered twelve years from an issue of blood, and came up to Him behind, and touched the fringe of His garment, He healed; and with five loaves and two fishes He satisfied five thousand men, to say nothing of little ones and women, and there remained of the fragments twelve baskets. All these things, and many others, were accomplished before His passion. After His resurrection we saw Him in the flesh as He had been before. And Titus said to Him: How did he rise again from the dead, seeing that he was dead? And Nathan answered and said: He was manifestly dead, and hung up on the cross, and again taken down from the cross, and for three days He lay in the tomb: thereafter He rose again from the dead, and went down to Hades, and freed the patriarchs and the prophets, and the whole human race; thereafter He appeared to His disciples, and ate with them; thereafter they saw Him going up into heaven. And so it is the truth, all this that I tell you. For I saw it with my own eyes, and all the house of Israel. And Titus said in his own words: Woe to thee, O Emperor Tiberius, full of ulcers, and enveloped in leprosy, because such a scandal has been committed in thy kingdom; because thou hast made such laws in Judaea, in the land of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they have seized the King, and put to death the Ruler of the peoples; and they have not made Him come to us to cure thee of thy

leprosy, and cleanse me from mine infirmity: on which account, if they had been before my face, with my own hands I should have slain the carcasses of those Jews, and hung them up on the cruel tree, because they have destroyed my Lord, and mine eyes have not been worthy to see His face. And when he had thus spoken, immediately the wound fell from the face of Titus, and his flesh and his face were restored to health. And all the sick who were in the same place were made whole in that hour. And Titus cried out, and all the rest with him, in a loud voice, saying: My King and my God, because I have never seen Thee, and Thou hast made me whole, bid me go with the ship over the waters to the land of Thy birth, to take vengeance on Thine enemies; and help me, O Lord, that I may be able to destroy them, and avenge Thy death: do Thou, Lord, deliver them into my hand. And having thus spoken, he ordered that he should be baptized. And he called Nathan to him, and said to him: How hast thou seen those baptized who believe in Christ? Come to me, and baptize me in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For I also firmly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all my heart, and with all my soul; because nowhere in the whole world is there another who has created me, and made me whole from my wounds.

And having thus spoken, he sent messengers to Vespasian to come with all haste with his bravest men, so prepared as if for war.

Then Vespasian brought with him five thousand armed men, and they went to meet Titus. And when they had come to the city of Libia, he said to Titus: Why is it that thou hast made me come hither? And he said: Know that Jesus has come into this world, and has been born in Judaea, in a place which is called Bethlehem, and has been given up by the Jews, and scourged, and crucified on Mount Calvary, and has risen again from the dead on the third day. And His disciples have seen Him in the same flesh in which he was born, and He has shown Himself to His disciples, and they have believed in Him. And we indeed wish to become His disciples. Now, let us go and destroy His enemies from the earth, that they may now know that there is none like the Lord our God on the face of the earth.

With this design, then, they went forth from the city of Libia which is called Burgidalla, and went on board a ship, and proceeded to Jerusalem,

and surrounded the kingdom of the Jews, and began to send them to destruction. And when the kings of the Jews heard of their doings, and the wasting of their land, fear came upon them, and they were in great perplexity. Then Archelaus was perplexed in his words, and said to his son: My son, take my kingdom and judge it; and take counsel with the other kings who are in the land of Judah, that you may be able to escape from our enemies. And having thus said, he unsheathed his sword and leant upon it; and turned his sword, which was very sharp, and thrust it into his breast, and died. And his son allied himself with the other kings who were under him, and they took counsel among themselves, and went into Jerusalem with their chief men who were in their counsel, and stood in the same place seven years. And Titus and Vespasian took counsel to surround their city. And they did so. And the seven years being fulfilled, there was a very sore famine, and for want of bread they began to eat earth. Then all the soldiers who were of the four kings took counsel among themselves, and said: Now we are sure to die: what will God do to us? or of what good is our life to us, because the Romans have come to take our place and nation? It is better for us to kill each other, than that the Romans should say that they have slain us, and gained the victory over us. And they drew their swords and smote themselves, and died, to the number of twelve thousand men of them. Then there was a great stench in that city from the corpses of those dead men. And their kings feared with a very great fear even unto death; and they could not bear the stench of them, nor bury them, nor throw them forth out of the city. And they said to each other: What shall we do? We indeed gave up Christ to death, and now we given up to death ourselves. Let us bow our heads, and give up the keys of the city to the Romans, because God has already given us up to death. And immediately they went up upon the walls of the city, and all cried out with a loud voice, saying: Titus and Vespasian, take the keys of the city, which have been given to you by Messiah, who is called Christ.

Then they gave themselves up into the hands of Titus and Vespasian, and said: Judge us, seeing that we ought to die, because we judged Christ; and he was given up without cause. Titus and Vespasian seized them, and some they stoned, and some they hanged on a tree, feet up and head down, and struck them through with lances; and others they gave up to be sold, and others they divided among themselves, and made four parts of them,

just as they had done of the garments of the Lord. And they said: They sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver, and we shall sell thirty of them for one denarius. And so they did. And having done so, they seized all the lands of Judaea and Jerusalem.

Then they made a search about the face or portrait of Jesus, how they might find it. And they found a woman named Veronica who had it. Then they seized Pilate, and sent him to prison, to be guarded by four quaternions of soldiers at the door of the prison. Then they forthwith sent their messengers to Tiberius, the emperor of the city of Rome, that he should send Velosianus to them. And he said to him: Take all that is necessary for thee in the sea, and go down into Judaea, and seek out one of the disciples of him who is called Christ and Lord, that he may come to me, and in the name of his God cure me of the leprosy and the infirmities by which I am daily exceedingly burdened, and of my wounds, because I am ill at ease. And send upon the kings of the Jews, who are subject to my authority, thy forces and terrible engines, because they have put to death Jesus Christ our Lord, and condemn them to death. And if thou shalt there find a man as may be able to free me from this infirmity of mine, I will believe in Christ the Son of God, and will baptize myself in his name. And Velosianus said: My Lord emperor, if I find such a man as may be able to help and free us, what reward shall I promise him? Tiberius said to him: The half of my kingdom, without fail, to be in his hand.

Then Velosianus immediately went forth, and went on board the ship, and hoisted the sail in the vessel, and went on sailing through the sea. And he sailed a year and seven days, after which he arrived at Jerusalem. And immediately he ordered some of the Jews to come to his power, and began carefully to ask what had been the acts of Christ. Then Joseph, of the city of Arimathaea, and Nicodemus, came at the same time. And Nicodemus said: I saw Him, and I know indeed that He is the Savior of the world. And Joseph said to him: And I took Him down from the cross, and laid Him in a new tomb, which had been cut out of the rock. And the Jews kept me shut up on the day of the preparation, at evening; and while I was standing in prayer on the Sabbath-day, the house was hung up by the four corners, and I saw the Lord Jesus Christ like a gleam of light, and for fear I fell to the ground. And He said to me, Look upon me, for I am Jesus, whose body thou buriedst in thy tomb. And I said to Him, Show me the

sepulcher where I laid Thee. And Jesus, holding my hand in His right hand, led me to the place where I buried Him.

And there came also the woman named Veronica, and said to him: And I touched in the crowd the fringe of His garment, because for twelve years I had suffered from an issue of blood; and He immediately healed me. Then Velosianus said to Pilate: Thou, Pilate, impious and cruel, why hast thou slain the Son of God? And Pilate answered: His own nation, and the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas, gave him to me. Velosianus said: Impious and cruel, thou art worthy of death and cruel punishment. And he sent him back to prison. And Velosianus at last sought for the face or the countenance of the Lord. And all who were in that same place said: It is the woman called Veronica who has the portrait of the Lord in her house. And immediately he ordered her to be brought before his power. And he said to her: Hast thou the portrait of the Lord in thy house? But she said, No. Then Velosianus ordered her to be put to the torture, until she should give up the portrait of the Lord. And she was forced to say: I have it in clean linen, my Lord, and I daily adore it. Velosianus said: Show it to me. Then she showed the portrait of the Lord. When Velosianus saw it, he prostrated himself on the ground; and with a ready heart and true faith he took hold of it, and wrapped it in cloth of gold, and placed it in a casket, and sealed it with his ring. And he swore with an oath, and said: As the Lord God liveth, and by the health of Caesar, no man shall any more see it upon the face of the earth, until I see the face of my Lord Tiberius. And when he had thus spoken, the princes, who were the chief men of Judaea, seized Pilate to take him to a seaport. And he took the portrait of the Lord, with all His disciples, and all in his pay, and they went on board the ship the same day. Then the woman Veronica, for the love of Christ, left all that she possessed, and followed Velosianus. And Velosianus said to her: What dost thou wish, woman, or what dost thou seek? And she answered: I am seeking the portrait of our Lord Jesus Christ, who enlightened me, not for my own merits, but through His own holy affection. Give back to me the portrait of my Lord Jesus Christ; for because of this I die with a righteous longing. But if thou do not give it back to me, I will not leave it until I see where thou wilt put it, because I, most miserable woman that I am, will serve Him all the days of my life; because I believe that He, my Redeemer, liveth for everlasting.

Then Velosianus ordered the woman Veronica to be taken down with him into the ship And the sails being hoisted. they began to go in the vessel in the name of the Lord, and they sailed through the sea. But Titus, along with Vespasian, went up into Judaea, avenging all nations upon their land. At the end of a year Velosianus came to the city of Rome, brought his vessel into the river which is called Tiberis, or Tiber, and entered the city which is called Rome. And he sent his messenger to his Lord Tiberius the emperor in the Lateran about his prosperous arrival.

Then Tiberius the emperor, when he heard the message of Velosianus, rejoiced greatly, and ordered him to come before his face. And when he had come, he called him, saying: Velosianus, how hast thou come, and what hast thou seen in the region of Judaea of Christ the Lord and his disciples? Tell me, I beseech thee, that he is going to cure me of mine infirmity, that I may be at once cleansed from that leprosy which I have over my body, and I give up my whole kingdom into thy power and his.

And Velosianus said: My Lord emperor, I found thy servants Titus and Vespasian in Judaea fearing the Lord, and they were cleansed from all their ulcers and sufferings. And I found that all the kings and rulers of Judaea have been hanged by Titus; Annas and Caiaphas have been stoned, Archelaus has killed himself with his own lance; and I have sent Pilate to Damascus in bonds, and kept him in prison under safe keeping. But I have also found out about Jesus, whom the Jews most wickedly attacked with swords, and staves, and weapons; and they crucified him who ought to have freed and enlightened us, and to have come to us, and they hanged him on a tree. And Joseph came from Arimathaea, and Nicodemus with him, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds, to anoint the body of Jesus; and they took him down from the cross, and laid him in a new tomb. And on the third day he most assuredly rose again froth the dead, and showed himself to his disciples in the same flesh in which he had been born. At length, after forty days, they saw him going up into heaven. Many, indeed, and other miracles did Jesus before his passion and after. First, of water he made wine; he raised the dead, he cleansed lepers, he enlightened the blind, he cured paralytics, he put demons to flight; he made the deaf hear, the dumb speak; Lazarus, when four days dead, he raised from the tomb; the woman Veronica, who suffered from an issue of blood twelve years, and touched the fringe of his

garment, he made whole. Then it pleased the Lord in the heavens, that the Son of God, who, sent into this world as the first-created, had died upon earth, should send his angel; and he commanded Titus and Vespasian, whom I knew in that place where thy throne is. And it pleased God Almighty that they went into Judaea and Jerusalem, and seized thy subjects, and put them under that sentence, as it were, in the same manner as they did when thy subjects seized Jesus and bound him. And Vespasian afterwards said: What shall we do about those who shall remain? Titus answered: They hanged our Lord on a green tree, and struck him with a lance; now let us hang them on a dry tree, and pierce their bodies through and through with the lance. And they did so. And Vespasian said: What about those who are left? Titus answered: They seized the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of it made four parts; now let us seize them, and divide them into four parts, — to thee one, to me one, to thy men another, and to my servants the fourth part. And they did so. And Vespasian said: But what shall we do about those who are left? Titus answered him: The Jews sold our Lord for thirty pieces of silver: now let us sell thirty of them for one piece of silver. And they did so. And they seized Pilate, and gave him up to me, and I put him in prison, to be guarded by four quaternions of soldiers in Damascus. Then they made a search with great diligence to seek the portrait of the Lord; and they found a woman named Veronica who had the portrait of the Lord. Then the Emperor Tiberius said to Velosianus: How hast thou it? And he answered: I have it in clean cloth of gold, rolled up in a shawl. And the Emperor Tiberius said: Bring it to me, and spread it before my face, that I, falling to the ground and bending my knees, may adore it on the ground. Then Velosianus spread out his shawl with the cloth of gold on which the portrait of the Lord had been imprinted; and the Emperor Tiberius saw it. And he immediately adored the image of the Lord with a pure heart, and his flesh was cleansed as the flesh of a little child. And all the blind, the lepers, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, and those possessed by various diseases, who were there present, were healed, and cured, and cleansed. And the Emperor Tiberius bowed his head and bent his knees, considering that saying: Blessed is the womb which bore Thee, and the breasts which Thou hast sucked; and he groaned to the Lord, saying with tears: God of heaven and earth, do not permit me to sin, but confirm my soul and my body, and place me in Thy

kingdom, because in Thy name do I trust always: free me from all evils, as Thou didst free the three children from the furnace of blazing fire.

Then said the Emperor Tiberius to Velosianus: Velosianus, hast thou seen any of those men who saw Christ? Velosianus answered: I have. He said: Didst thou ask how they baptize those who believed in Christ? Velosianus said: Here, my Lord, we have one of the disciples of Christ himself. Then he ordered Nathan to be summoned to come to him. Nathan therefore came and baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Immediately the Emperor Tiberius, made whole from all his diseases, ascended upon his throne, and said: Blessed art Thou, O Lord God Almighty, and worthy to be praised, who hast freed me from the snare of death, and cleansed me from all mine iniquities; because I have greatly sinned before Thee, O Lord my God, and I am not worthy to see Thy face. And then the Emperor Tiberius was instructed in all the articles of the faith, fully, and with strong faith.

May that same God Almighty, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, Himself shield us in His faith, and defend us, and deliver us from all danger and evil, and deign to bring us to life everlasting, when this life, which is temporary, shall fail; who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL

IT came to pass, after Paul went out of the island Gaudomeleta, that he came to Italy; and it was heard of by the Jews who were in Rome, the elder of the cities, that Paul demanded to come to Caesar. Having fallen, therefore, into great grief and much despondency, they said among themselves: It does not please him that he alone has afflicted all our brethren and parents in Judaea and Samaria, and in all Palestine; and he has not been pleased with these, but, behold, he comes here also, having through imposition asked Caesar to destroy us.

Having therefore made an assembly against Paul, and having considered many proposals, it seemed good to them to go to Nero the emperor, to ask him not to allow Paul to come to Rome. Having therefore got in readiness not a few presents, and having carried them with them, with supplication they came before him, saying: We beseech thee, O good emperor, send orders into all the governments of your worship, to the effect that Paul is not to come near these parts; because this Paul, having afflicted all the nation of our fathers, has been seeking to come hither to destroy us also. And the affliction, O most worshipful emperor, which we have from Peter is enough for us.

And the Emperor Nero, having heard these things, answered them: It is according to your wish. And we write to all our governments that he shall not on any account come to anchor in the parts of Italy. And they also informed Simon the magian, having sent for him, that, as has been said, he should not come into the parts of Italy.

And while they were thus doing, some of those that had repented out of the nations, and that had been baptized at the preaching of Peter, sent elders to Paul with a letter to the following effect: Paul, dear servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and brother of Peter, the first of the apostles, we have heard from the rabbis of the Jews that are in this Rome, the greatest of the cities, that they have asked Caesar to send into all his governments, in order that, wherever thou mayst be found, thou mayst be put to death.

But we have believed, and do believe, that as God does not separate the two great lights which He has made, so He is not to part you from each other, that is, neither Peter from Paul, nor Paul from Peter; but we positively believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, into whom we have been baptized, that we have become worthy also of your teaching.

And Paul, having received the two men sent with the letter on the twentieth of the month of May, became eager to go, and gave thanks to the Lord and Master Jesus Christ. And having sailed from Gaudomeleta, he did not now come through Africa to the parts of Italy, but ran to Sicily, until he came to the city of Syracuse with the two then who had been sent from Rome to him. And having sailed thence, he came to Rhegium of Calabria, and from Rhegium he crossed to Mesina, and there ordained a bishop, Bacchylus by name. And when he came out of Mesina he sailed to Didymus, and remained there one night. And having sailed thence, he came to Pontiole on the second day.

And Dioscorus the shipmaster, who brought him to Syracuse, sympathizing with Paul because he had delivered his son from death, having left his own ship in Syracuse, accompanied him to Pontiole. And some of Peter’s disciples having been found there, and having received Paul, exhorted him to stay with them. And he stayed a week, in hiding, because of the command of Caesar. And all the toparchs were watching to seize and kill him. But Dioscorus the shipmaster, being himself also bald, wearing his shipmaster’s dress, and speaking boldly, on the first day went out into the city of Pontiole. Thinking therefore that he was Paul, they seized him, and beheaded him, and sent his head to Caesar.

Caesar therefore, having summoned the first men of the Jews, announced to them, saying: Rejoice with great joy, for Paul your enemy is dead. And he showed them the head. Having therefore made great rejoicing on that day, which was the fourteenth of the month of June, each of the Jews fully believed it.

And Paul, being in Pontiole, and having heard that Dioscorus had been beheaded, being grieved with great grief, gazing into the height of the heaven, said: O Lord Almighty in heaven, who hast appeared to me in every place whither I have gone on account of Thine only-begotten Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, punish this city, and bring out all who have

believed in God and followed His word. He said to them therefore: Follow me: And going forth from Pontiole with those who Met believed in the word of God, they came to a place called Baias; and looking up with their eyes, they all see that city called Pontiole sunk into the sea-shore about one fathom; and there it is until this day, for a remembrance, under the sea.

And having gone forth from Baias, they went to Gaitas, and there he taught the word of God. And he stayed there three days in the house of Erasmus, whom Peter sent from Rome to teach the Gospel of God. And having come forth from Gaitas, he came to the castle called Taracinas, and stayed there seven days in the house of Caesarius the deacon, whom Peter had ordained by the laying on of hands. And sailing thence, be came by the river to a place called Tribus Tabernes.

And those who bad been saved out of the city of Pontiole that had been swallowed up, reported to Caesar in Rome that Pontiole had been swallowed up, with all its multitude. And the emperor, being in great grief on account of the city, having summoned the chief of the Jews, said to them: Behold, on account of what I heard from you, I have caused Paul to be beheaded, and on account of this the city has been swallowed up. And the chief of the Jews said to Caesar: Most worshipful emperor, did we not say to thee that he troubled all the country of the East, and perverted our fathers? It is better therefore, most worshipful emperor, that one city be destroyed, and not the seat of thine empire; for this had Rome to suffer. And the emperor, having heard their words, was appeased.

And Paul stayed in Tribus Tabernes four days. And departing thence, he came to Appii Forum, which is called Vicusarape; and having slept there that night, he saw one sitting on a golden chair, and a multitude of blacks standing beside him, saying: I have today made a son murder his father. Another said: And I have made a house fall, and kill parents with children. And they reported to him many evil deeds — some of one kind, some of another. And another coming, reported to him: I have managed that the bishop Juvenalius, whom Peter ordained, should sleep with the abbess Juliana. And having heard all these things when sleeping in that Appii Forum, near Vicusarape, straightway and immediately be sent to Rome one of those who had followed him from Pontiole to the bishop Juvenalius, telling him this same thing which had just been done. And on

the following day, Juvenalius, running, threw himself at the feet of Peter, weeping and lamenting, and saying what had just befallen; and he recounted to him the matter, and said: I believe that this is the light which thou wast awaiting. And Peter said to him: How is it possible that it is he when he is dead? And Juvenalius the bishop took to Peter him that had been sent by Paul, and be reported to him that he was alive, and on his way, and that he was at Appii Forum. And Peter thanked and glorified the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then having summoned his disciples that believed, he sent them to Paul as far as Tribus Tabernes. And the distance from Rome to Tribus Tabernes is thirty-eight miles. And Paul seeing them, having given thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, took courage; and departing thence, they slept in the city called Aricia.

And a report went about in the city of Rome that Paul the brother of Peter was coming. And those that believed in God rejoiced with great joy. And there was great consternation among the Jews; and having gone to Simon the magian, they entreated him, saying: Report to the emperor that Paul is not dead, but that he is alive, and has come. And Simon said to the Jews: What head is it, then, which came to Caesar from Pontiole? Was it not bald also?

And Paul having come to Rome, great fear fell upon the Jews. They came together therefore to him, and exhorted him, saying: Vindicate the faith in which thou wast born; for it is not right that thou, being a Hebrew, and of the Hebrews, shouldst call thyself teacher of Gentiles, and vindicator of the uncircumcised; and, being thyself circumcised, that thou shouldst bring to nought the faith of the circumcision. And when thou seest Peter, contend against his teaching, because be has destroyed all the bulwarks of our law; for he has prevented the keeping of Sabbaths and new moons, and the holidays appointed by the law. And Paul, answering, said to them: That I am a true Jew, by this you can prove; because also you have been able to keep the Sabbath, and to observe the true circumcision; for assuredly on the day of the Sabbath God rested from all His works. We have fathers, and patriarchs, and the law. What, then, does Peter preach in the kingdom of the Gentiles? But if he shall wish to bring in any new teaching, without any tumult, and envy, and trouble, send him word, that

we may see, and in your presence I shall convict him. But if his teaching be true, supported by the book and testimony of the Hebrews, it becomes all of us to submit to him.

Paul saying these and such like things, the Jews went and said to Peter: Paul of the Hebrews has come, and entreats thee to come to him, since those who have brought him say that he cannot meet whomsoever he may wish until he appear before Caesar. And Peter having heard, rejoiced with great joy; and rising up, immediately went to him. And seeing each other, they wept for joy; and long embracing each other, they bedewed each other with tears.

And when Paul had related to Peter the substance of all his doings, and how, through the disasters of the ship, he had come, Peter also told him what he had suffered from Simon the magian, and all his plots. And having told these things, he went away towards evening.

And in the morning of the following day, at dawn, behold, Peter coming, finds a multitude of the Jews before Paul's door. And there was a great uproar between the Christian Jews and the Gentiles. For, on the one hand, the Jews said: We are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, the friends of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, with whom God spake, to whom He showed His own mysteries and His great wonders. But you of the Gentiles are no great thing in your lineage; if otherwise, you have become polluted and abominable by idols and graven images.

While the Jews were saying such things, and such-like, those of the Gentiles answered, saying: We, when we heard the truth, straightway followed it, having abandoned our errors. But you, both knowing the mighty deeds of your fathers, and seeing the signs of the prophets, and having received the law, and gone through the sea with dry feet, and seen your enemies sunk in its depths, and the pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day shining upon you, and manna having been given to you out of heaven, and water flowing to you out of a rock, — after all these things you fashioned to yourselves the idol of a calf, and worshipped the graven image. But we, having seen none of the signs, believe to be a Savior the God whom you have forsaken in unbelief.

While they were contending in these and such-like words, the Apostle Paul said that they ought not to make such attacks upon each other, but that they should rather give heed to this, that God had fulfilled His promises which He swore to Abraham our father, that in his seed he should inherit all the nations. For there is no respect of persons with God. As many as have sinned in law shall be judged according to law, and as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law. But we, brethren, ought to thank God that, according to His mercy, He has chosen us to be a holy people to Himself: so that in this we ought to boast, whether Jews or Greeks; for you are all one in the belief of His name.

And Paul having thus spoken, both the Jews and they of the Gentiles were appeased. But the rulers of the Jews assailed Peter. And Peter, when they accused him of having renounced their synagogues, said: Hear, brethren, the holy Spirit about the patriarch David, promising, Of the fruit of thy womb shall He set upon thy throne. Him therefore to whom the Father said, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee, the chief priests through envy crucified; but that He might accomplish the salvation of the world, it was allowed that He should suffer all these things. Just as, therefore, from the side of Adam Eve was created, so also from the side of Christ was created the Church, which has no spot nor blemish. In Him, therefore, God has opened an entrance to all the sons of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in order that they may be in the faith of profession towards Him, and have life and salvation in His name. Turn, therefore, and enter into the joy of your father Abraham, because God hath fulfilled what He promised to him. Whence also the prophet says, The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek. For a priest He became upon the cross, when He offered the whole burnt-offering of His own body and blood as a sacrifice for all the world.

And Peter saying this and such-like, the most part of the people believed. And it happened also that Nero’s wife Libia, and the yoke-fellow of Agrippa the prefect, Agrippina by name, thus believed, so that also they went away from beside their own husbands. And on account of the teaching of Paul, many, despising military life, clung to God; so that even from the emperor’s bed-chamber some came to him, and having become Christians, were no longer willing to return to the army or the palace.

When, consequently, the people were making a seditious murmuring, Simon, moved with zeal, rouses himself, and began to say many evil things about Peter, saying that he was a wizard and a cheat. And they believed him, wondering at his miracles; for he made a brazen serpent move itself, and stone statues to laugh and move themselves, and himself to run and suddenly to be raised into the air. But as a set-off to these, Peter healed the sick by a word, by praying made the blind to see, put demons to flight by a command; sometimes he even raised the dead. And he said to the people that they should not only flee from Simon's deceit, but also that they should expose him, that they might not seem to be slaves to the devil.

And thus it happened that all pious men abhorred Simon the magian, and proclaimed him impious. But those who adhered to Simon strongly affirmed Peter to be a magian, bearing false witness as many of them as were with Simon the magian; so that the matter came even to the ears of Nero the Caesar, and he gave order to bring Simon the magian before him. And he, coming in, stood before him, and began suddenly to assume different forms, so that on a sudden he became a child, and after a little an old man, and at other times a young man; for he changed himself both in face and stature into different forms, and was in a frenzy, having the devil as his servant. And Nero beholding this, supposed him to be truly the son of God; but the Apostle Peter showed him to be both a liar and a wizard, base and impious and apostate, and in all things opposed to the truth of God, and that nothing yet remained except that his wickedness, being made apparent by the command of God, might be made manifest to them all.

Then Simon, having gone in to Nero, said: Hear, O good emperor: I am the son of God come down from heaven. Until now I have endured Peter only calling himself an apostle; but now he has doubled the evil: for Paul also himself teaches the same things, and having his mind turned against me, is said to preach along with him; in reference to whom, if thou shalt not contrive their destruction, it is very plain that thy kingdom cannot stand.

Then Nero, filled with concern, ordered to bring them speedily before him. And on the following day Simon the magian, and Peter and Paul the apostles of Christ, having come in to Nero, Simon said: These are the disciples of the Nazarene, and it is not at all well that they should be of

the people of the Jews, Nero said: What is a Nazarene? Simon said: There is a city of Judah which has always been opposed to us, called Nazareth, and to it the teacher of these men belonged. Nero said: God commands us to love every man; why, then, dost thou persecute them? Simon said: This is a race of men who have turned aside all Judaea from believing in me. Nero said to Peter: Why are you thus unbelieving, according to your race? Then Peter said to Simon: Thou hast been able to impose upon all, but upon me never; and those who have been deceived, God has through me recalled from their error. And since thou hast learned by experience that thou canst not get the better of me, I wonder with what face thou boastest thyself before the emperor, and supposest that through thy magic art thou shalt overcome the disciples of Christ. Nero said: Who is Christ? Peter said: He is what this Simon the magian affirms himself to be; but this is a most wicked man, and his works are of the devil. But if thou wishest to know, O good emperor, the things that have been done in Judaea about Christ, take the writings of Pontius Pilate sent to Claudius, and thus thou wilt know all. And Nero ordered them to be brought, and to he read in their presence; and they were to the following effect: —

Pontius Pilate to Claudius, greeting. There has lately happened an event which I myself was concerned in. For the Jews through envy have inflicted on themselves, and those coming after them, dreadful judgments. Their fathers had promises that their God would send them his holy one from heaven, who according to reason should be called their king, and he had promised to send him to the earth by means of a virgin. He, then, when I was procurator, came into Judaea. And they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him Son of God. Then the chief priests, moved with envy against him, seized him, and delivered him to me; and telling one lie after another, they said that he was a wizard, and did contrary to their law. And I, having believed that these things were so, gave him up, after scourging him, to their will; and they crucified him, and after he was buried set guards over him. But he, while my soldiers were guarding him, rose on the third day. And to such a degree was the wickedness of the Jews inflamed against him, that they gave money to the soldiers, saying, Say his disciples have stolen his

body. But they, having taken the money, were not able to keep silence as to what had happened; for they have testified that they have seen him (after he was) risen, and that they have received money from the Jews. These things, therefore, have I reported, that no one should falsely speak otherwise, and that thou shouldest not suppose that the falsehoods of the Jews are to be believed.

And the letter having been read, Nero said: Tell me, Peter, were all these things thus done by him? Peter said: They were, with your permission, O good emperor. For this Simon is full of lies and deceit, even if it should seem that he is what he is not — a God. And in Christ there is all excellent victory through God and through man, which that incomprehensible glory assumed which through man deigned to come to the assistance of men. But in this Simon there are two essences, of man and of devil, who through man endeavors to ensnare men.

Simon said: I wonder, O good emperor, that you reckon this man of any consequence — a man uneducated, a fisherman of the poorest, and endowed with power neither in word nor by rank. But, that I may not long endure him as an enemy, I shall forthwith order my angels to come and avenge me upon him. Peter said: I am not afraid of thy angels; but they shall be much more afraid of me in the power and trust of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou falsely declarest thyself to be.

Nero said: Art thou not afraid, Peter, of Simon, who confirms his godhead by deeds? Peter said: Godhead is in Him who searcheth the hidden things of the heart. Now then, tell me what I am thinking about, or what I am doing. I disclose to thy servants who are here what my thought is, before he tells lies about it, in order that he may not dare to lie as to what I am thinking about. Nero said: Come hither, and tell me what thou art thinking about. Peter said: Order a barley loaf to be brought, and to be given to me secretly. And when he ordered it to be brought, and secretly given to Peter, Peter said: Now tell us, Simon, what has been thought about, or what said, or what done.

Nero said: Do you mean me to believe that Simon does not know these things, who both raised a dead man, and presented himself on the third day after he had been beheaded, and who has done whatever he said he would do? Peter said: But he did not do it before me, Nero said: But he did all

these before me. For assuredly he ordered angels to come to him, and they came. Peter said: If he has done what is very great, why does he not do what is very small? Let him tell what I had in my mind, and what I have done. Nero said: Between you, I do not know myself. Simon said: Let Peter say what I am thinking of, or what I am doing. Peter said: What Simon has in his mind I shall show that I know, by my doing what he is thinking about. Simon said: Know this, O emperor, that no one knows the thoughts of men, but God alone. Is not, therefore, Peter lying? Peter said: Do thou, then, who sayest that thou art the Son of God, tell what I have in my mind; disclose, if thou canst, what I have just done in secret. For Peter, having blessed the barley loaf which he had received, and hawing broken it with his right hand and his left, had heaped it up in his sleeves. Then Simon, enraged that he was not able to tell the secret of the apostle, cried out, saying: Let great dogs come forth, and eat him up before Caesar. And suddenly there appeared great dogs, and rushed at Peter. But Peter, stretching forth his hands to pray, showed to the dogs the loaf which he had blessed; which the dogs seeing, no longer appeared. Then Peter said to Nero: Behold, I have shown thee that I knew what Simon was thinking of, not by words, but by deeds; for he, having promised that he would bring angels against me, has brought dogs, in order that he might show that he had not God-like but dog-like angels.

Then Nero said to Simon: What is it, Simon? I think we have got the worst of it. Simon said: This man, both in Judaea and in all Palestine and Caesarea, has done the same to me; and from very often striving with me, he has learned that this is adverse to them. This, then, he has learned how to escape from me; for the thoughts of men no one knows but God alone. And Peter said to Simon: Certainly thou feignest thyself to be a God; why, then, dost thou not reveal the thoughts of every man?

Then Nero, turning to Paul, said: Why dost thou say nothing, Paul? Paul answered and said: Know this, O emperor, that if thou permittest this magician to do such things, it will bring an access of the greatest mischief to thy country, and will bring down thine empire from its position. Nero said to Simon: What sayest thou? Simon said: If I do not manifestly hold myself out to be a God, no one will bestow upon me due reverence. Nero said: And now, why dost thou delay, and not show thyself to be a God, in order that these men may be punished? Simon said: Give orders to build

for me a lofty tower of wood, and I, going up upon it, will call my angels, and order them to take me, in the sight of all, to my father in heaven; and these men, not being able to do this, are put to shame as uneducated men. And Nero said to Peter: Hast thou heard, Peter, what has been said by Simon? From this will appear how much power either he or thy God has. Peter said: O most mighty emperor, it thou wert willing, thou mightst perceive that he is full of demons. Nero said: Why do you make to me roundabouts of circumlocutions? Tomorrow will prove you.

Simon said: Dost thou believe, O good emperor, that I who was dead, and rose again, am a magician? For it had been brought about by his own cleverness that the unbelieving Simon had said to Nero: Order me to be beheaded in a dark place, and there to be left slain; and if I do not rise on the third day, know that I am a magician; but if I rise again, know that I am the Son of God.

And Nero having ordered this, in the dark, by his magic art be managed that a ram should be beheaded. And for so long did the ram appear to be Simon until he was beheaded. And when he had been beheaded in the dark, he that had beheaded him, taking the head, found it to be that of a ram; hut he would not say anything to the emperor, lest be should scourge him, having ordered this to be done in secret. Thereafter, accordingly. Simon said that he bad risen on the third day, because he took away the head of the ram and the limbs — but the blood had been there congealed — and on the third day he showed himself to Nero, and said: Cause to be wiped away my blood that has been poured out; for, behold, having been beheaded, as I promised, I have risen again on the third day. And when Nero said, Tomorrow will prove you, turning to Paul, he says: Thou Paul, why dost thou say nothing? Either who taught thee, or whom thou hast for a master, or how thou hast taught in the cities, or what things have happened through thy teaching? For I think that thou hast not any wisdom, and art not able to accomplish any work of power. Paul answered: Dost thou suppose that I ought to speak against a desperate man. a magician, who has given his soul up to death, whose destruction and perdition will come speedily? For he ought to speak who pretends to be what he is not, and deceives men by magic art. If thou consentest to hear his words, and to shield him, thou shalt destroy thy soul and thy kingdom, for he is a most base man. And as the Egyptians Jannes and

Jambres led Pharaoh and his army astray until they were swallowed up in the sea, so also he, through the instruction of his father the devil, persuades men to do many evils to themselves, and thus deceives many of the innocent, to the peril of thy kingdom. But as for the word of the devil, which I see has been poured out through this man, with groanings of my heart am dealing with the Holy Spirit, that it may clearly shown what it is; for as far as he seems to raise himself towards heaven, so far will he be sunk down into the depth of Hades, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. But about the teaching of my Master, of which thou didst ask me, none attain it except the pure, who allow faith to come into their heart. For as many things as belong to peace and love, these have I taught. Round about from Jerusalem, and as far as Illyricum, I have fulfilled the word of peace. For I have taught that in honor they should prefer one another; I have taught those that are eminent and rich not to be lifted up, and hope in uncertainty of riches, but to place their hope in God; I have taught those in a middle station to be content with food and covering; I have taught the poor to rejoice in their own poverty; I have taught fathers to teach their children instruction in the fear of the Lord, children to obey their parents in wholesome admonition; I have taught wives to love their own husbands, and to fear them as masters, and husbands to observe fidelity to their wives; I have taught masters to treat their slaves with clemency, and slaves to serve their own masters faithfully; I have taught the churches of the believers to reverence one almighty, invisible, and incomprehensible God. And this teaching has been given me, not from men, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ, who spoke to me out of heaven, who also has sent me to preach, saying to me, Go forth, for I will be with thee; and all things, as many as thou shalt say or do, I shall make just.

Nero said: What sayest thou, Peter? He answered and said: All that Paul has said is true. For when he was a persecutor of the faith of Christ, a voice called him out of heaven, and taught him the truth; for he was not an adversary of our faith from hatred, but from ignorance. For there were before us false Christs, like Simon, false apostles, and false prophets, who, contrary to the sacred writings, set themselves to make void the truth; and against these it was necessary to have in readiness this man, who from his youth up set himself to no other thing than to search out the mysteries of the divine law, by which he might become a vindicator of truth and a

persecutor of falsehood. Since, then, his persecution was not on account of hatred, but on account of the vindication of the law, the very truth out of heaven held intercourse with him, saying, I am the truth which you persecutest; cease persecuting me. When, therefore, he knew that this was so, leaving off that which he was vindicating, he began to vindicate this way of Christ which he was persecuting.

Simon said: O good emperor, take notice that these two have conspired against me; for I am the truth, and they purpose evil against me. Peter said: There is no truth in thee; but all thou sayest is false.

Nero said: Paul, what sayest thou? Paul said: Those things which thou hast heard from Peter, believe to have been spoken by me also; for we purpose the same thing, for we have the same Lord Jesus the Christ. Simon said: Dost thou expect me, O good emperor, to hold an argument with these men, who have come to an agreement against me? And having turned to the apostles of Christ, he said: Listen, Peter and Paul: if I can do nothing for you here, we are going to the place where I must judge you. Paul said: O good emperor, see what threats he holds out against us. Peter said: Why was it necessary to keep from laughing outright at a foolish man, made the sport of demons, so as to suppose that he cannot be made manifest?

Simon said: I spare you until I shall receive my power. Paul said: See if you will go out hence safe. Peter said: If thou do not see, Simon, the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou wilt not believe thyself not to be Christ. Simon said: Most sacred emperor, do not believe them, for they are circumcised knaves. Paul said: Before we knew the truth. we had the circumcision of the flesh; but when the truth appeared, in the circumcision of the heart we both are circumcised, and circumcise. Peter said: If circumcision be a disgrace, why hast thou been circumcised, Simon?

Nero said: Has, then, Simon also been circumcised? Peter said: For not otherwise could he have deceived souls, unless he reigned himself to be a Jew, and made a show of teaching the law of God. Nero said: Simon, thou, as I see, being carried away with envy, persecutest these men. For, as it seems, there is great hatred between thee and their Christ; and I am afraid that thou wilt be worsted by them, and involved in great evils. Simon said: Thou art led astray, O emperor. Nero said: How am I led astray? What I

see in thee, I say. I see that thou art manifestly an enemy of Peter and Paul and their master.

Simon said: Christ was not Paul’s master. Paul said: Yes; through revelation He taught me also. But tell me what I asked thee — Why wast thou circumcised? Simon said: Why have you asked me this? Paul said: We have a reason for asking you this. Nero said: Why art thou afraid to answer them? Simon said: Listen, O emperor. At that time circumcision was enjoined by God when I received it. For this reason was I circumcised.

Paul said: Hearest thou, O good emperor, what has been said by Simon? If, therefore, circumcision be a good thing, why hast thou, Simon, given up those who have been circumcised, and forced them, after being condemned, to be put to death? Nero said: Neither about you do I perceive anything good. Peter and Paul said: Whether this thought about us be good or evil has no reference to the matter; but to us it was necessary that what our Master promised should come to pass. Nero said: If I should not be willing? Peter said: Not as thou willest, but as He promised to us.

Simon said: O good emperor, these men have reckoned upon thy clemency, and have bound thee. Nero said: But neither hast thou yet made me sure about thyself. Simon said: Since so many excellent deeds and signs have been shown to thee by me, I wonder how thou shouldst be in doubt. Nero said: I neither doubt nor favor any of you; but answer me rather what I ask.

Simon said: Henceforward I answer thee nothing. Nero said: Seeing that thou liest, therefore thou sayest this. But if even I can do nothing to thee, God, who can, will do it. Simon said: I no longer answer thee. Nero said: Nor do I consider thee to be anything: for, as I perceive, thou art a liar in everything. But why do I say so much? The three of you show that your reasoning is uncertain; and thus in all things you have made me doubt, so that I find that I can give credit to none of you.

Peter said: We preach one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that has made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that therein is, who is the true King; and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Nero said: What king is Lord? Paul said: The Savior of all the nations. Simon said:lam he

whom you speak of. Peter and Paul said: May it never be well with thee, Simon, magician, and full of bitterness.

Simon said: Listen, O Caesar Nero, that thou mayst know that these men are liars, and that I have been sent from the heavens: tomorrow I go up into the heavens, that I may make those who believe in me blessed, and show my wrath upon those who have denied me. Peter and Paul said: Us long ago God called to His own glory; but thou, called by the devil, hastenest to punishment. Simon said: Caesar Nero, listen to me. Separate these madmen from thee, in order that when I go into heaven to my father, I may be very merciful to thee. Nero said: And whence shall we prove this, that thou goest away into heaven? Simon said: Order a lofty tower to be made of wood, and of great beams, that I may go up upon it, and that my angels may find me in the air; for they cannot come to me upon earth among the sinners. Nero said: I will see whether thou wilt fulfill what thou sayest.

Then Nero ordered a lofty tower to be made in the Campus Martins, and all the people and the dignities to be present at the spectacle. And on the following day, all the multitude having come together, Nero ordered Peter and Paul to he present, to whom also he said: Now the truth has to be made manifest. Peter and Paul said: We do not expose him, but our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom he has falsely declared himself to be.

And Paul, having turned to Peter, said: It is my part to bend the knee, and to pray to God; and thine to produce the effect, if thou shouldst see him attempting anything, because thou wast first taken in hand by the Lord. And Paul, bending his knees, prayed. And Peter, looking steadfastly upon Simon, said: Accomplish what thou hast begun; for both thy exposure and our call is at hand: for I see my Christ calling both me and Paul. Nero said: And where will you go to against my will? Peter said: Whithersoever our Lord has called us. Nero said: And who is your Lord? Peter said: Jesus the Christ, whom I see calling us to Himself. Nero said: Do you also then intend to go away to heaven? Peter said: If it shall seem good to Him that calls us. Simon said: In order that thou mayst know, O emperor, that these are deceivers, as soon as ever I ascend into heaven, I will send my angels to thee, and will make thee come to me. Nero said: Do at once what thou sayest.

Then Simon went up upon the tower in the face of all, and, crowned with laurels, he stretched forth his hands, and began to fly. And when Nero saw him flying, he said to Peter: This Simon is true; hut thou and Paul are deceivers. To whom Peter said: Immediately shalt thou know that we are true disciples of Christ; but that he is not Christ, but a magician, and a malefactor. Nero said: Do you still persist? Behold, you see him going up into heaven. Then Peter, looking steadfastly upon Paul, said: Paul, look up and see. And Paul, having looked up, full of tears, and seeing Simon flying, said: Peter, why art thou idle? finish what thou hast begun; for already our Lord Jesus Christ is calling us. And Nero hearing them, smiled a little, and said: These men see themselves worsted already, and are gone mad. Peter said: Now thou shalt know that we are not mad. Paul said to Peter: Do at once what thou doest.

And Peter, looking steadfastly against Simon, said: I adjure you, ye angels of Satan, who are carrying him into the air, to deceive the hearts of the unbelievers, by the God that created all things, and by Jesus Christ, whom on the third day He raised from the dead, no longer from this hour to keep him up, but to let him go. And immediately, being let go, he fell into a place called Sacra Via, that is, Holy Way, and was divided into four parts, having perished by an evil fate.

Then Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and the body of Simon to be carefully kept three days, thinking that he would rise on the third day. To whom Peter said: He will no longer rise, since he is truly dead, being condemned to everlasting punishment. And Nero said to him: Who commanded thee to do such a dreadful deed? Peter said: His reflections and blasphemy against my Lord Jesus Christ have brought him into this gulf of destruction. Nero said: I will destroy you by an evil taking off. Peter said: This is not in thy power, even if it should seem good to thee to destroy us; but it is necessary that what our Master promised to us should he fulfilled.

Then Nero, having summoned Agrippa the propraetor, said to him: It is necessary that men introducing mischievous religious observances should die. Wherefore I order them to take iron clubs,and to be killed in the sea-fight. Agrippa the propraetor said: Most sacred emperor, what thou hast ordered is not fitting for these men, since Paul seems innocent beside

Peter. Nero said: By what fate, then, shall they die? Agrippa answered and said: As seems to me, it is just that Paul's head should be cut off, and that Peter should be raised on a cross as the cause of the murder. Nero said: Thou hast most excellently judged.

Then both Peter and Paul were led away from the presence of Nero. And Paul was beheaded on the Ostesian road.

And Peter, having come to the cross, said: Since my Lord Jesus Christ, who came down from the heaven upon the earth, was raised upon the cross upright, and He has deigned to call to heaven me, who am of the earth, my cross ought to be fixed head downmost, so as to direct my feet towards heaven; for I am not worthy to be crucified like my Lord. Then, having reversed the cross, they nailed his feet up. And the multitude was assembled reviling Caesar, and wishing to kill him. But Peter restrained them, saying: A few days ago, being exhorted by the brethren, I was going away; and my Lord Jesus Christ met me, and having adored Him, I said, Lord, whither art Thou going? And He said to me, I am going to Rome to be crucified. And I said to Him, Lord, wast Thou not crucified once for all? And the Lord answering, said, I saw thee fleeing from death, and I wish to be crucified instead of thee. And I said, Lord, I go; I fulfill Thy command. And He said to me, Fear not, for am with thee. On this account, then, children, do not hinder my going; for already my feet are going on the road to heaven. Do not grieve, therefore, but rather rejoice with me, for today I receive the fruit of my labors. And thus: speaking, he said: I thank Thee, good Shepherd, that the sheep which Thou hast entrusted to me, sympathize with me; I ask, then, that with me they may have a part in Thy kingdom. And having thus spoken, he gave up the ghost.

And immediately there appeared men glorious and strange in appearance; and they said: We are here, on account of the holy and chief apostles, from Jerusalem. And they, along with Marcellus, an illustrious man, who, having left Simon, had believed in Peter, took up his body secretly, and put it under the terebinth near the place for the exhibition of sea-fights in the place called the Vatican.

And the men who had said that they came from Jerusalem said to the people: Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, because you have been deemed worthy to have great champions. And know that Nero himself, after these

not many days, will be utterly destroyed, and his kingdom shall be given to another.

And after these things the people revolted against him; and when he knew of it, he fled into desert places, and through hunger and cold he gave up the ghost, and his body became food for the wild beasts.

And some devout men of the regions of the East wished to carry off the relics of the saints, and immediately there was a great earthquake in the city; and those that dwelt in the city having become aware of it, ran and seized the men, but they fled. But the Romans having taken them, put them in a place three miles froth the city, and there they were guarded a year and seven months, until they had built the place in which they intended to put them. And after these things, all having assembled with glory and singing of praise, they put them in the place built for them.

And the consummation of the holy glorious Apostles Peter and Paul was on the 29th of the month of June —

IN CHRIST JESUS OUR LORD,
TO WHOM BE GLORY AND STRENGTH

THE STORY OF PERPETUA

AND as Paul was being led away to be beheaded at a place about three miles from the city, he was in irons. And there were three soldiers guarding him who were of a great family. And when they had gone out of the gate about the length of a bow-shot, there met them a God-fearing woman; and she, seeing Paul dragged along in irons, had compassion on him, and wept bitterly. And the name of the woman was called Perpetua; and she was one-eyed. And Paul, seeing her weeping, says to her: Give me thy handkerchief, and when I turn back I shall give it to thee. And she, having taken the handkerchief, gave it to him willingly. And the soldiers laughed, and said to the woman: Why dost thou wish, woman, to lose thy handkerchief? Knowest thou not that he is going away to be beheaded? And Perpetua said to them: I adjure you by the health of Caesar to bind his eyes with this handkerchief when you cut off his head. Which also was done. And they beheaded him at the place called Aquae Salviae, near the

pine tree. And as God had willed, before the soldiers came back, the handkerchief, having on it drops of blood, was restored to the woman. And as she was carrying it, straightway and immediately her eye was opened.

CONTINUATION OF THE STORY OF PERPETUA

And the three soldiers who had cut off the head of Saint Paul, when after three hours they came on the same day with the BULLA bringing it to Nero, having met Perpetua, they said to her: What is it, woman? Behold, by thy confidence thou hast lost thy handkerchief. But she said to them: I have both got my handkerchief, and my eye has recovered its sight. And as the Lord, the God of Paul, liveth, I also have entreated him that I may be deemed worthy to become the slave of his Lord. Then the soldiers who had the BULLA, recognizing the handkerchief, and seeing that her eye had been opened, cried out with a loud voice, as if from one mouth, and said: We too are the slaves of Paul's master. Perpetua therefore having gone away, reported in the palace of the Emperor Nero that the soldiers who had beheaded Paul said: We shall no longer go into the city, for we believe in Christ whom Paul preached, and we are Christians. Then Nero, filled with rage, ordered Perpetua, who had informed him of the soldiers, to be kept fast in irons; and as to the soldiers, he ordered one to be beheaded outside of the gate about one mile from the city, another to be cut in two, and the third to be stoned. And Perpetua was in the prison; and in this prison there was kept Potentiana, a noble maiden, because she had said: I forsake my parents and all the substance of my father, and I wish to become a Christian. She therefore joined herself to Perpetua, and ascertained from her everything about Paul, and was in much anxiety about the faith in Christ. And the wife of Nero was Potentiana's sister; and she secretly informed her about Christ, that those who believe in Him see everlasting joy, and that everything here is temporary, but there eternal: so that also she fled out of the palace, and some of the senators' wives with her. Then Nero, having inflicted many tortures upon Perpetua, at last tied a great stone to her neck, and ordered her to be throw over a precipice. And her remains lie at the Momentan gate. And Potentiana also underwent many torments; and at last, having made a furnace one day, they burned her.

ACTS OF PAUL AND THECLA

As Paul was going up to Iconium after the flight from Antioch, his fellow-travelers were Demas and Ermogenes, full of hypocrisy; and they were importunate with Paul, as if they loved him. But Paul, looking only to the goodness of Christ, did them no harm, but loved them exceedingly, so that he made the oracles of the Lord sweet to them in the teaching both of the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved; and he gave them an account, word for word, of the great things of Christ, how He had been revealed to him.

And a certain man, by name Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul had come to Iconium, went out to meet him with his children Silas and Zeno, and his wife Lectra, in order that he might entertain him: for Titus had informed him what Paul was like in appearance: for he had not seen him in the flesh, but only in the spirit. And he went along the road to Lystra, and stood waiting for him, and kept looking at the passers by according to the description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well-built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul, seeing Onesiphorus, smiled; and Onesiphorus said: Hail, O servant of the blessed God! And he said: Grace be with thee and thy house. And Demas and Ermogenes were jealous, and showed greater hypocrisy; so that Demas said: Are not we of the blessed God, that thou hast not thus saluted us? And Onesiphorus said: I do not see in you the fruit of righteousness; but if such you be, come you also into my house and rest yourselves.

And Paul having gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, and breaking of bread, and the word of God about self-control and the resurrection; Paul saying: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God: blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God: blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them: blessed are they that have kept aloof from this world, for they shall be called upright: blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for

their portion: blessed are they that have the fear of God, for they shall become angels of God: blessed are they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest beside the Father and the Son: blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not see the bitter day of judgment: blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity; for the word of the Father shall become to them a work of salvation against the day of His Son, and they shall have rest for ever and ever.

And while Paul was thus speaking in the midst of the church in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin Thecla, the daughter of Theocleia, betrothed to a man named Thamyris, sitting at the window close by, listened night and day to the discourse of virginity and prayer, and did not look away from the window, but paid earnest heed to the faith, rejoicing exceedingly. And when she still saw many women going in beside Paul, she also had an eager desire to be deemed worthy to stand in the presence of Paul, and to hear the word of Christ; for never had she seen his figure, but heard his word only.

And as she did not stand away from the window, her mother sends to Thamyris; and he comes gladly, as if already receiving her in marriage. And Theocleia said: I have a strange story to tell thee, Thamyris; for assuredly for three days and three nights Thecla does not rise from the window, neither to eat nor to drink; but looking earnestly as if upon some pleasant sight, she is so devoted to a foreigner teaching deceitful and artful discourses, that I wonder how a virgin of such modesty is so painfully put about. Thamyris, this man will overturn the city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla too besides; for all the women and the young men go in beside him, being taught to fear God and to live in chastity. Moreover also my daughter, tied to the window like a spider, lays hold of what is said by Paul with a strange eagerness and awful emotion; for the virgin looks eagerly at what is said by him, and has been captivated. But do thou go near and speak to her, for she has been betrothed to thee.

And Thamyris going near, and kissing her, but at the same time also being afraid of her overpowering emotion, said: Thecla, my betrothed, why dost thou sit thus? and what sort of feeling holds thee overpowered? Turn round to thy Thamyris, and be ashamed. Moreover also her mother said

the same things: Why dost thou sit thus looking down, my child, and answering nothing, but like a mad woman? And they wept fearfully, Thamyris indeed for the loss of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maidservants of a mistress: there was accordingly much confusion in the house of mourning. And while these things were thus going on, Thecla did not turn round, but kept attending earnestly to the word of Paul.

And Thamyris starting up, went forth into the street, and kept watching those going in to him and coming out. And be saw two men bitterly contending with each other; and he said: Men, tell me who this is among you, leading astray the souls of young men, and deceiving virgins, so that they do not marry, but remain as they are. I promise, therefore, to give you money enough if you tell me about him; for I am the first man of the city. And Demas and Ermogenes said to him: Who this is, indeed, we do not know; but he deprives young men of wives, and maidens of husbands, saying, There is for you a resurrection in no other way, unless you remain chaste, and pollute not the flesh, but keep it chaste. And Thamyris said to them: Come into my house, and rest yourselves. And they went to a sumptuous dinner, and much wine, and great wealth, and a splendid table; and Thamyris made them drink, from his love to Thecla, and his wish to get her as his wife. And Thamyris said during the dinner: Ye men, what is his teaching, tell me, that I also may know; for I am no little distressed about Thecla, because she thus loves the stranger, and I am prevented from marrying.

Demas and Ermogenes said: Bring him before the governor Castelios on the charge of persuading the multitudes to embrace the new teaching of the Christians, and he will speedily destroy him, and thou shalt have Thecla as thy wife. And we shall teach thee that the resurrection of which this man speaks has taken place, because it has already taken place in the children which we have; and we rose again when we came to the knowledge of the true God.

And Thamyris, hearing these things, being filled with anger and rage, rising up early, went to the house of Onesiphorus with archons and public officers, and a great crowd with batons, saying: Thou hast corrupted the city of the Iconians, and her that was betrothed to me, so that she will pot have me: let us go to the governor Castelios. And all the multitude said:

Away with the magician; for he has corrupted all our wives, and the multitudes have been persuaded to change their opinions.

And Thamyris, standing before the tribunal, said with a great shout: O proconsul, this man, who he is we know not, who makes virgins averse to marriage; let him say before thee on what account he teaches these things. And Demas and Ermogenes said to Thamyris: Say that he is a Christian, and thus thou wilt do away with him. But the proconsul stayed his intention, and called Paul, saying: Who art thou, and what dost thou teach? for they bring no shall charges against thee. And Paul lifted up his voice, saying: Since I am this day examined as to what I teach, listen, O proconsul: A living God, a God of retributions, a jealous God, a God in need of nothing, consulting for the salvation of men, has sent me that I may reclaim them from corruption and uncleanness, and from all pleasure, and from death, that they may not sin. Wherefore God sent His own Son, whom I preach, and in whom I teach men to rest their hope, who alone has had compassion upon a world led astray, that they may be no lover trader judgment, O proconsul, but may, have faith, and the fear of God, and the knowledge of holiness, and the love of truth. If, therefore, I teach what has been revealed to me by God, wherein do I do wrong? And the proconsul having heard, ordered Paul to be bound, and sent to prison, until, said he, I, being at leisure, shall hear him more attentively.

And Thecla by night having taken off her bracelets, gave them to the gatekeeper; and the door having been opened to her, she went into the prison; and having given the jailer a silver mirror, she went in beside Paul, and, sitting at his feet, she heard the great things of God. And Paul was afraid of nothing, but ordered his life in the confidence of God. And her faith also was increased, and she kissed his bonds.

And when Thecla was sought for by her friends, and Thamyris, as if she had been lost, was running up and down the streets, one of the gatekeeper’s fellow-slaves informed him that she had gone out by night. And having gone out, they examined the gatekeeper; and he said to them: She has gone to the foreigner into the prison. And having gone, they found her, as it were, enchained by affection. And having gone forth thence, they drew the multitudes together, and informed the governor of the circumstance. And he ordered Paul to be brought to the tribunal; but

Thecla was wallowing on the ground in the place where he sat and taught her in the prison; and he ordered her too to be brought to the tribunal. And she came, exulting with joy. And the crowd, when Paul had been brought, vehemently cried out: He is a magician! away with him! But the proconsul gladly heard Paul upon the holy works of Christ. And having called a council, he summoned Thecla, and said to her: Why dost thou not obey Thamyris, according to the law of the Iconians? But she stood looking earnestly at Paul. And when she gave no answer, her mother cried out, saying: Burn the wicked wretch; burn in the midst of the theater her that will not marry, in order that all the women that have been taught by this man may be afraid.

And the governor was greatly moved; and having scourged Paul, he cast him out of the city, and condemned Thecla to be burned. And immediately the governor went away to the theater, and all the crowd went forth to the spectacle of Thecla. But as a lamb in the wilderness looks round for the shepherd, so she kept searching for Paul. And having looked upon the crowd, she saw the Lord sitting in the likeness of Paul, and said: As I am unable to endure my lot, Paul has come to see me. And she gazed upon him with great earnestness, and he went up into heaven. But the maid-servants and virgins brought the faggots, in order that Thecla might be burned. And when she came in naked, the governor wept, and wondered at the power that was in her. And the public executioners arranged the faggots for her to go up on the pile. And she, having made the sign of the cross, went up on the faggots; and they lighted them. And though a great fire was blazing, it did not touch her; for God, having compassion upon her, made an underground rumbling, and a cloud overshadowed them from above, full of water and hail; and all that was in the cavity of it was poured out, so that many were in danger of death. And the fire was put out, and Thecla saved.

And Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife, and his children, in a new tomb, as they were going from Iconium to Daphne. And when many clays were past, the fasting children said to Paul: We are hungry, and we cannot buy loaves; for Onesiphorus had left the things of the world, and followed Paul, with all his house. And Paul, having taken off his cloak, said: Go, my child, buy more loaves, and bring them. And when the child was buying, he saw Thecla their neighbor, and was astonished, and said:

Thecla, whither art thou going? And she said: I have been saved from the fire, and am following Paul. And the boy said: Come, I shall take thee to him; for he is distressed about thee, and is praying six days. And she stood beside the tomb where Paul was with bended knees, and praying, and saying: O Savior Christ, let not the fire touch Thecla, but stand by her, for she is Thine. And she, standing behind him, cried out: O Father, who hast made the heaven and the earth, the Father of Thy holy Son, I bless Thee that Thou hast saved me that I may see Paul. And Paul, rising up, saw her, and said: O God, that knowest the heart, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless Thee that Thou, having heard me, hast done quickly what I wished.

And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water; and they rejoiced in the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said to Paul: I shall cut my hair, and follow thee whithersoever thou mayst go. And he said: It is a shameless age, and thou art beautiful. I am afraid lest another temptation come upon thee worse than the first, and that thou withstand it not, but be cowardly. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Thecla, wait with patience, and thou shalt receive the water.

And Paul sent away Onesiphorus and all his house to Iconium; and thus, having taken Thecla, he went into Antioch. And as they were going in, a certain Syriarch, Alexander by name, seeing Thecla, became enamored of her, and tried to gain over Paul by gifts and presents. But Paul said: I know not the woman whom thou speakest of, nor is she mine. But he, being of great power, himself embraced her in the street. But she would not endure it, but looked about for Paul. And she cried out bitterly, saying: Do not force the stranger; do not force the servant of God. I am one of the chief persons of the Iconians; and because I would not have Thamyris, I have been cast out of the city. And taking hold of Alexander, she tore his cloak, and pulled off his crown, and made him a laughing-stock. And he, at the same time loving her, and at the same time ashamed of what had happened, led her before the governor; and when she had confessed that she had done these things, he condemned her to the wild beasts. And the women were struck with astonishment, and cried out beside the tribunal: Evil judgment! impious judgment! And she asked the governor, that, said she, I may remain pure until I shall fight with the wild beasts. And a

certain Tryphaena, whose daughter was dead, took her into keeping, and had her for a consolation.

And when the beasts were exhibited, they bound her to a fierce lioness; and Tryphaena accompanied her. But the lioness, with Thecla sitting upon her, licked her feet; and all the multitude was astonished. And the charge on her inscription was: Sacrilegious. And the women cried out from above: An impious sentence has been passed in this city! And after the exhibition, Tryphaena again receives her. For her daughter Falconilla had died, and said to her in a dream: Mother, thou shaft have this stranger Thecla in my place, in order that she may pray concerning me, and that I may be transferred to the place of the just.

And when, after the exhibition, Tryphaena received her, at the same time indeed she grieved that she had to fight with the wild beasts on the day following; and at the same time, loving her as much as her daughter Falconilla, she said: My, second child Thecla, come and pray for my child, that she may live for ever; for this I saw in my sleep. And she, nothing hesitating, lifted up her voice, and said: God most high, grant to this woman according to bet wish, that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. And when Thecla had thus spoken, Tryphaena lamented, considering so much beauty thrown to the wild beasts.

And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her, for it was he that gave the hunt, saying: The governor is sitting, and the crowd is in uproar against us. Allow me to take away her that is to fight with the wild beasts. And Tryphaena cried aloud, so that he even fled, saying: A second mourning for my Falconilla has come upon my house and there is no one to help; neither child, for she is dead, nor kinsman, for I am a widow. God of Thecla, help her!

And immediately the governor sends an order that Thecla should be brought. And Tryphaena, taking her by the hand, said: My daughter Falconilla, indeed, I took away to the tomb; and thee, Thecla, I am taking to the wild-beast fight. And Thecla wept bitterly, saying: O Lord, the God in whom I believe, to whom I have fled for refuge, who deliveredst me from the fire, do Thou grant a recompense to Tryphaena, who has had compassion on Thy servant, and because she has kept me pure. Then a tumult arose, and a cry of the people, and the women sitting together, the

one saying: Away with the sacrilegious person! the others saying: Let the city be raised against this wickedness. Take off all of us, O proconsul! Cruel sight! evil sentence!

And Thecla, having been taken out of the hand of Tryphaena, was stripped, and received a girdle, and was thrown into the arena, and lions and bears and a fierce lioness were let loose upon her; and the lioness having run up to her feet, lay down; and the multitude of the women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon her; but the lioness, meeting the bear, tore her to pieces. And again a lion that had been trained against men, which belonged to Alexander, ran upon her; and she, the lioness, encountering the lion, was killed along with him. And the women made great lamentation, since also the lioness, her protector, was dead.

Then they send in many wild beasts, she standing and stretching forth her hands, and praying. And when she had finished her prayer, she turned and saw a ditch full of water, and said: Now it is time to wash myself. And she threw herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ I am baptized on my last day. And the women seeing, and the multitude, wept, saying: Do not throw thyself into the water; so that also the governor shed tears, because the seals were going to devour such beauty. She then threw herself in the name of Jesus Christ; but the seals having seen the glare of the fire of lightning, floated about dead. And there was round her, as she was naked, a cloud of fire; so that neither could the wild beasts touch her, nor could she be seen naked.

And the women, when other wild beasts were being thrown in, wailed. And some threw sweet-smelling herbs, others nard, others cassia, others amomum, so that there was abundance of perfumes. And all the wild beasts that had been thrown in, as if they had been withheld by sleep, did not touch her; so that Alexander said to the governor: I have bulls exceedingly terrible; let us bind to them her that is to fight with the beasts. And the governor, looking gloomy, turned, and said: Do what thou wilt. And they bound her by the feet between them, and put red-hot irons under the privy parts of the bulls, so that they, being rendered more furious, might kill her. They rushed about, therefore; but the burning flame consumed the ropes, and she was as if she had not been bound. But Tryphaena fainted standing beside the arena, so that the crowd said:

Queen Tryphaena is dead. And the governor put a stop to the games, and the city was in dismay. And Alexander entreated the governor, saying: Have mercy both on me and the city, and release this woman. For if Caesar hear of these things, he will speedily destroy the city also along with us, because his kinswoman Queen Tryphaena has died beside the ABACI.

And the governor summoned Thecla out of the midst of the wild beasts, and said to her: Who art thou? and what is there about thee, that not one of the wild beasts touches thee? And she said: I indeed am a servant of the living God; and as to what there is about me, I have believed in the Son of God, in whom He is well pleased; wherefore not one of the beasts has touched me. For He alone is the end of salvation, and the basis of immortal life; for He is a refuge to the tempest-tossed, a solace to the afflicted, a shelter to the despairing; and, once for all, whoever shall not believe on Him, shall not live for ever.

And the governor having heard this, ordered her garments to be brought, and to be put on. And Thecla said: He that clothed me naked among the wild beasts, will in the day of judgment clothe thee with salvation. And taking the garments, she put them on. The governor therefore immediately issued an edict, saying: I release to you the God-fearing Thecla, the servant of God. And the women shouted aloud, and with one mouth returned thanks to God, saying: There is one God, the God of Thecla; so that the foundations of the theater were shaken by their voice. And Tryphaena having received the good news, went to meet the holy Thecla, and said: Now I believe that the dead are raised: now I believe that my child lives. Come within, and I shall assign to thee all that is mine. She therefore went in along with her, and rested eight days, having instructed her in the word of God, so that most even of the maid-servants believed. And there was great joy in the house.

And Thecla kept seeking Paul; and it was told her that he was in Myra of Lycia. And taking young men and maidens, she girded herself; and having sewed the tunic so as to make a man’s cloak, she came to Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God. And Paul was astonished at seeing her, and the crowd with her, thinking that some new trial was coming upon her. And when she saw him, she said: I have received the baptism, Paul; for He

that wrought along with thee for the Gospel has wrought in me also for baptism. And Paul, taking her, led her to the house of Hermaeus, and hears everything from her, so that those that heard greatly wondered, and were comforted, and prayed over Tryphaena. And she rose up, and said: I am going to Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the word of God. And Tryphaena sent her much clothing and gold, so that she left to Paul many things for the service of the poor.

And she went to Iconium. And she goes into the house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon the pavement where Paul used to sit and teach her, and wept, saying: God of myself and of this house, where Thou didst make the light to shine upon me, O Christ Jesus, the Son of the living God, my help in the fire, my help among the wild beasts, Thou art glorified for ever. Amen. And she found Thamyris dead, but her mother alive. And having sent for her mother, she said: Theocleia, my mother, canst thou believe that the Lord liveth in the heavens? For whether thou desirest wealth, God gives it to thee through me; or thy child, I am standing beside thee. And having thus testified, she departed to Seleucia, and dwelt in a cave seventy-two years, living upon herbs and water. And she enlightened many by the word of God.

And certain men of the city, being Greeks by religion, and physicians by profession, sent to her insolent young men to destroy her. For they said: She is a virgin, and serves Artemis, and from this she has virtue in healing. And by the providence of God she entered into the rock alive, and went under ground. And she departed to Rome to see Paul, and found that he had fallen asleep. And after staying there no long time, she rested in a glorious sleep; and she is buried about two or three stadia from the tomb of her master Paul.

She was cast, then, into the fire when seventeen years old, and among the wild beasts when eighteen. And she was an ascetic in the cave, as has been said, seventy-two years, so that all the years of her life were ninety. And having accomplished many cures, she rests in the place of the saints, having fallen asleep on the twenty-fourth of the month of September in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

Instead of the last two sections, the MS. which Dr. Grabe used has the following: —

And a cloud of light guided her. And having come into Seleucia, she went forth outside of the city one stadium. And she was afraid of them also, for they worshipped idols. And it guided her to the mountain called Calamon or Rhodeon; and having there found a cave, she went into it. And she was there many years, and underwent many and grievous trials by the devil, and bore them nobly, being assisted by Christ. And some of the well-born women, having learned about the virgin Thecla, went to her, and learned the oracles of God. And many of them bade adieu to the world, and lived an ascetic life with her. And a good report was spread everywhere concerning her, and cures were done by her. All the city, therefore, and country round, having known this, brought their sick to the mountain; and before they came near the door they were speedily released from whatever disease they were afflicted by; and the unclean spirits went out shrieking, and all received their own in health, glorifying God, who had given such grace to the virgin Thecla. The physicians, therefore, of the city of the Seleucians were thought nothing of, having lost their trade, and no one any longer had regard to them; and being filled with envy and hatred, they plotted against the servant of Christ, what they should do to her. The devil then suggests to them a wicked device; and one day, being assembled, and having taken counsel, they consult with each other, saying: This virgin is a priestess of the great goddess Artemis; and if she ask anything of her, she hears her as being a virgin, and all the gods love her. Come, then, let us take men of disorderly lives, and make them drunk with much wine, and let us give them much gold, and say to them, If you can corrupt and defile her, we shall give you even more money. The physicians therefore said to themselves, that if they should be able to defile her, neither the gods nor Artemis would listen to her in the case of the sick. They therefore did so. And the wicked men, having gone to the mountain, and rushed upon the cave like lions, knocked at the door. And the holy martyr Thecla opened, emboldened By the God in whom she believed; for she knew of their plot beforehand. And she says to them: What do you want, my children? And they said: Is there one here called Thecla? And she said: What do you want with her? They say to her: We want to sleep with her. The blessed Thecla says to them: I am a humble old woman, but the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and even though you want to do something to me out

of place, you cannot. They say to her: It is impossible for us not to do to thee what we want. And having said this, they laid fast hold of her, and wished to insult her. And she says to them with mildness: Wait, my children, that you may see the glory of the Lord. And being laid hold of by them, she looked up into heaven, and said: God, terrible and incomparable, and glorious to Thine adversaries, who didst deliver me out of the fire, who didst not give me up to Thamyris, who didst not give me up to Alexander, who didst deliver me from the wild beasts, who didst save me in the abyss, who hast everywhere worked with me, and glorified Thy name in me, now also deliver me from these lawless men, and let me not insult my virginity, which through Thy name I have preserved till now, because I love Thee, and desire Thee, and adore Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen. And there came a voice out of the heaven, saying: Fear not, Thecla, my true servant, for I am with thee. Look and see where an opening has been made before thee, for there shall be for thee an everlasting house, and there thou shalt obtain shelter. And the blessed Thecla regarding it, saw the rock opened as far as to allow a man to enter, and did according to what had been said to her: and nobly fleeing from the lawless ones entered into the rock; and the rock was straightway shut together, so that not even a joining appeared. And they, beholding the extraordinary wonder, became as it were distracted; and they were not able to detain the servant of God, but only caught hold of her veil, and were able to tear off a certain part; and that by the permission of God for the faith of those seeing the venerable place, and for a blessing in the generations afterwards to those that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ out of a pure heart.

Thus, then, suffered the first martyr of God, and apostle, and virgin, Thecla, who came from Iconium at eighteen years old; and with the journeying, and the going round, and the retirement in the mountain, she lived other seventy-two years. And when the Lord took her, she was ninety years old. And thus is her consummation. And her holy commemoration is on the twenty-fourth of the month of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

THE ACTS OF BARNABAS

THE JOURNEYINGS AND MARTYRDOM OF ST. BARNABAS THE APOSTLE

SINCE from the descent of the presence of our Savior Jesus Christ, the unwearied and benevolent and mighty Shepherd and Teacher and Physician, I beheld and saw the ineffable and holy and unspotted mystery of the Christians, who hold the hope in holiness, and who have been sealed; and since I have zealously served Him, I have deemed it necessary to give account of the mysteries which I have heard and seen.

I John, accompanying the holy apostles Barnabas and Paul, being formerly a servant of Cyrillus the high priest of Jupiter, but now having received the gift of the Holy Spirit through Paul and Barnabas and Silos, who were worthy of the calling, and who baptized me in Iconium. After I was baptized, then, I saw a certain man standing clothed in white raiment; and he said to me: Be of good courage, John, for assuredly thy name shall be changed to Mark, and thy glory shall be proclaimed in all the world. the darkness in thee has passed away from thee, and there has been given to thee understanding to know the mysteries of God.

And when I saw the vision, becoming greatly terrified, I went to the feet of Barnabas, and related to him the mysteries which I had seen and heard from that man. And the Apostle Paul was not by when I disclosed the mysteries. And Barnabas said to me: Tell no one the miracle which thou hast seen. For by me also this night the Lord stood, saying, Be of good courage: for as thou hast given thy life for my name to death and banishment from thy nation, thus also shall thou be made perfect. Moreover, as for the servant who is with you, take him also with thyself; for he has certain mysteries. Now then, my child, keep to thyself the things which thou hast seen and heard; for a time will come for thee to reveal them.

And I, having been instructed in these things by him, remained in Iconium many days; for there was there a holy man and a pious, who also entertained us, whose house also Paul had sanctified. Thence, therefore,

we came to Seleucia, and after staying three days sailed away to Cyprus; and I was ministering to them until we had gone round all Cyprus. And setting sail from Cyprus, we landed in Perga of Pamphylia. And there I then stayed about two months, wishing to sail to the regions of the West; and the Holy Spirit did not allow me. Turning, therefore, I again sought the apostles; and having learned that they were in Antioch, I went to them.

And I found Paul in bed in Antioch from the toil of the journey, who also seeing me, was exceedingly grieved on account of my delaying in Pamphylia. And Barnabas coming, encouraged him, and tasted bread, and he took a little of it. And they preached the word of the Lord, and enlightened many of the Jews and Greeks. And I only attended to them, and was afraid of Paul to come near him, both because he held me as having spent much time in Pamphylia, and because be was quite enraged against me. And I gave repentance on my knees upon the earth to Paul, and he would not endure it. And when I remained for three Sabbaths in entreaty and prayer on my knees, I was unable to prevail upon him about myself; for his great grievance against me was on account of my keeping several parchments in Pamphylia.

And when it came to pass that they finished teaching in Antioch, on the first of the week they took counsel together to set out for the places of the East, and after that to go into Cyprus, and oversee all the churches in which they had spoken the word of God. And Barnabas entreated Paul to go first to Cyprus, and oversee his own in his village; and Lucius entreated him to take the oversight of his city Cyrene. And a vision was seen by Paul in sleep, that he should hasten to Jerusalem, because the brethren expected him there. But Barnabas urged that they should go to Cyprus, and pass the winter, and then that they should go to Jerusalem at the feast. Great contention, therefore, arose between them. And Barnabas urged me also to accompany them, on account of my being their servant from the beginning, and on account of my having served them in all Cyprus until they came to Perga of Pamphylia; and I there had remained many days. But Paul cried out against Barnabas, saying: It is impossible for him to go with us. And those who were with us there urged me also to accompany them, because there was a vow upon me to follow them to the end. So that Paul said to Barnabas: If thou wilt take John who also is surnamed Mark with thee, go another road; for he shall not come with us. And Barnabas

coming to himself, said: The grace of God does not desert him who has once served the Gospel and journeyed with us. If, therefore, this be agreeable to thee, Father Paul, I take him and go. And he said: Go thou in the grace of Christ, and we in the power of the Spirit.

Therefore, bending their knees, they prayed to God. And Paul, groaning aloud, wept, and in like manner also Barnabas, saying to one another: It would have been good for us, as at first, so also at last, to work in common among men; but since it has thus seemed good to thee, Father Paul, pray for me that my labor may be made perfect to commendation: for thou knowest how I have served thee also to the grace of Christ that has been given to thee. For I go to Cyprus, and hasten to be made perfect; for I know that I shall no more see thy face, O Father Paul. And failing on the ground at his feet, he wept long. And Paul said to him: The Lord stood by me also this night, saying, Do not force Barnabas not to go to Cyprus, for there it has been prepared for him to enlighten many; and do thou also, in the grace that has been given to thee, go to Jerusalem to worship in the holy place, and there it shall be shown thee where thy martyrdom has been prepared. And we saluted one another, and Barnabas took me to himself.

And having come down to Laodicea, we sought to cross to Cyprus; and having found a ship going to Cyprus, we embarked. And when we had set sail, the wind was found to be contrary. And we came to Corasium; and having gone down to the shore where there was a fountain, we rested there, showing ourselves to no one, that no one might know that Barnabas had separated from Paul. And having set sail from Corasium, we came to the regions of Isauria, and thence came to a certain island called Pityusa; and a storm having come on, we remained there three days; and a certain pious man entertained us, by name Euphemus, whom also Barnabas instructed in many things in the faith, with all his house.

And thence we sailed past the Aconesiae, and came to the city of Anemurium; and having gone into it, we found two Greeks. And coming to us, they asked whence and who we were. And Barnabas said to them: If you wish to know whence and who we are, throw away the clothing which you have, and I shall put on you clothing which never becomes soiled; for neither is there in it anything filthy, but it is altogether splendid.

And being astonished at the saying, they asked us: What is that garment which you are going to give us? And Barnabas said to them: If you shall confess your sins, and submit yourselves to our Lord Jesus Christ, you shall receive that garment which is incorruptible for ever. And being pricked at heart by the Holy Spirit, they fell at his feet, entreating and saying: We beseech thee, father, give us that garment; for we believe in the living and true God whom thou proclaimest. And leading them down to the fountain, he baptized them into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And they knew that they were clothed with power, and a holy robe. And having taken from me one robe, he put it on the one; and his own robe he put on the other. And they brought money to him, and straightway Barnabas distributed it to the poor. And from them also the sailors were able to gain many things.

And they having come down to the shore, he spoke to them the word of God; and he having blessed them, we saluted them, and went on board the ship. And the one of them who was named Stephanus wished to accompany us, and Barnabas did not permit him. And we, having gone across, sailed down to Cyprus by night; and having come to the place called Crommyacita, we found Timon and Ariston the temple Servants, at whose house also we were entertained.

And Timon was afflicted by much fever. And having laid our hands upon him, we straightway removed his fever, having called upon the name of the Lord Jesus. And Barnabas had received documents from Matthew, a book of the word of God, and a narrative of miracles and doctrines. This Barnabas laid upon the sick in each place that we came to, and it immediately made a cure of their sufferings.

And when we had come to Lapithus, and an idol festival being celebrated in the theater, they did not allow us to go into the city, but we rested a little at the gate. And Timon, after he rose up from his disease, came with us. And having gone forth from Lapithus, we traveled through the mountains, and came to the city of Lampadistus, of which also Timon was a native; in addition to whom, having found also that Heracleius was there, we were entertained by him. He was of the city of Tamasus, and had come to visit his relations; and Barnabas, looking steadfastly at him, recognized him, having met with him formerly at Citium with Paul; to whom also the

Holy Spirit was given at baptism, and he changed his name to Heracleides. And having ordained him bishop over Cyprus, and having confirmed the church in Tamasus, we left him in the house of his brethren that dwelt there.

And having crossed the mountain called Chionodes, we came to Old Paphos, and there found Rhodon, a temple servant, who also, having himself believed, accompanied us. And we met a certain Jew, by name Barjesus, coming from Paphos, who also recognized Barnabas, as having been formerly with Paul. He did not wish us to go into Paphos; but having turned away, we came to Curium.

And we found that a certain abominable race was being performed in the road near the city, where a multitude of women and men naked were performing the race. And there was great deception and error in that place. And Barnabas turning, rebuked it; and the western part fell, so that many were wounded, and many of them also died and the rest fled to the temple of Apollo, which was close at hand in the city, which was called sacred. And when we came near the temple, a great multitude of Jews who were there, having been put up to it by Barjesus. stood outside of the city, and did not allow us to go into the city; but we spent the evening under a tree near the city, and rested there.

And on the following day, we came to a certain village where Aristoclianus dwelt. He being a leper, had been cleansed in Antioch, whom also Paul and Barnabas sealed to be a bishop, and sent to his village in Cyprus, because there were many Greeks there. And we were entertained in the cave by him in the mountain, and there we remained one day. And thence we came to Amathus and there was a great multitude of Greeks in the temple in the mountain, low women and men pouring libations. There also Barjesus, getting the start of as, gained over the nation of the Jews, and did not allow us to enter into the city; but a certain widow woman. eighty years old. being outside of the city, and she also not worshipping the idols, coming forward to us, took us into her house one hour. And when we came out we shook the dust off our feet over against that temple where the libation of the abominable took place.

And having gone out thence, we came through desert places, and Timon also accompanied us. And having come to Citium, and there being a great

uproar there also in their hippodrome, having learned this, we came forth out of the city, having all shaken the dust off our feet; for no one received us, except that we rested one hour in the gate near the aqueduct.

And having set sail in a ship from Citium, we came to Salamis, and landed in the so-called islands, where there was a place full of idols; and there there took place high festivals and libations. And having found Heracleides there again, we instructed him to proclaim the Gospel of God, and to set up churches, and ministers in them. And having gone into Salamis. we came to the synagogue near the place called Biblia; and when we had gone into it, Barnabas, having unrolled the Gospel which he had received from Matthew his fellow-laborer, began to teach the Jews.

And Barjesus, having arrived after two days, after not a few Jews had been instructed, was enraged, and brought together all the multitude of the Jews; and they having laid hold of Barnabas, wished to hand him over to Hypatius, the governor of Salamis. And having bound him to take him away to the governor, and a pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero, having count to Cyprus, the Jews, learning this, took Barnabas by night, and bound him with a rope by the neck; and having dragged him to the hippodrome from the synagogue, and having gone out of the city, standing round him, they burned him with fire, so that even his bones became dust. And straightway that night, having taken his dust, they cast it into a cloth; and having se cured it with lead. they intended to throw it into the sea. But I, finding an opportunity in the night, and being able along with Timon and Rhodon to carry it. we came to a certain place, and having found a cave, put it down there, where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt. And having found a secret place in it, we put it away, with the documents which he had received from Matthew. And it was the fourth hour of the night of the second of the week.

And when we were hid in the place. the Jews made no little search after us; and having almost found us, they pursued us as far as the village of the Ledrians; and we, having found there also a cave near the village, took refuge in it, and thus escaped them. And we were hid in the cave three days; and the Jews having gone away, we came forth and left the place by night. And taking with us Ariston and Rhodon, we came to the village of Limnes.

And having come to the shore, we found an Egyptian ship; and having embarked in it, we landed at Alexandria. And there I remained, teaching the brethren that came the word of the Lord, enlightening them, and preaching what I had been taught by the apostles of Christ, who also baptized me into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; who also changed my name to Mark in the water of baptism, by which also I hope to bring many to the glory of God through His grace; because to Him is due honor and everlasting glory. Amen.

The journeyings and martyrdom of the holy apostle Barnabas have been fulfilled through God.

THE ACTS OF PHILIP

OF THE JOURNEYINGS OF PHILIP THE APOSTLE.

FROM THE FIFTEENTH ACT UNTIL THE END, AND AMONG THEM THE MARTYRDOM

About the time when the Emperor Trajan received the government of the Romans, after Simon the son of Clopas, who was bishop of Jerusalem, had suffered martyrdom in the eighth year of his reign, being the second bishop of the church there after James who bore the name of brother of the Lord, Philip the apostle, going through the cities and regions of Lydia and Asia, preached to all the Gospel of Christ.

And having come to the city of Ophioryma, which is called Hierapolis of Asia, he was entertained by a certain believer, Stachys by name. And there was with him also Bartholomew, one of the seventy disciples of the Lord, and his sister Mariamme, and his disciples that followed him. All the men of the city therefore, having left their work, ran to the house of Stachys, hearing about the works which Philip did. And many men and women having assembled in the house of Stachys, Philip along with Bartholomew taught them the things of Jesus.

And Philip's sister Mariamme, sitting in the entry of the house of Stachys, addressed herself to those coming, persuading them to listen to the apostles, saying to them: Our brethren, and sons of my Father in heaven, ye are the excellent riches, and the substance of the city above, the delight of the habitation which God has prepared for those that love Him. Trample under foot the snares of the enemy, the writhing serpent. For his path is crooked, since he is the son of the wicked one, and the poison of wickedness is in him; and his father is the devil, the author of death, and his mother corruption; rage in his eyes and destruction in his mouth, and his path is Hades. Wherefore flee from him that has no substance, the shapeless one that has no shape in all the creation, whether in the heaven or in the earth, whether in the flying creatures or the beasts. For

everything is taken away from his shape; for among the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the heaven is the knowledge of him, that the serpent trails his belly and his breast; and Tartarus is his dwelling-place, and he goes in the darkness, since he has confidence in nothing. Flee therefore from him, that his poison may not be poured out into your mouth. But be rather believing. holy, of good works, having no deceit. Take away from yourselves the wicked disposition, that is, the evil desires through which the serpent, the wicked dragon, the prince of evil, has produced the pasture of destruction and death for the soul, since all the desire of the wicked has proceeded from him. And this is the root of iniquity, the maintenance of evils, the death of souls: for the desire of the enemy is armed against the believers, and comes forth from the darkness, and walks in the darkness, taking in hand to war with those who are in the light. For this is the beginning of concupiscence. Wherefore you who wish to come to us, and the rather that God has come through us to you as a father to his own children, wishing to have mercy upon you, and to deliver you from the wicked snare of the enemy, flee from the evil lusts of the enemy, and cast them completely out of your mind, hating openly the father of evils, and loving Jesus, who is light, and life, and truth, and the Savior of all who desire Him. Having run, therefore, to Him, take hold of Him in love, that He may bring you up out of the pit of the wicked, and having cleansed you, set you blameless, living in truth, in the presence of His Father.

And all these things Philip said to the multitudes that had come together to worship as in old times the serpents and the viper, of which also they set up images and worshipped them. Wherefore also they called Hierapolis Ophioryma. And these things having been said by Philip, Bartholomew and Mariamme and his disciples, and Stachys being along with him, all the people gave ear, and a great multitude of them fleeing from the enemy were turned to Jesus, and were added to Philip and those about him. And the faithful were the more confirmed in the love of Christ.

And Nicanora, the wife of the proconsul, lying in bed under various diseases, especially of the eyes, having heard about the Apostle Philip and his teaching, believed in the Lord. For she had even before this heard about Him; and having called upon His name, she was released from the troubles that afflicted her. And rising up, she went forth out of her house through

the side door, carried by her own slaves in a silver litter, and went into the house of Stachys, where the apostles were.

And when she came before the gate of the house, Mariamme, the sister of Philip the apostle, seeing her, spoke to her in the Hebrew tongue before Philip and Bartholomew, and all the multitude of those who had believed, saying: Alemakan, Ikasame, Marmare, Nachaman, Mastranan, Achaman; which is, Daughter of the father, thou art my mistress, thou hast been given as a pledge to the serpent; but Jesus our Redeemer has come to deliver thee through us, to break thy bands, and cut them, and to remove them from thee from their root, because thou art my sister, one mother brought us forth twins. Thou hast forsaken thy father, thou hast forsaken the path leading thee to the dwelling-place of thy mother, being in error; thou hast left the temple of that deception, and of the temporary glory, and hast come to us, fleeing from the enemy, because he is the dwelling-place of death. Behold, now thy Redeemer has come to redeem thee; Christ the Sun of righteousness has risen upon thee, to enlighten thee.

And when Nicanora, standing before the door, heard these things, she took courage before all, crying out, and saying: I am a Hebrew, and a daughter of the Hebrews; speak with me in the language of my fathers. For, having heard the preaching of my fathers, I was straightway cured of the disease and the troubles that encompassed me. I therefore adore the goodness of God who has caused you to be spoiled even to this city, on account of His true stone held in honor, in order that through you we may receive the knowledge of Him, and may live with you, having believed in Him.

Nicanora having thus spoken, the Apostle Philip, along with Bartholomew and Mariamme and those with them, prayed for her to God, saying: Thou who bringest the dead to life, Christ Jesus the Lord, who hast freed us through baptism from the slavery of death, completely deliver also this woman from the error, the enemy; make her alive in Thy life, and perfect her in Thy perfection, in order that she may be found in the country of her fathers in freedom, having a portion in Thy goodness, O Lord Jesus.

And all having sent up the amen along with the Apostle Philip, behold, there came the tyrant, the husband of Nicanora, raging like an unbroken horse; and having laid hold of his wife’s garments, he cried out, saying: O

Nicanora, did not I leave thee in bed? how hadst thou so much strength as to come to these magicians? And how hast thou been cured of the inflammation of thine eyes? Now, therefore, unless thou tell me who thy physician is, and what is his name, I shall punish thee with various punishments, and shall not have compassion upon thee. And she answering, says to him: O tyrant, cast out from thee this tyranny of thine, forsake this wickedness of thine; abandon this life lasting only for a season; run away from the brutality of thy worthless disposition; flee from the wicked dragon and his lusts; throw from thee the works and the dart of the man-slaying serpent; renounce the abominable and wicked sacrifices of the idols, which are the husbandry of the enemy, the hedge of darkness; make for thyself a life chaste and pure, that being in holiness thou mayst be able to know my Physician, and to get His name. If therefore thou wishest me to be beside thee, prepare thyself to live in chastity and self-restraint, and in fear of the true God, and I shall live with thee all my life; only cleanse thyself from the idols, and from all their filth.

And when the gloomy tyrant her husband heard these words of hers, he seized her by the hair of her head, and dragged her along, kicking her, and saying: It will be a fine thing for thee to be cut off by the sword, or to see thee from beside me committing fornication with these foreign magicians; for I see that thou hast fallen into the madness of these deceivers. Thee first of them, therefore, I shall cut off by an evil death; and then, not sparing them, I shall cut their sinews, and put them to a most cruel death. And having turned, he said to those about him: Bring out for me those impostors of magicians. And the public executioners having run into the house of Stachys, and laid hold of the Apostle Philip, and Bartholomew and Mariamme, dragged them along, leading them to where the proconsul was. And the most faithful Stachys followed, and all the faithful.

And the proconsul seeing them, gnashed his teeth, saying: Torture these deceivers that have deceived many women, and young men and girls, saying that they are worshippers of God, while they are an abomination. And he ordered thongs of raw hide to be brought, and Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamme to be beaten; and after they had been scourged with the thongs, he ordered their feet to be tied, and them to be dragged through the streets of the city as far as the gate of their temple. And a great crowd was assembled, so that scarcely any one stayed at

home; and they all wondered at their patience, as they were being violently and inhumanely dragged along.

And the proconsul, having tortured the Apostle Philip and the saints who were with him, ordered them to he brought, and secured in the temple of the idol of the viper by its priests, until he should decide by what death he should destroy each of them. And many of the crowd believed in the grace of Christ, and were added to the Apostle Philip, and those with him, having renounced the idol of the viper, and were confirmed in the faith being magnified by the endurance of the saints; and all together with their voice glorified God, saying the amen.

And when they were shut up in the temple of the viper — both Philip the Apostle, and Bartholomew and Mariamme — the priests of the viper assembled in the same place, and a great crowd, about seven thousand men; and having run to the proconsul, they cried out, saying: Avenge us of the foreigners, and magicians, and corrupters and seducers of men. For ever since they came to us, our dry has been filled with every evil deed; and they have also killed the serpents, the sons of our goddess; and they have also shut the temple, and the altar has been desolated; and we have not found the wine which had been brought in order that the viper, having drunk of it, might go to sleep. But if thou wishest to know that they are really, magicians, look and see how they wish to bewitch us, saying, Live in chastity and piety, after believing in God; and how also they have come into the city; and bow also the dragons have not struck them blind, or even killed them; and how also they have not drunk their blood; but even they who keep our city from every foreigner have been cast down by these men.

And the proconsul, having heard these things, was the more inflamed with rage, and filled with wrath and threatening; and he was exceedingly enraged, and said to the priests: Why need you speak, when they have bewitched my own wife? And from that time she has spoken to me with strange words; and praying all the night through, she speaks in a strange tongue with a light shining round her; and groaning aloud, she says, Jesus the true light has come to me. And I, having gone forth from my chamber, wished to look down through the window and see Jesus, the light which she spoke of; and like lightning it came upon me, so that I was within a

little of being blinded; and from that time forth I am afraid of my wife, on account of her luminous Jesus. Tell me, ye priests, what I am to do. And they said to him: O proconsul, assuredly we are no longer priests; for ever since thou didst shut them up, in consequence of them praying, not only has the temple been shaken from the foundations, but it is also assuredly falling down.

Then the proconsul ordered to bring Philip and those with him forth out of the temple, and to bring them up to the tribunal, saying to the public executioner: Strip Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamme, and search thoroughly to try to find their enchantments. Having therefore first stripped Philip, then Bartholomew, they came also to Mariamme; and dragging her along, they said: Let us strip her naked, that all may see her, how she follows men; for she especially deceives all the women. And the tyrant says to the priests: Proclaim throughout the whole city round about that all should come, men and women, that they may see her indecency, that she travels about with these magicians, and no doubt commits adultery with them. And he ordered Philip to be hanged, and his ankles to be pierced, and to bring also iron hooks, and his heels also to be driven through, and to be hanged head downwards, opposite the temple on a certain tree; and stretch out Bartholomew opposite Philip, having nailed his hands on the wall of the gate of the temple.

And both of them smiled, seeing each other, both Philip and Bartholomew; for they were as if they were not tortured: for their punishments were prizes and crowns. And when also they had stripped Mariamme, behold, straightway the semblance of her body was changed in the presence of all, and straightway there was about her a cloud of fire before all; and they could not longer look at all on the place in which the holy Mariamme was, but they all fled from her.

And Philip spoke with Bartholomew in the Hebrew tongue saying: Where is our brother John? for, behold, I am being released from the body; and who is he that has prayed for us? Because they have also laid hands on our sister Mariamme, contrary to what is meet; and, behold, they have set fire to the house of Stachys, sayings, Let us burn it, since he entertained them. Dost thou wish then, Bartholomew, fire to come from heaven, and that we should burn them up?

And as Philip was thus speaking, behold, also John entered into the city like one of their fellow-citizens; and moving about in the street, he asked: Who are these men, and why are they punished? And they say to him: It cannot be that thou art of our city, and askest about these men, who have wronged many: for they have shut up our gods, and by their magic have cut off both the serpents and the dragons; and they have also raised many of the dead, who have struck us with amazement, detailing many punishments against us, and they wish also, these strangers who are hanging, to pray for fire out of heaven, and to burn up us and our city.

Then says John: Let us go, and do you show me them. They led John, therefore, as their fellow-citizen, to where Philip was; and there was there a great crowd, and the proconsul, and the priests. And Philip, seeing John, said to Bartholomew in Hebrew: Brother, John has come, who was in Barek, where the living water is. And John saw Philip hanging head downwards both by the ankles and the heels; and he also saw Bartholomew stretched out on the wall of the temple; and he said to them: The mystery of him that was hanged between the heaven and the earth shall be with you.

And he said also to the men of that city: Ye men who dwell in Ophioryma Hierapolis, great is the ignorance which is among you, for you have erred in the path of error. The dragon breathing has breathed upon you, and blinded you in three ways; that is, he has made you blind in body, and blind in soul, and blind in spirit: and you have been struck by the destroyer. Look upon the whole creation, whether in the earth, or in the heaven, or in the waters, that the serpent has no resemblance to anything above; but he is of the stock of corruption, and has been brought to nothing by God; and on this account he is twisted and crooked, and there is no life in him; and anger, and rage, and darkness, and fire, and smoke are in all his members. And now, therefore, why do you punish these men because they have told you that the serpent is your enemy?

And when they heard these words from John, they raised their hands against him, saying: We thought thee to be a fellow-citizen, but now thou hast shown thyself that thou art their companion. Like them, so also thou shalt be put to death; for the priests have intended to squeeze out your blood, and having mixed it with wine, to bring it to the viper to drink it.

When, therefore, the priests attempted to lay hold of John, their hands were paralyzed. And John said to Philip: Let us not at all render evil for evil. And Philip said to John: Behold now, where is my Lord Jesus, who told me not to avenge myself? But for my part, I shall not endure it longer; but I will accomplish upon them my threat, and will destroy them all.

And John and Bartholomew and Mariamme restrained him, saying: Our Master was beaten, was scourged, was extended on the cross, was made to drink gall and vinegar, and said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And this He taught, saying: Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. Let us also therefore be patient. Philip says: Go away, and do not mollify me; for I will not bear that they have hanged me head down, and pierced my ankles and my heels with irons. And thou, John, beloved of God, how much hast thou reasoned with them, and thou hast not been listened to! Wherefore go away from me, and I will curse them, and they shall be destroyed utterly to a man. And he began to curse them, invoking, and crying out in Hebrew: ABALO, AREMUN, IDUTHAEL, THARSELEON, NACHOTH, AIDUNAPH, TELETOLOI: that is, O Father of Christ, the only and Almighty God; O God, whom all ages dread, powerful and impartial Judge, whose name is in Thy dynasty Sabaoth. blessed art Thou for everlasting: before Thee tremble dominions and powers of the celestials, and the fire-breathing threats of the cherubic living ones; the King, holy in majesty, whose name came upon the wild beasts of the desert, and they were tamed, and praised Thee with a rational voice; who lookest upon us, and readily grantest our requests; who knewest us before we were fashioned; the Overseer of all: now, I pray, let the great Hades open its mouth; let the great abyss swallow up these the ungodly, who have not been willing to receive the word of truth in this city. So let it be, Sabaoth. And, behold, suddenly the abyss was opened, and the whole of the place in which the proconsul was sitting was swallowed up, and the whole of the temple, and the viper which they worshipped, and great crowds, and the priests of the viper, about seven thousand men, besides women and children, except where the apostles were: they remained unshaken. And the proconsul was swallowed up into the abyss; and their voices came up from beneath, saying, with weeping: Have mercy upon us, O God of Thy glorious apostles, because we now see the judgments of those who have not confessed the crucified One:

behold. the cross illumines us. O Jesus Christ, manifest Thyself to us, because we are all coming down alive into Hades, and are being scourged because we have unjustly crucified Thine apostles. And a voice was heard of one, saying: I shall be merciful to you in the cross of light.

And there remained both Stachys and all his house, and the wife of the proconsul, and fifty other women who had believed with her upon the Lord, and a multitude besides, both of men and women, and a hundred virgins who had not been swallowed up because of their chastity, having been sealed with the seal of Christ.

Then the Lord, having appeared unto Philip, said: O Philip, didst thou not hear: Thou shall not render evil for evil? and why hast thou inflicted such destruction? O Philip, whosoever putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh backwards, is his furrow well set? or who gives up his own lamp to another, and himself sits in darkness? or who forsakes his own dwelling-place, and dwells on a dunghill himself? And who, giving away his own garment in winter, goes naked? or what enemy rejoices in the joy of the man that hates him? and what soldier goes to war without a full suit of armor? and what slave who has fulfilled his master’s order will not be commended? and who in the race-coarse, having nobly run, does not receive the prize? and who that has washed his garments willingly defiles them? Behold, my bridechamber is ready; but blessed is he who has been found in it wearing the shining garment: he it is who receives the crown upon his head. Behold, the supper is ready; and blessed is he who is invited, and is ready to go to Him that has invited him. The harvest of the field is much, and blessed is the good laborer. Behold the lilies and all the flowers, and it is the good husbandman who is the first to get a share of them. And how hast thou become, O Philip, unmerciful, having cursed thine enemies in wrath?

Philip says: Why art Thou angry with me, Lord, because I have cursed mine enemies? for why dost Thou not tread them under foot, because they are yet alive in the abyss? And knowest Thou, Lord, that because of Thee I came into this city, and in Thy name I have persecuted all the error of the idols, and all the demons? The dragons have withered away, and the serpents. And since these men have not received Thy light, therefore have I cursed them, and they have gone down to Hades alive.

And the Savior says to Philip: But since thou hast disobeyed me, and hast requited evil for evil, and hast not kept my commandment, on this account thou shalt finish thy course gloriously indeed, and shalt be led by the hand by my holy angels, and shalt come with them even to the paradise of delight; and they indeed shall come beside me into paradise, but thee will I order to be shut outside of paradise for forty days, in terror under the flaming and turning sword, and thou shall groan because thou hast done evil to those who have done evil to thee. And after forty days I shall send my archangel Michael; and he, having taken hold of the sword guarding paradise, shall bring thee into it, and thou shall see all the righteous who have walked in their innocence, and then thou shall worship the glory of my Father in the heavens. Nevertheless the sign of thy departure shall be glorified in my cross. And Bartholomew having gone away into Lycaonia, shall there also be himself crucified; and Mariamme shall lay her body in the river Jordan. But I, O Philip, will not endure thee, because thou hast swallowed up the men into the abyss; but, behold, my Spirit is in them, and I shall bring them up from the dead; and thus they, seeing thee, shall believe in the glory of Him that sent thee.

And the Savior having turned, stretched up His hand, and marked a cross in the air coming down from above even to the abyss, and it was full of light, and had its form after the likeness of a ladder. And all the multitude that had gone down from the city into the abyss came up on the ladder of the luminous cross; but there remained below the proconsul, and the viper which they worshipped. And when the multitude had come up, having looked upon Philip hanging head downwards, they lamented with a great lamentation at the lawless action which they had done. And they also saw Bartholomew, and Mariamme having her former appearance. And. behold, the Lord went up into the heavens in the sight of Philip, and Bartholomew and Mariamme. and Stachys, and all the unbelieving people, and silently they glorified God in fear and trembling. And all the multitudes cried out, saying: He alone is God, whom these men proclaim in truth; He alone is God, who sent these men for our salvation. Let us therefore truly repent for our great error, because we are by no means worthy of everlasting life. Now we believe, because we have seen great wonders, because the Savior has brought us up from the abyss. And they all fell upon their face, and adored Philip, and entreated him, ready to flee: Do not do another miracle,

and again send us away into the abyss. And they prayed that they might become worthy of the appearing of Christ.

And Philip, yet hanging, addressed them, and said: Hear and learn how great are the powers of my God, remembering what you have seen below, and how your city has been overturned, with the exception of the house which received me; and now the sweetness of my God has brought you up out of the abyss, and I am obliged to walk round paradise for forty days on your account, because I was enraged against you into requiting you. And this commandment alone I have not kept, in that I did not give you good in return for evil. But I say unto you, From this time forth, in the goodness of God, reject the evil, that you may become worthy of the thanksgiving of the Lord.

And some of the faithful ran up to take down Philip, and take off him the iron grapnels, and the hooks out of his ankles. But Philip said: Do not, my children, do not come near me on account of this, for thus shall be my end. Listen to me, ye who have been enlightened in the Lord, that I came to this city, not to make any merchandise, or do any other thing; but I have been destined to go out of my body in this city in the case in which you see me. Grieve not, then, that I am hanging thus; for I bear the stamp of the first man, who was brought to the earth head downwards, and again, through the wood of the cross brought to life out of the death of the transgression. And now I accomplish that which hath been enjoined upon me; for the Lord said to me, Unless you shall make that of you which is down to be up, and that which is on the left to be on the right, you shall not enter into my kingdom. Be ye not therefore likened to the unchanged type, for all the world has been changed, and every soul dwelling in a body is in forgetfulness of heavenly things; but let not us possessing the glory of the heavenly seek that which is without, which is the body and the house of slavery. Be not unbelieving, but believing, and forgive each other’s faults. Behold, I hang six days, and I have blame from the true Judge, because I altogether requited you evil, and put a stumbling-block in the way of my rectitude. And now I am going up on high; be not sorrowful, but rather rejoice, because I am leaving this dwelling-place, my body, having escaped from the corruption of the dragon, who punishes every soul that is in sins.

And Philip, having looked round upon the multitudes, said: O ye who have come up out of the dead from Hades, and the swallowing up of the abyss, — and the luminous cross led you up on high, through the goodness of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, — He being God became man, having been made flesh out of the Virgin Mary, immortal, abiding in flesh; and having died, He raised the dead, having had pity on mankind, having taken away the sting of sin. He was great, and became small for our sake, until He should enlarge the small, and bring them into His greatness. And He it is who has sweetness; and they spat upon Him, giving Him gall to drink, in order that He might make those who were bitter against Him to taste of His sweetness. Cleave then to Him, and do not forsake Him, for He is our life to everlasting.

And when Philip had finished this announcement, he says to them, Loose Bartholomew; and having gone up, they loosed him. And after loosing him, Philip says to him: Bartholomew, my brother in the Lord, thou knowest that the Lord has sent thee with me to this city, and thou hast shared with me in all the dangers with our sister Mariamme; but I know that the going forth from thy body has been appointed in Lycaonia, and it has been decreed to Mariamme to go forth from the body in the river Jordan. Now therefore I command you, that when I have gone forth from my body, you shall build a church in this place; and let the leopard and the kid of the goats come into the church, for a sign to those that believe; and tot Nicanora provide for them until they shall go forth from the body; and when they shall have gone forth, bury them by the gate of the church. And lay your peace upon the house of Stachys, as Christ laid His peace on this city. And let all the virgins who believe stand in that house each day, watching over the sick, walking two and two; but let them have no communication with young men, that Satan may not tempt them: for he is a creeping serpent, and he caused Adam by menus of Eve to slip into death. Let it not be so again in this time as in the case of Eve. But do thou, O Bartholomew, look to them well: and thou shalt give these injunctions to Stachys, and appoint him bishop. Do not entrust the place of the bishopric to a young man, that the Gospel of Christ may not he brought to shame; and let every one that teacheth have his works equal to his words. But I am going to the Lord, and take my body and prepare it for burial with Syriac sheets of paper; and do not put round me flaxen cloth, because

the body of my Lord was wrapped in linen. And having prepared my body for burial in the sheets of paper, bind it tight with papyrus reeds, and bury it in the church; and pray for me forty days, in order that the Lord may forgive me the transgression wherein I transgressed, in requiting those who did evil to me. See, O Bartholomew, where my blood shall drop upon the earth, a plant shall spring up from my blood, and shall become a vine, and shall produce fruit of a bunch of grapes; and having taken the cluster, press it into the cup; and having partaken of it on the third day, send up on high the Amen, in order that the offering may be complete.

And Philip, having said these things, prayed thus: O Lord Jesus Christ, Father of the ages, King of the light, who hast made us wise in Thy wisdom, and hast given us Thine understanding, and hast bestowed upon us the counsel of Thy goodness, who hast never at any time left us, Thou art He who taketh away the disease of those who flee to Thee for refuge; Thou art the Son of the living God, who hast given us Thy presence of wisdom, who hast given us signs and wonders, and hast turned those who have gone astray; who crownest those who overcome the adversary, Thou excellent Judge. Come now, Jesus, and give me the everlasting crown of victory against every adverse dominion and power, and do not let their dark air hide me when I shall cross the waters of fire and all the abyss. O my Lord Jesus Christ, let not the enemy have ground to accuse me at Thy tribunal: but put on me Thy glorious robe, Thy seal of light that ever shines, until I shall pass by all the powers of the world, and the wicked dragon that lieth in wait for us. Now therefore, my Lord Jesus Christ, make me to meet Thee in the air, having forgiven me the recompense which I recompensed to my enemies; and transform the form of my body into angelic glory, and give me rest in Thy blessedness; and let me receive the promise from Thee which Thou hast promised to Thy saints to everlasting.

And having thus spoken, Philip gave up the ghost, while all the multitudes were looking upon him, and weeping, and saying: The life of this spirit has been accomplished in peace. And they said the Amen.

And Bartholomew and Mariamme took down his body, and did as Philip had commanded them, and buried it in that place. And there was straightway a voice out of the heavens: Philip the apostle has been

crowned with an incorruptible crown by Jesus Christ, the Judge of the contest. And all shouted out the Amen.

And after the three days the plant of the vine sprouted up where the blood of the holy Philip had dropped. And they did all that had been commanded them by him, offering an offering for forty days, praying without ceasing. And they built the church in that place, having appointed Stachys bishop in the church. And Nicanora and all the faithful assembled, and did not cease, all of them, glorifying God on account of the wonders that had happened among them. And all the city believed in the name of Jesus. And Bartholomew commanded Stachys to baptize those who believed into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

And after the forty days, the Savior, having appeared in the form of Philip, said to Bartholomew and Mariamme: My beloved brethren, do you wish to rest in the rest of God? Paradise has been opened to me, and I have entered into the glory of Jesus. Go away to the place appointed for you; for the plant that has been set apart and planted in this city shall bear excellent fruit. Having therefore saluted the brethren, and prayed for each of them, they departed from the city of Ophioryma, the Hierapolis of Asia; and Bartholomew departed into Lycaonia, and Mariamme proceeded to the Jordan; and Stachys and those with him remained, maintaining the church in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF SAINT PHILIP THE APOSTLE WHEN HE WENT TO UPPER HELLAS

AND it came to pass in those days, when Philip entered into the city of Athens called Hellas, there assembled to him three hundred philosophers, saying: Let us go and see what his wisdom is; for they say about the wise men of Asia, that their wisdom is great. For they thought that Philip was a philosopher, since he was traveling in the dress of a recluse; and they did not know that he was an apostle of Christ. For the dress which Jesus gave to His disciples was a mantle only, and a linen cloth. Thus, then, Philip was going about. On this account, therefore, when the philosophers of Hellas saw him, they were afraid. They assembled therefore into one

place, and said to each other: Come, let us look into our books, lest somehow this stranger overcome us, and put us to shame.

And having done so, they came together to the same place, and say to Philip: We have doctrines of our fathers in which we are pleased, seeking after knowledge; but if thou hast anything new, O stranger, show it to us without envy boldly: for we have need of nothing else, but only to hear something new.

And Philip answering, said to them: O philosophers of Hellas, if you wish to hear some new thing, and are desirous of something new, you ought to throw away from you the disposition of the old man; as my Lord said, It is impossible to put new wine into old bottles, since the bottle is burst, and the wine spilled, and the bottle destroyed. But they put new wine into fresh bottles, so that both may be preserved. And these things the Lord said in parables, teaching us in His holy wisdom, that many will love the new wine, not having a bottle fresh and new. And I love you, O men of Hellas, and I congratulate you for having said, We love something new. For instruction really new and fresh my Lord has brought into the world, in order that He might sweep away all worldly instruction.

The philosophers say: Who is it that thou callest thy Lord? Philip says: My Lord is Jesus in heaven. And they said to him: Show him to our comprehension without envy, that we also may believe in him. And Philip said: He with whom I am about to make you acquainted as Lord, is above every name; here is no other. And this only I say: As you have said, Do not refuse us through envy, let it not be that I should refuse you; but rather in great exultation and in great joy I have to reveal to you that name, for I have no other work in this world than this proclamation. For when my Lord came into this world, He chose us, being twelve in number, having filled us with the Holy Spirit; from His light He made us know who He was, and commanded us to preach all salvation through Him, because there is no other name named out of heaven than this. On this account I have come to you, to make you fully assured, not in word only, but also in the showing forth of wonderful works in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And when the philosophers heard this, they say to Philip: This name that has been heard of by us froth thee we have never found in the books of our

fathers; now, therefore, how can we know about thy words? And moreover, in addition, they say to him: Allow us three days, that we may consult with each other about this name; for we lay no little stress upon this — to apostatize from our fathers' religion. Philip therefore says to them: Consult as you wish; for there is no deceit in the matter.

And the three hundred philosophers having assembled, spoke with each other, saying: You know that this man has brought a strange philosophy, and the words spoken by him bring us to distraction. What, then, shall we do about him, or about the name of him who is called Jesus, the king of the ages, whom he speaks of? And moreover they say to each other: Assuredly we cannot reason with him, but the high priest of the Jews can. If therefore it seem good, let us send to him, in order that he may stand up to this stranger, and that we may learn accurately the name that is preached.

They wrote therefore to Jerusalem after this manner: — The philosophers of Hellas to Ananias, the great high priest of the Jews in Jerusalem. There being between thee and us at all times great... as thou knowest that we Athenians are searchers after truth. A certain foreigner has come to Hellas, Philip by name; and, in a word, he has disturbed us exceedingly, both by words and by extraordinary miracles, and he introduces a glorious name, Jesus, professing himself to be his disciple. And he does also wonders of which we write to you, in that he has cast out demons that have been long in men, and makes the deaf hear, the blind see; and what is more wonderful — which also we should have first mentioned — he has raised up men after they were dead, that have fairly completed the number of their days. And the fame of him has gone abroad into all Hellas and Macedonia; and there are many coming to him from the cities round about, bringing those who are ill with various diseases, and he heals them all through the name of Jesus. On this account, therefore, come to us without any reluctance, that thou thyself mayst announce to us what Jesus, this name which be teaches, means. For on this account also we have sent this letter to thee, O high priest.

And when he had read, he was filled with great wrath, and rent his clothes, and said: Has that deceiver gone even to Athens, among the philosophers, to lead them astray? And the Mansemat — that is, Satan — entered into

Ananias unawares, and filled him with anger and rage; and he said: If I allow that Philip himself, and those with him, to live, the law will be entirely destroyed, and their teaching will likely fill the whole earth. And the high priest went into his own house, and the teachers of the law, and the Pharisees; and they consulted with each other, saying: What shall we do about these things? And they say to the high priest Ananias: Stand up and arm thyself, and five hundred able men out of the people, and go away to Athens, and by all means kill Philip, and thus thou shall overturn his teaching.

And having put on the high priest's robe, he came to Hellas in great pomp, with the five hundred men. And Philip was in the house of a certain chief man of the city, with the brethren who had believed. And the high priest and those with him, and the three hundred philosophers, went up to the gateway of the house where Philip was; and it was told Philip that they were outside. And he rose up and went out. And when the high priest saw him, he says to him: O Philip, sorcerer and magician, for I know thee, that in Jerusalem thy master the deceiver called thee Son of Thunder. Was not the whole of Judaea sufficient for you, but you have come here also to deceive men who are searchers after wisdom? And Philip said: Would that, O Ananias, thy covering of unbelief were taken away from thy heart, that thou mightst know my words, and from them learn whether I am a deceiver, or thou!

Ananias having heard this, said to Philip: I shall give answer to all. And Philip said: Speak. The high priest says: O men of Hellas, this Philip believes in a man called Jesus, who was born among us, who also taught this heresy, and destroyed the law and the temple, and brought to nought the purification through Moses, and the new moons, because he says, These have not been commanded by God. And when we saw that he thus destroyed the law, we stood up against him, and crucified him, that his teaching might not be fulfilled. For many changes were brought in by him; and he gave an evil testimony, for he ate all things in common, and mixed with blood, after the manner of the Gentiles. And having given him up, we put him to death, and buried him in a tomb; and these disciples of his having stolen him, have proclaimed everywhere that he has risen from the dead, and have led astray a great multitude by professing that he is at the right hand of God in heaven. But now these men, themselves having the

circumcision as we also have, have not followed it, since they began to do many deeds of power in Jerusalem through the name of Jesus; and having been cast out of Jerusalem, they go about the world, and deceive all men by the magic of that Jesus, as also now this Philip has come to you to deceive you by the same means. But I shall carry him away with myself to Jerusalem, because Archelaus the king is also searching for him to kill him.

And when the multitude standing round heard this, those indeed who had been confirmed in the faith were not shaken nor made to waver; for they knew that Philip would conquer in the glory of Jesus. Philip therefore stated his case in the power of Christ with great boldness, exulting and saying: I, O men of Athens, and those of you who are philosophers, have come to you, not to teach you with words, bat by the showing forth of miracles; and in part you have quickly seen the things that have come to pass through me, in that name by which the high priest himself is cast off. For, behold, I shall cry to my God, and teach you, and you will prove the words of both.

The high priest having heard this, ran to Philip, wishing to scourge him, and that same hour his whole hand was dried up, and his eyes were blinded; and in like manner also the five hundred who were with him were also themselves blinded. And they reviled and cursed the high priest, saying: Coming oat of Jerusalem we said to thee Refrain: for, being men, we cannot fight against God But we entreat thee, O Philip, apostle of the God Jesus, give us the light that is through him, that we also may truly be his slaves.

And Philip, having seen what had come to pass, said: O weak nature! which has thrown itself upon as, but straightway has been brought down low into itself; O bitter sea! which rouses its warts against us, and thinks to cast us out, bat which by itself lulls its waves to rest. Now therefore, O our good steward Jesus, the holy light, Thou hast not overlooked us who are all together crying up to Thee in all good works, but hast come to finish them through us. Now therefore come, Lord Jesus; reprove the folly of these men.

The high priest says to Philip: Dost thou then think to turn us away from the traditions of our fathers, and the God of the desert, and Moses; and dost thou imagine that thou wilt make us followers of Jesus the Nazarene?

Then Philip says to him: Behold, I shall pray to my God to come and manifest Himself before thee and the five hundred, and before all here; for perhaps thou will change thy mind, and believe. But if even to the end thou remain in unbelief, there is coming upon thee an extraordinary thing. which shall be spoken of to generations of generations — that also thou shall go down alive, down into Hades, before the face of all seeing thee, because thou yet abidest in unbelief, because also thou seekest to turn away this multitude from the true life. And Philip prayed, saying: O holy Father of the holy Son Jesus Christ, who hast granted to me to believe in Him, send Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ to reprove the unbelieving high priest, that Thy name may be glorified in Christ the Beloved.

And while Philip was yet crying oat this, suddenly the heavens were opened, and Jesus appeared coming down in most excellent glory, and in lightning; and His face was shining sevenfold more than the sun, and His garments were whiter than snow, so that also all the idols of Athens fell suddenly to the ground. And the people fled in anguish; and the demons dwelling among them cried out: Behold, we also flee because of Him who has appeared to the city, Jesus the Son of God. Then Philip says to the high priest: Hearest thou the demons crying out because of Him who has been seen, and believest thou not in Him who is present that He is Lord of all? The high priest says: I have no other God than the one in the desert.

And as Jesus was going up into heaven there happened a very great earthquake, so that the place on which they stood was cleft; and the crowds ran and fell at the feet of the apostle, crying out: Have mercy upon us, O man of God! In like manner also the five hundred men cried out themselves also again: Have mercy upon us, O Philip, that we may know time, and through thee Jesus the light of life: for we said to this unbelieving high priest, Being sinful men, we cannot fight against God.

Then Philip says: There is no hatred in us, but the grace of Christ will make you receive your sight; but I will make the high priest receive his sight before you, that at this you may the more believe. And a voice out of heaven was brought to Philip: O Philip, son once of thunder, but now of meekness, whatever thou mayst ask of my Father, He shall do for thee. And all the crowd was terror-struck at the voice, for the sound of it was greater than that of thunder. Then Philip says to the high priest: In the

name of the power of the voice of my Lord, receive thy sight, Ananias. And immediately he received his sight, and looked round, and said: What is there in the magic of Jesus, that this Philip within a short time has made me blind, and again within a short time has made me receive my sight? Dost thou then, said Philip, believe in Jesus? The high priest says: You do not think, do you, that you can bewitch me, and persuade me? And the five hundred who were with him, having heard that their high priest, having received his sight, was yet unbelieving, said to the bystanders to pray Philip that he. should make them receive their sight, that, sad they, we may cut off this unbelieving high priest.

And Philip said: Do not avenge yourselves upon the wicked. And he says to the high priest: There will be a certain great sign upon thee. He says to Philip: I know that thou art a sorcerer and a disciple of Jesus: thou dost not bewitch me. And the apostle said to Jesus: SABARTHAN, SABATHABT, BRAMANUCH, come quickly. And immediately the earth was cleft in the place where Ananias was, and swallowed him up as far as the knees. And Ananias cried out: O great is the power of the true witchcraft, because it has cleft the earth, when Philip threatened it in Hebrew, and adjured it; and it holds me even to the knees, and by the heels some hooks as it were drag me downwards, that I may believe in Philip; but he cannot persuade me, for from Jerusalem I know his magic tricks.

And Philip, enraged, said: O earth, lay fast hold of him, even to the navel. And immediately it dragged him down. And he said: The one of my feet underneath is turned into ice, and the other is frightfully hot; but by thy magic, Philip, I will not be overcome. Except, therefore, that I am sore tortured underneath, I do not believe at all. And the crowds wished to stone him. And Philip says: Not so; for this has in the meantime happened, that he has been swallowed up as far as the navel, that the salvation of your souls may be effected, because he would almost have drawn you by his wicked words into unbelief. But if even he repented, I should bring him up out of the earth to the salvation of his soul; but assuredly he is not worthy of salvation. If, then, he remain in unbelief, you shall see him sunk down into the abyss, unless the Lord intends to raise those who are in Hades, that they may confess that Jesus is Lord. For in that day every tongue shall confess that Jesus is Lord, and that there is one glory of the Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit for evermore.

And Philip, having said this, extended his right band, stretching it through the air over the five hundred men in the name of Jesus. And their eyes were opened, and they all praised God with one mouth, saying: We bless Thee, O Christ Jesus, the God of Philip, that thou hast driven the blindness away from us, and hast given us Thy light, the Gospel. And Philip rejoiced exceedingly at their words, because they were thus confirmed in the faith. And after this, Philip, having turned to the high priest, said: Confess thou also in a pure heart that Jesus is Lord, that thou mayst be saved, like those with thee. But the high priest laughed at Philip, and remained in unbelief.

Philip then, seeing that he remained in unbelief, having looked at him, says to the earth: Open thy mouth, and swallow him up as far as his neck in the presence of those who have believed in Christ Jesus. And in the same hour the earth, having opened its mouth, received him as far as the neck. And the multitude communed with each other on account of the wonders that had happened.

A certain chief man of the city came crying out, and saying: O blessed apostle, a certain demon has assailed my son, and cried out, saying to me, Since thou hast allowed a foreigner to come into your city, thou who hast been the first to do away with our worship and our sacrifices, what shall I do for thee, except to kill this thine only begotten son? And after he said this, he strangled my son. Now therefore, I beseech thee, O apostle of Christ, do not allow my joy to be turned into sorrow, because I also have believed thy words.

And the apostle, having heard this, said: I wonder at the activity of the demons, that it is active in every place, and dares to assail those to whose help I have not been able to come, as now they have tried you, wishing to cause you to offend. And he says to the man: Bring me thy son, and I will give him to thee alive, through my Christ. And rejoicing, he ran to bring his son. And when he came near his house, he cried out, saying: My son, I have come to thee to carry thee to the apostle, so that he may present thee to me living. And he ordered his slaves to carry the bed; and his son was twenty-three years old. And when Philip saw him, he was moved; and he turned to the high priest, and said: This has happened as a chance for thee: if, therefore, I shall raise him up, wilt thou henceforth believe? And he

says: I know your magic arts, that thou wilt raise him up; but I will not believe thee. And Philip, enraged, said: A curse upon thee! then go down altogether into the abyss before the face of all these. And at the same hour he went down into Hades alive, except that the high priest's robe flew off from him; and because of this, from that day, no one knew what became of the priest's robe. And the apostle turned round and prayed for the boy; and having driven the demon away from him, he raised him up, and set him beside his father alive.

And the multitude having beheld this, cried out: The God of Philip is the only God, who has punished the unbelief of the high priest, and driven away the demon front the young man, and raised him up from the dead. And the five hundred having seen the high priest swallowed up into the abyss, and the oilier miracles. besought Philip, and he gave them the seal in Christ. And Philip abode in Athens two years; and having founded a church, appointed a bishop and a presbyter, and so went away to Parthia, preaching Christ. To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

ADDITION TO ACTS OF PHILIP

(From a Paris Ms.)

And he taught them thus: My brethren, sons of my Father — for you are of my family as to Christ, substance of my city, the Jerusalem above, the delight of my dwelling-place — why have you been taken captive by your enemy the serpent, twisted, crooked, and perverse, to whom God has given neither hands nor feet? And crooked is his going, since he is the son of the wicked one; for his father is death, and his mother corruption, and ruin is in his body. Do not go then into his destruction; for you are in bondage by the unbelief and deception of his son, who is without order, and has no substance; formless, and has no form in the whole creation, either in the heaven or in the earth, or among the fishes that are in the waters. But if you see him, flee from him, since he has no resemblance to men: his dwelling is the abyss, and he walks in darkness. Flee, then, from him, that his venom may not be poured out upon you: if his venom be poured out upon your body, you walk in his wickedness. But remain rather in the true worship, being faithful, reverent, and good, without guile. Flee from Satan the dragon, and remove from you his wicked seed, namely

desire, by which he begets disease in the soul, which is the venom of the serpent. For desire is of the serpent from the beginning, and she it is who arms herself against the faithful; for she came forth out of the darkness, and returns to the darkness. You ought therefore, after coming to us, or rather through us to God, to throw out the venom of the devil from your bodies.

And as the apostle was saying this, behold, Nicanora came forth from her house, and went with her slaves into the house of Stachys. And when she came near the door of the house, behold, Mariamme spoke to her in the Syriac language: HELIKOMAEI, KOSMA, ETAA, MARIACHA. And she explained her words, saying: O daughter of the Spirit, thou art my lady, who hast been given in pledge to the serpent; but I have come to deliver thee: I shall break thy bonds, and cut them from their root. Behold, the Deliverer that frees thee has come: behold, the Sun of righteousness has risen to enlighten thee.

And when she was thus speaking, the gloomy tyrant came running and panting. And Nicanora, who was before the door, heard this, and took courage before them all, crying out and saying: I am a Hebrew, a daughter of the Hebrews; speak with me in the language of my fathers, because I have heard your preaching, and have been cured of this my disease. I reverence and glorify the goodness of God, in that He hath made you to be utterly spoiled in this earth.

And when she said this, the tyrant came, and took hold of her garments, and said: O Nicanora, did I not leave thee lying on the bed from thy disease? Whence, then, hast thou found this power and strength, so as to be able to come to these magicians? Unless, then, thou tell who is the healer, I shall punish thee most severely. And Nicanora answered, and said: O rearer of tyrants, cast away from thyself this tyranny, and forget thy wicked works, and abandon this temporary life, and put away vainglory, because it passes like a shadow: seek rather what is everlasting, and take away from thyself the beastly and impious work of base desire, and reject vain intercourse, which is the husbandry of death, the dark prison; and overturn the middle wall of corruption, and prepare for thyself a life chaste and spotless, that we may altogether live in sanctity. If, then, thou wishest me to remain with thee, I will live with thee in continence.

And when the tyrant heard these words, he seized her by the hair of the head, and dragged her along, kicking her, and saying: It would be better for thee to be put to death by my sword, than to be seen with these foreign magicians and deceivers. I will punish thee, therefore, and put to death those who have deceived thee. And he turned in a rage to the executioners who followed him, and said: Bring me these impostors. And the executioners ran to the house of Stachys, and laid hold of Philip, and Bartholomew, and Mariamme, with the leopard and the kid of the goats, and dragged them along, and brought them.

When the tyrant saw them, he gnashed his teeth against them, and said: Drag along these magicians and deceivers that have deceived many souls of women by saying, We are worshippers of God. And he caused thongs to be brought, and bound their feet. And he ordered them to be dragged along from the gate as far as the temple. And great multitudes came together to that place. And they wondered exceedingly at the leopard and the kid; for they were speaking like men, and some of the multitude believed the words of the apostles.

And the priests said to the tyrant: These men are magicians. And when he heard that, he burned with rage. and was filled with anger; and he ordered Philip, and Bartholomew, and Mariamne to be stripped, saying: Search them. Perhaps you will find their sorcery. And the executioners stripped them, and laid hold of Mariamne, and dragged her along, saying: Uncover her, that they may learn that it is a woman who follows them. And he ordered to bring clubs and strong cords; and after piercing Philip’s ankles they brought hooks, and put the cords through his ankles, and hung him head downwards on a tree that was before the door of the temple; and they fixed pegs into the temple wall, and left him. And after binding Bartholomew hand and foot, they extended him naked on the wall; and when they had stripped Mariamne, the appearance of her body was changed, and became a glass chest filled with light, and they could not come near her.

And Philip spoke with Bartholomew in Hebrew: Where is John today, in the day of our need? for, behold, we are being delivered froth our bodies. And they have laid hands on Mariamne beyond what is seemly, and they have scourged the leopard and the kid of the goats, and have set fire to the

house of Stachys, because he took us in. Let us therefore speak, that fire may come down from heaven and burn them up.

And as Philip was thus speaking, behold, John came into the city, and walked about the street, and asked those in the city: What is the commotion, and who are these men, and why are they punished? And they say to him: Art thou not of this city? And dost thou not know about these men, how they disturbed our houses, and the whole city? Moreover, they have even persuaded our wives to go away from us on the pretense of religion, proclaiming a foreign name, viz. Christ's; and they have also shut our temples by the sorcery they have, and they have put to death the serpents that are in the city by foreign names that we have never known. And they have fixed their abode in the house of Stachys the blind man, whom they made to recover his sight through the spittle of a woman who accompanies them; and it is perhaps she who has all the sorcery: and there accompany them a leopard and a kid, speaking like men. But if ever you have seen such doings, you will not be put about by them. And John answered, and said to them: Show me them. And they brought him to the temple where Philip was hanging. And when Philip saw John, he said to Bartholomew: O my brother, behold the son of Barega — that is the living water — has come. And John saw Philip hanging head down, tied by his ankles; and saw Bartholomew also bound to the temple wall.

And he said to the men of the city: O children of the serpent, how great is your folly! for the way of deceit has deceived you, the wicked dragon breathing has breathed upon you: why do you punish these men for saying the serpent is your enemy?

And when they heard these words from John, they laid their hands union him, saying: We called thee our fellow-citizen, but now thy speech has made thee manifest that thou also art in communion with them. Thou also, therefore, shalt be put to the same death as they, for the priests have decided thus: Let us drain out their blood as they hang head downward, and mix it with wine, and offer it to the viper.

And when they were thus speaking, behold, Mariamne rose up from the place in which she was, and came back to her former appearance.

And the priests reached forth their hands towards John, wishing to lay hold of him, and they could not. Then Philip with Bartholomew said to John: Where is Jesus, who enjoins upon us not to take into our own hands vengeance on those that torture us? for after this I will not endure them. And Philip spoke in Hebrew, and said: My Father Uthael, i.e., O Christ, Father of majesty, whose name all the ages fear, who art powerful, and the power of the universe, whose name goes forth in lordship, Eloa: Blessed art Thou to the ages; Thou whom dominions and powers fear, trembling before Thy face; King of honor! Father of majesty! whose name has gone forth to the wild beasts of the desert, and they have become quiet because of Thee, and through Thee the serpents have departed from us: Hear us before we ask. Thou who seest us before we call, who knowest our thoughts, the All-surveyor of all, who sends forth from Himself unnumbered compassions; let the abyss open its mouth, and swallow up these godless persons who will not accept the word of Thy truth.

And in that very hour the abyss opened its mouth, and all that place was violently shaken, from the proconsul to all the multitude along with the priests; and they were all sunk down. And the places where the apostles and all who were with them were remained unshaken, and the house of Stachys, and Nicanora the tyrant’s wife, and the twenty-four wives who fled from their husbands, and the forty virgins who had not known men. These alone did not go down into the abyss, because they had become servants, and had received the word of God, and His seal; but all the rest of the city were swallowed down into the abyss.

And the Savior having appeared at that hour, said to Philip: Who is it that has put his hand to the plough, and has turned back from making the furrow straight? or who gives his light to others, and himself remains sitting in darkness? or who dwells in the dirt, and leaves his dwelling-place to strangers? or who lays down his garment, and goes out in the days of winter naked? or what slave that has done his master’s service, shall not be called by him to supper? or who runs with zeal in the racecourse, and does not get the prize? Philip, behold my bridal chamber is ready, and blessed is he who has his own shining garment; for he it is who gets the crown of joy upon his head. Behold, the supper is ready, and blessed is he who is called by the bridegroom. Great is the harvest of the field; blessed is the able workman.

And when Philip heard these words from the Savior, he answered and said to him: Thou didst give us leave, O Jesus of Nazareth, and dost Thou not enjoin us to smite those who do not wish Thee to reign over them? But this we know, that Thy name has not been proclaimed in all the world, and Thou hast sent us to this city. And I did not intend to come into this city, and Thou didst send me, after giving me Thy true commandment, that I should drive away all deceit, and bring to nothing every idol and demon, and all the power of the unclean one. And when I came here, the demons lied from our faces through Thy name, and the dragons and the serpents withered away, but these men did not take to themselves Thy true light; and for this reason I resolved to bring them low, according to their folly.

And the Savior said: O Philip, since thou hast forsaken this commandment of mine, not to render evil for evil, for this reason thou shalt be debarred in the next world for forty years from being in the place of my promise: besides, this is the end of thy departure from the body in this place; and Bartholomew has his lot in Lycaonia, and shall be crucified there; and Mariamne shall lay down her body in the river Jordan.

And the Savior turned and stretched out His hand, and made the sign of the cross in the air; and it was full of light, and had its form after the likeness of a ladder. And all the multitude of the men of the city who had gone down into the abyss came up upon the ladder of the cross of light and none of them remained in the abyss, but only the tyrant and the priests, and the viper which they worshipped. And when the multitudes came up from the abyss, they looked and saw Philip hanging head down, and Bartholomew upon the wall of the temple, and they also found Mariamne in her first shape. And the Savior went up into heaven in the sight of Philip and Bartholomew and Mariamne, and the leopard and the kid of the goats, and Nicanora and Stachys; and they all with a loud voice glorified God with fear and trembling, crying out: There is one God who has sent us His salvation, whose name these men proclaim: we repent therefore of the error in which we were before yesterday, not being worthy of eternal life; and we believe, having seen the wonderful things that have come to pass through us. And some of them threw themselves on their faces, and worshipped the apostles; and others made ready to flee, saying: There may be another earthquake like the one that has just happened. And stretching out his hands, the Apostle Philip, hanging head

down, said: Men of the city, hear these words which I am going to say to you, hanging head down. Ye have learned how great are the powers of God, and the wonders which you saw when your city was destroyed by the earthquake which came upon it. And this was manifest to you, that the house of Stachys was not destroyed and that he did not go down into the abyss, because he believed on the true God, and received us His servants. And I, having fulfilled all the will of my God, am His debtor for what I requited to him that did evil to me.

And some of those who had been baptized ran to loose Philip hanging head down. And he answered and said to them: My brethren,... those who are virgins in the members of their flesh and commit fornication in their hearts, and the fornication of their eyes, shall abound like the deluge. And they grow immoderate from listening to persuasive pleasures, forgetting the God of the knowledge of the Gospel; and their hearts are full of arrogance, eating and drinking in their worship, forgetting the holy commandment, and despising it. That generation is turned aside; but blessed is he that retires into his retreat, for he shall obtain rest in his departure. Knowest thou not, Bartholomew, that the word of our Lord is true life and knowledge? for the Lord said to us in His teaching, Every one who shall look upon a woman, and lust after her in his heart, has completed adultery. And on this account our brother Peter fled from every place in which a woman was, and yet there was scandal on account of his own daughter; and he prayed to the Lord, and she had paralysis of her side, that she might not be deceived. Thou seest, brother, that the sight of the eyes brings gainsaying, and the beginning of sin, as it is written, She looked, and saw the tree, that it was pleasing to her eyes, and good for food, and she was deceived. Let the hearing, then, of the virgins be holy; and in their going out let them walk two and two, for many are the wiles of the enemy. Let their walk and conversation be well ordered, that they may be saved; but if not, let their fruit be common.

My brother Bartholomew, give these promises to Stachys, and appoint him ruler and bishop in the Church, that he may be like thee, teaching well. Do not entrust the office to a man too young: appoint not such a one to the chair of the teachers, lest thou profane the witness of Christ. For he that teaches should have his works corresponding to his words, that the word may be ready on ever), occasion in its own glory. But I am being

released from my body, hanging head down. Take, then, my body, and prepare it for burial in Syrian paper, and do not put about it linen cloth, since they put it upon the body of our Lord, and wrap it close in paper and papyrus, and put it in the vestibule of the holy church. And pray over me for forty days, that God may forgive the transgression which I did, in that I requited evil to him that did evil to me, and there may not be for me in the world to come the forty years.

And after thus speaking, Philip prayed, saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, Father of the ages, King of all light, who makest us wise in Thy wisdom, who hast given us the exalted knowledge, who hast graciously conferred upon us the counsel of Thy goodness, who hast never departed from us; Thou who takest away disease from those who take refuge in Thee; Thou who hast given us the Word, to turn unto Thee those who have been led astray; Thou who hast given us signs and wonders on behalf of those of little faith; Thou who presentest the crown to those who have conquered; Thou who art the judge of the games, who hast given us the crown of joy, who speakest with us, that we may be aide to withstand those that hurt us; Thou art He who sows and reaps, and completes, and increases, and vivifies all Thine own servants: reproaches and threats are to us help and power through those who turn to Thee through us, who are Thy servants. Come, Lord, and give me the crown of victory in the presence of men. Let not their dark air envelope me, nor their smoke burn the shape of my soul, that I may cross the waters of the abyss, and not sink in them. My Lord Jesus Christ, let not the enemy find anything that he can bring against me in the presence of Thee, the true Judge, but clothe me in Thy shining robe, and... (The rest is wanting.)

ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF THE HOLY APOSTLE ANDREW

WHAT we have all, both presbyters and deacons of the churches of Achaia, beheld with our eyes, we have written to all the churches established in the name of Christ Jesus, both in the east and west, north and south. Peace to you, and to all who believe in one God, perfect Trinity, true Father unbegotten, true Son only-begotten, true Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, and abiding in the Son, in order that there may be shown one Holy Spirit subsisting in the Father and Son in precious Godhead. This faith we have learned from the blessed Andrew, the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose passion also we, having seen it set forth before our eyes, have not hesitated to give an account of, according to the degree of ability we have. Accordingly the proconsul Aegeates, having come into the city of Patras, began to compel those believing in Christ to worship the idols; to whom the blessed Andrew, running up, said: It behooved thee, being a judge of men, to acknowledge thy Judge who is in the heaven, and having acknowledged Him, to worship Him; and worshipping Him who is the true God, to turn away thy thoughts from those which are not true gods.

To whom Aegeates said: Art thou Andrew, who destroyest the temples of the gods, and persuadest men about the religion which, having lately made its appearance, the emperors of the Romans have given orders to suppress?

The blessed Andrew said: The emperors of the Romans have never recognized the truth. And this the Son of God, who came on account of the salvation of men, manifestly teaches — that these idols are not only not gods, but also most shameful demons, and hostile to the human race, teaching men to offend God, so that, by being offended, He turns away and will not hearken; that therefore, by His turning away and not hearkening, they may be held captive by the devil; and that they might work them to such a degree, that when they go out of the body they may be found deserted and naked, carrying nothing with them bat sins.

Aegeates said: These are superfluous and vain words: as for your Jesus, for proclaiming these things to the Jews they nailed him to the tree of the cross.

The blessed Andrew answering, said: Oh, if thou wouldst recognize the mystery of the cross, with what reasonable love the Author of the life of the human race for our restoration endured this tree of the cross, not unwillingly, but willingly!

Aegeates said: Seeing that, betrayed by his own disciple, and seized by the Jews, he was brought before the procurator, and according to their request was nailed up by the procurator's soldiers, in what way dost thou say that he willingly endured the tree of the cross?

The holy Andrew said: For this reason I say willingly, since I was with Him when he was betrayed by His disciple. For before He was betrayed, He spoke to us to the effect that He should be betrayed and crucified for the salvation of men, and foretold that He should rise again on the third day. To whom my brother Peter said, Far be it from thee, Lord; let this by no means be. And so, being angry, He said to Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou art not disposed to the things of God. And in order that He might most fully explain that He willingly underwent the passion, He said to us, I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again. And, last of all, while He was supping with us, He said, One of you will betray me. At these words, therefore, all becoming exceedingly grieved, in order that the surmise might be free from doubt, He made it clear, saying, To whomsoever I shall give the piece of bread out of my hand, he it is who betrays me. When, therefore, He gave it to one of our fellow-disciples, and gave an account of things to come as if they were already present, He showed that He was to be willingly betrayed. For neither did He run away, and leave His betrayer at fault; but remaining in the place in which He knew that he was, He awaited him

Aegeates said: I wonder that thou, being a sensible man, shouldst wish to uphold him on any terms whatever; for, whether willingly or unwillingly, all the same, thou admittest that he was fastened to the cross.

The blessed Andrew said: This is what I said, if now thou apprehendest, that great is the mystery of the cross, which, if thou wishest, as is likely, to hear, attend to me.

Aegeates said: A mystery it cannot be called, but a punishment.

The blessed Andrew said: This punishment is the mystery of man's restoration. If thou wilt listen with any attention, thou wilt prove it.

Aegeates said: I indeed will hear patiently; but thou, unless thou submissively obey me, shalt receive the mystery of the cross in thyself.

The blessed Andrew answered: If I had been afraid of the tree of the cross, I should not have proclaimed the glory of the cross.

Aegeates said: Thy speech is foolish, because thou proclaimest that the cross is not a punishment, and through thy foolhardiness thou art not afraid of the punishment of death.

The holy Andrew said: It is not through foolhardiness, but through faith, that I am not afraid of the punishment of death; for the death of sins is hard. And on this account I wish thee to hear the mystery of the cross, in order that thou perhaps, acknowledging it, mayst believe, and believing, mayst come somehow or other to the renewing of thy soul.

Aegeates said: That which is shown to have perished is for renewing. Do you mean that my soul has perished, that thou makest me come to the renewing of it through the faith, I know not what, of which thou hast spoken?

The blessed Andrew answered: This it is which I desired time to learn, which also I shall teach and make manifest, that though the souls of men are destroyed, they shall be renewed through the mystery of the cross. For the first man through the tree of transgression brought in death; and it was necessary for the human race, that through the suffering of the tree, death, which had come into the world, should be driven out. And since the first man, who brought death into the world through the transgression of the tree, had been produced from the spotless earth, it was necessary that the Son of God should be begotten a perfect man from the spotless virgin, that He should restore eternal life, which men had lost through Adam, and should cut off the tree of carnal appetite through the tree of the cross.

Hanging upon the cross, He stretched out His blameless hands for the hands which had been incontinently stretched out; for the most sweet food of the forbidden tree He received gall for food; and taking our mortality upon Himself, He made a gift of His immortality to us.

Aegeates said: With these words thou shalt be able to lead away those who shall believe in thee; but unless thou hast come to grant me this, that thou offer sacrifices to the almighty gods, I shall order thee, after having been scourged, to be fastened to that very cross which thou commendest.

The blessed Andrew said: To God Almighty, who alone is true, I bring sacrifice day by day not the smoke of incense, nor the flesh of bellowing bulls, nor the blood of goats, but sacrificing a spotless lamb day by day on the altar of the cross; and though all the people of the I faithful partake of His body and drink His blood, the Lamb that has been sacrificed remains after this entire and alive. Truly, therefore, is He sacrificed, and truly is His body eaten by the people, and His blood is likewise drunk; nevertheless, as I have said, He remains entire, and spotless, and alive.

Aegeates said: How can this be?

The blessed Andrew said: If thou wouldest know, take the form of a disciple, that thou mayst learn what thou art inquiring after.

Aegeates said: I will exact of thee through tortures the gift of this knowledge.

The blessed Andrew declared: I wonder that thou, being an intelligent man, shouldest fall into the folly of thinking that thou mayst be able to persuade me, through thy tortures, to disclose to thee the sacred things of God. Thou hast heard the mystery of the cross, thou hast heard the mystery of the sacrifice. If thou believest in Christ the Son of God, who was crucified, I shall altogether disclose to thee in what manner the Lamb that has been slain may live, after having been sacrificed and eaten, remaining in His kingdom entire and spotless.

Aegeates said: And by what means does the lamb remain in his kingdom after he has been slain and eaten by all the people, as thou hast said?

The blessed Andrew said: If thou believest with all thy heart, thou shalt be able to learn: but if thou believest not, thou shalt not by any means attain to the idea of such truth.

Then Aegeates, enraged, ordered him to be shut up in prison, where, when he was shut up, a multitude of the people came together to him from almost all the province, so that they wished to kill Aegeates, and by breaking down the doors of the prison to set free the blessed Andrew the apostle.

Them the blessed Andrew admonished in these words, saying: Do not stir up the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ into seditious and devilish uproar. For my Lord, when He was betrayed, endured it with all patience; He did not strive, He did not cry out, nor in the streets did any one hear Him crying out. Therefore do ye also keep silence, quietness, and peace; and hinder not my martyrdom, but rather get yourselves also ready beforehand as athletes to the Lord, in order that you may overcome threatenings by a soul that has no fear of man, and that you may get the better of injuries through the endurance of the body. For this temporary fall is not to be feared; but that should be feared which has no end. The fear of men, then, is like smoke which, while it is raised and gathered together, disappears. And those torments ought to be feared which never have an end. For these torments, which happen to be somewhat light, any one can bear; but if they are heavy, they soon destroy life. But those torments are everlasting, where there are daily weepings, and mournings, and lamentations, and never-ending torture, to which the proconsul Aegeates is not afraid to go. Be ye therefore rather prepared for this, that through temporary afflictions ye may attain to everlasting rest, and may flourish for ever, and reign with Christ.

The holy Apostle Andrew having admonished the people with these and such like words through the whole night, when the light of day dawned, Aegeates having sent for him, ordered the blessed Andrew to be brought to him; and having sat down upon the tribunal, he said: I have thought that thou, by thy reflection during the night, hast turned away thy thoughts from folly, and given up thy commendation of Christ that thou mightst be able to be with us, and not throw away the pleasures of life; for it is folly

to come for any purpose to the suffering of the cross, and to give oneself up to most shameful punishments and burnings.

The holy Andrew answered: I shall be able to have joy with thee, if thou wilt believe in Christ, and throw away the worship of idols; for Christ has sent me to this province, in which I have acquired for Christ a people not the smallest.

Aegeates said: For this reason I compel thee to make a libation, that these people who have been deceived by thee may forsake the vanity of thy teaching, and may themselves offer grateful libations to the gods; for not even one city has remained in Achaia in which their temples have not been forsaken and deserted. And now, through thee, let them be again restored to the worship of the images, in order that the gods also, who have been enraged against thee, being pleased by this, may bring it about that thou mayst return to their friendship and ours. But if not, thou awaitest varied tortures, on account of the vengeance of the gods; and after these, fastened to the tree of the cross which thou commendest, thou shall die.

The holy Andrew said: Listen, O son of death and chaff made ready for eternal burnings, to me, the servant of God and apostle of Jesus Christ. Until now I have conversed with thee kindly about the perfection of the faith, in order that thou, receiving the exposition of the truth, being made perfect as its vindicator, mightst despise vain idols, and worship God, who is in the heavens; but since thou remainest in the same shamelessness at last, and thinkest me to be afraid because of thy threats, bring against me whatever may seem to thee greater in the way of tortures. For the more shall I be well pleasing to my King, the more I shall endure in tortures for the confession of His name.

Then the proconsul Aegeates, being enraged, ordered the apostle of Christ to be afflicted by tortures. Being stretched out, therefore, by seven times three soldiers, and beaten with violence, he was lifted up and brought before the impious Aegeates. And he spoke to him thus: Listen to me, Andrew, and withdraw thy thoughts from the outpouring of thy blood; but if thou wilt not hearken to me, I shall cause thee to perish on the tree of the cross.

The holy Andrew said: I am a slave of the cross of Christ, and I ought rather to pray to attain to the trophy of the cross than to be afraid; but for thee is laid up eternal torment, which, however, thou mayst escape after thou hast tested my endurance, if thou wilt believe in my Christ. For I am afflicted about thy destruction, and I am not disturbed about my own suffering. For my suffering takes up a space of one day, or two at most; but thy torment for endless ages shall never come to a close. Wherefore henceforward cease from adding to thy miseries, and lighting up everlasting fire for thyself.

Aegeates then being enraged, ordered the blessed Andrew to be fastened to the cross. And he having left them all, goes up to the cross, and says to it with a clear voice: Rejoice, O cross, which has been consecrated by the body of Christ, and adorned by His limbs as if with pearls. Assuredly before my Lord went up on thee, thou hadst much earthly fear; but now invested with heavenly longing, thou art fitted up according to my prayer. For I know, from those who believe, how many graces thou hast in Him, how many gifts prepared beforehand. Free from care, then, and with joy, I come to thee, that thou also exulting mayst receive me, the disciple of Him that was hanged upon thee; because thou hast been always faithful to me, and I have desired to embrace thee. O good cross, which hast received comeliness and beauty from the limbs of the Lord; O much longed for, and earnestly desired, and fervently sought after, and already prepared beforehand for my soul longing for thee, take me away from men, and restore me to my Master, in order that through thee He may accept me who through thee has redeemed me.

And having thus spoken, the blessed Andrew, standing on the ground, and looking earnestly upon the cross, stripped himself and gave his clothes to the executioners, having urged the brethren that the executioners should come and do what had been commanded them; for they were standing at some distance. And they having come up, lifted him on the cross; and having stretched his body across with ropes, they only bound his feet, but did not sever his joints, having received this order from the proconsul: for he wished him to be in distress while hanging, and in the night-time, as he was suspended, to be eaten up alive by dogs.

And a great multitude of the brethren stood by, nearly twenty thousand; and having beheld the executioners standing off, and that they had done to the blessed one nothing of what those who were hanged up suffer, they thought that they would again hear something from him; for assuredly, as he was hanging, he moved his head smiling. And Stratocles inquired of him: Why art thou smiling, Andrew, servant of God? Thy laughter makes us mourn and weep, because we are deprived of thee. And the blessed Andrew answered him: Shall I not laugh at all, my son Stratocles, at the empty stratagem of Aegeates, through which he thinks to take vengeance upon us? We have nothing to do with him and his plans. He cannot hear; for if he could, he would be aware, having learned it by experience, that a man of Jesus is unpunished.

And having thus spoken, he discoursed to them all in common, for the people ran together enraged at the unjust judgment of Aegeates: Ye men standing by me, and women, and children, and elders, bond and free, and as many as will hear; I beseech you, forsake all this life, ye who have for my sake assembled here; and hasten to take upon you my life, which leads to heavenly things, and once for all despise all temporary things, confirming the purposes of those who believe in Christ. And he exhorted them all, teaching that the sufferings of this transitory life are not worthy to be compared with the future recompense of the eternal life.

And the multitude hearing what was said by him, did not stand off from the place, and the blessed Andrew continued the rather to say to them more than he had spoken. And so much was said by him, that a space of three days and nights was taken up, and no one was tired and went away from him. And when also on the fourth day they beheld his nobleness, and the unweariedness of his intellect, and the multitude of his words, and the serviceableness of his exhortations, and the steadfastness of his soul, and the sobriety of his spirit, and the fixedness of his mind, and the perfection of his reason, they were enraged against Aegeates; and all with one accord hastened to the tribunal, and cried out against Aegeates, who was sitting, saying: What is thy judgment, O proconsul? Thou hast judged wickedly; thy awards are impious. In what has the man done wrong; what evil has he done? The city has been put in an uproar; thou grievest us all; do not betray Caesar’s city. Grant willingly to the Achaians a just man; grant willingly to us a God-fearing man; do not put to death a godly man. Four

days he has been hanging, and is alive; having eaten nothing, he has filled us all. Take down the man from the cross, and we shall all seek after wisdom; release the man, and to all Achaia will mercy be shown. It is not necessary that he should suffer this, because, though hanging, he does not cease proclaiming the truth.

And when the proconsul refused to listen to them, at first indeed signing with his hand to the crowd to take themselves off, they began to be emboldened against him, being in number about twenty thousand. And the proconsul having beheld that they had somehow become maddened, afraid that something frightful would befall him, rose up from the tribunal and went away with them, having promised to set free the blessed Andrew. And some went on before to tell the apostle the cause for which they came to the place.

While all the crowd, therefore, was exulting that the blessed Andrew was going to be set free, the proconsul having come up, and all the brethren rejoicing along with Maximilla, the blessed Andrew, having heard this, said to the brethren standing by: What is it necessary for me to say to him, when I am departing to the Lord, that will I also say. For what reason hast thou again come to us, Aegeates? On what account dost thou, being a stranger to us, come to us? What wilt thou again dare to do, what to contrive? Tell us. Hast thou come to release us, as having changed thy mind? I would not agree with thee that thou hadst really changed thy mind. Nor would I believe thee, saying that thou art my friend. Dost thou, O proconsul, release him that has been bound? By no means. For I have One with whom I shall be for ever; I have One with whom I shall live to countless ages. To Him I go; to Him I hasten, who also having made thee known to me, has said to me, Let not that fearful man terrify thee; do not think that he will lay hold of thee, who art mine: for he is thine enemy. Therefore, having known thee through him who has turned towards me, I am delivered from thee. But if thou wishest to believe in Christ, there will be opened up for time, as I promised thee, a way of access; but if thou hast come only to release me, I shall not be able after this to be brought down from this cross alive in the body. For I and my kinsmen depart to our own, allowing thee to be what thou art, and what thou dost not know about thyself. For already I see my King, already I worship Him, already I stand before Him, where the fellowship of the angels is, where He reigns

the only emperor, where there is light without night, where the flowers never fade, where trouble is never known, nor the name of grief heard, where there are cheerfulness and exultation that have no end. O blessed cross! without the longing for thee, no one enters into that place. But I am distressed, Aegeates, about thine own miseries, because eternal perdition is ready to receive thee. Run then, for thine own sake, O pitiable one, while yet thou canst, lest perchance thou shouldst wish then when thou canst not.

When, therefore, he attempted to come near the tree of the cross, so as to release the blessed Andrew, with all the city applauding him, the holy Andrew said with a loud voice: Do not suffer Andrew, bound upon Thy tree, to be released, O Lord; do not give me who am in Thy mystery to the shameless devil. O Jesus Christ, let not Thine adversary release me, who have been hanged by Thy favor; O Father, let this insignificant man no longer humble him who has known Thy greatness. The executioners, therefore, putting out their hands, were not able at all to touch him. Others, then, and others endeavored to release him, and no one at all was able to come near him; for their arms were benumbed.

Then the blessed Andrew, having adjured the people, said: I entreat you earnestly, brethren, that I may first make one prayer to my Lord. So then set about releasing me. All the people therefore kept quiet because of the adjuration. Then the blessed Andrew, with a loud cry, said: Do not permit, O Lord, Thy servant at this time to be removed from Thee; for it is time that my body be committed to the earth, and Thou shalt order me to come to Thee. Thou who givest eternal life, my Teacher whom I have loved, whom on this cross I confess, whom I know, whom I possess, receive me, O Lord; and as I have confessed Thee and obeyed Thee, so now in this word hearken to me; and, before my body come down from the cross, receive me to Thyself, that through my departure there may be access to Thee of many of my kindred, finding rest for themselves in Thy majesty.

When, therefore, he had said this, he became in the sight of all glad and exulting; for an exceeding splendor like lightning coming forth out of heaven shone down upon him, and so encircled him, that in consequence of such brightness mortal eyes could not look upon him at all. And the dazzling light remained about the space of half an hour. And when he had

thus spoken and glorified the Lord still more, the light withdrew itself, and he gave up the ghost, and along with the brightness itself he departed to the Lord in giving Him thanks.

And after the decease of the most blessed Andrew the apostle, Maximilla being the most powerful of the notable women, and continuing among those who had come, as soon as she learned that the apostle had departed to the Lord, came up and turned her attention to the cross, along with Stratocles, taking no heed at all of those standing by, and with reverence took down the body of the most blessed apostle from the cross. And when it was evening, bestowing upon him the necessary care, she prepared the body for burial with costly spices, and aid it in her own tomb. For she had been parted from Aegeates on account of his brutal disposition and lawless conduct, having chosen for herself a holy and quiet life; and having been united to the love of Christ, she spent her life blessedly along with the brethren.

Aegeates had been very importunate with her, and promised that he would make her mistress of his wealth; but not having been able to persuade her, he was greatly enraged, and was determined to make a public charge against all the people, and to send to Caesar an accusation against both Maximilla and all the people. And while he was arranging these things in the presence of his officers, at the dead of night he rose up, and unseen by all his people, having been tormented by the devil, he fell down from a great height, and rolling into the midst of the market-place of the city, breathed his last.

And this was reported to his brother Stratocles; and he sent his servants, having told them that they should bury him among those who had died a violent death. But he sought nothing of his substance, saying: Let not my Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, suffer me to touch anything whatever of the goods of my brother, that the condemnation of him who dared to cut off the apostle of the Lord may not disgrace me.

These things were done in the province of Achaia, in the city of Patras on the day before the kalends of December, where his good deeds are kept in mind even to this day, to the glory and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF ANDREW AND MATTHIAS

IN THE CITY OF THE MAN-EATERS

About that time all the apostles had come together to the same place, and shared among themselves the countries, casting lots, in order that each might go away into the part that had fallen to him. By lot, then, it fell to Matthias to set out to the country of the man-eaters. And the men of that city used neither to eat bread nor drink wine; but they ate the flesh of men, and drank their blood. Every man, therefore, who came into their city they laid hold of, and digging they thrust out his eyes, and gave him a drug to drink, prepared by sorcery and magic; and from drinking the drug his heart was altered and his mind deranged.

Matthias then having come into the gate of their city, the men of that city laid hold of him, and thrust out his eyes; and after putting them out they made him drink the drug of their magical deception, and led him away to the prison, and put beside him grass to eat, and he ate it not. For when he had partaken of their drug, his heart was not altered, nor his mind deranged; but he kept praying to God, weeping, and saying: Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake we have forsaken all things and have followed Thee, knowing that Thou art the helper of all who hope in Thee, attend then and behold what they have done to Matthias Thy servant, how they have made me nigh to the brutes; for Thou art He who knowest all things. If, therefore, Thou hast ordained that the wicked men in this city should eat me up, I will not by any means flee from Thy dispensation. Afford to me then, O Lord, the light of mine eyes, that at least I may behold what the wicked men in this city have in hand for me; do not forsake me, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and do not give me up to this bitter death.

While Matthias was thus praying in the prison, a light shone, and there came forth out of the light a voice saying: Beloved Matthias, receive thy sight. And immediately he received his sight. And again there came forth a

voice saying: Be of good courage, our Matthias, and be not dismayed; for I shall not by any means forsake thee, for I shall deliver thee from all danger; and not only thee, but also all thy brethren who are with thee: for I am with thee everywhere and at all times. But remain here twenty-seven days for the edification of many souls; and after that I shall send forth Andrew to thee, and he shall lead thee forth out of this prison; and not thee only, but also all who hear. Having said this, the Savior said again to Matthias, Peace be to thee, our Matthias, and went into heaven. Then Matthias having beheld Him, said to the Lord: Let thy grace abide with me, O my Lord Jesus.

Then Matthias therefore sat down in the prison, and sang. And it came to pass that, when the executioners came into the prison to bring forth the men to eat them, Matthias also shut his eyes, that they might not behold that he saw. And the executioners having come to him, read the ticket in his hand, and said among themselves: Yet three days, and we shall bring out this one also from the prison, and slay him. Because in the case of every man whom they laid hold of, they noted that day on which they laid hold of him, and tied a ticket to his right hand, that they might know the completion of the thirty days.

And it came to pass when the twenty-seven days were fulfilled since Matthias was seized, the Lord appeared in the country where Andrew was teaching, and said to him: Rise up, and set out with thy disciples to the country of the man-eaters, and bring forth Matthias out of that place; for yet three days, and the men of the city will bring him forth and slay him for their food. And Andrew answered and said: My Lord, I shall not be able to accomplish the journey thither before the limited period of the three days; but send Thine angel quickly, that he may bring him out thence: for thou knowest, Lord, that I also am flesh, and shall not be able to go there quickly. And He says to Andrew: Obey Him who made thee, and Him who is able to say in a word, and that city shall be removed thence, and all that dwell in it. For I command the horns of the winds, and they drive it thence. But rise up early, and go down to the sea with thy disciples, and thou shalt find a boat upon the shore, and thou shalt go aboard with thy disciples. And having said this, the Savior again said: Peace to thee, Andrew, along with those with thee! And He went into the heavens.

And Andrew having risen up early, proceeded to the sea along with his disciples; and having come down to the shore, he saw a little boat, and in the boat three men sitting. For the Lord by His own power had prepared a boat, and He it was in human shape a pilot in the boat; and He brought two angels whom He made to appear like men, and they were in the boat sitting. Andrew, therefore, having beheld the boat, and the three who were in it, rejoiced with exceeding great joy; and having gone to them, he said: Where are you going, brethren, with this little boat? And the Lord answered and said to him: We are going to the country of the man-eaters. And Andrew having beheld Jesus, did not recognize Him; for Jesus was hiding His Godhead, and He appeared to Andrew like a pilot. And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man-eaters, says to him: Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said: We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it; but it thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go. Jesus answered and said to them: Come on board.

And Andrew said: I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat. And Jesus said: Say what thou wilt. And Andrew said to Him: We have no passage-money to give thee; we have not even bread for our nourishment. And Jesus answered and said to him: How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus, Listen, brother; do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage-money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God. For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats. If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once; if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If this is the commandment which you received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy. For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold; for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat. And Andrew answered and said: Permit me, brother, may the

Lord grant thee. glory and honor. And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples.

And having gone on board, he sat down by the boat's sail. And Jesus answered and said to one of the angels: Rise and go down to the hold of the boat, and bring up three loaves, that the men may eat, lest perchance they be hungry, from having come to us off a long journey. And he rose and went down to the hold of the boat, and brought up three loaves, as the Lord commanded him; and he gave them the loaves. Then Jesus said to Andrew: Rise up, brother, with thy friends; partake of food, that you may be strong to bear the tossing of the sea. And Andrew answered and said to his disciples: My children, we have found great kindness from this man. Stand up, then, and partake of the nourishment of bread, that you may be strong to bear the tossing of the sea. And his disciples were not able to answer him a word, for they were in distress because of the sea. Then Jesus forced Andrew to partake himself also of the nourishment of bread along with his disciples. And Andrew answered and said to Jesus, not knowing that it was Jesus: Brother, may the Lord give thee heavenly bread out of His kingdom. Allow me then brother; for thou seest the children, that they are distressed because of the sea. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Assuredly the brethren are without experience of the sea; but inquire of them whether they want to go to land, and thyself to remain, until thou shalt finish thy business, and again come back to them. Then Andrew said to his disciples: My children, do you wish to go to the land, and me to remain here until I shall finish my business for which I have been sent? And they answered and said to Andrew: If we go away from thee, may we become strangers to the good things which the Lord hath provided for us. Now, therefore, we are with thee, wherever thou mayst go.

Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If thou art truly a disciple of Him who is called Jesus, tell thy disciples the miracles which thy Teacher diet, that their soul may rejoice, and that they may forget the fear of the sea; for, behold, we are going to take the boat off from the land, And immediately Jesus said to one of the angels: Let go the boat; and he let go the boat from the land. And Jesus came and sat down beside the rudder, and steered the boat. Then Andrew exhorted and comforted his disciples, saying: My children, who have given up your life to the Lord, fear not; for

the Lord will not at all forsake you for ever. For at that time when I was alone with our Lord, we went on board the boat with Him, and He lay down to sleep in the boat, trying us; for He was not fast asleep. And a great wind having arisen, and the sea being stormy, so that the waves were uplifted, and came under the sail of the boat, and when we were in great fear, the Lord stood up and rebuked the winds, and there was a calm in the sea; for all things feared Him, as being made by Him. Now, therefore, my children, fear not. For the Lord Jesus will not at all forsake us. And having said this, the holy Andrew prayed in his heart that his disciples might be led to sleep. And as Andrew was praying, his disciples fell asleep.

And Andrew, turning round to the Lord, not knowing that it was the Lord, said to Him: Tell me, O man, and show me the skill of thy steering; for I have never seen any man so steering in the sea as I now see thee. For sixteen years have I sailed the sea, and behold this is the seventeenth, and I have not seen such skill; for truly the boat is just as if on land. Show me then, young man, thy skill. Then Jesus answered and said to Andrew: We also have often sailed the sea, and been in danger; but since thou art a disciple of Him called Jesus, the sea has recognized thee that thou art righteous, and has become calm, and has not lifted its waves against the boat. Then Andrew cried out with a loud voice, saying: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that I have met a man who glorifies Thy name.

And Jesus answered and said: O Andrew, tell me, thou disciple of Him called Jesus, wherefore the unbelieving Jews did not believe in Him, saying that He was not God, but man. Show me, O disciple of Him called Jesus; for I have heard that He showed His Godhead to His disciples. And Andrew answered and said: Truly, brother, He showed us that He was God. Do not think, then, that He is man. For He made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all that is in them. And Jesus answered and said: How then did the Jews not believe Him? Perhaps He did not do miracles before them? Andrew said: Hast thou not heard of the miracles which He did before them? He made the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear; He cleansed lepers, He changed water into wine; and having taken five loaves and two fishes, He made a crowd recline on the grass, and having blessed, He gave them to eat; and those that ate were five thousand men, and they were filled: and they took up what was over to them twelve baskets of fragments. And after all these things they did not believe Him.

And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Perhaps He did these miracles before the people, and not before the chief priests, and because of this they did not believe Him.

And Andrew answered and said: Nay, brother, He did them also before the chief priests, not only openly, but also in secret, and they did not believe Him. Jesus answered and said: What are the miracles which He did in secret? Disclose them to me. And Andrew answered and said: O man, who hast the spirit of inquisitiveness, why dost thou put me to the test? And Jesus answered and said: I do not put thee to the test by saying this, O disciple of Him called Jesus; but my soul rejoices and exults, and not only mine, but also every soul that hears the wonders of Jesus.

And Andrew answered and said: O child, the Lord shall fill thy soul with all joy and all good, as thou hast persuaded me now to relate to thee the miracles which our Lord did in secret.

It came to pass as we, the twelve disciples. were going with our Lord into a temple of the Gentiles, that He might make known to us the ignorance of the devil, that the chief priests, having beheld us following Jesus, said to us, O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the Son of God? Do you mean to say that God has a son? Which of you has ever at any time seen God associating with a woman? Is not this the son of Joseph the carpenter, and his mother is Mary, and his brothers James and Simon? And when we heard these words, our hearts were turned into weakness. And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all His Godhead. And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see; for, behold, He has persuaded us.

And the chief priests having come, went with us; and when we had gone into the temple of the Gentiles, Jesus showed us the heaven, that we might know whether the things were true or not. And there went in along with us thirty men of the people, and four chief priests. And Jesus, having looked on the right hand and on the left of the temple, saw two sculptured sphinxes, one on the right and one on the left. And Jesus having turned to us, said, Behold the sign of the cross; for these are like the cherubim and the seraphim which are in heaven. Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which

is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man.

And immediately at that very time the sphinx removed from its place, and having assumed a human voice, said, O foolish sons of Israel, not only has the blinding of their own hearts not been enough for them, but they also wish others to be blind like themselves, saying that God is man, who in the beginning fashioned man, and put His breath into all, who gave motion to those things which moved not; He it is who called Abraham, who loved his son Isaac, who brought back his beloved Jacob into his land; He is the Judge of living and dead; He it is who prepareth great benefits for those who obey Him, and prepareth punishment for those who believe Him not. Heed not that I am an idol that can be handled; for I say unto you, that the sacred places of your synagogue are more excellent. For though we are stones, the priests have given us only the name of a God; and those priests who serve the temple purify themselves, being afraid of the demons: for if they have had intercourse with women, they purify themselves seven days, because of their fear; so that they do not come into the temple because of us, because of the name which they have given us, that we are a God. But you, if you have committed fornication, take up the law of God, and go into the synagogue of Cool, and purify, and read, and do not reverence the glorious words of God. Because of this, I say unto you, that the holy things purify your synagogues, so that they also become churches of His only begotten Son. The sphinx having said this, ceased speaking.

And we said to the chief priests, Now it is fitting that you should believe, because even the stones have convicted you. And the Jews answered and said, By magic these stones speak, and do not you think that it is a God? For if you have tested what has been said by the stone, you have ascertained its deception. For where did he find Abraham, or how did he see him? For Abraham died many years before he was born, and how floes he know him?

And Jesus, having again turned to the image, said to it, Because these believe not that I have spoken with Abraham, go away into the land of the Canaanites, and go away to the double cave in the field of Mamre, where

the body of Abraham is, and cry outside of the tomb, saying, Abraham, Abraham, whose body is in the tomb, and whose soul is in paradise, thus speaks He who fashioned than, who made thee from the beginning his friend, Rise up, thou and thy son Isaac, and the son of thy son Jacob, and come to the temples of the Jebusites, that we may convict the chief priests, in order that they may know that I am acquainted with thee, and thou with me. And when the sphinx heard these words, immediately she walked about in the presence of us all, and set out for the land of the Canaanites to the field of Mature, and cried outside of the tomb, as God had commanded her. And straightway the twelve patriarchs came forth alive out of the tomb, and answered and said to her, To which of us hast thou been sent? And the sphinx answered and said; I have been sent to the three patriarchs for testimony; but do ye go in, and rest until the time of the resurrection. And having heard, they went into the tomb and fell asleep. And the three patriarchs set out along with the sphinx to Jesus, and convicted the chief priests. And Jesus said to them, Go away to your places; and they went away. And He said also to the image, Go up to thy place; and straightway she went up and stood in her place. And He did also many other miracles, and they did not believe Him; which miracles, if I shall recount, thou wilt not be able to bear. And Jesus answered and said to him: I can bear it; for I prudently listen to profitable words.

And when the boat was about to come near the land, Jesus bent down His head upon one of His angels, and was quiet. And Andrew ceased speaking; and he also, reclining his head upon one of his disciples, fell asleep. And Jesus said to His angels: Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man-eaters; and having laid them on the ground, return to me. And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus: and He went up into the heavens with His angels.

And when it was morning, Andrew, having awakened and looked up, found himself sitting on the ground; and having looked, he saw his disciples sleeping on the ground: and he wakened them, and said to them: Rise up, my children, and know the great dispensation that has happened to us, and learn that the Lord was with us in the boat, and we knew Him not; for He transformed Himself as if He were a pilot in the boat, and humbled Himself, and appeared to us as a man, putting us to the test. And

Andrew, recovering himself, said: Lord, I recognized Thy excellent words, but Thou didst not manifest Thyself to me, and because of this I did not know Thee. And his disciples answered and said to him: Father Andrew, do not think that we knew when thou wast speaking with Him in the boat, for we were weighed down by a most heavy sleep; and eagles came down out of the heavens, and lifted up our souls, and took them away into the paradise in heaven, and we saw great wonders. For we beheld our Lord Jesus sitting on a throne of glory, and all the angels round about Him. We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the saints; and David praised Him with a song upon his harp. And we beheld there you the twelve apostles standing by in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and outside of you twelve angels round about you, and each angel standing behind each of you, and they were like you in appearance. And we heard the Lord saying to the angels, Listen to the apostles in all things whatsoever they shall ask you. These are the things which we have seen, father Andrew, until thou didst awake us; and angels, who appeared like eagles, brought our souls into our bodies.

Then Andrew, having heard, rejoiced with great joy that his disciples had been deemed worthy to behold these wonderful things. And Andrew looked up into heaven, and said: Appear to me, Lord Jesus Christ; for I know that Thou art not far from Thy servants. Pardon me, Lord, for what I have done; for I have beheld Thee as a man in the boat, and I have conversed with Thee as with a man. Now therefore, Lord, manifest Thyself to me in this place.

And when Andrew had said this, Jesus appeared to him in the likeness of a most beautiful little child. And Jesus answered and said: Hail, our Andrew! And Andrew, having beheld Him, worshipped Him, saying: Pardon me, Lord Jesus Christ, for I saw Thee like a man on the sea, and conversed with Thee. What is there, then, wherein I have sinned, my Lord Jesus, that Thou didst not manifest Thyself to me on the sea? And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: Thou hast not sinned, but I did this to thee because thou saidst, I shall not be able to go to the city of the man-eaters in three days; and I have showed thee that I am able to do all things, and to appear to every one as I wish. Now therefore rise up, go into the city to Matthias, and bring him forth out of the prison, and all the strangers that are with him. For, behold, I show thee, Andrew, what thou must suffer

before going into this city. They will heap upon thee tortures and insults, and scatter thy flesh in the ways and the streets, and thy blood shall flow to the ground, but they are not able to put thee to death; but endure, just as thou sawest me beaten, insulted, and crucified: for there are those who are destined to believe in this city. And having said this, the Savior went into the heavens.

And Andrew went into the city along with his disciples, and no one beheld him. And when he came to the prison, he saw seven warders standing at the gate guarding, and he prayed within himself, and they fell down and expired; and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord. And having gone in with his disciples, he found Matthias sitting and singing; and seeing him, he stood up, and they saluted each other with a holy kiss; and he said to Matthias: Brother, how hast thou been found here? For yet three days, and they will bring thee out to be food for them. Where are the great mysteries which thou hast been taught, and the wonderful things which we have believed? And Matthias said to him: Didst thou not hear the Lord saying, I shall send you like sheep into the midst of wolves? They straightway brought me into the prison, and I prayed to the Lord; and He said to me, Remain here twenty-seven days, and I shall send thee Andrew, and he will bring thee forth out of the prison. And now, behold, it has come to pass as the Lord said.

Then Andrew, having looked, saw three men shut up eating grass naked; and he beat his breast, and said: Consider, O Lord, what the men suffer; how have they made them like the irrational brutes? And he says to Satan: Woe to thee, the devil, the enemy of God, and to thine angels, because the strangers here have done nothing to thee; and how hast thou brought upon them the punishment? how long dost thou war against the human race? Thou didst bring forth Adam out of paradise, and didst cause men to be mixed up with transgression; and the Lord was enraged, and brought on the deluge so as to sweep man away. And again hast thou made thy appearance in this city too, in order that thou mayst make those who are here eat men, that the end of them also may be in execration and destruction, thinking in thyself that God will sweep away the work of His hands. Hast thou not heard that God said, I will not bring a deluge upon the earth? but if there is any punishment prepared, it is for the sake of taking vengeance upon thee.

Then he stood up, and Andrew and Matthias prayed; and after the prayer Andrew laid his hands upon the faces of the blind men who were in the prison, and straightway they all received their sight. And again he laid his hand upon their hearts, and their minds were changed into human reason. Then Andrew answered them: Rise up, and go into the lower parts of the city, and you shall find in the way a great fig-tree, and sit under the fig-tree, and eat of its fruit, until I come to you; but if I delay coming there, you will find abundance of food for yourselves: for the fruit shall not fail from the fig-tree, but according as you eat it shall produce more fruit, and nourish you, as the Lord has said. And they answered and said to Andrew: Go along with us, O our master, lest perchance the wicked men of this city again see us, and shut us up, and inflict upon us greater and more dreadful tortures than they have inflicted upon us. And Andrew answered and said to them: Go; for in truth I sag to you, that as you go, not a dog shall bark with his tongue against you. And there were in all two hundred and seventy men and forty-nine women whom Andrew released from the prison. And the men went as the blessed Andrew said to them; and he made Matthias go along with his disciples out of the eastern gate of the city. And Andrew commanded a cloud, and the cloud took up Matthias and the disciples of Andrew; and the cloud set them down on the mountain where Peter was teaching, and they remained beside him.

And Andrew, having gone forth from the prison, walked about in the city; and having seen a brazen pillar, and a statue standing upon it, he came and sat down behind that pillar until he should see what should happen. And it happened that the executioners went to the prison to bring out the men for their food, according to the custom; and they found the doors of the prison opened, and the guards that guarded it lying dead upon the ground. And straightway they went, and reported to the rulers of the city, saying: We found the prison opened, and having gone inside we found nobody; but we found the guards lying dead upon the ground. And the rulers having heard this, said among themselves: What, then, has happened? You do not mean to say that some persons have gone into the prison of the city, and have killed the warders, and taken away those that were shut up? And they spoke to the executioners, saying: Go to the prison, and bring the men that are dead, that we may eat them up today. And let us go tomorrow, and bring together all the old men of the city, that they may cast lots upon

themselves, until the seven lots come, and we slay seven each day. And they shall be to us for food until we may choose young men, and put them in boats as sailors, that they may go away to the countries round about, and attack them, and bring some men here, that they may be for food to us.

And the executioners went to the prison, and brought the seven men that were dead; and there was an oven built in the midst of the city, and there lay in the oven a large trough in which they killed the men, and their blood ran down into the trough, and they drew out of the blood and drank it. And they brought the men, and. put them into the trough. And when the executioners were lifting their hands against them, Andrew heard a voice, saying: Behold, Andrew, what is happening in this city. And Andrew having beheld, prayed to the Lord, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, who didst order me to come into this city, do not suffer those in this city to do any evil, but let the knives go out of the hands of the wicked ones. And straightway the knives of the wicked men fell, and their hands were turned into stone. And the rulers, having seen what had happened, wept, saying: Woe unto us, for here are the magicians who have gone into the prison, and brought out the men; for, behold, they have bewitched these also. What, then, shall we do? Let us go now, and gather together the old men of the city, seeing that we are hungry.

And they went and gathered them together, and found two hundred and seventeen; and they brought them to the rulers, and they made them cast lots, and the lot came upon seven old men. And one of those taken by lot answered and said to the officers: I pray you, I have for myself one son; take him, and slay him instead of me, and let me go. And the officers answered and said to him: We cannot take thy son, unless we bring him first to our superiors. And the officers went and told the rulers. And the rulers answered and said to the officers: If he give us his son instead of himself, let him go. And the officers went and told the old man. And the old man answered and said to them: I have also a daughter along with my son; take them, and kill them, only let me go. And he gave his children to the officers, that they might kill them. And the children wept to each other, and prayed the officers, saying: We pray you do not kill us, as we are of so small a size; but let us complete our size, and so kill us. For it was a custom in that city, and they did not bury their dead, but ate them

up. And the officers did not hearken to the children, nor take pity upon them, but carried them to the trough weeping and praying.

And it happened, as they were lending them away to kill them, that Andrew, having beheld what happened, shed tears; and weeping, he looked up to heaven and said: Lord Jesus Christ, as Thou didst hear me in the case of the dead men, and didst not suffer them to be eaten up, so also now hear me, that the executioners may not inflict death upon these children, but that the knives may be loosened out of the hands of the executioners. And straightway the knives were loosened, and fell out of the hands of the executioners. And when this came to pass, the executioners, having beheld what had happened, were exceedingly afraid. And Andrew, seeing what had happened, glorified the Lord because He had listened to him in every work. And the rulers, having beheld what had happened, wept with a great weeping, saying: Woe unto us! what are we to do? And, behold, the devil appeared in the likeness of an old man, and began to say in the midst of all: Woe unto you! because you are now dying, having no food; what can sheep and oxen do for you? They will not at all be enough for you. But rise up, and make a search here for one who has come to the city, a stranger named Andrew, and kill him; for if you do not, he will not permit you to carry on this practice longer: for it was he who let loose the men out of the prison. Assuredly the man is in this city, and you have not seen him. Now, therefore, rise and make search for him, in order that henceforward you may be able to collect your food.

And Andrew saw the devil, how he was talking to the multitudes; but the devil did not see the blessed Andrew. Then Andrew answered the devil, and said: O Belial most fiendish, who art the foe of every creature; but my Lord Jesus Christ will bring thee down to the abyss. And the devil, having heard this, said: I hear thy voice indeed, and I know thy voice, but where thou art standing I know not. And Andrew answered and said to the devil: Why, then, hast thou been called Amael? is it not because thou art blind, not seeing all the saints? And the devil, having heard this, said to the citizens: Look round now for him speaking to me, for he is the man. And the citizens, having run in different directions, shut the gates of the city, and searched for the blessed one, and did not see him. Then the Lord showed Himself to Andrew, and said to him; Andrew, rise up and show

thyself to them, that they may learn my power, and the powerlessness of the devil working in them.

Then Andrew rose up, and said in presence of all: Behold, I am Andrew whom you seek. And the multitudes ran upon him, and laid hold of him, saying: What thou hast done to us, we also will do to thee. And they reasoned among themselves, saying: By what death shall we kill him? And they said to each other: If we take off his head, his death is not torture; and if we burn him, he will not be for food to us. Then one of them, the devil having entered into him, answered and said to the multitudes: As he has done to us, so let us also do to him. Let us rise up, then, and fasten a rope to his neck, and drag him through all the streets and lanes of the city; and when he is dead, we shall share his body. And they did as he said to them; and having fastened a rope round his neck, they dragged him through the streets and lanes of the city, and the flesh of the blessed Andrew stuck to the ground, and his blood flowed to the ground like water. And when it was evening they cast him into the prison, having bound his hands behind him; and he was in sore distress.

And in the morning again they brought him out, and having fastened a rope round his neck, they dragged him about; and again his flesh stuck to the ground, and his blood flowed. And the blessed one wept and prayed, saying: Do not forsake me, my Lord Jesus Christ; for I know that Thou art not far from Thy servants. And as he was praying, the devil walked behind, and said to the multitudes: Strike him on the mouth, that he may not speak.

And when it was evening they took him again to the prison, having bound his hands behind him, and left him till the morrow again. And the devil having taken with himself seven demons whom the blessed one had cast out of the countries round about, and having gone into the prison, they stood before him, wishing to kill him. And the demons answered and said to Andrew: Now hast thou fallen into our hands; where is thy glory and thy exultation, thou that raisest thyself up against us, and dishonorest us, and tellest our doings to the people in every place and country, and hast made our workshops and our temples to become desolate, in order that sacrifices may not be brought to them? Because of this, then, we shall also kill time, like thy teacher called Jesus, and John whom Herod beheaded.

And they stood before Andrew, wishing to kill him; and having beheld the seal upon his forehead which the Lord gave him, they were afraid, and did not come near him, but fled. And the devil said to them: Why have you fled from him, my children, and not killed him? And the demons answered and said to the devil: We cannot kill him, but kill him if thou art able; for we knew him before he came into the distress of his humiliation. Then one of the demons answered and said: We cannot kill him, but come let us mock him in the distress of his humiliation. And the demons came and stood before him, and scoffed at him. And the blessed one hearing, wept; and there came to him a voice saying: Andrew, why weepest thou? And it was the voice of the devil changed. And Andrew answered and said: I am weeping because God commanded me, saying, Be patient toward them. And the devil said: If thou canst do anything, do it. And Andrew answered and said: Is it for this, then, that you do these things to me? But forbid it that I should disobey the commandment of my Lord; for if the Lord shall make for me a charge in this city, I shall chastise you as you deserve. And having heard this, they fled.

And when it was morning they brought him out again, and having fastened a rope about his neck, they dragged him; and again his flesh stuck to the ground, and his blood flowed to the ground like water. And the blessed one, as he was being dragged along, wept, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, be not displeased with me; for Thou knowest, Lord, what the fiend has inflicted upon me, along with his demons. These tortures are enough, my Lord; for, behold, I am dragged about for three days. But do Thou, Lord, remember that Thou wast three hours upon the cross, and didst cry out to the Father, My Father, why hast Thou forsaken me? Where are Thy words, Lord, which Thou spakest to us, confirming us, when we walked about with Thee, saying to us, Ye shall not lose one hair? Consider, then, Lord, what has become of my flesh, and the hairs of my head. Then Jesus said to Andrew: O our Andrew, the heaven and the earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Turn thyself then, Andrew, and behold thy flesh that has fallen, and thy hair, what has become of them. And Andrew turned, and saw great trees springing up, bearing fruit; and he glorified God.

And when it was evening they took him up again, and cast him into the prison, having bound his hands behind him; and he was exceedingly

exhausted. And the men of the city said among themselves: Perhaps he dies in the night, and we do not find him alive on the following day; for he was languid, and his flesh was spent.

And the Lord appeared in the prison, and having stretched oat His hand, said to Andrew: Give me thy hand, and rise up whole. And Andrew, having beheld the Lord Jesus, gave Him his hand, and rose up whole. And falling down, he worshipped Him, and said: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou hast speedily brought help to me. And Andrew, having looked into the middle of the prison, saw a pillar standing, and upon the pillar there stood an alabaster statue. And Andrew, having gone up to the statue, unfolded his hands seven times, and said to the pillar, and the statue upon it: Fear the sign of the cross, which the heaven and the earth dread; and let the statue set upon the pillar bring up much water through its mouth, until all who are in this city be punished. And say not, I am stone, and am not worthy to praise the Lord, for the Lord fashioned us from the earth; but you are pure, because that out of you He gave the tables of the law. When the blessed Andrew had said this, straightway the stone statue cast out of its mouth water in abundance, as if out of a canal. And the water stood high upon the earth; and it was exceedingly acrid, eating into the flesh of men.

And when it was morning, the men of the city saw it, and began to flee, saying in themselves: Woe to us! because we are now dying. And the water killed their cattle and their children; and they began to flee out of the city. Then Andrew prayed, saying: Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have hoped that this miracle should come upon this city, forsake me not, but send Michael Thy archangel in a cloud of fire, and be a wall round the city, that no one may be able to escape out of the fire. And straightway a cloud of fire came down and encircled the city like a wall; and the water was as high as the neck of those men, and it was eating them up exceedingly. And they wept, saying: Woe to us! for all these things have come upon us because of the stranger who is in the prison. Let us go and release him, lest perchance we die.

And they went out, crying with a loud voice: God of the stranger, take away from us this water. And the apostle knew that they were in great affliction, and said to the alabaster statue: Stop the water, for they have

repented. And I say to thee, that if the citizens of this city shall believe. I will build a church, and place thee in it, because thou hast done me this service. And the statue ceased flowing, and no longer brought forth water. And the men of the city, having come out to the doors of the prison, cried out, saying. Have pity upon us, God of the stranger, and do not according to our unbelief, and according to what we have done to this man, but take away from us this water. And Andrew came forth out of the prison; and the water ran this way and that from the feet of the blessed Andrew. Then all the multitude seeing him, all cried out: Have pity upon us.

And the old man having come who gave up his children that they should slay them instead of him, prayed at the feet of the blessed Andrew, saying: Have pity upon me. And the holy Andrew answered and said to the old man: I wonder how thou sayest, Have pity upon me; for thou hadst no pity upon thy children, but gavest them up to be slain instead of thee. Therefore I say unto thee, At what hour this water goes away, into the abyss shalt thou go, with the fourteen executioners who slay the men every day. And he came to the place of the trough, where they used to slay the men. And the blessed one, having looked up to heaven, prayed before all the multitude; and the earth was opened, and swallowed up the water, along with the old man. He was carried down into the abyss, with the executioners. And the men, having seen what bad happened, were exceedingly afraid, and began to say: Woe unto us because this man is from God; and now he will kill us because of the afflictions which we have caused him. For, behold, what he said to the executioners and the old man has befallen them. Now, therefore, he will command the fire, and it will burn us. And Andrew, having heard, said to them: Fear not, children; for I shall not send these also to Hades; but those have gone, that you may believe in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then the holy Andrew ordered to be brought up all who had died in the water. And they were not able to bring them; for there had died a great multitude both of men, and women, and children, and cattle.

Then Andrew prayed, and they all came to life. And after these things he drew a plan of a church, and he caused the church to be built. And he baptized them, and gave them the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying to them: Stand by these, in order that you may know the mysteries

of our Lord Jesus Christ. And they all prayed him: We pray thee, stay with us a few days, that we may be filled with thy fountain, because we are newly planted. And he did not comply with their request, but said to them: I shall go first to my disciples. And the children followed after, weeping and praying, with the men; and they cast ashes upon their heads. And he did not comply with them, but said: I shall go to my disciples, and after that I shall come again to you. And he went his way.

And the Lord Jesus Christ came down, being like a comely little child, and met Andrew, and said: Andrew, why hast thou come out and left them without fruit, and hast not had compassion upon the children that followed after thee, and the men entreating thee, Stay with us a few days? For the cry of them and the weeping has come up to heaven. Now therefore return, and go into the city, and remain there seven days, until I shall confirm their souls in the faith; and then thou shalt go away into the country of the barbarians, thou and thy disciples. And after going into this city, thou shalt proclaim my Gospel, and bring up the men who are in the abyss. And thou shall do what I command thee.

Then Andrew turned and went into the city, saying: I thank Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, who wishest to save every soul, that Thou bast not allowed me to go forth out of this city in mine anger. And when be had come into the city, they, seeing him, rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And he stayed there seven days, teaching and confirming them in the Lord Jesus Christ. And the seven days having been fulfilled, it came to pass, while the blessed Andrew was going out, all came together to him, from the child even to the elder, and sent him on his way, saying: There is one God, the God of Andrew, and one Lord Jesus Christ, who alone doeth wonders; to whom be glory and strength for ever. Amen.

ACTS OF PETER AND ANDREW

FROM A BODLEIAN MS

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND ANDREW

It came to pass when Andrew the apostle of Christ went forth from the city of the man-eaters, behold a luminous cloud snatched him up, and carried him away to the mountain where Peter and Matthew and Alexander were sitting. And when he saw them, they saluted him with great joy. Then Peter says to him: What has happened to thee, brother Andrew? Hast thou sown the word of truth in the country of the man-eaters or not? Andrew says to him: Yes, father Peter, through thy prayers; but the men of that city have done me many mischiefs, for they dragged me through their street three days, so that my blood stained the whole street. Peter says to him: Be a man in the Lord, brother Andrew, and come hither, and rest from thy labor. For if the good husbandman laboriously till the ground, it will also bear fruit, and straightway all his toil wilt be turned into joy; but if he toil, and his land bring forth no fruit, he has double toil.

And while he was thus speaking, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them in the form of a child, and said to them: Hail, Peter, bishop of the whole of my Church! hail, Andrew! My co-heirs, be courageous, and struggle for mankind; for verily I say unto you, you shall endure toils in this world for mankind. But be bold; I will give you rest in one hour of repose in the kingdom of my Father. Arise, then, and go into the city of the barbarians, and preach in it; and I will be with you in the wonders that shall happen in it by your hands. And the Lord Jesus, after saluting them, went up into the heavens in glory.

And Peter, and Andrew, and Alexander, and Rufus, and Matthias, went into the city of the barbarians. And after they had come near the city, Andrew answered and said to Peter: Father Peter, have we again to

undergo toils in this city, as in the country of the man-eaters? Peter says to him: I do not know. But, behold, there is an old man before us sowing in his field: if we go up to him, let us say to him, Give us bread; and if he give us bread, we may know that we are not to suffer in tins city; but if he say to us, We have no bread, on the other hand, we shall know that suffering again awaits us. And when they came up to the old man, Peter says to him: Hail, farmer! And the farmer says to them: Hail you too, merchants! Peter says to him: Have you bread to give to these children, for we have been in want? The old man says to them: Wait a little, and look after the oxen, and the plough, and the land, that I may go into the city, and get you loaves. Peter says to him: If you provide hospitality for us, we shall took after the cattle and the field. The old man says: So be it. Peter says to him: Are the oxen your own? The old man says: No; I have them on hire. Peter says to him: Go into the city. And the old man went into the city. And Peter arose, and girded up his cloak and his under-garment, and says to Andrew: It is not right for us to rest and be idle; above all, when the old man is working for us, having left his own work. Then Peter took hold of the plough, and sowed the wheat. And Andrew was behind the oxen, and says to Peter: Father Peter, why dost thou bring toil upon us, especially when we have work enough already! Then Andrew took the plough out of Peter's hand, and sowed the wheat, saying: O seed cast into the ground in the field of the righteous, come up, and come to the light. Let the young men of the city therefore come forth, whom I found in the pit of destruction until today; for, behold, the apostles of Christ are coming into the city, pardoning the sins of those who believe in them, and healing every disease, and every sickness. Pray ye for me, that He may have mercy upon me, and that I may be delivered from this strait.

And many of the multitude believed in Christ, because of the saying of the woman; and they fell at the feet of the apostles, and adored them. And they laid their hands upon them. And they healed those in the city that were sick, and gave sight to the blind and, hearing to the deaf, and drove out the demons. All the multitude glorified the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

And there was a certain rich man in the city, by name Onesiphorus. He, having seen the miracles done by the apostles, says to them: If I believe in your God, can I also do a miracle like you? Andrew says to him: If thou

wilt forsake all that belongs to thee, and thy wife and thy children, as we also have done, then thou also shalt do miracles. When Onesiphorus heard this, he was filled with rage, and took his scarf and threw it over Andrew's neck, and struck him, and said to him: Thou art a sorcerer. How dost thou force me to abandon my wife, and my children, and my goods? Then Peter, having turned and seen him striking Andrew, says to him: Man, stop now striking Andrew. Onesiphorus says to him: I see that thou art more sensible than he. Do thou then tell me to leave my wife, and my children, and my goods. What dost thou say? Peter says to him: One thing I say unto thee: it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to go into the kingdom of heaven. When Onesiphorus heard this, he was even more filled with rage and anger, and took his scarf off the neck of Andrew, and threw it upon the neck of Peter; and so he dragged him along, saying: Verily thou art a great sorcerer, more than the other; for a camel cannot go through the eye of a needle. But if thou wilt show me this miracle, I will believe in thy God; and not only I, but also the whole city. But if not, thou shalt be grievously punished in the midst of the city. And when Peter heard this, he was exceedingly grieved, and stood and stretched forth his hands towards heaven, and prayed, saying: O Lord our God, listen to me at this time; for they will ensnare us from Thine own words: for no prophet has spoken to set forth this his explanation, and no patriarch that we might learn the interpretation of it; and now we seek for ourselves the explanation with boldness. Do Thou then, Lord, not overlook us: for thou art He who is praised by the cherubim.

And after he had said this, the Savior appeared in the form of a child of twelve years old, wearing a linen garment; and He says to them: Be courageous, and tremble not, my chosen disciples; for I am with you always. Let the needle and the camel be brought. And after saying this, He went up into the heavens. And there was a certain merchant in the city who had believed in the Lord through the Apostle Philip; and when he heard of this, he ran and searched for a needle with a big eye, to do a favor to the apostles. When Peter learned this, he said: My son, do not search for a big needle; for nothing is impossible with God: rather bring us a small needle. And after the needle had been brought, and all the multitude of the city were standing by to see, Peter looked up and saw a camel coming.

And he ordered her to be brought. Then he fixed the needle in the ground, and cried out with a loud voice, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, I order thee, O camel, to go through the eye of the needle. Then the eye of the needle was opened like a gate, and the camel went through it, and all the multitude saw it. Again Peter says to the camel: Go again through the needle. And the camel went a second time. When Onesiphorus saw this, he said to Peter; Truly thou art a great sorcerer; but I do not believe unless I send and bring a camel and a needle. And he called one of his servants, and said to him privately: Go and bring me here a camel and a needle; find also a polluted woman, and force her to come here: for these men are sorcerers. And Peter having learned the mystery through the Spirit, says to Onesiphorus: Send and bring the camel, and the woman, and the needle. And when they brought them, Peter took the needle, and fixed it in the ground. And the woman was sitting on the camel. Then Peter says: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the crucified, I order thee, O camel, to go through this needle. And immediately the eye of the needle was opened, and became like a gate, and the camel went through it. Peter again says to the camel: Go through it again, that all may see the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that some may believe on Him. Then the camel again went through the needle. And Onesiphorus seeing it, cried out, and said: Truly great is the God of Peter and Andrew, and I from this time forth believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now then, hear my words, O Peter. I have corn lands, vineyards, and fields; I have also twenty-seven pounds of gold, and fifty pounds of silver; and i have very many slaves. I give my possessions to the poor, that I also may do one miracle like you. And Peter was grieved lest the powers should not work in him, seeing that he had not received the seal in Christ. And while he was considering this, behold, a voice out of the heaven saying to him: Do to him what he wishes, because I will accomplish for him what he desires. Peter says to him: My son, come hither; do as we do. And Onesiphorus came up, and stood before the camel and the needle, and said: In then... (Here the MS. ends.)

ACTS AND MARTYRDOM OF ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE

ABOUT that time Matthew, the holy apostle and evangelist of Christ, was abiding in the mountain resting, and praying in his tunic and apostolic robes without sandals; and, behold, Jesus came to Matthew in the likeness of the infants who sing in paradise, and said to him: Peace to thee, Matthew! And Matthew having gazed upon Him, and not known who He was, said: Grace to thee, and peace, O child highly favored! And why hast thou come hither to me, having left those who sing in paradise, and the delights there? Because here the place is desert; and what sort of a table I shall lay for thee, O child, I know not, because I have no bread nor oil in a jar. Moreover, even the winds are at rest, so as not to cast down from the trees to the ground anything for food; because, for the accomplishing of my fast of forty days, I, partaking only of the fruits falling by the movement of the winds, am glorifying my Jesus. Now, therefore, what shall I bring thee, beautiful boy? There is not even water near, that I may wash thy feet. And the child said: Why sayest thou, O Matthew? Understand and know that good discourse is better than a calf, and words of meekness better than every herb of the field, and a sweet saying as the perfume of love, and cheerfulness of countenance better that feeding, and a pleasant look is as the appearance of sweetness. Understand, Matthew, and know that I am paradise, that I am the comforter, I am the power of the powers above, I the strength of those that restrain themselves, I the crown of the virgins, I the self-control of the once married, I the boast of the widowed, I the defense of the infants, I the foundation of the Church, I the kingdom of the bishops, I the glory of the presbyters, I the praise of the deacons. Be a man, and be strong, Matthew, in, these words. And Matthew said: The sight of thee hast altogether delighted me, O child; moreover also, thy words are full of life. For assuredly thy face shines more than the lightning, and thy words are altogether most sweet. And that indeed I saw thee in paradise when thou didst sing with the other infants who were killed in Bethlehem, I know right well; but how thou hast suddenly come hither, this altogether astonishes me. But I shall ask thee one thing, O child: that impious Herod, where is he? The child says to

him: Since thou hast asked, hear his dwelling-place. He dwells, indeed, in Hades; and there has been prepared for him fire unquenchable, Gehenna without end, bubbling mire, worm that sleeps not, because he cut off three thousand infants, wishing to slay the child Jesus, the ancient of the ages; but of all these ages I am father. Now therefore, O Matthew, take this rod of mine, and go down from the mountain, and go into Myrna, the city of the man-eaters, and plant it by the gate of the church which thou and Andrew founded; and as soon as thou hast planted it, it shall be a tree, great and lofty and with many branches, and its branches shall extend to thirty cubits, and of each single branch the fruit shall be different both to the sight and the eating, and from the top of the tree shall flow down much honey; and from its root there shall come forth a great fountain, giving drink to this country round about, and in it creatures that swim and creep; and in it the man-eaters shall wash themselves, and eat of the fruit of the trees of the vine and of the honey; and their bodies shall be changed, and their forms shall be altered so as to be like those of other men; and they shall be ashamed of the nakedness of their body, and they shall put on clothing of the rams of the sheep, and they shall no longer eat unclean things; and there shall be to them fire in superabundance, preparing the sacrifices for offerings, and they shall bake their bread with fire; and they shall see each other in the likeness of the rest of men, and they shall acknowledge me, and glorify my Father who is in the heavens. Now therefore make haste, Matthew, and go down hence, because the departure from thy body through fire is at hand, and the crown of thy endurance.

And the child having said this, and given him the rod, was taken up into the heavens. And Matthew went down from the mountain, hastening to the city. And as he was about to enter into the city, there met him Fulvana the wife of the king, and his son Fulvanus and his wife Erva, who were possessed by an unclean spirit, and cried out shouting: Who has brought thee here again, Matthew? or who has given thee the rod for our destruction? for we see also the child Jesus, the Son of God, who is with thee. Do not go then, O Matthew, to plant the rod for the food, and for the transformation of the man-eaters: for I bare found what I shall do to thee. For since thou didst drive me out of this city, and prevent me from fulfilling my wishes among the man-eaters, behold, I will raise up against thee the king of this city, and he will burn thee alive. And Matthew,

having laid his hands on each one of the demoniacs, put the demons to flight, and made the people whole; and they followed him.

And thus the affair being made manifest, Plato the bishop, having heard of the presence of the holy Apostle Matthew, met him with all the clergy; and having fallen to the ground, they kissed his feet. And Matthew raised them, and went with them into the church, and the child Jesus was also with him. And Matthew, having come to the gate of the church, stood upon a certain lofty and immovable stone; and when the whole city ran together, especially the brethren who had believed, began to say: Men and women who appear in our sight, heretofore believing in the universe, but now knowing Him who has upheld and made the universe; until now worshipping the Satyr, and mocked by ten thousand false gods, but now through Jesus Christ acknowledging the one and only God, Lord, Judge; who have laid aside the immeasurable greatness of evil, and put on love, which is of like nature with affectionateness, towards men; once strangers to Christ, but now confessing Him Lord and God; formerly without form, but now transformed through Christ; — behold, the staff which you see in my hand, which Jesus, in whom you have believed and will believe, gave me; perceive now what comes to pass through me, and acknowledge the riches of the greatness which He will this day make for you. For, behold, I shall plant this rod in this place, and it shall be a sign to your generations, and it shall become a tree, great and lofty and flourishing, and its fruit beautiful to the view and good to the sight; and the fragrance of perfumes shall come forth from it, and there shall be a vine twining round it, full of clusters; and from the top of it honey coming down, and every flying creature shall find covert in its branches; and a fountain of water shall come forth from the root of it, having swimming and creeping things, giving drink to all the country round about.

And having said this, and called upon the name of the Lord Jesus, he fixed his rod in the ground, and straightway it sprung up to one cubit; and the sight was strange and wonderful. For the rod having straightway shot up, increased in size, and grew into a great tree, as Matthew had said. And the apostle said: Go into the fountain and wash your bodies in it, and then thus partake both of the fruits of the tree, and of the vine and the honey, and drink of the fountain, and you shall be transformed in your likeness to that of men; and after that, having gone into the church, you will clearly

recognize that you have believed in the living and true God. And having done all these things, they saw themselves changed into the likeness of Matthew; then, having thus gone into the church, they worshipped and glorified God. And when they had been changed, they knew that they were naked; and they ran in haste each to his own house to cover their nakedness, because they were ashamed.

And Matthew and Plato remained in the church spending the night, and glorifying God. And there remained also the king's wife, and his son and his wife, and they prayed the apostle to give them the seal in Christ. And Matthew gave orders to Plato; and he, having gone forth,

baptized them in the water of the fountain of the tree, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And so thereafter, having one into the church, they communicated in the holy mysteries of Christ; and they exulted and passed the night, they also along with the apostle, many others having also come with them; and all in the church sang the whole night, glorifying God.

And when the dawn had fully come, the blessed Matthew, having gone along with the bishop Plato, stood in the place in which the rod had been planted, and he sees the rod grown into a great tree, and near it a vine twined round it, and honey coming down from above even to its root; and that tree was at once beautiful and flourishing, like the plants in paradise, and a river proceeded from its root watering all the land of the city of Myrna. And all ran together, and ate of the fruit of the tree and the vine, just as any one wished.

And when what had come to pass was reported in the palace, the king Fulvanus, having learned what had been done by Matthew about his wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, rejoiced for a time at their purification; but seeing that they were inseparable from Matthew, he was seized with rage and anger, and endeavored to put him to death by fire. And on that night in which the king intended to lay hands on Matthew, Matthew saw Jesus saying to him: I am with thee always to save thee, Matthew; be strong, and be a man.

And the blessed Matthew, having awoke, and sealed himself over all the body, rose up at dawn, and proceeded into the church; and having bent his

knees, prayed earnestly. Then the bishop having come, and the clergy, they stood in common in prayer, glorifying God. And after they had ended the prayer, the bishop Plato said: Peace to thee, Matthew, apostle of Christ! And the blessed Matthew said to him: Peace to you! And when they had sat down, the apostle said to the bishop Plato, and to all the clergy: I wish you, children, to know, Jesus having declared it to me, that the king of this city is going to send soldiers against me, the devil having entered into him, and manifestly armed him against us. But let us give ourselves up to Jesus, and He will deliver us from every trial, and all who have believed in Him.

And the king, plotting against the blessed Matthew how he should lay hands on him, and seeing also that the believers were very many, was very much at fault, and was in great difficulty.

Therefore the wicked and unclean devil who had come forth from the king’s wife, and his son, and his daughter-in-law, put to flight by Matthew, having transformed himself into the likeness of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: O king, why art thou thus put to the worse by this stranger and sorcerer? Knowest thou not that he was a publican, but now he has been called an apostle by Jesus, who was crucified by the Jews? For, behold, thy wife, and thy son, and thy daughter-in-law, instructed by him, have believed in him, and along with him sing in the church. And now, behold, Matthew is going forth, and Plato with him, and they are going to the gate called Heavy; but make haste, and thou wilt find them, and thou shalt do to him all that may be pleasing in thine eyes.

The king having heard this, and being the more exasperated by the pretended soldier, sent against the blessed Matthew four soldiers, having threatened them, and said: Unless you bring Matthew to me, I shall burn you alive with fire; and the punishment which he is to undergo, you shall endure. And the soldiers, having been thus threatened by the king, go in arms to where the Apostle Matthew and the bishop Plato are. And when they came near them, they heard their speaking indeed, but saw no one. And having come, they said to the king: We pray thee, O king, we went and found no one, but only heard the voices of persons talking. And the king, being enraged, and having blazed up like fire, gave orders to send

other ten soldiers — man-eaters — saying to them: Go stealthily to the place, and tear them in pieces alive, and eat up Matthew, and Plato, who is with him. And when they were about to come near the blessed Matthew, the Lord Jesus Christ, having come in the likeness of a most beautiful boy, holding a torch of fire, ran to meet them, burning out their eyes. And they, having cried out and thrown their arms from them, fled, and came to the king, being speechless.

And the demon who had before appeared to the king in the from of a soldier, being again transformed into the form of a soldier, stood before the king, and said to him: Thou seest, O king, this stranger has bewitched them all. Learn, then, how thou shall take him. The king says to him: Tell me first wherein his strength is, that I may know, and then I will draw up against him with a great force. And the demon, compelled by an angel, says to the king: Since thou wishest to hear accurately about him, O king, I will tell thee all the truth. Really, unless he shall be willing to be taken by thee of his own accord, thou laborest in vain, and thou wilt not be able to hurt him; but if thou wishest to lay hands on him, thou wilt be struck by him with blindness, and thou wilt be paralyzed. And if thou send a multitude of soldiers against him, they also will be struck with blindness, and will be paralyzed. And we shall go, even seven unclean demons, and immediately make away with thee and thy whole camp, and destroy all the city with lightning, except those naming that awful and holy name of Christ; for wherever a footstep of theirs has come, thence, pursued, we flee. And even if thou shall apply fire to him, to him the fire will be dew; and if thou shalt shut him up in a furnace, to him the furnace will be a church; and if thou shalt put him in chains in prison, and seal up the floors, the doors will open to him of their own accord, and all who believe in that name will go in, even they, and say, This prison is a church of the living God, and a holy habitation of those that live alone. Behold, O king, I have told thee all the truth. The king therefore says to the pretended soldier: Since I do not know Matthew, come with me, and point him out to me from a distance, and take from me gold, as much as thou mayst wish, or go thyself, and with thy sword kill him, and Plato his associate. The demon says to him: I cannot kill him. I dare not even look into his face, seeing that he has destroyed all our generation through the name of Christ, proclaimed through him.

The king says to him: And who art thou? And he says: I am the demon who dwelt in thy wife, and in thy son, and in thy daughter-in-law; and my name is Asmodaeus; and this Matthew drove me out of them. And now, behold, thy wife, and thy son, and thy daughter-in-law sing along with him in the church. And I know, O king, that thou also after this wilt believe in him. The king says to him: Whoever thou art, spirit of many shapes, I adjure thee by the God whom he whom thou callest Matthew proclaims, depart hence without doing hurt to any one. And straightway the demon, no longer like a soldier, but like smoke, became invisible; and as he fled he cried out: O secret name, armed against us, I pray thee, Matthew, servant of the holy God, pardon me, and I will no longer remain in this city. Keep thou thine own; but I go away into the fire everlasting.

Then the king, affected with great fear at the answer of the demon, remained quiet that day. And the night having come, and he not being able to sleep because lie was hungry, leaped up at dawn, and went into the church, with only two soldiers without arms, to take Matthew by craft, that he might kill him. And having summoned two friends of Matthew, he said to them: Show to Matthew, says he, that I wish to be his disciple. And Matthew hearing, and knowing the craft of the tyrant, and having been warned also by the vision of the Lord to him, went forth out of the church, led by the hand by Plato, and stood in the gate of the church.

And they say to the king: Behold Matthew in the gate! And he says: Who he is, or where he is, I see not. And they said to him: Behold, he is in sight of thee. And he says: All the while I see nobody. For he had been blinded by the power of God. And he began to cry out: Woe to me, miserable! what evil has come upon me, for my eyes have been blinded, and all my limbs paralyzed? O Asmodaeus Beelzebul Satan! all that thou hast said to me has come upon me. But I pray thee, Matthew, servant of God, forgive me as the herald of the good God; for assuredly the Jesus proclaimed by the three days ago through the night appeared to me altogether resplendent as with lightning, like a beautiful young man, and said to me, Since thou art entertaining evil counsels in the wickedness of thine heart in regard to my servant Matthew, know I have disclosed to him that through thee will be the release of his body. And straightway I saw him going up into heaven. If therefore he is thy God, and if he wishes thy body to be buried in our city for a testimony of the salvation of the generations after this, and for

the banishing of the demons, I shall know the truth for myself by this, by thee laying on hands upon me, and I shall receive my sight. And the apostle having laid his hands upon his eyes, and saying EPHPHATHA, Jesus, he made him receive his sight instantly.

And straightway the king, laying hold of the apostle, and leading him by the right hand, brought him by craft into the palace; and Plato was on Matthew's left hand, going along with him, and keeping hold of him. Then Matthew says: O crafty tyrant, how long dost thou not fulfill the works of thy father the devil? And he was enraged at what had been said; for he perceived that he would inflict upon him a more bitter death. For he resolved to put him to death by fire. And he commanded several executioners to come, and to lead him away to the place by the seashore, where the execution of malefactors was wont to take place, saying to the executioners: I hear, says he, that the God whom he proclaims delivers from fire those who believe in him. Having laid him, therefore, on the ground on his back, and stretched him out, pierce his hands and feet with iron nails, and cover him over with paper, having smeared it with dolphins' oil, and cover him up with brimstone and asphalt and pitch, and put tow and brushwood above. Thus apply the fire to him; and if any of the same tribe with him rise up against you, he shall get the same punishment.

And the apostle exhorted the brethren to remain undismayed, and that they should rejoice, and accompany him with great meekness, singing and praising God, because they were deemed worthy to have the relics of the apostle. Having therefore come to the place, the executioners, like most evil wild beasts, pinned down to the ground Matthew's hands and feet with long nails; and having done everything as they had been bid, applied the fire. And they indeed labored closely, kindling it all round; but all the fire was changed into dew, so that the brethren, rejoicing, cried out: The only God is the Christians', who assists Matthew, in whom also we have believed: the only God is the Christians', who preserves His own apostle in the fire. And by the voice the city was shaken. And some of the executioners, having gone forth, said to the king: We indeed, O king, by every contrivance of vengeance, have kindled the fire; but the sorcerer by a certain name puts it out, calling upon Christ, and invoking his cross; and

the Christians surrounding him play with the fire, and walking in it with naked feet, laugh at us, and we have fled ashamed.

Then he ordered a multitude to carry coals of fire from the furnace of the bath in the palace, and the twelve gods of gold and silver; and place them, says he, in a circle round the sorcerer, lest he may even somehow bewitch the fire from the furnace of the palace. And there being many executioners and soldiers, some carried the coals; and others, bearing the gods, brought them. And the king accompanied them, watching lest any of the Christians should steal one of his gods, or bewitch the fire. And when they came near the place where the apostle was nailed down, his face was looking towards heaven, and all his body was covered over with the paper, and much brushwood over his body to the height of ten cubits. And baring ordered the soldiers to set the gods in a circle round Matthew, five cubits off, securely fastened that they might not fall, again he ordered the coal to be thrown on, and to kindle the fire at all points.

And Matthew, having looked up to heaven, cried out, ADONAI ELOI SABAOTH MARMARI MARMUNTH; that is, O God the Father, O Lord Jesus Christ, deliver me, and burn down their gods which they worship; and let the fire also pursue the king even to his palace, but not to his destruction: for perhaps he will repent and be converted. And when he saw the fire to be monstrous in height, the king, thinking that Matthew was burnt up, laughed aloud, and said: Has thy magic been of any avail to thee, Matthew? Can thy Jesus now give thee any help?

And as he said this a dreadful wonder appeared; for all the fire along with the wood went away froth Matthew, and was poured round about their gods, so that nothing of the gold or the silver was any more seen; and the king fled, and said: Woe’s me, that my gods are destroyed by the rebuke of Matthew, of which the weight was a thousand talents of gold and a thousand talents of silver. Better are the gods of stone and of earthenware, in that they are neither melted nor stolen.

And when the fire had thus utterly destroyed their gods, and burnt up many soldiers, there came to pass again another stranger wonder. For the fire, in the likeness of a great and dreadful dragon, chased the tyrant as far as the palace, and ran hither and thither round the king, not letting him go into the palace. And the king, chased by the fire, and not allowed to go

into his palace, turned back to where Matthew was, and cried out, saying: I beseech thee, whoever thou art, O mail, whether magician or sorcerer or God, or angel of God, whom so great a pyre has not touched, remove from me this dreadful and fiery dragon; forget the evil I have done, as also when thou madest me receive my sight. And Matthew, having rebuked the fire, and the flames having been extinguished, and the dragon having become invisible, stretching his eyes to heaven, and praying in Hebrew, and commending his spirit to the Lord, said: Peace to you! And having glorified the Lord, he went to his rest about the sixth hour.

Then the king, having ordered more soldiers to come, and the bed to be brought from the palace, which had a great show of gold, he ordered the apostle to be laid on it, and carried to the palace. And the body of the apostle was lying as if in sleep, and his robe and his tunic unstained by the fire; and sometimes they saw him on the bed, and sometimes following, and sometimes going before the bed, and with his right hand put upon Plato's head, and singing along with the multitude, so that both the king and the soldiers, with the crowd, were struck with astonishment. And many diseased persons and demoniacs, having only touched the bed, were made sound; and as many as were savage in appearance, in that same hour were changed into the likeness of other men.

And as the bed was going into the palace, we all saw Matthew rising up, as it were, from the bed, and going into heaven, led by the hand by a beautiful boy; and twelve men in shining garments came to meet him, having never-fading and golden crowns on their head; and we saw how that child crowned Matthew, so as to be like them, and in a flash of lightning they went away to heaven.

And the king stood at the gate of the palace, and ordered that no one should come in but the soldiers carrying the bed. And having shut the doors, he ordered an iron coffin to be made, put the body of Matthew into it, and sealed it up with lead; through the eastern gate of the palace at midnight put it into a boat, no one knowing of it, and threw it into the deep part of the sea.

And through the whole night the brethren remained before the gate of the palace, spending the night, and singing; and when the dawn rose there was a voice: O bishop Plato, carry the Gospel and the Psalter of David; go

along with the multitude of the brethren to the east of the palace, and sing the Alleluia, and read the Gospel, and bring as an offering the holy bread; and having pressed three clusters from the vine into a cup, communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us how to offer up when He rose from the dead on the third day.

And the bishop having run into the church, and taken the Gospel and the Psalter of David, and having assembled the presbyters and the multitude of the brethren, came to the east of the palace at the hour of sunrise; and having ordered the one who was singing to go upon a certain lofty stone, he began to praise in singing of a song to God: Precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints. And again: I laid me down and slept; I arose: because the Lord will sustain me. And they listened to the singing of a song of David: Shall he that is dead not rise again? Now I shall raise him up for myself, saith the Lord. And all shouted out the Alleluia. And the bishop read the Gospel, and all cried out: Glory to Thee, Thou who hast been glorified in heaven and on earth. And so then they offered the gift of the holy offering for Matthew; and having partaken for thanksgiving of the undefiled and life-giving mysteries of Christ, they all glorified God.

And it was about the sixth hour, and Plato sees the sea opposite about seven furlongs off; and, behold, Matthew was standing on the sea, and two men, one on each side, in shining garments, and the beautiful boy in front of them. And all the brethren saw these things, and they heard them saying Amen, Alleluia. And one could see the sea fixed like a stone of crystal, and the beautiful boy its front of them, when out of the depth of the sea a cross came up, and at the end of the cross the coffin going up in which was the body of Matthew; and in the hour of the piercing on the cross, the boy placed the coffin on the ground, behind the palace towards the east, where the bishop had offered the offering for Matthew.

And the king having seen these things from the upper part of the house, and being terror-struck, went forth from the palace, and ran and worshipped towards the east at the coffin, and fell down before the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, in repentance and confession, saying: Truly I believe in the true God, Christ Jesus. I entreat, give me the seal in Christ, and I will give you my palace, in testimony of Matthew, and you shall put the coffin upon my golden bed, in the great dining-room;

only, having baptized me in it, communicate to me the Eucharist of Christ. And the bishop having prayed, and ordered him to take off his clothes, and having examined him for a long time, and he having confessed and wept over what he had done, having sealed him, and anointed him with oil, put him down into the sea, in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And when he came up from the water he ordered him to put on himself splendid garments, and so then having given praise and thanks, communicating the holy bread and mixed cup, the bishop first gave them to the king, saying: Let this body of Christ, and this cup, His blood shed for us, be to thee for the remission of sins unto life. And a voice was heard from on high: Amen, amen, amen. And when he had thus communicated in fear and joy, the apostle appeared and said: King Fulvanus, thy name shall no longer be Fulvanus; but thou shall be called Matthew. And thou, the son of the king, shall no longer be called Fulvanus, but Matthew also; and thou Ziphagia, the wife of the king, shall be called Sophia; and Erva, the wife of your son, shall be called Synesis. And these names of yours shall be written in the heavens, and there shall not fail of your loins from generation to generation. And in that same hour Matthew appointed the king a presbyter, and he was thirty-seven years old; and the king's son he appointed deacon, being seventeen years old; and the king's wife he appointed a presbyteress; and his son's wife he appointed a deaconess, and she also was seventeen years old. And then he thus blessed them, saying: The blessing and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be with you to time everlasting.

Then the king, having awakened out of sleep, and rejoiced with all his house at the vision of the holy Apostle Matthew, praised God.

And the king, having gone into his palace, broke all the idols to pieces, and gave a decree to those in his kingdom, writing thus: King Matthew, to all those under my kingdom, greeting. Christ having appeared upon earth, and having saved the human race, the so-called gods nave been found to be deceivers, and soul-destroyers, and plotters against the human race. Whence, divine grace having shone abroad, and come even to us, and we having come to the knowledge of the deception of the idols, that it is vain and false, it has seemed good to our divinity that there should not be many gods, but one, and one only, the God in the heavens. And you, having received this our decree, keep to the purport of it, and break to pieces and

destroy every idol; and if any one shall be detected from this time forth serving idols, or concealing them, let such an one be subjected to punishment by the sword. Farewell all, because we also are well.

And when this order was given out, all, rejoicing and exulting, broke their idols to pieces, crying out and saying: There is one only God, He who is in the heavens, who does good to men.

And after all these things had come to pass, Matthew the apostle of Christ appeared to the bishop Plato, and said to him: Plato, servant of God, and our brother, be it known unto thee, that after three years shall be thy rest in the Lord, and exultation to ages of ages. And the king himself, whom after my own name I have called Matthew, shall receive the throne of thy bishopric, and after him his son. And he, having said Peace to thee and all the saints, went to heaven.

And after three years the bishop Plato rested in the Lord. And King Matthew succeeded him, having given up his kingdom willingly to another, whence there was given him grace against unclean demons, and he cured every affliction. And he advanced his son to be a presbyter, and made him second to himself.

And Saint Matthew finished his course in the country of the man-eaters, in the city of Myrna, on the sixteenth of the month of November, our Lord Jesus Christ reigning, to whom be glory and strength, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLE THOMAS

AT that time we the apostles were all in Jerusalem — Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the tax-gatherer; James of Alphaeus and Simon the Cananaean; and Judas of James; — and we portioned out the regions of the world, in order that each one of us might go into the region that fell to him, and to the nation to which the Lord sent him. By lot, then, India fell to Judas Thomas, also called Didymus. And he did not wish to go, saying that he was not able to go on account of the weakness of the flesh; and how can I, being an Hebrew man, go among the Indians to proclaim the truth? And while he was thus reasoning and speaking, the Savior appeared to him through the night, and said to him: Fear not, Thomas; go away to India, and proclaim the word; for my grace shall be with thee. But he did not obey, saying: Wherever Thou wishest to send me, send me elsewhere; for to the Indians I am not going.

And as he was thus speaking and growing angry, there happened to be there a certain merchant come from India, by name Abbanes, sent from the king Gundaphoros, and having received an order froth him to buy a carpenter and bring him to him. And the Lord, having seen him walking about in the market at noon, said to him: Dost thou wish to buy a carpenter? And he said to Him: Yes. And the Lord said to him: I have a slave a carpenter, and I wish to sell him. And having said this, He showed him Thomas at a distance, and agreed with him for three pounds of uncoined silver; and He wrote a bill of sale, saying: I Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, declare that I have sold my slave, Judas by name, to thee Abbanes, a merchant of Gundaphoros, the king of the Indians. And the purchase being completed, the Savior taking Judas, who also is Thomas, led him to Abbanes the merchant; and Abbanes seeing him, said to him: Is this thy master? And the apostle answered and said: Yes, He is my Lord. And he says: I have bought thee from him. And the apostle held his peace.

And at dawn of the following day, the apostle having prayed and entreated the Lord, said: I go wherever Thou wishest, O Lord Jesus; Thy will be done. And he went to Abbanes the merchant, carrying nothing at all with him, but only his price. For the Lord had given it to him, saying: Let thy worth also be with thee along with my grace, wherever thou mayst go. And the apostle came up with Abbanes, who was carrying his effects into the boat. He began therefore also to carry them along with him. And when they had gone on board and sat down, Abbanes questioned the apostle, saying: What kind of work dost thou know? And he said: In wood, ploughs, and yokes, and balances, and boats, and boats' oars, and masts, and blocks; in stone, slabs, and temples, and royal palaces. And Abbanes the merchant said to him: Of such a workman, to be sure, we have need. They began, therefore, to sail away. And they had a fair wind, and they sailed fist until they came to Andrapolis, a royal city.

And having gone out of the boat, they went into the city. And, behold, the voices of flute-players, and of water-organs, and trumpets, sounding round them; and the apostle inquired, saying: What festival is this in this city? And those who were there said to him: The gods have brought thee also, that thou mayst be feasted in this city. For the king has an only-begotten daughter, and he is now giving her to a husband in marriage: this festival, then, which thou seest today, is the rejoicing and public assembly for the marriage. And the king has sent forth heralds to proclaim everywhere that all are to come to the marriage, rich and poor, bond and free, strangers and citizens. And if any one shall refuse and not come to the marriage, he will be answerable to the king. And Abbanes having heard, said to the apostle: Let us also go, then, that we may not offend the king, and especially as we are strangers. And he said: Let us go. And having turned into the inn, and rested a little, they went to the marriage. And the apostle seeing them all reclining, reclined he also in the midst. And they all looked at him as a stranger, and coming from a foreign land. And Abbanes the merchant, as being a Lord, reclined in another place.

And when they had dined and drunk, the apostle tasted nothing. Those, then, about him said to him: Why hast thou come hither, neither eating nor drinking? And he answered and said to them: For something greater than food or even drink have I come hither, even that I might accomplish the will of the King. For the heralds proclaim the wishes of the King, and

whoever will not hear the heralds will be liable to the judgment of the King. When, therefore, they had dined and drunk, and crowns and perfumes had been brought, each took perfume, and one anointed his face, another his cheek, and one one part of his body, and another another. And the apostle anointed the crown of his head, and put a little of the ointment in his nostrils, and dropped it also into his ears, and applied it also to his teeth, and carefully anointed the parts round about his heart; and having taken the crown that was brought to him wreathed of myrtle and other flowers, he put it on his head, and took a branch of reed in his hand, and held it.

And the flute-girl, holding the flutes in her hand, went round them all; and when she came to the place where the apostle was, she stood over him, playing the flute over his head a long time. And that flute-girl was Hebrew by race.

And as the apostle looked away to the ground, a certain one of the wine-pourers stretched forth his hand and struck him. And the apostle, having raised his eyes, and regarded him who had struck him, said: My God will forgive thee this wrong in the world to come, but in this world He will show His wonders, and I shall soon see that hand that struck me dragged along by a dog. And having thus spoken, he began to sing and to repeat this song: —

Maiden, daughter of the light, in whom there exists and abides the majestic splendor of kings; and delightsome is the sight of her, resplendent with brilliant beauty. Her garments are like spring flowers, and the odor of a sweet smell is given forth from them; and on the crown of her head the king is seated, feeding with his own ambrosia those who are seated beside him; and truth rests upon her head, and she shows forth joy with her feet; and becomingly does she open her mouth; thirty-and-two are they who sing her praises, and their tongue is like a curtain of the door which is drawn for them who go in; and her neck is made in the likeness of the stairs which the first Creator created; and her two hands signify and represent the choral dance of the blessed ages, proclaiming it; and her fingers represent the gates of the city. Her chamber lighted up breathes forth scent from balsam and every perfume, and gives forth a sweet odor of myrrh and savory herbs; and within are strewn myrtles and

sweet-smelling flowers of all kinds; and the bridal chambers are adorned with calamus. And her groomsmen, of whom the number is seven, whom she has chosen for herself, surround her like a wall; and her bridesmaids are seven, who dance before her; and twelve are they in number who minister before her and are at her bidding, having their gaze and their sight upon the bridegroom, that through the sight of him they may be enlightened. And they shall be with him to everlasting in that everlasting joy, and they shall sit down in that wedding to which the great ones are gathered together, and they shall abide in the festivities of which the eternals are deemed worthy; and they shall be arrayed in royal raiment, and shall put on shining robes; and in joy and exultation both of them shall be, and they shall glorify the Father of the universe, whose majestic light they have received, and they have been enlightened by the sight of Him their Lord, whose ambrosial food they have received, of which there is no failing at all; and they have drunk also of the wine which brings to them no thirst, neither desire of the flesh; and they have with the living spirit glorified and praised the father of truth and the mother of wisdom.

And when he had sung and finished this song, all who were there present looked upon him and kept silence, and they also saw his form changed; and what had been said by him they did not understand, since he was a Hebrew, and what had been said by him had been said in Hebrew. But the flute-girl alone heard all, for she was Hebrew by race, and standing off from him she played the flute to the others; but at him she mostly turned her eyes and looked, for she altogether loved him as a man of the same nation with herself, and he was also beautiful in appearance above all who were there. And when the flute-girl had come to the end of all her flute-playing, she sat down opposite him, and looked and gazed upon him. But he looked at no one at all, neither did he regard any one, but only kept his eyes on the ground, waiting until he should depart thence. And that wine-pourer that struck him came down to the fountain to draw water; and there happened to be a lion there, and it came forth and killed him, and left him lying in the place, after tearing up his limbs; and dogs immediately seized his limbs, among which also one black dog, laying hold of his right hand in his mouth, brought it to the place of the banquet.

And all seeing were terror-struck, inquiring which of them had been taken off. And when it was clear that it was the hand of the wine-pourer who

had struck the apostle, the flute-girl broke her flutes in pieces, and threw them away, and went and sat down at the feet of the apostle, saying: This man is either God or God's apostle; for I heard him saying in Hebrew to the wine-pourer, I shall soon see the hand that struck me dragged about by dogs, which also you have now seen; for as he said, so also it has come to pass. And some believed her, and some not. And the king, having heard, came up and said to him: Rise up, and go with me, and pray for my daughter; for she is my only child, and today I give her away. And the apostle would not go with him; for his Lord had not at all been revealed to him there. And the king took him away against his will to the bridal-chamber, that he might pray for them.

And the apostle stood, and began to pray and speak thus: My Lord and my God, who accompanies His servants on their way, guiding and directing those who trust in Him, the refuge and the repose of the afflicted, the hope of the mourners, and the deliverer of the captives, the physician of the souls that are lying under disease, and Savior of every creature, who gives life to the world, and invigorates our souls! Thou knowest what will come to pass, who also for our sakes makest these things perfect: Thou, Lord, who revealest hidden mysteries, and declarest unspeakable words; Thou, Lord, the planter of the good tree, also through the tree makest words to spring up; Thou, Lord, who art in all, and camest through all, and existest in all Thy works, and makest Thyself manifest through the working of them all; Jesus Christ, the Son of compassion, and perfect Savior; Christ, Son of the living God, the undaunted Power which has overthrown the enemy; and the voice heard by the rulers, which shook all their powers; the ambassador who was sent to them from on high, and who wentest down even to Hades; who also, having opened the doors, didst bring out thence those that had been shut in for many ages by the controller of the world, and didst show them the way up that leads up on high: I beseech Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, I offer Thee supplication for these young persons, that Thou mayst make what happens and befalls them to be for their good. And having laid his hands on them, and said, The Lord will be with you, he left them in the place, and went away.

And the king requested the groomsmen to go out of the bridal-chamber; and all having gone forth, and the doors having been shut, the bridegroom raised the curtain of the bridal-chamber, that he might bring the bride to

himself. And he saw the Lord Jesus talking with the bride, and having the appearance of Judas Thomas, who shortly before had blessed them, and gone out from them; and he says to him: Didst thou not go out before them all? And how art thou found here? And the Lord said to him: I am not Judas, who also is Thomas; I am his brother. And the Lord sat down on the bed, and ordered them also to sit down on the seats; and He began to say to them: —

Keep in mind, my children, what my brother said to you, and to whom he commended you; and this know, that if you refrain from this filthy intercourse, you become temples holy and pure, being released from afflictions and troubles, known and unknown, and you will not be involved in the cares of life, and of children, whose end is destruction; but if you get many children, for their sakes you become grasping and avaricious, plundering orphans, coveting the property of widows, and by doing this you subject yourselves to most grievous punishments. For many children become unprofitable, being harassed by demons, some openly and others secretly: for they become either lunatics, or half-withered, or lame, or deaf, or dumb, or paralytics, or idiots; and even if they be in good health, they will be again good-for-nothing, doing unprofitable and abominable works: for they will be detected either in adultery, or in murder, or in theft, or in fornication, and by all these you will be afflicted. But if you will be persuaded, and preserve your souls pure to God, there will be born to you living children, whom these hurtful things do not touch; and you will be without care, spending an untroubled life, free from grief and care, looking forward to receive that marriage incorruptible and true; and you will be in it companions of the bridegroom, going in along with Him into that bridal-chamber full of immortality and light.

And when the young people heard this, they believed the Lord, and gave themselves over into His keeping, and refrained from filthy lust, and remained thus spending the night in the place. And the Lord went out from before them, having spoken thus to them: The grace of the Lord shall be with you. And the dawn having come on, the king arrived, and having supplied the table, brought it in before the bridegroom and the bride; and he found them sitting opposite each other, and he found the face of the bride uncovered, and the bridegroom was quite cheerful. And the mother

having come to the bride, said: Wherefore dost thou sit thus, child, and art not ashamed, but thus as if thou hadst for a long time lived with thine own husband? And her father said: Is it because of thy great love to thy husband that thou art uncovered?

And the bride answered and said: Truly, father, I am in great love, and I pray to my Lord to continue to me the love which I have experienced this night, and I shall beg for myself this husband whom I have experienced today. For this reason, then, I am no longer covered, since the mirror of shame has been taken away from me, and I am no longer ashamed nor abashed, since the work of shame and bashfulness has been removed far from me; and because I am not under any violent emotion, since violent emotion does not abide in me; and because I am in cheerfulness and joy, since the day of joy has not been disturbed; and because I hold of no account this husband, and these nuptials that have passed away from before mine eyes, since I have been joined in a different marriage; and because I have had no intercourse with a temporary husband, whose end is with lewdness and bitterness of soul, since I have been united to a true Husband.

And when the bride is saying yet more, the bridegroom answers and says: I thank Thee, Lord, who hast been proclaimed by the stranger and found by us; who hast put corruption far from me, and hast sown life in me; who hast delivered me from this disease, hard to heal, and hard to cure, and abiding for ever, and established in me sound health; who hast shown Thyself to me, and hast revealed to me all that concerns me, in which I am; who hast redeemed me from falling, and hast led me to something better, and who hast released me from things temporary, and hast deemed me worthy of things immortal and ever existing; who hast brought Thyself down even to me and to my littleness, in order that, having placed me beside Thy greatness, Thou mightest unite me to Thyself; who hast not withheld Thine own compassion from me lost, but hast shown me how to search myself, and to know what I was and what and how I am now, in order that I may again become as I was; whom I indeed did not know, but Thou Thyself whom I knew not hast sought me out and taken me to Thyself; whom I have experienced, and am not now able to forget, whose love is fervent in me; and speak indeed as I ought I cannot. But what I have time to say about Him is short, and altogether little, and not in

proportion to His glory; but He does not find fault with me for not being ashamed to say to Him even what I do not know; because it is through the love of Him that I say even this.

And the king, having heard these things from the bridegroom and the bride, rent his garments, and said to those standing near him: Go out quickly, and go round the whole city, and seize and bring me that man, the sorcerer, who has come for evil into this city: for I led him with my own hands into my house, and I told him to play for my most unfortunate daughter; and whoever shall find him and bring him to me, whatever service be shall ask of me, I give him. They went away, therefore, and went round seeking him, and found him not; for he had sailed. They went, therefore, also into the inn where he had stayed, and found there the flute-girl weeping and in distress, because he had not taken her with him. And they having recounted what had happened in the case of the young people, she was altogether glad when she heard it, and dismissed her grief, and said: Now have I found, even I, repose here. And she arose and went to them, and was with them a long time, until they had instructed the king also. And many also of the brethren were gathered together there, until they heard word of the apostle, that he had gone down to the cities of India, and was teaching there. And they went away, and joined him.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLE THOMAS,

WHEN HE CAME INTO INDIA, AND BUILT THE PALACE IN THE HEAVENS

AND when the apostle came into the cities of India, with Abbanes the merchant, Abbanes went away to salute Gundaphoros the king, and reported to him about the carpenter whom he bad brought with him; and the king was glad, and ordered him to come in to himself. And when he had come in, the king said to him: What trade knowest thou? The apostle says to him: The carpenter’s and house builder’s. The king says to him: What work in wood knowest thou, then, and what in stone? The apostle says: In wood, ploughs, yokes, balances, pulleys, and boats, and oars, and masts; and in stone, monuments, temples, royal palaces. And the king said: Wilt thou build me a palace? And he answered: Yes, I shall build it,

and finish it; for because of this I came, to build houses, and to do carpenter's work.

And the king having taken him, went forth out of the gates of the city, and began to talk with him on the way about the building of the palace, and about the foundations, how they should be laid, until they came to that place in which he wished the building to be. And he said: Here I wish the building to be. And the apostle says: Yes; for assuredly this place is convenient for the building. For the place was well wooded, and there was much water there. The king therefore says: Begin to build. And he said: I cannot begin to build at this time.

And the king says: When wilt thou be able? And he says: I shall begin in Dius and end in Xanthicus. And the king wondering, said: Every building is built in summer; but canst thou build and make a palace in winter itself? And the apostle said: Thus it must be, and otherwise it is impossible. And the king said: If, therefore, this be thy opinion, mark out for me how the work is to be, since I shall come here after some time. And the apostle, having taken a reed, measured the place, and marked it out; and he set the doors towards the rising of the sun, to look to the light, and the windows towards its setting, to the winds; and he made the bakehouse to be towards the south, and the water-tank, for abundance, towards the north. And the king seeing this, said to the apostle: Thou art a craftsman indeed, and it is fitting that thou shouldst serve kings. And having left many things for him, he went away.

And from time to time he also sent the money that was necessary, for the living both of him and the other workmen. And he taking it, dispenses it all, going about the cities and the places round, distributing and doing kindnesses to the poor and the afflicted, and gave them rest, saying: The king knows how to obtain royal recompense, and it is necessary for the poor to have repose for the present.

And after this, the king sent a messenger to the apostle, having written to him as follows: Show me what thou hast done, or what I am to send thee, or what thou needest. The apostle sends to him, saying: The palace is built, and only the roof remains to be done. And the king, having heard, sent him again gold and silver uncoined, and wrote to him: Let the palace, if it be done, be roofed. And the apostle said to the Lord: I thank Thee,

Lord, as to all things, that Thou didst die for a short time, that I might live in Thee for ever; and hast sold me, so that Thou mayst deliver many through me. And he did not cease to teach and refresh the afflicted, saying: These things the Lord hath dispensed to us, and He gives to each his food; for He is the support of the orphans, and the provider of the widows, and to all that are afflicted He is rest and repose.

And when the king came into the city, he inquired of his friends about the palace which Judas, who also is Thomas, had built; and they said to him: He has neither built a palace, nor done anything else of what he promised to do; but he goes round the cities and the districts, and if he has anything he gives all to the poor, and teaches one new God, and heals the diseased, and drives out demons, and does many other extraordinary things; and we think that he is a magician. But his acts of compassion, and the cures done by him as a free gift, and still more, his single-mindedness, and gentleness, and fidelity, show that he is a just man, or an apostle of the new God whom he preaches; for he continually fasts and prays, and eats only bread with salt, and his drink is water, and he carries one coat, whether in warm weather or in cold, and he takes nothing from any one, but gives to others even what he has. The king having heard this, stroked his face with his hands, shaking his head for a long time.

And he sent for the merchant that had brought him, and for the apostle, and said to him: Hast thou built me the palace? And he said: Yes, I have built it. And the king said: When, then, are we to go and see it? And he answered and said: Now thou canst not see it; but when thou hast departed this life, thou shalt see it. And the king, quite enraged, ordered both the merchant, and Judas who also is Thomas, to be put in chains, and to be cast into prison, until he should examine, and learn to whom he had given the king’s property. And thus I shall destroy him along with the merchant. And the apostle went to prison rejoicing, and said to the merchant: Fear nothing at all, but only believe in the God proclaimed by me, and thou shalt be freed from this world, and thou shall obtain life in the world to come.

And the king considered by what death he should kill them; and when it seemed good to him to flay them, and burn them with fire, on that very night Gad the king’s brother fell ill, and through the grief and imposition

which the king suffered he was grievously depressed; and having sent for the king, he said to him: My brother the king, I commend to thee my house and my children; for I, on account of the insult that has befallen thee, have been grieved, and am dying; and if thou do not come down with vengeance upon the head of that magician, thou wilt give my soul no rest in Hades. And the king said to his brother: During the whole night I have considered this, how I shall put him to death; and this has seemed good to me — to flay him and burn him up with fire, both him and with him the merchant that brought him.

And as they were talking together, the soul of Gad his brother departed. And the king mourned for Gad exceedingly, for he altogether loved him. And he ordered him to be prepared for burial in a royal and costly robe. And as this was being done, angels received the soul of Gad the king's brother, and took it up into heaven, showing him the places and dwellings there, asking him: In what sort of a place dost thou wish to dwell? And when they came near the edifice of Thomas the apostle, which he had built for the king, Gad, seeing it, said to the angels, I entreat you, my lords, permit me to dwell in one of the underground chambers of this palace. And they said to him: Thou canst not dwell in this building. And he said: Wherefore? They say to him: This palace is the one which that Christian built for thy brother. And he said: I entreat you, my lords, permit me to go to thy brother, that I may buy this palace from him; for my brother does not know what it is like, and he will sell it to me.

Then the angels let the soul of Gad go. And as they were putting on him the burial robe, his soul came into him. And he said to those standing round him: Call my brother to me, that I may beg of him one request. Straightway, therefore, they sent the good news to their king, saying: Thy brother has come alive again. And the king started up, and along with a great multitude went to his brother, and went in and stood beside his bed as if thunderstruck, not being able to speak to him. And his brother said: I know and am persuaded, brother, that if any one asked of thee the haft of thy kingdom, thou wouldst give it for my sake; wherefore I entreat thee to grant me one favor, which I beg of thee to do me. And the king answered and said: And what is it that thou askest me to do for thee? And he said: Assure me by an oath that thou wilt grant it me. And the king swore to him: Of what belongs to me, whatever thou shalt ask, I will give thee. And

he says to him: Sell me that palace which thou hast in the heavens. And the king said: Whence does a palace in the heavens belong to me? And he said: That which the Christian who is now in the prison, whom the merchant bought froth a certain Jesus, and brought to thee, built for thee. And as he was at a loss, he says to him again: I speak of that Hebrew slave whom thou didst wish to punish, as having suffered some imposition from him, on account of whom I also was grieved and died, and now have come alive again.

Then the king, having come to know, understood about the eternal benefits that were conferred upon him and destined for him, and said: That palace I cannot sell thee, but I pray thee to go into it, and dwell there, and become worthy to be of its inhabitants; but if thou really wishest to buy such a palace, behold, the man is alive, and will build thee a better than that. And having sent immediately, he brought out of the prison the apostle, and the merchant who had been shut up along with him, saying: I entreat thee, as a man entreating the servant of God, that thou wilt pray for me, and entreat him whose servant thou art, to pardon me, and overlook what I have done to thee, or even what I meant to do, and that I may be worthy to be an inhabitant of that house for which indeed I have labored nothing, but which thou laboring alone hast built for me, the grace of thy God working with thee; and that I may become a servant, I also, and slave of this God whom thou proclaimest. And his brother, falling down before the apostle, said: I entreat thee, and supplicate before thy God, that I may become worthy of this ministry and service, and may be allotted to become worthy of those things which were shown me by his angels.

And the apostle, seized with joy, said: I make full confession to Thee, Lord Jesus, that Thou hast revealed Thy truth in these men: for Thou alone art a God of truth, and not another; and Thou art He who knowest all things that are unknown to many: Thou art He, Lord, who in all things showest compassion and mercy to men; for men, through the error that is in them, have overlooked Thee, but Thou hast not overlooked them. And now, when I am entreating and supplicating Thee, accept the king and his brother, and unite them into Thy fold, having cleansed them by Thy purification, and anointed them with Thy oil, from the error which encompasseth them; and protect them also from the wolves, bringing them into Thy meadows; and give them to drink of Thy ambrosial fountain, that

is never muddy and never faileth: for they entreat Thee, and supplicate, and wish to become Thy ministers and servants; and on account of this they are well pleased even to be persecuted by Thine enemies, and for Thy sake to be hated by them, and insulted, and to die; as Thou also for our sakes didst suffer all these things, that Thou mightst gain us to Thyself, as being Lord, and truly a good shepherd. And do Thou grant them that they may have confidence in Thee alone, and aid from Thee, and hope of their salvation, which they obtain from Thee alone, and that they may be confirmed in Thy mysteries; and they shall receive the perfect benefits of Thy graces and gifts, and flourish in Thy service, and bear fruit to perfection in Thy Father.

King Gundaphoros, therefore, and Gad, having been altogether set apart by the apostle, followed him, not at all going back, they also providing for those that begged of them, giving to all, and relieving all. And they entreated him that they might also then receive the seal of baptism; and they said to him: As our souls are at ease, and as we are earnest about God, give us the seal; for we have heard thee saying that the God whom thou proclaimest recognizes through his seal his own sheep. And the apostle said to them: And I am glad, and entreat you to receive this seal, and to communicate with me in this thanksgiving and blessing of God, and to be made perfect in it; for this Jesus Christ whom I proclaim is Lord and God of all, and He is the Father of truth, in whom I have taught you to believe. And he ordered to bring them oil, in order that through the oil they might receive the seal. They brought the oil, therefore, and lighted many lamps, for it was night.

And the apostle arose, and sealed them; and the Lord was revealed to them, through a voice saying, Peace to you, brethren! And they heard His voice only, but His form they saw not; for they had not yet received the ratification of the seal. And the apostle, having taken oil, and poured it over their head, and salved and anointed them, began to say: Come, holy name of Christ, which is above every name; come, power of the Most High, and perfect compassion; come, grace most high; come, compassionate mother; come, thou that hast charge of the male child; come, thou who revealest secret mysteries; come, mother of the seven houses, that there may be rest for thee in the eighth house; come, thou presbyter of the five members — intelligence, thought, purpose, reflection,

reasoning — communicate with these young persons; come, Holy Spirit, and purify their reins and heart, and seal them in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. And when they had been sealed, there appeared to them a young man holding a burning torch, so that their lamps were even darkened by the approach of its light. And he went out, and disappeared from their sight. And the apostle said to the Lord: Thy light, Lord, is too great for us, and we cannot bear it; for it is too much for our sight. And when light came, and it was dawn, having broken bread, he made them partakers of the thanksgiving of Christ. And they rejoiced and exulted; and many others also believed, and were added, and came to the refuge of the Savior.

And the apostle ceased not proclaiming, and saying to them: Men and women, boys and girls, young men and maidens, vigorous and aged, both bond and free, withhold yourselves from fornication, and covetousness, and the service of the belly; for under these three heads all wickedness comes. For fornication maims the mind, and darkens the eyes of the soul, and becomes a hindrance of the due regulation of the body, changing the whole man into feebleness, and throwing the whole body into disease. And insatiableness puts the soul into fear and shame, existing by what pertains to the body, and forcibly seizing what belongs to another;... and the service of the belly throws the soul into cares and troubles and griefs.... Since, therefore, you have been set free from these, you are without care, and without grief, and without fear; and there remains to you that which was said by the Savior: Take no care for the morrow, for the morrow will take care of itself. Keep in mind also that saying before mentioned: Look upon the ravens, and behold the fowls of the heaven, that they neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns, and God takes care of them; bow much more you, O ye of little faith! But look for His appearing, and have your hopes in Him, and believe in His name: for He is the Judge of living and dead, and He requites to each one according to his deeds; and at His coming and appearance at last no one will have as a ground of excuse, when he comes to be judged by Him, that he has not heard. For His heralds are proclaiming in the four quarters of the world. Repent, therefore, and believe the message, and accept the yoke of gentleness and the light burden, that you may live and not die. These things lay hold of, these things keep; come forth from the darkness, that the light may receive

yen; come to Him who is truly good, that from Him you may receive grace, and place His sign upon your souls.

When he had thus said, some of the bystanders said to him: It is time for this debtor to receive his debt. And he said to them: The creditor, indeed, always wishes to receive more; but let us give him what is proper. And having blessed them, he took bread and oil, and herbs and salt, and gave them to eat. But he continued in his fasting, for the Lord's day was about to dawn. And on the night following, while he was asleep, the Lord came and stood by his head, saying: Thomas, rise up early and bless them all; and after the prayer and service go along the eastern road two miles, and there I shall show in thee my glory. For because thou goest away, many shall flee to me for refuge, and thou shalt reprove the nature and the power of the enemy. And having risen up from sleep, he said to the brethren who were with him: Children and brethren, the Lord wishes to do something or other today through me; but let us pray and entreat Him that nothing may be a hindrance to us towards Him, but as at all times let it now also be done unto us according to His purpose and will. And having thus spoken, he laid his hands upon them and blessed them. And having broken the bread of the Eucharist, he gave it to them, saying: This Eucharist shall be to you for compassion, and mercy, and recompense, and not for judgment. And they said: Amen.

ABOUT THE DRAGON AND THE YOUNG MAN

And the apostle went forth to go where the Lord had bidden him. And when he came near the second milestone he turned a little out of the way, and saw the body of a beautiful youth lying; and he said: Lord, was it for this that Thou broughtest me out to come here, that I might see this trial? Thy will therefore be done, as Thou purposest. And he began to pray, and to say: Lord, Judge of the living, and of those that are lying dead, and Lord of all, and Father — Father not only of the souls that are in bodies, but also of those that have gone out of them; for of the souls that are in pollutions Thou art Lord and Judge — come at this time, when I call upon Thee, and show Thy glory upon him that is lying down here. And he turned and said to those that followed him: This affair has not happened idly; but the enemy has wrought and effected this, that he might make an

assault upon him; and you see that he has availed himself of no other form, and has wrought through no other living being, but through his subject.

And when the apostle had thus spoken, behold, a great dragon came forth from his den, knocking his head, and brandishing his tail down to the ground, and, using a loud voice, said to the apostle: I shall say before thee for what cause I have put him to death, since thou art here in order to reprove my works. And the apostle says: Yes, say on. And the dragon: There is a certain woman in this place exceedingly beautiful; and as she was once passing by, I saw her, and fell in love with her, and I followed and watched her; and I found this young man kissing her, and he also had intercourse with her, and did with her other shameful things. And to me indeed it was pleasant to tell thee this, for I know that thou art the twin-brother of Christ, and always bringest our race to nought. But, not wishing to harass her, I did not at this time put him to death; but I watched him passing by in the evening, and struck him, and killed him, and especially as he had dared to do this on the Lord’s day. And the apostle inquired of him, saying: Tell me, of what seed and of what race art thou?

And he said to him: I am the offspring of the race of the serpent, and hurtful of the hurtful; I am son of him who hurt and struck the four brothers that stood; I am son of him who sits on the throne of destruction, and takes his own from what he has lent; I am son of that apostate who encircles the globe; I am kinsman to him who is outside of the ocean, whose tail lies in his mouth; I am he who went into paradise through the hedge, and spoke with Eve what my father bade me speak to her; I am he who inflamed and fired Cain to kill his brother, and through me thorns and prickles sprang up in the ground; I am he who cast down the angels from above, and bound them down by the desires of women, that earth-born children might be produced froth them, and that I might work my will in them; I am he who hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that he should murder the children of Israel, and keep them down by the hard yoke of slavery; I am he who caused the multitude to err in the desert when they made the calf; I am he who inflamed Herod and incited Caiaphas to the lying tales of falsehood before Pilate, for this became me; I am he who inflamed Judas, and bought him, that he should betray Christ; I am he who inhabits and holds the abyss of Tartarus, and the Son of God has wronged me against my will, and has gathered his own out of me; I am the kinsman of him who

is to come from the east, to whom also power has been given to do whatever he will upon the earth.

And that dragon having thus spoken in the hearing of all the multitude, the apostle raised his voice on high, and said: Cease henceforth, O thou most unabashed, and be ashamed and altogether put to death; for the end of thy destruction is at hand, and do not dare to say what thou hast done through thy dependants. And I order thee, in the name of that Jesus who even until now makes a struggle against you for the sake of His own human beings, to suck out the poison which thou hast put into this man, and to draw it forth, and take it out of him. And the dragon said: The time of our end is by no means at hand, as thou hast said. Why dost thou force me to take out what I have put into him, and to die before the time? Assuredly, when my father shall draw forth and suck out what he has put into the creation, then his end will come. And the apostle said to him: Show us, therefore, now the nature of thy father. And the dragon went up, and put his mouth upon the wound of the young man, and sucked the gall out of it. And in a short time the skin of the young man, which was like purple, grew white, and the dragon swelled. And when the dragon had drawn up all the gall into himself, the young man sprang up and stood, and ran and fell at the apostle's feet. And the dragon, being swelled up, shrieked out and died, and his poison and gall were poured forth; and in the place where his poison was poured forth there was made a great chasm, and that dragon was swallowed up. And the apostle said to the king and his brother: Take workmen, and fill up the place in which the dragon has been swallowed up, and lay foundations, and build houses-above it, that it may be made a dwelling-place for the strangers.

And the young man said to the apostle, with many tears: I have sinned against the God proclaimed by thee, and against thee, but I ask pardon of thee; for thou art a man having two forms, and wherever thou wishest there art thou found, and thou art held in by no one, as I see. For I beheld that man, when I stood beside thee, who also said to thee, I have many wonders to show by means of thee, and I have great works to accomplish by means of thee, for which thou shall obtain a reward; and thou shall make many to live, and they shall be in repose and eternal light as the children of God: do thou therefore bring alive — he says, speaking to thee about me — this young man who has been cast down by the enemy, and

in all time be the overseer of him. Thou hast, then, well come hither, and again thou shall well go away to him, he being not at all forsaken by thee. And I am without care and reproach, for the dawn has risen upon me from the care of the night, and I am at rest; and I have also been released from him who exasperated me to do these things: for I have sinned against Him who taught me the contrary, and I have destroyed him who is the kinsman of the night, who forced me to sin by his own practices; and I have found that kinsman of mine who is like the light. I have destroyed him who darkens and blinds those who are subject to him, lest they should know what they are doing, and, ashamed of their works, withdraw themselves from them, and their deeds have an end: and I have found Him whose works are light, and whose deeds are truth, of which whoever does them shall not repent. I have been set free also from him in whom falsehood abides, whom darkness as a covering goes before, and shame conducting herself impudently in idleness follows after. And I have found also Him who shows me what is beautiful, that I should lay hold of it, the Son of the truth, who is kinsman of concord, who, driving away the mist, enlightens His own creation, and heals its wounds, and overturns its enemies. But I entreat thee, O man of God, make me again to behold and see Him, now become hidden from me, that I may also hear His voice, the wonders of which I cannot declare: for it is not of the nature of this bodily organ.

And the apostle said to him: If, as thou hast also said, thou hast cast off the knowledge of those things which thou hast received, and if thou knowest who has wrought these things in thee, and if thou shalt become a disciple and hearer of Him of whom, through thy living love, thou now desirest the sight, thou shalt both see Him, and shalt be with Him for ever, and shalt rest in His rest, and shalt be in His joy. But if thou art rather carelessly disposed towards Him, and again returnest to thy former deeds, and lettest go that beauty and that beaming countenance which has now been displayed to thee, and if the splendor of the light of Him whom thou now desirest be forgotten by thee, thou shalt be deprived not only of this life, but also of that which is to come; and thou shalt go to him whom thou hast said thou hast destroyed, and shalt no longer behold Him whom thou hast said thou hast found.

And when the apostle had thus spoken, he went into the city, holding that young man by the hand, and saying to him: Those things which thou hast beheld, my child, are a few out of the many which God has: for it is not about these things that appear that the good news is brought to us, but greater things than these are promised to us; but inasmuch as we are in the body, we cannot tell and speak out what He will do for our souls. If we say that He affords us light, it is seen by us, and we have it; and if riches, they exist and appear in this world, and we name them, since it has been said, With difficulty will a rich man enter into the kingdom of the heavens. And if we speak of fine clothing, which they who delight in this life put on, it has been said, They that wear soft things are in kings' palaces; and if costly dinners, about these we have received a commandment to keep away from them, not to be burdened by carousing and drunkenness and the cares of life; as also in the Gospel it has been said, Take no heed for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor for your body, what ye shall put on: because the life is more than food, and the body than clothing. And if we speak of this rest lasting only for a season, its judgment has also been ordained. But we speak about the upper world, about God and angels, about ambrosial food, about garments that last and become not old, about those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath there come into the heart of sinful men what God has prepared for those that love Him. Do thou also therefore believe in Him, that thou mayst live; and have confidence in Him, and thou shall never die. For He is not persuaded by gifts, that thou shouldst offer them to Him; nor does He want sacrifices, that thou shouldst sacrifice to Him. But look to Him, and thou shalt not look in vain, for His comeliness and desirable beauty will make thee love Him; and neither will He allow thee to turn thyself away from Him.

And when the apostle was thus speaking to that young man, a great multitude joined them. And the apostle looked, and saw them lifting themselves up that they might see him; and they went up into elevated places. And the apostle said to them: Ye men who have come to the assembly of Christ, and who wish to believe in Jesus, take an example from this, and see that if you do not get high up, you cannot see me, who am small, and cannot get a look of me, who am like yourselves. If, then, you cannot see me, who am like yourselves, unless you raise yourselves a

little from the earth, how can you see Him who lives above, and is now found below, unless you first raise yourselves out of your former behavior, and unprofitable deeds, and troublesome desires, and the riches that are left behind here, and create things that are of the earth, and that grow old, and the garments that are destroyed, and the beauty that ages and vanishes away, yea, even out of the whole body in which all these have been stored past, and which grows old, and becomes dust, returning into its own nature? for all these things the body itself sets up. But rather believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we proclaim to you, in order that your hope may be upon Him, and that you may have life in Him to ages of ages, that He may be your fellow-traveler in this land, and may release you from error, and may become a haven for you in this troublous sea. And there shall be for you also a fountain welling out in this thirsty land, and a fold full of food in the place of the hungry, and rest for your souls, and also a physician for your bodies.

Then the multitude of those assembled that heard, wept, and said to the apostle: O man of God, as for the God whom thou proclaimest, we dare not say that we are his, because our works which we have done are alien from him, not pleasing to him; but if he has compassion upon us, and pities us, and delivers us, overlooking our former doings; and if he set us free from the evil things which we did when we were in error, and shall not take into account nor keep the recollection of our former sins, we shall become his servants, and we shall do his will to the end. And the apostle answered and said to them: He does not reckon against you the sins which you did, being in error; but He overlooks your transgressions which you have done in ignorance.

ABOUT THE DEMON THAT DWELT IN THE WOMAN

And the apostle went into the city, all the multitude accompanying him; and he thought of going to the parents of the young man whom, when killed by the dragon, he had brought to life; for they earnestly entreated him to come to them, and to enter into their house.

And a certain woman, exceedingly beautiful, suddenly uttered a loud cry, saying: O apostle of the new God, who hast come into India, and servant of that holy and only good God — for through thee he is proclaimed the

Savior of the souls that come unto him, and through thee he heals the bodies of those that are punished by the enemy, and thou hast become the cause of life to all who turn to him — order me to be brought before thee, that I may declare to thee what has happened to me, and that perhaps there may be hope to me from thee and those who stand beside thee may have more and more hope in the God whom thou proclaimest. For I am not a little tormented by the adversary, who has assailed me for now a period of five years. As a woman, I formerly sat down in peace. and peace encompassed me on all sides and I had nothing to trouble me, for of nothing else had I a care. And it happened on one of the days as I was coming forth from the bath, there met me one like a man troubled and disturbed; and his voice and utterance seemed to me to be indistinct and very weak And he said, standing over against me, Thou and I shall be in one love, and we shall have intercourse with each other, as a man is coupled with his wife: And I answered him, saying, To my betrothed I consented not, entreating him not to marry me; and to thee, wishing to have intercourse with me as it were in adultery, how shall I give myself up? And having thus spoken, went away from him. And to my maid I said, Hast thou seen the young man and his shamelessness, how shamelessly and boldly he talks to me? And she said to me, It was an old man I saw talking with thee. And when I was in my own house, and had supped, my mind suggested to me some suspicion, and especially because he had appeared to me in two forms. I fell asleep, having this same thing in my thoughts. And he came that night, and made me share in his filthy commerce. And I saw him when it was day, and fled from him; but, according to his wont, he came at night and abused me. And now, as thou seest me, I have been tormented by him five years, and he has not departed from me. But I know and am persuaded that even demons, and spirits, and avenging deities, are subject to thee, and tremble at thy prayer. Pray, then, for me, and drive away from me the demon that torments me, that I also may become free, and may be brought to my former nature, and I shall receive the gift, that has been granted to my kindred.

And the apostle said: O irrepressible wickedness: O the shamelessness of the enemy! O the sorcerer that is never at rest! O the ill-favored one, bring to subjection the well-favored! O the many-formed one! He appears just as he may wish, but his essence cannot be changed. O offspring of the

crafty and insatiable one! O bitter tree, which also his fruits are like! O thou who art of the devil, who fights over those who do not belong to him! O thou who art of the deceit that uses shamelessness! O thou who art of the wickedness that creeps like a serpent, and art thyself his kindred! And when the apostle had thus spoken the fiend stood before him, no one seeing him but the woman and the apostle, and with a very loud voice he said in the hearing of all: What have we to do with thee, O apostle of the Most High? What have we to do with thee, O servant of Jesus Christ? What have we to do with thee, O thou that sittest in council with the Holy Spirit. Wherefore dost thou wish to destroy us, when our time has not yet come? On what account dost thou wish to take away our power? for until the present hour we have had hope and time left us. What have we to do with thee? Thou hast power over thine own, and we over our own. Why dost thou wish to use tyranny against us, and especially thou who teachest others not to use tyranny? Why dost thou want those who do not belong to thee, as if thou wert not satisfied with thine own? Why dost thou liken thyself to the Son of God, who has done us hurt? For thou art like him altogether, just as if thou hadst been brought forth by him. For we thought to bring him also under the yoke, like the rest; but he turned, and held us under his hand. For we did not know him; but he deceived us by the form which he had put on, and his poverty and his want; for when we saw him such, we thought him to be a man clothed with flesh, not knowing that it was he who makes men live. And he gave us power over our own, and, in the time in which we live, not to let our own go, but to employ ourselves about them. But thou wishest to get more than is necessary, or than has been given thee, and to overpower us.

And having thus spoken, the demon wept, saying: I let thee go, my most lovely yoke-fellow, whom I found long ago and was at rest; I leave thee, my beloved and trusty sister, in whom I was well pleased. What I shall do I know not, or whom I shall call upon to hear me and protect me. I know what I shall do. I shall go to some place where the fame of this man has not been heard, and perhaps I shall call thee, my beloved, by a new name. And lifting up his voice, he said: Abide in peace, having received an asylum with a greater than I; but I, as I have said, will go away and seek thy like, and if I find her not I shall again return to thee: for I know that when thou art beside this man, thou hast an asylum in him; but when he

has gone away, thou shalt be as thou wast before he made his appearance, and him indeed wilt thou forget, and to me there will again be opportunity and boldness; but now I am afraid of the name of him who has delivered thee. And having thus said, the demon disappeared. And just when he had disappeared, fire and smoke were seen there, and all there present were struck with amazement. And the apostle seeing this, said to them: Nothing strange or unusual has that demon shown, but his own nature, in which also he shall be burnt up; for the fire shall consume him, and the smoke of him shall be scattered abroad. And he began to say: O Jesus Christ, the secret mystery which has been revealed to us, Thou art He who disclosest to us all manner of mysteries, who hast set me apart from all my companions, and who hast told me three words with which I am set on fire, and I cannot tell them to others; O Jesus, man slain, dead, buried; Jesus, God of God, and Savior who bringest the dead to life, and healest those who are diseased; O Jesus, who appearest to be in want, and savest as if in want of nothing, catching the fishes for the morning and the evening meal, and establishing all in abundance with a little bread; Jesus, who didst rest from the toil of the journey as a man, and walk upon the waves as God; Jesus Most High, voice arising from perfect compassion, Savior of all, the right hand of the light overthrowing him that is wicked in his own kind, and bringing all his kind into one place; Thou who art only begotten, the first-born of many brethren, God of God Most High, man despised until now; Jesus Christ, who overlookest us not when we call upon Thee; who hast been shown forth to all in Thy human life; who for our sakes hast been judged and kept in prison, and freest all that are in bonds; who hast been called a deceiver, and who deliverest Thine own from deception: I entreat Thee in behalf of those standing and entreating Thee, and those that believe in Thee; for they pray to obtain Thy gifts, being of good hope in Thine aid, occupying Thy place of refuge in Thy majesty; they give audience, so as to hear from us the words that have been spoken to them. Let Thy peace come and dwell in them, that they may be purified from their former deeds, and may put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new now declared to them by me.

And having laid his hands on them, he blessed them, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon you for ever! And they said, Amen. And the woman begged of him, saying: Apostle of the Most High, give me the

seal, that that foe may not come back upon me again. Then he made her come near him; and putting his hand upon her, he sealed her in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And many others also were sealed along with her. And the apostle ordered his servant to set out a table; and they set out a bench which they found there. And having spread a linen cloth upon it, he put on it the bread of the blessing. And the apostle standing by it, said: Jesus Christ, Son of God, who hast deemed us worthy to communicate of the Eucharist of Thy sacred body and honorable blood, behold, we are emboldened by the thanksgiving and invocation of Thy sacred name; come now, and communicate with us. And he began to say: Come, perfect compassion; come, communion with mankind; come, Thou that knowest the mysteries of the chosen one; come, Thou that communicatest in all the combats of the noble combatant; come, peace that revealest the great things of all greatness; come, Thou that disclosest secrets, and makest manifest things not to be spoken; the sacred dove which has brought forth twin young; come, thou secret mother; come, Thou who art manifest in Thy deeds, and givest joy and rest to those who are united to Thee; come and communicate with us in this Eucharist, which we make in The name, and in the love in which we are united in calling upon Thee. And having thus said, he made the sign of the cross upon the bread, and broke it, and began to distribute it. And first he gave it to the woman, saying: This shall be to thee for remission of sins, and the ransom of everlasting transgressions. And after her, he gave also to all the others who had received the seal.

ABOUT THE YOUNG MAN WHE KILLED THE MAIDEN

And there was a certain young man who had done a nefarious deed; and having come to the apostle, he took the bread of the Eucharist into his mouth, and his two hands immediately withered, so that he could no longer bring them to his mouth. And those who were present and saw him told the apostle what had happened. And he, having summoned him, said: Tell me, my child, and be ashamed of nothing, what thou hast done, and why thou hast come hither; for the Eucharist of the Lord has convicted thee. For this gracious gift coming to many is especially healing to those who approach it through faith and love; but thee it has withered away, and what has happened has happened not without some working cause. And

the young man who had been convicted by the Eucharist of the Lord came up, and fell at the apostle's feet, and prayed him, saying: An evil deed has been done by me, yet I thought to do something good. I was in love with a certain woman living outside of the city in an inn, and she loved me. And I having heard from thee, and believed that thou proclaimest the living God, came and received the seal from thee along with the others; and thou saidst, Whoever shall indulge in filthy intercourse, and especially in adultery, shall not have life with the God whom I proclaim. Since, then, I altogether loved her, I begged of her, and persuaded her to live with me in chaste and pure intercourse, as thou thyself teachest; but she would not. When therefore she would not, I took a sword and killed her; for I could not see her living in adultery with another.

The apostle, having heard this, said: O maddening intercourse, into what shamelessness dost thou lead! O unrestrained lust, how hast thou brought him into subjection to do this! O work of the serpent, how dost thou rage in thine own! And the apostle ordered water to be brought him in a dish. And when the water had been brought, he said: Come waters from the living waters, existing from the existing, and sent to us; the fountain sent to us from repose, the power of salvation coming froth that power that subdues all things, and subjects them to its own will; come and dwell in these waters, that the gracious gift of the Holy Spirit may be fully perfected in them. And he said to the young man: Go, wash thy hands in these waters. And when he had washed, they were restored. And the apostle said to him: Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, that He can do all things? And he said: Even though I am least of all, I believe; but this I did, thinking to do a good thing: for I implored her, as also I told thee; but she would not be persuaded by me to keep herself chaste.

And the apostle said to him: Come, let us go to the inn where thou didst this deed, and let us see what has happened. And the young man went before the apostle on the road; and when they came to the inn, they found her lying. And the apostle, seeing her, was disheartened, for she was a beautiful maiden; and he ordered her to be brought into the middle of the inn. And having put her on a Couch, they brought it, and set it in the midst of the court-yard of the inn. And the apostle laid his hand on her, and began to say: Jesus, who always appearest to us — for this Thou always wishest, that we should seek Thee — and Thou Thyself hast given us this

power of asking and receiving; and not only hast Thou given us this, but hast also taught us how to pray; who art not seen by bodily eyes, but who art not altogether hidden from those of our soul, and who art hidden in Thy form, but manifested to us by Thy works; and by Thy many deeds we have recognized Thee as we go on, and Thou hast given us Thy gifts without measure, saying, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. We pray, therefore, having suspicion of our sins; and we ask of Thee not riches, nor gold, nor silver, nor possessions, nor any of those things that come from the earth and go into the earth again; but this we beg of Thee, and entreat that in Thy holy name Thou raise this woman lying here by Thy power, to the glory and faith of those standing by.

And when he had thus prayed, he sealed the young man, and said to him: Go, and take her by the hand, and say to her, I through my hands killed thee with the sword; and again I raise thee by my hands, in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the young man went and stood by her, saying: I have believed in Thee, O Christ Jesus. And looking upon Judas Thomas the apostle, he said to him: Pray for me, that my Lord, upon whom also I call, may come to my help. And having laid his hand on her hand, he said: Come, Lord Jesus Christ, giving this woman life, and me the earnest of Thy faith. And immediately, as he drew her hand, she sprang up, and sat, looking at the great multitude standing round. And she also saw the apostle standing opposite to her; and having left the couch, she sprang up, and fell at his feet, and took hold of his garments, saying: I pray thee, my Lord, where is that other who is with thee, who has not left me to remain in that fearful and grievous place, but has given me up to thee, saying, Do thou take her, that she may be made perfect, and thereafter brought into her own place?

And the apostle says to her: Tell us where thou hast been. And she answered: Dost thou, who wast with me, to whom also I was entrusted, wish to hear? And she began to say: A certain man received me, hateful in appearance, all black, and his clothing exceedingly filthy; and he led me away to a place where there were many chasms, and a great stench and most hateful odor were given forth thence; and he made me bend down into each chasm, and I saw in the chasm blazing fire; and wheels of fire ran there, and souls were hung upon those wheels, and were dashed against

each other. And there was there crying and great lamentation, and there was none released. And that man said to me, These souls are of thine own nation, and for a certain number of days they have been given over to punishment and torture; and then others are brought in instead of them; and likewise also these are again succeeded by others. These are they who have exchanged the intercourse of man and wife. And again I looked down, and saw infants heaped upon each other, and struggling and lying upon each other; and he answered and said to me, These are their children, and for this have they been placed here for a testimony against them.

And he brought me to another chasm, and I bent down and saw mud, and worms spouting forth, and souls wallowing there; and a great gnashing of teeth was heard thence from them. And that man said to me, These are the souls of women that left their own husbands, and went and committed adultery with others, and who have been brought to this torment. He showed me another chasm, into which I bent down and saw souls hung up, some by the tongue, some by the hair, some by the hands, some by the feet, head downwards, and smoked with smoke and sulphur; about whom that man who was with me answered me, These souls which are hung up by the tongue are slanderers, and such as have uttered false and disgraceful words; those that are hung up by the hair are those that are shameless, and that have gone about with uncovered heads in the world; these hung up by the hands are those who have taken what belongs to others, and have stolen, and who have never given anything to the poor, nor assisted the afflicted; but they so acted, wishing to get everything, and giving no heed at all to justice and the laws; and these hung up by the feet are those who lightly and eagerly ran in wicked ways, and disorderly wickedness, not looking after the sick, and not aiding those departing this life, and on account of this each individual soul is requited for what has been done by it.

Again leading me away, he showed me a cavern, exceedingly dark, exhaling a great stench; and many souls were peeping out thence, wishing to get some share of the air, but their keepers would not let them peep out. And he who was with me said, This is the prison of those souls which thou seest; for when they shall complete their punishments for those things which each one has done, afterwards again others succeed them — and there are some also quite used up — and are given up to other

punishments. Those, then, who guarded the souls that were in the dark cave said to the man that had charge of me, Give her to us, that we may take her in beside the others, until the time comes for her to be given up to punishment. And he answered them, I will not give her to you, for I am afraid of him who gave her up to me; for I received no orders to leave her here, and I shall take her up with me until I get some injunction about her. And he took me and brought me to another place, in which were men who were bitterly tortured. And he that is like thee took me and gave me up to thee, having thus said to thee, Take her, since she is one of the creatures that have been led astray. And I was taken by thee, and am now before thee. I beg, therefore, and supplicate thee that I may not go into those places of punishment which I saw.

And the apostle said to the multitudes standing by: You have heard, brethren, what this woman has recounted; and these are not the only punishments, but there are others worse than these; and if you do not turn to this God whom I proclaim, and refrain from your former works and deeds which you have done without knowledge, in these punishments you shall have your end. Believe, therefore, in our Lord Jesus Christ, and He will forgive you the sins done by you heretofore, and will purify you from all the bodily desires that abide in the earth, and will heal you from the faults that follow after you, and go along with you, and are found before you. And let each of you put off the old man, and put on the new, and leave your former course of conduct and behavior; and let those that steal steal no more, but let them live, laboring and working; and let the adulterers no more commit adultery, lest they give themselves up to everlasting punishment; for adultery is with God an evil altogether grievous above other evils. Put away also from yourselves covetousness, and lying, and drunkenness, and slandering, and requiting evil for evil: for all these are alien and strange to the God proclaimed by us; but rather live in faith, and meekness, and holiness, and hope, in which God rejoices, that ye may become His servants, having received from Him gracious gifts, which few or none receive.

All the people therefore believed, and presented their souls obedient to the living God and Christ Jesus, enjoying His blessed works, and His holy service. And they brought much money for the service of the widows; for he had them collected in the cities, and he sent to all of them by his own

servants what was necessary, both clothing and food. But he did not cease proclaiming and saying to them, and showing that this is Jesus the Christ, concerning whom the Scriptures proclaimed that He should come, and be crucified, and be raised from the dead after three days. And he showed them a second time, beginning from the prophets, and explaining the things concerning Christ, and that it was necessary for Him to come, and for all things to be fulfilled that had been said to us beforehand concerning Him.

And the report of him ran through all the cities and countries; and all who had persons sick or tormented by unclean spirits brought them, and they were healed. Some also they laid on the road by which he was to pass, and he healed them all by the power of the Lord. Then said all with one accord who had been healed by him, with one voice: Glory to Thee, Jesus, who givest Thy healing to all alike by means of Thy servant and apostle Thomas. And being in good health, and rejoicing, we pray Thee that we may be of Thy flock, and be numbered among Thy sheep; receive us, therefore, O Lord, and consider not our transgressions and former offenses which we did, being in ignorance.

And the apostle said: Glory to the only-begotten from the Father; glory to the first-born of many brethren; Glory to Thee, the defender and helper of those who come to Thy place of refuge; Thou that sleepest not, and raisest those that are asleep; that livest and bringest to life those that are lying in death; O God Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, redeemer and helper, refuge and rest of all that labor in Thy work, who affordest health to those who for Thy name’s sake bear the burden of the day, and the icy coldness of the night; we give thanks for the gracious gifts that have been given us by Thee, and for the help from Thee bestowed upon us, and Thy providential care that has come upon us froth Thee. Perfect these things upon us, therefore, unto the end, that we may have confidence in Thee; look upon us, because for Thy sake we have left our homes, and for Thy sake have become strangers gladly and willingly; look upon us, O Lord, because for Thy sake we have abandoned our possessions, that we may have Thee for a possession that shall not be taken away; look upon us, O Lord, because we have left those related to us by ties of kindred in order that we may be united in relationship to Thee; look upon us, O Lord, who have left our fathers and mothers, and those that nourished us, that we may behold Thy Father, and be satisfied with His divine nourishment:

look upon us, O Lord, because for Thy sake we have left our bodily yoke-fellows, and our earthly fruit, in order that we may share in that intercourse which is lasting and true, and bring forth true fruits, whose nature is from above, the enjoyment of which no one can take away from us, with which we abide, and they abide with us.

CONSUMMATION OF THOMAS THE APOSTLE

AT the command of King Misdeus the blessed Apostle Thomas was cast into prison; and he said: I glorify God, and I shall preach the word to the prisoners, so that all rejoiced at his presence. When, therefore, Juzanes the king's son, and Tertia his mother, and Mygdonia, and Markia, had become believers, but were not yet thought worthy of baptism, they took it exceedingly ill that the blessed one had been shut up. And having come to the prison, and given much money to the jailer, they went in to him. And he, seeing them, was glad, and glorified the Lord, and blessed them. And they entreated and begged the seal in the Lord, a beautiful young man having appeared to them in a dream, and ordered the apostle into the house of Juzanes.

And again the beautiful young man coming to them and Thomas, bade them do this on the coming night. And he ran before them, and gave them light on the way, and without noise opened the doors that had been secured, until all the mystery was completed. And having made them communicate in the Eucharist, and having talked much with them, and confirmed them in the faith, and commended them to the Lord, he went forth thence, leaving the women, and again went to be shut up. And they grieved and wept because Misdeus the king was to kill him.

And Thomas went and found the jailers fighting, and saying: What wrong have we done to that sorcerer, that, availing himself of his magic art, he has opened the doors of the prison, and wishes to set all the prisoners free? But let us go and let the king know about his wife and his son. And when he came they stripped him, and girded him with a girdle; and thus they stood before the king. And Misdeus said to him: Art thou a slave, or a freeman? And Thomas answered and said to him: I am not a slave, and thou hast no power against me at all. And how, said Misdeus, hast thou

run away and come to this country? And Thomas said: I came here that I might save many, and that I might by thy bands depart from this body. Misdeus says to him: Who is thy master? and what is his name? and of what country, and of whom is he? My Lord, says Thomas, is my Master and thine, being the Lord of heaven and earth. And Misdeus said: What is he called? And Thomas said: Thou canst not know His true name at this time; but I tell thee the name that has been given Him for a season — Jesus the Christ. And Misdeus said: I have not been in a hurry to destroy thee, but have restrained myself; but thou hast made a display of works, so that thy sorceries have been heard of in all the country. But now this will I do, that thy sorceries may also perish with thee, that our nation may be purified from them. And Thomas said: Dost thou call these things which will follow me sorceries? They shall never be removed from the people here.

And while these things were saying, Misdeus was considering in what manner he should put him to death; for he was afraid of the multitude standing round, many, even some of the chief men, having believed in him. And he arose, I and took Thomas outside of the city; and a few soldiers accompanied him with their arms. And the rest of the multitude thought that the king was wishing to learn something from him; and they stood and observed him closely. And when they had gone forth three stadia, he delivered him to four soldiers, and to one of the chief officers, and ordered them to take him up into the mountain and spear him; but he himself returned to the city.

And those present ran to Thomas, eager to rescue him; but he was led away by the soldiers who were with him. For there were two on each side having hold of him, because of sorcery, And the chief officer held him by the hand, and led him with honor. And at the same time the blessed apostle said: O the hidden mysteries of Thee, O Lord! for even to the close of life is fulfilled in us the riches of Thy grace, which does not allow us to be without feeling as to the body. For, behold, four have laid hold of me, and one leads me, since I belong to One, to whom I am going always invisibly. But now I learn that my Lord also, since He was a stranger, to whom I am going, who also is always present with me invisibly, was struck by one; but I am struck by four.

And when they came to that place where they were to spear him, Thomas spoke thus to those spearing him: Hear me now, at least, when I am departing from my body; and let not your eyes be darkened in understanding, nor your ears shut up so as not to hear those things in which you have believed the God whom I preach, after being delivered in your souls from rashness; and behave in a manner becoming those who are free, being void of human glory, and live the life towards God. And he said to Juzanes: Son of an earthly king, but servant of Jesus Christ, give what is due to those who are to fulfill the command of Misdeus, in order that I may go apart from them and pray. And Juzanes having paid the soldiers, the apostle betook himself to prayer; and it was as follows: —

My Lord, and my God, and hope, and leader, and guide in all countries, I follow Thee along with all that serve Thee, and do Thou guide me this day on my way to Thee. Let no one take my sold, which Thou hast given to me. Let not publicans and beggars look upon me, nor let serpents slander me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss at me. Behold, I have fulfilled Thy work, and accomplished what Thou gavest me to do. I have become a slave, that I might receive freedom from Thee; do then give it to me, and make me perfect. And this I say not wavering, but that they may hear who need to hear. I glorify Thee in all, Lord and Master; for to Thee is due glory for ever. Amen.

And when he had prayed, he said to the soldiers: Come and finish the work of him that sent you. And the four struck him at once, and killed him. And all the brethren wept, and wrapped him up in beautiful shawls, and many linen cloths, and laid him in the tomb in which of old the kings used to be buried.

And Syphor and Juzanes did not go to the city, but spent the whole day there, and waited during the night. And Thomas appeared to them, and said: I am not there; why do you sit watching? for I have gone up, and received the things I hoped for; but rise up and walk, and after no long time you shall be brought beside me. And Misdeus and Charisius greatly afflicted Tertia and Mygdonia, but did not persuade them to abandon their opinions. And Thomas appeared, and said to them: Forget not the former things, for the holy and sanctifying Jesus Himself will aid you. And Misdeus and Charisius, when they could not persuade them not to be of

this opinion, granted them their own will. And all the brethren assembled together For the blessed one had made Syphorus a presbyter in the mountain, and Juzanius a deacon, when he was led away to die. And the Lord helped them, and increased the faith by means of them.

And after a long time, it happened that one of the sons of Misdeus was a demoniac; and the demon being stubborn, no one was able to heal him. And Misdeus considered, and said I shall go and open the tomb, and take a bone of the apostle's body, and touch my son with it, and I know that he will be healed. And he went to do what he had thought of. And the blessed apostle appeared to him, and said: Thou didst not believe in me when alive; how wilt thou believe in me when I am dead? Fear not. Jesus Christ is kindly disposed to thee, through His great clemency. And Misdeus, when he did not find the bones (for one of the brethren had taken them, and carried them into the regions of the West), took some dust from where the bones had lain, and touched his son with it, and said: I believe in Thee, Jesus, now when he has left me who always afflicts men, that they may not look to Thy light which giveth understanding, O Lord, kind to men. And his son being healed in this manner, he met with the rest of the brethren who were under the rule of Syphorus, and entreated the brethren to pray for him, that he might obtain mercy from our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

MARTYRDOM OF THE HOLY AND GLORIOUS APOSTLE BARTHOLOMEW

HISTORIANS declare that India is divided into three parts; and the first is said to end at Ethiopia, and the second at Media, and the third completes the country; and the one portion of it ends in the dark, and the other in the ocean. To this India, then, the holy Bartholomew the apostle of Christ went, and took up his quarters in the temple of Astaruth, and lived there as one of the pilgrims and the poor. In this temple, then, there was an idol called Astaruth, which was supposed to heal the infirm, but rather the more injured all. And the people were in entire ignorance of the true God; and from want of knowledge, but rather from the difficulty of going to any other, they all fled for refuge to the false God. And he brought upon them troubles, infirmities, damage, violence, and much affliction; and when any one sacrificed to him, the demon, retiring, appeared to give a cure to the person in trouble; and the foolish people, seeing this, believed in him. But the demons retired, not because they wished to cure men, but that they might the more assail them, and rather have them altogether in their power; and thinking that they were cured bodily, those that sacrificed to them were the more diseased in soul.

And it came to pass, that while the holy apostle of Christ, Bartholomew, stayed there, Astaruth gave no response, and was not able for curing. And when the temple was full of sick persons, who sacrificed to him daily, Astaruth could give no response; and sick persons who had come from far countries were lying there. When, therefore, in that temple not even one of the idols was able to give a response, and was of benefit neither to those that sacrificed to them nor to those who were in the agonies of death on their account, they were compelled to go to another city, where there was a temple of idols, where their great and most eminent God was called Becher. And having there sacrificed, they demanded, asking why their God Astaruth had not responded to them. And the demon Becher answered and said to them: From the day and hour that the true God, who dwelleth in the heavens, sent his apostle Bartholomew into the regions here, your God Astaruth is held fast by chains of fire, and can no longer either speak or breathe. They said to him: And who is this Bartholomew? He answered:

He is the friend of the Almighty God, and has just come into these parts, that he may take away all the worship of the idols in the name of his God. And the servants of the Greeks said to him: Tell us what he is like, that we may be able to find him.

And the demon answered and said: He has black hair, a shaggy head, a fair skin, large eyes, beautiful nostrils, his ears hidden by the hair of his head, with a yellow beard, a few gray hairs, of middle height, and neither tall nor stunted, but middling, clothed with a white undercloak bordered with purple, and upon his shoulders a very white cloak; and his clothes have been worn twenty-six years, but neither are they dirty, nor have they waxed old. Seven times a day he bends the knee to the Lord, and seven times a night does he pray to God. His voice is like the sonnet of a strong trumpet; there go along with him angels of God, who allow him neither to be weary, nor to hunger, nor to thirst; his face, and his soul, and his heart are always glad and rejoicing; he foresees everything, he knows and speaks every tongue of every nation. And behold now, as soon as you ask me, and I answer you about him, behold, he knows; for the angels of the Lord tell him; and if you wish to seek him, if he is willing he will appear to you; but if he shall not be willing, you will not be able to find him. I entreat you, therefore, if you shall find him, entreat him not to come here, lest his angels do to me as they have done to my brother Astaruth.

And when the demon had said this, he held his peace. And they returned, and set to work to look into every face of the pilgrims and poor men, and for two days they could find him no where. And it came to pass, that one who was a demoniac set to work to cry out: Apostle of the Lord, Bartholomew, thy prayers are burning me up. Then said the apostle to him: Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And that very hour, the man who had suffered from the demon for many years was set free.

And Polymius, the king of that country, happened to be standing opposite the apostle; and he had a daughter a demoniac, that is to say, a lunatic. And he heard about the demoniac that had been healed, and sent messengers to the apostle, saying: My daughter is grievously torn; I implore thee, therefore, as thou hast delivered him who suffered for many years, so also to order my daughter to be set free. And the apostle rose up, and went with them. And he sees the king’s daughter bound with chains,

for she used to tear in pieces all her limbs; and if any one came near her, she used to bite, and no one dared to come near her. The servants say to him: And who is it that dares to touch her? The apostle answered them: Loose her, and let her go. They say to him again: We have her in our power when she is bound with all our force, and dost thou bid us loose her? The apostle says to them: Behold, I keep her enemy bound, and are you even now afraid of her? Go and loose her; and when she has partaken of food, let her rest, and early tomorrow bring her to me. And they went and did as the apostle had commanded them; and thereafter the demon was not able to come near her.

Then the king loaded camels with gold and silver, precious stones, pearls, and clothing, and sought to see the apostle; and having made many efforts, and not found him, he brought everything back to his palace.

And it happened, when the night had passed, and the following day was dawning, the sun having risen, the apostle appeared alone with the king in his bed-chamber, and said to him: Why didst thou seek me yesterday the whole day with gold and silver, and precious stones, pearls, and raiment? For these gifts those persons long for who seek earthly things; but I seek nothing earthly, nothing carnal. Wherefore I wish to teach thee that the Son of God deigned to be born as a man out of a virgin’s womb. He was conceived in the womb of the virgin; He took to Himself her who was always a virgin, having within herself Him who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that therein is. He, born of a virgin, like mankind, took to Himself a beginning in time, He who has a beginning neither of times nor days; but He Himself made every beginning, and everything created, whether in things visible or invisible. And as this virgin did not know man, so she, preserving her virginity, vowed a vow to the Lord God. And she was the first who did so. For, from the time that man existed from the beginning of the world, no woman made a vow of this mode of life; but she, as she was the first among women who loved this in her heart, said, I offer to Thee, O Lord, my virginity. And, as I have said to thee, none of mankind dared to speak this word; but she being called for the salvation of many, observed this — that she might remain a virgin through the love of God, pure and undefiled. And suddenly, when she was shut up in her chamber, the archangel Gabriel appeared, gleaming like the sun; and when she was terrified at the sight, the angel said to her, Fear not,

Mary; for thou hast found favor in the sight of the Lord, and thou shall conceive. And she cast off fear, and stood up, and said, How shall this be to me, since I know not man? The angel answered her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore also that holy thing which is born of thee shall be called Son of God. Thus, therefore, when the angel had departed from her, she escaped the temptation of the devil, who deceived the first man when at rest. For, having tasted of the tree of disobedience, when the woman said to him, Eat, he ate; and thus the first man was cast out of paradise, and banished to this life. From him have been horn the whole human race. Then the Son of God having been born of the virgin, and having become perfect man, and having been baptized, and after His baptism having fasted forty days, the tempter came and said to Him: If thou art the Son of God, tell these stones to become loaves. And He answered: Not on bread alone shall man live, but by every word of God. Thus therefore the devil, who through eating bad conquered the first man, was conquered through the fasting of the second man; and as he through want of self-restraint had conquered the first man, the son of the virgin earth, so we shall conquer through the fasting of the second Adam, the Son of the Virgin Mary.

The king says to him: And how is it that thou saidst just now that she was the first virgin of whom was born God and man? And the apostle answered: I give thanks to the Lord that thou hearest me gladly. The first man, then, was called Adam; he was formed out of the earth. And the earth, his mother out of which he was, was virgin, because it had neither been polluted by the blood of man nor opened for the burial of any one. The earth, then, was like the virgin, in order that he who conquered the son of the virgin earth might be conquered by the Son of the Virgin Mary. And, behold, he did conquer; for his wicked craft, through the eating of the tree by which man, being deceived, came forth from paradise, kept paradise shut. Thereafter this Son of the virgin conquered all the craft of the devil. And his craft was such, that when he saw the Son of the virgin fasting forty days, he knew in truth that He was the true God. The true God and man, therefore, hath not given Himself out to be known, except to those who are pure in heart, and who serve Him by good works. The devil himself, therefore, when he saw that after the forty days He was again hungry, was deceived into thinking that He was not God, and said to

Him, Why hast thou been hungry? tell these stones to become loaves, and eat. And the Lord answered him, Listen, devil; although thou mayst Lord it over man, because he has not kept the commandment of God. I have fulfilled the righteousness of God in having fasted, and shall destroy thy power, so that thou shalt no longer Lord it over man. And when he saw himself conquered, he again takes Jesus to an exceeding high mountain, and shows Him all the kingdoms of the world, and says, All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. The Lord says to him, Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve. And there was a third temptation for the Lord; for he takes Him up to the pinnacle of the temple, and says, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down. The Lord says to him, Thou shall not tempt the Lord thy God. And the devil disappeared. And he indeed that once conquered Adam, the son of the virgin earth, was thrice conquered by Christ, the Son of the Virgin Mary.

And when the Lord had conquered the tyrant, He sent His apostles into all the world, that He might redeem His people from the deception of the devil; and one of these I am, an apostle of Christ. On this account we seek not after gold and silver, but rather despise them, because we labor to be rich in that place where the kingdom of Him alone endureth for ever, where neither trouble, nor grief, nor groaning, nor death, has place; where there is eternal blessedness, and ineffable joy, and everlasting exultation, and perpetual repose. Wherefore also the demon sitting in your temple, who makes responses to you, is kept in chains through the angel of the Lord who has sent me. Because if thou shall be baptized, and wishest thyself to be enlightened, I will make thee behold Him, and learn from how great evils thou hast been redeemed. At the same time hear also by what means he injures all those who are lying sick in the temple. The devil himself by his own art causes the men to be sick, and again to be healed, in order that they may the more believe in the idols, and in order that he may have place the more in their souls, in order that they may say to the stock and the stone, Thou art our God. But that demon who dwells in the idol is held in subjection, conquered by me, and is able to give no response to those who sacrifice and pray there. And if thou wishest to prove that it is so, I order him to return into the idol, and I will make him confess with his own mouth that he is bound, and able to give no response.

The king says to him: Tomorrow, at the first hour of the day, the priests are ready to sacrifice in the temple, and I shall come there, and shall be able to see this wonderful work.

And it came to pass on the following day, as they were sacrificing, the devil began to cry out: Refrain, ye wretched ones, from sacrificing to me, lest ye suffer worse for my sake; because I am bound in fiery chains, and kept in subjection by an angel of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom the Jews crucified: for, being afraid of him, they condemned him to death. And he put to death Death himself, our king, and he bound our prince in chains of fire; and on the third day, having conquered death and the devil, rose in glory, and gave the sign of the cross to his apostles, and sent them out into the four quarters of the world; and one of them is here just now, who has bound me, and keeps me in subjection. I implore you, therefore, supplicate him on my account, that he may set me free to go into other habitations.

Then the apostle answered: Confess, unclean demon, who is it that has injured all those that are lying here from heavy diseases? The demon answered: The devil, our ruler, he who is bound, he sends us against men, that, having first injured their bodies, we may thus also make an assault upon their souls when they sacrifice to us. For then we have complete power over them, when they believe in us and sacrifice to us. And when, on account of the mischief done to them, we retire, we appear curing them, and are worshipped by them as gods; but in truth we are demons, and the servants of him who was crucified, the Son of the virgin, have bound us. For from that day on which the Apostle Bartholomew came I am punished, kept hound in chains of fire. And for this reason I speak, because he has commanded me. At the same time, I dare not utter more when the apostle is present, neither I nor our rulers.

The apostle says to him: Why dost thou not save all that have come to thee? The demon says to him: When we injure their bodies, unless we first injure their souls, we do not let their bodies go. The apostle says to him: And how do you injure their souls? The demon answered him: When they believe that we are gods, and sacrifice to us, God withdraws from those who sacrifice, and we do not take away the sufferings of their bodies, but retire into their souls.

Then the apostle says to the people: Behold, the God whom you thought to cure you, does the more mischief to your souls and bodies. Hear even now your Maker who dwells in the heavens, and do not believe in lifeless stones and stocks. And if you wish that I should pray for you, and that all these may receive health, take down this idol, and break it to pieces; and when you have done this, I will sanctify this temple in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and having baptized all of you who are in it in the baptism of the Lord, and sanctified you, I will save all.

Then the king gave orders, and all the people brought ropes and crowbars, and were not at all aide to take down the idol. Then the apostle says to them: Unfasten the ropes. And when they had unfastened them, he said to the demon dwelling in it: In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, come out of this idol, and go into a desert place, where neither winged creature utters a cry, nor voice of man has ever been heard. And straightway he arose at the word of the apostle, and lifted it up from its foundations; and in that same hour all the idols that were in that place were broken to pieces.

Then all cried out with one voice, saying: He alone is God Almighty whom Bartholomew the apostle proclaims. Then the holy Bartholomew, having spread forth his hands to heaven, said: God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, who for the salvation of men hast sent forth Thine only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that He might redeem by His own blood all of us enslaved by sin, and declare us to be Thy sons, that we may know Thee, the true God, that Thou existest always to eternity God without end: one God, the Father, acknowledged in Son and Holy Spirit; one God, the Son, glorified in Father and Holy Spirit; one God, the Holy Spirit, worshipped in Father and Son; and acknowledged to be truly one, the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Holy Spirit proceeding; and in Thee the Father, and in the Holy Spirit, Thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ is, in whose name Thou hast given us power to heal the sick, to cure paralytics, to expel demons, and raise the dead: for He said to us, Verily I say unto you, that whatever ye shall ask in my name ye shall receive. I entreat, then, that in His name all this multitude may be saved, that all may know that Thou alone art God in heaven, and in the earth, and in the sea, who seekest the salvation of men through that same Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom Thou livest and reignest in unity of the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.

And when all responded to the Amen, suddenly there appeared an angel of the Lord, shining brighter than the sun, winged, and other four angels holding up the four corners of the temple; and with his finger the one sealed the temple and the people, and said: Thus saith the Lord who hath sent me, As you have all been purified from all your infirmity, so also this temple shall be purified from all uncleanness, and from the demons dwelling in it, whom the apostle of God has ordered to go into a desert place; for so hath God commanded me, that I may manifest Him to you. And when ye behold Him, fear nothing; but when I make the sign of the cross, so also do ye with your finger seal your faces, and these evil things will flee from you. Then he showed them the demon who dwelt in the temple, like an Ethiopian, black as soot; his face sharp like a dog's, thin-cheeked, with hair down to his feet, eves like fire, sparks coming out of his mouth; and out of his nostrils came forth smoke like sulphur, with wings spined like a porcupine; and his hands were bound with fiery chains, and he was firmly kept in. And the angel of the Lord said to him: As also the apostle hath commanded, I let thee go; go where voice of man is not heard, and be there until the great day of judgment. And when he let him go, he flew away, groaning and weeping, and disappeared. And the angel of the Lord went up into heaven in the sight of all.

Then the king, and also the queen, with their two sons, and with all his people, and with all the multitude of the city, and every city round about, and country, and whatever land his kingdom ruled over, were saved, and believed, and were baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And the king laid aside his diadem, and followed Bartholomew the apostle of Christ.

And after these things the unbelievers of the Greeks, having come together to Astreges the king, who was the elder brother of the king who had been baptized, say to him: O king, thy brother Polymius has become disciple to a certain magician, who has taken down our temples, and broken our gods to pieces. And while they were thus speaking and weeping, behold, again there came also some others from the cities round about, both priests and people; and they set about weeping and making accusations before the king. Then King Astreges in a rage sent a thousand armed men along with those priests, in order that, wherever they should find the apostle, they might bring him to him bound. And when they bad done so, and found

him, and brought him, he says to him: Art thou he who has perverted my brother from the gods? To whom the apostle answered: I have not perverted him, but have converted him to God. The king says to him: Art thou he who caused our gods to be broken in pieces? The apostle says to him: I gave power to the demons who were in them, and they broke in pieces the dumb and senseless idols, that all men might believe in God Almighty, who dwelleth in the heavens. The king says to him: As thou hast made my brother deny his gods, and believe in thy God, so I also will make you reject thy God and believe in my gods. The apostle says to him: If I have bound and kept in subjection the God which thy brother worshipped, and at my order the idols were broken in pieces, if thou also art able to do the same to my God, thou canst persuade me also to sacrifice to thy gods; but if thou canst do nothing to my God, I will break all thy gods in pieces; but do thou believe in my God.

And when he had thus spoken, the king was informed that his God Baldad and all the other idols had fallen down, and were broken in pieces. Then the king rent the purple in which he was clothed, and ordered the holy apostle Bartholomew to be beaten with rods; and after having been thus scourged, to be beheaded.

And innumerable multitudes came from all the cities, to the number of twelve thousand, who had believed in him along with the king; and they took up the remains of the apostle with singing of praise and with all glory, and they laid them in the royal tomb, and glorified God. And the king Astreges having heard of this, ordered him to be thrown into the sea; and his remains were carried into the island of Liparis.

And it came to pass on the thirtieth day after the apostle was carried away, that the king Astreges was overpowered by a demon and miserably strangled; and all the priests were strangled by demons, and perished on account of their rising against the apostle, and thus died by an evil fate.

And there was great fear and trembling, and all came to the Lord, and were baptized by the presbyters who had been ordained by the holy apostle Bartholomew. And according to the commandment of the apostle, all the clergy of the people made King Polymius bishop; and in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ he received the grace of healing, and began to do signs. And he remained in the bishopric twenty years; and having prospered in

all things, and governed the church well, and guided it in right opinions, he fell asleep in peace, and went to the Lord: to whom be glory and strength for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLE THADDAEUS

ONE OF THE TWELVE

LEBBAEUS, who also is Thaddaeus, was of the city of Edessa — and it is the metropolis of Osroene, in the interior of the Armenosyrians — an Hebrew by race, accomplished and most learned in the divine writings. He came to Jerusalem to worship in the days of John the Baptist; and having heard his preaching and seen his angelic life, he was baptized, and his name was called Thaddaeus. And having seen the appearing of Christ, and His teaching, and His wonderful works, he followed Him, and became His disciple; and He chose him as one of the twelve, the tenth apostle according to the Evangelists Matthew and Mark.

In those times there was a governor of the city of Edessa, Abgarus by name. And there having gone abroad the fame of Christ, of the wonders which He did, and of His teaching, Abgarus having heard of it, was astonished, and desired to see Christ, and could not leave his city and government. And about the days of the Passion and the plots of the Jews, Abgarus, being seized by an incurable disease, sent a letter to Christ by Ananias the courier, to the following effect: — To Jesus called Christ, Abgarus the governor of the country of the Edessenes, an unworthy slave. The multitude of the wonders done by thee has been heard of by me, that thou healest the blind, the lame, and the paralytic, and curest all the demoniacs; and on this account I entreat thy goodness to come even to us, and escape from the plottings of the wicked Jews, which through envy they set in motion against thee. My city is small, but large enough for both. Abgarus enjoined Ananias to take accurate account of Christ, of what appearance He was, and His stature, and His hair, and in a word everything.

And Ananias, having gone and given the letter, was carefully looking at Christ, but was unable to fix Him in his mind. And He knew as knowing the heart, and asked to wash Himself; and a towel was given Him; and when He had washed Himself, He wiped His face with it. And His image

having been imprinted upon the linen, He gave it to Ananias, saying: Give this, and take back this message, to him that sent thee: Peace to thee and thy city! For because of this I am come, to suffer for the world, and to rise again, and to raise up the forefathers. And after I have been taken up into the heavens I shall send thee my disciple Thaddaeus, who shall enlighten thee, and guide thee into all the truth, both thee and thy city.

And having received Ananias, and fallen down and adored the likeness, Abgarus was cured of his disease before Thaddaeus came.

And after the passion, and the resurrection, and the ascension, Thaddaeus went to Abgarus; and having found him in health, he gave him an account of the incarnation of Christ, and baptized him, with all his house. And having instructed great multitudes, both of Hebrews and Greeks. Syrians and Armenians, he baptized them in the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, having anointed them with the holy perfume; and he communicated to them of the undefiled mysteries of the sacred body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and delivered to them to keep and observe the law of Moses, and to give close heed to the things that had been said by the apostles in Jerusalem. For year by year they came together to the passover, and again he imparted to them the Holy Spirit.

And Thaddaeus along with Abgarus destroyed idol-temples and built churches; ordained as bishop one of his disciples, and presbyters, and deacons, and gave them the rule of the psalmody and the holy liturgy. And having left them, he went to the city of Amis, great metropolis of the Mesechaldeans and Syrians, that is, of Mesopotamia-Syria, beside the river Tigris. And he having gone into the synagogue of the Jews along with his disciples on the Sabbath-day, after the reading of the law the high priest said to Thaddaeus and his disciples: Men, whence are you? and why are you here?

And Thaddaeus said: No doubt you have heard of what has taken place in Jerusalem about Jesus Christ, and we are His disciples, and witnesses of the wonderful things which He did and taught, and how through hatred the chief priests delivered Him to Pilate the procurator of Judaea. And Pilate, having examined Him and found no case, wished to let Him go; but they cried out, If thou let him go, thou art not Caesar’s friend, because he proclaims himself king. And he being afraid, washed his hands in the sight

of the multitude, and said, I am innocent of the blood of this man; see ye to it. And the chief priests answered and said, His blood be upon us and our children. And Pilate gave him up to them. And they took Him, and spit upon Him, with the soldiers, and made a great mock of Him, and crucified Him, and laid Him in the tomb, and secured it well, having also set guards upon Him. And on the third day before dawn He rose, leaving His burial-clothes in the tomb. And He was seen first by His mother and other women, and by Peter and John first of my fellow disciples, and thereafter to us the twelve, who ate and drank with Him after His resurrection for many days. And He sent us in His name to proclaim repentance and remission of sins to all the nations, that those who were baptized, having had the kingdom of the heavens preached to them, would rise up incorruptible at the end of this age; and He gave us power to expel demons, and heal every disease and every malady, and raise the dead.

And the multitudes having heard this, brought together their sick and demoniacs. And Thaddaeus, having gone forth along with his disciples, laid his hand upon each one of them, and healed them all by calling upon the name of Christ. And the demoniacs were healed before Thaddaeus came near them, the spirits going out of them. And for many days the people ran together from different places, and beheld what was done by Thaddaeus. And hearing his teaching, many believed, and were baptized, confessing their sins.

Having therefore remained with them for five years, he built a church; and having appointed as bishop one of his disciples, and presbyters, and deacons, and prayed for them, he went away, going round the cities of Syria, and teaching, and healing all the sick; whence he brought many cities and countries to Christ through His teaching. Teaching, therefore, and evangelizing along with the disciples, and healing the sick, he went to Berytus, a city of Phoenicia by the sea; and there, having taught and enlightened many, he fell asleep on the twenty-first of the month of August. And the disciples having come together, buried him with great honor; and many sick were healed, and they gave glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLE AND EVANGELIST

JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN

ABOUT HIS EXILE AND DEPARTURE

WHEN Agrippa, whom, on account of his plotting against Peace, they stoned and put to death, was king of the Jews, Vespasian Caesar, coming with a great army, invested Jerusalem; and some prisoners of war he took and slew, others he destroyed by famine in the siege, and most he banished, and at length scattered up and down. And having destroyed the temple, and put the holy vessels on board a ship, he sent them to Rome, to make for himself a temple of peace, and adorned it with the spoils of war.

And when Vespasian was dead, his son Domitian, having got possession of the kingdom. along with his other wrongful acts, set himself also to make a persecution against the righteous men. For, having learned that the city was filled with Jews, remembering the orders given by his father about them, he purposed casting them all out of the city of the Romans. And some of the Jews took courage, and gave Domitian a book, in which was written as follows: —

O Domitian, Caesar and king of all the world, as many of us as are Jews entreat thee, as suppliants we beseech of thy power not to banish us from thy divine and benignant countenance; for we are obedient to thee, and the customs, and laws, and practices, and policy, doing wrong in nothing, but being of the same mind with the Romans. But there is a new and strange nation, neither agreeing with other nations nor consenting to the religious observances of the Jews, uncircumcised, inhuman, lawless, subverting whole houses, proclaiming a man as God, all assembling together under a strange name, that of Christian. These men reject God, paying no heed to the law given by Him, and proclaim to be the Son of God a man born of ourselves, Jesus by name, whose parents and brothers and all his family have been connected with the Hebrews; whom on account of his great

blasphemy and his wicked fooleries we gave up to the cross. And they add another blasphemous lie to their first one: him that was nailed up and buried, they glorify as having risen from the dead; and, more than this, they falsely assert that he has been taken up by clouds into the heavens.

At all this the king, being affected with rage. ordered the senate to publish a decree that they should put to death all who confessed themselves to be Christians. Those, then, who were found in the time of his rage, and who reaped the fruit of patience, and were crowned in the triumphant contest against the works of the devil, received the repose of incorruption.

And the fame of the teaching of John was spread abroad in Rome; and it came to the ears of Domitian that there was a certain Hebrew in Ephesus, John by name, who spread a report about the seat of empire of the Romans, saying that it would quickly be rooted out, and that the kingdom of the Romans would be given over to another. And Domitian, troubled by what was said, sent a centurion with soldiers to seize John, and bring him. And having gone to Ephesus, they asked where John lived. And having come up to his gate, they found him standing before the door; and, thinking that he was the porter, they inquired of him where John lived. And he answered and said: I am he. And they, despising his common, and low, and poor appearance, were filled with threats, and said: Tell us the truth. And when he declared again that he was the man they sought, the neighbors moreover bearing witness to it, they said that he was to go with them at once to the king in Rome. And, urging them to take provisions for the journey, he turned and took a few dates, and straightway went forth.

And the soldiers, having taken the public conveyances, traveled fast, having seated him in the midst of them. And when they came to the first change, it being the hour of breakfast, they entreated him to be of good courage, and to take bread, and eat with them. And John said: I rejoice in soul indeed, but in the meantime I do not wish to take any food. And they started, and were carried along quickly. And when it was evening they stopped at a certain inn; and as, besides, it was the hour of supper, the centurion and the soldiers being most kindly disposed, entreated John to make use of what was set before them. But he said that he was very tired, and in want of sleep more than any food. And as he did this each day, all the soldiers were struck with amazement, and were afraid lest John should

die, and involve them in danger. But the Holy Spirit showed him to them as more cheerful. And on the seventh day, it being the Lord's day, he said to them: Now it is time for me also to partake of food. And having washed his hands and face, he prayed, and brought out the linen cloth, and took one of the dates, and ate it in the sight of all.

And when they had ridden a long time they came to the end of their journey, John thus fasting. And they brought him before the king, and said: Worshipful king, we bring to thee John, a God, not a man; for, from the hour in which we apprehended him, to the present, he has not tasted bread. At this Domitian being amazed, stretched out his mouth on account of the wonder, wishing to salute him with a kiss; but John bent down his head, and kissed his breast. And Domitian said: Why hast thou done this? Didst thou not think me worthy to kiss thee? And John said to him: It is right to adore the hand of God first of all, and in this way to kiss the mouth of the king; for it is written in the holy books, The heart of a king is in the hand of God.

And the king said to him: Art thou John, who said that my kingdom would speedily be uprooted, and that another king, Jesus, was going to reign instead of me? And John answered and said to him: Thou also shalt reign for many years given thee by God, and after thee very many others; and when the times of the things upon earth have been fulfilled, out of heaven shall come a King, eternal, true, Judge of living and dead, to whom every nation and tribe shall confess, through whom every earthly power and dominion shall be brought to nothing, and every mouth speaking great things shall be shut. This is the mighty Lord and King of everything that hath breath and flesh, the Word and Son of the living One, who is Jesus Christ.

At this Domitian said to him: What is the proof of these things? I am not persuaded by words only; words are a sight of the unseen. What canst thou show in earth or heaven by the power of him who is destined to reign, as thou sayest? For he will do it, if he is the Son of God. And immediately John asked for a deadly poison. And the king having ordered poison to be given to him, they brought it on the instant. John therefore, having taken it. put it into a large cup, and filled it with water, and mixed it, and cried out with a loud voice, and said: In Thy name, Jesus Christ,

Son of God, I drink the cup which Thou wilt sweeten; and the poison in it do Thou mingle with Thy Holy Spirit, and make it become a draught of life and salvation, for the healing of soul and body, for digestion and harmless assimilation, for faith not to be repented of, for an undeniable testimony of death as the cup of thanksgiving. And when he had drunk the cup, those standing beside Domitian expected that he was going to fall to the ground in convulsions. And when John stood, cheerful, and talked with them safe, Domitian was enraged against those who had given the poison, as having spared John. But they swore by the fortune and health of the king, and said that there could not be a stronger poison than this. And John, understanding what they were whispering to one another, said to the king: Do not take it ill, O king, but let a trial be made, and thou shalt learn the power of the poison. Make some condemned criminal be brought from the prison. And when he had come, John put water into the cup, and swirled it round, and gave it with all the dregs to the condemned criminal. And he, having taken it and drunk, immediately fell down and died.

And when all wondered at the signs that had been done, and when Domitian had retired and gone to his palace, John said to him: O Domitian, king of the Romans, didst thou contrive this, that, thou being present and bearing witness, I might today become a murderer? What is to be done about the dead body which is lying? And he ordered it to be taken and thrown away. But John, going up to the dead body, said: O God, Maker of the heavens, Lord and Master of angels, of glories, of powers, in the name of Jesus Christ, Thine only begotten Son, give to this man who has died for this occasion a renewal of life, and restore him his soul, that Domitian may learn that the Word is much more powerful than poison, and is the ruler of life. And having taken him by the hand, he raised him up alive.

And when all were glorifying God, and wondering at the faith of John, Domitian said to him: I have put forth a decree of the senate, that all such persons should be summarily dealt with, without trial; but since I find from thee that they are innocent, and that their religion is rather beneficial, I banish thee to an island, that I may not seem myself to do away with my own decrees. He asked then that the condemned criminal should be let go; and when he was let go, John said: Depart, give thanks to God, who has this day delivered thee from prison and from death.

And while they were standing, a certain home-born slave of Domitian's, of those in the bed-chamber, was suddenly seized by the unclean demon, and lay dead; and word was brought to the king. And the king was moved, and entreated John to help her. And John said: It is not in man to do this; but since thou knowest how to reign, but dost not know from whom thou hast received it, learn who has the power over both thee and thy kingdom. And he prayed thus: O Lord, the God of every kingdom, and master of every creature, give to this maiden the breath of life. And having prayed, he raised her up. And Domitian, astonished at all the wonders, sent him away to an island, appointing for him a set time.

And straightway John sailed to Patmos, where also he was deemed worthy to see the revelation of the end. And when Domitian was dead, Nerva succeeded to the kingdom, and recalled all who had been banished; and having kept the kingdom for a year, he made Trajan his successor in the kingdom. And when he was king over the Romans, John went to Ephesus, and regulated all the teaching of the church, holding many conferences, and reminding them of what the Lord had said to them, and what duty he had assigned to each. And when he was old and changed, he ordered Polycarp to be bishop over the church.

And what like his end was, or his departure from men, who cannot give an account of? For on the following day, which was the Lord's day, and in the presence of the brethren, he began to say to them: Brethren, and fellow-servants, and co-heirs, and copartners of the kingdom of the Lord, know the Lord what miracles He hath shown you through me, what wonders, what cures, what signs, what gracious gifts, teachings, rulings, rests, services, glories, graces, gifts, faiths, communions; how many things you have seen with your eyes, that ear hath not heard. Be strong, therefore, in Him, remembering Him in all your doings, knowing the mystery of the dispensation that has come to men, for the sake of which the Lord has worked. He then, through me, exhorts you: Brethren, I wish to remain without grief, without insult, without treachery, without punishment. For He also knows insult from you, He knows also dishonor, He knows also treachery, He knows also punishment from those that disobey His commandments. Let not therefore our God be grieved, the good, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the pure, the undefiled, the only, the one, the immutable, the sincere, the guileless, the slow to

anger, He that is higher and more exalted than every name that we speak or think of — our God, Jesus Christ. Let Him rejoice along with us because we conduct ourselves well; let Him be glad because we live in purity; let Him rest because we behave reverently; let Him be pleased because we live in fellowship; let Him smile because we are sober-minded; let Him be delighted because we love. These things, brethren, I communicate to you, pressing on to the work set before me, already perfected for me by the Lord. For what else have I to say to you? Keep the sureties of your God; keep His presence, that shall not be taken away from you. And if then ye sin no more, He will forgive you what ye have done in ignorance; but if, after ye have known Him, and He has had compassion upon you, you return to the like courses, even your former offenses will be laid to your charge, and ye shall have no portion or compassion before His face.

And when he had said this to them, he thus prayed: Jesus, who didst wreathe this crown by Thy twining, who hast inserted these many flowers into the everlasting flower of Thy countenance, who hast sown these words among them, be Thou Thyself the protector and healer of Thy people. Thou alone art benignant and not haughty, alone merciful and kind, alone a Savior, and just; Thou who always seest what belongs to all, and art in all, and everywhere present, God Lord Jesus Christ; who with Thy gifts and Thy compassion coverest those that hope in Thee; who knowest intimately those that everywhere speak against us, and blaspheme Thy holy name, do Thou alone, O Lord, help Thy servants with Thy watchful care. So be it, Lord.

And having asked bread, he gave thanks thus, saying: What praise, or what sort of offering, or what thanksgiving, shall we, breaking the bread, invoke, but Thee only? We glorify the name by which Thou hast been called by the Father; we glorify the name by which Thou hast been called through the Son; we glorify the resurrection which has been manifested to us through Thee; of Thee we glorify the seed, the word, the grace, the true pearl, the treasure, the plough, the net, the majesty, the diadem, Him called Son of man for our sakes, the truth, the rest, the knowledge, the freedom, the place of refuge in Thee. For Thou alone art Lord, the root of immortality, and the fountain of incorruption, and the seat of the ages; Thou who hast been called all these for our sakes, that now we, calling upon Thee through these, may recognize Thine illimitable majesty,

presented to us by Thy presence, that can be seen only by the pure, seen in Thine only Son.

And having broken the bread, he gave it to us, praying for each of the brethren, that he might be worthy of the Eucharist of the Lord. He also therefore, having likewise tasted it, said: To me also let there be a portion with you, and peace, O beloved. And having thus spoken, and confirmed the brethren, he said to Eutyches, also named Verus: Behold, I appoint thee a minister of the Church of Christ, and I entrust to thee the flock of Christ. Be mindful, therefore, of the commandments of the Lord; and if thou shouldst fall into trails or dangers, he not afraid: for thou shall fall under many troubles, and thou shalt be shown to be an eminent witness of the Lord. Thus, then, Verus, attend to the flock as a servant of God, until the time appointed for thy testimony.

And when John had spoken this, and more than this, having entrusted to him the flock of Christ, he says to him: Take some brethren, with baskets and vessels, and follow me. And Eutyches, without considering, did what he was bid. And the blessed John having gone forth from the house, went outside of the gates, having told the multitude to stand off from him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told them to dig. And they dug. And he says: Let the trench he deeper. And as they dug, he conversed with those who bad come out of the house with him, building them up, and furnishing them thoroughly into the majesty of the Lord. And when the young men had finished the trench, as he had wished, while we knew nothing, he takes off the clothes he had on, and throws them, as if they were some bedding, into the depth of the trench; and, standing in only his drawers, stretched forth his hands, and prayed.

O God, who hast chosen us for the mission of the Gentiles, whet hast sent us out into the world, who hast declared Thyself through the apostles; who hast never rested, but always savest from the foundation of the world; who hast made Thyself known through all nature; who hast made our wild and savage nature quiet and peaceable; who hast given Thyself to it when thirsting after knowledge; who hast put to death its adversary, when it took refuge in Thee; who hast given it Thy hand, and raised it from the things done in Hades; who hast shown it its own enemy; who hast in purity turned its thoughts upon Thee, O Christ Jesus, Lord of

things in heaven, and law of things on earth, the course of things aerial, and guardian of things ethereal, the fear of those under the earth, and grace of Thine own people, receive also the soul of Thy John, which has been certainly deemed worthy by Thee, Thou who hast preserved me also till the present hour pure to Thyself, and free from intercourse with woman; who, when I wished in my youth to marry, didst appear to me, and say, I am in need of thee, John; who didst strengthen for me beforehand my bodily weakness; who, when a third time I wished to marry, didst say to me at the third hour, in the sea, John, if thou wert not mine, I would let thee marry; who hast opened up the sight of my mind, and hast favored my bodily eyes; who, when I was looking about me, didst call even the gazing upon a woman hateful; who didst deliver me from temporary show, and preserve me for that which endureth for ever; who didst separate me from the filthy madness of the flesh; who didst stop up the secret disease of the soul, and cut out its open actions; who didst afflict and banish him who rebelled in me; who didst establish my love to Thee spotless and unimpaired; who didst give me undoubting faith in Thee; who hast drawn out for me pure thoughts towards Thee; who hast given me the due reward of my works; who bast set it in my soul to have no other possession than Thee alone: for what is more precious than Thou? Now, O Lord, when I have accomplished Thy stewardship with which I was entrusted, make me worthy of Thy repose, having wrought that which is perfect in Thee, which is ineffable salvation. And as I go to Thee, let the fire withdraw, let darkness be overcome, let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished, let the angels follow, let the demons be afraid let the princes be broken in pieces, let the powers of darkness fall, let the places on the right hand stand firm, let those on the left abide not, let the devil be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn, let his madness be tamed, let his wrath be broken, let his children be trodden under foot, and let all his root he uprooted; and grant to me to accomplish the journey to Thee, not insulted, not despitefully treated, and to receive what Thou hast promised to those that live in purity, and that have loved a holy life.

And gazing towards heaven, he glorified God; and having sealed himself altogether, he stood and said to us, Peace and grace be with you, brethren! and sent the brethren away. And when they went on the morrow they did not find him, but his sandals, and a fountain welling up. And after that

they remembered what had been said to Peter by the Lord about him: For what does it concern thee if I should wish him to remain until I come? And they glorified God for the miracle that had happened. And having thus believed, they retired praising and blessing the benignant God; because to Him is due glory now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

REVELATION OF MOSES

ACCOUNT and life of Adam and Eve, the first-created, revealed by God to His servant Moses, when he received from the hand of the Lord the tables of the law of the covenant, instructed by the archangel Michael.

This is the account of Adam and Eve. After they went forth out of paradise, Adam took Eve his wife, and went up into the east. And he remained there eighteen years and two months; and Eve conceived and brought forth two sons, Diaphotus called Cain, and Amilabes called Abel.

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another; and when they lay down, Eve said to Adam her Lord: My Lord, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes, who is called Abel, thrown into the mouth of Cain his brother, and he drank it without pity. And he entreated him to grant him a little of it, but he did not listen to him, but drank it all up; and it did not remain in his belly, but came forth out of his mouth. And Adam said to Eve: Let us arise, and go and see what has happened to them, lest perchance the enemy should be in any way warring against them.

And having both gone, they found Abel killed by the hand of Cain his brother. And God says to the archangel Michael: Say to Adam, Do not relate the mystery which thou knowest to thy son Cain, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve thyself not; for I will give thee instead of him another son, who shall show thee all things, as many as thou shalt do to him; but do thou tell him nothing. This God said to His angel; and Adam kept the word in his heart, and with him Eve also, having grief about Abel their son.

And after this, Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and brought forth Seth. And Adam says to Eve: Behold, we have brought forth a son instead of Abel whom Cain slew; let us give glory and sacrifice to God.

And Adam had thirty sons and thirty daughters. And he fell into disease, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Let all my sons come to me, that I may see them before I die. And they were all brought together, for the earth was inhabited in three parts; and they all came to the door of the house into which he had entered to pray to God. And his son Seth said:

Father Adam, what is thy disease? And he says: My children, great trouble has hold of me. And they say: What is the trouble and disease? And Seth answered and said to him: Is it that thou rememberest the fruits of paradise of which thou didst eat, and grievest thyself because of the desire of them? If it is so, tell me, and I will go and bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will put dung upon my head, and weep and pray, and the Lord will hearken to me, and send his angel; and I Shall bring it to thee, that thy trouble may cease from thee. Adam says to him: No, my son Seth; but I have disease and trouble. Seth says to him: And how have they come upon thee? Adam said to him: When God made us, me and your mother, for whose sake also I die, He gave us every plant in paradise; but about one he commanded us not to eat of it, because on account of it we should die. And the hour was at hand for the angels who guarded your mother to go up and worship the Lord; and the enemy gave to her, and she ate of the tree, knowing that I was not near her, nor the holy angels; then she gave me also to eat. And when we had both eaten, God was angry with us. And the Lord, coming into paradise, set His throne, and called with a dreadful voice, saying, Adam, where art thou? and why art thou hidden from my face? shall the house be hidden from him that built it? And He says, Since thou hast forsaken my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy strokes. The trouble of the first stroke is the injury of the eyes; the trouble of the second stroke, of the hearing; and so in succession, all the strokes shall overtake thee.

And Adam thus speaking to his sons, groaned out loud, and said: What shall I do? I am in great grief. And Eve also wept, saying: My Lord Adam, arise, give me the half of thy disease, and let me bear it, because through me this has happened to thee; through me thou art in distresses and troubles. And Adam said to Eve: Arise, and go with our son Seth near paradise, and put earth upon your heads, and weep, beseeching the Lord that He may have compassion upon me, and send His angel to paradise, and give me of the tree in which flows the oil out of it, and that thou mayest bring it to me; and I shall anoint myself, and have rest, and show thee the manner in which we were deceived at first.

And Seth and Eve went into the regions of paradise. And as they were going along, Eve saw her son, and a wild beast fighting with him. And Eye wept, saying: Woe’s me, woe’s me; for if I come to the day of the

resurrection, all who have sinned will curse me, saying, Eve did not keep the commandment of God. And Eve cried out to the wild beast, saying: O thou evil wild beast, wilt thou not be afraid to fight with the image of God? How has thy mouth been opened? how have thy teeth been strengthened? how hast thou not been mindful of thy subjection, that thou wast formerly subject to the image of God? Then the wild beast cried out, saying: O Eve, not against: us thy upbraiding nor thy weeping, but against thyself, since the beginning of the wild beasts was from thee. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree about which God had commanded thee not to eat of it? For this reason also our nature has been changed. Now, therefore, thou shall not be able to bear up, if I begin to reproach thee. And Seth says to the wild beast: Shut thy mouth and be silent, and stand off from the image of God till the day of judgment. Then the wild beast says to Seth: Behold, I stand off, Seth, from the image of God. Then the wild beast fled, and left him wounded, and went to his covert.

And Seth went with his mother Eve near paradise: and they wept there, beseeching God to send His angel, to give them the oil of compassion. And God sent to them the archangel Michael, and he said to them these words: Seth, man of God, do not weary thyself praying in this supplication about the tree in which flows the oil to anoint thy father Adam; for it will not happen to thee now, but at the last times. Then shall arise all flesh from Adam even to that great day, as many as shall be a holy people; then shall be given to them all the delight of paradise, and God shall be in the midst of them; and there shall not any more be sinners before Him, because the wicked heart shall be taken from them, and there shall be given to them a heart made to understand what is good, and to worship God only. Do thou again go to thy father, since the measure of his life has been fulfilled, equal to three days. And when his soul goes out, thou wilt behold its dreadful passage.

And the angel, having said this, went away from them. And Seth and Eve came to the tent where Adam was lying. And Adam says to Eve: Why didst thou work mischief against us, and bring upon us great wrath, which is death, holding sway over all our race? And he says to her: Call all our children, and our children’s children, and relate to them the manner of our transgression.

Then Eve says to them: Listen, all my children, and my children's children, and I shall relate to you how our enemy deceived us. It came to pass, while we were keeping paradise, that we kept each the portion allotted to him by God. And I was keeping in my lot the south and west. And the devil went into the lot of Adam where were the male wild beasts; since God parted to us the wild beasts, and had given all the males to your father, and all the females He gave to me, and each of us watched his own. And the devil spoke to the serpent, saying, Arise, come to me, and I shall tell you a thing in which thou mayst be of service. Then the serpent came to him, and the devil says to him, I hear that thou art more sagacious than all the wild beasts, and I have come to make thy acquaintance; and I have found thee greater than all the wild beasts, and they associate with thee; notwithstanding, thou doest reverence to one far inferior. Why eatest thou of the tares of Adam and his wife, and not of the fruit of paradise? Arise and come hither, and we shall make him be cast out of paradise through his wife, as we also were cast out through him. The serpent says to him, I am afraid test the Lord be angry with me. The devil says to him, Be not afraid; only become my instrument, and I will speak through thy mouth a word by which thou shalt be able to deceive him. Then straightway he hung by the walls of paradise about the hour when the angels of God went up to worship. Then Satan came in the form of an angel, and praised God as did the angels; and looking out from the wall, I saw him like an angel. And says he to me, Art thou Eve? And I said to him, I am. And says he to me, What doest thou in paradise? And I said to him, God has set us to keep it, and to eat of it. The devil answered me through the mouth of the serpent, Ye do well, but you do not eat of every plant. And I say to him, Yes, of every plant we eat, but one only which is in the midst of paradise, about which God has commanded us not to eat of it, since you will die the death. Then says the serpent to me, As God liveth, I am grieved for you, because you are like cattle. For I do not wish you to be ignorant of this; but rise, come hither, listen to me, and eat, and perceive the value of the tree, as He told us. But I said to him, I am afraid lest God be angry with me. And he says to me, Be not afraid; for as soon as thou eatest, thine eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods in knowing what is good and what is evil. And God, knowing this, that ye shall be like Him, has had a grudge against you, and said, Ye shall not eat of it. But do thou observe the plant, and thou shalt see great glory about it. And I observed the plant, and saw great

glory about it, And I said to him, It is beautiful to the eyes to perceive; and I was afraid to take of the fruit. And he says to me, Come, I will give to thee: follow me. And I opened to him, and he came inside into paradise, and went through it before me. And having walked a little, he turned, and says to me, I have changed my mind, and will not give thee to eat. And this he said, wishing at last to entice and destroy me. And he says to me, Swear to me that thou wilt give also to thy husband. And I said to him. I know not by what oath I shall swear to thee; but what I know I say to thee, By the throne of the Lord, and the cherubim, and the tree of life, I will give also to my husband to eat. And when he had taken the oath from me, then he went and ascended upon it. And he put upon the fruit which he gave me to eat the poison of his wickedness, that is, of his desire; for desire is the head of all sin. And I bent down the branch to the ground, and took of the fruit, and ate. And in that very hour mine eyes were opened. and I knew that I was stripped of the righteousness with which I had been clothed; and I wept, saying, What is this thou hast done to me, because I have been deprived of the glory with which I was clothed? And I wept too about the oath. And he came down out of the tree, and went out of sight. And I sought leaves in my portion, that I might cover my shame; and I did not find them from the plants of paradise, since, at the time that I ate, the leaves of all the plants in my portion fell, except of the fig alone. And having taken leaves off it, I made myself a girdle, and it is from those plants of which I ate. And I cried out with a loud voice, saying, Adam, Adam, where art thou? Arise, come to me, and I shall show thee a great mystery. And when your father came, I said to him words of wickedness, which brought us down from great glory. For as soon as he came I opened my mouth, and the devil spoke; and I began to advise him, saying, Come hither, my Lord Adam, listen to me, and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God said to us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as God. And your father answered and said, I am afraid lest God be angry with me. And I said to him, Be not afraid, for as soon as thou shalt eat thou shalt know good and evil. And then I quickly persuaded him, and he ate; and his eyes were opened, and he was aware, he also, of his nakedness. And he says to me, O wicked woman, why hast thou wrought mischief in us? Thou hast alienated me from the glory of God. And that same hour we heard the archangel Michael sounding his trumpet, calling the angels, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise, and hear the word in which I

judge Adam. And when we heard the archangel sounding, we said, Behold, God is coming into paradise to judge us. And we were afraid, and hid ourselves. And God came up into paradise, riding upon a chariot of cherubim, and the angels praising Him. When God came into paradise, the plants both of Adam's lot and of my lot bloomed, and all lifted themselves up; and the throne of God was made ready where the tree of life was. And God called Adam, saying. Adam, where art thou hidden, thinking that I shall not find thee? Shall the house be bidden from him that built it? Then your father answered and said, Not, Lord, did we hide ourselves as thinking that we should not be found by Thee; but I am afraid, because I am naked, and stand in awe of Thy power, O Lord. God says to him, Who hath shown thee that thou art naked, unless it be that thou hast forsaken my commandment which I thee to keep it? Then Adam remembered the word which I spake to him when I wished to deceive him, I will put thee out of danger from God. And he turned and said to me, Why hast thou done this? And I also remembered the word of the serpent, and said, The serpent deceived me. God says to Adam, Since thou hast disobeyed my commandment, and obeyed thy wife, cursed is the ground in thy labors. For whenever thou laborest it, and it will not give its strength, thorns and thistles shall it raise for thee; and in the sweat of thy face shall thou eat thy bread. And thou shall be in distresses of many kinds. Thou shall weary thyself, and rest not; thou shalt be afflicted by bitterness, and shall not taste of sweetness; thou shalt be afflicted by heat, and oppressed by cold; and thou shalt toil much, and not grow rich; and thou shalt make haste, and not attain thine end; and the wild beasts, of which thou wast Lord, shall rise up against thee in rebellion, because thou hast not kept my commandment. And having turned to me, the Lord says to me, Since thou hast obeyed the serpent, and disobeyed my commandment, thou shall be in distresses and unbearable pains; thou shall bring forth children with great tremblings; and in one hour shale thou come to bring them forth, and lose thy life in consequence of thy great straits and pangs. And thou shale confess, and say, Lord, Lord, save me; and I shall not return to the sin of the flesh. And on this account in thine own words I shall judge thee, on account of the enmity which the enemy hath put in thee; and thou shale turn again to thy husband, and he shall be thy Lord. And after speaking thus to me, He spoke to the serpent in great wrath, saying to him, Since thou hast done this, and hast become an ungracious instrument until thou

shouldst deceive those that were remiss in heart, cursed art thou of all the beasts. Thou shale be deprived of the food which thou eatest; and dust shale thou eat all the days of thy life; upon thy breast and belly shale thou go, and thou shalt be deprived both of thy hands and feet; there shall not be granted thee ear, nor wing, nor one limb of all which those have whom thou hast enticed by thy wickedness, and hast caused them to be cast out of paradise. And I shall put enmity between thee and between his seed. He shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou for his heel, until the day of judgment. And having thus said, He commands His angels that we be cast out of paradise. And as we were being driven along, and were lamenting, your father Adam entreated the angels, saying, Allow me a little, that I may entreat God, and that He may have compassion upon me, and pity me, for I only have sinned. And they stopped driving him. And Adam cried out with weeping, saying, Pardon me, Lord, what I have done. Then says the Lord to His angels, Why have you stopped driving Adam out of paradise? It is not that the sin is mine, or that I have judged ill? Then the angels, failing to the ground, worshipped the Lord, saying, Just art Thou, Lord, and judgest what is right. And turning to Adam, the Lord said, I will not permit thee henceforth to be in paradise. And Adam answered and said, Lord, give me of the tree of life, that I may eat before I am cast out. Then the Lord said to Adam, Thou shalt not now take of it, for it has been assigned to the cherubim and the flaming sword, which turneth to guard it on account of thee, that thou mayst not taste of it and be free from death for ever, but that thou mayst have the war which the enemy has set in thee. But when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shalt keep thyself from all evil, as being destined to die, I will again raise thee up when the resurrection comes, and then there shall be given thee of the tree of life, and thou shalt be free from death for ever. And having thus said, the Lord commanded us to be cast out of paradise. And your father wept before the angels over against paradise. And the angels say to him, What dost thou wish that we should do for thee, Adam? And your father answered and said to the angels, Behold, you cast me out. I beseech you, allow me to take sweet odors out of paradise, in order that, after I go out, I may offer sacrifice to God, that God may listen to me. And the angels, advancing, said to God, Jael, eternal King, order to be given to Adam sacrifices of sweet odor out of paradise. And God ordered Adam to go, that he might take perfumes of sweet odor out of paradise for his food. And the angels

let him go, and he gathered both kinds — saffron and spikenard, and calamus and cinnamon, and other seeds for his food; and having taken them, he went forth out of paradise. And we came to the earth.

Now, then, my children, I have shown you the manner in which we were deceived. But do ye watch over yourselves, so as not to forsake what is good.

And when she had thus spoken in the midst of her sons, and Adam was lying in his disease, and he had one other day before going out of the body, Eve says to Adam: Why is it that thou diest, and I live? or how long time have I to spend after thou diest? tell me. Then says Adam to Eve: Do not trouble thyself about matters; for thou wilt not be long after me, but we shall both die alike, and thou wilt be laid into my place. And when I am dead you will leave me, and let no one touch me, until the angel of the Lord shall say something about me; for God will not forget me, but will seek His own vessel which He fashioned. Arise, rather, pray to God until I restore my spirit into the hands of Him who has given it; because we know not how we shall meet Him who made us, whether He shall be angry with us, or turn and have mercy upon us. Then arose Eve, and went outside; and falling to the ground, she said: I have sinned, O God; I have sinned, O Father of all; I have sinned to Thee, I have sinned against Thy chosen angels, I have sinned against the cherubim, I have sinned against Thine unshaken throne; I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned much, I have sinned before Thee, and every sin through me has come upon the creation. And while Eve was still praying, being on her knees, behold, there came to her the angel of humanity, and raised her up, saying: Arise, Eve, from thy repentance; for, behold, Adam thy husband has gone forth from his body; arise and see his spirit carried up to Him that made it, to meet Him.

And Eve arose, and covered her face with her hand; and the angel says to her: Raise thyself from the things of earth. And Eve gazed up into heaven, and she saw a chariot of light going along under four shining eagles — and it was not possible for any one born of woman to tell the glory of them, or to see the face of them — and angels going before the chariot. And when they I came to the place where your father Adam was lying, the chariot stood still, and the seraphim between your father and the chariot. And I saw golden censers, and three vials; and, behold, all the angels with

incense, and the censers, and the vials, came to the altar, and blew them up, and the smoke of the incense covered the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshipped God, crying out and saying: Holy Jael, forgive; for he is Thine image, and the work of Thine holy hands.

And again, I Eve saw two great and awful mysteries standing before God. And I wept for fear, and cried out to my son Seth, saying: Arise, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, that thou mayst see what the eye of no one bath ever seen; and they are praying for thy father Adam.

Then Seth arose and went to his mother, and said to her: What has befallen thee? and why weepest thou? She says to him: Look up with thine eyes, and see the seven firmaments opened, and see with thine eyes how the body of thy, father lies upon its face, and all the holy angels with him, praying for him, and saying: Pardon him, O Father of the universe; for he is Thine image. What then, my child Seth, will this be? and when will he be delivered into the hands of our invisible Father and God? And who are the two dark-faced ones who stand by at the prayer of thy father? And Seth says to his mother: These are the sun and the moon, and they are falling down and praying for my father Adam. Eve says to him: And where is their light, and why have they become black-looking? And Seth says to her: They cannot shine in the presence of the Light of the universe, and for this reason the light from them has been hidden.

And while Seth was speaking to his mother, the angels lying upon their faces sounded their trumpets, and cried out with an awful voice, saying, Blessed be the glory of the Lord upon what He has made, for He has had compassion upon Adam, the work of His hands. When the angels had sounded this forth, there came one of the six-winged seraphim, and hurried Adam to the Acherusian lake, and washed him in presence of God. And he spent three hours lying, and thus the Lord of the universe, sitting upon His holy throne, stretched forth His hands, and raised Adam, and delivered him to the archangel Michael, saying to him: Raise him into paradise, even to the third heaven, and let him be there until that great and dreadful day which I am to bring upon the world. And the archangel Michael, having taken Adam, led him away, and anointed him, as God said to him at the pardoning of Adam.

After all these things, therefore, the archangel asked about the funeral rites of the remains; and God commanded that all the angels should come together into His presence, each according to his rank. And all the angels were assembled, some with censers, some with trumpets. And the Lord of Hosts went up, and the winds drew Him, and cherubim riding upon the winds, and the angels of heaven went before Him; and they came to where the body of Adam was, and took it. And they came to paradise, and all the trees of paradise were moved so that all begotten from Adam hung their heads in sleep at the sweet smell, except Seth, because he had been begotten according to the appointment of God.

The body of Adam, then, was lying on the ground in paradise, and Seth was grieved exceedingly about him. And the Lord God says: Adam, why hast thou done this? If thou hadst kept my commandment, those that brought thee down to this place would not have rejoiced. Nevertheless I say unto thee, that I will turn their joy into grief, but I will turn thy grief into joy; and having turned, I will set thee in thy kingdom, on the throne of him that deceived thee; and he shall be cast into this place, that thou mayst sit upon him. Then shall be condemned, he and those who hear him; and they shall be much grieved, and shall weep, seeing thee sitting upon his glorious throne. And then He said to the archangel Michael: Go into paradise, into the third heaven, and bring me three cloths of fine linen and silk. And God said to Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael: Cover Adam’s body with the cloths, and bring olive oil of sweet odor, and pour upon him. And having thus done, they prepared his body for burial. And the Lord said: Let also the body of Abel be brought. And having brought other cloths, they prepared it also for burial, since it had not been prepared for burial since the day on which his brother Cain slew him. For the wicked Cain, having taken great pains to hide it, had not been able; for the earth did not receive it, saying: I will not receive a body into companionship until that dust which was taken up and fashioned upon me come to me. And then the angels took it up, and laid it on the rock until his father died. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the regions of paradise, in the place in which God found the dust. And God sent seven angels into paradise, and they brought many sweet-smelling herbs, and laid them in the earth; and thus they took the two bodies, and buried them in the place which they had dug and built.

And God called Adam, and said: Adam, Adam. And the body answered out of the ground, and said: Here am I, Lord. And the Lord says to him: I said to thee, Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return. Again I promise thee the resurrection. I will raise thee up in the last day in the resurrection, with every man who is of thy seed.

And after these words God made a three-cornered seal, and sealed the tomb, that no one should do anything to him in the six days, until his rib should return to him. And the beneficent God and the holy angels having laid him in his place, after the six days Eve also died. And while she lived she wept about her falling asleep, because she knew not where her body was to be laid. For when the Lord was present in paradise when they buried Adam, both she and her children fell asleep, except Seth, as I said. And Eve, in the hour of her death, besought that she might be buried where Adam her husband was, saying thus: My Lord, Lord and God of all virtue, do not separate me, Thy servant, from the body of Adam, for of his members Thou madest me; but grant to me, even me, the unworthy and the sinner, to be buried by his body. And as I was along with him in paradise, and not separated from him after the transgression, so also let no one separate us. After having prayed, therefore, she looked up into heaven, and stood up, and said, beating her breast: God of all, receive my spirit. And straightway she gave up her spirit to God.

And when she was dead, the archangel Michael stood beside her; and there came three angels, and took her body, and buried it where the body of Abel was. And the archangel Michael said to Seth: Thus bury every man that dies, until the day of the resurrection. And after having given this law, he said to him: Do not mourn beyond six days. And on the seventh day, rest, and rejoice in it, because in it God and we the angels rejoice in the righteous soul that has departed from earth. Having thus spoken, the archangel Michael went up into heaven, glorifying, and saying the Alleluia: Holy, holy, holy Lord, to the glory of God the Father, because to Him is due glory, honor, and adoration, with His unbeginning and life-giving Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

REVELATION OF ESDRAS

WORD AND REVELATION OF ESDRAS, THE HOLY PROPHET AND BELOVED OF GOD

IT came to pass in the thirtieth year, on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house. And I cried out and said to the Most High: Lord, give the glory, in order that I may see Thy mysteries. And when it was night, there came an angel, Michael the archangel, and says to me: O Prophet Esdras, refrain from bread for seventy weeks. And I fasted as he told me. And there came Raphael the commander of the host, and gave me a storax rod. And I fasted twice sixty weeks. And I saw the mysteries of God and His angels. And I said to them: I wish to plead before God about the race of the Christians. It is good for a man not to be born rather than to come into the world. I was therefore taken up into heaven, and I saw in the first heaven a great army of angels; and they took me to the judgments. And I heard a voice saying to me: Have mercy on us, O thou chosen of God, Esdras. Then began I to say: Woe to sinners when they see one who is just more than the angels, and they themselves are in the Gehenna of fire! And Esdras said: Have mercy on the works of Thine hands, Thou who art compassionate, and of great mercy. Judge me rather than the souls of the sinners; for it is better that one soul should he punished, and that the whole world should not come to destruction. And God said: I will give rest in paradise to the righteous, and I have become merciful. And Esdras said: Lord, why dost Thou confer benefits on the righteous? for just as one who has been hired out, and has served out his time, goes and again works as a slave when he come to his masters, so also the righteous has received his reward in the heavens. But have mercy on the sinners, for we know that Thou art merciful. And God said: I do not see how I can have mercy upon them. And Esdras said: They cannot endure Thy wrath. And God said: This is the fate of such. And God said: I wish to have thee like Paul and John, as thou hast given me uncorrupted the treasure that cannot be stolen, the treasure of virginity, the bulwark of men. And Esdras said: It is good for a man not to be born. It is good not to be in life. The irrational creatures are better than man, because they have no punishment; but Thou hast taken us, and given us up to judgment. Woe to the sinners in the

world to come! because their judgment is endless, and the flame unquenchable. And while I was thus speaking to him, there came Michael and Gabriel, and all the apostles; and they said: Rejoice, O faithful man of God! And Esdras said: Arise, and come hither with me, O Lord, to judgment. And the Lord said: Behold, I give thee my covenant between me and thee, that you may receive it. And Esdras said: Let us plead in Thy hearing. And God said: Ask Abraham your father how a son pleads with his father, and come plead with us. And Esdras said: As the Lord liveth, I will not cease pleading with Thee in behalf of the race of the Christians. Where are Thine ancient compassions, O Lord? Where is Thy long-suffering? And God said: As I have made night and day, I have made the righteous and the sinner; and he should have lived like the righteous. And the prophet said: Who made Adam the first-formed? And God said: My undefiled hands. And I put him in paradise to guard the food of the tree of life; and thereafter he became disobedient. and did this in transgression. And the prophet said: Was he not protected by an angel? and was not his life guarded by the cherubim to endless ages? and how was he deceived who was guarded by angels? for Thou didst command all to be present, and to attend to what was said by Thee. But if Thou hadst not given him Eve, the serpent would not have deceived her; but whom Thou wilt Thou savest, and whom Thou wilt Thou destroyest. And the prophet said: Let us come, my Lord, to a second judgment. And God said: I cast fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou dealest with us according to our deserts. And God said: Your sins transcend my clemency. And the prophet said: Call to mind the Scriptures, my Father, who hast measured out Jerusalem, and set her up again. Have mercy, O Lord, upon sinners; have mercy upon Thine own creatures; have pity upon Thy works. Then God remembered those whom He had made, and said to the prophet: How can I have mercy upon them? Vinegar and gall did they give me to drink, and not even then did they repent. And the prophet said: Reveal Thy cherubim, and let us go together to judgment; and show me the day of judgment, what like it is. And God said: Thou hast been deceived, Esdras; for such is the day of judgment as that in which there is no rain upon the earth; for it is a merciful tribunal as compared with that day. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead with Thee, unless I see the day of the consummation. And God said: Number the stars and the sand of the sea; and if thou shalt be able to

number this, thou art also able to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou knowest that I wear human flesh; and how can I count the stars of the heaven, and the sand of the sea? And God said: My chosen prophet, no man will know that great day and the appearing that comes to judge the world. For thy sake, my prophet, I have told thee the day; but the hour have I not told thee. And the prophet said: Lord, tell me also the years. And God said: If I see the righteousness of the world, that it has abounded, I will have patience with them; but if not, I will stretch forth my hand, and lay hold of the world by the four quarters, and bring them all together into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will wipe out the race of men, so that the world shall be no more. And the prophet said: And how can Thy right hand be glorified? And God said: I shall be glorified by my angels. And the prophet said: Lord, if Thou hast resolved to do this, why didst Thou make man? Thou didst say to our father Abraham, Multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand that is by the sea-shore; and where is Thy promise? And God said: First will I make an earthquake for the fall of four-footed beasts and of men; and when you see that brother gives up brother to death, and that children shall rise up against their parents, and that a woman forsakes her own husband, and when nation shall rise up against nation in war, then will you know that the end is near. For then neither brother pities brother, nor man wife, nor children parents, nor friends friends, nor a slave his master; for he who is the adversary of men shall come up from Tartarus, and shall show men many things. What shall I make of thee, Esdras? and wilt thou yet plead with me? And the prophet said: Lord, I shall not cease to plead with Thee. And God said: Number the flowers of the earth. If thou shalt be able to number them, thou art able also to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, I cannot number them. I wear human flesh; but I shall not cease to plead with Thee. I wish, Lord, to see also the under parts of Tartarus. And God said: Come down and see. And He gave me Michael, and Gabriel, and other thirty-four angels; and I went down eighty-five steps, and they brought me down five hundred steps, and I saw a fiery throne, and an old man sitting upon it; and his judgment was merciless. And I said to the angels: Who is this? and what is his sin? And they said to me: This is Herod, who for a time was a king, and ordered to put to death the children from two years old and under. And I said: Woe to his soul! And again they took me down thirty steps, and I there saw

boilings up of fire, and in them there was a multitude of sinners; and I heard their voice, but saw not their forms. And they took me down lower many steps, which I could not measure. And I there saw old men, and fiery pivots turning in their ears. And I said: Who are these? and what is their sin? And they said to me: These are they who would not listen. And they took me down again other five hundred steps, and I there saw the worm that sleeps not, and fire burning up the sinners. And they took me down to the lowest part of destruction, and I saw there the twelve plagues of the abyss. And they took me away to the south, and I saw there a man hanging by the eyelids; and the angels kept scourging him. And I asked: Who is this? and what is his sin? And Michael the commander said to me: This is one who lay with his mother; for having put into practice a small wish, he has been ordered to be hanged. And they took me away to the north, and I saw there a man bound with iron chains. And I asked: Who is this? And he said to me: This is he who said, I am the Son of God, that made stones bread, and water wine. And the prophet said: My Lord, let me know what is his form, and I shall tell the race of men, that they may not believe in him. And he said to me: The form of his countenance is like that of a wild beast; his right eye like the star that rises in the morning, and the other without motion; his mouth one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the track of his feet of two spans; and in his face an inscription, Antichrist. He has been exalted to heaven; he shall go down to Hades. At one time he shall become a child; at another, an old man. And the prophet said: Lord, and how dost Thou permit him, and he deceives the race of men? And God said: Listen, my prophet. He becomes both child and old man, and no one believes him that he is my beloved Son. And after this a trumpet, and the tombs shall be opened, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible. Then the adversary, hearing the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden in outer darkness. Then the heaven, and the earth, and the sea shall be destroyed. Then shall I burn the heaven eighty cubits, and the earth eight hundred cubits. And the prophet said: And how has the heaven sinned? And God said: Since... there is evil. And the prophet said: Lord, and the earth, how has it sinned? And God said: Since the adversary, having heard the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden, even on account of this will I melt the earth, and with it the opponent of the race of men. And the prophet said: Have mercy, Lord, upon the race of the Christians. And I saw a woman hanging, and four wild beasts sucking her breasts. And the

angels said to me: She grudged to give her milk, but even threw her infants into the rivers. And I saw a dreadful darkness, and a night that had no stars nor moon; nor is there there young or old, nor brother with brother, nor mother with child, nor wife with husband. And I wept, and said: O Lord God, have mercy upon the sinners. And as I said this, there came a cloud and snatched me up, and carried me away again into the heavens. And I saw there many judgments; and I wept bitterly, and said: It is good for a man not to have come out of his mother's womb. And those who were in torment cried out, saying: Since thou hast come hither, O holy one of God, we have found a little remission. And the prophet said: Blessed are they that weep for their sins. And God said: Hear, O beloved Esdras. As a husbandman casts the seed of the corn into the ground, so also the man casts his seed into the parts of the woman. The first month it is all together; the second it increases in size; the third it gets hair; the fourth it gets nails; the fifth it is turned into milk; and the sixth it is made ready, and receives life; the seventh it is completely furnished; the ninth the barriers of the gate of the woman are opened; and it is born safe and sound into the earth. And the prophet said: Lord, it is good for man not to have been born. Woe to the human race then, when Thou shall come to judgment! And I said to the Lord: Lord, why hast Thou created man, and delivered him up to judgment? And God said, with a lofty proclamation: I will not by any means have mercy on those who transgress my covenant. And the prophet said Lord, where is Thy goodness? And God said: I have prepared all things for man's sake, and man does not keep my commandments. And the prophet said: Lord, reveal to me the judgments and paradise. And the angels took me away towards the east, and I saw the tree of life. And I saw there Enoch, and Elias, and Moses, and Peter, and Paul, and Luke, and Matthias, and all the righteous, and the patriarchs. And I saw there the keeping of the air within bounds, and the blowing of the winds, and the storehouses of the ice, and the eternal judgments. And I saw there a man hanging by the skull. And they said to me: This man removed landmarks. And I saw there great judgments. And I said to the Lord: O Lord God, and what man, then, who has been born has not sinned? And they took me lower down into Tartarus, and I saw all the sinners lamenting and weeping and mourning bitterly. And I also wept, seeing the race of men thus tormented. Then God says to me: Knowest thou, Esdras, the names of the angels at the end of the world? Michael,

Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Beburos, Zebuleon. Then there came a voice to me: Come hither and die, Esdras, my beloved; give that which hath been entrusted to thee. And the prophet said: And whence can you bring forth my soul? And the angels said: We can put it forth through the mouth. And the prophet said: Mouth to mouth have I spoken with God, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: Let us bring it out through thy nostrils. And the prophet said: My nostrils have smelled the sweet savor of the glory of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through thine eyes. And the prophet said: Mine eyes have seen the back parts of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through the crown of thy head. And the prophet said: I walked about with Moses also on the mountain, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: We can put it forth through the points of thy nails. And the prophet said: My feet also have walked about on the altar. And the angels went away without having done anything, saying: Lord, we cannot get his soul. Then He says to His only begotten Son: Go down, my beloved Son, with a great host of angels, and take the soul of my beloved Esdras. For the Lord, having taken a great host of angels, says to the prophet: Give me the trust which I entrusted to thee; the crown has been prepared for thee. And the prophet said: Lord, if Thou take my soul from me, who will be left to plead with Thee for the race of men And God said: As thou art mortal, and of the earth, do not plead with me. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead. And God said: Give up just now the trust; the crown has been prepared for thee. Come and die, that thou mayst obtain it. Then the prophet began to say with tears: O Lord, what good have I done pleading with Thee, and I am going to fall down into the earth? Woe’s me, woe’s me, that I am going to be eaten up by worms! Weep, all ye saints and ye righteous, for me, who have pleaded much, and who am delivered up to death. Weep for me, all ye saints and ye righteous, because I have gone to the pit of Hades. And God said to him: Hear, Esdras, my beloved. I, who am immortal, endured a cross; I tasted vinegar and gall; I was laid in a tomb, and I raised up my chosen ones; I called Adam up out of Hades, that I might save the race of men. Do not therefore be afraid of death: for that which is from me — that is to say, the soul — goes to heaven; and that which is from the earth — that is to say, the body — goes to the earth, from which it was taken. And the prophet said: Woe’s me! woe’s me! what shall I set about? what shall I do? I know not.

And then the blessed Esdras began to say: O eternal God, the Maker of the whole creation, who hast measured the heaven with a span, and who holdest the earth as a handful, who ridest upon the cherubim, who didst take the prophet Elias to the heavens in a chariot of fire, who givest food to all flesh, whom all things dread and tremble at from the face of Thy power, — listen to me, who have pleaded much, and give to all who transcribe this book, and have it, and remember my name, and honor my memory, give them a blessing from heaven; and bless him in all things, as Thou didst bless Joseph at last, and remember not his former wickedness in the day of his judgment. And as many as have not believed this book shall be burnt up like Sodom and Gomorrah. And there came to him a voice, saying: Esdras, my beloved, all things whatever thou hast asked will I give to each one. And immediately he gave up his precious soul with much honor, in the month of October, on the twenty-eighth. And they prepared him for burial with incense and psalms; and his precious and sacred body dispenses strength of soul and body perpetually to those who have recourse to him from a longing desire. To whom is due glory, strength, honor, and adoration, — to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

REVELATION OF PAUL

REVELATION of the holy Apostle Paul: the things which were revealed to him when he went up even to the third heaven, and was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words.

There dwelt a certain nobleman in the city of Tarsus, in the house of St. Paul the apostle, in the government of Theodosius the worshipful king, and of the most illustrious Gratianus; and there was revealed to him an angel of the Lord, saying: Upturn the foundation of this house, and lift up what thou shalt find. But he thought that he had had a dream. And the angel having persisted even to a third vision, the nobleman was compelled to upturn the foundation; and having dug, he found a marble box containing this revelation; and having taken it, he showed it to the ruler of the city. And the ruler, seeing it sealed up with lead, sent it to the King Theodosius, thinking that it was something else. And the king baring received it, and transcribed it, sent the original writing to Jerusalem. And there was written in it thus: —

The word of the Lord came to me, saying: Say to this people, Till when do you sin, and add to your sin, and provoke to anger the God who made you, saying that you are children to Abraham, but doing the works of Satan, going on in speaking against God, boasting only in your addressing of God, but poor on account of the substance of sin? Know, ye sons of men, that the whole creation has been made subject to God; but the human race alone, by sinning, provokes God to anger. For often the great light, the sun, has come before God, saying against men: Lord God Almighty, how long dost Thou endure all the sin of men? Command me, and I will burn them up. And there came a voice to him: My long-suffering endures them all, that they may repent; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. And often also the moon and the stars have come before God, saying: Lord God Almighty, Thou hast given us the dominion of the night, and we no longer cover the thefts, and adulteries, and blood-sheddings of men; command us, and we shall do marvels against them. And there came a voice: My long-suffering bears with them, that they may turn to me; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. And in like manner also

the sea cried out, saying: Lord God Almighty, the sons of men have profaned Thy holy name; command me, and I shall rise up and cover the earth, and wipe out from it the sons of men. And there came a voice, saying: My long-suffering bears with them, that they may repent; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. You see, ye sons of men, i that the whole creation has been made subject to God, but the human race alone sins before God. On account of all these things, bless God without ceasing, and yet more when the sun is setting. For at this hour all the angels come to God to adore Him, and they bring before Him the works of men, of each what he has done from morning even to evening, whether good or evil. And one angel goes rejoicing on account of man when he behaves well, and another goes with a sad countenance. All the angels at the appointed hour meet for the worship of God, to bring each day's works of men. But do ye men bless God without ceasing Whenever, therefore, at the appointed hour the angels of pious men come, rejoicing and singing psalms, they meet for the worship of the Lord; and, behold, the Spirit of God says to them: Whence do ye come rejoicing? And they answered and said: We are here from the pious men, who in all piety spend their life, fearing the name of God. Command them, Lord, to abide even to the end in Thy righteousness. And there came to them a voice: I have both kept and will keep them void of offense in my kingdom. And when it came to pass that they went away, there came other angels with a cheerful countenance, shining like the sun. And behold a voice to them: Whence have ye come? And they answered and said: We have come from those who have held themselves aloof from the world and the things in the world for Thy holy name's sake, who in deserts, and mountains, and caves, and the dens of the earth, in beds on the ground, and in fastings, spend their life. Command us to be with them. And there came a voice: Go with them in peace, guarding them. Moreover, when they went away, behold, there came other angels to worship before God, mourning and weeping. And the Spirit went forth to meet them, and there came a voice to them: Whence have ye come? And they answered and said: We have come from those who have been called by Thy name, and are slaves to the matter of sin. Why, then, is it necessary to minister unto them? And there came a voice to them: Do not cease to minister unto them; perhaps they will turn; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. Know,

sons of men, that all that is done by you day by day, the angels write in the heavens. Do you therefore cease not to bless God.

And I was in the Holy Spirit, and an angel says to me: Come, follow me, that I may show thee the place of the just, where they go after their end. And I went along with the angel, and he brought me up into the heavens under the firmament; and I perceived and saw powers great and dreadful, full of wrath, and through the mouth of them a flame of fire coming out, and clothed in garments of fire. And I asked the angel: Who are these? And he said to me: These are they who are sent away to the souls of the sinners in the hour of necessity; for they have not believed that there is judgment and retribution. And I looked up into the heaven, and saw angels, whose faces shone like the sun, girded with golden girdles, having in their hands prizes, on which the name of the Lord was inscribed, full of all meekness and compassion. And I asked the angel: Who are these? And he answered and said to me: These are they who are sent forth in the day of the resurrection to bring the souls of the righteous, who intrepidly walk according to God. And I said to the angel: I wish to see the souls of the righteous and of the sinners, how they go out of the world. And the angel said to me: Look to the earth. And I looked, and saw the whole world as nothing disappearing before me. And I said to the angel: is this the greatness of men? And he said to me: Yes; for thus every unjust man disappears. And I looked, and saw a cloud of fire wrapped over all the world; and I said: What is this, my Lord? And he said to me: This is the unrighteousness mingled with the destruction of the sinners. And I wept, and said to the angel: I wished to see the departures of the righteous and of the sinners, in what manner they go out of the world. And the angel says to me: Paul, look down, and see what thou hast asked. And I looked, and saw one of the sons of men falling near death. And the angel says to me: This is a righteous man, and, behold, all his works stand beside him in the hour of his necessity. And there were beside him good angels, and along with them also evil angels. And the evil angels indeed found no place in him, but the good took possession of the soul of the righteous man, and said to it: Take note of the body whence thou art coming out; for it is necessary for thee again to return to it in the day of the resurrection, that thou mayst receive what God hath promised to the righteous. And the good angels who had received the soul of the righteous man, saluted it, as

being well known to them. And it went with them; and the Spirit came forth to meet them, saying: Come, soul, enter into the place of the resurrection, which God hath prepared for His righteous ones. And the angel said to me: Look down to the earth, and behold the soul of the impious, how it goes forth from its tabernacle, which has provoked God to anger, saying, Let us eat and drink; for who is it that has gone down to Hades, and come up and announced that there is judgment and retribution? And take heed, and see all his works which he has done standing before him. And the evil angels came and the good. The good therefore found no place of rest in it, but the evil took possession of it, saying: O wretched soul, pay heed to thy flesh; take note of that whence thou art coming forth, for thou must return into thy flesh in the day of the resurrection, that thou mayst receive the recompense of thy sins. And when it had gone forth from its tabernacle, the angel who had lived along with it ran up to it, saying to it: O wretched soul, whither goest thou? I am he who each day wrote down thy sins. Thou hast destroyed the time of repentance; be exceedingly ashamed. And when it came, all the angels saw it, and cried out with one voice, saying: Woe to thee, wretched soul! what excuse hast thou come to give to God? And the angel of that soul said: Weep for it, all of you, along with me. And the angel came up, and worshipped the Lord, saying: Lord, behold the soul which has dwelt in wickedness in its time, and in its temporary life; do to it according to Thy decision. And there came a voice to that soul, saying: Where is the fruit of thy righteousness? And it was silent, not being able to give an answer. And again there came a voice to it: He who has shown mercy will have mercy shown to him; he who has not shown mercy will not have mercy shown to him. Let this soul be delivered to the merciless angel Temeluch, and let it be cast into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. And there was a voice as of tens of thousands, saying: Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and righteous is Thy judgment. And moreover I saw, and, behold, another soul was led by an angel; and it wept, saying: Have mercy upon me, O righteous Judge, and deliver me from the hand of this angel, because he is dreadful and merciless. And a voice came to it. saying: Thou wast altogether merciless, and for this reason thou hast been delivered up to such an angel. Confess thy sins which thou hast done in the world. And that soul said: I have not sinned, O righteous Judge. And the Lord said to that soul: Verily thou seemest as if thou wert in the world, and weft hiding

thy deeds from men. Knowest thou not that whensoever any one dies, his deeds run before him, whether they are good or evil? And when it heard this, it was silent. And I heard the Judge saying: Let the angel come, having in his hands the record of thy sins. And the Judge says to the angel: I say to thee the angel, Disclose all. Say what he has done five years before his death. By myself I swear to thee, that in the first period of his life there was forgetfulness of all his former sins. And the angel answered and said: Lord, command the souls to stand beside their angels; and that same hour they stood beside them. And the Lord of that soul said: Take note of these souls, and whether thou hast in any way sinned against them. And it answered and said: Lord, a year has not been completed since I killed the one and lived with the other. And not only this, but I also wronged it. And the Lord said to it: Knowest thou not that he who wrongs any one in the world is kept, as soon as he dies, in the place until he whom he has wronged come, and both shall be judged before me, and each receive according to his works? And I heard a voice saying: Let this soul be delivered to the angel Tartaruch, and guarded till the great day of judgment. And I heard a voice as of tens of thousands saying: Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and righteous Thy judgment.

And the angel says to me: Hast thou seen all these things? And I answered: Yes my Lord. And again he said to me: Come, follow me, and I shall show thee the place of the righteous. And I followed him, and he set me before the doors of the city. And I saw a golden gate, and two golden pillars before it, and two golden plates upon it full of inscriptions. And the angel said to me: Blessed is he who shall enter into these doors; because not every one goeth in, but only those who have single-mindedness, and guiltlessness, and a pure heart. And I asked the angel: For what purpose have the inscriptions been graven on these plates? And he said to me: These are the names of the righteous, and of those who serve God. And I said to him: Is it so that their names have been inscribed in heaven itself while they are yet alive? And the angel said to me:... of the angels, such as serve Him well are acknowledged by God. And straightway the gate was opened, and there came forth a hoary-headed man to meet us; and he said to me: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God! and, with a joyful countenance, he kissed me with tears. And I said to him: Father, why weepest thou? And he said to me: Because God hath prepared many good things for men, and

they do not His will in order that they may enjoy them. And I asked the angel: My Lord, who is this? And he said to me: This is Enoch, the witness of the last day. And the angel says to me: See that whatever I show thee in this place thou do not announce, except what I tell thee. And he set me upon the river whose source springs up in the circle of heaven; and it is this river which encircleth the whole earth. And he says to me: This river is Ocean. And there was then a great light. And I said: My Lord, what is this? And he said to me: This is the land of the meek. Knowest thou not that it is written, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth? The souls of the righteous, therefore, are kept in this place. And I said to the angel: When, then, will they be made manifest? And he said to me: When the Judge shall come in the day of the resurrection, and sit down. Then, accordingly, shall he command, and shall reveal the earth, and it shall be lighted up; and the saints shall appear in it, and shall delight themselves in the good that have been reserved from the foundation of the world. And there were by the bank of the river, trees planted, full of different fruits. And I looked towards the rising of the sun, and I saw there trees of great size full of fruits; and that land was more brilliant than silver and gold; and there were vines growing on those date-palms, and myriads of shoots, and myriads of clusters on each branch. And I said to the archangel: What is this, my Lord? And he says to me: This is the Acherusian lake, and within it the city of God. All are not permitted to enter into it, except whosoever shall repent of his sins; and as soon as he shall repent, and alter his life, he is delivered to Michael, and they cast him into the Acherusian lake, and then he brings him in the city of God, near the righteous. And I wondered and blessed God at all that I saw. And the angel said to me: Follow me, that I may bring thee into the city of God, and into its light. And its light was greater than the light of the world, and greater than gold, and walls encircled it. And the length and the breadth of it were a hundred stadia. And I saw twelve gates, exceedingly ornamented, leading into the city; and four rivers encircled it, flowing with milk, and honey, and oil, and wine. And I said to the angel: My Lord, what are these rivers? And he said to me: These are the righteous who, when in the world, did not make use of these things, but humbled themselves for the sake of God; and here they receive a recompense ten thousand fold.

And I, going into the city, saw a very lofty tree before the doors of the city, having no fruit, and a few men under it; and they wept exceedingly, and the trees bent down to them. And I, seeing them, wept, and asked the angel: Who are these, that they have not turned to go into the city? And he said to me: Yes, the root of all evils is vainglory. And I said: And these trees, why have they thus humbled themselves? And the angel answered and said to me: For this reason the trees are not fruit-bearing, because they have not withheld themselves from vaunting. And I asked the angel: My Lord, for what reason have they been put aside before the doors of the city? And he answered and said to me: On account of the great goodness of God, since by this way Christ is going to come into the city, and that those who go along with Him may plead for these men, and that they may be brought in along with them. And I was going along, guided by the angel, and he set me upon the river. And I saw there all the prophets; and they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God. And I said to the angel: My Lord, who are these? And he said to me: These are all the prophets, and these are the songs of all the prophecies, and of whoever hath grieved his soul, not doing its will, for God's sake. Having departed, then, he comes here, and the prophets salute him. And the angel brought me to the south of the city, where the river of milk is. And I saw there all the infants that King Herod slew for the Lord's name's sake. And the angel took me again to the east of the city, and I saw there Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. And I asked the angel: My Lord, what place is this? And he said to me: Every one who is hospitable to men comes hither when he comes out of the world, and they salute him as a friend of God on account of his love to strangers. And again he took me away to another place, and I saw there a river like oil on the north of the city, and I saw people there rejoicing and singing praises. And I asked: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who have given themselves up to God; for they are brought into this city. And I looked, and saw in the midst of the city an altar, great and very lofty; and there was one standing near the altar, whose face shone like the sun, and he had in his hands a psaltery and a harp, and he sung the Alleluia delightfully, and his voice filled all the city. And all with one consent accompanied him, so that the city was shaken by their shouting. And I asked the angel: Who is this that singeth delightfully, whom all accompany? And he said to me: This is the prophet David; this is the heavenly Jerusalem. When, therefore, Christ shall come in His second

appearing, David himself goes forth with all the saints. For as it is in the heavens, so also upon earth: for it is not permitted without David to offer sacrifice even in the day of the sacrifice of the precious body and blood of Christ; but it is necessary for David to sing the Alleluia. And I asked the angel: My Lord, what is the meaning of Alleluia? It is called in Hebrew, THEBEL, MAREMATHA — speech to God who founded all things: let us glorify Him in the same. So that every one who sings the Alleluia glorifies God.

When these things, therefore, had been thus said to me by the angel, he led me outside of the city, and the Acherusian lake, and the good land, and set me upon the river of the ocean that supports the firmament of the heaven, and said to me: Knowest thou where I am going? And I said: No, my Lord. And he said to me: Follow me, that I may show thee where the souls of the impious and the sinners are. And he took me to the setting of the sun, and where the beginning of the heaven had been founded upon the river of the ocean. And I saw beyond the river, and there was no light there, but darkness, and grief, and groaning; and I saw a bubbling river, and a great multitude both of men and women who had been cast into it, some up to the knees, others up to the navel, and many even up to the crown of the head. And I asked: Who are these? And he said to me: These are they who lived unrepenting in fornications and adulteries. And I saw at the southwest of the river another river, where there flowed a river of fire, and there was there a multitude of many souls. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are the thieves, and slanderers, and flatterers, who did not set up God as their help, but hoped in the vanity of their riches. And I said to him: What is the depth of this river? And he said to me: Its depth has no measure, but it is immeasurable. And I groaned and wept because of mankind. And the angel said to me: Why weepest thou? Art thou more merciful than God? for, being holy, God, repenting over men, waits for their conversion and repentance; but they, deceived by their own will, come here, and are eternally punished. And I looked into the fiery river, and saw an old man dragged along by two, and they pulled him in up to the knee. And the angel Temeluch coming, laid hold of an iron with his hand, and with it drew up the entrails of that old man through his mouth. And I asked the angel: My Lord, who is this that suffers this punishment? And he said to me: This old man whom thou

seest was a presbyter; and when he had eaten and drunk, then he performed the service of God. And I saw there another old man carried in haste by four angels; and they threw him into the fiery river up to the girdle, and he was frightfully burnt by the lightnings. And I said to the angel: Who is this, my Lord? And he said to me: This whom thou seest was a bishop, and that name indeed he was well pleased to have; but in the goodness of God he did not walk, righteous judgment he did not judge, the widow and the orphan he did not pity, he was neither affectionate nor hospitable; but now he has been recompensed according to his works. And I looked, and saw in the middle of the river another man up to the navel, having his hands all bloody, and worms were coming up through his mouth. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my Lord? And he said to me: This whom thou seest was a deacon, who ate and drank, and ministered to God. And I looked to another place where there was a brazen wall in flames, and within it men and women eating up their own tongues, dreadfully judged. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who in the church speak against their neighbors, and do not attend to the word of God. And I looked, and saw a bloody pit. And I said: What is this pit? And he said to me: This is the place where are cast the wizards, and sorcerers, and the whoremongers, and the adulterers, and those that oppress widows and orphans. And I saw in another place women wearing black, and led away into a dark place. And I asked: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who did not listen to their parents, but before their marriage defiled their virginity. And I saw women wearing white robes, being blind, and standing upon obelisks of fire; and an angel was mercilessly beating them, saying: Now you know where you are; you did not attend when the Scriptures were read to you. And the angel said to me: These are they who corrupted themselves and killed their infants. Their infants therefore came crying out: Avenge us of our mothers. And they were given to an angel to be carried away into a spacious place, but their parents into everlasting fire.

And the angel took me up from these torments, and set me above a well, which had seven seals upon its mouth. And the angel who was with me said to the angel at the well of that place: Open the well, that Paul the beloved of God may see, because there has been given to him authority to see the torments. And the angel of the place said to me: Stand afar off,

until I open the seals. And when he had opened them, there came forth a stench which it was impossible to bear. And having come near the place, I saw that well filled with darkness and gloom, and great narrowness of space in it. And the angel who was with me said to me: This place of the well which thou seest is cast off from the glory of God, and none of the angels is importunate in behalf of them; and as many as have professed that the holy Mary is not the mother of God, and that the Lord did not become man out of her, and that the bread of the thanksgiving and the cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood, are cast into this well: and as I said before no angel is importunate in their behalf. And I saw towards the setting of the sun, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, many men and women there tormented. And I said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who say that there is no resurrection of the dead; and to them mercy never comes.

Having heard this, I wept bitterly; and looking up into the firmament, I saw the heaven opened, and the archangel Gabriel coming down with hosts of angels, who were going round about all the torments. And they who were judged in the torments seeing them, all cried out with one loud voice: Have mercy upon us, Gabriel, who standest in the presence of God; for we heard that there was a judgment: behold, we know it. And the archangel Gabriel answered and said: As the Lord liveth, beside whom I stand, night and day without ceasing I plead in behalf of the race of men; but they did not do any good when in life, but spent the period of their life in vanity. And now I shall weep, even I, along with the beloved Paul; perhaps the good Lord may have compassion, and grant you remission. And they assented with one voice: Have mercy upon us, O Lord. And they fell down before God, and supplicated, saying: Have mercy, O Lord, upon the sons of men whom Thou hast made after Thine image. And the heaven was shaken like a leaf, and I saw the four and twenty elders lying on their face; and I saw the altar, and the throne, and the veil; and all of them entreated the glory of God; and I saw the Son of God with glory and great power coming down to the earth. And when the sound of the trumpet took place, all who were in the torments cried out, saying: Have mercy upon us Son of God; for to Thee has been given power over things in heaven, and things on earth, and things trader the earth. And there came a voice saying: What good work have you done, that you are asking for rest?

For you have done as you wished, and have not repented, but you have spent your life in profligacy. But now for the sake of Gabriel, the angel of my righteousness and for the sake of Paul my beloved, I give you a night and the day of the holy Lord's day, on which I rose from the dead, for rest. And all who were in the torments cried out, saying: We bless Thee, O Son of the living God; better for us is such rest than the life which we lived when spending our time in the world.

And after these things the angel says to me: Behold, thou hast seen all the torments: come, follow me, that I may lead thee away to paradise, and that thou mayst change thy soul by the sight of the righteous; for many desire to salute thee. And he took me by an impulse of the Spirit, and brought me into paradise. And he says to me: This is paradise, where Adam and Eve transgressed. And I saw there a beautiful tree of great size, on which the Holy Spirit, rested; and from the root of it there came forth all manner of most sweet-smelling water, parting into four channels. And I said to the angel: My Lord, what is this tree, that there comes forth from it a great abundance of this water, and where does it go? And he answered and said to me: Before the heaven and the earth existed, He divided them into four kingdoms and heads, of which the names are Phison, Gehon, Tigris, Euphrates. And having again taken hold of me by the hand, he led me near the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And he says to me: This is the tree by means of which death came into the world, and Adam took of the fruit of it from his wife, and ate; and thereafter they were cast out hence. And he showed me another, the tree of life, and said to me: This the cherubim and the flaming sword guard. And when I was closely observing the tree, and wondering, I saw a woman coming from afar off, and a multitude of angels singing praises to her. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my Lord, who is in so great honor and beauty? And the angel says to me: This is the holy Mary, the mother of the Lord. And she came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God, and angels, and men; thou hast proclaimed the word of God in the world, and established churches, and all bear testimony to thee who have been saved by means of thee: for, having been delivered from the deception of idols through thy teaching, they come here.

While they were yet speaking to me, I gazed, and saw other three men coming. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to

me: These are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the righteous forefathers. And they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God.... God did not grieve us. But we know thee in the flesh, before thou camest forth out of the world. And in succession they told me their names from Abraham to Manasseh. And one of them, Joseph who was sold in Egypt, says to me: Hear me, Paul, friend of God: I did not requite my brethren who cursed me. For blessed is he who is able to endure trial, because the Lord will give him in requital sevenfold reward in the world to come. And while he was yet speaking with me, I saw another coming afar off, and the appearance of him was as the appearance of an angel. And I asked the angel, saying: My Lord, who is this? And he said to me: This is Moses the lawgiver, by whom God led forth the children of Israel out of the slavery of Egypt. And when he came near me, he saluted me weeping. And I said to him: Father, why weepest thou, being righteous and meek? And he answered and said to me: I must weep for every man, because I brought trouble upon a people that does not understand, and they have not born fruit; and I see the sheep of which I was shepherd scattered, and the toil which I toiled for the children of Israel has been counted for nothing; and they saw powers and hosts in the midst of them, and they did not understand; and I see the Gentiles worshipping, and believing through thy word, and being converted, and coming here, and out of my people that was so great not one has understood. For, when the Jews hanged the Son of God upon the cross, all the angels and archangels, and the righteous, and the whole creation of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, lamented and mourned with a great lamentation, but the impious and insensate Jews did not understand; wherefore there has been prepared for them the fire everlasting, and the worm that dies not.

While he was yet speaking, there came other three, and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God, the boast of the churches, and model of angels. And I asked: Who are you? And the first said: I am Isaiah, whom Manasseh sawed with a wood saw. And the second said: I am Jeremiah, whom the Jews stoned, but they remained burnt up with everlasting fire. And the third said: I am Ezekiel, whom the slayers of the Messiah pierced; all these things have we endured, and we have not been able to turn the stony heart of the Jews. And I threw myself on my face, entreating the goodness of God, because He had had mercy upon me, and had delivered

me from the race of the Hebrews. And there came a voice saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, beloved of God; and blessed are those who through thee have believed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, because for them has been prepared everlasting life.

While this voice was yet speaking, there came another, crying: Blessed art thou, Paul. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my Lord? And he said to me: This is Noah, who lived in the time of the deluge. And when we had saluted each other, I asked him: Who art thou? And he said to me: I am Noah, who in a hundred years built the ark, and without putting off the coat which I wore, or shaving my head; moreover, I practiced continence, and did not come near my wife; and in the hundred years my coat was not dirtied, and the hair of my head was not diminished. And I ceased not to proclaim to men, Repent, for, behold, a deluge is coming. And no one paid heed; but all derided me, not refraining from their lawless deeds, until the water of the deluge came and destroyed them all.

And looking away, I saw other two from afar off. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are Enoch and Elias. And they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God! And I said to them: Who are you? And Elias the prophet answered and said to me: I am Elias the prophet, who prayed to God, and He caused that no rain should come down upon the earth for three years and six months, on account of the unrighteousness of the sons of men. For often, of a truth, even the angel besought God on account of the rain; and I heard, Be patient until Elias my beloved shall pray, and I send rain upon the earth.

REVELATION OF JOHN

REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN

AFTER the taking up of our Lord Jesus Christ, I John was alone upon Mount Tabor, where also He showed us His undefiled Godhead; and as I was not able to stand, I fell upon the ground, and prayed to the Lord, and said: O Lord my God, who hast deemed me worthy to be Thy servant, hear my voice, and teach me about Thy coming. When Thou shall come to the earth, what will happen? The heaven and the earth, and the sun and the moon, what will happen to them in those times? Reveal to me all; for I am emboldened, because Thou listenest to Thy servant.

And I spent seven days praying; and after this a cloud of light caught me up from the mountain, and set me before the face of the heaven. And I heard a voice saying to me: Look up, John, servant of God, and know. And having looked up, I saw the heaven opened, and there came forth from within the heaven a smell of perfumes of much sweet odor; and I saw an exceeding great flood of light, more resplendent than the sun. And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, righteous John. And I directed my sight, and saw a book lying, of the thickness, methought, of seven mountains; and the length of it the mind of man cannot comprehend, having seven seals. And I said: O Lord my God, reveal to me what is written in this book. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. In this book which thou seest there have been written the things in the heaven, and the things in the earth, and the things in the abyss, and the judgments and righteousness of all the human race. And I said: Lord, when shall these things come to pass? and what do those times bring? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. There shall be in that time abundance of corn and wine, such as there hath never been upon the earth, nor shall ever be until those times come. Then the ear of corn shall produce a half choenix, and the bend of the branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and the cluster shall produce a half jar of wine; and in the following year there shall not be found upon the face of all the earth a half choenix of corn or a half jar of wine.

And again I said: Lord, thereafter what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall appear the denier, and he who is set apart in the darkness, who is called Antichrist. And again I said: Lord, reveal to me what he is like. And I heard a voice saying to me: The appearance of his face is dusky; the hairs of his head are sharp, like darts; his eyebrows like a wild beast's; his right eye like the star which rises in the morning, and the other like a lion's; his mouth about one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the print of his feet of two spans; and on his face an inscription, Antichrist; he shall be exalted even to heaven, and shall be cast down even to Hades, making false displays. And then will I make the heaven brazen, so that it shall not give moisture upon the earth; and I will hide the clouds in secret places, so that they shall not bring moisture upon the earth; and I will command the horns of the wind, so that the wind shall not blow upon the earth.

And again I said: Lord, and how many years will he do this upon the earth? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Three years shall those times be; and I will make the three years like three months, and the three months like three weeks, and the three weeks like three days, and the three days like three hours, and the three hours like three seconds, as said the prophet David, His throne hast Thou broken down to the ground; Thou hast shortened the days of his time; Thou hast poured shame upon him. And then I shall send forth Enoch and Elias to convict him; and they shall show him to be a liar and a deceiver; and he shall kill them at the altar, as said the prophet, Then shall they offer calves upon Thine altar.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what will come to pass? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then all the human race shall die, and there shall not be a living man upon all the earth. And again I said: Lord, after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels, and they shall take the ram's horns that lie upon the cloud; and Michael and Gabriel shall go forth out of the heaven and sound with those horns, as the prophet David foretold, With the voice of a trumpet of horn. And the voice of the trumpet shall be heard from the one quarter of the world to the other; and from the voice of that trumpet all the earth shall be shaken, as the prophet foretold, And at the voice of the bird every plant shall arise; that is, at the voice of the archangel all the human race shall arise.

And again I said: Lord, those who are dead froth Adam even to this day, and who dwell in Hades from the beginning of the world, and who die at the last ages, what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. All the human race shall arise thirty years old.

And again I said: Lord, they die male and female, and some old, and some young, and some infants. In the resurrection what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Just as the bees are, and differ not one from another, but are all of one appearance and one size, so also shall every man be in the resurrection. There is neither fair, nor ruddy, nor black, neither Ethiopian nor different countenances; but they shall all arise of one appearance and one stature. All the human race shall arise without bodies, as I told you that in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God.

And again I said: Lord, is it possible in that world to recognize each other, a brother his brother, or a friend his friend, or a father his own children, or the children their own parents? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, John. To the righteous there is recognition, but to the sinners not at all; they cannot in the resurrection recognize each other. And again I John said: Lord, is there there recollection of the things that are here, either fields or vineyards, or other things here? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. The prophet David speaks, saying, I remembered that we are dust: as for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he shall flourish: for a wind hath passed over it, and it shall be no more, and it shall not any longer know its place. And again the same said: His spirit shall go forth, and he returns to his earth; in that day all his thoughts shall perish.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall lift off the earth everything honorable, and everything precious, and the venerable and holy images, and the glorious and precious crosses, and the sacred vessels of the churches, and the divine and sacred books; and all the precious and holy things shall be lifted up by clouds into the air. And then will I order to be lifted up the great and venerable sceptre, on which I stretched forth my hands, and all the orders of my angels shall do reverence to it. And then

shall be lifted up all the race of men upon clouds, as the Apostle Paul foretold. Along with them we shall be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And then shall come forth every evil spirit, both in the earth and in the abyss, wherever they are on the face of all the earth, from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and they shall be united to him that is served by the devil, that is, Antichrist, and they shall be lifted up upon the clouds.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall burn up the earth eight thousand five hundred cubits, and the great mountains shall be burnt up, and all the rocks shall be melted and shall become as dust, and every tree shall be burnt up, and every beast, and every creeping thing creeping upon the earth, and every thing moving upon the face of the earth, and every flying thing flying in the air; and there shall no longer be upon the face of all the earth anything moving, and the earth shall be without motion.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I uncover the four parts of the east, and there shall come forth four great winds, and they shall sweep all the face of the earth from the one end of the earth to the other; and the Lord shall sweep sin from off the earth, and the earth shall be made white like snow, and it shall become as a leaf of paper, without cave, or mountain, or hill, or rock; but the face of the earth from the rising even to the setting of the sun shall be like a table, and white as snow; and the reins of the earth shall be consumed by fire, and it shall cry unto me, saying, I am a virgin before thee, O Lord, and there is no sin in me; as the prophet David said aforetime, Thou shall sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be made pure; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. And again he said: Every chasm shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill brought low, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the rough ways into smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall the earth be cleansed from sin, and all the earth shall be filled with a sweet smell, because I am

about to come down upon the earth; and then shall come forth the great and venerable sceptre, with thousands of angels worshipping it, as I said before; and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man from the heaven with power and great glory. And then the worker of iniquity with his servants shall behold it, and gnash his teeth exceedingly, and all the unclean spirits shall be turned to flight. And then, seized by invisible power, having no means of flight, they shall gnash their teeth against him, saying to him: Where is thy power? How hast thou led us astray? and we have fled away, and have fallen away from the glory which we had beside Him who is coming to judge us, and the whole human race. Woe to us! because He banishes us into outer darkness.

And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then will I send an angel out of heaven, and he shall cry with a loud voice, saying, Hear, O earth, and be strong, saith the Lord; for I am coming down to thee. And the voice of the angel shall be heard from the one end of the world even to the other, and even to the remotest part of the abyss. And then shall be shaken all the power of the angels and of the many-eyed ones, and there shall be a great noise in the heavens, and the nine regions of the heaven shall be shaken, and there shall be fear and astonishment upon all the angels. And then the heavens shall be rent from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and an innumerable multitude of angels shall come down to the earth; and then the treasures of the heavens shall be opened, and they shall bring down every precious thing, and the perfume of incense, and they shall bring down to the earth Jerusalem robed like a bride. And then there shall go before me myriads of angels and archangels, bearing my throne, crying out, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. And then will I come forth with power and great glory, and every eye in the clouds shall see me; and then every knee shall bend, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. And then the heaven shall remain empty; and I will come down upon the earth, and all that is in the air shall be brought down upon the earth, and all the human race and every evil spirit along with Antichrist, and they shall all be set before me naked, and chained by the neck.

And again I said: Lord, what will become of the heavens, and the sun, and the moon, along with the stars? And I heard a voice saying to me: Behold,

righteous John. And I looked, and saw a Lamb having seven eyes and seven horns. And again I heard a voice saying to me: I will bid the Lamb come before me, and will say, Who will open this book? And all the multitudes of the angels will answer, Give this book to the Lamb to open it. And then willlorder the book to be opened. And when He shall open the first seal, the stars of the heaven shall fall, from the one end of it to the other. And when He shall open the second seal, the moon shall be hidden, and there shall be no light in her. And when He shall open the third seal, the light of the sun shall be withheld, and there shall not be light upon the earth. And when He shall open the fourth seal, the heavens shall be dissolved, and the air shall be thrown into utter confusion, as saith the prophet: And the heavens are the works of Thy hands; they shall perish, but Thou endurest, and they shall all wax old as a garment. And when He shall open the fifth seal, the earth shall be rent, and all the tribunals upon the face of all the earth shall be revealed. And when He shall open the sixth seal, the half of the sea shall disappear. And when He shall open the seventh seal, Hades shall be uncovered.

And I said: Lord, who will be the first to be questioned, and to receive judgment? And I heard a voice saying to me, The unclean spirits, along with the adversary. I bid them go into outer darkness, where the depths are. And I said: Lord, and in what place does it lie? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years will not arrive at the bottom of Hades; as the prophet David said before, And He made darkness His secret place.

And I said: Lord, and after them what nation will be questioned? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. There will be questioned of Adam’s race those nations, both the Greek and those who have believed in idols, and in the sun, and in the stars, and those who have defiled the faith by heresy, and who have not believed the holy resurrection, and who have not confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost: then will I send them away into Hades, as the prophet David foretold, Let the sinners be turned into Hades, and all the nations that forget God. And again he said: They were put in Hades like sheep; death shall be their shepherd.

And again I said: Lord, and after them whom wilt Thou judge? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then the race of the Hebrews shall be examined, who nailed me to the tree like a malefactor. And I said: And what punishment will these get, and in what place, seeing that they did such things to Thee? And I heard a voice saying to me: They shall go away into Tartarus, as the prophet David foretold, They cried out, and there was none to save; to the Lord, and He did not hearken to them. And again the Apostle Paul said: As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in law shall be judged by means of law.

And again I said: Lord, and what of those who have received baptism? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then the race of the Christians shall be examined, who have received baptism; and then the righteous shall come at my command, and the angels shall go and collect them from among the sinners, as the prophet David foretold: The Lord will not suffer the rod of the sinners in the lot of the righteous; and all the righteous shall be placed on my right hand, and shall shine like the sun. As thou seest, John, the stars of heaven, that they were all made together, but differ in light, so shall it be with the righteous and the sinners; for the righteous shall shine as lights and as the sun, but the sinners shall stand in darkness.

And again I said: Lord, and do all the Christians go into one punishment? — kings, high priests, priests, patriarchs, rich and poor, bond and free? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As the prophet David foretold, The expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever. Now about kings: they shall be driven like slaves, and shall weep like infants; and about patriarchs, and priests, and Levites, of those that have sinned, they shall be separated in their punishments, according to the nature of the peculiar transgression of each, — some in the river of fire, and some to the worm that dieth not, and others in the seven-mouthed pit of punishment. To these punishments the sinners will be apportioned.

And again I said: Lord, and where will the righteous dwell? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then shall paradise be revealed; and the whole world and paradise shall be made one, and the righteous shall be on the face of all the earth with my angels, as the Holy Spirit foretold through the prophet

David: The righteous shall inherit the earth, and dwell therein for ever and ever.

And again I said: Lord, how great is the multitude of the angels? and which is the greater, that of angels or of men? And I heard a voice saying to me: As great as is the multitude of the angels, so great is the race of men, as the prophet has said, He set bounds to the nations according to the number of the angels of God. And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? and what is to become of the world? Reveal to me all. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. After that there is no pain, there is no grief, there is no groaning; there is no recollection of evils, there are no tears, there is no envy, there is no hatred of brethren, there is no unrighteousness, there is no arrogance, there is no slander, there is no bitterness, there are none of the cares of life, there is no pain from parents or children, there is no pain from gold, there are no wicked thoughts, there is no devil, there is no death, there is no night, but all is day. As I said before, And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, that is, men who have been made like the angels through their excellent course of life; them also must I bring, and they will hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, one shepherd.

And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, thou hast heard all these things, righteous John; deliver them to faithful men, that they also may teach others, and not think lightly of them, nor cast our pearls before swine, lest perchance they should trample them with their feet.

And while I was still hearing this voice, the cloud brought me down, and put me on Mount Thabor. And there came a voice to me, saying: Blessed are those who keep judgment and do righteousness in all time. And blessed is the house where this description lies, as the Lord said, He that loveth me keepeth my sayings in Christ Jesus our Lord; to Him be glory for ever. Amen.

THE BOOK OF JOHN CONCERNING

THE FALLING ASLEEP OF MARY

THE ACCOUNT OF ST. JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN OF THE FALLING ASLEEP OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

As the all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, as was her wont, was going to the holy tomb of our Lord to burn incense, and bending her holy knees, she was importunate that Christ our God who had been born of her should return to her. And the Jews, seeing her lingering by the divine sepulcher, came to the chief priests, saying: Mary goes every day to the tomb. And the chief priests, having summoned the guards set by them not to allow any one to pray at the holy sepulcher, inquired about her, whether in truth it were so. And the guards answered and said that they had seen no such thing, God having not allowed them to see her when there. And on one of the days, it being the preparation, the holy Mary, as was her wont, came to the sepulcher; and while she was praying, it came to pass that the heavens were opened, and the archangel Gabriel came down to her and said: Hail, thou that didst bring forth Christ our God! Thy prayer having come through to the heavens to Him who was born of thee, has been accepted; and from this time, according to thy request, thou having left the world, shall go to the heavenly places to thy Son, into the true and everlasting life.

And having heard this from the holy archangel, she returned to holy Bethlehem, having along with her three virgins who ministered unto her. And after having rested a short time, she sat up and said to the virgins: Bring me a censer, that I may pray. And they brought it, as they had been commanded. And she prayed, saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, who didst deign through Thy supreme goodness to be born of me, hear my voice, and send me Thy apostle John, in order that, seeing him, I may partake of joy; and send me also the rest of Thy apostles, both those who have already

gone to Thee, and those in the world that now is, in whatever country they may be, through Thy holy commandment, in order that, having beheld them, I may bless Thy name much to be praised; for I am confident that Thou hearest Thy servant in everything.

And while she was praying, I John came, the Holy Spirit having snatched me up by a cloud from Ephesus, and set me in the place where the mother of my Lord was lying. And having gone in beside her, and glorified Him who had been born of her, I said: Hail, mother of my Lord, who didst bring forth Christ our God, rejoice that in great glory thou art going out of this life. And the holy mother of God glorified God, because I John had come to her, remembering the voice of the Lord, saying: Behold thy mother, and, Behold thy son. And the three virgins came and worshipped. And the holy mother of God says to me: Pray, and cast incense. And I prayed thus: Lord Jesus Christ, who hast done wonderful things, now also do wonderful things before her who brought Thee forth; and let Thy mother depart from this life; and let those who crucified Thee, and who have not believed in Thee, be confounded. And after I had ended the prayer, holy Mary said to me: Bring me the censer. And having cast incense, she said, Glory to Thee, my God and my Lord, because there has been fulfilled in me whatsoever Thou didst promise to me before thou didst ascend into the heavens, that when I should depart from this world Thou wouldst come to me, and the multitude of Thine angels, with glory. And I John say to her: Jesus Christ our Lord and our God is coming, and thou seest Him, as He promised to thee. And the holy mother of God answered and said to me: The Jews have sworn that after I have died they will burn my body. And I answered and said to her: Thy holy and precious body will by no means see corruption. And she answered and said to me: Bring a censer, and cast incense, and pray. And there came a voice out of the heavens saying the Amen. And I John heard this voice; and the Holy Spirit said to me: John, hast thou heard this voice that spoke in the heaven after the prayer was ended? And I answered and said: Yes, I heard. And the Holy Spirit said to me: This voice which thou didst hear denotes that the appearance of thy brethren the apostles is at hand, and of the holy powers that they are coming hither today. And at this I John prayed.

And the Holy Spirit said to the apostles: Let all of you together, having come by the clouds from the ends of the world, be assembled to holy

Bethlehem by a whirlwind, on account of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberia, Thomas from Hither India, James from Jerusalem. Andrew, Peter's brother, and Philip, Luke, and Simon the Cananaean, and Thaddaeus who had fallen asleep, were raised by the Holy Spirit out of their tombs; to whom the Holy Spirit said: Do not think that it is now the resurrection; but on this account you have risen out of your tombs, that you may go to give greeting to the honor and wonder-working of the mother of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, because the day of her departure is at hand, of her going up into the heavens. And Mark likewise coming round, was present from Alexandria; he also with the rest, as has been said before, from each country. And Peter being lifted up by a cloud, stood between heaven and earth, the Holy Spirit keeping him steady. And at the same time, the rest of the apostles also, having been snatched up in clouds, were found along with Peter. And thus by the Holy Spirit, as has been said, they all came together.

And having gone in beside the mother of our Lord and God, and having adored, we said: Fear not, nor grieve; God the Lord, who was born of thee, will take thee out of this world with glory. And rejoicing in God her Savior, she sat up in the bed, and says to the apostles: Now have I believed that our Master and God is coming from heaven, and I shall behold Him, and thus depart from this life, as I have seen that you have come. And I wish you to tell me how you knew that I was departing and came to me, and from what countries and through what distance you have come hither, that you have thus made haste to visit me. For neither has He who was born of me, our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of the universe, concealed it; for I am persuaded even now that He is the Son of the Most High.

And Peter answered and said to the apostles: Let us each, according to what the Holy Spirit announced and commanded us, give full information to the mother of our Lord. And I John answered and said: Just as I was going in to the holy altar in Ephesus to perform divine service, the Holy Spirit says to me, The time of the departure of the mother of thy Lord is at hand; go to Bethlehem to salute her. And a cloud of light snatched me up, and set me down in the door where thou art lying. Peter also answered: And I, living in Rome, about dawn heard a voice through the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord is to depart, as the time is at hand;

go to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light snatched me up; and I beheld also the other apostles coming to me on clouds, and a voice saying to me, Go all to Bethlehem. And Paul also answered and said: And I, living in a city at no great distance from Rome, called the country of Tiberia, heard the Holy Spirit saying to me, The mother of thy Lord, having left this world, is making her course to the celestial regions through her departure; but go thou also to Bethlehem to salute her. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down in the same place as you. And Thomas also answered and said: And I, traversing the country of the Indians, when the preaching was prevailing by the grace of Christ, and the king's sister's son Labdanus by name, was about to be sealed by me in the palace, on a sudden the Holy Spirit says to me, Do thou also, Thomas, go to Bethlehem to salute the mother of thy Lord, because she is taking her departure to the heavens. And a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And Mark also answered and said: And when I was finishing the canon of the third day in the city of Alexandria, just as I was praying, the Holy Spirit snatched me up, and brought me to you. And James also answered and said: While I was in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit commanded me, saying, Go to Bethlehem, because the mother of thy Lord is taking her departure. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, set me beside you. And Matthew also answered and said: I have glorified and do glorify God, because when I was in a boat and overtaken by a storm, the sea raging with its waves, on a sudden a cloud of light overshadowing the stormy billow, changed it to a calm, and having snatched me up, set me down beside you. And those who had come before likewise answered, and gave an account of how they had come. And Bartholomew said: I was in the Thebais proclaiming the word, and behold the Holy Spirit says to me, The mother of thy Lord is taking her departure; go, then, to salute her in Bethlehem. And, behold, a cloud of light having snatched me up, brought me to you.

The apostles said all these things to the holy mother of God, why they had come, and in what way; and she stretched her hands to heaven and prayed, saying: I adore, and praise, and glorify Thy much to he praised name, O Lord, because Thou hast looked upon the lowliness of Thine handmaiden, and because Thou that art mighty hast done great things for me; and, behold, all generations shall count me blessed. And after the

prayer she said to the apostles: Cast incense, and pray. And when they had prayed, there was thunder from heaven, and there came a fearful voice, as if of chariots; and, behold, a multitude of a host of angels and powers, and a voice, as if of the Son of man, was heard, and the seraphim in a circle round the house where the holy, spotless mother of God and virgin was lying, so that all who were in Bethlehem beheld all the wonderful things, and came to Jerusalem and reported all the wonderful things that had come to pass. And it came to pass, when the voice was heard, that the sun and the moon suddenly appeared about the house; and an assembly of the first-born saints stood beside the house where the mother of the Lord was lying, for her honor and glory. And I beheld also that many signs came to pass, the blind seeing, the deaf hearing, the lame walking, lepers cleansed, and those possessed by unclean spirits cured; and every one who was under disease and sickness, touching the outside of the wall of the house where she was lying, cried out: Holy Mary, who didst bring forth Christ our God, have mercy upon us. And they were straightway cured. And great multitudes out of every country living in Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, having heard of the signs that had come to pass in Bethlehem through the mother of the Lord, came to the place seeking the cure of various diseases, which also they obtained. And there was joy unspeakable on that day among the multitude of those who had been cured, as well as of those who looked on, glorifying Christ our God and His mother. And all Jerusalem from Bethlehem kept festival with psalms and spiritual songs.

And the priests of the Jews, along with their people, were astonished at the things which had come to pass; and being moved with the heaviest hatred, and again with frivolous reasoning, having made an assembly, they determine to send against the holy mother of God and the holy apostles who were there in Bethlehem. And accordingly the multitude of the Jews, having directed their course to Bethlehem, when at the distance of one mile it came to pass that they beheld a frightful vision, and their feet were held fast; and after this they returned to their fellow-countrymen, and reported all the frightful vision to the chief priests. And they, still more boiling with rage, go to the procurator, crying out and saying: The nation of the Jews has been ruined by this woman; chase her from Bethlehem and the province of Jerusalem. And the procurator, astonished at the wonderful

things, said to them: I will chase her neither from Bethlehem nor from any other place. And the Jews continued crying out, and adjuring him by the health of Tiberius Caesar to bring the apostles out of Bethlehem. And if you do not do so, we shall report it to the Caesar. Accordingly, being compelled, he sends a tribune of the soldiers against the apostles to Bethlehem. And the Holy Spirit says to the apostles and the mother of the Lord: Behold, the procurator has sent a tribune against you, the Jews having made an uproar. Go forth therefore from Bethlehem, and fear not: for, behold, by a cloud I shall bring you to Jerusalem; for the power of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit is with you. The apostles therefore rose up immediately, and went forth from the house, carrying the bed of the Lady the mother of God, and directed their course to Jerusalem; and immediately, as the Holy Spirit had said, being lifted up by a cloud, they were found in Jerusalem in the horse of the Lady. And they stood up, and for five days made an unceasing singing of praise. And when the tribune came to Bethlehem, and found there neither the mother of the Lord nor the apostles, he laid hold of the Bethlehemites, saying to them: Did you not come telling the procurator and the priests all the signs and wonders that had come to pass, and how the apostles had come out of every country? Where are they, then? Come, go to the procurator at Jerusalem. For the tribune did not know of the departure of the apostles and the Lord’s mother to Jerusalem. The tribune then, having taken the Bethlehemites, went in to the procurator, saying that he had found no one. And after five days it was known to the procurator, and the priests. and all the city, that the Lord’s mother was in her own house in Jerusalem, along with the apostles, from the signs and wonders that came to pass there. And a multitude of men and women and virgins came together, and cried out: Holy virgin, that didst bring forth Christ our God, do not forget the generation of men. And when these things came to pass, the people of the Jews, with the priests also, being the more moved with hatred, took wood and fire, and came up, wishing to burn the house where the Lord’s mother was living with the apostles. And the procurator stood looking at the sight from afar off. And when the people of the Jews came to the door of the house, behold, suddenly a power of fire coming forth from within, by means of an angel, burnt up a great multitude of the Jews. And there was great fear throughout all the city; and they glorified God, who had been born of her. And when the procurator saw what had come to pass, he

cried out to all the people, saying: Truly he who was born of the virgin, whom you have thought of driving away, is the Son of God; for these signs are those of the true God. And there was a division among the Jews; and many believed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in consequence of the signs that had come to pass.

And after all these wonderful things had come to pass through the mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary the mother of the Lord, while we the apostles were with her in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit said to us: You know that on the Lord's day the good news was brought to the Virgin Mary by the archangel Gabriel; and on the Lord's day the Savior was born in Bethlehem; and on the Lord's day the children of Jerusalem came forth with palm branches to meet him, saying, Hosanna in the highest, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; and on the Lord's day He rose from the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come to judge the living and the dead; and on the Lord's day He will come out of heaven, to the glory and honor of the departure of the holy glorious virgin who brought Him forth. And on the same Lord's day the mother of the Lord says to the apostles: Cast incense, because Christ is coming with a host of angels; and, behold, Christ is at hand, sitting on a throne of cherubim. And while we were all praying, there appeared innumerable multitudes of angels, and the Lord mounted upon cherubim in great power; and, behold, a stream of light coming to the holy virgin, because of the presence of her only-begotten Son, and all the powers of the heavens fell down and adored Him. And the Lord, speaking to His mother, said: Mary. And she answered and said: Here am I, Lord. And the Lord said to her: Grieve not, but let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for thou hast found grace to behold the glory given to me by my Father. And the holy mother of God looked up, and saw in Him a glory which it is impossible for the mouth of man to speak of, or to apprehend. And the Lord remained beside her, saying: Behold, from the present time thy precious body will be transferred to paradise, and thy holy soul to the heavens to the treasures of my Father in exceeding brightness, where there is peace and joy of the holy angels, — and other things besides. And the mother of the Lord answered and said to him: Lay Thy right hand upon me, O Lord, and bless me. And the Lord stretched forth His undefiled right hand, and blessed her. And she laid hold of His undefiled right hand, and kissed it, saying: I adore this right hand, which

created the heaven and the earth; and I call upon Thy much to be praised name Christ, O God, the King of the ages, the only-begotten of the Father, to receive Thine handmaid, Thou who didst deign to be brought forth by me, in a low estate, to save the race of men through Thine ineffable dispensation; do Thou bestow Thine aid upon every man calling upon, or praying to, or naming the name of, Thine handmaid. And while she is saying this, the apostles, having gone up to her feet and adored, say: O mother of the Lord, leave a blessing to the world, since thou art going away from it. For thou hast blessed it, and raised it up when it was ruined, by bringing forth the Light of the world. And the mother of the Lord prayed, and in her prayer spoke thus: O God, who through Thy great goodness hast sent from the heavens Thine only-begotten Son to dwell in my humble body, who hast deigned to be born of me, humble as I am, have mercy upon the world, and every soul that calls upon Thy name. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord, King of the heavens, Son of the living God, accept every man who calls upon Thy name, that Thy birth may be glorified. And again she prayed, and said: O Lord Jesus Christ, who art all-powerful in heaven and on earth, in this appeal I implore Thy holy name; in every time and place where there is made mention of my name, make that place holy, and glorify those that glorify Thee through my name, accepting of such persons all their offering, and all their supplication, and all their prayer. And when she had thus prayed, the Lord said to His mother: Let thy heart rejoice and be glad; for every favor and every gift has been given to thee from my Father in heaven, and from me, and from the Holy Spirit: every soul that calls upon thy name shall not be ashamed, but shall find mercy, and comfort, and support, and confidence, both in the world that now is, and in that which is to come, in the presence of my Father in the heavens. And the Lord turned and said to Peter: The time has come to begin the singing of the hymn. And Peter having begun the singing of the hymn, all the powers of the heavens responded with the Alleluiah. And then the face of the mother of the Lord shone brighter than the light, and she rose up and blessed each of the apostles with her own hand, and all gave glory to God; and the Lord stretched forth His undefiled hands, and received her holy and blameless soul. And with the departure of her blameless soul the place was filled with perfume and ineffable light; and, behold, a voice out of the heaven was heard, saying: Blessed art thou among women. And Peter, and I John,

and Paul, and Thomas, ran and wrapped up her precious feet for the consecration; and the twelve apostles put her precious and holy body upon a couch, and carried it. And, behold, while they were carrying her, a certain well-born Hebrew, Jephonias by name, running against the body, put his hands upon the couch; and, behold, an angel of the Lord by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang about the couch, lifted up in the air. And at this miracle which had come to pass all the people of the Jews who beheld it cried out: Verily, He that was brought forth by thee is the true God, O mother of God, ever-virgin Mary. And Jephonias himself, when Peter ordered him, that the wonderful things of God might be showed forth, stood up behind the couch, and cried out: Holy Mary, who broughtest forth Christ who is God, have mercy upon me. And Peter turned and said to him: In the name of Him who was born of her, thy hands which have been taken away from thee, will be fixed on again. And immediately, at the word of Peter, the hands hanging by the couch of the Lady came, and were fixed on Jephonias. And he believed, and glorified Christ, God who had been born of her.

And when this miracle had been done, the apostles carried the couch, and laid down her precious and holy body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And, behold, a perfume of sweet savor came forth out of the holy sepulcher of our Lady the mother of God; and for three days the voices of invisible angels were heard glorifying Christ our God, who had been born of her. And when the third day was ended, the voices were no longer heard; and from that time forth all knew that her spotless and precious body had been transferred to paradise.

And after it had been transferred, behold, we see Elisabeth the mother of St. John the Baptist, and Anna the mother of the Lady, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, singing the Alleluiah, and all the choirs of the saints adoring the holy relics of the mother of the Lord, and the place full of light, than which light nothing could be more brilliant, and an abundance of perfume in that place to which her precious and holy body had been transferred in paradise, and the melody of those praising Him who had been born of her — sweet melody, of which there is no satiety, such as is given to virgins, and them only, to hear. We apostles, therefore, having beheld the sudden precious translation of her holy body, glorified God,

who had shown us His wonders at the departure of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prayers and good offices may we all be deemed worthy to receive. under her shelter, and support, and protection, both in the world that now is and in that which is to come, glorifying in every time and place her only-begotten Son, along with the Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE PASSING OF MARY

FIRST LATIN FORM

CONCERNING THE PASSING OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

In that time before the Lord came to His passion, and among many words which the mother asked of the Son, she began to ask Him about her own departure, addressing Him as follows: — O most dear Son, I pray Thy holiness, that when my soul goes out of my body, Thou let me know on the third day before; and do Thou, beloved Son, with Thy angels, receive it. Then He received the prayer of His beloved mother, and said to her: O palace and temple of the living God, O blessed mother, O queen of all saints, and blessed above all women, before thou carriedst me in thy womb, I always guarded thee, and caused thee to be fed daily with my angelic food, as thou knowest: how can I desert thee, after thou hast carried me, and nourished me, and brought me down in flight into Egypt, and endured many hardships for me? Know, then, that my angels have always guarded thee, and will guard thee even until thy departure. But after I undergo suffering for men, as it is written, and rise again on the third day, and after forty days ascend into heaven, when thou shall see me coming to thee with angels and archangels, with saints and with virgins, and with my disciples, know for certain that thy soul will be separated from the body, and I shall carry it into heaven, where it shall never at all have tribulation or anguish. Then she joyed and gloried, and kissed the knees of her Son, and blessed the Creator of heaven and earth, who gave her such a gift through Jesus Christ her Son.

In the second year, therefore, after the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most blessed Virgin Mary continued always in prayer day and night. And on the third day before she passed away, an angel of the Lord came to her, and saluted her, saying: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she answered, saying: Thanks to God. Again he said to her: Receive this palm which the Lord promised to thee. And she, giving thanks to God, with great joy received from the hand of the angel the palm

sent to her. The angel of the Lord said to her: Thy assumption will be after three days. And she answered: Thanks to God.

Then she called Joseph of the city of Arimathaea, and the other disciples of the Lord; and when they, both relations and acquaintances, were assembled, she announced her departure to all standing there. Then the blessed Mary washed herself, and dressed herself like a queen, and waited the advent of her Son, as He had promised to her. And she asked all her relations to keep beside her, and give her comfort. And she had along with her three virgins, Sepphora, Abigea, and Zael; but the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ had been already dispersed throughout the whole world to preach to the people of God.

Then at the third hour there were great thunders, and rains, and lightnings, and tribulation, and an earthquake, while queen Mary was standing in her chamber. John the evangelist and apostle was suddenly brought from Ephesus, and entered the chamber of the blessed Mary, and saluted her, and said to her: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she answered: Thanks to God. And raising herself up, she kissed Saint John. And the blessed Mary said to him: O my dearest son, why hast thou left me at such a time, and hast not paid heed to the commands of thy Master, to take care of me, as He commanded thee while He was hanging on the cross? And he asked pardon with bended knee. Then the blessed Mary gave him her benediction, and again kissed him. And when she meant to ask him whence he came, and for what reason he had come to Jerusalem, behold, all the disciples of the Lord, except Thomas who is called Didymus, were brought by a cloud to the door of the chamber of the blessed Mary. They stood and went in, and saluted the queen with the following words, and adored her: Hail, Mary, full of grace! the Lord be with thee. And she eagerly rose quickly, and bowed herself, and kissed them, and gave thanks to God. These are the names of the disciples of the Lord who were brought thither in the cloud: John the evangelist and James his brother, Peter and Paul, Andrew, Philip, Luke, Barnabas, Bartholomew and Matthew, Matthias who is called Justus, Simon the Chananaean, Judas and his brother, Nicodemus and Maximianus, and many others who cannot be numbered. Then the blessed Mary said to her brethren: What is this, that you have all come to Jerusalem? Peter, answering, said to her: We had need to ask this of thee, and dost thou question us? Certainly, as I

think, none of us knows why we have come here today with such rapidity. I was at Antioch, and now I am here. All declared plainly the place where they had been that day. And they all wondered that they were there when they heard these things. The blessed Mary said to them: I asked my Son, before He endured the passion, that He and you should be at my death; and He granted me this gift. Whence you may know that my departure will be tomorrow. Watch and pray with me, that when the Lord comes to receive my soul, He may find you watching. Then all promised that they would watch. And they watched and prayed the whole night, with psalms and chants, with great illuminations.

And when the Lord's day came, at the third hour, just as the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles in a cloud, so Christ descended with a multitude of angels, and received the soul of His beloved mother. For there was such splendor and perfume of sweetness, and angels singing the songs of songs, where the Lord says, As a lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters, that all who were there present fell on their faces, as the apostles fell when Christ transfigured Himself before them on Mount Thabor, and for a whole hour and a half no one was able to rise. But when the light went away, and at the same time with the light itself, the soul of the blessed virgin Mary was taken up into heaven with psalms, and hymns, and songs of songs. And as the cloud went up the whole earth shook, and in one moment all the inhabitants of Jerusalem openly saw the departure of St. Mary.

And that same hour Satan entered into them, and they began to consider what they were to do with her body. And they took up weapons, that they might burn her body and kill the apostles, because from her had gone forth the dispersions of Israel, on account of their sins and the gathering together of the Gentiles. But they were struck with blindness, striking their heads against the walls, and striking each other. Then the apostles, alarmed by so much brightness, arose, and with psalms carried the holy body down from Mount Zion to the valley of Jehoshaphat. But as they were going in the middle of the road, behold, a certain Jew, Reuben by name, wishing to throw to the ground the holy bier with the body of the blessed Mary. But his hands dried up, even to the elbow; whether he would or not, he went down even to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, weeping and lamenting because his hands were raised to the bier, and he was not

able to draw back his hands to himself. And he began to ask the apostles that by their prayer he might be saved and made a Christian. Then the apostles, bending their knees, asked the Lord to let him loose. And he, being healed that same hour, giving thanks to God and kissing the feet of the queen of all the saints and apostles, was baptized in that same place, and began to preach the name of our God Jesus Christ.

Then the apostles with great honor laid the body in the tomb, weeping and singing through exceeding love and sweetness. And suddenly there shone round them a light from heaven, and they fell to the ground, and the holy body was taken up by angels into heaven.

Then the most blessed Thomas was suddenly brought to the Mount of Olivet, and saw the most blessed body going up to heaven, and began to cry out and say: O holy mother, blessed mother, spotless mother, if I have now found grace because I see thee, make thy servant joyful through thy compassion, because thou art going to heaven. Then the girdle with which the apostles had encircled the most holy body was thrown down from heaven to the blessed Thomas. And taking it, and kissing it, and giving thanks to God, he came again into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. He found all the apostles and another great crowd there beating their breasts on account of the brightness which they had seen. And seeing and kissing each other, the blessed Peter said to him: Truly thou hast always been obdurate and unbelieving, because for thine unbelief it was not pleasing to God that thou shouldst be along with us at the burial of the mother of the Savior. And he, beating his breast, said: I know and firmly believe that I have always been a bad and an unbelieving man; therefore I ask pardon of all of you for my obduracy and unbelief. And they. all prayed for him. Then the blessed Thomas said: Where have you laid her body? And they pointed out the sepulcher with their finger. And he said: The body which is called most holy is not there. Then the blessed Peter said to him: Already on another occasion thou wouldst not believe the resurrection of our Master and Lord at our word, unless thou went to touch Him with thy fingers, and see Him; how wilt thou believe us that the holy body is here? Still he persists saying: It is not here. Then, as it were in a rage, they went to the sepulcher, which was a new one hollowed out in the rock, and took up the stone; but they did not find the body, not knowing what to say, because they had been convicted by the words of Thomas. Then the blessed

Thomas told them how he was singing mass in India — he still had on his sacerdotal robes. He, not knowing the word of God, had been brought to the Mount of Olivet, and saw the most holy body of the blessed Mary going up into heaven, and prayed her to give him a blessing. She heard his prayer, and threw him her girdle which she had about her. And the apostles seeing the belt which they had put about her, glorifying God, all asked pardon of the blessed Thomas, on account of the benediction which the blessed Mary had given him, and because he had seen the most holy body going up into heaven. And the blessed Thomas gave them his benediction, and said: Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

And the same cloud by which they had been brought carried them back each to his own place, just like Philip when he baptized the eunuch, as is read in the Acts of the Apostles; and as Habakkuk the prophet carried food to Daniel, who was in the lions' den, and quickly returned to Judaea. And so also the apostles quickly returned to where they had at first been, to preach to the people of God. Nor is it to be wondered at that He should do such things, who went into the virgin and came out of her though her womb was closed; who, though the gates were shut, went in to His disciples; who made the deaf to hear, raised the dead, cleansed the lepers, gave sight to the blind, and did many other wonderful things. To believe this is no doubtful matter.

I am Joseph who laid the Lord's body in my sepulcher, and saw Him rising again; and who, before the ascension and after the ascension of the Lord, always kept his most sacred temple the blessed ever-virgin Mary, and who have kept in writing and in my breast the things which came forth from the mouth of God, and how the things mentioned above were done by the judgment of God. And I have made known to all, Jews and Gentiles, those things which I saw with my eyes, and heard with my ears; and as long as I live I shall not cease to declare them. And her, whose assumption is at this day venerated and worshipped throughout the whole world, let us assiduously entreat that she be mindful of us in the presence of her most pious Son in heaven, to whom is praise and glory through endless ages of ages. Amen.

SECOND LATIN FORM

HERE BEGINNETH THE PASSING OF THE BLESSED MARY

1. THEREFORE, when the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was hanging on the tree fastened by the nails of the cross for the life of the whole world, He saw about the cross His mother standing, and John the evangelist, whom He peculiarly loved above the rest of the apostles, because he alone of them was a virgin in the body. He gave him, therefore, the charge of holy Mary, saying to him: Behold thy mother! and saying, to her: Behold thy son! From that hour the! holy mother of God remained specially in the care of John, as long as she had her habitation in this life. And when the apostles had divided the world by lot for preaching, she settled in the house of his parents near Mount Olivet.

2. In the second year, therefore, after Christ had vanquished death, and ascended up into heaven, on a certain day, Mary, burning with a longing for Christ, began to weep alone, within the shelter of her abode. And, behold, an angel, shining in a dress of great light, stood before her and gave utterance to the words of salutation saying: Hail! thou blessed by the Lord, receive the salutation of Him who commanded safety to Jacob by His prophets. Behold, said He a palm branch — I have brought it to thee from the paradise of the Lord — which thou wilt cause to be carried before thy bier, when on the third day thou shalt be taken up from the body. For, lo, thy Son awaits thee with thrones and angels, and all the powers of heaven. Then Mary said to the angel: I beg that all the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ he assembled to me. To whom the angel said: Behold, today, by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, all the apostles will come to thee. And Mary says to him: I ask that thou send upon me thy blessing, that no power of the lower world may withstand me in that hour in which my soul shall go out of my body, and that I may not see the prince of darkness. And the angel said: No power indeed of the lower world will hurt thee; and thy Lord God, whose servant and messenger I am, hath given thee eternal blessing; but do not think that the privilege of not seeing the prince of darkness is to be given thee by me, but by Him whom thou hast carried in thy womb; for to Him belongeth power over all for ever and ever. Thus saying, the angel departed with great splendor. And that palm shone with exceeding great light. Then Mary, undressing herself, put on

better garments. And, taking the palm which she had received from the hands of the angel, she went out to the mount of Olivet, and began to pray, and say: I had not been worthy, O Lord, to bear Thee, unless Thou hadst had compassion on me; but nevertheless I have kept the treasure which Thou entrustedst to me. Therefore I ask of Thee, O King of glory, that the power of Gehenna hurt me not. For if the heavens and the angels daily tremble before Thee, how much more man who is made from the ground, who possesses no good thing, except as much as he has received from Thy benignant bounty! Thou art, O Lord, God always blessed for ever. And thus saying, she went back to her dwelling.

3. And, behold, suddenly, while St. John was preaching in Ephesus, on the Lord's day, at the third hour of the day, there was a great earthquake, and a cloud raised him and took him up from the eyes of all, and brought him before the door of the house where Mary was. And knocking at the door, he immediately went in. And when Mary saw him, she exulted in joy, and said: I beg of thee, my son John, be mindful of the words of my Lord Jesus Christ, in which He entrusted me to thee. For, behold, on the third day, when I am to depart from the body, I have heard the plans of the Jews, saying, Let us wait for the day when she who bore that seducer shall die, and let us burn her booty with fire. She therefore called St. John, and led him into the secret chamber of the house, and showed him the robe of her burial, and that palm of light which she had received from the angel, instructing him that he should cause it to be carried before her couch when she was going to her tomb.

4. And St. John said to her: How shall I alone perform thy funeral rites, unless my brethren and fellow-apostles of my Lord Jesus Christ come to pay honor to thy body? And, behold, on a sudden, by the command of God, all the apostles were snatched up, raised on a cloud, from the places in which they were preaching the word of God, and set down before the door of the house in which Mary dwelt. And, saluting each other, they wondered, saying: What is the cause for which the Lord hath assembled us here?

5. Then all the apostles, rejoicing with one mind, finished their prayer. And when they had said the Amen, behold, on a sudden, there came the blessed John, and told them all these things. The apostles then, having

entered the house, found Mary, and saluted her, saying: Blessed art thou by the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth. And she said to them: Peace be with you, most beloved brethren! How have you come hither? And they recounted to her how they had come, each one raised on a cloud by the Spirit of God, and set down in the same place. And she said to them: God hath not deprived me of the sight of you. Behold, I shall go the way of all the earth, and I doubt not that the Lord hath now conducted you hither to bring me consolation for the anguish which is just coming upon me. Now therefore I implore you, that without intermission you all with one mind watch, even till that hour in which the Lord will come, and I shall depart from the body.

6. And when they had sat down in a circle consoling her, when they had spent three days in the praises of God, behold, on the third day, about the third hour of the day, a deep sleep seized upon all who were in that house, and no one was at all able to keep awake but the apostles alone, and only the three virgins who were there. And, behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels; and a great brightness came down upon that place, and the angels were singing a hymn, and praising God together. Then the Savior spoke, saying: Come, most precious pearl, within the receptacle of life eternal.

7. Then Mary prostrated herself on the pavement, adoring God, and said: Blessed be the name of Thy glory, O Lord my God, who hast deigned to choose me Thine handmaid, and to entrust to me Thy hidden mystery. Be mindful of me, therefore, O King of glory, for Thou knowest that I have loved Thee with all my heart, and kept the treasure committed to me. Therefore receive me, Thy servant, and free me from the power of darkness, that no onset of Satan may oppose me, and that I may not see filthy spirits standing in my way. And the Savior answered her: When I, sent by my Father for the salvation of the world, was hanging on the cross, the prince of darkness came to me; but when he was able to find in me no trace of his work, he went off vanquished and trodden under foot. But when thou shall see him, thou shall see him indeed by the law of the human race, in accordance with which thou hast come to the end of thy life; but he cannot hurt thee, because I am with thee to help thee. Go in security, because the heavenly host is waiting for thee to lead thee in to the joys of paradise. And when the Lord had thus spoken, Mary, rising

from the pavement, reclined upon her couch, and giving thanks to God, gave up the ghost. And the apostles saw that her soul was of such whiteness, that no tongue of mortals can worthily utter it; for it surpassed all the whiteness of snow, and of every metal, and of gleaming silver, by the great brightness of its light.

8. Then the Savior spoke, saying: Rise, Peter, and take the body of Mary, and send it to the right hand side of the city towards the east, and thou wilt find there a new tomb, in which you will lay her, and wait until I come to you. And thus saying, the Lord delivered the soul of St. Mary to Michael, who was the ruler of paradise, and the prince of the nation of the Jews; and Gabriel went with them. And immediately the Savior was received up into heaven along with the angels.

9. And the three virgins, who were in the same place, and were watching, took up the body of the blessed Mary, that they might wash it after the manner of funeral rites. And when they had taken off her clothes, that sacred body shone with so much brightness, that it could be touched indeed for preparation for burial, but the form of it could not be seen for the excessive flashing light: except that the splendor of the Lord appeared great, and nothing was perceived, the body, when it was washed, was perfectly clean, and stained by no moisture of filth. And when they had put the dead-clothes on her, that light was gradually obscured. And the body of the blessed Mary was like lily flowers; and an odor of great sweetness came forth from it, so that no sweetness could be found like it.

10. Then, accordingly, the apostles laid the holy body on the bier, and said to each other: Who is to carry this palm before her bier? Then John said to Peter: Thou, who hast precedence of us in the apostleship, shouldst carry this palm before her couch. And Peter answered him: Thou wast the only virgin among us chosen by the Lord, and thou didst find so great favor that thou didst recline upon His breast. And He, when for our salvation He was hanging upon the stem of the cross, entrusted her to thee with His own mouth. Thou therefore oughtest to carry this palm, and let us take up that body to carry it even to the place of sepulture. After this, Peter, raising it, and saying, Take the body, began to sing and say: Israel hath gone forth out of Egypt. Alleluiah. And the other apostles along with him

carried the booty of the blessed Mary, and John bore the palm of light before the bier. And the other apostles sang with a most sweet voice.

11. And, behold, a new miracle. There appeared above the bier a cloud exceeding great, like the great circle which is wont to appear beside the splendor of the moon; and there was in the clouds an army of angels sending forth a sweet song, and from the sound of the great sweetness the earth resounded. Then the people, baring gone forth from the city, about fifteen thousand, wondered, saying; What is that sound of so great sweetness? Then there stood up one who said to them: Mary has departed from the body, and the disciples of Jesus are singing praises around her. And looking, they saw the couch crowned with great glory, and the apostles singing with a loud voice. And, behold, one of them, who was chief of the priests of the Jews in his rank, filled with fury and rage, said to the rest: Behold, the tabernacle of him who disturbed us and all our race, what glory has it received? And going up, he wished to overturn the bier, and throw the body down to the ground. And immediately his hands dried up from his elbows, and stuck to the couch. And when the apostles raised the bier, part of him hung, and part of him adhered to the couch; and he was vehemently tormented with pain, while the apostles were walking and singing. And the angels who were in the clouds smote the people with blindness.

12. Then that chief cried out, saying: I implore thee, Saint Peter, do not despise me, I beseech thee, in so great an extremity, because I am exceedingly tortured by great torments. Bear in mind that when, in the praetorium, the maid that kept the door recognized thee, and told the others to revile thee, then I spoke good words in thy behalf. Then Peter answering, said: It is not for me to give other to thee; but if thou believest with thy whole heart on the Lord Jesus Christ, whom she carried in her womb, and remained a virgin after the birth, the compassion of the Lord, which with profuse benignity saves the unworthy, will give thee salvation.

To this he replied: Do we not believe? But what shall we do? The enemy of the human race has blinded our hearts, and confusion has covered our face, lest we should confess the great things of God, especially when we ourselves uttered maledictions against Christ, shouting: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then Peter said: Behold, this malediction will

hurt him who has remained unfaithful to Him; but to those who turn themselves to God mercy is not denied. And he said: I believe all that thou sayest to me; only I implore, have mercy upon me, lest I die.

13. Then Peter made the couch stand still, and said to him: If thou believest with all thy heart upon the Lord Jesus Christ, thy hands will be released from the bier. And when he had said this his hands were immediately released from the bier, and he began to stand on his feet; but his arms were dried up, and the torture did not go away from him. Then Peter said to him: Go up to the body, and kiss the couch, and say: I believe in God, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom she bore, and I believe all whatsoever Peter the apostle of God has said to me. And going up, he kissed the couch, and immediately all pain went away from him, and his hands were healed. Then he began greatly to bless God, and from the books of Moses to render testimony to the praises of Christ, so that even the apostles themselves wondered, and wept for joy, praising the name of the Lord.

14. And Peter said to him: Take this palm from the hand of our brother John, and going into the city thou wilt find much people blinded, and declare to them the great things of God; and whosoever shall believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt put this palm upon their eyes, and they shall see; but those who will not believe shall remain blind. And when he had done so, he found much people blinded, lamenting thus: Woe unto us, because we have been made like the Sodomites struck with blindness. Nothing now is left to us but to perish. But when they heard the words of the chief who had been cured speaking, they believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; and when he put the palm over their eyes, they recovered sight. Five of them remaining in hardness of heart died. And the chief of the priests going forth, carried back the palm to the apostles, reporting all things whatsoever had been done.

15. And the apostles, carrying Mary, came to the place of the Valley of Jehoshaphat which the Lord had showed them; and they laid her in a new tomb, and closed the sepulcher. And they themselves sat down at the door of the tomb, as the Lord had commanded them; and, behold, suddenly the Lord Jesus Christ came with a great multitude of angels, with a halo of great brightness gleaming, and said to the apostles: Peace be with you!

And they answered and said: Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us, as we have hoped in Thee. Then the Savior spoke to them, saying: Before I ascended to my Father I promised to you, saying that you who have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of His majesty, will sit, you also, upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Her, therefore, did I choose out of the tribes of Israel by the command of my Father, that I should dwell in her. What, therefore, do you wish that I should do to her? Then Peter and the other apostles said: Lord, Thou didst choose beforehand this Thine handmaid to become a spotless chamber for Thyself, and us Thy servants to minister unto Thee. Before the ages Thou didst foreknow all things along with the Father, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit there is one Godhead, equal and infinite power. If, therefore, it were possible to be done in the presence of the power of Thy grace, it had seemed to us Thy servants to be right that, just as Thou, having vanquished death, reignest in glory, so, raising up again the body of Thy mother, Thou shouldst take her with Thee in joy into heaven.

16. Then the Savior said: Let it be according to your opinion. And He ordered the archangel Michael to bring the soul of St. Mary. And, behold, the archangel Michael rolled back the stone from the door of the tomb; and the Lord said: Arise, my beloved and my nearest relation; thou who hast not put an corruption by intercourse with man, suffer not destruction of the body in the sepulcher. And immediately Mary rose from the tomb, and blessed the Lord, and falling forward at the feet of the Lord, adored Him, saying: I cannot render sufficient thanks to Thee, O Lord, for Thy boundless benefits which Thou hast deigned to bestow upon me Thine handmaiden. May Thy name, O Redeemer of the world, God of Israel, be blessed for ever.

17. And kissing her, the Lord went back, and delivered her soul to the angels, that they should carry it into paradise. And He said to the apostles: Come up to me. And when they had come up He kissed them, and said: Peace be to you! as I have always been with you, so will I be even to the end of the world. And immediately, when the Lord had said this, He was lifted up on a cloud, and taken back into heaven, and the angels along with Him, carrying the blessed Mary into the paradise of God. And the apostles being taken up in the clouds, returned each into the

place allotted for his preaching, telling the great things of God, and praising our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in perfect unity, and in one substance of Godhead, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE DECRETALS

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. S. D. F. SALMOND.]

THE EPISTLES OF ZEPHYRINUS

THE FIRST EPISTLE

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF SICILY

OF THE FINAL DECISION OF THE TRIALS OF BISHOPS, AND GRAVER ECCLESIASTICAL CASES IN THE SEAT OF THE APOSTLES

ZEPHYRINUS, archbishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops settled in Sicily, in the Lord, greeting.

We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, which in His own merciful regard has raised us for this purpose to the summit of priestly honor, that, abiding by His commandments, and appointed in a certain supervision of His priests, we may prohibit things unlawful, and teach those that are to be followed. As night does not extinguish the stars of heaven, so the unrighteousness of the world does not blind the minds of the faithful that hold by the sure support of Scripture. Therefore we ought to consider well and attend carefully to the Scriptures, and the divine precepts which are contained in these Scriptures, in order that we may show ourselves not transgressors, but fulfillers of the law of God.

Now patriarchs and primates, in investigating the case of an accused bishop, should not pronounce a final decision until, supported by the authority of the apostles, they find that the person either confesses himself guilty, or is proved so by witnesses trustworthy and regularly examined, who should not be fewer in number than were those disciples whom the Lord directed to be chosen for the help of the apostles — that

is, seventy-two. Detractors also, who are to be rooted out by divine authority, and the advisers of enemies (auctores inimicorum), we do not admit in the indictment of bishops or in evidence against them; nor should any one of superior rank be indicted or condemned on the accusations of inferiors. Nor in a doubtful case should a decisive judgment be pronounced; nor should any trial be held valid unless it has been conducted according to order. No one, moreover, should be judged in his absence, because both divine and human laws forbid that. The accusers of those persons should also be free of all suspicion, because the Lord has chosen that His pillars should stand firm, and not be shaken by any one who will. For a sentence should not bind any of them if it is not given by their proper judge, because even the laws of the world ordain that that be done. For any accused bishop may, if it be necessary, choose twelve judges by whom his case may be justly judged. Nor should he be heard or excommunicated or judged until these be chosen by him; and on his being regularly summoned at first to a council of his own bishops, his case should be justly heard by them, and investigated on sound principles. The end of his case, however, should be remitted to the seat of the apostles, that it may be finally decided there. Nor should it be finished, as has been decreed of old by the apostles or their successors, until it is sustained by its authority. To it also all, and especially the oppressed, should appeal and have recourse as to a mother, that they may be nourished by her breasts, defended by her authority, and relieved of their oppressions, because “a mother cannot,” and should not, “forget her son.” For the trials of bishops and graver ecclesiastical cases, as the apostles and their holy successors have decreed, are to be finally decided along with other bishops by the seat of the apostles, and by no other; because, although they may be transferred to other bishops, it was yet to the blessed Apostle Peter these terms were addressed: “Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” And the other privileges which have been granted to this holy seat alone are found embodied both in the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, and in very many others in harmony with these. For the apostles have prefixed seventy decrees, together with very many other bishops, and have appointed them to be kept. For to judge rashly of the secrets of another’s heart is sin; and it is unjust to reprove him on suspicion whose works seem not other than good, since God alone is

Judge of those things which are unknown to men. He, however, “knoweth the secrets of the heart,” and not another. For unjust judgments are to be guarded against by all, especially however by the servants of God. “And the servant of the Lord must not strive,” nor harm any one. For bishops are to he born by laity and clergy, and masters by servants, in order that, under the exercise of endurance, things temporal may be maintained, and things eternal hoped for. For that increases the worth of virtue, which does not violate the purpose of religion. You should be earnestly intent that none of your brothers be grievously injured or undone. Therefore you ought to succor the oppressed, and deliver them from the hand of their persecutors, in order that with the blessed Job you may say: “The blessing of him that was ready to perish will come upon me, and I consoled the widow’s heart. I put on righteousness, and clothed myself with a robe and a diadem, my judgment. I was eye to the blind, and foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out most carefully. I brake the grinders of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth;” and so forth. You, therefore, who have been placed in eminence by God, ought with all your power to check and repel those who prepare snares for brethren, or raise seditions and offenses against them. For it is easy by word to deceive man, not however God. Therefore you ought to keep these off, and be on your guard against them, until such darkness is done away utterly, and the morning star shines upon them, and gladness arises, most holy brethren. Given on the 20th September, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF EGYPT

ZEPHYRINUS, archbishop of the city of Rome, to the most beloved brethren who serve the Lord in Egypt.

So great trust have we received from the Lord, the Founder of this holy seat and of the apostolic church, and from the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, that we may labor with unwearied affection for the universal Church which has been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and aid all who

serve the Lord, and give help to all who live piously by apostolic authority. All who will live piously in Christ must needs endure reproaches from the impious and aliens, and be despised as fools and madmen, that they may be made better and purer who lose the good things of time that they may gain those of eternity. But the contempt and ridicule of those who afflict and scorn them will be cast back upon themselves, when their abundance shall change to want, and their pride to confusion.

1

ON THE SPOLIATION OR EXPULSION OF CERTAIN BISHOPS

It has been reported at the seat of the apostles by your delegates, that certain of our brethren, bishops to wit, are being expelled from their churches and seats, and deprived of their goods, and summoned, thus destitute and spoiled, to trial; a thing which is void of all reason, since the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, and the statutes of emperors, and the

regulations of laws, prohibit it, and the authority of the seat of the apostles forbids it to be done. It has been ordained, indeed, in the ancient statutes, that bishops who have been ejected and spoiled of their property should recover their churches, and, in the first place, have all their property restored to them; and then, in the second place, that if any one may desire to accuse them justly, he should do so at the like risk; that the judges should be discreet, the bishops right-minded and harmonious in the Church, where they should be witnesses for ever one who seemed to be oppressed; and that they should not answer till all that belonged to them was restored to them, and to their churches by law without detriment. Nor is it strange, brethren, if they persecute you, when they persecuted even to death your Head, Christ our Lord. Yet even persecutions are to be endured patiently, that ye may be known to be His disciples, for whom also ye suffer. Whence, too, he says Himself, “Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness’ sake.” Sustained by these testimonies, we ought not greatly to fear the reproach of men, nor be overcome by their upbraidings, since the Lord gives us this command by Isaiah the prophet, saying, “Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, my people, in

whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings;” considering what is written in the Psalm, “Shall not God search this out? for He knoweth the secrets of the heart, and the thoughts of such men, that they are vanity,” “They spoke vanity every one with his neighbor: with deceitful lips in their heart, and with an evil heart they spoke. But the Lord shall cut off all deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things; who have said, Our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?” For if they kept these things in memory, they would by no means break forth into so great wickedness. For they do not this by laudable and paternal instruction (probabili et paterna doctrina), but that they may wreak their vengeful feeling against the servants of God. For it is written, “The way of a fool is right in his eyes;” and, “There are ways which seem right unto a man, but the end thereof leads to death.” Now we who suffer these things ought to leave them to the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works; who also has thundered through His servants, saying, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay.” Assist ye, therefore, one another in good faith, and by deed and with a hearty will; nor let any one remove his hand from the help of a brother, since “by this,” saith the Lord, “shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” Whence, too, He speaks by the prophet, saying, “Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!” In a spiritual dwelling, I interpret it, and in a concord which is in God, and in the unity of the faith which distinguishes this pleasant dwelling according to truth, which indeed was more beauteously illustrated in Aaron and the priests clothed with honor, as ointment upon the head, nurturing the highest understanding and leading even to the end of wisdom. For in this dwelling the Lord has promised blessing and eternal life. Apprehending, therefore, the importance of this utterance of the prophet, we have spoken this present brotherly word for love’s sake, and by no means seeking, or meaning to seek, our own things. For it is not good to repay detraction with detraction, or according to the common proverb to cast out a beam with a beam (excutere palum palo). Be it far from us. Such manners are not ours. May the Godhead indeed forbid it. By the just judgment of God, power is given sometimes to sinners to persecute His saints, in order that they who are aided and born on by the Spirit of God may become more glorious through the discipline of sufferings. But to those very persons who persecute, and reproach, and

injure them, there will doubtless be woe. Woe, woe to those who injure the servants of God; for injury done to them concerns Him whose service they discharge, and whose function they execute. But we pray that a door of enclosure be placed upon their mouths, as we desire that no one perish or be defiled by their lips, and that they think or publish with their mouth no hurtful word. Whence also the Lord speaks by the prophet, “I said I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue.” May the Lord Almighty, and His only-begotten Son and our Savior Jesus Christ, give you this incitement, that with all means in your power you aid all the brethren under whatsoever tribulations they labor, and esteem, as is meet, their sufferings your own. Afford them the utmost assistance by word and deed, that ye may be found His true disciples, who enjoined all to love the brethren as themselves.

2

ON THE ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS AND DEACONS

Ordinations of presbyters and Levites, moreover, solemnly perform on a suitable occasion, and in the presence of many witnesses; and to this duty advance tried and learned men, that ye may be greatly gladdened by their fellowship and help. Place the confidence of your hearts without ceasing on the goodness of God, and declare these and the other divine words to succeeding generations: “For this is our God for ever and ever, and He will guide us to eternity.” Given on the 7th November, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus,

NOTES BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

1. The translator’s reference to Canon 73 is a mistake, and quite misleading. See vol. vii. Canon 74.

2. It is worth while to recall who and what Zephyrinus was. See vol. v. Elucidation V.; also same volume of this series, Elucidation VI. This unhappy prelate was a heretic; and his decrees and opinions are worthless, as Hippolytus shows. Hence this letter, even were it genuine, would be of

no value whatever. Consult also vol. v., in Elucidation IV.; also same volume, Elucidation III.

3. On p. 610, Ep. 2, sec. 1, observe the reference to the “statutes of Emperors,” where the wily forger forgot himself, as if the Caesars of this date had legislated for the Christian Church. On the spirit of the ancient Canons, refuting all these Decretals, compare the Canons of Nicaea,

4, 5, 6, 7, and 15; of Constantinople, 2 and 3; of Ephesus, 8; and of Chalcedon, 9 and 28. To these Canons, against the claims of the Paparchy, the Church of England appealed at her Restoration.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE CALLISTUS

THE FIRST EPISTLE

TO BISHOP BENEDICTUS

ON THE FASTS OF THE FOUR SEASONS, AND THAT NO ONE SHOULD TAKE UP AN ACCUSATION AGAINST A DOCTOR (TEACHER)

Callistus, archbishop of the Church Catholic in the city of Rome, to Benedictus, our brother and bishop, greeting in the Lord.

By the love of the brotherhood we are bound, and by our apostolic rule we are constrained, to give answer to the inquiries of the brethren, according to what the Lord has given us, and to furnish them with the authority of the seal of the apostles.

1

(OF THE SEASONS FOR FASTING.)

Fasting, which ye have learned to hold three times in the year among us, we decree now to take place, as more suitable, in four seasons; so that even as the year revolves through four seasons, we too may keep a solemn fast quarterly in the four seasons of the year. And as we are replenished with corn, and wine, and oil for the nourishment of our bodies, so let us be replenished with fasting for the nourishment of our souls, in accordance with the word of the prophet Zechariah, who says, “The word of the Lord came to me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, and I repented not; so again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem, and to the

house of Judah: fear ye not. These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbor; judge the truth and the judgment of peace in your gates; and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbor, and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord of hosts.

And the word of the Lord of hosts came unto me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of the Lord joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; only love the truth and peace, saith the Lord of hosts." In this, then, we ought to be all of one mind, so that, according to apostolic teaching, we may all say the same thing, and that there be no divisions among us. Let us then be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment; in ready zeal for which work we congratulate ourselves on having your affection as our partner. For it is not meet for the members to be at variance with the head; but, according to the testimony of sacred Scripture, all the members should follow the head. It is matter of doubt, moreover, to no one, that the church of the apostles is the mother of all the churches, from whose ordinances it is not right that you should deviate to any extent. And as the Son of God came to do the Father's will, so shall ye fulfill the will of your mother, which is the Church, the head of which, as has been stated already, is the church of Rome. Wherefore, whatsoever may be done against the discipline of this church, without the decision of justice, cannot on any account be permitted to be held valid.

2

(OF ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DOCTORS.)

Moreover, let no one take up an accusation against a doctor (teacher), because it is not right for sons to find fault with fathers, nor for slaves to wound their masters. Now, all those whom they instruct are sons of doctors; and as sons ought to love their fathers after the flesh, so ought they to love their spiritual fathers. For he does not live rightly who does not believe rightly, or who reprehends fathers, or calumniates them. Doctors therefore, who are also called fathers, are rather to be born with

than reprehended, unless they err from the true faith. Let no one, consequently, accuse a doctor by writing (per scripta); neither let him answer to any accuser, unless he be one who is trustworthy and recognized by law, and who leads also a life and conversation free from reproach. For it is a thing unworthy that a doctor should reply to a foolish and ignorant person, and one who leads a reprehensible life, according to the man's folly; as Scripture says, Answer not a fool according to his folly. He does not live rightly who does not believe rightly. He means nothing evil who is faithful. If anyone is faithful (a believer), let him see to it that he make no false allegations, nor lay a snare for any man. The faithful man acts always in faith; and the unfaithful man plots cunningly, and strives to work the ruin of those who are faithful, and who live in piety and righteousness, because like seeks like. The unfaithful man is one dead in the living body. And on the other hand, the discourse of the man of faith guards the life of his hearers. For as the Catholic doctor, and especially the priest of the Lord, ought to be involved in no error, so ought he to be wronged by no machination or passion. Holy Scripture indeed says, Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites; and we must resist many allurements of this world, and many vanities, in order that the integrity of a true continence may be obtained, whereof the first blemish is pride, the beginning of transgression and the origin of sin; for the mind with lustful will knows neither to abstain nor to give itself to piety. No good man' as an enemy except in the wicked, who are permitted to be such only in order that the good man may be corrected or exercised through their means. Whatever, therefore, is faultless is defended by the Church Catholic. Neither for prince, nor for any one who observes piety, is it lawful to venture anything contrary to the divine injunctions. Consequently an unjust judgment, or an unjust decision (diffinitio), instituted or enforced by judges under the fear or by the command of a prince, or any bishop or person of influence, cannot be valid. The religious man ought not to hold it enough merely to refrain from entering into the enmities of others, or increasing them by evil speech, unless he also make it his study to extinguish them by good speech. Better is a humble confession in evil deeds, than a proud boasting in good deeds. Moreover, all who live the blessed life, choose rather to run that course in the proper estate of peace and righteousness, than to involve themselves in the avenging pains of our sins. For I am mindful that I preside over the Church

under the name of him whose confession was honored by our Lord Jesus Christ, and whose faith ever destroys all errors. And I understand that I am not at liberty to act otherwise than to expend all my efforts on that cause in which the well-being of the universal Church is at stake (infestatur). I hope, too, that the mercy of God will so favor us, that, with the help of His clemency, every deadly disease may be removed, God Himself expelling it, and that whatever may be done wholesomely, under His inspiration and help, may be accomplished to the praise of thy faith and devotion. For all things cannot otherwise be safe, unless, as far as pertains to the service of the divine office, sacerdotal authority upholds them. Given on the 21st day of November in the consulship of the most illustrious Antoninus and Alexander.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF GAUL

(OF CONSPIRACIES AND OTHER ILLICIT PURSUITS, THAT THEY BE NOT ENGAGED IN, AND OF THE RESTORATION OF THE LAPPED AFTER PENITENCE.)

Callistus to our most dearly beloved brethren, all the bishops settled throughout Gaul.

By the report of very many, we learn that your love, by the zeal of the Holy Spirit, holds and guides the helm of the Church so firmly in the face of all assaults, that by God’s will it is conscious neither of shipwreck nor of the losses of shipwreck. Rejoicing, therefore, in such testimonies, we beg you not to permit anything to be done in those parts contrary to the apostolic statutes; but, supported by our authority, do ye check what is injurious, and prohibit what is unlawful.

1

(OF THOSE WHO CONSPIRE AGAINST BISHOPS, OR WHO TAKE PART WITH SUCH.)

Now we have heard that the crime of conspiracies prevails in your parts, and it has been shown us that the people are conspiring against their bishops; of which crime the craft is hateful, not only among Christians, but even among the heathen, and it is forbidden by foreign laws. And therefore the laws not only of the Church, but of the world, condemn those who are guilty of this crime; and not only those indeed who actually conspire, but those also who take part with such. Our predecessors, moreover, together with a very numerous body of bishops, ordained that any guilty of this offense among those who are set in the honor of the priesthood, and who belong to the clergy, should be deprived of the honor which they enjoy; and they ordered that others should be cut off from communion, and expelled from the Church; and they decreed, at the same time, that all men of both orders should be infamous (infames); and that, too, not only for those who did the deed, but for those also who took part with such. For it is but equitable that those who despise the divine mandates, and prove themselves disobedient to the ordinances of the fathers, should be chastised with severer penalties, in order that others may fear to do such things, and that all may rejoice in brotherly concord, and all take to themselves the example of severity and goodness. For if (which may God forbid) we neglect the care of the Church, and are regardless of its strength, our slothfulness will destroy discipline, and injury will be done assuredly to the souls of the faithful. Such persons, moreover, are not to be admitted to accuse any one: neither can their voice, nor that of those who are under the ban, injure or criminate any man.

2

(OF THOSE WHO HAVE INTERCOURSE WITH EXCOMMUNICATED PERSONS, OR WITH UNBELIEVERS.)

Those, too, who are excommunicated by the priests, let no one receive previous to the just examination of both sides; nor let him have any intercourse with such in speech, or in eating or drinking, or in the salutation with the kiss, nor let him greet such; because, whosoever wittingly holds intercourse with the excommunicated in these or other prohibited matters, will subject himself, according to the ordinance of the' apostles, to like excommunication. From these, therefore, let clergy and laity keep themselves if they would not have the same penalty to endure. Also do not join the unbelievers, neither have any fellowship with them. They who do such things, indeed, are judged not as believers, but as unbelievers. Whence the apostle says: "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel? or what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"

3

(THAT NO BISHOP SHOULD PRESUME IN ANYTHING PERTAINING TO ANOTHERPARISH, AND OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF BISHOPS.)

Let no one, again, trespass upon the boundaries of another, nor presume to judge or excommunicate one belonging to another's parish; because such judgment or ordination, or excommunication or condemnation, shall neither be ratified nor have any virtue; since no one shall be bound by the decision of another judge than his own, neither shall he be condemned by such. Whence also the Lord speaks to this effect: "Pass not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set:" Moreover, let no primate or metropolitan invade the church or parish of a diocesan (diecesani), or presume to excommunicate or judge any one belonging to his parish, or do anything without his counsel or judgment; but let him observe this law, which has been laid down by the apostles and fathers, and our

predecessors, and has been ratified by us: to wit, that if any metropolitan bishop, except in that which pertains to his own proper parish alone, shall attempt to do anything without the counsel and goodwill of all the comprovincial bishops, he will do it at the risk of his position, and what he does in this manner shall be held null and void; but whatever it may be necessary to do or to arrange with regard to the cases of the body of provincial bishops, and the necessities of their churches and clergy and laity, this should be done by consent of all the pontiffs of the same province, and that too without any pride of lordship, but with the most humble and harmonious action, even as the Lord says: “I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.” And in another passage He says: “And whosoever of you is the greater, shall be your servant,” and so forth. And in like manner the bishops of the same province themselves should do all things in counsel with him, except so much as pertains to their own proper parishes, in accordance with the statutes of the holy fathers (who, although they have preceded us by a certain interval of time, have yet drawn the light of truth and faith from one and the same fountain of purity, and have sought the prosperity of the Church of God and the common advantage of all Christians by the same enlightening and guiding Spirit), that with one mind, and one mouth, and one accord, the Holy Trinity may be glorified for ever. No primate, no metropolitan, nor any of the other bishops, is at liberty to enter the seat of another, or to occupy a possession which does not pertain to him, and which forms part of the parish of another bishop, at the direction of any one, unless he is invited by him to whose jurisdiction it is acknowledged to belong; nor can he set about any arrangement or ordinance, or judgment there, if he wishes to keep the honor of his station. But if he presume to do otherwise, he shall be condemned; and not only he, but those who cooperate and agree with him: for just as the power of making appointments (ordinatio) is interdicted in such circumstances, so also is the power of judging or of disposing of other matters. For if a man has no power to appoint, how shall he judge? Without doubt, he shall in no wise judge or have power to judge: for just as another man’s wife cannot intermarry with anyone (adulterari), nor be judged or disposed of by any one but by her own husband so long as he liveth; so neither can it in anywise be allowed that the wife of a bishop, by whom undoubtedly is meant his church or parish, should be judged or disposed of by another without his (the bishop’s)

judgment and goodwill so long as he liveth, or enjoy another's embrace, that is, his ordaining. Wherefore the apostle says: "The wife is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth; but if he be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband." In like manner also, the spouse of a bishop (for the church is called his spouse and wife) is bound to him while he liveth; but when he is dead she is loosed, and may be wedded to whomsoever she will, only in the Lord, that is, according to order. For if, while he is alive, she marry another, she shall be judged to be an adulteress. And in the same manner, he too, if he marry another of his own will, shall be held to be an adulterer, and shall be deprived of the privilege of communion. If, however, he is persecuted in his own church, he must flee to another, and attach himself to it, as the Lord says: "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another." If, however, the change be made for the sake of the good of the church, he may not do this of himself, but only on the invitation of the brethren, and with the sanction of this holy seat, and not for ambition's sake, but for the public good.

4

(OF MARRIAGES AMONG BLOOD-RELATIONS, AND OF THOSE WHO ARE BORN OF THEM; AND OF ACCUSATIONS WHICH THE LAWS REJECT.)

Moreover, marriages among blood-relations are forbidden, since all laws, both sacred and secular, forbid such. Wherefore the divine laws not only expel, but even anathematize, those who do so, and those who spring from them. Secular laws, again, call such persons infamous, and interdict them from inheriting. And we too, following our fathers, and keeping close by their footsteps, brand such with infamy, and hold them to be infamous, because they are sprinkled with the stains of infamy. Neither ought we to admit those men or their accusations, that secular laws reject. (For who doubts that human laws, when they are not inconsistent with reason and honor, are to be embraced, especially when they either further the public good or defend the authority of the ecclesiastical office, and uphold it as a help?) And we call those blood-relations whom divine laws, and those of the emperors, both Roman and Greek, name blood-relations, and whom

they admit to the right of inheriting, and cannot exclude from that. Marriages, then, between such are neither lawful nor capable of holding good, but are to be rejected. (And if any such are attempted in rash daring, they come to be rescinded by apostolic authority.)

5

(OF THOSE WHO OUGHT NOT TO BE ADMITTED TO PREFER AN ACCUSATION, OR TO BEAR WITNESS; AND THAT EVIDENCE IS NOT TO BE GIVEN BUT ON THINGS HAPPENING IN THE PERSON'S PRESENCE)

Whosoever, therefore, has not been lawfully married, or has been united without the dotal title (dotali titulo) and the blessing of a priest, cannot by any means bring a charge against priests, or those who are lawfully married, or bear witness against them, since every one who is polluted with the stain of incest is infamous, and is not allowed to accuse the above-named. And consequently not only they, but all those too who agree with them, are to be rejected, and are rendered infamous. We hold that the same should also be the case with robbers, or with those who assault the elderly. The laws of the world, indeed, put such persons to death; but we, with whom mercy has the first place, receive them under the mark of infamy to repentance. That infamy also with which they are stained, we are not able to remove; but our desire is to heal their souls by public penitence, and by satisfaction made to the Church: for public sins are not to be purged by secret correction. Those, again, who are suspected in the matter of the right faith, should by no means be admitted to prefer charges against priests, and against those of whose faith there is no doubt; and such persons should be held of doubtful authority in matters of human testimony. Their voice, consequently, should be reckoned invalid whose faith is doubted; and no credit should be given to those who are ignorant of the right faith. Accordingly, in judgment, inquiry should be made as to the conversation and faith of the person who accuses, and of him who is accused; since those who are not of correct conversation and faith, and whose life is open to impeachment, are not allowed to accuse their elders, neither can such permission be given to those whose faith and life and

liberty are unknown. Nor should vile persons be admitted to accuse them. But a clear examination is to be made as to what kind of persons the accusers are (rimandoe sunt enucleatim personae accusatorum); for they are not to be admitted readily without writing, and are never to be admitted as accusers on mere writing. For no one may either accuse or be accused by mere writing, but with the living voice; and every one must lay his accusation in the presence of him whom he seeks to accuse. And no credit should be given to any accuser in the absence of him whom he seeks to accuse. In like manner, witnesses must not prefer their evidence by writing only; but they must give their testimony truthfully in their own persons, and in matters which they have seen and do know. And they are not to give evidence in any other cases or matters but in those which are known to have happened in their presence. Accusers, moreover, of one blood, are not to bear witness against those who are not related to the family, nor is that to be the case with domestics (familiares) or those proceeding from the house; but if it is their wish, and they agree among themselves, the parents only should give evidence in such cases, and not others. Neither accusers nor witnesses should be admitted who are open to any suspicion; for the feeling of relationship, or friendship, or lordship, is wont to impede the truth. Carnal love, and fear, and avarice, commonly blunt the perceptions of men, and pervert their opinions; so that they look on gain as godliness, and on money as the reward of prudence. Let no one, then, speak deceitfully to his neighbor. The mouth of the malevolent is a deep pit. The innocent man, while he believes easily, falls readily; but though he falls, he rises; and the shuffler, with all his arts, goes headlong to ruin, whence he can never rise or escape. Therefore let every one weigh well his words, and let him not say to another what he would not say to himself. Whence the sacred Scripture says well: “Do not that to another which thou wouldest not have done to thyself.” For we need time to do anything perfectly (maturius); and let us not be precipitate in our counsels or our works, neither let us violate order. But if any one has fallen in anything, let us not consign him to ruin; but let us reprove him with brotherly affection, as the blessed apostle says: “If a man be overtaken in any fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, test thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another’s burden, and so will ye fulfill the law of Christ.” Furthermore, the sainted David had deadly crimes to repent of, and yet he was continued in

honor. The blessed Peter also shed the bitterest tears when he repented of having denied the Lord; but still he abode an apostle. And the Lord by the prophet makes this promise to the sinning: “In the day that the sinner is converted, and repenteth, I will not mention any more against him all his transgressions.”

6

(AS TO WHETHER A PRIEST MAY MINISTER AFTER A LAPSE.)

For those are in error who think that the priests of the Lord, after a lapse, although they may have exhibited true repentance, are not capable of ministering to the Lord, and engaging their honorable offices, though they may lead a good life thereafter, and keep their priesthood correctly. And those who hold this opinion are not only in error, but also seem to dispute and act in opposition to the power of the keys committed to the Church, whereof it is said: “Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.” And in short, this opinion either is not the Lord’s, or it is true. But be that as it may, we believe without hesitation, that both the priests of the Lord and other believers may return to their honors after a proper satisfaction for their error, as the Lord Himself testifies by His prophet: “Shall he who falls not also rise again? and shall he who turns away not return?” And in another passage the Lord says: “I desire not the death of the sinner, but that he may turn, and live.” And the prophet David, on his repentance, said: “Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and uphold me with Thy free Spirit.” And he indeed, after his repentance, taught others also, and offered sacrifice to God, giving thereby an example to the teachers of the holy Church, that if they have fallen, and thereafter have exhibited a right repentance to God, they may do both things in like manner. For he taught when he said: “I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee.” And he offered sacrifice for himself, while he said: “The sacrifice for God is a broken spirit.” For the prophet, seeing his own transgressions purged by repentance, had no doubt as to healing those of others by preaching, and by making offering to God. Thus the shedding of tears moves the mind’s feeling (passionem). And when the satisfaction is made good, the mind is turned aside from

anger. For how does that man think that mercy will be shown to himself, who does not forgive his neighbor? If offenses abound, then, let mercy also abound; for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. In the Lord's hand there is abundance of all things, because He is the Lord of powers (virtutum) and the King of glory. For the apostle says: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, 'I say,' at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." And David says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered." Man, therefore, is cleansed of his sin, and rises again by the grace of God though he has fallen, and abides in his first position, according to the above-cited authorities. Let him see to it that he sin no more, that the sentence of the Gospel may abide in him: "Go, and sin no more." Whence the apostle says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof: neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace. What then? shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness? But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men." For greater is the sin of him who judgeth, than of him who is judged. "Thinkest thou," says the apostle, "O man, that judgest them that do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering? Dost thou not know that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who, by

patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honor, and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek: but glory, honor, and peace, to every man that worketh good." My brethren, shun not only the holding, but even the hearing, of the judgment that bans mercy; for better is mercy than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. We have replied to your interrogations shortly, because your letter found us burdened overmuch, and preoccupied with other judgments. Given on the 8th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander."

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

For Callistus and his times, see the testimony of Hippolytus, vol. v. Elucidations X., XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV. It must be owned that the forgery is better than the genuine productions of this forerunner of the Popes of the ninth and tenth centuries. The title "Pope," in its later sense, seems not inappropriate to such a character.

THE EPISTLE OF POPE URBAN FIRST

TO ALL CHRISTIANS

Of the church's receiving only the property of the faithful, and not the price of the same, as in the times of the apostles; and as to why elevated seats should be prepared in the churches for the bishops; and as to the fact that no one should have intercourse with those whom the bishops excommunicate, and that no one should receive those whom they have cast out in any manner whatever.

URBAN, bishop, to all Christians, in sanctification of the spirit, in obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, greeting.

It becomes all Christians, most dearly beloved, to imitate Him whose name they have received. "What doth it profit, my brethren," says the Apostle James, "though a man say he hath faith, and have not works?" "My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that ye receive (*sumitis*) the greater condemnation; for in many things we offend all." "Let him who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you, show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom."

1

OF THE LIFE IN COMMON, AND OF THE REASON WHY THE CHURCH HAS BEGUN TO HOLD PROPERTY

We know that you are not ignorant of the fact that hitherto the principle of living with all things in common has been in vigorous operation among good Christians, and is still so by the grace of God; and most of all among those who have been chosen to the lot of the Lord, that is to say, the clergy, even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they

had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, the son of consolation), a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet;" and so forth. Accordingly, as the chief priests and others, and the Levites, and the rest of the faithful, perceived that it might be of more advantage if they handed over to the churches over which the bishops presided the heritages and fields which they were in the way of selling, inasmuch as they might furnish a larger and better maintenance for the faithful who hold the common faith, not only in present but also in future times, out of the revenues of such property than out of the money for which they might at once be sold, they began to consign to the mother churches the property and lands which they were wont to sell, and got into the manner of living on the revenues of these.

2

OF THE PERSONS BY WHOM, AND THE USES FOR WHICH, ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY SHOULD BE MANAGED, AND OF THE INVADERS THEREOF

The property, moreover, in the possession of the several parishes was left in the hands of the bishops, who hold the place of the apostles; and it is so to this day, and ought to be so in all future time. And out of those possessions the bishops and the faithful as their stewards ought to furnish to all who wish to enter the life in common all necessaries as they best can, so that none may be found in want among them. For the possessions of the faithful are also called oblations, because they are offered to the Lord. They ought not therefore to be turned to any other uses than those of the Church, and in behoof of Christian brethren before mentioned, and of the poor; for they are the offerings of the faithful, and they are redemption

moneys for sins (*pretia peccatorum*), and the patrimony of the poor, and are given over to the Lord for the purpose already named. But if any one act otherwise (which may God forbid), let him take care lest he meet the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira, and be found guilty of sacrilege, as those were who lied as to the price of the property designated, of whom we read thus in the before-cited passage of the Acts of the Apostles: “But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold land (*agrum*), and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles’ feet. But Peter said to Ananias, Why hath Satan tempted (*tentavit*) thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto the Lord. And Ananias, hearing these words, fell down, and gave up the ghost. And great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men arose, and removed him (*amoverunt*), and carried him out, and buried him. And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, and said, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost. And the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things.” These things, brethren, are carefully to be guarded against, and greatly to be feared. For the property of the Church, not being like personal, but like common property, and property offered to the Lord, is to be dispensed with the deepest fear, in the spirit of faithfulness, and for no other objects than the above-named, lest those should incur the guilt of sacrilege who divert it from the hands to which it was consigned, and lest they should come under the punishment and death of Ananias and Sapphira, and lest (which is yet worse) they should become anathema maranatha, and lest, though their body may not fall dead like that of Ananias and Sapphira, their soul, which is nobler than the body, should fall dead, and be cut off from the company of the faithful, and sink into the depths of the pit. Wherefore all must give heed to this matter, and watch

in faithfulness, and avert the dishonor of such usurpation, lest possessions dedicated to the uses of things secret (or sacred) and heavenly be spoiled by any parties invading them. And if any one do so, then, after the sharp vengeance which is due to such a crime, and which is justly to be carried out against the sacrilegious, let him be condemned to perpetual infamy, and east into prison or consigned to life-long exile. For, according to the apostle, we ought to deliver such a man to Satan, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

3

AS TO ANY ONE'S ATTEMPTING TO TAKE FROM THE CHURCH THE FIGHT OF HOLDING PROPERTY

By the increase, therefore, and the mode of life which have been mentioned, the churches over which the bishops preside have grown so greatly with the help of the Lord, and the greater part of them are now in possession of so much property, that among them there is not a man who, selecting the life in common, is kept in poverty; but such an one receives all necessaries from the bishop and his ministers. Therefore, if any one in modern or in future time shall rise up and attempt to divert that property, let him be smitten with the judgment which has been already mentioned.

4

OF THE SEATS OF THE BISHOPS

Furthermore, as to the fact that in the churches of the bishops there are found elevated seats set up and prepared like a throne, they show by these that the power of inspection and of judging, and the authority to loose and bind, are given to them by the Lord. Whence the Savior Himself says in the Gospel, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And elsewhere: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."

5

THAT NO ONE SHOULD HAVE INTERCOURSE WITH THOSE WITH WHOM THE BISHOP HAS NO INTERCOURSE, OR RECEIVE THOSE WHOM HE REJECTS

These things, then, we have set before you, most dearly beloved, in order that ye may understand the power of your bishops, and give reverence to God in them, and love them as your own souls; and in order that ye may have no communication with those with whom they have none, and that ye may not receive those whom they have cast out. For the judgment of a bishop is greatly to be feared, although he may bind one unjustly, which, however, he ought to guard against with the utmost care.

6

OF THE ENGAGEMENT MADE IN BAPTISM, AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN THEMSELVES TO THE LIFE IN COMMON

And in exhorting you, we also admonish all who have embraced the faith of Christ, and who have taken from Christ the name of Christian, that ye make your Christianity vain in no respect, but keep steadfastly the engagement which ye took upon yourselves in baptism, so that ye may be found not reprobate, but worthy in His presence. And if any one of you has entered the life which has all things common, and has taken the vow to hold no private property, let him see to it that he make not his promise vain, but let him keep with all faithfulness this engagement which he has made to the Lord, so that he may acquire for himself not damnation, but a reward; for it is better for a man not to take a vow at all than not to discharge to the best of his ability the vow that he has made. For they who have made a vow, or taken on them the faith, and have not kept their vow, or have carried out their life in things evil, are punished more severely than those who have carried out their life without a vow, or have died without faith, but not without doing good works. For to this end have we received a reasonable mind by the gift of nature, and the renewal also of the second birth, that, according to the apostle, we may discern (*sapiamus*) rather

things above, and not things on the earth; for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For to what, most dearly beloved, does the wisdom of this world urge us, but to seek things that are hurtful, and to love things that are to perish, and to neglect things that are healthful, and to esteem as of no value things that are lasting? It commends the love of money, of which it is said, The love of money is the root of all evil; and which has this evil in especial, that while it obtrudes the transitory, it hides from view the eternal; and while it looks on things that are outside, it does not look in upon things that lurk within; and while it seeks after strange things, it is an evil that makes itself strange to him who does it. Behold, to what does the wisdom of this world urge a man? To live in pleasures. Whence it is said: A widow that liveth in pleasure, is dead while she liveth. It urges a man to feed the flesh with the softest delights, with sins, and vices, and flames, to press the soul with intemperance in food and wine, and to check the life of the spirit, and to put into his enemy's hand the sword to be used against himself. Behold, what is the counsel which the wisdom of this world gives? That those who are good should choose rather to be evil, and that in error of mind they should be zealous to be sinners, and should not bethink themselves of that terrible voice of God, when the wicked shall be burned up like grass.

7

OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE BISHOP'S HAND

For all the faithful ought to receive the Holy Spirit after baptism by imposition of the hand of the bishops, so that they may be found to be Christians fully; because when the Holy Spirit is shed upon them, the believing heart is enlarged for prudence and steadfastness. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be made spiritual; for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be wise to discern between good and evil, to love the just, and to loathe the unjust, so as to withstand malice and pride, and resist luxury and divers allurements, and impure and unworthy lust. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that, fired with the love of life and the ardor of glory, we may be able to raise our mind from things earthly to

things heavenly and divine. — Given on the Nones of September, — that is, on the fifth day of the same month, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE PONTIANUS

THE FIRST EPISTLE

TO FELIX SUBSCRIBONIUS ON THE HONOR TO BE BESTOWED ON PRIESTS

PONTIANUS, bishop, to Felix Subscribonius, greeting.

Our heart is exceedingly rejoiced with your goodness, in that you strive by all means in your power to carry out the practice of holy religion, and strengthen sad and destitute brethren in faith and religion. Wherefore we implore the mercy of our Redeemer, that His grace may support us in all things, and that He may grant us to carry out in effect what He has given us to aspire after. In this good thing, therefore, the benefits of recompense are multiplied just in proportion as our zeal for the work increases. And because in all these things we need the assistance of divine grace, we implore with constant prayers the clemency of Omnipotent God, that He may both grant us the desire for these good works which should ever be wrought by us, and give us power also to perform them, and direct us in that way, for the fruit of well-doing — which way the Pastor of pastors declared Himself to be — so that ye may be able to carry out through Him, without whom nothing can be done, those good works which you have begun. Moreover, with respect to the priests of the Lord whom we have heard you aid against the plots of wicked men, and whose cause you sustain, know ye that in so doing ye please God greatly, who has called then: to the service of Himself, and has honored them with so intimate a fellowship with Him, that through them He accepts the oblations of others, and pardons their sins, and reconciles them with Him. They also make the body of the Lord with their own mouth (*proprio ore corpus Domini conficiunt*), and give it to the people. For of them it is said: He that hurteth you, hurteth me; and he that doeth you an injury, shall receive again that which he hath done unrighteously. And elsewhere: He that

heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me. Hence they are not to be molested, but honored. And in them the Lord Himself is honored, whose commission they execute. They accordingly, if they happen to fall, are to be raised up and sustained by the faithful. And again, they are not to be accused by the infamous, or the wicked, or the hostile, or by the members of another sect or religion. If they sin, they are to be arraigned by the other priests; further, they are to be held in check (*constringantur*) by the chief pontiffs, and they are not to be arraigned or restrained by seculars or by men of evil life. Not slight, therefore, is our grief in hearing that you have to sorrow for your brother's passing away (*transitu*). For which reason we beseech Almighty God to console you by the breathing (*aspiratione*) of His grace, and keep you with heavenly guardianship from evil spirits and perverse men. For if ye have to bear any turmoil of certain adversaries after his disease, do not think it strange though ye, who seek to enjoy good in your own country — that is, in the land of the living — have to bear evil things at the hands of men in a strange country. For the present life is a sojourning; and to him who sighs after the true fatherland, the place of his sojourning is a trial, however pleasant it may seem. And as to you who seek the fatherland, among the sighs which ye heave I hear the groans also of human oppression rising. And this happens by the wonderful dispensation of Almighty God, in order that, while the truth calls you in love, this present world may cast back your affection from itself through the tribulations which it brings on, and that the mind may be so much the more easily delivered from the love of this world, as it is also impelled while it is called. Therefore, as you have begun, give heed to the duty of hospitality; labor most urgently in prayer and tears; devote yourselves more liberally and freely now to those almsgivings which you have ever loved, in order that in the recompense the profit to you for your work may be greater in proportion as your zeal for the labor has risen to higher degrees here.

Furthermore, hailing your goodness with paternal pleasantness, we beg you not to fail in the good works which ye have begun. And may no one be able to turn you from them; but may the clergy and servants of God, and all Christians who sojourn in those parts, fully discover by the love of Christ and Saint Peter the disposition of your charity in all things, and

obtain the comforts of your favor in every necessity that may arise; to the end that all may be defended and helped by your aid, and that we, too, may owe you thanks, and that our Lord Jesus Christ may make good to you eternal glory, and that the blessed Apostle Peter, the chief of the apostles, in whose cause you spend yourselves, may open the gate of that same glory. — Given on the 10th day before the kalends of February (the 23d of January), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

TO ALL BISHOPS

ON BROTHERLY LOVE, AND ON AVOIDING THE EVIL

Pontianus, bishop of the holy and universal Church, to all who worship the Lord aright, and love the divine worship, greeting.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will. These words, most beloved, are not the words of men, but of angels; and they were not devised by human sense, but were uttered by angels at the birth of the Savior. And from these words it can be understood without doubt by all that peace is given by the Lord, not to men of evil will, but to men of good will. Whence the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says: “How good is God to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart! But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps had well-nigh slipped: for I was envious at the unrighteous, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked.” Of the good, however, the Truth says in His own person, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” And they are not the pure in heart who think evil things, or things hurtful to their brethren; for he who is the faithful man devises nothing evil. The faithful man, accordingly, loves rather to hear things which are becoming, than to speak things which are not becoming. And if any one is faithful, let him see to it that he speak no evil, and lay no snares in the way of any one. In this, then, are the children of God distinguished from the children of the devil. For the children of God always think and strive to do things which are of God, and give help unceasingly to their brethren, and wish to injure no one. But, on the other

hand, the children of the devil are always meditating things evil and hurtful, because their deeds are evil. And of them the Lord, speaking by the prophet Jeremiah, says: “I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness.” “Wherefore I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord; and with your children’s children will I plead.” “Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you.” These things, brethren, are greatly to be feared, and to be guarded against by all; for the man on whom the judgment of God may fall will not depart unhurt. And therefore let every one see to it carefully that he neither contrive nor do against a brother what he would not wish to have to endure himself. And let not the man of faith come under the suspicion even of saying or doing what he would not wish to have to endure himself. Wherefore persons suspected, or hostile or litigious, and those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, and those who do not hold and teach the right faith, have been debarred from being either accusers or witnesses by our predecessors with apostolic authority; and we too remove them from that function, and exclude them from it in times to come, lest those lapse willfully whom we ought to keep in and save; lest not only (which may God forbid!) the predicted judgment of God should fall upon both, but we also should perish (which may God forbid!) through their fault. For it is written, “Have they made thee the master of a feast? Take care for them, that thou mayst be merry on their account, and receive as thy crown the ornament of esteem, and find approbation of thine election.” For the evil word affects the heart, out of which proceed these four objects, good and evil, life and death; and the tongue in its assiduous action is what determines these. Wherefore the before-named parties are altogether to be avoided; and until the before-noted matters are investigated, and the parties are found to be clear of such, they are not to be received: for the right sacrifice is to give heed to the commandments, and to depart from all iniquity. “To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord, and to forsake unrighteousness is a sacrifice of praise.” For it is written, “Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he who destroys (loseth) the friendship of his neighbor. And as one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou that has let thy neighbor go and shalt not get him again. Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he has escaped like a roe out of the snare, because his soul is wounded.

Thou wilt not be able to bind him any more, and there is reconciliation for the reviled. But to bewray the secrets of a friend is the desperation of a wretched soul. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and no one will cast him off. When thou art present, he will despise his own mouth, and express his wonder at thy discourse; but at the last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head, and a deceitful stroke of the deceitful will make wounds. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that setteth a stone in his neighbor's way will all thereon; and he that placeth a snare for another will perish therein. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach are from the proud; and vengeance, as a lion, shall be in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall perish in the snare, and anguish shall consume them before they die. Anger and wrath are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both." "He that will be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins. Forgive thy neighbor the hurt that he hath done unto thee, and then shall thy sins be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another; and doth he ask redress of God? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of the Most High for his own sins? He, though he is flesh, nourisheth hatred; and doth he ask pardon of God? Who will entreat for his sins? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; for corruption and death impend on commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbor. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and look down upon (*despice*) the ignorance of thy neighbor. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins. For a furious man kindleth strife; and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and make enmity among them that be at peace. For even as the trees of the wood are, so will the fire bum; and as a man's strength is, so will his anger be; and as his riches are, so will he make his anger rise. An hastened contention will kindle a fire, and an hastening quarrel will shed blood, and a testifying (*testificans*) tongue will bring death. If thou blow upon the spark, it will burn like a fire; and if thou spit upon it, it will be extinguished: and both these come out of the mouth. Cursed be the whisperer and doubled-tongued, for such have troubled many that were at peace. A third (*tertia*) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from

nation to nation: the fortified cities of the rich it hath pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It has subverted the virtues of peoples, and has destroyed strong nations. A third tongue hath east out truthful women, and deprived them of their labors. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly. The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue will break bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not in such manner as those who have perished by their tongue. Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, who hath not passed into the anger thereof, and who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound with the bands of it; for the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the band thereof is a band of brass. The death thereof is the vilest death, and the grave were better than it. The perseverance thereof shall not abide; but it shall hold the ways of the unrighteous, and its flame shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it, and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and hurt them as a leopard. Hedge thine ears about with thorns, and listen not to the evil tongue; and make a door for thy mouth, and bars for thine ears. Smelt (*confla*) thy gold and silver, and make a balance for thy words, and fight curbs for thy mouth. And beware that thou slide not perchance in thy tongue, and fall before thine enemies that lie in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable even to death." "Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day. For suddenly shall His wrath come, and in the time of vengeance He will destroy thee. Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten, for they shall not profit thee in the day of veiling (for execution, *obductionis*) and vengeance. Move not with every wind, and go not into every way; for so is the sinner proved with the double-tongue. Be steadfast in the way of the Lord, and in the truth of thine understanding, and in knowledge; and let the word of peace and righteousness attend thee. Be courteous in hearing the word, that thou mayest understand it, and with wisdom give a true answer. If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbor; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, lest thou be caught in a word of folly, and be confounded. Honor and glory are in the talk of the intelligent man; the tongue of the unwise is his fall. Be not called a whisperer, and be not caught in thy tongue, and confounded. For confusion and penitence are upon the thief, and the worst condemnation upon the double-tongued. Moreover, for the whisperer there is hatred, and enmity, and shame.

Justify the small and the great alike.” Instead of a friend, become not an enemy to thy neighbor. For the evil man shall inherit reproach and shame, and every sinner in like manner that is envious and double-tongued. Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart as a bull, lest perchance thy virtue be shattered in folly, and it consume thy leaves, and destroy thy fruits, and thou be left as a dry tree in the desert. For a wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and makes him to be laughed to scorn by his enemies, and shall bring him down to the lot of the impious.” Most dearly beloved, study to lift up the oppressed, and always help the necessitous; for if a man relieves an afflicted brother, delivers a captive, or consoles a mourner, let him have no doubt that that will be recompensed to him by Him on whom he bestows it all, and who says: “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me.” Strive, then, unceasingly to do what is good in such wise that ye may both obtain the fruit of good works here, and enjoy the favor of God in the future, to the intent that hereafter ye may be worthy to enter the court of the heavenly kingdom. — Given on the fourth day before the kalends of May (the 28th of April), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Is Bower’s *History of the Popes* (ed. Philadelphia, 1847), vol. i. p. 22, may be seen an interesting note on the “Pontifical” of Bucherius, under the name of Pontianus. It was this bishop who is said to have condemned Origen. He probably shared the fate of Hippolytus in exile, and was martyred under Maximin the Thracian.

POPE ANTERUS

THE EPISTLE

ON THE TRANSLATION OF BISHOPS AND OF EPISCOPAL SEATS

To the brethren, most dearly beloved, constituted to be bishops in the provinces of Boetica and Toletana, Bishop Anterus sends greeting in the Lord.

I should wish, my dearest brethren, always to receive the glad account of your sincere love and peace, so that the signs of your welfare might be promoted in turn by the dissemination of our letters among you, if our ancient enemy should give us quiet and deliverance from his attacks; who was a liar from the beginning, the enemy of the truth, the rival of man — in order to deceive whom he first deceived himself, -the adversary of modesty, the master of luxury. He feeds on cruelties; he is punished by abstinence; he hates fasts, and his ministers preach, to that effect, as he declares them to be superfluous, having no hope of the future, and echoing that sentence of the apostle, in which he says, “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall, die.” O miserable boldness! O subtlety of a desperate mind! For he exhorts to hatred, and puts concord to flight. And because the mind of man is easily drawn over to the worse part, and chooses rather to walk by the broad way than laboriously to take its course by the narrow way, for this reason, brethren most dearly beloved, follow ye the better, and always leave the worse behind you. Do good, avoid evil, in order that ye may be found to be the disciples of the Lord in truth.

Now, of the transference of bishops, on which subject it has been your wish to consult the holy seat of the apostles, know ye that that may lawfully be done for the sake of the common good, or when it is absolutely necessary, but not at the mere will or bidding of any individual. Peter, our holy master, and the prince of the apostles, was translated for the sake of the common good from Antioch to Rome, in order that he might be in a

position there of doing more service. Eusebius also was transferred from a certain minor city to Alexandria by apostolic authority. In like manner Felix, on account of the doctrine and the good life which he maintained, was translated by the common consent of the bishops and the other priests, and the people from the city in which, on the election of the citizens, he had been ordained, to Ephesus. For that man is not chargeable with shifting from city to city who does not do that of his own inclination or by the force of ambition, but who is transferred for the general good, or in virtue of some necessity, by the counsel and with the consent of the chief parties. Nor can he be said to transfer himself from a smaller city to a larger, who is placed in that position not by his own self-seeking or his own choice, but either as being driven out of his own proper seat by force, or as being compelled by some necessity, and who without pride and in humility has been translated and installed there by others for the good of the place or the people: for man looketh on the countenance, but the Lord seeth the heart. And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says, “The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are vanity.” That man, therefore, does not change his seat who does not change his mind. Nor does he change his city who is changed not of his own will, but by the decision and election of others. And accordingly he does not shift from city to city who does not leave his own city for the sake of gain to himself, or of his own choice, but who, as has already been said, has been translated to another city either in consequence of being driven out of his own seat, or compelled by some necessity, or in virtue of the election and injunction of the priests and people. For as the bishops have power regularly to ordain bishops and other orders of priests, so, as often as any matter of advantage or necessity constrains them, they have power in the above-mentioned manner both to transfer and to install. As ye have asked our opinion in these matters, though they are not subjects unknown to you, we give you these things in charge to hold them, lest, through the ignorance of some, that which is better and more profitable be avoided, and what is more profitless be taken up, even as we read in the holy Gospel: “Woe unto you, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat and swallow a camel.” What is lawful is with them not lawful, and what is not lawful is lawful.

Even as Jannes and Mambres resisted the truth, so do they, being reprobate in mind, and lovers of pleasure rather than of God, teach that that is unlawful which is lawful, to wit, that bishops should shift from city to city in the manner already noted; and what is unlawful they teach as lawful, to wit, to omit to show mercy to those who endure straits: that is to say, theft deny that a bishop belonging to another city should be bestowed for good, or for necessity's sake, upon those who have no bishop, and who want the sacred episcopal ministry; and that another episcopal seat should be assigned to bishops who endure persecution or straits. They contradict the sacred Scripture also, which testifies that God desireth mercy rather than judgment

What greater charity, I pray you, can there be, or what more profitable service of piety, on the part of any one to another, than to deliver him from the darkness of ignorance and the thick darkness of inexperience, and restore him, in fine, by the nutriment of the doctrine of the true faith, not for gain indeed, or ambition, but for instruction and edification? [For he becomes, so to speak, the hand for the maimed, the foot for the lame, the eye for the blind, who unlocks the treasure of wisdom and knowledge to one wrapped in the darkness of ignorance, and opens up to such an one the brightness of the light and the ways of the Lord.]

Now for both parties — namely, for those who endure a famine of the word of God, and for bishops who endure straits, when they are installed in other cities for the common good -no small degree of mercy is shown. And they who deny this, although they have the form of godliness, do yet deny the power thereof. For in such a matter I make no recognition of race (*prosapiam*). If, however, any one of the wise, whom the stress of this storm (or season) has allied with other leaders among the unwise, is stained with a participation in their deeds, yet the excellence of the wise man, although he may chance to be privy to their offenses, makes him incapable of giving himself as a leader to sinners. The cause of public good and necessity is one thing, and the cause of self-seeking, and presumption, or private inclination, is another thing. On account of self-seeking, or presumption, or private inclination, bishops are not to be transferred from one city to another, but only on account of public good and necessity. And this is a matter which no one denies, except those of whom it is said, "They have erred through wine; they have not known the seer; they have

been ignorant of judgment." For if I were constrained to open up in narration things that have been brought to end, I would show you that no comfort comes from the comparison of such deeds. But, most dearly beloved, "stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths of the Lord, and see what is the good way and the right, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." And, to speak according to the word of Wisdom: "Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth. Think of the Lord in goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek Him. For He is found of them that tempt Him not, and showeth Himself unto such as do not distrust Him. For froward thoughts separate from God; and His power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise. For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin. For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in. For wisdom is a benign spirit, and will not acquit a blasphemer of His words. For God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue. For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice. Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid; neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him. For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly. And the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord, and unto the manifestation of his wicked deeds; for the ear of jealousy heareth all things, and the noise of murmurings shall not be hid. Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable; and refrain your tongue from backbiting, for there is no word so secret that it shall go for nought. The mouth that belieth slayeth the soul. Seek not death in the error of your life, and pull not upon yourself destruction with the works of your hands; for God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living. For He created all things that they might have their being, and He wished the nations of the world to be healthful. There is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth of the living. Righteousness is perpetual and immortal, but unrighteousness is the acquisition of death. And ungodly men with their hands and words called it to them; and when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with it; because they are worthy of death who take part with it." "For they said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, The time of our life is short and tedious;

and in the death of a man there is no remedy, neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born of nothing, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been. For the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and speech is a little spark for the moving of our heart; which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air. And our life shall pass as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and overcome with the heat thereof. And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance. For our time is a very shadow that passeth away, and after our end there is no returning; for it is fast sealed, and no man shall come again." And for this reason every one must see to it that he keep himself with all care, and watch himself for his own good, so that when his last day and the end of his life come upon him, he may not pass over to everlasting death, but to eternal life. For the deeds of those put under us are judged by us, but our own doth God judge. Sometimes, moreover, bishops are perverted through the fault of the people, to the end that those fall more precipitately who follow them. When the head languisheth, the other members of the body are affected thereby. And viler are those who corrupt the life and morals of the good, than those who spoil the property and goods of others. Let each one take care that he have neither an itching tongue nor itching ears; that is to say, that he neither be a detractor of others himself, nor listen to others in their detractions. "Thou sattest," saith he, "and spakest against thy brother; and thou didst slander thine own mother's son." Let every individual abstain from a detracting tongue, and keep a guard upon his own words, and understand that all that they say of others shall enter into the judgment wherewith they themselves shall be judged. No one readily refers to an unwilling auditor. Let it be the care of all of you, most dearly beloved, to keep not only your eyes, but also your tongue, pure. And let not another house ever know by your means what is done in any man's house. Let all have the simplicity of the dove, that they devise not guile against any one; and the subtlety of the serpent, that they be not overthrown by the crafty designs of others. It does not belong to my humble station and measure to judge others, and to say anything unfavorable of the ministers of the churches. Far be it from me that I should say anything unfavorable of those who are the successors to the apostolic status, and make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth; by

whose instrumentality we too are Christians, and who have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and exercise judgment before the day of judgment. Moreover, it is contained in the ancient law, that whoever has not given obedience to the priests should either be stoned outside the camp by the people, or with his neck beneath the sword should expiate his presumption by his blood. Now, however, the disobedient is cut off by spiritual chastisement; and being cast out of the church, is torn by the rabid mouth of demons. For it becomes those who have God in their heritage, to serve God free from all the hindrances of the world, so that they may be able to say, “The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance.” “O how good and pleasant is Thy Spirit, O Lord, in all things!” And Thou sparest all because they are Thine, O Lord, who lovest souls. Therefore chastenest Thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them of those things wherein they offend, and dost address them, that leaving their wickedness, they may believe on Thee, O Lord.” “But Thou, our God, art gracious and true, long-suffering, and in mercy ordering all things. For if we sin, we are Thine, knowing Thy power. And if we sin not, we know that we are counted Thine.” “The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall be required of him; and in His regard they shall be blessed.” Wherefore, most beloved brethren, “let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you.” “Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savor. But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this know ye, understanding that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the

Lord: walk as children of light (for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth), proving what is acceptable unto the Lord. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret. But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever is made manifest (*manifestatur*) is light. Wherefore He saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. See then that ye walk circumspectly, brethren, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Holy Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ." Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the tradition of the apostles and the apostolic seat, "that our Lord Jesus Christ and our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, may comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good work and word." "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you, and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith. But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil." Wherefore set your hearts continually in the strength (*virtute*) of God, and always resist the wicked, and tell these things, according to the word of the prophet, "to the generations following; for this God is our God unto eternity, and He will rule us for ever and ever." Hence ye who are set for examples (*in specula*) by the Lord, ought by all means to check and keep back those who devise crafty counsels against the brethren, or excite against them seditions and slanders. For it is an easy thing to deceive man with a word, but it is not so with the Lord. Wherefore ye ought to reprehend such persons, and turn away from them, to the end that, all darkness of this manner being completely done away, the Morning Star may shine upon them, and gladness arise in their hearts. "And we have confidence in the Lord touching you, brethren, that ye both do and will do the things which we command you." For the more ye show forth your kindnesses to them, the greater a return have ye to look for

from the omnipotent God whom they serve. May the omnipotent God keep you in His protection, and grant you to maintain honor and precept; and may glory and honor be to God the Father Almighty, and to His only-begotten Son our Savior, with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

Given on the 12th day before the kalends of April (the 21st of March), in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximianus and Africanus.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE FABIAN

THE FIRST EPISTLE

TO ALL THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC OF THOSE WHE OUGHT NOT TO BE ADMITTED TO CLEAR THEMSELVES, AND OF THE DUTY OF HAVING NO FELLOWSHIP WITH THE EXCOMMUNICATED

To the dearly-beloved brethren in the ministry of the Church Catholic in all regions, Fabian sends greeting in the Lord.

By the divine precepts and the apostolic institutes, we are admonished to watch in behoof of the position of all the churches with unwearied interest. Whence it follows that you ought to know what is being done in things sacred in the church of Rome, in order that, by following her example, ye may be found to be true children of her who is called your mother. Accordingly, as we have received the institution from our fathers, we maintain seven deacons in the city of Rome distributed over seven districts of the state, who attend to the services enjoined on them week by week, and on the Lord's days and the solemn festivals, in concert with the subdeacons, and acolytes, and servants of the succeeding orders, and hold themselves in readiness every hour for religious duty, and for the discharge of all that is enjoined upon them. In like manner ought ye also to do throughout your different cities, as may be convenient, that religious duty may be discharged zealously and regularly, without any delay or negligence. Furthermore, we have ordained in like manner seven subdeacons who shall stand by (*imminerent*) the seven notaries, and bring into one full and accurate account the histories of the martyrs, and lay them before us for our examination. And this, too, we urge you all to do, so that no doubt or questioning of these things may arise in later times; "for whatsoever things were written, were written for our learning." And whatsoever things are written in truth in our times, are directed to the learning of future times. And therefore we enjoin these duties to be put in charge of the most faithful, that nothing false may be found in them, from

which an offense (which may God forbid) may arise to the faithful. For this reason also we beg it of your love in paternal benignity, that the holy Church may now find the goodwill of your love in all things, and obtain the comforts of your favor whenever there is necessity. And as the goodness of your zeal affords us the assurance that we ought to distrust it in nothing, but rather commit these things in all confidence to you as to wise sons of our church; so, small importance being attached to opportune occasions, your virtue ought to exert itself the more strenuously in labors, and keep off reproaches by all possible means, and with all zeal. We exhort you also, according to the word of the apostle, to be “steadfast and immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not vain in the Lord.” And in another place: “Watch ye, and pray, and stand fast in the faith. Quit you like men, and be strong. Let all things be done with charity.” Furthermore, we desire you to know this, that in our times, as our sins embarrassed us, and that ancient enemy who always goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,instigated him, Novatus came up out of Africa, and separated Novatianus and certain other confessors of Christ from the Church of Christ, and persuaded them into the acceptance of evil doctrine. From such persons, brethren, keep yourselves aloof, and beware of all who hold a faith and doctrine different from that which the apostles and their successors have held and taught, lest (which may God forbid) going after him ye fall into the toils of Satan, and be bound with his fetters. Wherefore with most earnest prayers we beg it of your brotherly love, that ye may deem it fit to remember our insignificance in your holy prayers, beseeching and entreating the Lord of heaven that we, as well as our holy mother the Church of Christ, redeemed with His precious blood, may be delivered from the toils of Satan, who lieth in wait for us; and from troublesome and wicked men, and that the Word of God may have free course and be glorified, and that the evil doctrine of them, and of all who teach things contrary to the truth, may be overthrown and perish. We beseech you also to be zealous in praying in your pious supplications, that our God and Lord Jesus Christ, who will have all men to be saved, and no one to perish, may, by His vast omnipotence, cause their hearts to turn again to sound doctrine and to the Catholic faith, in order that they may be recovered from the toils of the devil who are held captive by him, and be united with the children of our mother the Church. Be mindful also of your brethren,

and have pity upon them, and labor for them by all means in your power, that they be not lost, but be saved unto the Lord by your prayers, and other efforts of your goodness. So act therefore in these matters that ye may approve yourselves as obedient and faithful children of the holy Church of God, and that ye may obtain the recompense of reward. These men, and all else who do not teach the true doctrine, and hold not the true faith, cannot act as accusers of any true believer, because they are branded with infamy, and are cut off from the bosom of our holy mother the Church by the sword of the apostles, until their return to correct conversation and belief. Hence by apostolic authority, and in agreement with all the sons of the same apostolic and universal Church, we resolve that all who come under suspicion with respect to the Catholic faith cannot be admitted as accusers of those who hold the true creed; for suspicions are always to be set aside. Rightly therefore are charges which are preferred by those who are objects of suspicion in the matter of the true faith, rejected. Neither are they at all to be credited who are unacquainted with the faith of the Trinity. In like manner we set aside and withdraw from all part in the accusing of the faithful, all those whom the decrees of the holy fathers in times past and times future alike anathematize. Accordingly, the believing ought always to be kept distinct from the unbelieving, and the righteous from the unrighteous; since the unbelieving and evil-minded, by every means in their power, are always troubling the believing, and striving to undo them; and consequently they are not to be received, but rejected and kept entirely at a distance, lest they may undo or defame the believing. For this reason, dearly beloved, beware of the pit of such persons, into which we know many have fallen. Beware of the snares (or darts) of such persons, and of the efforts of the ancient enemy, by which we have seen even those closely connected with us fall wounded before us. Watch the nooses of the liers in wait, by which they are wont to strangle associates and comrades. Follow not such, but keep them far off from you. Be ye, according to the voice of Truth, wise as serpents and harmless as doves. See to it that ye neither run nor labor in vain; but, sustained by each other’s prayers and supplications, strive ye to do the will of God; and from those persons whom I have mentioned, if they show themselves incorrigible, keep yourselves separate in all things. In like manner keep yourselves separate from all those of whom the apostle makes mention when he says, “with such persons, no, not to eat;”

since these latter, as well as the former, are to be rejected, and are not to be admitted before they have given satisfaction to the Church. For those with whom it is not lawful to eat are manifestly separated from all intercourse with the rest of the brethren until such satisfaction is given. Wherefore they ought not and cannot be admitted to the preferring of charges against the faithful, but they ought to be debarred from their society until the satisfaction already mentioned is given, lest these too should be made like them, or underlie their excommunication; for to this effect have the apostles decreed, saying, With the excommunicated no fellowship is to be held. And if any one, setting aside the rules wittingly, sings with the excommunicated in his house, or speaks or prays in company with them, that man is to be deprived of the privilege of communion. Such persons, therefore, are in all things to be guarded against, and are not to be received, because, according to the apostle, not only those who commit such things are condemned, but also those who consent with those who do them. Whence also the blessed chief of the apostles, Peter, addressing the people at the ordination of Clement, says this among other things: If this Clement is hostile to any one on account of his deeds, wait not ye for his saying directly to you, Be not on terms of friendship with this man. But mark ye carefully his will as ye ought, and second it without need of direct injunction; and separate yourselves from that man to whom ye perceive him to be inimical, and speak not with those with whom he speaks not, in order that every one who may be in fault, as he desires to possess the friendship of all of you, may be zealous in effecting a reconciliation all the more quickly with him who presides over all, so that be may return to spiritual well-being (*redeat et salutem*) hereby, when he begins to yield obedience to the charges of the president. If, however, any one is not friendly, and speaks with those with whom he (his chief) speaks not, such an one belongs to those who seek to exterminate the Church of God; and though he seems to be with you in body, he is against you in mind and heart. And such an one is a much more dangerous enemy than those who are without, and who are openly hostile. For this man under the guise of friendship acts the part of an enemy, and scatters and ruins the church. And therefore, dearly beloved, in these apostolic institutes we warn and teach you, that your charity, being instructed therein (*effecta certior*), may hereafter study to act with greater care and prudence, so that perverse and unbelieving men may not have the power of injuring the faithful and

well-disposed; for the hope of such, and of all the ungodly, is like dust that is blown away with the wind; and like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; and like as the smoke which is dispersed here and there with a tempest, and as the remembrance of a guest of a single day that passeth away. With the utmost care, dearly beloved, are such persons to be guarded against, and avoided, and rejected, if they show themselves injurious. For the laws of the world, no less than those of the Church, do not admit: the injurious, but reject them. Whence it is written, “The mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity.” And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, saith, “With the holy thou wilt show thyself holy; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward; and with the excellent thou wilt show thyself excellent (*electus*); and with the innocent man thou wilt show thyself innocent.” And the apostle says, “Evil communications corrupt good manners.” Wherefore, as has already been indicated, the wicked are always to be avoided and shunned, and the good and rightly-disposed are to be steadfastly followed, in order that, as far as possible, we may avoid the peril of sloth. And lest this pest may be spread abroad more widely, let us cut it off from us with all possible severity; for the temerity of presumption does not intervene where there is the diligence of piety. Let every one of you, sustained by this apostolic representation, act according to his strength, and study in brotherly love and in godly piety to keep his own manners correct, and to help each other, and to abide in charity, and to keep himself in the will of God unceasingly, in order that we may praise the Lord together, and give Him thanks always without wearying. Fare ye well in the Lord, dearly beloved, and with the Lord’s help strive to fulfill to the best of your ability the things before mentioned. — Given on the first day of July, in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximinus (or, Maximus) and Africanus.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF THE EAST THAT THE CHRISM SHOULD BE RENEWED WITH CONSECRATION EVERY YEAR, AND THAT THE OLD SUPPLY SHOULD BE SET ASIDE TO BE BURNT IN THE CHURCHES; ALSE CONCERNING THE ACCUSING OF PRIESTS, AND ON THE DUTY OF THE SHEEP NOT TO DARE TO BLAME THEIR SHEPHERD UNLESS HE ERRS IN THE FAITH

FABIAN, bishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops of the East, and to the whole body of the faithful, greeting in the Lord.

Your love for the seat of the apostles requires counsels which we neither can nor ought to deny you. It is clear, moreover, that our predecessors did this for the bishops of many districts; and brotherly charity and the debt of obedience impose the duty of so doing also upon us who, by the bountiful goodness of God, are placed in the same seat. Care, therefore, is to be had by your solicitude, that neither remissness may avail to neglect, nor presumption be able to disturb, those things which have been ordained by the apostles and their successors, and established under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But as it was proper that that should be defined which the use of right order required, so what has been so defined ought not to be violated.

1

THAT NEW CHRISM SHOULD BE MADE EVERY YEAR, AND THE OLD BE BURNT

Now, among other matters, in your letter we find it stated that certain bishops of your district adopt a different practice from yours and ours, and do not prepare the chrism at the Lord’s supper every year, but keep it in use for two or three, making such a supply of the holy chrism once for all. For they say, as we find in the letter referred to, that balsam cannot be got every year; and besides that, even though it were got, there would be no necessity for preparing chrism every year, but that, so long as the one

preparation of chrism is sufficiently large, they have no need to make another. They are in error, however, who think so; and in making such statements they speak like madmen rather than men in their right senses. For on that day the Lord Jesus, after supping with His disciples, and washing their feet, according to the tradition which our predecessors received from the holy apostles and left to us, taught them to prepare the chrism. That washing of their feet signifies our baptism, as it is completed and confirmed by the unction of the holy chrism. For as the solemn observance of that day is to be kept every year, so the preparing of that holy chrism is to be attended to every year, and it is to be renewed from year to year and given to the faithful. For the material of this new sacrament is to be made anew every year, and on the day already named; and the old supply is to be burned in the holy churches. These things i we have received from the holy apostles an their successors, and we commit them to your keeping. The holy church of Rome and that of Antioch have been guardians of these things from the times of the apostles: these things also the churches of Jerusalem and Ephesus maintain. Presiding over these churches, the apostles taught these things, and ordained that the old chrism should be burnt, and permitted them to use it no longer than one year, and commanded them thereafter to use the new, and not the old material. If any one, therefore, ventures to go against these things, let him understand that the door of indulgence is barred against him on your part and on that of all right- minded men: for the perverse doctrine of most depraved minds, while it uses the reins too indulgently, slips into the sin of presumption; and it can by no means be cast out, unless it is cleared of all support and correction on the part of the intelligent. And those usages which the holy Church throughout the whole world uniformly observes with respect to the divine mysteries, and towards the subjects of baptism, are not to be regarded with indifferent concern, lest we make way for purposeless efforts and superstitions. We ought not, therefore, to bring over the untaught minds of the faithful to such practices as we have named, because they should be instructed rather than played upon. For good deeds make for our happiness, and evil deeds prick us with the stings of sorrow. But here, however we are situated, we are among the hands of robbers and the teeth of raging wolves, and the contumacious are put in the place of the true sheep. And it is by the barking of the dogs and the staff of the shepherd that the fury of the wolves is checked. Those wounds,

moreover, which cannot be healed by remedies, must be cut out with the knife. Neither can we keep silence, for, in seeking here to call back some from things unlawful, we ate impelled by the instinct of our office, having been set on the watch-towers by the Lord with this object, that we should prove the diligence of our watchfulness by checking things that should be prohibited, and deciding for things that should be observed.

2

OF THE RIGHT OF BISHOPS NOT TO BE ACCUSED OR HURT BY DETRACTION

You desired also to consult us, as we find in the above-mentioned letter of yours, on the subject of the accusing of priest, — a thing which, as we learn also from the same epistle, is exceedingly frequent among you. You have intimated, besides, that very many notice that not a few in places of ecclesiastical dignity do not live in a manner conformable to the discourses and sacraments with which the people are served by their means. O miserable men, who in looking at these forget Christ, who long since indeed told us how that the law of God should be obeyed, rather than that those should be looked to for imitation who do not the things which they say; and bearing with the traitor himself even to the end, He sent him also along with the rest to preach the Gospel. For the apostles had no such custom, neither did they teach that it was one fit to be had. And to like effect their successors also, foreseeing by the Spirit of God things to come, have determined largely on such subject. Besides, as you read in the Acts of the Apostles, “There was at that time among them that believed one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.” For there was no laying of accusations against each other among them, except what was friendly; neither ought there ever to be such among their followers or among believers: for the Lord says, “Do not that to another which thou wouldst not have done to thyself.” And He says also, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;” and,” Love worketh no ill to his neighbor.” In accordance herewith, the apostles themselves and their successors decreed of old time that those persons should not be admitted to lay accusations

who were under suspicion, or who but yesterday, or the day before, or a little time ago, were at enmity, as they come thus under suspicion, Or who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, or who are doubtful in the matter of the true faith. In like manner is it decided to be with those whose faith and life and liberty are unknown, or who are marked with the stains of infamy, or entangled in the snares of offenses. Again, those have neither the right nor the power to accuse the priests or the clergy, who are incapable themselves of being made priests legitimately, and are not of their order; for just as the, priests and the other members of the clerical order are debarred from laying accusations against the secular laity, so these latter, too, should be debarred and excluded from the right of bringing charges against the former. And as the former should not be admired by the latter, so the latter should not be; admired by the former: for as the conversation of the priests of the Lord ought to be something separate from the conversation of these others, so should they be separate from them also in the matter of litigation; “for the servant of the Lord ought not to strive.” To the utmost of your power, dearly beloved brethren, do ye prohibit such accusations, and all unrighteous and injurious emulations, because contention is to be avoided by all means. “For a just man will fall seven times in a day, and will rise again; but the wicked shall fall into mischief. Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,” saith Solomon, “and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth; lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him. Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious at the wicked: for the evil have not the hope of the future, and the candle of the wicked shall be put out. Envy not evil men neither be thou desirous to be with them; for their mind meditates rapine, and their lips speak deceits.” Dearly beloved, beware of these things. Ponder these things, and minister comfort to the brethren in all things; for, as the Truth says in His own person, “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” For if in things secular each man’s right and his proper position are kept for him, how much more ought there to be no confusion induced in matters of ecclesiastical order! And this is a right which will be duly observed if no deference is paid to mere power, but all to equity. Whence it is an established duty, that the bishops of each several district should exercise a watchful care over all those who live under their rule, and in the fear of God should dispose of all cases in which

they are concerned, and of all matters in which they are interested. It is therefore extremely inequitable that any bishops should neglect their own cases, and mix themselves up with those of others. But those whose part it is to ordain such persons to the priesthood, and by whom they have been already ordained, ought to order the life and judgment of such by the exercise of a competent and regular administration; for, as the law says, “Cursed is every one that removeth his neighbor’s landmarks. And all the people said Amen.” To this therefore, brethren, has God foreordained you, and all who hold the highest office of the priesthood, that ye should put all injustice out of the way, and cut off presumption, and help those who labor in the priesthood, and give no occasion for their reproach and trouble, but bring assistance to him who endures calumny and reproach, and cut off him who works calumny and reproach, and act for the help of the Lord in His priests. The Lord, moreover, has chosen the priests for Himself, that they should sacrifice to Him, and offer oblations to their Lord. He commanded the Levites also to be under them in their ministries. Whence He speaks to Moses in these terms: “And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.” For of these the Lord spake to Moses in this wise: “Take the Levites instead of the first-horn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am the Lord.” If the Lord willed the Levites to be His own, how much more has He taken the priests for Himself! And of these He says: “If any stranger cometh nigh, he shall be put to death.” All objects, moreover, that are the Lord’s are to be handled carefully, and are not lightly to be injured; for even among men, those are reckoned faithful who attend to the interests of their masters rightly, and deal with them faithfully, and rightly observe the commands of their masters, and transgress them not. And those, on the other hand, are reputed unfaithful who deal with the interests of their masters carelessly and negligently, and despise their commands, and do not observe them as they ought. Accordingly we have set these matters before you, in order that those who now know it not may know this; viz., that the priests, too, whom the Lord has taken to Himself from among all men, and has willed to be His own, are not to be dealt with lightly, nor injured, nor rashly accused or reprehended, save by their masters, seeing that the Lord has chosen to reserve their causes to Himself, and ministers

vengeance according to His own judgment. For in these and other precepts of the Lord the faithful are distinguished, and the unfaithful at the same time disapproved. For these are rather to be born with by the faithful than made subjects of reproach (*exprobrandi*); just as there is chaff with the wheat even to the last winnowing, and as there are bad fish with good even on to their separation, which is yet to be on the shore, — that is to say, at the end of the world. By no means, then, can that man be condemned by a human examination, whom God has reserved for His own judgment, that the purpose of God, according to which He has decreed to save what had perished, may be unalterable. And consequently, as His will suffers no change, let no man presume on matters which are not conceded to him. And herein is the meaning of that word which the apostle speaks: “Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?” To this, too, our Lord’s word may refer: “And if any man will take away thy coat, and sue thee at the law, let him have thy cloak also.” And in another place: “Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.” Moreover, there are certain things which might be thought most trivial were they not shown in the Scriptures to be of more serious import. Who would ever consider the man who says to his brother “Thou fool” worthy of hell-fire, were it not that the Truth Himself told us so? Those, furthermore, who commit those sins whereof the apostle says, “They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God,” are by all means to be guarded against, and are to be compelled to seek amendment if they do not choose it voluntarily, because they are marked with the stains of infamy, and go down into the pit, unless assistance is brought them by sacerdotal authority. Those also are to be dealt with in like manner of whom he says, “With such persons, no, not to eat;” because such persons are branded with infamy until they are restored by sacerdotal authority, and reinstated in the bosom of our holy mother the Church; since those who are outside us cannot communicate with us. And it is manifest that these are outside us, and ought to be separated from us, with whom it is not lawful for us to eat or to take food. In like manner also, all persons who underlie the charge of any manner of turpitude and dishonor, are rendered infamous; and all who arm themselves against fathers are rendered infamous. “Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear than a man without understanding, and foolish and

impious." "He that wanteth understanding thinks upon vain things; and a foolish and erring man imagineth follies." For their suspicion has overthrown many, and their opinion hath held them in vanity. "A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein. A heart that entereth two ways shall not have rest; and the evil heart in them shall be made to stumble. A wicked heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the sinner shall heap sin upon sin." The holy apostles and their successors, having such things in mind, and foreseeing, as being filled with the Holy Spirit, the course of wicked men, and having regard to the simple, determined that the accusing of priests should be a matter undertaken with difficulty, or never undertaken, that they might not be ruined or displaced by wicked men. For if this were made an easy matter to secular and wicked men, there would remain no one, or but the scantiest few; seeing that it ever has been and still is the case — and (which is yet worse) that too in growing measure — that the wicked persecute the good, and that the carnal are hostile to the spiritual. For this reason, then, as has been already said, they decreed that such should not be accused at all; or if that could not be avoided, that the accusing of such should be made a matter of great difficulty. And they determined also, as has been stated above, by what persons that function should not be assumed; and they resolved further, that bishops should not be cast out from their own proper seats and churches. But if in any way the matter of accusation should be taken in hand before their rightful seat and all their property are restored by those laws, they should by no means be accused or criminated by any one, and should not answer any one on such charges, unless they choose to do so of their own accord. But after they have been reinstated, as has been before noted, and have had all their effects restored to them by those laws, when their affairs are arranged and set in order, they should then have a long period allowed them for the disposing of their case; and thereafter, if need be, they should be regularly summoned, and so come to the suit; and if the matter seem just, they should answer the propositions of their accusers with the help of their brethren. For so long as their effects, or their churches and property, are held by their adversaries, or by any person, no manner of reason allows that any charge ought to be preferred against them. And no one is at liberty by any means to bring any charge against them, whether superior or inferior, so long as they are dispossessed of their churches, effects, or powers. In like manner also it

was decreed, and we too confirm the same statutes and hereby decree, that if any one among the clergy proves an enemy or traducer of his bishops, and seeks to criminate them, or conspires against them, at once, before the consideration of judicial investigation, he should be removed from the clerical order, and given over to the court (*curioe*), to which he shall devote himself zealously all the days of his life, and shall remain infamous without any hope of restoration. And let no one ever presume to be at once accuser, and judge, or witness; for in every judicial investigation there must always be four persons present: that is, the judges elected, and the accusers, and the defenders, and the witnesses. In like manner we decree and ordain by apostolic authority, that the flock should not dare to bring a charge against their pastor, to whose care they had been consigned, unless he falls into error in the faith; for the deeds of superiors are not to be smitten with the sword of the mouth; neither can the disciple be above the master, as the voice of Truth saith, “The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord.” And pride is hateful before God and men, and all iniquity is execrable. “The Lord hath destroyed the memory of the proud, and hath left the memory of the humble in mind. The seed of men shall be honored, this seed that feareth God. But that seed shall be dishonored that transgresseth the commandments of the Lord. Among brethren, he that is chief is honorable; and they that fear the Lord shall be in His eyes. My son, saith Solomon, preserve thy soul in meekness, and give honor to him whom honor beseemeth.” “Blame not any one before thou examinest him; and when thou hast examined him, reprove him justly. Answer not a word before thou hearest the cause; neither interrupt with talk in the midst of thy seniors.” After the example of Ham the son of Noah, they are condemned who bring the faults of their fathers into public view, or presume to accuse or calumniate them; even as was the case with Ham, who did not cover the shame of his father Noah, but exhibited it for mockery. And in like manner those are justified by the example of Shem and Japhet, who reverently cover and seek not to display those matters in which they find their fathers to have erred. For if a bishop should happen to err from the faith, he should in the first place be corrected privately by those placed under him (*a subditis suis*). And if he show himself incorrigible (which may God forbid), then an accusation should be laid against him before his primates, or before the seat of the apostles. For his other actings, however, he is rather to be born with by his flock and those

put under him, than accused or made the subject of public detraction; because when any offense is committed in these matters by those put under them, His ordinance is withstood who set them before him, as the apostle says, “Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.” But he who fears Almighty God, agrees in no way to do anything contrary to the Gospel, or contrary to the apostles, or contrary to the prophets or the institutions of the holy fathers. The priests therefore are to be honored, and not to be injured or reproached. Thus read we in Ecclesiasticus: “Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence His priests. Love Him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not His ministers. Honor God with thy whole soul, and honor the priest, and cleanse thyself beforehand with the shoulders (*propurga to cum brachiis*). Give him his portion, as it is commanded thee, of the first-fruits; and purge thyself concerning negligence with a few things. Thou shalt offer the gift of thy shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things to the Lord. And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that thine atonement and blessing may be perfected.” We desire these things to become known not to you only, but through you to all the brethren, that we may abide in Christ of one accord and one mind, making no claim for ourselves through strife or vainglory, and being pleasers not of men, but of God our Savior. To Him belongeth honor and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE THIRD EPISTLE

TO BISHOP HILARY

That extraneous judgments should be rejected, and that the accused person should carry out his cause in his own locality; and that every one who brings forward a charge should intimate in writing his ability to prove it, and that if he falls to prove what he alleges, he should bear the penalty which he advanced.

FABIAN, to my dearly beloved brother Bishop Hilary.

We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, who, in the compassion of His own regard, hath raised us for this reason to the summit of sacerdotal dignity, that by cleaving to His commandments, and by being set in a certain eminence as overseers of His priests, we may restrain things unlawful, and inculcate things that are to be followed. For we have heard that in those western parts in which you dwell, the craft of the devil rageth so violently against the people of Christ, and breaketh forth in delusions so manifold, that it oppresseth and troubleth not only the secular laity, but the priests of the Lord themselves also. Wherefore, involved as we are in deep grief, we cannot conceal what we ought severely to correct. Accordingly a sufficient remedy must be employed for such wounds, lest a hasty facility in the cure may prove of no service for the deadly disease of the head; and lest the trouble, by being too easily dealt with, may involve, through the defect of an illegitimate mode of cure, the hurt and the healers together in its evil.

1

OF THOSE WHO OUGHT NOT TO BE ADMITTED TO THE RIGHT OF ACCUSATION

On this account, therefore, we decree and resolve, that those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is impeachable, or whose faith and life and liberty are unknown, should not have the power of accusing the

priests of the Lord, lest vile persons should thus be admitted to the liberty of accusing them. In like manner, those who are involved in any matters of accusation, or who are under suspicion, should not have a voice in laying charges against their seniors; for the voice of the suspected and the inimical is wont to oppress the truth.

2

OF EXTRANEOUS JUDGMENTS

Moreover, by a general ordinance, and without prejudice to the authority of the apostles in all things, we prohibit extraneous judgments, because it is not fit that he should be judged by strangers, who ought to have those of his own province and those elected by himself as his judges, unless an appeal has been made. Wherefore, if any one of the bishops is accused on precise charges, he ought to be heard by all the bishops who are in the province; for it is not right that an accused person should be heard elsewhere than in his own circuit. Again, if any one is of opinion that he has a judge adverse to him, he should claim the right of appeal; and an appellant ought to be injured by no kind of oppression or detention; but an appellant ought to have the liberty of righting his case, when wronged, by the remedy of appeal. There ought also to be liberty of appeal in criminal cases. And the right of appealing ought to be denied to no one whom judgment has destined for punishment.

3

OF THE ARRAIGNED

A person arraigned ought to plead his cause before his judge; and an arraigned person may refuse to speak, if he choose so, before one who is not his own proper judge; and indulgence (*inducioe*) should be granted to the arraigned as often as they appeal.

4

OF THE CASE OF ANY ONE BRINGING FORWARD A CHARGE IN PASSION, OR FAILING TO PROVE HIS ALLEGATIONS

If, then, any one in passion brings a charge rashly against any one, mere abuse is not to be taken for an accusation. But a certain time being allowed for dealing with the matter, the person should profess his ability in writing to prove what he has alleged in passion; so that, if he should happen to think better of the things he uttered in passion, and decline to repeat or write them, the person may not be held as charged with the crime. Every one, therefore, who adduces a charge, ought to state in writing his ability to prove it. And, indeed, a cause should always be dealt with in the place where the charge is admitted; and the man who fails to substantiate his allegation, should himself bear the penalty which he advanced.

5

ON THE QUESTION OF AN ACCUSED BISHOP APPEALING TO THE SEAT OF THE APOSTLES

It is determined, moreover, that, in the case of an accused bishop appealing to the seat of the apostles, that should be held to be a settlement which is the decision of the pontiff of that same seat. On all occasions, however, in cases concerning priests, let this form be maintained, that no one be bound by a decision pronounced by another than his own proper judge. It is the duty also of all the faithful to be ready to help the oppressed and the miserable in their distress, in order that by the manifestation of another manner of recompense (*vindictoe*) they may be able to keep the recompense (*vengeance*) of God from themselves. For he offers (*libat*) things prosperous to the Lord who keeps off things adverse from the afflicted. Whence it is written, “A brother Riding a brother shall be exalted.” For the Church of God ought to be without spot or wrinkle, and therefore it ought not to be trodden and defiled by certain persons; for it is written, “My dove, my undefiled, is but one.” Hence, again, the Lord says to Moses, “There is a place with me (*penes me*), and thou shalt stand

upon a rock.” What place is there that belongs not to the Lord, seeing that all things consist in Him by whom they were created? There is a place, however, with God — to wit, the unity of the holy Church — in which there is a standing upon a rock, while the perfection of the confession (*confessionis soliditas*) is held in lowliness. We admonish thee, our brother, and all our brethren who are rulers in the Church of Christ, which He hath purchased with His blood, to keep back, by whatever checks ye possess, all men from that abyss into which some brethren are slipping, in reviling the Lord’s pastors, and persecuting them both by word and deed; and we counsel you not to suffer them to be wounded with the hook of passion: for it is written, “For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.” Hence it is said again, “Let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak, and slow to wrath.” Now I doubt not that with God’s help you observe all these things; but as an occasion for counsel has arisen, I also secretly attach my word to your good desires and deeds, so that what you are doing of yourselves and independently of admonition you may do presently not by yourselves alone, now that the counselor himself is added to you. Wherefore, brethren, it becomes you and all the faithful to love each other, and not to calumniate or accuse one another: for it is written, “Love thy neighbor, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, thou shalt follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he that loseth the love of his neighbor. And as one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou who hast let thy neighbor go, and shalt not get him again. Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he is as a roe escaped out of the snare, since his soul is wounded. Further thou wilt not be able to bind him up, and after reviling there may be reconcilement; but to bewray the secrets of a friend is the despair of an unhappy mind. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and every one will cast him off. When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words. But at last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds in the deceiver. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that placeth a stone in his neighbor’s way shall stumble thereon; and he that setteth a trap for another shall perish in it. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him; and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach

are from the proud; and vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die. Wrath and fury are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both." "He that desireth to be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and He will surely keep his sins in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbor the hurt that he hath done thee; so shall thy sins also be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself, and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins from the Most High? He, though he is but flesh, nourishes hatred; and does he implore mercy from God? Who will entreat for pardon of his sins? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease. For corruption and death impend on His commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbor. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at the ignorance of thy neighbor. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins. For a furious man will kindle strife, and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and will make debate among them that be at peace. For according to the trees of the wood, so will the fire burn; and according as a man's strength is, so will his wrath be; and according to his riches, his anger will rise. An hasty contention will kindle a fire; and an hasty fighting will shed blood; and a tale-bearing (*testificans*) tongue will cause death. If thou blow the spark, it shall burn like a fire; and if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched; and both these come out of thy mouth. The whisperer and double-tongued is cursed; for he has destroyed many that were at peace. A backbiting (*tertia*) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation. Strong cities of the rich hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It has destroyed the strength of peoples, and has scattered strong nations. A backbiting tongue hath east out virtuous women (*viratas*, spirited), and deprived them of their labors. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and shall never have a friend on whom he may repose. The stroke of the whip maketh marks; but the stroke of the tongue will break the bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands. For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass. The death thereof is an evil

death, and the grave were better than it. Its endurance shall not abide, but it shall possess the ways of the unrighteous. In its flame it shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard. Hedge thine ears (*soepi aures*) about with thorns, and refuse to listen to the evil tongue, and make a door for thy mouth and bars for thine ears. Smelt (*confla*) thy gold and thy silver, and make a balance for thy words, and a right bridle for thy mouth. And beware lest thou slide perchance in thy tongue, and fall in the sight of thine enemies that be in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable unto death." Let all beware of these things, and "keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile." "Finally, dearly beloved, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places (*coelestibus*). Wherefore take unto you the armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and to stand perfect in all (*omnibus perfecti*). Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace; in all (*in omnibus*) taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." It is our wish, brother, that those things which we have written to you should be made known generally to all, in order that things which touch the others should be made known to all. May Almighty God protect you, brother, and all our brethren everywhere situate, even to the end, — even He who has thought good to redeem the whole world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. Amen. — Given on the 16th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Africanus and Decius.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

It should be born in mind by the reader that the holy martyr Fabian must not be less esteemed because this forgery was put upon him long after his

decease. The forger puts many good thing into his work, to make it accord with the character to which he attributes good and bad together. So with all the Decretals: they are made specious by piety and texts of Scripture.

DECREES OF FABIAN

TAKEN FROM THE DECRETAL OF GRATIAN

1

THAT THE MAN WHO REFUSES TO BE RECONCILED TO HIS BROTHER SHOULD BE REDUCED BY THE SEVEREST FASTINGS

IF any injured person refuses to be reconciled to his brother, when he who has injured him otters satisfaction, he should be reduced by the severest fastings, even until he accepts the satisfaction offered him with thankful mind.

2

THE MAN IS RENDERED INFAMOUS WHO KNOWINGLY PRESUMES TO FORSWEAR HIMSELF

Whosoever has knowingly forsworn himself, should be put for forty days on bread and water, and do penance also for the seven following years; and he should never be without penance; and he should never be admitted to bear witness. After this, however, he may enjoy communion.

3

A MAN AND A WOMAN SUBJECT TO MADNESS CANNOT ENTER INTO MARRIAGE

Neither can a mad man nor a mad woman enter into the marriage relation. But if it has been entered, then they shall not be separated.

4

MARRIAGE RELATIONS IN THE FIFTH GENERATION MAY UNITE WITH EACH OTHER; AND IN THE FOURTH GENERATION, IF THEY ARE FOUND, THEY SHOULD NOT BE SEPARATED

Concerning relations who enter affinity by the connection of husband and wife, these, on the decease of wife or husband, may form a union in the fifth generation; and in the fourth, if they are found, they should not be separated. In the third degree of relationship, however, it is not lawful for one to take the wife of another on his death. In an equable manner, a man may be united in marriage after his wife's death with those who are his own kinswomen, and with the kinswomen of his wife.

4

TO THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING NOTICE

Those who marry a wife allied by blood, and are separated, shall not be at liberty, as long as both parties are alive, to unite other wives with them in marriage, unless they can plead the excuse of ignorance.

5

BLOOD CONNECTIONS ALONE, OR, IF OFFSPRING ENTIRELY FAILS, THE OLD AND TRUSTWORTHY, SHOULD RECKON THE MATTER OF PROPINQUITY IN THE SYNOD

No alien should accuse blood connections, or reckon the matter of consanguinity in the synod, but relations to whose knowledge it pertains, — that is, father and mother, sister and brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, and their children. If, however, offspring entirely fails, the bishop shall make inquiry canonically of the older and more trustworthy persons to whom the same relationship may

be known; and if such relationship is found, the parties should be separated.

6

EVERY ONE OF THE FAITHFUL SHOULD COMMUNICATE THREE TIMES A YEAR

Although they may not do it more frequently, yet at least three times in the year should the laity communicate, unless one happen to be hindered by any more serious offenses, — to wit, at Easter, and Pentecost, and the Lord’s Nativity.

7

A PRESBYTER SHOULD NOT BE ORDAINED YOUNGER THAN THIRTY YEARS OF AGE

If one has not completed thirty years of age, he should in no way be ordained as presbyter, even although he may be extremely worthy; for even the Lord Himself was baptized only when He was thirty years of age, and at that period He began to teach. It is not right, therefore, that one who is to be ordained should be consecrated until he has reached this legitimate age.

THE DECREES OF THE SAME, FROM THE CODEX OF DECREES IN SIXTEEN BOOKS, FROM THE FIFTH BOOK, AND THE SEVENTH AND NINTH

1

THAT THE OBLATION OF THE ALTAR SHOULD BE MADE EACH LORD'S DAY

WE decree that on each Lord's day the oblation of the altar should be made by men and women in bread and wine, in order that by means of these sacrifices they may be released from the burden of their sins.

2

THAT AN ILLITERATE PRESBYTER MAY NOT VENTURE TO CELEBRATE MASS

The sacrifice is not to be accepted from the hand of a priest who is not competent to discharge the prayers or actions (*actiones*) and other observances in the mass according to religious usage.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(FROM CLEMENT TO MELCHIADES, P. 607.)

THE early Bishops of Rome, who till the time of Sylvester (A.D. 325) were, with few exceptions, like him pure and faithful shepherds, and not lords over God's heritage, shall here be enumerated. But first let us settle in few words the historic facts as to the See.

St. Paul was, clearly, the Apostolic founder of the Roman church, as appears from Holy Scripture. St. Peter seems to have come to Rome not long before his martyrdom. Linus and Cletus could not have been Bishops of Rome, for they were merely coadjutors of the Apostles *during their lifetime*. Clement was the first who succeeded to their work *after their death*; and thus he should unquestionably be made the first of the Roman bishops, — a position of which he was eminently worthy, for his was the spirit of St. Peter himself, as set forth in that incomparable passage of his first Epistle, in which the Apostle bids all his brethren to be shepherds indeed, and "examples to the flock." We may therefore give the outline of this history as follows: —

1. St. Paul was the "Apostle of the Gentiles," and St. Peter of "the Circumcision."

2. St. Paul came first to Rome, and organized the Christians he found there after the pattern "ordained in all the churches."

3. He had Linus for his coadjutor, being himself a prisoner, until he went into Spain.

4. St. Peter came to Rome (*circa* A.D. 64), and labored with the Jewish Christians there, St. Paul recognizing his mission among them.

5. This Apostle (soon thrown into prison) had Cletus for his coadjutor.

6. In the Neronian persecution Linus seem to have suffered with St. Paul, and probably Cletus as well. The latter died before St. Peter.

7. St. Peter, therefore, about to suffer himself, ordains Clement to succeed him.

8. As he was the first "successor of the Apostles," therefore, in the See of Rome, and the first who had jurisdiction there (for the Apostles certainly never surrendered their mission to their coadjutors), it follows that Clement was the first Bishop of Rome.

9. This is confirmed by the earliest testimony, — that of Ignatius.

10. It agrees with Tertullian's testimony, and he speaks (as a lawyer and expert) from "the registers." Irenaeus, speaking less precisely, may

be harmonized with these testimonies without violence to what he reports.

BISHOPS OF ROME	A.D.	A.D
1. Clement....	68	71.
2. Evaristus...	72	108.
3. Alexander...	109	117.
4. Xystus I....	117	127.
5. Telesphorus...	127	138.
6. Hyginus....	139	142.
7. Pius.....	142	156.
8. Anicetus....	156	168.
9. Sorer.....	768	176.
10. Eleutherus...	176	189.
11. Victor....	190	201.
12. Zephyrinus...	201	218.
13. Callistus...	218	222.
14. Urban....	223	230.
15. Pontianus...	230	234.
16. Anterus...	235	236.
17. Fabianus...	236	249.
18. Cornelius...	251	251.
19. Lucius....	252	252.
20. Stephen....	253	256.
21. Xystus II...	257	258.
22. Dionysius...	259	269.
23. Felix ...	269	274.
24. Eutychianus..	275	282.
25. Caius. ...	283	295.
26. Marcellinus..	296	304.
27. Marcellus...	308	309.
28. Eusebius...	310	310.
29. Melchiades...	311	314.

30. Sylvester...	314	335.

N.B. — After A.D. 325 the Bishops of *Rome* are canonical primates; the Bishops of *New Rome* primates equally, but second on the list; then Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus. The Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon state that these primacies were awarded because *Rome* and *New Rome* were the capitals of the *oecumene*, or empire. The primacy conferred no authority over the sister Sees of Apostolic foundation, and recognized no inequality among bishops, save those of such honorary distinction.

THE PATRIARCHATE

1. From (A.D. 325) Sylvester to Gregory the Great, and his successor, who lived but one year, the Bishops of Rome were canonical primates.

2. Boniface III. accepted the court title of “Universal Bishop” (A.D. 606) from the Emperor Phocas, but it was not recognized by the Church.

3. From this time to Adrian I. many Bishops of Rome vied with those of Constantinople to augment their honor and power. The establishment of the Western Empire (A.D. 800) made their ambitious claims acceptable to the Latins; and they became primates of all Christendom in Western estimation, with extra-canonical and indefinite claims as “successors of St. Peter.”

4. Nicholas I. (A.D. 863), by means of the False Decretals, gave shape to these extra-canonical claims, abrogated the Nicene Constitutions in the West by making these Decretals canon-law, and asserted a supremacy over the old patriarchates, which they never allowed: hence the schism of the West from the Apostolic Sees of the East, and from the primitive discipline which established the Papacy, as now understood.

5. From Nicholas I. (who died A.D. 867) the Latin churches recognized this Papacy more or less; the Gallicans resisting, though feebly, by asserting their “liberties,” according to Nicene Constitutions.

6. Gregory VII., honestly persuaded that the Decretals were authentic, enforced these spurious canons without reference to antiquity, and pronounced the title of “Pope” the sole and peculiar dignity of the Bishops of Rome A.D. 1073. He reigned from A.D. 1061 to 1085.

7. The churches of England and France, which claimed to be outside of the "holy Roman Empire," under kings whose own crowns were "imperial," maintained a perpetual contest with the Papacy, admitted the extra-canonical "primacy," but resisted all claims to "supremacy."

8. School-doctrines were framed and enforced, but were extra-symbolic, and of no Catholic authority. They abused the episcopate to exalt the Papacy.

9. The Council of Trent, after the Northern revolt from the Papacy and School-doctrine, sat seventeen years (from A.D. 1545 to A.D. 1563) framing the "Roman-Catholic Church" out of the remainder of national churches, depriving them of their nationalities, and making out of them all, with the missions in America, one *mixed confederation*, to which it gave a new creed and new organic laws; debasing the entire episcopate (which it denied to he an order distinct from that of presbyters), and making the Pope the "Universal Bishop," with other bishops reduced to presbyters, acting as his local vicars.

10. The Gallicans feebly withstood these changes, and strove to maintain the primitive Constitutions by accommodations with their theory of the "Gallican liberties," as founded by St. Louis.

11. Gallicanism was extinguished by Pope Pins IX., who proclaimed the Pope "infallible," and thus raised his "supremacy" into an article of the Roman-Catholic faith.

12. The following is the modern creed of "Roman Catholics," which, with the latest additions, embodies a library of dogmas in the *eleventh* article, and now, since the decree of *Infallibility* makes the entire *Bullary* (a vast library of decrees and definitions), equally part of the Creed.

THE TRENTINE CREED, OR THE CREED OF PIUS IV., A.D. 1564

1. I most steadfastly admit and embrace Apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

2. I also admit the Holy Scripture according to that sense which our holy mother the Church has held, and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretations of the Scriptures. Neither will I ever take

and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

3. I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the New Law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one; to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Order cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of the aforesaid sacraments.

4. I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

5. I profess, likewise, that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

6. I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

7. Likewise, that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honored and invocated, and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be respected.

8. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of the saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration is to be given them.

9. I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

10. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

11. I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons, and general Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent.

12. And I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church.

This true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved, I N.N. do at this present freely confess and sincerely hold; and I promise most constantly to retain, and confess the same entire and unviolated, with God's assistance, to the end of my life.

AMEN

N. B. — {1} To this was added, Dec. 8, 1854, the new article of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, to be believed as necessary to salvation.

N. B. — {2} To which was added {December, 1864} the whole *Syllabus.*

N. B. — {3} To which was added {July 18, 1870} the new dogma of Infallibility.

Observe, this "Creed" is imposed on all in the Roman Obedience, and especially on those who enter it from other communions, as that without which *no one can be saved.* The Catholic Creed of Nicaea is not sufficient. But the Seventh Canon of Ephesus not only forbids the composition of any other creed, but especially adds: "Those who *shall presume to compose another creed*, or to produce or offer it to persons desiring to return to the acknowledgment of the truth... from any heresy whatever, shall be deposed... if bishops or *other* clergy, and if they be laymen they shall be anathematized."

2

(DONATION OF CONSTANTINE)

On this stupendous fraud I quote from Dupin, as follows: —

“Among the number of Constantine’s edicts I do not place the Donation which goes under his name. Some have attributed this false monument to the author of the collection (Decretals) ascribed to Isidore, he being a notorious forger of such kind of writings; and this conjecture is more probable than some others.

“By this Donation, Constantine is supposed to give to the Bishops of Rome the sovereignty of the city, and of the provinces of the Western Empire. I note some of the reasons which clearly prove this instrument to be a forgery: —

> “**{1}** Not one of the ancients mentions this pretended liberality of the emperor. How could Eusebius, and all the other historians who wrote about Constantine, have passed over in silence, had it been a reality, the gift of a Western Empire to the Bishop of Rome?
>
> “**{2}** Not one of the Bishops of Rome ever refers to such a donation, though it would have been much to their advantage so to do.
>
> “**{3}** It is dated falsely, and under consuls who flourished when Constantine was unbaptized; yet his baptism is referred to in this instrument. Again, the city of Constantinople is mentioned in it, although it was called Byzantium for ten years subsequent to its date.
>
> “**{4}** Not only is the style very different from the genuine edicts of the emperor, but it is full of terms and phrases that came into use much after the time of Constantine.
>
> “**{5}** How comes it that he should have given one-half of his empire to the Bishop of Rome, including the city of Rome itself, without any one ever hearing of it for hundreds of years after?
>
> “**{6}** The falsities and absurdities of this edict demonstrate that it was composed by an ignorant impostor. Thus by it, for example, the Pope

> is permitted to wear a crown of gold, and a fabulous history is given of the emperor's baptism by Sylvester: also, it contains a history of the emperor's miraculous cure of leprosy by Sylvester, all which do plainly prove the forgery. It is certain that the city of Rome was governed by the emperor, and that the Bishops of Rome were subject to him, and obeyed him, as all his other subjects.

"All that we have said plainly shows that the edict of Donation that bears the name of Constantine is wholly supposititious; but it is not so easy to find out who was the author. However it be, this document has neither any use nor authority."

MEMOIRS OF EDESSA

AND OTHER ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. B. P. PRATTEN, B. A.]

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE EARLIEST ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN EDESSA AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

THE STORY CONCERNING THE KING OF EDESSA

Now the story relating to Thaddaeus was on this wise: —

While the Godhead of our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ was proclaimed among all men by reason of the astonishing mighty-works which He wrought, and myriads, even from countries remote from the land of Judaea, who were afflicted with sicknesses and diseases of every kind, were coming to Him in the hope of being healed, King Abgar also, who was renowned among the nations on the east of the Euphrates for his valor, had his body wasting away with a grievous disease, such as there is no cure for among men. And when he heard and was informed of the name of Jesus, and about the mighty works which H O did, — for every one alike bore witness concerning Him, — he sent a letter of request by a man belonging to him, and besought Him to come and heal him of his disease.

But our Savior at the time that he asked Him did not comply with his request. Yet He deigned to give him a letter in reply: for He promised him that He would send one of His disciples, and heal his sicknesses, and give

salvation to him and to all who were connected with him. Nor did He delay to fulfill His promise to him: but after He was risen from the place of the dead, and was received into heaven, Thomas the apostle, one of the twelve, as by an impulse from God, sent Thaddaeus, who was himself also numbered among the seventy disciples of Christ, to Edessa, to be a preacher and proclaimer of the teaching of Christ; and the promise of Christ was through him fulfilled.

Thou hast in writing the evidence of these things, which is taken from the Book of Records which was at Edessa: for at that time the kingdom was still standing. In the documents, then, which were there, in which was contained whatever was done by those of old down to the time of Abgar, these things also are found preserved down to the present hour. There is, however, nothing to prevent our hearing the very letters themselves, which have been taken by us from the archives, and are in words to this effect, translated from Aramaic into Greek.

Copy of the letter which was written by King Abgar to Jesus, and sent to Him by the hand of Hananias, the Tabularius, to Jerusalem

“Abgar the Black, sovereign of the country, to Jesus, the good Savior, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem: Peace. I have heard about Thee, and about the healing which is wrought by Thy hands without drugs and roots. For, as it is reported, Thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; and Thou cleansest the lepers, and Thou castest out unclean spirits and demons, and Thou healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and Thou raisest the dead. And when I heard all these things about Thee, I settled in my mind one of two things: either that Thou art God, who hast come down from heaven, and doest these things or that Thou art the Son of God, and doest these things. On this account, therefore, I have written to beg of Thee that Thou wouldest weary Thyself to come to me, and heal this disease which I have. For I have also heard that the Jews murmur against Thee, and wish to do Thee harm. But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is sufficient for two.”

Copy of those things which were written by Jesus by the hand of Hananias, the Tabularius, to Abgar, sovereign of the country: —

“Blessed is he that hath believed in me, not having seen me. For it is written concerning me, that those who see me will not believe in me, and that those will believe who have not seen me, and will be saved. But touching that which thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee — it is meet that I should finish here all that for the sake of which I have been sent and, after I have finished it, then I shall be taken up to Him that sent me; and, when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease, and give salvation to thee and to those who are with thee.”

To these letters, moreover, is appended the following also in the Aramaic tongue: —

“After Jesus was ascended, Judas Thomas sent to him Thaddaeus the apostle, one of the Seventy.

And, when he was come, he lodged with Tobias, son of Tobias. And, when the news about him was heard, they made it known to Abgar: “The apostle of Jesus is come hither, as He sent thee word.” Thaddaeus, moreover, began to heal every disease and sickness by the power of God, so that all men were amazed. And, when Abgar heard the great and marvelous cures which he wrought, he bethought himself that he was the person about whom Jesus had sent him word and said to him: When I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease. So he sent and called Tobias, with whom he was lodging, and said to him: I have heard that a mighty man has come, and has entered in and taken up his lodging in thy house: bring him up, therefore, to me. And when Tobias came to Thaddaeus he said to him: Abgar the king has sent and called me, and commanded me to bring thee up to him, that thou mayest heal him. And Thaddaeus said: I will go up, because to him have I been sent with power. Tobias therefore rose up early the next day, and took Thaddaeus, and came to Abgar.

“Now, when they were come up, his princes happened to be standing there. And immediately, as he was entering in, a great vision appeared to Abgar on the countenance of Thaddaeus the apostle. And, when Abgar saw Thaddaeus, he prostrated himself before him. And astonishment seized upon all who were standing there: for they had not themselves seen that vision, which appeared to Abgar alone. And he proceeded to ask

Thaddaeus: Art thou in truth the disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who said to me, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thee and give thee salvation? And Thaddaeus answered and said: Because thou hast mightily believed on Him that sent me, therefore have I been sent to thee; and again, if thou shalt believe on Him, thou shalt have the requests of thy heart. And Abgar said to him: In such wise have I believed on Him, that I have even desired to take an army and extirpate those Jews who crucified Him; were it not that I was restrained by reason of the dominion of the Romans. And Thaddaeus said: Our Lord has fulfilled the will of His Father; and, having fulfilled it, has been taken up to His Father. Abgar said to him: I too have believed in Him and in His Father. And Thaddaeus said: Therefore do I lay my hand upon thee in His name. And when he had done this, immediately he was healed of his sickness and of the disease which he had. And Abgar marveled, because, like as he had heard concerning Jesus, so he saw in deeds by the hand of Thaddaeus His disciple: since without drugs and roots he healed him; and not him only, but also Abdu, son of Abdu, who had the gout: for he too went in, and fell at his feet, and when he prayed over him he was healed. And many other people of their city did he heal, and he did great works, and preached the word of God.

“After these things Abgar said to him: Thou, Thaddaeus, doest these things by the power of God; we also marvel at them. But in addition to all these things I beg of thee to relate to me the story about the coming of Christ, and in what manner it was; and about His power, and by what power He wrought those things of which I have heard.

“And Thaddaeus said: For the present I will be silent; but, because I have been sent to preach the word of God, assemble me tomorrow all the people of thy city, and I will preach before them, and sow amongst them the word of life; and will tell them about the coming of Christ, how it took place; and about His mission? for what purpose he was sent by His Father; and about His power and His deeds, and about the mysteries which He spake in the world, and by what power He wrought these things, and about His new preaching, and about His abasement and His humiliation, and how He humbled and emptied and abased Himself, and was crucified, and descended to Hades, and broke through the enclosure which had never been broken through before, and raised up the dead, and descended alone, and ascended with a great multitude to His Father.

“Abgar, therefore, commanded that in the morning all the people of his city should assemble, and hear the preaching of Thaddaeus. And afterwards he commanded gold and silver to be given to him; but he received it not, and said: If we have forsaken that which was our own, how shall we accept that of others?”

These things were done in the year 340.

In order, moreover, that these things may not have been translated to no purpose word for word from the Aramaic into Greek, they are placed in their order of time here.

Here endeth the first book.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

A CANTICLE OF MAR JACOB THE TEACHER ON EDESSA

EDESSA sent to Christ by an epistle to come to her and enlighten her. On behalf of all the peoples did she make intercession to Him that He would leave Zion, which hated Him, and come to the peoples, who loved Him.

She despatched a messenger to Him, and begged of Him to enter into friendship with her. By the righteous king she made intercession to Him, that He would depart from the Jewish people, and towards the other peoples direct His burden.

From among all kings one wise king did the daughter of the peoples find. Ambassador she made him. To her Lord she sent by him: Come Thou unto me; I will forget in Thee all idols and carved images.

The harlot heard the report of Him from afar, as she was standing in the street, going astray with idols, playing the wench with carved images. She loved, she much desired Him, when He was far away, and begged Him to admit her into His chamber.

Let the much-desired Bridegroom kiss me: with the kisses of His mouth let me be blessed. I have heard of Him from afar: may I see Him near; and

may I place my lips upon His, and be delighted by seeing Him with mine eyes.

Thy breasts are better to me than wine: for the fragrance of Thy sweetness is life for evermore. With Thy milk shall I be nourished; with Thy fragrance shall I grow sweet from the smoke of idols, which with its rank odor did make me fetid.

Draw me after Thee into Thy fold: for I am a sheep gone astray in the world. After Thee do I run, and Thy converse do I seek: that in me may be completed that number of a hundred, by means of a lost one which is found.

Let Gabriel rejoice and be exceeding glad, with the company of all the angels, in Thee, the Good Shepherd, who on Thy shoulders didst carry the maimed sheep, that that number of a hundred might be preserved.

Thy love is better than wine; than the face of the upright Thy affection. By wine let us be reminded of Thee, how by the cup of Thy blood Thou didst grant us to obtain new life, and the upright did celebrate Thy love.

A church am I from among the peoples, and I have loved the Only-begotten who was sent by God: whereas His betrothed hated Him, I have loved Him; and by the hands of Abgar the Black do I beseech Him to come to me and visit me.

Black am I, yet comely. Ye daughters of Zion, blameless is your envy, seeing that the Son of the Glorious One hath espoused me, to bring me into His chamber. Even when I was hateful, He loved me, for He is able to make me fairer than water.

Black was I in sins, but I am comely: for I have repented and turned me. I have put away in baptism that hateful hue, for He hath washed me in His innocent blood who is the Savior of all creatures.

Here end the Extracts from the Canticle on Edessa.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS BOOKS CONCERNING ABGAR THE KING AND ADDAEUS THE APOSTLE

1

OF THE BLESSED ADDAEUS THE APOSTLE. FROM HIS TEACHING WHICH HE GAVE IN EDESSA BEFORE ABGAR THE KING AND THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CITY

AND, when he had entered the sepulcher, he was raised to life again, and came forth from the sepulcher with many. And those who were guarding the sepulcher saw not how He came forth from the sepulcher; but the watchers from on high — they were the proclaimers and announcers of His resurrection. For, had He not willed, He had not died, because He is Lord of death, the exit from this life; nor, had it not pleased Him, would He have put on a body, inasmuch as He is Himself the framer of the body. For that will which led Him to stoop to be born of the Virgin, likewise caused Him further to descend to the suffering of death. — And a little after (we read): For, although His appearance was that of men, yet His power, and His knowledge, and his authority, were those of God.

2

FROM THE TEACHING OF ADDAEUS THE APOSTLE, WHICH WAS SPOKEN IN THE CITY OF EDESSA

Ye know that I said unto you, that none of the souls which go forth out of the bodies of men are under the power of death, but that they all live and continue to exist, and that there are for them mansions and an abode of rest. For the reasoning power of the soul does not cease, nor the knowledge, because it is the image of the immortal God. For it is not without perceptions, after the manner of the bodily frame, which has no perception of that corruption which has acquired dominion over it.

Recompense, however, and reward it will not receive apart from its bodily form, because what it experiences belongs not to itself alone, but to the bodily form also in which it dwelt for a time. But the disobedient, who have not known God, will then repent without avail.

3

FROM THE EPISTLE OF ADDAEUS THE APOSTLE, WHICH HE SPAKE IN THE CITY OF EDESSA

Give heed to this ministry which ye hold, and with fear and trembling continue ye in it, and minister every day, Minister ye not in it with neglectful habits, but with the discreteness of faith. And let not the praises of Christ cease out of your mouth, and let not any sense of weariness come over you at the season of prayers. Give heed to the verity which ye hold, and to the teaching of the truth which ye have received, and to the teaching of salvation which I commit to you. Because before the tribunal of Christ will it be required of you, when He maketh reckoning with the pastors and overseers, and when He shall take His money from the traders with the usury of what they have taught. For He is the Son of a King, and goeth to receive a kingdom, and He will return and come and make a resuscitation to life of all men.

4

Addaeus preached at Edessa and in Mesopotamia (he was from Paneus) in the days of Abgar the king. And, when he was among the Zophenians, Severus the son of Abgar sent and slew him at Agel Hasna, as also a young man his disciple.

5

71. and Narcissus. For they did not suffer that selection of the Seventy-two to be wanting, as likewise neither that of the Twelve. This

man was of the Seventy-two: perhaps he was a disciple of Addaeus the apostle.

6

FROM THE DEPARTURE OF MARATH MARY FROM THE WORLD, AND THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF OUR LADY JESUS CHRIST

BOOK THE SECOND

In the year three hundred and forty-five, in the month of the latter Tishrin, Marath Mary went out from her house, and went to the sepulcher of Christ: because every day she used to go and weep there. But the Jews immediately after the death of Christ seized the sepulcher, and heaped great stones at the door of it. And over the sepulcher and Golgotha they set guards, and commanded them that, if any one should go and pray at the sepulcher or at Golgotha, he should immediately be put to death. And the Jews took away the cross of our Lord, and those two other crosses, and that spear with which our Savior was struck, and those nails which they drove into His hands and into His feet, and those robes of mockery in which He had been clad; and they hid them: lest, as they said, any one of the kings or of the chief persons should come and inquire concerning the putting to death of Christ.

And the guards went in and said to the priests: Mary cometh in the evening and in the morning, and prayeth there. And there was a commotion in Jerusalem on account of Marath Mary. And the priests went to the judge, and said to him: My Lord, send and command Mary that she go not to pray at the sepulcher and at Golgotha. And while they were deliberating, lo! letters came from Abgar, the king of the city of Edessa, to Sabina the procurator who had been appointed by Tiberius the emperor, and as far as the river Euphrates the procurator Sabina had authority. And, because Addaeus the apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles, had gone down and built a church at Edessa, and had cured the disease with which Abgar the king was afflicted — for Abgar the king loved Jesus Christ, and was constantly inquiring about Him; and, when

Christ was put to death and Abgar the king heard that the Jews had slain Him on the cross, he was much displeased; and Abgar arose and rode and came as far as the river Euphrates, because he wished to go up against Jerusalem and lay it waste; and, when Abgar came and was arrived at the river Euphrates, he deliberated in his mind: If I pass over, there will be enmity between me and Tiberius the emperor. And Abgar wrote letters and sent them to Sabina the procurator, and Sabina sent them to Tiberius the emperor. In this manner did Abgar write to Tiberius the emperor: —

“From Abgar, the king of the city of Edessa. Much peace to thy Majesty, our Lord Tiberius! In order that thy Majesty may not be offended with me, I have not passed over the river Euphrates: for I have been wishing to go up against Jerusalem and lay her waste, forasmuch as she has slain Christ, a skillful healer. But do thou, as a great sovereign who hast authority over all the earth and over us, send and do me judgment on the people of Jerusalem. For be it known to thy Majesty that I desire that thou wilt do me judgment on the crucifiers.”

And Sabina received the letters, and sent them to Tiberius the emperor. And, when he had read them, Tiberius the emperor was greatly incensed, and he desired to destroy and slay all the Jews. And the people of Jerusalem heard it and were alarmed. And the priests went to the governor, and said to him: My Lord, send and command Mary that she go not to pray at the sepulcher and Golgotha. The judge said to the priests: Go ye yourselves, and give her what command and what caution ye please.

7

FROM THE HOMILY COMPOSED BY THE HOLY MAR JACOB, THE TEACHER, ON THE FALL OF IDOLS

To Edessa he made his journey, and found in it a great work:

For the king was become a laborer for the church, and was building it.

The apostle Addaeus stood in it like a builder,

And King Abgar laid aside his diadem and builded with him.

When apostle and king concurred the one with the other,

What idol must not fall before them?

Satan fled to the land of Babylon from the disciples,

And the tale of the crucifixion had got before him to the country of the Chaldeans.

He said, when they were making sport of the signs of the Zodiac, that he was nothing.

8

FROM THE HOMILY ABOUT THE TOWN OF ANTIOCH

To Simon was allotted Rome, and to John Ephesus; to Thomas India, and to Addaeus the country of the Assyrians. And, when they were sent each one of them to the district which had been allotted to him, they devoted themselves to bring the several countries to discipleship.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

THE TEACHING OF ADDAEUS THE APOSTLE

ADDAEUS said to him: Because thou hast thus believed, I lay my hand upon thee in the name of Him in whom thou hast thus believed. And at the very moment that he laid his hand upon him he was healed of the plague of the disease which he had for a long time. And Abgar was astonished and marveled, because, like as he had heard about Jesus, how He wrought and healed, so Addaeus also, without any medicine whatever, was healing in the name of Jesus. And Abdu also, son of Abdu, had the gout in his feet; and he also presented his feet to him, and he laid his hand upon them, and healed him, and he had the gout no more. And in all the city also he wrought great cures, and showed forth wonderful mighty-works in it.

Abgar said to him: Now that every man knoweth that by the power of Jesus Christ thou doest these miracles, and lo! we are astonished at thy

deeds, I therefore entreat of thee to relate to us the story about the coming of Christ, in what manner it was, and about His glorious power, and about the miracles which we have heard that He did, which thou hast thyself seen, together with thy fellow-disciples.

Addaeus said: I will not hold my peace from declaring this; since for this very purpose was I sent hither, that I might speak to and teach every one who is willing to believe, even as thou. Assemble me tomorrow all the city, and I will sow in it the word of life by the preaching which I will address to you — about the coming of Christ, in what manner it was; and about Him that sent Him, why and how He sent Him; and about His power and His wonderful works; and about the glorious mysteries of His coming, which He spake of in the world; and about the unerring truth of His preaching; and how and for what cause He abused Himself, and humbled. His exalted Godhead by the manhood which He took, and was crucified, and descended to the place of the dead, and broke through the enclosurewhich had never been broken through before, and gave life to the dead by being slain Himself, and descended alone, and ascended with many to His glorious Father, with whom He had been from eternity in one exalted Godhead.

And Abgar commanded them to give to Addaeus silver and gold. Addaeus said to him: How can we receive that which is not ours. For, lo! that which was ours have we forsaken, as we were commanded by our Lord; because without purses and without scrips, bearing the cross upon our shoulders, were we commanded to preach His Gospel in the whole creation, of whose crucifixion, which was for our sakes, for the redemption of all men, the whole creation was sensible and suffered pain.

And he related before Abgar the king, and before his princes and his nobles, and before Augustin, Abgar’s mother, and before Shalmath, the daughter of Meherdath, Abgar’s wife, the signs of our Lord, and His wonders, and the glorious mighty-works which He did, and His divine exploits, and His ascension to His Father; and how they had received power and authority at the same time that He was received up — by which same power it was that he had healed Abgar, and Abdu son of Abdu, the second person of his kingdom; and how He informed them that He would reveal Himself at the end of the ages and at the consummation of

all created things; also of the resuscitation and resurrection which is to come for all men, and the separation which will be made between the sheep and the goats, and between the faithful and those who believe not.

And he said to them: Because the gate of life is strait and the way of truth narrow, therefore are the believers of the truth few, and through unbelief is Satan's gratification. Therefore are the liars many who lead astray those that see. For, were it not that there is a good end awaiting believing men, our Lord would not have descended from heaven, and come to be born, and to endure the suffering of death. Yet He did come, and us did He send ... of the faith which we preach, that God was crucified for all men.

And, if there be those who are not willing to agree with these our words, let them draw near to us and disclose to us what is in their mind, that, like as in the case of a disease, we may apply to their thoughts healing medicine for the cure of their ailments. For, though ye were not present at the time of Christ's suffering, yet from the sun which was darkened, and which ye saw, learn ye and understand concerning the great convulsion which took place at that time, when He was crucified whose Gospel has winged its way through all the earth by the signs which His disciples my fellows do in all the earth: yea, those who were Hebrews, and knew only the language of the Hebrews, in which they were born, lo! at this day are speaking in all languages, in order that those who are afar off may hear and believe, even as those who are near. For He it is that confounded the tongues of the presumptuous in this region who were before us; and He it is that teaches at this day the faith of truth and verity by us, humble and despicable men from Galilee of Palestine. For I also whom ye see am from Paneas, from the place where the river Jordan issues forth, and I was chosen, together with my fellows, to be a preacher.

For, according as my Lord commanded me, lo! I preach and publish the Gospel, and lo! His money do I cast upon the table before you, and the seed of His word do I sow in the ears of all men; and such as are willing to receive it, theirs is the good recompense of the confession of Christ; but those who are not persuaded, the dust of my feet do I shake off against them, as He commanded me.

Repent therefore, my beloved, of evil ways and of abominable deeds, and turn yourselves towards Him with a good and honest will, as He hath

turned Himself towards you with the favor of His rich mercies; and be ye not as the generations of former times that have passed away, which, because they hardened their heart against the fear of God, received punishment openly, that they themselves might be chastised, and that those who come after them may tremble and be afraid. For the purpose of our Lord's coming into the world assuredly was, that He might teach us and show us that at the consummation of the creation there will be a resuscitation of all men, and that at that time their course of conduct will be portrayed in their persons, and their bodies will be volumes for the writings of justice; nor will any one be there who is unacquainted with books, because every one will read that which is written in His own book.

Ye that have eyes, forasmuch as ye do not perceive, are yourselves also become like those who see not and hear not; and in vain do your ineffectual voices strain themselves to deaf ears. Whilst they are not to be blamed for not heating, because they are by nature deaf and dumb, yet the blame which is justly incurred falls upon you, because ye are not willing to perceive — not even that which ye see. For the dark cloud of error which overspreads your minds suffers you not to obtain the heavenly light, which is the understanding of knowledge.

Flee, then, from things made and created, as I said to you, which are only called gods in name, whilst they are not gods in their nature; and draw near to this Being, who in His nature is God from everlasting and from eternity, and is not something made, like your idols, nor is He a creature and a work of art, like those images in which ye glory. Because, although this Being put on a body, yet is He God with His Father. For the works of creation, which trembled when He was slain and were dismayed at His suffering of death, — these bear witness that He is Himself God the Creator. For it was not on account of a man that the earth trembled, but on account of Him who established the earth upon the waters; nor was it on account of a man that the sun grew dark in the heavens, but on account of Him who made the great lights; nor Was it for a man that the just and righteous were restored to life again, but for Him who had granted power over death from the beginning; nor was it for a man that the veil of the temple of the Jews was rent from the top to the bottom, but for Him who said to them, "Lo, your house is left desolate." For, lo! unless those who crucified Him had known that He was the Son of God, they would not have had to proclaim

the desolation of their city, nor would they have brought down Woe! upon themselves. For, even if they had wished to make light of this confession, the fearful convulsions which took place at that time would not have suffered them to do so. For lo! some even of the children of the crucifiers are become at this day preachers and evangelists, along with my fellow-apostles, in all the land of Palestine, and among the Samaritans, and in all the country of the Philistines. The idols also of paganism are despised, and the cross of Christ is honored, and all nations and creatures confess God who became man.

If, therefore, while Jesus our Lord was on earth ye would have believed in Him that He is the Son of God, and before ye had heard the word of His preaching would have confessed Him that He is God; now that He is ascended to His Father, and ye have seen the signs and the wonders which are done in His name, and have heard with your own ears the word of His Gospel, let no one of you doubt in his mind — so that the promise of His blessing which He sent to you may be fulfilled towards you: Blessed are ye that have believed in me, not having seen me; and, because ye have so believed in me, the town in which ye dwell shall be blessed, and the enemy shall not prevail against it for ever. Turn not away, therefore, from his faith: for, lo! ye have heard and seen what things bear witness to His faith — showing that He is the adorable Son, and is the glorious God, and is the victorious King, and is the mighty Power; and through faith in Him a man is able to acquire the eyes of a true mind, and to understand that, whosoever worshippeth creatures, the wrath of justice will overtake him.

For in everything which we speak before you, according as we have received of the gift of our Lord, so speak we and teach and declare it, that ye may secure your salvation and not destroy your spirits through the error of paganism: because the heavenly light has arisen on the creation, and He it is who chose the fathers of former times, and the righteous men, and the prophets, and spoke with them in the revelation of the Holy Spirit. For He is Himself the God of the Jews who crucified Him; and to Him it is that the erring pagans offer worship, even while they know it not: because there is no other God in heaven and on earth; and lo! confession ascendeth up to Him from the four quarters of the creation. Lo! therefore, your ears have heard that which was not heard by you; and lo! further, your eyes have seen that which was never seen by you.

Be not, therefore, gainsayers of that which ye have seen and heard. Put away from you the rebellious mind of your fathers, and free yourselves from the yoke of sin, which hath dominion over you in libations and in sacrifices offered before carved images; and be ye concerned for your endangered salvation, and for the unavailing support on which ye lean; and get you a new mind, that worships the Maker and not the things which are made — a mind in which is portrayed the image of verity and of truth, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; believing and being baptized in the triple and glorious names. For this is our teaching and our preaching. For the belief of the truth of Christ does not consist of many things. And those of you as are willing to be obedient to Christ are aware that I have many times repeated my words before you, in order that ye might learn and understand what ye hear.

And we ourselves shall rejoice in this, like the husbandman who rejoices in the field which is blessed; God also will be glorified by your repentance towards Him. While ye are saved hereby, we also, who give you this counsel, shall not be despoiled of the blessed reward of this work. And, because I am assured that ye are a land blessed according to the will of the Lord Christ, therefore, instead of the dust of our feet which we were commanded to shake off against the town that would not receive our words, I have shaken off today at the door of your ears the sayings of my lips, in which are portrayed the coming of Christ which has already been, and also that which is yet to be; and the resurrection, and the resuscitation of all men, and the separation which is to be made between the faithful and the unbelieving; and the sore punishment which is reserved for those who know not God, and the blessed promise of future joy which they shall receive who have believed in Christ and worshipped Him and His exalted Father, and have confessed Him and His divine Spirit.

And now it is meet for us that I conclude my present discourse; and let those who have accepted the word of Christ remain with us, and those also who are willing to join with us in prayer; and afterwards let them go to their homes.

And Addaeus the apostle was rejoiced to see that a great number of the population of the city stayed with him; and they were but few who did not remain at that time, while even those few not many days after

accepted his words and believed in the Gospel set forth in the preaching of Christ.

And when Addaeus the apostle had spoken these things before all the town of Edessa, and King Abgar saw that all the city rejoiced in his teaching, men and women alike, and heard them saying to him, “True and faithful is Christ who sent thee to us” — he himself also rejoiced greatly at this, giving praise to God; because, like as he had heard from Hanan, his Tabularius, about Christ, so had he seen the wonderful mighty-works which Addaeus the apostle did in the name of Christ.

And Abgar the king also said to him: According as I sent to Christ in my letter to Him, and according as He also sent to me, so have I also received from thine own self this day; so will I believe all the days of my life, and in the selfsame things will I continue and make my boast, because I know also that there is no other power in whose name these signs and wonders are done but the power of Christ whom thou preachest in verity and in truth. And henceforth Him will I worship — I and my son Maanu, and Augustin, and Shalmath the queen. And now, wherever thou desirest, build a church, a place of meeting for those who have believed and shall believe in thy words; and, according to the command given thee by thy Lord, minister thou at the seasons with confidence; to those also who shall be with thee as teachers of this Gospel I am prepared to give large donations, in order that they may not have any other work beside the ministry; and whatsoever is required by thee for the expenses of the building I myself will give thee without any restriction, whilst thy word shall be authoritative and sovereign in this town; moreover, without the intervention of any other person do thou come into my presence as one in authority, into the palace of my royal majesty.

And when Abgar was gone down to his royal palace he rejoiced, he and his princes with him, Abdu son of Abdu, and Garmai, and Shemashgram, and Abubai, and Meherdath, together with the others their companions, at all that their eyes had seen and their ears also had heard; and in the gladness of their heart they too began to praise God for having turned their mind towards Him, renouncing the paganism in which they had lived, and confessing the Gospel of Christ. And when Addaeus had built a church they proceeded to offer in it vows and oblations, they and the people of

the city; and there they continued to present their praises all the days of their life.

And Avida and Barcalba, who were chief men and rulers, and wore the royal headband, drew near to Addaeus, and asked him about the matter of Christ, requesting that he would tell them how He, though He was God, appeared to them as a man: And how, said they, were ye able to look upon Him? And he proceeded to satisfy them all about this, about all that their eyes had seen and about whatsoever their ears had heard from him. Moreover, everything that the prophets had spoken concerning Him he repeated before them, and they received his words gladly and with faith, and there was not a man that withstood him; for the glorious deeds which he did suffered not any man to withstand him.

Shavida, moreover, and Ebednebu, chiefs of the priests of this town, together with Piroz and Dilsu their companions, when they had seen the signs which he did, ran and threw down the altars on which they were accustomed to sacrifice before Nebu and Bel, their gods, except the great altar which was in the middle of the town; and they cried out and said: Verily this is the disciple of that eminent and glorious Master, concerning whom we have heard all that He did in the country of Palestine. And all those who believed in Christ did Addaeus receive, and baptized them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And those who used to worship stones and stocks sat at his feet, recovered from the madness of paganism wherewith they had been afflicted. Jews also, traders in fine raiment, who were familiar with the law and the prophets — they too were persuaded, and became disciples, and confessed Christ that He is the Son of the living God.

But neither did King Abgar nor yet the Apostle Addaeus compel any man by force to believe in Christ, because without the force of man the force of the signs compelled many to believe in Him. And with affection did they receive His doctrine — all this country of Mesopotamia, and all the regions round about it.

Aggaeus, moreover, who made the silks and headbands of the king, and Palut, and Barshelama, and Barsamya, together with the others their companions, clave to Addaeus the apostle; and he received them, and associated them with him in the ministry, their business being to read in

the Old Testament and the New, and in the prophets, and in the Acts of the Apostles, and to meditate upon them daily; strictly charging them to let their bodies be pure and their persons holy, as is becoming in men who stand before the altar of God. “And be ye,” said he, “far removed from false swearing and from wicked homicide, and from dishonest testimony, which is connected with adultery; and from magic arts, for which there is no mercy, and from sooth-saying, and divination, and fortune-tellers; and from fate and nativities, of which the deluded Chaldeans make their boast; and from the stars, and the signs of the Zodiac, in which the foolish put their trust. And put far from you unjust partiality, and bribes, and presents, through which the innocent are pronounced guilty. And along with this ministry, to which ye have been called, see that ye have no other work besides: for the Lord is the work of your ministry all the days of your life. And be ye diligent to give the seal of baptism. And be not fond of the gains of this world. And hear yea cause with justice and with truth. And be ye not a stumbling-block to the blind, lest through you should be blasphemed the name of Him who opened the eyes of the blind, according as we have seen. Let all, therefore, who see you perceive that ye yourselves are in harmony with whatsoever ye preach and teach.”

And they ministered with him in the church which Addaeus had built at the word and command of Abgar the king, being furnished with supplies by the king and his nobles, partly for the house of God, and partly for the supply of the poor. Moreover, much people day by day assembled and came to the prayers of the service, and to the reading of the Old Testament, and the New of the Diatessaron. They also believed in the restoration of the dead, and buried their departed in the hope of resuscitation. The festivals of the Church they also observed in their seasons, and were assiduous every day in the vigils of the Church. And they made visits of almsgiving, to the sick and to those that were whole, according to the instruction of Addaeus to them. In the environs, too, of the city churches were built, and many received from him ordination to the priesthood. So that even people of the East, in the guise of merchants, passed over into the territory of the Romans, that they might see the signs which Addaeus did. And such as became disciples received from him ordination to the priesthood, and in their own country of the Assyrians they instructed the people of their nation, and erected houses of prayer

there in secret, by reason of the danger from those who worshipped fire and paid reverence to water.

Moreover, Narses, the king of the Assyrians, when he heard of those same things which Addaeus the apostle had done, sent a message to Abgar the king: Either despatch to me the man who doeth these signs before thee, that I may see him and hear his word, or send me an account of all that thou hast seen him do in thy own town. And Abgar wrote to Narses, and related to him the whole story of the deeds of Addaeus from the beginning to the end; and he left nothing which he did not write to him. And, when Narses heard those things which were written to him, he was astonished and amazed.

Abgar the king, moreover, because he was not able to pass over into the territory of the Romans, and go to Palestine and slay the Jews for having crucified Christ, wrote a letter and sent it to Tiberius Caesar, writing in it thus: —

King Abgar to our Lord Tiberius Caesar: Although I know that nothing is hidden from thy Majesty, I write to inform thy dread and mighty Sovereignty that the Jews who are under thy dominion and dwell in the country of Palestine have assembled themselves together and crucified Christ, without any fault worthy of death, after He had done before them signs and wonders, and had shown them powerful mighty-works, so that He even raised the dead to life for them; and at the time that they crucified Him the sun became darkened and the earth also quaked, and all created things trembled and quaked, and, as if of themselves, at this deed the whole creation and the inhabitants of the creation shrank away. And now thy Majesty knoweth what it is meet for thee to command Concerning the people of the Jews who have done these things.

And Tiberius Caesar wrote and sent to King Abgar; and thus did he write to him: —

The letter of thy Fidelity towards me I have received, and it hath been read before me. Concerning what the Jews have dared to do in the matter of the cross, Pilate the governor also has written and informed Aulbinus my proconsul concerning these selfsame things of which thou hast written to me. But, because a war with the people of Spain, who have rebelled

against me, is on foot at this time, on this account I have not been able to avenge this matter; but I am prepared, when I shall have leisure, to issue a command according to law against the Jews, who act not according to law. And on this account, as regards Pilate also, who was appointed by me governor there — I have sent another in his stead, and dismissed him in disgrace, because he departed from the law, and did the will of the Jews, and for the gratification of the Jews crucified Christ, who, according to what I hear concerning Him, instead of suffering the cross of death, deserved to be honored and worshipped by them: and more especially because with their own eyes they saw everything that He did. Yet thou, in accordance with thy fidelity towards me, and the faithful covenant entered into by thyself and by thy fathers, hast done well in writing to me thus.

And Abgar the king received Aristides, who had been sent by Tiberius Caesar to him; and in reply he sent him back with presents of honor suitable for him who had sent him to him. And from Edessa he went to Thicuntha, where Claudius, the second from the emperor, was; and from thence, again, he went to Attica, where Tiberius Caesar was: Caius, moreover, was guarding the regions round about Caesar. And Aristides himself also related before Tiberius concerning the mighty-works which Addaeus had done before Abgar the king. And when he had leisure from the war he sent and put to death some of the chief men of the Jews who were in Palestine. And, when Abgar the king heard of this, he rejoiced greatly that the Jews had received punishment, as it was right.

And some years after Addaeus the apostle had built the church in Edessa, and had furnished it with everything that was suitable for it, and had made disciples of a great number of the population of the city, he further built churches in the villages also — both those which were at a distance and those which were near, and finished and adorned them, and appointed in them deacons and elders, and instructed in them those who should read the Scriptures, and taught the ordinances and the ministry without and within.

After all these things he fell ill of the sickness of which he departed from this world. And he called for Aggaeus before the whole assembly of the church, and bade him draw near, and made him Guide and Ruler in his stead. And Palut, who was a deacon, he made elder; and Abshelama, who was a scribe, he made deacon. And, the nobles and chief men being

assembled, and standing near him — Barcalba son of Zati, and Maryhab son of Barshemash, and Senac son of Avida, and Piroz son of Patric, together with the rest of their companions — Addaeus the apostle said to them: —

“Ye know and are witness, all of you who hear me, that, according to all that I have preached to you and taught you and ye have heard from me, even so have I behaved myself in the midst of you, and ye have seen it in deeds also: because our Lord thus charged us, that, whatsoever we preach in words before the people, we should practice it in deeds before all men. And, according to the ordinances and laws which were appointed by the disciples in Jerusalem, and by which my fellow-apostles also guided their conduct, so also do ye — turn not aside from them, nor diminish aught from them: even as I also am guided by them amongst you, and have not turned aside from them to the right hand or to the left, lest I should become estranged from the promised salvation which is reserved for such as are guided by them.

“Give heed, therefore, to this ministry which ye hold, and with fear and trembling continue in it, and minister every day. Minister not in it with neglectful habits, but with the discreteness of faith; and let not the praises of Christ cease out of your mouth, nor let weariness of prayer at the stated times come upon you. Give heed to the verity which ye hold, and to the teaching of the truth which ye have received, and to the inheritance of salvation which I commit to you: because before the tribunal of Christ will ye have to give an account of it, when He maketh reckoning with the shepherds and overseers, and when He taketh His money from the traders with the addition of the gains. For He is the Son of a King, and goeth to receive a kingdom and return; and He will come and make a resuscitation to life for all men, and then will He sit upon the throne of His righteousness, and judge the dead and the living, as He said to us.

“Let not the secret eye of your minds be closed by pride, lest your stumbling-blocks be many in the way in which there are no stumbling-blocks, but a hateful wandering in its paths. Seek ye those that are lost, and direct those that go astray, and rejoice in those that are found; bind up the bruised, and watch over the fatlings: because at your hands will the sheep of Christ be required. Look ye not for the honor that

passeth away: for the shepherd that looketh to receive honor from his flock — sadly, sadly stands his flock with respect to him. Let your concern be great for the young lambs, whose angels behold the face of the Father who is unseen. And be ye not stones of stumbling before the blind, but clearers of the way and the paths in a rugged country, among the Jews the crucifiers, and the deluded pagans: for with these two parties have ye to fight, in order that ye may show the truth of the faith which ye hold; and, though ye be silent, your modest and decorous appearance will fight for you against those who hate truth and love falsehood.

“Buffet not the poor in the presence of the rich: for scourge grievous enough for them is their poverty.

“Be not beguiled by the hateful devices of Satan, test ye be stripped naked of the faith which ye have put on.”... “And with the Jews, the crucifiers, we will have no fellowship. And this inheritance which we have received from thee we will not let go, but in that will we depart out of this world; and on the day of our Lord, before the judgment-seat of His righteousness, there will He restore to us this inheritance, even as thou hast told us.”

And, when these things had been spoken, Abgar the king rose up, he and his chief men and his nobles, and he went to his palace, all of them being distressed for him because he was dying. And he sent to him noble and excellent apparel, that he might be buried in it. And, when Addaeus saw it, he sent to him, saying: In my lifetime I have not taken anything from thee, nor will I now at my death take anything from thee, nor will I frustrate the word of Christ which He spake to us: Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world.

And three days more after these things had been spoken by Addaeus the apostle, and he had heard and received the testimony concerning the teaching set forth in their preaching from those engaged with him in the ministry, in the presence of all the nobles he departed out of this world. And that day was the fifth of the week, and the fourteenth of the month Iyar, nearly answering to May. And the whole city was in great mourning and bitter anguish for him. Nor was it the Christians only that were distressed for him, but the Jews also, and the pagans, who were in this same town. But Abgar the king was distressed for him more than any one, he and the princes of his kingdom. And in the sadness of his soul he

despised and laid aside the magnificence of his kingly state on that day, and with tears mingled with moans he bewailed him with all men. And all the people of the city that saw him were amazed to see how greatly he suffered on his account. And with great and surpassing pomp he bore him, and buried him like one of the princes when he dies; and he laid him in a grand sepulcher adorned with sculpture wrought by the fingers — that in which were laid those of the house of Ariu, the ancestors of Abgar the king: there he laid him sorrowfully, with sadness and great distress. And all the people of the church went there from time to time and prayed fervently; and they kept up the remembrance of his departure from year to year, according to the command and direction which had been received by them from Addaeus the apostle, and according to the word of Aggaeus, who himself became Guide and Ruler, and the successor of his seat after him, by the ordination to the priesthood which he had received from him in the presence of all men.

He too, with the same ordination which he had received from him, made Priests and Guides in the whole of this country of Mesopotamia. For they also, in like manner as Addaeus the apostle, held fast his word, and listened to and received it, as good and faithful successors of the apostle of the adorable Christ. But silver and gold he took not from any man, nor did the gifts of the princes come near him: for, instead of receiving gold and silver, he himself enriched the Church of Christ with the souls of believers.

Moreover, as regards the entire state of the men and the women, they were chaste and circumspect, and holy and pure: for they lived like anchorites and chastely, without spot — in circumspect watchfulness touching the ministry, in their sympathy toward the poor, in their visitations to the sick: for their footsteps were fraught with praise from those who saw them, and their conduct was arrayed in commendation from strangers — so that even the priests of the house of Nebu and Bel divided the honor with them at all times, by reason of their dignified aspect, their truthful words, their frankness of speech arising from their noble nature, which was neither subservient through covetousness nor in bondage under the fear of blame. For there was no one who saw them that did not run to meet them, that he might salute them respectfully, because the very sight of them shed peace upon the beholden: for just like a net were their words of gentleness spread over the contumacious, and they entered within the fold

of truth and verity. For there was no man who saw them that was ashamed of them, because they did nothing that was not accordant with rectitude and propriety. And in consequence of these things their bearing was fearless as they published their teaching to all men. For, whatsoever they said to others and enjoined on them, they themselves exhibited in practice in their own persons; and the hearers, who saw that their actions went along with their words, without much persuasion became their disciples, and confessed the King Christ, praising God for having turned them towards Him.

And some years after the death of Abgar the king, there arose one of his contumacious sons, who was not favorable to peace; and he sent word to Aggaeus, as he was sitting in the church: Make me a headband of gold, such as thou usedst to make for my fathers in former times. Aggaeus sent to him: I will not give up the ministry of Christ, which was committed to me by the disciple of Christ, and make a headband of wickedness. And, when he saw that he did not comply, he sent and brake his legs as he was sitting in the church expounding. And as he was dying he adjured Palut and Abshelama: In this house, for whose truth's sake, lo! I am dying, lay me and bury me. And, even as he had adjured them, so did they lay him — inside the middle door of the church, between the men and the women. And there was great and bitter mourning in all the church, and in all the city — over and above the anguish and the mourning which there had been within the church, such as had been the mourning when Addaeus the apostle himself died.

And, in consequence of his dying suddenly and quickly at the breaking of his legs, he was not able to lay his hand upon Palut. Palut went to Antioch, and received ordination to the priesthood from Serapion bishop of Antioch; by which Serapion himself also ordination had been received from Zephyrinus bishop of the city of Rome, in the succession of the ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who had received it from our Lord, and was bishop there in Rome twenty-five years in the days of the Caesar who reigned there thirteen years.

And, according to the custom which exists in the kingdom of Abgar the king, and in all kingdoms, that whatsoever the king commands and whatsoever is spoken in his presence is committed to writing and

deposited among the records, so also did Labubna, son of Senac, son of Ebedshaddai, the king's scribe, write these things also relating to Addaeus the apostle from the beginning to the end, whilst Hanan also the Tabularius, a sharir of the kings, set-to his hand in witness, and deposited the writing among the records of the kings, where the ordinances and laws are deposited, and where the contracts of the buyers and sellers are kept with care, without any negligence whatever.

Here endeth the teaching of Addaeus the apostle, which he proclaimed in Edessa, the faithful city of Abgar, the faithful king.

SYRIAC CALENDAR

A NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR. — The following list of the Syrian names of months, in use in the empire and during the era of the Seleucidae, several of which have been mentioned in these Documents, is taken from *Caswinii Calendarium Syriacum*, edited in Arabic and Latin by Volck, 1859. The later Hebrew names also are here added for comparison. It must, however, be noticed that "the years employed *in the Syrian Calendar*, were, at least after the incarnation, Julian years, composed of Roman months." (See *L'Art de verifier les dates*: Paris, 1818, tom. i. p. 45.) The correspondence with the Hebrew months, therefore, is not so dose as the names would indicate, since these commenced with the new moons, and an intercalary month, Veadar, following their twelfth month Adar, was added.

	SYRIAN	HEBREW
October	Tishri prior.	Tishri, or Ethanim.
November	Tishri posterior.	Bull, or Marcheshvan.
December	Canun prior.	Chisleu.
January	Canun posterior.	Tebeth.
February	Shubat.	Shebat.
March	Adar.	Adar.
April	Nisan.	Nisan.

May	Ajar.	Zif, or Iyar.
June	Chaziran.	Sivan.
July	Tamuz.	Tammuz.
August	Ab.	Ab.
September	Elul.	Elul.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

AT that time Christ was taken up to His Father; and how the apostles received the gift of the Spirit; and the Ordinances and Laws of the Church; and whither each one of the apostles went; and from whence the countries in the territory of the Romans received the ordination to the priesthood.

In the year three hundred and thirty-nine of the kingdom of the Greeks, in the month Heziran, on the fourth day of the same, which is the first day of the week, and the end of Pentecost — on the selfsame day came the disciples from Nazareth of Galilee, where the conception of our Lord was announced, to the mount which is called that of the Place of Olives, our Lord being with them, but not being visible to them. And at the time of early dawn our Lord lifted up His hands, and laid them upon the heads of the eleven disciples, and gave to them the gift of the priesthood. And suddenly a bright cloud received Him. And they saw Him as He was going up to heaven. And He sat down on the fight hand of His Father. And they praised God because they saw His ascension according as He had told them; and they rejoiced because they had received the Right Hand conferring on them the priesthood of the house of Moses and Aaron.

And from thence they went up to the city, and proceeded to an upper room — that in which our Lord had observed the passover with them, and the place where the inquiries had been made: Who it was that should betray our Lord to the crucifiers? There also were made the inquiries: How they should preach His Gospel in the world? And, as within the upper room the mystery of the body and of the blood of our Lord began to prevail in the world, so also from thence did the teaching of His preaching begin to have authority in the world.

And, when the disciples were cast into this perplexity, how they should preach His Gospel to men of strange tongues which were unknown to them, and were speaking thus to one another: Although we are confident that Christ will perform by our hands mighty works and miracles in the presence of strange peoples whose tongues we know not, and who

themselves also are unversed in our tongue, yet who shall teach them and make them understand that it is by the name of Christ who was crucified that these mighty works and miracles are done? — while, I say, the disciples were occupied with these thoughts, Simon Cephas rose up, and said to them: My brethren, this matter, how we shall preach His Gospel, pertaineth not to us, but to our Lord; for He knoweth how it is possible for us to preach His Gospel in the world; and we rely on His care for us, which He promised us, saying: “When I am ascended to my Father I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, that He may teach you everything which it is meet for you to know, and to make known.”

And, whilst Simon Cephas was saying these things to his fellow-apostles, and putting them in remembrance, a mysterious voice was heard by them, and a sweet odor, which was strange to the world, breathed upon them; and tongues of fire, between the voice and the odor, came down from heaven towards them, and alighted and sat on every one of them; and, according to the tongue which every one of them had severally received, so did he prepare himself to go to the country in which that tongue was spoken and heard.

And, by the same gift of the Spirit which was given to them on that day, they appointed Ordinances and Laws — such as were in accordance with the Gospel of their preaching, and with the true and faithful doctrine of their teaching: —

1. The apostles therefore appointed: Pray ye towards the east: because, “as the lightning which lighteneth from the east and is seen even to the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be:” that by this we might know and understand that He will appear from the east suddenly.

2. The apostles further appointed: On the first day of the week let there be service, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and the oblation: because on the first day of the week our Lord rose from the lace of the dead and on the first day of the week He arose upon the world, and on the first day of the week He ascended up to heaven, and on the first day of the week He will appear at last with the angels of heaven.

3. The apostles further appointed: On the fourth day of the week let there be service: because on that day our Lord made the disclosure to them

about His trial, and His suffering, and His crucifixion, and His death, and His resurrection; and the disciples were on account of this in sorrow.

4. The apostles further appointed: On the eve of the Sabbath, at the ninth hour, let there be service: because that which had been spoken on the fourth day of the week about the suffering of the Savior was brought to pass on the same eve; the worlds and creatures trembling, and the luminaries in the heavens being darkened.

5. The apostles further appointed: Let there be elders and deacons, like the Levites; and subdeacons, like those who carried the vessels of the court of the sanctuary of the Lord; and an overseer, who shall likewise be the Guide of all the people, like Aaron, the head and chief of all the priests and Levites of the whole city.

6. The apostles further appointed: Celebrate the day of the Epiphany of our Savior, which is the chief of the festivals of the Church, on the sixth day of the latter Canun, in the long number of the Greeks.

7. The apostles further appointed: Forty days before the day of the passion of our Savior fast ye, and then celebrate the day of the passion, and the day of the resurrection: because our Lord Himself also, the Lord of the festival, fasted forty days; and Moses and Elijah, who were endued with this mystery, likewise each fasted forty days, and then were glorified.

8. The apostles further appointed: At the conclusion of all the Scriptures other let the Gospel be read, as being the seal of all the Scriptures; and let the people listen to it standing upon their feet: because it is the Gospel of the redemption of all men.

9. The apostles further appointed: At the completion of fifty days after His resurrection make yea commemoration of His ascension to His glorious Father.

10. The apostles appointed: That, beside the Old Testament, and the Prophets, and the Gospel, and the Acts (of their exploits), nothing should be read on the pulpit in the church.

11. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever is unacquainted with the faith of the Church and the ordinances and laws which are appointed in it,

let him not be a guide and ruler; and whosoever is acquainted with them and departs from them, let him not minister again: because, not being true in his ministry, he has lied.

12. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever sweareth, or lieth, or beareth false witness, or hath recourse to magicians and soothsayers and Chaldeans, and putteth confidence in fates and nativities, which they hold fast who know not God, — let him also, as a man that knoweth not God, be dismissed from the ministry, and not minister again.

13. The apostles further appointed: If there be any man that is divided in mind touching the ministry, and who follows it not with a steadfast will, let not this man minister again: because the Lord of the ministry is not served by him with a steadfast will; and he deceiveth man only, and not God, “before whom crafty devices avail not,”

14. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever lendeth and receiveth usury, and is occupied in merchandise and covetousness, let not this man minister again, nor continue in the ministry.

15. The apostles further appointed: That whosoever loveth the Jews, like Iscariot, who was their friend, or the pagans, who worship creatures instead of the Creator, — should not enter in amongst them and minister; and moreover, that if he be already amongst them, they should not suffer him to remain, but that he should be separated from amongst them, and not minister with them again.

16. The apostles further appointed: That, if any one from the Jews or from the pagans come and join himself with them, and if after he has joined himself with them he turn and go back again to the side on which he stood before, and if he again return and come to them a second time, — he should not be received again; but that, according to the side on which he was before, so those who know him should look upon him.

17. The apostles further appointed: That it should not be permitted to the Guide to transact the matters which pertain to the Church apart from those who minister with him; but that he should issue commands with the counsel of them all, and that that only should be done which all of them should concur in and not disapprove.

18. The apostles further appointed: Whenever any shall depart out of this world with a good testimony to the faith of Christ, and with affliction born for His name's sake, make yea commemoration of them on the day on which they were put to death.

19. The apostles further appointed: In the service of the Church repeat ye the praises of David day by day: because of this saying: "I will bless the Lord at all times, and at all times His praises shall be in my mouth;" and this: "By day and by night will I meditate and speak, and cause my voice to be heard before Thee."

20. The apostles further appointed: If any divest themselves of mammon and run not after the gain of money, let these men be chosen and admitted to the ministry of the altar.

21. The apostles further appointed: Let any priest who accidentally puts another in bondscontrary to justice receive the punishment that is right; and let him that has been bound receive the bonds as if he had been equitably bound.

22. The apostles further appointed: If it be seen that those who are accustomed to hear causes show partiality, and pronounce the innocent guilty and the guilty innocent, let them never again hear another cause: thus receiving the rebuke of their partiality, as it is fit.

23. The apostles further ordained: Let not those that are high-minded and lifted up with the arrogance of boasting be admitted to the ministry: because of this text: "That which is exalted among men is abominable before God;" and because concerning them it is said: "I will return a recompense upon those that vaunt themselves."

24. The apostles further appointed: Let there be a Ruler over the elders who are in the villages, and let him be recognized as head of them all, at whose hand all of them shall be required: for Samuel also thus made visits from place to place and ruled.

25. The apostles further appointed: That those kings who shall hereafter believe in Christ should be permitted to go up and stand before the altar along with the Guides of the Church: because David also, and those who were like him, went up and stood before the altar.

26. The apostles further appointed: Let no man dare to do anything by the authority of the priesthood which is not in accordance with justice and equity, but in accordance with justice, and free from the blame of partiality, let all things be done.

27. The apostles further appointed: Let the bread of the Oblation be placed upon the altar on the day on which it is baked, and not some days after — a thing which is not permitted.

All these things did the apostles appoint, not for themselves, but for those who should come after them — for they were apprehensive that in time to come wolves would put on sheep's clothing: since for themselves the Spirit, the Paraclete, which was in them, was sufficient: that, even as He had appointed these laws by their hands, so He would guide them lawfully. For they, who had received from our Lord power and authority, had no need that laws should be appointed for them by others. For Paul also, and Timothy, while they were going from place to place in the country of Syria and Cilicia, committed these same Commands and Laws of the apostles and elders to those who were under the hand of the apostles, for the churches of the countries in which they were preaching and publishing the Gospel.

The disciples, moreover, after they had appointed these Ordinances and Laws, ceased not from the preaching of the Gospel, or from the wonderful mighty-works which our Lord did by their hands. For much people was gathered about them every day, who believed in Christ; and they came to them from other cities, and heard their words and received them. Nicodemus also, and Gamaliel, chiefs of the synagogue of the Jews, used to come to the apostles in secret, agreeing with their teaching. Judas, moreover, and Levi, and Peri, and Joseph, and Justus, sons of Hananias, and Caiaphas and Alexander the priests — they too used to come to the apostles by night, confessing Christ that He is the Son of God; but they were afraid of the people of their own nation, so that they did not disclose their mind toward the disciples.

And the apostles received them affectionately, saying to them: Do not, by reason of the shame and fear of men, forfeit your salvation before God, nor have the blood of Christ required of you; even as your fathers, who took it upon them: for it is not acceptable before God, that, while ye are, in

secret, with His worshippers, ye should go and associate with the murderers of His adorable Son. How do ye expect that your faith should be accepted with those that are true, whilst ye are with those that are false? But it becomes you, as men who believe in Christ, to confess openly this faith which we preach.

And, when they heard these things from the Disciples, those sons of the priests, all of them alike, cried out before the whole company of the apostles: We confess and believe in Christ who was crucified, and we confess that He is from everlasting the Son of God; and those who dared to crucify Him do we renounce. For even the priests of the people in secret confess Christ; but, for the sake of the headship among the people which they love, they are not willing to confess openly; and they have forgotten that which is written: “Of knowledge is He the Lord, and before Him avail not crafty devices.”

And, when their fathers heard these things from their sons, they became exceedingly hostile to them: not indeed because they had believed in Christ, but because they had declared and spoken openly of the mind of their fathers before the sons of their people.

But those who believed clove to the disciples, and departed not from them, because they saw that, whatsoever they taught the multitude, they themselves carried into practice before all men; and, when affliction and persecution arose against the disciples, they rejoiced to be afflicted with them, and received with gladness stripes and imprisonment for the confession of their faith in Christ; and all the days of their life they preached Christ before the Jews and the Samaritans.

And after the death of the apostles there were Guides and Rulers in the churches; and, whatsoever the apostles had committed to them and they had received from them, they continued to teach to the multitude through the whole space of their lives. They too, again, at their deaths committed and delivered to their disciples after them whatsoever they had received from the apostles; also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from Alexandria the Great, and Andrew from Phrygia, and Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India: that the epistles of an apostle might be received and read in the churches that were in every place, just as the achievements

of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read; that hereby the apostles might be known, and the prophets, and the Old Testament and the New; that so might be seen one truth was proclaimed in them all: that one Spirit spoke in them all, from one God whom they had all worshipped and had all preached. And the divers countries received their teaching. Everything, therefore, which had been spoken by our Lord by means of the apostles, and which the apostles had delivered to their disciples, was believed and received in every country, by the operation of our Lord, who said to them: “I am with you, even until the world shall end;” the Guides disputing with the Jews from the books of the prophets, and contending also against the deluded pagans with the terrible mighty-works which they did in the name of Christ. For all the peoples, even those that dwell in other countries, quietly and silently received the Gospel of Christ; and those who became confessors cried out under their persecution: This our persecution today shall plead on our behalf, lest we be punished, for having been formerly persecutors ourselves. For there were some of them against whom death by the sword was ordered; and there were some of them from whom they took away whatsoever they possessed, and let them go. And the more affliction arose against them, the richer and larger did their congregations become; and with gladness in their hearts did they receive death of every kind. And by ordination to the priesthood, which the apostles themselves had received from our Lord, did their Gospel wing its way rapidly into the four quarters of the world. And by mutual visitation they ministered to one another.

1. Jerusalem received the ordination to the priesthood, as did all the country of Palestine, and the parts occupied by the Samaritans, and the parts occupied by the Philistines, and the country of the Arabians, and of Phoenicia, and the people of Caesarea, from James, who was ruler and guide in the church of the apostles which was built in Zion.

2. Alexandria the Great, and Thebais, and the whole of Inner Egypt, and all the country of Pelusium, and extending as far as the borders of the Indians, received the apostles’ ordination to the priesthood from Mark the evangelist, who was ruler and guide there in the church which he had built, in which he also ministered.

3. India, and all the countries belonging to it and round about it, even to the farthest sea, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the church which he had built there, in which he also ministered there.

4. Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the church there, and was priest and ministered there up to the time when he went up from thence to Rome on account of Simon the sorcerer, who was deluding the people of Rome with his sorceries.

5. The city of Rome, and all Italy, and Spain, and Britain, and Gaul, together with all the rest of the countries round about them, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who went up from Antioch; and he was ruler and guide there, in the church which he had built there, and in the places round about it.

6. Ephesus, and Thessalonica, and all Asia, and all the country of the Corinthians, and of all Achaia and the parts round about it, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from John the evangelist, who had leaned upon the bosom of our Lord; who himself built a church there, and ministered in his office of Guide which he held there.

7. Nicaea, and Nicomedia, and all the country of Bithynia, and of Inner Galatia, and of the regions round about it, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who was himself Guide and Ruler in the church which he had built there, and was priest and ministered there.

8. Byzantium, and all the country of Thrace, and of the parts about it as far as the great river, the boundary which separates from the barbarians, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Luke the apostle, who himself built a church there, and ministered there in his office of Ruler and Guide which he held there.

9. Edessa, and all the countries round about it which were on all sides of it, and Zoba, and Arabia, and all the north, and the regions round about it, and the south, and all the regions on the borders of Mesopotamia, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Addaeus the apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles, who himself made disciples there, and built a

church there, and was priest and ministered there in his office of Guide which he held there.

10. The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians, and of the Armenians, and of the Medians, and of the countries round about Babylon, the Huzites and the Gelae, as far as the borders of the Indians, and as far as the land of Gog and Magog, and moreover all the countries on all sides, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Aggaeus, a maker of silks, the disciple of Addaeus the apostle.

The other remaining companions of the apostles, moreover went to the distant countries of the barbarians; and they made disciples from place to place and passed on; and there they ministered by their preaching; and there occurred their departure out of this world, their disciples after them going on with the work down to the present day, nor was any change or addition made by them in their preaching.

Luke, moreover, the evangelist had such diligence that he wrote the exploits of the Acts of the Apostles, and the ordinances and laws of the ministry of their priesthood, and whither each one of them went. By his diligence, I say, did Luke write these things, and more than these; and he placed them in the hand of Priscus and Aquilus, his disciples; and they accompanied him up to the day of his death, just as Timothy and Erastus of Lystra, and Menaus, the first disciples of the apostles, accompanied Paul until he was taken up to the city of Rome because he had withstood Tertullus the orator.

AND NERO CAESAR DESPATCHED WITH THE SWORD SIMON CEPHAS IN THE CITY OF ROME. ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

THE TEACHING OF SIMON CEPHAS IN THE CITY OF ROME

In the third year of Claudius Caesar, Simon Cephas departed from Antioch to go to Rome. And as he passed on he preached in the divers countries the word of our Lord. And, when he had nearly arrived there, many had heard of and went out to meet him, and the whole church

received him with great joy. And some of the princes of the city, wearers of the imperial headbands, came to him, that they might see him and hear his word. And, when the whole city was gathered together about him, he stood up to speak to them, and to show them the preaching of his doctrine, of what sort it was. And he began to speak to them thus: —

Men, people of Rome, saints of all Italy, hear ye that which I say to you. This day I preach and proclaim Jesus the Son of God, who came down from heaven, and became man, and was with us as one of ourselves, and wrought marvelous mighty-works and signs and wonders before us, and before all the Jews that are in the land of Palestine. And you yourselves also heard of those things which He did: because they came to Him from other countries also, on account of the fame of His healing and the report of the marvelous help He gave; and whosoever drew near to Him was healed by His word. And, inasmuch as He was God, at the same time that He healed He also forgave sins: for His healing, which was open to view, bore witness of His hidden forgiveness, that it was real and trustworthy. For this Jesus did the prophets announce in their mysterious sayings, as they were looking forward to see Him and to hear His word: Him who was with His Father from eternity and from everlasting; God, who was hidden in the height, and appeared in the depth; the glorious Son, who was from His Progenitor, and is to be glorified, together with His Father, and His divine Spirit, and the terrible power of His dominion. And He was crucified of His own will by the hands of sinners, and was taken up to His Father, even as I and my companions saw. And He is about to come again, in His own glory and that of His holy angels, even as we heard Him say to us. For we cannot say anything which was not heard by us from Him, neither do we write in the book of His Gospel anything which He Himself did not say to us: because this word is spoken in order that the mouth of liars may be shut, in the day when men shall give an account of idle words at the place of judgment.

Moreover, because we were catchers of fish, and not skilled in books, therefore did He also say to us: “I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, that He may teach you that which ye know not;” for it is by His gift that we speak those things which ye hear. And, further, by it we bring aid to the sick, and healing to the diseased: that by the hearing of His word and by the aid of His power ye may believe in Christ, that He is God, the Son

of God; and may be delivered from the service of bondage, and may worship Him and His Father, and glorify His divine Spirit. For when we glorify the Father, we glorify the Son also with Him; and when we worship the Son, we worship the Father also with Him; and when we confess the Spirit, we confess the Father also and the Son: because in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Spirit, were we commanded to baptize those who believe, that they may live for ever.

Flee therefore from the words of the wisdom of this world, in which there is no profit, and draw near to those which are true and faithful, and acceptable before God; whose reward also is laid up in store, and whose recompense standeth sure. Now, too, the light has arisen on the creation, and the world has obtained the eyes, of the mind, that every man may see and understand that it is not fit that creatures should be worshipped instead of the Creator, nor together with the Creator: because everything which is a creature is made to be a worshipper of its Maker, and is not to be worshipped like its Creator. But this One who came to us is God, the Son of God, in His own nature, notwithstanding that He mingled His Godhead with our manhood, in order that He might renew our manhood by the aid of His Godhead. And on this account it is right that we should worship Him, because He is to be worshipped together with His Father, and that we should not worship creatures, who were created for the worship of the Creator. For He is Himself the God of truth and verity; He is Himself from before all worlds and creatures; He is Himself the veritable Son, and the glorious fruit which is from the exalted Father.

But ye see the wonderful works which accompany and follow these words. One would not credit it: the time lo! is short since He ascended to His Father, and see how His Gospel has winged its flight through the whole creation — that thereby it may be known and believed that He Himself is the Creator of creatures, and that by His bidding creatures subsist. And, whereas ye saw the sun become darkened at His death, ye yourselves also are witnesses. The earth, moreover, quaked when He was slain, and the veil was rent at His death. And concerning these things the governor Pilate also was witness: for he himself sent and made them known to Caesar, and these things, and more than these, were read before him, and before the princes of your city. And on this account Caesar was angry against Pilate because he had unjustly listened to the persuasion of

the Jews; and for this reason he sent and took away from him the authority which he had given to him. And this same thing was published and known in all the dominion of the Romans. That, therefore, which Pilate saw and made known to Caesar and to your honorable senate, the same do I preach and declare, as do also my fellow-apostles. And ye know that Pilate could not have written to the imperial government of that which did not take place and which he had not seen with his own eyes; but that which did take place and was actually done — this it was that he wrote and made known. Moreover, the watchers of the sepulcher also were witnesses of those things which took place there: they became as dead men; and, when those watchers were questioned before Pilate, they confessed before him how large a bribe the chief-priests of the Jews had given them, so that they might say that we His disciples had stolen the corpse of Christ. Lo! then, ye have heard many things; and moreover, if ye be not willing to be persuaded by those things which ye have heard, be at least persuaded by the mighty-works which ye see, which are done by His name.

Let not Simon the sorcerer delude you by semblances which are not realities, which he exhibits to you, as to men who have no understanding, who know not how to discern that which they see and hear. Send, therefore, and fetch him to where all your city is assembled together, and choose you some sign for us to do before you; and, whichever ye see do that same sign, it will be your part to believe in it.

And immediately they sent and fetched Simon the sorcerer; and the men who were adherents of his opinion said to him: As a man concerning whom we have confidence that there is power in thee to do anything whatsoever, do thou some sign before us all, and let this Simon the Galilaean, who preaches Christ, see it. And, whilst they were thus speaking to him, there happened to be passing along a dead person, a son of one of those who were chiefs and men of note and renown among them. And all of them, as they were assembled together, said to him: Whichever of you shall restore to life this dead person, he is true, and to be believed in and received, and we will all follow him in whatsoever he saith to us. And they said to Simon the sorcerer: Because thou wast here before Simon the Galilaean, and we knew thee before him, exhibit thou first the power which accompanieth thee.

Then Simon reluctantly drew near to the dead person; and they set down the bier before him; and he looked to the fight hand and to the left, and gazed up into heaven, saying many words: some of them he uttered aloud, and some of them secretly and not aloud. And he delayed a long while, and nothing took place, and nothing was done, and the dead person was lying upon his bier.

And forthwith Simon Cephas drew near boldly towards the dead man, and cried aloud before all the assembly which was standing there: In the name of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews crucified at Jerusalem, and whom we preach, rise up thence. And as soon as the word of Simon was spoken the dead man came to life and rose up from the bier.

And all the people saw and marveled; and they said to Simon: Christ, whom thou preachest, is true. And many cried out, and said: Let Simon the sorcerer and the deceiver of us all be stoned. But Simon, by reason that every one was running to see the dead man that was come to life, escaped from them from one street to another and from house to house, and fell not into their hands on that day.

But the whole city took hold of Simon Cephas, and they received him gladly and affectionately; and he ceased not from doing signs and wonders in the name of Christ; and many believed in him. Cuprinus, moreover, the father of him that was restored to life, took Simon with him to his house, and entertained him in a suitable manner, while he and all his household believed in Christ, that He is the Son of the living God. And many of the Jews and of the pagans became disciples there. And, when there was great rejoicing at his teaching, he built churches there, in Rome and in the cities round about, and in all the villages of the people of Italy; and he served there in the rank of the Superintendence of Rulers twenty-five years.

And after these years Nero Caesar seized him and shut him up in prison. And he knew that he would crucify him; so he called Ansus, the deacon, and made him bishop in his stead in Rome. And these things did Simon himself speak; and moreover also the rest, the other things which he had in charge, he commanded Ansus to teach before the people, saying to him: Beside the New Testament and the Old let there not be read before the people anything else: which is not right.

And, when Caesar had commanded that Simon should be crucified with his head downwards, as he himself had requested of Caesar, and that Paul's head should be taken off, there was great commotion among the people, and bitter distress in all the church, seeing that they were deprived of the sight of the apostles. And Isus the guide arose and took up their bodies by night, and buried them with great honor, and there came to be a gathering-place there for many.

And at that very time, as if by a righteous judgment, Nero abandoned his empire and fled, and there was a cessation for a little while from the persecution which Nero Caesar had raised against them. And many years after the great coronation of the apostles, who had departed out of the world, while ordination to the priesthood was proceeding both in all Rome and in all Italy, it happened then that there was a great famine in the city of Rome.

HERE ENDETH THE TEACHING OF SIMON CEPHAS

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

ACTS OF SHARBIL, WHO WAS A PRIEST OF IDOLS, AND WAS CONVERTED TO THE CONFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHRIST

IN the fifteenth year of the Sovereign Ruler Trajan Caesar, and in the third year of King Abgar the Seventh, which is the year 416 of the kingdom of Alexander king of the Greeks, and in the priesthood of Sharbil and Barsamya, Trajan Caesar commanded the governors of the countries under his dominion that sacrifices and libations should be increased in all the cities of their administration, and that those who did not sacrifice should be seized and delivered over to stripes, and to the tearing of combs, and to bitter inflictions of all kinds of tortures, and should afterwards receive the punishment of the sword.

Now, when the command arrived at the town of Edessa of the Parthians, there was a great festival, on the eighth of Nisan, on the third day of the week: the whole city was gathered together by the great altar which was in

the middle of the town, opposite the Record office, all the gods having been brought together, and decorated, and sitting in honor, both Nebu and Bel together with their fellows. And all the priests were offering incense of spices and libations, and an odor of sweetness was diffusing itself around, and sheep and oxen were being slaughtered, and the sound of the harp and the drum was heard in the whole town. And Sharbil was chief and ruler of all the priests; and he was honored above all his fellows, and was clad in splendid and magnificent vestments; and a headband embossed with figures of gold was set upon his head; and at the bidding of his word everything that he ordered was done. And Abgar the king, son of the gods, was standing at the head of the people. And they obeyed Sharbil, because he drew nearer to all the gods than any of his fellows, and as being the one who according to that which he had heard from the gods returned an answer to every man.

And, while these things were being done by the command of the king, Barsamya, the bishop of the Christians, went up to Sharbil, he and Tiridath the elder and Shalula the deacon; and he said to Sharbil, the high priest: The King Christ, to whom belong heaven and earth, will demand an account at thy hands of all these souls against whom thou art sinning, and whom thou art misleading, and turning away from the God of verity and of truth to idols that are made and deceitful, which are not able to do anything with their hands — moreover also thou hast no pity on thine own soul, which is destitute of the true life of God; and thou declarest to this people that the dumb idols talk with thee; and, as if thou wert listening to something from them, thou puttest thine ear near to one and another of them, and sayest to this people: The God Nebu bade me say to you," On account of your sacrifices and oblations I cause peace in this your country;" and: Bel saith, "I cause great plenty in your land;" and those who hear this from thee do not discern that thou art greatly deceiving them — because "they have a mouth and speak not, and they have eyes and see not with them;" it is ye who bear up them, and not they who bear up you, as ye suppose; and it is ye who set tables before them, and not they who feed you. And now be persuaded by me touching that which I say to thee and advise thee. If thou be willing to hearken to me, abandon idols made, and worship God the Maker of all things, and His Son Jesus Christ. Do not, because He put on a body and became man and

was stretched out on the cross of death, be ashamed of Him and refuse to worship Him: for, all these things which He endured — it was for the salvation of men and for their deliverance. For this One who put on a body is God, the Son of God, Son of the essence of His Father, and Son of the nature of Him who begat Him: for He is the adorable brightness of His Godhead, and is the glorious manifestation of His majesty, and together with His Father He existed from eternity and from everlasting, His arm, and His right hand, and His power, and His wisdom, and His strength, and the living Spirit which is from Him, the Expiator and Sanctifier of all His worshippers. These are the things which Palut taught us, with whom thy venerable self was acquainted; and thou knowest that Palut was the disciple of Addaeus the apostle. Abgar the king also, who was older than this Abgar, who himself worshippeth idols as well as thou, he too believed in the King Christ, the Son of Him whom thou callest Lord of all the gods. For it is forbidden to Christians to worship anything that is made, and is a creature, and in its nature is not God: even as ye worship idols made by men, who themselves also are made and created. Be persuaded, therefore, by these things which I have said to thee, which things are the belief of the Church: for I know that all this population are looking to thee, and I am well assured that, if thou be persuaded, many also will persuaded with thee.

Sharbil said to him: Very acceptable to me are these thy words which thou hast spoken before me; yea, exceedingly acceptable are they to me. But, as for me, I know that I am outcast from all these things, and there is no longer any remedy for me. And, now that hope is cut off from me, why weariest thou thyself about a man dead and buried, for whose death there is no hope of resuscitation? For I am slain by paganism, and am become a dead man, the property of the Evil One: in sacrifices and libations of imposture have I consumed all the days of my life.

And, when Barsamya the bishop heard these things, he fell down before his feet, and said to him: There is hope for those who turn, and healing for those that are wounded. I myself will be surety to thee for the abundant mercies of the Son Christ: that He will pardon thee all the sins which thou hast committed against Him, in that thou hast worshipped and honored His creatures instead of Himself. For that Gracious One, who extended Himself on the cross of death, will not withhold His grace from the souls

that comply with His precepts and take refuge in His kindness which has been displayed towards us. Like as He did towards the robber, so is He able to do to thee, and also to those who are like thee.

Sharbil said to him: Thou, like a skillful physician, who suffers pain from the pain of the afflicted, hast done well in that thou hast been concerned about me. But at present, because it is the festival today of this people, of every one of them, I cannot go down with thee today to the church. Depart thou, and go down with honor; and tomorrow at night I will come down to thee: I too have henceforth renounced for myself the gods made with hands, confess the Lord Christ, the Maker of all men.

And the next day Sharbil arose and went down to Barsamya by night, he and Babai his sister; and he was received by the whole church. And he said to them: Offer for me prayer and supplication, that Christ may forgive me all the sins that I have committed against Him in all this long course of years. And, because they were in dread of the persecutors, they arose and gave him the seal of salvation, whilst he confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

And, when all the city had heard that he was gone down to the church, there began to be a consternation among the multitude; and they arose and went down to him, and saw him clad in the fashion of the Christians. And he said to them: May the Son Christ forgive me all the sins that I have committed against you, and all in which I made you think that the gods talked with me, whereas they did not talk; and, forasmuch as I have been to you a cause of abomination, may I now be to you a cause of good: instead of worshipping, as formerly, idols made with hands, may ye henceforth worship God the Maker. And, when they had heard these things, there remained with him a great congregation of men and of women; and Labu also, and Hafsai, and Barcalba, and Avida, chief persons of the city. They all said to Sharbil: Henceforth we also renounce that which thou hast renounced, and we confess the King Christ, whom thou hast confessed.

But Lysanias, the judge of the country, when he heard that Sharbil had done this, sent by night and carded him off from the church. And there went up with him many Christians. And he sat down, to hear him and to judge him, before the altar which is in the middle of the town, where he

used to sacrifice to the gods. And he said to him: Wherefore hast thou renounced the gods, whom thou didst worship, and to whom thou didst sacrifice, and to whom thou wast made chief of the priests, and lo! dost today confess Christ, whom thou didst formerly deny? For see how those Christians, to whom thou art gone, renounce not that which they have held, like as thou hast renounced that in which thou wast born. If thou art assured of the gods, how is it that thou hast renounced them this day? But, if on the contrary thou art not assured, as thou declarest concerning them, how is it that thou didst once sacrifice to them and worship them?

Sharbil said: When I was blinded in my mind, I worshipped that which I knew not; but today, inasmuch as I have obtained the clear eyes of the mind, it is henceforth impossible that I should stumble at carved stones, or that I should any longer be the cause of stumbling to others. For it is a great disgrace to him whose eyes are open, if he goes and falls into the pit of destruction.

The judge said: Because thou hast been priest of the venerable gods, and hast been partaker of the mystery of those whom the mighty emperors worship, I will have patience with thee, in order that thou mayest be persuaded by me, and not turn away from the service of the gods; but, if on the contrary thou shall not be persuaded by me, by those same gods whom thou hast renounced I swear that, even as on a man that is a murderer, so will I inflict tortures on thee, and will avenge on thee the wrong done to the gods, whom thou hast rebelled against and renounced, and also the insult which thou hast poured upon them; nor will I leave untried any kind of tortures which I will not inflict on thee; and, like as thine honor formerly was great, so will I make thine ignominy great this day.

Sharbil said: I too, on my part, am not content that thou shouldest look upon me as formerly, wheel I worshipped gods made with hands; but look thou upon me today and question me as a Christian man renouncing idols and confessing the King Christ.

The judge said: How is it that thou art not afraid of the emperors, nor moved to shame by those who are listening to thy trial, that thou sayest, “I am a Christian”? But promise that thou wilt sacrifice to the gods, according to thy former custom, so that thy honor may be great, as

formerly — lest I make to tremble at thee all those who have believed like thyself.

Sharbil said: Of the King of kings I am afraid, but at any king of earth I tremble not, nor yet at thy threats towards me, which lo! thou utterest against the worshippers of Christ: whom I confessed yesterday, and lo! I am brought to trial for His sake today, like as He Himself was brought to trial for the sake of sinners like me.

The judge said: Although thou have no pity on thyself, still I will have pity on thee, and refrain from cutting off those hands of thine with which thou hast placed incense before the gods, and from stopping with thy blood those ears of thine which have heard their mysteries, and thy tongue which has interpreted and explained to us their secret things. Of those gods lo! I am afraid, and I have pity on thee. But, if thou continue thus, those gods be my witnesses that I will have no pity on thee!

Sharbil said: As a man who art afraid of the emperors and tremblest at idols, have thou no pity on me. For, as for me, I know not what thou sayest: therefore also is my mind not shaken or terrified by those things which thou sayest. For by thy judgments shall all they escape from the judgment to come who do not worship that which is not God in its own nature.

The judge said: Let him be scourged with thongs, because he has dared to answer me thus, and has resisted the command of the emperors, and has not appreciated the honor which the gods conferred on him: inasmuch as, lo! he has renounced them.

And he was scourged by ten men, who laid hold on him, according to the command of the judge.

Sharbil said: Thou art not aware of the scourging of justice in that world which is to come. For thou wilt cease, and thy judgments also will pass away; but justice will not pass away, nor will its retributions come to an end. The judge said: Thou art so intoxicated with this same Christianity, that thou dost not even know before whom thou art judged, and by whom it is that thou art scourged — even by those who formerly held thee in honor, and paid adoration to thy priesthood in the gods. Why dost thou

hate honor, and love this ignominy? For, although thou speakest contrary to the law, yet I myself cannot turn aside from the laws of the emperors.

Sharbil said: As thou takest heed not to depart from the laws of the emperors, and if moreover thou depart from them thou knowest what command they will give concerning thee, so do I also take heed not to decline from the law of Him who said, “Thou shalt not worship any image, nor any likeness;” and therefore will I not sacrifice to idols made with hands: for long enough was the time in which I sacrificed to them, when I was in ignorance.

The judge said: Bring not upon thee punishment in addition to the punishment which thou hast already brought upon thee. Enough is it for thee to have said, “I will not sacrifice:” do not dare to insult the gods, by calling them manufactured idols whom even the emperors honor.

Sharbil said: But, if on behalf of the emperors, who are far away and not near at hand and not conscious of those who treat their commands with contempt, thou biddest me sacrifice, how is it that on behalf of idols, who lo! are present and are seen, but see not, thou biddest me sacrifice? Why, hereby thou hast declared before all thy attendants that, because they have a mouth and speak not, lo! thou art become a pleader for them: dumb idols “to whom their makers shall be like,” and “every one that trusteth upon them” shall be like thee.

The judge said: It was not for this that thou wast called before me — that, instead of paying the honor which is due, thou shouldst despise the emperors. But draw near to the gods and sacrifice, and have pity on thyself, thou self-despiser!

Sharbil said: Why should it be requisite for thee to ask me many questions, after that which I have said to thee: “I will not sacrifice”? Thou hast called me a self-despiser? But would that from my childhood I had had this mind and had thus despised myself, which was perishing!

The judge said: Hang him up, and tear him with combs on his sides. — And while he was thus torn he cried aloud and said: It is for the sake of Christ, who has secretly caused His light to arise upon the darkness of my mind. And, when he had thus spoken, the judge commanded again that he should be torn with combs on his face.

Sharbil said: It is better that thou shouldest inflict tortures upon me for not sacrificing, than that I should be judged there for having sacrificed to the work of men’s hands.

The judge said: Let his body be bent backwards, and let straps be tied to his hands and his feet; and, when he has been bent backwards, let him be scourged on his belly.

And they scourged him in this manner, according to the command of the judge.

Then he commanded that he should go up to the prison, and that he should be east into a dark dungeon. And the executioners, and the Christians who had come up with him from the church, carried him, because he was not able to walk upon his feet in consequence of his having been bent backwards. And he was in the gaol many days.

But on the second of Ilul, on the third day of the week, the judge arose and went down to his judgment-hall by night; and the whole body of his attendants was with him; and he commanded the keeper of the prison, and they brought him before him. And the judge said to him: This long while hast thou been in prison: what has been thy determination concerning those things on which thou wast questioned before me? Dost thou consent to minister to the gods according to thy former custom, agreeably to the command of the emperors?

Sharbil said: This has been my determination in the prison, that that with which I began before thee, I will finish even to the last; nor will I play false with my word. For I will not again confess idols, which I have renounced; nor will I renounce the King Christ, whom I have confessed.

The judge said: Hang him up by his right hand, because he has withdrawn it from the gods that he may not again offer incense with it, until his hand with which he ministered to the gods be dislocated, because he persists in this saying of his.

And, while he was suspended by his hand, they asked him and said to him: Dost thou consent to sacrifice to the gods? But he was not able to return them an answer, on account of the dislocation of his arm. And the judge commanded, and they loosed him and took him down. But he was

not able to bring his arm up to his side, until the executioners pressed it and brought it up to his side.

The judge said: Put on incense, and go whithersoever thou wilt, and no one shall compel thee to be a priest again. But, if thou wilt not, I will show thee tortures bitterer than these.

Sharbil said: As for gods that made not the heavens and the earth, may they perish from under these heavens! But thou, menace me not with words of threatening; but, instead of words, show upon me the deeds of threatening, that I hear thee not again making mention of the detestable name of gods!

The judge said: Let him be branded with the brand of bitter fire between his eyes and upon his cheeks.

And the executioners did so, until the smell of the branding reeked forth in the midst of the judgment-hall: but he refused to sacrifice.

Sharbil said: Thou hast heard for thyself from me, when I said to thee "Thou art not aware of the smoke of the roasting of the fire which is prepared for those who, like thee, confess idols made by hands, and deny the living God, after thy fashion."

The judge said: Who taught thee all these things, that thou shouldest speak before me thus — a man who was a friend of the gods and an enemy of Christ, whereas, lo! thou art become his advocate.

Sharbil said: Christ whom I have confessed, He it is that hath taught me to speak thus. But there needeth not that I should be His advocate, for His own mercies are eloquent advocates for guilty ones like me, and these will avail to plead on my behalf in the day when the sentences shall be eternal.

The judge said: Let him be hanged up, and let him be torn with combs upon his former wounds; also let salt and vinegar be rubbed into the wounds upon his sides. Then he said to him: Renounce not the gods whom thou didst formerly confess.

Sharbil said: Have pity on me and spare me again from saying that there be gods, and powers, and fates, and nativities. On the contrary, I confess one

God, who made the heavens, and the earth, and the seas, and all that is therein; and the Son who is from Him, the King Christ.

The judge said: It is not about this that thou art questioned before me — viz.: what is the belief of the Christians which thou hast confessed; but this is what I said to thee, “Renounce not those gods to whom thou wast made priest.”

Sharbil said: Where is that wisdom of thine and of the emperors of whom thou makest thy boast, that ye worship the work of the hands of the artificers and confess them, whilst the artificers themselves, who made the idols, ye insult by the burdens and imposts which ye lay upon them? The artificer standeth up at thy presence, to do honor to thee; and thou standest up in the presence of the work of the artificer, and dost honor it and worship it.

The judge said: Thou art not the man to call others to account for these things; but from thyself a strict account is demanded, as to the cause for which thou hast renounced the gods, and refusest to offer them incense like thy fellow-priests.

Sharbil said: Death on account of this is true life: those who confess the King Christ, He also will confess before His glorious Father.

The judge said: Let lighted candles be brought, and let them be passed round about his face and about the sides of his wounds. And they did so a long while.

Sharbil said: It is well that thou burnest me with this fire, that so I may be delivered from “that fire which is not quenched, and the worm that dieth not,” which is threatened to those who worship things made instead of the Maker: for it is forbidden to the Christians to honor or worship anything except the nature of Him who is God Most High. For that which is made and is created is designed to be a worshipper of its Maker, and is not to be worshipped along with its Creator, as thou supposest.

The governor said: It is not this for which the emperors have ordered me to demand an account at thy hands, whether there be judgment and the rendering of an account after the death of men; nor yet about this do I care, whether that which is made is to be honored or not to be honored. What

the emperors have commanded me is this: that, whosoever will not sacrifice to the gods and offer incense to them, I should employ against him stripes, and combs, and sharp swords.

Sharbil said: The kings of this world are conscious of this world only; but the King of all kings, He hath revealed and shown to us that there is another world, and a judgment in reserve, in which a recompense will be made, on the one hand to those who have served God, and on the other to those who have not served Him nor confessed Him. Therefore do I cry aloud, that I will not again sacrifice to idols, nor will I offer oblations to devils, nor will I do honor to demons!

The judge said: Let nails of iron be driven in between the eyes of the insolent fellow, and let him go to that world which he is looking forward to, like a fanatic.

And the executioners did so, the sound of the driving in of the nails being heard as they were being driven in sharply.

Sharbil said: Thou hast driven in nails between my eyes, even as nails were driven into the hands of the glorious Architect of the creation, and by reason of this did all orders of the creation tremble and quake at that season. For these tortures which lo! thou art inflicting on me are nothing in view of that judgment which is to come. For those “whose ways are always firm,” because “they have not the judgment of God before their eyes,” and who on this account do not even confess that God exists — neither will He confess them.

The judge said: Thou sayest in words that there is a judgment; but I will show thee in deeds: so that, instead of that judgment which is to come, thou mayest tremble and be afraid of this one which is before thine eyes, in which lo! thou art involved, and not multiply thy speech before me.

Sharbil said: Whosoever is resolved to set God before his eyes in secret, God will also be at his right hand; and I too am not afraid of thy threats of tortures, with which thou dost menace me and seek to make me afraid.

The judge said: Let Christ, whom thou hast confessed, deliver thee from all the tortures which I have inflicted on thee, and am about further to inflict

on thee; and let Him show His deliverance towards thee openly, and save thee out of my hands.

Sharbil said: This is the true deliverance of Christ imparted to me — this secret power which He has given me to endure all the tortures thou art inflicting on me, and whatsoever it is settled in thy mind still further to inflict upon me; and, although thou hast plainly seen it to be so, thou hast refused to credit my word.

The judge said: Take him away from before me, and let him be hanged upon a beam the contrary way, head downwards; and let him be beaten with whips while he is hanging.

And the executioners did so to him, at the door of the judgment-hall.

Then the governor commanded, and they brought him in before him. And he said to him: Sacrifice to the gods, and do the will of the emperors, thou priest that hatest honor and lovest ignominy instead!

Sharbil said: Why dost thou again repeat thy words, and command me to sacrifice, after the many times that thou hast heard from me that I will not sacrifice again? For it is not any compulsion on the part of the Christians that has kept me back from sacrifices, but the truth they hold: this it is that has delivered me from the error of paganism.

The judge said: Let him be put into a chest of iron like a murderer, and let him be scourged with thongs like a malefactor.

And the executioners did so, until there remained not a sound place on him.

Sharbil said: As for these tortures, which thou supposest to be bitter, out of the midst of their bitterness will spring up for me fountains of deliverance and mercy in the day of the eternal sentences.

The governor said: Let small round pieces of wood be placed between the fingers of his hands, and let these be squeezed upon them vehemently.

And they did so to him, until the blood came out from under the nails of his fingers.

Sharbil said: If thine eye be not satisfied with the tortures of the body, add still further to its tortures whatsoever thou wilt.

The judge said: Let the fingers of his hands be loosed, and make him sit upon the ground; and bind his hands upon his knees, and thrust a piece of wood under his knees, and let it pass over the bands of his hands, and hang him up by his feet, thus bent, head downwards; and let him be scourged with thongs. And they did so to him.

Sharbil said: They cannot conquer who fight against God, nor may they be overcome whose confidence is God; and therefore do I say, that “neither fire nor sword, nor death nor life, nor height nor depth, can separate my heart from the love of God, which is in our Lord Jesus Christ.”

The judge said: Make hot a ball of lead and of brass, and place it under his armpits.

And they did so, until his ribs began to be seen.

Sharbil said: The tortures thou dost inflict upon me are too little for thy rage against me — unless thy rage were little and thy tortures were great.

The judge said: Thou wilt not hurry me on by these things which thou sayest; for I have room in my mind to bear long with thee, and to behold every evil and shocking and bitter thing which I shall exhibit in the torment of thy body, because thou wilt not consent to sacrifice to the gods whom thou didst formerly worship.

Sharbil said: Those things which I have said and repeated before thee, thou in thine unbelief knowest not how to hear: now, supposest thou that thou knowest those things which are in my mind?

The judge said: The answers which thou givest will not help thee, but will multiply upon thee inflictions manifold.

Sharbil said: If the several stories of thy several gods are by thee accepted as true, yet is it matter of shame to us to tell of what sort they are. For one had intercourse with boys, which is not right; and another fell in love with a maiden, who fled for refuge into a tree, as your shameful stories tell.

The judge said: This fellow, who was formerly a respecter of the gods, but has now turned to insult them and has not been afraid, and has also

despised the command of the emperors and has not trembled — set him to stand upon a gridiron heated with fire.

And the executioners did so, until the under part of his feet was burnt off.

Sharbil said: If thy rage is excited at my mention of the abominable and obscene tales of thy gods, how much more does it become thee to be ashamed of their acts! For lo! if a person were to do what one of thy gods did, and they were to bring him before thee, thou wouldest pass sentence of death upon him.

The judge said: This day will I bring thee to account for thy blasphemy against the gods, and thine audacity in insulting also the emperors; nor will I leave thee alone until thou offer incense to them, according to thy former custom.

Sharbil said: Stand by thy threats, then, and speak not falsely; and show towards me in deeds the authority of the emperors which they have given thee; and do not thyself bring reproach on the emperors with thy falsehood, and be thyself also despised in the eyes of thine attendants!

The judge said: Thy blasphemy against the gods and thine audacity towards the emperors have brought upon thee these tortures which thou art undergoing; and, if thou add further to thine audacity, there shall be further added to thee inflictions bitterer than these.

Sharbil said: Thou hast authority, as judge: do whatsoever thou wilt, and show no pity.

The judge said: How can he that hath had no pity on his own body, so as to avoid suffering in it these tortures, be afraid or ashamed of not obeying the command of the emperors?

Sharbil said: Thou hast well said that I am not ashamed: because near at hand is He that justifieth me, and my soul is caught up in rapture towards him. For, whereas I once provoked Him to anger by the sacrifices of idols, I am this day pacifying Him by the inflictions I endure in my person: for my soul is a captive to God who became man.

The judge said: It is a captive, then, that I am questioning, and a madman without sense; and with a dead man who is burnt, lo! am I talking.

Sharbil said: If thou art assured that I am mad, question me no further: for it is a madman that is being questioned; nay, rather, I am a dead man who is burnt, as thou hast said.

The judge said: How shall I count thee a dead man, When lo! thou hast cried aloud, “I will not sacrifice?”

Sharbil said: I myself, too, know not how to return thee an answer, since thou hast called me a dead man and yet turnest to question me again as if alive.

The judge said: Well have I called thee a dead man, because thy feet are burnt and thou carest not, and thy face is scorched and thou holdest thy peace, and nails are driven in between thine eyes and thou takest no account of it, and thy ribs are seen between the furrows of the combs and thou insultest the emperors, and thy whole body is mangled and maimed with stripes and thou blasphemest against the gods; and, because thou hatest thy body, lo! thou sayest whatsoever pleaseth thee.

Sharbil said: If thou callest me audacious because I have endured these things, it is fit that thou, who hast inflicted them upon me, shouldest be called a murderer in thy acts and a blasphemer in thy words.

The judge said: Lo! thou hast insulted the emperors, and likewise the gods; and lo! thou insultest me also, in order that I may pronounce sentence of death upon thee quickly. But instead of this, which thou lookest for, I am prepared yet further to inflict upon thee bitter and severe tortures.

Sharbil said: Thou knowest what I have said to thee many times: instead of denunciations of threatening, proceed to show upon me the performance of the threat, that thou mayest be known to do the will of the emperors.

The judge said: Let him be torn with combs upon his legs and upon the sides of his thighs.

And the executioners did so, until his blood flowed and ran down upon the ground.

Sharbil said: Thou hast well done in treating me thus: because I have heard that one of the teachers of the Church hath said, “Scars are on my body,

that I may come to the resurrection from the place of the dead.” Me too, who was a dead man out of sight, lo! thine inflictions bring to life again.

The judge said: Let him be torn with combs on his face, since he is not ashamed of the nails which are driven in between his eyes.

And they tore him with combs upon his cheeks, and between the nails which were driven into them.

Sharbil said: I will not obey the emperors, who command that to be worshipped and honored which is not of the nature of God, and is not God in its nature, but is the work of him that made it.

The judge said: Like as the emperors worship, so also worship thou; and that honor which the judges render, do thou render also.

Sharbil said: Even though I insult that which is the work of men and has no perception and no feeling of anything, yet do not thou insult God, the Maker of all, nor worship along with Him that which is not of Him, and is foreign to His nature.

The judge said: Does this your doctrine so teach you, that you should insult the very luminaries which give light to all the regions of the earth?

Sharbil said: Although it is not enjoined upon us to insult them, yet it is enjoined upon us not to worship them nor honor them, seeing that they are things made: for this were an insufferable wrong, that a thing made should be worshipped along with its Maker; and it is an insult to the Maker that His creatures should be honored along with Himself.

The judge said: Christ whom thou confessest was hanged on a tree; and on a tree will I hang thee, like thy Master.

And they hanged him on a tree a long while.

Sharbil said: As for Christ, whom lo! thou mockest — see how thy many gods were unable to stand before Him: for lo! they are despised and rejected, and are made a laughing-stock and a jest by those who used formerly to worship them.

The judge said: How is it that thou renouncest the gods, and confessest Christ, who was hanged on a tree?

Sharbil said: This cross of Christ is the great boast of the Christians, since it is by this that the deliverance of salvation has come to all His worshippers, and by this that they have had their eyes enlightened, so as not to worship creatures along with the Creator.

The governor said: Let thy boasting of the cross be kept within thy own mind, and let incense be offered by thy hands to the gods.

Sharbil said: Those who have been delivered by the cross cannot any longer worship and serve the idols of error made with hands: for creature cannot worship creature, because it is itself also designed to be a worshipper of Him who made it; and that it should be worshipped along with its Maker is an insult to its Maker, as I have said before.

The governor said: Leave alone thy books which have taught thee to speak thus, and perform the command of the emperors, that thou idle not by the emperors' law.

But Sharbil said: Is this, then, the justice of the emperors, in whom thou takest such pride, that we should leave alone the law of God and keep their laws?

The governor said: The citation of the books in which thou believest, and from which thou hast quoted — it is this which has brought upon thee these afflictions: for, if thou hadst offered incense to the gods, great would have been thine honor, like as it was formerly, as priest of the gods.

Sharbil said: To thine unbelieving heart these things seem as if they were afflictions; but to the true heart "affliction imparts patience, and from it comes also experience, and from experience likewise the hope" of the confessor.

The governor said: Hang him up and tear him with combs upon his former wounds.

And, from the fury with which the judge urged On the executioners, his very bowels were almost seen. And, lest he should die under the combs and escape from still further tortures, he gave orders and they took him down.

And, when the judge saw that he was become silent and was not able to return him any further answer, he refrained from him a little while, until he began to revive.

Sharbil said: Why hast thou had pity upon me for even this little time, and kept me back from the gain of a confessor's death?

The governor said: I have not had pity on thee at all in refraining for a little while: thy silence it was that made me pause a little; and, if I had power beyond the law of the emperors, I should like to lay other tortures upon thee, so as to be more fully avenged on thee for thine insult toward the gods: for in despising me thou hast despised the gods; and I, on my part, have born with thee and tortured thee thus, as a man who so deserves.

And the judge gave orders, and suddenly the curtain fell before him for a short time; and he settled and drew up the sentence which he should pronounce against him publicly.

And suddenly the curtain was drawn back again; and the judge cried aloud and said: As regards this Sharbil, who was formerly priest of the gods, but has turned this day and renounced the gods, and has cried aloud "I am a Christian," and has not trembled at the gods, but has insulted them; and, further, has not been afraid of the emperors and their command; and, though I have bidden him sacrifice to the gods according to his former custom, has not sacrificed, but has treated them with the greatest insult: I have looked into the matter, and decided, that towards a man who doeth these things, even though he were now to sacrifice, it is not fit that any mercy should be shown; and that it is not fit that he should any longer behold the sun of his lords, because he has scorned their laws. I give sentence that, according to the law of the emperors, a strap be thrust into the mouth of the insulter, as into the mouth of a murderer, and that he depart outside of the city of the emperors with haste, as one who has insulted the lords of the city and the gods who hold authority over it. I give sentence that he be sawn with a saw of wood, and that, when he is near to die, then his head be taken off with the sword of the headsmen.

And forthwith a strap was thrust into his mouth with all speed, and the executioners hurried him off, and made him run quickly upon his burnt feet, and took him away outside of the city, a crowd of people running

after him. For they had been standing looking on at his trial all day, and wondering that he did not suffer under his afflictions: for his countenance, which was cheerful, testified to the joy of his heart. And, when the executioners arrived at the place where he was to receive the punishment of death, the people of the city were with them, that they might see whether they did according as the judge had commanded, and hear what Sharbil might say at that season, so that they might inform the judge of the country.

And they offered him some wine to drink, according to the custom of murderers to drink. But he said to them: I will not drink, because I wish to feel the saw with which ye saw me, and the sword which ye pass over my neck; but instead of this wine, which will not be of any use to me, give me a little time to pray, while ye stand. And he stood up, and looked toward the east, and lifted up his voice and said: Forgive me, Christ, all the sins I have committed against Thee, and all the times in which I have provoked Thee to anger by the polluted sacrifices of dead idols; and have pity on me and save me, and deliver me from the judgment to come; and be merciful to me, as Thou wast merciful to the robber; and receive me like the penitents who have been converted and have turned to Thee, as Thou also hast turned to them; and, whereas I have entered into Thy vineyard, at the eleventh hour, instead of judgment, deliver me from justice: let Thy death, which was for the sake of sinners, restore to life again my slain body in the day of Thy coming.

And, when the Sharirs of the city heard these things, they were very angry with the executioners for having given him leave to pray.

And, while the nails were remaining which had been driven in between his eyes, and his ribs were seen between the wounds of the combs, and while from the burning on his sides and the soles of his feet, which were scorched and burnt, and from the gashes of the combs on his face, and on his sides, and on his thighs, and on his legs, the blood was flowing and running down, they brought carpenters' instruments, and thrust him into a wooden vice, and tightened it upon him until the bones of his joints creaked with the pressure; then they put upon him a saw of iron, and began sawing him asunder; and, when he was just about to die, because the

saw had reached to his mouth, they smote him with the sword and took off his head, while he was still squeezed down in the vice.

And Babai his sister drew near and spread out her skirt and caught his blood; and she said to him: May my spirit be united with thy spirit the presence of Christ, whom thou hast known and believed.

And the Sharirs of the city ran and came and informed the judge of the things which Sharbil had uttered in his prayer, and how his sister had caught his blood. And the judge commanded them to return and give orders to the executioners that, on the spot where she had caught the blood of her brother, she also should receive the punishment of death. And the executioners laid hold on her, and each one of them severally put her to torture; and, with her brother's blood upon her, her soul took its flight from her, and they mingled her blood with his. And, when the executioners were entered into the city, the brethren and young menran and stole away their two corpses; and they laid them in the burial-place of the father of Abshelama the bishop, on the fifth of Ilul, the eve of the Sabbath.

I wrote these Acts on paper — I, Marinus, and Anatolus, the notaries; and we placed them in the archives of the city, where the papers of the kings are placed.

This Barsamya, the bishop, made a disciple of Sharbil the priest. And he lived in the days of Binus, bishop of Rome; in whose days the whole population of Rome assembled together, and cried out to the praetor of their city, and said to him: There are too many strangers in this our city, and these cause famine and clearness of everything: but we beseech thee to command them to depart out of the city. And, when he had commanded them to depart out of the city, these strangers assembled themselves together, and said to the praetor: We beseech thee, my Lord, command also that the bones of our dead may depart with us. And he commanded them to take the bones of their dead, and to depart. And all the strangers assembled themselves together to take the bones of Simon Cephas and of Paul, the apostles; but the people of Rome said to them: We will not give you the bones of the apostles. And the strangers said to them: Learn ye and understand that Simon, who is called Cephas, is of Bethsaida of Galilee, and Paul the apostle is of Tarsus, a city of Cilicia. And, when the people of Rome knew that this matter was so, then they let them alone.

And, when they had taken them up and were removing them from their places, immediately there was a great earthquake; and the buildings of the city were on the point of falling down, and the city was near being overthrown. And, when the people of Rome saw it, their turned and besought the strangers to remain in their city, and that the bones might be laid in their places again. And, when the bones of the apostles were returned to their places, there was quietness, and the earthquakes ceased, and the winds became still, and the air became bright, and the whole city became cheerful. And when the Jews and pagans saw it, they also ran and fell at the feet of Fabianus, the bishop of their city, the Jews crying out: We confess Christ, whom we crucified: He is the Son of the living-God, of whom the prophets spoke in their mysteries. And the pagans also cried out and said to him: We renounce idols and carved images, which are of no use, and we believe in Jesus the King, the Son of God, who has come and is to come again. And, what ever other doctrines there were in Rome and in all Italy, the followers of these also renounced their doctrines, like as the pagans had renounced theirs, and confessed the Gospel of the apostles, which was preached in the church.

HERE END THE ACTS OF SHARBIL THE CONFESSOR

FURTHER, THE MARTYRDOM OF BARSAMYA, THE BISHOP OF THE BLESSED CITY EDESSA

In the year four hundred and sixteen of the kingdom of the Greeks, that is the fifteenth year of the reign of the sovereign ruler, our Lord, Trajan Caesar, in the consulship of Commodus and Cyrillus, in the month Ilul, on the fifth day of the month, the day after Lysinus, the judge of the country, had heard the case of Sharbil the priest; as the judge was sitting in his judgment-hall, the Sharirs of the city came before him and said to him: We give information before thine Excellency concerning Barsamya, the leader of the Christians, that he went up to Sharbil, the priest, as he was standing and ministering before the venerable gods, and sent and called him to him secretly, and spoke to him, quoting from the books in which he reads in the church where their congregation meets, and recited to him the belief of the Christians, and said to him, “It is not right for thee to worship many

gods, but only one God, and His Son Jesus Christ” — until he made him a disciple, and induced him to renounce the gods whom he had formerly worshipped; and by means of Sharbil himself also many have become disciples, and are gone down to the church, and lo! this day they confess Christ; and even Avida, and Nebo, and Barcalba, and Hafsai, honorable and chief persons of the city, have yielded to Sharbil in this. We, accordingly, as Sharirs of the city, make this known before thine Excellency, in order that we may not receive punishment as offenders for not having declared before thine Excellency the things which were spoken in secret to Sharbil by Barsamya the guide of the church. Thine Excellency now knoweth what it is fight to command in respect of this said matter.

And, immediately that the judge heard these things, he sent the Sharirs of the city, and some of his attendants with them, to go down to the church and bring up Barsamya from the church. And they led him and brought him up to the judgment-hall of the judge; and there went up many Christians with him, saying: We also will die with Barsamya, because we too are of one mind with him in respect to the doctrine of which he made Sharbil a disciple, and in all that he spoke to him, and in all the instruction that Sharbil received from him, so that he was persuaded by him, and died for the sake of that which he heard from him.

And the Sharirs of the city came, and said to the judge: Barsamya, as thine Excellency commanded, lo! is standing at the door of the judgment-hall of thy Lordship; and honorable chief-persons of the city, who became disciples along with Sharbil, lo! are standing by Barsamya, and crying out, “We will all die with Barsamya, who is our teacher and guide.”

And, when the judge heard those things which the Sharirs of the city had told him, he commanded them to go out and write down the names of the persons who were crying out, “We will die with Barsamya.” And, when they went out to write down the names of these persons, those who so cried out were too many for them, and they were not able to write down their names, because they were so many: for the cry kept coming to them from all sides, that they “would die for Christ’s sake along with Barsamya.”

And, when the tumult of the crowd became great, the Sharirs of the city turned back, and came in to the judge, and said to him: We are not able to

write down the names of the persons who are crying aloud outside, because they are too many to be numbered. And the judge commanded that Barsamya should be taken up to the prison, so that the crowd might be dispersed which was collected together about him, lest through the tumult of the multitude there should be some mischief in the city. And, when he went up the gaol, those who had become disciples along with Sharbil continued with him.

And after many days were passed the judge rose up in the morning and went down to his judgment-hall, in order that he might hear the case of Barsamya. And the judge commanded, and they brought him from the prison; and he came in and stood before him. The officers said: Lo, he standeth before thine Excellency.

The judge said: Art thou Barsamya, who hast been made ruler and guide of the people of the Christians, and didst make a disciple of Sharbil, who was chief-priest of the gods, and used to worship them?

Barsamya said: It is I who have done this, and I do not deny it; and I am prepared to die for the truth of this.

The judge said: How is it that thou wast not afraid of the command of the emperors, so that, when the emperors commanded that every one should sacrifice, thou didst induce Sharbil, when he was standing and sacrificing to the gods and offering incense to them, to deny that which he had confessed, and confess Christ whom he had denied?

Barsamya said: I was assuredly made a shepherd of men, not for the sake of those only who are found, but also for the sake of those who have strayed from the fold of truth, and become food for the wolves of paganism; and, had I not sought to make Sharbil a disciple, at my hands would his blood have been required; and, if he had not listened to me, I should have been innocent of his blood.

The judge said: Now, therefore, since thou hast confessed that it was thou that madest Sharbil a disciple, at thy hands will I require his death; and on this account it is right that thou rather than he shouldest be condemned before me, because by thy hands he has died the horrible deaths of grievous tortures for having abandoned the command of the emperors and obeyed thy words.

Barsamya said: Not to my words did Sharbil become a disciple, but to the word of God which He spoke: “Thou shalt not worship images and the likenesses of men.” And it is not I alone that am content to die the death of Sharbil for his confession of Christ, but also all the Christians, members of the Church, are likewise eager for this, because they know that they will secure their salvation before God thereby.

The judge said: Answer me not in this manner, like Sharbil thy disciple, lest thine own torments be worse than his; but promise that thou wilt sacrifice before the gods on his behalf.

Barsamya said: Sharbil, who knew not God, I taught to know Him: and dost thou bid me, who have known God from my youth, to renounce God? God forbid that I should do this thing!

The judge said: Ye have made the whole creation disciples of the teaching of Christ; and lo! they renounce the many gods whom the many worshipped. Give up this way of thinking, lest I make those who are near tremble at thee as they behold thee today, and those also that are afar off as they hear of the torments to which thou art condemned.

Barsamya said: If God is the help of those who pray to Him, who is he that can resist them? Or what is the power that can prevail against them? Or thine own threats — what can they do to them: to men who, before thou give commandment concerning them that they shall die, have their death already set before their eyes, and are expecting it every day?

The judge said: Bring not the subject of Christ before my judgment-seat; but, instead of this, obey the command of the emperors, who command to sacrifice to the gods. Barsamya said: Even though we should not lay the subject of Christ before thee, yet the sufferings of Christ are portrayed indelibly in the worshippers of Christ; and, even more than thou hearkenest to the commands of the emperors, do we Christians hearken to the commands of Christ the King of kings.

The judge said: Lo! thou hast obeyed Christ and worshipped him up to his day: henceforth obey the emperors, and worship the gods whom the emperors worship.

Barsamya said: How canst thou bid me renounce that in which I was born? when lo! thou didst exact punishment for this at the hand of Sharbil, and saidst to him: Why hast thou renounced the paganism in which thou wast born, and confessed Christianity to which thou wast a stranger? Lo! even before I came into thy presence thou didst thyself give testimony on the matter beforehand, and saidst to Sharbil: The Christians, to whom thou art gone over, do not renounce that in which they were born, but continue in it. Abide, therefore, by the word, which thou hast spoken.

The judge said: Let Barsamya be scourged, because he has rebelled against the command of the emperors, and has caused those also who were obedient to the emperors to rebel with him.

And, when he had been scourged by five men, he said to him: Reject not the command of the emperors, nor insult the emperors' gods.

Barsamya said: Thy mind is greatly blinded, O judge, and so also is that of the emperors who gave thee authority; nor are the things that are manifest seen by you; nor do ye perceive that lo! the whole creation worships Christ; and thou sayest to me, Do not worship Him, as if I alone worshipped Him — Him whom the watchers above worship on high.

The judge said: But if ye have taught men to worship Christ, who is it that has persuaded those above to worship Christ?

Barsamya said: Those above have themselves preached, and have taught those below concerning the living worship of the King Christ, seeing that they worship Him, and His Father, together with His divine Spirit.

The judge said: Give up these things which your writings teach you, and which ye teach also to others, and obey those things which the emperors have commanded, and spurn not their laws — lest ye be spurned by means of the sword from the light of this venerable sun.

Barsamya said: The light which passeth away and abideth not is not the true light, but is only the similitude of that true light, to whose beams darkness cometh not near, which is reserved and standeth fast for the true worshippers of Christ.

The judge said: Speak not before me of anything else instead of that about which I have asked thee, lest I dismiss thee from life to death, for denying this light which is seen and confessing that which is not seen.

Barsamya said: I cannot leave alone that about which thou askest me, and speak of that about which thou dost not ask me. It was thou that spakest to me about the light of the sun, and I said before thee that there is a light on high which surpasses in its brightness that of the sun which thou dost worship and honor. For an account will be required of thee for worshipping thy fellow-creature instead of God thy Creator.

The judge said: Do not insult the very sun, the light of creatures, nor set thou at nought the command of the emperors, nor contentiously resist the lords of the country, who have authority in it.

Barsamya said: Of what avail is the light of the sun to a blind man that cannot see it? For without the eyes of the body, it is not possible for its beams to be seen. So that by this thou mayest know that it is the work of God, forasmuch as it has no power of its own to show its light to the sightless.

The judge said: When I have tortured thee as thou deservest, then will I write word about thee to the Imperial government, reporting what insult thou hast offered to the gods, in that thou madest a disciple of Sharbil the priest, one who honored the gods, and that ye despise the laws of the emperors, and that ye make no account of the judges of the countries, and live like barbarians, though under the authority of the Romans

Barsamya said: Thou dost not terrify me by these things which thou sayest. It is true, I am not in the presence of the emperors today; yet lo! before the authority which the emperors have given thee I am now standing, and I am brought to trial, because I said, I will not renounce God, to whom the heavens and the earth belong, nor His Son Jesus Christ, the King of all the earth.

The judge said: If thou art indeed assured of this, that thou art standing and being tried before the authority of the emperors, obey their commands, and rebel not against their laws, lest like a rebel thou receive the punishment of death.

Barsamya said: But if those who rebel against the emperors, even when they justly rebel, are deserving of death, as thou sayest; for those who rebel against God, the King of kings, even the punishment of death by the sword is too little.

The judge said: It was not that thou shouldest expound in my judgment-hall that thou wast brought in before me, because the trial on which thou standest has but little concern with expounding, but much concern with the punishment of death, for those who insult the emperors and comply not with their laws.

Barsamya said: Because God is not before your eyes, and ye refuse to hear the word of God; and graven images that are of no use, “which have a mouth and speak not,” are accounted by you as though they spake, because your understanding is blinded by the darkness of paganism in which ye stand —

The judge interrupting said: Leave off those things thou art saying, for they will not help thee at all, and worship the gods, before the bitter tearings of combs and harsh tortures come upon thee.

Barsamya said: Do thou too leave off the many questions which lo! thou askest me, and give command for the stripes and the combs with which thou dost menace me: for thy words will not help thee so much as thy inflictions will help me.

The judge said: Let Barsamya be hanged up and torn with combs.

And at that very moment there came to him letters from Alusis the chief proconsul, father of emperors. And he commanded, and they took down Barsamya, and he was not torn with combs; and they took him outside of the hall of judgment.

And the judge commanded that the nobles, and the chief persons, and the princes, and the honorable persons of the city, should come before him, that they might hear what was the order that was issued by the emperors, by the hand of the proconsuls, the rulers of the countries under the authority of the Romans. And it was found that the emperors had written by the hand of the proconsuls to the judges of the countries: “Since our Majesty commanded that there should be a persecution against the people

of the Christians, we have heard and learned, from the Sharirs whom we have in the countries under the dominion of our Majesty, that the people of the Christians are persons who eschew murder, and sorcery, and adultery, and theft, and bribery and fraud, and those things for which the laws of our Majesty also exact punishment from those who commit them. We, therefore, in our impartial justice, have commanded that on account of these things the persecution of the sword shall cease from them, and that there shall be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom and no man hindering them. It is not, however, towards them that we show clemency, but towards their laws, agreeing as they do with the laws of our Majesty. And, if any man hinder them after this our command, that sword which is ordered by us to descend upon those who despise our command, the same do we command to descend upon those who despise this decree of our clemency.”

And, when this command of the emperor’s clemency was read, the whole city rejoiced that there was quietness and rest for every man. And the judge commanded, and they released Barsamya, that he might go down to his church. And the Christians went up in great numbers to the judgment-hall, together with a great multitude of the population of the city, and they received Barsamya with great and exceeding honor, repeating psalms before him, according to their custom; there went also the wives of the chief of the wise men. And they thronged about him, and saluted him, and called him “the persecuted confessor,” “the companion of Sharbil he martyr.” And he said to them: Persecuted I am, like yourselves; but from the tortures and combs of Sharbil and his companions I am clean escaped. And they said to him: We have heard from thee that a teacher of the Church has said, “The will, according to what it is, so is it accepted.” And, when he was entered into the church, he and all the people that were with him, he stood up and prayed, and blessed them and sent them away to their homes rejoicing and praising God for the deliverance which He had wrought for them and for the Church.

And the day after Lysinas the judge of the country had set his hand to these Acts, he was dismissed from his authority.

I Zenophilus and Patrophilus are the notaries who wrote these Acts, Diodorus and Euterpes, Sharirs of the city, bearing witness with us by setting-to their hand, as the ancient laws of the ancient kings command.

This Barsamya, bishop of Edessa, who made a disciple of Sharbil, the priest of the same city, lived in the days of Fabianus, bishop of the city of Rome. And ordination to the priesthood was received by Barsamya from Abshelama, who was bishop in Edessa; and by Abshelama ordination was received from Palut the First; and by Palut ordination was received from Serapion, bishop of Antioch; and by Serapion ordination was received from Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome; and Zephyrinus of Rome received ordination from Victor of the same place, viz., Rome; and Victor received ordination from Eleutherius; and Eleutherius received it from Sorer; and Soter received it from Anicetus; and Anicetus received it from Dapius; and Dapius received it from Telesphorus; and Telesphorus received it from Xystus; and Xystus received it from Alexander; and Alexander received it from Evartis; and Evartis received it from Cletus; and Cletus received it from Anus; and Anus received it from Simon Cephas; and Simon Cephas received it from our Lord, together with his fellow-apostles, on the first day of the week, the day of the ascension of our Lord to His glorious Father, which was the fourth day of Heziran, which was is the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubelinus, which year was the year 341; for in the year 309 occurred the advent of our Savior in the world, according to the testimony which we ourselves have found in a correct register among the archives, which errs not at all in whatever it sets forth.

HERE ENDETH THE MARTYRDOM OF BARSAMYA, BISHOP OF EDESSA

ELUCIDATION

(See p. 665, note 4. Also, p. 685, of Barsamya.)

I FOUND at the Armenian Convent of St. Lazarus, near Venice, a version of the *Letter of Abgar*, translated into French “from the Armenian version of the fifth century,” and published in 1868, which is now before me. It

ascribes the original to *Laboubnia*, and adds: “The name *Leroubna*, mentioned only by *Moses of Chorene*, was not repeated after him by any one else, save, perhaps, *Mekhitar d’ Airivank* (one of our chroniclers of the thirteenth century), who puts him among our historians, between *Tatien* and *Mar Ibas Gadina*, but without affirming whether he knew him only by name or also by his writings.” The editor goes on to speak of his correspondence with Dr. Cureton (A.D. 1864) which is referred to in note 4, p. 665, *supra*. He notes the incomplete and mutilated character of the Syriac copies used by Cureton, and congratulates himself on the entire and integral condition of the Armenian, which he found in 1852 in the Imperial Library at Paris, as *Codex No. 88, MSS. Armen.* Here the name of the author is given as *Laboubnia*, and agrees with the Syriac. The interpolations he regards as made after the fourth century.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

MARTYRDOM OF HABIB THE DEACON

IN the month Ab, of the year six hundred and twenty of the kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian, in the consulate of Licinius and Constantine, which is the year in which he was born, in the magistracy of Julius and Barak, in the days of Cona. bishop of Edessa, Licinius made a persecution against the Church and all the people of the Christians, after that first persecution which Diocletian the emperor had made. And Licinius the emperor commanded that there should be sacrifices and libations, and that the altars in every place should be restored, that they might bum sweet spices and frankincense before Zeus.

And, when many were persecuted, they cried out of their own accord: We are Christians; and they were not afraid of the persecution, because these who were persecuted were more numerous than those who persecuted them.

Now Habib, who was of the village of Telzeha and had been made a deacon, went secretly into the churches which were in the villages, and ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many

by his words, and admonished them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors; and gave them directions.

And, when many were strengthened by his words, and received his addresses affectionately, being careful not to renounce the covenant they had made, and when the Sharirs of the city, the men who had been appointed with reference to this particular matter, heard of it, they went in and informed Lysanias, the governor who was in the town of Edessa, and said to him: Habib, who is a deacon in the village of Telzeha, goes about and ministers secretly in every place, and resists the command of the emperors, and is not afraid.

And, when the governor heard these things, he was filled with rage against Habib; and he made a report, and sent and informed Licinius the emperor of all those things which Habib was doing; he wished also to ascertain what command would be issued respecting him and the rest of those who would not sacrifice. For although a command had been issued that every one should sacrifice, yet it had not been commanded what should be done to those who did not sacrifice: because they had heard that Constantine, the commander in Gaul and Spain, was become a Christian and did not sacrifice. And Licinius the emperor thus command Lysanias the govern or: Whoever it is that has been so daring as to transgress our command, our Majesty has commanded that he shall be burned with fire; and that all others who do not consent to sacrifice shall be put to death by the sword.

Now, when this command came to the town of Edessa, Habib, in reference to whom the report had been made, was gone across the river to the country of the people of Zeugma, to minister there also secretly. And, when the governor sent and inquired for him in his village, and in all the country round about, and he was not to be found, he commanded that all his family should be arrested, and also the inhabitants of his village; and they arrested them and put them in irons, his mother and the rest of his family, and also some of the people of his village; and they brought them to the city, and shut them up in prison.

And, when Habib heard what had taken place, he considered in his mind and pondered anxiously in his thoughts: It is expedient for me, said he, that I should go and appear before the judge of the country, rather than that I should remain in secret and others should be brought in to him and

be crowned with martyrdom because of me, and that I should find myself in great shame. For in what respect will the name of Christianity help him who flees from the confession of Christianity? Lo! if he flee from this, the death of nature is before him whithersoever he goes, and escape from it he cannot, because this is decreed against all the children of Adam.

And Habib arose and went to Edessa secretly, having prepared his back for the stripes and his sides for the combs, and his person for the burning of fire. And he went immediately to Theotecna, a veteran who was chief of the band of attendants on the governor; and he said to him: I am Habib of Telzeha, whom ye are inquiring for. And Theotecna said to him: If so be that no one saw thee coming to me, hearken to me in what I say to thee, and depart and go away to the place where thou hast been, and remain there in this time of persecution; and of this, that thou camest to me and spakest with me and that I advised thee thus, let no one know or be aware. And about thy family and the inhabitants of thy village, be not at all anxious: for no one will at all hurt them; but they will be in prison a few days only, and then the governor will let them go: because against them the emperors have not commanded anything serious or alarming. But, if on the contrary thou wilt not be persuaded by me in regard to these things which I have said to thee, I am clear of thy blood: because, if so be that thou appear before the judge of the country, thou wilt not escape from death by fire, according to the command of the emperors which they have issued concerning thee.

Habib said to Theotecna: It is not about my family and the inhabitants of my village that I am concerned, but for my own salvation, lest it should be forfeited. About this too I am much distressed, that I did not happen to be in my village on the day that the governor inquired for me, and that on my account lo! many are put in irons, and I have been looked upon by him as a fugitive. Therefore, if so be that thou wilt not consent to my request and take me in before the governor, I will go alone and appear before him.

And, when Theotecna heard him speak thus to him, he laid hold of him firmly, and handed him over to his assistants, and they went together to conduct him to the judgment-hall of the governor. And Theotecna went in and informed the governor, and said to him: Habib of Tetzeha, whom thine Excellency was inquiring for, is come. And the governor said: Who is it

that has brought him? and where did they find him? and what did he do where he was? Theotecna said to him: He came hither himself, of his own accord, and without the compulsion of any one, since no one knew anything about him.

And when the governor heard this, he was greatly exasperated against him; and thus he spoke: This fellow, who has so acted, has shown great contempt towards me and has despised me, and has accounted me as no judge; and, because he has so acted, it is not meet that any mercy should be shown towards him; nor yet either that I should hasten to pass sentence of death against him, according to the command of the emperors concerning him; but it is meet for me to have patience with him, so that the bitter torments and punishments inflicted on hint may be the more abundant, and that through him I may terrify many others from daring again to flee.

And, many persons being collected together and standing by him at the door of the judgment-hall, some of whom were members of the body of attendants, and some people of the city, there were some of them that said to him: Thou hast done badly in coming and showing thyself to those who were inquiring for thee, without the compulsion of the judge; and there were others, again, who said to him: Thou hast done well in coming and showing thyself of thine own accord, rather than that the compulsion of the judge should bring thee: for now is thy confession of Christ known to be of thine own will, and not from the compulsion of men.

And those things which the Sharirs of the city had heard from those who were speaking to him as they stood at the door of the judgment-hall — and this circumstance also in particular, that he had gone secretly to Theotecna and that he had not been willing to denounce him, had been heard by the Sharirs of the city — everything that they had heard they made known to the judge.

And the judge was enraged against those who had been saying to Habib: Wherefore didst thou come and show thyself to the judge, without the compulsion of the judge himself? And to Theotecna he said: It is not seemly for a man who has been made chief over his fellows to act deceitfully in this manner towards his superior, and to set at nought the

command of the emperors, which they issued against Habib the rebel, that he should be burned with fire.

Theotecna said: I have not acted deceitfully against my fellows, neither was it my purpose to set at naught the command which the emperors have issued: for what am I before thine Excellency, that I should have dared to do this? But I strictly questioned him as to that for which thine Excellency also has demanded an account at my hands, that I might know and see whether it was of his own free will that he came hither or whether the compulsion of thine Excellency brought him by the hand of others; and, when I heard from him that he came of his own accord, I carefully brought him to the honorable door of the judgment-hall of thy Worship.

And the governor hastily commanded, and they brought in Habib before him. The officers said: Lo! he standeth before thine Excellency,

And he began to question him thus, and said to him: What is thy name? And whence art thou? And what art thou?

He said to him: My name is Habib, and I am from the village of Telzeha, and I have been made a deacon.

The governor said: Wherefore hast thou transgressed the command of the emperors, and dost minister in thine office of deacon, which thou art forbidden by the emperors to do, and refusest to sacrifice to Zeus, whom the emperors worship?

Habib said: We are Christians; we do not worship the works of men, who are nothing, whose works also are nothing; but we worship God, who made the men.

The governor said: Persist not in that daring mind with which thou art come into my presence, and insult not Zeus, the great boast of the emperors.

Habib said: But this Zeus is an idol, the work of men. It is very well for thee to say that I insult him. But, if the carving of him out of wood and the fixing of him with nails proclaim aloud concerning him that he is made, how sayest thou to me that I insult him? since lo! his insult is from himself, and against himself.

The governor said: By this very thing, that thou refusest to worship him, thou insultest him.

Habib said: But, if because I do not worship him I insult him, how great an insult, then, did the carpenter inflict on him, who carved him with an axe of iron; and the smith, who smote him and fixed him with nails!

And, when the governor heard him speak thus he commanded him to be scourged without pity. And, when he had been scourged by five men, he said to him: Wilt thou now obey the emperors? For, if thou wilt not obey them, I will tear thee severely with combs, and I will torture thee with all kinds of tortures, and then at last I will give command concerning thee that thou be burned with fire.

Habib said: These threats with which lo! thou art seeking to terrify me, are much meaner and paltrier than those which I had already settled it in my mind to endure: therefore came I and made my appearance before thee.

The governor said: Put him into the iron cask for murderers, and let him be scourged as he deserves. And, when he had been scourged, they said to him: Sacrifice to the gods. But he cried aloud, and said: Accursed are your idols, and so are they who join with you in worshipping them like you.

And the governor commanded, and they took him up to the prison; but they refused him permission to speak with his family, or with the inhabitants of his village, according to the command of the judge. On that day was the festival of the emperors.

And on the second of Ilul the governor commanded, and they brought him from the prison. And he said to him: Wilt thou renounce the profession thou hast made and obey the command which the emperors issue? For, if thou wilt not obey, with the bitter tearings of combs will I make thee obey them.

Habib said: I have not obeyed them, and moreover it is settled in my mind that I will not obey them — no, not even if thou lay upon me punishments still worse than those which the emperors have commanded.

The governor said: By the gods I swear, that, if thou do not sacrifice, I will leave no harsh and bitter sufferings untried with which I will not torture

thee: and we shall see whether Christ, whom thou worshippest, will deliver thee.

Habib said: All those who worship Christ are delivered through Christ, because they worship not creatures along with the Creator of creatures.

The governor said: Let him be stretched out and be scourged with whips, until there remain not a place in his body on which he has not been scourged.

Habib said: As for these inflictions, which thou supposest to be so bitter with their lacerations, out of them are plaited crowns of victory for those who endure them.

The governor said: How call ye afflictions ease, and account the torments of your bodies a crown of victory?

Habib said: It is not for thee to ask me concerning these things, because thine unbelief is not worthy to hear the reasons of them. That I will not sacrifice I have said already, and I say so still.

The governor said: Thou art subjected to these punishments because thou deservest them: I will put out thine eyes, which look upon this Zeus and are not afraid of him; and I will stop thine ears, which hear the laws of the emperors and tremble not. Habib said: To the God whom thou deniest here belongs that other world; and there wilt thou be made to confess Him with scourgings, though thou hast again denied Him.

The governor said: Leave alone that world of which thou hast spoken, and consider anxiously now, that from this punishment to which lo! thou art being subjected there is no one that can deliver thee; unless indeed the gods deliver thee, on thy sacrificing to them.

Habib said: Those who die for the sake of the name of Christ, and worship not those objects that are made and created, will find their life in the presence of God; but those who love the life of time more than that — their torment will be for ever.

And the governor commanded, and they hanged him up and tore him with combs; and, while they were tearing him with the combs, they knocked

him about. And he was hanging a long while, until the shoulderblades of his arms creaked.

The governor said to him: Wilt thou comply even now, and put on incense before Zeus there?

Habib said: Previously to these sufferings I did not comply with thy demands: and now that lo! I have undergone them, how thinkest thou that I shall comply, and thereby lose that which I have gained by them?

The governor said: By punishments fiercer and bitterer than these I am prepared to make thee obey, according to the command of the emperors, until thou do their will.

Habib said: Thou art punishing me for not obeying the command of the emperors, when lo! thou thyself also, whom the emperors have raised to greatness and made a judge, hast transgressed their command, in that thou hast not done to’ me that which the emperors have commanded thee.

The governor said: Because I have had patience with thee, therefore hast thou spoken thus, like a man that brings an accusation.

Habib said: Hadst thou not scourged me, and bound me, and torn me with combs, and put my feet in fetters, there would have been room to think that thou hadst had patience with me. But, if these things take place in the meanwhile, where is the patience towards me of which thou hast spoken?

The governor said: These things which thou hast said will not help thee, because they all go against thee, and they will bring upon thee inflictions bitterer even than those which the emperors have commanded.

Habib said: Had I not been sensible that they would help me, I should not have spoken a single word about them before thee.

The governor said: I will silence thy speeches, and at the same time as regards thee pacify the gods, whom thou has not worshipped; and I will satisfy the emperors in respect to thee, as regards thy rebellion against their commands.

Habib said: I am not afraid of the death with which thou seekest to terrify me; for, had I been afraid of it, I should not have gone about from house to house and ministered: on which account I did so minister.

The governor said: How is it that thou worshippest and honorest a man, but refusest to worship and honor Zeus there?

Habib said: I worship not a man, because the Scriptures teaches me, “Cursed is every one that putteth his trust in man;” but God, who took upon Him a body and became a man, Him do I worship, and glorify.

The governor said: Do thou that which the emperors have commanded; and, as for that which is in thy own mind, if thou art willing to give it up, well; but, if thou art not willing, then do not abandon it.

Habib said: To do both these things is impossible: because falsehood is contrary to truth, and it is impossible that that should be banished from my thoughts which is firmly fixed in my mind.

The governor said: By inflictions bitter and severe will I make thee dismiss from thy thoughts that of which thou hast said, It is firmly fixed in my mind.

Habib said: As for these inflictions by which thou thinkest that it will be rooted out of my thoughts, by means of these it is that it grows within my thoughts, like a tree which bears fruit.

The governor said: What help will stripes and combs give to that tree of thine? and more especially at the time when I shall command fire against it, to burn it up without pity.

Habib said: It is not on those things at which thou lookest that I look, because I contemplate the things which are out of sight; and therefore I do the will of God, the Maker of all things,, and not that of an idol made with hands, which is not sensible of anything whatever.

The governor said: Because he thus denies the gods whom the emperors worship, let him be torn with Combs in addition to his former tearings: for, amidst the many questions which I have had the patience to ask him, he has forgotten his former tearings. And, while they were tearing him, he cried aloud and said: “The sufferings of this time are not equal to that glory which shall be revealed in “ those who love Christ.

And, when the governor saw that even under these inflictions he refused to sacrifice, he said to him: Does your doctrine so teach you, that you should hate your own bodies?

Habib said: Nay, we do not hate our bodies: the Scripture distinctly teaches us, “Whosoever shall lose his life shall find it.” But another thing too it teaches us: that we should “not cast that which is holy to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine.”

The governor said: I know that in speaking thus thy sole object is that my rage and the wrath of my mind may be excited, and that I may pronounce sentence of death against thee speedily. I am not going, then, to be hurried on to that which thou desirest; but I will have patience: not; indeed, for thy relief, but so that the tortures inflicted on thee may be increased, and that thou mayest see thy flesh failing off before thy face by means of the combs that are passing over thy sides.

Habib said: I myself also am looking for this, that thou shouldst multiply thy tortures upon me, even as thou hast said.

The governor said: Submit to the emperors, who have power to do whatsoever they choose.

Habib said: It is not of men to do whatsoever they choose, but of God, whose power is in the heavens, and over all the dwellers upon earth; “nor is there any that may rebuke His hands and say to Him, “What doest Thou?”

The governor said: For this insolence of thine, death by the sword is too small. I, however, am prepared to command the infliction upon thee of a death more bitter than that of the sword.

Habib said: And I, too, am looking for a death which is more lingering than that of the sword, which thou mayest pronounce upon me at any time thou choosest.

And thereupon the governor proceeded to pass sentence of death upon him. And he called out aloud before his attendants, and said, whilst they were listening to him, as were also the nobles of the city: This Habib, who has denied the gods, as ye have also heard from him, and furthermore has reviled the emperors, deserves that his life should be blotted out from

beneath this glorious Sun, and that he should not any longer behold this luminary, associate of gods; and, had it not been commanded by former emperors that the corpses of murderers should be buried, it would not be right that the corpse of this fellow either should be buried, because he has been so insolent. I command, that a strap be put into his mouth, as into the mouth of a murderer, and that he be burned by a slow lingering fire, so that the torment of his death may be increased.

And he went out from the presence of the governor, with the strap thrust into his mouth; and a multitude of the people of the city ran after him. And the Christians were rejoicing, forasmuch as he had not turned aside nor quitted his post; but the pagans were threatening him, for refusing to sacrifice. And they led him forth by the western archway, over against the cemetery, which was built by Abshelama, the son of Abgar. And his mother was clad in white, and she went out with him.

And, when he was arrived at the place where they were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, as did all those who came out with him; and he said: “O King Christ, since Thine is this world, and Thine the world to come, behold and see, that, while I might have fled from these afflictions, I did not flee, in order that I might not fall into the hands of Thy justice: may this fire, in which I am to be burned, serve me for a recompense before Thee, so that I may be delivered from that fire which is not quenched; and receive Thou my spirit into Thy presence, through Thy Divine Spirit, O glorious Son of the adorable Father!” And, when he had prayed, he turned and blessed them; and they weeping gave him the salutation, both men and women; and they said to him: Pray for us in the presence of thy Lord, that He would cause peace among His people, and restoration to His churches which are overthrown.

And, while Habib was standing, they dug a place, and brought him and set him within it; and they fixed up by him a stake. And they came to bind him to the stake; but he said to them: I will not stir from this place in which ye are going to burn me. And they brought fagots, and set them in order, and placed them on all sides of him. And, when the fire blazed up and the flame of it rose fiercely, they called out to him: Open thy mouth. And the moment he opened his mouth his soul mounted up. And they cried aloud, both men and women, with the voice of weeping.

And they pulled and drew him out of the fire, throwing over him fine linen cloths and choice ointments and spices. And they snatched away some of the pieces of wood which had been put for his burning, and the brethren and some persons of the laity bore him away. And they prepared him for interment, and buried him by Guria and Shamuna the martyrs, in the same grave in which they were laid, on the hill which is called Baith Allah Cucla, repeating over him psalms and hymns, and conveying his burnt body affectionately and honorably to the grave. And even some of the Jews and pagans took part with the Christian brethren in winding up and burying his body. At the time, too, when he was burned, and also at the time when he was buried, there was one spectacle of grief overspreading those within and those without; tears, too, were running down from all eyes: while every one gave glory to God, because for His name's sake he had given his body to the burning of fire.

The day on which he was burned was the eve of the Sabbath, the second of the month Ilul — the day on which the news came that Constantine the Great had set out from the interior of Spain, to proceed to Rome, the city of Italy, that he might carry on war with Licinius, that emperor who at this day rules over the eastern portion of the territories of the Romans; and lo! the countries on all sides are in commotion, because no man knows which of them will conquer and continue in his imperial power. And through this report the persecution slackened for a little while from the Church.

And the notaries wrote down everything which they had heard from the judge; and the Sharirs of the city wrote down all the other things which were spoken outside the door of the judgment-hall, and, according to the custom that existed, they reported to the judge all that they had seen and all that they had heard, and the decisions of the judge were written down in their Acts.

I, Theophilus, who have renounced the evil inheritance of my fathers, and confessed Christ, carefully wrote out a copy of these Acts of Habib, even as I had formerly written out those of Guria and Shamuna, his fellow-martyrs. And, whereas he had felicitated them upon their death by the sword, he himself also was made like them by the fire in which he was burnt, and received his crown. And, whereas I have written down the year,

and the month, and the day, of the coronation of these martyrs, it is not for the sake of those who, like me, were spectators of the deed, but with the view that those who come after us may learn at what time these martyrs suffered, and what manner of men they were; as they may lean also from the Acts of the former martyrs, who suffered in the days of Domitianus and of all the other emperors who likewise also raised a persecution against the Church, and put a great many to death, by stripes and by tearing with combs, and by bitter inflictions, and by sharp swords, and by burning fire, and by the terrible sea, and by the merciless mines. And all these things, and things like them, they suffered for the hope of the recompense to come.

Moreover, the afflictions of these martyrs, and of those of whom I had heard, opened the eyes of me, Theophilus, and enlightened my mind, and I confessed Christ, that He is the Son of God, and is God. And may the dust of the feet of these martyrs, which I received as I was running after them at the time when they were departing to be crowned, procure me pardon for having denied Him, and may He confess me before His worshippers, seeing that I have confessed Him now!

And at the twenty-seventh question which the judge put to Habib, he gave sentence against him of death by the burning of fire.

HERE ENDETH THE MARTYRDOM OF HABIB THE DEACON

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

MARTYRDOM OF THE HOLY CONFESSORS SHAMUNA, GURIA, AND HABIB, FROM SIMEON METAPHRASTES

IN the six hundredth year from the empire of Alexander the Macedonian, when Diocletian had been nine years sovereign of the Romans, and Maximian was consul for the sixth time, and Augur son of Zoaras was praetor, and Cognatus was bishop of the Edessenes, a great persecution was raised against the churches in all the countries which were under the sway of the Romans. The name of Christian was looked upon as execrable, and was assailed and harassed with abuse; while the priests and the

monks, on account of their staunch and unconquerable steadfastness, were-subjected to shocking punishments, and the pious were at their wits' end with sadness and fear. For, desiring as they did to proclaim the truth because of their yearning affection for Christ, they yet shrunk back from doing so for fear of punishment. For those who took up arms against true religion were bent on making the Christians renounce Christianity and embrace the cause of Saturn and Rhea, whilst the faithful on their part labored to prove that the objects of heathen worship had no real existence.

At this period it was that an accusation was preferred before the judge against Guria and Shamuna. The former was a native of Sarcigitua, and the latter of the village of Ganas; they were, however, both brought up at Edessa — which they call Mesopotamia, because it is situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris: a city previously to this but little known to fame, but which after the struggles of its martyrs obtained universal notoriety. These holy men would not by any means spend their lives in the city, but removing to a distance from it, as those who wished to be remote from its turmoils, they made it their aim to be manifest to God only. Guria's purity and lovingness were to him a precious and honorable possession, and from his cultivation of the former the surname of the pure was given him: so that from his name you would not have known who he was, but only when you called him by his surname. Shamuna devoted his body and his youthful and active mind to the service of God, and rivaled Guria in excellence of character. Against these men an indictment was laid before the judge, to the effect that they not only pervaded all the country round about Edessa with their teaching and encouraged the people to hold fast their faith, but also led them to look with contempt on their persecutors, and, in order to induce them to set wholly at nought their impiety, taught them agreeably to that which is written: "Trust not in princes — in the sons of men, in whom is no safety." By these representations the judge was wrought up to a high pitch of madness, and gave orders that all those who held the Christian religion in honor and followed the teaching of Shamuna and Guria, together with those who persuaded them to this, should be apprehended, and shut up in safe keeping. The order was carried into effect; and, seizing the opportunity, he had some of them flogged, and others tortured in various ways, and induced them to obey the emperor's command, and then, as if he were

behaving kindly and mercifully, he allowed others to go to their homes; but our two saints, as being the ringleaders and those who bad communicated their piety to others, he ordered to be still further maltreated in prison. They, however, rejoiced in the fellowship of martyrdom. For they heard of many in other provinces who had to pass through the same conflict as themselves: among them Epiphanius and Petrus and the most holy Pamphilus, with many others, at Caesarea in Palestine; Timotheus at Gaza; at Alexandria, Timotheus the Great; Agapetus at Thessalonica; Hesychius at Nicomedia; Philippus at Adrianopolis; at Melitina Petrus; Hermes and his companions in the confines of Martyropolis: all of whom were also encircled with the crown of martyrdom by Duke Heraclianus, along with other confessors too numerous for us to become acquainted with. But we must return to the matters of which we were before speaking.

Antonius, then, the governor of Edessa, having permitted others to return to their homes, had a lofty judgment-seat erected, and ordered the martyrs to be brought before him. The attendants having done as they were bidden, the governor said to the saints: Our most divine emperor commands you to renounce Christianity, of which you are followers, and to pay divine honor to Jupiter by offering incense on the altar. To this Shamuna replied: Far be it from us to abandon the true faith, whereby we hope to obtain immortality, and worship the work of men’s hands and an image! The governor said: The emperor’s orders must by all means be obeyed. Guria answered: Our pure and divine faith will we never disown, by following the will of men, who are subject to dissolution. For we have a Father in heaven whose will we follow, and He says: “He that shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father who is in heaven; but he that shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father and His angels.” The judge said: You refuse, then, to obey the will of the emperor? But can you for a moment think, that the purposes of ordinary men and such as have no more power than yourselves are to be really carried into execution, while the commands of those who possess supreme power fall to the ground? They, said the saints, who do the will of the King of kings spurn and reject the will of the flesh. Then, on the governor’s threatening them with death unless they obeyed, Shamuna said: We shall not die, O tyrant, if we follow the will of the Creator: nay rather,

on the contrary, we shall live; but, if we follow the commands of your emperor, know thou that, even thought thou shouldest not put us to death, we shall perish miserably all the same.

On hearing this, the governor gave orders to Anovitus the jailer to put them in very safe keeping. For the mind which is naturally inclined to evil cannot bear the truth, any more than diseased eyes the bright beams of the sun. And, when he had done as he was commanded, and the martyrs were in prison, where many other saints also had been previously shut by the soldiers, the Emperor Diocletian sent for Musonius the governor of Antioch and ordered him to go to Edessa and see the Christians who were confined there, whether they were of the common or of the sacred class, and question them about their religion, and deal with them as he should see fit. So he came to Edessa; and he had Shamuna and Guria first of all placed before the tribunal of judgment, and said to them: This, and no less, is the command of the Lord of the world, that you make a libation of wine and place incense on the altar of Jupiter. If you refuse to do so, I will destroy you with manifold punishments: for I will tear your bodies to pieces with whips, till I get to your very entrails; and I will not cease pouring boiling lead into your armpits until it reaches even to your bowels; after that, I will hang you up, now by your hands, now by your feet, and I will loosen the fastenings of your joints; and I will invent new and unheard of punishments which you will be utterly unable to endure.

Shamuna answered: We dread “the worm,” the threat of which is denounced against those who deny the Lord, and “the fire which is not quenched,” more than those tortures which thou hast set before us. For God Himself, to whom we offer rational worship, will, first of all, strengthen us to bear these manifold tortures, and will deliver us out of thy hands; and, after that, will also give us to rest in a place of safety, where is the abode of all those who rejoice. Besides, it is against nothing whatever but the body that thou takest up arms: for what possible harm couldst thou do to the soul? since, as long as it resides in the body, it proves superior to torture; and, when it takes its departure, the body has no feeling whatever left. For, “the more our outward man is destroyed, the more is our inward man renewed day by day; for by means of patience we go through with this contest which is set before us. The governor, however, again, with a kind of protestation, in order that, in case they did

not obey, he might with the more justice punish them, said: Give up your error, I beg you, and yield to the command of the emperor: ye will not be able to endure the tortures. The holy Guria answered: We are neither the slaves of error, as thou sayest, nor will we ever obey the command of the emperor: God forbid that we should be so weak-minded and so senseless! For we are His disciples who laid down His life for us, so manifesting the riches of His goodness and His love towards us. We will, therefore, resist sin even to death, nor, come what may, will we be foiled by the stratagems of the adversary, by which the first man was ensnared and plucked death from the tree through his disobedience; and Cain was persuaded, and, after staining his hands with his brother's blood, found the rewards of sin to be wailing and fear. But we, listening to the words of Christ, will "not be afraid of those that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul:" Him rather will we fear "who is able to destroy our soul and body." The tyrant said: It is not to give you an opportunity of disproving my allegations by snatches of your own writings that I refrain from anger and show myself forbearing; but that you may perform the command of the emperor and return in peace to your homes.

These words did not at all shake the resolution of the martyrs; but, approaching nearer: What, said they, does it matter to us, if thou art angry, and nursest thine anger, and rainest tortures upon us like snow-flakes? For then wouldst thou be favoring us all the more, by rendering the proof of our fortitude more conspicuous, and winning for us a greater recompense. For this is the crowning point of our hope, that we shall leave behind our present dwelling, which is but for a time, and depart to one that will last forever. For we have "a tabernacle not made with hands" in heaven, which the Scripture is accustomed also to call "Abraham's bosom," because of the familiar intercourse with God with which he was blessed. The governor, seeing that their firmness underwent no change, forthwith left off speaking and proceeded with the threatened punishments, giving orders to the jailer Anuinus that they should be severally hung up by one hand, and that, when their hands were dislocated by having to bear the entire weight of the body, he should further suspend a heavy stone to their feet, that the sense of pain might be the sharper. This was done, and from the third hour to the eighth they bore this severe torture with fortitude, uttering not a word, nor a groan, nor giving any other indication of a weak

or abject mind. You would have said that they were suffering in a body which was not theirs, or that others were suffering and they themselves were nothing more than spectators of what was going on.

In the meantime, whilst they were hanging by their hands, the governor was engaged in trying other cases. Having done with these, he ordered the jailer to inquire of the saints whether or not they would obey the emperor and be released from their torture; and on his putting the question to them, when it was found that they either could not or would not return an answer, he ordered that they should be confined in the inner part of the prison, in a dark dungeon, dark both in name and in reality, and that their feet should be made fast in the stocks. At dawn of day, their feet were loosened from the confinement of the stocks; but their prison was close shut up, so that not a single ray even of sunlight could make its way in; and the jailers were ordered not to give them a bit of bread or a single drop of water for three whole days. So that, in addition to all the rest, the martyrs were condemned to a dark prison and a long privation of food. When the third day arrived, about the beginning of the month of August, the prison was opened to admit light, but they were detained in it stir up to the 10th of November. Then the judge had them brought up before his tribunal: Has not all this time, said he, sufficed to induce you to change your minds and come to some wholesome decision? They answered: We have already several times told thee our mind: do, therefore, what thou hast been commanded. The governor forthwith ordered that Shamuna should be made to kneel down on one side and that an iron chain should be fastened on his knee. This having been done, he hung him up head downwards by the foot with which he had made him kneel; the other he pulled downwards with a heavy piece of iron, which cannot be described in words: thus endeavoring to rend the champion in twain. By this means the socket of the hip-bone was wrenched out of its place and Shamuna became lame. Guria, however, because he was weak and somewhat pale, he left unpunished: not that he regarded him with friendly eyes — not that he had any compassion on his weakness; but rather by way of sparing for another opportunity one whom he was anxious to punish: lest perchance, as he said, through inadvertence on my part he should be worn out before he has undergone the torments in reserve for him.

By this time two hours of the day had passed since Shamuna had been hung up; and the fifth hour had now arrived, and he was still suspended on high — when the soldiers who stood around, taking pity upon him, urged him to obey the emperor's command. But the compassion of sinners had no effect upon the saint. For, although he suffered bitterly from the torture, he vouchsafed them no answer whatever, leaving them to lament at their leisure, and to deem themselves rather, and not him, deserving of pity. But, lifting his eyes to heaven, he prayed to God from the depth of his heart, reminding Him of the wonders done in old time: Lord God, he said, without whom not even a poor little sparrow falls into the snare; who didst cheer the heart of David amid his afflictions; who gavest power to Daniel even against the lions; who madest the children of Abraham victorious over the tyrant and the flame: do Thou now also, O Lord, look on the war which is being waged against us, acquainted as Thou art with the weakness of our nature. For the enemy is trying to turn away the workmanship of Thy right hand from the glory which is with Thee. But regard Thou us with looks of compassion, and maintain within us, against all attempts to extinguish it, the lamp of Thy commandments; and by Thy light guide our paths, and vouchsafe us the enjoyment of that happiness which is in Thee: for Thou art blessed for ever, world without end. Thus did he utter the praise of the Umpire of the strife; and a scribe who was present took down in writing what was said.

At length the governor ordered the jailer to release him from his punishment. He did so, and carried him away all faint and exhausted with the pain he suffered, and they bore him back to his former prison and laid him down by the side of the holy Guria. On the 15th of November, however, in the night, about the time of cockcrowing, the judge got up. He was preceded by torches and attendants; and, on arriving at the Basilica, as it is called, where the court was held, he took his seat with great ceremony on the tribunal, and sent to fetch the champions Guria and Shamuna. The latter came in walking between two of the jailers and supported by the hands of both: for he was worn out with hunger and weighed down with age: nothing but his good hope sustained him. Guria, too, had also to be carried in: for he could not walk at all, because his foot had been severely galled by the chain on it. Addressing them both, the advocate of impiety said: In pursuance of the permission which was granted, you have,

doubtless, consulted together about what it is expedient for you to do. Tell me, then, whether any fresh resolution has been come to by you, and whether you have in any respect changed your mind in regard to your former purpose; and obey the command of the most divine emperor. For thus will you be restored to the enjoyment of your property and possessions, yea of this most cheering light also. To this the martyrs reply: No one who is wise would make any great account of continuing for a little while in the enjoyment of things which are but transient. Sufficient for us is the time already past for the use and the sight of them; nor do we feel the want of any of them. That death, on the contrary, with which thou art threatening us will convey us to imperishable habitations and give us a participation in the happiness which is yonder.

The governor replied: What you have said has filled my ears with great sadness. However, I will explain to you what is determined on: if you place incense on the altar and sacrifice to the image of Jupiter, all will be well, and each of you will go away to his home; but, if you still persist in disobeying the command of the emperor, you will most certainly lose your heads: for this is what the great emperor wills and determines. To this the most noble-minded Shamuna replied: If, thou shalt confer upon us so great a favor as to grant us deliverance from the miseries of this life and dismissal to the happiness of the life yonder, so far as in us lies thou shalt be rewarded by Him who lays out our possessions on what is for our good. The governor replied to this somewhat kindly, as it seemed, saying: I have patiently endured hitherto, putting up with those long speeches of yours, in order that by delay you may change your purpose and betake yourselves to what is for your good, and not have to undergo the punishment of death. Those who submit, said he, to death which is only for a time, for the sake of Christ, will manifestly be delivered from eternal death. For those who die to the world live in Christ. For Peter also, who shines so brightly among the band of apostles, was condemned to the cross and to death; and James, the son of thunder was slain by Herod Agrippa with the sword. Moreover, Stephen also was stoned, who was the first to run the course of martyrdom. What, too, wilt thou say of John the Baptist? Thou wilt surely acknowledge his distinguished fortitude and boldness of speech, when he preferred death rather than keep silence about

conjugal infidelity, and the adulteress received his head as a reward for her dancing?

Again the governor said: It is not that you may reckon up your saints, as you call them, that I bear so patiently with you, but that, by changing your resolution and yielding to the emperor's commands, you may be rescued from a very bitter death. For, if you behave with such excessive daring and arrogance, what can you expect but that severer punishments are in store for you, under the pressure of which you will be ready even against your will to do what I demand of you: by which time, however, it will be altogether too late to take refuge in compassion? For the cry which is wrung from you by force has no power to challenge pity; whilst, on the other hand, that which is made of your own accord is deserving of compassion. The confessors and martyrs of Christ said: There needs not many words., For lo! we are ready to undergo all the punishments thou mayest lay upon us. What, therefore, has been commanded thee, delay not to perform. For we are the worshippers of Christ the true God, and (again we say it) of Him of whose kingdom there shall be no end; who also is alone able to glorify those in return who glorify His name. In the meantime, whilst these things were being said by the saints, the governor pronounced sentence against them that they should suffer death by the sword. But they, filled with a joy, beyond the power of words to express, exclaimed: To Thee of right belongeth glory and praise, who art God of all, because it hath pleased Thee that we should carry on to its dose the conflict we have entered upon, and that we should also receive at Thy hands the brightness that shall never fade away.

When, therefore, the governor saw their unyielding firmness, and how they had heard the final sentence with exultation of soul, he said to the saints: May God search into what is being done, and be witness that so far as I was concerned it was no wish of mine that you should lose your lives; but the inflexible command of the emperor to me compels me to this. He then ordered a halberdier to take charge of the martyrs, and, putting them in a carriage, to convey them to a distance from the city with some soldiers, and there to end them with the sword. So he, taking the saints out at night by the Roman gate, when the citizens were buried in profound slumber, conveyed them to Mount Bethelabicla on the north of the city. On their arrival at that place, having alighted from the carriage with joy of heart and

great firmness of mind, they requested the halberdier and those who were under his orders to give them time to pray; and it was granted. For, just as if their tortures and their blood were not enough to plead for them, they still by reason of their humility deemed it necessary to pray. So they raised their eyes to heaven and prayed earnestly, concluding with the words: God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, receive in peace our spirits to Thyself. Then Shamuna, turning to the halberdier, said: Perform that which thou hast been commanded. So he kneeled down along with Guria, and they were beheaded, on the 15th of November. This is the account of what happened to the martyrs.

But forasmuch as the number sought for a third in order that in them the Trinity might be glorified, it found, oh admirable providence! Habib — at a subsequent time indeed: but he also, along with those who had preceded him, had determined to enter on the journey, and on the very day of their martyrdom reached his consummation. Habib, then, great among martyrs, was a native of the same place as they, namely of the village of Thelsaea; and he had the honor of being invested with the sacred office of the diaconate. But, when Licinius swayed the sceptre of the Roman empire and Lysanias had appointed governor of Edessa, a persecution was again raised against the Christians, and the general danger threatened Habib. For he would go about the city, teaching the divine Scriptures to all he met with, and courageously seeking to strengthen them in piety. When this came to the ears of Lysanias, he gave information of it to the Emperor Licinius. For he was anxious to be himself entrusted with the business of bringing the Christians to trial, and especially Habib: for he had never been entrusted with it before. The emperor, then, sent him a letter and commanded him to put Habib to death. So, when Lysanias had received the letter, search was made everywhere for Habib, who on account of his office in the Church lived in some part of the city, his mother and some of his relations residing with him. When he got intelligence of the matter, fearing lest he should incur punishment for quitting the ranks of martyrdom, he went of his own accord and presented himself to a man who was among the chief of the body-guard, named Theotecnus, and presently he said: I am Habib for whom ye are seeking. But he, looking kindly at him, said: No one, my good man, is as yet aware of thy coming to me: so go away, and look to thy safety; and he not concerned about thy

mother, nor about thy relations: for they cannot possibly get into any trouble. Thus far Theotecnus.

But Habib, because the occasion was one that called for martyrdom, refused to yield to a weak and cowardly spirit and secure his safety in any underhand way. He replied, therefore: It is not for the sake of my dear mother, nor for the sake of my kinsfolk, that I denounce myself; but I have come for the sake of the confession of Christ. For Io! whether thou consent or no, I will make my appearance before the governor, and I will proclaim my Master Christ before princes and kings. Theotecnus, accordingly, apprehensive that he might go of his own accord to the governor, and that in this way he might himself be in jeopardy for not having denounced him, took Habib and conducted him to the governor: Here, said he, is Habib, for whom search has been made. When Lysanias learned that Habib had come of his own accord to the contest, he concluded that this was a mark of contempt and overweening boldness, as if he set light by the solemn dignity of the judicial seat; and he had him at once put on his trial. He inquired of him his condition of life, his name, and his country. On his answering that he was a native of the village of Thelsaea, and intimating that he was a minister of Christ, the governor immediately charged the martyr with not obeying the emperor's commands. He insisted that a plain proof of this was his refusal to offer incense to Jupiter. To this Habib kept replying that he was a Christian, and could not forsake the true God, or sacrifice to the lifeless works of men's hands which had no sensation. The governor hereupon ordered, that his arms should be bound with ropes, and that he should be raised up high on a beam and torn with iron claws. The hanging up was far more difficult to bear than the tearing: for he was in danger of being pulled asunder, through the forcible strain with which his arms were stretched out.

In the meantime, as he was hanging up in the air, the governor had recourse to smooth words, and assumed the guise of patience. He, however, continued to threaten him with severer punishments unless he should change his resolution. But he said: No man shall induce me to forsake the faith, nor persuade me to worship demons, even though he should inflict tortures more and greater. On the governor's asking him what advantage he expected to gain from tortures which destroyed his whole body, Habib, Christ's martyr, replied: The objects, of our regard do not last merely for

the present, nor do we pursue the things that are seen; and, if thou too art minded to turn thy look towards our hope and promised recompense, possibly thou wilt even say with Paul: “The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is to be revealed in us.” The governor pronounced his words to be the language of imbecility; and, when he saw that, notwithstanding all the efforts he made, by turns using smooth words and assuming the part of patience, and then again threatening him and menacing him with a shocking death, he could not in either way prevail with him, he said, as he pronounced sentence upon him: I will not inflict on thee a sudden and speedy death; I will bring on thy dissolution gradually by means of a slow fire, and in this way make thee lay aside thy fierce and intractable spirit. Thereupon, some wood was collected together at a place outside the city on the northward, and he was led to the pile, followed by his mother, and also by those who were otherwise by blood related to him. He then prayed, and pronounced a blessing on all, and gave them the kiss in the Lord; and after that the wood was kindled by them, and he was cast into the fire; and, when he had opened his mouth to receive the flame, he yielded up his spirit to Him who had given it. Then, when the fire had subsided, his relatives wrapped him in a costly piece of linen and anointed him with unguents; and, having suitably sung psalms and hymns, they laid him by the side of Shamuna and Guria, to the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, who constitute a Divine Trinity, which cannot be divided: to whom is due honor and worship now and always, and for evermore, Amen. Such was the close of the life of the martyr Habib in the time of Licinius, and thus did he obtain the privilege of being laid with the saints, and thus did he bring to the pious rest from their persecutions. For shortly afterwards the power of Licinius waned, and the rule of Constantine prospered, and the sovereignty of the Romans became his; and he was the first of the emperors who openly professed piety, and allowed the Christians to live as Christians.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS.

MOSES OF CHORENE

HISTORY OF ARMENIA

1

REIGN OF ABGAR; ARMENIA BECOMES COMPLETELY TRIBUTARY TO THE ROMANS; WAR WITH HEROD'S TROOPS; HIS BROTHER'S SON, JOSEPH, IS KILLED

ABGAR, son of Archam, ascends the throne in the twentieth year of Archavir, king of the Persians. This Abgar was called Avak-air (great man), on account of his great gentleness and wisdom, and also on account of his size. Not being able to pronounce well, the Greeks and the Syrians called him Abgar. In the second year of his reign, all the districts of Armenia become tributary to the Romans. A command is given by the Emperor Augustus, as we are told in the Gospel of St. Luke, to number all the people in every part. Roman commissioners, sent for that purpose into Armenia, carried thither the statue of the Emperor Augustus, and set it up in all the temples. At this very time, our Savior Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into the world.

At the same period there was trouble between Abgar and Herod: for Herod wished that his statue should be erected near to that of Caesar in the temples of Armenia. Abgar withstood this claim. Moreover, Herod was but seeking a pretext to attack Abgar: he sent an army of Thracians and Germans to make an incursion into the country of the Persians, with orders to pass through the territories of Abgar. But Abgar, far from submitting to this, resisted, saying that the emperor's command was to march the troops into Persia through the desert. Herod, indignant, and unable to act by himself, overwhelmed with troubles, as a punishment for his wicked conduct towards Christ, as Josephus relates, sent his nephew to whom he had given his daughter, who had been married in the first

instance to Pheror, his brother. Herod's lieutenant, at the head of a considerable army, hastened to reach Mesopotamia, met Abgar at the camp in the province of Pouknan, fell in the combat, and his troops were put to flight. Soon afterwards, Herod died: Archelaus, his son, was appointed by Augustus ethnarch of Judaea.

2

FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF EDESSA; BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RACE OF OUR ILLUMINATOR

A little while afterwards, Augustus dies, and Tiberius becomes emperor of the Romans in his stead. Germanicus, having become Caesar, dragging in his train the princes of the kingdom of Archavir and of Abgar, celebrates a triumph in respect of the war waged with them, in which these princes had killed Herod's nephew. Abgar, indignant, forms plans of revolt and prepares himself for combat. He builds a town on the ground occupied by the Armenian army of observation, where previously the Euphrates had been defended against the attempts of Cassius: this new town is called Edessa. Abgar removed to it his court, which was at Medzpine, all his gods, Naboc, Bel, Patnicagh, and Tarata, the books of the schools attached to the temples, and even the royal archives.

After this, Archavir being dead, Ardaches, his son, reigns over the Persians. Though it is not in the order of the history with respect to time, nor even the order according to which we have begun these annals, yet, as we are treating of descendants of the king Archavir, even of the blood of Ardaches his son, we will, to do honor to these princes, place them, by anticipating the time, near to Ardaches, in order that the reader may know that they are of the same race, of the race of the brave Archag; then we will indicate the time of the arrival of their fathers in Armenia, the Garenians and the Sourenians, from whom St. Gregory and the Gamsarians are descended, when, following the order of events, we come to the reign of the king under whom they appeared.

Abgar did not succeed in his plans of revolt; for, troubles having arisen amongst his relatives in the Persian kingdom, he set out at the head of an army to allay and bring to an end the dissension.

3

ABGAR COMES INTO THE EAST, MAINTAINS ARDACHES UPON THE THRONE OF PERSIA; RECONCILES HIS BROTHERS FROM WHOM OUR ILLUMINATOR AND HIS RELATIONS ARE DESCENDED

Abgar, having gone to the East, finds on the throne of Persia Ardaches, son of Archavir, and the brothers of Ardaches contending against him: for this prince thought to reign over them in his posterity, and they would not consent to it. Ardaches therefore hems them in on all sides, hangs the sword of death over their heads; distractions and dissension were between their troops and their other relations and allies: for King Archavir had three sons and one daughter; the first of these sons was King Ardaches himself, the second Garene, the third Sourene; their sister, named Gochm, was wife of the general of all the Ariks, a general chosen by their father Archavir.

Abgar prevails on the sons of Archavir to make peace; he arranges between them the conditions and stipulations: Ardaches is to reign with his posterity as he proposed, and his brothers are to be called Bahlav, from the name of their town and their vast and fertile country, so that their satrapies shall be the first, higher in rank than all the satrapies of Persia, as being truly a race of king. Treaties and oaths stipulated that in case of the extinction of male children of Ardaches, his brothers should come to the throne; after the reigning race of Ardaches, his brothers are divided into three races named thus: the race of Garene Bahlav, the race of Sourene Bahlav, and the race of their sister, the race of Asbahabied Bahlav, a race thus called from the name of the domain of her husband.

St. Gregory is said to have sprung from the race Sourene Bahlav, and the Gamsarians from the race Garene Bahlav. We will relate in the sequel the circumstances of the coming of these personages, only mentioning their names here in connection with Ardaches, in order that you may know that

these great races are indeed the blood of Vagharchag, that is to say, the posterity of the great Archag, brother of Vagharchag.

Everything being thus arranged, Abgar takes with him the letter of the treaties, and returns to his dominions; not in perfect health, but a prey to severe suffering.

4.

ABGAR RETURNS FROM THE EAST; HE GIVES HELP TO ARETAS IN A WAR AGAINST HEROD THE TETRARCH

When Abgar had returned from the East, he learnt that the Romans suspected him of having gone there to raise troops. He therefore made the Roman commissioners acquainted with the reasons of his journey to Persia, as well as the treaty concluded between Ardaches and his brothers; but no credence was given to his statement: for he was accused by his enemies Pilate, Herod the tetrarch, Lysanias and Philip. Abgar having returned to his city Edessa leagued himself with Aretas, king of Petra, and gave him some auxiliary troops under the command of Khosran Ardzrouni, to make war upon Herod. Herod had in the first instance married the daughter of Aretas, then had repudiated her, and thereupon taken Herodias, even in her husband’s lifetime, a circumstance in connection with which he had had John the Baptist put to death. Consequently there was war between Herod and Aretas on account of the wrong done the daughter of Aretas, Being sharply attacked, Herod’s troops were defeated, thanks to the help of the brave Armenians; as if, by divine providence, vengeance was taken for the death of John the Baptist.

5

ABGAR SENDS PRINCES TO MARINUS; THESE DEPUTIES SEE OUR SAVIOR CHRIST; BEGINNING OF THE CONVERSION OF ABGAR

At this period Marinus, son of Storoge, was raised by the emperor to the government of Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Abgar sent to him two of his principal officers, Mar-Ihap prince of Aghtznik, and Chamchacram chief of the house of the Abahouni, as well as Anan his confidant. The envoys proceed to the town of Petkoupine to make known to Marinus the reasons of Abgar's journey to the East, showing him the treaty concluded between Ardaches and his brothers, and at the same time to call upon Marinus for his support. The deputies found the Roman governor at Eleutheropolis; he received them with friendship and distinction, and gave this answer to Abgar: "Fear nothing from the emperor on that account, provided you take good care to pay the tribute regularly."

On their return, the Armenian deputies went to Jerusalem to see our Savior the Christ, being attracted by the report of His miracles. Having themselves become eye-witnesses of these wonders, they related them to Abgar. This prince, seized with admiration, believed truly that Jesus was indeed the Son of God, and said: "These wonders are not those of a man, but of a God. No, there is no one amongst men who can raise the dead: God alone has this power." Abgar felt in his whole body certain acute pains which he had got in Persia, more than seven years before; from men he had received no remedy for his sufferings; Abgar sent a letter of entreaty to Jesus: he prayed Him to come and cure him of his pains. Here is this letter: —

6

ABGAR'S LETTER TO THE SAVIOR JESUS CHRIST

"Abgar, son of Archam, prince of the land, to Jesus, Savior and Benefactor of men, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting: —

"I have heard of Thee, and of the cures wrought by Thy hands, without remedies, without herbs: for, as it is said, Thou makest the blind to see, the lame to walk, the lepers to be healed; Thou drivest out unclean spirits, Thou curest unhappy beings afflicted with prolonged and inveterate diseases; Thou dost even raise the dead. As I have heard of all these wonders wrought by Thee, I have concluded from them either that Thou art God, come down from heaven to do such great things, or that Thou art the Son of God, working as Thou dost these miracles. Therefore have I written to Thee, praying Thee to condescend to come to me and cure me of the complaints with which I am afflicted. I have heard also that the Jews murmur against Thee and wish to deliver Thee up to torments: I have a city small but pleasant, it would be sufficient for us both."

The messengers, the bearers of this letter, met Jesus at Jerusalem, a fact confirmed by these words of the Gospel: "Some from amongst the heathen came to find Jesus, but those who heard them, not daring to tell Jesus what they had heard, told it to Philip and Andrew, who repeated it all to their Master."

The Savior did not then accept the invitation given to Him, but He thought fit to honor Abgar with an answer in these words: —

7

ANSWER TO ABGAR'S LETTER, WHICH THE APOSTLE THOMAS WROTE TO THIS PRINCE BY COMMAND OF THE SAVIOR

"Blessed is he who believes in me without having seen me! For it is written of me: 'Those who see me will not believe in me, and those who do not see me will believe and live.'

As to what thou hast written asking me to come to thee, I must accomplish here all that for which I have been sent; and, when I shall have accomplished it all, I shall ascend to Him who sent me; and when I shall go away I will send one of my disciples, who will cure thy diseases, and give life to thee and to all those who are with thee." Anan, Abgar's courier, brought him this letter, as well as the portrait of the Savior, a picture which is still to be found at this day in the city of Edessa.

8

PREACHING OF THE APOSTLE THADDAEUS AT EDESSA; COPY OF FIVE LETTERS

After the ascension of our Savior, the Apostle Thomas, one of the twelve, sent one of the seventy-six disciples, Thaddaeus, to the city of Edessa to heal Abgar and to preach the Gospel, according to the word of the Lord. Thaddaeus came to the house of Tobias, a Jewish prince, who is said to have been of the race of the Pacradouni. Tobias, having left Archam, did not abjure Judaism with the rest of his relatives, but followed its laws up to the moment when he believed in Christ. Soon the name of Thaddaeus spreads through the whole town. Abgar, on learning of his arrival, said: "This is indeed he concerning whom Jesus wrote to me;" and immediately Abgar sent for the apostle. When Thaddaeus entered, a marvelous appearance presented itself to the eyes of Abgar in the countenance of the apostle; the king having risen from his throne, fell on his face to the earth, and prostrated himself before Thaddaeus. This spectacle greatly surprised

all the princes who were present, for they were ignorant of the fact of the vision. “Art thou really,” said Abgar to Thaddaeus, “art thou the disciple of the ever-blessed Jesus? Art thou he whom He promised to send to me, and canst thou heal my maladies?” “Yes,” answered Thaddaeus; “if thou believest in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the desires of thy heart shall be granted.” “I have believed in Jesus,” said Abgar, “I have believed in His Father; therefore I wished to go at the head of my troops to destroy the Jews who have crucified Jesus, had I not been prevented by reason of the power of the Romans.”

Thenceforth Thaddaeus began to preach the Gospel to the king and his town; laying his hands upon Abgar, he cured him; he cured also a man with gout, Abdu, a prince of the town, much honored in all the king’s house. He also heated all the sick and infirm people in the town, and all believed in Jesus Christ. Abgar was baptized, and all the town with him, and the temples of the false gods were closed, and all the statues of idols that were placed on the altars and columns were hidden by being covered with reeds. Abgar did not compel any one to embrace the faith yet from day to day the number of the believers was multiplied.

The Apostle Thaddaeus baptizes a manufacturer of silk head-dresses, called Attaeus, consecrates him, appoints him to minister at Edessa, and leaves him with the king instead of himself. Thaddaeus, after having received letters patent from Abgar, who wished that all should listen to the Gospel of Christ, went to find Sanadroug, son of Abgar’s sister, whom this prince had appointed over the country and over the army. Abgar was pleased to write to the Emperor Tiberius a letter in these words: —

ABGAR’S LETTER TO TIBERIUS

“Abgar, king of Armenia, to my Lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greeting:

“I know that nothing is unknown to your Majesty, but, as your friend, I would make you better acquainted with the facts by writing. The Jews who dwell in the cantons of Palestine have crucified Jesus: Jesus without sin, Jesus after so many acts of kindness, so many wonders and miracles wrought for their good, even to the raising of the dead. Be assured that these are not the effects of the power of a simple mortal, but of God. During the time that they were crucifying Him, the sun was darkened, the

earth was moved, shaken; Jesus Himself, three days afterwards, rose from the dead and appeared to many. Now, everywhere, His name alone, invoked by His disciples, produces the greatest miracles: what has happened to myself is the most evident proof of it. Your august Majesty knows henceforth what ought to be done in future with respect to the Jewish nation, which has committed this crime; your Majesty knows whether a command should not be published through the whole universe to worship Christ as the true God. Safety and health."

ANSWER FROM TIBERIUS TO ABGAR'S LETTER

"Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, to Abgar, king of the Armenians, greeting: —

"Your kind letter has been read to me, and I wish that thanks should be given to you from me. Though we had already heard several persons relate these facts, Pilate has officially informed us of the miracles of Jesus. He has certified to us that after His resurrection from the dead He was acknowledged by many to be God. Therefore I myself also wished to do what you propose; but, as it is the custom of the Romans not to admit a God merely by the command of the sovereign, but only when the admission has been discussed and examined in full senate, I proposed the affair to the senate, and they rejected it with contempt, doubtless because it had not been considered by them first. But we have commanded all those whom Jesus suits, to receive him amongst the gods. We have threatened with death any one who shall speak evil of the Christians. As to the Jewish nation which has dared to crucify Jesus, who, as I hear, far from deserving the cross and death, was worthy of honor, worthy of the adoration of men — when I am free from the war with rebellious Spain, I will examine into the matter, and will treat the Jews as they deserve."

ABGAR WRITES ANOTHER LETTER TO TIBERIUS

"Abgar, king of the Armenians, to my Lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greeting: — "I have received the letter written from your august Majesty, and I have applauded the commands which have emanated from your wisdom. If you will not be angry with me, I will say that the conduct of the senate is extremely ridiculous and absurd: for, according to the

senators, it is after the examination and by the suffrages of men that divinity may be ascribed. Thus, then, if God does not suit man, He cannot be God, since God is to be judged and justified by man. It will no doubt seem just to my Lord and master to send another governor to Jerusalem in the place of Pilate, who ought to be ignominiously driven from the powerful post in which you placed him; for he has done the will of the Jews: he has crucified Christ unjustly, without your order. That you may enjoy health is my desire.”

Abgar, having written this letter, placed a copy of it, with copies of the other letters, in his archives. He wrote also to the young Nerseh, king of Assyria, at Babylon: —

ABGAR’S LETTER TO NERSEH

“Abgar, king of the Armenians, to my son Nerseh, greeting: —

“I have received your letter and acknowledgments. I have released Beroze from his chains, and have pardoned his offenses: if this pleases you, give him the government of Nineveh. But as to what you write to me about sending you the physician who works miracles and preaches another God superior to fire and water, that you may see and hear him, I say to you: he was not a physician according to the art of men; he was a disciple of the Son of God, Creator of fire and water: he has been appointed and sent to the countries of Armenia. But one of his principal companions, named Simon, is sent into the countries of Persia. Seek for him, and you will hear him, you as well as your father Ardaches. He will heal all your diseases and will show you the way of life.”

Abgar wrote also to Ardaches, king of the Persians, the following letter: —

ABGAR’S LETTER TO ARDACHES

“Abgar, king of the Armenians, to Ardaches my brother, king of the Persians, greeting: —

“I know that you have heard of Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom the Jews have crucified Jesus who was raised from the dead, and has sent His disciples through all the world to instruct men. One of His chief disciples, named Simon, is in your Majesty’s territories. Seek for him, and you will

find him, and he will cure you of all your maladies, and will show you the way of life, and you will believe in his words, you, and your brothers, and all those who willingly obey you. It is very pleasant to me to think that my relations in the flesh will be also my relations, my friends, in the spirit."

Abgar had not yet received answers to these letters when he died, having reigned thirty-eight years.

9

MARTYRDOM OF OUR APOSTLES

After the death of Abgar, the kingdom of Armenia was divided between two: Ananoun, Abgar's son, reigned at Edessa, and sister's son, Sanadroug, in Armenia. What took place in their time has been previously told by others: the apostle's arrival in Armenia, the conversion of Sanadroug and his apostasy for fear of the Armenian satraps, and the martyrdom of the apostle and his companions in the canton of Chavarchan, now called Ardaz, and the stone opening to receive the body of the apostle, and the removal of this body by his disciples, his burial in the plain, and the martyrdom of the king's daughter, Santoukhd, near the road, and the apparition of the remains of the two saints, and their removal to the rocks — all circumstances related by others, as we have said, a long time before us: we have not thought it important. to repeat them here. In the same way also what is related of the martyrdom at Edessa of Attaeus, a disciple of the apostle, a martyrdom ordered by Abgar's son, has been told by others before us.

The prince who reigned after the death of his father, did not inherit his father's virtues: he opened the temples of the idols, and embraced the religion of the heathen. He sent word to Attaeus: "Make me a head-dress of cloth interwoven with gold, like those you formerly used to make for my father." He received this answer from Attaeus: "My hands shall not make a head-dress for an unworthy prince, who does not worship Christ the living God."

Immediately the king ordered one of his armed men to cut off Attaeus' feet. The soldier went, and, seeing the holy man seated in the chair of the teacher, cut off his legs with his sword, and immediately the saint gave up the ghost. We mention this cursorily, as a fact related by others a long while ago. There came then into Armenia the Apostle Bartholomew, who suffered martyrdom among us in the town of Arepan. As to Simon, who was sent unto Persia, I cannot relate with certainty what he did, nor where he suffered martyrdom. It is said that one Simon, an apostle, was martyred at Veriospore. Is this true, or why did the saint come to this place? I do not know; I have only mentioned this circumstance that you may know I spare no pains to tell you all that is necessary.

10

REIGN OF SANADROUG; MURDER OF ABGAR'S CHILDREN; THE PRINCESS HELENA

Sanadroug, being on the throne, raises troops with the help of the brave Pacradouni and Ardzrouni, who had exalted him, and goes to wage war upon the children of Abgar, to make him self master of the whole kingdom. Whilst Sanadroug was occupied with these affairs, as if by an effect of divine providence vengeance was taken for the death of Attaeus; for a marble column which the son of Abgar was having erected at Edessa, on the summit of his palace, while he was underneath to direct the work, escaped from the hands of the workmen, fell upon him and crushed his feet.

Immediately there came a message from the inhabitants of the town, asking Sanadroug for a treaty by which he should engage not to disturb them in the exercise of the Christian religion, in consideration of which, they would give up the town and the king's treasures. Sanadroug promised, but in the end violated his oath. Sanadroug put all the children of the house of Abgar to the edge of the sword, with the exception of the daughters, whom he withdrew from the town to place them in the canton of Hachdiank. As to the first of Abgar's wives, named Helena, he sent her to his town at Kharan, and left to her the sovereignty of the whole of Mesopotamia, in

remembrance of the benefits he had received from Abgar by Helena's means.

Helena, pious like her husband Abgar, did not wish to live in the midst of idolaters; she went away to Jerusalem in the time of Claudius, during the famine which Agabus had predicted; with all her treasures she bought in Egypt an immense quantity of corn, which she distributed amongst the poor, a fact to which Josephus testifies. Helena's tomb, a truly remarkable one, is still to be seen before the gate of Jerusalem.

11

RESTORATION OF THE TOWN OF MEDZPINE; NAME OF SANADROUG; HIS DEATH

Of all Sanadroug's doings and actions, we judge none worthy of remembrance except the building of the town of Medzpine; for, this town having been shaken by an earthquake, Sanadroug pulled it down, rebuilt it more magnificently, and surrounded it with double walls and ramparts. Sanadroug caused to be erected in the middle of the town his statue holding in his hand a single piece of money, which signifies: "All my treasures have been used in building the town, and no more than this single piece of money is left to me."

But why was this prince called Sanadroug? We will tell you: Because Abgar's sister, Otaea, while traveling in Armenia in the winter, was assailed by a whirlwind of snow in the Gortouk mountains; the tempest separated them all, so that none of them knew where his companion had been driven. The prince's nurse, Sanod, sister of Piourad Pacradouni, wife of Khosran Ardzrouni, having taken the royal infant, for Sanadroug was still in the cradle, laid him upon her bosom, and remained with him under the snow three days and three nights. Legend has taken possession of this circumstance: it relates that an animal, a new species, wonderful, of great whiteness, sent by the gods, guarded the child. But so far as we have been informed, this is the fact: a white dog, which was amongst the men sent in search, found the child and his nurse; the prince was therefore called

Sanadroug, a name taken from his nurse’s name (and from the Armenian name, dourk, a gift), as if to signify the gift of Sanod.

Sanadroug, having ascended the throne in the twelfth year of Ardaches, king of the Persians, and having lived thirty years, died as he was hunting, from an arrow which pierced his bowels, as if in punishment of the torments which he had made his holy daughter suffer. Gheroupna, son of the scribe Apchatar, collected all these facts, happening in the time of Abgar and Sanadroug, and placed them in the archives of Edessa.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

HOMILY ON HABIB THE MARTYR, COMPOSED BY MAR JACOB

HABIB the martyr, clad in flame, hath called to me out of the fire,
That for him likewise I should fashion an image of beauty among the glorious.

Comrade of conquerors, lo! he beckoneth to me out of the burning,
That, as for the glory of his Lord, I should sing concerning him.

In the midst of live coals stands the heroic man, and lo! he calleth to me,
That I should fashion his image: but the blazing fire permits me not.

His love is fervid, glowing is his faith;
His fire also burneth, and who is adequate to recount his love?

Nay, by reason of that love which led the martyr into the fire,
No man is able to recount his beauties divine.

For who shall dare enter and see in the blazing fire
To whom he is like, and after what pattern he is to be fashioned among the glorious?

Shall I fashion his image by the side of the youths, the children of the furnace?
With Hananiah shall I reckon Habib? I know not.

Lo! these were not burned there: how, then, is he like?
He, I say, like them, when he was burned and the youths not?

Which, I ask, the more beautiful — Habib the martyr, or Azariah?
Difficult for me is the image: how I am to look upon it, I know not.

Lo! Michael was not burned by the flame;
But Habib was burned: which, then, the more beautiful to him that looketh upon him?

Who shall dare say that this is repulsive, or that;
Or not so comely this as that, to him that beholdeth him?

Three there are in the fire, and the flame cometh not near them;
But one was burned: and how shall I suffice to tell

That the Fourth farm is that of Him who went down into the midst of the furnace,
That He might fashion an image for Habib there along with these of the three?

He giveth a place in the fire to him who was burned,
That he may be, instead of Him the Fourth, by the side of the conquerors.

And, if of the three the beauties be glorious, though they were not burned,
How shall not this one, who was burned, be mingled with the glorious?

If a man have the power either to be burned or not to be burned,
Of this man, who was burned, more exalted was the beauty than that of the three.

But, inasmuch as the Lord is the control of all things,
He is to be praised, both where He rescues and where He delivers up.

Moreover, too, the will of the three who were not burned,
And of him who was burned, is one and the same, in this case and in that;

And, had its Lord commanded the fire to burn them,
Even those three on their part, burned they would have been;

And, if He had signified to it that it should not burn that one man also,
He would not have been burned; nor had it been of himself that he was rescued.

To go into the fire was of their own will, when they went in;
But that they were not burned — because the Lord of the fire willed and commanded it.

Therefore one equal beauty is that of him who was burned,
And that of him who was not burned, because the will also was equal.

Beloved martyr! exalted is thy beauty; exalted is thy rank:
Graceful too thy crown, and mingled thy story with that of the glorious.

Choice gold art thou, and the fire hath tried thee, and resplendent is thy beauty. And lo! into the King's crown art thou wrought, along with the victorious.

Good workman! who, in the doctrine of the Son of God,
Pursueth his course like a valiant man, because of the beauty of his faith.

Habib the martyr was a teacher of that which is true;
A preacher also, whose mouth was full of faith.

Watchful was he, and prompt for service; and he encouraged with his teaching The household of the house of God, through his faith.

Of light was he full, and he wrestled with the darkness
Which overspread the country from the paganism which had darkened it.

With the Gospel of the Son was his mouth filled in the congregations;
And as it were a leader of the way did he become to the villages when he arrived in them.

Zealous he was, because he was concerned for the doctrine
Divine, that he might establish the adherents of the faith.

At the time when the winds of the pagans blew, a lamp was he,
And flamed forth whilst they blew upon him, and went not out.

All on fire was he, and filled with the love of his Lord, and was concerned
For this — that he might speak of Him without hindrance.

The thorns of error sprang up in the land from paganism;
And, as much as in him lay, he rooted them out by his diligence.

He taught, admonished, and confirmed in the faith,
The friends of Christ, who were harassed by persecutors.

Against sword and against fire did he wrestle,
With love hot as the flame, and was not afraid.

Like a two-edged brand, keen was
His faith, and against error did he contend.

Leaven did he prove to be in this land which had become exhausted
Through fondness for the idols of vanity which error had brought in.

He was like salt by reason of his savory doctrine
To this region, which had become insipid through unbelief.

A deacon was he, and filled the place of a high-priest
By the preaching and teaching of that which is true.

He was to the flock a good shepherd whilst he was its overseer;
And his life laid he down for the flock while he tended it.

He chased away the wolf, and drove off from it the beast of prey.
And he repaired the breaches, and gathered the lambs into their folds.

He went out secretly and encouraged the congregations:
He strengthened them, and exhorted them, and held them up.

And he forged armor of faith, and put it on them,
That they might not be ignominiously overthrown by the paganism which abounded.

The flocks of the fold of the Son of God were being laid waste
By persecutors: and he encouraged the lambs and the ewes.

And he was an advocate to the household of faith;
And he taught them not to be daunted by persecutors.

He taught them to run to meet death,
Without being afraid either of sword or of fire.

In the teaching of the Son of God he prospered,
So that his faith pursued its course without dread.

Then error grew envious, became furious, and was maddened, because of him; And she pursued after him, that she might shed upon the earth innocent blood.

The Defamer, who hates the race of men,
Laid snares for him, that he might rid the place of his presence.

He who hateth the truth pursued after him to put him to death,
That he might make his voice to cease from the teaching of the house of God.

And error raised an outcry demanding that Habib should die, because she hated him; Vexation goaded her on, and she sought to take away his life.

His story was talked about before the pagan judge of the country,
And the dear fame of him reached the king: who in great rage,

And because the diadem was interwoven with paganism, decreed death
Against Habib, because he was full of faith.

And, when the command reached the judge, he armed himself
With rage and fury; and, with a mind thirsting for blood,

And like hunters who lay nets for the young stag,
After Habib did they go out to catch him.

But this man was a preacher of the faith,
Who in the highway of the crucifixion was prospering;

And, that he might benefit by his teaching the children of his people,
His work embraced the countries round about him.

So, when error went out after him, she found him not:
Not that he was fled, but that he had gone out to preach the Gospel.

Then, because of the fury of the pagans, which was great beyond all that was meet, His kindred and his mother did they seize for his sake.

Blessed art thou, O woman! mother since thou art of the martyr.
For wherefore was it that they seized thee and bound thee, iniquitously?

What do they require of thee, O thou full of beauty?
What, I ask, have they required of thee?

Lo! they require of thee that thou bring the martyr, that he may be a sacrifice.
Bring, oh bring thy sweet fruit to the place of the oblation —

The fruit whose smell is fragrant, that it may be incense to the Godhead.
Fair shoot, thy cluster bring from where it is,

That its wine may be for a libation whose taste is sweet.

The lamb heard that they were seeking him, that he might be a sacrifice;
And he set out and came to the sacrificers rejoicing.

He heard that others also were being afflicted for his sake,
And he came that he might bear the suffering which was his, in the stead of many.

The lot fell on him, to be himself alone a sacrifice;
And the fire that was to offer him up was looking out for him until he came.

Of the many who were bound for his sake
Not one single person was seized to die, but only he.

He it was that was worthy, and for him was martyrdom reserved;
And to snatch the martyr's place no man was able.

And therefore of his own will did he present himself
To the judge, that he might be seized, and die for Jesus' sake.

He heard that they sought him, and he came that he might be seized, even as they sought him: And he went in of himself before the judge, and dauntless was his look.

He hid not himself, nor did he wish to flee from the judge:
For with light was he imbued, and from the darkness he would not flee.

No robber was he, no murderer, no thief,
No child of night: but all his course was run in open day.

Wherefore from his flock should the good shepherd flee,
And leave his fold to be devoured by robbers?

Wherefore should the physician flee, who goeth forth to heal diseases,
And to cure souls by the blood of the Son of God?

A fearless countenance did the brave man carry with him, and a great heart;
And to meet death he ran, rejoicing, for Jesus sake.

He went in, he stood before the judge, saying to him:
I am Habib, whom ye sought: lo! here I stand.

And the pagan trembled, and amazement seized him, and he marveled at him — At the man who was not afraid, either of sword or of fire.

While he thought that he was fleeing apace, he entered in and mocked him;
And the judge shook, for he saw him courageous in the very face of death.

A disciple he of that Son of God who said:
"Rise, come, let us go: for he that betrayeth me lo! is here."

And to the crucifiers, again, He said: "Whom seek ye?"
They say: "Jesus." And He said to them: "I am He."

The Son of God of His own will came to the cross;
And on Him the martyr looked, and presented himself uncompelled before the judge.

And the pagan beheld him, and was smitten with fear, and was exasperated against him. His rage was excited, and he began in his fury to put to him questions.

And, as if he had been one who had shed on the ground the blood of the slain, He proceeded to question the saintly man, but he was not ashamed:

Menacing him, and trying to terrify him, and to frighten him,
And recounting the sufferings which were being prepared by him on his account.

But Habib, when questioned, was not afraid,
Was not ashamed, and was not frightened by the menaces he heard.

Lifting up his voice, he confessed Jesus, the Son of God —
That he was His servant, and was His priest, and His minister.

At the fury of the pagans, roaring at him like lions,
He trembled not, nor ceased from the confession of the Son of God.

He was scourged, and the scourgings were very dear to him,
Seeing that he bore a little of the stripes of the Son of God.

He was put into bonds, and he looked on his Lord, whom also they had bound; And his heart rejoiced that in the path of His sufferings he had begun to walk.

He ascended the block, and they tore him with combs, but his soul was radiant with light, Because he was deemed worthy that on him should come the agony of the sufferings of crucifixion.

In the pathway of death had he set his face to walk,
And what could he desire to find in it but sufferings?

The fire of sacrifice was betrothed to him, and for her did he look;
And she on her part sent him combs, and stripes, and pains, to taste.

All the while that she was coming, she sent him sufferings, that by means of them He might be prepared, so that when she met him she might not dismay him.

Sufferings purged him, so that, when the blazing fire should put him to the proof,
There might not be any dross found in his choice gold.

And he endured the whole of the pains that came upon him,
That he might have experience of suffering, and in the burning stand like a brave man.

And he accepted rejoicing the sufferings which he had to bear:
For he knew that at their termination he should find death.

And he was not afraid, either of death or of sufferings:
For with that wine of the crucifixion his heart was drunk.

He despised his body, while it was being dragged along by the persecutors;
And his limbs, while they were being torn asunder in bitter agony.

Scourges on his back, combs on his sides, stocks on his feet,
And fire in front of him: still was he brave and full of faith.

They taunted him: Lo! thou worshippest a man;
But he said: A man I worship not,

But God, who took a body and became man:
Him do I worship, because He is God with him that begat Him.

The faith of Habib, the martyr, was full of light
And by it was enlightened Edessa, the faithful city.

The daughter of Abgar, whom Addaeus betrothed to the crucifixion —
Through it is her light, through it her truth and her faith.

Her king is from it, her martyrs from it, her truth from it;
The teachers also of her faith are from it.

Abgar believed that Thou an God, the Son of God;
And he received a blessing because of the beauty of his faith.

Sharbil the martyr, son of the Edessaeans, more-ever said:
My heart is led captive by God, who became man.

And Habib the martyr, who also was crowned at Edessa,
Confessed these things: that He took a body and became man;

That He is the Son of God, and also is God, and became man.
Edessa learned from teachers the things that are true:

Her king taught her, her martyrs taught her, the faith;
But to others, who were fraudulent teachers, she would not hearken.

Habib the martyr, in the ear of Edessa, thus cried aloud
Out of the midst of the fire: A man I worship not,

But God, who took a body and became man
Him do I worship. Thus confessed the martyr with uplifted voice.

From confessors torn with combs, burnt, raised up on the block, slain,
And from a righteous king, did Edessa learn the faith,

And she knows our Lord — that He is even God, the Son of God;
She also learned and firmly believed that He took a body and became man.

Not from common scribes did she learn the faith:
Her king taught her, her martyrs taught her; and she firmly believed them:

And, if she be calumniated as having ever worshipped a man,
She points to her martyrs, who died for Him as being God.

A man I worship not, said Habib,
Because it is written: "Cursed is he that putteth his trust in a man."

Forasmuch as He is God, I worship Him, yea submit to be burned
For His sake, nor will I renounce His faith.

This truth has Edessa held fast from her youth,
And in her old age she will not barter it away as a daughter of the poor.

Her righteous king became to her a scribe, and from him she learned
Concerning our Lord — that He is the Son of God, yea God.

Addaeus, who brought the bridegroom's ring and put it on her hand,
Betrothed her thus to the Son of God, who is the Only-begotten.

Sharbil the priest, who made trial and proof of all gods,
Died, even as he said, "for God who became man."

Shamuna and Guria, for the sake of the Only-
begotten,

Stretched out their necks to receive the stroke,
and for Him died, forasmuch as He is God.

And Habib the martyr, who was teacher of congregations,
Preached of Him, that He took a body and became man.

For a man the martyr would not have submitted
to be burned in the fire;

But he was burned "for the sake of God who became man."

And Edessa is witness that thus he confessed while he was being burned:

And from the confession of a martyr that has been burned who is he that can escape?

All minds does faith reduce to silence and despise — She that is full of light and stoopeth not to shadows.

She despiseth him that maligns the Son by denying that He is God; Him too that saith "He took not a body and became man."

In faith which was full of truth he stood upon the fire; And he became incense, and propitiated with his fragrance the Son of God.

In all his afflictions, and in all his tortures, and in all his sufferings, Thus did he confess, and thus did he teach the blessed city.

And this truth did Edessa hold fast touching our Lord — Even that He is God, and of Mary became a man.

And the bride hates him that denies His God-head, And despises and contemns him that maligns His corporeal nature.

And she recognizes Him as One in Godhead and in manhood — The Only-begotten, whose body is inseparable from Him.

And thus did the daughter of the Parthians learn to believe, And thus did she firmly hold, and thus does she teach him that listens to her.

The judge, therefore, full of seal for paganism, commanded That the martyr should be led forth and burned in the fire which was reserved for him.

And forthwith a strap was thrust into his mouth, as though he had been a murderer, His confession being kept within his heart towards God.

And they hurried him away, and he went out from the judgment-hall, rejoicing That the hour was come when the crown should be given to his faith.

And there went out with him crowds of people, that they might bear him company, Looking upon him, not as a dead man accompanied to his burial,

But as a man who was going away that by means of fire he might become a bridegroom, And that there might be bestowed the crown which was by righteousness reserved for him.

They looked upon him as upon a man entering into battle,
And around him were spears, and lances, and swords, but he vanquished them.

They beheld him going up like a champion from the contest,
And in his triumph chaplets were brought to him by those who beheld.

They looked upon him as he vanquished principalities and powers,
Which all made war with him, and he put them to shame.

The whole congregation of the followers of Christ exulted over him,
Because he raised up the friends of the faith by the sufferings which he bore.

There went forth with him the Church, a bride full of light;
And her face was beaming on the beloved martyr who was united to her.

Then did his mother, because it was the marriage-feast for her son,
Deck herself in garments nobler than her wont.

Since sordid raiment suited not the banquet-hall,
In magnificent attire all white she clad herself fight tastefully.

Hither to the battle came down love to fight
In the mother's soul — the love of nature, and the love of God.

She looked upon her son as he went forth to be put into the flame;
And, forasmuch as there was in her the love of the Lord, she suffered not.

The yearnings of her mother's womb cried out on behalf of its fruit;
But faith silenced them, so that their tumult ceased.

Nature shrieked over the limb which was severed from her;
But the love of the Lord intoxicated the soul, that she should not perceive it.

Nature loved, but the love of the Lord did conquer in the strife
Within the soul of the mother, that she should not grieve for her beloved.

And instead of suffering, her heart was filled with all emotions of joy;
And, instead of mourning, she went forth in splendid apparel.

And she accompanied him as he went out to be burned, and was elate,
Because the love of the Lord vanquished that of nature.

And clad in white, as for a bridegroom, she made a marriage-feast —
She the mother of the martyr, and was blithe because of him.

"Shamuna the Second" may we call this blessed one:
Since, had seven been burned instead of one, she had been well content.

One she had, and she gave him to be food for the fire;
And, even as that one, if she had had seven, she had given them all.

He was cast into the fire, and the blaze kindled around him;
And his mother looked on, and grieved not at his burning.

Another eye, which gazeth upon the things unseen,
Was in her soul, and by reason of this she exulted when he was being burned.

On the gems of light which are in martyrs' crowns she looked,
And on the glory which is laid up for them after their sufferings;

And on the promised blessings which they inherit yonder through their afflictions, And on the Son of God who clothes their limbs with light;

And on the manifold beauties of that kingdom which shall not be dissolved,
And on the ample door which is opened for them to enter in to God.

On these did the martyr's mother look when he was being burned,
And she rejoiced, she exalted, and in white did she go forth with him.

She looked upon him while the fire consumed his frame,
And, forasmuch as his crown was very noble, she grieved not.

The sweet root was thrown into the fire, upon the coals;
And it turned to incense, and cleansed the air from pollution.

With the fumes of sacrifice had the air been polluted,
And by the burning of this martyr was it cleansed.

The firmament was fetid with the exhalations from the altars;
And there rose up the sweet perfume of the martyr, and it grew sweet thereby.

And the sacrifices ceased, and there was peace in the assemblies;
And the sword was blunted, that it should no more lay waste the friends of Christ.

With Sharbil it began, with Habib it ended, in our land;
And from that time even until now not one has it shin, since he was burned.

Constantine, chief of conquerors, took the empire,
And the cross has trampled on the diadem of the emperor, and is set upon his head.

Broken is the lofty horn of idolatry,
And from the burning of the martyr even until now not one has it pierced.

His smoke arose, and it became incense to the Godhead;
And by it was the air purged which was tainted by paganism,

And by his burning was the whole land cleansed:
Blessed be he that gave him a crown, and glory, and a good name!

HERE ENDETH THE HOMILY ON HABIB THE MARTYR, COMPOSED BY MAR JACOB

A HOMILY ON GURIA AND SHAMUNA, COMPOSED BY MAR JACOB

SHAMUNA and Guria, martyrs who made themselves illustrious in their afflictions, Have in love required of me to tell of their illustrious deeds.

To champions of the faith the doctrine calleth me,
That I should go and behold their contests and their crowns.

Children of the right hand, who have done battle against the left,
Have called me this day to recite the marvelous tale of their conflicts: —

Simple old men, who entered into the fight like heroes,
And nobly distinguished themselves in the strife of blood:

Those who were the salt of our land, and it was sweetened thereby,
And its savor was restored, which had become insipid through unbelief:

Candlesticks of gold, which were full of the oil of the crucifixion,
By which was lighted up all our region, which had turned to darkness:

Two lamps, of which, when all the winds were blowing
Of every kind of error, the lights were not put out;

Good laborers, who from the spring of day labored
In the blessed vineyard of the house of God right duteously:

Bulwarks of our land, who became to us as it were a defense
Against all spoilers in all the wars that surrounded us:

Havens of peace, a place also of retreat for all that were distressed,
And a resting-place for the head of every one that was in need of succor:

Two precious pearls, which were
An ornament for the bride of my Lord Abgar, the Aramaean's son.

Teachers they were who practiced their teaching in blood,
And whose faith was known by their sufferings.

On their bodies they wrote the story of the Son of God
With the marks of combs and scourges which thickly covered them.

They showed their love, not by words of the mouth alone,
But by tortures and by the rending of their limbs asunder.

For the love of the Son of God they gave up their bodies:
Since it beseemeth the lover that for his love he should give up himself.

Fire and sword proved their love, how true it was;
And more beautiful than silver tried in a furnace of earth were their necks.

They looked on God, and, because they saw His
exalted beauties,

Therefore did they look with contempt upon
their sufferings for His sake.

The Sun of righteousness had arisen in their
hearts;

And they were enlightened by it, and with HIs
light chased they away the darkness.

At the idols of vanity, which error had brought in, they laughed,
Instinct with the faith of the Son of God which is full of light.

The love of the Lord was as a fire in their hearts;
Nor could all the brambles of idolatry stand before it.

Fixed was their love on God unchangeably:
And therefore did they look with scorn upon
the sword, all athirst as it was for blood.

With guilelessness and yet with wisdom stood they in the judgment- hall,
As they had been commanded by the Teacher of that which is true.

Despising as they did kindred and family, guileless were they;
Forasmuch, also, as possessions and wealth were held in no account by
them.

Nor guileless only: for in the judgment-hall with the wisdom of serpents too
They were heedful of the faith of the house of God.

When a serpent is seized and struck, he guards his head,
But gives up and leaves exposed all his body to his captors:

And, so long as his head is kept from harm, his life abideth in him;
But, if the head be struck, his life is left a prey to destruction.

The head of the soul is men's faith;
And, if this be preserved unharmed, by it is also preserved their life:

Even though the whole body be lacerated with blows,
Yet, so long as faith is preserved, the soul is alive;

But, if faith is struck down by unbelief,
Lost is the soul, and life has perished from the man.

Shamuna and Guria of the faith as men
Were heedful, that it should not be struck down by persecutors:

For they knew that, if faith is preserved,
Both soul and body are preserved from destruction.

And, because of this, touching their faith were they solicitous,
That that should not be struck down in which their very life was hidden.

They gave up their bodies both to blows and to dislocation,
Yea to every kind of torture, that their faith should not be stricken down;

And, even as the serpent also hides his head from blows,
So hid they their faith within their hearts;

And the body was smitten, and endured stripes,
and bore sufferings:

But overthrown was not their faith which was within their hearts.

The mouth betrayeth the soul to death when it speaks,
And with the tongue, as with a sword, worketh slaughter.

And from it spring up both life and death to men:
Denying a man dies, confessing he lives, and the mouth hath power over it.

Denial is death, and in confession is the soul's life;
And power hath the mouth over them both, like a judge.

The word of the mouth openeth the door for death to enter in;
This, too, calleth for life, and it beameth forth upon the man.

Even the robber by one word of faith
Won him the kingdom, and became heir of paradise, all fraught with blessings.

The wicked judges too, from the martyrs, the sons of the right hand,
Demanded that by word of mouth only they should blaspheme;

But, like true men holding fast the faith,
They uttered not a word by which unbelief might be served.

Shamuna, beauty of our faith, who is adequate to tell of thee?
All too narrow is my mouth for thy praise, too mean for thee to be spoken of by it.

Thy truth is thy beauty, thy crown thy suffering, thy wealth thy stripes,
And by reason of thy blows magnificent is the beauty of thy championship.

Proud of thee is our country, as of a treasury which is full of gold: Since wealth art thou to us, and a coveted store which cannot be stolen from us.

Guria, martyr, staunch hero of our faith,
Who shall suffice thee, to recount thy beauties divine?

Lo! tortures on thy body are set like gems of beryl,
And the sword on thy neck like a chain of choice gold.

Thy blood upon thy form is a robe of glory full of beauty,
And the scourging of thy back a vesture with which the sun may not compare.

Radiant thou art and comely by virtue of these thy sufferings, so abounding;
And resplendent are thy beauties, because of the pains which are so severe upon thee.

Shamuna, our riches, richer art thou than the rich:
For Io! the rich stand at thy door, that thou mayest relieve them.

Small thy village, poor thy country: who, then, gave thee
That lords of villages and cities should court thy favor?

Lo! judges in their robes and vestments
Take dust from thy threshold, as though it were the medicine of life.

The cross is rich, and to its worshippers increaseth riches;
And its poverty despiseth all the riches of the world.

Shamuna and Guria, sons of the poor, lo! at your doors
Bow down the rich, that they may receive from you supplies for their wants.

The Son of God in poverty and want
Showed to the world that all its riches are as nothing,

His disciples, all fishermen, all poor, all weak,
All men of little note, became illustrious through His faith.

One fisherman, whose "village" too was a home of fishermen,
He made chief over the twelve, yea head of the house.

One a tentmaker, who aforetime was a persecutor,
He seized upon, and made him a chosen vessel for the faith.

Shamuna and Guria came from villages that were not wealthy,
And lo! in a great city became they lords;

And its chief men, its judges also, stand before their doors,
And they solicit their charity to satisfy their wants.

From their confession of the faith of the Son of God
These blessed men acquired. riches beyond compute.

Poor did He Himself become, and the poor made He rich;
And lo! enriched is the whole creation through His poverty.

The chosen martyrs did battle against error,
And in the confession of the Son of God stood they firm like valiant men.

They went in and confessed Him before the judge with look undaunted,
That He too might confess them, even as they confessed Him, before His Father.

There arose against them the war of pagans like a tempest;
But the cross was their helmsman, and steered them on.

They were required to sacrifice to lifeless images,
But they departed not from their confession of the Son of God.

The wind of idolatry blew in their faces,
But they themselves were as rocks piled up against the hurricane.

Like a swift whirlwind, error snatched at them;
But, forasmuch as they were sheltered by the crucifixion, it hurt them not.

The Evil One set on all his dogs to bark, that they might bite them;
But, forasmuch as they had the cross for a staff, they put them all to flight.

But who is sufficient to tell of their contests,
Or their sufferings, or the rending asunder of their limbs?

Or who can paint the picture of their coronation,
How they went up from the contest covered with glory?

To judgment they went in, but of the judge they took no account;
Nor were they anxious what they should say when questioned.

The judge menaced them, and multiplied his words of threatening;
And recounted tortures and all kinds of inflictions, that he might terrify them.

He spake great words, that by fright and intimidation,
By menaces too, he might incline them to sacrifice.

Yet the combatants despised the menaces, and the intimidations,
And the sentence of judgment, and all bodily deaths;

And they prepared themselves for insult and stripes, and for blows,
And for provocation, and to be dragged along, and to be burnt;

For imprisonment also, and for bonds, and for all evil things,
And for all tortures, and for all sufferings, rejoicing all the while.

They were not alarmed nor affrighted, nor dismayed,
Nor did the sharpness of the tortures bend them to sacrifice.

Their body they despised, and as dung upon the ground accounted they it:
For they knew that, the more it was beaten, the more would its beauty increase;

And, the more the judge increased his menaces to alarm them,
The more did they show their contempt of him, having no fear of his threats.

He kept telling them what tortures he had prepared for them;
And they continued telling him about Gehenna which was reserved for him.

By those things which he told them he tried to frighten them to sacrifice;
And they spoke to him about the fearful judgment yonder.

Truth is wiser than wise words,
And very hateful, however much it may be adorned, is falsehood.

Shamuna and Guria went on speaking truth,
While the judge continued to utter falsehood.

And therefore were they not afraid of his threatening, Because all his menaces against the truth were accounted by them as empty sound.

The intercourse of the world they despised, they contemned and scorned, yea they abandoned; And to return to it they had no wish, or to enter it again.

From the place of judgment they set their faces to depart
To that meeting-place for them all, the life of the new world.

They cared neither for possessions nor for houses,
Nor for the advantages of this world, so full of evil.

In the world of light was their heart bound captive with God,
And to "that" country did they set their face to depart;

And they looked to the sword, to come and be a bridge
To let them pass over to God, for whom they were longing.

This world they accounted as a little tent,
But that yonder as a city full of beauties;

And they were in haste by the sword to depart hence
To the land of light, which is full of blessing for those who are worthy of it.

The judge commanded to hang them up by their arms,
And without mercy did they stretch them out in bitter agony.

A demon's fury breathed rage into the heart of the judge,
And embittered him against the steadfast ones, inciting him to crush them;

And between the height and the depth he stretched them out to afflict them:
And they were a marvel to both sides, when they saw how much they endured.

At the old men's frame heaven and earth marveled,
To see how much suffering it bore nor cried out for help under their affliction.

Hung up and dragged along are their feeble bodies by their arms,
Yet is there deep silence, nor is there one that cries out for help or that murmurs.

Amazed were all who beheld their contests, To see how calmly the outstretched forms bore the inflictions laid upon them.

Amazed too was Satan at their spotless frames,
To see what weight of affliction they sustained without a groan.

Yea, and gladdened too were the angels by that fortitude of theirs,
To see how patiently it bore that contest so terrible that was.

But, as combatants who were awaiting their crowns,
There entered no sense of weariness into their minds.

Nay, it was the judge that grew weary; yea, he was astonished:
But the noble men before him felt no weariness in their afflictions.

He asked them whether they would consent to sacrifice;
But the mouth was unable to speak from pain.

Thus did the persecutors increase their inflictions,
Until they gave no place for the word to be spoken.

Silent was the mouth from the inflictions laid on their limbs;
But the will, like that of a hero, was nerved with fortitude from itself.

Alas for the persecutors! how destitute were they of righteousness!
But the children of light — how were they clad in faith!

They demand speech, when there is no place for speaking,
Since the word of the mouth was forbidden them by pain.

Fast bound was the body, and silent the mouth, and it was unable
To utter the word when unrighteously questioned.

And what should the martyr do, who had no power to say,
When he was questioned, that he would not sacrifice?

All silent were the old men full of faith,
And from pain they were incapable of speaking.

Yet questioned they were: and in what way, if a man is silent
When he is questioned, shall he assent to that which is said?

But the old men, that they might not be thought to assent,
Expressed clearly by signs the word which it behooved them to speak.

Their heads they shook, and, instead of speech, by a dumb sign they showed
The resolve of the new man that was within.

Their heads hung down, signifying amidst their pains
That they were not going to sacrifice, and every one understood their meaning.

As long as there was in them place for speech, with speech did they confess;
But, when it was forbidden them by pain, they spake with a dumb sign.

Of faith they spoke both with the voice and without the voice:
So that, when speaking and also when silent, they were alike steadfast.

Who but must be amazed at the path of life, how narrow it is,
And how straight to him that desires to walk in it?

Who but must marvel to see that, when the will is watchful and ready,
It is very broad and full of light to him that goeth therein?

About the path are ditches; full also is it of pitfalls;
And, if one turn but a little aside from it, a ditch receives him.

That dumb sign only is there between the right and the left,
And on "Yea" and "Nay" stand sin and righteousness.

By a dumb sign only did the blessed men plainly signify that they would not sacrifice, And in virtue of a single dumb sign did the path lead them to Eden;

And, if this same dumb sign had inclined and turned down but a little
Toward the depth, the path of the old men would have been to Gehenna.

Upwards they made a sign, to signify that upwards were they prepared to ascend; And in consequence of that sign they ascended and mingled with the heavenly ones.

Between sign and sign were Paradise and Gehenna:
They made a sign that they would not sacrifice, and they inherited the place of the kingdom.

Even while they were Silent they were advocates for the Son of God:
For not in multitude of words doth faith consist.

That fortitude of theirs was a full-voiced confession,
And as though with open mouth declared they their faith by signs;

And every one knew what they were saying, though silent,
And enriched and increased was the faith of the house of God;

And error was put to shame by reason of two old men, who, though they spake not, Vanquished it; and they kept silence, and their faith stood fast.

And, though tempestuous accents were heard from the judge,
And the commands of the emperor were dreadful, yea violent,

And paganism had a bold face and an open mouth,
And its voice was raised, and silent were the old men with pain,

Yet null and void became the command and drowned was the voice of the judge, And without speech the mute sign of the martyrs bore off the palm.

Talking and clamor, and the sound of stripes, on the left;
And deep silence and suffering standing on the right;

And, by one mute sign with which the old men pointed above their heads,
The head of faith was lifted up, and error was put to shame.

Worsted in the encounter were they who spoke, and the victory was to the silent: For, voiceless they uttered by signs the discourse of faith.

They took them down, because they had vanquished while silent;
And they put them in bonds, threatening yet to vanquish them.

Bonds and a dungeon void of light were by the martyrs
Held of no account — yea rather as the light which has no end.

To be without bread, and without water, and without light,
Pleased them well, because of the love of the Son of God.

The judge commanded by their feet to hang them up
With their heads downwards, by a sentence all unrighteous:

Hanged up was Shamuna with his head downwards; and he prayed
In prayer pure and strained clear by pain.

Sweet fruit was hanging on the tree in that judgment-hall,
And its taste and smell made the very denizens of heaven to marvel.

Afflicted was his body, but sound was his faith;
Bound fast was his person, but unfettered was his prayer over his deed.

For, prayer nothing whatsoever turneth aside,
And nothing hindereth it — not even sword, not even fire.

His form was turned upside down, but his prayer was unrestrained,
And straight was its path on high to the abode of the angels.

The more the affliction of the chosen martyr was increased,
The more from his lips was all confession heard.

The martyrs longed for the whetted sword affectionately,
And sought it as a treasure full of riches.

A new work has the Son of God wrought in the world —
That dreadful death should be yearned for by many.

That men should run to meet the sword is a thing unheard of,
Except they were those whom Jesus has enlisted in His service by His crucifixion.

That death is bitter, every one knoweth lo! from earliest time:
To martyrs alone is it not bitter to be slain.

They laughed at the whetted sword when they saw it,
And greeted it with smiles: for it was that which was the occasion of their crowns.

As though it had been something hated, they left the body to be beaten:
Even though loving it, they held it not back from pains.

For the sword they waited, and the sword went forth and crowned them:
Because for it they looked; and it came to meet them, even as they desired.

The Son of God slew death by His crucifixion;
And, inasmuch as death is slain, it caused no suffering to the martyrs.

With a wounded serpent one playeth without fear;
A slain lion even a coward will drag along:

The great serpent our Lord crushed by His crucifixion;
The dread lion did the Son of God slay by His sufferings.

Death bound He fast, and laid him prostrate and trampled on him at the gate of Hades; And now whosoever will draweth near and mocketh at him, because he is slain.

These old men, Shamuna and Guria, mocked at death,
As at that lion which by the Son of God was slain.

The great serpent, which slew Adam among the trees,
Who could seize, so long as he drank not of the blood of the cross?

The Son of God crushed the dragon by His crucifixion,
And lo! boys and old men mock at the wounded serpent.

Pierced is the lion with the spear which pierced the side of the Son of God;
And whosoever will trampleth on him, yea mocketh at him.

The Son of God — He is the cause of all good things,
And Him doth it behoove every mouth to celebrate.

He did Himself espouse the bride with the blood which flowed from His wounds, And of His wedding-friends He demanded as a nuptial gift the blood of their necks.

The Lord of the wedding-feast hung on the cross in nakedness,
And whosoever came to be a guest, He let fall

His blood upon him. Shamuna and Guria gave up their bodies for His sake
To sufferings and tomes and to all the various forms of woe.

At Him they looked as He was mocked by wicked men,
And thus did they themselves endure mockery without a groan.

Edessa was enriched by your slaughter, O blessed ones:
For ye adorned her with your crowns and with your sufferings.

Her beauty are ye, her bulwark ye, her salt ye,
Her riches and her store, yea her boast and all her treasure.

Faithful stewards are ye:
Since by your sufferings ye did array the bride in beauty.

The daughter of the Parthians, who was espoused to the cross,
Of you maketh her boast: since by your teaching lo! she was enlightened.

Her advocates are ye; scribes who, though silent, vanquished
All error, whilst its voice was uplifted high in unbelief.

Those old men of the daughter of the Hebrews were sons of Belial,
False witnesses, who killed Naboth, feigning themselves to be true.

Her did Edessa outdo by her two old men full of beauty,
Who were witnesses to the Son of God, and died like Naboth.

Two were there, and two here, old men;
And these were called witnesses, and witnesses those.

Let us now see which of them were witnesses chosen of God,
And which city is beloved by reason of her old men and of her honorable ones.

Lo! the sons of Belial who slew Naboth are witnesses;
And here Shamuna and Guria, again, are witnesses.

Let us now see which witnesses, and which old men,
And which city can stand with confidence before God.

Sons of Belial were those witnesses of that adulterous woman,
And lo! their shame is all portrayed in their names.

Edessa's just and righteous old men, her witnesses,
Were like Naboth, who himself also was slain for righteousness' sake.

They were not like the two lying sons of Belial,
Nor is Edessa like Zion, which also crucified the Lord.

Like herself her old men were false, yea dared
To shed on the ground innocent blood wickedly.

But by these witnesses here lo! the truth is spoken. —
Blessed be He who gave us the treasure-store of their crowns!

HERE ENDETH THE HOMILY ON GURIA AND SHAMUNA

INTRODUCTION TO ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

1. THE preceding *Memoirs of Edessa* and Syriac Documents were inserted in vol. 20 of the Edinburgh series, quite out of place as it seems to me; and the more so, as other Syriac fragments were to follow.

2. In vol. 22, equally out of place, and mixed up with incongruous material, followed the very interesting work of Bardesanes, to which I now assign a natural collocation with the Edessene Memoirs.

3. In vol. 24, with the *Liturgies* and other mixed material, comes the third Syriac fagot, another valuable and very interesting contribution severed from its due connections.

The reader of this volume will rejoice to find Mr. Pratten's scattered but most instructive translations here brought together, and arranged in less confused sequence and relations one with another. The several announcements prefixed to each have, in like manner, been here gathered and set in order.

It may be worth while, just here, to direct attention to the latest views of scholarship upon Syria, its language and its antiquities. A learned critic, who often supplies one of our weekly newspapers with articles on the Oriental languages worthy of the best reviews, has directed attention to a searching *critique* of Mommsen's recent addition to his *Roman History*, of a chapter which "deals with Bible-lands in New-Testament times." Professor Noldke of Strasburg, a leading Semitic scholar, in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, thus takes him to task: —

"Syria enjoyed a higher prosperity under the Romans *than Mommsen concedes*, and this continued down into the Christian period. The Hellenization made rapid strides, but not in such a manner that the Greek language or Greek culture spread to a considerable degree; but rather, in such a way that European arts and manners of life were established, and that a number of elements of Occidental culture became powerful in the thinking and language of the educated. Mommsen, according to my conviction, considers the Hellenization of Syria *to have advanced much*

farther than it actually had. That the language of the country had been entirely banished from the circles of the educated, and that it had assumed the position in reference to the Greek which the Celtic in full had assumed over against the Latin, is certainly an exaggerated view. The Aramaic was an old developed language (*Culturs*prache), which was already written before a single letter was seen in Latium. In the days of the Achaemenidian rulers this was the official language of Egypt, and even of Asia Minor, *and was accordingly spread far beyond the original territory*. Again we find this language in the days of the Roman emperors not only in Palmyra, but spread also in the whole country of the Nabatheans, and down to almost Medina; here again beyond its native limits, as the official written language. And that this was not merely a remnant of the former political supremacy is evident from the fact that the documents of Palmyra and those of the Nabatheans, in an equal manner, show a younger stage of development of language than that of the Achaemenidian period; this stage being virtually the same as is seen in the various Jewish literary works of that time."

As Mommsen is continuing his irreligious elaborations of history, it may be well to bear in mind his superficial ideas on such subjects, especially when he is reaching the affairs of early Christianity.

1. Our translator(Mr. Pratten) makes the following announcements: —

> "The translation of the Syriac pieces which follow is based on a careful examination of that made by Dr. Cureton, the merits of which are cordially acknowledged. It will, however, be seen that it differs from that in many and important particulars.
>
> "Many thanks are due to the Dean of Canterbury for his kindness in giving much valuable help."

2. He thus introduces the treatise of Bardesanes: —

> "Bardesan, or Bardesanes, according to one account, was born at Edessa in 154 A.D., and it is supposed that he died sometime between 224 and 230. Eusebius says that he flourished in the time of Marcus Aurelius. He was for some time resident at the court of Abgar VI., King of Edessa, with whom he was on intimate terms. He at first belonged to the Gnostic sect of the Valentinians; but

abandoning it, he seemed to come nearer the orthodox beliefs. In reality, it is said, he devised errors of his own. He wrote many works. Eusebius attributes the work now translated, *The Book of Laws*, or *On Fate*, to Bardesanes. Many modern critics have come to the conclusion that it was written by a scholar of Bardesanes, but that it gives us the genuine opinions and reasonings of Bardesanes. The question is of interest in connection with the Clementine *Recognitions*, which contain a large portion of the work. The Syriac was first published by Cureton in his *Spicilegium*."

3. In introducing the *Mara bar Serapion* and the *Ambrose*, he thus refers to his friend Dr. Payne Smith: —

The text of the two following short pieces is found in the *Spicilegium Syriacum* of the late Dr. Cureton. This careful scholar speaks of the second of these compositions as containing "some very obscure passages." The same remark holds good also of the first. Dr. Payne Smith describes them both as "full of difficulties." So far as these arise from errors in the text, they might have been removed, had I been able to avail myself of the opportunity kindly offered me by Dr. Rieu, Keeper of the Oriental MSS. at the British Museum, of inspecting the original MS. As it is, several have, it is hoped, been successfully met by conjecture.

To Dr. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, who, as on two previous occasions, has most kindly and patiently afforded me his valuable assistance, I beg to offer my very grateful acknowledgments.

B. P. PRATTEN

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

BARDESAN

THE BOOK OF THE LAWS OF DIVERS COUNTRIES

SOME days since we were calling to pay a visit to our brother Shemashgram, and Bardesan came and found us there. And when he had made inquiries after his health, and ascertained that he was well, he asked us, “What were you talking about? for I heard your voice outside as I was coming in.” For it was his habit, whenever he found us talking about anything before he came, to ask us, “What were you saying?” that he might talk with us about it.

“Avida here,” said we to him, was saying to us, ‘If God is one, as ye say, and if He is the creator of men, and if it is His will that you should do that which you are commanded, why did He not so create men that they should not be able to do wrong, but should constantly be doing that which is right? for in this way His will would have been accomplished.’”

“Tell me, my son Avida,” said Bardesan to him, “why it has come into thy mind that the God of all is not One; or that He is One, but doth not will that men should behave themselves justly and uprightly?”

“I, sir,” said Avida, “have asked these brethren, persons of my own age, in order that ‘they’ may return me an answer.”

“If,” said Bardesan to him, “thou wishest to learn, it were for thy advantage to learn from some one who is older than they; but if to teach, it is not requisite for ‘thee’ to ask ‘them,’ but rather that thou shouldst induce ‘them’ to ask ‘thee’ what they wish. For teachers are ‘asked’ questions, and do not themselves ask them; or, if they ever do ask a question, it is to direct the mind of the questioner, so that he may ask properly, and they may know what his desire is. For it is a good thing that a man should know how to ask questions.”

“For my part,” said Avida, “I wish to learn; but I began first of all to question my brethren here, because I was too bashful to ask thee.”

“Thou speakest becomingly,” said Bardesan. “But know, nevertheless, that he who asks questions properly, and wishes to be convinced, and approaches the way of truth without contentiousness, has no need to be bashful; because he is sure by means of the things I have mentioned to please him to whom his questions are addressed. If so be, therefore, my son, thou hast any opinion of thy own respecting this matter about which thou hast asked, tell it to us all; and, if we too approve of it, we shall express our agreement with thee; and, if we do not approve of it, we shall be under obligation to show thee why we do not approve of it. But if thou wast simply desirous of becoming acquainted with this subject, and hast no opinion of thy own about it, as a man who has but lately joined the disciples and is a recent inquirer, I will tell thee respecting it; so that thou mayest not go from us empty away. If, moreover, thou art pleased with those things which I shall say to thee, we have other things besides to tell theeconcerning this matter; but, if thou art not pleased, we on our part shall have stated our views without any personal feeling.”

“I too,” said Avida, “shall be much gratified to hear and to be convinced: because it is not from another that I have heard of this subject, but I have spoken of it to my brethren here out of my own mind; and they have not cared to convince me; but they say, ‘Only believe, and thou wilt then be able to know everything.’ But for my part, I cannot believe unless I be convinced.”

“Not only,” said Bardesan, “is Avida unwilling to believe, but there are many others also who, because there is no faith in them, are not even capable of being convinced; but they are always pulling down and building up, and so are found destitute of all knowledge of the truth. But notwithstanding, since Avida is not willing to believe, lo! I will speak to you who do believe, concerning this matter about which he asks; and thus he too will hear something further about it.”

He began accordingly to address us as follows: “Many men are there who have not faith, and have not received knowledge from the True Wisdom. In consequence of this, they are not competent to speak and give instruction to others, nor are they readily inclined themselves to hear. For they have not the foundation of faith to build upon, nor have they any confidence on which to rest their hope. Moreover, because they are accustomed to doubt

even concerning God, they likewise have not in them the fear of Him, which would of itself deliver them from all other fears: for he in whom there is no fear of God is the slave of all sorts of fears. For even with regard to those things of various kinds which they disbelieve, they are not certain that they disbelieve them rightly, but they are unsettled in their opinions, and have no fixed belief, and the taste of their thoughts is insipid in their own mouth; and they are always haunted with fear, and flushed with excitement, and reckless.

“But with regard to what Avida has said: ‘How is it that God did not so make us that we should not sin and incur condemnation?’ — if man had been made so, he would not have belonged to himself, but would have been the instrument of him that moved him; and it is evident also, that he who moves an instrument as he pleases, moves it either for good or for evil. And how, in that case, would a man differ from a harp, on which another plays; or from a ship, which another guides: where the praise and the blame reside in the hand of the performer or the steersman, and the harp itself knows not what is played on it, nor the ship itself whether it be well steered and guided or ill, they being only instruments made for the use of him in whom is the requisite skill? But God in His benignity chose not so to make man; but by freedom He exalted him above many of His creatures, and even made him equal with the angels. For look at the sun, and the moon, and the signs of the zodiac, and all the other creatures which are greater than we in some points, and see how individual freedom has been denied them, and how they are all fixed in their course by decree, so that they may do that only which is decreed for them, and nothing else. For the sun never says, I will not rise at my appointed time; nor the moon, I will not change, nor wane, nor wax; nor does any one of the stars say, I will not rise nor set; nor the sea, I will not bear up the ships, nor stay within my boundaries; nor the mountains, We will not continue in the places in which we are set; nor do the winds say, We will not blow; nor the earth, I will not hear up and sustain whatsoever is upon me. But all these things are servants, and are subject to one decree: for they are the instruments of the wisdom of God, which erreth not.

“Not so, however, with man: for, if everything ministered, who would be he that is ministered to? And, if everything were ministered to, who would be he that ministered? In that case, too, there would not be one thing

diverse from another: yet that which is one, and in which there is no diversity of parts, is a beings which up to this time has not been fashioned. But those things which are destined for ministering have been fixed in the power of man: because in the image of Elohim was he made. Therefore have these things, in the benignity of God, been given to him, that they may minister to him for a season. It has also been given to him to he guided by his own will; so that whatever he is able to do, if he will he may do it, and if he do not will he may not do it, and that so he may justify himself or condemn. For, had he been made so as not to be able to do evil and thereby incur condemnation, in like manner also the good which he did would not have been his own, and he could not have been justified by it. For, if any one should not of his own will do that which is good or that which is evil, his justification and his condemnation would rest simply with that Fortune to which he is subjected.

“It will therefore be manifest to you, that the goodness of God is great toward man, and that freedom has been given to him in greater measure than to any of those elemental bodies of which we have spoken, in order that by this freedom he may justify himself, and order his conduct in a godlike manner, and be copartner with angels, who are likewise possessed of personal freedom. For we are sure that, if the angels likewise had not been possessed of personal freedom, they would not have consorted with the daughters of men, and sinned, and fallen from their places. In like manner, too, those other angels, who did the will of their Lord, were, by reason of their self-control, raised to higher rank, and sanctified, and received noble gifts. For every being in existence is in need of the Lord of all; of His gifts also there is no end.

Know ye, however, notwithstanding what I have said, that even those things of which I have spoken as subsisting by decree are not absolutely destitute of all freedom; and on this account, at the last day, they will all be made subject to judgment.”

“But how,” said I to him, “should those things which are fixed and regulated by decree be judged?”

“Not inasmuch as they are fixed, O Philip,” said he, “will the elements be judged, but inasmuch as they are endowed with power. For beings are not deprived of their natural properties when they come to be fashioned, but

only of the full exercise of their strength, suffering a decrease of power through their intermingling one with another, and being kept in subjection by the power of their Maker; and in so far as they are in subjection they will not be judged, but in respect of that only which is under their own control.”

“Those things,” said Avida to him, “which thou hast said, are very good; but, lo! the commands which have been given to men are severe, and they cannot perform them.”

“This,” said Bardesan, “is the saying of one who has not the will to do that which is right; nay, more, of him who has already yielded obedience and submission to his foe. For men have not been commanded to do anything but that which they are able to do. For the commandments set before us are only two, and they are such as are compatible with freedom and consistent with equity: one, that we refrain from everything which is wrong, and which we should not like to have done to ourselves; and the other, that we should do that which is right, and which we love and are pleased to have done to us likewise. Who, then, is the man that is too weak to avoid stealing, or to avoid lying, or to avoid acts of profligacy, or to avoid hatred and deception? For, lo! all these things are under the control of the mind of man; and are not dependent on the strength of the body, but on the will of the soul. For even if a man be poor, and sick, and old, and disabled in his limbs, he is able to avoid doing all these things. And, as he is able to avoid doing these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for what is good for every one with whom he is acquainted; and if he be in health, and capable of working, he is able also to give of that which he has; moreover, to support with strength of body him that is sick and enfeebled — this also he can do.

“Who, then, it is that is not capable of doing that which men destitute of faith complain of, I know not. For my part, I think that it is precisely in respect to these commandments that man has more power than in anything else. For they are easy, and there are no circumstances that can hinder their performance. For we are not commanded to carry heavy loads of stones, or of timber, or of anything else, which those only who have great bodily strength can do; nor to build fortresses and found cities, which kings only can do; nor to steer a ship, which mariners only have the skill

to steer; nor to measure and divide land, which land-measurers only know how to do; nor to practice any one of those arts which are possessed by some, while the rest are destitute of them. But there have been given to us, in accordance with the benignity of God, commandments having no harshness in them — such as any living man whatsoever may rejoice to do. For there is no man that does not rejoice when he does that which is fight, nor any one that is not gladdened within himself if he abstains from things that are bad — except those who were not created for this good thing, and are called tares. For would not the judge be unjust who should censure a man with regard to any such thing as he has not the ability to do?”

“Sayest thou of these deeds, O Bardesan,” said Avida to him, “that they are easy to do?”

“To him that hath the will,” said Bardesan, “I have said, and do still say, that they are easy. For this obedience I contend far is the proper behavior of a free mind, and of the soul which has not revolted against its governors. As for the action of the body, there are many things which hinder it: especially old age, and sickness, and poverty.”

“Possibly,” said Avida,” a man may be able to abstain from the things that are bad; but as for doing the things that are good, what man is capable of this?”

“It is easier,” said Bardesan, “to do good than to abstain from evil. For the good comes from the man himself, and therefore he rejoices whenever he does good; but the evil is the work of the Enemy, and therefore it is that, only when a man is excited by some evil passion, and is not in his sound natural condition, he does the things that are bad. For know, my son, that for a man to praise and bless his friend is an easy thing; but for a man to refrain from taunting and reviling one whom he hates is not easy: nevertheless, it is possible. When, too, a man does that which is right, his mind is gladdened, and his conscience at ease, and he is pleased for every one to see what he does. But, when a man behaves amiss and commits wrong, he is troubled and excited, and full of anger and rage, and distressed in his soul and in his body; and, when he is in this state of mind, he does not like to be seen by any one; and even those things in which he rejoices, and which are accompanied with praise and blessing from others, are spurned from his thoughts, while those things by which he is agitated and

disturbed are rendered more distressing to him because accompanied by the curse of conscious guilt.

“Perhaps, however, some one will say that fools also are pleased when they do abominable things. Undoubtedly: but not because they do them as such, nor because they receive any commendation far them, nor because they do them with a good hope; nor does the pleasure itself stay long with them. For the pleasure which is experienced in a healthy state of the soul, with a good hope, is one thing; and the pleasure of a diseased state of the soul, with a bad hope, is another. For lust is one thing, and love is another; and friendship is one thing, and good-fellowship another; and we ought without any difficulty to understand that the false counterfeit of affection which is called lust, even though there be in it the enjoyment of the moment, is nevertheless widely different from true affection, whose enjoyment is for ever, incorruptible and indestructible.”

“Avida here,” said I to him, “has also been speaking thus:” It is from his nature that man does wrong; for, were he not naturally formed to do wrong, he would not do it.’”

“If all men,” said Bardesan, “acted alike, and followed one bias, it would then be manifest that it was their nature that guided them, and that they had not that freedom of which I have been speaking to you. That you may understand, however, what is nature and what is freedom, I will proceed to inform you.

“The nature of man is, that he should be born, and grow up, and rise to his full stature, and produce children, and grow old, eating and drinking, and sleeping and waking, and that then he should die. These things, because they are of nature, belong to all men; and not to all men only, but also to all animals whatsoever, and some of them also to trees. For this is the work of physical nature, which makes and produces and regulates everything just as it has been commanded. Nature, I say, is found to be maintained among animals also in their actions. For the lion eats flesh, in accordance with his nature; and therefore all lions are eaters of flesh. The sheep eats grass; and therefore all sheep are eaters of grass, The bee makes honey, by which it is sustained; therefore all bees are makers of honey. The ant collects for herself a store in summer, from which to sustain herself in winter; and therefore do all ants act likewise. The scorpion

strikes with its sting him who has not hurt it; and thus do all scorpions strike. Thus all animals preserve their nature: the eaters of flesh do not eat herbage; nor do the eaters of herbage eat flesh.

“Men, on the contrary, are not governed thus; but, whilst in the matters pertaining to their bodies they preserve their nature like animals, in the matters pertaining to their minds they do that which they choose, as those who are free, and endowed with power, and as made in the likeness of God. For there are some of them that eat flesh, and do not touch bread; and there are some of them that make a distinction between the several kinds of flesh-food; and there are some of them that do not eat the flesh of any animal whatever. There are some of them that become the husbands of their mothers, and of their sisters, and of their daughters; and there are some who do not consort with women at all. There are those who take it upon themselves to inflict vengeance, like lions and leopards; and there are those who strike him that has not done them any wrong, like scorpions; and there are those that are led like sheep, and do not harm their conductors. There are some that behave themselves with kindness, and some with justice, and some with wickedness.

“If any one should say that each one of them has a nature so to do, let him be assured that it is not so. For there are those who once were profligates and drunkards; and, when the admonition of good counsels reached them, they became pure and sober, and spurned their bodily appetites. And there are those who once behaved with purity and sobriety; and when they turned away from right admonition, and dared to set themselves against the commands of Deity and of their teachers, they fell from the way of truth, and became profligates and revelers. And there are those who after their fall repented again, and fear came and abode upon them, and they turned themselves afresh towards the truth which they had before held.

“What, therefore, is the nature of man? For, lo! all men differ one from another in their conduct and in their aims, and such only as are of one mind and of one purpose resemble one another. But those men who, up to the present moment, have been enticed by their appetites and governed by their anger, are resolved to ascribe any wrong they do to their Maker, that they themselves may be found faultless, and that He who made them may,

in the idle talk of men, bear the blame. They do not consider that nature is amenable to no law. For a man is not found fault with for being tall or short in his stature, or white or black, or because his eyes are large or small, or for any bodily defect whatsoever; but he is found fault with if he steal, or lie, or practice deceit, or poison another, or be abusive, or do any other such-like things.

“From hence, lo! it will be evident, that for those things which are not in our own hands, but which we have from nature, we are in no wise condemned, nor are we in any wise justified; but by those things which we do in the exercise of our personal freedom, if they be right we are justified and entitled to praise, and if they be wrong we are condemned and subjected to blame.”

Again we questioned him, and said to him: “There are others who say that men are governed by the decree of Fate, so as to act at one time wickedly, and at another time well.”

“I too am aware, O Philip and Baryama,” said he to us, “that there are such men: those who are called Chaldaeans, and also others who are fond of this subtle knowledge, as I myself also once was. For it has been said by me in another place, that the soul of man longs to know that which the many are ignorant of, and those men make it their aim to do this; and that all the wrong which men commit, and all that they do aright, and all those things which happen to them, as regards riches and poverty, and sickness and health, and blemishes of the body, come to them through the governance of those stars which are called the Seven; and that they are, in fact, governed by them. But there are others who affirm the opposite of these things, — how that this art is a lying invention of the astrologers; or that Fate has no existence whatever, but is an empty name; that, on the contrary, all things, great and small, are placed in the hands of man; and that bodily blemishes and faults simply befall and happen to him by chance. But others, again, say that whatsoever a man does he does of his own will, in the exercise of the freedom which has been given to him, and that the faults and blemishes and other untoward things which befall him he receives as punishment from God.

“For myself, however according to my weak judgment, the matter appears to stand thus: that these three opinions are partly to be accepted as true,

and partly to be rejected as false; — accepted as true, because men speak after the appearances which they see, and also because these men see how things come upon them as if accidentally; to be set aside as fallacious, because the wisdom of God is too profound for them — that wisdom which rounded the world, and created man, and ordained Governors, and gave to all things the degree of pre-eminence which is suited to every one of them. What I mean is, that this power is possessed by God, and the Angels, and the Potentates, and the Governors, and the Elements, and men, and animals; but that this power has not been given to all these orders of beings of which I have spoken in respect to everything (for He that has power over everything is One); but over some things they have power, and over some things they have not power, as I have been saying: in order that in those things over which they have power the goodness of God may be seen, and in those over which they have no power they may know that they have a Superior.

“There is, then, such a thing as Fate, as the astrologers say. That everything, moreover, is not under the control of our will, is apparent from this — that the majority of men have had the will to be rich, and to exercise dominion over their fellows, and to be healthy in their bodies, and to have things in subjection to them as they please; but that wealth is not found except with a few, nor dominion except with one here and another there, nor health of body with all men; and that even those who are rich do not have complete possession of their riches, nor do those who are in power have things in subjection to them as they wish, but that sometimes things are disobedient to them as they do not wish; and that at one time the rich are rich as they desire, and at another time they become poor as they do not desire; and that those who are thoroughly poor have dwellings such as they do not wish, and pass their lives in the world as they do not like, and covet many things which only flee from them. Many have children, and do not rear them; others rear them, and do not retain possession of them; others retain possession of them, and they become a disgrace and a sorrow to their parents. Some are rich, as they wish, and are afflicted with ill-health, as they do not wish; others are blessed with good health, as they wish, and afflicted with poverty, as they do not wish. There are those who have in abundance the things they wish for, and but few of those things for which they do not wish; and there are others who

have in abundance the things they do not wish for, and but few of those for which they do wish.

“And so the matter is found to stand thus: that wealth, and honors, and health, and sickness, and children, and all the other various objects of desire, are placed under the control of Fate, and are not in our own power; but that, on the contrary, while we are pleased and delighted with such things as are in accordance with our wishes, towards such as we do not wish for we are drawn by force; and, from those things which happen to us when we are not pleased, it is evident that those things also with which we are pleased do not happen to us because we desire them; but that things happen as they do happen, and with some of them we are pleased, and with others not.

“And thus we men are found to be governed by Nature all alike, and by Fate variously, and by our freedom each as he chooses.

“But let us now proceed to show with respect to Fate that it has not power over everything. Clearly not: because that which is called Fate is itself nothing more than a certain order of procession, which has been given to the Potentates and Elements by God; and, in conformity with this said procession and order, intelligences undergo change when they descend to be with the soul, and souls undergo change when they descend to be with bodies; and this order, under the name of Fate and γένεσις, is the agent of the changes that take place in this assemblage of parts of which man consists, which is being sired and purified for the benefit of whatsoever by the grace of God and by goodness has been benefited, and is being and will continue to be benefited until the close of all things.

“The body, then, is governed by Nature, the soul also sharing in its experiences and sensations; and the body is neither hindered nor helped by Fate in the several acts it performs. For a man does not become a father before the age of fifteen, nor does a woman become a mother before the age of thirteen. In like manner, too, there is a law for old age: for women then become incapable of bearing, and men cease to possess the natural power of begetting children; while other animals, which are likewise governed by their nature, do, even before those ages I have mentioned, not only produce offspring, but also become too old to do so, just as the bodies of men also, when they are grown old, cease to propagate: nor is Fate able to

give them offspring at a time when the body has not the natural power to give them. Neither, again, is Fate able to preserve the body of man in life without meat and drink; nor yet, even when it has meat and drink, to grant it exemption from death: for these and many other things belong exclusively to Nature.

“But, when the times and methods of Nature have had their full scope, then does Fate come and make its appearance among them, and produce effects of various kinds: at one time helping Nature and augmenting its power, and at another crippling and baffling it. Thus, from Nature comes the growth and perfecting of the body; but apart from Nature, that is by Fate, come diseases and blemishes in the body. From Nature comes the union of male and female, and the unalloyed happiness of them both; but from Fate comes hatred and the dissolution of the union, and, moreover, all that impurity and lasciviousness which by reason of the natural propensity to intercourse men practice in their lust. From Nature comes birth and children; and from Fate, that sometimes the children are deformed, and sometimes are cast away, and sometimes die before their time. From Nature comes a supply of nourishment sufficient for the bodies of all creatures; and from Fate comes the want of sustenance, and consequent suffering in those bodies; and so, again, from the same Fate comes gluttony and unnecessary luxury. Nature ordains that the aged shall be judges for the young, and the wise for the foolish, mid that the strong shall be set over the weak, and the brave over the timid; but Fate brings it to pass that striplings are set over the aged, and the foolish over the wise, and that in time of war the weak command the strong, and the timid the brave.

“You must distinctly understand that, in all cases in which Nature is disturbed from its direct course, its disturbance comes by reason of Fate; and this happens because the Chiefs and Governors, with whom rests that agency of change which is called Nativity, are opposed to one another. Some of them, which are called Dexter, are those which help Nature, and add to its predominance, whenever the procession is favorable to them, and they stand in those regions of the zodiac which are in the ascendant, in their own portions. Those, on the contrary, which are called Sinister are evil, and whenever they in their turn are in possession of the ascendant they act in opposition to Nature; and not on men only do they inflict

harm, but at times on animals also, and trees, and fruits, and the produce of the year, and fountains of water, and, in short, on everything that is comprised within Nature, which is under their government.

“And in consequence of this, — namely, the divisions and parties which exist among the Potentates, — some men have thought that the world is governed by these contending powers without any superintendence from above. But that is because they do not understand that this very thing — I mean the parties and divisions subsisting among them, — and the justification and condemnation consequent on their behavior, belong to that constitution of things rounded in freedom which has been given by God, to the end that these agents likewise, by reason of their self-determining power, may be either justified or condemned. Just as we see that Fate crushes Nature, so can we also see the freedom of man defeating and crushing Fate itself, — not, however, in everything, — just as also Fate itself does not in everything defeat Nature. For it is proper that the three things, Nature, and Fate, and Freedom, should be continued in existence until the procession of which I before spoke be completed, and the appointed measure and number of its evaluations be accomplished, even as it seemed good to Him who ordains of what kind shall be the mode of life and the end of all creatures, and the condition of all beings and natures. “

“I am convinced,” said Avida, “by the arguments thou hast brought forward, that it is not from his nature that a man does wrong, and also that all men are not governed alike. If thou canst further prove also that it is not from Fate and Destiny that those who do wrong so act, then will it be incumbent on us to believe that man possesses personal freedom, and by his nature has the power both to follow that which is right and to avoid that which is wrong, and will therefore also justly be judged at the last day, “

“Art thou,” said Bardesan, “by the fact that all men are not governed alike, convinced that it is not from their nature that they do wrong? Why, then, thou canst not possibly escape the conviction that neither also from Fate exclusively do they do wrong, if we are able to show thee that the sentence of the Fates and Potentates does not influence all men alike, but that we

have freedom in our own selves, so that we can avoid serving physical nature and being influenced by the control of the Potentates.”

“Prove me this,” said Avida, “and I will be convinced by thee, and whatsoever thou shalt enjoin upon me I will do.”

“Hast thou,” said Bardesan, “read the books of the astrologers who are in Babylon, in which is described what effects the stars have in their various combinations at the Nativities of men; and the books of the Egyptians, in which are described all the various characters which men happen to have?” “I have read books of. astrology,” said Avida, “but I do not know which are those of the Babylonians and which those of the Egyptians.”

“The teaching of both countries,” said Bardesan, “is the same.”

“It is well known to be so,” said Avida. “Listen, then,” said Bardesan, “and observe, that that which the stars decree by their Fate and their portions is not practiced by all men alike who are in all parts of the earth. For men have made laws for themselves in various countries, in the exercise of that freedom which was given them by God: forasmuch as this gift is in its very nature opposed to that Fate emanating from the Potentates, who assume to themselves that which was not given them. I will begin my enumeration of these laws, so far as I can remember them, from the East, the beginning of the whole world: —

“ Laws of the Seres. — The Seres have laws forbidding to kill, or to commit impurity, or to worship idols; and in the whole of Serica there are no idols, and no harlots, nor any one that kills a man, nor any that is killed: although they, like other men, are born at all hours and on all days. Thus the fierce Mars, whensoever he is ‘posited’ in the zenith, does not overpower the freedom of the Seres, and compel a man to shed the blood of his fellow with an iron weapon; nor does Venus, when posited with Mars, compel any man whatever among the Seres to consort with his neighbor’s wife, or with any other woman. Rich and poor, however, and sick people and healthy, and rulers and subjects, are there: because such matters are given into the power of the Governors.

“Laws of the Brahmans who are in India.Again, among the Hindus, the Brahmans, of whom there are many thousands and tens of thousands, have a law forbidding to kill at all, or to pay reverence to idols, or to commit

impurity, or to eat flesh, or to drink wine; and among these people not one of these things ever takes place. Thousands of years, too, have elapsed, during which these men, lo! have been governed by this law which they made for themselves.

“Another Law which is in India. — There is also another law in India, and in the same zone, prevailing among those who are not of the caste of the Brahmans, and do not embrace their teaching, bidding them serve idols, and commit impurity, and kill, and do other bad things, which by the Brahmans are disapproved. In the same zone of India, too, there are men who are in the habit of eating the flesh of men, just as all other nations eat the flesh of animals. Thus the evil stars have not compelled the Brahmans to do evil and impure things; nor have the good stars prevailed on the rest of the Hindus to abstain from doing evil things; nor have those stars which are well ‘located’ in the regions which properly belong to them, and in the signs of the zodiac favorable to a humane disposition, prevailed on those who eat the flesh of men to abstain from using this foul and abominable food.

“Laws of the Persians. — The Persians, again, have made themselves laws permitting them to take as wives their sisters, and their daughters, and their daughters’ daughters; and there are some who go yet further, and take even their mothers. Some of these said Persians are scattered abroad, away from their country, and are found in Media, and in the country of the Parthians, and in Egypt, and in Phrygia (they are called Magi); and in all the countries and zones in which they are found, they are governed by this law which was made for their fathers. Yet we cannot say that for all the Magi, and for the rest of the Persians, Venus was posited with the Moon and with Saturn in the house of Saturn in her portions, while the aspect of Mars was toward them. There are many places, too, in the kingdom of the Parthians, where men kill their wives, and their brothers, and their children, and incur no penalty; while among the Romans and the Greeks, he that kills one of these incurs capital punishment, the severest of penalties.

“Laws of the Geli. — Among the Geli the women sow and reap, and build, and perform all the tasks of laborers, and wear no raiment of colors, and put on no shoes, and use no pleasant ointments; nor does any one find

fault with them when they consort with strangers, or cultivate intimacies with their household slaves. But the husbands of these Gelae are dressed in garments of colors, and ornamented with gold and jewels, and anoint themselves with pleasant ointments. Nor is it on account of any effeminacy on their part that they act in this manner, but on account of the law which has been made for them: in fact, all the men are fond of hunting and addicted to war. But we cannot say that for all the women of the Geli Venus was posited in Capricorn or in Aquarius, in a position of ill luck; nor can we possibly say that for all the Geli Mars and Venus were posited in Aries, where it is written that brave and wanton men are born.

“Laws of the Bactrians. — Among the Bactrians, who are called Cashani, the women adorn themselves with the goodly raiment of men, and with much gold, and with costly jewels; and the slaves and handmaids minister to them more than to their husbands; and they ride on horses decked out with trapping of gold and with precious stones. These women, moreover, do not practice continency, but have intimacies with their slaves, and with strangers who go to that country; and their husbands do not find fault with them, nor have the women themselves any fear of punishment, because the Cashani look upon their wives only as mistresses. Yet we cannot say that for all the Bactrian women Venus and Mars and Jupiter are posited in the house of Mars in the middle of the heavens, the place where women are born that are rich and adulterous, and that make their husbands subservient to them in everything.

“Laws of the Racami, and of the Edessaeans, and of the Arabians. — Among the Racami, and the Edessaeans, and the Arabians, not only is she that commits adultery put to death, but she also upon whom rests the suspicion of adultery suffers capital punishment.

“Laws in Hatra. — There is a law in force in Hatra, that whosoever steals any little thing, even though it were worthless as water, shall be stoned. Among the Cashani, on the contrary, if any one commits such a theft as this, they merely spit in his face. Among the Romans, too, he that commits a small theft is scourged and sent about his business. On the other side of the Euphrates, and as you go eastward, he that is stigmatized as either a thief or a murderer does not much resent it; but, if a man be

stigmatized as an arsenocoete, he will avenge himself even to the extent of killing his accuser.

“Laws.... — Among ... boys... to us, and are not... Again, in all the region of the East, if any persons are thus stigmatized, and are known to be guilty, their own fathers and brothers put them to death; and very often they do not even make known the graves where they are buried.

“Such are the laws of the people of the East. But in the North, and in the country of the Gauls and their neighbors, such youths among them as are handsome the men take as wives, and they even have feasts on the occasion; and it is not considered by them as a disgrace, nor as a reproach, because of the law which prevails among them. But it is a thing impossible that all those in Gaul who are branded with this disgrace should at their Nativities have had Mercury posited with Venus in the house of Saturn, and within the limits of Mars, and in the signs of the zodiac to the west. For, concerning such men as are born under these conditions, it is written that they are branded with infamy, as being like women.

“Laws of the Britons.” — Among the Britons many men take one and the same wife.

“Laws of the Parthians. — Among the Parthians, on the other hand, one man takes many wives, and all of them keep to him only, because of the law which has been made there in that country.

“Laws of the Amazons. — As regards the Amazons, they, all of them, the entire nation, have no husbands; but like animals, once a year, in the spring-time, they issue forth from their territories and cross the river; and, having crossed it, they hold a great festival on a mountain, and the men from those parts come and stay with them fourteen days, and associate with them, and they become pregnant by them, and pass over again to their own country; and, when they are delivered, such of the children as are males they cast away, and the females they bring up. Now it is evident that, according to the ordinance of Nature, since they all became pregnant in one month, they also in one month are all delivered, a little sooner or a little later; and, as we have heard, all of them are robust and warlike; but not one of the stars is able to help any of those males who are born so as to prevent their being east away.

“The Book of the Astrologers. — It is written in the book of the astrologers, that, when Mercury is posited with Venus in the house of Mercury, he produces painters, sculptors, and bankers; but that, when they are in the house of Venus, they produce perfumers, and dancers, and singers, and poets. And yet, in all the country of the Tayites and of the Saracens, and in Upper Libya and among the Mauritanians, and in the country of the Nomades, which is at the mouth of the Ocean, and in outer Germany, and in Upper Sarmatia, and in Spain, and in all the countries to the north of Pontus, and in all the country of the Alanians, and among the Albanians, and among the Zazi, and in Brusa, which is beyond the Douro, one sees neither sculptors, nor painters, nor perfumers, nor bankers, nor poets; but, on the contrary, this decree of Mercury and Venus is prevented from influencing the entire circumference of the world. In the whole of Media, all men when they die, and even while life is still remaining in them, are cast to the dogs, and the dogs eat the dead of the whole of Media. Yet we cannot say that all the Medians are born having the Moon posited with Mars in Cancer in the day-time beneath the earth: for it is written that those whom dogs eat are so born. The Hindus, when they die, are all of them burnt with fire, and many of their wives are burnt along with them alive. But we cannot say that all those women of the Hindus who are burnt had at their Nativity Mars and the Sun posited in Leo in the night-time beneath the earth, as those persons are born who are burnt with fire. All the Germans die by strangulation, except those who are killed in battle. But it is a thing impossible, that, at the Nativity of all the Germans the Moon and Hora should have been posited between Mars and Saturn. The truth is, that in all countries, every day, and at all hours, men are born under Nativities diverse from one another, and the laws of men prevail over the decree of the stars, and they are governed by their customs. Fate does not compel the Seres to commit murder against their wish, nor the Brahmans to eat flesh; nor does it hinder the Persians from taking as wives their daughters and their sisters, nor the Hindus from being burnt, nor the Medes from being devoured by dogs, nor the Parthians from taking many wives, nor among the Britons many men from taking one and the same wife, nor the Edessaeans from cultivating chastity, nor the Greeks from practicing gymnastics,..., nor the Romans from perpetually seizing upon other countries, nor the men of the Gauls from marrying one another; nor does it compel the Amazons to rear the males; nor does his

Nativity compel any man within the circumference of the whole world to cultivate the art of the Muses; but, as I have already said, in every country and in every nation all men avail themselves of the freedom of their nature in any way they choose, and, by reason of the body with which they are clothed, do service to Fate and to Nature, sometimes as they wish, and at other times as they do not wish. For in every country and in every nation there are rich and poor, and rulers and subjects, and people in health and those who are sick — each one according as Fate and his Nativity have affected him.”

“Of these things, Father Bardesan,” said I to him, “thou hast convinced us, and we know that they are true. But knowest thou that the astrologers say that the earth is divided into seven portions, which are called Zones; and that over the said portions those seven stars have authority, each of them over one; and that in each one of the said portions the will of its own Potentate prevails; and that this is called its law?”

“First of all, know thou, my son Philip,” said he to me, “that the astrologers have invented this statement as a device for the promotion of error. For, although the earth be divided into seven portions, yet in every one of the seven portions many laws are to be found differing from one another. For there are not seven kinds of laws only found in the world, according to the number of the seven stars; nor yet twelve, according to the number of the signs of the zodiac; nor yet thirty-six, according to the number of the Decani. But there are many kinds of laws to be seen as you go from kingdom to kingdom, from country to country, from district to district, and in every abode of man, differing one from another. For ye remember what I said to you — that in one zone, that of the Hindus, there are many men that do not eat the flesh of animals, and there are others that even eat the flesh of men. And again, I told you, in speaking of the Persians and the Magi, that it is not in the zone of Persia only that they have taken for wives their daughters and their sisters, but that in every country to which they have gone they have followed the law of their fathers, and have preserved the mystic arts contained in that teaching which they delivered to them. And again, remember that I told you of many nations spread abroad over the entire circuit of the world, who have not been confined to any one zone, but have dwelt in every quarter from which the wind blows, and in all the zones, and who have not the arts

which Mercury and Venus are said to have given when in conjunction with each other. Yet, if laws were regulated by zones, this could not be; but they clearly are not: because those men I have spoken of are at a wide remove from having anything in common with many other men in their habits of life. “Then, again, how many wise men, think ye, have abolished from their countries laws which appeared to them not well made? How many laws, also, are there which have been set aside through necessity? And how many kings are there who, when they have got possession of countries which did not belong to them, have abolished their established laws, and made such other laws as they chose? And, whenever these things occurred, no one of the stars was able to preserve the law. Here is an instance at hand for you to see for yourselves: it is but as yesterday since the Romans took possession of Arabia, and they abolished all the laws previously existing there, and especially the circumcision which they practiced. The truth is, that he who is his own master is sometimes compelled to obey the law imposed on him by another, who himself in turn becomes possessed of the power to do as he pleases.

“But let me mention to you a fact which more than anything else is likely to convince the foolish, and such as are wanting in faith. All the Jews, who received the law through Moses, circumcise their male children on the eighth day, without waiting for the coming of the proper stars, or standing in fear of the law of the country where they are living. Nor does the star which has authority over the zone govern them by force; but, whether they be in Edom, or in Arabia, or in Greece, or in Persia, or in the north, or in the south, they carry out this law which was made for them by their fathers. It is evident that what they do is not from Nativity: for it is impossible that for all the Jews, on the eighth day, on which they are circumcised, Mars should ‘be in the ascendant,’ so that steel should pass upon them, and their blood be shed. Moreover, all of them, wherever they are, abstain from paying reverence to idols. One day in seven, also, they and their children cease from all work, from all building, and from all traveling, and from all buying and selling; nor do they kill an animal on the Sabbath-day, nor kindle a fire, nor administer justice; and there is not found among them any one whom Fate compels, either to go to law on the Sabbath-day and gain his cause, or to go to law and lose it, or to pull down, or to build up, or to do any one of those things which are done by

all those men who have not received this law. They have also other things in respect to which they do not on the Sabbath conduct themselves like the rest of mankind, though on this same day they both bring forth and are born, and fall sick and die: for these things do not pertain to the power of man.

“In Syria and in Edessa men used to part with their manhood in honor of Tharatha; but, when King Abgar became a believer he commanded that every one that did so should have his hand cut off, and from that day until now no one does so in the country of Edessa.

“And what shall we say of the new race of us Christians, whom Christ at His advent planted in every country and in every region? for, lo! wherever we are, we are all called after the one name of Christ — Christians. On one day, the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the days of the readings we abstain from taking sustenance. The brethren who are in Gaul do not take males for wives, nor those who are in Parthia two wives; nor do those who are in Judges circumcise themselves; nor do our sisters who are among the Geli consort with strangers; nor do those brethren who are in Persia take their daughters for wives; nor do those who are in Media abandon their dead, or bury them alive, or give them as food to the dogs; nor do those who are in Edessa kill their wives or their sisters when they commit impurity, but they withdraw from them, and give them over to the judgment of God; nor do those who are in Hatra stone thieves to death; but, wherever they are, and in whatever place they are found, the laws of the several countries do not hinder them from obeying the law of their Sovereign, Christ; nor does the Fate of the celestial Governors compel them to make use of things which they regard as impure.

“On the other hand, sickness and health, and riches and poverty, things which are not within the scope of their freedom, befall them wherever they are. For although the freedom of man is not influenced by the compulsion of the Seven, or, if at any time it is influenced, it is able to withstand the influences exerted upon it, yet, an the other hand, this same man, externally regarded, cannot on the instant liberate himself from the command of his Governors: for he is a slave and in subjection. For, if we were able to do everything, we should ourselves be everything; and, if we had not the power to do anything, we should be the tools of others.

“But, when God wills them, all things are possible, and they may take place without hindrance: for there is nothing that can stay that Great and Holy Will. For even those who think that they successfully withstand it, do not withstand it by strength, but by wickedness and error. And this may go on for a little while, because He is kind and forbearing towards all beings that exist, so as to let them remain as they are, and be governed by their own will, whilst notwithstanding they are held in check by the works which have been done and by the arrangements which have been made for their help. For this well-ordered constitution of things and this government which have been instituted, and the intermingling of one with another, serve to repress the violence of these beings, so that they should not inflict harm on one another to the full, nor yet to the full suffer harm, as was the case with them before the creation of the world. A time is also coming when this propensity to inflict harm which still remains in them shall be brought to an end, through the teaching which shall be given them amidst intercourse of another kind. And at the establishment of that new world all evil commotions shall cease, and all rebellions terminate, and the foolish shall be convinced, and all deficiencies shall be filled up, and there shall be quietness and peace, through the gift of the Lord of all existing beings.”

Here endeth the Book of the Laws of Countries.

Bardesan, therefore, an aged man, and one celebrated for his knowledge of events, wrote, in a certain work which was composed by him, concerning the synchronisms with one another of the luminaries of heaven, speaking as follows: —

Two revolutions of Saturn, 60 years;

5 revolutions of Jupiter, 60 years;

40 revolutions of Mars, 60 years;

60 revolutions of the Sun, 60 years;

72 revolutions of Venus, 60 years;

150 revolutions of Mercury, 60 years;

720 revolutions of the Moon, 60 years.

And this," says he, "is one synchronism of them all; that is, the time of one such synchronism of them. So that from hence it appears that to complete too such synchronisms there will be required six thousands of years. Thus: —

200 revolutions of Saturn, six thousands of years;

500 revolutions of Jupiter, 6 thousands of years;

4 thousand revolutions of Mars, 6 thousands of years;

6 thousand revolutions of the Sun, 6 thousands of years;

7 thousand and 200 revolutions of Venus, 6 thousands of years;

12 thousand revolutions of Mercury, 6 thousands of years;

72 thousand revolutions of the Moon, 6 thousands of years."

These things did Bardesan thus compute when desiring to show that this world would stand only six thousands of years.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

A LETTER OF MARA, SON OF SERAPION

MARA, son of Serapion, to Serapion, my son: peace.

When thy master and guardian wrote me a letter, and informed me that thou wast very diligent in study, though so young in years, I blessed God that thou, a little boy, and without a guide to direct thee, hadst begun in good earnest; and to myself also this was a comfort — that I heard of thee, little boy as thou art, as displaying such greatness of mind and conscientiousness: a character which, in the case of many who have begun well, has shown no eagerness to continue.

On this account, lo, I have written for thee this record, touching that which I have by careful observation discovered in the world. For the kind of life men lead has been carefully observed by me. I tread the path of learning, and from the study of Greek philosophy have I found out all these things, although they suffered shipwreck when the birth of life took place.

Be diligent, then, my son, in attention to those things which are becoming for the free, so as to devote thyself to learning, and to follow after wisdom; and endeavor thus to become confirmed in those habits with which thou hast begun. Call to mind also my precepts, as a quiet person who is fond of the pursuit of learning. And, even though such a life should seem to thee very irksome, yet when thou hast made experience of it for a little while, it will become very pleasant to thee: for to me also it so happened. When, moreover, a person has left his home, and is able still to preserve his previous character, and properly does that which it behoves him to do, he is that chosen man who is called “the blessing of God,” and one who does not find aught else to compare with his freedom. For, as for those persons who are called to the pursuit of learning, they are seeking to extricate themselves from the turmoils of time; and those who take hold upon wisdom, they are clinging to the hope of righteousness; and those who take their stand on truth, they are displaying the banner of their virtue; and those who cultivate philosophy, they are looking to escape from the vexations of the world. And do thou too, my son, thus wisely behave thyself in regard to these things, as a wise person who seeks to spend a pure life; and beware lest the gain which many hunger after enervate thee, and thy mind turn to covet riches, which have no stability. For, when they are acquired by fraud, they do not continue; nor, even when justly obtained, do they last; and all those things which are seen by thee in the world, as belonging to that which is only for a little time, are destined to depart like a dream: for they are but as the risings and settings of the seasons.

About the objects of that vainglory, too, of which the life of men is full, be not thou solicitous: seeing that from those things which give us joy there quickly comes to us harm. Most especially is this the case with the birth of beloved children. For in two respects it plainly brings us harm: in the case of the virtuous, our very affection for them torments us, and from their very excellence of character we Suffer torture; and, in the case of the vicious, we are worried with their correction, and afflicted with their misconduct.

Thou hast heard, moreover, concerning our companions, that, when they were leaving Samosata, they were distressed about it, and, as if complaining of the time in which their lot was cast, said thus: “We are

now far removed from our home, and we cannot return again to our city, or behold our people, or offer to our gods the greeting of praise." Meet was it that that day should be called a day of lamentation, because one heavy grief possessed them all alike. For they wept as they remembered their fathers, and they thought of their mothers with sobs, and they were distressed for their brethren, and grieved for their betrothed whom they had left behind. And, although we had heard that their former companions were proceeding to Seleucia, we clandestinely set out, and proceeded on the way towards them, and united our own misery with theirs. Then was our grief exceedingly violent, and fitly did our weeping abound, by reason of our desperate plight, and our wailing gathered itself into a dense cloud, and our misery grew vaster than a mountain: for not one of us had the power to ward off the disasters that assailed him. For affection for the living was intense, as well as sorrow for the dead, and our miseries were driving us on without any way of escape. For we saw our brethren and our children captives, and we remembered our deceased companions, who were laid to rest in a foreign land. Each one of us, too, was anxious for himself, lest he should have disaster added to disaster, or lest another calamity should overtake that which went before it. What enjoyment could men have that were prisoners, and who experienced things like these?

But as for thee, my beloved, be not distressed because in thy loneliness thou hast been driven from place to place. For to these things men are born, since they are destined to meet with the accidents of time. But rather let thy thought be this, that to wise men every place is alike, and that in every city the good have many fathers and mothers. Else, if thou doubt it, take thee a proof from what thou hast seen thyself. How many people who know thee not love thee as one of their own children; and what a host of women receive thee as they would their own beloved ones! Verily, as a stranger thou hast been fortunate; verily, for thy small love many people have conceived an ardent affection for thee.

What, again, are we to say concerning the delusion which has taken up its abode in the world? Both by reason of toil painful is the journey through it, and by its agitations are we, like a reed by the force of the wind, bent now in this direction, now in that. For I have been amazed at many who cast away their children, and I have been astonished at others who bring up those that are not theirs. There are persons who acquire riches in the

world, and I have also been astonished at others who inherit that which is not of their own acquisition. Thus mayest thou understand and see that we are walking under the guidance of delusion.

Begin and tell us, O wisest of men, on which of his possessions a man can place reliance, or concerning what things he can say that they are such as abide. Wilt thou say so of abundance of riches? they are snatched away. Of fortresses? they are spoiled. Of cities? they are laid waste. Of greatness? it is brought down. Of magnificence? it is overthrown. Of beauty? it withers. Or of laws? they pass away. Or of poverty? it is despised. Or of children? they die. Or of friends? they prove false. Or of the praises of men? jealousy goes before them.

Let a man, therefore, rejoice in his empire, like Darius; or in his good fortune, like Polycrates; or in his bravery, like Achilles; or in his wife, like Agamemnon; or in his offspring, like Priam; or in his skill, like Archimedes; or in his wisdom, like Socrates; or in his learning, like Pythagoras; or in his ingenuity, like Palamedes; — the life of men, my son, departs from the world, but their praises and their virtues abide for ever.

Do thou, then, my little son, choose thee that which fadeth not away. For those who occupy themselves with these things are called modest, and are beloved, and lovers of a good name.

When, moreover, anything untoward befalls thee, do not lay the blame on man, nor be angry against God, nor fulminate against the time thou livest in.

If thou shalt continue in this mind, thy gift it not small which thou hast received from God, which has no need of riches, and is never reduced to poverty. For without fear shalt thou pass thy life, and with rejoicing. For fear and apologies for one’s nature belong not to the wise, but to such as walk contrary to law. For no man has even been deprived of his wisdom, as of his property.

Follow diligently learning rather than riches. For the greater are one’s possessions, the greater is the evil attendant upon them. For I have myself observed that, where a man’s goods are many, so also are the tribulations which happen to him; and, where luxuries are accumulated, there also do sorrows congregate; and, where riches are abundant, there is stared up the

bitterness of many a year. If, therefore, thou shalt behave with understanding, and shalt diligently watch over thy conduct, God will not refrain from helping thee, nor men from loving thee.

Let that which thou art able to acquire suffice thee; and if, moreover, thou art able to do without property, thou shale be called blessed, and no man whatsoever shall be jealous of thee.

And remember also this, that nothing will disturb thy life very greatly, except it be the love of gain; and that no man after his death is called an owner of property: because it is by the desire of this that weak men are led captive, and they know not that a man dwells among his possessions only in the manner of a chance-comer, and they are haunted with fear because these possessions are not secured to them: for they abandoned that which is their own, and seek that which is not theirs.

What are we to say, when the wise are dragged by force by the hands of tyrants, and their wisdom is deprived of its freedom by slander, and they are plundered for their superior intelligence, without the opportunity of making a defense? They are not wholly to be pitied. For what benefit did the Athenians obtain by putting Socrates to death, seeing that they received as retribution for it famine and pestilence? Or the people of Samos by the burning of Pythagoras, seeing that in one hour the. whole of their country was covered with sand? Or the Jews by the murder of their Wise King, seeing that from that very time their kingdom was driven away from them? For with justice did God grant a recompense to the wisdom of all three of them. For the Athenians died by famine; and the people of Samos were covered by the sea without remedy; and the Jews, brought to desolation and expelled from their kingdom, are driven away into Every land. Nay, Socrates did “not” die, because of Plato; nor yet Pythagoras, because of the statue of Hera; nor yet the Wise King, because of the new laws which he enacted.

Moreover I, my son, have attentively observed mankind, in what a dismal state of ruin they are. And I have been amazed that they are not utterly prostrated by the calamities which surround them, and that even their wars are not enough for them, nor the pains they endure, nor the diseases, nor the death, nor the poverty; but that, like savage beasts, they must needs rush upon one another in their enmity, trying which of them shall

inflict the greater mischief on his fellow. For they have broken away from the bounds of truth, and transgress all honest laws, because they are bent on fulfilling their selfish desires; for, whensoever a man is eagerly set on obtaining that which he desires, how is it possible that he should fitly do that which it behoves him to do? and they acknowledge no restraint, and but seldom stretch out their hands towards truth and goodness, but in their manner of life behave like the deaf and the blind. Moreover, the wicked rejoice, and the righteous are disquieted. He that has, denies that he has; and he that has not, struggles to acquire. The poor seek help, and the rich hide their wealth, and every man laughs at his fellow. Those that are drunken are stupefied, and those that have recovered themselves are ashamed. Some weep, and some sing; and some laugh, and others are a prey to care. They rejoice in things evil, and a man that speaks the truth they despise.

Should a man, then, be surprised when the world is seeking to wither him with its scorn, seeing that they and he have not one and the same manner of life? “These” are the things for which they care. One of them is looking forward to the time when in battle he shall obtain the renown of victory; yet the valiant perceive not by how many foolish objects of desire a man is led captive in the world. But would that for a little while self-repentance visited them! For, while victorious by their bravery, they are overcome by the power of covetousness. For I have made trial of men, and with this result: that the one thing on which they are intent, is abundance of riches. Therefore also it is that they have no settled purpose; but, through the instability of their minds, a man is of a sudden cast down from his elation of spirit to be swallowed up with sadness. They look not at the vast wealth of eternity, nor consider that every visitation of trouble is conducting us all alike to the same final period. For they are devoted to the majesty of the belly, that huge blot an the character of the vicious.

Moreover, as regards this letter which it has come into my mind to write to thee, it is not enough to read it, but the best thing is that it be put in practice. For I know for myself, that when thou shale have made experiment of this mode of life, it will be very pleasant to thee, and thou wilt be free from sore vexation; because it is only on account of children that we tolerate riches.

Put, therefore, sadness away from thee, O most beloved of mankind, — a thing which never in anywise benefits a man; and drive care away from thee, which brings with it no advantage whatsoever. For we have no resource or skill that can avail us — nothing but a great mind

able to cope with the disasters and to endure the tribulations which we are always receiving at the hands of the times. For at these things does it behoove us to look, and not only at those which are fraught with rejoicing and good repute.

Devote thyself to wisdom, the fount of all things good, the treasure that faileth not. There shalt thou lay thy head, and be at ease. For this shall be to thee father and mother, and a good companion for thy life.

Enter into closest intimacy with fortitude and patience, those virtues which are able successfully to encounter the tribulations that befall feeble men. For so great is their strength, that they are adequate to sustain hunger, and can endure thirst, and mitigate every trouble. With toil, moreover, yea even with dissolution, they make right merry.

To these things give diligent attention, and thou shalt lead an untroubled life, and I also Shall have comfort, and thou shalt be called “the delight of his parents.”

For in that time of yore, when our city was standing in her greatness, thou mayest be aware that against many persons among us abominable words were uttered; but for ourselves, we acknowledged long ago that we received love, no less than honor, to the fullest extent from the multitude of her people: it was the state of the times only that forbade our completing those: things which we had resolved on doing. And here also in the prison-house we give thanks to God that we have received the love of many: for we are striving to our utmost to maintain a life of sobriety and cheerfulness; and, if anyone drive us by force, he will but be bearing public testimony against himself, that he is estranged from all things good, and he will receive disgrace and shame from the foul mark of shame that is upon him. For we have shown our truth — that truth which in our now ruined kingdom we possessed not. But, if the Romans shall permit us to go back to our own country, as called upon by justice and righteousness to do, they will be acting like humane men, and will earn the name of good and

righteous, and at the same time will have a peaceful country in which to dwell: for they will exhibit their greatness when they shall leave us free men, and we shall be obedient to the sovereign power which the time has allotted to us. But let them not like tyrants, drive us as though we were slaves. Yet, if it has been already determined what shall be done, we shall receive nothing more dreadful than the peaceful death which is in store for us.

But thou, my little son, if thou resolve diligently to acquaint thyself with these things, first of all put a check on appetite, and set limits to that in which thou art indulging. Seek the power to refrain from being angry; and, instead of yielding to outbursts of passion, listen to the promptings of kindness.

For myself, what I am henceforth solicitous about is this — that, so far as I have recollections of the past, I may leave behind me a book containing them, and with a prudent mind finish the journey which I am appointed to take, and depart without suffering out of the sad afflictions of the world. For my prayer is, that I may receive my dismissal; and by what kind of death concerns me not. But, if any one should be troubled or anxious about this, I have no counsel to give him: for yonder, in the dwelling-place of all the world, will he find us before him.

One of his friends asked Mara, son of Serapion, when in bonds at his side: “Nay, by thy life, Mara, tell me what cause of laughter thou hast seen, that thou laughest.” “I am laughing,” said Mara, “at Time: inasmuch as, although he has not borrowed any evil from me, he is paying me back.”

Here endeth the letter of Mara, son of Serapion.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

AMBROSE

A MEMORIAL a which Ambrose, a chief man of Greece, wrote: who became a Christian, and all his fellow-senators raised an outcry against him; and he fled from them, and wrote and pointed out to them all their foolishness.

Beginning his discourse, he answered and said: —

Think not, men of Greece, that my separation from your customs has been made without a just and proper reason. For I acquainted myself with all your wisdom, consisting of poetry, of oratory, of philosophy; and when I found not there anything agreeable to what is right, or that is worthy of the divine nature, I resolved to make myself acquainted with the wisdom of the Christians also, and to learn and see who they are, and when they took their rise, and what is the nature of this new and strange wisdom of theirs, or on what good hopes those who are imbued with it rely, that they speak only that which is true.

Men of Greece, when I came to examine the Christian writings, I found not any folly sin them, as I had found not any folly in them, as I had found in the celebrated Homer, who has said concerning the wars of the two trials: “Because of Helen, many of the Greeks perished at Troy, away from their beloved home.” For, first of all, we are told concerning Agamemnon their king, that by reason of the foolishness of his brother Menelaus, and the violence of his madness, and the uncontrollable nature of his passion, he resolved to go and rescue Helen from the hands of a certain leprous shepherd; and afterwards, when the Greeks had become victorious in the war, and burnt cities, and taken women and children captive, and the land was filled with blood, and the rivers with corpses, Agamemnon himself also was found to be taken captive by his passion for Briseis. Patroclus, again, we are told, was slain, and Achilles, the son of the goddess Thetis, mourned over him; Hector was dragged along the ground, and Priam and Hecuba together were weeping over the loss of their children; Astyanax, the son of Hector, was thrown down from the walls of Ilion, and his mother Andromache the mighty Ajax bore away into captivity; and that which was taken as booty was after a little while, all squandered in sensual indulgence.

Of the wiles of Odysseus the son of Laertes, and of his murders, who shall tell the tale? For of a hundred and ten suitors did his house in one day become the grave, and it was filled with corpses and blood. He, too, it was that by his wickedness gained the praises of men, because through his pre-eminence in craft he escaped detection; he, too, it was who, you say,

sailed upon the sea, and heard not the voice of the Sirens only because he stopped his ears with wax.

The famous Achilles, again, the son of Peleus, who bounded across the river, and routed the Trojans, and slew Hector, — this said hero of yours became the slave of Philoxena, and was overcome by an Amazon as she lay dead and stretched upon her bier; and he put off his armor, and arrayed himself in nuptial garments, and finally fell a sacrifice to love.

Thus much concerning your great “men;” and thou, Homer, hadst deserved forgiveness, if thy silly story-telling had gone so far only as to prate about men, and not about the gods. As for what he says about the gods, I am ashamed even to speak of it: for the stories that have been invented about them are very wicked and shocking; passing stranger too, and not to be believed; and, if the truth must be told, fit only to be laughed at. For a person will be compelled to laugh when he meets with them, and will not believe them when he hears them. For think of gods who did not one of them observe the laws of rectitude, or of purity, or of modesty, but were adulterers, and spent their time in debauchery, and yet were not condemned to death, as they ought to have been!

Why, the sovereign of the gods, the very “father of gods and men,” not only, as ye say, was an adulterer (this was but a light thing), but even slew his own father, and was a pederast. I will first of all speak of his adultery, though I blush to do so: for he appeared to Antiope as a satyr, and descended upon Danae as a shower of gold, and became a bull for Europa, and a swan for Leda; whilst the love of Semele, the mother of Dionysus, exposed both his own ardency of passion and the jealousy of the chaste Hera. Ganymede the Phrygian, too, he carried off disguised as an eagle, that the fair and comely boy, forsooth, might serve as cup-bearer to him. This said sovereign of the gods, moreover killed his father Kronos, that he might seize upon his kingdom.

Oh! to how many charges is the sovereign of the gods amenable, and how many deaths does he deserve to die, as an adulterer, and as a sorcerer, and as a pederast! Read to the sovereign of the gods, O men of Greece, the law concerning parricide, and the condemnation pronounced on adultery, and about the shame that attaches to the vile sin of pederasty. How many adulterers has the sovereign of the gods indoctrinated in sin! Nay, how

many pederasts, and sorcerers, and murderers! So that, if a man be found indulging his passions, he must not be put to death: because he has done this that he may become like the sovereign of the gods; and, if he be found a murderer, he has an excuse in the sovereign of the gods; and, if a man be a sorcerer, he has learned it from the sovereign of the gods; and, if he be a pederast, the sovereign of the gods is his apologist. Then, again, if one should speak of courage, Achilles was more valiant that this said sovereign of the gods: for he slew the man that slew his friend; but the sovereign of the gods wept over Sarpedon his son when he was dying, being distressed for him.

Pluto, again, who is a God, carried off Kora, and the mother of Kora was hurrying hither and thither searching for her daughter in all desert places; and, although Alexander Paris, when he had carried off Helen, paid the penalty of vengeance, as having made himself her lover by force, yet Pluto, who is a God, when he carried off Kora, remained without rebuke; and, although Menelaus, who is a man, knew how to search for Helen his wife, yet Demeter, who is a goddess, knew not where to search for Kora her daughter.

Let Hephaestus put away jealousy from him, and not indulge resentment. For he was hated, because he was old and lame; while Ares was loved, because he was a youth and beautiful in form. There was, however, a reproof administered in respect of the adultery. Hephaestus was not, indeed, at first aware of the love existing between Venus his wife and Ares; but, when he did become acquainted with it, Hephaestus said: “Come, see a ridiculous and senseless piece of behavior — how to me, who am her own, Venus, the daughter of the sovereign of the gods, is offering insult — to me, I say, who am her own, and is paying honor to Ares, who is a stranger to her.” But to the sovereign of the gods it was not displeasing: for he loved such as were like these. Penelope, moreover, remained a widow twenty years, because she was expecting the return of her husband Odysseus, and busied herself with cunning tasks, and persevered in works of skill, while all those suitors kept pressing her to marry them; but Venus, who is a goddess, when Hephaestus her husband was close to her, deserted him, because she was overcome by love for Ares. Hearken, men of Greece: which of you would have dared to do this, or would even have

endured to see it? And, if any one “should” dare to act so, what torture would be in store for him, or what scourgings!

Kronos, again, who is a God, who devoured all those children of his, was not even brought before a court of justice. They further tell us that the sovereign of the gods, his son, was the only one that escaped from him; and that the madness of Kronos his father was cheated of its purpose because Rhea his wife, the mother of the sovereign of the gods, offered him a stone in the place of the said sovereign of the gods, his son, to prevent him from devouring him. Hearken, men of Greece, and reflect upon this madness! Why, even the dumb animal that grazes in the field knows its proper food, and does not touch strange food; the wild beast, too, and the reptile, and the bird, know their food. As for men, I need not say anything about them: ye yourselves are acquainted with their food, and understand it well. But Kronos, who is a God, not knowing his proper food, ate up a stone!

Therefore, O men of Greece, if ye will have such gods as these, do not find fault with one another when ye do such-like things. Be not angry with thy son when he forms the design to kill thee: because he thus resembles the sovereign of the gods. And, if a man commit adultery with thy wife, why dost thou think of him as an enemy, and yet to the sovereign of the gods, who is like him, doest worship and service? Why, too, dost thou find fault with thy wife when she has committed adultery and leads a dissolute life, and yet payest honor to Venus, and placest her images in shrines? Persuade your Solon to repeal his laws; Lycurgus, also, to make no laws; let the Areopagus repeal theirs, and judge no more; and let the Athenians have councils no longer. Let the Athenians discharge Socrates from his office: for no one like Kronos has ever come before him. Let them not put to death Orestes, who killed his mother: for, lo! the sovereign of the gods did worse things than these to his father. Oedipus also too hastily inflicted mischief on himself, in depriving his eyes of sight, because he had killed his mother unwittingly: for he did not think about the sovereign of the gods, who killed his father and yet remained without punishment. Medea, again, who killed her children, the Corinthians banish from their country; and yet they do service and honor to Kronos, who devoured his children. Then, too, as regards Alexander Paris — he was fight in carrying off Helen: for he did it that he might become like Pluto, who carded off Kora. Let

your men be set free from law, and let your cities be the abode of wanton women, and a dwelling-place for sorcerers.

Wherefore, O men of Greece, seeing that your gods are groveling like yourselves, and your heroes destitute of courage, as your dramas tell and your stories declare — then, again, what shall be said of the tribulations of Orestes; and the couch of Thyestes; and the foul taint in the family of Pelops; and concerning Danaus, who through jealousy killed his sons-in-law, and deprived them of offspring; the banquet of Thyestes, too, feeding upon the corpse set before him by way of vengeance for her whom he had wronged; about Procne also, to this hour screaming as she flies; her sister too, warbling, with her tongue cut out? What, moreover, is it fitting to say about the murder committed by Oedipus, who took his own mother to wife, and whose brothers killed one another, they being at the same time his sons?

Your festivals, too, I hate; for there is no moderation where they are; the sweet flutes also, dispellers of care, which play as an incitement to dancing; and the preparation of ointments, wherewith ye anoint yourselves; and the chaplets which ye put on. In the abundance of your wickedness, too, ye have forgotten shame, and your understandings have become blinded, and ye have been infuriated by the heat of passion, and have loved the adulterous bed.

Had these things been said by another, perhaps our adversaries would have brought an accusation against him, an the plea that they were untrue. But your own poets say them, and your own hymns and dramas declare them.

Come, therefore, and be instructed in the word of God, and in the wisdom which is fraught with comfort. Rejoice, and become partakers of it. Acquaint yourselves with the King Immortal, and acknowledge His servants. For not in arms do they make their boast, nor do they commit murders: because our Commander has no delight in abundance of strength, nor yet in horsemen and their gallant array, nor yet in illustrious descent; but He delights in the pure soul, fenced round by a rampart of righteousness. The word of God, moreover, and the promises of our good King, and the works of God, are ever teaching us. Oh the blessedness of the soul that is redeemed by the power of the word! Oh the blessedness of

the trumpet of peace without war! Oh the blessedness of the teaching which quenches the fire of appetite! which, though it makes not poets, nor fits men to be philosophers, nor has among its votaries the orators of the crowd; yet instructs men, and makes the dead not to die, and lifts men from the earth as gods up to the region which is above the firmament. Come, be instructed, and be like me: for I too was once as ye are.

ELUCIDATIONS

1

(MARA, SON OF SERAPION)

I CANNOT withhold from the student the valuable hints concerning "the dialect of Edessa" by which Professor Noldke corrects the loose ideas of Mommsen, more especially because the fresh work of Mommsen will soon be in our hands, and general credit will be attached to specious representations which are sure to have a bearing on his ulterior treatment of Christianity and the Roman Empire.

Of the Syriac language Professor Noldke says: —

> " It was the living language of Syria which here appears as the *language of writing*. In Syria it had long ago been compelled to yield to the Greek as the *official language*, but private writings were certainly yet to a great extent written in Aramaic. We cannot lay much stress upon the fact that the respectable citizen in the Orient would have the schoolmaster of the village compose a Greek inscription for his tomb, of which he undoubtedly understood but little himself. And what a Greek this often was! That no books written by Aramaic Gentiles have been preserved for us, does not decide against the existence of the Aramaic as the language of literature in that day; for how could such Gentile works have been preserved for us? To this must be added, that *that particular dialect which afterward became the common literary language of Aramaic Christendom — namely, that of Edessa* — certainly had in

the Gentile period already been used for literary purposes. The official report of the great flood in the year 201, which is prefixed to the Edessa Chronicles, is written by a Gentile. To the same time must be ascribed the letter, written in good Edessan language by the finely educated Mart bar Serapion, from the neighboring Samosata, who, notwithstanding his goodwill toward youthful Christianity, was no Christian, but represented rather the ethical stand-point of the Stoicism so popular at that time. The fixed settling of Syriac orthography must have taken place at a much earlier period than the hymns of Bardesanes and his school, which are for us very old specimens of that language, since these hymns represent a versification much younger than the stage of development which is presupposed in this orthography. In general, it must be granted that *the dialect of Edessa had been thoroughly developed already in pre-Christian times*; otherwise, it could not have been so fixed and firm in writing and forms of expression. And the Syriac *Dialogue on Fate*, which presupposes throughout the third century, treats of scientific questions, according to Greek models, with such precision that we again see that this was not the beginning, but rather the close, of a scientific Syriac literature, which flourished already when there were but few or possibly no Christians there. Of course I recognize, with Mommsen, that Edessa offered a better protection to the national language and literature than did the cities of Syria proper; but circumstances were not altogether of a different nature in this regard in Haleb, Hems, and Damascus than they were in Edessa and Jerusalem. If, as is known, the common mass spoke Aramaic in the metropolitan city of Antiochia, it cannot safely be accepted that in the inland districts the Greek was not the language of the ‘educated,’ but only of those who had specially learned it. The Macedonian and Greek colonists have certainly only in a very small part retained this language in those districts down to the Roman period. In most cases they have been in a minority from the beginning over against the natives. Further. as the descendants of old soldiers, they can scarcely be regarded as the called watchmen of Greek custom and language.”

2

(NO VERB IS FOUND IN THE LEXICONS, ETC.)

The study of Syriac is just beginning to be regarded as only less important to the theologian than that of the Hebrew. The twain will be found a help, each to the other, if one pursues the study of the cognate languages together. In fact, the Book of Daniel demands such a preparation for its enjoyment and adequate comprehension. Let the commend to every reader the admirable example of Beveridge, who at eighteen years of age produced a grammar of the Syriac language, and also a Latin essay on the importance of cultivating this study, as that of the vernacular of our Lord Himself. This little treatise is worthy of careful reading; and right worthy of note is the motto which he prefixed to it, — "Estote imitatores mei, *sicut et ego sum Christi*" (1 Corinthians 11:1).

When one thinks of the difficulties even yet to be overcome in mastering the language, — the want of a complete lexicon, etc., — it is surprising to think of Beveridge's pioneer labors in extreme youth. Gutbir's *Lexicon Syriacum* had not yet appeared, nor his edition of the Peshito, which preceded it, though Brian Walton's great name and labors were his noble stimulants. Nobody can read the touching account which Gutbir gives of his own enthusiastic and self-sacrificing work, without feeling ashamed of the slow progress of Oriental studies in the course of two centuries since the illustrious Pocock gave his grand example to English scholarship. All honor to our countryman Dr. Murdock, who late in life entered upon this charming pursuit, and called on others to follow him. May I not venture to hope that even these specimens of what may be reaped from the field of Aramaic literature may inspire my young countrymen to take the lead in elucidating the Holy Scriptures from this almost unopened storehouse of "treasures new and old"?

REMAINS OF THE

SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES

[TRANSLATED BY THE REV. B. P. PRATTEN]

QUADRATUS, BISHOP OF ATHENS.

[A.D. 126.] Quadratus is spoken of by Eusebius as a "man of understanding and of Apostolic faith." And he celebrates Aristides as a man of similar character. These were the earliest apologists; both addressed their writings to Hadrian, and they were extant and valued in the churches in the time of Eusebius.

FROM THE APOLOGY FOR THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

OUR Savior's works, moreover, were always present: for they were real, consisting of those who had been healed of their diseases, those who had been raised from the dead; who were not only seen whilst they were being healed and raised up, but were afterwards constantly present. Nor did they remain only during the sojourn of the Savior on earth, but also a considerable time after His departure; and, indeed, some of them have survived even down to our own times.

ARISTO OF PELLA

[A.D. 140.] Aristo of Pella is supposed to have been a Jew, whose work was designed to help the failing Judaism of his country. Though his work is lost, alike the original and the Latin translation of one "Celsus," it seems to have been a popular tract among Christians of Cyprian's time, and the Latin preface is often suffixed to editions of that Father.

The work of Aristo is known as the Disputation of Papiscus and Fason, and Celsus tells us that Jason was a Hebrew Christian, while his opponent was a Jew of Alexandria. Now, Papiscus owns himself convinced by the arguments of Jason, and concludes by a request to be baptized. Celsus, who seems to have been a heathen or an Epicurean, derides the work with scornful commiseration; but Origen rebukes this, and affirms his respect for the work. All this considered, one must think Aristo was "almost persuaded to be a Christian," and deserves a place among Christian writers.

FROM THE DISPUTATION OF JASON AND PAPISCUS

"I REMEMBER," says Jerome (Comm. ad Gal., cap. in. comm. 13), "in the Dispute between Jason and Papiscus, which is composed in Greek, to have found it written: 'The execration of God is he that is hanged.'"

FROM THE SAME WORK

Jerome likewise, in his Hebrew Questions on Genesis, says: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. The majority believe, as it is affirmed also in the Dispute between Fason and Papiscus, and as Tertullian in his book Against Praxeas contends, and as Hilarius too, in his exposition of one of the Psalms, declares, that in the Hebrew it is: 'In the Son, God made the heaven and the earth.' But that this is false, the nature of the case itself proves."

PERHAPS FROM THE SAME WORK

... And when the man himself who had instigated them to this folly had paid the just penalty (says Eusebius, Hist, iv. 6), "the whole nation from that time was strictly forbidden to set foot on the region about Jerusalem, by the formal decree and enactment of Adrian, who commanded that they should not even from a distance look on their native soil!" So writes Aristo of Pella.

FROM THE SAME WORK

I have found this expression Seven heavens (says Maximus, in Scholia an the work concerning the Mystical Theology, ascribed to Dionysius the

Areopagite, cap. i.) also in the Dispute between Papiscus and Jason, written by Aristo of Pella, which Clement of Alexandria, in the sixth book of the Outlines, says was composed by Saint Luke.

CONCERNING THE SAME WORK

Thus writes Origen:... in which book a Christian is represented disputing with a Jew from the Jewish Scriptures, and showing that the prophecies concerning the Christ apply to Jesus: although his opponent addresses himself to the argument with no common ability, and in a manner not unbefitting his Jewish character.

MELITO, THE PHILOSOPHER

[A.D. 160-170-177.] Melito may have been the immediate successor of the “angel” (or “apostle”) of the church of Sardis, to whom our Great High Priest addressed one of the apocalyptic messages. He was an “Apostolic Father” in point of fact; he very probably knew the blessed Polycarp and his disciple Irenaeus. He is justly revered for the diligence with which he sought out the evidence which, in his day, established the Canon of the Old Testament, then just complete.

In the following fragments we find him called Bishop of Sardis, Bishop of Ittica, and Bishop of Ittica. He is also introduced to us as “the Philosopher,” and we shall find him styled “the Eunuch” by Polycrates. It is supposed that he had made himself a coelebs “for the kingdom of heaven’s sake,” without mistaking our Lord’s intent, as did Origen. He was not a monk, but accepted a single estate to be the more free and single-eyed in the Master’s service. From the encyclopedic erudition of Lightfoot we glean some particulars, as follows: —

1. I have adopted his date, as Lightfoot gives it, — that is, the period of his writings, — under the Antonines. The improbability of seventy years in the episcopate is reason enough for rejecting the idea that he was himself the “angel of the church of Sardis,” to whom our Lord sent the terrible rebuke.

2. His silence concerning persecutions under Vespasian, Trojan, and Antoninus Pius cannot be pleaded to exempt them from this stain, against positive evidence to the contrary.

3. A coincidence with Ignatius to the Ephesians will be noted hereafter.

4. Melito, with Claudius Apollinaris and even Polycrates, may have been personally acquainted with Ignatius; of course, one with another. These lived not far from Smyrna; Asia Minor was, in the first century, the focus of Christian activity.

5. We know of his visit to the East from his own account, preserved by Eusebius. The Christians of proconsular Asia were accustomed to such journeys. Even Clement of Alexandria may have met him, as he seems to have met Tatian and Theodotus.

6. Melito vouches for the rescript of Hadrian, but his supposed reference to the edict of Antoninus does not bear close scrutiny as warrant for its authenticity.

7. The Apology of our author was addressed to Aurelius in his mid-career as a sovereign, about A.D. 170. Justin, Melito, Athenagoras, and Theophilus all tell the same sad story of imperial cruelty. Even when Justin wrote to Antoninus, Marcus was supreme in the councils of the elder emperor.

8. He became a martyr, probably under Marcus Aurelius, circa A.D. 177; some eminent critics have even dated his Apology as late as this.

1

A DISCOURSE WHICH WAS IN THE PRESENCE OF ANTONINUS CAESAR, AND HE EXHORTED THE SAID CAESAR TO ACQUAINT HIMSELF WITH GOD, AND SHOWED TO HIM THE WAY OF TRUTH

He began to speak as follows: —

“It is not easy,” said Melito, “speedily to bring into the right way the man who has a long time previously been held fast by error. It may, however, be effected: for, when a man turns away ever so little from error, the mention of the truth is acceptable to him. For, just as when the cloud breaks ever so little there comes fair weather, even so, when a man turns toward God, the thick cloud of error which deprived him of true vision is quickly withdrawn from before him. For error, like disease and sleep, long holds fast those who come under its influence; but truth uses the word as a goad, and smites the slumberers, and awakens them; and when they are awake they look at the truth, and also understand it: they hear, and distinguish that which is from that which is not. For there are men who call iniquity righteousness: they think, for example, that it is righteousness for a man to err with the many. But I, for my part, affirm that it is not a good excuse for error that a man errs with the many. For, if one man only sin, his sin is great: how much greater will be the sin when many sin together!

“Now, the sin of which I speak is this: when a man abandons that which really exists, and serves that which does not really exist. There ‘is that which really exists, and it is called GOD. He, I say, really exists, and by His power doth everything subsist. This being is in no sense made, nor did He ever come into being; but He has existed from eternity, and will continue to exist for ever and ever. He changeth not, while everything else changes. No eye can see Him, nor thought apprehend Him, nor language describe Him; and those who love Him speak of Him thus: ‘Father, and God of Truth.’

“If, therefore, a man forsake the light, and say that there is another God, it is plain from what he himself says that it is some created thing which he calls God. For, if a man call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and, if a man call water God, it is not God, because it is water; and, if he so call this earth on which we tread, or these heavens which are seen by us, or the sun, or the moon, or some one of these stars which run their course without ceasing by Divine command, and do not speed along by their own will, neither are these gods; and, if a man call gold and silver gods, are not these objects things which we use as we please? and, if he so call those pieces of wood which we burn, or those stones which we break, how can these things be gods? For, 1o! they are for the use of man. How can ‘they’

escape the commission of great sin, who in their speech change the great God into those things which, so long as they continue, continue by Divine command?

“But, notwithstanding this, I say that so long as a man does not hear, and so does not discern or understand that there is a Lord over these creatures, he is not perhaps to be blamed: because no one finds fault with a blind man though he walk ever so badly. For, in the same manner as the blind, so men also, when they were seeking after God, stumbled upon stones and blocks of wood; and such of them as were rich stumbled upon gold and silver, and were prevented by their stumblings from finding that which they were seeking after. But, now that a voice has been heard through all the earth, declaring that there is a God of truth, and there has been given to every man an eye wherewith to see, those persons are without excuse who are ashamed of incurring the censure of their former companions in error, and yet desire to walk in the right way. For those who are ashamed to be saved must of necessity perish. I therefore counsel them to open their eyes and see: for, 1o! light is given abundantly to us all to see thereby; and if, when light has arisen upon us, any one close his eyes so as not to see, into the ditch he must go. But why is a man ashamed of the censure of those who have been in error along with himself? Rather does it behoove him to persuade them to follow in his steps; and, if they should not be persuaded by him, then to disengage himself from their society. For there are some men who are unable to rise from their mother earth, and therefore also do they make them gods. from the earth their mother; and they are condemned by the judgments of truth, forasmuch as they apply the name of Him who is unchangeable to those objects which are subject to change, and shrink not from calling those things gods which have been made by the hands of man, and dare to make an image of God whom they have not seen.

“But I have to remark further, that the Sibyl also has said concerning them that it is the images of deceased kings that they worship. And this is easy to understand: for, lo! even now they worship and honor the images of those of Caesarean rank more than their former gods; for from those their former gods both pecuniary tribute and produce accrue to Caesar, as to one who is greater than they. On this account, those who despise them, and so cause Caesar’s revenue to fall short, are put to death. But to the

treasury of other kings also it is appointed how much the worshippers in various places shall pay, and how many vesselfuls of water from the sea they shall supply. Such is the wickedness of the world — of those who worship and fear that which has no sensation. Many of them, too, who are crafty, either for the sake of gain, or for vainglory, or for dominion over the multitude, both themselves worship, and incite those who are destitute of understanding to worship, that which has no sensation.

“I will further write and show, as far as my ability goes, how and for what causes images were made to kings and tyrants, and how they came to be regardedas gods. The people of Argos made images to Hercules, because he belonged to their city, and was strong, and by his valor slew noxious beasts, and more especially because they were afraid of him. For he was subject to no control, and carried off the wives of many: for his lust was great, like that of Zuradi the Persian, his friend. Again, the people of Acre worshipped Dionysus, a king, because he had recently planted the vine in their country. The Egyptians worshipped Joseph the Hebrew, who was called Serapis, because he supplied them with corn during the years of famine. The Athenians worshipped Athene, the daughter of Zeus, king of the island of Crete, because she built the town of Athens, and made Ericthippus her son king there, whom she had by adultery with Hephaestus, a blacksmith, son of a wife of her father. She was, too, always courting the society of Hercules, because he was her brother on her father’s side. For Zeus the king became enamored of Alcmene, the wife of Electryon, who was from Argos, and committed adultery with her, and she gave birth to Hercules. The people of Phoenicia worshipped Balthi, queen of Cyprus, because she fell in love with Tamuz, son of Cuthar king of the Phoenicians, and left her own kingdom and came and dwelt in Gebal, a fortress of the Phoenicians, and at the same time made all the Cyprians subject to King Cuthar. Also, before Tamuz she had fallen in love with Ares, and committed adultery with him; and Hephaestus, her husband, caught her, and his jealousy was roused against her, and he came and killed Tamuz in Mount Lebanon, as he was hunting wild boars; and from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and she died in the city of Aphiki, where Tamuz was buried. The Elamites worshipped Nuh, daughter of the king of Elam: when the enemy had carried her captive, her father made for her an image and a temple in Shushan, a royal residence which is in Elam. The

Syrians worshipped Athi, a Hadibite, who sent the daughter of Belat, a person skilled in medicine, and she healed Simi, the daughter of Hadad king of Syria; and some time afterwards, when Hadad himself had the leprosy upon him, Athi entreated Elisha the Hebrew, and he came and healed him of his leprosy. The people of Mesopotamia also worshipped Cuthbi, a Hebrew woman, because she delivered Bakru, the paternal king of Edessa, from his enemies. With respect to Nebo, who is worshipped in Mabug, why should I write to you? For, lo! all the priests who are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. Hadran, again, is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus. For both of these Magi practiced magic at a well which was in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it assaulted and disputed the passage of every one who passed by in all that country in which the town of Mabug is situated; and these Magi, in accordance with what was a mystery in their Magian system, bade Simi, the daughter of Hadad, to draw water from the sea and pour it into the well, so that the spirit should not come up and commit assault. In like manner, the rest of mankind made images to their kings and worshipped them; of which matter I will not write further.

“But thou, a person of liberal mind, and familiar with the truth, if thou wilt properly consider these matters, commune with thine own self; and, though they should clothe thee in the garb of a woman, remember that thou art a man. Believe in Him who is in reality God, and to Him lay open thy mind, and to Him commit thy soul, and He is able to give thee immortal life for ever, for everything is possible to Him; and let all other things be esteemed by thee just as they are — images as images, and sculptures as sculptures; and let not that which is only made be put by thee in the place of Him who is not made, but let Him, the ever-living God, be constantly present to thy mind. For thy mind itself is His likeness: for it too is invisible and impalpable, and not to be represented by any form, yet by its will is the whole bodily frame moved. Know, therefore, that, if thou constantly serve Him who is immovable, even He exists for ever, so thou also, when thou shalt have put off this body, which is visible and corruptible, shall stand before Him for ever, endowed with life and knowledge, and thy works shall be to thee wealth inexhaustible and possessions unfailing. And know that the chief of thy good works is this:

that thou know God, and serve Him. Know, too, that He asketh not anything of thee: He needeth not anything.

“Who is this God? He who is Himself truth, and His word truth. And what is truth? That which is not fashioned, nor made, nor represented by art: that is, which has never been brought into existence, and is on that account called truth. If, therefore, a man worship that which is made with hands, it is not the truth that he worships, nor yet the word of truth.

“I have very much to say on this subject; but I feel ashamed for those who do not understand that they are superior to the work of their own hands, nor perceive how they give gold to the artists that they may make for them gods, and give them silver for their adornment and honor, and move their riches about from place to place, and then worship them. And what infamy can be greater than this, that a man should worship his riches, and forsake Him who bestowed those riches upon him? and that he should revile man, yet worship the image of man; and slay a beast, yet worship the likeness of a beast? This also is evident, that it is the workmanship of their fellowmen that they worship: for they do not worship the treasures while they are laid by in the bag, but when the artists have fashioned images out of them they worship them; neither do they worship the gold or the silver considered as property, but when the gravers have sculptured them then they worship them. Senseless man to what addition has been made to thy gold, that now thou worshippest it? If it is because it has been made to resemble a winged animal, why dost thou not worship the winged animal itself? And if because it has been made like a beast of prey, lo! the beast of prey itself is before thee. And if it is the workmanship itself that pleases thee, let the workmanship of God please thee, who made all things, and in His own likeness made the workmen, who strive to do like Him, but resemble Him not.

“But perhaps thou wilt say: How is it that God did not so make me that I should serve Him, and not images? In speaking thus, thou art seeking to become an idle instrument, and not a living man. For God made thee as perfect as it seemed good to Him. He has given thee a mind endowed with freedom; He has set before thee objects in great number, that thou on thy part mayest distinguish the nature of each thing and choose for thyself that which is good; He has set before thee the heavens, and placed in them

the stars; He has set before thee the sun and the moon, and they too every day run their course therein; He has set before thee the multitude of waters, and restrained them by His word; He has set before thee the wide earth, which remains at rest, and continues before thee without variation: yet, lest thou shouldst suppose that of its own nature it so continues, He makes it also to quake when He pleaseth; He has set before thee the clouds, which by His command bring water from above and satisfy the earth — that from hence thou mayest understand that He who puts these things in motion is superior to them all, and mayest accept thankfully the goodness of Him who has given thee a mind whereby to distinguish these things from one another.

“Wherefore I counsel thee to know thyself, and to know God. For understand how that there is within thee that which is called the soul — by it the eye seeth, by it the ear heareth, by it the mouth speaketh; and how it makes use of the whole body; and how, whenever He pleaseth to remove the soul from the body, this falleth to decay and perisheth. From this, therefore, which exists within thyself and is invisible, understand how God also moveth the whole by His power, like the body; and that, whenever it pleases Him to withdraw His power, the whole world also, like the body, will fall to decay and perish.

“But why this world was made, and why it passes away, and why the body exists, and why it falls to decay, and why it continues, thou canst not know until thou hast raised thy head from this sleep in which thou art sunk, and hast opened thine eyes and seen that God is One, the Lord of all, and hast come to serve Him with all thy heart. Then will He grant thee to know His will: for every one that is severed from the knowledge of the living God is dead and buried even while in his body. Therefore is it that thou dost wallow on the ground before demons and shadows, and askest vain petitions from that which has not anything to give. But thou, stand thou up from among those who are lying on the earth and caressing stones, and giving their substance as food for the fire, and offering their raiment to idols, and; while themselves possessed of senses, are bent on serving that which has no sensation; and offer thou for thy imperishable soul petitions far that which decayeth not, to God who suffers no decay — and thy freedom will be at once apparent; and be thou careful of it, and give thanks to God who made thee, and gave thee the mind of the free, that thou

mightest shape thy conduct even as thou wilt. He hath set before thee all these things, and showeth thee that, if thou follow after evil, thou shall be condemned for thy evil deeds; but that, if after goodness, thou shall receive from Him abundant good, together with immortal life for ever.

“There is, therefore, nothing to hinder thee from changing thy evil manner of life, because thou art a free man; or from seeking and finding out who is the Lord of all; or from serving Him with all thy heart: because with Him there is no reluctance to give the knowledge of Himself to those that seek it, according to the measure of their capacity to know Him.

“Let it be thy first care not to deceive thyself. For, if thou sayest of that which is not God: This is God, thou deceivest thyself, and sinnest before the God of truth. Thou fool I is that God which is bought and sold? Is that God which is in want? Is that God which must be watched over? How buyest thou him as a slave, and servest him as a master? How askest thou of him, as of one that is rich, to give to thee, and thyself givest to him as to one that is poor? How dost thou expect of him that he will make thee victorious in battle? for, lo! when thy enemies have conquered thee, they strip him likewise.

“Perhaps one who is a king may say: I cannot behave myself aright, because I am a king; it becomes me to do the will of the many. He who speaks thus really deserves to be laughed at: for why should not the king himself lead the way to all good things, and persuade the people under his rule to behave with purity, and to know God in truth, and in his own person set before them the patterns of all things excellent — since thus it becomes him to do? For it is a shameful thing that a king, however badly he may conduct himself, should yet judge and condemn those who do amiss.

“My opinion is this: that in ‘this’ way a kingdom may be governed in peace — when the sovereign is acquainted with the God of truth, and is withheld by fear of Him from doing wrong to those who are his subjects, and judges everything with equity, as one who knows that he himself also will be judged before God; while, at the same time, those who are under his rule are withheld by the fear of God from doing wrong to their sovereign, and are restrained by the same fear from doing wrong to one another. By this knowledge of God and fear of Him all evil may be removed from the

realm. For, if the sovereign abstain from doing wrong to those who are under his rule, and they abstain from doing wrong to him and to each other, it is evident that the whole country will dwell in peace. Many blessings, too, will be enjoyed there, because amongst them all the name of God will be glorified. For what blessing is greater than this, that a sovereign should deliver the people that are under his rule from error, and by this good deed render himself pleasing to God? For from error arise all those evils from which kingdoms suffer; but the greatest of all errors is this: when a man is ignorant of God, and in God's stead worships that which is not God.

"There are, however, persons who say: It is for the honor of God that we make the image: in order, that is, that we may worship the God who is concealed from our view. But they are unaware that God is in every country, and in every place, and is never absent, and that there is not anything done and He knoweth it not. Yet thou, despicable man! within whom He is, and without whom He is, and above whom He is, hast nevertheless gone and bought thee wood from the carpenter's, and it is carved and made into an image insulting to God. To this thou offerest sacrifice, and knowest not that the all-seeing eye seeth thee, and that the word of truth reproves thee, and says to thee: How can the unseen God be sculptured? Nay, it is the likeness of thyself that thou makest and worshippest. Because the wood has been sculptured, hast thou not the insight to perceive that it is still wood, or that the stone is still stone? The gold also the workman: taketh according to its weight in the balance. And when thou hast had it made into an image, why dose thou weigh it? Therefore thou art a lover of gold, and not a lover of God. And art thou not ashamed, perchance it be deficient, to demand of the maker of it why he has stolen some of it? Though thou hast eyes, dose thou not see? And though thou hast intelligence, dose thou not understand? Why dose thou wallow on the ground, and offer supplication to things which are without sense? Fear Him who shaketh the earth, and maketh the heavens to revolve, and smiteth the sea, and removeth the mountain from its place — Him who can make Himself like a fire, and consume all things; and, if thou be not able to clear thyself of guilt, yet add not to thy sins; and, if thou be not able to know God, yet doubt not that He exists.

“Again, there are persons who say: Whatsoever our fathers have bequeathed to us, that we reverence. Therefore, of course, it is, that those whose fathers have bequeathed them poverty strive to become rich! and those whose fathers did not instruct them, desire to be instructed, and to learn that which their fathers knew not! And why, forsooth, do the children of the blind see, and the children of the lame walk? Nay, it is not well for a man to follow his predecessors, if they be those whose course was evil; but rather that we should turn from that path of theirs, lest that which befell our predecessors should bring disaster upon us also. Wherefore, inquire whether thy father’s course was good: and, if so, do thou also follow in his steps; but, if thy father’s course was very evil, let thine be good, and so let it be with thy children after thee. Be grieved also for thy father because his course is evil, so long as thy grief may avail to help him. But, as for thy children, speak to them thus: There is a God, the Father of all, who never came into being, neither was ever made, and by whose will all things subsist. He also made the luminaries, that His works may see one another; and He conceals Himself in His power from all His works: for it is not permitted to any being subject to change to see Him who changes not. But such as are mindful of His words, and are admitted into that covenant which is unchangeable, ‘they’ see God — so far as it is possible for them to see Him. These also will have power to escape destruction, when the flood of fire comes upon all the world. For there was once a flood and a wind, and the great men were swept away by a violent blast from the north, but the just were left, for a demonstration of the truth. Again, at another time there was a flood of water, and all men and animals perished in the multitude of waters, but the just were preserved in an ark of wood by the command of God. So also will it be at the last time: there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up, together with its mountains; and mankind shall be burnt up, along with the idols which they have made, and the carved images which they have worshipped; and the sea shall be burnt up, together with its islands; but the just shall be preserved from wrath, like as were their fellows of the ark from the waters of the deluge. And then shall those who have not known God, and those who have made them idols, bemoan themselves, when they shall see those idols of theirs being burnt up, together with themselves, and nothing shall be found to help them.

“When thou, Antoninus Caesar, shall become acquainted with these things, and thy children also with thee, then wilt thou bequeath to them an inheritance for ever which fadeth not away, and thou wilt deliver thy soul, and the souls of thy children also, from that which shall come. upon the whole earth in the judgment of truth and of righteousness. For, according as thou hast acknowledged Him here, so will He acknowledge thee there; and, if thou account Him here superfluous, He will not account thee one of those who have known Him and confessed Him.

“These may suffice thy Majesty; and, if they be too many, yet deign to accept them.”

Here endeth Melito.

2

FROM THE DISCOURSE ON SOUL AND BODY

For this reason did the Father send His Son from heaven without a bodily form, that, when He should put on a body by means of the Virgin’s womb, and be born man, He might save man, and gather together those members of His which death had scattered when he divided man.

And further on: — The earth shook, and its foundations trembled; the sun fled away, and the elements turned back, and the day was changed into night: for they could not endure the sight of their Lord hanging on a tree. The whole creation was amazed, marveling and saying, “What new mystery, then, is this? The Judge is judged, and holds his peace; the Invisible One is seen, and is not ashamed; the Incomprehensible is laid hold upon, and is not indignant; the Illimitable is circumscribed, and doth not resist; the Impossible suffereth, and doth not avenge; the Immortal dieth, and answereth not a word; the Celestial is laid in the grave, and endureth! What new mystery is this?” The whole creation, I say, was astonished; but, when our Lord arose from the place of the dead, and trampled death under foot, and bound the strong one, and set man free, then did the whole creation see clearly that for man’s sake the Judge was condemned, and the Invisible was seen, and the Illimitable was circumscribed, and the Impassable suffered, and the Immortal died, and the

Celestial was laid in the gave. For our Lord, when He was born man, was condemned in order that He might Show mercy, was bound in order that He might loose, was seized in order that He might release, suffered in order that He might feel compassion, died in order that He might give life, was laid in the grave that He might raise from the dead.

3

FROM THE DISCOURSE ON THE CROSS

On these accounts He came to us; on these accounts, though He was incorporeal, He formed for Himself a body after our fashion, — appearing as a sheep, yet still remaining the Shepherd; being esteemed a servant, yet not renouncing the Sonship; being carried in the womb of Mary, yet arrayed in the nature of His Father; treading upon the earth, yet filling heaven; appearing as an infant, yet not discarding the eternity of His nature; being invested with a body, yet not circumscribing the unmixed simplicity of His Godhead; being esteemed poor, yet not divested of His riches; needing sustenance inasmuch as He was man, yet not ceasing to feed the entire world inasmuch as He is God; putting on the likeness of a servant, yet not impairing the likeness of His Father. He sustained every character belonging to Him in an immutable nature: He was standing before Pilate, and at the same time was sitting with His Father; He was nailed upon the tree, and yet was the Lord of all things.

4

ON FAITH

We have collected together extracts from the Law and the Prophets relating to those things which have Been declared concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may prove to your love that this Being is perfect reason, the Word of God; He who was begotten before the light; He who is Creator together with the Father; He who is the Fashioner of man; He who is all in all; He who among the patriarchs is Patriarch; He who in the law is the Law; among the priests, Chief Priest; among kings, the Ruler; among

prophets, the Prophet; among the angels, Archangel; in the voice of the preacher, the Word; among spirits, the Spirit; in the Father, the Son; in God, God; King for ever and ever. For this is He who was pilot to Noah; He who was guide to Abraham; He who was bound with Isaac; He who was in exile with Jacob; He who was sold with Joseph; He who was captain of the host with Moses; He who was the divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun; He who in David and the prophets announced His own sufferings; He who put on a bodily form in the Virgin; He who was born in Bethlehem; He who was wrapped in swaddling-clothes in the manger; He who was seen by the shepherds; He who was glorified by the angels; He who was worshipped by the Magi; He who was pointed out by John; He who gathered together the apostles; He who preached the kingdom; He who cured the lame; He who gave light to the blind; He who raised the dead; He who appeared in the temple; He who was not believed on by the people; He who was betrayed by Judas; He who was apprehended by the priests; He who was condemned by Pilate; He who was pierced in the flesh; He who was hanged on the tree; He who was buried in the earth; He who rose from the place of the dead; He who appeared to the apostles; He who was carried up to heaven; He who is seated at the right hand of the Father; He who is the repose of those that are departed; the recoverer of those that are lost; the light of those that are in darkness; the deliverer of those that are captive; the guide of those that go astray; the asylum of the afflicted; the bridegroom of the Church; the charioteer of the cherubim; the captain of the angels; God who is from God; the Son who is from the Father; Jesus Christ the King for evermore. Amen.

5

This is He who took a bodily form in the Virgin, and was hanged upon the tree, and was buried within the earth, and suffered not dissolution; He who rose from the place of the dead, and raised up men from the earth — from the grave below to the height of heaven. This is the Lamb that was slain; this is the Lamb that opened not His mouth. This is He who was born of Mary, fair sheep of the fold. This is He that was taken from the flock, and was led to the slaughter, and was slain in the evening, and was buried at

night; He who had no bone of Him broken on the tree; He who suffered not dissolution within the earth; He who rose from the place of the dead, and raised up the race of Adam from the grave below, This is He who was put to death. And where was He put to death? In the midst of Jerusalem. By whom? By Israel: became He cured their lame, and cleansed their lepers, and gave light to their blind, and raised their dead! This was the cause of His death. Thou, O Israel, wast giving commands, and He was being crucified; thou wast rejoicing, and He was being buried; thou wast reclining on a soft couch, and He was watching in the grave and the shroud. O Israel, transgressor of the law, why hast thou committed this new iniquity, subjecting the Lord to new sufferings — thine own Lord, Him who fashioned thee, Him-who made thee, Him who honored thee, who called thee Israel? But thou hast not been found to be Israel: for thou hast not seen God, nor understood the Lord. Thou hast not known, O Israel, that this was the first-born of God, who was begotten before the sun, who made the light to shine forth, who lighted up the day, who separated the darkness, who fixed the first foundations, who poised the earth, who collected the ocean, who stretched out the firmament, who adorned the world. Bitter were thy nails, and sharp; bitter thy tongue, which thou didst whet; bitter was Judas, to whom thou gavest hire; bitter thy false witnesses, whom thou stirredst up; bitter thy gall, which thou preparedst; bitter thy vinegar, which thou madest; bitter thy hands, filled with blood. Thou slewest thy Lord, and He was lifted up upon the tree; and an inscription was fixed above, to show who He was that was slain. And who was this? (that which we shall not say is too shocking to hear, and that which we shall say is very dreadful: nevertheless hearken, and tremble.) It was He because of whom the earth quaked. He that hung up the earth in space was Himself hanged up; He that fixed the heavens was fixed with nails; He that bore up the earth was born up on a tree; the Lord of all was subjected to ignominy in a naked body — God put to death! the King of Israel slain with Israel’s right hand! Alas for the new wickedness of the new murder! The Lord was exposed with naked body: He was not deemed worthy even of covering; and, in order that He might not be seen, the luminaries turned away, and the day became darkened? because they slew God, who hung naked on the tree. It was not the body of our Lord that the luminaries covered with darkness when they set, but the eyes of men. For, because the people quaked not, the earth quaked; because they were not

affrighted, the earth was affrighted. Thou smotest thy Lord: thou also hast been smitten upon the earth. And thou indeed liest dead; but He is risen from the place of the dead, and ascended to the height of heaven, having suffered for the sake of those who suffer, and having been bound for the sake of Adam's race which was imprisoned, and having been judged for the sake of him who was condemned, and having been buried for the sake of him who was buried.

And further on: — This is He who made the heaven and the earth, and in the beginning, together with the Father, fashioned man; who was announced by means of the law and the prophets; who put on a bodily form in the Virgin; who was hanged upon the tree; who was buried in the earth; who rose from the place of the dead, and ascended to the height of heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.

6

He that bore up the earth was born up on a tree. The Lord was subjected to ignominy with naked body — God put to death, the King of Israel slain!

FRAGMENTS.

1

FROM THE WORK ON THE PASSOVER

When Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, at the time that Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there arose a great controversy at Laodicea concerning the time of the celebration of the Passover, which on that occasion had happened to fall at the proper season; and this treatise was then written.

2

FROM THE APOLOGY ADDRESSED TO MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

For the race of the pious is now persecuted in a way contrary to all precedent, being harassed by a new kind of edicts everywhere in Asia. For unblushing informers, and such as are greedy of other men's goods, taking occasion from the orders issued, carry on their robbery without any disguise, plundering of their property night and day those who are guilty of no wrong.

If these proceedings take place at thy bidding, well and good. For a just sovereign will never take unjust measures; and we, on our part, gladly accept the honor of such a death. This request only we present to thee, that thou wouldst first of all examine for thyself into the behavior of these reputed agents of so much strife, and then come to a just decision as to whether they merit death and punishment, or deserve to live in safety and quiet. But if, on the contrary, it shall turn out that this measure, and this new sort of command, which it would be unbecoming to employ even against barbarian foemen, do not proceed from thee, then all the more do we entreat thee not to leave us thus exposed to the spoliation of the populace.

For the philosophy current with us flourished in the first instance among barbarians; and, when it afterwards sprang up among the nations under thy rule, during the distinguished reign of thy ancestor Augustus, it proved to be a blessing of most happy omen to thy empire. For from that time the Roman power has risen to greatness and splendor. To this power thou hast succeeded as the much desired possessor; and such shalt thou continue, together with thy son, if thou protect that philosophy which has grown up with thy empire, and which took its rise with Augustus; to which also thy more recent ancestors paid honor, along with the other religions prevailing in the empire. A very strong proof, moreover, that it was for good that the system we profess came to prevail at the same time that the empire of such happy commencement was established, is this — that ever since the reign of Augustus nothing untoward has happened; but,

on the contrary, everything has contributed to the splendor and renown of the empire, in accordance with the devout wishes of all. Nero and Domitian alone of all the emperors, imposed upon by certain calumniators, have cared to bring any impeachment against our doctrines. They, too, are the source from which it has happened that the lying slanders on those who profess them have, in consequence of the senseless habit which prevails of taking things on hearsay, flowed down to our own times. But the course which they in their ignorance pursued was set aside by thy pious progenitors, who frequently and in many instances rebuked by their rescripts those who dared to set on foot any hostilities against them. It appears, for example, that thy grandfather Adrian wrote, among others, to Fundanus, the proconsul then in charge of the government of Asia. Thy father, too, when thou thyself wast associated with him in the administration of the empire, wrote to the cities, forbidding them to take any measures adverse to us: among the rest to the people of Larissa, and of Thessalonica, and of Athens, and, in short, to all the Greeks. And as regards thyself, seeing that thy sentiments respecting the Christians are not only the same as theirs, but even much more generous and wise, we are the more persuaded that thou wilt do all that we ask of thee.

3

FROM THE SAME APOLOGY

We are not those who pay homage to stones, that are without sensation; but of the only God, who is before all and over all, and, moreover, we are worshippers of His Christ, who is veritably God the Word existing before all time.

4

FROM THE BOOK OF EXTRACTS

Melito to his brother Onesimus, greeting: —

As you have often, prompted by your regard for the word of God, expressed a wish to have some extracts made from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Savior, and concerning our faith in general, and have desired, moreover, to obtain an accurate account of the Ancient Books, as regards their number and their arrangement, I have striven to the best of my ability to perform this task: well knowing your zeal for the faith, and your eagerness to become acquainted with the Word, and especially because I am assured that, through your yearning after God, you esteem these things beyond all things else, engaged as you are in a struggle for eternal salvation.

I accordingly proceeded to the East, and went to the very spot where the things in question were preached and took place; and, having made myself accurately acquainted with the books of the Old Testament, I have set them down below, and herewith send you the list. Their names are as follows: —

The five books of Moses — Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two of Chronicles, the book of the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, also called the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the books of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, of the twelve contained in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. From these I have made my extracts, dividing them into six books.

5

FROM THE CATENA ON GENESIS

In place of Isaac the just, a ram appeared for slaughter, in order that Isaac might be liberated from his bonds. The slaughter of this animal redeemed Isaac from death. In like manner, the Lord, being slain, saved us; being bound, He loosed us; being sacrificed, He redeemed us…

For the Lord was a lamb, like the ram which Abraham saw caught in the bush Sabec. But this bush represented the cross, and that place Jerusalem, and the lamb the Lord bound for slaughter.

For as a ram was He bound, says he concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and as a lamb was He shorn, and as a sheep was He led to the slaughter, and as a lamb was He crucified; and He carried the cross on His shoulders when He was led up to the hill to be slain, as was Isaac by his father. But Christ suffered, and Isaac did not suffer: for he was but a type of Him who should suffer. Yet, even when serving only for a type of Christ, he smote men with astonishment and fear.

For a new mystery was presented to view, — a son led by his father to a mountain to be slain, whose feet he bound together, and laid him on the wood of the sacrifice, preparing with care whatever was necessary to his immolation. Isaac on his part is silent, bound like a ram, not opening his mouth, nor uttering a sound with his voice. For, not fearing the knife, nor quailing before the fire, nor troubled by the prospect of suffering, he sustained bravely the character of the type of the Lord. Accordingly there lies Isaac before us, with his feet bound like a ram, his father standing by, with the knife all bare in his hand, not shrinking from shedding the blood of his son.

6

TWO SCHOLIA ON GENESIS 22:13

The Syriac and the Hebrew use the word “suspended,” as more clearly typifying the cross.

The word Sabek some have rendered remission, others upright, as if the meaning, agreeing with the popular belief, were — a goat walking erect up to a bush, and there standing erect caught by his horns, so as to be a plain type of the cross. For this reason it is not translated, because the single Hebrew word signifies in other languages many things. To those, however, who ask it is proper to give an answer, and to say that Sabek denotes lifted up.

7

ON THE NATURE OF CHRIST

For there is no need, to persons of intelligence, to attempt to prove, from the deeds of Christ subsequent to His baptism, that His soul and His body, His human nature like ours, were real, and no phantom of the imagination. For the deeds done by Christ after His baptism, and especially His miracles, gave indication and assurance to the world of the Deity hidden in His flesh. For, being at once both God and perfect man likewise, He gave us sure indications of His two natures: of His Deity, by His miracles during the three years that elapsed after His baptism; of His humanity, during the thirty similar periods which preceded His baptism, in which, by reason of His low estate as regards the flesh, He concealed the signs of His Deity, although He was the true God existing before all ages.

8

FROM THE ORATION ON OUR LORD'S PASSION

God has suffered from the right hand of Israel.

9

Head of the Lord — His simple Divinity; because He is the Beginning and Creator of all things: in Daniel.

The white hair of the Lord, because He is "the Ancient of Days:" as above.

The eyes of the Lord — the Divine inspection: because He sees all things. Like that in the apostle: For all things are naked and open in His eyes."

The eyelids of the Lord — hidden spiritual mysteries in the Divine precepts. In the Psalm: "His eyelids question, that is prove, the children of men."

The smelling of the Lord — His delight in the prayers or works of the saints. In Genesis: “And the Lord smelled an odor of sweetness.”

The mouth of the Lord — His Son, or word addressed to men. In the prophet, “The mouth of the Lord hath spoken;” and elsewhere, “They provoked His mouth to anger.”

The tongue of the Lord — His Holy Spirit. In the Psalm: “My tongue is a pen.”

The face of the Lord — His manifestation. In Exodus, “My face shall go before thee;” and in the prophet, “The face of the Lord divided them.”

The word of the Lord — His Son. In the Psalm: “My heart hath uttered a good word.”

The arm of the Lord — His Son, by whom He hath wrought all His works. In the prophet Isaiah: “And to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?”

The right hand of the Lord — that is, His Son; as also above in the Psalm: “The right hand of the Lord hath done valiantly.”

The right hand of the Lord — electio omnis. As in Deuteronomy: “In His right hand is a fiery law.”

The wings of the Lord — Divine protection. In the Psalm: “In the shadow of Thy wings will I hope.”

The shoulder of the Lord — the Divine power, by which He condescends to carry the feeble. In Deuteronomy: “He took them up, and put them on His shoulders.”

The hand of the Lord — Divine operation. In the prophet: “Have not my hands made all these things?”

The finger of the Lord — the Holy Spirit, by whose operation the tables of the law in Exodus are said to have been written; and in the Gospel: “If I by the finger of God cast out demons”

The fingers of the Lord — The lawgiver Moses, or the prophets. In the Psalm: “I will regard the heavens,” that is, the books of the Law and the Prophets, “the works of Thy fingers.”

The wisdom of the Lord — His Son. In the apostle: “Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;” and in Solomon: “The wisdom of the Lord reacheth from one end to the other mightily.”

The womb of the Lord — the hidden recess of Deity out of which He brought forth His Son. In the Psalm: “Out of the womb, before Lucifer, have I born Thee.

The feet of the Lord — His immovableness and eternity. In the Psalm: “And thick darkness was under His feet.”

The throne of the Lord — angels, or saints, or simply sovereign dominion. In the Psalm: “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.”

Seat — the same as above, angels or saints, because the Lord sits upon these. In the Psalm: “The Lord sat upon His holy seat.”

The descent of the Lord — His visitation of men. As in Micah: “Behold, the Lord shall come forth from His place; He shall come down trampling under foot the ends of the earth.” Likewise in a bad sense. In Genesis: “The Lord came down to see the tower.”

The ascent of the Lord — the raising up of man, who is taken from earth to heaven. In the Psalm: “Who ascendeth above the heaven of heavens to the east.”

The standing of the Lord — the patience of the Deity, by which He bears with sinners that they may come to repentance. As in Habakkuk: “He good and measured the earth; and in the Gospel: “Jesus stood, and bade him be called,” that is, the blind man.

The transition of the Lord — His assumption of our flesh, through which by His birth, His death, His resurrection, His ascent into heaven, He made transitions, so to say. In the Song of Songs: “Behold, He cometh, leaping upon the mountains, bounding over the hills.”

The going of the Lord — His coming or visitation. In the Psalm.

The way of the Lord — the operation of the Deity. As in Job, in speaking of the devil: “He is the beginning of the ways of the Lord.”

Again: The ways of the Lord — His precepts. In Hosea: “For the ways of the Lord are straight, and the just shall walk in them.”

The footsteps of the Lord — the signs of His secret operations. As in the Psalm: “And Thy footsteps shall not be known.”

The knowledge of the Lord — that which makes men to know Him. To Abraham He says: “Now I know that thou fearest the Lord;” that is, I have made thee to know.

The ignorance of God is His disapproval. In the Gospel: “I know you not.”

The remembrance of God — His mercy, by which He rejects and has mercy on whom He will. So in Genesis: “The Lord remembered Noah;” and in another passage: “The Lord hath remembered His people.”

The repentance of the Lord — His change of procedure. As in the book of Kings: “It repented me that I have made Saul king.”

The anger and wrath of the Lord — the vengeance of the Deity upon sinners, when He bears with them with a view to punishment, does not at once judge them according to strict equity. As in the Psalm: “In His anger and in His wrath will He trouble them.”

The sleeping of the Lord — when, in the thoughts of some, His faithfulness is not sufficiently wakeful. In the Psalm: “Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord?”

The watches of the Lord — in the guardianship of His elect He is always at hand by the presence of His Deity. In the Psalm: “Lo! He will not slumber nor sleep.”

The sitting of the Lord — His ruling. In the Psalm: “The Lord sitteth upon His holy seat.”

The footstool of the Lord — man assumed by the Word; or His saints, as some think. In the Psalm: “Worship ye His footstool, for it is holy.”

The walking of the Lord — the delight of the Deity in the walks of His elect. In the prophet: “I will walk in them, and will be their Lord.”

The trumpet of the Lord — His mighty voice. In the apostle: “At the command, and at the voice of the archangel, and at the trumpet of God, shall He descend from heaven.”

HEGESIPPUS

[A.D. 170.] One of the sub-Apostolic age, a contemporary of Justin and of the martyrs of “the good Aurelius,” we must yet distinguish Hegesippus from the apologists. He is the earliest of the Church’s chroniclers — we can hardly call him a historian. His aims were noble and his character was pure; nor can we refuse him the credit due to a foresight of the Church’s ultimate want of historical material, which he endeavored to supply.

What is commonly regarded as his defect is in reality one of his greatest merits as a witness: he was a Hebrew, and looks at the Church from the stand-point of “James the Lord’s brother.” When we observe his Catholic spirit, therefore, as well as his Catholic orthodoxy; his sympathy with the Gentile Church and Pauline faith of the Corinthians; his abhorrence of “the Circumcision” so far as it bred sects and heresies against Christ; and when we find him confirming the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers, and sustaining the traditions of Antioch by those of Jerusalem, — we have double reason to cherish his name, and to treasure up “the fragments that remain” of his works. That touching episode of the kindred of Christ, as they appeared before Domitian, has always impressed my imagination as worthy to be classed with the story of St. John and the robber, as one of the most suggestive incidents of early Christian history. We must lament the loss of other portions of the Memoirs which were known to exist in the seventeenth century. He was a traveler, and must have seen much of the Apostolic churches in the East and West; and the mere scraps we have of his narrative concerning Corinth and Rome excite a natural curiosity as to the rest, which may lead to gratifying discoveries.

FRAGMENTS FROM HIS FIVE BOOKS OF COMMENTARIES ON THE ACTS OF THE CHURCH

1

CONCERNING THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES, THE BROTHER OF THE LORD, FROM BOOK V

JAMES, the Lord's brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the apostles. He has been universally called the Just, from the days of the Lord down to the present time. For many bore the name of James; but this one was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or other intoxicating liquor, nor did he eat flesh; no razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, nor make use of the bath. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place: for he did not wear any woolen garment, but fine linen only. He alone, I say, was wont to go into the temple: and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people — so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel's, by reason of his constantly bending the knee in adoration to God, and begging forgiveness for the people. Therefore, in consequence of his pre-eminent justice, he was called the Just, and Oblias, which signifies in Greek Defense of the People, and Justice, in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.

Now some persons belonging to the seven sects existing among the people, which have been before described by me in the Notes, asked him: "What is the door of Jesus?" And he replied that He was the Savior. In Consequence of this answer, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the sects before mentioned did not believe, either in a resurrection or in the coming of One to requite every man according to his works; but those who did believe, believed because of James. So, when many even of the ruling class believed, there was a commotion among the Jews, and scribes, and Pharisees, who said: "A little more, and we shall have all the people looking for Jesus as the Christ.

They came, therefore, in a body to James, and said: “We entreat thee, restrain the people: for they are gone astray in their opinions about Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We entreat thee to persuade all who have come hither for the day of the passover, concerning Jesus. For we all listen to thy persuasion; since we, as well as all the people, bear thee testimony that thou art just, and showest partiality to none. Do thou, therefore, persuade the people not to entertain erroneous opinions concerning Jesus: for all the people, and we also, listen to thy persuasion. Take thy stand, then, upon the summit of the temple, that from that elevated spot thou mayest be clearly seen, and thy words may be plainly audible to all the people. For, in order to attend the passover, all the tribes have congregated hither, and some of the Gentiles also.”

The aforesaid scribes and Pharisees accordingly set James on the summit of the temple, and cried aloud to him, and said: “O just one, whom we are all bound to obey, forasmuch as the people is in error, and follows Jesus the crucified, do thou tell us what is the door of Jesus, the crucified.” And he answered with a loud voice: “Why ask ye me concerning Jesus the Son of man? He Himself sitteth in heaven, at the right hand of the Great Power, and shall come on the clouds of heaven.”

And, when many were fully convinced by these words, and offered praise for the testimony of James, and said, “Hosanna to the son of David,” then again the said Pharisees and scribes said to one another, “We have not done well in procuring this testimony to Jesus. But let us go up and throw him down, that they may be afraid, and not believe him.” And they cried aloud, and said: “Oh! oh! the just man himself is in error.” Thus they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah: “Let us away with the just man, because he is troublesome to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their doings.” So they went up and threw down the just man, and said to one another: “Let us stone James the Just.” And they began to stone him: for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned, and kneeled down, and said: “I beseech Thee, Lord God our Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.”

And, while they were thus stoning him to death, one of the priests, the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, to whom testimony is born by Jeremiah the prophet, began to cry aloud, saying: “Cease, what do ye?

The just man is praying for us.” But one among them, one of the fullers, took the staff with which he was accustomed to wring out the garments he dyed, and hurled it at the head of the just man.

And so he suffered martyrdom; and they buried him on the spot, and the pillar erected to his memory still remains, close by the temple. This man was a true witness to both Jews and Greeks that Jesus is the Christ.

And shortly after Vespasian besieged Judaea, taking them captive.

CONCERNING THE RELATIVES OF OUR SAVIOR

There still survived of the kindred of the Lord the grandsons of Judas, who according to the flesh was called his brother. These were informed against, as belonging to the family of David, and Evocatus brought them before Domitian Caesar: for that emperor dreaded the advent of Christ, as Herod had done.

So he asked them whether they were of the family of David; and they confessed they were. Next he asked them what property they had, or how much money they possessed. They both replied that they had only 9000 denaria between them, each of them owning half that sum; but even this they said they did not possess in cash, but as the estimated value of some land, consisting of thirty-nine plethra only, out of which they had to pay the dues, and that they supported themselves by their own labor. And then they began to hold out their hands, exhibiting, as proof of their manual labor, the roughness of their skin, and the corns raised on their hands by constant work.

Being then asked concerning Christ and His kingdom, what was its nature, and when and where it was to appear, they returned answer that it was not of this world, nor of the earth, but belonging to the sphere of heaven and angels, and would make its appearance at the end of time, when He shall come in glory, and judge living and dead, and render to every one according to the course of his life.

Thereupon Domitian passed no condemnation upon them, but treated them with contempt, as too mean for notice, and let them go free. At the same time he issued a command, and put a stop to the persecution against the Church. When they were released they became leaders of the churches,

as was natural in the case of those who were at once martyrs and of the kindred of the Lord. And, after the establishment of peace to the Church, their lives were prolonged to the reign of Trojan.

CONCERNING THE MARTYRDOM OF SYMEON THE SON OF CLOPAS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM

Some of these heretics, forsooth, laid an information against Symeon the son of Clopas, as being of the family of David, and a Christian. And on these charges he suffered martyrdom when he was 120 years old, in the reign of Trajan Caesar, when Atticus was consular legate in Syria. And it so happened, says the same writer, that, while inquiry was then being made for those belonging to the royal tribe of the Jews, the accusers themselves were convicted of belonging to it. With show of reason could it be said that Symeon was one of those who actually saw and heard the Lord, on the ground of his great age, and also because the Scripture of the Gospels makes mention of Mary the daughter of Clopas, who, as our narrative has shown already, was his father.

The same historian mentions others also, of the family of one of the reputed brothers of the Savior, named Judas, as having survived until this same reign, after the testimony they bore for the faith of Christ in the time of Domitian, as already recorded.

He writes as follows: They came, then, and took the presidency of every church, as witnesses for Christ, and as being of the kindred of the Lord. And, after profound peace had been established in every church, they remained down to the reign of Trojan Caesar: that is, until the time when he who was sprung from an uncle of the Lord, the aforementioned Symeon son of Clopas, was informed against by the various heresies, and subjected to an accusation like the rest, and for the same cause, before the legate Atticus; and, while suffering outrage during many days, he bore testimony for Christ: so that all, including the legate himself, were astonished above measure that a man 120 years old should have been able to endure such torments. He was finally condemned to be crucified.

... Up to that period the Church had remained like a virgin pure and uncorrupted: for, if there were any persons who were disposed to tamper with the wholesome rule of the preaching of salvation, they still lurked in

some dark place of concealment or other. But, when the sacred band of apostles had in various ways closed their lives, and that generation of men to whom it had been vouchsafed to listen to the Godlike Wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then did the confederacy of godless error take its rise through the treachery of false teachers, who, seeing that none of the apostles any longer survived, at length attempted with bare and uplifted head to oppose the preaching of the truth by preaching "knowledge falsely so called."

CONCERNING HIS JOURNEY TO ROME, AND THE JEWISH SECTS

And the church of the Corinthians continued in the orthodox faith up to the time when Primus was bishop in Corinth. I had some intercourse with these brethren on my voyage to Rome, when I spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by the orthodox faith.

On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession of bishops down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him came Eleutherus. But in the case of every succession, and in every city, the state of affairs is in accordance with the teaching of the Law and of the Prophets and of the Lord....

And after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as had the Lord also and on the same account, again Symeon the son of Clopas, descended from the Lord's uncle, is made bishop, his election being promoted by all as being a kinsman of the Lord.

Therefore was the Church called a virgin, for she was not as yet corrupted by worthless teaching. Thebulis it was who, displeased because he was not made bishop, first began to corrupt her by stealth. He too was connected with the seven sects which existed among the people, like Simon, from whom come the Simoniani; and Cleobius, from whom come the Cleobiani; and Doritheus, from whom come the Dorithiani; and Gorthaeus, from whom come the Gortheani; Masbothaeus, from whom come the Masbothaei. From these men also come the Menandrianists, and the Marcionists, and the Carpocratians, and the Valentinians, and the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians. Each of these leaders in his own private

and distinct capacity brought in his own private opinion. From these have come false Christs, false prophets, false apostles — men who have split up the one Church into parts through their corrupting doctrines, uttered in disparagement of God and of His Christ....

There were, moreover, various opinions in the matter of circumcision among the children of Israel, held by those who were opposed to the tribe of Judah and to Christ: such as the Essenes, the Galileans, the Hemerobaptists, the Masbothaei, the Samaritans, the Sadducees, the Pharisees.

DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF CORINTH

[A.D. 170.] Eusebius is almost diffuse in what he tells us of this Dionysius, “who was appointed over the church at Corinth, and imparted freely, not only to his own people, but to others, and those abroad also, the blessings of his divine labors.” He wrote “Catholic Epistles;” he addressed an epistle to the Spartans and the Athenians; and, as Eusebius says, Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul, was the first bishop of Athens. He wrote to the Nicomedians, refuting Marcion, and closely adhering to “the rule of faith.” In an epistle to the Gortynians and others in Crete, he praises Philip for his courageous ministry, and warns them against the heretics. He seems to recognize Palmas as bishop of Amastris and Pontus, and adds expositions of Scripture, and rules regarding marriage, its purity and sanctity. He also inculcates tenderness to penitent lapsers and backsliders. With Pinytus, bishop of the Gnossians, he corresponds on similar subjects; but Pinytus, while he thanks him and commends his clemency, evidently regards him as too much inclined to furnish “food for babes,” and counsels him to add “strong meat for those of full age.” He also writes to Chrysophora, his most faithful sister, imparting spiritual instruction.

FRAGMENTS FROM A LETTER TO THE ROMAN CHURCH

1

FOR this has been your custom from the beginning, to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send resources to many churches which are in every city, thus refreshing the poverty of the needy, and granting subsidies to the brethren who are in the mines. Through the resources which ye have sent from the beginning, ye Romans, keep up the custom of the Romans handed down by the fathers, which your blessed Bishop Sorer has not only preserved, but added to, sending a splendid gift to the saints, and exhorting with blessed words those brethren who go up to Rome, as an affectionate father his children.

2

FROM THE SAME EPISTLE

We passed this holy Lord's day, in which we read your letter, from the constant reading of which we shall be able to draw admonition, even as from the reading of the former one you sent us written through Clement.

3

FROM THE SAME

Therefore you also have by such admonition joined in close union the churches that were planted by Peter and Paul, that of the Romans and that of the Corinthians: for both of them went to our Corinth, and taught us in the same way as they taught you when they went to Italy; and having taught you, they suffered martyrdom at the same time.

4

FROM THE SAME.

For I wrote letters when the brethren requested me to write. And these letters the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, taking away some things and adding others, for whom a woe is in store. It is not wonderful, then, if some have attempted to adulterate the Lord's writings, when they have formed designs against those which are not such.

RHODON

[A.D. 180.] This Rhodon was supposed by St. Jerome to have been the author of the work against the Cataphrygians, ascribed to Asterius Urbanus more probably. Eusebius gives us the fragment from his work against Marcion, addressed to Callistion, which is here translated. He tells us that he was a pupil of Tatian, and expresses an intention of furnishing original solutions of Scriptural problems sated by Tatian, and by that author explained in a manner apparently unsatisfactory. He also appears to have written against the blasphemous Apelles, whose Hexaemeron was an attempt to refute Moses; but whether he also fulfilled his promise concerning an Ἐπίλυσις of Tatian's Problems (or Questions), seems doubtful. Routh has devoted to the fragment here translated six pages of notes, which he subjoins to the Greek text (of Eusebius) and a Latin version of the same.

WHEREFORE also they disagree among themselves, maintaining as they do an opinion which has no consistency with itself. For one of their herd, Apelles, who prides himself on the strictness of his life, and on his age, admits that there is only one first principle, yet says that the prophecies have come from an opposing spirit, in which opinion he is influenced by the responses of a soothsaying maid named Philumene. But others, among whom are Potitus and Basilicus, like Marcion himself, introduce two first principles. These men, following the Pontic wolf, and not being able to discover any more than he the division of things, have had to recourse to rash assertion, and declared the existence of two first principles simply

and without proof. Others of them, again, drifting from bad to worse, assume not two only, but even three natures. Of these men the leader and champion is Syneros, as those who adopt his teaching say....

For the old man Apelles entered into conversation with us, and was convicted of uttering many false opinions. For example, he asserted that men should on no account examine into their creed, but that every one ought to continue to the last in the belief he has once adopted. For he declared that those who had rested their hope on the Crucified One would be saved, provided only they were found living in the practice, of good works. But the most perplexing of all the doctrines laid down by him was, as we have remarked before, what he said concerning God: for he affirmed that there was only one first principle, precisely as our own faith teaches....

On asking him, “Where do you get proof of this? or how are you able to assert that there is only one first principle? tell us,” — he said that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they had uttered nothing at all that was true: for that they were discordant and false, and self-contradictory. As to the question, “How does it appear that there is only one first principle?” he said he could not tell, only he was impelled to that belief. On my thereupon conjuring him to speak the truth, he solemnly declared that he was expressing his real sentiments; and that he did not know” how” there could be one uncreated God, but that he believed the fact. Here I burst into laughter and rebuked him, because he professed to be a teacher, and yet was unable to confirm by arguments what he taught.

MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM

[A.D. 185-196.] He was a noted character among Christians, according to Eusebius; living, according to Jerome, under Commodus and Severus. He wrote on the inveterate question concerning the Origin of Evil; and the fragment here translated, as given by Eusebius, is also textually cited by Origen against the Marcionites, if that Dialogue be his. The reader will not fail to recollect that liberal citations out of this work are also to be found in Methodius, On Free-Will. But all who desire fuller information on the subject will be gratified by the learned prolegomena and notes of Routh, to

which I refer them. Whether Maximus was the bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 185) mentioned by Eusebius as presiding in that See in the sixth year of Commodus, seems to be uncertain.

FROM THE BOOK CONCERNING MATTER, OR IN DEFENSE OF THE PROPOSITION THAT MATTER IS CREATED, AND IS NOT THE CAUSE OF EVIL

"THAT there cannot exist two uncreated substances at one and the same time, I presume that you hold equally with myself. You appear, however, very decidedly to have assumed, and to have introduced into the argument, this principle, that we must of unavoidable necessity maintain one of two things: either that God is separate from matter; or else, on the contrary, that He is indissolubly connected with it.

"If, then, any one should choose to assert that He exists in union with matter, that would be saying that there is only one uncreated substance. For either of the two must constitute a part of the other; and, since they form parts of each other, they cannot be two uncreated substances. Just as, in speaking of man, we do not describe him as subdivided into a number of distinct parts, each forming a separate created substance, but, as reason requires us to do, assert that he was made by God a single created substance consisting of many parts, — so, in like manner, if God is not separate from matter, we are driven to the conclusion that there is only one uncreated substance.

"If, on the other hand, it be affirmed that He is separate from matter, it necessarily follows that there is some other substance intermediate between the two, by which their separation is made apparent. For it is impossible that one thing should be shown to be severed by an interval from another, unless there be something else by which the interval between the two is produced. This principle, too, holds good not only with regard to this or any other single case, but in any number of cases you please For the same argument which we have employed in dealing with the two uncreated substances must in like manner be valid if the substances in question be given as three. For in regard to these also I should have to inquire whether they are separate from one another, or whether, on the contrary, each of them is united to its fellow. For, if you

should say that they are united, you would hear from me the same argument as before; but if, on the contrary, you should say that they are separate, you could not escape the unavoidable assumption of a separating medium.

“If, again, perchance any one should think that there is a third view which may be consistently maintained with regard to uncreated substances, — namely, that God is not separate from matter, nor yet, on the other hand, united to it as a part, but that God exists in matter as in a place, or possibly matter exists in God, — let such a person observe the consequence: —

“That, if we make matter God’s place, we must of necessity admit that He can be contained, and that He is circumscribed by matter. Nay, further, he must grant that He is, in the same way as matter, driven about hither and thither, unable to maintain His place and to stay where He is, since that in which He exists is perpetually being driven about in one direction or another. Beside this, he must also admit that God has had His place among the worst kind of elements. For if matter was once in disorder, and if he reduced it to order for the purpose of rendering it better, there was a time when God existed among the disordered elements of matter.

“I might also fairly put this question: whether God filled the whole of matter, or was in some part of it. If any one should choose to say that God was in some part of matter, he would be making Him indefinitely smaller than matter, inasmuch as a part of it contained the whole of Him; but, if he maintained that He pervaded the whole of matter, I need to be informed how He became the Fashioner of this matter. For we must necessarily assume, either that there was on the part of God a contraction, so to speak, of Himself, and a withdrawal from matter, whereupon He proceeded to fashion that from which He bad retired; or else that He fashioned Himself in conjunction with matter, in consequence of having no place to retire to.

“But suppose it to be maintained, on the other hand, that matter is in God, it will behoove us similarly to inquire, whether we are to understand by this that He is sundered from Himself, and that, just like the air, which contains various kinds of animals, so is He sundered and divided into parts for the reception of those creatures which from time to time exist in Him;

or whether matter is in God as in a place, — for instance, as water is contained in earth. For should we say ‘as in air,’ we should perforce be speaking of God as divisible into parts; but if ‘as water in earth,’ and if matter was, as is admitted, in confusion and disorder, and moreover also contained what was evil, we should have to admit that God is the place of disorder and evil. But this it does not seem to me consistent with reverence to say, but hazardous rather. For you contend that matter is uncreated, that you may not have to admit that God is the author of evil; and yet, while aiming to escape this difficulty, you make Him the receptacle of evil.

“If you had stated that your suspicion that matter was uncreated arose from the nature of created things as we find them, I should have employed abundant argument in proof that it cannot be so. But, since you have spoken of the existence of evil as the cause of such suspicion, I am disposed to enter upon a separate examination of this point. For, when once it has been made clear how it is that evil exists, and when it is seen to be impossible to deny that God is the author of evil, in consequence of His having had recourse to matter for His materials, it seems to me that a suspicion of this kind disappears.

“You assert, then, that matter, destitute of all qualities good or bad, co-existed at the outset with God, and that out of it He fashioned the world as we now find it.”

“Such is my opinion.”

“Well, then, if matter was without any qualities, and the world has come into existence from God, and if the world possesses qualities, the

author of those qualities must be God.”

“Exactly so.”

“Since, too, I heard you say yourself just now that out of nothing nothing can possibly come, give me an answer to the question I am about to ask you. You seem to me to think that the qualities of the world have not sprung from pre-existing qualities, and moreover that they are something different from the substances themselves.”

“I do.”

“If, therefore, God did not produce the qualities in question from qualities already existing, nor yet from substances, by reason that they are not substances, the conclusion is inevitable, that they were made by God out of nothing. So that you seemed to me to affirm more than you were warranted to do, when you said that it had been proved impossible to hold the opinion that anything was made by God out of nothing.

“But let us put the matter thus. We see persons among ourselves making certain things out of nothing, however true it may be that they make them by means of something. Let us take our illustration, say, from builders. These men do not make cities out of cities; nor, similarly, temples out of temples. Nay, if you suppose that, because the substances necessary for these constructions are already provided, therefore they make them out of that which already exists, your reasoning is fallacious. For it is not the substance that makes the city or the temples, but the art which is employed about the substance. Neither, again, does the art proceed from any art inhering in the substances, but it arises independently of any such art in them.

“But I fancy you will meet the argument by saying that the artist produces the art which is manifest in the substance he has fashioned out of the art which he himself already has. In reply to this, however, I think it may be fairly said, that neither in man does art spring from any already existing art. For we cannot possibly allow that art exists by itself, since it belongs to the class of things which are accidentals, and which receive their existence only when they appear in connection with substance. For man will exist though there should be no architecture, but the latter will have no existence unless there be first of all man. Thus we cannot avoid the conclusion, that it is the nature of art to spring up in man out of nothing. If, then, we have shown that this is the case with man, we surely must allow that God can make not only the qualities of substances out of nothing, but also the substances themselves. For, if it appears possible that anything whatever can be made out of nothing, it is proved that this may be the case with substances also.

“But, since you are specially desirous of inquiring about the origin of evil, I will proceed to the discussion of this topic. And I should like to ask you

a few questions. Is it your opinion that things evil are substances, or that they are qualities of substances?”

“Qualities of substances, I am disposed to say.”

“But matter was destitute of qualities and of form: this I assumed at the outset of the discussion. Therefore, if things evil are qualities of substances, and matter was destitute of qualities, and you have called God the author of qualities, God will also be the former of that which is evil. Since, then, it is not possible, on this supposition any more than on the other, to speak of God as not the cause of evil, it seems to me superfluous to add matter to Him, as if that were the cause of evil. If you have any reply to make to this, begin your argument.”

“If, indeed, our discussion had arisen from a love of contention, I should not be willing to have the inquiry raised a second time about the origin of evil; but, since we are prompted rather by friendship and the good of our neighbor to engage in controversy, I readily consent to have the question raised afresh on this subject. You have no doubt long been aware of the character of my mind, and of the object at which I aim in dispute: that I have no wish to vanquish falsehood by plausible reasoning, but rather that truth should be established in connection with thorough investigation. You yourself, too, are of the same mind, I am well assured. Whatever method, therefore, you deem successful for the discovery of truth, do not shrink from using it. For, by following a better course of argument, you will not only confer a benefit on yourself, but most assuredly on me also, instructing me concerning matters of which I am ignorant.”

“You seem clearly to agree with me, that things evil are in some sort substances: for, apart from substances, I do not see them to have any existence. Since, then, my good friend, you say that things evil are substances, it is necessary to inquire into the nature of substance. Is it your opinion that substance is a kind of bodily structure?”

“It is.”

“And does that bodily structure exist by itself, without the need of any one to come and give it existence?” “Yes.

“And does it seem to you that things evil are connected with certain courses of action?”

“That is my belief.”

“And do actions come into existence only when an actor is there?” “Yes.”

“And, when there is no actor, neither will his action ever take place?”

“It will not.”

“If, therefore, substance is a kind of bodily structure, and this does not stand in need of some one in and through whom it may receive its existence, and if things evil are actions of some one, and actions require some one in and through whom they receive their existence,-things evil will ‘not’ be substances. And if things evil are not substances, and murder is an evil, and is the action of some one, it follows that murder is not a substance. But, if you insist that agents are substance, then I myself agree with you. A man, for instance, who is a murderer, is, in so far as he is a man, a substance; but the murder which he commits is not a substance, but a work of the substance. Moreover, we speak of a man sometimes as had because he commits murder; and sometimes, again, because he performs acts of beneficence, as good: and these names adhere to the substance, in consequence of the things which are accidents of it, which, however, are not the substance itself. For neither is the substance murder, nor, again, is it adultery, nor is it any other similar evil. But, just as the grammarian derives his name from grammar, and the orator from oratory, and the physician from physic, though the substance is not physic, nor yet oratory, nor grammar, but receives its appellation from the things which are accidents of it, from which it popularly receives its name, though it is not any one of them, — so in like manner it appears to me that the substance receives name from things regarded as evil, though it is not itself any one of them.

“I must beg you also to consider that, if you represent some other being as the cause of evil to men, he also, in so far as he acts in them, and incites them to do evil, is himself evil, by reason of the things he does. For he too is said to be evil, for the simple reason that he is the doer of evil things; but the things which a being does are not the being himself, but his actions, from which he receives his appellation, and is called evil. For if we should

say that the things he does are himself, and these consist in murder, and adultery, and theft, and such-like, these things will be himself. And if these things are himself, and if when they take place they get to have a substantial existence, but by not taking place they also cease to exist, and if these things are done by men, — men will be the doers of these things, and the causes of existing and of no longer existing. But, if you affirm that these things are his actions, he gets to be evil from the things he does, not from those things of which the substance of him consists.

“Moreover, we have said that he is called evil from those things which are accidents of the substance, which are not themselves the substance: as a physician from the art of physic. But, if he receives the beginning of his existence from the actions he performs, he too began to be evil, and these evil things likewise began to exist. And, if so, an evil being will not be without a beginning, nor will evil things be unoriginated, since we have said that they are originated by him.” “The argument relating to the opinion I before expressed, you seem to me, my friend, to have handled satisfactorily: for, from the premises you assumed in the discussion, I think you have drawn a fair conclusion. For, beyond doubt, if matter was at first destitute of qualities, and if God is the fashioner of the qualities it now has, and if evil things are qualities, God is the author of those evil things. The argument, then, relating to that opinion we may consider as well discussed, and to me it now seems false to speak of matter as destitute of qualities. For it is not possible to say of any substance whatsoever that it is without qualities. For, in the very act of saying that it is destitute of qualities, you do in fact indicate its quality, representing of what kind matter is, which of course is ascribing to it a species of quality. Wherefore, if it is agreeable to you, rehearse the argument to me from the beginning: for, to me, matter seems to have had qualifies from all eternity. For in this way I can affirm that evil things also come from it in the way of emanation, so that the cause of evil things may not be ascribed to God, but that matter may be regarded as the cause of all such things.”

“I approve your desire, my friend, and praise the zeal you manifest in the discussion of opinions. For it assuredly becomes every one who is desirous of knowledge, not simply and out of hand to agree with what is said, but to make a careful examination of the arguments adduced. For, though a disputant, by laying down false premises, may make his

opponent draw the conclusion he wishes, yet he will not convince a hearer of this; but only when he says that which it seems possible to say with fairness. So that one of two things will happen: either he will, as he listens, be decisively helped to reach that conclusion towards which he already feels himself impelled, or he will convict his adversary of not speaking the truth.

“Now, it seems to me that you have not sufficiently discussed the statement that matter has qualities from the first. For, if this is the case, what will God be the maker of? For, if we speak of substances, we affirm these to exist beforehand; or if again of qualities, we declare these also to exist already. Since, therefore both substance and qualities exist, it seems to me unreasonable to call God a creator.

“But, lest I should seem to be constructing an argument to suit my purpose, be so good as to answer the question: In what way do you assert God to be a creator? Is He such because He changed the substances, so that they should no longer be the same as they had once been but become different from what they were; or because, while He kept the substances the same as they were before that period, He changed their qualities?”

“I do not at all think that any alteration took place in substances: for it appears to me absurd to say this. But I affirm that a certain change was made in their qualities; and it is in respect of these that I speak of God as a creator. Just as we might happen to speak of a house as made out of stones, in which case we could not say that the stones no longer continue to be stones as regards their substance, now that they are made into a house (for I affirm that the house owes its existence to the quality of its construction, forasmuch as the previous quality of the stones has been changed), — so does it seem to me that God, while the substance remains the same, has made a certain change in its qualities; and it is in respect of such change that I speak of the origin of this world as having come from God.”

“Since, then, you maintain that a certain change — namely, of qualifies — has been produced by God, answer me briefly what I am desirous to ask you.”

“Proceed, pray, with your question.”

“Do you agree in the opinion that evil things are qualities of substances?”

“I do.”

“Were these qualities in matter from the first, or did they begin to be?”

“I hold that these qualifies existed in combination with matter, without being originated.”

“But do you not affirm that God has made a certain change in the qualities?”

“That is what I affirm.”

“For the better, or for the worse?”

“For the better, I should say.”

“Well, then, if evil things are qualities of matter, and if the Lord of all changed its qualities for the better, whence, it behoves us to ask, come evil things? For either the qualities remained the same in their nature as they previously were, or, if they were not evil before, but you assert that, in consequence of a change wrought on them by God, the first qualities of this kind came into existence in connection with matter, — God will be the author of evil, inasmuch as He changed the qualities which were not evil, so as to make them evil.

“Possibly, however, it is not your view that God changed evil qualities for the better; but you mean that all those other qualities which happened to be neither good nor bad, were changed by God with a view to the adornment of the creation.”

“That has been my opinion from the outset.”

“How, then, can you say that He has left the qualities of bad things just as they were? Is it that, although He was able to destroy those qualities as well as the others, He was not willing; or did He refrain because He had not the power? For, if you say He had the power, but not the will, you must admit Him to be the cause of these qualities: since, when He could have put a stop to the existence of evil, He chose to let it remain as it was, and that, too, at the very time when He began to fashion matter. For, if He had not concerned Himself at all with matter, He would not have been the

cause of those things which He allowed to remain. But, seeing that He fashioned a certain part of it, and left a certain part as we have described it, although He could have changed that also for the better, it seems to me that He deserves to have the blame cast on Him, for having permitted a part of matter to be evil, to the ruin of that other part which He fashioned.

“Nay, more, it seems to me that the most serious wrong has been committed as regards this part, in that He constituted this part of matter so as to be now affected by evil. For, if we were to examine carefully into things, we should find that the condition of matter is worse now than in its former state, before it was reduced to order. For, before it was separated into parts, it had no sense of evil; but now every one of its parts is afflicted with a sense of evil.

“Take an illustration from man. Before he was fashioned, and became a living being through the art of the Creator, he was by nature exempt from any contact whatever with evil; but, as soon as ever he was made by God a man, he became liable to the sense of even approaching evil: and thus that very thing which you say was brought about by God for the benefit of matter, is found to have turned out rather to its detriment.

“But, if you say that evil has not been put a stop to, because God was unable to do away with it, you will be making God powerless. But, if He is powerless, it will be either because He is weak by nature, or because He is overcome by fear, and reduced to subjection by a stronger. If, then, you go so far as to say that God is weak by nature, it seems to me that you imperil your salvation itself; but, if you say that He is weak through being overcome by fear of a greater, things evil will be greater than God, since they frustrate the carrying out of His purpose. But this, as it seems to me, it would be absurd to say of God. For why should not ‘they’ rather be considered gods, since according to your account they are able to overcome God: if, that is to say, we mean by God that which has a controlling power over all things?

“But I wish to ask you a few questions concerning matter itself. Pray tell me, therefore, whether matter was something simple or compound. I am induced to adopt this method of investigating the subject before us by considering the diversity that obtains in existing things. For, if perchance matter was something simple and uniform, how comes it that the world is

compound, and consists of, divers substances and combinations? For by ‘compound’ we denote a mixture of certain simple elements. But if, on the contrary, you prefer to call matter compound, you will, of course, be asserting that it is compounded of certain simple elements. And, if it was compounded of simple elements, these simple elements must have existed at some time or other separately by themselves, and when they were compounded together matter came into being: from which it of course follows that matter is created. For, if matter is compound, and compound things are constituted from simple, there was once a time when matter had no existence, — namely, before the simple elements came together. And, if there was once a time when matter was not, and there was never a time when the uncreated was not, matter cannot be uncreated. And hence there will be many uncreated substances. For, if God was uncreated, and the simple elements out of which matter was compounded were also uncreated, there will not be two uncreated things only, — not to discuss the question what it is which constitutes objects simple, whether matter or form.

“Is it, further, your opinion that nothing in existence is opposed to itself?”

“It is.”

“Is water, then, opposed to fire?”

“So it appears to me.”

“Similarly, is darkness opposed to light, and warm to cold, and moreover moist to dry?”

“It seems to me to be so.”

“Well, then, if nothing in existence is opposed to itself, and these things are opposed to each other, they cannot be one and the same matter; no, nor yet be made out of one and the same matter.

“I wish further to ask your opinion on a matter kindred to that of which we have been speaking. Do you believe that the parts of a thing

are not mutually destructive?”

“I do.”

“And you believe that fire and water, and so on, are parts of matter?”

“Quite so.”

“Do you not also believe that water is subversive of fire, and light of darkness, and so of all similar things?”

“Yes.” “Well, then, if the parts of a whole are not mutually destructive, and yet the parts of matter are mutually destructive, they cannot be parts of one matter. And, if they are not parts of one another, they cannot be composed of one and the same matter; nay, they cannot be matter at all, since nothing in existence is destructive of itself, as we learn from the doctrine of opposites: for nothing is opposed to itself — an opposite being by nature opposed to something else. White, for example, is not opposed to itself, but is said to be the opposite of black; and, similarly, light is shown not to be opposed to itself, but is considered an opposite in relation to darkness; and so of a very great number of things besides. If, then, matter were some one thing, it could not be opposed to itself. This, then, being the nature of opposites, it is proved that matter has no existence.”

CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS, BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS, AND APOLOGIST

[A.D. 160-180.] This author, an early apologist, is chiefly interesting as a competent witness, who tells the story of the Thundering Legion in an artless manner, and gives it the simple character of an answer to prayer. This subject is treated by Lightfoot, in his recent work on the Apostolic Fathers, in an exhaustive manner; and the story, reduced to the simple narrative as Apollinaris gives it, receives from him a just and discriminating approval.

Apollinaris, as well as Rhodon, has been imagined the author of the work (ascribed to Asterius Urbanus) against Montanism, dedicated to Abiricius Marcellus. This is sufficiently refuted by Routh, whose Greek text, with notes, must be consulted by the studious.

Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis on the Maeander, and, Lightfoot thinks, was probably with Melito and Polycrates, known to Polycarp, and influenced by his example and doctrine. He addressed his Apology, which is honorably mentioned by Jerome, to M. Antoninus, the emperor. He also wrote Adversus Gentes and De Veritate; also against the Jews. Serapion calls him "most blessed."

FROM AN UNKNOWN BOOK

"THIS narration (says Eusebius, Hist., v. 5) is given" (it relates to that storm of rain which was sent to the army of the Emperor M. Antoninus, to allay the thirst of the soldiers, whilst the enemy was discomfited by thunderbolts hurled upon them) "even by those historians who are at a wide remove from the doctrines that prevail among us, and who have been simply concerned to describe what related to the emperors who are the subjects of their history; and it has been recorded also by our own writers. But historians without the pale of the Church, as being unfriendly to the faith, while they have recorded the prodigy, have refrained from acknowledging that it was sent in answer to our prayers. On the other hand, our writers, as lovers of truth, have reported the matter in a simple and artless way. To this number Apollinaris must be considered as belonging. 'Thereupon,' he says, 'the legion which had by its prayer caused the prodigy received from the emperor a title suitable to the occurrence, and was called in the Roman language the Thunder-hurling Legion.'"

FROM THE BOOK CONCERNING THE PASSOVER

There are, then, some who through ignorance raise disputes about these things (though their conduct is pardonable: for ignorance is no subject for blame — it rather needs further instruction), and say that on the fourteenth day the Lord ate the lamb with the disciples, and that on the great day of the feast of unleavened bread He Himself suffered; and they quote Matthew as speaking in accordance with their view. Wherefore their opinion is contrary to the law, and the Gospels seem to be at variance with them.

FROM THE SAME BOOK

The fourteenth day, the true Passover of the Lord; the great sacrifice, the Son of God instead of the lamb, who was bound, who bound the strong, and who was judged, though Judge of living and dead, and who was delivered into the hands of sinners to be crucified, who was lifted up on the horns of the unicorn, and who was pierced in His holy side, who poured forth from His side the two purifying elements, water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the passover, the stone being placed upon the tomb.

POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS

[A.D. 130-196.] This author comes in as an appendix to the stories of Polycarp and Irenaeus and good Anicetus, and his writings also bear upon the contrast presented by the less creditable history of Victor. If, as I suppose, the appearance of our Lord to St. John on “the Lord’s day” was on the Paschal Sunday, it may at first seem surprising that this Apostle can be claimed by Polycrates in behalf of the Eastern custom to keep Easter, with the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon. But to the Jews the Apostles became “as Jews” in all things tolerable, so long as the Temple stood, and while the bishops of Jerusalem were laboring to identify the Paschal Lamb with their Passover. The long survival of St. John among Jewish Christians led them to prolong this usage, no doubt, as sanctioned by his example. He foreknew it would quietly pass away. The wise and truly Christian spirit of Irenaeus prepared the way for the ultimate unanimity of the Church in a matter which lies at the base of “the Christian Sabbath,” and of our own observance of the first day of the week as a weekly Easter. Those who in our own times have revived the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, show us how much may be said on their side, and elucidate the tenacity of the Easterns in resisting the abolition of the Mosaic ordinance as to the Paschal, although they agreed to keep it “not with the old leaven.”

Our author belonged to a family in which he was the eighth Christian bishop; and he presided over the church of Ephesus, in which the traditions of St. John were yet fresh in men’s minds at the date of his

birth. He had doubtless known Polycarp, and Irenaeus also. He seems to have presided over a synod of Asiatic bishops (A.D. 196) which came together to consider this matter of the Paschal feast. It is surely noteworthy that nobody doubted that it was kept by a Christian and Apostolic ordinance. So St. Paul argues from its Christian observance, in his rebuke of the Corinthians. They were keeping it “unleavened” ceremonially, and he urges a spiritual unleavening as more important. The Christian hallowing of Pentecost connects with the Paschal argument. The Christian Sabbath hinges on these points.

FROM HIS EPISTLE TO VICTOR AND THE ROMAN CHURCH CONCERNING THE DAY OF KEEPING THE PASSOVER

As for us, then, we scrupulously observe the exact day, neither adding nor taking away. For in Asia great luminaries have gone to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the coming of the Lord, when He cometh with glory from heaven and shall raise again all the saints. I speak of Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who is laid to rest at Hierapolis; and his two daughters, who arrived at old age unmarried; his other daughter also, who passed her life under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and reposes at Ephesus; John, moreover, who reclined on the Lord’s bosom, and who became a priest wearing the mitre, and a witness and a teacher — he rests at Ephesus. Then there is Polycarp, both bishop and martyr at Smyrna; and Thraseas from Eumenia, both bishop and martyr, who rests at Smyrna. Why should I speak of Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? of the blessed Papirius, moreover? and of Melito the eunuch, who performed all his actions under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and lies at Sardis, awaiting the visitation from heaven, when he shall rise again from the dead? These all kept the passover on the fourteenth. day of the month, in accordance with the Gospel, without ever deviating from it, but keeping to the rule of faith.

Moreover I also, Polycrates, who am the least of you all, in accordance with the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have succeeded — seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth, and my relatives always observed the day when the people put away the leaven — I myself, brethren, I say, who am sixty-five years old in the Lord, and have fallen in with the brethren in all parts of the world, and have read through

all Holy Scripture, am not frightened at the things which are said to terrify us. For those who are greater than I have said, “We ought to obey God rather than men.” ...

I might also have made mention of the bishops associated with me, whom it was your own desire to have called together by me, and I called them together: whose names, if I were to write them down, would amount to a great number. These bishops, on coming to see me, unworthy as I am, signified their united approval of the letter, knowing that I wore these gray hairs not in vain, but have always regulated my conduct in obedience to the Lord Jesus.

THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF CAESAREA IN PALESTINE

[A.D. 180.] When Eusebius says that the churches of “all Asia” concurred in the Ephesine use concerning the Paschal, he evidently means Asia Minor, as in the Scriptures and elsewhere. Throughout “the rest of the world,” he testifies, however, that such was not the use. The Palestinian bishops, after the Jewish downfall, seem to have been the first to comprehend the propriety of adopting the more Catholic usage; and our author presided over a council in Caesarea, of which he was bishop, assisted by Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, with Cassius of Tyre and Clarus of Ptolemais, which confirmed it. It is to be noted, that Alexandria is cited by Theophilus as authority for this custom; and it is not quite correct to say that the Western usage prevailed at Nicaea, for it was the general use, save only in Asia Minor and churches which were colonies of the same. This fact has been overlooked, and is very important, in history.

FROM HIS EPISTLE ON THE QUESTION OF THE PASSOVER, WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF THE SYNOD OF CAESAREA

ENDEAVOR also to send abroad copies of our epistle among all the churches, so that those who easily deceive their own Souls may not be able to lay the blame on us. We would have you know, too, that in Alexandria also they observe the festival on the same day as ourselves. For

the Paschal letters are sent from us to them, and from them to us: so that we observe the holy day in unison and together.

SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

[A.D. circa 190 — 200 — 211.] He was the eighth bishop of Antioch, a diligent writer and exemplary pastor. Little as we have of his remains, Lardner shows how very useful is that little. He testifies to the Apostles as delivering the words of Christ Himself; to the jealousy of the early Christians in siring inspired writings from those of no authority as Scriptures; to their methods, as in the case of the pseudo-gospel of Peter; and to the utterly apocryphal character of that book, which Grabe and others suppose to be the work of Leucius, a noted forger and falsifier. It had never been heard of in the great See of Antioch, and this famous bishop could only get sight of it by fishing it out of the dirty pool of the Docetae.

1

FROM THE EPISTLE TO CARICUS AND PONTICUS

THAT ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy, to which is given the name of New Prophecy, is abominated among the whole brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius, who was made bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.

2

FROM THE BOOK CONCERNING THE GOSPEL OF PETER

For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the rest of the apostles as Christ Himself. But those writings which are falsely inscribed with their name, we as experienced persons reject, knowing that no such writings have been handed down to us. When, indeed, I came to see you, I supposed that all

were in accord with the orthodox faith; and, although I had not read through the Gospel inscribed with the name of Peter which was brought forward by them, I said: If this is the only thing which threatens to produce ill-feeling among you, let it be read. But, now that I have learnt from what has been told me that their mind was secretly cherishing some heresy, I will make all haste to come to you again. Expect me therefore, brethren, shortly. Moreover, brethren, we, having discovered to what kind of heresy Marcion adhered, and seen how he contradicted himself, not understanding of what he was speaking, as you will gather from what has been written to you — for, having borrowed this said Gospel from those who were familiar with it from constant perusal, namely from the successors of those who were his leaders in the heresy, whom we call Docetae (for most of the opinions held by him are derived from their teaching), we were able to read it through; and while we found most of its contents to agree with the orthodox account of the Savior, we found some things inconsistent with that, and these we have set down below for your inspection.

APOLLONIUS

[A.D. 211.] He was a most eloquent man, according to St. Jerome; and his writings against Montanism were so forcible as to call forth Tertullian himself, to confute him, if possible. He flourished under Commodus and Severus, and probably until the times of Caracalla. He bears testimony to the existence of a canon of Scripture, and to its inspired authority as the rule of faith and practice; and he witnesses, by citation, to the Gospel of St. Matthew. The Revelation of St. John also, according to Eusebius, was employed by him in his works; and he preserves a tradition that our Lord bade the Apostles continue in Jerusalem for the space of twelve years. We cannot affirm that he was invested with any office in the Church.

CONCERNING MONTANISM

BUT who is this new teacher? His works and teaching inform us. This is he who taught the dissolution of marriage; who inculcated fasting; who called Peruga and Tymius, small towns of Phrygia, Jerusalem, because he wished to collect thither people from all parts; who set up exactors of money;

who craftily contrives the taking of gifts under the name of voluntary offerings; who grants stipends to those who publish abroad his doctrine, that by means of gluttony the teaching of the doctrine may prevail.

2

We declare to you, then, that these first prophetesses, as soon as they were filled with the spirit, left their husbands. Of what falsehood, then, were they guilty in calling Prisca a maiden! Do you not think that all Scripture forbids a prophet to receive gifts and money? When, therefore, I see that the prophetess has received gold and silver and expensive articles of dress, how can I avoid treating her with disapproval?

3

Moreover, Themison also, who was clothed in a garb of plausible covetousness, who declined to bear the sign of confessorship, but by a large sum of money put away from him the chains of martyrdom, although after such conduct it was his duty to conduct himself with humility, ye had the hardihood to boast that he was a martyr, and, in imitation of the apostle, to compose a general epistle, in which he attempted to instruct in the elements of the faith those who had believed to better purpose than he, and defended the doctrines of the new-fangled teaching, and moreover uttered blasphemy against the Lord and the apostles and the holy Church.

4

But, not to dwell further on these matters, let the prophetess tell us concerning Alexander, who calls himself a martyr, with whom she joins in banqueting; who himself also is worshipped by many; whose robberies and other deeds of daring, for which he has been punished, it is not necessary for us to speak of, since the treasury has him in keeping. Which of them, then, condones the sins of the other? The prophet the robberies of the martyr, or the martyr the covetousness of the prophet? For whereas the Lord has said, “Provide not gold, nor silver, nor two coats a-piece,”

these men have, on the flat contrary, transgressed the command by the acquisition of these forbidden things. For we shall show that those who are called among them prophets and martyrs obtain money not only from the rich, but also from the poor, from orphans and widows. And if they are confident that they are right in so doing, let them stand forward and discuss the point, in order that, if they be refuted, they may cease for the future so to transgress. For the fruits of the prophet must needs be brought to the test: for “from its fruit is the tree known.” But that those that desire it may become acquainted with what relates to Alexander, he was condemned by Aemilius Frontinus, proconsul at Ephesus, not on account of the name of Christ, but for the dating robberies he committed when he was already a transgressor. Afterwards, when he had spoken falsely of the name of the Lord, he was released, having deceived the faithful there; and even the brethren of his own district, from which he came, did not receive him, because he was a robber. Thus, those who wish to learn what he is, have the public treasury of Asia to go to. And yet the prophet, although he spent many years with him, knows forsooth nothing about him! By convicting” him,” we by his means clearly convict of misrepresentation the prophet likewise. We are able to prove the like in the case of many others besides. And if they are confident of their innocence, let them abide the test.

5

If they deny that their prophets have taken gifts, let them confess thus much, that if they be convicted of having taken them, they are not prophets; and we will adduce ten thousand proofs that they have. It is proper, too, that all the fruits of a prophet should be examined. Tell me: does a prophet dye his hair? Does a prophet use stibium on his eyes? Is a prophet fond of dress? Does a prophet play at gaming-tables and dice? Does a prophet lend money on interest? Let them confess whether these things are allowable or not. For my part, I will prove that these practices have occurred among them.

PANTAENUS, THE ALEXANDRIAN PHILOSOPHER

[A.D. 182 — 192 — 212.] The world owes more to Pantaenus than to all the other Stoics put together. His mind discovered that true philosophy is found, not in the Porch, but in Nazareth, in Gethsemane, in Gabbatha, in Golgotha; and he set himself to make it known to the world. We are already acquainted with the great master of Clement, “the Sicilian bee,” that forsook the flowers of Enna, to enrich Alexandria with what is “sweeter than honey and the honey-comb;” and we remember that he became a zealous missionary to the Oriental Ethiopia, and found there the traces of St. Matthias’ labors, and those also of St. Bartholomew. From this mission he seems to have returned about A.D. 192. Possibly he was master of the Alexandrian school before he went to India, and came back to his chair when that mission was finished. There he sat till about A.D. 212, and under him this Christian academy became famous. It had existed as a catechetical school from the Apostles’ time, according to St. Jerome. I have elsewhere noted some reasons for supposing that its founder may have been Apollos. All the learning of Christendom may be traced to this source; and blessed be the name of one of whom all we know is ennobling to the Church, and whose unselfish career was a track of light “shining more and more unto the perfect day.”

1

“In the sun hath He set His tent.” Some affirm that the reference is to the Lord’s body, which He Himself places in the sun; Hermogenes, for instance. As to His body, some say it is His tent, others the Church of the faithful. But our Pantaenus said: “The language employed by prophecy is for the most part indefinite, the present tense being used for the future, and again the present for the past.”

2

This mode of speaking Saint Dionysius the Areopagite declares to be used in Scripture to denote predeterminations and expressions of the divine

will. In like manner also the followers of Pantaenus, who became the preceptor of the great Clement the Stromatist, affirm that they are commonly used in Scripture for expressions of the divine will. Accordingly, when asked by some who prided themselves on the outside learning, in what way the Christians supposed God to become acquainted with the universe, their own opinion being that He obtains His knowledge of it in different ways, — of things falling within the province of the understanding by means of the understanding, and of those within the region of the senses by means of the senses, — they replied: “Neither does He gain acquaintance with sensible things by the senses, nor with things within the sphere of the understanding by the understanding: for it is not possible that He who is above all existing things should apprehend them by means of existing things. We assert, on the contrary, that He is acquainted with existing things as the products of His own volition.” They added, by way of showing the reasonableness of their view: “If He has made all things by an act of His will (and no argument will be adduced to gainsay this), and if it is ever a matter of piety and rectitude to say that God is acquainted with His own will, and if He has voluntarily made every several thing that has come into existence, then surely God must be acquainted with all existing things as the products of His own will, seeing that it was in the exercise of that will that He made them.”

PSEUD-IRENAEUS

[A.D. 177.] This letter should have been made a preface to the works of Irenaeus, or at least an appendix. It is worthy of his great name; “the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity,” says Lardner. Critics of no mean name have credited it to Irenaeus; but, as this cannot be proved, I have accordingly marked it as a pseudonym. The same writer condenses the arguments of others, on which he decides to adhere to the later chronology of Eusebius, assigning its date to the seventeenth year of Marcus Aurelius. Naturally humane and comparatively gentle in other respects he was; but Stoicism, as well as heathenism, showed what it could exact of such a character in maintenance of the popular and imperial superstitions. Terrible is the summary of Lightfoot concerning the barbarities of this darling of the “philosophers:” “It is a plain fact, that Christian blood

flowed more freely under M. Aurelius than at any time previously during the half century since the Bithynian martyrdoms under Trajan, or was yet to flow at any time during the decades which would elapse before the Severian persecution. These persecutions extend throughout his reign: they were fierce and deliberate; aggravated, at least in some cases, by cruel tortures. They had the emperor's direct personal sanction. They break out in all parts of the empire, — in Rome, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa, possibly also in Byzantium."

Bishop Lightfoot accounts for the fact, that, in spite of this sanguinary character of the period, little complaint is heard from the suffering Church, by a simple statement which is honorable to Aurelius as a Roman and an emperor. He was such a contrast to the Neros and Caligulas, that the wretched Romans loved him as a father; to reproach him was, therefore, poor policy for Christians. They would have been answered, practically: "If so good a sovereign finds it necessary to punish you, the fault is your own; you have only to be as we are, and he will treat you as well as he does us."

Of this awful outbreak in Lyons and Vienne, says Lightfoot: "The persecution was wholesale, so that it was not safe for any Christian to appear out of doors. No difference of age or sex was made. The prisoners were put to the most cruel tortures. All the elements of power combined to crush the brethren."

To forbear threatenings, to revile not again, to conquer through patient suffering, to persevere, "looking unto Jesus," and to be silent, like Him, before their murderers, was therefore the world-wide conduct of the saints. This golden letter shows what they were called to endure, and how they glorified Christ by their deaths, from the utmost Orient to the extreme limits of the West.

THE LETTER OF THE CHURCHES OF VIENNA AND LUGDUNUM TO THE CHURCHES OF ASIA AND PHRYGIA

It began thus: — “The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord.”

After some further preliminary remarks the letter proceeds: — “The greatness of the tribulation in this region, and the exceeding anger of the heathen nations against the saints, and the sufferings which the blessed Witnesses endured, neither are we competent to describe accurately, nor indeed is it possible to detail them in writing. For with all his strength did the adversary assail us, even then giving a foretaste of his activity among us which is to be without restraint; and he had recourse to every means, accustoming his own subjects and exercising them beforehand against the servants of God, so that not only were we excluded from houses, baths, and the forum, but a universal prohibition was laid against any one of us appearing in any place whatsoever. But the grace of God acted as our general against him. It rescued the weak; it arrayed against him men like firm pillars, who could through patience bear up against the whole force of the assaults of the wicked one. These came to close quarters with him, enduring every form of reproach and torture; and, making light of grievous trials, they hastened on to Christ, showing in reality that the ‘sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that is to be revealed in us.’ And first they nobly endured the evils which were heaped on them by the populace, — namely, hootings and blows, draggings, plunderings, stonings, and confinements, and everything that an infuriated mob is wont to perpetrate against those whom they deem bitter enemies. And at length, being brought to the forum by the tribune of the soldiers, and the magistrates that had charge of the city, they were examined in presence of the whole multitude; and having confessed, they were shut up in prison until the arrival of the governor.

“After this, when they were brought before the governor, and when he displayed a spirit of savage hostility to us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the

brethren, interposed. For he was a man who had contained the full measure of love towards God and his neighbors. His mode of life had been so strict, that though he was a young man, he deserved to be described in the words used in regard to the elderly Zacharias: `He had walked therefore in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.' He was also eager to serve his neighbor in any way, he was very zealous for God, and he was fervent in spirit. Such being the character of the man, he could not bear that judgment should be thus unreasonably passed against us, but was moved with indignation, and requested that he himself should be heard in defense of his brethren, undertaking to prove that there is nothing ungodly or impious amongst us. On this, those who were round the judgment-seat cried out against him, for he was a man of distinction; and the governor, not for a moment listening to the just request thus made to him, merely asked him if he himself were a Christian. And on his confessing in the clearest voice that he was, he also was taken up into the number of the Witnesses, receiving the appellation of the Advocate of the Christians, and having himself the Advocate, the Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias; which he showed in the fullness of his love, in that he had of his own goodwill offered to lay down his own life in defense of the brethren. For he was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, 'following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.'

"After this the rest began to be distinguished, for the proto-martyrs were decided and ready, and accomplished the confession of their testimony with all alacrity. But there appeared also. those who were unprepared and unpracticed, and who were still feeble, and unable to bear the tension of a gear contest. Of these about ten in number proved abortions; causing great grief and immeasurable sorrow amongst us, and dumping the ardor of the rest who had not yet been apprehended. For these, although they suffered every kind of cruelty, remained nevertheless in the company of the Witnesses, and did not forsake them. But then the whole of us were greatly alarmed on account of our uncertainty as to confession, not because we feared the tortures inflicted, but because we looked to the end, and dreaded lest any one should fall away. Those who were worthy, however, were daily apprehended, filling up the number of the others: so that out of the two churches all the excellent, and those to whom the churches owed most of all their establishment and prosperity, were

collected together in prison. Some heathen household slaves belonging to our people were also apprehended, since the governor had given orders publicly that all of us should be sought out. These, through the instigation of Satan, and through fear of the tortures which they saw the saints enduring, urged on also by the soldiers, falsely accused us of Thyestean banquets and (Edipodean connections, and other crimes which it is lawful for us neither to mention nor think of; and, indeed, we shrink from believing that any such crimes have ever taken place among men. When the rumor of these accusations was spread abroad, all raged against us like wild beasts; so that if any formerly were temperate in their conduct to us on account of relationship, they then became exceedingly indignant and exasperated against us. And thus was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord: ‘The time shall come when every one who slayeth you shall think that he offereth service to God.’

“Then at last the holy Witnesses suffered tortures beyond all description, Satan striving eagerly that some of the evil reports might be acknowledged by them. But in an exceeding degree did the whole wrath of mob, general, and soldiers fall on Sanctus, a deacon from Vienna, and on Maturus, a newly-enlightened but noble combatant, and on Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who had always been the Pillar and foundation of the church there, and on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that the things that to men appear mean and deformed and contemptible, are with God deemed worthy of great glory, on account of love to Him, — a love which is not a mere boastful appearance, but shows itself in the power which it exercises over the life. For while we were all afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who was herself one of the combatants among the Witnesses, that she would not be able to make a bold confession on account of the weakness of her body, Blandina was filled with such power, that those who tortured her one after the other in every way from morning till evening were wearied and tired, confessing that they had been baffled, for they had no other torture they could apply to her; and they were astonished that she remained in life, when her whole body was torn and opened up, and they gave their testimony that one only of the modes of torture employed was sufficient to have deprived her of life, not to speak of so many excruciating inflictions. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, recovered her strength in the midst of the confession; and her

declaration, ‘I am a Christian, and there is no evil done amongst us,’ brought her refreshment, and rest, and insensibility to all the sufferings inflicted on her.

“Sanctus also nobly endured all the excessive and superhuman tortures which man could possibly devise against him; for the wicked hoped, on account of the continuance and greatness of the tortures, to hear him confess some of the unlawful practices. But he opposed them with such firmness that he did not tell them even his own name, nor that of his nation or city, nor if he were slave or free; but in answer to all these questions, he said in Latin, ‘I am a Christian.’ This was the confession he made repeatedly, instead of giving his name, his city, his race, and indeed in reply to every question that was put to him; and other language the heathens heard not from him. Hence arose in the minds of the governor and the torturers a determined resolution to subdue him; so that, when every other means failed, they at last fixed red-hot plates of brass to the most delicate parts of his body. And these indeed were burned, but he himself remained inflexible and unyielding, firm in his confession, being bedewed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life which issues from the belly of Christ. But his body bore witness to what had happened: for it was all wounds and weals, shrunk and torn up, and had lost externally the human shape. In him Christ suffering wrought great wonders, destroying the adversary, and showing for an example to the rest that there is nothing fearful where there is the Father’s love, and nothing painful where there is Christ’s glory. For the wicked after some days again tortured the Witness, thinking that, since his body was swollen and inflamed, if they were to apply the same tortures they would gain the victory over him, especially since the parts of his body could not bear to be touched by the hand, or that he would die in consequence of the tortures, and thus inspire the rest with fear. Yet not only did no such occurrence take place in regard to him, but even, contrary to every expectation of man, his body unbent itself and became erect in the midst of the subsequent tortures, and resumed its former appearance and the use of its limbs, so that the second torture turned out through the grace of Christ a cure, not an affliction.

“Among those who had denied was a woman of the name of Biblias. The devil, thinking that he had already swallowed her, and wishing to damn her

still more by making her accuse falsely, brought her forth to punishment, and employed force to constrain her, already feeble and spiritless, to utter accusations of atheism against us. But she, in the midst of the tortures, came again to a sound state of mind, and awoke as it were out of a deep sleep; for the temporary suffering reminded her of the eternal punishment in Gehenna, and she contradicted the accusers of Christians, saying, ‘How can children be eaten by those who do not think it lawful to partake of the blood of even brute beasts?’ And after this she confessed herself a Christian, and was added to the number of Witnesses.

“But when the tyrannical tortures were rendered by Christ of no avail through the patience of the blessed, the devil devised other contrivances — confinement in the darkest and most noisome cells of the prison, the stretching of the feet on the stocks, even up to the fifth hole, and the other indignities which attendants stirred up by wrath and full of the devil are wont to inflict on the imprisoned. The consequence was, that very many were suffocated in prison, as many at least as the Lord, showing His glory, wished to depart in this way. For there were others who were tortured so bitterly, that it seemed impossible for them to survive even though they were to obtain every kind of attention; and yet they remained alive in prison, destitute indeed of care from man, but strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul, and they animated and consoled the rest. But the new converts who had been recently apprehended, and whose bodies had not previously been tortured, could not endure the confinement, but died in the prison.

“Now the blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the service of the bishopric in Lugdunum, was also dragged before the judgment-seat. He was now upwards of ninety years of age, and exceedingly weak in body. Though he breathed with difficulty on account of the feebleness of the body, yet he was strengthened by the eagerness of his spirit, on account of his earnest desire to bear his testimony. His body, indeed, was already dissolved through old age and disease, yet the life was preserved in him, that Christ might triumph through him. When he was brought by the soldiers to the judgment-seat, under a convoy of the magistrates of the city, and amid exclamations of every kind from the whole population, as if he himself were the Christ, he gave the good testimony. Being asked by the governor who was the God of the Christians, he said, ‘If thou art

worthy, thou shalt know.’ Thereupon he was unmercifully dragged about, and endured many blows; for those who were near maltreated him in every way with their hands and feet, showing no respect for his age, while those at a distance hurled against him each one whatever came to hand, all of them believing that they would sin greatly and act impiously if they in any respect fell short in their insulting treatment of him. For they thought that in this way they would avenge their gods. And Pothinus, breathing with difficulty, was cast into prison, and two days after he expired.

“Upon this a grand dispensation of God’s providence took place, and the immeasurable mercy of Jesus was made manifest, — such an occurrence as but rarely happens among the brotherhood, yet one that does not fall short of the art of Christ. For those who in the first apprehension had denied, were imprisoned along with the others, and shared their hardships. Their denial, in fact, turned out at this time to be of no advantage to them. For while those who confessed what they really were, were imprisoned simply as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, those who denied were detained as murderers and profligates. They, moreover, were doubly punished. For the confessors were lightened by the joy of their testimony and their hope in the promises, and by their love to Christ, and by the Father’s Spirit. But the deniers were tormented greatly by their own consciences, so that when they were led forth their countenances could be distinguished among all the rest. For the confessors went forth joyous, with a mingling of glory and abundant grace in their looks, so that their chains lay like becoming ornaments around them, as around a bride adorned with golden fringes wrought with divers colors. And they breathed at the same time the fragrance of Christ, so that some even thought that they were anointed with this world’s perfume. But the deniers were downcast, humbled, sad-looking, and weighed down with every kind of disgrace. They were, moreover, reproached even by the heathens with being base and cowardly, and charged with the crime of murder; they had lost the altogether honorable, glorious, and life-giving appellation. When the rest saw this, they were strengthened, and those who were apprehended confessed unhesitatingly, not allowing the reasoning of the devil to have even a place in their thoughts.”

Eusebius omits something, saying that after a little the; letter proceeded as follows: —

“After these things, then, their testimonies took every shape through the different ways in which they departed. For, plaiting a crown from different colors and flowers of every kind, they presented it to the Father. It was right therefore that the noble athletes, after having endured divers contests and gained grand victories, should receive the great crown of incorruption.

“Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus were publicly exposed to the wild beasts — that common spectacle of heathen barbarity; for a day was expressly assigned to fights with wild beasts on account of our people. And Maturus and Sanctus again endured every form of torture in the amphitheater, as if they had had no suffering at all before. Or rather, like athletes who had overthrown their adversary several times, and were now contending for the crown itself, again they endured the lashes which were usual there; and they were dragged about by the wild beasts, and suffered every indignity which the maddened populace demanded in cries and exhortations proceeding from various parts of the amphitheater. And last of all they were placed in the iron chair, on which their bodies were roasted, and they themselves were filled with the fumes of their own flesh. But the heathens did not stop even here, but became still more frantic in their desire to overcome the endurance of the Christians. But not even thus did they hear anything else from Sanctus than the utterance of the confession which he had been accustomed to make from the beginning. These, then, after life had lasted a long time throughout the great contest, were at last sacrificed, after they alone had formed a spectacle to the world, throughout that day, instead of all the diversity which usually takes place in gladiatorial shows.

“Blandina was hung up fastened to a stake, and exposed, as food to the wild beasts that were let loose against her; and through her presenting the spectacle of one suspended on something like a cross, and through her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great eagerness: for in the combat they saw, by means of their sister, with their bodily eyes, Him who was crucified for them, that He might persuade those who trust in Him that every one that has suffered for the glory of Christ has eternal communion with the living God. When none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake and conveyed back to prison. She was thus reserved for another contest, in order that, gaining the

victory in many preparative conflicts, she might make the condemnation of the Crooked Serpent unquestionable, and that she might encourage the brethren. For though she was an insignificant, weak, and despised woman, yet she was clothed with the great and invincible athlete Christ. On many occasions she had overpowered the adversary, and in the course of the contest had woven for herself the crown of incorruption.

“Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the mob; for he was a man of mark, He entered the lists a ready combatant on account of his good conscience, since he had been truly practiced in the Christian discipline, and had always been a Witness of the truth among us. He was led round the amphitheater, a tablet going before him, on which was written in Latin, ‘This is Attalus the Christian;’ and the people swelled with indignation against him. But the governor, learning that he was a Roman, ordered him to be taken back to prison and kept with the rest who were there, with regard to whom he had written to the Caesar, and was now awaiting his determination.

“The intervening time did not prove barren or unfruitful to the Witnesses, but through their patient endurance the immeasurable love of Christ was made manifest. For through the living the dead were made alive; and the Witnesses conferred favors on those who were not Witnesses, and the Virgin Mother had much joy in, receiving back alive those whom she had given up as dead abortions. For through the Witnesses the greater number of those who had denied returned, as it were, into their mother’s womb, and were conceived again and re-quickened; and they learned to confess. And being now restored to life, and having their spirits braced, they went up to the judgment-seat to be again questioned by the governor, while that God who wishes not the death of the sinner, but mercifully calls to repentance, put sweetness: into their souls. This new examination took place because the Caesar had given orders that the Witnesses should be punished, but that if any denied they should be set free. And as now was commencing here the fair, which is attendee by vast numbers of men assembling from all nations, he brought the. blessed up to the judgment-seat, exhibiting them as a theatrical show and spectacle to the mobs. Wherefore also he again questioned them, and whoever appeared to have had the rights of Roman: citizenship he beheaded, and the rest he sent to the wild beasts.

“Now Christ was greatly glorified in those who formerly denied; for, contrary to every expectation of the heathen, they confessed. For these were examined separately, under the belief that they were to be set free; but confessing, they were added to the number of the Witnesses. But there were also some who remained without; namely, those who had no trace of faith, and no perception of the marriage garment, nor notion of the fear of God, but through their conduct caused evil reports of our way of life, that is, sons of perdition. But all the rest were added to the Church.

“Present at the examination of these was one Alexander, a native of Phrygia, a physician by profession. He had lived for many years in Gaul, and had become well known to all for his love to God and his boldness in proclaiming the truth, for he was not without a share of apostolic grace. He stood near the judgment-seat, and, urging by signs those who had denied to confess, he looked to those who stood round the judgment-seat like one in travail. But the mobs, enraged that those who had formerly denied should now confess, cried out against Alexander as if he were the cause of this change. Then the governor summoned him before him, and inquired of him who he was; and when Alexander said he was a Christian, the governor burst into a passion, and condemned him to the wild beasts. And on the next day he entered the amphitheater along with Attalus; for the governor, wishing to gratify the mob, again exposed Attalus to the wild beasts. These two, after being tortured in the amphitheater with all the instruments devised for that purpose, and having undergone an exceedingly severe contest, at last were themselves sacrificed. Alexander uttered no groan or murmur of any kind, but conversed in his heart with God; but Attalus, when he was placed on the iron chair, and all the pans of his body were burning, and when the fumes from his body were born aloft, said to the multitude in Latin, ‘Lo! this which ye do is eating men. But as for us, we neither eat men nor practice any other wickedness.’ And being asked what name God has, he answered, ‘God has not a name as men have.’

“After all these, on the last day of the gladiatorial shows, Blandina was again brought in along with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years of age. These two had been taken daily to the amphitheater to see the tortures which the rest endured, and force was used to compel them to swear by the idols of the heathen; but on account of their remaining steadfast, and setting all their devices at nought, the multitude were furious against them,

so as neither to pity the tender years of the boy nor to respect the sex of the woman. Accordingly they exposed them to every terror, and inflicted on them every torture, repeatedly trying to compel them to swear. But they failed in effecting this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister, so plainly indeed that even the heathens saw that it was she that encouraged and confirmed him, after enduring nobly every kind of torture, gave up the ghost; while the blessed Blandina, last of all, after having like a noble mother encouraged her children, and sent them on before her victorious to the King, trod the same path of conflict which her children had trod, hastening on to them with joy and exultation at her departure, not as one thrown to the wild beasts, but as one invited to a marriage supper. And after she had been scourged and exposed to the wild beasts, and roasted in the iron chair, she was at last enclosed in a net and cast before a bull. And after having been well tossed by the bull, though without having any feeling of what was happening to her, through her hope and firm hold of what had been entrusted to her and her converse with Christ, she also was sacrificed, the heathens themselves acknowledging that never among them did woman endure so many and such fearful tortures.

“Yet not even thus was their madness and their savage hatred to the saints satiated. For wild and barbarous tribes, when excited by the Wild Beast, with difficulty ceased from their rage, and their insulting conduct found another and peculiar subject in the bodies of the Witnesses. For they felt no shame that they had been overcome, for they were not possessed of human reason; but their defeat only the more inflamed their rage, and governor and people, like a wild beast, showed a like unjust hatred of us, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, ‘He that is unjust,’ let him be unjust still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.’ For they threw to the dogs those who had been suffocated in prison, carefully watching them day and night, lest any one should receive burial from us. They then laid out the mangled remains left by the wild beasts, and the scorched remains left by the fire, and the heads of the rest along with their trunks, and in like manner for many days watched them lying unburied with a military guard. There were some who raged and gnashed their teeth at them, seeking to get from them further vengeance. Others derided and insulted them, at the same time magnifying their own idols, and ascribing to them the punishment inflicted on the Christians. There were persons also of a

milder disposition, who to some extent seemed to sympathize; yet they also frequently upbraided, saying, ‘Where now is their God, and what good have they got from that religion which they chose in preference to their life?’ Such was the diversity which characterized the conduct of the heathens. But our state was one of deep sorrow that we could not bury the bodies. For night aided us not in this matter; money failed to persuade, and entreaty did not shame them into compliance; but they kept up the watch in every way, as if they were to gum some great advantage from the bodies of the Christians not obtaining burial.

Something is omitted. The letter then goes on: —

“The bodies of the Witnesses, after having been maltreated in every way, and exposed in the open air for six days, were burned, reduced to ashes, and swept by the wicked into the river Rhone, which flows past, in order that not even a vestige of them might be visible on earth. And these things they did, as if they had been able to overcome God, and deprive them of their second birth, in order, as they said, that ‘they may not have hope in a resurrection, trusting to which they introduce some strange and new mode of worship, and despise dangers, and go readily and with joy to death. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God can help them, and rescue them out of our hands.’”

Eusebius here breaks off his series of continuous extracts, but he makes a few more for special purposes. The first is the account which the churches gave of the character of the Witnesses: —

“Who also were to such an extent zealous followers and imitators of Christ, who, being in the shape of God, thought it not an object of desire to be treated like God; that though they were in such glory, and had bone their testimony not once, nor twice, but often, and had been again taken back to prison after exposure to the wild beasts, and bore about with them the marks of the burnings and bruises and wounds all over their bodies, yet did they neither proclaim themselves Witnesses, nor indeed did they permit us to address them by this name; but if any one of us on any occasion, either by letter or in conversation, called them Witnesses, they rebuked him sharply. For they willingly gave the title of Witness to Christ, ‘the faithful and true Witness,’ and first-born from the dead, and the leader to the divine life. And they reminded us of those Witnesses who

had already departed, and said: ‘These indeed are now Witnesses, whom Christ has vouchsafed to take up to Himself in the very act of confession, thus putting His seal upon their testimony through their departure. But we are mean and humble confessors.’ And with tears they besought the brethren that earnest prayers might be made for their being perfected. They in reality did all that is implied in the term ‘testimony,’ acting with great boldness towards all the heathen; and their nobleness they made manifest through their patience, and fearlessness, and intrepidity. But the title of Witness, as implying some superiority to their brethren, they refused, being

filled with the fear of God.” After a little they say: —

“They humbled themselves under the powerful hand by which they are now highly exalted. Then they pleaded for all, but accused none; they absolved all, they bound none; and they prayed for those who inflicted the tortures, even as Stephen the perfect Witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!”

After other things, again they say: —

“For they had this very great conflict with him, the devil, on account of their genuine love, in order that the Beast being choked, might vomit forth those whom he thought he had already swallowed. For they assumed no airs of superiority over the fallen, but with those things in which they themselves abounded they aided the needy, displaying towards them the compassion of a mother. And pouring out many tears for them to the Father, they begged life; and He gave it to them, and they shared it with their neighbors. And departing victorious over all to God, having always loved peace, and having recommended peace to us, in peace they went to God, leaving no sorrow to their Mother, nor division and dissension to their brethren, but joy and peace, and concord and love.”

“The same writing of the fore-mentioned martyrs,” says Eusebius, “contains a story worth remembrance.

“For there was one of them of the name of Alcibiades, who lived an exceedingly austere life, confining his diet to bread and water, and partaking of nothing else whatsoever. He tried to continue this mode of life

in prison; but it was revealed to Attalus after the first conflict which he underwent in the amphitheater that Alcibiades was not pursuing the right course in refusing to use the creatures of God, and in leaving an example which might be a stumbling-block to others. And Alcibiades was persuaded, and partook freely of all kinds of food, and thanked God. For they were not without the oversight of the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their counselor."

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

A FRENCH writer has remarked, "Ce n'est pas Spartacus qui a supprime l'esclavage; c'est bien plutot Blandine."

ELUCIDATION

(IN EVERY SUCCESSION)

HERE our author mentions that he noted the succession of Bishops at Rome, but he gives his list with no remark about Rome in particular. He adds that "in every succession and in every city (i.e., in every See) a primitive accordance with the law and the Gospel is maintained." How can our excellent Lightfoot give it a color wholly gratuitous in these words: "He interested himself in the succession of the Roman See, *intent, like lrenaeus* in the next generation, on showing the permanence of the orthodox tradition, through the continuity of the Roman episcopate." Irenaeus, who, above all the Westerns, is identified with the Orient!

Where is the evidence of any such idea or "intent "? As for Irenaeus, his testimony has been sufficiently illustrated before, with proof that his words have not the slightest reference to the continuity of the Roman more than any other See, save only as the influx of visitors from other Sees helped to give it orthodoxy by their concurrent testimony.

NOTE

IT may be worth while to state here, that I have uniformly (mistakes excepted) put my chronological statements, at the head of introductions, into brackets, so as to make the reader sure that the Edinburgh edition is not to be responsible for them. Some have inferred, therefore, that what follows is from the Edinburgh; but I think my modes of expression sufficient, generally, to guard against misconception. Notes (like this) are sometimes marked, “By the American Editor,” when I have feared a misleading ambiguity. Otherwise, I have been unguarded. All the introductions in these “Remains” are mine, save the prefatory paragraphs of the translator. Annotations on my own material are not bracketed. The very large amount of work bestowed upon this edition can only be known by comparison with the Edinburgh. In several instances of delicate criticism I have obtained valuable aid from my beloved friend, F. P. NASH, Esq., of Hobart College, especially in questions of the low Latin or ambiguous Greek.

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COLLECTIONS

THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS
VOLUME 10

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THE

ANTE-NICENE FATHERS

THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS DOWN TO A.D. 325

ORIGINAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

ALLAN MENZIES D. D.

PROFESSOR IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

VOLUME 10

THE GOSPEL OF PETER,
THE DIATESSARON OF TATIAN,
THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER,
THE VISIO PAULI,
THE APOCALYPSES OF THE VIRGIN AND SEDRACH,
THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM,
THE ACTS OF XANTHIPPE AND POLYXENA,
THE NARRATIVE OF ZOSIMUS,
THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES,
THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT (COMPLETE TEXT),
ORIGENS COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW,
BOOKS I, II, AND V-XIV.

NAMES OF TRANSLATORS

J. ARMITAGE ROSINSON, B.D. NORRISIAN
Professor of Divinity, Cambridge,
Editor of *Texts and Studies* *The Gospel of Peter.*
Do *The Passion of the Scillitan Martytrs*

ANDREW RUTHERFORD, B. D.
The Gospel of Peter.Intorduction and synoptical Table.)
Do. *The Apocalypse of Peter*
Do. *Visio Pauli.*
Do. *Apocalypse of Maria Virgo.*
Do. *Apocalypse of Sedrach.*
Do. *The Passion of the Scillian Martyrs (Introduction.)*

REV. HOPE W. HOGG, B.D.
The Diatessaron of Tatian.

W. A. CRAIGIE, M.AA., B.A. (OXON.),
Assistant in Humanity, St. Andrews University
The Testament of Abraham.
Do. *The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxema.*
Do. *The Narrative of Zosimus*.

REV. JOHN KEITH, B.D., Minister of Largs, Ayrshire
The Epistles of Clement.

REV. D. M. KAY, B.SC., B.D.,
Assistant in Semitic Languages, Edinburgh University
Epistle to Gregory.
Do. *Origen's Commentary on John*.

REV. JOHN PATRICK, D.D., Minister of Greenside, Edinburgh
Origens Commentary on Matthew.

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Publishers Note: *Footnotes from the original printed edition have not been included in this digital version. Their relative obscurity and minimal value to the modern reader, and, the cost involved in transcribing them was deemed beyond the scope of this project. We hope to have them in future editions.*

PREFACE

The Ante-Nicene, which seemed many years ago to have completed its task, now presents itself once more and ventures to solicit the renewal of the favor with which it was formerly received by the theological world. The publishers and the editor, who now stands, he well knows how unworthily, in the place of Principal Donaldson and Professor Roberts, believe that the volume now added to the series will be found most interesting in itself and not unworthy to stand beside its predecessors.

This volume consists of two distinct parts. The first is a collection of recently discovered additions to early Christian literature. The period which has elapsed since the last volumes of this series were published has been singularly rich in such discoveries. A portion of a gospel has been recovered which was read in the latter part of the second century in certain Christian gospels has also been brought to our knowledge, which was made in the same century, and which, in a considerable district of Eastern Christendom, supplanted these gospels themselves. Another claim to a place in the canon, has also been found. The Epistles of Clement, which formerly broke off abruptly, have recovered their concluding portions, and the earliest public appeal to the head of the state on behalf of Christianity is also now in our possession. The circumstances of these various discoveries, and also of others of a similar nature, are stated in the introductions prefixed by the writers in this volume to the various pieces, and it will be seen that scholars of many lands have taken part in them. English scholarship, it is well known, has distinguished itself highly in this field. Many of the pieces now given first saw the light in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies,* a publication of singular interest and enduring value, without which the present volume would not have come into existence. The editor of the *Texts and Studies,* Professor Armitage Robinson, has taken a very kind interest in the present publication and has himself contributed translations of two pieces.

The history of the discussions awakened by these discoveries cannot yet be written, but it is not too early to place the English reader in possession of the documents thus restored to the Christian community. The reader of former volumes of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* has already become acquainted

with a number of uncanical gospels, of apocalypses, and of early Christian apologies. In each of these classes of Christian literature he is now presented with pieces not less interesting than any known before. A glance at the table of contents will show the principle according to which the various works have been arranged. It may be stated that the *Diatessaron* of Tatian is here for the first time translated into English from the Arabic.

The second part if this volume contains portions of two of the most important commentaries of Origen. When *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* came to a close it was felt that more should have been done for a father who occupies a position of such singular importance in the history both of Scripture exegesis and of Christian thought. It is believed that the present translations will be welcomed by many who feel that growing interest in Origen which now appears in many quarters, and that they will be acceptable to all who care to know the varieties of treatment the Scriptures have met with in the church.

THE GOSPEL OF PETER

BY

PROFESSOR J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON

EDITOR OF THE CAMBRIDGE *TEXTS AND STUDIES*

INTRODUCTION AND SYNOPTICAL TABLE

BY ANDREW RUTHERFURD, B.D.

THE GOSPEL OF PETER

INTRODUCTION

THE important fragment of which Mr. J. Armitage Robinson's translation here follows was discovered by the French Archaeological Mission, Cairo, in a grave (supposed to be a monk's) in an ancient cemetery at Akhmim (Panopolis), in Upper Egypt, in 1886. It was published in 1892 under the care of M. Bouriant in vol. ix., fasc. i., of the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo.* The same parchment which contained this fragment also contained a fragment of the Revelation of Peter and a fragment of the Book of Enoch in Greek. The parchment codex is assigned to a date between the eighth and the twelfth century.

Before this discovery the following is all that was known of the Gospel of Peter:

1. SERAPION, Bishop of Antioch 190-203, writing to the church at Rhossus, says (Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi, 12, 2): "We, brethren, receive Peter and the other Apostles even as Christ; but the writings that go falsely by their names we, in our experience, reject, knowing that such things as these we never received. When I was with you I supposed you all to be attached to the right faith; and so without going through the gospel put forward under Peter's name, I said, 'If this is all that makes your petty quarrel, why then let it be read.' But now that I have learned from information given me that their mind was lurking in some hole of heresy, I will make a point of coming to you again: so, brethren, expect me speedily. Knowing then, brethren, of what kink of heresy was Marcion -- (*Here follows a sentence where the text is faulty.*)... From others who used this very gospel -- I mean from the successors of those who started it, whom we call *Docetae;* for most of its ideas are of their school -- from them, I say, I borrowed it, and was able to go through it, and to find that most of it belonged to the right teaching of the Savior, but some things were additions." From this we learn that a Gospel of Peter was in use in the church of Rhossus in the end of

the second century, but that controversy had arisen as to its character, which, on a careful examination, Serapion condemned.

2. ORIGEN (253 A.D.), in commenting on Matthew 10:17, says: "But, proceeding on the tradition that is recorded in the Gospel according to Peter or in the Book of James, they say that there are certain brothers of Jesus, the sons of Joseph by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary."

3. EUSEBIUS (*H. E.*, in., 3, 2) says: "As to that work, however, which is ascribed to him, called 'The Acts,' and 'The Gospel according to Peter,' and that called 'The preaching and the Revelations of Peter,' we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings; since neither among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has there been one that has appealed to testimony taken from them." And in *H. E.*, in., 25, 6 sq., he includes the Gospel of Peter among the forged heretical gospels -- "those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the apostles,... of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works; and, indeed, the character of style itself is very different from that of the apostles; and the sentiments, and the purport of those things that are advanced in them, deviating as far as possible from sound orthodoxy, evidently proves they are the fictions of heretical men; whence they are not only to be ranked among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious." It is, however, uncertain whether Eusebius himself was acquainted with the Gospel of Peter.

4. THEODORET (*c.* 455), in his *Religious History*, ii., 2, says that the Nazarenes used "the gospel called '*according to Peter.*'" Later references in Western literature, e.g., Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, i., and the *Decretum Gelasianum*, condemning the book, are based upon the judgment of Eusebius, and not upon direct knowledge (*cf.* Harnack, *Geschicte der altchristl. Lit.*, I. Th., p. II).

This was all that was known of the Gospel of Peter till the publication of the Akhmim fragment. The latter extends to about 174 stichi, counting 32 words to the stichus. It begins in the middle of the history of the Passion, just after Pilate has washed his hands of all responsibility, and ends in the middle of a sentence, with the departure of the disciples into Galilee at the

end of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, exactly a week after the crucifixion, the ostensible author, Peter, and Andrew, his brother, taking their nets and going to the sea; “and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord...

The accompanying Synoptical Table shows where the Petrine narrative agrees with and where it varies from those supplied by the canonical gospels. Of that part of the Passion history which it narrates, it gives an account which follows the main lines of the canonical tradition, but with important variations in detail. Of the events between the burial and the resurrection of our Lord, its account is much more ample and detailed than anything in the canonical tradition.

Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix., 2, 2d ed., p. 76) gives the following list of new traits contained in the Petrine account of the history of the Passion and burial:

1. Herod was the judge who condemned Jesus, and to him application had to be made for the body.

2. The Jews, Herod, and the judges would not wash their hands, and Pilate then raised the sitting.

3. Joseph was the friend of Pilate (sec. 2).

4. Joseph begged for the body before the crucifixion, and Pilate sent for permission from Herod.

5. The soldiers “pushed him as they ran,” and their speech (sec. 3).

6. The mockery of the soldiers.

7. Mocking speech.

8. “As though having no pain” (sec. 4).

9. “Having placed his garments before him.”

10. One of the malefactors blamed the multitude, and his speech.

11. The legs of either the malefactor or Jesus were not broken, *in order that he might die in torment.*

12. The gall and vinegar (sec. 5).

13. In the darkness many went about with lamps, and fell down.

14. The cry, “My power, my power.”

15. The fact that when he had so cried Christ was taken up.

16. Mention of the nails in the hands at the taking down from the cross (sec 6).

17. The earthquake when the body touched the ground.

18. The joy of the Jews when the sun shone again.

19. Joseph “had seen all the good things” that the Lord had done.

20. Joseph washed the body.

21. The cries of woe of the Jews and their leaders over their sins, and their expectation of the judgment on Jerusalem (seac. 7).

22. The disciples remained in concealment, full of grief, and fasted and wept till the Sabbath.

23. They were searched for as malefactors and as anxious to burn the temple.

24. The name of the centurion of the watch -- Petronius (sec. 8).

25. The centurion, the soldiers, and the elders rolled up the stone.

26. The elders also watched at the grave.

27. Seven seals were placed on the stone.

28. A tent pitched for the watch.

29. The gathering of the multitude on the morning of the Sabbath to view the sealed grave (sec. 9).

The whole narrative of the resurrection is so different from that of the canonical gospels that it would be useless to go into details; but it is important to notice the prominence assigned to Mary Magdalen, and:

1. That the women fled from the grave and did not see the Lord (sec. 12).

2. That there is no account of any appearance of Christ for the first eight days after his death (sec. 13).

3. That the disciples, along with the rest of those who had taken part in the feast, returned home to Galilee on the seventh day of unleavened bread.

4. That they were then sad, and wept.

5. That the first appearance of Jesus must have taken place on the Lake of Gennesaret, either to Peter alone, or to Peter, Andrew, and Levi (Matthew), while fishing.

Moreover, according to section 13 (see sec. 5), the author puts the resurrection and ascension on the same day, or, rather, did not know of the latter as a separate event. He makes the angel say, “He is risen and gone away thither whence he was sent.”

Whether the author used any other sources than the canonical gospels is a matter still in doubt. He is certainly influenced by views which are foreign to these gospels, and which are known from other quarters in early Christian literature. As between the Synpotists and the Fourth Gospel, the narrator is generally more closely akin both in matter and in manner to the crucifixion and several of the events at the cross, and in his general attitude towards the Jews and Pilate. With regard to the last two points, the Petrine Gospel seems to present a later and more exaggerated form of the tendency perceptible in the Johannine, and fully worked out in the Acts of Pilate, to blame the Jews and exculpate Pilate.

Of the new features in this fragment some are at least liable to a Docetic interpretation, e.g., the silence on the cross “as though he had no pain” (sec. 4), the cry, “My power, my power” (sec 5), and “he was taken up” (sec. 5). This fact was recognized in subsequent times and condemned this gospel in the eye of the church. The date of the work is variously fixed by different scholars; Harnack assigns it to the first quarter of the second century, while Mr. Armitage Robinson and other scholars place it later.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER

1. But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be taken, saying to them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do.

2. And there was standing there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and, knowing that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and asked his body. And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the sabbath draweth on: for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death.

3. And he delivered him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast. And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over him. And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgement, saying, Judge righteously, O king of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks: others pricked him with a reed; and some scourged him, saying, With this honor let us honor the Son of God.

4. And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But he held his peace, as though having no pain. And when they had raised the cross, they wrote the title: This is the king of Israel. And having set his garments before him they parted them among them, and cast lots for them. And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath become the Savior of men, what wrong hath he done to you? And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.

5. And it was noon, and darkness came over all Judaea: and they were troubled and distressed, lest the sun had set, whilst he was yet alive: [for] it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to death. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it he was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

6. And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth, and the whole earth quaked, and great fear arose. Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour: and the Jews rejoiced, and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things he had done. And he took the Lord, and washed him, and rolled him in a linen cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, which was called the Garden of Joseph.

7. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins: the judgement hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple. And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.

8. But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts saying, If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how righteous he is, — the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, Give us soldiers, that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us evil. And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them came elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and having rolled a great stone together with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre; and they affixed seven

seals, and they pitched a tent there and guarded it. And early in the morning as the sabbath. was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.

9. And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heaven; and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light and approach the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in.

10. When therefore those soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders; for they too were hard by keeping guard. And, as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men come forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them: and of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou hast preached to them that sleep. And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.

11. They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and shew these things to Pilate. And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre. When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed and saying, Truly he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but it was ye who determined this. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen: For it is better, say they, for us to be guilty of the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

12. And at dawn upon the Lord's day Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do

for those that die and for those that are beloved by them — she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although on that day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at his sepulchre. But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.

13. And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright: who said to them, Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not [here]; for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent. Then the women feared and fled.

14. Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord...

PETER

1 *But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any one of his judges.*

2 *And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up. And then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be taken, saying to them, What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do.*

3 *And there was come there Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord; and, knowing that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and asked the body of the Lord for burial.*

4 *And Pilate sent to Herod and asked his body.*

5 *And Herod said, Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we purposed to bury him, especially as the sabbath draweth on: for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death. And he delivered him to the people on the day before the unleavened bread, their feast.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
24. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this			

just person: see ye to it. **25.** Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. **[cf. 27:57.]**	**[cf. 15:43.]** **[cf. 15:42.]**	**[[2] cf. 23:7.]** **[[3] cf. 22:66; Acts 4:27.]** **[cf. 22:50.]** **[[4] cf. 23:12.]**	**[[1] cf. John passim.]** **[cf. 19:38.]** **[cf. 19: 31.]**

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
26. Then released he Barabbas unto them: and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.	**15.** And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.	**24.** And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. **25.** And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they had desired; but he delivered Jesus to their will.	**16.** Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified. And they took Jesus, and led him away.

PETER

6 *And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away the Son of God, having obtained power over him.*

7 *And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgement, saying, Judge righteously, O King of Israel. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the Lord. And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks: others pricked him with a reed; and some scourged him, saying, With this honor let us honor the Son of God.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23
27. Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers. **28.** And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe. **29.** And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews! **30.** And they spit upon him, and took	**16.** And the soldiers led him away into the hall, called Praetorium; and they call together the whole band. **17.** And they clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it about his head, **18.** And began to salute him, Hail, King of the Jews! **19.** And they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him.	

the reed, and smote him on the head. **31.** And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him. **32.** And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross.	**20.** And when they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him. **21.** And they compel one Simon a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his cross.	**26.** And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus.

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

LUKE 23

27. And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him.

28. But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.

29. For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

30. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

31. For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in

the dry?

32. And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

PETER

10 *And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
33. And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull, **34.** They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink. **35.** And they crucified him;	**22.** And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull. **23.** And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh: but he received it not.	**33.** And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.	**17.** And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha: **18.** Where they crucified him, and two other with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.

PETER

But he held his peace, as though having no pain.

11 *And when they had raised the cross, they wrote upon it, This is the King of Israel.*

12 *And having set his garments before him, they parted them among them, and cast lots for them.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	JOHN 19
and parted his garments, casting lots: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots. **36.** And sitting down they watched him there;	**24.** And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take. **25.** And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.	**[cf. verses 23, 24.]**

PETER

[cf. verse 11]

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
		34. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots. **35.** And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God. **36.** And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar, **37.** And saying, If thou be the King of the	

37. And set up over his head his accusation written, **THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.** **38.** Then were there two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left. **39.** And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, **40.** And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross. **41.** Likewise also the chief priests mocking	**26.** And the superscription of his accusation was written over, **THE KING OF THE JEWS.** **27.** And with him they crucify two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left. **28.** And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors. **29.** And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, **30.** Save thyself, and come down	Jews, save thyself. **38.** And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, **THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.**	**19.** And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS. **20.** This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin. **21.** Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I

him, with the scribes and elders, said, **42.** He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. **43.** He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.	from the cross. **31.** Likewise also the chief priests mocking said among themselves with the scribes, He saved others; himself he cannot save. **32.** Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.		am King of the Jews. **22.** Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

PETER

[cf.verse 12.]

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	JOHN 19
[cf. verse 35.]	**[cf. v. 24.]**	**23.** Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. **24.** They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did.

PETER

13 *And one of those malefactors reproached them, saying, We for the evils that we have done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath become the Savior of men, what wrong hath he done to you?*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23
44. The thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth.	And they that were crucified with him reviled him.	**39.** And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and, us. **40.** But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? **41.** And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. **42.** And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. **43.** And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

PETER

14 *And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.*

JOHN 19
25. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. **26.** When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! **27.** Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.

PETER

15 *And it was noon, and darkness came over all Judaea:*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 15
45. Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour.	**33.** And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour.	**44.** And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. **45.** And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

PETER

15. *and they were troubled and distressed, lest the sun had set, whilst he was yet alive: [for] it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to death.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15
46. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?	**34.** And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

PETER

16 *And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink*,

17 *and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	JOHN 19
47. Some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias. **48.** And straightway one of them ran, and took a spunge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink. **49.** The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.	**35.** And some of them that stood by, when they heard it, said, Behold, he calleth Elias. **36.** And one ran and filled a spunge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink, saying, Let alone; let us see whether Elias will come to take him down.	**28.** After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst. **29.** Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a spunge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth.

PETER

18 *And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down.*

19 *And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it he was taken up.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
50. Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.	**37.** And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost.	**46.** And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.	**30.** When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.

PETER

20 *And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain*.

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15
51. And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;	**38.** And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER

MATTHEW 27
52. And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, **53.** And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

JOHN 19
31. The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. **32.** Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. **33.** But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs:

34. But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.

35. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.

36. For these things were done, that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.

37. And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced.

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23
54. Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God. **55.** And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him: **56.** Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and	**39.** And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that he so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God. **40.** There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome; **41.** (Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him;) and many other women which came up	**47.** Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man. **48.** And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned. **49.** And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar

the mother of Zebedee’s children.	with him unto Jerusalem.	off, beholding these things.

PETER

21 *And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth, and the whole earth quaked, and great fear arose.*

22 *Then the sun shone, and it was found the ninth hour:*

23 *and the Jews rejoiced, and*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15
57. When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathaea, named Joseph,who also himself was Jesus' disciple:	**42.** And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath,

PETER

23. *gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen what good things he had done.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
58. He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.	**43.** Joseph of Arimathaea, an honorable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate and craved the body of Jesus. **44.** And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. **45.** And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.	**50.** And, behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just: **51.** (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them;) he was of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. **52.** This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.	**38.** And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

PETER

24 *And he took the Lord, and washed him, and wrapped him in a linen cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, which was called the Garden of Joseph.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15	LUKE 23	JOHN 19
59. And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, **60.** And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. **61.** And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.	**46.** And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre. **47.** And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid.	**53.** And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid. **54.** And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on. **55.** And the women also,which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid. **56.** And they returned, and	**39.** And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. **40.** Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. **41.** Now in the place where he was crucified there

		prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment.	was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. **42.** There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

PETER

25 *Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins: the judgement hath drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem.*

26 *And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the temple.*

NO CORRESPONDING SYNOPTIC GOSPEL PASSAGES

PETER

27 *And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the sabbath.*

MATTHEW 27	MARK 15
[cf. 9:15.]	**[cf. 2:20.]** **[cf. 16:10.]**

PETER

28 *But the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that all the people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If by his death these most mighty signs have come to pass, see how just he is,*

29 *the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying,*

30 *Give us soldiers, that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us evil.*

31 *And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them came the elders and scribes to the sepulchre,*

32 *And having rolled a great stone together with the centurion and the soldiers, they all together who were there set it at the door of the sepulchre;*

33 *And they affixed seven seals, and they pitched a tent there and guarded it.*

MATTHEW 27

62. Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate,

63. Saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again.

64. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: so the last error shall be worse than the first.

65. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can.

66. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and

setting a watch.

PETER

34 *And early in the morning as the sabbath was drawing on, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region round about, that they might see the sepulchre that was sealed.*

35 *And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two in a watch, there was a great voice in the heaven;*

36 *and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with great light and approach the tomb.*

37 *And that stone which was put at the door rolled of itself and made way in part; and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in.*

38 *When therefore those soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurion and the elders, — for they too were hard by keeping guard;*

39 *and, as they declared what things they had seen, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross following them.*

40 *And of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens.*

41 *And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Hast thou preached to them that sleep?*

42 *And a response was heard from the cross, Yea.*

43 *They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and shew these things to Pilate.*

44 *And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again are seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sepulchre.*

45 *When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were*

PETER

watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed and saying, Truly he was the Son of God.

46. *Pilate answered and said, I am pure from the blood of the Son of God: but ye determined this.*

47. *Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen:*

48. *For it is better, say they, for us to incur the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the bands of the people of the Jews and to be stoned.*

49. *Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.*

MATTHEW 27
[cf. 27:24.]

PETER

50. *And at dawn upon the Lord's day, Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which the women are wont to do for those that die and for those that are beloved by them —*

51. *she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where he was laid.*

MATTHEW 28	MARK 16	LUKE 24	JOHN 20
1. In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.	**1.** And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him. **2.** And very early in the morning the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.	**1.** Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.	**1.** The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre,

PETER

52. *And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Although on the day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things at his sepulchre.*

53. *But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by him and do the things that are due?*

54. *For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home.*

MARK 16
3. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

PETER

55. *And they went away and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright;*

MATTHEW 28	MARK 16	LUKE 24	JOHN 20
2. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. **3.** His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow:	**4.** And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great. **5.** And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.	**2.** And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. **3.** And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. **4.** And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments: **5.** And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth,	and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

NO CORRESPONDING VERSES IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

MATTHEW 28
4. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.

PETER

who said to them,

56. *Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not [here]; for he is risen and gone away thither, whence he was sent.*

57. *Then the women feared and fled.*

MATTHEW 28	MARK 16	LUKE 24
5. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. **6.** He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. **7.** And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you. **8.** And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy; and did run to bring his disciples word.	**6.** And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. **7.** But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you. **8.** And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any man; for they were	they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? **6.** He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, **7.** Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. **8.** And they remembered his words, **9.** And returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.

	afraid.	

PETER

58. *Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended.*

59. *But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, mourned and were grieved: and each one, being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his home.*

60. *But I, Simon Peter and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord..*

MARK 16
[Levi, etc.; cf. 2:14].

THE DIATESSARON OF TATIAN

BY

REV. HOPE W. HOGG, B.D.

INTRODUCTION

THE aim of the following introductory paragraphs is neither to furnish a detailed restatement of facts already known, nor to offer an independent contribution to the discussion of the problems that arise, although in other circumstances such an attempt might be made with advantage. All that is needed and practicable here is to describe briefly, if possible, the nature of the connection between the English treatise forming the next part of this volume and the ancient work known as the Diatessaron of Tatian; and then to indicate in a few words some of the more important or interesting features of the work itself, and some of the historical and other problems that are in one way or another connected with it.

1. *The Text Translated.* — What is offered to the reader is a translation into English of an Arabic text, published at Rome in 1888, in a volume entitled in Arabic *Diatessaron, which Titianus Compiled from the Four Gospels*, with the alternative Latin title, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmonioe, Arabice.* The Roman volume consists of two parts — the text, covering a little over 209 very clearly printed Arabic pages, and a Latin half, comprising a scholarly introduction (pp. v.-xv.), a Latin translation (pp. 1-99), and a table showing the order in which the passages taken from the gospels occur in the text. The editor is P. Agostino Ciasca, a well-known Orientalist, “scriptor” at the Vatican Library.

2. *Former Translations*. — In his Introduction (p. xiv. f.) Ciasca explains that in his translation he aimed at preserving *quantum, salva fidelitate, integrum fuit, indolem stylumque Clementinoe Vulgatoe*. This Latin version

was in its turn translated into English by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill, B.D., and published in 1894 in a volume entitled *The Earliest Life of Christ*, with an interesting introduction and a number of valuable appendices. The MS. of Mr. Hill's translation of the Latin of Ciasca was compared with the Arabic original by Mr. G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., lecturer in Hebrew and the Old Testament in Mansfield College, Oxford.

3. *The Present Translation.* — The translation offered here is quite independent of either of these two. Ciasca's Latin was seldom consulted, except when it was thought the Arabic might perhaps be obscured by a misprint. After the translation was completed, Hill's English was compared with it to transfer Mr. Hill's valuable system of references to the margin of this work, and to lessen the risk of oversights passing the last revision unnoticed. In two or three cases this process led to the adoption of a different construction, and in a few of the more awkward passages a word was borrowed as being less harsh than that which had originally been written. Speaking generally, the present version appears to differ from Mr. Hill's in adhering more closely to the original.

4. *The Arabic Text.* — Only two Arabic MSS. are known to exist. Ciasca tells us (p. xiv.) that he took as the basis of his text that MS. which is more careful in its orthography, the God. Vat. Arab. No. 14. He, however, printed at the foot of the page the variants of the other MS., and supplied from it two lacunae in the God. Vat. substituted its readings for those of the God. Vat. where he thought them preferable, and followed its testimony in omitting two important passages. Here and there Ciasca has emended the text, but he does not profess to have produced a critical edition.

5. *The Arabic MSS.* — Unfortunately, the present writer has not had an opportunity of examining these two MSS.; but they have been described at some length by Ciasca; Codex XIV., in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra*, iv., 465 if, and the other codex in the volume with which we are dealing, p. vi. ff. I. The former, which we shall call the Vatican MS. (in Ciasca's foot-notes it is called A), was brought to the Vatican from the East by Joseph S. Assemani about A.D. 1719. It was described by Stephen E. Assemani, Rosenmuller, and Akerblad, and then at length by Ciasca, to whose account the reader must be referred for the details. It consists of 123 folios,

of which the first seven are somewhat spoiled, and of which two are missing, and is supposed by Ciasca, from the character of the writing, and from the presence of certain Coptic letters by the first hand, to have been written in Egypt. S. Assemani assigned it to the twelfth century, and Ciasca accepts his verdict, while Akerblad says the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The text of the MS. is pretty fully vocalised, but there are few diacritical points. There are marginal notes, some of them by a later hand, which Ciasca classifies as emendations, restorations, explanations. II. The second MS., which we shall call the Borgian (in Ciasca's foot-notes it is called B), was brought to the Borgian Museum from Egypt in August, 1886. It has at the end the following inscription in Arabic: "A present from Halim Dos Ghali, the Copt, the Catholic, to the Apostolic See, in the year of Christ 1886." Antonius Morcos, Visitor Apostolic of the Catholic Copts, when, in the beginning of 1886, he was shown and informed about the Vatican MS., told of this other one and was the means of its being sent to Rome. The Borgian MS., which Ciasca refers to the fourteenth century, consists of 355 folios. Folios 1 — 85 contain an anonymous preface on the gospels, briefly described by Ciasca, who, however, does not say whether it appears to have been originally written in Arabic or to have been translated into that language. With folios 96b, 97a, which are reproduced in phototype in Ciasca's edition, begins the Introductory Note given in full at the beginning of the present translation. The text of the *Diatessaron* ends on folio 353a, but is followed by certain appendices, for which see below, 55, 17, note. This MS. is complete, and has, as we shall see, in some respects a better text, though it is worse in its orthography than the Vatican MS.

6. Condition of the Arabic Text. — Ciasca's text does not profess to be critically determined, for which purpose a more careful study of each of the MSS. and an estimate of their respective texts would be indispensable. Although the Borgian MS. is supposed by Ciasca to be a century or two later than the Vatican MS. it is clearly not a copy of the latter, for not only does it sometimes offer more original readings, but, as we shall see, its text in some points coincides more exactly in scope with the original work. The list of various readings supplied by Ciasca, which is equal to about a fifth or a quarter of the text itself, ought to yield, on being analysed, some canons of criticism. The foot-notes of the present edition are enough to

show that a number of the peculiar features of Ciasca's text do not belong to the original Arabic MS.; and further study would dispose of still more. On the other hand, there are unfortunately some indications that the common ancestor of both MSS., though perhaps less than two centuries removed from the original, was not the original itself, and therefore emendation may be necessary even where both MSS. agree. From first to last it has to be born in mind that a great deal of work was done at Arabic versions of the gospels, and the text of the copy from which our two MSS. are descended may already have suffered from contact with other versions; while the special activity of the thirteenth century may have left its mark in some places on the text of the Borgian MS., supposing it to be chronologically the later.

7. *Origin of the Arabic Text*. — If some of the uncouthness of the Arabic text is due to corruption in the course of transmission, much is also due to its being not an original work, but a translation. That it is, in the main, a translation from Syriac is too obvious to need proof. The Introductory Notice and Subscription to the Borgian MS., moreover, expressly state that the work was translated by one Abu'l Faraj 'Abdulla ibn-at-Tayyib, an "excellent and learned priest," and the inferiority of parts of the translation, and entire absence of any confirmatory evidence, hardly suffice to refute this assertion. Still, the Borgian MS. is a late witness, and although it most probably preserves a genuine tradition as to the author of our work, its statement need not therefore necessarily be correct in every point.

8. *The Arabic Editor and his Method*. — Ibn-at-Tayyib (d. 1043) is a well-known man, a Nestorian monk and scholar, secretary to Elias I., Patriarch of Nisibis (for references to sources see, e.g., Ciasca's Introduction, p. xi. f. and Steinschneider's long note in his *Polemische und apologetische Lit. in Arabische Sprache*, pp. 52-55). As we are here concerned with him simply as a link in the chain connecting our present work with its original source, the only point of interest for us is the method he followed in producing it. Did he prepare an independent translation or did he make use of existing Arabic versions, his own or others? Until this question, which space forbids us to discuss here, has been more thoroughly investigated, it must suffice to say that in view of the features in the present text that have not yet been shown to exist in

any other Arabic version, it is still at least a tenable hypothesis that Ibn-at-Tayyib's MS. constituted to a considerable extent a real translation rather than a sort of Arabic parallel to the Codex Fuldensis (see below, 12).

9. *The Syriac Text Translated* — The eleventh-century MS. of Ibn-at-Tayyib, could we reach it, would bring us face to face with the more interesting question of the nature of his Syriac original. The Subscription to the Borgian MS. states, probably copying the statement from its exemplar, that this was a Syriac MS. in the handwriting of 'Isa ibn-'Ali al Motatabbib, pupil of Honain ibn Ishak. This Honain was a famous Arabic physician and medical writer of Bagdad (d. 873), whose school produced quite a number of translations and translators, among whom Ibn-'Ali, supposed to be identical with the Syriac lexicographer of the same name, is known to have had a high place. The Syriac MS., therefore, that Ibn-at-Tayyib translated takes us back to about the year 900. But the Subscription to each of our MSS. states that the work ended is the gospel called *Diatessaron*, compiled from the four gospels by Titianus; while the Introductory Note to the Borgian MS. adds that this Titianus was a Greek. The next step, therefore, is to inquire whether any traces exist of such a Syriac work, or any statements by which we can check the account just given of it.

10. *Other Traces of a Syriac Text*. — No copy of a Syriac *Diatessaron* has yet been shown to have survived. A number of quotations from such a work have, however, been found in a Syriac commentary on the New Testament by Isho'dad of Merv (circ. 852), a contemporary of Honain, Ibn-'Ali's teacher. The value of these extracts is apparent, for they take us back one generation earlier than Ibn-at-Tayyib's Syriac exemplar. More important still, they do not entirely agree with the text of our Arabic version. To solve the problem thus raised, we must examine some of the statements about the Diatessaron to be found in ecclesiastical writers.

11. *Statements about the Diatessaron*. — One of the most widely known is that of Isho'dad himself, who, in his Preface to the Gospel of Mark, says: "Tatian, disciple of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, selected from the four gospels, and combined and composed a gospel, and called it *Diatessaron*, i.e., the Combined,... and upon this gospel Mar Ephraem commented." Dionysius Bar Salibi (twelfth century) repeats each of these

phrases, adding, “Its commencement was, ‘In the beginning was the Word.’” These statements identify the author of the *Diatessaron* with a man otherwise known, and tell us that the great Syrian father Ephraem (d. 373) wrote a commentary on it. Unfortunately, no Syriac MS. of Ephraem’s work is known to have survived; but quotations from it, or allusions to it, are being found in other Syriac writers. One further reference will suffice for the present. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, four hundred years before Isho’dad, wrote thus in his book on Heresies (written in 453): “Tatian the Syrian.... This [writer] also composed the gospel which is called *Diatessaron*, cutting out the genealogies and whatever other passages show that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh.” Before examining the testimonials we have now adduced, we must notice certain more remote sources of information.

12. *Non-Syriac Texts of the Diatessaron*. — Although Ephraem’s Syriac commentary on the *Diatessaron* is for the present lost, there is an Armenian version of it extant in two MSS. dating from about the time of Bar Salibi and our Vat. MS. A Latin translation of this work, published in 1876 by Moesinger, formed the main basis of Zahn’s attempt to reconstruct the Diatessaron. Appendix X in Hill’s Diatessaron (pp. 334-377) contains an English translation of the texts commented on by Ephraem, made from Moesinger’s Latin, but collated with the Armenian by Professor J. Armitage Robinson, of Cambridge. A comparison of this document with our Arabic text shows a remarkable agreement in the order and contents, but just as remarkable a lack of agreement in the kind of text presented. The same phenomenon is met with when we compare our Arabic text with a document that carries us back three hundred years before the time of Isho’dad, and therefore more than six hundred years before the Armenian MSS. — the Codex Fuldensis of the Vulgate. This MS. contains an arrangement of the gospel matter that its discoverer and publisher, Bishop Victor of Capua (d. 554), rightly concluded must represent the Diatessaron of Tatian, but for the text of which was apparently substituted that of the Vulgate. We are now ready to weigh the testimony we have gathered.

13. *Accretions to the Diatessaron*. — The statements we are to consider are: Bar Salibi’s, that Tatian’s Diatessaron began with “In the beginning was the Word”; Theodoret’s, that Tatian cut out the genealogies; and the

same writer's, that Tatian also cut out "whatever other passages show that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh." Of these statements 1 conflicts with the Arabic text, which begins with Mark, and the Codex Fuldensis, which begins with Luke, but agrees with the Ephraem source; the same is true of 2; while 3 conflicts with all three texts. Our limits do not admit of our discussing these points in detail. It must suffice to say that, although a more careful examination at first-hand of the introductory notices in the two Arabic MSS. seems needed before one can venture to propound a complete theory, a comparison of the two texts, and a consideration of the descriptions given by Ciasca and Lagarde, make it almost certain that the genuine Arabic text of Ibn-at-Tayyib began with John 1:1. Similarly the first four verses of Luke (on which see also below, 1, 6, note) were probably not in the original text of the MS. that Victor found, for they are not mentioned in the (old) table of contents. We seem thus to detect a process of gradual accretion of material drawn from the ordinary gospel text. The genealogies illustrate the same process. In the Vatican MS. they form part of the text. But in the Borgian MS., although they precede the Subscription, and therefore *may* have been already in the ninth-century Syriac MS. used by Ibn-at-Tayyib, they are still placed by themselves, after a blank space, at the end of the volume, with a title of their own. Here, therefore, we actually see stages of the process of accretion. It is therefore possible that the same account must also be given of 3, although in this case we have no direct proof.

14. *Passages Lost from the Diatessaron*. — If the Diatessaron has thus been growing so as to represent the ordinary text of the canonical gospels more completely, we have also evidence that suggests that it has been at some time or times purged of certain features that are lacking in these canonical gospels. For one case of this kind see below, 4, 36, note.

15. *Preservation of the Text of the Diatessaron*. — We have observed already that the Latin, Armenian, and Arabic *Diatessarons* correspond pretty closely in subject-matter and arrangement, but differ markedly in text. The Codex Fuldensis is really a MS. of the Vulgate, although the text that Victor found was probably somewhat different. The Armenian text differs materially from the ordinary Syriac version of the New Testament (the Peshitta), showing a marked connection with another type of Syriac text represented now by the Curetonian and Sinaitic (Lewis) MSS. The

Arabic text, on the other hand, almost systematically represents the Peshitta. The explanation of the condition of text in the Codex Fuldensis is obvious. On the other hand, the relationship of the Armenian and Arabic texts to the original *Diatessaron* must be determined by weighing very multifarious evidence that cannot be even cited here (see above 6 ff.). The two texts depend, as we have seen, on late MSS.; but all the earlier references and quotations go to show that the Armenian text stands much more closely related to the original than does the Arabic.

16. *Checkered History of the Diatessaron.* — What use the Arabic edition of Ibn-at-Tayyib was put to when made we do not know. ‘Abd Isho’ (d. 1318) speaks in the highest terms of Tatian’s work, saying, “... With all diligence he attended to the utmost degree to the right order of those things which were said and done by the Savior; of his own he did not add a single saying.” But the leaden of the Syrian church had not always thought so. Theodoret (loc. cit.) some nine hundred years earlier had written thus: “... Even those that follow the apostolic doctrines, not perceiving the mischief of the composition,” used “the book too simply as an abridgment.” A few years earlier Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (d. 435), had said: “Let the presbyters and deacons give heed that in all the churches there be provided and read a copy of the Distinct Gospel,” i.e., not the harmonized or mixed gospel. But obviously these men were trying to suppress traditional practice due to very different views. Theodoret (loc. cit.) found more than two hundred copies of the work “held in respect in the churches”; and the *Doctrine of Addai* (Edessa, third to fourth century) seems simply to identify the *Diatessaron* and the New Testament. Outside of the Syriac-speaking churches we find no signs of any such use of the Diatessaron. It would seem, therefore, that at a quite early stage the Diatessaron was very widely if not universally read in the Syriac churches, and commented on by scholars as the gospel; that in time it fell under the condemnation of some at least of the church leaders, who made violent efforts to suppress it; that it could not be suppressed; that a commentary on it was (perhaps in the fifth century) translated into Armenian; that it was still discussed by commentators, and new Syriac MSS. of it made in the ninth century, and thought worth the labor of reproduction in Arabic in the beginning of the eleventh century; that MSS. of the Armenian volume continued to be made down to the very end of the twelfth century, and of

the Arabic edition down to the fourteenth century; but that this long life was secured at the expense of a more or less rapid assimilation of the text to that of the great Syriac Bible which from the fourth century onwards became more and more exclusively used — the Peshitta.

17. *The Author of the Diatessaron.* — The *Diatessaron* is such an impersonal work that we do not need to know very much about its compiler. It will suffice here to say that he tells us himself that he was born "in the land of the Assyrians," and brought up a heathen. After travelling in search of knowledge, he settled at Rome, where he became a pupil of Justin Martyr, professed Christianity, and wrote in Greek his *Address to the Greeks*, translated in vol. in. of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. He was too independent in his attitude to maintain a permanent popularity, and after Justin's death left Rome and returned to Mesopotamia. It was probably here that he issued in Syriac his most important work, the Diatessaron, which won such a warm place in the heart of the Syrian church. Among the Greek scholars, however, he became more and more regarded as a heretic, Encratite (ascetic), and Gnostic.

18. *The Diatessaron as a Harmony*. — Not very much need be said on this subject, as every reader can collect the facts for himself. In its present form the Harmony draws from all the four canonical gospels, and from very little else. Opinions differ as to whether it originally indicated the gospel from which any given piece was drawn, and some uncertainty must remain in special cases as to what gospel actually has been drawn upon. Professor G. F. Moore, in a very interesting article on the *Diatessaron*, having counted the references in the Arabic MSS., states that the Arabic text contains 50 per cent. of Mark, 66 per cent. of Luke, 76.5 per cent. of Matthew, and 96 per cent. of John. The summation of his figures gives the following result: out of a total of 3780 verses in the four gospels, the *Diatessaron* quotes 2769 and omits 1011. As to the order in which the whole is arranged, Moore thinks that Matthew has chiefly been followed; while Zahn regards the Fourth Gospel as normative. For a specimen of the way in which words and phrases from the different gospels are woven together, we may refer to 52, 35 ff., and the notes thereon. In the Arabic MSS., and probably in the Syriac exemplar, the work is divided into fifty-four almost equal chapters, followed by one short one — a feature

that agrees well with what we have learned of the work as being of old the lectionary of the Syrian church.

19. *Problems Connected with the Diatessaron*. — The *Diatessaron* opens up a very wide field of study A few points may be here enumerated (see also above, 8, and note there). In what language was it written? On the view favored by an increasing majority of scholars, that it was written in Syriac, was it a translation or simply a compilation? What precisely is its relation to the Syriac versions and the "Western" text generally? Then there is its bearing on the date and formation of the canonical gospels; the phenomenon of its so long supplying the place of those gospels; the analogy it presents to the Pentateuch, according to the critical view of the origin of the latter. These and other issues make the *Diatessaron* an important and interesting study.

20. *The Present Translation.* — The work of translation has been found much more tedious than was anticipated, notwithstanding the fact that considerably more than half of it is the work of my wife, which I have simply revised with special attention to the many obscurities dealt with in the foot-notes. We have, however, worked so much together that it is very doubtful whether any one could assign the various parts to their respective sources. My wife also verified the Arabic references to the gospels printed on the margin to the right of the text, and prepared the Index to these references — an extremely laborious and perplexing piece of work. This Index is inserted merely for the practical purpose of enabling the reader to find any given gospel piece in the *Diatessaron*. When a verse is not found in the Index, an equivalent passage from some of the other gospels should be looked for. On the margin to the left of the text are indicated the pages of the Arabic text and the sections and verses in HilI's version.

The aim has been to make a literal translation. As two freer translations already exist, it seemed best to incline to the side of being overliteral. If, however, features due simply to Arabic idiom have been preserved, this is an oversight. Uniformity could only have been secured by devoting a much longer time to the work than the editor was able to allow. The difficulties are due to the corrupt state of the Arabic text, and to the awkward reproduction or actual misunderstanding of the Syriac original by the author or authors of the Arabic translation. It has been impossible to

maintain consistency in dealing with these phenomena. If any rendering seem strange, it will be well to consult the Syriac versions before deciding that it is wrong. A good deal of attention, too, has to be paid to the usage of the Arabic text, which, though it has many points of contact with other Arabic versions of the gospels, e.g., the MS. described by Gildemeister (*De evangg. in arab. e simp*. *Syr*., 1865), is as yet for us (see above, 8) a distinct version, possessed of an individuality of its own, one pronounced feature being its very close adherence to its Syriac original. Another revision of the present translation, in the light of a fuller study of these features, would doubtless lead to changes both in the text and in the foot-notes. The latter aim at preventing misunderstanding and giving some examples of the peculiarities of the text, and of the differences between the MSS. To have dealt systematically with the text and various readings would have required much more time and space than was available. The consequence of this incompleteness has been some uncertainty at times what text to translate. As already stated (paragraphs 4 and 6), Ciasca's printed text neither represents any one MS. nor professes to be based in its eclecticism on any systematic critical principles. On the whole Ciasca has here been followed somewhat mechanically in deciding what to exhibit in the text and what to relegate to the foot-notes. As a rule conjectural emendations have not been admitted into the text except where the MS. readings would hardly bear translation. Italics in the text denote words supplied for the sake of English idiom; in the foot-notes, quotations from the MSS. It is to be noted that many linguistic usages said, for shortness, in the foot-notes to be characteristic of the present work, i.e., as compared with ordinary Arabic, are common in Arabic versions. "Syriac versions" means the three (Pesh., Cur., Sin.), or as many of them as contain the passage in question; if the Peshitta alone is quoted, it may be assumed that Cur. and Sin. are missing or diverge.

In conclusion we may say that an effort has been made to preserve even the order of words; but it must be emphasized that it is very doubtful whether it is wise for any one to use the Arabic *Diatessaron* for critical purposes who is not acquainted with Arabic and Syriac. The tenses, e.g., are much vaguer in Arabic than in Greek and English, and are, moreover, in this work often accommodated to Syriac idiom. The Greek and the Revised Version have been used to determine in almost every case how the vague

Arabic tenses and conjunctions should be rendered. It is therefore only where it differs from these that our translation can be quoted without investigation as giving positive evidence.

This is not a final translation. Few books have had a more remarkable literary history than the *Diatessaron*, and that history is by no means done. Much careful argument will yet be devoted to it, and perhaps discoveries as important as any hitherto made are yet to shed light on the problems that encircle it. If our work can help any one to take a step in advance, we shall not regret the toil.

OXFORD, 21st December, 1893

THE DIATESSARON

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

1. IN THE BORGIAN MS.

IN the name of the one God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to him be glory for ever. We shall begin, with the help of God most high, the writing of the pure gospel, the blooming garden, called *Deatessaron* (a word meaning “fourfold”), the work compiled by Titianus the Greek out of the four evangelists -- Matthew the elect, whose symbol is M, Mark the chosen, whose symbol is R, Luke the approved, whose symbol is K, and John the beloved, whose symbol is H. The work was translated from Syriac into Arabic by the excellent and learned priest, Abu’l-Faraj ‘Abdulla ibn-at-Tayyib, may God grant him his favor. He began with the first of And he said: The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus the Son of the living God. John: In the beginning, etc.

2. IN THE VATICAN MS.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, giver of life, the God that is one in substance in his essence, and three in persons in his attributes. The first of his Gospel is He began the first of his Gospel with Mark. And he said: The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God. John: In the beginning, etc.

THE TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON

[SECTION 1.]

JOHN 1:1-5, LUKE 1:1-80

(1) In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God is the **(2, 3)** Word. This was in the beginning with God. Everything was by his hand, and **(4)** without him not even one existing thing was made. In him was life, and the life **(5)** is the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not. **(6)** There was in the days of Herod the king a priest whose name was Zacharias, of the family of Abijah; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name **(7)** was Elizabeth. And they were both righteous before God, walking in all his commands **(8)**, and in the uprightness of God without reproach. And they had no son, for **(9)** Elizabeth was barren, and they had both advanced in age. And while he discharged **(10)** . the duties of priest in the order of his service before God, according to the custom of the priesthood it was his turn to burn incense; so he entered the **(11)** temple of the Lord. And the whole gathering of the people were praying without at the **(12)** time of the incense. And there appeared unto Zacharias the angel of the Lord, standing **(13)** at the right of the altar of incense; and Zacharias was troubled when he saw him, **(14)** and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Be not agitated, Zacharias, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shall **(15)** call his name John; and thou shalt have joy and gladness, and many shall rejoice **(16)** at his birth. And he shall be great before the Lord, and shall not drink wine nor strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while he is in his mother's **(17)** womb. And he shall turn back many of the children of Israel to the Lord their **(18)** God. And he shall go before him in the spirit, and in the power of Elijah the prophet, to turn back the heart of the fathers to the sons, and those that obey not to the knowledge of the righteous; and to prepare for the Lord a perfect people. **(19)** And Zacharias said unto the angel, How shall I

know this, since I am an old man **(20)** and my wife is advanced in years? And the angel answered and said unto him, I am Gabriel, that standeth before God; and I was sent to speak unto thee, and give **(21)** thee tidings of this. Henceforth thou shall be speechless, and shalt not be able to speak until the day in which this shall come to pass, because thou didst not trust **(22)** this my word, which shall be accomplished in its time. And the people were standing awaiting Zacharias, and they were perplexed at his delaying in the temple. **(23)** And when Zacharias went out, he was not able to speak unto them: so they knew that he had seen in the temple a vision; and he made signs unto them, and **(24)** continued dumb. And when the days of his service were completed, he departed to his dwelling.

(25) And after those days Elizabeth his wife conceived; and she hid herself five **(26)** months, and said, This hath the Lord done unto me in the days when he looked upon me, to remove my reproach from among men.

(27) And in the sixth month Gabriel the angel was sent from God to Galilee to a **(28)** city called Nazareth, to a virgin given in marriage to a man named Joseph, of the **(29)** house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel entered unto her and said unto her, Peace be unto thee, thou who art filled with grace. Our Lord **(30)** is with thee, thou blessed amongst women. And she, when she beheld, was agitated **(31)** at his word, and pondered what this salutation could be. And the angel said unto **(32)** her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God. Thou shall now conceive **(33)**, and bear a son, and call his name Jesus. This shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give him the throne of **(34)** David his father: and he shall rule over the house of Jacob for ever; and to his **(35)** kingdom there shall be no end. Mary said unto the angel, How shall this be to **(36)** me when no man hath known me? The angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Spirit will come, and the power of the Most High shall rest upon thee, and therefore shall he that is born of thee be pure, and shall be called the Son **(37)** of God. And lo, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived a son in her old **(38)** age; and this is the sixth month with her, her that is called barren. For nothing is **(39)** difficult for God. Mary said, Lo, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be unto me according unto thy word. And the angel departed from her.

(40) And then Mary arose in those days and went in haste into the hill country, to a **(41)** city of Judah; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and asked for the health of **(42)** Elizabeth. And when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in **(43)** her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit; and cried with a loud voice and said unto Mary, Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the

(44) fruit that is in thy womb. Whence have I this privilege, that the mother of my **(45)** Lord should come unto me? When the sound of thy salutation reached my ears, **(46)** with great joy rejoiced the babe in my womb. And blessed is she who believed **(47)** that what was spoken to her from the Lord would be fulfilled. And Mary said,

My soul doth magnify the Lord,
(**48)** And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior,
(49) Who hath looked upon the low estate of his handmaiden:
Lo, henceforth, all generations shall pronounce blessing on me.
(50) For he hath done great things for me, who is mighty,
And holy is his name.
(51) And his mercy embraceth them who fear him,
Throughout the ages and the times.
(52) He wrought the victory with his arm,
And scattered them that prided themselves in their opinions.
(53) He overthrew them that acted haughtily from their thrones,
And raised the lowly.
(54) He satisfied with good things the hungry,
And left the rich without anything.
(55) He helped Israel his servant,
And remembered his mercy
(56) (According as he spake with our fathers)
Unto Abraham and unto his seed for ever. **(57)**

And Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months, and returned unto her house. **(58, 59)** And Elizabeth's time of delivery was come; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbors and kinsfolk heard that God had multiplied his mercy towards her; **(60)** and they rejoiced with her. And when it was the eighth day, they came to circumcise the child, and called him Zacharias, calling him by the name of his father. **(61)** And his mother

answered and said unto them, Not so; but he shall be called John. **(62)** And they said unto her, There is no man of thy kindred that is called by this name. **(63,) (64)** And they made signs to his father, saying, How dost thou wish to name him? And he asked for a tablet, and wrote and said, His name is John. And every one wondered. **(65)** And immediately his mouth was opened, and his tongue, and he spake and **(66)** praised God. And fear fell on all their neighbors: and this was spoken of in all **(67)** the mountains of Judah. And all who heard pondered in their hearts and said, What shall this child be? And the hand of the Lord was with him. **(68)** And Zacharias his father was filled with the Holy Spirit, and prophesied and said,

(69) Blessed is the Lord, the God of Israel,
Who hath cared for his people, and wrought for it salvation;
(70) And hath raised for us the horn of salvation
In the house of David his servant
(71) (As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets from eternity) ,
(72) That he might save us from our enemies,
And from the hand of all them that hate us.
(73) And he hath performed his mercy towards our fathers,
And remembered his holy covenants,
(74) And the oath which he swear unto Abraham our father,
(75) That he would give us deliverance from the hand of our enemies,
And without fear we shall serve before him
(76) All our days with equity and righteousness.
(77) And as for thee, O child, prophet of the Most High shalt thou be called.
Thou shalt go forth before the face of the Lord to prepare his way,
(78) To give the knowledge of salvation unto his people,
For the forgiveness of their sins,
(79) Through the mercy of the compassion of our God,
With which he careth for us, to appear from on high
(80) To give light to them that sit in darkness and under the shadow of death,
And to set straight our feet in the way of peace.

(81) And the child grew and became strong in the spirit, and abode in the desert until the time of his appearing unto the children of Israel.

SECTION 2

MATTHEW 1:18-25; LUKE 2:1-39

(1) Now the birth of Jesus the Messiah was on this wise: In the time when his mother was given in marriage to Joseph, before they came together, **(2)** she was found with child of the Holy Spirit. And Joseph her husband was a just man and did not wish to expose her, and he purposed to put her away secretly. **(3)** But when he thought of this, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, and said unto him, Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife, for that **(4)** which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit. She shall bear a son, and thou shalt **(5)** call his name Jesus, and he shall savehis people from their sins.And all this was that the saying from the Lord by the prophet might be fulfilled:

> **(6)** Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,
> And they shall call his name Immanuel,

(7) which is, being interpreted, With us is our God. And when Joseph arose from his **(8)** sleep, he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife; and knew her not until she brought forth her firstborn son.

(9) And in those days there went forth a decree from Augustus Caesar that all the **(10)** people of his dominion should be enrolled. This first enrolment was while Quirinius **(11, 12)** was governor of Syria. And every man went to be enrolled in his city. And Joseph went up also from Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Judaea, to the city of David **(13)** which is called Bethlehem (for he was of the house of David and of his tribe) , with **(14)** Mary his betrothed, she being with child, to be enrolled there. And while **(15)** she was there the days for her being delivered were accomplished. And she brought forth her firstborn son; and she wrapped him in swaddling cloths and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them where they were staying. **(16)** And there were in that region shepherds abiding, keeping their flock in the watch **(17)** of the night. And behold, the angel of

God came unto them, and the glory of the **(18)** Lord shone upon them; and they were greatly terrified. And the angel said unto them, Be not terrified; for I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to the **(19)** whole world; there is born to you this day a Savior, which is the Lord the Messiah **(20)**, in the city of David. And this is a sign for you: ye shall find a babe wrapped **(21)** in swaddling cloths and laid in a manger. And there appeared with the angels suddenly many heavenly forces praising God and saying,

> **(22)** Praise be to God in the highest,
> And on the earth peace, and good hope to men.

(23) And when the angels departed from them to heaven, the shepherds spake to one another and said, We will go to Bethlehem and see this word which hath been, as **(24)** the Lord made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found Mary and **(25)** Joseph, and the babe laid in a manger. And when they saw, they reported the word **(26)** which was spoken to them about the child. And all that heard wondered at the **(27)** description which the shepherds described to them. But Mary kept these sayings **(28)** and discriminated them in her heart. And those shepherds returned, magnifying and praising God for all that they had seen and heard, according as it was described unto them.

(29) And when eight days were fulfilled that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus, being that by which he was called by the angel before his conception in the womb. **(30)** And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were **(31)** completed, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him before the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male opening the womb shall be called the **(32)** holy thing of the Lord) , and to give a sacrificial victim as it is said in the law of **(33)** the Lord, A pair of doves or two young pigeons. And there was in Jerusalem a man whose name was Simeon; and this man was upright and pious, and expecting **(34)** the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been said unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death till he had seen with **(35)** his eyes the Messiah of the Lord. And this man came by the Spirit to the temple; and at the time when his parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might **(36)** present for him a sacrifice, as it is written in the law, he bare him in his arms and praised God and said,

(37) Now loosest thou the bonds of thy servant, O Lord, in peace,
According to thy saying;
(38) For mine eye hath witnessed thy mercy,
(39) Which thou hast made ready because of the whole world;
(40) A light for the unveiling of the nations,
And a glory to thy people Israel.

(41) And Joseph and his mother were marvelling at the things which were being said **(42)** concerning him. And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, Behold, he is set for the overthrow and rising of many in Israel; and for a sign of contention **(43)**; and a spear shall pierce through thine own soul; that the thoughts of the **(44)** hearts of many may be revealed. And Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, was also advanced in years (and she dwelt **(45)** with her husband seven years from her virginity, and she remained a widow about eighty-four years) ; and she left not the temple, and served night and day with **(46)** fasting and prayer. And she also rose in that hour and thanked the Lord, and she **(47)** spake of him with every one who was expecting the deliverance of Jerusalem. And when they had accomplished everything according to what is in the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to Nazareth their city.

SECTION 3

MATTHEW 2:1-23; 3:1-3; LUKE 2:40-52; JOHN 1:7-17

(1, 2) And after that, the Magi came from the east to Jerusalem, and said, Where is the King of the Jews which was born? We have seen his star in the east, and have **(3)** come to worship him. And Herod the king heard, and he was troubled, and all **(4)** Jerusalem with him. And he gathered all the chief priests and the scribes of the **(5)** people, and asked them in what place the Messiah should be born. They said, In Bethlehem of Judaea: thus it is written in the prophet,

(6) Thou also, Bethlehem of Judah,
Art not contemptible among the kings of Judah:

From thee shall go forth a king,
And he shall be a shepherd to my people Israel.

(7) Then Herod called the Magi secretly, and inquired of them the time at which **(8)** the star appeared to them. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said unto them, Go and search about the child diligently; and when ye have found him, come and **(9)** make known to me, that I also may go and worship him. And they, when they heard the king, departed; and lo, the star which they had seen in the east went before them, until it came and stood above the place where the child **(10, 11)** was. And when they beheld the star, they rejoiced with very great joy. And they entered the house and beheld the child with Mary his mother, and fell down worshipping him, and opened their saddle-bags and offered to him offerings, gold and **(12)** myrrh and frankincense. And they saw in a dream a that they should not return to Herod, and they traveled by another way in going to their country. **(13)** And when they had departed, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph, and said unto him, Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I speak to thee; for Herod is determined to seek the child **(14)** to slay him. And Joseph arose and took the child and his mother in the night, and **(15)** fled into Egypt, and remained in it until the time of the death of Herod: that that might be fulfilled which was said by the Lord in the prophet, which said, From **(16)** Egypt did I call my son. And Herod then, when he saw that he was mocked of the Magi, was very angry, and sent and killed all the male children which were in Bethlehem and all its borders, from two years old and under, according to the time **(17)** which he had inquired from the Magi.Then was fulfilled the saying in Jeremiah the prophet, which said,

(18) A voice was heard in Ramah,
Weeping and much lamentation;
Rachel weeping for her children,
And not willing to be consoled for their loss.

(19) But when Herod the king died, the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to **(20)** Joseph in Egypt, and said unto him, Rise and take the child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they have died who sought the child’s life. **(21)** And Joseph rose and took the child and his mother, and came to the land **(22)** of lsrael. But when he heard that

Archelaus had become king over Judaea instead of Herod his father, he feared to go thither; and he saw in a dream that he should **(23)** go into the land of Galilee, and that he should abide in a city called Nazareth: that the saying in the prophet might be fulfilled, that he should be called a Nazarene. **(24)** And the child grew, and became strong in spirit, becoming filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him. **(25)** And his kinsfolk used to go every year to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover **(26)**. And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to their custom, **(27)** to the feast. And when the days were accomplished, they returned; and the child **(28)** Jesus remained in Jerusalem, and Joseph and his mother knew not: and they supposed that he was with the children of their company. And when they had gone one day's journey, they sought him beside their people and those who knew them, **(29)** and they found him not; so they returned to Jerusalem and sought him again. **(30)** And after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the teachers **(31)**, hearing them and asking them questions; and all who heard him wondered at **(32)** his wisdom and his words. And when they saw him they wondered, and his mother said unto him, My son, why hast thou dealt with us thus? behold, I and thy father **(33)** have been seeking for thee with much anxiety. And he said unto them, Why were **(34)** ye seeking me? know ye not that I must be in the house of my Father? And they **(35)** understood not the word which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and he was obedient to them: and his mother used to keep all these sayings in her heart. **(36)** And Jesus grew in his stature and wisdom, and in grace with God and men. **(37)** And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor in Judaea, and one of the four rulers, Herod, in Galilee; and Philip his brother, one of the four rulers, in Ituraea and in the district of Trachonitis; and **(38)** Lysanias, one of the four rulers, in Abilene; in the chief-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the command of God went forth to John the son of Zacharias in the **(39)** desert. And he came into all the region which is about Jordan, proclaiming the **(40)** baptism of repentance unto the forgiveness of sins. And he was preaching in the **(41)** wilderness of Judaea, and saying, Repent ye; the kingdom of heaven is come near. **(42)** This is he that was spoken of in Isaiah the prophet,

The voice which crieth in the desert,
(43) Prepare ye the way of the Lord,
And make straight in the plain, paths for our God.
(44) All the valleys shall become filled,
And all the mountains and hills shall become low;
And the rough shall become plain,
And the difficult place, easy;
(45) And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

(46) This man came to bear witness, that he might bear witness to the light, that **(47)** every man might believe through his mediation. He was not the light, bat that he **(48)** might bear witness to the light, which was the light of truth, that giveth light to **(49)** every man coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made **(50)** by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received **(51)** him not. And those who received him, to them gave he the power that they might **(52)** be sons of God, — those which believe in his name: which were born, not of blood, **(53)** nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God. And the Word became flesh, and took up his abode among us; and we saw his glory as the glory **(54)** of the only Son from the Father, which is full of grace and equity. John bare witness of him, and cried, and said, This is he that I said cometh after me and **(55)** was before me, because he was before me. And of his fulness received **(56)** we all grace for grace. For the law was given through the mediation of Moses, but truth and grace were through Jesus Christ.

SECTION 4

JOHN 1:18-33; MATTHEW 3:4-10, 3:13-4:7; LUKE 3:10-18; 3:21-4:7; MARK 1:12-13

(1) No man hath seen God at any time; the only Son, God, which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath told of him. **(2)** And this is the witness of John when the Jews sent to him from Jerusalem priests **(3)** and Levites to ask him, Who art thou? And he acknowledged, and denied not; **(4)** and he confessed that he was not the Messiah. And they asked him again, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he said, I am not he. Art thou a prophet? He

(5) said, No. They said unto him, Then who art thou? that we may answer them that **(6)** sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? And he said, I am the voice that crieth in **(7)** the desert, Repair ye the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet. And they **(8)** that were sent were from the Pharisees. And they asked him and said unto him, Why baptizest thou now, when thou art not the Messiah, nor Elijah, nor a prophet? **(9)** John answered and said unto them, I baptize with water: among you is standing **(10)** one whom ye know not: this is he who I said cometh after me and was before **(11)** me, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. And that was in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing. **(12)** Now John's raiment was camel's hair, and he was girded with skins, and his food **(13)** was of locusts and honey of the wilderness. Then went out unto him the people of Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region which is about the **(14, 15)** Jordan; and they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to be baptized, he said unto them, Ye children of vipers, who hath led you to flee from the wrath to come? **(16, 17)** Do now the fruits which are worthy of repentance; and think and say not within yourselves, We have a father, even Abraham; for I say unto you, that God is able to **(18)** raise up of these stones children unto Abraham. Behold, the axe hath been laid at the roots of the trees, and so every tree that beareth not good fruit shall be taken and **(19)** cast into the fire. And the multitudes were asking him and saying, What shall we do? **(20)** He answered and said unto them, He that hath two tunics shall give to him that **(21)** hath not; and he that hath food shall do likewise. And the publicans also came **(22)** to be baptized, and they said unto him, Teacher, what shall we do? He said unto **(23)** them, Seek not more than what ye are commanded to seek. And the servants of the guard asked him and said, And we also, what shall we do? He said unto them, Do not violence to any man, nor wrong him; and let your allowances satisfy you. **(24)** And when the people were conjecturing about John, and all of them thinking **(25)** in their hearts whether he were haply the Messiah, John answered and said unto them, I baptize you with water; there cometh one after me who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to loosen; he will baptize you with the **(26)** Holy Spirit and fire: who taketh the fan in his hand to cleanse his threshing-floors, and the wheat he gathereth into his garners, while the straw he shall burn in fire which can not be put out. **(27)** And

other things he taught and preached among the people. **(28)** Then came Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan to John, to be baptized of him. **(29)** And Jesus was about thirty years old, and it was supposed that he was the son of **(30)** Joseph. And John saw Jesus coming unto him, and said, This is the Lamb of **(31)** God, that taketh on itself the burden of the sins of the world! This is he concerning whom I said, There cometh after me a man who was before me, because he was **(32)** before me. And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, **(33)** for this cause came I to baptize with water. And John was hindering him and **(34)** saying, I have need of being baptized by thee, and comest thou to me? Jesus answered him and said, Suffer this now: thus it is our duty to fulfil all righteousness **(35)**. Then he suffered him. And when all the people were baptized, Jesus also **(36)** was baptized. And immediately he went up out of the water, and heaven opened **(37)** to him, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the similitude of the **(38)** body of a dove; and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved **(39)** Son, in whom I am well pleased. And John bare witness and said, I beheld the **(40)** Spirit descend from heaven like a dove; and it abode upon him. But I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt behold the Spirit descending and lighting upon him, the same is he that **(41)** baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen and born witness that this is the Son of God. **(42, 43)** And Jesus returned from the Jordan, filled with the Holy Spirit. And immediately the Spirit took him out into the wilderness, to be tried of the devil; and he **(44)** was with the beasts. And he fasted forty days and forty nights. And he ate noth- **(45)** ing in those days, and at the end of them he hungered. And the tempter came and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, speak, and these stones shall become **(46)** bread. He answered and said, It is written, Not by bread alone shall man live, but **(47)** by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Then the devil brought **(48)** him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written,

> He shall give his angels charge concerning thee:
> And they shall take thee on their arms,
> So that thy foot shall not stumble against a stone.

(49) Jesus said unto him, And it is written also, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy **(50)** God. And the devil took him up to a high mountain, and shewed him all the kingdoms **(51)** of the earth, and their glory, in the least time; and the devil said unto him, To thee will I give all this dominion, and its glory, which is delivered to **(52)** me that I may give it to whomsoever I will. If then thou wilt worship before me, all of it shall be thine.

SECTION 5

MATTHEW 4:10-22; JOHN 1:35-2:11; LUKE 4:13-5:7 MARK 1:15

(1) Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou **(2)** shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve. And when the **(3)** devil had completed all his temptations, he departed from him for a season. And behold, the angels drew near and ministered unto him. **(4, 5)** And next day John was standing, and two of his disciples; and he saw Jesus as **(6)** he was walking, and said, Behold, the Lamb of God! And his two disciples heard **(7)** him saying this, and they followed Jesus. And Jesus turned and saw them coming after him, and said unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Our master, **(8)** where art thou staying? And he said unto them, Come and see. And they came and saw his place, and abode with him that day: and it was about the tenth hour. **(9)** One of the two which heard from John, and followed Jesus, was Andrew the **(10)** brother of Simon. And he saw first Simon his brother, and said unto him, We have **(11)** found the Messiah. And he brought him unto Jesus. And Jesus looked upon him and said, Thou art Simon, son of Jonah: thou shalt be called Cephas. **(12)** And on the next day Jesus desired to go forth to Galilee, and he found Philip, **(13)** and said unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Simon. And Philip found Nathanael, and said unto him, He of whom Moses did write in the law and in the prophets, we have found that **(15)** he is Jesus the son of Joseph of Nazareth. Nathanael said unto him, Is it possible that there can be any good thing from Nazareth? Philip said unto him, Come and **(16)** see. And Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and said of him, This is indeed a **(17)** son of Israel in whom is no guile. And Nathanael said unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus said unto him, Before Philip called

thee, while thou wast under the **(18)** fig tree, I saw thee. Nathanael answered and said unto him, My Master, thou art **(19)** the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel. Jesus said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, hast thou believed? thou shalt see what is **(20)** greater than this. And he said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man. **(21)** And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee. **(22)** And on the third day there was a feast in Cana, a city of Galilee; and the **(23)** mother of Jesus was there: and Jesus also and his disciples were invited to the **(24)** feast. And they lacked wine: and his mother said unto Jesus, They have no wine. **(25)** And Jesus said unto her, What have I to do with thee, woman? hath not mine **(26)** hour come? And his mother said unto the servants, What he saith unto you, do. **(27)** And there were there six vessels of stone, placed for the Jews' purification, such as would contain two or three jars. And Jesus said unto them, Fill the vessels **(29)** with water. And they filled them to the top. He said unto them, Draw **(30)** out now, and present to the ruler of the feast. And they did so. And when the ruler of the company tasted that water which had become wine, and knew not whence it was(but the servants knew, because they filled up the water) , the ruler of the company called **(31)** the bridegroom, and said unto him, Every man presenteth first the good wine, and on intoxication he bringeth what is poor; but thou hast kept the good wine until **(32)** now. And this is the first sign which Jesus did in Cans of Galilee, and manifested **(33)** his glory; and his disciples believed on him. And his fame spread in all the coun- **(34)** try which was around them. And he taught in their synagogues, and was glorified **(35)** by every man. And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and entered, according to his custom, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood **(36)** up to read. And he was given the book of Isaiah the prophet.And Jesus opened the book and found the place where it was written,

> **(37)** The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> And for this anointed he me, to preach good tidings to the poor;
> And he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted,
> And to proclaim forgiveness to the evil-doers, and sight to the blind,

And to bring the broken into forgiveness,
(38) And to proclaim an acceptable year of the Lord.

(39) And he rolled up the book and gave it to the servant, and went and sat down: **(40)** and the eyes of all that were in the synagogue were observing him. And he began to say unto them, Today hath this scripture been fulfilled which ye have heard with **(41)** your ears. And they all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which were proceeding from his mouth. **(42)** And from that time began Jesus to proclaim the gospel of the kingdom **(43)** of God, and to say, Repent ye, and believe in the gospel. The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of heaven hath come near. **(44)** And while he was walking on the shore of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who was called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting their nets into **(45)** the sea; for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Follow me, and I will **(46)** make you fishers of men. And they immediately left their nets there and followed **(47)** him. And when he went on from thence, he saw other two brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father, mending **(48)** their nets; and Jesus called them. And they immediately forsook the ship and their father Zebedee, and followed him. **(49)** And when the multitude gathered unto him to hear the word of God, while he **(50)** was standing on the shore of the sea of Gennesaret, he saw two boats standing beside the sea, while the two fishers which were gone out of them were washing their **(51)** nets. And one of them belonged to Simon Cephas. And Jesus went up and sat down in it, and commanded that they should move away a little from the land into **(52)** the water. And he sat down and taught the multitudes from the boat. And when he had left off his speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and cast your **(53)** net for a draught. And Simon answered and said unto him, My Master, we toiled **(54)** all night and caught nothing; now at thy word I will cast the net. And when they did this, there were enclosed a great many fishes; and their net was on the **(55)** point of breaking. And they beckoned to their comrades that were in the other boat, to come and help them. And when they came, they filled both boats, so that they were on the point of sinking.

SECTION 6

LUKE 4:31-5:11; JOHN 3:22-4:54; MATTHEW 4:12-16; MARK 1:29-33

(1) But when Simon Cephas saw this he fell before the feet of Jesus, and said unto him, My Lord, I beseech of thee to depart from me, for I am **(2)** a sinful man. And amazement took possession of him, and of all who were with him, **(3)** because of the draught of the fishes which they had taken. And thus also were James and John the sons of Zebedee overtaken, who were Simon's partners. And Jesus said **(4)** unto Simon, Fear not; henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life. And they brought the boats to the land; and they left everything, and followed him. **(5)** And after that came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judaea; and he went **(6)** about there with them, and baptized. And John also was baptizing in AEnon, which is beside Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptized **(7), (8)**. And John was not yet come into prison. And there was an inquiry between **(9)** one of John's disciples and one of the Jews about purifying. And they came unto John, and said unto him, Our master, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom **(10)** thou hast born witness, behold, he also baptizeth, and many come to him. John answered and said unto them, A man can receive nothing of himself, except it be **(11)** given him from heaven. Ye are they that bear witness unto me that I said, I am **(12)** not the Messiah, but I am one sent before him. And he that hath a bride is a bridegroom: and the friend of the bridegroom is he that standeth and listeneth to him, and rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. Lo now, behold, my **(13, 14)** joy becometh complete. And he must increase and I decrease. For he that is come from above is higher than everything; and he that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth he speaketh; and he that came down from heaven is **(15)** higher than all. And he beareth witness of what he hath seen and heard: and no man **(16)** receiveth his witness. And he that hath received his witness hath asserted that he is **(17)** truly God. And he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God: God gave **(18)** not the Spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put everything in **(19)** his hands. Whosoever believeth in the Son hath eternal life; but whosoever obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God cometh upon him. **(20)** And Jesus

learned that the Pharisees had heard that he had received many disciples **(21)**, and that he was baptizing more than John (not that Jesus was himself baptizing **(22)**, but his disciples) ; and so he left Judaea. **(23)** And Herod the governor, because he used to be rebuked by John because of Herodias the wife of Philip his brother, and for all the sins which he was committing **(24)**, added to all that also this, that he shut up John in prison. **(25)** And when Jesus heard that John was delivered up, he went away to Galilee. **(26)** And he entered again into Cans, where he had made the water wine. And there **(27)** was at Capernaum a king's servant, whose son was sick. And this man heard that Jesus was come from Judaea to Galilee; and he went to him, and besought of him that he would come down and heal his son; for he had come near unto death. **(28, 29)** Jesus said unto him, Except ye see signs and wonders, ye do not believe. The king's servant said unto him, My Lord, come down, that the child die not. **(30)** Jesus said unto him, Go; for thy son is alive. And that man believed the **(31)** word which Jesus spake, and went. And when he went down, his servants met him **(32)** and told him, and said unto him, Thy son is alive. And he asked them at what time he recovered. They said unto him, Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left **(33)** him. And his father knew that that was at that hour in which Jesus said unto him, **(34)** Thy son is alive. And he believed, he and the whole people of his house. And this **(35)** is the second sign which Jesus did when he returned from Judaea to Galilee. And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee. **(36)** And he left Nazareth, and came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea shore, in the **(37)** borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: that it might be fulfilled which was said in Isaiah the prophet, who said,

> **(38)** The land of Zebulun, the land of Naphtali,
> The way of the sea, the passage of the Jordan,
> Galilee of the nations:
> **(39)** The people sitting in darkness
> Saw a great light,
> And those sitting in the region and in the shadow of death,
> There appeared to them a light

(40) And he taught them on the sabbaths. And they wondered because of his doctrine **(41)**: for his word was as if it were authoritative. And there was in the synagogue **(42)** a man with an unclean devil, and he cried out

with a loud voice, and said, Let me alone; what have I to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come for our **(43)** destruction? I know thee who thou art, thou Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, and said, Stop up thy mouth, and come out of him. And the demon threw him **(44)** in the midst and came out of him, having done him no harm. And great amazement took hold upon every man. And they talked one with another, and said, What is this word that orders the unclean spirits with power and **(45)** authority, and they come out? And the news of him spread abroad in all the region which was around them. **(46)** And when Jesus went out of the synagogue, he saw a man sitting among the publicans, named Matthew: and he said unto him, Come after me. And he rose, and followed him. **(47, 48)** And Jesus came to the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John. And Simon's wife's mother was oppressed with a great fever, and they besought him for **(49)** her. And he stood over her and rebuked her fever, and it left her, and immediately **(50)** she rose and ministered to them. And at even they brought to him many that had **(51)** demons: and he cast out their devils with the word. And all that had sick, their diseases being divers and malignant, brought them unto him. And he laid his hand **(52)** on them one by one and healed them: that that might be fulfilled which was said **(53)** in the prophet Isaiah, who said, He taketh our pains and beareth our diseases. And **(54)** all the city was gathered together unto the door of Jesus. And he cast out devils also from many, as they were crying out and saying, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of God; and he rebuked them. And he suffered not the demons to speak, because they knew him that he was the Lord the Messiah.

SECTION 7

MARK 1:35-3:5; LUKE 4:42-6:7; MATTHEW 12:2-12

(1) And in the morning of that day he went out very early, and went to a **(2)** desert place, and was there praying. And Simon and those that were with **(3)** him sought him. And when they found him, they said unto him, All the people seek for **(4)** thee. He said unto them, Let us go into the adjacent villages and towns, that I may **(5)** preach there also; for to this end did I come. And the multitudes were seeking him, and came till they

reached him; and they took hold of him, that he should not **(6)** go away from them. But Jesus said unto them, I must preach of the kingdom of **(7)** God in other cities also: for because of this gospel was I sent. And Jesus was going about all the cities and the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all the diseases and all the sicknesses, **(8)** and casting out the devils. And his fame became known that he was teaching in **(9)** every place and being glorified by every man. And when he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting among the tax-gatherers; and he said unto him, Follow **(10)** me: and he rose and followed him. And the news of him was heard of in all the land of Syria: and they brought unto him all those whom grievous ills had befallen through divers diseases, and those that were enduring torment, and those that were possessed, and lunatics, and paralytics; and he healed them. **(11, 12)** And after some days Jesus entered into Capernaum again. And when they heard that he was in the house, many gathered, so that it could not hold them, even about **(13)** the door; and he made known to them the word of God. And there were there some of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, sitting, come from all the villages of Galilee, and Judaea, and Jerusalem; and the power of the Lord was **(14)** present to heal them. And some men brought a bed with a man on it who was paralytic **(15)**. And they sought to bring him in and lay him before him. And when they found no way to bring him in because of the multitude of people, they went up to the roof, and let him down with his bed from the roofing, into the midst before Jesus. **(16)** And when Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the paralytic, My son, thy sins are forgiven **(17)** thee. And the scribes and Pharisees began to think within their hearts, Why doth this man blaspheme? Who is it that is able to forgive sins, but God alone? **(18)** And Jesus knew by the spirit that they were thinking this within themselves, and he **(19)** said unto them, Why do ye think this within your heart? Which is better, that it should be said to the paralytic, Thy sins are forgiven thee, or that it should be said **(20)** to him, Arise, and take thy bed, and walk? That ye may know that the Son of man **(21)** is empowered on earth to forgive sins (and he said to the paralytic) , I say unto thee, **(22)** Arise, take thy bed, and go to thine house. And he rose forthwith, and took his bed, and went out in the presence of all. And he went to his house praising God. **(23)** And when those multitudes saw, they feared; and amazement took possession of **(24)** them, and they praised God, who had

given such power to men. And they said, We have seen marvellous things today, of which we have never before seen the like. **(25)** And after that, Jesus went out, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting **(26)** among the publicans: and he said unto him, Follow me. And he left everything, and rose, and followed him. And Levi made him a great feast in his house. And there was a great multitude of the publicans and others sitting with him. **(28)** And the scribes and Pharisees murmured, and said unto his disciples, Why do ye eat **(29)** and drink with the publicans and sinners? Jesus answered and said unto them, The physician seeketh not those who are well, but those that are afflicted with grievous **(30, 31)** sickness. I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners, to repentance. And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast always, and pray, and the **(32)** Pharisees also, but thy disciples eat and drink? He said unto them, Ye cannot make **(33)** the sons of the marriage feast fast, while the bridegroom is with them. Days will come, when the bridegroom is taken away from them; then will they fast in those **(34)** days. And he spake unto them a parable: No man inserteth a new patch and seweth it in a worn garment, lest the newness of the new take from the worn, and **(35)** there occur a great rent. And no man putteth fresh wine into old skins, lest the wine burst the skins, and the skins be destroyed, and the wine spilled; but they put **(36)** the fresh wine in the new skins, and both are preserved. And no man drinketh old wine and straightway desireth fresh; for he saith, The old is better. **(37)** And while Jesus was walking on the sabbath day among the sown fields, his disciples hungered. And they were rubbing the ears with their hands, and **(38)** eating. But some of the Pharisees, when they saw them, said unto him, See, **(39)** why do thy disciples on the sabbath day that which is not lawful? But Jesus said unto them, Have ye not read in olden time what David did, when he had need and **(40)** hungered, he and those that were with him? how he entered the house of God, when Abiathar was high priest, and ate the bread of the table of the Lord, which it was not lawful that any should eat, save the priests, and gave to them that were with him also? **(41)** And he said unto them, The sabbath was created because of man, and man was not **(42)** created because of the sabbath. Or have ye not read in the law, that the priests in **(43)** the temple profane the sabbath, and yet they are blameless? I say unto you now, **(44)** that here is what is greater than the temple. If ye had known this. I love mercy, **(45)** not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned those on whom is

no blame. The **(46)** Lord of the sabbath is the Son of man. And his relatives heard, and went out to take him, and said, He hath gone out of his mind. **(47)** And on the next sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and was teaching **(48)**. And there was there a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees were watching him, whether he would heal on the sabbath day, **(49)** that they might find the means of accusing him. But he knew their thoughts, and said unto the man whose hand was withered, Rise and come near into the midst of **(50)** the synagogue. And when he came and stood, Jesus said unto them, I ask you, which is lawful to be done on the sabbath day, good or evil? shall lives be saved or **(51)** destroyed? But they were silent. Regarding them with anger, being grieved because of the hardness of their hearts. And he said unto the man, Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand became straight. **(52)** Then he said unto them, What man of you shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a **(53)** well on the sabbath day, will not take it and lift it out? And how much is man better than a sheep! Wherefore it is lawful on the sabbath to do good.

SECTION 8

MATTHEW 12:14-21; 5:3-32; LUKE 6:12-27; MARK 3:7-12

(1) And the Pharisees went out, and consulted together concerning him, that they **(2)** might destroy him. And Jesus perceived, and removed thence: and great multitudes **(3)** followed him; and he healed all of them: and he forbade them that they should **(4)** not make him known: that the saying in Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which said,

(5) Behold, my servant with whom I am pleased;
My beloved in whom my soul hath delighted:
My spirit have I put upon him,
And he shall proclaim to the nations judgement.
(6) He shall not dispute, nor cry out;
And no man shall hear his voice in the marketplace.
(7) And a bruised reed shall he not break,
And a smoking lamp shall he not extinguish,

Until he shall bring forth judgement unto victory.
(8) And the nations shall rejoice in his name.

(9) And in those days Jesus went out to the mountain that he might pray, and he **(10)** spent the night there in prayer to God. And when the morning was come, he called the disciples. And he went towards the sea: and there followed him much people **(11)** from Galilee that he might pray, and from Judaea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumaea, and from beyond Jordan, and from Tyre, and from Sidon, and from **(12)** Decapolis; and great multitudes came unto him, which had heard what he did. And he spake to his disciples to bring him the boat because of the multitudes, that they **(13)** might not throng him. And he healed many, so that they were almost falling on him on account of their seeking to get near him. And those that had **(14)** plagues and unclean spirits, as soon as they beheld him, would fall, and **(15)** cry out, and say, Thou art the Son of God. And he rebuked them much, that they **(16)** should not make him known. And those that were under the constraint of **(17)** unclean spirits were healed. And all of the crowd were seeking to come near him; because power went out from him, and he healed them all. **(18, 19)** And when Jesus saw the multitudes, he went up to the mountain. And he called his disciples, and chose from them twelve; and they are those whom he named **(20)** apostles: Simon, whom he named Cephas, and Andrew his brother, and James and **(21)** John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas, and James the son **(22)** of Alphaeus, and Simon which was called the Zealot, and Judas the son of James, **(23)** and Judas the Iscariot, being he that had betrayed him. And Jesus went down with them and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and the great **(24)** multitude of people. And these twelve he chose to be with him, and that he might **(25)** send them to preach, and to have power to heal the sick and to cast out devils. **(26)** Then he lifted up his eyes unto them, and opened his mouth, and taught them, and said, **(27)** Blessed are the poor in spirit: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. **(28)** Blessed are the sorrowful: for they shall be comforted. **(29)** Blessed are the humble: for they shall inherit the earth. **(30)** Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be satisfied. **(31)** Blessed are the merciful: for on them shall be mercy. **(32)** Blessed are the pure in their hearts: for they shall see God. **(33)** Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God. **(34)**

Blessed are they that were persecuted for righteousness' sake: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs. **(35)** Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from them, and persecute you, and reproach you, and shall speak against you with all evil talk, for my **(36)** sake, falsely. Then rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets before you. **(37)** But woe unto you rich! for ye have received your consolation. **(38)** Woe unto you that are satisfied! ye shall hunger.

Woe unto you that laugh now! ye shall weep and be sad. **(39)** Woe unto you when men praise you! for so did their fathers use to do to the false prophets. **(40)** Unto you do I say, ye which hear, Ye are the salt of the earth: if then the salt become tasteless, wherewith shall it be salted? For any purpose it is of no use, but **(41)** is thrown outside, and men tread upon it. Ye are the light of the world. It is **(42)** impossible that a city built on a mountain should be hid. Neither do they light a lamp and place it under a bushel, but on the lamp-stand, and it giveth light to all **(43)** who are in the house. So shall your light shine before men, that they may see **(44)** your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. There is nothing **(45)** secret that shall not be revealed, or hidden that shall not be known. Whoever hath ears that hear, let him hear. **(46)** Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, **(47)** but to complete. Verily I say unto you, Until heaven and earth shall pass, there shall not pass one point or one letter of the law, until all of it shall be **(48)** accomplished. Every one who shall violate now one of these small commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called lacking in the kingdom of heaven: every one that shall do and teach shall be called great in the kingdom **(49)** of heaven. I say unto you now, unless your righteousness abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. **(50)** Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Do not kill; and every one that **(51)** killeth is worthy of the judgement. But I say unto you that every one who is angry with his brother without a cause is worthy of the judgement; and every one that saith to his brother, Thou foul one, is condemned by the synagogue; and whosoever **(52)** saith to him, Thou fool, is worthy of the fire of Gehenna. If thou art now offering thy gift at the altar, and rememberest there that thy brother hath conceived **(53)** against thee any grudge, leave thy gift at

the altar, and go first and satisfy thy **(54)** brother, and then return and offer thy gift. Join thine adversary quickly, and while thou art still with him in the way, give a ransom and free thyself from him; **(55)** test thine adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the **(56)** tax-collector, and thou fall into prison. And verily I say unto thee, Thou shall not go out thence until thou payest the last farthing. **(57, 58)** Ye have heard that it was said, Do not commit adultery: but I now say unto you, that every one that looketh at a woman lusting after her hath forthwith already **(59)** committed adultery with her in his heart. If thy right eye injure thee, put it out and cast it from thee; for it is preferable for thee that one of thy **(60)** members should perish, and not thy whole body go into the fire of hell. And if thy right hand injure thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; and it is better for thee that **(61)** one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body fall into Gehenna. It was said that he that putteth away his wife should give her a writing of divorcement: **(62)** but I say unto you, that every one that putteth away his wife, except for the cause of adultery, hath made it lawful for her to commit adultery: and whosoever taketh one that is put away committeth adultery.

SECTION 9

MATTHEW 5:33-6:23; LUKE 6:30-36; 11:1, 35, 36;

(1) Ye have heard also that it was said unto the ancients, Lie not, but perform unto **(2)** God in thy oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it **(3)** is God’s throne; nor by the earth, for it is a footstool under his feet; nor yet by **(4)** Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy **(5)** head, for thou canst not make in it one lock of hair black or white. But your word shall be either Yea or Nay, and what is in excess of this is of the evil one. **(6, 7)** Ye have heard that it was said, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth: but I say unto you, Stand not in opposition to the evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right **(8)** cheek, turn to him also the other. And he that would sue thee, and take thy tunic, **(9)** leave to him also thy wrapper. And whosoever compelleth thee one mite, go with **(10)** him twain. And he that asketh thee, give unto him: and he that would borrow of thee, prevent him not. And

prosecute not him that taketh thy **(11)** substance. And as ye desire that men should do to you, so do ye also to them. **(12, 13)** Ye have heard that it was said, Love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for those that curse you, and deal well with those that hate you, and pray for those who take you with violence and persecute **(14)** you; that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father, who maketh his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sendeth down his rain on the righteous and the **(15)** unrighteous. If ye love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? for the publicans **(16)** and sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do a kindness to those **(17)** who treat you well, where is your superiority? for sinners also do likewise. And if ye lend to him of whom ye hope for a reward, where is your superiority? for the **(18)** sinners also lend to sinners, seeking recompense from them. But love your enemies, and do good to them, and lend, and cut not off the hope of any man; that your reward may be great, and ye may be the children of the Highest: for he is lenient **(19)** towards the wicked and the ungrateful. Be ye merciful, even as your Father also is **(20)** merciful. And if ye inquire for the good of your brethren only, what more have **(21)** ye done than others? is not this the conduct of the publicans also? Be ye now perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. **(22)** Consider your alms; do them not before men to let them see you: and if it be not **(23)** so, ye have no reward before your Father which is in the heavens. When then thou givest an alms now, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as do the people of hypocrisy, in the synagogues and the marketplaces, that men may praise them. And **(24)** verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when **(25)** thou doest alms, let thy left hand not know what thy right hand doeth; that thine alms may be concealed: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. **(26)** And whenever thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites, who love to stand in the synagogues and in the corners of the marketplaces for prayers, that men may behold **(27)** them. And verily say I unto you, They have received their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and fasten thy door, and pray to thy Father in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. **(28)** And whenever ye pray, be not babblers, as the heathen; for they think that by the **(29)** abundance of their words they shall be heard. Then be not ye now like unto them: **(30)** for your Father knoweth your request before ye ask him. One of his

disciples said **(31)** unto him, Our Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples. Jesus said unto **(32)** them, Thus now pray ye now: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy **(33), (34)** name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us the **(35)** food of today. And forgive, us our trespasses, as we forgave those that trespassed **(36)** against us. And bring us not into temptations, but deliver us from the evil one. For **(37)** thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. If ye forgive men their wrong-doing, your Father which is in heaven will forgive you. **(38)** But if ye forgive not men, neither will your Father pardon your wrong-doing. **(39)** When ye fast, do not frown, as the hypocrites; for they make their faces austere, that they may be seen of men that they are fasting. Verily I say unto you, They **(40)** have received their reward. But when thou fastest, wash thy face and anoint thy **(41)** head; that thou make not an appearance to men of fasting, but to thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee. **(42)** Be not agitated, little flock; for your Father hath delighted to give you the kingdom. **(43)** Sell your possessions, and give in alms; take to yourselves purses that wax **(44)** not old. Lay not up treasure on earth, where moth and worm corrupt, and where **(45)** thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where **(46)** moth and worm do not corrupt, nor thieves break through nor steal: for where your **(47)** treasure is, there also will your heart be. The lamp of the body is the eye: if then **(48)** thine eye now be sound, thy whole body also shall be light. But if thine eye be evil, all thy body shall be dark. And if the light which is in thee is darkness, how **(49)** great is thy darkness! Be watchful that the light which is in thee be not darkness. **(50)** Because that, if thy whole body is light, and have no part dark, it shall all be light, as the lamp giveth light to thee with its flame.

SECTION 10

MATTHEW 6:24-7:27; LUKE 12:26-29; 6:37-48; 11:5-13

(1) No man can serve two masters; and that because it is necessary that he hate one of them and love the other, and honor one of them and despise the **(2)** other. Ye cannot serve God and possessions. And because of this I say

unto you, Be not anxious for yourselves, what ye shall eat and what ye shall drink; neither for your bodies, what ye shall put on. Is not the life better than the food, and the body **(3)** than the raiment? Consider the birds of the heaven, which sow not, nor reap, nor store in barns; and yet your Father which is in heaven feedeth them. Are not ye **(4)** better than they? Who of you when he trieth is able to add to his stature one **(5)** cubit? If then ye are not able for a small thing, why are ye anxious about the **(6, 7)** rest? Consider the wild lily, how it grows, although it toils not, nor spins; and I say unto you that Solomon in the greatness of his glory was not clothed like one of **(8)** them. And if God so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow **(9)** is cast into the oven, how much more shall be unto you, O ye of little faith! Be not anxious, so as to say, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, With **(10)** what shall we be clothed? Neither let your minds be perplexed in this: all these things the nations of the world seek; and your Father which is in heaven knoweth **(11)** your need of all these things. Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness **(12)**; and all these shall come to you as something additional for you. Be not anxious for the morrow; for the morrow shall be anxious for what belongs to it. Sufficient unto the day is its evil. **(13)** Judge not, that ye be not judged: condemn not, that ye be not condemned: **(14)** forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: release, and ye shall be released: give, that ye may be given unto; with good measure, abundant, full, they shall thrust into your **(15)** bosoms. With what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you. See to it what ye hear: with what measure ye measure it shall be measured to you; and ye **(16)** shall be given more. I say unto those that hear, He that hath shall be given unto; and he that hath not, that which he regards as his shall be taken from him. **(17)** And he spake unto them a parable, Can a blind man haply guide a blind man? **(18)** shall they not both fall into a hollow? A disciple is not better than his master; **(19)** every perfect man shall be as his master. Why lookest thou at the mote which is in the eye of thy brother, but considerest not the column that is in thine own eye? **(20)** Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, I will take out the mote from thine eye; and the column which is in thine eye thou seest not? Thou hypocrite, take out first the column from thine eye; and then shalt thou see to take out the mote from the eye of thy brother. **(21)** Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and return and wound

you. **(22)** And he said unto them, Who of you, that hath a friend, goeth to him at midnight **(23)**, and saith unto him, My friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend hath come **(24)** to me from a journey, and I have nothing to offer to him: and that friend shall answer him from within, and say unto him, Trouble me not; for the door is shut, and my children are with me in bed, and I cannot rise and give thee? **(25)** And verily I say unto you, If he will not give him because of friendship, yet because **(26)** of his importunity he will rise and give him what he seeketh. And I also say unto you, Ask, and ye shall be given unto; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be **(27)** opened unto you. Every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and **(28)** he that knocketh, it shall be opened to him. What father of you, shall his son ask for bread — will he, think you, give him a stone? and if he ask of him a fish, will he, **(29)** think you, instead of the fish give him a serpent? and if he ask him for an egg, will **(30)** he, think you, extend to him a scorpion? If ye then, although being evil, know the gifts which are good, and give them to your children, how much more shall your **(31)** Father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him? Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: this is the law and the prophets. **(32)** Enter ye by the narrow gate; for the wide gate and the broad way lead to destruction **(33)**, and many they be which go therein. How narrow is the gate and straitened the way leading to life! and few be they that find it. **(34)** Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, while within **(35)** they are ravening wolves. But by their fruits ye shall know them. For every tree is known by its fruit. For figs are not gathered of thorns, neither are grapes plucked of **(36)** briers. Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but the evil tree bringeth **(37)** forth evil fruit. The good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can the **(38)** evil tree bring forth good fruit. The good man from the good treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the evil man from the evil treasures that are in his heart bringeth forth evil things: and from the overflowings of the **(39)** heart the lips speak. Every tree that beareth not good fruit is cut down and cast **(40, 41)** into the fire. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not all that say unto me, My Lord, my Lord, shall enter the kingdom of the heavens; but he that doeth **(42)** the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many shall say unto me in that day, My Lord, my Lord, did we not prophesy in thy name, and in thy name cast out **(43)** devils, and in thy name do many powers? Then

shall I say unto them, I never **(44)** knew you: depart from me, ye servants of iniquity. Every man that cometh unto **(45)** me, and heareth my sayings, and doeth them, I will shew you to what he is like: he is like the wise man which built a house, and digged and went deep, and laid the **(46)** foundations on a rock: and the rain came down, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and shook that house, and it fell not: for its foundation was laid on **(47)** rocks. And every one that heareth these my words, and doeth them not, is like **(48)** the foolish man which built his house on sand, without foundation: and the rain descended, and the rivers overflowed, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house, and it fell: and the fall of it was great.

SECTION 11

MATTHEW 7:28-8:24; LUKE 7:2-9:62; MARK 4:35-5:16

(1) And when Jesus finished these sayings, the multitudes were astonished **(2)** at his teaching; and that because he was teaching them as one having authority, not as their scribes and the Pharisees. **(3)** And when he descended from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. **(4)** And when Jesus entered Capernaum, the servant of one of the chiefs was in an **(5)** evil case, and he was precious to him, and he was at the point of death. And he **(6)** heard of Jesus, and came to him with the elders of the Jews; and he besought him, and said, My Lord, my boy is laid in the house paralysed, and he is suffering grievous **(7)** torment. And the elders urgently requested of him, and said, He is worthy that **(8)** this should be done unto him: for he loveth our people, and he also built the synagogue **(9, 10)** for us. Jesus said unto him, I will come and heal him. That chief answered and said, My Lord, I am not worthy that my roof should shade thee; but it sufficeth **(11)** that thou speak a word, and my lad shall be healed. And I also am a man in obedience to authority, having under my hand soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant that he do this, **(12)** and he doeth it. And when Jesus heard that, he marvelled at him, and turned and said unto the multitude that were coming with him, Verily I say unto you, I have **(13)** not found in Israel the like of this faith. I say unto you, that many shall

come from the east and the west, and shall recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob **(14)** in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom shall be cast **(15)** forth into the outer darkness: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And Jesus said to that chief, Go thy way; as thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee. **(16)** And his lad was healed in that hour. And that chief returned to the house and found that sick servant healed. **(17)** And the day after, he was going to a city called Nain, and his disciples with him, **(18)** and a great multitude. And when he was come near the gate of the city, he saw a crowd accompanying one that was dead, the only son of his mother; and his mother was a widow: and there was with her a great multitude of the people of the **(19)** city. And when Jesus saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep **(20)** not. And he went and advanced to the bier, and the bearers of it stood still; and **(21)** he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And that dead man sat up and began **(22)** to speak; and he gave him to his mother. And fear came on all the people: and they praised God, and said, There hath risen among us a great prophet: and, God **(23)** hath had regard to his people. And this news concerning him spread in all Judaea, and in all the region which was about them. **(24)** And when Jesus saw great multitudes surrounding him, he commanded them to **(25)** depart to the other side. And while they were going in the way, there came one of the scribes and said unto him, My Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou **(26)** goest. Jesus said unto him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have **(27)** nests; but the Son of man hath not a place in which to lay his head. And he said unto another, Follow me. And he said unto him, My Lord, suffer me first to go and **(28)** bury my father. Jesus said unto him, Leave the dead to bury their dead; but thou, **(29)** follow me and preach the kingdom of God. And another said unto him, I will follow thee, my Lord; but first suffer me to go and salute my household and **(30)** come. Jesus said unto him, There is no one who putteth his hand to the plough and looketh behind him, and yet is fit for the kingdom of God. **(31)** And he said to them on that day in the evening, Let us go over to the other side **(32)** of the lake; and he left the multitudes. And Jesus went up and sat in the ship, **(33)** he and his disciples, and there were with them other ships. And there occurred on the sea a great tempest of whirlwind and wind, and the ship was on the point of **(34)** sinking from the greatness of the waves. But Jesus was sleeping on a cushion in the stern of the ship; and his disciples came and awoke him,

and said unto him, Our **(35)** Lord, save us; lo, we perish. And he rose, and rebuked the winds and the turbulence of the water, and said to the sea, Be still, for thou art rebuked; and the wind **(36)** was still, and there was a great calm. And he said unto them, Why are ye thus **(37)** afraid? and why have ye no faith? And they feared greatly. And they marvelled, and said one to another, Who, think you, is this, who commandeth also the wind and the waves and the sea, and they obey him? **(38)** And they departed and came to the country of the Gadarenes, which is on the **(39)** other side, opposite the land of Galilee. And when he went out of the ship to the land, there met him from among the tombs a man who had a devil for a long time, **(40)** and wore no clothes, neither dwelt in a house, but among the tombs. And no man was able to bind him with chains, because an y time that he was bound with chains **(41)** and fetters he cut the chains and loosened the fetters; and he was snatched **(42)** away of the devil into the desert, and no man was able to quiet him; and at all times, in the night and in the day, he would be among the tombs and in the mountains; and no man was able to pass by that way; and he would cry out and wound himself **(43)** with stones. And when he saw Jesus at a distance, he hastened and worshipped **(44)** him, and cried with a loud voice and said, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, **(45)** Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not. And Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man: and he had suffered a long **(46)** time since the time when he came into captivity to it. And Jesus asked him, What is thy name? He said unto him, Legion; for there had entered into him many **(47)** devils. And they besought him that he would not command them to depart into **(48)** the depths. And there was there a herd of many swine, feeding in the mountain, and those devils besought him to give them leave to enter the swine; and he gave **(49)** them leave. And the devils went out of the man and entered into the swine. And that herd hastened to the summit and fell down into the midst of the sea, about two **(50)** thousand, and they were choked in the water. And when the keepers saw what **(51)** happened, they fled, and told those in the cities and villages. And the people went out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus, and found the man whose devils had gone out, clothed, modest, seated at the feet of Jesus; and they **(52)** feared. And they reported what they saw, and how the man was healed who had a devil, and concerning those swine also.

SECTION 12

MATTHEW 9:1-10:15; LUKE 8:37-9:3; MARK 5:21-6:11

(1) And all the multitude of the Gadarenes entreated him to depart from them, because that great fear took hold upon them. **(2, 3)** But Jesus went up into the ship, and crossed, and came to his city. And that man from whom the devils went out entreated that he might stay with him; but **(4)** Jesus sent him away, and said unto him, Return to thy house, and make known what **(5)** God hath done for thee. And he went, and began to publish in Decapolis what Jesus had done for him; and they all marvelled. **(6)** And when Jesus had crossed in the ship to that side, a great multitude received **(7)** him; and they were all looking for him. And a man named Jairus, the chief of the **(8)** synagogue, fell before the feet of Jesus, and besought him much, and said unto him, I have an only daughter, and she is come nigh unto death; but come and lay thy **(9)** hand upon her, and she shall live. And Jesus rose, and his disciples, and they followed **(10)** him. And there joined him a great multitude, and they pressed him. **(11, 12)** And a woman, which had a flow of blood for twelve years, had suffered much of many physicians, and spent all that she had, and was not benefited at all, but her **(13)** trouble increased further. And when she heard of Jesus, she came in the thronging of **(14)** the crowd behind him, and touched a his garments; and she thought within **(15)** herself, If I could reach to touch his garments, I should live. And immediately the fountain of her blood was dried; and she felt in her body that she was healed **(16)** of her plague. And Jesus straightway knew within himself that power had gone out of him; and he turned to the crowd, and said, Who approached unto my garments? **(17)** And on their denying, all of them, Simon Cephas and those with him said unto him, Our Master, the multitudes throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who approached **(18)** unto me? And he said, Some one approached unto me; and I knew that **(19)** power went forth from me. And that woman, when she saw that she was not hid **(20)** from him, came fearing and agitated (for she knew what had happened to her), and fell down and worshipped him, and told, in the presence of all the people, for what **(21)** reason she touched him, and how she was healed immediately. And Jesus said unto her, Be of good courage, daughter; thy faith hath made thee alive; depart in peace, and be whole from thy plague.

(22) And while he was yet speaking, there came a man from the house of the chief of the synagogue, and said unto him, Thy daughter hath died; so trouble not the **(23)** teacher. But Jesus heard, and said unto the father of the maid, Fear not: but believe **(24)** only, and she shall live. And he suffered no man to go with him, except **(25)** Simon Cephas, and James, and John the brother of James. And they reached the house of the chief of the synagogue; and he saw them agitated, weeping and wailing **(26)**. And he entered, and said unto them, Why are ye agitated and weeping? the **(27)** maid hath not died, but she is sleeping. And they laughed at him, for **(28)** they knew that she had died. And he put every man forth without, and took the father of the maid, and her mother, and Simon, and James, and John, and **(29)** entered into the place where the maid was laid. And he took hold of the hand of the maid, and said unto her, Maid, arise. And her spirit returned, and straightway **(30)** she arose and walked: and she was about twelve years of age. And he commanded **(31)** that there should be given to her something to eat. And her father wondered greatly: **(32)** and he warned them that they should tell no man what had happened. And this report spread in all that land. **(33)** And when Jesus crossed over from there, there joined him two blind men, crying **(34)** out, and saying, Have mercy on us, thou son of David. And when he came to the house, those two blind men came to him: and Jesus said unto them, Believe ye **(35)** that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, our Lord. Then he touched **(36)** their eyes, and said, As ye have believed, it shall be unto you. And immediately their eyes were opened. And Jesus forbade them, and said, See that no man know. **(37)** But they went out and published the news in all that land. **(38)** And when Jesus went out, they brought to him a dumb man having a devil. **(39)** And on the going out of the devil that dumb man spake. And the multitudes marvelled, and said, It was never so seen in Israel **(40)** And Jesus was going about in all the cities and in the villages, and teaching in their synagogues, and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease **(41)** and sickness; and many followed him. And when Jesus saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them, for they were wearied and scattered, as sheep **(42)** that have no shepherd. And he called his twelve disciples, and gave them power and **(43)** much authority over all devils and diseases; and sent them two and two, that they **(44)** might proclaim the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick. And he charged them, and said, Walk not in the way of the heathen, nor enter into the cities of

the Samaritans **(45, 46)**. Go especially unto the sheep that are lost of the sons of Israel. And **(47)** when ye go, proclaim and say, The kingdom of heaven is come near. And heal the sick, and cleanse the lepers, and cast out the devils: freely ye have received, freely **(48, 49)** give. Get you not gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; and take nothing for the way, except a staff only; nor bag, nor bread; neither shall ye have two tunics, **(50)** nor shoes, nor staff, but be shod with sandals; for the laborer is worthy of his food. **(51)** And whatever city or village ye enter, inquire who is worthy in it, and there be until **(52, 53)** ye go out. And when ye enter into the house, ask for the peace of the house: and if the house is worthy, your peace shall come upon it; but if it is not worthy, your **(54)** peace shall return unto you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your sayings, when ye go out from that house, or from that village, shake off the dust **(55)** that is under your feet against them for a testimony. And verily I say unto you, To the land of Sodom and Gomorrah there shall be rest in the day of judgement, rather than to that city.

SECTION 13

MATTHEW 10:16-11:2; LUKE 12:3-53; 10:38-42; 7:20-27; MARK 9:41; 6:12-13

(1) I am sending you as lambs among wolves: be ye now wise as serpents, and **(2)** harmless as doves. Beware of men: they shall deliver you to the councils of the **(3)** magistrates, and scourge you in their synagogues; and shall bring you before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and against the nations. **(4)** And when they deliver you up, be notanxious, nor consider beforehand, what ye **(5)** shall say; but ye shall be given in that hour what ye ought to speak. Ye do not **(6)** speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaketh in you. The brother shall deliver up his brother to death, and the father his son; and the sons shall rise against their **(7)** parents, and put them to death. And ye shall be hated of every man because of my **(8)** name; but he that endureth unto the end of the matter shall be saved. When they expel you from this city, flee to another. Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not finish all the cities of the people of Israel, until the Son of man come.

(9, 10) A disciple is not superior to his Lord, nor a servant to his master. For it is enough then for the disciple that he be as his Lord, and the servant as his master. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more the people **(11)** of his house! Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall **(12)** not be revealed; nor hid, that shall not be disclosed and published. What I say unto you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye have told **(13)** secretly in the ears in closets, let it be proclaimed on the housetops. I say unto you now, my beloved, Be not agitated at those who kill the body, but have no power to **(14)** kill the soul. I will inform you whom ye shall fear: him which is able to destroy **(15)** soul and body in hell. Yea, I say unto you, Be afraid of him especially. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing in a bond? and one of them shall not fall on the **(16)** ground without your Father. But what concerns you: even the hair of your heads **(17, 18)** also is numbered. Fear not therefore; ye are better than many sparrows. Every man who confesseth me now before men, I also will confess him before my Father **(19)** which is in heaven; but whosoever denieth me before men, I also will deny him before my Father which is in heaven. **(20)** Think ye that I am come to cast peace into the earth? I came not to cast peace, **(21)** but to cast dissension. Henceforth there shall be five in one house, three of them **(22)** disagreeing with two, and the two with the three. The father shall become hostile to his son, and the son to his father; and the mother to her daughter, and the daughter to her mother; and the mother in law to her daughter in law, and the daughter **(23)** in law to her mother in law: and a man's enemies shall be the people of his house. **(24)** Whosoever loveth father or mother better than me is not worthy of me; and whosoever loveth son or daughter more than his love of me is not worthy of me. **(25)** And every one that doth not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of **(26)** me. Whosoever findeth his life shall lose it; and whosoever loseth his life for my sake shall find it. **(27)** And whosoever receiveth you receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me receiveth **(28)** him that sent me. And whosoever receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall take a prophet's reward; and whosoever shall receive a righteous man **(29)** in the name of a righteous man shall take a righteous man's reward. And every one that shall give to drink to one of these least ones a drink of water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. **(30)** And when Jesus finished charging his twelve disciples, he removed thence to **(31)** teach and preach

in their cities. And while they were going in the way they entered into a certain village; and a woman named Martha entertained him in her house. **(32)** And she had a sister named Mary, and she came and sat at the feet of our Lord, **(33)** and heard his sayings. But Martha was disquieted by much serving; and she came and said unto him, My Lord, givest thou no heed that my sister left me alone to **(34)** serve? speak to her that she help me. Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, **(35)** Martha, thou art solicitous and impatient on account of many things: but what is sought is one thing. But Mary hath chosen for herself a good portion, and that which shall not be taken from her. **(36)** And the apostles went forth, and preached to the people that they might repent. **(37)** And they cast out many devils, and anointed many sick with oil, and healed them. **(38, 39)** And the disciples of John told himof all these things. And when John heard in the prison of the doings of the Messiah, he called two of his disciples, and sent them to Jesus, and said, Art thou he that cometh, or look we for **(40)** another? And they came to Jesus, and said unto him, John the Baptist hath sent **(41)** us unto thee, and said. Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another? And in that hour he cured many of diseases, and of plagues of an evil spirit; and he gave sight **(42)** to many blind. Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and tell John everything ye have seen and heard: the blind see, and the lame walk, and the lepers are cleansed, and the blind hear, and the dead rise, and the poor have the gospel preached to **(43)** them. And blessed is he who doubteth not in me. **(44)** And when John’s disciples departed, Jesus began to say to the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken with the **(45)** winds? And if not, then what went ye out to see? a man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that are in magnificent garments and in voluptuousness are in the abode **(46)** of kings. And if not, then what went ye out to see? a prophet? Yea, I say unto **(47)** you, and more than a prophet. This is he of whom it is written,

> I am sending my messenger before thy face
> To prepare the way before thee.

SECTION 14

MATTHEW 11:11-12:37; 16:2,3 12:22-23; LUKE 7:29-39; 11:21-23; MARK 3:20-30; 6:30-31

(1) Verily I say unto you, There hath not arisen among those whom women have born a greater than John the Baptist; but he that is little now in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. **(2)** And all the people which heard, and the publicans, justified: God, for **(3)** they had been baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the scribes wronged the purpose of God in themselves, in that they were not baptized of **(4)** him. And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven is **(5)** snatched away by violence. The law and the prophets were until John; and after that, the kingdom of God is preached, and all press to enter it: and they that exert themselves **(6, 7)** snatch it away. All the prophets and the law until John prophesied. And if ye **(8)** will, then receive it, that he is Elijah, which is to come. Whosoever hath ears that hear **(9)** let him hear. Easier is the perishing of heaven and earth, than the passing away of **(10)** one point of the law. To whom then shall I liken the people of this generation, and **(11)** to whom are they like? They are like the children sitting in the market, which call to their companions, and say, We sang to you, and ye danced not; we wailed to you, **(12)** and ye wept not. John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; **(13)** and ye said, He hath demons: and the Son of man came eating and drinking; and ye said, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a drinker of wine, and an associate of publicans **(14, 15)** and sinners! And wisdom was justified of all her children. And when he said that, they came to the house. And there gathered unto him again multitudes, **(16)** so that they found not bread to eat. And while he was casting out a devil which was dumb, when he cast out that devil, that dumb man spake. And the multitudes **(17)** marvelled. And the Pharisees, when they heard, said, This man doth not cast out the devils, except by Beelzebul the chief of the demons, which is in him. **(18, 19)** And others requested of him a sign from heaven, to tempt him. And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them in parables, Every kingdom that withstandeth itself shall become desolate; and every house or city that disagreeth with itself shall not **(20)** stand: and if a devil cast out a devil, he withstandeth himself; neither shall he be **(21)** able to stand, but his end

shall be. Then how now shall his kingdom stand? for ye **(22)** said that I cast out devils by Beelzebul. And if I by Beelzebul cast out the devils, then your children, by what do they cast them out? And for this cause they shall **(23)** be judges against you. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then the kingdom **(24)** of God is come near unto you. Or how can a man enter into the house of a valiant man, and seize his garments, if he do not beforehand secure himself from **(25)** that valiant man? and then will he cut off his house. But when the valiant man is **(26)** armed, guarding his house, his possessions are in peace. But if one come who is more valiant than he, he overcometh him, and taketh his whole armor, on which **(27)** he relieth, and divideth his spoil. Whosoever is not with me is against me; and **(28)** whosoever gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. For this reason I say unto you, that all sins and blasphemies with which men blaspheme shall be forgiven **(29)** them: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, there is no **(30)** forgiveness for him for ever, but he is deserving of eternal punishment: because they **(31)** said that he had an unclean spirit. And he said also, Every one that speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to **(32)** come. Either ye must make a good tree and its fruit good; or ye must make an evil **(33)** tree and its fruit evil: for the tree is known by its fruit. Ye children of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? from the overflowings of the heart the mouth **(34)** speaketh. The good man from the good treasures which are in his heart bringeth forth good things; and the wicked man from the evil treasures which are in his **(35)** heart bringeth forth evils. I say unto you, that every idle word which men shall **(36)** speak, they shall give an answer for in the day of judgement: for by thy sayings thou shalt be justified, and by thy sayings thou shalt be judged. **(37)** And he said to the multitudes, When ye see the clouds appear from the west, **(38)** straightway ye say that there cometh rain; and so it cometh to pass. And when **(39)** the south wind bloweth, ye say that there will be heat; and it cometh to pass. And when the evening is come, ye say, It will be fair weather, for the heaven has become **(40)** red. And in the morning ye say, Today there will be severe weather, for the redness Of the heaven is paling. Ye hypocrites, ye know to examine the face of the heaven and the earth; but the signs of this time ye know not to discern. **(41)** Then they brought to him one possessed of a demon, dumb and blind; and he

(42) healed him, so that the dumb and blind began to speak and see. And all the multitudes wondered, and said, Is this, think you, the son of David? **(43)** And the apostles returned unto Jesus, and told him everything that they had **(44)** done and wrought. And he said unto them, Come, let us go into the desert alone, and rest yea little. And many were going and returning, and they had not leisure, not even to eat bread. **(45)** And after that, there came to him one of the Pharisees, and besought him that he would eat bread with him. And he entered into the house of that Pharisee, and **(46)** reclined. And there was in that city a woman that was a sinner; and when she knew that he was sitting in the house of that Pharisee, she took a box of sweet oint- **(47)** ment, and stood behind him, towards his feet, weeping, and began to wet his feet with her tears, and to wipe them with the hair of her head, and to kiss his feet, and **(48)** anoint them with the sweet ointment. And when thatPharisee saw it, who invited him, he thought within himself, and said, This man, if he were a prophet, would know who she is and what is her history: for the woman which touched him was a sinner.

SECTION 15

LUKE 7:40-50; 10:20-22; 14:25-33; JOHN 2:23-25; MATTHEW 11:20-30

(1) Jesus answered and said unto him, Simon, I have something to say unto thee. And **(2)** he said unto him, Say on, my Master. Jesus said unto him, There were two debtors to one creditor; and one of them owed five hundred pence, and the other **(3)** owed fifty pence. And because they had not wherewith to pay, he forgave **(4)** them both. Which of them ought to love him more? Simon answered and said, I suppose, he to whom he forgave most. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast judged rightly. **(5)** And he turned to that woman, and said to Simon, Dost thou see this woman? I entered into thy dwelling, and thou gavest me not water to wash my feet: but this **(6)** woman hath bathed my feet with her tears, and dried them with her hair. And thou kissedst me not: but this woman, since she entered, hath not ceased to kiss my **(7)** feet. And thou anointedst not my head with oil: but this woman hath anointed **(8)** my feet with sweet

ointment. And for this, I say unto thee, Her many sins are forgiven her, because she loved much; for he to whom little is forgiven loveth little. **(10)** And he said unto that woman, Thy sins are forgiven thee. And those that were invited **(11)** began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also? And Jesus said to that woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace. **(12)** And many believed in him when they saw the signs which he was doing. **(13, 14)** But Jesus did not trust himself to them, for he knew every man, and he needed not any man to testify to him concerning every man; for he knew what was in man. **(15)** And after that, Jesus set apart from his disciples other seventy, and sent them two and two before his face to every region and city whither he was purposing to **(16)** go. And he said unto them, The harvest is abundant, and the laborers are few: **(17)** entreat now the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest. Go **(18)** ye: and lo, I am sending you as lambs among wolves. Take not with you **(19)** purses, nor a wallet, nor shoes; neither salute any man in the way. And **(20)** whatsoever house ye enter, first salute that house: and if there be there a son of peace, **(21)** let your peace rest upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return to you. And be ye in that house eating and drinking what they have: for the laborer is worthy of **(22)** his hire. And remove not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, **(23)** and they receive you, eat what is presented to you: and heal the sick that are **(24)** therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come near unto you. But whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go out into the market, and say, **(25)** Even the dust that clave to our feet from your city, we shake off against you; but **(26)** know this, that the kingdom of God is come near unto you. I say unto you, that for Sodom there shall be quiet in the day of judgement, but there shall not be for **(27)** that city. Then began Jesus to rebuke the cities in which there had been many **(28)** mighty works, and they repented not. And he said, Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! if there had been in Tyre and Sidon the signs which were in **(29)** thee, it may be that they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit I say unto you, that for Tyre and Sidon there shall be rest in the day of judgement, **(30)** more than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt sink down unto Hades; for if there had been in Sodom the wonders which were **(31)** in thee, it would have remained until this day. And now I say unto thee, that for the land of Sodom there shall be quiet in

the day of judgement, more than for thee. **(32)** And he said again unto his apostles, Whosoever heareth you heareth me; and whosoever heareth me heareth him that sent me: and whosoever wrongeth you wrongeth me; and whosoever wrongeth me wrongeth him that sent me. **(33)** And those seventy returned with great joy, and said unto him, Our Lord, even **(34)** the devils also are subject unto us in thy name. He said unto them, I beheld **(35)** Satan fallen like lightning from heaven. Behold, I am giving you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and the whole race of the enemy; and nothing shall **(36)** hurt you. Only ye must not rejoice that the devils are subject unto you; but be glad that your names are written in heaven. **(37)** And in that hour Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I acknowledge thee, my Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto children: yea, my Father; so **(38)** was thy will. And he turned to his disciples, and said unto them, Everything hath been delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, save the Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and to whomsoever the Son willeth **(39)** to reveal him. Come unto me, all of you, ye that are wearied and bearers of burdens **(40)**, and I will give you rest. Bear my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I **(41)** am gentle and lowly in my heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light. **(42)** And while great multitudes were going with him, he turned, and said unto them, **(43)** Whosoever cometh unto me, and hateth not his father, and his mother, and his brethren, and his sisters, and his wife, and his children, and himself also, cannot **(44)** be a disciple to me. And whosoever doth not take his cross, and follow **(45)** me, cannot be a disciple to me. Which of you desireth to build a tower, and doth not sit down first and reckon his expenses and whether he hath enough to **(46)** complete it? lest when he hath laid the foundations, and is not able to finish, all that **(47)** behold him laugh at him, and say, This man began to build, and was not able to **(48)** finish. Or what king goeth to the battle to fight with another king, and doth not consider first whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh to him **(49)** with twenty thousand? And if he is not able, he sendeth unto him while he is afar **(50)** off, and seeketh peace. So shall every man of you consider, that desireth to be a disciple to me; for if he renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be a disciple to me.

SECTION 16

MATTHEW 13:38-13:22; LUKE 11:25-32; 8:1-15; MARK 3:31-4:29

(1) Then answered certain of the scribes and Pharisees, that they might tempt him, **(2)** and said, Teacher, we desire to see a sign from thee. He answered and said, This evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign; and it shall not be given a sign, **(3)** except the sign of Jonah the prophet. And as Jonah was a sign to the inhabitants **(4)** of Nineveh, so shall the Son of man also be to this generation. And as Jonah was in the belly of the great fish three days and three nights, so shall the Son of man **(5)** be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights. The queen of the south shall rise in the judgement with the people of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth that she might hear the wisdom of Solomon; **(6)** and behold, here is a better than Solomon. The men of Nineveh shall stand in the judgement with this generation, and condemn it: for they repented at **(7)** the preaching of Jonah; and behold, here is a greater than Jonah. The unclean spirit, when he goeth out of the man, departeth, and goeth about through places wherein are no waters, that he may find rest for himself; and when he findeth it not, he **(8)** saith, I will return to my house whence I came out. And if he come and find it **(9)** adorned and set in order, then he goeth, and associateth with himself seven other spirits worse than himself; and they enter and dwell in it: and the end of that man **(10)** shall be worse than his beginning. Thus shall it be unto this evil generation. **(11)** And while he was saying that, a woman from the multitude lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the breasts that nursed **(12)** thee. But he said unto her, Blessed is he that heareth the word of God, and keepeth it. **(13)** And while he was speaking unto the multitude, there came unto him his mother **(14)** and his brethren, and sought to speak with him; and they were not able, because of **(15)** the multitude; and they stood without and sent, calling him unto them. A man said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren are standing without, and seek to **(16)** speak with thee. But he answered unto him that spake unto him, Who is my **(17)** mother? and who are my brethren? And he beckoned with his hand, stretching it out towards his disciples, and said, Behold, my mother! and behold, my brethren! **(18)** And every man that shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven is

my brother, and my sister, and my mother. **(19)** And after that, Jesus was going about in the cities and in the villages, and proclaiming and preaching the kingdom of God, and his; twelve with him, **(20)** and the women which had been healed of diseases and of evil spirits, Mary **(21)** that was called Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven devils, and Joanna the wife of Chuza Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who were ministering to them of their substance. **(22)** And after that, Jesus went out of the house, and sat on the sea shore. And there **(23)** gathered unto him great multitudes. And when the press of the people was great upon him, he went up and sat in the boat; and all the multitude was standing on the **(24)** shore of the sea. And he spake to them much in parables, and said, The sower **(25)** went forth to sow: and when he sowed, some fell on the beaten highway; and it was **(26)** trodden upon, and the birds ate it. And other fell on the rocks: and some, where there was not much earth; and straightway it sprang up, because it had no depth in **(27)** the earth: and when the sun rose, it withered; and because it had no root, it dried **(28)** up. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it; **(29)** and it yielded no fruit. And other fell into excellent and good ground; and it came up, and grew, and brought forth fruit, some thirty, and some sixty, and some **(30)** a hundred. And when he said that, he cried, He that hath ears that hear, let him **(31)** hear. And when they were alone, his disciples came, and asked him, and said unto **(32)** him, What is this parable? and why spakest thou unto them in parables? He answered and said unto them, Unto you is given the knowledge of the secrets of the kingdom of God; but it is not given unto them that are **(33)** without. He that hath shall be given unto, and there shall be added; and he that **(34)** hath not, that which he hath shall be taken from him also. For this cause therefore I speak unto them in parables; because they see, and see not; and hear, and hear **(35)** not, nor understand. And in them is being fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, who said,

> Hearing they shall hear, and shall not understand;
> And seeing they shall see, and shall not perceive:
> **(36)** The heart of this people is waxed gross,
> And their hearing with their ears is become heavy,
> And they have closed their eyes
> Lest they should see with their eyes,

And hear with their ears,
And understand with their hearts,
And should return,
And I should heal them.

(37, 38) But ye, blessed are your eyes, which see; and your ears, which hear. Blessed **(39)** are the eyes which see what ye see. Verily I say unto you, Many of the prophets and the righteous longed to see what ye see, and saw not; and to hear what ye **(40)** hear, and heard not. When ye know not this parable, how shall ye know all parables **(41, 42)**? Hear ye the parable of the sower. The sower which sowed, sowed the word **(43)** of God. Every one who heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, the evil one cometh and snatcheth away the word that hath been sown in his **(44)** heart: and this is that which was sown on the middle of the highway. But that which was sown on the rocks is he that heareth the word, and straightway receiveth **(45, 46)** it with joy; only, it hath no root in his soul, but his belief in it is for a time; and whenever there is distress or persecution because of a word, he **(47)** stumbleth quickly. And that which was sown among the thorns is he that heareth the word; and the care of this world, and the error of riches, and the rest of the **(48)** other lusts enter, and choke the word, and it becometh without fruit. And that which was sown in good ground is he that heareth my word in a pure and good heart, and understandeth it, and holdeth to it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience, and produceth either a hundredfold or sixtyfold or thirty. **(49)** And he said, So is the kingdom of God, like a man who casteth seed into the **(50)** earth, and sleepeth and riseth by night and day, and the seed groweth and cometh **(51)** up, whence he knoweth not. And the earth bringeth it to the fruit; and first it **(52)** will be blade, and after it ear, and at last perfect wheat in the ear: and whenever the fruit ripeneth, he bringeth immediately the sickle, for the harvest hath come.

SECTION 17

MATTHEW 13:24-56; LUKE 13:18-4:30; MARK 4:30-34; 6:2-6

(1) And he set forth to them another parable, and said, The kingdom of heaven is **(2)** like a man who sowed good seed in his field; but when men

slept, his enemy came **(3)** and sowed tares among the wheat, and went away. And when the blade sprang up **(4)** and brought forth fruit, there were noticed the tares also. And the servants of the master of the house came, and said unto him, Our Lord, didst thou not sow good **(5)** seed in thy field? whence are there tares in it? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. His servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go **(6)** and separate it? He said unto them, Perhaps, when ye separate the tares, ye would **(7)** root up with them wheat also. Leave them to grow both together until the harvest: and in the time of the harvest I will say unto the reapers, Separate the tares first, and bind them in bundles to be burned with fire; and gather the wheat into my barns. **(8, 9)** And he set forth to them another parable, and said, To what is the kingdom of **(10)** God like? and to what shall I liken it? and in what parable shall I set it forth? It **(11)** is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and planted in his field: and of the number of the things that are sown in the earth it is smaller than all of the things **(12)** which are sown, which are upon the earth; but when it is grown, it is greater than all the herbs, and produceth large branches, so that the birds of heaven make their nests in its branches. **(13, 14)** And he set forth to them another parable: To what shall I liken the kingdom of **(15)** God? It is like the leaven which a woman took, and kneaded into three measures of flour, until the whole of it was leavened. **(16)** And Jesus spake all that to the multitudes by way of parables, according as they **(17)** were able to hear. And without parables spake he not unto them; that the saying of the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled:

> I will open my mouth in parables;
> And I will utter secrets which were before the foundations of the world.

(18) But he explained to his disciples privately everything. **(19)** Then Jesus left the multitudes, and came to the house. And his disciples came unto him, and said unto him, Explain unto us that parable about the tares **(20)** and the field. He answered and said unto them, He that sowed good seed is **(21)** the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed are the children of the **(22)** kingdom; and the tares are the children of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is Satan; and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. **(23)** And as the tares are separated and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of **(24)** this world. The Son of man shall send his angels, and separate from his kingdom **(25)**

all things that injure, and all the doers of iniquity, and they shall cast them into the **(26)** furnace of fire: and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then the righteous shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. Whosoever hath ears that hear, let him hear. **(27)** And again the kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field: that which a man found and hid; and, for his pleasure in it, went and sold all that he had, and bought that field. **(28)** And again the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a merchant seeking excellent **(29)** pearls; and when he found one pearl of great price, he went and sold everything that he had, and bought it. **(30)** And again the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was cast into the sea, and **(31)** gathered of every kind: and when it was filled, they drew it up on to the shore of the sea, and sat down to select; and the good of them they threw into the vessels, **(32)** and the bad they threw outside. Thus shall it be in the end of the world: the angels **(33)** shall go forth, and separate the wicked from among the good, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. **(34)** Jesus said unto them, Have ye understood all these things? They said unto **(35)** p. 68 him, Yea, our Lord. He said unto them, Therefore every scribe that becometh a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, who bringeth out of his treasures the new and the old. **(36, 37)** And when Jesus had finished all these parables, he removed thence, and came to his city; and he taught them in their synagogues, so that they were perplexed. **(38)** And when the sabbath came, Jesus began to teach in the synagogue; and many of **(39)** those that heard marvelled, and said, Whence came these things to this man? And many envied him and gave no heed to him, but said, What is this wisdom that is given to this man, that there should happen at his hands such as these mighty works? **(40)** Is not this a carpenter, son of a carpenter? and is not his mother called Mary? and **(41)** his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, all of them, **(42)** lo, are they not all with us? Whence hath this man all these things? And they were in doubt concerning him. And Jesus knew their opinion, and said unto them, Will ye haply” say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal first thyself: and all that **(43)** we have heard that thou didst in Capernaum, do here also in thine own city? And he said, Verily I say unto you, A prophet is not received in his own city, nor among **(44)** his brethren: for a prophet is not despised, save in his own city, and among his own **(45)** kin, and in his own house. Verily I say unto you, In the days

of Elijah the prophet, there were many widows among the children of Israel, when the heaven held back **(46)** three years and six months, and there was a great famine in all the land; and Elijah was not sent to one of them, save to Zarephath of Sidon, to a woman that was **(47)** a widow. And many lepers were among the children of Israel in the days of Elisha the prophet; but not one of them was cleansed, save Naaman the Nabathaean. **(48)** And he was not able to do there many mighty works, because of their unbelief; **(49)** except that he laid his hand upon a few of the sick, and healed them. And he marvelled **(50)** at their lack of faith. And when those who were in the synagogue heard, **(51)** they were all filled with wrath; and they rose up, and brought him forth outside the city, and brought him to the brow of the hill upon which their city was built, that **(52)** they might cast him from its summit: but he passed through among them and went away. **(53)** And he went about in the villages which were around Nazareth, and taught in their synagogues.

SECTION 18

MATTHEW 14:1-24; MARK 6:14-45; LUKE 9:7-11; JOHN 6:1-18

(1) At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and all the things which came to pass at his hand; and he marvelled, for he had obtained excellent **(2)** information concerning him. And same men said that John the Baptist was risen **(3)** from among the dead; and others said that Elijah had appeared; and others, Jeremiah **(4)**; and others, that a prophet of the old prophets was risen; and others said that he **(5)** was a prophet like one of the prophets. Herod said to his servants, This is John the Baptist, he whom I beheaded; he is risen from among the dead: therefore mighty **(6)** works result from him. For Herod himself had sent and taken John, and cast him into prison, for the sake of Herodias his brother Philip’s wife, whom he **(7)** had taken. And John said to Herod, Thou hast no authority to take the wife of thy **(8)** brother. And Herodias avoided him and wished to kill him; and she could not. **(9)** But Herod feared John, for he knew that he was a righteous man and a holy; and **(10)** he guarded him, and heard him much, and did, and obeyed him with gladness. And he wished to kill him; but he feared the people, for they adhered to him as the **(11)** prophet. And

there was a celebrated day, and Herod had made a feast for his great men on the day of his anniversary, and for the officers and for the chief men **(12)** of Galilee. And the daughter of Herodias came in and danced in the midst of the company, and pleased Herod and those that sat with him. And the king said to the **(13)** damsel, Ask of me what thou wilt, and I will give it thee. And he swear unto her, **(14)** Whatsoever thou shalt ask, I will give it thee, to the half of my kingdom. And she went out, and said unto her mother, What shall I ask him? She said unto her, The **(15)** head of John the Baptist. And immediately she came in hastily to the king, and said unto him, I desire in this hour that thou give me on a dish the head of John **(16)** the Baptist. And the king was exceeding sorry; but because of the oath and the **(17)** guests he did not wish to refuse her. But immediately the king sent an executioner, and commanded that he should bring the head of John: and he went and cut off **(18)** the head of John in the prison, and brought it on a dish, and delivered it to the **(19)** damsel; and the damsel gave it to her mother. And his disciples heard, and came and took his body, and buffed it. And they came and told Jesus what **(20)** had happened. And for this cause Herod said, I beheaded John: who **(21)** is this, of whom I hear these things. And he desired to see him. And Jesus, when he heard, removed thence in a boat to a waste place alone, to the other side of the sea of the Galilee of Tiberias. **(22)** And many saw them going, and knew them, and hastened by land from all the cities, and came thither beforehand; for they saw the signs which he was doing on the **(23, 24)** sick. And Jesus went up into the mountain, and sat there with his disciples. And **(25)** the feast of the passover of the Jews was near. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and saw great multitudes coming to him. And he was moved with compassion for them, for **(26)** they were like sheep that were without a shepherd. And he received them, and spake to them concerning the kingdom of God, and healed those who had need of healing. **(27)** And when the evening approached, his disciples came to him, and said unto **(28)** him, The place is desert, and the time is past; send away the multitudes of the people, that they may go to the towns and villages which are around us, and buy for **(29)** themselves bread; for they have nothing to eat. But he said unto them, They have **(30)** no need to go away; give ye them what may be eaten. They said unto him, We have not here enough. He said unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat? **(31, 32)** And he said that proving him; and he knew what he was resolved to do. Philip said

unto him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread would not suffice them after **(33)** every one of them hath taken a small amount. One of his disciples said unto **(34)** him (namely, Andrew the brother of Simon Cephas) , Here is a lad having five loaves **(35)** of barley and two fishes: but this amount, what is it for all these? But wilt thou that we go and buy for all the people what may be eaten? for we have no more **(36)** than these five loaves and the two fishes. And the grass was plentiful in that place. Jesus said unto them, Arrange all the people that they may sit down on the grass, **(37)** fifty people in a company. And the disciples did so. And all the people sat down **(38)** by companies, by hundreds and fifties. Then Jesus said unto them, Bring hither **(39)** those five loaves and the two fishes. And when they brought him that, Jesus took the bread and the fish, and looked to heaven, and blessed, and divided, and gave to **(40)** his disciples to set before them; and the disciples set for the multitudes the bread **(41)** and the fish; and they ate, all of them, and were satisfied. And when they were satisfied, he said unto his disciples, Gather the fragments that remain over, that nothing **(42)** be lost. And they gathered, and filled twelve baskets with fragments, being those that remained over from those which ate of the five barley loaves and the two **(43)** fishes. And those people who ate were five thousand, besides the women and children. **(44)** And straightway he pressed his disciples to go up into the ship, and that they should go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida, while he **(45)** himself should send away the multitudes. And those people who saw the sign which **(46)** Jesus did, said, Of a truth this is a prophet who hath come into the world. And Jesus knew their purpose to come and take him, and make him a king; and he left them, and went up into the mountain alone for prayer. **(47, 48)** And when the nightfall was near, his disciples went down unto the sea, and sat in a boat, and came to the side of Capernaum. And the darkness came on, and Jesus **(49)** had not come to them. And the sea was stirred up against them by reason of a violent **(50)** wind that blew. And the boat was distant from the land many furlongs, and they were much damaged by the waves, and the wind was against them.

SECTION 19

MATTHEW 14:25-33; JOHN 6:19-60; MARK 6:54-56

(1) And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus came unto them, walking upon the **(2)** water, after they had rowed with difficulty about twenty-five or thirty furlongs. **(3)** And when he drew near unto their boat, his disciples saw him walking on the water; and they were troubled, and supposed that it was a false appearance; and they cried **(4)** out from their fear. But Jesus straightway spoke unto them, and said, Take courage, **(5)** for it is I; fear not. Then Cephas answered and said unto him, My Lord, if it be thou, **(6)** bid me to come unto thee on the water. And Jesus said unto him, Come. And **(7)** Cephas went down out of the boat, and walked on the water to come unto Jesus. But when he saw the wind strong, he feared, and was on the point of sinking; **(8)** and he lifted up his voice, and said, My Lord, save me. And immediately our Lord stretched out his hand and took hold of him, and said unto him, **(9)** Thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? And when Jesus came near, he went up **(10)** unto them into the boat, he and Simon, and immediately the wind ceased. And those that were in the ship came and worshipped him, and said, Truly thou art the **(11)** Son of God. And straightway that ship arrived at the land which they made for. **(12)** And when they came out of the ship to the land, they marvelled greatly and were **(13)** perplexed in themselves: and they had not understood by means of that bread, because their heart was gross. **(14)** And when the people of that region knew of the arrival of Jesus, they made haste in all that land, and began to bring those that were diseased, born in their **(15)** beds to the place where they heard that he was. And wheresoever the place might be which he entered, of the villages or the cities, they laid the sick in the markets, and sought of him that they might touch were it only the edge of his garment: and all that touched him were healed and lived. **(16)** And on the day after that, the multitude which was standing on the shore of the sea saw that there was there no other ship save that into which the disciples had **(17)** gone up, and that Jesus went not up into the ship with his disciples (but there were other ships from Tiberias near the place where they ate the bread when Jesus blessed **(18)** it) : and when that multitude saw that Jesus was not there, nor yet his disciples, they **(19)** went up into those ships, and came to Capernaum, and

sought Jesus. And when they found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Our **(20)** Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye have not sought me because of your seeing the signs, but because of **(21)** your eating the bread and being satisfied. Serve not the food which perisheth, but the food which abideth in eternal life, which the Son of man will give unto you: him **(22)** hath God the Father sealed. They said unto him, What shall we do that we may **(23)** work the work of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of **(24)** God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. They said unto him, What sign hast thou done, that we may see, and believe in thee? what hast thou wrought? **(25)** Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it was written, Bread from heaven **(26)** gave he them to eat. Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not bread from heaven; but my Father gave you the bread of truth n from **(27)** heaven. The bread of God is that which came down from heaven and gave the **(28, 29)** world life. They said unto him, Our Lord, give us at all times this bread. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: whosoever cometh unto me shall not hunger **(30)**, and whosoever believeth in me shall not thirst for ever. But I said unto you, **(31)** Ye have seen me, and have not believed. And all that my Father hath given to me cometh unto me; and whosoever cometh unto me I shall not cast him forth without **(32)**. I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but to do the will of him **(33)** that sent me; and this is the will of him that sent me, that I should lose nothing of **(34)** that which he gave me, but raise it up in the last day. This is the will of my Father, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth in him, should have eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day. **(35)** The Jews therefore murmured against him because of his saying, I am the bread **(36)** which came down from heaven. And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? then how saith this man, I came down from **(37, 38)** heaven? Jesus answered and said unto them, Murmur not one with another. No man is able to come unto me, except the Father which sent me draw him; and I will **(39)** raise him up in the last day. It is written in the prophet, They shall all be the taught of God. Every one who heareth from the Father now, and learneth of him, cometh **(40)** unto me. No man now seeth the Father; but he that is from God, he it is that seeth **(41)** the Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me hath eternal **(42, 43)** life. I am the bread of life.

Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and **(44)** they died. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man may eat **(45)** of it, and not die. I am the bread of life which came down from heaven: and if a man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread which I shall give is my body, which I give for the life of the world. **(46)** The Jews therefore quarrelled one with another, and said, How can he give us **(47)** his body that we may eat it? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye do not eat the body of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye shall **(48)** not have life in yourselves. Whosoever eateth of my body and drinketh of my blood **(49)** hath eternal life; and I will raise him up in the last day. My body truly is meat, and **(50)** my blood truly is drink. Whosoever eateth my body and drinketh my blood abideth **(51)** in me, and I in him — as the living Father sent me, and I am alive because of the **(52)** Father; and whosoever eateth me, he also shall live because of me. This is the bread which came down from heaven: and not according as your fathers ate the **(53)** manna, and died: whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for ever. This he said in **(54)** the synagogue, when he was teaching in Capernaum. And many of his disciples, when they heard, said, This word is hard; who is he that can hear it?

SECTION 20

JOHN 6:61-71; LUKE 11:37-41; MARK 7:1-30; MATTHEW 15:3-28

(1) And Jesus knew within himself that his disciples were murmuring because of a that, and he said unto them, Doth this trouble you? What if ye should see the Son **(3)** of man then ascend to the place where he was of old? It is the spirit that quickeneth, and the body profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you are spirit **(4)** and life. But there are some of you that do not believe. And Jesus knew beforehand who they were who should not believe, and who it was that should betray **(5)** him. And he said unto them, Therefore I said unto you, No man can come unto me, if that hath not been given him by the Father. **(6)** And because of this word many of his disciples turned back and walked **(7)** not with him. And Jesus said unto the twelve, Do ye haply also wish to **(8)** go away? Simon Cephas answered and said, My Lord, to whom shall we go? thou **(9)** hast the

words of eternal life. And we have believed and known that thou art the **(10)** Messiah, the Son of the living God. Jesus said unto them, Did not I choose you, **(11)** ye company of the twelve, and of you one is a devil? He said that because of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot; for he, being of the twelve, was purposed to betray him. **(12)** And while he was speaking, one of the Pharisees came asking of him that he **(13)** would eat with him: and he went in, and reclined to meat. And that Pharisee, when **(14)** he saw it, marvelled that he had not first cleansed himself before his eating. Jesus said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees wash the outside of the cup and the dish, and ye think that ye are cleansed; but your inside is full of injustice and wickedness. **(15, 16)** Ye of little mind, did not he that made the outside make the inside? Now give what ye have in alms, and everything shall be clean unto you. **(17, 18)** And there came to him Pharisees and scribes, come from Jerusalem. And when they saw some of his disciples eating bread while they had not washed their hands, **(19)** they found fault. For all of the Jews and the Pharisees, if they wash not their **(20)** hands thoroughly, eat not; for they held to the ordinance of the elders. And they ate not what was bought from the market, except they washed it; and many other things did they keep of what they had received, such as the washing of cups, and **(21)** measures, and vessels of brass, and couches. And scribes and Pharisees asked him, **(20)** Why do thy disciples not walk according to the ordinances of the elders, but **(22)** eat bread without washing their hands? Jesus answered and said unto them, Why do ye also overstep the command of God by reason of your ordinance? **(23)** God said, Honor thy father and thy mother; and, Whosoever revileth his father and **(24)** his mother shall surely die. But ye say, If a man say to his father or to his mother, **(25)** What thou receivest from me is an offering, — and ye suffer him not to do anything **(26)** for his father or his mother; and ye make void and reject the word of God by reason of the ordinance that ye have ordained and commanded, such as the washing **(27)** of cups and measures, and what resembles that ye do much. And ye forsook **(28)** the command of God, and held to the ordinance of men. Do ye well to wrong **(29)** the command of God in order that ye may establish your ordinance? Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah the prophet prophesy concerning you, and say,

(30) This people honoreth me with its lips;
But their heart is very far from me.
(31) But in vain do they fear me,In that they teach the commands of men.

(32) And Jesus called all the multitude, and said unto them. Hear me, all of you, and **(33)** understand: nothing without the man, which then enters him, is able to defile him; **(34)** but what goeth out of him, that it is which defileth the man. He that hath ears **(35)** that hear, let him hear. Then his disciples drew near, and said unto him, Knowest **(36)** thou that the Pharisees which heard this word were angry? He answered and said unto them, Every plant which my Father which is in heaven planted not shall be **(37)** uprooted. Let them alone; for they are blind leading blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both of them shall fall into a hollow. **(38)** And when Jesus entered the house from the multitude, Simon Cephas asked him, **(39)** and said unto him, My Lord, explain to us that parable. He said unto them, Do ye also thus not understand? Know ye not that everything that entereth into the **(40)** man from without cannot defile him; because it entereth not into his heart; it entereth into his stomach only, and thence is cast forth in the cleansing which maketh **(41)** clean all the food? The thing which goeth forth from the mouth of the man proceedeth **(42)** from his heart, and it is that which defileth the man. From within the **(43)** heart of men proceed evil thoughts, fornication, adultery, theft, false witness, murder, injustice, wickedness, deceit, stupidity, evil eye, calumny, pride, foolishness: **(44)** these evils all of them from within proceed from the heart, and they are the things **(45)** which defile the man: but if a man eat while he washeth not his hands, he is not defiled. **(46)** And Jesus went out thence, and came to the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And he entered into a certain house, and desired that no man should know it; and **(47)** he could not be hid. But straightway a Canaanitish woman, whose daughter had an **(48, 49)** unclean spirit, heard of him. And that woman was a Gentile of Emesa of Syria. And she came out after him, crying out, and saying, Have mercy upon me, my Lord, thou **(50)** son of David; for my daughter is seized in an evil way by Satan. And he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, and said, Send **(51)** her away: for she crieth after us. He answered and said unto them, I was **(52)** not sent except to the sheep that are gone astray of the house of Israel. But she came and

worshipped him, and said, My Lord, help me, have mercy upon me. **(53)** Jesus said unto her, It is not seemly that the children's bread should be taken and **(54)** thrown to the dogs. But she said, Yea, my Lord: the dogs also eat of the crumbs **(55)** that fall from their masters' tables, and live. Then said Jesus unto her, O woman, **(56)** great is thy faith: it shall be unto thee as thou hast desired. Go then thy way; and **(57)** because of this word, the devil is gone out of thy daughter. And her daughter was **(58)** healed in that hour. And that woman went away to her house, and found her daughter laid upon the bed, and the devil gone out of her.

SECTION 21

MARK 7:31-37; JOHN 4:4-45

(1) And Jesus went out again from the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and came to the **(2)** sea of Galilee, towards the borders of Decapolis. And they brought unto him one dumb and deaf, and entreated him that he would lay his hand upon him and heal **(3)** him. And he drew him away from the multitude, and went away alone, and spat **(4)** upon his fingers, and thrust them into his ears, and touched his tongue; and looked **(5)** to heaven, and sighed, and said unto him, Be opened. And in that hour his ears **(6)** were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he spake with ease. And Jesus charged them much that they should not tell this to any man: but the more **(7)** he charged them, the mare they increased in publishing, and marvelled much, and said, This man doeth everything well: he made the deaf to hear, and those that lacked speech to speak. **(8, 9)** And while he was passing through the land of Samaria, he came to one of the cities of the Samaritans, called Sychar, beside the field which Jacob gave to Joseph to **(10)** his son. And there was there a spring of water of Jacob's. And Jesus was fatigued from the exertion of the way, and sat at the spring. And the time was about the **(11)** sixth hour. And a woman of Samaria came to draw water; and Jesus said unto **(12)** her, Give me water, that I may drink. And his disciples had entered into the city **(13)** to buy for themselves food. And that Samaritan woman said unto him, How dost thou, being a Jew, ask me to give thee to drink, while I am a Samaritan woman? **(14)** (And the Jews mingle not with the Samaritans.) Jesus answered and said unto her, If

thou knewest the gift of God, and who this is that said unto thee, Give me **(15)** to drink; thou wouldest ask him, and he would give thee the water of life. That woman said unto him, My Lord, thou hast no bucket, and the well is deep: from **(16)** whence hast thou the water of life? Can it be that thou art greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well, and drank from it, and his children, and his sheep? **(17)** Jesus answered and said unto her, Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst **(18)** again: but whosoever drinketh of the water which I shall give him shall not thirst for ever: but the water which I shall give him shall be in him a spring of water springing **(19)** up unto eternal life. That woman said unto him, My Lord, give me of this water, that **(20)** I may not thirst again, neither come and draw water from here. Jesus said unto her, **(21)** Go and call thy husband, and come hither. She said unto him, I have no **(22)** husband. Jesus said unto her, Thou saidst well, I have no husband: five husbands hast thou had, and this man whom thou hast now is not thy husband; and **(23)** in this thou saidst truly. That woman said unto him, My Lord, I perceive thee to **(24)** be a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jerusalem **(25)** is the place in which worship must be. Jesus said unto her, Woman, believe me, an hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, shall ye worship **(26)** the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not: but we worship that which **(27)** we know: for salvation is of the Jews. But an hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: and the Father also **(28)** seeketh such as these worshippers. For God is a Spirit: and they that worship him **(29)** must worship him in spirit and in truth. That woman said unto him, I know that **(30)** the Messiah cometh: and when he is come, he will teach us everything. Jesus said unto her, I that speak unto thee am he. **(31)** And while he was speaking, his disciples came; and they wondered how he would speak with a woman; but not one of them said unto him, What seekest thou? or, **(32)** What speakest thou with her? And the woman left her waterpot, and went to the **(33)** city, and said to the people, Come, and see a man who told me all that ever I did: **(34)** perhaps then he is the Messiah. And people went out from the city, and came to **(35)** him. And in the mean while his disciples besought him, and said unto him, Our **(36, 37)** master, eat. And he said unto them, I have food to eat that ye know not. And the disciples said amongst themselves, Can any one have brought him aught to eat? **(38)** Jesus said unto them,

My food is to do the will of him that sent me, and to accomplish **(39)** his work. Said ye not that after four months cometh the harvest? behold, I therefore say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and behold the lands, **(40)** that they have become white, and the harvest is already come. And he that reapeth receiveth his wages, and gathereth the fruit of eternal life; and the sower and **(41)** the reaper rejoice together. For in this is found the word of truth, One soweth, and **(42)** another reapeth. And I sent you to reap that in which ye have not labored: others labored, and ye have entered on their labor. **(43)** And from that city many of the Samaritans believed in him because of the words **(44)** of that woman, who testified and said, He told me all that ever I did. And when those Samaritans came unto him, they besought him to abide with them; and he **(45, 46)** abode with them two days. And many believed in him because of his word; and they said to that woman, Now not because of thy saying have we believed in him: we have heard and known that this truly is the Messiah, the Savior of the world. **(47, 48)** And after two days Jesus went out thence and departed to Galilee. And Jesus **(49)** testified that a prophet is not honored in his own city.And when he came to Galilee, the Galilaeans received him.

SECTION 22

LUKE 5:12-16; MARK 1:4145; JOHN 5:1-47

(1) And when Jesus came to a certain village, there drew near to him a leper, and fell at his feet, and besought him, and said unto him, If thou wilt, thou art able to **(2)** cleanse me. And Jesus had mercy upon him, and stretched forth his hand, and **(3)** touched him, and said, I will cleanse thee. And immediately his leprosy departed **(4)** from him, and he was cleansed. And he sternly charged him, and sent him out, **(5)** and said unto him, See that thou tell not any man: but go and shew thy- self to the priests, and offer an offering for thy cleansing as Moses commanded **(6)** for their testimony. But he, when he went out, began to publish much, and spread abroad the news, so that Jesus could not enter into any of the cities openly, for the extent to which the report of him spread, but he remained without in a desert **(7)** place. And much people came unto him from one place and another, to hear **(8)** his word, and that they might be healed of

their pains. And he used to withdraw from them into the desert, and pray. **(9)** And after that, was the feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And there was in Jerusalem a place prepared for bathing, which was called in **(11)** Hebrew the House of Mercy, having five porches. And there were laid in them much people of the sick, and blind, and lame, and paralysed, waiting for the moving of the water. And the angel from time to time went down into the place of bathing, and moved the water; and the first that went down after the moving of **(13)** the water, every pain that he had was healed. And a man was there who had a **(14)** disease for thirty-eight years. And Jesus saw this man laid, and knew that he had **(15)** been thus a long time; and he said unto him, Wouldest thou be made whole? That diseased one answered and said, Yea, my Lord, I have no man, when the water moveth, to put me into the bathing-place; but when I come, another goeth down before **(16, 17)** me. Jesus said unto him, Rise, take thy bed, and walk. And immediately that man was healed; and he rose, and carried his bed, and walked. **(18)** And that day was a sabbath. And when the Jews saw that healed one, they said **(19)** unto him, It is a sabbath: thou hast no authority to carry thy bed. And he answered and said unto them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take thy bed, **(20)** and walk. They asked him therefore, Who is this man that said unto thee, **(21)** Take thy bed, and walk? But he that was healed knew not who it was; for Jesus had removed from that place to another, because of the press of the great multitude **(22)** which was in that place. And after two days Jesus happened upon him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art whole: sin not again, lest there come upon **(23)** thee what is worse than the first. And that man went, and said to the Jews that it **(24)** was Jesus that had healed him. And because of that the Jews persecuted Jesus and **(25)** sought to kill him, because he was doing this on the sabbath. And Jesus said unto **(26)** them, My Father worketh until now, and I also work. And because of this especially the Jews sought to kill him, not because he profaned the sabbath only; but for his saying also that God was his Father, and his making himself equal with God. **(27)** Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot do anything of himself, but what be seeth the Father do; what the Father doeth, **(28)** that the Son also doeth like him. The Father loveth his Son, and everything that he doeth he sheweth him: and more than these works will he shew him, that ye **(29)** may marvel. And as the Father

raiseth the dead and giveth them life, so the Son **(30)** also giveth life to whomsoever he will. And the Father judgeth no man, but hath **(31)** given all judgement unto the Son; that every man may honor the Son, as he honoreth the Father. And he that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father which **(32)** sent him. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal. life, and cometh not into judgement, but passeth from **(33)** death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, An hour shall come, and now is also, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and those **(34)** which hear shall live. And as the Father hath life in himself, likewise he gave to **(35)** the Son also that he might have life in himself, and authority to do judgement also, **(36)** because he is the Son of man. Marvel not then at that: I mean the coming of the hour when all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice, and shall come forth: **(37)** those that have done good, to the resurrection of life; and those that have done evil deeds, to the resurrection of judgement. **(38)** I am not able of myself to do anything; but as I hear, I judge: and my judgement **(39)** is just; I seek not my own will, but the will of him that sent me. I bear witness **(40)** of myself, and so a my witness is not true. It is another that beareth witness **(41)** of me; and I know that the witness which he beareth of me is true. Ye have sent **(42)** unto John, and he hath born witness of the truth. But not from man do I seek **(43)** witness; but I say that ye may live. That was a lamp which shineth and **(44)** giveth light: and ye were pleased to glory now in his light. But I have witness greater than that of John: the works which my Father hath given me to accomplish, **(45)** those works which I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. And the Father which sent me, he hath born witness of me. Ye have neither heard his **(46)** voice at any time, nor seen his appearance. And his word abideth not in you; because **(47)** in him whom he hath sent ye do not believe. Search the scriptures, in which ye rejoice **(48)** that ye have eternal life; and they bear witness of me; and ye do not wish to come to **(49, 50)** me, that ye may have eternal life. I seek not praise of men. But I know **(51)** you, that the love of God is not in you. I am come in the name of my Father, and ye received me not; but if another come in his own name, that one will **(52)** ye receive. And how can ye believe, while ye receive praise one from another, and **(53)** praise from God, the One, ye seek not? Can it be that ye think that I will accuse you before the Father? Ye have one that accuseth you, Moses, in whom ye have **(54)** rejoiced. If ye believed Moses, ye

would believe me also; Moses wrote of me. **(55)** And if ye believed not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

SECTION 23

MATTHEW 15:29-16:23; JOHN 4:45; MARK 8:3-38

(1) And Jesus departed thence, and came to the side of the sea of Galilee, and went **(2)** up into the mountain, and sat there. And there came unto him great multitudes, having with them lame, and blind, and dumb, and maimed, and many others, and **(3)** they cast them at the feet of Jesus: for they had seen all the signs which he did in **(4)** Jerusalem, when they were gathered at the feast. And he healed them all. And those multitudes marvelled when they saw dumb men speak, and maimed men healed, and lame men walk, and blind men see; and they praised the God of Israel. **(5)** And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, I have compassion on this multitude, because of their continuing with me three days, having nothing to eat; and to send them away fasting I am not willing, lest they faint in the way, some of them haying **(6)** come from far. His disciples said unto him, Whence have we in the desert **(7)** bread wherewith to satisfy all this multitude? Jesus said unto them, How **(8)** many loaves have ye? They said unto him, Seven, and a few small fishes. And he **(9)** commanded the multitudes to sit down upon the ground; and he took those seven loaves and the fish, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before **(10)** them; and the disciples set before the multitudes. And they all ate, and were satisfied: and they took that which remained over of the fragments, seven basketfuls. **(11)** And the people that ate were four thousand men, besides the women and children. **(12)** And when the multitudes departed, he went up into the boat, and came to the borders of Magada. **(13)** And the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, and began to seek a discussion with him. And they asked him to shew them a sign from heaven, tempting him. **(14)** And Jesus sighed within himself, and said, What sign seeketh this evil and adulterous generation? It seeketh a sign, and it shall not be given a sign, except the sign **(15)** of Jonah the prophet. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not be given a **(16)** sign. And he left them, and went up into the boat, and went away to that side. **(17)**

And his disciples forgot to take with them bread, and there was not with them **(18)** in the boat, not even one loaf. And Jesus charged them, and said, Take heed, and guard yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and from the **(19)** leaven of Herod. And they reflected within themselves that they had taken with them **(20)** no bread. And Jesus knew, and said unto them, Why think ye within yourselves, O ye of little faith, and are anxious, because ye have no bread? until now do ye not perceive **(21)**, neither understand? is your heart yet hard? And have ye eyes, and yet see not? **(22)** and have ye ears, and yet hear not? and do ye not remember when I brake those five loaves for five thousand? and how many baskets full of broken **(23)** pieces took ye up? They said, Twelve. He said unto them, And the seven also for four thousand: how many baskets full of broken pieces took ye up? They **(24)** said, Seven. He said unto them, How have ye not understood that I spake not to you because of the bread, but that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees **(25)** and Sadducees? Then they understood that he spake, not that they should beware of the leaven of the bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees, which he called leaven. **(26)** And after that, he came to Bethsaida. And they brought to him a certain blind **(27)** man, and besought him that he would touch him. And he took the hand of that blind man, and led him out without the village, and spat in his eyes, and laid his **(28)** hand on him, and asked him, What seest thou? And that blind man looked intently **(29)**, and said unto him, I see men as trees walking. And he placed his hand **(30)** again on his eyes; and they were restored, and he saw everything clearly. And he sent him to his house, and said, Do not enter even into the village, nor tell any man in the village. **(31)** And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, to the villages of Caesarea Philippi. **(32)** And while he was going in the way, and his disciples alone, he asked his disciples, **(33)** and said, What do men say of me that I am, the Son of man? They said unto him, Some say, John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the **(34, 35)** prophets. He said unto them, And ye, what say ye that I am? Simon Cephas answered **(36)** and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God. Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon son of Jonah: flesh and **(37)** blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee also, that thou art Cephas, and on this rock will I build my church; and the **(38)** gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. To thee will I give

the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and **(39)** whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. And he sternly charged his disciples, and warned them that they should not tell any man concerning **(40)** him, that he was the Messiah. And henceforth began Jesus to shew to his disciples **(41)** that he was determined to go to Jerusalem, and suffer much, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and of the scribes, and be killed, and on the **(42)** third day rise. And he was speaking plainly. And Simon Cephas, as one grieved **(43)** for him, said, Far be thou, my Lord, from that. And he turned, and looked upon **(44)** his disciples, and rebuked Simon, and said, Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou art a stumblingblock unto me: for thou thinkest not of what pertains to God, but of what pertains to men. **(45)** And Jesus called the multitudes with his disciples, and said unto them, Whosoever would come after me, let him deny himself, and take his cross every day, and **(46)** come after me. And whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever **(47)** loseth his life for my sake, and for the sake of my gospel, shall save it. What shall **(48)** a man profit, if he gain all the world, and destroy his own life, or lose it? or what **(49)** will a man give in ransom for his life? Whosoever shall deny me and my sayings in this sinful and adulterous generation, the Son of man also will **(50)** deny him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. For the Son of man is about to come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels; and then shall he reward each man according to his works.

SECTION 24

MARK 9:1-31; MATTHEW 16:23-17:23; LUKE 9:2945

(1) And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be here now some standing that shall not taste death, until they see the kingdom of God come with strength, and the Son of man who cometh in his kingdom. **(2)** And after six days Jesus took Simon Cephas, and James, and John his brother, **(3)** and brought them up into a high mountain, the three of them only. And while they **(4)** were praying, Jesus changed, and became after the fashion of another person; and his face shone like the sun, and his raiment was

very white like the snow, and as **(5)** the light of lightning, so that nothing on earth can whiten like it. And there appeared **(6)** unto him Moses and Elijah talking to Jesus. And they thought that the time **(7)** of his decease which was to be accomplished at Jerusalem was come. And Simon and those that were with him were heavy in the drowsiness of steep; and with effort they roused themselves, and saw his glory, and those two men that were standing with him. **(8)** And when they began to depart from him, Simon said unto Jesus, My **(9)** Master, it is good for us to be here: and if thou wilt, we will make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah; not knowing **(10)** what he said, because of the fear which took possession of them. And while he **(11)** was yet saying that, a bright cloud overshadowed them. And when they saw Moses **(12)** and Elijah that they had entered into that cloud, they feared again. And a voice was heard out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, whom I have chosen; **(13)** hear ye therefore him. And when this voice was heard, Jesus was found alone. **(14)** And the disciples, when they heard the voice, fell on their faces from the fear which **(15)** took hold of them. And Jesus came and touched them and said, Arise, be not **(16)** afraid. And they lifted up their eyes, and saw Jesus as he was. **(17)** And when they went down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, and said unto them, Tell not what ye have seen to any man, until the Son of man rise from **(18)** among the dead. And they kept the word within themselves, and told no man in **(19)** those days what they had seen. And they reflected among themselves, What is this **(20)** word which he spake unto us, I, when I am risen from among the dead? And his disciples asked him, and said, What is that which the scribes say, then, that Elijah **(21)** must first come? He said unto them, Elijah cometh first to set in order everything, and as it was written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things, **(22)** and be rejected. But I say unto you, that Elijah is come, and they knew him not, and have done unto him whatsoever they desired, as it was written of him. **(23, 24)** In like manner the Son of man is to suffer of them. Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them concerning John the Baptist. **(25)** And on that day whereon they came down from the mountain, there met him a multitude of many people standing with his disciples, and the scribes were discussing **(26)** with them. And the people, when they saw Jesus, were perplexed, and in the **(27)** midst of their joy hastened and saluted him. And on that day came certain of the Pharisees, and said unto him, Get thee out,

and go hence; for Herod seeketh **(28)** to kill thee. Jesus said unto them, Go ye and say to this fox, Behold, I am casting out demons, and I heal today and tomorrow, and on the third day I am perfected. **(29)** Nevertheless I must be watchful a today and tomorrow, and on the last day I shall depart; for it cannot be that a prophet perish outside of Jerusalem. **(30)** And after that, there came to him a man from that multitude, and fell upon his knees, and said unto him, I beseech thee, my Lord, look upon my son; he is my **(31)** only child: and the spirit cometh upon him suddenly. A lunacy hath come upon **(32)** him, and he meeteth with evils. And when it cometh upon him, it beateth him about; **(33)** and he foameth, and gnasheth his teeth, and wasteth; and many times it hath thrown him into the water and into the fire to destroy him, and it hardly leaveth him after **(34)** bruising him. And I brought him near to thy disciples, and they could **(35)** not heal him. Jesus answered and said, O faithless and perverse generation, till when shall I be with you? and till when shall I bear with you? bring thy son **(36)** hither. And he brought him unto him: and when the spirit saw him, immediately **(37)** it beat him about; and he fell upon the ground, and was raging and foaming. And Jesus asked his father, How long is the time during which he hath been thus? He **(38)** said unto him, From his youth until now. But, my Lord, help me wherein thou **(39)** canst, and have mercy upon me. Jesus said unto him, If thou canst believe! All **(40)** things are possible to him that believeth. And immediately the father of the child **(41)** cried out, weeping, and said, I believe, my Lord; help my lack of faith. And when Jesus saw the hastening of the people, and their coming at the sound, he rebuked that unclean spirit, and said to it, Thou dumb spirit that speakest not, I command **(42)** thee, come out of him, and enter not again into him. And that spirit, devil, cried out much, and bruised him, and came out; and that child fell as one dead, and **(43)** many thought that he had died. But Jesus took him by his hand, and raised him **(44)** up, and gave him to his father; and that child was healed from that hour. And the people all marvelled at the greatness of God. **(45)** And when Jesus entered into the house, his disciples came, and asked him **(46)** privately, and said unto him, Why were we not able to heal him? Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief. Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence; **(47)** and it shall remove; and nothing shall overcome you. But it is impossible to cast out this kind by anything except by fasting and prayer. **(48)** And when he went forth

thence, they passed through Galilee: and he would not **(49)** that any man should know it. And he taught his disciples, and said unto them, **(50)** Keep ye these sayings in your ears and your hearts: for the Son of man is to be delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, he **(51)** shall rise on the third day. But they knew not the word which he spake unto them, for it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it; and they feared to **(52)** ask him about this word. And they were exceeding sorrowful.

SECTION 25

LUKE 9:46-50; MARK 9:33-10:16; MATTHEW 17:24-19:13

(1) And in that day this thought presented itself to his disciples, and they said, which **(2)** haply should be the greatest among them. And when they came to Capernaum, and entered into the house, Jesus said unto them, What were ye considering in the **(3)** way among yourselves? And they were silent because they had considered that matter. **(4)** And when Simon went forth without, those that received two dirhams for the tribute came to Cephas, and said unto him, Doth your master not give his two **(5)** dirhams? He said unto them, Yea. And when Cephas entered the house, Jesus anticipated him, and said unto him, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive custom and tribute? from their sons, or from **(6)** strangers? Simon said unto him, From strangers. Jesus said unto him, Children then are free. Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, **(7)** Give thou also unto them, like the stranger. But, lest it trouble them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook; and the first fish that cometh up, open its mouth, and thou shall find a staler: take therefore that, and give for me and thee. **(8)** And in that hour came the disciples to Jesus, and said unto him, Who, thinkest **(9)** thou, is greater in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus knew the thought of their heart, and called a child, and set him in the midst, and took him in his arms, and **(10)** said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye do not return, and become as children, **(11)** ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven. Every one that shall receive in my name such as this child hath received me: and whosoever receiveth me receiveth **(12)** not me, but him that sent me. And he who is little in

your company, the same **(13)** shall be great. But whosoever shall injure one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a great millstone should be hanged about his neck, and he should be drowned in the depths of the sea. **(14)** John answered and said, Our Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; **(15)** and we prevented him, because he followed not thee with us. Jesus said unto them, Prevent him not; for no man doeth powers in my name, and can hasten to speak evil **(16, 17)** of me. Every one who is not in opposition to you is with you. Woe unto the world because of trials! but woe unto that man by whose hand the trials come **(18)** If thy hand or thy foot injure thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee to enter into life being halt or maimed, and not that thou shouldest have two hands or two feet, and fall into the hell of fire that burneth for ever; **(19, 20)** where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. And if thine eye seduce **(21)** thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee to enter the kingdom of God with one eye, than that thou shouldest have two eyes, and fall into the **(22, 23)** fire of Gehenna; where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. Every **(24)** one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. How good **(25)** is salt! but if the salt also be tasteless, wherewith shall it be salted? It is fit neither for the land nor for dung, but they cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him **(26)** hear. Have ye salt in yourselves. and be in peace one with another. **(27)** And he arose from thence, and came to the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan: and there went unto him thither great multitudes, and he healed them; and he taught **(28)** them also, according to his custom. And the Pharisees came unto him, tempting **(29)** him, and asking him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? He said, What **(30)** did Moses command you? They said, Moses made it allowable for us, saying, Whosoever **(31)** will, let him write a writing of divorcement, and put away his wife. Jesus answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, He that made them from the beginning **(32)** made them male and female, and said, For this reason shall the man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife; and they both shall be one body? **(33)** So then they are not twain, but one body; the thing, then, which God hath **(34)** joined together, let no man put asunder. And those Pharisees said unto him, Why did Moses consent that a man should give a writing of divorcement and put her away? **(35)** Jesus said unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts gave you leave **(36)** to

divorce your wives; but in the beginning it was not so. I say unto you, Whosoever putteth away his wife without fornication, and marrieth another, hath exposed **(37)** her to adultery. And his disciples, when he entered the house, asked him again **(38)** about that. And he said unto them, Every one who putteth away his wife, and **(39)** marrieth another, hath exposed her to adultery. And any woman that leaveth her husband, and becometh another's, hath committed adultery. And whosoever marrieth **(40)** her that is divorced hath committed adultery. And his disciples said unto him, If there be between the man and the woman such a case as this, it is not good for **(41)** a man to marry. He said unto them, Not every man can endure this saying, except **(42)** him to whom it is given. There are eunuchs which from their mother's womb were born so; and there are eunuchs which through men became eunuchs; and there are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He that is able to be content, let him be content. **(43)** Then they brought to him children, that he should lay his hand upon them, and **(44)** pray: and his disciples were rebuking those that were bringing them. And Jesus saw, and it was distressing to him; and he said unto them, Suffer the children to come unto me, and prevent them not; for those that are like these have **(45)** the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth not the **(46)** kingdom of God as this child, shall not enter it. And he took them in his arms, and laid his hand upon them, and blessed them.

SECTION 26

LUKE 15:1-16:12; MATTHEW 18:13-14

(1, 2) And there came unto him publicans and sinners to hear his word. And the scribes and the Pharisees murmured, and said, This man receiveth sinners, and **(3)** eateth with them. And Jesus, when he beheld their murmuring, spake unto them **(4)** this parable: What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if one of them were lost, would not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go and seek the straying one **(5)** till he found it? Verily I say unto you, When he findeth it, he will rejoice over it **(6)** more than over the ninety-nine that went not astray; and bear it on his shoulders, and bring it to his house, and call his friends and neighbors, and say unto them,

(7) Rejoice with me, since I have found my straying sheep. So your Father which is in heaven willeth not that one of these little ones that have strayed should perish, **(8)** and he seeketh for them repentance. I say unto you, Thus there shall be rejoicing in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance. **(9)** And what woman having ten drachmas would lose one of them, and not light a **(10)** lamp, and sweep the house, and seek it with care till she found it; and when she found it, call her friends and neighbors, and say unto them, Rejoice with me, as I **(11)** have found my drachma that was lost? I say unto you, Thus there shall be joy before the angels of God over the one sinner that repenteth, more than over the ninety-nine righteous persons that do not need repentance. **(12, 13)** And Jesus spoke unto them also another parable: A man had two sons: and the younger son said unto him, My father, give me my portion that belongeth to **(14)** me of thy goods. And he divided between them his property. And after a few days the younger son gathered everything that belonged to him, and went into a **(15)** far country, and there squandered his property by living prodigally. And when he had exhausted everything he had, there occurred a great dearth in that country. **(16)** And when he was in want, he went and joined himself to one of the people of a city **(17)** of that country; and that man sent him into the field to feed the swine. And he used to long to fill his belly with the carob that those swine were eating: and no man **(18)** gave him. And when he returned unto himself, he said, How many hired servants now in my father’s house have bread enough and to spare, while I here perish with **(19)** hunger! I will arise and go to my father’s house, and say unto him, My father, I **(20)** have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy now to be called thy **(21)** son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. But his father saw him while he was at a distance, and was moved with compassion **(22)** for him, and ran, and fell on his breast, and kissed him. And his son said unto him, My father, I have sinned in heaven and before thee, and am not worthy to be **(23)** called thy son. His father said unto his servants, Bring forth a stately robe, and put **(24)** it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and put on him shoes on his feet: and bring and **(25)** slay a fatted ox, that we may eat and make merry: for this my son was dead, and is **(26)** alive; and was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry. Now his elder son was in the field; and when he came and drew near to the house, **(27)** he heard the

sound of many singing. And he called one of the lads, and asked him **(28)** what this was. He said unto him, Thy brother hath arrived; and thy father hath **(29)** slain a fatted ox, since he hath received him safe and sound. And he was angry, **(30)** and would not enter; so his father went out, and besought him to enter. And he said to his father, How many years do I serve thee in bondage, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine; and thou hast never given me a kid, that I might **(31)** make merry with my friends? but this thy son, when he had squandered thy **(32)** property with harlots, and come, thou hast slain for him a fatted ox. His father said unto him, My son, thou art at all times with me, and everything I have is **(33)** thine. It behoveth thee to rejoice and make merry, since this thy brother was dead, and is alive; and was lost, and is found. **(34)** And he spake a parable unto his disciples: There was a rich man, and he had **(35)** a steward; and he was accused to him that he had squandered his property. So his Lord called him, and said unto him, What is this that I hear regarding thee? Give me the account of thy stewardship; for it is now impossible that thou shouldest **(36)** be a steward for me. The steward said within himself, What shall I do, seeing that my Lord taketh from me the stewardship? To dig I am not able; and to beg I **(37)** am ashamed. I know what I will do, that, when I go out of the stewardship, they **(38)** may receive me into their houses. And he called one after another of his Lord's **(39)** debtors, and said to the first, How much owest thou my Lord? He said unto him, An hundred portions of oil. He said unto him, Take thy writing, and sit down, and write **(40)** quickly fifty portions. And he said to the next, And thou, how much owest thou my Lord? He said unto him, An hundred cors of wheat. He said unto him, Take **(41)** thy writing, and sit down, and write eighty cors. And our Lord commended the sinful steward because he had done a wise deed; for the children **(42)** of this world are wiser than the children of the light in this their age. And I also say unto you, Make unto yourselves friends with the wealth of this unrighteousness; **(43)** so that, when it is exhausted, they may receive you into their tents for ever. He who is faithful in a little is faithful also in much: and he who is unrighteous in a **(44)** little is unrighteous also in much. If then in the wealth of unrighteousness ye were **(45)** not trustworthy, who will intrust you with the truth? If ye are not found faithful in what does not belong to you, who will give you what belongeth to you?

SECTION 27

MATTHEW 18:10-35; LUKE 12:47-13:17

(1) Therefore the kingdom of heaven is like a certain king, who would make a **(2)** reckoning with his servants. And when he began to make it, they brought to him **(3)** one who owed him ten talents. And because he had not wherewith to pay, his Lord ordered that he should be sold, he, and his wife, and children, and all that he **(4)** had, and payment be made. So that servant fell down and worshipped him, and said unto him, My Lord, have patience with me, and I shall pay thee everything. **(5)** And the Lord of that servant had compassion, and released him, and forgave him his **(6)** debt. And that servant went out, and found one of his fellow-servants, who owed him a hundred pence; and he took him, and dealt severely with him, and said **(7)** unto him, Give me what thou owest. Sothe fellow-servant fell down at his **(8)** feet, and besought him, and said, Grant me respite, and I will pay thee. And he would not; but took him, and cast him into prison, till he should give him his debt. **(9)** And when their fellow-servants saw what happened, it distressed them much; and **(10)** they came and told their Lord of all that had taken place. Then his Lord called him, and said unto him, Thou wicked servant, all that debt I forgave thee, because **(11)** thou besoughtest me: was it not then incumbent on thee also to have mercy on thy **(12)** fellow-servant, as I had mercy on thee? And his Lord became wroth, and delivered **(13)** him to the scourgers, till he should pay all that he owed. So shall my Father which is in heaven do unto you, if one forgive not his brother his wrong conduct from **(14)** his heart. Take heed within yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he **(15)** repent, forgive him. And if he act wrongly towards thee seven times in a day, and on that day return seven times unto thee, and say, I repent towards thee; forgive him. **(16)** And if thy brother act wrongly towards thee, go and reprove him between thee and **(17)** him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two, and so at the mouth of two or three every saying shall **(18)** be established. And if he listen not to these also, tell the congregation; and if he listen not even to the congregation, let him be unto thee as a publican and a Gentile **(19)**. Verily I say unto you, All that ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: **(20)** and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. I say unto you

also, If two of you agree on earth to ask, everything shall be granted them from my Father **(21)** which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, there **(22)** amlamongst them. Then Cephas drew near to him, and said unto him, My Lord, how many times, if my brother act wrongly towards me, should I forgive him? **(23)** until seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven; but, Until seventy **(24)** times seven, seven. And the servant that knoweth his Lord's will, and maketh not **(25)** ready for him according to his will, shall meet with much punishment; but he that knoweth not, and doeth something for which he meriteth punishment, shall meet with slight punishment. Every one to whom much hath been given, much shall be asked of him; and he that hath had much committed to him, much shall be **(26)** required at his hand. I came to cast fire upon the earth; and I would that it had **(27)** been kindled already. And I have a baptism to be baptized with, and greatly am **(28)** I straitened till it be accomplished. See that ye despise not one of these little ones that believe in me. Verily I say unto you, Their angels at all times see the **(29)** face of my Father which is in heaven. The Son of man came to save the thing which was lost. **(30)** And after that, Jesus walked in Galilee; and he did not like to walk in Judaea, **(31)** because the Jews sought to kill him. And there came people who told him of **(32)** the Galilaeans, those whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. Jesus answered and said unto them, Do ye imagine that those Galilaeans were sinners **(33)** more than all the Galilaeans, so that this thing has come upon them? Nay. Verily I say unto you now, that ye shall all also, if ye repent not, likewise perish. **(34)** Or perchance those eighteen on whom the palace fell in Siloam, and slew them, do ye imagine that they were to be condemned more than all the people that dwell **(35)** in Jerusalem? Nay. Verily I say unto you, If ye do not all repent, ye shall perish like them. **(36)** And he spake unto them this parable: A man had a fig tree planted in his vine-yard **(37)**; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. So he said to the husbandman, Lo, three years do I come and seek fruit on this fig tree, and find **(38)** none: cut it down; why doth it render the ground unoccupied? The husbandman said unto him, My Lord, leave it this year also, that I may dig about it, and dung **(39)** it; then if it bear fruit — ! and if not, then cut it down in the coming year. **(40)** And when Jesus was teaching on the sabbath day in one of the synagogues, **(41)** there was there a woman that had a spirit of disease eighteen years; and she was **(42)**

bowed down, and could not straighten herself at all. And Jesus saw her, and called **(43)** her, and said unto her, Woman, be loosed from thy disease. And he put his hand **(44)** upon her; and immediately she was straightened, and praised God. And the chief of the synagogue answered with anger, because Jesus had healed on a sabbath, and said unto the multitudes, There are six days in which work ought to be done; **(45)** come in them and be healed, and not on the sabbath day. But Jesus answered and said unto him, Ye hypocrites, doth not each of you on the sabbath day loose **(46)** his ox or his ass from the manger, and go and water it? Ought not this woman, who is a daughter of Abraham, and whom the devil hath bound eighteen years, **(47)** to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day? And when he said this, they were all put to shame, those standing, who were opposing him: and all the people were pleased with all the wonders that proceeded from his hand.

SECTION 28

JOHN 7:2-31; MATTHEW 19:1-22; LUKE 12:13-21

(1, 2) And at that time the feast of tabernacles of the Jews drew near. So the brethren of Jesus said unto him, Remove now hence, and go to Judaea, that **(3)** thy disciples may see the deeds that thou doest. For no man doeth a thing secretly **(4)** and wisheth to be apparent. If thou doest this, shew thyself to the world. For **(5)** up to this time not even the brethren of Jesus believed on him. Jesus said unto them, My time till now has not arrived; but as for you, your time is alway ready. **(6)** It is not possible for the world to hate you; but me it hateth, for I bear witness **(7)** against it, that its deeds are evil. As for you, go ye up unto this feast: but I go **(8)** not up now to this feast; for my time has not yet been completed. He said this, and remained behind in Galilee. **(9)** But when his brethren went up unto the feast, he journeyed from Galilee, and **(10)** came to the borders of Judaea, to the country beyond Jordan; and there came after **(11)** him great multitudes, and he healed them all there. And he went out, and proceeded **(12)** to the feast, not openly, but as one that conceals himself. And the Jews sought him **(13)** at the feast, and said, In what place is this man? And there occurred much murmuring there in the great multitude that came to

the feast, on his account. For **(14)** some said, He is good: and others said, Nay, but he leadeth the people astray. But no man spake of him openly for fear of the Jews. **(15)** But when the days of the feast of tabernacles were half over, Jesus went **(16)** up to the temple, and taught. And the Jews wondered, and said, How doth **(17)** this man know writing, seeing he hath not learned? Jesus answered and said, My doc- **(18)** trine is not mine, but his that sent me. Whoever wisheth to do his will understandeth my doctrine? whether it be from God, or whether I speak of mine own accord. **(19)** Whosoever speaketh of his own accord seeketh praise for himself; but whosoever seeketh praise for him that sent him, he is true, and unrighteousness in his heart **(20)** there is none. Did not Moses give you the law, and no man of you keepeth the **(21)** law? Why seek ye to kill me? The multitude answered and said unto him, Thou **(22)** hast demons: who seeketh to kill thee? Jesus answered and said unto them, I did **(23)** one deed, and ye all marvel because of this. Moses hath given you circumcision (not because it is from Moses, but it is from the fathers) ; and ye on the sabbath **(24)** circumcise a man. And if a man is circumcised on the sabbath day, that the law of Moses may not be broken; are ye angry at me, because I healed on the sabbath **(25)** day the whole man? Judge not with hypocrisy, but judge righteous judgement. **(26)** And some people from Jerusalem said, Is not this he whom they seek to slay? **(27)** And lo, he discourseth with them openly, and they say nothing unto him. Think **(28)** you that our elders have learned that this is the Messiah indeed? But this man is known whence he is; and the Messiah, when he cometh, no man knoweth whence **(29)** he is. So Jesus lifted up his voice as he taught in the temple, and said, Ye both know me, and know whence I am; and of my own accord am I not come, but he **(30)** that sent me is true, he whom ye know not: but I know him; for I am **(31)** from him, and he sent me. And they sought to seize him: and no man **(32)** laid a hand on him, because his hour had not yet come. But many of the multitude believed on him; and they said, The Messiah, when he cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth? **(33)** And a man of that multitude said unto our Lord, Teacher, say to my brother **(34)** that he divide with me the inheritance. Jesus said unto him, Man, who is it that **(35)** appointed me over you as a judge and divider? And he said unto his disciples, Take heed within yourselves of all inordinate desire; for it is not in abundance of **(36)** possessions that life shall be. And he gave them this parable: The

ground of a **(37)** rich man brought forth abundant produce: and he pondered within himself, and **(38)** said, What shall I do, since I have no place to store my produce? And he said, I will do this: I will pull down the buildings of my barns, and build them, and make **(39)** them greater; and store there all my wheat and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid by for many years; take thine ease, eat, **(30)** drink, enjoy thyself. God said unto him, O than of little intelligence, this night shall thy soul be taken from thee; and this that thou hast prepared, whose shall it **(41)** be? So is he that layeth up treasures for himself, and is not rich in God. **(42)** And while Jesus was going in the way, there came near to him a young man of the rulers, and fell on his knees, and asked him, and said, Good Teacher, what is **(43)** it that I must do that I may have eternal life? Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou **(44)** me good, while there is none good but the one, even God? Thou knowest the commandments **(45)**. If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments. The young man said unto him, Which of the commandments? Jesus said unto him, **(46)** Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shall not do injury, Honor thy father **(47)** and thy mother: and, Love thy neighbor as thyself. That young man said unto **(48)** him, All these have I kept from my youth: what then is it that I lack? And Jesus **(49)** looked intently at him, and loved him, and said unto him, If thou wouldest be perfect, what thou lackest is one thing: go away and sell everything that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and take thy **(50)** cross, and follow me. And that young man frowned at this word, and went away **(51)** feeling sad; for he was very rich. And when Jesus saw his sadness, he looked towards his disciples, and said unto them, How hard it is for them that have possessions to enter the kingdom of God!

SECTION 29

MATTHEW 19:23-20:16; MARK:10-24-31; LUKE 18:28-30; 14:20-31; 14:1-6

(1) Verily I say unto you, It is difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of **(2)** heaven. And I say unto you also, that it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of **(3)** a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. And the disciples were wondering at these sayings. And Jesus answered and said unto them again, My children, how hard it is for those that rely on their possessions to enter the **(4)** kingdom of God! And those that were listening wondered more, and said amongst **(5)** themselves, being agitated, Who, thinkest thou, can be saved? And Jesus looked at them intently, and said unto them, With men this is not possible, but with God it is. **(6)** it is possible for God to do everything. Simon Cephas said unto him, Lo, we have left everything, and followed thee; what is it, thinkest thou, that we **(7)** shall have? Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, Ye that have followed me, in the new world, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also **(8)** shall sit on twelve thrones, and shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Verily I say unto you, No man leaveth houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or kinsfolk, or lands, because of the kingdom of God, or for my **(9)** sake, and the sake of my gospel, who shall not obtain many times as much in this **(10)** time, and in the world to come inherit eternal life: and now in this time, houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecution; **(11)** and in the world to come everlasting life. Many that are first shall be last, and that are last shall be first. **(12)** And when the Pharisees heard all this, because of their love for wealth they **(13)** scoffed at him. And Jesus knew what was in their hearts, and said unto them, Ye are they that justify yourselves before men; while God knows your hearts: the thing that is lofty with men is base before God. **(14)** And he began to say, A certain man was rich, and wore silk and purple, and enjoyed **(15)** himself every day in splendor: and there was a poor man named Lazarus, and **(16)** he was cast down at the door of the rich man, afflicted with sores, and he longed to fill his belly with the crumbs that fell from the table of that rich man; yea, **(17)** even the dogs used to come and lick his sores. And it happened that that poor man died, and the angels conveyed him into the

bosom of Abraham: and the **(18)** rich man also died, and was buried. And while he was being tormented in Hades, **(19)** he lifted up his eyes from afar, and saw Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom. And he called with a loud voice, and said, My father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus to wet the tip of his finger with water, and moisten my tongue **(20)** for me; for, behold, I am burned in this flame. Abraham said unto him, My son, remember that thou receivedst thy good things in thy life, and Lazarus his afflic **(21)** tions: but now, behold, he is at rest here, and thou art tormented. And in addition to all this, there is between us and you a great abyss placed, so that they that would cross unto you from hence cannot, nor yet from thence do they cross unto **(22)** us. He said unto him, Then I beseech thee, my father, to send him to my father's **(23)** house; for I have five brethren; let him go, that they also sin not, and come to **(24)** the abode of this torment. Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the **(25)** prophets; let them hear them. He said unto him, Nay, my father Abraham: but **(26)** let a man from the dead go unto them, and they will repent. Abraham said unto him, If they listen neither to Moses nor to the prophets, neither if a man from the dead rose would they believe him. **(27)** The kingdom of heaven is like a man that is a householder, which went out early **(28)** in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard. And he agreed with the laborers on **(29)** one penny a day for each laborer, and he sent them into his vineyard. And he went **(30)** out in three hours, and saw others standing in the market idle. He said unto them, Go ye also into my vineyard, and what is right I will pay you. **(31)** And they went. And he went out also at the sixth and the ninth hour, and did likewise **(32)**, and sent them. And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle. He said unto them, Why are ye standing the whole day idle? **(33)** They said unto him, Because no one hath hired us. He said unto them, Go ye **(34)** also into the vineyard, and what is right ye shall receive. So when evening came, the Lord of the vineyard said unto his steward, Call the laborers, and pay them **(35)** their wages; and begin with the later ones, and end with the former ones. And **(36)** those of eleven hours came, and received each a penny. When therefore the first came, they supposed that they should receive something more; and they also **(37)** received each a penny. And when they received it, they spake angrily against the **(38)** householder, and said, These last worked one hour, and thou hast made them equal **(39)** with us, who have suffered the heat of the day, and its

burden. He answered and said unto one of them, My friend, I do thee no wrong: was it not for a penny that **(40)** thou didst bargain with me? Take what is thine, and go thy way; for I wish to **(41)** give this last as I have given thee. Or am I not entitled to do with what is mine **(42)** what I choose? Or is thine eye perchance evil, because I am good? Thus shall the last ones be first, and the first last. The called are many, and the chosen are few. **(43)** And when Jesus entered into the house of one of the chiefs of the Pharisees to eat bread on the sabbath day, and they were watching him to see what he would **(44, 45)** do, and there was before him a man which had the dropsy, Jesus answered and **(46)** said unto the scribes and the Pharisees, Is it lawful on the sabbath to heal? But they were silent. So he took him, and healed him, and sent him away. **(47)** And he said unto them, Which of you shall have his son or his ox fall on the sabbath day into a well, and not lift him up straightway, and draw water for **(48)** him? And they were not able to answer him a word to that.

SECTION 30

LUKE 14:7-23; 17:11-19; 18:31-34; MATTHEW 22:1-14; MARK 10:32-40

(1) And he spake a parable unto those which were bidden there, because he saw **(2)** them choose the places that were in the highest part of the sitting room: When a man invites thee to a feast, do not go and sit at the head of the room; lest there **(3)** be there a man more honorable than thou, and he that invited you come and say unto thee, Give the place to this man: and thou be ashamed when thou risest and **(4)** takest another place. But when thou art invited, go and sit last; so that when he that invited thee cometh, he may say unto thee, My friend, go up higher: and **(5)** thou shalt have praise before all that were invited with thee. For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted. **(6)** And he said also to him that had invited him, When thou makest a feast a or a banquet, do not invite thy friends, nor even thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy **(7)** rich neighbors; lest haply they also invite thee, and thou have this reward. But when thou makest a feast, invite the poor, and those with withered hand, and the **(8)** lame, and the blind: and blessed art

thou, since they have not the means to reward **(9)** thee; that thy reward may be at the rising of the righteous. And when one of them that were invited heard that, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. **(10, 11)** Jesus answered again in parables, and said, The kingdom of heaven hath been likened to a certain king, which made a feast for his son, and prepared a **(12)** great banquet, and invited many: and he sent his servants at the time of the feast to inform them that were invited, Everything is made ready for you; come. And **(13)** they would not come, but began all of them with one voice to make excuse. And the first said unto them, Say to him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out **(14)** to see it: I pray thee to release me, for I ask to be excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I am going to examine them: I pray thee **(15)** to release me, for I ask to be excused. And another said, I have married a wife, **(16)** and therefore I cannot come. And the king sent also other servants, and said, Say to those that were invited, that my feast is ready, and my oxen and my fatlings are **(17)** slain, and everything is ready: come to the feast. But they made light of it, and **(18)** went, one to his field, and another to his merchandise: and the rest took his **(19)** servants, and entreated them shamefully, and killed them. And one of the servants **(20)** came, and informed his Lord of what had happened. And when the king heard, he became angry, and sent his armies; and they destroyed those murderers, and **(21)** burned their cities. Then he said to his servants, The feast is prepared, but those **(22)** that were invited were not worthy. Go out quickly into the markets and into the partings of the ways of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and those with pains, and the lame, and the blind. And the servants did as the king commanded them. **(23)** And they came, and said unto him, Our Lord, we have done all that thou com- **(24)** mandedst us, and there is here still room. So the Lord said unto his servants, Go out into the roads, and the ways, and the paths, and every one that ye find, invite **(25)** to the feast, and constrain them to enter, till my house is filled. I say unto you, that no one of those people that were invited shall taste of my feast. **(26)** And those servants went out into the roads, and gathered all that they found, good and **(27)** bad: and the banquet-house was filled with guests. And the king entered to see those **(28)** who were seated, and he saw there a man not wearing a festive garment: and he said unto him, My friend, how didst thou come in here not having on festive garments **(29)**? And he was silent. Then the king said to

the servants, Bind his hands and his feet, and put him forth into the outer darkness; there shall be weeping and **(30)** gnashing of teeth. The called are many; and the chosen, few. **(31)** And after that, the time of the feast of unleavened bread of the Jews arrived, **(32)** and Jesus went out to go to Jerusalem. And as he went in the way, there met him **(33)** ten persons who were lepers, and stood afar off: and they lifted up their voice, and **(34)** said, Our Master, Jesus, have mercy upon us. And when he saw them, he said unto them, Go and shew yourselves unto the priests. And when they went, they **(35)** were cleansed. And one of them, when he saw himself cleansed, returned, and **(36)** was praising God with a loud voice; and he fell on his face before the feet of **(37)** Jesus, giving him thanks: and this man was a Samaritan. Jesus answered and said, **(38)** Were not those that were cleansed ten? where then are the nine? Not one of them turned aside to come and praise God, but this man who is of a strange **(39)** people. He said unto him, Arise, and go thy way; for thy faith hath given thee life. **(40)** And while they were going up in the way to Jerusalem, Jesus went in front of them; and they wondered, and followed him fearing. And he took his twelve disciples apart, **(41)** and began to tell them privately what was about to befall him. And he said unto them, We are going up to Jerusalem, and all the things shall be fulfilled **(42)** that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man. He shall be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, **(43)** and deliver him to the peoples; and they shall treat him shamefully, and scourge **(44)** him, and spit in his face, and humble him, and crucify him, and slay him: and on **(45)** the third day he shall rise. But they understood not one thing of this; but this word was hidden from them, and they did not perceive these things that were addressed to them. **(46)** Then came near to him the mother of the (two) sons of Zebedee, she and her (two) sons, and worshipped him, and asked of him a certain thing. And he said **(47)** unto her, What wouldest thou? And James and John, her two sons, came forward, and said unto him, Teacher, we would that all that we ask thou wouldest **(48)** do unto us. He said unto them, What would ye that I should do unto you? **(49)** They said unto him, Grant us that we may sit, the one on thy right, and the other So on thy left, in thy kingdom and thy glory. And Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I am to drink? and with the **(51)** baptism that I am to be baptized with, will ye be baptized? And they said unto him, We are able. Jesus said unto

them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and **(52)** with the baptism wherewith I am baptized ye shall be baptized: but that ye should sit on my right and on my left is not mine to give; but it is for him for whom my Father hath prepared it.

SECTION 31

MARK 10:41-51; LUKE 13:22-30; 18:35-19:27
MATTHEW 20:29, 34

(1) And when the ten heard, they were moved with anger against James and John. **(2)** And Jesus called them, and said unto them, Ye know that the rulers of the nations **(3)** are their lords; and their great men are set in authority over them. Not thus shall it be amongst you: but he amongst you that would be great, let him be to you a **(4)** servant; and whoever of you would be first, let him be to every man a **(5)** bond-servant: even as the Son of man also came not to be served, but to serve, and **(6)** to give himself a ransom in place of the many. He said this, and was going about **(7)** the villages and the cities, and teaching; and he went to Jerusalem. And a man asked him, Are those that shall be saved few? Jesus answered and said unto **(8)** them, Strive ye to enter at the narrow door: I say unto you now, that many shall **(9)** seek to enter, and shall not be able — from the time when the master of the house riseth, and closeth the door, and ye shall be standing without, and shall knock at the door, and shall begin to say, Our Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and **(10)** say, I say unto you, I know you not whence ye are: and ye shall begin to say, **(11)** Before thee we did eat and drink, and in our markets didst thou teach; and he shall say unto you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, ye servants **(12)** of untruth. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, while ye are **(13)** put forth without. And they shall come from the east and the west, and from the **(14)** north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. And there shall then be last that have become first, and first that have become last. **(15, 16)** And when Jesus entered and passed through Jericho, there was a man named Zacchaeus **(17)**, rich, and chief of the publicans. And he desired to see Jesus who he

was; and he was not able for the pressure of the crowd, because Zacchaeus was little of stature. **(18)** And he hastened, and went before Jesus, and went up into an unripe fig **(19)** tree to see Jesus: for he was to pass thus. And when Jesus came to that place, he saw him, and said unto him, Make haste, and come down, Zacchaeus: **(20)** today I must be in thy house. And he hastened, and came down, and received **(21)** him joyfully. And when they all saw, they murmured, and said, He hath gone in **(22)** and lodged with a man that is a sinner. So Zacchaeus stood, and said unto Jesus, My Lord, now half of my possessions I give to the poor, and what I have unjustly **(23)** taken from every man I give him fourfold. Jesus said unto him, Today is salvation **(24)** come to this house, because this man also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to seek and save the thing that was lost. **(25)** And when Jesus went out of Jericho, he and his disciples, there came after him **(26)** a great multitude. And there was a blind man sitting by the way side begging. **(27)** And his name was Timaeus, the son of Timaeus. And he heard the sound of the **(28)** multitude passing, and asked, Who is this? They said unto him, Jesus the Nazarene **(29)** passeth by. And when he heard that it was Jesus, he called out with a loud **(30)** voice, and said, Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me. And those that went before Jesus were rebuking him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried the **(31)** more, and said, Son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus stood, and commanded that they should call him. And they called the blind man, and said unto **(32)** him, Be of good courage, and rise; for, behold, he calleth thee. And the blind **(33)** man threw away his garment, and rose, and came to Jesus. Jesus said unto him, What dost thou wish that I should do unto thee? And that blind man said unto him, My Lord and Master, that my eyes may be opened, so that I may see thee. **(34)** And Jesus had compassion on him, and touched his eyes, and said unto **(35)** him, See; for thy faith hath saved thee. And immediately he received his sight, and came after him, and praised God; and all the people that saw praised God. **(36)** And he spake a parable because he was nearing Jerusalem, and they supposed **(37)** that at that time the kingdom of God was about to appear. He said unto them, A man, a son of a great race, went into a far country, to receive a kingdom, and **(38)** return. And he called his ten servants, and gave them ten shares, and said unto **(39)** them, Trade till the time of my coming. But the people of his city hated him, and **(40)** sent messengers after him, and said, We will not that this man reign over us. And when he had

received a kingdom, and returned, he said that the servants to whom he had given the money should be called unto him, that he might know what each **(41)** of them had traded. And the first came, and said, My Lord, thy share hath gained **(42)** ten shares. The king said unto him, Thou good and faithful servant, who hast **(43)** been found faithful in a little, be thou set over ten districts. And the second came, **(44)** and said, My Lord, thy portion hath gained five portions. And he said unto him **(45)** also, And thou shall be set over five districts. And another came, and said, My **(46)** Lord, here is thy portion, which was with me laid by in a napkin: I feared thee, because thou art a hard man, and takest what thou didst not leave, and seekest **(47)** what thou didst not give, and reapest what thou didst not sow. His Lord said unto him, From thy mouth shall I judge thee, thou wicked and idle servant, who wast untrustworthy. Thou knewest that I am a hard man, and take what I did not **(48)** leave, and reap what I did not sow: why didst thou not put my money at usury, **(49)** and so I might come and seek it, with its gains? And he said unto those that were standing in front of him, Take from him the share, and give it to him that hath **(50, 51)** ten shares. They said unto him, Our Lord, he hath ten shares. He said unto them, I say unto you, Every one that hath shall be given unto; and **(52)** he that hath not, that which he hath also shall be taken from him. And those mine enemies who would not that I should reign over them, bring them, and slay them before me.

SECTION 32

MATTHEW 21:12-13; JOHN 2:14-3:21; MARK 11:16-19; LUKE 18:9-14

(1) And when Jesus entered Jerusalem, he went up to the temple of God, and found **(2)** there oxen and sheep and doves. And when he beheld those that sold and those that bought, and the money-changers sitting, he made for himself a scourge of rope, and drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and the money-changers; and he threw down their money, and upset their tables, and the seats of **(3)** them that sold the doves; and he was teaching, and saying unto them, Is it not written, My house is a house of prayer for all peoples? and ye have made it a den **(4)**

for robbers. And he said unto those that sold the doves, Take this hence, and **(5)** make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. And he suffered not any **(6)** one to carry vessels inside the temple. And his disciples remembered the scripture, **(7)** The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up. The Jews answered and said unto him, **(8)** What sign hast thou shewn us, that thou doest this? Jesus answered and said unto **(9)** them, Destroy this temple, and I shall raise it in three days. The Jews said unto him, This temple was built in forty-six years, and wilt thou raise it in three days? **(10)** But he spake unto them of the temple of his body, that when they destroyed it, he **(11)** would raise it in three days. When therefore he rose from among the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this; and they believed the scriptures, and the word that Jesus spake. **(12)** And when Jesus sat down over against the treasury, he observed how the multitudes were casting their offerings into the treasury: and many rich men were **(13, 14)** throwing in much. And there came a poor widow, and cast in two mites. And Jesus called his disciples, and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, This poor **(15)** widow cast into the treasury more than all the people: and all of these cast into the place of the offering of God of the superfluity of their wealth; while this woman of her want threw in all that she possessed. **(16)** And he spake unto them this parable, concerning people who trusted in themselves **(17)** that they are righteous, and despised every man: Two men went up to the **(18)** temple to pray; one of them a Pharisee, and the other a publican. And the Pharisee stood apart, and prayed thus, O Lord, I thank thee, since I am not like the rest of men, the unjust, the profligate, the extortioners, or even like this publican; **(19)** but I fast two days a week, and tithe all my possessions. And the publican was **(20)** standing at a distance, and he would not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but was **(21)** beating upon his breast, and saying, O Lord, have mercy on me, me the sinner. I say unto you, that this man went down justified to his house more than the Pharisee. Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted. **(22)** And when eventide was come, he left all the people, and went outside the **(23)** city to Bethany, he and his twelve, and he remained there. And all the people, because they knew the place, came to him, and he received them; and them that **(24)** had need of healing he healed. And on the morning of the next day, when he returned **(25)** to the city from Bethany, he hungered. And he saw a fig tree at a distance on the beaten highway,

having on it leaves. And he came unto it, expecting to find something on it; and when he came, he found nothing on it but the leaves — it was not **(26)** the season of figs — and he said unto it, Henceforward for ever let no man eat fruit of thee. And his disciples heard. **(27)** And they came to Jerusalem. And there was there a man of the Pharisees, **(28)** named Nicodemus, ruler of the Jews. This man came unto Jesus by night, and said unto him, My Master, we know that thou hast been sent from God as a teacher; and no man can do these signs that thou doest, except him whom God is **(29)** with. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man **(30)** be not born a second time, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus said unto him, How can a man who is old be born? can he, think you, return again to **(31)** his mother's womb a second time, to enter and be born? Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, If a man be not born of water and the Spirit, **(32)** he cannot enter the kingdom of God. For he that is born of flesh is flesh; and he that **(33)** is born of Spirit is spirit. Wonder not that I said unto thee that ye must be born a **(34)** second time. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest its voice, but thou knowest not from what place it cometh, nor whither it goeth: so **(35)** is every man that is born of the Spirit. Nicodemus answered and said unto him, **(36)** How can that be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou teaching Israel, **(37)** and yet knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, What we know **(38)** we say, and what we have seen we witness: and ye receive not our witness. If I said unto you what is on earth, and ye believed not, how then, if I say unto you **(39)** what is in heaven, will ye believe? And no man hath ascended up into heaven, except him that descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven. **(40)** And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so is the Son of man to be **(41)** lifted up; so that every man who may believe in him may not perish, but have **(42)** eternal life. God so loved the world, that he should give his only Son; and so every one that believeth on him should not perish, but should have eternal life. **(43)** God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world might **(44)** be saved by his hand. He that believeth in him shall not be judged: but he that believeth not is condemned beforehand, because he hath not believed in the name **(45)** of the only Son, the Son of God. This is the judgement, that the light came into the world, and men loved the darkness more than the light; because their deeds **(46)** were evil. Whosoever doeth

evil deeds hateth the light, and cometh not to the **(47)** light, lest his deeds be reproved. But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be known, that they have been done in God.

SECTION 33

MARK 11:19-12:5; MATTHEW 21:21-46; LUKE 17:5-18:8; 20:11-17

(1) And when evening came, Jesus went forth outside of the city, he and his **(2)** disciples. And as they passed in the morning, the disciples saw that fig tree **(3)** withered away from its root. And they passed by, and said, How did the fig tree dry **(4)** up immediately? And Simon remembered, and said unto him, My Master, behold, **(5)** that fig tree which thou didst curse hath dried up. And Jesus answered and said **(6)** unto them, Let there be in you the faith of God. Verily I say unto you, if ye believe, and doubt not in your hearts, and assure yourselves that that will be which **(7)** ye say, ye shall have what ye say. And if ye say to this mountain, Remove, and **(8)** fall into the sea, it shall be. And all that ye ask God in prayer, and believe, he **(9, 10)** will give you. And the apostles said unto our Lord, Increase our faith. He said unto them, If there be in you faith like a grain of mustard, ye shall say to this fig tree, Be thou torn up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it will obey you. **(11)** Who of you hath a servant driving a yoke of oxen or tending sheep, and if he **(12)** come from the field, will say unto him straightway, Go and sit down? Nay, he will say unto him, Make ready for me wherewith I may sup, and gird thy waist, and serve me, till I eat and drink; and afterwards thou shalt eat and drink also. **(13)** Doth that servant haply, who did what he was bid, receive his praise? I think **(14)** not. So ye also, when ye have done all that ye were bid, say, We are idle servants; what it was our duty to do, we have done. **(15)** For this reason I say unto you, Whatever ye pray and ask, believe that ye **(16)** receive, and ye shall have. And when ye stand to pray, forgive what is in your heart against any man; and your Father which is in heaven will **(17)** forgive you also your wrong-doings. But if ye forgive not men their wrong-doings, neither will your Father forgive you also your wrong-doings. **(18)** And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and **(19)** not be

slothful: There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed **(20)** for men: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, **(21)** Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; **(22)** yet because this widow vexeth me, I will avenge her, that she come not at all times **(23, 24)** and annoy me. And our Lord said, Hear ye what the judge of injustice said. And shall not God still more do vengeance for his elect, who call upon him in the night **(25)** and in the day, and grant them respite? I say unto you, He will do vengeance for them speedily. Thinkest thou the Son of man will come and find faith on the earth? **(26, 27)** And they came again to Jerusalem. And it came to pass, on one of the days, as Jesus was walking in the temple, and teaching the people, and preaching the **(28)** gospel, that the chief priests and the scribes with the elders came upon him, and said unto him, Tell us: By what power doest thou this? and who gave thee this **(29)** power to do that? And Jesus said unto them, I also will ask you one word, and if **(30)** ye tell me, I also shall tell you by what power I do that. The baptism of John, from **(31)** what place is it? from heaven or of men? Tell me. And they reflected within themselves , and said, If we shall say unto him, From heaven; he will say unto **(32)** us, For what reason did ye not believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; **(33)** we fear that the people will stone us, all of them. And all of them were holding **(34)** to John, that he was a true prophet. They answered and said unto him, We know **(35)** not. Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you also by what power I work. What think ye? A man had two sons; and he went to the first, and said unto him, My **(36)** son, go today, and till in the vineyard. And he answered and said, I do not wish **(37)** to: but finally he repented, and went. And he went to the other, and said unto **(38)** him likewise. And he answered and said, Yea, my Lord: and went not. Which of these two did the will of his father? They said unto him, The first. Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, The publicans and harlots go before you into **(39)** the kingdom of God. John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not; but the publicans and harlots believed him; and ye, not even when ye saw, did ye repent at last, that ye might believe in him. **(40)** Hear another parable: A man was a householder, and planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a hedge, and digged in it a winepress, and built in it a tower, **(41, 42)** and gave it to husbandmen, and went to a distance for a long time. So when the

time of the fruits came, he sent his servants unto the husbandmen, that they might **(43)** send him of the produce of his vineyard. And those husbandmen beat him, and **(44)** sent him away empty. And he sent unto them another servant also; and they **(45)** stoned him, and wounded him, and sent him away with shameful handling. And he sent again another; and they slew him. And he sent many other servants unto **(46)** them. And the husbandmen took his servants, and one they beat, and another they **(47)** stoned, and another they slew. So he sent again other servants more than the first; and **(48)** they did likewise with them. So the owner of the vineyard said, What shall I do? I will send my beloved son: it may be they will see him and be **(49, 50)** ashamed. So at last he sent unto them his beloved son that he had. But the husbandmen, when they saw the son, said amongst themselves, This is the heir. **(51, 52)** And they said, We will slay him, and so the inheritance will be ours. So they took **(53)** him, and put him forth without the vineyard, and slew him. When then the Lord **(54)** of the vineyard shall come, what will he do with those husbandmen? They said unto him, He will destroy them in the worst of ways, and give the vineyard to **(55)** other husbandmen, who will give him fruit in its season. Jesus said unto them, Have ye never read in the scripture,

> The stone which the builders declared to be base,
> The same came to be at the head of the corner:
> **(56)** From God was this,
> And it is wonderful in our eyes?

(57) Therefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and **(58)** given to a people that will produce fruit. And whosoever falleth on this stone shall be broken in pieces: but on whomsoever it falleth, it will grind him to **(59)** powder. And when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they **(60)** perceived that it was concerning them he spake. And they sought to seize him; and they feared the multitude, because they were holding to him as the prophet.

SECTION 34

MATTHEW 22:15-35; LUKE 20:15-36; 10:25-37; MARK 12:15-34; JOHN 7:31-36

(1) Then went the Pharisees and considered how they might ensnare him in a word, **(2)** and deliver him into the power of the judge, and into the power of the ruler. And they sent unto him their disciples, with the kinsfolk of Herod; and they said unto him, Teacher, we know that thou speakest the truth, and teachest the way of God with equity, and art not lifted up by any man: for thou actest not so as to **(3)** be seen of any man. Tell us now, What is thy opinion? Is it lawful that we should **(4)** pay the tribute to Caesar, or not? shall we give, or shall we not give? But Jesus knew **(5)** their deceit, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the **(6)** penny of the tribute. So they brought unto him a penny. Jesus said unto them, To whom belongeth this image and inscription? They said unto him, To Caesar. **(7, 8)** He said unto them, Give what is Caesar's to Caesar, and what is God's to God. And they could not make him slip in a single word before the people; and they marvelled at his word, and refrained. **(9)** And on that day came the Sadducees, and said unto him, There is no life for **(10)** the dead. And they asked him, and said unto him, Teacher, Moses said unto us, If a man die, not having children, let his brother take his wife, and raise up seed **(11)** for his brother. Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first took a wife, **(12)** and died without children; and the second took his wife, and died without children; **(13)** and the third also took her; and in like manner the seven of them also, and they **(14, 15)** died without leaving children. And last of them all the woman died also. At the resurrection, then, which of these seven shall have this woman? for all of them took **(16)** her. Jesus answered and said unto them, Is it not for this that ye have erred, **(17)** because ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God? And the sons of this **(18)** world take wives, and the women become the men's; but those that have become worthy of that world, and the resurrection from among the dead, do not take **(19)** wives, and the women also do not become the men's. Nor is it possible that they should die; but they are like the angels, and are the children of **(20)** God, because they have become the children of the resurrection. For in the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read in the

book of Moses, how from the bush God said unto him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? **(21)** And God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: for all of them are alive with him. And ye have erred greatly. **(22, 23)** And when the multitudes heard, they were wondering at his teaching. And **(24)** some of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, thou hast well said. But the rest of the Pharisees, when they saw his silencing the Sadducees on this point, gathered against him to contend with him. **(25)** And one of the scribes, of those that knew the law, when he saw the excellence **(26)** of his answer to them, desired to try him, and said unto him, What shall I do to inherit eternal life? and, Which of the commandments is greater, and has precedence **(27)** in the law? Jesus said unto him, The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O **(28)** Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy thought, and with all thy **(29, 30)** strength. This is the great and preeminent commandment. And the second, which is like it, is, Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself. And another commandment **(31)** greater than these two there is not. On these two commandments, then, are hung the **(32)** law and the prophets. That scribe said unto him, Excellent! my Master; thou hast said truly that he is one, and there is no other outside of him: **(33)** and that a man should love him with all his heart, and with all his thought, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, and that he should love his neighbor as **(34)** himself, is better than all savors and sacrifices. And Jesus saw him that he had answered wisely; and he answered and said unto him, Thou art not far from the **(35, 36)** kingdom of God. Thou hast: spoken rightly: do this, and thou shalt live. And he, as his desire was to justify himself, said unto him, And who is my neighbor? **(37)** Jesus said unto him, A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and the robbers fell upon him, and stripped him, and beat him, his life remaining in him but little, **(38)** and went away. And it happened that there came down a certain priest that way; **(39)** and he saw him, and passed by. And likewise a Levite also came and reached **(40)** that place, and saw him, and passed by. And a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, **(41)** came to the place where he was, and saw him, and had compassion on him, and came near, and bound up his strokes, and poured on them wine and oil; and he set him on the ass, and brought him to the inn, and expended his care upon him. **(42)** And on the morrow of that day he took

out two pence, and gave them to the innkeeper, and said unto him, Care for him; and if thou spendest upon him more, **(43)** when I return, I shall give thee. Who of these three now, thinkest thou, is nearest **(44)** to him that fell among the robbers? And he said unto him, He that had compassion **(45)** on him. Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou also likewise. And no man dared afterwards to ask him anything. **(46)** And he was teaching every day in the temple. But the chief priests and scribes and the elders of the people sought to destroy him: and they could not find what **(47)** they should do with him; and all the people were hanging upon him to hear him. **(48)** And many of the multitude believed on him, and said, The Messiah, when he **(49)** cometh, can it be that he will do more than these signs that this man doeth? And the Pharisees heard the multitudes say that of him; and the chief priests sent **(50)** officers to seize him. And Jesus said unto them, I am with you but a short time **(51)** yet, and I go to him that sent me. And ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: **(52)** and where I shall be, ye shall not be able to come. The Jews said within themselves, Whither hath this man determined to go that we shall not be able to find him? can it be that he is determined to go to the regions of the nations, and teach **(53)** the heathen? What is this word that he said, Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, ye cannot come?

SECTION 35

JOHN 7:37-8:50; MATTHEW 22:41-46

(1) And on the great day, which is the last of the feast, Jesus stood, crying out and **(2)** saying, If any man is thirsty, let him come unto me, and drink. Every one that believeth in me, as the scriptures said, there shall flow from his belly rivers of pure **(3)** water. He said that referring to the Spirit, which those who believed in him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet granted; and because Jesus had not yet been **(4)** glorified. And many of the multitude that heard his words said, This is **(5)** in truth the prophet. And others said, This is the Messiah. But others **(6)** said, Can it be that the Messiah will come from Galilee? Hath not the scripture said that from the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village of David, the **(7)** Messiah cometh? And there occurred a dissension in the multitude because of him.

(8) And some of them were wishing to seize him; but no man laid a hand upon him. **(9)** And those officers came to the chief priests and Pharisees: and the priests said **(10)** unto them, Why did ye not bring him? The officers said, Never spake man thus **(11)** as speaketh this man. The Pharisees said unto them, Perhaps ye also have gone **(12, 13)** astray? Hath any of the rulers or the Pharisees haply believed in him? except **(14)** this people which knows not the law; they are accursed. Nicodemus, one of them, **(15)** he that had come to Jesus by night, said unto them, Doth our law haply condemn **(16)** a man, except it hear him first and know what he hath done? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also haply from Galilee? Search, and see that a prophet riseth not from Galilee. **(17, 18)** And when the Pharisees assembled, Jesus asked them, and said, What say ye of **(19)** the Messiah? whose son is he? They said unto him, The son of David. He said unto them, And how doth David in the Holy Spirit call him Lord? for he said,

> **(20)** The Lord said unto my Lord,
> Sit on my right hand,
> That I may put thine enemies under thy feet.

(21, 22) If then David calleth him Lord, how is he his son? And no one was able to answer him; and no man dared from that day again to ask him of anything. **(23)** And Jesus addressed them again, and said, I am the light of the world; and he that **(24)** followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall find the light of life. The Pharisees said unto him, Thou bearest witness to thyself; thy witness is not true. Jesus **(25)** answered and said unto them, If I bear witness to myself, my witness is true; for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but ye know not whence I came, or **(26, 27)** whither I go. And ye judge after the flesh; and I judge no man. And even if I judge, my judgement is true; because I am not alone, but I and my Father which **(28, 29)** sent me. And in your law it is written, that the witness of two men is true. I am he that beareth witness to myself, and my Father which sent me beareth witness to **(30)** me. They said unto him, Where is thy Father? Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye know not me, nor my Father: for did ye know me, ye would know my **(31)** Father. He said these sayings in the treasury, where he was teaching in the **(32)** temple: and no man seized him; because his hour had not yet come. Jesus said unto them again, I go truly, and ye shall seek me and not find me, and

ye shall die **(33)** in your sins: and where I go, ye cannot come. The Jews said, Will he haply kill **(34)** himself, that he saith, Where I go, ye cannot come? He said unto them, Ye are from below; and I am from above: ye are of this world; and I am not of this **(35)** world. I said unto you, that ye shall die in your sins: if ye believe not that I am **(36)** he, ye shall die in your sins. The Jews said, And thou, who art thou? Jesus said **(37)** unto them, If I should begin to speak unto you, I have concerning you many words and judgement: but he that sent me is true; and I, what I heard from him is what **(38, 39)** I say in the world. And they knew not that he meant by that the Father. Jesus said unto them again, When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then ye shall know that I am he: and I do nothing of myself, but as my Father **(40)** taught me, so I speak. And he that sent me is with me; and my Father hath not **(41)** left me alone; because I do what is pleasing to him at all times. And while he was saying that, many believed in him. **(42)** And Jesus said to those Jews that believed in him, If ye abide in my words, truly **(43)** ye are my disciples: and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. **(44)** They said unto him, We are the seed of Abraham, and have never served any man **(45)** in the way of slavery: how then sayest thou, Ye shall be free children? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Every one that doeth a sin is a slave of **(46)** sin. And the slave doth not remain for ever in the house; but the son remaineth **(47, 48)** for ever. And if the Son set you free, truly ye shall be free children. I know that ye are the seed of Abraham; but ye seek to slay me, because ye are unable for my **(49)** word. And what I saw with my Father, I say: and what ye saw with your father, **(50)** ye do. They answered and said unto him, Our father is Abraham. Jesus said unto them, If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the deeds of Abraham. **(51)** Now, behold, ye seek to kill me, a man that speak with you the truth, that I **(52)** heard from God: this did Abraham not do. And ye do the deeds of your father. They said unto him, We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, who is **(53)** God. Jesus said unto them, If God were your Father, ye would love me: I proceeded and came from God; and it was not of my own self that I came, but he sent **(54)** me. Why then do ye not know my word? Because ye cannot hear my word. **(55)** Ye are from the father, the devil, and the lust of your father do ye desire to do, who from the beginning is a slayer of men, and in the truth standeth not, because the truth is not in him. And when he speaketh untruth, he speaketh from **(56)** himself: for he is a liar,

and the father of untruth. And I who speak the truth, ye **(57)** believe me not. Who of you rebuketh me for a sin? And if I speak the truth, ye **(58)** do not believe me. Whosoever is of God heareth the words of God: therefore do **(59)** ye not hear, because ye are not of God. The Jews answered and said unto him, **(60)** Did we not say well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast demons? Jesus said unto them, As for me, I have not a devil; but my Father do I honor, and ye dishonor **(61)** me. I seek not my glory: here is one who seeketh and judgeth.

SECTION 36

JOHN 8:51-9:38

(1) Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not see death **(2)** for ever. The Jews said unto him, Now we know that thou hast demons. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, Whosoever keepeth my word shall not **(3)** taste death for ever. Art thou haply greater than our father Abraham, who is **(4)** dead, and than the prophets, which are dead? whom makest thou thyself? Jesus said unto them, If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing: my Father is he that **(5)** glorifieth me; of whom ye say, that he is our God; and yet ye have not known him: but I know him; and if I should say that I know him not, I should become **(6)** a liar like you: but I know him, and keep his word. Abraham your father **(7)** longed to see my day; and he saw, and rejoiced. The Jews said unto him, **(8)** Thou art now not fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Jesus said unto **(9)** them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am. And they take stones to stone him: but Jesus concealed himself, and went out of the temple. And he passed through them, and went his way. **(10)** And as he passed, he saw a man blind from his mother’s womb. And his **(11)** disciples asked him, and said, Our Master, who sinned, this man, or his parents, so **(12)** that he was born blind? Jesus said unto them, Neither did he sin, nor his parents: **(13)** but that the works of God may be seen in him. It is incumbent on me to do the deeds of him that sent me, while it is day: a night will come, and no man will be **(14)** able to busy himself. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world. **(15)** And when he said that, he spat upon the ground,

and made clay of his spittle, and **(16)** smeared it on the eyes of the blind man, and said unto him, Go and wash thyself in **(17)** the pool of Siloam. And he went and washed, and came seeing. And his neighbors, which saw him of old begging, said, Is not this he that was sitting begging? **(18)** And some said, It is he; and others said, Nay, but he resembles him much. He **(19, 20)** said, I am he. They said unto him, How then were thine eyes opened? He answered and said unto them, A man named Jesus made clay, and smeared it on my eyes, and said unto me, Go and wash in the water of Siloam: and I went and **(21)** washed, and received sight. They said unto him, Where is he? He said, I know not. **(22, 23)** And they brought him that was previously blind to the Pharisees. And the day in which Jesus made clay and opened with it his eyes was a sabbath **(24)** day. And again the Pharisees asked him, How didst thou receive sight? And he said **(25)** unto them, He put clay on mine eyes, and I washed, and received sight. The people of the Pharisees said, This man is not from God, for he keepeth not the sabbath. And others said, How can a man that is a sinner do these signs? And there came **(26)** to be a division amongst them. And again they said to that blind man, Thou, then, what sayest thou of him that opened for thee thine eyes? He said unto them, **(27)** I say that he is a prophet. And the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he was blind, and received sight, until they summoned the parents of him who received **(28)** sight, and asked them, Is this your son, of whom ye said that he was born blind? **(29)** how then, behold, doth he now see? His parents answered and said, We know **(30)** that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but how he has come to see now, or who it is that opened his eyes, we know not: and he also has reached his prime; **(31)** ask him, and he will speak for himself. This said his parents, because they were fearing the Jews: and the Jews decided, that if any man should confess of him that **(32)** he was the Messiah, they would put him out of the synagogue. For this reason **(33)** said his parents, He hath reached his prime; ask him. And they called the man a second time, him that was blind, and said unto him, Praise God: we know that this **(34)** man is a sinner. He answered and said unto them, Whether he be a sinner, I know **(35)** not: I know one thing, that I was blind, and I now see. They said unto him again, **(36)** What did he unto thee? how opened he for thee thine eyes? He said unto them, I said unto you, and ye did not hear: what wish ye further to hear? **(37)** ye also, do ye wish to become disciples to him? And they reviled him, and said unto him,

Thou art the disciple of that man; but as for us, we are the disciples of **(38)** Moses. And we know that God spake unto Moses: but this man, we know not **(39)** whence he is. The man answered and said unto them, From this is the wonder, **(40)** because ye know not whence he is, and mine eyes hath he opened. And we know that God heareth not the voice of sinners: but whosoever feareth him, and doeth **(41)** his will, him he heareth. From eternity hath it not been heard of, that a man **(42)** opened the eyes of a blind man, who had been born in blindness. If then this man **(43)** were not from God, he could not do that. They answered and said unto him, Thou wast all of thee born in sins, and dost thou teach us? And they put him forth without. **(44)** And Jesus heard of his being put forth without, and found him, and said unto **(45)** him, Dost thou believe in the Son of God? He that was made whole answered **(46)** and said, Who is he, my Lord, that I may believe in him? Jesus said unto him, **(47)** Thou hast seen him, and he that speaketh to thee is he. And he said, I believe, my Lord. And he fell down worshipping him.

SECTION 37

JOHN 9:39-11:16

(1) And Jesus said, To judge the world am I come, so that they that see not may **(2)** see, and they that see may become blind. And some of the Pharisees which were **(3)** with him heard that, and they said unto him, Can it be that we are blind? Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should not have sin: but now ye say, We see: and because of this your sin remaineth. **(4)** Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever entereth not into the fold of the sheep by the door, but goeth up from another place, that man is a thief and a **(5, 6)** stealer. But he that entereth by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. And therefore the keeper of the door openeth for him the door; and the sheep hear his voice: and **(7)** he calleth his sheep by their names, and they go forth unto him. And when he putteth forth his sheep, he goeth before them, and his sheep follow him: because **(8)** they know his voice. And after a stranger will the sheep not go, but they flee from **(9)** him: because they hear not the voice of a stranger. This parable spake Jesus unto them: but they knew not what he was saying unto them.

(10) Jesus said unto them again, Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the **(11)** sheep. And all that came are thieves and stealers: but the sheep heard them not. **(12)** I am the door: and if a man enter by me, he shall live, and shall go in and go out, **(13)** and shall find pasture. And the stealer cometh not, save that he may steal, and kill, and destroy: but I came that they might have life, and that they might have **(14)** the thing that is better. I am the good shepherd; and the good shepherd giveth **(15)** himself for his sheep. But the hireling, who is not a shepherd, and whose the sheep are not, when he seeth the wolf as it cometh, leaveth the sheep, and fleeth, **(16)** and the wolf cometh, and snatcheth away the sheep, and scattereth them: and the **(17)** hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and hath no care for the sheep. I am the **(18)** good shepherd; and I know what is mine, and what is mine knoweth me, as my Father knoweth me, and I know my Father; and I give myself for the sheep. **(19)** And I have other sheep also, that are not of this flock: them also I must invite, and they shall hear my voice; and all the sheep shall be one, and the shepherd one. **(20)** And therefore doth my Father love me, because I give my life, that I may **(21)** take it again. No man taketh it from me, butheave it of my own choice. And I have the right to leave it, and have the right also to take it. And this commandment did I receive of my Father. **(22)** And there occurred a disagreement among the Jews because of these sayings. **(23)** And many of them said, He hath a devil, and is afflicted with madness; why listen **(24)** ye to him? And others said, These sayings are not those of men possessed with demons. Can a demon haply open the eyes of a blind man? **(25, 26)** And the feast of the dedication came on at Jerusalem: and it was winter. And **(27)** Jesus was walking in the temple in the porch of Solomon. The Jews therefore surrounded him, and said unto him, Until when dost thou make our hearts anxious? **(28)** If thou art the Messiah, tell us plainly. He answered and said unto them, I told you, and ye believe not: and the deeds that I do in my Father’s name bear witness **(29, 30)** to me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you. **(31)** And my sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they come after me: and I give them eternal life; and they shall not perish for ever, nor shall any man snatch **(32)** them out of my hands. For the Father, who hath given them unto me, is greater **(33)** than all; and no man is able to take them from the hand of my Father. I and **(34, 35)** my Father are one. And the Jews took stones to stone him. Jesus said unto them, Many good deeds from my

Father have I shewed you; because of which of them, **(36)** then, do ye stone me? The Jews said unto him, Not for the good deeds do we stone thee, but because thou blasphemest; and, whilst thou art a man, makest thyself **(37)** God. Jesus said unto them, Is it not thus written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? **(38)** And if he called those gods — for to them came the word of God (and it is **(39)** not possible in the scripture that anything should be undone) — he then, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, do ye say that he blasphemeth; **(40)** because I said unto you, I am the Son of God? If then I do not the deeds of my **(41)** Father, ye believe me not. But if I do, even if ye believe not me, believe the deeds: that ye may know and believe that my Father is in me, and I in my Father. **(42)** And they sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hands. **(43)** And he went beyond Jordan to the place where John was baptizing formerly; **(44)** and abode there. And many people came unto him; and they said, John did not **(45)** work even one sign: but all that John said of this man is truth. And many believed in him. **(46)** And there was a sick man, named Lazarus, of the village of Bethany, the brother **(47)** of Mary and Martha. And Mary was she that anointed with sweet ointment the feet of Jesus, and wiped them with her hair; and Lazarus, who was sick, was the **(48)** brother of this woman. And his sisters sent unto Jesus, and said unto him, Our **(49)** Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick. But Jesus said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glorifying of God, that the Son of God may be glorified **(50, 51)** because of it. And Jesus loved Martha, and Mary, and Lazarus. And when he **(52)** heard that he was sick, he abode in the place where he was two days. And after that, **(53)** he said unto his disciples, Come, let us go into Judaea. His disciples said unto him, Our Master, now the Jews desire to stone thee; and goest thou again thither? **(54, 55)** Jesus said unto them, Is not the day of twelve hours? If then a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of the world. But if **(56)** a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no lamp in him. This said Jesus: and after that, he said unto them, Lazarus our friend hath fallen asleep; but **(57)** I am going to awaken him. His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, if he hath **(58)** fallen asleep, he will recover. But Jesus said that concerning his death: while they **(59)** supposed that he spake of lying down to sleep. Then Jesus said unto them plainly, **(60)** Lazarus is dead. And I am glad that I was not there for your sakes, that ye may **(61)** believe; but let us go thither. Thomas, who is

called Thama, said to the disciples, his companions, Let us also go, and die with him.

SECTION 38

JOHN 11:17-57; LUKE 9:55-56

(1, 2) And Jesus came to Bethany, and found him already four days in the grave. And Bethany was beside Jerusalem, and its distance from it was a sum of fifteen furlongs **(3)**; and many of the Jews came unto Mary and Martha, to comfort their heart **(4)** because of their brother. And Martha, when she heard that Jesus had come, went **(5)** out to meet him: but Mary was sitting in the house. Martha then said unto Jesus, **(6)** My Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know now that, **(7)** whatever thou shalt ask of God, he will give thee. Jesus said unto her, Thy brother shall **(8)** rise. Martha said unto him, I know that he shall rise in the resurrection at the last day. **(9)** Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: whosoever believeth in **(10)** me, even though he die, he shall live: and every living one that believeth **(11)** in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She said unto him, Yea, my Lord: I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, that cometh into the **(12)** world. And when she had said that, she went and called Mary her sister secretly, **(13)** and said unto her, Our Master hath come, and summoneth thee. And Mary, when **(14)** she heard, rose in haste, and came unto him. (And Jesus then had not come into **(15)** the village, but was in the place where Martha met him.) And the Jews also that were with her in the house, to comfort her, when they saw that Mary rose up and went out in haste, went after her, because they supposed that she was going to the **(16)** tomb to weep. And Mary, when she came to where Jesus was, and saw him, fell at his feet, and said unto him, If thou hadst been here, my Lord, my brother had **(17)** not died. And Jesus came; and when he saw her weeping, and the Jews that were **(18)** with her weeping, he was troubled in himself, and sighed; and he said, In what **(19)** place have ye laid him? And they said unto him, Our Lord, come and see. And **(20)** the tears of Jesus came. The Jews therefore said, See the greatness of his love for **(21)** him! But some of them said, Could not this man, who opened the eyes of that **(22)** blind man, have caused

that this man also should not die? And Jesus came to the place of burial, being troubled within himself. And the place of burial was a cave, **(23)** and a stone was placed at its door. Jesus therefore said, Take these stones away. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, said unto him, My Lord, he hath come to **(24)** stink for some time: he hath been four days dead. Jesus said unto her, Did not I say **(25)** unto thee, If thou believest, thou shall see the glory of God? And they removed those stones. And Jesus lifted his eyes on high,and said, My Father, **(26)** I thank thee Since thou didst hear me. And I know that thou at all times hearest me: but I say this unto thee because of this multitude that is standing, that they **(27)** may believe that thou didst send me. And when he had said that, he cried with a **(28)** loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. And that dead man came out, having his hands and feet bound with bandages, and his face wrapped in a scarf. Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go. **(29)** And many of the Jews which came unto Mary, when they saw the deed of Jesus, **(30)** believed in him. But some of them went to the Pharisees, and informed them of all that Jesus did. **(31)** And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered, and said, What shall we do? **(32)** for lo, this man doeth many signs. And if we leave him thus, all men will believe **(33)** in him: and the Romans will come and take our country and people. And one of them, who was called Caiaphas, the chief priest he was in that year, said unto them, **(34)** Ye know not anything, nor consider that it is more advantageous for us that one **(35)** man should die instead of the people, and not that the whole people perish. And this he said not of himself: but because he was the chief priest of that year, he **(36)** prophesied that Jesus was to die instead of the people; and not instead of the people alone, but that he might gather the scattered children of God together. **(37)** And from that day they considered how to kill him. **(38)** And Jesus did not walk openly amongst the Jews, but departed thence to a place near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and he was there, going **(39)** about with his disciples. And the passover of the Jews was near: and many went **(40)** up from the villages unto Jerusalem before the feast, to purify themselves. And they sought for Jesus, and said one to another in the temple, What think ye of his **(41)** holding back from the feast? And the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment, that, if any man knew in what place he was, he should reveal it to them, that they might take him. **(42)** And when the days of his going up were accomplished, he prepared himself that **(43)**

he might go to Jerusalem. And he sent messengers before him, and departed, and **(44)** entered into a village of Samaria, that they might make ready for him. And they **(45)** received him not, because he was prepared for going to Jerusalem. And when James and John his disciples saw it, they said unto him, Our Lord, wilt thou that we speak, and fire come down from heaven, to extirpate them, as did Elijah also? **(46)** And Jesus turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are. **(47)** Verily the Son of man did not come to destroy lives, but to give life. And they went to another village.

SECTION 39

JOHN 12:1-18; MARK 14:3-7; 11:6-10; MATTHEW 26:9-12; 21:1-7

(1) And Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where was Lazarus, **(2)** whom Jesus raised from among the dead. And they made a feast for him there: **(3)** and Martha was serving; while Lazarus was one of them that sat with him. And **(4)** at the time of Jesus' being at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, great multitudes of the Jews heard that Jesus was there: and they came, not because of Jesus alone, but that they might look also on Lazarus, whom he raised from among the dead. **(5, 6)** And the chief priests considered how they might kill Lazarus also; because **(7)** many of the Jews were going on his account, and believing in Jesus And Mary took a case of the ointment of fine nard, of great price, and opened it, and poured **(8)** it out on the head of Jesus as he was reclining; and she anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair: and the house was filled with the odor of the ointment. **(9, 10)** But Judas Iscariot, one of the disciples, he that was to betray him, said, Why was **(11)** not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given unto the poor? This he said, not because of his care for the poor, but because he was a thief, and the chest **(12)** was with him, and what was put into it he used to bear. And that displeased the rest of the disciples also within themselves, and they said, Why went this ointment **(13)** to waste? It was possible that it should be sold for much, and the poor be given **(14)** it. And they were angry with Mary. And Jesus perceived it, and said unto them, Leave her; why molest ye her? a good work hath she accomplished on me: for the **(15)** day of my

burial kept she it. At all times the poor are with you, and when ye **(16)** wish ye can do them a kindness: but I am not at all times with you. And for this cause, when she poured this ointment on my body, it is as if she did it for my burial **(17)**, and anointed my body beforehand. And verily I say unto you, In every place where this my gospel shall be proclaimed in all the world, what she did shall be told for a memorial of her. **(18, 19)** And when Jesus said that, he went out leisurely to go to Jerusalem, And when he arrived at Bethphage and at Bethany, beside the mount which is **(20)** called the mount of Olives, Jesus sent two of his disciples, and he said unto them, Go **(21)** into this village that is opposite you: and when ye enter it, ye shall find an ass tied, and **(22)** a colt with him, which no man ever yet mounted: loose him, and bring them unto me. And if any man say unto you, Why loose ye them? say unto him thus, We **(23)** seek them for our Lord; and straightway send them hither.All this was, that what was said in the prophet might be fulfilled, which said,

> **(24)** Say ye unto the daughter of Zion,
> Behold, thy King cometh unto thee,
> Meek, and riding upon an ass,
> And upon a colt the foal of an ass.

(25) And the disciples did not know this at that time: but after that Jesus was glorified, his disciples remembered that these things were written of him, and that this **(26)** they had done unto him. And when the two disciples went, they found as he had **(27)** said unto them, and they did as Jesus charged them. And when they loosed them, **(28)** their owners said unto them, Why loose ye them? They said unto them, We seek **(29)** them for our Lord. And they let them go. And they brought the ass and the colt, **(30)** and they placed on the colt their garments; and Jesus mounted it. And most of the multitudes spread their garments on the ground before him: and others cut branches **(31)** from the trees, and threw them in the way. And when he neared his descent from the mount of Olives, all the disciples began to rejoice and to praise God with **(32)** a loud voice for all the powers which they had seen; and they said, Praise in the highest; Praise to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name **(33)** of the Lord; and blessed is the kingdom that cometh, that of our father David: Peace in heaven, and praise in the highest. **(34)** And a great multitude, that which came to the feast, when they heard that Jesus **(35)** was coming to

Jerusalem, took young palm branches, and went forth to meet him, and cried and said, Praise: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the **(36)** King of Israel. Certain therefore of the Pharisees from among the multitudes **(37)** said unto him, Our Master, rebuke thy disciples. He said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If these were silent, the stones would cry out. **(38, 39)** And when he drew near, and saw the city, he wept over it, and said, Would that thou hadst known the things that are for thy peace, in this thy day! now that is **(40)** hidden from thine eyes. There shall come unto thee days when thine enemies **(41)** shall encompass thee, and straiten thee from every quarter, and shall get possession of thee, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation. **(42)** And when he entered into Jerusalem, the whole city was agitated, and they said, **(43)** Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is Jesus, the prophet that is from Nazareth **(44)** of Galilee. And the multitude which was with him bare witness that he called **(45)** Lazarus from the grave, and raised him from among the dead. And for this cause great multitudes went out to meet him, because they heard the sign which he did.

SECTION 40

MATTHEW 21:14-23:33; JOHN 12:19-36; LUKE 17:20-21; 11:5, 45, 46 MARK 12:37-40

(1) And when Jesus entered the temple, they brought unto him blind and **(2)** lame: and he healed them. But when the chief priests and the Pharisees saw the wonders that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and **(3)** saying, Praise be to the Son of David: it distressed them, and they said, Hearest thou not what these say? Jesus said unto them, Yea: did ye not read long ago, From **(4)** the mouths of children and infants thou hast chosen my praise? And the Pharisees said one to another, Behold, do ye not see that nothing availeth us? for lo, the whole world hath followed him. **(5)** And there were among them certain Gentiles also, which had come up to worship **(6)** at the feast: these therefore came to Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, **(7)** and asked him, and said unto him, My Lord, we wish to see Jesus. And Philip **(8)** came and told

Andrew: and Andrew and Philip told Jesus. And Jesus answered and said unto them, The hour is come nigh, in which the Son of man is to be glorified **(9)**. Verily, verily, I say unto you, A grain of wheat, if it fall not and die in the **(10)** earth, remaineth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. He that loveth his life destroyeth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto the life eternal **(11)**. If a man serve me, he will follow me; and where I am, there shall my servant be **(12)** also: and whosoever serveth me, the Father will honor him. Now is my soul troubled : and what shall I say? My Father, deliver me from this hour. But **(13)** for this cause came I unto this hour. My Father, glorify thy name. And a **(14)** voice was heard from heaven, I have glorified it, and shall glorify it. And the multitude that were standing heard, and said, This is thunder: and others said, An **(15)** angel speaketh to him. Jesus answered and said unto them, Not because of me **(16)** was this voice, but because of you. Now is the judgement of this world; and the **(17)** prince of this world shall now be cast forth. And I, when I am lifted up from the **(18)** earth, shall draw every man unto me. This he said, that he might shew by what **(19)** manner of death he should die. The multitudes said unto him, We have heard out of the law that the Messiah abideth for ever: how then sayest thou, that the Son of **(20)** man is to be lifted up? who is this, the Son of man? Jesus said unto them, Another little while is the light with you. Walk so long as ye have light, test the darkness overtake you; for he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. **(21)** So long as ye have light, believe the light, that ye may be the children of the light. **(22)** And when certain of the Pharisees asked of Jesus, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered and said unto them, The kingdom of God cometh not **(23)** with expectation: neither shall they say, Lo, it is here! nor, Lo, it is there! for the kingdom of God is within you. **(24)** And in the daytime he was teaching in the temple; and at night he used to go **(25)** out, and pass the night in the mount called the mount of Olives.And all the people came to him in the morning in the temple, to hear his word. **(26, 27)** Then spoke Jesus unto the multitudes and his disciples, and said unto them, On the seat of Moses are seated the scribes and Pharisees: everything that they say unto you now to keep, keep and do: but according to their deeds **(29)** do ye not; for they say, and do not. And they bind heavy burdens, and lay them on the shoulders of the people; while they with one of their fingers will not come **(30, 31)** near them. But all

their deeds they do to make a shew before men. And all the multitude were hearing that with pleasure. **(32)** And in the course of his teaching he said unto them, Guard yourselves from the **(33)** scribes, who desire to walk in robes, and love salutation in the marketplaces, and sitting in the highest places of the synagogues, and at feasts in the highest parts of **(34)** the rooms: and they broaden their amulets, and lengthen the cords of their cloaks, **(35)** and love that they should be called by men, My master, and devour widows' houses, because a of their prolonging' their prayers; these then shall receive greater judgement **(36)**. But ye, be ye not called masters: for your master is one; all ye are brethren. **(37)** Call not then to yourselves any one father on earth: for your Father is one, who is **(38)** in heaven. And be not called directors: for your director is one, even the Messiah. **(39, 40)** He that is great among you shall be unto you a minister. Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and whosoever shall abase himself shall be exalted. **(41)** Woe unto you, Pharisees! because ye love the highest places in the synagogues, and salutation in the marketplaces. **(42)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye devour widows' houses, because of your prolonging your prayers: for this reason then ye shall receive greater judgement. **(43)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye have shut the kingdom of God before men. **(44)** Woe unto you that know the law! for ye concealed the keys of knowledge: ye enter not, and those that are entering ye suffer not to enter. **(45)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye compass land and sea to draw one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him a son of hell twice as much as yourselves. **(46)** Woe unto you, ye blind! guides! because ye say, Whosoever sweareth by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the gold that is in the temple, **(47)** shall be condemned. Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the gold, or the **(48)** temple which sanctifieth the gold? And, Whosoever sweareth by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever sweareth by the offering that is upon it, shall be condemned. **(49)** Ye blind foolish ones: which is greater, the offering, or the altar which sanctifieth **(50)** the offering? Whosoever then sweareth by the altar, hath sworn by it, and by all **(51)** that is upon it. And whosoever sweareth by the temple, hath sworn by it, and by **(52)** him that is dwelling in it. And whosoever sweareth by heaven, hath sworn by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth upon it. **(53)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye tithe mint and rue and dill and cummin

and all herbs, and ye leave the important matters of the law, judgement, and mercy, and faith, and the love of God: this ought ye to do, and **(54)** not to leave that undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat, and swallow n camels. **(55)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, while the inside of them is full of injustice and wrong. **(56)** Ye blind Pharisees, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, then shall the outside of them be cleansed. **(57)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye resemble whited sepulchres, which appear from the outside beautiful, but within **(58)** full of the bones of the dead, and all uncleanness. So ye also from without appear unto men like the righteous, but within ye are full of wrong and hypocrisy. **(59)** One of the scribes answered and said unto him, Teacher, in this saying of thine **(60)** thou art casting a slur on us. He said, And to you also, ye scribes, woe! for ye lade men with heavy burdens, and ye with one of your fingers come not near those burdens. **(61)** Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, which your fathers killed, and adorn the burying-places of the righteous, **(62)** and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers **(63)** with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore, behold, ye witness against **(64)** yourselves, that ye are the children of those that slew the prophets. And ye also, **(65)** ye fill up the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye children of vipers, where shall ye flee from the judgement of Gehenna?

SECTION 41

MATTHEW 23:34-24:14; JOHN 12:42
LUKE 11:53-12:3; 19:43, 44; 21:5-18 MARK 13:1-11

(1) Therefore, behold, I, the wisdom of God, am sending unto you prophets, and apostles, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye shall slay and crucify; and some of them ye shall beat in your synagogues, and persecute from city to **(2)** city: that there may come on you all the blood of the righteous that hath been poured upon the ground from the blood of Abel the pure to the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. **(3)** Verily I say unto you,

All these things shall come upon this generation, **(4)** O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, slayer of the prophets, and stoner of them that are sent unto her! how many times did I wish to gather thy children, as **(5)** a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Your house shall **(6)** be left over you desolate. Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. **(7)** And many of the rulers also believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they **(8)** were not confessing him, lest they be putout of the synagogue: and they loved **(9)** the praise of men more than the praising of God. And Jesus cried and said, **(10)** Whosoever believeth in me, believeth not in me, but in him that sent me. And **(11)** whosoever seeth me hath seen him that sent me. I am come a light into the **(12)** world, and so every one that believeth in me abideth not in the darkness. And whosoever heareth my sayings, and keepeth them not, I judge him not: for I came **(13)** not to judge the world, but to give the world life. Whosoever wrongeth me, and receiveth not my sayings, there is one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, it **(14)** shall judge him at the last day. I from myself did not speak: but the Father which sent me, he hath given me commandment, what I should say, and what I **(15)** should speak; and I know that his commandment is eternal life. The things that I say now, as my Father hath said unto me, even so I say. **(16)** And when he said that unto them, the scribes and Pharisees began their evil-doing, being angry with him, and finding fault with his sayings, and harassing him **(17)** in many things; seeking to catch something from his mouth, that they might be able to calumniate him. **(18)** And when there gathered together myriads of great multitudes, which almost trode one upon another, Jesus began to say unto his disciples, Preserve yourselves **(19)** from the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For there is nothing **(20)** concealed, that shall not be revealed: nor hid, that shall not be known. Everything that ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken secretly in the ears in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed on the roofs. **(21, 22)** This said Jesus, and he went and hid himself from them. But notwithstanding **(23)** his having done all these signs before them, they believed not in him: that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, who said,

My Lord, who is he that hath believed to hear us?
And the arm of the Lord, to whom hath it appeared?

(24) And for this reason it is not possible for them to believe, because Isaiah also said,

(25) They have blinded their eyes, and made dark their heart;

That they may not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, And turn,
So that I should heal them.

(26) This said Isaiah when he saw his glory, and spake of him. **(27)** And when Jesus went out of the temple, certain of his disciples came forward **(28)** to shew him the buildings of the temple, and its beauty and greatness, and the strength of the stones that were laid in it, and the elegance of its building, and that **(29)** it was adorned with noble stones and beautiful colors. Jesus answered and said **(30)** unto them, See ye these great buildings? verily I say unto you, Days will come, when there shall not be left here a stone upon another, that shall not be cast down. **(31)** And two days before the passover of unleavened bread, the chief priests and **(32)** the scribes sought how they might take him by deceit, and kill him: and they said, It shall not be at the feast, lest the people be agitated. **(33)** And when Jesus sat on the mount of Olives opposite the temple, his disciples, Simon Cephas and James and John and Andrew, came forward unto him, and said unto him **(34)** between themselves and him, Teacher, tell us when that shall be, and what is the sign **(35)** of thy coming and the end of the world. Jesus answered and said unto them, Days will come, when ye shall long to see one of the days of the Son of **(36, 37)** man, and shall not behold. Take heed lest any man lead you astray. Many shall **(38)** come in my name, and say, I am the Messiah; and they shall say, The time is come **(39)** near, and shall lead many astray: go not therefore after them. And when ye hear of wars and tidings of insurrections, see to it, be not agitated: for these things must **(40)** first be; only the end is not yet come. Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom **(41)** against kingdom: and great earthquakes shall be in one place and another, and there shall be famines and deaths and agitations: and there shall be fear and terror and great signs that shall appear from heaven, and there shall be great **(42, 43)** storms. All these things are the beginning of travail. But before all of that, they shall

lay hands upon you, and persecute you, and deliver you unto the synagogues **(44)** and into prisons, and bring you before kings and judges for my name's sake. And **(45)** that shall be unto you for a witness. But first must my gospel be preached unto all **(46)** nations. And when they bring you into the synagogues before the rulers and the authorities, be not anxious beforehand how ye shall answer for yourselves, or what ye **(47, 48)** shall say: because it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit. Lay it to your heart, not **(49)** to be anxious before the time what ye shall say: and I shall give you understanding and wisdom,s which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay. **(50)** And then shall they deliver you unto constraint, and shall kill you: and ye shall be **(51)** hated of all nations because of my name. And then shall many go astray, and they **(52)** shall hate one another, and deliver one another unto death. And your parents, and your brethren, and your kinsfolk, and your friends shall deliver you up, and shall **(53, 54)** slay some of you. But a lock of hair from your heads shall not perish. And by **(55)** your patience ye shall gain your souls. And many men, false prophets, shall arise, **(56)** and lead many astray. And because of the abounding of iniquity, the love of many **(57)** shall wax cold. But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And **(58)** this, the gospel of the kingdom, shall be preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations; and then shall come the end of all.

SECTION 42

LUKE 21:20-36; 17:28-37; MATTHEW 24:15-43; MARK 13:15-37

(1) But when ye see Jerusalem with the army compassing it about, then know that **(2)** its desolation is come near. Those then that are in Judaea at that time shall flee to the mountain; and those that are within her shall flee; and those that are in the **(3)** villages shall not enter her. For these days are the days of vengeance, that all that **(4)** is written may be fulfilled. And when ye see the unclean sign of desolation, spoken of in Daniel the prophet, standing in the pure place, he that readeth shall understand, **(5, 6)** and then he that is in Judaea shall flee in to the mountain: and let him that is on the **(7)** roof not go down, nor enter in to take anything from his house: and let him that is in **(8)** the field not turn behind him to take his

garment. Woe to them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! there shall be great **(9)** distress in the land, and wrath against this nation. And they shall fall on the edge of the sword, and shall be taken captive to every land: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the nations, until the times of the nations be ended. **(10)** Then if any man say unto you, The Messiah is here; or, Lo, he is there; believe **(11)** him not: there shall rise then false Messiahs and prophets of lying, and shall do signs and wonders, in order that they may lead astray even the elect also, if they **(12)** be able. But as for you, beware: for I have acquainted you with everything **(13)** beforehand. If then they say unto you, Lo, he is in the desert; go not out, lest ye **(14)** be taken: and if they say unto you, Lo, he is in the chamber; believe not. And as the lightning appeareth from the east, and is seen unto the west; so shall be the **(15)** coming of the Son of man. But first he must suffer much and be rejected by this **(16)** generation. Pray therefore that your flight be not in winter, nor on a sabbath: **(17)** there shall be then great tribulation, the like of which there hath not been from the **(18)** beginning of the world till now, nor shall be. And except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh would have lived: but because of the elect, whom he elected, **(19)** he shortened those days. And there shall be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars; and upon the earth affliction of the nations, and rubbing of hands for the confusion **(20)** of the noise of the sea, and an earthquake: the souls of men shall **(21)** go forth from fear of that which is to come upon the earth. And in those days, straightway after the distress of those days, the sun shall become dark, and the moon shall not shew its light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers **(22)** of heaven shall be convulsed: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and at that time all the tribes of the earth shall wail, and look unto the Son **(23)** of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and much glory. And he shall send his angels with the great trumpet, and they shall gather his elect from the four **(24)** winds, from one end of heaven to the other. But when these things begin to be, be of good cheer, and lift up your heads; for your salvation is come near. **(25)** Learn the example of the fig tree: when it letteth down its branches, and putteth **(26)** forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is come; so ye also, when ye see these things begun to be, know ye that the kingdom of God hath arrived at the **(27)** door. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these **(28)** things shall be. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but

my sayings shall not pass away. **(29)** Take heed to yourselves, that your hearts become not heavy with inordinate desire, and drunkenness, and the care of the world at any time, and that day come **(30)** upon you suddenly: for it is as a shock that shocks all the inhabitants that are on the **(31)** face of the whole earth. Watch at all times, and pray, that ye may be worthy to escape from all the things that are to be, and that ye may stand before the Son of **(32)** man. Of that day and of that hour hath no man learned, not even the angels **(33)** of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. See ye, and watch and pray: for ye know **(34)** not when that time will be. It is as a man, who journeyed, and left his house, and gave his authority to his servants, and appointed every man to his work, and **(35)** charged the porter to be wakeful. Be wakeful then: since ye know not when the Lord of the house cometh, in the evening, or in the middle of the night, or when the **(36)** cock croweth, or in the morning; lest he come unexpectedly, and find you sleeping. **(37)** The thing that I say unto you, unto all of you do I say it, Be ye watchful. **(38)** For as it was in the days of Noah, so shall the coming of the Son of man be. **(39)** As they were before the flood eating and drinking, and taking wives, and giving **(40)** wives to men, until the day in which Noah entered into the ark, and they perceived not till the flood came, and took them all; so shall the coming of the Son of man **(41)** be. And as it was in the days of Lot; they were eating and drinking, and selling **(42)** and buying, and planting and building, on the day in which Lot went out from Sodom, and the Lord rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them **(43, 44)** all: so shall it be in the day in which the Son of man is revealed. And in that day, whosoever is on the roof, and his garments in the house, let him not go down to **(45)** take them: and he that is in the field shall not turn behind him. Remember Lot's **(46)** wife. Whosoever shall desire to save his life shall destroy it: but whosoever shall **(47)** destroy his life shall save it. Verily I say unto you, In that night there shall be two on **(48)** one bed; one shall be taken, and another left. And two women shall be grinding **(49)** at one mill; one shall be taken, and another left. And two shall be in the **(50)** field; one shall be taken, and another left. They answered and said unto him, To what place, our Lord? He said unto them, Where the body is, there will the eagles **(51, 52)** gather. Be attentive now: for ye know not at what hour your Lord cometh. Know this: if the master of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have been attentive, and would not make it possible that his house

should be **(53)** broken through. Therefore be ye also ready: for in the hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh.

SECTION 43

LUKE 12:37-41; MATTHEW 24:45-25:46

(1) Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, is it to us that thou hast spoken this **(2)** parable, or also to every man? Jesus said unto him, Who, thinkest thou, is the servant, the master of the house, trusted with control, whom his Lord set over his **(3)** household, to give them their food in its season? Blessed is that servant, whom his **(4)** Lord shall come and find having done so. Verily I say unto you, He will set him **(5)** over all that he hath. But if that evil servant say in his heart, My Lord delayeth his **(6)** coming; and shall begin to beat his servants and the maidservants of his Lord, and **(7)** shall begin to eat and to drink with the drunken; the Lord of that servant shall come **(8)** in the day that he thinketh not, and in the hour that he knoweth not, and shall judge him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites, and with those that are not faithful: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. **(9)** Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like unto ten virgins, those that took their **(10)** lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom and the bride. Five of them were **(11)** wise, and five foolish. And those foolish ones took their lamps, and took not with **(12, 13)** them oil: but those wise ones took oil in vessels along with their lamps. When then **(14)** the bridegroom delayed, they all slumbered and slept. But in the middle of the night there occurred a cry, Behold, the bridegroom cometh! Go forth therefore to **(15, 16)** meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and made ready their lamps. The foolish **(17)** said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out. But those wise answered and said, Perhaps there will not be enough for us and you: but go ye to **(18)** the sellers, and buy for yourselves. And when they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and those that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and **(19)** the door was shut. And at last those other virgins also came and said, Our Lord, **(20)** our Lord, open unto us. He answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, **(21)** I know you not. Watch then, for ye know not that day nor that hour. **(22)** It is as a man, who went

on a journey, and called his servants, and delivered unto **(23)** them his possessions. And unto one he gave five talents, and another two, and another **(24)** one; every one according to his strength; and went on his journey forthwith. He then that received the five talents went and traded with them, and gained **(25, 26)** other five. And so also he of the two gained other two. But he that received **(27)** the one went and digged in the earth, and hid the money of his Lord. And after a long time the Lord of those servants came, and took from them the account. **(28)** And he that received five talents came near and brought other five, and said, My Lord, thou gavest me five talents: lo, I have gained other five in addition to them. **(29)** His Lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: over a little hast **(30)** thou been faithful, over much will I set thee: enter into the joy of thy Lord. And he that had the two came near and said, My Lord, thou gavest me two talents: lo, **(31)** other two have I gained in addition to them. His Lord said unto him, Good, thou faithful servant: over a little hast thou been faithful, over much will I set thee: enter **(32)** into the joy of thy Lord. And he also that received the one talent came forward and said, My Lord, I knew thee that thou an a severe man, who reapest where thou **(33)** sowest not, and gatherest where thou didst not scatter: and so I was afraid, and **(34)** went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast what is thine. His Lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest me **(35)** that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; it was incumbent on thee to put my money to the bank, and then I should come and seek it with its **(36)** gains. Take now from him the talent, and give it to him that hath ten talents. **(37)** Whosoever hath shall be given, and he shall have more: but he that hath not, even **(38)** what he hath shall be taken from him. And the unprofitable servant, put him forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. **(39, 40)** Your loins shall be girded, and your lamps lit; and ye shall be like the people that are looking for their Lord, when he shall return from the feast; so that, when **(41)** he cometh and knocketh, they may at once open unto him. Blessed are those servants, whom their Lord shall come and find attentive: verily I say unto you, that he will gird his waist, and make them sit down, and pass through them and serve **(42)** them. And if he come in the second watch, or the third, and find thus, blessed are those servants. **(43)** But when the Son of man cometh in his glory, and all his pure angels with him, **(44)** then shall he sit on the throne

of his glory: and he will gather before him all the nations, and separate them the one from the other, like the shepherd who separateth **(45)** the sheep from the goats; and will set the sheep on his right, and the goats on his **(46)** left. Then shall the King say to those that are at his right, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world: **(47)** I hungered, and ye gave me to eat; and I thirsted, and ye gave me to drink; and I **(48)** was a stranger, and ye took me in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me; and I **(49)** was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye cared for me. Then shall those righteous say unto him, Our Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? **(50)** or thirsty, and gave thee to drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took **(51)** thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or imprisoned, and **(52)** cared for thee? The King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, What ye did to one of these my brethren, the little ones, ye did unto me. Then **(53)** shall he say unto those that are on his left also, Depart from me, ye cursed, **(54)** into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his hosts: I hungered, and ye fed me **(55)** not; and I thirsted, and ye did not give me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me not; and I was sick, and im- **(56)** prisoned, and ye visited me not. Then shall those also answer and say, Our Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or sick, or **(57)** imprisoned, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, When ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not **(58)** unto me also. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

SECTION 44

MATTHEW 26:1-18; LUKE 22:23; JOHN 13:1-22; MARK 14:11-21

(1, 2) And when Jesus finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, Ye know that after two days will be the passover, and the Son of man is delivered up to be **(3)** crucified. Then gathered together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders **(4)** of the people, unto the court of the chief priest, who was called Caiaphas; and they took counsel together

concerning Jesus, that they might seize him by subtilty, and **(5)** kill him.
But they said, Not during the feast, lest there take place a disturbance
among the people; for they feared the people. **(6)** And Satan entered into
Judas who was called Iscariot, who was of the number **(7)** of the twelve.
And he went away, and communed with the chief priests, and the scribes,
and those that held command in the temple, and said unto them, What **(8)**
would ye pay me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they, when they
heard it, were pleased, and made ready for him thirty pieces of money. **(9)**
And he promised them, and from that time he sought an opportunity that
he might deliver unto them Jesus without the multitude. **(10)** And on the
first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, and said unto
him, Where wilt thou that we go and make ready for thee that thou mayest
eat the passover? **(11)** And before the feast of the passover, Jesus knew
that the hour was arrived for his departure from this world unto his Father;
and he loved his own in this world, **(12)** and to the last he loved them. And
at the time of the feast, Satan put into the **(13)** heart of Judas, the son of
Simon Iscariot, to deliver him up. And Jesus, because he knew that the
Father had delivered into his hands everything, and that he came **(14)** forth
from the Father, and goeth unto God, rose from supper, and laid aside his
(15) garments; and took a towel, and girded his waist, and poured water
into a bason, and began to wash the feet of his disciples, and to wipe them
with the towel wherewith **(16)** his waist was girded. And when he came to
Simon Cephas, Simon said unto **(17)** him, Dost thou, my Lord, wash for
me my feet? Jesus answered and said unto **(18)** him, What I do, now thou
knowest not; but afterwards thou shall learn. Simon said unto him, Thou
shalt never wash for me my feet. Jesus said unto him, If I **(19)** wash thee
not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Cephas said unto him, Then, my
(20) Lord, wash not for me my feet alone, but my hands also and my head.
Jesus said unto him, He that batheth needeth not to wash save his feet,
whereas his whole **(21)** body is clean: and ye also are clean, but not all of
you. For Jesus knew him that should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are
not all clean. **(22)** So when he had washed their feet, he took his garments,
and sat down, and **(23)** said unto them, Know ye what I have done unto
you? Ye call me, Master, **(24)** and, Lord: and ye say well; so I am. If then
I, now, who am your Lord and Master, have washed for you your feet,
how needful is it that ye should wash one another's feet! **(25)** This have I
given you as an example, that as I have done to you so ye should do **(26)**

also. Verily, verily, I say unto you, No servant is greater than his Lord; nor an **(27)** apostle greater than he that sent him. If ye know that, ye are happy if ye do it. **(28)** My saying this is not for all of you: for I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture might be fulfilled, He that eateth with me bread lifted against me his **(29)** heel. Henceforth I say unto you before it come to pass, that, when it cometh to **(30)** pass, ye may believe that I am he. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. **(31)** Who is the great one, he that sitteth, or he that serveth? is it not he that sitteth? **(32)** I am among you as he that serveth. But ye are they that have continued with me **(33)** in my temptations; I promise you, as my Father promised me, the kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at the table of my kingdom. **(34)** And the first day came, the feast of unleavened bread, on which the Jews were **(35)** wont to sacrifice the passover. And Jesus sent two of his disciples, Cephas and John, and said unto them, Go and make ready for us the passover, that we may eat. **(36, 37)** And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we make ready for thee? He said unto them, Go, enter the city; and at the time of your entering, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water; follow him, and the place where he entereth, say **(38)** to such an one, the master of the house, Our Master saith, My time is come, and at thy house I keep the passover. Where then is the lodging-place where **(39)** I shall eat with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room **(40)** spread and made ready: there then make ready for us. And his two disciples went out, and came to the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover as he had said unto them. **(41)** And when the evening was come, and the time arrived, Jesus came and reclined, **(42)** and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have **(43)** desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: I say unto you, that henceforth I shall not eat it, until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God. **(44)** Jesus said that, and was agitatedin his spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, **(45)** verily, I say unto you, One of you, he that eateth with me, shall betray me. And they were very sorrowful; and they began to say unto him, one after another of **(46)** them, Can it be 1, Lord? He answered and said unto them, One of the twelve, **(47)** he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, will betray me. And Io, the hand of **(48)** him that betrayeth me is on the table. And the Son of man goeth, as it is written of him: woe then

to that man by whose hand the Son of man is betrayed! for it **(49)** would have been better for that man had he not been born. And the disciples **(50)** looked one on another, for they knew not to whom he referred; and they began to search among themselves, who that might be who was to do this.

SECTION 45

JOHN 13:23-14:20; MARK 14:22-31; 26:28-29; MATTHEW 26:25-33

(1, 2) And one of his disciples was sitting in his bosom, he whom Jesus loved. To him Simon Cephas beckoned, that he should ask him who this was, concerning **(3)** whom he spake. And that disciple leaned on Jesus' breast, and said unto him, **(4)** My Lord, who is this? Jesus answered and said, He to whom I shall dip bread, and give it. And Jesus dipped bread, and gave to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. **(5)** And after the bread, Satan entered him. And Jesus said unto him, What thou **(6)** desirest to do, hasten the doing of it. And no man of them that sat knew why he **(7)** said this unto him. And some of them thought, because Judas had the box, that he was bidding him buy what would be needed for the feast; or, that he might pay **(8)** something to the poor. Judas the betrayer answered and said, Can it be I, my **(9)** Master? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said. And Judas took the bread straightway, and went forth without: and it was still night. **(10)** And Jesus said, Now is the Son of man being glorified, and God is being glorified **(11)** in him; and if God is glorified in him, God also will glorify him in him, and straightway will glorify him. **(12)** And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and divided; and he **(13)** gave to his disciples, and said unto them, Take and eat; this is my body. And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and blessed, and gave them, and said, Take **(14, 15)** and drink of it, all of you. And they drank of it, all of them. And he said unto them, This is my blood, the new covenant, that is shed for many for the **(16)** forgiveness of sins. I say unto you, I shall not drink henceforth of this, the juice of the vine, until the day in which I drink with you new wine in the kingdom of **(17)** God. And thus do ye in remembrance of me. And Jesus said unto Simon, Simon, **(18)** behold, Satan asketh that he may sift you like wheat: but I entreat for thee, that thou

lose not thy faith: and do thou, at some time, turn and strengthen thy brethren. **(19)** My children, another little while am I with you. And ye shall seek me: and as **(20)** I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; I say unto you now also. A new commandment I give you, that ye may love one another; and as I have loved **(21)** you, so shall ye also love one another. By this shall every man know that ye are **(22)** my disciples. if ye have love one to another. Simon Cephas said unto him, Our Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered and said unto him, Whither I go, thou canst not now follow me; but later thou shall come. **(23)** Then said Jesus unto them, Ye all shall desert me this night: it is written, I **(24)** will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered. But after my **(25)** rising, I shall go before you into Galilee. Simon Cephas answered and said unto **(26)** him, My Lord, if every man desert thee, I shall at no time desert thee. I am with thee ready for imprisonment and for death. And my life will I give up for thee. **(27)** Jesus said unto him, Wilt thou give up thy life for me? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Thou shall today, during this night, before the cock crow **(28)** twice, three times deny me, that thou knowest me not. But Cephas said the more, Even if it lead to death with thee, I shall not deny thee, my Lord. And in like manner said all the disciples also. **(29)** Then Jesus said unto them, Let not your hearts be troubled: believe in God, **(30)** and believe in me. The stations in my Father’s house are many, else I should **(31)** have told you. I go to prepare for you a place. And if I go to prepare for you a place, I shall return again, and take you unto me: and so where I am, there ye **(32, 33)** shall be also. And the place that I go ye know, and the way ye know. Thomas said unto him, Our Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how is the way for **(34)** us to the knowledge of that? Jesus said unto him, I am the way, and the truth, **(35)** and the life: and no man cometh unto my Father, but through me. And if ye had known me, ye should have known my Father: and from henceforth ye know him, **(36)** and have seen him. Philip said unto him, Our Lord, shew us the Father, and it **(37)** sufficeth us. Jesus said unto him, Have I been all this time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip? whosoever hath seen me hath seen the Father; how then sayest **(38)** thou, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in my Father, and my Father in me? and the saying that I say, I say not of myself: but my Father who dwelleth in **(39)** me, he doeth these deeds. Believe that I am in my Father, and my Father in me: **(40)** or else believe for the sake of

the deeds. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever believeth in me, the deeds that I do shall he do also; and **(41)** more than that shall he do: I go unto the Father. And what ye shall ask in my **(42)** name, I shall do unto you, that the Father may be glorified in his Son. And if ye **(43, 44)** ask me is in my name, I will do it. If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will entreat of my Father, and he will send unto you another Paraclete, that he **(45)** may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth: whom the world cannot receive; for it hath not seen him, nor known him: but ye know him; for he hath dwelt **(46)** with you, and is in you. I will not leave you orphans: I will come unto you. **(47)** Another little while, and the world seeth me not; but ye see me that I live, and ye **(48)** shall live also. And in that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.

SECTION 46

JOHN 14:21-16:15; LUKE 22:35-39

(1) Whosoever hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will **(2)** shew myself unto him. Judas (not Iscariot) said unto him, My Lord, what is the **(3)** purpose of thy intention to shew thyself to us, and not to the world? Jesus answered and said unto him, Whosoever loveth me will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and to him will we come, and make our abode with him. **(4)** But he that loveth me not keepeth not my word: and this word that ye hear is not my word, but the Father's which sent me. **(5, 6)** This have I spoken unto you, while I was yet with you. But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom my Father will send in my name, he will teach you everything, and **(7)** he will bring to your remembrance all that I say unto you. Peace I leave you; my peace I give unto you: and not as this world giveth, give I unto you. **(8)** Let your heart not be troubled, nor fearful. Ye heard that I said unto you, that I go away, and come unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, that I go away to my **(9)** Father: for my Father is greater than I. And now I say unto you before it come **(10)** to pass, that, when it cometh to pass, ye may believe me. Now I will not speak with you much: the Archon of the world will come, and he will have nothing in **(11)** me: but that the world may know

that I love my Father, and as my Father charged me, so I do. **(12)** And he said unto them, When I sent you without purses, or wallets, and shoes, **(13)** lacked ye perchance anything? They said unto him, Nothing. He said unto them, Henceforth, whosoever hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise the wallet also: and whosoever hath not a sword, shall sell his garment, and buy for himself a **(14)** sword. I say unto you, that this scripture also must be fulfilled in me, that I should be reckoned with the transgressors: for all that is said of me is fulfilled in **(15)** me. His disciples said unto him, Our Lord, lo, here are two swords. He said **(16)** unto them, They are sufficient. Arise, let us go hence. And they arose, and praised, and went forth, and went, according to their custom, to the mount of Olives, he and his disciples. **(17)** And he said unto them, I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. **(18)** Every branch that produceth not fruit in me, he taketh it: and that which giveth fruit, **(19)** he cleanseth it, that it may give much fruit. Ye are already clean because of the word **(20)** that I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. And as the branch of the vine cannot produce fruit of itself, if it be not abiding in the vine; so too ye **(21)** also, if ye abide not in me. I am the vine, and ye are the branches: He then that abideth in me, and I in him, he giveth much fruit: for without me ye cannot **(22)** do anything. And if a man abide not in me, he is cast without, like a withered **(23)** branch; and it is gathered, and cast into the fire, that it may be burned. If ye abide in me, and my word abide in you, everything that ye desire to ask shall be **(24)** done unto you. And herein is the Father glorified, that ye may give much fruit; **(25)** and ye shall be my disciples. And as my Father loved me, I loved you also: **(26)** abide in my love. If ye keep my commands, ye shall abide in my love; as I have **(27)** kept my Father’s commands, and abode in his love. I have spoken that unto you, **(28)** that my joy may be in you, and your joy be fulfilled. This is my commandment, **(29)** that ye love one another, as I loved you. And no love is greater than this, namely, **(30)** that a man should give his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do all that **(31)** I command you. I call you not now servants; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth: my friends have I now called you; for everything that I heard from **(32)** my Father I have made known unto you. Ye did not choose me, but I chose I you, and appointed you, that ye also should go and bear fruit, and that your fruit should **(33)** abide; and that all that ye shall ask my Father in my name, he may give you. This **(34)** I command

you, that ye love one another. And if the world hate you, know that **(35)** before you it hated me. If then ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but ye are not of the world: I chose you out of the world: therefore the world **(36)** hateth you. Remember the word that I said unto you, that no servant is greater than his Lord. And if they persecuted me, you also will they **(37)** persecute; and if they kept my word, your word also will they keep. But all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, for they have not known him **(38)** that sent me. And if I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: **(39)** but now they have no excuse for their sins. Whosoever hateth me, also hateth my **(40)** Father. And if I had not done the deeds before them that no other man did, they would not have had sin: but now they have seen and hated me and my Father **(41)** also: that the word may be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me for **(42)** nothing. But when the Paraclete is come, whom I will send unto you from my Father, even the Spirit of truth, which goeth forth from my Father, he shall bear witness of **(43)** me: and ye also bear witness, because from the beginning ye have been with me. **(44, 45)** I have said that unto you, that ye may not stumble. And they shall put you out of their synagogues: and there cometh an hour when every one that killeth **(46)** you shall think that he hath offered unto God an offering. And they will do that, **(47)** because they do not know me, nor my Father. I have said that unto you, so that **(48)** when its time is come, ye may remember it, that I told you. And this hitherto I said not unto you, because I was with you. But now I go unto him that sent me; and no **(49)** man of you asketh me whither I go. I have said that unto you now, and grief hath **(50)** come and taken possession of your hems. But I say the truth unto you; It is better for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you; **(51)** but if I go away, I will send him unto you. And when he cometh, he will reprove the world for sin, and for righteousness, and for judgement: **(52, 53)** for sin, because they have not believed in me; and for righteousness, because I go **(54)** to my Father; and for judgement, because the Archon of this world hath been **(55)** judged. And further have I many things to speak unto you, but ye cannot tarry **(56)** now. Howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come, he will remind you of all the truth: he will say nothing from himself; but everything that he heareth, that shall **(57)** he say: and he shall make known unto you the things that are to be. And he shall **(58)** glorify me; for from me shall he

take and shew you. All that my Father hath is mine: therefore said I unto you, that he taketh of mine, and shall shew you.

SECTION 47

JOHN 16:16-17:26

(1) A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall **(2)** behold me; because I go to the Father. His disciples therefore said one to another, What is this that he hath said unto us, A little while, and ye shall not behold me; and a little while again, and ye shall behold me: and, I go to my **(3)** Father? And they said, What is this little while that he hath said? We know not **(4)** what he speaketh. And Jesus perceived that they were seeking to ask him, and said unto them, Do ye inquire among yourselves concerning this, that I said unto you, A little while, and ye behold me not, and a little while again, and ye shall **(5)** behold me? Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and grieve, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your grief shall turn to joy. **(6)** For, a woman when the time is come for her that she should bring forth, the arrival of the day of her bringing forth distresseth her: but whenever she hath brought forth a son, she remembereth not her distress, for joy at the birth of a man into the **(7)** world. And ye now also grieve: but I shall see you, and your hearts shall rejoice, **(8)** and your joy no man taketh from you. And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. And verily, verily, I say unto you, All that ye ask my Father **(9)** in my name, he will give you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name: ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be complete. **(10)** I have spoken unto you now in aenigmas: but there will come an hour when a I shall not speak to you in aenigmas, but shall reveal unto you the Father plainly, **(11)** in that day when ye shall ask in my name: and I say not unto you, that I shall **(12)** entreat the Father for you; for the Father loveth you, because ye have loved me, **(13)** and have believed that I came forth from my Father. I came forth from my Father, and came into the world: and I leave the world, and go unto my Father. **(14)** His disciples said unto him, Lo, thy speech is now plain, and thou hast not said one **(15)** thing in an aenigma. Now, lo, we know that thou knowest everything, and needest not that any man should ask thee:

and by this we believe that thou camest forth **(16, 17)** from God. Jesus said unto them, Believe that an hour cometh, and lo, it hath come, and ye shall be scattered, every one of you to his place, and shall leave me **(18)** alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me. This have I said unto you, that in me ye may have peace. And in the world trouble shall overtake you: but be of good courage; for I have overcome the world. **(19)** This said Jesus, and lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and said, My Father, the hour **(20)** is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son may glorify thee: as thou gavest him authority **(21)** over all flesh, that all that thou hast given him, he might give them eternal life. And this is eternal life, that they should know that thou alone art true God, and that he **(22)** whom thou didst send is Jesus the Messiah. I glorified thee in the earth, **(23)** and the work which thou gavest me to do I have accomplished. And now glorify thou me, O Father, beside thee, with that glory which I had with thee **(24)** before the world was. I made known thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them to me; and they have kept **(25, 26)** thy word. Now they know that all that thou hast given me is from thee: and the sayings which thou gavest me I have given unto them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came forth from thee, and believed that thou didst send me. **(27)** And I ask for their sake: and my asking is not for the world, but for those whom **(28)** thou hast given me; for they are thine: and all that is mine is thine, and all that is **(29)** thine is mine: and I am glorified in them. And now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. My holy Father, keep them in thy **(30)** name which thou hast given unto me, that they may be one, as we are. When I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: and I kept those whom thou gavest unto me: and no man of them hath perished, but the son of perdition; that **(31)** the scripture might be fulfilled. Now I come to thee: and this I say in the world, **(32)** that my joy may be complete in them. I have given them thy word; and the world **(33)** hated them, because they were not of the world, as I was not of the world. And I ask not this, that thou take them from the world, but that thou keep them from the **(34, 35)** evil one. They were not of the world, as I was not of the world. O Father, sanctify **(36)** them in thy truth: for thy word is truth. And as thou didst send me into the world, I **(37)** also send them into the world. And for their sake I sanctify myself, that they **(38)** also may be sanctified in the truth. Neither for these alone do I ask, but for **(39)** the

sake of them that believe in me through their word; that they may be all one; as thou art in me, and I in thee, and so they also shall be one in us: that the world **(40)** may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given unto **(41)** me I have given unto them; that they may be one, as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfect into one; and that the world may know that **(42)** thou didst send me, and that I loved them, as thou lovedst me. Father, and those whom thou hast given me, I wish that, where I am, they may be with me also; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before **(43)** the foundation of the world. My righteous Father, and the world knew thee not, **(44)** but I know thee; and they knew that thou didst send me; and I made known unto them thy name, and will make it known to them; that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I shall be in them.

SECTION 48

JOHN 18:1-18; LUKE 22:40-55; MATTHEW 26:36-58; MARK 14:35-51

(1) This said Jesus, and went forth with his disciples to a place which was called Gethsemane, on the side that is in the plain of Kidron, the mountain, the place **(2)** in which was a garden; and he entered thither, he and his disciples. And Judas the **(3)** betrayer knew that place: for Jesus oft-times met with his disciples there. And when Jesus came to the place, he said to his disciples, Sit ye here, so that I may go and pray; **(4, 5)** and pray ye, that ye enter not into temptations. And he took with him Cephas and the sons of Zebedee together, James and John; and he began to **(6)** look sorrowful, and to be anxious. And he said unto them, My soul is distressed unto **(7)** death: abide ye here, and watch with me. And he withdrew from them a little, **(8)** the space of a stone’s throw; and he kneeled, and fell on his face, and prayed, so **(9)** that, if it were possible, this hour might pass him. And he said, Father, thou art able for all things; if thou wilt, let this cup pass me: but let not my will be done, **(10)** but let thy will be done. And he came to his disciples, and found them sleeping; **(11)** and he said unto Cephas, Simon, didst thou sleep? Could ye thus not

for one hour **(12)** watch with me? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptations: the spirit is **(13)** willing and ready, but the body is weak. And he went again a second time, and prayed, and said, My Father, if it is not possible with regard to this cup that it pass, **(14)** except I drink it, thy will be done. And he returned again, and found his disciples sleeping, for their eyes were heavy from their grief and anxiety; and they knew not **(15)** what to say to him. And he left them, and went away again, and prayed a third **(16)** time, and said the very same word. And there appeared unto him an angel from **(17)** heaven, encouraging him. And being afraid he prayed continuously: and his sweat became like a stream of blood, and fell on the ground. Then he rose from **(19)** his prayer, and came to his disciples, and found them sleeping. And he **(20)** said unto them, Sleep now, and rest: the end hath arrived, and the hour hath come; **(21)** and behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Arise, let us go: for he hath come that betrayeth me. **(22)** And while he was still speaking, came Judas the betrayer, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude carrying lanterns and torches and swords and staves, from the chief priests and scribes and elders of the people, and with him the foot-soldiers **(23)** of the Romans. And Judas the betrayer gave them a sign, and said, He whom I shall kiss, he is he: take him with care, and lead him away. **(24)** And Jesus, because he knew everything that should come upon him, went forth **(25)** unto them. And immediately Judas the betrayer came to Jesus, and said, Peace, **(26)** my Master; and kissed him. And Jesus said unto him, Judas, with a kiss betrayest **(27)** thou the Son of man? Was it for that thou camest, my friend? And Jesus said **(28)** to those that came unto him, Whom seek ye? They said unto him, Jesus the Nazarene. Jesus said unto them, I am he. And Judas the betrayer also was standing **(29)** with them. And when Jesus said unto them, I am he, they retreated backward, and **(30)** fell to the ground. And Jesus asked them again, Whom seek ye? They answered, **(31)** Jesus the Nazarene. Jesus said unto them, I told you that I am he: and if ye seek **(32)** me, let these go away: that the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those **(33)** whom thou hast given me I lost not even one. Then came those that were with Judas, and seized Jesus, and took him. **(34)** And when his disciples saw what happened, they said, Our Lord, shall we smite **(35)** them with swords? And Simon Cephas had a sword, and he drew it, and struck the servant of the chief priest, and cut off his right ear. And the name of that servant **(36)** was Malchus. Jesus

said unto Cephas, The cup which my Father hath given **(37)** me, shall I not drink it? Put the sword into its sheath: for all that take with the **(38)** sword shall die by the sword. Thinkest thou that I am not able to ask of my **(39)** Father, and he shall now raise up for me more than twelve tribes of angels? Then **(40)** how should the scriptures which were spoken be fulfilled, that thus it must be? Your **(41)** leave in this. And he touched the ear of him that was struck, and healed it. And in that hour Jesus said to the multitudes, As they come out against a thief are ye come out against me with swords and staves to take me? Daily was I with you in **(42)** the temple sitting teaching, and ye took me not: but this is your hour, and the power **(43)** of darkness. And that was, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. **(44)** Then the disciples all left him, and fled. And the footsoldiers and the officers **(45)** and the soldiers of the Jews seized Jesus, and came. And a certain young man **(46)** followed him, and he was wrapped in a towel, naked: and they seized him; so he **(47)** left the towel, and fled naked. Then they took Jesus, and bound him, and brought him to Annas first; because he was the father in law of Caiaphas, **(48)** who was chief priest that year. And Caiaphas was he that counselled the Jews, that it was necessary that one man should die instead of the people. **(49)** And Simon Cephas and one of the other disciples followed Jesus. And the chief **(50)** priest knew that disciple, and he entered with Jesus into the court; but Simon was standing without at the door. And that other disciple, whom the chief priest knew, **(51)** went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and she brought Simon in. And when the maid that kept the door saw Simon, she looked stedfastly at him, and said unto him, Art not thou also one of the disciples of this man, I mean Jesus the **(52)** Nazarene? But he denied, and said, Woman, I know him not, neither know I even **(53)** what thou sayest. And the servants and the soldiers rose, and made a fire in the **(54)** middle of the court, that they might warm themselves; for it was cold. And when **(55)** the fire burned up, they sat down around it. And Simon also came, and sat down with them to warm himself, that he might see the end of what should happen.

SECTION 49

JOHN 18:19-38; MARK 14:59-69; MATTHEW 26:71-27:11, LUKE 22:59-23:2

(1, 2) And the chief priest asked Jesus about his disciples, and about his doctrine. And Jesus said unto him, I was speaking openly to the people; and I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, where all the Jews gather; and I have spoken nothing in **(3)** secret. Why askest thou me? ask those that have heard, what I spake unto **(4)** them: for they know all that I said. And when he had said that, one of the soldiers which were standing there struck the cheek of Jesus, and said unto him, **(5)** Dost thou thus answer the chief priest? Jesus answered and said unto him, If I **(6)** have spoken evil, bear witness of evil: but if well, why didst thou smite me? And Annas sent Jesus bound unto Caiaphas the chief priest. **(7)** And when Jesus went out, Simon Cephas was standing in the outer court warming **(8)** himself. And that maid saw him again, and began to say to those that stood **(9)** by, This man also was there with Jesus the Nazarene. And those that stood by **(10)** came forward and said to Cephas, Truly thou art one of his disciples. And he **(11)** denied again with an oath, I know not the man. And after a little one of the servants of the chief priest, the kinsman of him whose ear Simon cut off, saw him; and **(12)** he disputed and said, Truly this man was with him: and he also is a Galilaean; **(13)** and his speech resembles. And he said unto Simon, Did not I see thee with him **(14)** in the garden? Then began Simon to curse, and to swear, I know not this man **(15)** whom ye have mentioned. And immediately, while he was speaking, the cock crew **(16)** twice. And in that hour Jesus turned, he being without, and looked stedfastly at Cephas. And Simon remembered the word of our Lord, which he said unto him, **(17, 18)** Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And Simon went forth without, and wept bitterly. **(19)** And when the morning approached, the servants of all the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people and all the multitude assembled, **(20, 21)** and made a plot; and they took counsel against Jesus to put him to death. And they sought false witnesses who should witness against him, that they might put him to **(22, 23)** death, and they found not; but many false witnesses came, but their witness did not **(24, 25)** agree. But at last there came two lying witnesses, and said, We heard him say, I

will destroy this temple of God that is made with hands, and will build another not **(26, 27)** made with hands after three days. And not even so did their witness agree. But Jesus was silent. And the chief priest rose in the midst, and asked Jesus, and said, **(28)** Answerest thou not a word concerning anything? what do these witness against **(29, 30)** thee? But Jesus was silent, and answered him nothing. And they took him up **(31)** into their assembly, and said unto him, If thou art the Messiah, tell us. He said **(32)** unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe me: and if I ask you, ye will not answer **(33)** me a word, nor let me go. And the chief priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou art the Messiah, the **(34, 35)** Son of the living God. Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am he. They all said unto him, Then thou art now the Son of God? Jesus said, Ye have said **(36)** that I am he. I say unto you, that henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting **(37)** at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven. Then the **(38)** chief priest rent his tunic, and said, He hath blasphemed. And they all said, Why should we seek now witnesses? we have heard now the blasphemy from his mouth. **(39, 40)** What then think ye? They all answered and said, He is worthy of death. Then some of them drew near, and spat in his face, and struck him, and scoffed at him. **(41)** And the soldiers struck him on his cheeks, and said, Prophesy unto us, thou Messiah **(42)**: who is he that struck thee? And many other things spake they falsely, and said against him. **(43)** And all of their assembly arose, and took Jesus, and brought him bound to **(44)** the praetorium, and delivered him up to Pilate the judge; but they entered not into the praetorium, that they might not be defiled when they should eat the passover. **(45)** And Jesus stood before the judge. And Pilate went forth unto them without, and **(46)** said unto them, What accusation have ye against this man? They answered and said unto him, If he had not been doing evils, neither should we have delivered **(47)** him up unto thee. We found this man leading our people astray, and restraining from giving tribute to Caesar, and saying of himself that he is the King, the Messiah. **(48)** Pilate said unto them, Then take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said unto him, We have no authority to put a man to death: **(49)** that the word might be fulfilled, which Jesus spake, when he made known by what manner of death he was to die. **(50)** And Pilate entered into the praetorium, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art St thou the King of the Jews? Jesus said

unto him, Of thyself saidst thou this, or **(52)** did others tell it thee concerning me? Pilate said unto him, Am I, forsooth, a Jew? The sons of thy nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what **(53)** hast thou done? Jesus said unto him, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be **(54)** delivered to the Jews: now my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said unto him, Then thou art a king? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast said that I am a king. And for this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should bear witness **(55)** of the truth. And every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate said unto him, And what is the truth? And when he said that, he went out again unto the Jews.

SECTION 50

LUKE 23:425; MARK 15:3-15; MATTHEW 27:12-30; JOHN 18:40-19:12

(1) And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitude, I have not found **(2)** against this man anything. But they cried out and said, He hath disquieted our people with his teaching in all Judaea, and he began from Galilee and unto this **(3)** place. And Pilate, when he heard the name of Galilee, asked, Is this man a Galilaean **(4)**? And when he learned that he was under the jurisdiction of Herod, he sent him to Herod: for he was in Jerusalem in those days. **(5)** And Herod, when he saw Jesus, rejoiced exceedingly: for he had desired to see him for a long time, because he had heard regarding him many things; and he counted on **(6)** seeing some sign from him. And he questioned him with many words; but **(7)** Jesus answered him not a word. And the scribes and chief priests were **(8)** standing by, and they accused him vehemently. And Herod scoffed at him, he and his servants; and when he had scoffed at him, he clothed him in robes of scarlet, **(9)** and sent him to Pilate. And on that day Pilate and Herod became friends, there having been enmity between them before that. **(10, 11)** And Pilate called the chief priests and the rulers of the people, and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as the perverter of your people: and I have tried him before you, and have not found in this man any cause of all that ye **(12)** seek against him: nor yet Herod: for I sent him

unto him; and he hath done **(13)** nothing for which he should deserve death. So now I will chastise him, and let **(14, 15)** him go. The multitude all cried out and said, Take him from us, take him. And **(16)** the chief priests and the elders accused him of many things. And during their **(17)** accusation he answered not a word. Then Pilate said unto him, Hearest thou not **(18)** how many things they witness against thee? And he answered him not, not even one word: and Pilate marvelled at that. **(19)** And when the judge sat on his tribune, his wife sent unto him, and said unto him, See that thou have nothing to do with that righteous man: for I have suffered much in my dream today because of him. **(20)** And at every feast the custom of the judge was to release to the people one **(21)** prisoner, him whom they would. And there was in their prison a well-known prisoner **(22, 23)**, called Barabbas. And when they assembled, Pilate said unto them, Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you a prisoner at the passover: will ye that I **(24)** release unto you the King of the Jews? And they all cried out and said, Release not unto us this man, but release unto us Barabbas. And this Barabbas was a **(25)** robber, who for sedition and murder, which was in the city, was cast into the **(26)** prison. And all the people cried out and began to ask him to do as the custom was **(27)** that he should do with them. And Pilate answered and said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called the Messiah, the **(28)** King of the Jews? For Pilate knew that envy had moved them to deliver him up. **(29)** And the chief priests and the elders asked the multitudes to deliver Barabbas, and **(30)** to destroy Jesus. The judge answered and said unto them, Whom of the two will **(31)** ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas. Pilate said unto them, And **(32)** Jesus which is called the Messiah, what shall I do with him? They all cried out **(33)** and said, Crucify him. And Pilate spake to them again, for he desired to release **(34)** Jesus; but they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him, and release unto us **(35)** Barabbas. And Pilate said unto them a third time, What evil hath this man done? I have not found in him any cause to necessitate death: I will chastise him and **(36)** let him go. But they increased in importunity with a loud voice, and asked him to crucify him. And their voice, and the voice of the chief priests, prevailed. **(37)** Then Pilate released unto them that one who was cast into prison for sedition and murder, Barabbas, whom they asked for: and he scourged Jesus with whips. **(38)** Then the footsoldiers of the judge took

Jesus, and went into the praetorium, and **(39)** gathered unto him all of the footsoldiers. And they stripped him, and put on **(40)** him a scarlet cloak. And they clothed him in garments of purple, and plaited **(41)** a crown of thorns, and placed it on his head, and a reed in his right hand; and while they mocked at him and laughed, they fell down on their knees before him, and bowed **(42)** down to him, and said, Hail, King of the Jews! And they spat in his face, and took the reed from his hand, and struck him on his head, and smote his cheeks. **(43)** And Pilate went forth without again, and said unto the Jews, I bring him forth to **(44)** you, that ye may know that I do not find, in examining him, even one crime. And Jesus went forth without, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garments. **(45)** Pilate said unto them, Behold, the man! And when the chief priests and the soldiers saw him, they cried out and said, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them, Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find not a cause against **(46)** him. The Jews said unto him, We have a law, and according to our law he deserves **(47)** death, because he made himself the Son of God. And when Pilate heard this word, his fear increased; and he entered again into the porch, and said to Jesus, Whence **(49)** art thou? But Jesus answered him not a word. Pilate said unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have authority to release thee, and have **(50)** authority to crucify thee? Jesus said unto him, Thou hast not any authority over me, if thou wert not given it from above: therefore the sin of him that delivered **(51)** me up unto thee is greater than thy sin. And for this word Pilate wished to release him: but the Jews cried out, If thou let him go, thou art not a friend of Caesar: for every one that maketh himself a king is against Caesar.

SECTION 51

JOHN 19:13-27; MATTHEW 27:24-47; MARK 15:20-34; LUKE 23:26-45

(1) And when Pilate heard this saying, he took Jesus out, and sat on the tribune in the place which was called the pavement of stones, but in the Hebrew **(2)** called Gabbatha. And that day was the Friday of the passover: and it had reached **(3)** about the sixth hour. And he said to the Jews,

Behold, your King! And they cried out, Take him, take him, crucify him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests said unto him, We have no king except **(4)** Caesar. And Pilate, when he saw it, and he was gaining nothing, but the tumult was increasing, took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, and said, I **(5)** am innocent of the blood of this innocent man: ye shall know. And all the people **(6)** answered and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. Then Pilate commanded to grant them their request; and delivered up Jesus to be crucified, according to their wish. **(7)** Then Judas the betrayer, when he saw Jesus wronged, went and returned the **(8)** thirty pieces of money to the chief priests and the elders, and said, I have sinned in my betraying innocent blood. And they said unto him, And we, what must we do? **(9)** know thou. And he threw down the money in the temple, and departed; and he **(10)** went away and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the money, and said, We have not authority to cast it into the place of the offering, for it is the price **(11)** of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with it the plain of the potter, for **(12)** the burial of strangers. Therefore that plain was called, The field of blood, unto **(13)** this day. Therein was fulfilled the saying in the prophet which said, I took thirty pieces of money, the price of the precious one, which was fixed **(14)** by the children of Israel; and I paid them for the plain of the potter, as the Lord commanded me. **(15)** And the Jews took Jesus, and went away to crucify him. And when he bare his **(16)** cross and went out, they stripped him of those purple and scarlet garments which he **(17)** had on, and put on him his own garments. And while they were going with him, they found a man, a Cyrenian, coming from the country, named Simon, the father of Alexander and Rufus: and they compelled this man to bear the cross of Jesus. **(18)** And they took the cross and laid it upon him, that he might bear it, and come after Jesus; and Jesus went, and his cross behind him. **(19)** And there followed him much people, and women which were lamenting and **(20)** raving. But Jesus turned unto them and said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not **(21)** for me: weep for yourselves, and for your children. Days are coming, when they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the womb's that bare not, and the breasts **(22)** that gave not suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and **(23)** to the hills, Cover us. For if they do so in the green tree, what shall be in the dry?

(24) And they brought with Jesus two others of the malefactors, to be put to death. **(25)** And when they came unto a certain place called The skull, and called in the Hebrew Golgotha, they crucified him there: they crucified with him these two **(26)** malefactors, one on his right, and the other on his left. And the scripture was **(27)** fulfilled, which saith, He was numbered with the transgressors. And they gave him to drink wine and myrrh, and vinegar which had been mixed with the myrrh; and he tasted, and would not drink; and he received it not. **(28)** And the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and cast lots for them in four parts, to every party of the soldiers a part; and his tunic was **(29)** without sewing, from the top woven throughout. And they said one to another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: and the scripture was fulfilled, which saith,

> They divided my garments among them,
> And cast the lot for my vesture.

(30, 31) This the soldiers did. And they sat and guarded him there. And Pilate wrote on a tablet the cause of his death, and put it on the wood of the cross above his head. And there was written upon it thus: **THIS IS JESUS THE NAZARENE, THE KING OF THE (32) JEWS**. And this tablet read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city: and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. **(33)** And the chief priests said unto Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but, He it is **(34)** that said, I am the King of the Jews. Pilate said unto them, What hath been **(35)** written hath been written. And the people were standing beholding; and they **(36)** that passed by were reviling him, and shaking their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself if thou art the Son **(37)** of God, and come down from the cross. And in like manner the chief priests and the scribes and the elders and the Pharisees derided him, and laughed one with **(38, 39)** another, and said, The savior of others cannot save himself. If he is the Messiah, the chosen of God, and the King of Israel, let him come down now from the **(40)** cross, that we may see, and believe in him. He that relieth on God — let him deliver him **(41)** now, if he is pleased with him: for he said, I am the Son of God. And the soldiers **(42)** also scoffed at him in that they came near unto him, and brought him vinegar, and **(43)** said unto him, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself. And likewise the two robbers also that

were crucified with him reproached him. **(44)** And one of those two malefactors who were crucified with him reviled him, and **(45)** said, If thou art the Messiah, save thyself, and save us also. But his comrade rebuked him, and said, Dost thou not even fear God, being thyself also in this **(46)** condemnation? And we with justice, and as we deserved, and according to our deed, have we been rewarded: but this man hath not done anything unlawful. **(47)** And he said unto Jesus, Remember me, my Lord, when thou comest in thy kingdom. **(48)** Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise. **(49)** And there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, **(50)** Mary that was related to Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. And Jesus saw his mother, and that disciple whom he loved standing by; and he said to his mother, **(51)** Woman, behold, thy son! And he said to that disciple, Behold, thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto himself. **(52)** And from the sixth hour darkness was on all the land unto the ninth **(53)** hour, and the sun became dark. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, and said, Yail, Yaili, why hast thou forsaken me? which is, My **(54)** God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And some of those that stood there, when they heard, said, This man called Elijah.

SECTION 52

JOHN 19:28-42; MATTHEW 27:48-28:6; MARK 15:36-16:4; LUKE 23:34-24:2

(1) And after that, Jesus knew that all things were finished; and that the scripture **(2)** might be accomplished, he said, I thirst. And there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and in that hour one of them hasted, and took a sponge, and filled it with that **(3)** vinegar, and fastened it on a reed, and brought it near his mouth to give him a **(4)** drink. And when Jesus had taken that vinegar, he said, Everything is finished. **(5)** But the rest said, Let be, that we may see whether Elijah cometh to save him. **(6, 7)** And Jesus said, My Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and said, My Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. He said that, and bowed his head, and gave up his spirit. **(8)** And immediately the face of the door of the temple was rent

into two parts from **(9)** top to bottom; and the earth was shaken; and the stones were split to pieces; and the tombs were opened; and the bodies of many saints which slept, arose and **(10)** came forth; and after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and **(11)** appeared unto many. And the officer of the footsoldiers, and they that were with him who were guarding Jesus, when they saw the earthquake, and the things which came **(12)** to pass, feared greatly, and praised God, and said, This man was righteous; and, **(13)** Truly he was the Son of God. And all the multitudes that were come together to the sight, when they saw what came to pass, returned and smote upon their breasts. **(14)** And the Jews, because of the Friday, said, Let these bodies not remain on their crosses, because it is the morning of the sabbath (for that sabbath was a great day) ; and they asked of Pilate that they might break the legs of those that were **(15)** crucified, and take them down. And the soldiers came, and brake the legs of the **(16)** first, and that other which was crucified with him: but when they came to Jesus, **(17)** they saw that he had died before, so they brake not his legs: but one of the soldiers pierced him in his side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and **(18)** water. And he that hath seen hath born witness, and his witness is true: and he **(19)** knoweth that he hath said the truth, that ye also may believe. This he did, that **(20)** the scripture might be fulfiled, which saith, A bone shall not be broken in him; and the scripture also which saith, Let them look upon him whom they pierced. **(21)** And there were in the distance all the acquaintance of Jesus standing, and the women that came with him from Galilee, those that followed him and ministered. **(22)** One of them was Mary Magdalene; and Mary the mother of James the little **(23)** and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee, and Salome, and many others which came up with him unto Jerusalem; and they saw that. **(24)** And when the evening of the Friday was come, because of the entering of the **(25)** sabbath, there came a rich man, a noble of Ramah, a city of Judah, named Joseph, and he was a good man and upright; and he was a disciple of Jesus, but **(26)** was concealing himself for fear of the Jews. And he did not agree with the accusers **(27)** in their desire and their deeds: and he was looking for the kingdom of God. And this man went boldly, and entered in unto Pilate, and asked of him the body of **(28)** Jesus. And Pilate wondered how he had died already: and he called the officer of **(29)** the footsoldiers, and asked him concerning his death before the time. And when **(30)** he knew, he

commanded him to deliver up his body unto Joseph. And Joseph bought for him a winding cloth of pure linen, and took down the body of Jesus, **(31)** and wound it in they came and took it. And there came unto him Nicodemus also, who of old came unto Jesus by night; and he brought with him perfume **(32)** of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds. And they took the body of Jesus, and wound it in the linen and the perfume, as was the custom of the Jews to bury. **(33)** And there was in the place where Jesus was crucified a garden; and in that garden **(34)** a new tomb cut out in a rock? wherein was never man yet laid. And they left **(35)** Jesus there because the sabbath had come in, and because the tomb was near. And they pushed a great stone, and thrust it against the door of the sepulchre, and **(36)** went away. And Mary Magdalene and Mary that was related to Joses came to **(37)** the sepulchre after them, and sat opposite the sepulchre, and saw the **(38)** body, how they took it in and laid it there. And they returned, and ointment and perfume, and prepared it, that they might come and anoint him. **(39)** And on the day which was the sabbath day they desisted according to the command. **(40, 41)** And the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered unto Pilate, and said unto him, Our Lord, we remember that that misleader said, while he was alive, After three days **(42)** I rise. And now send beforehand and guard the tomb until the third day, lest his disciples come and steal him by night, and they will say unto the people that he **(43)** is risen from the dead: and the last error shall be worse than the first. He said unto them, And have ye not guards? go, and take precautions as ye know how. **(44)** And they went, and set guards at the tomb, and sealed that stone, with the guards. **(45)** And in the evening of the sabbath, which is the morning of the first day, and in **(46)** the dawning while the darkness yet remained, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary and other women to see the tomb. They brought with them the **(47)** perfume which they had prepared, and said among themselves, Who is it that will **(48)** remove for us the stone from the door of the tomb? for it was very great. And when they said thus, there occurred a great earthquake; and an angel came down **(49)** from heaven, and came and removed the stone from the door. And they came and found the stone removed from the sepulchre, and the angel sitting upon the **(50)** stone. And his appearance was as the lightning, and his raiment white as the **(51)** snow: and for fear of him the guards were troubled, and became as dead men. **(52)** And when he went away, the women entered into the sepulchre;

and they found **(53)** not the body of Jesus. And they saw there a young man sitting on **(54)** the right, strayed in a white garment; and they were amazed. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear ye not: for I know that ye seek Jesus the **(55)** Nazarene, who hath been crucified. He is not here; but he is risen, as he said. Come and see the place where our Lord lay.

SECTION 53

LUKE 24:4-35; MATTHEW 28:7-10; MARK 16:7-13; JOHN 20:2-18

(1) And while they marvelled at that, behold, two men standing above them, their **(2)** raiment shining: and they were seized with fright, and bowed down their face to **(3)** the earth: and they said unto them, Why seek ye the living one with the dead? He is not here; he is risen: remember what he was speaking unto you while he was in **(4)** Galilee, and saying, The Son of man is to be delivered up into the hands of sinners, **(5)** and to be crucified, and on the third day to rise. But go in haste, and say to his disciples and to Cephas, He is risen from among the dead; and lo, he goeth before **(6)** you into Galilee; and there ye shall see him, where he said unto you: lo, I have **(7)** told you. And they remembered his sayings; and they departed in haste from the **(8)** tomb with joy and great fear, and hastened and went; and perplexity and fear **(9)** encompassed them; and they told no man anything, for they were afraid. And Mary hastened, and came to Simon Cephas, and to that other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said unto them, They have taken our Lord from the sepulchre, and I **(10)** know not where they have laid him. And Simon went out, and that other disciple, **(11)** and came to the sepulchre. And they hastened both together: and that disciple **(12)** outran Simon, and came first to the sepulchre; and he looked down, and saw the **(13)** linen laid; but he went not in. And Simon came after him, and entered into the **(14)** sepulchre, and saw the linen laid; and the scarf with which his head was bound was not with the linen, but wrapped and laid aside in a certain place. **(15)** Then entered that disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and saw, and believed. **(16)** And they knew not yet from the scriptures that the Messiah was to rise from among **(17)** the dead. And those two disciples went to their place. **(18)** But Mary

remained at the tomb weeping: and while she wept, she looked **(19)** down into the tomb; and she saw two angels sitting in white raiment, one of them toward his pillow, and the other toward his feet, where the body of Jesus had been **(20)** laid. And they said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She said unto them, **(21)** They have taken my Lord, and I know not where they have left him. She said that, and turned behind her, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was **(22)** Jesus. Jesus said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? And she supposed him to be the gardener, and said, My Lord, if thou hast taken him, **(23)** tell me where thou hast laid him, that I may go and take him Jesus said unto her, Mary. She turned, and said unto him in Hebrew, Rabboni; which is, being **(24)** interpreted, Teacher. Jesus said unto her, Touch me not; for I have not ascended yet unto my Father: go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God. **(25)** And on the First-day on which he rose, he appeared first unto Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons. **(26)** And some of those guards came to the city, and informed the chief priests of **(27)** all that had happened. And they assembled with the elders, and took **(28)** counsel; and they gave money, not a little, to the guards, and said unto them, Say ye, His disciples came and stole him by night, while we were sleeping. **(29)** And if the judge hear that, we will make a plea with him, and free you of blame. **(30)** And they, when they took the money, did according to what they taught them. And this word spread among the Jews unto this day. **(31)** And then came Mary Magdalene, and announced to the disciples that she had seen our Lord, and that he had said that unto her. **(32)** And while the first women were going in the way to inform his disciples, **(33)** Jesus met them, and said unto them, Peace unto you. And they came and took **(34)** hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Fear not: but go and say to my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there they shall see **(35)** me. And those women returned, and told all that to the eleven, and to the rest of the disciples; and to those that had been with him, for they were saddened and **(36)** weeping. And those were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and the rest who were with them: and they were those that told the apostles. **(37)** And they, when they heard them say that he was alive and had appeared unto them, **(38)** did not believe them: and these sayings were before their eyes as the sayings of madness. **(39)** And after that, he

appeared to two of them, on that day, and while they were going to the village which was named Emmaus, and whose distance **(40)** from Jerusalem was sixty furlongs. And they were talking the one of them with the **(41)** other of all the things which had happened. And during the time of their talking and **(42)** inquiring with one another, Jesus came and reached them, and walked with them. But **(43)** their eyes were veiled that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What are these sayings which ye address the one of you to the other, as ye walk and are **(44)** sad? One of them, whose name was Cleopas, answered and said unto him, Art thou perchance alone a stranger to Jerusalem, since thou knowest not what was in **(45)** it in these days? He said unto them, What was? They said unto him, Concerning Jesus, he who was from Nazareth, a man who was a prophet, and powerful in **(46)** speech and deeds before God and before all the people: and the chief priests and **(47)** the elders delivered him up to the sentence of death, and crucified him. But we supposed that he was the one who was to deliver Israel. And since all these **(48)** things happened there have passed three days. But certain women of us also **(49)** informed us that they had come to the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came and told us that they had seen there the angels, and they said **(50)** concerning him that he was alive. And some of us also went to the sepulchre, and found **(51)** the matter as the women had said: only they saw him not. Then said Jesus **(52)** unto them, Ye lacking in discernment, and heavy in heart to believe! Was it not in all the sayings of the prophets that the Messiah was to suffer these things, and to **(53)** enter into his glory? And he began from Moses and from all the prophets, **(54)** and interpreted to them concerning himself from all the scriptures. And they drew near unto the village, whither they were going: and he was leading them to **(55)** imagine that he was as if going to a distant region. And they pressed him, and said unto him, Abide with us: for the day hath declined now to the darkness. And he went **(56)** in to abide with them. And when he sat with them, he took bread, and blessed, **(57)** and brake, and gave to them. And straightway their eyes were opened, and they **(58)** knew him; and he was taken away from them. And they said the one to the other, Was not our heart heavy within us, while he was speaking to us in the way, and interpreting to us the scriptures? **(59)** And they rose in that hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven **(60)** gathered, and those that were with them, saying, Truly our Lord is risen, and hath **(61)**

appeared to Simon. And they related what happened in the way, and how they knew him when he brake the bread. Neither believed they that also.

SECTION 54

LUKE 24:36-49; JOHN 20:19-21:24;

(1) And while they talked together, the evening of that day arrived which was the First-day; and the doors were shut where the disciples were, because of the fear of the **(2)** Jews; and Jesus came and stood among them, and said unto them, Peace be with you: I am he; fear not. But they were agitated, and became afraid, and supposed that they **(3)** saw a spirit. Jesus said unto them, Why are ye agitated? and why do thoughts rise **(4)** in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, that I am he: feel me, and know that a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me having that. **(5)** And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet and his side. **(6)** And they were until this time unbelieving, from their joy and their wonder. He **(7)** said unto them, Have ye anything here to eat? And they gave him a portion of broiled fish and of honey. And he took it, and ate before them. **(8)** And he said unto them, These are the sayings which I spake unto you, while I was with you, that everything must be fulfilled, which is written in the law of **(9)** Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their **(10)** heart, that they might understand the scriptures; and he said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it is necessary that the Messiah suffer, and rise from among the **(11)** dead on the third day; and that repentance unto the forgiveness of sins be preached **(12)** in his name among all the peoples; and the beginning shall be from Jerusalem. And **(13)** ye shall be witnesses of that. And I send unto you the promise of my Father. And **(14)** when the disciples heard that, they were glad. And Jesus said unto them again, **(15)** Peace be with you: as my Father hath sent me, I also send you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit: **(16)** and if ye forgive sins to any man, they shall be forgiven him; and if ye retain them against any man, they shall be retained. **(17)** But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Thama, was not there with the disciples **(18)** when Jesus came. The disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen our Lord. But he said unto them, If I

do not see in his hands the places of the nails, and put on them my fingers, and pass my hand over his side, I will not believe. **(19)** And after eight days, on the next First-day, the disciples were assembled again within, and Thomas with them. And Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood **(20)** in the midst, and said unto them, Peace be with you. And he said to Thomas, Bring hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and bring hither **(21)** thy hand, and spread it on my side: and be not unbelieving, but believing. Thomas **(22)** answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. Jesus said unto him, Now since thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and have believed. **(23)** And many other signs did Jesus before his disciples, and they are they which **(24)** are not written in this book: but these that are written also are that ye may believe in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God; and that when ye have believed, ye may have in his name eternal life. **(25)** And after that, Jesus shewed himself again to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias; **(26)** and he shewed himself unto them thus. And there were together Simon Cephas, and Thomas which was called Twin, and Nathanael who was of Cana of Galilee, **(27)** and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of the disciples. Simon Cephas said unto them, I go to catch fish. They said unto him, And we also come with thee. And they went forth, and went up into the boat; and in that night they caught nothing. **(28)** And when the morning arrived, Jesus stood on the shore of the sea: but the disciples **(29)** knew not that it was Jesus. And Jesus said unto them, Children, have ye anything **(30)** to eat? They said unto him, No. He said unto them, Cast your net from the right side of the boat, and ye shall find. And they threw, and they were not able **(31)** to draw the net for the abundance of the fish that were come into it. And that disciple whom Jesus loved said to Cephas, This is our Lord. And Simon, when he heard that it was our Lord, took his tunic, and girded it on his waist (for he was **(32)** naked) , and cast himself into the sea to come to Jesus. But some others of the disciples came in the boat (and they were not far from the land, but about two **(33)** hundred cubits) , and drew that net of fish. And when they went up on the **(34)** land, they saw live coals laid, and fish laid thereon, and bread. And Jesus **(35)** said unto them, Bring of this fish which ye have now caught. Simon Cephas therefore went up, and dragged the net to the land, full of great fish, a hundred and fifty-three **(36)** fishes: and with all this weight that net was not rent. And Jesus said unto them,. Come and sit down. And

no man of the disciples dared to ask him who he was, for they knew that it was our Lord. But he did not appear to them in his own **(37, 38)** form. And Jesus came, and took bread and fish, and gave unto them. This is the third time that Jesus appeared to his disciples, when he had risen from among the dead. **(39)** And when they had breakfasted, Jesus said to Simon Cephas, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me more than these? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou **(40)** knowest that I love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my lambs. He said unto him again a second time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? He said unto him, Yea, my Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He said unto him, Feed for **(41)** me my sheep. He said unto him again the third time, Simon, son of Jonah, lovest thou me? And it grieved Cephas that he said unto him three times, Lovest thou me? He said unto him, My Lord, thou knowest everything; thou knowest that I **(42)** love thee. Jesus said unto him, Feed for me my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast a child, thou didst gird thy waist for thyself, and go whither thou wouldest: but when thou shall be old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands, and another shall gird thy waist, and take thee whither thou wouldest not. **(43)** He said that to him to explain by what death he was to glorify God. And when he **(44)** had said that, he said unto him, Come after me. And Simon Cephas turned, and saw that disciple whom Jesus loved following him; he which at the supper leaned on **(45)** Jesus' breast, and said, My Lord, who is it that betrayeth thee? When therefore Cephas saw him, he said to Jesus, My Lord, and this man, what shall be in his **(46)** case? Jesus said unto him, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is **(47)** that to thee? follow thou me. And this word spread among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: but Jesus said not that he should not die; but, If I will that this man remain until I come, what is that to thee? **(48)** This is the disciple which bare witness of that, and wrote it: and we know that his witness is true.

SECTION 55

MATTHEW 28:16-20; MARK 16:14-20; JOHN 20:21, 25; LUKE 24:49-53

(1) But the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountainwhere Jesus had **(2)** appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but there were of **(3)** them who doubted. And while they sat there he appeared to them again, and upbraided them for their lack of faith and the hardness of their hearts, those that saw him when he was risen, and believed not. **(4)** Then said Jesus unto them, I have been given all authority in heaven **(5)** and earth; and as my Father hath sent me, so I also send you. Go now into **(6)** all the world, and preach my gospel in all the creation; and teach all the peoples, and **(7)** baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and teach them to keep all whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you all the days, unto **(8)** the end of the world. For whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but **(9)** whosoever believeth not shall be rejected. And the signs which shall attend those that believe in me are these: that they shall cast out devils in my name; and they **(10)** shall speak with new tongues; and they shall take up serpents, and if they drink deadly poison, it shall not injure them; and they shall lay their hands on the **(11)** diseased, and they shall be healed. But ye, abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high. **(12)** And our Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, took them out to Bethany: and he **(13)** lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And while he blessed them, he was separated from them, and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God. **(14, 15)** And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and at all times they were in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen. **(16)** And from thence they went forth, and preached in every place; and our Lord helped them, and confirmed their sayings by the signs which they did. **(17)** And here are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written every one of them, not even the world, according to my opinion, would contain the books which should be written.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

1

IN BORGIAN MS

Here endeth the Gospel which Tatianus compiled and named Diatessaron, i.e., The Fourfold, a compilation from the four Gospels of the holy Apostles, the excellent Evangelists (peace be upon them). It was translated by the excellent and learned priest, Abu'l Faraj 'Abdulla ibn-at-Tayyib (may God grant him favor), from Syriac into Arabic, from an exemplar written by 'Isa ibn-'Ali al-Motatabbib, pupil of Honain ibn-Ishak (God have mercy on them both). Amen.

2

IN VATICAN MS.

Here endeth, by the help of God, the holy Gospel that Titianus compiled from the four Gospels, which is known as Diatessaron. And praise be to God, as he is entitled to it and Lord of it! And to him be the glory for ever.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER

VISIO PAULI

APOCALYPSE OF MARIA VIRGO

APOCALYPSE SEDRACH

BY

ANDREW RUTHERFURD, B.D.

THE REVELATION OF PETER

INTRODUCTION

The fragment here translated was discovered in 1886 by the French Archaeological Mission in an ancient burying-Place at Akhmim in Upper Egypt. It was published at Paris in 1892 (BOURIANT, Memoires publies par les membres de la Mission Archeologique Francaise au Caire, T. ix., fasc. 1, 1892). The MS. is now in the Gizeh Museum and has been held to be of a date between the eighth and twelfth centuries. Until the discovery of the fragment, the following was all that was known about the Revelation of Peter.

1. The so-called Muratorian Fragment, a list of sacred writings, first published by Muratori in 1740, and found by him in a seventh or eighth century MS. belonging to the Ambrosian Library in Milan, but which had previously belonged to the Columban Monastery of Bobbio, is assigned on internal evidence to the third quarter of the second century. (Vide Westcott, Canon of the N.T., p. 514.) At line 69 it says: “the Apocalypses also of John and Peter only do we receive, which (latter) some among us would not have read in church.”

2. Clement of Alexandria (fl. c. 200 A.D.) in his Hypotoposes, according to the testimony of Eusebius, H. E., vi., 14, gave “abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed, I mean the book of Jude and the other general epistles. Also the Epistle of Barnabas and that called the Revelation of Peter.” Also in his Eclogoe Propheticoe, chapters 41, 48 and 49, he gives three, or as some think, four quotations from the Revelation of Peter, mentioning it twice by name.

3. The Catalogus Claromontanus, an Eastern list of Holy Scriptures, belonging to the third century, gives at the end the Revelation of Peter (v. Westcott, Canon, p. 555). This catalogue gives the length of the various books it enumerates measured in stichoi. Our book is said to have two hundred and seventy, which makes it rather longer than the Epistle to the Colossians which has two hundred and fifty-one.

4. Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia in the beginning of the fourth century, in his Symposium, ii., 6, says, wherefore we have also learned from divinely inspired Scriptures that untimely births even if they are the offspring of adultery are delivered to care-taking angels.” Though Peter is not here mentioned, the purport of the passage is the same as that of one of the quotations given by Clement of Alexandria.

5. Eusebius († c. 339 A.D.), in his Ecclesiastical History, in., 25, expressly mentions the Revelation of Peter along with the Acts of Paul and the Pastor as spurious books, while at in., 3, he says: “as to that which is called the Preaching and that called the Apocalypse of Peter, we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings. Since neither among the ancients nor among the ecclesiastical writers of our own day, has there been anyone that has appealed to testimony taken from them.”

6. Macarius Magnes (beginning of fifth century) in his Apocritica, iv., 6, quotes as from a heathen opponent of Christianity the following: “Let us by way of superfluity cite also that saying in the Apocalypse of Peter. It thus introduces the heaven as being about to undergo judgment along with the earth. ‘ The earth,’ it says, ‘ shall present all men before God at the day of judgment, being itself also to be judged along with the heaven also which encompasses it.And at iv., 16, he examines this passage again, naming the Revelation of Peter, and supporting the doctrine of the passage by the authority of prophecy (Isaiah 34:4) and the Gospel (Matthew 24:35).

7. Sozomen (middle of fifth century), H. E., vii., 19, says: “For instance, the so-called Apocalypse of Peter which was esteemed as entirely spurious by the ancients, we have discovered to be read in certain churches of Palestine up to the present day, once a year, on the day of preparation, during which the people most religiously fast in commemoration of the Savior’s Passion” (i.e., on Good Friday). It is to be noted that Sozomen himself belonged to Palestine.

8. In the list of the Sixty Books which is assigned to the fifth or sixth century the Revelation of Peter is mentioned among the Apocrypha (v. Westcott, Canon, p. 551).

9. The so-called Stichometry of Nicephorus, a list of scriptures with notes of their extent, ascribed to Nicephorus, Patriarch, Patriarch of Constantinople, 806-814 A.D., includes the Revelation of Peter among the antilegomena or disputed writings of the New Testament, and gives it three hundred stichoi or thirty more than the above-mentioned Catalogue Claromontanus.

10. The Armenian annalist Mkhitan (thirteenth century) in a list of the New Testament antilegomena mentions the Revelation of Peter, after the Gospel of Thomas and before the Periodoi Pauli, and remarks that he has himself copied these books. (Cf. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.)

Up till lately these facts represented all that was positively known of the Revelation of Peter. From them we gather that it must have been written before the middle of the second century (so as to be known at Rome and included in the Muratorian Canon), that it had a wide circulation, that it was for some time very popular, so that it would appear to have run a considerable chance of achieving a place in the canon, but that it was ultimately rejected and in the long run dropped out of knowledge altogether.

But even previously to the discovery at Akhmim, the general character of the book had been inferred from the scanty fragments preserved in ancient writers and from the common elements contained in other and later apocalyptic writings which seemed to require some such book as the Revelation of Peter as their ultimate source. Such writings are the (Christian) Apocalypse of Esdras, the Vision of Paul, the Passion of S. Perpetua and the visions contained in the History of Barlaam and Josaphat. (Cf. Robinson, Texts and Studies, i., 2, p. 37-43, and Robinson and James, The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter, 1892.)

The Revelation of Peter affords the earliest embodiment in Christian literature of those pictorial presentations of heaven and hell which have exercised so widespread and enduring an influence. It has, in its imagery, little or no kinship with the Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, or the Revelation of S. John. Its only parallels in canonical scripture, with the notable exception of the Second Epistle of Peter, are to be found in Isaiah

66:24, Mark 9:44, 48, and the parable of Dives and Lazarus in Luke 16:19. It is indeed Judaic in the severity of its morality and even in its phraseology (cf. the frequent use of the word righteous, and the idea that God and not Christ will come to judge sinners). But the true parallels for, if not the sources of, its imagery of the rewards and punishments which await men after death are to be found in Greek beliefs which have left their traces in such passages as the Vision of Er at the end of Plato's Republic.

The heaven of the Petrine Apocalypse is akin to the Elysian Fields and the Islands of the Blest. In it the saints are crowned as with flowers and beautiful of countenance, singing songs of praise in the fragrant air, in a land all lighted up with the light of the sun. We are reminded of "the Elysian Fields and the world's end where is Rhadamanthus of the fair hair, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but alway Ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men" (Odyssey, iv.563), and of the garden of the gods on Olympus, which "is not shaken by winds, or ever wet with rain, nor doth the snow come nigh thereto, but most clear air is spread about it cloudless, and the white light floats over it" (Odyssey, vi., 43, Butcher and Lang's transl.). Perhaps the most striking parallel of all is afforded by the fragment of a dirge of Pindar: "For them shineth below the strength of the sun, while in our world it is night, and the space of crimson-flowered meadow before their city is full of the shade of frankincense trees, and of fruits of gold.And some in horses, and in bodily

1 Cf.

"... the island valley of Avilon;
Where falls not rain or hail or any snow.
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, fair wish orchard lawns
And bowery hollows crowned with summer seas."
***TENNYSON,* Passing of Arthur.**

feats, and some in dice, and some in harp-playing have delight; and among them thriveth all fair-flowering bliss; and fragrance streameth ever through the lovely land, as they mingle incense of every kind upon the altars of the gods" (Pindar, E. Myer's transl., p. 176). Beside this heaven the New Jerusalem of the canonical Apocalypse is austere. But it is the spiritual city. "For the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine on

it, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb were in the midst of it and the Lamb was the light thereof.”

So likewise in the case of the torments of the wicked as presented in the Revelation of Peter. We are not here in the Jewish Sheol, or among the fires of the valley of Hinnom, so much as among the tortures of Tartarus and the boiling mud of the Acherusian Lake (cf. Plato, Phaedo, p. 113; Aristophanes, Frogs, line 145), or where “wild men of fiery aspect... seized and carried off several of them, and Ardiaeus and others, they bound head and foot and hand, and threw them down and flayed them with scourges, and dragged them along the road at the side, carding them on thorns like wool, and declaring to the passers-by what were their crimes, and that they were being taken away to be cast into hell “(Republic, x., p. 616, Jowett’s transl.). It is not surprising that in later visions of the same kind the very names of the Greek under-world are ascribed to localities of hell. It is across the river Oceanus. It is called Tartarus. In it is the Acherusian Lake. Notice in this connection that the souls of innocent victims are present along with their murderers to accuse them.

The Revelation of Peter shows remarkable kinship in ideas with the Second Epistle of Peter. The parallels will be noted in the margin of the translation. It also presents notable parallels to the Sibylline Oracles (cf. Orac. Sib., ii., 255 sqq.), while its influence has been conjectured, almost with certainty, in the Acts of Perpetua and the visions narrated in the Acts of Thomas and the History of Barlaam and Josaphat. It certainly was one of the sources from which the writer of the Vision of Paul drew. And directly or indirectly it may be regarded as the parent of all the mediaeval visions of the other world.

The fragment begins in the middle of an eschatological discourse of Jesus, probably represented as delivered after the resurrection, for verse 5 implies that the disciples had begun to preach the Gospel. It ends abruptly in the course of a catalogue of sinners in hell and their punishments. The fragments preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Methodius probably belonged to the lost end of the book; that preserved by Macarius Magnes may have belonged to the eschatological discourse at the beginning. Taking the length of the whole at from two hundred and

seventy to three hundred stichoi, the Akhmim fragment contains about the half.

The present translation is made from Harnack's edition of the text, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1893.

There is another and later Apocalypse of Peter in Arabic, of which MSS. exist in Rome and Oxford. It is called the *Apocalypse of Peter, or the narrative of things revealed to him by Jesus Christ which had taken place from the beginning of the world and which shall take place till the end of the world or the second coming of Christ*. The book is said to have been written by Clement, to whom Peter had communicated the secrets revealed to him. The writer himself calls the book *Librum Perfectionis or Librum Completum*. Judging from the analysis of its contents quoted by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocr*.) it has no connection with the present work.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER

1. many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition: but these will become sons of perdition.

3. And then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted and purify their souls in this life; and he will judge the sons of lawlessness.

4. And furthermore the Lord said: Let us go into the mountain: Let us pray.

5. And going with him, we, the twelve disciples, begged that he would show us one of our brethren, the righteous who are gone forth out of the world, in order that we might see of what manner of form they are, and having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear us.

6. And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord towards the East, on whom we were not able to look;

7. for there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man never saw; for no mouth is able to express or heart to conceive the glory with which they were endued, and the beauty of their appearance.

8. And as we looked upon them, we were astounded; for their bodies were whiter than any snow and ruddier than any rose;

9. and the red thereof was mingled with the white, and I am utterly unable to express their beauty;

10. for their hair was curly and bright and seemly both on their face and shoulders, as it were a wreath woven of spikenard and divers-colored flowers, or like a rainbow in the sky, such was their seemliness.

11. Seeing therefore their beauty we became astounded at them, since they appeared suddenly.

12. And I approached the Lord and said: Who are these?

13. He saith to me: These are your brethren the righteous, whose forms ye desired to see.

14. And I said to him: And where are all the righteous ones and what is the aeon in which they are and have this glory?

15. And the Lord showed me a very great country outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air there lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit.

16. And so great was the perfume that it was born thence even unto us.

17. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of shining angels and their raiment was like unto their country; and angels hovered about them there.

18. And the glory of the dwellers there was equal, and with one voice they sang praises alternately to the Lord God, rejoicing in that place.

19. The Lord saith to us: This is the place of your high-priests, the righteous men.

20. And over against that place I saw another, squalid, and it was the place of punishment; and those who were punished there and the punishing angels had their raiment dark like the air of the place.

21. And there were certain there hanging by the tongue: and these were the blasphemers of the way of righteousness; and under them lay fire, burning and punishing them.

22. And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men that pervert righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them.

23. And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair over that mire that bubbled up: and these were they who adorned themselves for adultery; and the men who mingled with them in the defilement of adultery, were hanging by the feet and their heads in that mire. And I said: I did not believe that I should come into this place.

24. And I saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a certain strait place, full of evil snakes, and smitten by those beasts, and

thus turning to and fro in that punishment; and worms, as it were clouds of darkness, afflicted them. And the souls of the murdered stood and looked upon the punishment of those murderers and said: O God, thy judgment is just.

25. And near that place I saw another strait place into which the gore and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake: and there sat women having the gore up to their necks, and over against them sat many children who were born to them out of due time, crying; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes: and these were the accursed who conceived and caused abortion.

26. And other men and women were burning up to the middle and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms: and these were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

27. And near those there were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes: and these were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.

28. And over against these again other men and women gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths: and these were the false witnesses.

29. And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than swords or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and

filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment: and these were the rich who trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, and despised the commandment of God.

30. And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees: and these were the usurers and those who take interest on interest.

31. And other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff and reached the bottom, and again were driven by those who were set over them to climb up upon the cliff, and thence were hurled down again, and had no rest from this punishment: and these were they who defiled their

bodies acting as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman.

32. And alongside of that cliff there was a place full of much fire, and there stood men who with their own hands had made for themselves carven images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women, having rods and striking each other and never ceasing from such punishment.

33. And others again near them, women and men, burning and turning themselves and roasting: and these were they that leaving the way of God

FRAGMENTS OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER

1. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Eclog.* 48. For instance, Peter in the Apocalypse says that the children who are born out of due time shall be of the better part: and that these are delivered over to a care-taking angel that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode [after suffering what they would have suffered if they had been in the body: but the others shall merely obtain salvation as injured beings to whom mercy is shown, and remain without punishment, receiving this as a reward].*

2. CLEM. ALEX. *Eclog.* 49. But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing shall engender small flesheating beasts: and these run up upon them and devour them.

3. MACARIUS MAGNES, *Apocritica* iv., 6 cf. 16. The earth, it (sc. the Apoc. of Peter) says, “shall present all men before God at the day of judgment, being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it.”

4. CLEM. ALEX. *Eclog.* 41. The scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel, by whom they are educated and so grow up, and they will be, it says, as the faithful of a hundred years old are here.

5. METHODIUS, *Conviv*. ii., 6. Whence also we have received in divinely-inspired scriptures that untimely births are delivered to care-taking angels, even if they are the offspring of adultery.

THE VISION OF PAUL

INTRODUCTION

THE present translation of the Vision of Paul is made from the text of a Latin version, edited by Mr. M. R. James in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, ii., 3, p. 11 ff. -- from a MS. of the eighth century now in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris.

Tischendorf's Greek text was based on two MSS., the earliest of which is at Munich and is of the thirteenth century. This version has already been translated in the Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xvi.

A translation into English from a Syriac version (date unknown) was published by the Rev. J. Perkins, D.D., in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S., vol. vi., 1865, and republished by Tischendorf alongside of the Greek version in his *Apocalypses Apocryphae.*

The Revelation of Paul was known to S. Augustine, who thus refers to it in his *Tractate* 98 on the Gospel of John, 8: "... There have been some vain individuals, who, with a presumption that betrays the grossest folly, have forged a Revelation of Paul, crammed with all manner of fables, which has been rejected by the Orthodox Church; affirming it to be that whereof he had said that he was caught up into the third heavens, and there heard unspeakable words 'which it is not lawful for a man to utter.' Nevertheless, the audacity of such might be tolerable, had he said that he heard words which it is not as yet lawful for a man to utter; but when he said 'which it is not lawful for a man to utter,' who are they that dare to utter them with such impudence and non-success?"

Sozomen, *H. E.*, vii., 19, after speaking of the Apocalypse of Peter, continues: "So the work entitled 'The Apocalypse of the Apostle Paul,' though rejected by the ancients, is still esteemed by most of the monks. Some persons affirm that the book was found during this reign (*i.e.*, of Theodosius) by divine revelation, in a marble box, buried beneath the soil, in the house of Paul, at Tarsus, in Cilicia. I have been informed that this

report is false, by a presbyter of Tarsus, a man of very advanced age, as is indicated by his grey hairs."

The book was probably composed, or rather compiled, for it is largely indebted to previous Apocalyptic writings, about the time when it purports to have been discovered at Tarsus, *i.e.*, 388 A.D., the year of the consulship of Theodosius the Less and Cynegius. The alleged sending of a copy of the original to Jerusalem probably indicates the place where it was composed, or, at least, first found currency.

The *Vision of Paul* seems to have enjoyed great popularity during the Middle Ages. Brandes (Halle, 1885), in his edition of two shorter Latin versions, enumerates twenty-two different MSS. of the Latin and "gives particulars of French, English, Danish, and Slavonic forms of the legend."

Of the three main versions, the Latin and Syriac are longer and fuller than the Greek, which in its present form has been abbreviated. Taking advantage of the excellent comparative table presented by Mr. M. R. James in his edition of the text, the translator has endeavored to point out to the reader, by notes in the margin, the passages where the Latin varies from the Greek, and, to a less extent, from the Syriac.

Parallel passages in other and earlier Apocalyptic writings are also indicated in the notes.

THE VISION OF PAUL

HERE BEGINS THE VISION OF SAINT PAUL THE APOSTLE

“But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord: I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not; or out of the body, I know not, God knoweth) snatched up in this manner to the third heaven: and I know such a man, whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knoweth; how that he was snatched up into Paradise and heard secret words which it is not lawful for men to speak; on behalf of such a one will I glory; but on mine own behalf I will not glory, save in my infirmities.” — 2 Corinthians 12:1-5.

1. At what time was this revelation made? In the consulship of Theodosius Augustus the Younger and Cynegius, a certain nobleman then living in Tharsus, in the house which was that of Saint Paul, an angel appearing in the night revealed to him, saying that he should open the foundations of the house and should publish what he found, but he thought that these things were dreams.

2. But the angel coming for the third time beat him and forced him to open the foundation. And digging he found a marble box, inscribed on the sides; there was the revelation of Saint Paul, and his shoes in which he walked teaching the word of God. But he feared to open that box and brought it to the judge; when he had received it, the judge, because it was sealed with lead, sent it to the Emperor Theodosius, fearing lest it might be something else; which when he had received the emperor opened it, and found the revelation of Saint Paul; a copy of it he sent to Jerusalem, and retained the original himself.

3. While I was in the body in which I was snatched up to the third heaven, the word of the Lord came to me saying: speak to the people: until when will ye transgress, and heap sin upon sin, and tempt the Lord who made you? Ye are the sons of God, doing the works of the devil in the faith of Christ, on account of the impediments of the world. Remember therefore and know that while every creature serves God, the human race alone sins. But it reigns over every creature and sins more than all nature.

4. For indeed the sun, the great light, often addressed the Lord saying: Lord God Almighty, I look out upon the impieties and injustices of men; permit me and I shall do unto them what are my powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice saying to him: I know all these things, for mine eye sees and ear hears, but my patience bears them until they shall be converted and repent. But if they do not return to me I will judge them all.

5. For sometimes the moon and stars addressed the Lord saying: Lord God Almighty, to us thou hast given the power of the night; till when shall we look down upon the impieties and fornications and homicides done by the sons of men? Permit us to do unto them according to our powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto them saying: I know all these things, and mine eye looks forth and ear hears, but my patience bears with them until they shall be converted and repent. But if they do not return unto me I will judge them.

6. And frequently also the sea exclaimed saying: Lord God Almighty, men have defiled thy holy name in me; permit me to arise and cover every wood and orchard and the whole world, until I blot out all the sons of men from before thy face, that they may know that thou art God alone. And the voice came again and said: I know all things; mine eye seeth everything, and mine ear heareth, but my patience bears with them until they be converted and repent. But if they do not return, I will judge them. Sometimes the waters also spoke against the sins of men saying: Lord God Almighty, all the sons of men have defiled thy holy name. And there came a voice saying: I know all things before they come to pass, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth all things, but my patience bears with them until they be converted. But if not I will judge them. Frequently also the earth too exclaimed to the Lord against the sons of men saying: Lord God Almighty, I above every other creature of thine am harmed, supporting the fornications, adulteries, homicides, thefts, perjuries and magic and ill-doings of men and all the evil they do, so that the father rises up against the son, and the son upon the father, the alien against the alien, so that each one defiles his neighbor’s wife. The father ascends upon the bed of his own son, and the son likewise ascends the couch of his own father; and in all these evils, they who offer the sacrifice to thy name have defiled thy holy place. Therefore I am injured above every creature, desiring not to

shew my power to myself, and my fruits to the sons of men. Permit me and I will destroy the virtue of my fruits. And there came a voice and said: I know all things, and there is none who can hide himself from his sin. Moreover I know their impieties, but my holiness suffers them until they be converted and repent. But if they do not return unto me I will judge them.

7. Behold, ye sons of men, the creature is subject to God, but the human race alone sins. For this cause, therefore, ye sons of men, bless the Lord God unceasingly, every hour and every day: but more especially when the sun has set: for at that hour all the angels proceed to the Lord to worship him and to present the works of men, which every man has wrought from the morning till the evening, whether good or evil. And there is a certain angel who proceeds rejoicing concerning the man in whom he dwells. When therefore the sun has set in the first hour of night, in the same hour the angel of every people and every man and woman, who protect and preserve them, because man is the image of God: similarly also in the matin hour which is the twelfth of the night, all the angels of men and women, go up to God to worship God, and present every work which each man has wrought, whether good or evil. Moreover every day and night the angels show to God an account of all the acts of the human race. To you, therefore, I say, ye sons of men, bless the Lord God without fail all the days of your life.

8. Therefore at the appointed hour all the angels whatever, rejoicing at once together, proceed before God that they may meet to worship at the hour determined. And behold suddenly it became the hour of meeting, and the angels came to worship in the presence of God, and the spirit proceeded to meet them: and there came a voice and said: Whence come ye, our angels, bearing the burdens of tidings?

9. They answered and said: We come from those who have renounced this world for the sake of thy holy name, wandering as pilgrims, and in caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour in which they inhabited the earth, and hungering and thirsting because of thy name, with their loins girded, having in theist hands the incense of their hearts, and praying and blessing every hour, and restraining and overcoming themselves, weeping and wailing above the rest that inhabit the earth. And we indeed, their angels, mourn

along with them: whither therefore it shall please thee, command us to go and minister, lest others also do it, but the destitute above the rest who are on earth. And there came the voice of God to them saying: Know ye that now henceforward my grace is appointed unto you, and my help, who is my well-beloved Son, shall be present with them, guiding them every hour; ministering also to them, never deserting them, since their place is his habitation.

10. When therefore these angels had retired, behold other angels came to adore in the presence of honor, in the assembly, who wept; and the spirit of God proceeded to meet them, and there came the voice of God and said: Whence come ye, our angels, bearing the burdens of the ministry of the tidings of the world? They answered and said in the presence of God: We have arrived from those who called upon thy name, and the impediments of the world made them wretched, devising many occasions every hour, not even making one pure prayer, nor out of their whole heart, in all the time of their life; what need, therefore, is there to be present with men who are sinners? And there came the voice of God to them: It is necessary that ye should minister to them, until they be converted and repent: but if they do not return to me I will judge them. Know therefore, sons of men, that whatever things are wrought by you, these angels relate to God, whether good or evil.

11. And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me, and I will show you the place of the just where they are led when they are deceased, and after these things taking thee into the abyss, I will show thee the souls of sinners and what sort of place they are led into when they have deceased. And I proceeded back after the angel, and he led me into heaven, and I looked back upon the firmament, and I saw in the same place power, and there was there oblivion which deceives and draws down to itself the hearts of men, and the spirit of detraction, and the spirit of fornication, and the spirit of madness, and the spirit of insolence, and there were there the princes of vices: these I saw under the firmament of heaven: and again I looked back, and I saw angels without mercy, having no pity, whose countenance was full of madness, and their teeth sticking out beyond the mouth: their eyes shone like the morning star of the east, and from the hairs of their head sparks of fire went out, or from their mouth. And I asked the angel saying: Sir, who are those? And the angel answered and

said unto me: These are those who are destined to the souls of the impious in the hour of need, who did not believe that they had the Lord for their helper, nor hoped in him.

12. And I looked on high and I saw other angels whose countenance shone as the sun, their loins girded with golden girdles, having palms in their hands, and the sign of God, clothed with garments in which was written the name of the Son of God, filled moreover with all meekness and pity; and I asked the angels saying: Who are these, Lord, in so great beauty and pity? And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the angels of justice who are sent to lead up the souls of the just, in the hour of need, who believed that they had the Lord for their helper. And I said to him: Do the just and sinners necessarily meet witnesses when they have died? And the angel answered and said to me: There is one way by which all pass over to God, but the just having their helper with them are not confounded when they go to appear in the sight of God.

13. And I said to the angel: I wished to see the souls of the just and of sinners going out of the world. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look down upon the earth. And I looked down from heaven upon the earth, and saw the whole world, and it was nothing in my sight and I saw the sons of men as though they were naught, and a-wanting, and I wondered and said to the angel: Is this the greatness of men? And the angel answered and said unto me: It is, and these are they who do evil from morning till evening. And I looked and saw a great cloud of fire spread over the whole world, and I said to the angel: What is this, my Lord? and he said to me: This is injustice stirred up by the princes of sinners.

14. I indeed when I had heard this sighed and wept, and said to the angel: I wished to see the souls of the just and of sinners, and to see in what manner they go out of the body. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look again upon the earth. And I looked and saw all the world, and men were as naught and a-wanting: and I looked carefully and saw a certain man about to die, and the angel said to me: This one whom thou seest is a just man. And I looked again and saw all his works, whatever he had done for the sake of God’s name, and all his desires, both what he remembered, and what he did not remember; they all stood in his sight in the hour of need; and I saw the just man advance and find refreshment and confidence, and

before he went out of the world the holy and the impious angels both attended: and I saw them all, but the impious found no place of habitation in him, but the holy took possession of his soul, guiding it till it went out of the body: and they roused the soul saying: Soul, know thy body whence thou goest out, for it is necessary that thou shouldst return to the same body on the day of the resurrection, that thou mayest receive the things promised to all the just. Receiving therefore the soul from the body, they immediately kissed it as familiarly known to them, saying to it: Do manfully, for thou hast done the will of God while placed in the earth. And there came to meet him the angel who watched him every day, and said to him: Do manfully, soul; for I rejoice in thee, because thou hast done the will of God on earth: for I related to God all thy works, such as they were. Similarly also the spirit proceeded to meet him and said: Soul, fear not, nor be disturbed, until thou comest into a place which thou hast never known, but I will be a helper unto thee: for I found in thee a place of refreshment in the time when I dwelt in thee, while I was on earth. And his spirit strengthened him, and his angel received him, and led him into heaven: and an angel said: Whither runnest thou, O soul, and dost thou dare to enter into heaven? Wait and let us see if there is anything of ours in thee: and behold we find nothing in thee. I see also thy divine helper and angel, and the spirit is rejoicing along with thee, because thou hast done the will of God on earth. And they led him along till he should worship in the sight of God. And when they had ceased, immediately Michael and all the army of angels, with one voice, adored the footstool of his feet, and his doom, saying at the same time to the soul: This is your God of all things, who made you in his own image and likeness. Moreover the angel returns and points him out saying: God, remember his labors: for this is the soul, whose works I related to thee, doing according to thy judgment. And the spirit said likewise: I am the spirit of vivification inspiring him: for I had refreshment in him, in the time when I dwelt in him, doing according to thy judgment. And there came the voice of God and said: In as much as this man did not vex me, neither will I vex him; for according as he had pity, I also will have pity. Let him therefore be handed over to Michael, the angel of the Covenant, and let him lead him into the Paradise of joy, that he himself may become co-heir with all the saints. And after these things I heard the voices of a thousand thousand angels, and archangels, and cherubim, and twenty-four elders saying hymns, and glorifying the Lord

and crying: thou art just, O Lord, and just are thy judgments, and there is no acceptance of persons with thee, but thou rewardest unto every man according to thy judgment. And the angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou believed and known, that whatever each man of you has done, he sees in the hour of need? And I said: Yes, sir.

15. And he saith to me: Look again down on the earth, and watch the soul of an impious man going out of the body, which vexed the Lord day and night, saying: I know nothing else in this world, I eat and drink, and enjoy what is in the world; for who is there who has descended into hell, and ascending has declared to us that there is judgment there! And again I looked carefully, and saw all the scorn of the sinner, and all that he did, and they stood together before him in the hour of need: and it was done to him in that hour, in which he was threatened about his body at the judgment, and I said: It were better for him if he hall not been born. And after these things, there came at the same time, the holy angels, and the malign, and the soul of the sinner and the holy angels did not find a place in it. Moreover the malign angels cursed it; and when they had drawn it out of the body, the angels admonished it a third time, saying: O wretched soul, look upon thy flesh, whence thou camest out: for it is necessary that thou shouldst return to thy flesh in the day of resurrection, that thou mayest receive the due for thy sins and thy impieties.

16. And when they had led it forth, the customary angel preceded it, and said to it: O wretched soul, I am the angel belonging to thee, relating daily to the Lord thy malign works, whatever thou didst by night or day: and if it were in my power, not for one day would I minister to thee, but none of these things was I able to do: the judge is pitiful and just, and he himself commanded us that we should not cease to minister to the soul, till you should repent, but thou hast lost the time of repentance. I indeed was strange to thee and thou to me. Let us go on then to the just judge: I will not dismiss thee, before I know from today why I was strange to thee. And the spirit confounded him, and the angel troubled him. When, therefore, they had arrived at the power, when he started to enter heaven, a labor was imposed upon him, above all other labor: error and oblivion and murmuring met him, and the spirit of fornication, and the rest of the powers, and said to him: Whither goest thou, wretched soul, and darest thou to rush into heaven? hold, that we may see if we have our qualities in

thee, since we do not see that thou hast a holy helper. And after that I heard voices in the height of heaven saying: Present that wretched soul to God, that it may know that it is God that it despised. When, therefore, it had entered heaven, all the angels saw it, a thousand thousand exclaimed with one voice, all saying: Woe to thee, wretched soul, for the sake of thy works which thou didst on earth; what answer art thou about to give to God when thou shalt have approached to adore him? The angel who was with it answered and said: Weep with me, my beloved, for I have not found rest in this soul. And the angels answered him and said: Let such a soul be taken away from the midst of ours, for from the time he entered, the stink of him crosses to us angels. And after these things it was presented, that it might worship in the sight of God, and an angel of God showed him God who made him after his own image and likeness. Moreover his angel ran before him saying: Lord God Almighty, I am the angel of this soul, whose works I presented to thee day and night, not doing according to thy judgment. And the spirit likewise said: I am the spirit who dwelt in it from the time it was made, in itself moreover I know it, and it has not followed my will: judge it, Lord, according to thy judgment. And there came the voice of God to it and said: Where is thy fruit which thou has made worthy of the goods which thou hast received? Have I put a distance of one day between thee and the just man? Did I not make the sun to arise upon thee as upon the just? But the soul was silent, having nothing to answer: and again there came a voice saying: Just is the judgment of God, and there is no acceptance of persons with God, for whoever shall have done mercy, on them shall he have mercy, and whoever shall not have pitied neither shall God pity him. Let him therefore be handed over to the angel Tartaruch, who is set over the punishments, and let him place him in outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and let him be there till the great day of judgment. And after these things I heard the voice of angels and archangels saying: Thou art just, Lord, and thy judgment is just.

17. And again I saw, and behold a soul which was led forward by two angels, weeping and saying: Have pity on me, just God, God the judge, for today is seven days since I went out of my body, and I was handed over to these two angels, and they led me through to those places, which I had never seen. And God, the just judge, saith to him: What hast thou done?

for thou never didst mercy, wherefore thou wast handed over to such angels as have no mercy, and because thou didst not do uprightly, so neither did they act piously with thee in the hour of thy need. Confess therefore thy sins which thou didst commit when placed in the world. And he answered and said: Lord, I did not sin. And the Lord, the just Lord, was angered in fury when it said: I did not sin, because it lied; and God said: Dost thou think thou art still in the world? if any one of you, sinning there, conceal and hide his sin from his neighbor, here indeed nothing whatever shall be hid: for when the souls come to adore in sight of the throne, both the good works and the sins of each one are made manifest. And hearing these things the soul was silent, having no answer. And I heard the Lord God, the just judge, again saying: Come, angel of this soul, and stand in the midst. And the angel of the sinful soul came, having in his hands a manuscript, and said: These, Lord, in my hands, are all the sins of this soul from his youth till today, from the tenth year of his birth: and if thou command, Lord, I will also relate his acts from the beginning of his fifteenth year. And the Lord God, the just judge, said: I say unto thee, angel, I do not expect of thee an account of him since he began to be fifteen years old, but state his sins for five years before he died and before he came hither. And again God, the just judge, said: For by myself I swear, and by my holy angels, and by my virtue, that if he had repented five years before he died, on account of one year's life, oblivion would now be thrown over all the evils which he sinned before, and he would have indulgence and remission of sins: now indeed he shall perish. And the angel of the sinful soul answered and said: Lord, command that angel to exhibit those souls.

18. And in that same hour the souls were exhibited in the midst, and the soul of the sinner knew them; and the Lord said to the soul of the sinner: I say unto thee, soul, confess thy work which thou wroughtest in these souls, whom thou seest, when they were in the world. And he answered and said: Lord, it is not yet a full year since I slew this one and poured his blood upon the ground, and with another (a woman) I committed fornication: not this alone, but I also greatly harmed her in taking away her goods. And the Lord God, the just judge, said: Either thou didst not know that he who does violence to another, if he dies first who sustains the violence, is kept in this place until the doer of hurt dies, and then both

stand in the presence of the judge, and now each receives according to his deed. And I heard a voice of one saying: Let that soul be delivered into the hands of Tartarus, and led down into hell: he shall lead him into the lower prison and he shall be put in torments, and left there till the great day of judgment. And again I heard a thousand thousand angels saying hymns to the Lord, and crying: Thou art just, O Lord, and just are thy judgments.

19. The angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou perceived all these things? and I said, Yes, sir. And he said to me: Follow me again, and I will take thee, and show thee the places of the just. And I followed the angel, and he raised me to the third heaven, and placed me at the entry of the door: and looking carefully I saw, and the door was of gold, and two columns of gold, full above of golden letters, and the angel tuned again to me and said: Blessed weft thou, if thou hadst entered into these doors, for it is not allowed to any to enter except only to those who have goodness and innocence of body in all things. And I asked the angel about everything and said: Sir, tell me on what account these letters are put upon those tables? The angel answered and said unto me: These are the names of the just, serving God with their whole heart, who dwell on the earth. And again I said: Sir, therefore their names and countenance and the likeness of these who serve God are in heaven, and are known to the angels: for they know who are the servants of God with all their heart, before they go out of the world.

20. And when I had entered the interior of the gate of Paradise, there came out to meet me an old man whose countenance shone as the sun; and when he had embraced me he said: Hail, Paul, beloved of God. And he kissed me with a cheerful countenance. He wept, and I said to him: Brother, why dost thou weep? And again sighing and lamenting he said: We are hurt by men, and they vex us greatly; for many are the good things which the Lord has prepared, and great is his promise, but many do not perceive them. And I asked the angel, and said: Sir, who is this? And he said to me: This is Enoch, the scribe of righteousness. And I entered into the interior of that place, and immediately I saw the sun, and coming it saluted me laughing and rejoicing. And when it had seen (me), it turned away and wept, and said to me: Paul, would that thou shouldst receive thy labors which thou hast done in the human race. For me, indeed, I have seen the great and many good things, which God has prepared for the just, and the promises

of God are great, but many do not perceive them; but even by many labors scarcely one or two enters into these places.

21. And the angel answered and said to me, Whatever I now show thee here, and whatever thou shalt hear, tell it not to any one in the earth. And he led me and shewed me: and there I heard words which it is not lawful for a man to speak. And again he said, For now follow me, and I will shew thee what thou oughtest to narrate in public and relate.

And he took me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me on to the firmament and from the firmament he led me over the doors of heaven: the beginning of its foundation was on the river which waters all the earth. And I asked the angel and said, Lord, what is this river of water? and he said to me, This is Oceanus! And suddenly I went out of heaven, and I understood that it is the light of heaven which lightens all the earth. For the land there is seven times brighter than silver. And I said, Lord, what is this place? And he said to me, This is the land of promise. Hast thou never heard what is written: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth? The souls therefore of the just, when they have gone out of the body, are meanwhile dismissed to this place. And I said to the angel, Then this land will be manifested before the time? The angel answered and said to me, When Christ, whom thou preachest, shall come to reign, then, by the sentence of God, the first earth will be dissolved and this land of promise will then be revealed, and it will be like dew or cloud, and then the Lord Jesus Christ, the King Eternal, will be manifested and will come with all his saints to dwell in it, and he will reign over them a thousand years, and they will eat of the good things which I shall now show unto thee.

22. And I looked around upon that land and I saw a river flowing of milk and honey, and there were trees planted by the bank of that river, full of fruit: moreover each single tree bore twelve fruits in the year, having various and diverse fruits: and I saw the created things which are in that place and all the work of God, and I saw there palms of twenty cubits, but others of ten cubits: and that land was seven times brighter than silver. And there were trees full of fruits from the roots to the highest branches, of ten thousand fruits of palms upon ten thousand fruits. The grape-vines moreover had ten thousand plants. Moreover in the single vines there were

ten thousand thousand bunches and in each of these a thousand single grapes: moreover these single trees bore a thousand fruits. And I said to the angel, Why does each tree bear a thousand fruits? The angel answered and said unto me, Because the Lord God gives an abounding flood of gifts to the worthy, because they also of their own will afflicted themselves when they were placed in the world doing all things on account of his holy name. And again I said to the angel, Sir, are these the only promises which the Most Holy God makes? And he answered and said to me: No! there are seven times greater than these. But I say unto thee that when the just go out of the body they shall see the promises and the good things which God has prepared for them. Till then, they shall sigh, and lament saying: Have we emitted any word from our mouth to vex our neighbor even on one day? I asked and said again: Are these alone the promises of God? And the angel answered and said unto me: These whom you now see are the souls of the married and those who kept the chastity of their nuptials, containing themselves. But to the virgins and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness and those who afflicted themselves for the sake of the name of God, God will give seven times greater than these, which I shall now show thee.

And then he took me up from that place where I saw these things and behold, a river, and its waters were greatly whiter than milk, and I said to the angel, What is this? And he said to me: This is the Acherousian Lake where is the City of Christ, but not every man is permitted to enter that city; for this is the journey which leads to God, and if anyone is a fornicator and impious, and is converted and shall repent and do fruits worthy of repentance, at first indeed when he shall have gone out of the body, he is led and adores God, and thence by command of the Lord he is delivered to the angel Michael and he baptizes him in the Acherousian Lake — thus he leads them into the City of Christ alongside of those who have never sinned. But I wondered and blessed the Lord God for all the things which I saw.

23. And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me and I will lead thee into the City of Christ. And he was standing on the Acherousian Lake and he put me into a golden ship and angels as it were three thousand were saying hymns before me till I arrived at the City of Christ. Moreover those who inhabited the City of Christ greatly rejoiced over me as I went to

them, and I entered and saw the City of Christ, and it was all of gold, and twelve walls encircled it, and twelve interior towers, and each wall had between them single stadia in the circuit: And I said to the angel, Sir, how much is a stadium? The angel answered and said to me: As much as there is between the Lord God and the men who are on the earth, for the City of Christ is alone great. And there were twelve gates in the circuit of the city, of great beauty, and four rivers which encircled it. There was, moreover, a river of honey and a river of milk, and a river of wine and a river of oil. And I said to the angel: What are these rivers surrounding that city? And he saith to me: These are the four rivers which flow sufficiently for those who are in this land of promise, of which the names are: the river of honey is called Fison, and the river of milk Euphrates, and the river of oil Gion, and the river of wine Tigris, such therefore they are for those who when placed in the world did not use the power of these things, but they hungered for these things and afflicted themselves for the sake of the Lord God: so that when these enter into this city, the Lord will assign them these things on high above all measure.

24. I indeed entering the gates saw trees great and very high before the doors of the city, having no fruit but leaves only, and I saw a few men scattered in the midst of the trees, and they lamented greatly when they saw anyone enter the city. And those trees were sorry for them and humbled themselves and bowed down and again erected themselves. And I saw and wept with them and I asked the angel and said: Sir, who are these who are not admitted to enter into the City of Christ? And he said to me: These are they who zealously abstained day and night in fasts, but they had a proud heart above other men, glorifying and praising themselves and doing nothing for their neighbors. For they gave some friendly greeting, but to others they did not even say hail! and indeed they shewed hospitality to those only whom they wished, and if they did anything whatever for their neighbor they were immoderately puffed up. And I said: What then, Sir? Did their pride prevent them from entering into the City of Christ? And the angel answered and said unto me: Pride is the root of all evils. Are they better than the Son of God who came to the Jews with much humility? And I asked him and said: Why is it that the trees humble themselves and erect themselves again? And the angel answered and said to me: The whole time which these men passed on earth zealously serving

God, on account of the confusion and reproaches of men at the time, they blushed and humiliated themselves, but they were not saddened. nor did they repent that they should recede from their pride which was in them. This is why the trees humble themselves, and again are raised up. And I asked and said: For what cause were they admitted to the doors of the city? The angel answered and said unto me: Because of the great goodness of God, and because there is the entry of his holy men entering into this city: for this cause they are left in this place, but when Christ the King Eternal enters with his saints, as he enters just men may pray for these, and then they may enter into the city along with them: but yet none of them is able to have assurance such as they have who humbled themselves, serving the Lord God all their lives.

25. But I went on while the angel instructed me, and he carried me to the river of honey, and I saw there Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel and Amos, and Micah and Zechariah, the minor and major prophets, and they saluted me in the city. I said to the angel: What way is this? And he said to me: This is the way of the prophets, every one who shall have afflicted his soul and not done his own will because of God, when he shall have gone out of the world and have been led to the Lord God and adored him, then by the command of God he is handed over to Michael, and he leads him into the city to this place of the prophets, and they salute him as their friend and neighbor because he did the will of God.

26. Again he led me where there is a river of milk, and I saw in that place all the infants whom Herod slew because of the name of Christ, and they saluted me, and the angel said to me: All who keep their chastity with purity, when they shall have come out of the body, after they adore the Lord God are delivered to Michael and are led to the infants and they salute them, saying that they are our brothers and friends and members; in themselves they shall inherit the promises of God.

27. Again he took me up and carried me to the north of the city and led me where there was a river of wine, and there I saw Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, Lot and Job and other saints, and they saluted me: and I asked and said: What is this place, my Lord? The angel answered and said to me: All who are receivers of pilgrims, when they go out of the world, first adore the Lord God, and are delivered to Michael and by this way are led into

the city, and all the just salute him as son and brother, and say unto him: Because thou hast observed humanity and the receiving of pilgrims, come, have an inheritance in the city of the Lord our God: every just man shall receive good things of God in the city, according to his own action.

28. And again he carried me near the river of oil on the east of the city. And I saw there men rejoicing and singing psalms, and I said: Who are those, my Lord? And the angel saith to me: Those are they who devoted themselves to God with their whole heart and had no pride in themselves. For all those who rejoice in the Lord God and sing psalms to the Lord with their whole heart are here led into this city.

29. And he carried me into the midst of the city near the twelve walls. But there was in this place a higher wall, and I asked and said: Is there in the City of Christ a wall which in honor exceeds this place? And the angel answering said to me: There is a second better than the first, and similarly a third than the second, as each exceeds the other, unto the twelfth wall. And I said: Tell me, Sir, why one exceeds another in glory? And the angel answered and said unto me: All who have in themselves even a little detraction or zeal or pride, something of his glory would be made void even if he were in the city of Christ: look backward!

And turning round I saw golden thrones placed in each gate, and on them men having golden diadems and gems: and I looked carefully and I saw inside between the twelve men thrones placed in another rank which appeared of much glory, so that no one is able to recount their praise. And I asked the angel and said: My Lord, who is on the throne? And the angel answered and said unto me: Those thrones belong to those who had goodness and understanding of heart and made themselves fools for the sake of the Lord God, nor knew new Scriptures nor psalms, but, mindful of one chapter of the commands of God, and hearing what it contained they wrought thereby in much diligence and hadfight zeal before the Lord God, and the admiration of them will seize all the saints in presence of the Lord God, for talking with one another they say, Wait and see the unlearned who know nothing more: by which means they merited so great and such a garment and so great glory on account of their innocence.

And I saw in the midst of this city a great altar, very high, and there was one standing near the altar whose countenance shone as the sun, and he

held in his hands a psaltery and harp, and he sang psalms, saying Halleluia! And his voice filled the whole city: at the same time when all they who were on the towers and gates heard him they responded Halleluia! so that the foundations of the city were shaken: and I asked the angel and said, Sir, who is this of so great power? And the angel said to me: This is David: this is the city of Jerusalem, for when Christ the King of Eternity shall come with the assurance of His kingdom, he again shall go before him that he may sing psalms, and all the just at the same time shall sing psalms responding Halleluia! And I said, Sir, how did David alone above the other saints make a beginning of psalm-singing? And the angel answered and said unto me: Because Christ the Son of God sits at the right hand of His Father, and this David sings psalms before him in the seventh heaven, and as is done in the heavens so also below, because the host may not be offered to God without David, but it is necessary that David should sing psalms in the hour of the oblation of the body and blood of Christ: as it is performed in heaven so also on earth.

30. And I said to the angel: Sir, what is Alleluia? And the angel answered and said to me: You ask questions about everything. And he said to me, Alleluia is said in the Hebrew language of God and angels, for the meaning of Alleluia is this: tecel cat. marith macha. And I said, Sir, what is tecel cat. marith macha? And the angel answered and said unto me: Tecel cat. marith macha is: Let us all bless him together. I asked the angel and said, Sir, do all who say Alleluia bless the Lord? And the angel answered and said to me: It is so, and again, therefore, if any one sing Alleluia and those who are present do not sing at the same time, they commit sin because they do not sing along with him, And I said: My Lord, does he also sin if he be hesitating or very old? The angel answered and said unto me: Not so, but he who is able and does not join in the singing, know such as a despiser of the Word, and it would be proud and unworthy that he should not bless the Lord God his maker.

31. Moreover when he had ceased speaking to me, he led me outside the city through the midst of the trees and far from the places of the land of the good, and put me across the river of milk and honey: and after that he led me over the ocean which supports the foundations of heaven.

The angel answered and said unto me: Dost thou understand why thou goest hence? And I said: Yes, sir. And he said to me Come and follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the impious and sinners, that thou mayest know what manner of place it is. And I proceeded with the angel and he carried me by the setting of the sun, and I saw the beginning of heaven rounded on a great river of water, and I asked: What is this river of water? And he said to me: This is Ocean which surrounds all the Earth. And when I was at the outer limit of Ocean I looked, and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness: and I sighed.

And I saw there a fervent river of fire, and in it a multitude of men and women immersed. up to the knees, and other men up to the navel, others even up to the lips, others moreover up to the hair. And I asked the angel and said: Sir, who are those in the fiery river? And the angel answered and said to me: They are neither hot nor cold, because they were found neither in the number of the just nor in the number of the impious. For those spent the time of their life on earth passing some days in prayer, but others in sins and fornications, until their death. And I asked him and said: Who are these, Sir, immersed up to their knees in fire? He answered and said to me: These are they who when they have gone out of church throw themselves into strange conversations to dispute. Those indeed who are immersed up to the navel are those who, when they have taken the body and blood of Christ go and fornicate and did not cease from their sins till they died. Those who are immersed up to the lips are the detractors of each other when they assemble in the church of God: those up to the eyebrows are those who nod approval of themselves and plot spite against their neighbor.

32. And I saw on the north a place of various and diverse punishments full of men and women, and a river of fire ran down into it. Moreover I observed and I saw pits great in depth, and in them several souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits, and I saw them groaning and weeping and saying: Have pity on us, O Lord! and none had pity on them. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Sir? And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they who did not hope in the Lord, that they would be able to have him as their helper. And I asked and said: Sir, if these souls remain for thirty or forty generations thus one upon another, if they were sent deeper, the pits I believe would not hold

them. And he said to me: The Abyss has no measure, for beyond this it stretches down below him who is down in it: and so it is, that if perchance anyone should take a stone and throw it into a very deep well and after many hours it should reach the bottom, such is the abyss. For when the souls are thrown in there, they hardly reach the bottom in fifty years.

33. I, indeed, when I heard this, wept and groaned over the human race. The angel answered and said unto me: Why dost thou weep? Art thou more pitiful than God? For though God is good, He knows also that there are punishments, and He patiently bears with the human race, dismissing each one to work his own will in the time in which he dwells on the earth.

34. I further observed the fiery river and saw there a man being tortured by Tartaruchian angels having in their hands an iron with three hooks with which they pierced the bowels of that old man: and I asked the angel, and said: Sir, who is that old man on whom such torments are imposed? And the angel answered and said to me: He whom you see was a presbyter who did not perform well his ministry: when he had been eating and drinking and committing fornication he offered the host to the Lord at his holy altar.

35. And I saw not far away another old man led on by malign angels running with speed, and they pushed him into the fire up to his knees, and they struck him with stones and wounded his face like a storm, and did not allow him to say: Have pity on me! And I asked the angel and he said to me: He whom you see was a bishop, and did not perform well his episcopate, who indeed accepted the great name but did not enter into the witness of him who gave him the name in all his life, seeing that he did not do just judgment, and did not pity widows and orphans, but now he receives retribution according to his iniquity and his works.

36. And I saw another man in the fiery river up to his knees. Moreover his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms proceeded from his mouth and nostrils and he was groaning and weeping, and crying he said: Have pity on me! for I am hurt above the rest who are in this punishment. And I asked, Sir, who is this? And he said to me: This man whom thou seest, was a deacon who devoured the oblations and committed fornications and did not right in the sight of God, for this cause he unceasingly pays this penalty.

And I looked closely and saw alongside of him another man whom they delivered up with haste and cast into the fiery river, and he was (in it) up to the knees: and there came the angel who was set over the punishments having a great fiery razor, and with it he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. And sighing, I lamented and asked: Who is that, sir. And he said to me, He whom thou seest was a reader and read to the people, but he himself did not keep the precepts of God: now he also pays the proper penalty.

37. And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst of it a river full of a multitude of men and women, and worms consumed them. But I lamented and sighing asked the angel and said: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are those who exacted interest on interest and trusted in their riches and did not hope in God that He was their helper.

And after that I looked and saw another place, very narrow, and it was like a wall, and fire round about it. And I saw inside men and women gnawing their tongues, and I asked: Sir, who are these. And he said to me: These are they who in church disparage the Word of God, not attending to it, but as it were make naught of God and His angels: for that cause they now likewise pay the proper penalty.

38. And I observed and saw another old man down in a pit and his countenance was like blood, and I asked and said, Sir, what is this place? And he said to me: Into that pit stream all the punishments. And I saw men and women immersed up to the lips and I asked, Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are the magicians who prepared for men and women evil magic arts and did not find how to stop them till they died.

And again I saw men and women with very black faces in a pit of fire, and I sighed and lamented and asked, Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are fornicators and adulterers who committed adultery having wives of their own: likewise also the women committed adultery having husbands of their own: therefore they unceasingly suffer penalties.

39. And I saw there girls having black raiment, and four terrible angels having in their hands burning chains, and they put them on the necks of the girls and led them into darkness: and I, again weeping, asked the angel:

Who are these, Sir? And he said to me: These are they who, when they were virgins, defiled their virginity unknown to their parents; for which cause they unceasingly pay the proper penalties.

And again I observed there men and women with hands cut and their feet placed naked in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. But seeing them I lamented and asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who harmed orphans and widows and the poor, and did not hope in the Lord, for which cause they unceasingly pay the proper penalties.

And I observed and saw others hanging over a channel of water, and their tongues were very dry, and many fruits were placed in their sight, and they were not permitted to take of them, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who break their fast before the appointed hour, for this cause they unceasingly pay these penalties.

And I saw other men and women hanging by their eyebrows and their hair, and a fiery river drew them, and I said: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who join themselves not to their own husbands and wives but to whores, and therefore they unceasingly pay the proper penalties.

And I saw other men and women covered with dust, and their countenance was like blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and sulphur and running down into a fiery river, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who committed the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah, the male with the male, for which reason they unceasingly pay the penalties.

40. And I observed and saw men and women clothed in bright garments, having their eyes blind, placed in a pit, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are of the people who did alms, and knew not the Lord God, for which reason they unceasingly pay the proper penalties. And I observed and saw other men and women on an obelisk of fire, and beasts tearing them in pieces, and they were not allowed to say, Lord have pity on us! And I saw the angel of penalties putting heavy punishments on them and saying: Acknowledge the Son of God; for this was predicted to you, when the divine Scriptures were read to you, and you did not attend; for which cause God’s judgment is just, for your actions have

apprehended you and brought you into these penalties. But I sighed and wept, and I asked and said: Who are these men and women who are strangled in fire and pay their penalties? And he answered me: These are women who defiled the image of God when bringing forth infants out of the womb, and these are the men who lay with them. And their infants addressed the Lord God and the angels who were set over the punishments, saying: Cursed be the hour to our parents, for they defiled the image of God, having the name of God but not observing His precepts: they gave us for food to dogs and to be trodden down of swine: others they threw into the river. But their infants were handed over to the angels of Tartarus who were set over the punishments, that they might lead them to a wide place of mercy: but their fathers and mothers were tortured in a perpetual punishment.

And after that I saw men and women clothed with rags full of pitch and fiery sulphur, and dragons were coiled about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having fiery horns restrained them and smote them, and closed their nostrils, saying to them: Why did ye not know the time in which it was right to repent and serve God, and did not do it? And I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who seem to give up the world for God, putting on our garb, but the impediments of the world made them wretched, not maintaining agapoe, and they did not pity widows and orphans: they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did not pity their neighbor. Moreover their prayer did not even on one day ascend pure to the Lord God, but many impediments of the world detained them, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God, and the angels enclosed them in the place of punishments. Moreover they saw those who were in punishments and said to them: We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye also did likewise: as we also truly when we were in the world knew that ye were sinners. But ye said: These are just and servants of God, now we know why ye were called by the name of the Lord: for which cause they also pay their own penalties.

And sighing I wept and said: Woe unto men, woe unto sinners! why were they born? And the angel answered and said unto me: Why dost thou lament? Art thou more pitiful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgment and sent forth every man to choose good and

evil in his own will and do what pleases him? Then I lamented again very greatly, and he said to me: Dost thou lament when as yet thou hast not seen greater punishments? Follow me and thou shalt see seven times greater than these.

41. And he carried me south and placed me above a well, and I found it sealed with seven seals: and answering, the angel who was with me said to the angel of that place: Open the mouth of the well that Paul, the well-beloved of God, may see, for authority is given him that he may see all the pains of hell. And the angel said to me: Stand afar off that thou mayest be able to bear the stench of this place. When therefore the well was opened, immediately there arose from it a certain hard and malign stench, which surpasses all punishments: and I looked into the well and I saw fiery masses glowing in every. part, and narrow places, and the mouth of the well was narrow so as to admit one man only. And the angel answered and said unto me: If any man shall have been put into this well of the abyss and it shall have been sealed over him, no remembrance of him shall ever be made in the sight of the Father and His Son and the holy angels. And I said: Who are these, Sir, who are put into this well? And he said to me: They are whoever shall not confess that Christ has come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary brought him forth, and whoever says that the bread and cup of the Eucharist of blessing are not this body and blood of Christ.

42. And I looked to the south in the west and I saw there a restless worm and in that place there was gnashing of teeth: moreover the worms were one cubit long, and had two heads, and there I saw men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth. And I asked and said, Sir, who are these in this place? And he said to me: These are they who say that Christ did not rise from the dead and that this flesh will not rise again. And I asked and said: Sir, is there no fire nor heat in this place? And he said to me: In this place there is nothing else but cold and snow: and again he said to me: Even if the sun should rise upon them, they do not become warm on account of the superabundant cold of that place and the snow.

But hearing these things I stretched out my hands and wept, and sighing again, I said: It were better for us if we had not been born, all of us who are sinners.

43. But when those who were in the same place saw me weeping with the angel, they themselves cried out and wept saying, Lord God have mercy upon us! And after these things I saw the heavens open, and Michael the archangel descending from heaven, and with him was the whole army of angels, and they came to those who were placed in punishment and seeing him, again weeping, they cried out and said, Have pity on as! Michael the archangel, have pity on us and on the human race, for on account of thy prayers the earth standeth. We now see the judgment and acknowledge the Son of God! It was impossible for us before these things to pray for this, before we entered into this place: for we heard that there was a judgment before we went out of the world, but impediments and the life of the world did not allow us to repent. And Michael answered and said: Hear Michael speaking! I am he who stands in the sight of God every. hour: As the Lord liveth, in whose sight I stand, I do not intermit one day or one night praying incessantly for the human race, and I indeed pray for those who are on the earth: but they do not cease doing iniquity and fornications, and they do not bring to me any good while they are placed on earth: and ye have consumed in vanity the time in which ye ought to have repented. But I have always prayed thus and I now beseech that God may send dew and send forth rains upon the earth, and now I desire until the earth produce its fruits and verily I say, that if any have done but a little good, I will agonise for him, protecting him till he have escaped the judgment of penalties. Where therefore are your prayers? Where are your penances? Ye have lost your time contemptuously. But now weep and I will weep with you and the angels who are with me with the well-beloved Paul, if perchance the merciful God will have pity and give you refreshment. But hearing these words they cried out and wept greatly, and all said with one voice: Have pity on us, Son of God! And I, Paul, sighed and said: O Lord God! have pity on thy creature, have pity on the sons of men, have pity on thine image.

44. And I looked and saw the heaven move like a tree shaken by the wind. Suddenly, moreover, they threw, themselves on their faces in the sight of the throne. And I saw twenty-four elders and twenty-four thousand adoring God, and I saw an altar and veil and throne, and all were rejoicing; and the smoke of a good odor was raised near the altar of the throne of God, and I heard the voice of one saying: For the sake of what do ye our

angels and ministers intercede? And they cried out saying: We intercede seeing thy many kindnesses to the human race. And after these things I saw the Son of God descending from heaven, and a diadem was on his head. And seeing him those who were placed in punishment exclaimed all with one voice saying: Have pity, Son of the High God! Thou art He who shewest refreshment for all in the heavens and on earth, and on us likewise have pity, for since we have seen Thee, we have refreshment. And a voice went out from the Son of God through all the punishments saying: And what work have ye done that ye demand refreshment from me? My blood was poured out for your sakes, and not even so did ye repent: for your sakes I wore the crown of thorns on my head: for you I received buffets on my cheeks, and not even so did ye repent. I asked water when hanging on the cross and they gave me vinegar mixed with gall, with a spear they opened my right side, for my name's sake they slew my prophets and just men, and in all these things I gave you a place of repentance and ye would not. Now, however, for the sake of Michael the archangel of my covenant and the angels who are with him, and because of Paul the well-beloved, whom I would not vex, for the sake of your brethren who are in the world and offer oblations, and for the sake of your sons, because my precepts are in them, and more for the sake of mine own kindness, on the day on which I rose from the dead, I give to you all who are in punishment a night and a day of refreshment forever. And they all cried out and said, We bless thee, Son of God, that Thou hast given us a night and a day of respite. For better to us is a refreshment of one day above all the time of our life which we were on earth, and if we had plainly known that this was intended for those who sin, we would have worked no other work, we would have done no business, and we would have done no iniquity: what need had we for pride in the world? For here our pride is crushed which ascended from our mouth against our neighbor: our plagues and excessive straitness and the tears and the worms which are under us, these are much worse to us than the pains which we have left behind us. When they said thus, the malign angels of the penalties were angered with them, saying: How long do ye lament and sigh? for ye had no pity. For this is the judgment of God who had no pity. But ye received this great grace of a day and a night's refreshment on the Lord's Day for the sake of Paul the well-beloved of God who descended to you.

45. And after that the angel said to me: Hast thou seen all these things? And I said: Yes, Sir. And he said to me: Follow me and I will lead thee into Paradise, that the just who are there may see thee, for lo! they hope to see thee, and they are ready to come to meet thee in joy and gladness. And I followed the angel by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, and he placed me in Paradise and said to me: This is Paradise in which Adam and his wife erred. Moreover I entered Paradise and saw the beginning of waters, and there was an angel making a sign to me and he said to me: Observe, said he, the waters, for this is the river of Physon which surrounds all the land of Evilla, and the second is Geon which surrounds all the land of Egypt and Ethiopia, and the third is Thigris which is over against the Assyrians, and another is Eufrates which waters all the land of Mesopotamia. And when I had gone inside I saw a tree planted from whose roots water flowed out, and from this beginning there were four rivers. And the spirit of God rested on that tree, and when the Spirit blew, the waters flowed forth, and I said: My Lord, is it this tree itself which makes the waters flow? And he said to me: That from the beginning, before the heavens and earth were manifested, and all things here invisible, the Spirit of God was born upon the waters, but from the time when the command of God made the heavens and earth to appear, the Spirit rested upon this tree: wherefore whenever the Spirit blows, the waters flow forth from the tree. And he held me by the hand and led me near the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and he said: This is the tree by which death entered into the world, and receiving of it through his wife Adam ate and death entered into the world. And he shewed me another tree in the midst of Paradise, and saith to me: This is the tree of life.

46. While I was yet looking upon the tree, I saw a virgin coming from afar and two hundred angels before her saying hymns, and I asked and said: Sir, who is she who comes in so great glory? And he said to me: This is Mary the Virgin, the Mother of the Lord. And coming near she saluted me and said: Hail, Paul! well-beloved of God and angels and men. For all the saints prayed my Son Jesus who is my Lord that thou mightest come hither in the body that they might see thee before thou goest out of the world. And the Lord said to them: Bear and be patient: yet a little and ye shall see him and he shall be with you for ever: and again they all said to him together: Do not vex us, for we desire to see him in the flesh, for by him Thy name

was greatly glorified in the world, and we have seen that he endured all the labors whether of the greater or of the less. This we learn from those who come hither. For when we say: Who is he who directed you in the world? they reply to us: There is one in the world whose name is Paul, he preaches and announces Christ, and we believe that many have entered into the kingdom through the virtue and sweetness of his speeches. Behold all the just men are behind me coming to meet thee, Paul, and I first come for this cause to meet them who did the will of my Son and my Lord Jesus Christ, I first advance to meet them and do not send them away to be as wanderers until they meet in peace.

47. When she had thus spoken, I saw three coming from afar, very beautiful in the likeness of Christ, and their forms were shining, and their angels, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: Dost thou not know those? And I said: No, Sir. And he answered: These are the fathers of the people, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And coming near they saluted me, and said: Hail, Paul, well-beloved of God and men; blessed is he who suffers violence for the Lord's sake. And Abraham answered me and said: This is my son Isaac, and Jacob my well-beloved, and we have known the Lord and followed him; blessed are all they who believed in thy word, that they may be able to inherit the Kingdom of God by labor, by renunciation, and sanctification, and humility, and charity, and meekness, and fight faith in the Lord; and we also have had devotion to the Lord whom thou preachest in the testament, that we might assist those who believed in him with their whole soul, and might minister unto them as fathers minister to their children.

When they had thus spoken, I saw other twelve coming from afar in honor, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said: These are the patriarchs. And coming near they saluted me and said: Hail, Paul, well-beloved of God and men: the Lord did not vex us, that we might see thee yet in the body, before thou goest out of the world. And each one of them reminded me of his name in order, from Ruben to Benjamin: and Joseph said to me: I am he who was sold; but I say to thee, Paul, that all the things, whatever my brothers did to me, in nothing did I act maliciously with them, nor in all the labor which they imposed on me, nor in any point was I hurt by them on that account from morning till evening: blessed is he who receives some

hurt on account of the Lord, and bears it, for the Lord will repay it to him manifold, when he shall have gone out of the world.

48. When he had spoken thus far, I saw another beautiful one coming from afar, and his angels saying hymns, and I asked: Sir, who is this that is beautiful of countenance? And he saith to me: Dost thou not know him? And I said: No, Sir. And he said to me: This is Moses the law-giver, to whom God gave the law. And when he had come near me, he immediately wept, and after that he saluted me: and I said to him: What dost thou lament? for I have heard that thou excellest every man in meekness. And he answered saying: I weep for those whom I planted with toil, because they did not bear fruit, nor did any profit by them; and I saw all the sheep whom I fed, that they were scattered and become as if they had no shepherd, and because all the toils which I endured for the sake of the sons of Israel were accounted as naught, and how greatso-ever virtues I did in the midst of them these they did not understand, and I wonder that strangers and uncircumcised and idol-wor-shippers have been converted and have entered into the promises of God, but Israel has not entered; and now I say unto thee, brother Paul, that in that hour when the people hanged Jesus whom thou preachest, that the Father, the God of all, who gave me the law, and Michael and all the angels and archangels, and Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the just wept over the Son of God hanging on the cross. In that hour all the saints attended on me looking (upon me) and they said to me: See, Moses, what men of thy people have done to the Son of God. Wherefore thou art blessed, Paul, and blessed the generation and race which believed in thy word.

49. When he had spoken thus far, there came other twelve, and seeing me said: Art thou Paul the glorified in heaven and on earth? And I answered and said: What are ye? The first answered and said: I am Esaias whom Manasses cut asunder with a wooden saw. And the second said likewise: I am Jeremias who was stoned by the children of Israel and slain. And the third said: I am Ezekiel whom the children of Israel dragged by the feet over a rock in a mountain till they knocked out my brains, and we endured all these toils, wishing to save the children of Israel: and I say unto thee that after the toils which they laid upon me, I cast myself on my face in the sight of the Lord praying for them, bending my knees until the second

hour of the Lord's day, till Michael came and lifted me up from the earth. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed through thee.

And as these passed by, I saw another, beautiful of countenance, and I asked: Sir, Who is this? Who when he had seen me, rejoiced and said to me: This is Lot who was found just in Sodom. And approaching he saluted me and said: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the generation to which thou didst minister. And I answered and said to him: Art thou Lot who wast found just in Sodom? And he said: I entertained angels, as travelers, and when they of the city wished to violate them, I offered them my two virgin daughters who had not yet known men, and gave them to them saying: use them as ye will, but only to these men ye shall do no evil; for this cause they entered under the roof of my house. For this cause, therefore, we ought to be confident and know that if anyone shall have done anything, God shall repay him manifold when they shall come to him. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed in thy word.

When, therefore, he had ceased talking to me, I saw another coming from a distance, very beautiful of countenance, and smiling, and his angels saying hymns: and I said to the angel who was with me: Has then each of the just an angel for companion? And he said to me: Each one of the saints has his own (angel) assisting him, and saying a hymn, and the one does not depart from the other. And I said: Who is this, Sir? And he said: This is Job. And approaching, he saluted me and said: Brother Paul, thou hast great praise with God and men. And I am Job, who labored much for a period of thirty years from a plague in the blood; and verily in the beginning, the wounds which went forth from my body were like grains of wheat. But on the third day, they became as the foot of an ass; worms moreover which fell four digits in length: and on the third (day) the devil appeared and said to me: Say something against God and die. I said to him: If such be the will of God that I should remain under a plague all the time of my life till I die, I shall not cease from blessing the Lord, and I shall receive more reward. For I know that the labors of that world are nothing to the refreshment which is afterwards: for which cause blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed through thee.

50. When he had spoken thus far, another came calling from afar and saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed am I because I saw thee, the beloved of the Lord. And I asked the angel: Sir, who is this? And he answered and said unto me: This is Noe in the time of the deluge. And immediately we saluted each other: and greatly rejoicing he said to me: Thou art Paul the most beloved of God. And I asked him: Who art thou? And he said: I am Noe, who was in the time of the deluge. And I say to thee, Paul, that working for a hundred years, I made the ark, not putting off the tunic with which I was clad, nor did I cut the hair of my head. Till then also I cherished continence, not approaching my own wife: in those hundred years not a hair of my head grew in length, nor did my garments become soiled: and I besought men at all times saying: Repent, for a deluge of waters will come upon you. But they laughed at me, and mocked my words; and again they said to me: But this is the time of those who are able to play and sin freely, desiring her with whom it is possible to commit fornication frequently: for God does not regard this, and does not know what things are done by us men, and there is no flood of waters straightway coming upon this world. And they did not cease from their sins, till God destroyed all flesh which had the breath of life in it. Know then that God loveth one just man more than all the world of the impious. Wherefore, blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the nation which believes through thee.

51. And turning round, I saw other just ones coming from afar, and I asked the angel: Sir, who are those? And he answered me: These are Elias and Eliseus. And they saluted me: and I said to them: Who are ye? And one of them answered and said: I am Elias, the prophet of God; I am Elias who prayed, and because of my word, the heaven did not rain for three years and six months, on account of the unrighteousness of men. God is just and true, who doeth the will of his servants: for the angels often besought the Lord for rain, and he said: Be patient till my servant Elias shall pray and petition for this and I will send rain on the earth.

THE END OF THE VISION OF SAINT PAUL

THE APOCALYPSE OF THE VIRGIN

The present translation of this Apocalypse is made from the text as published by Mr. M. R. James in *Texts and Studies*, ii., 3, from a Ms. in the Bodleian Library, which he assigns to the eleventh century. The original he conjecturally assigns to the ninth century, and regards it as a late and clumsy compilation based on the Assumption Legends and the Apocalypse of Paul. Its main feature, intercession for the lost, it has in common with the Testament of Abraham, the Apocalypse of Paul, 4 Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Esdras and the Apocalypse of Sedrach. Parallels are pointed out in the notes.

THE APOCALYPSE OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD CONCERNING THE CHASTISEMENTS

I. The all-holy mother of God was about to proceed to the Mount of Olives to pray; and praying to the Lord our God she said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; let the archangel Gabriel descend, that he may tell me concerning the chastisements and concerning things in heaven and on the earth and under the earth. And as she said the word the archangel Michael descended with the angels of the East and the West and angels of the South and the North, and they saluted the highly favored one and said to her: Hail, reflection of the Father, hail dwelling of the Son, hail command of the Holy Spirit, hail firmament of the seven heavens, hail firmament of the eleven strongholds, hail worship of the angels, hail loftier than the prophets unto the throne of God. And the holy mother of God said to the angel: Hail Michael, commander-in-chief, the minister of the invisible Father, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, associate of my Son, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, most dread of the six-winged, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, who rules through all things and art worthy to stand beside the throne of the Lord, hail Michael,

commander-in-chief, who art about to sound the trumpet and awaken those who have been asleep for ages: hail Michael, commander-in-chief, first of all unto the throne of God.

II. And having greeted all the angels in like manner, the highly favored one prayed the commander-in-chief regarding the chastisements, saying: Tell to me all things on the earth. And the commander-in-chief said to her: If thou askest me, highly favored one, I will tell thee. And the highly favored one said to him: How many are the chastisements with which the race of man is chastised? And the archangel said to her: The chastisements are innumerable. And the highly favored one said to him: Tell me the things in heaven and on the earth.

III. Then the commander-in-chief, Michael, commanded the Western angels that revelation should be made, and Hades opened, and she saw those who were chastised in Hades: and there lay there a multitude of men and women, and there was a great lamentation. And the highly favored one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy, are those who did not worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

IV. And she saw in another place a great darkness: and the all holy said: What is this darkness and who are they who are being chastised? And the commander-in-chief said: Many souls are lying in this darkness. And the all holy one said: Let this darkness be taken away in order that I may see this chastisement also. And the commander-in-chief said to the highly favored one: It is not possible, all holy, that thou shouldst see this chastisement also. And the angels guarding them answered and said: We have a command from the invisible Father that they shall not see the light till thy blessed Son shall shine forth. And plunged in grief the all holy lifted up her eyes to the angels touching the undefiled word of the Father, and said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit let the darkness be taken away, that I may see this chastisement also. And straightway that darkness was lifted up and covered the seven heavens: and there lay a great multitude of both men and women, and there arose a great lamentation and a great cry began. And seeing them the all holy wept and said to them: What are ye doing, wretched ones? Who are ye? And

how are ye found there? and there was no voice or hearkening. And the angels guarding them said: Why do ye not speak to the highly favored one? And those who were under chastisement said to her: O highly favored one, from eternity we see not the light, and we are not able to keep off that up there. And splashing pitch flowed down upon them: and seeing them the all holy wept. And again those who were being chastised said to her: How dost thou ask concerning us, holy lady, Mother of God? Thy blessed Son came to The earth and did not make enquiry concerning us, neither Abraham the patriarch, nor John the Baptist, nor Moses the great prophet, nor the Apostle Paul, and unto us their light shone not: and now, all holy Mother of God, the armor of the Christians, the bringer of great comfort on account of the Christians, how dost thou ask concerning us? Then the all holy Mother of God said to Michael, the commander-in-chief: What is their sin? And Michael, the commander-in-chief, said: These are they who did not believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and did not confess thee to be the Mother of God, and that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of thee and took flesh, and for this cause they are chastised there. And again weeping, the all holy Mother of God said to them: Why did ye so greatly err, wretched ones? Did ye not hear that the whole creation names my name? And having said these words the darkness felt over them as it was from the beginning.

V. And the commander-in-chief said: Whither wouldst thou go, highly favored one? to the West or to the South? And the highly favored answered: Let us go to the South. And immediately there appeared the cherubim and the seraphim and four hundred angels, and led out the highly favored one to the South, where came out the river of fire, and there there lay a multitude of men and women, some up to the girdle, others up to the neck, and others up to the crown of the head: and seeing them the all holy Mother of God cried out with a loud voice to the commander-in-chief and said: Who are these, and what is their sin who stand in the fire up to the girdle? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who inherited the curse of father and mother, and for this cause they are thus chastised here as accursed.

VI. And the all holy one said: And who are these standing in the fire up to the breasts? And the commander-in-chief said: These are whosoever

cast off their wives and defiled them in adultery, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

VII. And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Who are these standing up to the neck in the flame of the fire? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever ate of the flesh of men. And the all holy one said: And how is it possible for one man to eat of the flesh of another? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell thee: These are they whosoever brought down their own children out of their own wombs and cast them out as food for dogs, and whosoever gave up their brothers in the presence of kings and governors, these ate the flesh of man, and for this cause they are thus chastised.

VIII. And the all holy one said: Who are these set in the fire up to the crown? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever lay hold of the precious cross and swear to a lie: by the power of the cross of the Lord. The angels tremble and worship with fear, and men lay hold of it and swear to a lie and do not know what they testify: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

IX. And in another place the all holy one saw a man hung by the feet, and worms devoured him. And she asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this and what is his sin? And the commander-in-chief said: This is he who took usury for his gold, and for this cause he is thus chastised here.

X. And she saw a woman hanging by her two ears, and all the beasts came out of her mouth and gnawed her in pieces: and the highly favored one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is she, and what is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She is she who turned aside into strange houses and those of her neighbors and spoke evil words to make strife, and for that cause she is thus chastised here.

XI. And seeing these things the all holy Mother of God wept and said to the commander-in-chief: It were well for man that he had not been born. And the commander-in-chief said: Verily, all holy one, thou hast not seen the great chastisements. And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Come, Michael, great commander-in-chief, and lead me that I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said:

Where dost thou wish, all holy one, that we should go? And the highly favored one answered: To the West: and straightway the cherubim appeared and led the highly favored to the West.

XII. And she saw a cloud full of fire and in it there was a multitude of men and women. And the all holy one said: What was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who on the morning of the Lord's day sleep like the dead, and for that reason they are thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: If anyone cannot rise, what shall he do? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one: if anyone's house is fastened on the four (sides?) and surrounds him and he cannot come out, he has forgiveness.

XIII. And she saw in another place burning benches of fire and on then, sat a multitude of men and women and burned on them. And the all holy one asked: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who do not rise up to the presbyter when they enter into the church of God, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

XIV. And the all holy one saw in another place an iron tree and it had branches of iron, and on it there hung a multitude of men and women by their tongues? And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked the commander-in-chief saying: Who are these and what was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are perjurers, blasphemers, slanderers, whosoever divided brothers from brothers. And the all holy one said: How is it possible to divide brothers from brothers? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell thee about this: When some from among the nations desired to be baptised, he would say to them one word: Thou foul-feeding, unbelieving Gentile; because he thus blasphemer, he shall receive ceaseless retribution.

XV. And in another place the all holy one saw a man hanging from his four extremities, and from his nails blood gushed vehemently, and his tongues was tied in a flame of fire, and he was unable to groan and say the Kyrie eleison me. And when she had seen him the all holy one wept and herself said the Kyrie eleison thrice: and after the saying of the prayer, came the angel who had authority over the scourge and loosed the man's

tongue: and the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this wretched one who has this chastisement? And the commander-in-chief said: This, all holy one, is the steward who did not the will of God, but ate the things of the church and said: “He who ministers to the altar shall be nourished from the altar”: and for this cause he is thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: Let it be unto him according to his faith. And again he tied his tongue.

XVI. And Michael, the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto thee where the priests are chastised. And the all holy one came out and saw presbyters hanging by their twenty nails, and fire came out of their heads. And seeing them the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who stand beside the throne of God, and when they sang of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pearls fell out, and the awful throne of heaven shook and the footstool of our Lord Jesus Christ trembled, and they did not perceive it: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

XVII. And the all holy one saw a man and a winged beast having three heads like flames of fire: the two heads were towards his eyes and the third head towards his mouth. And seeing him the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this, that he cannot save himself from the mouth of the dragon? And the commander-in-chief said to her: This, all holy one, is the reader who does not practice in his own habits according to what is worthy of the holy Gospel: and for this cause he is thus chastised here.

XVIII. And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show thee where the angelic and archangelic form is chastised. She proceeded and saw them lying in the fire and the sleepless worm gnawed them: and the all holy one said: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who possessed the archangelic and apostolic form: hearken, all holy one, concerning this: on earth they were called patriarchs and bishops, and they were not worthy of their name: on earth they heard ‘Bless (the Lord) ye saints,’ and in heaven they were not called saints, because they did not act as bearers of the archangelic form: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

XIX. And she saw women hanging by their nails, and a flame of fire came out of their mouth and burned them: and all the beasts coming out of the fire gnawed them to pieces, and groaning they cried out: Have pity on us, have pity, for we are chastised worse than all those who are under chastisement. And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked the commander-in-chief, Michael: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are the wives of presbyters who did not honor the presbyters, but after the death of the presbyter took husbands, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

XX. And the all holy one saw after the same manner also a deaconess hanging iron, a crag and a beast with two heads devoured her breasts. And the all holy one asked: What is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She, all holy one, is an archdeaconess who defiled her body in fornication, and for this cause she is thus chastised here.

XXI. And she saw other women hanging over the fire, and all the beasts devoured them. And the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And he said: These are they who did not do the will of God, lovers of money and those who took interest on accounts, and the immodest.

XXII. And when she had heard these things the all holy one wept and said: Woe unto sinners. And the commander-in-chief said: Why dost thou lament, all holy one? Now verily thou hast not seen the great chastisements. And the highly favored one said: Come, Michael, the great commander-in-chief of the powers above, tell me how I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said: Where dost thou wish that we should go, all holy one? to the East or towards the left parts of Paradise? And the all holy one said: To the left parts of Paradise.

XXIII. And immediately when she had spoken, the cherubim and seraphim stood beside her and led the highly favored one out to the left parts of Paradise. And behold, there was a great river, and the appearance of the river was blacker than pitch, and in it there were a multitude of men and women: it boiled like a furnace of forges, and its waves were like a wild sea over the sinners: and when the waves rose, they sank the sinners ten thousand cubits and they were unable to keep it off and say: Have mercy

on us, thou just judge: for the sleepless worm devoured them, and there was no reckoning of the number of those who devoured them. And seeing the all holy Mother of God the angels who chastised them cried out with one voice: Holy is God who has compassion on account of the Mother of God: we give thee thanks, O Son of God, that from eternity we did not see the light, and today through the Mother of God we have seen the light: and again they shouted with one voice, saying: Hail, highly favored Mother of God: Hail, lamp of the inaccessible light: Hail to thee also, Michael, the commander-in-chief, thou that art ambassador from the whole creation: for we, seeing the chastisement of sinners are greatly grieved. And the all holy one, when she saw the angels humbled on account of the sinners, lamented and said: Woe to sinners and their neighbors. And the all holy one said: Let us see the sinners. And the highly favored one, coming with the archangel Michael and all the armies of the angels lifted up one voice saying: Lord have mercy. And after the making of the prayer earnestly, the wave of the river rested and the fiery waves grew calm, and the sinners appeared as a grain of mustard-seed: and seeing them the all holy one lamented and said: What is this river, and what are its waves? And the commander-in-chief said: This river is the outer fire, and those who are being tortured are the Jews who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who refused holy baptism, and those who commit fornication and sin against the sweet and passionless perfume of marriage, and he who debauches mother and daughter, and the poisoners and those who slay with the sword, and the women who strangle their offspring. And the all holy one said: According to their faith so be it unto them. And straightway the waves rose over the sinners and the darkness covered them. And the commander-in-chief said: Hearken, thou highly favored one: if anyone shall be cast into this darkness, his remembrance shall never be in the sight of God. And the all holy Mother of God said: Woe to sinners, because the flame of the fire is everlasting.

XXIV. And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto thee the lake of fire: and see thou where the race of the Christians is chastised. And the all holy one proceeded and saw: and some she heard, but others she did not see: and she asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are those who were baptised

and arrayed under the oracle of Christ, but worked the works of the devil and wasted the time of their repentance: and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

XXV. And she said: I pray, one request will I make of thee, let me also be chastised with the Christians, because they are the children of my son. And the commander-in-chief said: Rest thou in Paradise, holy lady, Mother of God. And the all holy one said: I pray thee, move the fourteen firmaments and the seven heavens, and let us pray for the Christians that the Lord our God may hearken unto us and have mercy on them. And the commander-in-chief said: As the Lord God liveth, the great name, seven times a day and seven times a night, when we lead up the hymn of the Lord, we make remembrance for the sake of sinners, and the Lord accounts us as naught.

XXVI. And the all holy one said: I pray thee, commander-in-chief, command the armies of the angels and let them place me on the height of heaven and let me into the presence of the invisible Father. And immediately the commander-in-chief commanded, and the chariot of the cherubim and seraphim appeared, and they exalted the highly favored one to the height of heaven and placed her in the presence of the invisible Father: And she stretched forth her hands to the undefiled throne of the Father and said: Have mercy, O Lord, on the Christian sinners, for I saw them being chastised and I cannot bear their complaint. Let me go forth and be chastised myself for the Christians. I do not pray, O Lord, for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians I entreat thy compassion. And there came a second voice from the invisible Father saying: How can I have mercy on them, when they did not have mercy on their own brothers? And the all holy one said: Lord, have mercy on the sinners: behold the chastisements, for every creature on the earth calls upon my name: and when the soul comes forth out of the body, it cries saying, “Holy Lady, Mother of God.” Then the Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy Mother of God, if anyone names and calls upon thy name, I will not forsake him, either in heaven or on earth.

XXVII. And the all holy one said: Where is Moses? Where are all the prophets and fathers who never sinned? Where art thou, holy Paul of God? where is the holy Lord’s Day, the boast of the Christians? where is

the power of the precious and life-giving cross, which delivered Adam and Eve from the ancient curse? Then Michael and all the angels raised one voice saying: Lord, have mercy on the sinners. Then Moses also cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave thy law. Then John also called: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave thy Gospel. Then Paul cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I brought thy epistles in the Church. And the Lord God said: Hearken, all ye righteous: if according to the law which Moses gave, and according to the Gospel which John gave, and according to the epistles which Paul carried, they thus be judged. And they had nothing to say except, Have mercy, O just judge.

XXVIII. And the all holy Mother of God said: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christians, because they kept thy law and gave heed to thy gospel, but they were simple ones. Then the Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy one: if anyone did evil to them and they did not requite him the evil, thou sayest well that they attended to both my law and my gospel, but if he did not do them wrong and they requited him evil, how may I say that these are holy men? now they shall be rewarded according to their wrongdoing. Then all hearing the voice of the Lord had nothing to answer; and the all holy one, when she saw that the saints were at a loss, and their Lord did not hear, and his mercy was hidden from them, then the all holy one said: Where is Gabriel, who announced unto me the “Hail, thou that from eternity shalt conceive him who is without beginning like the Father,” and now does not look upon sinners? Where is the great commander-in-chief? come hither, all ye saints whom God justified, and let us fall down in the presence of the invisible Father, in order that the Lord God may hear us, and have mercy on sinners. Then Michael, the commander-in-chief, and all the saints fell on their faces in the presence of the invisible Father, saying: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christian sinners.

XXIX. Then the Lord, seeing the prayer of the saints, had compassion and said: Go down, my beloved son, and because of the prayer of the saints let thy face shine on earth to sinners. Then the Lord came down from his undefiled throne: and when they saw Him, those who were under chastisement raised one voice saying: Have mercy on us, King of ages. Then the Lord of all things said: Hearken, all ye sinners and righteous men: I made paradise and made man after my image: but he transgressed, and for his own sins was delivered to death: but I did not suffer the works of my

hands to be tyrannized over by the serpent: wherefore I bowed the heavens and came down and was born of Mary, the holy undefiled Mother of God, that I might set you free: I was baptised in Jordan in order that I might save the creature (nature) which had grown old under sin: I was nailed to the cross to free you from the ancient curse: I asked for water and ye gave me vinegar mingled with gall: I was laid in the grave: I trampled on the enemy: I raised up mine elect, and even thus ye would not hear me. But now, because of the prayer of my mother Mary, because she has wept much for your sake, and because of Michael my archangel, and because of the multitude of my saints, I grant you to have rest on the day of Pentecost to glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

XXX. Then all the angels and archangels, thrones, lordships, authorities, governments, powers, and the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim and all the apostles and prophets and martyrs and all the saints raised one voice, saying: Glory to thee, O Lord: glory to thee, lover of men: glory to thee, King of ages: glory be to thy compassion: glory be to thy long suffering: glory be to thy unspeakable justice of judgment, because thou hast been long-suffering with sinners and impious men: Thine is it to pity and to save. To him be the glory and the power to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH

THE translation is from Mr. M. R. James's text in *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 130 ff., published from a fifteenth century MS. in the Bodleian Library. The original, Mr. James conjecturally assigns to the tenth or eleventh century. It is notable for its close resemblance in several passages to 4 Esdras, to the Greek original of which the author seems to have had direct access.

Like the Apocalypse of Esdras it deals with the subject of intercession for sinners and the reluctance of the seer to die. The parallel passages in 4 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Esdras are pointed out in the margin of the translation.

Chapter I. consists of a few lines from the beginning and end of a homily on love which appears in the MS. at the beginning of the Apocalypse, but which Mr. James regards as "quite unimportant and quite irrelevant."

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH

THE Word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and concerning repentance and Orthodox Christians, and concerning the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lord give thy blessing.

I. Beloved, let us prefer nothing in honor except sincere love: for in many things we stumble every day and night and hour. And for this cause let us gain love, for it covereth a multitude of sins: for what is the profit, my children, if we have all things, and have not saving love...

O blessed love, supplier of all good things. Blessed is the man who has gained the true faith and sincere love, according as the Master said, there is no greater love than this that a man should lay down his life for his friend. Cf. Jhhn 15:13.

II. And invisibly he received a voice in his ears: Come hither, Sedrach, since thou wishest and desirest to converse with God and ask of him that he may reveal unto thee whatever thou wishest to ask. And Sedrach said: What, Sir? And the voice said to him: I was sent to thee to raise thee here into heaven. And he said: I desired to speak mouth to mouth with God: I am not fit, Sir, to come into heaven. And stretching out his wings he took him up and he came into heaven to the very flame, and he set him as high as the third heaven, and in it stood the flame of the divinity.

III. And the Lord saith to him: Welcome, my beloved Sedrach: What suit hast thou against God who created thee, that thou saidst, I desired to speak face to face with God? Sedrach saith to him: Yea, verily, the son hath a suit with the Father: my Lord, why didst thou make the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man’s sake. Sedrach saith: And why didst Thou make the sea? Why didst Thou scatter every good thing on the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man’s sake. Sedrach saith to him: If thou didst these things, why wilt Thou destroy him? And the Lord said: Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find good.

IV. Sedrach saith to him: Chastisement and fire are thy discipline: they are bitter, my Lord: it were well for man if he had not been born: why then didst thou make him, my Lord? Why didst thou weary thine undefiled

hands and create man, since thou didst not intend to have mercy on him? God saith to him: I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life and said to him: Eat of all the fruits, but beware of the tree of life: for if thou eat of it, thou shalt die the death. But he transgressed my commandment, and being beguiled by the devil ate of the tree.

V. Sedrach saith to him: Of thy will Adam was beguiled, my Lord: Thou commandest thine angels to make approach to Adam, and the first of the angels himself transgressed thy commandment and did not make approach to him, and Thou didst banish him, because he transgressed thy commandment and did not make any approach to the work of thine hands: if thou lovedst man, why didst Thou not slay the devil, the worker of unrighteousness? Who is able to fight an invisible spirit? And he as a smoke enters into the hearts of men and teaches them every sin: he fights against thee, the immortal God, and what can wretched man then do to him? But have mercy, O Lord, and stop the chastisements: but if not, count me also with the sinners: if thou wilt have no mercy on the sinners, where are thy mercies, where is thy compassion, O Lord?

VI. God saith to him: Be it known unto thee that I ordered all things to be placable to him: I gave him understanding and made him the heir of heaven and earth, and I subjected all things to him, and every living thing flees from him and from before his face: but he, having received of mine, became alien, adulterous, and sinful: tell me, what father, having given his son his portion, when he takes his substance and leaves his father and goes away and becomes an alien and serves an alien, when the father sees that the son has deserted him, does not darken his heart, and does not the father go and take his substance and banish him from his glory because he deserted his father? And how have I, the wonderful and jealous God, given him everything, and he having received these things has become an adulterer and a sinner?

VII. Sedrach saith to him: Thou, O Lord, didst create man. Thou knewest of what sort of mind he was and of what sort of knowledge we are, and thou makest it a cause for chastisement: but cast him forth; for shall not I alone fill up the heavenly places? But if that is not to be so save man too, O Lord. He failed by thy will, wretched man. Why dost thou waste words

on me, Sedrach? I created Adam and his wife and the sun and said: Behold each other how bright he is, and the wife of Adam is brighter in the beauty of the moon and he was the giver of her life. Sedrach saith: but of what profit are beauties if they die away into the earth? How didst thou say, O Lord, Thou shalt not return evil for evil? How is it, O Lord? the word of Thy divinity never lies, and why dost Thou retaliate on man? or dost thou not in so doing render evil for evil? I know that among the quadrupeds there is no other so wily and unreasonable as the mule. But we strike it with the bridle when we wish: and thou hast angels: send them forth to guard them, and when man inclines towards sin, to take hold of his foot and not let him go whither he would.

VIII. God saith to him: If I catch him by the foot, he will say, Thou hast given me no joy in the world. But I have left him to his own will because I loved him. Wherefore I sent forth my righteous angels to guard him night and day. Sedrach saith: I know, O Lord, that of all thy creatures Thou chiefly lovedst man, of the quadrupeds the sheep, of woods the olive, of fruits the vine, of flying things the bee, of rivers the Jordan, of cities Jerusalem. And all these man also loves, my Lord. God saith to Sedrach: I will ask thee one thing, Sedrach: if thou answerest me, then I may fitly help thee, even though thou hast tempted thy creator. Sedrach saith: Speak. The Lord God saith: Since I made all things, how many men were born and how many died, and how many are to die and how many hairs have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven was created and the earth, how many trees grew in the world, and how many fell, and how many are to fall, and how many are to arise, and how many leaves have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves arose and how many fell, and how many are to arise, and how many winds blow along the margin of the sea? Tell me, Sedrach, from the creation of the world of the aeons, when the air rained, how many drops fell upon the world, and how many are to fall? And Sedrach said: Thou alone knowest all these things, O Lord; thou only understandest all these things: only, I pray thee, deliver man from chastisement, and I shall not be separated from our race.

IX. And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise. The only begotten Son saith to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of thy mother in the holy tabernacle of thy body from a child. Sedrach saith: I

will not give thee my soul. God saith to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and thou pleadest against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take thy soul with violence; but if not, (then) give ate thy most greatly desired soul.

X. And Sedrach saith to God: And whence dost Thou intend to take my soul, and from which limb? And God saith to him: Dost thou not know that it is placed in the midst of thy lungs and thy heart and is dispersed into all thy limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart. When Sedrach had heard all these things and had considered the memory of death he was greatly astounded, and Sedrach said to God: O Lord, give me a little respite that I may weep, for I have heard that tears are able to do much and much remedy comes to the lowly body of thy creature.

XI. And weeping and bewailing he began to say: O marvellous head of heavenly adornment: O radiant as the sun which shines on heaven and earth: thy hairs are known from Teman, thine eyes from Bosor, thine ears from thunder, thy tongue from a trumpet, and thy brain is a small creation, thy head the energy of the whole body: O friendly and most fair beloved by all, and now falling into the earth it must become forgotten. O hands, mild, fair-fingered, worn with toil by which the body is nourished: O hands, deftest of all, heaping up from all quarters ye made ready houses. O fingers adorned and decked with gold and silver (rings): and great worlds are led by the fingers: the three joints enfold the palms, and heap up beautiful things: and now ye must become aliens to the world. O feet, skilfully walking about, self-running, most swift, unconquerable: O knees, fitted together, because without you the body does not move: the feet run along with the sun and the moon in the night and in the day, heaping up all things, foods and drinks, and nourishing the body: O feet, most swift and fair runners, moving on the face of the earth, getting ready the house with every good thing: O feet which bear up the whole body, that run up to the temples, making repentance and calling on the saints, and now ye are to remain motionless. O head and hands and feet, until now I have kept you. O soul, what sent thee into the humble and wretched body? and now being

separated from it, thou art going up where the Lord calleth thee, and the wretched body goes away to judgment. O body well-adorned, hair clothed with stars, head of heavenly adornment and dress: O face well-anointed, light-bringing eyes, voice trumpet-like, tongue placable, chin fairly adorned, hairs like the stars, head high as heaven, body decked out, light-bringing eves that know all things — and now you shall fall into the earth and under the earth your beauty shall disappear.

XII. Christ saith to him: Stay, Sedrach; how long dost thou weep and groan? Paradise is opened to thee, and, dying, thou shall live. Sedrach saith to him: Once more I will speak unto thee, O Lord: How long shall I live before I die? and do not disregard my prayer. The Lord saith to him: Speak, O Sedrach. Sedrach saith: If a man shall live eighty or ninety or an hundred years, and live these years in sin, and again shall turn, and the man live in repentance, in how many days dost thou forgive him his sins? God saith to him: If he shall live an hundred or eighty years and shall turn and repent for three years and do the fruit of righteousness, and death shall overtake him, I will not remember all his sins.

XIII. Sedrach saith to him: The three years are a long time, my Lord, lest death overtake him and he fulfil not his repentance: have mercy, Lord, on thine image and have compassion, for the three years are many. God saith to him: If a man live an hundred years and remember his death and confess before men and I find him, after a time I will forgive all his sins. Sedrach saith again: I will again beseech thy compassion for thy creature. The time is long lest death overtake him and snatch him suddenly. The Savior saith to him: I will ask thee one word, Sedrach, my beloved, then thou shall ask me in turn: if the man shall repent for forty days I will not remember all his sins which he did.

XIV. And Sedrach saith to the archangel Michael: Hearken to me, O powerful chief, and help thou me and be my envoy that God may have mercy on the world. And filling on their faces, they besought the Lord and said: O Lord, teach us how and by what sort of repentance and by what labor man shall be saved. God saith: By repentances, by intercessions, by liturgies, by tears in streams, in hot groanings. Dost thou not know that my prophet David was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment? Thou knowest, Sedrach, that there are nations which have not

the law and which do the works of the law: for if they are unbaptized and my divine spirit come unto them and they turn to my baptism, I also receive them with my righteous ones into Abraham's bosom. And there are some who have been baptized with my baptism and who have shared in my divine part and become reprobate in complete reprobation and will not repent: and I suffer them with much compassion and much pity and wealth in order that they may repent, but they do the things which my divinity hates, and did not hearken to the wise man asking (them), saying, we by no means justify a sinner. Dost thou not most certainly know that it is written: And those who repent never see chastisement? And they did not hearken to the Apostles or to my word in the Gospels, and they grieve my angels, and verily they do not attend to my messenger in the assemblies (for communion) and in my services, and they do not stand in my holy churches, but they stand and do not fall down and worship in fear and trembling, but boast things which I do not accept, or my holy angels.

XV. Sedrach saith to God: O Lord, Thou alone art sinless and very compassionate, having compassion and pity for sinners, but thy divinity said: I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. And the Lord said to Sedrach: Dost thou not know, Sedrach, that the thief was saved in one moment to repent? Dost thou not know that my apostle and evangelist was saved in one moment? "Peccatores enim non salvantur," for their hearts are like rotten stone: these are they who walk in impious ways and who shall be destroyed with Antichrist. Sedrach saith: O my Lord, Thou also saidst: My divine spirit entered into the nations which, not having the law, do the things of the law. So also the thief and the apostle and evangelist and the rest of those who have already got into thy Kingdom. O my Lord; so likewise do Thou pardon those who have sinned to the last: for life is very toilsome and there is no time for repentance.

XVI. The Lord saith to Sedrach: I made man in three stages: when he is young, I overlooked his stumblings as he was young: and again when he was a man I considered his purpose: and again when he grows old, I watch him fill he repent. Sedrach saith: O Lord, Thou knowest and understandest all these things: but have sympathy for sinners. The Lord saith to him: Sedrach, my beloved, I promise to have sympathy and bring down the forty days to twenty: and whosoever shall remember thy name shall not see the place of chastisement, but shall be with the just in a place of

refreshment and rest: and if anyone shall record this wonderful word his sins shall not be reckoned against him for ever and ever. And Sedrach saith: O Lord, and if anyone shall bring enlightenment to thy servant, save him, O Lord, from all evil. And Sedrach, the servant of the Lord, saith: Now take my soul, O Lord. And God took him and placed him in Paradise with all the saints. To whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

THE ACTS OF XANTHIPPE AND POLYXENA

THE NARRATIVE OF ZOSIMUS

TRANSLATED BY

W. A. CRAIGIE, M.A., B.A. (OXON.)

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

INTRODUCTION

THE Greek text of both the recensions of this work is published for the first time in “Texts and Studies,” Vol. II., No. 2 (Cambridge, 1892), by Montague Rhodes James, M.A. None of the manuscripts are older than the thirteenth century; of the six which contain the longer version the best is a Paris MS. written 1315, and the principal MS. of the shorter recension (also in Paris) belongs to the fifteenth century. There are also versions in Roumanian, Slavonic, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

The work itself has hitherto been little noticed, and it is doubtful how far it was well known in ancient times. It is perhaps that cited as “Abraham” in early lists of Apocryphal works, and some passages in early Christian writers may indicate their knowledge of such a work. The evidence for this is given in full by the editor of the Greek text in his introduction (p. 7-29). The conclusions drawn by him from these notices, and from the work itself, are “that it was written in the second century, that it embodies legends earlier than that century, that it received its present form perhaps in the ninth or tenth century.” Certain features in it also “seem to point to Egypt as its birthplace,” such as the conception of Death in the longer recension, which has parallels in the Coptic Apocryphal books, the weighing of souls, and the presence of recording angels at the judgment scene.

Neither of the two versions can be supposed to be true copies of the original work. They differ from each other not only in length, but in arrangement. The shorter recension may preserve more of the original language, but it transposes certain sections, thereby confusing the order of the narrative, and in this the Arabic version generally agrees with it. The most essential discrepancy begins with Chap. X. of the longer recension, where Abraham, after being taken up on the cloud, is first shown the iniquities that take place on earth. The shorter text places this at the end of his journey, quite destroying the original moral of the writer, who wishes

to emphasize the mercy of God, and to show how vision of judgment is then altered in the shorter version, the doubtful soul being there condemned, instead of being saved by the intercession of Abraham. In this point the editor would also seem to be the case with Michael's reason for leaving Abraham in Chap. IV, which is quite different from the pretext given in the longer text. It is also remarkable that in the shorter form there is no word of Abraham's unwillingness to die, which is so prominent a feature of the other, and is no doubt original, as the idea is not otherwise unknown in Apocryphal literature. The conclusion of the shorter version is very much curtailed, compared with the longer one.

On account of these many differences between the recensions of this remarkable work, it has been judged best to give both of them entire, and so arranged that the reader can readily discover in what respects the one differs from the other.

The tone of the work is perhaps rather Jewish than Christian, but as phrases and conceptions of a New Testament character appear in it, especially in the judgment scene, it is most probably to be assigned to a Jewish Christian, who for the substance of it drew partly on older legends, and partly on his own imagination. Some of its features are very striking, and a few of them do not seem to occur elsewhere in literature of this class; it is possible that some of these do not go further back than the medieval editors of the text. Among the most remarkable points may be noticed the age of Abraham, variously given in different MSS., his hospitality, and the sending of Michael to announce his death (Chap. I.): Michael's refusal to mount a horse (Chap. II.): the tree speaking with a human voice (Chap. III.); the tears of Michael turning into precious stones (ibid.); and the devouring spirit sent to consume the food for him (Chap. IV.). In Chap. VI. the narrative of Genesis is recalled by Sarah's recognizing Michael as one of the calf rising up whole after being eaten. The dream of Isaac in Chap. VII. is perhaps remotely suggested by that of Joseph. The whole vision of judgment, with the presence of Adam and Abel, is very noteworthy, as also the conception of Death, and the explanation of his various forms.

THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM

VERSION 1

I. Abraham lived the measure of his life, nine hundred and ninety-five years, and having lived all the years of his life in quietness, gentleness, and righteousness, the righteous one was exceeding hospitable; for, pitching his tent in the cross-ways at the oak of Mamre, he received every one, both rich and poor, kings and rulers, the maimed and the helpless, friends and strangers, neighbors and travelers, all alike did the devout, all-holy, righteous, and hospitable Abraham entertain. Even upon him, however, there came the common, inexorable, bitter lot of death, and the uncertain end of life. Therefore the Lord God, summoning his archangel Michael, said to him: Go down, chief- captain Michael, to Abraham and speak to him concerning his death, that he may set his affairs in order, for I have blessed him as the stars of heaven, and as the sand by the sea-shore, and he is in abundance of long life and many possessions, and is becoming exceeding rich. Beyond all men, moreover, he is righteous in every goodness, hospitable and loving to the end of his life; but do thou, archangel Michael, go to Abraham, my beloved friend, and announce to him his death and assure him thus: Thou shalt at this time depart from this vain world, and shalt quit the body, and go to thine own Lord among the good.

II. And the chief-captain departed from before the face of God, and went down to Abraham to the oak of Mamre, and found the righteous Abraham in the field close by, sitting beside yokes of oxen for ploughing, together with the sons of Masek and other servants, to the number of twelve. And behold the chief-captain came to him, and Abraham, seeing the chief-captain Michael coming from afar, like to a very comely warrior, arose and met him as was his custom, meeting and entertaining all strangers. And the chief-captain saluted him and said: Hail, most honored father, righteous soul chosen of God, true son of the heavenly one. Abraham said to the chief-captain: Hail, most honored warrior, bright as the sun and most beautiful above all the sons of men; thou art welcome;

therefore I beseech thy presence, tell me whence the youth of thy age has come; teach me, thy suppliant, whence and from what army and from what journey thy beauty has come hither. The chief-captain said: I, O righteous Abraham, come from the great city. I have been sent by the great king to take the place of a good friend of his, for the king has summoned him. And Abraham said, Come, my Lord, go with me as far as my field. The chief-captain said: I come; and going into the field of the ploughing, they sat down beside the company. And Abraham said to his servants, the sons of Masek: Go ye to the herd of horses, and bring two horses, quiet, and gentle and tame, so that I and this stranger may sit thereon. But the chief-captain said, Nay, my Lord, Abraham, let them not bring horses, for I abstain from ever sitting upon any four-footed beast. Is not my king rich in much merchandise, having power both over men and all kinds of cattle? but I abstain from ever slitting upon any four-footed beast. Let us go, then, O righteous soul, walking lightly until we reach thy house. And Abraham said, Amen, be it so.

III. And as they went on from the field toward his house, beside that way there stood a cypress tree, and by the command of the Lord the tree cried out with a human voice, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God that calls himself to those that love him; but Abraham hid the mystery, thinking that the chief-captain had not heard the voice of the tree. And coming nigh to the house they sat down in the court, and Isaac seeing the face of the angel said to Sarah his mother, My lady mother, behold, the man sitting with my father Abraham is not a son of the race of those that dwell on the earth. And Isaac ran, and saluted him, and fell at the feet of the Incorporeal, and the Incorporeal blessed him and said, The Lord God will grant thee his promise that he made to thy father Abraham and to his seed, and will also grant thee the precious prayer of thy father and thy mother. Abraham said to Isaac his son, My son Isaac, draw water from the well, and bring it me in the vessel, that we may wash the feet of this stranger, for he is tired, having come to us from off a long journey. And Isaac ran to the well and drew water in the vessel and brought it to them, and Abraham went up and washed the feet of the chief captain Michael, and the heart of Abraham was moved, and he wept over the stranger. And Isaac, seeing his father weeping, wept also, and the chief captain, seeing them weeping, also wept with them, and the tears of the chief captain fell

upon the vessel into the water of the basin and became precious stones. And Abraham seeing the marvel, and being astonished, took the stones secretly, and hid the mystery, keeping it by himself in his heart.

IV. And Abraham said to Isaac his son: Go, my beloved son, into the inner chamber of the house and beautify it. Spread for us there two couches, one for me and one for this man that is guest with us this day. Prepare for us there a seat and a candlestick and a table with abundance of every good thing. Beautify the chamber, my son, and spread under us linen and purple and fine linen. Burn there every precious and excellent incense, and bring sweet-smelling plants from the garden and fill our house with them. Kindle seven lamps full of oil, so that we may rejoice, for this man that is our guest this day is more glorious than kings or rulers, and his appearance surpasses all the sons of men. And Isaac prepared all things well, and Abraham taking the archangel Michael went into the chamber, and they both eat down upon the couches, and between them he placed a table with abundance of every good thing. Then the chief captain arose and went out, as if by constraint of his belly to make issue of water, and ascended to heaven in the twinkling of an eye, and stood before the Lord, and said to him: Lord and Master, let thy power know that I am unable to remind that righteous man of his death, for I have not seen upon the earth a man like him, pitiful, hospitable, righteous, truthful, devout, refraining from every evil deed. And now know, Lord, that I cannot remind him of his death. And the Lord said: Go down, chief-captain Michael, to my friend Abraham, and whatever he say to thee, that do thou also, and whatever he eat, eat thou also with him. And I will send my Holy Spirit upon his son Isaac, and will put the remembrance of his death into the heart of Isaac, so that even he in a dream may see the death of his father, and Isaac will relate the dream, and thou shalt interpret it, and he himself will know his end. And the chief-captain said, Lord, all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and neither eat nor drink, and this man has set before me a table with abundance of all good things earthly and corruptible. Now, Lord, what shall I do? How shall I escape him, sitting at one table with him? The Lord said: Go down to him, and take no thought for this, for when thou sittest down with him, I will send upon thee a devouring spirit, and it will consume out of thy hands and through thy mouth all that is on the table. Rejoice together with him in everything, only thou shalt

interpret well the things of the vision, that Abraham may know the sickle of death and the uncertain end of life, and may make disposal of all his possessions, for I have blessed him above the sand of the sea and as the stars of heaven.

V. Then the chief captain went down to the house of Abraham, and sat down with him at the table, and Isaac served them. And when the supper was ended, Abraham prayed after his custom, and the chief-captain prayed together with him, and each lay down to sleep upon his couch. And Isaac said to his father, Father, I too would fain sleep with you in this chamber, that I also may hear your discourse, for I love to hear the excellence of the conversation of this virtuous man. Abraham said, Nay, my son, but go to thy own chamber and sleep on thy own couch, lest we be troublesome to this man. Then Isaac, having received the prayer from them, and having blessed them, went to his own chamber and lay down upon his couch. But the Lord east the thought of death into the heart of Isaac as in a dream, and about the third hour of the night Isaac awoke and rose up from his couch, and came running to the chamber where his father was sleeping together with the archangel. Isaac, therefore, on reaching the door cried out, saying, My father Abraham, arise and open to me quickly, that I may enter and hang upon thy neck, and embrace thee before they take thee away from me. Abraham therefore arose and opened to him, and Isaac entered and hung upon his neck, and began to weep with a loud voice. Abraham therefore being moved at heart, also wept with a loud voice, and the chief-captain, seeing them weeping, wept also. Sarah being in her room, heard their weeping, and came running to them, and found them embracing and weeping. And Sarah said with weeping, My Lord Abraham, what is this that ye weep? Tell me, my Lord, has this brother that has been entertained by us this day brought thee tidings of Lot, thy brother’s son, that he is dead? is it for this that ye grieve thus? The chief-captain answered and said to her, Nay, my sister Sarah, it is not as thou sayest, but thy son Isaac, methinks, beheld a dream, and came to us weeping, and we seeing him were moved in our hearts and wept.

VI. Then Sarah, hearing the excellence of the conversation of the chief-captain, straightway knew that it was an angel of the Lord that spoke. Sarah therefore signified to Abraham to come out towards the door, and said to him, My Lord Abraham, knowest thou who this man is?

Abraham said, I know not. Sarah said, Thou knowest, my Lord, the three men from heaven that were entertained by us in our tent beside the oak of Mamre, when thou didst kill the kid without blemish, and set a table before them. After the flesh had been eaten, the kid rose again, and sucked its mother with great joy. owest thou not, my Lord Abraham, that by promise they gave to us Isaac as the fruit of the womb? Of these three holy men this is one. Abraham said, O Sarah, in this thou speakest the truth. Glory and praise from our God and the Father. For late in the evening when I washed his feet in the basin I said in my heart, These are the feet of one of the three men that I washed then; and his tears that fell into the basin then became precious stones. And shaking them out from his lap he gave them to Sarah, saying, If thou believest me not, look now at these. And Sarah receiving them bowed down and saluted and said, Glory be to God that showeth us wonderful things. And now know, my Lord Abraham, that there is among us the revelation of some thing, whether it be evil or good!

VII. And Abraham left Sarah, and went into the chamber, and said to Isaac, Come hither, my beloved son, tell me the truth, what it was thou sawest and what befell thee that thou camest so hastily to us. And Isaac answering began to say, I saw, my Lord, in this night the sun and the moon above my head, surrounding me with its rays and giving me light. As I gazed at this and rejoiced, I saw the heaven opened, and a man bearing light descend from it, shining more than seven suns. And this man like the sun came and took away the sun from my head, and went up into the heavens from whence he came, but I was greatly grieved that he took away the sun from me. After a little, as I was still sorrowing and sore troubled, I saw this man come forth from heaven a second time, and he took away from me the moon also from off my head, and I wept greatly and called upon that man of light, and said, Do not, my Lord, take away my glory from me; pity me and hear me, and if thou takest away the sun from me, then leave the moon to me. He said, Suffer them to be taken up to the king above, for he wishes them there. And he took them away from me, but he left the rays upon me. The chief-captain said, Hear, O righteous Abraham; the sun which thy son saw is thou his father, and the moon likewise is Sarah his mother. The man bearing light who descended from heaven, this is the one sent from God who is to take thy righteous soul from thee. And now

know, O most honored Abraham, that at this time thou shalt leave this worldly life, and remove to God. Abraham said to the chief captain O strangest of marvels! and now art thou he that shall take my soul from me? The chief-captain said to him, I am the chief-captain Michael, that stands before the Lord, and I was sent to thee to remind thee of thy death, and then I shall depart to him as I was commanded. Abraham said, Now I know that thou art an angel of the Lord, and wast sent to take my soul, but I will not go with thee; but do thou whatever thou art commanded.

VIII. The chief-captain hearing these words immediately vanished, and ascending into heaven stood before God, and told all that he had seen in the house of Abraham; and the chief-captain said this also to his Lord, Thus says thy friend Abraham, I will not go with thee, but do thou whatever thou art commanded; and now, O Lord Almighty, doth thy glory and immortal kingdom order aught? God said to the chief-captain Michael, Go to my friend Abraham yet once again, and speak to him thus, Thus saith the Lord thy God, he that brought thee into the land of promise, that blessed thee above the sand of the sea and above the stars of heaven, that opened the womb of barrenness of Sarah, and granted thee Isaac as the fruit of the womb in old age, Verily I say unto thee that blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thy seed, and I will give thee all that thou shalt ask from me, for I am the Lord thy God, and besides me there is no other. Tell me why thou hast rebelled against me, and why there is grief in thee, and why thou rebelled against my archangel Michael? Knowest thou not that all who have come from Adam and Eve have died, and that none of the prophets has escaped death? None of those that rule as kings is immortal; none of thy forefathers has escaped the mystery of death. They have all died, they have all departed into Hades, they are all gathered by the sickle of death. But upon thee I have not sent death, I have not suffered any deadly disease to come upon thee, I have not permitted the sickle of death to meet thee, I have not allowed the nets of Hades to enfold thee, I have never wished thee to meet with any evil. But for good comfort I have sent my chief-captain Michael to thee, that thou mayst know thy departure from the world, and set thy house in order, and all that belongs to thee, and bless Isaac thy beloved son. And now know that I have done this not wishing to grieve thee. Wherefore then hast thou said to my chief-captain, I will not go with thee? Wherefore hast thou spoken

thus? Knowest thou not that if I give leave to death and he comes upon thee, then I should see whether thou wouldst come or not?

IX. And the chief-captain receiving the exhortations of the Lord went down to Abraham, and seeing him the righteous one fell upon his face to the ground as one dead, and the chief-captain told him all that he had heard from the Most High. Then the holy and just Abraham rising with many tears fell at the feet of the Incorporeal, and besought him, saying, I beseech thee, chief-captain of the hosts above, since thou hast wholly deigned to come thyself to me a sinner and in all things thy unworthy servant, I beseech thee even now, O chief-captain, to carry my word yet again to the Most High, and thou shalt say to him, Thus saith Abraham thy servant, Lord, Lord, in every work and word which I have asked of thee thou hast heard me, and hast fulfilled all my counsel. Now, Lord, I resist not thy power, for I too know that I am not immortal but mortal. Since therefore to thy command all things yield, and fear and tremble at the face of thy power, I also fear, but I ask one:request of thee, and now, Lord and Master, hear my prayer, for while still in this body I desire to see all the inhabited earth, and all the creations which thou didst establish by one word, and when I see these, then if I shall depart from life I shall be without sorrow. So the chief-captain went back again, and stood before God, and told him all, saying, Thus saith thy friend Abraham, I desired to behold all the earth in my lifetime before I died. And the Most High hearing this, again commanded the chief-captain Michael, and said to him, Take a cloud of light, and the angels that have power over the chariots, and go down, take the righteous Abraham upon a chariot of the cherubim, and exalt him into the air of heaven that he may behold all the earth.

X. And the archangel Michael went down and took Abraham upon a chariot of the cherubim, and exalted him into the air of heaven, and led him upon the cloud together with sixty angels, and Abraham ascended upon the chariot over all the earth. And Abraham saw the world as it was in that day, some ploughing, others driving wains, in one place men herding flocks, and in another watching them by night, and dancing and playing and harping, in another place men striving and contending at law, elsewhere men weeping and having the dead in remembrance. He saw also the newly-wedded received with honor, and in a word he saw all things that are done in the world, both good and bad. Abraham therefore passing over

them saw men bearing swords, wielding in their hands sharpened swords, and Abraham asked the chief-captain, Who are these? The chief-captain said, These are thieves, who intend to commit murder, and to steal and burn and destroy. Abraham said, Lord, Lord, hear my voice, and command that wild beasts may come out of the wood and devour them. And even as he spoke there came wild beasts out of the wood and devoured them. And he saw in another place a man with a woman committing fornication with each other, and said, Lord, Lord, command that the earth may open and swallow them, and straightway the earth was cleft and swallowed them. And he saw in another place men digging through a house, and carrying away other men's possessions, and he said, Lord, Lord, command that fire may come down from heaven and consume them. And even as he spoke, fire came down from heaven and consumed them. And straightway there came a voice from heaven to the chief-captain, saying thus, O chief-captain Michael, command the chariot to stop, and turn Abraham away that he may not see all the earth, for if he behold all that live in wickedness, he will destroy all creation. For behold, Abraham has not sinned, and has no pity on sinners, but I have made the world, and desire not to destroy any one of them, but wait for the death of the sinner, till he be converted and live. But take Abraham up to the first gate of heaven, that he may see there the judgments and recompenses, and repent of the souls of the sinners that he has destroyed.

XI. So Michael turned the chariot and brought Abraham to the east, to the first gate of heaven; and Abraham saw two ways, the one narrow and contracted, the other broad and spacious, and there he saw two gates, the one broad on the broad way, and the other narrow on the narrow way. And outside the two gates there he saw a man sitting upon a gilded throne, and the appearance of that man was terrible, as of the Lord. And they saw many souls driven by angels and led in through the broad gate, and other souls, few in number, that were taken by the angels through the narrow gate. And when the wonderful one who sat upon the golden throne saw few entering through the narrow gate, and many entering through the broad one, straightway that wonderful one tore the hairs of his head and the sides of his beard, and threw himself on the ground from his throne, weeping and lamenting. But when he saw many souls entering through the narrow gate, then he arose from the ground and sat upon his throne in great joy,

rejoicing and exulting. And Abraham asked the chief-captain, My Lord chief-captain, who is this most marvelous man, adorned with such glory, and sometimes he weeps and laments, and sometimes he rejoices and exults? The incorporeal one said: This is the first-created Adam who is in such glory, and he looks upon the world because all are born from him, and when he sees many souls going through the narrow gate, then he arises and sits upon his throne rejoicing and exulting in joy, because this narrow gate is that of the just, that leads to life, and they that enter through it go into Paradise. For this, then, the first-created Adam rejoices, because he sees the souls being saved. But when he sees many souls entering through the broad gate, then he pulls out the hairs of his head, and casts himself on the ground weeping and lamenting bitterly, for the broad gate is that of sinners, which leads to destruction and eternal punishment. And for this the first-formed Adam falls from his throne weeping and lamenting for the destruction of sinners, for they are many that are lost, and they are few that are saved, for in seven thousand there is scarcely found one soul saved, being righteous and undefiled.

XII. While he was yet saying these things to me, behold two angels, fiery in aspect, and pitiless in mind, and severe in look, and they drove on thousands of souls, pitilessly lashing them with fiery thongs. The angel laid hold of one soul, and they drove all the souls in at the broad gate to destruction. So we also went along with the angels, and came within that broad gate, and between the two gates stood a throne terrible of aspect, of terrible crystal, gleaming as fire, and upon it sat a wondrous man bright as the sun, like to the Son of God. Before him stood a table like crystal, all of gold and fine linen, and upon the table there was lying a book, the thickness of it six cubits, and the breadth of it ten cubits, and on the right and left of it stood two angels holding paper and ink and pen. Before the table sat an angel of light, holding in his hand a balance, and on his left sat an angel all fiery, pitiless, and severe, holding in his hand a trumpet, having within it all-consuming fire with which to try the sinners. The wondrous man who sat upon the throne himself judged and sentenced the souls, and the two angels on the right and on the left wrote down, the one on the right the righteousness and the one on the left the wickedness. The one before the table, who held the balance, weighed the souls, and the fiery angel, who held the fire, tried the souls. And Abraham asked the chief-captain

Michael, What is this that we behold? And the chief-captain said, These things that thou seest, holy Abraham, airs the judgment and recompense. And behold the angel holding the soul in his hand, and he brought it before the judge, and the judge said to one of the angels that served him, Open me this book, and find me the sins of this soul. And opening the book he found its sins and its righteousness equally balanced, and he neither gave it to the tormentors, nor to those that were saved, but set it in the midst.

XIII. And Abraham said, My Lord chief-captain, who is this most wondrous judge? and who are the angels that write down? and who is the angel like the sun, holding the balance? and who is the fiery angel holding the fire? The chief-captain said, “Seest thou, most holy Abraham, the terrible man sitting upon the throne? This is the son of the first created Adam, who is called Abel, whom the wicked Cain killed, and he sits thus to judge all creation, and examines righteous men and sinners. For God has said, I shall not judge you, but every man born of man shall be judged. Therefore he has given to him judgment, to judge the world until his great and glorious coming, and then, O righteous Abraham, is the perfect judgment and recompense, eternal and unchangeable, which no one can alter. For every man has come from the first-created, and therefore they are first judged here by his son, and at the second coming they shall be judged by the twelve tribes of Israel, every breath and every creature. But the third time they shall be judged by the Lord God of all, and then, indeed, the end of that judgment is near, and the sentence terrible, and there is none to deliver. And now by three tribunals the judgment of the world and the recompense is made, and for this reason a matter is not finally confirmed by one or two witnesses, but by three witnesses shall everything be established. The two angels on the right hand and on the left, these are they that write down the sins and the righteousness, the one on the right hand writes down the righteousness, and the one on the left the sins. The angel like the sun, holding the balance in his hand, is the archangel, Dokiel the just weigher, and he weighs the righteousnesses and sins with the righteousness of God. The fiery and pitiless angel, holding the fire in his hand, is the archangel Puruel, who has power over fire, and tries the works of men through fire, and if the fire consume the work of any man, the angel of judgment immediately seizes him, and carries him away to the place of sinners, a most bitter place of punishment. But if the fire approves the

work of anyone, and does not seize upon it, that man is justified, and the angel of righteousness takes him and carries him up to be saved in the lot of the just. And thus, most righteous Abraham, all things in all men are tried by fire and the balance.”

XIV. And Abraham said to the chief-captain, My Lord the chief-captain, the soul which the angel held in his hand, why was it adjudged to be set in the midst? The chief-captain said, Listen, righteous Abraham. Because the judge found its sins. and its righteousnesses equal, he neither committed it to judgment nor to be saved, until the judge of all shall come. Abraham said to the chief-captain, And what yet is wanting for the soul to be saved? The chief-captain said, If it obtains one righteousness above its sins, it enters into salvation. Abraham said to the chief-captain, Come hither, chief-captain Michael, let us make prayer for this soul, and see whether God will hear us. The chief-captain said, Amen, be it so; and they made prayer and entreaty for the soul, and God heard them, and when they rose up from their prayer they did not see the soul standing there. And Abraham said to the angel, Where is the soul that thou didst hold in the midst? And the angel answered, It has been saved by thy righteous prayer, and behold an angel of light has taken it and carried it up into Paradise. Abraham said, I glorify the name of God, the Most High, and his immeasurable mercy. And Abraham said to the chief-captain, I beseech thee, archangel, hearken to my prayer, and let us yet call upon the Lord, and supplicate his compassion, and entreat his mercy for the souls of the sinners whom I formerly, in my anger, cursed and destroyed, whom the earth devoured, and the wild beasts tore in pieces, and the fire consumed through my words. Now I know that I have sinned before the Lord our God. Come then, O Michael, chief-captain of the hosts above, come, let us call upon God with tears that he may forgive me my sin, and grant them to me. And the chief-captain heard him, and they made entreaty before the Lord, and when they had called upon him for a long space, there came a voice from heaven saying, Abraham, Abraham, I have hearkened to thy voice and thy prayer, and forgive thee thy sin, and those whom thou thinkest that I destroyed I have called up and brought them into life by my exceeding kindness, because for a season I have requited them in judgment, and those whom I destroy living upon earth, I will not requite in death.

XV. And the voice of the Lord said also to the chief-captain Michael, Michael, my servant, turn back Abraham to his house, for behold his end has come nigh, and the measure of his life is fulfilled, that he may set all things in order, and then take him and bring him to me. So the chief-captain, turning the chariot and the cloud, brought Abraham to his house, and going into his chamber he sat upon his couch. And Sarah his wife came and embraced the feet of the Incorporeal, and spoke humbly, saying, I give thee thanks, my Lord, that thou hast brought my Lord Abraham, for behold we thought he had been taken up from us. And his son Isaac also came and fell upon his neck, and in the same way all his men-slaves and women-slaves surrounded Abraham and embraced him, glorifying God. And the Incorporeal one said to them, Hearken, righteous Abraham. Behold thy wife Sarah, behold also thy beloved son Isaac, behold also all thy men-servants and maid-servants round about thee. Make disposition of all that thou hast, for the day has come nigh in which thou shalt depart from the body and go to the Lord once for all. Abraham said, Has the Lord said it, or sayest thou this of thyself? The chief-captain answered, Hearken, righteous Abraham. The Lord has commanded, and I tell it thee. Abraham said, I will not go with thee. The chief-captain, hearing these words, straightway went forth from the presence of Abraham, and went up into the heavens, and stood before God the Most High, and said, Lord Almighty, behold I have hearkened to Thy friend Abraham in all he has said to Thee, and have fulfilled his requests. I have shown to him Thy power, and all the earth and sea that is under heaven. I have shown to him judgment and recompense by means of cloud and chariots, and again he says, I will not go with thee. And the Most High said to the angel, Does my friend Abraham say thus again, I will not go with thee? The archangel said, Lord Almighty, he says thus, and I refrain from laying hands on him, because from the beginning he is Thy friend, and has done all things pleasing in Thy sight. There is no man like him on earth, not even Job the wondrous man, and therefore I refrain from laying hands on him. Command, therefore, Immortal King, what shall be done.

XVI. Then the Most High said, Call me hither Death that is called the shameless countenance and the pitiless look. And Michael the Incorporeal went and said to Death, Come hither; the Lord of creation, the immortal king, calls thee. And Death, hearing this, shivered and trembled, being

possessed with great terror, and coming with great fear it stood before the invisible father, shivering, groaning and trembling, awaiting the command of the Lord. Therefore the invisible God said to Death, Come hither, thou bitter and fierce name of the world, hide thy fierceness, cover thy corruption, and cast away thy bitterness from thee, and put on thy beauty and all thy glory, and go down to Abraham my friend, and take him and bring him to me. But now also I tell thee not to terrify him, but bring him with fair speech, for he is my own friend. Having heard this, Death went out from the presence of the Most High, and put on a robe of great brightness, and made his appearance like the sun, and became fair and beautiful above the sons of men, assuming the form of an archangel, having his cheeks flaming with fire, and he departed to Abraham. Now the righteous Abraham went out of his chamber, and sat under the trees of Mamre, holding his chin in his hand, and awaiting the coming of the archangel Michael. And behold, a smell of sweet odor came to him, and a flashing of light, and Abraham turned and saw Death coming towards him in great glory and beauty, And Abraham arose and went to meet him, thinking that it was the chief-captain of God, and Death beholding him saluted him, saying, Rejoice, precious Abraham, righteous soul, true friend of the Most High God, and companion of the holy angels.

Abraham said to Death, Hail thou of appearance and form like the sun, most glorious helper, bringer of light, wondrous man, from whence does thy glory come to us, and who art thou, and whence comest thou? Then Death said, Most righteous Abraham, behold I tell thee the truth. I am the bitter lot of death. Abraham said to him, Nay, but thou art the comeliness of the world, thou art the glory and beauty of angels and men, thou art fairer in form than every other, and sayest thou, I am the bitter lot of death, and not rather, I am fairer than every good thing. Death said, I tell thee the truth. What the Lord has named me, that also I tell thee. Abraham said, For what art thou come hither? Death said, For thy holy soul am I come. Then Abraham said, I know what thou meanest, but I will not go with thee; and Death was silent and answered him not a word.

XVII. Then Abraham arose, and went into his house, and Death also accompanied him thither. And Abraham went up into his chamber, and Death went up with him. And Abraham lay down upon his couch, and Death came and sat by his feet. Then Abraham said, Depart, depart from

me, for I desire to rest upon my couch. Death said, I will not depart until I take thy spirit from thee. Abraham said to him, By the immortal God I charge thee to tell me the truth. Art thou death? Death said to him, I am Death. I am the destroyer of the world. Abraham said, I beseech thee, since thou art Death, tell me if thou comest thus to all in such fairness and glory and beauty? Death said, Nay, my Lord Abraham, for thy righteousnesses, and the boundless sea of thy hospitality, and the greatness of thy love towards God has become a crown upon my head, and in beauty and great peace and gentleness I approach the righteous, but to sinners I come in great corruption and fierceness and the greatest bitterness and with fierce and pitiless look. Abraham said, I beseech thee, hearken to me, and show me thy fierceness and all thy corruption and bitterness. And Death said, Thou canst not behold my fierceness, most righteous Abraham. Abraham said, Yes, I shall be able to behold all thy fierceness by means of the name of the living God, for the might of my God that is in heaven is with me. Then Death put off all his comeliness and beauty, and all his glory and the form like the sun with which he was clothed, and put upon himself a tyrant's robe, and made his appearance gloomy and fiercer than all kind of wild beasts, and more unclean than all uncleanness. And he showed to Abraham seven fiery heads of serpents and fourteen faces, (one) of flaming fire and of great fierceness, and a face of darkness, and a most gloomy face of a viper, and a face of a most terrible precipice, and a face fiercer than an asp, and a face of a terrible lion, and a face of a cerastes and basilisk. He showed him also a face of a fiery scimitar, and a sword-bearing face, and a face of lightning, lightening terribly, and a noise of dreadful thunder. He showed him also another face of a fierce stormy sea, and a fierce rushing river, and a terrible three-headed serpent, and a cup mingled with poisons, and in short he showed to him great fierceness and unendurable bitterness, and every mortal disease as of the odor of Death. And from the great bitterness and fierceness there died servants and maid-servants in number about seven thousand, and the righteous Abraham came into indifference of death so that his spirit failed him.

XVIII. And the all-holy Abraham, seeing these things thus, said to Death, I beseech thee, all-destroying Death, hide thy fierceness, and put on thy beauty and the shape which thou hadst before. And straightway Death hid his fierceness, and put on his beauty which he had before. And

Abraham said to Death, Why hast thou done this, that thou hast slain all my servants and maidservants? Has God sent thee hither for this end this day? Death said, Nay, my Lord Abraham, it is not as thou sayest, but on thy account was I sent hither. Abraham said to Death, How then have these died? Has the Lord not spoken it? Death said, Believe thou, most righteous Abraham, that this also is wonderful, that thou also wast not taken away with them. Nevertheless I tell thee the truth, for if the right hand of God had not been with thee at that time, thou also wouldst have had to depart from this life. The righteous Abraham said, Now I know that I have come into indifference of death, so that my spirit fails, but I beseech thee, all-destroying Death, since my servants have died before their time, come let us pray to the Lord our God that he may hear us and raise up those who died by thy fierceness before their time. And death said, Amen, be it so. Therefore Abraham arose and fell upon the face of the ground in prayer, and Death together with him, and the Lord sent a spirit of life upon those that were dead and they were made alive again. Then the righteous Abraham gave glory to God.

XIX. And going up into his chamber he lay down, and Death came and stood before him. And Abraham said to him, Depart from me, for I desire to rest, because my spirit is in indifference. Death said, I will not depart from thee until I take thy soul. And Abraham with an austere countenance and angry look said to Death, Who has ordered thee to say this? Thou sayest these words of thyself boastfully, and I will not go with thee until the chief-captain Michael come to me, and I shall go with him. But this also I tell thee, if thou desirest that I shall accompany thee, explain to me all thy changes, the seven fiery heads of serpents and what the face of the precipice is, and what the sharp sword, and what the loud-roaring river, and what the tempestuous sea that rages so fiercely. Teach me also the unendurable thunder, and the terrible lightning, and the evil-smelling cup mingled with poisons. Teach me concerning all these. And Death answered, Listen, righteous Abraham. For seven ages I destroy the world and lead all down to Hades, kings and rulers, rich and poor, slaves and free men, I convoy to the bottom of Hades, and for this I showed thee the seven heads of serpents. The face of fire I showed thee because many die consumed by fire, and behold death through a face of fire. The face of the precipice I showed thee, because many men die descending from the tops

of trees or terrible precipices and losing their life, and see death in the shape of a terrible precipice. The face of the sword I showed thee because many are slain in wars by the sword, and see death as a sword. The face of the great rushing river I showed thee because many are drowned and perish snatched away by the crossing of many waters and carried off by great rivers, and see death before their time. The face of the angry raging sea I showed thee because many in the sea falling into great surges and becoming shipwrecked are swallowed up and behold death as the sea. The unendurable thunder and the terrible lightning I showed thee because many men in the moment of anger meet with unendurable thunder and terrible lightning coming to seize upon men, and see death thus. I showed thee also the poisonous wild beasts, asps and basilisks, leopards and lions and lions' whelps, bears and vipers, and in short the face of every wild beast I showed thee, most righteous one, because many men are destroyed by wild beasts, and others by poisonous snakes, serpents and asps and cerastes and basilisks and vipers, breathe out their life and die. I showed thee also the destroying cups mingled with poison, because many men being given poison to drink by other men straightway depart unexpectedly.

XX. Abraham said, I beseech thee, is there also an unexpected death? Tell me. Death said, Verily, verily, I tell thee in the truth of God that there are seventy-two deaths. One is the just death, buying its fixed time, and many men in one hour enter into death being given over to the grave. Behold, I have told thee all that thou hast asked, now I tell thee, most righteous Abraham, to dismiss all counsel, and cease from asking anything once for all, and come, go with me, as the God and judge of all has commanded me. Abraham said to Death, Depart from me yet a little, that I may rest on my couch, for I am very faint at heart, for since I have seen thee with my eyes my strength has failed me, all the limbs of my flesh seem to me a weight as of lead, and my spirit is distressed exceedingly. Depart for a little; for I have said I cannot bear to see thy shape. Then Isaac his son came and fell upon his breast weeping, and his wife Sarah came and embraced his feet, lamenting bitterly. There came also his men slaves and women slaves and surrounded his couch, lamenting greatly. And Abraham came into indifference of death, and Death said to Abraham, Come, take my right hand, and may cheerfulness and life and strength come to thee. For Death

deceived Abraham, and he took his right hand, and straightway his soul adhered to the hand of Death. And immediately the archangel Michael came with a multitude of angels and took up his precious soul in his hands in a divinely woven linen cloth, and they tended the body of the just Abraham with divine ointments and perfumes until the third day after his death, and buried him in the land of promise, the oak of Mamre, but the angels received his precious soul, and ascended into heaven, singing the hymn of “thrice holy” to the Lord the God of all, and they set it there to worship the God and Father. And after great praise and glory had been given to the Lord, and Abraham bowed down to worship, there came the undefiled voice of the God and Father saying thus, Take therefore my friend Abraham into Paradise, where are the tabernacles of my righteous ones, and the abodes of my saints isaac and Jacob in his bosom, where there is no trouble, nor grief, nor sighing, but peace and rejoicing and life unending. (And let us, too, my beloved brethren, imitate the hospitality of the patriarch Abraham, and attain to his virtuous way of life, that we may be thought worthy of the life eternal, glorifying the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; to whom be glory and power forever. Amen.)

VERSION 2

I. It came to pass, when the days of the death of Abraham drew near, that the Lord said to Michael: Arise and go to Abraham, my servant, and say to him, Thou shall depart from life, for lo! the days of thy temporal life are fulfilled: so that he may set his house in order before he die.

II. And Michael went and came to Abraham, and found him sitting before his oxen for ploughing, and he was exceeding. old in appearance, and had his son in his arms. Abraham, therefore, seeing the archangel Michael, rose from the ground and saluted him, not knowing who he was, and said to him: The Lord preserve thee. May thy journey be prosperous with thee. And Michael answered him: Thou art kind, good father. Abraham answered and said to him: Come, draw near to me, brother, and sit down a little while, that I may order a beast to be brought that we may go to my house, and thou mayest rest with me, for it is toward evening, and in the morning arise and go whithersoever thou wilt, lest some evil beast meet thee and do thee hurt. And Michael enquired of Abraham, saying: Tell me thy name, before I enter thy house, lest I be burdensome to thee. Abraham answered and said, My parents called me Abram, and the Lord named me Abraham, saying: Arise and depart from thy house, and from thy kindred, and go into the land which I shall show unto thee. And when I went away into the land which the Lord showed me, he said to me: Thy name shall no more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham. Michael answered and said to him: Pardon me, my father, experienced man of God, for I am a stranger, and I have heard of thee that thou didst go forty furlongs and didst bring a goat and slay it, entertaining angels in thy house, that they might rest there. Thus speaking together, they arose and went towards the house. And Abraham called one of his servants, and said to him: Go, bring me a beast that the stranger may sit upon it, for he is wearied with his journey. And Michael said: Trouble not the youth, but let us go lightly until we reach the house, for I love thy company.

III. And arising they went on, and as they drew nigh to the city, about three furlongs from it, they found a great tree having three hundred branches, like to a tamarisk tree. And they heard a voice from its branches

singing, “Holy art thou, because thou hast kept the purpose for which thou wast sent.” And Abraham heard the voice, and hid the mystery in his heart, saying within himself, What is the mystery that I have heard? As he came into the house, Abraham said to his servants, Arise, go out to the flocks, and bring three sheep, and slay them quickly, and make them ready that we may eat and drink, for this day is a feast for us. And the servants brought the sheep, and Abraham called his son Isaac, and said to him, My son Isaac, arise and put water in the vessel that we may wash the feet of this stranger. And he brought it as he was commanded, and Abraham said, I perceive, and so it shall be, that in this basin I shall never again wash the feet of any man coming to us as a guest. And Isaac hearing his father say this wept, and said to him, My father what is this that thou sayest, This is my last time to wash the feet of a stranger? And Abraham seeing his son weeping, also wept exceedingly, and Michael seeing them weeping, wept also, and the tears of Michael fell upon the vessel and became a precious stone.

IV. When Sarah, being inside in her house, heard their weeping, she came out and said to Abraham, Lord, why is it that ye thus weep? Abraham answered, and mid to her, It is no evil. Go into thy house, and do thy own work, lest we be troublesome to the man. And Sarah went away, being about to prepare the supper. And the sun came near to setting, and Michael went out of the house, and was taken up into the heavens to worship before God, for at sunset all the angels worship God and Michael himself is the first of the angels. And they all worshipped him, and went each to his own place, but Michael spoke before the Lord and said, Lord, command me to be questioned before thy holy glory! And the Lord said to Michael, Announce whatsoever thou wilt! And the Archangel answered and said, Lord, thou didst send me to Abraham to say to him, Depart from thy body, and leave this world; the Lord calls thee; and I dare not, Lord, reveal myself to him, for he is thy friend, and a righteous man, and one that receives strangers. But I beseech thee, Lord, command the remembrance of the death of Abraham to enter into his own heart, and bid not me tell it him, for it is great abruptness to say, Leave the world, and especially to leave one’s own body, for thou didst create him from the beginning to have pity on the souls of all men. Then the Lord said to Michael, Arise and go to Abraham, and lodge with him, and whatever thou seest him eat, eat thou

also, and where-ever he shall sleep, sleep thou there also. For I will cast the thought of the death of Abraham into the heart of Isaac his son in a dream.

V. Then Michael went into the house of Abraham on that evening, and found them preparing the supper, and they ate and drank and were merry. And Abraham said to his son Isaac, Arise, my son, and spread the man's couch that he may sleep, and set the lamp upon the stand. And Isaac did as his father commanded him, and Isaac said to his father, I too am coming to sleep beside you. Abraham answered him, Nay, my son, lest we be troublesome to this man, but go to thy own chamber and sleep. And Isaac not wishing to disobey his father's command, went away and slept in his own chamber.

VI. And it happened about the seventh hour of the night Isaac awoke, and came to the door of his father's chamber, crying out and saying, Open, father, that I may touch thee before they take thee away from me. Abraham arose and opened to him, and Isaac entered and hung upon his father's neck weeping, and kissed him with lamentations. And Abraham wept together with his son, and Michael saw them weeping and wept likewise. And Sarah hearing them weeping called from her bed-chamber, saying, My Lord Abraham, why is this weeping? Has the stranger told thee of thy brother's son Lot that he is dead? or has aught else befallen us? Michael answered and said to Sarah, Nay, Sarah, I have brought no tidings of Lot, but I knew of all your kindness of heart, that therein ye excel all men upon earth, and the Lord has remembered you.

Then Sarah said to Abraham, How durst thou weep when the man of God has come in to thee, and why have thy eyes shed tears for today there is great rejoicing? Abraham said to her, How knowest thou that this is a man of God? Sarah answered and said, Because I say and declare that this is one of the three men who were entertained by us at the oak of Mamre, when one of the servants went and brought a kid and thou didst kill it, and didst say to me, Arise, make ready that we may eat with these men in our house. Abraham answered and said, Thou has perceived well, O woman, for I too, when I washed his feet knew in my heart that these were the feet which I had washed at the oak of Mamre, and when I began to enquire

concerning his journey, he said to me, I go to preserve Lot thy brother from the men of Sodom, and then I knew the mystery.

VII. And Abraham said to Michael, Tell me, man of God, and show to me why thou hast come hither. And Michael said. Thy son Isaac will show thee. And Abraham said to his son, My beloved son, tell me what thou hast seen in thy dream today, and wast frightened. Relate it to me. Isaac answered his father, I saw in my dream the sun and the moon, and there was a crown upon my head, and there came from heaven a man of great size, and shining as the light that is called the father of light. He took the sun from my head, and yet left the rays behind with me. And I wept and said, I beseech thee, my Lord, take not away the glory of my head, and the light of my house, and all my glory. And the sun and the moon and the stars lamented, saying, Take not away the glory of our power. And that shining man answered and said to me, Weep not that I take the light of thy house, for it is taken up from troubles into rest, from a low estate to a high one; they lift him up from a narrow to a wide place; they raise him from darkness to light. And I said to him, I beseech thee, Lord, take also the rays with it. He said to me, There are twelve hours of the day, and then I shall take all the rays. As the shining man said this, I saw the sun of my house ascending into heaven, but that crown I saw no more, and that sun was like thee my father. And Michael said to Abraham, Thy son Isaac has spoken truth, for thou shalt go, and be taken up into the heavens, but thy body shall remain on earth, until seven thousand ages are fulfilled, for then all flesh shall arise. Now therefore, Abraham, set thy house in order, and thy children, for thou hast heard fully what is decreed concerning thee. Abraham answered and said to Michael, I beseech thee, Lord, if I shall depart from my body, I have desired to be taken up in my body that I may see the creatures that the Lord my God has created in heaven and on earth. Michael answered and said, This is not for me to do, but I shall go and tell the Lord of this, and if I am commanded I shall show thee all these things.

VIII. And Michael went up into heaven, and spoke before the Lord concerning Abraham, and the Lord answered Michael, Go and take up Abraham in the body, and show him all things, and whatsoever he shall say to thee do to him as to my friend. So Michael went forth and took up Abraham in the body on a cloud, and brought him to the river of Ocean.

XII. And after Abraham had seen the place of judgment, the cloud took him down upon the firmament below, and Abraham, looking down upon the earth, saw a man committing adultery with a wedded woman. And Abraham turning said to Michael, Seest thou this wickedness? but, Lord, send fire from heaven to consume them. And straightway there came down fire and consumed them, for the Lord had said to Michael, Whatsoever Abraham shall ask thee to do for him, do thou. Abraham looked again, and saw other men railing at their companions, and said, Let the earth open and swallow them, and as he spoke the earth swallowed them alive. Again the cloud led him to another place, and Abraham saw some going into a desert place to commit murder, and he said to Michael, Seest thou this wickedness? but let wild beasts come out of the desert, and tear them in pieces, and that same hour wild beasts came out of the desert, and devoured them. Then the Lord God spoke to Michael saying, Turn away Abraham to his own house, and let him not go round all the creation that I have made, because he has no compassion on sinners, but I have compassion on sinners that they may turn and live, and repent of their sins and be saved.

(VIII.) And Abraham looked and saw two gates, the one small and the other large, and between the two gates sat a man upon a throne of great glory, and a multitude of angels round about him, and he was weeping, and again laughing, but his weeping exceeded his laughter seven-fold. And Abraham said to Michael, Who is this that sits between the two gates in great glory; sometimes he laughs, and sometimes he weeps, and his weeping exceeds his laughter seven-fold? And Michael said to Abraham, Knowest thou not who it is? And he said, No, Lord. And Michael said to Abraham, Seest thou these two gates, the small and the great? These are they which lead to life and to destruction. This man that sits between them is Adam, the first man whom the Lord created, and set him in this place to see every soul that departs from the body, seeing that all are from him. When, therefore, thou seest him weeping, know that he has seen many souls being led to destruction, but when thou seest him laughing, he has seen many souls being led into life. Seest thou how his weeping exceeds his laughter? Since he sees the greater part of the world being led away through the broad gate to destruction, therefore his weeping exceeds his laughter seven-fold.

IX. And Abraham said, And he that cannot enter through the narrow gate, can he not enter into life? Then Abraham wept, saying, Woe is me, what shall I do? for I am a man broad of body, and how shall I be able to enter by the narrow gate, by which a boy of fifteen years cannot enter? Michael answered and said to Abraham, Fear not, father, nor grieve, for thou shalt enter by it unhindered, and all those who are like thee.

And as Abraham stood and marveled. behold an angel of the Lord driving sixty thousand souls of sinners to destruction, And Abraham said to Michael, Do all these go into destruction? And Michael said to him, Yea, but lat us go and search among these souls, if there is among them even one righteous. And when they went, they found an angel holding in his hand one soul of a woman from among these sixty thousand, because he had found her sins weighing equally with all her works, and they were neither in motion nor at rest, but in a state between; but the other souls he led away to destruction. Abraham said to Michael, Lord, is this the angel that removes the souls from the body or not? Michael answered and said, This is death, and he leads them into the place of judgment, that the judge may try them.

X. And Abraham said, My Lord, I beseech thee to lead me to the place of judgment so that I too may see how they are judged. Then Michael took Abraham upon a cloud, and led him into Paradise, and when he came to the place where the judge was, the angel came and gave that soul to the judge. And the soul said, Lord have mercy on me. And the judge said, How shall I have mercy upon thee, when thou hadst no mercy upon thy daughter which thou hadst, the fruit of thy womb? Wherefore didst thou slay her? It answered, Nay, Lord, slaughter has not been done by me, but my daughter has lied upon me. But the judge commanded him to come that wrote down the records, and behold cherubim carrying two books. And there was with them a man of exceeding great stature, having on his head three crowns, and the one crown was higher than the other two. These are called the crowns of witness. And the man had in his hand a golden pen, and the judge said to him, Exhibit the sin of this soul. And that man. opening one of the books of the cherubim, sought out the sin of the woman’s soul and found it. And the judge said, O wretched soul, why sayest thou that thou hast not done murder? Didst thou not, after the death of thy husband, go and commit adultery with thy daughter’s

husband, and kill her? And he convicted her also of her other sins, whatsoever she had done from her youth. Hearing these things the woman cried out, saying, Woe is me, all the sins that I did in the world I forgot, but here they were not forgotten. Then they took her away also and gave her over to the tormentors.

XI. And Abraham said to Michael, Lord, who is this judge, and who is the other, who convicts the sins? And Michael said to Abraham, Seest thou the judge? This is Abel, who first testified, and God brought him hither to judge, and he that bears witness here is the teacher of heaven and earth, and the scribe of righteousness, Enoch, for the Lord sent them hither to write down the sins and righteousnesses of each one. Abraham said, And how can Enoch bear the weight of the souls, not having seen death? or how can he give sentence to all the souls? Michael said, If he gives sentence concerning the souls, it is not permitted; but Enoch himself does not give sentence, but it is the Lord who does so, and he has no more to do than only to write. For Enoch prayed to the Lord saying, I desire not, Lord, to give sentence on the souls, lest I be grievous to anyone; and the Lord said to Enoch, I shall command thee to write down the sins of the soul that makes atonement and it shall enter into life, and if the soul make not atonement and repent, thou shalt find its sins written down and it shall be cast into punishment.

And about the ninth hour Michael brought Abraham back to his house. But Sarah his wife, not seeing what had become of Abraham, was consumed with grief, and gave up the ghost, and after the return of Abraham he found her dead, and buried her.

XIII. But when the day of the death of Abraham drew nigh, the Lord God said to Michael, Death will not dare to go near to take away the soul of my servant, because he is my friend, but go thou and adorn Death with great beauty, and send him thus to Abraham, that he may see him with his eyes. And Michael straightway, as he was commanded, adorned Death with great beauty, and sent him thus to Abraham that he might see him. And he sat down near to Abraham, and Abraham seeing Death sitting near to him was afraid with a great fear. And Death said to Abraham, Hail, holy soul! hail, friend of the Lord God! hail, consolation and entertainment of travelers! And Abraham said, Thou art welcome, servant of the Most High

God. I beseech thee, tell me who thou art; and entering into my house partake of food and drink, and depart from me, for since I have seen thee sitting near to me my soul has been troubled. For I am not at all worthy to come near thee, for thou art an exalted spirit and I am flesh and blood, and therefore I cannot bear thy glory, for I see that thy beauty is not of this world. And Death said to Abraham, I tell thee, in all the creation that God has made, there has not been found one like thee, for even the Lord himself by searching has not found such an one upon the whole earth. And Abraham said to Death, How durst thou lie? for I see that thy beauty is not of this world. And Death said to Abraham, Think not, Abraham, that this beauty is mine, or that I come thus to every man. Nay, but if any one is righteous like thee, I thus take crowns and come to him, but if it is a sinner I come in great corruption, and out of their sin I make a crown for my head, and I shake them with great fear, so that they are dismayed. Abraham therefore said to him, And whence comes thy beauty? And Death said, There is none other more full of corruption than I am. Abraham said to him, And art thou indeed he that is called Death? He answered him and said, I am the bitter name. I am weeping....

XIV. And Abraham said to Death, Show us thy corruption. And Death made manifest his corruption; and he had two heads, the one had the face of a serpent and by it some die at once by asps, and the other bead was like a sword; by it some die by the sword as by bows.

In that day the servants of Abraham died through fear of Death, and Abraham seeing them prayed to the Lord, and he raised them up.

But God returned and removed the soul of Abraham as in a dream, and the archangel Michael took it up into the heavens. And Isaac buried his father beside his mother Sarah, glorifying and praising God, for to him is due glory, honor and worship, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and always and to all eternity. Amen.

THE ACTS OF XANTHIPPE AND POLYXENA

INTRODUCTION

THE original Greek text of this work is edited for the first time in Text and Studies, Vol. II., No. 3 (1893), by Montague Rhodes James, M.A., from the only MS. known to him, a Paris one of the eleventh century. References to these Acts are not common in works dealing with the saints of the early church, and few writers seem to have known the work itself.

In substance the Acts are a religious novel, similar in form, and to some extent in matter, to the Greek romances by Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus, and others, and based upon the belief that St. Paul actually did visit Spain, according to the intention expressed by him in Romans 15:24. The editor of the Greek text is inclined to assign its composition to about the middle of the third century, reasoning from its relations to the Acts of Paul, and those of other apostles, which its author apparently knew and made use of. Thus a knowledge of the Acts of Paul and Thecla may be inferred from c. xxvi., of the Acts of Peter from c. xxiv., and of those of Andrew from cc. xxviii.-xxxi.

The first and longest part of the story (from x. i. to xxi.) gives an account of the conversion of Xanthippe, wife of Probus, a man of rank in Spain. In this part the narrative is less prominent than the speeches and prayers, which are numerous, and of considerable length. With c. xxii. a new section of the story begins, of which no previous warning has been given except in the title, containing the adventures of Polyxena, the sister of Xanthippe, who is carried off in the latter’s absence. The rest of the story is much more diversified than the early part, being full of incident and introducing a great variety of persons -- the apostles Peter, Philip, and Andrew, an ass-driver, the Jewess Rebecca, a wicked prefect and his kind-hearted son, and finally Onesimus, who brings Polyxena back to Spain.

This difference in the character of the narrative in the two parts causes also some difference in the language, which in the earlier section is more diffuse and more difficult of exact translation than in the later one. The meaning of some words is also doubtful: those translated “lamp-stand” and “destroyer,” towards the end of c. xxi., are so rendered in accordance with suggestions by his Exc. M. Gennadius, who also characterizes the language of the text as full of errors.

LIFE AND CONDUCT OF THE HOLY WOMEN XANTHIPPE, POLYXENA, AND REBECCA

I. When the blessed Paul was at Rome through the word of the Lord, it happened that a certain servant of a ruler of Spain came to Rome with letters of his master's, and heard the word of God from Paul, the truly golden and beautiful nightingale. This servant being greatly touched, and being unable to remain and be filled with the divine word because he was hastened by the letters, returned into Spain in great grief, and being unable to show his desire to any one, because his master was an idolater, he was always pained at heart and sighing greatly. Now this servant was honored and faithful to his masters, and as time went past, the servant tell sick and grew lean of flesh, which his master perceiving said to him, What has happened to thee that thou art thus fallen together in countenance? The servant said, here is a great pain in my heart, and I can in no way find rest. His master said to him, And what is the pain that cannot receive healing from my chief physician? The servant said, While I was still in Rome, this pain and its recurring mishap made itself known to me. His master said, And knowest thou not of any who have fallen into this disease and been healed? The servant said, Yes, but where that physician is I know not, for I left him in Rome. So many as have been attended by that physician and have gone through the water in his hands, have received healing immediately. His master said, I ought not to grudge to send thee yet again to Rome, if perchance thou mightest obtain healing.

II. And while they spoke thus, behold his mistress, by name Xanthippe, overhearing these words, and learning of the teaching of Paul, said, What is the name of that physician, and what is the healing to ward off such a disease? The servant said to her, The calling upon a new name, and anointing with oil and washing with water. By this treatment I have seen many that had incurable pains receive healings. As he said this, the images of the idols that stood in the house began to be shaken and fall down. And his mistress beckoned to him, saying, Seest thou, brother, the images of the idols being shaken, how they cannot endure the power of the word? And his master, by name Probus, arose from his mid-day sleep with a very gloomy countenance, for the Devil had greatly disturbed him, because the

knowledge of God had come into his house. And he questioned the servant of everything in order, and the servant having been seized by sickness by the foreknowledge of God, disclosed to him the life of man, and Xanthippe was incurable in her soul concerning this teaching. So Probus too was grieved for Xanthippe, because from that time she was wasting herself away with waking and abstinence and other austerities.

III. And Xanthippe going away to her couch and groaning, said, Woe is me, wretched one, lying in darkness, that I have not learned the name of the new teacher, that I might summon his prayer to help me, and what to say I know not. Shall I call upon him by the name of his God? but I cannot say, The God that is preached by such a one. Nevertheless I shall say thus by conjecture, O God, giving light in Hades, and guiding those in darkness, Lord of free men and kings, and preached by worthy servants in all the world, called upon as a brother by sinful men and quick to hear, to whom not even archangels can send up worthy songs of praise, who hast shown to me, humble and unworthy, the ever-living and abiding seed (though my ignorance permits me not to receive it), hasten also the things that concern me, Lord, since by thy will thou hast made thyself heard by me, and in thy compassion show me the proclamation of thy herald, that I may learn of him what is pleasing to thee. Yea, I beseech thee look upon my ignorance, O God, and enlighten me with the light of thy countenance, thou that never overlookest any of those that call upon thee in truth. Probus, her husband said to her, Why troublest thou thyself so much, lady, and dost not at all turn to sleep? Xanthippe said, I cannot sleep, for there is in me an incurable pain. Probus said to her, And what is thy pain or grief, O lady, that I am not sufficient to comfort thee? All that thou hast wished unto this day I have served thee in, and now what is it that thou hast, and dost not tell me? Xanthippe says to him, I beseech thee this thing only, my Lord, permit me for a little and for this day only to sleep apart from thee. And Probus said to her, Be it as thou wilt, lady; only leave off thy groaning.

IV. Then entering into her bed-chamber alone, she spoke thus with tears, In what way, my God, I shall act, or what counsel I shall take, I know not. Shall I declare the thought that has come upon me? I fear the madness and disorder of the city. Shall I fly from this impious city? I fear the contrivance of the devil for seizing the sheep. Shall I await the mercy and

swiftness of the Lord? Again I fear the untimely snatching away of life, for the death of sinners has no warning. Shall I depart and flee away to Rome? I fear the length of the journey, being unable to go on foot. But while I say these things by conjecture, constrained by my desire (for I cannot speak with surety), may I find pardon with thee, my God, and do thou fulfil my desire with excess of right words, and think me but worthy to hear thy preacher, for if I say, to see his face, I ask a great thing. Blessed is he that is found in the company of thy preachers, and is satisfied with their precious countenances. Blessed are they that are yoked under the preaching of thy commandments. Blessed are they that keep thy commandments; but where now, Lord, are thy mercies to our fathers, that we also may be their successors in love toward thee and heirs of faith. But behold now, Lord, I cannot find any one that has love for thee, that communing with him I might even a little refresh my soul. Speed therefore, Lord, to yoke me in desire for thee, and keep me under the shadow of thy wings, for thou alone art God, glorified to all eternity. Amen.

V. Therefore Xanthippe saying these words and others like them, groaned continually all the night, and Probus heard her and was greatly distressed, and arising from his couch when the morning came he went in to her, and seeing her eyes inflamed with tears, he said, Wherefore, lady, dost thou thus vex me, and wilt not tell me thy pain? Tell it me, that I may do whatever is pleasing to thee, and distress me not with thy trouble. Xanthippe says to him, Be of good cheer rather, my Lord, and be not vexed, for my trouble shall not harm thee, but if I have found favor before thee, go forth now to the salutation, and allow me to indulge myself in it as I will, for it is not possible for man to take from me the insatiable pain. And listening to her he went out immediately to receive the salutations of the men of the city, for he was the great man among them, and was also known to Nero, the Emperor. And sitting down, great grief appeared in his countenance, and being asked the reason of his grief by the chief met, of the city, he said to them that he had fallen into many and unfounded charges.

VI. And Xanthippe went out into the garden, that she might await there looking closely for certainty of her husband, and she saw the delight of the trees, and the various warbling of the birds, and said, groaning, O beauty of the world! for that which we hitherto thought to come of itself, we know

now that all things are beautifully fashioned by the beautiful One. O power and invention of wisdom! for not only has he placed in men a thousand leagues, but also in birds he has distinguished various voices, as if from anthems and responses to receive sweet-voiced and heart-stirring hymns from his own works. O delightfulness of the air, declaring the inimitable creator! Who shall turn my sorrow into rejoicing? And again she said, God to whom praise is sung by all, give me peace and comfort. As she said these things, Probus also came up from the street to break his fast, and when he saw her countenance altered by tears, he began to pull out the hairs of his head, but he dared not speak to her then so as not to mingle other trouble with her trouble. So he went and fell upon his couch, and said, groaning, Alas, that I had not even the consolation of a child from her, but only acquire grief upon grief. Two years are not yet full since I was wedded to her, and already she meditates divorce.

VII. But Xanthippe was always keeping watch through the doors into the streets of the city, and the blessed Paul, the preacher and teacher and illuminator of the world, left Rome and came even into Spain by the fore-knowledge of God. And coming up to the gates of the city he stood and prayed, and crossing himself entered the city. When Xanthippe saw the blessed Paul walking quietly and equally, and adorned with all virtue and understanding, she was greatly delighted in him and her heart leaped continually, and as possessed with an unexpected joy she said with herself, Why does my heart beat vehemently at the sight of this man? Why is his walk quiet and equable, as of one who expects to take in his arms one that is pursued? Why is his countenance kindly, as of one that tends the sick? Why does he look so lovingly hither and thither, as one who desires to assist those who are seeking to flee from the mouths of dragons? Who shall tell me that this is one from the flock of preachers? If it were possible for me, I should wish to touch the hem of his garments, that I may behold his kindness and readiness to receive and sweet odour; for the servant had told her this also, that the hems of his garments had the odor of precious perfumes.

VIII. Now Probus heard her words, and straightway ran out by himself into the street, and laying hold of Paul’s hand said to him, Man, who thou art I know not, but deign to enter into my house; perchance thou mayest be to me a cause of salvation. Paul said to him, It will be well with thee,

son, after thy request! And they went in together to Xanthippe. When Xanthippe therefore saw the great Paul, the intellectual eyes of her heart were uncovered, and she read upon his forehead, having as it were golden seals, these words, **PAUL THE PREACHER OF GOD**. Then exulting and rejoicing she threw herself at his feet, and twisting her hair together she wiped his feet, saying, Welcome, O man of God, to us humble ones, that live as shadows among shadows. For thou hast looked upon those who were running into Hades as into something beautiful, who addressed the crooked serpent and destroyer as provider and protector, who were running into the dark Hades as to their father, those that were fashioned with a rational nature but have become like irrational creatures. Thou hast sought me, lowly one, having the sun of righteousness in my heart. Now the poison is stayed, when I have seen thy precious face. Now he that troubled me is flown away, when thy most beautiful counsel has appeared to me. Now I shall be considered worthy of repentance, when I have received the seal of the preacher of the Lord. Before now I have deemed many happy who met with you, but I say boldly that from this time forth I myself shall be called happy by others, because I have touched thy hem, because I have received thy prayers, because I have enjoyed thy sweet and honeyed teaching. Thou hast not hesitated to come to us, thou that fishest the dry land in thy course, and gatherest the fish that fall in thy way into the net of the kingdom of heaven.

IX. The great Paul said to her, Arise, daughter, and look not upon me as having been sought out of thy ignorance by my foresight. For Christ, the provider of the world, the searcher out of sinners and the lost, who has not only called to mind those upon earth, but also by his own presence has redeemed those in Hades, he himself has pitied thee, and sent me hither that he might visit and pity many others together with thee. For this mercy and visitation are not of us, but are his injunction and command, even as we also have received mercy and been saved by him. Probus hearing this was astonished at their words, for he was altogether ignorant of these things. But Paul by force raised up Xanthippe from his feet, and she running set a new gilded chair for Paul to sit down upon. The great Paul said to her, My daughter Xanthippe, do not thus. for ye have not yet accorded to the faith of Christ, but wait a little, till the Lord shall set in order what is necessary! Xanthippe said to Paul, Sayest thou this to try

me, O preacher of God, or hast thou any foreknowledge? Paul said, No, daughter, but the devil, who hates the servants of God, sows wickedness in the hearts of his own servants, to oppose those that labor for Christ in preaching, for his wickedness has extended to the apostles and ever, to the Lord himself. Therefore it is fitting to approach the unbelievers gently and kindly! Xanthippe said to Paul, I beseech thee, if thou lovest thy servants, make prayer for Probus, and let me see if he that is hated by thee can work in him; let me see if he can even stand against thy prayer. And Paul rejoiced exceedingly at the words of her faith, and said to her, Believe me, daughter, that by his suggestion and working I have not passed a single hour without chains and blows. Xanthippe said to him, But thou sufferest these things by thy own free will, since thou hast not neglected thy preaching even to scourging, but this again I tell thee, that thy bonds shall be the defeat of the prompter, and thy humiliation their overthrow.

X. Now the report of his presence ran through the whole city and the country round about, for some of that city having been at Rome had seen the signs and wonders that were done by the blessed Paul, and came to see if this was he. Many therefore came into the house of Probus, and he began to be annoyed and to say, I will not suffer my house to be made an inn. Xanthippe knowing that the face of Probus had begun to be estranged, and that he spoke thus, was greatly distressed, saying, Alas, wretched me, that we are not thought fully worthy to keep this man in our house; for if Paul goes hence, the church also will be held elsewhere. Then Xanthippe, considering these matters, put her hand on the foot of Paul, and taking dust she called Probus to her, and placing her hand on his breast mid, O Lord, my God, who hast sought out me, lowly one and ignorant of thee, send what is fitting into this heart. And Paul perceived her prayer, and made the sign of the cross, and for several days the people entered unhindered, and as many as had sick and vexed by unclean spirits brought them, and all were healed.

XI. And Xanthippe said to Paul, Teacher, my heart is greatly consumed because I have not as yet received baptism. And after this Probus being again moved by the devil, cast Paul out of the house and shut up Xanthippe in her chamber. Then one of the chief men, Philotheus by name, besought the great Paul to come into his house, but the great Paul was unwilling to do so, saying, Lest Probus trouble thy house on my account.

Philotheus said to him, Nay, father, I am not at all subject to him, for in no other thing is he greater than me, except in rank, and that because the parents of Xanthippe are above me. But if Probus come to me, I am above him in riches and in war. Then Paul, the great apostle of the Lord, was persuaded, and went into the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect. All this was done by the Evil one that Xanthippe might receive holy baptism with tribulation, and be faint-hearted concerning the commandments of Christ.

XII. Xanthippe therefore, with tears, mid to her servants, Have ye learned where Paul is gone to? They said, Yea, in the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect, and Xanthippe rejoiced greatly that Philotheus also believed, being able, as she said, to persuade Probus also. Then Probus called Xanthippe to supper, and when she consented not, Probus said, Think not that in bed also thou wilt keep away from me. But when he lay down to supper, Xanthippe bending her knees, prayed to the Lord, saying, Eternal and immortal God, that didst take dust from the ground, and didst not value it according to the nature of its creation, but didst call it the son of immortality, thou who didst come from the heart of the father to the heart of the earth for our sake, on whom the cherubim dare not fix their gaze, and for us wast hidden in the womb that by taking up thy abode in a mother thou mightest make good the offense of Eve. Thou that didst drink gall and vinegar, and wast pierced in the side by a spear, that thou mightest heal the wound given by the rib to Adam. For Eve being his rib wrought a blow for Adam, and through him for all the world. Thou that gavest a sleep without perception to the serpent, so that he might not know thy Incarnation, remember also my groaning and tears, and grant fulfilment to my sleep, and bring sleep upon Probus until I shall be deemed worthy of the gift of holy baptism, for I vehemently desire to obtain this, to the glory and praise of thy holy name.

XIII. But Probus, while still at supper, commanded the doors of their house to be secured by cruel and wicked soldiers, and having given these orders, he straightway fell asleep upon the couch. Then the servants came and announced this to Xanthippe that he might be awakened, but she said, Put out the lights, my children, and leave him thus. And in the first sleep, taking three hundred pieces of gold, she went to the doors, saying with herself, Perchance the porter will be persuaded by the amount of money. But he, being evil and froward, would not be persuaded to do this, and she.

loosing also her girdle, which was set with precious stones and worth two hundred pieces of gold, gave it to him and went out saying, Lord, I win over my own slaves with money, that thy preacher Paul may not be oppressed by Probus. And Xanthippe went on to the house of Philotheus the ex-prefect, as to a great and incredible work, running and praising God. As she therefore passed through a certain place, the demons pursued her with fiery torches and lightnings, and she, turning, saw behind her this terrible sight, and being possessed with great fear said, What has happened to thee now, wretched soul? Thou hast been deprived of thy desire. Thou wast running to salvation, thou wast running to baptism, and thou hast fallen into the serpent and his ministers, and these things thy sins have prepared for thee. Speaking thus she was even fainting at heart from great despair, but the great Paul being forewarned by God of the assault of the demons, immediately stood beside her, being also preceded by a beautiful youth. And straightway the vision of the demons disappeared, and Paul said to her, Arise, daughter Xanthippe, and behold the Lord desired by thee, by whose flame the heavens are shaken and the deep is dried up, coming to thee and pitying and saving thee. Behold him that accepts thy prayers and straightway gives ear. See him coming in the shape of a man, and take courage against the demons. Then she rising from the ground said to him, Master, why hast thou left me solitary? Even now make haste to seal me, so that if death come upon me I may depart to him who is full of compassion and has no arrogance.

XIV. Therefore the great Paul straightway taking her hand, went into the house of Philotheus, and baptised her in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Ghost. Then taking bread also he gave her the eucharist saying, Let this be to thee for a remission of sins and for a renewing of thy soul. Then the blessed Xanthippe, receiving the divine grace of holy baptism, returned to her own house, rejoicing and praising the Lord. The porter seeing her complained loudly in violent words, that her going out might be deemed to have been without his will if Probus should notice it; but he that gave her light along with Paul kept the whole house, together with Probus, in a deep sleep, and they did not hear his words at all. Then she went running into her bed-chamber, saying, What shall I say of thee, searcher out of sinners, who art most present with us in tribulations. Thy goodness does these things, since for the sake of man whom thou didst

make thou didst go down even to death, for, however much man stir thee to anger many times, yet thou, Lord, pourest out thy mercies upon him. O depth of compassion and wealth of mercy; O immeasurable goodness and incomparable kindness; O treasure of good things, and giver of mercy, and enricher of all that believe in thee! If, therefore, one who loves thee say, Be near me, Lord, thou hast already anticipated him. If he say, I give thee thanks; hear my words, before they are spoken, thou understandest. And as for those that ask of thee, thou givest to each after his asking. Thy goodness seeks out those that know thee not, and thou runnest to sinners. O cheerful look, filling the ways of sinners with mercy; O excellent watching and exhortation of the ignorant! Who shall tell my Lord Paul of the salvation that has now befallen me, that he might come and give words of thanksgiving for me to this protector of sinners? Come many and behold and know the Lord, who hates sin, but has mercy on sinners. Come, now, O Paul, preacher of God, for with thee even now I sit under instruction, and give words of thanksgiving for me, for I desire to keep silence, since human reason makes me afraid, lest I have not the grace of eloquence. I desire to keep silence, and am compelled to speak, for some one inflames and sweetens me within. If I say, I will shut my mouth, there is some one that murmurs in me. Shall I say a great thing? Is it not that teacher that is in Paul, without arrogance, filling the heavens, speaking within and waiting without, sitting on the throne with the father and stretched upon the cross by man. What, therefore, I shall do I know not. My worthless mind delights me, and is not unfolded to the end. Thou that hadst thy hands fixed with nails and thy side pierced with the spear, thou star out of Jacob and lion’s whelp out of Judah, thou rod out of Jesse, and man and God out of Mary, thou invisible God in the bosom of the Father, and that canst not be looked upon by cherubim, and art mocked in Israel, glory be to thee, who didst appear on the earth and wast taken by the people, hung upon the tree and by the report of the wicked falsely said to be stolen, and that hast bought us all together.

XV. While she was still speaking thus, there appeared a cross on the eastern wall, and straightway there entered through it a beautiful youth, having round about him trembling rays, and under him an extended light, on which also he walked. And as he entered within, all the foundations of that house shook and sounded with a great trembling. Xanthippe seeing him

cried out and fell to the ground as if dead; but he being pitiful and kind, changing immediately into the shape of Paul, raised her up, saying, Arise, Xanthippe, and fear not, for the servants of God are thus glorified. Then Xanthippe arising, gazed upon him, and thinking it to be Paul said, How art thou come in hither, preacher of God, seeing that I have given five hundred pieces of gold to the porter, and that although he is my slave, while thou hast no money? The Lord said to her, My servant Paul is richer than all wealth, for whatsoever treasure he acquires here he sends it before him into the kingdom of heaven, that departing thither he may rest in the unending and eternal rest. This is the treasure of Paul, thou and thy like. Then Xanthippe gazing upon him, desirous to say something, saw his face shining as the light; and being greatly amazed, and putting both her hands over her face she threw herself to the ground, and said, Hide thyself, Lord, from my bodily eyes and enlighten my understanding, for I know now who thou art. Thou art he whose precursor was the cross, the only begotten son of the Father alone above, and only son of the Virgin alone below. Thou art he who was pierced in the hands and who rent the rocks. Thou art he whom none other can carry except the bosom of the Father.

XVI. And as she spoke thus the Lord was again hidden from her, and Xanthippe, coming to herself, said, Woe is me wretched one, that no one has told me what is the gratitude of slaves towards their master. If Paul the preacher of the Lord were here, how could e give praise? But perchance in the face of such favors and gifts they are silent, possessed only with tears, for it is not possible worthily to praise any one according to his favor. Saying this she was seized with great faintness from lack of food, for having been strongly possessed with desire for Christ she had forgotten to take nourishment. Therefore, being greatly exhausted by abstinence and the vision and want of sleep and other austerities, she was unable to rise from the ground.

XVII. And Probus arose from his couch with a very gloomy countenance, for in his sleep he had seen a dream, and was greatly troubled concerning it. But the porter seeing him about to issue to the market-place, having his countenance thus troubled, was greatly afraid, Lest, said he, he know what has happened, and will miserably destroy me. Probus, however, having gone forth and signified to those in the market what was fitting for the day and season, speedily returned into the house, and said to

his servants, Call me quickly the wise men Barandus and Gnosteas. When they were summoned he said to them, I have seen a very terrible vision, and what appeared in it is difficult for our power to interpret. This, however, do ye disclose to me, as being the most excellent of all the world. Expound it to me when I tell it you. Barandus says to him, If the vision can be interpreted by our wisdom, we shall explain it to thee, but if it be of the faith that is now spoken of we cannot expound it to thee, for it is of another wisdom and understanding. However, let our Lord and master tell the dream, and let us see if there is any explanation for it. Probus says to Gnosteas, Wherefore answerest thou nothing? Gnosteas said, I have not heard the dream, and what can I say but whatever it may be, if it is by reason of Paul? Tell me now, and thou wilt find it so. Probus said, I thought I was standing in a certain unknown and strange country, and that there sat there an Ethiop king, who ruled over all the earth and seemed never to have any successor. There stood beside him multitudes of servants, and all hastened to destruction and had mastery far and wide. And when that Ethiop seemed to have gained his purpose, there arose a raven and standing above him croaked with a pitiful voice. And straightway there arose from the eastern parts an eagle, and seized his kingdom, and his power was made vain, and those standing by him fled to the eagle. Then that king strove against those that fled to the eagle, but the eagle carried it up into heaven, and, behold, there came a helper to those that fled to the eagle and left his staff to them. Then they laying hold of it were not overcome by the violence of that king. So many as ran to those who had the staff, he washed them in pure water, and they that were washed had power over his kingdom. And by that staff the enemies of the king were put to flight, therefore capable men laying hold of the staff turned to themselves great multitudes. And that king strove against them, and had no might at all, but he hindered many from believing in him that sent out the men into the world to bear witness, and for that reason many were grieved. Nevertheless, this one did not constrain any like the other, for he himself was ruler of all light. This then was the end.

XVIII. Then the wise Barandus said, By the grace of God I shall tell the things sent into the world by the Lord. The king whom thou sawest is the Devil, and the multitudes of his servants are the demons, and the throngs about him are they that worship the gods. Whereas he thought to have no

successor, he looked not for the coming of Christ. The raven betokened the weakness of his kingdom, for the raven kept not obedience to the righteous Noah, but loved pitiful things. The eagle that arose and took away his kingdom and carried it up into heaven, and that there came a protector of those that fled to the eagle, having a staff, that is the Lord Jesus Christ, who left to them his staff, that is, his precious cross; and that he washed those that fled to him signifies the invulnerable breast-plate of baptism, and therefore they were not overcome. The capable men sent into the world with the cross are the preachers of God like Paul who is now with us, against whom that king has no power. This was made known to thee because even on those who are hard of belief God has compassion in some way. See therefore whether even thou wilt be able to injure Paul though thou desirest, for the mighty power that shields him has been shown thee by the Lord. Therefore, understand what has been said to thee by me, and serve not that king of darkness, for as thou sawest his kingdom vanish away, so shall all his servants perish with him. Come now, therefore, my Lord, let us go to Paul and receive baptism from him, lest Satan have mastery over us also. Probus said, Let us first go to Xanthippe and see whether she still lives, for behold there are twenty-nine days since she has tasted anything; for I saw her face in the even, ing, and it was as of one prepared to depart.

XIX. And as they went into the chamber, they heard her singing.

Praise the Lord ye sinners also,
because he accepts your prayers also. Alleluia.
Praise the Lord ye that have despaired like me,
for many are his mercies. Alleluia.
Praise him ye ungodly, because for you he was crucified. Alleluia.
Praise him ye that strive for the salvation of sinners,
because God loves you. Alleluia.
Praise him, ye that rejoice at the calling of sinners, because ye are
fellow-citizens with the saints. Alleluia.

As she said these words and more than these with tears, the wise men Barandus and Gnosteas opening the door entered and fell at her feet, saying, Pray for us lowly ones, O servant of Christ, that he may bring us also into thy number. But she said to them, Brethren, I am not Paul who remits sins, but neither is he far from you. Therefore fall not before my knees, but go to him, who is also more able to benefit you. Then they came

running to the house of Philotheus to Paul, and found him teaching a great multitude. And Probus also came to hear Paul, and Xanthippe entered along with him to salute him, and coming near to Paul and bending her knees she did him reverence. Probus seeing this marvelled that her so proud spirit had changed to so great humility, for she sat beside the feet of Paul on the ground humbly and as one of the worthless. And Probus was greatly grieved, not yet attending to the hearing of the word, but was ever gazing and fixing his attention on Xanthippe.

XX. The great Paul was teaching thus, Let those that burn in the flesh observe lawful marriage, avoiding fornication, especially that with another's wife, and let those that are united keep to one another. Probus heard this teaching with delight, and said, O Paul, how excellently and wisely thou employest this teaching. Why then has Xanthippe withdrawn from me? And Paul said, My son Probus, they that foresee that the works of men shall be tried with fire, and that have always in their mind the inexorableness of death, cast out all desire that cleaves to the flesh. But woe when the desire shall judge him that desired, then he shall gnash his teeth to no effect and in vain, for the amendment of repentance is past. Hearing this Probus went up into his house marvelling, and tasted nothing that day, but went and lay down upon his bed. And about the third hour of the night he arose and said, Alas, how wretched was the day in which I was wedded to Xanthippe. Would that I had died and not seen her. Saying this he arose and said, I shall pray to the God of Paul. Perchance he will do to me also what is fitting, that I may not become a reproach in the world, being rejected by her. And straightway falling upon the ground he said, O God of Paul, if, as I have heard from Xanthippe, thou dost seek after the ignorant and turn back those that are astray, do to me also what is fitting; for thou art the king of life and death, as I have heard, and hast dominion over things in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and over all the thoughts and desires of men, and to thee alone belongs glory to all eternity. Amen.

XXI. Then Probus arising from the ground fell again upon the couch, and arising early he came to Paul, and finding him baptising many in the name of the life-giving Trinity, he said, My Lord Paul, if only I were worthy to receive baptism, behold the hour. Paul said to him, Son, behold the water is ready for the cleansing of those that come to Christ. Therefore

immediately taking, off his garments, and Paul laying hold of him, he leapt into the water, saying, Jesus Christ, son of God, and everlasting God, let all my sins be taken away by this water. And Paul said, We baptise thee in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. After this he made him to receive the eucharist of Christ. Then Xanthippe, being greatly rejoiced, began in the house toward evening together with her husband to give good cheer to all those in the house, and to prepare a feast, and when they came, after flying orders for the supper to be magnificent she herself went up to the chamber. And behold on the stairs a demon coming in the likeness of one of the actors, and standing in a dark corner, was desirous to frighten and terrify Xanthippe. But she thinking it to be the actor that she ordinarily had, said in anger, Many a time have I said to him that I no longer care for toys, and he despises me as being a woman; and straightway seizing an iron lamp-stand, she hurled it at his face, and crushed all his features. Then the demon cried out, saying, O violence, from this destroyer even women have received power to strike us. But Xanthippe was greatly afraid.

XXII. After supper then Probus went forth to hear the word, but Xanthippe sitting in her bed-chamber was reading the prophets, her sister Polyxena lying upon the couch. Xanthippe loved Polyxena exceedingly, because she was younger than herself, and beautiful in appearance, and Probus also loved her greatly. And as Polyxena lay upon the couch she saw this dream, that a dragon, hideous in appearance, came and signified to her to come to him, and when she did not obey him to go to him, he came running and swallowed her. From fear of this the girl leapt up trembling, and Xanthippe running to her said, What has happened to thee, dearest, that thou hast leapt up thus suddenly? She for a long time was unable to speak; then coming to herself she said, Alas, my sister Xanthippe, what danger or tribulation awaits me, I know not; for I saw in my dream that a hideous dragon came and signed to me to go to him, and, when I would not go, he came running and swallowed me, beginning at my feet. While I was terrified at this, there suddenly spoke out of the air, in the light of the sun, a beautiful youth, whom I thought to be the brother of Paul, saying, Verily, thou hast no power. Who also took me by, the hand and straightway drew me out of him, and straightway the dragon disappeared. And behold his hand was full of sweet odor as of balsam or aught else for

fragrance. Xanthippe said to her, Truly thou must be greatly troubled, my sister Polyxena, but God has thee dear, seeing that he has shown thee strange and marvellous things. Therefore arise quickly in the morning and receive the holy baptism, and ask in the baptism to be delivered from the snares of the dragon.

XXIII. Xanthippe, having said this to Polyxena, and having made a cross of wood, went to Paul, but Polyxena remained alone in the bed-chamber, her nurse having gone together with Xanthippe. And about the middle of the night, a certain man, powerful in wealth and assistance, finding the doors open and using magical arts, entered within, desiring to carry away Polyxena. She discovering this fled into the mill, but the magicians led by the demons found her. And she, not finding any door to escape by, said, Alas that I am given over to this destroyer; for she had heard that he was at enmity with her suitor, and he did this to assail and vex him, being a man who was a robber and exceeding cruel. Therefore seizing her they went out of the city, dragging her to the sea. She looked round this way and that, but there was none to deliver her, and groaning she said, Alas, my sister Xanthippe, thou didst send seven hundred pieces of gold to Rome and buy books, that through them thou mightest prophesy by me; for this evening thou didst read, I looked to my right hand and beheld, but there was no one that knew me; flight perished from me and there is no one that seeketh out my soul.

XXIV. While she said these words, those that were dragging her away walked in haste, and coming to the shore they hired a ship and sailed for Babylonia, for he that carried her off had a brother there, a ruler of a district. But the wind blew against them, so that they could not proceed by reason of it, and as they were rowing on the sea, behold the great apostle of the Lord, Peter, was sailing past in a ship, being urged by a dream to go to Rome, because when Paul departed for Spain there had entered into Rome a certain deceiver and magician, Simon by name, and had broken up the church which Paul had established. And, behold, as he journeyed he heard a voice from heaven saying to him, Peter, tomorrow there will meet thee a ship coming from Spain; arise, therefore, and pray for the soul that is troubled in it. As soon therefore as Peter saw the ship, remembering the dream, he said, O Jesus, that hast care for the troubled, whom the tribulation of those in a strange land moves to compassion,

whom the weeping of those in captivity made to come upon the earth, who givest us at all time whatsoever we desire, and never turnest away from our request, show now also pity and assistance to the soul that is tossed about in that ship, because thou, O Lord, pitiest at all time those in pain. The demons then, perceiving his prayer, said to the magicians, Avoid ye the course of that ship, for if we meet with it, we cannot move.

XXV. But the loving God taking care for Polyxena, the vessel arrived in Greece, the blessed Philip being there, and having come down to the shore by a vision, and there accompanied him also great multitudes of those who were being taught by him. And behold the vessel wherein was Polyxena appeared, terribly tossed about. And the blessed Philip said, Behold the vessel on account of which we came down here, in which there is a soul in trouble. When the vessel arrived and all had disembarked upon the dry land, they lay as half dead, because they had been greatly tossed about in the sea. But the apostle Philip ordered Polyxena to be lifted and taken to the place where he was lodging, and the rest to be looked to. But he that had carried off Polyxena, recovering from the disorder of the sea, was desirous to take her again, for Philip, having entrusted Polyxena to one of those that were taught by him, went on his way rejoicing. But he that had her said, She was committed to me by a holy man, and I cannot give her up to thee. He, however, giving no heed to him and finding there a kinsman of his, a nobleman, prepared for war, gathering eight thousand men. Polyxena, knowing this, went forth by night and departed, but he that had charge of Polyxena said, Taking the tunic of Philip, I shall go forth alone to meet them; but as he said this it was announced to him that the maid was not there. Then he, leaving all thought of the war, ran into the bed-chamber, and not finding the maid threw himself on the ground, saying, Woe is me, wretched one, that have become an enemy of Philip. What shall I answer him, when he asks the maiden from me? His servants came and said to him, Arise, our Lord, from the ground, for the forces have surrounded thy house, and the maid cannot be found. He said, Leave me thus to die on her account. Perhaps, even by this, Philip the servant of Christ may be fully satisfied, since I shall be found despising his command. Then the servants, seeing that he heeded them not, took counsel to flee from the enemies, but again after a little, being moved by the fore-knowledge of God, they said, It is not right for our master to die. Come, let us go forth to meet them,

raising the sign of the cross. Then raising the precious cross they went forth, about thirty men, upon the enemy, and slew five thousand, and the rest fled. And they returned with victory to their master, praising God and saying, What God is so great as our God, who has not suffered his servant to be slain by the wicked? And coming upon their Lord, still weeping, they said to him, Arise, Lord, and weep not, for it befits it to be not as we will, but as the Lord wills.

XXVI. Polyxena, however, going out of the city, and not knowing by what way she should walk, found herself in desert places of the hills, and sitting down said thus with tears, Woe is me, outcast and captive, that I cannot find even a wild beast's den to rest in. Woe is me, left desolate, that not even Hades, that no one escapes, has devoured me. Woe is me, who at one time showed myself not even to my servants, and now display myself to demons. Woe is me, that I am now made manifest to all those by whom I disdained to be seen. Alas for me that was formerly devoted to idols; for this now even the mercy of God has passed me in silence. Whom, then, shall I call upon to help me? The God of Paul whom I have constantly offended? But who shall help me now? No one sees or heeds or hears my groaning. Verily I shall beseech Him that sees the hidden things, for who is more pitiful and compassionate than He who always keeps watch over the oppressed? But because my mouth is unclean and defiled, I dare not ask help from Him. Would that I were as one of the wild beasts that I,night not know what captivity is. Would that I had been drowned in the sea; perhaps having received the divine baptism I should have gone where no one is made captive. What then shall I do, for death delays, and night has come on, and there is no help anywhere. Having said thus, she arose and began to walk onwards, and passing through a small defile she fell into a wood very thick and large, and finding there a hollow in a tree, which was the den of a lioness, she sat down there, for the lioness had gone forth for her food. And sitting down she said, O wretched begetting, O grievous hour in which I, unhappy one, came into this world; O mother that bore me, why, foreseeing my troubles and wanderings, didst thou name me Polyxena? Has any other ever fallen into such tribulations and misfortunes? Truly, my sister Xanthippe, didst thou read concerning me, unhappy one, saying, I have suffered affliction and been utterly bowed down (— Psalm xxxviii. 6). These words thou didst utter with grief, while

I lay upon the couch, thinking not at all of my sorrows. On this account I have now come into the depths of evils, and pass the night in deserts like a wild beast. But the beasts live with others of their kind, while I am left solitary, as not being of one race with mankind.

XXVII. And as she was saying these words, and more than these, the morning dawned, and the lioness came from her hunting. Polyxena, seeing the wild beast, trembled and said, By the God of Paul, O wild beast, have compassion on me and tear me not until I receive baptism. And the wild beast, fearing the adjuration, immediately went away, and standing afar off gazed at her. And she said, Behold, the beast has obeyed me; I will also retire from its dwelling. And immediately she began to journey towards the east, and the beast went before her until she was come out of the wood. Then Polyxena said, What shall I give to thee in return, O beast? The God of Paul will repay thee this kindness; and the wild beast, hearing her prayer, immediately returned to its place. Then she, descending, found a public road, and standing on it wept, not knowing whither she should go, and though many went past, she turned to none of them, but said, Perchance the God of Paul will remember me, and whoever shall have pity upon me, to him will I go.

XXVIII. As she said this, Andrew, the apostle of the Lord, also came journeying to that place, and as he drew near to Polyxena he felt in his heart some commotion arising in himself. Standing, therefore, to pray, and folding his arms in the shape of the cross, he said, Lord Jesus Christ, partaker of light and knower of things hidden, from whom nothing on earth is hid, do unto me kindness and mercy, and make clear to me this commotion of heart, and calm my reason, thou that makest peace always with those that love peace. Then Polyxena ran to him, and Andrew, the apostle of the Lord, said to her, Approach me not, daughter, but tell me who and whence thou art. Polyxena said, My Lord, I am a stranger here, but I see thy face is gracious, and thy words as the words of Paul, and I suppose thee to be of the same God. Andrew understood that she spoke of the apostle Paul, and said to her, And whence dost thou know of Paul? She said, From my own country, for I left him in Spain. Andrew said to her, And how happenest thou to be here, the country being far distant? She said, Because it was thus appointed for me, and came to pass; but I beseech thee and fall at thy feet, seal me, as Paul seals, by the baptism of

regeneration, so that even I, lowly one, may be known by our God, for the kind God, seeing my tribulation and distress, sent thee to pity me. Andrew, the great apostle of the Lord, said to her, Let us go, daughter, where there is water.

XXIX. And when they had gone no long way, they came to a well most transparent and pure. And as the blessed Andrew stood to pray beside the well, behold a certain maiden named Rebecca, of the tribe of Israel, brought as a captive to that country, came to draw water at the well, and seeing the blessed Andrew, knew him by his appearance. For Rebecca said, This is the appearance of a Prophet, and this is one of the apostles. And bowing down to him she said, Have mercy on me, servant of the true God, who am captive and sold for the third time, who was once honored by prophets, and am now insulted by idolaters, and recall me, lowly one, thou that wast sent to call back many sinners. Andrew, the apostle of Christ, said, God will care for thee also, daughter, as well as for this stranger. Therefore, receive ye now baptism, and be ye as of one people, glorifying God always.

XXX. Therefore the apostle standing prayed, and, behold, the lioness came running, and stood gazing upon him. And Andrew the apostle of the Lord said, What then does this beast wish? The lioness opening her mouth spoke with a human voice, Andrew, apostle of Christ, the prayer of her, that stands on thy right hand, has overtaken me. Therefore confirm thou and instruct and admonish them in the right and true faith of Christ, for they greatly desire the name of the Lord. And, behold, the wonderful condescension of God, that even on irrational and untamable beasts he has poured out his mercy. The blessed Andrew weeping said, What shall I say or what shall I speak concerning thy mercy, O God, that thus thou at all times cleavest to the lowly, and takest care for those in ignorance, being without arrogance and full of mercy? And having completed the prayer he baptised the maidens in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Then the lioness immediately set off to the mountain, and the Apostle Andrew said to the maidens, Be zealous, daughters, to be of good repute before God by living well in a strange land, and separate not from each other, and God, that is always present to those that call upon him, keep you in holiness, driving away from you the Evil One. And pray ye also for me. Polyxena said, We will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. The Apostle

Andrew said, This was not made known to me by the Lord, daughters; therefore remain with peace, hoping in the Lord, and he will preserve you to the end.

XXXI. And Andrew went his way rejoicing and glorifying God. Then said Polyxena, Whither shall we go, sister:? Rebecca said, Let us depart whither thou wilt, lest my mistress send and separate us. Polyxena said, Come, let us depart into the mountain to the lioness. Rebecca said, It is indeed better for us to live with wild beasts and perish of hunger than to be compelled by Greeks and idolaters to fall into the filth of marriage. So they began to journey, and, behold, by the providence of God, they met a man driving asses, who seeing them said, Ye are not of this country, and, as I see, ye wear not its dress. Command therefore of your servant to eat bread and receive one piece of silver that ye may remember your servant when ye buy bread. And he made haste and took the sacks off his asses and spread them on the ground, and made the maidens to sit upon them and said to them, Seeing that the wine which your servant carries is gathered by Greeks, tell me of what faith ye are, that thus we may taste of it. Polyxena said, We, brother, taste no wine, and are of the God of Paul. The ass-driver said. Is this God upon earth? Polyxena said to him, God is everywhere, both in heaven and on earth. The ass-driver, being desirous to learn clearly, said, Does this Paul then have the same God that is preached by Philip? Polyxena, learning that he was a Christian, said, Yea, brother, this is the God of all, whom Paul and Philip preach.

XXXII. The ass-driver hearing this wept unceasingly, and Polyxena said, Has then the providence of God overtaken thee, that thou weepest thus? The ass-driver said, If thou art desirous to learn wherefore I weep, hear the truth, for one ought not to grudge to tell the things of Christ. I was a disciple of Philip, the apostle of Christ, and seeing how all his thought was towards the poor, I took all that I had and sold it. And taking the price, I bought bread and wine, and divided them throughout the cities to those that had need, when therefore I had done this for some time in the neighboring city, a certain maimed person cried out, saying (though it was not himself that spoke, but Satan through his mouth), I desire nothing, I take nothing from thee, because thou art a Christian. Then the whole city arose against me and sought to take me, but some ran one way and some another, while I go through their midst and no one sees me. And issuing

from the city I gave praise and glory to God that thus I had been rewarded, and I prayed to my God that I should meet some one who knew his all-holy name, so that relating these things I might obtain relief. For the men of this country will not hear at all concerning Christ, being full of impiety and filled with wickedness. I exhort you therefore, take ye also one coin from me, and if it seem good, take ye rest also upon the asses. Polyxena said, Mayest thou obtain mercy from God, brother. But if thou wilt receive a full reward, save us as far as the sea, so that, if God wills, we may sail for Spain.

XXXIII. The ass-driver, as if commanded by the voice of God, eagerly receiving the maidens, went on his way rejoicing in the Lord. And he said to Polyxena, Alter thy appearance to that of a man, lest for thy beauty's sake some one snatch thee away from me. And coming to an inn, they stayed there, and on the morrow they went forward taking heed to the way. And behold there came past a certain prefect journeying to Greece, who seeing the maidens ordered Polyxena to be carried off on his chariot. Then the ass-driver followed, crying and saying, A prefect does violence to none. Why do ye this? Then they beat him and drove him away.

XXXIV. And he going on his way lamented, saying, Woe is me, wretched and abominable one. Woe is me that thought to do good, but now I have wrought mischief. Woe is me that my trouble and my running were unacceptable. Would that I had died before yesterday, that I might not have met with these maidens at all. But why troublest thou me, O wretched soul? Let us go to Philip the apostle of God. If there is not forgiveness for me, it is better for me to choose death in whatsoever fashion than to live with such evil and bitter conscience. So he went and found Philip the apostle of Christ, and said to him, O disciple and preacher of Christ, thus and thus it has happened to me and befallen me. Has my soul salvation? Philip the apostle of Christ said, Be not distressed concerning this, my son, it is impossible for them to be dishonored, seeing that no one ever overcomes God; for this same Polyxena, when she first came from the sea, I entrusted to a certain brother, who also was greatly distressed because of her running away secretly from his house. Him also I persuaded not to grieve, for through her tribulation and wanderings many shall know God.

XXXV. The prefect therefore carried Polyxena to the city where he stayed, and ordered her to be shut up in a chamber. And one of the soldiers seized Rebecca, but the maid secretly escaping fled into the house of an old woman, who received the maiden kindly and entreated her well. And sitting down she wept, saying, Alas, my sister Polyxena, I wretched one did not think that anyone was oppressed like myself, but now I am persuaded and know that all my misfortunes and tribulations do not compare with one day of thine. And most grievous of all, behold I have been separated from thee and am again a captive, but do thou search for me even into the next world, my sister Polyxena. The old woman said to her, What ails thee, daughter, that thou weepest thus bitterly? Rebecca said, Suffer me, mother, to be distressed and to lament the great and incurable pain of my heart. The old woman greatly compassionating her wept exceedingly, for the maid had told her all that had happened to her, and how through Polyxena she had believed in Christ. So too Polyxena, shut up in the chamber, said, Woe is me, wretched one; alas for me miserable one; now I know clearly how the devil hates virginity, but O Lord Jesus Christ, God of all, since I dare not beseech thee of myself, I bring to thee the prayers of thy holy preacher Paul, that thou mayst not suffer my virginity to be destroyed by any one.

XXXVI. And as she was yet praying, the attendants came to lead her to the couch of the prefect. But Polyxena said to them, Brethren, make not haste to any. one's destruction, for this time shall quickly pass away, and they that work together with the destroyers shall perish with them. Rather assist strangers, that ye be not found strangers to the angels of God. The men, being shamed by these words, went to the prefect and said, The maid from fear is seized with a violent fever. And the prefect said, Let her alone. And, behold, the son of the prefect came to Polyxena by night, and she seeing him was afraid, but the youth said to her, Fear not, girl. I seek not to he wedded with thee as the bridegroom of destruction, for I know from thy prayer that thou art the bride of the God of heaven. I know this God who is never overcome by any one, for a certain man of glorious countenance lately in Antioch preached this God, and a certain maid, whose name was Thecla, believing him followed him, and encountered dangers on account of her beauty, of whom I have heard that she was condemned to the wild beasts. I therefore continually gazed upon the man, and he having observed

me said to me, God give heed to thee, my son. From that time therefore by the grace of Christ I have not gone into the sacrifices of idols, but sometimes feigning illness and sometimes involving myself in some business, my father said to me, Because thou hast no zeal for the sacrifices of the gods, therefore neither art thou in health, not being worthy of the gods. But I rejoiced, hearing that I was not worthy of the sacrifices to idols; and, by the grace of God, art thou come hither as a providence to me. Polyxena said, And what is the name of that man? The youth said, Paul is his name. Polyxena said, He is in my city. The youth said, Come then, girl, put on my appearance, and go down to the shore and wait me there; I having taken money will come quickly.

XXXVII. And one of the servants overhearing them told all this to the prefect, who being filled with great anger condemned them to be cast to the wild beasts. And when they were east into the arena, a fierce lioness was let loose upon them, which ran and embraced the feet of Polyxena, and licked the soles of her feet. Then the prefect and all the city, seeing this fearful and wonderful sight, gave praise and glory to the merciful God, saying, Of a truth thou art, and he, that is named by Polyxena, alone is God, for the gods of the heathen are the works of menhands, unable to save or assist any one. Let them perish now, both themselves and their makers. And the prefect straightway taking his son and Polyxena into the palace, heard from them in order the faith and religion in Christ without omission, and he and all in the city believed, and there was great joy and giving of glory to God. And Polyxena said to the prefect, Be of good cheer, my Lord, for the man of God will quickly come, who will perfectly teach, exhort, instruct, and enlighten you in the knowledge of Christ. She however prepared in all haste to depart into Spain.

XXXVIII. And as I, Onesimus, was sailing into Spain to Paul, I received from the Lord a revelation saying to me, Onesimus, the vessel in which thou now art will land in the parts of Greece, and thou wilt find on the shore of the harbour two maids and one youth. Assist them and take them to Paul. hen we reached this place according to the command of the Lord, we found the maids together with the youth seeking a vessel. When the maids saw us therefore, they knew that we were of the hope of Christ, and Polyxena running to us said, Verily the man of God cannot be concealed, for the grace and kindliness of his countenance makes him manifest. And

when we sought to sail away, the sea was troubled by the providence of God. And there was with us a disciple of Paul, by name Lucius, capable in word to teach the city. Therefore we remained seven days, and God opened to that place a great door of faith, and twenty thousand believed, and there was great joy and rejoicing in all the city. And when the season was favorable for us to sail the prefect again constrained us, and we stayed another seven days, until all believed and rejoiced in the Lord.

XXXIX. Thus now by the fore-knowledge of Christ, the prefect sent us away with supplies for the voyage, sending also his son with us. And when we had sailed twenty days, Polyxena was greatly exhausted, and we touched at a certain island for the sake of rest. And behold, certain fierce and hardened men, coming down to us and seeing Polyxena, prepared for battle; but by the grace of Christ our men defended Polyxena and vanquished them, although the strangers were more numerous and more powerful. Polyxena therefore fearing again to become a captive threw herself into the sea; but the pilot dragged her out, having suffered no harm. Then we embarked in the vessel and fled, for the places were rough and wooded, and we were afraid to remain, and in twelve days we arrived in Spain, by the grace of God.

XL. And Paul seeing us rejoiced greatly, and said, Welcome ye that have been troubled. And Polyxena, laying hold of his feet, said, It may be that this trouble came upon me because I would have blasphemed thee, but now I beseech and entreat that I may not again be delivered into such troubles and misfortunes. And Paul said, weeping, Thus must we be troubled, my daughter, that we may know our defender, Jesus Christ.

XLI. And while we were giving the letters of the brethren to Paul, one ran and told Xanthippe of the arrival of Polyxena. And she made haste and came to us, and seeing Polyxena, was overcome by an unspeakable joy and fell to the ground; but Polyxena embracing her and caressing her for a long time brought her back to life. Then Xanthippe said to her, I, my true sister Polyxena, went not forth at all for forty days, praying much for thee to the loving God, that thy virginity might not be taken away. And Paul, the preacher of God, said to me, Her virginity will not be taken away, and she will come quickly. And Probus said to me, It was assigned to her by God to be thus afflicted. Seest thou how by many devices God saves many?

But now, my beloved sister, having unexpectedly seen thy face, now I shall willingly die.

XLII. Then he who had carried her away came up again and sought for Polyxena, but the great Paul persuaded him to refrain from her, and he also believed and was baptised by Paul, as also the suitor of Polyxena believed, and there was great joy in all that city of Spain for the recovery of Polyxena. From that time forward she left not at all the blessed Paul in her fear of temptations. These things then being thus, all rejoiced in the Lord, glorifying Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, to whom is glory and power, now and ever and to all eternity. Amen.

THE NARRATIVE OF ZOSIMUS

INTRODUCTION

THE Greek text of this work is printed for the first time in the same part of "Texts and Studies" as the Acts of Xanthippe and Plyxena. The sources for it are two manuscripts -- one in Paris, belonging to the twelfth century, and the other in Oxford, dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth. The latter, however, only extends to the close of c. viii., the copy used by the scribe having been imperfect. There are versions of the work in Slavonic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic; in the former of these the Blessed Ones are called the Brachmani.

From two passages in the poems of Commodian (c. 250 A.D.) it would seem that the work was known in his day, and the canon of Nicephorus (c. 850 A.D.) places it among certain apocryphal books which are to be rejected. At the same time, it is doubtful whether, in its present form, it can be put as far back as the earlier of these dates.

It professes to be the account of a visit to the Makares, or Blessed Ones, given by a hermit, Zosimus, who was privileged to visit them. For forty years he had abstained from bread and wine and from seeing the face of man, always praying to be permitted to see the life of the Blessed. With the second chapter the narrative begins in the first person, and is continued in this up to c. xxi., just where the angels come to receive the soul of Zosimus, and the work is then finished off by one of the hermits who were present at his last moments.

While the style is inelegant and sometimes obscure, the matter of the book is very interesting, and shows considerable powers of imagination. The land of the Blessed is reached by means of camel, which comes from the desert, and then by a storm of wind, which carries Zosimus along with it. He is addressed by the river to which he comes, as well as by the wall of cloud which rises above it, and is finally lifted across it by two trees. The origin of the Blessed Ones is noteworthy, as connecting the story with early literature on the Lost Tribes. They are the descendants of Rechab in

the days of Jeremiah the prophet, who, for refusing to give up their observances, are cast into prison by the king. From this they are delivered by an angel, and brought to the place they now inhabit, -- a level land covered with flowers, -- a view of Paradise which continues all through the Middle Ages. The chapters (x.-xv.) in which the Blessed describe their life and death are of special merit, and form the best part of the whole. In striking contrast to its lofty tone is the appearance of Satan with his 1360 demons, whom Zosimus finally overcomes and drives away.

To the various accounts of the Earthly Paradise, the story of Zosimus forms an important addition; on these it may, either directly or indirectly, have had considerable influence, although the difficulty of assigning a definite date to it makes this very uncertain.

THE NARRATIVE OF ZOSIMUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED.

I. About that time there was in the desert a certain man named Zosimus, who for forty years ate no bread, and drank no wine, and saw not the face of man. This man was entreating God that he might see the way of life of the blessed, and behold an angel of the Lord was sent saying to him, Zosimus, man of God, behold I am sent by the Most High, the God of all, to tell thee that thou shalt journey to the blessed, but shalt not dwell with them. But exalt not thy heart, saying, For forty years I have not eaten bread, for the word of God is more than bread, and the spirit of God is more than wine. And as for thy saying, I have not seen the face of man, behold the face of the great king is nigh thee. Zosimus said, I know that the Lord can do whatsoever he will. The angel said to him, Know this also, that thou art not worthy of one of their delights, but arise and set out.

II. And I, Zosimus, issuing from my cave with God leading me, set out not knowing which way I went, and after I had traveled forty days my spirit grew faint and my body failed, and being exhausted I sat down, and continued praying in that place for three days. And, behold, there came a beast from the desert, whose name is the camel, and placing its knees on the ground, it received me upon its neck and went into the desert and set me down. There there was much howling of wild beasts, and gnashing of teeth, and deadly poison. And becoming afraid, I prayed to the Lord, and there came in that place a great earthquake with noise, and a storm of wind blew and lifted me from the earth, and exalted me on its wing, and I was praying and journeying till it set me upon a place beside a river, and the name of the river is Eumeles. And behold when I desired to cross the river, some one cried as if from the water, saying, Zosimus, man of God, thou canst not pass through me, for no man can divide my waters: but look up from the waters to the heaven. And looking up I saw a wall of cloud stretching from the waters to the heaven, and the cloud said, Zosimus, man of God, through me no bird passes out of this world, nor breath of wind, nor the sun itself, nor can the tempter in this world pass through me.

III. And I was astonished at these words, and at the voice that spake these things to me. And as I prayed, behold two trees sprang up out of the earth, fair and beautiful, laden with fragrant fruits. And the tree on this side bent down and received me on its top, and was lifted up exceedingly above the middle of the river, and the other tree met me and received me in its branches and bending down set me on the ground; and both trees were lifted up and set me away from the river on the other side. In that place I rested three days, and arising again I went forward, whither I knew not, and that place was filled with much fragrance, and there was no mountain on either hand, but the place was level and flowery, all crowned with garlands, and all the land beautiful.

IV. And I saw there a naked man sitting, and said in myself, Surely this is not the tempter. And I remembered the voice of the cloud that it said to me, Not even the tempter in this world passes through me. And thus taking courage I said to him, Hail, brother. And he answering said to me, The grace of my God be with thee. Again I said to him, Tell me, man of God, who thou art? He answered and said to me, Who art thou rather? And I answered and told him all concerning myself, and that I had prayed to God and he had brought me into that place. He answered and said to me, I also know that thou art a man of God, for if not, thou couldst not have passed through the cloud and the river and the air. For the breadth of the river is about thirty thousand paces, and the cloud reaches to heaven, and the depth of the river to the abyss. V. And having ended this discourse the man spoke again, Hast thou come hither out of the vanity of the world? I said to him, Wherefore art thou naked? He said, How knowest thou that I am naked? Thou wearest skins of the cattle of the earth, that decay together with thy body, but look up to the height of heaven and behold of what nature my clothing is. And looking up into heaven I saw his face as the face of an angel, and his clothing as lightning, which passes from the east to the west, and I was greatly afraid, thinking that it was the son of God, and trembled, falling upon the ground. And giving me his hand he raised me up, saying, Arise, I also am one of the blessed. Come with me, that I may lead thee to the elders. And laying hold of my hand he walked about with me and led me toward a certain crowd, and there were in that crowd elders like sons of God, and young men were standing beside the elders. And as I came near to them, they said, This man has come hither

out of the vanity of the world; come, let us beseech the Lord and he will reveal to us this mystery. Surely the end is not at hand, that the man of vanity is come hither? Then they arose and besought the Lord with one accord, and behold two angels came down from heaven and said, Fear not the man, for God has sent him, that he may remain seven days and learn your ways of life, and then he shall go forth and depart to his own place. The angels of God having said this ascended into heaven before our eyes.

VI. Then the elders of the blessed gave me over to one of the attendants, saying, Keep him for seven days. So the attendant receiving me led me to his cave, and we sat under a tree partaking of food. For from the sixth hour even to the sixth, then we ate, and the water came out from the root of the tree sweeter than honey, and we drank our fill, and again the water sank down into its place. And all the country of those there heard of me, that there had come thither a man out of the vanity of the world, and all the country was stirred up, and they came to see me because it seemed strange to them. Therefore they were asking me all things and I was answering them, and I became faint in spirit and in body, and besought the man of God that served me, and said, I beseech thee, brother, if any come to see me, tell them He is not here, so that I may rest a little. And the man of God cried out saying, Woe is me, that the story of Adam is summed up in me, for Satan deceived him through Eve, and this man by his flattery desires to make me a liar while he is here. Take me away from hence, for I shall flee from the place. For behold he wishes to sow in me seeds of the world of vanity. And all the multitude and the elders rose up against me, and said. Depart from us, man; we know not whence thou art come to us. But I lamented with great lamentation, and my senses left me. and I cried out to the elders, saying, Forgive me, my lords, and the elders stilled them and made quietness. Then I related to them all from the beginning till that time, and said, I besought the Lord to come to you, and he deemed me worthy. And the elders said, And now what wilt thou we should do to thee? I said to them, I desire to learn of you your way of life.

VII. And they rejoiced with great joy, and taking up tables of stone they wrote on them with their nails, thus, Hear, ye sons of men, hear ye us who are become blessed, that we also are of you; for when the prophet Jeremiah proclaimed that the city of Jerusalem should be delivered into the hands of the destroyers, he rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his

loins, and sprinkled dust upon his head, and took earth upon his bed, and told all the people to turn from their wicked way. And our father Rechab, the son of Aminadab, heard him and said to us, Ye sons and daughters of Rechab, hearken to your father, and put off your garments from your body, and drink no vessel of wine, and eat no bread from the fire, and drink not strong drink and honey until the Lord hear your entreaty. And we said, All that he has commanded us we shall do and hearken. So we cast away our clothing from our bodies, and we ate no bread from the fire, and drank no vessel of wine nor honey nor strong drink, and we lamented with a great lamentation and besought the Lord, and he heard our prayer and turned away his anger from the city of Jerusalem, and there came to the city of Jerusalem mercy from the Lord, and he pitied its people, and turned away his deadly anger.

VIII. And after these things the king of the city of Jerusalem died, and there arose another king. And all the people gathered to him and informed him concerning us, and said, There are certain of thy people, who have changed their way from us. Therefore the king summoned them, and asked them wherefore they had done this; and he sent for us and asked, Who are ye and of what worship and of what country? And we said to him, We are the sons of thy servant, and our father is Rechab the son of Jonadab, and when Jeremiah the prophet preached in the days of thy father the king, he proclaimed death to the city of Jerusalem, saying, Yet three days and all the city shall be put to death. And the king thy father hearing this repented of his sins, and issued a command to all to turn aside from their wicked way. And our father thy servant hearing it charged us, saying, Drink no vessel of wine, and eat no bread from the fire, until the Lord shall hear your entreaty. And we hearkened to the commandment of our father, and made naked our bodies, we drank no wine and ate no bread, and we prayed to the Lord for the city of Jerusalem, and the Lord pitied his people and turned away his anger, and we saw it and our soul was rejoiced, and we said, It is good for us to be so.

IX. And the king said to us, Ye have done well. Now therefore mingle with my people, and eat bread and drink wine, and glorify your Lord, and ye shall be serving God and the king. But we said, We will not disobey God. Then the king was enraged and set us in prison, and we passed that night there. And behold a light shone in the building, and an angel

uncovered the prison and laid hold of the crowns of our heads, and took us out of the prison, and set us beside the water of the river, and said to us, Whithersoever the water goes, go ye also. And we traveled with the water and with the angel. When therefore he had brought us to this place, the river was dried up and the water was swallowed up by the abyss, and he made a wall round this country, and there came a wall of cloud, and shadowed above the water; and he did not scatter us over all the earth, but gave to us this country.

X. Hear, ye sons of men, hear the way of life of the blessed. For God placed us in this land, for we are holy but not immortal. For the earth produces most fragrant fruit, and out of the trunks of the trees comes water sweeter than honey, and these are our food and drink. We are also praying night and day, and this is all our occupation. Hear, ye sons of men; with us there is no vine, nor ploughed field, nor works of wood or iron, nor have we any house or building, nor fire nor sword, nor iron wrought or unwrought, nor silver nor gold, nor air too heavy or too keen. Neither do any of us take to themselves wives, except for so long as to beget two children, and after they have produced two children they withdraw from each other and continue in chastity, not knowing that they were ever in the intercourse of marriage, but being in virginity as from the beginning. And the one child remains for marriage, and the other for virginity.

XI. And there is no count of time, neither weeks nor months nor years, for all our day is one day. In our caves lie the leaves of trees, and this is our couch under the trees. But we are not naked of body, as ye wrongly imagine, for we have the garment of immortality and are not ashamed of each other. At the sixth hour of every day we eat, for the fruit of the tree falls of itself at the sixth hour, and we eat and drink our fill, and again the water sinks into its place. We also know you who are there in the world, and who are in sins, and your works, for every day the angels of the Lord come and tell them to us, and the number of your years. But we pray for you to the Lord, because we also are of you and of your race, except that God has chosen us, and has set us in this place without sin. And the angels of God dwell with us every day, and tell us all things concerning you, and we rejoice with the angels over the works of the just, but over the works of sinners we mourn and lament, praying to the Lord that he may cease from his anger and spare your offenses.

XII. But when the time of the forty days comes, all the trees cease from their fruits, and the manna that he gave to our fathers rains down from heaven, and the manna is sweeter than honey. Thus we know that the season of the year is changed. But when the time of the holy passover comes, then again the trees put forth fragrant fruit, and thus we know that it is the beginning of the year. But the feast of the resurrection of the Lord is performed with much watching, for we continue watching for three days and three nights.

XIII. We know also the time of our end, for we have no torment nor disease nor pain in our bodies, nor exhaustion nor weakness, but peace and great patience and love. For our soul is not troubled by the angels to go forth, for the angels rejoice when they receive our souls, and the souls also rejoice with the angels when they behold them; as a bride receives the bridegroom, so our soul receives the announcement of the holy angels, saying nothing more than only this, he Lord calls thee. Then the sent quits the body and goes to the angels, and the angels seeing the soul coming forth spotless rejoice, and spreading out their robes receive it. Then the angels call it blessed, saying, Blessed art then, O soul, because the will of the Lord is fulfilled in thee.

XIV. The time of our life is this. If one quits the body in his youth, the days of his the here are three hundred and sixty years, and he that quits the body in old age, the days of his life here are six hundred and eighty-eight years. And the day of our completion is made known to us by the angels, and when the angels of God come to take us, we go with them, and the elders, seeing the angels, gather together all the people and we depart together with the angels, singing psalms, until the angels arrive at the place of our abode. And because we have no tools, the angels of God themselves make the grave for our body, and thus he that is called by God goes down, and all salute him from small to great, sending him on his way and bidding him farewell. Then the soul quits the body and the angels receive it, but we see the shape of the soul as a shape of light, perfect in all the body apart from the distinction of male and female.

XV. Then the angels taking it up sing a song and hymn, making melody to God, and again other troops of angels come in haste to meet them, saluting the soul that is coming and entering into the firmaments. And when it has

come to the place where it is to worship God, the son of God himself, together with the angels, receives the soul of the blessed one and bears it to the undefiled father of the ages, and again, when the angels sing above, we being below listen to them, and again we sing and they listen in heaven above, and thus between us and the angels there arises a giving of praise in hymns. But when the soul of the blessed one, falling upon its face, worships the Lord, then we also falling down worship the Lord in that same hour, and when the Lord raises it up then we also arise; and when it goes to its appointed place, we also go into the church, fulfilling the eucharist of the Lord.

Having written these things, and all the life of the blessed, we gave them to our brother Zosimus, and escorted him as far as the place of trees beside the river Eumeles.

XVI. And I, Zosimus, besought again the blessed ones to make entreaty for me to the Lord that the trees might receive me to take me across. And they all cried to the Lord and said, O God that hast shown us thy marvels and hast made thy servant Zosimus to come to us out of the world of vanity, set him again in his own place with peace, and command these trees to bow down and take up thy servant and set him on the further side. And as they finished their prayer, the trees straightway bent down before them, and received me as on the second day before; and being set on the other side of the river I cried with a loud voice and said, Men of righteousness, who are brothers of the holy angels, grant me your prayer in peace, for behold I depart from you. And making prayer they all cried out, saying, Peace, peace be with you, brother.

XVII. Then I prayed to the Lord, and there came to me a storm of wind, and received me upon its wings, and carried me to the place where it found me sitting, and left me there in peace. And raising its voice the wind said to me, Blessed art thou, Zosimus, that thou hast been numbered with the blessed. And the beast from the desert, whose name is the camel, came and received me upon its neck and carried me eighty and five stations, and set me in the place where it found me praying, and left me in peace, crying and saying, Blessed art thou, Zosimus, that thou hast been numbered with the blessed.

XVIII. But seeing me thus praised, Satan desired to tempt me and throw his dart at me from his station, but an angel of God came and said to me, Zosimus, behold Satan is coming to tempt thee, but the Lord will fight for thee, for the glory of thy faith must bind Satan. And an angel of God appeared, crying and saying, Welcome, blessed one of Christ. Come and I shall lead thee to the cave that is the dwelling-place of thy body, for thy cave shall be a testimony of the desert, a healing of the sick that come to it, a place of trial and touch-stone of demons. And laying hold of my hand he strengthened me, and led me for forty days to the cave where I had dwelt. And there was there a table of righteousness, and I spent the night with the angels of God. And I placed the tablets that were given me by the holy blessed ones on the step of the altar in my cave.

XIX. And, behold, when the angels of God ascended, the Devil came, having a fierce shape, and possessed with anger and gall, and said to me, I knew that God would do with thee as with the blessed ones, and that they shall be free from sin and be above the angels, and therefore I brought in an evil design, and entered into the vessel of the serpent, an evil-doer added to evil-doer. And by this I made the first man Adam to transgress and taste of the tree of life, since God had commanded him not to eat of it, that he might remain equal in glory to God and the holy angels; and thou again hast gone and brought this commandment, but now that they may not be without sin, I shall show thee how I shall destroy thee and all those that receive this commandment, so that they may not be without sin, and the book that thou hast brought. XX. Saying these things the Devil departed from me, and after eight days he brought with him one thousand three hundred and sixty demons, and dragged me from the cave as I prayed, and they beat me, tossing me about between them, for forty days. And after the forty days the devil lamented before me and said, Woe is me that through one man I have lost the world, for he has vanquished me by his prayer. And he began to run from me, but I laying hold of him stayed him and said, Thou shalt not run away and flee from me until thou swearest to me never again to tempt man. And lamenting with great and violent lamentation he swore to me by the firmament of heaven, So long as thy dwelling is here, and after thee, I will not come upon this place. Then I let him go, sending him and the demons with him into eternal fire. Then the

angel came, who had companied with me at the table, and led me into my cave with great glory.

XXI. After this I lived thirty-six years, and communicated the way of life of the blessed to the fathers in the desert. But the Devil wept because of the tables of the life of the blessed, saying, If this get abroad in the world, I shall be mocked, and these will remain without sin and I alone in folly. And after the completion of the thirty-six years, the angels of God came to me as to the blessed.

And all the monks were gathered together and all who heard it, and this testament was read to all of them, and in such life he gave up his soul to God.

XXII. And I, Cryseos, being one of those in the desert, spread it abroad and gave it to all that were willing to learn it and profit by it. Therefore the angels of God helped to bury the body of Zosimus as a precious gift, and we saw the soul of the blessed one shining seven times brighter than the sun. And straightway upon that place there came up seven palm-trees and overshadowed the cave. There came up also a fountain of water in that place, holy water, and unto this day a healing and salvation to all the sick that come to it. Peace be to all that have heard the memorial of the holy Zosimus; the Lord is the advocate and helper of all to the endless ages of ages. Amen.

THE EPISTLES OF CLEMENT

Reprinted from the translation given in the 1st vol. of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Completed and revised from a manuscript discovered after the publication of that volume.

BY

REV. JOHN KEITH, B.D.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

TO 1ST CLEMENT

(FROM VOL. I OF THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.)

THE first Epistle, bearing the name of Clement, has been preserved to us in a single manuscript only. Though very frequently referred to by ancient Christian writers, it remained unknown to the scholars of Western Europe until happily discovered in the Alexandrian manuscript. This MS. of the sacred Scriptures (known and generally referred to as Codex A) was presented in 1628 by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I., and is now preserved in the British Museum. Subjoined to the books of the New Testament contained in it, there are two writings described as the Epistles of one Clement. Of these, that now before us is the first. It is tolerably perfect, but there are many slight *lacunae*, or gaps, in the MS., and one whole leaf is supposed to have been lost towards the close. These *lacunae*, however, so numerous in some chapters, do not generally extend beyond a word or syllable, and can for the most part be easily supplied.

Who the Clement was to whom these writings are ascribed, cannot with absolute certainty be determined. The general opinion is, that he is the same as the person of that name referred to by St. Paul (Philippians 4:3).

The writings themselves contain no statement as to their author. The first, and by far the longer of them, simply purports to have been written in the name of the church at Rome to the church at Corinth. But in the catalogue of contents prefixed to the MS. they are both plainly attributed to one Clement; and the judgment of most scholars is, that, in regard to the first epistle at least, this statement is correct, and that it is to be regarded as an authentic production of the friend and fellow-worker of St. Paul. This belief may be traced to an early period in the history of the church. It is found in the writings of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, in. 15), of Origen (*Comm. in Joan.*, i. 29), and others. The internal evidence also tends to support this opinion. The doctrine, style, and manner of thought are all in accordance with it; so that, although, as has been said, positive certainty cannot be reached on the subject, we may with great probability conclude that we have in this epistle a composition of that Clement who is known to us from Scripture as having been an associate of the great apostle.

The date of this epistle has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is clear from the writing itself that it was composed soon after some persecution (chap. i.) which the Roman church had endured; and the only question is, whether we are to fix upon the persecution under Nero or Domitian. If the former, the date will be about the year 68; if the latter, we must place it towards the close of the first century or the beginning of the second. We possess no external aid to the settlement of this question. The lists of early Roman bishops are in hopeless confusion, some making Clement the immediate successor of St. Peter, others placing Linus, and others still Linus and Anacletus, between him and the apostle. The internal evidence, again, leaves the matter doubtful, though it has been strongly pressed on both sides. The probability seems, on the whole, to be in favor of the Domitian period, so that the epistle may be dated about A.D. 97.

This epistle was held in very great esteem by the early church. The account given of it by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, in. 16) is as follows: “There is one acknowledged epistle of this Clement (whom he has just identified with the friend of St. Paul), great and admirable, which he wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the church at Corinth, sedition having then arisen in the latter church. We are aware that this epistle has been publicly read in very many churches, both in old times and also in our own day.” The epistle before us thus appears to have been read in numerous

churches, as being almost on a level with the canonical writings. And its place in the Alexandrian MS., immediately after the inspired books, is in harmony with the position thus assigned it in the primitive church. There does indeed appear a great difference between it and the inspired writings in many respects, such as the fanciful use sometimes made of Old Testament statements, the fabulous stories which are accepted by its author, and the general diffuseness and feebleness of style by which it is distinguished. But the high tone of evangelical truth which pervades it, the simple and earnest appeals which it makes to the heart and conscience, and the anxiety which its writer so constantly shows to promote the best interests of the church of Christ, still impart an undying charm to this precious relic of later apostolic times.

ADDITIONAL INTRODUCTION.

Towards the close of 1875, at Constantinople, Philotheus Bryennius, Metropolitan of Serrae, published the first complete edition of the epistles ascribed to Clement. This he was enabled to do by the discovery of a MS. in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Fanari in Constantinople. This MS., of vellum, consists of one hundred and twenty leaves in small ocatavo, nearly seven and a half inches in length and six in breadth. The MS. bears the date 1056, and was written by one Leo. Its contents are:

1. Chrysostom’s Synopsis of the Old Testament (the New also being included in the title).

2. Epistle of Barnabas.

3. Clement to the Corinthians I.

4. Clement to the Corinthians II.

5. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

6. Ignatian Epistles.

The MS. is written with comparative accuracy and clearness. Internal evidence seems to establish its independent value; *e.g.* words carelessly omitted in the Codex Alexandrinus are found in this MS. It also supplies

the *lacunae*, notably chapters 57 (concluding sentence) -- 63 inclusive of the first Epistle and chapters 12 (concluding sentences) -- 20, being the close of the second Epistle. Harnack seems to prove that the new MS. is as complete as the original Alexandrian.

The *lacuna* of the first Epistle consists mainly of a prayer, the writer somewhat abruptly passing form the *oration obliqua* to the *oratio recta.* The prayer is indicative of intense earnestness and emotion rather than official authority. It is marked by wealth of quotation, especially from the Septuagint. Perhaps, too, the nature of the sufferings referred to in the opening chapters may be inferred from the petitions of this prayer.

In the Notes the old MS. is indicated by A, the recently discovered MS. by I.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

CHAPTER 1

THE SALUTATION. PRAISE OF THE CORINTHIANS BEFORE THE BREAKING FORTH OF SCHISM AMONG THEM

THE church of God which sojourns at Rome, to the church of God sojourning at Corinth, to them that are called and sanctified by the will of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, from Almighty God through Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

Owing, dear brethren, to the sudden and successive calamitous events which have happened to ourselves, we feel that we have been somewhat tardy in turning our attention to the points respecting which you consulted us; and especially to that shameful and detestable sedition, utterly abhorrent to the elect of God, which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally loved, has suffered grievous injury. For who ever dwelt even for a short time among you, and did not find your faith to be as fruitful of virtue as it was firmly established? Who did not admire the sobriety and moderation of your godliness in Christ? Who did not proclaim the magnificence of your habitual hospitality? And who did not rejoice over your perfect and well-grounded knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the commandments of God, being obedient to those who had the rule over you, and giving all fitting honor to the presbyters among you. Ye enjoined young men to be of a sober and serious mind, ye instructed your wives to do all things With a blameless, becoming, and pure conscience, loving their husbands as in duty bound; and ye taught them that, living in the rule of obedience, they should

manage their household affairs becomingly, and be in every respect marked by discretion.

CHAPTER 2

PRAISE OF THE CORINTHIANS CONTINUED

Moreover, ye were all distinguished by humility, and were in no respect puffed up with pride, but yielded obedience rather than extorted it, and were more willing to give than to receive. Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled with His doctrine, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did, with true earnestness of mind and a godly confidence, stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression. Day and night ye were anxious for the whole brotherhood, that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience." Ye were sincere and uncorrupted, and forgetful of injuries between one another. Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbors: their deficiencies you deemed your own. Ye never grudged any act of kindness, being "ready to every good work." Adorned by a thoroughly virtuous and religious life, ye did all things in the fear of God. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were written upon the tablets of your hearts.

CHAPTER 3

THE SAD STATE OF THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH AFTER SEDITION AROSE IN IT FROM ENVY AND EMULATION

Every kind of honor and happiness was bestowed upon you, and then was fulfilled that which is written, "My beloved did eat and drink, and was enlarged and became fat, and kicked." Hence flowed emulation and envy,

strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. So the worthless rose up against the honored, those of no reputation against such as were renowned, the foolish against the wise, the young against those advanced in years. For this reason righteousness and peace are now far departed from you, inasmuch as every one abandons the fear of God, and is become blind in His faith, neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian, but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.

CHAPTER 4

MANY EVILS HAVE ALREADY FLOWED FROM THIS SOURCE IN ANCIENT TIMES

For thus it is written: “And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God; and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect to Abel and to his offerings, but Cain and his sacrifices He did not regard. And Cain was deeply grieved, and his countenance fell. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be at peace: thine offering returns to thyself, and thou shalt again possess it. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field. And it came to pass, while they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.” Ye see, brethren, how envy and jealousy led to the murder of a brother. Through envy, also, our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother. Envy made Joseph be persecuted unto death, and to come into bondage. Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when he heard these words from his fellow-countryman, “Who made thee a judge or a ruler over us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday?” On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp. Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses. Through envy, David

not only underwent the hatred of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.

CHAPTER 5

NO LESS EVILS HAVE ARISEN PROM THE SAME SOURCE IN THE MOST RECENT TIMES. THE MARTYRDOM OF PETER AND PAUL

But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes. Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation Through envy and jealousy the greatest and most righteous pillars [of the church] have been persecuted and put to death. Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labors; and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

CHAPTER 6

CONTINUATION. SEVERAL OTHER MARTYRS

To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example. Through envy, those women, the Danaids and Dircae, being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with stedfastness, and though weak in body, received a noble reward. Envy has alienated wives from their husbands, and changed that saying of our father Adam, “This is now bone of my bones, and flesh

of my flesh." Envy and strife have overthrown great cities, and rooted up mighty nations.

CHAPTER 7

AN EXHORTATION TO REPENTANCE

These things, beloved, we write unto you, not merely to admonish you of your duty, but also to remind ourselves. For we are struggling on the same arena, and the same conflict is assigned to both of us. Wherefore let us give up vain and fruitless cares, and approach to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us attend to what is good, pleasing, and acceptable in the sight of Him who formed us. Let us look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world. Let us turn to every age that has passed, and learn that, from generation to generation, the Lord has granted a place of repentance to all such as would be converted unto Him. Noah preached repentance, and as many as listened to him were saved. Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites; but they, repenting of their sins, propitiated God by prayer, and obtained salvation, although they were aliens [to the covenant] of God.

CHAPTER 8

CONTINUATION RESPECTING REPENTANCE

The ministers of the grace of God have, by the Holy Spirit, spoken of repentance; and the Lord of all things has himself declared with an oath regarding it, "As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance;" adding, moreover, this gracious declaration, "Repent, O house of Israel, of your iniquity." Say to the children of my people, Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, and though they be redder than scarlet, and blacker than sack-cloth, yet if ye turn to me with your whole heart, and say, Father! I will listen to you, as to a holy people. And in another place He speaks thus: "Wash you and become clean; put away the wickedness of your souls from before mine eyes; cease from

your evil ways, and learn to do well; seek out judgment, deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and see that justice is done to the widow; and come, and let us reason together. He declares, Though your sins be like crimson, I will make them white as snow; though they be like scarlet, I will whiten them like wool. And if ye be willing and obey me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse, and will not hearken unto me, the sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things." Desiring, therefore, that all His beloved should be partakers of repentance, He has, by His almighty will, established [these declarations].

CHAPTER 9

EXAMPLES OF THE SAINTS

Wherefore, let us yield obedience to His excellent and glorious will; and imploring His mercy and loving-kindness, while we forsake all fruitless labors? and strife, and envy, which leads to death, let us turn and have recourse to His compassions. Let us stedfastly contemplate those who have perfectly ministered to his excellent glory. Let us take (for instance) Enoch, who, being found righteous in obedience, was translated, and death was never known to happen to him. Noah, being found faithful, preached regeneration to the world through his ministry; and the Lord saved by him the animals which, with one accord, entered into the ark.

CHAPTER 10

CONTINUATION OF THE ABOVE

Abraham, styled "the friend," was found faithful, inasmuch as he rendered obedience to the words of God. He, in the exercise of obedience, went out from his own country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, in order that, by forsaking a small territory, and a weak family, and an insignificant house, he might inherit the promises of God. For God said to him, "Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into the land which I shall show thee. And I will make thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt

be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.” And again, on his departing from Lot, God said to him, “Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, [so that] if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered.” And again [the Scripture] saith, “God brought forth Abram, and spake unto him, Look up now to heaven, and count the stars if thou be able to number them; so shall thy seed be. And Abram believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.” On account of his faith and hospitality, a son was given him in his old age; and in the exercise of obedience, he offered him as a sacrifice to God on one of the mountains which He showed him.

CHAPTER 11

CONTINUATION. LOT

On account of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodom when all the country round was punished by means of fire and brimstone, the Lord thus making it manifest that He does not forsake those that hope in Him, but gives up such as depart from Him to punishment and torture. For Lot’s wife, who went forth with him, being of a different mind from himself, and not continuing in agreement with him [as to the command which had been given them], was made an example of, so as to be a pillar of salt unto this day. This was done that all might know that those who are of a double mind, and who distrust the power of God, bring down judgment on themselves and become a sign to all succeeding generations.

CHAPTER 12

THE REWARDS OF FAITH AND HOSPITALITY. RAHAB

On account of her faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved. For when spies were sent by Joshua, the son of Nun, to Jericho, the king of

the country ascertained that they were come to spy out their land, and sent men to seize them, in order that, when taken, they might be put to death. But the hospitable Rahab receiving them, concealed them on the roof of her house under some stalks of flax. And when the men sent by the king arrived and said, “There came men unto thee who are to spy out our land; bring them forth, for so the king commands” she answered them, “The two men whom ye seek came unto me, but quickly departed again and are gone,” thus not discovering the spies to them. Then she said to the men, “I know assuredly that the Lord your God hath given you this city, for the fear and dread of you have fallen on its inhabitants. When therefore ye shall have taken it, keep ye me and the house of my father in safety.” And they said to her, “It shall be as thou hast spoken to us. As soon, therefore, as thou knowest that we are at hand, thou shalt gather all thy family under thy roof, and they shall be preserved, but all that are found outside of thy dwelling shall perish.” Moreover, they gave her a sign to this effect, that she should hang forth from her house a scarlet thread. And thus they made it manifest that redemption should flow through the blood of the Lord to all them that believe and hope in God. Ye see, beloved, that there was not only faith, but prophecy, in this woman.

CHAPTER 13

AN EXHORTATION TO HUMILITY

Let us therefore, brethren, be of humble mind, laying aside all haughtiness, and pride, and foolishness, and angry feelings; and let us act according to that which is written (for the Holy Spirit saith, “Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, neither let the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, in diligently seeking Him, and doing judgment and righteousness”), being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake teaching us meekness and long-suffering. For thus He spoke: “Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you; as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you.” By this

precept and by these rules let us stablish ourselves, that we walk with all humility in obedience to His holy words. For the holy word saith, “On whom shall I look, but on him that is meek and peaceable, and that trembleth at my words?”

CHAPTER 14

WE SHOULD OBEY GOD RATHER THAN THE AUTHORS OF SEDITION

It is right and holy therefore, men and brethren, rather to obey God than to follow those who, through pride and sedition, have become the leaders of a detestable emulation. For we shall incur no slight injury, but rather great danger, if we rashly yield ourselves to the inclinations of men who aim at exciting strife and tumults, so as to draw us away from what is good. Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator. For it is written, “The kind-hearted shall inhabit the land, and the guiltless shall be left upon it, but transgressors shall be destroyed from off the face of it.” And again [the Scripture] saith, “I saw the ungodly highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon: I passed by, and, behold, he was not; and I diligently sought his place, and could not find it. Preserve innocence, and look on equity: for there shall be a remnant to the peaceable man.

CHAPTER 15

WE MUST ADHERE TO THOSE WHO CULTIVATE PEACE, NOT TO THOSE WHO MERELY PRETEND TO DO SO

Let us cleave, therefore, to those who cultivate peace with godliness, and not to those who hypocritically profess to desire it. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.” And again: “They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart.” And again it saith, “They loved Him with their month, and lied to Him with their tongue; but their heart was not right with Him, neither were they faithful in His covenant.” “Let the deceitful lips become

silent, [and “let the Lord destroy all the lying lips,] and the boastful tongue of those who have said, Let us magnify our tongue: our lips are our own; who is Lord over us? For the oppression of the poor, and for the sighing of the needy, will I now arise, saith the Lord: I will place him in safety; I will deal confidently with him.”

CHAPTER 16

CHRIST AS AN EXAMPLE OF HUMILITY

For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of pride or arrogance, although He might have done so, but in a lowly condition, as the Holy Spirit had declared regarding Him. For He says, “Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared [our message] in His presence: He is, as it were, a child, and like a root in thirsty ground; He has no form nor glory, yea, we saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness; but His form was without eminence, yea, deficient in comparison with the [ordinary] form of men. He is a man exposed to stripes and suffering, and acquainted with the endurance of grief: for His countenance was turned away; He was despised, and not esteemed. He bears our iniquities, and is in sorrow for our sakes; yet we supposed that ion His own account] He was exposed to labor, and stripes, and affliction. But He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we were healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; [every] man has wandered in his own way; and the Lord has delivered Him up for our sins, while He in the midst of His sufferings openeth not His mouth. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away; who shall declare His generation? for His life is taken from the earth. For the transgressions of my people was He brought down to death. And I will give the wicked for His sepulchre, and the rich for His death, because He did no iniquity, neither was guile found in His mouth. And the Lord is pleased to purify him by stripes. If ye make an offering for sin, your soul

shall see a long-lived seed. And the Lord is pleased to relieve Him of the affliction of His soul, to show Him light, and to form Him with understanding, to justify the Just One who ministereth well to many; and He Himself shall carry their sins. On this account He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong; because His soul was delivered to death, and He was reckoned among the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and for their sins was He delivered." And again He saith, "I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people. All that see me have derided me; they have spoken with their lips; they have wagged their head, [saying] He hoped in God, let Him deliver Him, let Him save Him, since He delighteth in Him." Ye see, beloved, what is the example which has been given us; for if the Lord thus humbled Himself, what shall we do who have through Him come under the yoke of His grace?

CHAPTER 17

THE SAINTS AS EXAMPLES OF HUMILITY

Let us be imitators also of those who in goat-skins and sheep-skins went about proclaiming the coming of Christ; I mean Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel among the prophets, with those ethers to whom a like testimony is born [in Scripture]. Abraham was specially honored, and was called the friend of God; yet he, earnestly regarding the glory of God, humbly declared, "I am but dust and ashes." Moreover, it is thus written of Job, "Job was a righteous man, and blameless, truthful, God-fearing, and one that kept himself from all evil." But bringing an accusation against himself, he said, "No man is free from defilement, even if his life be but of one day. Moses was called faithful in all God's house; and through his instrumentality, God punished Egypt with plagues and tortures. Yet he, though thus greatly honored, did not adopt lofty language, but said, when the divine oracle came to him out of the bush, "Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am a man of a feeble voice and a slow tongue." And again he said, "I am but as the smoke of a pot."

CHAPTER 18

DAVID AS AN EXAMPLE OF HUMILITY

But what shall we say concerning David, to whom such testimony was born, and of whom God said, “I have found a man after mine own heart, David the son of Jesse; and in everlasting mercy have I anointed him?” Yet this very man saith to God, “Have mercy on me, O Lord, according to Thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy compassions, blot out my transgression. Wash me still more from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against Thee only have I sinned, and done that which is evil in Thy sight; that Thou mayest be justified in Thy sayings, and mayest overcome when Thou art judged. For, behold, I was conceived in transgressions, and in sins did my mother conceive me. For, behold, Thou hast loved truth; the secret and hidden things of wisdom hast Thou shown me. Thou shall sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; Thou shall wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear joy and gladness; my bones, which have been humbled, shall exult. Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of Thy salvation, and establish me by Thy governing Spirit. I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto Thee. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, the God of my salvation: y tongue shall exult in Thy righteousness. O Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall show forth Thy praise. For if Thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; Thou wilt not delight in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice [acceptable] to God is a bruised spirit; a broken and a contrite heart God will not despise.”

CHAPTER 19

IMITATING THESE EXAMPLES, LET US SEEK AFTER PEACE

Thus the humility and godly submission of so great and illustrious men have rendered not only us, but also all the generations before us, better; even as many as have received His oracles in fear and truth. Wherefore, having so many great and glorious examples set before us, let us turn again to the practice of that peace which from the beginning was the mark set before us; and let us look stedfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe, and cleave to His mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His long-suffering will. Let us reflect how free from the wrath He is towards all His creation.

CHAPTER 20

THE PEACE AND HARMONY OF THE UNIVERSE

The heavens, revolving under His government, are subject to Him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by Him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll on in harmony according to His command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to His will, brings forth food in abundance, at the proper seasons, for man and beast and all the living beings upon it, never hesitating, nor changing any of the ordinances which He has fixed. The unsearchable places of abysses, and the indescribable arrangements of the lower world, are restrained by the same laws. The vast unmeasurable sea, gathered together by His working into various basins, never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as He has commanded. For He said, “Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee.” The ocean, impassable to man and the worlds beyond it, are regulated by the same enactments of the Lord. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, peacefully give place to one another. The winds in their several quarters fulfil, at the proper time, their service without hindrance. The ever-flowing fountains, formed

both for enjoyment and health, furnish without fail their breasts for the life of men. The very smallest of living beings meet together in peace and concord. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while He does good to all, but most abundantly to us who have fled for refuge to His compassions through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 21

LET US OBEY GOD, AND NOT THE AUTHORS OF SEDITION

Take heed, beloved, lest His many kindnesses lead to the condemnation of us all. [For thus it must be] unless we walk worthy of Him, and with one mind do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “The Spirit of the Lord is a candle searching the secret parts of the belly.” Let us reflect how near He is, and that none of the thoughts or reasonings in which we engage are hid from Him. It is right, therefore, that we should not leave the post which His will has assigned us. Let us rather offend those men who are foolish, and inconsiderate, and lifted up, and who glory in the pride of their speech, than [offend] God. Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us esteem those who have the rule over us; let us honor the aged among us; let us train up the young men in the fear of God; let us direct our wives to that which is good. Let them exhibit the lovely habit of purity [in all their conduct]; let them show forth the sincere disposition of meekness; let them make manifest the command which they have of their tongue, by their manner of speaking; let them display their love, not by preferring one to another, but by showing equal affection to all that piously fear God. Let your children be partakers of true Christian training; let them learn of how great avail humility is with God — how much the spirit of pure affection can prevail with Him — how excellent and great His fear is, and how it saves all those who walk in it with a pure mind. For He is a Searcher of the thoughts and desires [of the heart]: His breath is in us; and when He pleases, He will take it away.

CHAPTER 22

THESE EXHORTATIONS ARE CONFIRMED BY THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, WHICH PROCLAIMS THE MISERY OF SINFUL CONDUCT

Now the faith which is in Christ confirms all these [admonitions]. For He Himself by the Holy Ghost thus addresses us: “Come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and His ears are [open] unto their prayers. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles.” “Many are the stripes [appointed for] the wicked; but mercy shall compass those about who hope in the Lord.”

CHAPTER 23

BE HUMBLE, AND BELIEVE THAT CHRIST WILL COME AGAIN

The all-merciful and beneficent Father has bowels [of compassion] towards those that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestows His favors upon those who come to Him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded; neither let our soul be lifted up on account of His exceedingly great and glorious gifts. Far from us be that which is written, “Wretched are they who are of a double mind, and of a doubting heart; who say, These things we have heard even in the times of our fathers; but, behold, we have grown old, and none of them has happened unto us;” Ye foolish ones! compare yourselves to a tree; take [for instance] the vine. First of all, it sheds its leaves, then it buds, next it puts forth leaves, and then it flowers; after that comes the sour grape, and then follows the ripened fruit. Ye perceive how in a little time the fruit of a tree comes to maturity. Of a truth, soon and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, as

the Scripture also bears witness, saying, “Speedily will He come, and will not tarry; and, “The Lord shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Holy One, for whom ye look.”

CHAPTER 24

GOD CONTINUALLY SHOWS US IN NATURE THAT THERE WILL BE A RESURRECTION

Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord continually proves to us that there shall be a future resurrection, of which He has rendered the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits by raising Him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection which is at all times taking place. Day and night declare to us a resurrection. The night sinks to sleep, and the day arises; the day [again] departs, and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits [of the earth], how the sowing of grain takes place. The sower goes forth, and casts it into the ground, and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then out of its dissolution the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raises it up again, and from one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.

CHAPTER 25

THE PHOENIX AN EMBLEM OF OUR RESURRECTION

Let us consider that wonderful sign [of the resurrection] which takes place in eastern lands, that is, in Arabia and the countries round about. There is a certain bird which is called a phoenix. This is the only one of its kind, and lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it builds itself a nest of frankincense, and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when the time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays a certain kind of worm is produced, which, being nourished by the juices of the deed bird, brings forth feathers. Then, when it has acquired strength, it takes up that nest in which are the bones of its parent, and bearing these it passes from the land of Arabia into Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. And, in open day, flying in the sight of all men, it places

them on the altar of the sun, and having done this, hastens back to its former abode. The priests then inspect the registers of the dates, and find that it has returned exactly as the five hundredth year was completed.

CHAPTER 26

WE SHALL RISE AGAIN, THEN, AS THE SCRIPTURE, ALSO TESTIFIES

Do we then deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all things to raise up again those that have piously served Him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird He shows us the mightiness of His power to fulfil His promise? For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto Thee”; and again, “I laid me down, and slept”; “I awaked, because Thou art with me; “ and again, Job says, “Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine, which has suffered all these things.”

CHAPTER 27

IN THE HOPE OF THE RESURRECTION, LET US CLEAVE TO THE OMNIPOTENT AND OMNISCIENT GOD

Having then this hope, let our souls be bound to Him who is faithful in His promises, and just in His judgments. He who has commanded us not to lie, shall much more Himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie. Let His faith therefore be stirred up again within us, and let us consider that all things are nigh unto Him. By the word of His might He established all things, and by His word He can overthrow them. “Who shall say unto Him, What hast thou done? or, Who shall resist the power of His strength?” When, and as He pleases, He will do all things, and none of the things determined by Him shall pass away. All things are open before Him, and nothing can be hidden from His counsel. “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handy-work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. And there are no words or speeches of which the voices are not heard.”

CHAPTER 28

GOD SEES ALL THINGS: THEREFORE LET US AVOID TRANSGRESSION

Since then all things are seen and heard [by God], let us fear Him, and forsake those wicked works which proceed from evil desires; so that, through His mercy, we may be protected from the judgments to come. For whither can any of us flee from His mighty hand? Or what world will receive any of those who run away from Him? For the Scripture saith in a certain place, “Whither shall I go, and where shall I be hid from Thy presence? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there; if I go away even to the uttermost parts of the earth, there is Thy right hand; if I make my bed in the abyss, there is Thy Spirit.” Whither, then, shall anyone go, or where shall he escape from Him who comprehends all things?

CHAPTER 29

LET US ALSO DRAW NEAR TO GOD IN PURITY OF HEART

Let us then draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us partakers in the blessings of His elect. For thus it is written, “When the Most High divided the nations, when He scattered the sons of Adam, He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance. And in another place [the Scripture] saith, “Behold, the Lord taketh unto Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man takes the first-fruits of his threshing-floor; and from that nation shall come forth the Most Holy.”

CHAPTER 30

LET US DO THOSE THINGS THAT PLEASE GOD, AND FLEE FROM THOSE HE HATES, THAT WE MAY BE BLESSED

Seeing, therefore, that we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do all those things which pertain to holiness, avoiding all evil-speaking, all abominable and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, seeking after change, all abominable lusts, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. “For God,” [saith the Scripture], “resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.” Let us cleave, then, to those to whom grace has been given by God. Let us clothe ourselves with concord and humility, ever exercising self-control, standing far off from all whispering and evil-speaking, being justified by our works, and not our words. For [the Scripture] saith, “He that speaketh much, shall also hear much in answer. And does he that is ready in speech deem himself righteous? Blessed is he that is born of woman, who liveth but a short time: be not given to much speaking.” Let our praise be in God, and not of ourselves; for God hateth those that commend themselves. Let testimony to our good deeds be born by others, as it was in the case of our righteous forefathers. Boldness, and arrogance, and audacity belong to those that are accursed of God; but moderation, humility, and meekness to such as are blessed by Him.

CHAPTER 31

LET US SEE BY WHAT MEANS WE MAY OBTAIN THE DIVINE BLESSING

Let us cleave then to His blessing, and consider what are the means of possessing it. Let us think over the things which have taken place from the beginning. For what reason was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac, with perfect confidence, as if knowing what was to happen, cheerfully yielded himself as a sacrifice. Jacob, through reason of his brother, went forth with humility from his own land, and came to Laban and served him; and there was given to him the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel.

CHAPTER 32

WE ARE JUSTIFIED NOT BY OUR OWN WORKS, BUT BY FAITH

Whosoever will candidly consider each particular, will recognise the greatness of the gifts which were given by him. For from him have sprung the priests and all the Levites who minister at the altar of God. From him also [was descended] our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh. From him [arose] kings, princes, and rulers of the race of Judah. Nor are his other tribes in small glory, inasmuch as God had promised, “Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.” All these, therefore, were highly honored, and made great, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness which they wrought, but through the operation of His will. And we, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not Justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 33

BUT LET US NOT GIVE UP THE PRACTICE OF GOOD WORKS AND LOVE. GOD HIMSELF IS AN EXAMPLE TO US OF GOOD WORKS

What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we become slothful in well-doing, and cease from the practice of love? God forbid that any such course should be followed by us! But rather let us hasten with all energy and readiness of mind to perform every good work. For the Creator and Lord of all Himself rejoices in His works. For by His infinitely great power He established the heavens, and by His incomprehensible wisdom He adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water which surrounds it, and fixed it upon the immovable foundation of His own will. The animals also which are upon it He commanded by His own word into existence. So likewise, when He had formed the sea, and the living creatures which are in

it, He enclosed them [within their proper bounds] by His own power. Above all? with His holy and undefiled hands He formed man, the most excellent [of His creatures], and truly great through the understanding given him — the express likeness of His own image. For thus says God: “Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness. So God made man; male and female He created theme,” Having thus finished all these things, He approved them, and blessed them, and said, “Increase and multiply.” We see, then, how all righteous men have been adorned with good works, and how the Lord Himself, adorning Himself with His works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us without delay accede to His will, and let us work the work of righteousness with our whole strength.

CHAPTER 34

GREAT IS THE REWARD OF GOOD WORKS WITH GOD. JOINED TOGETHER IN HARMONY, LET US IMPLORE THAT REWARD FROM HIM

The good servant receives the bread of his labor with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face. It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice of well-doing; for of Him are all things. And thus He forewarns us: “Behold, the Lord [cometh], and His reward is before His face, to render to every man according to his work.” He exhorts us, therefore, with our whole heart to attend to this, that we be not lazy or slothful in any

good work. Let our boasting and our confidence be in Him. Let us submit ourselves to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ever ready to minister to His will. For the Scripture saith, “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him, and cried, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole creation is full of His glory.” And let us therefore, conscientiously gathering together in harmony, cry to Him earnestly, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. For [the Scripture] saith, “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which He hath prepared for them that wait for Him.”

CHAPTER 35

IMMENSE IS THIS REWARD. HOW SHALL WE OBTAIN IT?

How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God! Life in immortality, splendor in righteousness, truth in perfect confidence, faith in assurance, self-control in holiness! And all these fall under the cognizance of our understandings [now]; what then shall those things be which are prepared for such as wait for Him? The Creator and Father of all worlds, the Most Holy, alone knows their amount and their beauty. Let us therefore earnestly strive to be found in the number of those that wait for Him, in order that we may share in His promised gifts. But how, beloved, shall this be done? If our understanding be fixed by faith towards God; if we earnestly seek the things which are pleasing and acceptable to Him; if we do the things which are in harmony with His blameless will; and if we follow the way of truth, casting away from us all unrighteousness and inquity, along with all covetousness, strife, evil practices, deceit, whispering, and evil-speaking, all hatred of God, pride and haughtiness, vain glory and ambition. For they that do such things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but also those that take pleasure in them that do them. For the Scripture saith, “But to the sinner God said, Wherefore dost thou declare my statutes, and take my covenant into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee? When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him, and didst make thy portion with adulterers. Thy month has abounded with wickedness, and thy tongue contrived deceit. Thou sittest, and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother’s son. These things thou hast done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest, wicked one, that I should be like to thyself. But I will reprove thee, and set thyself before thee. Consider now these things, ye that forget God, lest He tear you in pieces, like a lion, and there be none to deliver. The sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and a way is there by which I will show him the salvation of God.”

CHAPTER 36

ALL BLESSINGS ARE GIVEN TO US THROUGH CHRIST

This is the way, beloved, in which we find our Savior, even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity. By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold, as in a glass, His immaculate and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew towards His marvellous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge, “who, being the brightness of His majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.” For it is thus written, “Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.” But concerning His Son the Lord spoke thus: “Thou art my Son, today have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.” And again He saith to Him, “Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.” But who are His enemies? All the wicked, and those who set themselves to oppose the will of God.

CHAPTER 37

CHRIST IS OUR LEADER, AND WE HIS SOLDIERS

Let us then, men and brethren, with all energy act the part of soldiers, in accordance with His holy commandments. Let us consider those who serve under our generals, with what order, obedience, and submissiveness they perform the things which are commanded them. All are not prefects, nor commanders of a thousand, nor of a hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like, but each one in his own rank performs the things commanded by the king and the generals. The great cannot subsist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a kind of mixture in all things, and thence arises mutual advantage. Let us take our body for an example. The head is nothing without the feet, and the feet are nothing without the head; yea, the very smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the

whole body. But all work harmoniously together, and are under one common rule for the preservation of the whole body.

CHAPTER 38

LET THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH SUBMIT THEMSELVES, AND NO ONE EXALT HIMSELF ABOVE ANOTHER

Let our whole body, then, be preserved in Christ Jesus; and let every one be subject to his neighbor, according to the special gift bestowed upon him. Let the strong not despise the weak, and let the weak show respect unto the strong. Let the rich man provide for the wants of the poor; and let the poor man bless God, because He hath given him one by whom his need may be supplied. Let the wise man display his wisdom, not by [mere] words, but through good deeds. Let the humble not bear testimony to himself, but leave witness to be born to him by another. Let him that is pure in the flesh not grow proud of it, and boast, knowing that it was another who bestowed on him the gift of continence. Let us consider, then, brethren, of what matter we were made, — who and what manner of beings we came into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and from utter darkness. He who made us and fashioned us, having prepared His bountiful gifts for us before we were born, introduced us into His world. Since, therefore, we receive all these things from Him, we ought for everything to give Him thanks; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 39

THERE IS NO REASON FOR SELF-CONCEIT

Foolish and inconsiderate men, who have neither wisdom nor instruction, mock and deride us, being eager to exalt themselves in their own conceits. For what can a mortal man do, or what strength is there in one made out of the dust? For it is written, “There was no shape before mine eyes, only I heard a sound, and a voice [saying], What then? Shall a man be pure before the Lord? Or shall such an one be [counted] blameless in his deeds, seeing He does not confide in His servants, and has charged even His angels with

perversity? The heaven is not clean in His sight: how much less they that dwell in houses of clay, of which also we ourselves were made! He smote them as a moth; and from morning even until evening they endure not. Because they could furnish no assistance to themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them, and they died, because they had no wisdom. But call now, if any one will answer thee, or if thou wilt look to any of the holy angels; for wrath destroys the foolish man, and envy killeth him that is in error. I have seen the foolish taking root, but their habitation was presently consumed. Let their sons be far from safety; let them be despised before the gates of those less than themselves, and there shall be none to deliver. For what was prepared for them, the righteous shall eat; and they shall not be delivered from evil."

CHAPTER 40

LET US PRESERVE IN THE CHURCH THE ORDER APPOINTED BY GOD

These things therefore being manifest to us, and since we look into the depths of the divine knowledge, it behoves us to do all things in [their proper] order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times. He has enjoined offerings [to be presented] and service to be performed [to Him], and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours. Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things, being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him. Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times, are accepted and blessed; for inasmuch as they follow the laws of the Lord, they sin not. For his own peculiar services are assigned to the high priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen.

CHAPTER 41

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT

Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living in all good conscience, with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him. Not in every place, brethren, are the daily sacrifices offered, or the peace-offerings, or the sin-offerings and the trespass-offerings, but in Jerusalem only. And even there they are not offered in any place, but only at the altar before the temple, that which is offered being first carefully examined by the high priest and the ministers already mentioned. Those, therefore, who do anything beyond that which is agreeable to His will, are punished with death. Ye see, brethren, that the greater the knowledge that has been vouchsafed to us, the greater also is the danger to which we are exposed.

CHAPTER 42

THE ORDER OF MINISTERS IN THE CHURCH

The apostles have preached the gospel to us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ [has done so] from God. Christ therefore was sent forth by God, and the apostles by Christ. Both these appointments, then, were made in an orderly way, according to the will of God. Having therefore received their orders, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first fruits [of their labors], having first proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe. Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, “I will appoint their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.”

CHAPTER 43

MOSES OF OLD STILLED THE CONTENTION WHICH AROSE CONCERNING THE PRIESTLY DIGNITY

And what wonder is it if those in Christ who were entrusted with such a duty by God, appointed those [ministers] before mentioned, when the blessed Moses also, “a faithful servant in all his house,” noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him, and when the other prophets also followed him, bearing witness with one consent to the ordinances which he had appointed? For, when rivalry arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, each one being inscribed with the name of the tribe. And he took them and bound them [together], and sealed them with the rings of the princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness on the table of God. And having shut the doors of the tabernacle, he sealed the keys, as he had done the rods, and said to them, Men and brethren, the tribe whose rod shall blossom has God chosen to fulfil the office of the priesthood, and to minister unto Him. And when the morning was come, he assembled all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the princes of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but to bear fruit upon it. What think ye, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Undoubtedly he knew; but he acted thus, that there might be no sedition in Israel, and that the name of the true and only God might be glorified; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 44

THE ORDINANCES OF THE APOSTLES, THAT THERE MIGHT BE NO CONTENTION RESPECTING THE PRIESTLY OFFICE

Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife on account of the office of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect fore-knowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions, that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry. We are of opinion, therefore, that those appointed by them, or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole church, and who have blamelessly served the flock of Christ, in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry. For our sin will not be small, if we eject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily fulfilled its duties. Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before now, have obtained a fruitful and perfect departure [from this world]; for they have no fear lest any one deprive them of the place now appointed them. But we see that ye have removed some men of excellent behavior from the ministry, which they fulfilled blamelessly and with honor.

CHAPTER 45

IT IS THE PART OF THE WICKED TO VEX THE RIGHTEOUS

Ye are fond of contention, brethren, and full of zeal about things which do not pertain to salvation. Look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit. Observe that nothing of an unjust or counterfeit character is written in them. There you will not find that the righteous were cast off by men who themselves were holy. The righteous were indeed persecuted, but only by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but only by the unholy; they were stoned, but only by transgressors; they were slain, but only by the accursed, and such as had conceived an unrighteous envy against them. Exposed to such sufferings,

they endured them gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cast into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azarias, and Michael shut up in a furnace of fire by those who observed the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought! Who, then, were they that did such things? The hateful, and those full of all wickedness, were roused to such a pitch of fury, that they inflicted torture on those who served God with a holy and blameless purpose [of heart], not knowing that the Most High is the Defender and Protector of all such as with a pure conscience venerate His all-excellent name; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they who with confidence endured [these things] are now heirs of glory and honor, and have been exalted and made illustrious by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 46

LET US CLEAVE TO THE RIGHTEOUS: YOUR STRIFE IS PERNICIOUS

Such examples, therefore, brethren, it is right that we should follow; since it is written, “Cleave to the holy, for those that cleave to them shall [themselves] be made holy.” And again, in another place, [the Scripture] saith, “With a harmless man thou shalt prove thyself harmless, and with an elect man thou shalt be elect, and with a perverse man thou shalt show thyself perverse.” Let us cleave, therefore, to the innocent and righteous, since these are the elect of God. Why are there strifes, and tumults, and divisions, and schisms, and wars among you? Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And have we not one calling in Christ? Why do we divide and tear in pieces the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that “we are members one of another?” Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, how He said, “Woe to that man [by whom offenses come]! It were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my elect. Yea, it were better for him that a millstone should be hung about [his neck], and he should be sunk in the depths of the sea, than that

he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my little ones." Your schism has subverted [the faith of] many, has discouraged many, has given rise to doubt in many, and has caused grief to us all. And still your sedition continueth.

CHAPTER 47

YOUR RECENT DISCORD IS WORSE THAN THE FORMER WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE TIMES OF PAUL

Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he write to you at the time when the gospel first began to be preached? Truly, under the inspiration of the Spirit, he wrote to you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because even then parties had been formed among you. But that inclination for one above another entailed less guilt upon you, inasmuch as your partialities were then shown towards apostles, already of high reputation, and towards a man whom they had approved. But now reflect who those are that have perverted you, and lessened the renown of your far-famed brotherly love. It is disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, and unworthy of your Christian profession, that such a thing should be heard of as that the most stedfast and ancient church of the Corinthians should, on account of one or two persons, engage in sedition against its presbyters. And this rumor has reached not only us, but those also who are unconnected with us; so that, through your infatuation, the name of the Lord is blasphemed, while danger is also brought upon yourselves.

CHAPTER 48

LET US RETURN TO THE PRACTICE OF BROTHERLY LOVE

Let us therefore, with all haste, put an end to this [state of things]; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech Him with tears, that He would mercifully be reconciled to us, and restore us to our former seemly and holy practice of brotherly love. For [such conduct] is the gate of righteousness, which is set open for the attainment of life, as it is written,

“Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go in by them, and will praise the Lord: this is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter in by it.” Although, therefore, many gates have been set open, yet this gate of righteousness is that gate in Christ by which blessed are all they that have entered in and have directed their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder. Let a man be faithful: let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge; let him be wise in judging of words; let him be pure in all his deeds; vet the more he seems to be superior to others [in these respects], the more humble-minded ought he to be, and to seek the common good of all, and not merely his own advantage.

CHAPTER 49

THE PRAISE OF LOVE

Let him who has love in Christ keep the commandments of Christ. Who can describe the [blessed] bond of the love of God? What man is able to tell the excellence of its beauty, as it ought to be told? The height to which love exalts is unspeakable. Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins. Love beareth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing base, nothing arrogant in love. Love admits of no schisms: love gives rise to no seditions: love does all things in harmony. By love have all the elect of God been made perfect; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God. In love has the Lord taken us to Himself. On account of the love He bore us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us by the will of God; His flesh for our flesh, and His soul for our souls.

CHAPTER 50

LET US PRAY TO BE THOUGHT WORTHY OF LOVE

Ye see, beloved, how great and wonderful a thing is love, and that there is no declaring its perfection. Who is fit to be found in it, except such as God has vouchsafed to render so? Let us pray, therefore, and implore of His mercy, that we may live blameless in love, free from all human partialities for one above another. All the generations from Adam even unto this day

have passed away; but those who, through the grace of God, have been made perfect in love, now possess a place among the godly, and shall be made manifest at the revelation of the kingdom of Christ. For it is written, “Enter into thy secret chambers for a little time, until my wrath and fury pass away; and I will remember a propitious day, and will raise you up out of your graves.” Blessed are we, beloved, if we keep the commandments of God in the harmony of love; that so through love our sins may be forgiven us. For it is written, “Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not impute to him, and in whose mouth there is no guile. This blessedness cometh upon those who have been chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 51

LET THE PARTAKERS IN STRIFE ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR SINS

Let us therefore implore forgiveness for all those transgressions which through any [suggestion] of the adversary we have committed. And these who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement ought to have respect to the common hope. For such as live in fear and love would rather that they themselves than their neighbors should be involved in suffering. And they prefer to bear blame themselves, rather than that the concord which has been well and piously handed down to us should suffer. For it is better that a man should acknowledge his transgressions than that he should harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened who stirred up sedition against Moses the servant of God, and whose condemnation was made manifest [unto all]. For they went down alive into Hades, and death swallowed them up. Pharaoh with his army and all the princes of Egypt, and the chariots with their riders, were sunk in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished, for no other reason than that their foolish hearts were hardened, after so many signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God.

CHAPTER 52

SUCH A CONFESSION IS PLEASING TO GOD

The Lord, brethren, stands in need of nothing; and He desires nothing of any one except that confession be made to Him.' For, says the elect David, "I will confess unto the Lord; and that will please Him more young bullock that hath horns and than a hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad." And again he saith, "Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon me in the day of thy trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." For "the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit."

CHAPTER 53

THE LOVE OF MOSES TOWARDS HIS PEOPLE

Ye understand, beloved, ye understand well the sacred Scriptures, and ye have looked very earnestly into the oracles of God. Call then these things to your remembrance. When Moses went up into the mount, and abode there, with fasting and humiliation, forty days and forty nights, the Lord said unto him, "Moses, Moss, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt have committed iniquity. They have speedily departed from the way in which I commanded them to walk, and have made to themselves molten images." And the Lord said unto him, "I have spoken to thee once and again, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: let me destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make thee a great and wonderful nation, and one much more numerous than this." But Moses said, "Far be it from Thee, Lord: pardon the sin of this people; else blot me also out of the book of the living." O marvellous love! O insuperable perfection! The servant speaks freely to his Lord, and asks forgiveness for the people, or begs that he himself might perish along with them.

CHAPTER 54

HE WHO IS FULL OF LOVE WILL INCUR EVERY LOSS, THAT PEACE MAY BE RESTORED TO THE CHURCH

Who then among you is noble-minded? who compassionate? who full of love? Let him declare, “If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever ye desire, and I will do whatever the majority commands; only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it.” He that acts thus shall procure to himself great glory in the Lord; and every place will welcome him. For “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof. These things they who live a godly life that is never to be repented of, both have done and always will do.

CHAPTER 55

EXAMPLES OF SUCH LOVE

To bring forward some examples from among the heathen: Many kings and princes, in times of pestilence, when they had been instructed by an oracle, have given themselves up to death, in order that by their own blood they might deliver their fellow-citizens [from destruction]. Many have gone forth from their own cities, that so sedition might be brought to an end within them. We know many among ourselves who have given themselves up to bonds, in order that they might ransom others. Many, too, have surrendered themselves to slavery, that with the price which they received for themselves, they might provide food for others. Many women also, being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous manly exploits. The blessed Judith, when her city was besieged, asked of the elders permission to go forth into the camp of the strangers; and, exposing herself to danger, she went out for the love which she bare to her country and people then besieged; and the Lord delivered Holofernes into the hands of a woman. Esther also, being perfect in faith, exposed herself to no less danger, in order to deliver the twelve tribes of Israel from impending destruction. For with fasting and humiliation she entreated the everlasting

God, who seeth all things; and He, perceiving the humility of her spirit, delivered the people for whose sake she had encountered peril.

CHAPTER 56

LET US ADMONISH AND CORRECT ONE ANOTHER

Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God. For in this way they shall secure a fruitful and perfect remembrance from us, with Sympathy for them, both in our prayers to God, and our mention of them to the saints. Let us receive correction, beloved, on account of which no one should feel displeased. Those exhortations by which we admonish one another are both good [in themselves], and highly profitable, for they tend to unite us to the will of God. For thus saith the holy Word: “The Lord hath severely chastened me, yet hath not given me over to death.” “For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.” “The righteous,” saith it, “shall chasten me in mercy, and reprove me;” but let not the oil of sinners make fat my head. And again he saith, “Blessed is the man whom the Lord reproveth, and reject not thou the warning of the Almighty. For He causes sorrow, and again restores [to gladness]; He woundeth, and His hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles, yea, in the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall rescue thee from death, and in war He shall free thee from the power of the sword. From the scourge of the tongue will He hide thee, and thou shalt not fear when evil cometh. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and the wicked, and shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the field. For the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee: then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail. Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy children like the grass of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave like ripened corn which is reaped in its season, or like a heap of the threshing-floor which is gathered together at the proper time.” Ye see, beloved, that “protection is afforded to those that are chastened of the Lord; for since God is good, He corrects us, that we may be admonished” by His holy chastisement.

CHAPTER 57

LET THE AUTHORS OF SEDITION SUBMIT THEMSELVES

Ye therefore, who laid the foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves to the presbyters, and receive correction so as to repent, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside the proud and arrogant self-confidence of your tongue. For it is better for you that ye should occupy a humble but honorable place in the flock of Christ, than that, being highly exalted, ye should be cast out from the hope of His people. For thus speaketh all-virtuous Wisdom: “Behold, I will bring forth to you the words of my Spirit, and I will teach you my speech. Since I called, and ye did not hear; I held forth my words, and ye regarded not, but set at naught my counsels, and yielded not at my reproofs; therefore I too will laugh at your destruction; yea, I will rejoice when rum cometh upon you, and when sudden confusion overtakes you, when overturning presents itself like a tempest, or when tribulation and oppression fall upon you. For it shall come to pass, that when ye call upon me, I will not hear you; the wicked shall seek me, and they shall not find me. For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; nor would they listen to my counsels, but despised my reproofs. Wherefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and they shall be filled with their own ungodliness.... For, in punishment for the wrongs which they practiced upon babes, shall they be slain, and inquiry will be death to the ungodly; but he that heareth me shall rest in hope and be undisturbed by the fear of any evil.”

CHAPTER 58

SUBMISSION THE PRECURSOR OF SALVATION

Let us, therefore, flee from the warning threats pronounced by Wisdom on the disobedient, and yield submission to His all-holy and glorious name, that we may stay our trust upon the most hallowed name of His majesty. Receive our counsel, and ye shall be without repentance. For, as God liveth, and as the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost live, — both the faith and hope of the elect, he who in lowliness of mind, with instant

gentleness, and without repentance hath observed the ordinances and appointments given by God — the same shall obtain a place and name in the number of those who are being saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is glory to Him for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER 59

WARNING AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE. PRAYER

If, however, any shall disobey the words spoken by Him through us, let them know that they will involve themselves in transgression and serious danger; but we shall be innocent of this sin, and, instant in prayer and supplication, shall desire that the Creator of all preserve unbroken the computed number of His elect in the whole world through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom He called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge of the glory of His name, our hope resting on Thy name which is primal cause of every creature, — having opened the eyes of our heart to the knowledge of Thee, who alone “dost rest highest among the highest, holy among the holy,” who “layest low the insolence of the haughty,” who “destroyest the calculations of the heathen,” who “settest the low on high and bringest low the exalted;” who “makest rich and makest poor,” who “killest and makest to live,” only Benefactor of spirits and God of all flesh, who beholdest the depths, the eye-witness of human works, the help of those in danger, the Savior of those in despair, the Creator and Guardian of every spirit, who multipliest nations upon earth, and from all madest choice of those who love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst instruct, sanctify, honor us. We would have Thee, Lord, to prove our help and succor. Those of us in affliction save, on the lowly take pity; the fallen raise; upon those in need arise; the sick heal; the wandering ones of Thy people turn; fill the hungry; redeem those of us in bonds; raise up those that are weak; comfort the faint-hearted; let all the nations know that Thou art God alone and Jesus Christ Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.

CHAPTER 60

PRAYER CONTINUED

Thou didst make to appear the enduring fabric of the world by the works of Thy hand; Thou, Lord, didst create the earth on which we dwell, — Thou, who art faithful in all generations, just in judgments, wonderful in strength and majesty, with wisdom creating and with understanding fixing the things which were made, who art good among them that are being saved and faithful among them whose trust is in Thee; O merciful and Compassionate One, forgive us our iniquities and offenses and transgressions and trespasses. Reckon not every sin of Thy servants and handmaids, but Thou wilt purify us with the purification of Thy truth; and direct our steps that we may walk in holiness of heart and do what is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, make Thy face to shine upon us for good in peace, that we may be shielded by Thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by Three uplifted arm, and deliver us from those who hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and all who dwell upon the earth, even as Thou gavest to our fathers, when they called upon Thee in faith and truth, submissive as we are to Thine almighty and all-excellent Name.

CHAPTER 61

PRAYER CONTINUED — FOR RULERS AND GOVERNORS. CONCLUSION

To our rulers and governors on the earth — to them Thou, Lord, gavest the power of the kingdom by Thy glorious and ineffable might, to the end that we may know the glory and honor given to them by Thee and be subject to them, in nought resisting Thy will; to them, Lord, give health, peace, concord, stability, that they may exercise the authority given to them without offense. For Thou, O heavenly Lord and King eternal, givest to the sons of men glory and honor and power over the things that are on the earth; do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight, that, devoutly in peace and meekness

exercising the power given them by Thee, they may find Thee propitious. O Thou, who only hast power to do these things and more abundant good with us, we praise Thee through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty to Thee both now and from generation to generation and for evermore. Amen.

CHAPTER 62

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSORY — CONCERNING GODLINESS

Concerning the things pertaining to our religious observance which are most profitable for a life of goodness to those who would pursue a godly and righteous course, we have written to you, men and brethren, at sufficient length. For concerning faith and repentance and true love and continence and soberness and patience, we have touched upon every passage, putting you in mind that you ought in righteousness and truth and long-suffering to be well-pleasing to Almighty God with holiness, being of one mind — not remembering evil — in love and peace with instant gentleness, even as also our fathers forementioned found favor by the humility of their thoughts towards the Father and God and Creator and all mankind. And of these things we put you in mind with the greater pleasure, since we were well assured that we were writing to men who were faithful and of highest repute and had peered into the oracles of the instruction of God.

CHAPTER 63

HORTATORY, LETTER SENT BY SPECIAL MESSENGERS

Right is it, therefore, to approach examples so good and so many, and submit the neck and fulfil the part of obedience, in order that, undisturbed by vain sedition, we may attain unto the goal set before us in truth wholly free from blame. Joy and gladness will ye afford us, if ye become obedient to the words written by us and through the Holy Spirit root out the lawless wrath of your jealousy according to the intercession which we have made for peace and unity in this letter. We have sent men faithful and

discreet, whose conversation from youth to old age has been blameless amongst us, — the same shall be witnesses between you and us. This we have done, that ye may know that our whole concern has been and is that ye may be speedily at peace.

CHAPTER 64

BLESSINGS SOUGHT FOR ALL THAT CALL UPON GOD

May God, who seeth all things, and who is the Ruler of all spirits and the Lord of all flesh — who chose our Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a peculiar people — grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity, and sobriety, to the well-pleasing of His name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honor, both now and for evermore. Amen.

CHAPTER 65

THE CORINTHIANS ARE EXHORTED SPEEDILY TO SEND BACK WORD THAT PEACE HAS BEEN RESTORED. THE BENEDICTION

Send back speedily to us in peace and with joy these our messengers to you: Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus; that they may the sooner announce to us the peace and harmony we so earnestly desire and long for [among you], and that we may the more quickly rejoice over the good order re-established among you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all everywhere that are the called of God through Him, by whom be to Him glory, honor, power, majesty, and eternal dominion, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

(FROM VOL. VII., P. 515 OF THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.)

THE first certain reference which is made by any early writer to this so-called Epistle of Clement is found in these words of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, in. 38): “We must know that there is also a second Epistle of Clement. But we do not regard it as being equally notable with the former, since we know of none of the ancients that have made use of it.” Several critics in modern times have endeavored to vindicate the authenticity of this epistle. But it is now generally regarded as one of the many writings which have been falsely ascribed to Clement. Besides the want of external evidence, indicated even by Eusebius in the above extract, the diversity of style clearly points to a different writer from that of the first epistle. A commonly accepted opinion among critics at the present day is, that this is not an epistle at all, but a fragment of one of the many homilies falsely ascribed to Clement. There can be no doubt, however, that in the catalogue of writings contained in the Alexandrian MS. it is both styled an epistle, and, as well as the other which accompanies it, is attributed to Clement. As the MS. is certainly not later than the fifth century, the opinion referred to must by that time have taken firm root in the Church; but in the face of internal evidence, and in want of all earlier testimony, such a fact goes but a small way to establish its authenticity.

The second epistle differs from the first in several respects. The range of Scriptural quotation is wider, the quotations of the first epistle being taken mainly from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The attitude of the writer is in accordance with this fact; it is distinctively Gentile. For example, Chapter XII. contains a report of words purporting to have been spoken by the Lord; these, Clemens Alexandrinus states, are taken from the Apocryphal Gospel according to the Egyptians, not now extant. The reference in Hermas, Vision II. 4. These passages help to determine the date; for the quotation from the Apocryphal Gospel would not have been made after the four gospels of the New Testament obtained exclusive authority -- toward the close of the second century; while similarity of

idea and exposition would seem to make the second epistle and the Pastor of Hermas somewhat contemporaneous.

The conclusion of the second epistle, as in the recently discovered MS., goes to establish the speculation made before this MS. was discovered, that it is a homily to be read in churches.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

CHAPTER 1

WE OUGHT TO THINK HIGHLY OF CHRIST

BRETHREN, it is fitting that you should think of Jesus Christ as of God, — as the Judge of the living and the dead. And it does not become us to think lightly of our salvation; for if we think little of Him, we shall also hope but to obtain little [from Him]. And those of us who hear carelessly of these things, as if they were of small importance, commit sin, not knowing whence we have been called, and by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ submitted to suffer for our sakes. What return, then, shall we make to Him, or what fruit that shall be worthy of that which tie has given to us? For, indeed, how great are the benefits which we owe to Him! He has graciously given us light; as a Father, He has called us sons; He has saved us when we were ready to perish. What praise, then, shall we give to Him, or what return shall we make for the things which we have received? We were deficient in understanding, worshipping stones and wood, and gold, and silver, and brass, the works of men's hands; and our whole life was nothing else than death. Involved in blindness, and with such darkness before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped. For He had compassion on us, and mercifully saved us, observing the many errors in which we were entangled, as well as the destruction to which we were exposed, and that we had no hope of salvation except it came to us from Him. For He called us when we were not, and willed that out of nothing we should attain a real existence.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHURCH, FORMERLY BARREN, IS NOW FRUITFUL

“Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband.” In that He said, “Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not,” He referred to us, for our church was barren before that children were given to her. But when He said, “Cry out, thou that travailest not,” He means this, that we should sincerely offer up our prayers to God, and should not, like women in travail, show signs of weakness. And in that He said, “For she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband,” [He means] that our people seemed to be outcast from God, but now, through believing, have become more numerous than those who are reckoned to possess God. And another Scripture saith, “I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.” This means that those who are perishing must be saved. For it is indeed a great and admirable thing to establish not the things which are standing, but those that are falling. Thus also did Christ desire to save the things which were perishing, and has saved many by coming and calling us when hastening to destruction.

CHAPTER 3

THE DUTY OF CONFESSING CHRIST

Since, then, He has displayed so great mercy towards us, and especially in this respect, that we who are living should not offer sacrifices to gods that are dead, or pay them worship, but should attain through Him to the knowledge of the true Father, whereby shall we show that we do indeed know Him, but by not denying Him through whom this knowledge has been attained? For He himself declares, “Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father.” This, then, is our reward if we shall confess Him by whom we have been saved. But in what way shall we confess Him? By doing what He says, and not transgressing His commandments, and by honoring Him not with our lips only, but with all

our heart and all our mind. For He says in Isaiah, “This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”

CHAPTER 4

TRUE CONFESSION OF CHRIST

Let us, then, not only call Him Lord, for that will not save us. For He saith, “Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that worketh righteousness.” Wherefore, brethren, let us confess Him by our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, or speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy; but by being continent, compassionate, and good. We ought also to sympathize with one another, and not be avaricious. By such works let us confess Him, and not by those that are of an opposite kind. And it is not fitting that we should fear men, but rather God. For this reason, if we should do such [wicked] things, the Lord hath said, “Even though ye were gathered together to me in my very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.”

CHAPTER 5

THIS WORLD SHOULD BE DESPISED

Wherefore, brethren, leaving [willingly] our sojourn in this present world, let us do the will of Him that called us, and not fear to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, “Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.” And Peter answered and said unto Him, “What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?” Jesus said unto Peter, “The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear not ye them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.” And consider, brethren, that the sojourning in the flesh in this world is but brief and transient, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom to come, and of life everlasting.

By what course of conduct, then, shall we attain these things, but by leading a holy and righteous life, and by deeming these worldly things as not belonging to us, and not fixing our desires upon them? For if we desire to possess them, we fall away from the path of righteousness.

CHAPTER 6

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE WORLDS ARE ENEMIES TO EACH OTHER

Now the Lord declares, “No servant can serve two masters.” If we desire, then, to serve both God and mammon, it will be unprofitable for us. “For what will it profit if a man gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?” This world and the next are two enemies. The one urges to adultery and corruption, avarice and deceit; the other bids farewell to these things. We cannot, therefore, be the friends of both; and it behoves us, by renouncing the one, to make sure of the other. Let us reckon that it is better to hate the things present, since they are trifling, and transient, and corruptible; and to love those [which are to come,] as being good and incorruptible. For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; otherwise, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we disobey His commandments. For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, “If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity.” Now, if men so eminently righteous are not able by their righteousness to deliver their children, how can we hope to enter into the royal residence of God unless we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found possessed of works of holiness and righteousness?

CHAPTER 7

WE MUST STRIVE IN ORDER TO BE CROWNED

Wherefore, then, my brethren, let us struggle with all earnestness, knowing that the contest is [in our case] close at hand, and that many undertake long voyages to strive for a corruptible reward; yet all are not crowned, but those only that have labored hard and striven gloriously. Let us therefore

so strive, that we may all be crowned. Let us run the straight course, even the race that is incorruptible; and let us in great numbers set out for it, and strive that we may be crowned. And should we not all be able to obtain the crown, let us at least come near to it. We must remember that he who strives in the corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly, is taken away and scourged, and cast forth from the lists. What then think ye? If one does anything unseemly in the incorruptible contest, what shall he have to bear? For of those who do not preserve the seal [unbroken], [the Scripture] saith, “Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh.”

CHAPTER 8

THE NECESSITY OF REPENTANCE WHILE WE ARE ON EARTH

As long, therefore, as we are upon earth, let us practice repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer. For as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be distorted or broken in his hands, fashions it over again; but if he have before this cast it into the furnace of fire, can no longer find any help for it: so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance. For after we have gone out of the world, no further power of confessing or repenting will there belong to us. Wherefore, brethren, by doing the will of the Father, and keeping the flesh holy, and observing the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. For the Lord saith in the Gospel, “If ye have not kept that which was small, who will commit to you the great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much.” This, then, is what He means: “Keep the flesh holy and the seal undefiled, that ye may receive eternal life.”

CHAPTER 9

WE SHALL RE JUDGED IN THE FLESH

And let no one of you say that this very flesh shall not be judged, nor rise again. Consider ye in what [state] ye were saved, in what ye received sight, if not while ye were in this flesh. We must therefore preserve the flesh as the temple of God. For as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall also come [to be judged] in the flesh. As Christ the Lord who saved us, though He was first a Spirit became flesh, and thus called us, so shall we also receive the reward in this flesh. Let us therefore love one another, that we may all attain to the kingdom of God. While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God that healeth us, and give to Him a recompense. Of what sort? Repentance out of a sincere heart; for He knows all things beforehand, and is acquainted with what is in our hearts. Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that tie may accept us as sons. For the Lord has said, “Those are my brethren who do the will of my Father.”

CHAPTER 10

VICE IS TO BE FORSAKEN, AND VIRTUE FOLLOWED

Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father who called us, that we may live; and let us earnestly follow after virtue, but forsake every wicked tendency which would lead us into transgression; and flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we are diligent in doing good, peace will follow us. On this account, such men cannot find it [i.e. peace] as are influenced by human terrors, and prefer rather present enjoyment to the promise which shall afterwards be fulfilled. For they know not what torment present enjoyment recurs, or what felicity is involved in the future promise. And if, indeed, they themselves only aid such things, it would be [the more] tolerable; but now they persist in imbuing innocent souls with their pernicious doctrines, not knowing that they shall receive a double condemnation, both they and those that hear them.

CHAPTER 11

WE OUGHT TO SERVE GOD, TRUSTING IN HIS PROMISES

Let us therefore serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we do not serve Him, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be miserable. For the prophetic word also declares, “Wretched are those of a double mind, and who doubt in their heart, who say, All these things have we heard even in the times of our fathers; but though we have waited day by day, we have seen none of them [accomplished]. Ye fools! compare yourselves to a tree; take, for instance, the vine. First of all it sheds its leaves, then the bud appears; after that the sour grape, and then the fully-ripened fruit. So, likewise, my people have born disturbances and afflictions, but afterwards shall they receive their good things.” Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be of a double mind, but let us hope and endure, that we also may obtain the reward. For He is faithful who has promised that He will bestow on every one a reward according to his works. If, therefore, we shall do righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom, and shall receive the promises, which “ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man.”

CHAPTER 12

WE ARE CONSTANTLY TO LOOK FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Let us expect, therefore, hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of the appearing of God. For the Lord Himself, being asked by one when His kingdom would come, replied, “When two shall be one, that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.” Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies. And “that which is without as” that which is within meaneth this: He calls the soul “that which is within,” and the body “that which is without.” As, then, thy body is visible to sight, so also let thy soul be manifest by good works. And “the male, with the female, neither male nor

female, this He saith, that brother seeing sister may have no thought concerning her as female, and that she may have no thought concerning him as male. “If ye do these things, saith He, “the kingdom of my Father shall come.”

CHAPTER 13

GOD’S NAME NOT TO BE BLASPHEMED

Brethren, then, let us now at length repent, let us soberly turn to that which is good; for we are full of abundant folly and wickedness. Let us wipe out from us our former sins, and repenting from the heart be saved; and let us not be men-pleasers, nor be willing to please one another only, but also the men without, for righteousness sake, that the name may not be, because of us, blasphemed. For the Lord saith, “Continually my name is blasphemed among all nations,” and “Wherefore my name is blasphemed; blasphemed in what? In your not doing the things which I wish.” For the nations, hearing from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at their excellence and worth; thereafter learning that our deeds are not worthy of the words which we speak, — receiving this occasion they turn to blasphemy, saying that they are a fable and a delusion. For, whenever they hear from us that God saith, “No thank have ye, if ye love them which love you, but ye have thank, if ye love your enemies and them which hate you “ — whenever they hear these words, they marvel at the surpassing measure of their goodness; but when they see, that not only do we not love those who hate, but that we love not even those who love, they laugh us to scorn, and the name is blasphemed.

CHAPTER 14

THE CHURCH SPIRITUAL

So, then, brethren, if we do the will of our Father God, we shall be members of the first church, the spiritual, — that which was created before sun and moon; but if we shall not do the will of the Lord, we shall come under the Scripture which saith, “My house became a den of robbers.” So,

then, let us elect to belong to the church of life, that we may be saved. I think not that ye are ignorant that the living church is the body of Christ(for the Scripture, saith, “God created man male and female;” the male is Christ, the female the church,) and that the Books and the Apostles teach that the church is not of the present, but from the beginning. For it was spiritual, as was also our Jesus, and was made manifest at the end of the days in order to save us. The church being spiritual, was made manifest in the flesh of Christ, signifying to us that if any one of us shall preserve it in the flesh and corrupt it not, he shall receive it in the Holy Spirit. For this flesh is the type of the spirit; no one, therefore, having corrupted the type, will receive afterwards the antitype. Therefore is it, then, that He saith, brethren, “Preserve ye the flesh, that ye may become partakers of the spirit.” If we say that the flesh is the church and the spirit Christ, then it follows that he who shall offer outrage to the flesh is guilty of outrage on the church. Such an one, therefore, will not partake of the spirit, which is Christ. Such is the life and immortality, which this flesh may afterwards receive, the Holy Spirit cleaving to it; and no one can either express or utter what things the Lord hath prepared for His elect.

CHAPTER 15

HE WHO SAVES AND HE WHO IS SAVED

I think not that I counted trivial counsel concerning continence; following it, a man will not repent thereof, but will save both himself and me who counselled. For it is no small reward to turn back a wandering and perishing soul for its salvation. For this recompense we are able to render to the God who created us, if he who speaks and hears both speak and hear with faith and love. Let us, therefore, continue in that course in which we, righteous and holy, believed, that with confidence we may ask God who saith, “Whilst thou art still speaking, I will say, Here I am.” For these words are a token of a great promise, for the Lord saith that He is more ready to give than he who asks. So great, then, being the goodness of which we are partakers, let us not grudge one another the attainment of so great blessings. For in proportion to the pleasure with which these words are fraught to those who shall follow them, in that proportion is the

condemnation with which they are fraught to those who shall refuse to hear.

CHAPTER 16

PREPARATION FOR THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

So, then, brethren, having received no small occasion to repent, while we have opportunity, let us turn to God who called us, while yet we have One to receive us. For if we renounce these indulgences and conquer the soul by not fulfilling its wicked desires, we shall be partakers of the mercy of Jesus. Know ye that the day of judgment draweth nigh like a burning oven, and certain of the heavens and all the earth will melt, like lead melting in fire; and then will appear the hidden and manifest deeds of men. Good, then, is alms as repentance from sin; better is fasting than prayer, and alms than both; “charity covereth a multitude of sins,” and prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every one that shall be found complete in these; for alms lightens the burden of sin.

CHAPTER 17

SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

Let us, then, repent with our whole heart, that no one of us may perish amiss. For if we have commands and engage in withdrawing from idols and instructing others, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish. Rendering, therefore, mutual help, let us raise the weak also in that which is good, that all of us may be saved and convert one another and admonish. And not only now let us seem to believe and give heed, when we are admonished by the elders; but also when we take our departure home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and not be allured back by worldly lusts, but let us often and often draw near and try to make progress in the Lord’s commands, that we all having the same mind may be gathered together for life. For the Lord said, “I come to gather all nations [kindreds] and tongues.” This means the day of His appearing, when He will come and redeem us — each one according to his works. And

the unbelievers will see His glory and might, and, when they see the empire of the world in Jesus, they will be surprise, saying, “Woe to us, because Thou wast, and we knew not and believed not and obeyed not the elders who show us plainly of our salvation.” And “their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be a spectacle unto all flesh.” It is of the great day of judgment He speaks, when they shall see those among us who were guilty of ungodliness and erred in their estimate of the commands of Jesus Christ. The righteous, having succeeded both in enduring the trials and hating the indulgences of the soul, whenever they witness how those who have swerved and denied Jesus by words or deeds are punished with grievous torments in fire unquenchable, will give glory to their God and say, “There will be hope for him who has served God with his whole heart.”

CHAPTER 18

THE AUTHOR SINFUL, YET PURSUING

And let us, then, be of the number of those who give thanks, who have served God, and not of the ungodly who are judged. For I myself, though a sinner every whir and not yet fleeing temptation but continuing in the midst of the tools of the devil, study to follow after righteousness, that I may make, be it only some, approach to it, fearing the judgment to come.

CHAPTER 19

REWARD OF THE RIGHTEOUS, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY SUFFER

So then, brothers and sisters, after the God of truth I address to you an appeal that ye may give heed to the words written, that ye may save both yourselves and him who reads an address in your midst. For as a reward I ask of you repentance with the whole heart, while ye bestow upon yourselves salvation and life. For by so doing we shall set a mark for all the young who wish to be diligent in godliness and the goodness of God. And let not us, in our folly, feel displeasure and indignation, whenever any

one admonishes us and turns us from unrighteousness to righteousness. For there are some wicked deeds which we commit, and know it not, because of the double-mindedness and unbelief present in our breasts, and our understanding is darkened by vain desires. Let us, therefore, work righteousness, that we may be saved to the end. Blessed are they who obey these commandments, even if for a brief space they suffer in this world, and they will gather the imperishable fruit of the resurrection. Let not the godly man, therefore, grieve; if for the present he suffer affliction, blessed is the time that awaits him there; rising up to life again with the fathers he will rejoice for ever without a grief.

CHAPTER 20

GODLINESS, NOT GAIN, THE TRUE RICHES

But let it not even trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessed of riches and the servants of God straitened. Let us, therefore, brothers and sisters, believe; in a trial of the living God we strive and are exercised in the present life, that we may obtain the crown in that which is to come. No one of the righteous received fruit speedily, but waiteth for it. For if God tendered the reward of the righteous in a trice, straightway were it commerce that we practiced, and not godliness. For it were as if we were righteous by following after not godliness but gain; and for this reason the divine judgment baffled the spirit that is unrighteous and heavily weighed the fetter.

To the only God, invisible, Father of truth, who sent forth to us the Savior and Author of immortality, through whom He also manifested to us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE APOLOGY

OF

ARISTIDES THE PHILOSOPHER

**TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK
AND FROM THE SYRIAC VERSION**

IN

PARALLEL COLUMNS

BY

D. M. KAY, B.SC., B.D.,

Assistant To The Professor Of Semitic Languages In The University Of Edinburgh.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES

INTRODUCTION.

THE Church Histories, hitherto in dealing with early Christian literature, have given Aristides along with Quadratus the first place in the list of lost apologists. It was known that there had been such early defenders of the faith, and that Quadratus had seen persons who had been miraculously healed by Christ; but beyond this little more could be said. To Justin Martyr, who flourished about A.D. 150, belonged the honor of heading the series of apologists whose works are extant, viz., Tatian, Melito, Athenagoras, Theophilus, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, who all belonged to the second century and wrote in Greek; and Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius, who wrote in Latin, and Clement and Origen who wrote in Greek, during the third century. While Christianity was winning its way to recognition in the Roman empire, these writers tried to disprove the gross calumnies current about Christians, to enlighten rulers and magistrates as to the real character and conduct of the adherents of the new religion, and to remove the prejudice which led to the violent persecutions of the populace. They also endeavored to commend Christianity to "the cultured among its despisers," by showing that it is philosophy as well as revelation, that it can supply the answers sought by philosophy, and is unlike human wisdom in being certain because divinely revealed. At the same time they demonstrated the folly of polytheism and pointed out its disastrous effects on morality. This faithful company of the defenders of the faith has now regained Aristides as their leader in place of Justin Martyr. It will be well to recount briefly what was previously known about Aristides, and to tell how the lost Apology has been found.

Eusebius, in his History of the Church, written during the reign of Constantine, A.D. 306-337, has a chapter (bk. iv., c. 3) headed "The authors that wrote in defense of the faith in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138." After describing and quoting the Apology of Quadratus, he adds:

> "Aristides also, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, like Quadratus, has left to posterity a defense of the faith, addressed to Hadrian. This work is also preserved by a great number, even to the present day."

The same Eusebius in his *Chronicon* states that the Emperor Hadrian visited Athens in the eighth year of his reign (i.e., A.D. 125) and took part in the Eleusinian mysteries. In the same connection the historian mentions the presentation of Apologies to the Emperor by Quadratus and Aristides, "an Athenian philosopher;" and implies that Hadrian was induced by these appeals, coupled with a letter from Serenius Granianus, proconsul of Asia, to issue an Imperial rescript forbidding the punishment of Christians without careful investigation and trial.

About a century later Jerome (died A.D. 420) tells us that Aristides was a philosopher of Athens, that he retained his philosopher's garb after his conversion to Christianity, and that he presented a defense of the faith to Hadrian at the same time as Quadratus. This Apology, he says, was extant in this day, and was largely composed of the opinions of philosophers ("contextum philosophorum sententiis"), and was afterwards imitated by Justin Martyr.

After this date Aristides passes out of view. In the mediaeval martyrologies there is a faint reflection of the earlier testimony, as, e.g., the 31st of August is given as the saint's day "of the blessed Aristides, most renowned for faith and wisdom, who presented books on the Christian religion to the prince Hadrian, and most brilliantly proclaimed in the presence of the Emperor himself how that Christ Jesus is the only God."

In the seventeenth century there were rumors that the missing Apology of Aristides was to be found in various monastic libraries in Greece; and Spon, a French traveler, made a fruitless search for it. The book had apparently disappeared for ever.

But in recent times Aristides has again "swum into our ken." Armenian literature, which has done service to Christendom by preserving so many of its early documents, supplied also the first news of the recovery of Aristides. In the Mechitarite convent of St. Lazarus at Venice there is a body of Armenian monks who study Armenian and other literature. In

1878 these Armenians surprised the learned world by publishing a Latin translation of an Armenian fragment (the first two chapters) of the lost Apology of Aristides. Renan at once set it down as spurious because it contained theological terms of a later age, e.g., “bearer of God’ applied to the Virgin Mary. These terms were afterwards seen to be due to the translator. At what time the translation from Greek into Armenian was made is not apparent; but it may reasonably be connected with the work begun by the famous Armenian patriarch Mesrobes. This noble Christian invented an alphabet for his country, established schools, and sent a band of young Armenians to Edessa, Athens, and elsewhere with instructions to translate into Armenian the best sacred and classical books. And in spite of Mohammedans and Turks Armenia has remained Christian, and now restores to the world the treasures committed to its keeping in the early centuries.

Opinions as to the Armenian fragment of Aristides remained undecided till 1889. In the spring of that year Professor J. Rendel Harris, of Cambridge, had the honor of discovering a Syriac version of the whole Apology in the library of the Convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. He found the Apology of Aristides among a collection of Syriac treatises of an ethical character; and he refers the MS. to the seventh century. Professor Harris has translated the Syriac into English, and has carefully edited the Syriac text with minute discussions of every point of interest.

The recovery of the Syriac version by Professor Harris placed the genuineness of the Armenian fragment beyond question. It also led to the strange reappearance of the greater part of the original Greek. Professor J. A. Robinson, the general editor of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies,* having read the translation of the Syriac version, discovered that the Apology of Aristides is incorporated in the early Christian Romance entitled, *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat.*

Some account must be given of this remarkable book in order to show its connection with the Apology of Aristides. Its author is said to be John of Damascus, who died about A.D. 760. Whoever wrote it, the book soon became very popular. In the East it was translated into Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Hebrew; in the West there are versions of it in nearly a dozen languages, including an English metrical rendering. As early as 1204

a king of Norway had it translated into Icelandic. It is now known to be the story of Buddha in a Christian setting, furnished with fables and parables which have migrated from the far East and can be traced back to an extreme antiquity.

The outline of the story is as follows: A king in India, Abenner by name, who is an enemy of the Christians, has an only son Josaphat (or Joasaph). At his birth the astrologers predict that he will become great, but will embrace the new doctrine. To prevent this, his father surrounds the prince with young and beautiful attendants, and takes care that Josaphat shall see nothing of illness, old age, or death. At length Josaphat desires his freedom, and then follow the excursions as in the case of Buddha. Josaphat seeing so much misery possible in life is sunk in despair. In this state he is visited by a Christian hermit -- Barlaam by name. Josaphat is converted to Christianity, and Barlaam withdraws again to the desert.

To undo his son's conversion the king arranges that a public disputation shall be held; one of the king's sages, Nachor by name, is to personate Barlaam and to make a very weak statement of the Christian case, and so be easily refuted by the court orators. When the day comes, the prince Josaphat charges Nachor, the fictitious monk, to do his best on pain of torture. Thus stimulated, Nachor begins, and "like Balaam's ass he spake that which he had not purposed to speak; and he said, 'I, O king, in the providence of God,' etc." He then recites the Apology of Aristides to such purpose that he converts himself, the king, and all his people. Josaphat finally relinquishes his kingdom, and retires into the desert with the genuine Barlaam for prayer and meditation. Not only so, but the churches of the Middle Ages, forgetting the fabulous character of the story, raised Barlaam and Josaphat to the rank of saints, with a holy day in the Christian calendar. Thus the author of *Barlaam and Josaphat* caused Christianity unwittingly to do honor to the founder of Buddhism under the name of St. Josaphat; and also to read the Apology of Aristides in nearly twenty languages without suspecting what it was.

The speech of Nachor in Greek, that is to say, the greater part of the original Greek of the Apology of Aristides, has been extracted from the source by Professor Robinson and is published in *Texts and Studies,* Vol.

I., so that there is now abundant material for making an estimate of Aristides.

It may be asked whether we have in any of our three sources the actual words of Aristides. The circumstances under which the Apology was incorporated in *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat* are such as to render it unlikely that the author of the Romance should copy with the faithfulness of a scribe; but examination proves that very few modifications have been made. The Greek divides men into three races (the Syriac and Armenian into four); the introductory accounts of these races are in the Greek blended with the general discussion; and at the close the description of early Christian customs is shortened. These few differences from the Syriac are all explained by the fact that the Apology had to be adapted to the circumstances of an Indian court in a later age. On the other hand, when the Syriac is compared with the Greek and Armenian in passages where these two agree, it is found that explanatory clauses are added; and there is throughout a cumbrous redundancy of pronouns in the Syriac. In short, the actual words of Aristides may be restored with tolerable certainty -- a task which has been already accomplished by a German scholar, Lic. Edgar Hennecke. In any case we have the substance of the Apology of Aristides with almost verbal precision.

In regard to the date of Aristides, Eusebius says expressly that the Apology was presented to Hadrian while he was in Athens about the year A.D. 125. The only ground for questioning this statement is the second superscription given in the Syriac version, which implies that the Apology was presented to Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161. This heading is accepted by Professor Harris as the true one; and he assigns the Apology to “the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius; and it is at least conceivable,” he adds, “that it may have been presented to the Emperor along with other Christian writings during an unrecorded visit of his to his ancient seat of government at Smyrna.” But this requires us to suppose that Eusebius was wrong; that Jerome copied his error; that the Armenian version curiously fell into the same mistake; and that the Syriac translator is at this point exceptionally faithful. So perhaps it is better with Billius, “not to trust more in one’s own suspicions, than in Christian charity which believeth all things,” and to rest in the comfortable hypothesis that Eusebius spoke the truth.

Writing in A.D. 125, or even twenty years later, Aristides becomes an important witness as to the nature of early Christianity. His Apology contains no express quotation from Scripture; but the Emperor is referred for information to a gospel which is written. Various echoes of New Testament expressions will at once be recognized; and “the language-moulding power of Christianity” is discernible in the new meaning given to various classical words. Some topics are conspicuous by their absence. Aristides has no trace of ill-feeling to the Jews; no reference to the Logos doctrine, nor to the distinctive ideas of the Apostle Paul; he has no gnosticism or heresy to denounce, and he makes no appeal to miracle and prophecy. Christianity, in his view, is worthy of a philosophic emperor because it is eminently reasonable, and gives an impulse and power to live a good life. On the whole, Aristides represents that type of Christian practice which is found in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;* and to this he adds a simple Christian philosophy which may be compared with that of St. Paul at Athens. Although the details about the elements and the heathen gods are discussed with tedious minuteness, still his closing section describing the lives of the early Christians should always be good reading.

The translation of the Syriac given here is independently made from the Syriac text, edited by Professor Harres. Full advantage has been taken of his notes and *apparatus criticus,* but no use has been made of his translation. In obscure passages the German translation of Dr. Richard Raabe has been compared; and the *Text-Rekonstruktion* of Hennecke has been consulted on textual points in both translations. The Greek translation is made form the text edited by Professor Robinson. The translations from the Greek and from the Syriac are arranged side by side, so that their relation to one another is apparent at a glance. No attempt has been made to force the same English words from passages which are evidently meant to be identical in the two languages; but the literal tenor of each has been allowed to assert itself.

GREEK TRANSLATION THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES AS IT IS PRESERVED IN THE HISTORY OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT	SYRAIC TRANSLATION THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES THE PHILOSOPHER
I. I, O King in the providence of God came into the world; and when I had considered the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon and the rest, I marvelled at their orderly arrangement. And when I saw that the universe and all that is therein is moved by necessity, I perceived that the mover and controller is God.	ARISTIDES Here follows the defense which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the King on behalf of reverence for God. . . .All-powerful Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, venerable and merciful, from Marcianus Aristides, an Athenian philosopher. **I.** I, O King, by the grace of God came into this world; and when I had considered the heaven and the earth and the seas, and had surveyed the sun and the rest of creation, I marvelled at the beauty of the world. And I perceived that the world and all that is therein are moved by the power of another; and I understood that he who moves them is God, who is hidden in them, and veiled by them. And it is manifest that that which causes motion is more powerful than that which is moved. But that I should make search concerning this same mover of all, as to what is his nature (for

For everything which causes motion is stronger than that which is moved, and that which controls is stronger than that which is controlled.

The self-same being, then, who first established and now controls the universe — him do I affirm to be God

who is without beginning and without end,

immortal and self-sufficing, above all passions and infirmities, above

anger and forgetfulness

and ignorance and the rest.

Through Him too all things consist. He requires not sacrifice and libation nor any one of

it seems to me, he is indeed unsearchable in his nature), and that I should argue as to the constancy of his government, so as to grasp it fully, — this is a vain effort for me; for it is not possible that a man should fully comprehend it. I say, however, concerning this mover of the world, that he is God of all, who made all things for the sake of mankind. And it seems to me that this is reasonable, that one should fear God and should not oppress man.

I say, then, that God is not born, not made, an ever-abiding nature without beginning and without end, immortal, perfect, and incomprehensible. Now when I say that he is “perfect, this means that there is not in him any defect, and he is not in need of anything but all things are in need of him. And when I say that he is “without beginning,” this means that everything which has beginning has also an end, and that which has an end may be brought to an end. He has no name, for everything which has a name is kindred to things created. Form he has none, nor yet any union of members; for whatsoever possesses these is kindred to things fashioned. He is neither male nor female. The heavens do not limit him, but the heavens and all things, visible and invisible, receive their bounds from him. Adversary he has none, for there exists not any stronger than he. Wrath and indignation he possesses not, for there is

the things that appear to sense; but all men stand in need of Him.	nothing which is able to stand against him. Ignorance and forgetfulness are not in his nature, for he is altogether wisdom and understanding; and in Him stands fast all that exists. He requires not sacrifice and libation, nor even one of things visible; He requires not aught from any, but all living creatures stand in need of him.
II. Having thus spoken concerning God, so far as it was possible for me to speak of Him, let us next proceed to the human race, that we may see which of them participate in the truth and which of them in error.	**II.** Since, then, we have addressed you concerning God, so far as our discourse can bear upon him, let us now come to the race of men, that we may know which of them participate in the truth of which we have spoken, and which of them go astray from it.
For it is clear to us, O King, that there are three classes of men in this world; these being the worshippers of the gods acknowledged among you, and Jews, and Christians. Further they who pay homage to many gods are themselves divided into three classes, Chaldaeans namely, and Greeks, and Egyptians; for these have been guides and preceptors to the rest of the nations in the service and worship of these	This is clear to you, O King, that there are four classes of men in this world: — Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians. The Barbarians, indeed, trace the origin of their kind of religion from Kronos and from Rhea and their other gods; the Greeks, however, from Helenos, who is said to be sprung from Zeus. And by Helenos there were born Aiolos and Xuthos; and there were others descended from Inachos and Phoroneus, and lastly from the Egyptian Danaos and from Kadmos and from Dionysos. The Jews, again, trace the origin of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, of whom was born Jacob. And he begat twelve sons who migrated from Syria to Egypt; and there they were called the

many-titled deities.

III. Let us see then which of them participate in truth and which of them in error.

The Chaldaeans, then, not knowing God went astray after the elements and began to worship the creation more than their Creator. And of these they formed certain nation of the Hebrews, by him who made their laws; and at length they were named Jews.

The Christians, then, trace the beginning of their religion from Jesus the Messiah; and he is named the Son of God Most High. And it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin assumed and clothed himself with flesh; and the Son of God lived in a daughter of man. This is taught in the gospel, as it is called, which a short time was preached among them; and you also if you will read therein, may perceive the power which belongs to it. This Jesus, then, was born of the race of the Hebrews; and he had twelve disciples in order that the purpose of his incarnation might in time be accomplished. But he himself was pierced by the Jews, and he died and was buried; and they say that after three days he rose and ascended to heaven. Thereupon these twelve disciples went forth throughout the known parts of the world, and kept showing his greatness with all modesty and uprightness. And hence also those of the present day who believe that preaching are called Christians, and they are become famous.

So then there are, as I said above, four classes of men: — Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.

Moreover the wind is obedient to God, and fire to the angels; the waters also to

shapes and styled them a representation of the heaven and the earth and the sea, of the sun too and the moon and the other primal bodies or luminaries. And they shut them up together in shrines, and worship them, calling them gods, even though they have to guard them securely for fear they should be stolen by robbers. And they did not perceive that anything which acts as guard is greater than that which is guarded, and that he who makes is greater than that which is made. For if their gods are unfit to look after their own safety, how shall they bestow protection upon others? Great then is the error into which the Chaldaeans wandered in adoring lifeless and good-for-nothing images.

And it occurs to me as surprising, O King, how it is that their so-called philosophers have quite failed to observe that the elements themselves are

the demons and the earth to the sons of men.

III. Let us begin, then, with the Barbarians, and go on to the rest of the nations one after another, that we may see which of them hold the truth as to God and which of them hold error.

The Barbarians, then, as they did not apprehend God, went astray among the elements, and began to worship things created instead of their Creator; and for this end they made images and shut them up in shrines, and lo! they worship them, guarding them the while with much care, lest their gods be stolen by robbers. And the Barbarians did not observe that that which acts as guard is greater than that which is guarded, and that every one who creates is greater than that which is created. If it be, then, that their gods are too feeble to see to their own safety, how will they take thought for the safety of men? Great then is the error into which the Barbarians wandered in worshipping lifeless images which can do nothing to help them. And I am led to wonder, O King, at their philosophers, how that even they went astray, and gave the name of gods to images which were made in honor of the elements; and that their sages did not perceive that the elements also are dissoluble and perishable. For if a small part of an element is dissolved or destroyed, the

perishable. And if the elements are perishable and subject to necessity, how are they gods? And if the elements are not gods, how do the images made in their honor come to be gods?

IV. Let us proceed then, O King, to the elements themselves that we may show in regard to them that they are not gods, but perishable and mutable, produced out of that which did not exist at the command of the true God, who is indestructible and immutable and invisible; yet He sees all things and as He wills, modifies and changes things. What then shall I say concerning the elements?

They err who believe that the sky is a God. For we see that it revolves and moves by necessity and is compacted of many parts, being thence called the ordered universe (Kosmos). Now the universe is the construction of some

whole of it may be dissolved and destroyed. If then the elements themselves are dis solved and destroyed and forced to be subject to another that is more stubborn than they, and if they are not in their nature gods, why, for sooth, do they call the images which are made in their honor, God? Great, then, is the error which the philosophers among them have brought upon their followers.

IV. Let us turn now, O King, to the elements in themselves, that we may make clear in regard to them, that they are not gods, but a created thing, liable to ruin and change, which is of the same nature as man; whereas God is imperishable and unvarying, and invisible, while yet He sees, and overrules, and transforms all things.

Those then who believe concerning the earth that it is a God have hitherto deceived themselves, since it is furrowed and set with plants and trenched; and it takes in the filthy refuse of men and beasts and cattle. And at times it

designer; and that which has been constructed has a beginning and an end. And the sky with its luminaries moves by necessity. For the stars are carried along in array at fixed intervals from sign to sign, and, some setting, others rising, they traverse their courses in due season so as to mark off summers and winters, as it has been appointed for them by God; and obeying the inevitable necessity of their nature they transgress not their proper limits, keeping company with the heavenly order. Whence it is plain that the sky is not a God but rather a work of God.

They erred also who believed the earth to be a goddess. For we see that it is despitefully used and tyrannized over by men, and is furrowed and kneaded and becomes of no account. For if it be burned with fire, it becomes devoid of life; for nothing will grow becomes unfruitful, for if it be burnt to ashes it becomes devoid of life, for nothing germinates from an earthen jar. And besides if water be collected upon it, it is dissolved together with its products. And lo! it is trodden under foot of men and beast, and receives the blood of the slain; and it is dug open, and filled with the dead, and becomes a tomb for corpses. But it is impossible that a nature, which is holy and worthy and blessed and immortal, should allow of any one of these things. And hence it appears to us that the earth is not a God but a creation of God.

from the ashes. Besides if there fall upon it an excess of rain it dissolves away, both it and its fruits. Moreover it is trodden under foot of men and the other creatures; it is dyed with the blood of the murdered; it is dug open and filled with dead bodies and becomes a tomb for corpses. In face of all this, it is inadmissible that the earth is a goddess but rather it is a work of God for the use of men	
V. They also erred who believed the water to be a God. For it, too, has been made for the use of men, and is controlled by them; it is defiled and destroyed and suffers change on being boiled and dyed with colors; and it is congealed by the frost, and polluted with blood,	**V.** In the same way, again, those erred who believed the waters to be gods. For the waters were created for the use of man, and are put under his rule in many ways. For they suffer change and admit impurity, and are destroyed and lose their nature while they are boiled into many substances. And they take colors which do not belong. to them; they are also congealed by frost and are mingled and permeated with the filth of men and beasts, and with the blood of the slain.
and is introduced for the washing of all unclean	And being checked by skilled workmen through the restraint of aqueducts, they flow and are diverted against their inclination, and come into gardens and other places in order that they may be collected and issue forth as a means of

things. Wherefore it is impossible that water should be a God, but it is a work of God.

They also err who believe that fire is a God. For fire was made for the use of men, and it is controlled by them, being carried about from place to place for boiling and roasting all kinds of meat, and even for (the burning of) dead bodies. Moreover it is extinguished in many ways, being quenched through man's agency. So it cannot be allowed that fire is a God, but it is a work of God.

They also err who think the blowing of the winds is a goddess. For it is clear that it is under the dominion of another; and for the sake of man it has been designed by God for the transport of ships and the conveyance of grain and for man's other wants. It rises too and falls at the bidding of God, whence it is

fertility for man, and that they may cleanse away every impurity and fulfil the service man requires from them. Wherefore it is impossible that the waters should be a God, but they are a work of God and a part of the world.

In like manner also they who believed that fire is a God erred to no slight extent. For it, too, was created for the service of men, and is subject to them in many ways: — in the preparation of meats, and as a means of casting metals, and for other ends whereof your Majesty is aware. At the same time it is quenched and extinguished in many ways.

Again they also erred who believed the motion of the winds to be a God. For it is well known to us that those winds are under the dominion of another, at times their motion increases, and at times it fails and ceases at the command of him who controls them. For they were created by God for the sake of men, in order to supply the necessity of trees and fruits and seeds; and to bring over the sea ships which convey for men necessaries and goods from places where they are found to places where they are not found; and to govern the quarters of the world. And as for itself, at times it increases and again abates; and in one place brings help and in another causes disaster at the bidding of him who rules it. And mankind too are able by known

concluded that the blowing of the winds is not a goddess but only a work of God.

VI. They also err who believe the stains sun to be a God. For we see that it moves by necessity and revolves and passes from sign to sign, setting and rising so as to give warmth to plants and tender shoots for the use of man.

Besides it has its part in common with the rest of the stars, and is much smaller than the sky; it suffers eclipse of its light and is not the subject of its own laws. Wherefore it is concluded that the sun is not a God, but only a work of God. They also err who believe that the moon is a goddess. For we see that it moves by necessity and revolves and passes from sign to sign, setting and rising for the benefit of men; and it is less than the sun and waxes and wanes and has eclipses.

means to confine and keep it in check in order that it may fulfil for them the service they require from it. And of itself it has not any authority at all. And hence it is impossible that the winds should be called gods, but rather a thing made by God.

VI. So also they erred who believed that the sun is a God. For we see that it is moved by the compulsion of another, and revolves and makes its journey, and proceeds from sign to sign, rising and setting every day, so as to give warmth for the growth of plants and trees, and to bring forth into the air wherewith it (sunlight) is mingled every growing thing which is upon the earth. And to it there belongs by comparison a part in common with the rest of the stars in its course; and though it is one in its nature it is associated with many parts for the supply of the needs of men; and that not according to its own will but rather according to the will of him who rules it. And hence it is impossible that the sun should be a God, but the work of God; and in like manner also the moon and the stars.

Wherefore it is concluded that the moon is not a goddess but a work of God.

VII. They also err who believe that man is a God. For we see that he is moved by necessity, and is made to grow up, and becomes old even though he would not. And at one time he is joyous, at another he is grieved when he lacks food and drink and clothing. And we see that he is subject to anger and jealousy and desire and change of purpose and has many infirmities. He is destroyed too in many ways by means of the elements and animals, and by ever-assailing death. It cannot be admitted, then, that man is a God, but only a work of God.

Great therefore is the error into which the Chaldaeans wandered, following after their own

VII. And those who believed of the men of the past, that some of them were gods, they too were much mistaken. For as you yourself allow, O King, man is constituted of the four elements and of a soul and a spirit (and hence he is called a microcosm), and without any one of these parts he could not consist. He has a beginning and an end, and he is born and dies. But God, as I said, has none of these things in his nature, but is uncreated and imperishable. And hence it is not possible that we should set up man to be of the nature of God: — man, to whom at times when he looks for joy, there comes trouble, and when he looks for laughter there comes to him weeping, — who is wrathful and covetous and envious, with other defects as well. And he is destroyed in many ways by the elements and also by the animals.

And hence, O King, we are bound to recognize the error of the Barbarians, that thereby, since they did not find traces of the true God, they fell aside from the truth, and went after the desire of their imagination, serving the perishable elements and lifeless images, and through their error not apprehending what the true God is.

desires.

For they reverence the perishable elements and lifeless images, and do not perceive that they themselves make these things to be gods.

VIII. Let us proceed then to the Greeks, that we may see whether they have any discernment concerning God. The Greeks, indeed, though they call themselves wise proved more deluded than the Chaldaeans in alleging that many gods have come into being, some of them male, some female, practiced masters in every passion and every variety of folly. [And the Greeks themselves represented them to be adulterers and murderers, wrathful and envious and passionate, slayers of fathers and brothers, thieves and robbers, crippled and limping, workers in magic, and victims of frenzy. Some of them died (as their account

VIII. Let us turn further to the Greeks also, that we may know what opinion they hold as to the true God. The Greeks, then, because they are more subtle than the Barbarians, have gone further astray than the Barbarians; inasmuch as they have introduced many fictitious gods, and have set up some of them as males and some as females; and in that some of their gods were found who were adulterers, and did murder, and were deluded, and envious, and wrathful and passionate, and parricides, and thieves, and robbers. And some of them, they say, were crippled and limped, and some were sorcerers, and some actually went mad, and some played on lyres, and some were given to roaming on the hills, and some even died, and some were struck dead by lightning, and some were made servants even to men, and some escaped by flight, and some were kidnapped by men, and some, indeed, were lamented and deplored by men. And some, they say, went down to Sheol, and some were grievously wounded, and some transformed themselves into the likeness of animals to seduce the race of mortal women, and some polluted themselves

goes), and some were struck by thunderbolts, and became slaves to men, and were fugitives, and they mourned and lamented, and changed themselves into animals for wicked and shameful ends.]

Wherefore, O King, they are ridiculous and absurd and impious tales that the Greeks have introduced, giving the name of gods to those who are not gods, to suit their unholy desires, in order that, having them as patrons of vice, they might commit adultery and robbery and do murder and other shocking deeds. For if their gods did such deeds why should not they also do them?

So that from these misguided practices it has been the lot of mankind to have frequent wars and slaughters and bitter captivities.

by lying with males And some, they say, were wedded to their mothers and their sisters and their daughters. And they say of their gods that they committed adultery with the daughters of men; and of these there was born a certain race which also was mortal. And they say that some of the females disputed about beauty, and appeared before men for judgment. Thus, O King, have the Greeks put forward foulness, and absurdity, and folly about their gods and about themselves, in that they have called those that are of such a nature gods, who are no gods. And hence mankind have received incitements to commit adultery and fornication, and to steal and to practice all that is offensive and hated and abhorred. For if they who are called their gods practiced all these things which are written above, how much more should men practice them — men, who believe that their gods themselves practiced them. And owing to the foulness of this error there have happened to mankind harassing wars, and great famines, and bitter captivity, and complete desolation. And lo! it was by reason of this alone that they suffered and that all these things came upon them;and while they endured those things they did not perceive in their mind that for their error those things came upon them.

IX. Let us proceed further to their account of their gods that we may

IX. But, further, if we be minded to discuss their gods individually, you will see how great is the absurdity; for instance, how Kronos is brought forward by them as a God above all, and they sacrifice their own children to him. And he had many sons by Rhea, and in his madness devoured his own offspring. And they say that Zeus cut off his members and cast them into the sea, whence Aphrodite is said in fable to be engendered.

Zeus, then, having bound his own father, cast himinto Tartaros. You see the error and brutality which they advance against their God? Is it possible, then, that a God should be manacled and mutilated? What absurdity! Who with any wit would ever say so?

Next Zeus is introduced, and they say that he was carefully demonstrate all that is said above. First of all, the Greeks bring forward as a God Kronos, that is to say Chiun (Saturn). And his worshippers sacrifice their children to him, and they burn some of them alive in his honor. And they say that he took to him among his wives Rhea, and begat many children by her. By her too he begat Dios, who is called Zeus. And at length he (Kronos) went mad, and through fear of an oracle that had been made known to him, he began to devour his sons. And from him Zeus was stolen away without his knowledge; and at length Zeus bound him, and mutilated the signs of his manhood, and flung them into the sea. And hence, as they say in fable, there was engendered Aphrodite, who is called Astarte. And he (Zeus) east out Kronos fettered into darkness. Great then is the error and ignominy which the Greeks have brought forward about the first of their gods, in that they have said all this about him, O King. It is impossible that a God should be bound or mutilated; and if it be otherwise, he is indeed miserable.

And after Kronos they bring forward another God Zeus. And they say of him that he assumed the sovereignty, and was king over all the gods. And they say that he changed himself into a beast and other shapes in order to seduce mortal women, and to raise up by them children for himself. Once, they say, he changed himself into a bull through love of

king of their gods,

and that he changed himself into animals that he might debauch mortal women.

For they allege that he transformed himself into a bull for Europe, and into gold for Danae, and into a swan for Leda, and into a satyr for Antiope, and into a thunderbolt for Semele. Then by these there were many children, Dionysos and Zethus and Amphion and Herakles and Apollo and Artemis and Perseus, Kastor and Helenes and Polydeukes and Minos and Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, and the nine daughters whom they called the Muses. Then too they bring forward statements about the matter of Ganymedes.

Hence it happened, O King, to mankind to imitate all these things and to become adulterous men and lascivious women, and to be

Europe and Pasiphae. And again he changed himself into the likeness of gold through love of Danae, and to a swan through love of Leda, and to a man through love of Antiope, and to lightning through love of Luna, and so by these he begat many children. For by Antiope, they say, that he begat Zethus and Amphion, and by Luna Dionysos, by Alcmena Hercules, and by Leto, Apollo and Artemis, and by Danae Perseus, and by Leda, Castor and Polydeuces, and Helene and Paludus, and by Mnemosyne he begat nine daughters whom they styled the Muses, and by Europe, Minos and Rhadamanthos and Sarpedon. And lastly he changed himself into the likeness of an eagle through his passion for Ganydemos (Ganymede) the shepherd.

By reason of these tales, O King, much evil has arisen among men, who to this day are imitators of their gods, and practice adultery and defile themselves with their mothers and their sisters, and by lying with males, and some make bold to slay even their parents. For if he who is said to be the chief and king of their gods do these things how much more should his worshippers imitate him? And great is the folly which the Greeks have brought forward in their narrative concerning him. For it is impossible that a God should practice adultery or fornication or come near to lie with males, or kill his parents; and if

workers of other terrible iniquities, through the imitation of their God. Now

how is it possible that a God should be an adulterer or an obscene person or a parricide?

X. Along with him, too, they bring forward one Hephaistos as a God, and they say that he is lame and wields a hammer and tongs, working as a smith for his living.

Is he then badly off? But it cannot be admitted that a God should be a cripple, and besides be dependent on mankind.

Then they bring forward Hermes as a God, representing him to be lustful, and a thief, and covetous, and a magician (and maimed) and an interpreter of language. But it cannot be admitted that such an one is a God.

They also bring forward Asklepios as a God who is a doctor and prepares drugs and compounds plasters for the sake of a

it be otherwise, he is much worse than a destructive demon.

X. Again they bring forward as another God Hephaistos. And they say of him, that he is lame, and a cap is set on his head, and he holds in his hands firetongs and a hammer; and he follows the craft of iron working, that thereby he may procure the necessaries of his livelihood. Is then this God so very needy? But it cannot be that a God should be needy or lame, else he is very worthless.

And further they bring in another God and call him Hermes. And they say that he is a thief, a lover of avarice, and greedy for gain, and a magician and mutilated and an athlete, and an interpreter of language. But it is impossible that a God should be a magician or avaricious, or maimed, or craving for what is not his, or an athlete.And if it be otherwise, he is found to be useless.

And after him they bring forward as another God Asklepios. And they say that he is a physician and prepares drugs and plaster that he may supply the necessaries of his livelihood. Is then this God in want? And at length he was struck with lightning by Dios on account of Tyndareos of Lacedaemon, and so he died. If then Asklepios were a God, and, when he was struck with lightning, was unable to help himself, how should he be able to give help to others? But that a

living. For he was badly off. And afterwards he was struck, they say, with a thunderbolt by Zeus on account of Tyndareos, son of Lacedaimon; and so was killed. Now if Asklepios in spite of his divinity could not help himself when struck by lightning, how will he come to the rescue of others?

Again Ares is represented as a God, fond of strife and given to jealousy, and a lover of animals and other such things. And at last while corrupting Aphrodite, he was bound by the youthful Eros and by Hepha-istos. How then was he a God who was subject to desire, and a warrior, and a prisoner and an adulterer?

They allege that Dionysos also is a God who holds nightly revels and teaches drunkenness, and carries off the neighbors' wives, and goes mad and takes to flight. And at last he was put to death by the divine nature should be in want or be destroyed by lightning is impossible.

And again they bring forward another as a God, and they call him Ares. And they say that he is a warrior, and jealous, and covets sheep and things which are not his. And he makes gain by his arms. And they say that at length he committed adultery with Aphrodite, and was caught by the little boy Eros and by Hephaistos the husband of Aphrodite. But it is impossible that a God should be a warrior or bound or an adulterer.

And again they say of Dionysos that he forsooth! is a God, who arranges carousals by night, and teaches drunkenness, and carries off women who do not belong to him. And at length, they say, he went mad and dismissed his handmaidens and fled into the desert; and during his madness he ate serpents. And at last he was killed by Titanos. If then Dionysos were a God, and when he was being killed was unable to help himself, how is it possible that he should help others?

Herakles next they bring forward and say that he is a God, who hates detestable things, a tyrant, and warrior and a destroyer of plagues. And of him also they say that at length he became mad and killed his own children, and east himself into a fire and died. If then Herakles is a God, and in all these calamities was unable to rescue himself,

Titans. If then Dionysos could not save himself when he was being killed, and besides used to be mad, and drunk with wine, and a fugitive, how should he be a God?

They allege also that Herakles got drunk and went mad and cut the throats of his own children, then he was consumed by fire and so died. Now how should he be a God, who was drunk and a slayer of children and burned to death? or how will he come to the help of others, when he was unable to help himself?

XI. They represent Apollo also as a jealous God, and besides as the master of the bow and quiver, and sometimes of the lyre and flute, and as divining to men for pay? Can he then be very badly off? But it cannot be admitted that a God should be in want, and jealous, and a harping minstrel

They represent Artemis

how should others ask help from him? But it is impossible that a God should be mad, or drunken or a slayer of his children, or consumed by fire.

XI. And after him they bring forward another God and call him Apollon. And they say that he is jealous and inconstant, and at times he holds the bow and quiver, and again the lyre and plectron. And he utters oracles for men that he may receive rewards from them. Is then this God in need of rewards? But it is an insult that all these things should be found with a god.

And after him they bring forward as a goddess Artemis, the sister of Apollo; and they say that she was a huntress and that she herself used to carry a bow and bolts, and to roam about upon the mountains, leading the hounds to hunt stags or wild bears of the field. But it is disgraceful that a virgin maid should roam alone upon the hills or hunt in the chase for animals. Wherefore it is impossible that Artemis should be a goddess.

Again they say of Aphrodite that she indeed is a goddess. And at times she dwells with their gods, but at other times she is a neighbor to men. And once she had Ares as a lover, and again Adonis who is Tammuz. Once also,

also as his sister, who is a huntress and has a bow with a quiver; and she roams alone upon the hills with the dogs to hunt the stag or the wild boar. How then should such a woman, who hunts and roams with her dogs, be a divine being?

Even Aphrodite herself they affirm to be a goddess who is adulterous. For at one time she had Ares as a paramour, and at another time Anchises and again Adonis, whose death she also laments, feeling the want of her lover. And they say that she even went down to Hades to purchase back Adonis from Persephone. Did you ever see, O King, greater folly than this, to bring forward as a goddess one who is adulterous and given to weeping and wailing?

And they represent that Adonis is a hunter God, who came to a violent end, being wounded by a wild boar and having no

Aphrodite was wailing and weeping for the death of Tammuz, and they my that she went down to Shed that she might redeem Adonis from Persephone, who is the daughter of Shed (Hades). If then Aphrodite is a goddess and was unable to help her lover at his death, how will she find it possible to help others? And this cannot be listened to, that a divine nature should come to weeping and wailing and adultery.

And again they say of Tammuz that he is a God. And he is, forsooth! a hunter and an adulterer. And they say that he was killed by a wound from a wild boar, without being able to help himself. And if he could not help himself, how can he take thought for the human race? But that a God should be an adulterer or a hunter or should die by violence is impossible.

Again they say of Rhea that she is the mother of their gods. And they say that she had once a lover Atys, and that she used to delight in depraved men. And at last she raised a lamentation and mourned for Atys her lover. If then the mother of their gods was unable to help her lover and deliver him from death, how can she help others? So it is disgraceful that a goddess should lament and weep and take delight in depraved men.

Again they introduce Kore and say that she is a goddess, and she was stolen

power to help himself in his distress. How then will one who is adulterous and a hunter and mortal give himself any concern for mankind?

All this and much more of a like nature, and even far more disgraceful and offensive details, have the Greeks narrated, O King, concerning their gods; — details which it is not proper either to state or for a moment to remember. And hence mankind, taking an impulse from their gods, practiced all lawlessness and brutality and impiety, polluting both earth and air by their awful deeds.

XII. The Egyptians, again, being more stupid and witless than these have gone further astray than all the nations. For they were not content with the objects of worship of the Chaldaeans and the Greeks, but in addition to these brought forward also brute creatures as

away by Pluto, and could not help herself. If then she is a goddess and was unable to help herself how will she find means to help others? For a God who is stolen away is very powerless.

All this, then, O King, have the Greeks brought forward concerning their gods, and they have invented and declared it concerning them. And hence all men received an impulse to work all profanity and all defilements; and hereby the whole earth was corrupted.

XII. The Egyptians, moreover, because they are more base and stupid than every people that is on the earth, have themselves erred more than all. For the deities (or religion) of the Barbarians and the Greeks did not suffice for them, but they introduced some also of the nature of the animals, and said thereof that they were gods, and likewise of creeping things which are found on the dry land and in the waters. And of plants and herbs they said that some of them were gods. And they were corrupted by every kind of delusion and defilement more than every people that is on the earth. For from ancient times they worshipped His, and they say that she is a goddess whose husband was Osiris her brother. And when Osiris was killed by Typhon his brother, His fled with Horos her son

gods, both land and water animals, and plants and herbs; and they were defiled with all madness and brutality more deeply than all the nations on the earth.

For originally they worshipped His, who had Osiris as brother and husband. He was slain by his own brother Typhon; and therefore His with Horos her son fled for refuge to Byblus in Syria, mourning for Osiris with bitter lamentation, until Horos grew up and slew Typhon. So that neither had His power to help her own brother and husband; nor could Osiris defend himself when he was being slain by Typhon; nor did Typhon, the slayer of his brother, when he was perishing at the hands of Horos and His, find means to rescue himself from death. And though they were revealed in their true character by

to Byblus in Syria, and was there for a certain time till her son was grown. And he contended with Typhon his uncle, and killed him. And then His returned and went about with Horos her son and sought for the dead body of Osiris her Lord, bitterly lamenting his death. If then His be a goddess, and could not help Osiris her brother and Lord, how can she help another? But it is impossible that a divine nature should be afraid, and flee for safety, or should weep and wail; or else it is very miserable.

And of Osiris also they say that he is a serviceable God. And he was killed by Typhon and was unable to help himself. But it is well known that this cannot be asserted of divinity. And further, they say of his brother Typhon that he is a God, who killed his brother and was killed by his brother’s son and by his bride, being unable to help himself. And how, pray, is he a God who does not save himself?

As the Egyptians, then, were more stupid than the rest of the nations, these and such like gods did not suffice for them. Nay, but they even apply the name of gods to animals in which there is no soul at all. For some of them worship the sheep and others the calf; and some the pig and others the shad fish; and some the crocodile and the hawk and the fish and the ibis and the

such mishaps, they were believed to be very gods by the simple Egyptians, who were not satisfied even with these or the other deities of the nations, but brought forward also brute creatures as gods. For some of them worshipped the sheep, and some the goat; another tribe (worshipped) the bull and the pig; others again, the raven and the hawk, and the vulture and the eagle; and others the crocodile; and some the cat and the dog, and the wolf and the ape, and the dragon and the asp; and others the onion and the garlic and thorns and other created things. And the poor creatures do not perceive about all these that they are utterly helpless. For though they see their gods eaten by men of other tribes, and burnt as offerings andslain as victims and mouldering in decay, they have not perceived that they are not gods.

vulture and the eagle and the raven. Some of them worship the cat, and others the turbot-fish, some the dog, some the adder, and some the asp, and others the lion; and others the garlic and onions and thorns, and others the tiger and other such things. And the poor creatures do not see that all these things are nothing, although they daily witness their gods being eaten and consumed by men and also by their fellows; while some of them are cremated, and some die and decay and become dust, without their observing that they perish in many ways. So the Egyptians have not observed that such things which are not equal to their own deliverance, are not gods. And if, forsooth, they are weak in the case of their own deliverance, whence have they power to help in the case of deliverance of their worshippers? Great then is the error into which the Egyptians wandered; — greater, indeed, than that of any people which is upon the face of the earth.

XIII. But it is a marvel, O King, with regard to the Greeks, who surpass all other peoples in their manner of life and reasoning, how they have gone astray after dead idols and lifeless images. And yet they see their gods in the hands of their artificers being sawn out, and planed and docked, and hacked short,

XIII. So the Egyptians and the Chaldaeans and the Greeks made a great error in bringing forward such beings as gods, and in making images of them, and in deifying dumb and senseless idols.

And I wonder how they saw their gods sawn out and hacked and docked by the workmen, and besides aging with time and falling to pieces, and being cast from metal, and yet did not discern concerning them that they were not gods.

For when they have no power to see to their own safety, how will they take forethought for men?

But further, the poets and philosophers, alike of the Chaldaeans and the Greeks and the Egyptians, while they desired by their poems and writings to magnify the gods of their countries, rather revealed their shame, and laid it bare before all men. For if the body of man while consisting of many parts and charred, and ornamented, and being altered by them in every kind of way. And when they grow old, and are worn away through lapse of time, and when they are molten and crushed to powder, how, I wonder, did they not perceive concerning them, that they are not gods? And as for those who did not find deliverance for themselves, how can they serve the distress of men?

But even the writers and philosophers among them have wrongly alleged that the gods are such as are made in honor of God Almighty. And they err in seeking to liken (them) to God whom man has not at any time seen nor can see unto what He is like. Herein, too (they err) in asserting of deity that any such thing as deficiency can be present to it; as when they say that He receives sacrifice and requires burnt-offering and libation and immolations of men, and temples. But God is not in need, and none of these things is necessary to Him; and it is clear that men err in these things they imagine.

Further their writers and their philosophers represent and declare that the nature of all their gods is one. And they have not apprehended God our Lord who while He is one, is in all. They err therefore. For if the body of a man while it is many in its parts is not in dread, one member of another, but, since it is a united body, wholly agrees with

does not cast off any of its own members, but preserving an unbroken unity in all its members, is harmonious with itself, how shall variance and discord be so great in the nature of God?

For if there had been a unity of nature among the gods, then one God ought not to have pursued or slain or injured another. And if the gods were pursued by gods, and slain, and kidnapped and struck with lightning by them, then there is no longer any unity of nature, but divided counsels, all mischievous. So that not one of them is a God. It is clear then, O King, that all their discourse on the nature of the gods is an error.

But how did the wise and erudite men of the Greeks not observe that inasmuch as they make laws for themselves they are judged by their own laws? For if the laws are righteous, their gods are altogether unrighteous, as

itself; even so also God is one in His nature. A single essence is proper to Him, since He is uniform in His nature and His essence; and He is not afraid

of Himself. If then the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that a God should either pursue or slay or harm a God. If then gods be pursued and wounded by gods, and some be kidnapped and some struck dead by lightning, it is obvious that the nature of their gods is not one. And hence it is known, O King, that it is a mistake when they reckon and bring the natures of their gods under a single nature. If then it becomes us to admire a God which is seen and does not see, how much more praiseworthy is it that one should believe in a nature which is invisible and all-seeing? And if further it is fitting that one should approve the handiworks of a craftsman, how much more is it fitting that one should glorify the Creator of the craftsman?

For behold! when the Greeks made laws they did not perceive that by their laws they condemn their gods. For if their laws are righteous, their gods are unrighteous, since they transgressed the law in killing one another, and practicing sorcery, and committing adultery, and in robbing and stealing, and in lying with males, and by their other practices as well. For if their gods were right in doing all these things as they are described,

they have committed transgressions of laws, in slaying one another, and practicing sorceries, and adultery and thefts and intercourse with males. If they were right in doing these things, then the laws are unrighteous, being framed contrary to the gods. Whereas in fact, the laws are good and just, commending what is good and forbidding what is bad. But the deeds of their gods are contrary to law. Their gods, therefore, are lawbreakers, and all liable to the punishment of death; and they are impious men who introduce such gods. For if the stories about them be mythical, the gods are nothing more than mere names; and if the stories be founded on nature, still they who did and suffered these things are no longer gods; and if the stories be allegorical, they are myths and nothing more.

It has been shown then, O King, that all these

then the laws of the Greeks are unrighteous in not being made according to the will of their gods. And in that case the whole world is gone astray.

For the narratives about their gods are some of them myths, and some of them nature-poems (lit: natural — φυσικαί), and some of them hymns and elegies. The hymns indeed and elegies are empty words and noise. But these nature-poems, even if they be made as they say, still those are not gods who do such things and suffer and endure such things. And those myths are shallow tales with no depth whatever in them.

polytheistic objects of worship are the works of error and perdition. For it is not right to give the name of gods to beings which may be seen but cannot see; but one ought to reverence the invisible and all-seeing and all-creating God.

XIV. Let us proceed then, O King, to the Jews also, that we may see what truth there is in their view of God. For they were descendants of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and migrated to Egypt. And thence God brought them forth with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm through Moses, their lawgiver; and by many wonders and signs He made known His power to them. But even they proved stubborn and ungrateful, and often served the idols of the nations, and put to death the prophets and just men who were sent to them. Then when the Son of God was pleased to come upon the earth,

XIV. Let us come now, O King, to the history of the Jews also, and see what opinion they have as to God. The Jews then say that God is one, the Creator of all, and omnipotent; and that it is not right that any other should be worshipped except this God alone. And herein they appear to approach the truth more than all the nations, especially in that they worship God and not His works. And they imitate God by the philanthropy which prevails among them; for they have compassion on the poor, and they release the captives, and bury the dead, and do such things as these, which are acceptable before God and well-pleasing also to men, — which (customs) they have received from their forefathers.

Nevertheless they too erred from true knowledge. And in their imagination they conceive that it is God they serve; whereas by their mode of observance it is to the angels and not to God that their service is rendered: — as when they celebrate sabbaths and the beginning of the months, and feasts of unleavened bread, and a great fast; and fasting and circumcision and the purification of meats, which things, however, they do not observe perfectly.

they received him with wanton violence and betrayed him into the hands of Pilate the Roman governor; and paying no respect to his good deeds and the countless miracles he wrought among them, they demanded a sentence of death by the cross. And they perished by their own transgression; for to this day they worship the one God Almighty, but not according to knowledge. For they deny that Christ is the Son of God; and they are much like to the heathen, even although they may seem to make some approach to the truth from which they have removed themselves. So much for the Jews.

XV. Now the Christians trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the son of the most high God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men. And

XV. But the Christians, O King, while they went about and made search, have found the truth; and as we learned from their writings, they have come nearer to truth and genuine knowledge than the rest of the nations. For they know and trust in God, the Creator of heaven and of earth, in whom and from whom are all things, to whom there is no other God as companion, from whom they received commandments which they engraved upon their minds and observe in hope and expectation of the world which is to come. Wherefore they do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honor father and mother, and show kindness to those near to them; and whenever they are judges, they

being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh and revealed himself among men that He might recall them to Himself from their wander-lug after many gods. And having accomplished His wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again and ascended into heaven. And if you would read, O King, you may judge the glory of His presence from the holy gospel writing, as it is called among themselves. He had twelve disciples, who after His ascension to heaven went forth into the provinces of the whole world, and declared His greatness. As for instance, one of them traversed the countries about us, proclaiming the doctrine of the truth. From this it is, that they who still observe the righteousness enjoined by their

judge uprightly. They do not worship idols (made) in the image of man; and whatsoever they would not that others should do unto them, they do not to others; and of the food which is consecrated to idols they do not eat, for they are pure. And their oppressors they appease (lit: comfort) and make them their friends; they do good to their enemies; and their women, O King, are pure as virgins, and their daughters are modest; and their men keep themselves from every unlawful union and from all uncleanness, in the hope of a recompense to come in the other world. Further, if one or other of them have bondmen and bondwomen or children, through love towards them they persuade them to become Christians, and when they have done so, they call them brethren without distinction. They do not worship strange gods, and they go their way in all modesty and cheerfulness. Falsehood is not found among them; and they love one another, and from widows they do not turn away their esteem; and they deliver the orphan from him who treats him harshly. And he, who has, gives to him who has not, without

preaching are called Christians.

And these are they who more than all the nations on the earth have found the truth. For they know God, the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit; and beside Him they worship no other God. They have the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself graven upon their hearts; and they observe them, looking forward to the resurrection of the dead and life in the world to come. They do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor covet the things of others; they honor father and mother, and love their neighbors; they judge justly, and they never do to others what they would not wish to happen to themselves; they appeal to those who injure them, and try to win them as friends; they are eager to boasting. And when they see a stranger, they take him in to their homes and rejoice over him as a very brother; for they do not call them brethren after the flesh, but brethren after the spirit and in God. And whenever one of their poor passes from the world, each one of them according to his ability gives heed to him and carefully sees to his burial. And if they hear that one of their number is imprisoned or afflicted on account of the name of their Messiah, all of them anxiously minister to his necessity, and if it is possible to redeem him they set him free. And if there is among them any that is poor and needy, and if they have no spare food, they fast two or three days in order to supply to the needy their lack of food. They observe the precepts of their Messiah with much care, living justly and soberly as the Lord their God commanded them. Every morning and every hour they give thanks and praise to God for His loving-kindnesses toward them; and for their food and their drink they offer thanksgiving to Him. And if any righteous man among them passes from the world, they rejoice and offer thanks to God; and they escort his body as if he were setting out from one place to another near. And when a child has been born to one of them, they give thanks to God; and if moreover it happen to die in childhood, they give thanks to God the

do good to their enemies; they are gentle and easy to be entreated; they abstain from all unlawful conversation and from all impurity; they despise not the widow, nor oppress the orphan; and he that has, gives ungrudgingly for the maintenance of him who has not.

If they see a stranger, they take him under their roof, and rejoice over him as over a very brother; for they call themselves brethren not after the flesh but after the spirit.

And they are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ; for they observe His commands without swerving, and live holy and just lives, as the Lord God enjoined upon them.

And they give thanks unto Him every hour, for all meat and drink and other blessings.

XVI. Verily then, this is the way of the truth which leads those who

more, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And further if they see that any one of them dies in his ungodliness or in his sins, for him they grieve bitterly, and sorrow as for one who goes to meet his doom.

XVI. Such, O King, is the commandment of the law of the Christians, and such is their manner of life. As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are fitting for Him to grant and for them to receive. And thus they employ their whole lifetime. And since they know the loving-kindnesses of God toward them, behold! for their sake the glorious things which are in the world flow forth to view. And verily, they are those who found the truth when they went about and made search for it; and from what we considered, we learned that they alone come near to a knowledge of the truth. And they do not proclaim in the

travel therein to the everlasting kingdom promised through Christ in the life to come. And that you may know, O King, that in saying these things I do not speak at my own instance, if you deign to look into the writings of the Christians, you will find that I state nothing beyond the truth. Rightly then, did thy son apprehend, and justly wins he taught to serve the living God and to be saved for the age that is destined to come upon us. For great and wonderful are the sayings and deeds of the Christians; for they speak not the words of men but those of God. But the rest of the nations go astray and decieve themselves; for they walk in darkness and bruise themselves like drunken men.

ears of the multitude the kind deeds they do, but are careful that no one should notice them; and they conceal their giving just as he who finds a treasure and conceals it. And they strive to be righteous as those who expect to behold their Messiah, and to receive from Him with great glory the promises made concerning them. And as for their words and their precepts, O King, and their glorying in their worship, and the hope of earning according to the work of each one of them their recompense which they look for in another world,-you may learn about these from their writings. It is enough for us to have shortly informed your Majesty concerning the conduct and the truth of the Christians. For great indeed, and wonderful is their doctrine to him who will search into it and reflect upon it. And verily, this is a new people, and there is something divine (lit: a divine admixture) in the midst of them.

Take, then, their writings, and read therein, and lo! you will find that I have not put forth these things on my own authority, nor spoken thus as their advocate; but since I read in their writings I was fully assured of these things as also of things which are to come. And for this reason I was constrained to declare the truth to

such as care for it and seek the world to

XVII. Thus far, O King, extends my discourse to you, which has been dictated in my mind by the Truth. Wherefore let thy foolish sages cease their idle talk against the Lord; for it is profitable for you to worship God the Creator, and to give

come. And to me there is no doubt but that the earth abides through the supplication of the Christians. But the rest of the nations err and cause error in wallowing before the elements of the world, since beyond these their mental vision will not pass. And they search about as if in darkness because they will not recognize the truth; and like drunken men they reel and jostle one another and fall.

XVII. Thus far, O King, I have spoken; for concerning that which remains, as is said above, there are found in their other writings things which are hard to utter and difficult for one to narrate, — which are not only spoken in words but also wrought out in deeds.

Now the Greeks, O King, as they follow base practices in intercourse with males, and a mother and a sister and a daughter, impute their monstrous impurity in turn to the Christians. But the Christians are just and good, and the truth is set before their eyes, and their spirit is long-suffering; and, therefore, though they know the error of these (the Greeks), and are persecuted by them, they bear and endure it; and for the most part they have compassion on them, as men who are destitute of knowledge. And on their side, they offer prayer that these may repent of their error; and when it happens that one of them has repented, he is ashamed before the

ear to His incorruptible words, that ye may escape from condemnation and punishment, and be found to be heirs of life everlasting.

Christians of the works which were done by him; and he makes confession to God, saying, I did these things in ignorance. And he purifies his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he committed them in ignorance in the former time, when he used to blaspheme and speak evil of the true knowledge of the Christians. And assuredly the race of the Christians is more blessed than all the men who are upon the face of the earth.

Henceforth let the tongues of those who utter vanity and harass the Christians be silent; and hereafter let them speak the truth. For it is of serious consequence to them that they should worship the true God rather than worship a senseless sound. And verily whatever is spoken in the mouth of the Christians is of God; and their doctrine is the gateway of light. Wherefore let all who are without the knowledge of God draw near thereto; and they will receive incorruptible words, which are from all time and from eternity. So shall they appear before the awful judgment which through Jesus the Messiah is destined to come upon the whole human race.

THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES THE PHILOSOPHER IS FINISHED.

THE PASSION OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

BY

ANDREW RUTHERFURD, B.D.

TRANSLATION BY PROF. J. A. ROBINSON.
INTRODUCTION BY A. R.

INTRODUCTION

THE Scillitan Martyrs were condemned and executed at Carthage on the 17th July, A.D. 180. The martyrs belonged to Scili, a place in that part of Numidia which belonged to proconsular Africa. The proconsul at the time, who is said by Tertullian to have been the first to draw the sword against the Christians there, was P. Vigellius Saturninus. The consuls for the year were Preaesens II. and Condianus. Marcus Aurelius had died only a few months before.

The exact date of the martyrdom was long under dispute, and the question has recently arisen whether the Acts were originally written in Latin or Greek. Baronius placed the date as late as 202. The text had become corrupt in passing through various Latin and Greek versions and transcriptions, and it was long impossible to recognize the names of the consuls for the year in the first line of the piece. But M. Leon Renier conjectured that the word *bis* pointed to a consul's name underlying the word preceding it, and suggested the year 180, when Praesens and Condianus were consuls. This conjecture was confirmed by Usener's publication in 1881 of a Greek version from a ninth century MS. in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, though even here the names, though recognizable, were in a corrupt form. Usener believed this version to be a translation from a Latin original, and his theory has been confirmed by Mr.

Armitage Robinson's discovery of a Latin MS. of the ninth century in the British Museum, containing the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs in a form briefer than any of the other versions and believed to be the original. Mr. A. Robinson's translation which follows, is from the Latin he discovered, and which is printed in *Texts and Studies,* vol. i., No. 2.

THE PASSION OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

WHEN Praesens, for the second time, and Claudianus were the consuls, on the seventeenth day of July, at Carthage, there were set in the judgment-hall Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Secunda and Vestia.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Ye can win the indulgence of our Lord the Emperor, if ye return to a sound mind.

Speratus said: We have never done ill, we have not lent ourselves to wrong, we have never spoken ill, but when ill-treated we have given thanks; because we pay heed to OUR EMPEROR,

Saturninus the proconsul said: We too are religious, and our religion is simple, and we swear by the genius of our Lord the Emperor, and pray for his welfare, as ye also ought to do.

Speratus said: If thou wilt peaceably lend me thine ears, I can tell thee the mystery of simplicity.

Saturninus said: I will not lend mine ears to thee, when thou beginnest to speak evil things of our sacred rites; but rather swear thou by the genius of our Lord the Emperor.

Speratus said: The empire of this world I know not; but rather I serve that God, whom no man hath seen, nor with these eyes can see. I have committed no theft; but if I have bought anything I pay the tax; because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations.

Saturninus the proconsul said to the rest: Cease to be of this persuasion.

Speratus said: It is an ill persuasion to do murder, to speak false witness.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Be not partakers of this folly.

Cittinus said: We have none other to fear, save only our Lord God, who is in heaven.

Donata said: Honor to Caesar as Caesar: but fear to God.

Vestia said: I am a Christian.

Secunda said: What I am, that I wish to be.

Saturninus the proconsul said to Speratus: Dost thou persist in being a Christian?

Speratus said: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Will ye have a space to consider?

Speratus said: In a matter so straightforward there is no considering.

Saturninus the proconsul said: What are the things in your chest?

Speratus said: Books and epistles of Paul, a just man.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Have a delay of thirty days and bethink yourselves.

Speratus said a second time: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed.

Saturninus the proconsul read out the decree from the tablet: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda and the rest having confessed that they live according to the Christian rite, since after opportunity offered them of returning to the custom of the Romans they have obstinately persisted, it is determined that they be put to the sword.

Speratus said: We give thanks to God.

Nartzalus said: Today we are martyrs in heaven; thanks be to God.

Saturninus the proconsul ordered it to be declared by the herald: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Felix, Aquilinus, Laetantius, Januaria, Generosa, Vestia, Donata and Secunda, I have ordered to be executed.

They all said: Thanks be to God.

And so they all together were crowned with martyrdom; and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

ORIGEN

EPISTLE TO GREGORY

AND

ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY

ON THE

GOSPEL OF JOHN

BY

ALLAN MENZIES

COMMENTARIES OF ORIGEN

INTRODUCTION

For a general account of Origen and of his works we may refer to Dr. Crombie's *Life of Origen*, in vol. iv. of this series (xxiii. in Clark's issue). The principal facts of his career are as follows: He was born of Christian parents at Alexandria about the year 185 A.D., and from his earliest youth devoted himself to the study of Scripture in such a way as to suggest that he was destined for a great career. His father suffered martyrdom in the year 202, and Origen very soon afterwards succeeded the great Clement as head of the school at Alexandria. Thirteen years after, the persecution of Caracalla drove him from his own country to Caesarea, where though still a layman he preached at church meetings. Recalled to Alexandria, he labored there for fifteen years further as teacher and author, till in the year 231 his ordination at Caesarea to the office of presbyter drew upon him the condemnation of the bishop of Alexandria and became the occasion of his permanent withdrawal from the place of his birth. At Caesarea he now formed a new school of Christian training similar to that from which he had been driven. At this time, as well as in the earlier period of his life, he made various journeys to different parts of the world. His death was brought about by sufferings inflicted on him in the persecution of Decius, and took place at Tyre, probably in the year 254.

Part of the Commentary on John, the first great work of Christian interpretation, and part of that on Matthew, written by the father at a later period of his life, are here presented to the reader; and a few words of introduction may be added on Origen's work as an expositor and on these two works in particular.

Though Origen was the first great interpreter of Scripture in the Church, commentaries had been written before his. He speaks of those who had preceded him in this activity; and though but little survives of the labors of these earlier expositors, we know that the work of commenting on Scripture was zealously carried on in the Gnostic churches in the latter part of the second century, and several of the older exegetes in the Church are also known to us by name and reputation. Heracleon the Gnostic

commentator on John, who is often cited and often rather unfairly dealt with by Origen, as he follows him over the same ground, belonged to the Valentinian school. Many of his comments the reader will find to be very just and shrewd; but the tenets of his school led him into many extravagances. Of Pantaenus, head of the catechetical school at Alexandria in the end of the second and early years of the third century, we hear that he interpreted many of the books of Scripture. We also learn that he preceded Clement and Origen, his successors in office, in the application of Gentile learning to Christian studies; the broad and liberal tone of Alexandrian theology may be due in part to his influence. Much of his exegetical work was still extant in the days of Jerome, who, however, reports that he did more for the Church as a teacher than as a writer. Only fragments of his Commentaries now remain. In Clement's works, on the contrary, we find, if not any set commentaries, various extended discussions of particular texts. We also find in him a theory of Scripture, its inspiration and its nature, which is followed also by Origen, and which determines the whole character of Alexandrian exegesis. In accordance with the general tendency of that age, which witnessed a reaction from the independence of philosophy and an appeal in many quarters to the authority of ancient oracles and writings, the Alexandrian school treats Scripture as an inspired and infallible storehouse of truth, — of truth, however, not patent to the simple reader, but requiring the spiritual man to discern its mystic import. Clement discusses the question why divine things are wrapped up in mysteries, and holds that all who have spoken of such things have dealt with them in this way. Everything in Scripture, therefore, has a mystical in addition to its obvious meaning. Every minute particular about the tabernacle and its furniture is charged with all unseen truth. The effect of such a view of Scripture on exegesis is necessarily that the interpreter finds ill the inspired words not what they plainly convey, but what most interests his own mind. In assigning to each verse its spiritual meaning, he is neither guided nor restrained by any rule or system, but enjoys complete liberty. The natural good sense of these great scholars curbed to some extent the licence of their theory; but with such a view of Scripture they could not but run into many an extravagance; and the allegorical method of interpretation, which so long prevailed in Christendom and is still practiced in some quarters, dates from Alexandria. The roots of it lie further back, in Jewish rabbinical treatment of the Old

Testament, and in the Greek philosophy of Alexandria. In Philo, the great contemporary of Christ at Alexandria, rabbinical and Greek learning met, and Scripture being a divine authority and having to furnish evidence of Greek philosophical doctrines, the allegorical method of interpretation was called to perform large services. To Philo's eyes all wisdom was contained in the Pentateuch, and many an idea of which Moses never dreamed had to be extracted from that ancient record. The method was older than Clement and Origen, but it was through them that it became so firmly established ill the Church.

In Origen we first find a great teacher who deliberately sets himself to the task of explaining Scripture. He became, at the early age of eighteen, the head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, all institution which not only trained catechumens but provided open lectures, on every part of Christian learning, and from that time to his death, at the age of sixty-nine, he was constantly engaged in the work of public exposition. At Alexandria his expositions took place in the school, but at Caesarea they formed part of the church services, so that the reports of those belonging to the Caesarean period provide us with the earliest examples we possess of the discourse at Christian meetings. In an activity which he practiced so much Origen acquired extraordinary skill and facility, and gained the highest reputation, even beyond the limits of the Church. It is no wonder, therefore, if he succeeded in treating nearly the whole Bible in this way, a thing which might no doubt be said of many a Christian teacher since his day; for he was not one who was apt to repeat himself, but was constantly pressing on to break new ground.

But the reported homilies form only a part — and that not the most important part — of his exegetical works. What he gave in his homilies was necessarily designed for edification; it had to be plain enough to be understood by a mixed audience, and serviceable to their needs. Origen believed, however, that there was very much in Scripture that lay beyond the capacity of the ordinary mind, and that the highest way of treating Scripture was not that of practical application, but that of searching after its hidden sense. In the fourth book of his *De Principiis* (vol. iv., American Ed.) he sets forth his views about the Scriptures. "As man," he there says, "consists of body, soul, and spirit, so in the same way does Scripture, which has been arranged to be given by God for the salvation of man."

Scripture, therefore, has three senses, the bodily (somatic) or the obvious matter-of-fact sense, the psychical or moral sense, which serves for edification of the pious, and, highest of all, the spiritual sense. For this latter sense of Scripture Origen has many names, — as many as forty have been counted, — he calls it the heavenly sense, the intellectual, the anagogical, the mystic, the hidden. This is what chiefly engages his interest in the work of expounding. Scripture is to him full of mysteries, every jot and tittle has its secret, and to read these heavenly mysteries is the highest object of the interpreter. In addition, therefore, to his oral expositions (omiliai) and the short notes (shmeiwseis)which are generally reckoned as a third class of his exegetical works, we have the written commentaries, books, or tomoi of Origen, in which he discusses Scripture without being hampered by the requirements of edification, according to the method which alone he recognizes as adequate. He was enabled to devote himself to this labor by the generosity of a rich friend, Ambrosius, who urged him to undertake it, and provided funds for the payment of shorthand writers and copyists. We are told that seven of the former were at one time placed at his disposal. The work which he was thus led to undertake Origen felt to be very responsible and burdensome; it was not to be approached without fervent prayer, and he sometimes complains that it is too much for him, and that it is only the urgent commands of Ambrosius that make him go on with it. (See the opening chapters of the various books on John.)

What has been said will to some extent explain the nature of these commentaries, parts of which are now for the first time presented to the English reader. There is a side of them, however, of which we have not yet spoken. Origen was a great scholar as well as a great theologian; and he thought it right, as the reader may see from the letter to Gregory also here given, that scholarship should contribute all it could to the study of Scripture. Of his multifarious knowledge and of his easy command of all the science and philosophy of his day, the reader may judge for himself even from what is now presented to him. His work on the words of Scripture has a value quite independently of his theological views. Some of the most important qualifications of the worthy interpreter of Scripture he possesses in a supreme degree. His knowledge of Scripture is extraordinary both for its range and its minute accuracy. He had no concordance to help him; but he was himself a concordance. Whatever word occurs he is able to

bring from every part of Scripture the passages in which it is used. He quotes passages, it is true, which are only verbally connected with the text before him and have no affinity of idea; the wealth of illustration he has at his command does not always assist, but sometimes, as the reader will see, impedes his progress: yet the wonder is not diminished of such a knowledge of all parts of the Bible as is probably without parallel. It has to be added that he is strong in grammar, and has a true eye for the real meaning of his text; the discussions in which he does this often leave nothing to be desired. In defining his terms he often goes far astray; he has to define them according to the science of his day; but he is not guilty of loose construction of sentences. Another matter in which he is distinguished is that of textual criticism. He is the first great textual critic of the Church. That his name occurs more frequently than that of any other father in the digests of early readings of the text of the New Testament, is due no doubt to the fact that he is the earliest writer of commentaries which have been preserved; his commentaries contain complete texts of the portions of Scripture commented on, as well as copious quotations from other parts of Scripture. But he was keenly interested in the text of the New Testament for its own sake. He tells us that many variations already existed in his day in different copies. And he preserves many readings which afterwards disappeared from the Bible. It has also to be said that he often quotes the same text differently in different passages, so that it appears probable that he used several copies of the N. T. books, and that these copies differed from each other. If, therefore, as Tischendorf suggests, Origen made a collation of the various texts of the N. T. with which he was acquainted, as he did with his texts of the O.T. in his Hexapla, he had no strong views as to which text was to be followed. He sometimes expresses an opinion as to which is the true reading (pp. 368 sq.), but he does so on grounds which the textual critics of the present day could not approve.

It may be stated here that the translators of Origen in this volume have sought to represent their author’s critical position with regard to Scripture by translating his Scripture quotations from his text. As he used the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, many of his quotations from that part of Scripture appear in a form unfamiliar to the English reader. In the

New Testament, also, his text is also very different from that which afterwards prevailed in the Church.

The weakness of Origen as an interpreter is his want of historical feeling or of any conception of such a thing as growth or development in revelation. His mind slips incessantly away from the real scenes and events recorded in Scripture, to the ideal region where he conceives that the truths reside which these prefigure. Scripture is to him not a record of actual occurrences which took place as they are narrated, but a storehouse of types of heavenly things, which alone are real. He scoffs at the notion that historical facts should be regarded as the chief outcome of a Scripture narrative (John, book 10:15-17). When he does treat the facts as facts he has many a shrewd observation and many a beautiful application. But the facts are to a large extent in his way; they have to give place to something more important. He sees very well how the synoptic narratives clash with that of John; no better demonstration of this need be looked for than he gives in the tenth book of his John; from this, however. he infers not that the books must have had different sources of information, but that the literal meaning of the passages must be altogether disregarded, and their true purport looked for, not in the things of history, but in the things of the Spirit. The water-pots at the feast in Cans (*De Principiis*), the shoe latchet of the Savior (John, book vi. 17), the ass and foal (John, book x. 18), each must receive a transcendent application.

It follows from this that the commentaries are deficient in order and sequence. The method which calls the writer to look at every step for spiritual meanings, combined with his own extraordinary fertility of imagination and wealth of matter, makes these books very disconnected. At each point a number of questions suggests itself as to possible meanings; a host of texts is brought at once from every part of Scripture to afford illustration, and these again have to be considered. Very modestly are the questions and themes introduced. The tone is as far as possible from being ex cathedra; it is rather that of a student groping his way, and asking at each step for assistance. And the great mass of the questions thus raised is left, apparently, unanswered. So that the work as a whole is rather a great collection of materials for future consideration than a finished treatise.

Such being the characteristics of Origen's commentaries, they have by many been regarded as unsuitable for the general reader, and unfavorably compared with those of later writers, to whom the interpretation of Scripture was not weighted with such difficulties as Origen had to contend with. Our author does not carry us along in his commentaries with a stream of golden eloquence; his interests are intellectual more than literary or practical, his work is scientific rather than popular. Perhaps the historical student has more to gain from them than the preacher. But among the pages which witness chiefly to restless intellectual energy and unwearied diligence, there are also many passages of rare and touching beauty, when the writer realizes the greatness of the Christian salvation, or when the heavenly things to the search for which all his labor is devoted shine by their own brightness on his sight.

The Commentaries on John are the earliest work of Christian exegesis which has come down to us, and are therefore placed in this volume before those on Matthew. The first five books on John were written at Alexandria before Origen's compulsory withdrawal from that city to Caesarea in 231. In chaps. 4 and 8 of the first book he speaks of this work as being the first fruits of his activity as a writer on Holy Scripture. The sixth book, as he tells us in vi., had been begun at Alexandria, but the manuscript had been left behind, so that a new beginning had to be made at Caesarea. The work was again interrupted by the persecution of Maximian in 238; the volumes from the twenty-second to the last were written after that date. At the end of the thirty-second volume, which is the last we now possess, the writer has only reached John 13:33, but he tells us in his Commentary on Matthew that he has spoken of the two thieves in his work on John. In the time of Eusebius only twenty-two books survived out of the whole number, which seems to have been thirty-nine. We now possess books i., 2., 6., x., 13., 19., xx., xxviii., xxxii., some of which, however, are not complete, and a few fragments. The thirteenth book begins in the middle of the story of the Samaritan woman. Ambrosius had wished that story to be completed in the twelfth book, but Origen did not like to make his books too long, and on this point disregarded the authority of his mentor. The nineteenth and twentieth books are both occupied with the eighth chapter of John, which, if it was all treated on the same scale, must have occupied two more books in addition to these. The

thirty-second book scarcely completes the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel; and if the remaining chapters only occupied seven books, the treatment of these must have been much more condensed.

Two Latin translations of Origen's John were made in the sixteenth century, one by Ambrosius Ferrarius of Milan from the Venice Codex, the other by Joachim Perionius.

The Commentaries on John and on Matthew are both embraced in several manuscripts. Of those on John, Mr. A. E. Brooke (*Texts and Studies*, vol. i. No. 4; *The Fragments of Heracleon*, pp. 1-30; "the MSS. of Origen's Commentaries on S. John") enumerates eight or nine. The Munich MS. of the thirteenth century is the source of all the rest. Huet, the first editor (1668), used the Codex Regius (Paris) of the sixteenth century, which is in many passages mutilated and disfigured. The brothers Delarue (1733 — 1759) used the MSS. Barberinus and Bodleianus, which are more complete, and Lommatzsch (1831) follows his predecessors. The present translations are from the text of Lommatzsch, which is in many places very defective.

LETTER OF ORIGEN TO GREGORY

WHEN AND TO WHOM THE LEARNING DERIVED FROM PHILOSOPHY MAY BE OF SERVICE FOR THE EXPOSITION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES; WITH A LIVELY PERSONAL APPEAL

This letter to Gregory, afterwards bishop of Caesarea, and called Thaumaturgus, was preserved in the Philocalia, or collection of extracts from Origen's works drawn up by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea. It is printed by Delarue and Lommatzsch in the forefront of their editions of the works. It forms a good preface to the commentaries, as it shows how Origen considered the study of Scripture to be the highest of all studies, and how he regarded scientific learning, in which he was himself a master, as merely preparatory for this supreme learning. Draseke has shown that it was written about 235, when Origen, after having had Gregory as his pupil at Caesarea for some years, had fled before the persecution under Maximinus Thrax to Cappadocia; while Gregory, to judge from the tenor of this Epistle, had gone to Egypt. The Panegyric on Origen, pronounced by Gregory at Caesarea about 239, when the school had reassembled there after the persecution, shows that the master's solicitude for his pupil's true advancement was not disappointed.

1. GREGORY IS URGED TO APPLY HIS GENTILE LEARNING TO THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE

All hail to thee in God, most excellent and reverend Sir, son Gregory, from Origen. A natural quickness of understanding is fitted, as you are well aware, if it be diligently exercised, to produce a work which may bring its owner so far as is possible, if I may so express myself, to the consummation of the art the which he desires to practice, and your natural aptitude is sufficient to make you a consummate Roman lawyer and a Greek philosopher too of the most famous schools. But my desire for you has been that you should direct the whole force of your intelligence to Christianity as your end, and that in the way of production. And I would wish that you should take with you on the one hand those parts of the philosophy of the Greeks which are fit, as it were, to serve as general or preparatory studies for Christianity, and on the other hand so much of Geometry and Astronomy as may be helpful for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The children of the philosophers speak of geometry and

music and grammar and rhetoric and astronomy as being ancillary to philosophy; and in the same way we might speak of philosophy itself as being ancillary to Christianity.

2. THIS PROCEDURE IS TYPIFIED BY THE STORY OF THE SPOILING OF THE EGYPTIANS

It is something of this sort perhaps that is enigmatically indicated in the directions God is represented in the Book of Exodus as giving to the children of lsrael. They are directed to beg from their neighbors and from those dwelling in their tents vessels of silver and of gold, and raiment; thus they are to spoil the Egyptians, and to obtain materials for making the things they are told to provide in connection with the worship of God. For out of the things of which the children of lsrael spoiled the Egyptians the furniture of the Holy of Holies was made, the ark with its cover, and the cherubim and the mercy-seat and the gold jar in which the manna, that bread of angels, was stored. These probably were made from the finest of the gold of the Egyptians, and from a second quality, perhaps, the solid golden candlestick which stood near the inner veil, and the lamps on it, and the golden table on which stood the shewbread, and between these two the golden altar of incense. And if there was gold of a third and of a fourth quality, the sacred vessels were made of it. And of the Egyptian silver, too, other things were made; for it was from their sojourn in Egypt that the children of lsrael derived the great advantage of being supplied with such a quantity of precious materials for the use of the service of God. Out of the Egyptian raiment probably were made all those requisites named in Scripture in embroidered work; the embroiderers working with the wisdom of God, such garments for such purposes, to produce the hangings and the inner and outer courts. This is not a suitable opportunity to enlarge on such a theme or to show in how many ways the children of Israel found those things useful which they got from the Egyptians. The Egyptians had not made a proper use of them; but the Hebrews used them, for the wisdom of God was with them, for religious purposes. Holy Scripture knows, however, that it was an evil thing to descend from the land of the children of lsrael into Egypt; and in this a great truth is wrapped up. For some it is of evil that they should dwell with the Egyptians, that is to say, with the learning of the world, after they have been enrolled in the law of

God and in the Israelite worship of Him. Ader the Edomite, as long as he was in the land of Israel and did not taste the bread of the Egyptians, made no idols; but when he fled from the wise Solomon and went down into Egypt, as one who had fled from the wisdom of God he became connected with Pharaoh, marrying the sister of his wife, and begetting a son who was brought up among the sons of Pharaoh. Therefore, though he did go back to the land of Israel, he came back to it to bring division into the people of God, and to cause them to say to the golden calf, “These are thy gods, 0 Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.” I have learned by experience and can tell you that there are few who have taken of the useful things of Egypt and come out of it, and have then prepared what is required for the service of God; but Ader the Edomite on the other hand has many a brother. I mean those who, founding on some piece of Greek learning, have brought forth heretical ideas, and have as it were made golden calves in Bethel, which is, being interpreted, the house of God. This appears to me to be intended to convey that such persons set up their own images in the Scriptures in which the Word of God dwells, and which therefore are tropically called Bethel. The other image is said in the word to have been set up in Dan. Now the borders of Dan are at the extremities and are contiguous to the country of the heathens, as is plainly recorded in the Book of Jesus, son of Nave. Some of these images, then, are close to the borders of the heathen, which the brothers, as we showed, of Ader have devised.

3. PERSONAL APPEAL

Do you then, sir, my son, study first of all the divine Scriptures. Study them I say. For we require to study the divine writings deeply, lest we should speak of them faster than we think; and while you study these divine works with a believing and God-pleasing intention, knock at that which is closed in them, and it shall be opened to thee by the porter, of whom Jesus says, “To him the porter openeth.” While you attend to this divine reading seek aright and with unwavering faith in God the hidden sense which is present in most passages of the divine Scriptures. And do not be content with knocking and seeking, for what is most necessary for understanding divine things is prayer, and in urging us to this the Savior says not only, “Knock, and it shall be opened to you,” and “Seek, and ye

shall find," but also "Ask, and it shall be given you." So much I have ventured on account of my fatherly love to you. Whether I have ventured well or not, God knows, and His Christ, and he who has part of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. May you partake in these; may you have an always increasing share of them, so that you may be able to say not only, "We are partakers of Christ," but also "We are partakers of God."

ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY ON THE

GOSPEL OF JOHN

BOOK 1

1

HOW CHRISTIANS ARE THE SPIRITUAL ISRAEL

That people which was called of old the people of God was divided into twelve tribes, and over and above the other tribes it had the levitical order, which itself again carried on the service of God in various priestly and levitical suborders. In the same manner, it appears to me that the whole people of Christ, when we regard it in the aspect of the hidden man of the heart, that people which is called "Jew inwardly," and is circumcised in the spirit, has in a more mystic way the characteristics of the tribes. This may be more plainly gathered from John in his Apocalypse, though the other prophets also do not by any means conceal the state of matters from those who have the faculty of hearing them. John speaks as follows: "And I saw another angel ascending from the sunrising, having the seal of the living God, and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not either the earth, or the sea, or the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand who were sealed, out of every tribe of the children of lsrael; of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand, of the tribe of Roubem twelve thousand." And he mentioned each of the tribes singly, with the exception of Dan. Then, some way further on, he continues: "And I saw, and behold the Lamb standing on Mount Zion, and with Him a hundred and forty-four thousand, having His name and the name of His Father written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven as the

voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder. And the voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers harping with their harps; and they sing a new song before the throne and before the four beasts and the elders, and no one could learn the song but the hundred and forty-four thousand who had been purchased from the earth. These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins. These are they who follow the Lamb whithersover He goeth. These were purchased from among men, a first fruits to God and to the Lamb; and in their mouth was found no lie, for they are without blemish." Now this is said in John with reference to those who have believed in Christ, for they also, even if their bodily descent cannot be traced to the seed of the Patriarchs, are yet gathered out of the tribes. That this is so we may conclude from what is further said about them: "Hurt not," he says, "the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand, sealed from every tribe of the children of Israel."

2

THE 144,000 SEALED IN THE APOCALYPSE ARE CONVERTS TO CHRIST FROM THE GENTILE WORLD

These, then, who are sealed on their foreheads from every tribe of the children of Israel, are a hundred and forty-four thousand in number; and these hundred and forty-four thousand are afterwards said in John to have the name of the Lamb and of His Father written on their foreheads, and to be virgins, not having defiled themselves with women. What else could the seal be which is on their foreheads but the name of the Lamb and the name of His Father? In both passages their foreheads are said to have the seal; In one the seal is spoken of, in the other it appears to contain the letters forming the name of the Lamb, and the name of His Father. Now these taken from the tribes are, as we showed before, the same persons as the virgins. But the number of believers is small who belong to Israel according to the flesh; one might venture to assert that they would not nearly make up the number of a hundred and forty-four thousand. It is clear, therefore, that the hundred and forty-four thousand who have not defiled themselves

with women must be made up of those who have come to the divine word out of the Gentile world. In this way the truth of the statement may be upheld that the first fruits of each tribe are its virgins. For the passage goes on: “These were brought from among men to be a first fruits to God and to the Lamb; and in their mouth was found no guile, for they are without blemish.” The statement about the hundred and forty-four thousand no doubt admits of mystical interpretation; But it is unnecessary at this point, and would divert us from our purpose, to compare with it those passages of the prophets in which the same lesson is taught regarding those who are called from among the Gentiles.

3

IN THE SPIRITUAL ISRAEL THE HIGH-PRIESTS ARE THOSE WHO DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE

But what is the bearing of all this for us? So you will ask when you read these words, Ambrosius, thou who art truly a man of God, a mall in Christ. and who seekest to be not a man only, but a spiritual man. The bearing is this. Those of the tribes offer to God, through the levites and priests, tithes and first fruits; not everything which they possess do they regard as tithe or first fruit. The levites and priests, on the other hand, have no possessions but tithes and first fruits; yet they also in turn offer tithes to God through the high-priests, and, I believe, first fruits too. The same is the case with those who approach Christian studies. Most of us devote most of our time to the things of this life, and dedicate to God only a few special acts, thus resembling those members of the tribes who had but few transactions with the priest, and discharged their religious duties with no great expense of time. But those who devote themselves to the divine word and have no other employment but the service of God may not unnaturally, allowing for the difference of occupation in the two cases, be called our levites and priests. And those who fulfil a more distinguished office than their kinsmen will perhaps be high-priests, according to the order of Aaron, not that of Melchisedek. Here some one may object that it is somewhat too bold to apply the name of high-priests to men, when Jesus Himself is spoken of in many a prophetic passage as the one great

priest, as “We have a great high-priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God.” But to this we reply that the Apostle clearly defined his meaning, and declared the prophet to have said about the Christ, “Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedek,” and not according to the order of Aaron. We say accordingly that men can be high-priests according to the order of Aaron, but according to the order of Melchisedek only the Christ of God.

4

THE STUDY OF THE GOSPELS IS THE FIRST FRUITS OFFERED BY THESE PRIESTS OF CHRISTIANITY

Now our whole activity is devoted to God, and our whole life, since we are bent on progress in divine things. If, then, it be our desire to have the whole of those first fruits spoken of above which are made up of the many first fruits, if we are not mistaken in this view, in what must our first fruits consist, after the bodily separation we have undergone from each other, but in the study of the Gospel? For we may venture to say that the Gospel is the first fruits of all the Scriptures. Where, then, could be the first fruits of our activity, since the time when we came to Alexandria, but in the first fruits of the Scriptures? It must not he forgotten, however, that the first fruits are not the same as the first growth. For the first fruits are offered after all the fruits (are ripe), but the first growth before them all. Now of the Scriptures which are current and are believed to be divine in all the churches, one would not be wrong in saying that the first growth is the law of Moses, but the first fruits the Gospel. For it was after all the fruits of the prophets who prophesied till the Lord Jesus, that the perfect word shot forth.

5

ALL SCRIPTURE IS GOSPEL; BUT THE GOSPELS ARE DISTINGUISHED ABOVE OTHER SCRIPTURES

Here, however, some one may object, appealing to the notion just put forward of the unfolding of the first fruits last, and may say that the Acts and the letters of the Apostles came after the Gospels, and that this destroys our argument to the effect that the Gospel is the first fruits of all Scripture. To this we must reply that it is the conviction of men who are wise in Christ, who have profited by those epistles which are current, and who see them to be vouched for by the testimonies deposited in the law and the prophets, that the apostolic writings are to be pronounced wise and worthy of belief, and that they have great authority, but that they are not on the same level with that "Thus sayeth the Lord Almighty." Consider on this point the language of St. Paul. When he declares that "Every Scripture is inspired of God and profitable," does he include his own writings? Or does he not include his dictum, "I say, and not the Lord," and "So I ordain in all the churches," and "What things I suffered at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra," and similar things which he writes in virtue of his own authority, and which do not quite possess the character of words flowing from divine inspiration. Must we also show that the old Scripture is not Gospel, since it does not point out the Coming One, but only foretells Him and heralds His coming at a future time; but that all the new Scripture is the Gospel. It not only says as in the beginning of the Gospel, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" it also contains many praises of Him, and many of His teachings, on whose account the Gospel is a Gospel. Again, if God set in the Church apostles and prophets and evangelists (gospellers), pastors and teachers, we must first enquire what was the office of the evangelist, and mark that it is not only to narrate how the Savior cured a man who was blind from his birth, or raised up a dead man who was already stinking, or to state what extraordinary works he wrought; and the office of the evangelist being thus defined, we shall not hesitate to find Gospel in such discourse also as is not narrative but hortatory and intended to strengthen belief in the mission of Jesus; and thus we shall arrive at the position that whatever was written by the Apostles is Gospel. As to this second definition, it

might be objected that the Epistles are not entitled “Gospel,” and that we are wrong in applying the name of Gospel to the whole of the New Testament. But to this we answer that it happens not unfrequently in Scripture when two or more persons or things are named by the same name, the name attaches itself most significantly to one of those things or persons. Thus the Savior says, “Call no man Master upon the earth;” while the Apostle says that Masters have been appointed in the Church. These latter accordingly will not be Masters in the strict sense of the dictum of the Gospel. In the same way the Gospel in the Epistles will not extend to every word of them, when it is compared with the narrative of Jesus actions and sufferings and discourses. No: the Gospel is the first fruits of all Scripture, and to these first fruits of the Scriptures we devote the first fruits of all those actions of ours which we trust to see turn out as we desire.

6

THE FOURFOLD GOSPEL

JOHN’S THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE FOUR. QUALIFICATIONS NECESSARY FOR INTERPRETING IT

Now the Gospels are four. These four are, as it were, the elements of the faith of the Church, out of which elements the whole world which is reconciled to God in Christ is put together; as Paul says, “God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself;” of which world Jesus bore the sin; for it is of the world of the Church that the word is written, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.” The Gospels then being four, I deem the first fruits of the Gospels to be that which you have enjoined me to search into according to my powers, the Gospel of John, that which speaks of him whose genealogy had already been set forth, but which begins to speak of him at a point before he had any genealogy. For Matthew, writing for the Hebrews who looked for Him who was to come of the line of Abraham and of David, says: “The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.” And Mark, knowing what he writes, narrates the beginning of the Gospel; we may perhaps find what he aims at in John; in the beginning the Word,

God the Word. But Luke, though he says at the beginning of Acts, “The former treatise did I make about all that Jesus began to do and to teach,” yet leaves to him who lay on Jesus’ breast the greatest and completest discourses about Jesus. For none of these plainly declared His Godhead, as John does when he makes Him say, “I am the light of the world,” “I am the way and the truth and the life,” “I am the resurrection, “I am the door,” “I am the good shepherd;” and in the Apocalypse, “I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.” We may therefore make bold to say that the Gospels are the first fruits of all the Scriptures, but that of the Gospels that of John is the first fruits. No one can apprehend the meaning of it except he have lain on Jesus’ breast and received from Jesus Mary to be his mother also. Such an one must he become who is to be another John, and to have shown to him, like John, by Jesus Himself Jesus as He is. For if Mary, as those declare who with sound mind extol her, had no other son but Jesus, and yet Jesus says to His mother, “Woman, behold thy son,” and not “Behold you have this son also,” then He virtually said to her, “Lo, this is Jesus, whom thou didst bear.” Is it not the case that every one who is perfect lives himself no longer, but Christ lives in him; and if Christ lives in him, then it is said of him to Mary, “Behold thy son Christ.” What a mind, then, must we have to enable us to interpret in a worthy manner this work, though it be committed to the earthly treasure-house of common speech, of writing which any passer-by can read, and which can be heard when read aloud by any one who lends to it his bodily ears? What shall we say of this work? He who is accurately to apprehend what it contains should be able to say with truth, “We have the mind of Christ, that we may know those things which are bestowed on us by God.” It is possible to quote one of Paul’s sayings in support of the contention that the whole of the New Testament is Gospel. He writes in a certain place: “According to my Gospel.” Now we have no written work of Paul which is commonly called a Gospel. But all that he preached and said was the Gospel; and what he preached and said he was also in the habit of writing, and what he wrote was therefore Gospel. But if what Paul wrote was Gospel, it follows that what Peter wrote was also Gospel, and in a word all that was said or written to perpetuate the knowledge of Christ’s sojourn on earth, and to prepare for His second coming, or to bring it about as a present reality in those souls

which were willing to receive the Word of God as He stood at the door and knocked and sought to come into them.

7

WHAT GOOD THINGS ARE ANNOUNCED IN THE GOSPELS

But it is time we should inquire what is the meaning of the designation "Gospel," and why these books have this title. Now the Gospel is a discourse containing a promise of things which naturally, and on account of the benefits they bring, rejoice the hearer as soon as the promise is heard and believed. Nor is such a discourse any the less a Gospel that we define it with reference to the position of the hearer. A Gospel is either a word which implies the actual presence to the believer of something that is good, or a word promising the arrival of a good which is expected. Now all these definitions apply to those books which are named Gospels. For each of the Gospels is a collection of announcements which are useful to him who believes them and does not misinterpret them; it brings him a benefit and naturally makes him glad because it tells of the sojourn with men, on account of men, and for their salvation, of the first-born of all creation, Christ Jesus. And again each Gospel tells of the sojourn of the good Father in the Son with those minded to receive Him, as is plain to every believer; and moreover by these books a good is announced which had been formerly expected, as is by no means hard to see. For John the Baptist spoke in the name almost of the whole people when he sent to Jesus and asked, "Art thou He that should come or do we look for another?" For to the people the Messiah was an expected good, which the prophets had foretold, and they all alike, though under the law and the prophets, fixed their hopes on Him, as the Samaritan woman bears witness when she says: "I know that the Messiah comes, who is called Christ; when He comes He will tell us all things." Simon and Cleopas too, when talking to each other about all that had happened to Jesus Christ Himself, then risen, though they did not know that He had risen, from the dead, speak thus, "Dost thou sojourn alone in Jerusalem, and knowest not the things which have taken place there in these days? And when he said what things? they answered, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet,

mighty in deed and in word before God and all the people, and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered Him up to be sentenced to death and crucified Him. But we hoped that it was He which should redeem Israel." Again, Andrew the brother of Simon Peter found his own brother Simon and said to him, "We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, Christ." And a little further on Philip finds Nathanael and says to him, "We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, wrote, Jesus the son of Joseph, from Nazareth."

8

HOW THE GOSPELS CAUSE THE OTHER BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE ALSO TO BE GOSPEL

Now an objection might be raised to our first definition, because it would embrace books which are not entitled Gospels. For the law and the prophets also are to our eyes books containing the promise of things which, from the benefit they will confer on him, naturally rejoice the hearer as soon as he takes in the message. To this it may be said that before the sojourn of Christ, the law and the prophets, since He had not come who interpreted the mysteries they contained, did not convey such a promise as belongs to our definition of the Gospel; but the Savior, when He sojourned with men and caused the Gospel to appear in bodily form, by the Gospel caused all things to appear as Gospel. Here I would not think it beside the purpose to quote the example of Him who... a few things... and yet all. For when he had taken away the veil which was present in the law and the prophets, and by His divinity had proved the sons of men that the Godhead was at work, He opened the way for all those who desired it to be disciples of His wisdom, and to understand what things were true and real in the law of Moses, of which things those of old worshipped the type and the shadow, and what things were real of the things narrated in the histories which "happened to them in the way of type," but these things "were written for our sakes, upon whom the ends of the ages have come." With whomsoever, then, Christ has sojourned, he worships God neither at Jerusalem nor on the mountain of the Samaritans; he knows that God is a spirit, and worships Him spiritually, in spirit and in truth; no

longer by type does he worship the Father and Maker of all. Before that Gospel, therefore, which came into being by the sojourning of Christ, none of the older works was a Gospel. But the Gospel, which is the new covenant, having delivered us from the oldness of the letter, lights up for us, by the light of knowledge, the newness of the spirit, a thing which never grows old, which has its home in the New Testament, but is also present in all the Scriptures. It was fitting, therefore, that that Gospel, which enables us to find the Gospel present, even in the Old Testament, should itself receive, in a special sense, the name of Gospel.

9

THE SOMATIC AND THE SPIRITUAL GOSPEL

We must not, however, forget that the sojourning of Christ with men took place before His bodily sojourn, in an intellectual fashion, to those who were more perfect and not children, and were not under pedagogues and governors. In their minds they saw the fulness of the time to be at hand — the patriarchs, and Moses the servant, and the prophets who beheld the glory of Christ. And as before His manifest and bodily coming He came to those who were perfect, so also, after His coming has been announced to all, to those who are still children, since they are under pedagogues and governors and have not yet arrived at the fulness of the time, forerunners of Christ have come to sojourn, discourses (logoi) suited for minds still in their childhood, and rightly, therefore, termed pedagogues. But the Son Himself, the glorified God, the Word, has not yet come; He waits for the preparation which must take place on the part of men of God who are to admit His deity. And this, too, we must bear in mind, that as the law contains a shadow of good things to come, which are indicated by that law which is announced according to truth, so the Gospel also teaches a shadow of the mysteries of Christ, the Gospel which is thought to be capable of being understood by any one. What John calls the eternal Gospel, and what may properly be called the spiritual Gospel, presents clearly to those who have the will to understand, all matters concerning the very Son of God, both the mysteries presented by His discourses and those matters of which His acts were the enigmas. In accordance with this

we may conclude that, as it is with Him who is a Jew outwardly and circumcised in the flesh, so it is with the Christian and with baptism. Paul and Peter were, at an earlier period, Jews outwardly and circumcised, but later they received from Christ that they should be so in secret, too; SO that outwardly they were Jews for the sake of the salvation of many, and by an economy they not only confessed in words that they were Jews, but showed it by their actions. And the same is to be said about their Christianity. As Paul could not benefit those who were Jews according to the flesh, without, when reason shows it to be necessary, circumcising Timothy, and when it appears the natural course getting himself shaved and making a vow, and, in a word, being to the Jews a Jew that he might gain the Jews — so also it is not possible for one who is responsible for the good of many to operate as he should by means of that Christianity only which is in secret. That will never enable him to improve those who are following the external Christianity, or to lead them on to better and higher things. We must, therefore, be Christians both somatically and spiritually, and where there is a call for the somatic (bodily) Gospel, in which a man says to those who are carnal that he knows nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, so we must do. But should we find those who are perfected in the spirit, and bear fruit in it, and are enamoured of the heavenly wisdom, these must he made to partake of that Word which, after it was made flesh, rose again to what it was in the beginning, with God.

10

HOW JESUS HIMSELF IS THE GOSPEL

The foregoing inquiry into the nature of the Gospel cannot be regarded as useless; it has enabled us to see what distinction there is between a sensible Gospel and all intellectual and spiritual one. What we have now to do is to transform the sensible Gospel into a spiritual one. For what would the narrative of the sensible Gospel amount to if it were not developed to a spiritual one? It would be of little account or none; any one can read it and assure himself of the facts it tells — no more. But our whole energy is now to be directed to the effort to penetrate to the deep things of the meaning

of the Gospel and to search out the truth that is ill it when divested of types. Now what the Gospels say is to be regarded in the light of promises of good things; and we must say that the good things the Apostles announce in this Gospel are simply Jesus. one good thing which they are said to announce is the resurrection; but the resurrection is in a manner Jesus, for Jesus says: “I am the resurrection.” Jesus preaches to the poor those things which are laid up for the saints, calling them to the divine promises. And the holy Scriptures bear witness to the Gospel announcements made by the Apostles and to that made by our Savior. David says of the Apostles, perhaps also of the evangelists: “The Lord shall give the word to those that preach with great power; the King of the powers of the beloved;” teaching at the same time that it is not skilfully composed discourse, nor the mode of delivery, nor well practiced eloquence that produces conviction, but the communication of divine power. Hence also Paul says: “I will know not the word that is puffed up, but the power; for the kingdom of God is not in word but in power.” And in another passage: “And my word and my preaching were not persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power.” To this power Simon and Cleophas bear witness when they say: “Was not our heart burning within us by the way, as he opened to us the Scriptures?” And the Apostles, since the quantity of the power is great which God supplies to the speakers, had great power, according to the word of David: “The Lord will give the word to the preachers with great power.” Isaiah too says: “How beautiful are the feet of them that proclaim good tidings;” he sees how beautiful and how opportune was the announcement of the Apostles who walked in Him who said, “I am the way,” and praises the feet of those who walk in the intellectual way of Christ Jesus, and through that door go in to God. They announce good tidings, those whose feet are beautiful, namely, Jesus.

11

JESUS IS ALL GOOD THINGS; HENCE THE GOSPEL IS MANIFOLD

Let no one wonder if we have understood Jesus to be announced in the Gospel under a plurality of names of good things. If we look at the things by the names of which the Son of God is called, we shall understand how many good things Jesus is, whom those preach whose feet are beautiful. One good thing is life; but Jesus is the life. Another good thing is the light of the world, when it is true light, and the light of men; and all these things the Son of God is said to be. And another good thing which one may conceive to be in addition to life or light is the truth. And a fourth in addition to time is the way which leads to the truth. And all these things our Savior teaches that He is, when He says: “I am the way and the truth and the life.” Ah, is not that good, to shake off earth and mortality, and to rise again, obtaining this boon from the Lord, since He is the resurrection, as He says: “I am the resurrection.” But the door also is a good, through which one enters into the highest blessedness. Now Christ says: “I am the door.” And what need is there to speak of wisdom, which “the Lord created the first principle of His ways, for His works,” in whom the father of her rejoiced. delighting in her manifold intellectual beauty, seen by the eyes of the mind alone, and provoking him to love who discerns her divine and heavenly charm? A good indeed is the wisdom of God, proclaimed along with the other good foresaid by those whose feet are beautiful. And the power of God is the eighth good we enumerate, which is Christ. Nor must we omit to mention the Word, who is God after the Father of all. For this also is a good, less than no other. Happy, then, are those who accept these goods and receive them from those who announce the good tidings of them, those whose feet are beautiful. Indeed even one of the Corinthians to whom Paul declared that he knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, should he learn Him who for our sakes became man, and so receive Him, he would become identified with the beginning of the good things we have spoken of; by the man Jesus he would be made a man of God, and by His death he would die to sin. For “Christ, in that He died, died unto sin once.” But from His life, since “in that He liveth, He liveth unto God,” every one who is conformed to His resurrection receives that

living to God. But who will deny that righteousness, essential righteousness, is a good, and essential sanctification, and essential redemption? And these things those preach who preach Jesus, saying that He is made to be of God righteousness and sanctification and redemption. Hence we shall have writings about Him without number, showing that Jesus is a multitude of goods; for from the things which can scarcely be numbered and which have been written we may make some conjecture of those things which actually exist in Him in whom “it pleased God that the whole fulness of the Godhead should dwell bodily.” and which are not contained in writings. Why should I say, “are not contained in writings”? For John speaks of the whole world in this connection, and says: “I suppose that not even the world itself would contain the books which would be written.” Now to say that the Apostles preach the Savior is to say that they preach these good things. For this is He who received from the good Father that He Himself should be these good things, so that each man receiving from Jesus the thing or things he is capable of receiving may enjoy good things. But the Apostles, whose feet were beautiful, and those imitators of them who sought to preach the good tidings, could not have done so had not Jesus Himself first preached the good tidings to them, as Isaiah says: “I myself that speak am here, as the opportunity on the mountains, as the feet of one preaching tidings of peace, as one preaching good things; for I will make My salvation to be heard, saying, God shall reign over thee, O Zion!” For what are the mountains on which the speaker declares that He Himself is present, but those who are less than none of the highest and the greatest of the earth? And these must be sought by the able ministers of the New Covenant, in order that they may observe the injunction which says: Go up into a high mountain, thou that preachest good tidings to Zion; thou that preachest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength!” Now it is not wonderful if to those who are to preach good tidings Jesus Himself preaches good tidings of good things, which are no other than Himself; for the Son of God preaches the good tidings of Himself to those who cannot come to know Him through others. And He who goes up into the mountains and preaches good things to them, being Himself instructed by His good Father, who “makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust,” He does not despise those who are poor in soul. To them He preaches good tidings, as He Himself bears witness to us when He takes

Isaiah and reads: “The spirit of the Lord is upon me, for the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor, He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind. For closing the book He handed it to the minister and sat down. And when the eyes of all were fastened upon Him, He said, This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.”

12

THE GOSPEL CONTAINS THE ILL DEEDS ALSO WHICH WERE DONE TO JESUS

It ought not to be forgotten that in such a Gospel as this there is embraced every good deed which was done to Jesus; as, for example, the story of the woman who had been a stalker and had repented, and who, having experienced a genuine recovery from her evil state, had grace to pour her ointment over Jesus so that every one in the house smelt the sweet savor. Hence, too, the words, “Wherever this Gospel shall be preached among all the nations, there also this that she has done shall be spoken of, for a memorial of her.” And it is clear that whatever is done to the disciples of Jesus is done to Him. Pointing to those of them who met with kind treatment, He says to those who were kind to them? “What ye did to these, ye did to Me.” So that every good deed we do to our neighbors is entered ill the Gospel, that Gospel which is written on the heavenly tablets and read by all who are worthy of the knowledge of the whole of things. But on the other side, too, there is a part of the Gospel which is for the condemnation of the doers of the ill deeds which have been done to Jesus. The treachery of Judas and the shouts of the wicked crowd when it said, “Away with such a one from the earth,” and “Crucify Him, crucify Him,” the mockings of those who crowned Him with thorns, and everything of that kind, is included ill the Gospels. And as a consequence of this we see that every one who betrays the disciples of Jesus is reckoned as betraying Jesus Himself. To Saul, when still a persecutor it is said, “Saul Saul, why persecutest thou Me?” and, “I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.” There are those who still have thorns with which they crown and dishonor Jesus, those, namely, who are choked by the cares, and

riches, and pleasures of life, and though they have received the word of God, do not bring it to perfection. We must beware, therefore, lest we also, as crowning Jesus with thorns of our own, should be entered in the Gospel and read of in this character by those who learn the Jesus, who is in all and is present in all rational and holy lives, learn how He is anointed with ointment, is entertained, is glorified, or how, on the other side, He is dishonored, and mocked, and beaten. All this had to be said; it is part of our demonstration that our good actions, and also the sins of those who stumble, are embodied in the Gospel, either to everlasting life or to reproach and everlasting shame.

13

THE ANGELS ALSO ARE EVANGELISTS

Now if there are those among men who are honored with the ministry of evangelists, and if Jesus Himself brings tidings of good things, and preaches the Gospel to the poor, surely those messengers who were made spirits by God, those who are a flame of fire, ministers of the Father of all, cannot have been excluded from being evangelists also. Hence an angel standing over the shepherds made a bright light to shine round about them, and said: “Fear not; behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people; for there is born to you, this day, a Savior, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David.” And at a time when there was no knowledge among men of the mystery of the Gospel, those who were greater than men and inhabitants of heaven, the army of God, praised God, saying, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men.” And having said this, the angels go away from the shepherds into heaven, leaving us to gather how the joy preached to us through the birth of Jesus Christ is glory in the highest to God; they humbled themselves even to the ground, and then returned to their place of rest, to glorify God in the highest through Jesus Christ. But the angels also wonder at the peace which is to be brought about on account of Jesus on the earth, that seat of war, on which Lucifer, star of the morning, fell from heaven, to be warred against and destroyed by Jesus.

14

THE OLD TESTAMENT, TYPIFIED BY JOHN, IS THE BEGINNING OF THE GOSPEL

In addition to what we have said, there is also this to be considered about the Gospel, that in the first instance it is that of Christ Jesus, the head of the whole body of the saved; as Mark says, “The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” Then also it is the Gospel of the Apostles; whence Paul says, “According to my Gospel.” But the beginning of the Gospel — for in respect of its extent it has a beginning, a continuation, a middle, and an end — is nothing but the whole Old Testament. John is, in this respect, a type of the Old Testament, or, if we regard the connection of the New Testament with the Old, John represents the termination of the Old. For the same Mark says: “The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.” And here I must wonder how the dissentients can connect the two Testaments with two different Gods. These words, were there no others, are enough to convict them of their error. For how can John be the beginning of the Gospel if they suppose he belongs to a different God, if he belongs to the demiurge, and, as they hold, is not acquainted with the new deity? And the angels are not entrusted with but one evangelical ministry, and that a short one, not only with that addressed to the shepherds. For at the end an exalted and flying angel, having the Gospel, will preach it to every nation, for the good Father has not entirely deserted those who have fallen away from Him. John, son of Zebedee, says in his Apocalypse: “And I saw an angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the Eternal Gospel, to preach it to those who dwell upon the earth, and to every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and people, saying, with a loud voice, Fear God and give Him glory, for the hour of His judgment hath come, and worship Him that made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.”

15

THE GOSPEL IS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, AND INDEED IN THE WHOLE UNIVERSE PRAYER FOR AID TO UNDERSTAND THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF THE WORK IN HAND

As, then, we have shown that the beginning of the Gospel, according to one interpretation, is the whole Old Testament, and is signified by the person of John, we shall add, lest this should be called a mere unsupported assertion, what is said in the Acts about the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians and Philip. Philip, it is said, began at the passage of Isaiah: “He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb,” and so preached to him the Lord Jesus. How can he begin with the prophet and preach Jesus, if Isaiah was not a part of the beginning of the Gospel? From this we may derive a proof of the assertion made at the outset, that every divine Scripture is Gospel. If he who preaches the Gospel preaches good things, and all those who spoke before the sojourn of Jesus in the flesh preach Christ, who is as we saw good things, then the words spoken by all of them alike are in a sense a part of the Gospel. And when the Gospel is said to be declared throughout the whole world, we infer that it is actually preached in the whole world, not, that is to say, in this earthly district only, but in the whole system of heaven and earth, or from heaven and earth. And why should we discuss any further what the Gospel is? What we have said is enough. Besides the passages we have adduced passages by no means inept or unsuited for our purpose, — much to the same effect might be collected from the Scriptures, so that it is clearly seen what is the glory of the good things in Jesus Christ shed forth by the Gospel, the Gospel ministered by men and angels, and, I believe, also by authorities and powers, and thrones and dominions, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come, and indeed even by Christ Himself. Here, then, let us bring to a close what has to be said before proceeding to read the work itself. And now let us ask God to assist us through Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit, so that we may be able to unfold the mystical sense which is treasured up in the words before us.

16

MEANING OF “BEGINNING” IN SPACE

“In the beginning was the Word.” It is not only the Greeks who consider the word “beginning” to have many meanings. Let any one collect the Scripture passages in which the word occurs, and with a view to an accurate interpretation of it note what it stands for in each passage, and he will find that the word has many meanings in sacred discourse also. We speak of a beginning in reference to a transition. Here it has to do with a road and with length. This appears in the saying: “The beginning of a good way is to do justice.” For since the good way is long, there have first to be considered in reference to it the question connected with action, and this side is presented in the words “to do justice;” the contemplative side comes up for consideration afterwards. In the latter the end of it comes to rest at last in the so-called restoration of all things, since no enemy is left them to fight against, if that be true which is said: “For He must reign until He have placed His enemies under His feet. But the last enemy to be destroyed is death.” For then but one activity will be left for those who have come to God on account of His word which is with Him, that, namely, of knowing God, so that, being found by the knowledge of the Father, they may all be His Son, as now no one but the Son knows the Father. For should any one enquire carefully at what time those are to know the Father to whom He who knows the Father reveals Him, and should he consider how a man now sees only through a glass and in a riddle, never having learned to know as he ought to know, he would be justified in saying that no one, no apostle even, and no prophet had known the Father, but when he became one with Him as a son and a father are one. And if any one says that it is a digression which has led us to this point, our consideration of that one meaning of the word beginning, we must show that the digression is necessary and useful for the end we have in view. For if we speak of a beginning in the case of a transition, and of a way and its length, and if we are told that the beginning of a good way is to do justice, then it concerns us to know in what manner every good way has for its beginning to do justice, and how after such beginning it arrives at contemplation, and in what manner it thus arrives at contemplation.

17

IN TIME

THE BEGINNING OF CREATION

Again, there is a beginning in a matter of origin, as might appear in the saying: “In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.” This meaning, however, appears more plainly in the Book of Job in the passage: “This is the beginning of God’s creation, made for His angels to mock at.” One would suppose that the heavens and the earth were made first, of all that was made at the creation of the world. But the second passage suggests a better view, namely, that as many beings were framed with a body, the first made of these was the creature called dragon, but called in another passage the great whale (leviathan) which the Lord tamed. We must ask about this; whether, when the saints were living a blessed life apart from matter and from any body, the dragon, falling from the pure life, became fit to be bound in matter and in a body, so that the Lord could say, speaking through storm and clouds, “This is the beginning of the creation of God, made for His angels to mock at.” It is possible, however, that the dragon is not positively the beginning of the creation of the Lord, but that there were many creatures made with a body for the angels to mock at, and that the dragon was the first of these, while others could subsist in a body without such reproach. But it is not so. For the soul of the sun is placed in a body, and the whole creation, of which the Apostle says: “The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now,” and perhaps the following is about the same: “The creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but on account of Him who subjected it for hope;” so that bodies might be in vanity, and doing the things of the body, as he who is in the body must.... One who is in the body does the things of the body, though unwillingly. Wherefore the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but he who does unwillingly the things of the body does what he does for the sake of hope, as if we should say that Paul desired to remain in the flesh, not willingly, but on account of hope. For though he thought it better to be dissolved and

to be with Christ, it was not unreasonable that he should wish to remain in the flesh for the sake of the benefit to others and of advancement in the things hoped for, not only by him, but also by those benefited by him. This meaning of the term" beginning," as of origin, will serve us also in the passage in which Wisdom speaks in the Proverbs. "God," we read, "created me the beginning of His ways, for His works." Here the term could be interpreted as in the first application we spoke of, that of a way: "The Lord," it says, "created me the beginning of His ways." One might assert, and with reason, that God Himself is the beginning of all things, and might go on to say, as is plain, that the Father is the beginning of the Son; and the demiurge the beginning of the works of the demiurge, and that God in a word is the beginning of all that exists. This view is supported by our: "In the beginning was the Word." In the Word one may see the Son, and because He is in the Father He may be said to be in the beginning.

18

OF SUBSTANCE

In the third place a beginning may be that out of which a thing comes, the underlying matter from which things are formed. This, however, is the view of those who hold matter itself to be uncreated, a view which we believers cannot share, since we believe God to have made the things that are out of the things which are not, as the mother of the seven martyrs in the Maccabees teaches, and as the angel of repentance in the Shepherd inculcated.

19

OF TYPE AND COPY

In addition to these meanings there is that in which we speak of an arche, according to form; thus if the first-born of every creature is the image of the invisible God, then the Father is his arche. In the same way Christ is the arche of those who are made according to the image of God. For if men are according to the image, but the image according to the Father; in the

first case the Father is the arche of Christ, and in the other Christ is the arche of men, and men are made, not according to that of which he is the image, but according to the image. With this example our passage will agree: “In the arche was the Word.”

20.

OF ELEMENTS AND WHAT IS FORMED FROM THEM

There is also an arche in a matter of learning, as when we say that the letters are the arche of grammar. The Apostle accordingly says: “When by reason of the time you ought to be teachers, you have need again that some one teach you what are the elements of the arche of the oracles of God.” Now the arche spoken of in connection with learning is twofold; first in respect of its nature, secondly in its relation to us; as we might say of Christ, that by nature His arche is deity, but that in relation to us who cannot, for its very greatness, command the whole truth about Him, His arche is His manhood, as He is preached to babes, “Jesus Christ and Him crucified.” In this view, then, Christ is the arche of learning in His own nature, because He is the wisdom and power of God; but for us, the Word was made flesh, that He might tabernacle among us who could only thus at first receive Him. And perhaps this is the reason why He is not only the firstborn of all creation, but is also designated the man, Adam. For Paul says He is Adam: “The last Adam was made a life-giving spirit.”

21.

OF DESIGN AND EXECUTION

Again we speak of the arche of an action, in which there is a design which appears after the beginning. It may be considered whether wisdom is to be regarded as the arche of the works of God because it is in this way the principle of them.

22

THE WORD WAS IN THE BEGINNING, I.E., IN WISDOM, WHICH CONTAINED ALL THINGS IN IDEA, BEFORE THEY EXISTED. CHRIST'S CHARACTER AS WISDOM IS PRIOR TO HIS OTHER CHARACTERS

So many meanings occur to us at once of the word arche. We have now to ask which of them we should adopt for our text, "In the beginning was the Word." It is plain that we may at once dismiss the meaning which connects it with transition or with a road and its length. Nor, it is pretty plain, will the meaning connected with an origin serve our purpose. One might, however, think of the sense in which it points to the author, to that which brings about the effect, if, as we read, "God commanded and they were created." For Christ is, in a manner, the demiurge, to whom the Father says, "Let there be light," and "Let there be a firmament." But Christ is demiurge as a beginning(arche), inasmuch as He is wisdom. It is in virtue of His being wisdom that He is called arche. For Wisdom says in Solomon: "God created me the beginning of His ways, for His works," so that the Word might be in an arche, namely, in wisdom. Considered in relation to the structure of contemplation and thoughts about the whole of things, it is regarded as wisdom; but in relation to that side of the objects of thought, in which reasonable beings apprehend them, it is considered as the Word. And there is no wonder, since, as we have said before, the Savior is many good things, if He comprises in Himself thoughts of the first order, and of the second, and of the third. This is what John suggested when he said about the Word: "That which was made was life in Him." Life then came in the Word. And on the one side the Word is no other than the Christ, the Word, He who was with the Father, by whom all things were made; while, on the other side, the Life is no other than the Son of God, who says: "I am the way and the truth and the life." As, then, life came into being in the Word, so the Word in the arche. Consider, however, if we are at liberty to take this meaning of arche for our text: "In the beginning was the Word," so as to obtain the meaning that all things came into being according to wisdom and according to the models of the system which are present in his thoughts. For I consider that as a house or a ship is built and fashioned in accordance with the sketches of the builder or designer, the house or the

ship having their beginning (arche) in the sketches and reckonings in his mind, so all things came into being in accordance with the designs of what was to be, clearly laid down by God in wisdom. And we should add that having created, so to speak, ensouled wisdom, He left her to hand over, from the types which were in her, to things existing and to matter, the actual emergence of them, their moulding and their forms. But I consider, if it be permitted to say this, that the beginning (arche) of real existence was the Son of God, saying: “I am the beginning and the end, the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last.” We must, however, remember that He is not the arche in respect of every name which is applied to Him. For how can He be the beginning in respect of His being life, when life came in the Word, and the Word is manifestly the arche of life? It is also tolerably evident that He cannot be the arche in respect of His being the first-born from the dead. And if we go through all His titles carefully we find that He is the arche only in respect of His being wisdom. Not even as the Word is He the arche, for the Word was in the arche. And so one might venture to say that wisdom is anterior to all the thoughts that are expressed in the titles of the first-born of every creature. Now God is altogether one and simple; but our Savior, for many reasons, since God set Him forth a propitiation and a first fruits of the whole creation, is made many things, or perhaps all these things; the whole creation, so far as capable of redemption, stands in need of Him. And, hence, He is made the light of men, because men, being darkened by wickedness, need the light that shines in darkness, and is not overtaken by the darkness; had not men been in darkness, He would not have become the light of men. The same thing may be observed in respect of His being the first-born of the dead. For supposing the woman had not been deceived, and Adam had not fallen, and man created for incorruption had obtained it, then He would not have descended into the grave, nor would He have died, there being no sin, nor would His love of men have required that He should die, and if He had not died, He could not have been the first-born of the dead. We may also ask whether He would ever have become a shepherd, had man not been thrown together with the beasts which are devoid of reason, and made like to them. For if God saves man and beasts, He saves those beasts which He does save, by giving them a shepherd, since they cannot have a king. Thus if we collect the titles of Jesus, the question arises which of them were conferred on Him later, and would never have assumed such importance if the saints

had begun and had also persevered in blessedness. Perhaps Wisdom would be the only remaining one, or perhaps the Word would remain too, or perhaps the Life, or perhaps the Truth, not the others, which He took for our sake. And happy indeed are those who in their need for the Son of God have yet become such persons as not to need Him in His character as a physician healing the sick, nor in that of a shepherd, nor in that of redemption, but only in His characters as wisdom, as the word and righteousness, or if there be any other title suitable for those who are so perfect as to receive Him in His fairest characters. So much for the phrase "In the beginning."

23

THE TITLE "WORD" IS TO BE INTERPRETED BY THE SAME METHOD AS THE OTHER TITLES OF CHRIST. THE WORD OF GOD IS NOT A MERE ATTRIBUTE OF GOD, BUT A SEPARATE PERSON. WHAT IS MEANT WHEN HE IS CALLED THE WORD

Let us consider, however, a little more carefully what is the Word which is in the beginning. I am often led to wonder when I consider the things that are said about Christ, even by those who are in earnest in their belief in Him. Though there is a countless number of names which can be applied to our Savior, they omit the most of them, and if they should remember them, they declare that these titles are not to be understood in their proper sense, but tropically. But when they come to the title Logos (Word), and repeat that Christ alone is the Word of God, they are not consistent, and do not, as in the case of the other titles, search out what is behind the meaning of the term "Word." I wonder at the stupidity of the general run of Christians in this matter. I do not mince matters; it is nothing but stupidity. The Son of God says in one passage, "I am the light of the world," and in another, "I am the resurrection," and again, "I am the way and the truth and the life." It is also written, "I am the door," and we have the saying, "I am the good shepherd," and when the woman of Samaria says, "We know the Messiah is coming, who is called Christ; when He comes, He will tell us all things," Jesus answers, "I that speak unto thee am He." Again, when He washed the disciples' feet, He declared Himself in these words to be their

Master and Lord: “You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am.” He also distinctly announces Himself as the Son of God, when He says, “He whom the Father sanctified and sent unto the world, to Him do you say, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?” and “Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that the Son also may glorify Thee.” We also find Him declaring Himself to be a king, as when He answers Pilate’s question, “Art Thou the King of the Jews?” by saying, “My kingdom is not of this world; if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is My kingdom not from hence.” We have also read the words, “I am the true vine and My Father is the husbandman,” and again, “I am the vine, ye are the branches.” Add to these testimonies also the saying, “I am the bread of life, that came down from heaven and giveth life to the world.” These texts will suffice for the present, which we have picked up out of the storehouse of the Gospels, and in all of which He claims to be the Son of God. But in the Apocalypse of John, too, He says, “I am the first and the last, and the living One, and I was dead. Behold, I am alive for evermore.” And again, “I am the Alpha and the Omega, and the first and the last, the beginning and the end.” The careful student of the sacred books, moreover, may gather not a few similar passages from the prophets, as where He calls Himself a chosen shaft, and a servant of God, and a light of the Gentiles. Isaiah also says,” “From my mother’s womb hath He called me by my name, and He made my mouth as a sharp sword, and under the shadow of His hand did He hide me, and He said to me, Thou art My servant, O Israel, and in thee will I be glorified.” And a little farther on: “And my God shall be my strength, and He said to me, This is a great thing for thee to be called My servant, to set up the tribes of Jacob and to turn again the diaspora of Israel. Behold I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation to the end of the earth.” And in Jeremiah too He likens Himself to a lamb, as thus: “I was as a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter.” These and other similar sayings He applies to Himself. In addition to these one might collect in the Gospels and the Apostles and in the prophets a countless number of titles which are applied to the Son of God, as the writers of the Gospels set forth their own views of what He is, or the Apostles extol Him out of what they had learned, or the prophets proclaim in advance His coining advent and announce the things concerning Him under various names. Thus John calls

Him the Lamb of God, saying, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world,” and in these words he declares Him as a man, “This is He about whom I said, that there cometh after me a man who is there before me; for He was before me.” And in his Catholic Epistle John says that He is a Paraclete for our souls with the Father, as thus: “And if any one sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous,” and he adds that He is a propitiation for our sins, and similarly Paul says He is a propitiation: “Whom God set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood, on account of forgiveness of the forepast sins, in the forbearance of God.” According to Paul, too, He is declared to be the wisdom and the power of God, as in the Epistle to the Corinthians: “Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.” It is added that He is also sanctification and redemption: “He was made to us of God,” he says, “wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.” But he also teaches us, writing to the Hebrews, that Christ is a High-Priest: “Having, therefore, a great High-Priest, who has passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession.” And the prophets have other names for Him besides these. Jacob in his blessing of his sons says, “Judah, thy brethren shall extol thee; thy hands are on the necks of thine enemies. A lion’s whelp is Judah, from a shoot, my son, art thou sprung up; thou hast lain down and slept as a lion; who shall awaken him?” We cannot now linger over these phrases, to show that what is said of Judah applies to Christ. What may be quoted against this view, viz., “A ruler shall not part from Judah nor a leader from his loins, until He come for whom it is reserved;” this can better be cleared up on another occasion. But Isaiah knows Christ to be spoken of under the names of Jacob and Israel, when he says, “Jacob is my servant, I will help Him; Israel is my elect, my soul hath accepted Him. He shall declare judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any one hear His voice on the streets. A bruised rod shall He not break. and smoking flax shall He not quench, till He bring forth judgment from victory, and in His name shall the nations hope.” That it is Christ about whom such prophecies are made, Matthew shows in his Gospel, where he quotes from memory and says: “That the saying might be fulfilled, He shall not strive nor cry,” etc. David also is called Christ, as where Ezekiel in his prophecy to the shepherds adds as from the mouth of God: “I will raise up David my servant, who shall be their shepherd.” For it is not the patriarch David

who is to rise and be the shepherd of the saints, but Christ. Isaiah also called Christ the rod and the flower: “There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of tits root, and the spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel slid of might, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and He shall be full of the spirit of the fear of the Lord.” And in the Psalms our Lord is called the stone, as follows: “The stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the comer. It is from the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes.” And the Gospel shows, as also does Luke in the Acts, that the stone is no other than Christ; the Gospel as follows: “Have ye never read, the stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the corner. Whosoever falls on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust.” And Luke writes in Acts: “This is the stone, which was set at naught of you the builders, which has become the head of the corner.” And one of the names applied to the Savior is that which He Himself does not utter, but which John records; — the Word who was in the beginning with God, God the Word. And it is worth our while to fix our attention for a moment on those scholars who omit consideration of most of the great names we have mentioned and regard this as the most important one. As to the former titles, they look for any account of them that any one may offer, but in the case of this one they proceed differently and ask, What is the Son of God when called the Word? The passage they employ most is that in the Psalms, “My heart hath produced a good Word;” and they imagine the Son of God to be the utterance of the Father deposited, as it were, in syllables, and accordingly they do not allow Him, if we examine them farther, any independent hypostasis, nor are they clear about His essence. I do not mean that they confuse its qualities, but the fact of His having an essence of His own. For no one can understand how that which is said to be “Word” can be a Son. And such an animated Word, not being a separate entity from the Father, and accordingly as it, having no subsistence. is not a Son, or if he is a Son, let them say that God the Word is a separate being and has an essence of His own. We insist, therefore, that as in the case of each of the titles spoken of above we turn from the title to the concept it suggests slid apply it and demonstrate how the Son of God is suitably described by it, the same course must be followed when we find Him called the Word. What caprice it is, in all these cases, not to stand upon the term employed,

but to enquire in what sense Christ is to be understood to be the door, and in what way the vine, and why He is the way; but in the one case of His being called the Word, to follow a different course. To add to the authority, therefore, of what we have to say on the question, how the Son of God is the Word, we must begin with those names of which we spoke first as being applied to Him. This, we cannot deny, will seem to some to be superfluous and a digression, but the thoughtful reader will not think it useless to ask as to the concepts for which the titles are used; to observe these matters will clear the way for what is coming. And once we have entered upon the theology concerning the Savior, as we seek with what diligence we can and find the various things that are taught about Him, we shall necessarily understand more about Him not only in His character as the Word, but in His other characters also.

24

CHRIST AS LIGHT; HOW HE, AND HOW HIS DISCIPLES ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

He said, then, that He was the light of the world; and we have to examine, along with this title, those which are parallel to it; and, indeed, are thought by some to be not merely parallel, but identical with it. He is the true light, and the light of the Gentiles. In the opening of the Gospel now before us He is the light of men: “That which was made,” it says, “was life in Him, and the life was the light of men; and the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not overtake it.” A little further on, in the same passage, He is called the true light: “The true light, which lightens every man, was coming into the world.” In Isaiah, He is the light of the Gentiles, as we said before. “Behold, I have set Thee for a light of the Gentiles, that Thou shouldest be for salvation to the end of the earth.” Now the sensible light of the world is the sun, and after it comes very worthily the moon, and the same title may be applied to the stars; but those lights of the world are said in Moses to have come into existence on the fourth day, and as they shed light on the things on the earth, they are not the true light. But the Savior shines on creatures which have intellect and sovereign reason, that their minds may behold their proper objects of vision, and so he is the light of the

intellectual world, that is to say, of the reasonable souls which are in the sensible world, and if there be any beings beyond these in the world from which He declares Himself to be our Savior. He is, indeed, the most determining and distinguished part of that world, and, as we may say, the sun who makes the great day of the Lord. In view of this day He says to those who partake of His light, “Work while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world.” Then He says to His disciples, “Ye are the light of the world,” and “Let your light shine before men.” Thus we see the Church, the bride, to present an analogy to the moon and stars, and the disciples have a light, which is their own or borrowed from the true sun, so that they are able to illuminate those who have no command of any spring of light in themselves. We may say that Paul and Peter are the light of the world, and that those of their disciples who are enlightened themselves, but are not able to enlighten others, are the world of which the Apostles were the light. But the Savior, being the light of the world, illuminates not bodies, but by His incorporeal power the incorporeal intellect, to the end that each of us, enlightened as by the sun, may be able to discern the rest of the things of the mind. And as when the sun is shining the moon and the stars lose their power of giving light, so those who are irradiated by Christ and receive His beams have no need of the ministering apostles and prophets — we must have courage to declare this truth — nor of the angels; I will add that they have no need even of the greater powers when they are disciples of that first-born light. To those who do not receive the solar beams of Christ. the ministering saints do afford an illumination much less than the former; this illumination is as much as those persons can receive, and it completely fills them. Christ, again, the light of the world, is the true light as distinguished from the light of sense; nothing that is sensible is true. Yet though the sensible is other than the true, it does not follow that the sensible is false, for the sensible may have an analogy with the intellectual, and not everything that is not true can correctly be called false. Now I ask whether the light of the world is the same thing with the light of men, and I conceive that a higher power of light is intended by the former phrase than by the latter, for the world in one sense is not only men. Paul shows that the world is something more than men when he writes to the Corinthians in his first Epistle: “We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.” In one sense, too, it may be considered, the

world is the creation which is being delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God, whose earnest expectation is waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. We also draw attention to the comparison which may be drawn between the statement, “I am the light of the world,” and the words addressed to the disciples, “Ye are the light of the world.” Some suppose that the genuine disciples of Jesus are greater than other creatures, some seeking the reason of this ill the natural growth of these disciples, others inferring it from their harder struggle. For those beings which are in flesh and blood have greater labors and a life more full of dangers than those which are in an ethereal body, and the lights of heaven might not, if they had put on bodies of earth, have accomplished this life of ours free from danger and from error. Those who incline to this argument may appeal to those texts of Scripture which say the most exalted things about men, and to the fact that the Gospel is addressed directly to men; not so much is said about the creation, or, as we understand it, about the world. We read, “As I and Thou are one, that they also may be one in Us,” and “Where I am, there will also My servant be.” These sayings, plainly, are about men; while about the creation it is said that it is delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. It might be added that not even when it is delivered will it take part in the glory of the sons of God. Nor will those who hold this view forget that the first-born of every creature, honoring man above all else, became man, and that it was not any of the constellations existing in the sky, but one of another order, appointed for this purpose and in the service of the knowledge of Jesus, that was made to be the Star of the East, whether it was like the other stars or perchance better than they, to be the sign of Him who is the most excellent of all. And if the boasting of the saints is in their tribulations, since “tribulation worketh patience, and patience probation, and probation hope, and hope maketh not ashamed,” then the afflicted creation cannot have the like patience with man, nor the like probation, nor the like hope, but another degree of these, since “the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but on account of Him who subjected it. for hope.” Now he who shrinks from conferring such great attributes on man will turn to another direction and say that the creature being subjected to vanity groans and suffers greater affliction than those who groan in this tabernacle, for has she not suffered for the utmost extent of time in her

service of vanity — nay, many times as long as man? For why does she do this not willingly, but that it is against her nature to be subject to vanity, and not to have the best arrangement of her life, that which she shall receive when she is set free, when the world is destroyed and released even from the vanity of bodies. Here, however, we may appear to be stretching too far, and aiming at more than the question now before us requires. We may return, therefore, to the point from which we set out, and ask for what reason the Savior is called the light of the world, the true light, and the light of men. Now we saw that He is called the true light with reference to the sensible light of the world, and that the light of the world is the same thing as the light of men, or that we may at least enquire whether they are the same. This discussion is not superfluous. Some students do not take anything at all out of the statement that the Savior is the Word; and it is important for us to assure ourselves that we are not chargeable with caprice in fixing our attention on that notion. If it admits of being taken in a metaphorical sense we ought not to take it literally. When we apply the mystical and allegorical method to the expression “light of the world” and the many analogous terms mentioned above, we should surely do so with this expression also.

25

CHRIST AS THE RESURRECTION

Now He is called the light of men and the true light and the light of the word, because He brightens and irradiates the higher parts of men, or, in a word, of all reasonable beings. And similarly it is from and because of the energy with which He causes the old deadness to be put aside and that which is par excellence life to be put on, so that those who have truly received Him rise again from the dead, that He is called the resurrection. And this He does not only at the moment at which a man says, “We are buried with Christ through baptism and have risen again with Him,” but much rather when a man, having laid off all about him that belongs to death, walks in the newness of life which belongs to Him, the Son, while here. We always “carry about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus,”

and thus we reap the vast advantage, “that the life of the Lord Jesus might be made manifest in our bodies.”

26

CHRIST AS THE WAY

But that progress too, which is in wisdom and which is found by those who seek their salvation in it to do for them what they require both in respect of exposition of truth in the divine word and in respect of conduct according to true righteousness, it lets us understand how Christ is the way. In this way we have to take nothing with us, neither wallet nor coat; we must travel without even a stick, nor must we have shoes on our feet. For this road is itself sufficient for all the supplies of our journey; and every one who walks on it wants nothing. He is clad with a garment which is fit for one who is setting out in response to an invitation to a wedding; and on this road he cannot meet anything that can annoy him. “No one,” Solomon says, “can find out the way of a serpent upon a rock.” I would add, or that of any other beast. Hence there is no need of a staff on this road, on which there is no trace of any hostile creature, and the hardness of which, whence also it is called rock (petra), makes it incapable of harboring anything hurtful.

27

CHRIST AS THE TRUTH

Further, the Only-begotten is the truth, because He embraces in Himself according to the Father’s will the whole reason of all things, and that with perfect clearness, and being the truth communicates to each creature in proportion to its worthiness. And should any one enquire whether all that the Father knows, according to the depth of His riches and His wisdom and His knowledge, is known to our Savior also, and should he, imagining that he will thereby glorify the Father, show that some things known to the Father are unknown to the Son, although He might have had an equal share of the apprehensions of the unbegotten God, we must remind him

that it is from His being the truth that He is Savior, and add that if He is the truth complete, then there is nothing true which He does not know; truth must not limp for the want of the things which, according to those persons, are known to the Father only. Or else let it be shown that some things are known to which the name of truth does not apply, but which are above the truth.

28

CHRIST AS LIFE

It is clear also that the principle of that life which is pure and unmixed with any other element, resides in Him who is the first-born of all creation, taking from which those who have a share in Christ live the life which is true life, while all those who are thought to live apart from this, as they have not the true light, have not the true life either.

29

CHRIST AS THE DOOR AND AS THE SHEPHERD

But as one cannot be in the Father or with the Father except by ascending from below upwards and coming first to the divinity of the Son, through which one may be led by the hand and brought to the blessedness of the Father Himself, so the Savior has the inscription “The Door.” And as He is a lover of men, and approves the impulse of human souls to better things, even of those who do not hasten to reason (the Logos), but like sheep have a weakness and gentleness apart from all accuracy and reason, so He is the Shepherd. For the Lord saves men and beasts, and Israel and Juda are sowed with the seed not of men only but also of beasts.

30

CHRIST AS ANOINTED {CHRIST) AND AS KING

In addition to these titles we must consider at the outset of our work that of Christ, and we must also consider that of King, and compare these two so as to find out the difference between them. Now it is said in the forty-fourth Psalm, “Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, whence Thou art anointed (Christ) above Thy fellows.” His loving righteousness and hating iniquity were thus added claims in Him; His anointing was not contemporary with His being nor inherited by Him from the first. Anointing is a symbol of entering on the kingship, and sometimes also on the priesthood; and must we therefore conclude that the kingship of the Son of God is not inherited nor congenital to Him? But how is it conceivable that the First-born of all creation was not a king and became a king afterwards because He loved righteousness, when, moreover, He Himself was righteousness? We cannot fail to see that it is as a man that He is Christ, in respect of His soul, which was human and liable to be troubled and sore vexed, but that He is conceived as king in respect of the divine in Him. I find support for this in the seventy-first Psalm, which says, “Give the king Thy judgment, O God, and Thy righteousness to the king’s Son, to judge Thy people in righteousness and Thy poor in judgment.” This Psalm, though addressed to Solomon, is evidently a prophecy of Christ, and it is worth while to ask to what king the prophecy desires judgment to be given by God, and to what king’s Son, and what king’s righteousness is spoken of. I conceive, then, that what is called the King is the leading nature of the First-born of all creation, to which judgment is given on account of its eminence; and that the man whom He assumed, formed and molded by that nature, according to righteousness, is the King’s Son. I am the more led to think that this is so, because the two beings are here brought together in one sentence, and are spoken of as if they were not two but one. For the Savior made both one, that is, He made them according to the prototype of the two which had been made one in Himself before all things. The two I refer to human nature, since each man’s soul is mixed with the Holy Spirit, and each of those who are saved is thus made spiritual. Now as there are some to whom Christ is a shepherd, as we said before, because of their meek and

composed nature, though they are less guided by reason; so there are those to whom He is a king, those, namely, who are led in their approach to religion rather by the reasonable part of their nature. And among those who are under a king there are differences; some experience his rule in a more mystic and hidden and more divine way, others in a less perfect fashion. I should say that those who, led by reason, apart from all agencies of sense, have beheld incorporeal things, the things which Paul speaks of as “invisible,” or “not seen,” that they are ruled by the leading nature of the Only-begotten, but that those who have only advanced as far as the reason which is conversant with sensible things, and on account of these glorify their Maker, that these also are governed by the Word, by Christ. No offense need be taken at our distinguishing these notions in the Savior; we draw the same distinctions in His substance.

31

CHRIST AS TEACHER AND MASTER

It is plain to all how our Lord is a teacher and an interpreter for those who are striving towards godliness, and on the other hand a master of those servants who have the spirit of bondage to fear, who make progress and hasten towards wisdom, and are found worthy to possess it. For “the servant knoweth not what the master wills,” since he is no longer his master, but has become his friend. The Lord Himself teaches this, for He says to hearers who were still servants: “You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am,” but in another passage, “I call you no longer servants, for the servant knoweth not what is the will of his master, but I call you friends,” because “you have continued with Me in all My temptations.” They, then, who live according to fear, which God exacts from those who are not good servants, as we read in Malachi, “If I am a Master, where is My fear?” are servants of a master who is called their Savior.

32

CHRIST AS SON

None of these testimonies, however, sets forth distinctly the Savior's exalted birth; but when the words are addressed to Him, "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee," this is spoken to Him by God, with whom all time is today, for there is no evening with God, as I consider, and there is no morning, nothing but time that stretches out, along with His unbeginning and unseen life. The day is today with Him in which the Son was begotten, and thus the beginning of His birth is not found, as neither is the day of it.

33

CHRIST THE TRUE VINE, AND AS BREAD

To what we have said must be added how the Son is the true vine. Those will have no difficulty in apprehending this who understand, in a manner worthy of the prophetic grace, the saying: "Wine maketh glad the heart of man." For if the heart be the intellectual part, and what rejoices it is the Word most pleasant of all to drink which takes us off human things, makes us feel ourselves inspired, and intoxicates us with an intoxication which is not irrational but divine, that, I conceive, with which Joseph made his brethren merry, then it is very clear how He who brings wine thus to rejoice the heart of man is the true vine. He is the true vine, because the grapes He bears are the truth, the disciples are His branches, and they, also, bring forth the truth as their fruit. It is somewhat difficult to show the difference between the vine and bread, for He says, not only that He is the vine, but that He is the bread of life. May it be that as bread nourishes and makes strong, and is said to strengthen the heart of man, but wine, on the contrary, pleases and rejoices and melts him, so ethical studies, bringing life to him who learns them and reduces them to practice, are the bread of life, but cannot properly be called the fruit of the vine, while secret and mystical speculations, rejoicing the heart and causing those to feel inspired who take them in, delighting in the Lord, and who desire not

only to be nourished but to be made happy, are called the juice of the true vine, because they flow from it.

34

CHRIST AS THE FIRST AND THE LAST; HE IS ALSO WHAT LIES BETWEEN THESE

Further, we have to ask in what sense He is called in the Apocalypse the First and the Last, and how, in His character as the First, He is not the same as the Alpha and the beginning, while in His character as the Last He is not the same as the Omega and the end. It appears to me, then, that the reasonable beings which exist are characterized by many forms, and that some of them are the first, some the second, some the third, and so on to the last. To pronounce exactly, however, which is the first, what kind of a being the second is, which may truly be designated third, and to carry this out to the end of the series, this is not a task for man, but transcends our nature. We shall yet venture, such as we are, to stand still a little at this point, and to make some observations on the matter. There are some gods of whom God is God, as we hear in prophecy, “Thank ye the God of gods,” and “The God of gods hath spoken, and called the earth.” Now God, according to the Gospel, “is not the God of the dead but of the living.” Those gods, then, are living of whom God is God. The Apostle, too, writing to the Corinthians, says: “As there are gods many and lords many,” and so we have spoken of these gods as really existing. Now there are, besides the gods of whom God is God, certain others, who are called thrones, and others called dominions, lordships, also, and powers in addition to these. The phrase, “above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come,” leads us to believe that there are yet others besides these which are less familiar to us; one kind of these the Hebrews called Sabai, from which Sabaoth was formed, who is their ruler, and is none other than God. Add to all these the reasonable being who is mortal, man. Now the God of all things made first in honor some race of reasonable beings; this I consider to be those who are called gods, and the second order, let us say, for the present, are the thrones, and the third, undoubtedly, the dominions. And thus we come down in order

to the last reasonable race, which, perhaps, cannot be any other than man. The Savior accordingly became, in a diviner way than Paul, all things to all, that He might either gain all or perfect them; it is clear that to men He became a man, and to the angels an angel. As for His becoming man no believer has any doubt, but as to His becoming an angel, we shall find reason for believing it was so, if we observe carefully the appearances and the words of the angels, in some of which the powers of the angels seem to belong to Him. In several passages angels speak in such a way as to suggest this, as when “the angel of the Lord appeared in a flame of fire. And he said. I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob.” But Isaiah also says: “His name is called Angel of Great Counsel.” The Savior, then, is the first and the last, not that He is not what lies between, but the extremities are named to show that He became all things. Consider, however, whether the last is man, or the things said to be under the earth, of which are the demons, all of them or some. We must ask, too, about those things which the Savior became which He speaks of through the prophet David, “And I became as a man without any to help him, free among the dead.” His birth from the Virgin and His life so admirably lived showed Him to be more than man, and it was the same among the dead. He was the only free person there, and His soul was not left in hell. Thus, then, He is the first and the last. Again, if there be letters of God, as such there are, by reading which the saints may say they have read what is written on the tablets of heaven, these letters, by which heavenly things are to be read, are the notions, divided into small parts, into Alpha and so on to Omega, the Son of God. Again, He is the beginning and the end, but He is this not in all His aspects equally. For He is the beginning, as the Proverbs teach us, inasmuch as He is wisdom; it is written: “The Lord rounded Me in the beginning of His ways. for His works.” In the respect of His being the Logos He is not the beginning. “The Word was in the beginning.” Thus in His aspects one comes first and is the beginning, and there is a second after the beginning, and a third, and so on to the end, as if He had said, I am the beginning. inasmuch as I am wisdom, and the second, perhaps, inasmuch as I am invisible, and the third in that I am life, for “what was made was life in Him.” One who was qualified to examine and to discern the sense of Scripture might, no doubt, find many members of the series; I cannot say if he could find them all. “The beginning and the end” is a phrase we usually apply to a thing that is a completed unity; the

beginning of a house is its foundation and the end the parapet. We cannot but think of this figure. since Christ is the stone which is the head of the corner, to the great unity of the body of the saved. For Christ the only-begotten Son is all and in all, He is as the beginning in the man He assumed, He is present as the end in the last of the saints, and He is also in those between, or else He is present as the beginning in Adam, as the end in His life on earth, according to the saying: “The last Adam was made a quickening spirit.” This saying harmonizes well with the interpretation we have given of the first and the last.

35

CHRIST AS THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

In what has been said about the first and the last, and about the beginning and the end, we have referred these words at one point to the different forms of reasonable beings, at another to the different conceptions of the Son of God. Thus we have gained a distinction between the first and the beginning, and between the last and the end, and also the distinctive meaning of Alpha and Omega. It is not hard to see why he is called “the Living and the Dead,” and after being dead He that is alive for evermore. For since we were not helped by His original life, sunk as we were in sin, He came down into our deadness in order that, He having died to sin, we, bearing about in our body the dying of Jesus. might then receive that life of His which is for evermore. For those who always carry about in their body the dying of Jesus shall obtain the life of Jesus also, manifested in their bodies.

36

CHRIST AS A SWORD

The texts of the New Testament, which we have discussed, are things said by Himself about Himself. Isaiah, however, He said that His mouth had been set by His Father as a sharp sword, and that He was hidden under the shadow of His hand, made like to a chosen shaft and kept close in the

Father's quiver, called His servant by the God of all things, and Israel, and Light of the Gentiles. The mouth of the Son of God is a sharp sword, for "The word of God is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart." And indeed He came not to bring peace on the earth, that is, to corporeal and sensible things, but a sword, and to cut through, if I may say so, the disastrous friendship of soul and body, so that the soul, committing herself to the spirit which was against the flesh, may enter into friendship with God. Hence, according to the prophetic word, He made His mouth as a sword, as a sharp sword. Can any one behold so many wounded by the divine love, like her in the Song of Songs, who complained that she was wounded: "I am wounded with love," and find the dart that wounded so many souls for the love of God, in any but Him who said, "He hath made Me as a chosen shaft."

37.

CHRIST AS A SERVANT, AS THE LAMB OF GOD, AND AS THE MAN WHOM JOHN DID NOT KNOW

Again, let any one consider how Jesus was to His disciples, not as He who sits at meat, but as He who serves, and how though the Son of God He took on Him the form of a servant for the sake of the freedom of those who were enslaved in sin, and he will be at no loss to account for the Father's saying to Him: "Thou art My servant," and a little further on: "It is a great thing that thou shouldst be called My servant." For we do not hesitate to say that the goodness of Christ appears in a greater and more divine light, and more according to the image of the Father, because "He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," than if He had judged it a thing to be grasped to be equal with God, and had shrunk from becoming a servant for the salvation of the world. Hence He says, desiring to teach us that in accepting this state of servitude He had received a great gift from His Father: "And My God shall be My strength. And He said to Me, It is a great thing for Thee to be called My servant." For if He had not become a servant, He would not have raised up

the tribes of Jacob, nor have turned the heart of the diaspora of Israel, and neither would He have become a light of the Gentiles to be for salvation to the ends of the earth. And it is no great thing for Him to become a servant, even if it is called a great thing by His Father, for this is in comparison with His being called with an innocent sheep and with a lamb. For the Lamb of God became like an innocent sheep being led to the slaughter, that He may take away the sin of the world. He who supplies reason (logos) to all is made like a lamb which is dumb before her shearer, that we might be purified by His death, which is given as a sort of medicine against the opposing power, and also against the sin of those who open their minds to the truth. For the death of Christ reduced to impotence those powers which war against the human race, and it set free from sin by a power beyond our words the life of each believer. Since, then, He takes away sin until every enemy shall be destroyed and death last of all, in order that the whole world may be free from sin, therefore John points to Him and says: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." It is not said that He will take it away in the future, nor that He is at present taking it, nor that He has taken it, but is not taking it away now. His taking away sin is still going on, He is taking it away from every individual in the world, till sin be taken away from the whole world, and the Savior deliver the kingdom prepared and completed to the Father, a kingdom in which no sin is left at all, and which, therefore, is ready to accept the Father as its king, and which on the other hand is waiting to receive all God has to bestow, fully, and in every part, at that time when the saying is fulfilled, "That God may be all in all." Further, we hear of a man who is said to be coming after John, who was made before him and was before him. This is to teach us that the man also of the Son of God, the man who was mixed with His divinity, was older than His birth from Mary. John says he does not know this man, but must he not have known Him when he leapt for joy when yet a babe unborn in Elisabeth's womb, as soon as the voice of Mary's salutation sounded in the ears of the wife of Zacharias? Consider, therefore, if the words "I know Him not" may have reference to the period before the bodily existence. Though he did not know Him before He assumed His body, yet he knew Him when yet in his mother's womb, and perhaps he is here learning something new about Him beyond what was known to him before, namely, that on whomsoever the Holy Spirit shall descend and abide on him, that is he who is to baptize with the Holy Spirit

and with fire. He knew him from his mother's womb, but not all about Him. He did not know perhaps that this is He who baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire, when he saw the Spirit descending and abiding on Him. Yet that He was indeed a man, and the first man, John did not know.

38

CHRIST AS PARACLETE, AS PROPITIATION, AND AS THE POWER OF GOD

But none of the names we have mentioned expresses His representation of us with the Father, as He pleads for human nature, and makes atonement for it; the Paraclete, and the propitiation, and the atonement. He has the name Paraclete in the Epistle of John: "If any man sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." And He is said in the same epistle to be the atonement for our sins. Similarly, in the Epistle to the Romans, He is called a propitiation: "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith." Of this proportion there was a type in the inmost part of the temple, the Holy of Holies, namely, the golden mercy-seat placed upon the two cherubim. But how could He ever be the Paraclete, and the atonement, and the propitiation without the power of God, which makes an end of our weakness, flows over the souls of believers, and is administered by Jesus, who indeed is prior to it and Himself the power of God, who enables a man to say: "I can do all things through Jesus Christ who strengtheneth me." Whence we know that Simon Magus, who gave himself the title of "The power of God, which is called great," was consigned to perdition and destruction, he and his money with him. We, on the contrary, who confess Christ as the true power of God, believe that we share with Him, inasmuch as He is that power, all things in which any energy resides.

39

CHRIST AS WISDOM AND SANCTIFICATION AND REDEMPTION

We must not, however, pass over in silence that He is of right the wisdom of God, and hence is called by that name. For the wisdom of the God and Father of all things does not apprehend His substance in mere visions, like the phantasms of human thoughts. Whoever is able to conceive a bodiless existence of manifold speculations which extend to the rationale of existing things, living and, as it were, ensouled, he will see how well the Wisdom of God which is above every creature speaks of herself, when she says: “God created me the beginning of His ways, for His works.” By this creating act the whole creation was enabled to exist, not being unreceptive of that divine wisdom according to which it was brought into being; for God, according to the prophet David, made all things in wisdom. But many things came into being by the help of wisdom, which do not lay hold of that by which they were created: and few things indeed there are which lay hold not only of that wisdom which concerns themselves, but of that which has to do with many things besides, namely, of Christ who is the whole of wisdom. But each of the sages, in proportion as he embraces wisdom, partakes to that extent of Christ, in that He is wisdom; just as every one who is greatly gifted with power, in proportion as he has power, in that proportion also has a share in Christ, inasmuch as He is power. The same is to be thought about sanctification and redemption; for Jesus Himself is made sanctification to us and redemption. Each of us is sanctified with that sanctification, and redeemed with that redemption. Consider, moreover, if the words “to us,” added by the Apostle, have any special force. Christ, he says, “was made to us of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.” In other passages, he speaks about Christ as being wisdom, without any such qualification, and of His being power, saying that Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, though we might have conceived that He was not the wisdom of God or the power of God, absolutely, but only for us. Now, in respect of wisdom and power, we have both forms of the statement, the relative and the absolute; but in respect of sanctification and redemption, this is not the case. Consider, therefore, since “He that sanctifies and they

that are sanctified are all of one," whether the Father is the sanctification of Him who is our sanctification, as, Christ being our head, God is His head. But Christ is our redemption because we had become prisoners and needed ransoming. I do not enquire as to His own redemption, for though He was tempted in all things as we are, He was without sin, and His enemies never reduced Him to captivity.

40

CHRIST AS RIGHTEOUSNESS; AS THE DEMIURGE, THE AGENT OF THE GOOD GOD, AND AS HIGH-PRIEST

Having expiscated the "to us" and the "absolutely" — santification and redemption being "to us" and not absolute, wisdom and redemption both to us and absolute — we must not omit to enquire into the position of righteousness in the same passage. That Christ is righteousness relatively to us appears clearly from the words: "Who was made to us of God wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." And if we do not find Him to be righteousness absolutely as He is the wisdom and the power of God absolutely, then we must enquire whether to Christ Himself, as the Father is santification, so the Father is also righteousness. There is, we know, no unrighteousness with God; He is a righteous and holy Lord, and His judgments are in righteousness, and being righteous, He orders all things righteously.

The heretics drew a distinction for purposes of their own between the just and the good. They did not make the matter very clear, but they considered that the demiurge was just, while the Father of Christ was good. That distinction may, I think, if carefully examined, be applied to the Father and the Son; the Son being righteousness, and having received powers to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man and will judge the world in righteousness, but the Father doing good to those who have been disciplined by the righteousness of the Son. This is after the kingdom of the Son; then the Father will manifest in His works His name the Good, when God becomes all in all. And perhaps by His righteousness the Savior prepares everything at the fit times, and by His word, by His ordering, by His chastisements, and, if I may use such an expression, by His spiritual

healing aids, disposes all things to receive at the end the goodness of the Father. It was from His sense of that goodness that He answered him who addressed the Only-begotten with the words “Good Master,” and said, “Why callest thou Me good? None is good but one, God, the Father.” This we have treated of elsewhere, especially in dealing with the question of the greater than the demiurge; Christ we have taken to be the demiurge, and the Father the greater than He. Such great things, then, He is, the Paraclete, the atonement, the propitiation, the sympathizer with our weaknesses, who was tempted in all human things, as we are, without sin; and in consequence He is a great High-Priest, having offered Himself as the sacrifice which is offered once for all, and not for men only but for every rational creature. For without God He tasted death for every one. In some copies of the Epistle to the Hebrews the words are “by the grace of God.” Now, whether He tasted death for every one without God. He died not for men only but for all other intellectual beings too, or whether He tasted death for every one by the grace of God, He died for all without God, for by the grace of God He tasted death for every one. It would surely be absurd to say that He tasted death for human sins and not for any other being besides man which had fallen into sin, as for example for the stars. For not even the stars are clean in the eyes of God, as we read in Job, “The stars are not clean in His sight,” unless this is to be regarded as a hyperbole. Hence he is a great High-Priest, since He restores all things to His Father’s kingdom, and arranges that whatever defects exist in each part of creation shall be filled up so as to be full of the glory of the Father. This High-Priest is called, from some other notion of him than those we have noticed, Judas, that those who are Jews secretly may take the name of Jew not froth Judah, son of Jacob, but from Him, since they are His brethren, and praise Him for the freedom they have attained. For it is He who sets them free, saving them from their enemies on whose backs He lays His hand to subdue them. When He has put under His feet the opposing power, and is alone in presence of His Father, then He is Jacob and Israel; and thus as we are made light by Him, since He is the light of the world, so we are made Jacob since He is called Jacob, and Israel since He is called Israel.

41

CHRIST AS THE ROD,THE FLOWER, THE STONE

Now He receives the kingdom from the king whom the children of Israel appointed, beginning the monarchy not at the divine command and without even consulting God. He therefore fights the battles of the Lord and so prepares peace for His Son, His people, and this perhaps is the reason why He is called David. Then He is called a rod; such He is to those who need a harder and severer discipline, and have not submitted to the love and gentleness of God. On this account, if He is a rod, He has to "go forth;" He does not remain in Himself, but appears to go beyond His earlier state. Going forth, then, and becoming a rod, He does not remain a rod, but after the rod He becomes a flower that rises up, and after being a rod He is made known as a flower to those who, by His being a rod, have met with visitation. For "God will visit their iniquities with a red," that is, Christ. But "His mercy He will not take from him," for He will have mercy on him, for on whom the Son has mercy the Father has mercy also. An interpretation may be given which makes Him a rod and a flower in respect of different persons, a rod to those who have need of chastisement, a flower to those who are being saved; but I prefer the account of the matter given above. We must add here, however, that, perhaps, looking to the end, if Christ is a rod to any man He is also a flower to him, while it is not the case that he who receives Him as a flower must also know Him as a rod. And yet as one flower is more perfect than another and plants are said to flower, even though they bring forth no perfect fruit, so the perfect receive that of Christ which transcends the flower. Those, on the other hand, who have known Him as a rod will partake along with it, not in His perfection, but in the flower which comes before the fruit. Last of all, before we come to the word Logos, Christ was a stone, set at naught by the builders but placed on the head of the corner, for the living stones are built up as on a foundation on the other stones of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself our Lord being the chief corner-stone, because He is a part of the building made of living stones in the land of the living; therefore He is called a stone. All this we have said to show how capricious and baseless is the procedure of those who, when so many names are given to Christ, take the mere appellation "the Word," without

enquiring, as in the case of His other titles, in what sense it is used; surely they ought to ask what is meant when it is said of the Son of God that He was the Word, and God, and that He was in the beginning with the Father, and that all things were made by Him.

42

OF THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH CHRIST IS THE LOGOS

As, then, from His activity in enlightening the world whose light He is, Christ is named the Light of the World, and as from His making those who sincerely attach themselves to Him put away their deadness and rise again and put on newness of life, He is called the Resurrection, so from an activity of another kind He is called Shepherd and Teacher, King and Chosen Shaft, and Servant, and in addition to these Paraclete and Atonement and Propitiation. And after the same fashion He is also called the Logos, because He takes away from us all that is irrational, and makes us truly reasonable, so that we do all things, even to eating and drinking, to the glory of God, and discharge by the Logos to the glory of God both the commoner functions of life and those which belong to a more advanced stage. For if, by having part in Him, we are raised up and enlightened, herded also it may be and ruled over, then it is clear that we become in a divine manner reasonable, when He drives away from us what in us is irrational and dead, since He is the Logos (reason) and the Resurrection.Consider, however, whether all men have in some way part in Him in His character as Logos. On this point the Apostle teaches us that He is to be sought not outside the seeker, and that those find Him in themselves who set their heart on doing so; “Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? That is to bring Christ down; or, Who shall descend into the abyss? That is to bring Christ up from the dead. But what saith the Scripture? The Word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart,” as if Christ Himself were the same thing as the Word said to be sought after. But when the Lord Himself says “If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin

but now they have no cloak for their sin,” the only sense we can find in His words is that the Logos Himself says that those are not chargeable

with sin to whom He (reason) has not fully come, but that those, if they sin, are guilty who, having had part in Him, act contrary to the ideas by which He declares His full presence in us. Only when thus read is the saying true: “If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin.” Should the words be applied, as many are of opinion that they should, to the visible Christ, then how is it true that those had no sin to whom He did not come? In that case all who lived before the advent of the Savior will be free from sin, since Jesus, as seen in flesh, had not yet come. And more — all those to whom He has never been preached will have no sin, and if they have no sin, then it is clear they are not liable to judgment. But the Logos in man, in which we have said that our whole race had part, is spoken of in two senses; first, in that of the filling up of ideas which takes place, prodigies excepted, in every one who passes beyond the age of boyhood, but secondly, in that of the consummation, which takes place only in the perfect. The words, therefore, “If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have had sin, but now they have no cloak for their sin,” are to be understood in the former sense; but the words, “All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers, and the sheep did not hear them,” in the latter. For before the consummation of reason comes, there is nothing in man but what is blameworthy; all is imperfect and defective, and can by no means command the obedience of those irrational elements in us which are tropically spoken of as sheep. And perhaps the former meaning is to be recognized in the words “The Logos was made flesh,” but the second in “The Logos was God.” We must accordingly look at what there is to be seen in human affairs between the saying, “The Word (reason) was made flesh” and “The Word was God.” When the Word was made flesh can we say that it was to some extent broken up and thinned out, and can we say that it recovered from that point onward till it became again what it was at first, God the Word, the Word with the Father; the Word whose glory John saw, the verily only-begotten, as from the Father. But the Son may also be the Logos (Word), because He reports the secret things of His Father who is intellect in the same way as the Son who is called the Word. For as with us the word is a messenger of those things which the mind perceives, so the Word of God, knowing the Father, since no created being can approach Him without a guide, reveals the Father whom He knows. For no one knows the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son reveals Him, and inasmuch as He is the Word He is the Messenger of

Great Counsel, who has the government upon His shoulders; for He entered on His kingdom by enduring the cross. In the Apocalypse, moreover, the Faithful and True (the Word), is said to sit on a white horse, the epithets indicating, I consider, the clearness of the voice with which the Word of truth speaks to us when He sojourns among us. This is scarcely the place to show how the word “horse” is often used in passages spoken for our encouragement in sacred learning. I only cite two of these: “A horse is deceitful for safety,” and “Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will rejoice in the name of the Lord our God.” Nor must we leave unnoticed a passage in the forty-fourth Psalm, frequently quoted by many writers as if they understood it: “My heart hath belched forth a good word, I speak my works to the King.” Suppose it is God the Father who speaks thus; what is His heart, that the good word should appear in accordance with His heart? If, as these writers suppose, the Word (Logos) needs no interpretation, then the heart is to be taken in the natural sense too. But it is quite absurd to suppose God’s heart to be a part of Him as ours is of our body. We must remind such writers that as when the hand of God is spoken of, and His arm and His finger, we do not read the words literally but enquire in what sound sense we may take them so as to be worthy of God, so His heart is to be understood of His rational power, by which He disposes all things, and His word of that which announces what is in this heart of His. But who is it that announces the counsel of the Father to those of His creatures who are worthy and who have risen above themselves, who but the Savior? That “belched forth” is not, perhaps, without significance; a hundred other terms might have been employed; “My heart has produced a good word,” it might have been said, or “My heart has spoken a good word.” But in belching, some wind that was hidden makes its way out to the world, and so it may be that the Father gives out views of truth not continuously, but as it were after the fashion of belching, and the word has the character of the things thus produced, and is called, therefore, the image of the invisible God. We may enter our agreement, therefore, with the ordinary acceptation of these words, and take them to be spoken by the Father. It is not, however, a matter of course, that it is God Himself who announces these things. Why should it not be a prophet? Filled with the Spirit and unable to contain himself, he brings forth a word about his prophecy concerning Christ: “My heart hath belched forth a good word, I speak my works to the King, my pen is the

tongue of a ready writer. Excellent in beauty is He beyond the sons of men." Then to the Christ Himself: "Grace is poured out on Thy lips." If the Father were the speaker, how could He go on after the words, "Grace is poured out on thy lips," to say, "Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever," and a little further on, "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Some of those who wish to make the Father the speaker may appeal to the words, "Hear, O daughter, and behold and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and thy father." The prophet, it may be said, could not address the Church in the words, "Hear, O daughter." It is not difficult, however, to show that changes of person occur frequently in the Psalms, so that these words, "Hear, O daughter," might be from the Father, in this passage, though the Psalm as a whole is not. To our discussion of the Word we may here add the passage, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens rounded, and all the power of them by the breath of His mouth." Some refer this to the Savior and the Holy Spirit. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply any more than that the heavens were founded by the reason (logos) of God, as when we say that a house is built by the plan (logos) of the architect, or a ship by the plan (logos) of the shipbuilder. In the same way the heavens were founded (made solid) by the Word of God, for they are of a more divine substance, which on this account is called solid; it has little fluidity for the most part, nor is it easily melted like other parts of the world, and specially the lower parts. On account of this difference the heavens are said in a special manner to be constituted by the Word of God.

The saying then stands, first, "In the beginning was the Logos;" we are to place that full in our view; but the testimonies we cited from the Proverbs led us to place wisdom first, and to think of wisdom as preceding the Word which announces her. We must observe, then, that the Logos is in the beginning, that is, in wisdom, always. Its being in wisdom, which is called the beginning, does not prevent it from being with God and from being God, and it is not simply with God, but is in the beginning, in wisdom, with God. For he goes on: "He was in the beginning with God." He might have said, "He was with God;" but as He was in the beginning, so He was with God in the beginning, and "All things were made by Him," being in the beginning, for God made nil things, as David tells us, in wisdom. And to let us understand that the Word has His own definite

place and sphere as one who has life in Himself (and is a distinct person), we must also speak about powers, not about power. “Thus saith the Lord of powers, (A.V. hosts)” we frequently read; there are certain creatures, rational and divine, which are called powers: and of these Christ was the highest and best. and is called not only the wisdom of God but also His power. As, then, there are several powers of God, each of them in its own form, and the Savior is different from these, so also Christ, even if that which is Logos in us is not in respect of form outside of us, will be understood from our discussion up to this point to be the Logos, who has His being in the beginning, in wisdom. This for the present may suffice, on the word: “In the beginning was the Logos.”

BOOK 2

1.

"*And the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*" In the preceding section, my revered brother Ambrosius, brother formed according to the Gospel, we have discussed, as far as is at present in our power, what the Gospel is, and what is the beginning in which the Word was, and what the Word is which was in the beginning. We now come to consider the next point in the work before us, How the Word was with God. To this end it will be of service to remember that what is called the Word came to certain persons; as "The Word of the Lord which came to Hosea, the son of Beeri," and "The Word which came to Isaiah, the son of Amos, concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem," and "The Word which came to Jeremiah concerning the drought." We must enquire how this Word came to Hosea, and how it came also to Isaiah the son of Amos, and again to Jeremiah concerning the drought; the comparison may enable us to dud out how the Word was with God. The generality will simply look at what the prophets said, as if that were the Word of the Lord or the Word, that came to them. May it not be, however, that as we say that this person comes to that, so the Son, the Word, of whom we are now theologizing, came to Hosea, sent to him by the Father; historically, that is to say, to the son of Beeri, the prophet Hosea, but mystically to him who is saved, for Hosea means, etymologically, Saved; and to the son of Beeri, which etymologically means wells, since every one who is saved becomes a son of that spring which gushes forth out of the depths, the wisdom of God. And it is nowise marvellous that the saint should be a son of wells. From his brave deeds he is often called a son, whether, from his works shining before men, of light, or from his possessing the peace of God which passes all understanding, of peace, or, once more, from the help which wisdom brings him, a child of wisdom; for wisdom, it says, is justified of her children. Thus he who by the divine spirit searches all things, and even the deep things of God, so that he can exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!" he can be a son of wells, to whom

the Word of the Lord comes. Similarly the Word comes also to Isaiah, teaching the things which are coming upon Judaea and Jerusalem in the last days; and so also it comes to Jeremiah lifted up by a divine elation. For IAO means etymologically lifting up, elation. Now the Word comes to men who formerly could not receive the advent of the Son of God who is the Word; but to God it does not come, as if it had not been with Him before. The Word was always with the Father; and so it is said, “And the Word was with God.” He did not come to God, and this same word “was” is used of the Word because He was in the beginning at the same time when He was with God, neither being separated from the beginning nor being bereft of His Father. And again, neither did He come to be in the beginning after He had not been in it, nor did He come to be with God after not having been with Him. For before all time and the remotest age the Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God. Thus to find out what is meant by the phrase, “The Word was with God,” we have adduced the words used about the prophets, how He came to Hosea, to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, and we have noticed the difference, by no means accidental, between “became” and “was.” We have to add that in His coming to the prophets He illuminates the prophets with the light of knowledge, causing them to see things which had been before them, but which they had not understood till then. With God, however, He is God, just because He is with Him. And perhaps it was because he saw some such order in the Logos, that John did not place the clause “The Word was God” before the clause “The Word was with God.” The series in which he places his different sentences does not prevent the force of each axiom from being separately and fully seen. One axiom is, “In the beginning was the Word,” a second, “The Word was with God,” and then comes, “And the Word was God.” The arrangement of the sentences might be thought to indicate an order; we have first “In the beginning was the Word,” then, “And the Word was with God,” and thirdly, “And the Word was God,” so that it might be seen that the Word being with God makes Him God.

2

IN WHAT WAY THE LOGOS IS GOD. ERRORS TO BE AVOIDED ON THIS QUESTION

We next notice John's use of the article in these sentences. He does not write without care in this respect, nor is he unfamiliar with the niceties of the Greek tongue. In some cases he uses the article, and in some he omits it. He adds the article to the Logos, but to the name of God he adds it sometimes only. He uses the article, when the name of God refers to the uncreated cause of all things, and omits it when the Logos is named God. Does the same difference which we observe between God with the article and God without it prevail also between the Logos with it and without it? We must enquire into this. As the God who is over all is God with the article not without it, so "the Logos" is the source of that reason (Logos) which dwells in every reasonable creature; the reason which is in each creature is not, like the former called par excellence The Logos. Now there are many who are sincerely concerned about religion, and who fall here into great perplexity. They are afraid that they may be proclaiming two Gods, and their fear drives them into doctrines which are false and wicked. Either they deny that the Son has a distinct nature of His own besides that of the Father, and make Him whom they call the Son to be God all but the name, or they deny the divinity of the Son, giving Him a separate existence of His own, and making His sphere of essence fall outside that of the Father, so that they are separable from each other. To such persons we have to say that God on the one hand is Very God (Autotheos, God of Himself); and so the Savior says in His prayer to the Father, "That they may know Thee the only true God; "but that all beyond the Very God is made God by participation in His divinity, and is not to be called simply God (with the article), but rather God (without article). And thus the first-born of all creation, who is the first to be with God, and to attract to Himself divinity, is a being of more exalted rank than the other gods beside Him, of whom God is the God, as it is written, "The God of gods, the Lord, hath spoken and called the earth." It was by the offices of the first-born that they became gods, for He drew from God in generous measure that they should be made gods, and He communicated it to them according to His own bounty. The true God, then, is "The God," and those who are formed

after Him are gods, images, as it were, of Him the prototype. But the archetypal image, again, of all these images is the Word of God, who was in the beginning, and who by being with God is at all times God, not possessing that of Himself, but by His being with the Father, and not continuing to be God, if we should think of this, except by remaining always in uninterrupted contemplation of the depths of the Father.

3

VARIOUS RELATIONS OF THE LOGOS TO MEN

Now it is possible that some may dislike what we have said representing the Father as the one true God, but admitting other beings besides the true God, who have become gods by having a share of God. They may fear that the glory of Him who surpasses all creation may be lowered to the level of those other beings called gods. We drew this distinction between Him and them that we showed God the Word to be to all the other gods the minister of their divinity. To this we must add, in order to obviate objections, that the reason which is in every reasonable creature occupied the same relation to the reason who was in the beginning with God, and is God the Word, as God the Word occupies to God. As the Father who is Very God and the True God is to His image and to the images of His image — men are said to be according to the image, not to be images of God — so He, the Word, is to the reason (word) in every man. Each fills the place of a fountain — the Father is the fountain of divinity, the Son of reason. As, then, there are many gods, but to us there is but one God the Father, and many Lords, but to us there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, so there are many Logoi, but we, for our part, pray that that one Logos may be with us who was in the beginning and was with God, God the Logos. For whoever does not receive this Logos who was in the beginning with God, or attach himself to Him as He appeared in flesh, or take part in some of those who had part in this Logos, or whoever having had part in Him falls away from Him again, he will have his portion in what is called most opposite to reason. What we have drawn out from the truths with which we started will now be clear enough. First, we spoke about God and the Word of God, and of Gods, either, that is, beings who partake in deity or beings who are called Gods

and are not. And again of the Logos of God and of the Logos of God made flesh, and of logoi, or beings which partake in some way of the Logos, of second logoi or of third, thought to be logoi, in addition to that Logos that was before them all, but not really so. Irrational Reasons these may be styled; beings are spoken of who are said to be Gods but are not, and one might place beside these Gods who are no Gods, Reasons which are no Reasons. Now the God of the universe is the God of the elect, and in a much greater degree of the Saviors of the elect; then He is the God of these beings who are truly Gods, and then He is the God, in a word, of the living and not of the dead. But God the Logos is the God, perhaps, of those who attribute everything to Him and who consider Him to be their Father. Now the sun and the moon and the stars were connected, according to the accounts of men of old times, with beings who were not worthy to have the God of gods counted their God. To this opinion they were led by a passage in Deuteronomy which is somewhat on this wise: “Lest when thou liftest up thine eyes to heaven, and seest the sun and the moon and the whole host of heaven, thou wander away and worship them and serve them which the Lord thy God hath appointed to all the peoples. But to you the Lord thy God hath not so given them.” But how did God appoint the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven to all the nations, if He did not give them in the same way to Israel also, to the end that those who could not rise to the realm of intellect, might be inclined by gods of sense to consider about the Godhead, and might of their own free will connect themselves with these and so be kept from falling away to idols and demons? Is it not the case that some have for their God the God of the universe, while a second class, after these, attach themselves to the Son of God, His Christ, and a third class worship the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven, wandering, it is true, from God, but with a far different and a better wandering than that of those who invoke as gods the works of men’s hands, silver and gold,-works of human skill. Last of all are those who devote themselves to the beings which are called gods but are no gods. In the same way, now, some have faith in that Reason which was in the beginning and was with God and was God; so did Hosea and Isaiah and Jeremiah and others who declared that the Word of the Lord, or the Logos, had come to them. A second class are those who know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, considering that the Word made flesh is the whole Word, and knowing only Christ after the flesh. Such is the great

multitude of those who are counted believers. A third class give themselves to logoi (discourses) having some part in the Logos which they consider superior to all other reason: these are they who follow the honorable and distinguished philosophical schools among the Greeks. A fourth class besides these are they who put their trust in corrupt and godless discourses, doing away with Providence, which is so manifest and almost visible, and who recognize another end for man to follow than the good. It may appear to some that we have wandered from our theme, but to my thinking the view we have reached of four things connected with the name of God and four things connected with the Logos comes in very well at this point. There was God with the article and God without the article, then there were gods in two orders, at the summit of the higher order of whom is God the Word, transcended Himself by the God of the universe. And, again, there was the Logos with the article and the Logos without the article, corresponding to God absolutely and a God; and the Logoi in two ranks. And some men are connected with the Father, being part of Him, and next to these, those whom our argument now brings into clearer light, those who have come to the Savior and take their stand entirely in Him. And third are those of whom we spoke before, who reckon the sun and the moon and the stars to be gods, and take their stand by them. And in the fourth and last place those who submit to soulless and dead idols. To all this we find analogies in what concerns the Logos. Some are adorned with the Word Himself; some with what is next to Him and appears to be the very original Logos Himself, those, namely, who know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and who behold the Word as flesh. And the third class, as we described them a little before. Why should I speak of those who are thought to be in the Logos, but have fallen away, not only from the good itself, but from the very traces of it and from those who have a part in it?

4

THAT THE LOGOS IS ONE, NOT MANY. OF THE WORD, FAITHFUL AND TRUE, ANDOF HIS WHITE HORSE

"*He was in the beginning with God*." By his three foregoing propositions the Evangelist has made us acquainted with three orders, and he now sums up the three in one, saying, "This (Logos) was in the beginning with God." In the first premiss we learned where the Logos was: He was in the beginning; then we learned with whom He was, with God; and then who He was, that He was God. He now points out by this word "He," the Word who is God, and gathers up into a fourth proposition the three which went before, "In the beginning was the Word," "The Word was with God," and "The Word was God." Now he says, He, this (Word) was in the beginning with God. The term beginning may be taken of the beginning of the world, so that we may learn from what is said that the Word was older than the things which were made from the beginning. For if "in the beginning God created heaven and earth," but "He" was in the beginning, then the Logos is manifestly older than those things which were made at the beginning, older not only than the firmament and the dry land, but than the heavens and earth. Now some one might ask, and not unreasonably, why it is not said, "In the beginning was the Word of God, and the Word of God was with God, and the Word of God was God." But he who asked such a question could be shown to be taking for granted that there are a plurality of logoi, differing perhaps from each other in kind, one being the word of God, another perhaps the word of angels, a third of men, and so on with the other logoi. Now, if this were so with the Logos, the case would be the same with wisdom and with righteousness. But it would be absurd that there should be a number of things equally to be called "The Word;" and the same would apply to wisdom and to righteousness. We shall be driven to confess that we ought not to look for a plurality of logoi, or of wisdom, or of righteousness, if we look at the case of truth. Any one will confess that there is only one truth; it could never be said in this case that there is one truth of God, and another of the angels, and another of man, — it lies ill the nature of things that the truth about anything is one. Now, if truth be one, it is clear that the preparation of it and its demonstration, which is wisdom, must in reason be conceived as one, since

what is regarded as wisdom cannot justly claim that title where truth, which is one, is absent from its grasp. But if truth is one and wisdom one, then Reason (Logos) also, which announces truth and makes truth simple and manifest to those who are fitted to receive it, will be one. This we say, by no means denying that truth and wisdom and reason are of God, but we wish to indicate the purpose of the omission in this passage of the words "of God," and of the form of the statement, "In the beginning the Logos was with God." The same John in the Apocalypse gives Him His name with the addition "of God," where he says: "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, and He that sat thereon called Faithful and True; and in righteousness doth He judge and make war. And His eyes are as a flame of fire, and on His head are many diadems, and He hath a name written which no one knoweth but He Himself. And He is arrayed in a garment sprinkled with blood, and His name is called Word of God. And His armies in heaven followed Him on white horses, clothed in pure fine linen. And out of His mouth proceedeth a sharp sword, that with it He should smite the nations, and He shall rule them with a rod of iron, and He treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God. And He hath on His garment and on His thigh a name written: King of kings, and Lord of lords." In this passage Logos is necessarily spoken of absolutely without the article, and also with the addition Logos of God; had the first not been the case (i.e., had the article been given) we might have been led to take up the meaning wrongly, and so to depart from the truth about the Logos. For if it had been called simply Logos, and had not been said to be the Logos of God, then we would not be clearly informed that the Logos is the Logos of God. And, again, had it been called Logos of God but not said to be Logos absolutely, then we might imagine many logoi, according to the constitution of each of the rational beings which exist; then we might assume a number of logoi properly so called. Again, in his description in the Apocalypse of the Logos of God, the Apostle and Evangelist (and the Apocalypse entitles him to be styled a prophet, too) says he saw the Word of God in the opened heaven, and that He was riding on a white horse. Now we must consider what he means to convey when he speaks of heaven being opened and of the white horse, and of the Word of God riding on the white horse, and also what is meant by saying that the Word of God is Faithful and True, and that in righteousness He judges and makes war. All this will greatly advance our study on the

subject of the Word of God. Now I conceive heaven to have been shut against the ungodly, and those who bear the image of the earthly, and to have been opened to the righteous and those adorned with the image of the heavenly. For to the former, being below and still dwelling in the flesh, the better things are closed, since they cannot understand them and have neither power nor will to see their beauty, looking down as they do and not striving to look up. But to the excellent, or those who have their commonwealth in heaven, he opens, with the key of David, the things in heavenly places and discloses them to their view, and makes all clear to them by riding on his horse. These words also have their meaning; the horse is white because it is the nature of higher knowledge (gnwsis) to be clear and white and full of light. And on the white horse sits He who is called Faithful, seated more firmly, and so to speak more royally, on words which cannot be set aside, words which run sharply and more swiftly than any horse, and overhear in their rushing course every so-called word that simulates the Word, and every so-called truth that simulates the Truth. He who sits on the white horse is called Faithful, not because of the faith He cherishes, but of that which He inspires, because He is worthy of faith. Now the Lord Jehovah, according to Moses, is Faithful and True. He is true also in respect of His relation to shadow, type, and image; for such is the Word who is in the opened heaven, for He is not on earth as He is in heaven; on earth He is made flesh and speaks through shadow, type, and image. The multitude, therefore, of those who are reputed to believe are disciples of the shadow of the Word, not of the true Word of God which is in the opened heaven. Hence Jeremiah says, “The Spirit of our face is Christ the Lord, of whom we said, In His shadow shall we live among the nations.” Thus the Word of God who is called Faithful is also called True, and ill righteousness He judges and makes war; since He has received from God the faculty of judging in very righteousness and very judgment, and of apportioning its due to every existing creature. For none of those who have some portion of righteousness and of the faculty of judgment can receive on his soul such copies and impressions of righteousness and judgment as to come short in no point of absolute righteousness and absolute justice, just as no painter of a picture can communicate to the representation all the qualities of the original. This, I conceive, is the reason why David says, “Before Thee shall no living being be justified.” He does not say, no man, or no angel, but no living being, since even if any being partakes of life and

has altogether put off mortality, not even then can it be justified in comparison of Thee, who art, as it were, Life itself. Nor is it possible that one who partakes of life and is therefore called living, should become life itself, or that one who partakes of righteousness and, therefore, is called righteous should become equal to righteousness itself. Now it is the function of the Word of God, not only to judge in righteousness, but also to make war in righteousness, that by making war on His enemies by reason and righteousness, so that what is irrational and wicked is destroyed, He may dwell in the soul of him who, for his salvation, so to speak, has become captive to Christ, and may justify that soul and cast out from her all adversaries. We shall, however, obtain a better view of this war which the Word carries on if we remember that He is an ambassador for the truth. while there is another who pretends to be the Word and is not, and one who calls herself the truth and is not, but a lie. Then the Word, arming Himself against the lie, slays it with the breath of His mouth and brings it to naught by the manifestation of His coming. And consider whether these words of the Apostle to the Thessalonians may be understood in an intellectual sense. For what is that which is destroyed by the breath of the mouth of Christ, Christ being the Word and Truth and Wisdom, but the lie? And what is that which is brought to naught by the manifestation of Christ's coming, Christ being conceived as wisdom and reason, what but that which announces itself as wisdom, when in reality it is one of those things with which God deals as the Apostle describes, "He taketh the wise, those who are not wise with the true wisdom, in their own craftiness"? To what he says of the rider on the white horse, John adds the wonderful statement: "His eyes are like a flame of fire." For as the flame of fire is bright and illuminating, but at the same thee fiery and destructive of material things, so, if I may so say, are the eyes of the Logos with which He sees, and every one who has part in Him; they have not only the inherent quality of laying hold of the things of the mind, but also that of consuming and putting away those conceptions which are more material and gross, since whatever is in any way false flees from the directness and lightness of truth. It is in a very natural order that after speaking of Him who judges in righteousness and makes war in accordance with His righteous judgments, and then after His warring of His giving light, the writer goes on to say, "On His head are many diadems." For had the lie been one, and of one form only, against which the True and Faithful Word

contended, and for conquering which. He was crowned, then one crown alone would naturally have been given Him for the victory. As it is, however, as the lies are many which profess the truth and for warring against which the Word is crowned, the diadems are many which surround the head of the conqueror of them all. As He has overcome every revolting power many diadems mark His victory. Then after the diadems He is said to have a name written which no one knows but He Himself. For there are some things which are known to the Word alone; for the beings which come into existence after Him have a poorer nature than His, and none of them is able to behold all that He apprehends. And perhaps it is the case that only those who have part in that Word know the things which are kept from the knowledge of those who do not partake of Him. Now, in John's vision, the Word of God as He rides on the white horse is not naked: He is clothed with a garment sprinkled with blood, for the Word who was made flesh and therefore died is surrounded with marks of the fact that His blood was poured out upon the earth, when the soldier pierced His side. For of that passion, even should it be our lot some day to come to that highest and supreme contemplation of the Logos, we shall not lose all memory, nor shall we forget the truth that our admission was brought about by His sojourning in our body. This Word of God is followed by the heavenly armies one and all; they follow the Word as their leader, and imitate Him in all things, and chiefly in having mounted, they also, white horses. To him that understands, this secret is open. And as sorrow and grief and wailing fled away at the end of things, so also, I suppose, did obscurity and doubt, all the mysteries of God's wisdom being precisely and clearly opened. Look also at the white horses of the followers of the Word and at the white and pure linen with which they were clothed. As linen comes out of the earth, may not those linen garments stand for the dialects on the earth in which those voices are clothed which make clear announcements of things? We have dealt at some length with the statements found in the Apocalypse about the Word of God; it is important for us to know clearly about Him.

5

HE (THIS ONE) WAS IN THE BEGINNING WITH GOD

To those who fail to distinguish with care the different propositions of the context the Evangelist may appear to be repeating himself. “He was in the beginning with God” may seem to add nothing to “And the Word was with God.” We must observe more carefully. In the statement “The Word was with God” we are not told anything of the when or the where; that is added in the fourth axiom. There are four axioms, or, as some call them, propositions, the fourth being “He was in the beginning with God.” Now “The Word was with God” is not the same thing as “He was,” etc; for here we are told, not only that He was with God, but when and where He was so: “He was in the beginning with God.” The “He,” too, used as it is for a demonstration, will be considered to refer to the Word, or by a less careful enquirer, to God. What was noted before is now summed up in this designation “He,” the notion of the Logos and that of God; and as the argument proceeds the different notions are collected in one; for the notion God is not included in the notion Logos, nor the notion Logos in that of God. And perhaps the proposition before us is a summing up in one of the three which have preceded. Taking the statement that the Word was in the beginning, we have not yet learned that He was with God, and taking the statement that the Word was with God it is not yet clear to us that He was with God in the beginning; and taking the statement that the Word was God, it has neither been shown that He was in the beginning, nor that He was with God.

Now when the Evangelist says, “He was in the beginning with God,” if we apply the pronoun “He” to the Word and to God (as He is God) and consider that “in the beginning” is conjoined with it, and “with God” added to it, then there is nothing left of the three propositions that is not summed up and brought together in this one. And as “in the beginning” has been said twice, we may consider if there are not two lessons we may learn. First, that the Word was in the beginning, as if lie was by Himself and not with any one, and secondly, that He was in the beginning with God. And I consider that there is nothing untrue in saying of Him both that He was in the beginning, and in the beginning with God, for neither

was He with God alone, since He was also in the beginning, nor was He in the beginning alone and not with God, since “He was in the beginning with God.”

6

HOW THE WORD IS THE MAKER OF ALL THINGS, AND EVEN THE HOLY SPIRIT WAS MADE THROUGH HIM

“*All things were made through Him*.” The “through whom “is never found in the first place but always in the second, as in the Epistle to the Romans, “Paul a servant of Christ Jesus, a called Apostle, separated to the Gospel of God which He promised before by His prophets in Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, deter mined the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostleship, for obedience of the faith among all the nations, for His name’s sake.” For God promised aforehand by the prophets His own Gospel, the prophets being His ministers, and having their word to speak about Him “through whom.” And again God gave grace and apostleship to Paul and to the others for the obedience of the faith among all the nations, and this He gave them through Jesus Christ the Savior, for the “through whom” belonged to Him. And the Apostle Paul says in the Epistle to the Hebrews: “At the end of the days He spoke to us in His Son, whom He made the heir of all things, ‘through whom’ also He made the ages,” showing us that God made the ages through His Son, the” through whom” belonging, when the ages were being made, to the Only-begotten. Thus, if all things were made, as in this passage also, through the Logos, then they were not made by the Logos, but by a stronger and greater than He. And who else could this be but the Father? Now if, as we have seen, all things were made through Him, we have to enquire if the Holy Spirit also was made through Him. it appears to me that those who hold the Holy Spirit to be created, and who also admit that “all things were made through Him,” must necessarily assume that the Holy Spirit was made through the Logos, the Logos accordingly being older than He. And he who shrinks from allowing the Holy Spirit to have

been made through Christ must, if he admits the truth of the statements of this Gospel, assume the Spirit to be uncreated. There is a third resource besides these two (that of allowing the Spirit to have been made by the Word, and that of regarding it as uncreated), namely, to assert that the Holy Spirit has no essence of His own beyond the Father and the Son. But on further thought one may perhaps see reason to consider that the Son is second beside the Father, He being the same as the Father, while manifestly a distinction is drawn between the Spirit and the Son in the passage, “Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man. it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, he shall not have forgiveness, either in this world or in the world to come.” We consider, therefore, that there are three hypostases, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and at the same thee we believe nothing to be uncreated but the Father. We therefore, as the more pious and the truer course, admit that all things were made by the Logos, and that the Holy Spirit is the most excellent and the first in order of all that was made by the Father through Christ. And this, perhaps, is the reason why the Spirit is not said to be God’s own Son. The Only-begotten only is by nature and from the beginning a Son, and the Holy Spirit seems to have need of the Son, to minister to Him His essence, so as to enable Him not only to exist, but to be wise and reasonable and just, and all that we must think of Him as being. All this He has by participation of the character of Christ, of which we have spoken above. And I consider that the Holy Spirit supplies to those who, through Him and through participation in Him, are called saints, the material of the gifts, which come from God; so that the said material of the gifts is made powerful by God, is ministered by Christ, and owes its actual existence in men to the Holy Spirit. I am led to this view of the charisms by the words of Paul which he writes somewhere, “There are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit, and diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but it is the same God that worketh all in all.” The statement that all things were made by Him, and its seeming corollary, that the Spirit must have been called into being by the Word, may certainly raise some difficulty. There are some passages in which the Spirit is placed above Christ; in Isaiah, for example, Christ declares that He is sent, not by the Father only, but also by the Holy Spirit. “Now the Lord hath sent Me,” He says, “and His Spirit.” and in the Gospel He declares that there is forgiveness for the sin committed

against Himself, but that for blasphemy against the Holy Spirit there is no forgiveness, either in this age or in the age to come. What is the reason of this? Is it because the Holy Spirit is of more value than Christ that the sin against Him cannot be forgiven? May it not rather be that all rational beings have part in Christ, and that forgiveness is extended to them when they repent of their sins, while only those have part in the Holy Spirit who have been found worthy of it, and that there cannot well be any forgiveness for those who fall away to evil in spite of such great and powerful cooperation, and who defeat the counsels of the Spirit who is in them. When we find the Lord saying, as He does in Isaiah, that He is sent by the Father and by His Spirit, we have to point out here also that the Spirit is not originally superior to the Savior, but that the Savior takes a lower place than He in order to carry out the plan which has been made that the Son of God should become man. Should any one stumble at our saying that the Savior in becoming man was made lower than the Holy Spirit, we ask him to consider the words used in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Jesus is shown by Paul to have been made less than the angels on account of the suffering of death. “We behold Him,” he says, “who hath been made a little lower than the angels, Jesus, because of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor.” And this, too, has doubtless to be added, that the creation, in order to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and not least of all the human race, required the introduction into human nature of a happy and divine power, which should set right what was wrong upon the earth, and that this action fell to the share, as it were, of the Holy Spirit; but the Spirit, unable to support such a task, puts forward the Savior as the only one able to endure such a conflict. The Father therefore, the principal, sends the Son, but the Holy Spirit also sends Him and directs Him to go before, promising to descend, when the thee comes, to the Son of God, and to work with Him for the salvation of men. This He did. when, in a bodily shape like a dove, He flew to Him after the baptism. He remained on Him, and did not pass Him by, as He might have done with men not able continuously to bear His glory. Thus John, when explaining how he knew who Christ was, spoke not only of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus, but also of its remaining upon him. For it is written that John said: “He who sent me to baptize said, On whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit and with fire.” It is not

said only, “On whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending,” for the Spirit no doubt descended on others too, but “descending and abiding on Him.” Our examination of this point has been somewhat extended, since we were anxious to make it clear that if all things were made by Him, then the Spirit also was made through the Word, and is seen to be one of the “all things” which are inferior to their Maker. This view is too firmly settled to be disturbed by a few words which may be adduced to the opposite effect. If any one should lend credence to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Savior Himself says, “My mother, the Holy Spirit took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great mount Tabor,” he will have to face the difficulty of explaining how the Holy Spirit can be the mother of Christ when it was itself brought into existence through the Word. But neither the passage nor this difficulty is hard to explain. For if he who does the will of the Father in heaven is Christ’s brother and sister and mother, and if the name of brother of Christ may be applied, not only to the race of men, but to beings of diviner rank than they, then there is nothing absurd in the Holy Spirit’s being His mother, every one being His mother who does the will of the Father in heaven.

On the words, “All things were made by Him,” there is still one point to be examined. The “word” is, as a notion, from “life,” and yet we read, “What was made in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men.” Now as all things were made through Him, was the life made through Him, which is the light of men, and the other notions under which the Savior is presented to us? Or must we take the “all things were made by Him” subject to the exception of the things which are in Himself? The latter course appears to be the preferable one. For supposing we should concede that the life which is the light of men was made through Him, since it said that the life “was made” the light of men, what are we to say about wisdom, which is conceived as being prior to the Word? That, therefore, which is about the Word (His relations or conditions) was not made by the Word, and the result is that, with the exception of the notions under which Christ is presented, all things were made through the Word of God, the Father making them in wisdom. “In wisdom hast Thou made them all,” it says, not *through*, but in wisdom.

7

OF THINGS NOT MADE THROUGH THE LOGOS

Let us see, however, why the words are added, “And without Him was not anything (Gr. even one thing) made.” Some might think it superfluous to add to the words “All things were made through Him,” the phrase “Without Him was not anything made.” For if everything whatsoever was made through the Logos, then nothing was made without Him. Yet it does not follow from the proposition that without the Logos nothing was made, that all things were made through the Logos. It is possible that though nothing was made without the Logos, all things were made, not through the Logos only, but some things by Him. We must, therefore, make ourselves sure in what sense the “all things” is to be understood, and in what sense the “nothing.” For, without a clear preliminary definition of these terms, it might be maintained that, if all things were made through the Logos, and evil is a part of all things, then the whole matter of sin, and everything that is wicked, that these also were made through the Logos. But this we must regard as false. There is nothing absurd in thinking that creatures were made through the Logos, and also that men’s brave deeds have been done through Him, and all the useful acts of those who are now in bliss; but with the sins and misfortunes of men it is otherwise. Now some have held that since evil is not based in the constitution of things — for it did not exist at the beginning and at the end it will have ceased — that, therefore, the evils of which we spoke are the Nothing; and as some of the Greeks say that genera and forms, such as the (general) animal and the man, belong to the category of Nothings, so it has been supposed that all that is not of God is Nothing, and has not even obtained through the Word the subsistence it appears to have. We ask whether it is possible to show from Scripture in any convincing way that this is so. As for the meanings of the word “Nothing” and “Not-being,” they would appear to be synonymous, for Nothing can be spoken of as Not-being, and the Not-being can be described as Nothing. The Apostle, however, appears to count the things which are not, not among those which have no existence whatever, but rather among things which are evil. To him the Not-being is evil; “God,” he says, “called the things that are not as things that are.” And Mardochaeus, too, in the Esther of the Septuagint, calls the enemies of Israel “those that

are not," saying, "Deliver not Thy sceptre, O Lord, to those that are not." We may also notice how evil men, on account of their wickedness, are said not to be, from the name ascribed to God in Exodus: "For the Lord said to Moses, I am, that is My name." The good God says this with respect of us also who pray that we may be part of His congregation. The Savior praises him, saying, "None is good but one, God the Father." The good, then, is the same as He who is. Over against good is evil or wickedness, and over against Him who is that which is not, whence it follows that evil and wickedness are that which is not. This, perhaps, is what has led some to affirm that the devil is not created by God. In respect that he is the devil he is not the work of God, but he who is the devil is a created being, and as there is no other creator but our God, he is a work of God. It is as if we should say that a murderer is not a work of God, while we may say that in respect he is a man, God made him. His being as a man he received from God; we do not assert that he received from God his being as a murderer. All, then, who have part in Him who is, and the saints have part in Him, may properly be called Beings; but those who have given up their part in the Being, by depriving themselves of Being, have become Not-beings. But we said when entering on this discussion, that Not-being and Nothing are synonymous, and hence those who are not beings are Nothing, and all evil is nothing, since it is Not-being, and thus since they are called Not-being came into existence without the Logos, not being numbered among the all things which were made through Him. Thus we have shown, so far as our powers admit, what are the "all things" which were made through the Logos, and what came into existence without Him, since at no time is it Being, and it is, therefore, called "Nothing."

HERACLEON'S VIEW THAT THE LOGOS IS NOT THE AGENT OF CREATION

It was, I consider, a violent and unwarranted procedure which was adopted by Heracleon, the friend, as it is said, of Valentinus, in discussing this sentence: "All things were made through Him." He excepted the whole world and all that it contains, excluding, as far as his hypothesis goes, from the "all things "what is best in the world and its contents. For he says that the aeon (age), and the things in it, were not made by the Logos; he considers them to have come into existence before the Logos. He deals

with the statement, “Without Him was nothing made,” with some degree of audacity, nor is he afraid of the warning: “Add not to His words, lest He find thee out and thou prove a liar,” for to the “Nothing” he adds: “Of what is in the world and the creation.” And as his statements on the passage are obviously very much forced and in the face of the evidence, for what he considers divine is excluded from the all, and what he regards as purely evil is, that and nothing else, the all things, we need not waste our time in rebutting what is, on the face of it, absurd, when, without any warrant from Scripture, he adds to the words, “Without Him was nothing made,” the further words, “Of what is in the earth and the creation.” In this proposal, which has no inner probability to recommend it, he is asking us, in fact, to trust him as we do the prophets, or the Apostles, who had authority and were not responsible to men for the writings belonging to man’s salvation, which they handed to those about them and to those who should come after. He had, also, a private interpretation of his own of the words: “All things were made through Him,” when he said that it was the Logos who caused the demiurge to make the world, not, however, the Logos from whom or by whom, but Him through whom, taking the written words in a different sense from that of common parlance. For, if the truth of the matter was as he considers, then the writer ought to have said that all things were made through the demiurge by the Word, and not through the Word by the demiurge. We accept the “through whom,” as it is usually understood, and have brought evidence in support of our interpretation, while he not only puts forward a new rendering of his own, unsupported by the divine Scripture, but appears even to scorn the truth and shamelessly and openly oppose it. For he says: “It was not the Logos who made all things, as under another who was the operating agent,” taking the “through whom” in this sense, “but another made them, the Logos Himself being the operating agent.” This is not a suitable occasion for the proof that it was not the demiurge who became the servant of the Logos and made the world; but that the Logos became the servant of the demiurge and formed the world. For, according to the prophet David, “God spake and they came into being, He commanded and they were created.” For the unbegotten God commanded the first-born of all creation, and they were created, not only the world and what is therein, but also all other things, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, for all things were made through Him and unto Him, and He is before all things.”

9

THAT THE LOGOS PRESENT IN US IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR SINS

One point more on the words: “Without Him was not anything made.” The question about evil must receive adequate discussion; what was said of it has not, it is true, a very likely appearance, and yet it appears to me that it ought not to be simply overlooked. The question is whether evil, also, was made through the Logos, taking the Logos, now be it well noted, in the sense of that reason which is in every one, as thus brought into being by the reason which was from the beginning. The Apostle says: “Without the law sin was dead,” and adds, “But when the commandment came sin revived,” and so teaches generally about sin that it has no power before the law and the commandment (but the Logos is, in a sense, law and commandment), and there would be no sin were there no law, for, “sin is not imputed where there is no law.” And, again, there would be no sin but for the Logos, for “if I had not come and spoken unto them,” Christ says, “they had not had sin.” For every excuse is taken away from one who wants to make excuse for his sin, if, though the Word is in him and shows him what he ought to do, he does not obey it. It seems, them, that all things, the worse things not excepted, were made by the Logos, and without Him, taking the nothing here in its simpler sense, was nothing made. Nor must we blame the Logos if all things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made, any more than we blame the master who has showed the pupil his duty, when the instruction has been such as to leave the pupil, should he sin, no excuse or room to say that he erred through ignorance. This appears the more plainly when we consider that master and pupil are inseparable. For as master and pupil are correlatives, and belong together, so the Logos is present in the nature of reasonable beings as such, always suggesting what they ought to do, even should we pay no heed to his commands, but devote ourselves to pleasure and allow his best counsels to pass by us unregarded. As the eye is a servant given us for the best purposes, and yet we use it to see things on which it is wrong for us to look, and as we make a wrong use of our hearing when we spend our time in listening to singing competitions and to other forbidden sounds, so we outrage the Logos who is in us, and use Him otherwise than

as we ought, when we make Him assist in our transgressions. For He is present with those who sin, for their condemnation, and He condemns the man who does not prefer Him to everything else. Hence we find it written: “The word which I have spoken unto you, the same shall judge you.” That is as if He should say: “I, the Word, who am always lifting up my voice in you, I, myself, will judge you, and no refuge or excuse will then be left you.” This interpretation. however, may appear somewhat strained, as we have taken the Word in one sense to be the Word in the beginning, who was with God, God the Word, and have now taken it in another sense, speaking of it, not only in reference to the principal works of creation, as in the words, “All things were made through Him,” but as related to all the acts of reasonable beings, this last being the Logos (reason), without whose presence none of our sins are committed. The question arises whether the Logos in us is to be pronounced the same being as that which was in the beginning and was with God, God the Word. The Apostle, certainly, does not appear to make the Logos in us a different being from the Logos who was in the beginning with God. “Say not in thine heart,” he says, “who shall go up into heaven; that is to bring Christ down, or who shall go down into the abyss; that is to bring Christ up from the dead. But what saith the Scripture? The Logos is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart.”

10.

“THAT WHICH WAS MADE WAS LIFE IN HIM, AND THE LIFE WAS THE LIGHT OF MEN.” THIS INVOLVES THE PARADOX THAT WHAT DOES NOT DERIVE LIFE FROM THE LOGOS DOES NOT LIVE AT ALL

The Greeks have certain apothegms, called paradoxes, in which the wisdom of their sages is presented at its highest, and some proof. or what appears to be proof, is given. Thus it is said that the wise man alone, and that every wise man, is a priest, because the wise man aloha: and every wise man possesses knowledge as to the service of God. Again, that the wise man alone and that every wise man is free and has received from the divine law authority to do what he himself is minded to do, and this authority they call lawful power of decision. Why should we say more

about these so-called paradoxes? Much discussion is devoted to them, and they call for a comparison of the sense of Scripture with the doctrine thus conveyed. so that we may be in a position to determine where religious doctrine agrees with them and where it differs from them. This has been suggested to us by our study of the words, “That which was made was life in Him;” for it appears possible to follow the words of Scripture here and to make out a number of thing’s which partake of the character of the paradoxes and are even more paradoxical than these sentences of the Greeks. If we consider the Logos in the beginning, who was with God, God the Word, we shall perhaps be able to declare that only he who partakes of this being, considered in this character, is to be pronounced reasonable (“logical”), and thus we should demonstrate that the saint alone is reasonable. Again, if we apprehend that life has come in the Logos, he, namely, who said, “I am the life,” then we shall say that no one is alive who is outside the faith of Christ, that all are dead who are not living to God, that their life is life to sin, and therefore, if I may so express myself, a life of death. Consider however, whether the divine Scriptures do not in many places teach this; as where the Savior says, “Or have ye not read that which was spoken at the bush, I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. He is not God of the dead but of the living.” And “Before Thee shall no living being be justified.” But why need we speak about God Himself or the Savior? For it is disputed to which of them the voice belongs which says in the prophets, “As I live, saith the Lord.”

11

HOW NO ONE IS RIGHTEOUS OR CAN TRULY BE SAID TO LIVE IN COMPARISON WITH GOD

First let us look at the words, “He is not the God of the dead but of the living.” That is equivalent to saying that He is not the God of sinners but of saints. For it was a great gift to the Patriarchs that God in place of His own name should add their name to His own designation as God, as Paul says, “Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God.” He is the God, therefore, of the fathers and of all the saints; it might be hard to find a

passage to the effect that God is the God of any of the wicked. If, then, He is the God of the saints, and is said to be the God of the living, then the saints are the living and the living are saints; neither is there any saint outside the living, nor when any one is called living is the further implication absent that in addition to his having life he is a holy one. Near akin to this is the lesson to be drawn from the saying, “I shall be well pleasing to the Lord in the land of the living.” The good pleasure of the Lord, he appears to say, is in the ranks of the saints, or in the place of the saints, and it is there that he hopes to be. No one pleases God well who has not entered the rank of the saints, or the place of the saints; and to that place every one must come who has assumed beforehand, as it were in this life, the shadow and image of true God-pleasing. The passage which declares that before God no living being shall be justified shows that in comparison with God and the righteousness that is in Him none, even of the most finished saints, will be justified. We might take a parable from another quarter and say that no candle can give light before the sun, not that the candle will not give light, only it will not when the sun out-shines it. In the same way every “living” will be justified, only not before God, when it is compared with those who are below and who are in the power of darkness. To them the light of the saints will shine. Here, perhaps, we have the key to the meaning of that verse: “Let your light shine before men.” He does not say, Let your light shine before God; had he said so he would have given a commandment impossible of fulfilment, as if he had bidden those lights which have souls to let their light shine before the sun. It is not only, therefore, the ordinary mass of the living who will not be justified before God, but even those among the living who are distinguished above the rest, or, to put it more truly, the whole righteousness of the living will not be justified before God, as compared with the righteousness of God, as if I were to call together all the lights which shine on the earth by night, and to say that they could not give light in comparison with the rays of the sun. We rise from these considerations to a higher level when we take the words before our minds, “I live, saith the Lord.” Life, in the full sense of the word, especially after what we have been saying on the subject, belongs perhaps to God and none but Him. Is this the reason why the Apostle, after speaking of the supreme excellency of the life of God and being led to the highest expression about it, says about God (showing in this a true understanding of that saying, “I live, saith the Lord”); “who

only hath immortality.” No living being besides God has life free from change and variation. Why should we be in further doubt? Even Christ did not share the Father’s immortality; for He “tasted death for every man.”

12

IS THE SAVIOR ALL THAT HE IS, TO ALL?

We have thus enquired as to the life of God, and the life which is Christ, and the living who are in a place by themselves, and have seen how the living are not justified before God, and we have noticed the cognate statement, “Who alone hath immortality.” We may now take up the assumption which may appear to be involved in this, namely, that whatever being is gifted with reason does not possess blessedness as a part of its essence, or as an inseparable part of its nature. For if blessedness and the highest life were an inseparable characteristic of reasonable being, how could it be truly said of God that He only has immortality? We should therefore remark, that the Savior is some things, not to Himself but to others, and some things both to Himself and others, and we must enquire if there are some things which He is to Himself and to no other. Clearly it is to others that He is a Shepherd, not a shepherd like those among men who make gain out of their occupation; unless the benefit conferred on the sheep might be regarded, on account of His love to men, as a benefit to Himself also. Similarly it is to others that He is the Way and the Door, and, as all will admit, the Rod. To Himself and to others He is Wisdom and perhaps also Reason (Loges). It may be asked whether, as He has in Himself a system of speculations, inasmuch as He is wisdom, there are some of those speculations which cannot be received by any nature that is begotten, but His own, and which He knows for Himself only. Nor should the reverence we owe to the Holy Spirit keep us from seeking to answer this question. For the Holy Spirit Himself receives instruction, as is clear from what is said about the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit, “He shall take of mine and shall declare it to you.” Does He, then, from these instructions, take in everything that the Son, gazing at the Father from the first, Himself knows? That would require further consideration. And if the Savior is some things to others, and some things it may be to Himself, and to no

other, or to one only, or to few, then we ask, in so far as He is the life which came in the Loges, whether he is life to Himself and to others, or to others, and if to others, to what others. And are life and the light of men the same thing, for the text says, “That which was made was life in Him and the life was the light of men.” But the light of men is the light only of some, not of all, rational creatures; the word “men” which is added shows this. But He is the light of men, and so He is the life of those whose light he is also. And inasmuch as He is life He may be called the Savior, not for Himself but to be life to others, whose light also He is. And this life comes to the Logos and is inseparable from Him, once it has come to Him. But the Loges, who cleanses the soul, must have been in the soul first; it is after Him and the cleansing that proceeds from Him, when all that is dead or weak in her has been taken away, that pure life comes to every one who has made himself a fit dwelling for the Loges, considered as God.

13

HOW THE LIFE IN THE LOGES COPIES AFTER THE BEGINNING

Here, we must carefully observe, we have two things which are one, and we have to define the difference between them. First, what is before us in The Word in the beginning, then what is implied in The Life in Word. The Word was not made in the beginning; there was no time when the beginning was devoid of the Word, and hence it is said, “In the beginning was the Word.” Of life, on the other hand, we read, not that it was as the Word, but that it was made; if at least it he the case that the life is the light of men. For when man was not yet, there was no light of men; for the light of men is conceived only in relation to men. And let no one annoy us with the objection that we have put this trader the category of time, though it be the order of the things themselves, that make them first and second and so on, and even though there should have been no time when the things placed by the Loges third and fourth were not in existence. As, then, all things were made by Him, not all things were by Him, and as without Him was nothing made, not, without Him nothing was, so what was made in Him, not what was in Him, was life. And, again, not what was made in the

beginning was the Word, but what was in the beginning was the Word. Some of the copies, it is true, have a reading which is not devoid of probability, “What was made is life in Him.” But if life is the same thing as the light of men, then no one who is in darkness is living, and none of the living is in darkness; but every one who is alive is also in light, and every one who is in light is living, so that not he only who is living, but every one who is living, is a son of light; and he who is a son of light is he whose work shines before men.

14

HOW THE NATURES OF MEN ARE NOT SO FIXED FROM THE FIRST, BUT THAT THEY MAY PASS FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT

We have been discussing certain things which are opposite, and what has been said of them may serve to suggest what has been omitted. We are speaking of life and the light of men, and the opposite to life is death; the opposite to the light of men, the darkness of men. It is therefore plain that he who is in the darkness of men is in death, and that he who works the works of death is nowhere but in darkness. But he who is mindful of God, if we consider what it is to be mindful of Him, is not in death, according to the saying, “In death there is no one who remembers Thee.” Are the darkness of men, and death, such as they are by nature? On this point we have another passage, “We were once darkness, but now light in the Lord,” even if we be now in the fullest sense saints and spiritual persons. Thus he who was once darkness has become, like Paul, capable of being light in the Lord. Some consider that some natures are spiritual from the first. such as those of Paul and the holy Apostles; but I scarcely see how to reconcile with such a view, what the above text tells us, that the spiritual person was once darkness and afterwards became light. For if the spiritual was once darkness what can the earthy have been? But if it is true that darkness became light, as in the text, how is it unreasonable to suppose that all darkness is capable of becoming light? Had not Paul said, “We were once in darkness, but now are we light in the Lord,” and thus implied of those whom they consider to be naturally lost, that they were darkness, or

are darkness still, the hypothesis about the different natures might have been admissible. But Paul distinctly says that he had once been darkness but was now light in the Lord, which implies the possibility that darkness should turn into light. But he who perceives the possibility of a change on each side for the better or for the worse, will not find it hard to gain an insight into every darkness of men, or into that death which consists in the darkness of men.

15

HERACLEON'S VIEW THAT THE LORD BROUGHT LIFE ONLY TO THE SPIRITUAL, REFUTATION OF THIS

Heracleon adopts a somewhat violent course when he arrives at this passage, "What was made in Him was life." Instead of the "In Him" of the text he understands "to those men who are spiritual," as if he considered the Logos and the spiritual to be identical, though this he does not plainly say; and then he proceeds to give, as it were, an account of the origin of the matter and says, "He (the Logos) provided them with their first form at their birth, carrying further and making manifest what had been sown by another, into form and into illumination and into an outline of its own." He did not observe how Paul speaks of the spiritual, and how he refrains from saying that they are men. "A natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; but the spiritual judgeth all things." We maintain that it was not without a meaning that he did not add the word men to the word spiritual. Spiritual is something better than man, for man receives his form either in soul, or in body, or in both together, not in what is more divine than these, namely, in spirit; and it is after he has come to have a prevailing share of this that he is called "spiritual." Moreover, in bringing forward such a hypothesis as this, he furnishes not even the pretense of a proof, and shows himself unable to reach even a moderate degree of plausibility for his argument on the subject. So much, then, for him.

16

THE LIFE MAY BE THE LIGHT OF OTHERS BESIDES

Let us suggest another question, namely, whether the life was the light of men only, and not of every being as well that is in blessedness. For if the life were the same thing as the light of men, and if the light of Christ were for men alone, then the life also would be only for men. But such a view is both foolish and impious, since the other Scriptures testify against this interpretation and declare that, when we are somewhat more advanced, we shall be equal to the angels. The question is to be solved on the principle that when a predicate is applied to certain persons, it is not to be at once taken to apply to them alone. Thus, when the light of men is spoken of, it is not the light of men only; had that been the meaning, a word would have been added to express it; the life, it would have read, was the light of men only. For it is possible for the light of men to be the light of others besides men, just as it is possible that certain animals and certain plants may form the food of men, and that the same animals and plants should be the food of other creatures too. That is an example from common life; it is fitting that another analogy should be adduced from the inspired books. Now the question here before us, is why the light of men should not be the light of other creatures also, and we have seen that to speak of the light of men by no means excludes the possibility that the light may be that of other beings besides man, whether inferior to him or like him, Now a name is given to God; He is said to be the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. He, then, who infers from the saying, “The life was the light of men,” that the light is for no other than for men, ought also to conclude that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob is the God of no one else but these three patriarchs. But He is also the God of Elijah, and, as Judith says, of her father Simeon, and the God of the Hebrews. By analogy of reasoning, then, if nothing prevents Him from being the God of others, nothing prevents the light of men from being the light of others besides men.

17

THE HIGHER POWERS ARE MEN; AND CHRIST IS THEIR LIGHT ALSO

Another, again, appeals to the text, “Let us make man according to our image and likeness,” and maintains that whatever is made according to God’s image and likeness is man. To support this, numberless instances are adduced to show that in Scripture “man “and “angel” are used indifferently, and that the same subject is entitled both angel and man. This is true of the three who were entertained by Abraham, and of the two who came to Sodom; in the whole course of Scripture, persons are styled sometimes men, sometimes angels. Those who hold this view will say that since persons are styled angels who are manifestly men, as when Zechariah says, “The messenger of the Lord, I am with you, saith the Lord Almighty,” and as it is written of John the Baptist, “Behold I send My messenger before thy face,” the angels (messengers) of God are so called on account of their office, and are not here called men on account of their nature. It confirms this view that the names applied to the higher powers are not those of species of living beings, but those of the orders, assigned by God to this and to that reasonable being. “Throne” is not a species of living being, nor “dominion,” nor “principality,” nor “power”; these are names of the businesses to which those clothed with the names have been appointed; the subjects themselves are nothing but men, but the subject has come to be a throne, or a dominion, or a principality, or a power. In Joshua, the son of Nun, we read that in Jericho there appeared to Joshua a man who said, “I am captain of the Lord’s host, now am I come.” The outcome of this is that the light of men must be held to be the same as the light of every being endowed with reason; for every reasonable being is man, since it is according to the image and likeness of God. It is spoken of in three different ways. “the light of men,” and simply “the light,” and “the true light.” It is the light of men either, as we showed before, because there is nothing to prevent us from regarding it as the light of other beings besides men, or because all beings endowed with reason are called men because they are made in the image of God.

18

HOW GOD ALSO IS LIGHT, BUT IN A DIFFERENT WAY; AND HOW LIFE CAME BEFORE LIGHT

The Savior is here called simply light. But in the Catholic Epistle of this same John we read that God is light. This, it has been maintained, furnishes a proof that the Son is not in substance different from the Father. Another student, however, looking into the matter more closely and with a sounder judgment, will say that the light which shines in darkness and is not overtaken by it, is not the same as the light in which there is no darkness at all. The light which shines in darkness comes upon this darkness, as it were, and is pursued by it, and, in spite of attempts made upon it, is not overtaken. But the light in which there is no darkness at all neither shines on darkness, nor is at first pursued by it, so as to prove victor and to have it recorded that it was not overtaken by its pursuer. The third designation was “the true light.” But in proportion as God, since He is the Father of truth, is more and greater than truth, and since He is the Father of wisdom is greater and more excellent than wisdom, in the same proportion He is more than the true light. We may learn, perhaps, in a more suggestive manner, how the Father and the Son are two lights, from David, who says in the thirty-fifth Psalm, “In Thy light we shall see light.” This same light of men which shines in darkness, the true light, is called, further on in the Gospel, the light of the world; Jesus says, “I am the light of the world.” Nor must we omit to notice that whereas the passage might very well have run, “That which was made was in Him the light of men, and the light of men was life,” he chose the opposite order. He puts life before the light of men, even if life and the light of men are the same thing; in thinking of those who have part in life, though that life is also the light of men, we are to come first to the fact that they are living the divine life spoken of before; then we come to their enlightenment. For life must come first if the living person is to be enlightened; it would not be a good arrange-meat to speak of the illumination of one not yet conceived as living, and to make life come after the illumination. For though “life” and “the light” of men are the same thing, the notions are taken separately. This light of men is also called, by Isaiah, “the light of the Gentiles,” where he says, “Behold I have set Thee for a covenant of the generation, for a

light of the Gentiles;" and David, placing his confidence in this light, says in the twenty-sixth Psalm, "The Lord is my illumination and my Savior; whom shall I fear?"

19

THE LIFE HERE SPOKEN OF IS THE HIGHER LIFE, THAT OF REASON

As for those who make up a mythology about the aeons and arrange them in syzygies (yokes or pairs), and who consider the Logos and Life to have been emitted by Intellect and Truth, it may not be beside the point to state the following difficulties. How can life, in their system, the yokefellow of the Word, derive his origin from his yokefellow? For "what was made in Him," he says, evidently referring to the Word, mentioned immediately before, "was life." Will they tell us how life, the yokefellow, as they say, of the Word, came into being in the Word, and how life rather than the Word is the light of men. It would be quite natural if men of reasonable minds, who are perplexed with such questions and find the point we have raised hard to dispose of, should turn round upon us and invite us to discuss the reason why it is not the Word that is said to be the light of men, but life which originated in the Word. To such an enquiry we shall reply that the life here spoken of is not that which is common to rational beings and to beings without reason, but that life which is added to us upon the completion of reason in us, our share in that life, being derived from the first reason (Logos). It is when we turn away from the life which is life in appearance only, not in truth, and when we yearn to be filled with the true life, that we are made partakers of it, and when it has arisen in us it becomes the foundation of the light of the higher knowledge (gnosis). With some it may be that this life is only potentially and not actually light, with those who do not strive to search out the things of the higher knowledge, while with others it is actually light. With these it clearly is so who act on Paul's injunction, "Seek earnestly the best gifts;" and among the greatest gifts is that which all are enjoined to seek, namely, the word of wisdom, and it is followed by the word of knowledge. This wisdom and

this knowledge lie side by side; into the difference between them this is not a fitting occasion to enquire.

20

DIFFERENT KINDS OF LIGHT; AND OF DARKNESS

“And the light shineth in darkness and the darkness hath not overtaken it.” We are still enquiring about the light of men, since it is what was spoken of in the preceding verse, and also, I consider, about darkness, which is named as its adversary, the darkness also being, if the definition of it is correct, that of men. The light of men is a generic notion covering two special things; and with the darkness of men it is the same. He who has gained the light of men and shares its beams will do the work of light and know in the higher sense, being illuminated by the light of the higher knowledge. And we must recognize the analogous case of those on the other side, and of their evil actions, and of that which is thought to be bat is not really knowledge, since those who exercise it have the reason (Logos) not of light but of darkness. And because the sacred word knows the things which produce light, isaiah says: “Because Thy commandments are a light upon the earth,” and David says in the Psalm, “The precept of the Lord is clear, enlightening the eyes.” But since in addition to the commandments and the precepts there is a light of higher knowledge, we read in one of the twelve (prophets), “Sow to yourselves for righteousness, reap to yourselves for the fruit of life, make light for yourselves the light of knowledge.” There is a further light of knowledge in addition to the commandments, and so we read, “Make light for yourselves,” not simply light, but what light? — the light of knowledge. For if any light that a man kindles for himself were a light of knowledge, then the added words, “Make light for yourselves, the light of knowledge,” would have no meaning. And again that darkness is brought upon men by their evil deeds, we learn from John himself, when he says in his epistle, “If we say that we have fellowship with Him and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth,” and again, “He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now,” and again, “He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because darkness hath blinded his

eyes." Walking in darkness signifies evil conduct, and to hate one's brother, is not that to fall away from that which is properly called knowledge? But he also who is ignorant of divine things walks in darkness, just because of that ignorance; as David says, "They knew not, they understood not, they walk in darkness." Consider, however, this passage, "God is light and in Him is no darkness," and see if the reason for this saying is not that darkness is not one, being either two, because there are two kinds of it, or many, because it is taken distributively, individually with reference to the many evil actions and the many false doctrines; so that there are many darknesses, not one of which is in God. The saying of the Savior could not be spoken of the Holy One, "Ye are the light of the world;" for the Holy One is light of the world (absolute, not particular), and there is not in Him any darkness.

21

CHRIST IS NOT, LIKE GOD, QUITE FREE FROM DARKNESS: SINCE HE BORE OUR SINS

Now some one will ask how this statement that there is no darkness in Him can be regarded as a thing peculiar to Him, when we consider that the Savior also was quite without sin. Could it not be said of Him also that "He is light, and that there is no darkness in Him"? The difference between the two cases has been partly set forth above. We will now, however, go a step further than we did before, and add, that if God made Christ who knew no sin to be sin for us, then it could not be said of Him that there was no darkness in Him. For if Jesus was in the likeness of the flesh of sin and for sin, and condemned sin by taking ripen Him the likeness of the flesh of sin, then it cannot be said of Him, absolutely and directly, that there was no darkness in Him. We may add that "He took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses," both infirmities of the soul and sicknesses of the hidden man of our heart. On account of these infirmities and sicknesses which He bore away from us, He declares His soul to be sorrowful and sore troubled, and He is said in Zechariah to have put on filthy garments, which, when He was about to take them off, are said to be sins. "Behold, it is said, I have taken away thy sins." Because He had taken on Himself the

sins of the people of those who believed in Him, he uses many such expressions as these: “Far from my salvation are the words of my transgressions,” and “Thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins were not hid from Thee.” And let no one suppose that we say this from any lack of piety towards the Christ of God; for as the Father alone has immortality and our Lord took upon Himself. for His love to men, the death He died for us, so to the Father alone the words apply, “In Him is no darkness,” since Christ took upon Himself, for His goodwill towards men, our darknesses. This He did, that by His power He might destroy our death and remove the darkness which is in our soul, so that the saying in Isaiah might be fulfilled, “The people that sat in darkness saw a great light.” This light, which came into being in the Logos, and is also life, shines in the darkness of our souls, and it has come where the rulers of this darkness carry on their struggle with the race of men and strive to subdue to darkness those who do not stand firm with all their power; that they might be enlightened the light has come so far, and that they might be called sons of light. And shining in darkness this light is pursued by the darkness, but not overtaken.

22

HOW THE DARKNESS FAILED TO OVERTAKE THE LIGHT

Should any one consider that we are adding something that is not written, namely, the pursuit of the light by the darkness, let him reflect that unless the darkness had pursued the light the words, “The darkness did not overtake it,” would have no meaning. John writes for those who have wit to see what is omitted and to supply it as the context requires, and so he wrote, “The darkness did not overtake it.” If it did not overtake it, it must first have pursued it, and that the darkness did pursue the light is clear from what the Savior suffered, and those also who received His teachings, His own children, when darkness was doing what it could against the sons of light and was minded to drive light away from men. But since, if God be for us, no one, however that way minded, can be against us, the more they humbled themselves the more they grew, and they prevailed exceedingly. In two ways the darkness did not overtake the light. Either it was left far

behind and was itself so slow, while the light was in its course so sharp and swift, that it was not even able to keep following it, or if the light sought to lay a snare for the darkness, and waited for it in pursuance of the plan it had formed, then darkness, coming near the light, was brought to an end. In either case the darkness did not overtake the light.

23

THERE IS A DIVINE DARKNESS WHICH IS NOT EVIL, AND WHICH ULTIMATELY BECOMES LIGHT

In connection with this subject it is necessary for us to point out that darkness is not to be understood, every time it is mentioned, in a bad sense; Scripture speaks of it sometimes in a good sense. The heterodox have failed to observe this distinction, and have accordingly adopted most shameful doctrines about the Maker of the world, and have indeed revolted from Him, and addicted themselves to fictions and myths. We must, therefore, show how and when the name of darkness is taken in a good sense. Darkness and clouds and tempest are said in Exodus to be round about God, and in the seventeenth Psalm, “He made darkness His secret place, His tent round about Him, dark water in clouds of the air.” Indeed, if one considers the multitude of speculation and knowledge about God, beyond the power of human nature to take in, beyond the power, perhaps, of all originated beings except Christ and the Holy Spirit, then one may know how God is surrounded with darkness, because the discourse is hid in ignorance which would be required to tell in what darkness He has made His hiding-place when He arranged that the things concerning Him should be unknown and beyond the grasp of knowledge. Should any one be staggered by these expositions, he may be reconciled to them both by the “dark sayings” and by the “treasures of darkness,” hidden, invisible, which are given to Christ by God. In nowise different, I consider, are the treasures of darkness which are hid in Christ, from what is spoken of in the text, “God made darkness His secret place,” and (the saint) “shall understand parable and dark saying.” And consider if we have here the reason of the Savior’s saying to His disciples, “What ye have heard in darkness, speak ye in the light.” The mysteries committed to them in

secret and where few could hear, hard to be known and obscure, He bids them, when enlightened and therefore said to be in the light, to make known to every one who is made light. I might add a still stranger feature of this darkness which is praised, namely, that it hastens to the light and overtakes it, and so at last, after having been unknown as darkness, undergoes for him who does not see its power such a change that he comes to know it and to declare that what was formerly known to him as darkness has now become light.

24

JOHN THE BAPTIST WAS SENT. FROM WHERE? HIS SOUL WAS SENT FROM A HIGHER REGION,

"There was a man sent from God, whose name was John." He who is sent is sent from somewhere to somewhere; and the careful student will, therefore, enquire from what quarter John was sent, and whither. The "whither" is quite plain on the face of the story; he was sent to Israel, and to those who were willing to hear him when he was staying in the wilderness of Judaea and baptizing by the banks of the Jordan. According to the deeper sense, however, he was sent into the world, the world being understood as this earthly place where men are; and the careful student will have this in view in enquiring from where John was sent. Examining the words more closely, he will perhaps declare that as it is written of Adam, "And the Lord sent him forth out of the Paradise of pleasure to till the earth, out of which he was taken," so also John was sent, either from heaven or from Paradise, or from some other quarter to this place on the earth. He was sent that he might bear witness of the light. There is, however, an objection to this interpretation, which is not to be lightly dismissed. It is written in Isaiah: "Whom shall I send, and who will go to the people?" The prophet answers: "Here am I, — send me." He, then, who objects to that rendering of our passage which appears to be the deeper may say that Isaiah was sent not to this world from another place, but after having seen "the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up," was sent to the people, to say, "Hearing, ye shall hear and shall not understand," and so on; and that in the same manner John, the beginning of

his mission not being narrated, is sent after the analogy of the mission of Isaiah, to baptize, and to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him, and to bear witness of the light. So much we have said of the first sense; and now we adduce certain solutions which help to confirm the deeper meaning about John. In the same passage it is added, “He came for witness, to bear witness of the light.” Now, if he came, where did he come from? To those who find it difficult to follow us, we point to what John says afterwards of having seen the Holy Spirit as a dove descending on the Savior. “He that sent me,” he says, “to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shall see the Holy Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit and with fire.” When did He send him and give him this injunction? The answer to titlE question will probably be that when He sent him to begin to baptize, then He who was dealing with him uttered this word. But a more convincing argument for the view that John was sent from another region when he entered into the body, the one object of his entry into this life being that he should bear witness of the truth, may be drawn from the narrative of his birth. Gabriel, when announcing to Zacharias the birth of John, and to Mary the advent of our Savior among men, says: That John is to be “filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother’s womb.” And we have also the saying, “For behold, when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.” He who sedulously guards himself in his dealings with Scripture against forced, or casual, or capricious procedure, must necessarily assume that John’s soul was older than his body, and subsisted by itself before it was sent on the ministry of the witness of the light. Nor must we overlook the text, “This is Elijah which is to come.” For if that general doctrine of the soul is to be received, namely, that it is not sown at the same time with the body, but is before it, and is then, for various causes, clothed with flesh and blood; then the words “sent from God” will not appear to be applicable to John alone. The most evil of all, the man of sin, the son of perdition, is said by Paul to be sent by God: “God sendeth them a working of error that they should believe a lie; that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.” But our present question may, perhaps, be solved in this way, that as every man is a man of God, simply because God created him, but not every man is called a man of God, but only he who has devoted himself to God, such as Elijah and those who are called

men of God in the Scriptures, thus every man might be said in ordinary language to be sent from God, but in the absolute sense no one is to be spoken of in this way who has not entered this life for a divine ministry and in the service of the salvation of mankind. We do not find it said of any one but the saints that he is sent by God. It is said of Isaiah as we showed before; it is also said of Jeremiah, “To whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt go”; and it is said of Ezekiel, “I send thee to nations that are rebellious and have not believed in Me.” The examples, however, do not expressly speak era mission from the region outside life into life, and as it is a mission into life that we are enquiring about, they may seem to have little bearing on our subject. But there is nothing absurd in our transferring the argument derived from them to our question. They tell us that it is only the saints, and we were speaking of them, whom God is said to send, and in this sense they may be applied to the case of those who are sent into this life.

25

ARGUMENT FROM THE PRAYER OF JOSEPH, TO SHOW THAT THE BAPTIST MAY HAVE BEEN AN ANGEL WHO BECAME A MAN

As we are now engaged with what is said of John, and are asking about his mission, I may take the opportunity to state the view which I entertain about him. We have read this prophecy about him, “Behold, I send My messenger (angel) before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way before Thee;” and at this we ask if it can be one of the holy angels who is sent down on this ministry as forerunner of our Savior. No wonder if, when the first-born of all creation was assuming a human body, some of them should have been filled with love to man and become admirers and followers of Christ, and thought it good to minister to his kindness towards man by having a body like that of men. And who would not be moved at the thought of his leaping for joy when yet in the belly, surpassing as he did the common nature of man? Should the piece; entitled “The prayer of Joseph,” one of the apocryphal works current among the Hebrews, be thought worthy of credence, this dogma will be found in it clearly

expressed. Those at the beginning, it is represented, having some marked distinction beyond men, and being much greater than other souls, because they were angels, they have come down to human nature. Thus Jacob says: “I, Jacob, who speak to you, and Israel, I am an angel of God, a ruling spirit, and Abraham and Isaac were created before every work of God; and I am Jacob, called Jacob by men, but my name is Israel, called Israel by God, a man seeing God, because I am the first-born of every creature which God caused to live.” And he adds: “When I was coming from Mesopotamia of Syria, Uriel, the angel of God, came forth, and said, I have come down to the earth and made my dwelling among men, and I am called Jacob by name. He was wroth with me and fought with me and wrestled against me, saying that his name and the name of Him who is before every angel should be before my name. And I told him his name and how great he was among the sons of God; Art not thou Uriel my eighth, and I am Israel and archangel of the power of the Lord and a chief captain among the sons of God? Am not I Israel, the first minister in the sight of God, and I invoked my God by the inextinguishable name?” It is likely that this was really said by Jacob, and was therefore written down, and that there is also a deeper meaning in what we are told, “He supplanted his brother in the womb.” Consider whether the celebrated question about Jacob and Esau has a solution. We read,’”The children being not yet born, neither having done anything good or bad, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works but of him that calleth, it was said, “The elder shall serve the younger.” Even as it is written: “Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.” What shall we say, then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid.” If, then, when they were not yet born, and had not done any-thing either good or evil, in order that God’s purpose according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, if at such a period this was said, how if we do not go back to the works done before this life, can it be said that there is no unrighteousness with God when the elder serves the younger and is hated (by God) before he has done anything worthy of slavery or of hatred? We have made something of a digression in introducing this story about Jacob and appealing to a writing which we cannot well treat with contempt; but it certainly adds weight to our argument about John, to the effect that as Isaiah’s voice declares he is an angel who assumed a body for the sake of bearing witness to the light. So much about John considered as a man.

26

JOHN IS VOICE, JESUS IS SPEECH. RELATION OF THESE TWO TO EACH OTHER

Now we know voice and speech to be different things. The voice can be produced without any meaning and with no speech in it, and similarly speech can be reported to the mind without voice, as when we make mental excursions, within ourselves. And thus the Savior is, in one view of Him, speech, and John differs from Him; for as the Savior is speech, John is voice. John himself invites me to take this view of him, for to those who asked who he was, he answered, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord! make His paths straight!” This explains, perhaps, how it was that Zacharias lost his voice at the birth of the voice which points out the Word of God, and only recovered it when the voice, forerunner of the Word, was born. A voice must be perceived with the ears if the mind is afterwards to receive the speech which the voice indicates. Hence, John is, in point of his birth, a little older than Christ, for our voice comes to us before our speech. But John also points to Christ; for speech is brought forward by the voice. And Christ is baptized by John, though John declares himself to have need to be baptized by Christ; for with men speech is purified by voice, though the natural way is that speech should purify the voice which indicates it. In a word, when John points out Christ, it is man pointing out God, the Savior incorporeal, the voice pointing out the Word.

27

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAMES OF JOHN AND OF HIS PARENTS

The force that is in names may be applied in many matters, and it may be worth our while to ask at this point what is the significance of the names John and Zacharias. The relatives wish, as the giving of a name is a thing not to be lightly disposed of, to call the child Zacharias, and are surprised that Elisabeth should want him to be called John. Zacharias then writes,

“His name is John,” and is at once freed from his troublesome silence. On examining the names, then, we find “Joannes “to be “Joa” without the “nes.” The New Testament gives Hebrew names a Greek form and treats them as Greek words; Jacob is changed into Jacobus, Symeon into Simon, and Joannes is the same as Joa. Zacharias is said to be memory, add Elisabeth “oath of my God,” or “strength of my God.” John then came into the world from grace of God (=Joa=Joannes), and his parents were Memory (about God) and the Oath of our God, about the fathers. Thus was he born to make ready for the Lord a people fit for Him, at the end of the Covenant now grown old, which is the end of the Sabbatic period. Hence it is not possible that the rest after the Sabbath should have come into existence from the seventh of our God; on the contrary, it is our Savior who, after the pattern of His own rest, caused us to be made in the likeness of His death, and hence also of His resurrection.

28

THE PROPHETS SORE WITNESS TO CHRIST AND FORETOLD MANY THINGS CONCERNING HIM

“He came for a witness that He might bear witness of the light, that all through Him might believe.” Some of the dissenters from the Church’s doctrine, men who profess to believe in Christ, have desired another being, as indeed their system requires, besides the Creator, and hence cannot allow His coming to the world to have been foretold by the prophets. They therefore endeavor to get rid of the testimonies of the prophets about Christ, and say that the Son of God has no need of witnesses, but that He brings with Him His own evidence, partly in the sound words full of power which He proclaimed and partly in the wonderful works He did, which were sufficient at once to convince any one whatever. Then they say: If Moses is believed on account of his word and his works, and has no need of any witnesses to announce him beforehand, and if the prophets were received, every one of them, by these people, as messengers from God, how should not one who is much greater than Moses and the prophets accomplish His mission and benefit the human race, without prophets to bear witness about Him? They regard it as superfluous that

He should have been foretold by the prophets, since the prophets were concerned, as these opponents would say, that those who believed in Christ should not receive Him as a new God, and therefore did what they could to bring them to that same God whom Moses and the prophets taught before Jesus. To this we must say that as there are many causes which may lead men to believe, since men who are not moved by one argument may be by another, so God is able to provide for men a number of occasions, any of which may cause their minds to open to the truth that God, who is over all, has taken on Himself human nature. It is manifest to all, how some are brought by the prophetic writings to the admiration of Christ. They are astounded at the voices of so many prophets before Him, which establish the place of His birth, the country of His upbringing, the power of His teaching, His working of wonderful works, and His human passion brought to a close by His resurrection. We must notice, too, that Christ's stupendous acts of power were able to bring to the faith those of Christ's own time, but that they lost their demonstrative force with the lapse of years and began to be regarded as mythical. Greater evidential value than that of the miracles then performed attaches to the comparison which we now make between these miracles and the prophecy of them; this makes it impossible for the student to cast any doubt on the former. The prophetic testimonies do not declare merely the advent of the Messiah; it is by no means the case that they teach this and nothing else. They teach a great deal of theology. The relation of the Father to the Son and of the Son to the Father may be learned not less from what the prophets announce about Christ, than from the Apostles narrating the splendors of the Son of God. A parallel case, which we may venture to adduce, is that of the martyrs, who were honored by the witness they bore Him, and by no means conferred any favor on Him by their witnessing for the Son of God. And how is it if, as many of Christ's true disciples were honored by having thus to witness for Him, so the prophets received from God as their special gift that of understanding about Christ and announcing Him before, and that they taught not only those living after Christ's advent how they should regard the Son of God, but those also who lived in the generations before Him? As he who in these times does not know the Son has not the Father either, so also we are to understand it was in these earlier times. Hence "Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ, and he saw it and was glad." He, therefore, who declares that they are not to

testify about Christ is seeking to deprive the chorus of the prophets of the greatest gift they have; for what office of equal importance would be left to prophecy, inspired as it is by the Holy Spirit, if all connection with the economy of our Lord and Master were taken away from it? For as these have their faith well ordered who approach the God of the universe through Mediator and High-Priest and Paraclete, and as his religion is a halting one who does not go in through the door to the Father, so also in the case of men of old time. Their religion was sanctified and made acceptable to God by their knowledge and faith and expectation of Christ. For we have observed that God declares Himself to be a witness and exhorts them all to declare the same about Christ, and to be imitators of Him, bearing witness of Him to all who require it. For he says, “Be witnesses for Me, and I am witness, saith the Lord God, and My servant whom I have chosen.” Now every one who bears witness to the truth, whether he support it by words or deeds, or in whatever way, may properly be called a witness (martyr); but it has come to be the custom of the brotherhood, since they are struck with admiration of those who have contended to the death for truth and valor, to keep the name of martyr more properly for those who have born witness to the mystery of godliness by shedding their blood for it. The Savior gives the name of martyr to every one who bears witness to the truth He declares; thus at the Ascension He says to His disciples: “You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in Judaea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.” The leper who was cleansed had still to bring the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony to those who did not believe in the Christ. In the same way the martyrs bear witness for a testimony to the unbelieving, and so do all the saints whose deeds shine before men. They spend their life rejoicing in the cross of Christ and bearing witness to the true light.

29

THE SIX TESTIMONIES OF THE BAPTIST ENUMERATED JESUS' "COME AND SEE." SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TENTH HOUR

Accordingly John came to bear witness of the light, and in his witness-bearing he cried, saying, "He that cometh after me exists before me; for He was before me; for of His fulness we have all received and grace for grace, for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." This whole speech is from the mouth of the Baptist bearing witness to the Christ. Some take it otherwise, and consider that the words from "for of His fulness" to "He hath declared Him" are from the writer, John the Apostle. The true state of the case is that John's first testimony begins, as we said before, "He that cometh after me," and ends, "He hath declared Him," and his second testimony is that spoken to the priests and levites sent from Jerusalem, whom the Jews had sent. To them he confesses and does not deny the truth, namely, that he is not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet, but "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as saith Isaiah the prophet." After this there is another testimony of the same Baptist to Christ, still teaching His superior nature, which goes forth into the whole world and enters into reasonable souls. He says, "There standeth One among you whom you know not, even He that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." Consider if, since the heart is in the middle of the whole body, and the ruling principle in the heart, the saying, "There standeth One among you whom you know not," can be understood of the reason which is in every man. John's fourth testimony of Christ after these points to His human sufferings. He says, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. This is He of whom I said, After me cometh a man who exists before me, for He was before me. And I knew Him not, but that He should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water." And the fifth testimony is recorded in the words, "I beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven, and it abode upon Him, and I knew Him not, but He that sent me to baptize with water, He

said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen and born witness that this is the Son of God." In the sixth place John witnesses of Christ to the two disciples: "He looked on Jesus as He walked and saith, Behold the Lamb of God.': After this testimony the two disciples who heard it followed Jesus; and Jesus turned and beheld them following, and saith unto them, "What seek ye?" Perhaps it is not without significance that after six testimonies John ceases from his witness-bearing and Jesus brings forward in the seventh place His "What seek ye?" Very becoming in those who have been helped by John's testimony is the speech in which they address Christ as their Master, and declare their wish to see the dwelling of the Son of God; for they say to Him, "Rabbi," which answers to "Master," in our language, "where dwellest Thou?" And since every one that seeketh findeth, when John's disciples seek Jesus' dwelling, Jesus shows it to them, saying, "Come and see." By the word "Come" He exhorts them perhaps to the practical part of life, while the "see" is to suggest to them that that speculation which comes in the train of right conduct will be vouchsafed to those who desire it; in Jesus' dwelling they will have it. After they had asked where Jesus dwells, and had followed the Master and had seen, they desired to stay with Him and to spend that day with the Son of God. Now the number ten is a sacred one, not a few mysteries being indicated by it; and so we are to understand that the mention of the tenth hour as that at which these disciples turned in with Jesus, is not without significance. Of these disciples, Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, is one; and he having profited by this day with Jesus and having found his own brother Simon (perhaps he had not found him before), told him that he had found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, Christ. It is written that "he that seeketh findeth." Now he had sought where Jesus dwelt, and had followed Him and looked upon His dwelling; he stays with the Lord "at the tenth hour," and finds the Son of God, the Word, and Wisdom, and is ruled by Him as King. That is why he says, "We have found the Messiah," and this a thing which every one can say who has found this Word of God and is ruled as by a king, by His Divinity. As a fruit he at once brings his brother to Christ, and Christ deigned to look upon Simon, that is to say, by looking at him to visit and enlighten his ruling principle; and Simon by

Jesus' looking at him was enabled to grow strong, so as to earn a new name from that work of firmness and strength, and to be called Peter,

30

HOW JOHN WAS A WITNESS OF CHRIST, AND SPECIALLY OF "THE LIGHT"

It may be asked why we should have gone through all this when the verse before us is, "He came for wireless, that he might bear witness of the light." But it was necessary to give John's testimonies to the light, and to show the order in which they took place, and also, in order to show how effective John's testimony proved, to set forth the help it afforded afterwards to those to whom he bore it. But before all these testimonies there was an earlier one when the Baptist leaped in the womb of Elisabeth at the greeting of Mary. That was a testimony to Christ and attested His divine conception and birth. And what more need I say? John is everywhere a witness and forerunner of Christ. He anticipates His birth and dies a little before the death of the Son of God, and thus witnesses not only for those at the time of the birth, but to those who were expecting the freedom which was to come for man through the death of Christ. Thus, in all his life, he is a little before Christ, and everywhere makes ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him. And John's testimony precedes also the second and diviner coming of Christ, for we read, "If ye will receive it, this is Elijah which is to come. He that hath ears to hear let him hear." Now, there was a beginning, in which the Word was, — and we saw from Proverbs that that beginning was wisdom. — and the Word was in existence, and in the Word life was made, and the life was the light of men; and all this being so, I ask why the man who came, sent from God, whose name was John, why he came for witness to bear witness especially of the light? Why did he not come to bear witness of the life, or of the Word, or about the beginning. or about any other of the many aspects in which Christ appears? Consider here the texts, "The people which sat in darkness saw a great light," and "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness overtook it not," and consider how those who are in darkness, that is, men, have need of light. For if the light of men shines in darkness,

and there is no active power in darkness to attain to it, then we must partake of other aspects of Christ; at present we have no real share of Him at all. For what share have we of life, we who are still in the body of death, and whose life is hid with Christ in God? “For when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory.” It was not possible, therefore, that he who came should bear witness about a life which is still hid with Christ in God. Nor did he come for witness to bear witness of the Word, for we know the Word who was in the beginning with God and who is God the Word; for the Word was made flesh on the earth. And though the witness had been, at least apparently, about the Word, it would in fact have been about the Word made flesh and not about the word of God. He did not come, therefore, to bear witness of the Word. And how could there be any witness-bearing about wisdom, to those who, even if they appear to know something, cannot understand pure truth, but behold it through a glass and in an enigma? It is likely, however, that before the second and diviner advent of Christ, John or Elias will come to bear witness about life a little before Christ our life is made manifest, and that then they will bear witness about the Word, and offer also their testimony about wisdom. Some inquiry is necessary whether a testimony such as that of John is to precede each of the aspects of Christ. So much for the words, “He came for witness, to bear witness of the light.” What we are to understand by the further words, “That all might believe through Him,” may be considered later.

FRAGMENTS OF THE FOURTH BOOK

(THREE LEAVES FROM THE BEGINNING.)

1. He who distinguishes in himself voice and meaning and things for which the meaning stands, will not be offended at rudeness of language if, on enquiry, he finds the things spoken of to be sound. The more may this be so when we remember how the holy men acknowledge their speech and their preaching to be not in persuasion of the wisdom of words, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power....

[*Then, after speaking of the rudeness of style of the Gospel, he proceeds:*]

2. The Apostles are not unaware that in some things they give offense, and that in some respects their culture is defective, and they confess themselves accordingly to be rude in speech but not in knowledge; for we must consider that the other Apostles would have said this, too, as well as Paul. As for the text, “But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us,” we interpret it in this way. By “treasures” we understand here, as in other passages, the treasure of knowledge (gnosis) and of hidden wisdom. By “earthen vessels” we understand the humble diction of the Scriptures, which the Greek might so readily be led to despise, and in which the excellency of God’s power appears so clearly. The mystery of the truth and the power of the things said were not hindered by the humble diction from travelling to the ends of the earth, nor from subduing to the word of Christ, not only the foolish things of the world, but sometimes its wise things, too. For we see our calling, not that no wise man according to the flesh, but that not many wise according to the flesh. But Paul, in his preaching of the Gospel, is a debtor to deliver the word not to Barbarians only, but also to Greeks, and not only to the unwise, who would easily agree with him, but also to the wise. For he was made sufficient a by God to be a minister of the New Covenant, wielding the demonstration of the spirit and of power, so that when the believers agreed with him their belief should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. For, perhaps, if the Scripture possessed, like the works the Greeks admire, elegance and command of diction, then it would be open to suppose that not the truth of them had

laid hold of men, but that the apparent sequence and splendor of language had carried off the hearers, and had carried them off by guile.

FROM THE FIFTH BOOK.

(FROM THE PREFACE.)

You are not content to fulfil the office, when I am present with you, of a taskmaster to drive me to labor at theology; even when I am absent you demand that I should spend most of my time on you and on the task I have to do for you. I, for my part, am inclined to shrink from toil, and to avoid that danger which threatens from God those who give themselves to writing on divinity; thus I would take shelter in Scripture in refraining from making many books. For Solomon says in Ecclesiastes, “My son, beware of making many books; there is no end of it, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.” For we, except that text have some hidden meaning which we do not yet perceive, have directly transgressed the injunction, we have not guarded ourselves against making many books.

[*Then, after saying that this discussion of but a few sentences of the Gospel have run to four volumes, he goes on*:]

2

HOW SCRIPTURE WARNS US AGAINST MAKING MANY BOOKS

For, to judge by the words of the phrase, “My son, beware of making many books,” two things appear to be indicated by it: first, that we ought not to possess many books, and then that we ought not to compose many books. If the first is not the meaning the second must be, and if the second is the meaning the first does not necessarily follow. In either case we appear to be told that we ought not to make many books. I might take my stand on this dictum which now confronts us, and send you the text as an excuse, and I might appeal in support of this position to the fact that not even the saints found leisure to compose many books; and thus I might cry

off from the bargain we made with each other, and give up writing what I was to send to you. You, on your side, would no doubt feel the force of the text I have cited, and might, for the future, excuse me. But we must treat Scripture conscientiously, and must not congratulate ourselves because we see the primary meaning of a text, that we understand it altogether. I do not, therefore, shrink from bringing forward what excuse I think I am able to offer for myself, and to point out the arguments, which you would certainly use against me, if I acted contrary to our agreement. And in the first place. the Sacred History seems to agree with the text in question, inasmuch as none of the saints composed several works, or set forth his views in a number of books. I will take up this point: when I proceed to write a number of books, the critic will remind me that even such a one as Moses left behind him only five books.

3

THE APOSTLES WROTE LITTLE

But he who was made fit to be a minister of the New Covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit, Paul, who fulfilled the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, did not write epistles to all the churches he taught, and to those to whom he did write he sent no more than a few lines. And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail left only one epistle of acknowledged genuineness. Suppose we allow that he left a second; for this is doubtful. What are we to say of him who leaned on Jesus' breast, namely, John, who left one Gospel, though confessing that he could make so many that the world would not contain them? But he wrote also the Apocalypse, being commanded to be silent and not to write the voices of the seven thunders. But he also left an epistle of very few lines. Suppose also a second and a third, since not all pronounce these to be genuine; but the two together do not amount to a hundred lines.

[*Then, after enumerating the prophets and Apostles, and showing how each wrote only a little, or not even a little, he goes on*:]

4. I feel myself growing dizzy with all this, and wonder whether, in obeying you, I have not been obeying God, nor walking in the footsteps of the saints, unless it be that my too great love to you, and my unwillingness to cause you any pain, has led me astray and caused me to think of all these excuses. We started from the words of the preacher, where he says: “My son, beware of making many books.” With this I compare a saying from the Proverbs of the same Solomon, “In the multitude of words thou shall not escape sin; but in sparing thy lips thou shalt be wise.” Here I ask whether speaking many words of whatever kind is a multitude of words (in the sense of the preacher), even if the many words a man speaks are sacred and connected with salvation. If this be the case, and if he who makes use of many salutary words is guilty of “multitude of words,” then Solomon himself did not escape this sin, for “he spoke three thousand proverbs, and five thousand songs, and he spoke of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, he spoke also of beasts and of fowl, and of creeping things and of fishes.” How, I may ask, can any one give any course of instruction, without a multitude of words, using the phrase in its simplest sense? Does not Wisdom herself say to those who are perishing, “I stretched out my words, and ye heeded not”? Do we not find Paul, too, extending his discourse from morning to midnight, when Eutychus was born down with sleep and fell down, to the dismay of the hearers. who thought he was killed? If, then, the words are true, “In much speaking thou wilt not escape sin,” and if Solomon was yet not guilty of great sin when he discoursed on the subjects above mentioned, nor Paul when he prolonged his discourse till midnight, then the question arises, What is that much speaking which is referred to? and then we may pass on to consider what are the many books. Now the entire Word of God, who was in the beginning with God, is not much speaking, is not words; for the Word is one, being composed of the many speculations (theoremata), each of which is a part of the Word in its entirety. Whatever words there be outside of this one, which promise to give any description and exposition, even though they be words about truth, none of these, to put it in a somewhat paradoxical way, is Word or Reason, they are all words or reasons. They are not the monad, far from it; they are not that which agrees and is one in itself, by their inner divisions and conflicts unity has departed from them, they have become numbers, perhaps infinite numbers. We are obliged, therefore, to say that whoever

speaks that which is foreign to religion is using many words, while he who speaks the words of truth, even should he go over the whole field and omit nothing, is always speaking the one word. Nor are the saints guilty of much speaking, since they always have the aim in view which is connected with the one word. It appears, then, that the much speaking which is condemned is judged to be so rather from the nature of the views propounded, than from the number of the words pronounced. Let us see if we cannot conclude in the same way that all the sacred books are one book, but that those outside are the “many books” of the preacher. The proof of this must be drawn from Holy Scripture, and it will be most satisfactorily established if I am able to show that it is not only one book, taking the word now in its commoner meaning, that we find to be written about Christ. Christ is written about even in the Pentateuch; He is spoken of in each of the Prophets, and in the Psalms, and, in a word, as the Savior Himself says, in all the Scriptures. He refers us to them all, when He says: “Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and these are they which testify of Me.” And if He refers us to the Scriptures as testifying of Him, it is not to one that He sends us, to the exclusion of another, but to all that speak of Him, those which, in the Psalms, He calls the chapter of the book, saying, “In the chapter of the book it is written of Me.” If any one proposes to take these words, “In the chapter of the book it is written of Me,” literally, and to apply them to this or that special passage where Christ is spoken of, let him tell us on what principle he warrants his preference for one book over another. If any one supposes that we are doing something of this kind ourselves. and applying the words in question to the book of Psalms, we deny that we do so, and we would urge that in that case the words should have been, “In this book it is written of Me.” But He speaks of all the books as one chapter, thus sum-ruing up in one all that is spoken of Christ for our instruction. In fact the book was seen by John, “written within and without, and sealed; and no one could open it to read it, and to loose the seals thereof, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, who has the key of David, he that openeth and none shall shut, and that shutteth and none shall open.” For the book here spoken of means the whole of Scripture; and it is written within (lit. in front), on account of the meaning which is obvious, and on the back, on account of its remoter and spiritual sense. Observe, in addition to this, if a proof that the sacred writings are one book, and those

of an opposite character many. may not be found in the fact that there is one book of the living from which those who have proved unworthy to be in it are blotted out, as it is written: “Let them be blotter out of the book of the living,” while of those who are to undergo the judgment, there are books in the plural, as Daniel says: “The judgment was set, and the books were opened.” But Moses also bears witness to the unity of the sacred book, when he says: “If Thou forgive the people their sins, forgive, but if not, then wipe me out of the book which Thou hast written.” The passage in Isaiah, too, I read in the same way. It is not peculiar to his prophecy that the words of the book should be sealed, and should neither be read by him who does not know letters, because he is ignorant of letters, nor by him who is learned, because the book is sealed. This is true of every writing, for every written work needs the reason (Logos) which closed it to open it. “He shall shut, and none shall open,” and when He opens no one can cast doubt on the interpretation He brings. Hence it is said that He shall open and no man shall shut. I infer a similar lesson from the book spoken of in Ezekiel, in which was written lamentation, and a song, and woe. For the whole book is full of the woe of the lost, and the song of the saved, and the lamentation of those between these two. And John, too, when he speaks of his eating the one roll, in which both front and back were written on, means the whole of Scripture, one book which is, at first, most sweet when one begins, as it were, to chew it, but bitter in the revelation of himself which it makes to the conscience of each one who knows it. I will add to the proof of this an apostolic saying which has been quite misunderstood by the disciples of Marcion, who, therefore, set the Gospels at naught. The Apostle says: “According to my Gospel in Christ Jesus;” he does not speak of Gospels in the plural, and, hence, they argue that as the Apostle only speaks of one Gospel in the singular, there was only one in existence. But they fail to see that, as He is one of whom all the evangelists write, so the Gospel, though written by several hands, is, in effect, one. And, in fact, the Gospel, though written by four, is one. From these considerations, then, we learn what the one book is, and what the many books, and what I am now concerned about is, not the quantity I may write, but the effect of what I say, lest, if I fail in this point, and set forth anything against the truth itself, even in one of my writings, I should prove to have transgressed the commandment, and to be a writer of “many books.” Yet I see the heterodox assailing the holy Church of God in these

days, under the pretense of higher wisdom, and bringing forward works in many volumes in which they offer expositions of the evangelical and apostolic writings, and I fear that if I should be silent and should not put before our members the saving and true doctrines, these teachers might get a hold of curious souls, which, in the absence of wholesome nourishment, might go after food that is forbidden, and, in fact, unclean and horrible. It appears to me, therefore, to be necessary that one who is able to represent in a genuine manner the doctrine of the Church, and to refute those dealers in knowledge, falsely so-called, should take his stand against historical fictions, and oppose to them the true and lofty evangelical message in which the agreement of the doctrines, found both in the so-called Old Testament and in the so-called New, appears so plainly and fully. You yourself felt at one time the lack of good representatives of the better cause, and were impatient of a faith which was at issue with reason and absurd, and you then, for the love you bore to the Lord, gave yourself to composition from which, however, in the exercise of the judgment with which you are endowed, you afterwards desisted. This is the defense which I think admits of being made for those who have the faculty of speaking and writing. But I am also pleading my own cause, as I now devote myself with what boldness I may to the work of exposition; for it may be that I am not endowed with that habit and disposition which he ought to have who is fitted by God to be a minister of the New Covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit.

SIXTH BOOK

1

THE WORK IS TAKEN UP AFTER A VIOLENT INTERRUPTION, WHICH HAS DRIVEN THE WRITER FROM ALEXANDRIA. HE ADDRESSES HIMSELF TO IT AGAIN, WITH THANKS FOR HIS DELIVERANCE, AND PRAYER FOR GUIDANCE

When a house is being built which is to be made as strong as possible, the building takes place in fine weather and in calm, so that nothing may hinder the structure from acquiring the needed solidity. And thus it turns out so strong and stable that it is able to withstand the rush of the flood. and the dashing of the river, and all the agencies accompanying a storm which are apt to find out what is rotten in a building and to show what parts of it have been properly put together. And more particularly should that house which is capable of sheltering the speculations of truth, the house of reason, as it were, in promise or in letters, be built at a time when God can add His free co-operation to the projector of so noble a work, when the soul is quiet and in the enjoyment of that peace which passes all understanding, when she is turned away from all disturbance and not buffeted by any billows. This, it appears to me, was well understood by the servants of the prophetic spirit and the ministers of the Gospel message; they made themselves worthy to receive that peace which is in secret from Him who ever gives it to them that are worthy and who said, “Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you.” And look if some similar lesson is not taught under the surface with regard to David and Solomon in the narrative about the temple. David, who fought the wars of the Lord and stood firm against many enemies, his own and those of Israel, desired to build a temple for God. But God, through Nathan, prevents him from doing so, and Nathan says to him, “Thou shalt not build me an house, because thou art a man of

blood.” But Solomon, on the other hand, saw God in a dream, and in a dream received wisdom, for the reality of the vision was kept for him who

said, “Behold a greater than Solomon is here.” The time was one of the profoundest peace, so that it was possible for every man to rest under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and Solomon’s very name was significant of the peace which was in his days, for Solomon means peaceful; and so he was at liberty to build the famous temple of God. About the time of Ezra, also, when “truth conquers wine and the hostile king: and women,” the temple of God is restored again. All this is said by way of apology to you, reverend Ambrosius. It is at your sacred encouragement that I have made up my mind to build up in writing: the tower of the Gospel; and I have therefore sate down to count the cost, if I have sufficient to finish it, lest I should be mocked by the beholders, because I laid the foundation but was not able to finish the work. The result of my counting, it is true, has been that I do not possess what is required to finish it; yet I have put my trust in God, who enriches us with all wisdom and all knowledge. If we strive to keep His spiritual laws we believe that He does enrich us; He will supply what is necessary so that we shall get on with our building, and shall even come to the parapet of the structure. That parapet it is which keeps from falling those who go up on the house of the Word; for people only fall off those houses which have no parapet, so that the buildings themselves are to blame for their fall and for their death. We proceeded as far as the fifth volume in spite of the obstacles presented by the storm in Alexandria, and spoke what was given us to speak, for Jesus rebuked the winds and the waves of the sea. We emerged from the storm, we were brought out of Egypt, that God delivering us who led His people forth from there. Then, when the enemy assailed us with all bitterness by his new writings, so directly hostile to the Gospel, and stirred up against us all the winds of wickedness in Egypt, I felt that reason called me rather to stand fist for the conflict, and to save the higher part in me, lest evil counsels should succeed in directing the storm so as to overwhelm my soul, rather to do this than to finish my work at an unsuitable season, before my mind had recovered its calm. Indeed, the ready writers who usually attended me brought my work to a stand by failing to appear to take down my words. But now that the many fiery darts directed against me have lost their edge, for God extinguished them, and my soul has grown accustomed to the dispensation sent me for the sake of the heavenly word, and has learned from necessity to disregard the snares of my enemies, it is as if a great calm had settled on me, and I defer no longer the continuation of this work. I pray that God

will be with me, and will speak as a teacher in the porch of my soul, so that the building I have begun of the exposition of the Gospel of John may arrive at completion. May God hear my prayer and grant that the body of the whole work may now be brought together, and that no interruption may intervene which might prevent me from following the sequence of Scripture. And be assured that it is with great readiness that I now make this second beginning and enter on my sixth volume, because what I wrote before at Alexandria has not, I know not by what chance, been brought with me. I feared I might neglect this work, if I were not engaged on it at once, and therefore thought it better to make use of this present time and begin without delay the part which remains. I am not certain if the part formerly written will come to light, and would be very unwilling to waste time in waiting to see if it does. Enough of preamble, let us now attend to our text.

2

HOW THE PROPHETS AND HOLY MEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT KNEW THE THINGS OF CHRIST

“And this is the witness of John.” This is the second recorded testimony of John the Baptist to Christ. The first begins with “This was He of whom I said, He that cometh after me,” and goes down to “The only-begotten Son of God who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared him.” Heracleon supposes the words, “No one has seen God at any time,” etc., to have been spoken, not by the Baptist, but by the disciple. But in this he is not sound. He himself allows the words, “Of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ,” to have been spoken by the Baptist. And does it not follow that the person who received of the fulness of Christ, and a second grace in addition to that he had before, and who declared the law to have been given by Moses, but grace and truth to have come through Jesus Christ, is it not clear that this is the person who understood, from what he received from the fulness of Christ, how “no one hath seen God at any time,” and how “the only-begotten who is in the bosom of the Father” had delivered the declaration about God to him and

to all those who had received of His fulness? He was not declaring here for the first time Him that is in the bosom of the Father, as if there had never before been any one fit to receive what he told His Apostles. Does he not teach us that he was before Abraham, and that Abraham rejoiced and was glad to see his day? The words “Of his fulness all we received,” and “Grace for grace,” show, as we have already made clear, that the prophets also received their gift from the fulness of Christ and received a second grace in place of that they had before; for they also, led by the Spirit, advanced from the introduction they had in types to the vision of truth. Hence not all the prophets, but many of them, desired to see the things, which the Apostles saw. For if there was a difference among the prophets, those who were perfect and more distinguished of them did not desire to see what the Apostles saw, but actually beheld them, while those who rose less fully than these to the height of the Word were filled with longing for the things which the Apostles knew through Christ. The word “saw” we have not taken in a physical sense, and the word “heard” we have taken to refer to a spiritual communication; only he who has ears is prepared to hear the words of Jesus — a thing which does not happen too frequently. There is the further point, that the saints before the bodily advent of Jesus had an advantage over most believers in their insight into the mysteries of divinity, since the Word of God was their teacher before He became flesh, for He was always working, in imitation of His Father, of whom He says, “My father worketh hitherto.” On this point we may adduce the words He addresses to the Sadducees, who do not believe the doctrine of the resurrection. “Have you not read,” He says, “what is said by God at the Bush, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; He is not the God of the dead but of the living.” If, then, God is not ashamed to be called the God of these men, and if they are counted by Christ among the living, and if all believers are sons of Abraham, since all the Gentiles are blessed with faithful Abraham, who is appointed by God to be a father of the Gentiles, can we hesitate to admit that those living persons made acquaintance with the learning of living men, and were taught by Christ who was born before the daystar, before He became flesh? And for this cause they lived, because they had part in Him who said, “I am the life,” and as the heirs of so great promises received the vision, not only of angels, but of God in Christ. For they saw, it may be, the image of the invisible God, since he who hath seen the Son hath seen the Father, and so

they are recorded to have known God, and to have heard God's words worthily, and, therefore, to have seen God and heard Him. Now, I consider that those who are fully and really sons of Abraham are sons of his actions, spiritually understood, and of the knowledge which was made manifest to him. What he knew and what he did appears again in those who are his sons, as the Scripture teaches those who have ears to hear, "If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the works of Abraham." And if it is a true proverb which says, "A wise man will understand that which proceeds from his own mouth, and on his lips he will bear prudence," then we must at once repudiate some things which have been said about the prophets, as if they were not wise men, and did not understand what proceeded from their own mouths. We must believe what is good and true about the prophets, that they were sages, that they did understand what proceeded from their mouths, and that they bore prudence on their lips. It is clear indeed that Moses understood in his mind the truth (real meaning) of the law, and the higher interpretations of the stories recorded in his books. Joshua, too, understood the meaning of the allotment of the land after the destruction of the nine and twenty kings, and could see better than we can the realities of which his achievements were the shadows. It is clear, too, that Isaiah saw the mystery of Him who sat upon the throne, and of the two seraphim, and of the veiling of their faces and their feet, and of their wings, and of the altar and of the tongs. Ezekiel, too, understood the true significance of the cherubim and of their goings, and of the firmament that was above them, and of Him that sat on the throne, than all which what could be loftier or more splendid? I need not enter into more particulars; the point I aim at establishing is clear enough already, namely, that those who were made perfect in earlier generations knew not less than the Apostles did of what Christ revealed to them, since the same teacher was with them as He who revealed to the Apostles the unspeakable mysteries of godliness. I will add but a few points, and then leave it to the reader to judge and to form what views he pleases on this subject. Paul says in his Epistle to the Romans, "Now, to him who is able to establish you according to my Gospel, according to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but is now made manifest by the prophetic Scriptures and the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." For if the mystery concealed of old is made manifest to the Apostles through the prophetic writings, and if the

prophets, being wise men, understood what proceeded from their own mouths, then the prophets knew what was made manifest to the Apostles. But to many it was not revealed, as Paul says, “In other generations it was not made known to the sons of men as it hath now been revealed unto His holy Apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and members of the same body.” Here an objection may be raised by those who do not share the view we have propounded; and it becomes of importance to define what is meant by the word “revealed.” It is capable of two meanings: firstly, that the thing in question is understood, but secondly, if a prophecy is spoken of, that it is accomplished. Now, the fact that the Gentiles were to be fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers of the promise, was known to the prophets to this extent, that they knew the Gentiles were to fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ. When this should be, and why, and what Gentiles were spoken of, and how, though strangers from the covenants. and aliens to the promises, they were yet to be members of one body and sharers of the blessings; all this was known to the prophets, being revealed to them. But the things prophesied belong to the future, and are not revealed to those who know them, but do not witness their fulfilment, as they are to those who have the event before their eyes. And this was the position of the Apostles. Thus, I conceive. they knew the events no more than the fathers and the prophets did; and yet it is truly said of them that “what to other generations was not revealed was now revealed to the Apostles and prophets, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers in the promise of Christ.” For, in addition to knowing these mysteries, they saw the power at work in the accomplished fact. The passage, “Many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things ye see and did not see them; and to hear the things ye hear and did not hear them,” may be interpreted in the same way. They also desired to see the mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God, and of His coming down to carry out the design of His suffering for the salvation of many, actually put in operation. This may be illustrated from another quarter. Suppose one of the Apostles to have understood the “unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter,” but not to witness the glorious bodily appearing of Jesus to the faithful. which is promised, although He desired to see it and suppose another had not only not marked and seen what that

Apostle marked and saw, but had a much feebler grasp of the divine hope, and yet is present at the second coming of our Savior, which the Apostle, as in the parallel above, had desired, but had not seen. We shall not err from the truth if we say that both of these have seen what the Apostle, or indeed the Apostles, desired to see, and yet that they are not on that account to be deemed wiser or more blessed than the Apostles. In the same way, also, the Apostles are not to be deemed wiser than the fathers, or than Moses and the prophets, than those in fact who, for their virtue, were found worthy of epiphanies and of divine manifestations and of revelations of mysteries.

3

"GRACE AND TRUTH CAME THROUGH JESUS CHRIST." THESE WORDS BELONG TO THE BAPTIST, NOT THE EVANGELIST. WHAT THE BAPTIST TESTIFIES BY THEM

We have lingered rather long over these discussions, but there is a reason for it. There are many who, under the pretense of glorifying the advent of Christ, declare the Apostles to be wiser than the fathers or the prophets; and of these teachers some have invented a greater God for the later period, while some, not venturing so far, but moved, according to their own account of the matter, by the difficulty connected with doctrine, cancel the whole of the gift conferred by God on the fathers and the prophets, through Christ, through whom all things were made. If all things were made through Him, clearly so must the splendid revelations have been which were made to the fathers and prophets, and became to them the symbols of the sacred mysteries of religion. Now the true soldiers of Christ must always be prepared to do battle for the truth, and must never, so far as lies with them, allow false convictions to creep in. We must not, therefore, neglect this matter. It may be said that John's earlier testimony to Christ is to be found in the words. "He who cometh after me exists before me, for He was before me," and that the words, "For of His fulness we all received, and grace for grace," are in the mouth of John the disciple. Now, we must show this exposition to be a forced one, and one which does violence to the context; it is rather a strong proceeding to suppose the

speech of the Baptist to be so suddenly and, as it were, inopportunely interrupted by that of the disciple, and it is quite apparent to any one who can judge, in whatever small degree, of a context, that the speech goes on continuously after the words, “This is He of whom I spoke, He that cometh after me exists before me, for He was before me.” The Baptist brings a proof that Jesus existed before him because He was before him, since He is the first-born of all creation; he says, “For of His fulness all we received.” That is the reason why he says, “He exists before me, for He was before me.” That is how I know that He is first and in higher honor with the Father, since of His fulness both I and the prophets before me received the more divine prophetic grace instead of the grace we received at His hands before in respect of our election. That is why I say, “He exists before me, for He was before me,” because we know what we have received from His fulness; namely, that the law was given through Moses, not by Moses, while grace and truth not only were given but came into existence through Jesus Christ. For His God and Father both gave the law through Moses, and made grace and truth through Jesus Christ, that grace and truth which came to man. If we give a reasonable interpretation to the words, “Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ,” we shall not be alarmed at the possible discrepancy with them of that other saying, “I am the way and the truth and the life.” If it is Jesus who says, “I am the truth,” then how does the truth come through Jesus Christ, since no one comes into existence through himself? We must recognize that this very truth, the essential truth, which is prototypal, so to speak, of that truth which exists in souls endowed with reason, that truth from which, as it were, images are impressed on those who care for truth, was not made through Jesus Christ, nor indeed through any one, but by God; — just as the Word was not made through any one which was in the beginning with the Father; — and as wisdom which God created the beginning of His ways was not made through any one, so the truth also was not made through any one.That truth, however, which is with men came through Jesus Christ, as the truth in Paul and the Apostles came through Jesus Christ. And it is no wonder, since truth is one, that many truths should flow from that one. The prophet David certainly knew many truths, as he says, “The Lord searcheth out truths,” for the Father of truth searches out not the one truth but the many through which those are saved who possess them. And as with the one truth and many truths, so also with

righteousness and righteousnesses. For the very essential righteousness is Christ, “Who was made to us of God wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.” But from that righteousness is formed the righteousness which is in each individual. so that there are in the saved many righteousnesses, whence also it is written, “For the Lord is righteous, and He loved righteousnesses.” This is the reading in the exact copies, and in the other versions besides the Septuagint, and in the Hebrew. Consider if the other things which Christ is said to be in a unity admit of being multiplied in the same way and spoken of in the plural. For example, Christ is our life as the Savior Himself says, “I am the way and the truth and the life.” The Apostle, too, says, “When Christ our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory.” And in the Psalms again we find, “Thy mercy is better than life;” for it is on account of Christ who is life in every one that there are many lives. This, perhaps, is also the key to the passage, “If ye seek a proof of the Christ that speaketh in me.” For Christ is found in every saint, and so from the one Christ there come to be many Christs, imitators of Him and formed after Him who is the image of God; whence God says through the prophet, “Touch not my Christs.” Thus we have explained in passing the passage which we appeared to have omitted from our exposition, viz.: “Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ;” and we have also shown that the words belong to John the Baptist and form part of his testimony to the Son of God.

4

JOHN DENIES THAT HE IS ELIJAH OR “THE” PROPHET. YET HE WAS “A PROPHET

Now let us consider John’s second testimony. Jews from Jerusalem, kindred to John the Baptist, since he also belonged to a priestly race, send priests and levites to ask John who he is. In saying, “I am not the Christ,” he made a confession of the truth. The words are not, as one might suppose, a negation; for it is no negation to say, in the honor of Christ, that one is not Christ. The priests and levites sent from Jerusalem, having there heard in the first place that he is not the expected Messiah, put a question about the second great personage whom they expected, namely,

Elijah, whether John were he, and he says he is not Elijah, and by his “I am not” makes a second confession of the truth. And, as many prophets had appeared in Israel, and one in particular was looked for according to the prophecy of Moses, who said, “A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you of your brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear; and it shall come to pass that every soul that shall not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people,” they, therefore, ask a third question, not whether he is a prophet, but whether he is the prophet. Now, they did not apply this name to the Christ, but supposed the prophet to be a second figure beside the Christ. But John, on the contrary, who knew that He whose forerunner he was was both the Christ and the prophet thus foretold, answered “No;” whereas, if they had asked if he was a prophet, he would have answered “Yes;” for he was not unconscious that he was a prophet. In all these answers John’s second testimony to Christ was not yet completed; he had still to give his questioners the answer they were to take back to those who sent them, and to declare himself in the terms of the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, “The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord.”

5

THERE WERE TWO EMBASSIES TO JOHN THE BAPTIST; THE DIFFERENT CHARACTERS OF THESE

Here the enquiry suggests itself whether the second testimony is concluded, and whether there is a third, addressed to those who were sent from the Pharisees. They wished to know why he baptized, if he was neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet; and he said: “I baptize with water; but there standeth one among you whom you know not, He that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.” Is this a third testimony, or is this which they were to report to the Pharisees a part of the second? As far as the words allow me to conjecture I should say that the word to the emissaries of the Pharisees was a third testimony. It is to be observed, however, that the first testimony asserts the divinity of the Savior, while the second disposes of the suspicion of those who were in doubt whether John could be the Christ, and the third declares one

who was already present with men although they saw Him not, and whose coming was no longer in the future. Before going on to the subsequent testimonies in which he points out Christ and witnesses to Him, let us look at the second and third, word for word, and let us, in the first place, observe that there are two embassies to the Baptist, one “from Jerusalem” from the Jews, who send priests and levites, to ask him, “Who art thou?” the second sent by the Pharisees, who were in doubt about the answer which had been made to the priests and levites. Observe how what is said by the first envoys is in keeping with the character of priests and levites, and shows gentleness and a willingness to learn. “Who art thou?” they say, and “What then? art thou Elijah?” and “Art thou that prophet?” and then, “Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? What sayest thou of thyself?” There is nothing harsh or arrogant in the enquiries of these men; everything agrees well with the character of true and careful servants of God; and they raise no difficulties about the replies made to them. Those, on the contrary, who are sent from the Pharisees assail the Baptist, as it were, with arrogant and unsympathetic words: “Why then baptizest thou if thou be not the Christ nor Elijah nor the prophet?” This mission is sent scarcely for the sake of information, as in the former case of the priests and levites, but rather to debar the Baptist from baptizing, as if it were thought that no one was entitled to baptize but Christ and Elijah and the prophet. The student who desires to understand the Scripture must always proceed in this careful way; he must ask with regard to each speech, who is the speaker and on what occasion it was spoken. Thus only can we discern how speech harmonizes with the character of the speaker, as it does all through the sacred books.

6

MESSIANIC DISCUSSION WITH JOHN THE BAPTIST

Then the Jews sent priests and levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou And he confessed and denied not; and he confessed, I am not the Christ. What legates should have been sent from the Jews to John, and where should they have been sent from? Should they not have been men held to stand by the election of God above their fellows, and should they

not have come from that place which was chosen out of the whole of the earth, though it is all called good, from Jerusalem where was the temple of God? With such honor, then, do they enquire of John. In the case of Christ nothing of this sort is reported to have been done by the Jews; but what the Jews do to John, John does to Christ, sending his own disciples to ask him, “Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?” John confesses to those sent to him, and denies not, and he afterwards declares, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness; “but Christ, as having a greater testimony than John the Baptist, makes His answer by words and deeds, saying. “Go and tell John those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them.” On this passage I shall, if God permit, enlarge in its proper place. Here, however, it might be asked reasonably enough why John gives such an answer to the question put to him. The priests and levites do not ask him, “Art thou the Christ?” but “Who art thou?” and the Baptist’s reply to this question should have been, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.” The proper reply to the question, “Art thou the Christ?” is, “I am not the Christ;” and to the question, “Who art thou?” — “The voice of one crying in the wilderness.” To this we may say that he probably discerned in the question of the priests and levites a cautious reverence, which led them to hint the idea in their minds that he who was baptizing might be the Christ, but withheld them from openly saying so, which might have been presumptuous. He quite naturally, therefore, proceeds in the first place to remove any false impressions they might have taken up about him, and declares publicly the true state of the matter, “I am not the Christ.” Their second question, and also their third, show that they had conceived some such surmise about him. They supposed that he might be that second in honor to whom their hopes pointed, namely, Elijah, who held with them the next position after Christ; and so when John had answered, “I am not the Christ,” they asked, “What then? Art thou Elijah?” And he said, “I am not.” They wish to know, in the third place, if he is the prophet, and on his answer,” No,” they have no longer any name to give the personage whose advent they expected, and they say, “Who art thou, then, that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?” Their meaning is: “You are not, you say, any of those personages whose advent Israel hopes and expects, and who you are, to baptize as you do,

we do not know; tell us, therefore, so that we may report to those who sent us to get light ripen this point." We add, as it has some bearing on the context, that the people were moved by the thought that the period of Christ's advent was near. It was in a manner imminent in the years from the birth of Jesus and a little before, down to the publication of the preaching. Hence it was, in all likelihood, that as the scribes and lawyers had deduced the time from Holy Scripture and were expecting the Coming One, the idea was taken up by Theudas, who came forward as the Messiah and brought together a considerable multitude, and after him by the famous Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing. Thus the coming of the Messiah was more warmly expected and discussed, and it was natural enough for the Jews to send priests and levites from Jerusalem to John, to ask him, "Who art thou?" and learn if he professed to be the Christ.

7

OF THE BIRTH OF JOHN, AND OF HIS ALLEGED IDENTITY WITH ELIJAH. OF THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSCORPORATION

"And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? and he said, I am not." No one can fail to remember in this connection what Jesus says of John, "If ye will receive it, this is Elijah which is to come." How, then, does John come to say to those who ask him, "Art thou Elijah?" — "I am not." And how can it be true at the same time that John is Elijah who is to come, according to the words of Malachi, "And behold I send unto you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and notable day of the Lord come, who shall restore the heart of the father to the SOD, and the heart of a man to his neighbor, lest I come, and utterly smite the earth." The words of the angel of the Lord, too, who appeared to Zacharias, as he stood at the right hand of the altar of incense, are somewhat to the same effect as the prophecy of Malachi: "And thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John." And a little further on: "And he shall go before His face in the spirit and power of Elijah to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him." As for the first point, one might say that John did not know that he was Elijah. This will be the explanation of

those who find in our passage a support for their doctrine of transcorporation, as if the soul clothed itself in a fresh body and did not quite remember its former lives. These thinkers will also point out that some of the Jews assented to this doctrine when they spoke about the Savior as if He was one of the old prophets, and had risen not from the tomb but from His birth. His mother Mary was well known, and Joseph the carpenter was supposed to be His father, add it could readily be supposed that He was one of the old prophets risen from the dead. The same person will adduce the text in Genesis. “I will destroy the whole resurrection,” and will thereby reduce those who give themselves to finding in Scripture solutions of false probabilities to a great difficulty in respect of this doctrine. Another, however, a churchman, who repudiates the doctrine of transcorporation as a false one, and does not admit that the soul of John ever was Elijah, may appeal to the above-quoted words of the angel, and point out that it is not the soul of Elijah that is spoken of at John’s birth, but the spirit and power of Elijah. “He shall go before him,” it is said, “in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children.” Now it can be shown from thousands of texts that the spirit is a different thing from the soul, and that what is called the power is a different thing from both the soul and the spirit. On these points I cannot now enlarge; this work must not be unduly expanded. To establish the fact that power is different from spirit. it will be enough to cite the text, “The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.” As for the spirits of the prophets, these are given to them by God, and are spoken of as being in a manner their property (slaves), as “The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.” and “The spirit of Elijah rested upon Elisha.” Thus, it is said, there is nothing absurd in supposing that John, “in the spirit and power of Elijah,” turned the hearts of the fathers to the children, and that it was on account of this spirit that he was called “Elijah who was to come.” And to reinforce this view it may be argued that if the God of the universe identified Himself with His saints to such an extent as to be called the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, much more might the Holy Spirit so identify Himself with the prophets as to be called their spirit, so that when the spirit is spoken of it might be the spirit of Elijah or the spirit of Isaiah. Our churchman, to go on with his views, may further say that those who supposed Jesus to be one of the prophets risen from

the dead were probably misled, partly by the doctrine above mentioned, and partly by supposing Him to be one of the prophets, and that as for this misconception that He was one of the prophets, these persons probably fell into their error from not knowing about Jesus' supposed father and actual mother, and considering that He had risen from the tombs. As for the text in Genesis about the resurrection, the churchman will rejoin with a text to an opposite effect, "God hath raised up for me another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew;" showing that the resurrection occurs in Genesis. As for the first difficulty which was raised, our churchman will meet the view of the believers in transcorporation by saying that John is no doubt, in a certain sense, as he has already shown, Elijah who is to come; and that the reason why he met the enquiry of the priests and levites with "I am not," was that he divined the object they had in view in making it. For the enquiry laid before John by the priests and levites was not intended to bring out whether the same spirit was in both, but whether John was that very Elijah who was taken up, and who now appeared according to the expectation of the Jews without being born (for the emissaries, perhaps, did not know about John's birth); and to such all enquiry he naturally answered, "I am not;" for he who was called John was not Elijah who was taken up, and had not changed his body for his present appearance. Our first scholar, whose view of transcorporation we have seen based upon our passage, may go on with a close examination of the text, and urge against his antagonist, that if John was the son of such a man as the priest Zacharias, and if he was born when his parents were both aged, contrary to all human expectation, then it is not likely that so many Jews at Jerusalem would be so ignorant about him, or that the priests and levites whom they sent would not be acquainted with the facts of his birth. Does not Luke declare that "fear came upon all those who lived round about," — clearly round about Zacharias and Elisabeth — and that "all these things were noised abroad throughout the whole hill country of Judaea"? And if John's birth from Zacharias was a matter of common knowledge, and the Jews of Jerusalem yet sent priests and levites to ask, "Art thou Elijah?" then it is clear that in saying this they assumed the doctrine of transcorporation to be true, and that it was a current doctrine of their country, and not foreign to their secret teaching. John therefore says, I am not Elijah, because he does not know about his own former life. These thinkers, accordingly, entertain an opinion which is by no means to

be despised. Our churchman, however, may return to the charge, and ask if it is worthy of a prophet, who is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, who is predicted by Isaiah, and whose birth was foretold before it took place by so great an angel, one who has received of the fulness of Christ, who shares in such a grace, who knows truth to have come through Jesus Christ, and has taught such deep things about God and about the only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, is it worthy of such a one to lie, or even to hesitate, out of ignorance of what he was. For with respect to what was obscure, he ought to have refrained from confessing, and to have neither affirmed nor denied the proposition put before him. If the doctrine in question really was widely current, ought not John to have hesitated to pronounce upon it, lest his soul had actually been in Elijah? And here our churchman will appeal to history, and will bid his antagonists ask experts of the secret doctrines of the Hebrews, if they do really entertain such a belief. For if it should appear that they do not, then the argument based on that supposition is shown to be quite baseless. Our churchman, however, is still free to have recourse to the solution given before, and to insist that attention be paid to the meaning with which the question was put. For if, as I showed, the senders knew John to be the child of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and if the messengers still more, being men of priestly race, could not possibly be ignorant of the remarkable manner in which their kinsman Zacharias had received his son, then what could be the meaning of their question, “Art thou Elijah?” Had they not read that Elijah had been taken up into heaven, and did they not expect him to appear? Then, as they expect Elijah to come at the consummation before Christ, and Christ to follow him, perhaps their question was meant less in a literal than in a tropical sense: Are you he who announces beforehand the word which is to come before Christ, at the consummation? To this he very properly answers, “I am not.” The adversary, however, tries to show that the priests could not be ignorant that the birth of John had taken place in so remarkable a manner, because “all these things had been much spoken of in the hill country of Judaea;” and the churchman has to meet this. He does so by showing that a similar mistake was widely current about the Savior Himself; for “some said that He was John the Baptist, others Elijah, others Jeremiah or one of the prophets.” So the disciples told the Lord when He was in the parts of Caesarea Philippi, and questioned them on that subject. And Herod, too, said, “John whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead;”

so that he appears not to have known what was said about Christ, as reported in the Gospel, “Is not this the son of the carpenter, is not His mother called Mary, and His brothers James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas? And His sisters, are they not all with us?” Thus in the case of the Savior, while many knew of His birth from Mary, others were under a mistake about Him; and so in the case of John, there is no wonder if, while some knew of his birth from Zacharias, others were in doubt whether the expected Elijah had appeared in him or not. There was not more room for doubt about John, whether he was Elijah, than about the Savior, whether He was John. Of the two, the question of the outward form of Elijah could be disposed of from the words of Scripture, though not from actual observation, for we read, “He was a hairy man, and girt with a leather girdle about his loins.” John’s outward appearance, on the contrary, was well known, and was not like that of Jesus; and yet there were those who surmised that John had risen from the dead, and taken the name of Jesus. As for the change of name, a thing which reminds us of mysteries, I do not know how the Hebrews came to tell about Phinehas, son of Eleazar, who admittedly prolonged his life to the time of many of the judges, as we read in the Book of Judges, to tell about him what I now mention. They say that he was Elijah, because he had been promised immortality (in Numbers), on account of the covenant of peace granted to him because he was jealous with a divine jealousy, and in a passion of anger pierced the Midianitish woman and the Israelite, and stayed the wrath of God as it is called, as it is written, “Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them.” No wonder, then, if those who conceived Phinehas and Elijah to be the same person, whether they judged soundly in this or not. for that is not now the question, considered John and Jesus also to be the same. This, then, they doubted, and desired to know if John and Elijah were the same. At another time than this, the point would certainly call for a careful enquiry, and the argument would have to be well weighed as to the essence of the soul, as to the principle of her composition, and as to her entering into this body of earth. We should also have to enquire into the distributions of the life of each soul, and as to her departure from this life, and whether it is possible for her to enter into a second life in a body or not, and whether that takes place at the same period, and after the same arrangement in each case, or not; and whether

she enters the same body, or a different one, and if the same, whether the subject remains the same while the qualities are changed, or if both subject and qualities remain the same, and if the soul will always make use of the same body or will change it. Along with these questions, it would also be necessary to ask what transcorporation is, and how it differs from incorporation, and if he who holds transcorporation must necessarily hold the world to be eternal. The views of these scholars must also be taken into account, who consider that, according to the Scriptures, the soul is sown along with the body, and the consequences of such a view must also be looked at. In fact the subject of the soul is a wide one, and hard to be unravelled, and it has to be picked out of scattered expressions of Scripture. It requires, therefore, separate treatment. The brief consideration we have been led to give to the problem in connection with Elijah and John may now suffice; we go on to what follows in the Gospel.

8

JOHN IS A PROPHET, BUT NOT THE PROPHET

“Art thou that prophet? And he answered No.” If the law and the prophets were until John, what can we say that John was but a prophet? His father Zacharias, indeed, says, filled with the Holy Ghost and prophesying, “And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the Lord to prepare His ways.” (One might indeed get past this passage by laying stress on the word called: he is to be called, he is not said to be, a prophet.) And still more weighty is it that the Savior said to those who considered John to be a prophet, “But what went ye out to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.” The words, Yea, I say unto you, manifestly affirm that John is a prophet, and that is nowhere denied afterwards. If, then, he is said by the Savior to be not only a prophet but “more than a prophet,” how is it that when the priests and levites come and ask him, “Art thou the Prophet?” he answers No! On this we must remark that it is not the same thing to say, “Art thou the Prophet?” and “Art thou a prophet?” The distinction between the two expressions has already been observed, when we asked what was the difference between the God and God, and between the Logos and Logos.

Now it is written in Deuteronomy, “A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like me; Him shall ye hear, and it shall be that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be cut off from among His people,” There was, therefore, an expectation of one particular prophet having a resemblance to Moses in mediating between God and the people and receiving a new covenant from God to give to those who accepted his teaching; and in the case of each of the prophets, the people of Israel recognized that he was not the person of whom Moses spoke. As, then, they doubted about John, whether he were not the Christ, so they doubted whether he could not be the prophet. And there is no wonder that those who doubted about John whether he were the Christ, did not understand that the Christ and the prophet are the same person; their doubt as to John necessarily implied that they were not clear on this point. Now the difference between “the prophet” and “a prophet” has escaped the observation of most students; this is the case with Heracleon, who says, in these very words: “As, then, John confessed that he was not the Christ, and not even a prophet, nor Elijah.” If he interpreted the words before us in such a way, he ought to have examined the various passages to see whether in saying that he is not a prophet nor Elijah he is or is not saying what is true. He devotes no attention, however, to these passages, and in his remaining commentaries he passes over such points without any enquiry. In the sequel, too, his remarks, of which we shall have to speak directly, are very scanty, and do not testify to careful study.

9

JOHN 1:22

“They said therefore unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?” This speech of the emissaries amounts to the following: We had a surmise what you were and came to learn if it was so, but now we know that you are not that. It remains for us, therefore. to hear your account of yourself, so that we may report your answer to those who sent us.

10

OF THE VOICE JOHN THE BAPTISTS IS

“He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Make straight the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet.” As He who is peculiarly the Son of God, being no other than the Logos, yet makes use of Logos (reason) — for He was the Logos in the beginning, and was with God, the Logos of God — so John, the servant of that Logos, being, if we take the Scripture to mean what it says, no other than a voice, yet uses his voice to point to the Logos. He, then, understanding in this way the prophecy about himself spoken by Isaiah the prophet, says he is a voice, not crying in the wilderness, but “of one crying in the wilderness,” of Him, namely, who stood and cried, “If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.” He it was. too, who said, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. Every valley shall be filled and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and all the crooked shall be made straight.” For as we read in Exodus that God said to Moses, “Behold I have given thee for a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet;” so we are to understand — the cases are at least analogous if not altogether similar — it is with the Word in the beginning, who is God, and with John. For John’s voice points to that word and demonstrates it. It is therefore a very appropriate punishment that falls on Zacharias on his saying to the angel, “Whereby shall I know this? For I am an old man and my wife well stricken in years.” For his want of faith with regard to the birth of the voice, he is himself deprived of his voice, as the angel Gabriel says to him, “Behold, thou shall be silent and not able to speak until the day that these things shall come to pass, because thou hast not believed my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season.” And afterwards when he had “asked for a writing tablet and written, His name is John; and they all marvelled,” he recovered his voice; for “his mouth was opened immediately and his tongue, and he spake, blessing God.” We discussed above how it is to be understood that the Logos is the Son of God, and went over the ideas connected with that; and a similar sequence of ideas is to be observed at this point. John came for a witness; he was a man sent from God to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe; he was that voice, then, we are to understand, which alone was fitted worthily to

announce the Logos. We shall understand this aright if we call to mind what was adduced in our exposition of the texts: “That all might believe through Him,” and “This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee.” There is fitness, too, in his being said to be the voice, not of one saying in the wilderness, but of one crying in the wilderness. He who cries, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord,” also says it; but he might say it without crying it. But he cries and shouts it, that even those may hear who are at a distance from the speaker, and that even the deaf may understand the greatness of the tidings, since it is announced in a great voice; and he thus brings help, both to those who have departed from God and to those who have lost the acuteness of their hearing. This, too, was the reason why “Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.” Hence, too, “John beareth witness of Him, and cried, saying,” “Hence also God commands Isaiah to cry, with the voice of one saying, Cry. And I said, What shall I cry?” The physical voice we use in prayer need not be great nor startling; even should we not lift up any great cry or shout, God will yet hear us. He says to Moses, “Why criest thou unto Me?” when Moses had not cried audibly at all. It is not recorded in Exodus that he did so; but Moses had cried mightily to God in prayer with that voice which is heard by God alone. Hence David also says, “With my voice I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me.” And one who cries in the desert has need of a voice, that the soul which is deprived of God and deserted of truth — and what more dreadful desert is there than a soul deserted of God and of all virtue, since it still goes crookedly and needs instruction — may be exhorted to make straight the way of the Lord. And that way is made straight by the man who, far from copying the serpent’s crooked journey: while he who is of the contrary disposition perverts his way. Hence the rebuke directed to a man of this kind and to all who resemble him, “Why pervert ye the right ways of the Lord?”

11

OF THE WAY OF THE LORD, HOW IT IS NARROW, AND HOW JESUS IS THE WAY

Now the way of the Lord is made straight in two fashions. First, in the way of contemplation, when thought is made clear in truth without any mixture of falsehood; and then in the way of conduct, after the sound contemplation of what ought to be done, when action is produced which harmonizes with sound theory of conduct. And that we may the more clearly understand the text, “Make straight the way of the Lord,” it will be well to compare with it what is said in the Proverbs, “Depart not, either to the right hand or to the left.” For he who deviates in either direction has given up keeping his path straight, and is no longer worthy of regard, since he has gone apart from the straightness of the journey, for “the Lord is righteous, and loves righteousness, and His face beholds straightness.” Hence he who is the object of regard, and receives the benefit that comes from this oversight, says, “The light of Thy countenance was shown upon us, O Lord.” Let us stand, then, as Jeremiah exhorts, upon the ways, and let us see and ask after the ancient ways of the Lord, and let us see which is the good way, and walk in it. Thus did the Apostles stand and ask for the ancient ways of the Lord; they asked the Patriarchs and the Prophets, enquiring into their writings, and when they came to understand these writings they saw the good way, namely, Jesus Christ, who said, “I am the way.” and they walked in it. For it is a good way that leads the good man to the good father, the man who, from the good treasure of his heart, brings forth good things, and who is a good and faithful servant. This way is narrow, indeed, for the many cannot bear to walk in it and are lovers of their flesh; but it is also hard-pressed by those who use violence to walk in it, for it is not called afflicting, but afflicted. For that way which is a living way, and feels the qualities of those who tread it, is pressed and afflicted, when he travels on it who has not taken off his shoes from off his feet. nor truly realized that the place on which he stands. or indeed treads, is holy ground. And it will lead to Him who is the life, and who says, “I am the life.” For the Savior, in whom all virtues are combined, has many aspects. To him who, though by no means near the end, is yet advancing, He is the way; to him who has put off all that is dead He is the life. He who travels

on this way is told to take nothing with him on it, since it provides bread and all that is necessary for life, enemies are powerless on it, and he needs no staff, and since it is holy, he needs no shoes.

12

HERACLEON'S VIEW OF THE VOICE, AND OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

The words, however, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness," etc., may be taken as equivalent to "I am He of whom the 'voice in the wilderness' is written." Then John would be the person crying, and his voice would be that crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord." Heracleon, discussing John and the prophets, says, somewhat slanderously, that "the Word is the Savior; the voice, that in the wilderness which John interpreted; the sound is the whole prophetic order." To this we may reply by reminding him of the text, "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle," and that which says that though a man have knowledge of mysteries, or have prophecy but wants love, he is a sounding or a tinkling cymbal. If the prophetic voice be nothing but sound, how does our Lord come to refer us to it as where He says, "Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal life, and these are they which bear witness," and "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe Me," and "Well did Isaiah prophesy concerning you, saying, This people honors me with their lips"? I do not know if any one can reasonably admit that the Savior thus spoke in praise of an uncertain sound, or that there is any preparation to be had from the Scriptures to which we are referred as from the voice of a trumpet, for our war against opposing powers, should their sound give an uncertain voice. If the prophets had not love, and if that is why they were sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, then how does the Lord send us to their sound, as these writers will have it, as if we could get help from that? He asserts, indeed, that a voice, when well fitted to speech, becomes speech, as if one should say that a woman is turned into a man; and the assertion is not supported by argument. And, as if he were in a position to put forth a dogma on the subject and to get on in this way, he declares that sound can

be changed in a similar way into voice, and the voice, which is changed into speech, he says, is in the position of a disciple, while sound passing into voice is in that of a slave. If he had taken any kind of trouble to establish these points we should have had to devote some attention to refuting them; but as it is, the bare denial is sufficient refutation. There was a point some way back which we deferred taking up, that, namely, of the motive of John's speeches. We may now take it up. The Savior, according to Heracleon, calls him both a prophet and Elijah, but he himself denies that he is either of these. When the Savior, Heracleon says, calls him a prophet and Elijah, He is speaking not of John himself, but of his surroundings; but when He calls him greater than the prophets and than those who are born of women, then He is describing the character of John himself. When John, on the other hand, is asked about himself, his answers relate to himself, not to his surroundings. This we have examined as carefully as possible, comparing each of the terms in question with the statements of Heracleon, lest he should not have expressed himself quite accurately. For how it comes that the statements that he is Elijah and that he is a prophet apply to those about him, but the statement that he is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, to himself, no attempt whatever is made to show Heracleon only gives an illustration, namely, this: His surroundings were, so to speak, his clothes, and other than himself, and when he was asked about his clothes, if he; were his clothes, he could not answer "Yes." Now that his being Elijah, who was to come, was his clothes, is scarcely consistent, so far as I can see, with Heracleon's views; it might consist, perhaps, with the exposition we ourselves gave of the words, "In the spirit and power of Elijah;" it might, in a sense, be said that this spirit of Elijah is equivalent to the soul of John. He then goes on to try to determine why those who were sent by the Jews to question John were priests and levites, and he answers by no means badly, that it was incumbent on such persons, being devoted to the service of God, to busy themselves and to make enquiries about such matters. When he goes on, however, to say that it was "because John was of the levitical tribe, this is less well considered. We raised the question ourselves above, and saw that if the Jews who were sent knew John's birth, it was not open to them to ask if he was Elijah. Then, again, in dealing with the question, "Art thou the prophet?" Heracleon does not regard the addition of the article as having any special force, and says, "They asked him if he were a prophet, wishing to know

this more general fact." Again, not Heracleon alone, but, so far as I am informed, all those who diverge from our views, as if they had not been able to deal with a trifling ambiguity and to draw the proper distinction, suppose John to be greater than Elijah and than all the prophets. The words are, "Of those born of women there is none greater than John;" but this admits of two mean-lugs, that John is greater than they all, or again, that some of them are equal to him. For though many of the prophets were equal to him, still it might be true ill respect of the grace bestowed on him, that none of them was greater than he. He regards it as confirming the view that John was greater, that "he is predicted by Isaiah;" for no other of all those who uttered prophecies was held worthy by God of this distinction. This, however, is a venturesome statement and implies some disrespect of what is called the Old Testament, and total disregard of the fact that Elijah himself was the subject of prophecy. For Elijah is prophesied by Malachi, who says, "Behold, I send unto you Elijah, the Tishbite, who shall restore the heart of the father to the son." Josiah, too, as we read in third Kings, was predicted by name by the prophet who came out of Judah; for he said, Jeroboam also being present at the altar, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold a son is born to David, his name is Josiah." There are some also who say that Samson was predicted by Jacob, when he said, "Dan shall judge his own people, he is as one tribe in Israel," for Samson who judged Israel was of the tribe of Dan. So much by way of evidence of the rashness of the statement that John alone was the subject of prophecy, made by Heracleon in his attempted explanation of the words, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

13

JOHN 1:24, 25

OF THE BAPTISM OF JOHN, THAT OF ELIJAH, AND THAT OF CHRIST

And they that were sent were of the Pharisees. And they asked him, and said unto him, "Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?" Those who sent from Jerusalem the priests and

levites who asked John these questions, having learned who John was not, and who he was, preserve a decent silence, as if tacitly assenting and indicating that they accepted what was said, and saw that baptism was suited to a voice crying in the wilderness for the preparing of the way of the Lord. But the Pharisees being, as their name indicates, a divided and seditious set of people, show that they do not agree with the Jews of the metropolis and with the ministers of the service of God, the priests and levites. They send envoys who deal in rebukes, and so far as their power extends debar him from baptizing; their envoys ask, Why baptizest thou, then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? And if we were to stitch together into one statement what is written in the various Gospels, we should say that at this time they spoke as is here reported, but that at a later time, when they wished to received baptism, they heard the address of John: “Generations of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance.” This is what the Baptist says in Matthew, when he sees many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, without, it is clear, having the fruits of repentance, and pharisaically boasting in themselves that they had Abraham for their father. For this they are rebuked by John, who has the zeal of Elijah according to the communication of the Holy Spirit. For that is a rebuking word, “Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father,” and that is the word of a teacher, when he speaks of those who for their stony hearts are called unbelieving stones, and says that by the power of God these stones may be changed into children of Abraham; for they were present to the eyes of the prophet and did not shrink from his divine glance. Hence his words: “I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.” And since they came to his baptism without having done fruits meet for repentance, he says to them most appropriately, “Already is the axe laid to the root of the tree; every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.” This is as much as to say to them: Since you have come to baptism without having done fruits meet for repentance, you are a tree that does not bring forth good fruit and which has to be cut down by the most sharp and piercing axe of the Word which is living and powerful and sharper than every two-edged sword. The estimation in which the Pharisees held themselves is also set forth by Luke in the passage: “Two men went up to the temple to pray, the one a

Pharisee and the other a publican. And the Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The result of this speech is that the publican goes down to his house justified rather than the Pharisee, and the lesson is drawn, that every one who exalts himself is abased. They came, then, in the character in which the Savior's reproving words described them, as hypocrites to John's baptism, nor does it escape the Baptist's observation that they have the poison of vipers under their tongue and the poison of asps, for "the poison of asps is under their tongue," The figure of serpents rightly indicates their temper, and it is plainly revealed in their better question: "Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?" To these I would fain reply, if it be the case that the Christ and Elijah and the prophet baptize, but that the voice crying in the wilderness has no authority to do so, "Most harshly, my friends, do you question the messenger sent before the face of Christ to prepare His way before Him. The mysteries which belong to this point are all hidden to you; for Jesus being, whether you will or not, the Christ, did not Himself baptize but His disciples, He who was Himself the prophet. And how have you come to believe that Elijah who is to come will baptize?" He did not baptize the logs upon the altar in the times of Ahab, though they needed such a bath to be burned up, what time the Lord appeared in fire. No, he commands the priests to do this for him, and that not only once; for he says, "Do it a second time," upon which they did it a second time, and "Do it a third time," and they did it a third time. If, then, he did not at that time himself baptize but left the work to others, how was he to baptize at the time spoken of by Malachi? Christ, then, does not baptize with water, but His disciples. He reserves for Himself to baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. Now Heracleon accepts the speech of the Pharisees as distinctly implying that the office of baptizing belonged to the Christ and Elijah and to every prophet, for he uses these words, "Whose office alone it is to baptize." He is refuted by what we have just said, and especially by the consideration that he takes the word "prophet" in a general sense; for he cannot show that any of the prophets baptized. He adds, not incorrectly, that the Pharisees put the question from malice, and not from a desire to learn.

14

COMPARISON OF THE STATEMENTS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS RESPECTING JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE PROPHECIES REGARDING HIM, HIS ADDRESSES TO THE MULTITUDE AND TO THE PHARISEES, ETC

We deem it necessary to compare with the expression of the passage we are considering the similar expressions found elsewhere in the Gospels. This we shall continue to do point by point to the end of this work, so that terms which appear to disagree may be shown to be in harmony, and that the peculiar meanings present in each may be explained. This we shall do in the present passage. The words, “The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord,” are placed by John, who was a disciple, in the mouth of the Baptist. In Mark, on the other hand, the same words are recorded at the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in accordance with the Scripture of Isaiah, as thus: “The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold, I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.” Now the words, “Make straight the way of the Lord,” added by John, are not found in the prophet. Perhaps John was seeking to compress the “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God,” and so wrote, “Make straight the way of the Lord;” while Mark combined two prophecies spoken by two different prophets in different places, and made one prophecy out of them, “As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.” The words, “The voice of one crying in the wilderness,” are written immediately after the narrative of Hezekiah’s recovery from his sickness, while the words, “Behold I send My messenger before thy face,” are written by Malachi. What John does here, abbreviating the text he quotes, we find done by Mark also at another point. For while the words of the prophet are, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God,” Mark writes, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.” And John practices a similar abbreviation in the text, “Behold I

send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee," when he does not add the words "before thee," as in the original. Coming now to the statement, "They were sent from the Pharisees and they asked Him," we have been led by our examination of the passage to prefix the enquiry of the Pharisees — which Matthew does not mention — to the occurrence recorded in Matthew, when John saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, and said to them, "Ye generations of vipers," etc. For the natural sequence is that they should first enquire and then come. And we have to observe how, when Matthew reports that there went out to John Jerusalem and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan, to be baptized by him in Jordan, confessing their sins, it was not these people who heard from the Baptist any word of rebuke or refutation, but only those many Pharisees and Sadducees whom he saw coming. They it was who were greeted with the address, "Ye offspring of vipers," etc. Mark, again, does not record any words of reproof as having been used by John to those who came to him, being all the country of Judaea and all of them of Jerusalem, who were baptized by him in the Jordan and confessed their sins. This is because Mark does not mention the Pharisees and Sadducees as having come to John. A further circumstance which we must mention is that both Matthew and Mark state that, in the one case, all Jerusalem and all Judaea, and the whole region round about Jordan, in the other, the whole land of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem, were baptized, confessing their sins; but when Matthew introduces the Pharisees and Sadducees as coming to the baptism, he does not say that they confessed their sins, and this might very likely and very naturally be the reason why they were addressed as "offspring of vipers." Do not suppose, reader, that there is anything improper in our adducing in our discussion of the question of those who were sent from the Pharisees and put questions to John, the parallel passages from the other Gospels too. For if we have indicated the proper connection between the enquiry of the Pharisees, recorded by the disciple John, and their baptism which is found in Matthew, we could scarcely avoid inquiring into the passages in question, nor recording the observations made on them. Luke, like Mark, remembers the passage, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness," but lie for his part treats it as follows: "The word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the region round about Jordan preaching

the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins; as it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight." Luke, however, added the continuation of the prophecy: "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways smooth, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." He writes, like Mark, "Make His ways straight;" curtailing, as we saw before, the text, "Make straight the ways of our God." In the phrase, "And all the crooked shall become straight," he leaves out the "all," and the word "straight" he converts from a plural into a singular. Instead of the phrase, moreover, "The rough laud into a plain," he gives, "The rough ways into smooth ways," and he leaves out "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed," and gives what follows, "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God." These observations are of use as showing how the evangelists are accustomed to abbreviate the sayings of the prophets. It has also to be observed that the speech, "Offspring of vipers," etc., is said by Matthew to have been spoken to the Pharisees and Sadducees when coming to baptism, they being a different set of people from those who confessed their sins, and to whom no words of this kind were spoken. With Luke, on the contrary, these words were addressed to the multitudes who came out to be baptized by John, and there were not two divisions of those who were baptized, as we found in Matthew. But Matthew, as the careful observer will see, does not speak of the multitudes in the way of praise, and he probably means the Baptist's address, Offspring of vipers, etc., to be understood as addressed to them also. Another point is, that to the Pharisees and Sadducees he says, "Bring forth a fruit," in the singular, "worthy of repentance," but to the multitudes he uses the plural, "Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." Perhaps the Pharisees are required to yield the special fruit of repentance, which is no other than the Son and faith in Him, while the multitudes, who have not even a beginning of good things, are asked for all the fruits of repentance, and so the plural is used to them. Further, it is said to the Pharisees, "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father." For the multitudes now have a beginning, appearing as they do to be introduced into the divine Word, and to approach the truth; and thus they begin to say within themselves, "We have Abraham for our father." The Pharisees, on the contrary, are not beginning to this, but have long held it

to be so. But both classes see John point to the stones aforesaid and declare that even from these children can be raised up to Abraham, rising up out of unconsciousness and deadness. And observe how it is said to the Pharisees, according to the word of the prophet, “Ye have eaten false fruit,” and they have false fruit, — “ Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire,” while to the multitudes which do not bear fruit at all, “Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit is hewn down.” For that which has no fruit at all has not good fruit, and, therefore, it is worthy to be hewn down. But that which bears fruit has by no means good fruit, whence it also calls for the axe to lay it low. But, if we look more closely into this about the fruit, we shall find that it is impossible that that which has just begun to be cultivated, even should it not prove fruitless, should bear the first good fruits. The husbandman is content that the tree just coming into cultivation should bear him at first such fruits as it may; afterwards, when he has pruned and trained it according to his art, he will receive, not the fruits it chanced to bear at first, but good fruits. The law itself favors this interpretation, for it says that the planter is to wait for three years, having the trees pruned and not eating the fruit of them. “Three years.” it says, “the fruit shall be unpurified to you, and shall not be eaten, but in the fourth year all the fruit shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord.” This explains how the word “good” is omitted from the address to the multitudes, “Every tree, therefore, which bears not fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.” The tree which goes on bearing such fruit as it did at first, is a tree which does not bear good fruit, and is, therefore, cut down, and cast into the fire, since, when the three years have passed and the fourth comes round, it does not bear good fruit, for praise unto the Lord. In thus adducing the passages from the other Gospels I may appear to be digressing, but I cannot think it useless, or without bearing on our present subject. For the Pharisees send to John, after the priests and levites who came from Jerusalem, men who came to ask him who he was, and enquire, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? After making this enquiry they straightway come for baptism, as Matthew records, and then they hear words suited to their quackery and hypocrisy. But the words addressed to them were very similar to those spoken to the multitudes, and hence the necessity to look carefully at both speeches, and to compare them together. It was while we were so engaged that various points arose

in the sequence of the matter, which we had to consider. To what has been said we must add the following. We find mention made in John of two orders of persons sending: the one, that of the Jews from Jerusalem sending priests and levites; the other, that of the Pharisees who want to know why he baptizes. And we found that, after the enquiry, the Pharisees present themselves for baptism. May it not be that the Jews, who had sent the earlier mission from Jerusalem, received John's words before those who sent the second mission, namely, the Pharisees, and hence arrived before them? For Jerusalem and all Judaea, and, in consequence, the whole region round about Jordan, were being baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins; or, as Mark says. "There went out to him the whole land of Judaea, and all they of Jerusalem, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." Now, neither does Matthew introduce the Pharisees and Sadducees, to whom the words, "Offspring of vipers," etc., are addressed; nor does Luke introduce the multitudes who meet with the same rebuke, as confessing their sins. And the question may be raised how, if the whole city of Jerusalem, and the whole of Judaea, and the whole region round about Jordan, were baptized of John in Jordan, the Savior could say, "John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking, and ye say he hath a devil;" and how could He say to those who asked Him, "By what authority doest thou these things? I also will ask you one word, which if ye tell me, I also will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or of men? And they reason, and say, If we shall say, From heaven, He will say, Why did ye not believe him?" The solution of the difficulty is this. The Pharisees, addressed by John, as we saw before, with his "Offspring of vipers," etc., came to the baptism, without believing in him, probably because they feared the multitudes, and, with their accustomed hypocrisy towards them, deemed it right to undergo the washing, so as not to appear hostile to those who did so. Their belief was, then, that he derived his baptism from men, and not from heaven, but, on account of the multitude, lest they should be stoned, they are afraid to say what they think. Thus there is no contradiction between the Savior's speech to the Pharisees and the narratives in the Gospels about the multitudes who frequented' John's baptism. It was part of the effrontery of the Pharisees that they declared John to have a devil, as, also, that they

declared Jesus to have performed His wonderful works by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.

15

HOW THE BAPTIST ANSWERS THE QUESTION OF THE PHARISEES AND EXALTS THE NATURE OF CHRIST. OF THE SHOE-LATCHET WHICH HE IS UNABLE TO UNTIE

John answered them, saying, “I baptize with water, but in the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, even He who cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.” Heracleon considers that John’s answers to those sent by the Pharisees refer not to what they asked, but to what he wished, not observing that he accuses the prophet of a want of manners, by making him, when asked about one thing, answer about another; for this is a fault to be guarded against in conversation. We assert, on the contrary, that the reply accurately takes up the question. It is asked,” Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ?” And what other answer could be given to this than to show that his baptism was in its nature a bodily thing? I, he says, “baptize with water;” this is his answer to, “Why baptizest thou.” And to the second part of their question, “If thou art not the Christ,” he answers by exalting the superior nature of Christ, that He has such virtue as to be invisible in His deity, though present to every man and extending over the whole universe. This is what is indicated in the words, “There standeth one among you.” The Pharisees, moreover, though expecting the advent of Christ, saw nothing in Him of such a nature as John speaks of; they believed Him to be simply a perfect and holy man. John, therefore, rebukes their ignorance of His superiority, and adds to the words, “There standeth one among you,” the clause, “whom ye know not.” And, lest any one should suppose the invisible One who extends to every man, or, indeed, to the whole world, to be a different person from Him who became man, and appeared upon the earth and con versed with men, he adds to the words, “There standeth one among you whom you know not,” the further words, “Who cometh after me,” that is, He who is to be manifested after me. By whose surpassing excellence he well understood that his own nature was far surpassed,

though some doubted whether he might be the Christ; and, therefore, desiring to show how far he is from attaining to the greatness of the Christ, that no one should think of him beyond what he sees or hears of him, he goes on: “The latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.” By which lie conveys, as in a riddle, that he is not fit to solve and to explain the argument about Christ’s assuming a human body, an argument tied up and hidden (like a shoe-tie) to those who do not understand it, — so as to say anything worthy of such an advent, compressed, as it was, into so short a space.

16

COMPARISON OF JOHN’S TESTIMONY TO JESUS IN THE DIFFERENT GOSPELS

It may not be out of place, as we are examining the text, “I baptize with water,” to compare the parallel utterances of the evangelists with this of John. Matthew reports that the Baptist, when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, after the words of rebuke which we have already studied, went on: “I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.” This agrees with the words in John, in which the Baptist declares himself to those sent by the Pharisees, on the subject of his baptizing with water. Mark, again, says, “John preached, saying, There cometh after me He that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.” And Luke says that, as the people were in expectation, and all were reasoning in their hearts concerning John, whether haply he were the Christ, John answered them all, saying. “I indeed baptize you with water; but there cometh one mightier than I, whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.”

17

OF THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN TO JESUS IN MATTHEW'S GOSPEL,

These, then, are the parallel passages of the four; let us try to see as clearly as we can what is the purport of each and wherein they differ from each other. And we will begin with Matthew, who is reported by tradition to have published his Gospel before the others, to the Hebrews, those, namely, of the circumcision who believed. I, he says, baptize you with water unto repentance, purifying you, as it were, and turning you away from evil courses and calling you to repentance; for I am come to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him, and by my baptism of repentance to prepare the ground for Him who is to come after me, and who will thus benefit you much more effectively and powerfully than my strength could. For His baptism is not that of the body only; He fills the penitent with the Holy Ghost, and His diviner fire does away with everything material and consumes everything that is earthy, not only from him who admits it to his life, but even from him who hears of it from those who have it. So much stronger than I is He who is coming after me, that I am not able to bear even the outskirts of the powers round Him which are furthest from Him (they are not open and exposed, so that any one could see them), nor even to bear those who support them. I know not of which I should speak. Should I speak of my own great weakness, which is not able to bear even these things about Christ which in comparison with the greater things in Him are least, or should I speak of His transcendent Deity, greater than all the world? If I who have received such grace, as to be thought worthy of prophecy predicting my arrival in this human life, in the words," The voice of one crying in the wilderness," and "Behold I send my messenger before thy face;" if I whose birth Gabriel who stands before God announced to my father so advanced in years, so much against his expectation, I at whose name Zacharias recovered his voice and was enabled to use it to prophesy, I to whom my Lord bears witness that among them that are born of women there is noble greater than I, I am not able so much as to bear His shoeslAnd if not His shoes, what can be said about His garments? Who is so great as to be able to guard His coat? Who can suppose that He can understand the meaning contained in His tunic

which is without seam from the top because it is woven throughout? It is to be observed that while the four represent John as declaring himself to have come to baptize with water. Matthew alone adds the words “to repentance,” teaching that the benefit of baptism is connected with the intention of the baptized person; to him who repents it is salutary, but to him who comes to it without repentance it will turn to greater condemnation. And here we must note that as the wonderful works done by the Savior in the cures He wrought, which are symbolical of those who at any time are set free by the word of God from ally sickness or disease, though they were done to the body and brought a bodily relief, yet also called those who were benefited by them to an exercise of faith, so the washing with water which is symbolic of the soul cleansing herself from every stain of wickedness, is no less in itself to him who yields himself to the divine power of the invocation of the Adorable Trinity, the beginning and source of divine girls; for “there are diversities of gifts.” This view receives confirmation from the narrative recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, which shows the Spirit to have descended so manifestly on those who receive baptism, after the water had prepared the way for him in those who properly approached the rite. Simon Magus, astonished at what he saw, desired to receive from Peter this gift, but though it was a good thing he desired, he thought to attain it by the mammon of unrighteousness. We next remark in passing that the baptism of John was inferior to the baptism of Jesus which was given through His disciples. Those persons in the Acts who were baptized to John’s baptism and who had not heard if there was any Holy Ghost are baptized over again by the Apostle, Regeneration did not take place with John, but with Jesus through His disciples it does so, and what is called the layer of regeneration takes place with renewal of the Spirit; for the Spirit now comes in addition since it comes from God and is over and above the water and does not come to all after the water. So hr, then, our examination of the statements in the Gospel according to Matthew.

18

OF THE TESTIMONY IN MARK. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE SAVIOR'S SHOES AND BY UNTYING HIS SHOE-LATCHETS

Now let us consider what is stated by Mark. Mark's account of John's preaching agrees with the other. The words are, "There cometh after me He that is mightier than I," which amounts to the same thing as "He that cometh after me is mightier than I." There is a difference, however, in what follows, "The latchets of His shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and untie." For it is one thing to bear a person's shoes, — they must, it is evident, have been untied already from the feet of the wearer, — and it is another thing to stoop down and untie the latchet of his shoes. And it follows, since believers cannot think that either of the Evangelists made any mistake or misrepresentation, that the Baptist must have made these two utterances at different times and have meant them to express different things. It is not the case, as some suppose. that the reports refer to the same incident and turned out differently because of a loose-ness of memory as to some of the facts or words. Now it is a great thing to bear the shoes of Jesus, a great thing to stoop down to the bodily features of His mission, to that which took place in some lower region, so as to contemplate His image in the lower sphere, and to untie each difficulty connected with the mystery of His incarnation, such being as it were His shoe-latchets. For the fetter of obscurity is one as the key of knowledge also is one; not even He who is greatest among those born of women is sufficient of Himself to loose such things or to open them, for He who tied and locked at first, He also grants to whom He will to loose His shoe-latchet and to unlock what He has shut. If the passage about the shoes has a mystic meaning we ought not to scorn to consider it. Now I consider that the inhumanisation when the Son of God assumes flesh and bones is one of His shoes, and that the other is the descent to Hades, whatever that Hades be, and the journey with the Spirit to the prison. As to the descent into Hades, we read in the sixteenth Psalm, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades," and as for the journey in prison with the Spirit we read in Peter in his Catholic Epistle, "Put to death," he says, "in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which at one time were disobedient, when the

long-suffering of God once waited in the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing." He, then, who is able worthily to set forth the meaning of these two journeys is able to untie the latchet of the shoes of Jesus; he, bending down in his mind and going with Jesus as He goes down into Hades, and descending from heaven and the mysteries of Christ's deity to the advent He of necessity made with us when He took on man (as His shoes). Now He who put on man also put on the dead, for "for this end Jesus both died and revived, that He might be Lord both of dead and living." This is why He put on both living and dead, that is, the inhabitants of the earth and those of Hades, that He might be the Lord of both dead and living. Who, then, is able to stoop down and untie the latchet of such shoes, and having untied them not to let them drop, but by the second faculty he has received to take them up and bear them, by bearing the meaning of them in his memory?

19

LUKE AND JOHN SUGGEST THAT ONE MAY LOOSE THE SHOE-LATCHETS OF THE LOGOS WITHOUT STOOPING DOWN

We must not, however, omit to ask how it comes that Luke and John give the speech without the phrase "to stoop down." He, perhaps, who stoops down may be held to unloose in the sense which we have stated. On the other hand, it may be that one who fixes his eyes on the height of the exaltation of the Logos, may find the loosing of those shoes which when one is seeking them seem to be bound, so that He also looses those shoes which are separable from the Logos, and beholds the Logos divested of inferior things, as He is, the Son of God.

20

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NOT BEING "SUFFICIENT" AND NOT BEING "WORTHY"

John records that the Baptist said he was not worthy, Mark that he was not sufficient, and these two are not the same. One who was not worthy might yet be sufficient, and one who was worthy might not be sufficient. For even if it be the case that gifts are bestowed to profit withal and not merely according to the proportion of faith, yet it would seem to be the part of a God who loves men and who sees before what harm must come from the rise of self-opinion or conceit, not to bestow sufficiency even on the worthy. But it belongs to the goodness of God by conferring bounties to conquer the object of His bounty, taking in advance him who is destined to be worthy, and adorning him even before he becomes worthy with sufficiency, so that after his sufficiency he may come to be worthy; he is not first to be worthy and then to anticipate the giver and take His gifts before the time and so arrive at being sufficient. Now with the three the Baptist says he is not sufficient, while in John he says he is not worthy. But it may be that he who formerly declared that he was not sufficient became sufficient afterwards, even though perhaps he was not worthy, or again that while he was saying he was not worthy, and was in fact not worthy, he arrived at being worthy, unless one should say that human nature can never come to perform worthily this loosing or this bearing, axed that John, therefore, says truly that he never became sufficient to loose the latchets of the Savior's shoes, nor worthy of it either. However much we take into our minds there are still left things not yet understood; for, as we read in the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, "When a man hath done, then he beginneth, and when he leaveth off, then he shall he doubtful."

21

THE FOURTH GOSPEL SPEAKS OF ONLY ONE SHOE, THE OTHERS OF BOTH. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS

As to the shoes, too, which are spoken of in the three Gospels, we have a question to consider; we must compare them with the single shoe named by the disciple John. “I am not worthy,” we read there, “to untie the latchet of His shoe.” Perhaps he was conquered by the grace of God, and received the gift of doing that which of himself he would not have been worthy to do, of untying, namely, the latchet of one of the shoes, namely, after he had seen the Savior’s sojourn among men, of which he bears witness. But he did not know the things which were to follow, namely, whether Jesus was to come to that place also, to which he was to go after being beheaded in prison, or whether he was to look for another; and hence he alludes enigmatically to that doubt which was afterwards cleared up to us, and says, “I am not worthy to untie His shoe-latchet.” If any one considers this to be a superfluous speculation, he can combine in one the speech about the shoes and that about the shoe, as if John said, I am by no means worthy to loose His shoestring, not even at the beginning, the string of one of His shoes. Or the following may be a way to combine what is said in the Four. If John understands about Jesus sojourn here, but is in doubt about the future, then he says with perfect truth that he is not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoes; for though he loosed that of one shoe, he did not loose both. And on the other hand, what he says about the latehet of the shoe is quite true also; since as we saw he is still in doubt whether Jesus is He that was to come, or whether another is to be looked for, in that other region.

22

HOW THE WORD STANDS IN THE MIDST OF MEN WITHOUT BEING KNOWN OF THEM,

As for the saying, “There standeth one among you whom you know not,” we are led by it to consider the Son of God, the Word, by whom all things

were made, since He exists in substance throughout the underlying nature of things, being the same as wisdom. For He permeated, from the beginning, all creation, so that what is made at any time should be made through Him, and that it might be always true of anything soever, that “All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made;” and this saying also, “By wisdom didst thou make them all.” Now, if He permeates all creation, then He is also in those questioners who ask, “Why baptizest thou, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?” In the midst of them stands the Word, who is the same and steadfast, being everywhere established by the Father. Or the words, “There standeth among you,” may he understood to say, In the midst of you men, because you are reasonable beings, stands He who is proved by Scripture to be the sovereign principle in the midst of every body, and so to be present in your heart. Those, therefore, who have the Word in the midst of them, but who do not consider His nature, nor from what spring and principle He came, nor how He gave them the nature they have, these, while having Him in the midst of them, know Him not. But John knew Him: for the words, “Whom you know not,” used in reproach to the Pharisees, show that he well knew the Word whom they did not know. And the Baptist, therefore, knowing Him, saw Him coming after himself, who was now in the midst of them, that is to say, dwelling after him and the teaching he gave in his baptism, in those who, according to reason (or the Word), submitted to that purifying rite. The word “after,” however, has not the same meaning here as it has when Jesus commands us to come “after” Him; for in this case we are bidden to go after Him, so that, treading in His steps, we may come to the Father; but in the other case, the meaning is that after the teachings of John(since “He came in order that all men through Him might believe”), the Word dwells with those who have prepared themselves, purified as they are by the lesser words for the perfect Word. Firstly, then, stands the Father, being without any turning or change; and then stands also His Word, always carrying on His work of salvation, and even when He is in the midst of men, not comprehended, and not even seen. He stands, also, teaching, and inviting all to drink from His abundant spring, for “Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.”

23

HERACLEON'S VIEW OF THIS UTTERANCE OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SHOE OF JESUS

But Heracleon declares the words, "There standeth one among you," to be equivalent to "He is already here, and He is in the world and in men, and He is already manifest to you all." By this He does away with the meaning which is also present in the words, that the Word had permeated the whole world. For we must say to him, When is He not present, and when is He not in the world? Does not this Gospel say, "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." And this is why those to whom the Logos is He "whom you know not," do not know Him: they have never gone out of the world, but the world does not know Him. But at what time did He cease to be among men? Was He not in Isaiah, when He said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me," and "I became manifest to those who sought me not." Let them say, too, if He was not in David when he said, not from himself, "But I was established by Him a king in Zion His holy hill," and the other words spoken in the Psalms in the person of Christ. And why should I go over the details of this proof,truly they are hard to be numbered, when I can show quite clearly that He was always in men? And that is enough to show Heracleon's interpretation of "There standeth in the midst of you," to be unsound, when he says it is equivalent to "He is already here, and He is in the world and in men." We are disposed to agree with him when he says that the words, "Who cometh after me," show John to be the forerunner of Christ, for he is in fact a kind of servant running before his master. The words, however, "Whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose," receive much too simple an interpretation when it is said that "in these words the Baptist confesses that he is not worthy even of the least hon-ourable ministration to Christ." After this interpretation he adds, not without sense, "I am not worthy that for my sake He should come down from His greatness and should take flesh as His footgear, concerning which I am not able to give any explanation or description, nor to unloose the arrangement of it." In understanding the world by his shoe, Heracleon shows some largeness of mind, but immediately after he verges on impiety in declaring that all this is to be understood of that person whom John here

has in his mind. For he considers that it is the demiurge of the world who confesses by these words that he is a lesser person than the Christ; and this is the height of impiety. For the Father who sent Him, He who is the God of the living as Jesus Himself testifies, of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, and He who is greater than heaven and earth for the reason that He is the Maker of them, He also alone is good and is greater than He who was sent by Him. And even if, as we said, Heracleon's idea was a lofty one, that the whole world was the shoe of Jesus, yet I think we ought not to agree with him. For how can it be harmonized with such a view, that "Heaven is My throne and the earth My footstool," a testimony which Jesus accepts as said of the Father? "Swear not by heaven," He says, "for it is God's throne, nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet." How, if he takes the whole world to be the shoe of Jesus, can he also accept the text, "Do not I fill heaven and earth?" saith the Lord. It is also worth while to enquire, whether as the Word and wisdom permeated the whole world, and as the Father was in the Son, the words are to be understood as above or in this way, that He who first of all was girded about with the whole creation, in addition to the Son's being in Him, granted to the Savior, as being second after Him and being God the Word, to pervade the whole creation. To those who have it in them to take note of the uninterrupted movement of the great heaven, how it carries with it from East to West so great a multitude of stars, to them most of all it will seem needful to enquire what that force is, how great and of what nature, which is present in the whole world. For to pronounce that force to be other than the Father and the Son, that perhaps might be inconsistent with piety.

24.

THE NAME OF THE PLACE WHERE JOHN BAPTIZED IS NOT BETHANY, AS IN MOST COPIES, BUT BETHABARA. PROOF OF THIS. SIMILARLY "GERGESA" SHOULD BE READ FOR "GERASA," IN THE STORY OF THE SWINE. ATTENTION IS TO BE PAID TO THE PROPER NAMES IN SCRIPTURE, WHICH ARE OFTEN WRITTEN INACCURATELY, AND ARE OF IMPORTANCE FOR INTERPRETATION

"These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing." We are aware of the reading which is found in almost all the copies, "These things were done in Bethany." This appears, moreover, to have been the reading at an earlier time; and in Heracleon we read "Bethany." We are convinced, however, that we should not read "Bethany," but "Bethabara." We have visited the places to enquire as to the footsteps of Jesus and His disciples, and of the prophets. Now, Bethany, as the same evangelist tells us, was the town of Lazarus, and of Martha and Mary; it is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem, and the river Jordan is about a hundred and eighty stadia distant from it. Nor is there any other place of the same name in the neighborhood of the Jordan, but they say that Bethabara is pointed out on the banks of the Jordan, and that John is said to have baptized there. The etymology of the name, too, corresponds with the baptism of him who made ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him; for it yields the meaning "House of preparation," while Bethany means "House of obedience." Where else was it fitting that he should baptize, who was sent as a messenger before the face of the Christ, to prepare His way before Him, but at the House of preparation? And what more fitting home for Mary, who chose the good part, which was not taken away from her, and for Martha, who was cumbered for the reception of Jesus, and for their brother, who is called the friend of the Savior, than Bethany, the House of obedience? Thus we see that he who aims at a complete understanding of the Holy Scriptures must not neglect the careful examination of the proper names in it. In the matter of proper names the Greek copies are often incorrect, and in the Gospels one might be misled by their authority. The transaction about the swine, which were driven down a steep place by the demons and drowned in the sea, is said to have

taken place in the country of the Gerasenes. Now, Gerasa is a town of Arabia, and has near it neither sea nor lake. And the Evangelists would not have made a statement so obviously and demonstrably false; for they were men who informed themselves carefully of all matters connected with Judaea. But in a few copies we have found, “into the country of the Gadarenes;” and, on this reading, it is to be stated that Gadara is a town of Judaea, in the neighborhood of which are the well-known hot springs, and that there is no lake there with overhanging banks, nor any sea. But Gergesa, from which the name Gergesenes is taken, is an old town in the neighborhood of the lake now called Tiberias, and on the edge of it there is a steep place abutting on the lake, from which it is pointed out that the swine were cast down by the demons. Now, the meaning of Gergesa is “dwelling of the casters-out,” and it contains a prophetic reference to the conduct towards the Savior of the citizens of those places, who “besought Him to depart out of their coasts.” The same inaccuracy with regard to proper names is also to be observed in many passages of the law and the prophets, as we have been at pains to learn from the Hebrews, comparing our own copies with theirs which have the confirmation of the versions, never subjected to corruption, of Aquila and Theodotion and Symmachus. We add a few instances to encourage students to pay more attention to such points. One of the sons of Levi, the first, is called Geson in most copies, instead of Gerson. His name is the same as that of the first-born of Moses; it was given appropriately in each case, both children being born, because of the sojourn in Egypt, in a strange land. The second son of Juda, again, has with us the name Annan, but with the Hebrews Onan, “their labor.” Once more, in the departures of the children of Israel in Numbers, we find, “They departed from Sochoth and pitched in Buthan;” but the Hebrew, instead of Buthan, reads Aiman. And why should I add more points like these, when any one who desires it can examine into the proper names and find out for himself how they stand? The place-names of Scripture are specially to be suspected where many of them occur in a catalogue, as in the account of the partition of the country in Joshua, and in the first Book of Chronicles from the beginning down to, say, the passage about Dan, and similarly in Ezra. Names are not to be neglected, since indications may be gathered from them which help in the interpretation of the passages where they occur. We cannot, however,

leave our proper subject to examine in this place into the philosophy of names.

25

JORDAN MEANS “THEIR GOING DOWN.” SPIRITUAL MEANINGS AND APPLICATION OF THIS

Let us look at the words of the Gospel now before us. “Jordan” means “their going down.” The name “Jared” is etymologically akin to it, if I may say so; it also yields the meaning “going down;” for Jared was born to Maleleel, as it is written in the Book of Enoch — if any one cares to accept that book as sacred — in the days when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men. Under this descent some have supposed that there is an enigmatical reference to the descent of souls into bodies, taking the phrase “daughters of men” as a tropical expression for this earthly tabernacle. Should this be so, what river will “their going down” be, to which one must come to be purified, a river going down, not with its own descent, but “theirs,” that, namely, of men, what but our Savior who separates those who received their lots from Moses from those who obtained their own portions through Jesus (Joshua)? His current, flowing in the descending stream, makes glad, as we find in the Psalms, the city of God, not the visible Jerusalem — for it has no river beside it — but the blameless Church of God, built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus our Lord being the chief corner-stone. Under the Jordan, accordingly, we have to understand the Word of God who became flesh and tabernacled among us, Jesus who gives us as our inheritance the humanity which He assumed, for that is the head corner-stone, which being taken up into the deity of the Son of God, is washed by being so assumed, and then receives into itself the pure and guileless dove of the Spirit, bound to it and no longer able to fly away from it. For “Upon whomsoever,” we read, “thou shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit.” Hence, he who receives the Spirit abiding on Jesus Himself is able to baptize those who come to him in that abiding Spirit. But John baptizes beyond Jordan, in the regions verging on the outside of Judaea, in Bethabara, being the

forerunner of Him who came to call not the righteous but sinners, and who taught that the whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For it is for forgiveness of sins that this washing is given.

26

THE STORY OF ISRAEL CROSSING JORDAN UNDER JOSHUA IS TYPICAL OF CHRISTIAN THINGS, AND IS WRITTEN FOR OUR INSTRUCTION

Now, it may very well be that some one not versed in the various aspects of the Savior may stumble at the interpretation given above of the Jordan; because John says, “I baptize with water, but He that cometh after me is stronger than I; He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit.” To this we reply that, as the Word of God in His character as something to be drunk is to one set of men water, and to another wine, making glad the heart of man, and to others blood, since it is said, “Except ye drink My blood, ye have no life in you,” and as in His character as food He is variously conceived as living bread or as flesh, so also He, the same person, is baptism of water, and baptism of Holy Spirit and of fire, and to some, also, of blood. It is of His last baptism, as some hold, that He speaks in the words, “I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?” And it agrees with this that the disciple John speaks in his Epistle of the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, as being one. And again He declares Himself to be the way and the door, but clearly He is not the door to those to whom He is the way, and He is no longer the way to those to whom He is the door. All those, then, who are being initiated in the beginning of the oracles of God, and come to the voice of him who cries in the wilderness, “Make straight the way of the Lord,” the voice which sounds beyond Jordan at the house of preparation, let them prepare themselves so that they may be in a state to receive the spiritual word, brought home to them by the enlightenment of the Spirit. As we are now, as our subject requires, bringing together all that relates to the Jordan, let us look at the “river.” God, by Moses, carried the people through the Red Sea, making the water a wall for them on the right hand and on the left, and by Joshua He carried them through Jordan. Now, Paul deals with this

Scripture, and his warfare is not according to the flesh of it, for he knew that the law is spiritual in a spiritual sense. And he shows us that he understood what is said about the passage of the Red Sea; for he says in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, “I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, how that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ.” In the spirit of this passage let us also pray that we may receive from God to understand the spiritual meaning of Joshua’s passage through Jordan. Of it, also, Paul would have said, “I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, that all our fathers went through Jordan, and were all baptized into Jesus in the spirit and in the river.” And Joshua, who succeeded Moses, was a type of Jesus Christ, who succeeds the dispensation through the law, and replaces it by the preaching of the Gospel. And even if those Paul speaks of were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, there is something harsh and salt in their baptism. They are still in fear of their enemies, and crying to the Lord and to Moses, saying, “Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou brought us forth to slay us in the wilderness? Why hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt?” But the baptism to Joshua, which takes place in quite sweet and drinkable water, is in many ways superior to that earlier one, religion having by this time grown clearer and assuming a becoming order. For the ark of the covenant of the Lord our God is carried in procession by the priests and levites, the people following the ministers of God, it, also, accepting the law of holiness. For Joshua says to the people, “Sanctify yourselves against tomorrow; the Lord will do wonders among you.” And he commands the priests to go before the people with the ark of the covenant, wherein is plainly showed forth the mystery of the Father’s economy about the Son, which is highly exalted by Him who gave the Son this office; “That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.” This is pointed out by what we find in the book called Joshua, “In that day I will begin to exalt thee before the children of Israel.” And we hear our Lord Jesus saying to the children of Israel, “Come hither and hear the words of the Lord your God. Hereby ye shall know that the living God

is in (among) you;” for when we are baptized to Jesus, we know that the living God is in us. And, in the former case, they kept the passover in Egypt, and then began their journey, but with Joshua, after crossing Jordan on the tenth day of the first month they pitched their camp in Galgala; for a sheep had to be procured before invitations could be issued to the banquet after Joshua’s baptism. Then the children of Israel, since the children of those who came out of Egypt had not received circumcision, were circumcised by Joshua with a very sharp stone; the Lord declares that He takes away the reproach of Egypt on the day of Joshua’s baptism, when Joshua purified the children of Israel. For it is written: “And the Lord said to Joshua, the son of Nun, This day have I taken away the reproach of Egypt from off you.” Then the children of Israel kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month, with much greater gladness than in Egypt, for they ate unleavened bread of the corn of the holy land, and fresh food better than manna. For when they received the land of promise God did not entertain them with scantier food, nor when such a one as Joshua was their leader do they get inferior bread. This will be plain to him who thinks of the true holy land and of the Jerusalem above. Hence it is written in this same Gospel: Your fathers did eat bread in the wilderness, and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. For the manna, though it was given by God, yet was bread of travel, bread supplied to those still under discipline, well fitted for those who were under tutors and governors. And the new bread Joshua managed to get from corn they cut in the country, in the land of promise, others having labored and his disciples reaping, — that was bread more full of life, distributed as it was to those who, for their perfection, were able to receive the inheritance of their fathers. Hence, he who is still under discipline to that bread may receive death as far as it is concerned, but he who has attained to the bread that follows that, eating it, shall live for ever. All this has been added, not, I conceive, without appropriateness, to our study of the baptism at the Jordan, administered by John at Bethabara.

27

OF ELIJAH AND ELISHA CROSSING THE JORDAN

Another point which we must not fail to notice is that when Elijah was about to be taken up in a whirlwind, as if to heaven, he took his mantle and wrapped it together and smote the water, which was divided hither and thither, and they went over both of them, that is, he and Elisha. His baptism in the Jordan made him fitter to be taken up, for, as we showed before, Paul gives the name of baptism to such a remarkable passage through the water. And through this same Jordan Elisha receives, through Elijah, the gift he desired, saying, “Let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.” What enabled him to receive this gift of the spirit of Elijah was, perhaps, that he had passed through Jordan twice, once with Elijah, and the second time, when, after receiving the mantle of Elijah, he smote the water and said, “Where is the God of Elijah, even He? And he smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither.”

28

NAAMAN THE SYRIAN AND THE JORDAN. NO OTHER STREAM HAS THE SAME HEALING POWER

Should any one object to the expression “He smote the water,” on account of the conclusion we arrived at above with respect to the Jordan, that it is a type of the Word who descended for us our descending, we rejoin that with the Apostle the rock is plainly said to be Christ, and that it is smitten twice with the rod, so that the people may drink of the spiritual rock which follows them. The “smiting” in this new difficulty is that of those who are fond of suggesting something that contradicts the conclusion even before they have learned what the question is which is in hand. From such God sets us free, since, on the one hand, He gives us to drink when we are thirsty, and on the other He prepares for us, in the immense and trackless deep, a road to pass over, namely, by the dividing of His Word, since it is by the reason which distinguishes (divides) that most things are made plain to us. But that we may receive the right interpretation about this Jordan,

so good to drink, so full of grace, it may be of use to compare the cleansing of Naaman the Syrian from his leprosy, and what is said of the rivers of religion of the enemies of Israel. It is recorded of Naaman that he came with horse and chariot, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha. And Elisha sent a messenger to him, saying, “Go, wash seven times in the Jordan, and thy flesh shall come again unto thee, and thou shalt be cleansed.” Then Naaman is angry; he does not see that our Jordan is the cleanser of those who are impure from leprosy, from that impurity, and their restorer to health; it is the Jordan that does this, and not the prophet; the office of the prophet is to direct to the healing agency. Naaman then says, not understanding the great mystery of the Jordan, “Behold, I said that he will certainly come out to me, and will call upon the name of the Lord his God, and lay his hand upon the place, and restore the leper.” For to put his hand on the leprosy and cleanse it is a work belonging to our Lord Jesus only; for when the leper appealed to Him with faith, saying, “If Thou wilt Thou canst make me clean,” He not only said, “I will, be thou clean,” but in addition to the word He touched him, and he was cleansed from his leprosy. Naaman, then, is still in error, and does not see how far inferior other rivers are to the Jordan for the cure of the suffering; he extols the rivers of Damascus, Arbana, and Pharpha, saying, “Are not Arbana and Pharpha, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? Shall I not wash in them and be clean?” For as none is good but one, God the Father, so among rivers none is good but the Jordan, nor able to cleanse from his leprosy him who with faith washes his soul in Jesus. And this, I suppose, is the reason why the Israelites are recorded to have wept when they sat by the rivers of Babylon and remembered Zion; those who are carried captive, on account of their wickedness, when they taste other waters after sacred Jordan, are led to remember with longing their own river of salvation. Therefore it is said of the rivers of Babylon, “There we sat down,” clearly because they were unable to stand, “and wept.” And Jeremiah rebukes those who wish to drink the waters of Egypt, and desert the water which comes down from heaven, and is named from its so coming down — namely, the Jordan. He says, “What hast thou to do with the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Geon, and to drink the water of the river,” or, as it is in the Hebrew, “to drink the water of Sion.”Of which water we have now to speak.

29

THE RIVER OF EGYPT AND ITS DRAGON, CONTRASTED WITH THE JORDAN

But that the Spirit in the inspired Scriptures is not speaking mainly of rivers to be seen with the eyes, may be gathered from Ezekiel's prophecies against Pharaoh, king of Egypt: "Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon, seated in the midst of rivers, who sayest, Mine are the rivers, and I made them. And I will put traps in thy jaws, and I will make the fishes of the river to stick to thy fins, and I will bring thee up from the midst of thy river, and all the fish of the river, and I will cast thee down quickly and all the fish of the river; thou shalt fall upon the face of thy land, and thou shalt not be gathered together, and thou shalt not be adorned." For what real bodily dragon has ever been reported as having been seen in the material river of Egypt? But consider if the river of Egypt be not the dwelling of the dragon who is our enemy, who was not even able to kill the child Moses. But as the dragon is in the river of Egypt, so is God in the river which makes glad the city of God; for the Father is in the Son. Hence those who come to wash themselves in Him put away the reproach of Egypt, and become more fit to be restored. They are cleansed from that foulest leprosy, receive a double portion of spiritual gifts, and are made ready to receive the Holy Spirit, since the spiritual dove does not light on any other stream. Thus we have considered in a way more worthy of the sacred subject the Jordan and the purification that is in it, and Jesus being washed in it, and the house of preparation. Let us, then, draw from the river as much help as we require.

30

OF WHAT JOHN LEARNED FROM JESUS WHEN MARY VISITED ELISABETH IN THE HILL COUNTRY

"*The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him*." The mother of Jesus had formerly, as soon as she conceived, stayed with the mother of John, also at that time with child, and the Former then communicated to the Formed

with some exactness His own image, and caused him to be conformed to His glory. And from this outward similarity it came that with those who did not distinguish between the image itself and that which was according to the image, John was thought to be Christ and Jesus was supposed to be John risen from the dead. So now Jesus, after the testimonies of John to Him which we have examined, is Himself seen by the Baptist coming to him. It is to be noticed that on the former occasion, when the voice of Mary's salutation came to the ears of Elisabeth, the babe John leaped in the womb of his mother, who then received the Holy Spirit, as it were, from the ground. For it came to pass, we read, "when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit, and she lifted up her voice with a loud cry and said," etc. On this occasion, similarly, John sees Jesus coming to him and says, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." For with regard to matters of great moment one is first instructed by hearing and afterwards one sees them with oneown eyes. That John was helped to the shape he was to wear by the Lord who, still in the process of formation and in His mother's womb, approached Elisabeth, will be clear to any one who has grasped our proof that John is a voice but that Jesus is the Word, for when Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit at the salutation of Mary there was a great voice in her, as the words themselves bear; for they say, "And she spake out with a loud voice." Elisabeth, it is plain, did this, "and she spake." For the voice of Mary's salutation coming to the ears of Elisabeth filled John with itself; hence John leaps, and his mother becomes, as it were, the mouth of her son and a prophetess, crying out with a loud voice and saying, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." Now we see clearly how it was with Mary's hasty journey to the hill country, and her entrance into the house of Zacharias, and the greeting with which she salutes Elisabeth; it was that she might communicate some of the power she derived from Him she had conceived, to John, yet in his mother's womb, and that John too might communicate to his mother some of the prophetic grace which had come to him, that all these things were done. And most rightly was it in the hill country that these transactions took place, since no great thing can be entertained by those who are low and may be thence called valleys. Here, then, after the testimonies of John, — the first, when he cried and spoke about His deity; the second, addressed to the priests and levites who were

sent by the Jews from Jerusalem; and the third, in answer to the sharper questions of those from the Pharisees, — Jesus is seen by the witness-bearer coming to him while he is still advancing and growing better. This advance and improvement is symbolically indicated in the phrase, “On the morrow.” For Jesus came in the consequent illumination, as it were, and on the day after what had preceded, not only known as standing in the midst even of those who knew Him not, but now plainly seen advancing to him who had formerly made such declarations about Him. On the first day the testimonies take place, and on the second Jesus comes to John. On the third John, standing with two of his disciples and looking upon Jesus as He walked, said, “Behold the Lamb of God,” thus urging those who were there to follow the Son of God. On the fourth day, too, He was minded to go forth into Galilee, and He who came forth to seek that which Was lost finds Philip and says to him, “Follow Me.” And on that day, after the fourth, which is the sixth from the beginning of those we have enumerated, the marriage takes place in Cana of Galilee, which we shall have to consider when we get to the passage. Note this, too, that Mary being the greater comes to Elisabeth, who is the less, and the Son of God comes to the Baptist; which should encourage us to render help without delay to those who are in a lower position, and to cultivate for ourselves a moderate station.

31

OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN JOHN AND JESUS AT THE BAPTISM, RECORDED BY MATTHEW ONLY

John the disciple does not tell us where the Savior comes from to John the Baptist, but we learn this from Matthew, who writes: “Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan to John, to be baptized of him.” And Mark adds the place in Galilee; he says, “And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee and was baptized by John in Jordan.” Luke does not mention the place Jesus came from, but on the other hand he tells us what we do not learn from the others, that immediately after the baptism, as He was coming up, heaven was opened to Him, and the Holy Spirit descended on Him in bodily form like a dove. Again, it is Matthew

alone who tells us of John's preventing the Lord, saying to the Savior, "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?" None of the others added this after Matthew, so that they might not be saying just the same as he. And what the Lord rejoined, "Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," this also Matthew alone recorded.

32

JOHN CALLS JESUS A "LAMB." WHY DOES HE NAME THIS ANIMAL SPECIALLY? OF THE TYPOLOGY OF THE SACRIFICES, GENERALLY

"And he sayeth, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." There were five animals which were brought to the altar, three that walk and two that fly; and it seems to be worth asking why John calls the Savior a lamb and not any of these other creatures, and why, when each of the animals that walk is offered of three kinds he used for the sheep-kind the term "lamb." The five animals are as follows: the bullock, the sheep, the goat, the turtle-dove, the pigeon. And of the walking animals these are the three kinds — bullock, ox, calf; ram, sheep, lamb; he-goat, goat, kid. Of the flying animals, of pigeons we only hear of two young ones; of turtle doves only of a pair. He, then, who would accurately understand the spiritual rationale of the sacrifices must enquire of what heavenly things these were the pattern and the shadow, and also for what end the sacrifice of each victim is prescribed, and he must specially collect the points connected with the lamb. Now that the principle of the sacrifice must be apprehended with reference to certain heavenly mysteries, appears from the words of the Apostle, who somewhere says, "Who serve a pattern and shadow of heavenly things," and again, "It was necessary that the patterns of the things in the heavens should be purified with these, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these." Now to find out all the particulars of these and to state in its relation to them that sacrifice of the spiritual law which took place in Jesus Christ(a truth greater than human nature can comprehend) — to do this belongs to no other than the perfect man, who, by reason of use, has his senses exercised to discern good and evil, and who is able to say, from a truth-loving

disposition, “We speak wisdom among them that are perfect.” Of these things truly and things like these, we can say, “Which none of the rulers of this world knew.”

33

A LAMB WAS OFFERED AT THE MORNING AND EVENING SACRIFICE. SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS

Now we find the lamb offered in the continual (daily) sacrifice. Thus it is written, “This is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually, for a continual sacrifice. The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even, and a tenth part of fine flour mingled with beaten oil, the fourth part of a hin; and for a drink-offering the fourth part of a bin of wine to the first lamb. And the other lamb thou shalt offer in the evening, according to the first sacrifice and according to its drink-offering. Thou shalt offer a sweet savor, an offering to the Lord, a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of tent of witness before the Lord, where I will make myself known to thee, to speak unto thee. And I will appoint thee for the children of Israel, and I will be sanctified in my glory, and with sanctification I will sanctify the tent of witness.” But what other continual sacrifice can there be to the man of reason in the world of mind, but the Word growing to maturity, the Word who is symbolically called a lamb and who is offered as soon as the soul receives illumination. This would be the continual sacrifice of the morning, and it is offered again when the sojourn of the mind with divine things comes to an end. For it cannot maintain for ever its intercourse with higher things, seeing that the soul is appointed to be yoked together with the body which is of earth and heavy.

34

THE MORNING AND EVENING SACRIFICES OF THE SAINT IN HIS LIFE OF THOUGHT

But if any one asks what the saint is to do in the time between morning and evening, let him follow what takes place in the cultus and infer from it the principle he asks for. In that case the priests begin their offerings with the continual sacrifice, and before they come to the continuous one of the evening they offer the other sacrifices which the law prescribes, as, for example, that for transgression, or that for involuntary offenses, or that connected with a prayer for salvation, or that of jealousy, or that of the Sabbath, or of the new moon, and so on, which it would take too long to mention. So we, beginning our oblation with the discourse of that type which is Christ, can go on to discourse about many other most useful things. And drawing to a close still in the things of Christ, we come. as it were, to evening and night, when we arrive at the bodily features of His manifestation.

35

JESUS IS A LAMB IN RESPECT OF HIS HUMAN NATURE

If we enquire further into the sinificance of Jesus being pointed out by John, when he says, “This is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,” we may take our stand at the dispensation of the bodily advent of the Son of God in human life, and in that case we shall conceive the lamb to be no other than the man. For the man “was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb, dumb before his shearers,” saying, “I was as like a gentle lamb led to the slaughter.” Hence, too, in the Apocalypse a lamb is seen, standing as if slain. This slain lamb has been made, according to certain hidden reasons, a purification of the whole world, for which, according to the Father’s love to man, He submitted to death, purchasing us back by His own blood from him who had got us into his power, sold under sin. And He who led this lamb to the slaughter was God in man, the great High-Priest, as he shows by the words: “No one taketh My life

away from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."

36

OF THE DEATH OF THE MARTYRS CONSIDERED AS A SACRIFICE, AND IN WHAT WAY IT OPERATES TO THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS

Akin to this sacrifice are the others of which the sacrifices of the law are symbols, and another kind of sacrifice also appears to me to be of the same nature; namely, the shedding of the blood of the noble martyrs, whom the disciple John saw, for this is not without significance, standing beside the heavenly altar. "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things, prudent, and he shall know them?" It is a matter of higher speculation to consider even slightly the rationale of those sacrifices which cleanse those for whom they are offered. Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter should receive attention; it was by vowing it that he conquered the children of Ammon, and the victim approved his vow, for when her father said, "I have opened my mouth unto the Lord against thee," she answered, "If thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord against me, do that which thou hast vowed." The story suggests that the being must be a very cruel one to whom such sacrifices are offered for the salvation of men; and we require some breadth of mind and some ability to solve the difficulties raised against Providence, to be able to account for such things and to see that they are mysteries and exceed our human nature. Then we shall say, "Great are the judgments of God, and hard to be described; for this cause untutored souls have gone astray." Among the Gentiles, too, it is recorded that many a one, when pestilential disease broke out in his country, offered himself a victim for the public good. That this was the case the faithful Clement assumes, on the faith of the narratives, to whom Paul bears witness when he says, "With Clement also, and the others, my fellow-laborers, whose names are in the book of life." If there is anything in these narratives that appears incongruous to one who is minded to carp at mysteries revealed to few, the same difficulty attaches to the office that was laid on the martyrs, for it was God's will that we should rather endure

all the dreadful reproaches connected with confessing Him as God, than escape for a short time from such sufferings (which men count evil) by allowing ourselves by our words to conform to the will of the enemies of the truth. We are, therefore, led to believe that the powers of evil do suffer defeat by the death of the holy martyrs; as if their patience, their confession, even unto death, and their zeal for piety blunted the edge of the onset of evil powers against the sufferer, and their might being thus dulled and exhausted, many others of those whom they had conquered raised their heads and were set free from the weight with which the evil powers formerly oppressed and injured them. And even the martyrs themselves are no longer involved in suffering, even though those agents which formerly wrought ill to others are not exhausted; for he who has offered such a sacrifice overcomes the power which opposed him, as I may show by an illustration which is suited to this subject. He who destroys a poisonous animal, or lulls it to sleep with charms, or by any means deprives it of its venom, he does good to many who would otherwise have suffered from that animal had it not been destroyed, or charmed, or emptied of its venom. Moreover, if one of those who were formerly bitten should come to know of this, and should be cured of his malady and look upon the death of that which injured him, or tread on it, or touch it when dead, or taste a part of it, then he, who was formerly a sufferer, would owe cure and benefit to the destroyer of the poisonous animal. In some such way must we suppose the death of the most holy martyrs to operate, many receiving benefit from it by an influence we cannot describe.

37

OF THE EFFECTS OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST, OF HIS TRIUMPH AFTER IT, AND OF THE REMOVAL BY HIS DEATH OF THE SINS OF MEN

We have lingered over this subject of the martyrs and over the record of those who died on account of pestilence, because this lets us see the excellence of Him who was led as a sheep to the slaughter and was dumb as a lamb before the shearer. For if there is any point in these stories of the Greeks, and if what we have said of the martyrs is well rounded, — the

Apostles, too, were for the same reason the filth of the world and the offscouring of all things, — what and how great things must be said of the Lamb of God, who was sacrificed for this very reason, that He might take away the sin not of a few but of the whole world, for the sake of which also He suffered? If any one sin, we read, “We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for those of the whole world,” since He is the Savior of all men, especially of them that believe, who blotted out the written bond that was against us by His own blood, and took it out of the way, so that not even a trace, not even of our blotted-out sins, might still be found, and nailed it to His cross; who having put off from Himself the principalities and powers, made a show of them openly, triumphing over them by His cross. And we are taught to rejoice when we suffer afflictions in the world, knowing the ground of our rejoicing to be this, that the world has been conquered and has manifestly been subjected to its conqueror. Hence all the nations, released from their former rulers, serve Him, because He saved the poor from his tyrant by His own passion, and the needy who had no helper. This Savior, then, having humbled the calumniator by humbling Himself, abides with the visible sun before His illustrious church, tropically called the moon, from generation to generation. And having by His passion destroyed His enemies, He who is strong in battle and a mighty Lord required after His mighty deeds a purification which could only be given Him by His Father alone; and this is why He forbids Mary to touch Him, saying, “Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father; bat go and tell My disciples, I go to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God.” And when He comes, loaded with victory and with trophies, with His body which has risen from the dead, — for what other meaning can we see in the words, “I am not yet ascended to My Father,” and “I go unto My Father,” — then there are certain powers which say, Who is this that cometh from Edom, red garments from Bosor; this that is beautiful? Then those who escort Him say to those that are upon the heavenly gates, “Lift up your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in.” But they ask again, seeing as it were His right hand red with blood and His whole person covered with the marks of His valor, “Why are Thy garments red, and Thy clothes like the treading of the full winefat when it is trodden?” And to this He answers, “I have crushed them.” For this cause He had need to wash

“His robe in wine, and His garment in the blood of the grape.” For when He had taken up our infirmities and carried our diseases, and had born the sin of the whole world, and had conferred blessings on so many, then, perhaps, He received that baptism which is greater than any that could ever be conceived among men, and of which I think He speaks when He says, “I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?” I enquire here with boldness and I challenge the ideas put forward by most writers. They say that the greatest baptism, beyond which no greater can be conceived, is His passion. But if this be so, why should He say to Mary after it, “Touch Me not”? He should rather have offered Himself to her touch, when by His passion He had received His perfect baptism. But if it was the case, as we said before, that after all His deeds of valor done against His enemies, He had need to wash “His robe in wine, His gar-merit in the blood of the grape,” then He was on His way up to the husbandman of the true vine, the Father, so that having washed there and after having gone up on high, He might lead captivity captive and come down bearing manifold gifts — the tongues, as of fire, which were divided to the Apostles, and the holy angels which are to be present with them in each action and to deliver them. For before these economies they were not yet cleansed and angels could not dwell with them, for they too perhaps do not desire to be with those who have not prepared themselves nor been cleansed by Jesus. For it was of Jesus’ benignity alone that He ate and drank with publicans and sinners, and suffered the penitent woman who was a sinner to wash His feet with her tears, and went down even to death for the ungodly, counting it not robbery to be equal with God, and emptied Himself, assuming the form of a servant. And in accomplishing all this He fulfils rather the will of the Father who gave Him up for sinners than His own. For the Father is good, but the Savior is the image of His goodness; and doing good to the world in all things, since God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, which formerly for its wickedness was all enemy to Him, He accomplishes His good deeds in order and succession, and does not all at once take all His enemies for His footstool. For the Father says to Him, to the Lord of us all, “Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thy enemies the footstool of Thy feet.” And this goes on till the last enemy, Death, is overcome by Him.

And if we consider what is meant by this subjection to Christ and find an explanation of this mainly from the saying, “When all things shall have been put under Him, then shall the Son Himself be subjected to Him who put all things under Him,” then we shall see how the conception agrees with the goodness of the God of all, since it is that of the Lamb of God, taking away the sin of the world. Not all men’s sin, however, is taken away by the Lamb of God, not the sin of those who do not grieve and suffer affliction till it be taken away. For thorns are not only fixed but deeply rooted in the hand of every one who is intoxicated by wickedness and has parted with sobriety, as it is said in the Proverbs, “Thorns grow in the hand of the drunkard,” and what pain they must cause him who has admitted such growth in the substance of his soul, it is hard even to tell. Who has allowed wickedness to establish itself so deeply in his soul as to be a ground full of thorns, he must be cut down by the quick and powerful word of God, which is sharper than a two-edged sword, and which is more caustic than any fire. To such a soul that fire must be sent which finds out thorns, and by its divine virtue stands where they are and does not also burn up the threshing-floors or standing corn. But of the Lamb which takes away the sin of the world and begins to do so by His own death there are several ways, some of which are capable of being clearly understood by most, but others are concealed from most, and are known to those only who are worthy of divine wisdom. Why should we count up all the ways by which we come to believe among men? That is a thing which every one living in the body is able to see for himself. And in the ways in which we believe in these also,sin is taken away; by afflictions and evil spirits and dangerous diseases and grievous sicknesses. And who knows what follows after this? So much as we have said was not unnecessary — we could not neglect the thought which is so clearly connected with that of the words, “Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,” and had therefore to attend somewhat closely to this part of our subject. This has brought us to see that God convicts some by His wrath and chastens them by His anger, since His love to men is so great that He will not leave any without conviction and chastening; so that we should do what in us lies to be spared such conviction and such chastening by the sorest trials.

38

THE WORLD, OF WHICH THE SIN IS TAKEN AWAY, IS SAID TO BE THE CHURCH. REASONS FOR NOT AGREEING WITH THIS OPINION

The reader will do well to consider what was said above and illustrated from various quarters on the question what is meant in Scripture by the word “world”; and I think it proper to repeat this. I am aware that a certain scholar understands by the world the Church alone, since the Church is the adornment of the world, and is said to be the light of the world. “You,” he says, “are the light of the world.” Now, the adornment of the world is the Church, Christ being her adornment, who is the first light of the world. We must consider if Christ is said to be the light of the same world as His disciples. When Christ is the light of the world, perhaps it is meant that He is the light of the Church, but when His disciples are the light of the world, perhaps they are the light of others who call on the Lord, others in addition to the Church, as Paul says on this point in the beginning of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he writes, “To the Church of God, with all who call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.” Should any one consider that the Church is called the light of the world, meaning thereby of the rest of the race of men, including unbelievers, this may be true if the assertion is taken prophetically and theologically; but if it is to be taken of the present, we remind him that the light of a thing illuminates that thing, and would ask him to show how the remainder of the race is illuminated by the Church’s presence in the world. If those who hold the view in question cannot show this, then let them consider if our interpretation is not a sound one, that the light is the Church, and the world those others who call on the Name. The words which follow the above in Matthew will point out to the careful enquirer the proper interpretation. “You,” it is said, “are the salt of the earth,” the rest of mankind being conceived as the earth, and believers are their salt; it is because they believe that the earth is preserved. For the end will come if the salt loses its savor, and ceases to salt and preserve the earth, since it is clear that if iniquity is multiplied and love waxes cold upon the earth, as the Savior Himself uttered an expression of doubt as to those who would witness His coming, saying, “When the Son of man cometh, shall He find

faith upon the earth?” then the end of the age will come. Supposing, then, the Church to be called the world, since the Savior’s light shines on it — we have to ask in connection with the text, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,” whether the world here is to be taken intellectually of the Church, and the taking away of sin is limited to the Church. In that case what are we to make of the saying of the same disciple with regard to the Savior, as the propitiation for sin? “If any man sin,” we read, “we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world?” Paul’s dictum appears to me to be to the same effect, when he says, “Who is the Savior of all men, especially of the faithful.” Again, Heracleon, dealing with our passage, declares, without any proof or any citation of witnesses to that effect, that the words, “Lamb of God,” are spoken by John as a prophet, but the words, “who taketh away the sin of the world,” by John as more than a prophet. The former expression he considers to be used of His body, but the latter of Him who was in that body, because the lamb is an imperfect member of the genus sheep; the same being true of the body as compared with the dweller in it. Had he meant to attribute perfection to the body he would have spoken of a ram as about to be sacrificed. After the careful discussions given above, I do not think it necessary to enter into repetitions on this passage, or to controvert Heracleon’s careless utterances. One point only may be noted, that as the world was scarcely able to contain Him who had emptied Himself, it required a lamb and not a ram, that its sin might be taken away.

TENTH BOOK

1

JESUS COMES TO CAPERNAUM. STATEMENTS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS REGARDING THIS

“After this He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples; and there they abode not many days. And the passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and He found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting, and He made a sort of scourge of cords, and cast them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and He poured out the small money of the changers and overthrew their tables, and to those that sold the doves He said, Take these things hence; make not My Father’s house a house of merchandize. Then His disciples remembered that it was written, that the zeal of thy house shall eat me up. The Jews therefore answered and said unto Him, What sign showest Thou unto us, that Thou doest such things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore answered, Forty-six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days? But He spoke of the temple of His body. When therefore He rose from the dead, His disciples remembered that He said this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus said. Now when He was at Jerusalem at the passover at the feast, many believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did. But Jesus Himself did not trust Himself to them, for that He knew all men, and because He had no need that any should bear witness concerning man. For He Himself knew what was in man.”

The numbers which are recorded in the book of that name obtained a place in Scripture in accordance with some principle which determines their proportion to each thing. We ought therefore to enquire whether the book of Moses which is called Numbers teaches us, should we be able to trace it out, in some special way, the principle with regard to this matter. This remark I make to you at the outset of my tenth book, for in many passages of Scripture I have observed the number ten to have a peculiar privilege,

and you may consider carefully whether the hope is justified that this volume will bring you from God some special benefit. That this may prove to be the case, we will seek to yield ourselves as fully as we can to God, who loves to bestow His choicest gifts. The book begins at the words: “After this He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples, and there they abode not many days.” The other three Evangelists say that the Lord, after His conflict with the devil, departed into Galilee. Matthew and Luke represent that he was first at Nazara, and then left them and came and dwelt in Capernaum. Matthew and Mark also state a certain reason why He departed thither, namely, that He had heard that John was cast into prison. The words are as follows: Matthew says, “Then the devil leaveth Him, and behold, angels came and ministered unto Him. But when He heard that John was delivered up, He departed into Galilee, and leaving Nazareth He came and dwelt at Capernaum on the seashore in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali;” and after the quotation from Isaiah: “From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” Mark has the following: “And He was in the desert forty days and forty nights tempted by Satan, and He was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto Him. But after John was delivered up Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, that the time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe in the Gospel.” Then after the narrative about Andrew and Peter and James and John, Mark writes: “And He entered into Capernaum, and straightway on the Sabbath He was teaching in thesynagogue.” Luke has, “And having finished the temptation the devil departed from Him for a season. And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and a fame went out concerning Him into all the region round about, and He taught in their synagogues being glorified of all. And He came to Nazara, where He had been brought up, and He entered as His custom was into the synagogue on the Sabbath day.” Then Luke gives what He said at Nazara, and how those in the synagogue were enraged at Him and cast Him out of the city and brought Him to the brow of the hill on which their cities were built, to cast Him down headlong, and how going through the midst of them the Lord went His way; and with this he connects the statement,

“And He came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and He was teaching them on the Sabbath day.”

2

THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN JOHN AND THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS AT THIS PART OF THE NARRATIVE, LITERALLY READ, THE NARRATIVES CANNOT BE HARMONIZED: THEY MUST BE INTERPRETED SPIRITUALLY

The truth of these matters must lie in that which is seen by the mind. If the discrepancy between the Gospels is not solved, we must give up our trust in the Gospels, as being true and written by a divine spirit, or as records worthy of credence, for both these characters are held to belong to these works. Those who accept the four Gospels, and who do not consider that their apparent discrepancy is to be solved anagogically (by mystical interpretation), will have to clear up the difficulty, raised above, about the forty days of the temptation, a period for which no room can be found in any way in John’s narrative; and they will also have to tell us when it was that the Lord came to Capernaum. If it was after the six days of the period of His baptism, the sixth being that of the marriage at Cans of Galilee, then it is clear that the temptation never took place, and that He never was at Nazara, and that John was not yet delivered up. Now, after Capernaum, where He abode not many days, the passover of the Jews was at hand, and He went up to Jerusalem, where He cast the sheep and oxen out of the temple, and poured out the small change of the bankers. In Jerusalem, too, it appears that Nicodemus, the ruler and Pharisee, first came to Him by night, and heard what we may read in the Gospel. “After these things, Jesus came, and His disciples, into the land of Judaea, and there He tarried with them and baptized, at the same time at which John also was baptizing in AEnon near Salim, because there were many waters there, and they came and were baptized; for John was not yet cast into prison.” On this occasion, too, there was a questioning on the part of John’s disciples with the Jews about purification, and they came to John, saying of the Savior. “Behold, He baptizeth, and all come to Him.” They had heard words from the Baptist, the exact tenor of which it is better to take from Scripture

itself. Now, if we ask when Christ was first in Capernaum, our respondents, if they follow the words of Matthew, and of the other two, will say, After the temptation, when, “leaving Nazareth, He came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea.” But how can they show both the statements to be true, that of Matthew and Mark, that it was because He heard that John was delivered up that He departed into Galilee, and that of John, found there, after a number of other transactions, subsequent to His stay at Capernaum, after His going to Jerusalem, and His journey from there to Judaea, that John was not yet cast into prison, but was baptizing in AEnon near Salim? There are many other points on which the careful student of the Gospels will find that their narratives do not agree; and these we shall place before the reader, according to our power, as they occur. The student, staggered at the consideration of these things, will either renounce the attempt to find all the Gospels true, and not venturing to conclude that all our information about our Lord is untrustworthy, will choose at random one of them to be his guide; or he will accept the four, and will consider that their truth is not to be sought for in the outward and material letter.

3

WHAT WE ARE TO THINK OF THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT GOSPELS

We must, however, try to obtain some notion of the intention of the Evangelists in such matters, and we direct ourselves to this. Suppose there are several men who, by the spirit, see God, and know His words addressed to His saints, and His presence which He vouchsafes to them, appearing to them at chosen times for their advancement. There are several such men, and they are in different places, and the benefits they receive from above vary in shape and character. And let these men report, each of them separately, what he sees in spirit about God and His words, and His appearances to His saints, so that one of them speaks of God’s appearances and words and acts to one righteous man in such a place, and another about other oracles and great works of the Lord, and a third of something else than what the former two have dealt with. And let there be

a fourth, doing with regard to some particular matter something of the same kind as these three. And let the four agree with each other about something the Spirit has suggested to them all, and let them also make brief reports of other matters besides that one; then their narratives will fall out something on this wise: God appeared to such a one at such a time and in such a place, and did to him thus and thus; as if He had appeared to him in such a form, and had led him by the hand to such a place, and then done to him thus and thus. The second will report that God appeared at the very time of the foresaid occurrences, in a certain town, to a person who is named, a second person, and in a place far removed from that of the former account, and he will report a different set of words spoken at the same time to this second person. And let the same be supposed to be the case with the third and with the fourth. And let them, as we said, agree, these witnesses who report true things about God, and about His benefits conferred on certain men, let them agree with each other in some of the narratives they report. He, then, who takes the writings of these men for history, or for a representation of real things by a historical image, and who supposes God to be within certain limits in space, and to be unable to present to several persons in different places several visions of Himself at the same time, or to be making several speeches at the same moment, he will deem it impossible that our four writers are all speaking truth. To him it is impossible that God, who is in certain limits in space, could at the same set time be saying one thing to one man and another to another, and that He should be doing a thing and the opposite thing as well, and, to put it bluntly, that He should be both sitting and standing, should one of the writers represent Him as standing at the time, and making a certain speech in such a place to such a man, while a second writer speaks of Him as sitting.

4

SCRIPTURE CONTAINS MANY CONTRADICTIONS, AND MANY STATEMENTS WHICH ARE NOT LITERALLY TRUE, BUT MUST BE READ SPIRITUALLY AND MYSTICALLY

In the case I have supposed where the historians desire to teach us by an image what they have seen in their mind, their meaning would be found, if the four were wise, to exhibit no disagreement; and we must understand that with the four Evangelists it is not otherwise. They made full use for their purpose of things done by Jesus in the exercise of His wonderful and extraordinary power; they use in the same way His sayings, and in some places they tack on to their writing, with language apparently implying things of sense, things made manifest to them in a purely intellectual way. I do not condemn them if they even sometimes dealt freely with things which to the eye of history happened differently, and changed them so as to subserve the mystical aims they had in view; so as to speak of a thing which happened in a certain place, as if it had happened in another, or of what took place at a certain time, as if it had taken place at another time, and to introduce into what was spoken in a certain way some changes of their own. They proposed to speak the truth where it was possible both materially and spiritually, and where this was not possible it was their intention to prefer the spiritual to the material. The spiritual truth was often preserved, as one might say, in the material falsehood. As, for example, we might judge of the story of Jacob and Esau. Jacob says to Isaac, “I am Esau thy firstborn son,” and spiritually he spoke the truth, for he already partook of the rights of the first-born, which were perishing in his brother, and clothing himself with the goatskins he assumed the outward semblance of Esau, and was Esau all but the voice praising God, so that Esau might afterward find a place to receive a blessing. For if Jacob had not been blessed as Esau, neither would Esau perhaps have been able to receive a blessing of his own. And Jesus too is many things, according to the conceptions of Him, of which it is quite likely that the Evangelists took up different notions; while yet they were in agreement with each other in the different things they wrote. Statements which are verbally contrary to each other, are made about our Lord, namely, that He was descended from David and that He was not descended from David. The

statement is true, “He was descended from David,” as the Apostle says, “born of the seed of David according to the flesh,” if we apply this to the bodily part of Him; but the self-same statement is untrue if we understand His being born of the seed of David of His diviner power; for He was declared to be the Son of God with power. And for this reason too, perhaps, the sacred prophecies speak of Him now as a servant, and now as a Son. They call Him a servant on account of the form of a servant which he wore, and because He was of the seed of David, but they call Him the Son of God according to His character as first-born. Thus it is true to call Him man and to call Him not man; man, because He was capable of death; not man, on account of His being diviner than man. Marcion, I suppose, took sound words in a wrong sense, when he rejected His birth from Mary, and declared that as to His divine nature He was not born of Mary, and hence made bold to delete from the Gospel the passages which have this effect. And a like fate seems to have overtaken those who make away with His humanity and receive His deity alone; and also those opposites of these who cancel His deity and confess Him as a man to be a holy man, and the most righteous of all men. And those who hold the doctrine of Dokesis, not remembering that He humbled Himself even unto death and became obedient even to the cross, but only imagining in Him the absence of suffering, the superiority to all such accidents, they do what they can to deprive us of the man who is more just than all men, and are left with a figure which cannot save them, for as by one man came death, so also by one man is the justification of life. We could not have received such benefit as we have from the Logos had He not assumed the man, had He remained such as He was from the beginning with God the Father, and had He DOt taken up man, the first man of all, the man more precious than all others, purer than all others and capable of receiving Him. But after that man we also shall be able to receive Him, to receive Him so great and of such nature as He was, if we prepare a place in proportion to Him in our soul. So much I have said of the apparent discrepancies in the Gospels, and of my desire to have them treated in the way of spiritual interpretation.

5

PAUL ALSO MAKES CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS ABOUT HIMSELF, AND ACTS IN OPPOSITE WAYS AT DIFFERENT TIMES

On the same passage one may also make use of such an example as that of Paul, who at one place says that he is carnal, sold under sin, and thus was not able to judge anything, while in another place he is the spiritual man who is able to judge all things and himself to be judged by no man. Of the carnal one are the words, “Not what I would that do I practice, but what I hate that do I.” And he too who was caught up to the third heaven and heard unspeakable words is a different Paul from him who says. Of such an one I will glory, but of myself I will not glory. If he becomes to the Jews as a Jew that he may gain the Jews, and to those under the law as under the law that he may gain those under the law, and to them that are without law as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ, that he may gain those without law, and if to the weak he becomes weak that he may gain the weak, it is clear that these statements must be examined each by itself, that he becomes a Jew, and that sometimes he is under the law and at another time without law, and that sometimes he is weak. Where, for example, he says something by way of permission and not by commandment,there we may recognize that he is weak; for who, he says, is weak, and I am not weak? When he shaves his head and makes an offering, or when he circumcises Timothy, he is a Jew; but when he says to the Athenians, “I found an altar with the inscription, To the unknown God. That, then, which ye worship not knowing it, that declare I unto you,” and, “As also some of your own poets have said, For we also are His offspring,” then he becomes to those without the law as without the law, adjuring the least religious of men to espouse religion, and turning to his own purpose the saying of the poet, “From Love do we begin; his race are we.” And instances might perhaps be found where, to men not Jews and yet under the law, he is under the law.

6

DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS OF THE CALL OF PETER, AND OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE BAPTIST. THE MEANING OF “CAPERNAUM”

These examples may be serviceable to illustrate statements not only about the Savior, but about the disciples too, for here also there is some discrepancy of statement. For there is a difference in thought perhaps between Simon who is found by his own brother Andrew, and who is addressed “Thou shalt be called Cephas,” and him who is seen by Jesus when walking by the sea of Galilee, along with his brother, and addressed conjointly with that brother, “Come after Me, and I will make you fishers of men.” There was some fitness in the fact that the writer who goes more to the root of the matter and tells of the Word becoming flesh, and hence does not record the human generation of the Word who was in the beginning with God, should not tell us of Simon’s being found at the seashore and called away from there, but of his being found by his brother who had been staying with Jesus at the tenth hour, and of his receiving the name Cephas in connection with his being thus found out. If he was seen by Jesus when walking by the sea of Galilee, it would scarcely be on a later occasion that he was addressed, “Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build My church.” With John again the Pharisees know Jesus to be baptizing with His disciples, adding this to His other great activities; but the Jesus of the three does not baptize at all. John the Baptist, too, with the Evangelist of the same name, goes on a long time without being cast into prison. With Matthew, on the contrary, he is put in prison almost at the time of the temptation of Jesus, and this is the occasion of Jesus retiring to Galilee, to avoid being put in prison. But in John there is nothing at alI about John’s being put in prison. Who is so wise and so able as to learn all the things that are recorded about Jesus in the four Evangelists, and both to understand each incident by itself, and have a connected view of all His sojournings and words and acts at each place? As for the passage presently before us, it gives in the order of events that on the sixth day the Savior, after the business of the marriage at Cana of Galilee, went down with His mother and His brothers and His disciples to Capernaum, which means” field of consolation.” For after the feasting and

the wine it was fitting that the Savior should come to the field of consolation with His mother and His disciples, to console those whom He was training for disciples and the soul which had conceived Him by the Holy Ghost, with the fruits which were to stand in that full field.

7

WHY HIS BROTHERS ARE NOT CALLED TO THE WEDDING; AND WHY HE ABIDES AT CAPERNAUM NOT MANY DAYS

But we must ask why His brothers are not called to the wedding: they were not there, for it is not said they were; but they go down to Capernaum with Him and His mother and His disciples. We must also examine why on this occasion they do not “go in to” Capernaum, nor “go up to,” but “go down to” it. Consider if we must not understand by His brothers here the powers which went down along with Him, not called to the wedding according to the explanations given above, since it is in lower and humbler places than those who are called disciples of Christ, and in another way, that these brothers receive assistance. For if His mother is called, then there are some bearing fruit, and even to these the Lord goes down with the servants and disciples of the Word, to help such persons, His mother also being with Him. Those indeed who are called Capernaum appear not to be able to allow Jesus and those who went down with Him to make a longer stay with them: hence they remain with them not many days. For the lower field of consolation does not admit the illumination of many doctrines, but is only capable of a few. To get a clear view of the difference between those who receive Jesus for longer and for shorter time, we may compare with this, “They abode there not many days,” the words recorded in Matthew as spoken by Christ when risen from the dead to His disciples who were being sent out to teach all nations, “Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.” To those who are to know all that human nature can know while it still is here, is said with emphasis, “I am with you;” add as the rise of each new day upon the field of contemplation brings more days before the eyes of the blessed, therefore He says, “All the days till the end of the world.” As for those in Capernaum, on the contrary, to whom they go down as to the more needy,

not only Jesus, but also His mother and His brothers and His disciples "abode there not many days."

8

HOW CHRIST ABIDES WITH BELIEVERS TO THE END OF THE AGE, AND WHETHER HE ABIDES WITH THEM AFTER THAT CONSUMMATION

Some may very likely and not unreasonably ask, whether, when all the days of this age are over, there will no longer be any one to say, "Lo, I am with you," with those, namely, who received Him till the fulfilment of the age, for the "until" seems to indicate a certain limit of time. To this we must say that the phrase, "I am with you," is not the same as "I am in you." We might say more properly that the Savior was not in His disciples but with them, so long as they had not arrived in their minds at the consummation of the age. But when they see to be at hand, as far as their effort is concerned, the consummation of the world which is crucified to them, then Jesus will be no longer with them, but in them, and they will say, "It is no longer I that live but Christ that lives in me," and "If ye seek a proof of Christ that speaketh in me." In saying this we are keeping for our part also to the ordinary interpretation which makes the "always" the time down to the consummation of the age, and are not asking more than is attainable to human nature as it is here. That interpretation may be adhered to and justice yet be done to the "I." He who is with His disciples who are sent out to teach all the nations, until the consummation, may be He who emptied Himself and took the form of a servant, and yet afterwards may be another in point of state; afterwards He may be such as He was before He emptied Himself, until all His enemies are made by His Father the footstool of His feet; and after this, when the Son has delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father, it may be the Father who says to them, "Behold, I am with you." But whether it is "all the days" up to that time, or simply "all the days," or not "all days" but "every day," any one may consider that likes. Our plan does not allow us at present to digress so far.

9

HERACLEON SAYS THAT JESUS IS NOT STATED TO HAVE DONE ANYTHING AT CAPERNAUM.BUT IN THE OTHER GOSPELS HE DOES MANY THINGS THERE

But Heracleon, dealing with the words, “After this He went down to Capernaum,” declares that they indicate the introduction of another transaction, and that the word “went down” is not without significance. “Capernaum,” he says, “means these farthest-out parts of the world, these districts of matter, into which He descended, and because the place was not suitable, he says, He is not reported either to have done anything or said anything in it.” Now if the Lord had not been reported in the other Gospels either as having done or said anything at Capernaum, we might perhaps have hesitated whether this view ought or ought not to be received. But that is far from being the case. Matthew says our Lord left Nazareth and came and dwelt at Capernaum on the seaside, and that from that time He began to preach, saying, “Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” And Mark, starting in his narrative from the temptation by the devil, relates that after John was cast into prison, Jesus came into Galilee, proclaiming the Gospel of God, and after the call of the four fishermen to the Apostleship, “they enter into Capernaum; and straightway on the Sabbath day He taught in the synagogue, and they were astonished at His doctrine.” And Mark records an action of Jesus also which took place at Capernaum, for he goes on to say, “In their synagogue there was a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, Ah! what have we to do with Thee, Thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art Thou come to destroy us? We know Thee who Thou art, the Son of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace and come out of him; and the unclean spirit, tearing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him. And they were all amazed.” And at Capernaum Simon’s mother-in-law is cured of her fever. And Mark adds that when evening was come all those were cured who were sick and who were possessed with demons. Luke’s report is very like Mark’s about Capernaum. He says, “And He came to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and He was teaching them on the Sabbath day, and they were astonished at His teachings, for His word was with power. And in the synagogue there was a man having a spirit of an unclean

demon, and he cried out with a loud voice, Ah! what have we to do with Thee, Thou Jesus of Nazareth? Hast Thou come to destroy us? I know Thee who Thou art, the holy one of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace and come out of him. Then the demon having thrown him down in the midst, went out of him, doing him no harm." And then Luke reports how the Lord rose up from the synagogue and went into the house of Simon, and rebuked the fever in his mother-in-law, and cured her of her disease; and after this cure, "when the sun was setting," he says, "all, as many as had persons sick with divers diseases, brought them to Him, and He laid his hands on each one of them and cured them. And demons also went out from many, crying and saying, Thou art the Son of God, and He rebuked them and suffered them not to speak because they knew that He was the Christ." We have presented all these statements as to the Savior's sayings and doings at Capernaum in order to refute Heracleon's interpretation of our passage, "Hence He is not said to have done or to have spoken anything there." He must either give two meanings to Capernaum, and show us his reasons for them, or if he cannot do this he must give up saying that the Savior visited any place to no purpose. We, for our part, should we come to passages where even a comparison of the other Gospels fails to show that Jesus' visit to this place or that was not accompanied by any results, will seek with the divine assistance to make it clear that His coming was not in vain.

10

SIGNIFICANCE OF CAPERNAUM

Matthew for his part adds, that when the Lord had entered into Capernaum the centurion came to him, saying, "My boy is lying in my house sick of the palsy, grievously tormented," and after telling the Lord some more about him, received the reply, "Go, and as thou hast believed, so be it unto thee." And Matthew then gives us the story of Peter's mother-in-law, in close agreement with the other two. I conceive it to be a creditable piece of work and becoming to one who is anxious to hear about Christ, to collect from the four Gospels all that is related about Capernaum, and the discourses spoken, and the works done there, and

how many visits the Lord paid to the place, and how, at one time, He is said to have gone down to it, and at another to have entered into it, and where He came from when He did so. If we compare all these points together, we shall not go astray in the meaning we ascribe to Capernaum. On the one hand, the sick are healed, and other works of power are done there, and on the other, the preaching, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, begins there, and this appears to be a sign, as we showed when entering on this subject, of some more needy place of consolation, made so perhaps by Jesus, who comforted men by what He taught and by what He did there, in that place of consolation. For we know that the names of places agree in their meaning with the things connected with Jesus; as Gergesa, where the citizens of these parts besought Him to depart out of their coasts, means, "The dwelling of the casters-out." And this, also, we have noticed about Capernaum, that not only did the preaching, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," begin there, but that according to the three Evangelists Jesus performed there His first miracles. None of the three, however, added to the first wonders which he records as done in Capernaum, that note attached by John the disciple to the first work of Jesus, "This beginning of His signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee." For that which was done in Capernaum was not the beginning of the signs, since the leading sign of the Son of God was good cheer, and in the light of human experience it is also the most representative of Him. For the Word of God does not show forth His own beauty so much in healing the sick, as in His tendering the temperate draught to make glad those who are in good health and are able to join in the banquet.

11

WHY THE PASSOVER IS SAID TO BE THAT OF THE "JEWS." ITS INSTITUTION: AND THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "FEASTS OF THE LORD" AND FEASTS NOT SO SPOKEN OF

"And the passover of the Jews was at hand." Inquiring into the accuracy of the most wise John (on this passage), I put myself the question, What is indicated by the addition "of the Jews"? Of what other nation was the passover a festival? Would it not have been enough to say, "And the

passover was at hand”? It may, however, be the case that the human passover is one thing when kept by men not as Scripture intended, and that the divine passover is another thing, the true passover, observed in spirit and truth by those who worship God in spirit and in truth; and then the distinction indicated in the text may be that between the divine passover and that said to be of the Jews. We should attend to the passover law and observe what the Lord says of it when it is first mentioned in Scripture. “And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying, This month is to you the beginning of months, it is the first for you among the months of the year. Speak thou to all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, On the tenth of this mouth shall every man take a sheep, according to the houses of your families;” then after some directions in which the word passover does not occur again, he adds, “Thus shall ye eat it, your loins girt and your shoes on your feet, and your staves in your hands, and ye shall eat it with haste. It is the passover of the Lord.” He does not say, “It is your passover.” And a little further on He names the festival again in the same way, “And it shall come to pass, when your sons say to you, What is this service? And ye shall say to them, It is the sacrifice, the passover of the Lord, how He guarded the houses of the children of Israel.” And again, a little further on, “And the Lord spake to Moses and Aaron, saying, This is the law of the passover. No alien shall eat of it.” And again in a little, “But if a proselyte come to you, and keep the passover of the Lord, every male of him shall be circumcised.” Observe that in the law we never find it said, “Your passover;” but in all the passages quoted the phrase occurs once without any adjunct, while we have three times “The passover of the Lord.” To make sure that there is such a distinction between the passover of the Lord and the passover of the Jews, we may consider the way in which Isaiah speaks of the matter: “Your new moons and your Sabbaths and your great day I cannot bear; your fast and your holiday and your new moons and your feasts my soul hateth.” The Lord does not call them His own, these observances of sinners (they are hated of His soul, if such there be); neither the new moons, nor the Sabbaths, nor the great day, nor the fast, nor the festivals. And in the legislation about the Sabbath in Exodus, we read, “And Moses said unto them, This is the word which the Lord spake, The Sabbath is a holy rest unto the Lord.” And a little further on, “And Moses said, Eat ye; for today is a Sabbath unto the Lord.” And in

Numbers, before the sacrifices which are offered at each festival, as if all the festivals came under the law of the continuous and daily sacrifice, we find it written, “And the Lord spake unto Moses, Announce to the children of Israel, and thus shall thou say unto them, My gifts, My offerings, My fruits for a smell of sweet savor, ye shall observe to offer unto Me at My festivals. And thou shall say unto them, These are the offerings which ye shall offer unto the Lord.” The festival set forth in Scripture He calls His own, not those of the people receiving the law, He speaks of His gifts, His offerings. A similar way of speaking is that in Exodus with regard to the people; it is said by God to be His own people, when it does not sin; but in the section about the calf He abjures it and calls it the people of Moses. On the one hand, “Thou shalt say to Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Let My people go, that they may serve Me in the wilderness. But if thou wilt not let My people go, behold, I will send against thee and against thy servants, and against thy people and against thy houses, the dog-fly; and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of the dog-fly, and on the land on which they are, against it will I send them. And I will glorify on that day the land of Gesem, on which My people are; on it there shall be no dog-fly, that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, the Lord of all the earth. And I will make a distinction between My people and thy people.” To Moses, on the other hand, He says, “Go, descend quickly, for thy people hath transgressed, which thou leddest out of the land of Egypt.” As, then, the people when it does not sin is the people of God, but when it sins is no longer spoken of as His, thus, also, the feasts when they are hated by the Lord’s soul are said to be feasts of sinners, but when the law is given regarding them, they are called feasts of the Lord. Now of these feasts passover is one, which in the passage before us is said to be that not of the Lord, but of the Jews. In another passage, too, we find it said, “These are the feasts of the Lord, which ye shall call chosen, holy.” From the mouth of the Lord Himself, then, we see that there is no gainsaying our statement on this point. Some one, no doubt, will ask about the words of the Apostle, where he writes to the Corinthians: “For our Passover also was sacrified for us, namely, Christ;” he does not say, “The Passover of the Lord was sacrificed, even Christ.” To this we must say, either that the Apostle simply calls the passover our passover because it was sacrificed for us, or that every sacrifice which is really the Lord’s, and the passover is one of these,

awaits its consummation not in this age nor upon earth, but in the coming age and in heaven when the kingdom of heaven appears. As for those feasts, one of the twelve prophets says, “What will ye do in the days of assembly, and in the days of the feast of the Lord?” But Paul says in the Epistle to the Hebrews: “But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to ten thousands of angels, the assembly and church of the firstborn, who are written in heaven.” And in the Epistle to the Colossians: “Let no one judge you in meat and in drink, or in respect of a feast-day or a new moon, or a sabbath-day; which are a shadow of the things to come.”

12

OF THE HEAVENLY FESTIVALS, OF WHICH THOSE ON EARTH ARE TYPICAL

Now in what manner, in those heavenly things of which the shadow was present to the Jews on earth, those will celebrate festivals who have first been trained by tutors and governors under the true law, until the fulness of the thee should come, namely, above, when we shall be able to receive into ourselves the perfect measure of the Son of God, this it is the work of that wisdom to make plain which has been hidden in a mystery; and it also may show to our thought how the laws about meats are symbols of those things which will there nourish and strengthen our soul. But it is vain to think that one desiring to work out in his fancy the great sea of such ideas, even if he wished to show how local worship is still a pattern and shadow of heavenly things, and that the sacrifices and the sheep are full of meaning, that he should advance further than the Apostle, who seeks indeed to lift our minds above earthly views of the law, but who does not show us to any extent how these things are to be. Even if we look at the festivals, of which passover is one, from the point of view of the age to come, we have still to ask how it is that our passover is now sacrificed, namely, Christ, and not only so, but is to be sacrificed hereafter.

13

SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THE PASSOVER

A few points may be added in connection with the doctrines now under consideration, though it would require a special discussion in many volumes to treat of all the mystical statements about the law, and specially of those connected with the festivals, and more particularly still with the passover. The passover of the Jews consists of a sheep which is sacrificed, each taking a sheep according to his father's house; and the passover is accompanied by the slaughter of thousands of rams and goats, in proportion to the number of the houses of the people. But our Passover is sacrificed for us, namely, Christ. Another feature of the Jewish festival is unleavened bread; all leaven is made to disappear out of their houses; but "we keep the feast not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." Whether there be any passover and any feast of leaven beyond the two we have mentioned, is a point we must examine more carefully, since these serve for a pattern and a shadow of the heavenly ones we spoke of, and not only such things as food and drink and new moons and sabbaths, but the festivals also, are a shadow of the things to come. In the first place, when the Apostle says, "Our passover is sacrificed, Christ," one may feel with regard to this such doubts as these. If the sheep with the Jews is a type of the sacrifice of Christ, then one should have been offered and not a multitude, as Christ is one; or if many sheep were offered it is to follow out the type, as if many Christs were sacrificed. But not to dwell on this, we may ask how the sheep, which was the victim, contains an image of Christ, when the sheep was sacrificed by men who were observing the law, but Christ was put to death by transgressors of the law, and what application can be found in Christ of the direction, "They shall eat the flesh this night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread on bitter herbs shall they eat," and "Eat not of it raw, nor sodden with water, but roast with fire; the head with the feet and the entrails; ye shall not set any of it apart till the morning, and a bone thereof ye shall not break. But that which is left thereof till the morning ye shall burn." The sentence, "A bone of it ye shall not break," John appears to have made use of in his Gospel, as applying to the transactions connected with Christ, and connecting with

them the occasion spoken of in the law when those eating the sheep are bidden not to break a bone of it. He writes as follows: “The soldiers therefore came and brake the legs of the first, and of the other who was crucified with him; but when they came to Jesus and saw that He was already dead, they brake not His legs, but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and straightway there came out blood and water. And he that hath seen hath born witness and his witness is true, and he knoweth that he sayeth truth that ye also may believe. And these things took place that the Scripture might be fulfilled, “A bone of Him ye shall not break.” There are a myriad other points besides this in the Apostle’s language which would call for inquiry, both about the passover and the unleavened bread, but they would have to be dealt with, as we said above, in a special work of great length. At present we can only give an epitome of them as they bear on the text presently before us, and aim at a short solution of the principal problem. We call to mind the words, “This is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,” for it is said of the passover, “Ye shall take it of the lambs or of the goats.” The Evangelist here agrees with Paul, and both are involved in the difficulties we spoke of above. But on the other hand we have to say that if the Word became flesh, and the Lord says, “Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him,” — then the flesh thus spoken of is that of the Lamb that takes away the sin of the world; and this is the blood, some of which was to be put on the two side posts of the door, and on the lintels in the houses, in which we eat the passover. Of the flesh of this Lamb it is necessary that we should eat in the thee of the world, which is night, and the flesh is to be roast with fire, and eaten with unleavened bread; for the Word of God is not flesh and flesh only. He says, in fact, Himself, “I am the bread of life,” and “This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, that a man should eat of it, and not die. I am the bread of life that came down from heaven; if a man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.” We must not overlook, however, that by a loose use of words, any food is called bread, as we read in Moses in Deuteronomy, “Forty days He ate no bread and drank no water,” instead of, He took no food, either wet or dry. I am led to this observation by

John's saying, "And the bread which I will give is My flesh, for the life of the world." Again, we eat the flesh of the Lamb, with bitter herbs, and unleavened bread, when we repent of our sins and grieve with the sorrow which is according to God, a repentance which operates for our salvation, and is not to be repented of; or when, on account of our trials, we turn to the speculations which are found to be those of truth, and are nourished by them. We are not, however, to eat the flesh of the Lamb raw, as those do who are slaves of the letter, like irrational animals, and those who are enraged at men truly reasonable, because they desire to understand spiritual things; truly, they share the nature of savage beasts. But we must strive to convert the rawness of Scripture into well-cooked food, not letting what is written grow flabby and wet and thin, as those do who have itching ears, and turn away their ears from the truth; their methods tend to a loose and flabby conduct of life. But let us be of a fervent spirit and keep hold of the fiery words given to us of God, such as Jeremiah received from Him who spoke to him, "Behold, I have made My words in thy mouth like fire," and let us see that the flesh of the Lamb be well cooked, so that those who partake of it may say, as Christ speaks in us, "Our heart burned by the way, as He opened to us the Scriptures." Further, if it is our duty to enquire into such a point as the roasting of the flesh of the Lamb with fire, we must not forget the parallel of what Jeremiah suffered on account of the words of God, as he says: "And it was as a glowing fire, burning in my bones, and I am without any strength, and I cannot bear it." But, in this eating, we must begin at the head, that is to say, at the principal and the most essential doctrines about heavenly things, and we must end at the feet, the last branches of learning which enquire as to the final nature in things, or about more material things, or about things under the earth, or about wicked spirits and unclean demons. For it may be that the account of these things is not obvious, like themselves, but is laid away among the mysteries of Scripture, so that it may be called, tropically, the feet of the Lamb. Nor must we fail to deal with the entrails, which are within and hidden from us; we must approach the whole of Scripture as one body, we must not lacerate nor break through the strong and well-knit connections which exist in the harmony of its whole composition, as those do who lacerate, so far as they can, the unity of the Spirit that is in all the Scriptures. But this aforesaid prophecy of the Lamb is to be our nourishment only during the night of this dark life of ours; what comes

after this life is, as it were, the dawn of day, and why should we leave over till then the food which can only be useful to us now? But when the night is passed, and the day which succeeds it is at hand, then we shall have bread to eat which has nothing to do with the leavened bread of the older and lower state of things, but is unleavened, and that will serve our turn until that which comes after the unleavened bread is given us, the manna, which is food for angels rather than men. Every one of us, then, may sacrifice his lamb in every house of our fathers; and while one breaks the law, not sacrificing the lamb at all, another may keep the commandment entirely, offering his sacrifice, and cooking it aright, and not breaking a bone of it. This, then, in brief, is the interpretation of the Passover sacrificed for us, which is Christ, in accordance with the view taken of it by the Apostles, and with the Lamb in the Gospel. For we ought not to suppose that historical things are types of historical things, and material things of material, but that material things are typical of spiritual things, and historical things of intellectual. It is not necessary that our discourse should now ascend to that third passover which is to be celebrated with myriads of angels in the most perfect and most blessed exodus; we have already spoken of these things to a greater extent than the passage demands.

14

IN THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS THE PASSOVER IS SPOKEN OF ONLY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MINISTRY; IN JOHN AT THE BEGINNING. REMARKS ON THIS. HERACLEON ON THE PASSOVER

We must not, however, fail to enquire into the statement that the passover of the Jews was at hand, when the Lord was at Capernaum with His mother and His brothers and His disciples. In the Gospel according to Matthew, after being left by the devil, and after the angels came and ministered to Him, when He heard that John was delivered up He withdrew into Galilee, and leaving Nazara He came and dwelt in Capernaum. Then He began to preach, and chose the four fishermen for His Apostles, and taught in the synagogues of the whole of Galilee and

healed those who were brought to Him. Then He goes up into the mountain and speaks the beatitudes and what follows them; and after finishing that instruction He comes down from the mountain and enters Capernaum a second thee. Then He embarked in a ship and crossed over to the other side to the country of the Gergesenes. On their beseeching Him to depart out of their coasts He embarked in a ship and crossed over and came to His own city. Then He wrought certain cures and went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues; after this most of the events of the Gospels take place, before Matthew indicates the approach of the thee of passover. With the other Evangelists also, after the stay at Capernaum it is long till we come to any mention of the passover; which may confirm in their opinion those who take the view about Capernaum which was set forth above. That stay, in the neighborhood of the passover of the Jews, is set in a brighter light by that nearness, both because it was better in itself, and still more because at the passover of the Jews there are found in the temple those who sell oxen and sheep and doves. This adds emphasis to the statement that the passover was not that of the Lord but that of the Jews; the Father's house was made, in the eyes of those who did not hallow it, a house of merchandise, and the passover of the Lord became for those who took a low and material view of it a Jewish passover. A fitter occasion than the present will occur for enquiring as to the thee of the passover, which took place about the spring equinox, and for any other enquiry which may arise in connection with it. As for Heracleon, he says, "This is the great festival; for it was a type of the passion of the Savior; not only was the lamb put to death, the eating of it afforded relaxation, the killing it pointed to what of the passion of the Savior was in this world, and the eating it to the rest at the marriage." We have given his words, that it may be seen with what a want of caution and how loosely he proceeds, and with what an absence of constructive skill even on such a theme as this; and how little regard in consequence is to be paid to him.

15

DISCREPANCY OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVES CONNECTED WITH THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE

“And Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And He found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves and the changers of money sitting; and He made a scourge of cords, and cast out of the temple the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the small coin of the changers, and overturned their tables, and to those who sold the doves He said, Take these things hence; make not My Father’s house a house of merchandise. Then His disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thy house shall eat me up.” It is to be noted that John makes this transaction of Jesus with those He found selling oxen and sheep and doves in the temple His second work; while the other Evangelists narrate a similar incident almost at the end and in connection with the story of the passion. Matthew has it thus: “At Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem the whole city was stirred, saying, Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is Jesus the prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus went into the temple and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and He overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves. And He says to them, It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, hut you make it a den of robbers.” Mark has the following: “And they came to Jerusalem. And having entered into the temple He began to cast out those that sold and bought in the temple, and the tables of the money-changers He overthrew and the seats of them that sold doves. And He suffered not that any should carry a vessel through the temple; and He taught and said unto them, Is it not written that My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations? But you have made it a den of robbers.” And Luke: “And when he came near, He beheld the city and wept over it, saying that, if thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things that belong to peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when they shall surround thee and shut thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground and thy children, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the thee of thy visitation. And He entered into the temple and began to cast out those that sold, saying to them, It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer,

but ye have made it a den of robbers." It is further to be observed that what is recorded by the three as having taken place in connection with the Lord's going up to Jerusalem; when He did these things in the temple, is narrated in a very similar manner by John as taking place long after this, after another visit to Jerusalem different from this one. We must consider the statements, and in the first place that of Matthew, where we read: "When He drew nigh to Jerusalem and came to Bethphage over against the Mount of Olives, then Jesus sent two disciples, saying unto them, Go ye into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall fine an ass tied and a colt with her; loose them and bring them to Me. And if any man say unto you, What are you doing? you shall say, The Lord hath need of them, and straightway he will send them. But this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy king cometh, meek and seated upon an ass and upon the colt of an ass. And the disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them; they brought the ass and the foal, and they placed on them their garments, and He sat thereon. And the most part of the multitude spread their garments on the road, but the multitudes that went before Him, and they that followed, cried, Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." After this comes, "And when He had entered into Jerusalem the whole city was stirred," which we cited above. Then we have Mark's account: "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, to Bethphage and Bethany, to the Mount of Olives, He sends two of His disciples and says to them, Go ye into the village over against you. And straightway as ye enter into it ye shall find a colt tied, on which no man hath ever sat, loose it and bring it. And if any one say to you, Why do ye this? say, Because the Lord hath need of him, and straightway he will send him back hither. And they went and found the colt tied at the door outside on the road, and they loose him. And some of them that stood there said to them, What do ye, loosing the colt? And they said to them as Jesus told them, and they let them go. And they brought the colt to Jesus, and cast on it their garments. But others cut down branches from the field and spread them in the way. And they that went before and they that followed cried, Hosanna, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; blessed be the kingdom that cometh, of our father David! Hosanna in the highest! And He went into Jerusalem to the temple, and looked round about on all things, and as it was already

evening, He went out to Bethany with the twelve. And on the morrow when they were come forth from Bethany He was hungry." Then, after the affair of the withered fig tree, "They came to Jerusalem. And He went into the temple and began to cast out them that sold." Luke narrates as follows: "And it came to pass, when He drew near to Bethphage and Bethany at the mount that is called the Mount of Olives, He sent two of his disciples, saying, Go ye into the village over against you, in which when ye enter, ye shall find a colt tied, on which no man ever hath sate; loose him and bring him. And if any man asks you, Why do ye loose him? Ye shall say thus, The Lord hath need of him. And the disciples went and found as He said to them. And when they were loosing the colt its owners said to them, Why loose ye the colt? and they said, Because the Lord hath need of him. And they brought him to Jesus, and they threw their garments on the colt, and set Jesus thereon. And as He went, they strewed their garments in the way. And when He was drawing near, being now at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen, saying, Blessed is the King in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven and glory in the highest. And some of the Pharisees from the multitude said unto Him, Master, rebuke Thy disciples. And He answered and said, I say unto you, If these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out. And when He drew near He beheld the city and wept over it," and so on, as we cited above. John, on the contrary, after giving an account nearly identical with this, as far as, "And Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and He found in the temple those who were selling oxen and sheep," gives a second account of an ascent of the Lord to Jerusalem, and then goes on to tell of the supper in Bethany six days before the passover, at which Martha served and Lazarus was at table. "On the morrow, a great multitude that had come to the feast, having heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet Him; and they cried, Hosanna, blessed be the King of Israel in the name of the Lord. And Jesus, having found a young ass, sat thereon, as it is written, Fear not, daughter of Zion; behold thy King cometh, sitting on the foal of an ass." I have written out long sections from the Gospels, but I have thought it necessary to do so, in order to exhibit the discrepancy at this part of our Gospel. Three of the Gospels place these incidents, which we supposed to be the same as those narrated by John, in connection with one visit of the Lord to Jerusalem.

While John, on the other hand, places them in connection with two visits which are widely separated from each other and between which were various journeys of the Lord to other places. I conceive it to be impossible for those who admit nothing more than the history in their interpretation to show that these discrepant statements are in harmony with each other. If any one considers that we have not given a sound exposition, let him write a reasoned rejoinder to this declaration of ours.

16

THE STORY OF THE PURGING OF THE TEMPLE SPIRITUALIZED. TAKEN LITERALLY, IT PRESENTS SOME VERY DIFFICULT AND UNLIKELY FEATURES

We shall, however, expound according to the strength that is given to us the reasons which move us to recognize here a harmony; and in doing so we entreat Him who gives to every one that asks and strives acutely to enquire, and we knock that by the keys of higher knowledge the hidden things of Scripture may be opened to us. And first, let us fix our attention on the words of John, beginning, “And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.” Now Jerusalem, as the Lord Himself teaches in the Gospel according to Matthew, “is the city of the great King.” It does not lie in a depression, or in a low situation, but is built on a high mountain, and there are mountains round about it, and the participation of it is to the same place, and thither the tribes of the Lord went up, a testimony for Israel. But that city also is called Jerusalem, to which none of those upon the earth ascends, nor goes in; but every soul that possesses by nature some elevation and some acuteness to perceive the things of the mind is a citizen of that city. And it is possible even for a dweller in Jerusalem to be in sin (for it is possible for even the acutest minds to sin), should they not turn round quickly after their sin, when they have lost their power of mind and are on the point not only of dwelling in one of those strange cities of Judaea, but even of being inscribed as its citizens. Jesus goes up to Jerusalem, after bringing help to those in Cans of Galilee, and then going down to Capernaum, that He may do in Jerusalem the things which are written. He found in the temple, certainly, which is said to be the house of the Father of the Savior, that is,

in the church or in the preaching of the ecclesiastical and sound word, some who were making His Father's house a house of merchandise. And at all times Jesus finds some of this sort in the temple. For in that which is called the church, which is the house of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, when are there not some money-changers sitting who need the strokes of the scourge Jesus made of small cords, and dealers in small coin who require to have their money poured out and their tables overturned? When are there not those who are inclined to merchandise, but need to be held to the plough and the oxen, that having put their hand to it and not turning round to the things behind them, they may be fit for the kingdom of God? When are there not those who prefer the mammon of unrighteousness to the sheep which give them the material for their true adornment? And there are always many who look down on what is sincere and pure and unmixed with any bitterness or gall, and who, for the sake of miserable gain, betray the care of those tropically called doves. When, therefore, the Savior finds in the temple, the house of His Father, those who are selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting, He drives them out, using the scourge of small cords which He has made, along with the sheep and oxen of their trade, and pours out their stock of coin, as not deserving to be kept together, so little is it worth. He also overturns the tables in the souls of such as love money, saying even to those who sell doves, "Take these things hence," that they may no longer traffic in the house of God. But I believe that in these words He indicated also a deeper truth, and that we may regard these occurrences as a symbol of the fact that the service of that temple was not any longer to be carried on by the priests in the way of material sacrifices, and that the thee was coming when the law could no longer be observed, however much the Jews according to the flesh desired it. For when Jesus casts out the oxen and sheep, and orders the doves to be taken away, it was because oxen and sheep and doves were not much longer to be sacrificed there in accordance with Jewish practices. And possibly the coins which bore the stamp of material things and not of God were poured out by way of type; because the law which appears so venerable, with its letter that kills, was, now that Jesus had come and had used His scourge to the people, to be dissolved and poured out, the sacred office (episcopate) being transferred to those from the Gentiles who believed, and the kingdom of God being taken away from the Jews and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits of it. But it

may also be the case that the natural temple is the soul skilled in reason, which, because of its inborn reason, is higher than the body; to which Jesus ascends from Capernaum, the lower-lying place of less dignity, and in which, before Jesus' discipline is applied to it, are found tendencies which are earthly and senseless and dangerous, and things which have the name but not the reality of beauty, and which are driven away by Jesus with His word plaited out of doctrines of demonstration and of rebuke, to the end that His Father's house may no longer be a house of merchandize but may receive, for its own salvation and that of others, that service of God which is performed in accordance with heavenly and spiritual laws. The ox is symbolic of earthly things, for he is a husbandman. The sheep, of senseless and brutal things, because it is more servile than most of the creatures without reason. Of empty and unstable thoughts, the dove. Of things that are thought good but are not, the small change. If any one objects to this interpretation of the passage and says that it is only pure animals that are mentioned in it, we must say that the passage would otherwise have an unlikely air. The occurence is necessarily related according to the possibilities of the story. It could not have been narrated that a herd of any other animals than pure ones had found access to the temple, nor could any have been sold there but those used for sacrifice. The Evangelist makes use of the known practice of the merchants at the times of the Jewish feasts; they did bring in such animals to the outer court; this practice, with a real occurrence He knew of, were His materials. Any one, however, who cares to do so may enquire whether it is in agreement with the position held by Jesus in this world, since He was reputed to be the Son of a carpenter, to venture upon such an act as to drive out a crowd of merchants from the temple? They had come up to the feast to sell to a great number of the people, the sheep, several myriads in number, which they were to sacrifice according to their fathers' houses, To the richer Jews they had oxen to sell, and there were doves for those who had vowed such animals, and many no doubt bought these with a view to their good cheer at the festival. And did not Jesus do an unwarrantable thing when He poured out the money of the money-changers, which was their own, and overthrew their tables? And who that received a blow from the scourge of small cords at the hands of One held in but slight esteem, was driven out of the temple, would not have attacked Him and raised a cry and avenged himself with his own hand, especially when there was

such a multitude present who might all feel themselves insulted by Jesus in the same way? To think, moreover, of the Son of God taking the small cords in His hands and plaiting a scourge out of them for this driving out from the temple, does it not bespeak audacity and temerity and even some measure of lawlessness? One refuge remains for the writer who wishes to defend these things and is minded to treat the occurrence as real history, namely, to appeal to the divine nature of Jesus, who was able to quench, when He desired to do so, the rising anger of His foes, by divine grace to get the better of myriads, and to scatter the devices of tumultuous men; for "the Lord scatters the counsels of the nations and brings to naught devices of the peoples, but the counsel of the Lord abideth for ever." Thus the occurrence in our passage, if it really took place, was not second in point of the power it exhibits to any even of the most marvellous works Christ wrought, and claimed no less by its divine character the faith of the beholders. One may show it to be a greater work than that done at Cana of Galilee in the turning of water into wine; for in that case it was only soulless matter that was changed, but here it was the soul and will of thousands of men. It is, however, to be observed that at the marriage the mother of Jesus is said to be there, and Jesus to have been invited and His disciples, but that no one but Jesus is said to have descended to Capernaum. His disciples, however, appear afterwards as present with Him; they remembered that "the zeal of thine house shall devour me." And perhaps Jesus was in each of the disciples as He ascended to Jerusalem, whence it is not said, Jesus went up to "Jerusalem and His disciples," but He went down to Capernaum, "He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples."

17

MATTHEW'S STORY OF THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN IT FOR THOSE WHO TAKE IT LITERALLY

We have now to take into consideration the statements of the other Gospels on the expulsion from the temple of those who made it a house of merchandise. Take in the first place what we find in Matthew. On the

Lord's entering Jerusalem, he says, "All the city was stirred, saying, Who is this?" But before this he has the story of the ass and the foal which were taken by command of the Lord and found by the two disciples whom he sent from Bethphage into the village over against them. These two disciples loose the ass which was tied, and they have orders, if any one says anything

to them, to answer that "the Lord has need of them; and immediately he will send them." By these incidents Matthew declares that the prophecy was fulfilled which says, "Behold, the King cometh, meek and sitting on an ass and a colt the foal of an ass," which we find in Zechariah. When, then, the disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them, they brought the ass and the colt, and placed on them, he says, their own garments, and the Lord sat upon them, clearly on the ass and the colt. Then "the most part of the multitude spread their garments in the way, and others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way, and the multitudes that went before and that followed cried, Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." Hence it was that when He entered Jerusalem, the whole city was moved, saying, Who is this? "and the multitudes said," those obviously who went before Him and who followed Him, to those who were asking who He was, "This is the prophet Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus entered into the temple and cast out all those that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves: and He saith unto them, It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer; but ye make it a den of robbers." Let us ask those who consider that Matthew had nothing but the history in his mind when he wrote his Gospel, what necessity there was for two of the disciples to be sent to the village over against Bethphage, to find an ass tied and its colt with it and to loose them and bring them? And how did it deserve to be recorded that He sat upon the ass and the foal and entered into the city? And how does Zechariah prophesy about Christ when he says, "Rejoice greatly, thou daughter of Zion, proclaim it, thou daughter of Jerusalem. Behold thy king cometh unto thee, just is He and bringing salvation, meek and sitting on an ass and a young foal"? If it be the case that this prophecy predicts simply the material incident described by the Evangelists, how can those who stand on the letter maintain that this is so

with regard to the following part also of the prophecy, which runs: “And He shall destroy chariots from Ephraim and horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of the warrior shall be destroyed, and a multitude and peace from the Gentiles, and He shall rule over the waters as far as the sea, and the rivers to the ends of the earth,” etc. It is to be noted, too, that Matthew does not give the words as they are found in the prophet, for instead of “Rejoice greatly, thou daughter of Zion, proclaim it, thou daughter of Jerusalem,” he makes it, “Tell ye the daughter of Zion.” He curtails the prophetic utterance by omitting the words, “Just is He and bringing salvation,” then he gives, “meek and sitting,” as in the original, but instead of “on an ass and a young colt,” he gives, “on an ass and a colt the foal of an ass.” The Jews, examining into the application of the prophecy to what is recorded about Jesus, press us in a way we cannot overlook with the enquiry how Jesus destroyed chariots out of Ephraim and horse from Jerusalem, and how He destroyed the bow of the enemy and did the other deeds mentioned in the passage. So much with regard to the prophecy. Our literal interpreters, however, if there is nothing worthy of the appearance of the Son of God in the ass and the foal, may perhaps point to the length of the road for an explanation. But, in the first place, fifteen stades are not a great distance and afford no reasonable explanation of the matter, and, in the second place, they would have to tell us how two beasts of burden were needed for so short a journey; “He sat,” it is said, “on them.” And then the words: “If any man say aught unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them, and straightway he will send them.” It does not appear to me to be worthy of the greatness of the Son’s divinity to say that such a nature as His confessed that it had need of an ass to be loosed from its bonds and of a foal to come with it; for everything the Son of God has need of should be great and worthy of His goodness. And then the very great multitude strewing their garments in the way, while Jesus allows them to do so and does not rebuke them, as is clear from the words used in another passage, “If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out.” I do not. know if it does not indicate a certain degree of stupidity on the part of the writer to take delight in such things, if nothing more is meant by them than what lies on the surface. And the branches being cut down from the trees and strewn on the road where the asses go by, surely they are rather a hindrance to Him who is the center of the throng than a well-devised reception of Him. The difficulties which met us on

the part of those who were cast out of the temple by Jesus meet us here in a still greater degree. In the Gospel of John He casts out those who bought, but Matthew says that He cast out those who sold and those who bought in the temple. And the buyers would naturally be more numerous than the sellers. We have to consider if the casting out of buyers and sellers in the temple was not out of keeping with the reputation of one who was thought to be the Son of a carpenter, unless, as we said before, it was by a divine power that He subjected them. The words addressed to them, too, are harsher in the other Evangelists than in John. For John says that Jesus said to them, “Make not My Father’s house a house of merchandise,” while in the others they are rebuked for making the house of prayer a den of robbers. Now the house of His Father did not admit of being turned into a den of robbers, though by the acts of sinful men it was brought to be a house of merchandise. It was not only the house of prayer, but in fact the house of God, and by force of human neglect it harboured robbers, and was turned not only into their house but their den — a thing which no skill, either of architecture or of reason, could make it.

18

THE ASS AND THE COLT ARE THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT. SPIRITUAL MEANING OF THE VARIOUS FEATURES OF THE STORY. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JOHN’S NARRATIVE AND THAT OF THE OTHER EVANGELISTS

Now to see into the real truth of these matters is the part of that true intelligence which is given to those who can say, “But we have the mind of Christ that we may see those things which are freely given to us of God; “and doubtless it is beyond our powers. For neither is the ruling principle in our soul free from agitation, nor are our eyes such as those of the fair bride of Christ should be, of which the bridegroom says, “Thy eyes are doves,” signifying, perhaps, in a riddle, the observant power which dwells in the spiritual, because the Holy Spirit came like a dove to our Lord and to the Lord in every one. Such as we are, however, we will not delay, but will feel about the words of life which have been spoken to us and strive to lay hold of that power in them which flows to him who touches them in

faith. Now Jesus is the word of God which goes into the soul that is called Jerusalem, riding on the ass freed by the disciples from its bonds. That is to say, on the simple language of the Old Testament, interpreted by the two disciples who loose it: in the first place him who applies what is written to the service of the soul and shows the allegorical sense of it with reference to her, and in the second place him who brings to light by the things which lie in shadow the good and true things of the future. But He also rides on the young colt, the New Testament; for in both alike we find the word of truth which purifies us and drives away all those thoughts in us which incline to selling and buying. But He does not come alone to Jerusalem, the soul, nor only with a few companions; for many things have to enter into us before the word of God which makes us perfect, and as many things have to come after Him, all, however, hymning and glorifying Him and placing under Him their ornaments and vestures, so that the beasts He rides on may not touch the ground, when He who descended out of heaven is seated on them. But that His bearers, the old and the new words of Scripture, may be raised yet higher above the ground, branches have to be cut down from the trees that they may tread on reasonable expositions. But the multitudes which go before and follow Him may also signify the angelic ministrations, some of which prepare the way for Him in our souls, and help in their adorning, while some come after His presence in us, of which we have often spoken, so that we need not now adduce testimonies about it. And perhaps it is not without reason that I have likened to an ass the surrounding voices which conduct the Word Himself to the soul; for it is a beast of burden, and many are the burdens, heavy the loads, which are brought into view from the text, especially of the Old Testament, as he can clearly see who observes what is done in this connection on the part of the Jews. But the foal is not a beast of burden in the same way as the ass. For though every lead of the latter be heavy to those who have not in themselves the upbearing and most lightening power of the Spirit, yet the new word is less heavy than the old. I know some who interpret the tied-up ass as being believers from the circumcision, who are freed from many bonds by those who are truly and spiritually instructed in the word; and the foal they take to be those from the Gentiles, who before they receive the word of Jesus are free from any control and subject to no yoke in their unbridled and pleasure-loving existence. The writers I am speaking of do not say who those are that go

before and who those follow after; but there would be no absurdity in saying that those who went before were like Moses and the prophets, and those who followed after the holy Apostles. To what Jerusalem all these go in it is now our business to enquire, and what is the house which has many sellers and buyers to be driven out by the Son of God. And perhaps the Jerusalem above to which the Lord is to ascend driving like a charioteer those of the circumcision and the believers of the Gentiles, while prophets and Apostles go before Him and follow after Him (or is it the angels who minister to Him, for they too may be meant by those who go before and those who follow), perhaps it is that city which before He ascended to it contained the so-called “spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places,” or the Canaanites and Hittites and Amorites and the other enemies of the people of God, and in a word, the foreigners. For in that region, too, it was possible for the prophecy to be fulfilled which says, “Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire, your land, strangers devour it in your presence.” For these are they who defile and turn into a den of robbers, that is, of themselves the heavenly house of the Father, the holy Jerusalem, the house of prayer; having spurious money, and giving pence and small change, cheap worthless coinage, to all who come to them. These are they who, contending with the souls, take from them what is most precious, robbing them of their better part to return to them what is worth nothing. But the disciples go and find the ass tied and loose it, for it cannot have Jesus on account of the covering that is laid upon it by the law. And the colt is found with it, both having been lost till Jesus came; I mean, namely, those of the circumcision and those of the Gentiles who afterwards believed. But how these are sent back again after Jesus has ascended to Jerusalem seated upon them, it is somewhat dangerous to say; for there is something mystical about it, in connection with the change of saints into angels. After that change they will be sent back, in the age succeeding this one, like the ministering spirits, who are sent to do service for the sake of them who will thereby inherit salvation. But if the ass and the foal are the old and the new Scriptures, on which the Word of God rides, it is easy to see how, after the Word has appeared in them, they are sent back and do not wait after the Word has entered Jerusalem among those who have cast out all the thoughts of selling and buying. I consider, too, that it is not without significance that the place where the ass was found tied, and the foal, was a village, and a village without a name. For in

comparison with the great world in heaven, the whole earth is a village where the ass is found tied and the colt, and it is simply called “the village” without any other designation being added to it. From Beth-phage Matthew says the disciples are sent out who are to fetch the ass and the colt; and Bethphage is a priestly place, the name of which means “House of Jaw-bones.” So much we have said, as our power allowed, on the text of Matthew, reserving for a further opportunity, when we may be permitted to take up the Gospel of Matthew by itself, a more complete and accurate discussion of his statements. Mark and Luke say that the two disciples, acting on their Master’s instructions, found a foal tied, on which no one had ever sat, and that they loosed it and brought it to the Lord. Mark adds that they found the foal tied at the door, outside on the road. But who is outside? Those of the Gentiles who were strangers from the covenants, and aliens to the promise of God; they are on the road, not resting under a roof or a house, bound by their own sins, and to be loosed by the twofold knowledge spoken of above, of the friends of Jesus. And the bonds with which the foal was tied, and the sins committed against the wholesome law and reproved by it, — for it is the gate of life, — in respect of it, I say, they were not inside but outside the door, for perhaps inside the door there cannot be any such bond of wickedness. But there were some persons standing beside the tied-up foal, as Mark says; those, I suppose, who had tied it; as Luke records, it was the masters of the foal who said to the disciples, Why loose ye the foal? For those lords who subjected and bound the sinner are illegal masters and cannot look the true master in the face when he frees the foal from its bonds. Thus when the disciples say, “The Lord hath need of him,” these wicked masters have nothing to say in reply. The disciples then bring the foal to Jesus naked, and put their own dress on it, so that the Lord may sit on the disciples’ garments which are on it, at His ease. What is said further will not, in the light of Matthew’s statements, present any difficulty; how “They come to Jerusalem, and entering into the temple He began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple,” or how “When He drew nigh and beheld the city He wept over it; and entering into the temple He began to cast out them that sold.” For in some of those who have the temple in themselves He casts out all that sell and buy in the temple; but in others who do not quite obey the word of God, He only makes a beginning of casting out the sellers and buyers. There is a third class also besides these, in which He began to cast

out the sellers only, and not also the buyers. With John, on the contrary, they are all cast out by the scourge woven of small cords, along with the sheep and the oxen. It should be carefully considered whether it is possible that the changes of the things described and the discrepancies found in them can be satisfactorily solved by the anagogic method. Each of the Evangelists ascribes to the Word different modes of action, which produce in souls of different tempers not the same effects but yet similar ones. The discrepancy we noticed in respect of Jesus' journeys to Jerusalem, which the Gospel now in hand reports quite differently from the other three, as we have expounded their words, cannot be made good in any other way. John gives statements which are similar to those of the other three but not the same; instead of branches cut from the trees or stubble brought from the fields and strewed on the road he says they took branches of palm trees. He says that much people had come to the feast, and that these went out to meet Him, crying, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," and "Blessed is the King of Israel." He also says that it was Jesus Himself who found the young ass on which Christ sat, and the phrase, young ass, doubtless conveys some additional meaning, as the small animal afforded a benefit not of men, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ. John moreover does not, any more than the others, reproduce the prophetic words exactly; instead of them he gives us "Fear not, O daughter of Zion; behold thy King cometh sitting" (instead of "mounted") "on the foal of all ass" (for "on an ass and a young foal"). The words "Fear not, daughter of Zion," are not in the prophet at all. But as the prophetic utterance has been applied by all in this way, let us see if there was not a necessity that the daughter of Zion should rejoice greatly and that the greater than she, the daughter of Jerusalem, should not only rejoice greatly but should also proclaim it when her king was coming to her, just and bringing salvation, and meek, having mounted an ass and a young colt. Whoever, then, receives Him will no longer be afraid of those who are armed with the specious discourses of the heterodox, those chariots of Ephraim said to be destroyed by the Lord, nor the horse, the vain thing for safety, that is the mad desire which has accustomed itself to the things of sense and which is injurious to many of those who desire to dwell in Jerusalem and to attend to the sound word. It is also fitting to rejoice at the destruction by Him who rides on the ass and the young foal of every hostile dart, since the fiery darts of the enemy are no longer to prevail over

him who has received Jesus to his own temple. And there will also be a multitude from the Gentiles with peace at the Savior's coming to Jerusalem, when He rules over the waters that He may bruise the head of the dragon on the water, and we shall tread upon the waves of the sea and to the mouths of all the rivers on the earth. Mark, however, writing about the foal, reports the Lord to have said, "On which never man sat;" and he seems to me to hint at the circumstance that those who afterwards believed had never submitted to the Word before Jesus' coming to them. For of men, perhaps, no one had ever sate on the foal, but of hearts or of powers alien to the Word some had sate on it, since in the prophet Isaiah the wealth of opposing powers is said to be born on asses and camels. "In the distress and the affliction," he writes, "the lion and the lion's whelp, whence also the offspring of flying asps, who carried their riches on asses and camels." The question occurs again, for those who have no mind but for the bare words, if according to their view the words, "on which never man sat," are not quite meaningless. For who but a man ever sits on a foal? So much of our views.

19

VARIOUS VIEWS OF HERACLEON ON PURGING OF THE TEMPLE

Let us see what Heracleon makes of this. He says that the ascent to Jerusalem signifies the Lord's going up from material things to the spiritual place, which is a likeness of Jerusalem. And he considers that the words are, "He found in the temple," and not "in the sanctuary," because the Lord is not to be understood as instrumental in that call only, which takes place where the spirit is not. He considers the temple to be the Holy of Holies, into which none but the High-Priest enters, and there I believe he says that the spiritual go; while the court of the temple, where the levites also enter, is a symbol of these psychical ones who are saved,but outside the Pleroma. Then those who are found in the temple selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money-changers sitting, he took to represent those who attribute nothing to grace, but regard the entrance of strangers to the temple as a matter of merchandise and gain, and who minister the

sacrifices for the worship of God, with a view to their own gain and love of money. And the scourge which Jesus made of small cords and did not receive from another, he expounds in a way of his own, saying that the scourge is an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit, driving out by His breath those who are bad. And he declares that the scourge and the linen and the napkin and other things of such a kind are symbolic of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit. Then he assumes what is not written, as that the scourge was tied to a piece of wood, and this wood he takes to be a type of the cross; on this wood the gamblers, merchants, and all evil was nailed up and done away. In searching into the act of Jesus, and discussing the composition of the scourge out of two substances, he romances in an extraordinary way; He did not make it, he says, of dead leather. He wished to make the Church no longer a den of robbers, but the house of His Father. We must here say what is most necessary on the divinity, as referred to in Heracleon's text. If Jesus calls the temple at Jerusalem the house of His Father. and that temple was made in honor of Him who made heaven and earth, why are we not at once told that He is the Son of no one else than the Maker of heaven and earth, that He is the Son of God? To this house of the Father of Jesus, as being the house of prayer, the Apostles of Christ also. as we find in their "Acts," are told by the angel to go and to stand there and preach all the words of this life. But they came to the house of prayer, through the Beautiful Gate, to pray there, a thing they would not have done had they not known Him to be the same with the God worshipped by those who had dedicated that temple. Hence, too, they say, those who obeyed God rather than men, Peter and the Apostles, "The God of our Fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging Him on a tree;" for they know that by no other God was Jesus raised from the dead but the God of the fathers, whom Jesus also extols as the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who are not dead but living. How, too, could the disciples, if the house was not that of the same God with the God of Christ, have remembered the saying in the sixty-ninth Psalm, "The zeal of thy house shall devour Me;" for thus it is found in the prophet, and not "hath devoured Me." Now Christ is zealous principally for that house of God which is in each of us; He does not wish that it should be a house of merchandise, nor that the house of prayer should be a den of robbers; for He is the Son of a jealous God. We ought to give a liberal intepretation to such utterances of Scripture; they speak of human

things, but in the way of metaphor, to show that God desires that nothing foreign should be mixed up with His will in the soul of all men, indeed, but principally of those who are minded to accept the message of our most divine faith. But we must remember that the sixty-ninth Psalm, which contains the words, “The zeal of thy house shall devour me,” and a little further on, “They gave Me gall for My drink and for My thirst they gave Me vinegar,” both texts being recorded in the Gospels, that that Psalm is spoken in the person of the Christ, and nowhere shows any change of person. It shows a great want of observation on Heracleon’s part that he considers the words, “The zeal of thy house shall devour Me,” to be spoken in the person of those powers which were cast out and destroyed by the Savior; he fails to see the connection of the prophecy in the Psalm. For if these words are understood as spoken by the expelled and destroyed powers, it follows that he must take the words, “They gave Me vinegar to drink,” which are a part of the same psalm, to be also spoken by those powers. What misled him was probably that he could not understand how the “shall devour Me” could be spoken by Christ, since He did not appreciate the way in which anthropopathic statements are applied to God and to Christ.

20

THE TEMPLE WHICH CHRIST SAYS HE WILL RAISE UP IS THE CHURCH. HOW THE DRY BONES WILL BE MADE TO LIVE AGAIN

“The Jews then answered and said unto Him, What sign showest Thou unto us, seeing that Thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.” Those of the body, and those who incline to material things, seem to me to be meant by the Jews, who, after Jesus has driven out those who make God’s house a house of merchandise, are angry at Him for treating these matters in such a way, and demand a sign, a sign which will show that the Word, whom they do not receive, has a right to do such things. The Savior joins on to His statement about the temple a statement which is really one with the former, about His own body, and to the question, What sign doest Thou,

seeing that Thou doest such things? answers, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.” He could have exhibited a thousand other signs, but to the question, “Seeing that Thou doest such things,” He could not answer anything else; He fittingly gave the answer about the sign connected with the temple, and not about signs unconnected with the temple. Now, both of these two things, the temple and the body of Jesus, appear to me, in one interpretation at least, to be types of the Church, and to signify that it is built of living stones, a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, built on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; and it is, therefore, called a temple. Now, from the text, “Ye are the body of Christ, and members each in his part,” we see that even though the harmonious fitting of the stones of the temple appear to be dissolved and scattered, as it is written in the twenty-second Psalm that all the bones of Christ are, by the plots made against it in persecutions and afflictions, on the part of those who war against the unity of the temple in persecutions, yet the temple will be raised again, and the body will rise again on the third day after the day of evil which threatens it, and the day of consummation which follows. For the third day will rise on the new heaven and the new earth, when these bones, the whole house of Israel, will rise in the great Lord’s day, death having been overcome. And thus the resurrection of the Savior from the passion of the cross contains the mystery of the resurrection of the whole body of Christ. But as that material body of Jesus was sacrificed for Christ, and was buried, and was afterwards raised, so the whole body of Christ’s saints is crucified along with Him, and now lives no longer; for each of them, like Paul, glories in nothing but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which He is crucified to the world, and the world to Him. Not only, therefore, is it crucified with Christ, and crucified to the world; it is also buried with Christ, for we were buried with Christ, Paul says. And then he says, as if enjoying some earnest of the resurrection, “We rose with Him,” because He walks in a certain newness of life, though not yet risen in that blessed and perfect resurrection which is hoped for. Either, then, he is now crucified, and afterwards is buried, or he is now buried and taken down from the cross, and, being now buried, is to rise at some future time. But to most of us the mystery of the resurrection is a great one, and difficult of contemplation; it is spoken of in many other passages of Scripture, and is specially announced in the following passage

of Ezekiel: “And the hand of the Lord was upon me, and He led me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of human bones. And He led me round about them in a circle, and behold there were very many on the face of the plain, and behold they were very dry. And He said to me, Son of man, shall these bones live? And I said, Lord, Lord, Thou knowest. And He said to me, Prophesy to these bones, and thou shall say to them, Hear the word of the Lord, ye dry bones;” and a little further on, “And the Lord spake to me, saying, Son of man, these bones are the house of Israel. And they say, Our bones are become dry, our hope is lost, we have breathed our last.” For what bones are these which are addressed, “Hear ye the word of the Lord,” as if they heard the word of the Lord? They belong to the house of Israel, or to the body of Christ, of which the Lord says, “All My bones are scattered,” although the bones of His body were not scattered, and not even one of them was broken. But when the resurrection itself takes place of the true and more perfect body of Christ, then those who are now the members of Christ, for they will then be dry bones, will be brought together, bone to bone, and fitting to fitting (for none of those who are destitute of fitting (armonia) will come to the perfect man), to the measure of the stature of the fulness of the body of Christ. And then the many members will be the one body, all of them, though many, becoming members of one body. But it belongs to God alone to make the distinction of foot and hand and eye and hearing and smelling, which in one sense fill up the head, but in another the feet and the rest of the members, and the weaker and humbler ones, the more and the less honorable. God will temper the body together, and then, rather than now, He will give to that which lacks the more abundant honor, that there may be, by no means, any schism in the body, but that the members may have the same care for one another, and, if any member be well off, all the members may share in its good things, or if any member be glorified, all the members may rejoice with it.

21

WHAT THE SON WAS RAISED UP BY THE FATHER. THE CHARGE BROUGHT AGAINST JESUS AT HIS TRIAL WAS BASED ON THE INCIDENT NOW BEFORE US

What I have said is not allen to the passage now engaging us, dealing as it does with the temple and those cast out from it, of which the Savior says, “The zeal of thy house shall devour Me;” and with the Jews who asked that a sign should be showed them, and the Savior’s answer to them, in which He combines the discourse on the temple with that on His own body, and says, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.” For from this temple, which is the body of Christ, everything that is irrational and savors of merchandise must be driven away, that it may no longer be a house of merchandise. And this temple must be destroyed by those who plot against the Word of God, and after its destruction be raised again on that third day which we discussed above; when the disciples also will remember what He, the Word, said before the temple of God was destroyed, and will believe, not only their knowledge but their faith also being then made perfect, and that by the word which Jesus spoke. And every one who is of this nature, Jesus purifying him, puts away things that are irrational and things that savor of selling, to be destroyed on account of the zeal of the Logos that is in Him. But they are destroyed to be raised again by Jesus, not on the third day, if we attend to the exact words before us, but “in three days.” For the rising again of the temple takes place on the first day after it has been destroyed and on the second day, and its resurrection is accomplished in all the three days. Hence a resurrection both has been and is to be, if indeed we were buried with Christ, and rose with Him. And since the word, “We rose with Him,” does not cover the whole of the resurrection, “in Christ shall all be made alive, but every one in his own order, Christ the first fruits, then they that are Christ’s at His coming, and then the end.” It belongs to the resurrection that one should be on the first day in the paradise of God, and it belongs to the resurrection when Jesus appears and says, “Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended to My Father,” but the perfection of the resurrection was when He came to the Father. Now there are some who fall into confusion on this head of the Father and the Son, and we must devote a few words to

them. They quote the text, “Yea, and we are found false witnesses for God, because we testified against God that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up,” and other similar texts which show the raiser-up to be another person than He who was raised up; and the text, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up,” as if it resulted from these that the Son did not differ in number from the Father, but that both were one, not only in point of substance but in point of subject, and that the Father and the Son were said to be different in some of their aspects but not in their hypostases. Against such views we must in the first place adduce the leading texts which prove the Son to be another than the Father, and that the Son must of necessity be the son of a Father, and the Father, the father of a Son. Then we may very properly refer to Christ’s declaration that He cannot do anything but what He sees the Father doing and saying, because whatever the Father does that the Son also does in like manner, and that He had raised the dead, i.e., the body, the Father granting Him this, who must be said to have been the principal agent in raising up Christ from the dead. But Heracleon says, “In three days,” instead of “On the third day,” not having examined the point (and yet having noted the words “in three”), that the resurrection is brought about in three days. But he also calls the third the spiritual day, in which they consider the resurrection of the Church to be indicated. It follows from this that the first day is to be called the “earthly” day, and the second the psychical, the resurrection of the Church not having taken place on them. Now the statements of the false witnesses, recorded in the Gospel according to Matthew and Mark towards the end of the Gospel, and the accusation they brought against our Lord Jesus Christ, appear to have reference to this utterance of His, “Destroy this temple, and I will build it up in three days.” For He was speaking of the temple of His body, but they supposed His words to refer to the temple of stone, and so they said when accusing Him, “This man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it up in three days,” or, as Mark has it, “We heard Him say, that I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build up another temple not made with hands.” Here the high-priest stood up and said to Him, “Answerest Thou nothing? What do these witness against Thee? But Jesus held His peace.” Or, as Mark says, “And the high-priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus saying, Answerest Thou nothing? What do these witness against Thee? But He held His peace and answered nothing.”

These words must, I think, necessarily have reference to the text now before us.

22

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON DID NOT TAKE FORTY-SIX YEARS TO BUILD. WITH REGARD TO THAT OF EZRA WE CANNOT TELL HOW LONG IT TOOK. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NUMBER FORTY-SIX

The Jews therefore said, “Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?” How the Jews said that the temple had been forty-six years building, we cannot tell, if we adhere to the history. For it is written in the third Book of Kings, that they prepared the stones and the wood three years, and in the fourth year, in the second month, when Solomon was king over Israel, the king commanded, and they brought great precious stones for the foundation of the house, and unhewn stones. And the sons of Solomon and the sons of Hiram hewed the stones and laid them in the fourth year, and they founded the house of the Lord in the month Nisan and the second month: in the tenth year in the month Baal, which was the eighth month, the house was finished according to the whole count and the whole plan of it. Thus comparing the time of its completion with the period of building, the building of it occupies less than eleven years. How, then, do the Jews come to say that the temple was forty-six years in building? One might, indeed, do violence to the words and make out the period of forty-six years at all costs, by counting from the time when David, after planning about the building of the temple, said to Nathan the prophet, “Behold I dwell in a house of cedar, and the ark of God dwelleth in the midst of the tent,” for though it is true that he was prevented, as being a man of blood, from carrying out the building, he seems to have busied himself in collecting materials for it. In the first Book of Chronicles, certainly, David the king says to all the congregation, “Solomon my son, whom the Lord hath chosen, is young and tender, and the work is great, because he is not to build for man but for the Lord God. According to my whole power I have prepared for the house of my God, gold, silver, brass, and iron, wood, stones of Soom, and stones for filling

up, and precious stones of many kinds, and all sorts of precious wood, and a large quantity of Pariah marble. And besides this, for the pleasure I have taken in the house of my God. the gold and the silver I possess, lo, I have given it for the house of my Lord, to the full; from such supplies I prepared for the house of the saints, three thousand talents of gold from Suphir, and seven thousand talents of stamped silver. that the houses of God may be overlaid with them by the hands of artifiers." For David reigned seven years in Hebron and thirty-three years in Jerusalem; so that if it could be shown that the beginning of the preparations for the temple and of David's collecting the necessary material, was in the fifth year of his reign, then, with some forcing, the statement about forty-six years might stand. But some one else will say that the temple spoken of was not that built by Solomon, for that it was destroyed at the period of the captivity, but the temple built at the time of Ezra, with regard to which the forty-six years can be shown to be quite accurate. But in this Maccabean period things were very unsettled with regard to the people and the temple, and I do not know if the temple was really built in that number of years. Heracleon pays no attention to the history, but says that in that he was forty-six years preparing the temple, Solomon was an image of the Savior. The number six he connects with matter, that is, the image, and the number forty, which he says is the tetrad, not admitting of combination, he connects with the inspiration and the seed in the inspiration. Consider if the forty cannot be taken as due to the four elements of the world arranged in the building of the temple at the points at issue, and the six to the fact that man was created on the sixth day.

23

THE TEMPLE SPOKEN OF BY CHRIST IS THE CHURCH. APPLICATION TO THE CHURCH OF THE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, AND THE NUMBERS STATED IN THAT NARRATIVE,

"But He spake of the temple of His body. When, therefore, He was raised from the dead, His disciples remembered that He said this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said." This refers to

the statement that the body of the Son is His temple. It may be asked whether this is to be taken in its plain sense, or whether we should try to connect each statement that is recorded about the temple, with the view we take about the body of Jesus, whether the body which He received from the Virgin, or that body of Christ which the Church is said to be, as we are said by the Apostle to be all members of His body. One may, on the one hand, suppose it to be hopeless to get everything that is said about the temple properly connected with the body, in whatever sense the body be taken, and one may have recourse to a simpler explanation, and say that the body (in either of these senses) is called the temple, because as the temple had the glory of God dwelling ill it, so He who was the image and glory of God, the first-born of every creature, could rightly be called, in respect of His body or the Church, the temple containing the image. We, for our part, see it to be a hard task to expound every particular of what is said about the temple in the third Book of Kings, and far beyond our powers of language, and we defer it in the meantime, as a thing beyond the scale of the present work. We also have a strong conviction that in such matters, which transcend human nature, it must be the work of divine wisdom to make plain the in cabin g of inspired Scripture, of that wisdom which is hidden in a mystery, which none of the rulers of this world knew. We are well aware, too, that we need the assistance of that excellent Spirit of wisdom, in order to understand such matters, as they should be understood by ministers of sacred things; and in this connection we will attempt to describe, as shortly as we may, our view of what belongs to this subject. The body is the Church, and we learn from Peter that it is a house of God, built of living stones, a spiritual house for a holy priesthood. Thus the son of David, who builds this house, is a type of Christ. He builds it when his wars are at an end, and a period of profound peace has arrived; he builds the temple for the glory of God in the Jerusalem on earth, so that worship may no longer be celebrated in a moveable erection like the tabernacle. Let us seek to find in the Church the truth of each statement made about the temple. If all Christ’s enemies are made the footstool of His feet, and Death, the last enemy, is destroyed, then there will be the most perfect peace. Christ will be Solomon, which means “Peaceful,” and the prophecy will find its fulfilment in Him, which says, “With those who hated peace I was peaceful.” And then each of the living stones will be, according to the work of his life here, a stone of that

temple, one, at the foundation, an apostle or a prophet, bearing those placed upon him, and another, after those in the foundation, and supported by the Apostles, will himself, with the Apostles, help to bear those in more need. One will be a stone of the inmost parts, where the ark is, and the cherubim, slid the mercy-seat; another will be on the outer wall, and another even outside the outer wall of the levites and priests, a stone of the altar of whole burnt offerings. And the management and service of these things will be entrusted to holy powers, angels of God, being, respectively, lordships, thrones, dominions, or powers; and there will be others subject to these, typified by three thousand six hundred chief officers, who were appointed over the works of Solomon, and the seventy thousand of those who bore burdens, and the eighty thousand stone-cutters in the mountain, who wrought in the work, and prepared the stones and the wood. It is to be remarked that those reported as bearing burdens are related to the Hebdomad. The quarrymen and stone-cutters, who make the stones fitted for the temple, have some kinship to the ogdoad. And the officers, who are six hundred in number, are connected with the perfect number six multiplied into itself. The preparation of the stones, as they are taken out and fitted for the building, extends over three years; this appears to me to point solely to the time of the eternal interval which is akin to the triad. This will come to pass when peace is consummated after the number of years of the transaction of the matters connected with the exodus from Egypt, namely, three hundred and forty, and of what took place in Egypt four hundred and thirty years after the covenant made by God with Abraham. Thus, from Abraham to the beginning of the building of the temple, there are two sabbatic numbers, the 700 and the 70; and at that time, too, our King Christ will command the seventy thousand burden-bearers not to take any chance stones for the foundation of the temple, but great stones, precious, unhewn, that they may be hewn, not by any chance workmen, but by the sons of Solomon; for so we find it written in the third Book of Kings. Then, too, on account of the profound peace, Hiram, king of Tyre, cooperates in the building of the temple, and gives his own sons to the sons of Solomon, to hew, in company with them, the great and precious stones for the holy place, which, in the fourth year, are placed in the foundation of the house of the Lord. But in an ogdoad of years the house is finished in the eighth month of the eighth year after its foundation.

24

THE ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE CONTAINS SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND IS TO BE INTERPRETED SPIRITUALLY

For the sake of those, however, who consider that nothing further than the narrative itself is meant to be indicated in these words, it may not be unfitting to introduce at this point some considerations which they can scarcely withstand, to show that the words ought to be regarded as those of the Spirit, and that the mind of the Spirit should be sought for in them. Did the sons of the kings really spend their time in hewing the great and precious stones, and practice a craft so little in keeping with royal birth And the number of the burden-bearers and of the stone-cutters and of the officers, the duration, too, of the period of preparing the stones and marking them, is all this recorded as it really was? The holy house, too, was got ready in peace and was to be built for God without hammer or axe or any iron tool, that there might be no disturbance in the house of God. And again I would ask those who are in bondage to the letter how it is possible that there should be eighty thousand stone-cutters and that the house of God should be built out of hard white stones without the noise of hammer or axe or any iron tool being heard in His house while the building was going on? Is it not living stones that are hewn without any noise or tumult somewhere outside the temple, so that they are brought ready prepared to the place which awaits them in the building? And there is some sort of an ascent about the temple of God, not with angles, but with bends of straight lines. For it is written, "And there was a winding staircase to the middle, and from the middle to the third floor;" for the staircase in the house of God had to be spiral, thus imitating in its ascent the circle, which is the most perfect figure. But that this house might be secure five ties are built in it. as fair as possible, a cubit high, that on looking up one might see it to be suggested how we rise from sensible things to the so-called divine perceptions, and so be brought to perceive those things which are seen only by the mind. But the place of the happier stones appears to be that called Dabir, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord was, and, as I may say, the handwriting of God, the tables written with His own finger. And the whole house is overlaid with gold; "the

whole house," we read, "he overlaid with gold until all the house was finished." But there were two cherubim in Dabir, a word which the translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek failed to render satisfactorily. Some, failing to do justice to the language, render it the temple; but it is more sacred than the temple. Now everything about the house was made golden, for a sign that the mind which is quite made perfect estimates accurately the things perceived by the intellect. But it is not given to all to approach and know them; and hence the veil of the court is erected, since to most of the priests add levites the things in the inmost part of the temple are not revealed.

25

FURTHER SPIRITUALIZING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE-BUILDING

It is worth while to enquire how, on the one hand, Solomon the king is said to have built the temple, and on the other the master-builder whom Solomon sent and fetched, "Hiram of Tyre, the son of a woman who was a widow; and he was of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass, and filled with wisdom and understanding, to work all works in brass; and he was brought in to King Solomon and wrought all his works." Here I ask whether Solomon can be taken for the first-born of all creation, and Hiram for the alan whom he assumed, from the constraint of men — for the word Tyrians means" constrainers " — the man who derived his birth from nature, and being filled with all manner of art and wisdom and understanding, was brought in to cooperate with the first-born of all creation, add to build the temple. In this temple there are also windows, placed obliquely and out of sight, so that the illumination of the divine light may enter for salvation, and — why should I go into particulars? — that the body of Christ, the Church, may be found having the plan of the spiritual house and temple of God. As I said before, we require that wisdom which is hidden in a mystery, and which he alone can apprehend who is able to say, "But we have the mind of Christ, " — we require that wisdom to interpret spiritually each detail of what is said in accordance with the will of Him who caused it to be written. To enter into

these details is not in accordance with our present subject. What has been said may suffice to let us understand how “He spake about the temple of His body.”

26

THE PROMISES ADDRESSED TO JERUSALEM IN THE PROPHETS REFER TO THE CHURCH, AND ARE STILL TO BE FULFILLED

After all this it is proper to ask whether what is narrated as having taken place about the temple has ever taken place or ever will take place about the spiritual house. The argument may seem to pinch in whichever way we take it. If we say that it is possible that something like what is told about the temple may take place with regard to the spiritual house, or has already taken place in it, then those who hear us will, with difficulty, be brought to admit that a change can take place in such good things as these, firstly, because they do not wish it, and secondly, because of the incongruity of thinking that such things admit of change. If, on the other hand, We seek to maintain the unchangeableness of the good things once given to the saints, then we cannot apply to them what we find in the history, and we shall seem to be doing what those of the heresies do, who fail to maintain the unity of the narrative of Scripture from beginning to end. If we are not to take the view proper to old wives or Jews, of the promises recorded in the prophets, and especially in Isaiah, if, that is to say, we are to look for their fulfilment in connection with the Jerusalem on earth, then, as certain remarkable things connected with the building of the temple and the restoration of the people from the captivity are spoken of as happening after the captivity and the destruction of the temple, we must say that we are now the temple and the people which was carried captive, but is to come up again to Judaea and Jerusalem, and to be built with the precious stones of Jerusalem. But I cannot tell if it be possible that, at the revolution of long periods of time, things of the same nature should take place again, but in a worse way. The prophecies of Isaiah which we mentioned are the following: “Behold I prepare for thy stone carbuncle and for thy foundation sapphire; and I will make thy battlements

jasper, and thy gates stones of crystal, and thy outer wall choice stones; and all thy sons shall be taught of the Lord, and in great peace shall thy children be, and in righteousness shall thou be built." And a little further on, to the same Jerusalem: "And the glory of Lebanon shall come to thee with cypress, and pine, and cedar, along with those who will glorify My holy place. And the sons of them that humbled thee and insulted thee shall come to thee in fear; and thou shalt be called the city of the Lord, Sion of holy Israel, because thou weft desolate and hated, and there was none to help thee. And I will make thee an eternal delight, a joy of generations of generations. And thou shall suck the milk of the Gentiles and shall eat the riches of kings, and thou shall know that I am the Lord that saveth thee and the God of Israel that chooseth thee. And instead of brass I will bring thee gold, and instead of iron I will bring thee silver, and for wood I will bring thee brass, and for stones iron. And I will establish thy rulers in peace and thy overseers in righteousness. And wickedness shall no more be heard in thy land, nor affliction and distress in thy borders, but thy walls shall be called salvation and thy gates sculpture. And the sun shall no longer be to thee for light by day, nor shall the rising of the moon give light to thee by night, but Christ shall be to thee an everlasting light and thy God thy glory. For thy sun shall no more go down, and thy moon shall not fail, for thy Lord shall be to thee an everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ful-filled." These prophecies clearly refer to the age still to come, and they are addressed to the children of Israel in their captivity, to whom He was sent and came, who said, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Such things, though they are captives, they are to receive in their Own land; and proselytes also are to come to them at that time through Christ, and are to fly to them, according to the saying, "Behold, proselytes shall come to thee through Me, and shall flee to thee for refuge." And if all this is to take place with the captives, then it is plain that they must be about their temple, and that they must go up there again to be built up, having become the most precious of stones. For we find with John in his Apocalyse, the promise made to him that overcomes, that he will be a pillar in the temple of God, and will go no more out. All this I have said with a view to our obtaining a cursory view at least of the matters pertaining to the temple, and the house of God, and the Church and Jerusalem, which we cannot now take up systematically. Those, however, who, in their reading of the prophets, do not shrink from the

labor of seeking after their spiritual meaning, must enquire into these matters with the greatest particularity, and must take account of every possibility. So her of “the temple of His body.”

27

OF THE BELIEF THE DISCIPLES AFTERWARDS ATTAINED IN THE WORDS OF JESUS

“When He was raised from the dead. His disciples remembered that He spake this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said.” This tells us that after Jesus’ resurrection from the dead His disciples saw that what He had said about the temple had a higher application to His passion and His resurrection; they remembered that the words, “In three days I will raise it up,” pointed to the resurrection; “And they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said.” We are not told that they believed the Scripture or the word which Jesus said, before. For faith in its full sense is the act of him who accepts with his whole soul what is professed at baptism. As for the higher sense, as we have already spoken of the resurrection from the dead of the whole body of the Lord, we have now to note that the disciples were put in mind by the fulfilment of the Scripture which when they were in life they had not fully understood; its meaning was now brought under their eyes and made quite clear to them, and they knew of what heavenly things it was the pattern and shadow. Then they believed the Scripture who formerly did not believe it, and believed the word of Jesus which, as the speaker means to convey, they had not believed before the resurrection. For how can any one be said in the full sense to believe the Scripture when he does not see in it the mind of the Holy Spirit, which God would have us to believe rather than the literal meaning? From this point of view we must say that none of those who walk according to the flesh believe the spiritual things of the law, of the very beginnings of which they have no conception. But, they say, those are more blessed who have not seen and yet believe, than those who have seen and have believed, and for this they quote the saying to Thomas at the end of the Gospel of John, “Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed.” But it is not said here that those who have

not seen and yet have believed are more blessed than those who have seen and believed. According to their view those after the Apostles are more blessed than the Apostles; than which nothing can be more foolish. He who is to be blessed must see in his mind the things which he believes, and must be able with the Apostles to hear the words spoken to him, “Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear,” and “Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which ye see, and have not seen them, and to hear the things which ye hear, and have not heard them.” Yet he may be content who only receives the inferior beatitude, which says: “Blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed.” But how much more blessed are those eyes which Jesus calls blessed for the things which they have seen, than those which have not attained to such a vision; Simeon is content to take into his arms the salvation of God, and after seeing it, he says, “Now, O Lord, lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.” We must strive, therefore, as Solomon says, to open our eyes that we may be satisfied with bread; “Open thine eyes,” he says, “and be satisfied with bread.” What I have said on the text, “They believe the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said unto them,” may lead us to understand, after discussing the subject of faith, that the perfection of our faith will be given us at the great resurrection from the dead of the whole body of Jesus which is His Holy Church. For what is said about knowledge, “Now I know in part,” that, I think, may be said in the same way of every other good; and one of these others is faith. “Now I believe in part,” we may say, “but when that which is perfect is come, then the faith which is in part will be done away.” As with knowledge, so with faith, that which is through sight is far better, if I may say so, than that which is through a glass and in an enigma.

28

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BELIEVING IN THE NAME OF JESUS AND BELIEVING IN JESUS HIMSELF

“Now, when He was in Jerusalem at the passover, during the feast, many believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did. But He, Jesus, did

not trust Himself to them, because He knew all(men) and because He needed not that any should testify of man, for he Himself knew what was in man." One might ask how Jesus did not Himself believe in those of whom we are told that they believed. To this we must say it was not those who believed in Him that Jesus did not trust, but those who believed in His name; for believing in His name is It different thing from believing in Him. He who will not be judged because of his faith is exempted from the judgment, not for believing in His name, but for believing in Him; for the Lord says, "He that believeth in Me is not judged," not, "He who believes in My name is not judged;" the latter believes, and hence he is not worthy to be condemned already, but he is inferior to the other who believes in Him. Hence it is that Jesus does not trust Himself to him who believes in His name. We must, therefore, cleave to Him rather than to His name, test after we have done wonders in His name, we should hear these words addressed to us which He will speak to those who boast of His name alone. With the Apostle Paul let us seek joyfully to say, "I can do all things in Christ Jesus strengthening me." We have also to notice that in a former passage the Evangelist calls the passover that of the Jews, while here he does not say that Jesus was at the passover of the Jews, but at the passover at Jerusalem; and in the former case when the passover is called that of the Jews, it is not said to be a feast; but here Jesus is recorded to have been at the feast; when at Jerusalem He was at the passover during the feast, and many believed, even though only in His name. We ought to notice certainly that "many" are said to believe, not in Him, but in His name. Now, those who believe in Him are those who walk in the straight and narrow way, which leads to life, and which is found by few. It may well be, however, that many of those who believe in His name will sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, the Father's house, in which are many mansions. And it is to be noted that the many who believe in His name do not believe in the same way as Andrew does, and Peter, and Nathanael, and Philip. These believe the testimony of John when he says, "Behold the Lamb of God," or they believe in Christ as found by Andrew, or Jesus saying to Philip, "Follow Me," or Philip saying, "We have found Him of whom Moses and the prophets did write, Jesus the Son of Joseph from Nazareth." Those, on the other hand, of whom we now speak, "believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did." And as they believe the signs and not in Him but in His name,

Jesus “did not trust Himself to them, because He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man, because He knew what is in every man.”

29

ABOUT WHAT BEINGS JESUS NEEDED TESTIMONY

The words, “He needed not that any should testify of man,” may fitly be used to show that the Son of God is able of Himself to see the truth about each man and is in no need of such testimony as any other could supply. The words, however, “He had no need that any should testify of man,” are not equivalent to “He had no need of testimony about any being.” If we take the word “man” to include every being who is according to the image of God, or every reasonable creature, then He will have no need that any should testify to Him of any reasonable being whatever, since He Himself, by the power given Him by the Father, knows them all. But if the term “man” be restricted to mortal animated reasonable beings, then it might be said, on the one hand, that He had need of testimony respecting the beings above man, and while His knowledge was adequate with regard to man it did not extend to those other beings. On the other hand, however, it might be said that He who humbled Himself had no need that any should testify to Him concerning man, but that He had such need in respect of beings higher than men.

30

HOW JESUS KNEW THE POWERS, BETTER OR WORSE, WHICH RESIDE IN MAN

It may also be asked what signs those many saw Him do who believed on Him, for it is not recorded that He did any signs at Jerusalem, though some may have been done which are not recorded. One may, however, consider if what He did may be called signs, when He made a scourge of small cords, and cast them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen, and poured out the changers’ money, and overthrew the tables. As for those

who suppose that it was only about men that He had no need of witnesses, it has to be said that the Evangelist attributes to Him two things. that He knew all beings, and that He had no need that any one should testify of man. If He knew all beings, then He knew not only men but the beings above men, all beings who are without such bodies as ours; and He knew what was in man, since He was greater than those who reproved and judged by prophesying, and who brought to the light the secret things of the hearts of those whom the Spirit suggested to them to be thus dealt with. The words, “He knew what was in man,” could also be taken as referring to the powers, better or worse, which work in men. For if any one gives place to the devil, Satan enters into him; thus did Judas give place, and thus did the devil put it in his heart to betray Jesus, and “after the sop,” therefore,” the devil entered into him.” But if any one gives place to God, he becomes blessed; for blessed is the man whose help is from God, and the ascent is in his heart from God. Thou knowest what is in man, Thou who knowest all things, O Son of God. And now that our tenth book has come to be large enough we will here pause in our theme.

ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY

ON THE

GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

BY

JOHN PATRICK, D.D.

COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW

INTRODUCTION

According to Eusebius (H. E. vi. 36) the Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew were written about the same time as the Contra Celsum, when Origen was over sixty years of age, and may therefore be probably assigned to the period 246-248. This statement is confirmed by internal evidence. In the portion here translated, books x.-xiv., he passes by the verses Matthew 18:12, 13, and refers for the exposition of them to his Homilies on Luke (book xiii. 29). Elsewhere, he refers his readers for a fuller discussion on certain points to his Commentaries on John (book xvi. 20), and on Romans (book xvii. 32). Of the twenty-five books into which the work was divided, the first nine, with the exception of two fragments, are lost; books x.-xvii, covering the portion from Matt. xiii. 36 to xxii. 33, are extant in the Greek, and the greater part of the remaining books survives in a Latin version, which is co-extensive with the Greek from book xii. 9 to book xvii. 36, and contains further the exposition from Matt. xxii. 34 to xxvii. 66. The passages in Cramer's Galena do not seem to be taken from the Commentaries. Of the numerous quotations from Matthew only one (Matthew 21:35) can be definitely traced to this section of the writings of Origen; and as this differs greatly from our present text, and is moreover purely narrative, it is probably taken like the others either from the Scholia (cammaticum interpretations genus), or from the Homilies to which reference is made by Jerome (Prol. in Matthew 1:4). The majority of them may be ascribed to the Scholia.

In addition to the MSS. already referred to the old Latin version is often useful for determining the text, though it contains some interpolations and has many omissions. The omissions (cf. book xiii. 28, book xiv. 1, 3, book xiv. 19-22) are not due to any dogmatic bias, but have been made by the translator or some subsequent transcriber on the ground that the passages were uninteresting or unimportant. The version is otherwise for the most part literal, and has in some cases preserved the correct reading, though it often fails just when it would have been of most service. For an estimate of

the work and method of Origen as an exegete; and for a fuller statement on some of the points here touched upon, see Westcott's article on Origen in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography (vol. iv.).

FROM THE FIRST BOOK OF THE COMMENTARY ON MATTHEW

Concerning the four Gospels which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the Gospel according to Matthew, who was at one time a publican and afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first; and that he composed it in the Hebrew tongue and published it for the converts from Judaism. The second written was that according to Mark, who wrote it according to the instruction of Peter, who, in his General Epistle, acknowledged him as a son, saying, "The church that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son." And third, was that according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which he composed for the converts from the Gentiles. Last of all, that according to John.

FROM THE SECOND BOOK OF THE COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW

BOOK 2

THE UNITY AND HARMONY OF SCRIPTURE

"*Blessed are the peacemakers....*" To the man who is a peacemaker in either sense there is in the Divine oracles nothing crooked or perverse, for they are all plain to those who understand. And because to such an one there is nothing crooked or perverse, he sees therefore abundance of peace in all the Scriptures, even in those which seem to be at conflict, and in contradiction with one another. And likewise he becomes a third peacemaker as he demonstrates that that which appears to others to be a

conflict in the Scriptures is no conflict, and exhibits their concord and peace, whether of the Old Scriptures with the New, or of the Law with the Prophets, or of the Gospels with the Apostolic Scriptures, or of the Apostolic Scriptures with each other. For, also, according to the Preacher, all the Scriptures are “words of the wise like goads, and as nails firmly fixed which were given by agreement from one shepherd;” and there is nothing superfluous in them. Butlthe Word is the one Shepherd of things rational which may have an appearance of discord to those who have not ears to hear, but are truly at perfect concord. For as the different chords of the psalter or the lyre, each of which gives forth a certain sound of its own which seems unlike the sound of another chord, are thought by a man who is not musical and ignorant of the principle of musical harmony, to be inharmonious, because of the dissimilarity of the sounds, so those who are not skilled in hearing the harmony of God in the sacred Scriptures think that the Old is not in harmony with the New, or the Prophets with the Law, or the Gospels with one another, or the Apostle with the Gospel, or with himself, or with the other Apostles. But he who comes instructed in the music of God, being a man wise in word and deed, and, on this account, like another David — which is, by interpretation, skillful with the hand — will bring out the sound of the music of God, having learned from this at the right time to strike the chords, now the chords of the Law, now the Gospel chords in harmony with them, and again the Prophetic chords, and, when reason demands it, the Apostolic chords which are in harmony with the Prophetic, and likewise the Apostolic with those of the Gospels. For he knows that all the Scripture is the one perfect and harmonised instrument of God, which from different sounds gives forth one saving voice to those willing to learn, which stops and restrains every working of an evil spirit, just as the music of David laid to rest the evil spirit in Saul, which also was choking him. You see, then, that he is in the third place a peacemaker, who sees in accordance with the Scripture the peace of it all, and implants this peace in those who rightly seek and make nice distinctions in a genuine spirit.

BOOK 10

1

THE PARABLE OF THE TARES: THE HOUSE OF JESUS

"*Then He left the multitudes and went into His house, and His disciples came unto Him saying, Declare to us the parable of the tares of the field*" When Jesus then is with the multitudes, He is not in His house, for the multitudes are outside of the house, and it is an act which springs from His love of men to leave the house and to go away to those who are not able to come to Him. Now, having discoursed sufficiently to the multitudes in parables, He sends them away and goes to His own house, where His disciples, who did not abide with those whom He had sent away, come to Him. And as many as are more genuine hearers of Jesus first follow Him, then having inquired about His abode, are permitted to see it, and, having come, see and abide with Him, all for that day, and perhaps some of them even longer. And, in my opinion, such things are indicated in the Gospel according to John in these words, "On the morrow again John was standing and two of his disciples. And in order to explain the fact that of those who were permitted to go with Jesus and see His abode, the one who was more eminent becomes also an Apostle, these words are added: "One of the two that heard John speak and followed him was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother." And if then, unlike the multitudes whom He sends away, we wish to hear Jesus and go to the house and receive something better than the multitudes, let us become friends of Jesus, so that as His disciples we may come to Him when He goes into the house, and having come may inquire about the explanation of the parable, whether of the tares of the field, or of any other. And in order that it may be more accurately understood what is represented by the house of Jesus, let some one collect from the Gospels whatsoever things are spoken about the house of Jesus, and what things were spoken or done by Him in it; for all the passages collected together will convince any one who applies himself to this reading that the letters of the Gospel are not absolutely simple as

some suppose, but have become simple to the simple by a divine concession; but for those who have the will and the power to hear them more acutely there are concealed things wise and worthy of the Word of God.

2

EXPOSLTION OF THE PARABLE

"*After these things He answered and said to them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man.*" Though we have already, in previous sections, according to our ability discussed these matters, none the less shall we now say what is in harmony with them, even if there is reasonable ground for another explanation. And consider now, if in addition to what we have already recounted, you can otherwise take the good seed to be the children of the kingdom, because whatsoever good things are sown in the human soul, these are the offspring of the kingdom of God and have been sown by God the Word who was in the beginning with God, so that wholesome words about anything are children of the kingdom. But while men are asleep who do not act according to the command of Jesus, "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation," the devil on the watch sows what are called tares — that is, evil opinions — over and among what are called by some natural conceptions, even the good seeds which are from the Word. And according to this the whole world might be called a field, and not the Church of God only, for in the whole world the Son of man sowed the good seed, but the wicked one tares, — that is, evil words, — which, springing from wickedness, are children of the evil one. And at the end of things, which is called "the consummation of the age," there will of necessity be a harvest, in order that the angels of God who have been appointed for this work may gather up the bad opinions that have grown upon the soul, and overturning them may give them over to fire which is said to burn, that they may be consumed. And so the angels and servants of the Word will gather from all the kingdom of Christ all things that cause a stumbling-block to souls and reasonings that create iniquity, which they will scatter and cast into the burning furnace of fire. Then those who become conscious that they have received the seeds of the evil one in

themselves, because of their having been asleep, shall wail and, as it were, be angry against themselves; for this is the “gnashing of teeth.” Wherefore, also, in the Psalms it is said, “They gnashed upon me with their teeth.” Then above all “shall the righteous shine,” no longer differently as at the first, but all “as one sun in the kingdom of their Father.” Then, as if to indicate that there was indeed a hidden meaning, perhaps, in all that is concerned with the explanation of the parable, perhaps most of all in the saying, “Then shall the righteous shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father,” the Savior adds, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,” thereby teaching those who think that in the exposition, the parable has been set forth with such perfect clearness that it can be understood by the vulgar, that even the things connected with the interpretation of the parable stand in need of explanation.

3

THE SHINING OF THE RIGHTEOUS. ITS INTERPRETATION

But as we said above in reference to the words, “*Then shall the righteous shine as the sun*,” that the righteous will shine not differently as formerly, but as one sun, we will, of necessity, set forth what appears to us on the point. Daniel, knowing that the intelligent are the light of the world, and that the multitudes of the righteous differ in glory, seems to have said this, “And the intelligent shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and from among the multitudes of the righteous as the stars for ever and ever.” And in the passage, “There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory: so also is the resurrection of the dead,” the Apostle says the same thing as Daniel, taking this thought from his prophecy. Some one may inquire how some speak about the difference of light among the righteous, while the Savior on the contrary says, “They shall shine as one sun.” I think, then, that at the beginning of the blessedness enjoyed by those who are being saved (because those who are not such are not yet purified), the difference connected with the light of the saved takes place:but when, as we have indicated, he gathers from the whole kingdom of Christ all things that make men stumble, and the reasonings that work

iniquity are cast into the furnace of fire, and the worse elements utterly consumed, and, when this takes place, those who received the words which are the children of the evil one come to self-consciousness, then shall the righteous having become one light of the sun shine in the kingdom of their Father. For whom will they shine? For those below them who will enjoy their light, after the analogy of the sun which now shines for those upon the earth? For, of course, they will not shine for themselves. But perhaps the saying," Let your light shine before men," can be written "upon the table of the heart," according to what is said by Solomon, in a threefold way; so that even now the light of the disciples of Jesus shines before the rest of men, and after death before the resurrection, and after the resurrection "until all shall attain unto a full-grown man," and all become one sun. Then shall they shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

4

CONCERNING THE PARABLE OF THE TREASURE HIDDEN IN THE FIELD. THE PARABLE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE SIMILITUDE

"*Again the kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field, which a man found and hid.*" The former parables He spoke to the multitudes; but this and the two which follow it, which are not parables but similitudes in relation to the kingdom of heaven, He seems to have spoken to the disciples when in the house. In regard to this and the next two, let him who "gives heed to reading" inquire whether they are parables at all. In the case of the latter the Scripture does not hesitate to attach in each case the name of parable; but in the present case it has not done so; and that naturally. For if He spoke to the multitudes in parables, and "spake all these things in parables, and without a parable spake nothing to them," but on going to the house He discourses not to the multitudes but to the disciples who came to Him there, manifestly the things spoken in the house were not parables: for, to them that are without. even to those to whom "it is not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," He speaks in parables. Some one will then say, If they are not really parables, what are they? Shall we then say in keeping with the diction of

the Scripture that they are similitudes (comparisons)? Now a similitude differs from a parable; for it is written in Mark, “To what shall we compare the kingdom of God, or in what parable shall we set it forth?” From this it is plain that there is a difference between a similitude and a parable. The similitude seems to be generic, and the parable specific. And perhaps also as the similitude, which is the highest genus of the parable, contains the parable as one of its species, so it contains that particular form of similitude which has the same name as the genus. This is the case with other words as those skilled in the giving of many names have observed; who say that “impulse” is the highest genus of many species, as, for example, of “disinclination” and “inclination.” and say that, in the case of the species which has the same name as the genus, “inclination” is taken in opposition to and in distinction from “disinclination.”

5

THE FIELD AND THE TREASURE INTERPRETED

And here we must inquire separately as to the field, and separately as to the treasure hidden in it, and in what way the man who has found this hidden treasure goes away with joy and sells all that he has ill order to buy that field; and we must also inquire — what are the things which he sells. The field, indeed, seems to me according to these things to be the Scripture, which was planted with what is manifest in the words of the history, and the law, and the prophets, and the rest of the thoughts; for great and varied is the planting of the words in the whole Scripture; but the treasure hidden in the field is the thoughts concealed and lying under that which is manifest, “of wisdom hidden in a mystery,” “even Christ, in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.” But another might say that the field is that which is verily full, which the Lord blessed, the Christ of God; but the treasure hidden in it is the things said to have been “hidden in Christ” by Paul, who says about Christ, “in whom are the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.” The heavenly things, therefore, even the kingdom of heaven, as in a figure it is written in the Scriptures — which are the kingdom of heaven, or Christ — Himself the

king of the ages, are the kingdom of heaven which is likened to a treasure hidden in the field.

6

THE EXPOSITION CONTINUED

And at this point you will inquire, whether the kingdom of heaven is likened only to the treasure hidden in the field, so that we are to think of the field as different from the kingdom, or is likened to the whole of this treasure hidden in the field, so that the kingdom of heaven contains according to the similitude both the field and the treasure hidden in the field. Now a man who comes to the field, whether to the Scriptures or to the Christ who is constituted both from things manifest and from things hidden, finds the hidden treasure of wisdom whether in Christ or in the Scriptures. For, going round to visit the field and searching the Scriptures and seeking to understand the Christ, he finds the treasure in it; and, having found it, he hides it, thinking that it is not without danger to reveal to everybody the secret meanings of the Scriptures, or the treasures of wisdom and knowledge in Christ. And, having hidden it, he goes away, work-tug and devising how he shall buy the field, or the Scriptures, that he may make them his own possession, receiving from the people of God the oracles of God with which the Jews were first entrusted. And when the man taught by Christ has bought the field, the kingdom of God which, according to another parable, is a vineyard, “is taken from them and is given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof,” — to him who in faith has bought the field, as the fruit of his having sold all that he had, and no longer keeping by him anything that was formerly his; for they were a source of evil to him. And you will give the same application, if the field containing the hidden treasure be Christ, for those who give up all things and follow Him, have, as it were in another way, sold their possessions, in order that, by having sold and surrendered them, and having received in their place from God — their helper — a noble resolution, they may purchase, at great cost worthy of the field, the field containing the treasure hidden in itself.

7

THE PARABLE OF THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE. THE FORMATION AND DIFFERENCE OF PEARLS

"*Again the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls.*" There are many merchants engaged ill many forms of merchandise, but not to any one of these is the kingdom of heaven like, but only to him who is seeking goodly pearls, and has found one equal in value to many, a very costly pearl which he has bought in place of many. I consider it reasonable, then, to make some inquiry into the nature of the pearl. Be careful however to note, that Christ did not say, "He sold all the pearls that he had," for he sold not only those which one seeking goodly pearls had bought, but also everything which he had, in order to buy that goodly pearl. We find then in those who write on the subject of stones, with regard to the nature of the pearl, that some pearls are found by land, and some in the sea. The land pearls are produced among the Indians only, being fitted for signet-rings and collets and necklaces; and the sea pearls, which are superior, are found among the same Indians, the best being produced in the Red Sea. The next best pearls are those taken from the sea at Britain; and those of the third quality, which are inferior not only to the first but to the second, are those found at Bosporus off Scythia. Concerning the Indian pearl these things further are said. They are found in mussels, like in nature to very large spiral snail-shells; and these are described as in troops making the sea their pasture-ground, as if under the guidance of some leader, conspicuous in color and size, and different from those under him, so that he has an analogous position to what is called the queen of the bees. And likewise, in regard to the fishing for the best — that is, those in India — the following is told. The natives surround with nets a large circle of the shore, and dive down, exerting themselves to seize that one of them all which is the leader; for they say that, when this one is captured, the catching of the troop subject to it costs no trouble, as not one of those in the troop remains stationary, but as if bound by a thong follows the leader of the troop. It is said also that the formation of the pearls in India requires periods of time, the creature undergoing many changes and alterations until it is perfected. And it is further reported that the shell — I mean, the shell of the animal which bears the pearl —

opensandgapes, as it were, and being opened receives into itself the dew of heaven; when it is filled with dew pure and untroubled, it becomes illumined and brings forth a large and well-formed pearl; but if at any time it receives dew darkened, or uneven, or in winter, it conceives a pearl cloudy and disfigured with spots. And this we also find that if it be intercepted by lightning when it is on the way towards the completion of the stone with which it is pregnant, it closes, and, as it were in terror, scatters and pours forth its offspring, so as to form what are called "physemata." And sometimes, as if premature, they are born small, and are somewhat cloudy though well-formed. As compared with the others the Indian pearl has these features. It is white in color, like to silver in transparency, and shines through as with a radiance somewhat greenish yellow, and as a rule is round in form; it is also of tender skin, and more delicate than it is the nature of a stone to be; so it is delightful to behold, worthy to be celebrated among the more notable, as he who wrote on the subject of stones used to say. And this is also a mark of the best pearl, to be rounded off on the outer surface, very white in color, very translucent, and very large in size. So much about the Indian pearl. But that found in Britain, they say, is of a golden tinge, but somewhat cloudy, and duller in sparkle. And that which is formal in the strait of Bosporus is darker than that of Britain, and livid, and perfectly dim, soft and small. And that which is produced in the strait of Bosporus is not found in the "pinna" which is the pearl-bearing species of shells. but in what are called mussels; and their habitat — I mean those at Bosporus — is in the marshes. There is also said to be a fourth class of pearls in Acarnania in the "pinnae" of oysters. These are not greatly sought after, but are irregular in form, and perfectly dark and foul in color; and there are others also different from these in the same Acarnania which are cast away on every ground.

8

THE PARABLE INTERPRETED IS THE LIGHT OF THESE VIEWS

Now, having collected these things out of dissertations about stones, I say that the Savior with a knowledge of the difference of pearls, of which some

are in kind goodly and others worthless, said, “The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls;”(for, if some of the pearls had not been worthless, it would not have been said, “to a man seeking goodly pearls.” Now among the words of all kinds which profess to announce truth, and among those who report them, he seeks pearls. And let the prophets be, so to speak, the mussels which conceive the dew of heaven, and become pregnant with the word of truth from heaven, the goodly pearls which, according to the phrase here set forth, the merchantman seeks. And the leader of the pearls, on the finding of which the rest are found with it, is the very costly pearl, the Christ of God, the Word which is superior to the precious letters and thoughts in the law and the prophets, on the finding of which also all the rest are easily taken. And the Savior holds converse with all the disciples, as merchant-men who are not only seeking the goodly pearls but who have found them and possess them, when He says, “Cast not your pearls before swine.” Now it is manifest that these things were said to the disciples from that which is prefixed to His words, “And seeing the multitudes He went up into the mountain, and when He had sat down His disciples came unto Him;” for, in the course of those words, He said, “Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine.” Perhaps, then, he is not a disciple of Christ, who does not possess pearls or the very costly pearl, the pearls, I mean, which are goodly; not the cloudy, nor the darkened, such as the words of the heterodox, which are brought forth not at the sunrise, but at the sunset or in the north, if it is necessary to take also into the comparison those things on account of which we found a difference in the pearls which are produced in different places. And perhaps the muddy words and the heresies which are bound up with works of the flesh, are the darkened pearls, and those which are produced in the marshes, not goodly pearls.

9

CHRIST THE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

Now you will connect with the man seeking goodly pearls the saying, “*Seek and ye shall find*,” and this — “Every one that seeketh findeth.” For

what seek ye? Or what does every one that seeketh find? I venture to answer, pearls and the pearl which he possesses, who has given up all things, and counted them as loss; “for which,” says Paul, “I have counted all things but loss that I may win Christ;” by “all things” meaning the goodly pearls, “that I may win Christ,” the one very precious pearl. Precious, then, is a lamp to men in darkness, and there is need of a lamp until the sun rise; and precious also is the glory in the face of Moses, and of the prophets also, I think, and a beautiful sight, by which we are introduced so as to be able to see the glory of Christ, to which the Father bears witness, saying, “This is My beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased.” But “that which hath been made glorious hath not been made glorious in this respect by reason of the glory that surpasseth;” and there is need to us first of the glory which admits of being done. away, for the sake of the glory which surpasseth; as there is need of the knowledge which is in part, which will be done away when that which is perfect comes. Every soul, therefore, which comes to childhood, and is on the way to full growth, until the fulness of time is at hand, needs a tutor and stewards and guardians, in order that, after all these things, he who formerly differed nothing from a bond-servant, though he is Lord of all, may receive, when freed from a tutor and stewards and guardians, the patrimony corresponding to the very costly pearl, and to that which is perfect, which on its coming does away with that which is in part, when one is able to receive “the excellency of the knowledge of Christ,” having been previously exercised, so to speak, in those forms of knowledge which are surpassed by the knowledge of Christ. But the multitude, not perceiving the beauty of the many pearls of the law, and all the knowledge, “in part,” though it be, of the prophets, suppose that they can, without a clear exposition and apprehension of these, find in whole the one precious pearl, and behold “the excellency of the knowledge of Christ,” in comparison with which all things that came before such and so great knowledge, although they were not refuse in their own nature, appear to be refuse. This refuse is perhaps the “dung” thrown down beside the fig tree by the keeper of the vineyard, which is the cause of its bearing fruit.

10

THE PEARL OF THE GOSPEL IN RELATION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

"*To everything then is its season, and a time for everything under heaven,*" a time to gather the goodly pearls, and a time after their gathering to find the one precious pearl, when it is fitting for a mall to go away and sell all that he has in order that he may buy that pearl. For as every man who is going to be wise in the words of truth must first be taught the rudiments, and further pass through the elementary instruction, and appreciate it highly but not abide in it, as one who, having honored it at the beginning but passed over towards perfection, is grateful for the introduction because it was useful at the first; so the perfect apprehension of the law and the prophets is an elementary discipline for the perfect apprehension of the Gospel, and all the meaning in the words and deeds of Christ.

11

THE PARABLE OF THE DRAG-NET

"*Again the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea*." As in the case of images and statues, the likenesses are not likenesses in every respect of those things in relation to which they are made; but, for example, the image painted with wax on the plane surface of wood has the likeness of the surface along with the color, but does not further preserve the hollows and prominences, but only their outward appearance; and in the moulding of statues an endeavor is made to preserve the likeness in respect of the hollows and the prominences, but not in respect of the color; and, if the cast be formed of wax, it endeavors to preserve both, I mean both the color and also the hollows and the prominences, but is not indeed an image of the things in the respect of depth; so conceive with me also that, in the case of the similitudes in the Gospel, when the kingdom of heaven is likened unto anything, the comparison does not extend to all the features of that to which the kingdom is compared, but only to those features which are required by the argument in hand. And here,

accordingly, the kingdom of heaven is “like unto a net that was cast into the sea,” not (as supposed by some, who represent that by this word the different natures of those who have come into the net, to-wit, the evil and the righteous, are treated of), as if it is to be thought that, because of the phrase “which gathered of every kind,” there are many different natures of the righteous and likewise also of the evil; for to such an interpretation all the Scriptures are opposed, which emphasise the freedom of the will, and censure those who sin and approve those who do right; or otherwise blame could not rightly attach to those of the kinds that were such by nature, nor praise to those of a better kind. For the reason why fishes are good or bad lies not in the souls of the fishes, but is based on that which the Word said with knowledge, “Let the waters bring forth creeping things with living souls,” when, also. “God made great sea-monsters and every soul of creeping creatures which the waters brought forth according to their kinds.” There, accordingly, “The waters brought forth every soul of creeping animals according to their kinds,” the cause not being in it; but here we are responsible for our being good kinds and worthy of what are called “vessels,” or bad and worthy of being cast outside. For it is not the nature in us which is the cause of the evil, but it is the voluntary choice which worketh evil; and so our nature is not the cause of righteousness, as if it were incapable of admitting unrighteousness, but it is the principle which we have admitted that makes men righteous; for also you never see the kinds of things in the water changing from the bad kinds of fishes into the good, or from the better kind to the worse; but you can always behold the righteous or evil among men either coming from wickedness to virtue, or returning from progress towards virtue to the flood of wickedness. Wherefore also in Ezekiel, concerning the man who turns away from unrighteousness to the keeping of the divine commandments, it is thus written: “But if the wicked man turn away from all his wickednesses which he hath done,” etc., down to the words, “that he turn from his wicked way and live;” but concerning the man who returns from the advance towards virtue unto the flood of wickedness it is said, “But in the case of the righteous man turning away from his righteousness and committing iniquity,” etc., down to the words, “in his sins which he hath sinned in them shall he die.” Let those who, from the parable of the drag-net, introduce the doctrine of different natures, tell us in regard to the wicked man who afterwards turned aside from all the wickednesses which

he committed and keeps all the commandments of God, and does that which is righteous and merciful, of what nature was he when he was wicked? Clearly not of a nature to be praised. If verily of a nature to be censured, of what kind of nature can he reasonably be described, when he turns away from all his sins which he did? For if he were of the bad class of natures, because of his former deeds, how did he change to that which was better? Or if because of his subsequent deeds you would say that he was of the good class, how being good by nature did he become wicked? And you will also meet with a like dilemma in regard to the righteous man turning away from his righteousness and committing unrighteousness in all manner of sins. For before he turned away from righteousness, being occupied with righteous deeds he was not of a bad nature, for a bad nature could not be in righteousness, since a bad tree — that is wickedness — cannot produce good fruits, — the fruits that spring from virtue. Again, on the other hand, if he had been of a good and unchangeable nature he would not have turned away from the good after being called righteous, so as to commit unrighteousness in all his sins which he committed.

12

THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES COMPARED TO A NET

Now, these things being said, we must hold that “the kingdom of heaven is likened to a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind,” in order to set forth the varied character of the principles of action among men, which are as different as possible from each other, so that the expression “gathered from every kind” embraces both those worthy of praise and those worthy of blame in respect of their proclivities towards the forms of virtues or of vices. And the kingdom of heaven is likened unto the variegated texture of a net, with reference to the Old and the New Scripture which is woven of thoughts of all kinds and greatly varied. As in the case of the fishes that fall into the net, some are found in one part of the net and some in another part, and each at the part at which it was caught, so in the case of those who have come into the net of the Scriptures you would find some caught in the prophetic net; for example, of Isaiah, according to this expression, or of Jeremiah or of Daniel; and

others in the net of the law, and others in the Gospel net, and some in the apostolic net; for when one is first captured by the Word or seems to be captured, he is taken from some part of the whole net. And it is nothing strange if some of the fishes caught are encompassed by the whole texture of the net in the Scriptures, and are pressed in on every side and caught, so that they are unable to escape but are, as it were, absolutely enslaved, and not permitted to escape from the net. And this net has been cast into the sea — the wave — tossed life of men in every part of the world, and which swims in the bitter affairs of life. And before our Savior Jesus Christ this net was not wholly filled; for the net of the law and the prophets had to be completed by Him who says, “Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets, I came not to destroy but to fulfil.” And the texture of the net has been completed in the Gospels, and in the words of Christ through the Apostles. On this account, therefore, “the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind.” And, apart from what has been said, the expression, “gathered from every kind,” may show forth the calling of the Gentiles from every race. And those who attended to the net which was cast into the sea are Jesus Christ, the master of the net, and “the angels who came and ministered unto Him,” who do not draw up the net from the sea, nor carry it to the shore beyond the sea, — namely, to things beyond this life, unless the net be filled full, that is, unless the “fulness of the Gentiles” has come into it. But when it has come, then they draw it up from things here below, and carry it to what is figuratively called the shore, where it will be the work of those who have drawn it up, both to sit by the shore, and there to settle themselves, in order that they may place each of the good in the net into its own order, according to what are here called “vessels,” but cast without and away those that are of an opposite character and are called bad. By “without” is meant the furnace of fire as the Savior interpreted, saying, “So shall it be at the consummation of the age. The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous and shall cast them into the furnace of fire.” Only it must be observed, that we are already taught by the parable of the tares and the similitude set forth, that the angels are to be entrusted with the power to distinguish and separate the evil from the righteous; for it is said above, “The Son of man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there

shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.” But here it is said, “The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous and shall cast them into the furnace of fire.”

13

RELATION OF MEN TO ANGELS

From this it does not follow, as some suppose, that the men who are saved in Christ are superior even to the holy angels; for how can those who are cast by the holy angels into vessels be compared with those who cast them into vessels, seeing that they have been put under the authority of the angels? While we say this, we are not ignorant that the men who will be saved in Christ surpass some angels — namely, those who have not been entrusted with this office — but not all of them. For we read, “Which things angels desire to look into,” where it is not said “all” angels. And we know also this — “We shall judge angels”where it is not said “all” angels. Now since these things are written about the net and about those in the net, we say that he who desires that, before the consummation of the age, and before the coming of the angels to sever the wicked from among the righteous, there should be no evil persons “of every kind” in the net, seems not to have understood the Scripture, and to desire the impossible. Wherefore let us not be surprised if, before the severing of the wicked from among the righteous by the angels who are sent forth for this purpose, we see our gatherings also filled with wicked persons. And would that those who will be cast into the furnace of fire may not be greater in number than the righteous! But since we said in the beginning, that the parables and similitudes are not to be accepted in respect of all the things to which they are likened or compared, but only in respect of some things, we must further establish from the things to be said, that in the case of the fishes, so far as their life is concerned, an evil thing happens to them when they are found in the net. For they are deprived of the life which is theirs by nature, and whether they are cast into vessels or cast away, they suffer nothing more than the loss of the life as it is in fishes; but, in the case of those to whom the parable refers, the evil thing is to be in the sea and not to come into the net, in order to be cast along with the good into vessels. And in

like manner the bad fishes are cast without and thrown away; hut the bad in the similitude before us are cast into “the furnace of fire,” that what is said in Ezekiel about the furnace of fire may also overtake them — “And the Word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man behold the house of Israel is become to me all mixed with brass and iron,” etc., down to the words, “And ye shall know that I the Lord have poured My fury upon you.

14

THE DISCIPLES AS SCRIBES

“*Have ye understood all these things? They say, Yea.”* Christ Jesus, who knows the things in the hearts of men, as John also taught concerning Him in the Gospel, puts the question not as one ignorant, but having once for all taken upon Him the nature of man, He uses also all the characteristics of a man of which “asking” is one. And there is nothing to be wondered at in the Savior doing this, since indeed the God of the universe, bearing with the manners of men as a man beareth with the manners of his son, makes inquiry, as — “Adam, where art thou?” and, “Where is Abel thy brother?” But some one with a forced interpretation will say here that the words “have understood” are not to be taken interrogatively but affirmatively; and he will say that the disciples bearing testimony to His affirmation, say, “Yea.” Only, whether he is putting a question or making an affirmation, it is necessarily said not “these things” only, — which is demonstrative, — not “all things” only, but “all these things.” And here He seems to represent the disciples as having been scribes before the kingdom of heaven; but to this is opposed what is said in the Acts of the Apostles thus, “Now when they beheld the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled, and they took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus.” Some one may inquire in regard to these things — if they were scribes, how are they spoken of in the Acts as unlearned and ignorant men? Or if they were unlearned and ignorant men, how are they very plainly called scribes by the Savior? And it might be answered to these inquiries that, as a matter of fact, not all the disciples but only Peter and John are described in the Acts

as unlearned and ignorant, but that there were more disciples in regard to whom, because they understood all things, it is said, “Every scribe,” etc. Or it might be said that every one who has been instructed in the teaching according to the letter of the law is called a scribe, so that those who were unlearned and ignorant and led captive by the letter of the law are spoken of as scribes in a particular sense. And it is very specially the characteristic of ignorant men, who are unskilled in figurative interpretation and do not understand what is concerned with the mystical exposition of the Scriptures, but believe the bare letter, and, vindicate it, that they call themselves scribes. And so one will interpret the words, “Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,” as having been said to every one that knows nothing but the letter. Here you will inquire if the scribe of the Gospel be as the scribe of the law, and if the former deals with the Gospel, as the latter with the law, reading and hearing and telling “those things which contain an allegory,” so as, while preserving the historic truth of the events, to understand the unerring principle of mystic interpretation applied to things spiritual, so that the things learned may not be “spiritual things whose characteristic is wickedness,” but may be entirely opposite to such, namely, spiritual things whose characteristic is goodness. And one is a scribe “made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven” in the simpler sense, when he comes from Judaism and receives the teaching of Jesus Christ as defined by the Church; but he is a scribe in a deeper sense, when having received elementary knowledge through the letter of the Scriptures he ascends to things spiritual, which are called the kingdom of the heavens. And according as each thought is attained, and grasped abstractly and proved by example and absolute demonstration, can one understand the kingom of heaven, so that he who abounds in knowledge free from error is in the kingdom of the multitude of what are here represented as “heavens.” So, too, you will allegorise the word, “Repent, for the kingdom of the heavens is at hand,” as meaning that the scribes — that is, those who rest satisfied in the bare letter — may repent of this method of interpretation and be instructed in the spiritual teaching which is called the kingdom of the heavens through Jesus Christ the living Word. Wherefore, also, so far as Jesus Christ, “who was in the beginning with God, God the word,” has not His home in a soul, the kingdom of heaven is not in it, but when any one becomes nigh to admission of the Word, to him the kingdom of heaven is nigh. But if the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God are the same

thing in reality, if not in idea, manifestly to those to whom it is said, “The kingdom of God is within you,” to them also it might be said, “The kingdom of heaven is within you;” and most of all because of the repentance from the letter unto the spirit; since “When one turn to the Lord, the veil over the letter is taken away.

But the Lord is the Spirit.” And he who is truly a householder is both free and rich; rich because from the office of the scribe he has been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven, in every word of the Old Testament, and in all knowledge concerning the new teaching of Christ Jesus, and has this riches laid up in his own treasure-house — in heaven, in which he stores his treasure as one who has been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven, — where neither moth doth consume, nor thieves break through. And in regard to him, who, as we have said, lays up treasure in heaven, we may truly lay down that not one moth of the passions can touch his spiritual and heavenly possessions. “A moth of the passions,” I said, taking the suggestion from the “Proverbs” in which it is written, “a worm in wood, so pain woundeth the heart of man.” For pain is a worm and a moth, which wounds the heart which has not its treasures in heaven and spiritual things, for if a man has his treasure in these — “for where the treasure is, there will the heart be also,” — he has his heart in heaven, and on account of it he says, “Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear.” And so neither can thieves in regard to whom the Savior said, “All that came before Me are thieves and robbers,” break through those things which are treasured up in heaven, and through the heart which is in heaven and therefore says, “He raised us up with Him, and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places in Christ,” and, “Our citizenship is in heaven.”

15

THE HOUSEHOLDER AND HIS TREASURY

Now since “every scribe who has been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder who bringeth forth out of his treasury things new and old,” it clearly follows, by “conversion of the proposition,” as it is called, that every one who does not bring forth out of

his treasury things new and old, is not a scribe who has been made a disciple unto the kingdom of heaven. We must endeavor, therefore, in every way to gather in our heart, “by giving heed to reading, to exhortation, to teaching,” and by “meditating in the law of the Lord day and night,” not only the new oracles of the Gospels and of the Apostles and their Revelation, but also the old things in the law “which has the shadow of the good things to come,” and in the prophets who prophesied in accordance with them. And these things will be gathered together, when we also read and know, and remembering them, compare at a fitting time things spiritual with spiritual, not comparing things that cannot be compared with one another, but things which admit of comparison, and which have a certain likeness of diction signifying the same thing, and of thoughts and of opinions, so that by the mouth of two or three or more witnesses from the Scripture, we may establish and confirm every word of God. By means of them also we must refute those who, as far as in them lies, cleave in twain the God head and cut off the New from the Old, so that they are far removed from likeness to the householder who brings forth out of his treasury things new and old. And since he who is likened to any one is different from the one to whom he is likened, the scribe “who is made a disciple unto the kingdom of heaven” will be the one who is likened, but different from him is the householder “who brings out of his treasury things new and old.” But he who is likened to him, as in imitation of him, wishes to do that which is like. Perhaps, then, the man who is a householder is Jesus Himself, who brings forth out of His treasury, according to the time of the teaching, things new, things spiritual, which also are always being renewed by Him in the “inner man” of the righteous, who are themselves always being renewed day by day, and old things, things “written and engraven on stones,” and in the stony hearts of the old man, so that by comparison of the letter and by exhibition of the spirit He may enrich the scribe who is made a disciple unto the kingdom of heaven, and make him like unto Himself; until the disciple shall be as the Master, imitating first the imitator of Christ, and after him Christ Himself, according to that which is said by Paul, “Be ye imitators of me even as I also of Christ.” And likewise, Jesus the householder may in the simpler sense bring forth out of His treasury things new, — that is, the evangelic teaching — and things old, — that is, the comparison of the sayings which are taken from the law and the prophets, of which we may find examples

in the Gospels. And with regard to these things new and old, we must attend also to the spiritual law which says in Leviticus, “And ye shall eat old things, and the old things of the old, and ye shall bring forth the old from before the new; and I will set my tabernacle among you.” For we eat with blessing the old things, — the prophetic words, — and the old things of the old things, — the words of the law; and, when the new and evangelical words came, living according to the Gospel we bring forth the old things of the letter from before the new, and He sets His tabernacle in us, fulfilling the promise which He spoke, “I will dwell among them and walk in them.”

16

PARABLES IN RELATION TO SIMILITUDES, JESUS IN HIS OWN COUNTRY

“*And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence. And coming into His own country*.” Since we inquired above whether the things spoken to the multitude were parables, and those spoken to the disciples were similitudes, and set forth observations bearing on this in my judgment not contemptible, you must know that the sentence which is subjoined, “And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence,” will appear to be in opposition to all these arguments, as applying not only to the parables, but also to the similitudes as we have expounded. We inquire therefore whether all these things are to be rejected, or whether we must speak of two kinds of parables, those spoken to the multitudes, and those announced to the disciples; or whether we are to think of the name of parable as equi-vocal; or whether the saying, “And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these parables,” is to be referred only to the parables above, which come before the similitudes. For, because of the saying, “To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to the rest in parables,” it was not possible to say to the disciples, inasmuch as they were not of those without, that the Savior spoke to them in parables. And it follows from this, that the saying, “And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence,” is to be referred to the parables spoken

above, or that the name parable is equivocal, or that there are two kinds of parables, or that these which we have named similitudes were not parables at all. And observe that it was outside of His own country He speaks the parables “which, when He had finished, He departed thence; and coming into His own country He taught them in their synagogue.” And Mark says, “And He came into His own country and His disciples follow Him.” We must therefore inquire whether, by the expression, “His own country,” is meant Nazareth or Bethlehem, — Nazareth, because of the saying, “He shall be called a Nazarene,” or Bethlehem, since in it He was born. And further I reflect whether the Evangelists could have said, “coming to Bethlehem,” or, “coming to Nazareth.” They have not done so, but have named it “His country,” because of something being declared in a mystic sense in the passage about His country, — namely, the whole of Judaea, — in which He was dishonored according to the saying, “A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.” And if anyone thinks of Jesus Christ, “a stumbling-block to the Jews,” among whom He is persecuted even until now, but proclaimed among the Gentiles and believed in, — for His word has run over the whole world, — he will see that in His own country Jesus had no honor, hut that among those who were “strangers from the covenants,” the Gentiles, He is held in honor. But what things He taught and spake in their synagogue the Evangelists have not recorded, but only that they were so great and of such a nature that all were astonished. And probably the things spoken were too high to be written down. Only be it noted, He taught in their synagogue, not separating from it, nor disregarding it.

17

THE BRETHREN OF JESUS

And the saying, “*Whence hath this man this wisdom*,” indicates clearly that there was a great and surpassing wisdom in the words of Jesus worthy of the saying, lo, a greater than Solomon is here.” And He was wont to do greater miracles than those wrought through Elijah and Elisha, and at a still earlier date through Moses and Joshua the son of Nun. And they spoke, wondering, (not knowing that He was the son of a virgin, or not believing it

even if it was told to them, but supposing that He was the son of Joseph the carpenter,) “is not this the carpenter’s son?” And depreciating the whole of what appeared to be His nearest kindred, they said, “Is not His mother called Mary? And His brethren, James and Joseph and Simon and Judas? And His sisters, are they not all with us?”

They thought, then, that He was the son of Joseph and Mary. But some say, basing it on a tradition in the Gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or “The Book of James,” that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary. Now those who say so wish to preserve the honor of Mary in virginity to the end, so that that body of hers which was appointed to minister to the Word which said, “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee,” might not know intercourse with a man after that the Holy Ghost came into her and the power from on high overshadowed her. And I think it in harmony with reason that Jesus was the first-fruit among men of the purity which consists in chastity, and Mary among women; for it were not pious to ascribe to any other than to her the first-fruit of virginity. And James is he whom Paul says in the Epistle to the Galatians that he saw, “But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord’s brother.” And to so great a reputation among the people for righteousness did this James rise, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote the “Antiquities of the Jews” in twenty books, when wishing to exhibit the cause why the people suffered so great misfortunes that even the temple was razed to the ground, said, that these things happened to them in accordance with the wrath of God in consequence of the things which they had dared to do against James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ. And the wonderful thing is, that, though he did not accept Jesus as Christ, he yet gave testimony that the righteousness of James was so great; and he says that the people thought that they had suffered these things because of James. And Jude, who wrote a letter of few lines, it is true, but filled with the healthful words of heavenly grace, said in the preface, “Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and the brother of James.” With regard to Joseph and Simon we have nothing to tell; but the saying, “And His sisters are they not all with us.” seems to me to signify something of this nature — they mind our things, not those of Jesus, and have no unusual portion of surpassing wisdom as Jesus has. And perhaps by these

things is indicated a new doubt concerning Him, that Jesus was not a man but something diviner, inasmuch as He was, as they supposed, the son of Joseph and Mary, and the brother of four, and of the others — the women — as well, and yet had nothing like to any one of His kindred, and had not from education and teaching come to such a height of wisdom and power. For they also say elsewhere, “How knoweth this man letters having never learned?” which is similar to what is here said. Only, though they say these things and are so perplexed and astonished, they did not believe, but were offended in Him; as if they had been mastered in the eyes of their mind by the powers which, in the time of the passion, He was about to lead in triumph on the cross.

18

PROPHETS IN THEIR COUNTRY

“But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.” We must inquire whether the expression has the same force when applied universally to every prophet (as if each one of the prophets was dishonored in his own country only, but not as if every one who was dishonored was dishonored in his country); or, because of the expression being singular, these things were said about one. If, then, these words are spoken about one, these things which have been said suffice, if we refer that which is written to the Savior. But if it is general, it is not historically true; for Elijah did not suffer dishonor in Tishbeth of Gilead, nor Elisha in Abetmeholah, nor Samuel in Ramathaim, nor Jeremiah in Anathoth. But, figuratively interpreted, it is absolutely true; for we must think of Judaea as their country, and that famous Israel as their kindred, and perhaps of the body as the house. For all suffered dishonor in Judaea from the Israel which is according to the flesh, while they were yet in the body, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, as having been spoken in censure to the people, “Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute, who showed before of the coming of the Righteous one?” And by Paul in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians like things are said: “For ye brethren became imitators of the churches of God which are in Judaea in Christ Jesus, for ye also suffered the same things of your own countrymen even

as they did of the Jews, who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drave out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men." A prophet, then, is not without honor among the Gentiles; for either they do not know him at all, or, having learned and received him as a prophet, they honor him. And such are those who are of the Church. Prophets suffer dishonor, first, when they are persecuted, according to historical fact, by the people, and, secondly, when their prophecy is not believed by the people. For if they had believed Moses and the prophets they would have believed Christ, who showed that when men believed Moses and the prophets, belief in Christ logically followed, and that when men did not believe Christ they did not believe Moses. Moreover, as by the transgression of the law he who sins is said to dishonor God, so by not believing in that which is prophesied the prophet is dishonored by the man who disbelieves the prophecies. And so far as the literal truth is concerned, it is useful to recount what things Jeremiah suffered among the people in relation to which he said, "And I said, I will not speak, nor will I call upon the name of the Lord." And again, elsewhere, "I was continually being mocked." And how great sufferings he endured from the then king of Israel are written in his prophecy. And it is also written that some of the people often came to stone Moses to death; for his fatherland was not the stones of any place, but the people who followed him, among whom also he was dishonored. And Isaiah is reported to have been sawn asunder by the people; and if any one does not accept the statement because of its being found in the Apocryphal Isaiah, let him believe what is written thus in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted;" for the expression, "They were sawn asunder," refers to Isaiah, just as the words, "They were slain with the sword," refer to Zacharias, who was slain "between the sanctuary and the altar," as the Savior taught, bearing testimony, as I think, to a Scripture, though not extant in the common and widely circulated books, but perhaps in apocryphal books. And they, too, were dishonored in their own country among the Jews who went about "in sheep-skins, in goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted," and so on; "For all that will to live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." And probably because Paul knew this, "That a prophet has no honor in his own country," though he preached the Word in many places he did not preach it in Tarsus. And the Apostles on this account left Israel and did that which had been enjoined on them by

the Savior, “Make disciples of all the nations,” and, “Ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem and ill all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.” For they did that which had been commanded them in Judaea and Jerusalem; but, since a prophet has no honor in his own country, when the Jews did not receive the Word, they went away to the Gentiles. Consider, too, if, because of the fact that the saying, “I will pour forth of My Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy,” has been fulfilled in the churches from the Gentiles, you can say that those formerly of the world and who by believing became no longer of the world, having received the Holy Spirit in their own country — that is, the world — and prophesying, have not honor, but are dishonored. Wherefore blessed are they who suffer the same things as the prophets, according to what was said by the Savior, “For in the same manner did their fathers unto the prophets.” Now if any one who attends carefully to these things be hated and attacked, because of his living with rigorous austerity, and his reproof of sinners, as a man who is persecuted and reproached for the sake of righteousness, he will not only not be grieved, but will rejoice and be exceeding glad, being assured that, because of these things, he has great reward in heaven from Him who likened him to the prophets on the ground of his having suffered the same things. Therefore, he who zealously imitates the prophetic life, and attains to the spirit which was in them, must be dishonored in the world, and in the eyes of sinners, to whom the life of the righteous man is a burden.

19

RELATION OF FAITH AND UNBELIEF TO THE SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF JESUS

Following this you may see, *“He did not there many mighty works because of their unbelief.*” We are taught by these things that powers were found in those who believed, since “to every one that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance,” but among unbelievers not only did the powers not work, but as Mark wrote, “They could not work.” For attend to the words, “He could not there do any mighty works,” for it is not said, “He would not,” but “He could not;” as if there came to the power when

working co-operation from the faith of him on whom the power was working, but this co-operation was hindered in its exercise by unbelief. See, then, that to those who said, “Why could we not cast it out?” He said, “Because of your little faith.” And to Peter, when he began to sink, it was said, “O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?” But, moreover, she who had the issue of blood, who did not ask for the cure, but only reasoned that if she were to touch the hem of His garment she would be healed, was healed on the spot. And the Savior, acknowledging the method of healing, says, “Who touched Me? For I perceived that power went forth from Me.” And perhaps, as in the case of material things there exists in some things a natural attraction towards some other thing, as in the magnet for iron, and in what is called naphtha for fire, so there is an attraction in such faith towards the divine power, according to what is said, “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove.” And Matthew and Mark, wishing to set forth the excellency of the divine power, that it has power even in unbelief, but not so great power as it has in the faith of those who are being benefited, seem to me to have said with accuracy, not that He did not “any” mighty works because of their unbelief, but that He did not “many” there. And Mark also does not say, that He could not do any mighty work there, and stop at that point, but added, “Save that He laid His hands upon a few sick folk and healed them,” the power in Him thus overcoming the unbelief. Now it seems to me that, as in the case of material things, tillage is not sufficient in itself for the gathering in of the fruits, unless the air cooperates to this end, nay, rather, He who forms the air with whatever quality He wills and makes it whatever He wills; nor the air apart from tillage, but rather He who by His providence has enacted that the things which spring up from the earth could not spring up apart from tillage; for this He has done once for all in the law, “Let the earth put forth grass sowing seed after its kind and after its likeness;” so also neither do the operations of the powers, apart from the faith of those who are being healed, exhibit the absolute work of healing, nor faith, however great it may be, apart from the divine power. And that which is written about wisdom, you may apply also to faith, and to the virtues specifically, so as to make a precept of this kind, “If any one be perfect in wisdom among the sons of men, and the power that comes from Thee be wanting, he will be reckoned as nothing;” or, “If any one be

perfect in self-control, so far as is possible for the sons of men, and the control that is from Thee be wanting, he will be reckoned as nothing;" or, "If any one be perfect in righteousness, and in the rest of virtues, and the righteousness and the rest of the virtues that are from Thee be wanting to him, he will be reckoned as nothing." Wherefore, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength," for that which is fit matter for glorying is not ours, but is the gift of God; the wisdom is from Him, and the strength is from Him; and so with the rest.

20

DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

"*At that season Herod the tetrarch heard the report concerning Jesus and said unto his own servants, This is John the Baptist*." In Mark it is the same, and also in Luke. The Jews had different opinions, some false, such as the Sadducees held about the resurrection of the dead, that they do not rise, and in regard to angels that they do not exist, but that those things which were written about them were only to be interpreted figuratively, but had no reality in point of fact; and some true opinions, such as were taught by the Pharisees about the resurrection of the dead that they rise. We must therefore here inquire, whether the opinion regarding the soul, mistakenly held by Herod and some from among the people, was somewhat like this — that John, who a little before had been slain by him, had risen from the dead after he had been beheaded, and was the same person under a different name, and being now called Jesus was possessed of the same powers which formerly wrought in John. For what credibility is there in the idea that One, who was so widely known to the whole people, and whose name was noised abroad in the whole of Judaea, whom they declared to be the son of the carpenter and Mary, and to have such and such for brothers and sisters, was thought to be not different from John whose father was Zacharias, and whose mother was Elisabeth, who were themselves not undistinguished among the people? But it is probable that the fact of his being the Son of Zacharias was not unknown to the people, who thought with regard to John that he was truly a prophet, and were so numerous that the Pharisees, in order to avoid the appearance of

saying that which was displeasing to the people, were afraid to answer the question, “Was his baptism from heaven or from men?” And perhaps, also, to some of them had come the knowledge of the incident of the vision which was seen in the temple, when Gabriel appeared to Zacharias. What credibility, forsooth, has the erroneous opinion, whether of Herod or of some of the people, that John and Jesus were not two persons, but that it was one and the same person John who rose from the dead after that he had been beheaded and was called Jesus? some one might say, however, that Herod and some of those of the people held the false dogma of the transmigration of souls into bodies, in consequence of which they thought that the former John had appeared again by a fresh birth, and had come from the dead into life as Jesus. But the time between the birth of John and the birth of Jesus, which was not more than six months, does not permit this false opinion to be considered credible. And perhaps rather some such idea as this was in the mind of Herod, that the powers which wrought in John had passed over to Jesus, in consequence of which He was thought by the people to be John the Baptist. And one might use the following line of argument. Just as because of the spirit and the power of Elijah, and not because of his soul, it is said about John, “This is Elijah which is to come,” the spirit in Elijah and the power in him having gone over to John — so Herod thought that the powers in John wrought in his case works of baptism and teaching, — for John did not one miracle, but in Jesus miraculous portents. It may be said that something of this kind was the thought of those who said that Elijah had appeared in Jesus, or that one of the old prophets had risen. But the opinion of those who said that Jesus was “a prophet even as one of the prophets,” has no bearing on the question. False, then, is the saying concerning Jesus, whether that recorded to have been the view of Herod, or that spoken by others. Only, the saying, “That John went before in the spirit and power of Elijah,” which corresponds to the thoughts which they were now cherishing concerning John and Jesus, seems to me more credible. But since we learned, in the first place, that when the Savior after the temptation heard that John was given up, He retreated into Galilee, and in the second place, that when John was in prison and heard the things about Jesus he sent two of his disciples and said to Him, “Art thou He that cometh, or look we for another?” and in the third place, generally that Herod said about Jesus, “It is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead,” but we have not previously

learned from any quarter the manner in which the Baptist was killed, therefore Matthew has now recorded it, and Mark almost like unto him; but Luke passed over in silence the greater part of the narrative as it is found in them."

21

HEROD AND THE BAPTIST

The narrative of Matthew is as follows, — "*for Herod had laid hold on John and bound him in the prison.*" In reference to these things, it seems to me, that as the law and the prophets were until John, after whom the grace of prophecy ceased from among the Jews; so the authority of those who had rule among the people, which included the power to kill those whom they thought worthy of death, existed until John; and when the last of the prophets was unlawfully killed by Herod, the king of the Jews was deprived of the power of putting to death; for, if Herod had not been deprived of it, Pilate would not have condemned Jesus to death; but for this Herod would have sufficed along with the council of the chief priests and elders of the people, met for the purpose. And then I think was fulfilled that which was spoken as follows by Jacob to Judah: "A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from Israel, until that come which is laid up in store, and he is the expectation of the Gentiles." And perhaps also the Jews were deprived of this power, the Providence of God arranging for the spread of the teaching of Christ among the people, so that even if this were hindered by the Jews, the opposition might not go so far as the slaying of believers, which seemed to be according to law. "But Herod laid hold on John and bound him in prison and put him away," by this act signifying that, so far as it depended on his power and on the wickedness of the people, he bound and imprisoned the prophetic word, and prevented him from continuing to abide a herald the truth in freedom as formerly. But this Herod did for the sake of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip. For John said unto him, "It is not lawful for thee to have her." Now this Philip was tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and of Trachonitis. Some, then, suppose that, when Philip died leaving a daughter, Herodias, Herod married his brother's wife, though the law

permitted marriage only when there were no children. But, as we find nowhere clear evidence that Philip was dead, we conclude that a yet greater transgression was done by Herod, namely, that he had induced his brother's wife to revolt from her husband while he was still living.

22

THE DANCING OF HERODIAS. THE KEEPING OF OATHS

Wherefore John, endued with prophetic boldness and not terrified at the royal dignity of Herod, nor through fear of death keeping silence in regard to so flagrant a sin, filled with a divine spirit said to Herod, "It is not lawful for thee to have her; for it is not lawful for thee to have the wife of thy brother." For Herod having laid hold on John bound him and put him in prison, not daring to slay him outright and to take away the prophetic word from the people; but the wife of the king of Trachonitis — which is a kind of evil opinion and wicked teaching — gave birth to a daughter of the same name, whose movements, seemingly harmonious, pleasing Herod, who was fond of matters connected with birthdays, came the cause of there being no longer a prophetic head among the people. And up to this point I think that the movements of the people of the Jews, which seem to be according to the law, were nothing else than the movements of the daughter of Herodias but the dancing of Herodias was opposed to that holy dancing with which those who have not danced will be reproached when they hear the words. "We piped unto you, and ye did not dance." And on birthdays. when the lawless word reigns over them, they dance so that their movements please that word. Some one of those before us has observed what is written in Genesis about the birthday of Pharaoh, and has told that the worthless man who loves things connected with birth keeps birthday festivals; and we, taking this suggestion from him, find in no Scripture that a birthday was kept by a righteous man. For Herod was more unjust than that famous Pharaoh; for by the latter on his birthday feast a chief baker is killed; but by the former, John, "than whom no one greater hath risen among those born of women," in regard to whom the Savior says, "But for what purpose did ye go out? To see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." But thanks be unto God, that,

even if the grace of prophecy was taken from the people, a grace greater than all that was poured forth among the Gentiles by our Savior Jesus Christ, who became “free among the dead;” for “though He were crucified through weakness, yet He liveth through the power of God.” Consider also the word in which pure and impure meats are inquired into; but prophecy is despised when it is brought forward in a charger instead of meat. But the Jews have not the head of prophecy, inasmuch as they disown the crown of all prophecy, Christ Jesus; and the prophet is beheaded, because of an oath in a case where the duty was rather to break the oath than to keep the oath; for the charge of rashness in taking an oath and of breaking it because of the rashness is not the same in guilt as the death of a prophet. And not on this account alone is he beheaded, but because “of those who sat at meat with him,” who preferred that the prophet should be killed rather than live. And they recline at the same table and also feast along with the evil word which reigns over the Jews, who make merry over his birth. At times you may make a graceful application of the passage to those who swear rashly and wish to hold fast oaths which are taken with a view to unlawful deeds, by saying that not every keeping of oaths is seemly, just as the keeping of the oath of Herod was not. And mark, further, that not openly but secretly and in prison does Herod put John to death. For even the present word of the Jews does not openly deny the prophecies, but virtually and in secret denies them, and is convicted of disbelieving them. For as “if they believed Moses they would have believed Jesus,” so if they had believed the prophets they would have received Him who had been the subject of prophecy.

But disbelieving Him they also disbelieve them, and cut off and confine in prison the prophetic word, and hold it dead and divided, and in no way wholesome, since they do not understand it. But we have the whole Jesus, the prophecy concerning Him being fulfilled which said, “A bone shall not be broken.”

23

THE WITHDRAWAL OF JESUS

And the disciples of John having come bury his remains, and "*they went and told Jesus.*" And He withdrew to a desert place, — that is, the Gentiles — and after the killing of the prophet multitudes followed Him from the cities everywhere; seeing which to be great He had compassion on them, and healed their sick; and afterwards with the loaves which were blessed and multiplied from a few loaves He feeds those who followed Him. "Now when Jesus heard it He withdrew thence in a boat to a desert place apart." The letter teaches us to withdraw as far as it is in our power from those who persecute us, and from expected conspiracies through words; for this would be to act according to prudence; and, when one can keep outside of critical positions, to go to meet them is rash and headstrong. For who would still hesitate about avoiding such things, when not only did Jesus retreat in view of what happened to John, but also taught and said, "If they persecute you in this city, flee ye into the other"? When a temptation comes which is not in our power to avoid, we must endure it with exceeding nobleness and courage; but, when it is in our power to avoid it, not to do so is rash. But since after the letter we must also investigate the place according to the mystical meaning, we must say that, when prophecy was plotted against among the Jews and destroyed, because of their giving honor to matters of birthdays, and in respect of their reception of vain movements which, though conceived by the ruler of the wicked and those who feast along with him to be regular and pleasing to them, were irregular and out of tune, if truth be umpire, then Jesus withdraws from the place in which prophecy was attacked and condemned; and He withdraws to the place which had been barren of God among the Gentiles, in order that the Word of God, when the kingdom was taken from the Jews and "given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof," might be among the Gentiles; and, on account of it, "the children of the desolate one," who had not been instructed either in the law or the prophets, "might be more than of her who has the husband," that is, the law. When, then, the word was of old among the Jews, it was not so among them as it is among the Gentiles; wherefore it is said that, "in a boat," — that is, in the body — He went to the desert place apart, when

He heard about the killing of the prophet. And, having come into the desert place apart, He was in it, because that the Word dwelt apart, and His teaching was contrary to the customs and usages which obtained among the Gentiles. And the crowds among the Gentiles, when they heard that Jesus had come to stay in their desert, and that He was apart, as we have already reported, followed Him from their own cities, because each had left the superstitious customs of his fathers and come to the law of Christ. And by land they followed Him, and not in a boat, inasmuch as not with the body but with the soul only, and with the resolution to which they had been persuaded by the Word, they followed the Image of God. And to them Jesus comes out, as they were not able to go to Him, in order that, having gone to those who were without, He might lead within those who were without. And great is the crowd without to whom the Word of God goes out, and, having poured out upon it the light of His "visitation," beholds it; and, seeing that they were rather deserving of being pitied, because they were in such circumstances, as a lover of men He who was impassible suffered the emotion of pity, and not only had pity but healed their sick, who had sicknesses diverse and of every kind arising from their wickedness.

24

THE DIVERSE FORMS OF SPIRITUAL SICKNESS

And, if you wish to see of what nature are the sicknesses of the soul, contemplate with me the lovers of money, and the lovers of ambition, and the lovers of boys, and if any be fond of women; for these also beholding among the crowds and taking compassion upon them, He healed. For not every sin is to be considered a sickness, but that which has settled down in the whole soul. For so you may see the lovers of money wholly intent on money and upon preserving and gathering it, the lovers of ambition wholly intent on a little glory, for they gape for praise from the masses and the vulgar; and analogously you will understand in the case of the rest which we have named, and if there be any other like to them. Since, then, when expounding the words, "He healed their sick," we said that not every sin is a sickness, it is fitting tO discuss from the Scripture the difference of

these. The Apostle indeed says, writing to the Corinthians who had diverse sicknesses, “For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep.” Hear Him in these words, knitting a band and making it plaited of different sins, according as some are weak, and others sickly more than weak, and others, in comparison with both, are asleep. For some, because of impotence of soul, having a tendency to slip into any sin whatever, although they may not be wholly in the grasp of any form of sin, as the sickly are, are only weak; but others who, instead of loving God “with all their soul and all their heart and all their mind,” love money, or a little glory, or wife, or children, are suffering from something worse than weakness, and are sickly. And those who sleep are those who, when they ought to be taking heed and watching with the soul, are not doing this, but by reason of great want of attention are nodding in resolution and are drowsy in their reflections, such as “in their dreamings defile the flesh, and set at naught that which is highest in authority, and rail at dignities.” And these, because they are asleep, live in an atmosphere of vain and dream-like fancies concerning realities, not admitting the things which are actually true, but deceived by what appears in their vain imaginations, in regard to whom it is said in Isaiah, “Like as when a thirsty man dreams that he is drinking, but when he has risen up is still thirsty, and his soul has cherished a vain hope, so shall be the wealth of all the nations as many as have warred in Jerusalem.” If, then, we have seemed to make a digression in recounting the difference between the weak and the sickly and those that sleep, because of that which the Apostle said in the letter to the Corinthians which we have expounded, we have made the digression in our desire to represent what is meant to be understood by the saying, “And He healed their sick.”

25

HEALING PRECEDES PAPTICIPATION IN THE LOAVES OF JESUS

After this the word says, “*And when even was come, His disciples came to Him, saying, The place is desert and the time is already past; send, therefore, the multitudes away, that they may go into the villages and buy*

themselves food." And first observe that when about to give to the disciples the loaves of blessing, that they might set them before the multitudes, He healed the sick, in order that, having been restored to health, they might participate in the loaves of blessing; for while they are yet sickly, they are not able to receive the loaves of the blessing of Jesus. But if any one, when he ought to listen to the precept, "But let each prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread," etc., does not obey these words, but in haphazard fashion participates in the bread of the Lord and His cup, he becomes weak or sickly, or even — if I may use the expression — on account of being stupefied by the power of the bread, asleep.

BOOK 11

INTRODUCTION TO THE FEEDING OF THE FIVE THOUSAND

And when even was come His disciples came to Him," that is, at the consummation of the age in regard to which we may fitly say what is found in the Epistle of John, "It is the last hour." They, not yet understanding what the Word was about to do, say to Him, "The place is desert," seeing the desert condition of the masses in respect of God and the Law and the Word; but they say to Him, "The time is past," as if the fitting season of the law and prophets had passed. Perhaps they spoke this saying, in reference to the word of Jesus, that because of the beheading of John both the law and the prophets who were until John had ceased. "The time is past," therefore they say, and no food is at hand, because the season of it is no longer present, that those who have followed Thee in the desert may serve the law and the prophets. And, further, the disciples say, "Send them away," that each one may buy food, if he cannot from the cities, at least from the villages, — places more ignoble. Such things the disciples said, because, after the letter of the law had been abrogated and prophecies had ceased, they despaired of unexpected and new food being found for the multitudes. But see what Jesus answers to the disciples though He does not cry out and plainly say it: "You suppose that, if the great multitude go away from Me in need of food, they will find it in villages rather than with Me, and among bodies of men, not of citizens but of villagers, rather than by abiding with Me. But I declare unto you, that in regard to that of which you suppose they are in need they are not in need, for they have no need to go away; but in regard to that of which you think they have no need — that is, of Me — as if I could not feed them, of this contrary to your expectation they have need. Since, then, I have trained you, and made you fit to give rational food to them who are in need of it, give ye to the crowds who have followed Me to eat; for ye have the power, which ye have received from Me, of giving the multitudes to eat; and if ye had attended to this, ye would have understood that I am far more able to feed them, and ye would not have said, 'Send the multitudes away that they may go and buy food for themselves.'"

2

EXPOSITION OF THE DETAILS OF THE MIRACLE

Jesus, then, because of the power which He gave to the disciples, even the power of nourishing others, said, Give ye them to eat. But (not denying that they can give loaves, but thinking that there were much too few and not sufficient to feed those who followed Jesus, and not considering that when Jesus takes each loaf — the Word — He extends it as far as He wills, and makes it suffice for all whomsoever He desires to nourish), the disciples say, We have here but five loaves and two fishes. Perhaps by the five loaves they meant to make a veiled reference to the sensible words of the Scriptures, corresponding in number on this account to the five senses, but by the two fishes either to the word expressed and the word conceived, which are a relish, so to speak, to the sensible things contained in the Scriptures; or, perhaps, to the word which had come to them about the Father and the Son. Wherefore also after His resurrection He ate of a broiled fish, having taken a part from the disciples, and having received that theology about the Father which they were in part able to declare to Him. Such is the contribution we have been able to give to the exposition of the word about the five loaves and the two fishes; and probably those, who are better able than we to gather together the five loaves and the two fishes among themselves, would be able to give a fuller and better interpretation of their meaning. It must be observed, however, that while in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the disciples say that they have the five loaves and the two fishes, without indicating whether they were wheaten or of barley, John alone says, that the loaves were barley loaves. Wherefore, perhaps, in the Gospel of John the disciples do not acknowledge that the loaves are with them, but say in John, “There is a lad here who has five barley loaves and two fishes.” And so long as these five loaves and two fishes were not carried by the disciples of Jesus, they did not increase or multiply, nor were they able to nourish more; but, when the Savior took them, and in the first placed looked up to heaven, with the rays of His eyes, as it were, drawing down from it power which was to be mingled with the loaves and the fishes which were about to feed the five thousand; and after this blessed the five loaves and the two fishes, increasing and multiplying them by the word and the blessing; and in the third place

dividing and breaking He gave to the disciples that they might set them before the multitudes, then the loaves and the fishes were sufficient, so that all ate and were satisfied, and some portions of the loaves which had been blessed they were unable to eat. For so much remained over to the multitudes, which was not according to the capacity of the multitudes but of the disciples who were able to take up that which remained over of the broken pieces, and to place it in baskets filled with that which remained over, which were in number so many as the tribes of Israel. Concerning Joseph, then, it is written in the Psalms, “His hands served in the basket,” but about the disciples of Jesus that they took up that which remained over of the broken pieces twelve baskets, twelve baskets, I take it, not half-full but filled. And there are, I think, up to the present time, and will be until the consummation of the age with the disciples of Jesus, who are superior to the multiudes, the twelve baskets, filled with the broken pieces of living bread which the multitudes cannot eat. Now those who ate of the five loaves which existed before the twelve baskets that remained over, were kindred in nature to the number five; for those who ate had reached the stage of sensible things, since also they were nourished by Him who looked up to heaven and blessed and brake them, and were not boys nor women, but men. For there are, I think, even in sensible foods differences, so that some of them belong to those who “have put away childish things,” and some to those who are still babes and carnal in Christ.

3

THE EXPOSITION OF DETAILS CONTINUED. THE SITTING DOWN ON THE GRASS. THE DIVISION INTO COMPANIES

We have spoken these things because of the words, “They that did eat were five thousand men, beside children and women,” which is an ambiguous expression; for either those who ate were five thousand men, and among those who ate there was no child or woman; or the men only were five thousand, the children and the women not being reckoned. Some, then, as we have said by anticipation, have so understood the passage that neither children nor women were present, when the increase and multiplication of the five loaves and the two fishes took place. Bat some

one might say that, while many ate and according to their desert and capacity participated in the loaves of blessing, some worthy to be numbered, corresponding to the men of twenty years old who are numbered in the Book of Numbers, were Israelitish men, but others who were not worthy of such account and numbering were children and women. Moreover, interpret with me allegorically the children in accordance with the passage, “I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ;” and the women in accordance with the saying, “I wish to present you all as a pure virgin to Christ;” and the men according to the saying, “When I am become a man I have put away childish things.” Let us not pass by without exposition the words, “He commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass, and He look the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, He blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves to the disciples, and the disciples to the multitudes. And they did all eat.” For what is meant by the words, “And He commanded all the multitudes to sit down on the grass?” And what are we to understand in the passage worthy of the command of Jesus? Now, I think that He commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass because of what is said in Isaiah, “All flesh is grass;” that is to say, He commanded them to put the flesh under, and to keep in subjection “the mind of the flesh,” that so any one might be able to partake of the loaves which Jesus blesses. Then since there are different orders of those who need the food which Jesus supplies and all are not nourished by equal words, on this account I think that Mark has written, “And He commanded them that they should all sit down by companies upon the green grass; and they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties;” but Luke, “And He said unto His disciples, Make them sit down in companies about fifty each.” For it was necessary that those who were to find rest in the food of Jesus should either be in the order of the hundred — the sacred number — which is consecrated to God, because of the unit, (in it) or in the order of the fifty — the number which embraces the remission of sins, in accordance with the mystery of the Jubilee which took place every fifty years, and of the feast at Pentecost. And I think that the twelve baskets were in the possession of the disciples to whom it was said “Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” And as the throne of him who judges the tribe of Reuben might be said to be a mystery, and the throne of him who judges the tribe of Simeon, and another of him who judges the

tribe of Judah, and so on with the others; so there might be a basket of the food of Reuben, and another of Simeon, and another of Levi. But it is not in accordance with our present discourse now to digress so far from the subject in hand as to collect what is said about the twelve tribes, and separately what is said about each of them, and to say what each tribe of Israel may signify

4

THE MULTITUDES AND THE DISCIPLES CONTRASTED

“And straightway He constrained the disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before Him unto the other side, till He should send the multitudes away.” It should be observed how often in the same passages is mentioned the word, “the multitudes,” and another word, “the disciples,” so that by observing and bringing together the passages about this matter it may be seen that the aim of the Evangelists was to represent by means of the Gospel history the differences of those who come to Jesus; of whom some are the multitudes and are not called disciples, and others are the disciples who are better than the multitudes. It is sufficient, however, for the present, for us to set forth a few sayings, so that any one who is moved by them may do the like with the whole of the Gospels. It is written then — as if the multitudes were below, but the disciples were able to come to Jesus when He went up into the mountain, where the multitudes were not able to be — as follows: “And seeing the multitudes He went up into the mountain, and when He had sat down His disciples came unto Him; and He opened His mouth and taught them saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit,” etc. And again in another place, as the multitudes stood in need of healing, it is said, “Many multitudes followed Him and He healed them.” We do not find any healing recorded of the disciples; since if any one is already a disciple of Jesus he is whole, and being well he needs Jesus not as a physician but in respect of His other powers. Again in another place, when He was speaking to the multitudes, His mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him; this was made known to Him by some one to whom He answered, stretching forth His hand not towards the multitudes but towards the disciples, and said, “Behold My mother

and My brethren." and bearing testimony to the disciples as doing the will of the Father which is in heaven, He added, "He is My brother and sister and mother." And again in another place it is written, "All the multitude stood on the beach and He spake to them many things in parables." Then after the parable of the Sowing, it was no longer the multitudes but the disciples who came and said to Him, not "Why speakest thou to us in parables," but, "Why speakest thou to them in parables." Then also He answered and said, not to the multitudes but to the disciples, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to the rest in parables." Accordingly; of those who come to the name I of Jesus some, who know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, would be called disciples; but those to whom such a privilege is not given would be called multitudes, who would be spoken of as inferior to the disciples. For observe carefully that He said to the disciples, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," but about the multitudes, "To them it is not given." And in another place He dismisses the multitudes indeed, and goes into the house, but He does not dismiss the disciples; and there came to Him into His house, not the multitudes but His disciples, saying, "Declare to us the parable of the tares of the field." Moreover, also, in another place when Jesus heard the things concerning John and withdrew in a boat to a desert place apart, the multitudes followed Him; when He came forth and saw a great multitude He had compassion on them and healed their sick — the sick of the multitudes, not of the disciples. "And when even was come there came to Him," not the multitudes, but the disciples, as being different from the multitudes, saying, "Send the multitudes away that they may go into the villages and buy themselves food." And, further, when Jesus took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven He blessed and brake the loaves, He gave not to the multitudes but to the disciples, that the disciples might give to the multitudes who were not able to take from Him, but received with difficulty at the hands of the disciples the loaves of the blessing of Jesus, and did not eat even all these; for the multitudes were filled and left that which remained over in twelve baskets which were full

5

THE DISCIPLES IN CONFLICT. JESUS WALKS UPON THE WATERS

The reason why we have taken up this subject is the passage under discussion which tells that Jesus separated the disciples from the multitudes, and constrained them to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side until He Himself should send the multitudes away; for the multitudes were not able to go away to the other side, as they were not in the mystic sense Hebrews, which are by interpretation, “dwelling on the other side.” But this was the work of the disciples of Jesus — I mean to go away to the other side, and to pass beyond things seen and material, as temporal, and to go on to things unseen and eternal. To be dismissed by Jesus was a sufficient act of kindness bestowed on the multitudes by Jesus; for just because they were multitudes they were not able to go away to the other side; and this kind of dismissal no one has the power to effect save Jesus only, and it is not possible for any one to be dismissed unless he has first eaten of the loaves which Jesus blesses. Nor is it possible for any one to eat of the loaves of blessing of Jesus unless he has done as Jesus commanded and sat down upon the grass as we have told. Nor again was it possible for the multitudes to do this unless they had followed Jesus from their own cities, when He withdrew into a desert place apart. And at first, when He was asked by the disciples to send away the multitudes, He did not send them away until He had fed them with the loaves of blessing; but now He sends them away, having first constrained the disciples to enter into the boat; and He sends them away, while they were somewhere below, — for the desert was below, — but He Himself went up into the mountain to pray. And you must observe this, that immediately after the five thousand had been fed, Jesus constrained the disciples to embark into the boat, and to go before Him unto the other side. Only, the disciples were not able to go before Jesus to the other side; but, when they had got as far as the middle of the sea, and the boat was distressed “because the wind was contrary to them,” they were afraid when about the fourth watch of the night Jesus came to them. And if Jesus had not gone up into the boat neither would the wind which was contrary to the disciples who were sailing have ceased, nor would those who were

sailing have gone across and come to the other side. And, perhaps, wishing to teach them by experience that it was not possible apart from Him to go to the other side He constrained them to enter into the boat and go before Him to the other side; but, when they were not able to advance farther than the middle of the sea, He appeared to them, and did what is written, and showed that he who arrives at the other side reaches it because Jesus sails along with him. But what is the boat into which Jesus constrained the disciples to enter? Is it perhaps the conflict of temptations and difficulties into which any one is constrained by the Word, and goes unwillingly, as it were, when the Savior wishes to train by exercise the disciples in this boat which is distressed by the waves and the contrary wind? But since Mark has made a slight change in the reading, and for "Straightway He constrained the disciples to enter lute the boat and to go before Him to the other side," has written, "And straightway He constrained His disciples to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side unto Bethsaida," we must attend to the word, "He constrained," when first we have seen to the slight variation in Mark who indicates something more definite by the addition of the pronoun; for the same thing is not expressed by the words, straightway "He constrained the disciples." Something more than "the" disciples simply is written in Mark, namely, "His" disciples. Perhaps, therefore, to attend to the expression, the disciples who found it hard to tear themselves away from Jesus, and could not be separated from Him by any ordinary cause, wished to be present with Him; but He having judged that they should make trial of the waves and of the contrary wind, which would not have been contrary if they had been with Jesus, put on them the necessity of being separated from Him and entering into the boat. The Savior then compels the disciples to enter into the boat of temptations and to go before Him to the other side, and through victory over them to go beyond critical difficulties; but when they had come into the midst of the sea, and of the waves in the temptations, and of the contrary winds which prevented them from going away to the other side, they were not able, struggling as they were without Jesus, to overcome the waves and the contrary wind and reach the other side. Wherefore the Word, taking compassion upon them who had done all that was in their power to reach the other side, came to them walking upon the sea, which for Him had no waves or wind that was able to oppose if He so willed; for it is not written, "He came to them walking upon the waves," but, "upon the

waters;" Just as Peter, who at first when Jesus said to him, "Come," went down from the boat and walked not upon "the waves," but upon "the waters" to come to Jesus; but when he doubted he saw that the wind was strong, which was not strong to him who laid aside his little faith and his doubting. But, when Jesus went up with Peter into the boat, the wind ceased, as it had no power to energise against the boat when Jesus had gone up into it

6

INTERPRETATION OF THE DETAILS IN THE NARRATIVE. APPLICATION THEREOF TO ALL DISCIPLES

And then the disciples *"having crossed over came to the land Gennesaret,"* of which word, if we knew the interpretation, we might gain some assistance in the exposition of the present passage. And observe, since God is faithful, and will not suffer the multitudes to be tempted above that they are able, in what way the Son of God constrained the disciples to enter into the boat, as being stronger and able to get as far as the middle of the sea, and to endure the trials by the waves, until they became worthy of divine assistance, and saw Jesus and heard Him when He had gone up, and to cross over and come to the land Gennesaret; but as for the multitudes who, because they were weaker, did not make trial of the boat and the waves and the contrary wind, them He sent away, and went up into the mountain apart to pray. To pray for whom? Was it perhaps to pray for the multitudes that, when they were dismissed after the loaves of blessing, they might do nothing opposed to their dismissal by Jesus? And for the disciples that, when they were constrained by Him to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side, they might suffer nothing in the sea nor from the contrary wind? And I would say with confidence, that, because of the prayer of Jesus to the Father for the disciples, they suffered nothing when sea and wave and contrary wind were striving against them. The simpler disciple, then, may be satisfied with the bare narrative; but let us remember, if ever we fall into distressful temptations, that Jesus has constrained us to enter into their boat, wishing us to go before Him unto the other side; for it is not possible for us to

reach the other side, unless we have endured the temptations of waves add contrary wind. Then when we see many difficulties besetting us, and with moderate struggle we have swum through them to some extent, let us consider that our boat is in the midst of the sea, distressed at that time by the waves which wish us to make shipwreck concerning faith or some one of the virtues; but when we see the spirit of the evil one striving against us, let us conceive that then the wind is contrary to us. When then in such suffering we have spent three watches of the night — that is, of the darkness which is in the temptations — striving nobly with all our might and watching ourselves so as not to make shipwreck concerning the faith or some one of the virtues, — the first watch against the father of darkness and wickedness, the second watch against his son "who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or thing that is worshipped," and the third watch against the spirit that is opposed to the Holy Spirit, then we believe that when the fourth watch impendeth, when "the night is far spent, and the day is at hand," the Son of God will come to us, that He may prepare the sea for us, walking upon it. And when we see the Word appearing unto us we shall indeed be troubled before we clearly understand that it is the Savior who has come to us, supposing that we are still beholding an apparition, and for fear shall cry out; but He Himself straightway will speak to us saying, "Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid." And if, warmly moved by His "Be of good cheer," any Peter be found among us, who is on his way to perfection but has not yet become perfect, having gone down from the boat, as if coming out of that temptation in which he was distressed, he will indeed walk at first, wishing to come to Jesus upon the waters; but being as yet of little faith, and as yet doubting, will see that the wind is strong and will be afraid and begin to sink; but he will not sink because he will call upon Jesus with loud voice, and will say to Him, "Lord, save me;" then immediately while such a Peter is yet speaking and saying, "Lord save me," the Word will stretch forth His hand, holding out assistance to such an one, and will take hold of him when he is beginning to sink, and will reproach him for his little faith and doubting. Only, observe that He did not say, "O thou without faith," but, "O thou of little faith," and that it was said, "Wherefore didst thou doubt." as he had still a measure of faith, but also had a tendency towards that which was opposed to faith

7

THE HEALING OF THE SICK ON THE OTHER SIDE. THE METHOD OF HEALING

But after this both Jesus and Peter will go up into the boat, and the wind will cease; and those in the boat, perceiving the great dangers from which they have been saved, will worship Him, saying, not simply, “Thou art the Son of God,” as also the two demoniacs said, but, “Of a truth, Thou art the Son of God.” This the disciples in the boat say, for I do not think that others than the disciples said so. And when we have undergone all these experiences, having crossed over, we shall come to the land where Jesus commanded us to go before Him. And perhaps, also, some secret and occult mystery with reference to some who were saved by Jesus is indicated by the words, “And when the men of that place knew Him,” — plainly of the place on the other side, — “they sent into all that region round about,” — round about the other side, not on the other side itself, but round about it, — “and they brought unto Him all that were sick.” And here observe that they brought unto Him not only many that were sick, but all in that region round about; and the sick who were brought to Him besought Him that they might touch if it were only the border of His garment, beseeching this grace from Him, since they were not like “the woman who had an issue of blood twelve years, and who came behind Him and touched the border of His garment, saying within herself, If I do but touch His garment, I shall be made whole.” For observe in what is said about the border of His garment, on account of what the flowing of her blood ceased at once. But those from the country round the land of Gennesaret, to which Jesus and His disciples crossed over and came, did not come of themselves to Jesus, but were brought by those who had sent the tidings, inasmuch as they were not able because of their extreme weakness to come of themselves. Nor did they merely touch the garment, like the woman who had an issue of blood, but they touched after that they had besought Him. Only, of these, “as many as touched were made whole.” And whether there be any difference between the “They were made whole,” which is said in their case, and the “being saved,” — for it was said to the woman with the issue of blood, “Thy faith hath saved thee,” you may yourself consider

8

CONCERNING THE PHARISEES AND SCRIBES WHO CAME AND INQUIRED, WHY DO THY DISCIPLES TRANSGRESS THE TRADITION OF THE ELDERS?

"*Then there came to Him from Jerusalem Pharisees and scribes, saying, Why do Thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? For they wash not their hands when they eat bread*." He who observes at what time the Pharisees and scribes came from Jerusalem to Jesus, saying, "Why do Thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders," etc., will perceive that Matthew of necessity wrote not simply that Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem came to the Savior to inquire of Him the matters before us, but put it thus, "Then come to Him from Jerusalem." What time, therefore, are we to understand by "then"? At the time when Jesus and His disciples crossed over and came in the boat to the land of Gennesaret, when the wind ceased from the time that Jesus entered into the boat, and when "the men of that place knowing Him sent into all that region round about, and brought unto Him all that were sick, and besought Him that they might touch if it were only the border of His garment, and as many as touched were made whole." At that time came to Him from Jerusalem Pharisees and scribes, not struck with admiration at the power which was in Jesus, which healed those who only touched even the border of His garment, but in a censorious spirit, accusing the disciples before their Teacher, not concerning the transgression of a commandment of God, but of a single tradition of the Jewish elders. And it is probable that this very charge of these censorious persons is a proof of the piety of the disciples of Jesus, who gave to the Pharisees and scribes no opportunity of censure with reference to the transgression of the commandments of God, as they would not have brought the charge of transgression against the disciples, as transgressing the commandment of the elders, if they had had it in their power to censure those whom they accused, and to show that they were transgressing a commandment of God. But do not suppose that these things go to establish the necessity of keeping the law of Moses according to the letter, because the disciples of Jesus up to that time kept it; for not before He suffered did He "redeem us from the curse of the law," who in suffering for men "became a curse for us." But just as fittingly Paul became

a Jew to the Jews that he might gain Jews, what strange thing is it that the Apostles, whose way of life was passed among the Jews, even though they understood the spiritual things in the law, should have used a spirit of accommodation, as Paul also did when he circumcised Timothy, and offered sacrifice in accordance with a certain legal vow, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles? Only, again, they appear fond of bringing accusations, as they have no charge to bring against the disciples of Jesus with reference to a commandment of God, but only with reference to one tradition of the elders. And especially does this love of accusation become manifest in this, that they bring the charge in presence of those very persons who had been healed from their sickness; in appearance against the disciples, but in reality purposing to slander their Teacher, as it was a tradition of the elders that the washing of hands was a thing essential to piety. For they thought that the hands of those who did not wash before eating bread were defiled and unclean, but that the hands of those who had washed them with water became pure and holy, not in a figurative sense, in due relation to the law of Moses according to the letter. But let us, not according to the tradition of the elders among the Jews, but according to sound reason, endeavor to purify our own actions and so to wash the hands of our souls, when we are about to eat the three loaves which we ask from Jesus, who wishes to be our friend; for with hands that are defiled and unwashed and impure, we ought not to partake of the loaves

9

EXPLANATION OF “CORBAN”

Jesus, however, does not accuse them with reference to a tradition of the Jewish elders, but with regard to two most imperative commandments of God, the one of which was the fifth in the decalogue, being as follows: “Honor thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long on the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;” and the other was written thus in Leviticus, “If a man speak evil of his father or his mother, let him die the death; he has spoken evil of his father or mother, he shall be guilty.” But when we wish to examine the very letter of the words as given by Matthew, “He that speaketh evil of father or

mother, let him die the death," consider whether it was taken from the place where it was written, "Whoso striketh his father or mother, let him die the death; and he that speaketh evil of father or mother let him die the death." For such are the exact words taken from the Law with regard to the two commandments; but Matthew has quoted them in part and in an abridged form, and not in the very words. But what the nature of the charge is which the Savior brings against the Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem, when He says that they transgress the commandment of God because of their tradition we must consider. And God said, "Honor thy father and thy mother," teaching that the child should pay the honor which is due to his parents. Of this honor to parents one part was to share with them the necessaries of life, such as food and clothing, and if there was any other thing in which it was possible for them to show favor towards their own parents. But the Pharisees and scribes promulgated in opposition to the law a tradition which is found rather obscurely in the Gospel, and which we ourselves would not have thought of, unless one of the Hebrews had given to us the following facts relating to the passage. Sometimes, he says, when money-lenders fell in with stubborn debtors who were able but not willing to pay their debts, they consecrated what was due to the account of the poor, for whom money was cast into the treasury by each of those who wished to give a portion of their goods to the poor according to their ability. They, therefore, said sometimes to their debtors in their own tongue, "That which you owe to me is Corban," — that is, a gift — "for I have consecrated it to the poor, to the account of piety towards God." Then the debtor, as no longer in debt to men but to God and to piety towards God, was shut up, as it were, even though unwilling, to payment of the debt, no longer to the money-lender, but now to God for the account of the poor, in name of the money-lender. What then the money-lender did to the debtor, that sometimes some sons did to their parents and said to them, "That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me, father or mother, know that you will receive this from Corban," from the account of the poor who are consecrated to God. Then the parents, hearing that that which should have been given to them was Corban, — consecrated to God, — no longer wished to take it from their sons, even though they were in extreme need of the necessaries of life. The elders, then, declared to the people a tradition of this kind, "Whosoever said to his father or mother, that which should be given to any of them is

Corban and a gift, that man was no longer a debtor to his father or mother in respect of giving to them the necessaries of life." The Savior censures this tradition, as not being sound but opposed to the commandment of God. For if God says, "Honor thy father and thy mother," but the tradition said, he is not bound to honor his father or mother by a gift, who has consecrated to God, as Corban, that which would have been given to his parents, manifestly the commandment of God concerning the honor due to parents was made void by the tradition of the Pharisees and scribes which said, that he was no longer bound to honor his father or mother, who had, once for all, consecrated to God that which the parents would have received. And the Pharisees, as lovers of money, in order that under pretext of the poor they might receive even that which would have been given to the parents of any one, gave such teaching. And the Gospel testifies to their love of money, saying, "But the Pharisees who were lovers of money heard these things and they scoffed at Him." If, then, any one of those who are called elders among us, or of those who are in any way rulers of the people, profess to give to the poor under the name of the commonweal, rather than to be of those who give to their kindred if they should chance to be in need of the necessaries of life, and those who give cannot do both, this man might with justice be called a brother of those Pharisees who made void the word of God through their own tradition, and were accused by the Savior as hypocrites. And as a very powerful deterrent to any one from being anxious to take from the account of the poor, and from thinking that "the piety of others is a way of gain," we have not only these things, but also that which is recorded about the traitor Judas, who in appearance championed the cause of the poor, and said with indignation, "This ointment might have been sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor," but in reality "was a thief, and having the bag took away what was put therein." If, then, any one in our time who has the bag of the Church speaks likes Judas on behalf of the poor, but takes away what is put therein, let there be assigned to him the portion along with Judas who did these things; on account of which things eating like a gangrene into his soul, the devil cast it into his heart to betray the Savior; and, when he had received the "fiery dart," with reference to this end, the devil afterwards himself entered into his soul and took full possession of him. And perhaps, when the Apostle says, "The love of money is a root

of all evils," he says it because of Judas' love of money, which was a root of all the evils that were committed against Jesus

10

THE TRADITIONS OF THE ELDERS IN COLLISION WITH DIVINE LAW

But let us return to the subject before us, in which the Savior abridged and expounded two commandments from the law, the one from the decalogue from Exodus, and the other from Leviticus, or the other from some one of the books of the Pentateuch. Then since we have explained in what way they made void the word of God which said, "Honor thy father and thy mother," by saying, "Thou shalt not honor thy father or thy mother," whosoever shall say to his father or mother, "It is a gift that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me," some one may inquire whether the words, "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him die the death," are not extraneous. For, granted that he does not honor his father and mother, who consecrates to what is called Corban that which would have been given in honor of father and mother, in what way, therefore, does the tradition of the Pharisees make void the word which said, "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him die the death.? But, perhaps, when any one said to his father or his mother, "It is a gift, that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me," he, as it were, casts abuse on his father or mother as if he were calling his parents sacrilegious, in taking that which was consecrated to Corban from him who had consecrated it to Corban. The Jews then punish their sons according to the law, as speaking evil of father or mother, when they say to their father or mother, "It is a gift, that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me," but you by one of your traditions make void two commandments of God. And then you are not ashamed to accuse My disciples who transgress no commandment; for they walk "in all His commandments and ordinances blamelessly," but transgress a tradition of the elders, so as not to transgress a commandment of God. And if you had held this aim before you, you would have kept the commandment about the honor due to father and mother, and that which said, "He that speaketh evil of father

and mother, let him die the death;" but the tradition of the elders which is opposed to these commandments you would not have kept

11

EXPOSITION OF THE PROPHECY OF ISAIAH QUOTED BY JESUS

And, after this, wishing to refute completely from the words of the prophets all these traditions of the elders among the Jews, He brought before them a saying, from Isaiah, which in the exact words is as follows: "And the Lord said, This people draws nigh to Me with their mouth," etc.; and, as we said before, Matthew has not written out the prophetical saying in the very words. And, if it be necessary because of its use in the Gospel to interpret it according to our ability, we will take in addition the preceding passage which is, in my judgment, noted with advantage by us for the exposition of that passage in the Gospel which was taken from the prophet. The passage in Isaiah from the beginning is thus. "Be ye faint, and be maddened: be ye drunken, but not with strong drink nor with wine: for the Lord hath given you to drink of the spirit of stupor, and He will close their eyes, both of their prophets, and of their rulers who see things secret. And all these sayings shall be to you as the words of the book, which has been sealed, which if they give to a man who knows letters, saying, Read this, he shall answer, I cannot read, for it is sealed. And this book will be given into the hands of a man who does not know letters, and one will say to him, Read this, and he will say, I know not letters. And the Lord said, This people is nigh to Me," etc., down to the words, "Woe unto them that form counsel in secret, and their works shall be in darkness." Taking up then the passage before us in the Gospel, I have put some of the verses which come before it, and some which follow it, in order to show in what way the Word threatens to close the eyes of those of the people who are astonished and drunken, and have been made to drink of the spirit of deep sleep. And it threatens also to close the eyes of their prophets and their rulers who profess to see things secret, — which things, I think, took place after the advent of the Savior among that people; for all the words of the whole of the Scriptures, and of Isaiah also, have become to them as the

words of a sealed book. Now the expression “sealed” is used of a book closed in virtue of its obscurity and not open in virtue of its lucidity, which is equally obscure to those who are not able to read it at all because they do not know letters, and to those who profess to know letters but do not understand the meaning in the things which have been written. Well, then, does he add to this, that when the people, fainting because of their sins and being in a state of madness rage against Him through those sins wherewith they shall be drunken against Him with the spirit of stupor, which shall be given to them to drink by the Lord when He closes their eyes, as unworthy to see, and the eyes of their prophets and of their rulers who profess to see the hidden things of the mysteries in the Divine Scriptures; and, when their eyes are closed, then shall the prophetic words be sealed to them and hidden, as has been the case with those who do not believe in Jesus as the Christ. And when the prophetic sayings have become as the words of a sealed book, not only to those who do not know letters but to those who profess to know, then the Lord said, that the people of the Jews draw nigh to God with their mouth only, and He says that they honor Him with their lips, because their heart by reason of their unbelief in Jesus is far from the Lord. And now, especially, from the time at which they denied our Savior, it might be said about them by God, “But in vain do they worship Me;” for they no longer teach the precepts of God but of men, and doctrines which are human and no longer of the Spirit of wisdom. Wherefore, when these things happen to them, God has removed the people of the Jews, and has caused to perish the wisdom of the wise men among them; for there is no longer wisdom among them, just as there is no prophecy; but God has utterly destroyed the prudence of the prudent and concealed it, and no longer is it splendid and conspicuous. Wherefore, although they may seem to form some counsel in a deep fashion, because they do it not through the Lord they are called miserable; and even though they profess to tell some secrets of the Divine counsel they lie, since their works are not works of light, but of darkness and night. I have thought it right briefly to set forth the prophecy, and to a certain extent elucidate its meaning, seeing that Matthew made mention of it

And Mark also made mention of it, from whom we may usefully set down the following words in the place, with reference to the transgression of the elders who held that it was necessary to wash hands when the Jews ate

bread, “For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands diligently, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders; and when they come from the market-place except they wash themselves they eat not. And there are some other things which they have received to hold, washings of cups and pots and brazen vessels and couches.”

12

THINGS CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ACCORDING TO THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

“And He called to Him the multitude and said unto them, Hear and understand,” etc. We are clearly taught in these words by the Savior that, when we read in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the precepts about meat clean and unclean, for the transgression of which we are accused by the material Jews and by the Ebionites who differ little from them, we are not to think that the scope of the Scripture is found in any superficial understanding of them. For if “not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth,” and especially when, according to Mark, the Savior said these things “making all meats clean,” manifestly we are not defiled when we eat those things which the Jews who desire to be in bondage to the letter of the law declare to be unclean, but we are then defiled when, whereas our lips ought to be bound with perception and we ought “to make for them what we call a balance and weight,” we speak offhand and discuss matters we ought not, from which there comes to us the spring of sins. And it is indeed becoming to the law of God to forbid those things which arise from wickedness, and to enjoin those things which tend to virtue, but as for things which are in their own nature indifferent to leave them in their own place, as they may, according to our choice and the reason which is in us, be done ill if we sin in them, but if rightly directed by us be done well. And any one who has carefully thought on these matters will see that, even in those things which are thought to be good, it is possible for a man to sin who has taken them up in an evil way and under the impulse of passion, and that these things called impure may be considered pure, if used by us in accordance with reason. As, then, when the Jew sins his circumcision shall be reckoned for

uncircumcision, but when one of the Gentiles acts uprightly his uncircumcision shall be reckoned for circumcision, so those things which are thought to be pure shall be reckoned for impure in the case of him who does not use them fittingly, nor when one ought, nor as far as he ought, nor for what reason he ought. But as for the things which are called impure, “All things become pure to the pure,” for, “To them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, since both their minds and their conscience are defiled.” And when these are defiled, they make all things whatsoever they touch defiled; as again on the contrary the pure mind and the pure conscience make all things pure, even though they may seem to be impure; for not from intemperance, nor from love of pleasure, nor with doubting which draws a man both ways, do the righteous use meats or drinks, mindful of the precept, “Whether ye eat or drink or whatsoever other thing ye do, do all to the glory of God.” And if it be necessary to delineate the foods which are unclean according to the Gospel, we will say that they are such as are supplied by covetousness, and are the result of base love of gain, and are taken up from love of pleasure, and from deifying the belly which is treated with honor, when it, with its appetites, and not reason, rules our souls. But as for us who know that some things are used by demons, or if we do not know, but suspect, and are in doubt about it, if we use such things, we have used them not to the glory of God, nor in the name of Christ; for not only does the suspicion that things have been sacrificed to idols condemn him who eats, but even the doubt concerning this; for “he that doubteth,” according to the Apostle, “is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.” He then eats in faith who believes that that which is eaten has not been sacrificed in the temples of idols, and that it is not strangled nor blood; but he eats not of faith who is in doubt about any of these things. And the man who knowing that they have been sacrificed to demons nevertheless uses them, becomes a communicant with demons, while at the same time, his imagination is polluted with reference to demons participating in the sacrifice. And the Apostle, however, knowing that it is not the nature of meats which is the cause of injury to him who uses them or of advantage to him who refrains from their use, but opinions and the reason which is in them, said, “But meat commendeth us not to God, for neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse.” And since he knew that those who have a loftier conception of what things are pure and what

impure according to the law, turning aside from the distinction about the use of things pure and impure, and superstition, I think, in respect of things being different, become indifferent to the use of meats, and on this account are condemned by the Jews as transgressors of law, he said therefore, somewhere, “Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink,” etc., teaching us that the things according to the letter are a shadow, but that the true thoughts of the law which are stored up in them are the good things to come, in which one may find what are the pure spiritual meats of the soul, and what are the impure foods in false and contradictory words which injure the man who is nourished in them, “For the law had a shadow of the good things to come.”

13

THE OFFENSE OF THE PHARISEES

And as in many cases we have to consider the astonishment of the Jews at the words of the Savior, because they were spoken with authority, so also in regard to the words in this place. Having called the multitudes therefore, He said unto them, “Hear and understand,” etc. And He said this, the Pharisees being offended at this saying, as, because of their evil opinions and their worthless interpretation of the law, they were not the plant of his own Father in heaven, and on this account were being rooted up; for they were rooted up as they did not receive the true vine, which was cultivated by the Father, even Jesus Christ. For how could they be a plant of His Father who were offended at the words of Jesus, words which turn men away from the precept, “Handle not, nor taste, nor touch, — all which things were to perish in the using — after the precepts and doctrines of men,” but induce the intelligent hearer of them to seek in regard to them the things which are above and not the things upon the earth as the Jews do? And since, because of their evil opinions, the Pharisees were not the plant of His Father in heaven, on this account, as about such as were incorrigible, He says to the disciple, “Let them alone;” “Let them alone,” He said for this reason, that as they were blind they ought to become conscious of their blindness and seek guides; but they, being unconscious of their own blindness, profess to guide the blind, not

reckoning that they would fall into a pit, about which it is written in the Psalms, “He hath made a pit, and digged it, and will fall into the ditch which he hath marie.” Again, elsewhere it is written, “And seeing the multitudes, He went up into the mountain, and when He had sat down His disciples came unto Him;” but here He stretches forth His hand to the multitude, calling them unto Him, and turning their thoughts away from the literal interpretation of the questions in the law, when He in the first place said to them, who did not yet understand what they heard, “Hear and understand,” and thereafter as in parables said to them, “Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth.”

14

WHY THE PHARISEES WERE NOT A PLANT OF GOD. TEACHING OF ORIGEN ON THE “BREAD OF THE LORD”

After this, it is worth while to look at the phrase which has been assailed in a sophistical way by those who say that the God of the law and the God of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is not the same; for they say that the heavenly Father of Jesus Christ is not the husbandman of those who think that they worship God according to the law of Moses. Jesus Himself said that the Pharisees, who were worshipping the God who created the world and the law, were not a plant which His heavenly Father had planted, and that for this reason it was being rooted up. But you might also say this, that even if it were the Father of Jesus who “brought in and planted the people,” when it came out of Egypt, “to the mountain of His own inheritance, to the place which He had prepared for Himself to dwell in,” yet Jesus would have said, in regard to the Pharisees, “Every plant which My heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up.” Now, to this we will say, that as many as on account of their perverse interpretation of the things in the law were not a plant of His Father in heaven, were blinded in their minds, as not believing the truth, but taking pleasure in unrighteousness, by him who is deified by the sons of this world, and on this account is called by Paul the God of this world. And do not suppose that Paul said that he was truly God; for just as the belly, though it is not

the God of those who prize pleasure too highly, being lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God, is said by Paul to be their God, so the prince of this world, in regard to whom the Savior says, “Now has the prince of this world been judged,” though he is not God, is said to be the God of those who do not wish to receive the spirit of adoption, in order that they may become sons of that world, and sons of the resurrection from the dead, and who, on this account, abide in the sonship of this world. I have deemed it necessary to introduce these matters, even though they may have been spoken by way of digression, because of the saying, “They are blind guides of the blind.” Who are such? The Pharisees, whose minds the God of this world hath blinded as they are unbelieving, because they have not believed in Jesus Christ; and he hath blinded them so that the “light of the Gospel of the glory of God in the face of Christ should not dawn upon them.” But not only must we avoid being guided by those blind ones who are conscious that they are in need of guides, because they have not yet received the power of vision of themselves; but even in the case of all who profess to guide us in sound doctrine, we must hear with care, and apply a sound judgment to what is said, lest being guided according to the ignorance of those who are blind, and do not see the things that concern sound doctrine, we ourselves may appear to be blind because we do not see the sense of the Scriptures, so that both he who guides and he who is guided will fall into the ditch of which we have Spoken before. Next to this, it is written in what way Peter answered and said to the Savior, as if he had not understood the saying, “Not that which cometh into the mouth defileth the man, but that which goeth out of the mouth,” “Declare unto us the parable.” To which the Savior says, “Are ye also, even yet, without understanding?” As if He had said, “Having been so long time with Me, do ye not yet understand the meaning of what is said, and do ye not perceive that for this reason that which goeth into his month does not defile the man, because it passeth into the belly, and going out from it is cast into the draught?” It was not in respect of the law in which they appeared to believe, that the Pharisees were not a plant of the Father of Jesus, but in respect of their perverse interpretation of the law and the things written in it. For since there are two things to be understood in regard to the law, the ministration of death which was engraven in letters and which had no kinship with the spirit, and the ministration of life which is understood in the spiritual law. those who were able with a sincere heart to say, “We

know that the law is spiritual," and therefore "the law is holy, and the commandment holy and righteous and good," were the plant which the heavenly Father planted; but those who were not such, but guarded with care the letter which killeth only, were not a plant of God but of him who hardened their heart, and put a veil over it, which veil had power over them so long as they did not turn to the Lord; "for if any one should turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away, and the Lord is the Spirit." Now some one when dealing with the passage might say, that just as "not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man," of even though it may be thought by the Jews to be defiled, so not that which entereth into the mouth sanctifieth the man, even though what is called the bread of the Lord may be thought by the simpler disciples to sanctify. And the saying is I think, not to be despised, and on this account, demands clear exposition, which seems to me to be thus; as it is not the meat but the conscience of him who eats with doubt which defiles him that eateth, for "he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith," and as nothing is pure to him who is defiled and unbelieving, not in itself, but because of his defilement and unbelief, so that which is sanctified through the word of God and prayer does not, in its own nature, sanctify him who uses it, for, if this were so, it would sanctify even him who eats unworthily of the bread of the Lord, and no one on account of this food would become weak or sickly or asleep for something of this kind Paul represented in saying, "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly and not a few sleep." And in the case of the bread of the Lord, accordingly, there is advantage to him who uses it, when with undefiled mind and pure conscience he partakes of the bread. And so neither by not eating, I mean by the very fact that we do not eat of the bread which has been sanctified by the word of God and prayer, are we deprived of any good thing, nor by eating are we the better by any good thing; for the cause of our lacking is wickedness and sins, and the cause of our abounding is righteousness and right actions; so that such is the meaning of what is said by Paul, "For neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse." Now, if "everything that entereth into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast out into the drought," even the meat which has been sanctified through the word of God and prayer, in accordance with the fact that it is material, goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught, but in respect of the prayer which comes upon it, according to the proportion of

the faith, becomes a benefit and is a means of clear vision to the mind which looks to that which is beneficial, and it is not the material of the bread but the word which is said over it which is of advantage to him who eats it not unworthily of the Lord. And these things indeed are said of the typical and symbolical body. But many things might be said about the Word Himself who became flesh, and true meat of which he that eateth shall assuredly live for ever, no worthless person being able to eat it; for if it were possible for one who continues worthless to eat of Him who became flesh. who was the Word and the living bread, it would not have been written, that “every one who eats of this bread shall live for ever.”

15

EATING WITH UNWASHED HEART DEFILES THE MAN

Next to this let us see how the things which proceed out and defile the man do not defile the man because of their proceeding out of the mouth, but have the cause of their defilement in the heart, when there come forth out of it, before those things which proceed through the mouth, evil thoughts, of which the species are — murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness. railings. For these are the things which defile the man, when they come forth out of the heart, and going out from it proceed through the mouth; so that, if they did not come out of the heart, but were retained there somewhere about the heart, and were not allowed to be spoken through the mouth, they would very quickly disappear, and a man would be no more defiled. The spring and source, then, of every sin are evil thoughts; for, unless these gained the mastery, neither murders nor adulteries nor any other such thing would exist. Therefore, each man must keep his own heart with all watchfulness; for when the Lord comes in the day of judgment. “He will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts,” “all the thoughts of men meanwhile accusing or else excusing them,” “when their own devices have beset them about.” But of such a nature are the evil thoughts that sometimes they make worthy of censure even those things which seem good, and which, so far as the judgment of the masses is concerned, are worthy of praise. Accordingly, if we do alms before men, having in our

thoughts the design of appearing to men philanthropic, and of being honored because of philanthropy, we receive the reward from men; and, universally, everything that is done with the consciousness in the doer that he will be glorified by men, has no reward from Him who beholds in secret, and renders the reward to those who are pure, in secret. So, too, therefore, is it with apparent purity if it is influenced by considerations of vain glory or love of gain; and the teaching which is thought to be the teaching of the Church, if it becomes servile through the word of flattery, either when it is made the excuse for covetousness, or when any one seeks glory from men because of his teaching, is not reckoned to be the teaching of those "who have been set by God in the Church: first, apostles; secondly, prophets; and thirdly, teachers." And you will say the like in the case of him who seeks the office of a bishop for the sake of glory with men, or of flattery from men, or for the sake of the gain received from those who, coming over to the word, give in the name of piety; for a bishop of this kind at any rate does not "desire a good work," nor can he be without reproach, nor temperate, nor soberminded, as he is intoxicated with glory and intemperately satiated with it. And the same also you will say about the elders and deacons. And if we seem to some to have made a digression in speaking of these things, consider if it were not necessary that they should be said, because that evil thoughts are the spring of all sins, and can pollute even those actions which, if they were done apart from evil thoughts, would have justified the man who did them. We have thus investigated according to our ability what are the things which defile; but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile the man; but if we must say it with boldness, with unwashed heart to eat anything whatsoever which is the natural food of our reason, defileth the man

16

CONCERNING THE CANAANITISH WOMAN. MEANING OF THE "BORDERS OF TYRE AND SIDON"

"And Jesus went out thence and withdrew into the parts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold a Canaanitish woman." Whence the "thence"? Was it from the land of Gennesaret, concerning which it was said before, "And

when they had crossed over they came into the land of Gennesaret?" But He withdrew, perhaps because the Pharisees were offended when they heard that "not that which entereth in, but that which proceedeth out, defileth the man;" and that, because of their being suspected of plotting against Him, it is said, "He withdrew," is manifest from the passage, "And when He heard that John was delivered up He withdrew into Galilee." Perhaps also on this account, when describing the things in this place, Mark says that "He rose up and went into the borders of Tyre, and having entered into the house wished no man to know it." It is probable that He sought to avoid the Pharisees who were offended at His teaching, waiting for the time for His suffering, which was more fitting and rightly appointed. But some one might say that Tyre and Sidon are used for the Gentiles; accordingly when He withdrew from Israel He came into the parts of the Gentiles. Among the Hebrews, then, Tyre is called Sor, and it is interpreted "anguish." Sidon, which is also the Hebrew name, is rendered "hunters." And among the Gentiles likewise the hunters are the evil powers, and among them is great distress, the distress, namely, which exists in wickedness and passions. When Jesus, then, went out from Gennesaret He withdrew indeed from Israel and came, not to Tyre and Sidon, but into "the parts" of Tyre and Sidon, with the result that those of the Gentiles now believe in part; so that if He had visited the whole of Tyre and Sidon, no unbeliever would have been left in it. Now, according to Mark, "Jesus rose up and went into the borders of Tyre," — that is, the distress of the Gentiles, — in order that they also from these borders who believe can be saved, when they come out of them; for attend to this: "And behold a Canaanitish woman came out from these borders and cried saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David, my daughter is terribly vexed with a demon." And I think that if she had not come out from those borders she would not have been able to cry to Jesus with the great faith to which testimony was born; and according to the proportion of faith one comes out from the borders among the Gentiles, which "when the Most High divided the nations He set up according to the number of the sons of Israel," and prevented their further advance. Here, then, certain borders are spoken of as the borders of Tyre and Sidon, hut in Exodus the borders of Pharaoh, in which, they say, were formed the plagues against the Egyptians. And we must suppose that each of us when he sins is in the borders of Tyre or Sidon or of Pharaoh and Egypt, or some one of those

which are outside the allotted inheritance of God; but when he changes from wickedness to virtue he goes out from the borders of evil, and comes to the borders of the portion of God, there being among these also a difference which will be manifest to those who are able to understand the things that concern the division and the inheritance of Israel, in harmony with the spiritual law. And allen d also to the meeting, so to speak, which took place between Jesus and the Canaanitish woman; for He comes as to the parts of Tyre and Sidon, and she comes out of those parts, and cried, saying, “Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David.” Now the woman was Canaanitish, which is rendered, prepared for humiliation. The righteous, indeed, are prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the exaltation in the kingdom of God; but sinners are prepared for the humiliation of the wickedness which is in them, and of the deeds which flow from it and prepare them for it, and of the sin which reigns in their mortal body. Only, the Canaanitish woman came out of those borders and went forth from the state of being prepared for humiliation, crying and saying, “Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David.”

17

EXPOSITION OF THE DETAILS IN THE NARRATIVE

Now bring together from the Gospels those who call Him Son of David, as she, and the blind men in Jericho; and who call Him Son of God, and that without the addition “truly” like the demoniacs who say, “What have we to do with Thee, Thou Son of God;” and who call Him so with the addition “truly,” like those in the boat who worshipped Him saying, “Truly Thou art the Son of God.” For the bringing together of these passages will, I think, be useful to you with a view to seeing the difference of those who come (to Jesus); some indeed come as to Him “who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh;” but others come to Him who “was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness;” and of these some with the “truly,” and some without it. Further, observe, that the Canaanitish woman besought Him not about a son, whom she does not seem to have brought forth at all, but about a daughter who was terribly vexed with a demon; but another mother

receives back alive her son who was being carried forth dead. And again the ruler of the synagogue makes supplication for a daughter twelve years old, as being dead, but the nobleman about a son as being still sick, and at the point of death. The daughter, accordingly, who was distressed by a demon, and the dead son sprang from two mothers; and the dead daughter, and the son who was sick unto death, sprang from two fathers, of whom the one was a ruler of the synagogue, and the other was a nobleman. And I am persuaded these things contain reasons concerning the verse kinds of souls which Jesus vivifies and heals. And all the cures that He works among the people, especially those recorded by the Evangelists, took place at that time, that those who would not otherwise have believed unless they saw signs and wonders might believe; for the things aforetime were symbols of the things that are ever being accomplished by the power of Jesus; for there is no time when each of the things which are written is not done by the power of Jesus according to the desert of each. The Canaanitish woman, therefore, because of her race was not worthy even to receive an answer from Jesus, who acknowledged that He had not been sent by the Father tor any other thing than to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, — a lost race of souls possessed of clear vision; but, because of her resolution and of having worshipped Jesus as Son of God, she obtains an answer, which reproaches her with baseness of birth and exhibits the measure of her worthiness, namely, that she was worthy of crumbs as the little dogs, but not of the loaves. But when she with intensified resolution, accepting the saying of Jesus, puts forth the claim to obtain crumbs even as a little dog, and acknowledges that the masters are of a nobler race, then she gets a second answer, which bears testimony to her faith as great, and a promise that it shall be done unto her as she wills. And corresponding, I think, “to the Jerusalem above, which is free, the mother” of Paul and those like to him, must we conceive of the Canaanitish woman, the mother of her who was terribly distressed with a demon, who was the symbol of the mother of such a soul. And consider whether it is not according to sound reason that there are also many fathers and many mothers corresponding to the fathers of Abraham to whom the patriarch went away, and to Jerusalem the “mother,” as Paul says, concerning himself and those like to him. And it is probable that she of whom the Canaanitish woman was a symbol came out of the borders of Tyre and Sidon, of which the places on earth were types, and came to the Savior and besought Him and even now

beseeches Him saying, “Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David, my daughter is terribly vexed with a demon.” Then also to those without and to the disciples when necessary He answers and says, “I was not sent;” teaching us that there are some lost souls pre-eminently intellectual and clear of vision, figuratively called sheep of the house of Israel; which things, I think, the simpler who are of opinion that they are spoken in regard to the Israel which is after the flesh will of necessity admit, namely, that our Savior was sent by the Father to no others than to those lost Jews. But we, who can truthfully boast that “if we have once known Christ after the flesh, but now no longer do we know Him so,” are assured that it is pre-eminently the work of the Word to save the more intelligent, for these are more akin to Him than those who are duller. But since the lost sheep of the house of Israel, with the exception of “the remnant according to the election of grace,” disbelieved the Word, on this account “God chose the foolish things of the world,” namely, that which was not Israel, nor clear of vision, that He might put to shame the wise ones of Israel; and He called “the things which are not,” handing over to them an intelligent nation who were able to admit “the foolishness of the preaching,” and of His good pleasure saved those who believe in this, that He might refute “the things which are,” having perfected praise for Himself, “out of the mouths of babes and sucklings,” when they became hostile to truth. Now, the Canaanitish woman, having come, worshipped Jesus as God, saying, “Lord, help me,” but He answered and said, “It is not possible to take the children’s bread and cast it to the little dogs.” But some one might inquire also into the meaning of this saying, since, — inasmuch as there was a measure of loaves such that both the children and the dogs of the household could not eat loaves, unless the dogs ate other loaves than those which were well made, — it was not possible according to right reason for the well-made loaf of the children to be given as food to the little dogs. But no such thing appears in the case of the power of Jesus, for of this it was possible both for the children and those called little dogs to partake. Consider, then, whether perhaps with reference to the saying, “It is not possible to take the bread of children,” we ought to say that, “He who emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant,” brought a measure of power such as the world was capable of receiving, of which power also He was conscious that a certain quantity went forth from Him as is plain from the words, “Some one did touch Me, for I perceived that

power had gone forth from Me.” From this measure of power, then, He dispensed, giving a larger portion to those who were pre-eminent and who were called sons, but a smaller portion to those who were not such, as to the little dogs. But though these things were so, nevertheless where there was great faith, to her, who because of her base birth in Canaanitish land was a little dog, He gave as to a child the bread of the children. And perhaps, also, of the words of Jesus there are some loaves which it is possible to give to the more rational, as to children only; and other words, as it were, crumbs from the great house and table of the wellborn and the masters, which may be used by some souls, like the dogs. And according to the law of Moses it is written about certain things, “Ye shall cast them to the dogs,” and it was a matter of care to the Holy Spirit to give instruction about certain foods that they should be left to the dogs. Let others, then, who are strangers to the doctrine of the Church, assume that souls pass from the bodies of men into the bodies of dogs, according to their varying degree of wickedness; but we, who do not find this at all in the divine Scripture, say that the more rational condition changes into one more irrational, undergoing this affection in consequence of great slothfulness and negligence. But, also, in the same way, a will which was more irrational, because of its neglect of reason, sometimes turns and becomes rational, so that that which at one time was a dog, loving to eat of the crumbs that fell from the table of its masters, comes into the condition of a son. For virtue contributes greatly to the making of one a son of God, but wickedness, and mad fury in wanton discourses and shamelessness, contribute to the giving of a man the name of dog according to the word of the Scripture. And the like you will also understand in the case of the other names which are applied to animals without reason. Only, he who is reproached as a dog and yet is not indignant at being called unworthy of the bread of children and with all forbearance repeats the saying of that Canaanitish woman, “Yea, Lord, for even the little dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters’ table,” will obtain the very gentle answer of Jesus saying to him, “Great is thy faith,” — when he has received so great faith — and saying, “Be it done unto thee even as thou wilt,” so that he himself may be healed, and if he has produced any fruit which stands in need of healing, that this, too, may be cured

18

CONCERNING THE MULTITUDES WHO WERE HEALED. COMPARISON OF THE MOUNTAIN WHERE JESUS SAT TO THE CHURCH

"*And Jesus departed thence*," — manifestly, from what has been said before, from the parts of Tyre and Sidon, — "and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee." which is commonly called the Lake of Gennesaret, and again went up into the mountain where He went up and sat. We may say, then, that into this mountain where Jesus sits, not only the sound in health go up, but along with the sound, those also who were suffering from various disorders. And, perhaps, this mountain to which Jesus went up and sat is that which is more commonly called the Church, which has been set up through the word of God over the rest of the world and the men upon it; whither go not the disciples only, leaving the multitudes as in the case of the beatitudes, but great multitudes who were not accused themselves of being deaf or suffering from any affection, but who had such along with themselves. For you may see, along with the multitudes who come to this mountain where the Son of God sits, some who have become deaf to the things promised, and others blind in soul and not looking at the true light, and others who are lame and not able to walk according to reason, and others who are maimed and not able to work according to reason. Those, accordingly, who are suffering in soul from such things, though they go up along with the multitudes into the mountain where Jesus was, so long as they are outside of the feet of Jesus, are not healed by Him; but when, as men suffering from such disorders, they are cast by the multitude at His feet, and at the extremities of the body of Christ, not being worthy to obtain such things so far as they themselves are concerned, they are then healed by Him. And when you see in the congregation of what is more commonly called the church the catechumens cast behind those who are at the extreme end of it, and as it were at the feet of the body of Jesus — the church — coming to it with their own deafness and blindness and lameness and crookedness, and in time cured according to the Word, you would not err in saying that such having gone up with the multitudes of the church to the mountain where Jesus was, are cast at His feet and are healed; so that the multitude of the church is astonished at beholding transformations

which have taken place from so great evils to that which is better, so that it might say, those who were formerly dumb afterwards speak the word of God, and the lame walk, the prophecy of Isaiah being fulfilled, not only in things bodily but in things spiritual, which said, “Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of him that hath an impediment in his speech be plain.” And there, unless the expression, “the lame man shall leap as an hart,” is to be taken as accidental, we will say that those formerly lame, and who now through the power of Jesus leap as an hart are not without design compared to a hart, which is a clean animal, and hostile to serpents and cannot at all be injured by their poison. But also, in respect of the fact that the dumb are seen speaking is the prophecy fulfilled which said, “And the tongue of him that hath an impediment shall be plain,” or rather that which said, “Hear ye deaf;” but the blind see according to the prophecy following, “Hear ye deaf, and ye blind look up that ye may see.” Now the blind see, when they see the world and from the exceeding great beauty of the things created they contemplate the Creator corresponding in greatness and beauty to them; and when they see clearly “the invisible things of God Himself from the creation of the world, which are perceived through the things that are made;” that is, they see and understand with care and clearness. Now the multitudes seeing these things, glorified the God of Israel, and glorify Him in the persuasion that it is the same God, who is the Father of Him who healed those previously mentioned, and the God of Israel. For He is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. Let us then cause to go up along with ourselves to the mountain where Jesus sits — His church — those who wish to go up to it along with us, the deaf, the blind, the lame, the maimed and many others, and let us cast them at the feet of Jesus that He may heal them, so that the multitudes are astonished at their healing; for it is not the disciples who are described as wondering at such things, although at that time they were present with Jesus, as is manifest from the words, “And Jesus called unto Him His disciples and said, I have compassion on the multitudes,” etc.; and perhaps if you attend carefully to the words, “There came unto Him great multitudes,” you would find that the disciples at that time did not come to Him, but had begun long ago to follow Him and followed Him into the mountain. But there came unto Him those who were inferior to the disciples, and were then for the first time approaching Him, who had not the same experience as those who had gone up with them. Observe,

moreover, in the Gospel who are described as having followed Jesus, and who as having come to Him, and who as having been brought to Him, and the division between those who go before and of those who follow; and of those who came, who came to Him in the house, and who when He was elsewhere. For by observation, and by comparing things spiritual with spiritual, you would find many things worthy of the accurate wisdom in the Gospels

19

CONCERNING THE SEVEN LOAVES. THE NARRATIVE OF THE FEEDING OF THE FOUR THOUSAND COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE FIVE THOUSAND

"*And Jesus called unto Him His disciples and said*." Above in the similar history to this about the loaves, before the loaves are spoken of, "Jesus came forth and saw a great multitude and had compassion upon them and healed their sick. And when even was come the disciples came to Him saying, The place is desert and the time is already past, send them away," etc. But now after the healing of the deaf and the rest, He takes compassion on the multitude which had continued with Him now three days and had nothing to eat. And there the disciples make request concerning the five thousand; but here He speaks of His own accord about the four thousand. Those, too, are fed when it was evening after they had spent a day with Him; but these, who are testified to have continued with Him three days, partake of the loaves lest they might faint by the way. And there the disciples say to Him when He was not inquiring, that they had only five loaves and two fishes; but here to Him making inquiry, they give answer about the seven loaves and the few small fishes. And there He commands the multitudes to sit down or lie upon the grass; for Luke also wrote, "Make them sit down," and Mark says, "He commanded them all to sit down;" but here He does not command but proclaims to the multitude to sit down. Again, there, the three Evangelists say in the very same words that "He took the five loaves and the two fishes and looking up to heaven He blessed;" but here, as Matthew and Mark have written, "Jesus gave thanks and brake;" there, they recline upon the grass, but here

they sit down upon the ground. You will moreover investigate in the accounts in the different places the variation found in John, who wrote in regard to that transaction that Jesus said, “Make the men sit down,” and that, having given thanks, He gave of the loaves to them that were set down, but he did not mention this miracle at all. Attending, then, to the difference of those things which are written in the various places in regard to the loaves, I think that these belong to a different order from those; wherefore these are fed in a mountain, and those in a desert place; and these after they had continued three days with Jesus, but those one day, on the evening of which they were fed. And further, unless it be the same thing for Jesus to do a thing of Himself and to act after having heard from the disciples, consider if those to whom Jesus shows kindness are not superior when He fed them on the spot with a view to showing them kindness. And, if according to John, they were barley loaves of which the twelve baskets remained over, but nothing of this kind is said about these, how are not these superior to the former? And the sick of those He healed, but here He heals these, along with the multitudes, who were not sick but blind, and lame, and deaf, and maimed; wherefore also in regard to these the four thousand marvel, but in regard to the sick no such thing is said. And these I think who ate of the seven loaves for which thanks were given, are superior to those who ate of the five which were blessed; and these who ate the few little fishes to those who ate of the two, and perhaps also these who sat down upon the ground to those who sat down on the grass. And those from fewer loaves leave twelve baskets, but these from a greater number leave seven baskets, inasmuch, as they were able to receive more. And perhaps these tread upon all earthly things and sit down upon them, but those upon the grass — upon their flesh only — for “all flesh is grass.” Consider also after this, that Jesus does not wish to send them away fasting lest they faint on the way, as being without the loaves of Jesus, and while they were still on the way — the way to their own concerns — might suffer injury. Take note also of the cases where Jesus is recorded to have sent any one away, that you may see the difference of those who were sent away by Him after being fed, and those who had been sent away otherwise; and, as a pattern of one who was sent away otherwise, take “Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity.” But further the disciples who are always with Jesus are not sent away by Him; but the multitudes after they have eaten are sent away. Likewise, again, the

disciples who conceive nothing great about the Canaanitish woman say, “Send her away, for she crieth after us;” but the Savior does not at all appear to send her away; for saying unto her, “O woman, great is thy faith, be it done to thee even as thou wilt,” He healed her daughter from that hour: it is not however written that He sent her away. So far at the present time have we been able to investigate and see into the passage before us

BOOK 12

1

CONCERNING THOSE WHO ASKED HIM TO SHOW THEM A SIGN FROM HEAVEN

"*And the Sadducees and Pharisees came, and tempting Him kept asking Him to shew them a sign from heaven*." The Sadducees and Pharisees who disagreed with each other in regard to the most essential truths, — for the Pharisees champion the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, hoping that there will be a world to come, while the Sadducees know nothing after this life in store for a man whether he has been advancing towards virtue, or has made no effort at all to come out from the mountains of wickedness, — these, I say, agree that they may tempt Jesus. Now, a similar thing, as Luke has narrated, happened in the case of Herod and Pilate, who became friends with one another that they might kill Jesus; for, perhaps, their hostility with one another would have prevented Herod from asking that He should be put to death, in order to please the people, who said, "Crucify Him, Crucify Him," and would have influenced Pilate, who was somewhat inclined against His condemnation, his hostility with Herod giving fresh impulse to the inclination which he previously cherished to release Jesus. But their apparent friendship made Herod stronger in his demand against Jesus with Pilate, who wished, perhaps, also because of the newly-formed friendship to do something to gratify Herod and all the nation of the Jews. And often even now you may see in daily life those who hold the most divergent opinions, whether in the philosophy of the Greeks or in other systems of thought, appearing to be of one mind that they may scoff at and attack Jesus Christ in the person of His disciples. And from these things I think you may go on by rational argument to consider, whether when forces join in opposition which are in disagreement with one another, as of Pharaoh with Nebuchadnezzar, and of Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians, with Sennacherib, a combination then takes place against Jesus and His people. So perhaps, also, "The kings of

the earth set themselves and the rulers were gathered together," though not at all before at harmony with one another, that having taken counsel against the Lord and His Christ. they might slay the Lord of glory

2

WHY THE PHARISEES ASKED A SIGN FROM HEAVEN

Now, to this point we have come in our discourse, because of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming together unto Jesus, who disagreed in matters relating to the resurrection, but came, as it were, to an agreement for the sake of tempting our Savior, and asking Him to show them a sign froth heaven. For, not satisfied with the wonderful signs shown among the people in the healing of all forms of disease and sickness, and with the rest of the miracles which our Savior had done in the knowledge of many, they wished Him to show to them also a sign from heaven. And I conjecture that they suspected that the signs upon earth might possibly not be of God; for they did not hesitate indeed to say, "Jesus casts out demons by Beelzebub the prince of the demons;" and it seemed to them that a sign from heaven could not spring from Beelzebub or any other wicked power. But they erred in regard to both, in regard to signs upon earth as well as to signs from heaven, not being "approved money-changers," nor knowing how to distinguish between the spirits that are working, which kind are from God, and which have revolted from Him. And they ought to have known that even many of the portents wrought against Egypt in the time of Moses, though they were not from heaven, were clearly from God, and that the fire which fell from heaven upon the sheep of Job was not from God; for that fire belonged to the same one as he to whom belonged those who carried off, and made three bands of horsemen against, the cattle of Job. I think, moreover, that in Isaiah — as if signs could be shown both from the earth and from heaven, the true being from God, but "with all power and signs and lying wonders" those from the evil one — it was said to Ahaz, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the height." For, unless there had been some signs in the depth or in the height which were not from the Lord God, this would not have been said, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the

height." But I know well that such an interpretation of the passage, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God," will seem to some one rather forced; but give heed to that which is said by the Apostle about the man of sin, the son of perdition, that, "with all power and signs and lying wonders and with all deceit of unrighteousness," he shall be manifested to them that are perishing, imitating all kinds of wonders, to-wit, those of truth. And as the enchanters and magicians of the Egyptians, as being inferior to the man of sin and the son of perdition, imitated certain powers, both the signs and wonders of truth, doing lying wonders so that the true might not be believed; so I think the man of sin will imitate signs and powers. And perhaps, also, the Pharisees suspected these things because of the prophecies concerning Him; but I inquire whether also the Sadducees tempting Him asked Jesus to show them a sign from heaven. For unless we say that they suspected this, how shall we describe their relation to the portents which Jesus wrought, who continued hard-hearted and were not put to shame by the miraculous things that were done? But if any one supposes that we have given an occasion of defense to the Pharisees and Sadducees, both when they say that the demons were cast out by Jesus through Beelzebub, and when tempting Him, they ask Jesus about a heavenly sign, let him know that we plausibly say that they were drawn away to the end that they might not believe in the miracles of Jesus; but not as to deserve forgiveness; for they did not look to the words of the prophets which were being fulfilled in the acts of Jesus, which an evil power was not at all capable of imitating. But to bring back a soul which had gone out, so that it came out of the grave when already stinking and passing the fourth day, was the work of no other than Him who heard the word of the Father, "Let us make man after our image and likeness." But also to command the winds and to make the violence of the sea cease at a word, was the work of no other than Him through whom all things, both the sea itself and the winds, have come into being. Moreover also as to the teaching which stimulates men to the love of the Creator, in harmony with the law and the prophets, and which checks passions and moulds morals according to piety, what else did it indicate to such as were able to see. than that He was truly the Son of God who wrought works so mighty? In respect of which things He said also to the disciples of John, "Go your way and tell John what great things ye see and hear; the blind receive their sight," etc.

3

THE ANSWER OF JESUS TO THEIR REQUEST

Next let us remark in what way, when asked in regard to one sign, that He might show it from heaven, to the Pharisees and Sadducees who put the question, He swers and says, “An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall be no sign given to it, but the sign of Jonah the prophet,” when also, “He left them and departed.” But the sign of Jonah, in truth, according to their question, was not merely a sign but also a sign from heaven; so that even to those who tempted Him and sought a sign from heaven He, nevertheless, out of His own great goodness gave the sign. For if, as Jonah passed three days and three nights in the whale’s belly, so the Son of man did in the heart of the earth, and after this rose up from it, — whence but from heaven shall we say that the sign of the resurrection of Christ came? And especially when, at the time of the passion, He became a sign to the robber who obtained favor from Him to enter into the paradise of God; after this, I think, descending into Hades to the dead, “as free among the dead.” And the Savior seems to me to conjoin the sign which was to come from Himself with the reason of the sign in regard to Jonah when He says, not merely that a sign like to that is granted by Him but that very sign; for attend to the words, “And there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet.” Accordingly that sign was this sign, because that became indicative of this, so that the elucidation of that sign, which was obscure on the face of it, might be found in the fact that the Savior suffered, and passed three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. At the same time also we learn the general principle that, if the sign signifies something, each of the signs which are recorded, whether as in actual history, or by way of precept, is indicative of something afterwards fulfilled; as for example, the sign of Jonah going out after three days from the whale’s belly was indicative of the resurrection of our Savior, rising after three days and three nights from the dead; and that which is called circumcision is the sign of that which is indicated by Paul in the words: “We are the circumcision.” Seek you also every sign in the Old Scriptures as indicative of some passage in the New Scripture, and that which is named a sign in the New Covenant as indicative of something either in the

age about to be, or even in the subsequent generations after that the sign has taken place

4

WHY JESUS CALLED THEM AN ADULTEROUS GENERATION, THE LAW AS HUSBAND

And He called them, indeed, "*an evil generation*," because of the quality arising from evil which had been produced in them, for wickedness is voluntary evil-doing, but "adulterous" because that when the Pharisees and Sadducees left that which is figuratively called man, the word of truth or the law, they were debauched by falsehood and the law of sin. For if there are two laws, the law in our members warring against the law of the mind, and the law of the mind, we must say that the law of the mind — that is, the spiritual — is man, to whom the soul was given by God as wife, that is, to the man who is law, according to what is written, "A wife is married to a man by God;" but the other is a paramour of the soul which is subject to it, which also on account of it is called an adulteress. Now that the law is husband of the soul Paul clearly exhibits in the Epistle to the Romans, saying, "The law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth; for the woman that hath a husband is bound to the husband while he liveth, to the husband who is law," etc. For consider in these things that the law hath dominion over the man so long time as the law liveth, — as a husband over a wife. "For the woman that hath a husband," that is, the soul under the law, "is bound to the husband while he liveth," to the husband who is the law; but if the husband — that is, the law die — she is discharged from the law, which is her husband. Now the law dies to him who has gone up to the condition of blessedness, and no longer lives under the law, but acts like to Christ, who, though He became under law for the sake of those under law, that He might gain those under law,' did not continue under law, nor did He leave subject to law those who had been freed by Him; for He led them up along with Himself to the divine citizenship which is above the law, which contains, as for the imperfect and such as are still sinners, sacrifices for the remission of sins. He then who is without sin, and stands no longer in need of legal sacrifices, perhaps

when he has become perfect has passed beyond even the spiritual law, and comes to the Word beyond it, who became flesh to those who live in the flesh, but to those who no longer at all war after the flesh, He is perceived as being the Word, as He was God in the beginning with God, and reveals the Father. Three things therefore are to be thought of in connection with this place — the woman that hath a husband, who is under a husband — the law; and the woman who is an adulteress, to-wit, the soul, which, while her husband, the law, liveth, has become joined to another husband, namely, the law of the flesh; and the woman who is married to the brother of the dead husband, to the Word who is alive and dies not, who "being raised from the dead dieth no more, for death hath no more dominion over Him." So far then because of the saying, "But if the husband die she is discharged from the law, the husband," and because of this, "so then, while her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be joined to another man," and because of this, "but if the husband die, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress though she be joined to another man." But this very saying, "So then while her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress," we have brought forward, wishing clearly to show why in answer to the Pharisees and Sadducees who were tempting Him and asking Him to show them a sign from heaven, He said not only "a wicked generation," but an "adulterous" generation. In a general way, then, the law in the members which wars against the law of the mind, as a man who is an adulterer, is an adulterer of the soul. But now also every power that is hostile, which gains the mastery over the human soul, and has intercourse with it, commits adultery with her who had a bridegroom given to her by God, namely, the Word. After these things it is written that "He left them and departed." For how was the bridegroom — the Word — not going to leave the adulterous generation and depart from it? But you might say that the Word of God, leaving the synagogue of the Jews as adulterous, departed from it, and took a wife of fornication, namely, those from the Gentiles; since those who were "Sion, a faithful city," have become harlots; but these have become like the harlot Rahab, who received the spies of Joshua, and was saved with all her house; after this no longer playing the harlot, but coming to the feet of Jesus, and wetting them with the tears of repentance, and anointing them with the fragrance of the ointment of holy conversation, on account of whom, reproaching Simon

the leper, — the former people, — He spoke those things which are written.

5

CONCERNING THE LEAVEN OF THE PHARISEES

“And His disciples came to the other side and forgot to take loaves.” Since the loaves which they had before they came to the other side were no longer useful to the disciples when they came to the other side,for they needed one kind of loaves before they crossed and a different kind when they crossed, — on this account, being careless of taking loaves when going to the other side, they forgot to take loaves with them. To the other side then came the disciples of Jesus who had passed over from things material to things spiritual, and from things sensible to those which are intellectual. And perhaps that He might turn back those who, by crossing to the other side, “had begun in spirit,” from running back to carnal things, Jesus said to them when on the other side, “Take heed and beware.” For there was a certain lump of teaching and of truly ancient leaven, — that according to the bare letter, and on this account not freed from those things which arise from wickedness, — which the Pharisees and Sadducees offered, of which Jesus does not wish His own disciples any longer to eat, having made for them a new and spiritual lump, offering Himself to those who gave up the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees and had come to Him — “the living bread which came down from heaven and gives life to the world.” But since, to him who is no longer going to use the leaven and the lump and the teaching of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the first thing is to “see” and then to “beware,” so that no one, by reason of not seeing and from want of taking heed, may ever partake of their forbidden leaven, — on this account He says to the disciples, first, “see,” and then, “beware.” It is the mark of the clear-sighted and careful to separate the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees and every food that is not of “the unleavened-bread of sincerity and truth” from the living bread, even that which came down from heaven, so that no one who eats may adopt the things of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, but by eating the living and true bread may strengthen his soul. And we might seasonably apply the saying

to those who, along with the Christian way of life, prefer to live as the Jews, materially, for these do not see nor beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, but, contrary to the will of Jesus who forbade it, eat the bread of the Pharisees. Yea and also all, who do not wish to understand that the law is spiritual, and has a shadow of the good things to come, and is a shadow of the things to come, neither inquire of what good thing about to be each of the laws is a shadow, nor do they see nor beware of the leaven of the Pharisees; and they also who reject the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead are not on their guard against the leaven of the Sadducees. And there are many among the heterodox who, because of their unbelief in regard to the resurrection of the dead, are imbued with the leaven of the Sadducees. Now, while Jesus said these things, the disciples reasoned, saying not aloud, but in their own hearts, “We took no loaves.” And something like this was what they said, “If we had loaves we would not have had to take of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees; but since, from want of loaves, we run the risk of taking from their leaven, while the Savior does not wish us to run back to their teaching, therefore He said to us, “Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.” And these things then they reasoned; Jesus, while looking to that which was in their hearts, and hearing the reasons in them, as the true overseer of hearts, reproves them because they did not see nor remember the loaves which they received from Him; on account of which, even when they appeared to be in want of loaves, they did not need the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees

6

THE MEANING OF LEAVEN.
JESUS’ KNOWLEDGE OF THE HEART

Then expounding clearly and representing to them, who were being distracted because of the equivocal meaning of loaf and leaven, in an undisguised fashion, that He was not speaking to them about sensible bread but about the leaven in the teaching, He subjoins, “How is it that ye do not perceive that I spake not you concerning bread? But beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.” And though He had not laid

bare the interpretation, but still continued to use metaphorical language, the disciples would have understood that the discourse of the Savior was about the teaching, figuratively called leaven, which the Pharisees and Sadducees were teaching. So long, then, as we have Jesus with us fulfilling the promise which runs, “Lo, I am with you always unto the consummation of the age,” we cannot fast nor be in want of food, so that, because of want of it we should desire to take and eat the forbidden leaven, even from the Pharisees and Sadducees. Now there may sometimes be a time, when He is with us, that we are without food, as is spoken of in the passage above, “They continue with me now three days and have nothing to eat;” but, even though this should happen, being unwilling to send us away fasting lest we faint on the way, He gives thanks over the loaves which were with the disciples, and causes us to have the seven baskets over from the seven loaves, as we have recorded. And moreover this also is to be observed, in view of those who think that the divinity of the Savior is not at all demonstrable from the Gospel of Matthew, that the fact that, when the disciples were reasoning among themselves and saying, “We have no loaves,” Jesus knew their reasonings and said, “Why reason ye among yourselves, O ye of little faith, because ye took no loaves,” was beyond the power of man; for the Lord alone, as Solomon says in the third Book of Kings, knows the hearts of men. But since the disciples understood, when Jesus said, “Beware of the leaven,” that He did not tell them to beware of the loaves but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees, you will understand that whenever leaven is named it is put figuratively for teaching, whether in the law, or in the Scriptures which come after the law; and so perhaps leaven is not offered upon the altar; for it is not right that prayers should take the form of teaching, but should only be supplications of good things from God. But one might inquire, on account of what has been said about disciples who came to the other side, if any one who has reached the other side can be reproached as one of little faith, and as not yet understanding nor remembering what was done by Jesus. But it is not difficult, I think, to say to this, that in relation to that which is perfect, on the coming of which “that which is in part shall be done away,” all our faith here is little faith, and in regard to that, we who know in part do not yet know nor remember; for we are not able to obtain a memory which is sufficient and able to attain to the magnitude of the nature of the speculations

7

RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF SINS OF THE HEART AND ACTUAL SINS

But we may also learn from this, that in respect of the reasonings only which we reason within ourselves, we are sometimes convicted and reproached as being of tittle faith. And I think that just as a man commits adultery in his heart only, though not proceeding altogether to the overt act, so he commits in his heart the rest of the things which are forbidden. As then he who has committed adultery in his heart will be punished proportionately to adultery of this kind, so also he who has done in his heart any one of the things forbidden, for example, who has stolen in his heart only, or born false witness in his heart only, will not be punished as he who has stolen in fact, or who has completed the very act of false testimony, but only as he who has done such things in his heart. There is also the case of the man who while he did not arrive at the evil action, came short of it in spite of his own will. For if, in addition to willing it, he has attempted it, but not carried it out, he will be punished not as one who has sinned in his heart alone but in deed. To questions of this sort one might ask, whether any one commits adultery in his heart, even if he does not do the deed of adultery, but lacks self-control in heart only. And the like also you will say concerning the rest of things which are deserving of praise. But the passage possibly contains a plausible fallacy which must be cleared away, I think, in this manner: adultery which takes place in the heart is a less sin, than if one were also to add to it the act. But it is impossible that there can be chastity in the heart, hindering the chaste action — unless indeed one brings forward for an illustration of this the case of the virgin who according to the law was violated in solitude; for it may be granted that the heart of any one may be most pure, but that force in a matter of licentiousness has caused the corruption of the body of her who was chaste. In truth she seems to me to be altogether chaste in secret heart, hut no longer to be pure in body such as she was before the act of violence; but though she is not pure outwardly, is she therefore now also unchaste? I have said these things because of the words, “They reasoned among themselves saying, We took no loaves,” to which is added, “And Jesus perceiving it, said, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among

yourselves," etc.; for it was necessary that investigation should be made in regard to the censure of things in secret and correlatively to the praise of things in secret

8

THE LEAVEN FIGURATIVE LIKE THE WATER SPOKEN OF BY JESUS TO THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA

But I wonder if the disciples thought, before the saying was explained to them by Jesus, that their Teacher and Lord was forbidding them to beware of the sensible leaven of the Pharisees or the Sadducees as impure, and on this account forbidden, lest they might use that leaven because they had not taken loaves. And we might make a like inquiry in regard to other things; but by-way of illustration the narrative about the woman of Samaria sufficeth, "Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst." For there, also, so far as the mere form of expression is concerned, the Samaritan woman would seem to have thought that the Savior was giving a promise about sensible water, when He said, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst." And those things then must be figuratively interpreted, and we must examine and compare the water of the spring of Jacob from which the woman of Samaria drew water with the water of Jesus; and here the like must be done; for perhaps the loaves were not baked, but a kind of raw leaven solely, the teaching, namely, of the Pharisees and Sadducees

9

CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF JESUS IN CAESAREA, WHO DO MEN SAY THAT I AM? DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF JESUS

"*Now when Jesus came into the parts of Coesarea Philippi, He asked His disciples.*" Jesus inquires of the disciples, "Who do men say that I am," that we may learn from the answer of the Apostles the different

conceptions then held among the Jews in regard to our Savior; and perhaps also that the disciples of Jesus might learn to be interested in knowing what is said by men about them; because that will be an advantage to them who do it, by cutting off in every way occasions of evil if anything evil is spoken of, and by increasing the incitements to good, if anything good is spoken of. Only, observe how, on account of the different movements of opinion among the Jews about Jesus, some, under the influence of unsound theories, said that He was John the Baptist. like Herod the tetrarch who said to his servants, “This is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead, and therefore do the powers work in him;” but others that He who was now called Jesus was Elijah, either having been born a second time, or living from that time in the flesh, and appearing at the present time. But those who said that Jesus was Jeremiah, and not that Jeremiah was a type of the Christ, were perhaps influenced by what is said in the beginning of Jeremiah about Christ, which was not fulfilled in the prophet at that time, but was beginning to be fulfilled in Jesus, whom “God set up over nations and kingdoms to root up, and to break down, and to destroy, and to build up, and to transplant,” having made Him to be a prophet to the Gentiles to whom He proclaimed the word. Moreover also those who said, “that he was a certain one of the prophets,” conceived this opinion concerning Him because of those things which had been said in the prophets as unto them, but which had not been fulfilled in their case. But also the Jews, as worthy of the veil which was upon their heart, held false opinions concerning Jesus; while Peter as not a disciple “of flesh and blood,” but as one fit to receive the revelation of the Father in heaven, confessed that He was the Christ. The saying of Peter to the Savior, “Thou art the Christ,” when the Jews did not know that He was Christ, was indeed a great thing, but greater that he knew Him not only to be Christ, but also “the Son of the living God,” who had also said through the prophets, “I live,” and “They have forsaken Me the spring of living water;” — and He is life also, as from the Father the spring of life, who said, “I am the Life;” And consider carefully, whether, as the spring of the river is not the same thing as the river, the spring of life is not the same as life. And these things we have added because to the saying, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of God,” was subjoined the word “living;” for it was necessary to set forth something noteworthy in regard to that which is said about God and the Father of all things as living, both in relation to His absolute life, and in relation to those

things which participate in it. But since we said that they were under the influence of unsound opinions who declared that Jesus was John the Baptist, or any one of those named, in saying this let us prove that if they had fallen in with Jesus as He was going away to John for baptism, or with John when he was baptizing Jesus, or if they had heard it from any one, they would not have said that Jesus was John. But also if they had understood the opinions under the influence of which Jesus said, “If ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is to come.” and had heard what was said, as men having ears, some would not have said that He was Elijah. And if those who said that He was Jeremiah had perceived that the most of the prophets took upon themselves certain features that were symbolical of Him, they would not have said that He was Jeremiah; and in like manner the others would not have said that He was one of the prophets

10

THE ANSWER OF PETER

And perhaps that which Simon Peter answered and said, *“Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,”* if we say it as Peter, not by flesh and blood revealing it unto us, but by the light from the Father in heaven shining in our heart, we too become as Peter, being pronounced blessed as he was, because that the grounds on which he was pronounced blessed apply also to us, by reason of the fact that flesh and blood have not revealed to us with regard to Jesus that He is Christ, the Son of the living God, but the Father in heaven, from the very heavens, that our citizenship may be in heaven, revealing to us the revelation which carries up to heaven those who take away every veil from the heart, and receive “the spirit of the wisdom and revelation” of God. And if we too have said like Peter, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” not as if flesh and blood had revealed it unto us, but by light from the Father in heaven having shone in our heart, we become a Peter, and to us there might be said by the Word, “Thou art Peter,” etc. For a rock is every disciple of Christ of whom those drank who drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and upon every such rock is built every word of the church, add the polity

in accordance with it; for in each of the perfect, who have the combination of words and deeds and thoughts which fill up the blessedness, is the church built by God

11

THE PROMISE GIVEN TO PETER NOT RESTRICTED TO HIM, BUT APPLICABLE TO ALL DISCIPLES LIKE HIM

But if you suppose that upon that one Peter only the whole church is built by God, what would you say about John the son of thunder or each one of the Apostles? Shall we otherwise dare to say, that against Peter in particular the gates of Hades shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the other Apostles and the perfect? Does not the saying previously made, “The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it,” hold in regard to all and in the case of each of them? And also the saying, “Upon this rock I will build My church”? Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter only, and will no other of the blessed receive them? But if this promise, “I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” be common to the others, how shall not all the things previously spoken of, and the things which are subjoined as having been addressed to Peter, be common to them? For in this place these words seem to be addressed as to Peter only, “Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,” etc; but in the Gospel of John the Savior having given the Holy Spirit unto the disciples by breathing upon them said, “Receive ye the Holy Spirit,” etc. Many then will say to the Savior, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;” but not all who say this will say it to Him, as not at all having learned it by the revelation of flesh and blood but by the Father in heaven Himself taking away the veil that lay upon their heart, in order that after this “with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord” they may speak through the Spirit of God saying concerning Him, “Lord Jesus,” and to Him, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” And if any one says this to Him, not by flesh and blood revealing it unto Him but through the Father in heaven, he will obtain the things that were spoken according to the letter of the Gospel to that Peter, but, as the spirit of the Gospel teaches, to every one who becomes such as that Peter

was. For all bear the surname of “rock” who are the imitators of Christ, that is, of the spiritual rock which followed those who are being saved, that they may drink from it the spiritual draught. But these bear the surname of the rock just as Christ does. But also as members of Christ deriving their surname from Him they are called Christians, and from the rock, Peters. And taking occasion from these things you will say that the righteous bear the surname of Christ who is Righteousness, and the wise of Christ who is Wisdom. And so in regard to all His other names, you will apply them by way of surname to the saints; and to all such the saying of the Savior might be spoken, “Thou art Peter,” etc., down to the words, “prevail against it.” But what is the “it”? Is it the rock upon which Christ builds the church, or is it the church? For the phrase is ambiguous. Or is it as if the rock and the church were one and the same? This I think to be true; for neither against the rock on which Christ builds the church, nor against the church will the gates of Hades prevail; just as the way of a serpent upon a rock, according to what is written in the Proverbs, cannot be found. Now, if the gates of Hades prevail against any one, such an one cannot be a rock upon which Christ builds the church, nor the church built by Jesus upon the rock; for the rock is inaccessible to the serpent, and it is stronger than the gates of Hades which are opposing it, so that because of its strength the gates of Hades do not prevail against it; but the church, as a building of Christ who built His own house wisely upon the rock, is incapable of admitting the gates of Hades which prevail against every man who is outside the rock and the church, but have no power against it

12

EVERY SIN — EVERY FALSE DOCTRINE IS A “GATE OF HADES”

But when we have understood how each of the sins through which there is a way to Hades is a gate of Hades, we shall apprehend that the soul, which has “spot or wrinkle or any such thing,” and because of wickedness is neither holy nor blameless, is neither a rock upon which Christ builds, nor a church, nor part of a church which Christ builds upon the rock. But if any one wishes to put us to shame in regard to these things because of the

great majority of those of the church who are thought to believe, it must be said to him not only “Many are called, but few chosen;” but also that which was said by the Savior to those who come to Him, as it is recorded in Luke in these words, “Strive to enter in by the narrow door, for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in through the narrow door and shall not be able;” and also that which is written in the Gospel of Matthew thus, “For narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.” Now, if you attend to the saying, “Many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in and shall not be able,” you will understand that this refers to those who boast that they are of the church, but live weakly and contrary to the word. Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades;but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, “I am the door,” have rased from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called “fornication,” through which fornicators go, and another “denial,” through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any “knowledge which is falsely so called,” has built a gate of Hades — Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another

13

THE “GATES OF HADES” AND THE “GATES OF ZION” CONTRASTED

In this place, then, the gates of Hades are spoken of; but in the Psalms the prophet gives thanks saying, “He who lifteth me up from the gates of death that I may declare all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion.” And from this we learn that it is never possible for any one to be fit to declare the praises of God, unless he has been lifted up from the gates of death, and has come to the gates of Zion. Now the gates of Zion may be conceived as opposed to the gates of death, so that there is one gate of death, dissoluteness, but a gate of Zion, self-control; and so a gate of death, unrighteousness, but a gate of Zion, righteousness, which the prophet shows forth saying, “This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it.” And again there is cowardice, a gate of death, but manly courage, a gate of Zion; and want of prudence, a gate of death, but its opposite, prudence, a gate of Zion. But to all the gates of the “knowledge which is falsely so called” one gate is opposed, the gate of knowledge which is free from falsehood. But consider if, because of the saying, “our wrestling is not against flesh and blood,” etc., you can say that each power and world-ruler of this darkness, and each one of the “spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places” is a gate of Hades and a gate of death. Let, then, the principalities and powers with which our wrestling is, be called gates of Hades, but the “ministering spirits” gates of righteousness. But as in the case of the better things many gates are first spoken of, and after the gates, one, in the passage, “Open to me the gates of righteousness, I will enter into them, and will make full confession to the Lord,” and “this is the gate of the Lord, by it the righteous shall enter;” so also in the case of those gates which are opposed, many are the gates of Hades and death, each a power; but over all these the wicked one himself. And let us take heed in regard to each sin, as if we were descending into some gate of death if we sin; but when we are lifted up from the gates of death let us declare all the praises of the Lord in the gates of the daughter of Zion; as, for example, in one gate of the daughter of Zion — that which is called self-control — we will declare by our self-control the praises of God; and in another which is called righteousness, by righteousness we

will declare the praises of God; and, generally, in all things whatsoever of a praiseworthy character with which we are; occupied, in these we are at some gate of the daughter of Zion, declaring at each gate some praise of God. But we must make inquiry whether in one of the Twelve it is said, “They hated him that reproveth in the gates, and they loathed the holy word.” Perhaps, then, he who reproves in the gates is of the gates of the daughter of Zion, reproving those who are in sins which are opposed to this gate, even of the gates of Hades or death. But if ye do not so understand the words, “They hated him that reproveth in the gates,” either the expression “in the gates” will be held to be superfluous, or investigate how that which is said can be worthy of the prophetic spirit

14

IN WHAT SENSE THE “KEYS” ARE GIVEN TO PETER, AND EVERY PETER. LIMITATIONS OF THIS POWER

And after this let us see in what sense it is said to Peter, and to every Peter, “I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.” And, in the first place, I think that the saying, “I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” is spoken in consistency with the words, “The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.” For he is worthy to receive from the same Word the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who is fortified against the gates of Hades so that they do not prevail against him, receiving, as it were, for a prize, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, because the gates of Hades had no power against him, that he might open for himself the gates that were closed to those who had been conquered by the gates of Hades. And he enters in, as a temperate man, through an opened gate — the gate of temperance — by the key which opens temperance; and, as a righteous man, by another gate — the gate of righteousness — which is opened by the key of righteousness; and so with the rest of the virtues. For I think that for every virtue of knowledge certain mysteries of wisdom corresponding to the species of the virtue are opened up to him who has lived according to virtue; the Savior giving to those who are not mastered by the gates of Hades as many keys as there are virtues, which open gates equal in number, which correspond to each virtue according to the

revelation of the mysteries. And perhaps, also, each virtue is a kingdom of heaven, and all together are a kingdom of the heavens; so that according to this he is already in the kingdom of the heavens who lives according to the virtues, so that according to this the saying, “Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,” is to be referred, not to the time, but to deeds and dispositions; for Christ, who is all virtue, has come, and speaks, and on account of this the kingdom of God is within His disciples, and not here or there. But consider how great power the rock has upon which the church is built by Christ, and how great power every one has who says, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” so that the judgments of this man abide sure, as if God were judging in him, that in the very act of judging the gates of Hades shall not prevail against him. But when one judges unrighteously, and does not bind upon earth according to the Word of God, nor loose upon earth according to His will, the gates of Hades prevail against him; but, in the case of any one against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, this man judges righteously. Wherefore he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, opening to those who have been loosed on earth that they may be also loosed in heaven, and free; and shutting to those who by his just judgment have been bound on earth that they also may be bound in heaven, and condemned. But when those who maintain the function of the episcopate make use of this word as Peter, and, having received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the Savior, teach that things bound by them, that is to say, condemned, are also bound in heaven, and that those which have obtained remission by them are also loosed in heaven, we must say that they speak wholesomely if they have the way of life on account of which it was said to that Peter, “Thou art Peter;” and if they are such that upon them the church is built by Christ, and to them with good reason this could be referred; and the gates of Hades ought not to prevail against him when he wishes to bind and loose. But if he is tightly bound with the cords of his sins, to no purpose does he bind and loose. And perhaps you can say that in the heavens which are in the wise man — that, is the virtues, — the bad man is bound; and again in these the virtuous man is loosed, and has received an indemnity for the sins which he committed before his virtue. But, as the man, who has not the cords of sins nor iniquities compared to a “long rope or to the strap of the yoke of a heifer,” not even God could bind, in like manner, no Peter, whoever he may be; and if any one who is not a Peter, and does not possess the things

here spoken of, imagines as a Peter that he will so bind on earth that the things bound are bound in heaven, and will so loose on earth that the things loosed are loosed in heaven, he is puffed up, not understanding the meaning of the Scriptures, and, being puffed up, has fallen into the ruin of the devil.

15

RELATION OF THE FORMER COMMISSION GIVEN BY JESUS TO THE DISCIPLES, TO HIS PRESENT INJUNCTION OF SILENCE. BELIEF AND KNOWLEDGE CONTRASTED

“Then enjoined He His disciples that they should tell no man thai He was the Christ.” It is written above that Jesus sent forth these twelve saying unto them, “Go not into any way of the Gentiles,” and the other words which are recorded to have been said to them when He sent them to the apostleship. Did He then wish them when they were already discharging the function of Apostles to proclaim that He was the Christ? For, if He wished it, it is fitting to inquire why He now at all commands the disciples that they should not say that He was the Christ? Or if He did not wish it, how can the things concerning the apostleship be safely maintained? And these things also one may inquire at this place, — whether, when He sent away the Twelve, He did not send them away with the understanding that He was the Christ? But if the Twelve had such understanding, manifestly Peter had it also; how, then, is he now pronounced blessed? For the expression here plainly indicates that now for the first time Peter confessed that Christ was the Son of the living God, Matthew then, according to some of the manuscripts, has written, “Then He commanded His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ,” but Mark says, “He charged them that they should tell no man of Him;” and Luke, “He charged them and commanded them to tell this to no man.” But what is the “this”? Was it that also according to him, Peter answered and said to the question, “Who say ye that I am.” — “The Christ, the Son of the living God?” You must know, however, that some manuscripts of the Gospel according to Matthew have, “He charged.” The difficulty thus started seems to me a very real difficulty; but let a solution which cannot

be impugned be sought out, and let the finder of it bring it forward before all, if it be more credible than that which shall be advanced by us as a fairly temperate view. Consider, then, if you can say, that the belief that Jesus is the Christ is inferior to the knowledge of that which is believed. And perhaps also there is a difference in the knowledge of Jesus as the Christ, as every one who knows does not know Him alike. From the words in John, “If ye abide in My word, ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free,” it is plain that belief without knowledge is inferior to knowing; but that there is a difference in the knowledge of Jesus as the Christ, as all who know Him do not know Him equally, is a fact self-evident to any one who gives even a very little consideration to the matter. For who would not acknowledge, for example, that Timothy, though he knew that Jesus was the Christ, had not been enlightened to such an extent in the knowledge of Him as the Apostle had been enlightened? And who would not also admit this — that though many, speaking the truth, say about God, “He has given to me a true knowledge of things that are,” yet they will not say this with equal insight and apprehension of the things known, nor as knowing the same number of things? But it is not only in respect of the difference of knowing that those who know do not know alike, bat also according to that which is the source of the knowledge; so that according to this he who knows the Son by the revelation of the Father, as Peter is testified to have known, has the highest beatitude. Now, if these views of ours are sound, you will consider whether the Twelve formerly believed but did not know; but, after believing, they gained also the rudiments of knowledge and knew a few things about Him; and afterwards they continued to advance in knowledge so that they were able to receive the knowledge from the Father who reveals the Son; in which position Peter was, when he was pronounced blessed; for also he is pronounced blessed not merely because he said, “Thou art the Christ,” but with the addition, “the Son of the living God.” Accordingly Mark and Luke who have recorded that Peter answered and said, “Thou art the Christ,” but have not given the addition found in Matthew, have not recorded that he was declared blessed for what had been said, nor the blessing which followed the declaration of blessedness, “Thou art Peter,” etc

16

GRADUAL GROWTH IN KNOWLEDGE OF THE DISCIPLES,

But now we must first investigate the fact that they were declaring other things about Him as being great and wonderful, but did not yet proclaim that He was the Christ, lest the Savior may not appear to take away from them the authority to announce that He was the Christ, which He had formerly bestowed upon them. And perhaps some one will support an argument of this kind, saying that on their introduction into the school of Christ the Jews were taught by the disciples glorious things about Jesus, so that in due season there might be built upon these as a foundation the things about Jesus being the Christ; and perhaps many of the things which were said to them were said to all who virtually believed; for not to the Apostles alone did the saying apply, “Before governors and kings also shall ye be brought for My sake for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles;” and perhaps also not to the Apostles absolutely, but to all who were about to believe the word, “And brother shall deliver up brother to death,” etc.; but, “Whosoever shall confess Me,” etc., is said not specially to the Apostles, but also to all believers. According to this, then, through that which was said to the Apostles an outline was given beforehand of the teaching which would afterwards come to be of service both to them and to every teacher

17

REASONS FOR THAT GRADUAL KNOWLEDGE

And likewise he who holds that the fact that He was Christ had been formerly proclaimed by the Apostles when they heard the saying, “What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light, and what ye hear in the ear proclaim on the housetops,” will say, that He wished first to give catechetical instruction as it were to those of the Apostles who were to hear the name of Christ, then to permit this, so to speak, to be digested in the minds of the hearers, that, after there had been a period of silence in the proclamation of something of this kind about Him, at a more seasonable

time there might be built up upon the former rudiments “Christ Jesus crucified and raised from the dead,” which at the beginning not even the Apostles knew; for it is written in the passage now under consideration, “From that time began Jesus to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem” and suffer this and that. But if now, for the first time, the Apostles learn from Jesus the things that were about to happen unto Him, namely, that the elders will plot against Him, and that He will be killed, and that after these things, on the third day, He will rise from the dead, — what necessity is there for supposing that those who had been taught by the Apostles concerning Jesus knew them before, or that although Christ was announced to them He was announced to them by way of an introduction which did not clearly elucidate the things concerning Him? For our Savior wished, when He enjoined the disciples to tell no man that He was the Christ, to reserve the more perfect teaching about Him to a more fitting time, when to those who had seen Him crucified, the disciples who had seen Him crucified and risen could testify the things relating to His resurrection. For it the Apostles. who were always with Him and had seen all the wonderful things which He did, and who bore testimony to His words that they were words of eternal life, were offended on the night on which He was betrayed, — what do you suppose would have been the feelings of those who had formerly learned that He was the Christ? To spare them, I think, He gave this command

18

JESUS WAS AT FIRST PROCLAIMED BY THE TWELVE AS A WORKER AND A TEACHER ONLY

But he who holds that the things spoken to the Twelve refer to the times subsequent to this, and that the Apostles had not as yet announced to their hearers that He was the Christ, will say that He wished the conception of the Christ which was involved in the name of Jesus to be reserved for that preaching which was more perfect, and which brought salvation, such as Paul knew of when he said to the Corinthians, “I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.” Wherefore, formerly they proclaimed Jesus as the doer of

certain things, and the teacher of certain things; but now when Peter confesses that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God, as He did not wish it to be proclaimed already that He was the Christ, in order that He might be proclaimed at a more suitable time, and that as crucified, He commands His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ. And that this was His meaning, when He forbade proclamation to be made that He was the Christ, is in a measure established by the words, “From that time began Jesus to show unto His disciples how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders,” and what is annexed; for then, at the fitting time, He proclaims, so to speak, to the disciples who knew that Jesus was Christ, the Son of the living God, the Father having revealed it to them, that instead of believing in Jesus Christ who had been crucified, they were to believe in Jesus Christ who was about to be crucified. But also, instead of believing in Christ Jesus and Him risen from the dead, He teaches them to believe in Christ Jesus and Him about to be risen from the dead. But since “having put off from Himself the principalities and the powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over in the cross,” if any one is ashamed of the cross of Christ, he is ashamed of the dispensation on account of which these powers were triumphed over; and it is fitting that he, who both believes and knows these things, should glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which, when Christ was crucified, the principalities — among which, I think, was also the prince of this world — were made a show of and triumphed over before the believing world. Wherefore, when His suffering was at hand he said, “Now the prince of this world has been judged,” and, “Now shall the prince of this world be cast out,” and, “I, if I be lifted from the earth, will draw all men unto Myself;” as he no longer had sufficient power to prevent those going to Jesus who were being drawn by Him

19

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF JESUS AS THE CRUCIFIED

It is necessary, therefore, to the proclamation of Jesus as Christ, that He should be proclaimed as crucified; and the proclamation that Jesus was the

Christ does not seem to me so defective when any of His other miracles is passed over in silence, as when the fact of His crucifixion is passed over. Wherefore, reserving the more perfect proclamation of the things concerning Him by the Apostles, He commanded His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ; and He prepared them to say that He was the Christ crucified and risen from the dead, “when He began “not only to say, nor even to advance to the point of teaching merely, but “to show” to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, etc.; for attend to the expression “show”; because just as sensible things are said to be shown so the things spoken by Him to His disciples are said to be shown by Jesus. And i do not think that each of the things seen was shown to those who saw Him suffering many things in body from the elders of the people, with such clearness as was the rational demonstration about Him to the disciples

20

WHY JESUS HAD TO GO TO JERUSALEM

“*Then began He to show*;” and probably afterwards when they were able to receive it He shewed more clearly, no longer beginning to show as to those who were learning the introduction, but already also advancing in the showing; and if it is reasonable to conceive that Jesus altogether completed what He began, then, some time, He altogether completed that which He began to show to His disciples about the necessity of His suffering the things which are written. For, when any one apprehends from the Word the perfect knowledge of these things, then it must be said that, from a rational exhibition (the mind seeing the things which are shown,) the exhibition becomes complete for him who has the will and the power to contemplate these things, and does contemplate them. But since “it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem,” — a perishing which corresponds to the words, “He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.” — on this account it was necessary for Him to go to Jerusalem, that having suffered many things in that Jerusalem, He might make “the first-fruits” of the resurrection from the dead in the Jerusalem above, doing away with and breaking up the city upon the earth with all the worship

which was maintained in it. For so long as Christ “had not been raised from the dead. the first-fruits of them that are asleep,” and those who become conformed to His death and resurrection had not yet been raised along with Him, the city of God was sought for below, and the temple, and the purifications, and the rest; but when this took place, no longer were the things below sought for, but the things above; and, in order that these might be set up, it was necessary that He should go unto the Jerusalem below, and there suffer many things from the elders in it, and the chief priests and scribes of the people, in order that He might be glorified by the heavenly elders who could receive his bounties, and by diviner high-priests who are ordained under the one High-Priest, and that He might be glorified by the scribes of the people who are occupied with letters “not written with ink” but made clear by the Spirit of the living God, and might be killed in the Jerusalem below, and having risen from the dead might reign in Mount Zion, and the city of the living God — the heavenly Jerusalem. But on the third day He rose from the dead. in order that having delivered them from the wicked one, and his son, in whom was falsehood and unrighteousness and war and everything opposed to that which Christ is, and also from the profane spirit who transforms himself into the Holy Spirit, He might gain for those who had been delivered the right to be baptized in spirit and soul and body, into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which represent the three days eternally present at the same time to those who by means of them are sons of light

21

THE REBUKE OF PETER AND THE ANSWER OF JESUS

“*And Peter took Him and began to rebuke Him, saying, God be propitious to Thee. Lord, this shall never be unto thee*.” To whom He said, “Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto Me; for thou mindest not the things of God but the things of men.” Since Jesus had begun to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things, Peter up to this point learned the beginnings of those things which were shown. But since he thought that the sufferings were unworthy of Christ the Son of the living God, and below the dignity of the Father who

had revealed to him so great things about Christ, — for the things that concerned His coming suffering had not been revealed to him, — on this account he took Him, and as one forgetful of the honor due to the Christ, and that the Son of the living God neither does nor says anything worthy of rebuke, he began to rebuke Him; and as to one who needed propitiation, — for he did not yet know that "God had set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood," he said, "God be propitious to thee, O Lord." Approving his purpose, indeed, but rebuking his ignorance, because of the purpose being right. He says to him, "Get thee behind Me," as to one who, by reason of the things of which he was ignorant and spake not rightly, had abandoned the following of Jesus; but because of his ignorance, as to one who had something antagonistic to the things of God, He said, "Satan," which in the Hebrew means "adversary." But, if Peter had not spoken from ignorance, nor rebuked the Son of the living God, saying unto Him, "God be propitious to thee, Lord, this shall never be unto Thee," Christ would not have said to him, "Get thee behind Me," as to one who had given up being behind Him and following Him; nor would He have said as to one who had spoken things adverse to what He had said, "Satan." But now Satan prevailed over him who had followed Jesus and was going behind Him, to turn aside from following Him and from being behind the Son of God, and to make him, by reason of the words which he spoke in ignorance, worthy of being called "Satan" and a stumbling-block to the Son of God, and "as not minding the things of God but the things of men." But that Peter was formerly behind the Son of God, before he committed this sin, is manifest from the words, "Come ye behind Me, and I will make you fishers of men."

22

IMPORTANCE OF THE EXPRESSIONS "BEHIND" AND "TURNED"

But you will compare together His saying to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan," with that said to the devil (who said to Him, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me"), "get thee hence," without the addition, "behind Me;" for to be behind Jesus is a good tiling.

Wherefore it was said, “Come ye behind Me and I will make you fishers of men.” And to the same effect is the saying, “He that doth not take his cross and follow behind Me is not worthy of Me.” And as a general principle observe the expression “behind”; because it is a good thing when any one goes behind the Lord God and is behind the Christ; but it is the opposite when any one casts the words of God behind him, or when he transgresses the commandment which says, “Do not walk behind thy lusts.” And Elijah also, in the third Book of Kings, says to the people, “How long halt ye on both your knees? If God is the Lord, go behind Him, but if Baal is the Lord, go behind him.” And Jesus says this to Peter when He “turned,” and He does so by way of conferring a favor. And if therefore you will collect more illustrations of the “having turned,” and especially those which are ascribed to Jesus, and compare them with one another, you would find that the expression is not superfluous. But it is sufficient at present to bring forward this from the Gospel according to John, “Jesus turned and beheld them — “ clearly, Peter and Andrew — “following, and saith unto them, What seek ye?” For observe that, when He “turned,” it is for the advantage of those to whom He turned

23

PETER AS A STUMBLING-BLOCK TO JESUS

Next we must inquire how He said to Peter, *“Thou art a stumbling-block unto Me,*” especially when David says, “Great peace have they that love Thy law, and there is no stumbling-block to them.” For some one will say, if this is said in the prophet, because of the steadfastness of those who have love, and are incapable of being offended, for “love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, love never faileth,” how did the Lord Himself, “who upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all that be bowed down,” say to Peter, “Thou art a stumbling-block unto Me”? But it must be said that not only the Savior, but also he who is perfected in love, cannot be offended. But, so far as it depends on himself, he who says or does such things is a stumbling-block even to him who will not be offended; unless perhaps Jesus calls the disciple who sinned a stumbling-block even to Himself, as much more than

Paul He would have said from love, “Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?” In harmony with which we may put, “Who is made to stumble, and I am not made to stumble?” But if Peter, at that time because of the saying. “God be propitious to Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee,” was called a stumbling-block by Jesus, as not minding the things of God in what he said but the things of men, what is to be said about all those who profess to be made disciples of Jesus, but do not mind the things of God, and do not look to things unseen and eternal, but mind the things of man, and look to things seen and temporal, but that such still more would be stigmatized by Jesus as a stumbling-block to Him, and because stumbling-blocks to Him, as stumbling-blocks to His brethren also? As in regard to them He says, “I was thirsty and ye gave Me no drink,” etc., so also He might say, “When I was running ye caused Me to stumble.” Let us not therefore suppose that it is a trivial sin to mind the things of men, since we ought in everything to mind the things of God. And it will be appropriate also to say this to every one that has fallen away from the doctrines of God and the words of the church and a true mind; as, for example, to him who minds as true the teaching of Basilides, or Valentinus, or Marcion, or any one of those who teach the things of men as the things of God

24

SELF-DENIAL AND CROSS-BEARING

“*Then Jesus said to His disciples, If any man wills to follow after Me*,” etc. He shows by these words that, to will to come after Jesus and to follow Him, springs from no ordinary manly courage, and that no one who has not denied himself can come after Jesus. And the man denies himself who wipes out by a striking revolution his own former life which had been spent in wickedness; as by way of illustration he who was once licentious denies his licentious self, having become self-controlled even abidingly. But it is probable that some one may put the objection, whether as he denied himself i so he also confesses himself, when he denied himself, the unjust, and confesses himself, the righteous one. But, if Christ i is righteousness, he who has received righteousness confesses not himself but Christ; so

also he who has found wisdom, by the very possession of wisdom, confesses Christ. And such a one indeed as, “with the heart believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth maketh confession unto salvation,” and bears testimony to the works of Christ, as making confession by all these things of Christ before men, will be confessed by Him before His Father in heaven. So also he who has not denied himself but denied the Christ will experience the saying, “I also will deny him.” On this account let every thought and every purpose and every word and every action become a denial of ourselves, but a testimony about Christ and in Christ; for I am persuaded that every action of the perfect man is a testimony to Christ Jesus, and that abstinence from every sin is a denial of self, leading him after Christ. And such an one is crucified with Christ, and taking up his own cross follows Him who for our sakes bears His own cross, according to that which is said in John: “They took Jesus therefore and put it on Him,” etc., down to the words, “Where they crucified Him.” But the Jesus according to John, so to speak, bears the cross for Himself, and bearing it went out; but the Jesus according to Matthew and Mark and Luke, does not bear it for Himself, for Simon of Cyrene bears it. And perhaps this man refers to us, who because of Jesus take up the cross of Jesus, but Jesus Himself takes it upon Himself; for there are, as it were, two conceptions of the cross, the one which Simon of Cyrene bears, and the other which Jesus Himself bears for Himself

15

REFERENCE TO THE SAYING OF PAUL ABOUT CRUCIFIXION WITH CHRIST,

Moreover in regard to the saying, “*Let him deny himself*,” the following saying of Paul who denied himself seems appropriate, “Yet I live, and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me;” for the expression, “I live, yet no longer I,” was the voice of one denying himself, as of one who had laid aside his own life and taken on himself the Christ, in order that He might live in him as Righteousness, and as Wisdom, and as Sanctification, and as our Peace, and as the Power of God, who worketh all things in him. But further also, attend to this, that while there are many forms of dying, the

Son of God was crucified, being hanged on a tree, in order that all who die unto sin may die to it, in no other way than by the way of the cross. Wherefore they will say, “I have been crucified with Christ,” and, “Far be it from me to glory save hi the cross of the Lord, through which the world has been crucified unto me and I unto the world.” For perhaps also each of those who have been crucified with Christ puts off from himself the principalities and the powers, and makes a show of them and triumphs over them in the cross; or rather, Christ does these things in them

26

THE LESS OF LIFE; AND THE SAVING OF IT

“For whosoever would save his own life shall lose it.” The first expression is ambiguous; for it may be understood. in one way thus. If any one as being a lover of life, and thinking that the present life is good, tends carefully his own life with a view to living in the flesh, being afraid to die, as through death going to lose it, this man, by the very willing to save in this way his own life will lose it, placing it outside of the borders of blessedness. But if any one despising the present life because of my word, which has persuaded him to strive in regard to eternal life even unto death for truth, loses his own life, surrendering it for the sake of piety to that which is commonly called death, this man, as for my sake he has lost his life, will save it rather, and keep it in possession. And according to a second way we might interpret the saying as follows. If any one, who has grasped what salvation really is, wishes to procure the salvation of his own life, let this man having taken farewell of this life, and denied himself and taken up his own cross, and following me, lose his own life to the world; for having lost it for my sake and for the sake of all my teaching, he will gain the end of loss of this kind — salvation.

27

LIFE LOST TO THE WORLD IS SAVED

But at the same time also observe that at the beginning it is said, “Whosoever wills,” but afterwards, “Whoso shall lose.” If we then wish it to be saved let us lose it to the world, as those who have been crucified with Christ and have for our glorying that which is in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world is to be crucified unto us and we unto the world, that we may gain our end, even the salvation of our lives, which begins from the time when we lose it for the sake of the word. But if we think that the salvation of our life is a blessed thing, with reference to the salvation which is in God and the blessednesses with Him, then any loss of life ought to be a good thing, and, for the sake of Christ must prove to be the prelude to the blessed salvation. It seems to me, therefore, following the analogy of self-denial, according to what has been said, that each ought to lose his own life. Let each one therefore lose his own sinning life, that having lost that which is sinful, he may receive that which is saved by right actions; but a man will in no way be profited if he shall gain the whole world. Now he gains the world, I think, to whom the world is not crucified; and to whom the world is not crucified, to that man shall be the loss of his own life. But when two things are put before us, either by gaining one’s life to forfeit the world, or by gaining the world to forfeit one’s life, much more desirable is the choice, that we should forfeit the world and gain our life by losing it on account of Christ

28

THE EXCHANGE FOR ONE’S LIFE

But the saying, “What shall a man give in exchange for his own life,” if spoken by way of interrogation, will seem to be able to indicate that an exchange for his own life is given by the man who after his sins has given up his whole substance, that his property may feed the poor, as if he were going by that to obtain salvation; but, if spoken affirmatively, I think, to indicate that there is not anything in man by the giving of which in

exchange for his own life which has been overcome by death. he will ransom it out of its hand. A man, therefore, could not give anything as an exchange for his own life, but God gave an exchange for the life of us all, “the precious blood of Christ Jesus,” according as “we were bought with a price,” “having been redeemed, not with corruptible things as silver or gold, but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot,” even of Christ. And in Isaiah it is said to Israel. “I gave Ethiopia in exchange for thee, and Egypt and Syene for thee; from what time thou hast become honorable before Me thou wast glorified.” For the exchange, for example, of the first-born of Israel was the first-born of the Egyptians, and the exchange for Israel was the Egyptians who died in the last plagues that came upon Egypt, and in the drowning which took place after the plagues. But, from these things, let him who is able inquire whether the exchange of the true Israel given by God, “who redeems Israel from all his transgressions,” is the true Ethiopia, and, so to speak, spiritual Egypt. and Syene of Egypt; and to inquire with more boldness, perhaps Syene is the exchange for Jerusalem, and Egypt for Judaea, and Ethiopia for those who fear, who are different from Israel, and the house of Levi, and the house of Aaron

29

THE COMING OF THE SON OF MAN IN GLORY

“*For the Son of man shall come in the glory of His own Father with His angels*.” Now, indeed, the Son of man has not come in His glory; “for we saw Him, and He had no form nor beauty; but His form was dishonored and defective compared with the sons of men; He was a man in affliction and toil, and acquainted with the enduring of sickness, because His face was turned away, He was dishonored and not esteemed.” And it was necessary that He should come in such form that He might bear our sins and suffer pain for us; for it did not become Him in glory to bear our sins and suffer pain for us. But He also comes in glory, having prepared the disciples through that epiphany of His which has no form nor beauty; and, having become as they that they might become as He, “conformed to the image of His glory,” since He formerly became conformed to “the body of

our humiliation," when He "emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant," He is restored to the image of God and also makes them conformed unto it.

30

THE WORD APPEARS IN DIFFERENT FORMS THE TIME OF HIS COMING IN GLORY

But if you will understand the differences of the Word which by "the foolishness of preaching" is proclaimed to those who believe, and spoken in wisdom to them that are perfect, you will see in what way the Word has the form of a slave to those who are learning the rudiments, so that they say, "We saw Him and He had no form or beauty." But to the perfect He comes "in the glory of His own Father," who might say, "and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." For indeed to the perfect appears the glory of the Word, and the only-begotten of God His Father, add the fulness of grace and likewise of truth, which that man cannot perceive who requires the "foolishness of the preaching," in order to believe. But "the Son of man shall come in the glory of His own Father" not alone, but "with His own angels." And if you can conceive of all those who are fellow-helpers in the glory of the Word, and in the revelation of the Wisdom which is Christ, coming along with Him, you will see in what way the Son of man comes in the glory of His own Father with His own angels. And consider whether you cad in this connection say that the prophets who formerly suffered in virtue of their word having "no form or beauty" had an analogous position to the Word who had "no form or beauty." And, as the Son of man comes in the glory of His own Father, so the angels, who are the words in the prophets, are present with Him preserving the measure of their own glory. But when the Word comes in such form with His own angels, He will give to each a part of His own glory and of the brightness of His own angels, according to the action of each. But we say these things not rejecting even the second coming of the Son of God understood in its simpler form. But when shall these things happen? Shall it be when that apostolic oracle is fulfilled which says, "For we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,

that each one may receive the things dope in the body, according to what he has done, whether it be good or bad?" But if He will render to each according to his deed, not the good deed only, nor the evil apart from the good, it is manifest that He will render to each according to every evil, and according to every good, deed. But I suppose — in this also following the Apostle, but comparing also the sayings of Ezekiel, in which the sins of him who is a perfect convert are wiped out, and the former uprightness of him who has utterly fallen away is not held of account — that in the case of him who is perfected, and has altogether laid aside wickedness, the sins are wiped out, but that, in the case of him who has altogether revolted from piety, if anything good was formerly done by him, it is not taken into account. But to us, who occupy a middle position between the perfect man add the apostate, when we stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, there is rendered what we have done, whether good or bad; for we have not been so pure that our evil deeds are not at all imputed unto us, nor have we fallen away to such an extent that our better actions are forgotten

31

THE SIMPLER INTERPRETATION OF THE PROMISE ABOUT NOT TASTING OF DEATH

"*Verily I say unto you there be some of them that stand here that shall not taste of death*." Some refer these things to the going up — six days after, or, as Luke says, eight days — of the three disciples into the high mountain with Jesus apart; and those who adopt this interpretation say that Peter and the remaining two did not taste of death before they saw the Son of man coining in His own kingdom and in His own glory. For when they saw Jesus transfigured before them so that "His face shone," etc., "they saw the kingdom of God coming with power." For even as some spear-bearers stand around a king, so Moses and Elijah appeared to those who had gone up into the mountains, talking with Jesus. But it is worth while considering whether the sitting on the right hand and on the left band of the Savior in His kingdom refers to them, so that the words, "But for whom it is prepared," were spoken because of them. Now this interpretation about the three Apostles not tasting of death until they have

seen Jesus transfigured, is adapted to those who are designated by Peter as “new-born babes longing for the reasonable milk which is without guile,” to whom Paul says, “I have fed you with milk, not with meat,” etc. Now, too, every interpretation of a text which is able to build up those who cannot receive greater truths might reasonably be called milk, flowing from the holy ground of the Scriptures, which flows with milk and honey. But he who has been weaned, like Isaac, worthy of the good cheer and reception which Abraham gave at the weaning of his son, would seek here and in every Scripture food which is different, I think, from that which is meat, indeed, but is not solid food, and from what are figuratively called herbs, which are food to one who has been weaned and is not yet strong but weak, according to the saying, “He that is weak eateth herbs.” In like manner also he who has been weaned, like Samuel, and dedicated by his mother to God, — she was Hannah, which is, by interpretation, grace,-would be also a son of grace, seeking, like one nurtured in the temple, flesh of God, the holy food of those who are at once perfect and priests

32

STANDING BY THE SAVIOR

The reflections in regard to the passage before us that occur to us at the present time are these: Some were standing where Jesus was, having the footsteps of the soul firmly planted with Jesus, and the standing of their feet was akin to the standing of which Moses said in the passage, “And I stood on the mountain forty days and forty nights,” who was deemed worthy to have it said to him by God who asked him to stand by Him, “But stand thou here with Me.” Those who really stand by Jesus — that is, by the Word of God — do not all stand equally; for among those who stand by Jesus are differences from each other. Wherefore, not all who stand by the Savior, but some of them as standing better, do not taste of death until they shall have seen the Word who dwelt with men, and on that account called Son of man, coming in His own kingdom; for Jesus does not always come in His own kingdom when He comes, since to the newly initiated He is such that they might say, beholding the Word Himself not

glorious nor great, but inferior to many among them, “We saw Him, and He had no form or beauty, but His form was dishonored, defective compared with all the sons of men.” And these things will be said by those who beheld His glory in connection with their own former times, when at first the Word as understood in the synagogue had no form nor beauty to them. To the Word, therefore, who has assumed most manifestly the power above all words. there belongs a royal dignity which is visible to some of those who stand by Jesus, when they have been able to follow Him as He goes before them and ascends to the lofty mountain of His own manifestation. And of this honor some of those who stand by Jesus are deemed worthy if they be either a Peter against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, or the sons of thunder, and are begotten of the mighty voice of God who thunders and cries aloud from heaven great things to those who have ears and are wise. Such at least do not taste death

33

INTERPRETATION OF “TASTING OF DEATH”

But we must seek to understand what is meant by “tasting of death.” And He is life who says, “I am the life,” and this life assuredly has been hidden with Christ in God; and. “when Christ our life shall be manifested, then along with Him” shall be manifested those who are worthy of being manifested with Him in glory. But the enemy of this life, who is also the last enemy of all His enemies that shall be destroyed, is death, of which the soul that sinneth dies, having the opposite disposition to that which takes place in the soul that lives uprightly, and in consequence of living uprightly lives. And when it is said in the law, “I have placed life before thy face,” the Scripture says this about Him who said, “I am the Life,” and about His enemy, death; the one or other of which each of us by his deeds is always choosing. And when we sin with life before our face, the curse is fulfilled against us which says, “And thy life shall be hanging up before thee,” etc., down to the words, “and for the sights of thine eyes which thou shall see.” As, therefore, the Life is also the living bread which came down from heaven and gave life to the world, so His enemy death is dead bread. Now every rational soul is fed either on living bread or dead bread,

by the opinions good or bad which it receives. As then in the case of more common foods it is the practice at one time only to taste them, and at another to eat of them more largely; so also, in the case of these loaves, one eats insufficiently only tasting them, but another is satiated, — he that is good or is on the way to being good with the living bread which came down from heaven, but he that is wicked with the dead bread, which is death; and some perhaps sparingly, and sinning a little, only taste of death; but those who have attained to virtue do not even taste of it, but are always fed on the living bread. It naturally followed then in the case of Peter, against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, that he did not taste of death, since any one tastes of death and eats death at the time when the gates of Hades prevail against him; and one eats or tastes of death in proportion as the gates of Hades to a greater or less extent, more or fewer in number, prevail against him. But also for the sons of thunder who were begotten of thunder, which is a heavenly thing, it was impossible to taste of death, which is extremely far removed from thunder, their mother. But these things the Word prophesies to those who shall be perfected, and who by standing with the Word advanced so far that they did not taste of death, until they saw the manifestation and the glory and the kingdom and the excellency of the Word of God in virtue of which He excels every word, which by an appearance of truth draws away and drags about those who are not able to break through the bonds of distraction, and go up to the height of the excellency of the Word of truth

34

MEANING OF “UNTIL.” NO LIMITATION OF PROMISE

But since some one may think that the promise of the Savior prescribes a limit of time to their not tasting of death, namely, that they will not taste of death “until” they see the Son of man coming in His own kingdom. but after this will taste of it, let us show that according to the scriptural usage the word “until” signifies that the time concerning the thing signified is pressing, but is not so defined that after the “until,” that which is contrary to the thing signified should at all take place. Now, the Savior says to the eleven disciples when He rose from the dead, this among other things, “Lo,

I am with you all the days, even until the consummation of the age." When He said this, did He promise that He was going to be with them until the consummation of the age, but that after the consummation of the age, when another age was at hand, which is "called the age to come," He would be no longer with them? — so that according to this, the condition of the disciples would be better before the consummation of the age than after the consummation of the age? But I do not think that any one will dare to say, that after the consummation of the age the Son of God will be no longer with the disciples, because the expression declares that He will be with them for so long, until the consummation of the age is at hand; for it is clear that the matter under inquiry was, whether the Son of God was forthwith going to be with His disciples before the age to come and the hoped for promises of God which were given as a recompense. But there might have been a question — it being granted that He would be with them — whether sometimes He was present with them, and sometimes not present. Wherefore setting us free from the suspicion that might have arisen from doubt, He declared that now and even all the days He would be with the disciples, and that He would not leave those who had become His disciples until the consummation of the age; (because He said "all the days" He did not deny that by night, when the sun set, He would be present with them.) But if such is the force of the words, "until the consummation of the age," plainly we shall not be compelled to admit that those who see the Son of man coming in His own kingdom shall taste of death, after being deemed worthy of beholding Him in such guise. But as in the case of the passage we brought forward, the urgent necessity was to teach us that "until the consummation of the age" He would not leave us but be with us all the days; so also in this case I think that it is clear to those who know how to look at the logical coherence of things that He who has seen once for all "the Son of man coming in His own kingdom," and seen Him "in His own glory," and seen "the kingdom of God come with power," could not possibly taste of death after the contemplation of things so good and great. But apart from the word of the promise of Jesus, we have conjectured not without reason that we would taste of death, so long as we were not yet held worthy to see "the kingdom of God come with power," and "the Son of man coming in His own glory and in His own kingdom."

35

SCRIPTURAL REFERENCES TO DEATH

But since here it is written in the three Evangelists, “They shall not taste of death,” but in other writers different things are written concerning death, it may not be out of place to bring forward and examine these passages along with the “taste.” In the Psalms, then, it is said, “What man is he that shall live and not see death?” And again, in another place, “Let death come upon them and let them go down into Hades alive;” but in one of the prophets, “Death becoming mighty has swallowed them up;” and in the Apocalypse, “Death and Hades follow some.” Now in these passages it appears to me that it is one thing to taste of death, but another thing to see death, and another thing for it to come upon some, and that a fourth thing, different from the aforesaid, is signified by the words, “Death becoming mighty has swallowed them up,” and a fifth thing, different from these, by the words, Death and Hades follow them.” And if you were to collect them, you would perhaps find also other differences than those which we have mentioned, by a comparison of which with one another and right investigation, you would find the things signified in each place. But here I inquire whether it is a less evil to see death, but a greater evil than seeing to taste of it, but still worse than this that death should follow any one, and not only follow him, but also now come upon him and seize him whom it formerly followed; but to be swallowed up seems to be more grievous than all the things spoken of. But giving heed to what is said, and to the differences of sins committed, you will not I think, be slow to admit that things of this kind were intended by the Spirit who caused these things to be written in the oracles of God. But, if it be necessary to give an exposition clearer than what has been said of what is signified by seeing the Son of man coming in His own kingdom, or in His own glory, and what is signified by seeing the kingdom of God come with power, these things — whether those that are made to shine in our hearts, or that are found by those who seek, or that enter gradually into our thoughts. — let each one judge as he wills — we will set forth. He who beholds and apprehends the excellency of the Word, as tie breaks down and refutes all the plausible forms of things which are truly lies but profess to be truths, sees the Son of man, (according to the word of John, “the Word of God,”) coming in

His own kingdom; but if such an one were to behold the Word, not only breaking down plausible oppositions, but also representing His own truths with perfect clearness, he would behold His glory in addition to His kingdom. And such an one indeed would see in Him the kingdom of God come with power; and he would see this, as one who is no longer now under the reign of "sin which reigns in the mortal body of those who sin," but is ever under the orders of the king, who is God of all, whose kingdom is indeed potentially "within us," but actually, and, as Mark has called it, "with power," and not at all in weakness within the perfect alone. These things, then, Jesus promised to the disciples who were standing, prophesying not about all of them, but about some

36

CONCERNING THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE SAVIOR

"*Now after six days*," according to Matthew and Mark, "He taketh with him Peter and James and John his brother, and leads them up into a high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them." Now, also, let it be granted, before the exposition that occurs to us in relation to these things, that this took place long ago, and according to the letter. But it seems to me, that those who are led up by Jesus into the high mountain, and are deemed worthy of beholding His transfiguration apart, are not without purpose led up six days after the discourses previously spoken. For since in six days — the perfect number — the whole world, — this perfect work of art, — was made, on this account I think that he who transcends all the things of the world by beholding no longer the things which are seen, for they are temporal, but already the things which not seen, and only the things which are not seen, because that they are eternal, is represented in the words, "After six days days Jesus took up with Him" certain persons. If therefore any one of us wishes to be taken by Jesus, and led up by Him into the high mountain, and be deemed worthy of beholding His transfiguration apart, let him pass beyond the six days, because he no longer beholds the things which are seen, nor longer loves the world, nor the things in the world, nor lusts after any worldly lust, which is the lust of bodies, and of the riches of the body, and of the glory which is after the

flesh, and whatever things whose nature it is to distract and drag away the soul from the things which are better and diviner, and bring it down and fix it fast to the deceit of this age, in wealth and glory, and the rest of the lusts which are the foes of truth. For when he has passed through the six days, as we have said, he will keep a new Sabbath, rejoicing in the lofty mountain, because he sees Jesus transfigured before him; for the Word has different forms, as He appears to each as is expedient for the beholder, and is manifested to no one beyond the capacity of the beholder

37

FORCE OF THE WORDS "BEFORE THEM,"

But you will ask if, when He was trans-figured before those who were led up by Him into the lofty mountain, He appeared to them in the form of God, in which He formerly was, so that He had to those below the form of a servant, but to those who had followed Him after the six days to the lofty mountain, He had not that form, but the form of God. But hear these things, if you can, at the same time giving heed spiritually, that it is not said simply, "He was trans-figured," but with a certain necessary addition, which Matthew and Mark have recorded; for, according to both, "He was transfigured before them." And according to this, indeed, you will say that it is possible for Jesus to be transfigured before some with this transfiguration, but before others at the same time not to be transfigured. But if you wish to see the transfiguration of Jesus before those who went up into the lofty mountain apart long with Him, behold with me the Jesus in the Gospels, as more simply apprehended, and as one might say, known "according to the flesh," by those who do not go up, through works and words which are uplifting, to the lofty mountain of wisdom, but known no longer after the flesh, but known in His divinity by menus of all the Gospels, and beholden in the form of God according to their knowledge; for before them is Jesus transfigured, and not to any one of those below. But when He is transfigured, His face also shines as the sun, that He may be manifested to the children of light, who have put off the works of darkness, and put on the armor of light, and are no longer the children of darkness or night, but have become the sons of day, and walk honestly as

in the day; and being manifested, He will shine unto them not simply as the sun, but as demonstrated to be the sun of righteousness

38

THE GARMENTS WHITE AS THE LIGHT

And not only is He transfigured before such disciples, nor does He only add to the transfiguration the shining of His face as the sun; but further also to those who were led up by Him into the high mountain apart, His garments appear white as the light. But the garments of Jesus are the expressions and letters of the Gospels with which He invested Himself. But I think that even the words in the Apostles which indicate the truths concerning Him are garments of Jesus, which become white to those who go up into the high mountain along with Jesus. But since there are differences also of things white, His garments become white as the brightest and purest of all white things; and that is light. When therefore you see any one not only with a thorough understanding of the theology concerning Jesus, but also making clear every expression of the Gospels, do not hesitate to say that to Him the garments of Jesus have become white as the light. But when the Son of God in His transfiguration is so understood and beheld, that His face is a sun, and His garments white as the light, straightway there will appear to him who beholds Jesus in such form Moses, — the law — and Elijah, — in the way of synecdoche, not one prophet only, but all the prophets — holding converse with Jesus; for such is the force of the words “talking with Him;” but, according to Luke, “Moses and Elijah appeared in glory,” down to the words, “in Jerusalem.” But if any one sees the glory of Moses, having understood the spiritual law as a discourse in harmony with Jesus, and the wisdom in the prophets which is hidden in a mystery, he sees Moses and Elijah in glory when he sees them with Jesus

39

JESUS WAS TRANSFIGURED — “AS HE WAS PRAYING”

Then, since it will be necessary to expound the passage as given in Mark, “And as He was praying He was transfigured before them,” we must say that perhaps it is possible especially to see the Word transfigured before us if we have done the things aforesaid, and gone up into the mountain, and seen the absolute Word holding converse with the Father, and praying to Him for such things as the true High-Priest might pray for to the only true God. But in order that He may thus hold fellowship with God and pray to the Father, He goes up into the mountain; and then, according to Mark, “His garments become white and glistening as the light, so as no fuller on earth can whiten them.” And perhaps the fullers upon the earth are the wise men of this world who are careful about the diction which they consider to be bright and pure, so that even their base thoughts and false dogmas seem to be beautified by their fulling, so to speak; but He who shows His own garments glistering to those who have ascended and brighter than their fulling can make them, is the Word, who exhibits in the expressions of the Scriptures which are despised by many the glistering of the thoughts, when the raiment of Jesus, according to Luke, becomes white and dazzling.

40

DISCUSSION OF THE SAYING OF PETER

But let us next see what was the thought of Peter when he answered and said to Jesus, “Lord, it is good for us to be here; let us make three tabernacles,” etc. And on this account these words call for very special examination, because Mark, in his own person, has added, “For he wist not what to answer,” but Luke, “not knowing,” he says, “what he spake.” You will consider, therefore, if he spake these things as in a trance, being filled with the spirit which moved him to say these things, which could not be a Holy Spirit; for John taught in the Gospel that, before the resurrection of the Savior, no one had the Holy Spirit, saying, “For the Spirit was not

yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified." But if the Spirit was not yet, and he, not knowing what he said, spoke under the influence of some spirit, the spirit which caused these things to be said was some one of the spirits which had not yet been triumphed over in the cross, nor made a show of along with them, about whom it is written, "Having put off from Himself the principalities and the powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in the cross." But this spirit was perhaps that which is called a stumbling-block by Jesus, and which is spoken of as Satan in the passage, "Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto me.' But I know well that such things will offend many who meet with them, because they think thai it is opposed to sound reason that he should be spoken ill of who a little before had been pronounced blessed by Jesus, on the ground that the Father in heaven had revealed to him the things concerning the Savior, to-wit, that He was verily Jesus, and the Christ, and the Son of the living God. But let such an one attend more exactly to the statements about Peter and the rest of the Apostles, how even they made requests as if they were yet alien from Him who was to redeem them from the enemy and purchase them with His own precious blood; or let them also, who will have it that even before the passion of Jesus the Apostles were perfect, tell us whence it came about that "Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep." But to anticipate something else of what follows and apply it to the subject in hand, I would raise in turn these questions, — whether it is possible for any one to find occasion of stumbling in Jesus apart from the working of the devil who caused him to stumble; and whether it is possible for any one to deny Jesus, and that in presence of a little maid and a doorkeeper and men most worthless, unless a spirit had been with him in his denial hostile to the Spirit which is given and the wisdom, (which is given) to those who are assisted by God to make confession, according to a certain desert of theirs. But he who has learned to refer the roots of sin to the father of sin, the devil, will not say that apart from him either the Apostles were caused to stumble, or that Peter denied Christ thrice before that well-known cock-crowing. But if this be so, consider whether perhaps with a view to make Jesus stumble, so far as was in his power, and to turn Him aside from the dispensation whose characteristic was suffering that brought salvation to men, which He undertook with great willingness, seeking to effect these things which seemed to contribute to this end, he himself also here wishes as it were, by

deceit, to draw away Jesus, as if calling upon Him no longer to condescend to men, and come to them, and undergo death for them, but to abide on the high mountain with Moses and Elijah. But he promised also to build three tabernacles, one apart for Jesus, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah, as if one tabernacle would not have sufficed for the three, if it had been necessary for them to be in tabernacles and in the high mountain. And perhaps also in this he acted with evil intent, when he incited him "who did not know what he said," not desiring that Jesus and Moses and Elijah should be together, but desiring to separate them from one another, under pretext of the three tabernacles." And likewise it was a lie, "It is good for us to be here;" for if it had been a good thing they would also have remained there. But if it were a lie, you will seek to know who caused the lie to be spoken; and especially since according to John, "When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father thereof;" and as there is no truth apart from the working of Him who says, "I am the Truth," so there is no lie apart from him who is the enemy of truth. These contrary qualities, accordingly, were still in Peter truth and falsehood; and from truth he said, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God," but from falsehood he said, "May God be propitious to Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee," and also, "It is good for us to be here." But if any one will not admit that Peter spoke these things from any evil inspiration, but that his words were of his own mere choice, and it is demanded of him how he will interpret, "not knowing what he said," and, "for he did not know what to answer," he will say, that in the former case Peter held it to be a shameful thing and unworthy of Jesus to admit that the Son of the living God, the Christ, whom already the Father had revealed to him, should be killed; and in the: present case that, as having seen the two forms of Jesus and the one at the transfiguration which was much more excellent, being well pleased with that, he said that it was good to make their sojourning in that mountain, in order that he himself and those with him might rejoice as they beheld the transfiguration of Jesus and His face shining as the sun. and His garments white as the light, and, in addition to these things, might always behold in glory those whom they had once seen in glory, Moses and Elijah; and that they might rejoice at the things which they might hear, as they talked and held intercourse with each other, Moses and Elijah with Jesus, and Jesus with them

41

FIGURATIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE SAME

But since we have not yet spent our energy in interpreting the things in the place figuratively, but have said these things by way of searching into the mere letter, let us in conformity with these things, consider whether the aforesaid Peter and the sons of thunder who were taken up into the mountain of the dogmas of the truth, and who saw the transfiguration of Jesus and of Moses and Elijah, who appeared in glory with Him. might wish to make tabernacles in themselves for the Word of God who was going to dwell in them, and for His law which had been beholden in glory, and for the prophecy which spake of the decease of Jesus, which He was about to accomplish; and Peter, as one loving the contemplative life, and having preferred that which was delightsome in it to the life among the crowd with its turmoil, said, with the design of benefiting those who desired it, “It is good for us to be here.” But since “love seeketh not its own,” Jesus did not do that which Peter thought good; wherefore He descended from the mountain to those who were not able to ascend to it and behold His transfiguration, that they might behold Him in such form as they were able to see Him. It is, therefore, the part of a righteous man who possesses “the love which seeketh not its own” to be free from all, but to bring himself under bondage to all those below that He might gain the more of them. But some one, with reference to what we have alleged about the trance and the working of an evil spirit in Peter, concerning the words, “not knowing what he said,” not accepting that interpretation of ours, may say that there were certain mentioned by Paul “desiring to be teachers of the law,” who do not know about what they speak, but who, though they do not clearly expound the nature of what is said, nor understand their meaning, make confident affirmations of things which they do not know. Of such a nature was the affection of Peter also, for not apprehending what was good with reference to the dispensation of Jesus and of those who appeared in the mountain, — Moses and Elijah, — he says, “It is good for us to be here,” etc., “not knowing what he said,” “for he wist not what to say,” for if “a wise man will understand the things from his own mouth, and carries prudence in his lips,” he who is not so does not

understand the things from his own mouth, nor comprehend the nature of the things spoken by him

42

THE MEANING OF THE “BRIGHT CLOUD”

Next to these come the words, “While He was yet speaking, behold, also, a bright cloud overshadowed them,” etc. Now, I think that God, wishing to dissuade Peter from making three tabernacles, under which so far as it depended on his choice he was going to dwell, shows a tabernacle better, so to speak, and much more excellent, the cloud. For since it is the function of a tabernacle to overshadow him who is in it, and to shelter him, and the bright cloud overshadowed them, God made, as it were, a diviner tabernacle, inasmuch as it was bright, that it might be to them a pattern of the resurrection to come; for a bright cloud overshadows the just, who are at once protected and illuminated and shone Upon by it. But what might the bright cloud, which overshadows the just, be? Is it, perhaps, the fatherly power, from which comes the voice of the Father bearing testimony to the Son as beloved and well-pleasing, and exhorting those who were under its shadow to hear Him and no other one? But as He speaks of old, so also always does He speak through what He wills. And perhaps, too, the Holy Spirit is the bright cloud which overshadows the just, and prophesies of the things of God, who works in it, and says, “This is My beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased;” but I would venture also to say that our Savior is a bright cloud. When, therefore, Peter said, “Let us make here three tabernacles,”... one from the Father Himself, and from the Son, and one from the Holy Spirit. For a bright cloud of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit overshadows the genuine disciples of Jesus; or a cloud overshadows the Gospel and the law and the prophets, which is bright to him who is able to see the light of it in the Gospel, and the law, and the prophets. But perhaps the voice from the cloud says to Moses and Elijah, “This is My beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased, hear Him,” as they were desirous to see the Son of man, and to hear Him, and to behold Him as He was in glory. And perhaps it teaches the disciples that He who was, in a literal sense, the Son of God, and His beloved in

whom He was well-pleased, whom it behoved them especially to hear, was He who was then beheld, and transfigured, and whose face shone as the sun, and who was clothed with garments white as the light

43

RELATION OF MOSES AND ELIJAH TO JESUS. THE INJUNCTION OF SILENCE

But after these things it is written that, when they heard the voice from the cloud bearing testimony to the Son, the three Apostles, not being able to bear the glory of the voice and power resting upon it, “fell on their face,” and besought God; for they were sore afraid at the supernatural sight, and the things which were spoken from the sight. But consider if you can also say this with reference to the details in the passage, that the disciples, having understood that the Son of God had been holding conference with Moses, and that it was He who said, “A man shall not see My face and live,” and taking further the testimony of God about Him, as not being able to endure the radiance of the Word, humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God; but, after the touch of the Word, lifting up their eyes they saw Jesus only and no other. Moses, the law, and Elijah, the prophet, became one only with the Gospel of Jesus; and not, as they were formerly three, did they so abide, but the three became one, But consider these things with me in relation to mystical matters; for in regard to the bare meaning of the letter, Moses and Elijah, having appeared in glory and talked with Jesus, went away to the place from which they had come, perhaps to communicate the words which Jesus spake with them, to those who were to be benefited by Him, almost immediately, namely, at the time of the passion, when many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep, their tombs being opened, were to go to the city which is truly holy — not the Jerusalem which Jesus wept over — and there appear unto many. But after the dispensation in the mountain, when the disciples were coming down from the mountain in order that, when they had come to the multitude, they might serve the Son of God concerning the salvation of the people, Jesus commanded the disciples saying, “Tell the vision to no man until the Son of man rise from the dead.” But that saying, “Tell the vision

to no man," is like that which was investigated in the passage above, when "He enjoined the disciples to tell no man that He was the Christ." Wherefore the things that were said at that passage may be useful to us also for the passage before us; since Jesus wishes also, in accordance with these, that the things of His glory should not be spoken of, before His glory after the passion; for those who heard, and in particular the multitudes, would have been injured when they saw Him crucified, who had been so glorified. Wherefore since His being glorified in the resurrection was akin to His transfiguration, and to the vision of His face as the sun, on this account He wishes that these things should then be spoken of by the Apostles, when He rose from the dead.

BOOK 13

1.

RELATION OF THE BAPTIST TO ELIJAH. THE THEORY OF TRANSMIGRATION CONSIDERED

"*The disciples asked Him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elijah must first come*?" The disciples indeed who went up with Jesus remembered the traditions of the scribes concerning Elijah, that before the advent of Christ, Elijah would come and prepare for Him the souls of those who were going to receive Him. But the vision in the mountain, at which Elijah appeared, did not seem to be in harmony with the things which were said, since to them it seemed that Elijah had not come before Jesus but after Him; wherefore, they say these things, thinking that the scribes lied. But to this the Savior answers, not setting aside the traditions concerning Elijah, but saying that there was another advent of Elijah before that of Christ of which the scribes were ignorant; and, in regard to this, being ignorant of him, they "had done unto him whatsoever they listed," as if they had been accomplices in his having been cast into prison by Herod and slain by him; then He says that according as they had done towards Elijah so would He suffer at their hands. And these things indeed as about Elijah the disciples asked and the Savior answered, but when they heard they understood that the words, "Elijah has already come," and that following which was spoken by the Savior, had reference to John the Baptist. And let these things be said by way of illustration of the passage before us. But now according to our ability let us make investigation also into the things that are stored up in it. In this place it does not appear to me that by Elijah the soul is spoken of, lest I should fall into the dogma of transmigration, which is foreign to the church of God, and not handed down by the Apostles, nor anywhere set forth in the Scriptures; for it is also in opposition to the saying that "things seed are temporal," and that "this age shall have a consummation," and also to the fulfilment of the saying, "Heaven and earth shall pass away," and "the fashion of this world

passeth away," and "the heavens shall perish," and what follows. For if, by hypothesis, in the constitution of things which has existed from the beginning unto the end of the world, the same soul can be twice hi the body, for what cause should it be in it? For if because of sin it should be twice in the body, why should it not be thrice, and repeatedly in it, since punishments, in respect of this life, and of the sins committed in it, shall be rendered to it only by the method of transmigration? But if this be granted as a consequence, perhaps there will never be a time when a soul shall not undergo transmigration: for always because of its former sins will it dwell in the body; and so there will be no place for the corruption of the world, at which "the heaven and the earth shall pass away." And if it be granted, on this hypothesis, that one who is absolutely sinless shall not come into the body by birth, after what length of time do you suppose that a soul shall be found absolutely pure and needing no transmigration? But nevertheless, also, if any one soul is always thus being removed from the definite number of souls and returns no longer to the body, sometime after infinite ages, as it were, birth shall cease; the world being reduced to some one or two or a few more, after the perfecting of whom the world shall perish, the supply of souls coming into the body having failed. But this is not agreeable to the Scripture; for it knows of a multitude of sinners at the time of the destruction of the world. This is manifest from consideration of the saying, "How-beit when the Son of man cometh shall He find faith on the earth?" So we find it thus said in Matthew, "As were the days of Noah so shall also be the coming of the Son of man; for as they were in the days of the flood," etc. But to those who are then in existence there shall be the exaction of a penalty for their sins, but not by way of transmigration; for, if they are caught while still sinning, either they will be punished after this by a different form of punishment, — and according to this either there will be two general forms of punishment, the one by way of transmigration, and the other outside of a body of this kind, and let them declare the causes and differences of these, — or they will not be punished, as if those who were left at the consummation of things had forthwith cast away their sins; or, which is better, there is one form of punishment for those who have sinned in the body, namely, that they should suffer, outside of it, that is, outside the constitution of this life, what is according to the desert of their sins. But to one who has insight into the nature of things it is clear that each of these things is fitted to

overturn the doctrine of transmigration. But if, of necessity, the Greeks who introduce the doctrine of transmigration, laying down things in harmony with it, do not acknowledge that the world is coming to corruption, it is fitting that when they have looked the Scriptures straight in the face which plainly declare that the world will perish, they should either disbelieve them, or invent a series of arguments in regard to the interpretation of the things concerning the consummation; which even if they wish they will not be able to do. And this besides we will say to those who may have had the hardihood to aver that the world will not perish, that, if the world does not perish but is to exist for infinite periods of time, there will be no God knowing all things before they come into being. But if, perhaps, tie knows in part, either He will know each thing before it comes into being, or certain things, and after these again other things; for things infinite in nature cannot possibly be grasped by that knowledge whose nature it is to limit things known. From this it follows that there cannot be prophecies about all things whatsoever, since all things are infinite

2

"THE SPIRIT AND POWER OF ELIJAH" — NOT THE SOUL — WERE IN THE BAPTIST

I have thought it necessary to dwell some time on the examination of the doctrine of transmigration, because of the suspicion of some who suppose that the soul under consideration was the same in Elijah and in John, being called in the former case Elijah, and in the second case John; and that, not apart from God, had he been called John, as is plain from the saying of the angel who appeared to Zacharias, "Fear not, Zacharias, for thy supplication is heard, and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John;" and from the fact that Zacharias regained his speech after he had written in the tablet, that he who had been born should be called John. But if it were the soul of Elijah, then, when he was begotten a second time, he should have been called Elijah; or for the change of name some reason should have been assigned, as in the case of Abram and Abraham, Sarah and Sarrah, Jacob and Israel, Simon and Peter. And

yet not even thus would their argument in the case be tenable; for, in the case of the aforesaid, the changes of name took place in one and the same life. But some one might ask, if the soul of Elijah was not first in the Tishbite and secondly in John, what might that be in both which the Savior called Elijah? And I say that Gabriel in his words to Zacharias suggested what the substance was in Elijah and John that was the same; for he says, “Many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; and he shall go before his face in the spirit and power of Elijah.” For, observe, he did not say in the “soul” of Elijah, in which case the doctrine of transmigration might have some ground, but “in the spirit and power of Elijah.” For the Scripture well knows the distinction between spirit and soul, as, “May God sanctify you wholly, and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;” and the passage, “Bless the Lord, ye spirits and souls of the righteous” as it stands in the book of Daniel, according to the Septuagint, represents the difference between spirit and soul. Elijah, therefore, was not called John because of the soul, but because of the spirit and the power, which in no way conflicts with the teaching of the church, though they were formerly in Elijah, and afterwards in John; and “the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,” but the souls of the prophets are not subject to the prophets, and “the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha.” But we ought to inquire whether the spirit of Elijah is the same as the spirit of God in Elijah, or whether they are different from each other, and whether the spirit of Elijah which was in him was something supernatural, different from the spirit of each man which is in him; for the Apostle clearly indicates that the Spirit of God, though it be in us, is different from the spirit of each man which is in Him, when he says somewhere, “The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God;” and elsewhere, “No one of men knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of the man which is in him; even so the things of God none knoweth save the Spirit of God.” But do not marvel in regard to what is said about Elijah, if, just as something strange happened to him different from all the saints who are recorded, in respect of his having been caught up by a whirlwind into heaven, so his spirit had something of choice excellence, so that not only did it rest on Elisha, but also descended along with John at his birth; and that John, separately, “was filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother’s womb,” and separately, “came before Christ in the spirit and

power of Elijah." For it is possible for several spirits not only worse, but also better, to be in the same man. David accordingly asks to be established by a free spirit, and that a right spirit be renewed in his inward parts. But if, in order that the Savior may impart to us of "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and reverence," he was filled also with the spirit of the fear of the Lord; it is possible also that these several good spirits may be conceived as being in the same person. And this also we have brought forward, because of John having come before Christ "in the spirit and power of Elijah," in order that the saying. "Elijah has already come," may be referred to the spirit of Elijah that was in John; as also the three disciples who had gone up with Him understood that He spake to them about John the Baptist. Upon Elisha, then, only the spirit of Elijah rested, but John came before, not only in the spirit, but also in the power of Elijah. Wherefore, also, Elisha could not have been called Elijah, but John was Elijah himself. But if it be necessary to adduce the Scripture from which the scribes said that Elijah must first come, listen to Malachi who says, "And behold I will send to you Elijah the Tishbite," etc., down to the words, "Lest I come and smite the earth utterly." And it seems to be indicated by these words, that Elijah was to prepare for the glorious coming of Christ by certain holy words and dispositions in their souls, those who had been made fittest for this, which those upon earth could not have endured, because of the excellency of the glory, unless they had been prepared before hand by Elijah. And likewise, by Elijah, in this place, I do not understand the soul of that prophet but his spirit and his power; for these it is by which all things shall be restored, so that when they have been restored, and, as a result of that restoration, become capable of receiving the glory of Christ, the Son of God who shall appear in glory may sojourn with them. But if also Elijah be in some sort a word inferior to "the Word who was in the beginning with God, God the Word," this word also might come as a preparatory discipline to the people prepared by it, that they might be trained tot the reception of the perfect Word. But some one may raise the question whether the spirit and power of Elijah, suffered what was suffered in John, according to the words, "They did in him whatsoever they listed." And to this it will be said on the one hand, in simpler fashion that there is nothing strange in the thought, that the things which assist do, because of love, suffer along with those that are assisted; and Jesus indeed says. "Because

of the weak i was weak, and I hungered because of the hungry, and I thirsted because of the thirsty," and, on the other hand, in a deeper sense that the words are not, "But they did unto him whatsoever they listed in him," for the things which suffered leaned upon the spirit and the power of Elijah, the soul of John being in no wise Elijah; and probably also the body (leaned upon them). For in one fashion is the soul in the body, and the spirit, and the power; and in another fashion is the body of the righteous man in these better parts, as leaning upon them, and clinging to them; but "they who are in the flesh cannot please God; but ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the Spirit of God dwell in you;" for the soul of the sinner is in the flesh, but of the righteous man in spirit. And likewise, further, this might be inquired into, to whom refer the words, "But they did in him whatsoever they listed." Was it to the scribes in regard to whom the disciples inquired and said, "Why then do the scribes say that Elijah must first come?" But it is not at all evident that John suffered anything at the hands of the scribes, except, indeed, that they did not believe him; or, as we said also before, that they were accomplices in the wrongs which Herod dared to inflict on him. But another might say that the words, "But they did in him whatsoever they listed," refer not to the scribes but to Herodias and her daughter, and Herod, who did in him whatsoever they listed. And that which follows, "So shall the Son of man suffer from them," might be referred to the scribes, if the former were referred to them; but, if the former refers to Herod and Herodias and her daughter, the second passage will also refer to them; for Herod also seems to have joined in the vote that Jesus should die, perhaps his wife also taking part with him in the plot against Him.

3

CONCERNING THE EPILEPTIC

"*And when they were come to the multitude, there came to Him a man kneeling to Him and saying, Lord, have mercy upon my son*." Those who are suffering, or the kinsfolk of the sufferers, are along with the multitudes; wherefore, when He has dispensed the things that were beyond the multitudes, He descends to them, so that those, who were not able to

ascend because of the sicknesses that repressed their soul, might be benefited when the Word descended to them from the loftier regions. But we ought to make inquiry, in respect of what diseases the sufferers believe and pray for their own healing, and in respect of what diseases others do this for them, as, for example, the centurion for his servant, and the nobleman for his son, and the ruler of the synagogue for a daughter, and the Canaanitish woman for her female child who was vexed with a demon, and now the man who kneels to Him on behalf of his epileptic son. And along with these you will investigate when the Savior heals of Himself and unasked by any one, as for example, the paralytic; for these cures, when compared with one another for this very purpose, and examined together, will exhibit to him who is able to hear “the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery,” many dogmas concerning the different diseases of souls, as well as the method of their healing

4

SPIRITUAL EPILEPTICS

But since our present object is not to make inquiry about every case, but about the passage before us, let us, adopting a figurative interpretation, consider who we may say the lunatic was, and who was his father who prayed for him, and what is meant by the sufferer falling not constantly but oft-times, sometimes into the fire, and sometimes into the water, and what is meant by the fact that he could not be healed by the disciples but by Jesus Himself. For if every sickness and every infirmity, which our Savior then healed among the people, refers to different disorders in souls, it is also in accordance with reason that by the paralytics are symbolised the palsied in soul, who keep it lying paralysed in the body; but by those who are blind are symbolised those who are blind in respect of things seen by the soul alone, and these are really blind; and by the deaf are symbolised those who are deaf in regard to the reception of the word of salvation. On the same principle it will be necessary that the matters regarding the epileptic should be investigated. Now this affection attacks the sufferers at considerable intervals, during which he who suffers from it seems in no way to differ from the man in good health, at the season when

the epilepsy is not working on him. Similar disorders you may find in certain souls, which are often supposed to be healthy in point of temperance and the other virtues; then, sometimes, as if they were seized with a kind of epilepsy arising from their passions, they fall down from the position in which they seemed to stand, and are drawn away by the deceit of this world and other lusts. Perhaps, therefore, you would not err if you said, that such persons, so to speak, are epileptic spiritually, having been cast down by “the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places,” and are often ill, at the time when the passions attack their soul; at one time falling into the fire of burnings, when, according to what is said in Hosea, they become adulterers, like a pan heated for the cooking from the burning flame; and, at another time, into the water, when the king of all the dragons in the waters casts them down from the sphere where they appeared to breath freely, so that they come into the depths of the waves of the sea of human life. This interpretation of ours in regard to the lunatic will be supported by him who says in the Book of Wisdom with reference to the even temperament of the just man, “The discourse of a pious man is always wisdom,” but, in regard to what we have said, “The fool changes as the moon.” And sometimes even in the case of such you may see impulses which might carry away in praise of them those who do not attend to their want of ballast, so that they would say that it was as full moon in their case, or almost full moon. And you might see again the light that seemed to be in them diminishing, — as it was not the light of day but the light of night, — fading to so great an extent, that the light which appeared to be seen in them no longer existed. But whether or not those who first gave their names to things, on account of this gave the name of lunacy to the disease epilepsy, you will judge for yourself

5

THE DEAF AND DUMB SPIRIT

Now the father of the epileptic — perhaps the angel to whom he had been allotted, if we are to say that every human soul is put in subjection to some angel — prays the Physician of souls for his son that He may heal him who could not be healed from his disorder by the inferior word which

was in the disciples. But the dumb and deaf spirit, who was cast out by the Word, must be figuratively understood as the irrational impulses, even towards that which seems to be good, so that, what things any man once did by irrational impulse which seemed to onlookers to be good, he may do no longer irrationally but according to the reason of the teaching of Jesus. Under the inspiration of this Paul also said, “If I have all faith so as to remove mountains;” for he, who has all faith, which is as a grain of mustard seed, removes not one mountain only, but also several analogous to it; for although faith is despised by men and appears to be something very little and contemptible; yet when it meets with good ground, that is the soul, which is able fittingly to receive such seed, it becomes a great tree, so that no one of those things which have no wings, but the birds of heaven which are winged spiritually, are able to lodge in the branches of faith so great.

6

INFLUENCE OF THE MOON AND STARS ON MEN

Let us now, then, give heed to the very letter of the passage, and first let us inquire, how he who has been cast into darkness and repressed by an impure and deaf and dumb spirit is said to be a “lunatic,” and for what reason the expression to be a “lunatic “derives its name from the great light in heaven which is next to the sun, which God appointed “to rule over the night.” Let physicians then, discuss the physiology of the matter, inasmuch as they think that there is no impure spirit in the case, but a bodily disorder, and inquiring into the nature of things let them say, that the moist humors which are in the head are moved by a certain sympathy which they have with the light of the moon, which has a moist nature; but as for us, who also believe the Gospel that this sickness is viewed as having been effected by an impure dumb and deaf spirit in those who suffer from it, and who see that those, who are accustomed like the magicians of the Egyptians to promise a cure in regard to such, seem sometimes to be successful in their case, we will say that, perhaps, with the view of slandering the creation of God, in order that “unrighteousness may be spoken loftily, and that they may set their mouth against the heaven,” this impure spirit watches certain configurations of the moon, and

so makes it appear from observation of men suffering at such and such a phase of the moon, that the cause of so great an evil is not the dumb and deaf demon, but the great light in heaven which was appointed “to rule by night.” and which has no power to originate such a disorder among men. But they all “speak unrighteousness loftily,” as many as say, that the cause of all the disorders which exist on the earth, whether of such generally or of each in detail, arises from the disposition of the stars; and such have truly “set their mouth against the heaven,” when they say that some of the stars have a malevolent, and others a benevolent influence; since no star was formed by the God of the universe to work evil, according to Jeremiah as it is written in the Lamentations, “Out of the mouth of the Lord shall come things noble and that which is good.” And it is probable that as this impure spirit, producing what is called lunacy, observes the phases of the moon, that it may work on him who for certain causes has been committed to it, and who has not made himself worthy of the guardianship of angels, so also there are other spirits and demons who work at certain phases of the rest of the stars; so that not the moon only, but the rest of the stars also may be calumniated by those “who speak unrighteousness loftily.” It is worth while, then, to listen to the casters of nativities, who refer the origin of every form of madness and every demoniacal possession to the phases of the moon. That those, then, who suffer from what is called lunacy sometimes fall into the water is evident, and that they also fall into the fire, less frequently indeed, yet it does happen; and it is evident that this disorder is very difficult to cure, so that those who have the power to cure demoniacs sometimes fall in respect of this, and sometimes with fastings and supplications and more toils, succeed. But you will inquire whether there are such disorders in spirits as well as in men; so that some of them speak, but some of them are speechless, and some of them hear, but some are deaf; for as in them will be found the cause of their being impure, so also, because of their freedom of will, are they condemned to be speechless and deaf; for some men will suffer such condemnation if the prayer of the prophet, as spoken by the Holy Spirit, shall be given heed to, in which it is said of certain sinners, “Let the lying lips be put to silence.” And so, perhaps, those who make a bad use of their hearing, and admit the hearing of vanities, will be rendered deaf by Him who said, “Who hath made the stone-deaf and the deaf,” so that they may no longer lend an ear to vain things

7

THE POWER OF FAITH

But when the Savior said, “O faithfulness and perverse generation,” He signifies that wickedness, which is contrary to nature, stealthily enters in from perversity, and makes us perverted. But of the whole race of men on earth, I think, being oppressed by reason of their wickedness and His tarrying with them, the Savior said, “How long shall I be with you?” We have already, then, spoken in part of the words, “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain,” etc.; but nevertheless also we shall speak in this place the things that appear to us fitted to increase perspicuity. The mountains here spoken of, in my opinion, are the hostile powers that have their being in a flood of great wickedness, such as are settled down, so to speak, in some souls of men. Whenever, then, any one has all faith so that he no longer disbelieves in any things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and has faith such as was that of Abraham, who believed in God to such a degree that his faith was counted for righteousness. he has all faith as a grain of mustard seed; then will such an one say to this mountain — I mean, the dumb and deaf spirit in him who is called lunatic, — “Remove hence,” clearly, from the man who is suffer-lug, perhaps to the abyss, and it shall remove. And the Apostle, taking, I think. his starting-point from this place, says with apostolical authority, “If I have all faith so as to remove mountains,” for not one mountain merely, but also several analogous to it, he removes who has all faith which is as a grain of mustard-seed; and nothing shall be impossible to him who has so great faith. But let us also attend to this, “This kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting,” in order that if at any time it is necessary that we should be engaged in the healing of one suffering from such a disorder, we may not adjure, nor put questions, nor speak to the impure spirit as if it heard, but devoting ourselves to prayer and fasting, may be successful as we pray for the sufferer, and by our own fasting may thrust out the unclean spirit from him

8

JESUS' PREDICTION OF HIS "DELIVERY" INTO THE HANDS OF MEN

"*And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men*." And these things will appear to be of the same effect as those, "that Jesus began to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes." But it is not so; for it is not the same thing "to show unto the disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes," and, after suffering, "be killed," and, after being killed, "be raised up on the third day," as that which was said to them, when they were in Galilee, — which we did not learn before,-that the Son of man "would be delivered up;" for the being delivered up was not mentioned above, but now also it is said that "He is to be delivered up into the hands of men." As for these matters let us inquire by what person or persons He will be delivered up into the hands of men; for there we are taught of whom He will suffer, and in what place He will suffer; but here, in addition, we learn that while His suffering many things takes place at the hands of the aforesaid, they are not the prime causes of His suffering many things, but the one or ones who delivered Him up into the hands of men. For some one will say that the Apostle, interpreting this, says with reference to God, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all;" but the Son also gave Himself to death for us, so that He was delivered up, not only by the Father but also by Himself. Bat another will say not merely that, but also collecting the passages together, will say that the Son is first delivered up by God, — then about to be tempted, then to be in conflict, then to suffer for men, or even for the whole world that He might take away its sin, — to the prince of this age, and to the rest of its princes, and then by them delivered into the hands of men who would slay Him. The case of Job will be taken as an illustration. "Lo, all that is his I give into thy hands, but do not touch him;" thereafter, he was, as it were, delivered up by the devil to his princes, namely, to those who took prisoners of war, to the horsemen, to the fire that came down from heaven, to the great wind that came from the desert and broke up his house, But you will consider if, as he delivered

up the property of Job to those who took them captive, and to the horsemen, so also he delivered them up to a certain power, subordinate to "the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience," in order that the fire which descended thence on the sheep of Job might seem to fall from heaven, to the man who announced to Job that "fire fell from heaven, and burned up his sheep, and consumed the shepherds likewise." And in the same way you will inquire whether also the sudden mighty wind, that came down from the desert and assailed the four corners of the dwelling, was one of those which are under the devils to whom the devil delivered up the banquet of the sons and daughters of Job, that the house might fall on the children of the just man, and they might die. Let it be granted, then, that, as in the case of Job, the Father first delivered up the Son to the opposing powers, and that then they delivered Him up into the hands of men, among which men Judas also was, into whom after the sop Satan entered, who delivered Him up in a more authoritative manner than Judas. But take care lest on comparing together the delivering up of the Son by the Father to the opposing powers, with the delivering up of the Savior by them into the hands of men, you should think that what is called the delivering up is the same in the case of both. For understand that the Father in His love of men delivered Him up for us all; but the opposing powers, when they delivered up the Savior into the hands of men, did not intend to deliver Him up for the salvation of some, but, as far as in them lay, since none of them knew "the wisdom of God which was hidden in a mystery," they gave Him up to be put to death, that His enemy death might receive Him under its subjection, like those who die in Adam; and also the men who slew Him did so, as they were molded after the will of those who wished indeed that Jesus should become subject to death. I have deemed it necessary also to examine into these things, because that when Jesus was delivered up into the hands of men, He was not delivered up by men into the hands of men, but by powers to whom the Farther delivered up His Son for us all, and in the very act of His being delivered up, and coming under the power of those to whom He was delivered up, destroying him that has the power of death; for "through death He brought to nought him that hath the power of death, that is, the devil, and delivered all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."

9

SATAN AND THE “DELIVERY” OF JESUS

Now we must think that the devil has the power of death, — not of that which is common and indifferent, in accordance with which those who are compacted of soul and body die, when their soul is separated from the body, — but of that death which is contrary to and the enemy of Him who said, “I am the Life,” in accordance with which “the soul that sinneth, it shall die.” But that it was not God who gave Him up into the hands of men, the Savior manifestly declares when He says, “If My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews.” For, when He was delivered up to the Jews. He was delivered into the hands of men, not by His own servants, but by the prince of this age who says, concerning the powers which are in the sphere of the invisible, the kingdoms which are set up against men. “All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship Me.” Wherefore also we should think that in regard to them it was said, “The kings of the earth stood side by side, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against His Christ.” And those kings, indeed, and those rulers stood side by side and were gathered against the Lord and against His Christ; but we, because we have been benefited by His being delivered by them into the hands of men and slain, say, “Let us break their bonds asunder and cast away their yoke from us.” For, when we become conformed to the death of Christ, we are no longer under the bonds of the kings of the earth, as we have said, nor under the yoke of the princes of this age, who were gathered together against the Lord. And, on this account, “the Father spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all,” that those, who took Him and delivered Him up into the hands of men, might be laughed at by Him who dwells in the heavens, and might be derided by the Lord, inasmuch as, contrary to their expectation, it was to the destruction of their own kingdom and power, that they received from the Father the Son, who was raised on the third day, by having abolished His enemy death, and made us conformed, not only to the image of His death but also of His resurrection; through whom we walk in newness of life, no longer sitting “in the region and shadow of death,” through the light of God which has sprung up upon us. But when the Savior said, “The Son

of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill Him, and the third day He shall rise again," they were "exceeding sorry," giving heed to the fact that He was about to be delivered up into the hands of men, and that He would be killed, as matters gloomy and calling for sorrow, but not attending to the fact that He would rise on the third day, as He needed no longer time "to bring to nought through death him that had the power of death."

10

CONCERNING THOSE WHO DEMANDED THE HALF-SHEKEL

"*And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the half-shekel came to Peter*." There are certain kings of the earth, and the sons of these do not pay toll or tribute; and there are others, different from their sons, who are strangers to the kings of the earth, from whom the kings of the earth receive toll or tribute. And among the kings of the earth, their sons are free as among fathers; but those who are strangers to them, while they are free in relation to things beyond the earth, are as slaves in respect of those who Lord it over them and keep them in bondage; as the Egyptians lorded it over the children of Israel, and greatly afflicted their life and violently held them in bondage. It was for the sake of those who were in a bondage, corresponding to the bondage of the Hebrews, that the Son of God took upon Him only the form of a slave, doing no work that was foul or servile. As then, having the form of that slave, He pays toll and tribute not different from that which was paid by His disciple; for the same stater sufficed, even the one coin which was paid for Jesus and His disciple. But this coin was not in the house of Jesus, but it was in the sea, and in the mouth of a fish of the sea which, in my judgment, was benefited when it came up and was caught in the net of Peter, who became a fisher of men, in which net was that which is figuratively called a fish, in order also that the coin with the image of Caesar might be taken from it, and that it might take its place among those which were caught by them who have learned to become fishers of men. Let him, then, who has the things of Caesar render them to Caesar, that afterwards he may be able to render to

God the things of God. But since Jesus, who was “the image of the invisible God,” had not the image of Caesar, for “the prince of this age had nothing in Him,” on this account He takes from its own place, the sea, the image of Caesar, that He may give it to the kings of the earth for Himself and His disciple, so that those who receive the half-shekel might not imagine that Jesus was the debtor of them and of the kings of the earth; for He paid the debt, not having taken it up, nor having possessed it, nor having acquired it, nor at any time having made it His own possession, so that the image of Caesar might never be along with the image of the invisible God

11

THE FREEDOM OF SONS

And this may be put in another way. There are some who are kings’ sons on the earth, and yet they are not sons of those kings, but sons, and sons absolutely; but others, because of their being strangers to the sons of the kings of the earth, and sons of no one of those upon the earth, but on this very account are sons, whether of God or of His Son, or of some one of those who are God’s. If, then, the Savior inquires of Peter, saying, “The kings of the earth from whom do they receive toll or tribute — from their own sons or from strangers?” and Peter replies not from their own sons, but “from strangers,” then Jesus says about such as are strangers to the kings of the earth, and on account of being free are sons, “Therefore the sons are free;” for the sons of the kings of the earth are not free, since “every one that committeth sin is the bond-servant of sin,” but they are free who abide in the truth of the word of God, and on this account, know the truth, that they also may become free from sin. If, any one then, is a son simply, and not in this matter wholly a son of the kings of the earth, he is free. And nevertheless, though he is free, he takes care not to offend even the kings of the earth, and their sons, and those who receive the half-shekel; wherefore He says, “Let us not cause them to stumble, but go thou and cast thy net, and take up the fish that first cometh up,” etc. But I would inquire of those who are pleased to make myths about different natures, of what sort of nature they were, whether the kings of the earth,

or their sons, or those who receive the half-shekel, whom the Savior does not wish to offend; it appears of a verity, ex hypothesi, that they are not of a nature worthy of praise, and yet He took heed not to cause them to stumble, and He prevents any stumbling-block being put in their way, that they may not sin more grievously, and that with a view to their being saved — if they will — even by receiving Him who has spared them from being caused to stumble. And as in a place verily of consolation, — for such is, by interpretation, Capernaum, — comforting the disciple as being both free and a son, He gives to him the power of catching the fish first, that when it came up Peter might be comforted by its coming up and being caught, and by the staler being taken from its mouth, in order to be paid to those whose the staler was, add who demanded as their own such a piece of money

12

THE STATER ALLEGORIZED

But you might sometimes gracefully apply the passage to the lover of money, who has nothing in his mouth but things about silver, when you behold him healed by some Peter, who takes the stater, which is the symbol of all his avarice, not only from his mouth and words, but from his whole character. For you will say that such an ode was in the sea, and in the bitter affairs of life, and in the waves of the cares and anxieties of avarice, having the staler in his mouth when he was un believing and avaricious, but that he came up from the sea and was caught in the rational net, and being benefited by some Peter who has taught him the truth, no longer has the stater in his mouth, but in place of it those things which contain His image, the oracles of God

13

THE SACRED HALF-SHEKEL

Moreover to the saying, “They that received the half-shekel came to Peter,” you will adduce from Numbers that, for the saints according to the

law of God, is paid not a half-shekel simply, but a sacred half-shekel. For it is written, “And thou shale take five shekels per head, according to the sacred half-shekel.” But also on behalf of all the sons of Israel is given a sacred half-shekel per head. Since then it was not possible for the saint of God to possess along with the sacred half-shekels the profane shekels, so to speak, on this account, to them who do not receive the sacred half-shekels, and who asked Peter and said, “Doth not your master pay the half-shekel?” the Savior commands the stater to be paid, in which was the half-shekel which was found in the mouth of the first fish that came up, in order that it might be given for the Teacher and the disciple

14

CONCERNING THOSE WHO SAID, WHO IS THE GREATEST? AND CONCERNING THE CHILD THAT WAS CALLED BY JESUS

“*In that day came the disciples unto Jesus saying, Who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven*?” In order that we might be taught what it was that the disciples came to Jesus and asked to learn of Him, and how He answered to their inquiry, Matthew, though he might have given an account of this very thing only, has added, according to some manuscripts, “In that hour the disciples came unto Jesus,” but, according to others, “In that day;” and it is necessary that we should not leave the meaning of the evangelist without examination. Wherefore giving attention to the words preceding “in that day,” or “hour,” let us see if it is possible from them to find a way to understand, as being necessary, the addition, “in that day,” or “hour.” Jesus then had come to Capernaum along with His disciples, where “they that received the half-shekel came to Peter,” and asked and said, “Doth not your Master pay the half-shekel?” Then, when Peter answered and said to them, Yea, Jesus giving further a defense with reference to the giving of the half-shekel, sends Peter to drag up the fish into the net, in the mouth of which He said that a stater would be found which was to be given for Himself and Peter. It seems to me, then, that thinking that this was a very great honor which had been bestowed on Peter by Jesus, who judged that he was greater than the rest of His friends, they wished to learn accurately the truth of their suspicion, by making

inquiry of Jesus and hearing from Him, whether, as they supposed, He had judged that Peter was greater than they; and at the same time also they hoped to learn the ground on which Peter had been preferred to the rest of the disciples. Matthew then, I think, wishing to make this plain, has subjoined to the words “that take” — the stater, to-wit — “and give auto them for thee and me,” the words, “In that day came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who then is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?” And, perhaps, they were also in doubt because of the preference which had been given to the three at the transfiguration, and they were in doubt about this — which of the three was judged by the Lord to be greatest. For John reclined on His breast through love, and we may conclude that before the Supper they had seen many tokens of special honor given by Jesus to John; but Peter on his confession was called blessed in their hearing, because of his saying, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;” but again because of the saying, “Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto Me, for thou mindest not the things of God hut the things of men,” they were distracted in mind as to whether it was not he but one of the sons of Zebedee, that was the greatest. So much for the words “in that day” or “hour,” on which took place the matters relating to the stater

15

GREATNESS VARIES IN DEGREE

But next we must seek to understand this: the disciples came to Him, as disciples to a teacher proposing difficult questions, and making inquiry, Who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And, in this respect, we must imitate the disciples of Jesus; for if, at any time, any subject of investigation among us should not be found out let us go with all unanimity in regard to the question in dispute to Jesus, who is present where two or three are gathered together in His name, and is ready by His presence with power to illumine the hearts of those who truly desire to become His disciples, with a view to their apprehension of the matters under inquiry. And likewise it would be nothing strange for us to go to any of those who have been appointed by God as teachers in the church, and

propose any question of a like order to this, “Who, then, is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?” What, then, was already known to the disciples of the matters relating to this question? And what was the point under inquiry? That there is not equality in regard to those who are deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven they had apprehended, and that, as there was not equality, some one was greatest, and so in succession down to the least: but of what nature was the greatest, and what was the way of life of him who was the least, and who occupied the middle position, they further desired to know; unless, indeed, it is more accurate to say that they knew who was least from the words, “Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven;” but who was the greatest of all they did not know, even if they had grasped the meaning of the words, “Whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven;” for as there were many great, it was not clear to them who was the greatest of the great, to use a human standard. And that many are great, but the great not equally great, will be manifest from the ascription of the epithet “great” to Isaac, “who waxed great, and became exceedingly great,” and from what is said in the case of Moses, and John the Baptist, and the Savior. And every one will acknowledge that even though all these were great according to the Scripture, yet the Savior was greater than they. But whether John also (than whom there was no greater among those born of women), was greater than Isaac and Moses, or whether he was not greater, but equal to both, or to one of them, it would be hazardous to declare. And from the saying, “But Isaac, waxing great, became greater,” until he became not simply great, but with the twice repeated addition, “exceedingly,” we may learn that there is a difference among the great, as one is great, and another exceedingly great, and another exceedingly exceedingly great. The disciples, therefore, came to Jesus and sought to learn, who was the greatest in the kingdom of heaven; and perhaps they wished to learn, hearing from Him sometimes like this, “A certain one is greatest in the kingdom of heaven;” but He gives a universal turn to the discourse, showing what was the quality of him who was greatest in the kingdom of heaven. Let us seek to understand, from what is written, to the best of our ability, who this is. “For Jesus called a little child,” etc

16

WHY THE GREAT ARE COMPARED TO LITTLE CHILDREN

But first we may expound it in simple fashion. One, expounding the word of the Savior here after the simple method, might say that, if any one who is a man mortifies the lusts of manhood, putting to death by the spirit the deeds of the body, and" always bearing about in the body the putting to death of Jesus," to such a degree that he has the condition of the little child who has not tasted sensual pleasures, and has had no conception of the impulses of manhood, then such an one is converted, and has become as the little children. And the greater the advance he has made towards the condition of the little children in regard to such emotions, by so much the more as compared with those who are in training and have not advanced to so great a height of self-control, is he the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. But that which has been said about little children in respect of lustful pleasures, the same might also be said in regard to the rest of the affections and infirmities and sicknesses of the soul, into which it is not the nature of little children to fall, who have not yet fully attained to the possession of reason; as, for example, that, if any one be converted, and, though a man, such an one becomes as a child in respect of anger; and, as is the child in relation to grief, so that sometimes he laughs and plays at the very time that his father or mother or brother is dead, he who is converted would become such an one as little children; and, having received from the Word a disposition incapable of grief, so that he becomes like the little child in regard to grief. And the like you will say about what is called pleasure, in regard to which the wicked are irrationally lifted up, from which little children do not suffer, nor such as have been converted and become as little children. As, then, it has been accurately demonstrated also by others, that no passion is incident to the little children who have not yet attained to full possession of reason; and if no passion, clearly fear also; but, it there be anything corresponding to the passions, these are faint, and very quickly suppressed, and healed in the case of little children, so that he is worthy of love, who, being converted as the little children, has reached such a point as to have, as it were, his passions in subjection like the little children. And with regard to fear, therefore, similar things to those spoken might be conceived, that the little children do not experience the fear of the

wicked, but a different thing, to which those who have an accurate knowledge of questions in regard to the passions and their names give the name of fear; as, for example, in the case of children there is a forgetfulness of their evils at the very time of their tears, for they change in a moment, and laugh and play along with those who were thought to grieve and terrify them, but in truth had wrought in them no such emotion. So too, moreover, one will humble himself like the little child which Jesus called; for neither haughtiness, nor conceit in respect of noble birth, or wealth, or any of those things which are thought to be good, but are not, comes to a little child. Wherefore you may see those who are not altogether infants, up to three or four years of age, like to those who are of mean birth, though they may seem to be of noble birth, and not appearing at all to love rich children rather than the poor. If, therefore, in the same way as according to their age children are affected towards those passions which exalt the senseless, the disciple of Jesus under the influence of reason has humbled himself like the little child which Jesus showed, not being exalted because of vainglory, nor puffed up on the ground of wealth, or raiment, nor elated because of noble birth, in particular are they to be received and imitated in the name of Jesus, who have been converted as the Word showed, like the little child which Jesus took to Him; since especially in such the Christ is, and therefore He says, “Whosoever shall receive one such little child in My name receiveth Me. “

17

THE LITTLE ONES AND THEIR STUMBLING-BLOCKS

But it is a hard task to expound what follows in logical harmony with what has already been said; for one might say, how is it that he who is converted and has become as the little children, is a little one among such as believe in Jesus, and is capable of being caused to stumble? And likewise let us attempt to explain this coherently. Every one that gives his adherence to Jesus as the Son of God according to the true history concerning Him, and by deeds done according to the Gospel, is on the way to living the life which is according to virtue, is converted and is on the way towards becoming as the little children; and it is impossible for him not to enter into

the kingdom of heaven. There are, indeed, many such; but not all, who are converted with a view to becoming like the little children, have reached the point of being made like unto little children; but each wants so much of the likeness to the little children, as he falls short of the disposition of little children towards the passions, of which we have spoken. In the whole multitude, then, of believers, are also those who, having been, as it were, just converted in regard to their becoming as the little children, at the very point of their conversion that they may become as the little children, are called little; and those of them, who are converted that they may become as the little children, but fall far short of having truly become as the little children, are capable of being caused to stumble; each of whom falls so far short of the likeness to them, as he falls short of the disposition of children towards the passions, of which we have spoken, to whom we ought not to give occasions of stumbling-block; but, if it be otherwise, he who has caused him to stumble will require, as contributing towards his cure, to have "an ass's millstone hanged about his neck, and be sunk into the depths of the sea." For, in this way, when he has paid the due penalty in the sea, where is "the dragon which God formed to play in it," and, so far as is expedient for the end in view, has been punished and undergone suffering, he shall then have his part in those troubles which belong to the depths of the sea, which he endured when he was dragged down by the ass's millstone. For there are also differences of millstones, so that one of them may be, so to call it, the millstone of a man, and another that of an ass; and that is human, about which it is written, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one is taken and one is left;" but the millstone of the ass is that which shall be put round him who has given occasion of stumbling-block. But some one might say — I know not whether he would speak soundly or erroneously — that the ass's millstone is the heavy body of the wicked man, which is sunken downwards, and which he will receive at the resurrection that he may be sunk in the abyss which is called the depth of the sea, where "is the dragon which God formed to play therein." But another will refer the creating of a stumbling-block to one of the little ones to the powers that are unseen by men; for from these arise many stumbling-blocks to the little ones pointed out by Jesus. But when they cause to stumble one of the little ones pointed out by Jesus, who are believers in Him, he shall assume an ass's millstone, the corruptible body which presses heavily on the soul, which is itself hung from the neck,

which is dragged down to the affairs in this life, that by means of these their conceit may be taken away, and having paid the penalty, they shall come, through means of the ass's millstone, to the condition expedient for them

18

WHO WAS THE LITTLE CHILD CALLED BY JESUS

Now another interpretation different from what is called the simpler may be uttered; whether as dogma, or for the sake of exercise, so to speak, let us also inquire what was the little child who was called by Jesus and set in the midst of the disciples. Now consider if you can say that the little child, whom Jesus called, was the Holy Spirit who humbled Himself, when He was called by the Savior, and set in the midst of the reason of the disciples of Jesus; if, indeed, He wishes us, being turned away from everything else, to be turned towards the examples suggested by the Holy Spirit, so that we may so become as the little children, who are themselves also turned and likened to the Holy Spirit; which little children God gave to the Savior, according to what is said in Isaiah, "Behold, I and the little children which God has given to me." And it is not possible for any one to enter into the kingdom of heaven, who has not been turned away from the affairs of this world, and made like unto the little children who possess the Holy Spirit; which Holy Spirit was called by Jesus, and, descending from His own perfection to men as a little child, was set by Jesus in the midst of the disciples. It is necessary, then, for him who has turned away from the desires of this world to humble himself not simply as the little child, but, according to what is written, "as this little child." But to humble oneself as that little child is to imitate the Holy Spirit, who humbled Himself for the salvation of men. Now, that the Savior and the Holy Spirit were sent by the Father for the salvation of men has been declared in Isaiah, in the person of the Savior, saying, "And now the Lord hath sent me and His Spirit." You must know, however, that this expression is ambiguous; for either God sent, but also the Holy Spirit sent, the Savior; or, as we have taken it, the Father sent both — the Savior and the Holy Spirit. He, therefore, who has humbled himself more than all those who have humbled

themselves in imitation of that little child, is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. For there are many who are willing to humble themselves as that little child; but the man, who in every respect has become like to the little child who humbled himself, in the name of Jesus — especially in Jesus Himself, — in reality, would be found to be he who is named greater than all in the kingdom of heaven. But as he receives Jesus, whosoever receives one such of the little children in His name, so he rejects Jesus and casts Him out, who does not wish to receive one such little child in the name of Jesus. But if, also, there is a difference in those who are deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit, as believers receive more or less of the Holy Spirit, there would be some little ones among those who believe in God who can be made to stumble: to avenge whose being made to stumble the Word says, with reference to those who had caused them to stumble, “It is profitable for him that an ass’s millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be sunk in the depth of the sea.” Let these things be said in regard to the passage of Matthew before us

19

THE PARALLEL PASSAGES IN MARK AND LUKE

But let us consider also the like account in the other Evangelists. Mark, then, says, that the Twelve reasoned in the way as to which of them was the greatest. Wherefore He sat down, and called them, and teaches who is the greatest, saying, that he who became last of all by means of his moderation and gentleness, would as the greatest obtain the first place, so that he did not receive the place of one who was being ministered unto, but the place of one who ministered, and that not to some but not to others, but to all absolutely; for attend to the words, “If any man would be first he shall be last of all, and minister of all.” And next to that He says, that “He,” — Jesus to-wit — “took a little child, and set him in the midst of His own disciples, and taking him in His arms, He said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of the little children in My name receiveth Me.” But what was the little child which Jesus took and placed in His arms, according to the deeper meaning in the passage?

it the Holy Spirit? And to this little child, indeed, some were likened, of whom He said, “Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in My name receiveth Me.” According to Luke, however, the reasoning did not arise spontaneously in the disciples, but was suggested to them by the question, “which of them should be greatest.” And Jesus, seeing the reasoning of their heart, as He had eyes that see the reasonings of hearts, — seeing the reasoning of their heart, — without being questioned, according to Luke, “took the little child and set him,” not in the midst alone, as Matthew and Mark have said, but now, also, “by His side,” and said to the disciples, not only, “Whosoever shall receive one such little child,” or, “Whosoever shall receive one of such little ones in My name receiveth Me,” but, now going even a step higher, “Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name receiveth Me.” It is necessary, therefore, according to Luke, to receive in the name of Jesus that very little child which Jesus took and placed by His side. And I know not if there be any one who can interpret figuratively the word, “Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name.” For it is necessary that each of us should receive in the name of Jesus that little child which Jesus then took and set by His side; for he lives as immortal, and we must receive him from Jesus Himself in the name of Jesus; and without being separated from him, Jesus is with him who receives the little child, so that according to this it is said, “Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name receiveth Me.” Then, since the Father is inseparable from the Son, He is with him who receives the Son. Wherefore it is said, “And whosoever shall receive Me receives Him that sent Me.” But he who has received the little child, and the Savior, and Him that sent Him, is least of all the disciples of Jesus, making himself little. But, so far as he belittles himself, to that extent does he become great; as that very thing, which caused him the more to make himself little, contributes to his advance in greatness; for attend to what is said, “He that is least among you all the same is great;” but in other manuscripts we read, “The same shall be great.” Now, according to Luke, “If any one shall not receive the kingdom of God as the little child, he shall in no wise enter therein.” And this expression is ambiguous; for either it means that he who receives the kingdom of God may become as a little child, or, that he may receive the kingdom of God, which has become to him as a little child. And perhaps here those who receive the kingdom of God receive it, when it is as a little child, but in the world to come no longer as a little child; and they

receive the greatness of the perfection in the spiritual manhood, so to speak, which perfection is manifested to all who in the present time receive it, when it is here as a little child

20

THE WORLD AND OFFENSES.
VARIOUS MEANINGS OF WORLD

“Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling.” The expression “cosmos,” is used in itself and absolutely in the passage, “He was in the cosmos and the cosmos knew Him not,” but it is used relatively and in respect of its connection with that of which it is the cosmos, in the words, “Lest you look up to the heaven, and seeing the sun, and the moon, and all the cosmos of the heavens, you should stray and bow down to them and worship them.” And the like you will find in the Book of Esther, spoken about her, when it is written, stripping off all her “cosmos.” For the word “cosmos,” simply, is not the same as the “cosmos” of heaven, or the “cosmos” of Esther; and this which we are now investigating is another. I think, then, that the world is not this compacted whole of heaven and earth according to the Divine Scriptures, but only the place which is round about the earth, and this is not to be conceived in respect of the whole earth, but only in respect of ours which is inhabited; for the true light “was in the world,” that is, in the place which is around, conceived in relation to our part of the earth; “and the world knew Him not,” that is, the men in the region round about, and perhaps also the powers that have an affinity to this place. For it is monstrous to understand by the world here the compacted whole formed of heaven and earth, and those in it; so that it could be said, that the sun and moon and the choir of the stars and the angels in all this world, did not know the true light, and, though ignorant of it, preserved the order which God had appointed for them. But when it is said by the Savior in the prayer to the Father, “And, now, glorify me, O Father, with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was,” you must understand by the “world,” that which is inhabited by us on the earth; for it was from this world that the Father gave men to the Son, in regard to whom alone the Savior beseeches His

Father, and not for the whole world of men. Moreover, also, when the Savior says, “And I come to thee and am no longer in the world,” He speaks of the terrestrial world; for it is not to be supposed that He spoke things contradictory when He said, “And I come to thee, and I am no longer in the world,” and “I am in the world.” But also in this, “And these things I speak in the world,” we must think of the place round about the earth. And this is clearly indicated also by the words, “And the world hated them, because they are not of the world.” For it hated us from the time when we no longer “look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen,” because of the teaching of Jesus; not the world of heaven and earth and them that are therein, all compacted together but the men on the earth along with us. And the saying, “They are not of the world,” is equivalent to, They are not of the place round about the earth. And so also the disciples of Jesus are not of this world, as He was not of the world. And further also the saying, “That the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me,” twice spoken in the Gospel according to John, does not refer to the things that are superior to men, but to men who need to believe that the Father sent the Son into the world here. Yea, and also in the Apostle, “Your faith is proclaimed in the whole world.”

21

THE “WOE” DOES NOT APPLY TO THE DISCIPLES OF JESUS

But if there is woe unto men everywhere on the earth, because of occasions of stumbling to those who are laid hold of by them; but the disciples are not of the world, as they do not look at things seen, like as the Master is not of this world; to no one of the disciples of Jesus does the “woe because of occasions of stumbling” apply, since “great peace have they who love the law of God, and there is to them no occasion of stumbling.” But if any one seems to be called a disciple, but yet is of the world, because of his loving the world, and the things therein, — I mean, the life in the place round about the earth, and the property in it, or the possessions, or any form of wealth whatsoever, — so that the saying, “they are not of the world,” does not fit him; to him, as being really of the world, shall come that which happens to the world, the “woe, because of

occasions of stumbling." But let him who wishes to avoid this woe not be a lover of life, but let him say with Paul," "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." For the saints while "in the tabernacle, do groan being burdened" with "the body of humiliation," and do all things that they may become worthy to be found in the mystery of the resurrection, when God shall fashion anew the body of humiliation not of all, but of those who have been truly made disciples to Christ, so that it may be conformed to the body of the glory of Christ. For as none of the "woes" happen to any of the disciples of Christ, so does not this "woe, because of occasions of stumbling;" for, supposing that thousands of occasions should arise, they shall not touch those who are no longer of the world. But if any one, because of his faith wanting ballast, and the instability of his submission in regard to the Word of God, is capable of being caused to stumble, let him know that he is not called by Jesus His disciple. Now we must suppose that so many stumbling-blocks come, that, as a result, the woes extend not to some parts of the earth, but to the whole "world" which is in it

22

WHAT THE "OCCASIONS OF STUMBLING" ARE

"And it must needs be thai occasions of stumbling come," which I take to be different from the men by whom they come. The occasions then which come are an army of the devil, his angels, and a wicked band of impure spirits, which, seeking out instruments through whom they will work, often find men altogether strangers to piety, and sometimes even some of those who are thought to believe the Word of God, for whom exists a worse woe than that which comes to him who is caused to stumble, just as also it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for the places where Jesus did signs and wonders, and yet was not believed. But as one might undertake to make a collection from the Scriptures of those who are pronounced blessed, and of the things in respect of which they are so called, so also he might undertake to do with the woes which are written, and those in whose case the woes are spoken. But that the woe is worse in the case of him who causes to stumble, than in him who is made to stumble, you may prove by the passage, "Whoso

shall cause to stumble one of these little ones which believe in Me, it is profitable for him," etc.; for, while the little one who is made to stumble receives retribution from him who caused him to stumble, it is expedient that the severe and intolerable punishment which is written should befall the man who has caused the stumbling. But if we were to give more careful consideration to these things, we should be on our guard against sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, lest we sin against Christ; as often our brethren about us, "for whom Christ died," perish, not only through our knowledge, but also through some other causes connected with us; in the case of whom, we, sinning against Christ, shall pay the penalty, the soul of them who perish through us being required of us

23

IN WHAT SENSE "NECESSARY"

Next we must test accurately the meaning of the word "necessity" in the passage, "For there is a necessity that the occasions come," and to the like effect in Luke, "It is 'inadmissible' but that occasions of stumbling should come," instead of "impossible." And as it is necessary that that which is mortal should die, and it is impossible but that it should die, and as it must needs be that he who is in the body should be fed, for it is impossible for one who is not fed to live, so it is necessary and impossible but that occasions of stumbling should arise, since there is a necessity also that wickedness should exist before virtue in men, from which wickedness stumbling-blocks arise; for it is impossible that a man should be found altogether sinless, and who, without sin, has attained to virtue. For the wickedness in the evil powers, which is the primal source of the wickedness among men, is altogether eager to work through certain instruments against the men in the world. And perhaps also the wicked powers are more exasperated when they are cast out by the word of Jesus, and their worship is lessened, their customary sacrifices not being offered unto them; and there is a necessity that these offenses come; but there is no necessity that they should come through any particular one; wherefore the "woe" falls on the man through whom the stumbling-block comes, as

he has given a place to the wicked power whose purpose it is to create a stumbling-block. But do not suppose that by nature, and from constitution, there are certain stumbling-blocks which seek out men through whom they come; for as God did not make death, so neither did He create stumbling-blocks; but free-will begot the stumbling-blocks in some who did not wish to endure toils for virtue

24

THE OFFENDING HAND, OR FOOT, OR EYE

And it is well, then, if the eye and the hand are deserving of praise, that the eye cannot with reason say to the hand, “I have no need of thee.” But if any one in the whole body of the congregations of the church, who because of his practical girls has the name of hand, should change and become a hand causing to stumble, let the eye say to such a hand, “I have no need of thee,” and, saying it, let him cut it off and cast it from him. And so it is well, if any head be blessed, and the feet worthy of the blessed head, so that the head observing the things which are becoming to itself, may not be able to say to the feet, “I have no need of you.” If, however, any foot be found to become a stumbling-block to the whole body, let the head say to such a foot, “I have no need of thee,” and having cat it off, let him cast it from himself; for even it is much better that the rest of the body should enter into life, wanting the foot or the hand which caused the stumbling-block, rather than, when the stumbling-block has spread over the whole body, it should be cast into the hell of fire with the two feet or the two hands. And so it is well, that he who can become the eye of the whole body should be worthy of Christ and of the whole body; but if such an eye should ever change, and become a stumbling-block to the whole body, it is well to take it out and cast it outside the whole body, and that the rest of the body without that eye should be saved, rather than that along with it, when the whole body has been corrupted, the whole body should be cast into the hell of fire. For the practical faculty of the soul, if prone to sin, and the walking faculty of the soul, so to speak, if prone to sin, and the faculty of clear vision, if prone to sin, may be the hand that causes to stumble, and the foot that causes to stumble, and the eye that

causes to stumble, which things it is better to cast away, and having put them aside to enter into life without them, like as one halt, or maimed, or one-eyed, rather than along with them to lose the whole soul. And likewise in the case of the soul it is a good and blessed thing to use its power for the noblest ends; but if we are going to lose one for any cause, it is better to lose the use of it, that along with the other powers we may be saved

25

THE EYE OR HAND ALLEGORIZED

And it is possible to apply these words also to our nearest kinsfolk, who are our members, as it were; being considered to be our members, because of the close relationship; whether by birth, or from any habitual friendship, so to speak; whom we must not spare if they are injuring our soul. For let us cut off from ourselves as a hand or a foot or an eye, a father or mother who wishes us to do that which is contrary to piety, and a son or daughter who, as far as in them lies, would have us revolt from the church of Christ and the love of Him. But even if the wife of our bosom, or a friend who is kindred in soul, become stumbling-blocks to us, let us not spare them, but let us cut them out from ourselves, and cast them outside of our soul, as not being truly our kindred but enemies of our salvation; for "whosoever hates not his father, and mother," and the others subjoined, when it is the fitting season to hate them as enemies and assailants, that he may be able to win Christ, this man is not worthy of the Son of God. And in respect of these we may say, that from a critical position any lame one, so to speak, is saved, when he has lost a foot — say a brother — and alone obtains the inheritance of the kingdom of God; and a maimed one is saved, when his father is not saved, but they perish, while he is separated from them, that he alone may obtain the benedictions. And so also any one is saved with one eye, who has cut out the eye of his own house, his wife, if she commit fornication, lest having two eyes he may go away into the hell of fire.

26

THE LITTLE ONES AND THEIR ANGELS

“See that ye despise not one of these little ones.” It seems to me that as among the bodies of men there are differences in point of size, — so that some are little, and others great, and others of middle height, and, again, there are differences among the little, as they are more or less little, and the same holds of the great, and of those of middle height, — so also among the souls of men, there are some things which give them the stamp of littleness, and other things the stamp of greatness, so to speak, and generally, after the analogy of things bodily, other things the siam p of mediocrity. But in the case of bodies, it is not due to the action of men but to the spermatic principles, that one is short and little, another great, and another of middle height; but in the case of souls, it is our free-will, and actions of such a kind, and habits of such a kind, that furnish the reason why one is great, or little, or of middle height; and it is of our free-will either by advancing in stature to increase our size, or not advancing to be short. And so indeed I understand the words about Jesus having assumed a human soul, “Jesus advanced;” for as from the free-will there was an advance of His soul in wisdom and grace, so also in stature. And the Apostle says, “Until we all attain unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;” for we must think that he attains unto a man, and that full-grown, according to the inner man, who has gone through the things of the child, and has reached the stage of the man, and has put away the things of the child, and generally, has perfected the things of the man. And so we must suppose that there is a certain measure of spiritual stature unto which the most perfect soul can attain by magnifying the Lord, and become great. Thus, then, these became great, of whom this is written, Isaac, and Moses, and John, and the Savior Himself above all; for also about Him Gabriel said, “He shall be great;” but the little ones are “the newborn babes which long for the reasonable milk which is without guile,” such as stand in need of nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, spoken of in Isaiah when he says, about the calling from the Gentiles, “And they shall bring the sons in the bosom, and take their daughters on the shoulders, and kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and their princesses thy nursing-mothers.” For these reasons you will, then, attend

to the word, “Do not despise one of these little ones,” and consider whether it is their angels who bring them in their bosom, since they have become sons, and also take on their shoulders what are called daughters, and whether from them are the nursing-fathers who are called kings, and the nursing-mothers who are called princesses. And since the little ones, pointed out by our Savior, are under the stewardship as of nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, on this account I think that Moses, who believed that he had been already assigned a place among the ranks of the great, said, with regard to the promise, “My angel shall go before you,” “If thou thyself do not go along with me, carry me not up hence.” For though the little one even be an heir, yet as being a child he differs nothing from a servant when he is a child, and to the extent to which he is little “has the spirit of bondage to fear;” but he who is not at all any longer such has no longer the spirit of bondage, but already the spirit of adoption, when “perfect love casteth out fear;” it will be plain to thee, how that according to these things “the angel of the Lord” is said “to encamp round about them that fear Him, and to save them.” But you will consider, according to these things also, whether these are indeed angels of the little ones “who are led by the spirit of bondage to fear,” “when the angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear Him and delivereth them;” but of the great, whether it is the Lord who is greater than the angels, who might say about each of them, “I am with him in affliction;” and, so long as we are imperfect, and need one to assist us that we may be delivered from evils, we stand in need of an angel of whom Jacob said, “The angel who delivered me from all the evils;” but, when we have become perfected, and have passed through the stage of being subject to nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers and guardians and stewards, we are meet to be governed by the Lord Himself.

27

WHEN THE LITTLE ONES ARE ASSIGNED TO ANGELS

Then again one might inquire at what time those who are called their angels assume guardianship of the little ones pointed out by Christ; whether they received this commission to discharge concerning them, from what time

"by the laver of regeneration," through which they were born "as new-born babes, they long for the reasonable milk which is without guile," and no longer are in subjection to any wicked power; or, whether from birth they had been appointed, according to the foreknowledge and predestination of God, over those whom God also foreknew, and foreordained to be conformed to the glory of the Christ. And with reference to the view that they have angels from birth, one might quote, "He who separated me from my mother's womb," and, "From the womb of my mother thou hast been my protector," and, "He has assisted me from my mother's womb," and, "Upon thee I was cast from my mother," and in the Epistle of Jude, "To them that are beloved in God the Father and are kept for Jesus Christ, being called," — kept completely by the angels who keep them

28

CLOSE RELATIONSHIP OF ANGELS TO THEIR "LITTLE ONES"

With reference to the words, "When through the layer I became a child in Christ," it may be said, that there is no holy angel present with those who are still in wickedness, but that during the period of unbelief they are under the angels of Satan; but, after the regeneration, He who has redeemed us with His own blood consigns us to a holy angel, who also, because of his purity, beholds the face of God. And a third exposition of this passage might be something like the following, which would say, that as it is possible for a man to change from unbelief to faith, and from intemperance to temperance, and generally from wickedness to virtue, so also it is possible that the angel, to whom any soul has been entrusted at birth, may be wicked at the first, but afterwards may at some time believe in proportion as the man believes, and may make such advance that he may become one of the angels who always behold the face of the Father in heaven, beginning from the time that he is yoked along with the man who was foreknown and foreordained to believe at that time, the judgments of God, which are unspeakable and unsearchable and like to the depths, fitly bringing together all this harmonious relationship — angels with men. And

it may be that as when a man and his wife are both unbelievers, sometimes it is the man who first believes and in time saves his wife, and sometimes the wife who begins and afterwards in time persuades her husband, so it happens with angels and with men. If, however, anything of this kind takes place in the case of other angels or not, you may seek out for yourself. But consider whether it may not be appropriate to say something of this kind in regard to each angel who is so honored according to the word of the Savior, that he is said to behold always the face of the Father who is in heaven. But since in what we said above, that the little ones have angels, but that the great have passed beyond such a position, some one will quote in opposition to US from the Acts of the Apostles, where it is written, that a certain maid Rhoda, when Peter knocked at the door, came to answer, and recognizing the voice of Peter, ran in and announced that Peter stood before the gate; but when they who were gathered together in the house wondered, and thought that it was quite impossible that Peter verily stood before the gate, they said, It is his angel. For the objector will say that, as they had learned once for all that each of the believers had some definite angel, they knew that Peter also had one. But he, who adheres to what we have previously said, will say that the word of Rhoda was not necessarily a dogma, and perhaps also the word of those who did not accurately know, when one as being little and God-fearing is governed by angels, and when now by the Lord Himself. After this, in order to establish our conception of the little one which we have brought forward, it will be said that we need no command about "not despising" in the case of the great, but we do need it in the case of the little; wherefore it is not merely said, "Do not despise one of these," pointing to all the disciples, but "one of these little ones," pointed out by Him, who sees the littleness and the greatness of the soul.

29

THE LITTLE ONES AND THE PERFECT

But another might say that the perfect man is here called little, applying the word, "For he that is least among you all, the same is great," and will affirm that he who humbles himself and becomes a child in the midst of all

that believe, though he be an apostle or a bishop, and becomes such “as when a nurse cherisheth her own children,” is the little one pointed out by Jesus, and that the angel of such an one is worthy to behold the face of God. For to say that the little are here called perfect, according to the passage, “He that is least among you all, the same is great.” and as Paul said, “Unto me who am less than the least of all saints was this grace given,” will seem to be in harmony with the saying, “Whoso shall cause one of these little ones to stumble,” and “So it is not the will of My Father in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.” For he, as has been stated, who is now little, could not be made to stumble nor perish, for “great peace have they who love the law of God, and there is no stumbling-block to them;” and he could not perish, who is least of all among all the disciples of Christ, and on this account becomes great; and, since he could not perish, he could say, “Who shall separate us from the love,” etc. But he who wishes to maintain this last exposition will say that the soul even of the just man is changeable, as Ezekiel also testifies, saying, that the righteous man may abandon the commandments of God, so that his former righteousness is not reckoned unto him; wherefore it is said, “Whoso shall cause to stumble one of these little ones, and, “It is not the will of My Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.”

[*As for the exposition of the matters relating to “the hundred sheep,” you may consult the homilies on Luke*.]

30

THE SINNING BROTHER

“*If thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone.*” He, then, who attends closely to the expression, in proof of the surpassing philanthropy of Jesus, will say, that as the words do not suggest a difference of they will act in a singular manner and contrary to the goodness of Jesus, who supply the thought, that these words are to be understood as being limited in their application to lesser sins. But another, also attending closely to the expression, and not wishing to introduce these extraneous thoughts, nor admitting that it is spoken about every sin, will

say, that he who commits those great sins is not a brother, even if he be called a brother, as the Apostle says, “If any one that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, etc., with such an one not to eat;” for no one who is all idolater, or a fornicator, or covetous, is a brother; for if he, who seems to bear the name of Christ, though he is named a brother, has something of the features of these, he would not rightly be called a brother. As then he, who says that such words are spoken about every sin, whether the sin be murder, or poisoning, or paederasty, or anything of that sort, would give occasion of injury to the exceeding goodness of Christ, so, on the contrary, he who distinguishes between the brother and him who is called the brother, might teach that, in the case of the least of the sins of men, he who has not repented after the telling of the fault is to be reckoned as a Gentile and a publican, for sins which are “not unto death,” or, as the law has described them in the Book of Numbers, not “death-bringing.” This would seem to be very harsh; for I do not think that any one will readily be found who has not been censured thrice for the same form of sin, say, reviling, with which revilers abuse their neighbors, or those who are carried away by passion, or for over-drinking, or lying and idle words, or any of those things which exist in the masses. You will inquire, therefore, whether any observation of the passage has escaped the notice of those, who are influenced by their conception of the goodness of the Word, and grant pardon to those who have committed the greatest sins, as well as of those who teach that, in the case of the very least sins, he is to be reckoned as a Gentile and a publican, making him a stranger to the church, after he has committed three very trivial transgressions. But the following seems to me to have been overlooked by both of them, namely, the words, “Thou hast gained thy brother.” It is assigned by the Word to him only who heard, and He no longer applies it in the case of him who has stumbled twice or thrice and been censured; but that which was to be said about him who was censured twice or thrice, corresponding to the saying, “Thou hast gained thy brother,” He has left in the air, so to speak. He is not, therefore, altogether gained, nor will he altogether perish, or he will receive stripes. And attend carefully to the first passage, “If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother,” and to the second passage, which is literally, “If he hear thee not, take with thyself one or two more, that at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.” What, then, will happen to him

who has been censured for the second time, after every word has been established by two or three witnesses, He has left us to conceive. And, again, “If he refuse to hear them” — manifestly, the witnesses who have been taken — “tell it,” he says, “to the church;” and He does not say what he will suffer if he does not hear the church, but He taught that if he refused to hear the church, then he who had thrice admonished, and had not been heard, was to regard him for the future as the Gentile and the publican. Therefore he is not altogether gained, nor will he altogether perish. But what at all he will suffer, who at first did not hear, but required witnesses, or even refused to hear these, but was brought to the church, God knows; for we do not declare it, according to the precept, “Judge not that ye be not judged,” “until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the hearts.” But, with reference to the seeming harshness in the case of those who have committed less sins, one might say that it is not possible for him who has not heard twice in succession to hear the third time, so as, on this account, no longer to be as a Gentile or a publican, or no longer to stand in need of the censure in presence of all the church. For we must bear in mind this, “So it is not the will of My Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.” For if “we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad,” let each one with all his power do what he can so that he may not receive punishment for more evil things done in the body, even if he is going to receive back for all the wrongs which he has done; but it should be our ambition to procure the reward for a greater number of good deeds, since “with what measure we mete, it shall be measured to us,” and, “according to the works of our own hands shall it happen unto us,” and not in infinite wise, but either double or sevenfold shall sinners receive for their sins from the hand of the Lord; since He does not render unto any one according to the works of his hands, but more than that which he has done, for “Jerusalem,” as Isaiah taught, “received from the hand of the Lord double for her sins;” but the neighbors of Israel, whoever they may be, will receive sevenfold, according to the following expression in the Psalms, “Render unto our neighbors sevenfold into their bosom the reproach with which they have reproached Thee, O Lord.” And other forms of payment in return could be found, which, if we apprehend, we shall know that to repent after any sin, whatever its

greatness, is advantageous, in order that, in addition to our not being punished for more offenses, there may be some hope left to us concerning good deeds done afterwards at some time, even though, before them, thousands of errors have been committed by anyone of us. For it would be strange that evil deeds should be reckoned to any one, but the better which are done after the bad should profit nothing; which may also be learned from Ezekiel, by those who pay careful consideration to the things said about such cases

31

THE POWER TO BIND ON EARTH AND IN HEAVEN

But to me it seems that, to the case of him who after being thrice admonished was adjudged to be as the Gentile and the publican, it is fitly subjoined, “Verily, I say unto you,” — namely, to those who have judged any one to be as the Gentile and the publican, — “and what things soever ye shall bind on the earth,” etc.; for with justice has he, who has thrice admonished and not been heard, bound him who is judged to be as a Gentile and a publican; wherefore, when such an one is bound and condemned by one of this character, he remains bound, as no one of those in heaven overturns the judgment of the man who bound him. And, in like manner, he who was admonished once for all, and did things worthy of being gained, having been set free by the admonition of the man who gained him, and no longer bound by the cords of his own sins, for which he was admonished, shall be adjudged to have been set free by those in heaven. Only, it seems to be indicated that the things, which above were granted to Peter alone, are here given to all who give the three admonitions to all that have sinned; so that, if they be not heard, they will bind on earth him who is judged to be as a Gentile and a publican, as such an one has been bound in heaven. But since it was necessary, even if something in common had been said in the case of Peter and those who had thrice admonished the brethren, that Peter should have some element superior to those who thrice admonished, in the case of Peter, this saying “I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of the heavens,” has been specially set before the words, “And what things soever ye shall bind on earth,” etc. And, indeed, if we

were to attend carefully to the evangelical writings, we would also find here, and in relation to those things which seem to be common to Peter and those who have thrice admonished the brethren, a great difference and a pre-eminence in the things said to Peter, compared with the second class. For it is no small difference that Peter received the keys not of one heaven but of more, and in order that whatsoever things he binds on the earth may be bound not in one heaven but in them all, as compared with the many who bind on earth and loose on earth, so that these things are bound and loosed not in the heavens, as in the case of Peter, but in one only; for they do not reach so high a stage, with power as Peter to bind and loose in all the heavens. The better, therefore, is the binder, so much more blessed is he who has been loosed, so that in every part of the heavens his loosing has been accomplished

BOOK 14

1

THE POWER OF HARMONY IN RELATION TO PRAYER

“Again I say unto you that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them.” The word symphony is strictly applied to the harmonies of sounds in music. And there are indeed among musical sounds some accordant and others discordant. But the Evangelic Scripture is familiar with the name as applied to musical matters in the passage, “He heard a symphony and dancing.” For it was fitting that when the son who had been lost and found came by penitence into concord with his father a symphony should be heard on the occasion of the joyous mirth of the house. But the wicked Laban was not acquainted with the word symphony in his saying to Jacob, “And if thou hadst told me I would have sent thee away with mirth and with music and with drums and a harp.” But akin to the symphony of this nature is that which is written in the second Book of Kings when “the brethren of Aminadab went before the ark, and David and his son played before the Lord on instruments artistically fitted with might and with songs;” for the instruments thus fitted with might and with songs, had in themselves the musical symphony which is so powerful that when two only, bring along with the symphony which has relation to the music that is divine and spiritual, a request to the Father in heaven about anything whatsoever, the Father grants the request to those who ask along with the symphony on earth, — which is most miraculous, — those things which those who have made the symphony spoken of may have asked. So also I understand the apostolic saying “Defraud ye not one the other except it be by agreement for a season that ye may give yourselves unto prayer.” For since the word harmony is applied to those who marry according to God in the passage from Proverbs which is as follows: “Fathers will divide their house and substance to their sons, but from God the woman is married to the man,” it is a logical consequence of the harmony being from God, that the name and

the deed should enjoy the agreement with a view to prayer, as is indicated in the word, “unless it be by agreement.” Then the Word repeating that the agreeing of two on the earth is the same thing as the agreeing with Christ, adds, “For where two or three are gathered together in My name.” Therefore the two or three who are gathered together in the name of Christ are those who are in agreement on earth, not two only but sometimes also three. But he who has the power will consider whether this agreement and a congregation of this sort in the midst of which Christ is, can be found in more, since “narrow and straightened is the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.” But perhaps also not even few but two or three make a symphony as Peter and James and John, to whom as making a symphony the Word of God showed His own glory. But two made a symphony, Paul and Sosthenes, when writing the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and after this Paul and Timothy when sending the second Epistle to the same. And even three made a symphony when Paul and Silvanus and Timothy gave instruction by letter to the Thessalonians. But if it be necessary also from the ancient Scriptures to bring forward the three who made a symphony on earth, so that the Word was in the midst of them making them one, attend to the superscription of the Psalms, as for example to that of the forty-first, which is as follows: “Unto the end, unto understanding, for the sons of Korah.” For though there were three sons of Korah whose names we find in the Book of Exodus, Aser, which is, by interpretation, “instruction,” and the second Elkana, which is translated, “possession of God,” and the third Abiasaph, which in the Greek tongue might be rendered, “congregation of the father,” yet the prophecies were not divided but were both spoken and written by one spirit, and one voice, and one soul, which wrought with true harmony, and the three speak as one, “As the heart panteth after the springs of the water, so panteth my soul alter thee, O God.” But also they say in the plural in the forty-fourth Psalm, “O God, we have heard with our ears.” But if you wish still further to see those who are making symphony on earth look to those who heard the exhortation, “that ye may be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment.” and who strove after the goal, “the soul and the heart of all the believers were one.” who have become such, if it be possible for such a condition to be found in more than two or three, that there is no discord between them, just as there is no discord between the strings of the ten-stringed psaltery with each other.

But they were not in symphony in earth who said, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ,” but there were schisms among them, upon the dissolution of which they were gathered together in company with the spirit in Paul, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, that they might no longer “bite and devour one another so that they were consumed by one another;” for discord consumes, as concord brings together, and admits the Son of God who comes in the midst of those who have become at concord. And strictly, indeed, concord takes place in two things generic, through the perfecting together, as the Apostle has called it, of the same mind by an intellectual grasp of the same opinions, and through the perfecting together of the same judgment, by a like way of living. But if whenever two of us agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of the Father of Jesus who is in heaven, plainly when this is not done for them of the Father in heaven as touching anything that they shall ask, there the two have not been in agreement on earth; and this is the cause why we are not heard when we pray, that we do not agree with one another on earth, neither in opinions nor in life. But further also if we are the body of Christ and God hath set the members each one of them in the body that the members may have the same care one for another, and may agree with one another, and when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, and if one be glorified, they rejoice with it, we ought to practice the symphony which springs from the divine music, that when we are gathered together in the name of Christ, He may be in the midst of us, the Word of God, and the Wisdom of God, and His Power.

2

THE HARMONY OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

So much then for the more common understanding of the two or three whom the Word exhorts to be in agreement. But now let us also touch upon another interpretation which was uttered by some one of our predecessors, exhorting those who were married to sanctity and purity; for by the two, he says, whom the Word desires to agree on earth, we must understand the husband and wife, who by agreement defraud each other of

bodily intercourse that they may give themselves unto prayer; when if they pray for anything whatever that they shall ask, they shall receive it, the request being granted to them by the Father in heaven of Jesus Christ on the ground of such agreement. And this interpretation does not appear to me to cause dissolution of marriage, but to be an incitement to agreement, so that if the one wished to be pure, but the other did not desire it, and on this account he who willed and was able to fulfil the better part, condescended to the one who had not the power or the will, they would not both have the accomplishment from the Father in heaven of Jesus Christ, of anything whatever that they might ask

3

THE HARMONY OF BODY, SOUL, AND SPIRIT

And next to this about the married, I am familiar also with another interpretation of the agreement between the two which is as follows. In the wicked, sin reigns over the soul, being settled as on its own throne in this mortal body, so that the soul obeys the lusts thereof; but in the case of those, who have stirred up the sin which formerly reigned over the body as from a throne and who are in conflict with it, “the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh;” but in the case of those who have now become perfected, the spirit has gained the mastery and put to death the deeds of the body, and imparts to the body of its own life, so that already this is fulfilled, “He shall quicken also your mortal bodies because of His Spirit that dwelleth in you;” and there arises a concord of the two, body and spirit, on the earth, on the successful accomplishment of which there is sent up a harmonious prayer also of him who “with the heart believes unto righteousness, but with the mouth maketh confession unto salvation.” so that the heart is no longer far from God, and along with this the righteous man draws nigh to God with his own lips and mouth. But still more blessed is it if the three be gathered together in the name of Jesus that this may be fulfilled, “May God sanctify you wholly, and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.” But some one may inquire with regard to the concord of spirit and body spoken of, if it is possible for these to be at

concord without the third being so, — I mean the soul — and whether it does not follow from the concord of these on the earth after the two have been gathered together in the name of Christ, that the three also are already gathered together in His name, in the midst of whom comes the Son of God as all are dedicated to Him, — I mean the three, — and no one is opposed to Him, there being no antagonism not only on the part of the spirit, but not even of the soul, nor further of the body

4

HARMONY OF THE OLD AND NEW COVENANTS

And likewise it is a pleasant thing to endeavor to understand and exhibit the fact of the concord of the two covenants, — of the one before the bodily advent of the Savior and of the new covenant; for among those things in which the two covenants are at concord so that there is no discord between them would be found prayers, to the effect that about anything whatever they shall ask it shall be done to them from the Father in heaven. And if also you desire the third that unites the two, do not hesitate to say that it is the Holy Spirit, since “the words of the wise,” whether they be of those before the advent, or at the time of the advent, or after it, “are as goads, and as nails firmly fixed, which were given by agreement from one shepherd.” And do not let this also pass unobserved, that He did not say, where two or three are gathered together in My name, there “shall I be” in the midst of them, but “there am I,” not going to be, not delaying, but at the very moment of the concord being Himself found, and being in the midst of them

5

THE LIMIT OF FORGIVENESS

“*Then came Peter and said unto Him, Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him*?” The conception that these things were said in a simple sense by Peter, as if he were inquiring whether he was to forgive his brother when he sinned against him seven times, but no longer if

he sinned an eighth time, and by the Savior, as if He thought that one should sit still and reckon up the sins of his neighbors against him in order that he might forgive seventy times and seven, but that from the seventy-eighth he should not forgive the man who wronged him, seems to me altogether silly and unworthy alike of the progress which Peter had made in the company of Jesus and of the divine magnanimity of Jesus. Perhaps, then, these things also border on an obscurity akin to the words, “Hear My voice, ye wives of Lamech,” etc. If any one has already become a friend of Jesus so as to be taught by His spirit which illumines the reason of him who has advanced so far according to his desert, he might know the true meaning, therefore, in regard to these things, and such as Jesus Himself would have clearly expounded it; but we who fall short of the greatness of the friendship of Jesus must be content if we can babble a little about the passage. The number six, then, appears to be working and toilsome, but the number seven to contain the idea of repose. And consider if you can say that he, who loves the world and works the things of the world, and does those things which are material, sins six times, and that the number seven is the end of sin in his case, so that Peter with some such thought in his mind wished to pardon seven sins of those which his brother had committed against him. But since as units the tens and the hundreds have a certain common measure of proportion to the number which is in units, and Jesus knew that the number might be exceeded, on this account, I think, that He added to the number seven also the seventy, and said that there ought to be forgiveness to brethren here, and to them who have sinned in respect to things here. But if any one going beyond the things about the world and this age were to commit sin, even if it were trifling, he could not longer reasonably have forgiveness of sins; for forgiveness extends to the things here, and in relation to the sins committed here, whether the forgiveness comes late or soon; but there is no forgiveness, not even to a brother, who has sinned beyond the seven and seventy times. But you might say that he who has sinned in such wise, whether as against Peter his brother, or as against Peter, against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, is by sins of this kind in the smaller number of the sin, but according to sins still worse is in the number which has no forgiveness of sins

6

CONCERNING THE KING WHO MADE A RECKONING WITH HIS OWN SERVANTS, TO WHOM WAS BROUGHT A MAN WHO OWED TEN THOUSAND TALENTS

"*Therefore I say unto you the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, wko wished to make a reckoning with his own servants.*" The general conception of the parable is to teach us that we should be inclined to forgive the sins committed against us by those who have wronged us, and especially if after the wrongdoing he who has done it supplicates him who has been wronged, asking forgiveness for the sins which he has committed against him. And this the parable wishes to teach us by representing that even when forgiveness has been granted by God to us of the sins in respect of which we have received remission, exaction will be demanded even after the remission, unless we forgive the sins of those who have wronged us, so that there is no longer left in us the least remembrance of the wrong that was done. but the whole heart, assisted by the spirit of forgetfulness of wrongs, which is no common virtue, forgives him who has wronged us those things which have been wickedly done against any of us by him, even treacherously. But next to the general conception of the parable, it is right to examine the whole of it more simply according to the letter, so that he who advances with care to the right investigation of each detail of the things previously written may derive profit from the examination of what is said. Now there is, as is probable, an interpretation, transcendental and hard to trace, as it is somewhat mystical, according to which, after the analogy of the parables which are interpreted by the Evangelists, one would investigate each of the details in this; as, for example, who the king was, and who the servants were, and what was the beginning of his making a reckoning, and who was the one debtor who owed many talents, and who was his wife and who his children, and what were the "all things" spoken of besides those which the king ordered to be sold in order that the debt might be paid out of his belongings, and what was meant by the going out of the man who had been forgiven the many talents, and who was the one of the servants who was found and was a debtor not to the householder, but to the man who had been forgiven, and what is meant by the number of the hundred pence, and what by the word, "He took him by the throat

saying, Pay what thou owest," and what is the prison into which he who had been forgiven all the talents went out and cast his fellow-servant, and who were the fellow-servants who were grieved and told the Lord all that had been done, and who were the tormentors to whom he who had cast his fellow-servant into prison was delivered, and how he who was delivered to the tormentors paid all that was due, so that he no longer owed anything. But it is probable also that some other things could be added to the number by a more competent investigator, the exposition and interpretation of which I think to be beyond the power of man, and requiring the Spirit of Christ who spoke them in order that Christ may be understood as He spoke; for as "no one among men knows the things of the man, save the spirit which is in him," and "no one knows the things of God, save the Spirit of God," so no one knows after God the things spoken by Christ in proverbs and parables save the Spirit of Christ, in which he who participates in Christ not only so far as He is Spirit, but in Christ as He is Wisdom, as He is Word, would behold the things which were revealed to him in this passage. But with regard to the interpretation of the loftiest type, we make no profession; nor on the other hand with the assistance of Christ who is the Wisdom of God do we despair of apprehending the things signified in the parable; but whether it shall be the case that such things shall be dictated to us in connection with this Scripture or not, may God in Christ suggest the doing of that which is pleasing to Him, if only there be granted to us also concerning these things, the word of wisdom which is given from God through the Spirit, and the word of knowledge which is supplied according to the Spirit.

7

EXPOSITION CONTINUED: THE KING AND THE SERVANTS

"*The kingdom of heaven*," He says, "*is likened*," etc. But if it be likened to such a king, and one who has done such things, who must we say that it is but the Son of God? For He is the King of the heavens, and as He is absolute Wisdom and absolute Righteousness and absolute Truth, is He not so also absolute Kingdom? But it is not a kingdom of any of those below, nor of a part of those above, but of all the things above, which were

called heavens. But if you enquire into the meaning of the words, “Theirs is the kingdom of heaven,” you may say that Christ is theirs in so far as He is absolute Kingdom, reigning in every thought of the man who is no longer under the reign of sin which reigns in the mortal body of those who have subjected themselves to it. And if I say, reigning in every thought, I mean something like this, reigning as Righteousness and Wisdom and Truth and the rest of the virtues in him who has become a heaven, because of bearing the image of the heavenly, and in every power, whether angelic, or the rest that are named saints, not only in this age, but also in that which is to come, and who are worthy of a kingdom of such a kind. Accordingly this kingdom of heaven (when it was made “in the likeness of sinful flesh,” that for sin it might condemn sin, when God made “Him who knew no sin to be sin on behalf of us,” who bear the body of our sin), is likened to a certain king who is understood in relation to Jesus being united to Him, if we may dare so to speak, having more capacity towards being united and becoming entirely one with the “First-born of all creation,” than he, who, being joined to the Lord, becomes one spirit with Him. Now of this kingdom of the heavens which is likened unto a certain king, according to the conception of Jesus, and is united to Him, it is said by anticipation that he wished to make a reckoning with his servants. But he is about to make a reckoning with them in order that it may be manifested how each has employed the tried money of the householder and his rational coins. And the image in the parables was indeed taken from masters who made a reckoning with their own servants; but we shall understand more accurately what is signified by this part of the parable, if we fix our thought on the things done by the slaves who had administered their master’s goods, and who were asked to give a reckoning concerning them. For each of them, receiving in different measure from his master’s goods, has used them either for that which was right so as to increase the goods of his master. or consumed it riotously on things which he ought not, and spent profusely without judgment and without discretion that which had been put into his hands. But there are those who have wisely administered these goods and goods so great, but have lost others, and whenever they give the reckoning when the master makes a reckoning with them, there is gathered together how much loss each has incurred, and there is reckoned up how much gain each has brought, and according to the worthiness of the way in which he has administered it, he is either honored or punished, or in

some cases the debt is forgiven, but in others the talents are taken away. Well, then, from what has been said, let us first look at the rational coins and the tried money of the householder, of which one receives more and another less, for according to the ability of each, to one are given five talents as he has the ability to administer so many, but to another two as not being able to receive the amount of the man before him, and to another one as being also inferior to the second. Are these, then, the only differences, or are we to recognize these differences in the case of certain persons of whom the Gospel goes on to speak while there are also others besides these: In other parables also are found certain persons, as the two debtors, the one who owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty; but whether these had been entrusted with them and had administered them badly as being inferior in ability to him who had been entrusted with a talent, or had received them, we have not learned; but that they owed so much, we seem to be taught from the parable. And there are found other ten servants who were each entrusted with a pound separately. And if any one understood the varied character of the human soul and the wide differences from each other in respect of natural aptitude, or want of aptitude for more or fewer of the virtues, and for these virtues or for those, perhaps he would comprehend how each soul has come with certain coins of the householder which come to light with the full attainment of reason, and with the attention which follows the full attainment of reason, and with exercise in things that are right, or with diligence and exercise in other things, whether they be useful as pursuits, or in part useful and in part not useful, such as the opinions which are not wholly true nor wholly false

8

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RECKONING

But you will here inquire whether all men can be called servants of the king, or some are servants whom he foreknew and fore-ordained, while there are others who transact business with the servants, and are called bankers. And in like manner you will inquire if there are those outside the number of the slaves from whom the householder declares that he will exact his own with usury, not only men alien from piety, but also some of

the believers. Now the servants alone are the stewards of the Word, but the king, making a reckoning with the servants, demands from those who have borrowed from the servants, whether a hundred measures of wheat or a hundred measures of oil, or whatever in point of fact those who are outside of the household of the king have received; for he who owed the hundred measures of wheat or the hundred measures of oil is not found to be, according to the parable, a fellow-servant of the unjust steward, as is evident from the question — how much owest thou to my Lord? But mark with me that each deed which is good or seemly is like a gain and an increment, but a wicked deed is like a loss; and as there is a certain gain when the money is greater and another when it is less, and as there are differences of more or less, so according to the good deeds, there is as it were a valuing of gains more or less. To reckon what work is a great gain, and what a less gain, and what a least, is the prerogative of him who alone knows to investigate such things, looking at them in the light of the disposition, and the word, and the deed, and from consideration of the things which are not in our power cooperating with those that are; and so also in the case of things opposite, it is his to say what sin, when a reckoning is made with the servants, is found to be a great loss, and what is less, and what, if we may so call it, is the loss of the very last mite, or the last farthing. The account, therefore, of the entire and whole life is exacted by that which is called the kingdom of heaven which is likened to a king, when "we must all stand before the judgment-sent of Christ that each one may receive the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether good or bad;" and then when the reckoning is being made, shall there be brought into the reckoning that is made also every idle word that men shall speak, and Guy cup of cold water only which one has given to drink in the name of a disciple.

9

THE TIME OCCUPIED BY THE RECKONING

And these things will take place whenever that happens which is written in Daniel, "The books were opened and the judgment was set;" for a record, as it were, is made of all things that have been spoken and done and

thought, and by divine power every hidden thing of ours shall be manifested, and everything that is covered shall be revealed, in order that when any one is found who has not “given diligence to be freed from the adversary,” he may go in succession through the hands of the magistrate, and the judge, and the attendant into the prison, until he pays the very last mite; but when one has given diligence to be freed from him and owes nothing to any one, and already has made the pound ten pounds or five pounds, or doubled the five talents, or made the two four, he may obtain the due recompense, entering into the joy of his Lord, either being set over all His possessions, or hearing the word, “Have thou authority over ten cities,” or “Have thou authority over five cities.” But we think that these things are spoken of as if they required a long period of time, in order that an account may be made by us of the whole times of the earthly life, so that we might suppose that when the king makes a reckoning with each one of his many servants the matter would require so vast a period of time, until these things come to an end which have existed from the beginning of the world down to the consummation of the age, not of one age, but of many ages. But the truth is not so; for when God wished all at once to rekindle in the memories of all everything that had been done by each one throughout the whole time, in order that each might become conscious of his own doings whether good or bad, He would do it by His ineffable power. For it is not with God as with us; for if we wish to call some things to remembrance, we require sufficient time for the detailed account of what has been said by us, and to bring to our remembrance the things which we wish to remember; but if He wished to call to our memory the things which have been done in this life, in order that becoming conscious of what we have done we may apprehend for what we are punished or honored, He could do so. But if any one disbelieves the swiftness of the power of God in regard to these matters, he has not yet had a true conception of the God who made the universe, who did not require times to make the vast creation of heaven and earth and the things in them; for, though He may seem to have made these things in six days, there is need of understanding to comprehend in what sense the words “in six days” are said, on account of this, “This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth,” etc. Therefore it may be boldly affirmed that the season of the expected judgment does not require times, but as the resurrection is said to take

place “in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,” so I think will the judgment also be

10

THE MAN WHO OWED MANY TALENTS

Next we must speak in regard to this, “And when he had begun to reckon, there was brought unto him one which owed many talents.” The sense of this appears to me to be as follows: The season of beginning the judgment is with the house of God, who says, as also it is written in Ezekiel, to those who are appointed to attend to punishments, “Begin ye with My saints;” and it is like “the twinkling of an eye;” but, the time of making a reckoning includes the same “twinkling,” ideally apprehended, for we are not forgetful of what has been previously said of those who owe more. Wherefore it is not written, when he was making reckoning, but it is said, “When he began to reckon,” there was brought, at the beginning of his making a reckoning, one who owed many talents; he had lost tens of thousands of talents, having been entrusted with great things, and having had many things committed to his care, but he had brought no gain to his master, but had lost tens of thousands so that he owed many talents; and, perhaps on this account, he owed many talents, seeing that he followed often the woman, who was sitting upon the talent of lead, whose name is wickedness. But observe here that every great sin is a loss of the talents of the master of the house, and such sins are committed by fornicators, adulterers, abusers of themselves with men, effeminate, idolaters, murderers. Perhaps then the one who is brought to the king owing many talents has committed no small sin but all that are great and heinous; and if you were to seek for him among men, perhaps you would find him to be “the man of sin, the son of perdition, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against every God or object of worship;” but if you seek him outside the number of men, who can this be but the devil who has ruined so many who received him, who wrought sin in them. For “man is a great thing, and a pitiful man is precious,” precious so as to be worthy of a talent, whether of gold like as the lamp which was equal to a talent of gold, or of silver or of any kind of material whatsoever understood intellectually,

the symbols of which are recorded in the Words of the Days, when David became enriched with many talents of which the number is mentioned, so many talents of gold, and so many of silver, and of the rest of the material there named, from which the temple of God was built

11

THE SERVANT WHO OWED A HUNDRED PENCE

Only, though he cannot pay the talents, for he has lost them, he has a wife and children and other things, of which it is written, “All that he has.” And it was possible that when he had been sold along with his own, he would have prospered if some one had bought him, and, by his worth and the things that were his, have paid the whole debt in full; and it was possible that he might no longer be the servant of the king, but become that of his purchaser. And he makes a request that he be not sold along with his own, but may continue to abide in the house of the king; wherefore he fell down and worshipped him, knowing that the king was God, and said, “Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all;” for he was, as is probable, an active man, who knew that he could by a second course of action fill up the whole deficiency of the former loss of many talents. And this truly good king was moved with compassion for the man who owed him many talents and then released him, having bestowed upon him a favor greater than the request which had been made; for the debtor promised to the long-suffering master to pay all his debts, but the Lord moved with compassion for him did not merely forgive him with the idea of receiving his own back as a result of his patience, but even entirely released him and forgave him the whole debt. But this wicked servant, who had besought his master to have patience for his many talents, acted without mercy, for, having found one of his fellow-servants which owed him a hundred pence, he laid hold on him and took him by the throat, saying, “Pay if thou owest.” And did he not exhibit the very excess of wickedness who laid hold of his fellow-servant for a hundred pence, and took him by the throat and deprived him of freedom to breathe, when he himself, for the many talents, had neither been laid hold of, nor seized by the throat, but at first was ordered to be sold along with his wife and children and all that was his

own; but afterwards, when he had worshipped him, the master was moved with compassion for him, and he was released and forgiven in regard to the whole of the debt. But it were indeed a hard task to tell according to the conception of Jesus who is the one fellow-servant who was found to be owing a hundred pence, not to his own Lord, but to him who owed many talents, and who are the fellow-servants who saw the one taking by the throat, and the other taken, and were exceedingly sorry, and represented clearly unto their own Lord all that had been done. But what the truth in these matters is, I declare that no one can interpret unless Jesus, who explained all things to His own disciples privately, takes up His abode in his reason, and opens up all the treasures in the parable which are dark, hidden, unseen, and confirms by clear demonstrations the man whom He desires to illumine with the light of the knowledge of the things that are in this parable, that he may at once represent who is brought to the king as the debtor of many talents, and who is the other one who owes to him a hundred pence, etc.; whether he can be the man of sin previously mentioned, or the devil, or neither of these, but some other, whether a man, or some one of these under the sway of the devil; for it is a work of the wisdom of God to exhibit the things have have been prophesied concerning those who are in themselves of a certain nature, or have been made according to such and such qualities, whether among visible powers or also among some men, in whatever way they may have been written by the Holy Spirit. But as we have not yet received the competent mind which is able to be blended with the mind of Christ, and which is capable of attaining to things so great, and which is able with the Spirit to “search all things, even the deep things of God,” we, forming an impression still indefinitely with regard to the matters in this passage, are of opinion that the wicked servant indicated by the parable who is here represented in regard to the debt of many talents, refers to some definite one

12

THE TIME OF THE RECKONING

But it is fitting to examine at what time the man — the king — in the parable wished to make a reckoning with his own servants, and to what

period we ought to refer the things that are said. For if it be after the consummation, or at it at the time of the expected judgment, how are we to maintain the things about him who owed a hundred pence, and was taken by the throat by the man who had been forgiven the many talents? But if, before the judgment, how can we explain the reckoning that was made before this by the king, with his own servants? But we ought to think in a general way about every parable, the interpretation of which has not been recorded by the evangelists, even though Jesus explained all things to His own disciples privately; and for this reason the writers of the Gospels have concealed the clear exposition of the parables, because the things signified by them were beyond the power of the nature of words to express, and every solution and exposition of such parables was of such a kind that not even the whole world itself could contain the books that should be written in relation to such parables. But it may happen that a fitting heart be found, and, because of its purity, able to receive the letters of the exposition of the parable, so that they could be written in it by the Spirit of the living God. But some one will say that, perhaps, we act with impiety, who, because of the secret and mystical import of some of the Scriptures which are of heavenly origin, wish them to be symbolic, and endeavor to expound them, even though it might seem ex hypothesi that we had an accurate knowledge of their meaning. But to this we must say that, if there be those who have obtained the gift of accurate apprehension of these things, they know what they ought to do; but as for us, who acknowledge that we fall short of the ability to see into the depth of the things here signified, even though we obtain a somewhat crass perception of the things in the passage, we will say, that some of the things which we seem to find after much examination and inquiry, whether by the grace of God, or by the power of our own mind, we do not venture to commit to writing; but some things, for the sake of our own intellectual discipline, and that of those who may chance to read them, we will to some extent set forth. But let these things, then, be said by way of apology, because of the depth of the parable; but, with regard to the question at what time the man — the king — in the parable wished to make a reckoning with his own servants, we will say that it seems that this takes place about the time of the judgment which had been proclaimed. And this is confirmed by two parables, one at the close of the Gospel before us, and one from the Gospel according to Luke. And not to prolong the discussion by quoting

the very letter, as any one who wishes can take it from the Scripture himself, we will say that the parable according to Matthew declares, “For it is as when a man going into another country called his own servants, and delivered unto them his own goods, and to one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one talent;” then they took action with regard to that which had been entrusted to them, and, after a long time, the Lord of those servants cometh, and it is written in the very words, that he also makes a reckoning with them. And compare the words, “And when he began to make a reckoning,” and consider that he called the going of the householder into another country the time at which “we are at home in the body but absent from the Lord;” but his advent, when, “after a long time the Lord of those servants cometh,” the time at the consummation in the judgment; for after a long time the Lord of those servants cometh and makes a reckoning with them, and those things which follow take place. But the parable in Luke represents with more clearness, that “a certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return,” and when going, “he called ten servants, and gave to them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye till I come.” But the nobleman, being hated by his own citizens, who sent an ambassage after him, as they did not wish him to reign over them, came back again, having received the kingdom, and told the servants to whom he had given the money to be called to himself that he might know what they had gained by trading. And, seeing what they had done, to him who had made the one pound ten pounds, rendering praise in the words, “Well done, thou good servant, because thou wast found faithful in a very little,” he gives to him authority over ten cities, to-wit, those which were under his kingdom. And to another, who had multiplied the pound fivefold, he did not render the praise which he assigned to the first, nor did he specify the word “authority,” as in the case of the first, but said to him, “Be thou also over five cities.” But to him who had tied up the pound in a napkin, he said, “Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant;” and he said to them that stood by. Take from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds Who, then, in regard to this parable, will not say that the nobleman, who goes into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return, is Christ, going, as it were, into another country to receive the kingdoms of this world, and the things in it? And those who have received the ten talents are those who have been entrusted with the

dispensation of the Word which has been committed unto them. And His citizens who did not wish Him to reign over them when He was a citizen in the world in respect of His incarnation, are perhaps Israel who disbelieved Him, and perhaps also the Gentiles who disbelieved Him

13

NO FORGIVENESS TO THE UNFORGIVING

Only, I have said these things with the view of referring his return when he comes with his kingdom to the consummation, when he commanded the servants to whom he had given the money to be called to him that he might know what they had gained by trading, and from a desire to demonstrate from this, and from the parable of the Talents, that the passage “he who wished to make a reckoning with his own servants” is to be referred to the consummation when now he is king, receiving the kingdom, on account of which, according to another parable, he went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. Therefore, when he returned after receiving the kingdom, he wished to make a reckoning with his own servants. And “when he had begun to reckon, there was brought unto him one who owed many talents,” and he was brought as to a king by those who had been appointed his ministers — I think, the angels, And perhaps he was one of those under the kingdom who had been entrusted with a great administration and had not dispensed it well, but had wasted what had been entrusted to him, so that he came to owe the many talents which he had lost. This very man, perhaps not having the means to pay, is ordered by the king to be sold along with his wife, by intercourse with whom he became the father of certain children. But it is no easy task to see what is intellectually meant by father and mother and children. What this means in point of truth God may know, and whether He Himself has given insight to us or not, he who can may judge. Only this is our conception of the passage; that, as “the Jerusalem which is above” is “the mother” of Paul and of those like unto him, so there may be a mother of others after the analogy of Jerusalem, the mother, for example, of Syene in Egypt, or Sidon, or as many cities as are named in the Scriptures. Then, as Jerusalem is “a bride adorned for her husband,” Christ, so there may be those

mothers of certain powers who have been allotted to them as wives or brides. And as there are certain children of Jerusalem, as mother, and of Christ, as father, so there would be certain children of Syene, or Memphis, or Tyre, or Sidon, and the rulers set over them. Perhaps then, too, this one, the debtor of many talents who was brought to the king, has, as we have said, a wife and children, whom at first the king ordered to be sold, and also all that he had to be sold; but afterwards, being moved with compassion, he released him and forgave him all the debt; not, as if he were ignorant of the future, but, in order that we might understand what happened, it was written that he did so. Each one then of those who have, as we have said, a wife and children will render an account whenever the king comes to make a reckoning, having received the kingdom and having returned; and each of them as a ruler of any Syene or Memphis, or Tyre or Sidon, or any like unto them, has also debtors. This one, then, having been released, and having been forgiven all the debt, "went out from the king and found one of his fellow-servants," etc.; and, on this account, I suppose that he took him by the throat, when he had gone out from the king, for unless he had gone out he would not have taken his own fellow-servant by the throat. Then observe the accuracy of the Scripture, how that the one fell down and "worshipped," but the other fell down and did not worship but "besought;" and the king being moved with compassion released him and forgave him all the debt, but the servant did not wish even to pity his own fellow-servant; and the king before his release ordered him to be sold and what was his, while he who had been forgiven cast him into prison. And observe that his fellow-servants did not bring any accusation or "said," but "told," and that he did not use the epithet "wicked" at the beginning in regard to the money lost, but reserved it afterwards for his action towards the fellow-servant. But mark also the moderation of the king; he does not say, You worshipped me, but You besought me; and no longer did he order him and his to be sold, but, what was worse, he delivered him to the tormentors, because of his wickedness. But who may these be but those who have been appointed in the matter of punishments? But at the same time observe, because of the use made of this parable by adherents of heresies, that if they accuse the Creator of being passionate, because of words that declare the wrath of God, they ought also to accuse this king, because that "being wroth," he delivered the debtor to the tormentors. But it must further be said to those whose view it is that no

one is delivered by Jesus to the tormentors, — pray, explain to us, good sirs, who is the king who delivered the wicked servant to the tormentors? And let them also attend to this, "So therefore also shall My heavenly Father do unto you;" and to the same persons also might rather be said the things in the parable of the Ten Pounds that the Son of the good God said, "Howbeit these mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them," etc. The conclusion of the parable, however, is adapted also to the simpler; for all of us who have obtained the forgiveness of our own sins, and have not forgiven our brethren, are taught at once that we shall suffer the lot of him who was forgiven but did not forgive his fellow-servant

14

HOW JESUS FINISHED HIS WORDS

"*And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words*." He who gives a detailed and complete account of each of the questions before him so that nothing is left out, finishes his own words. But he will give a declaration on this point with more confidence who devotes himself with great diligence to the entire reading of the Old and New Testament; for if the expression, "he finished these words," may be applied to no other, neither to Moses, nor to any of the prophets, but only to Jesus, then one would date to say that Jesus alone finished His words, He who came to put an end to things, and to fulfil what was defective in the law, by saying, "It was said to them of old time," etc., and, again, "That the things spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled." But if it is written somewhere also in them, then you may compare and contrast the discourses finished by them with those finished by the Savior, that you may find the difference between them. And yet at this point, also, investigation might be made whether in the case of the things spoken by way of oracle the expression, "he finished," is applied either to the things spoken by Moses, or any of the prophets, or of both together; for careful observation would suggest very weighty thoughts to those who know how "to compare spiritual things with spiritual," and on this account "speak not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth." But perhaps some other one, attending with over-curious spirit to the word

“finished,” which is assigned to things of a more mystical order, just as we say that some one delivered to those who were under his control mysteries and rites of “perfecting” not in a praiseworthy fashion, and another delivered the mysteries of God to those who are worthy, and rites of “perfecting” proportionate to such mysteries, might say that having initiated them, he made a rite of “perfecting,” by which “perfecting” the words were shown to be powerful, so that the gospel of Jesus was preached in the whole world, and by virtue of the divine “perfecting” gained the mastery of every soul which the Father draws to the Son, according to what is said by the Savior, “No one comes to Me except the Father which has sent Me draw him.” Wherefore also “the word” of those who by the grace of God are ambassadors of the gospel, “and their preaching, is not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit of power,” to those for whom the words of the doctrine of Jesus were finished. You will therefore observe how often it is said, “He finished.” and of what things it is said, and you will take as an illustration that which is said in regard to the beatitudes, and the whole of the discourse to which is subjoined, “And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words, all the multitudes were astonished at His teaching.” But now the saying, “Jesus finished these words,” is referred also immediately to the very mystical parable according to which the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a king, but also beyond this parable to the sections which were written before it

15

HOW MEN FOLLOWED JESUS

Only, when Jesus had finished these words, having spoken them in Galilee about Capernaum, then “He departed thence, and came into the borders of Judaea,” which were different from Galilee. But He came to the borders of Judaea, and not to the middle of it, but, as it were, to the outermost parts, where great multitudes followed Him, whom He healed at “the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan,” — where baptism had been given. But you will observe the difference between the crowds who simply followed, and Peter and the others who gave up everything and followed, and Matthew,

who arose and followed him; he did not simply follow, but "having arisen;" for "having arisen" is an important addition. There are always those, then, who follow like the great multitudes, who have no arisen that they may follow, nor have given up all that was theirs formerly, but few are they who have arisen and followed, who also, in the regeneration, shall sit on twelve thrones. Only, if one wishes to be healed, let him follow Jesus

16

CONCERNING THE PHARISEES AND SCRIBES TEMPTING JESUS (BY ASKING) WHETHER WAS LAWFUL FOR A MAN TO PUT AWAY HIS WIFE FOR EVERY CAUSE

After this it is written that "there came unto Him the Pharisees tempting Him and saying, Is it lawful for a man to wife for every cause?" Mark, also, has written to the like effect. Accordingly, of those who came to Jesus and inquired of Him, there were some who put questions to tempt Him; and if our Savior so transcendent was tempted, which of His disciples who is ordained to teach need be vexed, when he is tempted by some who inquire, not from the love of learning, but from the wish to tempt? And you might find many passages, if you brought them together, in which the Pharisees tempted our Jesus, and others, different from them, as a certain lawyer, and perhaps also a scribe, that by bringing together what is said about those who tempted Him, you might find by investigation what is useful for this kind of inquiries. Only, the Savior, in response to those who tempted Him, laid down dogmas; for they said, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his own wife for every cause?" and He answered and said, "Have ye not read that He who created them from the beginning made them male and female?" etc. And I think that the Pharisees put forward this word for this reason, that they might attack Him whatever He might say; as, for example, if He had said, "It is lawful," they would have accused Him of dissolving marriages for trifles; but, if He had said, "It is not lawful," they would have accused Him of permitting a man to dwell with a woman, even with sins; so, likewise, in the case of the tribute-money, if He had told them to give, they would have accused Him

of making the people subject to the Romans, and not to the law of God, but if He had told them not to give, they would have accused Him of creating war and sedition, and of stirring up those who were not able to stand against so powerful an army. But they did not perceive in what way He answered blamelessly and wisely, in the first place, rejecting the opinion that a wife was to be put away for every cause, and, in the second place, giving answer to the question about the bill of divorcement; for He saw that not every cause is a reasonable ground for the dissolution of marriage, and that the husband must dwell with the wife as the weaker vessel, giving honor, and bearing her burdens in sills; and by what is written in Genesis, He puts to shame the Pharisees who boasted in the Scriptures of Moses, by saying, “Have ye not read that He who created them from the beginning made them male and female,” etc., and, subjoining to these words, because of the saying, “And the twain shall become one flesh,” teaching in harmony with one flesh, namely, “So that they are no more twain, but one flesh.” And, as tending to convince them that they should not put away their wife for every cause, is it said,” What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.” It is to be observed, however, in the exposition of the words quoted from Genesis in the Gospel, that they were not spoken consecutively as they are written in the Gospel; and I think that it is not even said about the same persons, namely, of those who were formed after the image of God, and of those who were formed from the dust of the ground and from one of the ribs of Adam. For where it is said, “Male and female made He them,” the reference is to those formed “after the image,” but where He also said, “For this cause shall a man leave his own father and mother,” etc., the reference is not to those formed after the image; for some time after the Lord God formed the man, taking dust from the ground, and from his side the helpmate. And mark, at the same time, that in the case of those who are formed “after the image,” the words were not “husband and wife” but “male and female.” But we have also observed this in the Hebrew, for man is indicated by the word “is,” but male by the word “zachar,” and again woman by the word “essa,” but female by the word “agkeba.” For at no time is it “woman” or “man” “after the image,” but the superior class, the male, and the second, the female. But also if a man leave his mother and his father, he cleaves not to the female, but to his own wife, and “they become,” since man and woman are one in flesh, “one flesh.” Then, describing what ought to be in the case

of those who are joined together by God, so that they may be joined together in a manner worthy of God, the Savior adds, “So that they are no more twain;” and, wherever there is indeed concord, and unison, and harmony, between husband and wife, when he is as ruler and she is obedient to the word, “He shall rule over thee,” then of such persons we may truly say, “They are no more twain.” Then since it was necessary that for “him who was joined to the Lord,” it should be reserved “that he should become one spirit with Him,” in the case of those who are joined together by God, after the words, “So that they are no more twain,” it is said, “but one flesh.” And it is God who has joined together the two in one so that they are no more twain, from the time that the woman is married to the man. And, since God has joined them together, on this account in the case of those who are joined together by God, there is a “gift”; and Paul knowing this, that marriage according to the Word of God was a “gift,” like as holy celibacy was a gift, says, “But I would that all men were like myself; howbeit, each man hath his own gift from God, one after this manner, and another after that.” And those who are joined together by God both mind and keep the precept, “Husbands love your wives, as Christ also the church.” The Savior then commanded, “What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,” but man wishes to put asunder what God hath joined together, when, “falling away from the sound faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron, forbidding,” not only to commit fornication, but “to marry,” he dissolves even those who had been before joined together by the providence of God. Let these things then be said, keeping in view what is expressly said concerning the male and the female, and the man and the woman, as the Savior taught in the answer to the Pharisees

17

UNION OF CHRIST AND THE CHURCH

But since the Apostle understands the words, “And they twain shall be one flesh,” of Christ and the church, we must say that Christ keeping the saying, “What God hath joined together let not man put asunder,” did not

put away His former wife, so to speak — that is, the former synagogue — for any other cause than that that wife committed fornication, being made an adulteress by the evil one, and along with him plotted against her husband and slew Him, saying, “Away with such a fellow from the earth, crucify Him, crucify Him.” It was she therefore who herself revolted, rather than her husband who put her away and dismissed her; wherefore, reproaching her for falling away from him, it says in Isaiah, “Of what kind is the bill of your mother’s divorcement, with which I sent her away?” And He who at the beginning created Him “who is in the form of God” after the image, made Him male, and the church female, granting to both oneness after the image. And, for the sake of the church, the Lord — the husband — left the Father whom He saw when He was” in the form of God,” left also His mother, as He was the very son of the Jerusalem which is above, and was joined to His wife who had fallen down here, and these two here became one flesh. For because of her, He Himself also became flesh, when “the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,” and they are no more two, but now they are one flesh, since it is said to the wife, “Now ye are the body of Christ, and members each in his part;” for the body of Christ is not something apart different from the church, which is His body, and from the members each in his part. And God has joined together these who are not two, but have become one flesh, commanding that men should not separate the church from the Lord. And he who takes heed for himself so as not to be separated, is confident as one who will not possibly be separated and says, “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?” Here, therefore, the saying, “What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,” was written with relation to the Pharisees, but to those who are superior to the Pharisees, it could be said, “What then God hath joined together, let nothing put asunder,” neither principality nor power; for God, who has joined together is stronger than all those which any one could conceive and name

18

THE BILL OF DIVORCEMENT

After this we will discuss the saying of the Pharisees which they said to Jesus, “Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement and put her away?” And with good reason we will bring forward for this purpose the passage from Deuteronomy concerning the bill of divorcement, which is as follows: “But if a man taketh a wife and cohabit with her, and it shall be, if she do not find favor in his sight because he hath found in her a thing unseemly,” etc., down to the words, “and ye shall not pollute the land which the Lord your God giveth you for an inheritance.” Now I inquire whether in these things according to this law, we are to seek nothing in it beyond the letter seeing that God has not given it, or whether to the Pharisees who quoted the saying, “Moses commanded to give a bill of divorcement and put her away,” it was of necessity said, “Moses, for your hardness of heart, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it hath not been so.” But if any one ascends to the Gospel of Christ Jesus which teaches that the law is spiritual, he will seek also the spiritual understanding of this law. And he who wishes to interpret these things figuratively will say that, just as it was said by Paul confident in the grace which he had, “A wife is bound for so long time as her husband liveth, but if the husband be dead she is free to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord; but she is happier if she abide as she is, after my judgment, and I think that I also have the Spirit of God” (for here to the words, “after my judgment,” lest it should be despised as being without the Spirit of God, he well added, “and I think that I also have the Spirit of God),” so also it would be possible for Moses, by reason of the power given to him to make laws, to the effect that he suffered for the hardness of heart of the people certain things, among which was the putting away of wives, to be persuaded in regard to the laws which he promulgated according to his own judgment, that in these also the legislation took place with the Spirit of God. And he will say that, unless one law is spiritual and another is not such, this is a law, and this is spiritual, and its spiritual significance ought to be investigated

19

THE DIVORCE OF ISRAEL

Now, keeping in mind what we said above in regard to the passage from Isaiah about the bill of divorcement, we will say that the mother of the people separated herself from Christ, her husband, without having received the bill of divorcement, but afterwards when there was found in her an unseemly thing, and she did not find favor in his sight, the bill of divorcement was written out for her; for when the new covenant called those of the Gentiles to the house of Him who had cast away his former wife, it virtually gave the bill of divorcement to her who formerly separated from her husband — the law, and the Word. Therefore he, also, having separated from her, married, so to speak, another, having given into the hands of the former the bill of divorcement; wherefore they can no longer do the things enjoined on them by the law, because of the bill of divorcement. And a sign that she has received the bill of divorcement is this, that Jerusalem was destroyed along with what they called the sanctuary of the things in it which were believed to be holy, and with the altar of burnt offerings, and all the worship associated with it. And a further sign of the bill of divorcement is this, that they cannot keep their feasts, even though according to the letter of the law designedly commanded them, in the place which the Lord God appointed to them for keeping feasts; but there is this also, that the whole synagogue has become unable to stone those who have committed this or that sin; and thousands of things commanded are a sign of the bill of divorcement; and the fact that "there is no more a prophet," and that they say, "We no longer see signs;" for the Lord says, "He hath taken away from Judaea and from Jerusalem," according to the word of Isaiah, "Him that is mighty, and her that is mighty, a powerful giant," etc., down to the words, "a prudent hearer." Now, He who is the Christ may have taken the synagogue to wife and cohabited with her, but it may be that afterwards she found not favor in His sight; and the reason of her not having found favor in His sight was, that there was found in her an unseemly thing; for what was more unseemly than the Circumstance that, when it was proposed to them to release one at the feast, they asked for the release of Barabbas the robber, and the condemnation of Jesus? And what was more unseemly than the

fact, that they all said in His case, “Crucify Him, crucify Him,” and “Away with such a fellow from the earth”? And can this be freed from the charge of unseemliness, “His blood be upon us, and upon our children”? Wherefore, when He was avenged, Jerusalem was compassed with armies, and its desolation was near, and their house was taken away from it, and “the daughter of Zion was left as a booth in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, and as a besieged city.” And, about the same time, I think, the husband wrote out a bill of divorcement to his former wife, and gave it into her hands, and sent her away from his own house, and the bond of her who came from the Gentiles has been cancelled about which the Apostle Says, “Having blotted out the bond written in ordinances, which was contrary to us, and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross;” for Paul also and others became proselytes of Israel for her who came from the Gentiles. The first wife, accordingly, not having found favor before her husband, because in her had been found an unseemly thing, went out from the dwelling of her husband, and, going away, has become joined to another man, to whom she has subjected herself, whether we should call the husband Barabbas the robber, who is figuratively the devil, or some evil power. And in the case of some of that synagogue there has happened the former thing which was written in the law, but in the case of others, that which was second. For the last husband hated his wife and will write out for her some day at the consummation of things a bill of divorcement, when God so orders it, and will give it into her hands and will send her away from his dwelling; for as the good God will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, so will He order it that the last husband shall hate her

20

CHRIST AND THE GENTILES

Now there are those in whose case it has happened that the man dwells with them without having hated them, because they abide in the house of the last husband, who took to himself their synagogue as wife. But also in their case the latter husband dies, perhaps whenever the last enemy of Christ, death, is destroyed. But whichever of these things may happen,

whether the former or the latter to the wife, the former husband, it says, who sent her away, will not he able to turn back and take her to be a wife to himself after she has been defiled, since “it is abomination,” it says, “before the Lord thy God.” But these things will not seem to be consistent with this, “If the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, all Israel shall be saved.” But consider if it can be said to this, that, if she shall be saved by her former husband returning and taking her to himself as wife, she will in any case be saved after she has been polluted. A priest, then, will not take to himself as a wife one who has been a harlot and an outcast, but no other, as being inferior to the priest, is hindered from doing so. But if you seek for the harlot in regard to the calling of the Gentiles, you may use the passage, “Take to yourself a wife of fornication, and children of fornication,” etc.; for, as “the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless,” so he who, casting oat his former wife, takes in due season “a wife of fornication,” having done it according to the command of Him who says, when it is necessary, and so long as it was necessary, “He shall not take a harlot to wife,” and, when it was reasonable, He says, “Take to yourself a wife of fornication.” For as the Son of man is Lord of the sabbath, and not the slave of the sabbath as the people are, so He who gives the law has power to give it “until a time of reformation,” and to change the law, and, when the time of the reformation is at hand, also to give after the former way and after the former heart another way and another heart, “in an acceptable time, and in a day of salvation.” And let these things be said according to our interpretation of the law in regard to the bill of divorcement

21

UNION OF ANGELS AND THE SOULS OF MEN

But some one may inquire whether the human soul can be figuratively called a wife, and the angel who is set over her and is her ruler, with whom as her sovereign she holds conversation, can be called her husband; so that according to this each lawfully dwells along with the soul which is worthy of the guardianship of a divine angel; but sometimes after long sojourning and intercourse a cause may arise in the soul why she does not find favor

in the eyes of the angel who is her Lord and ruler, because that in it there is found an unseemly thing; and bonds may be written out, as such are written, and a bill of divorcement be written and put into the hands of her who is cast out, so that she may no longer be familiar with her former guardian, when she is cast out from his dwelling. And even she who has gone away from her former dwelling may be joined to another husband, and be unfortunate with him, not only, as in the case of the former, not finding favor in his sight because an unseemly thing was found in her, but even being hated by him. Yea, and even there might be written out from the second husband a bill of divorcement and it might be put into her hands from the last husband who sends her away from his dwelling. But whether there can be such a change of the life of angels with men, as to amount, so far as concerns their relation to us, to their death, one may put the question rash though it be; but be that as it may, she also who has once fallen away from the former husband will not return again to him, for the former husband who sent her away will not be able to turn back and take her as wife to himself, after she was defiled. And if one should dare, using a Scripture which is in circulation in the church, but not acknowledged by all to be divine, to soften down a precept of this kind, the passage might be taken from The Shepherd, concerning some who as soon as they believe are put in subjection to Michael, but falling away from him from love of pleasure, are put in subjection to the angel of luxury, then to the angel of punishment, and after this to the angel of repentance; for you observe that the wife or soul who has once been given to luxury no longer returns to the first ruler, but also besides suffering punishment, is put in subjection to one inferior to Michael; for the angel of penitence is inferior to him. We must therefore take heed lest there be found in us any unseemly thing, and we should not find favor in the eyes of our husband Christ, or of the angel who has been set over us. For if we do not take heed, perhaps we also shall receive the bill of divorcement, and either be bereft of our guardian, or go to another man. But I consider that it is not of good omen to receive, as it were, the marriage of an angel with our own soul.

22

THE MARRIAGE OF CHURCH DIGNITARIES

But, while dealing with the passage, I would say that we will be able perhaps now to understand and clearly set forth a question which is hard to grasp and see into, with regard to the legislation of the Apostle concerning ecclesiastical matters; for Paul wishes no one of those of the church, who has attained to any eminence beyond the many, as is attained in the administration of the sacraments, to make trial of a second marriage. For laying down the law in regard to bishops in the first Epistle to Timothy, he says, “If a man seeketh the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. The bishop, therefore, must be without reproach, the husbands of one wife, temperate, sober-minded,” etc.; and, in regard to deacons, “Let the deacons,” he says, “be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well,” etc. Yea, and also when appointing widows, he says, “Let there be no one as a widow under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man;” and after this he says the things superadded, as being second or third in importance to this. And, in the Epistle to Titus, “For this cause,” he says, “I left thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint elders in every city as I gave thee charge. If any one is blameless, the husband of one wife, having children, that believe” — of course — and so on. Now, when we saw that some who have been married twice may be much better than those who have been married once, we were perplexed why Paul does not at all permit those who have been twice married to be appointed to ecclesiastical dignities; for also it seemed to me that such a thing was worthy of examination, as it was possible that a man, who had been unfortunate in two marriages, and had lost his second wife while he was yet young, might have lived for the rest of his years up to old age in the greatest self-control and chastity. Who, then, would not naturally be perplexed why at all, when a ruler of the church is being sought for, we do not appoint such a man, though he has been twice married, because of the expressions about marriage, but lay hold of the man who has been once married as our ruler, even if he chance to have lived to old age with his wife, and sometimes may not have been disciplined in chastity and temperance? But, from what is said in the law about the bill of

divorcement, I reflect whether, seeing that the bishop and the presbyter and the deacon are a symbol of things that truly exist in accordance with these names, he wished to appoint those who were figuratively once married, in order that he who is able to give attention to the matter, may find out from the spiritual law the one who was unworthy of ecclesiastical rule, whose soul did not find favor in the eyes of her husband because there had been found in her an unseemly thing, and she had become worthy of the bill of divorcement; for such a soul, having dwelt along with a second husband, and having been hated by such an one, can no longer, after the second bill of divorcement, return to her former husband. It is likely, therefore, also, that other arguments will be found by those who are wiser than we, and have more ability to see into such things, whether in the law about the bill of divorcement, or in the apostolic writings which prohibit those who have been twice married from ruling over the church or being preferred to preside over it. But, until something shall be found that is better and able by the excessive brilliancy of the light of knowledge to cast into the shade what we have uttered, we have said the things which have occurred to us in regard to the passages

23

SOME LAWS GIVEN BY CONCESSION TO HUMAN WEAKNESS

But, even if we have seemed to touch on things too deep for our capacity in the passages, nevertheless, because of the literal expression these things must further be said, that some of the laws were written not as excellent, but as by way of accommodation to the weakness of those to whom the law was given; for something of this kind is indicated in the words, “Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives;” but that which is pre-eminent and superior to the law, which was written for their hardness of heart, is indicated in this, “But from the beginning it hath not been so.” But in the new covenant also there are some legal injunctions of the same order as, “Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives;” for example, because of our hardness of heart, it has been written on account of our weakness, “But

because of fornications, let each man have his own wife and let each woman have her own husband;” and this, “Let the husband render unto the wife her due, and likewise also the wife unto the husband.” To these sayings it is accordingly subjoined, “But this I say by way of permission, not of commandment.” But this also, “A wife is bound for so long time as her husband liveth, but if her husband be dead, she is free to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord,” was said by Paul in view of our hardness of heart and weakness, to those who do not wish to desire earnestly the greater gifts and become more blessed. But now contrary to what was written, some even of the rulers of the church have permitted a woman to marry, even when her husband was living, doing contrary to what was written, where it is said, “A wife is bound for so long time as her husband liveth,” and “So then if while her husband liveth, she shall be joined to another man she shall be called an adulteress,” not indeed altogether without reason, for it is probable this concession was permitted in comparison with worse things, contrary to what was from the beginning ordained by law, and written

24

JEWISH CRITICISM OF THE LAW OF CHRIST

But perhaps some Jewish man of those who dare to oppose the teaching of our Savior will say, that when Jesus said, “Whosoever shall put away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress,” He also gave permission to put away a wife like as well as Moses did, who was said by Him to have given laws for the hardness of heart of the people, and will hold that the saying, “Because he found in her an unseemly thing,” is to be reckoned as the same as fornification on account of which with good cause a wife could be cast away from her husband. But to him it must be said that, if she who committed adultery was according to the law to be stoned, clearly it is not in this sense that the unseemly thing is to be understood. For it is not necessary for adultery or any such great indecency to write a bill of divorcement and give it into the hands of the wife; but indeed perhaps Moses called every sin an unseemly thing, on the discovery of which by the husband in the wife, as not finding

favor in the eyes of her husband, the bill of divorcement is written, and the wife is sent away from the house of her husband; “but from the beginning it hath not been so.” After this our Savior says, not at all permitting the dissolution of marriages for any other sin than fornication alone, when detected in the wife, “Whosoever shall but away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress.” But it might be a subject for inquiry if on this account He hinders any one putting away a wife, unless she be caught in fornication, for any other reason, as for example for poisoning, or for the destruction during the absence of her husband from home of an infant born to them, or for any form of murder whatsoever. And further, if she were found despoiling and pillaging the house of her husband, though she was not guilty of fornication, one might ask if he would with reason cast away such an one, seeing that the Savior forbids any one to put away his own wife saving for the cause of fornication. In either case there appears to be something monstrous, whether it be really monstrous, I do not know; for to endure sins of such heinousness which seem to be worse than adultery or fornication, will appear to be irrational; but again on the other hand to act contrary to the design of the teaching of the Savior, every one would acknowledge to be impious. I wonder therefore why He did not say, Let no one put away his own wife saving for the cause of fornication, but says, “Whosoever shall put away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress.” For confessedly he who puts away his wife when she is not a fornicator, makes her an adulteress, so far as it lies with him, for if, “when the husband is living she shall be called an adulteress if she be joined to another man;” and when by putting her away, he gives to her the excuse of a second marriage, very plainly in this way he makes her an adulteress. But as to whether her being caught in the act of poisoning or committing murder, furnishes any defense of his dismissal of her, you can inquire yourselves; for the husband can also in other ways than by putting her away cause his own wife to commit adultery; as, for example, allowing her to do what she wishes beyond what is fitting, and stooping to friendship with what men she wishes, for often from the simplicity of husbands such false steps happen to wives; but whether there is a ground of defense or not for such husbands in the case of such false steps, you will inquire carefully, and deliver your opinion also in regard to the difficult questions raised by us on the passage. And even he who withholds himself from his

wife makes her oftentimes to be an adulteress when he does not satisfy her desires, even though he does so under the appearance of greater gravity and self-control. And perhaps this man is more culpable who, so far as it rests with him, makes her an adulteress when he does not satisfy her desires than he who, for other reason than fornication, has sent her away, — for poisoning or murder or any of the most grievous sins. But as a woman is an adulteress, even though she seem to be married to a man, while the former husband is still living, so also the man who seems to marry her who has been put away, does not so much marry her as commit adultery with her according to the declaration of our Savior

25

CHASTITY AND PRAYER

Now after these things, having considered how many possible accidents may arise in marriages, which it was necessary for the man to endure and in this way suffer very great hardships, or if he did not endure, to transgress the word of Christ, the disciples say to him, taking refuge in celibacy as easier, and more expedient than marriage, though the latter appears to be expedient, “If the case of life man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry.” And to this the Savior said, teaching us that absolute chastity is a gift given by God, and not merely the fruit of training, but given by God with prayer, “All men cannot receive the saying, but they to whom it is given.” Then seeing that some make a sophistical attack on the saying. “To whom it is given,” as if those who wished to remain pure in celibacy, but were mastered by their desires, had an excuse, we must say that, if we believe the Scriptures, why at all do we lay hold of the saying, “But they to whom it is given,” but no longer attend to this, “Ask and it shall be given you,” and to that which is added to it, “For every one that asketh receiveth”? For if they “to whom it is given” can receive this saying about absolute purity, let him who wills ask, obeying and believing Him who said, “Ask and it shall be given you,” and not doubting about the saying, “Every one that asketh receiveth.” But when there you will inquire who it is that asketh, for no one of those who do not receive has asked, even though he seems to have done so, since it is

not lawful to say that the saying, “Every one that asketh receiveth.” is a lie. Who then is he that asketh, but he who has obeyed Jesus when He says, “If ye stand praying, believe that ye receive, and ye shall receive”? But he that asketh must do everything in his power that he may pray “with the spirit” and pray also “with the understanding,” and pray “without ceasing,” keeping in mind also the saying, “And He spake a parable unto them to the end that they ought always to pray, and not to faint, saying, There was in a city a judge,” etc. And it is useful to know what it is to ask, and what it is to receive, and what is meant by “Every one that asketh, receiveth,” and by “I say unto you though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity, he will arise and give him as many as he needeth.” It is therefore added, “And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you,” and so on. Further, let the saying, “All men cannot receive the saying but they to whom it is given,” be a stimulus to us to ask worthily of receiving; and this, “What son is there of you who shall ask his father for a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent,” etc. God therefore will give the good gift, perfect purity in celibacy and chastity, to those who ask Him with the whole soul, and with faith, and in prayers without ceasing.

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The Apocalypse of Sedrach, also known as the Word of Sedrach, is an ancient apocryphal text.
The name of the titular figure, Sedrach may simply be the Greek form of Shadrach, the name of one of the three individuals put into the fiery furnace in the Book of Daniel.
It may however simply be a corruption of Esdras, the Greek form of Ezra, particularly since the text has much similarity with other apocryphal texts attributed to Ezra, such as the Apocalypse of Ezra.
Like much other apocalyptic literature, the text narrates how Sedrach was given a vision of heaven, first describing someone being sent by God take him there.
In the Apocalypse of Sedrach, it is Jesus himself who comes to take Sedrach, but while the text seems superficially Christian, it appears to be a corruption of an earlier Jewish text, with Jesus simply having been substituted in place of the name of an archangel.
Unlike other apocalyptic texts, however, the Apocalypse of Sedrach heavily discusses ethical issues, particularly repentance, and God being merciful.
In a marked contrast to the bitter attitude often expressed in the genre, God is depicted as patient, keen to help people make the right choices, and keen to allow them repentance at every opportunity, and free will is seen as something kindly given, not a vicious trick.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach.

The Word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and concerning repentance and Orthodox Christians, and **concerning the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ**.

Lord give thy blessing.

Beloved, let us prefer nothing in honour except **sincere love**: for in many things we stumble every day and night and hour.

And for this cause let us gain love, for it covereth a multitude of sins: for what is the profit, my children, if we have all things, and have not saving **love…**

O blessed love, supplier of all good things.

Blessed is the man who has gained the **true faith** and **sincere love**, according as the Master said, there is no greater love than this that a man should **lay down his life for his friend**.

And **invisibly he received a voice in his ears**: Come hither, Sedrach, since thou wishest and desirest to converse with **God** and ask of him that he may reveal unto thee whatever thou wishest to ask.

And Sedrach said: What, Sir?

And the voice said to him: I was sent to thee to raise thee here into heaven.

And he said: I desired to speak mouth to mouth with God: I am not fit, Sir, to come into heaven.

And stretching out his wings he took him up and he came into heaven to the very flame, and he set him as high as the third heaven, and in it stood the flame of the divinity.

And the Lord saith to him: Welcome, my beloved Sedrach: What suit hast thou against God who created thee, that thou saidst, I desired to speak face to face with God?

Sedrach saith to him: Yea, verily, the son hath a suit with the Father: my Lord, why didst thou make the earth?

The Lord saith to him: For man's sake.

Sedrach saith: And why didst Thou make the sea?
Why didst Thou scatter every good thing on the earth?
The Lord saith to him: For man's sake.

Sedrach saith to him: If thou didst these things, why wilt Thou destroy him?
And the Lord said: Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find good.

Sedrach saith to him: Chastisement and fire are thy discipline: they are bitter, my Lord: it were well for man if he had not been born: why then didst thou make him, my Lord?
Why didst thou weary thine undefiled hands and create man, since thou didst not intend to have mercy on him?
God saith to him: I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life and said to him: Eat of all the fruits, but beware of the Tree of Life: for if thou eat of it, thou shalt die the death.
But he transgressed my commandment, and being beguiled by the devil ate of the tree.

Sedrach saith to him: Of thy will Adam was beguiled, my Lord: Thou commandest thine angels to make approach to Adam, and the first of the angels himself transgressed thy commandment and did not make approach to him, and Thou didst banish him, because he transgressed thy commandment and did not make any approach to the work of thine hands: if thou lovedst man, why didst Thou not slay the devil, the worker of unrighteousness?

Who is able to fight an invisible spirit?

And he as a smoke enters into the hearts of men and teaches them every sin:

he fights against thee, the immortal God, and what can wretched man then do to him? But have mercy, O Lord, and stop the chastisements:

but if not, count me also with the sinners:

if thou wilt have no mercy on the sinners, where are thy mercies, where is thy compassion, O Lord?

God saith to him: Be it known unto thee that I ordered all things to be placable to him: I gave him understanding and made him the heir of heaven and earth, and I subjected all things to him, and every living thing flees from him and from before his face: but he, having received of mine, became alien, adulterous, and sinful: tell me, what father, having given his son his portion, when he takes his substance and leaves his father and goes away and becomes an alien and serves an alien, when the father sees that the son has deserted him, does not darken his heart, and does not the father go and take his substance and banish him from his glory because he deserted his father?

And how have I, the wonderful and jealous God, given him everything, and he having received these things has become an adulterer and a sinner?

Sedrach saith to him: Thou, O Lord, didst create man.

Thou knewest of what sort of mind he was and of what sort of knowledge we are, and thou makest it a cause for chastisement: but cast him forth; for shall not I alone fill up the heavenly places? But if that is not to be so save man too, O Lord.

He failed by thy will, wretched man.

Why dost thou waste words on me, Sedrach?

I created Adam and his wife and the sun and said: Behold each other how bright he is, and the wife of Adam is brighter in the beauty of the moon and he was the giver of her life.

Sedrach saith: but of what profit are beauties if they die away into the earth?

How didst thou say, O Lord, Thou shalt not return evil for evil?

How is it, O Lord?

the word of Thy divinity never lies, and why dost Thou retaliate on man?

or dost thou not in so doing render evil for evil?

I know that among the quadrupeds there is no other so wily and unreasonable as the mule.

But we strike it with the bridle when we wish: and thou hast angels: send them forth to guard them, and when man inclines towards sin, to take hold of his foot and not let him go whither he would.

God saith to him: If I catch him by the foot, he will say, Thou hast given me no joy in the world.
But I have left him to his own will because I loved him.
Wherefore I sent forth my righteous angels to guard him night and day.

Sedrach saith: I know, O Lord, that of all thy creatures Thou chiefly lovedst man, of the quadrupeds the sheep, of woods the olive, of fruits the vine, of flying things the bee, of rivers the Jordan, of cities Jerusalem.
And all these man also loves, my Lord.

God saith to Sedrach: I will ask thee one thing, Sedrach: if thou answerest me, then I may fitly help thee, even though thou hast tempted thy creator.

Sedrach saith: Speak.

The Lord God saith: Since I made all things, how many men were born and how many died, and how many are to die and how many hairs have they?

Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven was created and the earth, how many trees grew in the world, and how many fell, and how many are to fall, and how many are to arise, and how many leaves have they?

Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves arose and how many fell, and how many are to arise, and how many winds blow along the margin of the sea?

Tell me, Sedrach, from the creation of the world of the aeons, when the air rained, how many drops fell upon the world, and how many are to fall?

And Sedrach said: Thou alone knowest all these things, O Lord; thou only understandest all these things: only, I pray thee, deliver man from chastisement, and I shall not be separated from our race.

And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise.

The only begotten Son saith to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of thy mother in the holy tabernacle of thy body from a child.

Sedrach saith: I will not give thee my soul.

God saith to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and thou pleadest against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take thy soul with violence; but if not, (then) give me thy most greatly desired soul.

And Sedrach saith to God: And whence dost Thou intend to take my soul, and from which limb?

And God saith to him: Dost thou not know that it is placed in the midst of thy lungs and thy heart and is dispersed into all thy limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart.

When Sedrach had heard all these things and had considered the memory of death he was greatly astounded, and Sedrach said to God: O Lord, give me a little respite that I may weep, for I have heard that tears are able to do much and much remedy comes to the lowly body of thy creature.

And weeping and bewailing he began to say: O marvellous head of heavenly adornment: O radiant as the sun which shines on heaven and earth: thy hairs are known from Teman, thine eyes from Bosor, thine ears from thunder, thy tongue from a trumpet, and thy brain is a small creation, thy head the energy of the whole body: O friendly and most fair beloved by all, and now falling into the earth it must become forgotten.

O hands, mild, fair-fingered, worn with toil by which the body is nourished: O hands, deftest of all, heaping up from all quarters ye made ready houses.

O fingers adorned and decked with gold and silver (rings): and great worlds are led by the fingers: the three joints enfold the palms, and heap up beautiful things: and now ye must become aliens to the world.

O feet, skilfully walking about, self-running, most swift, unconquerable: O knees, fitted together, because without you the body does not move: the feet run along with the sun and the moon in the night and in the day, heaping up all things, foods and drinks, and nourishing the body: O feet, most swift and fair runners, moving on the face of the earth, getting ready the house with every good thing: O feet which bear up the whole body, that run up to the temples, making repentance and calling on the saints, and now ye are to remain motionless. O head and hands and feet, until now I have kept you.

O soul, what sent thee into the humble and wretched body?

And now being separated from it, thou art going up where the Lord calleth thee, and the wretched body goes away to judgment.

O body well-adorned, hair clothed with stars, head of heavenly adornment and dress: O face well-anointed, light-bringing eyes, voice trumpet-like, tongue placable, chin fairly adorned, hairs like the stars, head high as heaven, body decked out, light-bringing eyes that know all things—and now you shall fall into the earth and under the earth your beauty shall disappear.

Christ saith to him: Stay, Sedrach; how long dost thou weep and groan? Paradise is opened to thee, and, dying, thou shalt live.

Sedrach saith to him: Once more I will speak unto thee, O Lord: How long shall I live before I die?

and do not disregard my prayer.

The Lord saith to him: Speak, O Sedrach.

Sedrach saith: If a man shall live eighty or ninety or an hundred years, and live these years in sin, and again shall turn, and the man live in repentance, in how many days dost thou forgive him his sins?

God saith to him: If he shall live an hundred or eighty years and shall turn and repent for three years and do the fruit of righteousness, and death shall overtake him, I will not remember all his sins.

Sedrach saith to him: The three years are a long time, my Lord, lest death overtake him and he fulfil not his repentance: have mercy, Lord, on thine image and have compassion, for the three years are many.

God saith to him: If a man live an hundred years and remember his death and confess before men and I find him, after a time I will forgive all his sins.

Sedrach saith again: I will again beseech thy compassion for thy creature.

The time is long lest death overtake him and snatch him suddenly.

The Saviour saith to him: I will ask thee one word, Sedrach, my beloved, then thou shalt ask me in turn: if the man shall repent for forty days I will not remember all his sins which he did.

And Sedrach saith to the archangel Michael: Hearken to me, O powerful chief, and help thou me and be my envoy that God may have mercy on the world.

And falling on their faces, they besought the Lord and said: O Lord, teach us how and by what sort of repentance and by what labour man shall be saved.

God saith: By repentances, by intercessions, by liturgies, by tears in streams, in hot groanings.

Dost thou not know that my prophet David was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment?

Thou knowest, Sedrach, that there are nations which have not the law and which do the works of the law: for if they are unbaptized and my divine spirit come unto them and they turn to my baptism, I also receive them with my righteous ones into Abraham's bosom.

And there are some who have been baptized with my baptism and who have shared in my divine part and become reprobate in complete reprobation and will not repent: and I suffer them with much compassion and much pity and wealth in order that they may repent, but they do the things which my divinity hates, and did not hearken to the wise man asking (them), saying, we by no means justify a sinner.

Dost thou not most certainly know that it is written: And those who repent never see chastisement?

And they did not hearken to the Apostles or to my word in the Gospels, and they grieve my angels, and verily they do not attend to my messenger in the assemblies (for communion) and in my services, and they do not stand in my holy churches, but they stand and do not fall down and worship in fear and trembling, but boast things which I do not accept, or my holy angels.

Sedrach saith to God: O Lord, Thou alone art sinless and very compassionate, having compassion and pity for sinners, but thy divinity said: I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.

And the Lord said to Sedrach: Dost thou not know, Sedrach, that the thief was saved in one moment to repent?

Dost thou not know that my apostle and evangelist was saved in one moment?

for their hearts are like rotten stone: these are they who walk in impious ways and who shall be destroyed with Antichrist.

Sedrach saith: O my Lord, Thou also saidst: My divine spirit entered into the nations which, not having the law, do the things of the law.

So also the thief and the apostle and evangelist and the rest of those who have already got into thy Kingdom.

O my Lord; so likewise do Thou pardon those who have sinned to the last: for life is very toilsome and there is no time for repentance.

The Lord saith to Sedrach: I made man in three stages: when he is young, I overlooked his stumblings as he was young: and again when he was a man I considered his purpose: and again when he grows old, I watch him till he repent.

Sedrach saith: O Lord, Thou knowest and understandest all these things: but have sympathy for sinners.

The Lord saith to him: Sedrach, my beloved, I promise to have sympathy and bring down the forty days to twenty: and whosoever shall remember thy name shall not see the place of chastisement, but shall be with the just in a place of refreshment and rest: and if anyone shall record this wonderful word his sins shall not be reckoned against him for ever and ever.

And Sedrach saith: O Lord, and if anyone shall bring enlightenment to thy servant, save him, O Lord, from all evil.

And Sedrach, the servant of the Lord, saith: Now take my soul, O Lord.

And God took him and placed him in Paradise with all the saints.

To whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever.

Amen.

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THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

Translations of Early Documents

TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DOCUMENTS

SERIES I

PALESTINIAN JEWISH TEXTS

(PRE-RABBINIC)

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

(II ESDRAS III–XIV)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC TEXT,
WITH BRIEF ANNOTATIONS

BY

G. H. BOX, M.A.

LECTURER IN RABBINICAL HEBREW, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON
HON. CANON OF ST. ALBANS

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
LONDON: 68, HAYMARKET, S.W.

1917

EDITORS' PREFACE

The object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. Oesterley.
G. H. Box.

INTRODUCTION

Short Account of the Book

The Fourth Book of Ezra—or, as it appears in our official Apocrypha, 2 Esdras—is, in the form in which it appears in our Bibles, an enlarged book. The original work, which forms the Apocalypse proper, consists of chapters iii.–xiv. of 2 Esdras, and in the Oriental Versions these chapters form the complete Book. That is to say, chapters i.–ii. and xv.–xvi. of our 2 Esdras do not appear in the Oriental Versions of the Book at all; they are, in fact, later additions (probably Christian ones) to the Latin translation of the Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse of Ezra (= 2 Esdras iii.–xiv.) is extant in a Latin and several Oriental translations which are all based upon a lost Greek Version, and this latter, again, upon an original Hebrew text (also completely lost).

The Apocalypse itself appears to be a composite work which was redacted in its present form by an Editor about the year A.D. 120. The material used by him and embodied in the Book consists of a Salathiel Apocalypse (cf. iii. 1) which is contained mainly in chapters iii.–x. of 2 Esdras. This work, originally written in the name of Salathiel (= Shealtiel), the father of Zerubbabel, who lived through the Exile, is embodied in practically a complete form in our Apocalypse. It seems to have been written and published in Hebrew about the year A.D. 100. To it the final Editor appended three pieces derived from other sources, viz. (1) the famous Eagle-Vision (chs. xi.–xii.) and (2) the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.)—both extracted apparently from a Book of Dream-Visions—and (3) the Ezra-Legend (ch. xiv. mainly).

There are, naturally, traces of the final Editor's hand throughout in redactional links and adjustments, and also possibly some extracts from an eschatological source detailing the signs which are to precede the End of the World (iv. 52—v. 13*a*, vi. 11–29). The whole compilation is parallel with the twin (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later. The importance of both Apocalypses for the study of Jewish and Christian theology is very great, and will be referred to more fully below.

Title

It is interesting to note that in the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (i.–ii. xv.–xvi.) are distinguished, as a rule, by a separate enumeration. Different arrangements prevail, but the following is a widely accepted one—

1 Esdras = the Canonical Ezra-Nehemiah.
2 Esdras = 2 Esdras i.–ii. of our Apocrypha.
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha.
4 Esdras = 2 Esdras iii.–xiv. of our Apocrypha (*i. e.* = our Apocalypse).
5 Esdras = 2 Esdras xv.–xvi. of our Apocrypha.

The Oriental Versions also vary in the titles given to our Book. In the Ethiopic and Arabic it is called *The First Book of Ezra* (cf. also colophon at end of Syriac translation, following xiv. 50); the title given at the head of the Syriac translation is: *The Book of Ezra the Scribe, who is called Salathiel.* Clement of Alexandria quotes from the lost Greek Version as Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, and this may have been the title of the Book in the (lost) Greek translation.

The Ancient Versions

The standard text is, of course, the Latin, and the Latin Version has been preserved in a considerable number of Latin MSS. of the Bible. But 4 Esdras is no part of the Latin Bible proper; it is usually printed

as an Appendix to the Vulgate, and certainly was prized among readers of the Latin Bible. The Vulgate text, as printed, is very corrupt, but considerable progress has been made during comparatively recent years in the formation of a critical text.[1] The English reader can see many of these results clearly set forth by a comparison of the A.V. and Revised Version of the Book in our official Apocrypha.

One striking difference which comes to view in the R.V. is that in chapter vii. a long passage of some seventy verses is inserted between verses 35 and 36, which is absent from the A.V. This is the famous Missing Fragment which was absent from all known Latin MSS. of the Book till the late Professor R. L. Bensly discovered (in 1875) the text in a ninth-century MS., which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens.[2] The passage had been cut out apparently for dogmatic reasons, but is extant in all the Oriental Versions.

The Latin Version, like the Oriental ones, was made from the lost Greek Version, and is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it. As a whole it is singularly faithful and literal, and is the most valuable of the Ancient Versions that have come down to us.

The English translations in the A.V. and R.V. are, of course, based primarily upon the Latin text. The Oriental Versions include a Syriac, Ethiopic, two Arabic, and an Armenian, and some fragments in other versions (Georgian, etc.). Of these by far the most valuable is the Syriac, from which the following translation is made. The Syriac text depends upon a single MS., the great Ambrosian Bible Codex at

[1] Fritzsche's *Libri Vet. Test. Pseudepigraphi Selecti* (appended to his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Græce*, Leipzig, 1871) marked an advance; *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, ed. by Bensly and James, Cambridge, 1895, is the best available edition in many ways.

[2] Prof. Bensly published a valuable edition of this discovery: *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge, 1875).

Milan. The text has been published by Ceriani. In the MS. our Book is preceded by the Apocalypse of Baruch, and is followed by the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are reckoned as a single book, viz. *The Second Book of Ezra.* Though our book is not given the title of *The First Book of Ezra,* a colophon at the end of the version says *Ended is the first discourse of Ezra,* which presumably implies such an enumeration. The Syriac Version is, on the whole, singularly faithful, though it betrays occasionally a tendency to amplify.

The Ethiopic text was first published in 1820 by Richard Laurence, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. A critical text, based upon several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann, and published after his death. A French translation of this (by Basset) appeared in 1899. The Ethiopic is much more paraphrastic than the Syriac, but occasionally attests valuable readings.

There are two Arabic Versions ($Ar.^1$ $Ar.^2$), and also an Armenian Version, which are of less value. For further details see *E.A.*, General Introduction.

The lost Greek text, on which all the Versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may be based directly on the Syriac), are based, has been reconstructed by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum* (pp. 36–113).

We cannot here give in detail the arguments which make the existence of a Hebrew original highly probable, if not practically certain. The scholars who accept the hypothesis include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet. A Greek original has been upheld by some distinguished scholars of an earlier date, notably Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld. The question is fully discussed in the General Introduction to *E.A.*

Special Importance of the Book

The Ezra-Apocalypse is of many-sided importance. It is a genuine product of Judaism, but of a

Judaism that belonged to an earlier type than that represented in the Rabbinical Literature, as it has come down to us. In particular the Salathiel portions of the Book (contained in chapters iii.–x.) are of surpassing interest for the student of the New Testament. They betray an almost Pauline sense of the universality and devastating effects of sin (cf. esp. iv. 30, vii. 118), and manifest a pathetic longing for some efficacious means of salvation (viii. 6). While he values the Law, and the works of the Law, and even holds that some few, though not sinless, may yet secure a sufficiency of merit through works and faith to gain salvation, our Apocalyptist is yet acutely conscious of the impotence of the Law as a redeeming power (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). He discusses with profound emotion the problem of Israel's relation to the Law, and shows unmistakably that the orthodox answer fails to satisfy him. This answer may be summed up as follows: (*a*) God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.); (*b*) human intelligence is finite and limited (cf. iv. 12–32); (*c*) the course and duration of the present world have been pre-determined (iv. 33–43); the decisive moment will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

All difficulties will be solved by the coming in of the future Age, which will bring in an entirely new order. The present corruptible world will be dissolved, and give place to the incorruptible world and immortality (cf. vii. 114).

One fundamental difficulty to the Apocalyptist is the fewness of those who are destined to attain salvation, and the only answer the angel is able to give him is that the few are precious, and the many worthless. This provokes the protest that it would have been better if man had not been created (vii. 62–69), or at least restrained from sinning (vii. 116–126). Against the inevitable conclusion of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–140).

It will have become apparent how much akin the

thought of our Apocalyptist is to that of St. Paul. The same themes are discussed—the relation of Israel to the Law, faith and works, the divine *parousia*, grace, sin and the effects of Adam's sin, the benefit or otherwise of surviving to the *parousia*. Mr. C. W. Emmet in an article on *The Fourth Book of Esdras and St. Paul*[1] has worked out, in an illuminating way, the parallelism in thought between the two writers. He says—

> "We have seen how 4 Esdras rests finally on the inscrutability of God's ways, based on His unchallengeable power as Creator, and on His fatherly love for His creation. These are precisely the two answers which are combined in Romans. In ch. ix. St. Paul makes his well-known appeal to the absolute authority of God as Creator—*Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?*—using the same familiar metaphor of the potter and the clay. The peroration of the section in xi. 33 ff. emphasizes the same principle: *How unsearchable are His judgements, and His ways past finding out. For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor?* On the other hand, in ch. viii., in dealing with the problem of the sufferings of this present time and the final deliverance of creation, he has asserted the love of God in Christ as the ground of hope and the pledge of the ultimate solution (viii. 28 ff.; cf. v. 5). The main difference is that he has the historical manifestation of that love to which he can point in vindication of his argument. The fact that both writers place these two principles side by side, and that neither explicitly combines them, is certainly worth notice."

Mr. Emmet also calls attention to further important parallels. Both emphasize the contrast between Jacob

[1] Published in the *Expository Times* for September 1916 (pp. 551–556).

and Esau, with the same quotation from Malachi (4 Ezra iii. 16; Rom. ix. 13); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 72 and Rom. ii. 1–16; 4 Ezra vii. 73 f. and Rom. ii. 3 f., 4 Ezra v. 41 and 1 Thess. iv. 13. All this points to a common background of thought, and shows that St. Paul was not so isolated in his Jewish antecedents as is often supposed. As Mr. Emmet well says—

> "The author of the Salathiel Apocalypse is our best representative of the kind of Jewish thought with which St. Paul must have been in sympathy in his pre-Christian days. Had he not become a Christian, he might have written just such another book as 4 Esdras, while our unknown author would have surely been a strong 'Paulinist,' had he been able to adopt the Christian solution of the problems he faced so bravely."

The other elements in the Ezra-Apocalypse are also of high importance. The Eagle-Vision represents well the political eschatology that was accepted in Zealot circles; while the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.) is valuable as a presentation of the Apocalyptic view of the Heavenly Messiah, the Son of Man. For its relation to Daniel and to the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch reference must be made to full discussions elsewhere (see e.g. *E.A.*, pp. 280 ff.).

Bibliography

For a full account of the literature bearing on the subject, reference must be made to larger works. Constant reference has been made in the notes that follow to the writer's edition of the Book: The Ezra-Apocalypse; *translated from a critically revised text, with critical introductions, notes and explanations; with a General Introduction to the Apocalypse, and an*

Appendix containing the Latin text, by G. H. Box (London, 1912).[1]

An important edition of the Latin text has been published in the Cambridge series of *Texts and Studies* (vol. iii. no. 2, 1895): *The Fourth Book of Ezra;* the Latin Version edited from the MSS., by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A., and Dr. Montague Rhodes James. The most recent critical edition is that of Dr. Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apocalypse*, Part I (Leipzig, 1910); it contains not only a critical edition of the Latin text, but also carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions.

Another important book is Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum* (1869), which contains the Latin text, Latin translations of the Oriental Versions, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text.

The Syriac text from which the translation that follows has been made directly, was published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, tom. v. pp. 44–111.

Of other works important for the study of the Book, the following are among the most valuable and accessible—

The Variorum Apocrypha, edited by C. J. Ball (gives A.V. with critical notes).

The monumental edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (in English translations, with commentaries), edited by Dr. R. H. Charles in 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913).

F. C. Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers* (London, 1909).

Dr. R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (London, 1899).

Dr. James Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (London, 1877).

Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1914).

[1] The same writer has also edited the Book in the second volume of Dr. R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford, 1913).

Reference may also be made to—

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., London, 1911); and to the articles "Messiah" and "Eschatology" in *The Jewish Encyclopædia* and the Bible Dictionaries.

SHORT TITLES, ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS EMPLOYED

1 Enoch = the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.
2 Enoch = the Slavonic Book of Enoch.
Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.
Ps. Sol. = The Psalms of Solomon.
L. = the Latin version.
E.A. = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* ed. by G. H. Box.

( ) round brackets enclose something added (in the translation) but not represented in the Syriac text.

[ ] square brackets enclose something represented in the Syriac, but absent from L. or the other Versions.

† † translations based upon an emendation in the Syriac text are so indicated.

THE BOOK OF EZRA THE SCRIBE, WHO IS CALLED SALATHIEL[1]

VISION I

(III. 1—V. 19).[2]

Introduction (III. 1–3).

III. 1. In the thirtieth[3] year of the fall of our city I, Salathiel, who am Ezra, was in Babylon, and lay stretched upon my bed and was troubled, and thoughts were coming up upon my heart,[4] 2. because I saw the desolation of Sion and the wealth of the dwellings[5] of Babylon; 3. and my spirit was sore amazed, and I began to speak to the Most High words of fear.

The First Questions: Whence the Sin and Misery of the World? Is Israel's Punishment just? (III. 4–36)

4. And I said: O Lord my Lord,[6] didst not thou speak from the beginning,[7] when thou formedst the

[1] This is the title of the Book in the Syriac MS.

[2] The numeration of chapter and verse follows the Latin (so E.V. 2 Esdras).

[3] *i.e.* primarily the 30th year after 586 B.C. (= 556 B.C.); but typically the 30th year after A.D. 70 (= A.D. 100).

[4] *Thoughts . . . heart*, cf. Dan. ii. 29; iv. 5.

[5] L. and other Versions, *dwellers*.

[6] L. *O dominator Domine* (R.V. *O Lord that bearest rule*) = Heb. *'ădōnai Yahwe*.

[7] = ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; cf. Gen. ii. 7 f.

earth—and that thyself alone—and didst command the dust? 5. And it gave thee Adam, a dead body,[1] and he was the formation of thy hands; and thou didst breathe in him the breath of life and he was living before thee; 6. and thou leddest him into Paradise which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came.[2] 7. And to this one thou didst give the commandment,[3] and he transgressed it; and forthwith thou didst decree upon him death, and upon his generations. And from him were born peoples and tribes and tongues and clans which are without number. 8. And all peoples followed[4] their (own) works, and dealt wickedly and were ungodly before thee—and thou didst not hinder them. 9. But again in (due) time[5] thou didst bring the Flood upon the earth and upon the inhabitants of the world, and thou didst destroy them; 10. and their destruction was alike,[6] and as to Adam (came) death, so to them (came) the death of the Flood. 11. Nevertheless thou didst spare one of them[7] with his household—and from him all the righteous are descended.[8] 12. And it came to pass when the inhabitants of the earth began to multiply, and multiplied[9] children and peoples and many multitudes, and began again to be ungodly more than the former (generations)[10]— 13. it came to pass that when they practised ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose

[1] R.V. *a body without a soul.*

[2] *i. e.* Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was created before the earth; but according to another view (*Jubilees* ii. 7) on the third day. See *E.A.*, pp. 195 ff.

[3] Lit. *didst command the commandment.*

[4] Lit. *walked in* (for phrase *walked . . . works* cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 38).

[5] Lit. *in the time,* i. e. appointed; cf. iv. 37.

[6] *Alike*, Lit. *together* = Heb. *bĕ'aḥath* or *ke'ĕḥād* (cf. Jer. x. 8). They were involved in a common fate (L. *in uno*).

[7] L. + *Noah* (*Noe*).

[8] Lit. *have flowed.*

[9] L. *there were born.*

[10] Cf. Ps. Sol. i. 8 (*their transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them*).

one of them for thyself,[1] whose name was Abraham; 14. and thou didst love him, and thou didst shew him the consummation of the times, him alone, between thee and him by night[2]; 15. and thou didst establish with him an everlasting covenant,[3] and didst promise him that thou wouldest never forsake his seed. 16. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau[4]; and thou didst choose thee Jacob for an heritage,[5] and Esau thou didst hate[6]; and Jacob became a great people.[7] 17. And when thou didst bring up his seed from Egypt [and didst establish with him an everlasting covenant],[8] and didst bring them to Mount Sinai,

18. Thou didst incline the heavens,
and didst shake the earth—
and madest the world †quake†,[9]
and causedst the deeps to tremble,
and didst alarm the worlds.[10]

19. And thy glory went through the four gates[11] of fire and earthquake, and of wind and cold, that thou mightest give to Jacob's seed the Law,[12] and to the race of Israel commandments. 20. And yet thou didst not remove from them the evil heart,[13] that thy Law might yield fruit[14] in them. 21. For the first Adam clothed himself with the evil heart, and transgressed, and was overcome (and

[1] Cf. Gen. xii. 1.
[2] Cf. Gen. xv. 9 f.
[3] Lit. *covenants*; cf. Gen. xvii. 7.
[4] Cf. Josh. xxiv. 3 f.
[5] *Choose . . . heritage*; L. *segregasti tibi*.
[6] Cf. Mal. i. 2 (*Jacob I loved but Esau I hated*).
[7] Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.
[8] Accidentally repeated in the Syr. MS. from ver. 15 above.
[9] Reading (with Violet) *wĕ'anîdtāh* for *wa'ḥadtāh* (= *and thou didst hold*).
[10] L. *sæcula*: the universe is meant; cf. Heb. i. 2.
[11] The four gates of the four lowest of the seven heavens may be meant; cf. *E.A.*, p. 14.
[12] Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 4.
[13] L. *cor malignum*: cf. iv. 30 (*grain of evil seed*) and vii. 92 (*the evil thought*).
[14] *i. e.* the fruit of death and condemnation; cf. Rom. vii. 5.

not only so) but also †all† [1] who were begotten from him. 22. And the infirmity remained in them, and (also) the Law, together with the evil root; then what was good departed, and the evil came.[2] 23. And the times passed away, and the seasons were ended; and thou didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; 24. and thou commandedst him to build [3] a city for thy name [4] [and a House] [5] that oblations from thine own might be offered therein.[6] 25. And this was done many years. But the inhabitants of the city sinned against thee 26. and did nothing new [7] beyond what Adam had done and all his generations; for they also were clothing themselves with the evil heart. 27. And (so) thou deliveredst thy City into the hand of thine enemies.[8]

28. And then I said in my heart: Are then the inhabitants of Babylon behaving well? And hast thou for this forsaken [9] Sion? 29. And it came to pass when I came hither [10] I saw many ungodlinesses which cannot be numbered, and many iniquities [11] my soul saw this thirty years; and my heart was perturbed, 30. because I have seen

how thou dost suffer the sinners,
and sparest the ungodly,
and hast destroyed thy people,
and preserved thine enemies;

[1] So read: Syriac text *upon*.

[2] The whole body fell under the dominion of sin; cf. Rom. vii. 7 f. and 20 f.

[3] David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

[4] *i.e.* the city called by Jahveh's name, the city of God; cf. Jer. xxv. 29; Ps. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 1 f.

[5] These words are lacking in L.; the addition accords with 2 Sam. vii. 5, 13.

[6] This is the correct reading. A.V. *incense and oblations* depends upon a corrupt Latin text.

[7] By a slight alteration of the Syriac text the translation will run *nothing other than* [*what Adam*].

[8] Cf. x. 23.

[9] This is the right reading. L. *dominavit* (*hath she dominion over Sion?* R.V.) is probably corrupt for *abominavit*.

[10] *i.e.* to Babylon. [11] The other Versions have *sinners*.

31. and hast not made known unto any[1] how thy way may be comprehended.[2] Hath Babylon behaved better than Sion? 32. Or knowest thou[3] any other people more than Israel? Or what tribe[4] hath believed thy covenant as Jacob hath— 33. they whose reward is not seen, and whose labour hath not borne fruit! For I have gone about[5] through the peoples and have seen that they are now prosperous although unmindful of thy commandments.

34. But now weigh thou[6] in the balance our iniquities and those of the inhabitants of the world, and the poise of the scale will be seen to be not inclined.[7] 35. Or when have the inhabitants of the world not sinned before thee? Or what people hath so kept thy commandments? 36. Men, however, with names[8] thou mayest find who have kept thy commandments, but a people[9] thou shalt not find.

The Divine Reply; God's ways are Inscrutable (IV. 1—V. 19).

IV. 1. And the angel who had been sent unto me, whose name was Uriel,[10] answered, 2. and said to

[1] L. *nihil nemini* corrupted to *nihil memini* in Vulg. = *I remember nought* (cf. A.V.).

[2] = πῶς καταληφθῇ: L. *derelinqui via hæc* = *how this way of thine should be forsaken*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 18.

[3] = ἔγνως. The other Versions read ἔγνω σε (*Hath any other nation known thee*, etc.).

[4] L. *tribes*.

[5] Lit. *passing I have passed*.

[6] "Weighing" sins is a common metaphor in Jewish literature; cf. 1 Enoch xli. 1 (of weighing deeds).

[7] Read, with a slight emendation of the Syriac, *which way it inclines* (for *to be not inclined*); cf. L. *which way the turn of the scale inclines*. The A.V. represents a corrupt Latin text.

[8] L. *homines per nomina* = *men that can be reckoned by name* (R.V.), *i.e.* noted individuals.

[9] So Ethiopic; the other Versions have pl. *nations*.

[10] Uriel is mentioned again in ver. 36 (Latin), v. 20 and x. 28, and not again in the Bible; cf. 1 Enoch xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4.

me: Is thy heart so perturbed[1] in[2] this world, and wouldest thou comprehend the way of the Most High?
3. And I answered and said: Yea, my Lord. And he answered me again, and said to me: Three ways have I been sent to shew thee, and three similitudes to set before thee:
4. if thou canst shew me one of these, I also will shew thee the way which thou longest to see, and I will teach thee why[3] the evil heart (exists).
5. And I answered and said: Speak on, my Lord. And he answered and said to me:

Come, weigh me the weight of the fire,
or measure the measure[4] of the wind,[5]
or recall me the day that is past.

6. And I said to him: Who of those born is able to do these (things) that thou hast spoken to me, that thou shouldest ask me about all these?

7. And he said to me: Had I asked thee [and said to thee][6]

How many chambers[7] are in the heart of the sea[8]?
Or how many springs are in the sources[9] of the deep?
Or how many ways are above the firmament?
Or what are the outlets of Sheol?
Or what are the paths of Paradise[10]?

8. Thou wouldest have said to me:

Into the deep I have not descended,
Nor to Sheol as yet have I descended;
Neither to heaven have I ever ascended.[11] [12]

[1] Or *disquieted.*
[2] *i.e.* regarding (in matters pertaining to); cf. John iii. 12.
[3] A variant reading in L. = *whence comes* (but cf. R.V.).
[4] This is the right reading. L. has *flatum* = *blast* (probably a corruption of *satum*).
[5] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5 (for the whole verse). [6] Added by Syriac.
[7] Lit. *treasuries*; other Versions *habitations.*
[8] Cf. xiii. 3, 25, 51 (and Exod. xv. 8).
[9] Lit. *head,* Heb. *rōsh* (= *beginning,* e.g. Lam. iii. 19); R.V. *fountain head.*
[10] *i.e.* the heavenly Paradise (the paths leading to).
[11] Cf. Deut. xxx. 12 f.; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Rom. x. 6 f.; Baruch iii. 29, 39.
[12] The Armenian and Ethiopic add another clause *nor entered* (*ascended into*) *Paradise,* but L. omits.

9. But now I have not asked thee concerning these, but concerning the fire, and the wind and the day—things through which thou hast passed [1] and without which thou canst not be [2]; and thou hast said to me nothing concerning them.

10. And he said to me: Thou art incapable of understanding [3] the things that grow up with thee [4]; 11. how, then, can thy vessel [5] comprehend the way of the Most High? For the way of the Most High hath been created incomprehensible,[6] nor is it possible that one who is corruptible in a corruptible world should know the way of him who is incorruptible.

The Dialogue continued; the Limitations of Mortality are Inexorable, and Protests are Useless (IV. 12–21).

12. And when I heard these things I fell upon my face [7] and said to him: It would have been better for us if we had not come [8] than,[9] having come, that we should live in sin and suffer, and not know why we suffer.

13. And he answered and said to me: Once there went [10] the woods of the trees of the plain, and deliber-

[1] Reading *passed* by a slight emendation (altering a point) = "which you have experienced"; Ethiopic takes the clause closely with *day* (*day that is past*); cf. ver. 5.

[2] For the thought; cf. Wisd. ix. 16.

[3] L. + *thine own things*.

[4] *i.e.* the things that have intermingled with thy growth (man was supposed to be compounded of fire, wind, earth and water).

[5] *i.e.* the body as the vehicle of the soul or understanding.

[6] Lit. *in what is not comprehended* (the use of *in* here is a Hebraism).

[7] L. of these opening words is mutilated and corrupt (cf. A.V.).

[8] *sc.* into life (cf. Matt. xviii. 8) or "into the world" (= be born); cf. John i. 9.

[9] Lit. *or*, a rendering of the Greek comparative ἤ.

[10] Lit. *going they went* (a Hebraism); L. reads *I went forth into a wood* (cf. A.V.).

ated together [1] and said: 14. Come, let us go (and) make war with the sea that it may recede before us, and we will make us more woods.[2] 15. The waves of the sea likewise deliberated together,[1] and said: Come let us go up (and) wage war with the wood of the plain in order that there we make us another place. 16. And the deliberation of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; 17. and likewise also the deliberation of the waves of the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them.[3] 18. If then thou hadst been judge of these, which of them wouldest thou have acquitted, and which of them wouldest thou have condemned? 19. And I answered and said: Both of them have deliberated a vain deliberation; for the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves.

20. And he answered and said to me: Thou hast judged well! And why hast thou not judged thine own self? 21. For as the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves; [4] so also those who dwell upon the earth are able to understand only what is upon the earth, and he who [5] is above heaven what is above heaven.

The Dialogue continued; the Seer's Protests are answered by the Assurance that the New Age will solve all Difficulties (IV. 22–32).

22. And I answered and said: I pray thee,[6] my Lord,[7] wherefore, O my Lord, hath understanding been given me for thought? 23. For I have not

[1] Lit. *deliberated a deliberation.*
[2] Or sing. *another wood.*
[3] Cf. Jer. v. 22.
[4] L. *and the sea to its waves.*
[5] *He who* (sing.); Arabic [2] and Armenian understand plural *they who*; L. is ambiguous (*qui super cœlos*).
[6] Cf. ix. 44, x. 37.
[7] This title is often used in address to the angel (iv. 41, v. 34 f., etc.).

desired to ask about the way[1] of what is above, but about those things which pass over us daily:

for[2] Israel is given up to the peoples,[3]
and the people thou hast loved[4] is given up to godless tribes;
and the holy Law of our fathers is set at nought,[5]
and the written covenants[6] are no more;
24. and we pass from the world as locusts,[7]
and †our life†[8] is as a breath.

We indeed[9] are not worthy that mercies should
come[10] upon us; 25. but what will he do for his great
name which is called upon us?[11] About these things
I have asked.

The Answer

26. And he answered and said to me: If thou shalt
be[12] thou shalt see, and if thou live long thou shalt
marvel; because the world is hastening fast to pass
away,[13] 27. for it endureth not to bear what hath
been promised[14] to the righteous, because this world
is full of sighing and many infirmities.[15]

28. For the evil concerning which thou didst ask

[1] L. *ways*.

[2] L. *wherefore?* (= διὰ τί; *for* = διότι).

[3] L. + *in obprobrium* (= *for reproach*) or (based on another reading) *in proprium* (= *for a possession*).

[4] Cf. Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 3; Rom. xi. 28 and *Ap. Bar.* v. i.

[5] Or *destroyed* (cf. xiv. 21 f.).

[6] A synonym for the Law; cf. Rom. ix. 4.

[7] A figure of swiftness; cf. Nah. iii. 17

[8] Text has *we live*: emend to *our life*.

[9] Lit. *also*.

[10] Lit. *should be*; L. *to obtain mercy*.

[11] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* v. 1. The expression implies ownership; cf. Is. xliii. 7, lxiii. 19; 2 Chron. vii. 14, and Ps. Sol. ix. 18 (*And thou didst set thy name upon us, O Lord*).

[12] *sc.* alive; so L. (si fueris); but Ethiop. *if thou remain* (survive) = ἐὰν μένῃς (read by L. and Syr. ἐὰν μὲν ᾖς).

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1.

[14] L. + *in their season* (*in temporibus*).

[15] Cf. 1 John v. 19.

me is sown, and its harvest [1] is not yet come. 29. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and the place be removed where the evil is sown, the land where the good is sown [2] cometh not. 30. Because that one grain of seed of evil [3] was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit [4] of ungodliness hath it begotten until now, and shall yet beget until the harvest [1] come!

31. Do thou now reckon up in thine own mind [5] and see how much fruit of ungodliness one grain of seed of evil that was sown hath produced [6]; 32. when, therefore, the ears of the good shall be sown,[7] which are numberless, what a harvest are they destined [8] to produce!

The Dialogue continued; When shall these Things be? When the Predestined Conditions are Fulfilled (IV. 33-43)

33. And I answered and said: How long and when [9] (shall) these things (be) [10]? For few and evil are our years.

34. And he answered and said to me: Thou mayest not hasten more than the Most High; for thou art hastening for thine own self, but the Most High for (the sake of) many.[11]

35. For did not the souls of the righteous ask

[1] Or *its threshing out* (the word can mean this); cf. L. *destrictio ejus* = *the plucking off of it* (corrupted to *destructio*, see A.V.); cf. for the whole idea the parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii.

[2] *i.e.* the new age. [3] Cf. iii. 20. [4] L. omits *fruit*.

[5] Lit. *compare* (*estimate*) *in thine own self* (L. *æstima autem apud te*).

[6] Lit. *made*.

[7] *i.e.* immediately after the dissolution of the present evil age.

[8] = Greek μέλλουσιν.

[9] Lit. *until when and when*; L. *usquequo et quando*.

[10] Come to pass; *these things* = these promised good things.

[11] Cf. v. 33.

concerning these things in their chambers,[1] and say: How long shall we be here? And when (cometh) the harvest[2] of our reward? 36. And the angel Remiel[3] answered and said to them: Until the number of those like you be fulfilled![4] For

the Holy One hath weighed[5] the world,[6]
37. and with measure hath he measured the times,
and by number hath he numbered the seasons,[7]
neither will he rest[8] nor stir,
till the number appointed be fulfilled.[9]

38. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord,[10] but †behold†,[11] we are all full of ungodliness! 39. Is it perchance on our account that the reward of the righteous is withheld, (on account of)[12] the sins of the inhabitants of the earth?

40. And he answered and said to me: Go and ask (the woman) who is pregnant if, when she completeth her nine months, the womb can still hold the birth within her?

41. And I said: It cannot, my Lord.

And he answered and said to me: Sheol[13] and the

[1] Lit. *treasuries*, i.e. "treasuries of souls" (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23), containing the righteous dead; cf. vii. 32, 80, 95; *Ap. Bar.* xxx. 2.

[2] L. *floor* (threshing-floor).

[3] *i.e.* the archangel Jeremiel who had charge of the souls of the righteous dead; cf. 1 Enoch xx.; see *E.A.*, p. 34 f.

[4] Cf. Rev. vi. 11.

[5] Lit. *weighing hath weighed.* [6] Or *age.*

[7] The underlying idea is predestinarian; cf. Wisd. xi. 20; 1 Enoch xlvii. 3.

[8] = ? σιγήσει a corruption of σείσει; L. has *move* (*excitabit*).

[9] Cf. "That it may please thee shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom."

[10] Here and in v. 38, vi. 11, vii. 17, 58, 75 used in address to the angel; it is strictly only appropriate to God, and is elsewhere only so used (so always in *Ap. Bar.*); cf. iii. 4 (note) and *E.A.*, p. 36.

[11] So read; Syr. text *this*

[12] A word has probably fallen out of the Syriac here (add *mĕtûl*).

[13] *Sheol and the chambers of souls*, so Ethiop.; but L. = *the chambers of souls in the underworld* (Sheol). See *E.A.*, p. 37.

chambers of souls are like the womb: 42. for she who is giving birth maketh haste to escape from the anguish of her giving birth, so also do these hasten to give up what hath been put in them 43. from the beginning. And then shall be revealed to thee concerning the things thou longest to see.

The Dialogue continued; How the End will come (IV. 44–50)

44. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible and I am worthy, 45. shew me this also, whether the time that hath passed by us be more than that which is to come? 46. Because the time that is past I know,[1] but what is future I know not.

47. And he answered and said to me: Stand on the right side,[2] and I will shew thee the meaning of the similitude.

48. And I stood and saw, and behold! there passed before me a blazing fiery furnace;[3] and it happened that when the flame had passed by I saw, and behold! the smoke remained. 49. And after this there passed before me a cloud filled with water, and poured down a very violent rain, and when the violence of the rain had passed, there remained in it[4] drops (still).

50. And he answered and said to me: Consider in thyself and see,[5] that as the rain exceedeth the drops, and the fire the smoke, so the measure that is passed is excessive[6]; but there remain the drops and the smoke.

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 3.

[2] ? On the right side of the angel (*i.e.* the speaker); cf. *E.A.*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Gen. xv. 17 (seen in a vision as here).

[4] *i.e.* in the cloud.

[5] Cf. ver. 31; L. *consider for thyself* (*cogita tibi*).

[6] L. *superhabundavit.*

The Signs which Precede the End (IV. 51—V. 13)

51. And I besought [1] him and said: Shall I then
live [2] until those days, or who [3] shall be in those
days?
52. And he answered and said to me: Concerning
the signs [4] about which thou didst ask me, I can
speak to thee of them in part,[5] but concerning thy
life I have not been sent to speak to thee, for indeed
I have no knowledge.
V. 1. Concerning the signs, however:

Behold the days come [6] when the inhabitants of
the world shall be seized with great panic,
and the portion [7] of truth shall be hidden,
and the land of faith shall be unfruitful.[8]

2. And iniquity [and shamelessness] [9] shall be in-
creased [10] above this which thou seest now, and above
that which thou hast heard of long ago. 3. And
this land [11] shall be without stability and untrodden [12]
which thou hast seen now to be bearing rule, and they
shall see this land laid waste. 4. But if the Most
High grant thee †life† [13] thou shalt see that (land)
after the third (day) [14] in confusion:

[1] Or *asked.*

[2] L. *thinkest thou that I shall live* (so Ar.[1]).

[3] So L. (best MSS.), reading *quis;* but Ethiop. and Ar. *what;* so Vulg.

[4] Cf. Mark xiii. 4 and following verses.

[5] *Of them in part,* lit. *some of them;* the rest are described in vi. 11–28.

[6] A phrase borrowed from the prophets; cf. for its use here *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 2, lxx. 2.

[7] Ethiop. *region;* L. *way:* cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 6.

[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 10; Luke xviii. 8.

[9] So Syr.; L. omits; cf. ver. 10.

[10] Cf. Matt. xxiv. 12.

[11] *i.e.* the Roman Empire.

[12] *i.e.* disordered and pathless; cf. Job xii. 24.

[13] So read by a slight emendation; Syr. text *vision.*

[14] = μετὰ τρίτην (*sc.* ἡμέραν), *i.e.* probably towards the end of the last period of 3½ days, after which Rome's oppression will cease; cf. *E.A.*, p. 43; A.V. *after the third trumpet* is corrupt (*tubam* for *turbatam*).

And suddenly shall the sun appear by night,
and the moon by day;[1]
5. and the wood shall distil blood,[2]
and the stone utter its voice;[3]
and the peoples shall be in commotion,
and the air[4] shall be changed;
6. and one[5] whom the many do not set their hopes on shall rule, and the birds shall migrate.[6]

7. And the sea of Sodom shall produce many fish[7]; and one shall utter his voice by night whom the many know not,[8] and all shall hear it; 8. and fissures[9] shall be produced in many places, and fire[10] shall be emitted continually; and the desert-beasts shall migrate from their places; and signs from women shall appear, for births shall be born without being completed[11]; 9. and in sweet waters salt shall be found; and friends shall suddenly wage war on their friends.[12]

10. And then shall wisdom hide herself,[13]
and understanding withdraw to her chambers[14]—
(and she shall be sought)[15] by many and not
found;

[1] One of the wonders worked by Antichrist; cf. *Asc. Is.* iv. 5.

[2] L. *blood shall trickle forth from wood*; cf. *Ep. Barn.* xii. 1.

[3] Cf. Hab. ii. 11; Luke xix. 40.

[4] Lit. *airs* (= ἀέρες ? corrupt for ἀστέρες); for original reading cf. *E.A.*, p. 44.

[5] *i.e.* Antichrist.

[6] Birds were supposed to possess supernatural knowledge of coming events.

[7] The bitter waters of the Dead Sea, in which no fish can live, shall be sweetened and produce fish; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f.

[8] A mysterious voice shall be heard; cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. 3; L. attaches to previous clause *and* [the sea] *shall make a noise*, etc.

[9] = χάσματα; cf. Zech. xiv. 4.

[10] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 10, lxx. 8.

[11] *And signs . . . completed;* this seems to be a paraphrase = L. *and women shall bear monsters*.

[12] Cf. vi. 24. [13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 36; Is. lix. 14–15.

[14] Lit. *treasuries*: L. sing. *chamber*.

[15] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syr. = *and she shall be sought*.

and transgression and shamelessness shall multiply upon the earth.

11. And one place will ask its neighbour,[1] and will say to it: Hath Righteousness perchance passed through[2] thee, or [a man][3] that practiseth righteousness? But that place will answer, No.[4] 12. And it shall be in that time men shall hope and not obtain,

[and shall labour and not find,][5]

and shall toil and their way shall not be made sure.

13. These signs I have been commanded to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again and †weep†[6] as now, and fast seven days,[7] thou shalt hear greater things than these.

The Conclusion of the Vision (V. 14–19)

14. And I awoke,[8] and my body trembled greatly, and my soul was weary as though it would expire.[9] 15. But the angel who spake with[10] me took hold of me and strengthened me and set me up upon my feet.

16. And it came to pass in the second night there came to me †Phaltiel†[11] the head of the people, and said to me: Where hast thou been, and why is thy countenance sad[12]? 17. Or dost thou not know that thou hast been entrusted with[13] Israel in the place

[1] Lit. *what is nigh to it.* [2] Or *by.* [3] L. omits *a man.*

[4] Lit. *will deny;* cf. Amos vi. 10. [5] Omitted by L.

[6] So read (by a slight emendation); Syr. text has *supplicate.*

[7] This was the regular preparation for the reception of the divine revelation; four such are referred to in this Book; cf. v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51.

[8] *sc.* from sleep; the previous vision was a dream-vision.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 26.

[10] Lit. *in* or *through;* cf. Zech. ii. 3.

[11] The historical reference is uncertain; for the name cf. 2 Sam. iii. 15. Syr. text *Psaltiel.*

[12] *Sad* from fasting; cf. Matt. vi. 16.

[13] Lit. *over:* the seer is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon; cf. xii. 42.

of their captivity? 18. Stand up, then, and eat a little bread so that thou do not leave us as (doth) a shepherd his flock in the hand of destructive wolves![1] 19. And I said to him: Depart from me and come not nigh unto me until seven days; and then thou mayest come unto me and I will explain matters to thee. And when I had spoken to him he departed from me.

[1] For the image cf. Matt. x. 16.

VISION II

(V. 20—VI. 34)

THE PRAYER OF EZRA[1]

Introduction (V. 20–22)

20. And I fasted seven days, sighing and weeping, even as Ramiel[2] the angel commanded me. 21. And it came to pass after seven days the thoughts of my heart were again oppressing me[3] greatly. 22. And my soul received the spirit of intelligence, and I began again to speak before the Most High these words of supplication and entreaty:

The Prayer and its Answer (V. 23–40)

23. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, from all the woods of the earth and the trees thereof thou hast chosen thee one vine[4]; 24. and from all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one place[5]; 25. and from all the deeps of the sea thou hast enlarged for thyself one stream,[6] and from all the

[1] This title is prefixed to the following section in the Syriac text.

[2] Cf. iv. 36; the other Versions rightly read here *Uriel*.

[3] Cf. iii. 1.

[4] The figures illustrating Israel's choice have been drawn from the O.T. For the vine cf. Is. v. 7; Ps. lxxx. 9; vers. 23–27 read like an old Midrash; cf. Midrash rab. on Cant. ii. 1 and *Pirke R. Eliezer*, ch. xix.

[5] *i. e* the Holy Land: L. *pit* (for the vine).

[6] *i. e.* the Jordan.

flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one flower [1]; and from all the cities that have been built thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself [2]; 26. and from all birds that have been created thou hast named for thyself one dove [3]; and from all cattle that have been created thou hast selected one sheep [4]; 27. and from the multitude of the peoples thou hast brought nigh to thyself [5] one people; and the Law which was approved from among all [6] thou hast given to the people whom thou hast loved.

28. And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up one unto many, and hast dishonoured the one root [7] above the many, and hast scattered and dispersed thine only one among the many? 29. And those who resist thy commandments have trodden under foot them that have believed thy covenant. 30. And if thou didst hate thy people so much,[8] the obligation was that they should be punished with thine own hands.[9]

31. And after I had spoken these words, the angel was sent unto me, that had been sent unto me in the night that was past,[10] 32. and said to me:

Hear me, and I will inform thee, [Ezra]; [11]
look at me, and I will set words before thee.

33. And I answered and said to him: Speak on, my Lord. And he said to me: Art thou perturbed

[1] L. *one lily* = Israel; cf. Cant. ii. 2.
[2] Cf. Ps. cxxxii. 13.
[3] = Israel; cf. Ps. lxxiv. 19; Cant. ii. 14.
[4] Cf. Ps. lxxix. 13.
[5] *i.e.* appropriated.
[6] *i.e.* out of all laws the Mosaic was the best; cf. Deut. iv. 8.
[7] Cf. 1 Enoch xciii. 8 (*race of the Elect root*); Rom. xi. 17 f.
[8] *Didst hate . . . so much*; Lit. *hating didst hate*.
[9] *i.e.* by famine, pestilence, or earthquake, but not by foreign foes (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13); cf. also Ps. Sol. vii. 3; Ecclus. ii. 18.
[10] *i.e.* not the night immediately past; some days had elapsed (cf. v. 20).
[11] Omitted in the other Versions.

on account of Israel? Or lovest thou him more than he that made him? [1]

34. And I said: No, my Lord! But I am in sore pain,[2] and spoke because my reins scourge me[3] every hour; [4]because I seek to comprehend the decree of judgement of the Most High, and I would search out something of his judgement.[4]

35. And he said to me: Thou canst not. And I said to him: Why, my Lord, †am I not able†? [5] Or why was I born, and why did not my mother's womb become my grave,

that I might not see Jacob's travail,
and the toil of Israel's seed? [6]

36. And he answered and said to me:

Number me those who are not yet come,[7]
and gather me the drops [8] that are scattered,
and make bloom for me the flowers that are withered; [9]
37. And open me the chambers [10] that are closed,
and bring me forth the winds [11] held captive in them;
and shew me the likeness of persons whom thou hast never seen,
or shew me the likeness of a voice;

and then I will inform thee concerning the travail [12] [and the time] [13] that thou askest to see.

[1] Cf. viii. 47. [2] Lit. *being in pain I am in pain.*

[3] Cf. Ps. lxxiii. 21 (the reins or kidneys seat of strong emotion).

[4] For *decree of judgement* L. has *way*, and for *something of his judgement* L. has *partem judicii*. Syriac here seems to have a doublet; see *E.A.*, p. 56.

[5] So read, by a slight emendation; Syr. text *should I not pray.*

[6] Quoted by Clement of Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16.

[7] *i.e.* the unborn, so L.; Ethiop. and Ar. *the days that are not yet come.*

[8] *i.e.* the rain-drops; cf. iv. 50.

[9] Cf. Ezek. xvii. 24. [10] Lit. *treasuries.*

[11] Or *spirits* (the same Heb. word = both *wind* and *spirit*), *i.e.* the spirits of the righteous dead; cf. iv. 35: for the chambers of the winds cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4; Rev. vii. 1.

[12] *i.e.*? the painful problem. [13] Added by the Syriac.

38. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, who is there who could know these (things) except him who dwelleth not with men? 39. I, however, am foolish and weak; how should I be able to speak concerning these things which thou hast asked me?

40. And he said to me: Just as thou art unable to do one of the things that have been mentioned,[1] so thou art unable to find out my judgement or the end of the love which I have promised [2] to my people.

The Succession of Generations and the Divine Plan of the World (V. 41–55)

God's Judgement reaches all alike

41. And I said: But, my Lord, behold thou hast made the promise [3] to those who are in the End; but what shall they do who were before us, or we (ourselves), or those who follow us? [4]

42. And he answered and said to me: I have made my judgement like a crown [5]; just as there is no posteriority for the last, so also there is no priority for the first.[6]

43. And I answered and said: Couldest thou not then, perhaps have made those who have been and those who are and those who shall be all at once, that thou mightest make known thy judgement quickly?

44. And he answered and said to me: The creation hasteneth not faster than its Creator; otherwise, indeed, the world could not endure those created in it all at once.

45. And I again answered and said: And how (is it) thou hast (just now) said [7] to thy servant that thou wilt verily revive thy creation, which hath been

[1] Lit. *said*. [2] Or *professed*. [3] Lit. *thou hast promised*.

[4] For the problem propounded cf. 1 Thess. iv. 13 f.

[5] So L.; Ethiop. (Ar.[1]) *like a ring*.

[6] God's judgement will reach all, those who lived in former ages, and those living in the latest period, at the same time; cf. *Ap. Bar.* li. 13.

[7] Viz. in ver. 42.

created by thee, all at once[1]? If, then, they shall indeed revive all at once, and the creation endure (it), it might even now endure them being (present) all at once.

46. And he answered and said to me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it[2]: If thou bearest ten (children) why dost thou bear them at different times[3]? Demand, therefore, from it[2] that it[2] produce its ten at once.[4]

47. And I said: It cannot, my Lord, except at (different) times.[3]

48. And he said to me: I also have made the earth the womb of those who come upon it at (different) times.[3] 49. For just as the child doth not bear, (nor) she that is aged any more, so also have I ordered the world that I have created.[5]

The Earth is grown Old and its Offspring Degenerate

50. And I asked him and said: Now[6] that thou hast given me the way,[7] I would speak before thee. Our mother [Sion],[8] of whom thou hast spoken to me, is she really, [my Lord],[8] still young, or already approaching old age?[9]

51. And he answered and said to me: Ask (a woman) that beareth, and let her tell thee; 52. say to her: Why are those whom thou bearest now (not)[10] like

[1] *i. e.* at the last Judgement.

[2] *i. e.* the womb, or *unto her* (the woman), and so throughout the passage.

[3] Lit. *at time and time*.

[4] Lit. *that it produce them in their* (*whole of*) *ten*.

[5] Ethiop. + κατὰ καιρὸν (*according to season*). The earth in its extreme youth brought forth no human inhabitants; neither will it do so in extreme old age.

[6] Lit. *from now*.

[7] *i. e.* opened up a way, freely given opportunity.

[8] Added by Syriac; other versions omit. [9] Cf. iv. 33 f.

[10] It is necessary to supply the negative particle, which has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac MS.; so the other Versions.

the former ones, but inferior in size [1]? And 53. she also shall say to thee: those born in the vigour of youth are of one fashion; and those born in old age, when the womb is diminished, are of another. 54. Do thou also look and see that ye are inferior in size to those who preceded you; 55. they also that come after you shall be inferior to you, because the creation hath already grown old,[2] and the vigour of her youth is past.

The End mediated by God alone (V. 56—VI. 6)

56. And I answered and said: I beseech thee, my Lord, if I have found favour before thee, tell thy servant by whom [3] thou wilt visit thy creation.

VI. 1. And he answered and said to me: The beginning by the hand of man,[4] but the end by mine own hands.

For [as] [5] before the land of the world existed,
and before the outgoings of the world [6] were standing,
and before the weights of the winds [7] blew;
2. and before the voice of the thunders was heard,
and before the lightning-flashes did shine;
and before the land of Paradise was founded,

[1] L. *inferior in stature* (*minores statu*).

[2] For the idea cf. xiv. 10, 16; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10; Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, x.; and see further *E.A.*, p. 63.

[3] A variant reading (Ethiop. Ar.) is *on account of whom*, perhaps a tendency alteration made to meet Christian objections; see *E.A.*, p. 64.

[4] Or *by the hand of the Son of Man*, but where *the Son of Man* is a proper name in the Gospels the word for *son* is defined (*bĕreh*); here, however, it is not (*bar* alone), and *bar nasha* = *man*. The text is probably out of order. L. has a lacuna after *beginning* down to *existed*. Volkmar restores the missing line thus: *the beginning of the terrestrial world was by me myself. For before the earth and the universe were created* [*and before the outgoings of the world*, etc.].

[5] This is added by Syriac; omit.

[6] Cf. 1 Enoch xxxiv.

[7] *i. e.* the heavy winds; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5.

3. and before the beauty of the flowers[1] was seen;
and before the power of the commotions[2] was strengthened,
and before the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
4. and before the height of the air[3] was uplifted,
and before the measures[4] of the firmaments were named[5];
and before the footstool of Sion was strengthened,[6]
5. and before the years that are present were sought out;
and before the follies of present-day[7] sinners were conceived,
and before those who have gathered for themselves the treasures of faith were sealed[8]—
6. then (it was) I thought,[9] and all these things came into being[10] by mine own hand alone and not by the hands of another.[11]

The Parting Asunder of the Times
(VI. 7–10)

7. And I answered and said: What is the dividing asunder of the times? Or when is the end of the first age, or what the beginning of the second? 8. And

[1] *i.e.* of Paradise. [2] *i.e.* earthquakes. [3] Lit. airs.
[4] *i.e.* measured spaces, *i.e.* divisions into which the heavens were separated.
[5] The seven heavens have each a special name; cf. *E.A.*, p. 65.
[6] Or *made firm*, i.e. established, appointed (the A.V. *or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot* rests upon a corrupt text). For God's *footstool* cf. Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1, etc.
[7] Lit. *now*.
[8] For the "sealing" of the faithful cf. Rev. vii. 4.
[9] Or *considered*. [10] Lit. *were*.
[11] L. + *as also the end through me alone and none other:* the Oriental Versions omit this clause for dogmatic (Christian) reasons.

he answered and said to me: From Abraham until Abraham.[1] From Abraham [was begotten Isaac, and from Isaac] [2] (were) [3] begotten Jacob and Esau; and the hand of Jacob was holding Esau's heel.[4] 9. The heel of the first (is) Esau, and the hand of the second (is) Jacob [5]; 10. for the first [6] of a man is his hand; and the end of a man is his heel. Thus between heel and hand do thou seek nought else, O Ezra!

The Signs of the Last Time and the End
(VI. 11–28)

11. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord: If I have found favour in thy sight,[7] 12. make known to thy servant the end [8] of the signs, which thou hast made known to me †in part† [9] in the night that is past.

13. And he answered and said to me: Stand up upon thy feet,[10] and thou shalt hear a loud voice.[11] 14. And it shall be that if the place whereon thou standest be greatly shaken,[12] 15. while speech is made with thee, thou shalt not be terrified; because the speech is concerning the report of the End, and the foundations of the earth shall understand 16. that the speech is concerning them; and they shall tremble

[1] Possibly the underlying Greek is ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Hilgenfeld), *i.e.* from Abraham to his immediate descendants. The new age will follow this *immediately* without a break.

[2] L. and other Versions omit reading *from A. (were) begotten Jacob and Esau*: Syriac may be right.

[3] Text has sing. *was (begotten)*, the twins being regarded as one birth.

[4] L. + *from the beginning* (so Ar.[1]).

[5] So Syr. rightly. L. has *For Esau is the end of this world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth* (R.V.).

[6] *i.e.* the beginning. [7] L. + *I beseech thee.*

[8] *i.e.* the last.

[9] So emend Syriac to read *(part) of them* instead of *from me*.

[10] Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4.

[11] Cf. Exod. xix. 16. [12] Lit. *shaking shake.*

and quake,[1] for they feel that their end (is being) changed.[2]

17. And it came to pass that when I heard I stood upon my feet, and I heard, and lo! a voice of one speaking,[3] and his [4] voice was as the voice of many waters.[5] 18. And he [6] said:

Behold the days come,[7] and it shall be,
when I am drawing nigh to visit the dwellers upon earth,
19. and when I am about to require at the hands of evil-doers . . . .[8]
and when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete;[9]
20. and when this world [10] is about to be sealed,[11] which is about to pass away—

these signs I will do: the books [12] shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all shall see [my judgement][13] together.

[14] [21. And children one-year old shall speak and utter their voice [15]; and pregnant women untimely shall bear children at three and four months, and they shall live and dance. 22. And suddenly †unsown† [16] places shall be found sown,[17] and full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty:] [14]

[1] Lit. *be moved* or *shaken*. [2] Participle in Syr.
[3] Or *a voice speaking*. [4] Or *its*.
[5] Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The Divine Voice is meant.
[6] Or *it* (the voice).
[7] A common introductory phrase, especially in the prophets (cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 13), and adopted by Apocalyptic writers (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1, xxiv. 1, etc.).
[8] A word seems to have fallen out = *their iniquity* (cf. L.).
[9] The fall of Jerusalem is a definite step towards the End; cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 2. [10] Or *age*.
[11] *i.e.* closed up like a document that is sealed.
[12] *i.e.* the celestial records of the deeds of the righteous and wicked; cf. Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.
[13] So Syr.; the other Versions omit (or supply *them* or *me*).
[14] Probably vers. 21–22 are misplaced, and belong between vers. 8 and 9 of ch. v.; see *E.A.*, p. 75.
[15] Cf. *Jubilees*, xxiii. 25. [16] So emend; text "unsowing."
[17] Cf. Enoch lxxx. 2; *Jubilees*, xxiii. 18.

23. and the trumpet [1] shall call with a loud sound, which all shall hear suddenly and be affrighted. 24. And it shall come to pass in that time friends shall war with their friends as enemies, (so) that the earth shall be amazed with its inhabitants; and the outgoings of the springs shall stand (still) without running [2] three hours.[3]

25. And it shall be (that) every one who surviveth [4] all these things of which I have told thee beforehand, he shall live and see my deliverance [5] and the end of the [6] world. 26. And then shall he see the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death since their birth.[7] And the heart of the inhabitants of the earth shall be transformed, and changed into a different mind.[8]

27. For evil is blotted out
and deceit extinguished;
28. and faith blossometh,
and corruption is overcome;
and truth appeareth which hath remained without fruit (so) many years.

29. And it came to pass, while he [9] spake with me, that behold, little by little, the place on which I was standing shook.

[1] *i.e.* the trumpet which ushers in the last judgement (cf. *Sibyll. Or.* iv. 173 f.); elsewhere it is associated with the awakening of the sleeping dead (1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16); see further *E.A.*, p. 75.

[2] Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; *Assumpt. Moses*, x. 6; *Test. XII Patr. Levi* IV.

[3] Ar.[2] *years*.

[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 1, lxxi. 1, xxix. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 15; Mark xiii. 13; and in this Book ix. 8, xiii. 16–24, 26, 48.

[5] *i.e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. *e. g.* Luke ii. 30.

[6] L. *my*.

[7] *i.e.* the men removed from earth without dying, especially Enoch and Elijah (also, in our Book, Ezra; cf. xiv. 9); see *E.A.*, p. 77 f.

[8] Cf. Mal. iv. 6 (Heb. iii. 24) of Elijah.

[9] Or *it* (the Divine Voice).

The Conclusion of the Vision (VI. 30–34)

30. And he said to me: These things [1] I came to make known to thee this night. 31. If, therefore, thou wilt again supplicate and fast seven days more, I will reveal to thee things greater than these.[1] 32. Because thy voice hath surely been heard with the Most High; for the Mighty One [2] hath seen thy purity,[3] yea [4] the holiness [5] which hath been thine from thy youth. 33. And therefore hath he sent me to reveal to thee all these things. [6] And he said [6] to me: Take heart, and fear not! 34. And be not hasty to think evil [7] of [8] former times, lest inquisition come upon thee in the last times! [9]

[1] *i.e.* the content of the previous Vision: L. adds at end of ver. 31 *per diem*, which probably represents something which should belong to following verse (? *pridem*); cf. *E.A.*, p. 80.
[2] Cf. ix. 45.
[3] L. *thy rectitude*.
[4] L. + *hath marked* (*providit*).
[5] L. *chastity* (*pudicitiam*); chastity, like fasting, intensifies the power of prayer, and prepares the way for a revelation (cf. 1 Enoch lxxxiii. 2).
[6] L. *and to say*.
[7] *i.e.* indulge in idle thoughts.
[8] Lit. *concerning*.
[9] See *E.A.*, p. 81.

VISION III

(VI. 35—IX. 25)

Introduction (VI. 35-37)

35. And it came to pass after this I wept and fasted seven days that I might fulfil the three weeks [1] which had been commanded me. 36. And it came to pass in the eighth night that lo! my heart was again moved within me, and I began to speak before the Most High; 37. because my spirit was greatly inflamed,[2] and my soul was on fire.[3]

The Problem; If the World was created for Israel, why is Israel disinherited? (VI. 38-59) [4]

38. And I said: O Lord [my Lord],[5] thou didst indeed [6] speak at [7] the beginning of thy [8] creation on the first day, and didst command [9] that heaven and earth should be,[10] and thy Word,[11] [O Lord],[12] perfected the work. 39. And the Spirit [13] was then hovering,

[1] Only two have been mentioned, viz. one here, and one before the second Vision; there seems to have been one originally before Vision I; cf. *E.A.*, p. 82.

[2] Cf. Ps. xxxix. 3; Luke xxiv. 32.

[3] L. *was in distress* (*anxiabatur*).

[4] Probably an old Jewish Midrash on the works of creation underlies this; see *E.A.*, p. 83.

[5] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; L. omits.

[6] Lit. *speaking*.

[7] Lit. *from*.

[8] L. *the*.

[9] Lit. *say*.

[10] Cf. Gen. i. 1.

[11] Note this hypostasizing use of *Word* developed from such passages as Ps. xxxiii. 6; cf. Heb. xi. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 5.

[12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Cf. Gen. i. 2.

and darkness (was) veiling [1] and [2] silence of the voice; and the voice [2] of man was not yet. 40. Then thou didst command that a ray of light [3] should come forth out of thy treasuries in order that thy works might become visible.

41. And on the second day again thou didst create the spirit [4] of the firmament and didst command it to make a division between the waters and the waters,[5] in order that a portion of them might ascend on high and the other portion remain beneath.

42. And on the third day [6] thou didst command the waters to be gathered together to one of the seven parts [7] of the earth; but six parts thou didst dry up and reserve that some of [8] them might be serving before thee and be both ploughed and sown.[9] 43. But thine own Word went forth, and immediately the work was done.

44. For then straightway [10] there sprang forth
fruits many, innumerable,
and sweet in their tastes, of every sort; [11]
And flowers which in their forms were unlike one another,[12]
[and trees which in their appearance were dissimilar;] [13]

[1] L. [*tenebræ*] *circumferebantur*.
[2] L. *silentium; sonus vocis*: for *silence of the voice* (or *sound*) cf. 1 Kings xix. 12; R.V. marg. *a voice of gentle stillness*. For the conjunction of silence and darkness cf. *E.A.*, p. 84.
[3] *i.e.* heavenly (not created) light; it was afterwards withdrawn; cf. *E.A.*, p. 85.
[4] *i.e.* angel. [5] Cf. Gen. i. 6 and see *Jubilees*, ii. 4.
[6] Cf. Gen. i. 9–13; *Jubilees*, ii. 5–7.
[7] Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, ix. 26; Philo. *Mund. opif.* 34–36.
[8] Lit. *from*.
[9] The cultivation of the soil is man's destiny and duty from the beginning; cf. Gen. ii. 15; Ps. civ. 14, and see *E.A.*, p. 86 f. Some mention of the creation of Paradise might be expected here.
[10] Lit. *suddenly*; L. *subito*.
[11] *i.e.* exquisitely varied in taste. [12] L. *of inimitable colour*.
[13] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; but L. omits.

and odours which in their scents[1] were indefinable.[2]
These came into being on the third day.

45. And on the fourth day thou didst command, and there came into being the shining sun, and the light of the moon, and the order of the stars[3]; 46. and thou didst command them to serve man[4] who was about to be formed by thee.

47. And on the fifth day[5] thou didst give command to the seventh part, where the waters were, that beasts and birds and fishes should come forth, and they came into being.[6] 48. The dumb and lifeless[7] waters were producing that in which there was life,[8] that from these the generations might declare thy wonders.[9] 49. And then thou didst reserve two creatures [which thou hadst created][10]; and thou didst call the name of the one Behemoth, and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan.[11] 50. And thou didst separate them, the one from the other, because that moist seventh part[12] was unable to contain them.[13] 51. And thou didst give to Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, that he might dwell there, where (are) a thousand mountains[14]; 52. but to Leviathan thou didst give

[1] Lit. *odours*.
[2] Lit. *unsearchable*. This description may have originally been one of the beauties of Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 88.
[3] Astronomy was a subject of much interest in Apocalyptic circles; see, *e.g.*, 1 Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii.
[4] Cf. Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, v. 29.
[5] Cf. Gen. i. 20–23; *Jubilees*, ii. 11–12; 2 Enoch xxx. 7.
[6] Lit. *and they were*: LXX. in Gen. i. 20 has *and it was so* at end of verse.
[7] Lit. *without soul*.
[8] Or *soul* (Heb. *nefesh*), the vital principle.
[9] Cf. Ps. xxvi. 7, cv. 2. [10] Other Versions omit.
[11] For the myth of Behemoth and Leviathan cf. *E.A.*, pp. 90–92.
[12] *That moist seventh part* = L. *where the water was gathered together*.
[13] Both were originally sea-monsters.
[14] Cf. Ps. l. 10 (*Behemoth* [E.V. *cattle*] *upon a thousand hills*).

one of the seven parts of the moisture: and thou hast reserved them to be food for whom thou wilt and when thou wilt.[1]

53. And on the sixth day[2] thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle and beasts[3] and creeping things. And over these [however] thou didst appoint Adam as leader over all the works[4] that thou didst create antecedently; and from him are we, the people whom thou hast chosen.

55. All this, however, I have spoken before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[5] because thou hast said that for our sakes thou didst create this[6] world[7]; 56. but as for the rest of the peoples who are descended[8] from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing,[9] and hast likened them unto spittle,[10] and to a drop from a bucket hast thou likened their abundance.[11] 57. And now, O Lord, behold, these peoples which are reputed as nothing [behold] lord it over us and crush[12] us! 58. But we, thy people, whom thou hast honoured and hast called the first-born[13] and only (begotten),[14] near and beloved (one)[15]—lo! we are given up into their hands. 59. And if for our sakes the world was created, why do we not inherit our world? How long (shall) these things (be)?

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 4, where it is made clear that the righteous will devour the monsters at the Messianic banquet. For the modification here see *E.A.*, p. 90.

[2] Cf. Gen. i. 24–28; *Jubilees*, ii. 13–14; 2 Enoch xxx. 8 f.

[3] *i.e.* beasts of prey.

[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 18.

[5] Other Versions omit.

[6] L. *the*.

[7] For this doctrine cf. vii. 11; *Assumpt. Moses*, i. 1, 2; *Ap. Bar.* xv. 7; and see further *E.A.*, p. 93 f.

[8] Lit. *begotten*.

[9] Cf. Isa. xl. 17 (Dan. iv. 35 or 32).

[10] Cf. Isa. xl. 15 in LXX, which read *rōḵ for dōḵ*—a Hebrew text apparently followed here.

[11] *i.e.* wealth, superfluity.

[12] L. *devour*.

[13] Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27 (28); Ecclus. xxxvi. 12.

[14] Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 4, and see *E.A.*, p. 96.

[15] Cf. Jer. xii. 7; Rom. xi. 28; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 21.

The Debate resumed ; The present Corrupt Order makes the Path to future Felicity narrow and difficult (VII. 1–25)

1. And it came to pass after I had finished speaking these words, lo ! there was sent unto me the angel [1] that had been sent unto me on former nights. 2. And he said to me : Stand up, Ezra, and hear the words that I have come to say to thee. And I said to him : Speak on, my Lord !

3. And he answered and said to me : If a sea be set [2] in a wide place, so that it is broad and unlimited, 4. but its entrance is set [2] in a narrow place, so that it is like a river ; 5. and [3] if a man desire to enter upon the sea, and to behold it and master it [4]—if then he do not pass through the narrow, how shall he be able to come into the broad ?

6. [Hear] [5] again another thing [6] : There is a city that is built and set [7] in a large place of the valley,[7] and that city is full of many good things ; 7. and its entrance is narrow and set on a height,[8] so that there is fire on the right hand, and on the left deep waters ; 8. and a single path is set between these two, between the fire and the waters, so that that path only sufficeth for a man's footstep alone. If now that city be given [9] for an inheritance, unless that heir pass through the danger that is set,[10] how shall he be able to receive his inheritance ?

[1] *i.e.* Uriel. [2] = Gk. κεῖται. [3] Lit. *but* (= δὲ).

[4] Lit. *be lord over it* : so L. (*dominari*), possibly due to mistranslation of Heb. (*lirdōth* for *lāredeth* = *to go down on, navigate*) ; see *E.A.* p. 100.

[5] L. omits.

[6] *i.e.* another illustration.

[7] L. *in loco campestri* = ἐν τόπῳ πεδινῷ ; cf. Luke vi. 17 : the Syriac may be rendered *valley* or *plain*.

[8] L. *on a steep* (*in præcipiti*). For the narrow (as opposed to the broad) way cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14 ; and for the difficult way leading to a broad plain cf. Ps. lxvi. 12 (reading *into a spacious place*).

[9] *To a man* should be added (so other Versions).

[10] Add *before* (him) ; a word may have fallen out.

10. And I said to him: It is indeed so, my Lord! And he answered and said to me: So also is Israel's portion; 11. for, for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my commandments, that which had been made was condemned.[1] 12. And on this account the entrances of this [present][2] world became narrow and full of sighing and travail and many dangers, and much weariness [together with sicknesses and pains][3]; 13. but the entrances of that future world are broad and care-free,[4] and produce fruits that do not die.[5] 14. Unless, then, the living pass through the tribulation and these evils, they shall not be able (to receive)[6] what has been kept[7] for them.

15. But now

wherefore art thou perturbed that thou art corruptible,

and why art thou moved that thou art mortal?[8]

16. And why hast thou not considered what is to come, but (only) what is present?[9]

17. And I answered and said: O Lord, my Lord, but lo! thou hast ordained in thy Law[10] that the righteous are to inherit[11] these things, but the ungodly are to perish.[11] 18. The righteous, therefore, endure[12] well the tribulations[13] because they hope [to inherit][14] the spacious (things);[15] but the ungodly bear the tribulations[13] and do not see the

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiii. 4; Rom. viii. 20: Adam's sin was devastating in its effects.
[2] Added by Syriac.
[3] Apparently an addition by the Syriac; for the original form of the sentence see *E.A.*, p. 102.
[4] L. *Safe* (*securi*).
[5] Fruits of immortality; cf. Prov. xii. 28.
[6] A corresponding word seems to have fallen out of the Syriac.
[7] L. lit. *set*. [8] Do not brood over death and mortality.
[9] The New Age will solve these riddles.
[10] Cf. Deut. viii. 1. [11] Participle in Syr. (*are inheriting*, etc.).
[12] L. reads future tense (rightly).
[13] Or *narrow things*. [14] Other Versions omit.
[15] For the sentiment cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

spacious (things)! 19. And he answered and said to me:

Thou art not (wiser)[1] than God,
nor of greater understanding than the Most High!

20. Therefore let the many who have come[2] perish
[3] on the ground that through them the Law hath been
despised which was established by me[3]! 21. For
God gave a commandment to them that have come,[2]
then when they came,[2] as to what they should do and
live, and what they should observe and not be
punished.[4]

22. But they resisted and obeyed him not,[5]
and they devised for themselves vain thoughts,
and they added[6] for themselves treacheries of apostasy;
23. and beyond all this they affirmed that the Most High existeth not,[7]
and did not recognize[8] his ways!
24. And his Law they despised,
and his covenants they †denied†,[9]
and believed not his commandments,
and spurned his works.[10]
25. Wherefore, O Ezra,
empty things for the empty,
and full things for those who are full![11]

[1] L. *a judge* (*above*): probably a word (= *wise*) has fallen out of Syriac text.

[2] *sc.* into being.

[3] L. *than that the Law of God which is set before them be despised*: it was supposed that the Torah had been offered to and rejected by the nations of the world outside Israel; see *E.A.*, p. 105.

[4] Or *tortured.*

[5] L. *they were disobedient and spake against him.*

[6] = προσέθεντο; L. = προέθεντο (*proposed to themselves*).

[7] Cf. viii. 58 and Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 1.

[8] Or *ignored.*

[9] So read by a transposition of two letters.

[10] So Ethiop., but L. has *his commandments* (Heb. *dābhār* = *word* (or commandment), and also *deed*: see *E.A.*, p. 107).

[11] Cf. Jer. ii. 5.

The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the World (VII. 26–[44])

26. For behold the days come,[1] and it shall be when the signs come which I have foretold to thee, [2]and the bride shall be revealed, appearing as a city,[2] and there shall be revealed she [3] that is now cut off: 27. and whoever is delivered from these evils which have been predicted, he shall see my wonders.[4] 28. For my son the Messiah [5] shall be revealed together with those who (are) with him,[6] and shall rejoice those that remain thirty [7] years. 29. And it shall be after these years my son the Messiah shall die,[8] and all those in whom is human breath. 30. And the world shall return to its first silence seven days, as it was at the beginning, so that no man is left.[9]

31. And it shall be after seven days that world [10] shall be awakened,[11] which now is not awake, and corruption [12] shall perish.

32. And the earth shall give up those that sleep in

[1] Cf. v. 1.

[2] L. *the bride shall appear, even the city coming forth*; cf. Rev. xxi. 1 f. (the new Jerusalem descending from heaven as a bride); this may have influenced text here, *ἡ νῦν μὴ φαινομένη* being read *ἡ νύμφη κ.τ.λ.* See *E.A.*, p. 114. The Heavenly Jerusalem (= *the city which is now invisible*) is meant.

[3] *She* = ? the city; true text *the land that is now cut off*, i.e. Paradise; for the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52; *Ap. Bar.* iv.; Rev. xxii. 1 f.

[4] *i.e.* God's wonders in the Messianic age.

[5] L. *my son Jesus* (Christian interpolation).

[6] *i.e.* the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 26 and note.

[7] L. 400, Ar.[2] 1000; perhaps 30 may have been intended by the Christian editor here to refer to Jesus (see *E.A.*, p. 115). The temporary Messianic Kingdom is referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 116.

[8] Death of Messiah nowhere else in Apocalyptic so explicitly referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 117.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* iv. 7. [10] Or *Age* (*i.e.* the future Age).

[11] *i.e.* called into being.

[12] The present corruptible world-order vanishes away with the coming of the New Age; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26.

her,[1] and the dust shall give up those that repose therein, and the chambers shall give up the souls that were put in them.[2]

33. And the most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement :[3]

[and the end shall come,] [4]
and compassion pass away,
and pity be far off,
and long-suffering be gathered ; [5]
34. But my judgement alone shall remain,
and truth shall stand,
and faith flourish ;
35. And the work [6] shall come,
and the reward be made known ;
and acts of righteousness [7] shall awake
and acts of ungodliness shall not sleep.
[36.] And the †pit† [8] of torment shall appear,
but over against this the place of rest ;
the furnace of Gehenna shall be revealed,
and over against it the Paradise of delights.
[37.] And then shall the Most High say to those nations that have been raised : [9]
Gaze and see what [10] ye have denied,

[1] Cf. Dan. xii. 2 ; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 15 ; 2 Pet. iii. 4.

[2] Here apparently the souls of all the dead are spoken of as kept in chambers or " treasuries " ; elsewhere in the Book only those of the righteous (cf. *E.A.*, p. 119 f.).

[3] Cf. Dan. vii. 9 ; Rev. xx. 11 (one throne, not two as in Rev. xx. 4).

[4] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24 ; other Versions omit.

[5] *i. e.* ? withdrawn (the attributes of the Divine Judge are referred to).

[6] Or *recompence* (Heb. *pĕullā* = *work* and *reward*).

[7] = acts of charity ; cf. Ps. Sol. ix. 6 ; Matt. vi. 1–4.

[8] Reading *gûbā* : text = *bosom* ; cf. Luke xvi. 23, 24. At this point, ver. [36] begins the lacuna in the Latin text which was supplied by the *Missing Fragment* discovered by Bensly. There was never any lacuna, of course, in the Syriac or other Oriental Versions.

[9] From the dead.

[10] So Syr. text : perhaps *whom* should be read with L. and other Versions. For the nations raised for judgement cf Matt. xxv. 31 f.

or whom ye have not served,
or whose commandments ye have despised !
[38.] Look, therefore, over against you :
behold here rest and enjoyments,
and there fire and torment !

Thus shall he speak to them in that Day of Judgement.

[39.] For the Day of Judgement is thus :[1]
[40.] on it there is no sun, nor moon, nor stars;
neither clouds, nor[2] lightning, nor thunder[2];
neither wind, nor water, nor air[3];
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;
[41.] neither summer, nor winter, nor autumn;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold;
neither hail, nor dew, nor rain;
[42.] neither noon, nor night, nor day;
neither light, [nor torch],[4] nor radiance, nor brightness,

save only the splendour of the glory of the Most High from which[5] they[6] are destined to see what hath been ordained.[7]

[43.] But there shall be an interval as it were a week of years.[8] [44.] But this is . . .[9] and its law,[10] and to thee only have I made them known.

[1] Cf. the paraphrase of vers. [40]–[42] in Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, xii, and the parallel in *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 89–92; the End = the beginning (see *E.A.*, p. 128 f.).
[2] L. inverts the order.
[3] So L.; perhaps *air* here = thin cloud.
[4] Or *torches* = λαμπάδες (? a gloss): L. omits.
[5] *i. e.* whereby.
[6] L. + *all*.
[7] Or prepared: the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will reveal what has been prepared for the judgement; cf. Is. lx. 19 f.; Rev. xxi. 23.
[8] Each day = one year.
[9] A word has fallen out; supply *my Judgement* with L. (and so substantially the other Versions).
[10] *i. e.* prescribed order.

The Debate continued; Israel's Election and the Problem of Righteousness (VII. [45]—IX. 22)

The Fewness of the Saved (VII. [45]-[61])

[45.] And I answered and said: O Lord [my Lord],[1] I said even then[2] and say now again, that blessed are all they who have come[3] and have kept the commandments which have been set forth by thee. [46.] But concerning those about whom my petition (was made)—who is there, then, of those who have come,[3] who †hath† not sinned[4]? Or who is there of (those) born who hath not transgressed thy commandment[5]? [47.] And now †I†[6] see that for few shall that coming world effect[7] delight, but for many torment.

[48.] For there is[8] in us the evil heart
which hath caused us to err from these,[9]
and led us into corruption,
and hath shewn us the ways of death,
and made known to us the paths of perdition,
and removed us far from life;

and this not of a few, but †perchance†[10] of all who have been[11]!

[49.] And he answered and said to me:
Hear me, [Ezra],[12] and I will speak to thee,
and once again[13] instruct thee.

[1] Omitted by other Versions.
[2] The allusion is to vii. 17 f.
[3] *i.e.* into life.
[4] Reading sing.; text has *have sinned*: cf. viii. 17; Rom. x. 1.
[5] So Ethiop., but L. has *covenant* (two readings διαθήκην and διαταγήν).
[6] So read by a slight emendation.
[7] Lit. *make*.
[8] L. *hath grown up* (so Ethiop.).
[9] Viz. commandments; possibly the original text had *God* (see *E.A.*, p. 132).
[10] Reading *kĕbar* for *ḥebar*.
[11] L. *who have been created*.
[12] So Ar.[1], but other Versions omit.
[13] Or *anew* or *from the beginning*.

[50.] For this cause the Most High hath made not one world but two.[1]

[51.] Thou, however, because thou hast said there are not many righteous but few . . . [2] hear (the answer) to this: [52.] [3] If thou have precious stones and few, against the number of these do thou set lead and clay! [3]

[53.] And I said: How, O Lord, is that possible?

[54.] And he answered and said to me: Not only so, but

ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
speak[4] to her, and she shall recount to thee.

[55.] Say to her: Gold hast thou brought forth, and silver, and copper,[5] and iron, and lead, and clay; [56.] But the silver is more (abundant) than gold, and copper than silver, and iron than copper, and lead than iron, and clay than lead.[6] [57.] Do thou, then, reckon up[7] and see, what things are precious and to be desired,[8] [9] the many or the few? [9]

[58.] And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord: Things abundant are what are worthless, and things few are precious.

[59.] And he answered and said to me: Do thou, then, reckon up in thine own mind[10] what thou hast thought! Because everyone who hath a little that (is) rare rejoiceth over it more than that one who

[1] Here the dualism of the Apocalyptic view comes to bold expression.

[2] L. + *while the ungodly abound:* some words have fallen out in the Syriac.

[3] The sentence is really a question; *Wilt thou set with them,* etc., *i.e.* the number of the elect cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements. The Syriac translator seems not to have understood the verse.

[4] L. *intreat.* For address to the earth cf. viii. 2; Job xvi. 18.

[5] L. *bronze* (*æramentum*). The list of metals, etc., is interesting, especially in its order.

[6] What is rare is precious (notice the emphasis on this).

[7] Lit. *make comparison;* cf. iv. 31.

[8] Lit. *dear.*

[9] L. *that which is abundant or that which is rare.*

[10] Cf. iv. 31 and note.

hath what is abundant. [60.] So also is the promise of my judgement; for I rejoice [and delight][1] over the few who live,[2] because they it is who now strengthen my glory, and for whose sake my name is now extolled. [61.] And I am not pained over the multitude of those who are perishing; for these are they who now

are made like a breath,[3]
and as the smoke[4] are they counted,
and are comparable unto the flame;
who are burnt[5] and extinguished.

Man's Evil Case bewailed (VII. [62]–[74])

[62.] And I answered and said: Oh, what hast thou done,[6] O earth, [that these have been born from thee and are going to perdition!][7] If now the intelligence[8] is from the dust like the rest of creation, [63.] it would have been better if also the dust had not been,[9] in order that the intelligence[8] might not (have) come into being[10] from thence.

[64.] Now, however, the intelligence[8] groweth with us; and on this account we are tormented, because while we know it we are perishing.

[65.] Let the race of men mourn,
but the beasts of the field rejoice!
let all who are born lament,
but the cattle and the flock exult![11]

[1] Other Versions omit.
[2] Other Versions *are saved.*
[3] Or *vapour;* cf. Ps. cxliv. 4; James iv. 14; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3.
[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 6.
[5] L. + *and burn hotly.* [For the sentiment expressed in the verses cf. Wisd. ii. 4, and in this Book, xiii. 10 f. The Gentiles are referred to; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3 f.]
[6] L. *brought forth.*
[7] An expansion (cf. also Ar.[1]): L. omits.
[8] Or *mind* (= νοῦς).
[9] L. *been born.*
[10] Lit. *might not be.* For the sentiment cf. iv. 12.
[11] Lit. *delight:* the sentiment expressed would be startling to the ancients.

[66.] For it is far better for them than for us, because they do not expect [1] the judgement, neither do they know torture, nor hath life after death been promised to them. [67.] For what do we profit that we live,[2] but are to suffer torment [3]?

[68.] For all who are born
are defiled with sins,[4]
and are full of iniquities,
and upon them their offences weigh heavily!

[69.] And if after death we were not coming into judgement, it had been much better for us!

[70.] And he answered and said to me: And when the Most High made [5] the world, [6]and Adam and all that came from him,[6] he first prepared the judgement, and the things which pertain to the judgement.[7] [71.] And now from thine (own) words understand that thou hast said that the intelligence groweth with us. [72.] Therefore the inhabitants of the earth are on this account to suffer torment, because while they have intelligence [8] they have committed iniquity, and have received commandments but have not kept them, yea the Law which was bestowed upon them [9] they have rejected.[10]

[73.] And what is there for them to say in the judgement [11]? Or how shall they [12]open their mouth and speak [12] in the last time? [74.] For, how long a time hath the Most High been long-suffering [13] with the inhabitants of the world—and not indeed for their sakes but for the sake of the times ordained?

[1] Or *hope for*.
[2] Lit. *living we live* (emphatic), *i. e.* are to live hereafter.
[3] Lit. *being tortured suffer torture* (emphatic).
[4] Cf. Ecclus. xii. 14; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 19.
[5] Lit. *making made*.
[6] Or *also for Adam and all that came from him*.
[7] Note the predestinarian idea, and cf. iii. 6.
[8] Or *mind*.
[9] Or *ordained for them*.
[10] Or *set at nought* (ἠθέτησαν).
[11] Note the forensic representation (cf. vii. 37), and see *E.A.*, p. 140.
[12] L. *answer*. [13] Cf. iv. 37.

The state of the Soul between Death and Judgement (VII. [75]-[101])

[75.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[1] make known to thy servant this also, whether after death now, when we give up, each one of us, our soul—whether we are to be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew thy creation,[2] or are we to suffer torment forthwith[3]?

[76.] And he answered and said to me: I will make known to thee concerning this also; but do not thou mingle thyself with the rebellious,[4] nor number thyself with those that suffer torment. [77.] For thou hast a treasure of works[5] laid up with the Most High, and it shall not be shewn to thee until the last times.[6]

[78.] But concerning death the teaching[7] is: When the decisive[8] decree of judgement goeth forth from the Most High concerning a man that he shall die,

as the spirit separateth from the body,
that it may be sent[9] to him who gave it,[10]

it first of all worshippeth the glory of God.[11]

[79.] But if it be of the deniers, or of those who have not kept the ways[12] of the Most High, or of those who have hated the God-fearers[13]— [80.] these souls

[1] L. omits.
[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 6 and Gal. vi. 15; 2 Cor. vi. 17; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.
[3] Lit. *from now*.
[4] Lit. *those who resist*.
[5] Cf. viii. 36; *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12, and see *E.A.*, p. 143.
[6] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.
[7] Lit. *the word* or *speech*: L. *sermo*.
[8] Lit. *end*: L. *terminus*.
[9] L. *ut dimittatur iterum*.
[10] Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.
[11] Apparently it remains only temporarily in the Divine Presence at this stage, according to our author; see *E.A.*, p. 144.
[12] L. *the way*.
[13] Cf. v. 29.

enter not into the chambers,[1] but henceforth are [2] in torment,[3] sighing and anguished, in seven ways.[4]

[81.] The first way: that they have resisted the Law of the Most High. [82.] The second way: that they are unable [5] to repent and do good works [5] whereby to live. [83.] The third way: that they see the reward laid up for those who have believed.[6] [84.] The fourth way: when [7] they know and understand the torment that is prepared for them at the last. [8][Wherein the souls of the ungodly shall be reproached; because while they had the time for service they did not subject themselves to the commandments of the Most High.] [8] [85.] The fifth way: that they see the chambers of the other souls, that are guarded by angels in great quietness. [86.] The sixth way: that they see the torment which is made ready for them henceforth.[9]

[87.] The seventh way, which exceedeth all the ways aforesaid:

> that they pine away through [10] confusion,
> and come to an end through shame,[11]
> and burn through fear,

in that they see the glory of the Most High before whom [12] they now sin in their life,[12] and before whom they are destined at the last to be judged.

[88.] Of those, however, who have kept the way

[1] Or *treasuries*; cf. iv. 35.
[2] L. *wander about* (they have no resting-place).
[3] L. + *ever.*
[4] *i.e.* manners or kinds.
[5] L. *to make a good repentance.*
[6] L. + *the covenants of the Most High* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); omitted in Syriac (but see next verse).
[7] = ὅτε (for ὅτι).
[8] Added by Syriac. It seems to be a paraphrastic expansion of the words (*the covenants of the Most High*) omitted in the previous verse.
[9] *i.e.* immediately to follow in the intermediate state before the Judgement (the fourth way refers to torments *after* the Judgement); see *E.A.*, p. 146 f.
[10] Lit. *from.*
[11] For the reading of L. here cf. *E.A.*, p. 147.
[12] L. *they have sinned in life.*

of the Most High, this is the way,[1] when [2] the day cometh that they shall be delivered [2] from this corruptible vessel.[3] [89.] For in the time when they dwelt therein they served the Most High painfully, and at all hours endured danger, in order perfectly to keep his Law who had given them the Law.[4]

[90.] Wherefore this is the word concerning them.

[91.] First they behold with great joy the glory of the Most High, who hath guided [5] them, and they rest [and come] [6] by seven ways.[7]

[92.] The first way [8]: because [9] with much toil they have striven to overcome the evil thought [10] which was fashioned with them, that they might not go astray [11] from life to death.

[93.] The second way: [8] that they see [12] the whirl whereby the souls of the ungodly are whirled and driven about,[12] and the torment reserved for them.

[94.] The third way [8]: that they see the witness which their fashioner witnesseth concerning them; because they kept the Law entrusted (to them).

[95.] The fourth way [8]: that they [see and] [13] understand the rest in which they now, as soon as they have been gathered into their chambers,[14] rest in profound rest, and are guarded by angels; and the glory which is reserved for them at the last.

[96.] The fifth way: that they rejoice that [15] they have fled now from what is corruptible, and that [15] they inherit what is future; and further they see the straitness and much toil from which they have been

[1] L. *the order* (= ἡ τάξις). [2] L. *they shall be separated*.

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice that the body in our passage is regarded as the prison-house of the soul.

[4] L. *the law of the lawgiver*. A variant reading in the Syr. is *the Law given to them*.

[5] L. *receives*. [6] L. and other Versions omit.

[7] L. *orders* (so Ethiop.). [8] L. *order* (so Ethiop.).

[9] = ὅτι "that." [10] Cf. iii. 20.

[11] L. *that it might not lead them astray*.

[12] R.V. (= L.) *the perplexity in which the souls of the ungodly wander*.

[13] L. omits. [14] Lit. *treasuries*.

[15] Lit. *how* = *quomodo* (= ὡς).

freed, and the wide room [1] which they are destined to receive, and the delights they shall gain, and be immortal.

[97.] The sixth way: when it shall be shewed to them how their faces are destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars,[2] and no more corruptible.

[98.] The seventh way [3] which exceedeth all these aforesaid:

that they exult with boldness,[4]
and are confident and not ashamed,[5]

and hasten to behold the face of him whom they served in their life and from whom [6] they are destined to be glorified, and from whom they are destined to receive reward.[6] [99.] These are the ways [7] of the souls of the righteous which from henceforth are announced [8]; and the way of tortures aforesaid [9] shall the resisters receive.[9]

[10] [Such souls ascend not into chambers,[11] but from henceforth are afflicted with tortures and are grieved and lament in seven ways.][10]

[100.] And I answered and said: Is then [place or] [12] time given to the souls,[13] after they separate from the body, to see what thou hast told me?

[101.] And he answered and said to me: Seven days have they freedom [14] that in these seven days

[1] Lit. *widths* (plural); cf. Ps. iv. 1. The word might be rendered *refreshment*.

[2] Based on Dan. xii. 3; cf. Matt. xiii. 43; *Ap. Bar.* li. 10; 1 Enoch xxxix. 7, civ. 2; the figure denotes immortality. See *E.A.*, p. 151.

[3] Cf. ver. 87 above.

[4] Cf. Wisd. v. 1.

[5] L. + *are glad without fear*.

[6] L. *they are destined to receive their reward in glory*.

[7] L. *this is the order*.

[8] = ἐπαγγέλλονται.

[9] L. (cf. R.V.) *they that would not give heed shall suffer henceforth;* Ethiop. *the deniers shall suffer*.

[10] An addition by the Syr., apparently a doublet (? added as a gloss here) of ver. 80 above. None of the other Versions support this.

[11] Lit. *treasuries*.

[12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Apparently of the righteous only; see *E.A.*, p. 152.

[14] Lit. *seven are the days of their freedom*.

they may see these things aforesaid; and after this they shall be gathered into their chambers.

No Intercession on the Day of Judgement
(VII. [102]–[115])

[102.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, make known to[1] thy servant this[2] also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous can intercede for[3] the ungodly, or intreat the Most High for them——

[103.] Either fathers[4] in behalf of their sons,[5] or sons[5] in behalf of their fathers,[4] or brothers in behalf of their brothers, or kinsfolk[6] in behalf of their kinsfolk, or friends in behalf of their friends[6]?

[104.] And he answered and said to me: Because thou hast found favour before my sight, I will make known to thee concerning this also. The Day of Judgement is a decisive[7] day, and (one) declaring to all the seal of truth.[8] For as now a father sendeth not a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest that in his stead he may be ill,[9] or sleep, or eat or be healed; [105.] so also then can none pray on behalf of any on that day, neither shall one lay[10] a burden on any, for all then bear everyone his own righteousness or his iniquity.[11] [106.] And I answered and said: How is it, then, my Lord, (that) we have found[12] that formerly Abraham prayed for the Sodomites,[13] and also Moses

[1] L. + *me*. [2] L. omits *this*.
[3] Lit. *beg off, apologize for;* L. *excusare* = παραιτεῖσθαι + accus.
[4] Or *parents*. [5] Or *children*.
[6] L. *kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest.*
[7] Or *determinate*.
[8] *i. e.* the seal of the judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel).
[9] L. *may understand* (reading ἵνα νοῇ for ἵνα νοσῇ).
[10] Possibly "make himself a burden on" is meant.
[11] Cf. Ezek. xviii. 20.
[12] *sc.* in Scripture (written). [13] Cf. Gen. xviii. 23.

in the wilderness for the fathers, when they sinned;[1] [107.] and Joshua the son of Nun after him for Israel in the days of Achar;[2] [108.] and Samuel in the days of Saul,[3] and David for the ruin[4] of the people, and Solomon for those in[5] the Sanctuary; [109.] and Elijah for those who received the rain,[6] and for the dead that he might live;[7] [110.] And Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib,[8] and many on behalf of many? [111.] If, therefore, now, when corruption is grown up and mischief multiplied, the righteous have prayed for the ungodly—why, O Lord, should it not be so then also?

[112.] And he answered and said to me: This world has an end,[9] and the glory of God[10] abideth not therein continuously; therefore have the strong prayed for those who have no strength. [113.] But the Day of Judgement is the end of this world and the beginning of the future world, which dieth not; wherein

[114.] corruption is passed away,
and impudicity[11] is dissolved,
and infidelity is abolished,
and righteousness is grown up,
and truth[12] hath arisen.[13]

[115.] So shall none then be able to compassionate him who is condemned[14] in the Judgement, nor harm him who is victorious [in the Judgement.][15]

[1] Cf. Exod. xxxii. 11.
[2] This is the best attested form; cf. Josh. vii. (where *Achan* is the form given); see *E.A.*, p. 158.
[3] Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 9, xii. 23.
[4] A.V. *destruction;* this is a wrong rendering of θραῦσις = in LXX *plague;* the ref. is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.
[5] Or *those of;* perhaps *those who (should pray) in the sanctuary;* cf. 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.
[6] Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 42.
[7] Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.
[8] Cf. 2 Kings xix. 15 f.
[9] L. *is not the end.*
[10] *i.e.* the Shekinah or Divine Presence; cf. *E.A.*, p. 159.
[11] = ἀσέλγεια = L. (*intemperantia*); Ethiop. *weakness* (= ἀσθένεια).
[12] = *faithfulness.*
[13] Cf. for whole verse vi. 27, 28.
[14] Lit. *is overcome* (= ἡττήθη).
[15] Added by Syriac.

The Promises of future Felicity only mock a Sin-stained Race (VII. [116]–[131])

[116.] And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; that it would have been better for the earth not to have produced Adam,[1] or (else) when she did produce him that thou hadst instructed[2] him not to sin. [117.] For how doth it profit all who have come[3] to live here[4] in affliction, and when they[5] are dead to await torment? [118.] Oh, what hast thou done, Adam! For though it was thou that didst sin, yet the evil[6] was not thine alone, but ours also who are from thee!

[119.] For what advantage is there that lo! there is promised to us an immortal time,[7] whereas we have done the works that bring death?[8] [120.] And that there hath been made known[9] to us an imperishable hope,[10] whereas we miserably are brought to futility?[11] [121.] And that there chambers of safety and health are kept, whereas we have behaved wickedly? [122.] And that the glory[12] of the Most High is destined to protect[13] them who have lived chastely, whereas we proceed in wicked ways? [123.] And that Paradise, whose fruit withereth not,[14] wherein[15] is delight and healing, is manifested, [124.] whereas we do not enter in, because we have

1 Cf. iii. 5.
2 = κατηχεῖν (so Ethiop.); L. *hindered* (= κατέχειν).
3 = τοῖς πάρουσι, *i. e.* all who are here; L. *all that are in this present (time)*.
4 Syr. *hā*.
5 L. *we*.
6 So Ethiop; but L. (?) *fall* (*casus*).
7 So L.; but Ethiop. *the eternal age*.
8 Lit. *dead* (or *mortal*) *works*; cf. Heb. vi. 1.
9 So Ethiop.; but L. *predicted*.
10 Cf. 1 Pet. i. 3.
11 Lit. *are become vain*.
12 *i. e.* the Shekinah.
13 The Shekinah protects the righteous; see *E.A.*, p. 161.
14 L. *endures incorruptible*.
15 *i. e.* in the fruit; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12; Rev. xxii. 2.

served evil places?[1] [125.] And that the faces of the holy ones[2] are destined to shine above the stars,[3] while our faces shall be blacker than darkness?[4] [126.] For we did not consider in our life (time), while we were committing iniquity, that we were destined to suffer after our death.

[127.] And he answered and said to me: This is the meaning[5] of the struggle which man who is born wageth[6] upon the earth; [128.] (that)[7] if he be vanquished he shall suffer what thou[8] hast said; but if he be victorious he shall receive what I[9] have said.

[129.] Because this is the way of which Moses, while he was alive, spake to the people, and said to them: [10] [Behold, I have set before you to-day, life and death, good and evil;][10] choose you, then, life that you may live[10] [you and your seed].[10] [130.] And [they resisted and][11] believed[12] him not, nor the prophets after him, and[13] even me[14] who have spoken with them. [131.] Therefore shall there be no grief over their perdition, as there is joy over the life[15] of those who have believed.[12]

[1] So L. but *manners* should be read (τρόποις for τόποις); cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.

[2] L. *such as practised abstinence.*

[3] Cf. Dan. xii. 3.

[4] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.

[5] Lit. *thought* or *intent*; probably originally = *condition*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 162 f.

[6] Lit. *striveth* (*struggleth*).

[7] Probably a letter has fallen out in the Syriac.

[8] Or *I* (probably 2nd person is meant; so L.).

[9] Or *thou* (probably 1st person is meant; so L.); see *E.A.*, p. 163.

[10] Addition by Syriac from Deut. xxx. 15, 19; L. and Ethiop. omit.

[11] Added by Syriac.

[12] Or *obeyed.*

[13] *i.e.* nor.

[14] The angel speaks as God.

[15] L. *salvation.*

How can the Perdition of so many of His Creatures be reconciled with God's Character? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 62)

Will the Merciful and Compassionate One suffer so many to Perish? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 3)

[132.] And I answered and said to him: I know, Lord, that now the most High is called [1] the "compassionate," because he compassionateth those who have not yet come into the world [2]; [133.] and "gracious," because he is gracious to those who turn [3] to his Law; [134.] and "long-suffering," because he is long-suffering with us, with [4] those who sin, because we are his works; [4] [135.] and "giver," [5] because he is willing to give rather than exact [6]; [136.] and "of great mercy," because he greatly multiplieth mercies upon them who are now (in existence), and upon those who have passed away, and upon those who are to come—[137.] for if he did not multiply his mercies,[7] the world with its inhabitants could not live [8]; [138.] and the "Giver," [9] because unless in his goodness he gave,[10] so that evil-doers were eased [11] of their iniquities, not even one of ten thousand men [12] could live; [13] [139.] and

[1] The epithets applied to God in the following passage (defining the divine attributes) are based upon Exod. xxxiv. 6–7; possibly a Midrash on this passage lies behind our text; see *E.A.*, p. 164 f.

[2] *i.e.* are not yet born; though God foresees man's sins, He is yet compassionate.

[3] Or *return*.

[4] L. *to sinners as his works*.

[5] So Ethiop.: L. (*munificus*) = *bountiful*.

[6] *i.e.* perhaps *granteth pardon* rather than *exacteth punishment;* see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[7] ? in the intermediate state; see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[8] *i.e.* in the future life.

[9] *i.e.* of merit (to enable them to escape eternal punishment); see *E.A.*, p. 167 f.

[10] *sc.* merit.

[11] Lit. *were lightened*.

[12] L. *the ten thousandth part of mankind.*

[13] In the future life.

"judge,"[1] for if he did not pardon them who were created by his word, and disregard[2] the multitude of their iniquities, [140.] there would only be left of an innumerable multitude very few.[3]

VIII. 1. And he answered and said to me: This world[4] hath the Most High made for the sake of many, but that which is to come for the sake of few. 2. But I will expound †a parable†,[5] O Ezra: as when[6] thou shalt ask the earth and it shall say to thee[7] what dust it yieldeth more abundantly, that from which cometh the potsherd, or that from which cometh gold;[7] so is the work[8] of this world. 3. Many have been created, but few live.[9]

Shall God's Creature, so wonderfully fashioned, perish finally? (VIII. 4–19)

4. And I answered and said:
O my soul, absorb understanding,
And, O my heart,[10] drink discernment![11]
5. For without thy will thou camest,
And departest when thou hast not willed.[12]
For power[13] hath only been given thee for[14] life for a brief time.

6. O Lord, my Lord,[15] if thou wouldst command[16]

[1] So L. and other versions—an error; ? read *forgiving* (see *E.A.*, p. 168).
[2] L. *blot out.* [3] Lit. *a small few.* [4] Or *age.*
[5] So read (transposing two letters) = the other versions; Syr. text *a word.*
[6] Lit. *as.*
[7] L. (R.V.) *that it giveth very much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, and little dust that gold cometh of.*
[8] L. *course* (*actus*); both = ἡ πρᾶξις.
[9] L. *shall be saved*; cf. Matt. xxii. 14, and in our Book vii. 49–61.
[10] L. omits *O my heart.*
[11] *i.e.* abandon all attempts to understand the riddle.
[12] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 14 f. [13] L. *space.* [14] Lit. *in.*
[15] L. *O Lord above us* (so also viii. 45); see *E.A.*, p. 171.
[16] = "if thou wouldest but," "Oh that thou wouldest" (a Hebraism); cf. *E.A.*, p. 171.

thy servant I[1] would pray before thee: And do thou give us[2] the seed and culture of a new heart[3] whence (may) come fruits, so that everyone that is corruptible may be able to live who is clothed with the form[4] of man. 7. For one art thou, and one fashioning are we, the work of thine hands, as thou hast said.[5] 8. And[6] thou dost indeed quicken[7] for us now in the womb the body which thou hast fashioned, and composest the members; and thy creature is kept in fire and water,[8] and nine months doth thy fashioning[9] bear the creature which thou hast created in it.[10] 9. But that which keepeth, and that which is kept, are both kept by thy keeping. And when the womb giveth again what has been[11] therein, 10. thou hast commanded that out of the members[12] should come milk, the fruit of the [full][13] breasts, 11. that what hath been fashioned may grow[14] for a short time. 12. And afterwards—

thou guidest it in thy mercy,
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
and disciplinest it in thy law,
And admonishest it in thy wisdom—
13. and thou killest it as thy creature,
and quickenest it as thy work.[15]

14. If, then, thou[16] suddenly and quickly[16] destroyest this one who hath been fashioned with all this

[1] L. *we.*
[2] = "O that thou wouldest give us."
[3] R.V. *seed unto our heart and culture to our understanding;* cf. Rom. xii. 2; Ephes. iv. 23.
[4] L. *place* (τόπον for τύπον).
[5] Cf. Is. xlv. 11, lx. 21, lxiv. 8 f. God is one, unique, Father, and Creator; cf. vi. 1–6.
[6] L. + *when.*
[7] Lit. *quickening quicken.*
[8] Man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements (an Oriental doctrine); cf. iv. 10; 2 Enoch xxx. 15, with Charles's note.
[9] *i.e.* the womb.
[10] L. *which is created in it.*
[11] L. + *created.*
[12] L. + *that is out of the breasts* (? a gloss).
[13] Added by Syriac.
[14] Or *be nourished.*
[15] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 6.
[16] L. *with a light word* (or *command*).

great labour, according to thy command, for what purpose, then, came he into being? 15. [1] Now also I have spoken concerning all men; but even more, thou knowest, that [1]

16. concerning thy people I suffer,
and concerning thine heritage [2]—that concerning it I mourn;
and concerning Israel—that concerning him I am grieved,
and concerning Jacob's seed [3]—that concerning it I am moved.

17. Therefore behold I will begin to pray and supplicate before thee for myself and for them; because lo! I see the trespasses of us who inhabit the world,[4] 18. but also now have heard the decree of judgement [5] that is to come. 19. Therefore
hear my voice,
and listen to [6] the words of my prayer,[6]
and I will speak before thee, [O Lord my God].[7]

The Seer's Prayer for the Divine Compassion on His People, and the Reply (VIII. 20–40)

20. [8] *The beginning of the words of the Prayer of Ezra which he prayed before he was taken up.*[8]
O Lord that dwellest for ever,[9]
[10] whose heights are exalted,[10]
and whose chambers[11] are in the air;

[1] L. *But now I will say: Concerning man in general thou knowest best; but* (Syriac constructs sentence differently).
[2] Cf. Ps. xxviii. 9.
[3] Cf. iii. 19.
[4] L. *that dwell in the land.*
[5] Cf. v. 34.
[6] L. *my words* (cf. Ethiop.).
[7] Added by Syriac; other versions omit.
[8] This superscription has been inserted into the text by the Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic. The piece seems to have been excerpted early for liturgical purposes; see *E.A.*, p. 175 f.
[9] Cf. Is. lvii. 15.
[10] L. *whose are the highest heavens;* cf. Deut. x. 14.
[11] ? the heavenly Paradise (for phraseology cf. Ps. civ. 3).

21. whose throne is infinite,[1]
and whose glory is inconceivable;[2]
before whom the hosts[3] stand in fear,
at whose word they change to fire and wind;[4]
22. whose word is trustworthy,
and whose speech abideth;[5]
whose commandment is strong,
and whose utterances[6] are terrible;
23. whose look drieth up the deep,[7]
and whose rebuke[8] melteth the mountains,
and whose truth beareth witness—[9]
24. Hear the voice of thy servant,
and listen to thy creature's petition,
and regard my words!
25. For while I live I will speak,
and while I have understanding will I answer.
26. O regard not the trespasses of thy people,
but them that have served thee in truth;
27. and regard not [10]the follies of the intrigues of the ungodly,[10]
but them that have kept thy covenants in ignominy;[11]
28. think not upon those that have behaved themselves badly[12] before thee,
but remember them that with good will have recognized thy fear![13]

[1] L. *inestimable;* the mystery of God's throne is the subject of Ezek. i.

[2] Cf. Rom. xi. 33.

[3] *i. e.* of heaven.

[4] Cf. Ps. civ. 4 (this passage implies the rendering *who maketh his angels winds*, etc., see *E.A.*, p. 178).

[5] = *is constant* (an allusion to the Synagogue prayer *'ĕmeth wĕ-yaṣṣîb;* cf. *E.A.*, p. 179).

[6] Other versions have singular.

[7] The other versions have the plural.

[8] = ἀπειλή.

[9] So all the versions except Ar.[2], which has right reading *remaineth for ever* (see *E.A.*, p. 179); the verse is cited in Greek in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7.

[10] L. and other versions *the deeds of the ungodly.*

[11] L. *in tortures;* the martyrs are meant.

[12] L. *walked feignedly* (= ? hypocritical adherents of the Law).

[13] i. e. *fear of thee* = religion, piety; cf. Ps. xix. 10.

29. and will not to destroy those that have become
like the cattle,[1]
but regard them that have received[2] the
splendour of[3] thy Law;
30. and be not angry against those who have be-
haved worse than the beasts,[4]
but love them that have always put their trust
in thy glory.

31. Because we and [5]those before us[5] have [6]practised
works of corruption, and behaved madly[6]; but thou
because of us sinners art called the Compassionate.
32. For if us, who have no works,[7] thou art
willing to compassionate, thou shalt be named
Gracious One. 33. For the righteous who have[8] works
laid up with thee can receive out of their own
works.[9]

34. For—
what is man that thou shouldest be (so) angry
with him,
or a corruptible race that thou shouldest be (so)
hot[10] against it?
35. For in truth
there is none of those born that hath not dealt
wickedly,
Nor of these who exist that hath not sinned!

36. For in this, O Lord [my Lord],[11] shall thy[12]
goodness be known if thou art compassionate towards
them that have no wealth[13] of works.

[1] *i.e.* probably Jews who lived like heathen (? the *'am hā-āreṣ*).

[2] Due to a misreading of διδάξαντες; L. *taught.*

[3] L. *in splendour.*

[4] A more infamous class still (? Jewish informers).

[5] *v.l. our fathers.*

[6] R.V. *have passed our lives in ways that bring death;* for text cf. *E.A.*, p. 182.

[7] L. + *of righteousness.*

[8] L. + *many.*

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

[10] *v.l. bitter;* cf. Job vii. 17 f. (Ps. viii. 4).

[11] Omitted by other Versions.

[12] L. + *righteousness and.*

[13] Or *power*

The Divine Reply

37. And he answered and said to me: Some things thou hast spoken aright and according to thy words,[1] so shall it be. 38. Because in truth I take no thought about the fashioning of the evil doers, or about their death,[2] or about their judgement, or about their perdition;[3] 39. but I delight (rather) over [the coming of][4] the fashioning of the righteous, and over their life, and over the recompence of their reward. 40. For as thou hast said so shall it be.

Mankind is like Seed sown (VIII. 41–45)

41. For as the husbandman [who][5] soweth many seeds[6] and planteth many plants, but not all the seeds live in due season,[7] nor indeed do all the plants strike root; so also they who have[8] come into[8] the world do not all live.

42. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight I would speak [before thee]:[9]

43. [10]For the husbandman's seed, if it receive not thy rain, at its (proper) time, will it live? Yea rather from much rain it is destroyed.[10]

44. But man who hath been fashioned by thine

[1] The seer had prayed (ver. 28 f.) that God would fix His attention rather on the deeds of the righteous than on those of the ungodly; this part of the petition shall be granted. The angel is still the speaker (note the bitter irony).

[2] *i. e.* their physical death.

[3] *i. e.* final perdition.

[4] The text of this passage is out of order; perhaps *the coming of* corresponds to *pilgrimage* in L. and should follow *righteous* (R.V. *their pilgrimage . . . and the salvation, and the reward*). See *E.A.*, p. 185 f.

[5] Omit.

[6] L. + *upon the ground.*

[7] Lit. *in time.*

[8] L. *are sown in.*

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] The Latin text here is corrupt; as corrected and restored it may be rendered: *Forasmuch as the husbandman's seed, if it come not up, seeing that it hath not received thy rain in due season, or if it be corrupted through too much rain, so perisheth* (R.V.). See *E.A.*, p. 187.

own hands and [1] is made like thine own image,[1] for whose sake thou hast created all—hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman? [2]

45. No! [I beseech thee,] [3] O Lord my Lord,[4]
spare thy people,
and compassionate thine heritage——
thy creature—for thine he is—thou dost compassionate!

The Final Reply; Let the Seer contemplate the Lot of the Blessed which he is destined to share (VIII. 46–62)

46. And he answered and said to me:
[5] Things of the present are for them of the present,
And things of the future are for them who are future! [5]

47. For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I.[6]

Thou, however, hast many times likened thyself to the ungodly. It must not be so! 48. But in this also thou shalt be honoured before the Most High, 49. because thou hast humbled thyself, as befitteth thee, and hast not compared thyself [7] with the righteous. Therefore thou shalt be the more honoured. 50. Because with much affliction shall the inhabitants of the world be afflicted at the last on account of the great pride [8] that they have displayed.[9]

[1] L. *is called thine own image because he is made like (unto thee)*; the Syriac is probably right here.

[2] Probably to be taken as a question. The seer protests against the comparison of mankind to seed; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels.

[3] Added by Syr. (cf. Ethiop.).

[4] L. *O Lord above us.*

[5] For the form of sentence cf. vii. 25.

[6] Cf. v. 32.

[7] L. *hast not judged thyself (to be).*

[8] Note the remarkable emphasis on the sin of pride and the virtue of humility.

[9] Lit. *with which they have behaved proudly.*

51. But do thou (rather) consider thine own self, and ask concerning the glories of those who are like thyself.[1]

52. For for you
is opened Paradise,[2]
and planted the Tree of life;[3]
and the future world[4] prepared,
and delight[5] made ready;
and a City[6] builded,
and a Rest[7] ordained;
and good perfected,[8]
and wisdom completed;[9]
53. And the (evil) root[10] is sealed up from you,
and infirmity from you extinguished,[11]
and Death is hidden,[12]
and Sheol fled;[13]
and corruption is forgotten,
and pains departed from you;
54. And in the consummation the treasures of life
are manifested.

55. Do not thou, therefore, again ask any more concerning the many who perish; 56. because they have received liberty and

[1] *i.e.* probably the righteous dead who already enjoy a foretaste of future felicity.

[2] *i.e.* the heavenly Paradise which will be reopened after the last Judgement for the righteous.

[3] In Paradise; cf. vii. 133; Rev. ii. 7, and see *E.A.*, p. 191.

[4] Or *age*; for the idea cf. *E.A.*, p. 191.

[5] L. *plenteousness*.

[6] *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem.

[7] *i.e.* the rest in heaven; cf. Heb. iii. 18 f.

[8] Cf. Ephes. ii. 10.

[9] L. *being perfect aforehand* (R.V.). Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

[10] Cf. iii. 22; 1 Enoch xci. 8 (*root* a technical term in these connections).

[11] The sources of sin in man will have been removed in the future Age.

[12] Death, of course, will be abolished; cf. Is. xxv. 8; Rev. xxi. 4.

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23 (the underworld is personified, as in Rev. vi. 8).

they have despised the Most High,
his Law also they have scorned much,
and have made his ways to cease :[1]

57. Yea, his saints they have trampled upon,[2] and
58. they have said in their heart that there is no God,[3]
while they verily[4] know that they shall surely[5] die.

59. Therefore as these things aforesaid await you, so also †thirst and†[6] torment (are) destined for them. For the Most High willed not that men should perish; 60. but these who have been created dishonoured the name of their Maker and were ungrateful [and confessed me not—][7] who[8] have prepared life for them. 61. Therefore my Judgement hath drawn nigh, 62. which (thing) I have not made known to the many, but (only) to thee and to the few like thee.[9]

The Signs of the End reviewed (VIII. 63—IX. 12)

63. And I answered and said: Behold now (already), O Lord, thou hast made known to me the great number of the signs that thou art about to do in the last days; but thou hast not made known to me at what time.[10]

IX. 1. And he answered and said to me: Measure carefully in thy mind,[11] †and†[12] when thou seest that a part of the signs aforesaid is past, 2. then understand that it is the time wherein the Most High is about to visit[13] the world made by him. 3. And when there shall appear in the world

[1] L. Ethiop. *have forsaken* (*his ways*).
[2] Cf. v. 29. [3] Cf. vii. 23; Ps. xiv. 1.
[4] Lit. *knowing*. [5] Lit. *dying*.
[6] So read by a slight emendation; Syriac text has (*the torment that is prepared*) *is thirsty*; cf. for the representation, Luke xvi. 24.
[7] Omitted by L. [8] L. *to him who* (*had*).
[9] *i. e.* to the seers and apocalyptists like Salathiel-Ezra.
[10] Contrast Acts i. 7.
[11] Lit. *thyself*. [12] So read; Syr. text *that*.
[13] Cf. vi. 18.

quakings of places,[1]
and tumult of assemblages,[2]
and schemings of peoples,
and commotion of leaders,
and confusion of princes—

4. then perceive that it is of these (things) the Most High hath spoken formerly. 5. For as with respect to everything in the world, its beginning is known[3] and its end manifest; 6. so also (are) the times of the Most High: their beginnings are known in portents, [and signs][4] and powers,[5] and their end in requital[6] and signs. 7. And it shall be (that) everyone that shall survive,[7] and everyone that shall be able to flee[8] through his works or through his faith whereby he hath believed— 8. he shall be left (safe) from the peril aforesaid, and shall see my salvation[9] in my land and in my borders[10] which I have sanctified for myself eternally.[11] 9. And then shall they be amazed who have now neglected[12] my ways, and they shall be in torments who have despised and abandoned them.[13] 10. For all who did not recognize me in their life (time), when I was dealing bountifully with them, and all who have treated my Law with contempt,[14] those[15] (viz.) who

[1] *i. e.* earthquakes (cf. v. 8); others *stir* (*i. e.* excitement) *of places*.

[2] L. *of peoples*.

[3] L. defective; the text here may originally have been *obscure* (ἀφανής corrupted to ἐμφανής); cf. *E.A.*, p. 202.

[4] L. omits.

[5] Or *mighty works*.

[6] L. Ethiop. *in effects*.

[7] Cf. vi. 25, vii. 28.

[8] *i. e.* escape.

[9] *i. e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. vi. 25.

[10] Cf. xiii. 35.

[11] Lit. *from eternity*: the specially sacred character of the Holy Land is often insisted on in late Jewish literature; cf. ix. 8, xii. 34, xiii. 48 f.; *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 2.

[12] L. *abused*.

[13] i. e. *my ways*; another reading in L. makes *them* refer to *torments*.

[14] Lit. *behaved themselves proudly against*.

[15] So Syriac; but this may be an error of the translator who misread ὡς as οἷς; other Versions *while* = ὡς.

had liberty, 12. and while the place of long-suffering [1] was (still) open to them, did not heed, but scorned—for these it is necessary that after death they should know.[2]

The Fewness of the Saved further justified
(IX. 13–22)

13. Do thou, therefore, not search out [3] henceforth [4] how the ungodly shall be tormented, but inquire how the righteous shall live [5]—they whose is the world, and for whom also the world hath come into existence.[6] 14. And I answered and said: 15. [7] Now also again I say, and hereafter will say again, that more are those who perish than those who live [8]: 16. just as the waves are more than the small drop.[9]

17. And he answered and said to me:
As the place,[10] so also (are) its seeds,[11]
and as the flowers, so also (are) the colours,[12]
and as the work, so also (are) the odours,[13]
and as the husbandman, so also (is) the threshing floor [14];

18. for there was in the time of the world [15] when I had prepared for those who now are, before they were

[1] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *repentance*; cf. (for latter) Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17.
[2] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] + *by* (or *in*) *torment*.
[3] L. *be curious*.
[4] L. *any longer*.
[5] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *be saved*.
[6] Cf. for the whole verse *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 48 f.
[7] L. prefixes to this *I have already said*.
[8] L. *be saved*; cf. vii. 47.
[9] Cf. iv. 48 f.
[10] L. *field*.
[11] Or *sowings*; i.e. good ground produces good crops.
[12] *i.e.* the finest flowers produce the most brilliant colourings.
[13] L. *creation* (= κτίσις); but Ethiop. Ar.[1] *judgement* (= κρίσις), adopted by R.V., and this probably equals the true text of Syriac. See further *E.A.*, p. 207.
[14] Or *harvest*.
[15] = ἐν καιρῷ αἰῶνος, i.e. *in the time of eternity*. For the meaning cf. *E.A.*, p. 207.

(in existence) a world for them to live in; and no man withstood me—for indeed there was none (in existence).

19. And now that they have been created upon the world that standeth firm,[1] and upon a table that lacketh not, and upon a Law[2] that is unsearchable, they are become corrupt in their deeds,[3]

> and I regarded my world, and lo! it was lost!
> and my cosmos,[4] and lo! it was in peril—

on account of the manners[5] of its inhabitants.

21. And I saw and spared a small few,[6] and saved me a grape out of a cluster, and a plant out of a great forest.

22. Let the multitude, therefore, perish because it hath come into being in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which have been produced[7] with much toil.

Conclusion of the Vision (IX. 23–25)

23. But if thou wilt separate thyself[8] seven more days—but thou shalt not [again][9] fast therein, 24. and go thou to a field of flowers, where no house hath been built, and eat thou of the flowers of the field only, and flesh thou shalt not taste, nor shalt thou drink wine,[10] but flowers only; 25. and petition the Most High zealously,[11] and I will come unto thee and speak with thee.

[1] Or *is made ready* (the text should run [cf. L.] *a world prepared with a table that faileth not, and an unexplorable pasture,* in reference to Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 207 f.).
[2] *νόμος* = *Law* confused with *νομός* = *pasture.*
[3] L. *manners.*
[4] A synonym for *world* is used = *tēbhēl.*
[5] Or possibly *perversions:* L. *devices.*
[6] Lit. *a small little:* L. *vix valde, but not greatly* (R.V.).
[7] L. *I have produced.*
[8] L. *cease.*
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] Cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.
[11] L. *continually.*

VISION IV

(IX. 26—X. 59)

Introduction (IX. 26–28)

26. And I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called Arpad,[1] and sat there by[2] the flowers of the land, and did eat of the herbs[3] of the pasture; and the eating thereof was to my satisfaction. 27. And it came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart again began to be moved[4] [upon me][5] as before; 28. and my mouth was opened, and I began to speak before the Most High.

The Glory of the Law and Israel: a Contrast (IX. 29–37)

29. And I said: O Lord [my Lord,][6] thou didst verily reveal thyself[7] to our fathers in the wilderness [of Sinai][8] when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they went through the wilderness, [9]through a land wherein was no fruit, and through which no man hath passed[9]; 30. and thou didst say [to them:][10]

[1] So Ethiop. (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 34); L. (best reading) *Ardat*: a symbolical name of a mysterious place (? Arcadia); see *E.A.*, p. 212 f.

[2] L. *in* or *among*. [3] Lit. *roots*. [4] Or *troubled*.

[5] Omitted by L.; cf. Ps. xlii. 5 (" disquieted *upon* me "): cf. vi. 36.

[6] So Ethiop., but L. omits. [7] L. + *among us*.

[8] Omitted by other Versions.

[9] L. *the untrodden and unfruitful*: cf. Jer. ii. 6 [in the last clause of ver. 29 there is a scribal error in the Syriac text; read *wĕlâ* instead of *wĕkad*].

[10] So Ar.[2] and Arm.; other Versions omit.

Do thou, Israel, hear me,
and, seed of Jacob, listen to my words![1]

31. For, behold, I sow in you my Law, and it shall produce in you fruits [of righteousness],[2] and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32. [3]But our fathers received the Law, and kept
it not,
and commandments, and did not perform them.[3]
[4]And they had the fruits of the Law which perish not, for they could not perish because it is thine.[4]

33. Those, however, who received it perished, because they kept not what had been sown in them. 34. And this is the rule: that when the earth receiveth seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel [what hath been put therein][5] (viz) the food,[6] [7]or what hath been put, or what hath been kept[7]— 35. these[8] are destroyed, but these that received them[9] remain. But with us it hath not been so; 36. but we who have received the Law and sin perish together with our heart[10] which accepted it. 37. Thy Law, however, perisheth not, but abideth in its glory.[11]

The Vision of the Disconsolate Woman
(IX. 38—X. 24)

38. And while I spake these things in my heart,[12] I lifted up mine eyes and beheld a woman on the

[1] Cf. Ps. l. 7. [2] Omitted by other Versions.
[3] Note the parallelism of the two lines; this is lost in L.
[4] *And the fruit of the law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine* (R.V. = L.).
[5] ? repeated from next clause accidentally (see *E.A.*, p. 217).
[6] L. + *or drink* (so other Versions, but Ethiop. doubtful).
[7] L. [*and when it cometh to pass that that which is sown*], *or that which is launched, or the things which have been received* [*come to an end*], R.V. (bracketed clauses not in Syriac).
[8] *i.e.* the things put in. [9] *i.e.* the receptacles.
[10] Which is evil and perishable.
[11] Cf. Rom. vii. 14; 2 Cor. iii. 7 f.; and for the whole passage *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 19.
[12] *i.e.* according to the Hebrew idiom "thought these things."

right side,[1] mourning and weeping with a loud voice, while she [2] sighed in her soul [2] [and was greatly distressed],[3] and her clothes were rent, and dust was cast upon her head. 39. And I dismissed the thoughts which I was debating,[4] and turned to her and said to her: 40. Why dost thou weep, and art distressed in thy soul? 41. And she answered and said to me: Suffer me, my lord, to weep unchecked [5] and continue further to sigh, because my soul is greatly embittered and I am much humbled.[6]

42. And I said to her: Tell me what hath befallen thee. 43. And she answered and said to me: I, thine handmaid, was barren, and did not bear, though I was with my husband thirty years. 44. And I every day and every hour, during these thirty years, was petitioning and supplicating the Most High by day and by night. 45. And it came to pass after [these] [7] thirty years

God heard [the voice of] [8] thine handmaid,
and saw her humiliation [9];
and looked upon my distress,
and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced and delighted in him greatly, I and my husband and all my fellow townsfolk,[10] and we glorified [11] the Mighty One [12]; 46. and I reared him with very great toil. 47. And when he was grown up I came to take him a wife, and I made a day of feasting [and much merriment].[13]

X. 1. And it came to pass that when my son entered into his wedding-chamber he fell down and

[1] Cf. iv. 47. [2] L. *was much grieved in mind.*
[3] Omitted in L. [4] Lit. *cogitating.*
[5] Lit. *upon myself.* [6] Or *afflicted.*
[7] Omitted by other Versions.
[8] This is probably the true text, though it is omitted by the other Versions.
[9] Barrenness was a reproach; cf. Luke i. 25.
[10] Lit. *all the sons of my town.*
[11] It was a religious duty to "give God the glory"; cf. Luke xvii. 18.
[12] *i. e.* the Almighty; cf. vi. 32, x. 24, xi. 43, xii. 47.
[13] Added by Syriac; cf. Matt. xxii. 2.

died. 2. But I overturned the lights,[1] and all my fellow-townsmen[2] rose up to console me; and I remained quiet until the next day and until the night.[3] 3. [4] And after they were all asleep and believed that I also was asleep,[4] then I arose by night, and fled and came as, [behold],[5] thou seest to this field. 4. And I am resolved that I will not again enter the city, but that here I will be, and will neither eat nor drink, but will continually mourn and fast till I die.

5. And I dismissed[6] my thoughts which I had been debating,[7] and I answered in anger and said to her: 6. [8] Thou art more foolish, woman, than all women![8] Seest thou not our grief and what hath befallen us? 7. that [lo!][9] Sion, the mother of us[10] all, is in great affliction, and humiliated with great humiliation? 8. But it is right now to mourn—[11] we all mourn; for thou indeed art grieved on account of one son, [but we—the whole world—on account of our mother].[12] 9. But ask the earth, and she shall tell thee; because[13] she is bound to mourn . . . ,[14] because many are they who have come into being[15] upon her, 10. and from the beginning all who have come into being[15] upon her, and the others who (are to) come, lo! they[16] all go to perdition, and their multitude is for destruction. 11. Who then ought to mourn the more, she who hath lost all this multitude, or thou who mournest for one?

12. But if thou sayest to me: My mourning is not

[1] Cf. Matt. xxv. 7. [2] See note [10], ix. 45.
[3] *i. e.* until the night of the next day.
[4] R.V. *And it came to pass when they had all left off to comfort me to the end I might be quiet* (see *E.A.*, p. 221).
[5] Added by Syriac.
[6] Lit. *left.* [7] Lit. *cogitating.*
[8] *Thou foolish woman above all other* (R.V. = L.).
[9] Added by Syriac. [10] Cf. Gal. iv. 26.
[11] L. + *seeing that.* [12] Added by Syriac.
[13] L. (rightly) *that* (= ὅτι also *because*).
[14] There is clearly a lacuna in the sense; Syriac omitted some words; L. + *the fall of so many.*
[15] Lit. *have been.* [16] L. + *almost* (*pene*).

like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb

which I bare with pains,
and reared [1] with sorrows—

13. the earth, however, according to the nature of the earth [2]: the multitude that came upon it is gone as it came: 14. then [3] I will again say to thee: Just as thou hast borne with travail, so also the earth hath given her fruit from (the) beginning, man, to him who made her.[4] 15. Now, therefore,

keep thy pain to thyself,[5]
and bear bravely[6] the evil that hath befallen thee!

16. For if thou wilt acknowledge as just [7] the decree of judgement of the Most High, thou shalt (again) receive thy son in (due) time,[8] and shalt be praised among women. 17. Go, therefore, into the city unto thy husband.

18. And she answered and said to me: I will not do so, nor will I go into the city, nor unto my husband, but here will I die!

19. And I continued further to speak with her, and I said to her: 20. No, woman! No, woman! Do not do this thing, but

20. be convinced of [9] Sion's misfortune,
and be consoled because of Jerusalem's sorrow!

21. For [behold!] [10] thou hast seen
our sanctuaries [11] laid waste,[12]

[1] L. *brought forth.*

[2] *i. e.* as regards the earth, such (dying) is according to the course of nature (see *E.A.*, p. 224). [3] Lit. *and.*

[4] *i. e.* man, earth's highest product, produced with so much pains, is constantly being gathered in (by death) by the Creator. This seems to be the meaning; cf. *E.A.*, p. 224.

[5] Lit. *within thyself.* [6] *With strength.*

[7] Cf. Ps. Sol., viii. 7, ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35 (an act of piety).

[8] *i. e.* either by the son's restoration to life, or by having another son.

[9] Or *prevailed on by.* [10] Added by Syriac.

[11] Other Versions have the singular.

[12] Syriac text *that they are laid waste* (in the same way prefixing *that* before each of the verbs throughout the following clauses); cf. 1 Macc. i. 39.

and our altars [1] overthrown;
and our Temple demolished,
[2] and our service abolished [2];
22. and our song taken away, [3]
and our glorying [4] ceased; [5]
and the light of our lamp quenched,[6]
and the ark of the covenant carried off; [7]
and our saints [8] defiled,
and the name that is called upon us [9] polluted;
and our nobles [10] dishonoured,
and our priests burnt in the fire,[11]
and our Levites taken captive;
and our virgins are defiled,
and our wives forcibly dishonoured;
[12] and our seers seized,
and our watchmen scattered [12];
and our youths enslaved,
and our heroes made weak:
23. and what exceedeth all—with regard to Sion's seal,[13]

[1] L. *altar*.
[2] L. *our psaltery is brought low* (cf. Ethiop.): *psaltery* or *harp* a symbol of Temple service; Syriac interprets; cf. *E.A.*, p. 226.
[3] L. *is silenced*.
[4] Or ? *hymning;* or *our pride*, i. e. the sacrificial service.
[5] Lit. *fallen*.
[6] This marked the cessation of the sacrificial service; cf. I Macc. iv. 50, and see *E.A.*, p. 226.
[7] This really occurred at the destruction of the first Temple; for its meaning here cf. *E.A.*, p. 226 f.
[8] L. *holy things* = the holy vessels.
[9] *i. e.* the divinely bestowed name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.
[10] *i. e.* the ruling classes.
[11] Cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. I. (two priests threw themselves into the fire " and were burnt together with the holy house ").
[12] L. *our righteous men carried away, our little ones betrayed;* possibly the Syriac should be emended so as to read *our pious ones are seized, our righteous scattered:* see further *E.A.*, p. 228.
[13] *i. e.* ? Sion's independence—possibly there is a reference to the issue of a national coinage in A.D. 66–70; cf. *E.A.*, p. 229 f.

the seal of her glory hath been taken away now,
and given up into the hand of them that hate
us !

24. Do thou, then, shake off from thyself [1] the
multitude of thy sorrows,
so that the Mighty One may be reconciled [2] to
thee,
and the Most High may give thee rest [3] from the
sorrows of thy toil ! [3]

Sion's Glory ; the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (X. 25–28)

25. And it came to pass, while I was talking with her, [and] [4] lo ! her countenance shone exceedingly, and as the appearance of lightning became the look of her face.[5] And I feared greatly [to approach unto her, and my heart was much amazed].[6] And while I was cogitating what this [vision] [7] might be, 26. suddenly she cried with a loud and fearful voice, so that the whole earth was moved at her voice.[8] 27. And I saw, and lo ! the woman was no longer visible to me, but a City that was builded,[9] and a place became visible as of great foundations.[10] And I was afraid and cried with a loud voice and said, 28. Where is the angel Uriel who from the first day [11] came unto

[1] L. + *thy great heaviness and put away* (the words were accidentally omitted by the Syriac translator); see *E.A.*, p. 230.

[2] Or *propitious*.

[3] L. *even ease from thy travails* (R.V.).

[4] Omit.

[5] Cf. Luke ix. 29.

[6] So Ar.[1]; the clause has been omitted (accidentally) by the Latin translator.

[7] L. and Ethiop. omit.

[8] Cf. Gen. xxvii. 34.

[9] *i. e.* already built, so all the Oriental Versions; but L. *was being built* (cf. ver. 42, R.V.).

[10] Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

[11] L. *from the first* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); cf. iv. 1 for the first appearance of Uriel.

me? Because he (it is) who hath caused me to come into the multitude of this agitation,[1]

and mine end[2] is made corruption,[3]
and my prayer ignominy.

The Vision interpreted (X. 29–57)

29. And while I was speaking these things, [lying on the ground as though dead],[4] the angel came unto me who had come unto me formerly[5]; and he saw me 30. lying on the ground as though dead,[6] and my understanding was confused; and he took me by my right hand and strengthened[7] me, and set me upon my feet,[8] and said to me:

31. What aileth thee,
And why art thou disquieted?
And wherefore is thy mind confused,
and the understanding of thy heart?

32. And I said to him: Because thou hast forsaken me! For I did as thou badest me (and) also (went out)[9] into the field, and lo! I have seen—and see[10] —that which I am unable to explain.[11]

33. And he answered and said to me: Stand[12] upon thy feet,[12] and I will make known to[13] thee.

34. And I said to him: Speak on, my Lord; and only do not forsake me lest I die[14] before my time.[14]

[1] Cf. *Shepherd of Hermas, Vis.* I. ii. 1; *Vis.* III. i. 5.

[2] So all the Versions; perhaps the Hebrew text was corrupt and the word *prayer* stood originally here (*tĕfillāthî* corrupted to *taklîthî = my end*).

[3] Here also a Hebrew corruption may be suspected, *lĕhebel* = "into vanity," having been misread *lĕḥebel*.

[4] Added by Syriac (? from next clause).

[5] Or *at first*.

[6] Cf. Dan. viii. 17 f., x. 9 f., 15; Rev. i. 17.

[7] Cf. Dan. x. 18.

[8] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17.

[9] Probably a word has fallen out of the Syriac text here.

[10] The vision is still present to his mind's eye.

[11] L. *to express*; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4.

[12] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17, x. 30: L. and other versions *like a man*.

[13] L. *advise*.

[14] Ethiop. *suddenly*: L. *to no purpose*.

35. Because I have seen what I do not understand,[1]
and hear what I am incompetent (to grasp).[2]
36. Or is it that my understanding deceiveth me,[3]
and my soul[4] beholdeth a dream[4]?
37. But now I beseech thee, my Lord, make known to thy servant concerning this fearful vision.[5]
38. And he answered and said to me:
Hear me and I will teach thee,
and reveal[6] to thee concerning the things thou art afraid of[7];
because the Most High hath revealed to thee many secrets.
39. For he hath seen thy right conduct,
how[8] thou grievest much[9] for thy people,
[and mournest much for thy people,][10]
and mournest much for Sion.
40. This, then, is the matter[11]: 41. The woman who
appeared to thee a little while ago, who was mourning
and whom thou didst begin to console, 42. and now
[12] she appeareth not as a woman to thee,[12] but hath
appeared to thee as a City that is being built[13]:
43. and whereas[14] she told thee of the misfortune of
her son—this is the explanation: 44. This woman
whom thou hast seen, this is Sion which thou now
seest[15] as a City being built.[13] 45. And whereas[14]
she said to thee concerning herself that she had been
barren thirty years—(it is) because[16] she was in the
world[16] three thousand[17] years when no offering was

[1] Or *have not understood* (*known*).
[2] Lit. (*what*) *I am unversed* (or *unskilful*) *in*.
[3] L. *is deceived*. [4] L. *dreameth*. [5] L. *this perplexity*.
[6] L. *tell*. [7] Cf. v. 32, vii. 49. [8] Lit. *that*.
[9] So Ethiop.; L. *continually*.
[10] Accidental repetition in the Syriac text.
[11] = οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, "the matter is as follows."
[12] L. *thou seest the likeness of the woman no more*.
[13] Cf. L. (*in building*): the participle is used in Syr. = οἰκοδομουμένη.
[14] Lit. *that*.
[15] In vision. The woman = Sion, *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem (see *E.A.*, pp. 232 ff.).
[16] Probably originally "there were in the world."
[17] L. *three* (*years*); see *E.A.*, p. 237.

offered in her.[1] 46. And it came to pass after three thousand years [2] Solomon [3] built the city and offered therein offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son.[4] 47. And whereas she told thee that she reared him †with labour†,[5] that is the dwelling of [6] Jerusalem. 48. And whereas she said to thee: My son entered into his (marriage) chamber and died [7]—this (was) the fall [and misfortune] [8] of Jerusalem. 49. And [whereas] [9] thou hast seen her likeness,[10] how that she mourneth for her sons,[11] and thou didst begin to console her for what had befallen her [12]—

50. And now the Most High hath seen
that thou art grieved with all thy soul,
and with all thy heart sorrowest on her account:
And he hath shewn thee the light of her glory,
and the beauty of her loveliness.

51. Therefore I bade thee await me [13] in the field where no house hath been builded; 52. for I knew

[1] Perhaps *in it* (the world) is the right text (see *E.A.*, p. 237)—*in her* can only mean "in the heavenly Sion"; the earthly Jerusalem (= the "son" here) only became the Holy City when David instituted the sacrificial cultus in it; cf. iii. 24.

[2] The 3000 years apparently represents the interval of time from the Creation to the founding of the Temple, according to the Hebrew text; see *E.A.*, p. 238.

[3] According to iii. 24, David was the founder of the Holy City; perhaps *David* should be read here (see *E.A.*, p. 238).

[4] *i. e.* the earthly Jerusalem probably.

[5] So read (slightly emending text); text has *world*.

[6] *i. e.* probably the Divine Presence (Shekinah) in the Temple, which was constantly interrupted by sin.

[7] L. + *and that misfortune befell her* (so Ar.[1]; cf. also Ethiop.).

[8] Added by Syriac (? part of the omitted previous clause). Note that the death of the son = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem (*i. e.* the son = the earthly Jerusalem).

[9] Lit. *that*; perhaps to be omitted, otherwise the sentence has no conclusion.

[10] *i. e.* probably the heavenly pattern of Sion (the heavenly Jerusalem); cf. Heb. xi. 10, 16, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

[11] So Ethiop., but the other Versions rightly *son*.

[12] A gloss in L. (some MSS.) adds *these were the things to be opened unto thee*: the other Versions omit.

[13] L. *remain*.

that the Most High was about to reveal all these things to thee. [53. Therefore I bade thee come into a place [1] where no foundation of a building is; 54. for no work [2] of man could remain in the place where the City of the Most High was about to be revealed.] [3] 55. But be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be disquieted, but go in and see [4] the light of the glory [4] and the vastness of her building, as far as the sight of thine eyes alloweth [5] thee to see; 56. and afterwards thou shalt hear as far as the hearing of thine ears alloweth [5] thee to hear.[6]

57. For thou art blessed above many,
and art named [7] before the Most High as (but) few! [8]

Transition to the Fifth Vision (X. 58–59)

58. But on the night of to-morrow thou shalt remain here [9]; 59. and the Most High will shew thee [10] a vision of those revelations [10] which the Most High will do to the inhabitants of the earth in the last days.

[1] L. *the field.*
[2] L. *building-work.*
[3] Vers. 51–52 and 53–54 are doublets apparently, though all the Versions attest them; see *E.A.*, p. 241.
[4] L. *the brightness.*
[5] Lit. sufficeth.
[6] The seer saw and heard much more than is recorded; this implies a real experience: note that the City is regarded as still standing before the seer: with vers. 55–56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9.
[7] *i.e.* singled out by name for special honour.
[8] The true sequel appears to be contained in xii. 39*b*, xiii. 57–58 and xii. 40–48 (see *E.A.*, p. 242).
[9] *i.e.* in the field of Ardat.
[10] L. *those visions in dreams* (*i.e.* dream-visions); cf. Ethiop.; the sense seems to require *in dream-visions.*

VISION V

(THE EAGLE VISION)[1] (X. 60—XII. 51)

The Vision (X. 60—XII. 3*a*)

60. And I slept there[2] the next night as he commanded me.

XI. 1. And it came to pass in the second night I saw a vision[3]: and lo! there came up out of the sea[4] an eagle[5] [that (was) very large in its size],[6] and he had twelve wings[7] and three heads.[8] 2. And I saw, and lo! he spread his wings in[9] the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him,[10] and the clouds gathered together unto him. 3. And I saw that from his wings were born[11] wings small and little and petty.[11] 4. But his heads were at rest; but the middle head was greater than these others; and yet it also was resting with them. 5. And I saw,

[1] This famous vision is directed against the Roman Empire symbolized by the Eagle.

[2] L. + *that night and.*

[3] L. *dream* (Ethiop. *in a dream*); a dream-vision is meant.

[4] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1.

[5] The eagle is a specially appropriate symbol of the Roman Empire whose military emblem was the eagle.

[6] Absent from other Versions.

[7] So all the Versions except L., which has *feathered wings.* For the significance of these cf. *E. A.*, p. 261 f.

[8] *i. e.* in the original form of the vision the three Flavian Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

[9] So L. and Ethiop.; but Ar.[2] Arm. *over.*

[10] Cf. xiii. 3.

[11] L. *anti-wings and they became wings petty and small*: other Versions *little wings* for *anti-wings*; apparently usurpers or military rivals of the Emperors are meant whose activity was short-lived.

and lo! the eagle commanded[1] his wings to reign over the whole earth and over the inhabitants thereof. 6. And I saw how there became subject to him everything beneath the heavens, and not one thing resisted[2] him of the creatures upon the earth. 7. And I saw, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and emitted the voice[3] to his wings, and said to them: [Go, rule over the whole earth! 8. But now rest ye],[4] and do not all wake[5] at once, but sleep each one of you in his place, and wake[5] by times;[6] 9. but let the heads be preserved for the last! 10. And I saw that his voice did not proceed from his heads, but from the midst of his body. 11. And I numbered his little wings,[7] and they [also][8] were eight. 12. And I saw, and lo! there arose on the right side[9] one wing[10] and reigned over the whole earth. 13. And I saw[11] that its end came and it was destroyed,[12] so that even its place was not known.[13] And [I saw, and lo!][14] the second wing[15] arose, and it also ruled over the whole earth a long time; 14. and it came to pass when it had reigned, its end came that it should be destroyed,[12] as the first. 15. And lo! a voice was heard which said to it: 16. Hear thou who for the whole of this time hast held the earth; this [message][16] I announce to thee before thou shalt be destroyed[12]: 17. None of those

[1] L. *flew with* (rightly). [2] Or *gainsaid*.
[3] *i. e.* uttered his voice (a Hebraism).
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] Or *watch*: each wing (a pair of wings) is to be active for a limited time, and in succession.
[6] *i. e.* for successive limited periods.
[7] L. *anti-wings*.
[8] Added by Syriac; L. *lo!* [9] See *E.A.*, p. 252.
[10] Perhaps originally *one from the pairs of wings*: see *E.A.*, p. 252.
[11] L. *and it came to pass* (cf. the other Versions).
[12] = ἀφανίζεσθαι; L. *appeared no more* (R.V.).
[13] L. and other versions *appeared no more* (was not visible).
[14] Absent from the other Versions.
[15] = probably Augustus (the first wing or pair of wings = Julius Cæsar).
[16] Added by Syriac.

who (shall be) after thee shall hold (rule) as[1] the whole of this time,[2] yea, not as[1] the half of it![3] 18. And [I saw, and lo!][4] the third wing arose and ruled, it also as [5] its former companions,[5] [over the whole earth][6]; and it also was destroyed[7] [as the preceding].[6] 19. And so it happened to all the wings that [8] each one of them[8] ruled and again were destroyed.[7] 20. And I saw, and lo! in time the little wings also arose on the right side, so that they might hold (rule over) [the earth],[9] and some of them held (rule), but were destroyed[7] suddenly: 21. and some of them arose, but did not hold the rule. 22. And I saw after this that his[10] twelve wings were destroyed,[7] and (also) two of the little wings; 23. and there was left nothing of the eagle's body save only the three heads that were at rest and six little wings. 24. And I saw, and lo! from the little wings two wings separated themselves, and [11] went and rose up[11] under the head[12] that was upon the right side; but four remained in their place. 25. And I saw, and lo! these [13] four little wings[13] thought to rise up and to hold the rule. 26. And I saw, and lo! one rose up,[14] but immediately was destroyed;[7] 27. and again the second,[15] but it also was immediately destroyed[7] (more quickly)[16] than the first. 28. And I saw, and lo! the two[17] that remained of them

[1] = "anything like."
[2] L. *thy time* only (for *as the whole of this time*).
[3] The long reign of Augustus fits this description.
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] L. *the former* (cf. Ethiop.).
[6] Absent in L. and the other Versions.
[7] See note [12] to ver. 13 above.
[8] L. *one by one*.
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] L. *the*.
[11] L. *remained*; so Ethiop.
[12] *i.e.* probably, according to the original meaning of the vision, Domitian: who are represented by the two little wings it is difficult to say; see *E.A.*, p. 255, for suggestions.
[13] L. *under-wings*.
[14] ? Galba.
[15] ? Piso or Otho.
[16] The comparative has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac text.
[17] ? Civilis and Vitellius.

thought [of them][1] that they also should hold the principate[2]; 29. and while they were thinking [to rule over the earth, I saw, and][3] lo! one of the heads which were at rest, the middle one,[4] awoke; and it was greater than the two other heads. 30. [. . .][5] the two [6]of them[6] with itself; 31. and[7] with the two, that were with it, it turned and devoured the two little wings[8] which thought to reign. 32. But this head held (rule over) all the earth, and oppressed[9] its inhabitants with much hardship, and wielded power[10] over the inhabited world[11] more than all the wings that had been. 33. And after this I saw, and lo! suddenly[12] the middle head was destroyed,[13] it also even as the †wings†.[14] 34. But there remained two heads, (which) also ruled over the whole earth, and over its inhabitants. 35. And I saw, and lo! the head which was upon the right side devoured that upon the left.[15] 36. And I heard a voice which said to me: Look in front of thee, [Ezra],[16] and see,[17] what thou seest [(at) the end]![18] 37. And I saw, and lo! as it were a lion that was roused out of the wood, [crying and][18] roaring. And I heard how he uttered a man's voice to[19] the eagle, and spake and said to him: 38. Hear, [thou eagle],[18] and I will talk[20] to thee: The Most High saith to thee: 39. Art thou not it that art left of the

[1] Accidentally repeated from the previous clause.
[2] L. (cf. Ethiop.) *to reign*.
[3] Absent in L. and the other Versions.
[4] ? Vespasian.
[5] There is something missing here in the Syriac; L. *and I beheld how it allied*.
[6] L. *heads*. [7] L. + *and lo! the head*. [8] L. *under-wings*.
[9] Lit. *humbled*. [10] Or *prevailed*. [11] = ἡ οἰκουμένη.
[12] So L.; other Versions omit.
[13] See note [12] on ver. 13 above.
[14] Syr. text has *wing*.
[15] *i.e.* Domitian (the right head) compassed the death of Titus (the left head), as was popularly supposed at the time: see *E.A.*, p. 157.
[16] Absent from the other Versions.
[17] L. *consider*. [18] Peculiar to the Syriac.
[19] Or *against*. [20] Lit. *say*.

four beasts[1] which I had made to reign over my world, and that through them the end of the[2] times might come? 40. Thou, however, the fourth, art come, and hast overcome all the beasts who are past;

and thou hast wielded power over the world with great hardship,[3]
and over the whole inhabited earth with [4]bitter violence[4];
and thou hast dwelt in the inhabited earth full long with fraud,
and hast judged the earth, (but) not with truth.
42. For thou hast [5]plundered and robbed[5] the [6]humble and true,[6]
and evil entreated the meek[7];
and hast hated the upright,[8]
and loved the deceitful[9];
and hast overthrown the strongholds of such as were flourishing,[10]
and laid low the walls of those who did thee no harm—
43. And (so) thine insolence[11] hath ascended unto the Most High,
and . . .[12] unto the Mighty One.
44. And the Most High regarded his times,
and lo! they were ended[13];
and his æons[14] were fulfilled.[15]

[1] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; the eagle is identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii.
[2] L. *my*.
[3] L. *terror* (*trembling*).
[4] L. *grievous oppression*.
[5] L. *hast afflicted*.
[6] L. *meek*.
[7] L. *quiet* (or *peaceable*).
[8] L. *them that speak truth*.
[9] Or *liars* (? an allusion to Jewish informers).
[10] L. *them that were fruitful* (*i. e.* prosperous).
[11] Or *insult*.
[12] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syriac; L. *thy pride*: cf. for the whole ver. Isa. xxx. 29.
[13] The predetermined end has come.
[14] = the word usually rendered *world* (αἰών).
[15] Cf. Gal. iv. 4.

45. Therefore shalt thou be utterly destroyed,[1] thou
eagle,
and thy highest [2] wings,
and thy [3] little and evil wings,[3]
and thy bitter [4] heads,
and thy evil talons,
and thy whole [5] hateful and evil [5] body;
46. so that the whole earth may be rested and relieved now that she hath been freed from [6] violence, that she may hope for the judgement [7] and the mercy of her Maker.

XII. 1. And it came to pass when the lion had
spoken these words unto the eagle, 2. I saw, and lo!
the head that was left was destroyed [1] [suddenly].[8] And then the two wings [9] which went over unto it rose up in order to reign; and their principate had an end [10] and was full of uproar.
3*a*. And I saw that these also were destroyed [1] and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was greatly amazed.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XII. 3*b*–39)

3*b*. But I from great agitation [11] and much fear awoke, and said to my spirit:
4. Thou hast wrought all these things unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High!
5. And lo! I am [12] enfeebled in my soul,[12]
and my spirit [13] is much diminished,
nor is there left in me the least [14] strength because

[1] L. *appear no more* (cf. note on xi. 13 above).
[2] As opposed to the *little wings* = L. *horrible*.
[3] L. *little wings most evil*.
[4] L. *cruel*.
[5] L. *vain* (or *worthless*).
[6] L. + *thy*.
[7] Here *judgement* means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is destroyed, not the judgement of the last day.
[8] Absent in the other Versions.
[9] So all the Versions (we should expect *little wings*).
[10] L. *was short*.
[11] L. + *of mind*: cf. x. 28.
[12] L. *yet weary in my mind*.
[13] L. *in my spirit*.
[14] Lit. *not even a little*.

of the great fear which I have experienced[1] in this night. 6. And now I will petition the Most High, and he will[2] strengthen me unto the end. 7. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, and if [3]in truth I have blessing (laid up)[3] with thee above many, and if in very deed[4] my prayer hath ascended before [the majesty of][5] thy countenance— 8. strengthen me and make known to me, thy servant, the interpretation and explanation of this [6]vision that I have seen,[6] in order that thou mayest completely[7] comfort my soul! 9. For hast thou not counted me worthy to reveal to me the consummation of the times and the end of the periods?[8]

10. And he answered and said to me: This is the interpretation of the vision that thou hast seen: 11. The eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea—this is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel[9]; 12. but it was not interpreted to him as I interpret (it) to thee now, [10]or as I have interpreted (it) to thee.[10]

13. Behold the days come when a kingdom shall arise upon the earth, and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms which have been before it. 14. And twelve kings shall reign in it, one after another,[11] 15. But the second,[12] when he shall reign, shall hold (the rule) a longer time than (any of)

[1] Lit. *feared.* [2] L. *that he may.* [3] L. *I am justified.*

[4] Lit. *in truth* (but a different word from that used in the previous part of the verse).

[5] Absent from the other Versions; cf. vi. 32.

[6] L. *fearful vision* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]): *that I have seen* is probably a corruption in Syriac of *fearful.*

[7] This implies that partial consolation had already been given (in the vision of the heavenly Sion); see *E.A.*, p. 267.

[8] See *E.A.*, p. 267 f.

[9] Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is an interesting case of re-interpretation of prophecy; see *E.A.*, p. 268.

[10] ? an ancient gloss.

[11] *i.e.* apparently the "twelve Cæsars," according to the later (not the original) meaning of the vision; see *E.A.*, p. 268.

[12] *i.e.* Augustus.

the twelve. 16. This is the interpretation of the twelve wings which thou hast seen. 17. And whereas thou didst see [1] a voice which spake and did not emerge from the head [2] of the eagle, but from the midst of his body, this is the meaning [3]: 18. (because) [4] in the midst of the time [5] of that kingdom there shall be [6] many divisions, [6] and it shall be in danger [7] of falling; and it shall not fall then, but shall be re-established to its [8] former rule. [8] 19. And whereas thou didst see eight little wings [9] grow under his wings, this is the meaning [3]: 20. for there shall arise in it eight kings whose times shall be swift and whose periods hurried: 21. and two [10] of them shall perish when [11] the time shall come that divideth, [11] and four shall be kept for the time when its time cometh to be ended [12]; but two shall be kept for the consummation. 22. And whereas thou didst see in him three heads resting, this is the meaning [3]: 23. at the end of the times the Most High will arouse three kings [13]; and they shall renew many things therein, and shall grind [14] the earth 24. and its inhabitants with much hardship, more than all those that were before them. Therefore are they called the heads of the eagle; 25. for these are they who shall renew [15] his wickedness, and they shall consummate his end.

[1] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. Arm. *hear*.
[2] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. *heads*.
[3] = οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος; cf. x. 40.
[4] ὅτι (mistranslated)—here = *that*.
[5] *i. e.* between Nero and Vespasian.
[6] L. *no small contentions*: Ethiop. *much uproar*.
[7] = κινδυνεύσει.
[8] L. *to its beginning* (= εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς), misunderstanding Greek;
[9] L. *under-wings*.
[10] *i. e.* in the last days of Nero; ? Vindex and Nymphidius (see *E.A.*, p. 270).
[11] L. *the middle time approacheth*.
[12] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 270.
[13] So all the Versions except L. which has *three kingdoms*.
[14] Or *oppress*: L. *bear rule over*.
[15] = ἀνακαινώσουσιν; L. *bring to a head* = ἀνακεφαλαιώσουσιν, which is right (Syriac misread); see *E.A.*, p. 271.

26. And whereas thou didst see one great head destroyed[1]—(it is) because[2] only[3] one of them shall die upon his bed, but he also tormented[4]; 27. but as for the two who are left, the sword shall devour them; 28. because the sword of the one[5] shall devour his companion[6]; nevertheless he also shall fall by the sword at the end.[7] 29. And whereas thou didst see two wings[8] go over unto the head on the right side, this is the meaning[9]: 30. These are they whom the Most High hath set apart for his[10] end, and their kingdom shall[11] have an end,[11] and it shall be full of uproar, as thou hast seen. 31. And that thou didst see the lion that was roused out of the wood, crying and roaring and speaking to the eagle, and (that) he was reproving him for his iniquity, and all the[12] words,[13] as thou hast heard: 32. this is the[14] Messiah whom the Most High hath kept for the consummation of the days, who shall spring from the seed of David,[14] and shall come and speak with them;

and he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
and for their baseness admonish[15] them,
and set in order[16] before them their iniquity.

33. For he shall station them[17] before me[17] in their judgement,[18] alive; and it shall be when he rebuketh

[1] Cf. note on xi. 13 above.
[2] = ὅτι introducing direct speech (misunderstood by the Syriac translator).
[3] Cf. Ethiop.; L. omits.
[4] ? Trajan (according to the later interpretation of the vision); see *E.A.*, p. 271 f.
[5] ? Hadrian.
[6] ? Lusius Quietus (see *E.A.*, p. 272).
[7] This seems to be pure prediction.
[8] L. *under-wings*.
[9] Cf. note [3] on ver. 17 above.
[10] *i.e.* the eagle's.
[11] L. *be short*.
[12] L. *his*.
[13] = λόγων which may = *deeds* here; see *E.A.*, p. 272.
[14] *Messiah . . . from seed of David*: cf. Rev. v. 5; for the mixed representation (pre-existent yet born) cf. *E.A.*, p. 273; for the lacuna in L. of this verse cf. R.V.
[15] Or *correct*.
[16] = ἐπιτάξει = L. (*infulciet*) = ἐπιπλήξει; see *E.A.*, p. 273.
[17] Or *first* (different points) which = L.
[18] L. *in judgement*.

them, then he shall destroy them.[1] 34. But my people who have been left he shall deliver in mercy, (even) them who have remained [2] within my borders [3]; and he shall make them joyful until the consummation of [4] the Day of Judgement cometh concerning which I have spoken with thee previously.[5] 35. This is the vision [6] thou hast seen, and this is its interpretation. 36. And thou alone hast been found worthy to have knowledge of the mystery of the Most High. 37. Write therefore in a book all these things that thou hast seen, and put them in a hidden place [7]; 38. and teach them to the wise of thy people,[8] (even to them) whose hearts thou knowest are able, comprehending,[9] to keep these mysteries.

39*a*. But do thou endure here yet seven days more, that there may be revealed to thee what the Most High willeth to reveal to thee!

Conclusion of the Vision (XII. 39*b*–48)

39*b*. And he departed from me.

40. And it came to pass when [10] the people saw [11] that seven days were past, and I not come [12] into the city, all the people gathered themselves together, from the small unto the great, [and arose] [13] and came unto me and answered and said to me:

41. how [14] have we sinned against thee,
or what evil have we done to thee,
that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place?

[1] The godless are first rebuked, and then destroyed; see *E.A.*, p. 274.

[2] L. *been saved.*

[3] *i.e.* within the Holy Land.

[4] L. *even.*

[5] Or *from the first.*

[6] L. *dream*: cf. xi. 1.

[7] Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9; 1 Enoch lxxxii. 1, civ. 11–13, and in our Book xiv. 26, 47; see *E.A.*, p. 275.

[8] *i.e.* for the circle of the initiated; the esoteric tradition was preserved in secret.

[9] L. *to comprehend and.*

[10] L. + *all.*

[11] L. *heard.*

[12] L. *returned.*

[13] Absent from L.

[14] Lit. *what.*

42. For thou [1] art left to us of all the prophets
as a cluster out of the vintage,[2]
and as a light [3] in a dark place,[4]
and as a haven of life to a ship when it standeth in a storm.

43. Or are not the evils that have befallen us
sufficient [but that thou also shouldest forsake us] [5]?
44. But if thou forsake us, it had been well for us
if we also had been consumed in the burning of Sion!
45. For we are not better than those who perished
there. And I [6] wept with a loud voice.[7] 46. And I
answered and said to them:

Be of good cheer, Israel,
and be not sorrowful, House of Jacob.

47. For your remembrance is [8] with the Most High,
and the Mighty One doth [9] not forget you for ever.

48. But I have not forsaken you, and will not forsake [10]
you, but I have come to this place
to pray for the devastation of Sion,
and to ask mercy for our [11] Sanctuary's humiliation.

Transition to the Sixth Vision (XII. 49–51)

49. And now go ye every one to his own house and I
will come unto you [12] after these days.[12] 50. And the
people went into the city as I had bidden them.
51. But I sat in the field [13] seven days as he had
commanded me; and I ate of the flowers of the field
only, and of the herbs was my food in those days.

[1] Ethiop. and some MSS. of L. + *alone* (but best MSS. of L. omit).

[2] Cf. ix. 21; Isa. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13. [3] Or *lamp*.

[4] Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19 (? a citation from our passage).

[5] This clause has accidentally dropped out of L.

[6] So Ar.[1], but L., Ethiop., Ar.[2] have rightly *they* (Greek ἔκλαιον can be translated either way).

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 8. [8] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 279.

[9] L. *hath not forgotten*. [10] L. *depart from*, so Ethiop. Ar.[1]

[11] L. *your*. [12] Viz. those mentioned in xii. 39.

[13] *i.e.* of Ardat (cf. ch. ix.).

VISION VI

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA) (XIII. 1–58)

The Vision (XIII. 1–13*a*)

XIII. 1. And it came to pass after seven days, and [1]I saw a vision[1] in the night: 2. and lo! a great[2] wind arose in[3] the sea, so that it stirred all its waves. 3. And I saw, [4][and lo! the wind brought up from the heart of the sea as it were the form of a Man. And I saw, and lo!][4] this man flew with the clouds of heaven[5]; and wherever he turned his face to look [and see][6] everything[7] before his look[7] trembled; 4. and whithersoever the voice of his mouth went out, all who heard his voice melted away as wax melteth when[8] the fire causeth it to smell.[8] 5. And after this I saw, and lo! there were gathered together a multitude of men innumerable, from the four winds of heaven to fight with the Man who came up out of the sea. 6. And I saw that he cut out for himself a lofty[9] mountain and flew [and stood][10] upon it.[11] 7. But I sought to see the region or place whence the mountain had been cut out, but could not. 8. And after this I saw, and lo! all who were gathered together to fight with him were in great fear, but yet

[1] L. *I dreamed a dream;* cf. xi. 1.
[2] *i.e.* violent; L. omits. [3] L. *from.*
[4] The bracketed words have been omitted in L. by homoioteleuton.
[5] Cf. Dan. vii. 13. [6] Absent from the other Versions.
[7] L. *seen under him.*
[8] L. *it feeleth the fire;* for the figure cf. Mic. i. 4; Ps. xcvii. 5; 1 Enoch i. 6 (of Theophanies).
[9] L. *great.* [10] Absent from the other Versions.
[11] Cf. (for the verse) Dan. ii. 45.

they dared to fight. 9. And when he saw the violence [1] [of the coming] [2] of their multitude that came, he did not lift up his hand, neither did he hold spear nor any of all the weapons of war; 10. but I saw how he sent out of his mouth only as it were waves [3] of fire, and out of his lips a breath of flame, and he was shooting forth [4] glowing coals of storm.[4] 11. And these were all mingled together—the waves of fire, and the breath of flame, and the mass [5] of the storm; and they fell upon the violence [1] [of the coming] [2] of [6] that multitudinous people [6] that was prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing was visible of that multitude of men without number save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke. And I saw and was amazed.

12. And after this I saw that Man come down from the mountain, and he called unto him another multitude of men that was peaceable.[7] 13*a*. And there drew nigh unto him the likeness [8] of many men; but some of them were glad, and some sad; and some of them were bound,[9] and some brought those who were to be offered.[10]

The Apocalyptist reflects on the Vision
(XIII. 13*b*–24)

13*b*. But I through great agitation awoke; and I petitioned the Most High and said: 14. Thou from

[1] = τὴν ὁρμὴν (*the assault*).
[2] This appears to be redundant (see other Versions).
[3] R.V. *flood*.
[4] L. (corrected text) *a storm of sparks*: the whole picture is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27; 1 Enoch lxii. 2: see *E.A.*, p. 288 f.
[5] So L.: we should expect the same term here as that used at the end of ver. 10 (*coals* or *sparks*); see *E.A.*, p. 289.
[6] L. *the multitude*.
[7] *i.e.* Messiah's subjects who are gathered after the destruction of his enemies; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27 f., and see *E.A.*, p. 289.
[8] L. *faces*.
[9] Heathen captives.
[10] Returning Jewish exiles brought by the heathen as an oblation; cf. *E.A.*, p. 290.

the beginning hast shewn thy servant these wonders, and [while I am not worthy][1] thou hast esteemed me (worthy) to receive my petition[2]: 15. and now reveal to me further the interpretation of this vision[3]! 16. For as I think in my mind[4]: woe to those who are left in those days, and yet much more woe to those who are not left! 17. Because (they) who are not left shall be grieved 18. over[5] that which is reserved for those who are left in the last days, but they do not attain thereto.

19. To those also who survive therefore woe! For they must see great perils with many distresses, as these visions[6] shew. 20. But yet it is expedient[7] that one should stand in peril and come into these things than that he should pass away as a cloud from the world and not see what happeneth at the consummation of the times.

21. And he answered and said to me: I will both tell thee the interpretation of thy vision, and also will reveal[8] to thee concerning those about whom thou hast spoken. 22. Whereas thou hast spoken concerning those who survive [and concerning those who do not survive][9]—this is the meaning[10]:

23. He that endureth[11] danger in that time, he shall keep those who lie in danger, even such as have [12]works and faith[12] towards [the Most High and][13] Mighty One. 24. See,[14] therefore, that more blessing is given to those who shall have survived than to those who have died.

[1] Absent from other Versions—the Syriac text may here be out of order.

[2] Cf. ix. 24, 25.

[3] L. *dream*.

[4] Notice the reflective tone of vers. 16–20, and cf. *E.A.*, p. 291.

[5] L. *knowing as they do*.

[6] L. *dreams*.

[7] L. *easier*.

[8] L. *open*.

[9] So Ar.[1] (cf. Ethiop), but L. accidentally omits.

[10] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[11] A misrendering by the Syriac; L. rightly *he that bringeth the danger*, i. e. the Messiah.

[12] Cf. viii. 33, ix. 7.

[13] Accidentally omitted by L.

[14] L. *know*.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XIII. 25–53*a*)

25. But this is the interpretation [1] of thy [2] vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the sea— 26. he it is whom the Most High is keeping for long ages,[3] through whom [4] he will deliver his creation; and he shall bring through [5] those who are left. 27. And whereas thou didst see that from his mouth there issued [6] a breath of fire and of storm,[6] 28. and that he did not hold [in his hand] [7] spear or warlike weapon, and destroyed the [8] massed coming [8] of that gathering which came to wage war with him—this is the meaning [9]:

29. Behold the days come, when the Most High † is about † [10] to deliver them that are upon the earth, 30. great horror shall come upon the inhabitants of the earth. 31. And they shall plan to fight one with another, city with city, and place with place, and people with people, and kingdom with kingdom.[11] 32. And it shall be when these [12] signs shall come to pass, of which I have previously told thee,[13] then shall my Son be revealed [14] whom thou sawest as a man coming up. 33. And when all the peoples hear his voice they shall leave every one of them his place and the warfare which is among them [15]; 34. and there

[1] So all the Versions except L., which has *these are the interpretations.*

[2] L. *the.*

[3] Lit. *for many times:* the reference is to the heavenly pre-existent Messiah (the *Son of Man* of 1 Enoch xxxvi.–lxx.).

[4] *i. e.* through the Messiah; but L. *which by his own self* (*i. e.* the Most High himself); cf. *E.A.*, p. 293.

[5] L. *order* (= διατάξει); Syriac may have read διάξει.

[6] L. *wind and fire and storm.*

[7] L. omits.

[8] Lit. *mass of the coming:* L. *assault.*

[9] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[10] So read (*dĕʻāthîd*); Syriac text *will make;* Versions support correction.

[11] Cf. Isa. xix. 2; Matt. xxiv. 7.

[12] L. + *things shall happen and the.*

[13] Cf. ix. 1.

[14] Cf. vii. 28.

[15] L. *they have one against another.*

shall be gathered together men without number,[1] as thou didst see that they desired to come and wage war with that Man. 35. But he will stand upon the top of Mount Sion[2]; 36. and Sion shall come and be revealed to all, prepared and builded,[3] as thou didst see the mountain that was cut out without hands. 37. But he, my Son, shall reprove those peoples who are come for their ungodliness, which things[4] are like unto a storm; 38. and shall set in order[5] before them their wicked deeds and the torment wherewith they are destined to be tormented; but after this he [6]that was likened to a flame[6] shall destroy them[7] without labour by the Law[8] of him who[8] hath been likened unto fire.

39. And whereas[9] he summoned and gathered unto himself another [10]multitudinous mass[10] that was peaceable[11]: 40. these are the nine and a half tribes,[12] which were led captive out of their land in the days of Josiah[13] the King, which (tribes) Salmanassar[14] the King of the Assyrians led captive, and brought them to the other side of the River [Euphrates][15]; and they were led captive to another land. 41. For

[1] *i. e.* the heathen hosts arrayed against the people of God and led by Gog and Magog; the battle of Armageddon; cf. Ezek. xxxviii.–ix.; Rev. xvi. 16, and see *E.A.*, p. 294 f.

[2] Here identified with the mountain cut out without hands; cf. Ps. ii. 6, and see *E.A.*, p. 295.

[3] *i. e.* the heavenly Sion (in the previous verse the earthly Sion is meant).

[4] *i. e.* the rebukes.

[5] Cf. xii. 32 note.

[6] This clause is misplaced in Syriac; it should come at end of previous verse (*which were likened*, etc.); cf. L.

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii. 2 f.; apparently all the heathen are included in this multitude; see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[8] L. *that* (*i. e.* the Law, not the Lawgiver, is compared to fire).

[9] L. + *thou didst see that.*

[10] L. *multitude.*

[11] Lit. *of peace.*

[12] So other Oriental Versions; but L. *ten:* see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[13] A historical error: Hoshea was the name of the King (cf. 2 Kings xvii.).

[14] Syr. text *Salbanassar* (same mistake in text of *Ap. Bar.* lxii. 6).

[15] Absent from other Versions.

they [had deliberated among themselves and][1] had taken this counsel that they would leave the multitude of the peoples and go to an inner[2] region where never the race of men had dwelt, 42. that there also they might keep their Law which they had not kept in their own land. 43. And they entered in through the narrow passages of the Euphrates. 44. For the Most High then wrought marvels[3] for them; for he held back the sources[4] of the River until they had all passed over,[5] 45. that they might proceed †to the dry land†.[6] It was a great way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that region was called Arsaph,[7] [(at) the end of the world.][8] 46. And they have dwelt there until the last time. And then[9] when they are about to come again, 47. the Most High will again hold back the sources[4] of the River [Euphrates],[10] that they may be able to pass over. Therefore hast thou seen the multitude of men[11] that was gathered together in peace. 48. But they also that are left from thy people [shall live],[10] they who are found within my holy borders. 49. And it shall be when he shall destroy the multitude of the peoples that are gathered together, he will protect the people that remain; 50. and then will he shew them many marvels.

51. And I said further to him: O Lord my Lord, make known to me this, wherefore I have seen the Man to come up from the heart of the sea.

52. And he answered and said to me: Just as one hath not the power to search out [and find][12] or to know what is in the depths[13] of the sea, so can none

[1] L. omits. [2] L. *further*. [3] L. *signs*.
[4] Lit. *outlets*. [5] Cf. Josh. iii. 15.
[6] So read (by a slight emendation).
[7] Ethiop. *Asaph*: L. correctly *Arzareth* (= *'ereṣ 'aḥereth*, "another land" of Deut. xxix. 25 f. (Heb. 24 f.); see *E.A.*, p. 298).
[8] Peculiar to the Syriac.
[9] So Ethiop., but L. *now*.
[10] Absent from the other Versions.
[11] L. *multitude*. [12] Absent in other Versions.
[13] Other Versions (except Arm.) have sing.

of those who are upon the earth see my Son or them that are with him,[1] except in that time in his day.[2]
53*a*. This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen.

Transition to the Seventh Vision (XIII. 53*b*–58)

53*b*. Therefore there hath been revealed to thee these things, to thee alone,

54. because thou hast forsaken the things that are thine own,
and hast devoted thyself to the things which are ours,[3]
and hast searched out [4] the things of the Law.[4]

55. For thy life thou hast directed in wisdom,
and hast called discernment "my [5] mother."

56. Therefore have I shewed thee these things; for (there is) a reward with the Most High.

And it shall be after three[6] days I will speak other things with thee, and will explain to thee [7] the last marvels.[7]

57. And I went and walked in the field [8] much and praised [8] the Most High for the marvels which he had wrought at (different) times,[9]
58. and (because) he directeth the times and what cometh in the times. And I sat [10] there three days.

[1] *i. e.* Messiah's companions ? cf. vii. 28: or possibly a host of angels; cf. *E.A.*, p. 300.
[2] Cf. Luke xvii. 22.
[3] L. *mine* (possibly we ought so to read here).
[4] L. *my Law*.
[5] L. *thy;* cf. Prov. vii. 4.
[6] L. + *more*.
[7] So Ar.[1]; but L. *things difficult and marvellous*.
[8] L. *and praised much*.
[9] R.V. *from time to time*.
[10] i. e. *abode* (a Hebraism).

VISION VII

(THE EZRA LEGEND) (Ch. XIV)

Ezra's Commission (XIV. 1–17)

XIV. 1. And it came to pass after this,[1] while I was sitting under an oak,[2] and lo! a voice came out from a bush [3] opposite me, and answered and said to me: Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Behold (here) am I![4] And I rose upon my feet, and he said to me:
3. I did manifestly reveal myself from the bush, and talked with Moses when my people was enslaved in Egypt;
4. and I sent him, and he[5] led my people out of Egypt [and brought them into the wilderness][6] and led them up to[7] Mount Sinai; and I held him by me many days,

5. and explained to him many marvels,
and made known to him the secrets of the times, and shewed him the consummation of the periods;[8]

and I said to him:
6. Of these words some[9] shalt thou keep secret, and some reveal.[9]

[1] L. (Ar.[1], Arm.) *the third day*.

[2] Some well-known oak (? near or in Jerusalem); cf. *Ap. Bar.* vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, and see *E.A.*, p. 307.

[3] Cf. Exod. iii. 4.

[4] L. + *Lord* (so Ar.[2]), but other Versions omit.

[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and some MSS. of L., but other MSS. and Ethiop. and Arm., *I*.

[6] So Ar.[1]; absent from other Versions.

[7] Lit. *caused them to ascend*.

[8] *i.e.* the sacred eschatological tradition, which was associated with the name of Moses (cf. the *Assumption of Moses*); see *E.A.*, p. 308.

[9] These clauses are inverted in the other Versions: the secret "words" = Apocalyptic tradition; the published "words" = the Pentateuch ("Law of Moses").

7. And now I do say to thee, [Ezra][1]: 8. The signs which I have shewed thee previously, and the visions which thou hast seen, and their interpretation which thou hast heard—lay them up in thine heart, [and hide them].[1] 9. For thou shalt be taken up from men and shalt be henceforth with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.

10. For the world hath lost its youth,[2]
    and the times are nigh to old age.[3] . . . .
13. Now, therefore, set in order thine house,[4]
    and warn thy people;
    and console their lowly ones,
    [and instruct their wise];[5]
    and give up henceforth[6] this life corruptible,
14. [7]And let go from thee the burden[8] of men,
    and let go the thoughts of death,[7]
    and cast off now the weak nature,
    and lay aside these thoughts that oppress thee,
    and hasten to remove[9] from these times!

15. [10]For the evils that thou hast seen, which have come to pass now—even worse than these shall yet happen after them.[10] 16. For as the world diminisheth through old age, so evils multiply upon the inhabitants of the earth.

17. For truth withdraweth further off,
    and falsehood approacheth;[11]
for already lo! there hasteneth to come the eagle that thou hast seen in vision.

[1] Added by Syriac.
[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10, and in our Book v. 50–55.
[3] Lit. *to be old*: vers. 11–12 are absent from Syriac and Arm.; they may possibly be a later insertion, see *E.A.*, p. 310, and cf. R.V.
[4] *i.e.* the House of Israel.
[5] So Oriental Versions; L. omits.
[6] Or *now*.
[7] These clauses are thus transposed in the Syriac; other Versions invert; cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.
[8] L. *burdens*.
[9] Cf. Isa. lvii. 1.
[10] L. *for yet worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter* (R.V.).
[11] Cf. vi. 27, 28, vii. 24.

Ezra prays for Inspiration (XIV. 18–26)

18. And I answered and said: Let me speak before thee, Lord! 19. Behold, I go as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who exist; those, however, who are yet to be born—who is to warn them?

20. For the world is set in darkness,
and its inhabitants (are) without light.[1]

21. For the Law is burnt,[2] and no one knoweth the works that thou hast done,[3] or what thou art about to do.[4] 22. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me, [Lord],[5] the Holy Spirit, and I will write all that hath happened in the world, from the beginning everything that hath been written in thy Law,[6] that men may be enabled to find the path,[7] and that they who would live at the last[8] may[9] know the way.[9]

23. And he answered and said to me: Go and gather together thy people, and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.[10] 24. But do thou prepare for thyself many writing-tablets, and take with thee Seraia and Daria[11] and Shelemia, together with Helkana and Shiel,[12] these five[13] men, because they are equipped for writing quickly; 25. and thou shalt come hither and I will light in thine heart a lamp of discernment which shall not be extinguished until

[1] *i.e.* without the light of the Law; cf. for the general idea Ephes. vi. 12.
[2] Cf. iv. 23.
[3] *i.e.* the historical Books of the O.T.
[4] *i.e.* the eschatological parts of the O.T.
[5] Absent from the other Versions.
[6] *Law* in the wide sense = the Holy Scriptures (of the O.T.); see *E.A.*, p. 313.
[7] Ethiop. + *of life* (a correct gloss).
[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxvi. 5; for *life* = eternal life in such contexts; cf. *E.A.*, p. 313.
[9] L. *live*.
[10] Moses was in the mount 40 days (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28); Ezra is the "second Moses."
[11] Read *Dabria* as in L.
[12] ? *Asihel.*
[13] See *E.A.*, p. 314.

thou shalt complete what thou art about to write. 26. And when thou shalt have finished, some of them thou shalt make public,[1] and some thou shalt [2] conceal, and shalt deliver them [2] to the wise; [for] [3] to-morrow at this time thou shalt begin to write.

Ezra's Last Words (XIV. 27–36)

27. And I went, as he had commanded me, and gathered together all the people, and said to them : [4] 28. Hear, Israel, these words. 29. Our fathers were formerly [5] strangers in the land of Egypt, and were delivered from thence. 30. And they received the Law of life [6] and kept it not, which [7] you also after them have transgressed. 31. And a land was given to you for an inheritance in the land of Sion; but you and your fathers have committed iniquity and have not kept the ways which [8] Moses, the servant of the Lord [8] commanded you. 32. But the Most High, who is a judge of truth,[9] took from you [10] what for a time [10] had been given to you. 33. And now ye are here in distress, and your brethren [11] are (further) inland (removed) from you [11] in another land.

34. If ye, then, will [12] admonish your soul,[12]
and will discipline your heart;
ye shall be preserved [13] in your life,[13]

[1] *i. e.* publish to all. [2] L. *deliver in secret.*
[3] Added by Syriac.
[4] For the following cf. Moses' farewell discourse in Deut. (chs. xxvii.–xxxi.).
[5] Or *at the beginning.*
[6] *i. e.* which could win life and immortality for those who observed it; cf. ix. 31 f.
[7] So L. (? read *even as*; see *E.A.*, p. 316).
[8] L. (Arm. Ethiop.) *the Most High*: the Syriac inserts *the Most High* at the beginning of the following verse.
[9] *i. e.* a true or faithful judge.
[10] L. *in due time what*: see *E.A.*, p. 316.
[11] Or *are further inland than you* (cf. Ethiop.): L. *are among you* (*i.e.* the Ten Tribes have already returned); see *E.A.*, p. 316 f.
[12] L. *rule over your understanding.* [13] L. *alive.*

and after death mercy shall befall[1] you.
35. For judgement cometh after death,
when we live again;
and then shall the name[2] of the righteous be revealed,
and the works of the ungodly be made manifest.
36. But let none approach unto me nor seek me for forty days.

The Restoration of the Scriptures (XIV. 37–48)

37. And I took these five man as he had commanded me, and went into the field, and we remained
there [as he had told me].[3] 38. And it came to
pass on the morrow,[4] and lo! a voice called to me,
and said:

Ezra, [Ezra],[5] open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!

39. And I opened my mouth and saw, (and lo!)
there came[6] to me a full cup, and it was full as it
were (of) water, and its appearance[7] was like fire.[8]
40. And I took and drank. And it came to pass
when I had drunk it, lo!

My heart overflowed with discernment,
and [9] my breast poured forth wisdom,[9]
and my spirit retained memory.[10]

41. And my mouth was opened and was not shut.
42. But the Most High gave understanding to the five men, and they wrote the things that were dic-

[1] Lit. *be upon*.
[2] L. *names*.
[3] So Ar.[2]; the other Versions omit.
[4] Lit. *on the day of the morrow*.
[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and Arm., but L. and Ethiop. omit.
[6] L. *was reached*.
[7] Or *likeness*: L. *colour*.
[8] The cup is the cup of inspiration filled with the Holy Spirit: the original inspiration of the Scriptures is here repeated; see *E.A.*, p. 318.
[9] L. *wisdom grew in my breast*.
[10] An interesting feature in this picture of inspiration; cf. *E.A.*, p. 319.

tated in order,[1] in written signs that they knew not.[2]
And I [3] sat there forty days; 43. but they wrote by
day, and at night did eat bread [alone] [4]; I, however,
dictated by day, and at night was not silent.[5] 44. And
in forty days were written ninety and four [6] books.
45. And it came to pass when the forty days were
completed, the Most High spake with me, and said
to me: The twenty and four books that ye [7] have
written [first],[8] make public that those who are worthy
and those who are not worthy [from (among) the
people] [9] may read therein [10]: 46. but the seventy [11]
thou shalt keep and deliver them to the wise of thy
people. 47. For in them are

the veins [12] of understanding,
and the fountains [13] of wisdom,
and the †stream† [14] of knowledge.

48. And I did so [15] in the seventh year, in the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation, and three months and twelve days.[16]

[1] In unbroken succession (the root meaning of the word used is *flow*).

[2] *i. e.* in the "square" Hebrew script used in printed Hebrew: of this which replaced the old Hebrew script Ezra was regarded as the inventor; see *E.A.*, p. 319.

[3] So Arm. (Ar.[1]), but L. Ethiop. *we*.

[4] Absent in other Versions.

[5] Cf. 2 Enoch xxiii. 3 f. (Vretil dictates, and Enoch writes in 30 days and 30 nights 366 books).

[6] So the Oriental Versions rightly; L. has 904 (and variants).

[7] L. *thou* (*hast*).

[8] So all the Versions except L., which omits.

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] The 24 books = the books of the O.T., which was read publicly in the synagogues; for the reckoning cf. *E.A.*, p. 320.

[11] L. + *last*: the 70 books = the Apocalyptic literature contained in secret books.

[12] i. e. *springs*: L. has sing.

[13] L. sing.

[14] So read (by a slight emendation).

[15] Here text of L. breaks off; the remaining verses are preserved in the Oriental Versions.

[16] = 5042 a.m. See *E.A.*, p. 321.

Conclusion of the Book (XIV. 49–50)

49. And thereupon [1] was Ezra caught away and taken to the place of such as were like him,[2] after he had written all these things. 50. But he was called the [3] Scribe of the Knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever.[3] Ended is the first discourse of Ezra.

[1] Lit. *in them* (the days mentioned).
[2] Cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.
[3] Title of Enoch (cf. 1 Enoch xii. 3 f., xv. 1); see *E.A.*, p. 321.

APPENDIX

Note on 4 Ezra XIV. 21 f. Translated from the Syriac of Jacob of Edessa

Nor wilt thou wonder that not all the books have reached us, which Solomon in his wisdom composed, when thou hearest that not even the sacred books which Moses wrote, nor even those of the prophets, have all reached us, but portions only of these, those namely which God gave to Ezra the priest to preserve and write, and administer, that they might be handed down and come to us, so that in them and from them we might learn the knowledge of those things that are befitting. But further, not even all those (writings) that Ezra wrote have reached us; for of the ninety books which it is written and alleged that he caused to be written, only those which are read in Church have reached us.

The above passage, which is extant at the end of the 13th Epistle of Jacob of Edessa, was published (in the Syriac text) by Dr. William Wright in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1867. Its reference to our Book seems to be unique in Syriac Literature so far as at present known. The last words may possibly imply that 4 Ezra was one of the books "which are read in Church," *i. e.* in the Syrian churches, but this is not certain. The number *ninety* should be corrected to *ninety-four.*

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SERIES I

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(PRE-RABBINIC)

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

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THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

(II ESDRAS III–XIV)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC TEXT,
WITH BRIEF ANNOTATIONS

BY

G. H. BOX, M.A.

LECTURER IN RABBINICAL HEBREW, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON
HON. CANON OF ST. ALBANS

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
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1917

EDITORS' PREFACE

The object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. Oesterley.
G. H. Box.

2071693

INTRODUCTION

Short Account of the Book

The Fourth Book of Ezra—or, as it appears in our official Apocrypha, 2 Esdras—is, in the form in which it appears in our Bibles, an enlarged book. The original work, which forms the Apocalypse proper, consists of chapters iii.–xiv. of 2 Esdras, and in the Oriental Versions these chapters form the complete Book. That is to say, chapters i.–ii. and xv.–xvi. of our 2 Esdras do not appear in the Oriental Versions of the Book at all; they are, in fact, later additions (probably Christian ones) to the Latin translation of the Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse of Ezra (= 2 Esdras iii.–xiv.) is extant in a Latin and several Oriental translations which are all based upon a lost Greek Version, and this latter, again, upon an original Hebrew text (also completely lost).

The Apocalypse itself appears to be a composite work which was redacted in its present form by an Editor about the year A.D. 120. The material used by him and embodied in the Book consists of a Salathiel Apocalypse (cf. iii. 1) which is contained mainly in chapters iii.–x. of 2 Esdras. This work, originally written in the name of Salathiel (= Shealtiel), the father of Zerubbabel, who lived through the Exile, is embodied in practically a complete form in our Apocalypse. It seems to have been written and published in Hebrew about the year A.D. 100. To it the final Editor appended three pieces derived from other sources, viz. (1) the famous Eagle-Vision (chs. xi.–xii.) and (2) the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.) —both extracted apparently from a Book of Dream-Visions—and (3) the Ezra-Legend (ch. xiv. mainly).

There are, naturally, traces of the final Editor's hand throughout in redactional links and adjustments, and also possibly some extracts from an eschatological source detailing the signs which are to precede the End of the World (iv. 52—v. 13*a*, vi. 11–29). The whole compilation is parallel with the twin (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later. The importance of both Apocalypses for the study of Jewish and Christian theology is very great, and will be referred to more fully below.

Title

It is interesting to note that in the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (i.–ii. xv.–xvi.) are distinguished, as a rule, by a separate enumeration. Different arrangements prevail, but the following is a widely accepted one—

1 Esdras = the Canonical Ezra-Nehemiah.
2 Esdras = 2 Esdras i.–ii. of our Apocrypha.
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha.
4 Esdras = 2 Esdras iii.–xiv. of our Apocrypha (*i. e.* = our Apocalypse).
5 Esdras = 2 Esdras xv.–xvi. of our Apocrypha.

The Oriental Versions also vary in the titles given to our Book. In the Ethiopic and Arabic it is called *The First Book of Ezra* (cf. also colophon at end of Syriac translation, following xiv. 50); the title given at the head of the Syriac translation is: *The Book of Ezra the Scribe, who is called Salathiel.* Clement of Alexandria quotes from the lost Greek Version as Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης, and this may have been the title of the Book in the (lost) Greek translation.

The Ancient Versions

The standard text is, of course, the Latin, and the Latin Version has been preserved in a considerable number of Latin MSS. of the Bible. But 4 Esdras is no part of the Latin Bible proper; it is usually printed

as an Appendix to the Vulgate, and certainly was prized among readers of the Latin Bible. The Vulgate text, as printed, is very corrupt, but considerable progress has been made during comparatively recent years in the formation of a critical text.[1] The English reader can see many of these results clearly set forth by a comparison of the A.V. and Revised Version of the Book in our official Apocrypha.

One striking difference which comes to view in the R.V. is that in chapter vii. a long passage of some seventy verses is inserted between verses 35 and 36, which is absent from the A.V. This is the famous Missing Fragment which was absent from all known Latin MSS. of the Book till the late Professor R. L. Bensly discovered (in 1875) the text in a ninth-century MS., which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens.[2] The passage had been cut out apparently for dogmatic reasons, but is extant in all the Oriental Versions.

The Latin Version, like the Oriental ones, was made from the lost Greek Version, and is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it. As a whole it is singularly faithful and literal, and is the most valuable of the Ancient Versions that have come down to us.

The English translations in the A.V. and R.V. are, of course, based primarily upon the Latin text. The Oriental Versions include a Syriac, Ethiopic, two Arabic, and an Armenian, and some fragments in other versions (Georgian, etc.). Of these by far the most valuable is the Syriac, from which the following translation is made. The Syriac text depends upon a single MS., the great Ambrosian Bible Codex at

[1] Fritzsche's *Libri Vet. Test. Pseudepigraphi Selecti* (appended to his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Græce*, Leipzig, 1871) marked an advance; *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, ed. by Bensly and James, Cambridge, 1895, is the best available edition in many ways.

[2] Prof. Bensly published a valuable edition of this discovery: *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge, 1875).

Milan. The text has been published by Ceriani. In the MS. our Book is preceded by the Apocalypse of Baruch, and is followed by the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are reckoned as a single book, viz. *The Second Book of Ezra*. Though our book is not given the title of *The First Book of Ezra*, a colophon at the end of the version says *Ended is the first discourse of Ezra*, which presumably implies such an enumeration. The Syriac Version is, on the whole, singularly faithful, though it betrays occasionally a tendency to amplify.

The Ethiopic text was first published in 1820 by Richard Laurence, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. A critical text, based upon several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann, and published after his death. A French translation of this (by Basset) appeared in 1899. The Ethiopic is much more paraphrastic than the Syriac, but occasionally attests valuable readings.

There are two Arabic Versions (Ar.[1] Ar.[2]), and also an Armenian Version, which are of less value. For further details see *E.A.*, General Introduction.

The lost Greek text, on which all the Versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may be based directly on the Syriac), are based, has been reconstructed by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum* (pp. 36–113).

We cannot here give in detail the arguments which make the existence of a Hebrew original highly probable, if not practically certain. The scholars who accept the hypothesis include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet. A Greek original has been upheld by some distinguished scholars of an earlier date, notably Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld. The question is fully discussed in the General Introduction to *E.A.*

Special Importance of the Book

The Ezra-Apocalypse is of many-sided importance. It is a genuine product of Judaism, but of a

Judaism that belonged to an earlier type than that represented in the Rabbinical Literature, as it has come down to us. In particular the Salathiel portions of the Book (contained in chapters iii.–x.) are of surpassing interest for the student of the New Testament. They betray an almost Pauline sense of the universality and devastating effects of sin (cf. esp. iv. 30, vii. 118), and manifest a pathetic longing for some efficacious means of salvation (viii. 6). While he values the Law, and the works of the Law, and even holds that some few, though not sinless, may yet secure a sufficiency of merit through works and faith to gain salvation, our Apocalyptist is yet acutely conscious of the impotence of the Law as a redeeming power (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). He discusses with profound emotion the problem of Israel's relation to the Law, and shows unmistakably that the orthodox answer fails to satisfy him. This answer may be summed up as follows: (*a*) God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.); (*b*) human intelligence is finite and limited (cf. iv. 12–32); (*c*) the course and duration of the present world have been pre-determined (iv. 33–43); the decisive moment will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

All difficulties will be solved by the coming in of the future Age, which will bring in an entirely new order. The present corruptible world will be dissolved, and give place to the incorruptible world and immortality (cf. vii. 114).

One fundamental difficulty to the Apocalyptist is the fewness of those who are destined to attain salvation, and the only answer the angel is able to give him is that the few are precious, and the many worthless. This provokes the protest that it would have been better if man had not been created (vii. 62–69), or at least restrained from sinning (vii. 116–126). Against the inevitable conclusion of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–140).

It will have become apparent how much akin the

thought of our Apocalyptist is to that of St. Paul. The same themes are discussed—the relation of Israel to the Law, faith and works, the divine *parousia*, grace, sin and the effects of Adam's sin, the benefit or otherwise of surviving to the *parousia*. Mr. C. W. Emmet in an article on *The Fourth Book of Esdras and St. Paul*[1] has worked out, in an illuminating way, the parallelism in thought between the two writers. He says—

> "We have seen how 4 Esdras rests finally on the inscrutability of God's ways, based on His unchallengeable power as Creator, and on His fatherly love for His creation. These are precisely the two answers which are combined in Romans. In ch. ix. St. Paul makes his well-known appeal to the absolute authority of God as Creator—*Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?*—using the same familiar metaphor of the potter and the clay. The peroration of the section in xi. 33 ff. emphasizes the same principle: *How unsearchable are His judgements, and His ways past finding out. For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor?* On the other hand, in ch. viii., in dealing with the problem of the sufferings of this present time and the final deliverance of creation, he has asserted the love of God in Christ as the ground of hope and the pledge of the ultimate solution (viii. 28 ff.; cf. v. 5). The main difference is that he has the historical manifestation of that love to which he can point in vindication of his argument. The fact that both writers place these two principles side by side, and that neither explicitly combines them, is certainly worth notice."

Mr. Emmet also calls attention to further important parallels. Both emphasize the contrast between Jacob

[1] Published in the *Expository Times* for September 1916 (pp. 551–556).

and Esau, with the same quotation from Malachi (4 Ezra iii. 16; Rom. ix. 13); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 72 and Rom. ii. 1–16; 4 Ezra vii. 73 f. and Rom. ii. 3 f., 4 Ezra v. 41 and 1 Thess. iv. 13. All this points to a common background of thought, and shows that St. Paul was not so isolated in his Jewish antecedents as is often supposed. As Mr. Emmet well says—

> "The author of the Salathiel Apocalypse is our best representative of the kind of Jewish thought with which St. Paul must have been in sympathy in his pre-Christian days. Had he not become a Christian, he might have written just such another book as 4 Esdras, while our unknown author would have surely been a strong 'Paulinist,' had he been able to adopt the Christian solution of the problems he faced so bravely."

The other elements in the Ezra-Apocalypse are also of high importance. The Eagle-Vision represents well the political eschatology that was accepted in Zealot circles; while the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.) is valuable as a presentation of the Apocalyptic view of the Heavenly Messiah, the Son of Man. For its relation to Daniel and to the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch reference must be made to full discussions elsewhere (see e.g. *E.A.*, pp. 280 ff.).

Bibliography

For a full account of the literature bearing on the subject, reference must be made to larger works. Constant reference has been made in the notes that follow to the writer's edition of the Book: THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE; *translated from a critically revised text, with critical introductions, notes and explanations; with a General Introduction to the Apocalypse, and an*

Appendix containing the Latin text, by G. H. Box (London, 1912).[1]

An important edition of the Latin text has been published in the Cambridge series of *Texts and Studies* (vol. iii. no. 2, 1895): *The Fourth Book of Ezra;* the Latin Version edited from the MSS., by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A., and Dr. Montague Rhodes James. The most recent critical edition is that of Dr. Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apocalypse*, Part I (Leipzig, 1910); it contains not only a critical edition of the Latin text, but also carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions.

Another important book is Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum* (1869), which contains the Latin text, Latin translations of the Oriental Versions, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text.

The Syriac text from which the translation that follows has been made directly, was published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, tom. v. pp. 44–111.

Of other works important for the study of the Book, the following are among the most valuable and accessible—

The Variorum Apocrypha, edited by C. J. Ball (gives A.V. with critical notes).

The monumental edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (in English translations, with commentaries), edited by Dr. R. H. Charles in 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913).

F. C. Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers* (London, 1909).

Dr. R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (London, 1899).

Dr. James Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (London, 1877).

Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1914).

[1] The same writer has also edited the Book in the second volume of Dr. R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford, 1913).

Reference may also be made to—

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., London, 1911); and to the articles " Messiah " and " Eschatology " in *The Jewish Encyclopædia* and the Bible Dictionaries.

Short Titles, Abbreviations and Signs Employed

1 Enoch = the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.
2 Enoch = the Slavonic Book of Enoch.
Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.
Ps. Sol. = The Psalms of Solomon.
L. = the Latin version.
E.A. = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* ed. by G. H. Box.

( ) round brackets enclose something added (in the translation) but not represented in the Syriac text.

[ ] square brackets enclose something represented in the Syriac, but absent from L. or the other Versions.

† † translations based upon an emendation in the Syriac text are so indicated.

THE BOOK OF EZRA THE SCRIBE, WHO IS CALLED SALATHIEL[1]

VISION I

(III. 1—V. 19).[2]

Introduction (III. 1–3).

III. 1. In the thirtieth[3] year of the fall of our city I, Salathiel, who am Ezra, was in Babylon, and lay stretched upon my bed and was troubled, and thoughts were coming up upon my heart,[4] 2. because I saw the desolation of Sion and the wealth of the dwellings[5] of Babylon; 3. and my spirit was sore amazed, and I began to speak to the Most High words of fear.

The First Questions: Whence the Sin and Misery of the World? Is Israel's Punishment just? (III. 4–36)

4. And I said: O Lord my Lord,[6] didst not thou speak from the beginning,[7] when thou formedst the

[1] This is the title of the Book in the Syriac MS.

[2] The numeration of chapter and verse follows the Latin (so E.V. 2 Esdras).

[3] *i.e.* primarily the 30th year after 586 B.C. (= 556 B.C.); but typically the 30th year after A.D. 70 (= A.D. 100).

[4] *Thoughts . . . heart*, cf. Dan. ii. 29; iv. 5.

[5] L. and other Versions, *dwellers*.

[6] L. *O dominator Domine* (R.V. *O Lord that bearest rule*) = Heb. *'ădōnai Yahwe*.

[7] = ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; cf. Gen. ii. 7 f.

earth—and that thyself alone—and didst command the dust? 5. And it gave thee Adam, a dead body,[1] and he was the formation of thy hands; and thou didst breathe in him the breath of life and he was living before thee; 6. and thou leddest him into Paradise which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came.[2] 7. And to this one thou didst give the commandment,[3] and he transgressed it; and forthwith thou didst decree upon him death, and upon his generations. And from him were born peoples and tribes and tongues and clans which are without number. 8. And all peoples followed [4] their (own) works, and dealt wickedly and were ungodly before thee—and thou didst not hinder them. 9. But again in (due) time [5] thou didst bring the Flood upon the earth and upon the inhabitants of the world, and thou didst destroy them; 10. and their destruction was alike,[6] and as to Adam (came) death, so to them (came) the death of the Flood. 11. Nevertheless thou didst spare one of them [7] with his household—and from him all the righteous are descended.[8] 12. And it came to pass when the inhabitants of the earth began to multiply, and multiplied [9] children and peoples and many multitudes, and began again to be ungodly more than the former (generations) [10]— 13. it came to pass that when they practised ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose

[1] R.V. *a body without a soul.*

[2] *i. e.* Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was created before the earth; but according to another view (*Jubilees* ii. 7) on the third day. See *E.A.*, pp. 195 ff.

[3] Lit. *didst command the commandment.*

[4] Lit. *walked in* (for phrase *walked . . . works* cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 38).

[5] Lit. *in the time*, i. e. appointed; cf. iv. 37.

[6] *Alike*, Lit. *together* = Heb. *bĕ'aḥath* or *ke'ĕḥād* (cf. Jer. x. 8). They were involved in a common fate (L. *in uno*).

[7] L. + *Noah* (*Noe*).

[8] Lit. *have flowed.*

[9] L. *there were born.*

[10] Cf. Ps. Sol. i. 8 (*their transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them*).

one of them for thyself,[1] whose name was Abraham;
14. and thou didst love him, and thou didst shew
him the consummation of the times, him alone, be-
tween thee and him by night[2]; 15. and thou didst
establish with him an everlasting covenant,[3] and
didst promise him that thou wouldest never forsake
his seed. 16. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to
Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau[4]; and thou didst
choose thee Jacob for an heritage,[5] and Esau thou
didst hate[6]; and Jacob became a great people.[7]
17. And when thou didst bring up his seed from
Egypt [and didst establish with him an everlasting
covenant],[8] and didst bring them to Mount Sinai,

18. Thou didst incline the heavens,
and didst shake the earth—
and madest the world †quake†,[9]
and causedst the deeps to tremble,
and didst alarm the worlds.[10]

19. And thy glory went through the four gates[11]
of fire and earthquake, and of wind and cold, that
thou mightest give to Jacob's seed the Law,[12] and
to the race of Israel commandments. 20. And
yet thou didst not remove from them the evil
heart,[13] that thy Law might yield fruit[14] in them.
21. For the first Adam clothed himself with the
evil heart, and transgressed, and was overcome (and

[1] Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

[2] Cf. Gen. xv. 9 f.

[3] Lit. *covenants*; cf. Gen. xvii. 7.

[4] Cf. Josh. xxiv. 3 f.

[5] *Choose . . . heritage*; L. *segregasti tibi*.

[6] Cf. Mal. i. 2 (*Jacob I loved but Esau I hated*).

[7] Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

[8] Accidentally repeated in the Syr. MS. from ver. 15 above.

[9] Reading (with Violet) *wĕ'anîdtāh* for *wa'ḥadtāh* (= *and thou didst hold*).

[10] L. *sæcula*: the universe is meant; cf. Heb. i. 2.

[11] The four gates of the four lowest of the seven heavens may be meant; cf. *E.A.*, p. 14.

[12] Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 4.

[13] L. *cor malignum*: cf. iv. 30 (*grain of evil seed*) and vii. 92 (*the evil thought*).

[14] *i.e.* the fruit of death and condemnation; cf. Rom. vii. 5.

not only so) but also †all† [1] who were begotten from him. 22. And the infirmity remained in them, and (also) the Law, together with the evil root; then what was good departed, and the evil came.[2] 23. And the times passed away, and the seasons were ended; and thou didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; 24. and thou commandedst him to build [3] a city for thy name [4] [and a House] [5] that oblations from thine own might be offered therein.[6] 25. And this was done many years. But the inhabitants of the city sinned against thee 26. and did nothing new [7] beyond what Adam had done and all his generations; for they also were clothing themselves with the evil heart. 27. And (so) thou deliveredst thy City into the hand of thine enemies.[8]

28. And then I said in my heart: Are then the inhabitants of Babylon behaving well? And hast thou for this forsaken [9] Sion? 29. And it came to pass when I came hither [10] I saw many ungodlinesses which cannot be numbered, and many iniquities [11] my soul saw this thirty years; and my heart was perturbed, 30. because I have seen

how thou dost suffer the sinners,
and sparest the ungodly,
and hast destroyed thy people,
and preserved thine enemies;

[1] So read: Syriac text *upon*.

[2] The whole body fell under the dominion of sin; cf. Rom. vii. 7 f. and 20 f.

[3] David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

[4] *i.e.* the city called by Jahveh's name, the city of God; cf. Jer. xxv. 29; Ps. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 1 f.

[5] These words are lacking in L.; the addition accords with 2 Sam. vii. 5, 13.

[6] This is the correct reading. A.V. *incense and oblations* depends upon a corrupt Latin text.

[7] By a slight alteration of the Syriac text the translation will run *nothing other than* [*what Adam*].

[8] Cf. x. 23.

[9] This is the right reading. L. *dominavit* (*hath she dominion over Sion?* R.V.) is probably corrupt for *abominavit*.

[10] *i.e.* to Babylon. [11] The other Versions have *sinners*.

31. and hast not made known unto any[1] how thy way may be comprehended.[2] Hath Babylon behaved better than Sion? 32. Or knowest thou[3] any other people more than Israel? Or what tribe[4] hath believed thy covenant as Jacob hath— 33. they whose reward is not seen, and whose labour hath not borne fruit! For I have gone about[5] through the peoples and have seen that they are now prosperous although unmindful of thy commandments.

34. But now weigh thou[6] in the balance our iniquities and those of the inhabitants of the world, and the poise of the scale will be seen to be not inclined.[7] 35. Or when have the inhabitants of the world not sinned before thee? Or what people hath so kept thy commandments? 36. Men, however, with names[8] thou mayest find who have kept thy commandments, but a people[9] thou shalt not find.

The Divine Reply; God's ways are Inscrutable (IV. 1—V. 19).

IV. 1. And the angel who had been sent unto me, whose name was Uriel,[10] answered, 2. and said to

[1] L. *nihil nemini* corrupted to *nihil memini* in Vulg. = *I remember nought* (cf. A.V.).

[2] = πῶς καταληφθῇ: L. *derelinqui via hæc* = *how this way of thine should be forsaken*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 18.

[3] = ἔγνως. The other Versions read ἔγνω σε (*Hath any other nation known thee*, etc.).

[4] L. *tribes*.

[5] Lit. *passing I have passed*.

[6] "Weighing" sins is a common metaphor in Jewish literature; cf. 1 Enoch xli. 1 (of weighing deeds).

[7] Read, with a slight emendation of the Syriac, *which way it inclines* (for *to be not inclined*); cf. L. *which way the turn of the scale inclines*. The A.V. represents a corrupt Latin text.

[8] L. *homines per nomina* = *men that can be reckoned by name* (R.V.), *i.e.* noted individuals.

[9] So Ethiopic; the other Versions have pl. *nations*.

[10] Uriel is mentioned again in ver. 36 (Latin), v. 20 and x. 28, and not again in the Bible; cf. 1 Enoch xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4.

me : Is thy heart so perturbed [1] in [2] this world, and
wouldest thou comprehend the way of the Most High?
3. And I answered and said : Yea, my Lord. And
he answered me again, and said to me : Three ways
have I been sent to shew thee, and three similitudes
to set before thee : 4. if thou canst shew me one of
these, I also will shew thee the way which thou
longest to see, and I will teach thee why [3] the evil
heart (exists). 5. And I answered and said : Speak
on, my Lord. And he answered and said to me :

Come, weigh me the weight of the fire,
or measure the measure [4] of the wind,[5]
or recall me the day that is past.

6. And I said to him : Who of those born is able to do these (things) that thou hast spoken to me, that thou shouldest ask me about all these?

7. And he said to me : Had I asked thee [and said to thee] [6]

How many chambers [7] are in the heart of the sea [8]?
Or how many springs are in the sources [9] of the deep?
Or how many ways are above the firmament?
Or what are the outlets of Sheol?
Or what are the paths of Paradise [10]?

8. Thou wouldest have said to me :

Into the deep I have not descended,
Nor to Sheol as yet have I descended;
Neither to heaven have I ever ascended.[11] [12]

[1] Or *disquieted*.

[2] *i. e.* regarding (in matters pertaining to); cf. John iii. 12.

[3] A variant reading in L. = *whence comes* (but cf. R.V.).

[4] This is the right reading. L. has *flatum* = *blast* (probably a corruption of *satum*).

[5] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5 (for the whole verse). [6] Added by Syriac.

[7] Lit. *treasuries*; other Versions *habitations*.

[8] Cf. xiii. 3, 25, 51 (and Exod. xv. 8).

[9] Lit. *head*, Heb. *rōsh* (= *beginning*, e. g. Lam. iii. 19); R.V. *fountain head*.

[10] *i. e.* the heavenly Paradise (the paths leading to).

[11] Cf. Deut. xxx. 12 f.; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Rom. x. 6 f.; Baruch iii. 29, 39.

[12] The Armenian and Ethiopic add another clause *nor entered* (*ascended into*) *Paradise*, but L. omits.

9. But now I have not asked thee concerning these, but concerning the fire, and the wind and the day—things through which thou hast passed [1] and without which thou canst not be [2]; and thou hast said to me nothing concerning them.

10. And he said to me: Thou art incapable of understanding [3] the things that grow up with thee [4]; 11. how, then, can thy vessel [5] comprehend the way of the Most High? For the way of the Most High hath been created incomprehensible,[6] nor is it possible that one who is corruptible in a corruptible world should know the way of him who is incorruptible.

The Dialogue continued; the Limitations of Mortality are Inexorable, and Protests are Useless (IV. 12–21).

12. And when I heard these things I fell upon my face [7] and said to him: It would have been better for us if we had not come [8] than,[9] having come, that we should live in sin and suffer, and not know why we suffer.

13. And he answered and said to me: Once there went [10] the woods of the trees of the plain, and deliber-

[1] Reading *passed* by a slight emendation (altering a point) = "which you have experienced"; Ethiopic takes the clause closely with *day* (*day that is past*); cf. ver. 5.

[2] For the thought; cf. Wisd. ix. 16.

[3] L. + *thine own things.*

[4] *i.e.* the things that have intermingled with thy growth (man was supposed to be compounded of fire, wind, earth and water).

[5] *i.e.* the body as the vehicle of the soul or understanding.

[6] Lit. *in what is not comprehended* (the use of *in* here is a Hebraism).

[7] L. of these opening words is mutilated and corrupt (cf. A.V.).

[8] *sc.* into life (cf. Matt. xviii. 8) or "into the world" (= be born); cf. John i. 9.

[9] Lit. *or*, a rendering of the Greek comparative ἤ.

[10] Lit. *going they went* (a Hebraism); L. reads *I went forth into a wood* (cf. A.V.).

ated together [1] and said: 14. Come, let us go (and) make war with the sea that it may recede before us, and we will make us more woods.[2] 15. The waves of the sea likewise deliberated together,[1] and said: Come let us go up (and) wage war with the wood of the plain in order that there we make us another place. 16. And the deliberation of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; 17. and likewise also the deliberation of the waves of the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them.[3] 18. If then thou hadst been judge of these, which of them wouldest thou have acquitted, and which of them wouldest thou have condemned? 19. And I answered and said: Both of them have deliberated a vain deliberation; for the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves.

20. And he answered and said to me: Thou hast judged well! And why hast thou not judged thine own self? 21. For as the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves; [4] so also those who dwell upon the earth are able to understand only what is upon the earth, and he who [5] is above heaven what is above heaven.

The Dialogue continued; the Seer's Protests are answered by the Assurance that the New Age will solve all Difficulties (IV. 22–32).

22. And I answered and said: I pray thee,[6] my Lord,[7] wherefore, O my Lord, hath understanding been given me for thought? 23. For I have not

[1] Lit. *deliberated a deliberation.*
[2] Or sing. *another wood.*
[3] Cf. Jer. v. 22.
[4] L. *and the sea to its waves.*
[5] *He who* (sing.); Arabic [2] and Armenian understand plural *they who;* L. is ambiguous (*qui super cælos*).
[6] Cf. ix. 44, x. 37.
[7] This title is often used in address to the angel (iv. 41, v. 34 f., etc.).

desired to ask about the way[1] of what is above, but about those things which pass over us daily:

for[2] Israel is given up to the peoples,[3]
and the people thou hast loved[4] is given up to godless tribes;
and the holy Law of our fathers is set at nought,[5]
and the written covenants[6] are no more;
24. and we pass from the world as locusts,[7]
and †our life†[8] is as a breath.

We indeed[9] are not worthy that mercies should
come[10] upon us; 25. but what will he do for his great
name which is called upon us?[11] About these things
I have asked.

The Answer

26. And he answered and said to me: If thou shalt
be[12] thou shalt see, and if thou live long thou shalt
marvel; because the world is hastening fast to pass
away,[13] 27. for it endureth not to bear what hath
been promised[14] to the righteous, because this world
is full of sighing and many infirmities.[15]
28. For the evil concerning which thou didst ask

[1] L. *ways*.

[2] L. *wherefore?* (= διὰ τί; *for* = διότι).

[3] L. + *in obprobrium* (= *for reproach*) or (based on another reading) *in proprium* (= *for a possession*).

[4] Cf. Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 3; Rom. xi. 28 and *Ap. Bar.* v. i.

[5] Or *destroyed* (cf. xiv. 21 f.).

[6] A synonym for the Law; cf. Rom. ix. 4.

[7] A figure of swiftness; cf. Nah. iii. 17

[8] Text has *we live*: emend to *our life*.

[9] Lit. *also*.

[10] Lit. *should be*; L. *to obtain mercy*.

[11] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* v. 1. The expression implies ownership; cf. Is. xliii. 7, lxiii. 19; 2 Chron. vii. 14, and Ps. Sol. ix. 18 (*And thou didst set thy name upon us, O Lord*).

[12] *sc.* alive; so L. (si fueris); but Ethiop. *if thou remain* (survive) = ἐὰν μένῃς (read by L. and Syr. ἐὰν μὲν ᾖς).

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1.

[14] L. + *in their season* (*in temporibus*).

[15] Cf. 1 John v. 19.

me is sown, and its harvest [1] is not yet come. 29. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and the place be removed where the evil is sown, the land where the good is sown [2] cometh not. 30. Because that one grain of seed of evil [3] was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit [4] of ungodliness hath it begotten until now, and shall yet beget until the harvest [1] come!

31. Do thou now reckon up in thine own mind [5] and see how much fruit of ungodliness one grain of seed of evil that was sown hath produced [6]; 32. when, therefore, the ears of the good shall be sown,[7] which are numberless, what a harvest are they destined [8] to produce!

The Dialogue continued; When shall these Things be? When the Predestined Conditions are Fulfilled (IV. 33–43)

33. And I answered and said: How long and when [9] (shall) these things (be) [10]? For few and evil are our years.

34. And he answered and said to me: Thou mayest not hasten more than the Most High; for thou art hastening for thine own self, but the Most High for (the sake of) many.[11]

35. For did not the souls of the righteous ask

[1] Or *its threshing out* (the word can mean this); cf. L. *destrictio ejus* = *the plucking off of it* (corrupted to *destructio*, see A.V.); cf. for the whole idea the parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii.

[2] *i.e.* the new age. [3] Cf. iii. 20. [4] L. omits *fruit.*

[5] Lit. *compare (estimate) in thine own self* (L. *æstima autem apud te*).

[6] Lit. *made.*

[7] *i.e.* immediately after the dissolution of the present evil age.

[8] = Greek μέλλουσιν.

[9] Lit. *until when and when*; L. *usquequo et quando.*

[10] Come to pass; *these things* = these promised good things.

[11] Cf. v. 33.

concerning these things in their chambers,[1] and say:
How long shall we be here? And when (cometh)
the harvest [2] of our reward? 36. And the angel
Remiel [3] answered and said to them: Until the
number of those like you be fulfilled! [4] For

the Holy One hath weighed [5] the world,[6]
37. and with measure hath he measured the times,
and by number hath he numbered the seasons,[7]
neither will he rest [8] nor stir,
till the number appointed be fulfilled.[9]

38. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord,[10]
but †behold†,[11] we are all full of ungodliness! 39. Is
it perchance on our account that the reward of the
righteous is withheld, (on account of)[12] the sins of the
inhabitants of the earth?

40. And he answered and said to me: Go and
ask (the woman) who is pregnant if, when she completeth
her nine months, the womb can still hold
the birth within her?

41. And I said: It cannot, my Lord.

And he answered and said to me: Sheol [13] and the

[1] Lit. *treasuries*, i. e. "treasuries of souls" (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23), containing the righteous dead; cf. vii. 32, 80, 95; *Ap. Bar.* xxx. 2.

[2] L. *floor* (threshing-floor).

[3] *i. e.* the archangel Jeremiel who had charge of the souls of the righteous dead; cf. 1 Enoch xx.; see *E.A.*, p. 34 f.

[4] Cf. Rev. vi. 11.

[5] Lit. *weighing hath weighed.* [6] Or *age.*

[7] The underlying idea is predestinarian; cf. Wisd. xi. 20; 1 Enoch xlvii. 3.

[8] = ? σιγήσει a corruption of σείσει; L. has *move* (*excitabit*).

[9] Cf. "That it may please thee shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom."

[10] Here and in v. 38, vi. 11, vii. 17, 58, 75 used in address to the angel; it is strictly only appropriate to God, and is elsewhere only so used (so always in *Ap. Bar.*); cf. iii. 4 (note) and *E.A.*, p. 36.

[11] So read; Syr. text *this*

[12] A word has probably fallen out of the Syriac here (add *mĕṭûl*).

[13] *Sheol and the chambers of souls*, so Ethiop.; but L. = *the chambers of souls in the underworld* (Sheol). See *E.A.*, p. 37.

chambers of souls are like the womb: 42. for she who is giving birth maketh haste to escape from the anguish of her giving birth, so also do these hasten to give up what hath been put in them 43. from the beginning. And then shall be revealed to thee concerning the things thou longest to see.

The Dialogue continued; How the End will come (IV. 44–50)

44. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible and I am worthy, 45. shew me this also, whether the time that hath passed by us be more than that which is to come? 46. Because the time that is past I know,[1] but what is future I know not.

47. And he answered and said to me: Stand on the right side,[2] and I will shew thee the meaning of the similitude.

48. And I stood and saw, and behold! there passed before me a blazing fiery furnace;[3] and it happened that when the flame had passed by I saw, and behold! the smoke remained. 49. And after this there passed before me a cloud filled with water, and poured down a very violent rain, and when the violence of the rain had passed, there remained in it[4] drops (still).

50. And he answered and said to me: Consider in thyself and see,[5] that as the rain exceedeth the drops, and the fire the smoke, so the measure that is passed is excessive[6]; but there remain the drops and the smoke.

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 3.

[2] ? On the right side of the angel (*i.e.* the speaker); cf. *E.A.*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Gen. xv. 17 (seen in a vision as here).

[4] *i.e.* in the cloud.

[5] Cf. ver. 31; L. *consider for thyself* (*cogita tibi*).

[6] L. *superhabundavit*.

The Signs which Precede the End (IV. 51—V. 13)

51. And I besought[1] him and said: Shall I then live[2] until those days, or who[3] shall be in those days?

52. And he answered and said to me: Concerning the signs[4] about which thou didst ask me, I can speak to thee of them in part,[5] but concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, for indeed I have no knowledge.

V. 1. Concerning the signs, however:

Behold the days come[6] when the inhabitants of
the world shall be seized with great panic,
and the portion[7] of truth shall be hidden,
and the land of faith shall be unfruitful.[8]

2. And iniquity [and shamelessness][9] shall be increased[10] above this which thou seest now, and above that which thou hast heard of long ago. 3. And this land[11] shall be without stability and untrodden[12] which thou hast seen now to be bearing rule, and they shall see this land laid waste. 4. But if the Most High grant thee †life†[13] thou shalt see that (land) after the third (day)[14] in confusion:

[1] Or *asked*.

[2] L. *thinkest thou that I shall live* (so Ar.[1]).

[3] So L. (best MSS.), reading *quis;* but Ethiop. and Ar. *what;* so Vulg.

[4] Cf. Mark xiii. 4 and following verses.

[5] *Of them in part*, lit. *some of them;* the rest are described in vi. 11–28.

[6] A phrase borrowed from the prophets; cf. for its use here *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 2, lxx. 2.

[7] Ethiop. *region;* L. *way:* cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 6.

[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 10; Luke xviii. 8.

[9] So Syr.; L. omits; cf. ver. 10.

[10] Cf. Matt. xxiv. 12.

[11] *i.e.* the Roman Empire.

[12] *i.e.* disordered and pathless; cf. Job xii. 24.

[13] So read by a slight emendation; Syr. text *vision*.

[14] = μετὰ τρίτην (*sc.* ἡμέραν), *i.e.* probably towards the end of the last period of 3½ days, after which Rome's oppression will cease; cf. *E.A.*, p. 43; A.V. *after the third trumpet* is corrupt (*tubam* for *turbatam*).

And suddenly shall the sun appear by night,
and the moon by day;[1]
5. and the wood shall distil blood,[2]
and the stone utter its voice;[3]
and the peoples shall be in commotion,
and the air[4] shall be changed;

6. and one[5] whom the many do not set their hopes on shall rule, and the birds shall migrate.[6]

7. And the sea of Sodom shall produce many fish[7]; and one shall utter his voice by night whom the many know not,[8] and all shall hear it; 8. and fissures[9] shall be produced in many places, and fire[10] shall be emitted continually; and the desert-beasts shall migrate from their places; and signs from women shall appear, for births shall be born without being completed[11]; 9. and in sweet waters salt shall be found; and friends shall suddenly wage war on their friends.[12]

10. And then shall wisdom hide herself,[13]
and understanding withdraw to her chambers[14]—
(and she shall be sought)[15] by many and not found;

[1] One of the wonders worked by Antichrist; cf. *Asc. Is.* iv. 5.

[2] L. *blood shall trickle forth from wood;* cf. *Ep. Barn.* xii. 1.

[3] Cf. Hab. ii. 11; Luke xix. 40.

[4] Lit. *airs* (= ἀέρες ? corrupt for ἀστέρες); for original reading cf. *E.A.*, p. 44.

[5] *i.e.* Antichrist.

[6] Birds were supposed to possess supernatural knowledge of coming events.

[7] The bitter waters of the Dead Sea, in which no fish can live, shall be sweetened and produce fish; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f.

[8] A mysterious voice shall be heard; cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. 3; L. attaches to previous clause *and* [the sea] *shall make a noise*, etc.

[9] = χάσματα; cf. Zech. xiv. 4.

[10] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 10, lxx. 8.

[11] *And signs . . . completed;* this seems to be a paraphrase = L. *and women shall bear monsters.*

[12] Cf. vi. 24. [13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 36; Is. lix. 14–15.

[14] Lit. *treasuries:* L. sing. *chamber.*

[15] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syr. = *and she shall be sought.*

and transgression and shamelessness shall multiply upon the earth.

11. And one place will ask its neighbour,[1] and will say to it: Hath Righteousness perchance passed through[2] thee, or [a man][3] that practiseth righteousness? But that place will answer, No.[4] 12. And it shall be in that time men shall hope and not obtain,

[and shall labour and not find,][5]

and shall toil and their way shall not be made sure.

13. These signs I have been commanded to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again and †weep†[6] as now, and fast seven days,[7] thou shalt hear greater things than these.

The Conclusion of the Vision (V. 14–19)

14. And I awoke,[8] and my body trembled greatly, and my soul was weary as though it would expire.[9] 15. But the angel who spake with[10] me took hold of me and strengthened me and set me up upon my feet.

16. And it came to pass in the second night there came to me †Phaltiel†[11] the head of the people, and said to me: Where hast thou been, and why is thy countenance sad[12]? 17. Or dost thou not know that thou hast been entrusted with[13] Israel in the place

[1] Lit. *what is nigh to it.* [2] Or *by.* [3] L. omits *a man.*

[4] Lit. *will deny;* cf. Amos vi. 10. [5] Omitted by L.

[6] So read (by a slight emendation); Syr. text has *supplicate.*

[7] This was the regular preparation for the reception of the divine revelation; four such are referred to in this Book; cf. v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51.

[8] *sc.* from sleep; the previous vision was a dream-vision.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 26.

[10] Lit. *in* or *through;* cf. Zech. ii. 3.

[11] The historical reference is uncertain; for the name cf. 2 Sam. iii. 15. Syr. text *Psaltiel.*

[12] *Sad* from fasting; cf. Matt. vi. 16.

[13] Lit. *over:* the seer is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon; cf. xii. 42.

of their captivity? 18. Stand up, then, and eat a little bread so that thou do not leave us as (doth) a shepherd his flock in the hand of destructive wolves![1] 19. And I said to him: Depart from me and come not nigh unto me until seven days; and then thou mayest come unto me and I will explain matters to thee. And when I had spoken to him he departed from me.

[1] For the image cf. Matt. x. 16.

VISION II

(V. 20—VI. 34)

THE PRAYER OF EZRA [1]

Introduction (V. 20–22)

20. And I fasted seven days, sighing and weeping, even as Ramiel [2] the angel commanded me. 21. And it came to pass after seven days the thoughts of my heart were again oppressing me [3] greatly. 22. And my soul received the spirit of intelligence, and I began again to speak before the Most High these words of supplication and entreaty:

The Prayer and its Answer (V. 23–40)

23. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, from all the woods of the earth and the trees thereof thou hast chosen thee one vine [4]; 24. and from all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one place [5]; 25. and from all the deeps of the sea thou hast enlarged for thyself one stream,[6] and from all the

[1] This title is prefixed to the following section in the Syriac text.

[2] Cf. iv. 36; the other Versions rightly read here *Uriel.*

[3] Cf. iii. 1.

[4] The figures illustrating Israel's choice have been drawn from the O.T. For the vine cf. Is. v. 7; Ps. lxxx. 9; vers. 23–27 read like an old Midrash; cf. Midrash rab. on Cant. ii. 1 and *Pirke R. Eliezer,* ch. xix.

[5] *i.e* the Holy Land: L. *pit* (for the vine).

[6] *i.e.* the Jordan.

flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one flower [1]; and from all the cities that have been built thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself [2]; 26. and from all birds that have been created thou hast named for thyself one dove [3]; and from all cattle that have been created thou hast selected one sheep [4]; 27. and from the multitude of the peoples thou hast brought nigh to thyself [5] one people; and the Law which was approved from among all [6] thou hast given to the people whom thou hast loved.

28. And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up one unto many, and hast dishonoured the one root [7] above the many, and hast scattered and dispersed thine only one among the many? 29. And those who resist thy commandments have trodden under foot them that have believed thy covenant. 30. And if thou didst hate thy people so much,[8] the obligation was that they should be punished with thine own hands.[9]

31. And after I had spoken these words, the angel was sent unto me, that had been sent unto me in the night that was past,[10] 32. and said to me:

Hear me, and I will inform thee, [Ezra]; [11]
look at me, and I will set words before thee.

33. And I answered and said to him: Speak on, my Lord. And he said to me: Art thou perturbed

[1] L. *one lily* = Israel; cf. Cant. ii. 2.

[2] Cf. Ps. cxxxii. 13.

[3] = Israel; cf. Ps. lxxiv. 19; Cant. ii. 14.

[4] Cf. Ps. lxxix. 13.

[5] *i. e.* appropriated.

[6] *i. e.* out of all laws the Mosaic was the best; cf. Deut. iv. 8.

[7] Cf. 1 Enoch xciii. 8 (*race of the Elect root*); Rom. xi. 17 f.

[8] *Didst hate . . . so much*; Lit. *hating didst hate.*

[9] *i. e.* by famine, pestilence, or earthquake, but not by foreign foes (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13); cf. also Ps. Sol. vii. 3; Ecclus. ii. 18.

[10] *i. e.* not the night immediately past; some days had elapsed (cf. v. 20).

[11] Omitted in the other Versions.

on account of Israel? Or lovest thou him more than he that made him? [1]

34. And I said: No, my Lord! But I am in sore pain,[2] and spoke because my reins scourge me [3] every hour; [4] because I seek to comprehend the decree of judgement of the Most High, and I would search out something of his judgement.[4]

35. And he said to me: Thou canst not. And I said to him: Why, my Lord, †am I not able†? [5] Or why was I born, and why did not my mother's womb become my grave,

that I might not see Jacob's travail,
and the toil of Israel's seed? [6]

36. And he answered and said to me:

Number me those who are not yet come,[7]
and gather me the drops [8] that are scattered,
and make bloom for me the flowers that are withered; [9]

37. And open me the chambers [10] that are closed,
and bring me forth the winds [11] held captive in them;
and shew me the likeness of persons whom thou hast never seen,
or shew me the likeness of a voice;

and then I will inform thee concerning the travail [12] [and the time] [13] that thou askest to see.

[1] Cf. viii. 47. [2] Lit. *being in pain I am in pain.*

[3] Cf. Ps. lxxiii. 21 (the reins or kidneys seat of strong emotion).

[4] For *decree of judgement* L. has *way*, and for *something of his judgement* L. has *partem judicii*. Syriac here seems to have a doublet; see *E.A.*, p. 56.

[5] So read, by a slight emendation; Syr. text *should I not pray*.

[6] Quoted by Clement of Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16.

[7] *i.e.* the unborn, so L.; Ethiop. and Ar. *the days that are not yet come.*

[8] *i.e.* the rain-drops; cf. iv. 50.

[9] Cf. Ezek. xvii. 24. [10] Lit. *treasuries.*

[11] Or *spirits* (the same Heb. word = both *wind* and *spirit*), *i.e.* the spirits of the righteous dead; cf. iv. 35: for the chambers of the winds cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4; Rev. vii. 1.

[12] *i.e.*? the painful problem. [13] Added by the Syriac.

38. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, who is there who could know these (things) except him who dwelleth not with men? 39. I, however, am foolish and weak; how should I be able to speak concerning these things which thou hast asked me?

40. And he said to me: Just as thou art unable to do one of the things that have been mentioned,[1] so thou art unable to find out my judgement or the end of the love which I have promised [2] to my people.

The Succession of Generations and the Divine Plan of the World (V. 41–55)

God's Judgement reaches all alike

41. And I said: But, my Lord, behold thou hast made the promise [3] to those who are in the End; but what shall they do who were before us, or we (ourselves), or those who follow us? [4]

42. And he answered and said to me: I have made my judgement like a crown [5]; just as there is no posteriority for the last, so also there is no priority for the first.[6]

43. And I answered and said: Couldest thou not then, perhaps have made those who have been and those who are and those who shall be all at once, that thou mightest make known thy judgement quickly?

44. And he answered and said to me: The creation hasteneth not faster than its Creator; otherwise, indeed, the world could not endure those created in it all at once.

45. And I again answered and said: And how (is it) thou hast (just now) said [7] to thy servant that thou wilt verily revive thy creation, which hath been

[1] Lit. *said*. [2] Or *professed*. [3] Lit. *thou hast promised*.

[4] For the problem propounded cf. 1 Thess. iv. 13 f.

[5] So L.; Ethiop. (Ar.[1]) *like a ring*.

[6] God's judgement will reach all, those who lived in former ages, and those living in the latest period, at the same time; cf. *Ap. Bar.* li. 13.

[7] Viz. in ver. 42.

created by thee, all at once[1]? If, then, they shall indeed revive all at once, and the creation endure (it), it might even now endure them being (present) all at once.

46. And he answered and said to me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it[2]: If thou bearest ten (children) why dost thou bear them at different times[3]? Demand, therefore, from it[2] that it[2] produce its ten at once.[4]

47. And I said: It cannot, my Lord, except at (different) times.[3]

48. And he said to me: I also have made the earth the womb of those who come upon it at (different) times.[3] 49. For just as the child doth not bear, (nor) she that is aged any more, so also have I ordered the world that I have created.[5]

The Earth is grown Old and its Offspring Degenerate

50. And I asked him and said: Now[6] that thou hast given me the way,[7] I would speak before thee. Our mother [Sion],[8] of whom thou hast spoken to me, is she really, [my Lord],[8] still young, or already approaching old age?[9]

51. And he answered and said to me: Ask (a woman) that beareth, and let her tell thee; 52. say to her: Why are those whom thou bearest now (not)[10] like

[1] *i. e.* at the last Judgement.
[2] *i. e.* the womb, or *unto her* (the woman), and so throughout the passage.
[3] Lit. *at time and time*.
[4] Lit. *that it produce them in their* (*whole of*) *ten*.
[5] Ethiop. + κατὰ καιρὸν (*according to season*). The earth in its extreme youth brought forth no human inhabitants; neither will it do so in extreme old age.
[6] Lit. *from now*.
[7] *i. e.* opened up a way, freely given opportunity.
[8] Added by Syriac; other versions omit. [9] Cf. iv. 33 f.
[10] It is necessary to supply the negative particle, which has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac MS.; so the other Versions.

the former ones, but inferior in size [1]? And 53. she also shall say to thee: those born in the vigour of youth are of one fashion; and those born in old age, when the womb is diminished, are of another. 54. Do thou also look and see that ye are inferior in size to those who preceded you; 55. they also that come after you shall be inferior to you, because the creation hath already grown old,[2] and the vigour of her youth is past.

The End mediated by God alone (V. 56—VI. 6)

56. And I answered and said: I beseech thee, my Lord, if I have found favour before thee, tell thy servant by whom [3] thou wilt visit thy creation.

VI. 1. And he answered and said to me: The beginning by the hand of man,[4] but the end by mine own hands.

For [as] [5] before the land of the world existed,
and before the outgoings of the world [6] were standing,
and before the weights of the winds [7] blew;
2. and before the voice of the thunders was heard,
and before the lightning-flashes did shine;
and before the land of Paradise was founded,

[1] L. *inferior in stature* (*minores statu*).

[2] For the idea cf. xiv. 10, 16; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10; Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, x.; and see further *E.A.*, p. 63.

[3] A variant reading (Ethiop. Ar.) is *on account of whom*, perhaps a tendency alteration made to meet Christian objections; see *E.A.*, p. 64.

[4] Or *by the hand of the Son of Man*, but where *the Son of Man* is a proper name in the Gospels the word for *son* is defined (*běreh*); here, however, it is not (*bar* alone), and *bar nasha* = *man*. The text is probably out of order. L. has a lacuna after *beginning* down to *existed*. Volkmar restores the missing line thus: *the beginning of the terrestrial world was by me myself. For before the earth and the universe were created* [*and before the outgoings of the world*, etc.].

[5] This is added by Syriac; omit.

[6] Cf. 1 Enoch xxxiv.

[7] *i.e.* the heavy winds; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5.

3. and before the beauty of the flowers[1] was seen;
and before the power of the commotions[2] was strengthened,
and before the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
4. and before the height of the air[3] was uplifted,
and before the measures[4] of the firmaments were named[5];
and before the footstool of Sion was strengthened,[6]
5. and before the years that are present were sought out;
and before the follies of present-day[7] sinners were conceived,
and before those who have gathered for themselves the treasures of faith were sealed[8]—
6. then (it was) I thought,[9] and all these things came into being[10] by mine own hand alone and not by the hands of another.[11]

The Parting Asunder of the Times
(VI. 7–10)

7. And I answered and said: What is the dividing asunder of the times? Or when is the end of the first age, or what the beginning of the second? 8. And

[1] *i.e.* of Paradise. [2] *i.e.* earthquakes. [3] Lit. airs.
[4] *i.e.* measured spaces, *i.e.* divisions into which the heavens were separated.
[5] The seven heavens have each a special name; cf. *E.A.*, p. 65.
[6] Or *made firm*, i.e. established, appointed (the A.V. *or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot* rests upon a corrupt text). For God's *footstool* cf. Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1, etc.
[7] Lit. *now*.
[8] For the "sealing" of the faithful cf. Rev. vii. 4.
[9] Or *considered*. [10] Lit. *were*.
[11] L. + *as also the end through me alone and none other*: the Oriental Versions omit this clause for dogmatic (Christian) reasons.

he answered and said to me: From Abraham until Abraham.[1] From Abraham [was begotten Isaac, and from Isaac] [2] (were) [3] begotten Jacob and Esau; and the hand of Jacob was holding Esau's heel.[4] 9. The heel of the first (is) Esau, and the hand of the second (is) Jacob[5]; 10. for the first [6] of a man is his hand; and the end of a man is his heel. Thus between heel and hand do thou seek nought else, O Ezra!

The Signs of the Last Time and the End (VI. 11–28)

11. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord: If I have found favour in thy sight,[7] 12. make known to thy servant the end [8] of the signs, which thou hast made known to me †in part† [9] in the night that is past.

13. And he answered and said to me: Stand up upon thy feet,[10] and thou shalt hear a loud voice.[11] 14. And it shall be that if the place whereon thou standest be greatly shaken,[12] 15. while speech is made with thee, thou shalt not be terrified; because the speech is concerning the report of the End, and the foundations of the earth shall understand 16. that the speech is concerning them; and they shall tremble

[1] Possibly the underlying Greek is ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως ⸢τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Hilgenfeld), *i.e.* from Abraham to his immediate descendants. The new age will follow this *immediately* without a break.

[2] L. and other Versions omit reading *from A.* (*were*) *begotten Jacob and Esau*: Syriac may be right.

[3] Text has sing. *was* (*begotten*), the twins being regarded as one birth.

[4] L. + *from the beginning* (so Ar.[1]).

[5] So Syr. rightly. L. has *For Esau is the end of this world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth* (R.V.).

[6] *i.e.* the beginning.

[7] L. + *I beseech thee.*

[8] *i.e.* the last.

[9] So emend Syriac to read (*part*) *of them* instead of *from me*.

[10] Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4.

[11] Cf. Exod. xix. 16.

[12] Lit. *shaking shake.*

and quake,[1] for they feel that their end (is being) changed.[2]

17. And it came to pass that when I heard I stood upon my feet, and I heard, and lo! a voice of one speaking,[3] and his [4] voice was as the voice of many waters.[5] 18. And he [6] said:

Behold the days come,[7] and it shall be,
when I am drawing nigh to visit the dwellers upon earth,
19. and when I am about to require at the hands of evil-doers . . . .[8]
and when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete;[9]
20. and when this world [10] is about to be sealed,[11] which is about to pass away—

these signs I will do: the books [12] shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all shall see [my judgement] [13] together.

[14] [21. And children one-year old shall speak and utter their voice [15]; and pregnant women untimely shall bear children at three and four months, and they shall live and dance. 22. And suddenly †unsown† [16] places shall be found sown,[17] and full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty:] [14]

[1] Lit. *be moved* or *shaken*.
[2] Participle in Syr.
[3] Or *a voice speaking*.
[4] Or *its*.
[5] Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The Divine Voice is meant.
[6] Or *it* (the voice).
[7] A common introductory phrase, especially in the prophets (cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 13), and adopted by Apocalyptic writers (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1, xxiv. 1, etc.).
[8] A word seems to have fallen out—*their iniquity* (cf. L.).
[9] The fall of Jerusalem is a definite step towards the End; cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 2.
[10] Or *age*.
[11] *i.e.* closed up like a document that is sealed.
[12] *i.e.* the celestial records of the deeds of the righteous and wicked; cf. Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.
[13] So Syr.; the other Versions omit (or supply *them* or *me*).
[14] Probably vers. 21–22 are misplaced, and belong between vers. 8 and 9 of ch. v.; see *E.A.*, p. 75.
[15] Cf. *Jubilees*, xxiii. 25.
[16] So emend; text "unsowing."
[17] Cf. Enoch lxxx. 2; *Jubilees*, xxiii. 18.

23. and the trumpet[1] shall call with a loud sound, which all shall hear suddenly and be affrighted.
24. And it shall come to pass in that time friends shall war with their friends as enemies, (so) that the earth shall be amazed with its inhabitants; and the outgoings of the springs shall stand (still) without running[2] three hours.[3]

25. And it shall be (that) every one who surviveth[4] all these things of which I have told thee beforehand, he shall live and see my deliverance[5] and the end of the[6] world. 26. And then shall he see the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death since their birth.[7] And the heart of the inhabitants of the earth shall be transformed, and changed into a different mind.[8]

27. For evil is blotted out
and deceit extinguished;
28. and faith blossometh,
and corruption is overcome;
and truth appeareth which hath remained without fruit (so) many years.

29. And it came to pass, while he[9] spake with me, that behold, little by little, the place on which I was standing shook.

[1] *i.e.* the trumpet which ushers in the last judgement (cf. *Sibyll. Or.* iv. 173 f.); elsewhere it is associated with the awakening of the sleeping dead (1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16); see further *E.A.*, p. 75.

[2] Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; *Assumpt. Moses*, x. 6; *Test. XII Patr. Levi* IV.

[3] Ar.[2] *years.*

[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 1, lxxi. 1, xxix. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 15; Mark xiii. 13; and in this Book ix. 8, xiii. 16–24, 26, 48.

[5] *i.e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. *e.g.* Luke ii. 30.

[6] L. *my.*

[7] *i.e.* the men removed from earth without dying, especially Enoch and Elijah (also, in our Book, Ezra; cf. xiv. 9); see *E.A.*, p. 77 f.

[8] Cf. Mal. iv. 6 (Heb. iii. 24) of Elijah.

[9] Or *it* (the Divine Voice).

The Conclusion of the Vision (VI. 30–34)

30. And he said to me: These things [1] I came to make known to thee this night. 31. If, therefore, thou wilt again supplicate and fast seven days more, I will reveal to thee things greater than these.[1] 32. Because thy voice hath surely been heard with the Most High; for the Mighty One [2] hath seen thy purity,[3] yea [4] the holiness [5] which hath been thine from thy youth. 33. And therefore hath he sent me to reveal to thee all these things. [6] And he said [6] to me: Take heart, and fear not! 34. And be not hasty to think evil [7] of [8] former times, lest inquisition come upon thee in the last times! [9]

[1] *i.e.* the content of the previous Vision: L. adds at end of ver. 31 *per diem*, which probably represents something which should belong to following verse (? *pridem*); cf. *E.A.*, p. 80.

[2] Cf. ix. 45.

[3] L. *thy rectitude*.

[4] L. + *hath marked* (*providit*).

[5] L. *chastity* (*pudicitiam*); chastity, like fasting, intensifies the power of prayer, and prepares the way for a revelation (cf. 1 Enoch lxxxiii. 2).

[6] L. *and to say*.

[7] *i.e.* indulge in idle thoughts.

[8] Lit. *concerning*.

[9] See *E.A.*, p. 81.

VISION III

(VI. 35–IX. 25)

Introduction (VI. 35–37)

35. And it came to pass after this I wept and fasted seven days that I might fulfil the three weeks [1] which had been commanded me. 36. And it came to pass in the eighth night that lo! my heart was again moved within me, and I began to speak before the Most High; 37. because my spirit was greatly inflamed,[2] and my soul was on fire.[3]

The Problem; If the World was created for Israel, why is Israel disinherited? (VI. 38–59) [4]

38. And I said: O Lord [my Lord],[5] thou didst indeed [6] speak at [7] the beginning of thy [8] creation on the first day, and didst command [9] that heaven and earth should be,[10] and thy Word,[11] [O Lord],[12] perfected the work. 39. And the Spirit [13] was then hovering,

[1] Only two have been mentioned, viz. one here, and one before the second Vision; there seems to have been one originally before Vision I; cf. *E.A.*, p. 82.

[2] Cf. Ps. xxxix. 3; Luke xxiv. 32.

[3] L. *was in distress* (*anxiabatur*).

[4] Probably an old Jewish Midrash on the works of creation underlies this; see *E.A.*, p. 83.

[5] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; L. omits.

[6] Lit. *speaking*.

[7] Lit. *from*.

[8] L. *the*.

[9] Lit. *say*.

[10] Cf. Gen. i. 1.

[11] Note this hypostasizing use of *Word* developed from such passages as Ps. xxxiii. 6; cf. Heb. xi. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 5.

[12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Cf. Gen. i. 2.

and darkness (was) veiling [1] and [2] silence of the voice; and the voice [2] of man was not yet. 40. Then thou didst command that a ray of light [3] should come forth out of thy treasuries in order that thy works might become visible.

41. And on the second day again thou didst create the spirit [4] of the firmament and didst command it to make a division between the waters and the waters,[5] in order that a portion of them might ascend on high and the other portion remain beneath.

42. And on the third day [6] thou didst command the waters to be gathered together to one of the seven parts [7] of the earth; but six parts thou didst dry up and reserve that some of [8] them might be serving before thee and be both ploughed and sown.[9] 43. But thine own Word went forth, and immediately the work was done.

44. For then straightway [10] there sprang forth
fruits many, innumerable,
and sweet in their tastes, of every sort; [11]
And flowers which in their forms were unlike one another,[12]
[and trees which in their appearance were dissimilar;] [13]

[1] L. [*tenebræ*] *circumferebantur*.

[2] L. *silentium*; *sonus vocis*: for *silence of the voice* (or *sound*) cf. 1 Kings xix. 12; R.V. marg. *a voice of gentle stillness*. For the conjunction of silence and darkness cf. *E.A.*, p. 84.

[3] *i.e.* heavenly (not created) light; it was afterwards withdrawn; cf. *E.A.*, p. 85.

[4] *i.e.* angel. [5] Cf. Gen. i. 6 and see *Jubilees*, ii. 4.

[6] Cf. Gen. i. 9–13; *Jubilees*, ii. 5–7.

[7] Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, ix. 26; Philo. *Mund. opif.* 34–36.

[8] Lit. *from*.

[9] The cultivation of the soil is man's destiny and duty from the beginning; cf. Gen. ii. 15; Ps. civ. 14, and see *E.A.*, p. 86 f. Some mention of the creation of Paradise might be expected here.

[10] Lit. *suddenly*; L. *subito*.

[11] *i.e.* exquisitely varied in taste. [12] L. *of inimitable colour*.

[13] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; but L. omits.

and odours which in their scents[1] were indefinable.[2]
These came into being on the third day.

45. And on the fourth day thou didst command, and there came into being the shining sun, and the light of the moon, and the order of the stars[3]; 46. and thou didst command them to serve man[4] who was about to be formed by thee.

47. And on the fifth day[5] thou didst give command to the seventh part, where the waters were, that beasts and birds and fishes should come forth, and they came into being.[6] 48. The dumb and lifeless[7] waters were producing that in which there was life,[8] that from these the generations might declare thy wonders.[9] 49. And then thou didst reserve two creatures [which thou hadst created][10]; and thou didst call the name of the one Behemoth, and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan.[11] 50. And thou didst separate them, the one from the other, because that moist seventh part[12] was unable to contain them.[13] 51. And thou didst give to Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, that he might dwell there, where (are) a thousand mountains[14]; 52. but to Leviathan thou didst give

[1] Lit. *odours*.

[2] Lit. *unsearchable*. This description may have originally been one of the beauties of Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 88.

[3] Astronomy was a subject of much interest in Apocalyptic circles; see, *e.g.*, 1 Enoch lxxii.–lxxxii.

[4] Cf. Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, v. 29.

[5] Cf. Gen. i. 20–23; *Jubilees*, ii. 11–12; 2 Enoch xxx. 7.

[6] Lit. *and they were*: LXX. in Gen. i. 20 has *and it was so* at end of verse.

[7] Lit. *without soul*.

[8] Or *soul* (Heb. *nefesh*), the vital principle.

[9] Cf. Ps. xxvi. 7, cv. 2.

[10] Other Versions omit.

[11] For the myth of Behemoth and Leviathan cf. *E.A.*, pp. 90–92.

[12] *That moist seventh part* = L. *where the water was gathered together*.

[13] Both were originally sea-monsters.

[14] Cf. Ps. l. 10 (*Behemoth* [E.V. *cattle*] *upon a thousand hills*).

one of the seven parts of the moisture: and thou hast reserved them to be food for whom thou wilt and when thou wilt.[1]

53. And on the sixth day[2] thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle and beasts[3] and creeping things. And over these [however] thou didst appoint Adam as leader over all the works[4] that thou didst create antecedently; and from him are we, the people whom thou hast chosen.

55. All this, however, I have spoken before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[5] because thou hast said that for our sakes thou didst create this[6] world[7]; 56. but as for the rest of the peoples who are descended[8] from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing,[9] and hast likened them unto spittle,[10] and to a drop from a bucket hast thou likened their abundance.[11] 57. And now, O Lord, behold, these peoples which are reputed as nothing [behold] lord it over us and crush[12] us! 58. But we, thy people, whom thou hast honoured and hast called the first-born[13] and only (begotten),[14] near and beloved (one)[15]—lo! we are given up into their hands. 59. And if for our sakes the world was created, why do we not inherit our world? How long (shall) these things (be)?

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 4, where it is made clear that the righteous will devour the monsters at the Messianic banquet. For the modification here see *E.A.*, p. 90.

[2] Cf. Gen. i. 24–28; *Jubilees*, ii. 13–14; 2 Enoch xxx. 8 f.

[3] *i. e.* beasts of prey.

[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 18.

[5] Other Versions omit.

[6] L. *the*.

[7] For this doctrine cf. vii. 11; *Assumpt. Moses*, i. 1, 2; *Ap. Bar.* xv. 7; and see further *E.A.*, p. 93 f.

[8] Lit. *begotten*.

[9] Cf. Isa. xl. 17 (Dan. iv. 35 or 32).

[10] Cf. Isa. xl. 15 in LXX, which read *rōḵ for dōḵ*—a Hebrew text apparently followed here.

[11] *i. e.* wealth, superfluity.

[12] L. *devour*.

[13] Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27 (28); Ecclus. xxxvi. 12.

[14] Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 4, and see *E.A.*, p. 96.

[15] Cf. Jer. xii. 7; Rom. xi. 28; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 21.

The Debate resumed; The present Corrupt Order makes the Path to future Felicity narrow and difficult (VII. 1–25)

1. And it came to pass after I had finished speaking these words, lo! there was sent unto me the angel [1] that had been sent unto me on former nights. 2. And he said to me: Stand up, Ezra, and hear the words that I have come to say to thee. And I said to him: Speak on, my Lord!

3. And he answered and said to me: If a sea be set [2] in a wide place, so that it is broad and unlimited, 4. but its entrance is set [2] in a narrow place, so that it is like a river; 5. and [3] if a man desire to enter upon the sea, and to behold it and master it [4]—if then he do not pass through the narrow, how shall he be able to come into the broad?

6. [Hear] [5] again another thing [6]: There is a city that is built and set [7] in a large place of the valley,[7] and that city is full of many good things; 7. and its entrance is narrow and set on a height,[8] so that there is fire on the right hand, and on the left deep waters; 8. and a single path is set between these two, between the fire and the waters, so that that path only sufficeth for a man's footstep alone. If now that city be given [9] for an inheritance, unless that heir pass through the danger that is set,[10] how shall he be able to receive his inheritance?

[1] *i.e.* Uriel. [2] = Gk. κεῖται. [3] Lit. *but* (= δὲ).

[4] Lit. *be lord over it*: so L. (*dominari*), possibly due to mistranslation of Heb. (*lirdōth* for *lāredeth* = *to go down on, navigate*); see *E.A.* p. 100.

[5] L. omits.

[6] *i.e.* another illustration.

[7] L. *in loco campestri* = ἐν τόπῳ πεδινῷ; cf. Luke vi. 17: the Syriac may be rendered *valley* or *plain*.

[8] L. *on a steep* (*in præcipiti*). For the narrow (as opposed to the broad) way cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14; and for the difficult way leading to a broad plain cf. Ps. lxvi. 12 (reading *into a spacious place*).

[9] *To a man* should be added (so other Versions).

[10] Add *before* (him); a word may have fallen out.

10. And I said to him: It is indeed so, my Lord! And he answered and said to me: So also is Israel's portion; 11. for, for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my commandments, that which had been made was condemned.[1] 12. And on this account the entrances of this [present][2] world became narrow and full of sighing and travail and many dangers, and much weariness [together with sicknesses and pains][3]; 13. but the entrances of that future world are broad and care-free,[4] and produce fruits that do not die.[5] 14. Unless, then, the living pass through the tribulation and these evils, they shall not be able (to receive)[6] what has been kept[7] for them.

15. But now

wherefore art thou perturbed that thou art corruptible,
and why art thou moved that thou art mortal?[8]

16. And why hast thou not considered what is to come, but (only) what is present?[9]

17. And I answered and said: O Lord, my Lord, but lo! thou hast ordained in thy Law[10] that the righteous are to inherit[11] these things, but the ungodly are to perish.[11] 18. The righteous, therefore, endure[12] well the tribulations[13] because they hope [to inherit][14] the spacious (things);[15] but the ungodly bear the tribulations[13] and do not see the

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiii. 4; Rom. viii. 20: Adam's sin was devastating in its effects.
[2] Added by Syriac.
[3] Apparently an addition by the Syriac; for the original form of the sentence see *E.A.*, p. 102.
[4] L. *Safe* (*securi*).
[5] Fruits of immortality; cf. Prov. xii. 28.
[6] A corresponding word seems to have fallen out of the Syriac.
[7] L. lit. *set*. [8] Do not brood over death and mortality.
[9] The New Age will solve these riddles.
[10] Cf. Deut. viii. 1. [11] Participle in Syr. (*are inheriting*, etc.).
[12] L. reads future tense (rightly).
[13] Or *narrow things*. [14] Other Versions omit.
[15] For the sentiment cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

spacious (things)! 19. And he answered and said to me:

Thou art not (wiser)[1] than God,
nor of greater understanding than the Most High!

20. Therefore let the many who have come[2] perish
[3] on the ground that through them the Law hath been
despised which was established by me[3]! 21. For
God gave a commandment to them that have come,[2]
then when they came,[2] as to what they should do and
live, and what they should observe and not be
punished.[4]

22. But they resisted and obeyed him not,[5]
and they devised for themselves vain thoughts,
and they added[6] for themselves treacheries of apostasy;
23. and beyond all this they affirmed that the Most High existeth not,[7]
and did not recognize[8] his ways!
24. And his Law they despised,
and his covenants they †denied†,[9]
and believed not his commandments,
and spurned his works.[10]
25. Wherefore, O Ezra,
empty things for the empty,
and full things for those who are full![11]

[1] L. *a judge* (*above*): probably a word (= *wise*) has fallen out of Syriac text.
[2] *sc.* into being.
[3] L. *than that the Law of God which is set before them be despised*: it was supposed that the Torah had been offered to and rejected by the nations of the world outside Israel; see *E.A.*, p. 105.
[4] Or *tortured*.
[5] L. *they were disobedient and spake against him*.
[6] = προσέθεντο; L. = προέθεντο (*proposed to themselves*).
[7] Cf. viii. 58 and Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 1.
[8] Or *ignored*.
[9] So read by a transposition of two letters.
[10] So Ethiop., but L. has *his commandments* (Heb. *dābhār* = *word* (or commandment), and also *deed*: see *E.A.*, p. 107).
[11] Cf. Jer. ii. 5.

The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the World (VII. 26–[44])

26. For behold the days come,[1] and it shall be when the signs come which I have foretold to thee, [2]and the bride shall be revealed, appearing as a city,[2] and there shall be revealed she [3] that is now cut off: 27. and whoever is delivered from these evils which have been predicted, he shall see my wonders.[4] 28. For my son the Messiah [5] shall be revealed together with those who (are) with him,[6] and shall rejoice those that remain thirty [7] years. 29. And it shall be after these years my son the Messiah shall die,[8] and all those in whom is human breath. 30. And the world shall return to its first silence seven days, as it was at the beginning, so that no man is left.[9]

31. And it shall be after seven days that world [10] shall be awakened,[11] which now is not awake, and corruption [12] shall perish.

32. And the earth shall give up those that sleep in

[1] Cf. v. 1.

[2] L. *the bride shall appear, even the city coming forth*; cf. Rev. xxi. 1 f. (the new Jerusalem descending from heaven as a bride); this may have influenced text here, ἡ νῦν μὴ φαινομένη being read ἡ νύμφη κ.τ.λ. See *E.A.*, p. 114. The Heavenly Jerusalem (= *the city which is now invisible*) is meant.

[3] *She* = ? the city; true text *the land that is now cut off*, i.e. Paradise; for the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52; *Ap. Bar.* iv.; Rev. xxii. 1 f.

[4] *i.e.* God's wonders in the Messianic age.

[5] L. *my son Jesus* (Christian interpolation).

[6] *i.e.* the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 26 and note.

[7] L. 400, Ar.[2] 1000; perhaps 30 may have been intended by the Christian editor here to refer to Jesus (see *E.A.*, p. 115). The temporary Messianic Kingdom is referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 116.

[8] Death of Messiah nowhere else in Apocalyptic so explicitly referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 117.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* iv. 7.

[10] Or *Age* (*i.e.* the future Age).

[11] *i.e.* called into being.

[12] The present corruptible world-order vanishes away with the coming of the New Age; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26.

her,[1] and the dust shall give up those that repose therein, and the chambers shall give up the souls that were put in them.[2]

33. And the most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement : [3]

[and the end shall come,] [4]
and compassion pass away,
and pity be far off,
and long-suffering be gathered ; [5]
34. But my judgement alone shall remain,
and truth shall stand,
and faith flourish ;
35. And the work [6] shall come,
and the reward be made known ;
and acts of righteousness [7] shall awake
and acts of ungodliness shall not sleep.
[36.] And the †pit† [8] of torment shall appear,
but over against this the place of rest ;
the furnace of Gehenna shall be revealed,
and over against it the Paradise of delights.
[37.] And then shall the Most High say to those nations that have been raised : [9]
Gaze and see what [10] ye have denied,

[1] Cf. Dan. xii. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 15; 2 Pet. iii. 4.

[2] Here apparently the souls of all the dead are spoken of as kept in chambers or "treasuries"; elsewhere in the Book only those of the righteous (cf. *E.A.*, p. 119 f.).

[3] Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Rev. xx. 11 (one throne, not two as in Rev. xx. 4).

[4] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24; other Versions omit.

[5] *i. e.*? withdrawn (the attributes of the Divine Judge are referred to).

[6] Or *recompence* (Heb. *pĕullā* = *work* and *reward*).

[7] = acts of charity; cf. Ps. Sol. ix. 6; Matt. vi. 1–4.

[8] Reading *gûbā* : text = *bosom* ; cf. Luke xvi. 23, 24. At this point, ver. [36] begins the lacuna in the Latin text which was supplied by the *Missing Fragment* discovered by Bensly. There was never any lacuna, of course, in the Syriac or other Oriental Versions.

[9] From the dead.

[10] So Syr. text: perhaps *whom* should be read with L. and other Versions. For the nations raised for judgement cf Matt. xxv. 31 f.

or whom ye have not served,
or whose commandments ye have despised!
[38.] Look, therefore, over against you:
behold here rest and enjoyments,
and there fire and torment!

Thus shall he speak to them in that Day of Judgement.

[39.] For the Day of Judgement is thus:[1]
[40.] on it there is no sun, nor moon, nor stars;
neither clouds, nor[2] lightning, nor thunder[2];
neither wind, nor water, nor air[3];
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;
[41.] neither summer, nor winter, nor autumn;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold;
neither hail, nor dew, nor rain;
[42.] neither noon, nor night, nor day;
neither light, [nor torch],[4] nor radiance, nor brightness,

save only the splendour of the glory of the Most High from which[5] they[6] are destined to see what hath been ordained.[7]

[43.] But there shall be an interval as it were a week of years.[8] [44.] But this is . . .[9] and its law,[10] and to thee only have I made them known.

[1] Cf. the paraphrase of vers. [40]–[42] in Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, xii, and the parallel in *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 89–92; the End = the beginning (see *E.A.*, p. 128 f.).

[2] L. inverts the order.

[3] So L.; perhaps *air* here = thin cloud.

[4] Or *torches* = λαμπάδες (? a gloss): L. omits.

[5] *i. e.* whereby.

[6] L. + *all.*

[7] Or prepared: the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will reveal what has been prepared for the judgement; cf. Is. lx. 19 f.; Rev. xxi. 23.

[8] Each day = one year.

[9] A word has fallen out; supply *my Judgement* with L. (and so substantially the other Versions).

[10] *i. e.* prescribed order.

The Debate continued; Israel's Election and the Problem of Righteousness (VII. [45]—IX. 22)

The Fewness of the Saved (VII. [45]-[61])

[45.] And I answered and said: O Lord [my Lord],[1] I said even then[2] and say now again, that blessed are all they who have come[3] and have kept the commandments which have been set forth by thee. [46.] But concerning those about whom my petition (was made)—who is there, then, of those who have come,[3] who †hath† not sinned[4]? Or who is there of (those) born who hath not transgressed thy commandment[5]? [47.] And now †I†[6] see that for few shall that coming world effect[7] delight, but for many torment.

[48.] For there is[8] in us the evil heart
which hath caused us to err from these,[9]
and led us into corruption,
and hath shewn us the ways of death,
and made known to us the paths of perdition,
and removed us far from life;

and this not of a few, but †perchance†[10] of all who have been[11]!

[49.] And he answered and said to me:
Hear me, [Ezra],[12] and I will speak to thee,
and once again[13] instruct thee.

[1] Omitted by other Versions.
[2] The allusion is to vii. 17 f.
[3] *i. e.* into life.
[4] Reading sing.; text has *have sinned*: cf. viii. 17; Rom. x. 1.
[5] So Ethiop., but L. has *covenant* (two readings διαθήκην and διαταγήν).
[6] So read by a slight emendation.
[7] Lit. *make*.
[8] L. *hath grown up* (so Ethiop.).
[9] Viz. commandments; possibly the original text had *God* (see *E.A.*, p. 132).
[10] Reading *kĕbar* for *ḥebar*.
[11] L. *who have been created*.
[12] So Ar.[1], but other Versions omit.
[13] Or *anew* or *from the beginning*.

[50.] For this cause the Most High hath made not one world but two.[1]

[51.] Thou, however, because thou hast said there are not many righteous but few . . . [2] hear (the answer) to this : [52.] [3] If thou have precious stones and few, against the number of these do thou set lead and clay ! [3]

[53.] And I said : How, O Lord, is that possible ?

[54.] And he answered and said to me : Not only so, but

ask the earth, and she shall tell thee ;
speak [4] to her, and she shall recount to thee.

[55.] Say to her : Gold hast thou brought forth, and silver, and copper,[5] and iron, and lead, and clay ; [56.] But the silver is more (abundant) than gold, and copper than silver, and iron than copper, and lead than iron, and clay than lead.[6] [57.] Do thou, then, reckon up [7] and see, what things are precious and to be desired,[8] [9] the many or the few ? [9]

[58.] And I answered and said : O Lord my Lord : Things abundant are what are worthless, and things few are precious.

[59.] And he answered and said to me : Do thou, then, reckon up in thine own mind [10] what thou hast thought ! Because everyone who hath a little that (is) rare rejoiceth over it more than that one who

[1] Here the dualism of the Apocalyptic view comes to bold expression.

[2] L. + *while the ungodly abound :* some words have fallen out in the Syriac.

[3] The sentence is really a question ; *Wilt thou set with them,* etc., *i. e.* the number of the elect cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements. The Syriac translator seems not to have understood the verse.

[4] L. *intreat.* For address to the earth cf. viii. 2 ; Job xvi. 18.

[5] L. *bronze* (*æramentum*). The list of metals, etc., is interesting, especially in its order.

[6] What is rare is precious (notice the emphasis on this).

[7] Lit. *make comparison ;* cf. iv. 31.

[8] Lit. *dear.*

[9] L. *that which is abundant or that which is rare.*

[10] Cf. iv. 31 and note.

hath what is abundant. [60.] So also is the promise of my judgement; for I rejoice [and delight] [1] over the few who live,[2] because they it is who now strengthen my glory, and for whose sake my name is now extolled. [61.] And I am not pained over the multitude of those who are perishing; for these are they who now

are made like a breath,[3]
and as the smoke [4] are they counted,
and are comparable unto the flame;
who are burnt [5] and extinguished.

Man's Evil Case bewailed (VII. [62]–[74])

[62.] And I answered and said: Oh, what hast thou done,[6] O earth, [that these have been born from thee and are going to perdition!] [7] If now the intelligence [8] is from the dust like the rest of creation, [63.] it would have been better if also the dust had not been,[9] in order that the intelligence [8] might not (have) come into being [10] from thence.

[64.] Now, however, the intelligence [8] groweth with us; and on this account we are tormented, because while we know it we are perishing.

[65.] Let the race of men mourn,
but the beasts of the field rejoice!
let all who are born lament,
but the cattle and the flock exult! [11]

[1] Other Versions omit.
[2] Other Versions *are saved*.
[3] Or *vapour*; cf. Ps. cxliv. 4; James iv. 14; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3.
[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 6.
[5] L. + *and burn hotly*. [For the sentiment expressed in the verses cf. Wisd. ii. 4, and in this Book, xiii. 10 f. The Gentiles are referred to; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3 f.]
[6] L. *brought forth*.
[7] An expansion (cf. also Ar.[1]): L. omits.
[8] Or *mind* (= νοῦς).
[9] L. *been born*.
[10] Lit. *might not be*. For the sentiment cf. iv. 12.
[11] Lit. *delight*: the sentiment expressed would be startling to the ancients.

[66.] For it is far better for them than for us, because they do not expect [1] the judgement, neither do they know torture, nor hath life after death been promised to them. [67.] For what do we profit that we live,[2] but are to suffer torment [3]?

[68.] For all who are born
are defiled with sins,[4]
and are full of iniquities,
and upon them their offences weigh heavily!

[69.] And if after death we were not coming into judgement, it had been much better for us!

[70.] And he answered and said to me: And when the Most High made [5] the world, [6] and Adam and all that came from him,[6] he first prepared the judgement, and the things which pertain to the judgement.[7] [71.] And now from thine (own) words understand that thou hast said that the intelligence groweth with us. [72.] Therefore the inhabitants of the earth are on this account to suffer torment, because while they have intelligence [8] they have committed iniquity, and have received commandments but have not kept them, yea the Law which was bestowed upon them [9] they have rejected.[10]

[73.] And what is there for them to say in the judgement [11]? Or how shall they [12] open their mouth and speak [12] in the last time? [74.] For, how long a time hath the Most High been long-suffering [13] with the inhabitants of the world—and not indeed for their sakes but for the sake of the times ordained?

[1] Or *hope for*.
[2] Lit. *living we live* (emphatic), *i. e.* are to live hereafter.
[3] Lit. *being tortured suffer torture* (emphatic).
[4] Cf. Ecclus. xii. 14; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 19.
[5] Lit. *making made*.
[6] Or *also for Adam and all that came from him*.
[7] Note the predestinarian idea, and cf. iii. 6.
[8] Or *mind*.
[9] Or *ordained for them*.
[10] Or *set at nought* (ἠθέτησαν).
[11] Note the forensic representation (cf. vii. 37), and see *E.A.*, p. 140.
[12] L. *answer*. [13] Cf. iv. 37.

The state of the Soul between Death and Judgement (VII. [75]–[101])

[75.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[1] make known to thy servant this also, whether after death now, when we give up, each one of us, our soul—whether we are to be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew thy creation,[2] or are we to suffer torment forthwith[3]?

[76.] And he answered and said to me: I will make known to thee concerning this also; but do not thou mingle thyself with the rebellious,[4] nor number thyself with those that suffer torment. [77.] For thou hast a treasure of works[5] laid up with the Most High, and it shall not be shewn to thee until the last times.[6]

[78.] But concerning death the teaching[7] is: When the decisive[8] decree of judgement goeth forth from the Most High concerning a man that he shall die,

as the spirit separateth from the body,
that it may be sent[9] to him who gave it,[10]

it first of all worshippeth the glory of God.[11]

[79.] But if it be of the deniers, or of those who have not kept the ways[12] of the Most High, or of those who have hated the God-fearers[13]— [80.] these souls

[1] L. omits.

[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 6 and Gal. vi. 15; 2 Cor. vi. 17; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

[3] Lit. *from now.*

[4] Lit. *those who resist.*

[5] Cf. viii. 36; *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12, and see *E.A.*, p. 143.

[6] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.

[7] Lit. *the word* or *speech*: L. *sermo.*

[8] Lit. *end*: L. *terminus.*

[9] L. *ut dimittatur iterum.*

[10] Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.

[11] Apparently it remains only temporarily in the Divine Presence at this stage, according to our author; see *E.A.*, p. 144.

[12] L. *the way.*

[13] Cf. v. 29.

enter not into the chambers,[1] but henceforth are [2] in torment,[3] sighing and anguished, in seven ways.[4]

[81.] The first way: that they have resisted the Law of the Most High. [82.] The second way: that they are unable [5] to repent and do good works [5] whereby to live. [83.] The third way: that they see the reward laid up for those who have believed.[6] [84.] The fourth way: when [7] they know and understand the torment that is prepared for them at the last. [8] [Wherein the souls of the ungodly shall be reproached; because while they had the time for service they did not subject themselves to the commandments of the Most High.] [8] [85.] The fifth way: that they see the chambers of the other souls, that are guarded by angels in great quietness. [86.] The sixth way: that they see the torment which is made ready for them henceforth.[9]

[87.] The seventh way, which exceedeth all the ways aforesaid:

> that they pine away through [10] confusion,
> and come to an end through shame,[11]
> and burn through fear,

in that they see the glory of the Most High before whom [12] they now sin in their life,[12] and before whom they are destined at the last to be judged.

[88.] Of those, however, who have kept the way

[1] Or *treasuries;* cf. iv. 35.

[2] L. *wander about* (they have no resting-place).

[3] L. + *ever.*

[4] *i.e.* manners or kinds.

[5] L. *to make a good repentance.*

[6] L. + *the covenants of the Most High* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); omitted in Syriac (but see next verse).

[7] = ὅτε (for ὅτι).

[8] Added by Syriac. It seems to be a paraphrastic expansion of the words (*the covenants of the Most High*) omitted in the previous verse.

[9] *i.e.* immediately to follow in the intermediate state before the Judgement (the fourth way refers to torments *after* the Judgement); see *E.A.*, p. 146 f.

[10] Lit. *from.*

[11] For the reading of L. here cf. *E.A.*, p. 147.

[12] L. *they have sinned in life.*

of the Most High, this is the way,[1] when [2] the day cometh that they shall be delivered [2] from this corruptible vessel.[3] [89.] For in the time when they dwelt therein they served the Most High painfully, and at all hours endured danger, in order perfectly to keep his Law who had given them the Law.[4]

[90.] Wherefore this is the word concerning them.

[91.] First they behold with great joy the glory of the Most High, who hath guided [5] them, and they rest [and come] [6] by seven ways.[7]

[92.] The first way [8]: because [9] with much toil they have striven to overcome the evil thought [10] which was fashioned with them, that they might not go astray [11] from life to death.

[93.] The second way: [8] that they see [12] the whirl whereby the souls of the ungodly are whirled and driven about,[12] and the torment reserved for them.

[94.] The third way [8]: that they see the witness which their fashioner witnesseth concerning them; because they kept the Law entrusted (to them).

[95.] The fourth way [8]: that they [see and] [13] understand the rest in which they now, as soon as they have been gathered into their chambers,[14] rest in profound rest, and are guarded by angels; and the glory which is reserved for them at the last.

[96.] The fifth way: that they rejoice that [15] they have fled now from what is corruptible, and that [15] they inherit what is future; and further they see the straitness and much toil from which they have been

[1] L. *the order* (= ἡ τάξις). [2] L. *they shall be separated.*

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice that the body in our passage is regarded as the prison-house of the soul.

[4] L. *the law of the lawgiver.* A variant reading in the Syr. is *the Law given to them.*

[5] L. *receives.* [6] L. and other Versions omit.

[7] L. *orders* (so Ethiop.). [8] L. *order* (so Ethiop.).

[9] = ὅτι "that." [10] Cf. iii. 20.

[11] L. *that it might not lead them astray.*

[12] R.V. (= L.) *the perplexity in which the souls of the ungodly wander.*

[13] L. omits. [14] Lit. *treasuries.*

[15] Lit. *how* = *quomodo* (= ὡς).

freed, and the wide room [1] which they are destined to receive, and the delights they shall gain, and be immortal.

[97.] The sixth way: when it shall be shewed to them how their faces are destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars,[2] and no more corruptible.

[98.] The seventh way [3] which exceedeth all these aforesaid:

> that they exult with boldness,[4]
> and are confident and not ashamed,[5]

and hasten to behold the face of him whom they served in their life and from whom [6] they are destined to be glorified, and from whom they are destined to receive reward.[6] [99.] These are the ways [7] of the souls of the righteous which from henceforth are announced [8]; and the way of tortures aforesaid [9] shall the resisters receive.[9]

[10] [Such souls ascend not into chambers,[11] but from henceforth are afflicted with tortures and are grieved and lament in seven ways.][10]

[100.] And I answered and said: Is then [place or] [12] time given to the souls,[13] after they separate from the body, to see what thou hast told me?

[101.] And he answered and said to me: Seven days have they freedom [14] that in these seven days

[1] Lit. *widths* (plural); cf. Ps. iv. 1. The word might be rendered *refreshment*.

[2] Based on Dan. xii. 3; cf. Matt. xiii. 43; *Ap. Bar.* li. 10; 1 Enoch xxxix. 7, civ. 2; the figure denotes immortality. See *E.A.*, p. 151.

[3] Cf. ver. 87 above. [4] Cf. Wisd. v. 1.

[5] L. + *are glad without fear*.

[6] L. *they are destined to receive their reward in glory*.

[7] L. *this is the order*. [8] = ἐπαγγέλλονται.

[9] L. (cf. R.V.) *they that would not give heed shall suffer henceforth;* Ethiop. *the deniers shall suffer*.

[10] An addition by the Syr., apparently a doublet (? added as a gloss here) of ver. 80 above. None of the other Versions support this.

[11] Lit. *treasuries*. [12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Apparently of the righteous only; see *E.A.*, p. 152.

[14] Lit. *seven are the days of their freedom*.

they may see these things aforesaid; and after this they shall be gathered into their chambers.

No Intercession on the Day of Judgement (VII. [102]–[115])

[102.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, make known to[1] thy servant this[2] also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous can intercede for[3] the ungodly, or intreat the Most High for them——

[103.] Either fathers[4] in behalf of their sons,[5] or sons[5] in behalf of their fathers,[4] or brothers in behalf of their brothers, or kinsfolk[6] in behalf of their kinsfolk, or friends in behalf of their friends[6]?

[104.] And he answered and said to me: Because thou hast found favour before my sight, I will make known to thee concerning this also. The Day of Judgement is a decisive[7] day, and (one) declaring to all the seal of truth.[8] For as now a father sendeth not a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest that in his stead he may be ill,[9] or sleep, or eat or be healed; [105.] so also then can none pray on behalf of any on that day, neither shall one lay[10] a burden on any, for all then bear everyone his own righteousness or his iniquity.[11] [106.] And I answered and said: How is it, then, my Lord, (that) we have found[12] that formerly Abraham prayed for the Sodomites,[13] and also Moses

[1] L. + *me*.
[2] L. omits *this*.
[3] Lit. *beg off, apologize for;* L. *excusare* = παραιτεῖσθαι + accus.
[4] Or *parents*.
[5] Or *children*.
[6] L. *kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest.*
[7] Or *determinate*.
[8] *i.e.* the seal of the judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel).
[9] L. *may understand* (reading ἵνα νοῇ for ἵνα νοσῇ).
[10] Possibly "make himself a burden on" is meant.
[11] Cf. Ezek. xviii. 20.
[12] *sc.* in Scripture (written).
[13] Cf. Gen. xviii. 23.

in the wilderness for the fathers, when they sinned; [1] [107.] and Joshua the son of Nun after him for Israel in the days of Achar; [2] [108.] and Samuel in the days of Saul,[3] and David for the ruin [4] of the people, and Solomon for those in [5] the Sanctuary; [109.] and Elijah for those who received the rain,[6] and for the dead that he might live; [7] [110.] And Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib,[8] and many on behalf of many? [111.] If, therefore, now, when corruption is grown up and mischief multiplied, the righteous have prayed for the ungodly—why, O Lord, should it not be so then also?

[112.] And he answered and said to me: This world has an end,[9] and the glory of God [10] abideth not therein continuously; therefore have the strong prayed for those who have no strength. [113.] But the Day of Judgement is the end of this world and the beginning of the future world, which dieth not; wherein

[114.] corruption is passed away,
and impudicity [11] is dissolved,
and infidelity is abolished,
and righteousness is grown up,
and truth [12] hath arisen.[13]

[115.] So shall none then be able to compassionate him who is condemned [14] in the Judgement, nor harm him who is victorious [in the Judgement.] [15]

[1] Cf. Exod. xxxii. 11.

[2] This is the best attested form; cf. Josh. vii. (where *Achan* is the form given); see *E.A.*, p. 158.

[3] Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 9, xii. 23.

[4] A.V. *destruction;* this is a wrong rendering of θραῦσις = in LXX *plague;* the ref. is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

[5] Or *those of;* perhaps *those who* (*should pray*) *in the sanctuary;* cf. 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

[6] Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 42.

[7] Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

[8] Cf. 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

[9] L. *is not the end.*

[10] *i.e.* the Shekinah or Divine Presence; cf. *E.A.*, p. 159.

[11] = ἀσέλγεια = L. (*intemperantia*); Ethiop. *weakness* (= ἀσθένεια).

[12] = *faithfulness.*

[13] Cf. for whole verse vi. 27, 28.

[14] Lit. *is overcome* (= ἡττήθη).

[15] Added by Syriac.

The Promises of future Felicity only mock a Sin-stained Race (VII. [116]–[131])

[116.] And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; that it would have been better for the earth not to have produced Adam,[1] or (else) when she did produce him that thou hadst instructed[2] him not to sin. [117.] For how doth it profit all who have come[3] to live here[4] in affliction, and when they[5] are dead to await torment? [118.] Oh, what hast thou done, Adam! For though it was thou that didst sin, yet the evil[6] was not thine alone, but ours also who are from thee!

[119.] For what advantage is there that lo! there is promised to us an immortal time,[7] whereas we have done the works that bring death?[8] [120.] And that there hath been made known[9] to us an imperishable hope,[10] whereas we miserably are brought to futility?[11] [121.] And that there chambers of safety and health are kept, whereas we have behaved wickedly? [122.] And that the glory[12] of the Most High is destined to protect[13] them who have lived chastely, whereas we proceed in wicked ways? [123.] And that Paradise, whose fruit withereth not,[14] wherein[15] is delight and healing, is manifested, [124.] whereas we do not enter in, because we have

[1] Cf. iii. 5.

[2] = κατηχεῖν (so Ethiop.); L. *hindered* (= κατέχειν).

[3] = τοῖς πάρουσι, *i. e.* all who are here; L. *all that are in this present* (*time*).

[4] Syr. *hā*.

[5] L. *we*.

[6] So Ethiop; but L. (?) *fall* (*casus*).

[7] So L.; but Ethiop. *the eternal age*.

[8] Lit. *dead* (or *mortal*) *works*; cf. Heb. vi. 1.

[9] So Ethiop.; but L. *predicted*.

[10] Cf. 1 Pet. i. 3.

[11] Lit. *are become vain*.

[12] *i. e.* the Shekinah.

[13] The Shekinah protects the righteous; see *E.A.*, p. 161.

[14] L. *endures incorruptible*.

[15] *i. e.* in the fruit; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12; Rev. xxii. 2.

served evil places?[1] [125.] And that the faces of the holy ones[2] are destined to shine above the stars,[3] while our faces shall be blacker than darkness?[4] [126.] For we did not consider in our life (time), while we were committing iniquity, that we were destined to suffer after our death.

[127.] And he answered and said to me: This is the meaning[5] of the struggle which man who is born wageth[6] upon the earth; [128.] (that)[7] if he be vanquished he shall suffer what thou[8] hast said; but if he be victorious he shall receive what I[9] have said.

[129.] Because this is the way of which Moses, while he was alive, spake to the people, and said to them:[10] [Behold, I have set before you to-day, life and death, good and evil;][10] choose you, then, life that you may live[10] [you and your seed].[10] [130.] And [they resisted and][11] believed[12] him not, nor the prophets after him, and[13] even me[14] who have spoken with them. [131.] Therefore shall there be no grief over their perdition, as there is joy over the life[15] of those who have believed.[12]

[1] So L. but *manners* should be read (τρόποις for τόποις); cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.

[2] L. *such as practised abstinence.*

[3] Cf. Dan. xii. 3.

[4] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.

[5] Lit. *thought* or *intent*; probably originally = *condition*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 162 f.

[6] Lit. *striveth* (*struggleth*).

[7] Probably a letter has fallen out in the Syriac.

[8] Or *I* (probably 2nd person is meant; so L.).

[9] Or *thou* (probably 1st person is meant; so L.); see *E.A.*, p. 163.

[10] Addition by Syriac from Deut. xxx. 15, 19; L. and Ethiop. omit.

[11] Added by Syriac.

[12] Or *obeyed*.

[13] *i.e.* nor.

[14] The angel speaks as God.

[15] L. *salvation*.

How can the Perdition of so many of His Creatures be reconciled with God's Character? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 62)

Will the Merciful and Compassionate One suffer so many to Perish? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 3)

[132.] And I answered and said to him: I know, Lord, that now the most High is called[1] the "compassionate," because he compassionateth those who have not yet come into the world[2]; [133.] and "gracious," because he is gracious to those who turn[3] to his Law; [134.] and "long-suffering," because he is long-suffering with us, with[4] those who sin, because we are his works;[4] [135.] and "giver,"[5] because he is willing to give rather than exact[6]; [136.] and "of great mercy," because he greatly multiplieth mercies upon them who are now (in existence), and upon those who have passed away, and upon those who are to come—[137.] for if he did not multiply his mercies,[7] the world with its inhabitants could not live[8]; [138.] and the "Giver,"[9] because unless in his goodness he gave,[10] so that evil-doers were eased[11] of their iniquities, not even one of ten thousand men[12] could live;[13] [139.] and

[1] The epithets applied to God in the following passage (defining the divine attributes) are based upon Exod. xxxiv. 6–7; possibly a Midrash on this passage lies behind our text; see *E.A.*, p. 164 f.

[2] *i.e.* are not yet born; though God foresees man's sins, He is yet compassionate.

[3] Or *return*.

[4] L. *to sinners as his works.*

[5] So Ethiop.: L. (*munificus*) = *bountiful.*

[6] *i.e.* perhaps *granteth pardon* rather than *exacteth punishment*: see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[7] ? in the intermediate state; see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[8] *i.e.* in the future life.

[9] *i.e.* of merit (to enable them to escape eternal punishment); see *E.A.*, p. 167 f.

[10] *sc.* merit.

[11] Lit. *were lightened.*

[12] L. *the ten thousandth part of mankind.*

[13] In the future life.

"judge,"[1] for if he did not pardon them who were created by his word, and disregard[2] the multitude of their iniquities, [140.] there would only be left of an innumerable multitude very few.[3]

VIII. 1. And he answered and said to me: This world[4] hath the Most High made for the sake of many, but that which is to come for the sake of few. 2. But I will expound †a parable†,[5] O Ezra: as when[6] thou shalt ask the earth and it shall say to thee[7] what dust it yieldeth more abundantly, that from which cometh the potsherd, or that from which cometh gold;[7] so is the work[8] of this world. 3. Many have been created, but few live.[9]

Shall God's Creature, so wonderfully fashioned, perish finally? (VIII. 4–19)

4. And I answered and said:
O my soul, absorb understanding,
And, O my heart,[10] drink discernment![11]
5. For without thy will thou camest,
And departest when thou hast not willed.[12]

For power[13] hath only been given thee for[14] life for a brief time.

6. O Lord, my Lord,[15] if thou wouldst command[16]

[1] So L. and other versions—an error; ? read *forgiving* (see *E.A.*, p. 168).
[2] L. *blot out*. [3] Lit. *a small few*. [4] Or *age*.
[5] So read (transposing two letters) = the other versions; Syr. text *a word*.
[6] Lit. *as*.
[7] L. (R.V.) *that it giveth very much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, and little dust that gold cometh of*.
[8] L. *course* (*actus*); both = ἡ πρᾶξις.
[9] L. *shall be saved*; cf. Matt. xxii. 14, and in our Book vii. 49–61.
[10] L. omits *O my heart*.
[11] *i.e.* abandon all attempts to understand the riddle.
[12] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 14 f. [13] L. *space*. [14] Lit. *in*.
[15] L. *O Lord above us* (so also viii. 45); see *E.A.*, p. 171.
[16] = "if thou wouldest but," "Oh that thou wouldest" (a Hebraism); cf. *E.A.*, p. 171.

thy servant I[1] would pray before thee: And do
thou give us[2] the seed and culture of a new heart[3]
whence (may) come fruits, so that everyone that is
corruptible may be able to live who is clothed with
the form[4] of man. 7. For one art thou, and one
fashioning are we, the work of thine hands, as thou
hast said.[5] 8. And[6] thou dost indeed quicken[7]
for us now in the womb the body which thou hast
fashioned, and composest the members; and thy
creature is kept in fire and water,[8] and nine months
doth thy fashioning[9] bear the creature which thou
hast created in it.[10] 9. But that which keepeth,
and that which is kept, are both kept by thy keeping.
And when the womb giveth again what has been[11]
therein, 10. thou hast commanded that out of the
members[12] should come milk, the fruit of the [full][13]
breasts, 11. that what hath been fashioned may grow[14]
for a short time. 12. And afterwards—

thou guidest it in thy mercy,
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
and disciplinest it in thy law,
And admonishest it in thy wisdom—
13. and thou killest it as thy creature,
and quickenest it as thy work.[15]

14. If, then, thou[16] suddenly and quickly[16] destroyest this one who hath been fashioned with all this

[1] L. *we*.
[2] = "O that thou wouldest give us."
[3] R.V. *seed unto our heart and culture to our understanding*; cf. Rom. xii. 2; Ephes. iv. 23.
[4] L. *place* (τόπου for τύπου).
[5] Cf. Is. xlv. 11, lx. 21, lxiv. 8 f. God is one, unique, Father, and Creator; cf. vi. 1–6.
[6] L. + *when*.
[7] Lit. *quickening quicken*.
[8] Man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements (an Oriental doctrine); cf. iv. 10; 2 Enoch xxx. 15, with Charles's note.
[9] *i.e.* the womb.
[10] L. *which is created in it*.
[11] L. + *created*.
[12] L. + *that is out of the breasts* (? a gloss).
[13] Added by Syriac.
[14] Or *be nourished*.
[15] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 6.
[16] L. *with a light word* (or *command*).

great labour, according to thy command, for what purpose, then, came he into being? 15. [1] Now also I have spoken concerning all men; but even more, thou knowest, that [1]

16. concerning thy people I suffer,
and concerning thine heritage [2]—that concerning it I mourn;
and concerning Israel—that concerning him I am grieved,
and concerning Jacob's seed [3]—that concerning it I am moved.

17. Therefore behold I will begin to pray and supplicate before thee for myself and for them; because lo! I see the trespasses of us who inhabit the world,[4] 18. but also now have heard the decree of judgement [5] that is to come. 19. Therefore
hear my voice,
and listen to [6] the words of my prayer,[6]
and I will speak before thee, [O Lord my God].[7]

The Seer's Prayer for the Divine Compassion on His People, and the Reply (VIII. 20–40)

20. [8] *The beginning of the words of the Prayer of Ezra which he prayed before he was taken up.*[8]
O Lord that dwellest for ever,[9]
[10] whose heights are exalted,[10]
and whose chambers[11] are in the air;

[1] L. *But now I will say: Concerning man in general thou knowest best; but* (Syriac constructs sentence differently).
[2] Cf. Ps. xxviii. 9.
[3] Cf. iii. 19.
[4] L. *that dwell in the land.*
[5] Cf. v. 34.
[6] L. *my words* (cf. Ethiop.).
[7] Added by Syriac; other versions omit.
[8] This superscription has been inserted into the text by the Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic. The piece seems to have been excerpted early for liturgical purposes; see *E.A.*, p. 175 f.
[9] Cf. Is. lvii. 15.
[10] L. *whose are the highest heavens*; cf. Deut. x. 14.
[11] ? the heavenly Paradise (for phraseology cf. Ps. civ. 3).

21. whose throne is infinite,[1]
and whose glory is inconceivable; [2]
before whom the hosts [3] stand in fear,
at whose word they change to fire and wind;[4]
22. whose word is trustworthy,
and whose speech abideth; [5]
whose commandment is strong,
and whose utterances [6] are terrible;
23. whose look drieth up the deep,[7]
and whose rebuke [8] melteth the mountains,
and whose truth beareth witness—[9]
24. Hear the voice of thy servant,
and listen to thy creature's petition,
and regard my words!
25. For while I live I will speak,
and while I have understanding will I answer.
26. O regard not the trespasses of thy people,
but them that have served thee in truth;
27. and regard not [10] the follies of the intrigues of the ungodly,[10]
but them that have kept thy covenants in ignominy; [11]
28. think not upon those that have behaved themselves badly [12] before thee,
but remember them that with good will have recognized thy fear! [13]

[1] L. *inestimable;* the mystery of God's throne is the subject of Ezek. i.

[2] Cf. Rom. xi. 33.

[3] *i. e.* of heaven.

[4] Cf. Ps. civ. 4 (this passage implies the rendering *who maketh his angels winds*, etc., see *E.A.*, p. 178).

[5] = *is constant* (an allusion to the Synagogue prayer *'ĕmeth wĕ-yaṣṣîb;* cf. *E.A.*, p. 179).

[6] Other versions have singular.

[7] The other versions have the plural.

[8] = ἀπειλή.

[9] So all the versions except Ar.[2], which has right reading *remaineth for ever* (see *E.A.*, p. 179); the verse is cited in Greek in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7.

[10] L. and other versions *the deeds of the ungodly.*

[11] L. *in tortures;* the martyrs are meant.

[12] L. *walked feignedly* (= ? hypocritical adherents of the Law).

[13] i. e. *fear of thee* = religion, piety; cf. Ps. xix. 10.

29. and will not to destroy those that have become
like the cattle,[1]
but regard them that have received [2] the
splendour of [3] thy Law;
30. and be not angry against those who have behaved
worse than the beasts,[4]
but love them that have always put their trust
in thy glory.
31. Because we and [5]those before us[5] have [6]practised
works of corruption, and behaved madly [6]; but thou
because of us sinners art called the Compassionate.
32. For if us, who have no works,[7] thou art
willing to compassionate, thou shalt be named
Gracious One. 33. For the righteous who have [8] works
laid up with thee can receive out of their own
works.[9]
34. For—
what is man that thou shouldest be (so) angry
with him,
or a corruptible race that thou shouldest be (so)
hot [10] against it?
35. For in truth
there is none of those born that hath not dealt
wickedly,
Nor of these who exist that hath not sinned!
36. For in this, O Lord [my Lord],[11] shall thy [12]
goodness be known if thou art compassionate towards
them that have no wealth [13] of works.

[1] *i.e.* probably Jews who lived like heathen (? the *'am hā-āreṣ*).

[2] Due to a misreading of διδάξαντες; L. *taught*.

[3] L. *in splendour*.

[4] A more infamous class still (? Jewish informers).

[5] *v.l. our fathers*.

[6] R.V. *have passed our lives in ways that bring death*; for text cf. *E.A.*, p. 182.

[7] L. + *of righteousness*.

[8] L. + *many*.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

[10] *v.l. bitter*; cf. Job vii. 17 f. (Ps. viii. 4).

[11] Omitted by other Versions.

[12] L. + *righteousness and*.

[13] Or *power*

The Divine Reply

37. And he answered and said to me: Some things thou hast spoken aright and according to thy words,[1] so shall it be. 38. Because in truth I take no thought about the fashioning of the evil doers, or about their death,[2] or about their judgement, or about their perdition;[3] 39. but I delight (rather) over [the coming of][4] the fashioning of the righteous, and over their life, and over the recompence of their reward. 40. For as thou hast said so shall it be.

Mankind is like Seed sown (VIII. 41–45)

41. For as the husbandman [who][5] soweth many seeds[6] and planteth many plants, but not all the seeds live in due season,[7] nor indeed do all the plants strike root; so also they who have[8] come into[8] the world do not all live.

42. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight I would speak [before thee]:[9]

43. [10] For the husbandman's seed, if it receive not thy rain, at its (proper) time, will it live? Yea rather from much rain it is destroyed.[10]

44. But man who hath been fashioned by thine

[1] The seer had prayed (ver. 28 f.) that God would fix His attention rather on the deeds of the righteous than on those of the ungodly; this part of the petition shall be granted. The angel is still the speaker (note the bitter irony).

[2] *i.e.* their physical death.

[3] *i.e.* final perdition.

[4] The text of this passage is out of order; perhaps *the coming of* corresponds to *pilgrimage* in L. and should follow *righteous* (R.V. *their pilgrimage . . . and the salvation, and the reward*). See *E.A.*, p. 185 f.

[5] Omit.

[6] L. + *upon the ground.*

[7] Lit. *in time.*

[8] L. *are sown in.*

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] The Latin text here is corrupt; as corrected and restored it may be rendered: *Forasmuch as the husbandman's seed, if it come not up, seeing that it hath not received thy rain in due season, or if it be corrupted through too much rain, so perisheth* (R.V.). See *E.A.*, p. 187.

own hands and [1] is made like thine own image,[1] for whose sake thou hast created all—hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman? [2]

45. No! [I beseech thee,] [3] O Lord my Lord,[4]
spare thy people,
and compassionate thine heritage——
thy creature—for thine he is—thou dost compassionate!

The Final Reply; Let the Seer contemplate the Lot of the Blessed which he is destined to share (VIII. 46–62)

46. And he answered and said to me:
[5] Things of the present are for them of the present,
And things of the future are for them who are future! [5]

47. For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I.[6]

Thou, however, hast many times likened thyself to the ungodly. It must not be so! 48. But in this also thou shalt be honoured before the Most High, 49. because thou hast humbled thyself, as befitteth thee, and hast not compared thyself [7] with the righteous. Therefore thou shalt be the more honoured. 50. Because with much affliction shall the inhabitants of the world be afflicted at the last on account of the great pride [8] that they have displayed.[9]

[1] L. *is called thine own image because he is made like* (*unto thee*); the Syriac is probably right here.

[2] Probably to be taken as a question. The seer protests against the comparison of mankind to seed; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels.

[3] Added by Syr. (cf. Ethiop.).

[4] L. *O Lord above us.*

[5] For the form of sentence cf. vii. 25.

[6] Cf. v. 32.

[7] L. *hast not judged thyself* (*to be*).

[8] Note the remarkable emphasis on the sin of pride and the virtue of humility.

[9] Lit. *with which they have behaved proudly.*

51. But do thou (rather) consider thine own self, and ask concerning the glories of those who are like thyself.[1]

52. For for you
is opened Paradise,[2]
and planted the Tree of life;[3]
and the future world[4] prepared,
and delight[5] made ready;
and a City[6] builded,
and a Rest[7] ordained;
and good perfected,[8]
and wisdom completed;[9]

53. And the (evil) root[10] is sealed up from you,
and infirmity from you extinguished,[11]
and Death is hidden,[12]
and Sheol fled;[13]
and corruption is forgotten,
and pains departed from you;

54. And in the consummation the treasures of life
are manifested.

55. Do not thou, therefore, again ask any more concerning the many who perish; 56. because they have received liberty and

[1] *i.e.* probably the righteous dead who already enjoy a foretaste of future felicity.

[2] *i.e.* the heavenly Paradise which will be reopened after the last Judgement for the righteous.

[3] In Paradise; cf. vii. 133; Rev. ii. 7, and see *E.A.*, p. 191.

[4] Or *age*; for the idea cf. *E.A.*, p. 191.

[5] L. *plenteousness*.

[6] *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem.

[7] *i.e.* the rest in heaven; cf. Heb. iii. 18 f.

[8] Cf. Ephes. ii. 10.

[9] L. *being perfect aforehand* (R.V.). Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

[10] Cf. iii. 22; 1 Enoch xci. 8 (*root* a technical term in these connections).

[11] The sources of sin in man will have been removed in the future Age.

[12] Death, of course, will be abolished; cf. Is. xxv. 8; Rev. xxi. 4.

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23 (the underworld is personified, as in Rev. vi. 8).

they have despised the Most High,
his Law also they have scorned much,
and have made his ways to cease :[1]

57. Yea, his saints they have trampled upon,[2] and
58. they have said in their heart that there is no God,[3]
while they verily[4] know that they shall surely[5] die.
59. Therefore as these things aforesaid await you, so also †thirst and†[6] torment (are) destined for them. For the Most High willed not that men should perish; 60. but these who have been created dishonoured the name of their Maker and were ungrateful [and confessed me not—][7] who[8] have prepared life for them. 61. Therefore my Judgement hath drawn nigh, 62. which (thing) I have not made known to the many, but (only) to thee and to the few like thee.[9]

The Signs of the End reviewed (VIII. 63—IX. 12)

63. And I answered and said: Behold now (already), O Lord, thou hast made known to me the great number of the signs that thou art about to do in the last days; but thou hast not made known to me at what time.[10]

IX. 1. And he answered and said to me: Measure carefully in thy mind,[11] †and†[12] when thou seest that a part of the signs aforesaid is past, 2. then understand that it is the time wherein the Most High is about to visit[13] the world made by him. 3. And when there shall appear in the world

[1] L. Ethiop. *have forsaken* (*his ways*).
[2] Cf. v. 29.
[3] Cf. vii. 23; Ps. xiv. 1.
[4] Lit. *knowing*.
[5] Lit. *dying*.
[6] So read by a slight emendation; Syriac text has (*the torment that is prepared*) *is thirsty*; cf. for the representation, Luke xvi. 24.
[7] Omitted by L.
[8] L. *to him who* (*had*).
[9] *i. e.* to the seers and apocalyptists like Salathiel-Ezra.
[10] Contrast Acts i. 7.
[11] Lit. *thyself*.
[12] So read; Syr. text *that*.
[13] Cf. vi. 18.

quakings of places,[1]
and tumult of assemblages,[2]
and schemings of peoples,
and commotion of leaders,
and confusion of princes—

4. then perceive that it is of these (things) the Most High hath spoken formerly. 5. For as with respect to everything in the world, its beginning is known [3] and its end manifest; 6. so also (are) the times of the Most High: their beginnings are known in portents, [and signs] [4] and powers,[5] and their end in requital [6] and signs. 7. And it shall be (that) everyone that shall survive,[7] and everyone that shall be able to flee [8] through his works or through his faith whereby he hath believed— 8. he shall be left (safe) from the peril aforesaid, and shall see my salvation [9] in my land and in my borders [10] which I have sanctified for myself eternally.[11] 9. And then shall they be amazed who have now neglected [12] my ways, and they shall be in torments who have despised and abandoned them.[13] 10. For all who did not recognize me in their life (time), when I was dealing bountifully with them, and all who have treated my Law with contempt,[14] those [15] (viz.) who

[1] *i.e.* earthquakes (cf. v. 8); others *stir* (*i.e.* excitement) *of places.*

[2] L. *of peoples.*

[3] L. defective; the text here may originally have been *obscure* (ἀφανής corrupted to ἐμφανής); cf. *E.A.*, p. 202.

[4] L. omits.

[5] Or *mighty works.*

[6] L. Ethiop. *in effects.*

[7] Cf. vi. 25, vii. 28.

[8] *i.e.* escape.

[9] *i.e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. vi. 25.

[10] Cf. xiii. 35.

[11] Lit. *from eternity:* the specially sacred character of the Holy Land is often insisted on in late Jewish literature; cf. ix. 8, xii. 34, xiii. 48 f.; *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 2.

[12] L. *abused.*

[13] i. e. *my ways;* another reading in L. makes *them* refer to *torments.*

[14] Lit. *behaved themselves proudly against.*

[15] So Syriac; but this may be an error of the translator who misread ὡς as οἷς; other Versions *while* = ὡς.

had liberty, 12. and while the place of long-suffering[1] was (still) open to them, did not heed, but scorned—for these it is necessary that after death they should know.[2]

The Fewness of the Saved further justified (IX. 13–22)

13. Do thou, therefore, not search out[3] henceforth[4] how the ungodly shall be tormented, but inquire how the righteous shall live[5]—they whose is the world, and for whom also the world hath come into existence.[6] 14. And I answered and said: 15. [7] Now also again I say, and hereafter will say again, that more are those who perish than those who live[8]: 16. just as the waves are more than the small drop.[9]

17. And he answered and said to me:

As the place,[10] so also (are) its seeds,[11]
and as the flowers, so also (are) the colours,[12]
and as the work, so also (are) the odours,[13]
and as the husbandman, so also (is) the threshing floor[14];

18. for there was in the time of the world[15] when I had prepared for those who now are, before they were

[1] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *repentance;* cf. (for latter) Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17.

[2] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] + *by* (or *in*) *torment.*

[3] L. *be curious.*

[4] L. *any longer.*

[5] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *be saved.*

[6] Cf. for the whole verse *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 48 f.

[7] L. prefixes to this *I have already said.*

[8] L. *be saved;* cf. vii. 47.

[9] Cf. iv. 48 f.

[10] L. *field.*

[11] Or *sowings;* i. e. good ground produces good crops.

[12] *i. e.* the finest flowers produce the most brilliant colourings.

[13] L. *creation* (= κτίσις); but Ethiop. Ar.[1] *judgement* (= κρίσις), adopted by R.V., and this probably equals the true text of Syriac. See further *E.A.*, p. 207.

[14] Or *harvest.*

[15] = ἐν καιρῷ αἰῶνος, i. e. *in the time of eternity.* For the meaning cf. *E.A.*, p. 207.

(in existence) a world for them to live in; and no man withstood me—for indeed there was none (in existence).

19. And now that they have been created upon the world that standeth firm,[1] and upon a table that lacketh not, and upon a Law[2] that is unsearchable, they are become corrupt in their deeds,[3]

and I regarded my world, and lo! it was lost!
and my cosmos,[4] and lo! it was in peril—

on account of the manners[5] of its inhabitants.

21. And I saw and spared a small few,[6] and saved me a grape out of a cluster, and a plant out of a great forest.

22. Let the multitude, therefore, perish because it hath come into being in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which have been produced[7] with much toil.

Conclusion of the Vision (IX. 23–25)

23. But if thou wilt separate thyself[8] seven more days—but thou shalt not [again][9] fast therein, 24. and go thou to a field of flowers, where no house hath been built, and eat thou of the flowers of the field only, and flesh thou shalt not taste, nor shalt thou drink wine,[10] but flowers only; 25. and petition the Most High zealously,[11] and I will come unto thee and speak with thee.

[1] Or *is made ready* (the text should run [cf. L.] *a world prepared with a table that faileth not, and an unexplorable pasture*, in reference to Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 207 f.).

[2] *νόμος* = *Law* confused with *νομός* = *pasture*.

[3] L. *manners*.

[4] A synonym for *world* is used = *tēbhēl*.

[5] Or possibly *perversions*: L. *devices*.

[6] Lit. *a small little*: L. *vix valde, but not greatly* (R.V.).

[7] L. *I have produced*.

[8] L. *cease*.

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] Cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.

[11] L. *continually*.

VISION IV

(IX. 26—X. 59)

Introduction (IX. 26–28)

26. And I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called Arpad,[1] and sat there by[2] the flowers of the land, and did eat of the herbs[3] of the pasture; and the eating thereof was to my satisfaction. 27. And it came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart again began to be moved[4] [upon me][5] as before; 28. and my mouth was opened, and I began to speak before the Most High.

The Glory of the Law and Israel: a Contrast (IX. 29–37)

29. And I said: O Lord [my Lord,][6] thou didst verily reveal thyself[7] to our fathers in the wilderness [of Sinai][8] when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they went through the wilderness, [9]through a land wherein was no fruit, and through which no man hath passed[9]; 30. and thou didst say [to them :][10]

[1] So Ethiop. (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 34); L. (best reading) *Ardat*: a symbolical name of a mysterious place (? Arcadia); see *E.A.*, p. 212 f.

[2] L. *in* or *among*. [3] Lit. *roots*. [4] Or *troubled*.

[5] Omitted by L.; cf. Ps. xlii. 5 ("disquieted *upon* me"): cf. vi. 36.

[6] So Ethiop., but L. omits. [7] L. + *among us*.

[8] Omitted by other Versions.

[9] L. *the untrodden and unfruitful*: cf. Jer. ii. 6 [in the last clause of ver. 29 there is a scribal error in the Syriac text; read *wĕlâ* instead of *wĕkad*].

[10] So Ar.[2] and Arm.; other Versions omit.

Do thou, Israel, hear me,
and, seed of Jacob, listen to my words ![1]

31. For, behold, I sow in you my Law, and it shall produce in you fruits [of righteousness],[2] and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32. [3] But our fathers received the Law, and kept
it not,
and commandments, and did not perform them.[3]

[4] And they had the fruits of the Law which perish not, for they could not perish because it is thine.[4]

33. Those, however, who received it perished, because they kept not what had been sown in them.
34. And this is the rule: that when the earth receiveth seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel [what hath been put therein] [5] (viz) the food, [6] [7] or what hath been put, or what hath been kept [7]—
35. these [8] are destroyed, but these that received them [9] remain. But with us it hath not been so;
36. but we who have received the Law and sin perish together with our heart [10] which accepted it. 37. Thy Law, however, perisheth not, but abideth in its glory.[11]

The Vision of the Disconsolate Woman
(IX. 38—X. 24)

38. And while I spake these things in my heart,[12] I lifted up mine eyes and beheld a woman on the

[1] Cf. Ps. l. 7. [2] Omitted by other Versions.

[3] Note the parallelism of the two lines; this is lost in L.

[4] *And the fruit of the law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine* (R.V. = L.).

[5] ? repeated from next clause accidentally (see *E.A.*, p. 217).

[6] L. + *or drink* (so other Versions, but Ethiop. doubtful).

[7] L. [*and when it cometh to pass that that which is sown*], *or that which is launched, or the things which have been received* [*come to an end*], R.V. (bracketed clauses not in Syriac).

[8] *i.e.* the things put in. [9] *i.e.* the receptacles.

[10] Which is evil and perishable.

[11] Cf. Rom. vii. 14; 2 Cor. iii. 7 f.; and for the whole passage *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 19.

[12] *i.e.* according to the Hebrew idiom "thought these things."

right side,[1] mourning and weeping with a loud voice, while she [2] sighed in her soul [2] [and was greatly distressed],[3] and her clothes were rent, and dust was cast upon her head. 39. And I dismissed the thoughts which I was debating,[4] and turned to her and said to her: 40. Why dost thou weep, and art distressed in thy soul? 41. And she answered and said to me: Suffer me, my lord, to weep unchecked [5] and continue further to sigh, because my soul is greatly embittered and I am much humbled.[6]

42. And I said to her: Tell me what hath befallen thee. 43. And she answered and said to me: I, thine handmaid, was barren, and did not bear, though I was with my husband thirty years. 44. And I every day and every hour, during these thirty years, was petitioning and supplicating the Most High by day and by night. 45. And it came to pass after [these] [7] thirty years

> God heard [the voice of] [8] thine handmaid,
> and saw her humiliation [9];
> and looked upon my distress,
> and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced and delighted in him greatly, I and my husband and all my fellow townsfolk,[10] and we glorified [11] the Mighty One [12]; 46. and I reared him with very great toil. 47. And when he was grown up I came to take him a wife, and I made a day of feasting [and much merriment].[13]

X. 1. And it came to pass that when my son entered into his wedding-chamber he fell down and

[1] Cf. iv. 47.
[2] L. *was much grieved in mind.*
[3] Omitted in L.
[4] Lit. *cogitating.*
[5] Lit. *upon myself.*
[6] Or *afflicted.*
[7] Omitted by other Versions.
[8] This is probably the true text, though it is omitted by the other Versions.
[9] Barrenness was a reproach; cf. Luke i. 25.
[10] Lit. *all the sons of my town.*
[11] It was a religious duty to "give God the glory"; cf. Luke xvii. 18.
[12] *i. e.* the Almighty; cf. vi. 32, x. 24, xi. 43, xii. 47.
[13] Added by Syriac; cf. Matt. xxii. 2.

died. 2. But I overturned the lights,[1] and all my fellow-townsmen[2] rose up to console me; and I remained quiet until the next day and until the night.[3] 3. [4] And after they were all asleep and believed that I also was asleep,[4] then I arose by night, and fled and came as, [behold],[5] thou seest to this field. 4. And I am resolved that I will not again enter the city, but that here I will be, and will neither eat nor drink, but will continually mourn and fast till I die.

5. And I dismissed[6] my thoughts which I had been debating,[7] and I answered in anger and said to her: 6. [8] Thou art more foolish, woman, than all women![8] Seest thou not our grief and what hath befallen us? 7. that [lo!][9] Sion, the mother of us[10] all, is in great affliction, and humiliated with great humiliation? 8. But it is right now to mourn—[11] we all mourn; for thou indeed art grieved on account of one son, [but we—the whole world—on account of our mother].[12] 9. But ask the earth, and she shall tell thee; because[13] she is bound to mourn . . . ,[14] because many are they who have come into being[15] upon her, 10. and from the beginning all who have come into being[15] upon her, and the others who (are to) come, lo! they[16] all go to perdition, and their multitude is for destruction. 11. Who then ought to mourn the more, she who hath lost all this multitude, or thou who mournest for one?

12. But if thou sayest to me: My mourning is not

[1] Cf. Matt. xxv. 7. [2] See note [10], ix. 45.

[3] *i.e.* until the night of the next day.

[4] R.V. *And it came to pass when they had all left off to comfort me to the end I might be quiet* (see *E.A.*, p. 221).

[5] Added by Syriac.

[6] Lit. *left.* [7] Lit. *cogitating.*

[8] *Thou foolish woman above all other* (R.V. = L.).

[9] Added by Syriac. [10] Cf. Gal. iv. 26.

[11] L. + *seeing that.* [12] Added by Syriac.

[13] L. (rightly) *that* (= ὅτι also *because*).

[14] There is clearly a lacuna in the sense; Syriac omitted some words; L. + *the fall of so many.*

[15] Lit. *have been.* [16] L. + *almost* (*pene*).

like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb

which I bare with pains,
and reared [1] with sorrows—

13. the earth, however, according to the nature of the earth [2]: the multitude that came upon it is gone as it came: 14. then [3] I will again say to thee: Just as thou hast borne with travail, so also the earth hath given her fruit from (the) beginning, man, to him who made her.[4] 15. Now, therefore,

keep thy pain to thyself,[5]
and bear bravely[6] the evil that hath befallen thee!

16. For if thou wilt acknowledge as just [7] the decree of judgement of the Most High, thou shalt (again) receive thy son in (due) time,[8] and shalt be praised among women. 17. Go, therefore, into the city unto thy husband.

18. And she answered and said to me: I will not do so, nor will I go into the city, nor unto my husband, but here will I die!

19. And I continued further to speak with her, and I said to her: 20. No, woman! No, woman! Do not do this thing, but

20. be convinced of [9] Sion's misfortune,
and be consoled because of Jerusalem's sorrow!
21. For [behold !] [10] thou hast seen
our sanctuaries [11] laid waste,[12]

[1] L. *brought forth*.
[2] *i.e.* as regards the earth, such (dying) is according to the course of nature (see *E.A.*, p. 224). [3] Lit. *and*.
[4] *i.e.* man, earth's highest product, produced with so much pains, is constantly being gathered in (by death) by the Creator. This seems to be the meaning; cf. *E.A.*, p. 224.
[5] Lit. *within thyself*. [6] *With strength*.
[7] Cf. Ps. Sol., viii. 7, ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35 (an act of piety).
[8] *i.e.* either by the son's restoration to life, or by having another son.
[9] Or *prevailed on by*. [10] Added by Syriac.
[11] Other Versions have the singular.
[12] Syriac text *that they are laid waste* (in the same way prefixing *that* before each of the verbs throughout the following clauses); cf. 1 Macc. i. 39.

and our altars [1] overthrown;
and our Temple demolished,
[2] and our service abolished [2];
22. and our song taken away, [3]
and our glorying [4] ceased; [5]
and the light of our lamp quenched,[6]
and the ark of the covenant carried off; [7]
and our saints [8] defiled,
and the name that is called upon us [9] polluted;
and our nobles [10] dishonoured,
and our priests burnt in the fire,[11]
and our Levites taken captive;
and our virgins are defiled,
and our wives forcibly dishonoured;
[12] and our seers seized,
and our watchmen scattered [12];
and our youths enslaved,
and our heroes made weak:

23. and what exceedeth all—with regard to Sion's seal,[13]

[1] L. *altar*.

[2] L. *our psaltery is brought low* (cf. Ethiop.): *psaltery* or *harp* a symbol of Temple service; Syriac interprets; cf. *E.A.*, p. 226.

[3] L. *is silenced*.

[4] Or ? *hymning;* or *our pride*, i. e. the sacrificial service.

[5] Lit. *fallen*.

[6] This marked the cessation of the sacrificial service; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 50, and see *E.A.*, p. 226.

[7] This really occurred at the destruction of the first Temple; for its meaning here cf. *E.A.*, p. 226 f.

[8] L. *holy things* = the holy vessels.

[9] *i. e.* the divinely bestowed name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.

[10] *i. e.* the ruling classes.

[11] Cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. 1. (two priests threw themselves into the fire "and were burnt together with the holy house").

[12] L. *our righteous men carried away, our little ones betrayed;* possibly the Syriac should be emended so as to read *our pious ones are seized, our righteous scattered:* see further *E.A.*, p. 228.

[13] *i. e.* ? Sion's independence—possibly there is a reference to the issue of a national coinage in A.D. 66–70; cf. *E.A.*, p. 229 f.

the seal of her glory hath been taken away now,
and given up into the hand of them that hate
us!

24. Do thou, then, shake off from thyself [1] the
multitude of thy sorrows,
so that the Mighty One may be reconciled [2] to
thee,
and the Most High may give thee rest [3] from the
sorrows of thy toil! [3]

Sion's Glory; the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (X. 25–28)

25. And it came to pass, while I was talking with her, [and] [4] lo! her countenance shone exceedingly, and as the appearance of lightning became the look of her face.[5] And I feared greatly [to approach unto her, and my heart was much amazed].[6] And while I was cogitating what this [vision] [7] might be, 26. suddenly she cried with a loud and fearful voice, so that the whole earth was moved at her voice.[8] 27. And I saw, and lo! the woman was no longer visible to me, but a City that was builded,[9] and a place became visible as of great foundations.[10] And I was afraid and cried with a loud voice and said, 28. Where is the angel Uriel who from the first day [11] came unto

[1] L. + *thy great heaviness and put away* (the words were accidentally omitted by the Syriac translator); see *E.A.*, p. 230.

[2] Or *propitious*.

[3] L. *even ease from thy travails* (R.V.).

[4] Omit.

[5] Cf. Luke ix. 29.

[6] So Ar.[1]; the clause has been omitted (accidentally) by the Latin translator.

[7] L. and Ethiop. omit.

[8] Cf. Gen. xxvii. 34.

[9] *i.e.* already built, so all the Oriental Versions; but L. *was being built* (cf. ver. 42, R.V.).

[10] Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

[11] L. *from the first* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); cf. iv. 1 for the first appearance of Uriel.

me? Because he (it is) who hath caused me to come into the multitude of this agitation,[1]

and mine end[2] is made corruption,[3]
and my prayer ignominy.

The Vision interpreted (X. 29–57)

29. And while I was speaking these things, [lying on the ground as though dead],[4] the angel came unto me who had come unto me formerly[5]; and he saw me 30. lying on the ground as though dead,[6] and my understanding was confused; and he took me by my right hand and strengthened[7] me, and set me upon my feet,[8] and said to me:

31. What aileth thee,
And why art thou disquieted?
And wherefore is thy mind confused,
and the understanding of thy heart?

32. And I said to him: Because thou hast forsaken me! For I did as thou badest me (and) also (went out)[9] into the field, and lo! I have seen—and see[10]—that which I am unable to explain.[11]

33. And he answered and said to me: Stand[12] upon thy feet,[12] and I will make known to[13] thee.

34. And I said to him: Speak on, my Lord; and only do not forsake me lest I die[14] before my time.[14]

[1] Cf. *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Vis.* I. ii. 1; *Vis.* III. i. 5.

[2] So all the Versions; perhaps the Hebrew text was corrupt and the word *prayer* stood originally here (*tĕfillāthî* corrupted to *taklîthî* = *my end*).

[3] Here also a Hebrew corruption may be suspected, *lĕhebel* = "into vanity," having been misread *lĕḵebel*.

[4] Added by Syriac (? from next clause).

[5] Or *at first*.

[6] Cf. Dan. viii. 17 f., x. 9 f., 15; Rev. i. 17.

[7] Cf. Dan. x. 18.

[8] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17.

[9] Probably a word has fallen out of the Syriac text here.

[10] The vision is still present to his mind's eye.

[11] L. *to express*; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4.

[12] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17, x. 30: L. and other versions *like a man*.

[13] L. *advise*.

[14] Ethiop. *suddenly*: L. *to no purpose*.

35. Because I have seen what I do not understand,[1]
and hear what I am incompetent (to grasp).[2]
36. Or is it that my understanding deceiveth me,[3]
and my soul [4] beholdeth a dream [4]?
37. But now I beseech thee, my Lord, make known
to thy servant concerning this fearful vision.[5]
38. And he answered and said to me:
Hear me and I will teach thee,
and reveal [6] to thee concerning the things thou
art afraid of [7];
because the Most High hath revealed to thee many
secrets.
39. For he hath seen thy right conduct,
how [8] thou grievest much [9] for thy people,
[and mournest much for thy people,] [10]
and mournest much for Sion.
40. This, then, is the matter [11]: 41. The woman who
appeared to thee a little while ago, who was mourning
and whom thou didst begin to console, 42. and now
[12] she appeareth not as a woman to thee,[12] but hath
appeared to thee as a City that is being built [13]:
43. and whereas [14] she told thee of the misfortune of
her son—this is the explanation: 44. This woman
whom thou hast seen, this is Sion which thou now
seest [15] as a City being built.[13] 45. And whereas [14]
she said to thee concerning herself that she had been
barren thirty years—(it is) because [16] she was in the
world [16] three thousand [17] years when no offering was

[1] Or *have not understood* (*known*).
[2] Lit. (*what*) *I am unversed* (or *unskilful*) *in*.
[3] L. *is deceived*. [4] L. *dreameth*. [5] L. *this perplexity*.
[6] L. *tell*. [7] Cf. v. 32, vii. 49. [8] Lit. *that*.
[9] So Ethiop.; L. *continually*.
[10] Accidental repetition in the Syriac text.
[11] = οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, "the matter is as follows."
[12] L. *thou seest the likeness of the woman no more*.
[13] Cf. L. (*in building*): the participle is used in Syr. = οἰκοδομουμένη. [14] Lit. *that*.
[15] In vision. The woman = Sion, *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem (see *E.A.*, pp. 232 ff.).
[16] Probably originally "there were in the world,"
[17] L. *three* (*years*); see *E.A.*, p. 237.

offered in her.[1] 46. And it came to pass after three thousand years [2] Solomon [3] built the city and offered therein offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son.[4] 47. And whereas she told thee that she reared him †with labour†,[5] that is the dwelling of [6] Jerusalem. 48. And whereas she said to thee: My son entered into his (marriage) chamber and died [7]—this (was) the fall [and misfortune] [8] of Jerusalem. 49. And [whereas] [9] thou hast seen her likeness,[10] how that she mourneth for her sons,[11] and thou didst begin to console her for what had befallen her [12]—

50. And now the Most High hath seen
that thou art grieved with all thy soul,
and with all thy heart sorrowest on her account:
And he hath shewn thee the light of her glory,
and the beauty of her loveliness.

51. Therefore I bade thee await me [13] in the field where no house hath been builded; 52. for I knew

[1] Perhaps *in it* (the world) is the right text (see *E.A.*, p. 237)—*in her* can only mean "in the heavenly Sion"; the earthly Jerusalem (= the "son" here) only became the Holy City when David instituted the sacrificial cultus in it; cf. iii. 24.

[2] The 3000 years apparently represents the interval of time from the Creation to the founding of the Temple, according to the Hebrew text; see *E.A.*, p. 238.

[3] According to iii. 24, David was the founder of the Holy City; perhaps *David* should be read here (see *E.A.*, p. 238).

[4] *i.e.* the earthly Jerusalem probably.

[5] So read (slightly emending text); text has *world*.

[6] *i.e.* probably the Divine Presence (Shekinah) in the Temple, which was constantly interrupted by sin.

[7] L. + *and that misfortune befell her* (so Ar.[1]; cf. also Ethiop.).

[8] Added by Syriac (? part of the omitted previous clause). Note that the death of the son = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem (*i.e.* the son = the earthly Jerusalem).

[9] Lit. *that;* perhaps to be omitted, otherwise the sentence has no conclusion.

[10] *i.e.* probably the heavenly pattern of Sion (the heavenly Jerusalem); cf. Heb. xi. 10, 16, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

[11] So Ethiop., but the other Versions rightly *son*.

[12] A gloss in L. (some MSS.) adds *these were the things to be opened unto thee:* the other Versions omit.

[13] L. *remain.*

that the Most High was about to reveal all these things to thee. [53. Therefore I bade thee come into a place [1] where no foundation of a building is; 54. for no work [2] of man could remain in the place where the City of the Most High was about to be revealed.] [3] 55. But be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be disquieted, but go in and see [4] the light of the glory [4] and the vastness of her building, as far as the sight of thine eyes alloweth [5] thee to see; 56. and afterwards thou shalt hear as far as the hearing of thine ears alloweth [5] thee to hear.[6]

57. For thou art blessed above many,
and art named [7] before the Most High as (but) few! [8]

Transition to the Fifth Vision (X. 58–59)

58. But on the night of to-morrow thou shalt remain here [9]; 59. and the Most High will shew thee [10] a vision of those revelations [10] which the Most High will do to the inhabitants of the earth in the last days.

[1] L. *the field.*
[2] L. *building-work.*
[3] Vers. 51–52 and 53–54 are doublets apparently, though all the Versions attest them; see *E.A.*, p. 241.
[4] L. *the brightness.*
[5] Lit. sufficeth.
[6] The seer saw and heard much more than is recorded; this implies a real experience: note that the City is regarded as still standing before the seer: with vers. 55–56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9.
[7] *i.e.* singled out by name for special honour.
[8] The true sequel appears to be contained in xii. 39*b*, xiii. 57–58 and xii. 40–48 (see *E.A.*, p. 242).
[9] *i.e.* in the field of Ardat.
[10] L. *those visions in dreams* (*i.e.* dream-visions); cf. Ethiop.; the sense seems to require *in dream-visions.*

VISION V

(THE EAGLE VISION)[1] (X. 60—XII. 51)

The Vision (X. 60—XII. 3*a*)

60. And I slept there [2] the next night as he commanded me.

XI. 1. And it came to pass in the second night I saw a vision [3]: and lo! there came up out of the sea [4] an eagle [5] [that (was) very large in its size],[6] and he had twelve wings [7] and three heads.[8] 2. And I saw, and lo! he spread his wings in [9] the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him,[10] and the clouds gathered together unto him. 3. And I saw that from his wings were born [11] wings small and little and petty.[11] 4. But his heads were at rest; but the middle head was greater than these others; and yet it also was resting with them. 5. And I saw,

[1] This famous vision is directed against the Roman Empire symbolized by the Eagle.

[2] L. + *that night and.*

[3] L. *dream* (Ethiop. *in a dream*); a dream-vision is meant.

[4] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1.

[5] The eagle is a specially appropriate symbol of the Roman Empire whose military emblem was the eagle.

[6] Absent from other Versions.

[7] So all the Versions except L., which has *feathered wings.* For the significance of these cf. *E. A.*, p. 261 f.

[8] *i.e.* in the original form of the vision the three Flavian Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

[9] So L. and Ethiop.; but Ar.[2] Arm. *over.*

[10] Cf. xiii. 3.

[11] L. *anti-wings and they became wings petty and small:* other Versions *little wings* for *anti-wings;* apparently usurpers or military rivals of the Emperors are meant whose activity was short-lived.

and lo! the eagle commanded[1] his wings to reign over the whole earth and over the inhabitants thereof. 6. And I saw how there became subject to him everything beneath the heavens, and not one thing resisted[2] him of the creatures upon the earth. 7. And I saw, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and emitted the voice[3] to his wings, and said to them: [Go, rule over the whole earth! 8. But now rest ye],[4] and do not all wake[5] at once, but sleep each one of you in his place, and wake[5] by times;[6] 9. but let the heads be preserved for the last! 10. And I saw that his voice did not proceed from his heads, but from the midst of his body. 11. And I numbered his little wings,[7] and they [also][8] were eight. 12. And I saw, and lo! there arose on the right side[9] one wing[10] and reigned over the whole earth. 13. And I saw[11] that its end came and it was destroyed,[12] so that even its place was not known.[13] And [I saw, and lo!][14] the second wing[15] arose, and it also ruled over the whole earth a long time; 14. and it came to pass when it had reigned, its end came that it should be destroyed,[12] as the first. 15. And lo! a voice was heard which said to it: 16. Hear thou who for the whole of this time hast held the earth; this [message][16] I announce to thee before thou shalt be destroyed[12]: 17. None of those

[1] L. *flew with* (rightly). [2] Or *gainsaid*.
[3] *i.e.* uttered his voice (a Hebraism).
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] Or *watch*: each wing (a pair of wings) is to be active for a limited time, and in succession.
[6] *i.e.* for successive limited periods.
[7] L. *anti-wings*.
[8] Added by Syriac; L. *lo!* [9] See *E.A.*, p. 252.
[10] Perhaps originally *one from the pairs of wings*: see *E.A.*, p. 252.
[11] L. *and it came to pass* (cf. the other Versions).
[12] = ἀφανίζεσθαι; L. *appeared no more* (R.V.).
[13] L. and other versions *appeared no more* (was not visible).
[14] Absent from the other Versions.
[15] = probably Augustus (the first wing or pair of wings = Julius Cæsar).
[16] Added by Syriac.

who (shall be) after thee shall hold (rule) as[1] the whole of this time,[2] yea, not as[1] the half of it![3] 18. And [I saw, and lo!][4] the third wing arose and ruled, it also as [5]its former companions,[5] [over the whole earth][6]; and it also was destroyed[7] [as the preceding].[6] 19. And so it happened to all the wings that [8]each one of them[8] ruled and again were destroyed.[7] 20. And I saw, and lo! in time the little wings also arose on the right side, so that they might hold (rule over) [the earth],[9] and some of them held (rule), but were destroyed[7] suddenly: 21. and some of them arose, but did not hold the rule. 22. And I saw after this that his[10] twelve wings were destroyed,[7] and (also) two of the little wings; 23. and there was left nothing of the eagle's body save only the three heads that were at rest and six little wings. 24. And I saw, and lo! from the little wings two wings separated themselves, and [11]went and rose up[11] under the head[12] that was upon the right side; but four remained in their place. 25. And I saw, and lo! these [13]four little wings[13] thought to rise up and to hold the rule. 26. And I saw, and lo! one rose up,[14] but immediately was destroyed;[7] 27. and again the second,[15] but it also was immediately destroyed[7] (more quickly)[16] than the first. 28. And I saw, and lo! the two[17] that remained of them

[1] = "anything like."
[2] L. *thy time* only (for *as the whole of this time*).
[3] The long reign of Augustus fits this description.
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] L. *the former* (cf. Ethiop.).
[6] Absent in L. and the other Versions.
[7] See note [12] to ver. 13 above.
[8] L. *one by one*.
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] L. *the*.
[11] L. *remained*; so Ethiop.
[12] *i.e.* probably, according to the original meaning of the vision, Domitian: who are represented by the two little wings it is difficult to say; see *E.A.*, p. 255, for suggestions.
[13] L. *under-wings*.
[14] ? Galba.
[15] ? Piso or Otho.
[16] The comparative has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac text.
[17] ? Civilis and Vitellius.

thought [of them][1] that they also should hold the principate[2]; 29. and while they were thinking [to rule over the earth, I saw, and][3] lo! one of the heads which were at rest, the middle one,[4] awoke; and it was greater than the two other heads. 30. [. . .][5] the two [6]of them[6] with itself; 31. and[7] with the two, that were with it, it turned and devoured the two little wings[8] which thought to reign. 32. But this head held (rule over) all the earth, and oppressed[9] its inhabitants with much hardship, and wielded power[10] over the inhabited world[11] more than all the wings that had been. 33. And after this I saw, and lo! suddenly[12] the middle head was destroyed,[13] it also even as the †wings†.[14] 34. But there remained two heads, (which) also ruled over the whole earth, and over its inhabitants. 35. And I saw, and lo! the head which was upon the right side devoured that upon the left.[15] 36. And I heard a voice which said to me: Look in front of thee, [Ezra],[16] and see,[17] what thou seest [(at) the end]![18] 37. And I saw, and lo! as it were a lion that was roused out of the wood, [crying and][18] roaring. And I heard how he uttered a man's voice to[19] the eagle, and spake and said to him: 38. Hear, [thou eagle],[18] and I will talk[20] to thee: The Most High saith to thee: 39. Art thou not it that art left of the

[1] Accidentally repeated from the previous clause.

[2] L. (cf. Ethiop.) *to reign.*

[3] Absent in L. and the other Versions.

[4] ? Vespasian.

[5] There is something missing here in the Syriac; L. *and I beheld how it allied.*

[6] L. *heads.* [7] L. + *and lo! the head.* [8] L. *under-wings.*

[9] Lit. *humbled.* [10] Or *prevailed.* [11] = ἡ οἰκουμένη.

[12] So L.; other Versions omit.

[13] See note [12] on ver. 13 above.

[14] Syr. text has *wing.*

[15] *i.e.* Domitian (the right head) compassed the death of Titus (the left head), as was popularly supposed at the time: see *E.A.*, p. 157.

[16] Absent from the other Versions.

[17] L. *consider.* [18] Peculiar to the Syriac.

[19] Or *against.* [20] Lit. *say.*

four beasts[1] which I had made to reign over my
world, and that through them the end of the[2]
times might come? 40. Thou, however, the fourth,
art come, and hast overcome all the beasts who are
past;

and thou hast wielded power over the world with great hardship,[3]
and over the whole inhabited earth with [4]bitter violence[4];
and thou hast dwelt in the inhabited earth full long with fraud,
and hast judged the earth, (but) not with truth.

42. For thou hast [5]plundered and robbed[5] the [6]humble and true,[6]
and evil entreated the meek[7];
and hast hated the upright,[8]
and loved the deceitful[9];
and hast overthrown the strongholds of such as were flourishing,[10]
and laid low the walls of those who did thee no harm—

43. And (so) thine insolence[11] hath ascended unto the Most High,
and . . .[12] unto the Mighty One.

44. And the Most High regarded his times,
and lo! they were ended[13];
and his æons[14] were fulfilled.[15]

[1] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; the eagle is identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii.

[2] L. *my*.

[3] L. *terror* (*trembling*).

[4] L. *grievous oppression*.

[5] L. *hast afflicted*.

[6] L. *meek*.

[7] L. *quiet* (or *peaceable*).

[8] L. *them that speak truth*.

[9] Or *liars* (? an allusion to Jewish informers).

[10] L. *them that were fruitful* (*i.e.* prosperous).

[11] Or *insult*.

[12] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syriac; L. *thy pride*: cf. for the whole ver. Isa. xxx. 29.

[13] The predetermined end has come.

[14] = the word usually rendered *world* (αἰών).

[15] Cf. Gal. iv. 4.

45. Therefore shalt thou be utterly destroyed,[1] thou
eagle,
and thy highest [2] wings,
and thy [3] little and evil wings,[3]
and thy bitter [4] heads,
and thy evil talons,
and thy whole [5] hateful and evil [5] body;
46. so that the whole earth may be rested and relieved now that she hath been freed from [6] violence, that she may hope for the judgement [7] and the mercy of her Maker.

XII. 1. And it came to pass when the lion had
spoken these words unto the eagle, 2. I saw, and lo!
the head that was left was destroyed [1] [suddenly].[8]
And then the two wings [9] which went over unto it rose up in order to reign; and their principate had
an end [10] and was full of uproar. 3*a*. And I saw that
these also were destroyed [1] and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was greatly amazed.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XII. 3*b*–39)

3*b*. But I from great agitation [11] and much fear
awoke, and said to my spirit: 4. Thou hast wrought
all these things unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High!

5. And lo! I am [12] enfeebled in my soul,[12]
and my spirit [13] is much diminished,
nor is there left in me the least [14] strength because

[1] L. *appear no more* (cf. note on xi. 13 above).
[2] As opposed to the *little wings* = L. *horrible*.
[3] L. *little wings most evil*.
[4] L. *cruel*.
[5] L. *vain* (or *worthless*).
[6] L. + *thy*.
[7] Here *judgement* means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is destroyed, not the judgement of the last day.
[8] Absent in the other Versions.
[9] So all the Versions (we should expect *little wings*).
[10] L. *was short*.
[11] L. + *of mind*: cf. x. 28.
[12] L. *yet weary in my mind*.
[13] L. *in my spirit*.
[14] Lit. *not even a little*.

of the great fear which I have experienced[1] in this night. 6. And now I will petition the Most High, and he will[2] strengthen me unto the end. 7. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, and if [3]in truth I have blessing (laid up)[3] with thee above many, and if in very deed[4] my prayer hath ascended before [the majesty of][5] thy countenance— 8. strengthen me and make known to me, thy servant, the interpretation and explanation of this [6]vision that I have seen,[6] in order that thou mayest completely[7] comfort my soul! 9. For hast thou not counted me worthy to reveal to me the consummation of the times and the end of the periods?[8]

10. And he answered and said to me: This is the interpretation of the vision that thou hast seen: 11. The eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea—this is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel[9]; 12. but it was not interpreted to him as I interpret (it) to thee now, [10]or as I have interpreted (it) to thee.[10]

13. Behold the days come when a kingdom shall arise upon the earth, and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms which have been before it. 14. And twelve kings shall reign in it, one after another,[11] 15. But the second,[12] when he shall reign, shall hold (the rule) a longer time than (any of)

[1] Lit. *feared*. [2] L. *that he may*. [3] L. *I am justified*.

[4] Lit. *in truth* (but a different word from that used in the previous part of the verse).

[5] Absent from the other Versions; cf. vi. 32.

[6] L. *fearful vision* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]): *that I have seen* is probably a corruption in Syriac of *fearful*.

[7] This implies that partial consolation had already been given (in the vision of the heavenly Sion); see *E.A.*, p. 267.

[8] See *E.A.*, p. 267 f.

[9] Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is an interesting case of re-interpretation of prophecy; see *E.A.*, p. 268.

[10] ? an ancient gloss.

[11] *i.e.* apparently the "twelve Cæsars," according to the later (not the original) meaning of the vision; see *E.A.*, p. 268.

[12] *i.e.* Augustus.

the twelve. 16. This is the interpretation of the twelve wings which thou hast seen. 17. And whereas thou didst see [1] a voice which spake and did not emerge from the head [2] of the eagle, but from the midst of his body, this is the meaning [3]: 18. (because) [4] in the midst of the time [5] of that kingdom there shall be [6] many divisions,[6] and it shall be in danger [7] of falling; and it shall not fall then, but shall be re-established to its [8] former rule.[8] 19. And whereas thou didst see eight little wings [9] grow under his wings, this is the meaning [3]: 20. for there shall arise in it eight kings whose times shall be swift and whose periods hurried: 21. and two [10] of them shall perish when [11] the time shall come that divideth,[11] and four shall be kept for the time when its time cometh to be ended [12]; but two shall be kept for the consummation. 22. And whereas thou didst see in him three heads resting, this is the meaning [3]: 23. at the end of the times the Most High will arouse three kings [13]; and they shall renew many things therein, and shall grind [14] the earth 24. and its inhabitants with much hardship, more than all those that were before them. Therefore are they called the heads of the eagle; 25. for these are they who shall renew [15] his wickedness, and they shall consummate his end.

[1] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. Arm. *hear*.
[2] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. *heads*.
[3] = *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος*; cf. x. 40.
[4] *ὅτι* (mistranslated)—here = *that*.
[5] *i.e.* between Nero and Vespasian.
[6] L. *no small contentions*: Ethiop. *much uproar*.
[7] = *κινδυνεύσει*.
[8] L. *to its beginning* (= *εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς*), misunderstanding Greek;
[9] L. *under-wings*.
[10] *i.e.* in the last days of Nero; ? Vindex and Nymphidius (see *E.A.*, p. 270).
[11] L. *the middle time approacheth*.
[12] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 270.
[13] So all the Versions except L. which has *three kingdoms*.
[14] Or *oppress*: L. *bear rule over*.
[15] = *ἀνακαινώσουσιν*; L. *bring to a head* = *ἀνακεφαλαιώσουσιν*, which is right (Syriac misread); see *E.A.*, p. 271.

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26. And whereas thou didst see one great head destroyed[1]—(it is) because[2] only[3] one of them shall die upon his bed, but he also tormented[4]; 27. but as for the two who are left, the sword shall devour them; 28. because the sword of the one[5] shall devour his companion[6]; nevertheless he also shall fall by the sword at the end.[7] 29. And whereas thou didst see two wings[8] go over unto the head on the right side, this is the meaning[9]: 30. These are they whom the Most High hath set apart for his[10] end, and their kingdom shall[11] have an end,[11] and it shall be full of uproar, as thou hast seen. 31. And that thou didst see the lion that was roused out of the wood, crying and roaring and speaking to the eagle, and (that) he was reproving him for his iniquity, and all the[12] words,[13] as thou hast heard: 32. this is the[14] Messiah whom the Most High hath kept for the consummation of the days, who shall spring from the seed of David,[14] and shall come and speak with them;

> and he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
> and for their baseness admonish[15] them,
> and set in order[16] before them their iniquity.

33. For he shall station them[17] before me[17] in their judgement,[18] alive; and it shall be when he rebuketh

[1] Cf. note on xi. 13 above.
[2] = ὅτι introducing direct speech (misunderstood by the Syriac translator).
[3] Cf. Ethiop.; L. omits.
[4] ? Trajan (according to the later interpretation of the vision); see *E.A.*, p. 271 f.
[5] ? Hadrian.
[6] ? Lusius Quietus (see *E.A.*, p. 272).
[7] This seems to be pure prediction.
[8] L. *under-wings*.
[9] Cf. note [3] on ver. 17 above.
[10] *i.e.* the eagle's.
[11] L. *be short*.
[12] L. *his*.
[13] = λόγων which may = *deeds* here; see *E.A.*, p. 272.
[14] *Messiah . . . from seed of David*: cf. Rev. v. 5; for the mixed representation (pre-existent yet born) cf. *E.A.*, p. 273; for the lacuna in L. of this verse cf. R.V.
[15] Or *correct*.
[16] = ἐπιτάξει = L. (*infulciet*) = ἐπιπλήξει; see *E.A.*, p. 273.
[17] Or *first* (different points) which = L.
[18] L. *in judgement*.

them, then he shall destroy them.[1] 34. But my people who have been left he shall deliver in mercy, (even) them who have remained[2] within my borders[3]; and he shall make them joyful until the consummation of[4] the Day of Judgement cometh concerning which I have spoken with thee previously.[5] 35. This is the vision[6] thou hast seen, and this is its interpretation. 36. And thou alone hast been found worthy to have knowledge of the mystery of the Most High. 37. Write therefore in a book all these things that thou hast seen, and put them in a hidden place[7]; 38. and teach them to the wise of thy people,[8] (even to them) whose hearts thou knowest are able, comprehending,[9] to keep these mysteries.

39*a*. But do thou endure here yet seven days more, that there may be revealed to thee what the Most High willeth to reveal to thee!

Conclusion of the Vision (XII. 39*b*–48)

39*b*. And he departed from me.

40. And it came to pass when[10] the people saw[11] that seven days were past, and I not come[12] into the city, all the people gathered themselves together, from the small unto the great, [and arose][13] and came unto me and answered and said to me:

41. how[14] have we sinned against thee,
or what evil have we done to thee,
that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place?

[1] The godless are first rebuked, and then destroyed; see *E.A.*, p. 274.
[2] L. *been saved*
[3] *i.e.* within the Holy Land.
[4] L. *even*.
[5] Or *from the first*.
[6] L. *dream*: cf. xi. 1.
[7] Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9; 1 Enoch lxxxii. 1, civ. 11–13, and in our Book xiv. 26, 47; see *E.A.*, p. 275.
[8] *i.e.* for the circle of the initiated; the esoteric tradition was preserved in secret.
[9] L. *to comprehend and*.
[10] L. + *all*.
[11] L. *heard*.
[12] L. *returned*.
[13] Absent from L.
[14] Lit. *what*.

42. For thou [1] art left to us of all the prophets
as a cluster out of the vintage,[2]
and as a light [3] in a dark place,[4]
and as a haven of life to a ship when it standeth in a storm.

43. Or are not the evils that have befallen us sufficient [but that thou also shouldest forsake us] [5]? 44. But if thou forsake us, it had been well for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of Sion! 45. For we are not better than those who perished there. And I [6] wept with a loud voice.[7] 46. And I answered and said to them:

Be of good cheer, Israel,
and be not sorrowful, House of Jacob.

47. For your remembrance is [8] with the Most High,
and the Mighty One doth [9] not forget you for ever.

48. But I have not forsaken you, and will not forsake [10] you, but I have come to this place
to pray for the devastation of Sion,
and to ask mercy for our [11] Sanctuary's humiliation.

Transition to the Sixth Vision (XII. 49–51)

49. And now go ye every one to his own house and I will come unto you [12] after these days.[12] 50. And the people went into the city as I had bidden them. 51. But I sat in the field [13] seven days as he had commanded me; and I ate of the flowers of the field only, and of the herbs was my food in those days.

[1] Ethiop. and some MSS. of L. + *alone* (but best MSS. of L. omit).

[2] Cf. ix. 21; Isa. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13.

[3] Or *lamp*.

[4] Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19 (? a citation from our passage).

[5] This clause has accidentally dropped out of L.

[6] So Ar.[1], but L., Ethiop., Ar.[2] have rightly *they* (Greek ἔκλαιον can be translated either way).

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 8.

[8] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 279.

[9] L. *hath not forgotten*.

[10] L. *depart from*, so Ethiop. Ar.[1]

[11] L. *your*.

[12] Viz. those mentioned in xii. 39.

[13] *i.e.* of Ardat (cf. ch. ix.).

VISION VI

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA) (XIII. 1–58)

The Vision (XIII. 1–13*a*)

XIII. 1. And it came to pass after seven days, and [1] I saw a vision [1] in the night: 2. and lo! a great [2] wind arose in [3] the sea, so that it stirred all its waves. 3. And I saw, [4] [and lo! the wind brought up from the heart of the sea as it were the form of a Man. And I saw, and lo!] [4] this man flew with the clouds of heaven [5]; and wherever he turned his face to look [and see] [6] everything [7] before his look [7] trembled; 4. and whithersoever the voice of his mouth went out, all who heard his voice melted away as wax melteth when [8] the fire causeth it to smell.[8] 5. And after this I saw, and lo! there were gathered together a multitude of men innumerable, from the four winds of heaven to fight with the Man who came up out of the sea. 6. And I saw that he cut out for himself a lofty [9] mountain and flew [and stood] [10] upon it.[11] 7. But I sought to see the region or place whence the mountain had been cut out, but could not. 8. And after this I saw, and lo! all who were gathered together to fight with him were in great fear, but yet

[1] L. *I dreamed a dream;* cf. xi. 1.

[2] *i. e.* violent; L. omits. [3] L. *from.*

[4] The bracketed words have been omitted in L. by homoioteleuton.

[5] Cf. Dan. vii. 13. [6] Absent from the other Versions.

[7] L. *seen under him.*

[8] L. *it feeleth the fire;* for the figure cf. Mic. i. 4; Ps. xcvii. 5; 1 Enoch i. 6 (of Theophanies).

[9] L. *great.* [10] Absent from the other Versions.

[11] Cf. (for the verse) Dan. ii. 45.

they dared to fight. 9. And when he saw the violence[1] [of the coming][2] of their multitude that came, he did not lift up his hand, neither did he hold spear nor any of all the weapons of war; 10. but I saw how he sent out of his mouth only as it were waves[3] of fire, and out of his lips a breath of flame, and he was shooting forth[4] glowing coals of storm.[4] 11. And these were all mingled together—the waves of fire, and the breath of flame, and the mass[5] of the storm; and they fell upon the violence[1] [of the coming][2] of[6] that multitudinous people[6] that was prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing was visible of that multitude of men without number save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke. And I saw and was amazed.

12. And after this I saw that Man come down from the mountain, and he called unto him another multitude of men that was peaceable.[7] 13*a*. And there drew nigh unto him the likeness[8] of many men; but some of them were glad, and some sad; and some of them were bound,[9] and some brought those who were to be offered.[10]

The Apocalyptist reflects on the Vision (XIII. 13*b*–24)

13*b*. But I through great agitation awoke; and I petitioned the Most High and said: 14. Thou from

[1] = τὴν ὁρμήν (*the assault*).

[2] This appears to be redundant (see other Versions).

[3] R.V. *flood*.

[4] L. (corrected text) *a storm of sparks*: the whole picture is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27; 1 Enoch lxii. 2: see *E.A.*, p. 288 f.

[5] So L.: we should expect the same term here as that used at the end of ver. 10 (*coals* or *sparks*); see *E.A.*, p. 289.

[6] L. *the multitude*.

[7] *i.e.* Messiah's subjects who are gathered after the destruction of his enemies; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27 f., and see *E.A.*, p. 289.

[8] L. *faces*.

[9] Heathen captives.

[10] Returning Jewish exiles brought by the heathen as an oblation; cf. *E.A.*, p. 290.

the beginning hast shewn thy servant these wonders, and [while I am not worthy][1] thou hast esteemed me (worthy) to receive my petition[2]: 15. and now reveal to me further the interpretation of this vision[3]! 16. For as I think in my mind[4]: woe to those who are left in those days, and yet much more woe to those who are not left! 17. Because (they) who are not left shall be grieved 18. over[5] that which is reserved for those who are left in the last days, but they do not attain thereto.

19. To those also who survive therefore woe! For they must see great perils with many distresses, as these visions[6] shew. 20. But yet it is expedient[7] that one should stand in peril and come into these things than that he should pass away as a cloud from the world and not see what happeneth at the consummation of the times.

21. And he answered and said to me: I will both tell thee the interpretation of thy vision, and also will reveal[8] to thee concerning those about whom thou hast spoken. 22. Whereas thou hast spoken concerning those who survive [and concerning those who do not survive][9]—this is the meaning[10]:

23. He that endureth[11] danger in that time, he shall keep those who lie in danger, even such as have [12]works and faith[12] towards [the Most High and][13] Mighty One. 24. See,[14] therefore, that more blessing is given to those who shall have survived than to those who have died.

[1] Absent from other Versions—the Syriac text may here be out of order.

[2] Cf. ix. 24, 25.

[3] L. *dream*.

[4] Notice the reflective tone of vers. 16–20, and cf. *E.A.*, p. 201.

[5] L. *knowing as they do.*

[6] L. *dreams.*

[7] L. *easier.*

[8] L. *open.*

[9] So Ar.[1] (cf. Ethiop), but L. accidentally omits.

[10] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[11] A misrendering by the Syriac; L. rightly *he that bringeth the danger*, i. e. the Messiah.

[12] Cf. viii. 33, ix. 7.

[13] Accidentally omitted by L.

[14] L. *know*.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XIII. 25–53*a*)

25. But this is the interpretation [1] of thy [2] vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the sea— 26. he it is whom the Most High is keeping for long ages,[3] through whom [4] he will deliver his creation; and he shall bring through [5] those who are left. 27. And whereas thou didst see that from his mouth there issued [6] a breath of fire and of storm,[6] 28. and that he did not hold [in his hand] [7] spear or warlike weapon, and destroyed the [8] massed coming [8] of that gathering which came to wage war with him—this is the meaning [9]:

29. Behold the days come, when the Most High † is about † [10] to deliver them that are upon the earth, 30. great horror shall come upon the inhabitants of the earth. 31. And they shall plan to fight one with another, city with city, and place with place, and people with people, and kingdom with kingdom.[11] 32. And it shall be when these [12] signs shall come to pass, of which I have previously told thee,[13] then shall my Son be revealed [14] whom thou sawest as a man coming up. 33. And when all the peoples hear his voice they shall leave every one of them his place and the warfare which is among them [15]; 34. and there

[1] So all the Versions except L., which has *these are the interpretations.*

[2] L. *the.*

[3] Lit. *for many times:* the reference is to the heavenly pre-existent Messiah (the *Son of Man* of 1 Enoch xxxvi.–lxx.).

[4] *i. e.* through the Messiah; but L. *which by his own self* (*i. e.* the Most High himself); cf. *E.A.*, p. 293.

[5] L. *order* (= διατάξει); Syriac may have read διάξει.

[6] L. *wind and fire and storm.*

[7] L. omits.

[8] Lit. *mass of the coming:* L. *assault.*

[9] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[10] So read (*dĕ'āthîd*); Syriac text *will make;* Versions support correction.

[11] Cf. Isa. xix. 2; Matt. xxiv. 7.

[12] L. + *things shall happen and the.*

[13] Cf. ix. 1.

[14] Cf. vii. 28.

[15] L. *they have one against another.*

shall be gathered together men without number,[1] as thou didst see that they desired to come and wage war with that Man. 35. But he will stand upon the top of Mount Sion[2]; 36. and Sion shall come and be revealed to all, prepared and builded,[3] as thou didst see the mountain that was cut out without hands. 37. But he, my Son, shall reprove those peoples who are come for their ungodliness, which things[4] are like unto a storm; 38. and shall set in order[5] before them their wicked deeds and the torment wherewith they are destined to be tormented; but after this he [6]that was likened to a flame[6] shall destroy them[7] without labour by the Law[8] of him who[8] hath been likened unto fire.

39. And whereas[9] he summoned and gathered unto himself another [10]multitudinous mass[10] that was peaceable[11]: 40. these are the nine and a half tribes,[12] which were led captive out of their land in the days of Josiah[13] the King, which (tribes) Salmanassar[14] the King of the Assyrians led captive, and brought them to the other side of the River [Euphrates][15]; and they were led captive to another land. 41. For

[1] *i.e.* the heathen hosts arrayed against the people of God and led by Gog and Magog; the battle of Armageddon; cf. Ezek. xxxviii.–ix.; Rev. xvi. 16, and see *E.A.*, p. 294 f.

[2] Here identified with the mountain cut out without hands; cf. Ps. ii. 6, and see *E.A.*, p. 295.

[3] *i.e.* the heavenly Sion (in the previous verse the earthly Sion is meant).

[4] *i.e.* the rebukes.

[5] Cf. xii. 32 note.

[6] This clause is misplaced in Syriac; it should come at end of previous verse (*which were likened*, etc.); cf. L.

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii. 2 f.; apparently all the heathen are included in this multitude; see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[8] L. *that* (*i.e.* the Law, not the Lawgiver, is compared to fire).

[9] L. + *thou didst see that.*

[10] L. *multitude.*

[11] Lit. *of peace.*

[12] So other Oriental Versions; but L. *ten:* see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[13] A historical error: Hoshea was the name of the King (cf. 2 Kings xvii.).

[14] Syr. text *Salbanassar* (same mistake in text of *Ap. Bar.* lxii. 6).

[15] Absent from other Versions.

they [had deliberated among themselves and][1] had taken this counsel that they would leave the multitude of the peoples and go to an inner[2] region where never the race of men had dwelt, 42. that there also they might keep their Law which they had not kept in their own land. 43. And they entered in through the narrow passages of the Euphrates. 44. For the Most High then wrought marvels[3] for them; for he held back the sources[4] of the River until they had all passed over,[5] 45. that they might proceed †to the dry land†.[6] It was a great way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that region was called Arsaph,[7] [(at) the end of the world.][8] 46. And they have dwelt there until the last time. And then[9] when they are about to come again, 47. the Most High will again hold back the sources[4] of the River [Euphrates],[10] that they may be able to pass over. Therefore hast thou seen the multitude of men[11] that was gathered together in peace. 48. But they also that are left from thy people [shall live],[10] they who are found within my holy borders. 49. And it shall be when he shall destroy the multitude of the peoples that are gathered together, he will protect the people that remain; 50. and then will he shew them many marvels.

51. And I said further to him: O Lord my Lord, make known to me this, wherefore I have seen the Man to come up from the heart of the sea.

52. And he answered and said to me: Just as one hath not the power to search out [and find][12] or to know what is in the depths[13] of the sea, so can none

[1] L. omits. [2] L. *further*. [3] L. *signs*.
[4] Lit. *outlets*. [5] Cf. Josh. iii. 15.
[6] So read (by a slight emendation).
[7] Ethiop. *Asaph*: L. correctly *Arzareth* (= *'ereṣ 'aḥereth*, "another land" of Deut. xxix. 25 f. (Heb. 24 f.); see *E.A.*, p. 298).
[8] Peculiar to the Syriac.
[9] So Ethiop., but L. *now*.
[10] Absent from the other Versions.
[11] L. *multitude*. [12] Absent in other Versions.
[13] Other Versions (except Arm.) have sing.

of those who are upon the earth see my Son or them that are with him,[1] except in that time in his day.[2] 53*a*. This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen.

Transition to the Seventh Vision (XIII. 53*b*–58)

53*b*. Therefore there hath been revealed to thee these things, to thee alone,

54. because thou hast forsaken the things that are thine own,
and hast devoted thyself to the things which are ours,[3]
and hast searched out [4] the things of the Law.[4]

55. For thy life thou hast directed in wisdom,
and hast called discernment "my [5] mother."

56. Therefore have I shewed thee these things; for (there is) a reward with the Most High.

And it shall be after three [6] days I will speak other things with thee, and will explain to thee [7] the last marvels.[7]

57. And I went and walked in the field [8] much and praised [8] the Most High for the marvels which he had wrought at (different) times,[9] 58. and (because) he directeth the times and what cometh in the times. And I sat [10] there three days.

[1] *i.e.* Messiah's companions? cf. vii. 28: or possibly a host of angels; cf. *E.A.*, p. 300.

[2] Cf. Luke xvii. 22.

[3] L. *mine* (possibly we ought so to read here).

[4] L. *my Law*.

[5] L. *thy*; cf. Prov. vii. 4.

[6] L. + *more*.

[7] So Ar.[1]; but L. *things difficult and marvellous*.

[8] L. *and praised much*.

[9] R.V. *from time to time*.

[10] i.e. *abode* (a Hebraism).

VISION VII

(THE EZRA LEGEND) (Ch. XIV)

Ezra's Commission (XIV. 1–17)

XIV. 1. And it came to pass after this,[1] while I was sitting under an oak,[2] and lo! a voice came out from a bush [3] opposite me, and answered and said to me: Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Behold (here) am I![4] And I rose upon my feet, and he said to me: 3. I did manifestly reveal myself from the bush, and talked with Moses when my people was enslaved in Egypt; 4. and I sent him, and he[5] led my people out of Egypt [and brought them into the wilderness][6] and led them up to[7] Mount Sinai; and I held him by me many days,

5. and explained to him many marvels,
and made known to him the secrets of the times, and shewed him the consummation of the periods;[8]

and I said to him: 6. Of these words some[9] shalt thou keep secret, and some reveal.[9]

[1] L. (Ar.[1], Arm.) *the third day.*

[2] Some well-known oak (? near or in Jerusalem); cf. *Ap. Bar.* vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, and see *E.A.*, p. 307.

[3] Cf. Exod. iii. 4.

[4] L. + *Lord* (so Ar.[2]), but other Versions omit.

[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and some MSS. of L., but other MSS. and Ethiop. and Arm., *I.*

[6] So Ar.[1]; absent from other Versions.

[7] Lit. *caused them to ascend.*

[8] *i.e.* the sacred eschatological tradition, which was associated with the name of Moses (cf. the *Assumption of Moses*); see *E.A.*, p. 308.

[9] These clauses are inverted in the other Versions: the secret "words" = Apocalyptic tradition; the published "words" = the Pentateuch ("Law of Moses").

7. And now I do say to thee, [Ezra][1]: 8. The signs
which I have shewed thee previously, and the visions
which thou hast seen, and their interpretation which
thou hast heard—lay them up in thine heart, [and
hide them].[1] 9. For thou shalt be taken up from men
and shalt be henceforth with my Son, and with such
as are like thee, until the times be ended.

10. For the world hath lost its youth,[2]
and the times are nigh to old age.[3] . . . .
13. Now, therefore, set in order thine house,[4]
and warn thy people;
and console their lowly ones,
[and instruct their wise];[5]
and give up henceforth[6] this life corruptible,
14. [7] And let go from thee the burden[8] of men,
and let go the thoughts of death,[7]
and cast off now the weak nature,
and lay aside these thoughts that oppress thee,
and hasten to remove[9] from these times!

15. [10] For the evils that thou hast seen, which have
come to pass now—even worse than these shall yet
happen after them.[10] 16. For as the world dimin-
isheth through old age, so evils multiply upon the
inhabitants of the earth.

17. For truth withdraweth further off,
and falsehood approacheth;[11]
for already lo! there hasteneth to come the eagle
that thou hast seen in vision.

[1] Added by Syriac.
[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10, and in our Book v. 50–55.
[3] Lit. *to be old:* vers. 11–12 are absent from Syriac and Arm.; they may possibly be a later insertion, see *E.A.*, p. 310, and cf. R.V.
[4] *i. e.* the House of Israel.
[5] So Oriental Versions; L. omits.
[6] Or *now*.
[7] These clauses are thus transposed in the Syriac; other Versions invert; cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.
[8] L. *burdens.*
[9] Cf. Isa. lvii. 1.
[10] L. *for yet worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter* (R.V.).
[11] Cf. vi. 27, 28, vii. 24.

Ezra prays for Inspiration (XIV. 18–26)

18. And I answered and said: Let me speak before thee, Lord! 19. Behold, I go as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who exist; those, however, who are yet to be born—who is to warn them?

20. For the world is set in darkness,
and its inhabitants (are) without light.[1]

21. For the Law is burnt,[2] and no one knoweth the works that thou hast done,[3] or what thou art about to do.[4] 22. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me, [Lord],[5] the Holy Spirit, and I will write all that hath happened in the world, from the beginning everything that hath been written in thy Law,[6] that men may be enabled to find the path,[7] and that they who would live at the last [8] may [9] know the way.[9]

23. And he answered and said to me: Go and gather together thy people, and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.[10] 24. But do thou prepare for thyself many writing-tablets, and take with thee Seraia and Daria [11] and Shelemia, together with Helkana and Shiel,[12] these five [13] men, because they are equipped for writing quickly; 25. and thou shalt come hither and I will light in thine heart a lamp of discernment which shall not be extinguished until

[1] *i.e.* without the light of the Law; cf. for the general idea Ephes. vi. 12.

[2] Cf. iv. 23.

[3] *i.e.* the historical Books of the O.T.

[4] *i.e.* the eschatological parts of the O.T.

[5] Absent from the other Versions.

[6] *Law* in the wide sense = the Holy Scriptures (of the O.T.); see *E.A.*, p. 313.

[7] Ethiop. + *of life* (a correct gloss).

[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxvi. 5; for *life* = eternal life in such contexts; cf. *E.A.*, p. 313.

[9] L. *live*.

[10] Moses was in the mount 40 days (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28); Ezra is the "second Moses."

[11] Read *Dabria* as in L.

[12] ? *Asihel*.

[13] See *E.A.*, p. 314.

thou shalt complete what thou art about to write. 26. And when thou shalt have finished, some of them thou shalt make public,[1] and some thou shalt [2] conceal, and shalt deliver them [2] to the wise; [for] [3] to-morrow at this time thou shalt begin to write.

Ezra's Last Words (XIV. 27–36)

27. And I went, as he had commanded me, and gathered together all the people, and said to them: [4] 28. Hear, Israel, these words. 29. Our fathers were formerly [5] strangers in the land of Egypt, and were delivered from thence. 30. And they received the Law of life [6] and kept it not, which [7] you also after them have transgressed. 31. And a land was given to you for an inheritance in the land of Sion; but you and your fathers have committed iniquity and have not kept the ways which [8] Moses, the servant of the Lord [8] commanded you. 32. But the Most High, who is a judge of truth,[9] took from you [10] what for a time [10] had been given to you. 33. And now ye are here in distress, and your brethren [11] are (further) inland (removed) from you [11] in another land.

34. If ye, then, will [12] admonish your soul,[12]
and will discipline your heart;
ye shall be preserved [13] in your life,[13]

[1] *i.e.* publish to all. [2] L. *deliver in secret.*
[3] Added by Syriac.
[4] For the following cf. Moses' farewell discourse in Deut. (chs. xxvii.–xxxi.).
[5] Or *at the beginning.*
[6] *i.e.* which could win life and immortality for those who observed it; cf. ix. 31 f.
[7] So L. (? read *even as;* see *E.A.*, p. 316).
[8] L. (Arm. Ethiop.) *the Most High:* the Syriac inserts *the Most High* at the beginning of the following verse.
[9] *i.e.* a true or faithful judge.
[10] L. *in due time what:* see *E.A.*, p. 316.
[11] Or *are further inland than you* (cf. Ethiop.): L. *are among you* (*i.e.* the Ten Tribes have already returned); see *E.A.*, p. 316 f.
[12] L. *rule over your understanding.* [13] L. *alive.*

and after death mercy shall befall[1] you.
35. For judgement cometh after death,
when we live again;
and then shall the name[2] of the righteous be revealed,
and the works of the ungodly be made manifest.
36. But let none approach unto me nor seek me for forty days.

The Restoration of the Scriptures (XIV. 37–48)

37. And I took these five man as he had commanded me, and went into the field, and we remained there [as he had told me].[3] 38. And it came to pass on the morrow,[4] and lo! a voice called to me, and said:

Ezra, [Ezra],[5] open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!

39. And I opened my mouth and saw, (and lo!) there came[6] to me a full cup, and it was full as it were (of) water, and its appearance[7] was like fire.[8]
40. And I took and drank. And it came to pass when I had drunk it, lo!

My heart overflowed with discernment,
and [9] my breast poured forth wisdom,[9]
and my spirit retained memory.[10]

41. And my mouth was opened and was not shut.
42. But the Most High gave understanding to the five men, and they wrote the things that were dic-

[1] Lit. *be upon*.
[2] L. *names*.
[3] So Ar.[2]; the other Versions omit.
[4] Lit. *on the day of the morrow*.
[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and Arm., but L. and Ethiop. omit.
[6] L. *was reached*.
[7] Or *likeness*: L. *colour*.
[8] The cup is the cup of inspiration filled with the Holy Spirit: the original inspiration of the Scriptures is here repeated; see *E.A.*, p. 318.
[9] L. *wisdom grew in my breast*.
[10] An interesting feature in this picture of inspiration; cf. *E.A.*, p. 319.

tated in order,[1] in written signs that they knew not.[2] And I [3] sat there forty days; 43. but they wrote by day, and at night did eat bread [alone] [4]; I, however, dictated by day, and at night was not silent.[5] 44. And in forty days were written ninety and four [6] books. 45. And it came to pass when the forty days were completed, the Most High spake with me, and said to me: The twenty and four books that ye [7] have written [first],[8] make public that those who are worthy and those who are not worthy [from (among) the people] [9] may read therein [10]: 46. but the seventy [11] thou shalt keep and deliver them to the wise of thy people. 47. For in them are

the veins [12] of understanding,
and the fountains [13] of wisdom,
and the †stream† [14] of knowledge.

48. And I did so [15] in the seventh year, in the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation, and three months and twelve days.[16]

[1] In unbroken succession (the root meaning of the word used is *flow*).
[2] *i.e.* in the "square" Hebrew script used in printed Hebrew: of this which replaced the old Hebrew script Ezra was regarded as the inventor; see *E.A.*, p. 319.
[3] So Arm. (Ar.[1]), but L. Ethiop. *we*.
[4] Absent in other Versions.
[5] Cf. 2 Enoch xxiii. 3 f. (Vretil dictates, and Enoch writes in 30 days and 30 nights 366 books).
[6] So the Oriental Versions rightly; L. has 904 (and variants).
[7] L. *thou* (*hast*).
[8] So all the Versions except L., which omits.
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] The 24 books = the books of the O.T., which was read publicly in the synagogues; for the reckoning cf. *E.A.*, p. 320.
[11] L. + *last*: the 70 books = the Apocalyptic literature contained in secret books.
[12] i. e. *springs*: L. has sing.
[13] L. sing.
[14] So read (by a slight emendation).
[15] Here text of L. breaks off; the remaining verses are preserved in the Oriental Versions.
[16] = 5042 a.m. See *E.A.*, p. 321.

Conclusion of the Book (XIV. 49–50)

49. And thereupon [1] was Ezra caught away and taken to the place of such as were like him,[2] after he had written all these things. 50. But he was called the [3] Scribe of the Knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever.[3] Ended is the first discourse of Ezra.

[1] Lit. *in them* (the days mentioned).

[2] Cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

[3] Title of Enoch (cf. 1 Enoch xii. 3 f., xv. 1); see *E.A.*, p. 321.

APPENDIX

Note on 4 Ezra XIV. 21 f. Translated from the Syriac of Jacob of Edessa

Nor wilt thou wonder that not all the books have reached us, which Solomon in his wisdom composed, when thou hearest that not even the sacred books which Moses wrote, nor even those of the prophets, have all reached us, but portions only of these, those namely which God gave to Ezra the priest to preserve and write, and administer, that they might be handed down and come to us, so that in them and from them we might learn the knowledge of those things that are befitting. But further, not even all those (writings) that Ezra wrote have reached us; for of the ninety books which it is written and alleged that he caused to be written, only those which are read in Church have reached us.

The above passage, which is extant at the end of the 13th Epistle of Jacob of Edessa, was published (in the Syriac text) by Dr. William Wright in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1867. Its reference to our Book seems to be unique in Syriac Literature so far as at present known. The last words may possibly imply that 4 Ezra was one of the books "which are read in Church," *i. e.* in the Syrian churches, but this is not certain. The number *ninety* should be corrected to *ninety-four.*

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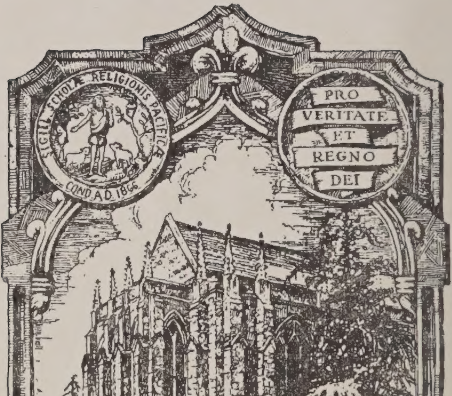
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THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

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THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

(II ESDRAS III–XIV)

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC TEXT,
WITH BRIEF ANNOTATIONS

BY

G. H. BOX, M.A.

LECTURER IN RABBINICAL HEBREW, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON
HON. CANON OF ST. ALBANS

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

Short Account of the Book

The Fourth Book of Ezra—or, as it appears in our official Apocrypha, 2 Esdras—is, in the form in which it appears in our Bibles, an enlarged book. The original work, which forms the Apocalypse proper, consists of chapters iii.–xiv. of 2 Esdras, and in the Oriental Versions these chapters form the complete Book. That is to say, chapters i.–ii. and xv.–xvi. of our 2 Esdras do not appear in the Oriental Versions of the Book at all; they are, in fact, later additions (probably Christian ones) to the Latin translation of the Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse of Ezra (= 2 Esdras iii.–xiv.) is extant in a Latin and several Oriental translations which are all based upon a lost Greek Version, and this latter, again, upon an original Hebrew text (also completely lost).

The Apocalypse itself appears to be a composite work which was redacted in its present form by an Editor about the year A.D. 120. The material used by him and embodied in the Book consists of a Salathiel Apocalypse (cf. iii. 1) which is contained mainly in chapters iii.–x. of 2 Esdras. This work, originally written in the name of Salathiel (= Shealtiel), the father of Zerubbabel, who lived through the Exile, is embodied in practically a complete form in our Apocalypse. It seems to have been written and published in Hebrew about the year A.D. 100. To it the final Editor appended three pieces derived from other sources, viz. (1) the famous Eagle-Vision (chs. xi.–xii.) and (2) the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.) —both extracted apparently from a Book of Dream-Visions—and (3) the Ezra-Legend (ch. xiv. mainly).

There are, naturally, traces of the final Editor's hand throughout in redactional links and adjustments, and also possibly some extracts from an eschatological source detailing the signs which are to precede the End of the World (iv. 52—v. 13*a*, vi. 11–29). The whole compilation is parallel with the twin (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later. The importance of both Apocalypses for the study of Jewish and Christian theology is very great, and will be referred to more fully below.

Title

It is interesting to note that in the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (i.–ii. xv.–xvi.) are distinguished, as a rule, by a separate enumeration. Different arrangements prevail, but the following is a widely accepted one—

1 Esdras = the Canonical Ezra-Nehemiah.
2 Esdras = 2 Esdras i.–ii. of our Apocrypha.
3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha.
4 Esdras = 2 Esdras iii.–xiv. of our Apocrypha (*i. e.* = our Apocalypse).
5 Esdras = 2 Esdras xv.–xvi. of our Apocrypha.

The Oriental Versions also vary in the titles given to our Book. In the Ethiopic and Arabic it is called *The First Book of Ezra* (cf. also colophon at end of Syriac translation, following xiv. 50); the title given at the head of the Syriac translation is: *The Book of Ezra the Scribe, who is called Salathiel.* Clement of Alexandria quotes from the lost Greek Version as Ἐσδρας ὁ προφήτης, and this may have been the title of the Book in the (lost) Greek translation.

The Ancient Versions

The standard text is, of course, the Latin, and the Latin Version has been preserved in a considerable number of Latin MSS. of the Bible. But 4 Esdras is no part of the Latin Bible proper; it is usually printed

as an Appendix to the Vulgate, and certainly was prized among readers of the Latin Bible. The Vulgate text, as printed, is very corrupt, but considerable progress has been made during comparatively recent years in the formation of a critical text.[1] The English reader can see many of these results clearly set forth by a comparison of the A.V. and Revised Version of the Book in our official Apocrypha.

One striking difference which comes to view in the R.V. is that in chapter vii. a long passage of some seventy verses is inserted between verses 35 and 36, which is absent from the A.V. This is the famous Missing Fragment which was absent from all known Latin MSS. of the Book till the late Professor R. L. Bensly discovered (in 1875) the text in a ninth-century MS., which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens.[2] The passage had been cut out apparently for dogmatic reasons, but is extant in all the Oriental Versions.

The Latin Version, like the Oriental ones, was made from the lost Greek Version, and is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it. As a whole it is singularly faithful and literal, and is the most valuable of the Ancient Versions that have come down to us.

The English translations in the A.V. and R.V. are, of course, based primarily upon the Latin text. The Oriental Versions include a Syriac, Ethiopic, two Arabic, and an Armenian, and some fragments in other versions (Georgian, etc.). Of these by far the most valuable is the Syriac, from which the following translation is made. The Syriac text depends upon a single MS., the great Ambrosian Bible Codex at

[1] Fritzsche's *Libri Vet. Test. Pseudepigraphi Selecti* (appended to his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Græce*, Leipzig, 1871) marked an advance; *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, ed. by Bensly and James, Cambridge, 1895, is the best available edition in many ways.

[2] Prof. Bensly published a valuable edition of this discovery: *The Missing Fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge, 1875).

Milan. The text has been published by Ceriani. In the MS. our Book is preceded by the Apocalypse of Baruch, and is followed by the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are reckoned as a single book, viz. *The Second Book of Ezra*. Though our book is not given the title of *The First Book of Ezra*, a colophon at the end of the version says *Ended is the first discourse of Ezra*, which presumably implies such an enumeration. The Syriac Version is, on the whole, singularly faithful, though it betrays occasionally a tendency to amplify.

The Ethiopic text was first published in 1820 by Richard Laurence, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. A critical text, based upon several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann, and published after his death. A French translation of this (by Basset) appeared in 1899. The Ethiopic is much more paraphrastic than the Syriac, but occasionally attests valuable readings.

There are two Arabic Versions (Ar.[1] Ar.[2]), and also an Armenian Version, which are of less value. For further details see *E.A.*, General Introduction.

The lost Greek text, on which all the Versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may be based directly on the Syriac), are based, has been reconstructed by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum* (pp. 36–113).

We cannot here give in detail the arguments which make the existence of a Hebrew original highly probable, if not practically certain. The scholars who accept the hypothesis include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet. A Greek original has been upheld by some distinguished scholars of an earlier date, notably Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld. The question is fully discussed in the General Introduction to *E.A*.

Special Importance of the Book

The Ezra-Apocalypse is of many-sided importance. It is a genuine product of Judaism, but of a

Judaism that belonged to an earlier type than that represented in the Rabbinical Literature, as it has come down to us. In particular the Salathiel portions of the Book (contained in chapters iii.–x.) are of surpassing interest for the student of the New Testament. They betray an almost Pauline sense of the universality and devastating effects of sin (cf. esp. iv. 30, vii. 118), and manifest a pathetic longing for some efficacious means of salvation (viii. 6). While he values the Law, and the works of the Law, and even holds that some few, though not sinless, may yet secure a sufficiency of merit through works and faith to gain salvation, our Apocalyptist is yet acutely conscious of the impotence of the Law as a redeeming power (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). He discusses with profound emotion the problem of Israel's relation to the Law, and shows unmistakably that the orthodox answer fails to satisfy him. This answer may be summed up as follows: (*a*) God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.); (*b*) human intelligence is finite and limited (cf. iv. 12–32); (*c*) the course and duration of the present world have been pre-determined (iv. 33–43); the decisive moment will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

All difficulties will be solved by the coming in of the future Age, which will bring in an entirely new order. The present corruptible world will be dissolved, and give place to the incorruptible world and immortality (cf. vii. 114).

One fundamental difficulty to the Apocalyptist is the fewness of those who are destined to attain salvation, and the only answer the angel is able to give him is that the few are precious, and the many worthless. This provokes the protest that it would have been better if man had not been created (vii. 62–69), or at least restrained from sinning (vii. 116–126). Against the inevitable conclusion of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–140).

It will have become apparent how much akin the

thought of our Apocalyptist is to that of St. Paul. The same themes are discussed—the relation of Israel to the Law, faith and works, the divine *parousia*, grace, sin and the effects of Adam's sin, the benefit or otherwise of surviving to the *parousia*. Mr. C. W. Emmet in an article on *The Fourth Book of Esdras and St. Paul*[1] has worked out, in an illuminating way, the parallelism in thought between the two writers. He says—

> "We have seen how 4 Esdras rests finally on the inscrutability of God's ways, based on His unchallengeable power as Creator, and on His fatherly love for His creation. These are precisely the two answers which are combined in Romans. In ch. ix. St. Paul makes his well-known appeal to the absolute authority of God as Creator—*Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?*—using the same familiar metaphor of the potter and the clay. The peroration of the section in xi. 33 ff. emphasizes the same principle: *How unsearchable are His judgements, and His ways past finding out. For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor?* On the other hand, in ch. viii., in dealing with the problem of the sufferings of this present time and the final deliverance of creation, he has asserted the love of God in Christ as the ground of hope and the pledge of the ultimate solution (viii. 28 ff.; cf. v. 5). The main difference is that he has the historical manifestation of that love to which he can point in vindication of his argument. The fact that both writers place these two principles side by side, and that neither explicitly combines them, is certainly worth notice."

Mr. Emmet also calls attention to further important parallels. Both emphasize the contrast between Jacob

[1] Published in the *Expository Times* for September 1916 (pp. 551–556).

and Esau, with the same quotation from Malachi (4 Ezra iii. 16; Rom. ix. 13); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 72 and Rom. ii. 1–16; 4 Ezra vii. 73 f. and Rom. ii. 3 f., 4 Ezra v. 41 and 1 Thess. iv. 13. All this points to a common background of thought, and shows that St. Paul was not so isolated in his Jewish antecedents as is often supposed. As Mr. Emmet well says—

> "The author of the Salathiel Apocalypse is our best representative of the kind of Jewish thought with which St. Paul must have been in sympathy in his pre-Christian days. Had he not become a Christian, he might have written just such another book as 4 Esdras, while our unknown author would have surely been a strong 'Paulinist,' had he been able to adopt the Christian solution of the problems he faced so bravely."

The other elements in the Ezra-Apocalypse are also of high importance. The Eagle-Vision represents well the political eschatology that was accepted in Zealot circles; while the Son of Man Vision (ch. xiii.) is valuable as a presentation of the Apocalyptic view of the Heavenly Messiah, the Son of Man. For its relation to Daniel and to the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch reference must be made to full discussions elsewhere (see e. g. *E.A.*, pp. 280 ff.).

Bibliography

For a full account of the literature bearing on the subject, reference must be made to larger works. Constant reference has been made in the notes that follow to the writer's edition of the Book: THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE; *translated from a critically revised text, with critical introductions, notes and explanations; with a General Introduction to the Apocalypse, and an*

Appendix containing the Latin text, by G. H. Box (London, 1912).[1]

An important edition of the Latin text has been published in the Cambridge series of *Texts and Studies* (vol. iii. no. 2, 1895): *The Fourth Book of Ezra;* the Latin Version edited from the MSS., by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A., and Dr. Montague Rhodes James. The most recent critical edition is that of Dr. Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apocalypse*, Part I (Leipzig, 1910); it contains not only a critical edition of the Latin text, but also carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions.

Another important book is Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum* (1869), which contains the Latin text, Latin translations of the Oriental Versions, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text.

The Syriac text from which the translation that follows has been made directly, was published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, tom. v. pp. 44–111.

Of other works important for the study of the Book, the following are among the most valuable and accessible—

The Variorum Apocrypha, edited by C. J. Ball (gives A.V. with critical notes).

The monumental edition of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (in English translations, with commentaries), edited by Dr. R. H. Charles in 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913).

F. C. Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers* (London, 1909).

Dr. R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (London, 1899).

Dr. James Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (London, 1877).

Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1914).

[1] The same writer has also edited the Book in the second volume of Dr. R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford, 1913).

Reference may also be made to—

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., London, 1911); and to the articles "Messiah" and "Eschatology" in *The Jewish Encyclopædia* and the Bible Dictionaries.

Short Titles, Abbreviations and Signs Employed

1 Enoch = the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.
2 Enoch = the Slavonic Book of Enoch.
Ap. Bar. = The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.
Ps. Sol. = The Psalms of Solomon.
L. = the Latin version.
E.A. = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* ed. by G. H. Box.

( ) round brackets enclose something added (in the translation) but not represented in the Syriac text.

[ ] square brackets enclose something represented in the Syriac, but absent from L. or the other Versions.

† † translations based upon an emendation in the Syriac text are so indicated.

THE BOOK OF EZRA THE SCRIBE, WHO IS CALLED SALATHIEL[1]

VISION I

(III. 1—V. 19).[2]

Introduction (III. 1–3).

III. 1. In the thirtieth[3] year of the fall of our city I, Salathiel, who am Ezra, was in Babylon, and lay stretched upon my bed and was troubled, and thoughts were coming up upon my heart,[4] 2. because I saw the desolation of Sion and the wealth of the dwellings[5] of Babylon; 3. and my spirit was sore amazed, and I began to speak to the Most High words of fear.

The First Questions: Whence the Sin and Misery of the World? Is Israel's Punishment just? (III. 4–36)

4. And I said: O Lord my Lord,[6] didst not thou speak from the beginning,[7] when thou formedst the

[1] This is the title of the Book in the Syriac MS.

[2] The numeration of chapter and verse follows the Latin (so E.V. 2 Esdras).

[3] *i.e.* primarily the 30th year after 586 B.C. (= 556 B.C.); but typically the 30th year after A.D. 70 (= A.D. 100).

[4] *Thoughts . . . heart*, cf. Dan. ii. 29; iv. 5.

[5] L. and other Versions, *dwellers*.

[6] L. *O dominator Domine* (R.V. *O Lord that bearest rule*) = Heb. *'ădōnai Yahwe*.

[7] = ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; cf. Gen. ii. 7 f.

earth—and that thyself alone—and didst command the dust? 5. And it gave thee Adam, a dead body,[1] and he was the formation of thy hands; and thou didst breathe in him the breath of life and he was living before thee; 6. and thou leddest him into Paradise which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came.[2] 7. And to this one thou didst give the commandment,[3] and he transgressed it; and forthwith thou didst decree upon him death, and upon his generations. And from him were born peoples and tribes and tongues and clans which are without number. 8. And all peoples followed[4] their (own) works, and dealt wickedly and were ungodly before thee—and thou didst not hinder them. 9. But again in (due) time[5] thou didst bring the Flood upon the earth and upon the inhabitants of the world, and thou didst destroy them; 10. and their destruction was alike,[6] and as to Adam (came) death, so to them (came) the death of the Flood. 11. Nevertheless thou didst spare one of them[7] with his household—and from him all the righteous are descended.[8] 12. And it came to pass when the inhabitants of the earth began to multiply, and multiplied[9] children and peoples and many multitudes, and began again to be ungodly more than the former (generations)[10]— 13. it came to pass that when they practised ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose

[1] R.V. *a body without a soul.*

[2] *i. e.* Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was created before the earth; but according to another view (*Jubilees* ii. 7) on the third day. See *E.A.*, pp. 195 ff.

[3] Lit. *didst command the commandment.*

[4] Lit. *walked in* (for phrase *walked . . . works* cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 38).

[5] Lit. *in the time,* i. e. appointed; cf. iv. 37.

[6] *Alike,* Lit. *together* = Heb. *bĕ'aḥath* or *ke'èḥād* (cf. Jer. x. 8). They were involved in a common fate (L. *in uno*).

[7] L. + *Noah* (*Noe*).

[8] Lit. *have flowed.*

[9] L. *there were born.*

[10] Cf. Ps. Sol. i. 8 (*their transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them*).

one of them for thyself,[1] whose name was Abraham;
14. and thou didst love him, and thou didst shew
him the consummation of the times, him alone, be-
tween thee and him by night[2]; 15. and thou didst
establish with him an everlasting covenant,[3] and
didst promise him that thou wouldest never forsake
his seed. 16. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to
Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau[4]; and thou didst
choose thee Jacob for an heritage,[5] and Esau thou
didst hate[6]; and Jacob became a great people.[7]
17. And when thou didst bring up his seed from
Egypt [and didst establish with him an everlasting
covenant],[8] and didst bring them to Mount Sinai,

18. Thou didst incline the heavens,
and didst shake the earth—
and madest the world †quake†,[9]
and causedst the deeps to tremble,
and didst alarm the worlds.[10]

19. And thy glory went through the four gates[11]
of fire and earthquake, and of wind and cold, that
thou mightest give to Jacob's seed the Law,[12] and
to the race of Israel commandments. 20. And
yet thou didst not remove from them the evil
heart,[13] that thy Law might yield fruit[14] in them.
21. For the first Adam clothed himself with the
evil heart, and transgressed, and was overcome (and

[1] Cf. Gen. xii. 1. [2] Cf. Gen. xv. 9 f.

[3] Lit. *covenants*; cf. Gen. xvii. 7.

[4] Cf. Josh. xxiv. 3 f.

[5] *Choose . . . heritage*; L. *segregasti tibi*.

[6] Cf. Mal. i. 2 (*Jacob I loved but Esau I hated*).

[7] Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

[8] Accidentally repeated in the Syr. MS. from ver. 15 above.

[9] Reading (with Violet) *wě'anîdtāh* for *wa'ḥadtāh* (= *and thou didst hold*).

[10] L. *sæcula*: the universe is meant; cf. Heb. i. 2.

[11] The four gates of the four lowest of the seven heavens may be meant; cf. *E.A.*, p. 14.

[12] Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 4.

[13] L. *cor malignum*: cf. iv. 30 (*grain of evil seed*) and vii. 92 (*the evil thought*).

[14] *i. e.* the fruit of death and condemnation; cf. Rom. vii. 5.

not only so) but also †all† [1] who were begotten from him. 22. And the infirmity remained in them, and (also) the Law, together with the evil root; then what was good departed, and the evil came.[2] 23. And the times passed away, and the seasons were ended; and thou didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; 24. and thou commandedst him to build [3] a city for thy name [4] [and a House] [5] that oblations from thine own might be offered therein.[6] 25. And this was done many years. But the inhabitants of the city sinned against thee 26. and did nothing new [7] beyond what Adam had done and all his generations; for they also were clothing themselves with the evil heart. 27. And (so) thou deliveredst thy City into the hand of thine enemies.[8]

28. And then I said in my heart: Are then the inhabitants of Babylon behaving well? And hast thou for this forsaken [9] Sion? 29. And it came to pass when I came hither [10] I saw many ungodlinesses which cannot be numbered, and many iniquities [11] my soul saw this thirty years; and my heart was perturbed, 30. because I have seen

how thou dost suffer the sinners,
and sparest the ungodly,
and hast destroyed thy people,
and preserved thine enemies;

[1] So read: Syriac text *upon*.

[2] The whole body fell under the dominion of sin; cf. Rom. vii. 7 f. and 20 f.

[3] David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

[4] *i. e.* the city called by Jahveh's name, the city of God; cf. Jer. xxv. 29; Ps. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 1 f.

[5] These words are lacking in L.; the addition accords with 2 Sam. vii. 5, 13.

[6] This is the correct reading. A.V. *incense and oblations* depends upon a corrupt Latin text.

[7] By a slight alteration of the Syriac text the translation will run *nothing other than* [*what Adam*].

[8] Cf. x. 23.

[9] This is the right reading. L. *dominavit* (*hath she dominion over Sion?* R.V.) is probably corrupt for *abominavit*.

[10] *i. e.* to Babylon. [11] The other Versions have *sinners*.

31. and hast not made known unto any [1] how thy way may be comprehended.[2] Hath Babylon behaved better than Sion? 32. Or knowest thou [3] any other people more than Israel? Or what tribe [4] hath believed thy covenant as Jacob hath— 33. they whose reward is not seen, and whose labour hath not borne fruit! For I have gone about [5] through the peoples and have seen that they are now prosperous although unmindful of thy commandments.

34. But now weigh thou [6] in the balance our iniquities and those of the inhabitants of the world, and the poise of the scale will be seen to be not inclined.[7] 35. Or when have the inhabitants of the world not sinned before thee? Or what people hath so kept thy commandments? 36. Men, however, with names [8] thou mayest find who have kept thy commandments, but a people [9] thou shalt not find.

The Divine Reply; God's ways are Inscrutable (IV. 1—V. 19).

IV. 1. And the angel who had been sent unto me, whose name was Uriel,[10] answered, 2. and said to

[1] L. *nihil nemini* corrupted to *nihil memini* in Vulg. = *I remember nought* (cf. A.V.).

[2] = πῶς καταληφθῇ: L. *derelinqui via hæc* = *how this way of thine should be forsaken*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 18.

[3] = ἔγνως. The other Versions read ἔγνω σε (*Hath any other nation known thee*, etc.).

[4] L. *tribes*.

[5] Lit. *passing I have passed.*

[6] "Weighing" sins is a common metaphor in Jewish literature; cf. 1 Enoch xli. 1 (of weighing deeds).

[7] Read, with a slight emendation of the Syriac, *which way it inclines* (for *to be not inclined*); cf. L. *which way the turn of the scale inclines*. The A.V. represents a corrupt Latin text.

[8] L. *homines per nomina* = *men that can be reckoned by name* (R.V.), *i.e.* noted individuals.

[9] So Ethiopic; the other Versions have pl. *nations*.

[10] Uriel is mentioned again in ver. 36 (Latin), v. 20 and x. 28, and not again in the Bible; cf. 1 Enoch xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4.

me: Is thy heart so perturbed[1] in[2] this world, and wouldest thou comprehend the way of the Most High?
3. And I answered and said: Yea, my Lord. And he answered me again, and said to me: Three ways have I been sent to shew thee, and three similitudes to set before thee:
4. if thou canst shew me one of these, I also will shew thee the way which thou longest to see, and I will teach thee why[3] the evil heart (exists).
5. And I answered and said: Speak on, my Lord. And he answered and said to me:

> Come, weigh me the weight of the fire,
> or measure the measure[4] of the wind,[5]
> or recall me the day that is past.

6. And I said to him: Who of those born is able to do these (things) that thou hast spoken to me, that thou shouldest ask me about all these?

7. And he said to me: Had I asked thee [and said to thee][6]

> How many chambers[7] are in the heart of the sea[8]?
> Or how many springs are in the sources[9] of the deep?
> Or how many ways are above the firmament?
> Or what are the outlets of Sheol?
> Or what are the paths of Paradise[10]?

8. Thou wouldest have said to me:

> Into the deep I have not descended,
> Nor to Sheol as yet have I descended;
> Neither to heaven have I ever ascended.[11] [12]

[1] Or *disquieted*.
[2] *i. e.* regarding (in matters pertaining to); cf. John iii. 12.
[3] A variant reading in L. = *whence comes* (but cf. R.V.).
[4] This is the right reading. L. has *flatum* *blast* (probably a corruption of *satum*).
[5] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5 (for the whole verse). [6] Added by Syriac.
[7] Lit. *treasuries*; other Versions *habitations*.
[8] Cf. xiii. 3, 25, 51 (and Exod. xv. 8).
[9] Lit. *head*, Heb. *rōsh* (= *beginning*, e. g. Lam. iii. 19); R.V. *fountain head*.
[10] *i. e.* the heavenly Paradise (the paths leading to).
[11] Cf. Deut. xxx. 12 f.; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Rom. x. 6 f.; Baruch iii. 29, 39.
[12] The Armenian and Ethiopic add another clause *nor entered* (*ascended into*) *Paradise*, but L. omits.

9. But now I have not asked thee concerning these, but concerning the fire, and the wind and the day—things through which thou hast passed [1] and without which thou canst not be [2]; and thou hast said to me nothing concerning them.

10. And he said to me: Thou art incapable of understanding [3] the things that grow up with thee [4]; 11. how, then, can thy vessel [5] comprehend the way of the Most High? For the way of the Most High hath been created incomprehensible,[6] nor is it possible that one who is corruptible in a corruptible world should know the way of him who is incorruptible.

The Dialogue continued; the Limitations of Mortality are Inexorable, and Protests are Useless (IV. 12–21).

12. And when I heard these things I fell upon my face [7] and said to him: It would have been better for us if we had not come [8] than,[9] having come, that we should live in sin and suffer, and not know why we suffer.

13. And he answered and said to me: Once there went [10] the woods of the trees of the plain, and deliber-

[1] Reading *passed* by a slight emendation (altering a point) = "which you have experienced"; Ethiopic takes the clause closely with *day* (*day that is past*); cf. ver. 5.

[2] For the thought; cf. Wisd. ix. 16.

[3] L. + *thine own things*.

[4] *i.e.* the things that have intermingled with thy growth (man was supposed to be compounded of fire, wind, earth and water).

[5] *i.e.* the body as the vehicle of the soul or understanding.

[6] Lit. *in what is not comprehended* (the use of *in* here is a Hebraism).

[7] L. of these opening words is mutilated and corrupt (cf. A.V.).

[8] *sc.* into life (cf. Matt. xviii. 8) or "into the world" (= be born); cf. John i. 9.

[9] Lit. *or*, a rendering of the Greek comparative ἤ.

[10] Lit. *going they went* (a Hebraism); L. reads *I went forth into a wood* (cf. A.V.).

ated together [1] and said: 14. Come, let us go (and) make war with the sea that it may recede before us, and we will make us more woods.[2] 15. The waves of the sea likewise deliberated together,[1] and said: Come let us go up (and) wage war with the wood of the plain in order that there we make us another place. 16. And the deliberation of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; 17. and likewise also the deliberation of the waves of the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them.[3] 18. If then thou hadst been judge of these, which of them wouldest thou have acquitted, and which of them wouldest thou have condemned? 19. And I answered and said: Both of them have deliberated a vain deliberation; for the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves.

20. And he answered and said to me: Thou hast judged well! And why hast thou not judged thine own self? 21. For as the land hath been given to the wood, and the place of the sea to bear its waves;[4] so also those who dwell upon the earth are able to understand only what is upon the earth, and he who [5] is above heaven what is above heaven.

The Dialogue continued; the Seer's Protests are answered by the Assurance that the New Age will solve all Difficulties (IV. 22–32).

22. And I answered and said: I pray thee,[6] my Lord,[7] wherefore, O my Lord, hath understanding been given me for thought? 23. For I have not

[1] Lit. *deliberated a deliberation.*
[2] Or sing. *another wood.*
[3] Cf. Jer. v. 22.
[4] L. *and the sea to its waves.*
[5] *He who* (sing.); Arabic [2] and Armenian understand plural *they who*; L. is ambiguous (*qui super cælos*).
[6] Cf. ix. 44, x. 37.
[7] This title is often used in address to the angel (iv. 41, v. 34 f., etc.).

desired to ask about the way[1] of what is above, but about those things which pass over us daily:

for[2] Israel is given up to the peoples,[3]
and the people thou hast loved[4] is given up to godless tribes;
and the holy Law of our fathers is set at nought,[5]
and the written covenants[6] are no more;
24. and we pass from the world as locusts,[7]
and †our life†[8] is as a breath.

We indeed[9] are not worthy that mercies should come[10] upon us; 25. but what will he do for his great name which is called upon us?[11] About these things I have asked.

The Answer

26. And he answered and said to me: If thou shalt be[12] thou shalt see, and if thou live long thou shalt marvel; because the world is hastening fast to pass away,[13] 27. for it endureth not to bear what hath been promised[14] to the righteous, because this world is full of sighing and many infirmities.[15]

28. For the evil concerning which thou didst ask

[1] L. *ways*.

[2] L. *wherefore?* (= διὰ τί; *for* = διότι).

[3] L. : *in obprobrium* (= *for reproach*) or (based on another reading) *in proprium* (= *for a possession*).

[4] Cf. Hos. xi. 1; Jer. xxxi. 3; Rom. xi. 28 and *Ap. Bar.* v. i.

[5] Or *destroyed* (cf. xiv. 21 f.).

[6] A synonym for the Law; cf. Rom. ix. 4.

[7] A figure of swiftness; cf. Nah. iii. 17

[8] Text has *we live*: emend to *our life*.

[9] Lit. *also*.

[10] Lit. *should be*; L. *to obtain mercy*.

[11] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* v. 1. The expression implies ownership; cf. Is. xliii. 7, lxiii. 19; 2 Chron. vii. 14, and Ps. Sol. ix. 18 (*And thou didst set thy name upon us, O Lord*).

[12] *sc.* alive; so L. (si fueris); but Ethiop. *if thou remain* (survive) = ἐὰν μένῃς (read by L. and Syr. ἐὰν μὲν ἦς).

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1.

[14] L. + *in their season* (*in temporibus*).

[15] Cf. 1 John v. 19.

me is sown, and its harvest [1] is not yet come. 29. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and the place be removed where the evil is sown, the land where the good is sown [2] cometh not. 30. Because that one grain of seed of evil [3] was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit [4] of ungodliness hath it begotten until now, and shall yet beget until the harvest [1] come!

31. Do thou now reckon up in thine own mind [5] and see how much fruit of ungodliness one grain of seed of evil that was sown hath produced [6]; 32. when, therefore, the ears of the good shall be sown,[7] which are numberless, what a harvest are they destined [8] to produce!

The Dialogue continued; When shall these Things be? When the Predestined Conditions are Fulfilled (IV. 33–43)

33. And I answered and said: How long and when [9] (shall) these things (be) [10]? For few and evil are our years.

34. And he answered and said to me: Thou mayest not hasten more than the Most High; for thou art hastening for thine own self, but the Most High for (the sake of) many.[11]

35. For did not the souls of the righteous ask

[1] Or *its threshing out* (the word can mean this); cf. L. *destrictio ejus* = *the plucking off of it* (corrupted to *destructio*, see A.V.); cf. for the whole idea the parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii.

[2] *i.e.* the new age. [3] Cf. iii. 20. [4] L. omits *fruit*.

[5] Lit. *compare (estimate) in thine own self* (L. *æstima autem apud te*).

[6] Lit. *made*.

[7] *i.e.* immediately after the dissolution of the present evil age.

[8] = Greek *μέλλουσιν*.

[9] Lit. *until when and when*; L. *usquequo et quando*.

[10] Come to pass; *these things* = these promised good things.

[11] Cf. v. 33.

concerning these things in their chambers,[1] and say: How long shall we be here? And when (cometh) the harvest [2] of our reward? 36. And the angel Remiel [3] answered and said to them: Until the number of those like you be fulfilled! [4] For

the Holy One hath weighed [5] the world,[6]
37. and with measure hath he measured the times,
and by number hath he numbered the seasons,[7]
neither will he rest [8] nor stir,
till the number appointed be fulfilled.[9]

38. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord,[10] but †behold†,[11] we are all full of ungodliness! 39. Is it perchance on our account that the reward of the righteous is withheld, (on account of)[12] the sins of the inhabitants of the earth?

40. And he answered and said to me: Go and ask (the woman) who is pregnant if, when she completeth her nine months, the womb can still hold the birth within her?

41. And I said: It cannot, my Lord.

And he answered and said to me: Sheol [13] and the

[1] Lit. *treasuries*, i. e. "treasuries of souls" (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23), containing the righteous dead; cf. vii. 32, 80, 95; *Ap. Bar.* xxx. 2.

[2] L. *floor* (threshing-floor).

[3] *i. e.* the archangel Jeremiel who had charge of the souls of the righteous dead; cf. 1 Enoch xx.; see *E.A.*, p. 34 f.

[4] Cf. Rev. vi. 11.

[5] Lit. *weighing hath weighed*.

[6] Or *age*.

[7] The underlying idea is predestinarian; cf. Wisd. xi. 20; 1 Enoch xlvii. 3.

[8] = ? *σιγήσει* a corruption of *σείσει*; L. has *move* (*excitabit*).

[9] Cf. "That it may please thee shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom."

[10] Here and in v. 38, vi. 11, vii. 17, 58, 75 used in address to the angel; it is strictly only appropriate to God, and is elsewhere only so used (so always in *Ap. Bar.*); cf. iii. 4 (note) and *E.A.*, p. 36.

[11] So read; Syr. text *this*

[12] A word has probably fallen out of the Syriac here (add *mĕtûl*).

[13] *Sheol and the chambers of souls*, so Ethiop.; but L. *the chambers of souls in the underworld* (Sheol). See *E.A.*, p. 37.

chambers of souls are like the womb: 42. for she who is giving birth maketh haste to escape from the anguish of her giving birth, so also do these hasten to give up what hath been put in them 43. from the beginning. And then shall be revealed to thee concerning the things thou longest to see.

The Dialogue continued; How the End will come (IV. 44–50)

44. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible and I am worthy, 45. shew me this also, whether the time that hath passed by us be more than that which is to come? 46. Because the time that is past I know,[1] but what is future I know not.

47. And he answered and said to me: Stand on the right side,[2] and I will shew thee the meaning of the similitude.

48. And I stood and saw, and behold! there passed before me a blazing fiery furnace;[3] and it happened that when the flame had passed by I saw, and behold! the smoke remained. 49. And after this there passed before me a cloud filled with water, and poured down a very violent rain, and when the violence of the rain had passed, there remained in it[4] drops (still).

50. And he answered and said to me: Consider in thyself and see,[5] that as the rain exceedeth the drops, and the fire the smoke, so the measure that is passed is excessive[6]; but there remain the drops and the smoke.

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 3.

[2] ? On the right side of the angel (*i. e.* the speaker); cf. *E.A.*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Gen. xv. 17 (seen in a vision as here).

[4] *i. e.* in the cloud.

[5] Cf. ver. 31; L. *consider for thyself* (*cogita tibi*).

[6] L. *superhabundavit.*

The Signs which Precede the End (IV. 51—V. 13)

51. And I besought[1] him and said: Shall I then live[2] until those days, or who[3] shall be in those days?

52. And he answered and said to me: Concerning the signs[4] about which thou didst ask me, I can speak to thee of them in part,[5] but concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, for indeed I have no knowledge.

V. 1. Concerning the signs, however:

Behold the days come[6] when the inhabitants of
 the world shall be seized with great panic,
and the portion[7] of truth shall be hidden,
and the land of faith shall be unfruitful.[8]

2. And iniquity [and shamelessness][9] shall be increased[10] above this which thou seest now, and above that which thou hast heard of long ago. 3. And this land[11] shall be without stability and untrodden[12] which thou hast seen now to be bearing rule, and they shall see this land laid waste. 4. But if the Most High grant thee †life†[13] thou shalt see that (land) after the third (day)[14] in confusion:

[1] Or *asked*.

[2] L. *thinkest thou that I shall live* (so Ar.[1]).

[3] So L. (best MSS.), reading *quis*; but Ethiop. and Ar. *what*; so Vulg.

[4] Cf. Mark xiii. 4 and following verses.

[5] *Of them in part*, lit. *some of them*; the rest are described in vi. 11–28.

[6] A phrase borrowed from the prophets; cf. for its use here *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 2, lxx. 2.

[7] Ethiop. *region*; L. *way*: cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 6.

[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 10; Luke xviii. 8.

[9] So Syr.; L. omits; cf. ver. 10.

[10] Cf. Matt. xxiv. 12.

[11] *i.e.* the Roman Empire.

[12] *i.e.* disordered and pathless; cf. Job xii. 24.

[13] So read by a slight emendation; Syr. text *vision*.

[14] μετὰ τρίτην (*sc.* ἡμέραν), *i.e.* probably towards the end of the last period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, after which Rome's oppression will cease; cf. *E.A.*, p. 43; A.V. *after the third trumpet* is corrupt (*tubam* for *turbatam*).

And suddenly shall the sun appear by night,
and the moon by day;[1]
5. and the wood shall distil blood,[2]
and the stone utter its voice;[3]
and the peoples shall be in commotion,
and the air[4] shall be changed;
6. and one[5] whom the many do not set their hopes on shall rule, and the birds shall migrate.[6]

7. And the sea of Sodom shall produce many fish[7]; and one shall utter his voice by night whom the many know not,[8] and all shall hear it; 8. and fissures[9] shall be produced in many places, and fire[10] shall be emitted continually; and the desert-beasts shall migrate from their places; and signs from women shall appear, for births shall be born without being completed[11]; 9. and in sweet waters salt shall be found; and friends shall suddenly wage war on their friends.[12]

10. And then shall wisdom hide herself,[13]
and understanding withdraw to her chambers[14]—
(and she shall be sought)[15] by many and not found;

[1] One of the wonders worked by Antichrist; cf. *Asc. Is.* iv. 5.

[2] L. *blood shall trickle forth from wood;* cf. *Ep. Barn.* xii. 1.

[3] Cf. Hab. ii. 11; Luke xix. 40.

[4] Lit. *airs* (= ἀέρες ? corrupt for ἀστέρες); for original reading cf. *E.A.*, p. 44.

[5] *i.e.* Antichrist.

[6] Birds were supposed to possess supernatural knowledge of coming events.

[7] The bitter waters of the Dead Sea, in which no fish can live, shall be sweetened and produce fish; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 8 f.

[8] A mysterious voice shall be heard; cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. 3; L. attaches to previous clause *and* [the sea] *shall make a noise*, etc.

[9] = χάσματα; cf. Zech. xiv. 4.

[10] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxvii. 10, lxx. 8.

[11] *And signs . . . completed;* this seems to be a paraphrase = L. *and women shall bear monsters.*

[12] Cf. vi. 24.

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 36; Is. lix. 14–15.

[14] Lit. *treasuries:* L. sing. *chamber.*

[15] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syr. = *and she shall be sought.*

and transgression and shamelessness shall multiply upon the earth.

11. And one place will ask its neighbour,[1] and will say to it: Hath Righteousness perchance passed through[2] thee, or [a man][3] that practiseth righteousness? But that place will answer, No.[4] 12. And it shall be in that time men shall hope and not obtain,

[and shall labour and not find,][5]

and shall toil and their way shall not be made sure.

13. These signs I have been commanded to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again and †weep†[6] as now, and fast seven days,[7] thou shalt hear greater things than these.

The Conclusion of the Vision (V. 14-19)

14. And I awoke,[8] and my body trembled greatly, and my soul was weary as though it would expire.[9] 15. But the angel who spake with[10] me took hold of me and strengthened me and set me up upon my feet.

16. And it came to pass in the second night there came to me †Phaltiel†[11] the head of the people, and said to me: Where hast thou been, and why is thy countenance sad[12]? 17. Or dost thou not know that thou hast been entrusted with[13] Israel in the place

[1] Lit. *what is nigh to it*. [2] Or *by*. [3] L. omits *a man*.
[4] Lit. *will deny*; cf. Amos vi. 10. [5] Omitted by L.
[6] So read (by a slight emendation); Syr. text has *supplicate*.
[7] This was the regular preparation for the reception of the divine revelation; four such are referred to in this Book; cf. v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51.
[8] *sc.* from sleep; the previous vision was a dream-vision.
[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 26.
[10] Lit. *in* or *through*; cf. Zech. ii. 3.
[11] The historical reference is uncertain; for the name cf. 2 Sam. iii. 15. Syr. text *Psaltiel*.
[12] *Sad* from fasting; cf. Matt. vi. 16.
[13] Lit. *over*: the seer is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon; cf. xii. 42.

of their captivity? 18. Stand up, then, and eat a little bread so that thou do not leave us as (doth) a shepherd his flock in the hand of destructive wolves![1] 19. And I said to him: Depart from me and come not nigh unto me until seven days; and then thou mayest come unto me and I will explain matters to thee. And when I had spoken to him he departed from me.

[1] For the image cf. Matt. x. 16.

VISION II

(V. 20—VI. 34)

THE PRAYER OF EZRA [1]

Introduction (V. 20–22)

20. And I fasted seven days, sighing and weeping, even as Ramiel [2] the angel commanded me. 21. And it came to pass after seven days the thoughts of my heart were again oppressing me [3] greatly. 22. And my soul received the spirit of intelligence, and I began again to speak before the Most High these words of supplication and entreaty:

The Prayer and its Answer (V. 23–40)

23. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, from all the woods of the earth and the trees thereof thou hast chosen thee one vine [4]; 24. and from all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one place [5]; 25. and from all the deeps of the sea thou hast enlarged for thyself one stream,[6] and from all the

[1] This title is prefixed to the following section in the Syriac text.

[2] Cf. iv. 36; the other Versions rightly read here *Uriel*.

[3] Cf. iii. 1.

[4] The figures illustrating Israel's choice have been drawn from the O.T. For the vine cf. Is. v. 7; Ps. lxxx. 9; vers. 23–27 read like an old Midrash; cf. Midrash rab. on Cant. ii. 1 and *Pirke R. Eliezer*, ch. xix.

[5] *i.e* the Holy Land: L. *pit* (for the vine).

[6] *i.e.* the Jordan.

flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one flower [1]; and from all the cities that have been built thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself [2]; 26. and from all birds that have been created thou hast named for thyself one dove [3]; and from all cattle that have been created thou hast selected one sheep [4]; 27. and from the multitude of the peoples thou hast brought nigh to thyself [5] one people; and the Law which was approved from among all [6] thou hast given to the people whom thou hast loved.

28. And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up one unto many, and hast dishonoured the one root [7] above the many, and hast scattered and dispersed thine only one among the many? 29. And those who resist thy commandments have trodden under foot them that have believed thy covenant. 30. And if thou didst hate thy people so much,[8] the obligation was that they should be punished with thine own hands.[9]

31. And after I had spoken these words, the angel was sent unto me, that had been sent unto me in the night that was past,[10] 32. and said to me:

Hear me, and I will inform thee, [Ezra]; [11]
look at me, and I will set words before thee.

33. And I answered and said to him: Speak on, my Lord. And he said to me: Art thou perturbed

[1] L. *one lily* = Israel; cf. Cant. ii. 2.
[2] Cf. Ps. cxxxii. 13.
[3] = Israel; cf. Ps. lxxiv. 19; Cant. ii. 14.
[4] Cf. Ps. lxxix. 13.
[5] *i.e.* appropriated.
[6] *i.e.* out of all laws the Mosaic was the best; cf. Deut. iv. 8.
[7] Cf. 1 Enoch xciii. 8 (*race of the Elect root*); Rom. xi. 17 f.
[8] *Didst hate . . . so much*; Lit. *hating didst hate*.
[9] *i.e.* by famine, pestilence, or earthquake, but not by foreign foes (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13); cf. also Ps. Sol. vii. 3; Ecclus. ii. 18.
[10] *i.e.* not the night immediately past; some days had elapsed (cf. v. 20).
[11] Omitted in the other Versions.

on account of Israel? Or lovest thou him more than he that made him?[1]

34. And I said: No, my Lord! But I am in sore pain,[2] and spoke because my reins scourge me[3] every hour; [4]because I seek to comprehend the decree of judgement of the Most High, and I would search out something of his judgement.[4]

35. And he said to me: Thou canst not. And I said to him: Why, my Lord, †am I not able†?[5] Or why was I born, and why did not my mother's womb become my grave,

that I might not see Jacob's travail,
and the toil of Israel's seed?[6]

36. And he answered and said to me:

Number me those who are not yet come,[7]
and gather me the drops[8] that are scattered,
and make bloom for me the flowers that are withered;[9]

37. And open me the chambers[10] that are closed,
and bring me forth the winds[11] held captive in them;
and shew me the likeness of persons whom thou hast never seen,
or shew me the likeness of a voice;

and then I will inform thee concerning the travail[12] [and the time][13] that thou askest to see.

[1] Cf. viii. 47. [2] Lit. *being in pain I am in pain.*

[3] Cf. Ps. lxxiii. 21 (the reins or kidneys seat of strong emotion).

[4] For *decree of judgement* L. has *viam*, and for *something of his judgement* L. has *partem judicii*. Syriac here seems to have a doublet; see *E.A.*, p. 56.

[5] So read, by a slight emendation; Syr. text *should I not pray.*

[6] Quoted by Clement of Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16.

[7] *i.e.* the unborn, so L.; Ethiop. and Ar. *the days that are not yet come.*

[8] *i.e.* the rain-drops; cf. iv. 50.

[9] Cf. Ezek. xvii. 24. [10] Lit. *treasuries.*

[11] Or *spirits* (the same Heb. word = both *wind* and *spirit*), *i.e.* the spirits of the righteous dead; cf. iv. 35: for the chambers of the winds cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4; Rev. vii. 1.

[12] *i.e.*? the painful problem. [13] Added by the Syriac.

38. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, who is there who could know these (things) except him who dwelleth not with men? 39. I, however, am foolish and weak; how should I be able to speak concerning these things which thou hast asked me?

40. And he said to me: Just as thou art unable to do one of the things that have been mentioned,[1] so thou art unable to find out my judgement or the end of the love which I have promised [2] to my people.

The Succession of Generations and the Divine Plan of the World (V. 41–55)

God's Judgement reaches all alike

41. And I said: But, my Lord, behold thou hast made the promise [3] to those who are in the End; but what shall they do who were before us, or we (ourselves), or those who follow us? [4]

42. And he answered and said to me: I have made my judgement like a crown [5]; just as there is no posteriority for the last, so also there is no priority for the first.[6]

43. And I answered and said: Couldest thou not then, perhaps have made those who have been and those who are and those who shall be all at once, that thou mightest make known thy judgement quickly?

44. And he answered and said to me: The creation hasteneth not faster than its Creator; otherwise, indeed, the world could not endure those created in it all at once.

45. And I again answered and said: And how (is it) thou hast (just now) said [7] to thy servant that thou wilt verily revive thy creation, which hath been

[1] Lit. *said*. [2] Or *professed*. [3] Lit. *thou hast promised*.

[4] For the problem propounded cf. 1 Thess. iv. 13 f.

[5] So L.; Ethiop. (Ar.[1]) *like a ring*.

[6] God's judgement will reach all, those who lived in former ages, and those living in the latest period, at the same time; cf. *Ap. Bar.* li. 13.

[7] Viz. in ver. 42.

created by thee, all at once[1]? If, then, they shall indeed revive all at once, and the creation endure (it), it might even now endure them being (present) all at once.

46. And he answered and said to me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it[2]: If thou bearest ten (children) why dost thou bear them at different times[3]? Demand, therefore, from it[2] that it[2] produce its ten at once.[4]

47. And I said: It cannot, my Lord, except at (different) times.[3]

48. And he said to me: I also have made the earth the womb of those who come upon it at (different) times.[3] 49. For just as the child doth not bear, (nor) she that is aged any more, so also have I ordered the world that I have created.[5]

The Earth is grown Old and its Offspring Degenerate

50. And I asked him and said: Now[6] that thou hast given me the way,[7] I would speak before thee. Our mother [Sion],[8] of whom thou hast spoken to me, is she really, [my Lord],[8] still young, or already approaching old age?[9]

51. And he answered and said to me: Ask (a woman) that beareth, and let her tell thee; 52. say to her: Why are those whom thou bearest now (not)[10] like

[1] *i.e.* at the last Judgement.

[2] *i.e.* the womb, or *unto her* (the woman), and so throughout the passage.

[3] Lit. *at time and time.*

[4] Lit. *that it produce them in their (whole of) ten.*

[5] Ethiop. + κατὰ καιρὸν (*according to season*). The earth in its extreme youth brought forth no human inhabitants; neither will it do so in extreme old age.

[6] Lit. *from now.*

[7] *i.e.* opened up a way, freely given opportunity.

[8] Added by Syriac; other versions omit. [9] Cf. iv. 33 f.

[10] It is necessary to supply the negative particle, which has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac MS.; so the other Versions.

the former ones, but inferior in size [1]? And 53. she also shall say to thee: those born in the vigour of youth are of one fashion; and those born in old age, when the womb is diminished, are of another. 54. Do thou also look and see that ye are inferior in size to those who preceded you; 55. they also that come after you shall be inferior to you, because the creation hath already grown old,[2] and the vigour of her youth is past.

The End mediated by God alone (V. 56—VI. 6)

56. And I answered and said: I beseech thee, my Lord, if I have found favour before thee, tell thy servant by whom [3] thou wilt visit thy creation.

VI. 1. And he answered and said to me: The beginning by the hand of man,[4] but the end by mine own hands.

For [as] [5] before the land of the world existed,
and before the outgoings of the world [6] were standing,
and before the weights of the winds [7] blew;
2. and before the voice of the thunders was heard,
and before the lightning-flashes did shine;
and before the land of Paradise was founded,

[1] L. *inferior in stature* (*minores statu*).

[2] For the idea cf. xiv. 10, 16; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10; Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, x.; and see further *E.A.*, p. 63.

[3] A variant reading (Ethiop. Ar.) is *on account of whom*, perhaps a tendency alteration made to meet Christian objections; see *E.A.*, p. 64.

[4] Or *by the hand of the Son of Man*, but where *the Son of Man* is a proper name in the Gospels the word for *son* is defined (*bĕreh*); here, however, it is not (*bar* alone), and *bar nasha* = *man*. The text is probably out of order. L. has a lacuna after *beginning* down to *existed*. Volkmar restores the missing line thus: *the beginning of the terrestrial world was by me myself. For before the earth and the universe were created* [*and before the outgoings of the world*, etc.].

[5] This is added by Syriac; omit.

[6] Cf. 1 Enoch xxxiv.

[7] *i.e.* the heavy winds; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lix. 5.

3. and before the beauty of the flowers[1] was seen;
and before the power of the commotions[2] was strengthened,
and before the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
4. and before the height of the air[3] was uplifted,
and before the measures[4] of the firmaments were named[5];
and before the footstool of Sion was strengthened,[6]
5. and before the years that are present were sought out;
and before the follies of present-day[7] sinners were conceived,
and before those who have gathered for themselves the treasures of faith were sealed[8]—
6. then (it was) I thought,[9] and all these things came into being[10] by mine own hand alone and not by the hands of another.[11]

The Parting Asunder of the Times
(VI. 7–10)

7. And I answered and said: What is the dividing asunder of the times? Or when is the end of the first age, or what the beginning of the second? 8. And

[1] *i.e.* of Paradise. [2] *i.e.* earthquakes. [3] Lit. airs.

[4] *i.e.* measured spaces, *i.e.* divisions into which the heavens were separated.

[5] The seven heavens have each a special name; cf. *E.A.*, p. 65.

[6] Or *made firm*, i.e. established, appointed (the A.V. *or ever the chimneys in Sion were hot* rests upon a corrupt text). For God's *footstool* cf. Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; Lam. ii. 1, etc.

[7] Lit. *now*.

[8] For the "sealing" of the faithful cf. Rev. vii. 4.

[9] Or *considered*. [10] Lit. *were*.

[11] L. + *as also the end through me alone and none other*: the Oriental Versions omit this clause for dogmatic (Christian) reasons.

he answered and said to me: From Abraham until Abraham.[1] From Abraham [was begotten Isaac, and from Isaac] [2] (were) [3] begotten Jacob and Esau; and the hand of Jacob was holding Esau's heel.[4] 9. The heel of the first (is) Esau, and the hand of the second (is) Jacob[5]; 10. for the first [6] of a man is his hand; and the end of a man is his heel. Thus between heel and hand do thou seek nought else, O Ezra!

The Signs of the Last Time and the End (VI. 11–28)

11. And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord: If I have found favour in thy sight,[7] 12. make known to thy servant the end [8] of the signs, which thou hast made known to me †in part† [9] in the night that is past.

13. And he answered and said to me: Stand up upon thy feet,[10] and thou shalt hear a loud voice.[11] 14. And it shall be that if the place whereon thou standest be greatly shaken,[12] 15. while speech is made with thee, thou shalt not be terrified; because the speech is concerning the report of the End, and the foundations of the earth shall understand 16. that the speech is concerning them; and they shall tremble

[1] Possibly the underlying Greek is ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως ⌜τῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Hilgenfeld), *i.e.* from Abraham to his immediate descendants. The new age will follow this *immediately* without a break.

[2] L. and other Versions omit reading *from A.* (*were*) *begotten Jacob and Esau:* Syriac may be right.

[3] Text has sing. *was* (*begotten*), the twins being regarded as one birth.

[4] L. + *from the beginning* (so Ar.[1]).

[5] So Syr. rightly. L. has *For Esau is the end of this world, and Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth* (R.V.).

[6] *i.e.* the beginning.

[7] L. + *I beseech thee.*

[8] *i.e.* the last.

[9] So emend Syriac to read (*part*) *of them* instead of *from me*.

[10] Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4.

[11] Cf. Exod. xix. 16.

[12] Lit. *shaking shake.*

and quake,[1] for they feel that their end (is being) changed.[2]

17. And it came to pass that when I heard I stood upon my feet, and I heard, and lo! a voice of one speaking,[3] and his [4] voice was as the voice of many waters.[5] 18. And he [6] said:

Behold the days come,[7] and it shall be,
when I am drawing nigh to visit the dwellers upon earth,
19. and when I am about to require at the hands of evil-doers . . . .[8]
and when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete;[9]
20. and when this world [10] is about to be sealed,[11] which is about to pass away—

these signs I will do: the books [12] shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all shall see [my judgement] [13] together.

[14] ⌊21. And children one-year old shall speak and utter their voice [15]; and pregnant women untimely shall bear children at three and four months, and they shall live and dance. 22. And suddenly †unsown† [16] places shall be found sown,[17] and full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty: ⌋[14]

[1] Lit. *be moved* or *shaken*.
[2] Participle in Syr.
[3] Or *a voice speaking*.
[4] Or *its*.
[5] Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The Divine Voice is meant.
[6] Or *it* (the voice).
[7] A common introductory phrase, especially in the prophets (cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 13), and adopted by Apocalyptic writers (cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1, xxiv. 1, etc.).
[8] A word seems to have fallen out—*their iniquity* (cf. L.).
[9] The fall of Jerusalem is a definite step towards the End; cf. *Ap. Bar.* xx. 2.
[10] Or *age*.
[11] *i.e.* closed up like a document that is sealed.
[12] *i.e.* the celestial records of the deeds of the righteous and wicked; cf. Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.
[13] So Syr.; the other Versions omit (or supply *them* or *me*).
[14] Probably vers. 21–22 are misplaced, and belong between vers. 8 and 9 of ch. v.; see *E.A.*, p. 75.
[15] Cf. *Jubilees*, xxiii. 25.
[16] So emend; text "unsowing."
[17] Cf. Enoch lxxx. 2; *Jubilees*, xxiii. 18.

23. and the trumpet [1] shall call with a loud sound, which all shall hear suddenly and be affrighted. 24. And it shall come to pass in that time friends shall war with their friends as enemies, (so) that the earth shall be amazed with its inhabitants; and the outgoings of the springs shall stand (still) without running [2] three hours.[3]

25. And it shall be (that) every one who surviveth [4] all these things of which I have told thee beforehand, he shall live and see my deliverance [5] and the end of the [6] world. 26. And then shall he see the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death since their birth.[7] And the heart of the inhabitants of the earth shall be transformed, and changed into a different mind.[8]

27. For evil is blotted out
and deceit extinguished;
28. and faith blossometh,
and corruption is overcome;
and truth appeareth which hath remained without fruit (so) many years.

29. And it came to pass, while he [9] spake with me, that behold, little by little, the place on which I was standing shook.

[1] *i.e.* the trumpet which ushers in the last judgement (cf. *Sibyll. Or.* iv. 173 f.); elsewhere it is associated with the awakening of the sleeping dead (1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16); see further *E.A.*, p. 75.
[2] Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; *Assumpt. Moses*, x. 6; *Test. XII Patr. Levi* IV.
[3] Ar.[2] *years*.
[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 1, lxxi. 1, xxix. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 15; Mark xiii. 13; and in this Book ix. 8, xiii. 16–24, 26, 48.
[5] *i.e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. *e.g.* Luke ii. 30.
[6] L. *my*.
[7] *i.e.* the men removed from earth without dying, especially Enoch and Elijah (also, in our Book, Ezra; cf. xiv. 9); see *E.A.*, p. 77 f.
[8] Cf. Mal. iv. 6 (Heb. iii. 24) of Elijah.
[9] Or *it* (the Divine Voice).

The Conclusion of the Vision (VI. 30-34)

30. And he said to me: These things [1] I came to
make known to thee this night. 31. If, therefore,
thou wilt again supplicate and fast seven days more,
I will reveal to thee things greater than these.[1]
32. Because thy voice hath surely been heard with
the Most High; for the Mighty One [2] hath seen thy
purity,[3] yea [4] the holiness [5] which hath been thine
from thy youth. 33. And therefore hath he sent
me to reveal to thee all these things. [6] And he said [6]
to me: Take heart, and fear not! 34. And be not
hasty to think evil [7] of [8] former times, lest inquisition
come upon thee in the last times! [9]

[1] *i.e.* the content of the previous Vision: L. adds at end of ver. 31 *per diem*, which probably represents something which should belong to following verse (? *pridem*); cf. *E.A.*, p. 80.

[2] Cf. ix. 45.

[3] L. *thy rectitude*.

[4] L. + *hath marked* (*providit*).

[5] L. *chastity* (*pudicitiam*); chastity, like fasting, intensifies the power of prayer, and prepares the way for a revelation (cf. 1 Enoch lxxxiii. 2).

[6] L. *and to say*.

[7] *i.e.* indulge in idle thoughts.

[8] Lit. *concerning*.

[9] See *E.A.*, p. 81.

VISION III

(VI. 35—IX. 25)

Introduction (VI. 35–37)

35. And it came to pass after this I wept and fasted seven days that I might fulfil the three weeks [1] which had been commanded me. 36. And it came to pass in the eighth night that lo! my heart was again moved within me, and I began to speak before the Most High; 37. because my spirit was greatly inflamed,[2] and my soul was on fire.[3]

The Problem; If the World was created for Israel, why is Israel disinherited? (VI. 38–59) [4]

38. And I said: O Lord [my Lord],[5] thou didst indeed [6] speak at [7] the beginning of thy [8] creation on the first day, and didst command [9] that heaven and earth should be,[10] and thy Word,[11] [O Lord],[12] perfected the work. 39. And the Spirit [13] was then hovering,

[1] Only two have been mentioned, viz. one here, and one before the second Vision; there seems to have been one originally before Vision I; cf. *E.A.*, p. 82.

[2] Cf. Ps. xxxix. 3; Luke xxiv. 32.

[3] L. *was in distress* (*anxiabatur*).

[4] Probably an old Jewish Midrash on the works of creation underlies this; see *E.A.*, p. 83.

[5] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; L. omits.

[6] Lit. *speaking*.

[7] Lit. *from*.

[8] L. *the*.

[9] Lit. *say*.

[10] Cf. Gen. i. 1.

[11] Note this hypostasizing use of *Word* developed from such passages as Ps. xxxiii. 6; cf. Heb. xi. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 5.

[12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Cf. Gen. i. 2.

and darkness (was) veiling [1] and [2] silence of the voice; and the voice [2] of man was not yet. 40. Then thou didst command that a ray of light [3] should come forth out of thy treasuries in order that thy works might become visible.

41. And on the second day again thou didst create the spirit [4] of the firmament and didst command it to make a division between the waters and the waters,[5] in order that a portion of them might ascend on high and the other portion remain beneath.

42. And on the third day [6] thou didst command the waters to be gathered together to one of the seven parts [7] of the earth; but six parts thou didst dry up and reserve that some of [8] them might be serving before thee and be both ploughed and sown.[9] 43. But thine own Word went forth, and immediately the work was done.

44. For then straightway [10] there sprang forth
fruits many, innumerable,
and sweet in their tastes, of every sort; [11]
And flowers which in their forms were unlike one another,[12]
[and trees which in their appearance were dissimilar;] [13]

[1] L. [*tenebræ*] *circumferebantur.*
[2] L. *silentium; sonus vocis:* for *silence of the voice* (or *sound*) cf. 1 Kings xix. 12; R.V. marg. *a voice of gentle stillness.* For the conjunction of silence and darkness cf. *E.A.*, p. 84.
[3] *i.e.* heavenly (not created) light; it was afterwards withdrawn; cf. *E.A.*, p. 85.
[4] *i.e.* angel. [5] Cf. Gen. i. 6 and see *Jubilees*, ii. 4.
[6] Cf. Gen. i. 9–13; *Jubilees*, ii. 5–7.
[7] Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, ix. 26; Philo. *Mund. opif.* 34–36.
[8] Lit. *from.*
[9] The cultivation of the soil is man's destiny and duty from the beginning; cf. Gen. ii. 15; Ps. civ. 14, and see *E.A.*, p. 86 f. Some mention of the creation of Paradise might be expected here.
[10] Lit. *suddenly;* L. *subito.*
[11] *i.e.* exquisitely varied in taste. [12] L. *of inimitable colour.*
[13] So Ethiop. Ar.[1]; but L. omits.

and odours which in their scents[1] were indefinable.[2]
These came into being on the third day.

45. And on the fourth day thou didst command, and there came into being the shining sun, and the light of the moon, and the order of the stars[3]; 46. and thou didst command them to serve man[4] who was about to be formed by thee.

47. And on the fifth day[5] thou didst give command to the seventh part, where the waters were, that beasts and birds and fishes should come forth, and they came into being.[6] 48. The dumb and lifeless[7] waters were producing that in which there was life,[8] that from these the generations might declare thy wonders.[9] 49. And then thou didst reserve two creatures [which thou hadst created][10]; and thou didst call the name of the one Behemoth, and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan.[11] 50. And thou didst separate them, the one from the other, because that moist seventh part[12] was unable to contain them.[13] 51. And thou didst give to Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, that he might dwell there, where (are) a thousand mountains[14]; 52. but to Leviathan thou didst give

[1] Lit. *odours*.

[2] Lit. *unsearchable*. This description may have originally been one of the beauties of Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 88.

[3] Astronomy was a subject of much interest in Apocalyptic circles; see, *e.g.*, 1 Enoch lxxii.–lxxxii.

[4] Cf. Clement of Alex., *Recognitions*, v. 29.

[5] Cf. Gen. i. 20–23; *Jubilees*, ii. 11–12; 2 Enoch xxx. 7.

[6] Lit. *and they were*: LXX. in Gen. i. 20 has *and it was so* at end of verse.

[7] Lit. *without soul*.

[8] Or *soul* (Heb. *nefesh*), the vital principle.

[9] Cf. Ps. xxvi. 7, cv. 2.

[10] Other Versions omit.

[11] For the myth of Behemoth and Leviathan cf. *E.A.*, pp. 90–92.

[12] *That moist seventh part* = L. *where the water was gathered together*.

[13] Both were originally sea-monsters.

[14] Cf. Ps. l. 10 (*Behemoth* [E.V. *cattle*] *upon a thousand hills*).

one of the seven parts of the moisture: and thou hast reserved them to be food for whom thou wilt and when thou wilt.[1]

53. And on the sixth day[2] thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle and beasts[3] and creeping things. And over these [however] thou didst appoint Adam as leader over all the works[4] that thou didst create antecedently; and from him are we, the people whom thou hast chosen.

55. All this, however, I have spoken before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[5] because thou hast said that for our sakes thou didst create this[6] world[7]; 56. but as for the rest of the peoples who are descended[8] from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing,[9] and hast likened them unto spittle,[10] and to a drop from a bucket hast thou likened their abundance.[11] 57. And now, O Lord, behold, these peoples which are reputed as nothing [behold] lord it over us and crush[12] us! 58. But we, thy people, whom thou hast honoured and hast called the first-born[13] and only (begotten),[14] near and beloved (one)[15]—lo! we are given up into their hands. 59. And if for our sakes the world was created, why do we not inherit our world? How long (shall) these things (be)?

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 4, where it is made clear that the righteous will devour the monsters at the Messianic banquet. For the modification here see *E.A.*, p. 90.

[2] Cf. Gen. i. 24–28; *Jubilees*, ii. 13–14; 2 Enoch xxx. 8 f.

[3] *i.e.* beasts of prey.

[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 18.

[5] Other Versions omit.

[6] L. *the*.

[7] For this doctrine cf. vii. 11; *Assumpt. Moses*, i. 1, 2; *Ap. Bar.* xv. 7; and see further *E.A.*, p. 93 f.

[8] Lit. *begotten*.

[9] Cf. Isa. xl. 17 (Dan. iv. 35 or 32).

[10] Cf. Isa. xl. 15 in LXX, which read *rōḳ for dōḳ*—a Hebrew text apparently followed here.

[11] *i.e.* wealth, superfluity.

[12] L. *devour*.

[13] Cf. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27 (28); Ecclus xxxvi. 12.

[14] Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 4, and see *E.A.*, p. 96.

[15] Cf. Jer. xii. 7; Rom. xi. 28; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 21.

The Debate resumed; The present Corrupt Order makes the Path to future Felicity narrow and difficult (VII. 1–25)

1. And it came to pass after I had finished speaking these words, lo! there was sent unto me the angel [1] that had been sent unto me on former nights. 2. And he said to me: Stand up, Ezra, and hear the words that I have come to say to thee. And I said to him: Speak on, my Lord!

3. And he answered and said to me: If a sea be set [2] in a wide place, so that it is broad and unlimited, 4. but its entrance is set [2] in a narrow place, so that it is like a river; 5. and [3] if a man desire to enter upon the sea, and to behold it and master it [4] — if then he do not pass through the narrow, how shall he be able to come into the broad?

6. [Hear] [5] again another thing [6]: There is a city that is built and set [7] in a large place of the valley,[7] and that city is full of many good things; 7. and its entrance is narrow and set on a height,[8] so that there is fire on the right hand, and on the left deep waters; 8. and a single path is set between these two, between the fire and the waters, so that that path only sufficeth for a man's footstep alone. If now that city be given [9] for an inheritance, unless that heir pass through the danger that is set,[10] how shall he be able to receive his inheritance?

[1] *i. e.* Uriel. [2] = Gk. κεῖται. [3] Lit. *but* (= δὲ).

[4] Lit. *be lord over it*: so L. (*dominari*), possibly due to mistranslation of Heb. (*lirdōth* for *lāredeth* = *to go down on, navigate*); see *E.A.* p. 100.

[5] L. omits.

[6] *i. e.* another illustration.

[7] L. *in loco campestri* = ἐν τόπῳ πεδινῷ; cf. Luke vi. 17: the Syriac may be rendered *valley* or *plain*.

[8] L. *on a steep* (*in præcipiti*). For the narrow (as opposed to the broad) way cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14; and for the difficult way leading to a broad plain cf. Ps. lxvi. 12 (reading *into a spacious place*).

[9] *To a man* should be added (so other Versions).

[10] Add *before* (him); a word may have fallen out.

10. And I said to him: It is indeed so, my Lord! And he answered and said to me: So also is Israel's portion; 11. for, for their sakes I made the world: and when Adam transgressed my commandments, that which had been made was condemned.[1] 12. And on this account the entrances of this [present][2] world became narrow and full of sighing and travail and many dangers, and much weariness [together with sicknesses and pains][3]; 13. but the entrances of that future world are broad and care-free,[4] and produce fruits that do not die.[5] 14. Unless, then, the living pass through the tribulation and these evils, they shall not be able (to receive)[6] what has been kept[7] for them.

15. But now
wherefore art thou perturbed that thou art corruptible,
and why art thou moved that thou art mortal?[8]

16. And why hast thou not considered what is to come, but (only) what is present?[9]

17. And I answered and said: O Lord, my Lord, but lo! thou hast ordained in thy Law[10] that the righteous are to inherit[11] these things, but the ungodly are to perish.[11] 18. The righteous, therefore, endure[12] well the tribulations[13] because they hope [to inherit][14] the spacious (things);[15] but the ungodly bear the tribulations[13] and do not see the

[1] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiii. 4; Rom. viii. 20: Adam's sin was devastating in its effects.

[2] Added by Syriac.

[3] Apparently an addition by the Syriac; for the original form of the sentence see *E.A.*, p. 102.

[4] L. *Safe* (*securi*).

[5] Fruits of immortality; cf. Prov. xii. 28.

[6] A corresponding word seems to have fallen out of the Syriac.

[7] L. lit. *set*. [8] Do not brood over death and mortality.

[9] The New Age will solve these riddles.

[10] Cf. Deut. viii. 1. [11] Participle in Syr. (*are inheriting*, etc.).

[12] L. reads future tense (rightly).

[13] Or *narrow things*. [14] Other Versions omit.

[15] For the sentiment cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

spacious (things)! 19. And he answered and said to me:

Thou art not (wiser)[1] than God,
nor of greater understanding than the Most High!

20. Therefore let the many who have come[2] perish [3] on the ground that through them the Law hath been despised which was established by me[3]! 21. For God gave a commandment to them that have come,[2] then when they came,[2] as to what they should do and live, and what they should observe and not be punished.[4]

22. But they resisted and obeyed him not,[5]
and they devised for themselves vain thoughts,
and they added[6] for themselves treacheries of apostasy;
23. and beyond all this they affirmed that the Most High existeth not,[7]
and did not recognize[8] his ways!
24. And his Law they despised,
and his covenants they †denied†,[9]
and believed not his commandments,
and spurned his works.[10]
25. Wherefore, O Ezra,
empty things for the empty,
and full things for those who are full![11]

[1] L. *a judge (above)*: probably a word (= *wise*) has fallen out of Syriac text.

[2] *sc.* into being.

[3] L. *than that the Law of God which is set before them be despised*: it was supposed that the Torah had been offered to and rejected by the nations of the world outside Israel; see *E.A.*, p. 105.

[4] Or *tortured*.

[5] L. *they were disobedient and spake against him.*

[6] = προσέθεντο; L. = προέθεντο (*proposed to themselves*).

[7] Cf. viii. 58 and Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 1.

[8] Or *ignored*.

[9] So read by a transposition of two letters.

[10] So Ethiop., but L. has *his commandments* (Heb. *dābhār* = *word* (or commandment), and also *deed*: see *E.A.*, p. 107).

[11] Cf. Jer. ii. 5.

The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the World (VII. 26–44)

26. For behold the days come,[1] and it shall be when the signs come which I have foretold to thee, [2]and the bride shall be revealed, appearing as a city,[2] and there shall be revealed she [3] that is now cut off: 27. and whoever is delivered from these evils which have been predicted, he shall see my wonders.[4] 28. For my son the Messiah [5] shall be revealed together with those who (are) with him,[6] and shall rejoice those that remain thirty [7] years. 29. And it shall be after these years my son the Messiah shall die,[8] and all those in whom is human breath. 30. And the world shall return to its first silence seven days, as it was at the beginning, so that no man is left.[9]

31. And it shall be after seven days that world [10] shall be awakened,[11] which now is not awake, and corruption [12] shall perish.

32. And the earth shall give up those that sleep in

[1] Cf. v. 1.

[2] L. *the bride shall appear, even the city coming forth*; cf. Rev. xxi. 1 f. (the new Jerusalem descending from heaven as a bride); this may have influenced text here, ἡ νῦν μὴ φαινομένη being read ἡ νύμφη κ.τ.λ. See *E.A.*, p. 114. The Heavenly Jerusalem (= *the city which is now invisible*) is meant.

[3] *She* = ? the city; true text *the land that is now cut off*, i.e. Paradise; for the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52; *Ap. Bar.* iv.; Rev. xxii. 1 f.

[4] *i.e.* God's wonders in the Messianic age.

[5] L. *my son Jesus* (Christian interpolation).

[6] *i.e.* the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 26 and note.

[7] L. 400, Ar.[2] 1000; perhaps 30 may have been intended by the Christian editor here to refer to Jesus (see *E.A.*, p. 115). The temporary Messianic Kingdom is referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 116.

[8] Death of Messiah nowhere else in Apocalyptic so explicitly referred to; see *E.A.*, p. 117.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* iv. 7.

[10] Or *Age* (*i.e.* the future Age).

[11] *i.e.* called into being.

[12] The present corruptible world-order vanishes away with the coming of the New Age; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26.

her,[1] and the dust shall give up those that repose therein, and the chambers shall give up the souls that were put in them.[2]

33. And the most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement :[3]

[and the end shall come,][4]
and compassion pass away,
and pity be far off,
and long-suffering be gathered ;[5]

34. But my judgement alone shall remain,
and truth shall stand,
and faith flourish ;

35. And the work[6] shall come,
and the reward be made known ;
and acts of righteousness[7] shall awake
and acts of ungodliness shall not sleep.

[36.] And the †pit†[8] of torment shall appear,
but over against this the place of rest ;
the furnace of Gehenna shall be revealed,
and over against it the Paradise of delights.

[37.] And then shall the Most High say to those nations that have been raised :[9]
Gaze and see what[10] ye have denied,

[1] Cf. Dan. xii. 2; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 15; 2 Pet. iii. 4.

[2] Here apparently the souls of all the dead are spoken of as kept in chambers or "treasuries"; elsewhere in the Book only those of the righteous (cf. *E.A.*, p. 119 f.).

[3] Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Rev. xx. 11 (one throne, not two as in Rev. xx. 4).

[4] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24; other Versions omit.

[5] *i. e.* ? withdrawn (the attributes of the Divine Judge are referred to).

[6] Or *recompence* (Heb. *pĕullā* = *work* and *reward*).

[7] = acts of charity; cf. Ps. Sol. ix. 6; Matt. vi. 1–4.

[8] Reading *gûbā* : text = *bosom* ; cf. Luke xvi. 23, 24. At this point, ver. [36] begins the lacuna in the Latin text which was supplied by the *Missing Fragment* discovered by Bensly. There was never any lacuna, of course, in the Syriac or other Oriental Versions.

[9] From the dead.

[10] So Syr. text: perhaps *whom* should be read with L. and other Versions. For the nations raised for judgement cf Matt. xxv. 31 f.

or whom ye have not served,
or whose commandments ye have despised!
[38.] Look, therefore, over against you:
behold here rest and enjoyments,
and there fire and torment!

Thus shall he speak to them in that Day of Judgement.

[39.] For the Day of Judgement is thus:[1]
[40.] on it there is no sun, nor moon, nor stars;
neither clouds, nor[2] lightning, nor thunder[2];
neither wind, nor water, nor air[3];
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;
[41.] neither summer, nor winter, nor autumn;
neither heat, nor frost, nor cold;
neither hail, nor dew, nor rain;
[42.] neither noon, nor night, nor day;
neither light, [nor torch],[4] nor radiance, nor brightness,

save only the splendour of the glory of the Most High from which[5] they[6] are destined to see what hath been ordained.[7]

[43.] But there shall be an interval as it were a week of years.[8] [44.] But this is . . .[9] and its law,[10] and to thee only have I made them known.

[1] Cf. the paraphrase of vers. [40]-[42] in Ambrose, *de bono mortis*, xii, and the parallel in *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 89 92; the End = the beginning (see *E.A.*, p. 128 f.).

[2] L. inverts the order.

[3] So L.; perhaps *air* here = thin cloud.

[4] Or *torches* = λαμπάδες (? a gloss): L. omits.

[5] *i.e.* whereby.

[6] L. + *all*.

[7] Or prepared: the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will reveal what has been prepared for the judgement; cf. Is. lx. 19 f.; Rev. xxi. 23.

[8] Each day = one year.

[9] A word has fallen out; supply *my Judgement* with L. (and so substantially the other Versions).

[10] *i.e.* prescribed order.

The Debate continued; Israel's Election and the Problem of Righteousness (VII. [45]—IX. 22)

The Fewness of the Saved (VII. [45]-[61])

[45.] And I answered and said: O Lord [my Lord],[1] I said even then[2] and say now again, that blessed are all they who have come[3] and have kept the commandments which have been set forth by thee. [46.] But concerning those about whom my petition (was made)—who is there, then, of those who have come,[3] who †hath† not sinned[4]? Or who is there of (those) born who hath not transgressed thy commandment[5]? [47.] And now †I†[6] see that for few shall that coming world effect[7] delight, but for many torment.

[48.] For there is[8] in us the evil heart
which hath caused us to err from these,[9]
and led us into corruption,
and hath shewn us the ways of death,
and made known to us the paths of perdition,
and removed us far from life;

and this not of a few, but †perchance†[10] of all who have been[11]!

[49.] And he answered and said to me:
Hear me, [Ezra],[12] and I will speak to thee,
and once again[13] instruct thee.

[1] Omitted by other Versions.
[2] The allusion is to vii. 17 f.
[3] *i. e.* into life.
[4] Reading sing.; text has *have sinned*: cf. viii. 17; Rom. x. 1.
[5] So Ethiop., but L. has *covenant* (two readings διαθήκην and διαταγήν).
[6] So read by a slight emendation.
[7] Lit. *make*.
[8] L. *hath grown up* (so Ethiop.).
[9] Viz. commandments; possibly the original text had *God* (see *E.A.*, p. 132).
[10] Reading *kĕbar* for *ḥebar*.
[11] L. *who have been created*.
[12] So Ar.[1], but other Versions omit.
[13] Or *anew* or *from the beginning*.

[50.] For this cause the Most High hath made not one world but two.[1]

[51.] Thou, however, because thou hast said there are not many righteous but few . . . [2] hear (the answer) to this: [52.] [3] If thou have precious stones and few, against the number of these do thou set lead and clay! [3]

[53.] And I said: How, O Lord, is that possible?

[54.] And he answered and said to me: Not only so, but

ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
speak [4] to her, and she shall recount to thee.

[55.] Say to her: Gold hast thou brought forth, and silver, and copper,[5] and iron, and lead, and clay; [56.] But the silver is more (abundant) than gold, and copper than silver, and iron than copper, and lead than iron, and clay than lead.[6] [57.] Do thou, then, reckon up [7] and see, what things are precious and to be desired,[8] [9] the many or the few? [9]

[58.] And I answered and said: O Lord my Lord: Things abundant are what are worthless, and things few are precious.

[59.] And he answered and said to me: Do thou, then, reckon up in thine own mind [10] what thou hast thought! Because everyone who hath a little that (is) rare rejoiceth over it more than that one who

[1] Here the dualism of the Apocalyptic view comes to bold expression.

[2] L. + *while the ungodly abound:* some words have fallen out in the Syriac.

[3] The sentence is really a question; *Wilt thou set with them,* etc., *i. e.* the number of the elect cannot be increased by the addition of baser elements. The Syriac translator seems not to have understood the verse.

[4] L. *intreat.* For address to the earth cf. viii. 2; Job xvi. 18.

[5] L. *bronze (æramentum).* The list of metals, etc., is interesting, especially in its order.

[6] What is rare is precious (notice the emphasis on this).

[7] Lit. *make comparison;* cf. iv. 31.

[8] Lit. *dear.*

[9] L. *that which is abundant or that which is rare.*

[10] Cf. iv. 31 and note.

hath what is abundant. [60.] So also is the promise of my judgement; for I rejoice [and delight][1] over the few who live,[2] because they it is who now strengthen my glory, and for whose sake my name is now extolled. [61.] And I am not pained over the multitude of those who are perishing; for these are they who now

are made like a breath,[3]
and as the smoke[4] are they counted,
and are comparable unto the flame;
who are burnt[5] and extinguished.

Man's Evil Case bewailed (VII. [62]-[74])

[62.] And I answered and said: Oh, what hast thou done,[6] O earth, [that these have been born from thee and are going to perdition!][7] If now the intelligence[8] is from the dust like the rest of creation, [63.] it would have been better if also the dust had not been,[9] in order that the intelligence[8] might not (have) come into being[10] from thence.

[64.] Now, however, the intelligence[8] groweth with us; and on this account we are tormented, because while we know it we are perishing.

[65.] Let the race of men mourn,
but the beasts of the field rejoice!
let all who are born lament,
but the cattle and the flock exult![11]

[1] Other Versions omit.
[2] Other Versions *are saved*.
[3] Or *vapour;* cf. Ps. cxliv. 4; James iv. 14; *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3.
[4] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 6.
[5] L. + *and burn hotly.* [For the sentiment expressed in the verses cf. Wisd. ii. 4, and in this Book, xiii. 10 f. The Gentiles are referred to; cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxii. 3 f.]
[6] L. *brought forth*.
[7] An expansion (cf. also Ar.[1]): L. omits.
[8] Or *mind* (= νοῦς).
[9] L. *been born*.
[10] Lit. *might not be*. For the sentiment cf. iv. 12.
[11] Lit. *delight:* the sentiment expressed would be startling to the ancients.

[66.] For it is far better for them than for us, because they do not expect[1] the judgement, neither do they know torture, nor hath life after death been promised to them. [67.] For what do we profit that we live,[2] but are to suffer torment[3]?

[68.] For all who are born
are defiled with sins,[4]
and are full of iniquities,
and upon them their offences weigh heavily!

[69.] And if after death we were not coming into judgement, it had been much better for us!

[70.] And he answered and said to me: And when the Most High made[5] the world, [6]and Adam and all that came from him,[6] he first prepared the judgement, and the things which pertain to the judgement.[7] [71.] And now from thine (own) words understand that thou hast said that the intelligence groweth with us. [72.] Therefore the inhabitants of the earth are on this account to suffer torment, because while they have intelligence[8] they have committed iniquity, and have received commandments but have not kept them, yea the Law which was bestowed upon them[9] they have rejected.[10]

[73.] And what is there for them to say in the judgement[11]? Or how shall they [12]open their mouth and speak[12] in the last time? [74.] For, how long a time hath the Most High been long-suffering[13] with the inhabitants of the world—and not indeed for their sakes but for the sake of the times ordained?

[1] Or *hope for.*
[2] Lit. *living we live* (emphatic), *i.e.* are to live hereafter.
[3] Lit. *being tortured suffer torture* (emphatic).
[4] Cf. Ecclus. xii. 14; *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 19.
[5] Lit. *making made.*
[6] Or *also for Adam and all that came from him.*
[7] Note the predestinarian idea, and cf. iii. 6.
[8] Or *mind.*
[9] Or *ordained for them.*
[10] Or *set at nought* (ἠθέτησαν).
[11] Note the forensic representation (cf. vii. 37), and see *E.A.*, p. 140.
[12] L. *answer.*
[13] Cf. iv. 37.

The state of the Soul between Death and Judgement (VII. [75]–[101])

[75.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour before thee, O Lord [my Lord],[1] make known to thy servant this also, whether after death now, when we give up, each one of us, our soul—whether we are to be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew thy creation,[2] or are we to suffer torment forthwith[3]?

[76.] And he answered and said to me: I will make known to thee concerning this also; but do not thou mingle thyself with the rebellious,[4] nor number thyself with those that suffer torment. [77.] For thou hast a treasure of works[5] laid up with the Most High, and it shall not be shewn to thee until the last times.[6]

[78.] But concerning death the teaching[7] is: When the decisive[8] decree of judgement goeth forth from the Most High concerning a man that he shall die,

as the spirit separateth from the body,
that it may be sent[9] to him who gave it,[10]
it first of all worshippeth the glory of God.[11]

[79.] But if it be of the deniers, or of those who have not kept the ways[12] of the Most High, or of those who have hated the God-fearers[13]— [80.] these souls

[1] L. omits.
[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 6 and Gal. vi. 15; 2 Cor. vi. 17; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.
[3] Lit. *from now.*
[4] Lit. *those who resist.*
[5] Cf. viii. 36; *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12, and see *E.A.*, p. 143.
[6] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1.
[7] Lit. *the word* or *speech*: L. *sermo.*
[8] Lit. *end*: L. *terminus.*
[9] L. *ut dimittatur iterum.*
[10] Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.
[11] Apparently it remains only temporarily in the Divine Presence at this stage, according to our author; see *E.A.*, p. 144.
[12] L. *the way.*
[13] Cf. v. 29.

enter not into the chambers,[1] but henceforth are [2] in torment,[3] sighing and anguished, in seven ways.[4]

[81.] The first way: that they have resisted the Law of the Most High. [82.] The second way: that they are unable [5] to repent and do good works [5] whereby to live. [83.] The third way: that they see the reward laid up for those who have believed.[6] [84.] The fourth way: when [7] they know and understand the torment that is prepared for them at the last. [8][Wherein the souls of the ungodly shall be reproached; because while they had the time for service they did not subject themselves to the commandments of the Most High.][8] [85.] The fifth way: that they see the chambers of the other souls, that are guarded by angels in great quietness. [86.] The sixth way: that they see the torment which is made ready for them henceforth.[9]

[87.] The seventh way, which exceedeth all the ways aforesaid:

> that they pine away through [10] confusion,
> and come to an end through shame,[11]
> and burn through fear,

in that they see the glory of the Most High before whom [12] they now sin in their life,[12] and before whom they are destined at the last to be judged.

[88.] Of those, however, who have kept the way

[1] Or *treasuries*; cf. iv. 35.

[2] L. *wander about* (they have no resting-place).

[3] L. + *ever*.

[4] *i. e.* manners or kinds.

[5] L. *to make a good repentance*.

[6] L. + *the covenants of the Most High* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); omitted in Syriac (but see next verse).

[7] = ὅτε (for ὅτι).

[8] Added by Syriac. It seems to be a paraphrastic expansion of the words (*the covenants of the Most High*) omitted in the previous verse.

[9] *i. e.* immediately to follow in the intermediate state before the Judgement (the fourth way refers to torments *after* the Judgement); see *E.A.*, p. 146 f.

[10] Lit. *from*.

[11] For the reading of L. here cf. *E.A.*, p. 147.

[12] L. *they have sinned in life*.

of the Most High, this is the way,[1] when [2] the day cometh that they shall be delivered [2] from this corruptible vessel.[3] [89.] For in the time when they dwelt therein they served the Most High painfully, and at all hours endured danger, in order perfectly to keep his Law who had given them the Law.[4]

[90.] Wherefore this is the word concerning them.

[91.] First they behold with great joy the glory of the Most High, who hath guided [5] them, and they rest [and come] [6] by seven ways.[7]

[92.] The first way [8]: because [9] with much toil they have striven to overcome the evil thought [10] which was fashioned with them, that they might not go astray [11] from life to death.

[93.] The second way: [8] that they see [12] the whirl whereby the souls of the ungodly are whirled and driven about,[12] and the torment reserved for them.

[94.] The third way [8]: that they see the witness which their fashioner witnesseth concerning them; because they kept the Law entrusted (to them).

[95.] The fourth way [8]: that they [see and] [13] understand the rest in which they now, as soon as they have been gathered into their chambers,[14] rest in profound rest, and are guarded by angels; and the glory which is reserved for them at the last.

[96.] The fifth way: that they rejoice that [15] they have fled now from what is corruptible, and that [15] they inherit what is future; and further they see the straitness and much toil from which they have been

[1] L. *the order* (= ἡ τάξις). [2] L. *they shall be separated.*

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice that the body in our passage is regarded as the prison-house of the soul.

[4] L. *the law of the lawgiver.* A variant reading in the Syr. is *the Law given to them.*

[5] L. *receives.* [6] L. and other Versions omit.

[7] L. *orders* (so Ethiop.). [8] L. *order* (so Ethiop.).

[9] = ὅτι "that." [10] Cf. iii. 20.

[11] L. *that it might not lead them astray.*

[12] R.V. (= L.) *the perplexity in which the souls of the ungodly wander.*

[13] L. omits. [14] Lit. *treasuries.*

[15] Lit. *how* = *quomodo* (= ὡς).

freed, and the wide room [1] which they are destined to receive, and the delights they shall gain, and be immortal.

[97.] The sixth way: when it shall be shewed to them how their faces are destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars,[2] and no more corruptible.

[98.] The seventh way [3] which exceedeth all these aforesaid:

that they exult with boldness,[4]
and are confident and not ashamed,[5]

and hasten to behold the face of him whom they served in their life and from whom [6] they are destined to be glorified, and from whom they are destined to receive reward.[6] [99.] These are the ways [7] of the souls of the righteous which from henceforth are announced [8]; and the way of tortures aforesaid [9] shall the resisters receive.[9]

[10] [Such souls ascend not into chambers,[11] but from henceforth are afflicted with tortures and are grieved and lament in seven ways.][10]

[100.] And I answered and said: Is then [place or] [12] time given to the souls,[13] after they separate from the body, to see what thou hast told me?

[101.] And he answered and said to me: Seven days have they freedom [14] that in these seven days

[1] Lit. *widths* (plural); cf. Ps. iv. 1. The word might be rendered *refreshment*.

[2] Based on Dan. xii. 3; cf. Matt. xiii. 43; *Ap. Bar.* li. 10; 1 Enoch xxxix. 7, civ. 2; the figure denotes immortality. See *E.A.*, p. 151.

[3] Cf. ver. 87 above.

[4] Cf. Wisd. v. 1.

[5] L. + *are glad without fear*.

[6] L. *they are destined to receive their reward in glory*.

[7] L. *this is the order*.

[8] = ἐπαγγέλλονται.

[9] L. (cf. R.V.) *they that would not give heed shall suffer henceforth*; Ethiop. *the deniers shall suffer*.

[10] An addition by the Syr., apparently a doublet (? added as a gloss here) of ver. 80 above. None of the other Versions support this.

[11] Lit. *treasuries*.

[12] Omitted by the other Versions.

[13] Apparently of the righteous only; see *E.A.*, p. 152.

[14] Lit. *seven are the days of their freedom*.

they may see these things aforesaid; and after this they shall be gathered into their chambers.

No Intercession on the Day of Judgement (VII. [102]–[115])

[102.] And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, make known to [1] thy servant this [2] also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous can intercede for [3] the ungodly, or intreat the Most High for them——

[103.] Either fathers [4] in behalf of their sons,[5] or sons [5] in behalf of their fathers,[4] or brothers in behalf of their brothers, or kinsfolk [6] in behalf of their kinsfolk, or friends in behalf of their friends [6]?

[104.] And he answered and said to me: Because thou hast found favour before my sight, I will make known to thee concerning this also. The Day of Judgement is a decisive [7] day, and (one) declaring to all the seal of truth.[8] For as now a father sendeth not a son, or a son his father, or a master his slave, or a friend his dearest that in his stead he may be ill,[9] or sleep, or eat or be healed; [105.] so also then can none pray on behalf of any on that day, neither shall one lay [10] a burden on any, for all then bear everyone his own righteousness or his iniquity.[11] [106.] And I answered and said: How is it, then, my Lord, (that) we have found [12] that formerly Abraham prayed for the Sodomites,[13] and also Moses

[1] L. + *me*.
[2] L. omits *this*.
[3] Lit. *beg off, apologize for*; L. *excusare* = παραιτεῖσθαι + accus.
[4] Or *parents*.
[5] Or *children*.
[6] L. *kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest*.
[7] Or *determinate*.
[8] *i.e.* the seal of the judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel).
[9] L. *may understand* (reading ἵνα νοῇ for ἵνα νοσῇ).
[10] Possibly "make himself a burden on" is meant.
[11] Cf. Ezek. xviii. 20.
[12] *sc.* in Scripture (written).
[13] Cf. Gen. xviii. 23.

in the wilderness for the fathers, when they sinned;[1]
[107.] and Joshua the son of Nun after him for
Israel in the days of Achar;[2] [108.] and Samuel in
the days of Saul,[3] and David for the ruin[4] of the peo-
ple, and Solomon for those in[5] the Sanctuary; [109.]
and Elijah for those who received the rain,[6] and for
the dead that he might live;[7] [110.] And Hezekiah
for the people in the days of Sennacherib,[8] and many
on behalf of many? [111.] If, therefore, now,
when corruption is grown up and mischief multiplied,
the righteous have prayed for the ungodly—why,
O Lord, should it not be so then also?

[112.] And he answered and said to me: This
world has an end,[9] and the glory of God[10] abideth not
therein continuously; therefore have the strong
prayed for those who have no strength. [113.] But
the Day of Judgement is the end of this world and
the beginning of the future world, which dieth not;
wherein

[114.] corruption is passed away,
and impudicity[11] is dissolved,
and infidelity is abolished,
and righteousness is grown up,
and truth[12] hath arisen.[13]

[115.] So shall none then be able to compassionate
him who is condemned[14] in the Judgement, nor harm
him who is victorious [in the Judgement.][15]

[1] Cf. Exod. xxxii. 11.

[2] This is the best attested form; cf. Josh. vii. (where *Achan* is the form given); see *E.A.*, p. 158.

[3] Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 9, xii. 23.

[4] A.V. *destruction*; this is a wrong rendering of θραῦσις = in LXX *plague*; the ref. is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

[5] Or *those of*; perhaps *those who* (*should pray*) *in the sanctuary*; cf. 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

[6] Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 42.

[7] Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

[8] Cf. 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

[9] L. *is not the end.*

[10] *i.e.* the Shekinah or Divine Presence; cf. *E.A.*, p. 159.

[11] = ἀσέλγεια = L. (*intemperantia*); Ethiop. *weakness* (= ἀσθένεια).

[12] = *faithfulness.*

[13] Cf. for whole verse vi. 27, 28.

[14] Lit. *is overcome* (= ἡττήθη).

[15] Added by Syriac.

The Promises of future Felicity only mock a Sin-stained Race (VII. [116]–[131])

[116.] And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; that it would have been better for the earth not to have produced Adam,[1] or (else) when she did produce him that thou hadst instructed[2] him not to sin. [117.] For how doth it profit all who have come[3] to live here[4] in affliction, and when they[5] are dead to await torment? [118.] Oh, what hast thou done, Adam! For though it was thou that didst sin, yet the evil[6] was not thine alone, but ours also who are from thee!

[119.] For what advantage is there that lo! there is promised to us an immortal time,[7] whereas we have done the works that bring death?[8] [120.] And that there hath been made known[9] to us an imperishable hope,[10] whereas we miserably are brought to futility?[11] [121.] And that there chambers of safety and health are kept, whereas we have behaved wickedly? [122.] And that the glory[12] of the Most High is destined to protect[13] them who have lived chastely, whereas we proceed in wicked ways? [123.] And that Paradise, whose fruit withereth not,[14] wherein[15] is delight and healing, is manifested, [124.] whereas we do not enter in, because we have

[1] Cf. iii. 5.
[2] = κατηχεῖν (so Ethiop.); L. *hindered* (= κατέχειν).
[3] = τοῖς πάρουσι, *i. e.* all who are here; L. *all that are in this present* (*time*).
[4] Syr. *hā*. [5] L. *we*.
[6] So Ethiop; but L. (?) *fall* (*casus*).
[7] So L.; but Ethiop. *the eternal age*.
[8] Lit. *dead* (or *mortal*) *works*; cf. Heb. vi. 1.
[9] So Ethiop.; but L. *predicted*.
[10] Cf. 1 Pet. i. 3.
[11] Lit. *are become vain*.
[12] *i. e.* the Shekinah.
[13] The Shekinah protects the righteous; see *E.A.*, p. 161.
[14] L. *endures incorruptible*.
[15] *i. e.* in the fruit; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12; Rev. xxii. 2.

served evil places?[1] [125.] And that the faces of the holy ones[2] are destined to shine above the stars,[3] while our faces shall be blacker than darkness?[4] [126.] For we did not consider in our life (time), while we were committing iniquity, that we were destined to suffer after our death.

[127.] And he answered and said to me: This is the meaning[5] of the struggle which man who is born wageth[6] upon the earth; [128.] (that)[7] if he be vanquished he shall suffer what thou[8] hast said; but if he be victorious he shall receive what I[9] have said.

[129.] Because this is the way of which Moses, while he was alive, spake to the people, and said to them:[10] Behold, I have set before you to-day, life and death, good and evil;][10] choose you, then, life that you may live[10] [you and your seed].[10] [130.] And they resisted and[11] believed[12] him not, nor the prophets after him, and[13] even me[14] who have spoken with them. [131.] Therefore shall there be no grief over their perdition, as there is joy over the life[15] of those who have believed.[12]

[1] So L., but *manners* should be read (τρόποις for τόποις); cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.
[2] L. *such as practised abstinence.*
[3] Cf. Dan. xii. 3.
[4] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 162.
[5] Lit. *thought* or *intent*, probably originally = *condition*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 162 f.
[6] Lit. *striveth* (*struggleth*).
[7] Probably a letter has fallen out in the Syriac.
[8] Or *I* (probably 2nd person is meant; so L.).
[9] Or *thou* (probably 1st person is meant; so L.); see *E.A.*, p. 163.
[10] Addition by Syriac from Deut. xxx. 15, 19; L. and Ethiop. omit.
[11] Added by Syriac.
[12] Or *obeyed.*
[13] *i.e.* nor.
[14] The angel speaks as God.
[15] L. *salvation.*

How can the Perdition of so many of His Creatures be reconciled with God's Character? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 62)

Will the Merciful and Compassionate One suffer so many to Perish? (VII. [132.]—VIII. 3)

[132.] And I answered and said to him: I know, Lord, that now the most High is called[1] the "compassionate," because he compassionateth those who have not yet come into the world[2]; [133.] and "gracious," because he is gracious to those who turn[3] to his Law; [134.] and "long-suffering," because he is long-suffering with us, with[4] those who sin, because we are his works;[4] [135.] and "giver,"[5] because he is willing to give rather than exact[6]; [136.] and "of great mercy," because he greatly multiplieth mercies upon them who are now (in existence), and upon those who have passed away, and upon those who are to come—[137.] for if he did not multiply his mercies,[7] the world with its inhabitants could not live[8]; [138.] and the "Giver,"[9] because unless in his goodness he gave,[10] so that evil-doers were eased[11] of their iniquities, not even one of ten thousand men[12] could live;[13] [139.] and

[1] The epithets applied to God in the following passage (defining the divine attributes) are based upon Exod. xxxiv. 6-7; possibly a Midrash on this passage lies behind our text; see *E.A.*, p. 164 f.

[2] *i.e.* are not yet born; though God foresees man's sins, He is yet compassionate.

[3] Or *return*.

[4] L. *to sinners as his works.*

[5] So Ethiop.: L. (*munificus*) = *bountiful.*

[6] *i.e.* perhaps *granteth pardon* rather than *exacteth punishment;* see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[7] ? in the intermediate state; see *E.A.*, p. 167.

[8] *i.e.* in the future life.

[9] *i.e.* of merit (to enable them to escape eternal punishment); see *E.A.*, p. 167 f.

[10] *sc.* merit.

[11] Lit. *were lightened.*

[12] L. *the ten thousandth part of mankind.*

[13] In the future life.

"judge,"[1] for if he did not pardon them who were created by his word, and disregard[2] the multitude of their iniquities, [140.] there would only be left of an innumerable multitude very few.[3]

VIII. 1. And he answered and said to me: This world[4] hath the Most High made for the sake of many, but that which is to come for the sake of few.
2. But I will expound †a parable†,[5] O Ezra: as when[6] thou shalt ask the earth and it shall say to thee[7] what dust it yieldeth more abundantly, that from which cometh the potsherd, or that from which cometh gold;[7] so is the work[8] of this world. 3. Many have been created, but few live.[9]

Shall God's Creature, so wonderfully fashioned, perish finally? (VIII. 4–19)

4. And I answered and said:
O my soul, absorb understanding,
And, O my heart,[10] drink discernment![11]
5. For without thy will thou camest,
And departest when thou hast not willed.[12]

For power[13] hath only been given thee for[14] life for a brief time.

6. O Lord, my Lord,[15] if thou wouldst command[16]

[1] So L. and other versions—an error; ? read *forgiving* (see *E.A.*, p. 168).

[2] L. *blot out*. [3] Lit. *a small few*. [4] Or *age*.

[5] So read (transposing two letters) the other versions; Syr. text *a word*.

[6] Lit. *as*.

[7] L. (R.V.) *that it giveth very much mould whereof earthen vessels are made, and little dust that gold cometh of*.

[8] L. *course* (*actus*); both = ἡ πρᾶξις.

[9] L. *shall be saved*; cf. Matt. xxii. 14, and in our Book vii. 49–61.

[10] L. omits *O my heart*.

[11] *i.e.* abandon all attempts to understand the riddle.

[12] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 14 f. [13] L. *space*. [14] Lit. *in*.

[15] L. *O Lord above us* (so also viii. 45); see *E.A.*, p. 171.

[16] = "if thou wouldest but," "Oh that thou wouldest" (a Hebraism); cf. *E.A.*, p. 171.

thy servant I[1] would pray before thee: And do thou give us[2] the seed and culture of a new heart[3] whence (may) come fruits, so that everyone that is corruptible may be able to live who is clothed with the form[4] of man. 7. For one art thou, and one fashioning are we, the work of thine hands, as thou hast said.[5] 8. And[6] thou dost indeed quicken[7] for us now in the womb the body which thou hast fashioned, and composest the members; and thy creature is kept in fire and water,[8] and nine months doth thy fashioning[9] bear the creature which thou hast created in it.[10] 9. But that which keepeth, and that which is kept, are both kept by thy keeping. And when the womb giveth again what has been[11] therein, 10. thou hast commanded that out of the members[12] should come milk, the fruit of the [full][13] breasts, 11. that what hath been fashioned may grow[14] for a short time. 12. And afterwards—

thou guidest it in thy mercy,
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
and disciplinest it in thy law,
And admonishest it in thy wisdom—
13. and thou killest it as thy creature,
and quickenest it as thy work.[15]

14. If, then, thou[16] suddenly and quickly[16] destroyest this one who hath been fashioned with all this

[1] L. *we*.
[2] = "O that thou wouldest give us."
[3] R.V. *seed unto our heart and culture to our understanding*; cf. Rom. xii. 2; Ephes. iv. 23.
[4] L. *place* (*τόπον* for *τύπον*).
[5] Cf. Is. xlv. 11, lx. 21, lxiv. 8 f. God is one, unique, Father, and Creator; cf. vi. 1–6.
[6] L. + *when*.
[7] Lit. *quickening quicken*.
[8] Man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements (an Oriental doctrine); cf. iv. 10; 2 Enoch xxx. 15, with Charles's note.
[9] *i. e.* the womb.
[10] L. *which is created in it*.
[11] L. + *created*.
[12] L. + *that is out of the breasts* (? a gloss).
[13] Added by Syriac.
[14] Or *be nourished*.
[15] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 6.
[16] L. *with a light word* (or *command*).

great labour, according to thy command, for what purpose, then, came he into being? 15. [1] Now also I have spoken concerning all men; but even more, thou knowest, that [1]

16. concerning thy people I suffer,
and concerning thine heritage [2]—that concerning it I mourn;
and concerning Israel—that concerning him I am grieved,
and concerning Jacob's seed [3]—that concerning it I am moved.

17. Therefore behold I will begin to pray and supplicate before thee for myself and for them; because lo! I see the trespasses of us who inhabit the world,[4] 18. but also now have heard the decree of judgement [5] that is to come. 19. Therefore
hear my voice,
and listen to [6] the words of my prayer,[6]
and I will speak before thee, [O Lord my God].[7]

The Seer's Prayer for the Divine Compassion on His People, and the Reply (VIII. 20–40)

20. [8] *The beginning of the words of the Prayer of Ezra which he prayed before he was taken up.*[8]
O Lord that dwellest for ever,[9]
[10] whose heights are exalted,[10]
and whose chambers[11] are in the air;

[1] L. *But now I will say: Concerning man in general thou knowest best; but* (Syriac constructs sentence differently).
[2] Cf. Ps. xxviii. 9.
[3] Cf. iii. 19.
[4] L. *that dwell in the land.*
[5] Cf. v. 34.
[6] L. *my words* (cf. Ethiop.).
[7] Added by Syriac; other versions omit.
[8] This superscription has been inserted into the text by the Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic. The piece seems to have been excerpted early for liturgical purposes; see *E.A.*, p. 175 f.
[9] Cf. Is. lvii. 15.
[10] L. *whose are the highest heavens;* cf. Deut. x. 14.
[11] = the heavenly Paradise (for phraseology cf. Ps. civ. 3).

21. whose throne is infinite,[1]
and whose glory is inconceivable; [2]
before whom the hosts [3] stand in fear,
at whose word they change to fire and wind;[4]
22. whose word is trustworthy,
and whose speech abideth; [5]
whose commandment is strong,
and whose utterances [6] are terrible;
23. whose look drieth up the deep,[7]
and whose rebuke [8] melteth the mountains,
and whose truth beareth witness—[9]
24. Hear the voice of thy servant,
and listen to thy creature's petition,
and regard my words!
25. For while I live I will speak,
and while I have understanding will I answer.
26. O regard not the trespasses of thy people,
but them that have served thee in truth;
27. and regard not [10] the follies of the intrigues of the ungodly,[10]
but them that have kept thy covenants in ignominy; [11]
28. think not upon those that have behaved themselves badly [12] before thee,
but remember them that with good will have recognized thy fear! [13]

[1] L. *inestimable*; the mystery of God's throne is the subject of Ezek. i.

[2] Cf. Rom. xi. 33.

[3] *i.e.* of heaven.

[4] Cf. Ps. civ. 4 (this passage implies the rendering *who maketh his angels winds*, etc., see *E.A.*, p. 178).

[5] = *is constant* (an allusion to the Synagogue prayer *'ĕmeth wĕ-yaṣṣîb*; cf. *E.A.*, p. 179).

[6] Other versions have singular.

[7] The other versions have the plural.

[8] = *ἀπειλή*.

[9] So all the versions except Ar.², which has right reading *remaineth for ever* (see *E.A.*, p. 179); the verse is cited in Greek in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7.

[10] L. and other versions *the deeds of the ungodly*.

[11] L. *in tortures*; the martyrs are meant.

[12] L. *walked feignedly* (= ? hypocritical adherents of the Law).

[13] i. e. *fear of thee* = religion, piety; cf. Ps. xix. 10.

29. and will not to destroy those that have become
like the cattle,[1]
but regard them that have received[2] the
splendour of[3] thy Law;
30. and be not angry against those who have behaved worse than the beasts,[4]
but love them that have always put their trust
in thy glory.

31. Because we and [5]those before us[5] have [6]practised
works of corruption, and behaved madly[6]; but thou
because of us sinners art called the Compassionate.
32. For if us, who have no works,[7] thou art
willing to compassionate, thou shalt be named
Gracious One. 33. For the righteous who have[8] works
laid up with thee can receive out of their own
works.[9]
34. For—
what is man that thou shouldest be (so) angry
with him,
or a corruptible race that thou shouldest be (so)
hot[10] against it?
35. For in truth
there is none of those born that hath not dealt
wickedly,
Nor of these who exist that hath not sinned!

36. For in this, O Lord [my Lord],[11] shall thy[12]
goodness be known if thou art compassionate towards
them that have no wealth[13] of works.

[1] *i.e.* probably Jews who lived like heathen (? the *'am hā-āreṣ*).

[2] Due to a misreading of διδάξαντες; L. *taught*.

[3] L. *in splendour*.

[4] A more infamous class still (? Jewish informers).

[5] *v.l. our fathers*.

[6] R.V. *have passed our lives in ways that bring death*; for text cf. *E.A.*, p. 182.

[7] L. + *of righteousness*.

[8] L. + *many*.

[9] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 12.

[10] *v.l. bitter*; cf. Job vii. 17 f. (Ps. viii. 4).

[11] Omitted by other Versions.

[12] L. + *righteousness and*.

[13] Or *power*.

The Divine Reply

37. And he answered and said to me: Some things thou hast spoken aright and according to thy words,[1] so shall it be. 38. Because in truth I take no thought about the fashioning of the evil doers, or about their death,[2] or about their judgement, or about their perdition;[3] 39. but I delight (rather) over [the coming of][4] the fashioning of the righteous, and over their life, and over the recompence of their reward. 40. For as thou hast said so shall it be.

Mankind is like Seed sown (VIII. 41–45)

41. For as the husbandman [who][5] soweth many seeds[6] and planteth many plants, but not all the seeds live in due season,[7] nor indeed do all the plants strike root; so also they who have[8] come into[8] the world do not all live.

42. And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight I would speak [before thee]:[9]

43. [10] For the husbandman's seed, if it receive not thy rain, at its (proper) time, will it live? Yea rather from much rain it is destroyed.[10]

44. But man who hath been fashioned by thine

[1] The seer had prayed (ver. 28 f.) that God would fix His attention rather on the deeds of the righteous than on those of the ungodly; this part of the petition shall be granted. The angel is still the speaker (note the bitter irony).

[2] *i.e.* their physical death.

[3] *i.e.* final perdition.

[4] The text of this passage is out of order; perhaps *the coming of* corresponds to *pilgrimage* in L. and should follow *righteous* (R.V. *their pilgrimage . . . and the salvation, and the reward*). See *E.A.*, p. 185 f.

[5] Omit.

[6] L. + *upon the ground*.

[7] Lit. *in time*.

[8] L. *are sown in*.

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] The Latin text here is corrupt; as corrected and restored it may be rendered: *Forasmuch as the husbandman's seed, if it come not up, seeing that it hath not received thy rain in due season, or if it be corrupted through too much rain, so perisheth* (R.V.). See *E.A.*, p. 187.

own hands and [1] is made like thine own image,[1] for whose sake thou hast created all -hast thou likened him to the seed of the husbandman? [2]

45. No! [I beseech thee,] [3] O Lord my Lord,[4]
spare thy people,
and compassionate thine heritage——
thy creature—for thine he is—thou dost compassionate!

The Final Reply; Let the Seer contemplate the Lot of the Blessed which he is destined to share (VIII. 46–62)

46. And he answered and said to me:
[5] Things of the present are for them of the present,
And things of the future are for them who are future! [5]

47. For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I.[6]

Thou, however, hast many times likened thyself to the ungodly. It must not be so! 48. But in this also thou shalt be honoured before the Most High, 49. because thou hast humbled thyself, as befitteth thee, and hast not compared thyself [7] with the righteous. Therefore thou shalt be the more honoured. 50. Because with much affliction shall the inhabitants of the world be afflicted at the last on account of the great pride [8] that they have displayed.[9]

[1] L. *is called thine own image because he is made like (unto thee)*; the Syriac is probably right here.

[2] Probably to be taken as a question. The seer protests against the comparison of mankind to seed; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels.

[3] Added by Syr. (cf. Ethiop.).

[4] L. *O Lord above us.*

[5] For the form of sentence cf. vii. 25.

[6] Cf. v. 32.

[7] L. *hast not judged thyself (to be)*.

[8] Note the remarkable emphasis on the sin of pride and the virtue of humility.

[9] Lit. *with which they have behaved proudly.*

51. But do thou (rather) consider thine own self, and ask concerning the glories of those who are like thyself.[1]

52. For for you
is opened Paradise,[2]
and planted the Tree of life;[3]
and the future world[4] prepared,
and delight[5] made ready;
and a City[6] builded,
and a Rest[7] ordained;
and good perfected,[8]
and wisdom completed;[9]
53. And the (evil) root[10] is sealed up from you,
and infirmity from you extinguished,[11]
and Death is hidden,[12]
and Sheol fled;[13]
and corruption is forgotten,
and pains departed from you;
54. And in the consummation the treasures of life are manifested.

55. Do not thou, therefore, again ask any more concerning the many who perish; 56. because they have received liberty and

[1] *i.e.* probably the righteous dead who already enjoy a foretaste of future felicity.

[2] *i.e.* the heavenly Paradise which will be reopened after the last Judgement for the righteous.

[3] In Paradise; cf. vii. 133; Rev. ii. 7, and see *E.A.*, p. 191.

[4] Or *age*; for the idea cf. *E.A.*, p. 191.

[5] L. *plenteousness*.

[6] *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem.

[7] *i.e.* the rest in heaven; cf. Heb. iii. 18 f.

[8] Cf. Ephes. ii. 10.

[9] L. *being perfect aforehand* (R.V.). Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

[10] Cf. iii. 22; 1 Enoch xci. 8 (*root* a technical term in these connections).

[11] The sources of sin in man will have been removed in the future Age.

[12] Death, of course, will be abolished; cf. Is. xxv. 8; Rev. xxi. 4.

[13] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxi. 23 (the underworld is personified, as in Rev. vi. 8).

they have despised the Most High,
his Law also they have scorned much,
and have made his ways to cease :[1]

57. Yea, his saints they have trampled upon,[2] and
58. they have said in their heart that there is no God,[3] while they verily[4] know that they shall surely[5] die.

59. Therefore as these things aforesaid await you, so also †thirst and†[6] torment (are) destined for them. For the Most High willed not that men should perish; 60. but these who have been created dishonoured the name of their Maker and were ungrateful ⌜and confessed me not-⌝[7] who[8] have prepared life for them. 61. Therefore my Judgement hath drawn nigh, 62. which (thing) I have not made known to the many, but (only) to thee and to the few like thee.[9]

The Signs of the End reviewed (VIII. 63–IX. 12)

63. And I answered and said: Behold now (already), O Lord, thou hast made known to me the great number of the signs that thou art about to do in the last days; but thou hast not made known to me at what time.[10]

IX. 1. And he answered and said to me: Measure carefully in thy mind,[11] †and†[12] when thou seest that a part of the signs aforesaid is past, 2. then understand that it is the time wherein the Most High is about to visit[13] the world made by him. 3. And when there shall appear in the world

[1] L. Ethiop. *have forsaken* (*his ways*).
[2] Cf. v. 29.
[3] Cf. vii. 23; Ps. xiv. 1.
[4] Lit. *knowing*.
[5] Lit. *dying*.
[6] So read by a slight emendation; Syriac text has (*the torment that is prepared*) *is thirsty*; cf. for the representation, Luke xvi. 24.
[7] Omitted by L.
[8] L. *to him who* (*had*).
[9] *i. e.* to the seers and apocalyptists like Salathiel-Ezra.
[10] Contrast Acts i. 7.
[11] Lit. *thyself*.
[12] So read; Syr. text *that*.
[13] Cf. vi. 18.

quakings of places,[1]
and tumult of assemblages,[2]
and schemings of peoples,
and commotion of leaders,
and confusion of princes—

4. then perceive that it is of these (things) the Most High hath spoken formerly. 5. For as with respect to everything in the world, its beginning is known[3] and its end manifest; 6. so also (are) the times of the Most High: their beginnings are known in portents, [and signs][4] and powers,[5] and their end in requital[6] and signs. 7. And it shall be (that) everyone that shall survive,[7] and everyone that shall be able to flee[8] through his works or through his faith whereby he hath believed— 8. he shall be left (safe) from the peril aforesaid, and shall see my salvation[9] in my land and in my borders[10] which I have sanctified for myself eternally.[11] 9. And then shall they be amazed who have now neglected[12] my ways, and they shall be in torments who have despised and abandoned them.[13] 10. For all who did not recognize me in their life (time), when I was dealing bountifully with them, and all who have treated my Law with contempt,[14] those[15] (viz.) who

[1] *i.e.* earthquakes (cf. v. 8); others *stir* (*i.e.* excitement) *of places*.

[2] L. *of peoples*.

[3] L. defective; the text here may originally have been *obscure* (ἀφανής corrupted to ἐμφανής); cf. *E.A.*, p. 202.

[4] L. omits.

[5] Or *mighty works*.

[6] L. Ethiop. *in effects*.

[7] Cf. vi. 25, vii. 28.

[8] *i.e.* escape.

[9] *i.e.* the Messianic salvation; cf. vi. 25.

[10] Cf. xiii. 35.

[11] Lit. *from eternity*: the specially sacred character of the Holy Land is often insisted on in late Jewish literature; cf. ix. 8, xii. 34, xiii. 48 f.; *Ap. Bar.* xxix. 2.

[12] L. *abused*.

[13] i.e. *my ways*; another reading in L. makes *them* refer to *torments*.

[14] Lit. *behaved themselves proudly against*.

[15] So Syriac; but this may be an error of the translator who misread ὡς as οἷς; other Versions *while* = ὡς.

had liberty, 12. and while the place of long-suffering[1] was (still) open to them, did not heed, but scorned—for these it is necessary that after death they should know.[2]

The Fewness of the Saved further justified (IX. 13–22)

13. Do thou, therefore, not search out[3] henceforth[4] how the ungodly shall be tormented, but inquire how the righteous shall live[5] they whose is the world, and for whom also the world hath come into existence.[6]
14. And I answered and said: 15. [7] Now also again I say, and hereafter will say again, that more are those who perish than those who live[8]: 16. just as the waves are more than the small drop.[9]

17. And he answered and said to me:
As the place,[10] so also (are) its seeds,[11]
and as the flowers, so also (are) the colours,[12]
and as the work, so also (are) the odours,[13]
and as the husbandman, so also (is) the threshing floor[14];

18. for there was in the time of the world[15] when I had prepared for those who now are, before they were

[1] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *repentance*; cf. (for latter) Wisd. xii. 10; Heb. xii. 17.
[2] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] + *by* (or *in*) *torment*.
[3] L. *be curious*. [4] L. *any longer*.
[5] So Ethiop., but L. and Ar.[1] *be saved*.
[6] Cf. for the whole verse *Ap. Bar.* xlviii. 48 f.
[7] L. prefixes to this *I have already said*.
[8] L. *be saved*; cf. vii. 47.
[9] Cf. iv. 48 f. [10] L. *field*.
[11] Or *sowings*; i. e. good ground produces good crops.
[12] i. e. the finest flowers produce the most brilliant colourings.
[13] L. *creation* (= κτίσις); but Ethiop. Ar.[1] *judgement* (= κρίσις), adopted by R.V., and this probably equals the true text of Syriac. See further *E.A.*, p. 207.
[14] Or *harvest*.
[15] = ἐν καιρῷ αἰῶνος, i. e. *in the time of eternity*. For the meaning cf. *E.A.*, p. 207.

(in existence) a world for them to live in; and no man withstood me—for indeed there was none (in existence).

19. And now that they have been created upon the world that standeth firm,[1] and upon a table that lacketh not, and upon a Law[2] that is unsearchable, they are become corrupt in their deeds,[3]

> and I regarded my world, and lo! it was lost!
> and my cosmos,[4] and lo! it was in peril—

on account of the manners[5] of its inhabitants.

21. And I saw and spared a small few,[6] and saved me a grape out of a cluster, and a plant out of a great forest.

22. Let the multitude, therefore, perish because it hath come into being in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which have been produced[7] with much toil.

Conclusion of the Vision (IX. 23–25)

23. But if thou wilt separate thyself[8] seven more days—but thou shalt not [again][9] fast therein, 24. and go thou to a field of flowers, where no house hath been built, and eat thou of the flowers of the field only, and flesh thou shalt not taste, nor shalt thou drink wine,[10] but flowers only; 25. and petition the Most High zealously,[11] and I will come unto thee and speak with thee.

[1] Or *is made ready* (the text should run [cf. L.] *a world prepared with a table that faileth not, and an unexplorable pasture*, in reference to Paradise; see *E.A.*, p. 207 f.).
[2] *νόμος = Law* confused with *νομός = pasture*.
[3] L. *manners*.
[4] A synonym for *world* is used = *tĕbhēl*.
[5] Or possibly *perversions*: L. *devices*.
[6] Lit. *a small little*: L. *vix valde, but not greatly* (R.V.).
[7] L. *I have produced*.
[8] L. *cease*.
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] Cf. 2 Macc. v. 27.
[11] L. *continually*.

VISION IV

(IX. 26—X. 59)

Introduction (IX. 26–28)

26. And I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called Arpad,[1] and sat there by[2] the flowers of the land, and did eat of the herbs[3] of the pasture; and the eating thereof was to my satisfaction. 27. And it came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart again began to be moved[4] [upon me][5] as before; 28. and my mouth was opened, and I began to speak before the Most High.

The Glory of the Law and Israel: a Contrast (IX. 29–37)

29. And I said: O Lord [my Lord,][6] thou didst verily reveal thyself[7] to our fathers in the wilderness [of Sinai][8] when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they went through the wilderness, [9]through a land wherein was no fruit, and through which no man hath passed[9]; 30. and thou didst say [to them:][10]

[1] So Ethiop. (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 34); L. (best reading) *Ardat*: a symbolical name of a mysterious place (? Arcadia); see *E.A.*, p. 212 f.
[2] L. *in* or *among*. [3] Lit. *roots*. [4] Or *troubled*.
[5] Omitted by L.; cf. Ps. xlii. 5 ("disquieted *upon* me"): cf. vi. 36.
[6] So Ethiop., but L. omits. [7] L. + *among us*.
[8] Omitted by other Versions.
[9] L. *the untrodden and unfruitful*: cf. Jer. ii. 6 [in the last clause of ver. 29 there is a scribal error in the Syriac text; read *wĕlâ* instead of *wĕkad*].
[10] So Ar.[2] and Arm.; other Versions omit.

Do thou, Israel, hear me,
and, seed of Jacob, listen to my words ![1]

31\. For, behold, I sow in you my Law, and it shall produce in you fruits [of righteousness],[2] and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32\. [3] But our fathers received the Law, and kept it not,
and commandments, and did not perform them.[3]

[4] And they had the fruits of the Law which perish not, for they could not perish because it is thine.[4]

33\. Those, however, who received it perished, because they kept not what had been sown in them.
34\. And this is the rule: that when the earth receiveth seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel [what hath been put therein][5] (viz) the food,[6] [7] or what hath been put, or what hath been kept [7] —
35\. these[8] are destroyed, but these that received them[9] remain. But with us it hath not been so;
36\. but we who have received the Law and sin perish together with our heart[10] which accepted it. 37. Thy Law, however, perisheth not, but abideth in its glory.[11]

The Vision of the Disconsolate Woman
(IX. 38—X. 24)

38\. And while I spake these things in my heart,[12] I lifted up mine eyes and beheld a woman on the

[1] Cf. Ps. l. 7.

[2] Omitted by other Versions.

[3] Note the parallelism of the two lines; this is lost in L.

[4] *And the fruit of the law did not perish, neither could it, for it was thine* (R.V. = L.).

[5] [ ] repeated from next clause accidentally (see *E.A.*, p. 217).

[6] L. + *or drink* (so other Versions, but Ethiop. doubtful).

[7] L. [*and when it cometh to pass that that which is sown*], *or that which is launched, or the things which have been received* [*come to an end*], R.V. (bracketed clauses not in Syriac).

[8] *i.e.* the things put in.

[9] *i.e.* the receptacles.

[10] Which is evil and perishable.

[11] Cf. Rom. vii. 14; 2 Cor. iii. 7 f.; and for the whole passage *Ap. Bar.* xiv. 19.

[12] *i.e.* according to the Hebrew idiom "thought these things."

right side,[1] mourning and weeping with a loud voice, while she [2]sighed in her soul[2] [and was greatly distressed],[3] and her clothes were rent, and dust was cast upon her head. 39. And I dismissed the thoughts which I was debating,[4] and turned to her and said to her: 40. Why dost thou weep, and art distressed in thy soul? 41. And she answered and said to me: Suffer me, my lord, to weep unchecked[5] and continue further to sigh, because my soul is greatly embittered and I am much humbled.[6]

42. And I said to her: Tell me what hath befallen thee. 43. And she answered and said to me: I, thine handmaid, was barren, and did not bear, though I was with my husband thirty years. 44. And I every day and every hour, during these thirty years, was petitioning and supplicating the Most High by day and by night. 45. And it came to pass after [these][7] thirty years

> [God heard the voice of][8] thine handmaid,
> and saw her humiliation[9];
> and looked upon my distress,
> and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced and delighted in him greatly, I and my husband and all my fellow townsfolk,[10] and we glorified[11] the Mighty One[12]; 46. and I reared him with very great toil. 47. And when he was grown up I came to take him a wife, and I made a day of feasting [and much merriment].[13]

X. 1. And it came to pass that when my son entered into his wedding-chamber he fell down and

[1] Cf. iv. 47.
[2] L. *was much grieved in mind.*
[3] Omitted in L.
[4] Lit. *cogitating.*
[5] Lit. *upon myself.*
[6] Or *afflicted.*
[7] Omitted by other Versions.
[8] This is probably the true text, though it is omitted by the other Versions.
[9] Barrenness was a reproach; cf. Luke i. 25.
[10] Lit. *all the sons of my town.*
[11] It was a religious duty to "give God the glory"; cf. Luke xvii. 18.
[12] *i. e.* the Almighty; cf. vi. 32, x. 24, xi. 43, xii. 47.
[13] Added by Syriac; cf. Matt. xxii. 2.

died. 2. But I overturned the lights,[1] and all my fellow-townsmen[2] rose up to console me; and I remained quiet until the next day and until the night.[3] 3. [4] And after they were all asleep and believed that I also was asleep,[4] then I arose by night, and fled and came as, [behold],[5] thou seest to this field. 4. And I am resolved that I will not again enter the city, but that here I will be, and will neither eat nor drink, but will continually mourn and fast till I die.

5. And I dismissed[6] my thoughts which I had been debating,[7] and I answered in anger and said to her: 6. [8] Thou art more foolish, woman, than all women![8] Seest thou not our grief and what hath befallen us? 7. that [lo!][9] Sion, the mother of us[10] all, is in great affliction, and humiliated with great humiliation? 8. But it is right now to mourn—[11] we all mourn; for thou indeed art grieved on account of one son, [but we—the whole world—on account of our mother].[12] 9. But ask the earth, and she shall tell thee; because[13] she is bound to mourn . . . ,[14] because many are they who have come into being[15] upon her, 10. and from the beginning all who have come into being[15] upon her, and the others who (are to) come, lo! they[16] all go to perdition, and their multitude is for destruction. 11. Who then ought to mourn the more, she who hath lost all this multitude, or thou who mournest for one?

12. But if thou sayest to me: My mourning is not

[1] Cf. Matt. xxv. 7. [2] See note [10], ix. 45.

[3] *i. e.* until the night of the next day.

[4] R.V. *And it came to pass when they had all left off to comfort me to the end I might be quiet* (see *E.A.*, p. 221).

[5] Added by Syriac.

[6] Lit. *left.* [7] Lit. *cogitating.*

[8] *Thou foolish woman above all other* (R.V. = L.).

[9] Added by Syriac. [10] Cf. Gal. iv. 26.

[11] L. + *seeing that.* [12] Added by Syriac.

[13] L. (rightly) *that* (=ὅτι also *because*).

[14] There is clearly a lacuna in the sense; Syriac omitted some words; L. + *the fall of so many.*

[15] Lit. *have been.* [16] L. + *almost* (*pene*).

like the earth's, because I have lost the fruit of my womb

which I bare with pains,
and reared[1] with sorrows—

13. the earth, however, according to the nature of the earth[2]: the multitude that came upon it is gone as it came: 14. then[3] I will again say to thee: Just as thou hast borne with travail, so also the earth hath given her fruit from (the) beginning, man, to him who made her.[4] 15. Now, therefore,

keep thy pain to thyself,[5]
and bear bravely[6] the evil that hath befallen thee!

16. For if thou wilt acknowledge as just[7] the decree of judgement of the Most High, thou shalt (again) receive thy son in (due) time,[8] and shalt be praised among women. 17. Go, therefore, into the city unto thy husband.

18. And she answered and said to me: I will not do so, nor will I go into the city, nor unto my husband, but here will I die!

19. And I continued further to speak with her, and I said to her: 20. No, woman! No, woman! Do not do this thing, but

20. be convinced of[9] Sion's misfortune,
and be consoled because of Jerusalem's sorrow!
21. For [behold!][10] thou hast seen
our sanctuaries[11] laid waste,[12]

[1] L. *brought forth.*
[2] *i.e.* as regards the earth, such (dying) is according to the course of nature (see *E.A.*, p. 224). [3] Lit. *and.*
[4] *i.e.* man, earth's highest product, produced with so much pains, is constantly being gathered in (by death) by the Creator. This seems to be the meaning; cf. *E.A.*, p. 224.
[5] Lit. *within thyself.* [6] *With strength.*
[7] Cf. Ps. Sol., viii. 7, ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35 (an act of piety).
[8] *i.e.* either by the son's restoration to life, or by having another son.
[9] Or *prevailed on by.* [10] Added by Syriac.
[11] Other Versions have the singular.
[12] Syriac text *that they are laid waste* (in the same way prefixing *that* before each of the verbs throughout the following clauses); cf. 1 Macc. i. 39.

and our altars [1] overthrown;
and our Temple demolished,
[2] and our service abolished [2];
22. and our song taken away, [3]
and our glorying [4] ceased; [5]
and the light of our lamp quenched,[6]
and the ark of the covenant carried off; [7]
and our saints [8] defiled,
and the name that is called upon us [9] polluted;
and our nobles [10] dishonoured,
and our priests burnt in the fire,[11]
and our Levites taken captive;
and our virgins are defiled,
and our wives forcibly dishonoured;
[12] and our seers seized,
and our watchmen scattered [12];
and our youths enslaved,
and our heroes made weak:
23. and what exceedeth all with regard to Sion's seal,[13]

[1] L. *altar*.
[2] L. *our psaltery is brought low* (cf. Ethiop.): *psaltery* or *harp* a symbol of Temple service; Syriac interprets; cf. *E.A.*, p. 226.
[3] L. *is silenced*.
[4] Or ? *hymning;* or *our pride*, i. e. the sacrificial service.
[5] Lit. *fallen*.
[6] This marked the cessation of the sacrificial service; cf. I Macc. iv. 50, and see *E.A.*, p. 226.
[7] This really occurred at the destruction of the first Temple; for its meaning here cf. *E.A.*, p. 226 f.
[8] L. *holy things* = the holy vessels.
[9] *i. e.* the divinely bestowed name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.
[10] *i. e.* the ruling classes.
[11] Cf. Josephus, *War*, VI. 5. I. (two priests threw themselves into the fire "and were burnt together with the holy house").
[12] L. *our righteous men carried away, our little ones betrayed;* possibly the Syriac should be emended so as to read *our pious ones are seized, our righteous scattered:* see further *E.A.*, p. 228.
[13] *i. e.* ? Sion's independence—possibly there is a reference to the issue of a national coinage in A.D. 66–70; cf. *E.A.*, p. 229 f.

the seal of her glory hath been taken away now,
and given up into the hand of them that hate
us!
24. Do thou, then, shake off from thyself[1] the
multitude of thy sorrows,
so that the Mighty One may be reconciled[2] to
thee,
and the Most High may give thee rest[3] from the
sorrows of thy toil![3]

Sion's Glory; the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem (X. 25–28)

25. And it came to pass, while I was talking with
her, and][4] lo! her countenance shone exceedingly,
and as the appearance of lightning became the look of
her face.[5] And I feared greatly [to approach unto
her, and my heart was much amazed].[6] And while I
was cogitating what this [vision][7] might be, 26. sud-
denly she cried with a loud and fearful voice, so that
the whole earth was moved at her voice.[8] 27. And
I saw, and lo! the woman was no longer visible to
me, but a City that was builded,[9] and a place became
visible as of great foundations.[10] And I was afraid
and cried with a loud voice and said, 28. Where is
the angel Uriel who from the first day[11] came unto

[1] L. + *thy great heaviness and put away* (the words were accidentally omitted by the Syriac translator); see *E.A.*, p. 230.

[2] Or *propitious.*

[3] L. *even ease from thy travails* (R.V.).

[4] Omit.

[5] Cf. Luke ix. 29.

[6] So Ar.[1]; the clause has been omitted (accidentally) by the Latin translator.

[7] L. and Ethiop. omit.

[8] Cf. Gen. xxvii. 34.

[9] *i.e.* already built, so all the Oriental Versions; but L. *was being built* (cf. ver. 42, R.V.).

[10] Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

[11] L. *from the first* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]); cf. iv. 1 for the first appearance of Uriel.

me? Because he (it is) who hath caused me to come into the multitude of this agitation,[1]

and mine end[2] is made corruption,[3]
and my prayer ignominy.

The Vision interpreted (X. 29–57)

29. And while I was speaking these things, [lying on the ground as though dead],[4] the angel came unto me who had come unto me formerly[5]; and he saw me 30. lying on the ground as though dead,[6] and my understanding was confused; and he took me by my right hand and strengthened[7] me, and set me upon my feet,[8] and said to me:

31. What aileth thee,
And why art thou disquieted?
And wherefore is thy mind confused,
and the understanding of thy heart?

32. And I said to him: Because thou hast forsaken me! For I did as thou badest me (and) also (went out)[9] into the field, and lo! I have seen—and see[10]—that which I am unable to explain.[11]

33. And he answered and said to me: Stand[12] upon thy feet,[12] and I will make known to[13] thee.

34. And I said to him: Speak on, my Lord; and only do not forsake me lest I die[14] before my time.[14]

[1] Cf. *Shepherd of Hermas, Vis.* I. ii. 1; *Vis.* III. i. 5.

[2] So all the Versions; perhaps the Hebrew text was corrupt and the word *prayer* stood originally here (*tĕfillāthi* corrupted to *taklîthî* = *my end*).

[3] Here also a Hebrew corruption may be suspected, *lĕhebel* = "into vanity," having been misread *lĕḥebel*.

[4] Added by Syriac (? from next clause).

[5] Or *at first*.

[6] Cf. Dan. viii. 17 f., x. 9 f., 15; Rev. i. 17.

[7] Cf. Dan. x. 18.

[8] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17.

[9] Probably a word has fallen out of the Syriac text here.

[10] The vision is still present to his mind's eye.

[11] L. *to express*; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4.

[12] Cf. v. 15, vi. 13, 17, x. 30: L. and other versions *like a man*.

[13] L. *advise*.

[14] Ethiop. *suddenly*: L. *to no purpose*.

35. Because I have seen what I do not understand,[1] and hear what I am incompetent (to grasp).[2]
36. Or is it that my understanding deceiveth me,[3]
and my soul[4] beholdeth a dream[4]?

37. But now I beseech thee, my Lord, make known to thy servant concerning this fearful vision.[5]

38. And he answered and said to me:
Hear me and I will teach thee,
and reveal[6] to thee concerning the things thou art afraid of[7];
because the Most High hath revealed to thee many secrets.

39. For he hath seen thy right conduct,
how[8] thou grievest much[9] for thy people,
[and mournest much for thy people,][10]
and mournest much for Sion.

40. This, then, is the matter[11]: 41. The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, who was mourning and whom thou didst begin to console, 42. and now[12] she appeareth not as a woman to thee,[12] but hath appeared to thee as a City that is being built[13]: 43. and whereas[14] she told thee of the misfortune of her son—this is the explanation: 44. This woman whom thou hast seen, this is Sion which thou now seest[15] as a City being built.[13] 45. And whereas[14] she said to thee concerning herself that she had been barren thirty years—(it is) because[16] she was in the world[16] three thousand[17] years when no offering was

[1] Or *have not understood (known)*.
[2] Lit. (*what*) *I am unversed* (or *unskilful*) *in*.
[3] L. *is deceived*. [4] L. *dreameth*. [5] L. *this perplexity*.
[6] L. *tell*. [7] Cf. v. 32, vii. 49. [8] Lit. *that*.
[9] So Ethiop.; L. *continually*.
[10] Accidental repetition in the Syriac text.
[11] = οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, "the matter is as follows."
[12] L. *thou seest the likeness of the woman no more*.
[13] Cf. L. (*in building*): the participle is used in Syr. οἰκοδομουμένη.
[14] Lit. *that*.
[15] In vision. The woman = Sion, *i.e.* the heavenly Jerusalem (see *E.A.*, pp. 232 ff.).
[16] Probably originally "there were in the world."
[17] L. *three* (*years*); see *E.A.*, p. 237.

offered in her.[1] 46. And it came to pass after three thousand years[2] Solomon[3] built the city and offered therein offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son.[4] 47. And whereas she told thee that she reared him †with labour†,[5] that is the dwelling of[6] Jerusalem. 48. And whereas she said to thee: My son entered into his (marriage) chamber and died[7]—this (was) the fall [and misfortune][8] of Jerusalem. 49. And [whereas][9] thou hast seen her likeness,[10] how that she mourneth for her sons,[11] and thou didst begin to console her for what had befallen her[12]—

50. And now the Most High hath seen
that thou art grieved with all thy soul,
and with all thy heart sorrowest on her account:
And he hath shewn thee the light of her glory,
and the beauty of her loveliness.

51. Therefore I bade thee await me[13] in the field where no house hath been builded; 52. for I knew

[1] Perhaps *in it* (the world) is the right text (see *E.A.*, p. 237)—*in her* can only mean "in the heavenly Sion"; the earthly Jerusalem (= the "son" here) only became the Holy City when David instituted the sacrificial cultus in it; cf. iii. 24.

[2] The 3000 years apparently represents the interval of time from the Creation to the founding of the Temple, according to the Hebrew text; see *E.A.*, p. 238.

[3] According to iii. 24, David was the founder of the Holy City; perhaps *David* should be read here (see *E.A.*, p. 238).

[4] *i.e.* the earthly Jerusalem probably.

[5] So read (slightly emending text); text has *world*.

[6] *i.e.* probably the Divine Presence (Shekinah) in the Temple, which was constantly interrupted by sin.

[7] L. + *and that misfortune befell her* (so Ar.[1]; cf. also Ethiop.).

[8] Added by Syriac (? part of the omitted previous clause). Note that the death of the son = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem (*i.e.* the son = the earthly Jerusalem).

[9] Lit. *that*; perhaps to be omitted, otherwise the sentence has no conclusion.

[10] *i.e.* probably the heavenly pattern of Sion (the heavenly Jerusalem); cf. Heb. xi. 10, 16, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

[11] So Ethiop., but the other Versions rightly *son*.

[12] A gloss in L. (some MSS.) adds *these were the things to be opened unto thee*: the other Versions omit.

[13] L. *remain*.

that the Most High was about to reveal all these
things to thee. [53. Therefore I bade thee come into
a place [1] where no foundation of a building is; 54. for
no work [2] of man could remain in the place where the
City of the Most High was about to be revealed.] [3] 55.
But be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be dis-
quieted, but go in and see [4] the light of the glory [4]
and the vastness of her building, as far as the sight
of thine eyes alloweth [5] thee to see; 56. and after-
wards thou shalt hear as far as the hearing of thine
ears alloweth [5] thee to hear.[6]

57. For thou art blessed above many,
and art named [7] before the Most High as (but) few! [8]

Transition to the Fifth Vision (X. 58-59)

58. But on the night of to-morrow thou shalt
remain here [9]; 59. and the Most High will shew thee
[10] a vision of those revelations [10] which the Most High
will do to the inhabitants of the earth in the last
days.

[1] L. *the field*.

[2] L. *building-work*.

[3] Vers. 51-52 and 53-54 are doublets apparently, though all the Versions attest them; see *E.A.*, p. 241.

[4] L. *the brightness*.

[5] Lit. sufficeth.

[6] The seer saw and heard much more than is recorded; this implies a real experience: note that the City is regarded as still standing before the seer: with vers. 55-56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[7] *i. e.* singled out by name for special honour.

[8] The true sequel appears to be contained in xii. 39^b, xiii. 57–58 and xii. 40–48 (see *E.A.*, p. 242).

[9] *i. e.* in the field of Ardat.

[10] L. *those visions in dreams* (*i.e.* dream-visions); cf. Ethiop.; the sense seems to require *in dream-visions*.

VISION V

(THE EAGLE VISION)[1] (X. 60—XII. 51)

The Vision (X. 60—XII. 3*a*)

60. And I slept there[2] the next night as he commanded me.

XI. 1. And it came to pass in the second night I saw a vision[3]: and lo! there came up out of the sea[4] an eagle[5] [that (was) very large in its size],[6] and he had twelve wings[7] and three heads.[8] 2. And I saw, and lo! he spread his wings in[9] the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him,[10] and the clouds gathered together unto him. 3. And I saw that from his wings were born[11] wings small and little and petty.[11] 4. But his heads were at rest; but the middle head was greater than these others; and yet it also was resting with them. 5. And I saw,

[1] This famous vision is directed against the Roman Empire symbolized by the Eagle.

[2] L. + *that night and*.

[3] L. *dream* (Ethiop. *in a dream*); a dream-vision is meant.

[4] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; Rev. xiii. 1.

[5] The eagle is a specially appropriate symbol of the Roman Empire whose military emblem was the eagle.

[6] Absent from other Versions.

[7] So all the Versions except L., which has *feathered wings*. For the significance of these cf. *E. A.*, p. 261 f.

[8] *i.e.* in the original form of the vision the three Flavian Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.

[9] So L. and Ethiop.; but Ar.[2] Arm. *over*.

[10] Cf. xiii. 3.

[11] L. *anti-wings and they became wings petty and small*: other Versions *little wings* for *anti-wings*; apparently usurpers or military rivals of the Emperors are meant whose activity was short-lived.

and lo! the eagle commanded[1] his wings to reign over the whole earth and over the inhabitants thereof. 6. And I saw how there became subject to him everything beneath the heavens, and not one thing resisted[2] him of the creatures upon the earth. 7. And I saw, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and emitted the voice[3] to his wings, and said to them: [Go, rule over the whole earth! 8. But now rest ye],[4] and do not all wake[5] at once, but sleep each one of you in his place, and wake[5] by times;[6] 9. but let the heads be preserved for the last! 10. And I saw that his voice did not proceed from his heads, but from the midst of his body. 11. And I numbered his little wings,[7] and they [also][8] were eight. 12. And I saw, and lo! there arose on the right side[9] one wing[10] and reigned over the whole earth. 13. And I saw[11] that its end came and it was destroyed,[12] so that even its place was not known.[13] And [I saw, and lo!][14] the second wing[15] arose, and it also ruled over the whole earth a long time; 14. and it came to pass when it had reigned, its end came that it should be destroyed,[12] as the first. 15. And lo! a voice was heard which said to it: 16. Hear thou who for the whole of this time hast held the earth; this [message][16] I announce to thee before thou shalt be destroyed[12]: 17. None of those

[1] L. *flew with* (rightly).
[2] Or *gainsaid*.
[3] *i.e.* uttered his voice (a Hebraism).
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] Or *watch*: each wing (a pair of wings) is to be active for a limited time, and in succession.
[6] *i.e.* for successive limited periods.
[7] L. *anti-wings*.
[8] Added by Syriac; L. *lo!*
[9] See *E.A.*, p. 252.
[10] Perhaps originally *one from the pairs of wings*: see *E.A.*, p. 252.
[11] L. *and it came to pass* (cf. the other Versions).
[12] = ἀφανίζεσθαι; L. *appeared no more* (R.V.).
[13] L. and other versions *appeared no more* (was not visible).
[14] Absent from the other Versions.
[15] = probably Augustus (the first wing or pair of wings = Julius Cæsar).
[16] Added by Syriac.

who (shall be) after thee shall hold (rule) as[1] the whole of this time,[2] yea, not as[1] the half of it![3] 18. And [I saw, and lo!][4] the third wing arose and ruled, it also as [5]its former companions,[5] [over the whole earth][6]; and it also was destroyed[7] [as the preceding].[6] 19. And so it happened to all the wings that [8]each one of them[8] ruled and again were destroyed.[7] 20. And I saw, and lo! in time the little wings also arose on the right side, so that they might hold (rule over) [the earth],[9] and some of them held (rule), but were destroyed[7] suddenly: 21. and some of them arose, but did not hold the rule. 22. And I saw after this that his[10] twelve wings were destroyed,[7] and (also) two of the little wings; 23. and there was left nothing of the eagle's body save only the three heads that were at rest and six little wings. 24. And I saw, and lo! from the little wings two wings separated themselves, and [11]went and rose up[11] under the head[12] that was upon the right side; but four remained in their place. 25. And I saw, and lo! these [13]four little wings[13] thought to rise up and to hold the rule. 26. And I saw, and lo! one rose up,[14] but immediately was destroyed;[7] 27. and again the second,[15] but it also was immediately destroyed[7] (more quickly)[16] than the first. 28. And I saw, and lo! the two[17] that remained of them

[1] = "anything like."
[2] L. *thy time* only (for *as the whole of this time*).
[3] The long reign of Augustus fits this description.
[4] Absent from the other Versions.
[5] L. *the former* (cf. Ethiop.).
[6] Absent in L. and the other Versions.
[7] See note [12] to ver. 13 above.
[8] L. *one by one*.
[9] Added by Syriac.
[10] L. *the*.
[11] L. *remained*; so Ethiop.
[12] *i.e.* probably, according to the original meaning of the vision, Domitian: who are represented by the two little wings it is difficult to say; see *E.A.*, p. 255, for suggestions.
[13] L. *under-wings*.
[14] ? Galba.
[15] ? Piso or Otho.
[16] The comparative has accidentally fallen out of the Syriac text.
[17] ? Civilis and Vitellius.

thought [of them][1] that they also should hold the principate[2]; 29. and while they were thinking [to rule over the earth, I saw, and][3] lo! one of the heads which were at rest, the middle one,[4] awoke; and it was greater than the two other heads. 30. [. . .][5] the two [6]of them[6] with itself; 31. and[7] with the two, that were with it, it turned and devoured the two little wings[8] which thought to reign. 32. But this head held (rule over) all the earth, and oppressed[9] its inhabitants with much hardship, and wielded power[10] over the inhabited world[11] more than all the wings that had been. 33. And after this I saw, and lo! suddenly[12] the middle head was destroyed,[13] it also even as the †wings†.[14] 34. But there remained two heads, (which) also ruled over the whole earth, and over its inhabitants. 35. And I saw, and lo! the head which was upon the right side devoured that upon the left.[15] 36. And I heard a voice which said to me: Look in front of thee, [Ezra],[16] and see,[17] what thou seest [(at) the end]![18] 37. And I saw, and lo! as it were a lion that was roused out of the wood, [crying and][18] roaring. And I heard how he uttered a man's voice to[19] the eagle, and spake and said to him: 38. Hear, [thou eagle],[18] and I will talk[20] to thee: The Most High saith to thee: 39. Art thou not it that art left of the

[1] Accidentally repeated from the previous clause.
[2] L. (cf. Ethiop.) *to reign*.
[3] Absent in L. and the other Versions.
[4] ? Vespasian.
[5] There is something missing here in the Syriac; L. *and I beheld how it allied*.
[6] L. *heads*. [7] L. + *and lo! the head*. [8] L. *under-wings*.
[9] Lit. *humbled*. [10] Or *prevailed*. [11] = *ἡ οἰκουμένη*.
[12] So L.; other Versions omit.
[13] See note [12] on ver. 13 above.
[14] Syr. text has *wing*.
[15] *i.e.* Domitian (the right head) compassed the death of Titus (the left head), as was popularly supposed at the time: see *E.A.*, p. 157.
[16] Absent from the other Versions.
[17] L. *consider*. [18] Peculiar to the Syriac.
[19] Or *against*. [20] Lit. *say*.

four beasts[1] which I had made to reign over my world, and that through them the end of the[2] times might come? 40. Thou, however, the fourth, art come, and hast overcome all the beasts who are past;

and thou hast wielded power over the world with great hardship,[3]
and over the whole inhabited earth with [4]bitter violence[4];
and thou hast dwelt in the inhabited earth full long with fraud,
and hast judged the earth, (but) not with truth.

42. For thou hast [5]plundered and robbed[5] the [6]humble and true,[6]
and evil entreated the meek[7];
and hast hated the upright,[8]
and loved the deceitful[9];
and hast overthrown the strongholds of such as were flourishing,[10]
and laid low the walls of those who did thee no harm—

43. And (so) thine insolence[11] hath ascended unto the Most High,
and . . .[12] unto the Mighty One.

44. And the Most High regarded his times,
and lo! they were ended[13];
and his æons[14] were fulfilled.[15]

[1] Cf. Dan. vii. 3; the eagle is identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii.
[2] L. *my*.
[3] L. *terror* (*trembling*).
[4] L. *grievous oppression*.
[5] L. *hast afflicted*.
[6] L. *meek*.
[7] L. *quiet* (or *peaceable*).
[8] L. *them that speak truth*.
[9] Or *liars* (? an allusion to Jewish informers).
[10] L. *them that were fruitful* (*i. e.* prosperous).
[11] Or *insult*.
[12] A word has fallen out accidentally in the Syriac; L. *thy pride*: cf. for the whole ver. Isa. xxx. 29.
[13] The predetermined end has come.
[14] = the word usually rendered *world* (*αἰών*).
[15] Cf. Gal. iv. 4.

45. Therefore shalt thou be utterly destroyed,[1] thou eagle,
and thy highest [2] wings,
and thy [3] little and evil wings,[3]
and thy bitter [4] heads,
and thy evil talons,
and thy whole [5] hateful and evil [5] body;
46. so that the whole earth may be rested and relieved now that she hath been freed from [6] violence, that she may hope for the judgement [7] and the mercy of her Maker.

XII. 1. And it came to pass when the lion had spoken these words unto the eagle, 2. I saw, and lo! the head that was left was destroyed [1] [suddenly].[8] And then the two wings [9] which went over unto it rose up in order to reign; and their principate had an end [10] and was full of uproar. 3*a*. And I saw that these also were destroyed [1] and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was greatly amazed.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XII. 3*b*-39)

3*b*. But I from great agitation [11] and much fear awoke, and said to my spirit: 4. Thou hast wrought all these things unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High!

5. And lo! I am [12] enfeebled in my soul,[12]
and my spirit [13] is much diminished,
nor is there left in me the least [14] strength because

[1] L. *appear no more* (cf. note on xi. 13 above).
[2] As opposed to the *little wings* = L. *horrible*.
[3] L. *little wings most evil*.
[4] L. *cruel*.
[5] L. *vain* (or *worthless*).
[6] L. + *thy*.
[7] Here *judgement* means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is destroyed, not the judgement of the last day.
[8] Absent in the other Versions.
[9] So all the Versions (we should expect *little wings*).
[10] L. *was short*.
[11] L. + *of mind*: cf. x. 28.
[12] L. *yet weary in my mind*.
[13] L. *in my spirit*.
[14] Lit. *not even a little*.

of the great fear which I have experienced[1] in this night. 6. And now I will petition the Most High, and he will[2] strengthen me unto the end. 7. And I said: O Lord, my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, and if [3]in truth I have blessing (laid up)[3] with thee above many, and if in very deed[4] my prayer hath ascended before [the majesty of][5] thy countenance— 8. strengthen me and make known to me, thy servant, the interpretation and explanation of this [6]vision that I have seen,[6] in order that thou mayest completely[7] comfort my soul! 9. For hast thou not counted me worthy to reveal to me the consummation of the times and the end of the periods?[8]

10. And he answered and said to me: This is the interpretation of the vision that thou hast seen: 11. The eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea—this is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel[9]; 12. but it was not interpreted to him as I interpret (it) to thee now, [10]or as I have interpreted (it) to thee.[10]

13. Behold the days come when a kingdom shall arise upon the earth, and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms which have been before it. 14. And twelve kings shall reign in it, one after another,[11] 15. But the second,[12] when he shall reign, shall hold (the rule) a longer time than (any of)

[1] Lit. *feared.* [2] L. *that he may.* [3] L. *I am justified.*
[4] Lit. *in truth* (but a different word from that used in the previous part of the verse).
[5] Absent from the other Versions; cf. vi. 32.
[6] L. *fearful vision* (so Ethiop. Ar.[1]): *that I have seen* is probably a corruption in Syriac of *fearful.*
[7] This implies that partial consolation had already been given (in the vision of the heavenly Sion); see *E.A.*, p. 267.
[8] See *E.A.*, p. 267 f.
[9] Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is an interesting case of re-interpretation of prophecy; see *E.A.*, p. 268.
[10] ? an ancient gloss.
[11] *i. e.* apparently the "twelve Cæsars," according to the later (not the original) meaning of the vision; see *E.A.*, p. 268.
[12] *i. e.* Augustus.

the twelve. 16. This is the interpretation of the twelve wings which thou hast seen. 17. And whereas thou didst see[1] a voice which spake and did not emerge from the head[2] of the eagle, but from the midst of his body, this is the meaning[3]: 18. (because)[4] in the midst of the time[5] of that kingdom there shall be [6]many divisions,[6] and it shall be in danger[7] of falling; and it shall not fall then, but shall be re-established to its [8]former rule.[8] 19. And whereas thou didst see eight little wings[9] grow under his wings, this is the meaning[3]: 20. for there shall arise in it eight kings whose times shall be swift and whose periods hurried: 21. and two[10] of them shall perish when [11]the time shall come that divideth,[11] and four shall be kept for the time when its time cometh to be ended[12]; but two shall be kept for the consummation. 22. And whereas thou didst see in him three heads resting, this is the meaning[3]: 23. at the end of the times the Most High will arouse three kings[13]; and they shall renew many things therein, and shall grind[14] the earth 24. and its inhabitants with much hardship, more than all those that were before them. Therefore are they called the heads of the eagle; 25. for these are they who shall renew[15] his wickedness, and they shall consummate his end.

[1] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. Arm. *hear*.
[2] So Ethiop. Ar.[1], but L. *heads*.
[3] = *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος*; cf. x. 40.
[4] ὅτι (mistranslated)—here = *that*.
[5] *i. e.* between Nero and Vespasian.
[6] L. *no small contentions*: Ethiop. *much uproar*.
[7] = *κινδυνεύσει*.
[8] L. *to its beginning* (= εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς), misunderstanding Greek;
[9] L. *under-wings*.
[10] *i. e.* in the last days of Nero; ? Vindex and Nymphidius (see *E.A.*, p. 270).
[11] L. *the middle time approacheth*.
[12] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 270.
[13] So all the Versions except L. which has *three kingdoms*.
[14] Or *oppress*: L. *bear rule over*.
[15] = ἀνακαινώσουσιν; L. *bring to a head* = ἀνακεφαλαιώσουσιν, which is right (Syriac misread); see *E.A.*, p. 271.

26. And whereas thou didst see one great head destroyed[1]—(it is) because[2] only[3] one of them shall die upon his bed, but he also tormented[4]; 27. but as for the two who are left, the sword shall devour them; 28. because the sword of the one[5] shall devour his companion[6]; nevertheless he also shall fall by the sword at the end.[7] 29. And whereas thou didst see two wings[8] go over unto the head on the right side, this is the meaning[9]: 30. These are they whom the Most High hath set apart for his[10] end, and their kingdom shall[11] have an end,[11] and it shall be full of uproar, as thou hast seen. 31. And that thou didst see the lion that was roused out of the wood, crying and roaring and speaking to the eagle, and (that) he was reproving him for his iniquity, and all the[12] words,[13] as thou hast heard: 32. this is the[14] Messiah whom the Most High hath kept for the consummation of the days, who shall spring from the seed of David,[14] and shall come and speak with them;

> and he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
> and for their baseness admonish[15] them,
> and set in order[16] before them their iniquity.

33. For he shall station them[17] before me[17] in their judgement,[18] alive; and it shall be when he rebuketh

[1] Cf. note on xi. 13 above.

[2] = ὅτι introducing direct speech (misunderstood by the Syriac translator).

[3] Cf. Ethiop.; L. omits.

[4] ? Trajan (according to the later interpretation of the vision); see *E.A.*, p. 271 f.

[5] ? Hadrian.

[6] ? Lusius Quietus (see *E.A.*, p. 272).

[7] This seems to be pure prediction.

[8] L. *under-wings*.

[9] Cf. note [3] on ver. 17 above.

[10] *i.e.* the eagle's.

[11] L. *be short*.

[12] L. *his*.

[13] = λόγων which may = *deeds* here; see *E.A.*, p. 272.

[14] *Messiah . . . from seed of David*: cf. Rev. v. 5; for the mixed representation (pre-existent yet born) cf. *E.A.*, p. 273; for the lacuna in L. of this verse cf. R.V.

[15] Or *correct*.

[16] = ἐπιτάξει = L. (*infulciet*) = ἐπιπλήξει; see *E.A.*, p. 273.

[17] Or *first* (different points) which = L.

[18] L. *in judgement*.

them, then he shall destroy them.[1] 34. But my people who have been left he shall deliver in mercy, (even) them who have remained[2] within my borders[3]; and he shall make them joyful until the consummation of[4] the Day of Judgement cometh concerning which I have spoken with thee previously.[5] 35. This is the vision[6] thou hast seen, and this is its interpretation. 36. And thou alone hast been found worthy to have knowledge of the mystery of the Most High. 37. Write therefore in a book all these things that thou hast seen, and put them in a hidden place[7]; 38. and teach them to the wise of thy people,[8] (even to them) whose hearts thou knowest are able, comprehending,[9] to keep these mysteries.

39*a*. But do thou endure here yet seven days more, that there may be revealed to thee what the Most High willeth to reveal to thee!

Conclusion of the Vision (XII. 39*b*–48)

39*b*. And he departed from me.

40. And it came to pass when[10] the people saw[11] that seven days were past, and I not come[12] into the city, all the people gathered themselves together, from the small unto the great, [and arose][13] and came unto me and answered and said to me:

41. how[14] have we sinned against thee,
or what evil have we done to thee,
that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place?

[1] The godless are first rebuked, and then destroyed; see *E.A.*, p. 274.
[2] L. *been saved.*
[3] *i.e.* within the Holy Land.
[4] L. *even.*
[5] Or *from the first.*
[6] L. *dream*: cf. xi. 1.
[7] Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9; 1 Enoch lxxxii. 1, civ. 11–13, and in our Book xiv. 26, 47; see *E.A.*, p. 275.
[8] *i.e.* for the circle of the initiated; the esoteric tradition was preserved in secret.
[9] L. *to comprehend and.*
[10] L. + *all.*
[11] L. *heard.*
[12] L. *returned.*
[13] Absent from L.
[14] Lit. *what.*

42. For thou [1] art left to us of all the prophets
as a cluster out of the vintage,[2]
and as a light [3] in a dark place,[4]
and as a haven of life to a ship when it standeth in a storm.

43. Or are not the evils that have befallen us
sufficient [but that thou also shouldest forsake us] [5]?
44. But if thou forsake us, it had been well for us
if we also had been consumed in the burning of Sion!
45. For we are not better than those who perished
there. And I [6] wept with a loud voice.[7] 46. And I
answered and said to them:

Be of good cheer, Israel,
and be not sorrowful, House of Jacob.

47. For your remembrance is [8] with the Most High,
and the Mighty One doth [9] not forget you for ever.

48. But I have not forsaken you, and will not forsake [10]
you, but I have come to this place

to pray for the devastation of Sion,
and to ask mercy for our [11] Sanctuary's humiliation.

Transition to the Sixth Vision (XII. 49-51)

49. And now go ye every one to his own house and I
will come unto you [12] after these days.[12] 50. And the
people went into the city as I had bidden them.
51. But I sat in the field [13] seven days as he had
commanded me; and I ate of the flowers of the field
only, and of the herbs was my food in those days.

[1] Ethiop. and some MSS. of L. ; *alone* (but best MSS. of L. omit).

[2] Cf. ix. 21; Isa. xvii. 6, xxiv. 13.

[3] Or *lamp*.

[4] Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19 (? a citation from our passage).

[5] This clause has accidentally dropped out of L.

[6] So Ar.[1], but L., Ethiop., Ar.[2] have rightly *they* (Greek ἔκλαιον can be translated either way).

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* xxxii. 8.

[8] Cf. *E.A.*, p. 270.

[9] L. *hath not forgotten*.

[10] L. *depart from*, so Ethiop. Ar.[1]

[11] L. *your*.

[12] Viz. those mentioned in xii. 39.

[13] *i.e.* of Ardat (cf. ch. ix.).

VISION VI

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA) (XIII. 1–58)

The Vision (XIII. 1–13*a*)

XIII. 1. And it came to pass after seven days, and [1]I saw a vision[1] in the night: 2. and lo! a great[2] wind arose in[3] the sea, so that it stirred all its waves. 3. And I saw, [4][and lo! the wind brought up from the heart of the sea as it were the form of a Man. And I saw, and lo!][4] this man flew with the clouds of heaven[5]; and wherever he turned his face to look [and see][6] everything[7] before his look[7] trembled; 4. and whithersoever the voice of his mouth went out, all who heard his voice melted away as wax melteth when[8] the fire causeth it to smell.[8] 5. And after this I saw, and lo! there were gathered together a multitude of men innumerable, from the four winds of heaven to fight with the Man who came up out of the sea. 6. And I saw that he cut out for himself a lofty[9] mountain and flew [and stood][10] upon it.[11] 7. But I sought to see the region or place whence the mountain had been cut out, but could not. 8. And after this I saw, and lo! all who were gathered together to fight with him were in great fear, but yet

[1] L. *I dreamed a dream;* cf. xi. 1.

[2] *i. e.* violent; L. omits. [3] L. *from.*

[4] The bracketed words have been omitted in L. by homoioteleuton.

[5] Cf. Dan. vii. 13. [6] Absent from the other Versions.

[7] L. *seen under him.*

[8] L. *it feeleth the fire;* for the figure cf. Mic. i. 4; Ps. xcvii. 5; 1 Enoch i. 6 (of Theophanies).

[9] L. *great.* [10] Absent from the other Versions.

[11] Cf. (for the verse) Dan. ii. 45.

they dared to fight. 9. And when he saw the violence [1] [of the coming] [2] of their multitude that came, he did not lift up his hand, neither did he hold spear nor any of all the weapons of war; 10. but I saw how he sent out of his mouth only as it were waves [3] of fire, and out of his lips a breath of flame, and he was shooting forth [4] glowing coals of storm.[4] 11. And these were all mingled together—the waves of fire, and the breath of flame, and the mass [5] of the storm; and they fell upon the violence [1] [of the coming] [2] of [6] that multitudinous people [6] that was prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing was visible of that multitude of men without number save only dust of ashes and smell of smoke. And I saw and was amazed.

12. And after this I saw that Man come down from the mountain, and he called unto him another multitude of men that was peaceable.[7] 13*a*. And there drew nigh unto him the likeness [8] of many men; but some of them were glad, and some sad; and some of them were bound,[9] and some brought those who were to be offered.[10]

The Apocalyptist reflects on the Vision (XIII. 13*b*–24)

13*b*. But I through great agitation awoke; and I petitioned the Most High and said: 14. Thou from

[1] = τὴν ὁρμήν (*the assault*).

[2] This appears to be redundant (see other Versions).

[3] R.V. *flood*.

[4] L. (corrected text) *a storm of sparks*: the whole picture is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27; 1 Enoch lxii. 2: see *E.A.*, p. 288 f.

[5] So L.: we should expect the same term here as that used at the end of ver. 10 (*coals* or *sparks*); see *E.A.*, p. 289.

[6] L. *the multitude*.

[7] *i.e.* Messiah's subjects who are gathered after the destruction of his enemies; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27 f., and see *E.A.*, p. 289.

[8] L. *faces*.

[9] Heathen captives.

[10] Returning Jewish exiles brought by the heathen as an oblation; cf. *E.A.*, p. 290.

the beginning hast shewn thy servant these wonders, and ⌜while I am not worthy⌝[1] thou hast esteemed me (worthy) to receive my petition[2]: 15. and now reveal to me further the interpretation of this vision[3]! 16. For as I think in my mind[4]: woe to those who are left in those days, and yet much more woe to those who are not left! 17. Because (they) who are not left shall be grieved 18. over[5] that which is reserved for those who are left in the last days, but they do not attain thereto.

19. To those also who survive therefore woe! For they must see great perils with many distresses, as these visions[6] shew. 20. But yet it is expedient[7] that one should stand in peril and come into these things than that he should pass away as a cloud from the world and not see what happeneth at the consummation of the times.

21. And he answered and said to me: I will both tell thee the interpretation of thy vision, and also will reveal[8] to thee concerning those about whom thou hast spoken. 22. Whereas thou hast spoken concerning those who survive ⌜and concerning those who do not survive⌝[9]—this is the meaning[10]:

23. He that endureth[11] danger in that time, he shall keep those who lie in danger, even such as have [12]works and faith[12] towards ⌜the Most High and⌝[13] Mighty One. 24. See,[14] therefore, that more blessing is given to those who shall have survived than to those who have died.

[1] Absent from other Versions the Syriac text may here be out of order.

[2] Cf. ix. 24, 25.

[3] L. *dream*.

[4] Notice the reflective tone of vers. 16–20, and cf. *E.A.*, p. 291.

[5] L. *knowing as they do*.

[6] L. *dreams*.

[7] L. *easier*.

[8] L. *open*.

[9] So Ar.[1] (cf. Ethiop), but L. accidentally omits.

[10] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[11] A misrendering by the Syriac; L. rightly *he that bringeth the danger*, i. e. the Messiah.

[12] Cf. viii. 33, ix. 7.

[13] Accidentally omitted by L.

[14] L. *know*.

The Interpretation of the Vision (XIII. 25–53*a*)

25. But this is the interpretation[1] of thy[2] vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the sea — 26. he it is whom the Most High is keeping for long ages,[3] through whom[4] he will deliver his creation; and he shall bring through[5] those who are left. 27. And whereas thou didst see that from his mouth there issued[6] a breath of fire and of storm,[6] 28. and that he did not hold [in his hand][7] spear or warlike weapon, and destroyed the [8] massed coming[8] of that gathering which came to wage war with him—this is the meaning[9]:

29. Behold the days come, when the Most High † is about †[10] to deliver them that are upon the earth, 30. great horror shall come upon the inhabitants of the earth. 31. And they shall plan to fight one with another, city with city, and place with place, and people with people, and kingdom with kingdom.[11] 32. And it shall be when these[12] signs shall come to pass, of which I have previously told thee,[13] then shall my Son be revealed[14] whom thou sawest as a man coming up. 33. And when all the peoples hear his voice they shall leave every one of them his place and the warfare which is among them[15]; 34. and there

[1] So all the Versions except L., which has *these are the interpretations.*

[2] L. *the.*

[3] Lit. *for many times*: the reference is to the heavenly pre-existent Messiah (the *Son of Man* of 1 Enoch xxxvi.-lxx.).

[4] *i.e.* through the Messiah; but L. *which by his own self* (*i.e.* the Most High himself); cf. *E.A.*, p. 293.

[5] L. *order* (= διατάξει); Syriac may have read διάξει.

[6] L. *wind and fire and storm.*

[7] L. omits.

[8] Lit. *mass of the coming*: L. *assault.*

[9] Cf. xii. 17 note.

[10] So read (*dĕ'āthîd*); Syriac text *will make*; Versions support correction.

[11] Cf. Isa. xix. 2; Matt. xxiv. 7.

[12] L. + *things shall happen and the.*

[13] Cf. ix. 1.

[14] Cf. vii. 28.

[15] L. *they have one against another.*

shall be gathered together men without number,[1] as thou didst see that they desired to come and wage war with that Man. 35. But he will stand upon the top of Mount Sion[2]; 36. and Sion shall come and be revealed to all, prepared and builded,[3] as thou didst see the mountain that was cut out without hands. 37. But he, my Son, shall reprove those peoples who are come for their ungodliness, which things[4] are like unto a storm; 38. and shall set in order[5] before them their wicked deeds and the torment wherewith they are destined to be tormented; but after this he [6]that was likened to a flame[6] shall destroy them[7] without labour by the Law[8] of him who[8] hath been likened unto fire.

39. And whereas[9] he summoned and gathered unto himself another [10]multitudinous mass[10] that was peaceable[11]: 40. these are the nine and a half tribes,[12] which were led captive out of their land in the days of Josiah[13] the King, which (tribes) Salmanassar[14] the King of the Assyrians led captive, and brought them to the other side of the River [Euphrates][15]; and they were led captive to another land. 41. For

[1] *i.e.* the heathen hosts arrayed against the people of God and led by Gog and Magog; the battle of Armageddon; cf. Ezek. xxxviii.–ix.; Rev. xvi. 16, and see *E.A.*, p. 294 f.

[2] Here identified with the mountain cut out without hands; cf. Ps. ii. 6, and see *E.A.*, p. 295.

[3] *i.e.* the heavenly Sion (in the previous verse the earthly Sion is meant).

[4] *i.e.* the rebukes.

[5] Cf. xii. 32 note.

[6] This clause is misplaced in Syriac; it should come at end of previous verse (*which were likened*, etc.); cf. L.

[7] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxii. 2 f.; apparently all the heathen are included in this multitude; see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[8] L. *that* (*i.e.* the Law, not the Lawgiver, is compared to fire).

[9] L. + *thou didst see that.*

[10] L. *multitude.*

[11] Lit. *of peace.*

[12] So other Oriental Versions; but L. *ten*: see *E.A.*, p. 296.

[13] A historical error: Hoshea was the name of the King (cf. 2 Kings xvii.).

[14] Syr. text *Salbanassar* (same mistake in text of *Ap. Bar.* lxii. 6).

[15] Absent from other Versions.

they [had deliberated among themselves and][1] had taken this counsel that they would leave the multitude of the peoples and go to an inner[2] region where never the race of men had dwelt, 42. that there also they might keep their Law which they had not kept in their own land. 43. And they entered in through the narrow passages of the Euphrates. 44. For the Most High then wrought marvels[3] for them; for he held back the sources[4] of the River until they had all passed over,[5] 45. that they might proceed †to the dry land†.[6] It was a great way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that region was called Arsaph,[7] [(at) the end of the world.][8] 46. And they have dwelt there until the last time. And then[9] when they are about to come again, 47. the Most High will again hold back the sources[4] of the River [Euphrates],[10] that they may be able to pass over. Therefore hast thou seen the multitude of men[11] that was gathered together in peace. 48. But they also that are left from thy people [shall live],[10] they who are found within my holy borders. 49. And it shall be when he shall destroy the multitude of the peoples that are gathered together, he will protect the people that remain; 50. and then will he shew them many marvels.

51. And I said further to him: O Lord my Lord, make known to me this, wherefore I have seen the Man to come up from the heart of the sea.

52. And he answered and said to me: Just as one hath not the power to search out [and find][12] or to know what is in the depths[13] of the sea, so can none

[1] L. omits. [2] L. *further*. [3] L. *signs*.
[4] Lit. *outlets*. [5] Cf. Josh. iii. 15.
[6] So read (by a slight emendation).
[7] Ethiop. *Asaph*: L. correctly *Arzareth* (= *'ereṣ 'aḥereth*, "another land" of Deut. xxix. 25 f. (Heb. 24 f.); see *E.A.*, p. 298).
[8] Peculiar to the Syriac.
[9] So Ethiop., but L. *now*.
[10] Absent from the other Versions.
[11] L. *multitude*. [12] Absent in other Versions.
[13] Other Versions (except Arm.) have sing.

of those who are upon the earth see my Son or them that are with him,[1] except in that time in his day.[2] 53*a*. This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen.

Transition to the Seventh Vision (XIII. 53*b*–58)

53*b*. Therefore there hath been revealed to thee these things, to thee alone,

54. because thou hast forsaken the things that are thine own,
and hast devoted thyself to the things which are ours,[3]
and hast searched out [4] the things of the Law.[4]

55. For thy life thou hast directed in wisdom,
and hast called discernment "my[5] mother."

56. Therefore have I shewed thee these things; for (there is) a reward with the Most High.

And it shall be after three[6] days I will speak other things with thee, and will explain to thee [7] the last marvels.[7]

57. And I went and walked in the field [8] much and praised [8] the Most High for the marvels which he had wrought at (different) times,[9] 58. and (because) he directeth the times and what cometh in the times. And I sat [10] there three days.

[1] *i.e.* Messiah's companions? cf. vii. 28: or possibly a host of angels; cf. *E.A.*, p. 300.
[2] Cf. Luke xvii. 22.
[3] L. *mine* (possibly we ought so to read here).
[4] L. *my Law*.
[5] L. *thy*; cf. Prov. vii. 4.
[6] L. + *more*.
[7] So Ar.[1]; but L. *things difficult and marvellous*.
[8] L. *and praised much*.
[9] R.V. *from time to time*.
[10] i. e. *abode* (a Hebraism).

VISION VII

(THE EZRA LEGEND) (Ch. XIV)

Ezra's Commission (XIV. 1–17)

XIV. 1. And it came to pass after this,[1] while I
was sitting under an oak,[2] and lo! a voice came out
from a bush [3] opposite me, and answered and said
to me: Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Behold (here) am
I![4] And I rose upon my feet, and he said to me:
3. I did manifestly reveal myself from the bush,
and talked with Moses when my people was enslaved
in Egypt; 4. and I sent him, and he [5] led my people
out of Egypt [and brought them into the wilderness] [6]
and led them up to [7] Mount Sinai; and I held him
by me many days,

5. and explained to him many marvels,
and made known to him the secrets of the times, and shewed him the consumption of the periods;[8]

and I said to him: 6. Of these words some [9] shalt
thou keep secret, and some reveal.[9]

[1] L. (Ar.[1], Arm.) *the third day.*

[2] Some well-known oak (? near or in Jerusalem); cf. *Ap. Bar.* vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, and see *E.A.*, p. 307.

[3] Cf. Exod. iii. 4.

[4] L. + *Lord* (so Ar.[2]), but other Versions omit.

[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and some MSS. of L., but other MSS. and Ethiop. and Arm., *I.*

[6] So Ar.[1]: absent from other Versions.

[7] Lit. *caused them to ascend.*

[8] *i.e.* the sacred eschatological tradition, which was associated with the name of Moses (cf. the *Assumption of Moses*); see *E.A.*, p. 308.

[9] These clauses are inverted in the other Versions: the secret "words" = Apocalyptic tradition; the published "words" = the Pentateuch ("Law of Moses").

7. And now I do say to thee, [Ezra][1]: 8. The signs which I have shewed thee previously, and the visions which thou hast seen, and their interpretation which thou hast heard—lay them up in thine heart, [and hide them].[1] 9. For thou shalt be taken up from men and shalt be henceforth with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.

10. For the world hath lost its youth,[2]
and the times are nigh to old age.[3] . . . .
13. Now, therefore, set in order thine house,[4]
and warn thy people;
and console their lowly ones,
[and instruct their wise];[5]
and give up henceforth[6] this life corruptible,
14. [7] And let go from thee the burden[8] of men,
and let go the thoughts of death,[7]
and cast off now the weak nature,
and lay aside these thoughts that oppress thee,
and hasten to remove[9] from these times!

15. [10] For the evils that thou hast seen, which have come to pass now—even worse than these shall yet happen after them.[10] 16. For as the world diminisheth through old age, so evils multiply upon the inhabitants of the earth.

17. For truth withdraweth further off,
and falsehood approacheth;[11]

for already lo! there hasteneth to come the eagle that thou hast seen in vision.

[1] Added by Syriac.
[2] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxxv. 10, and in our Book v. 50–55.
[3] Lit. *to be old:* vers. 11–12 are absent from Syriac and Arm.; they may possibly be a later insertion, see *E.A.*, p. 310, and cf. R.V.
[4] *i. e.* the House of Israel.
[5] So Oriental Versions; L. omits.
[6] Or *now*.
[7] These clauses are thus transposed in the Syriac; other Versions invert; cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.
[8] L. *burdens*.
[9] Cf. Isa. lvii. 1.
[10] L. *for yet worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen shall be done hereafter* (R.V.).
[11] Cf. vi. 27, 28, vii. 24.

Ezra prays for Inspiration (XIV. 18–26)

18. And I answered and said: Let me speak before thee, Lord! 19. Behold, I go as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who exist; those, however, who are yet to be born—who is to warn them?

20. For the world is set in darkness,
and its inhabitants (are) without light.[1]

21. For the Law is burnt,[2] and no one knoweth the works that thou hast done,[3] or what thou art about to do.[4] 22. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me, [Lord],[5] the Holy Spirit, and I will write all that hath happened in the world, from the beginning everything that hath been written in thy Law,[6] that men may be enabled to find the path,[7] and that they who would live at the last[8] may[9] know the way.[9]

23. And he answered and said to me: Go and gather together thy people, and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.[10] 24. But do thou prepare for thyself many writing-tablets, and take with thee Seraia and Daria[11] and Shelemia, together with Helkana and Shiel,[12] these five[13] men, because they are equipped for writing quickly; 25. and thou shalt come hither and I will light in thine heart a lamp of discernment which shall not be extinguished until

[1] *i.e.* without the light of the Law; cf. for the general idea Ephes. vi. 12.
[2] Cf. iv. 23.
[3] *i.e.* the historical Books of the O.T.
[4] *i.e.* the eschatological parts of the O.T.
[5] Absent from the other Versions.
[6] *Law* in the wide sense = the Holy Scriptures (of the O.T.); see *E.A.*, p. 313.
[7] Ethiop. + *of life* (a correct gloss).
[8] Cf. *Ap. Bar.* lxxvi. 5; for *life* = eternal life in such contexts; cf. *E.A.*, p. 313.
[9] L. *live*.
[10] Moses was in the mount 40 days (cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28); Ezra is the "second Moses."
[11] Read *Dabria* as in L.
[12] ? *Asihel*.
[13] See *E.A.*, p. 314.

thou shalt complete what thou art about to write. 26. And when thou shalt have finished, some of them thou shalt make public,[1] and some thou shalt [2] conceal, and shalt deliver them [2] to the wise; [for] [3] to-morrow at this time thou shalt begin to write.

Ezra's Last Words (XIV. 27–36)

27. And I went, as he had commanded me, and gathered together all the people, and said to them: [4] 28. Hear, Israel, these words. 29. Our fathers were formerly [5] strangers in the land of Egypt, and were delivered from thence. 30. And they received the Law of life [6] and kept it not, which [7] you also after them have transgressed. 31. And a land was given to you for an inheritance in the land of Sion; but you and your fathers have committed iniquity and have not kept the ways which [8] Moses, the servant of the Lord [8] commanded you. 32. But the Most High, who is a judge of truth,[9] took from you [10] what for a time [10] had been given to you. 33. And now ye are here in distress, and your brethren [11] are (further) inland (removed) from you [11] in another land.

34. If ye, then, will [12] admonish your soul,[12]
and will discipline your heart;
ye shall be preserved [13] in your life,[13]

[1] *i.e.* publish to all.
[2] L. *deliver in secret.*
[3] Added by Syriac.
[4] For the following cf. Moses' farewell discourse in Deut. (chs. xxvii.–xxxi.).
[5] Or *at the beginning.*
[6] *i.e.* which could win life and immortality for those who observed it; cf. ix. 31 f.
[7] So L. (? read *even as*; see *E.A.*, p. 316).
[8] L. (Arm. Ethiop.) *the Most High*: the Syriac inserts *the Most High* at the beginning of the following verse.
[9] *i.e.* a true or faithful judge.
[10] L. *in due time what*: see *E.A.*, p. 316.
[11] Or *are further inland than you* (cf. Ethiop.): L. *are among you* (*i.e.* the Ten Tribes have already returned); see *E.A.*, p. 316 f.
[12] L. *rule over your understanding.*
[13] L. *alive.*

and after death mercy shall befall[1] you.
35. For judgement cometh after death,
when we live again;
and then shall the name[2] of the righteous be revealed,
and the works of the ungodly be made manifest.
36. But let none approach unto me nor seek me for forty days.

The Restoration of the Scriptures (XIV. 37–48)

37. And I took these five man as he had commanded me, and went into the field, and we remained there [as he had told me].[3] 38. And it came to pass on the morrow,[4] and lo! a voice called to me, and said:

Ezra, [Ezra],[5] open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!

39. And I opened my mouth and saw, (and lo!) there came[6] to me a full cup, and it was full as it were (of) water, and its appearance[7] was like fire.[8] 40. And I took and drank. And it came to pass when I had drunk it, lo!

My heart overflowed with discernment,
and[9] my breast poured forth wisdom,[9]
and my spirit retained memory.[10]

41. And my mouth was opened and was not shut.
42. But the Most High gave understanding to the five men, and they wrote the things that were dic-

[1] Lit. *be upon*.
[2] L. *names*.
[3] So Ar.[2]; the other Versions omit.
[4] Lit. *on the day of the morrow*.
[5] So Ar.[1], Ar.[2] and Arm., but L. and Ethiop. omit.
[6] L. *was reached*.
[7] Or *likeness*: L. *colour*.
[8] The cup is the cup of inspiration filled with the Holy Spirit: the original inspiration of the Scriptures is here repeated; see *E.A.*, p. 318.
[9] L. *wisdom grew in my breast*.
[10] An interesting feature in this picture of inspiration; cf. *E.A.*, p. 319.

tated in order,[1] in written signs that they knew not.[2] And I[3] sat there forty days; 43. but they wrote by day, and at night did eat bread [alone][4]; I, however, dictated by day, and at night was not silent.[5] 44. And in forty days were written ninety and four[6] books. 45. And it came to pass when the forty days were completed, the Most High spake with me, and said to me: The twenty and four books that ye[7] have written [first],[8] make public that those who are worthy and those who are not worthy [from (among) the people][9] may read therein[10]: 46. but the seventy[11] thou shalt keep and deliver them to the wise of thy people. 47. For in them are

the veins[12] of understanding,
and the fountains[13] of wisdom,
and the †stream†[14] of knowledge.

48. And I did so[15] in the seventh year, in the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation, and three months and twelve days.[16]

[1] In unbroken succession (the root meaning of the word used is *flow*).

[2] *i.e.* in the "square" Hebrew script used in printed Hebrew: of this which replaced the old Hebrew script Ezra was regarded as the inventor; see *E.A.*, p. 319.

[3] So Arm. (Ar.[1]), but L. Ethiop. *we*.

[4] Absent in other Versions.

[5] Cf. 2 Enoch xxiii. 3 f. (Vretil dictates, and Enoch writes in 30 days and 30 nights 366 books).

[6] So the Oriental Versions rightly; L. has 904 (and variants).

[7] L. *thou* (*hast*).

[8] So all the Versions except L., which omits.

[9] Added by Syriac.

[10] The 24 books = the books of the O.T., which was read publicly in the synagogues; for the reckoning cf. *E.A.*, p. 320.

[11] L. + *last*: the 70 books = the Apocalyptic literature contained in secret books.

[12] i. e. *springs*: L. has sing.

[13] L. sing.

[14] So read (by a slight emendation).

[15] Here text of L. breaks off; the remaining verses are preserved in the Oriental Versions.

[16] = 5042 a.m. See *E.A.*, p. 321.

Conclusion of the Book (XIV. 49-50)

49. And thereupon [1] was Ezra caught away and taken to the place of such as were like him,[2] after he had written all these things. 50. But he was called the [3] Scribe of the Knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever.[3] Ended is the first discourse of Ezra.

[1] Lit. *in them* (the days mentioned).

[2] Cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

[3] Title of Enoch (cf. 1 Enoch xii. 3 f., xv. 1); see *E.A.*, p. 321.

APPENDIX

Note on 4 Ezra XIV. 21 f. Translated from the Syriac of Jacob of Edessa

Nor wilt thou wonder that not all the books have reached us, which Solomon in his wisdom composed, when thou hearest that not even the sacred books which Moses wrote, nor even those of the prophets, have all reached us, but portions only of these, those namely which God gave to Ezra the priest to preserve and write, and administer, that they might be handed down and come to us, so that in them and from them we might learn the knowledge of those things that are befitting. But further, not even all those (writings) that Ezra wrote have reached us; for of the ninety books which it is written and alleged that he caused to be written, only those which are read in Church have reached us.

The above passage, which is extant at the end of the 13th Epistle of Jacob of Edessa, was published (in the Syriac text) by Dr. William Wright in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1867. Its reference to our Book seems to be unique in Syriac Literature so far as at present known. The last words may possibly imply that 4 Ezra was one of the books "which are read in Church," *i. e.* in the Syrian churches, but this is not certain. The number *ninety* should be corrected to *ninety-four*.

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LIST OF THE ARMENIAN SOURCES

I. Sources of the Older and Unrevised Text

1 = The Bodleian Codex Armenus, e. 2.
2 = British Museum Codex Orient. 5304.
3 = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.
4 = a Codex preserved in the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem.

II. Sources of the Twelfth Century Recension

α = British Museum Addit. 18549.
β = British Museum Addit. 19730.
γ = An Armenian Bible Codex of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.
δ = Rylands Library in Manchester Cod. Arm. 2, formerly of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana.
ϵ = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément Arm. 51.
And. or Andreas = the Text of the Apocalypse contained in the Lemmata of the Armenian Version of the Commentary of Andreas and Arethas, printed at Jerusalem in the year 1855.
Oskan = the text of the Apocalypse printed by Oskan in the first edition of the Armenian Bible at Amsterdam in the year 1666.
N.B.—The single symbol α imports the agreement of the codices $\alpha\ \beta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \epsilon$ and of the printed texts of Andreas and Oscan. Where the codex α differs from the rest of this group it is referred to thus: α alone.

Of the codices 1, 2, 3, 4, the last alone is complete, and the Text of Revelation divided according to their varying testimony falls into the following portions:

Ch. 1^{1} as far as 16^{16} rests on 1 2 3 4 and the recension α.

Ch. 16^{17} as far as 19^{18} rests on 2 4 and the recension α, and note that, except for verses 12-16 of ch. 19, codex 3, which breaks off at 19^{16}, exhibits merely the text of the recension α. This portion of the text, viz. ch. 16^{17}-19^{18} is deficient in Codex 1.

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Ch. 19^{19} to end of ch. 21 rests on 1, 2, 4, and the *a* recension.

Ch. 22 rests on 1, 4, and the *a* recension, for in Codex 2 this chapter is lost.

The main text is translated from Codex 1, except the portion 16^{17}-19^{18}, where it is translated from 4.

In the main text words italicised are those which are added in two or more of the other sources, reckoning the sources of the recension *a* as a single source. Where no note accompanies the passage the italics signify a consensus in adding of all the sources save that which forms the main text.

Words printed in small capitals are omitted in two or more of the sources, and where no note accompanies the passage the small capitals signify the consensus in omitting of all the sources save that which forms the main text.

Brackets

(. . .) signify an alternative translation of the main text.

[. . .] signify an omission on the part of the *a* recension.

< . . . > signify an omission on the part of Codex 2.

⌜ . . . ⌝ signify an omission on the part of Codex 3.

An asterisk after a word indicates that the text is corrupt.

An asterisk added after the symbol of a codex indicates an old correcting hand, and a double asterisk a late correcting hand. Thus

3* is an old hand, but not the first, correcting the text of 3.

3** is a recent hand correcting the same.

Abbreviations

cor. = corrector, *or* corrects.
om. = omit, *or* omits.
add *or* + = adds.
subst. = substitutes.
tr. = transpose.
ras. = rasura.
h. = hand.

I

1 The revelation of Jesus Christ *by means* of which (*or* whom) *God* gave to shew to his servants whatever is about to come to be shortly, and signified, sending by means of his angel to John his servant.
2 *Who witnessed of the word of God, and the witness of Jesus Christ, what he saw and what was, and what was to be after this.*
3 Blessed he who shall read out or listen to the word of the prophecy, and shall keep what therein is written. *For the time is near.*
4 FROM John to the seven churches which ARE in Asia, Grace with you and peace *from the existent and from him which is and which is to come, and from the seven powers of the spirit, which is before his throne;*
5 *And from Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, who is eldest* among the dead, and ruler of kingdoms of earth, who loved us and loosed the bonds of our sins *by his blood.*

Italics signify the additions to the text of Codex 1 furnished by two or more codices: capitals matter contained in 1, but omitted by two or more codices. Collation of α and of codices 2 3 4.

1 Codex 4 begins thus: The revelation of John the Evangelist, which he saw. Blessed they that hear and do the things therein written. For the time is near——by means *add* α 2 3**——God *add* α 3 : *om.* 1 2——1 3 = quodcunque futurum est : α 2 = quod fut. est——ad Iohannem servum suum α 1 2 : ad ser. suum Ioh. 3.
2 Who . . .] testimonium τοῦ verbi dei 3——what he saw] *om.* 3, *add* 3** over ras.——and what was and . . . this] *om.* 3 : α and 2 add the entire verse.
3 Blessed he who peruses the words of this prophecy and who hears and keeps α 2——For . . . near] *add* α 2 3** 4 : *om.* 1 3.
4 From *om.* α 2——are *om.* α 2——from . . . eldest α 2 3 4 : this lacuna in 1 is due to the lower part of a folio being torn off——from the existent . . . come] over ras. but first hand 3——seven . . . spirit] spirit's power βeoscan : seven of the spirit (*sic*) 4——is (*after* spirit which) *om.* 3 : are 4.
5 *tr.* who is witness faithful 4——eldest ANDRANIK : 4 *renders literally by* NAKHDSIN firstborn——of the dead γ ε 4——kingdoms] kings 4——who loved . . . bonds] to the one loving and loosing us 4——by his blood α 2 4 : 3* adds in later ink.

6 And made us worthy of his kingdom, and priests unto God *and his* father, *to him glory and might unto æons of æons, Amen.*

7 Behold, he about to come with the clouds of heaven, and they shall see, all *eyes and they* who pierced him, and there shall see all extremes of earth. *Yea, Amen.*

8 AND HE SAITH, I am Ayb and I am Qê, saith the Lord who is unto æons, and who is about to come, Lord almighty.

9 I John, your brother and participator in tribulation and kingdom *and patience unto Christ Jesus* WITH MUCH BOLDNESS DO WRITE UNTO YOU. I was in the island which is called BY NAME Patmos, because of the word of God and BECAUSE OF the testimony of *Jesus* Christ.

10 And there was in me the spirit HOLY on the day dominical, and I heard a great voice behind me, as THE VOICE of a trumpet

11 Which said to me, <what thou beholdest, write in a book and send it> to the seven churches <which are> in Ephesus and <in> Zmyrna and <in> Pergonia and in Thyatria and in Serdis and in Phrygia and in Laulodika.

6 worthy . . . kingdom 134 : kings α 2 3**——*after* God *om.* and ε 4 : α 2 3 *add* and his——him] whom 3——and might . . . Amen] *om.* 4——might] + now and 3——of æons *om.* β——*add.* Amen β 3.

7 he cometh 4——*om.* of heaven 4——and they etc.] 3 = et videbunt omnes oculi et videbunt eum fines mundi, et qui confixerunt eum omnes in terra. Here a late hand adds illum before omnes oculi, and in mg. after terræ the phrase et plangent super illum——see . . . extremes] see him, all eyes, and they who pierced, and there shall mourn over him all nations α, and so 2, but subst. 'races' for 'eyes' through misreading in an uncial copy the twenty-fifth letter of the Armenian alphabet as the sixth. It is noteworthy that codex 3 in writing the word for 'eyes' gives this twenty-fifth letter in its uncial form. 4 has the same sense as 2, but uses another equivalent for the word 'eye'——Extremes [DSAGQ]? a corruption of *azgq* = tribes.

8 Ayb] Alpha α 2 4——*om.* I am *bef.* Qê α 2 4——Qê] O α 2 : ὄν 4——who . . . æons] God, and who exists and who is α 2 *and* 3 (in which an old, but not first, hand writes 'who was') : God the existent 2 4——*om.* Lord *bef.* almighty 3 4.

9 participator] associate 4——tribulation] oppression 3 : sufferings 4——of the kingdom (*om.* and) 4——and patience . . . Jesus] α 2 : *om.* 1 4 : 3** *adds* and patience which is in *in mg. but first hand writes* Christ Jesus——I was] = ego eram 14 : fui ego α 23, supplying the pronoun——*om.* by name α 2——because of *om.* α 2 4——*om.* Christ 4.

10 And] *om.* α (not β γ, etc.) 2——a spirit α 2——4 = factus sum in spiritu——*tr.* dominica die 3 4——4 *om.* behind me *and* = vocem magnisonam tubæ dicentem——*tr.* behind me a great voice α 2 : *in* 3 *cor. adds* after me a great——*om.* the voice α 2.

11 which said] saying α 4——to me] *om.* α 2 4. Here β γ (not α) Andreas 2 *add.* 'I am Alpha and Oν, the first and the last,——beheldest 4——in . . . send it] *om.* 4——*om.* which are α 2——Pergamus 3 : Pergamon α 2 4——Thivatir 2 : Thivatria 3 : Thivatiria 4——Sardis α 4 : Sardikê 2 3 Andreas——and in Philadelphia *ceteri*——Lavodikea α γ 2 4 : *om.* β.

12 And I was coming to see him WHO HE IS which speaks with me; and *in my turning* I saw *seven candlesticks of gold and*
13 In the midst of the candlesticks like to a son of man, clothed in a garment *down to the feet* and girt about the breasts with a girdle of gold.
14 And ON his head *and hair* as wool white, and his eyes as flame of fire.
15 And his feet likened to brass of Libanan *refined amidst a furnace fiery*; and his voice as voice of waters many.
16 And he had in his right hand stars seven; and from his mouth proceeded a sword two-mouthed *sharp*, and his countenance like the sun flashing appeared.
17 *And* when I saw him, I fell at his feet as if dead; and he laid upon me his right, and saith to me, Fear not, I am beginning and I am end.
18 I am life, and I am who died, *and behold, I am alive to æons of æons.* And I have the keys of death and hell.
19 Write what thou seest, *what is*, and what HEREAFTER is about to come to pass *after this.*
20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my *right* HAND, and *of* the seven candlesticks of gold; AND the seven stars, *of the seven churches are the angels; and the seven candlesticks* are the seven churches.

12 was coming 1 3 : turned α 2 3* mg. 4——him] the voice *cet.* *ZAYN=him* is a corruption of *ZTSAYN*=the voice——spake α 2 3 4——to me 3——in my turning α 2 : over ras. 3** : I turned 4.
13 of the] + seven 3——candlesticks of gold 4——garment *om.* α 2 4——down . . . feet α 2 4 and 3** in mg. : *om.* 13——girt . . . gold] 4 retains the sense but modernises the diction.
14 And on, etc.]. But the hair of his head white as wool pure 4——the hair 3 : his hair 2——wool . . . eyes as *om.* 2 *per homoioteleuton*——wool] + and as snow α and 3** mg.
15 like to α 2 4——brass] *ALILIBANU* 4 and at 2[18] *ARKOLIBANI*? a corruption of aurocalco LIBANI of Primasius——of LIBANAN *om.* α 2——refined . . . fiery α 2 3**——and his voice . . . many] *om.* 4.
16 in . . . hand] *om.* 4——hand *om.* βγ 2——*tr.* proceeded *after* sharp 2 : after two-edged 4——two-edged α 2 4——sharp α 2 : *om.* 1 3 4——was flashing *and om.* appeared 4.
17 And when 3 4——*om.* him 4——*tr.* his right upon me 4——and saith] saying 4——*om.* to me α 4——I am first and last and 3 : I am first and I am the hereafter 4.
18 I am life . . . æons] *om.* 4——same who 3——*om.* behold 3——of æons] + Amen 3——and who have 4.
19 Therefore write what thou sawest 4——what is α 2 3** 4 : *om.* 1 3——hereafter] *om.* α 2 4 : 3 *retains and adds* and what——after this] α 2 4.
20 sawest] dost see 2——in] upon 4——of] α 2——*om.* and α 2 3 4——*tr.* are angels of the seven churches 3 4——*om.* seven *bef.* candlesticks 4.

II

1 Therefore to the angels of the Ephesians' church write, Thus saith he who holdeth stars seven in his right HAND, and walketh in the midst of the *seven* candlesticks of gold,

2 I know thy works and *thy* toils and patience. And I KNOW that thou bearest not the evil ones whom thou didst test: THEM who called themselves apostles, *and were not, and thou foundest them false and borest them.*

3 *And* thou wast patient AND IN TRIBULATION for my name's sake, *and hast* toiled.

4 But I say unto thee and unto thy love, the first thou didst leave me.

5 Remember whence thou art fallen and ⌜repent⌝ *and* thy first works *do*. But if not, I come, *and* will move thy candlestick out of its place, if thou repent not.

6 But this I will do, that thou mayest hate the work of Nicolaus, which (*or* whom) I hate.

7 He that hath ears OF HEARING, let him hear what the spirit HOLY saith to the churches. They that shall be found conquerors, and having acquitted themselves bravely, I will give him to eat of the tree of life, which is in the garden of my God.

1 angel α 3 4——angel which is in Ephesus in the church 4——he] the able one 3——*tr.* seven stars α 2——*om.* hand α 2——who was going 4——*add* seven α 3 4.

2 know] have seen α 2——*add* thy 2 3 4——toils] labours 4——thy patience 3 4——bearest not] art not able to bear α 2 and 4 which alters the diction——whom] and α 2 3 4——who] because they α 2——called] presented γ 2: call 3 4——*bef.* apostles + to be α——apostles] + and are not and Hebrews, they lie 3 *which om. the words added in* α 2 and were . . . borest them: 4 *agrees with* α 2 *but has* are *and om.* borest them.

3 thou hast patience and borest for my 4——and in trib.] *om.* α 2 4——and . . . toiled] α 2: and art not tormented 3: and didst not reproach 4.

4 say . . . thee] have against thee 4 *and om. rest of verse*——and . . . me] forasmuch as thy first love thou didst leave α 2 3.

5 *after* remember] *add* now 3: *add* thy love the first 4——repent] be contrite 4 (which always employs this synonym)——and] α 4——do] *add* cet. but in 3 in old hand above line——I . . . move] there comes for thee an earthquake (*lit.* movement) and moves 3——I come] + quickly α: + to thee 4——and] α 2 4——candlestick] tower α 2 3 *editi through confusion of* ashtanak *with* ashtarak: 4 *uses another word for candlestick* tsraganotz.

6 I will do] do thou α 2: thou shalt do 3: thou hast 4——works α 2 4——of the Nicolaitans 4——which *om.* 2——I also hate 4.

7 *om.* of hearing α 3: *retain* β γ 2 4 Andreas——*tr.* what saith the sp. α——*om.* holy α 3 Andreas: retain β γ cet.——They . . . bravely]. He that conquers α 3: To the conqueror 4: 2 agrees with 1, but uses the singular——I . . . eat] so 3** over ras. of the words 'they shall eat'——tree] wood α 2 4——in the] + midst of the α——*om.* my α.

8 And to the angels of the Smyrnean's church write THUS: Thus saith he that is WITHOUT beginning and WITHOUT end, who became dead FOR OUR SAKE AND FOR THE CHURCH'S SAKE.

9 I know thy works and tribulation <and> LABOURS, THY poverty shall be for riches AND NOT UNTO TRIALS, and the blasphemies which the Jews wrought against thee, do I know. For (*or* that) they reckon themselves that they may be something, but they are a synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear thou not, FOR ALTHOUGH THEY ARE ABOUT TO TORMENT THEE, behold Satan wills to cast SOME of you into prison, and into trials, and into straits of tribulation for ten days. STAND THOU FIRM AND be faithful unto death, *and I will give thee the crown of life.*

11 He that hath ears OF HEARING, let him hear what the HOLY spirit saith *to the churches.* They that shall be found victorious, shall not be afraid of the second death.

12 And to the angels of the Pergameans' church write: Thus saith he that hath the sword two-mouthed sharp:

8 Angel α 2 3 4——4 = angelo qui in Zmyrna ecclesia——churches 2——that is . . . end] 2 has *OR ÊN SKIZBN EV KATARADS* = *that is beginning and end.* In α and 1 *EN* has been confused with the privative affix *AN*, so as to read *which* (*is*) *beginningless.* *AN* was then added out of sense symmetry before *KATARADS* also, yielding the sense *without end, endless*: 4 has "the first and the one hereafter" ——3 has "the first and the last and the dead one and the life"——dead] + and lived 2: and was made alive α 4: and the life 3 (*vide supra*).

9 know] have seen α——*after* works 3* *writes* and *over ras.*——thy works and patience, tribulation and poverty, but thou art strong to endure the abuse (of those) who affirm (themselves) to be of the Judæans, and they are not but 4—— labours] poverty α: *om.* 2 3——thy]. But thy α 2: 3 *thus* poverty, but it shall be *and om.* thy——*before* riches *om.* for α——and . . . trials] *om.* α 3: = tentationem enim 2——which . . . know] *om.* α: = quæ dicebant ludæi audis 2: quæ dicunt ludæi 3——For . . . are] who affirmed themselves to be Jews, and they were nothing, but α: for they are naught, but they are 3——that . . . something] and are not 2——synagogue] people α 4 (*jolov* for *jolovaran*).

10 for . . . thee] *om.* 3: about what thou willest (θέλεις) to suffer α β Andreas: so γ (but μέλλεις): whatever shall hap to thee 4:——Satan . . . days] the traducer is about to cast (+ one 4) of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye have straits ten days α *and so* 4 *only subst. the words ye shall have for* and ye have straits——Satan wills] = cogitant illi cogitationem Satanæ 3——and into trials . . . days] that ye may be tried, and there cometh to you straits for days ten 3 ——and for you to be in tribulation 2——stand . . . and] *om.* α 4——stand, etc.]. Firm be thou in faith unto death, and thou shalt receive for thyself the crown of life 3——and I . . . life] α 4.

11 ears] an ear α——of hearing] *om.* β γ 2 3——holy] *om.* α γ 3 4——He that conquers α 4: They that conquer 3: He that shall be found victorious 2—— shall . . . afraid] is not injured by α: shall not be hurt by 4.

12 Angel which is in the Pergamus church α 4——angels 1 2 3: angel α 4——of the Pergeans 1: of the Pergameans 2——of Pergam the church 3——two-edged α 4.

13 I know *thy works and* where thou dwellest, where is SET the throne of Satan. But they hold my name, and *thou hast not denied my faith* in these days, all who are witnesses faithful, who for my sake died among you: unto temptation and unto the dwelling of Satan among some of you.

14 But I say to thee because there abides with thee the teaching of Balam who taught Balak to place a stumblingblock *in front* of the children of Israel, <for them> to eat <the things sacrificed> and to fornicate WITH THE DAUGHTERS OF THE GENTILES.

15 Thus also thou hast the teaching of Nicolaus.

16 Do thou therefore repent. But if not, I come quickly, and will make war against them with the sword *of my mouth.*

17 He that hath ears OF HEARING let him hear what the spirit holy saith to the churches. They that be found victorious, I will give him food from the tree of life; and I will give him the writing of holiness, and will mingle his name in the numbers of the saints who hold my name.

13 I know, etc.] I have seen thy works and (*om.* β) that (where γ) thou dwellest where the throne is α——thy works and] α 3: *om.* 1 2 4——thou dwellest]=habitans es tu α 1 2 3——is] *om.* 3——set] *om.* α 4——But] and α 3 4——thou holdest *OUNIS* α 2 3** 4: *OUNIN*=they hold 3 first hand——thou hast denied] over ras. 3**——my faith] my faithful one 3: the faith 4——in these . . . you] in the day on which Anthipas my witness was faithful who was slain by you who abide where Satan is dwelling 3** and α alone: in the margin of latter an old hand adds this scholium, 'Anthipas was bishop of Pergam, whose feast is on April tenth.' β γ δ have the same reading, but add after 'was faithful' the words *ὅτι μάρτυς μου πιστὸς* (*om.* γ) *πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων*, and β γ δ 3 omit the words, 'who abide': on which thou withstoodest (=*ἀντεῖπας*), my witness faithful who was slain by you where Satan dwells 4——all . . . witnesses . . .] omnis qui fuit testis fidelis propter me qui mortui sunt e uobis ad habitandum Satanæ in regionibus ex uobis 2 where, *ARI KOLMANS*=in regionibus is a corruption of *AR OMANS*='among some.'

14 say to] have against α: have to say unto β γ 3**. Note that the gloss 'to say' which stands in text of β γ only appears in the margin of α in a late hand. I say] I have to say α 3** 4: contigit etiam 2 (confusing *asel* with *haseal*)——to thee] about thee 4: + a few things *or* a little α 3** 4——because, etc.] for thou hast there (those) who have the teaching of B. who teaches 4——place] cast 4——in front] α 2 3——for them] *om.* 2 4——with . . . gentiles] *om.* α 3 4——*om. the* before *gentiles* 2.

15 Thus] + saith the Lord 2: + he saith 3*——hast] + those who have 4——Nicolans] of the Nicolaitans α 4, *and add* which I hate α.

16 Therefore] *om.* 2: only do thou 3——Do thou thus be contrite 4—— But] *om.* 4——quickly] to thee 4——and] *om.* 2——them] in α alone first hand corrects to 'you': him 2 3.

17 Of whom there are ears 3——of hearing] *om.* α 2——holy] *om.* α γ 2 4——They . . . life]. He that overcometh, I will give him to eat of the manna hidden α 4: He that shall be found victorious, I will give him food the manna budding forth 23, where *dsalkeal*, 'budding forth,' is a corruption of *dsadskeal*, 'hidden.' α 4 use the word *thaqutzeal*——*alt.* him] + a name 3——and I will . . . my name] and a written name new in the writing which no one knoweth, but only he who receives α——his name] him 2: them 3——of my saints 3——who . . . name] in whom is written a name new which no one, etc. (as in α) 2 3——writing

18 And to the angels of the Thivatireans write: Thus saith the Son of God, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and his feet likened unto brass of Libanan:

19 I know thy love and thy works and thy patience and the faith of thy holiness, that thy *last* works have become more than the first.

20 But I say unto thee *much*, that thou hast abandoned thy wife Zezabel, who declared herself a prophetess, and taught unto my servants error, to fornicate and eat the thing sacrificed.

21 I vouchsafed her time *of repentance*, and she hath not repented of her fornication.

22 Behold I cast her into a furnace, and her fornicaters into ⌜great⌝ tribulation, unless they shall repent of their evil works.

23 *And* their children I will slay with death, and all the churches shall know that I am he who do search hearts and reins. And I requite unto each his works.

24 And unto you I say, that do believe of the Thivatireans, ye who have not learned this teaching; they who have *not* known the secrets of Satan, which they say; I will not cast upon you a burden,

. . . my name] a testimony white and upon the testimony a name new written which, etc. (as in α) 4.

18 angel α and 3** 4——of the Th.] qui in Theatrea ecclesia 4: which is in the Church of Thivatir β γ Andreas, and so α but omitting 'which is': +church 3——write]+unto the churches 2——Arm.=cuius oculi eius, *but* 2 3 *om.* eius and *subst.* sunt: 4=who hath eyes——likened] like α 4: *om.* 2——of Libanan] smelted α 3**.

19 I know, etc.] I have seen thy works, and love, and faith, and thy service in patience that α: thou knowest thy works, and love, and faith, and ministerings and thy patience, that 2 3 (cor. *havasar.* to *spasavor.* read in 4): I know thy works and faith and ministerings and thy patience, and thy last works more, etc., 4——works] labour α——have become] are 3: is α.

20 I say]=dicere etiam 2: I have against thee 4——thee]+much α 4——thy] the α 2 3——wife] *or* woman——Zezabel] *Yezabel* Andreas 3——declares 2——herself] +to be 4——teaches and leads astray my servants to 4——*tr.* teaches (taught α) error unto, etc., α 2 3——the thing sacrificed] *om.* 2.

21 I] And I α 2 3——vouchsafed] gave α 4——her] them α——of repentance 2 3——and . . . fornication] to repent of their fornication and they repented not α——that she may be contrite and she wills not to be contrite of, etc., 4.

22 α furnace] pains of a couch 4——her . . . great] her co-workers with whom she committed adultery into very great α: 3* adds in mg. 'her co-workers'——fornicators]+with her 4——unless] and 2——repent] are contrite 4 (so *passim*)——their] her 4——evil] *om.* α 4, and 3** *obelizes the word* evil.

23 And their α 2* 3: and her 2 4——child 4——search, etc.] probe (=ἐλέγχω) reins and hearts α——and I (+ will 4) give to you each according to their (your 4) own works. But (However 4) to you I say that are (+left 4) in Thivatir, and (who 4) have not this doctrine (teaching 4) α 4——heart 2.

24 they 1 2 4: ye α 3 (qui non cognouistis)——they who understood not 4——secrets] deep things α 2 3 4 (*Khorhurd*='secret' is a corruption of *Khor*, 'deep')——say] converse of α——which they say] *om.* 4——I]. However I β γ δ——will] do 4.

25 More than what ye have and is with you until the goal.
26 <He that shall conquer shall keep> the works <until the end. And> I will give them authority over the nations.
27 And they shall shepherd them with a rod of iron, and as vessels of a potter shall they shatter them. As I received from my father.
28 And I will give them the morning star.
29 He that hath ears OF HEARING let him hear what the HOLY spirit saith unto the churches.

III

1 And to the angels of the Sardicans' church, write: Thus saith <he which hath> grace of the Spirit of God, and the seven stars. I know thy works, that a name <alone> is thine, that thou art alive, but thou art dead.
2 Be thou watchful, and fill up that which lacks, which was set down in thy mind, the transgressing. For I have not found thy works completed before God.
3 Remember as thou receivedst, keep, and repent. But if thou

25 a burden, but (*ayl*) what ye have α Andr. 3**: an other (*ayl*) burden, however, *ye* who have not 4: another (*ayl*) burden, what ye have β γ δ——and is . . . end] preserve ye until I come α 3**: hold ye fast until I come 4——and is] from the Lord* 2.

26 and he who conquers and keeps my works until the end I will give him α——and he who conquers and keeps until the finish the works, I will 4——my works 2——I will give] = *ego dabo* where 2 4 *om. ego*——them] him 2 4——nations] heathen 4.

27 they] he α 4——them] him 2——a vessel α β 2——of earthenware——shall he α 4——them] him 2: *om* 4——received] corr. ANKAY to ŬNKALAY: also took 4.

28 Them] him β 2 4——morning] first 4.

29 Of hearing] *om.* α only and 2——holy] *om.* α γ δ (but not β) and 2 4——churches] + which be found victorious γ.

1 Angel α 4——which is in the Sardesia churches 4——Sardicans] Sardians 2 α γ, but not β——grace . . . God] = septem gratias spiritus (+ sancti 2) Dei 2 3——grace of the] the seven α 4, but retaining the singular 'spirit'——know] have seen α——that a name . . . art] that thou hast name of a living one and art α: and that thou art named that thou art 4——but] and 3 4——*om.* thou art 4.

2 Watchful] *arthun* in α 4 where 1 2 3 have the corruption *zvarthun* = 'glad'————fill up . . . transgressing] establish henceforth, for thou art about to die α: establish the remaining ones (*or* remainders) which were about to die 4——the trans.] to transgress 2 3——completed *katareal*] 4 has *lsel* = *heard*, a corruption of *ltzeal* = *filled*——my God 2 4.

3 Remember, as (how 4) thou receivedst and heardest, and keep 2 4: Remember, as thou receivedst and as thou heardest 3 (*om.* keep)——Remember] + therefore α

art not watchful, *I come unto thee as a robber, as to which thou knowest not the hour in which I come unto thee;* thou art outside as the man robbed, and one shall not know when the robber will come upon him.

4 But thou hast a few names of Sardicans, who defiled not their garments, and were walking with me in whites. Because they became worthy,

5 To be found victors, who shall put on garments of white; and there shall not be effaced their name from the book of life. And I will remember their name before my Father THAT IS IN HEAVEN, and before his angels.

6 Who ever hath ears OF HEARING let him hear what the HOLY spirit saith to the churches.

7 And to the angels of the lovers of the brethren's church write; Thus saith the holy one AND the true, who hath the keys of Hades, *who* openeth and no one is able to shut it, *and who shutteth and no one is able to open.*

8 *I know thy works. Behold, I have given before thee a door opened, which none can shut,* because a little thou hast of power OF GRACE, and *hast kept* my word, and hast not denied my name.

9 Behold I give YOU a synagogue of Satan, who call them-

(*and om.* and)——receivedst] heardest, and *α*:——watchful] *zuarthanas*=‘art joyful,’ *α* 1 2 3—a corruption of *arthnanas*=art watchful.——But if thou be not contrite 4——I come . . . upon him] I come as a robber, and no one understandeth my coming to thee *α*: thou knowest not in what hour there cometh upon thee the thief 3 (*om.* rest): I will come upon thee like a thief, and thou shalt not understand in what hour I will come 4: Italics from 2——one knew not 2.

4 But] *om. α*——thou hast] he that has *β*: who hast *γ*: I have 4——Sardicans] Sardians *α* 2 3: in Sardes 4——defiled] fouled 4——garments] dresses 4——walk *α*: have walked 2: shall walk 3: shall go 4——with me] *om. α* 4——whites] correcting *psaks* (crowns) of 1 and 3 to the reading of 2 *spitaks* ‘white’: in luminous garments, for they are alive 4.

5 Because, etc.] of which they became worthy. He that overcomes shall thus put on whites, and his name *α*——He who conquers thus shall they make his (*sic*) garment white, etc., 4——who . . . on] they shall receive 2: they shall don 3——there . . . effaced] I will not efface 2 3 4——names 2 3 4——remember] confess *α* 3 4——their] his *α* 4——his] *om. α*.

6 of hearing] *om. α* 2——*om.* holy *α* and 3 and 4.

7 angel *α* 2 3 4——of the Philadelphians' 3: which is in Philadelphia 4——*om.* church write 4——and] *om. α* 4——Hades 1 2 3 pr. m.: David *α* 3**: the garden 4——who] 2 3 4: *om. α* 1——no one . . . open] 2 3: there is no one who shuts, and he shuts, and there is no one who opens *α*: no one shall shut; and he shuts, and no one openeth 4.

8 know] have seen *α*——before] *om.* 2 3——quam nemo potest claudere eam 3: for no one is able to shut it 2——of grace and] *shnorhatz ev* in 1 is a corruption of the reading of the other sources *ev pahetzer*=“and hast kept”——words *α* 2 3——denied] forgotten 3: *add* my word and 4.

9 give *tam*] *α* 2 3. In 1 *asem**=I say——thee *α* 3: *om.* cet.——of the synagogue

selves Judæans. And they are not Judæans, but affirm a
lie. Behold I will make them that they shall come and
shall worship before thy feet. For I have loved thee,
10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, and I will
keep thee in the hour of trial, when I shall come upon the
whole world, to try all dwellers upon earth.
11 BEHOLD, I come quickly. Be strong and hold FAST what
thou hast, let not any one snatch from thee thy crown.
12 AND whosoever be found conquering, I will make him a
pillar of the temple of my God, and without he shall no
more go forth; and I will write upon him the name of my
God, and will give to them my house, the new Jerusalem,
which shall come down *out of heaven* from my God, *and I
will give them a name new.*
13 Whoever hath ears of hearing, let him hear what the HOLY
spirit saith to the churches.
14 And to the angels of the Phrygians' church, write; Thus saith
the Amen; the witness faithful and true, and the beginning
of the creations <OF GOD>:
15 I know thy works, that thou art not hot neither cold, <but
thou art lukewarm>.
16 Judge thee I will out of thy mouth.
17 Because thou sayest, rich am I, and have become rich, and in

2 4——Judæans] 1 4 transliterating 'Ιουδαίους: 2 and 3 have Hreay = Hebrews ——*alt.* Judæans] *om.* α 4——Behold,] *om.* α——thy feet] thee 4——For] and 2: and they shall know that α and 3* over line: and thou shalt know that 4.

10 Because] And α 4——will keep] have kept 2——hour of] + thy α 3: season of 4 ——when I shall] who is destined to α: when he shall 2 3: which is about to 4 ——all] *om.* 4——upon earth] of it 4——upon] + the face of α.

11 Behold] *om.* 2 3 4——Be strong and] *om.* α 4——and let not 3: lest α——snatch] take α 4, *and omit* from thee.

12 And . . . I] Him that conquers α: He that is conquering 4——of the temple] *om.* 4——and] but 2——he . . . more] shall no one 4——no more] not 2——*alt.* will . . . Jerusalem] the name of the city of my God, the new <one of> Jerusalem α 3 4 *and* 2 *which omits* the name——shall come] was coming 4——from] of cet——I will give them 2 3: *om.* α and 3** and 4——a name 2: my name 3 4: his name α 3** confusing *NORA* his with *NOR* new.

13 of hearing] *om.* α——what . . . churches] *om.* 4——holy] *om.* α 3.

14 angel α 3 4——of the Phrygians'] of Laodicea α: of the Laodiceans' 2 3: qui in Lavodike in ecclesia 4——and *bef.* true *om.* 4——and *after* true] *om.* α 4——beginning] + of the beginning α: *subst.* from the beginning 4: = abinitii 1, a conflation of α and 4: I render 2 and 3——of the . . . God] *om.* 4.

15 I know = cognosco ego——*tr.* cold neither hot α 4, *and* α *adds* thou oughtest to be cold or hot, 4 *adds* it were better thou wast either cold or hot: 3 *adds* and since thou art not hot nor cold *after* lukewarm.

16 Judge . . . thy mouth] so 1 2 3. But α and 3** read Thou art about to be vomited out of my mouth: I am about to turn thee round out of my mouth 4.

17 rich] opulent 4——am] was α——have become] will become* 2——naught lacks

no way am I lacking. And thou art wretched <and> miserable
AND WEAK and poor, and blind, and naked.
18 AND now hear thou me and I will *advise about* thee. Take,
buy of me gold refined *by fire,* that thou mayest become rich;
and garments precious that thou mayest clothe thyself, that
there be not revealed the shame of thy body, *and lay salve
on thine eyes, that thou mayest see.*
19 Because I love thee, AND I reprove and chasten *thee*: take zeal
<and> repent.
20 Behold I stand at thy door, *and* knock: if any man hear my
voice, and open the door, I will go in to him and will dwell
with him, and he with me in my kingdom.
21 As I have overcome and sat down on the right hand of my
Father on the throne of glory.
22 Whoever hath ears OF HEARING, let him hear what the HOLY
spirit saith *to the churches.*

IV

1 And after all this I saw, and behold the dome of heaven was
opened; and a voice of the trumpet which I heard the first,
WHICH spake *with me* and said TO ME, Come up hither, and
I will shew thee what is to come to pass in the future *time.*

me 4: and thou knowest not that thou art α 4——art miserable and supine and
poor, naked and blind α——and weak] *om.* α 2 3 4——*tr.* naked and blind α 4.
18 And . . . and]. So then α: *om.* 4——I will advise about] so 2 KHORHETZAYTZ,
of which 1 and 3 have a corruption KHONARHETZAYTZ = 'I will humble'——I
give thee a precept to buy 4——precious] white α 2 3 4——clothe thyself] put them
on thee 4——and let not be revealed 3 4——body] nakedness 2 3 4——and lay
etc. α 2 3: and spread an eye-drug on the eyes and thou shalt see 4——salve] drug α.
19 *After* see *add* For whom I love, I reprove and chasten 2——So far forth as I love
anyone I reprove 4——Because, etc.] I, whom I love, do reprove α——*After* thee
om. and 2 3——thee] 2 3 be zealous now and α: anyhow be zealous and 4.
20 thy γ: the α β——and open, etc.] let him open the door and I 4——will dwell]
will make supper α: will sup 2 3 4——in my kingdom] *om.* α 4——kingdom] + He
that overcometh, I will give to him to sit (+ with me α) on my throne α 4:
+ as I have overcome I will give to him to sit with me on my throne 3, *but cor.
writes* I will . . . sit *over ras.*
21 as also γ 2 4——on the . . . of] with 2 3 4——right hand] throne α——on . . .
glory] on his throne 2 3 4——sat down on the throne of my father α.
22 of hearing] *om.* β γ 2——whatever 4——holy] *om.* α 3 4——*tr.* saith the
spirit α 4.
1 And] *om.* 4——all] *om.* α 4——dome] a door 4: doors α 2 3——opened in heaven
4——were opened α 2 3: *om.* 4——a voice the first which I heard as that of a
trumpet speaking 4——which . . . first] of the first which I heard 3——which]
om. α 3——with me] α 2 3——and said to me] *om.* 4——in . . . time] after this
4——time] *om.* α: add 2 3.

2 And in that hour there was in me the spirit holy, and I beheld a throne that it stood in heaven, and on the throne *he sat*
3 Like to a vision *of stones* jasper *and* sardius.
4 And priests round about the throne like to a vision of emerald. And round about the throne *thrones* twenty and four, *and on the thrones were sitting* elders *twenty-four* arrayed in garments white, and on their heads THEY HAD crowns of gold.
5 And out of the throne went forth lightnings *and voices and thunders.* And seven lamps of fire flaming before the throne, which are seven powers of the spirit holy.
6 And there was before the throne a sea of glass, in the likeness of the whiteness of crystal, and in the midst of the throne four beasts; and they were full of eyes behind and before.
7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the second *beast* like a calf, and the third beast *had* the face of a man, and the fourth beast like an eagle flying.
8 And of the four beasts there were *for one by one of them* six UPON SIX wings AND round about and within they were full of eyes. And they rested not, *not* by day and *not* by night, and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord *God* of hosts, who is and liveth unto æons, and who is to come.
9 And when the beasts gave [<glory and>] honour and praises to him that sat on the throne, <to the living> unto æons *of æons.*

2 And . . . beheld]. And forthwith (that same hour 4) was I in the spirit, and behold, α 4: And there arrived unto me the spirit and I beheld 3: and on the hour was I in the spirit holy and beheld 2——that it stood] there α: *om.* 'that' 4. I correct *gayr* to *kayr*——'stood' in 1 2 3——he sat] 2 3 4.

3 like . . . vision] sitting the likeness of a vision α——to stone 2 4——*sardion* α 2 3 4: *stadion* MS. 1.

4 priests] an honour 4 (? sense)——like to] of the likeness of 4——emerald round *and om.* And 3——throne] + I saw 4——twenty-four elders having clad themselves in white 4 (*and om.* garments)——they had] *om.* α 3 4.

5 went forth] cut *or* clave 4——lamps, etc.] torches kindled 4——the seven powers of the spirit of God 3: the seven spirits of God α, and 3** over ras.——powers] parts 4——holy] of God 4.

6 there was] *om.* α 4——a sea as glass, like to beryl 4——glass, like to the 2 3——throne] add 'and round the throne' α 4——and . . . were] *om.* α 4——full of] filled with 4——before and behind 2 3 4

7 had α 2: was 3: *om.* 4——the face of] like unto 4——*om.* flying 4.

8 Et quatuor animalia ante habebant et singulatim sex sex 4——*om.* of them 4——upon six] *om.* α 2——*om.* round about 4——about and within they were] *om.* α——full of] filled with α 4——And] *om.* 3——rest they had not 4——not] add *bis* α 2 3——and said] saying α 2 3 4——Holy] the word is repeated nine times in α β δ and 3——God] α 3 4——of hosts] Almighty α 2 3 4——liveth . . . come] art and art to come α 2 3: is and is to come 4.

9 praises] might 1 sec. hand: thanks α 3: laud 2 4. Note that ZÔRHNUTHIUN,

10 THERE FELL DOWN THE TWENTY AND FOUR ELDERS BEFORE THE THRONE, AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE ALIVE OF ÆONS. And they laid down their crowns before the throne and said,
11 Worthy art thou, Lord God, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou didst fashion all, and at thy willing they were fashioned and stand sure.

V

1 And I saw on the right hand (of him) who sat upon the throne, THAT HE HAD a book written within and without, and sealed with seven seals.
2 And I saw an angel strong, that he proclaimed with a great voice AND SAID, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?
3 And no one WAS FOUND WHO was able, not in heaven, and not on earth, *nor underneath the earth*, to open the book and to look into it.
4 And I wept violently, because no one was found worthy to open the *book and loose its* SEAL and to look into it.
5 And one of the elders THERE saith unto me, Weep thou not: behold he hath overcome, the lion from the tribe of Judah, from the root of David; AND HE IS WORTHY to open the book and to loose the seals thereof.

praise, and ZÔRUTHIUN *power* are often confused——sat] sitteth 4——to the living] of life 4——unto æons] *om.* γ: add Amen α β δ 2.

10 There fell . . . four] *om.* 2: and there shall fall down, etc. 4——there fell . . . æons] *om.* α 3 Andreas——And the elders 2——and . . . alive] = dicebant digni erant* 2: and they shall worship 4 and *om.* the alive——to æons of æons, amen, 2 4 (*om.* amen)——they laid] laying α: they shall lay 4——and said] saying 2 3 4: said α.

11 Worthy . . . thou]. It is worthy for thee α——Worthy is the Lord our God 2——Lord] + our α (not Andreas): + and our 3——our Lord and God 4——and power] *om.* α. I correct in 1 and 3 ZÔRHNUTHIUN to ZÔRUTHIUN, which is read in 2 and in the printed text of Zohrab. See note on vs. 9——fashion] acquire α: make 4——and because of thy will they were and are 4.

1 right hand] throne (*sic*) 4——that he had] *om.* α 2 3 4——*before* sealed, *om.* and α 4——*tr.* seals seven 4.

2 who proclaimed 4——*om.* and said 3 4——the book . . . loose] *om.* 4.

3 nor . . . earth] α 2 4——to open the book] *om.* 4——and to . . . it] for they saw it not α 3**: nor to see it 4.

4 plangebant multi α——ego flebam 1 3: flebam 2 4——book . . . its] add 2——seals] book α 3 4——loose . . . it] and read it or see it α: nor to see the book 4——nor to look 2.

5 elders] old men 4 (so always)——unto me] *om.* α alone and Andreas——Weep] lament α——open . . . seals] open the book and its seven seals α: MS. 1 transposes

6 And [I saw] in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the four beasts, *and in the midst of the elders,* LIKE UNTO a lamb slain; and it had horns seven, and eyes seven, which are the seven powers of the Spirit, which are sent forth unto all the ends.

7 And he came and received from the right hand *of* him which sat upon the throne.

8 And when he took the book, the fourfold-shaped beasts and the twenty and four elders fell down before the lamb. And they had each a harp, and a censer of gold full of incense, which were the prayers of the saints.

9 And they were hymning a hymn new and saying, Worthy is the lamb to take the book and open the seals thereof. Because thou wast slain, and hast bought us unto adoption with thy blood, out of all tribes *and tongues* and peoples and gentiles.

10 <And hast made us priests of our God>, and we shall reign upon earth.

11 I was hearing and seeing round the throne voices of angels <many> *and* around the ⌜four⌝ beasts *and the elders.* And the number of them was ten thousand ten thousand and thousands of thousands,

the text thus: 'to loose the book and open the seals.' I correct from 2 3——seven seals] *α* and 3* and 4——loose the] + the book and the seven 4 (cp. 1).
6 *om.* and *after* throne 4——*alt.* in the midst] *om.* *α β* 4, retains *γ* And, etc.——elders] + of the old men 4 (a conflation)——like unto] *om.* *α* 3 4——a lamb] + was standing *α* 3 4——slain ZENEAL] so *α β* in text, but in margin KNQEAL (= sealed): 3 adds both, but in mg. only: as it were slain 4 (using SPANEAL)——and it] which 2 3——*tr.* seven eyes *α*——powers . . . Spirit] Spirits of God *α*: powers of God 2: powers of the Spirit of God 3, in which the cor. erases 'powers of': which are parts of the seven graces of the Spirit of God 4——which are *bef.* sent] *om.* *α*——which . . . ends] *om.* 4 and subst. 'unto all earth'——ends] earth *α* 2 3.
7 received from *α* 2: took by* 1 3: took from 4——*om.* hand 4——of] *α* 2 4.
8 when] added outside the line by 3*——book] + and 3——fourfold-shaped] four *α* 2 3 4——fell down] over ras. by cor. in 3——and they had] saying having 4——a censer] goblets of 4——were] is *α* 3: are 2 4.
9 singing songs new 4: hymning songs new *α*——hymns 2——*Bef.* saying *om.* and 4——is the Lamb] art thou *α* 3 4: art thou Lord our God 2——slain] ZENAR *α* 1 2 3: SPANAR 4——bought]. In 2 3 first hand wrote *gretzer* = 'hast written,' in 3 cor. changes to *gnetzer* 'hast bought'——adoption] God *α* 4: adoption of (+ our 3) God 2 and 3, in which the corrector erases the word 'adoption.'
10 us] them *α* 4——and peoples of gentiles *α*——priests and kings] *α* and 3** in mg. and partly over rasura of the words 'a kingdom'——for our God a realm and priests 4——*tr.* of our God priests and kings *α β*: of our God kings and priests *γ* And.——and we shall] to *α*: and they shall 4.
11 And I saw and heard (+ as if 4) the voice *α* 2 3 4——*tr.* round the throne *after* 'many' 3 4——many who stood round the throne *α*——*add* and *α* 2, and 4 (= and of the old men and animals)——elders] priests *α*——And the . . . was] 3 adds above line in an old, but not in first hand.

12 Who were [crying out *and*] *saying* with voice great, Worthy is the lamb slain to receive praise and riches and honour and glory.

13 And all creatures which are in the heaven and on earth and in the sea, [AND ALL POWERS which are in them], heard I saying, He which sitteth on the throne, *and* the lamb, blessed, <exalted> and glorified unto the æons <of æons>.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. <And> the elders fell down before him and worshipped HIM.

VI

1 And I saw that the lamb opened one of the *seven* seals; and I heard in the midst of the four beasts as it were a voice of thunder which said, I come.

2 And I saw, and behold, a horse white, and he that was mounted thereon had a bow; and there was given to him a crown, and he came to conquer that he might conquer.

3 And when he opened seal the second, I heard from the second beast that he said, I come.

4 And there went forth <another> horse light-blue; and he that was mounted thereon, there was given to him TO TAKE peace

12 who] and they *a* only and 3: they were 2——who . . . saying] saying with voice great 4——praise] power 3 4 (see note on 4[9])——riches] + and wisdom 3——receive riches and wisdom and power and honour and glory and praise *a*: so 2 except that it substitutes 'praise' ZÔRHNUTHIUN for 'power' ZÔRUTHIUN, reading the word twice over: receive power and majesty (= *μεγαλοπρεπείαν*) and wisdom and might and honour and glory and praise 4.

13 earth] + and under earth 4——and all powers] *om.* *a* 3 4——which . . . them] + and what in them is all 3 and *a* (but *om. all*): from them all 4——which sat 4——and] *a* 3: and on 4——blessing and honour and glory 4——blessed] + and 3——glorified] + and almighty 3——of æons] + Amen 3.

14 *om.* before him 4.

1 that] and when 4——the lamb] he *a*——seven seals 2 3 4——in the midst] one 4: from one *a* (MIOY of which *midjoy* 'in the midst' of MS. 1 is a corruption. In *mêdj* of MSS. 2 and 3 we have a further stage of the corruption, but the same sense)——as . . . said] it said as it were in voice of thunder 4——which said] saying 2: 3 omits but inserts above after 'beasts' the words '*and it said*' in an old hand above the line——I come] come thou 4.

2 and there came (*add* forth 4) the conqueror, that 2 4——that, etc.] and he will conquer and he conquered 3.

3 the second seal 3——after 'heard' first hand added 'from the four' which a later hand erases 3——I come] *om.* 4.

4 light-blue] scarlet *a* 2: reddish which is ruddier white 3——to take *om.* 2 4——earth] + that they shall slay each other *a*——and there . . . he] and they 4

from earth: and there was given unto him TO TAKE a great sword, WHEREWITH HE SHALL SLAY ALL HABITANTS OF EARTH.

5 And when he opened seal the third, I heard <from> the third beast that it said, I come. And I saw, *and behold* another horse black; and he that was mounted thereon, had a balance in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the *four* beasts [which were saying], A measure of wheat for one penny, and three measures of barley for one penny. *And* the oil and wine shall not be hurt.

7 And when he opened seal the fourth, I heard from the fourth beast, that it said, I come.

8 And *I saw and* <behold>, another horse, reddish, and he that was sitting upon him had* death, and Hell ⌜followed⌝ with (*or* after) him. And there was given him <authority> to destroy the fourth part of the earth with famine and sword and death, and by the wild beasts of the earth.

9 And when he opened seal the fifth, I saw underneath the altar the souls, ⌜all⌝ sealed BECAUSE OF GOD AND because of the word of God, and because of testimony thereof, who said with a great voice,

10 How long, Lord holy and true, dost thou not judge and exact vengeance of our blood from the dwellers of earth.

——wherewith . . . earth] *om.* α 3——wherewith . . . all]=cui non habitat 2, a corruption of some kind——all . . . earth] one another, and there was given him a sword great 4.

5 that . . . come] that he came 4——and behold] add α 3 4——another] 'a' α 3 4: that there went forth α 2 (confusing *el* with *ayl*)——'black' *sev* in 3 is over ras. of *ashkhet* 'reddish'——mounted] seated α 2: thereon] upon him 2 3——had . . . hand] had in his hand a yoke 4.

6 which were] *om.* 4——one] a 4 (*bis*)——shall not be] thou shalt not α 3**4: he shall shall not 2——penny] *denarion* α 1 2 3: *dahekan, i.e.* Daric 4.

7 heard]+a voice α——saying, Come thou 4.

8 I saw and] ? first hand in 3, and α 4——another] there went forth 2 (see vs. 5)——reddish] α reads *shlorhos, i.e.* χλωρός, interpreted *pollakh* in margin of α and γ: 3 also has *shloros* with the explanation, equally in the text 'which is white and black': 4 renders *zartak*—a late word——sitting] mounted 3 4——had death] habebat ille mortem 3, ille being above line in first hand: nomen erat eius mors 4——*om.* with 4——to destroy, etc.] 3 has order quartam partem terræ gladio destruere et fame et morte, and transliterates the word ῥομφαία, but *N.B.* the Latin may have read here as in 2^{12} and ^{16} the word rumphea: 4 *om.* to destroy *and subst.* over——earth]+to slay 4——*tr.* with sword and famine α 4, cp. 3——of the earth] added in 1 in first hand outside the line: of the world α.

9 *tr.* the fifth seal 2 3——all sealed] of all men slain α β: of all men sealed γ: of the slain (SPANELOTZN) 4——word] name 4——testimony of the lamb holy, and they cried out with voice great saying 3 (cor. erases *holy*)——thereof]+which they had α 4——who, etc.] and they cried out with voice great, saying 4.

10 and not exact 2——exact vengeance] make requital 4.

11 And there were given them robes white; and it was said unto them that they should rest a little time, until there be fulfilled their fellow-servants and brethren who are about to die even as they. AND THEN SHALL BE JUDGED THE EARTH AND VENGEANCE BE EXACTED OF THEIR BLOOD.

12 And I saw when he opened seal the sixth, there was a earthquake great; and the sun was turned to darkness, and became night darkling; and the moon wholly <became> blood,

13 And the stars from heaven were shaken down to earth as LEAVES OF a fig tree, in case it shall be violently stirred by the wind *and shall shake down her leaves.*

14 And the heaven like a parchment *book* was rolled up, AND WAS REMOVED FROM THE MIDST. <And> all islands and mountains from their places were moved.

15 And kings of the earth and rulers, *and* captains of thousands and magnates and mighty ones, and all bondsmen and freemen, hid themselves in caves and in hollows of rocks.

16 And they said to mountains *and rocks,* Fall upon us, and TO THE LITTLE HILLS, Shelter us [from the face OF HIM that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the lamb].

17 For there is come the day great of his wrath, and who is able to stand before him?

11 And there was given them α 2 3 4——a robe 2 3: each a garment 4——and it, etc.] and let them be joyful in their rest a little time, in order that being fulfilled, there may live also their fellow-servants and their brethren, and having died may come, they too 3——until] in order that 4——their brethren α 4——who shall be slain 4——are] were α——die] end α——and then . . . blood] *om.* α 3 4.

12 and an earthquake great was there 3: an earthquake was there great 4——sun . . . darkling] sun became black as sack of goat's hair α: sun was darkened as sackcloth black 4——night darkling 3 first hand: as sack of goat's hair 3**——wholly] entire 4.

13 from heaven] outside line ? first hand 3——were . . . to] fell upon 4——as a fig tree casts her unripe (fruit), by a violent wind shaken 4——leaves of] *om.* 2 3 ——and . . . leaves] 2 3.

14 heaven] + all 3——heaven] + was dissolved 4——book] α 3——and was . . . midst] *om.* α 3 4——And all . . . moved] *om.* 4——*tr.* mountains and islands 2 3——from . . . moved] were removed from the midst 3——places] place α.

15 rulers] magnates 4——and] 2 3 4——magnates] α 1: rich 2 3 4——*om.* and freemen 4——all freemen α——rocks] + of mountains 4.

16 say 4——*tr.* to rocks and mountains 4——and rocks] 2 3——to the little hills] *om.* 3 4 and hide us 4——*om.* of him 2 4——from the face of wrath 4.

17 of their wrath 4——stand . . . him] pass (*gnal*) from his face 3——who shall be able to live (*keal* a corruption of *kal* stand) 4: α *also has* 'to live before him.'

· VII

1 After this I saw four angels <that they stood> at four corners of the earth. <AND they held the four winds of the earth>, ⌜that there should not blow <a wind> upon the earth,⌝ neither on sea, nor upon trees.

2 And I saw another angel, that he was ascending from the sunrising, and he had the seal of God living: and he cried with a voice great to the four angels who had received authority to destroy earth *and sea.*

3 And he saith, Hurt ye not earth, neither sea nor trees, till I shall have sealed the forehead *of the servants* <of my God>.

4 And I heard the number of the sealed ones that they were a hundred and forty and four thousand sealed out of tribe OF THE CHILDREN of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Judah twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the tribe of Dan twelve thousand SEALED.
6 Of the tribe of Aser twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the tribe of Nephtalim twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the sons of Joseph twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand SEALED.

1 And after 3——at] over *or* upon 4——corners . . . earth] regions of the world 2, but the homoioteleuton omission which follows arose before this change was made in the text through the consonance *earth* . . . *earth*——And] *om.* 2 3: who held 4——neither . . . nor] not . . . not 3.

2 who was ascending, 4——and he had] having 4——cried] called aloud 3——four beasts to whom was given to do hurt upon earth 4——by whom was received behest to hurt the earth 3——and sea] *a* 2 4.

3 and he said] saying 4——trees] + ye shall pause *a* editi: + pause thou 3——till . . . sealed] that I may seal 3——I] we——the servants of our God upon their foreheads 4——the forehead of] *om.* *a* 3——the servants *a* 3——of my servants 2——God] + all *cunctos* 3.

4 that they were] *om.* 4——were] + sealed 3——thousand] + who were sealed of every 3 4——*om.* of the children 2 4——out of all stocks of Israel 4.

5 tribe] stock 4 *passim*——sealed] 3 4 omit everywhere save at end of the list——4 has the order Judah, Reuben, Shmavon, Levi, Isachar, Zabulon, Benjamin, Naphthalim, Gad, Aser——Dan] Gad 3 *a* editi (in *a* the initial *g* is over a rasura).

6 tribe] stock 2 and 3 (which retains it throughout the rest of the list)——of the sons, etc.] *a* and 3 omit this clause: 2 *subst.* 'of the house of Shmavon' . . . and then continues in this order 'of the house of Manasseh . . . of the house of Levi . . . of the house of Isachar . . . of the seed of Zabulon . . . of the seed of Joseph . . . of the seed of Benjamin . . . of the seed of Gad.'

7 Of the tribe of Shmavon twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the house of Issachar twelve thousand SEALED.
8 Of the tribe of Zabulon twelve thousand SEALED.
Of the stock of Benjamin twelve thousand SEALED.
9 AND I saw after ALL this, and behold, a multitude numerous
which was not a number, AND out of all tribes *and all stocks*
and *all* tongues, and out of all peoples which stood before the
throne and before the lamb, arrayed in robes white, and in
their hands palms.
10 And with voice great they were saying, Salvation unto our
God who sitteth on the throne <of the lamb>.
11 And all the angels were standing round about the throne, and
about the elders and about the four beasts: *and* they were
falling down *on their faces* before the lamb and were worshipping God, and said,
12 Amen. Blessing (*or* praise) and glory and wisdom and
thanksgiving and honour and power and grace to our Lord
for æons of æons, Amen.
13 And saith to me one of the elders, These which are arrayed
in robes of white, who are they, and whence come they?
14 And I say unto him, *my* Lord, thou knowest. And he saith
to me, These are they which come from great tribulation:
and they washed their robes, and made him white in the
blood of the lamb.
15 AND therefore are they before the throne of God: and they

7 tribe of Issachar *a*.

8 Zabulon 12,000 sealed] + of the tribe of Joseph, etc., *a* 3——stock] tribe *a*.

9 And] *om.* 2 3 4——*tr.* 'after this I saw,' omitting 'all' *a* 2 3 4——a crowd] excessive 4——which, etc.] quod (*or* quam) numerare eos nemo potest 4——of whom was *a*——tribes . . . stocks] nations and all tribes *a*——and stocks and peoples and tongues 3 and 4——*tr.* palms in their hands *a* 3 4——in garments 4.

10 And they exclaimed with a great voice and said 3: And with a great voice they cried out and said 2: [And] they cried out with a great voice and said *a* 4——of] and before γ: and upon 3 (but 'upon' is above the line and ! in first hand): ——*a* 4 = ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου.

11 elders] old men 4——lamb] the throne *a* 2 3: 4 *has a conflation* 'before their throne and before the lamb'——and *bef.* were] they 3——and said] saying *a* 2 3: and say 4.

12 *Add* And *after* Amen 2——wisdom and thanksgiving] praisegiving 4——grace] authority 3: might 4——our Lord] the Lord our God *a*: our God 2 3 4.

13 Saith to me] *om.* 4——elders] old ones 4 *and add* answered saying——robes] garments 4——or whence *a* 3——came 4.

14 Say γ: said *a* β 2 3 4——my 2 3 4——unto him] *om.* γ——my] 2 3 4——tribulation WSHTATZ] + and straits 3: 4 *subst.* straits (NEGUTHIUN)——robes] garments 4——him]. The Arm. ZNA means 'him' or 'her' or 'it' equally: them 4: *om.* *a*.

15 The throne of] *om.* 4——they wait upon him 4——dwelleth 3: shall dwell 4.

serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth
upon the throne is dwelling in them.
16 AND ANY MORE they shall not hunger, nor shall they thirst;
nor shall there harm them cold and heat.
17 And the lamb in the midst of his throne shall shepherd them,
and shall lead them unto fountains of waters of life; and
GOD shall remove all tears from their eyes.

VIII

1 And when he opened seal the seventh, there was silence in
heaven about half an hour.
2 And I saw angels seven which stood before *God*; and there
was given unto them seven trumpets.
3 And there came another angel and stood before the altar, ⌜and⌝
he had a censer of gold; and there was given unto him incense
much, that he should offer the prayers of all saints, upon the
altar of gold before the throne.
4 And <there went up> smoke of the incense, which are prayers
of ALL saints, from the hands of the archangel *before God*.
5 And the angel OF GOD filled full the censer from fire of the
altar, and cast it upon the earth; *and* there was thunder
GREAT, *and* voices and lightnings and earthquake GREAT.
6 And seven angels which had [the] seven trumpets prepared
themselves to sound the trumpets.

16 And any more] *om.* *a* 3: 4 *om.* any more——nor, etc.] they shall not thirst. There shall not 3——nor] + any more 2——there] any one *a*——harm] strike 4——cold] sun *a* 4——and heat] nor heat *a* 4: not heat 3.

17 And] since 3 4——lamb who is in 4 and *om.* his——unto water of life's fountains 4: unto life's fountain of water living *a*: unto fountain springs of waters 2——of life] living 2 3——and] Inasmuch as *a*——*om.* God 2 4——shall remove] has removed *a*: shall expunge 2 4——eyes] 4 ZOHRAB substitute 'faces,' from Is. 25^8.

2 seven angels 3 4——before God stood *a* 3: stood before God 2:——before the throne stood 4.

3 *tr.* and another angel came *a* 3 4——before] at *a* 2 3 4——and he had] having 4——censer] 4 transliterates LIBANOVTON here and in vs. 5——offer] give 4——of (*or* to) the prayers 4——upon] quæ (*or* quod) super 4——which was before 4.

4 which are] *om.* *a*: that is, 2 3 : of 4——from] into 2——hand 4——archangel] angels *a* 2: angel 3 4——before God] *cet.*: 4 *retains* before *but om.* God.

5 filled full] took 4——censer] + and made it full 3: + and filled it 4——the altar] Gehenna 2——were voices and thunders 4——great] *om.* *a* 2 4——lightning *a*——earthquakes 2 3——great *om.* 2 3 4.

6 the seven angels 2 3 4——which had] having 4——the trumpets] *om.* *a* 4: the seven trumpets 2.

7 And the first angel sounded the trumpet, and there was hail
and fire and blood mingled. And it fell on earth *and the
second part of earth it burned up* AND THE THIRD PART OF THE
TREES IT BURNED UP, and all green grass it burned up.
8 And the second angel trumpeted, and as it were a mountain
great *with fire* burning fell into the sea. And the third part
of the sea became blood;
9 And there were destroyed the third part of the things swim-
ming, AND THINGS which had breath ⌜living⌝ were destroyed.
10 And the third angel trumpeted, and there fell from heaven a
star great, flaming like a lamp, and it fell upon the third part
of the rivers and fountains.
11 And the name of the star <was> bitterness, *and the third part
of the waters became bitter,* and many <of> men died from the
bitterness of the waters.
12 And the fourth angel sounded [the trumpet], and wounded the
third part of the sun and of the moon and stars. And there
was darkened the third part <of them; [and the day appeared
not], and the third part> of the night likewise.
13 *And* I saw and heard THE VOICE OF an eagle flying in mid
heaven, that it said with a great voice, *Woe, Woe,* Woe, that
are dwelling upon earth, when there shall come to be a voice

7 angel] *om.* 4——fire with blood 3 and 4 (which uses another construction than 3) ——and . . . up] α 2 3, but not 4——second α γ 2 3: third β And.——and the third part of the trees . . . grass it burned up] *om.* α β δ, but not Andreas——third part of the trees] *om.* 3: MS. 1, has 'fourth' for 'third' through a common confusion of Armenian letters: 2 has 'second part'——it burned up] *om.* γ 2 3: was burned up 4 (*bis*).

8 trumpeted] sounded trumpet 2 3 4——mountain] *add* with fire 2 4——burning] lit up 4——second part of the sea 2.

9 And there died the third part of animals which in the sea had breath, and the third part of ships was destroyed 4——and things] *om.* 2 3——second part of the things 2 3——swimming] + in the sea 3——things which] what α——were] was α ——were destroyed], and <the third part> was (were 2) ruined 2 3: was ruined α

10 sounded trumpet 2 3 4——and flaming 3——a star, lit up, great, like 4——third part] second part 3, *first hand. Cor. changes to* 'third': third parts 4——fountains] + of waters 2 4.

11 was] they called *or* said 3: was called 4: *om.* 2——bitterness DARHNUTHIUN] 4 has wormwood AUSHINDR——and the third . . . bitter] added in 3: 4 = and there was turned the third part into blood into wormwood——of men] *om.* α——died, etc.] were destroyed from the waters, because they were embittered 3 4.

12 There was wounded 4——*pr.* third] fourth MS. 1, a reading due to confusion of the third and fourth letters of the Armenian alphabet——and the third part of the moon and the third part of the stars α 3 4——and the day . . . likewise] and the third part of them had not light, and day and night was not 3: and the sixth day, likewise also the night 4.

13 the voice of] *om.* 3 4——eagle] angel α——heaven] earth 4 (ERKRI for ERKNI)——that it said] saying 4——that . . . earth] to dwellers who are fallen upon earth 2* ——come to be] be fulfilled 2 3——yet three] the 3——when . . . future] for the

of yet three trumpets, which the angels *shall* will to sound HEREAFTER IN THE FUTURE.

IX

1 And the fifth angel sounded *trumpet*, and I saw a star from heaven to earth fallen; and there was given to him a key of the pit of the abyss.

2 AND HE OPENED THE DEPTHS OF THE ABYSS. And there went up a smoke from the pit, like the smoke of a furnace great, and there was darkened sun and air.

3 And out of the pit went forth locusts on earth, and there was given them authority, AND THEIR STINGS like the stings of a scorpion.

4 And it was said to them that they should not injure grass of earth, nor tree; but only men who have not the seal of Christ upon their forehead.

5 And there was given to them a command that they should not slay them, but should torment THEM months five: and their torments as the smart of a scorpion that striketh a man.

6 And in that day men shall seek death and shall not find; and they shall desire to die FROM THE STROKES ⌜OF THE LOCUSTS⌝, and there shall flee from them death.

7 And the likeness of the locusts is the likeness of a horse prepared for war; and on their heads, as it were, a crown like to gold; <and their faces like the faces of man>.

remainder of voice of the trumpet of the three angels which were about to sound the trumpets 4——the three angels 3——sound] trumpet forth 3 and 2 which transfers it after 'future'——hereafter . . . future] *om.* α 3 4.

1 trumpeted α——saw, etc.] saw that a star from heaven was falling to earth α: was seeing that there was falling a star from heaven to earth 2: saw that a star was falling, etc., 3——fallen from heaven to earth 4——pit] depths 4.

2 and . . . abyss] our α 2 3——from the pit IGFOYN] 4 has the corruption KHNKOTZN = 'of incense'——like, etc.] quasi fumus fornacis erat ejus 3——furnace] + kindled 4——air] + by the smoke of the furnace 3: + by the abysmal smoke 4.

3 pit] smoke 2 3 4 TSKHOYN corrupted into GFOYN——them] it 2 3 ('locusts' is sing. in Armenian)——and their stings] *om.* α 2 3 4——scorpion] + there was authority of their power on earth 3——like, etc.] sicut habent auctoritatem scorpiones terræ 4.

4 injure] *lit.* sin against: hurt 4——of the earth] *om.* 4——tree] all trees α 2 3 4——man] + terrestrial α: + them 3——have not] shall not have α 2——of Christ] *om.* α: of God 2 3 4——foreheads α 3: foreheads Andreas cet.

5 a command] *om.* 4——torment *and* torments] 4 uses synonyms——them] *om.* 3 4——smart] sting α: strokes 4——scorpions when they strike 4.

6 in those days α 2 3 4——find it 3 4——shall (*bef.* desire) γ, etc.: omit α β And.——from . . . locusts] *om.* α 4——stroke 2 3——*tr.* death from them 4.

7 Et erant similitudines locustarum similes equis 4——is like unto a horse 3——

8 And their hair like the hair of a woman, and their teeth like a lion's.

9 And their breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings as <the sound> of horses many which rush into war.

10 <And> they had tails like unto a scorpion, and the stings of their tails had authority to torment men months five.

11 And they shall bring unto them the king of angels of the abyss: AND his name in Hebrew is Aḷbagos, who is called destruction in Armenian.

12 Behold woe the first is past, and woe <the second is to come> after it QUICKLY.

13 And the sixth angel sounded the trumpet; and I heard a voice from the four horns OF THE ALTAR OF GOLD, which was before THE THRONE OF God,

14 That it said to angel the sixth, *which had the trumpet*, Loose the four angels which are bound upon the river Euphrates.

15 And there were loosed the four angels prepared for *the hour and* the day and the month *and the year*, that they might slay the third part of men.

of horses 2——as it . . . gold] they were like golden images 4——like to] NMANEAL 2 changes into ZMANEAK = necklace: *om.* 3 and *read* of gold——faces] 4 uses *dêmq* instead of ERESQ of the other sources——men 4.

8 their] the 3: they had 4——of women 4——their teeth, etc.] I saw them like lions 3——lion's] + they had teeth 3**: like lions' 4.

9 their] they had α 2 3——breastplates] 4 subst. GUUQ for *zrahq* of the other sources. Sevs. 17 of chariot horses α: of chariots of horses 4——which rush] coursing 4.

10 had] have α——And they had a likeness to scorpions 4——like unto] in the likeness of α——and a sting (stings 3 4) and in their tails was (*om.* 4) authority (+for them 4) 2 3 4——the stings of] a sting in α——had] and they had α——torment] hurt 4: offend 3.

11 shall . . . angels] had a king over them the angel α: quoad et regem adducent angelorum 3: had of themselves a king the angels (*sic*) 4——*om.* and 2 3——is] was 4——ABBADON 3: NABATHDON and in Ionic Destroyer 4: Aḷbagon β γ 2. The *g* is due to confusion of the third and fourth letters of the alphabet գ and դ. *In* α *we read* Apiton, in Greek indeed Apollyon and the Latin name *Koriun* (destruction) *over a rasura in a late hand.* 3 *has* 'is called in Hellenic Apollyon'——Armenian] + language β γ——who . . . Armenian] *om.* 4.

12 past] gone 4——and . . . quickly] and woes two are to come α: and there are to come two, woe woe, and after it the sixth angel 3, which thus associates the words 'after it' with verse 13 as do the Greek MSS. Q, 14: Behold the second woe after these 4——quickly] *om. cet.*

13 from one of the four 4, *and om.* a voice——horns] animals α 2——of . . . gold] *om.* α 2——of gold] *om.* 4——was] are α 2: is 3: *om.* 4——throne] altar α: *om. cet.*

14 That it said] saying 4——*tr.* sixth angel 4——had] hath 4——to loose 2——river] + great 3.

15 loosed] liberated 3——year] *am* 3; *tari cet.*——slay] destroy 3.

16 And the number of the hosts of the mounted *ten thousands of ten thousands. I heard the number* of them.

17 And I saw the horses *in the vision,* and those mounted on them who had breastplates of fire, and tails aflame with brimstone, <*and the heads of the horses like the heads of lions*>: and out of their mouth fire went forth and smoke and brimstone.

18 And by these strokes (*or* plagues) were dieing the third part of men, by the fire and *the smoke and* the brimstone which went forth out of their mouth.

19 For the authority of the horses was in their mouths and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and they had heads wherewith they shall destroy the many.

20 And the others <who> were no longer dieing of men because of these strokes, who repented not, nor turned from the works of their hands, and from the worship of *devils and* their idols, made of gold and of silver and of wood and of brass and of stone; which can neither see nor walk nor hear:

21 And they repented not of their slaying of men, <and of their sorcery,> and of fornication, and of their thieving.

16 hosts] soldiers 4——*Before* I heard *the α text adds* and thousands of thousands ten . . . number] α 2 3 4——of them] *om.* 4.

17 And thus I saw 4——who were mounted on them having 4——on them] of them 2 3——tails . . . brimstone] hyacinth and sulphureous 3 (which transliterates θειώδεις): hyacinths aflame with sulphur α 2. The α text has *yakinths*, similarly YAKUNQ in 2. The reading *agi* 'tail' in MS. 1 is a corruption and so is YANTHAK in 4 which also renders θειωδεις 'godlike'——and . . . lions] α 3 4——et erat capita equorum 3: et caput equorum 4——mouths 4——*tr.* went forth fire 2 3 4.

18 And from these three strokes 4——this stroke 3——were dieing] died α 2: was destroyed 3: were slain 4——and by the fire 4——which . . . mouth] *om.* 4.

19 For . . . was] there being auth. of the horses 3——of the horses] *om.* α——was] is α——for] and α——were . . . serpents] the likeness of a serpent α——serpents, since they had heads and with them were tormenting, were hurting 4 *and om.* the many——unto a serpent, who had (=habebant) heads, and therewith did harm, both for afflicting of men and not to die from these wounds who repented, etc. 3——shall destroy] were destroying α 2——the many] the unjust α: all 2: *om.* 4.

20 others] men* 1. And the others of men who died not of these strokes repented not α: And others no more died of these wounds of men, but only they who rep. not 2: for 3 see above: and the remaining of men were not slain by wounds of these and were not contrite from 4——and *bef.* from *om.* α 4——and from . . . stone] that they should not worship devils and golden images and silver ones and brazen, and stones and wooden ones 4——devils and] *cet.*——*tr.* and of wood *after* stone α 3——*tr.* nor hear nor walk α 2 3 4.

21 They] who 2——slaying . . . fornication] voice and of sorcery, of their striking and of their fornic. 3. Perhaps 'voice' is due to confusion of φόνων with φωνῶν ——of men] *om.* 4——and] nor *thrice* 4——sorcery] divination 4.

X

1 And I saw ⌜another⌝ angel *strong* that he came down out of
heaven, *veiling himself with clouds*; ⌜and the rainbow upon his
head⌝; and his face as the sun, and his feet like a pillar of
fire;
2 And he had in his hand a book: he opened, and set his right
foot upon the sea, and his left *foot* upon the dry land.
3 And he cried with a voice great, <and> roared as a lion; and
when he cried out there uttered seven thunders *with their
voices*:
4 *And the utterances of seven thunders, I wished to write*> THE
THINGS WHICH HENCEFORTH ARE TO COME: And I heard a voice
from heaven saying, Seal up that which spake the <seven>
thunders, and write [them] not.
5 And the angel whom I saw, which set his foot upon the sea, and
HIS OTHER UPON dry land, AND raised his right hand to heaven;
6 AND sware by him that liveth from æons, who established the
heaven and *what is therein and* the earth, *and what is therein*,
[THE SEA AND ALL THAT IS IN THEM], that no longer there
abideth time;
7 But in the day <of the voice of> the seventh angel, whenever
he shall sound the trumpet, shall be finished the mystery of
God, which was gospelled to his servants the prophets.

1 strong α 3 4——that he came] coming 2——*tr.* strong *after* heaven 4——veiling . . . clouds 2 3: and he was arrayed with a cloud α: with cloud, arrayed with honour 4——and the rainbow] *om.* 4——of fire] fiery 4.

2 a book opened α 2 3 4——*tr.* right *after* sea 4——*add* foot 2 3——dry land] earth α 3 4.

3 cried out] exclaimed 3 using KARDAM, which it habitually prefers to ALALAZEM = ululo of the other sources——and] *om.* γ 4——*tr.* as a lion roared 2 3: as a lion that he may roar 4——cried out] + with a loud voice α alone——with their . . . write] from α 4 and 3 (in which *cor.* adds 'with their').

4 the utterances of the seven thunders] when the seven thunders uttered α: et quantum etiam locuta sunt septem tonitrua 4——the things . . . come] *om.* α 3 4——'which' and 'are'] *om.* 2——a voice] voices 3: *add* of God 2——saying] which said 3——that . . . spake] the utterances of 3 4.

5 which . . . land] stood on sea and on earth 4——his feet 3 first hand above line——his other upon] *om.* 2 3——up to 4.

6 and] *om.* 2 4——liveth] + to æons 2——established] made 4——and the earth . . . therein] *om.* β——the sea . . . them] *om.* α 4——them] it 2 3——that time no longer shall be 4: *tr.* time *after* that 2 3.

7 days α 2 3: + of the Lord 4——at the voice and of the 4——*before* whenever] + with voice 2——shall] is about to 4 and *om.* the trumpet——which was gospelled] *Oscan reads* as he gospelled: as was gospelled 3: which he gospelled 4——to] by α 3: *Oscan* by means of.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven, again it spake and
said, Come *and* take the book which the angel hath open ⌜in
his hand⌝, and he standeth upon sea and dry land.
9 And I, having come unto the angel, asked [for the book] of
him. And he saith <to me>, Take, <and> swallow it; and it
shall be made bitter in thy belly, but in thy mouth sweet as
honey.
10 And I took the book out of the hand of the angel, *and*
swallowed it, and *it was in my mouth as honey*, <*and when I
ate it*> my belly was filled <with bitterness>.
11 And he saith to me, It shall befall thee <again> to prophesy
⌜unto gentiles and⌝ unto peoples *and unto tongues and kings*
many.

XI

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod. ⌜*And* there
stood the angel⌝, and saith TO ME, Arise and measure the
temple *of God* and the altar and the worshippings which are
therein.
2 And the courts without the temple, leave it <out> and measure
it not. For it hath been given to the nations; and the holy
city, THAT they shall trample under foot months forty and
two.

8 which] *om.* 4——again from heaven which was speaking 2 4——spake] was speaking to me 3: was sp. with me *α* 2 4——and said] saying 4——said] + to me 2 ——and take 2 3——open] *om.* here 2 3 4 and place above after 'book'——which . . . hand] from the hand of the angel 4——and he] who 4——dry land] earth 4.

9 And I went to the angel, saying, to give me the book 4——*tr.* of him the book] 2 3 (3 adds 'opened')——take] + it *α*——swallow] eat *α* 3 4——it] the same *α*: *om.* 4——shall make bitter thy 4——mouth] + it is 2: + it shall be 4.

10 hands 3——out . . . angel] opened from the angel *α*——swallowed] ate 3 4——it was] + sweet 3: 4 *adds* sweet *after* honey——it was . . . honey] so 2 3 4, but 2 transposes this clause after the words 'my belly was filled,' and omits the clause (supplied from *α* 3 4) 'and when I ate it'——belly] mouth 4——filled with bitterness] made bitter *α*: filled and bitter was it 3.

11 it shall befall] it befalls *α* 2 3: it behoves 4——unto] against *or* over 4 *thrice*——*tr.* unto peoples and unto gentiles *α* 2 4——peoples] + and to races 3——many] of the earth *α* 2.

1 a reed in likeness of a rod 4——And] *add* *α* 2 4——and said] saying 4——to me] *om.* 3 4——measure the word of God, the temple and 4——of God *α* 3 4——worshippers *α* 3 4——which . . . therein] thereof 4.

2 court *α* 3 4: without] the outer of 4——leave it out and] *om.* 4——out] outside 3: *om.* *α*. In codex 1, a late hand erases it and substitutes 'inside'——taken by *β*: given to *α* *γ*, etc.

3 And I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy for days 1265, clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the Lord GOD of ALL earth.

5 And they that shall desire to hurt them, fire shall go forth from their mouth and shall devour their enemies; and whoever shall desire to sin against them, thus shall be destroyed.

6 They have authority to shut the heavens, that they rain not during the days of their prophecy. And they have authority over EARTH OF ALL PLAGUES; AND THEY HAVE AUTHORITY OVER the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth <with all plagues> as often as they may desire.

7 <AND WHEN THEY SHALL HAVE FINISHED> all the days of their testimony, then the beast that goeth up out of the abyss shall make war with them, and shall overcome them, and shall slay them.

8 And their carcases <shall remain lying> in the midst of their street, in the city great which is called by name after the Spirit Segor and Egyptos AND BABYLON, where also their Lord was crucified.

9 And there shall see them all the tribes and peoples and all tongues *and gentiles* their corpse, that they remain lying three days; and they shall not suffer to be buried in a tomb their bones.

3 1260 *a* 4: in 3 *cor.* erases the *five*——clothed in sackcloth]. The words are added in 3 by *cor.* over *ras.* of a whole line.

4 standing] which stand *a* 4: 2 *tr. after* God, *and* 3 *after* earth——Lord] *om. a*——God] *om.* 3 4——all] *om. a* 3 4——in earth *a*.

5 they] he 2 3 4——shall desire] desires 4——hurt] sin against *or* offend *γ η*——shall go] goeth 4——devour] destroy 3: eateth 4——shall desire] desires 4——sin, etc.] hurt them, so must they be hurt 4.

6 They] these over heaven 3——shut] measure 4——the heavens] him *or* it 3——they] it *a* 2 3——that there descend not rain in the 4: earth . . . over 1 4: *om. a* 2 3——*tr.* auth. have they 3——turn] change 3——in all plagues *a* 3.

7 And when . . . all] and there was finished 3** over a rasura (it would seem) of the word 'all.' Thus the first hand omitted the clause as does 2——all . . . of] *om.* 4——testimony] prophecy 2——then] and 2: 3** over *ras.* of 'but': *om.* 4.

8 carcase *a* 3——shall lie 4——of the street of the great 3——*om.* midst of their 4 *and read* streets——in the] of their *a* 2: of the 4——after the spirit] spiritually 3: in spirituality 4——Sodom and Egyptos *a* 2 3. In 1 *Segôr and Egiamos*, a corruption arising out of an uncial text misread——and Babylon] *om. a* 3: *tr.* after Sodom 4.

9 them] him *a* 3: *om.* 2——all] *om.* 2 3 (before tongues)——And there see of peoples and of stocks and tribes their carcases, days three and a half; and their carcases they shall not suffer to be laid in tombs 4——*tr.* peoples and tribes 3——and gentiles] *a* 2 3——corpse] 1 has 'of their race' *azgi*—a corruption of *zdi* 'corpse'——that their corpse remains *a* 3——and their bodies they shall not give to be buried in tombs 3——suffer] give *a* 2.

10 <And> they that are dwelling on earth are glad and rejoice ⌜over them⌝, so as to bring gifts AND OFFERINGS one to another; because these two prophets shall torment the dwellers of earth.

11 And after <three> days *and a half* a Spirit of the living God shall enter into them, and they shall ⌜rise up⌝, stand *erect* on their feet; and *awe* ⌜*and* fear⌝ shall fall on dwellers of earth.

12 And I heard a voice *great* from heaven which said unto them, Rise ye up ⌜and come up⌝ hither. And they rose and went up into heaven on clouds, and ALL their enemies beheld their rising up.

13 ⌜And⌝ in that hour an earthquake great there was, and the tenth part of the city was swallowed up. And there died of the earthquake *men* seven thousand. And after that fear GREAT was in all; and they gave glory to God heavenly.

14 ⌜Lo⌝, woe the second is past, ⌜and⌝ woe the third is about to come quickly.

15 And when the seven angels sounded trumpets, there was a voice [great] from heaven which said: There hath come to be ALL the kingdom *of the world* of our Lord *and of his* Jesus Christ; and he shall reign UPON EARTH unto æons of æons.

16 And the twenty and four elders which sat on a throne ⌜before God,⌝ *fell on their faces and worshipped the Lord God and* said,

10 are] shall be 2: 4 *has* shall rejoice *and omits* are glad and——and send 2 3 4 *and om.* so as to——and offerings] *om.* 3 4——tormented 2 3: torture 4——those who are dwelling 4——of] upon 3 4.

11 and a half] α 3 4——of . . . God] living, from God α 3: of life of God 4——entered 4——shall . . . up] *om.* 3 4——erect] 2 3——stood 4——on their feet] 3* in mg. and add *festinanter illi*——awe and fear great α: awe and fear 2: awe great 2 3 4——shall fall] 2 3 first h.: fell α and 3** and 4——dwellers of earth] all who beheld them α β γ and 3** (omitting 'all'): all who slew them η Andreas: them 3 first hand: the beholders of them 4.

12 from heaven] *om.* α——Rise ye up and] *om.* 4——rose and] *om.* 4——and went] going 3——all] *om.* α 3 4——their . . . up] them α 3 4.

13 there was in that hour 3: And there shall be in that hour 2: on that day there was 4——and there fell the tenth, etc. 4——men]=*arq* α 2 4:=*mardiq* 3——after . . . all] the remaining of men were astounded 4——great] *om.* 2 3——was] shall be 2——gave] give 2——of heaven 4.

14 past] gone 4——and lo, woe the third cometh instantly 4.

15 when] *om.* 4——seventh angel sounded trumpet α 2 3 4——and there was 3——were voices 4——in heaven α 2 4——which said] saying 4——*tr.* the kingdom all α 2——*om.* all 3 4——of the world] α 2 3——and of his] α 3: his 4——Jesus] *om.* α 3 4——upon earth] *om.* 3 4: over all α 2——unto æons]+and unto æons 4——of Æons]+Amen 2.

16 Elders before the throne of God which sat 3: old men who before God were, sat 4——on their thrones α 2 3 4——*tr.* before God on th. th. 2——fell etc.] α 2 3, and 4 (*but* 4 *om.* before . . . faces)——*om.* the Lord 3 4——and said] saying 3 4.

17 We thank thee, Lord God Almighty, which is unto æons, who hast clothed thyself with power *great*, and art become king.

18 And the peoples were wroth, and there is come wrath of the enemy and season of judgement, that it may be condemned, and thou givest rewards to thy servants the prophets and to saints fearers of thy name, to small and great, <and> to destroy the destroyers of the earth.

19 And there was opened the temple of God which (is) in heaven, and there appeared the ark of his covenant <WHICH IS in his temple>; and *there was* lightnings and voices and thunder ⌜and earthquakes⌝, and hail very great.

XII

1 And a sign great appeared in heaven; a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of stars twelve.

2 And she was with child, and she shreaked in travailling, <and in many pains she was nigh unto being delivered>.

3 And there appeared another sign in heaven; and lo, a dragon fiery great EXCEEDINGLY, whose were heads seven and horns ten, and upon his head seven diadems.

4 And his tail swept away even unto the seventh part of the stars of heaven, and cast them upon earth:

17 Lord our God 2——almighty] + the existent and 4——who art unto the æons and which is 2——is] + and art *α* 3——*om.* unto æons *α* 3 4——who . . . power] for thou workest powers great 3——who] and *α*: for thou 4——clothed . . . with] taken *α* 2 4——thy power *α* 4.

18 peoples] gentiles *α* 3——wrath . . . condemned] thy wrath and season of the dead that they shall be judged *α*: thy wrath and season of the enemy's judgement that he may be condemned 2: thy wrath, and thou art Lord of death, judgest 3: thy wrath and season of the dead of judgement 4——and thou givest] to give 2: and to give 4——his servants 4——*om.* and *before* saints 4——saints] + and 3 4——to destroy] destroyest *α* 3.

19 Arm = quod in cælo——covenant] testaments 3——his covenant] God *α*——which is] *om.* *α* 4——there was (were *α* 4) lightnings *α* 2 3** 4: *om.* 3——lightnings] + of him 2——*tr.* and thunder and a voice 4——thunders *α* 2 3——earthquake *α* 2 4——very] *om.* 4.

1 appeared] was seen 4——arrayed] *zgetzeal* 1: *arkeal* ceteri.

2 And being with child she cried out travailling and being tormented to be delivered 4——and she cried] who cried 3 first hand——In 3 '*and*' is erased before '*in*' and added after '*pains.*'

3 appeared] was seen 4——fiery] *om.* 4——who had heads 4——heads *α γ* 3: seven heads 4: head *β*, etc.——diadems] crowns 3 4.

4 even unto] 3** erases: *α* 4 *om.*——seventh] third *α* 3——cast them] + from

And the dragon stood before the woman who wished to be
delivered, that when the woman should be delivered of her
child, he might devour him, HE THE DRAGON.
5 And the woman was delivered of a child male, who shall
shepherd his people with a rod of iron. And there was
caught up her child unto God, <and unto his throne>.
6 And the woman fled into a wilderness, where was her place
prepared of God, that she may be fed there days 1265.
7 And there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels were
fighting with the dragon, and the dragon together with his
angels was fighting AGAINST THEM;
8 But they were not able to withstand, and place there was
not *found* for them in heaven.
9 And there fell the dragon great, the serpent primal, who is called
by name Beelzebul and Satan, He that led astray the whole
world, THE LION FELL TO EARTH and his angels *fell* with him.
10 And I heard a voice great from heaven which said, Now hath
become salvation and power and kingdom OF HEAVEN of our
God, and authority of his anointed: for there hath fallen the
accuser of our brethren who accused them before God AND
THE LORD JESUS CHRIST day and night.
11 <And> they overcame him through the blood of the lamb OF
GOD, and through the word of his testimony. And they
acquiesced not in the dragon even unto death.

heaven 2, and 4 (*wh. om.* upon earth)——wished to] was about to α 4——the woman] she 4——of her child] *om.* 4——him] *om.* 4——he the dragon] *om.* 3 4.

5 the woman] she 4——child β: *om.* α γ——shall] is about to α 4——his people] all Gentiles α 3 4——unto] *om.* α γ: retain β And. etc.

6 where, etc.] ubi erat illic præparatus locus illi a Deo 3: which hath there a place 4——her place] a place for her α 2——that . . . there] and (that 4) there they shall feed her 2 4: ut illic aleret illam 3——1265 in 1 2 3 4: 1260 in α 3**.

7 and Michael 2——were] *om.* 4——and the dragon was warring and his angels 3 4 *and om.* was fighting: and the dragon was warring together with his hosts α ——*tr.* was fighting together, etc. 2.

8 but] and 2 3: *om.* 4——to withstand and] in mg. first hand 3——were . . . withstand] held not on overmuch 4.

9 great] + and the 2——serpent primal α——called by name] betrayer α and 4——leads 4——the . . . world] all the inhabitants of earth α——the lion . . . earth] *om.* α 3: and he fell to earth 4——angel 2——with him fell α 3: fell with him 2: with him were cast out 4.

10 *om.* great 4——in heaven 2 3——which said] that it said 2 3: saying 4——*tr.* power and salvation α——of heaven] *om.* α 3 4——and his authorities 4 *and om.* of his anointed——anointed] Christ 3 ——accuser] betrayer 4——accused] was betraying 4——our God 3 4——and . . . Christ] *om.* α 3 4——and our Lord *and om.* J. C. 2.

11 of God] *om.* α 3 4——through his testimonies 4——And they did not love him with their soul even 3: And they loved not their souls even 4——they] he γ 2

12 Therefore let the heavens be glad, and ⌜all⌝ who are dwelling
in them. Woe to earth and sea: because the dragon is fallen
unto you, who hath wrath a little time.
13 And when the dragon saw that he fell to earth, he pursued
the woman which bore the *male* child.
14 And there was given to the woman TWO wings of an eagle
great, that she might fly into a desert place, where she shall
be fed there for times <and a time> and half a time, from
the face of the serpent.
15 And the serpent poured forth from his mouth after the
woman <waters> MANY [as a river] that he might engulf her.
16 And earth helped the woman, and *earth* opened her mouth,
and swallowed the water which the dragon poured out from
his mouth.
17 *And the dragon waxed wroth with the woman*, and went away
to war WITH THE WOMAN AND with her seed AND who keep
the commandment of God, in whom is the testimony of Jesus
CHRIST.

XIII

18 <AND HE STOOD UPON THE SAND OF THE SEA>.
1 And I saw that there went up out of the sea a beast GREAT,

——acquiesced] the word used in α and 1 = satisfecerunt. The word used in 2 = pacauit.

12 the heaven was glad 2 3: be ye glad, heaven 4——all] *om.* γ 3: ye 4——the dwellers 3——in it α 3 4——dragon] in text 3: adversary α 3 in mg.——is fallen] hath descended 4——who hath] who shall have 2: having 4——wrath much α 2: wrath great 3 4——a little time] and shall abide a little time α: he saw that a little time he abode 2: he saw that he abode time little 3 first hand, which cor. erases in order to subst. the reading of α: knowing that a little time hath he 4.

13 And] *om.* 4——fell] was cast down 4——child] *om.* 4.

14 *Before* wings *add* two α β γ 4: *om.* And. cet.——desert] + unto her α 4——where] + habitabat illa et 3——shall be] was α 2 3: is 4——a time α 3 4——and times α 4.

15 And] + while he went γ Andreas——serpent] dragon γ——poured] cast 4——forth] + venom 2——from his mouth] *om.* γ Andreas——after] in front of 3 And. p. 175 ('after' p. 180)——woman] + fire, 4——many] *om.* α β 2 3 4: much γ And. p. 175 (but *om.* p. 180)——engulf her] make her carried on the river 4.

16 earth] α 2 3——water] river γ 2 3 4——poured out] cast 4——from . . . mouth] *om.* α alone 4 Andreas p. 176 (retains p. 180): upon the woman 4.

17 And . . . woman] α 2 3——with the rest of her seed α 4——keep] kept α 2 3 4——commandments α 2 3 4——in whom is] and held α: and who hold 4——and who testified unto Jesus 3——Christ] *om.* α 3 4.

18 he stood] I stood α 4 (steti ego). Note that in Armenian *katzi i verah*, 'I stood upon,' is easily confused with *katz i verah*, 'he stood upon.' 3 has the augmented form *êkatz*, 'he stood.' This verse is omitted in 2 alone.

1 And he] who 3——that . . . up] *tr. after* beast 4——and he had] having 2 4——*tr.* horns ten and heads seven 3 4——upon him a mitre 2——mitres] crowns 4.

and he had heads seven, and horns ten; and upon his horns
ten mitres, and upon his head a name of blasphemy.
2 And the beast which I saw *was* like unto a leopard, and his
feet as of a bear; and his mouth as of a lion. And the dragon
gave him his *power and his throne and* authority *great.*
3 And one of his heads WAS wounded unto death; and his
death-wound was being healed; and the whole earth wondered
at the beast.
4 And they worshipped the beast, <because the dragon gave him
his authority. And they worshipped the beast>, and said,
No one is like unto the beast, or is able to war with him.
5 And there was given to him *a mouth* to utter very great *things*
and blasphemies; and there was given him authority TO
WORK, TO WAR ⌜AGAINST THE SAINTS AND OVERCOME THEM.
AND THERE WAS GIVEN HIM VICTORY⌝ months forty *two.*
6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy unto God, ⌜and⌝
blasphemed his name and his temple HOLY which is in heaven.
7 And there was given him authority over all souls and tongues
and peoples,
8 That they might worship him, and all *dwellers upon* earth,
whose names are not written in the book of life *of the lamb*
slain from the beginning of the world.

2 *add* was 2 3 4——as the mouth of 3 4——and *his* great β.
3 was] *om.* 2 3 4——wounded] as it were slain 4——Arm. = et vulnus mortis ejus ——being] *om.* 4——at] after 4.
4 And . . . authority] *om.* 4 ——*pr.* And . . . beast] *om.* α: And they were worshipping the dragon who gave his authority to the beast, and were worshipping the beast and saying 3——authority] kingdom α——the beast] the dragon which (that he 4) gave the (his 4) authority to the beast α 4——and said] saying 4—— No one] who *cet.*——is] would be α——is] would be α 4: who is 2——to battle 4.
5 to speak] which spake 4——blasphemy α 3 4 ——and . . . authority] to become 4: to hear 5——authority to work war against 2——to work . . . victory] *om.* α 4——to work] *om.* 3——to war] 3** over rasura of a sentence which began with the word *conquer*, so that 3 originally had a text akin to that of 1——given authority to work victory forty two (*and om.* months) 2.
6 in] to utter 3——and blasphemed] to blaspheme 3 4——temple] shrine α 2: dwelling 4——holy] *om.* α 2 4——and his temple . . . given him] and his chosen ones, those who in heaven were chosen 3, and over a rasura of this 3** subst. 'and his shrine and the heavenly shrine, and there was given him.' Then 3 continues thus, 'to war and (over ras.) to smite his saints. And he conquered them, and there was given him authority'——which . . . heaven] and the heavenly shrine α: and those who in heaven are dwelling 4 which adds 'and there was given him to work war against the saints and overcome them.'
7 Souls] stocks α 3 4——and peoples and tongues and Gentiles 4: *add* Gentiles 3.
8 And (that α) there worshipped (shall worship α 4) him all those (+who are α 4) dwelling on earth whose α 3 4——that . . . worship] and there worshipped all dwellers of earth him 2——earth] the face of earth α 3——are not] were not 2: were not yet 4. The Arm. = quorum non sunt nomina illorum scripta——life] + of the lamb slain α 4: + who received not the seal of the lamb 3.

9 They that have ears of hearing, let them hear.
10 *For* there are ⌜some⌝ who shall be led into captivity, and there
are ⌜*some*⌝ *who* ⌜*died*⌝ *by the sword,* ⌜*and*⌝ *there are* ⌜some⌝ who
of themselves shall destroy themselves. But patience and
faith ⌜shall be vouchsafed⌝ to the saints ⌜of God⌝.
11 And I saw another beast that he came up out of the earth;
and he had horns ⌜twain⌝ like unto a lamb, <and> he spake as
the dragon.
12 *And* all the authority of the first beast he did exercise *before*
him; *and* he made the earth and all dwellers thereof that
they should worship the first beast, until there shall be healed
his wound of death.
13 And he wrought signs many, and ⌜he caused⌝ fire from heaven
to come down upon earth in sight of men.
14 And to lead astray the dwellers of earth <with> the signs which
it was given into his hands to do in the sight of the beast.
AND there say unto him the dwellers of the earth, Make an
image of the beast which shall have the wounds of the sword,
and shall live.
15 And there was given him authority that he should give spirit
to the image of the beast, *and* in order that the image may
speak, and that there may worship him all inhabitants of

9 Whoever hath 2: He who hath 3 4——them] him 2 3 4.
10 For] *a* 2: For . . . some] *om.* 4——who shall be led] who were delivered over 2: he who goeth 4——and there . . . themselves] he who shall with sword slay, he must with the sword be slain 4——some who . . . are] supplied from *a* 2 3——died] shall die *a*: *om.* 3——by] unto 3——shall] *om. a* (*bef.* destroy)——shall destroy] shall slay *a* 3: slew 2——But] Here is *a* 4——shall . . . God] of the saints *a* 3 4
11 that he] who 4——the lamb *a* 3 4.
12 *tr.* 'all' *after* beast 3: *om.* 4——he did possess before him over earth and the dwellers thereof 3 first h.: he did exercise before him, he made the earth, etc., 3**——and all . . . thereof] as they who are dwelling in it 4——until] of whom was healed the strokes of his death 4, etc.——before him and] *add a* 2 3 4.
13 wrought] shall work 4——many] great 3: very great 4——and he caused] that he shall make 4——*tr.* to come down from heaven *a* 4——upon earth] *om.* 4.
14 et seducebat (sic) incolas terræ signa quæ erat (sic) inter eos coram bestia 2——to lead] he (*or* it) led *a* 2 3: he leads 4——the dwellers of] those who dwell on *a* 4——dwellers upon earth by the might of the signs 3——because of the sign 4——which were (was 4) given to him to do 4 and 3** over ras.——it was] have been *a*——to do] *om.* Andreas——And] *om. a* 3 4——saying to the dwellers upon earth to make 4——which shall . . . authority] which up top of the sword lived, and there was given him authority 3** over a rasura of 3 lines——shall have . . .] hath the strokes of the 4——may . . . live] from the wounds of the sword did live *a*——shall live] was made alive 4——shall have issue of fire and shall stand 1*.
15 And . . . authority] over ras. 3**——authority] *om.* 4——that he should] to 4——that . . . slay them] 3 has et dedit illi (ille *cor.*) spiritum in ea hora imago bestiæ quia loquebatur imago bestiæ et faciebat ut qui non adorabant imaginem

earth, and that those who shall not worship *the image of* the beast, he may slay them.

16 And he shall make all, small and great, and rich and poor,
freemen and bond, that he may give them HIS sign on the
right hand and on their foreheads.
17 And no one is able to buy or to sell, if he have not the sign
of the beast and *number of* his name.
18 He who hath wisdom, shall reckon the number OF THE NAME
of the beast. FOR the number OF THE NAME is of the man.
And the number is SUCH AS this, 151.

XIV

1 And I saw and Lo, a lamb stood upon the mount Sion, and
with him 144,000, *who <had> his name* and the name of his
father WAS written upon their foreheads.
2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as it were voice of waters
many, as it were a voice of thunder great, and I heard as it
were voice of harpers, that they struck their harps,
3 And were singing a song new before the throne OF GOD, and
before the four animals *and before the elders,* and no one was

bestiæ, destruet eos——spirit] breath 4——and] *a* 2——and in order . . . of earth] *om.* 4——and he shall make slaughter of those who worship not the beast 4——the image of] *a* 3——slay] *a* 1: destroy 2 3.

16 shall make] maketh 4——*tr.* great and small 4——In 3 thus: Et adversus omnes pusillos et magnos et divites et adversus pauperes et adversus liberos et adversus servos, dicebat ut daret illis signum super manum illorum dextram et super frontes eorum——and rich (mighty 4) and poor and free 2 4——*tr.* and free and poor *a*——sign] stamp *a* 4——on their] 4——and on] or on] forehead *a*.

17 Shall be able *a* 3——And that no one shall be able 3 and 4 (*but om.* And.)——and to sell *a* 3——if he be not one who may have the sign of the name of the beast and number of his name 3——except one who hath the stamp or name of the beast or the number of his name 4——sign . . . name] stamp of the writing and name of the beast and number of his name *a* 2.

18 Here is wisdom: who hath understanding let him reckon *a* 4. Here is: he who may have understanding, wisdom, let him reckon 2——the number of] *om.* 4——is of] being of *a* 2 3——of a man *a* 4: the man (*om.* of) 3——And the . . . 151] according to the number of him 3 (adding in mg. in first hand the words *and the number*: 666) ——And his number *a* 2 4——such as] *om.* *a* 2 4——151 1: 660 *a* 2. The origin of 151 in MS. 1 may be the substitution for the Greek letters XΞZ· of the Armenian letters which most resemble them in form. 4 reads *and his number and six hundred and sixteen* ——of the name *pr. vice*] *om.* *a* 2 3.

1 the lamb *a* 3——who . . . name] *a* 2 3 4, *and* *a* 2 4 *om.* was——the names of 4.

2 as it were (*after* many)] and as it were 3 4: and *a* 2——of violent thunder, and the voice was, which I heard, as it were voice of harpers who struck 4——I heard *sec. vice*] *om.* 2——voice I heard as of 3.

3 =ᾠδὴν καὶ καινήν 3——thrones 2——of God] *om.* *a* 2 4——and . . . elders] *a* 2 4——no one was] I was not 4——was] is *a* 3——learn] know *a*——the song 4

able to learn their songs, save only the 144,000 who were
STANDING AROUND THE LAMB ON MOUNT SION, WHO WERE
VIRGINS, AND liberated from earth.
4 These are they who with women were not defiled, <and are>
virgins; and in every hour they SHALL follow after the lamb,
wheresoever he shall go. These wrote of men upon their
foreheads the name of the father *and* of the lamb.
5 And in their mouth was not found falsehood, for they were
without blemish.
6 And I saw another angel flying from heaven, and he had a
gospel eternal; and being come was gospelling to all races,
and tongues.
7 AND with voice great he said, Fear ye God and give <to him>
glory. For there is come a time of his judgment. And ye
shall worship before him who made heavens and earth, sea
and all which is in them.
8 And another second angel came after ⌜him⌝ and said, It is
fallen, it is fallen, it is fallen, the great Babylon, from wine
of drunkenness, AND from wrath AND from her fornication,
who made drunk all the gentiles.

——*om.* only 4——standing . . . Sion] *om.* α 3 4——who were *sec. loc.*] *om.* α 4: who are 2——virgins and] *om.* α 3 4——liberated] written 4 (by confusion of *gneal* with *greal*).

4 were not, etc.] fornicated not, for they are virgins. These are they who follow the lamb 4——and are virgins] = virgines facti 3——And in . . . follow] These follow α: These ever shall follow 3——*om.* shall α 2 and 4 which, however, used *hetevin*, where α 2 have *zhet erthan*——wrote . . . father] were chosen of men in sight of God α and 3** (over a rasura of two lines, where the first word of the underwriting is *of men*)——These . . . men] These were written of men and wrote 2——These are they who were bought of men, first-fruits of God and of the lamb 4. (Thus 4 is here free from the confusion of *Gneal* = bought, with *Greal* = written, which has played havoc with the other texts and which in the preceding verse besets MS. 4 itself.) Name of] sign of God 2——and] add α 2.

5 mouths α——falsehood] guile 2——For they are β And. 4: that they might be α γ——blemish] + before God 2.

6 from] amidst α 2 3** 4——and he] who 2: for he 4——eternal] *om.* 4——and being come 1 3: *om.* α 4: 3** erases: who being come 2——to gospel 3** α 4: *Add* 'upon earth and' 3——to gospel to those who were sitting on earth and over all races and stocks and tongues and peoples 4——races] + and tongues α 2: + and stocks and tongues and peoples 3——tongues] + which are dwelling on earth α.

7 And] *om.* 3: For 4: *tr. after* great 2——*tr.* he said with voice great α 3 4——God] the Lord 3——to him] *om.* 2: *tr. after* glory α——is come] + is arrived 4——before . . . made] God who made 2: the maker of α 4——and sea α 3 4——all] *om.* α 3** 4——which . . . them] so 3 first hand: fountains of waters α 2 3** 4.

8 *tr.* angel second α——came] *om.* 4——and said] saying 4——It is fallen] *twice* α 2: *once* 3 and 4 (*which adds* it is lost)——B. the great α 3——*or render* 'from wine's drunkenness': from wine of her wrath 4——and from . . . gentiles] have fallen all races 4——and] *om.* α 2——and] *om.* α (not And.), 2 of her f.] 2.

9 And another third angel came after him and said with voice great, Whoever worships the beast and his image, and hath received his writing on his forehead, *or upon his right hand,*

10 Such a one shall drink from the cup of wrath *of God* poured out from the unmixt <cup> of ire; and shall be tormented with fire and sulphur, before *God and* the lamb [and before his holy angels].

11 And the smoke of them shall ascend to æons of æons, and there is not faculty for them to rest day and night, who worshipped the beast and his image and who received the writing of <number in> his name.

12 But those who endure and have not in themselves his seal, they are those who have kept the law of God and the faith of Jesus CHRIST.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven which said to me, Write, Blessing is to the dead who in the Lord have died heretofore (*or* henceforth), AND HAVE NOT ATTAINED TO THIS HOUR. Yea, saith the Spirit HOLY, that they are at rest from their MANY TRIALS AND labours, but alone their works have gone after them.

14 And I saw, <and,> behold, a cloud white, and on the cloud *was*

9 *tr.* angel third α 3——after them α 4——and said] saying 2 4——whoever] he who 4——hath worshipped α 3: shall worship 2——and his] or his α β (not Andreas and γ)——and hath, etc.] or shall receive the writing of his seal 2: or hath received the stamp of his seal α: and receiveth a stamp upon 4——writing] seal α 2 3——right] *om.* 4.

10 Such a one] and he *or* even he 4——cup] wine 4——wrath] + of God α 2 3 4 (*which subst.* ire *for* wrath)——poured, etc.] which was mixt pure (*or* unmixt) of the cup from his ire 4——from his unmixt 3——God and] α 2——and before . . . angels] *om.* α: *tr.* bef. his (the 4) holy angels and before the lamb 3 4.

11 them] him α alone and 2: their (the 4) torments 3 4——*tr.* to æons of æons shall ascend 4——of æons]* *add* rising upwards 3——was not 2——and there . . . rest] and they have not rest α 4——day and night] *tr.* after beast α——worship 4——and who worshipped the image and received α——receiveth 4——or who were receiving 2——the writing . . . his] his stamp and α: seal and stamp of his 3: a stamp of his 4.

12 Here is endurance of the saints who keep the commands of God and the faith of Jesus 4——And endurance of the saints is here, they who keep α *and* 3** (over rasura of a text almost identical with 1)——have not] receive not 2——those] saints 2——who keep (kept γ) the commands of God α——Christ] *om.* α 3 4.

13 which] that it 4 γ——*om.* to me 4——have died] die 4: have fallen asleep α——heretofore] now, at once α: from now forward 4——and . . . hour] *om.* α 3 4——hour] time *or* season 2——yea] and 2: I correct *ays* in α 1 to *ayo*:——holy] *om.* α 4——they shall rest] 2 3 4——many . . . and] *om.* α 4——trials and] *om.* α 3 4——and many labours 2: labour α——but] and 2: for 4——*om.* alone 4——*tr.* their works alone 2——works with him do follow *sic* 4.

14 And on . . . crown] = cuius super caput eius corona 3: having upon, etc., 4——

sitting (one) like unto a son of man, and on his head HE
HAD a crown of gold, and in his hand he had a sickle made
sharp.
15 And another angel went forth from the temple, cried out
with voice great BEFORE HIM, AND SAITH, *Thou who sittest on
the cloud,* Send thy sickle <and reap>. For there is arrived
the time of harvest, and there is fully ripe (*lit.* arrived) the
harvest of earth.
16 [However he who was sitting upon the cloud, cast his sickle
to earth, and reaped the dwellers of earth.]
17 And another angel went ⸢forth⸣ from the temple which (is)
in heaven, <and> he *also* had a sickle made sharp.
18 And there went ⸢forth⸣ another angel from the altar, which
had authority over the ALTAR'S fire, and cried out in voice
great <unto> the angel, which had the sickle made sharp and
saith, Gather the clusters *from the vineyard* ⸢of the earth, for
fully ripe is her grape.⸣
19 And <the angel cast his sickle ⸢on the earth⸣, and gathered
the grape thereof, and> cast (it) into the winepress <of God>.
20 And he trod [in] the winepress outside the city, and there
went forth FROM THE WINEPRESS blood EXCEEDING MUCH, AND
IT REACHED even to the bridle of the horse, THE LENGTH OF IT
1600 furlongs (*lit.* parasangs).

om. he had *ceteri* (*after* head)——*om.* he had *after* hand 4——made sharp] sharp excessively 4.

15 temple] heaven α 2 4——crying out in a great tongue 4——thou . . . cloud] α 2 3** : to the one sitting on the cloud 3 : (to him) who sat on the cloud 4 (3 4 *om.* before . . . saith, α 2 *om.* before him)——time] hour α 3——arrived] come 2 3——of harvesting 3 4 ——and] for 3 4——for the harvest of earth is dried up 4.

16 But he] and he cast 2 3 *and om. below* cast——and he cast his sickle who sat on the cloud on earth and there was reaped the earth 4——reaped] + all 2.

17 temple of God 4——who also he had 3 : having also he 4——*om.* made 4.

18 which had] whose was 2——*om.* altars α 3 : *tr.* fire of the altar 2 4——cried out] voiced 2 4——with great tongue 4——the angel] him 3 : he 4——made] *om.* 4 ——saying 4 *and add* send thy sickle sharp and : 3 *add* come thou——from *om.* α the clusters from the vineyard 2 and α : the clusters of plants 3——is the grape in her α.

19 the angel] he 3——grape] vineyard 4——thereof] of earth 3 4 : in her α——winepress] + great 4——God] + the great (? winepress) α β γ 3 : great of the wrath of God 4——3 *renders the whole verse thus,* And he cast his sickle and gathered the grape thereof, for fully ripe was the grape on earth. And the angel cast his sickle on earth and gathered the grape of earth and cast (it) into the winepress of God, the great (winepress).

20 And there was trodden the winepress α 4 : and it was trodden in, etc., 3—— from the winepress] *om.* 2 3 : *tr. after* blood 4——exceeding . . . reached] *om.* α 4——horses α 4——the length of it] as it were 4 : *om.* 3 : *præm.* et erat 2 : *præm.* et α——1600] a thousand and six hundred 3.

XV

1 And I saw another sign great in heaven *and marvellous,* THAT angels seven *which had wounds seven* betokened the end, since through them shall be ended wrath *of God.*

2 And I saw a sea of glass, mingled with fire, and they that have conquered of the ⌜beast and of his⌝ image and of the number of his name, were standing upon the sea of glass. And they had the harp of God:

3 And were singing the song of Moses before* God *and before the lamb,* AND WERE saying, How great and wonderful are thy works, Lord God almighty; just and true are thy works, LORD *king of æons and* king of all Gentiles.

4 Who shall not fear and glorify thy name HOLY, for thou alone art holy and worthy (*or* sacred) <of worship> since all Gentiles shall come and worship before thee, that (*or* since) thy righteousness shall be manifested TO ALL THE WORLD.

5 And after this I saw that there was opened a temple of the tabernacle of testimony in heaven:

6 And there went forth the <seven> angels who had AUTHORITY OF the seven plagues. And they were clothed in linen pure and glistening; and they were girt about their chests with girdles of gold.

1 *tr.* in heaven great α 2 4——which . . . seven] α 2 3: having a creature the strokes (*or* plagues) which 4 where *ararats=creature* is a corruption of *katarats =end* read in 1 and 2——betokening 2: *om.* α 3**——the end *katarats* 1 2: the latter *ZKNI* α: the subsequent *yetoy* 3** *which writes the words* wounds subsequent *over a rasura of two lines*: the seven worse than all evil 4——shall be] was being α 2: has been 4——wrath] fury 4.

2 saw]+as it were α 4——and the conqueror of the beast 4——image] after this word 3 is deficient through mutilation as far as the word *angels* in vs. 7——numbers 4——name,]+and his stamp, they α: +and they 2: +that they 4——And they had] to have 4——harps α 2 4.

3 of Moses the servant (*dsarhayi*) of God 4 (corrupted in α 1 2 3 to *arhadji= before*)——and . . . lamb] 2 3: and the songs of the lamb α 4——and were] *om.* α 4——How] *om.* α 2 4——true is thy path α: true are thy paths And 2——Lord] *om.* α 4——king . . . and] 2——king over all γ——king of nations *and om.* all 4.

4 And who α——holy *pr.*] *om.* 2 4——worthy]. The same word, *ARJANI*, means both ὅσιος and ἄξιος. Hence in α 1 the gloss *of worship*——and worthy of worship] *om.* 4——Gentiles] races 4——come to worship 2——thee]+Lord α——that] when α: because 2——shall be manifested] *om.* 2 and *subst.* from æons: thy righteousnesses have been manifested 4——to . . . world] *om.* α 4: *add* of earth 2.

5 saw and behold the temple of the booth of test. 4 *and om.* was opened——that] and α 2——which was in heaven α.

6 forth]+from the temple 4——authority of] behest of 2: *om.* α 4——and they were] and he was 2: *om.* 4——clothed]+from the temple α——pure and glistening] clean and bright α: pure and white 4——girt] bound firm 4 *and om.* they were.

7 And by [one of] the four animals it was given to the seven angels, seven bowls OF GOLD full of the fury of God, the living to æons of æons.

8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his powers; and none was able to enter into the temple, until there shall be ended the seven plagues of the seven angels.

XVI

1 And I heard a voice *great* ⌜in the temple⌝, that it said to the seven angels, Go ye *and* pour out the seven bowls of the fury of God upon earth.

2 And there went the first ANGEL, and poured out bowl THE FIRST on to earth; and there came to pass plagues grievous upon men which have the writing of the beast, and worshipped his image.

3 And a second angel poured out from his bowl upon the sea, and the water was turned to blood *dead*, and all souls (*or* breaths) which were in the sea were destroyed.

4 And the third ANGEL poured out from his bowl into the rivers and fountains of waters; and it became blood.

5 And I heard from the angel *of the waters* that he said, Righteous is he which exists and holy. For thus he hath judged.

6 Because the blood of saints and the blood of prophets they

7 by one] in the midst 1 2 (through a corruption, see on vs. 6): and one of the . . . gave 4——bowls] goblets 4 *passim*——of gold] *om.* a 2——fury] wrath 4——of the living God a.

8 temple of God 4——from the] of the a 2 3**——and of his a 2——power a 3** 4——was able] ventured 2: is able a——shall be] were 2.

1 in] from a——a great tongue from heaven saying 4——upon earth] *om.* 4.

2 angel] *om.* 3 4——his bowl a 3——the first] *om.* a 3 4: golden 2——strokes] wounds very great and 4——grievous] and sufferings 2 *adding* on earth and——have] had a 2 3 4——writing] stamp a 3 4——his image] him 2.

3 the second a 2 4——*om.* angel 4——*om.* from a 4——his bowl 3——into the sea a 4——the water . . . to] it became 3 4——waters were a *and corrector's hand in* 1——dead a 3: = sicut trucidatorum 4——living soul which was a: animals 2 4——all animals died which were in the sea 4——was destroyed a.

4 *om.* angel 3 4——*om.* from his bowl 4——*om.* from a 2——it] they 2.

5 of the waters] 2 4——that he] who a——Righteous art thou, the existent, thy existent, thou holy, for this hast thou judged 4——exists and which is, holy 2: exists and is and holy 3 (holy over a rasura of *alone*): exists and is and holy in his works a.

6 *tr.* blood of prophets and of saints 3——*om.* the blood *sec. loc.* 3 4——the impious

did pour out, THE IMPIOUS ONES, THEREFORE THE HOLY ONE
hath given <them> blood to drink *according to their deserts.*
7 And I heard from out of the altar that it said, Yea, Lord God
<Almighty, just and> true are thy works.
8 And the fourth ANGEL poured out from his bowl upon the
sun, and it was given to him to scorch men ⌜with fire⌝.
9 And men were burned up with the *great* heat (*lit.* burning),
and they blasphemed the name of God, who hath authority
over these plagues. And they repented not, nor gave glory
to God.
10 And the fifth ANGEL poured out FROM his bowl upon the
throne of the beast, and his kingdom became darkened; and
they gnawed their tongues for pain of anguish;
11 And they blasphemed the God of heaven in their anguish,
and in pain of bitterness, and they repented not *of their works.*
12 And the sixth ⌜angel⌝ poured out from his bowl upon the
river great Euphrates: and there was dried up his water
that there might be prepared a path of the king of the rising
of the sun.
13 And I saw THAT THERE WENT FORTH out of the mouth of the
dragon *and out of the mouth of the beast* and out of the mouth
of the false prophet spirits three unclean, as it were frogs.
14 For they were spirits devilish, which worked signs, ⌜and⌝ they
came to the kings ⌜of all earth⌝, to gather them together unto
war on a day great of the Lord Almighty.
15 FOR THUS SPAKE THE LORD, ⌜Behold,⌝ I come as a thief OF

. . . therefore] *om.* 3 4——the holy one] *om.* α 2 3 4——hath] hast thou 2: also hath he 3: hath he α: and thou hast 4——acc. . . . deserts] = digni sunt 3 4: = secundum meritum α: = secundum merita eorum 2.

7 heard] + a voice α——out of] *om.* α 4——*tr.* true and just 4——works] judgements *ceteri* (is thy judgement 3).

8 angel] *om.* 3 4——poured] here and in vs. 10 *eark* is used in 1 instead of *ehel* of the other MSS. used elsewhere——*om.* from 4——scorch] burn up 4.

9 they] men 3——great] α 2 3——the name of] *om.* α——hath] had 4——nor . . . God] unto the glory of God α 3: to give him glory 4——God] him 2 4.

10 angel] *om.* 3 4——*om.* from 2 3 4——for, etc.] from violent anguish 4.

11 and in . . . bitterness] *om.* 4: in bitterness of pain 2——of their works] α 3 4.

12 *om.* from 4——were . . . waters α——dried up] 4 uses a synonym——that he might prepare 1 2 3 4 (I render α)——from the sunrise region 4.

13 that . . . forth] *om.* 3 4——dragon] beast 4——beast] dragon 4——*tr.* unclean three 3——unclean] abominable 4.

14 are spirits of devils which have signs and go forth over against 4——to all the kings of the α——over against the kings 3 4——and they gather 4——the day α 3——the Lord] God 3: the Lord God α——on . . . Lord] of the great God 4——Almighty] our God 2.

15 For . . . Lord] *om.* 3 4——speaks 2——I come] = venio ego: who cometh 3——

NIGHT; blessed are they that *shall* be watchful and shall keep their raiments, that they may not walk about naked, and their shame appear.

16 And he will gather them into a place which is called in Hebrew Karmagedon.

17 And the seventh ⌜angel⌝ poured out FROM his bowl upon the air;

XVI. 17–XIX. 18

Text translated from 4 with collation of *a* and 2. Codex 3 as far as XIX. 11 inclusive, agrees with *a* save where its variants are specially noted. Codex 1 is deficient.

XVI. 17 And there went forth a voice great from heaven from the throne, *saying, It is come to pass.*

18 And there were lightnings *voices* and thunders, and an earthquake was there great, as there has not been from the beginning, from when forth there have been men upon earth, such an earthquake great.

19 The city great was made into three *parts* and the cities of the nations fell; and the great Babylon was remembered before God, to give her the cup of wine of his fury.

20 And all islands fled, and mountains were not found.

21 And hail great as if a talent descended from heaven upon men. And men blasphemed God <in heaven>, because of the hail, since great were the strokes thereof.

of night] *om.* *a* 3 4——Blessed the watchful and who kept 3: Blessed is he who is watchful and who keeps his raiment, that he 4——*om.* about 4——shall be *a* 2——and their, etc.] and that they see not his unseemliness (ἀσχημοσύνῃ) 4.

16 he gathered 2 4: I will gather *a*——which is called] named 4——Armagedôn *a* 4: Karmaketon 2: Magedon 3.

17 from] *om.* 2 4.
heaven]+and *a*: *subst.* the temple and 2 (*for* heaven)——saying . . . pass] *a* *and* 2 (*which adds* the end of all).

18 voices] *a*: and voices 2——*tr.* and there was an earthquake *a* 2——as] such as *a* text: 2 *writes* which there was not ever such an earthquake great since there hath been, etc. *and om.* such . . . great: *a* alone omits from *as* to end of verse, but the other *a* texts retain——hath been man *a*.

19 And the city *a*: 2 *writes* and there were swallowed up cities very great as it were three parts, and the cities of the nations were swallowed up, and B. the city great (the change to the plural is due to a simple corruption)——parts *a*——*tr.* B. the great *a*——the Lord God 2——of fury of his wrath *a* 2.

20 fled] were turned to flight 2——not found] removed from the midst *a* 2.

21 as if]+weight of one *a*: 2 *subst.* *erkrord*=second *a corruption*——of the strokes of hail *a* 2——since very great and awful are the strokes exceedingly 2 (*om.* thereof)——was the stroke and violent *a* (*om.* thereof).

XVII

1 And there came <a certain> one of the seven angels, which had the seven cups, and he spake with me, saying: Come, and I will shew thee the judgement of the great harlot, who sitteth upon the waters many,
2 with whom fornicated kings of earth, and were made drunk dwellers of earth from wine of her fornication.
3 And he carried me away into a desert in spirit. And I saw a woman, that she sat upon a scarlet beast, <and> full <was he> of names of blasphemy, he had heads seven and horns ten.
4 And the woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and bedecked with gold and pearl, and with precious stones, having a cup of gold in her hand, <and> full <was it> of abomination and impure fornication.
5 And upon her forehead written a <name :> mystery, the great Babylon, the mother of abominations and of harlots of earth.
6 And I saw the woman drunk with blood of saints and with blood of the witnesses of Jesus, and I wondered having seen her, with wonder great.
7 And saith to me the angel, Wherefore didst thou wonder? I <will> tell thee a mystery of the woman and of the beast, which shall carry her, which hath seven heads and ten horns.
8 The beast which thou sawest, which was, and is not, and is about to go up from the abyss, and to proceed to perdition. And they shall wonder <all> who are dwelling upon earth, of

1 In chs. xvii., xviii., xix., the MS. Paris Suppl. 51 (ε) is collated and agrees with α wherever the contrary is not specified——a certain] *om.* α alone——*om.* and *before* he α——and saith α : and said 2——come hither and α 2——the] this 2.
2 earth] the world 2——wine of] + drunkenness of α 2.
3 he took carried me α 2 : 4 has *tarapart* which appears to be a corruption of the text read in 2 which I render——in spirit] and there was upon me a spirit holy 2——he] his mouth ε——a name α 2——he had] and the beast which I saw had α——crowns seven and heads ten 2.
4 clothed] arrayed 2——and bedecked] gildings embroidered 2——*tr.* and pearl *after* stones 2 3 : β omits——having] and had 2——abomination] disgusting α——and all impurity of her fornication 2——fornication] + of earth 3.
5 her] their ε——name in mystery α (ε *om.* in)——*tr.* B. the great ε 2 3——mother of harlotry and of all abomination of earth ε 2——abominations] harlots α——harlots] disgusting things α.
6 the saints α——blood of] + all α——of Jesus] *om.* α alone and Andreas : *subst.* of Christ β ε——marvelled when I saw that wonder great 2.
7 hath carried α 2——the seven α——the ten α——*tr.* heads seven and horns ten 2.
8 And the beast α——and was not α——about] ready 2——the abyss] hell α——they wondered α——who, etc.] dwellers of 2——was not α : are not 2——their

whom is not written name in book of life, from beginning of the world, seeing the beast, that it was and is not, and shall be close by.

9 Here is intelligence, he who hath wisdom. The seven heads, seven mountains are, where the woman sits upon them.

10 And kings seven are there. The five have fallen, *and the one hath stood,* and the other is not as yet come; and when he shall come, it behoves him a little to abide.

11 And the beast which was and no more is, even he is eighth, and is of the seven, and unto perdition proceedeth.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, ten kings are, which the kingdom as yet have not received. Authority as kings unto one hour they receive together with the beast.

13 These one mind have, and their power to the beast they give.

14 These with the lamb shall war, and the lamb shall conquer them, since lord is he of lords and king of kings, and who with him (are), called are they and chosen and faithful.

15 And he said to me, Waters, which thou sawest, where sitteth the harlot, the people and multitudes are, and nations and tongues.

16 And the ten horns, which thou sawest, they shall judge the strumpet, and desolate and naked they shall make her; and her flesh they shall eat, and her shall they burn with fire.

names *a*: the names *ε* 2——book] volume *or* roll 2——seeing] him which thou sawest *a* 2——that . . . by] which is and is not, and which was passing by to perdition 2——and is near *a*.

9 Here is wisdom, he who hath intelligence *a*: A man wise in intelligence shall understand, that the seven 2——where] which 2——was sitting *a* 2.

10 And the same, kings *a*: And they the kings 2——were seven *and om.* there 2——there] they *a which adds* and kings seven being (*ε om.* seven)——The seven* are fallen 2——and . . . stood] *a*: and the one hath a while 2——was not as yet 2——as yet] *om. a*——when he cometh (shall come 2), a little time hath he *a* 2.

11 which, etc.] which thou sawest, which is and henceforth is not 2——no more is] is not *a*——seven] + and of the five* 2——is about to proceed *a* 2.

12 sawest,] + they too 2——received] + but they receive and stand rulers for one hour *a*——and they receive authority with the beast *a* (*and om. words* as . . . hour): but they receive, they also authority as a king for one time with the beast 2.

13 These in concord go, and power and authority they give to the beast 2——mind] will *a*——their] *om. a*——power] + and authority *a* 2.

14 These] and *a*——do war *a* 2——conquereth *a*: shall conquer *ε* 2——since] + God and 2——of lords 3: of them *a*: *om.* 2——*om.* are they and *before* chosen *a*.

15 saith *a* 2: said Andreas——me,] + And *a* 2 (not *ε*)——the water *a*: the waters *ε* 2——sat *a* 2——peoples *and om.* the *a* 2.

16 Sawest] + of the beast *a*: unto the wild beast 2——they shall see (*testzen*) the harlot and shall hate (*atestzen*) her *a*; shall judge (*datestzen*) *in* 4 *and* shall see *in a* are corruptions: 2 *has* they shall hate the harlot *simply*——and desolate . . . make her] *om. a*——*tr.* naked *after* her *and om.* and 2——*tr.* her *after* fire 2.

17 For God gave into their hearts, to do his will, and to do one will, and to give their kingdoms to the beast, until there shall be fulfilled the word of God.

18 And the woman whom thou sawest, is a city great, which hath kingdom over earth.

XVIII

1 After this I saw an angel come down from heaven, having authority <great> and earth was lit up with his glory.

2 And he cried out with voice mighty, saying, She is fallen, [She is fallen,] Babylon great, and she is become a dwelling place of devils, and a prison <of every ghoul abominable and hated, and guardhouse> of every spirit impure and hated.

3 Since from wrath of wine of <her> fornication have fallen all nations, and kings of earth with her have fornicated, and merchants of earth with her have fornicated, by might of her wantonings have been enriched.

4 And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Go forth from her, my peoples, that ye may not participate of her sins, and of her plagues that ye may not receive.

5 For her (sin) hath been joined even unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Requite ye her as she requited you, and double ye unto her

17 hearts, for them to become (+of 2) one will and to give *α* 2——the kingdom *α* 2.

18 the city *α* 2——over]+kingdoms of *α* 2.

1 And after *α* 2——another angel *α* 2——having] and he had 2: which had *α*.

2 with his great voice and said 2——mighty] great *α*——she is fallen *bis* ε 2——fallen *sec. loc.*]+to earth 2——and she] which *α*——was become *α*——of all devils 3——of all ghouls *α*——and hated *pr. loc.*] *om.* *α*——prison] jail of guarding *α* 2——of all spirits *α* 2.

3 of all wine *α* alone——wine]+of drunkenness 2——fallen] been intoxicated *α* 2——earth]+who *α* 2——earth . . . wantonings] earth waxed rich out of the riches of earth and from the might of her sins 2——wantonings] debauchery *α*.

4 Another voice 2——her midst *α*: their midst 2 which throughout this passage subst. *their*, *them* for *her*——people *α* 2——and of . . . receive] *om.* *α β δ ε* Andreas——of her plagues] the plagues also of their sins 2.

5 *α β δ* (but not ε Andreas) omit this verse——hath]+reached and Andreas, *from which I supply the word* sin *omitted in* 4: *ε and* 2 *subst.* reached and touched *for* been joined——their sins have 2 and Andreas (not ε)——God] the Lord ε——iniquities] impieties *α* 2: illegalities ε.

6 And he requiteth them even as they requited you and they shall give double according to their deeds and the cup which they mingled, shall be mingled unto

twofold according to her deeds, with the cup wherewith she mingled, ye shall mingle to her twofold.

7 As much as she glorified herself and waxed wanton, so much ye shall requite to her [torments and] sorrow. For in her heart she hath said, I sit a queen for ever, and widow I no more am[, and sorrow I will not see].

8 Therefore in one day shall come torments of her, death and sorrow and famine, and fire shall burn her. For mighty is the Lord <God>, who hath judged her.

9 And there shall mourn and wail kings of the earth over her, who with her fornicated and WANTONLY sported, when they shall see smoke of her burning,

10 Afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, *and shall say*, Woe, woe, city great, Babylon, city strong, for in one hour hath come judgment of thee.

11 And merchants of earth shall weep and wail over her, because their freight no one buyeth.

12 Freight of gold and of stone precious and of byssus and of purple and of silk and scarlet, and all wood of frankincense and all vessel <of ivory and all vessel> of wood precious and of bronze <and of iron> and of marble.

13 And cinnamon and <all> incense (*or* spice) and oil and gum and wine and olive-oil and wheat-flour and corn, and cattle and sheep, and <of> horses <and chariots and of bodies and souls of> men.

them *and om.* twofold 2: And he requiteth her even as she requited us, and she shall receive twofold according to her deeds, and the cup, etc. (as 4) α.

7 And as much α 2——waxed wanton] sported α 2——so much shall be given unto them torment and sorrow 2——she saith 2: she said α——I will sit 2——queen] α 2 use a synonym——for ever] for all time α: *om.* 2: always β——I am not nor ever will I see sorrow 2——am] will be α.

8 come upon her plagues [of] death α 2——and burning with fire 2: and in fire shall she be burned α——who judgeth her 2.

9 wantonly *om.* α 2——when] and they shall sigh when α 2——burning] furnace 2.

10 And afar 2——<they shall stand>[, till having arrived they shall sigh] for dread of her α 2——and shall say α 2——B. the great city and strong 2——upon thee 2.

11 and 12 And they who shall profit from her shall both be dragged and shall weep and wail over her, and the flocks and possessions in her he shall no more buy through shame, and in vain shall they stand, not any one of gold and silver and of stones precious, of pearls and of byssus and purple, and of hyacinth and scarlet 2——weep] lament α——her] thee α——there is no one who buyeth α β (not Andreas)——freight . . . byssus] and goods which are from thee shall no more be, of gold and silver and of jewels precious and of pearls and of byssus α——silk] goldthread α——frankincense] 4 transliterates *θύϊνος*: the other MSS. render by *khunk* used again in vs. 13 to render *incense*——vessels precious of 2.

13 oils 2——gum] *or* incense——corn and] + chattels all α 2——*tr.* sheep and cattle (*or* oxen) 2——horses] war-steeds α——and of bodies] what profiteth bodies α——men] and all that profiteth men 2.

14 And season of longing of thy soul hath gone from thee, and all <rich and white> is lost from thee, and no more shalt thou find it.

15 Merchants by these things, were enriched from her, from afar off standing because of fear and of her torments, weeping and making wail,

16 <and saying,> Woe, woe, city great, who clothedst thyself with byssus scarlet, with gold and with precious stone and with pearl, since in one day hath been destroyed so great riches.

17 And every pilot, <and all> who unto places navigate, <and> sailors <and> whosoever with implements work, afar off shall stand,

18 Shall cry out, seeing the smoke of her burning, saying, Who is like unto this city great?

19 And they did cast dust upon their heads, <cried out with voice great, weeping and wailing> and saying, Woe, woe, city great, (in) which now we were enriched, who had ships in the sea from her preciousness, since in one hour she hath been dishonoured.

20 Be thou glad over her, heavens and holy apostles and prophets, since God hath judged your judgment out of her.

21 And an angel mighty took a stone, <as it were> a millstone great, and cast (it) into the sea, saying, Thus with onset shall fall Babylon, great city, and no more shall be found there.

22 And voice of harp-singers and musicians and of trumpeters and trumpets, shall no more be heard in thee.

14 And <all> longing of *α* 2——hath gone] shall depart 2——all] + well-being 2——and all gleaming beauty the rich and dainty and white is gone *α* (*β om.* all)——thee] them 2——shalt thou] could they 2.

15 And all traders (+ who 2) by these things (+ were 2) enriched from thee (them 2)——shall stand apart *α* 2——*after* fear *om.* and *α* 2 (3 retains)——of her] of thy *α*: of 2——shall weep and wail 2.

16 and saying] shall say *α*——clothedst] wast robed *α* 2——byssus and purples and scarlet and gold broideries and stones precious and pearls *α* 2——day] hour *α*: day hour 2——riches] + of thee *α* 2.

17 and *before* sailors] *om.* *α* alone and 2——implements] nets *α*——who in the sea are employed: so 3 *but retains* work——sea 2——stand] + weeping, and *α*.

18 and shall 2——of their furnace, shall say 2.

19 did] shall *α* 2——cried out] and mourning *α*——and weeping *α*——and saying] and mourning shall say *α* 2——now] all *α* 2——who had ships] and went hither and thither 2——from her] because of thy *α* 2——wealth of preciousness 2——she, etc.] thou (she 2) being destroyed art (is 2) ruined *α* 2.

20 Be ye glad *α*: Let them be glad 2——holy ones and 3——your] their 2.

21 Thus . . . onset] after this semblance 2——onset] over a rasura in 3——fall] be swallowed up 2——*tr.* city great 2——there] *om.* *α* 2.

22 of harp and songs artistic and voice of drum and trumpet shall no one any more hear out of her 2——musicians] + artistic *β* Andreas Oscan (but not *α*)——trumpets] *thmbki* drum *α*.

23 <And light of torch> shall no longer appear in thee, and voice of bridegroom shall no longer be heard in thee. <For thy merchants were> magnates of earth, because by thy wizardry were led astray all nations.

24 And in her <all> blood of saints and prophets was found, and of all those massacred upon earth.

XIX

1 And after this I heard voice of a multitude in heaven great, saying, Alleluiah, Salvation and glory to our God.

2 For true and just are his judgements, since he hath judged the harlot great [which ruined earth] in her harlotry, and hath sought vengeance of blood of his servants <at her hands>.

3 And a second time they said, Alleluiah, and smoke of her went up to æons of æons.

4 And there fell down the twenty and four elders, and the four animals, and they adored God, who sitteth upon the throne, saying, *Amen, Alleluiah.*

5 Praise ye, praise ye God, all servants of him, and ye who fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard a voice as of a multitude great, and as voice of waters many, as voice of mighty thunders: Alleluiah, and He hath reigned among us Lord God Almighty.

23 torch] + and sound of mill α : 2 *subst.* And voice of mill *for* And light of torch——no . . . thee] he not hear there 2——bridegroom] + and of bride α : 2 *has* of bride and of bridegroom——in thee] out of her 2——For] Nor α——magnates . . . by] her glorious ones who were delighted on earth who by 2——merchants and glorious ones and magnates α 3——earth] + who were delighted in thee α——by wizardry of thy (her 2) drug-giving α 2——were *sec. loco.*] *om.* 2.

24 her] thee α——*tr.* of prophets and saints α 2——all . . . earth] all those written (+ and sealed 2) in the land of life α 2.

1 voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said 2——*after* voice *add* great *and om. below* α——glory] + and honour and power α 2 : 3 *has* salvation and power and glory.

2 For in justice and truth are 2——that harlot 2——which] because she 2——harlotries 2——sought] + from her 2.

3 time] + they praised and α : + they sang and 2.

4 down] + on their faces 2——who sat upon the throne of glory α 2——saying] + Amen, Alleluiah α 2 (β *om.* Amen).

5 α *prefixes* and a voice from the throne went forth saying——Praise ye, etc.] 2 omits this verse and also verse 6 as far as *Alleluiah*——praise ye *sec. loco*] *om.* α——our God α——*om.* both α.

6 *after* voice *om.* as α——*after* great *om.* and α——*after* many *add* and——thunders] + saying α : + saying again 3——and He] because he α 2——reigneth 2——*om.* among us α 2——*om.* Lord Andreas——our God α.

7 And we rejoice and exult, and will give glory to him, because
a second time *is come* unto his marriage <of> the lamb, and
the wife, <the bride of him>, hath made ready herself.
8 <And it was given to her,> to array her in byssus <white> gleam-
ing pure. For the byssus, righteousnesses of the saints are.
9 And <he saith to me,> Write, blessed are they who are called
to the supper of the lamb. [And he saith to me, These words,
true are they of God.]
10 And I fell down before his feet and worshipped him. And
he saith, See, Nay. Fellow-servant of thee am I, and of thy
brethren, who have the testimony <of Jesus>. God do thou
worship, <for by the certainty of Jesus is prophecy>.
11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a horse white, and he
that was mounted thereon, is called faithful and true, <and in
righteousness> he judgeth and wars.
12 And his eyes as torches fiery, and upon his head many a
crown, having names written, which no one can know save
himself alone.
13 And clad in a garment fallen in blood, who is called as to
his name, the Word of God.
14 And captains of heaven ⌜and forces of heaven⌝ came after him
<upon> horses [white], robed in byssus white pure.
15 And from his mouth went forth a sword sharpened, that with
it he may smite the Gentiles. And he shall shepherd them

7 And] *om.* α 2——will] *om.* α 2——him] his name 2——because hath come the marriage of the lamb α (*and om.* a second time):——is come] α 2——his wife who is 2: his wife hath ε——herself] for him 2.

8 to put on byssus white pure and gleaming which is the byssus, righteousness of the saints α——byssus white is the righteousness 2.

9 he] one of the elders α——write] + this α 2——are all who α 2——supper] + of the wedding α 2——words are true and just of God 2.

10 feet, that I might worship ε 2——saith to me, obey. Fall thou not down before me, for I also fellow-servant α: saith to me, see, thou art evil. And he said to me, Fall not down before me, for I also, etc. 2——have] had 2——Jesus] + Christ α (not 3): the Lord 2——<the Lord> God alone α 2——<of Jesus is thy vision and spirit of prophecy>, since testimony of Jesus is through (*om.* 2) the spirit holy which was (is 2) in the prophets α 2 (*but* 3 *om. the words* since *to* prophets *which* 2 *alone retains*).

11 *om.* is called α: was called 2——and truly 2.

12 *om.* as α——torches fiery] a flame of fire α 2 3——mitres many 3 α: a mitre 2 ——and he had a name α: which had names many 2——written] + of them 2 ——which] and the names written 3——no one knew 2——knoweth α 3.

13 he was clad 2 3——fallen] dipped α: with sprinkling of 3 and ? 2——who, etc.] and his name was called Word of God α 2 3.

14 captain 2——forces of heaven] *om.* 2 (3* *erases* and *after* heaven)——white,] + which were 3——pure and white α: *om.* white 2 3.

15 his] their 2——he it was who was shepherding 2 3——he (+ it was who 3) was treading out 2 (*and om.* them)——*om.* as 2 3——fury (+ and 3) of wrath of 2 3.

with rod of iron; and he shall tread them out as a press of
wine of fury of God Almighty.
16 And there was upon his raiment and upon his thighs <and
upon his right hip>, king of kings and lord of lords.
17 And I saw an<other> angel which stood upon the sun, he cried
out <in a voice great>, saying to all birds <flying in midst> of
heaven, Come ye, gather ye together unto the great supper
of God,
18 and eat flesh of kings, [and flesh of chiliarchs,] and flesh of
mighty ones, and flesh of steeds and of those mounted upon
them, and flesh of all free men and bond, and of

XIX. 19–XXI. inclusive

Text translated from Codex 1 with collation of α, 2 and 4.

great and small;
19 and I saw the beast and ALL the kings of the earth, and their
forces gathered together to make war against him who was
mounted on a horse white and against his forces.
20 And there was taken the beast and THEY THAT WERE with
him, the false prophets, who wrought the signs before him,
whom he led astray, and caused to receive the writing of the
beast, *and the worshippers of the image of him*, of the Alive:
they cast them into the lake of fire burning with sulphur;
21 and the rest died by the sword of him mounted *on the horse*,
which went forth from his mouth; <and all the birds were
surfeited upon their flesh>.

16 And he had upon α 3——there was written 2——his 3**——right thigh a name of his authority, king 2——his thighs] his limbs α 3**——and . . . hip] a name written 3: a writing written α——kings] codex 3 ends.

17 which] that he 2——upon] at 2——and saith, all ye birds 2——unto the supper of the great God α 2——*tr.* saying *after* heaven α.

18 that ye may eat of the flesh of the king and of the flesh of the ruler and of the captain, and of the flesh of the horse and of him who was mounted on him and of the flesh of men bond and freemen 2——those] all α *and om.* all *below* ——small and great 4.

19 their] his 2.

20 the horse α——white] *om.* 4——they that were] *om.* 2 4: he that was α——prophet α 2 4——whom] and whom α: through which 4——and caused to receive] who received 4——writing] stamp α: grace 4——worship 2——*after* alive *om. colon* 1 4: and of the alive they α——they hurled *and om.* them 4——a lake α 2 4——burning] flaming 4.

21 the remaining were slain 4——of the ones mounted (*pl.*) 1 4——on the . . . forth] *om.* 4 ——on the horse] α 2——which etc.] from whose mouth went forth the sword α.

XX

1 And I saw another angel coming down out of heaven, and he had the bolts of hell and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he was holding the dragon, the serpent primal, who is Beelzebul himself and Satan. And he bound him for a thousand years,

3 and cast him into the abyss of Hades, and shut and sealed, that he should not any more lead men astray, until there be fulfilled the thousandth year; and after this he will loose him for a little time.

4 And I saw thrones, and them that sat on them; *and* judgement was given to them to choose the souls of the better ones for *sake of* testimony of Jesus and of the word of God. They are those who worshipped not the beast, [nor his image,] and received not the writing of *his* emblem upon their forehead, nor upon their RIGHT hand. These are they who shall live and shall reign with Christ unto *a thousand years.*

5 And after that from the dead shall no one live until the completion of the thousandth year. This is the first resurrection.

6 Blessed are the holy who have a portion in the first resurrection. Over them the second death hath not authority, but they are priests of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ and they shall reign with him *a thousand years.*

1 another] *om.* 4——and he had] having 4——the keys of the abyss 4

2 he held 4: seized *a*——dragon] + great 4——Beelzebul himself] the traducer *a*: who is betrayer 4.

3 and . . . into] *om.* 4——*om.* of Hades *and subst.* and he bound 4——sealed] + him *or* it *a*: + upon him 4——men] the nations *a* 4: the heathen 2——he must be loosed for *a* 4: they loosed him for 2.

4 a throne 2——them that] they *a* 2 4——them] it 2——and judgement *a* 4——*om.* to choose *and subst.* and 4——souls . . . for] souls of them tortured because of *a* 4——testimony] the name 4——and because of the word *a* 4——of God] *om.* 4——they are those] *om.* 4: *subst.* and *a*——the . . . emblem] his stamp *a*: a stamp 4——his] 2——nor upon] and 4——*om.* right 2 4——These . . . reign] And they lived and reigned *a*: And they shall live and reign 4——reigned 2.

5 And the remaining of the dead shall no more live 4——*live ketztze*, of which 1 and 4 have a corruption *ekestze = come*: no one lived *a* 2——until there shall be completed upon them a thousand years 4——resurrection the first *a* 2.

6 are they and holy 4——who shall have *a*——resurrection] 1 and 2 render *kingdom*, probably through confusion of *yarutheun* with *yarqayutheun*——And over 2: For over 4——are] shall be *a*——priests of J. C. 4 *and om.* of God and of the Lord.

7 And after the thousandth year, he will loose Satan, and expel him from prison.

8 [And] he shall go forth to lead astray the races ALL unto the four regions of earth, *and* Gog and Magog he shall take in hand, to muster through them all the forces unto war: of which the number of them is as sand of the sea INNUMERABLE.

9 And they shall go forth over the breadth of the earth, and shall encompass the camps of the saints, and <of> the city beloved; and there shall come down fire out of heaven, from God; and shall devour them [and <THEIR> CAPTAIN,

10 Satan who led them astray.] <And> he <shall> cast them into a sea of fire and sulphur, where was the beast and the false prophets. And they shall be tortured day and night unto æons of æons.

11 And *I saw* a throne great and white, and upon <the throne> (one) sitting from whom, from awe of his face, were afraid <and fled> heaven and earth. And place was not found for them.

12 And [I saw <thrones> mighty <and] the dead who were standing at the throne. And> books were opened <of their several works; and another book was opened>, of those whose names are written in the book of life.

But there was also a judgement made of the dead in the books according to the works of each.

7 after] when there shall be completed 4——he will, etc.] Satan will be loosed, and will go forth from prison from his bonds 4.

8 forth, and lead α 2——*om.* all 2 4——unto . . . regions] who are in the four corners 4——he . . . hand] *om.* 4——and to muster them unto war 4 *and om. rest*——of them] *om.* 4——*om.* innumerable α 4.

9 shall go] went 2——shall encompass] encompassed 2: shall war with 4 (through corruption)——and with the city 4——shall come] came 2 4——*tr.* from God out of heaven 4——shall devour] devoured 2 4——their captain] *om.* 4——and . . . astray] *om.* α β δ, but not Andreas.

10 Satan] the traducer 4——astray, was cast into a lake of fire 4——was] *om.* 4——the false] Satanay 4 (? a corruption of *sutanun=pseudonym*)——prophet α 2 4——tormented 4——unto . . . æons] *om.* α.

11 white great and upon it sitting one of whose face, etc., α: great and white, and (him) who sat upon it from whose face 4——and white] 2 subst. the numeral 'two' to the prejudice of the sense——whom and from 2——were afraid and] *om.* 4: *erkntchein* were afraid α: 1 and 2 have the corruption *korntchein* 'were destroyed.'

12 I saw the dead (correcting *zmerjeal* to *zmerheal*) and the mighty ones; books were opened of those whose, etc., 2: I saw the dead, (+and 4) the mighty and the little, who were standing before the throne and books were opened. And another book was opened (+which is 4) of life, and there were judged the dead from the writings (+in the books 4) after (*subst.* and 4) their works α 4——Arm. = quorum nomina eorum——But, etc.] or render aliud et iudicium factum est: 2 *om.* but *or* aliud——books]+according to their works several 2.

13 *And the sea gave up her dead: and death and Hell their dead, and they were judged each according to their works.*
14 And unto death and unto hell were they delivered, AND into the lake of fire.
15 <And whoever shall not be found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire.>

XXI

1 And I saw heaven new and earth new, for the first <heaven and> earth passed away, and the sea <was no more>.
2 And <I saw> *the city new holy Jerusalem,* that she came down out of heaven, from God, the bride, adorned and decorated, <and> she was given to her spouse.
3 And I heard a voice from heaven that it said, Behold the tabernacle of God among men. And he shall dwell in common with them; And they (are) FOR a people of him [with him], and he God of them.
4 And he shall expunge all tears from their eyes; and death any longer shall not <more> have rule over them, NOT MOURNING and not crying, not pain and not care. For it is removed and has fled from their presence.
5 And he said *to me* that sat upon the throne, Behold, I make

13 And . . . her dead] α 2 4——her dead α: mortuos ubi qui erat illi (*sic*) 2: the dead who in her were 4——and death . . . works] add α.
14 And death and hell he delivered up into the 2: And d. and h. were del. up into a α: and d. and h. were cast into a 4——Fire] + This is death the second 4
15 And *om.* 4——shall not be] was not α 4——was cast α 4.
1 new] empty 4 *bis*——for the first] and an empty 4——was] is 4——no more] not α.
2 And] For 4——I saw] *tr.* after Jerusalem α 4——*tr.* holy the new α: *tr.* new *after* I saw 4——Jerusalem] + appeared 2——coming down 4——from God and from heaven adorned and prepared as the bride for her husband α: from God adorned and decorated as even a bride, etc., 2: from God, made ready as a bride, adorned for her husband 4 *and om. rest.*
3 voice] + great 4——that it said] which said α: saying 4——tabernacle] dwelling 4——among] with 4——in common] in a house 2: *om.* α 4——they shall be his people, and he shall be god, with them 4——people unto α
4 expunge] clean away 4——death . . . them] death no more exists α: death shall no more be 4——not mourning] *om.* 2 4——*om.* and not 2——and pain shall no more be. The first things have passed away 4 *and om. rest*——care] + no longer any more shall guard * (*or* watch) them 2——care] toil no more exists α——For . . . presence] For the first has passed away α.
5 *om.* to me *before* write 4——these words are] α 2 4——*tr.* true and faithful α.

everything new, <And he saith to me,> Write, FOR this is words
faithful and true.
6 And he saith, Become am I Ayb <and Qê>, from the beginning,
and for the future, and unto æons. <And now> I am. <And>
they who are thirsty, I will give them from springs of water
of life TO DRINK gratuitously.
7 And they that be found victors, shall inherit all this. And
I will be unto them God, <and they shall be unto me a people>.
8 And AGAIN as touching the faithless [and the abominable, and
the] murderers, <and fornicators> and wizards, and sorcerers
and idolaters, <and all liars [and all] impious ones,> whose
portion of theirs *is* in the lake burning with *fire and* sulphur;
which is the death second.
9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had
the seven bowls filled <with> the seven ends, <with> the fulfil-
ments: *and* he spake unto me and said, I *will* shew unto
thee the bride and the wife of the Lamb.
10 And he took and carried me into a mountain <lofty and> great
and in the spirit <holy; and> he shewed unto me the city
<holy the Upper Jerusalem, AND THE MOUNTAIN> OF PEACE,
that it came down out of heaven from God ALMIGHTY:
11 Which had the glory of God. <And> THERE WAS in her a
sheen of stones precious <and of the stones> jasper AND SARDION
AND crystal-gleaming and luminous.
12 And her walls were VERY great, and HER TOWERS lofty. And
she had [in her self] portals twelve, and names several upon

6 Alpha and Ô., beginning and end. [And] to the thirsting I (+ will 4) give from a spring, etc., *a* 4——and unto subsequent æons I am 2——I will, etc.] thou shalt say* unto him from the spring 2——to drink] *om.* *a* 4.

7 He that is found a victor 2: He that conquers *a* 4——all] *om.* 4——them] him 2——and he shall be 4——a people] sons *a*——be my son 4.

8 again] *om.* *a* 4——as . . . faithless] of the remiss and faithless, etc., *a*: but of the faithless and faint-hearted and filthy and fornicators and wizards and idolaters and all sorcerers and liars, their portion in 4——*tr.* idolaters and sorcerers *a*——Arm. = quorum portio sua——is] add 2——*tr.* lake flaming with 4.

9 unto me] *om.* 4——end *a*: last plagues 4——with the fulf.] *om.* 4——and] add 2 4——and said] saying 4——I] come (+and 4) I will *a* 4: and I will 2——the wife, the bride 4.

10 took and] *om.* 4——me in a spirit upon *a* 4——*tr.* great and lofty 4——and] add 2——and in . . . holy] *om.* 4——the . . . city] the city great and holy *a*——the upper] *om.* *a*——*tr.* holy *after* Jerusalem 4——and . . . peace] *om.* *a* and 4 (which adds below)——came] was come *a* 2——almighty] *om.* *a* 4.

11 which, etc.] having the mountain of peace, the glory, of which the light was like to jasper, to a stone luminous 4——which] and it *a* 2——of stones] like unto stones *a* 2——and . . . stones] a rock *a*——crystal-seeming *or* crystal-like *a* 2——luminous] living *a* 2.

12 which had a wall great and lofty, having portals twelve, and names were written

the portals were written according to the twelve tribes of
Israel.
13 On the east side portals three: *and* on the west side portals
three: *and* on the North side portals three: on the South side
portals three.
14 And the walls of the City <foundations> twelve according to
the names of the apostles of the Lamb.
15 And he <that> spake with me had a measure *of gold* in his
hand, that he might measure the city <and her portals> and
her walls.
16 For THE LIE OF the city was four square, <and> as was the
length *of her*, of the same measure *also* her breadth. [And
he measured the city with the measure,] and the measure of
her length was twelve *thousand* furlongs; and *her* breadth
<and height> the same measure.
17 And he measured the wall thereof 144 cubits, ACCORDING TO
the measure of men, which is of an angel.
18 And the building of those walls of stones <PRECIOUS, of> jasper.
And the city of gold pure, like unto <pure and> white glass.
And the foundations of the city of all stones precious.
19 *And* the first foundation of the wall, jasper. *And* the second,
sapphire. *And* the third, turquoise. *And* the fourth, emerald.
And the fifth, sardonyx.

which are names of the tribes of the children of Israel 4——And she had on the portals themselves twelve angels; her several gates upon written names of the twelve tribes of Israel 2——and names, etc.] And on the twelve portals twelve angels, and names several *a*.

13 East, etc.] In *a* 4 the order is: East, North, South, West——*add* and *bis* 2.

14 And the breadth of the city had twelve, a number, and (*or* also) of the twelve apostles of the lamb 4——wall *a*: foundations 2——city] + had *a*——according . . . apostles] and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles *a*.

15 *Before* he *om.* and 4——me] + and] 2——measure] reed *a*——in his hand] *om.* 4 and subst. *a rod of gold.*

16 For] And *a* 2 4——the lie of] *om.* *a* 4——was] stands 4——*om.* as was 4——of her] *a* 2——also] *a* 2: as also 4——breadth] + and the height equal *a*——with the . . . measure of] *om* 4——*tr.* twelve furlongs her length *and om.* was 4——twelve] two 2——thousand *a* 2——her] *a* 2 4——the same measure] *om.* 4——the same] one *a* 2——measure] *β* And add *kiwos*, i.e. *cube.*

17 And he] who also 4——cubits] in *a* *asparez*, i.e. *parasang*, used to render σταδίων in vs. 16——according to] *om.* *a* 4——of a man *a* 4.

18 building . . .] roof of the wall, of jasper stones, and the whole of the city of gold pure in the likeness of pure glass 4——those] her 2——of the walls of the city was jasper *a*——city was gold pure *a*——*om.* and white 4——foundations] building (*or* construction) of the wall 4.

19 And *passim*] add 2: *om.* *a* 4——the first . . . jasper] *om.* 4——turquoise] chalcedony 4 and so *a* which uses a synonym——chrysolite] goldstone *or* carbuncle *a*: gold-eye 4. In 1 *sutak* a word not given in lexicons.

20 *And* the sixth, sardion. *And* the seventh, chrysolite. *And* the
eighth, beryl. *And* the ninth, topaz. *And* the tenth, chrysoprase.
And the eleventh, jacinth. *And* the twelfth, chalcedony.
21 And there were twelve portals of twelve pearls, uniform *and*
several the portals were. *And* one by one a portal, each of a
single pearl. And the centre of the city of gold pure; and
close unto the gates sheenlike as it were beryl.
22 And temple I saw not in her, for the Lord *God* Almighty was
the Temple in her, and the Lamb, THE ONLY BEGOTTEN <SON>
OF GOD *is* ALTAR OF HOLINESS.
23 And the city had no need of sun and moon, that they should
illumine her. <For the glory of God illumined her in every
hour;> and her lamp was the Lamb OF GOD.
24 And the heathen walked in her light, and the kings of the
earth were clad with light from Her glory.
25 And her portals were not shut, but were standing open con-
tinually. And night there was no more in her;
26 but only illumination <and glorifying, and costliness> trans-
cending all stones precious.
27 And there shall not enter there any one (*lit.* all) of evil will,
lest he pollute her with <his> falsehood; but there shall enter
into her those whose names of them are written in the book
of Life of the Son of God.

20 *transpose* iacinth and chrysoprase 2——the tenth turquoise 4——chalcedony *karkehan* 1 2: amethyst *amethows* α: agate (?) *yakath* 4 *which adds*: the thirteenth pearl.

21 And there . . . each] portal which were *sic* 4 *and om. rest*——pearls, of one shape; and of them severally were doors, each door of a single pearl; and the free space of the city was gold pure, as glass resplendent. And temple, etc., α——centre] public place 4——*before* gold *om.* of 4——gate 4——pure] + as of glass glittering 4——sheen-like] more shiny white 2.

22 was . . . her] is her temple 2 4——Lord] + God α 2 4——the only . . . holiness] *om* α 4——*after* God *add* is 2.

23 nor of moon 4——illumine her] beam forth 4 *and om.* her——illumined her]——shall illumine her 4 *and om.* in every hour——the very glory 4——her] + continually 2——her lamp] a lamp in her α——was] *om.* 4——of God] *om.* α 4.

24 And the heathen . . . light] *om.* 4——were clad, etc.] bring their glory into her 4.

25 were] shall not be 4——shut] + by day and by night α: + by day 4——but . . . continually] *om.* 4——And night] For night 2 4——was] is 2 4——no more] not 4——in her] there 4.

26 but] + they shall bring 4——only . . . stones] glory and honour of the nations α and 4 *wh. adds* into her——only] + is there in her 2.

27 enter into her any one (*lit.* all) corrupt and who worketh pollution and falsehood 4——lest . . . falsehoods] and polluted and falsehood α——but, etc.] but only they who were (are β) written in α: but only the written in 4——are] may be 2 8——Arm. = quorum nomina illorum (sua 2) scripta sunt——Son of God] lamb α 2 4.

XXII

Text from Codex 1 with collation of *α* 4.

1 And he showed me the river of the waters of Life bright as
crystal, which came forth from the Throne of God,
2 and proceeded amidst her streets. And along the bank of
the river she had the tree of life, which had fruit twelve
TIMES; one by one *month* it gave its fruit, and leaves of the
tree were [for the] healing of ALL the heathen. AND FROM
ALL TREES OF WHICH THEY ATE THEY WERE BLESSED,
3 and curses were no more in them, because the throne of God
and *of* the Lamb was in her. And the servants of God
ministered unto him.
4 And I beheld his face, and his name was upon their foreheads.
5 And there was night no more; and there was not any need
[of the light] of torch, and of light of sun. Because the
Lord God illumined all, and they were reigning unto æons
of æons.
6 And he saith unto me, This is the Word OF GOD faithful and
true. And the Lord God who through the holy spirit showed
unto his prophets whatsoever is to be hereafter.
7 Behold he is come quickly: Blessed are they that shall listen
and keep the words of this writing.

1 the . . . crystal] a pure river living of water of crystal appearance *α*: a river, water living, bright as beryl 4——which] that it 4——God] + and of the lamb *α* 4.

2 and proceeded] *om.* 4——her streets] the streets of the city *α*——in the midst of her street (*or* public place) and of the river, on this side and that, a tree (*lit.* wood) living made fruit twelve, month by month giving its fruit 4——she . . . tree] hither and thither trees *α*——had] bore *α*——fruits] *α om.* times *α* 4——one] + month *α*——it] they *α*——its] their *α*——trees *α*——were] *om.* 4——for the] *om.* *α*——for the health of nations 4——all] *om.* *α* 4——and from . . . blessed] *om.* *α* 4.

3 and not at all shall curses any longer be; and the throne 4——in them] there *α*——because] and *α*——the Lamb] of his Lamb *α*: of the Lamb 4——was] are 4——God] him *α* 4——minister 4.

4 And they beheld *α*: And they shall behold 4——was] *om.* 4: + written *α*.

5 And night was not there *α* (Andreas *om.* *was*): And night no more shall be 4——is not any Andr.——And they have not need 4——and *α* 1: neither 4——shall illumine 4——all] them *α* 4——were reigning] shall reign *α* 4.

6 said] 4——These words are (*α* is) faithful *α* 4——who . . . hereafter] of the prophets holy, sent his angel, to his servant, to show what is to be quickly *α*: of the spirits of the prophets sent his angel to shew to his servants that which is to come to pass quickly 4.

7 he is] I *α* 4——quickly] in haste 4——are . . . writing] he who keeps this word of prophecy *α*: so 4 *but adds* of this writing.

8 For I, John heard and saw all this. And when I saw and heard, I fell down and worshipped the angel which showed me all this.

9 And he saith unto me, [Thou man,] fall not down before me, and worship; for I am a fellow-servant and brother of thee, and (of those) who prophesied and kept the word of this writing. Do thou worship God.

10 And he saith unto me again, Bind not up, neither seal, the word of this prophecy; for the time thereof is at hand.

11 He that is about to do iniquity, let him work iniquity, and he that is about to be filthy, let him be made filthy: and he that is about to be made righteous, let him be made righteous, and he that is about to be holy, let him be made holy.

12 Behold I will pay thee reward, and the reward of each is according to his works. I am Ayb and I AM Qê,

13 I AM beginning and I AM end, *first and last*, SAITH THE LORD ALMIGHTY.

14 Blessed are they who shall call upon (*or* read) his law. They have authority of the Tree of Life; and they enter by the portals of the City OF GOD.

15 But there shall stay without dogs, *and* sorcerers, murderers, *and* idolaters, ADULTERERS, and all who walk and converse in falsehood.

16 I Jesus have sent my angel to bear witness to all this in the

8 For] And α Andreas 4: *om.* β——all] *om.* 4——*tr.* heard and saw α 4——worshipped before the feet of the angel 4——all] *om.* 4.

9 Thou . . . worship; for] see, lest 4——Thou man,] *om.* α——for] *om.* 4——I] + also α——servant] + of thee α 4——brother of thine] of thy brethren α 4——and of . . . and] who α: the prophets and who 4——keep β: shall keep α Andreas——word of] + prophecy of α: words of 4.

10 again] *om.* 4——Bind . . . seal] Seal not α 4——words prophetic of this book α: the words of prophecy of this book 4——thereof *om.* α 4.

11 about to do harm, will do harm yet more; and the filthy, shall be made filthy; and the just, shall work justice; and the holy one shall increase 4——let him] *or* he shall *passim*.

12 I will . . . works] I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to render to each after his works α: so 4 which adds the words *behold . . . reward* over line.

13 I am] *om.* α 4 *thrice*——Alpha and Ô α 4 and *add* earlier and later 4——end] + first and last α——saith . . . Almighty] *om.* α 4.

14 call upon] keep his commandments α 4——They have] For theirs shall be 4——tree] wood 4——of] to eat of α: over 4——they] they shall 4: to α——into the city 4——of God] *om.* α 4.

15 But] and——stay] go forth α 4——dogs,] + and α 4——sorcerers] + and fornicators and 4——murderers,] + and α 4——adulterers] *om.* α 4——walk . . . in] love α: work 4.

16 And I have 4 *and om.* Jesus——to witness to you this in 4: to witness this to you churches α——in] to you α——am] + from α β δ (not Andreas)——the offspring

churches. I am the root and the offspring of Adam, and the
star of dawn.
17 and spirit HOLY, and the Bridegroom who am to come.
Whosoever shall be thirsty and shall desire to come unto me,
shall come and DRINK the water living free.
18 I am witness to every man who heareth the word of the
prophecy of this book, THAT NO ONE MAY ADD (AUGHT) THEREIN,
AND THAT NO ONE SHALL TAKE AWAY THEREFROM. If any one
shall add (aught) therein, God shall add AND MULTIPLY upon
him the plagues all, which is written in this book:
19 and if any one shall take away A WORD, AND WITHDRAW (IT)
from the words of this prophecy, God shall withdraw his
portion from the Tree of Life and from the City of the
Saints, which is written in this book.
20 He spake which witnessed all this, Yea: I come quickly I
COME. *Amen, there is come the Lord Jesus Christ.*
21 *The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ upon all saints. Amen.*

of] from the seed of α β δ: seed from And.: the progeny of 4——Adam] David α 4——star] + resplendent α——of dawn] luminous the first 4.

17 And the spirit and the bride say. And he who heareth shall say, Come 4——holy] *om.* α 4——Come] + And he that heareth, saying, Come α——whosoever] And he who α 4——shall be] is α 4——thirsty] + let him (*or* he shall) come α 4——shall desire . . . free] and whoever desireth to receive the water of life free α: he who desireth, shall receive the water of life 4, *and om.* free.

18 am] *om.* α 4——shall hear the words 4——of the prophecy] *om.* 4——that no one . . . therefrom] *om.* α 4——therein] thereto α: thereupon 4——him] them 4——all the] the seven α: the 4——which is] *om.* α 4.

19 from the words . . . prophecy] *om.* α β, but Oscan, δ and Andreas read: *from the words of the prophecy of this book God shall take away and withdraw:* and so 4 but omit *and withdraw*——tree] wood 4——of the saints] holy 4——which is] *om.* α 4.

20 speaks 4——witnesses this to be 4——all] *om.* α——Yea] *om.* α: + Behold 4——*after* quickly *omit* I come α 4——Amen, etc.] supplied from α 4, but 4 *omits* Amen, *and reads* Come thou, Lord J. C.

21 supplied from α 4——of our Lord 4 Andreas——upon] with 4.

ARMENIAN VERSION OF REVELATION

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RECENSION

Of the twenty or more texts of this version to which, directly or indirectly, I have had access, the greater number form a close group of which the members so closely resemble one another, that to have examined one is to have examined all. The few which remain outside this group seem at first sight to defy classification, so widely do they vary in sense and choice of words. But on closer examination a line of cleavage is detected in these also, according as they approximate or not to the close group in question; and those which so approximate outnumber those which do not.

It is further to be remarked that the uniform text which so largely predominates is rarely found except in copies of the New Testament, or in manuscripts of the twelfth-century version of the commentary of Andreas and Arethas, of which the lemmata give it in its entirety. Conversely, the discrepant texts found in a minority of MSS. are met with, so far as I know, in only two copies of the N.T.; more frequently they are found, together with the apocryphal piece known as the *Dormitio Johannis,* in MSS. of the Armenian version of the Acts of John, known briefly in Armenian as *Prochoros,* from their supposed author.

Even if we had no outside evidence on the point, we should infer that a text which occurs in so many bibles, and which is always uniform with itself, must be a comparatively late recension; just as we infer the Peshito gospels to be such

in contrast with the Curetonian and Sinaitic texts. But evidence is not lacking. We have it, and amply, in two colophons which Nerses of Lambron, bishop of Tarsus, appended to his translation of the commentary of Andreas and Arethas. In the later of these, after reciting from the decree of the Council of Constantinople the names of several ancient authorities by whom the Apocalypse was received, he writes of the book thus:—

'Following in their steps, we have handed on to the children of Holy Church this book, that it may be ranked among the apostolic books, as a truly apostolic revelation. But it was made accurate, being revised from the Greek in translation by myself, the humble Nerses; and with it I have introduced into the Armenian Church a critical interpretation of the same.'

In the sequel he writes:—

'For before our very eyes the holy city of Jerusalem, trodden by the feet of God, has been snatched from the ministry of Christians by the sword of the Ishmaelites in the year of the Armenians 636. Over which was much blood shed of the various Latin races, which rank by rank had set sail, and with noble faith and valorous souls had reached Palestine; and there fell their corpses around the city, according to the verse "and there was none to bury them." But we remained the scorn of our neighbours until the full date 647 (= 1198), in which year king LEON of the Rubineans was honoured anew, a pious man and by God's help victorious. The fame of his valour stirred the great autocrat of old Rome, Henry, and of new Rome, Alexius; and they crowned him with precious stones in the church of Tarsus, of which, though all unworthy, I myself am pastor. May Christ our God, vouchsafe him to us, to live long and to be invincible; and when he departs hence, may he vouchsafe to him to share the crown and pavilion of the holy kings in the luminous abodes.'

In the other and earlier colophon Nerses relates how in reading the Apocalypse he was distressed by want of a commentary, and how he at last found one in great Antioch in the Frankish convent of Saint Paul, written in the Lombard tongue in the same writing which the Franks use, composed

by two interpreters (Andreas and Arethas).[1] He longed to translate this, but found no one able to render from that tongue into Armenian. Afterwards being outside the city on the 'Holy Mountain,' to the north thereof, in one of the Roman convents called Bethias, he met an encloistered monk named Basil, who had by him the book he desired, composed in the Greek tongue and written in a hand both correct and beautiful. It had belonged to Athanasius, patriarch of that city. The monk lent it to him, and he hastened to acquaint his Catholicos, Gregory, with his discovery. The latter, as delighted as he was himself, had it translated by the metropolitan of Hierapolis,[2] Constantius, who was living under the protection of the Patriarch. . . . 'The commentary on the divine Apocalypse was translated in the year of the Armenians 628 (= A.D. 1179) at the holy and patriarchal Throne which is called Horomklay, surrounded by the river springing out of Eden, the Euphrates, which affords to the inhabitants fulfilment of all human wants; through the providence of God, and under shelter of the God-harboring emblem[3] of Wanik and of other famous saints, who died here to the glory of God. But it was revised and punctuated with grammatical art in the safe and secure hermitage of St. George amidst the mountains of Taurus, which is in Gah[4] Cilicia and on the edge of Pamphylia, by the hand of the lowly bishop of the same metropolis of Tarsus, the wretched Nerses; through the grace and mercy of Christ.'

In a letter of Nerses to Yussik of Antioch, published in the Armenian journal Dschrakal, Moscow, 1859, we have another reference to his work. 'The Revelation,' he writes, 'which I myself translated from the copy of Athanasius, patriarch of the city (of Antioch), and found the explanation of the commentators,' etc. The word *thargmanem*, which I here render *translate*, would equally be used of a revision; and the interest of this citation lies in the statement that it was from a codex belonging to the patriarch Athanasius that Nerses made his revision of the Armenian. Was it really a copy of Andreas in which the text of Revelation was given section by section as the lemmata to be explained? If so

[1] Not all MSS. give the names.
[2] *i.e.* Mabug.
[3] *i.e.* Cross.
[4] Gah = steep.

this statement well accords with the allegation of the colophon that it was from Athanasius that Nerses procured his copy of the commentary.

It is, however, to be remarked that in the one colophon Nerses relates that he found the commentary and had it translated as early as the year 1179.[1] But the other colophon in which he alleges that he has revised the Armenian version of Revelation and introduced it into the Armenian canon, is dated 1198, on July 14 of which year he died. We are not obliged to suppose that Nerses was still working at the revision at so late a date, almost up to his death; and yet that seems to be the true sense of the colophon, which hardly conveys a mere retrospect of work achieved nineteen years earlier. Nor would the events which had occurred in the interim and the happy issue of king Leon's recognition by the rival emperors necessitate his adding such a colophon to a recension of the Apocalypse finished so many years before. He might indeed add a colophon to explain that these events were anticipated in Revelation, but in themselves they suggest no reason why he should enlarge, twenty years after, on the fact of his having been the reviser of the Armenian text.[2]

The first appearance of Revelation as a canonical book in Armenian Bibles tallies with the date of these colophons. In a bible written A.D. 1151, a vellum codex, No. 147 of the Valarshapat library, the Apocalypse is excluded. In a paper codex of the same library, No. 148, written 1253, it is contained; as also in a codex 149 of the same library, written on paper in 1270.

[1] The same date is given in the colophon of an old, but undated MS. of the commentary of Andreas, now in the library of San Lazaro as follows: 'This commentary upon the divine Revelation was translated in the year 628 of the Armenian era. And it was corrected and punctuated with grammatical art by the hand of myself, the humble Nerses, a lover of learning and Catholicos of Armenia, and by the hand of Costantius Metropolitan.'

[2] The recension may have only attained in 1198 the form in which the bulk of the MSS. exhibit it. The presence of many archaic variants in the MSS. η and κ suggests that in these we have preserved to us earlier and, so to speak, inchoate, forms of the Nersesian Recension.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT

WITH a view to clearness I have used the letters $a\ \beta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \epsilon$ to indicate the texts of the twelfth-century recension; and as they are for the most part identical, I indicate the consensus of them by the letter a. In the few cases, however, where a variant worthy of record stands in a, but not in $\beta\ \gamma$, etc., I register it as of 'a alone.'

I indicate the other texts, which are independent of the recension, by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. By the side of these the whole group $a\ \beta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \epsilon$ has the weight and value of a single manuscript only.

The twelfth-century recension was printed for the first time, and very accurately, in Oscan's Bible at Amsterdam in 1666. His text was reprinted several times in editions of the Armenian N.T. up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Zohrap in his critical edition of the Bible issued another text, which the London Bible Society has taken as its model, and which I shall describe below. The same recension is given in the lemmata of the Armenian Andreas.

Of the recension made by Nerses I have used the following MSS.:—

a. British Museum Additional, 18549. This contains the four gospels, Revelation, Paulines, Acts, and Catholic Epistles; and was written A.D. 1279 at Sis, in the church of the Holy Spirit, by the restorer of the church, Stephanos Vahkaytzi, for a brother of king Hethum of Cilicia. In 1600 it passed from the hands of the princely family of Ochin, who owned the castle of Gorigos on the seaboard of Cilicia, into those of KHODJA KHATCHIK of Djulfa at Ispahan, where, about the year 1620, illuminations were added by Mesrop,

pupil of the artist Ter Sarkis. It remained at Ispahan until 1743. The codex consists of 310 folios of fine parchment, measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches. The text measures $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in double columns of 29 lines, written in an extremely neat cursive hand. It contains the Euthalian apparatus to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and to Acts.

β. British Museum Cod. Addit., 19730. This codex closely resembles *a*; and as in *a* the Apocalypse and Rest of John precede the Paulines. The scribe was one Thoros Vahkaytzi, and the hand is a neat thirteenth-century cursive. It is written in double columns of 28 lines on glazed oriental paper. It is not dated, but undoubtedly belongs to the thirteenth century, and was written in Cilicia. The volume measures $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, and consists of 186 folios in 28 choirs originally, of which the last 17 alone remain. The first 11 contained the Gospels. The text measures $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

γ. An Armenian Bible belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Society, neatly but closely written in double columns on paper. It was written as a memorial of Basil Vardapet who fell asleep at Ksithon in A.D. 1667. The book of Revelation is placed at the end of the N.T. and is followed by the Rest of John.

δ. Of the Rylands Library in Manchester, codex Armenus 2. It is written on vellum in double columns, 23 lines to a column, in a large neat cursive hand of the early thirteenth century; folios 390, size 145×202 mm. Contents: Acts, Paulines, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation. Formerly of the Lord Crawford's library, Bibliotheca Lindesiana.

ε. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Arm. 51, is a small octavo paper book of 300 folios, written in a small cursive hand in single columns of 18 lines in the Armenian era 1145, equated by the scribe with A.D. 1696. It was written in Stamboul in the convent of St. George the warrior. Revelation fills folios 1-42. The codex is not a N.T., but a miscellany containing, beside Revelation, the tales of the brazen city and of the seven sages, etc.

η. San Lazaro, codex 1508, written A.D. 1319, on vellum, in small cursive, in double columns of 53 lines. Zohrap printed the text of this codex in his edition of 1805.

And. or Andreas: In addition to the above MS. sources

I have collated the Recension in the edition of the commentary of Andreas, printed at the Armenian monastery of St. James in Jerusalem in the year 1855 from three MSS. in the Library of the convent, of which the one was copied in Karin (Erzeroum) from an old exemplar written by the great doctor John of Eznka in A.D. 1306; the other two at Broussa. These seem to be apographs of a single exemplar of unknown age. I also collated two Venice copies, viz. *κ* codex 1572, a late cursive paper copy, important for the many pre-Nersesian readings it retains. λ codex 1230, written A.D. 1361 in the Armenian Patriarchate at Jerusalem, on paper in small cursive.

Oscan: The first edition of the Armenian Bible, printed at Amsterdam in 1666. I collated most of the text in this, but found the text to be identical with *a*.

Non-Nersesian Texts

1 = Bodley, Armenian codex E 2, which is numbered 32 in Dr. Baronean's catalogue. It is of oriental glazed paper, exterior size 7 × 5 in.; text, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ in., of 19 lines to the page, written in a round or *bolorgir* hand, of an old type. The contents are as follows: 1. Pseudo-Prochoros, Acta Iohannis, fol. 1-105. This text I copied and collated with a corresponding codex in the British Museum, Add. 19728, written A.D. 1307, for the edition lately published at San Lazaro.

2. The Apocalypse, fol. 105 verso.

3. Life of John of the Well, fol. 140.

4. Life of John the Calybite, fol. 154.

5. Life of Alexius, the Voluntarily Poor, fol. 171.

6. Martyrdom of James, Brother of John the Evangelist, fol. 184.

7. Joannes Vardapet Ezenkatzi (13th cent.), Metrical Discourse on Human Nature, fol. 221.

8. The Catholicos Zacharia, Sermon on the Passion, fol. 229.

9. Of the Same: Sermon on the Lord's Burial, fol. 262.

10. Life of Nerses I., Catholicos, fol. 287.

11. Aristotle's Letter to Alexander on Virtue, fol. 348-353.

The scribe adds several colophons; in one of which (following the Apocalypse) he gives his name as Stephanos the Clerk, and states that he wrote this MS. in the year 773 (= A.D. 1324), in the convent of Skevra (in Cilicia), at the request of Abraham, a monk, who also asks for our prayers in colophons placed at the end of the Acts of John and of several of the other pieces.

This codex has a long lacuna, unperceived by the scribe, and embracing ch. 16^{17} to ch. 19^{18}, from the words *τὸν ἀέρα* to *καὶ δούλων καί* inclusive. In the Apocalypse there is no chaptering or other division of the text, though it falls into paragraphs, which in printing it I have observed.

2 = British Museum, Orient. 5304. This is a New Testament written in a small neat round hand in double columns of 51 lines upon thin vellum. It bears no date, but on fol. 55 after the gospel of Luke a colophon gives the name of the owner. The codex is very beautifully and copiously illuminated, and is one of the most ornate Armenian MSS. I have seen. In places, and all through the Apocalypse, the inner upper margins of the folios have been obliquely destroyed by damp or fire, and patched with vellum. On these patches the missing text has been re-written in a clumsy, but apparently contemporary, hand; for the text so completed is, equally with the rest, non-Nersesian, and I judge it to have been filled in from the same exemplar from which the rest of the Apocalypse was transcribed. The last chapter is lacking, owing to the loss of a folio. A synopsis of the contents precedes Revelation, as it precedes the other books of the N.T.; and in it the chief points of ch. 22 are duly summarised. The text of Apocalypse in this MS. has the Frankish chaptering.

3 = Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.

This is a large bilingual codex of Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, and contains the Armenian text written opposite, but later than the Greek. The codex is Tischendorf's No. 102 of the Apocalypse, Scrivener's 109. It is written on parchment, large margins being left, which are occasionally cut away. In the Apocalypse one whole column of the Armenian has been thus removed together with the Greek text which was on the verso.

The Greek hand is a large neat minuscule, the ink of a

faded reddish hue. The breathings are often square, and it seems to me to belong to the eleventh century, though M. Omont does not consider it to be clearly older than the twelfth. The Armenian text of the whole of the N.T., except Apocalypse, is the so-called mesropic version, found in all MSS. and editions; and I detected no trace anywhere, no more in Apocalypse than in the other books, of an adaptation to the Greek of the Armenian text, although in almost every line the latter is more or less drawn out in order that the two texts may correspond line by line. For the Armenian, though written in as large a hand as the Greek, would yet occupy much less space, if written out compactly.

The Armenian hand is a neat large *bolorgir* or round hand of the twelfth century. The last folios are torn out, so that the Greek and Armenian texts alike end at Rev. 19[16] at the words *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*. Thus if there was ever a final colophon, indicating in detail the history of the book, it is lost; and we cannot say whether the Greek text was written in the first column of each page with a view to the Armenian being written in the other. It is at least as probable that the second column was intended for a Latin text, and the book originally designed for one of the Latin monasteries or churches which, on the testimony of Nerses of Lambron, we know to have been numerous in that age, in and around Antioch.

On fol. 292 V°, at the end of the Epistle to Philemon, where a large blank space is left before Revelation which begins on fol. 293 R°, the following colophon occurs, written in a contemporary, if not in the first, hand:

> Nerses, humble bishop of Tarsus, out of love
> A toiler over this holy book, which
> In old age I found in the tongue of Hellenes, and
> Have renewed in the tongue of Armenians, of the grace
> Of your prayers who make use of the same may I be worthy.

This colophon has been given in facsimile by Father Alishan in his volume on Sissuan, p. 112. It has been compared by others, as by myself, with specimens of Nerses' handwriting of the years 1175, 1195, etc., and the resem-

blance is so close as to leave no doubt on my mind that the Armenian text of this Paris codex was penned by the saintly and large-minded bishop of Tarsus. It is moreover clear that Nerses had not had the codex prepared for him. The Greek half of it had been penned for others and for other purposes.

In Apocalypse this beautiful codex has been sadly defaced by a later hand which has erased word after word and line after line in order to correct it according to the Nersesian recension. With the help of our MSS. 1 and 2 of the pre-Nersesian text, it is often possible to decipher the text thus effaced, and I have in my translation of the texts been careful to distinguish readings due to the corrector as A**. An earlier and probably contemporary hand has corrected a few passages, and this hand I distinguish as A*. It is impossible to fix the date of this corrector, but his ink and style of handwriting seem to me not earlier than the year 1300, and I am inclined to ascribe to him the Italian version, partly of the Greek, partly of the Armenian, text which is written as a third column in the margin almost throughout the book.[1] This is probably the first Italian translation of the N.T., and as such has a peculiar interest. Hence I transcribe it, so far as it extends, for the Apocalypse. It is as follows:

Evangelistæ Revelatio Sancti Ioā.

Revelatione de Iesu Christo . la qual dete lo dio a manifestargli soi servi . che bisogno esser presto . ⁊ egli significo mandando per langelo suo al seruo suo Ioāne . el quale diede testimōiāz agla parola de dio . ⁊ a la testimōiāza de Iesu $\overline{\chi\rho o}$ quāta uide . beato che lege ⁊ a chi udino le parole de la questa profetia . ⁊ a chi cōseruāolo īperho il tempo e a presto : Joāne a

[1] It extends throughout the general Epistles, the Paulines, and half of the Apocalypse. At a later time I hope to publish it in its entirety. Acts, 2 Peter, and the Euthalian apparatus are left untranslated.

In this codex the Greek text has not influenced the Armenian, for example in chs. i. and ii. it is identical with Tisch. except in the following variants: 1^{3} *τοὺς λόγους*——1^{4} *ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὁ ὢν*——1^{5} *λούσαντι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν*——1^{7} post *ἐξεκέντησαν* vult del. *καὶ κ* (ut lectio Primasii fiat)——1^{9} *ἐν χριστῷ* 'Ιησοῦ——post 'Ιησοῦ add *χριστοῦ*——1^{11} *Σμύρναν*——1^{12} *καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐπέστρεψα*——1^{13} *τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν*——*χρυσῆν*——1^{15} *πεπυρωμένοι*——1^{18} *κλεῖδας*——1^{20} *ὢν εἶδες*——2^{2} *κόπον σου*——*ἀποστόλους εἶναι*——*ἑαυτούς*——2^{3} *ἐκοπίασας*——2^{6} *μισεῖ*——2^{7} *τοῦ θεοῦ μου*——2^{8} for *ὅς* read *καί*——2^{9} after *σου* add *τὰ ἔργα καί*——2^{13} after *οἶδα* add *τὰ ἔργα σου καί*——2^{13} after *ἡμέραις* add *αἷς*——2^{14} *τὸν βαλάκ*——*καὶ φαγεῖν*——2^{16} *μετανόησον οὖν*——2^{17} *νικῶντι*——*τοῦ μάννα τ. κεκ. κ. δ. αὐτῷ* transiliendo om.——2^{18} *φλόγα*——2^{19} *ὑπομονήν σου*——for *πλείονα* read *χείρονα*——2^{20} *ἣ λέγει ἑαυτήν*——2^{22} *μετανοήσωσιν*——2^{23} *γνώσωνται*——*ἐρευνῶν*——2^{25} for *ἂν ἥξω* read *ἀνοίξω*——2^{27} *συντριβήσεται.*

sette chiesie che sō in asia Gratia a uoi ⁊ pace da quel che e . ⁊ che era . ⁊ che de uē ire . ⁊ da la parte de sette spiriti li quali son nel conspecto di suo throno . ⁊ de parte de Iesu χρ̄ο . el quale e testimōio fidele . primo genito di morti . ⁊ principe di re de la terra . el qual nei ha amato . ⁊ ha ne lauato da li peccati nostri nel suo sangue . ⁊ ha ne fatto Regno . ⁊ Sacerdoti a dio ⁊ p̄re suo . al qual sia gloria . ⁊ imperio in secula seculorū : am̄. Ecco quel uene cō le neuole . ⁊ uedera lo ogni ochio . ⁊ quelli che pensano . ⁊ allora piangera sopra de lui tutte le tribu de la terra : ⁊ certi cosi sara . Io sō alpha ⁊ o . prīcipio ⁊ fine . disse el Signor dio che fu ⁊ era . ⁊ uē era omnipotēte . Io Ioāne uostro fratello . ⁊ participi uole (?) nele tribulatiōe ⁊ regno ⁊ i patientia de Iesu χρ̄ο . Io fu ī insula la qual fu appellata patmos . per la parola de dio ⁊ per la testimōiāza de Iesu χρ̄ο . Io fu ī spirito nel di de la dominega . ⁊ uidi dopo me una uoce grāde cōe uoce de tuba la qual diceua . chel che tu uedi scriui nel libro . ⁊ māda a sette chiesie . ad epheso . ⁊ Smirna . ⁊ Pergamo . ⁊ thiatire . ⁊ Sardis . ⁊ philadelphia . ⁊ laodicia . ⁊ io me uolsi per uedere la uoce che parlaua ⁊ si ādo uolto io uidi sette cādelieri de auro . ⁊ in mezo de sette cādelieri de auro simile al filio lo de homo . uestito de uesta linea sacerdotale . cincto ale mamelle de cintura doro . el suo capo ⁊ li sui capilli . erāo bianchi cōe lana biācha . ⁊ cōe neue . ⁊ li ochii soi cōe fiāma de foco . ⁊ li sui pedi simili al aurichalco . cōe lardēte nele fornace . ⁊ la sua uoce cōe uoce de molte aque . ⁊ haueane la sua mane dextra . ⁊ stelle . ⁊ da la sua boca usciua el coltello aguzo . dūa parte ⁊ dal altra . ⁊ la sua facia luceua cōe sole nela sua uirtu . ⁊ habiādo ueduto q̄llo caschai ali soi piedi cōme morto. et egli pose la sua mano dextra sopra dime dicendo . non hauer paura . Io sō el primo ⁊ ultimo . ⁊ uiuo ⁊ fu morto . ⁊ ecco che sō uiuente in secula seculorum. Amen.

⁊ ho le chiaue de la morte ⁊ del inferno : Scriui a dūque quelle cose che hai uedute . ⁊ quelle c̄h sono . ⁊ quelle c̄h bisognia esser fatte dopo queste : el sacram̄to delle sette stelle el qual uedisti nela mia dextra . ⁊ li sette cādelieri doro. Sette stelle sō li āgeli de sette chiesie . ⁊ le sette cādelieri son le sette chiesie. Et al angello de la chiesia de epheso scriue . questo dice . quel che tiene sette stelle ne la sua mā

dextra . el qual ua ī mezo de sette cādelieri doro . Io so lopera tua . ⁊ la fatica . ⁊ la tua patientia . ⁊ tu nō poi sostenere li mali hōni . ⁊ prouasti quelli iq̄ūli si dicōo c̄h sō apostoli ⁊ non son . ⁊ trouasti li busiardi . ⁊ hai patientia . ⁊ hai sostenuto per el mio nome . ⁊ n̄ hai mācato . ma contra di te ho poche cose . perche hai abādōato la tua prima carita. Ricordate dūque ūde tu sei caduto . ⁊ fa penitentia ⁊ fa le prime opere . se n̄ . io uegnero a te . ⁊ mouero el cādeliero tuo del loco suo . se tu non farai penitentia . ma hai hauato questo bēne che tu hauerai ī odio li facti de nicolaiti: li qual ⁊ io ho hauto ī odio . Chi ha orechie oda quel c̄hl spirito dice a le chiesie . al uincitore . daro a māgiare del legno de la uita el quale ī paradiso de dio mio . A lāgelo de la chiesia de Smirna scriui . questo dice el prīo ⁊ lultimo. el qual fu morto ⁊ uiue . Io so la tribulatioōe ⁊ la tua pouerta, ma tu sei riche . ⁊ sei biastemato da q̄lle i q̄ūli dicōo c̄h sō iudei ⁊ n̄ sono . ma sono synagogi de satana. Nō hauer paura de quelle cose le qual tu dei sostenere . ⁊ ecco el diauolo e de esser posto ī prigione . acio che uoi state prouati ⁊ hauerete tribulatiōne diece di. Sii fidele ī sino a la morte . ⁊ io te daro la corona de uita . chi ha orechie oda chel spirito sācto dice a le chiesie . quello che uincera non sara offeso dela morte secūda: A lāgelo de la chiesia di Pergamo scriui . questo dice quello che ha la spatha aguza de ūa parte ⁊ de laltra . Io so doue douer (sic) tu habiti . doue e la sedia di satāa . ⁊ tu tiene el mio nome ⁊ n̄ negasti la fede mia . ⁊ in q̄l di Anthipas fu testimonio mio fidele. el qūl fu occisso appesso de uoi la doue satanas habita . Ma io ho cōtra dite poche cosse cōciosia che hai li cōsilii di q̄lli c̄h tiene la doctrina de balaā el q̄l īsegno a balach de metere scandalo auanti li figli de Israel mangiare ⁊ fornicare . cosi hai tu q̄lli i q̄lī tiene la doctrinæ di nicolaiti . Simelm̄te fa penitentia . Si n̄ io uignero ti tosto . ⁊ pugnaro cō essi nel cortello de la boca mia . chi ha orechie oda q̄l chel spirito dice a le chiesie . Al uincitore daro māna abscōdito . ⁊ daro a lui (?) uno carbunculo biāco ⁊ ī le calculo uno nōe nouo scritto . el qual ni uno n̄ sa saluo colui chel receue . Et a lāgelo de la chiesia de thiatire scriui . q̄sto dice el figliolo de dio el q̄l ha ochii come fiāma de foco . ⁊ li soi pedi sono simili al aurichalco . Io ho cognosciuto la

tua opera ⁊ la tua carita ⁊ la fede ⁊ el misterio ⁊ la patientia . ⁊ sarão piu le ultime tue opere che le prime . Ma ho cōtra dite poche cose . perche permette la femina iezabel. la q̄ūl se dice c̄h lei profetiza a maestrare ⁊ seducere li mei serui . fornicar ⁊ mangiar dele oblatiōe deli idoli . ⁊ holi dato tempo da far penitentia ⁊ n̄ se uol repentire da la sua fornicatiōe . Ecco io la metto in lecto ⁊ q̄lli ī q̄lli fornicano cō essa sarāno in maxima tribulatiōe . se n̄ farāno penitentia dele sue opere. ⁊ li soi figlioli occidero ī morte . ⁊ questo sanno tutte le chiesie chio scrutatore de core ⁊ le rene . ⁊ daro aciascaduno de uoi secondo lopere sue: Dico dūque tutti uoi altri che sete a thiatire . ciascaduno que n̄ ha questa doctrīa ⁊ che n̄ hāno cognosciuto la superbia de satanas . secondo che dice . Io n̄ mandaro sopra de uoi altra graueza . ma q̄l che hauete tenete ī sīno c̄h uignero . ⁊ q̄l che uincera ⁊ obseruara ī sino a la fine la mia opera . daro a lui potesta sopra la gente . ⁊ regera quelli ī bachera de ferro ⁊ come vaso de terra separara quelli . cosi cōe io receuto dal pre mio . ⁊ daro a lui la stella matutīa . chi ha orechie oda q̄lo c̄hl spirito dice a le chesie: Et a langelo de la chiesia de Sardis scriue . q̄sto dice q̄l c̄h ha sette spiriti di dio . ⁊ sette stelle . Io so le tue opere perche tu hai nome che tu uiui ⁊ sei morto . Sii uigilante ⁊ empie li mācam̄ti perche doueuana mori . Perche n̄ ho trouato le tue opere perfecte in āci de dio . habi in m̄te cōe tu hai receuto . ⁊ fa penitentia . Se tu non uigilarai io uegnaro a te cōe furo ⁊ n̄ cognoscerai in che hora uegniro a te . ma tu hai pochi nomi in Sardis ī q̄li n̄ hāno imbratate (?) le uestimente sue ⁊ uegnerāo cō mi in uestimente bianche perche sono degni quel chi uincera cosi. sara uestito de uestimente bianche ⁊ n̄ desfaro el nome sue delibro de la uita . ⁊ cōfessaro el nome suo dinanci al p̄re mio ⁊ dinanci a li sui angeli: quel che ha orechie oda q̄l spirito dice a le chiesie . ⁊ al angelo de la chiesia de filadelfia scriue: q̄sto dice q̄llo el qual sie sc̄to ⁊ uero che ha le chiaue de dauid. el q̄l apre ⁊ nesuno serra . serra e nesuno apre . io so le opere tue . ⁊ eccoc̄h io daro dinanci a te la porta aperta . la q̄l nesuno porra serrare perc̄h tu hai pochi uirtu ⁊ hai seruato la parola mia . ⁊ n̄ hai negato el nome mio : ecco chio daro de la synagoga de satana. īqli si dicono esser iudei ⁊ non sono . ma mētino . ecco chio faro c̄h uignarano ⁊ adorarāo dinanci

ali tui piedi ⁊ saperão chio te ho amato: cōcio sia che tu hai seruato la parolo dela patientia mia . ⁊ io seruaro a temptatiōe c̄h ha a uenire al mōdo: a prouare qelle che abitano in terra: Ecco che uēgo presto tiene quel che tu hai. a cio che alcūo n̄te toglia la corōa tua . q̄lc̄h uincera faro colūna nel tēpio de dio mio . ⁊ fori n̄ usciza ma piu . ⁊ scriuero sopra di q̄llo el nōe del dio mio . ⁊ el nōe dela citta del dio mio. dela noue Ieruslēm . la qual descēde del cielo del dio mio . ⁊ el nome mio nouo chi ha orechie oda q̄l c̄hl sp̄to dice ale chiesie. Et al angelo dela chīsa de laodicia dicia (sic) scriue . q̄sto dice el testimōio fidele ⁊ uero . el qūl e principio dela creatura de dio. Io so le opere tue perc̄h n̄ sei frigido ne caldo . uolesse dio c̄h tu fusti frigido o ū caldo. Ma perc̄h tu sei tepido ⁊ n̄ sei frigido ne caldo . Io cōinciaro a euomer te fori de la boca mia . perc̄h tu dice io son richo . ⁊ n̄ ho bisognio de alcuno . ⁊ n̄ sai c̄h tu e misero ⁊ miserabile . ⁊ pouero ⁊ cieco ⁊ nudo : A dūque io te cō seglio c̄h tu debi cōprar da mi affogato ⁊ probato . a cio c̄h tu deuenti richo . ⁊ tu te uestirai cō le ueste bianche acio c̄h n̄ apare la confusiōe de la nudita tua . ⁊ onge li toi ochii de colore a cio tu uedi . io castigo ⁊ reprendo q̄lli c̄h amo. Ama adūque ⁊ fa penitentia . Ecco io sto al uscio ⁊ batto . se alcuno odera la uoce mia ⁊ aprira mi la porta ītraro a q̄llo . ⁊ cēaro cō esto ⁊ lui meco . ⁊ q̄l chi uincera daro a sedere meco nel throno mio . quel che ha orechie oda c̄hl sp̄to dice ale chīse. Dopo q̄ste cose uidi ⁊ ecco luscio aperto.

Here the Italian translation ends.

But the interest of this Paris codex is not yet exhausted. I mentioned above that the text from ch. 16^{17}-19^{18} is lacking in codex 1, owing to a lacuna unperceived by the scribe. Now it is no mere coincidence that from 16^{17} onwards as far as 19^{11} the texts of the Nersesian recension and of MS. 3 are one and the same. At 19^{11} only do the two texts diverge, just before the lacuna ends. Unfortunately MS. 3 ends at 19^{16}, so that we do not know whether or not it differed from *a* from this point to the end of the book. How widely up to the point 16^{17} the recension has differed from MS. 3, the many rasuræ and rewritings of the corrector attest to the most cursory glance. Whence then this sudden identification of texts?

Only two explanations are possible. Either MS. 3 was copied from an examplar which failed, as does MS. 1, at this point, and the scribe, noticing the lacuna, supplied the missing matter from the revised text of Nerses: or else Nerses took as the basis of his recension a text which, like MS. 1, failed at this point, and for want of a text to revise, never carried out his revision in respect of this portion. Subsequently Nerses himself, or some one else, transcribing his recension, filled up the lacuna from MS. 3 or from a text identical therewith.

It is in favour of the first explanation that Nerses in his colophon attests that he was already old when he found codex 3 and wrote out opposite the Greek the Armenian text. If so, he must, it may be argued, surely have made his recension long before; at least if we are right in supposing the recension to have accompanied the translation of Andreas, finished as early as the year 1179. But would a man who died in June 1198 describe himself as grown old in 1179? On the other hand, would Nerses having already made a recension of chs. 1-16 for church use, concern himself to write out with so much care an archaic text like that of MS. 3, which everywhere conflicted with his new recension? This objection is to my mind conclusive. Nor are we bound to suppose that the work of revising the text of Revelation was concurrent with that of translating Andreas. Nerses does not say so, and it is more natural to suppose that the study of Andreas opened his eyes to the imperfections of the old Armenian version of Revelation. But, it may be asked, if Nerses had already copied out codex 3, which filled up the lacuna, why should he later on choose as the basis of his recension a codex which had the lacuna. Why, in any case, did he not complete his recension with the help either of codex 3 which he had himself copied or of its archetype? I answer that circumstances which are hidden from us may have dictated his choice. He may have been working at Skevrha, and have left his copy and its exemplar at Sis. He may have intended to continue his recension so soon as he could obtain a complete codex, and have been cut off by death before he obtained it. This is a likely enough supposition, when we consider that Nerses' own colophon announcing, it would seem, the completion of his recension, is dated the very year of his death. It

is therefore not improbable that there was the same lacuna in his recension as there is in the Bodleian codex which was written at Skevrha. May not some pious follower, after the scholar bishop's death, have filled in the lacuna from the copy written out by his master's hand?

Nor is it impossible that Nerses himself filled in the lacuna from the codex 3, and saw next to nothing to revise in this section of its text. Perhaps he was content merely to institute by way of correction the very few differences which in this section divide *a* from MS. 3, and to leave the rest. Who will blame an old man on the verge of death for being perfunctory? Indeed his whole recension, judged by modern standards, was of the most fitful and perfunctory kind. We, who are only anxious to know what sort of text he inherited, have every reason to be grateful for his lack of thoroughness.

4 = a codex written in the year 1199, and now preserved in the convent of St. James in Jerusalem. I have not seen it, but it has recently (1905) been printed there by Dr. Frederick Murat with scrupulous accuracy as the first instalment of a larger work on the old Armenian version of Revelation. Murat has not yet published a description of the codex which contains this text, but there is an apograph of the same in the Berlin library which assures us that in the Jerusalem codex, as in the Bodleian one, the Apocalypse is given along with and as an appendix of Pseudo-Prochorus.

5 = Berlin Library MS. Or. Quart. 805, acquired in 1890. This is a paper codex of 316 leaves badly written in 'bolorgir' and cursive hands. It begins f. 3 with pseudo-Callisthenes, then f. 104 follows Prochorus, at the end of which f. 123 is the *Dormitio Iohannis*, followed at f. 127 by 'Revelation of the Evangelist John,' which ends f. 149. Then comes 'The History of the Journey of Zosimos,' 'The History of Nerses the Great,' 'of St. Eugenia,' and lastly several poems of which one treats of Joasaph.

Murat prints a careful collation of this text underneath that of Jerusalem, of which it is a mere apograph.

I have not deemed it necessary to overload my book by reprinting this Jerusalem text. A collation of it with the Bodleian codex, or with the printed editions, would occupy more space than the full text itself, so numerous and intricate

are its divergences. But any one of my readers who is concerned to examine it will find a copy in the great university libraries of our country, and can also by writing to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem obtain a copy of it for a few pence.

6 = the Etschmiadzin codex No. 922 (Karinian's Catalogue, p. 126). Here again Revelation comes as part of pseudo-Prochorus. Karinian enumerates the titles of the first ten chapters of Prochorus. Then ch. x. bears the title 'About the Vision of John,' and here most MSS. of Prochorus end; but in the codex before us it is followed by a ch. xi., entitled 'Revelation of the Vision of John.' Karinian indicates that this is incomplete, or that part of its text is displaced in the MS., for he adds the note: of which you will find the missing part at the end of the Discourse of Thomas and at the beginning of the History of Antioch.

This MS. is, according to Karinian, an uncial (*ergathagir*) written on parchment-like paper in A.D. 1278, by Simeon the priest for Marcus the priest. It contains thirty-six separate pieces.

I have no right to enumerate this codex, for I have been unable to obtain a collation of it. Early in 1905 I wrote to my friend the Archimandrite Nerses Ter-Mikaëlian for a collation of it. He answered me from Shuscḥa in October that he had arranged to have it made, and after six weeks in transit his letter reached me. But the collation has not come, and I fear lest, owing to the civil war and anarchy in which long misgovernment has of late plunged Russian Armenia, I may not obtain it at all, or, at least, not in time to use it in this work.[1]

[1] I have subsequently had the good fortune to receive from the Patriarchate of Valarshapat a careful collation of this codex with the text printed at Venice by Zohrap in 1805 (from the MS. η). A translation of this collation is given in ch. viii.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF THE VERSION

THE colophons of Nerses prove that he revised from a Greek manuscript an already long existent[1] Armenian version; and I have now enumerated several MSS. of his recension and of the unrevised texts. Before I proceed to characterise these texts more fully, it is well to see how far back behind Nerses we can trace this version. My readers will understand that my enumeration of authors prior to the twelfth century is not complete. It represents only my own reading, and by diligent search among Armenian translators or authors, it could no doubt be much extended.

Gregory of Narek in the last half of the tenth century cites Revelation at least four times. In his commentary on the Song of Songs written A.D. 977, p. 334 of the San Lazaro edition of 1840, he writes:

'As he also says in the vision of John the evangelist, numbering all the tribes separately, 12,000 from each tribe.'

This is too wide a reference to Rev. 7^5 for us to argue from its language that Gregory had the version before us. But another citation in the Panegyric of the Virgin which he addressed to Stephen bishop of Mok (p. 409) allows us to draw this conclusion:

'With him (Job) the sublime John joins his strain and says in the text of the Revelation: In *terror fled heaven and*

[1] For example, Nerses writes thus: 'This Revelation of the divine Evangelist John, was honoured in the teaching of *our* holy fathers for purpose of testimonies, yet it slipped away because of the scandal imputed by some who distorted its meaning.' But as in the sequel he cites Dionysius Areopagita, Ireneus, Gregory Theologus, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril, Methodius, Hippolytus, and Origen, among those who used the Apocalypse, we cannot understand 'our holy fathers' of the Armenian fathers alone. He perhaps merely repeats the Exordium of the Commentary.

earth in a single shock from the presence of the Existent, *and place was not found.'*

Here the words cited from Rev. 20^{11} agree[1] with the text of Bod. e. 2, save that this, like the *a* text, substitutes the plural verb for the singular in accordance with Armenian idiom. MS. 4, however, has kept the singular of the verb. We may note also that the words 'in terror' answer to an addition found in the Armenian version and in no other text, for this reads: In *terror* of whose face *were afraid and* were fleeing heaven and earth, and place was not found for them. On p. 268 of the same edition of Gregory, in one of his colophons, we have an echo of Rev. 20^{15} and 21^{27}: 'May ye also be written in the book of life of sublime composition.' And again on p. 318 of his commentary on the Song of Songs he refers to 'The Vision of John the Apostle.'

The seventh vision of Daniel is an eighth-century version of a Greek original composed about the year 650. In it we have many echoes of the Armenian version of the Apocalypse, *e.g.* p. 27 of the text, edited by Dr. Kalemkiar at Vienna in 1892:

Then *the sun* shall *be turned to darkness and the moon* to *blood, the stars like a leaf* shall fall *and the heavens like parchment* shall *be rolled up.*

This passage so far as it is italicised is identical with the text of Bodley e. 2 at ch. 6^{12}, and the resemblance is much closer with this text than with *a*, which correctly renders the Greek phrase: 'The sun became black,' and adds the word *book* after *parchment.* We may note that the Armenian translator of the Apocalypse has taken the words: 'the stars were shaken down from heaven and the heavens like parchment shall be rolled up,' verbally from his version of Isaiah, and the words: 'the sun,' etc., from his version of Acts 2^{20} or Joel 2^{31}. Yet the author of the Daniel vision cannot have used Isaiah or Acts as his source, for in Isaiah, on the one hand, the sun and moon are not mentioned, nor in Acts, on

[1] I transliterate the citation of Gregory of Narek and add the text of the MSS. of the Apocalypse:

HIATZMAMB FAKHEAV ERKIN EV ERKIR . . EV TEḶI OTSCH GTAV.

MS. 1 has AḤE . . FAKHTSCHÊIN ERKINQ, but for the rest agrees. *a* has the same, but omits AHE. MS. 4 omits the detail, absent from Greek texts, that *they were afraid*, but has the singular verb FAKHEAV = 'fled,' and also the singular ERKIN. Thus one of the texts makes up what the other lacks.

the other, are the stars shaken down and the heaven rolled up. The Armenian Apocalypse alone combines the two sets of phrases from the versions of Acts and Isaiah. In rendering this passage, MS. 4, like the recension, but independently and using other equivalents, restores the meaning of the Greek text. And it carries the process of restoration further than Nerses, for it corrects the term *leaves* (of the fig-tree) to *unripe fruit*, and in a fashion it renders the Greek word *ἀπεχωρίσθη* in vs. 14. On the other hand, it still neglects to translate *βιβλίον*, and echoes the texts 1, 2, 3 in so far as it renders *was darkened* instead of *became black*. As elsewhere, so here, codex 4 declares itself to be a recension from Greek codices of the old Armenian text, but a recension made independently of that of Nerses, and at a much earlier date.

In the same context the author of the Daniel vision borrows from the Armenian text of Revelation 6^{15} the words, 'in the caves and in the hollows.' He also borrows the language of ch. 11^{6}.

Gregory Asharuni, in his commentary on the Armenian Lectionary composed about A.D. 690, glances at Revelation, and uses its ideas, but without making any set citations, if my memory serves me rightly.

In the Armenian Version of Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel, of which fragments exist in Bodley MS. Arm. E. 35, are found citations of the Apocalypse. They are mostly too brief to admit of comparison, but on page 179 of this codex we have the following:—

Whose names are written in the book of life, as John says in the Revelation.

The Armenian citation is identical with Rev. 13^{8}, except that the negative is omitted. The version of Hyppolytus was made not later than A.D. 500.

In the Scholia on the Incarnation of Cyril, which was rendered into Armenian about A.D. 715, we have a citation of Rev. 3^{20} which stands as follows in the Armenian:

And our Lord Jesus Christ said: *Behold, I* will *come*, and *if any one open* to me, we *will enter*, both I and my Father, and will make our abode with him.

Before considering the Armenian, it is well to notice that

this form of citation occurs in Greek in Epiphanius, adv. Haer. 69 § 61, Petav. Ed. p. 788, as follows:

καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ, ἐγὼ κρούω, καὶ ἐάν τίς μοι ἀνοίξῃ, εἰσελευσόμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου, καὶ μονὴν ποιήσομεν παρ' αὐτῷ.

Tischendorf gives the reference to Epiphanius only as far as *πατήρ μου*, and without seeing that it is a genuine citation; nor have any of the Greek MSS. such a reading; and that is a warning to us not to assume that they have any monopoly of the true text.

Here the Armenian text in Bodley has instead of 'will make our abode,' the single verb 'will dwell'; but the other text reflects the T.R. The phrases of the translator of Cyril, so far as they agree verbally with the Armenian version, I have italicised above. The translator was evidently familiar with the version.

In the fifth century Eznik in his *Treatise against the Sects*, bk. i., ch. 13, glances at Rev. 12^{7-9}, but without naming it. The Treatise was written before A.D. 449.

In the same century was translated Chrysostom's commentary on Isaiah, the first part of it (so far as it exists to-day in the Greek) from that father's very autograph. On p. 412 of the text, printed at San Lazaro in 1880, we find a citation of Rev. 14^{13}: *Blessing be on the dead which earlier* indeed may *have died* <rather> than on the living.

In Bod. e 2 we read:

Blessing is on the dead who in (*or* by) the Lord have died earlier, and have not attained unto this hour.

I have italicised the common matter of the two texts, and we can hardly doubt that the translator had the version in his mind; and his citation is nearer to the codices 1, 2, 3, than to the *a* text and 4; for the first of these substitutes for 'have died' the common equivalent 'have fallen asleep'; and the second substitutes for *waλwaλaki* 'earlier' the word *yaysm hetê* 'henceforth' a juster rendering of *ἀπάρτι*, which the Old Latin connects with what follows, herein agreeing with codex 1.

We have lastly to consider the evidence of one of the earliest monuments of Armenian, the translation of the Armenian version of the History of Eusebius, of which Mesrob was the author about the year 420. Here we have the following citations:—

Bk. 7, ch. 10. Rev. 13^{5}, in an Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria:

There was given him a mouth which speaks great things; and there was given him authority one year and months two.

Here the Armenian texts agree verbally with the phrases italicised, but add with the T.R. the words *and blasphemy* after *great things.* The Bodley M.S. perhaps implies *μεγάλα καὶ βλάσφημα* which stands in some Greek codices of Eusebius. Instead of the words 'one year and months two' the Greek text of Eusebius has 'forty-two months.' The Armenian text of Eusebius is probably correct in giving a reading which yet no Greek codex or father attests, for Dionysius perhaps cited the text in respect of Gallus who ruled *οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δύο.* Now forty-two months is three years and a half. We infer that the Greek text of Eusebius has been corrected from the T.R. It should be added that 4 agrees here yet more closely with the Eusebian citation than *a* 1 2 3, for whereas these render *khôsel* = 'to speak,' it renders *or khosêr* = 'which spake.'

Bk. 7, ch. 25. Rev. 22^{7}, in the letter of Dionysius:

Blessed be he who shall keep the word of the prophecy of this book and <blessed> I John who heard and saw this.

Here the *a* text is closest: I italicise verbal agreements with the Armenian text of Eusebius.

Blessed he *who keeps* this *word of prophecy, and* I *John heard and saw* all *this.*

But the Bodley MS. also has points of contact which *a* lacks:

Blessed they who shall hear and *shall keep the words of this book.* For *I John heard and saw all this.*

Both texts suffer from omission; combined they harmonise remarkably with the version of Eusebius.

Ibidem, Rev. 1^{1}: The Revelation of Jesus, which (*or* who) gave to shew unto his servants shortly and sent by his angel and shewed to his servant John, ^{2}. who witnessed about the word of God, and witnessed about all which he saw.

Save for the omission of the words 'whatever is to be' in verse 1 the above is almost identical with the Armenian version.

Ibidem, Rev. 1^{4}: Grace to you and peace.

The Armenian text of Eusebius and the texts of Revelation are identical.

Ibidem, Rev. 1^9: I John, your brother and co-partner of your straits and kingdom and patience because of Christ, was in the island which is by name called Patmos through the word of God and through the witness of Jesus.

The above except for the use of the word *neluthean*, which I render *straits*, instead of *wshtatz* which I render *tribulation*, is identical with the Armenian text of Revelation, and in some good MSS. as in the printed text *neluthean* is read. Note that except for the omission of the words 'and patience in Jesus Christ,' which is probably accidental, the Bodley MS. is closest to the Armenian Eusebius.

Bk. 5, ch. 1, in the letter of the church of Vienne in Gaul.

Rev. 14^4: who was made close *to the Lamb of God wherever he went.*

Here the part italicised agrees with the Armenian version of which both texts use the same verb *ertham* (I go). The Eusebian text has the imperfect of this, the *a* text the perfect, the Bodley MS. the subjunctive.

Ibidem, Rev. 22^{11}: there shall be fulfilled the word of the Scripture which says Let the lawless be further made unjust and the just be yet further made just.

Book 5, ch. 2. Rev. 3^{14} and ^{15}.

For gladly they reserved this name of martyrdom to Christ, who is *witness faithful of* the *truth and first-born of the dead* and *beginning* of life.

Here again the influence of the Armenian version of Revelation is unmistakable, and we note the reading 'of life' where the Greek MSS. vary between *κτίσεως*, *πίστεως* and *ἀληθείας*.

That my reader may appreciate the above argument, I transliterate the citations of Eusebius and italicise all words in which they agree with the sources *a* 1 2 3 4:

Eusebius, bk. 7, ch. 10 = Rev. 13^5.

Tuav nma beran or khosi zmetsametss ev tuav nma ishkhanuthiun.

4 is identical save that it has khosêr (imperfect for present). *a* 1 2 3 also agree except that they omit or and have the infin. khosel = *λαλεῖν*.

Bk. 7, ch. 25 = Rev. 22^7.

Erani itzê aynmik *or pahestzê zban margarêuthean zgrotzs zaysotzik* . *ev* inds *yohannês* or *luay ev tesi zays.*

4 agrees save that it omits the Syriasm itzê aynmik, has pahê (present indic.), omits inds and or, and has the variant forms lsêi . . tesanêi.

1 is less close for it has eraneliq en or, then adds luitzen ev, has the plural pahestzen, omits margareuthean (= of prophecy), and has qanzi (= for) instead of ev (= and). On the other hand it retains the forms luay . . tesi. *a* also retains these, omits zgrotzs and — otzik and second or, but agrees otherwise with 4.

Ibidem = Rev. 1^1.

Yaytnuthiun yisusi, ayn or *et tzutzanel dsaṛhayitz iurotz waḷwaḷaki ev aṛaq*eatz *idseṛn hreshtaki iuroy* ev etzoytz *dsaṛhay*i *iuroy yohan*nu, ayn *or wkayeatz* wasn *banin astuadsoy ev wkay*eatz wasn amenayni *zor etes.*

Here 4 is not available for comparison, for it has lost all but the first two and the last two words, but in these it agrees.

a 1 2 3 are virtually the same except that they add a few words which are in all the Greek texts. 1 is the nearest, but omits the last words of the passage by inadvertance. 3 has the order *servo suo Iohanni.*

All these texts omit the Syriasm ayn, have nshanakeatz *ἐσήμανεν* for the less accurate etzoytz (= *ἔδειξεν*), omit wasn and read zbanên instead, om. wasn amenayni (= of all), and have zwkayuthiunn (= *τὴν μαρτυρίαν*) for the second wkayeatz (= *ἐμαρτύρησεν*).

Ibidem = Rev. 1^4

Shnorhq ŭnd tsez ev khaḷaḷuthiun. Identical in all the texts.

Ibidem = Rev. 1^9.

*Es yohannês eḷbayr tser ev hauasar*ord tser *neḷuthean ev arqayuthean ev hamberuthean* wasn *qristosi, eḷê i kḷzvodsch or anuaneal kotschi patmos wasn banin astuatsoy ev wasn wkayutheann yisusi.*

4 disagrees only in rendering by ktzord tschartscharanatz the words 'partner of sufferings' (instead of by hav. neḷ.), and in omitting the second tser (= your). It also omits the second ev, then omits ev hamb . wasn qr.

It next, with 1, substitutes es êi for eḷê and omits the last

wasn. 3 alone has neluthean, *a* 2 alone have ev hamber; (= *καὶ ὑπομόνῃ*). 1 3 alone have the last wasn. *a* 1 2 3 all omit with 4 the second tser.

Bk. 5, ch. 1 = Rev. 14^{4}.

Or mertsavoreal êr *garhinn* astuatsoy, *ur ev erth*ayr.

All the sources agree in the words italicised. The rest is probably due to the Syriac.

Ibidem, Rev. 22^{11} Ev ardarn evs ayl ardarastzi.

Here 4 alone has ardarn = *ὁ δίκαιος*, for which *a* 1 subst. or ardaranalotzn = *ὁ δικαιώσων* or *ὁ δικαιωσόμενος*. On the other hand *a* 1 alone have ardarastzi = *δικαιωθήτω*: 4 expands into ardaruthiun arastzi = *δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω*.

Bk. 5, ch. 2 = 3^{14} and 1^{5}.

Or na *ê wkay havatarim tschshmart*uthean ev *andranik merhelotz, ev skizbn* kenatz.

Here 4 substitutes nakhtsin, 'firstborn,' for andranik, but has merhelotz, 'of the dead,' where the rest have imerheals, 'among the dead.' Otherwise all agree with the matter italicised.

In addition to the above passages, Dr. Dashian of Vienna has indicated to me the following in old Armenian writers:

David Anyaλθ in the second half of the fifth century, in his homily 'Exalt ye' (Ed. Venet. pp. 114 and 117), alludes to Rev. $13^{11\text{-}17}$, 14^{1}, 22^{4}, but without express citation.

Moses Khorenatzi in his homily on S. Rhipsima (Ed. Venet. p. 306) cites Rev. 12^{1} as follows:

Lo, there comes the bride holy from Libanan, adorned with light beauteous, having clad herself with the sun and the moon beneath her feet.

The Armenian is: Arkeal ziureav zaregakn ev zlusin ŭnd otiuq.

Here *a* 2 3 have arkeal against 1 which has zgetzeal and 4 arkutzeal. But 4 alone has the accusative zlusin = *σελήνην*, the reading of ℵ*. All read i nerqoy for ŭnd. The former best renders *ὑποκάτω*.

Johannes Sarkavag in XI. century in his treatise on Priesthood (Ed. Venice, *Sopherq* III., pp. 27, 28 = Rev. 5^{8} and 8^{3}). Also in two other of his treatises.

Agathangelus, fifth century, pp. 74, 75 of his life of St. Gregory, as follows:

For he himself (the Son of God) bought us with his blood . . . since we ourselves are the price of the blood of thy Son, saved and freed with his blood and body. . . .

This recalls Rev. 5^9. The Armenian runs thus:

Gneatz zmez areamb iurow (= bought us with his blood), and 14^3 where ἠγορασμένοι is rendered in all the sources except 4 by the same word as Agathangelus uses: *azatealq*, which means *freed* or *liberated*.

Thus the citations in Armenian literature constitute a chain of evidence stretching back to the earliest years of the fifth century, to the very dawn of the Christian literature of Armenia. Considering that no church lections were ever taken from Revelation, and that as a suspected book it is excluded from all early Armenian lists of the canonical books of the Bible, the frequency of citation from it is a matter for surprise. Yet it accords with the internal evidence of the text, since the book must have been extensively copied and recopied for such a diversity of readings to arise as we find in the five different texts which I have been able to examine.

CHAPTER IV

THE INTER-RELATIONS OF THE SOURCES

The evidence of the citations proves also that the earliest tradition of Armenian text is divided and split up among our sources, not quite equally indeed, but yet with a fair amount of impartiality. In the same sentence one phrase or even word has survived in MS. 4, another in 3, a third in 1 or 2, a fourth in the Nersesian text itself. And, as a rule, what survives in 4 has failed to survive in any one of the rest, and what appears in one alone of them fails to appear in 4. We infer that the tradition represented by 4 separated itself very far back from the tradition which, in spite of manifold variety, yet binds together in one homogeneous whole as against 4, the Nersesian recension and the MSS. 1, 2, 3.

A cursory glance through the conspectus of readings printed at the foot of each page of my rendering of MS. 1 confirms this impression, and it is superfluous to enumerate examples of a rule which my readers can so easily verify for themselves. And the impression of the aloofness of 4 from the rest of the tradition is heightened if we study it in the Armenian alongside of its rivals, for we then find that in numerous instances where it yields the same sense with a member of the other group, as often with *a*, the language is different. In such cases we seem to have before us two independent renderings of a common Greek text.

That the reader, even if he does not know Armenian, may realise the above statement, I have chosen a typical passage and transliterated, facing each other, the text of *a* 1 2 3 in one column and that of 4 in the other.

	Ch. 7^{13}. Text of *a* 1, 2, 3	Text of 4
13	*Ev ase* tzis mi yeritzantz	*Ev* mi omn i dserotzn
	anti,	pataskhaneatz *ase*low,
	soqa *orq zgetzeal en*	aysq *orq zgetzeal en*
	zhandertss (– s om 23) *spitaks* (– s om 23), *oyq*	patmutschan *spitak*, *oyq*
	en, *ev usti* gan ?	*en*, *ev usti* ekin ?
14	*Ev a*sem (*asatzi a* 2, 3) tzna,	*Ev asatzi* nma,
	têr (+ *im* 2, 3), *du gites.*	*têr im*, *du gites.*
	Ev asê tzis, soqa en	*Ev a*satz ints, ays *orq*
	or (*orq* 3) *gan i* wshtatz (+ ev i *neλutheantz* 3)	*gan i neλutheantz*
	medsatz.	*medsatz*,
	Ev luatzin zarkanelis	*ev luatzin* zpatmutschans
	iureantz, *ev spitakatz-*	*iureantz*, *ev spitakatz-*
	utzin zna (*om a*) *areamb*	*utzin* znosa *areamb*
	garhinn.	*garhinn.*
15	Ev (*om a* 2 3) *wasn aynorik*	*Wasn aynorik*
	en aradschi athoroyn *āy*,	*en aradschi āy*,
	ev pashten zna ztiv	*ev* spasavoren nma i
	ev zgisher.	tuê *ev* i *gisher*i.

I have chosen a passage where the recension of the twelfth century is identical with that of the MSS. 1, 2, 3. We have therefore in the first column the text just as Nerses inherited it. Practically the only change he made was to omit zna = *αὐτόν* after *ἐλεύκαναν* in verse 15. Elsewhere I have pointed out that we probably have here an Armenian rendering of the strange variant *ipsum* read by Tertullian in this passage. It puzzled Nerses, so he merely left it out; but 4 substitutes *znosa* = *αὐτάς*.

We notice first that 4 is more faithful to the Greek than the other texts, thus in vs. 13 it renders *and a certain one of the seniors answered saying,* merely displacing *ἀπεκρίθη* and omitting *μοι*, both without confirmation of other sources.

At first sight the other text is still less authorised, for it omits *ἀπεκρίθη* entirely and = et dicit mihi unus ex presbyteris. But it is possible that some Old Latin text agreed with the shorter Armenian text; for they disagree here, codex *f* of Prim. with certain of Cyprian's codices reading: et respondens unus de senioribus dixit mihi (dixit has passed into the Vulgate), whereas the other texts have: et respondit unus ex senioribus dicens mihi, agreeing with the Greek. In the first text respondens may equally have been added or dropt out.

In the same verse 4 has ekin = ἦλθον instead of the present gan = 'they come.'

In vs. 14 the present asem = dico instead of asatzi = dixi εἴρηκα is a mere idiosyncrasy of MS. 1, but not so the present ase = dicit just below, since here *a* 2 3 share it. Here 4 has more correctly asatz = dixit, εἶπεν.

In the same verse 4 renders the phrase οὗτοι οἱ quite literally by aysorq, omitting the copula; the others add en = sunt, and so harmonise better both with classical Armenian idiom and with the Old Latin: Hii *sunt* qui venerunt.

In vs. 15 4 omits athoroyn = τοῦ θρόνου, without confirmation from any source.

Thus far we have dwelled on changes of meaning. As regards merely verbal changes the passage contains much that is characteristic of 4. We have in 4 dserotzn which answers better to *senioribus* than the word eritzanz, the technical equivalent of πρεσβύτερων. I am therefore inclined to here recognise a Latin influence in 4. But it is difficult to say which equivalent stood first in the version, for in one place at least, 5^6, 4 has a conflation of both, thus eritzantzn dseruneatzn = presbyterum seniorum; and in 5^{14}, MS. 4 drops its favourite word dseruni and renders οἱ πρεσβύτεροι by eritzunqn. These two passages have a tell-tale look, and suggest that the equivalent used by *a* 1, 2, 3, had the priority, and that the use by 4 now of dseruni, now of the shorter form dser is a pedantic substitution made under Latin influence. We shall see in the sequel that this influence sometimes reveals itself in 4 where it is absent in *a* 1 2 3, though as a rule the opposite holds good.

In vs. 14 θλίψεως is rendered neḷutheantz, in the rest by wshtatz. MS. 3 has a conflation of both.

In verse 13 patmutschan is preferred by 4 to handerts as a rendering of στολάς, and the singular is used by 4 as also by MSS. 2, 3. The same equivalent recurs in 4 at vs. 14, where the others use arkaneli. Similarly the texts *a* 1, 2, 3 have changed from arkaneli in Rev. 6^{11} to handerts in 7^9 in rendering στολάς, but 4 has uniformly adhered to the equivalent it uses in verses 13 and 14, viz., patmutschan, and it is worth noticing that in Mc. 16^5 the Armenian version renders the phrase περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκήν by the same

words as 4 uses in Rev. 7^{13}; and that in Mc. 12^{38}, Lc. 15^{22} and 20^{46}, it also uses the same word for *στολή* as 4.

Here it is more natural to suppose that the first translator varied his equivalents as in *a* 1, 2, 3, and that a reviser made the text uniform with the version of the gospels. If so 4 represents a revision as against *a* 1, 2, 3.

In vs. 15 *λατρεύουσιν* is rendered in 4 by spasavoren, in *a* 1 2 3 by pashten. Both are equally literal. At 22^{3} the latter equivalent is used by 4 as well as by *a* 1, and in the whole of the rest of the Armenian N.T. no other equivalent is used. Here again one is inclined to regard the irregular usage as the earlier, but in that case 4 has here the priority. The formulæ ays (or aysq) orq *οὗτοι οἵ* has a late ring about it as compared with soqa orq employed in the other texts. In the text of 4 moreover we have incontestable traces of the activity of a reviser who has tried, but ineffectually, to efface characteristics of the other texts. In ch. 6, verses 1, 3, 5, 7, a voice cries *ἔρχου*, which is rendered in the texts *a*, 1, 2, 3, 'I come,' in Armenian gam. Now in the first and last of these verses 4 renders *ἔρχου* correctly by ek; but in 6^{3} *ἔρχου* is simply omitted, while 6^{5} is rendered: 'I heard from the third animal *that he was coming*,' an obvious paraphrase of the other text which runs: 'I heard from the third animal that he said, I come.' It is clear that 4 has here its basis in the rival texts, and not they theirs in it.

Another peculiarity of *a* 1, 2, 3, is that in Rev. 1^{4}, 4^{5}, 5^{6} the phrase: 'the seven spirits of God,' is corrected in MSS. 1, 2, 3, evidently by some partisan of the unity of the Holy Spirit into this: 'the seven powers of the Spirit of God,' and in 3^{1} into 'the seven graces of the Spirit of God.' In *a* the correction is only found in 1^{4}, for in the other three passages Nerses adjusted his Armenian text to the Greek. Now in Rev. 1^{4} the MS. 4 has this: 'and from the seven of the Spirit which are.' Here a reviser has struck out the word 'powers,' without changing 'spirit' into the plural. So in *γ* it is struck out in the text and added in the margin. In Rev. 3^{1} the text of 4 has 'the seven spirit (sing.) of God'—a mere bit of botching. In 4^{5} it has this; 'which are seven parts of the Spirit of God'—a mere alteration of the other text. In 5^{6} it has: 'which are parts seven of the graces of the Spirit of

God.' Evidently these readings are the work of a reviser who did not like the idea of there being seven Spirits of God, and yet was not content with the text of 1, 2, 3.

Sometimes too we get in 4 a conflation of an earlier text with the Greek. Thus in 19^{14} MS. 2 reads, 'his name was called Word of God and captain of heaven.' Here MS. 3 agrees with 2, save that it reads 'captains of heaven,' and connects with what follows. But 4 has the conflation: 'And captains of heaven and forces of heaven'; and the same is read in the *a* text, which is good proof that Nerses in this section of the text had a knowledge, which he rarely or never elsewhere reveals, of the text of 4.

In 8^{11} we have another conflation, of which we cannot trace both elements; another at 18^{8}.

So in 19^{16} MS. 4 conflates the text of MS. 2 with a new translation of the Greek, where Nerses and the corrector of 3 entirely change the sense.

At 21^{10} the author of 4 seems to have struck the phrase 'the mountain of peace' out of the place it has in 1, and a copyist has imported it into verse 11. Nerses omits it entirely as alien to the Greek.

Often in 4 we have a desperate effort to mend a corruption rampant in the other texts as at $2^{4,5}$, 2^{9}, 13^{5}, 15^{1}, 16^{13}, 21^{21}. In such cases 4 sometimes, e.g. 15^{1} and 21^{21}, is a conflation of the old text of the other sources with a new and literal rendering of the Greek.

Another feature of 4 is that it so often prefers another equivalent in place of that which the other sources employ. Thus twelve times the word zλdschanam, 'I am penitent,' takes the place of apashkharem, 'I repent,' as an equivalent of *μετανοέω*. Tschragaran is used in *a* 1, 2, 3, to render *λυχνία* four times, viz.: in $1^{12,13}$, 1^{20}. In the fourth case 4 also has it, but in the first three places and in 2^{1}, 2^{5}, 11^{4} it uses a rival form tschraganotz. Meanwhile the other texts in chapter two give up their first equivalent, and take to the word ashtanak in 2^{1} and 2^{5}, and with curious results. This word is easily confused with ashtarak = a tower, and in 2^{5} the latter takes its place in *a*, 2, 3, and in the edited texts. yielding the sense: I will move thy towers from their place, This idea is improved upon in MS. 3, the oldest of all our

codices. Some scribe bethought him that to move a tower, it would need an earthquake; and accordingly we read: 'There cometh to thee an earthquake and moveth thy tower!'

So in 2^9 *βλασφημίαν* is rendered in 4 by bambasan = slander, where the other sources have the regular equivalent hayhoyuthiun which elsewhere 4 shares with the other sources. So in 2^{27} khetzeλên replaces brti used in *a* 1, 2, 3, to render *κεραμικά*; here the genitive brti seems to be a translation of *figuli,* read in Primasius. So in 2^{28} where the regular equivalent of *πρωϊνόν* arhavautun is used in *a* 1, 2, 3, but the word arhadschin = *πρῶτον* is used in 4. So in Rev. $18^{3, 7, 9}$, *στρῆνος*, *στρνιάω* is rendered by wrirak in 4—an unknown word, but late sounding compared with the equivalents used in the other texts.

Such examples could be multiplied, but are too technical to be pursued here; and we must turn to another feature of 4, this namely, that it constantly gives a literal, even a servile rendering of a Greek text identical with Tischendorf's, where the other sources have odd readings, which yet seem to go back to a Greek source. Thus in 3^2 in place of *στηρίσον τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν,* 1, 2, 3 have a text answering to *πληρῶσον τὰ λεῖποντα ἃ ἔμελλες παραβαίνειν,* 'Fill up the defective which it was set in thy mind the transgressing.' And in the next clause *πεπληρωμένα* is rendered by them 'completed' or 'perfected,' as if *πεπληροφορημένα.* Here 4 exactly renders the Greek: 'establish the remainders which were about-to-die' (future partic.), confirma reliqua quae peritura erant.

Nerses in this passage corrected the text he inherited along other lines, and renders: 'Establish henceforth, since thou art about to die,' without using the future participle; and in the next clause he retains the text of 1, 2, 3. Here in place of katareal 'perfected,' 4 has lsel a corruption of ltzeal 'filled.'

In this passage 4 recalls Primasius in its use of the future participle to render *μέλλω.* But we must not lay too much stress on this, for such a rendering would come as naturally to an Armenian as to a Latin.

Another feature of 4 is that it constantly transliterates or makes up words on a Greek model, after the manner of

Armenian translators of the post-classical age. Thus at 18^{12} *θύινον* (not *θυΐον*) is transliterated. *ἡμιώριον* at 8^{1} is exactly rendered by the compound jamakês; *ποταμοφόρητον* at 12^{15} by getatar; *πνευματικῶς* at 11^{8} by ogevorakanutheamb; 16^{15} *ἀσχημοσύνη* by antsevuthiun = 'want of form,' where the other texts render *αἰσχύνη*, and the Old Latin has *turpitudo*; *κολλύριον* in 3^{18} by aknadeλ = 'eye-salve' or 'eye-drug,' where 2, 3 have shufa; 8^{3}, libanowton (*λιβανωτόν*) in 4, where the other texts use khnkanotz; in 4^{3} and 10^{1} *ἶρις* is rendered in 4 by pativ = honour or dignity, where the other sources render in the one case by 'priests' *ἱερεῖς*, in the other by the classical equivalent dsiadsan; *θειώδεις* at 9^{17} is rendered 'God-like,' by a false etymology, where *a* 1 2 render 'flaming with sulphur' and 3 transliterates *thiodi*. Perhaps the last was left by the original translator, and the other renderings arose independently as new translations of the Greek; for we must not forget that from the year 400 up to 1200 the Armenian church writers never lost touch with Greek literature, but were translating from it in every generation. In 21^{1} *καινός* is quaintly rendered by 4 as *κενός* from some Greek MS. which contained this common error; at 1^{5} nakhdsin = 'first-born' takes the place in 4 of the more classical andranik, which is read in the other sources and is contestably the original reading.

In most of these cases, and in many more where 4 substitutes a servile rendering of the Greek for a more elegant, but often paraphrastic or Latinising, rendering in the other sources, the latter appear to me to contain the fifth-century text, and 4 to be a redaction of the early eighth. Nor am I alone in this view. Father P. J. Dashian, whose knowledge of the old Armenian literature and of the Greek, Syriac, and other literatures which lie behind it is unrivalled, writes to me as follows of the Jerusalem text edited by Murat:

Dabei lasse ich bei Seite die engeren Lesarten der beiden Hss., die fehlerhaften Lesungen und Schreibarten, überhaupt Alles was der Herausgeber unter dem Texte verzeichnet hat. Abgesehen von alldem, im Texte selbst giebt es noch viele, viele Stellen, die schwerlich alt Sein können.

And again:

Ist nun dieser Text wirklich 'alt'? Jedenfalls, glaube

ich alt genug; aber, ich habe den Eindruck, auch jedenfalls *nicht der ursprunglichere.* Keiner der alten Bibelübersetzern des V. Jahrh. hat wohl diesen Text in dieser Form und Fassung niedergeschrieben.

We must not then yield to the temptation there is to suppose that 4 contains, as against *a* 1, 2, 3, the more original form of text, merely because it is in general a faithful, often even servile, reproduction of a Greek original of unusual antiquity, and because it is as a rule free from the paraphrases, excrescences, and manifold corruptions of the other texts.

And from the methodical collation of 4 with the text of Tischendorf which I give in the next chapter issues a yet more cogent argument; for, thus examined, its text is found to present everywhere peculiarities in the way of Latin readings and of variants from ℵ and the cursive groups 38 . 79 and 7 . 14 . 92. The other texts *a* 1, 2, 3, are characterised even more extensively than 4 by these very peculiarities. It follows that they belonged to an original text out of which 4 in one direction, and 1, 2, 3 and *a* in another, have been developed.

We shall also see that 4 often retains these peculiarities, where they have been revised out of 1, 2, 3; especially out of 3. For before the age of Nerses the ancestors of these MSS. also had been retouched from Greek codices, in a manner too superficial indeed and too fitful for us to use of it the word recension, and yet so as to leave traces which assure us that it really took place.

CHAPTER V

A COLLATION WITH TISCHENDORF'S TEXT OF MS. 4[1]

Agreements of 4 with Aleph and its different hands

2^{20} after προφῆτιν add εἶναι ℵ [om ceteri]
4^{4} om ἱματίοις ℵ [add ceteri]
5^{13} om καὶ τὸ κράτος. ℵ* has παντοκρατορος [*a* 2 also om : 3 subst. καὶ παντοκράτωρ]
6^{15} om καὶ ἐλεύθερος ℵ* [add ceteri]
12^{1} τὴν σελήνην for ἡ σελήνη ℵ* (non^{c}) [not ceteri]
12^{6} after ἑξήκοντα add πέντε with ℵ^{cc*} [add 1, 2, 3 : om *a*]
12^{14} ἐδόθη ℵ^{c} [= ceteri]
13^{1} tr διαδήματα δέκα ℵ [δέκα διαδ. *a*, 1, 3 : om δέκα 2]
18^{3} repeats after the second τῆς γῆς the words μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρνευσαν. Tisch notes : hæc verba ℵ per incuriam post τῆς γῆς alterum repetierat, sed ipse* animadverso errore inclusit uncis. This common error is evidence of close affinity between 4 and Aleph [2 inserts 'waxed rich out of the riches of earth,' and an Armenian scribe may have substituted these words for the insertion of 4 : *a* = Tisch]
19^{7} After γυνή add ἡ νύμφη : ℵ^{cc} substitutes νύμφη for γύνη. [So *a*. Thus *a* 4 have a conflation of the two Greek texts : 2 om ἡ ν.]
$20^{2,3}$ καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν [χίλια ἔτη καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν] εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ ἔκλεισεν : Here ℵ and Arm MS. 4 both omit the words in brackets through similar ending. The Arm MS. then repeats καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτόν after ἄβυσσον. In the Greek cursives 1. 3. 12. 79. ἔδησεν thus intruded in the Arm has taken the place of ἔκλεισεν [*a* 1, 2 = Tisch]
21^{12} γεγραμμένα for ἐπιγεγραμμένα with ℵ [? *a*, 1, 2]
22^{20} ταῦτα εἶναι by error for ταῦτα· ναί ℵ* (non item^{c}). Similiter cop add *quia erunt*
22^{20} om ἀμήν ℵ cop [om 1 : add *a*]

Agreements of 4 with Aleph and Old Latin, with or without uncials, with or without Vulgate, and with or without few cursives.

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[1] I add in square brackets the readings of *a* 1 2 3, which, when they agree among themselves, I indicate by cet or ceteri. Thus 'so *cet*' or *ceteri* indicates agreement of *a* 1 2 3 with MS. 4. I have arranged the variants rather as they belong together by affinity of tradition, than in order of chapter and verse. The references to textual sources are from Tischendorf. *Def* = *Deficit*.

15^{6} καθαροὺς λίνους λαμπρούς ℵ: Prim *vestiti lintea munda et candida.* [So 13, but rendering λαμπρούς 'light gleaming': α = Prim, but uses other equivalents than 1 and 4: 2 uses the same equivalents as 1, but has the singular]

10^{10} ἐγεμίσθη ἡ κοιλία μου πικρίας. All Greek texts save ℵ read ἐπικράνθη, and only ℵ^{c} adds πικρίας. Prim *statim repletus est venter meus.* Codex *f* of Prim and Beatus p. 389 add *amaritudine.* [So 1 which renders κοιλία literally, where 4 subst *mouth*: 2 = 1, but omits πικρίας: 3 = repletus est venter meus et erat amarus ille: α = was made bitter (+ in *some*) my belly]

4^{8} οὐκ εἶχον for οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ℵ* has ουχ εξοσαν. Prim anon^{aug} vg *non habebant* [*rested not* α 1 2 3]

5^{9} add ἡμᾶς after ἠγόρασας ℵ PQ al cop Cyp Prim [so α 1 2 3]

5^{13} ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ for ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. ℵ vg cop syr Prim [so α 1 2 3]

7^{16} 'ἔτι pri om ℵ 36. Vg cop syr aeth Cyp Fulg Prim al' [= 12. retain 1: α and 3 omit. Note that α 3 omit twice: 1 omits the second ἔτι only with P 1. 38. 87 cop Fulg: 2 retains twice]

2^{20} after κατὰ σοῦ add πολύ or πολλά. So ℵ 12. 17*. 36. 43. 28. 79. Cyp Prim *multa* [om 1 2 3: add α]

3^{3} om οὖν after μνημόνευε ℵ 14. aeth Arc Prim [so 1 2 3: α adds]

3^{8} om αὐτήν ℵ 49 vg Prim [*deficit* 1: add 2 3: α omits]

3^{9} γνώσῃ for γνῶσιν ℵ 14. Prim [1 and 2 omit wholly: α has 'they shall know,' which also the corrector of 3 adds]

10^{6} om καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ℵ* A 30. 31. 32. 38. 40. 49. 98. Prim [add 1 2 3: om α]

11^{9} τὰ πτώματα for τὸ πτῶμα ℵP 1. 38. 79. 87. 91 al vg syr Prim [α 1 3 have singular: 2 the plural]

3^{3} μετανοήσῃς for γρηγορήσῃς ℵ* cop Prim (sed cop add *et non vigilaveris*) [γρηγ. ceteri]

14^{8} πέπτωκαν or -κεν for πεπότικεν ℵ^{c} 12. cop Prim [ἣ πεπότικεν (? with 28. 79.) ceteri]

2^{13} after πίστιν om μου ℵ PQ al pler cop aeth Prim [1 *deficit*: add α 2 3 (correcting *havatarim* to *havats im*)]

11^{8} τὰ πτώματα for τὸ πτῶμα ℵ P 1. 38. 91. al vg syr Prim [so 1 2: α 3 use sing.]

11^{10} πέμψουσιν for πέμπουσιν ℵ^{c} AC 1. al mu vg am cop syr Prim [? α 1: 2 3 retain present tense]

1^{16} καὶ εἶχεν for καὶ ἔχων ℵ 34. 35. 36. 87. vg Cyp Prim *et habebat* [so ceteri]

2^{17} ἐκ τοῦ μάννα ℵ 36. 91. Prim *de manna illo* [1 = 'food from the tree of life' with P Tert: α = 4: 2 3 have 'from the manna hidden' agreeing in the error *dsalkeal* for *dsadskeal*]

10^{4} καὶ ὅσα for καὶ ὅτε ℵ 37. 79. Prim *et quæ* [defic 1 2: ? 3: ὅτε in α]

11^{9} μνήματα for μνῆμα ℵ^{c} 98. al pauc vg aeth Prim [μνῆμα 12: α 3 have plural]

5^{5} 4 = ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον [καὶ λῦσαι τὸ βιβλίον] καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ, the words bracketed being excluded by Tisch. Here καὶ λῦσαι τὰς ἑπτὰ κτλ. is added in ℵ vg Cyp. Or^{int} Hier Haym (but Haussl does not notice this variant in Cyp) [1 involves

the words λῦσαι τ. β.: Andreas omits them: 2 3 = ἀν. τὸ β. καὶ λ. τ. ἑ. σφ. αὐ.]

16^{18} ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο for ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ℵQ 1. 7. 8. 12. 14. 36. 79. 92 vg Tich [ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος α 2 3 (with A, 38 cop. Prim omits latter half of verse)]

13^{17} add ἢ before τὸ ὄνομα ℵ 38: vg demid and anon aug Haym *aut nomen bestiæ* [and his name 1: and the name of the beast and the number of his name α—? a conflation of the Latin with the reading of Arm 2, 3, 'and the number of his name']

19^{6} after θεός om ἡμῶν A 1. 49. 95 al cop aeth Cyp Prim [so 2: om α 3]

20^{1} ἐν τῇ χειρί for ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα ℵ 38: Latini *in manu sua* [so α 1 2]

20^{8} add καί before συναγαγεῖν ℵ 11. 12. 79 vg Aug Prim [om α 1 2]

22^{20} after Ἰησοῦ add Χριστέ $ℵ^{c}$ 38. 79. 94 cop Prim $^{\text{sec loco}}$ [*defic* 1 2: α = ἦλθε Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός with no other source]

11^{17} om καί before ὅτι εἴληφας $ℵ^{cc}$ A P Q al pler vg Cyp Prim [= so 3: 1, 2 = ὃς εἴληφας: α = καὶ εἴλ.]

16^{14} ἃ ἐκπορεύεται: 4 = καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι; ℵ* | *43. 79. 95 have the infinitive, but om καί which underlies vg Prim Haym *et exeunt* (or *procedunt*) [α 1 2 = *et procedebant*, using a different verb: so 3, but om *et*]

Agreements of 4 with Aleph and Greek sources, against Old Latin sources

18^{22} σαλπίγγων for σαλπιστῶν ℵ 35. 87 [so 2: α 3 = Tisch]

18^{22} om καὶ φωνὴ μύλου οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι with ℵ 38. 87. 93. 98 syr aeth Hipp. In 4 this is part of a larger omission, which as a whole Hippolytus alone exhibits [2 retains, but agrees with 4 in omitting the preceding words καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης κτλ. which also 14. 92 Hipp omit: 2 also omits the words which follow καὶ φῶς to ἐν σοὶ ἔτι with A 2 6 vg Hipp: 3 has in vs 22 the same large omission as 4, but adds καὶ φωνὴ μύλου after λύχνου in vs 23]

1^{7} ὄψονται for ὄψεται ℵ 1. 12 cop [*ceteri*]

2^{1} after δεξία αὐτοῦ add χειρί ℵ* (non item^{c}) 35. 87 [so 1 3: om α 2]

2^{7} before φαγεῖν om αὐτῷ ℵ 91. 96 vg [add αὐτῷ α 1 2 with all other sources]

2^{10} tr ἐξ ὑμῶν ὁ διάβολος ℵ 1 al mu^{vi} [*ceteri* = Tisch]

6^{9} tr τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν πέμπτην ℵ* 14. 92 vg [so α 1: 2 3 = Tisch]

8^{6} before ἔχοντες om οἱ ℵ 36 [retain *ceteri* with Tisch]

11^{8} om καί after ὅπου $ℵ^{c}$ 1. 7. 14. 36. 87. 92 cop [retain *ceteri* with Tisch]

19^{12} ὀνόματα ἔχων γεγραμμένα ἃ οὐδείς. So $ℵ^{c}$ 9. 13. 16. 27. 39 aeth [so 2 3: α = Tisch: *defic* 1]

19^{17} ἄλλον ἄγγελον for ἕνα ἄγγελον ℵ 36 cop sah Haym [so α: 2 has neither ἕνα nor ἄλλον: 1 3 *defic*]

2^{2} add σου after κόπον ℵ Q al plu cop [so 3: om α 1 2. Note that 4 uses a different equivalent for κόπον from the other sources]

3^{3} add ἐπί σε after first, and omit after second ἥξω ℵ Q al pler vg Haym [α places it after second alone with Tisch: 2 after both: 1 3 add it after the second, but ? after the first]

11^{1} after ῥάβδῳ add καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει ℵ^{cc*} Q 10. 14. 87. 91. 92. 96 Syr Victorin [add *a* 1 2 : om 3 with Tisch]

1^{12} ἤκουσα for ἤκουσαν ℵ^{c} Q al^{35} cop [so *a* 1 2 3]

2^{9} after οἶδά σου 4 adds τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν καί. Here ℵ Q al pler anon^{aug} add τὰ ἔργα καί [add τὰ ἔργα καί *a* 1 2 3, but not τ. ὑπ. καί]

2^{16} γέγονα ἐγώ for γέγοναν. ἐγώ with ℵ* P Q 1. al pler syr [so *a* 1 2 : *defic* 3]

2^{13} ἀντεῖπας 'thou opposedst' ℵ^{cc} A 2. 9. 13. 19. 23. 41. 42. 50.** 97 [see below p. 118]

6^{8} αὐτῷ for μετ' αὐτοῦ ℵ Q al^{40} [μετ' αὐτοῦ *ceteri*]

18^{3} πέπτωκαν 'have fallen' for πέπωκαν ℵ A C Q 7. 14. 92 cop aeth. Tisch notes: πεπτω- pro πεπω- non potest non pro antiquissimo vitio haberi [πέπωκαν *a* 2 3 : *defic* 1]

Agreements with C, alone or with cursives

12^{11} τὴν μαρτυρίαν for τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας C [*cet* = Tisch]

13^{15} om ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου C 14. 16. 28. 79 cop Syr [*a* 1 2 retain ἵνα to εἰκών but om τ. θ.: 3 retains all]

Agreements with A, alone or with cursives, with or without Vulgate

7^{1} = *super arbores* for ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον. A ἐπὶ δένδρου omitting πᾶν [so *a* 1 2 3]

11^{18} om καί before διαφθεῖραι A [*a* 1 3 retain : 2 om]

18^{2} add καὶ μεμισημένου after first ἀκαθάρτου A 16 [om *a* 3 : ? 2 : *defic* 1]

22^{16} ἐν ταῖς for ἐπὶ ταῖς A 38. 79 vg [so 1]

21^{12} om καί ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν ἀγγέλους δέκα A fu al^{lachm} syr [so 1 : retain *a* 2 : *defic* 3]

Agreements with P and cursives

4^{2} add καί before εὐθέως P 1. 7 al mu vg cop [so *ceteri*]

4^{11} for ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν : 4 has ἦσαν καὶ εἰσι : P 1. 7. 79. 87. 91 subst εἰσι for ἦσαν ['were fashioned and stand firm' *a* 1 2 3 ; cp Prim *hæc sunt constituta*]

9^{11} add καί before ἔχουσιν P 1 al mu vg [so *a* 1 2 : ? 3]

18^{6} add αὐτῇ after διπλώσατε P 1. 7. 31. (38 αὐτά) 91. al mu Cop [so *a* 3 : om 2 : *def* 1]

19^{10} καὶ προσεκύνησα for προσκυνῆσαι P 79 [so *a* 3 : 2 = Prim *ut adorarem eum* : *def* 1]

22^{5} om ἐπ' before αὐτούς P Q al fere omn vg Haym Amb [so *a* : 1 = φ. πάντας : *defic* 2 3]

Agreements with two or more uncials (excepting ℵ), with or without Q and cursives and with or without Vulgate

12^{2} om καί after ἔχουσα A P Q al pler vg Hipp Meth [*a* 1 2 retain : ? 3]

16^{6} αἷμα for αἵματα A C P Q al fere omn [so *ceteri*]

21^{4} om ὅτι A P [*defic* 1 2 : *a* adds ὅτι but seems to render independently,

rendering in the sense of transivit; cp. *transierunt* of Beatus, whereas 4 = uses a verb = *abeo*]

Agreements with 38, with or without Vulgate

9^{10} καὶ εἶχον for καὶ ἔχουσιν 38 vg etc [so all others except 2]
9^{17} ἐξεπορεύοντο for ἐκπορεύεται 38 [ἐξεπορεύετο *a* 1 2 3]
9^{19} 'they ill-treated' ἠδικουσαν (i.e. ἠδίκησαν) for ἀδικοῦσιν 38 [1 uses future tense: *a* 2 3 retain imperf but otherwise vary from 4]
10^{1} στύλος for στύλοι 38 am fu tol demid lipss syr aeth [so *a* 1 2 3]

With 38 and cursives

4^{3} om καὶ ὁ καθήμενος 1. 6. 8. 14. 31. 38 al cop Victorin [so *a* 1 2 3: 1 om καθήμενος in vs 2 as well as in 3]
9^{2} add καιομένης before μεγάλης: 36. 37. 38. 40. 41. 42 add it after μεγάλης [om *ceteri*]
11^{6} order τὸν οὐρανὸν κλεῖσαι 14. 38. 97 [κλ. τ. οὐ. *a* 1 2 3; 4 here has the error *tschafel* for *fakel*]
11^{19} order καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ φωναί 14. 28. 36. 38. 79. 87. 97 cop syr [*ceteri* = Tisch]
19^{1} add καί before μετά 1. 36. 38. 79. 91. 96 al aeth [so *a* 2 3: *defic* 1]
19^{3} ἀνέβαινε for ἀναβαίνει 35. 38. 87: 79 ἀνέβη [so *a* 2 3: *defic* 1]
20^{8} om αὐτῶν after ἀριθμός 1. 38. 48. 49. 79 al mu [*a* 1 2 retain: *defic* 3]
21^{9} τὰς γεμούσας for τῶν γεμόντων Q. 7. 8. 38. 91. 92 [so *a* 1 2, but without τάς: *defic* 3]

Agreements with Old Latin alone (Prim Tich and pre-Vulgate Fathers) with or without versions

1^{16} φαίνει] 4 = *splendebat* with Cyp Matern Prim Cassiod [The rest have imperfect but render 'gleaming appeared']
1^{20} om αἱ ἑπτά. So Prim. [1 *deficit*: add *a* 2 3]
2^{17} aures audiendi Prim Amb cop. So 3^{22} and 13^{9}. At 3^{13} vg codd and cop add audiendi [so 13: om *a* 2]
1^{15} χαλκολιβάνῳ is rendered here *aλilibanu* and in 2^{18} by *arkolibani*, —perhaps a corrupt transliteration of auri*chal*co (or ero*cal*co) libani of Primasius, the *chal* or *cal* having dropt out [1 3 transliterate the Greek: *a* 2 om *Libani* and subst the words 'smoking from a furnace fiery,' which the original version must have omitted]
2^{20} Ἰεζάβελ spelled *ezabêl* [so 12: *a* 3 have yezabel]
1^{16} = ἐξεπορεύετο. Prim *exiebat* 4 [so *ceteri*]
2^{22} εἰς κλίνην is rendered 'into the woes (*or* pains) of the bed' *in luctus lectus.* Prim notes: *alia translatio* luctum *pro* lecto *posuit.* I have noted the rendering (? in a Latin version of Epiphanius) *in luctus dabo lectus.* Here we have in 4 a conflation of a genuine Latin rendering with a misspelling of the same [= εἰς κλίβανον *ceteri*]
3^{1} add καί before ὅτι. Prim *et quia nomen habes* [om *ceteri*]
4^{4} 4 = in circuitu *vidi* sedes. So anon[aug] adds *vidi*, but no other source [om *ceteri*]

4[8] 4 renders 'And the four animals in front (*or* before) had, and one by one six six wings, and within were filled with eyes.' The Greek is καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα, ἓν καθ' ἓν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν. Whence in 4 the words *in front?* Prim renders *erant plena oculis ante se et retro*, and adds in his commentary *alia translatio dicit intus et foris.* Here anon[aug] renders *in priora et retro.* Some Greek text must have read ἔμπροσθεν for κυκλόθεν, and 4 has got the equivalent of this into the wrong place [1 2 3 retain κυκλόθεν and so also *a*, but om καὶ ἔσωθεν with cursives 28. 38. 98]

4[9] ὅταν δώσουσιν: 4 = 'when they gave.' Prim *cum dederant*: vg *cum darent* [so *a* 1 3: ? 2]

4[10] ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου : 4 om the words τ. καθ. ἐπί. So also Prim [so 1 2: *defic a* 3]

6[12] before αἷμα om ὡς or ? substitute εἰς with Prim *luna in sanguinem* [so *ceteri*]

7[10] κράζουσιν: 4 = clamabant with vg Haym. Cyp Prim *dicebant* [*a* 2 3 = 4: 1 = Prim]

7[15] σκηνώσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. 4 and all other Arm sources = shall dwell *in* them. So Prim *inhabitavit in eis*: vg Cyp have *super eos*

6[2] om καί before ἵνα νικήσῃ. So Tert[coron 15] [so *a* 1 2: 3]

8[4] 4 = 'the smoke of the incense of prayers of the saints.'—Prim fumus supplicationum (? suffitionum) orationum sanctorum [incense which are prayers,' 1: 'incense, that is to say prayers,' 2 3: 'incense, prayers,' *a*]

9[11] om ὄνομα ἔχει with vg [*a* 1 2 3 subst 'which is called' for καί and ὄν. ἔχει with cop *quod explicatur*]

9[13] ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων κεράτων: 4 renders 'I heard from one of the four horns' with Cyp Prim anon[aug] *et audivi unum ex quatuor cornibus.* Note that 38 omits μίαν [3 = Tisch: *a* 1 2 = 38]

9[14] om τῷ μεγάλῳ after ποταμῷ. So Cassiod [so *a* 1 2: 3 retains]

9[11] ἔχουσιν: 4 = et habebant with Prim Haym [the other sources add *et* except 3 which turns the sentence otherwise]

10[7] καὶ ἐτελέσθη. 4 = τελεσθήσεται. Prim Cassiod *finietur.* vg *consummabitur* [so *ceteri*]

10[8] For καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα, 4 reads καὶ φωνὴν ἤκουσα. Prim vg *et audivi vocem.* Cursive 7 has καὶ ἤκ. φωνήν [*ceteri* = Tisch]

11[4] tr ἑστῶτες before ἐνώπιον. So Prim [so *a* 1: tr after κυρίου θεοῦ 2 (with cursives 1. 28. 36. 79): after γῆς 3]

11[8] 'And their corpses in the streets of the city great shall be cast forth (*or* shall fall).' The Greek text ℵ[cc*] adds ἔσται: some cursives 28. 37. 79 ἐάσει and 18 ῥίψει. The *alia translatio* of Prim (Tichonius) added *proicitur* or *proiicietur*, and this underlies 4 [*a* 1 3 involve same text as 4, but amplify thus 'prostrate shall remain': 2 has no verb]

11[10] ἐβασάνισαν: 'shall be tormented'—the passive form is due to error, the future tense to Latin influence, equally apparent here in *a* 1 3, though they use another equivalent and render the Latin verb *crucio* rather than βασανίζω]

11^{14} add *καί* before *ἰδού*: so *et ecce* vg am al Prim [add *καί* but om *ἰδού* *a* 1 2: om both 3 (with few cursives)]

12^{4} *σύρει*: *ἔσυρεν.* Prim *trahebat* [so *a* 1 3 : ? 2]

13^{4} *τίς δύναται* : 4 = quis poterit. So vg and Codex R of Prim [*a* = 4 : 1 2 3 = *potest*]

13^{4} after *ἐξουσίαν* add *αὐτοῦ* Prim [so 1 3: om *a*: *deficit* 2]

14^{11} *ἀναβαίνει*: 4 = ascendet 'shall go up.' So cod G^{2} v of Prim and vg [so *a* 1 2 3]

15^{5} Subst *καὶ ἰδού* for *ἠνοίγη*: vg cop $anon^{aug}$ Prim add *καὶ ἰδού* [*ἴδον ὅτι ἠν.* 1 : *ἴδον καὶ ἠν.* *a* 2 with Tisch : *deficit* 3]

16^{2} *ἕλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρόν*: 4 = a sore very great and evil. Prim *vulnus pessimum magnum* [om *κακὸν καί* ceteri with A cop aeth]

16^{3} *ὡς νεκροῦ* or *νεκροῖς.* *velut mortuis sanguis* fl [1 2 omit *ὡς νεκ.*: *a* 3 add *νεκρόν* without *ὡς*]

16^{12} *ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς*: 4 has singular *τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ.* Prim *via venienti regi ab oriente* [so *ceteri*]

17^{8} add *πάντες* before *οἱ κατοικοῦντες.* So Prim. [so *a* 3 : om 2 : *deficit* 1]

17^{10} C has order *δεῖ αὐτὸν ὀλίγον μεῖναι* with Prim [*a* 2 3 render otherwise]

17^{15} tr *κάθηται ἡ πόρνη.* So Prim *sedet meretrix illa* [so *a* 3 : 2 = Tisch]

17^{16} om *καὶ τὸ θηρίον.* So vg^{cod} Tich Bed [*a* 3 = *τοῦ θηρίου* and om *καί*: ? = *ἐπὶ τὸ θ.* 2 with vg]

17^{16} om *οὗτοι* with Prim [*a* 2 3 retain]

17^{16} tr *καὶ γυμνὴν ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν.* So Prim [*a* 3 omit the phrase entirely (with Q and some cursives): 2 has *γυμνήν* alone with Tisch]

18^{17} *ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔστησαν*: 4 = 'afar off shall stand,' cop *stabunt a longe*; *stabunt* is a misreading of *stabant* in the Latin. See on 18^{18} [so *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]

18^{18} *ἔκραζον*: 4 = they shall cry out. Prim in commenting has *id est 'longe stabunt et clamabunt* (*clamabant F*) *videntes fumum'* [so *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]

18^{19} after *ἔκραζον* add *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*, which Prim also adds after *λέγοντες* [om *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]

19^{2} *ἐκ χειρῶν* for *ἐκ χειρός* Prim *de manibus eius* [so *a* 3 : om *χειρός* 2]

19^{15} *ἐκπορεύεται*: *ἐξεπορεύετο* 4. So Prim Cyp *exibat*; Hier *egrediebatur* [so *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]

19^{15} 4 = Syr Cyp Prim of which sources Tisch notes: 'de *τοῦ θύμου τῆς ὀργῆς* alterutrum om; uterque enim *torcular vini iræ dei'* [*a* 2 = Tisch : *τ. θ. καὶ τ. ὀ.* 3 (with cursives 1. 36. 79) : *def* 1]

20^{4} *διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν*: Cyprian *propter nomen.* So 4 [1 = *εἰς μαρτυρίαν*: *a* 2 = Tisch]

$20^{4, 5}$ *καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . οὐκ ἔζησαν*: 4 = and they shall live and they shall reign . . . shall no longer live. Due to a confusion of *vivebant . . . regnabant* with *vivebunt . . . regnabunt.* It is true that *vivebunt* is not Latin, but in Prim we meet with *cadebunt*, and moreover it is here but a mistake for a Latin form.

The following words in Prim com (= Augustine) seem to refer to verse 4 *postea dicturus est: regnabunt* (*regnaverunt* Augustini textus) *cum Jesu mille annis.* [In 1 there is the same change

of tenses, but *α* 2 retain the past. For *keam* = *live* in vs 4, *α* 1 employ *kam* = *stand*, either through a simple confusion, or because they read ἔστησαν for ἔζησαν. *α* 2 have *kam* in vs 5 as well, where 1 4 employ *ekestzé* = *shall come*, by mistake for *kestze*, *shall live.* 3 *deficit.*]

20[11] after μέγαν add καί before λευκόν Prim Aug auct[novat] [so 1 : *α* = λευκόν μέγαν : 2 om καὶ λευκόν : *def* 3]

20[9] ἀνέβησαν 'they shall go up': ἐκύκλευσαν 'they shall surround' (correcting *paterazmestzen* to *patestzen*). See above on verses 4, 5 [so *α* 1 : 2 = Tisch : *def* 3]

21[4] τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν : = 'the first things shall depart'—a confusion of *abierunt* with *abierint* or of *abibant* with *abibunt* [1 2 omit the whole phrase : *α* retains past tense, but renders independently of 4]

21[11] κρυσταλλίζοντι : 4 renders refulgenti with Prim, who however adds *in modum cristalli* [crystalline and refulgent 1 (cp. Prim) : 2 crystal-like and living *α* 2]

21[14] 4 renders the verse thus : Et latitudo civitatis habebat duodecim numerus, et duodecim apostolorum agni. The text is ruinous here, but the word *thiv* = numerus, can be no corruption of the word *himun* = θεμέλιον. Is its presence not to be explained by the reading *numeri* for *muri* in codex G of Primasius? G is cod Sangermanensis, nunc Parisinus n. 13390, saec. ix, variants of which elsewhere are traceable in the Armenian [*α* 1 2 otherwise]

21[16] om ἴσα ἐστίν. So cod D of Primasius [*α* adds ἴσα : 1 2 om]

21[18] ἴασπις. 4 = ex iaspide lapidibus. Prim *ex lapide iaspide* [of jewels (+ precious 2) jasper 1 2 : *α* = Tisch]

21[18] ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρόν. 4 = ἐκ χρυσίου καθαροῦ. Prim demid *ex* auro mundo [so 1 2 : *α* = Tisch]

21[19] παντὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ κεκοσμημένοι. Prim renders *ex omni lapide pretioso* omitting κεκοσμ. and so 4. The cursive 92 equally omits κεκοσμ. [so *α* 1 2]

21[23] ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφώτισεν αὐτήν : 4 = 'For the very glory of God shall illumine her' through a confusion of *illuminavit* or of illuminabat with *illuminabit.* The Vulgate has *illuminavit.* [Here *α* and 1 retain the past tense : *def* 2 3]

21[27] πᾶν κοινόν : 4 = 'everything corrupted' which suggests the phrase *aliquod coinquinatum* of the Vulgate [everything ill willed 1 2 : to which by a conflation *α* adds *and filthy*]

22[14] μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν : 4 = 'Blessed they who *keep* his commandments.' So Tich *qui servant mandata hæc.* Here Q al pler read οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, and Tert has *qui ex præceptis agunt*, Cyp *qui faciunt præcepta eius*; but Tich alone has *servant* [*α* = 4, but 1 = who shall call out (*or* read) his commandments : *def* 2 3]

22[19] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ : 4 renders with Prim and Tich *de civitate sanctâ scriptâ in libro hoc*, involving τῆς γεγραμμένης [*α* 1 involve the same original as 4, but whereas 4 uses the oblique case of the partic, they render *quæ scripta est*]

Agreements of 4 with Prim or Old Latin and Greek uncials (except Aleph), with or without cursives

13^{2} λέοντος for λεόντων Prim A C P Q al pler cop Ir^{int} [so *ceteri*]
1^{5} om ἡμῶν after ἁμαρτιῶν A 1. 12. 16 Prim [α 1 2 3 retain]
1^{9} om διά before τὴν μαρτυρίαν A C 1. 4. 28. 38. 79. 87 cop Dion^{eus} Prim [1 3 retain : α 2 om]
2^{18} om αὐτοῦ after ὀφθαλμούς A 36. 38 Prim [α 1 retain : 2 3 om]
2^{20} after γυναῖκα add σου A Q al Cyp Prim [so 1 : om α 2 3]
18^{4} order ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαός (or λαοί) μου A Q al vg cop Hipp Cyp Tich Prim [so α 2 3 : *def* 1]
13^{1} ὄνομα for ὀνόματα C P 1. 28. 79. 95 cop Prim Haym [so *ceteri*]
6^{13} read ἀποβαλλει or βάλλει for βάλλουσα A C P Q vg anon^{aug} Prim [om α 1 : ? 2 3 which use the future *et mittet* with some codices of Prim]
5^{1} ἔξωθεν for ὄπισθεν P Q al cop Or Hipp Hil Prim anon^{aug} [so *ceteri*]
2^{27} συντριβήσεται for συντρίβεται P Q al vg cop Prim anon^{aug} Haym [so *ceteri*]
6^{13} tr μεγάλου ἀνέμου P 1. 28 al Tert anon^{aug} [so 2 3 : ? α 1]
8^{5} tr φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί P 1 al anon^{aug} [β. καὶ φ. *ceteri* with Tisch]
18^{19} add καί before λέγοντες P Q al am Prim [om α 2 3 : *def* 1]
21^{3} οὐρανοῦ for θρόνου P Q al cop sah syr Tich Prim Cassiod [so α 1 2 : *def* 3]
21^{3} λαός for λαοί P Q al cop sah syr Aug Tich Prim [so α 1 2]
19^{5} add καί before οἱ φοβούμενοι A Q al vg Prim [so α 3 : *def* 1 2]
7^{1} om καί before μετά A C vg Prim [so α 1 2 : retain 3]
10^{11} λέγει for λέγουσιν P 1. 7. 28. 38. 79. 91. 96 vg cop Prim [so *ceteri*]
18^{16} add καί before λέγοντες P al vg Hipp Prim [om α 3 (= dicent) : om καὶ λεγ. 2 (with cursives 1. 12. 16. 39) : *def* 1]
19^{12} before φλόξ add ὡς A 35. 36. 87. 91. 95 al vg Ir^{int} Or Cyp Prim [so 2 3 : om α : *def* 1]
21^{3} tr θεὸς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔσται AQ al vg Ir Amb Tich Haym [α 1 = θεὸς αὐτῶν (which P 79 al add : A vg Ir^{int} Amb Tich add αὐτῶν θεός—a conflation of the rival readings of the Arm MSS.) : 2 = ἐστιν αὐτῶν θεός]
21^{16} after ὅσον add καί A al vg cop Prim [? *ceteri*]
12^{2} ἔκραζεν for κράζει C 1. 7. 8. 31. 38. 87 al Prim Haym [so *ceteri* but using another vb]
14^{8} tr ἄλλος δεύτερος ἄγγελος AQ al Prim [so 1 3 : α 2 = Tisch]
22^{8} tr ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων AQ al vg Prim Haym [so α 1 : *def.* 2 3]

Agreements of 4 with Old Latin and 38, without uncials (Q reckoned as a cursive)

13^{12} ἐποίει for ποιεῖ 38. vg cop aeth Hipp Ir^{int} Prim [so α 12 : ? 3]
19^{1} om ὡς before φωνήν 1. 7. 38. 47. Tich Prim [so α 2 3 : *def* 1]
22^{7} om καί before ἰδού 1. 35. 38. 79. 91 al demid cop Prim Haym [so α 1 : *def* 2 3]
21^{7} ἔσομαι αὐτῷ θεὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι υἱός : ἐσ. αὐτοῖς θ. κ. αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι υἱοί A 1. 79 : Tert has *illis* and *illi mihi in filios.*

Here 4 has αὐτοῖς but for rest = Tisch [the other Arm sources differ: *a* involves αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι υἱοί: 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσ. μ. λαός: 2 ἔσ. αὐτῷ θεός and omits rest]

Agreements of 4 with Old Latin and cursives (including Q)

1^{16} om ὀξεῖα 46. 48 Prim [so 1 3: retain *a* 2]
2^{7} after τοῦ θεοῦ add μου Q al vg cop Cyp Prim [so 1 2 3: om *a*]
4^{1} om λέγων 15 Prim [1 = καὶ ἔλεγέν μοι. Cp καὶ λέγουσά μοι of 36: *a* 2 3 = Tisch]
4^{5} ἐξεπορεύοντο for ἐκπορεύονται 7 vg anon^{aug} [so *ceteri*]
5^{9} tr ἡμᾶς τῷ θεῷ 16. 31. 87 vg Hipp Aug Prim [so *a* 3: 1 2 otherwise]
6^{6} om ὡς before φωνήν Q al cop Prim [so *ceteri*]
6^{8} ἐδόθη αὐτῷ for ἐδ. αὐτοῖς Q al vg cop anon^{aug} Prim [so *ceteri*]
9^{6} φεύξεται for φεύγει Q al vg Prim [so *ceteri*]
10^{2} εἶχεν for ἔχων 1. 7. 28. 35. 79. 91. 96 al vg Prim [so *ceteri*]
9^{4} after μετώπων add αὐτῶν Q al pler vg fu Cassiod Haym [so *ceteri*]
10^{8} καὶ φωνὴν ἤκουσα for καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα: καὶ ἤκ. φωνήν 7 vg Prim [*ceteri* = Tisch]
10^{8} ἐν τῇ χειρί: ἐκ χειρός with 36 vg Prim *de manu* [*ceteri* = Tisch]
11^{10} εὐφρανθήσονται Q 6. 7. 8. 14 vg cop Prim [the other sources retain present tense]
12^{10} ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ 95 anon^{aug} [so *a* 1: 23 = Tisch]
12^{16} om ἡ γῆ after ἤνοιξεν 34 al anon^{aug} [om 1: retain *a* 2 3]
13^{13} om εἰς τὴν γῆν 95 Prim [1 retains, also *a* 2 3 (which = ἐπὶ τ. γ.) but these so alter the position of these words, that we may regard them as probably intrusive]
13^{13} ποιήσει for ποιεῖ 35. 87 cop Ir^{int} anon^{aug} [*a* 1 2 3 = ἐποίει. The rival readings ποιήσει : : ἐποίει point to a Latin background]
15^{4} om κύριε 14. 92 Cyp Amb Prim [so *ceteri*]
16^{12} after ἕκτος add ἄγγελος 28. 35. 36. 79. 87. 91. 96 vg cop Tich Prim [so *a* 1 2: 3 om]
16^{18} om καὶ φωναί 12 Tich
17^{16} tr καὶ γυμνὴν ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν 34 Prim [*def.* *a* 3: 2 = Tisch but omits καί]
18^{6} after ἀπέδωκεν add ὑμῖν 1. 31. 91. 96 vg Tich Promiss Haym [so 2: *a* 3 add ἡμῖν]
18^{11} κλαύσουσι καὶ πενθήσουσιν for κλαίουσιν καὶ πενθοῦσιν Q al vg Prim [so *ceteri*]
18^{14} εὑρήσεις for εὑρήσουσιν 1. 37. 49. 91. 96 Prim [so *a* 3: otherwise 2]
20^{9} add ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ after πῦρ $\aleph^{c}$ P 7 al vg am tol Hier: [Q al cop Victorin Aug Tich also add it, but after οὐρανοῦ, and so *a* 1 2]
20^{14} om ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός 1. 18. 31. 41. 42. 94. 97 al vg cop Prim Haym. [Here *a* 1 2 (*def.* 3) have the longer omission from οὗτος which is found in the Greek and Latin sources enumerated]
21^{1} om πρώτη 13. 29. Ir^{int} Aug Prim [*a* 1 2 retain: *def.* 3]
21^{9} τὰς γέμουσας for τῶν γεμόντων 1 7 al [*a* 1 2 = γέμουσας with Q, 8 38 91 92 al Prim *plenas*]

With Vulgate and cursives

1^{13} after λυχνιῶν add τῶν χρυσῶν 34. 35. 49. 87 vg demid [om *ceteri*]
16^{1} ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ 13 demid tol lips[6] cop [ἐκ τ. ναοῦ α 1 2 : om 3]

With older Greek Fathers

13^{16} δώσῃ for δῶσιν Hipp[bis] [so α 1 2 3]
14^{2} before κιθαρῳδῶν add φωνή Method [so α 1 2 3]

With coptic

2^{7} aures *audiendi*, vg cop; so ch 2^{17} and 13^{9} [so α 1 2 : om 3]
18^{4} om ἄλλην before φωνήν with cop [so α 3 : 2 retains ἄλλην : *def* 1]
21^{11} om τοῦ θεοῦ after δόξαν with cop [α 1 2 retain : 3 *def*]

Agreements of 4 with Q and cursives (without 38)

2^{9} om ἑαυτούς 16. 69 [α 1 retain, but render passage otherwise : 2 3 om, but give another sense than 4. Here old corruptions pervade the texts 1 2 3 ; and α and 4 correct independently of one another]
2^{13} παρ' ὑμῶν for παρ' ὑμῖν 95 [so *ceteri*]
3^{14} ἀπ' ἄρχης for ἡ ἀρχή : 28. 79 And[a] ἀπαρχη [so 1 : ἀρχή 2 3 : ἄρχη ἄρχης by conflation α]
3^{17} tr γυμνὸς καὶ τυφλός 7. 8 aeth Amb Haym [so α : 1 2 3 = Tisch]
7^{16} om πᾶν 6. 11. 31 [so *ceteri*]
8^{12} καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη for ἵνα σκοτισθῇ 35. 87 aeth. Perhaps the same variant lurks under the comment of Jerome and Beatus *non autem dixit: percussa est et obscurata est, sed obscuraretur*, as if these authors were cognisant of the erroneous reading [so *ceteri*, but 3 4 agree in using the aorist where α 1 2 use the imperfect]
9^{4} add μόνους before (or after) ἀνθρώπους 49. 91. 96 al. 'item *tantum homines* vg Haym' [so *ceteri*]
9^{13} om τοῦ χρυσοῦ 14. 92 [1 3 retain : α subst τοῦ θεοῦ : 2 otherwise]
9^{16} μυριάδες for δισμυριάδες Q al and Epiph who adds καὶ χιλίαι χιλιάδες with α [so 2 3 : 1 otherwise]
10^{6} om τῶν αἰώνων 1. 12. 47. And [so α 1 3 : add 2. The Arm rather omits εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας than τῶν αἰώνων, and perhaps involves ἀπὸ τῶν αἰ.]
10^{7} ὅ for ὡς 10. 28. 37. 49. 79. 91. 96 [so α 1 2 : ὡς 3]
10^{7} τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις τοῖς προφήταις 1. 28. 79. 97. And are [so *ceteri*]
11^{6} tr βρέχῃ ὑετός 1. 7 al cop [*ceteri* otherwise]
12^{11} τὰς ψυχάς for τὴν ψυχήν. So 35. 87 [*ceteri* otherwise]
11^{7} tr πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν 1. 3. 6 al cop [*ceteri* = Tisch]
11^{13} ἡμέρᾳ for ὥρᾳ Q al fere[40] [retain ὥρᾳ *ceteri*]
13^{18} τὸ ὄνομα for τὸν ἀριθμόν 14. 36. 92 [τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος 1 : α 2 3 = τὸν ἀρ.]
14^{9} after χεῖρα om αὐτοῦ 14. 92. [So α 2 3 : def 1]
14^{15} add τοῦ before θερίσαι 29. 49. 91. 93. 96 al [so 3 : α 1 2 = τοῦ θερισμοῦ (with ℵ 38)]

15^{6} ? om περί before τὰ στήθη 1. 12. 31 [*ceteri* retain]
16^{6} tr ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς αἷμα 14. 92 [the other texts vary]
16^{17} ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ 1. 12. 18. 28. 36. 47. 79 [so *a* 3 : ἐκ τ. οὐρ. 2 : *def* 1]
16^{19} om τῆς ὀργῆς 14. 92 [retain *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]
18^{1} om ἄλλον 1. 14. 92 [retain *a* 2 3 : *def* 1]
18^{13} ψυχῶν for ψυχάς 14. 92 [? *ceteri*]
18^{22} om καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης as far as εὑρεθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι 14. 92 fu Hipp. '7 transfert ad finem versus.' In 4 the lacuna extends further, but without suffrage of 14. 92. (See above)
19^{5} add καί before οἱ μικροί 1. 49 al. [om *a* 3 : *def* 1 2]
19^{6} order ἤκουσα φωνὴν ὡς 36. Note that several cursives with Prim om ὡς here [so *a* 3, but om ὡς : *def* 1 2]
20^{3} add καί before μετὰ ταῦτα 1 al vg cop [so *a* 1 2 : *def* 3]
20^{8} before τὸν Γώγ add καί with 79 And^{a} [so *a* 2 : om 1 : *def* 3]
21^{14} om ἐπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα 7. Tich om δώδεκα [1 2 also omit, but have another text : *a* retains]
21^{23} αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ δόξα for αὐτῇ· ἡ γὰρ δόξα with Q al^{30} [*a* 1 = Tisch : *def* 2 3]
22^{21} after πάντων add τῶν ἁγίων Q al plus^{40} cop (but the Berlin apograph of 4 lacks this addition) [1 2 *deficiunt* : 'upon all saints' *a*]

Omissions in 4 concurring with transpositions and substitutions in the Greek and Latin sources

1^{10} om ὀπίσω μου which ℵ C P al Prim set before φωνὴν μεγάλην, and A 38 aeth after the same
2^{15} om ὁμοίως : 1. 92^{mg} subst ὃ μισῶ : P 12. 13. 17 shew a conflation ὁμοίως ὃ μισῶ . . . '38 (sed notatur foramen in codice) aeth plane om'
2^{19} om καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην which ℵ* et^{c} et^{cc} PQ 8. 14. 28. 38. 87. 92 al am cop Or Prim set before and A C 48. 75 vg after καὶ τὴν πίστιν
3^{14} om τῆς κτίσεως for which ℵ* subst ἐκκλησίας, and 94 πίστεως
4^{5} tr ὡς after θάλασσα : 1. 94 al aeth Prim anon^{aug} om ὡς
6^{11} om ἔτι which ℵ (ἐπὶ) C P Q al omn set before χρόνον μικρόν and A am fu tol Haym Cyp Fulg after
10^{2} tr τὸν δέξιον after ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης : C omits
16^{5} καὶ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναός ℵ A C P Q al : 4 subst ἰδού for ἠνοίγη : cop vg anon^{aug} Prim have the conflation καὶ ἰδοὺ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναός
18^{9} tr ἐπ' αὐτήν after γῆς : 14. 92. Prim om the same
18^{11} om οὐκέτι which P 49. 79. 91 associate with the sentence which precedes, A C Q 1. 7 al with that which follows, and ℵ with neither
19^{1} om καὶ ἡ δύναμις which in ℵ^{c} A C P 36. 38. 79 follows καὶ ἡ δόξα but in Q al^{35} (which here represent the cursive tradition before the intrusion of καὶ ἡ τίμη) precedes
20^{3} om αὐτὸν before λυθῆναι ; ℵ 1. 38. 79. 91. 96 al vg Tich Prim read αὐτὸν λυθῆναι : A Q al λυθῆναι αὐτόν
21^{4} οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος : Here 4 omits οὔτε πένθος which ℵ transposes after κραυγή omitting οὔτε πόνος
21^{8} om καὶ φονεῦσιν which Tertullian transposes after καὶ πόρνοις

Omissions of 4 unconfirmed by Greek and Latin sources or by versions

$1^{1, 2}$ This omission must be due to the wearing away of the first lines of a page. That it is not supplied in 4 from another codex proves the relative independence of the tradition of 4.

1^{6} om *καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν* [*deficit* 1; *a* 2 3 retain—perhaps an early interpolation]

1^{9} om *καὶ ὑπομονῇ ἐν Ἰησοῦ* [so 1 3: *a* 2 and late hand in 3 add]

1^{11} om *καὶ πέμψον* [*a* 1 3 retain: *def* 2]

1^{14} om *ὡς χιών* [so 1 2 3: *a* and late hand in 3 add]

1^{15} om *ὡς ἐν* to *πολλῶν* [half the omission *ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένῳ* occurs in 1 and 3: add *a* 2 and 3**]

1^{16} om *ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ χειρί* [retain *ceteri*]

1^{16} om *ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ* [so *ceteri*—perhaps an early interpolation]

1^{18} om *καὶ ὁ ζῶν* as far as *αἰώνων* [1 omits *καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*: *a* 2 3 retain. [See p. 119]

2^{4} om *ὅτι* and *ἀφῆκες* [retain *ceteri*. An old corruption here pervades all the Arm texts, save *a* which is probably corrected]

2^{10} om *εἰς φυλακήν* and *θλίψιν* [1 retain and also 2 3, but here again an old corruption pervades all the texts, and *a* corrects]

2^{16} om *ταχύ* [retain *ceteri*]

2^{24} om *ὡς λέγουσιν* [*ceteri* retain, but *a* uses another verb]

3^{7} om *ἐκκλησίας γράψον* [retain *ceteri*]

3^{9} om *εἶναι* and *τῶν ποδῶν* [om *εἶναι*, but *τῶν ποδῶν* retain *ceteri* (but *a* adds *εἶναι*)]

3^{12} om *ἐν τῷ ναῷ* [ceteri = *τοῦ ναοῦ*]

3^{12} om *ἀπό* before *τοῦ θεοῦ* [so 2 3: *deficit* 1: *a* retains]

3^{13} om *τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις* [*ceteri* retain]

3^{14} om *τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ* [*ceteri* retain]

4^{1} om *μετ' ἐμοῦ λέγων*: Prim om *λέγων* [1 retain, 'and said to me': *a* 2 3 = Tisch]

4^{5} om *πυρός* [retain *ceteri*]

4^{7} om *πετομένῳ* [retain *ceteri*]

4^{10} om *τῷ ζῶντι* [*a* 1 3 retain: 2 omits]

5^{2} om *τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι* [retain *ceteri*]

5^{6} om *ἀπεσταλμένα* [retain *ceteri*]

6^{3} om *ἔρχου* [*ἔρχομαι ceteri*]

6^{5} om *λέγοντος* [retain *ceteri*]

6^{12} om *ὡς* before *αἷμα* [om *ceteri*]

6^{14} om *καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν* [*a* 1 2 retain: 3 omits from *ἐκ* onwards]

7^{2} after *ἀνατολῆς* om *ἡλίου* [so *ceteri*]

7^{4} om *υἱῶν* [retain *a* 1 3: om 2]

7^{5} om *ἐσφραγισμένοι*. So also in vs 8 [*a* 1 2 retains throughout: 3 omits throughout except at end of vs 8]

7^{13} om *μοί* [retain *ceteri*, but recast the sentence]

7^{14} om *εἰσίν* [retain *ceteri*]

7^{15} om *τοῦ θρόνου* [retain *ceteri*]

8^{4} om *τοῦ θεοῦ* [1 omits all three words *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*: *a* 2 3 supply them]

8^{11} om τῶν ὑδάτων [α 1 2 omit καὶ ἐγένετο . . ἄψινθον : 3 supplies them independently of 4, and in doing so adds τ. ὑδ.]
8^{12} om μή, φάνῃ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς [the other sources vary from one another, yet show no affinity with 4. On old corruption pervades them all]
9^{2} om ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος and substitute θυμιαμάτων—perhaps due to a corruption in the underlying Greek text [*ceteri* retain]
9^{8} om ἦσαν [om *ceteri*]
9^{9} om εἶχον [om 1 : α 2 3 retain]
9^{10} om οὐράς [retain *ceteri*]
9^{12} om ἔρχεται ἔτι [om ἔτι alone α 1 3 : *def* 2]
9^{16} om αὐτῶν [1 is corrupt : retain α 2 3]
9^{18} om τοῦ ἐκπορευομένου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν [retain *ceteri*]
10^{6} om καί before ὤμοσεν [α 1 3 retain : om 2]
10^{6} om καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ [so α : = θαλ. κ. πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς (αὐτῇ 2 3) *ceteri*]
11^{2} om ἔκβαλε ἔξωθεν καί which may be a scribe's note referring to ἔξωθεν just before [1 retains : α 2 omit ἔξωθεν which 3 renders differently]
11^{9} om καὶ γλωσσῶν [*ceteri* retain]
11^{10} om χαίρουσιν καί [retain *ceteri*]
11^{11} om ἐκ before τοῦ θεοῦ [so 1 2 : add α 3]
11^{16} om ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν [om 1 : α 2 3 retain]
12^{1} om αὐτῆς after κεφαλῆς [retain *ceteri*]
12^{3} om πυρρός which ℵ C Q Prim set before, and A P 28. 79. 96 vg Or anon^{int} Haym after, μέγας [*ceteri igneus* = πυρός (with C Q 1 al cop syr)]
12^{10} om μεγάλην [retain *ceteri*]
12^{10} om τοῦ χριστοῦ : C has κυρίου [α 1 2 = τοῦ ἠλειμμένου : 3 = τ. χρ.]
13^{5} om καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία [α 1 2 3 retain, but involve different texts]
13^{10} om second εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν [om *ceteri*]
13^{12} om πᾶσαν [retain α 1 2 : om 3. Note that α sets it after, 1 2 before, ἐξουσίαν]
13^{15} after προσκυνήσουσιν om τῇ εἰκόνι and read τῷ θηρίῳ [so 1 2 : α 3 retain]
14^{9} om αὐτοῦ after χεῖρα [α 2 3 retain : *def* 1]
14^{11} om αὐτῶν [retain *ceteri* (but 2 = αὐτοῦ)]
14^{18} om τῆς ἀμπέλου [so 1 : α 2 retain : ? 3]
16^{4} om τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ [retain *ceteri*]
16^{9} om μέγα [om 1 2 : α 3 retain]
16^{12} om ἡλίου [retain *ceteri*, rendering otherwise]
16^{18} om οὕτω [om α 2 5 : def 1]
16^{19} om pr καί [retain α 2 3]
17^{10} om ὁ εἷς ἐστιν [α 3 retain, also 2, but rendering respectively καὶ ὁ εἷς ἔστη and καὶ ὁ εἷς ἔχει ἔτι]
17^{13} om καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν [α 2 3 retain]
17^{18} om τῶν βασιλέων [τ. βασιλειῶν α 2 3 with ℵ : *def* 1]
18^{6} om καὶ αὐτή [αὐτοί without καί 2 : α 3 retain καί, but omit αὐτή]
18^{10} om λέγοντες [α 2 3 = et dicent]
18^{12} om καὶ ἀργύρου [retain α 2 3]

18^{12} om *καὶ μαργαριτῶν* [retain *a* 2 3]
18^{16} om *καὶ κόκκινον καὶ κεχρυσωμένη* [retain *a* 2 3]
18^{23} om *καὶ νύμφης* [retain *a* 2 3, but 2 tr before *νυμφίου*]
19^{1} om *πολλοῦ* [so *a* 3 : 2 otherwise]
$19^{4, 5}$ om *ἀμήν* to *λέγουσα* inclusive [*a* 3 retain : in 2 the lacuna extends further, but begins here]
19^{5} om *ἡμῶν* [*a* 3 retain : *def* 12]
19^{6} om *λεγόντων* [*a* 3 retain and 3 adds *πάλιν* which may have been lost before *ἀλληλούϊα* : *def* 1 2]
19^{7} om *ἦλθεν* [*a* 2 3 retain : 2 explains the omission = *ekn* which has dropt out in 4 before *krkin* = *iterum*]
19^{9} om *τοῦ γάμου* [retain *a* 2 3]
19^{10} om *μοι* after *λέγει* [retain *a* 2 3]
19^{20} om *οἱ δύο* [subst *them ceteri*, recasting the sentence]
19^{21} om *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἐξελθούσῃ* [retain *a* : om *ἐπὶ τ. ἵπ.* 1 : om *ἐπί* 2]
20^{4} om *τοῦ θεοῦ καί* [retain *τ. θ. ceteri*]
20^{6} om *τοῦ θεοῦ καί* [retain *ceteri*]
21^{6} after *εἶπέν* om *μοι* [so 1 2 : add *a*]
21^{11} om *αὐτῆς* and *λίθῳ τιμιωτάτῳ, ὡς* [retain *a* 1 2]
21^{12} om *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα* [*a* 2 retain : om 1]
21^{16} om *τῷ καλάμῳ* [= mensurâ 1 2 : om *a* as part of a longer lacuna]
21^{16} om *χιλιάδων* [so 1 : retain *a* 2]
21^{19} om *ὁ θεμέλιος ὁ πρῶτος ἴασπις* [retain *a* 1 2]
21^{24} om *καὶ περιπατήσουσιν τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῆς* [retain *a* 1 2]
22^{15} om *καὶ φιλῶν* [*a* retains *φιλῶν* but omits *ποιῶν καί* : 1 renders otherwise. Note that A Q and Old Latin tr thus *φιλ. κ. ποι.*]
22^{16} om *Ἰησοῦς* [retain *a* 1]
22^{17} after *λέγουσιν* om *ἔρχου* [*a* 1 render the passage *καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ νύμφιος ἐρχόμενος*, *et spiritus et sponsus qui venturus sum*]
22^{17} om *δωρεάν* [*a* 1 retain]

Variants of 4 unconfirmed by Greek or Old Latin sources

1^{3} = Blessed they who listen to and do the things in it written
1^{4} John] From John [so 1 3]
1^{6} ? = *καὶ ἠξίωσεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείας* [so 1 3 : *a* 2 3** = Tisch]
1^{6} *θεῷ πατρί* and om *καί* [so *a* 1 : 2 3 add *καί*]
1^{14} = *αἱ δὲ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον καθαρόν*
1^{18} *ἔχω* : 4 = *ὁ ἔχων* [*ἔχω ceteri*]
$2^{4, 5}$ 4 seems to be corrupt 'But I have against you. Remember thy love, the first, whence thou art fallen'
2^{7} after *πνεῦμα* add *ἅγιον* [so 1 2 : om *a* 3]
2^{9} = but thou art strong to bear the blasphemy (of those) who say (themselves) to be Jews [an old corruption pervades 1 2 3 : *a* reproduces the Greek, but freely]
2^{13} = and deniedst not my faith in the which thou opposedst, my witness faithful, who was slain by you [see p. 118]
2^{14} after *ἔχω* add *λέγειν* [so *a* and 3** : 1 subst *λέγω* for *ἔχω* and of this variant 2 has traces, corrupting *asem* to *haseal ê*
2^{23} for *τὰ τέκνα* reads *τὸ τέκνον* [not *ceteri*]

2^{25} πλὴν ὃ ἔχετε: 4 = πλὴν οἳ οὐκ ἔχετε [πλέον οὗ (or ἢ ὃ) ἔχετε 1: om πλήν 2: subst ἄλλο for πλήν 3: and so subst ἀλλά α]
3^{4} = ἀλλὰ ἔχω ὀλίγα ὀνόματα [ἔχεις α (om ἀλλά): ἀλλὰ ἔχεις 1 2 3]
3^{4} ἐν λευκοῖς: 4 = ἐν λαμπροῖς, perhaps a paraphrase: 1 3 have the corruption *psaks* 'crowns' for *spitaks* 'whites': α 2 = Greek]
3^{4} ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν: 4 = ὅτι ζῷοί εἰσιν—a possible variant [not *ceteri*]
3^{5} περιβαλεῖται. So 4 if we correct *arastzen* to *arktzen*. 4 uses the plural in the first two clauses of this verse 'they who conquer shall wear . . . their names'
3^{7} Δαυείδ: τοῦ παραδείσου 4 [of Hades 1 2 3 (with 7. 16. 33. 45): of David α 3**]
3^{10} ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: 4 = αὐτῆς
3^{12} ἔτι: 4 = τις
3^{18} ἵνα βλέπῃς: 4 = καὶ βλέψεις
3^{20} καὶ ἀνοίξῃ: 4 = ἀνοίξει and om καί
4^{1} ἡ πρώτη: τὴν πρώτην 4, rearranging the sentence after the Greek [the other texts render freely, especially 3]
4^{5} τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα: 'the seven parts of the Spirit' 4 [1 2 3 have *powers* for *parts*: α and 3** correct after the Greek]
4^{6} κρυστάλλῳ: βηρύλλῳ 4
4^{7} ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου: = ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ 4 [1 om ἔχων and ὡς: α 2 3 om ὡς alone, but render freely]
4^{9} τῷ ζῶντι: τῇ ζωῇ or τῆς ζωῆς 4 [α 1 3 = Tisch: 2 omits]
5^{4} τὸ βιβλίον for αὐτό
5^{5} ἡ ῥίζα: ἐκ ῥίζας 4 [*ceteri*]
5^{8} after ἀρνίου add λέγοντες 4
5^{9} ᾄδουσιν: 'they were singing' 4 [so *ceteri*, but using a different verb]
6^{1} ὅτε: καὶ ὅτε 4 [ὅτι *ceteri* (with Q al fere^{40} am fu tol omn^{lachm})]
6^{4} ἐπ' αὐτόν: ἐπάνω 4, which C P and vg *qui sedebat desuper* shew in vs 8 [2 renders *i mna*, α 1 3 *i verah nora*, giving the same sense *upon him*]
6^{5} ἤκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ζῴου λέγοντος· ἔρχου: 'I heard the third animal that he came' 4
6^{9} τὸν λόγον: τὸ ὄνομα 4 omitting the words added just before in MS. 1 only *because of God and*
6^{12} 4 = καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐσκοτίσθη ὡς σάκκος μέλας
6^{15} εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὀρέων: 'into chasms of rock of the mountains' 4
6^{16} tr 'to the rocks and the mountains' 4
6^{17} σταθῆναι: So 4 if we correct *keal* to *kal*, σωθῆναι to σταθῆναι, but the former is actually found in cursives 40. 48 and Arc
7^{1} 4 renders τέσσαρας as acc pl and γωνίας as gen sing
7^{2} ἀγγέλοις: ζῴοις 4
7^{2} ἀδικῆσαι: add ἐπί 4
7^{11} after ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου 4 adds αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου [α 2 3 om and 1 merely subst ἐν. τ. ἀρνίου for ἐν. τ. θρ.]
7^{15} ἐν αὐτοῖς for ἐπ' αὐτούς 4 [so *ceteri*]
7^{16} add καί before οὐ [so 1 2: om α 3]
7^{16} οὐδὲ μὴ παίσῃ αὐτούς (for πέσῃ ἐπ') 4 [the other sources = offendet illos as if the Greek were ἀδικήσῃ αὐτούς. Has not ΑΔΙΚΗΣΗ become ΠΑΙΣΗΕΠ in the MSS.?]

7^{17} 4 = ἐπὶ ὕδωρ ζωῆς πηγῶν [1 = ἐπὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων ζωῆς : 2 = ad fontes aquarum vivarum with syr : 3 = ad fontem aquæ vivæ with cop : *a* has a conflation]

7^{17} ὀφθαλμῶν : προσώπων 4 as in Es 25^{8}. Zohrap's Armenian text here agrees with 4

8^{2} θεοῦ : θρόνου 4 [*a* 2 3 have θεοῦ : om 1]

8^{3} πάντων : add τῶν (or ? ταῖς) 4

8^{7} τὸ τρίτον : 'the third part' 4 here and in verses 8-12 ; but we cannot infer that μέρος followed in the translator's Greek [*ceteri*]

8^{11} 'to blood to wormwood' 4 (a conflation)

8^{12} 4 adds *sixth* before ἡμέρα

9^{7} στέφανοι : so 4, if we correct *patkeratz* to *psakatz*. It then renders *similes erant aureis coronis*

9^{10} = 'and they had a likeness to scorpions,' omitting οὐράς and reading ὁμοίωμα [*a* retains οὐράς and renders καθ' ὁμοίωμα]

9^{11} Abaddon : Nabathdon 4

9^{17} θειώδεις : 'godlike' 4. [Here *a* 1 2 have 'flaming with sulfur' : 3 transliterates thus, *thiodi*, and it would seem as if the author of 4, finding this reading in his text, corrected it from the Greek as we have seen]

9^{20} ταύταις : τούτων 4

10^{4} ἔμελλον : ἔθελον 4 [so *a* 3 : 1 2 are corrupt]

10^{5} εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν : ? ἐπὶ τ. οὐ. 4

10^{7} 4 renders loosely ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἐν φωνῇ καὶ τοῦ ἑβδόμου

11^{1} 4 = τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ναόν

11^{2} ἐν αὐτῷ : αὐτοῦ 4

11^{5} αὐτόν : αὐτούς 4

11^{12} ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις 4 [*ceteri*]

11^{14} before ἡ οὐαί add ἰδού [*ceteri*]

11^{15} add καὶ αἰῶνας after αἰῶνας

11^{16} ἐκάθηντο for οἳ κάθηνται [οἳ ἐκάθηντο *ceteri*]

11^{18} κριθῆναι : κρίσεως

11^{18} δούλοις σου : δ. αὐτοῦ

12^{1} τὴν σελήνην

12^{3} before κεφαλάς add ἑπτά

12^{4} σύρει : ἔσυρεν [*ceteri*]

12^{9} ? om ὁ καλούμενος : 'who is traitor (κατήγωρ) and Beelzebub and Satan'

12^{12} ἡ ἐξουσία : αἱ ἐξουσίαι (cp Col 1^{16})

12^{13} add καὶ before ἐδίωξεν

12^{15} after γυναικός insert πῦρ

13^{1} τὴν κεφαλήν for τὰς κεφαλάς [*ceteri*]

13^{5} the text of 4 is broken, for it omits καὶ ἐδόθη αὐ. ἐξ. ποιῆσαι and substitutes *linel* 'to become.' The Berlin apograph has 'to hear (*lsel*) blasphemies.'

13^{8} ἐγέγραπτο

13^{14} διὰ τὸ σημεῖον ὅ

14^{2} add ἦν before ἥν

14^{3} οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο : οὐκ ἐδυνάμην

14^{4} *ἐμολύνθησαν* : *ἐπόρνευσαν*
14^{4} *οὗτοι οἵ ἠγοράσθησαν*
14^{10} *ἀκράτου τοῦ ποτηρίου ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς*
14^{13} *μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ* for *μετ᾽ αὐτῶν*
14^{14} *ὀξύ* : add *λίαν*
14^{18} after *πυρός* add *τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου* [so **1 2** : om *a* **3**]
14^{20} *ἀπό* : *ὡς*
15^{1} Here 4 paraphrases *τὰς ἐσχάτας* 'worse than all evil,' but for the rest has a conflate text.
15^{3} *τὰ ἔργα* for *αἱ ὁδοί*. So also in Dr Gwynn's old Syriac text [so 1]
15^{8} after *ὁ ναός* add *τοῦ θεοῦ*
16^{12} after *ἕκτος* add *ἄγγελος* 4 [*ceteri*]
16^{13} *θηρίου* for *δράκοντος* and *vice versa* [*a* **2 3** = Tisch : **1** om *καὶ ἐκ τ. στ. τ. θηρίου*; the author of 4 inherited the same text as 1, and added the missing words in the wrong place : the other Arm. texts never had the omission]
16^{14} *ποιοῦντα* : *ἔχοντα* (? due to an uncial corruption in the Armenian)
16^{14} *συναγαγεῖν* : *καὶ συνάγει* (or ? *συνάγουσι*)
16^{21} *ὅτι μεγάλαι ἦσαν αἱ πληγαί αὐτῆς* and om *σφόδρα*
17^{4} om *τά* and *αὐτῆς* and read *ἀκαθαρτάτης πορνείας*
17^{5} tr *γεγραμμένον ὄνομα* [so *a* 3]; below 4 = *τῶν βδελ. κ. τ. πορνῶν*
17^{7} 'which shall carry' *βαστάσοντος* for *βαστάζοντος* [*βαστάσαντος a* 2 3 'which has carried,' perhaps due to a confusion of *quæ portabat* with *quæ portabit*]
17^{8} after *εἶδες* add *ὅ* [so *a* **2 3**]
17^{11} *οὔπω ἔστιν* for *οὐκ ἔστιν* [so 2]
18^{2} *ὀρνέου* 'spirit' *or* 'ghost' [so 2]
18^{7} *δότε* : *ἀπόδοτε* [so *a* **3** : 'shall be given']
18^{8} *πληγαί* : *βασανισμοί*
18^{8} = *καὶ πῦρ κατακαύσει αὐτήν* [**2** = *καὶ κατάκαυσις*]
18^{8} = *ἰσχυρὸς κύριος ὁ κύριος θεός*, a conflate reading [**2** = cursives 6. 3. 8. 9. 6 Prim Haym : **2 3** = Tisch]
18^{10} *καὶ τὸν βασανισμόν* for *τοῦ βασανισμοῦ*. So below in vs 15
18^{15} = *οἱ ἔμποροι τούτοις ἐπλούτησαν* [so *a* **3** but retain *πλουτήσαντες*]
18^{15} *στήσονται* : *ἑστῶτες*
18^{16} *ὥρᾳ* : *ἡμέρᾳ* [*a* **3** retain *ὥρᾳ* : **2** conflates both readings]
18^{17} *τὴν θάλασσαν* : 'with tools' [with a net *a* **3**]
18^{19} *ἐν ᾗ ἐπλούτησαν* 'where now we were rich' [*ἐν ᾗ πάντες ἐπλουτήσαμεν a* **2 3**]
18^{19} *ἠρημώθη* : *ἠτιμώθη* which echoes *τιμιότητος* just before
18^{24} *αἵματα* : *πᾶν αἷμα* [so **2 3**]
18^{24} tr *ἁγίων καὶ προφητῶν*
19^{5} *αἰνεῖτε* is repeated twice
19^{6} *ὅτι* : subst *καί*
19^{6} after *ἐβασίλευσεν* add *ἐν ἡμῖν* and om *ἡμῶν* after *ὁ θεός* [**2** om *ἡμῶν* without adding *ἐν ἡμῖν* (with A 1. 95 cop Cyp)]
19^{7} *χαίρωμεν* : subst *καὶ χαίρομεν*
19^{7} *ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ γάμος τοῦ ἀρνίου* : = quia (venit) iterum in nuptias agnus 4 [so 2 which supplies *venit* and has nuptias suas]
19^{8} before *λαμπρόν* add *λευκόν* [so *a* 3]

19[10] τῇ γὰρ μαρτυρίᾳ Ἰησοῦ ἔστιν ἡ προφητεία [2 = ἡ γ. μ. Ἰ. ἐ. τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις : α 3 have τῇ γὰρ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ ὅραμα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας. Here ὅραμα seems to be right. It might easily be lost before πνεῦμα

19[13] καὶ κέκληται] ὃς κέκληται

19[14] = καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα οὐρανοῦ—a conflation [so 3 but om καὶ τὰ στ. οὐ. : 2 = καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐρανοῦ : α = 4]

19[15] = καὶ αὐτὸς πατήσει αὐτοὺς ὡς τὴν ληνόν

19[16] = τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ for τὸν μηρόν αὐτοῦ and adds *and on his right hip*—a conflation

19[17] for ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ reads ἐπὶ τῇ ἡ. [so α : 2 = ad solem]

19[18] for ἵνα subst καί [so α]

19[20] τὸ χάραγμα : τὴν χάριν

19[20] τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. ζῶντες ἐβλήθησαν : = τῇ εἰ. αὐτοῦ ζῶντος. ἐβλήθησαν [so 2, and also α 1, but punctuating after αὐτοῦ and adding καί. Furthermore α 1 2 substitute *they cast them* for ἐβλ. and use another verb than 4]

20[2] after δράκοντα add μέγαν

20[5] after τελεσθῇ add ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς or ἐπὶ τούτων as in vs 6

20[6] before ἐπί add ὅτι, which so placed may easily have dropt out of the Greek texts

20[6] εἰσιν for ἔσονται [so 1 : 2 = sunt illi : α has future]

20[7] ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς : 'and shall go forth from his bonds'

20[12] add τούς before ἑστῶτας [so α 1 : *def* 2]

20[12] κατὰ τὰ ἔργα : καὶ τὰ ἔ.

21[1] = οὐρανὸν κενὸν καὶ γῆν κενήν· καὶ ὁ κενὸς οὐρανός καὶ ἡ γῆ.

21[2] καὶ τὴν πόλιν : = civitatem enim

21[2] tr εἶδον καινήν

21[6] ἐγὼ τῷ : καὶ τῷ [so α 1 : not 2]

21[8] tr τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις καὶ δειλοῖς [1 2 om καὶ δ. : α has τ. δὲ δ. κ. ἀπ. but uses another equivalent for δειλοῖς. α and 4 have supplied the missing word independently of one another]

21[8] before τοῖς ψευδέσιν add 'drug-givers and' [so α ; and also 1 2, but before εἰδωλολάτραις]

21[10] = τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄνω Ἱερ. ἁγίαν [so 1 but tr ἁγίαν after πόλιν : *def* 2 : α = cursives 1. 31. 79. 91. 96]

21[11] = ἔχουσαν ὄρος εἰρήνης τὴν δόξαν· ἧς ὁ φωστὴρ ὅμοιος ἦν ἰάσπιδι λίθῳ [α om ὄρ. εἰρ. which 1 places in preceding verse : α 2 add ὅμοιος which 1 omits]

21[12] after ἅ ἐστιν add ὀνόματα [α 1 om : ? 2]

21[16] after μῆκος add αὐτῆς [so α 2 : om 1]

21[17] = ὃς καὶ ἐμέτρησεν

21[18] add ὅλη before ἡ πόλις

21[20] ἀμέθυστος : 'agate' and continue thus 'the thirteenth, pearl : a door, which were of a single pearl'

21[21] after διαυγής add 'et prope apud portam refulgentior tanquam beryllus'—a conflation [1 and 2 subst for ὡς ὕαλος διαυγής]

21[23] ἔχει : εἶχε [so α 1 2]

21[25] ἔσται : ἐστιν

22^3 = ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ δ. αὐ. λατρεύουσιν [1 has τοῦ θεοῦ for αὐτοῦ]
22^8 προσκυνῆσαι: καὶ προσεκύνησα [so α 1]
22^{11} ἁγιασθήτω ἔτι. Ἰδού: = 'let him be encreased and because, behold.' Clearly ἔτι was rendered as if ὅτι
22^{16} = καὶ ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα and om Ἰησοῦς
22^{18} = ἐπιθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν [so α 1, but retain αὐτοῦ]
22^{20} ταῦτα· ναί: ταῦτα εἶναι by error [Here 1 = ταῦτα πάντα· ναί: α omits ναί with Prim]
22^{20} add ἰδού before ἔρχομαι

CHAPTER VI

THE BODLEIAN CODEX

THE above collation exhausts the differences between Tisch and the Armenian MS. of Jerusalem. They are neither so numerous nor profound, but that we may rank 4 as a text closely akin to Tisch. Now the latter is a text based almost exclusively upon the great uncials ℵ A C P, rather more weight being given to ℵ than other editors would accord. Tischendorf's B, which is not the same codex as B in the gospels, I have, following Tregelles, Gwynn, and others, called Q. It was written as late as the eighth century, and constantly sides with the mass of cursives against the great uncials. We may say therefore in general terms that 4 represents an uncial text. How closely the author or authors of 4 adhered to their Greek text can be inferred from 7^1 where *τέσσαρας* is rendered correctly as the accusative plural and *γωνίας* as the genitive singular. The order of words of the original Greek is observed throughout.

But the text of 4, though of the same class as the somewhat eclectic uncial text of Tisch, is pervaded by certain peculiarities which may be summarised as follows:—

1. Although Tisch has leaned to ℵ in selecting his text, 4 is yet closer to ℵ than he. In 18^3 and $20^{2,3}$ it faithfully renders even blunders of ℵ, and in various other passages has variants added in ℵ by the correctors, as witness 6^{15}, 12^1, 12^6. Moreover, 4 shews a special affection for readings common to ℵ and $ℵ^c$ and the Old Latin, as witness the remarkable variants at 10^{10} and 14^8.

After ℵ the Greek sources with which 4 commonly allies itself are in one set of variants 38. and 79., and in another 7. 14. and 92. It is also to be noticed that ℵ often carries

with it in 4 the suffrage of the cursives 35 and 87, as also of 14 and 92. In quite a number of passages 4 reflects 7. 38. and 79. apart from the uncials, and it seldom departs from ℵ to agree isolatedly with the uncials A C P without the accompanying suffrage of one of these cursives.

After ℵ and this small band of cursives the determining influence of our text, where it departs from Tisch, is the Old Latin, as represented by Primasius, or Tichonius, or the anon^{aug}. A surprisingly large number of its readings are found only in these Latin sources, and not in any Greek text; and often the coptic text collated in Tisch associates itself with the Old Latin and Armenian.

As regards the agreements with the cursives 38 and 79, it must be borne in mind that these are only cursives in name, and possess as sources of the text the weight of uncials. The cursives 7. 14. 28. 92, and perhaps 36, are also remarkable MSS., standing out in relief from the later cursive tradition, which therefore has had little or no part in the formation of this Armenian text.

In three passages 12^{11}, 13^{15}, and 13^{18}, our Armenian text is in striking accord with C. In the last passage—that which gives the number of the beast as 616—the cursive 11, otherwise not prominent, accompanies C. I am inclined to regard the Armenian as dependent here on the Old Latin. In 13^{15} C is attended by 14. 28. 79.

Bearing in mind the leading characteristics of the Armenian MS. 4 as reflected in the above collation with Tisch, let us approach the problem of its relation to the other Armenian sources *a*, 1, 2, and 3, for these, in spite of much variety, on the whole cohere in one group as against 4. Our chief problem is how to reconcile the presence of so large a Latin element in all the sources alike, with the extreme fidelity to a Greek original evinced everywhere in 4, and very generally in 1, 2, 3. It would seem as if the archetype which was the ancestor of all these Armenian texts, although in the main a translation of a Greek text of the uncial class, yet contained a large Old Latin element. It was a Greek text saturated with this influence. The Jerusalem text 4 is probably an eighth-century revision of this older Armenian text, and the reviser used a Greek text almost identical with ℵ. Doubtless he intended

to reconstitute the entire text according to his new source. Nevertheless his recension left in the text the many Latinisms which 4 contains. The sources 1 2 3 retain a larger proportion of the Old Latin heritage, because, though they have not altogether escaped the tender mercies of Greek revisers, they have never been so methodically submitted to them. Nerses of Lambron, when he set himself to make a fresh recension in the twelfth century, had inherited a text more akin to 1 2 3 than to 4, and in consequence his recension exhibits more of their peculiarities than of those of 4. And between his recension and 1 there is, as I have shewn, a particuliar lien. In 1 there is a lacuna from 16^{17} to 19^{18}. Throughout this lacuna the recension is absolutely identical with 3 and almost identical with 4, although up to 16^{17} and after 19^{18} it is markedly different from 3 and 4. We may conclude that the MS. on which Nerses based his recension contained the same lacuna as does 1, and that subsequent copies of his recension filled up the lacuna from our existing codex 3. It is impossible to regard 4 as a recension made later than the eighth century. A later recension than that would not be likely to adhere so strictly to the older uncial tradition.

If 4 were free from exclusively Old Latin influence, it might plausibly be argued that *a*, 1 and 2 were, as regards their Latinisms, texts later than it, on which a Latin corrector had been at work. But 4, though it contains fewer Latinisms, still has not a few. Indeed 1, 2 and 3, and *a* which is based on them, exaggerate all the characteristics in which 4 differs from Tisch. They contain fewer readings traceable to the later cursive tradition of Q, more of the peculiarities of ℵ, more of 38 and 79, more of the Old Latin, especially of Primasius, beside many peculiar additions from which 4 is probably only free because they have been revised out of it. It is now time to substantiate these statements, and especially to tabulate the Latinisms of these other Armenian sources.

And, firstly, as regards the general character of the Bodleian Armenian text. Prof. John Gwynn in his edition of the Old Syriac version of the Apocalypse, Dublin, 1897, furnishes a table of all the passages in which the older uncials with the Old Latin sources range themselves over against the later cursive tradition. I have examined these passages in the

Armenian MS. 1 wherever it admits of comparison, and it admits thereof in over 500 passages; and I find but fourteen only in which it supports any of the cursives. I take no account of those in which 7. 14. 92. 28. 35. 38, 79. 87 are the cursives concerned, because, as I have said, these MSS. although of relatively late date, are exceptions from the massive of cursive tradition; and really possess, where they differ from the rest, the same weight as the early uncials. Nor do I reckon cases in which the cursives are supported by Latin evidence, or by Coptic or Old Syriac. The fourteen cases are the following:—

2^{13} πᾶς μάρτυς πιστός with 152 (= Vatic. 370) and Gwynn's Old Syriac (4 has ἀντεῖπας: 2 = 1: 3 erased: *a* = Tisch)
3^{2} ἔμελλες with Q many (but the Arm is another text altogether)
3^{7} τοῦ Ἅιδου with 7* 16. 33. 45 (so 1, but 4 has παραδείσου: 2 3 = 1: 'of David' *a* and 3**)
6^{9} ἐσφραγισμένων with 7. 16* 33 (but 4 has ἐσφαγμ.: so 2 3: *a* texts fluctuate)
6^{11} om ἑκάστῳ with Q al[25] (so *a* 2 3, but 4 retains)
10^{6} om τῶν αἰώνων with 1. 12. 47 And (so *a* 3 4: 2 retains)
11^{19} σεισμοί with 34. 35. 87 (but *a* 2 4 = σεισμός: 3 om)
15^{6} om ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ with Q al[30] (so 2 3: *a* 4 retain, though in different places, so that they have inserted it from the Greek independently of each other)
16^{3} order ἐν τῇ θαλ. ἀπέθανεν (so *a* 2 3)
21^{6} after δώσω insert αὐτῷ with Q. 2. 8. 29. 31. 94. 97 al[15]. Note that Tisch inserts it in his text, while admitting the weakness of the evidence (4 omits: 2 inserts)
21^{9} after ἦλθεν add πρός με (so *a* 2: 4 omits)
21^{12} om υἱῶν with 1. 7. 79. 91. 96 (4 retains: *a* 2 om)
21^{13} sequence: East, West, North, South, with 91 aeth
22^{7} ἔρχεται for ἔρχομαι with 12. (*a* 4 have ἔρχομαι)

Next let us collect the additional Latinisms of the version, not found in 4, fixing our attention chiefly upon 1, and signalising, where necessary, the assent or dissent of *a* 2 3, and also the attitude in each case of 4.

1^{14} om λευκαί 1; 3 also omits and preserves the text better than 1 and 2, for it reads 'and his head and (+his 2) hair as wool white and his eyes,' etc. 2 omits 'as wool white and his eyes' through the similar ending 'as . . . as.' 4 varies the order and introduces slight changes. 'But the hair of his head white as wool pure,' retaining λευκαί but substituting καθαρόν for λευκόν. Prim omits both λευκαί and λευκόν. The Arm is clearly right in omitting either λευκόν or λευκαί, but surely the one or the other should remain, for the writer seems to have had Isa. 1^{18} in mind: ὡς χιόνα

λευκανῶ . . . ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ. This Haussleiter remarks, though he argues that Prim is right in omitting both. The words ὡς χιών given in all sources except the Armenian are also a reminiscence of Isaiah, and this would account for their intrusion in the Greek and Latin texts, supposing the Arm to be right in omitting them. Nerses has added them in his recension, from which also they are added by a late hand in the margin of 3.

1[17] All the Armenian sources except 4 have the Old Latin order: posuit super me dextram.

1[18] It has been pointed out that 4 omits this verse as far as αἰώνων inclusive, and this suggests that 1 which omits the words καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων better represents the primary Armenian tradition than 2 and 3 which render these words identically with the recension α. But in rendering καὶ ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός thus: ego vita et ego qui fui mortuus, 'I am life and I am he who died,' α 1 2 3 exhibit a certain affinity with Primasius who omits καὶ ὁ ζῶν and with the Fleury palimpsest which renders qui fui mortuus. The *qui* is also given in various MSS. of Prim.

[Haussleiter condemns the words καὶ ὁ ζῶν as a superfluous addition, and so they are if the words καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἶμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων be original. The objection somewhat disappears, if καί be omitted with ℵ* and the Armenian, and ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ ζωή be substituted. It is probable that Origen had this reading, for commenting on this passage (Delar. tom. iv. p. 36) he writes ἀπὸ τῆς προηγουμένης ζωῆς αὐτοῦ . . . τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Tichonius in rendering: ego sum vivus, qui fui mortuus, confirms the Armenian. I suspect that in the east the earliest text was the Armenian and omitted καὶ ἰδού, etc.; it insisted on the fact that he who was principle of life actually died (a fact much disputed among the Gnostics and Docetes), and so held the keys of death and hades (or ? paradise). In the west the earliest text omitted ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ ζωή and laid stress on the historical fact of the resurrection by adding καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν, etc.

It is instructive to notice that in 2[8] the Arm codex 1 omits καὶ ἔζησεν just as here it omits καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν, etc. That is, in both passages it emphasised the death of Jesus, but not his resurrection. The omission at 2[8] is probably original, for the other codices supply it in different terms, 4 having *kentanatzav* = 'was made alive,' 2 *ekatz* (read ekeatz) = 'he lived,' and 3 *keanqn* = 'the life.']

2[5] om οὖν Prim Cyp Syr (Gwynn). Arm 3 seems to involve νῦν.

2[9] τὴν βλασφημίαν: 'the blasphemy which the Jews wrought unto

thee I know' 1: 'the blasphemy which the Jews spake thou hearest,' 2, and 3 similarly. Whence the words 'unto thee' in 1? There seems to be some relation to the version used by Prim 'et *blasphemaris* ab iis qui se dicunt' etc.

2^{16} πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν: the first hand in codex *α* of the recension corrects 'with them' to 'with you,' a reading found in Prim *tecum* and Jerome.

2^{21} om καί before ἔδωκα with Prim.

2^{24} οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν: the *α* text and MS. 3 render *qui non cognovistis* with Tichonius and also Quaest 102 which reads *et ignoratis altitudinem.*

3^{4} περιπατήσουσιν: *gnastzen* 'shall walk' in 4: *shrdjein* 'were going around' in 1: *shrdjetzin* 'went around' in 2: *shrdjestzin* 'shall go around' in 3. Prim has *mecum ambulaverunt*, but in his commentary as in vg *ambulabant* is read, which is a misreading of *ambulabunt.* Arm 3 here betrays an independent knowledge of the Greek as often. It retains the future, yet without following 4, since it uses the same verb as 1 and 2. The recension *α* uses the same verb, but has the present tense.

3^{16} om οὕτως *sed quoniam tepidus es* with Prim. So MS. 3: 2 *deficit.* 4 omits *sed* and agrees with Tisch.

3^{20} after μετ' ἐμοῦ add 'in my kingdom.' So 1 2 3, but *α* 4 omit. Prim adds *in trono meo.*

4^{2} καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος: 'and I saw a throne that it stood in heaven' 1, 2, 3: 'and behold, a throne that it stood in heaven' 4: *α* omits the words *that it stood*, but has 'and I saw.' Thus 4 renders Tisch: the rest Prim who has *et ecce vidi tronum positum in cælo*, combining the Arm and the Greek texts.

$4^{9,10}$ Here 4 has the Latinism *cum darent* of vg or *cum dederant* of Prim, but adheres to the Greek tenses in the sequel, but the other texts, except for partial omissions, reflect the Latin and adhere to the imperfect throughout.

vg has *cum darent . . . procidebant.*

Prim has *cum dederant . . . cadebant . . . adorabant* (also in vg).

Then *mittebant* is in cl, demid, lipss al^{lachm}. Haussleiter corrects to cadebunt and reads adorabunt in vs 10. The thorough dependence of the Armenian text on the Latin is clear.

4^{11} domine deus *α* 1: domine et deus noster 2 3—Prim omits *et* with *α* 1.

5^{6} 'in medio troni et in medio IIII animalium' Prim.

5^{10} ἐποίησας ἡμᾶς is involved in 1 and 3 (2 *deficit*): ἐπ. αὐτούς in *α* 4. All Greek sources have ἡμᾶς, so that Nerses may have restored it independently of 4: ἡμᾶς is only found in the Old Latin vg Prim Cyp Vulg Matern.

5^{10} βασιλεύσουσιν in 4, following the Greek; βασιλεύσομεν in 1. 2. 3. following the Old Latin of Prim who has regnabimus, which vg turns into regnavimus. Nerses (*α*) corrects to βασιλεύειν without any authority.

$6^{1.3.5.8}$ ἔρχου rendered as if ἔρχομαι. This seems due to a confusion of *veni* 'come thou' with *veni* 'I have come.'

6^{5} om *καὶ ἰδού* with Prim 1 2 : *α* 3 4 retain.

6^{6} om *καί* before *τὸ ἔλαιον* with Prim 1 : add *ceteri*.

6^{9} *καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ* with Prim and Cyp *et martyrium suum*, 1 2 : *κ. διὰ τ. μ. ἣν εἶχον* 4, with all the Greek sources : *α* has the conflation *αὐτοῦ ἣν εἶχον* not found in Greek MSS. 3 has *μαρτ. τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἁγίου* shewing an independent knowledge of Q and the Greek cursives which insert *τοῦ ἀρνίου* before *ἣν εἶχον*.

6^{11} *ἐδόθησαν . . στολαὶ λευκαί* 1, with Prim Cyp: datae sunt eis singulis stolae albae. Here 4 retains *ἐδόθησαν*, but renders *στολὴ λευκή*, using a different equivalent for *στολή*. 2 renders in the singular throughout with all the Greek sources : *α* 3 have *ἐδόθη . . στολαὶ λευκαί*.

6^{13} *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* is rendered as if *ἐκ τ. οὐ.* by 1 2 3 with vg and Tert *de caelo* : *α* 4 omit *ἐκ*.

6^{17} after *σταθῆναι*, *α* 1. 2 add *ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ* with Prim *adstare ante illum* and cop (Horner) : 4 omits with all Greek sources : 3 subst 'to walk from the face (*or* presence) of him,' confusing *kal* with *gnal* and rendering *ἐνώπιον* differently.

7^{10} All Greek sources read *καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες*. Prim renders et magno clamore (magna voce *f*) dicebant. Here 1 = et voce magna dicebant, but the other Arm sources add = 'and they cried out with great voice saying' ('and were saying' 4) ; but each has a different order, and 3 uses another equivalent for 'cried out,' than *α* 2 4 use. They thus only agree in the words 'with great voice.' It would appear that 1 here represents the original Armenian version, and the other MSS. have corrected it with help of Greek MSS. The evidence for *magna voce* in Prim is very strong.

7^{14} *ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι*. Tert Scorp 12 renders : et laverunt vestimenta sua et candidaverunt *ipsum* in sanguine. We have the extraordinary rendering 'and they whitened *him*' in the Arm MSS. 1 2 3 : 4 corrects so as to equal *αὐτάς*, and *α* omits *αὐτάς*. I conjecture that *ἐλεύκαναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν* was the original text, then *τὰς στολάς* was left out, so that Tertullian rendered *αὐτῶν* alone, and the Armenian MS. took the gen pl for acc sing.

7^{15} *σκηνώσει*. Cyp and Prim have inhabitavit, an error for inhabitabit. All the Arm sources translate the error, except 4 which corrects to the future, and 3, which renders *inhabitat*.

8^{7} *τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάη καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάη καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάη*. The Fleury palimpsest renders : tertiam partem arborem cremaverunt et omne faenum viride usserunt. Similarly *α* 1 2 3 render *τὸ τρίτον* as an accusative and as if *πάντα χόρτον χλωρόν* stood in the text and also *κατέκαιε*. Prim shews traces of a similar rendering, *e.g. omnem faenum viridem* in several of his MSS., and in comment : ignis missus in terram . . . tertiam partem terrae, arborum et faeni ac viriditatis incendisse dicitur. Arm 4 adjusts the text to the Greek codices.

8^{11} *πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν*. So all Greek MSS. Here *α* 1 2 exactly render Prim and the

Fleury MS.: multi homines mortui sunt ab amaritudine aquarum: 4 adjusts to the Greek: 'were destroyed (*not* died) from the waters, because they were made bitter,' and 3 like 4 renders the Greek, but in a different way, and probably independently.

9^{8} *καὶ εἶχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν* all Greek MSS. *α* 1 2 3 exactly render the text of codex *f* of Prim (cp above on 7^{10}): et capilli eorum sicut capilli mulierum. 4 corrects 'and they had hair as the hair of women.' It may be remarked that *α* 1 2 3 have the singular 'of a woman.'

9^{11} *βασιλέα τὸν ἄγγελον*: 1 2 3 = *βασ. τῶν ἀγγέλων*. So am* and harl* *regem angelorum*. *α* and 4 correct independently of each other.

9^{12} *ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῆλθεν· ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.* So Tisch but cursive 7 has *δευτέρα* for *ἔτι δύο*, and cursives 28. 79. 80 *παρῆλθεν*. Arm MS. 1 renders 'Behold woe the first has passed by, and woe the second is about to come after it quickly.' This recalls Hier Ezech 7: vae unum abiit et vae alterum veniet cito. Cop (Horner) has the same text, and also the Fleury MS.: Vae unum abiit et ecce secundum vae (*desinit fol.* 115 *palimpsesti*). *α* omits the words *after it quickly*, and 2 3 4 omit *quickly*. Note that 3 here renders the Greek MSS. Q 14 *καὶ ἔρχεται δύο οὐαὶ οὐαί· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος κτλ.*

9^{17} *ἐκ τῶν στομάτων.* All the Arm sources save 4, which adjusts to the Greek, render *de ore*, after the rendering of Prim Cyp vg and Syr (Gwynn).

9^{19} *καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀδικοῦσιν.* Prim *de quibus nocebant*, Arm 1 = de quibus nocebunt multos: *α* = de quibus nocebant iniustos (cp *ἠδικουσαν* of cursive 38 and ? *ἀδικοῦσιν ἀδίκους*): 3 = et in eo nocebunt: 4 = et in iis tormentabant laedebant: 2 = de quibus nocebant omnes. All these readings belong to the sphere of the Old Latin which has *nocebant*. Tichonius already corrects to *nocent*. Perhaps the cursive 38 here exhibits Latin influence.

11^{9} for *βλέπουσιν* *α* 1 2 3 exhibit *βλέψουσιν* with Prim cop aeth *et videbunt*. 4 adjusts to the Greek.

11^{10} *ἐβάνισαν*: *α* 1 3 involve *βασανίσουσι*, 'they shall maltreat,' and so also 4 substituting a correcter equivalent, 'they shall torment' (*or ? be* tormented): 2 retains the past tense. Prim has *cruciaverunt*, but the Armenian appears to be a misreading of *cruciabant* as *cruciabunt*

11^{11} *εἰσῆλθεν . . . ἔστησαν . . . ἐπέπεσεν*: the Arm MSS. 1 2 3, = shall enter . . . they shall stand . . . shall fall. *α* also has the first two futures, but then goes to the past 'did fall.' The rendering of Prim *introivit* or (in Haussleiter's MSS. f G v) *intravit* explains the first, for the Vulgate has *intrabit*, but the Latin codices have *steterunt* and *cecidit* which do not explain the other two futures, unless the former was confused with *steterint*. The imperfect *stabant* would better explain the second future, and the third might arise out of *cadebat* and *cadebit* (see on vs 20^{4} page 101). It is remarkable that the cursive 38 reads *στήσονται . . . ἐπιπεσεῖται* and in vs 12 *ἀκούσονται* (audibant = audibunt) and in 19^{20} *βληθήσονται* for *ἐβλήθησαν*. It has therefore been subject to the same

Latin influence as the Armenian, and ultimately represents a Greek text which read ἤκουσαν. The Arm 4 corrects to the past tense all through verse 11. Cop (Horner) also has the futures in this verse.

Arm 2 renders ἐγένετο by 'shall be' in vs 13 and ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο by 'fear shall be on all' and ἔδωκαν by 'they give.' The two former point to the confusion erit = erat, though vg and pr render *factus est* and *in timorem sunt missi.* The Armenian text here seems to repose on a Latin version different from these, in which οἱ λοιποί was rendered as if τὸ λοιπόν.

11^{18} The rendering of Tichonius: tempus *quo* de mortuis *iudicetur* seems to underlie *a* 1 2.

13^{14} ὃς ἔχει . . καὶ ἔζησεν: 'who shall have . . and shall live' 1: 'who hath . . and shall live' 2: 4 = 'who hath . . and lived' using another equivalent for *lived*: *a* = ὃς ἀπὸ πληγῶν τῆς μαχαίρης ἔζησεν (cp cursives 14. 92. ἀπὸ τῆς μαχ.). Under the Armenian texts there must lie a confusion of a Latin past and future, *e.g.* of *convalebit* with *convalebat* or of *vigebit* with *vigebat.*

13^{10} ὑπάγει . . ἀποκτενεῖ . . δεῖ ἀποκτανθῆναι. The Arm sources fluctuate from past to future tenses, thus *a* has: shall be led . . shall die . . shall slay; 1 has: shall be led . . shall destroy; 2 has: were delivered . . died . . slew; 3 has: shall be led . . shall slay: 4 = Tisch. The texts seem to go back to some form of Latin.

12^{18} This verse is omitted in the Arm MS. 2. *Versum* 18 *prorsus om. Primasius* (Haussleiter).

14^{9} after ἠκολούθησεν read αὐτῷ for αὐτοῖς 1 2 3 with Prim *secutus est eum.* *a* and 4 correct to the plural, but independently, for *a* retains the equivalent of 1 2 3 *gayr zhet* 'followed,' whereas 4 substitutes *erthayr zhet.*

14^{13} ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται. Here *a* 1 3 = quia requieverunt. But 2 4 = quia requiescent or requiescant (read by Prim).

14^{20} ἐπατήθη ἡ ληνός. The Arm 3 exactly reflects the rendering of Prim: et calcatum est in torculari. *a* 4 = calcatum est torcular. 1 and 2 = in torculari, but involve the sense *calcabat* or *calcabatur.*

15^{3} add πάντων before τῶν ἐθνῶν with Prim and the Fleury MS. all Arm sources except 4 and 3 which is missing here: 2 moreover reads βασ. τῶν αἰώνων καὶ βασ. πάντων τῶν ἐθνών a conflation with Prim of ℵ* C 18. 95 and of *reliqui Latini.*

15^{4} All Arm sources except 4 = ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος εἶ καὶ ὅσιος. So the Fleury palimpsest and demid: quia solus sanctus et pius es. Prim omits *sanctus et.* Syr = sanctus es et iustus. Arm 4 omits καὶ ὅσιος with all Greek MSS. Note that *a* 1 not understanding the use of *arjani* = ὅσιος (common in the Armenian version of Philo), and taking it in the common sense of dignus have added 'of being worshipped': 2 omits this gloss: *deficit* 3.

16^{3} om ὡς νεκροῦ after αἷμα 1 and 2 with Prim and Fleury MS. *a* and 3 supply *mereal* = dead, and om ὡς with cursives 1. 46. Arm 4 adds the words 'as if of the slain.'

16^{16} συνήγαγεν: he will congregate 1 3—a confusion of congregavit with congregabit which occurs here in vg and in some codices of

Prim. Gwynn's Syriac also has the future. Arm 2 4 restore the past tense. *a* = congregabo.

17[4] *καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς*: Arm 2 = *καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ τῆς π. αὐ.* So Cyp: et immunditiae et fornicationis totius terrae. So Prim, only omitting the second *et.* Arm 3 seems to approximate still more to the Old Latin since it substitutes *τῆς γῆς* for *αὐτῆς*, but this may be due to contact with a Greek text, since Q al[30] substitute *τῆς γῆς*, and for the rest 3 differs from the Latin and = et plenum erat abominabili et immunda fornicatione terrae. So *a*, but omitting with 4 both *αὐτῆς* and *τῆς γῆς*.

17[8] *θαυμάσονται* 2 4; *ἐθαυμάσαντο a* 3. Here 2 which often Latinises keeps the Greek reading. Prim has admirabuntur, misread as admirabantur.

17[11] *ὑπάγει.* 'is about to proceed' in *a* 2 3. Here 4 restores the present tense. Prim: *in perditionem ibit*: am fu lips[6] *vadet.*

17[16] *καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι μισήσουσιν.* The text here is clearly corrupt, for it is the wild beast that owned the ten horns. Here Arm 2 omits *καί* and involves *ἐπί* or *εἰς τὸ θ.*; *a* and 3 equally om *καί* and involve *τοῦ θηρίου.* 4 omits *καὶ τὸ θ.* altogether. Vg lips[4, 6] involve *ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον.*

17[17] *ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην.* Here *a* 2 3 reproduce the rendering of Prim: esse illos in consensu. 4 restores the Geeek idiom.

18[7] *τοσοῦτον δότε*, 'so much shall be given' Arm 2. Cp Prim Cyp *in tantum datur.* *a* 3 4 = *τοσ. ἀπόδοτε.*

18[12] *λίθων τιμίων* for *λίθου τιμίου* Arm *a* 2 3: 4 corrects to the singular, substituting for *akantz* the equivalent *qari.* Prim *et lapidum pretiosorum.* So both Old Syr versions.

18[14] *καὶ ἡ ὀπώρα σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς.* Prim: pomorum quoque tuorum concupiscentia animae. Therefore read *καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας σου ἡ ἐπιθυμία* which is better sense. Here *a* 2 3 om *ἡ ὄπωρα*, but confirm Prim in rendering *ἡ ἐπιθυμία.* 4 renders the Greek.

18[14] *ἀπῆλθεν*: 2 = 'shall depart'—a confusion of *abivit* (Prim) with *abibit.* The other Arm sources retain the past tense.

18[14] Arm 2 renders *ἀπώλοντο* correctly, but substitutes the past tense 'they could not find' for the future *εὑρήσουσιν*,—a confusion of invenibunt (a possible form in Old Latin) for invenibant. The other Arm sources with Q and numerous cursives have 'thou shalt not find.'

18[19] *καὶ ἔβαλον . . καὶ ἔκραζον κλαίοντες καὶ πενθοῦντες λέγοντες*: *a* 2 3 have the future. Here Prim renders *ἔκραζον clamabunt* where however, codices C F of his text have clamabant. *ἔβαλον* is rendered in Prim *mittentes* and in vg *miserunt.* Perhaps the Arm arose out of mittebant = mittebunt (see p. 101), or miserunt = miserint.

19[1] *ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λεγόντων*: 2 = 'I heard a voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said' —due to a misreading of turbarum in Prim as tubarum. The Old Latin is: audivi vocem turbarum ingentium clamantium voce magna in caelo dicentium. Here *tubarum* is read in the *editio princeps* of Primasius, and below in vs 6 the words *ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου πολλοῦ* is rendered: audivi vocem tubarum magnarum, and Beatus

already has the error in his commentary, which shews how old it was. In Arm 2 the words from ἀλληλουΐα in vs 4 to ἀλληλουΐα in vs 6 have dropt out, so we cannot say whether it repeated the error tubarum for turbarum in vs 6. The other Arm sources render ὄχλου in both passages, but in this entire section omitted in MS. 1, MS. *a* **3** 4 exhibit an unusual affinity.

19^{7} δῶμεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ: Arm 2 = 'we give glory to his name.' So Tich *glorificemus nomen eius.*

19^{9} οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσίν: Arm 2 adds καὶ δίκαιοι before τοῦ θεοῦ (correct *otz* to *ay*). Prim: haec verba vera et iusta sunt dei. *a* 3 omit the last half of vs 9 καὶ λέγει . . εἰσίν: 4 om καὶ δίκαιοι with the Greek MSS.

19^{10} προσκυνῆσαι: Arm 2 = *ut adorarem* of Prim.

19^{15} ποιμανεῖ . . πατεῖ (πατήσει in Arm 4). Prim has *aget . . calcabit.* Arm 2 has *shepherded . . . trod.* The latter is due to a confusion of calcabit with calcavit actually read in the codd *Nn* of Prim or with *calcabat.* For the other future it is less easy to account; vg and some MSS. of Prim read *reget*: *a* 4 = shall shepherd . . shall tread: 3 = shepherds . . trod.

19^{17} ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι: Arm 2 has *birds of heaven* simply. So Prim *avibus caeli.* *a* 3 4 render the Greek.

19^{19} after ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου add τοῦ λευκοῦ 1 2 3 with Cop (Horner) and Prim *super album equum.* 4 omits with all Greek sources.

20^{10} καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης: so *a* 2 4: καὶ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται 1 with Prim Tich

$20^{4,5}$ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν . . . οὐκ ἔζησαν: 1 4 = they shall live and shall reign . . . shall not live. Vixerunt = vixerint: regnabant = regnabunt (read here in very many MSS.): *a* 2 render the Greek.

$20^{9,10}$ ἀνέβησαν . . . καὶ ἐκύκλευσαν . . . καὶ κατέβη . . . καὶ κατέφαγεν . . . ἐβλήθη

a 1 = they shall go up . . . and shall invest . . . and it shall descend . . . and shall devour . . . he shall cast them. [Arm 4 has the first two futures and then returns to the past tenses. Augustin: ascenderunt . . . cinxerunt . . . discendit . . . comedit . . . missus est. The Arm may have arisen out of ibant = ibunt—circuibant = circuibunt—ivit = ibit—devoravit = devorabit. The last case 'he shall cast,' is more difficult; but perhaps mittebat = mittebit would account for it. An ignorant Armenian translator might imagine such a form.

20^{15} ἐβλήθη: 1 = he shall be cast. Augustin missi sunt. ? mittebatur = mittebitur: *a* 4 keep the past tense: 2 *deficit.*

21^{23} ἐφώτισεν. See above p. 102.

21^{24} περιπατήσουσιν . . . φέρουσιν: they walked . . . were habited with light.

Prim *ambulabunt . . . conferent.*

22^{3} οὐκ ἔσται . . . ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται . . . λατρεύσουσιν . . . ὄψονται . . . νὺξ οὐκ ἔσται . . . οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρείαν . . . ὁ θεὸς φωτιεῖ . . . καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν. So Arm 4.

Arm 1 = were not . . . were not in it . . . they adored . . . they

saw . . . night was not . . . there was no need . . . god illumined . . . and they reigned.

Prim: neque ullum iam maledictum erit, sed tronus . . . in ea erit et videbunt . . . et nox iam non erit neque opus erit. . . . Deus lucebit . . . et regnabunt. Ticonius has *egebunt.*

Vg: et omne maledictum non erit amplius, sed sedes Dei et agni in illa erunt; et servi eius servient illi. Et videbunt . . . et nox ultra non erit, et non egebunt lumine. . . . Deus illuminabit eos et regnabunt.

In the above texts, if erat be read for erit, videbant for videbunt, lucebat for lucebit, egebant for egebunt, illuminavit for illuminabit, we reach the Armenian text.

The rendering of *λατρεύσουσιν* by 'were worshipping' is due to the misreading in an Old Latin text of servibant for servibunt. Jerome adopts the more common form servient.

21[19] om *τοῦ τείχους α*, 1, with Prim: 4 retains: 2 *deficit.*

21[24] om *αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτήν* Prim *a* 1 2: 4 retains.

22[9] Arm 1 = quia conservus tuus sum. So Prim. 4 omits *quia.*

22[10] Arm 1 omits *τοῦ βιβλίου* with Prim.

22[11] Arm 1 omits *ἔτι* three times with Prim.

22[15] Arm 1 renders Prim: foris autem remanebunt. 4 alters to 'And there shall go forth outside,' which is found in no text. It follows that 4 had here the same text as 1, but altered it.

22[21] Arm 1 omits this verse with Cop (Horner) and Prim: *a* 4 retain, but appear to translate it independently: *defic* 2 3.

By way of concluding this part of the enquiry, I give a number of salient readings in which the Arm MS. 1 varies from Tisch. In each case I signify the Greek and Latin sources with which it agrees, and add in square brackets, where necessary, the readings of the other Armenian sources *a*, 2, 3, 4.

For the sake of brevity I refer to the Greek and Latin sources under the symbols used by Prof. John Gwynn in his edition of the Old Syriac version of the Apocalypse, Dublin, 1897. They are as follows:—

Abbreviations

pr stands for the text embodied in the *Commentary* of Primasius,
g for that of the MS. '*Gigas*' (Stockholm),
h for that of the Fleury Palimpsest (Paris),
vt for the consent of *pr*, *g*, *h* (or of *pr* and *g* where *h deficit*),
am for the text of codex Amiatinus,
cl for the Clementine, as printed,
vg for the consent of *am*, *cl*,
arm for the text of codex Armachanus,

lat stands for the consent of *vt* and *vg.*

The MSS. are ℵ A C P Q, as in Tregelles, and in Weiss

The MSS. are numbered as by Tischendorf and Gregory; 'MSS.' stands for the consent of these

By 'nearly all,' 'most,' 'many,' 'some,' 'few' are to be understood 'nearly all MSS.,' etc.

Σ stands for the commonly known Syriac versions

S for the Syriac text edited by Dr. Gwynn

Cop (Horner) for Dr. Horner's Coptic text, Oxford, 1904

1^{1} om ὁ *θεός*. So Dion Alex

1^{5} *τῶν βασιλειῶν*. Tisch notes 'ita ipse* ut vi in ℵ *βασιλέων* ex—*λειῶν* restituit'

1^{8} *καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ* Ω. So Epiphan^{519}, ℵ* praem *καὶ ἐγώ*

1^{12} *λαλεῖ* A

1^{19} om *οὖν* 1, 38, 97

2^{1} om *ἑπτά* before *λυχνιῶν* 38, 69, 97

2^{9} insert *τὰ ἔργα καί* ℵ Q, most

2^{10} *μή* for *μηδέν* A C Q, 38 few

2^{17} *φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου* P Tert Scorp 12: Exinde victori cuique promittit nunc arborem vitae . . nunc latens manna

2^{19} *τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου.* From their place after *ἀγάπην* we judge the words *καὶ τ. ἔ. σ.* to have been intruded in the text of Arm 1. Epiphanius omits them, also cursive 12

2^{22} *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτῆς* A, 1, 36, 79, etc., pr, am, cl

2^{23} *αὐτοῦ* for *ὑμῶν* Q, 38, cl, Cyp

2^{24} *βαλῶ* ℵ Q, 1, 14, 92, few, pr, vg

2^{27} *συντριβήσεται* P Q, most, pr, vg

3^{11} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι* 28, 36, 79, cl, fu, harl, Beda

3^{14} *καὶ ἡ* ℵ

3^{15} om *ὄφ. ψ. ἦς ἢ ζ.* A 1. 47

3^{16} om *καὶ οὔτε ζ. οὔτε ψ.* 10, m^{32}, Ambr, Ambrst, Prim Haym

3^{18} after *συμβουλεύω σοι* add *οὖν* 38, cop. Prim *deficit*

3^{19} after *ζήλευε* om *οὖν* 7, 12, 16, 28

4^{3} *ἱερεῖς* ℵ A, 28, 79

4^{7} before *ἀνθρώπου* om *ὡς* Q, most

4^{8} 'Lord of hosts.' So *κύριος ὁ σαβαώθ* 7, 28, 36, 39, 79, Eph^{348} And^{a}

5^{1} *καί* before *κατεσφραγ.* ℵ^{c}, Origen

5^{3} om *οὔτε ὑποκ. τῆς γῆς* ℵ, 12, aeth

5^{4} insert *ἐγώ* Q, most, pr, vg

5^{11} om *ὡς* before *φωνήν* A P Q, 1, 79, lat

5^{13} *ἐν τῇ γῇ* 1, few, pr

5^{13} om *καὶ ὑποκ. τῆς γῆς* ℵ, 95, few, some vg

5^{13} before *τῷ ἀρνίῳ* om *καί* ℵ A syr amb

6^{1} *ὅτι* for *ὅτε* Q, most, am, cl

6^{1} om *ἑπτά* P, 1, 28, 79, few

6^{8} om *καὶ ἴδου* Q, 6, 14, 38, many vg

6^{9} *τὴν σφρ. τὴν πέμπτην* ℵ 14, 92, cl, demid

6^{9} *τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων* 7, 16*, 33

6^{11} om ἑκάστῳ Q, many
6^{11} πληρωθῶσι A C, 22, g, vg
6^{17} ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ A P Q, nearly all, pr
7^{5} ἐκ φυλῆς Δάν 9. 13. 16, Cop (and Horner)
7^{10} τοῦ θεοῦ A, 38
7^{10} τοῦ ἀρνίου (not καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ) ℵ^{c}
7^{14} om μου A, 1, vt
7^{16} after διψήσουσιν om ἔτι P, 1, 36, 38, 87, 152, g
7^{16} 'cold and heat': Cop (and Horner) *umbra* for ἥλιος
8^{4} add πάντων before τῶν ἁγίων Cop (Horner)
8^{7} add ἄγγελος 1, 28, 36, 38, 79, al, vg, am, fu, lipss, pr
8^{9} om τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ Q, many, cl, pr
8^{9} ψυχήν for ψυχάς ℵ cop aeth
8^{13} om ἑνός ℵ P
8^{13} τῶν σαλπίγγων for τῆς σάλπιγγος Syr amb
9^{2} om ἐκ τ. καπνοῦ τ. φρ. ℵ* pr
9^{4} om οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρόν ℵ, 38, pr
9^{4} after μετώπων add αὐτῶν Q most, pr, cl
9^{5} βασανίσωσιν αὐτούς Cop (Horner)
9^{7} ὁμοιώματα ἵπποις A
9^{10} κέντρα ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν Q, 6, 8, 14, 28, 38, 79, 97 etc. Syr, And, arc
9^{13} om μίαν 38, Cop
9^{13} ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ for ἐν. τ. θεοῦ with Cop (Horner)
9^{17} om οὕτως 38. Prim anon^{aug}
9^{18} om τριῶν ℵ
9^{18} add ἐκ before τοῦ θείου P 1, 31, 79 etc. g, Σ
9^{18} τοῦ στόματος for τῶν στομάτων 91, 95, lat, Cyp *de ore*. In ℵ Tisch notes: super τῶν ante στομάτων ℵ^{c} notavit ου, sed rursus abstersit, as if the exemplar of ℵ had the singular
9^{20} tr ξύλινα before λίθινα ℵ
11^{3} after ἑξήκοντα add πέντε ℵ^{cc*} 14
11^{5} ἐκπορεύσεται for ἐκπορεύεται 14. 92 (or Hipp ἐξελεύσεται), pr, vg, anon^{aug} *exiet*
11^{5} tr αὐτούς after ἀδικῆσαι ℵ
11^{5} 'shall be thus destroyed' with Cop (Horner)
11^{7} before τὸ θηρίον add τότε. After θηρίον ℵ* substitutes τότε for τό (before ἀνάβαινον)
11^{9} ἀφήσουσι Q, most, vt, cl, syr amb
11^{15} om τοῦ κόσμου 28, and^{a} pr
11^{17} om σου τὴν μεγάλην with Cop (Horner)
11^{17} = ὁ καιρὸς κρίσεως τοῦ κατακριθῆναι with Cop (Horner)
12^{6} om ἐκεῖ C, few, h, pr, vg
12^{8} after ἴσχυσαν add πρὸς αὐτόν ℵ
12^{8} om ἔτι ℵ, 7, 28, 79 Hier
12^{9} om ἐβλήθησαν 49, anon^{aug}, Hier
12^{12} om μέγαν ℵ
12^{14} om τοῦ μεγάλου Cop (Horner) Epiphan^{1043}
12^{16} for τὸν ποταμὸν ὅν read τὸ ὕδωρ ὅ. A has ο υδωρ ο
13^{2} om στόμα before λέοντος 38, aeth

13^{3} ἐπί for ὀπίσω before τοῦ θηρίου 14, 92, pr *ad bestiam*

13^{5} after ποιῆσαι add πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτούς. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ νική

In verse 7 the Arm omits the words inserted in verse 5 viz.: καὶ ἐδόθη . . . νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς with A C P 1, 12, 14, 92 And Iren[int]. It would appear then that these sources and the Armenian had a common archetype out of which these words had dropt, and the Armenian has reintroduced them from the margin in the wrong place, viz. in verse 5, where the sequence ποιῆσαι . πολεμῆσαι reveals a suture. Q, al pler, And, Are adding πόλεμον before ποιῆσαι in verse 5; and 14, 92, cop, substituting πολεμῆσαι, also shew an affinity with the archetype which dropped the words in verse 7. Thus א alone seems to have escaped the lacuna in verse 7.

13^{8} ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν for οὗ οὐ γ· τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ א P Q 1, 28, 79, 95, vg, pr, anon[aug]

13^{13} ἐποίει σημεῖα for ποιεῖ σ. 31, Hipp, pr, Haym [4 = ποιήσει through Latin influence]

13^{13} tr καταβαίνειν after ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ A C Q, most, lat

13^{16} ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων for ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον Q 1. 28. al Prim Haym

13^{16} ποιήσει for ποιεῖ with א[c] Hipp vg *faciet*, Syr amb, Cop (Horner). Note that Prim renders *fecit.* I suspect the confusion faciebat = faciebit underlies these texts.

13^{17} τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ א, 36, 38

13^{18} ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν with Hipp

14^{3} om καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων C

14^{6} insert ἐρχόμενον before εὐαγγελίσαι 28, 79

14^{6} κατοικοῦντας for καθημένους A, 14, 28, 79, 92

14^{9} ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ A, pr

14^{12} after Ἰησοῦ add χριστοῦ 28, 79

14^{13} after λεγούσης add μοι 1, 28, 36, 38, 79, etc. cl, pr

14^{18} add ὁ before ἔχων A C, g, vg

15^{3} αἱ ὁδοί: 1 and 4 subst τὰ ἔργα σου with Syr (Gwynn)

15^{7} omit ἔν and read ἐδόθη for ἔδωκεν א*, 1, 7, 79, 90

16^{11} om ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν א [retain 3, and also 4, but changing the order]

16^{13} after ἴδον add ἐξιόντα or ἐκπορευθέντα 28, 47, 79, pr

16^{18} tr ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος 38

16^{21} om ὡς 43 pr

16^{21} om αὐτῆς vg pr

17^{8} ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν א P many, lat

17^{8} πάρεστι of א[c], 1, 36, 79, 152, few, g, is perhaps involved in Arm 2

18^{2} φωνῇ μεγάλῃ and om ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ Cop (Horner)

18^{9} om στρηνιάσαντες with א*, and subst στενάξωσιν with א[cc]*

18^{21} λίθον ἰσχυρόν א* 40

19^{13} ἐκέκλητο for κέκληται א[c], Origen, some vg *vocabatur*

19^{17} τοῦ μεγάλου for τὸ μέγα 1, 36, 49, 79, lips[6] and

19^{20} καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφῆται A, 34, 41

20^{1} add ἄλλον before ἄγγελον א, 16, 39, Tich, Haym

20^{8} add πάντα before τὰ ἔθνη א, 79

20^{8} om τά before ἐν ταῖς ℵ, 14, 87, 92, few.
20^{10} οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται for ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης Tich, pr
20^{11} tr ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ 91, 96, tol Ephr, Aug, pr
20^{14} om οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερός ἐστιν ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός 1, 94, al, Cop (and Horner) Promiss, pr, Haym
21^{5} add μοι after λέγει ℵ P, many, cl
22^{11} read δικαιωθήτω for δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω, with 38. 79. vg *iustificetur.* So also α. MS. 4 = Tisch.
22^{16} om ὁ λαμπρός Cop (Horner)
22^{16} Arm 1 omits the stop after πρωινός and alters νύμφη to νύμφιος, identifying Jesus with the spirit. A similar error pervades Horner's Cop 'and the star which riseth in the morning, and spirit and the bride (? bridegroom). And they say'

Salient Readings of the Bodleian Codex, unattested or only attested in other Armenian Sources

1^{3} The omission of the words: For the time is near, may be original, since α 2 restores them independently of 4. And the same holds good of the omission in 1^{5}: By his blood.

1^{9} add μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας γράφω ὑμῖν—? a gloss. The MSS. 14 omit καὶ ὑπομόνῃ ἐν Ἰησοῦ, which α 2 and 3 in mg add rendering ὑπομόνῃ by hamberuthean. If we suppose this word to have been confused with hamartsakutheamb = παρρησίας, we can explain the gloss. Such passages as 1 Jo $5^{13, 14}$, 2 Cor 7^{4}, Acts 2^{29} would suggest it.

1^{10} The Arm in α 1 2 3 = fuit in me spiritus sanctus—a paraphrase which has a montanist ring: 4 = Tisch. Note also how constantly, *e.g.* $2^{29, 36}$, 3^{13}, 14^{13}, 21^{10}, 22^{17}, the Armenian sources add the epithet 'holy.' The same tendency is observable in codd DE of Acts.

1^{11} Phrygia is substituted in cod 1 for Philadelphia, in 3^{14} for Laodicea This MS. in 3^{6} translates Philadelphia by 'the lovers of the brethren,' so the substitution is no verbal confusion. Can it be a montanist or antimontanist touch? Laodicea was in Phrygia.

2^{2} after κακούς add οὓς which might easily drop out in a Greek text.

2^{6} τοῦτο ἔχεις. For ἔχεις α 2 have *fac*: 3 *facies*: 1 *faciam*: 4 *habes.* This last is due to a confusion in an uncial text of *unim* = *habeo* with *arnem* facio.

2^{8} καὶ ἔζησεν: for sake of us and for sake of the church—perhaps a gloss suggested by the resemblance of *ekeatz* = lived and *ekeḷetzo* = of the church.

2^{9} Have not such passages as Gal. 2^{6} and 6^{3}, Acts 5^{36}, 8^{9}, suggested the paraphrase of all the Arm sources save 4? The omission of: And I will give, etc., may be original, since the three sources α 3 and 4 restore the words independently of each other.

2^{10} μέλλει: 1 2 = θέλει

2^{11} 'shall not be afraid of' 1 2 3: α = ἀδικεῖται: 4 = Tisch

2^{14} πορνεῦσαι: 1 2 add with daughters of the gentiles—a gloss omitted by α 3 4

2^{24} *τοῖς λοιποῖς*: *τοῖς πιστοῖς* in 1 2 3: *a* omits: 4 = Tisch. This may be a genuine Greek variant.

$2^{24,25}$ *πλέον οὗ ἔχετε καὶ κρατήσετε.* This seems a genuine variant.

3^{1} After *ὄνομα* add *μόνον* 1 3: om 2: *a* 4 restore the Greek text independently of each other. *μόνον* so placed might drop out in Greek texts.

3^{2} See above, p. 118.

3^{3} The reading of 1 and 2 is explained by a confusion of *ἥξω* with *ἕξω*: 3 omits: *a* restores the Greek independently of 4.

3^{5} *a* 1 involve *ἐξαλείφθῃ*, but the texts 2 3 4 agree with Greek.

3^{8} after *δύναμιν* add *χαρίτος*—? a gloss.

3^{17} *τίμια* for *λευκά* in 1 alone.

3^{20} See above, pp 80, 81.

4^{6} *κρυστάλλῳ* [*λευκῷ*]· *καί.* Here *a* 1 2 3 add *λευκῷ* which so placed might drop out of Greek texts. *λω και* : : *λευκω.*

5^{5} Before *ἀνοῖξαι* add *καὶ ἄξιος*, which Greek texts may have lost owing to similarity of letters, but *a* 2 3 4 omit.

5^{8} For *φίαλας χρυσᾶς* *a* 1 2 3 have *λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν*, a more likely reading, since it accords with 8^{3}. The reading *φ. χρ.* may be due to a wrong analogy with 15^{7}.

5^{9} For the paraphrase 'unto adoption' cp. Eph 1^{5}, which probably suggested it

6^{3} foll. For the substitution of *χλωρός* for *πυρρός* I cannot account.

6^{4} The words *ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξωσι* dropped out of an Armenian text are restored in the wrong place in 1 and paraphrased: 2 further corrupts 1: 3 omits: *a* restores independently of 4.

6^{8} 'he had death' in *a* 2 3—due to a confusion of *an un er* = nomen erat with *uner na* = habebat ille.

6^{9} Add *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καί* 1 alone

6^{11} add *καὶ τότε κρίνεται ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐκδικεῖται τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν* 1 2: om *a* 3 4—? an Armenian gloss.

$6^{12,13}$ See above, p. 79

6^{15} See above, p. 80

7^{12} *ἡ χάρις* for *ἡ ἰσχύς* in *a* 1 2: 3 = *ἐξουσία*: 4 has a modern sounding equivalent of *ἰσχύς*

8^{3} *a* 1 2 3 = *τὰς προσευχάς*: 4 = Tisch.

8^{4} *a* 1 2 3 subst 'which are the prayers' for *ταῖς προσευχαῖς*, ? from analogy of 5^{8}: 3 = Tisch.

8^{4} *τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου* 1: *τῶν ἀγγέλων* *a* 2: *τοῦ ἀγγέλου* 3 4.

8^{5} *a* 1 2 3 = *καὶ ἐγέμισεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λιβανωτὸν* (add *καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτόν* 3) *ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.* Here *a* 2 3 omit *τοῦ θεοῦ*: 4 adds it: 3 having cognisance of the Greek text renders *ἐγέμισεν* over again, but with another equivalent: 4 = Tisch. This seems the genuine variant of some text which read *ἐγέμισεν* for *εἴληφεν.*

8^{9} *a* 1 2 3 render *νεόντων* instead of *κτισμάτων.* Prim *piscium*

8^{9} omit *καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων* perhaps rightly, for as Haussleiter remarks p. 212: Was in einer Übersetzung fehlt, dürfte in der Regel auch in Original gefehlt haben: denn an sich verfolgen Übersetzungen nicht den Weg der Kürzung, sondern umgekehrt

(wofür auch die Versio africana Beispiele liefert) den Weg der erlauternden Umschreibung.

8^{12} 1 2 omit τὸ τρίτον twice : α 3 4 add. See preceding note.

8^{13} φωνῆς for ἑνός α 1 2 : 34 om.

9^{6} 1 2 3 add the gloss ἀπὸ πληγῶν and 1 2 add ἀκρίδων as well: α 4 omit

9^{11} ἄξουσιν for ἔχουσιν

9^{19} after ἀδικήσουσι 1 2 add τοὺς πολλούς : 3 τοὺς πάντας : α adds τοὺς ἀδίκους.

10^{4} after ἔμελλον γράφειν 1 2 add τὰ μέλλοντα ἔρχεσθαι : om α 3 4

10^{5} α 1 and to some extent 2 3 have repeated in place of ἑστῶτα κτλ. the words of vs 2 : 4 = Greek.

11^{6} The addition τῆς γῆς πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ being attested by 1 and 4 must be original, although α 2 3 omit it. These words could drop out of the Greek texts through homoioteleuton, and as 4 leaves them, its author probably read them in his Greek MS.

11^{7} 'All the days (v = times) of their testimony' (prophecy in 2). So α 1 2 3, perhaps through influence of the preceding verse.

11^{11} τοὺς θεωροῦντας α : πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας 1 2 : αὐτούς 3 : 4 = Greek. Printed Arm text of Venice πάντας τοὺς κατακτείνοντας, from Zohrapean's MS.

11^{13} for ἔπεσεν α 1 2 3 involve κατεπόθη or κατεπίη, a likely variant.

11^{15} After βασιλεύσει add ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 1 : add ἐπὶ παντός α 2 : om 3 4. Here α 2 have a *meiosis*. The words ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς as involving the Cerinthian δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ βασιλείαν (Euseb. H.E. vii 25) would certainly be removed from Greek texts.

12^{4} 'as far as the seventh part.' So 1 2 and 3 (which omits 'as far as') : α 4 = Tisch.

12^{9} α 1 2 3 substitute Beelzebul for διάβολος : 4 uses its favorite equivalent 'betrayer,' by which it also renders κατηγώρ.

12^{9} after ὅλην 1 2 add ὁ λέων. Has not this dropt out of the Greek through similarity with the preceding word ? Cp. 2 Ti 4^{17} ἐρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος : α 3 are deficient : 4 omits

12^{11} 1 and 2 render ἤρεσαν or ηὐδόκησαν τῷ δράκοντι. Cp 1 Th 4^{6} ἀρέσκειν θεῷ.

12^{12} α 1 2 3 involve κατεβλήθη for κατέβη, which the next verse proves to be the truer reading.

12^{17} 1 2 3 omit τῶν λοιπῶν, and as Hippol read ἁγίων the text cannot have been fixt : α restores the Greek independently of 4.

13^{6} 1 and 2 paraphrase the Greek

13^{7} has not 1 mistaken φυλήν for ψυχήν ?

3^{10} α 1 seem to render αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποκτενεῖται for ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀποκτενεῖ : 3 paraphrases 1 : 2 conflates. Note the fluctuation of tense (*died*, *slew* in 2 against *shall die* of α and *shall destroy* in 1) indicative of a Latin background.

13^{12} ἕως οὗ θεραπευθῇ α 1 2 3—a genuine variant

13^{14} καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ κατοικοῦντες α 1 2 3.

13^{14} α 1 2 add καὶ προσκυνήσωσι πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς—

perhaps a gloss, though similarity of ending would account for its dropping out of a Greek text: 3 4 omit

13[18] In the codices of the twelfth century recension the number of the beast fluctuates.

β assigns 666 in Armenian letters and adds letters which signify '100 and 200': *γ* has 666 in letters: *δ* has 666 in the text but in a later hand: *α* has 666 written out. The Venice codices resemble *β*. I believe Nerses corrected to 666 and then facsimiled the Greek numeral in his codex. The Bodleian codex 1 has 151 in Armenian letters. In 3, which is a MS. of Nerses, no number is given in the text, but what seems the first hand adds 666 in margin. MS. 2, which is recent, alone gives it in the text. There is no doubt but that 616 given in the Jerusalem codex is the original Armenian reading.

14[3] after *χιλιάδες* 1 2 alone add the gloss based on 14[1]: *α* 3 4 omit.

14[4] The text of 1 2 arises out of a confusion of gneal bought with greal written: 3 also must have shared it, for the corrector erases and inserts the reading of *α*

14[10] *καὶ αὐτός*: *τοιοῦτος* in *α* 1 2 3

14[12] *ὧδε κτλ.* 1 2 3 have the same paraphrase, if such it be; for the Coptic (Horner) has a similar rendering, 'But he who will endure with the saints, they' etc. *α* and 4 render the Greek.

14[13] Here again 1 2 have the same gloss, which *α* 3 4 omit; and they also agree in adding *πολλῶν πειρασμῶν καί* before *κόπων*, while *α* 3 4 omit.

14[15] *ἤκμασεν* for *ἐξηράνθη* in *α* 1 2 3: 4 = Greek

14[16] 1 2 3 render as if *ἐθέρισεν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*—probably a gloss: *def α*: 4 = Greek

14[18] *α* 1 2 3 omit the words *πέμψον* to *ὀξὺ καί*—perhaps rightly.

15[1] *ἔχοντας*: 1 2 3 4 render by the verb nshanakem which means to 'signify,' 'betoken,' 'mark with a sign,' but hardly to 'seal' for which in Rev. and in rest of N.T. the Armenian uses knqem. The Greek and Latin texts have no variant here. Note that 4 conflates this with a literal rendering of *ἔχοντας*

15[3] for *δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ* *α* 1 2 substitute *ἐνώπιον τ. θ.* through a common corruption, and *α* 2 add *καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου*: *def* 3: om 4

15[3] 2 conflates the reading of 1 with the *τῶν αἰώνων* of ℵ* C 18. 95. vg.

16[3] after *ἐγένετο* *α* 1 2 add *τὸ ὕδωρ*: 3 4 om—? a gloss.

16[6] after *ἐξέχεαν* *α* 1 2 add *οἱ ἀσεβεῖς*—? a gloss

16[15] Before *ἰδού* *α* 1 2 add *οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος*, which does not seem a mere gloss

18[23] after *τῆς γῆς* *α* 2 3 (*def* 1) add qui oblectabantur or *οἱ μεγαλύναντες* which owing to similarity with *μεγιστᾶνες* may have been lost in the Greek.

18[24] *ἐσφαγμένων*: *γεγραμμένων* *α*, adding *ζωῆς* after *γῆς*. 2 conflates this with the variant *ἐσφραγισμένων* read in the cursive 38.

19[3] Before *εἴρηκαν* *α* 2 3 add *ᾔνεσαν καί*,—perhaps a gloss, as must be *δόξης* which they add in 19[4] after *θρόνου*.

19[10] and 22[9]. The addition of *α* 1 2 *μὴ πέσῃς ἔμπροσθέν μου* seems to be a gloss

20^{9} *a* 1 2 add καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν αὐτῶν Σατανᾶ, omitting καὶ ὁ διάβολος in vs 10.

20^{11} See above, p. 79.

20^{12} The reading involved in 1 and 2: ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς does not seem a mere gloss, but a rendering of an original which had the Semitic split relative pronoun.

20^{12} om ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων 1 and 2, perhaps rightly.

21^{2} after κεκοσμημένην 1 and 2 add καὶ ἐδόθη

21^{3} omit μεγάλης *a* 1 2

21^{4} 1 2 involve θάνατος οὐκέτι κυριεύσει αὐτῶν—? a gloss suggested by Rom 6^{9}

21^{4} Here again 1 and 2 seem to merely gloss the words οὐκ ἔσται to ἀπῆλθαν. *a* restores the Greek independently of 4

21^{6} 1 and 2 use the same paraphrase.

21^{7} λαός for υἱός in 1

21^{9} the reading 'ends' in *a* 1 2 is due to confusion in an uncial Armenian text, katarads with haruads.

21^{10} MSS. 1 2 4 add τὴν ἄνω, and they also add καὶ τὸ ὄρος εἰρήνης.

21^{10} after θεοῦ add τοῦ παντοκρατόρος 1 2

21^{21} Here 4 conflates the reading of 1 2 with a fresh translation of the Greek.

21^{22} after ἀρνίον 1 and 2 add ὁ μονογενὴς (+υἱός 1) θεοῦ θυσιαστήριον ἁγιότητός ἐστιν. The Greek ends very abruptly at ἄρνιον, and the addition is certainly genuine text: *a* and 4, as revisions, both omit it.

21^{23} For φαίνωσιν ἐν *a* 1 2 subst φωτίζωσιν, which the Coptic (Horner) also seems to render.

22^{2} The gloss after ἐθνῶν is confined to 1, but 2 and 3 are lost here.

22^{6} Here 1 seems to paraphrase.

22^{7} Before τηρῶν 1 adds ἀκούων καί

22^{8} *a* 1 omit ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν and have a shorter text

22^{9} προφητῶν: προφητούντων in 1.

22^{13} τέλος. Version adds λέγει κύριος ὁ παντοκράτωρ: om *a* 4

22^{15} Version transfers οἱ πόρνοι after εἰδωλολάτραι: *a* omits: 4 = Tisch

ibid. ὁ φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος. Version qui ambulant et loquuntur falsiter: *a* om καὶ ποιῶν: 4 om φιλῶν καί

22^{16} γένος τοῦ Δαβίδ. Version has Ἀδάμ for Δαβίδ, which *a* 4 retain

22^{18} after του βιβλίου τούτου MS. 1 adds: μή τις ἐπιτιθῇ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ μή τις ἀφαιρῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. *a* 4 omit.

22^{20} MS. 1 = ὁ μαρτυρῶν. ταῦτα πάντα ναὶ ἔρχομαι ταχύ· ἔρχομαι.

CHAPTER VII

CODICES 2, 3, *η*, AND *κ*

THE first of these sources has been almost sufficiently characterised, though but incidentally, in my description of codices 1 and 4. It is a codex so much later than the twelfth century that it may easily have been contaminated in places from manuscripts of the recension. Here and there it may have been. Yet on the whole it presents the older form of text, notably in the section 16^{17}-19^{18}, where at 19^{1} it alone has kept the error of the Old Latin 'of trumpets great in heaven.' Here the other sources have the correction 'of a multitude in heaven great.'

The Armenian text probably repeated this error at verse 6 of the same chapter, where *κ* intrudes the word 'of a multitude' in place of the epithet *mighty* before 'of thunders.' A reviser who had the Greek before him must have added 'of a multitude' in the margin against the word 'of trumpets' (*tubarum* in Primasius), and the correction has slipped into the text at the wrong place.

Although codex 3 is in the main an older text, yet there are places where it seems to have been corrected by Nerses. Thus in 2^{1} the words *ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας* are sufficiently rendered in the other texts by 'he who holdeth stars seven,' but 3 and *η* (which here as elsewhere copies 3) read 'the able (*or* strong) one who holdeth stars seven.' Thus *ὁ κρατῶν* is rendered a second time, and wrongly.

Among the peculiarities of this codex 3 may be mentioned the following :—

1^{2} *ἐμαρτύρησεν τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ λόγου*, where Prim renders *prædicavit verbum*

1^{6} αὐτῷ is rendered *cuius* or *cui*. Here Omont reads *ipsi* in the Fleury MS. with the Vulgate; but Samuel Berger read *cui*, which the Armenian confirms.
1^{9} omit τοῦ θεοῦ and read Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ.
1^{13} add ἑπτά before λυχνιῶν
1^{18} om ἰδού
2^{1} ὁ κρατῶν rendered twice (see above)
2^{2} after κόπον add σου add *et Hebræos et mendacium sunt*, omitting 'and thou foundest them false.' A reviser, probably Nerses, read καὶ εὗρες αὐτούς hurriedly as if it were καὶ ἑβραίους.
2^{5} νῦν for οὖν, perhaps another error on the part of Nerses.—om καὶ μετανόησον
2^{13} add τὰ ἔργα σου καί
2^{19} οἶδά σου is rendered in 2, 3 as if οἶδάς συ
4^{8} Here 3 presents a conflation of σαβαώθ and παντοκράτωρ, for it has: 'lord of hosts: who is, lord almighty, and who art and who is to come.'
4^{10} The omission of the words πεσοῦνται as far as αἰώνων in 3 and in the codices of the recension α β δ η κ λ and the printed text of Andreas, proves either the dependence on 3 of these later sources or the common origin of them all.
5^{6} omit in text ὡς ἐσφαγμένον
5^{10} omit καὶ ἱερεῖς
6^{7} transliterates the word ῥομφαίᾳ
6^{9} Subst τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἁγίου with Q and the cursives for ἣν εἶχον
6^{11} om ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα
8^{5} note that 3 renders ἐγέμισεν twice over.
9^{8} The rendering 'I saw them' instead of οἱ ὀδόντες may be due to a hasty misreading of the latter as εἶδον αὐτούς
$9^{12,13}$ Here 3 directly renders the Greek codices Q 14
9^{15} For ἐλύθησαν 3 involves ἐλευθερώθησαν
9^{19} reads ἣν γὰρ ἐξουσία with Prim and cursive 38
9^{21} renders φωνῶν by mistake for φόνων
10^{9} add ἠνεωγμένον after βιβλαρίδιον
11^{1} omit εἱστήκει ὁ ἄγγελος with Primasius and the better Greek sources.
11^{6} renders οὗ τοι ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν κλεῖσαι
11^{7} read πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς μαρτυρίας instead of καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν. So also 2
11^{11} Perhaps 3 read αὐτίκα for αὐτῶν
11^{18} καιρός is misread as κύριος
11^{19} omits καὶ σεισμός with Q and many cursives
12^{11} renders ἠγάπησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
12^{15} ὀπίσω is rendered 'in front of.'
13^{15} om δοῦναι with C
13^{15} ἵνα καὶ λαλήσῃ . . καὶ ποιήσῃ ὅσοι ἐὰν μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν]. The rendering *quia loquebatur . . et faciebat ut qui non adorabant* may be due to a Latin original misread. The eighth century Bodleian Codex of Primasius reads *adorabant*.
14^{4} renders οὗτοί οἱ ἀεί omitting εἰσιν

14^{7} *κύριον* for *θεόν* with Q and many cursives.
14^{18} om *πέμψον . . . ὀξύ* and subst 'come thou.'
14^{20} om *ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ* 2 and 3, with Primasius and the Fleury MS.
16^{1} om *ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ* with Q and many cursives.
16^{3} read *νεκρόν* for *ὡς νεκροῦ*—omit *ζωῆς* with Prim and cursives 6. 8. 14.
16^{5} *μόνος* for *ὅσιος*
16^{8} om *ἐν πυρί*, which Prim also omits and Q (with 20 cursives) transfers before *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*
16^{9} add *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* after *ἐβλασφήμησαν* with Q and cursives—'unto the glory of God' 3 with *α*.
16^{15} *ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι*] *ὃς ἔρχεται* 3 with Prim '*qui venit subito ut fur.*' ℵ* 38. 47 read *ἔρχεται*.

It would appear, therefore, that the Paris codex 3 preserves a text which at some time or another has been retouched from a Greek codex of the type of Q, and that the reviser often misread his Greek. But in any case such a revision, so far as it can be traced in this codex, was perfunctory. For the rest this codex 3 preserves many ancient readings, especially of Primasius, absent from the other sources. In a vast number of passages it agrees with 2, and sometimes with 4 against codex 1, and in such cases must generally preserve the oldest form of Armenian text.

Codex *η*

This codex is accurately reproduced in the text of Zohrap, and in the reprint of the London Bible Society. It belongs to the same family as *α β γ δ ε κ λ*, but in the first few chapters it constantly shews the readings of 3, as I have remarked above. It may be an early and tentative form of the recension.

Codex *κ*

The same remark holds good also of *κ*, which like *η* preserves not a few variants of the older text found in 1, 2, and 3, but specially in 1. Its text is often a conflation of the normal recension *α* with the texts 1, 2, or 3. And a nice problem arises in regard to the relation of this codex to other texts of Andreas. On the one hand it contains, as I have said, especially in the earlier chapters, a number of variants found in the pre-Nersesian texts. On the other hand it

shares with another codex of Andreas, λ, which has next to none of these older variants, certain errors and lacunæ, *e.g.* at 1^{16} *elanéin* for *erevéin*, 2^{1} *ashtidsanatz*, and at 1^{9} a lacuna which embraces from ἐν τῇ θλίψει to the end of the verse as well as a line of commentary. It is therefore necessary to suppose that κ presents the text originally appended as lemmata to the Armenian commentary of Andreas, and that λ and other texts of Andreas were generated by the removal of these remains of the earlier text, absent from the normal text of the recension found in *a* β γ δ and most other codices.

In sum it would appear that in η and κ we have two rival, but earlier stages of the recension, or rather essays at recension; and the two are not based upon a single ulterior text, but on two such, of which the one, namely that on which η rests, was identical, or almost so, with 3; while the other, on which κ rests, was more akin to 1 and 2, though not devoid of many features now met with in 3 or 4 alone. This hypothesis is, I admit, a difficult one, for it is hard to conceive how two texts preserving such different elements of the earlier text can both be stages leading up to the same ultimate text *a*. Perhaps, therefore, we ought to modify it, and suppose that the development of the recension was as follows:—

First, the recension κ. This may have been attached to the version of Andreas made in A.D. 1179; for one of the colophons of Nerses assures us that he then revised the text of the Apocalypse from a Greek MS.

Second, the recension as we have it in *a* emerged later on in 1198, and was obtained by removing the older readings which in κ are not yet discarded.

Third η was generated partly by a fusion of *a* with the existing codex 3, partly by a wholesale correction of 3 from *a*. As I have said above, p. 70, the codex 3 has in a hundred passages had its older text effaced and that of *a* written over it. May not the text η have been prepared from this codex so rewritten? At the same time in the section 16^{17}-19^{18} the text of 3 was substituted for that of κ, which, however, already closely approximated here to that of 3.

I do not feel absolute confidence in either solution. The problem is intricate, and perhaps insoluble without further knowledge, which is not ours at present. Luckily the matter

is not of first-rate importance. So much is clear, that η and κ are in all but a very few passages identical with the *a* texts, and their retention in those few passages of variants belonging to the codices 1, 2, 3, 4, corroborates the view that these four codices preserve a text both older than *a* and independent of it.

That the English reader may be able to form his own judgment on these points, I herewith tabulate the readings in which η and κ diverge from the normal *a* text. In each passage he must refer to the critical apparatus printed in pages 3 to 60, in order to ascertain the readings of *a* from which η and κ deflect. And he must not forget that except in the passages tabulated η and κ, and I may add λ, shew a text identical with *a*. I have generally added in brackets after the variants an indication of the older texts to which η κ λ adhere:—

Table of the variations from the normal *a* text of the manuscripts η, κ, λ

Chapter I

1 *retain* whatever η——om *his* before angel κ λ——'to his servant John who witnessed the witness of the word of God and the witness of J. C.' η (3)
2 *retain* shall read out or listen to . . . and shall keep η
3 *retain* From John *and* which are η
4 'John *saith* to the seven' κ——'peace from God the existent' η——seven of the spirit κ λ (4)——om *is* κ λ (3)
5 '*from* the dead' κ λ
6 *whom* for *him* λ (3)——om *and might* κ——add *now and* η (3)——add *Amen* η (β 3)
7 om *with the clouds of heaven* κ λ——'they shall see all races and they' κ λ——'they shall see him all races, and there shall see him extremes of earth, and they who pierced him all upon earth, and they shall mourn over him. Yea, amen.' η
8 '*I am* Qê' η——om *Lord* η (3 4)
9 'oppression' η (3)——retain *by name* η
9 om *of God* η 3——10 dominica die η (3 4)——*add* after me a great η (cor 3)——*retain* the voice η——11 *retain* which are η
11 Thivatira η (3)
13 'of the *seven*' η (3)——*retain* garment *and om* down . . . feet η (1, 3)
15 'Libanan refined fiery' *omitting* amidst a furnace κ λ
16 *om* hand κ λ——a sword two-mouthed η——appeared] κ λ *subst* proceeded *elanêin* (by error)

17 *retain* to me η λ——'I am first and I am last, and I am' η (3)——'the same who' η. 18 'now and ever and to æons' η——*add* Amen η κ λ (3)
20 *om* of *after* and η——'angels of the seven churches' η——'and the seven *angels* are the seven churches' κ λ

Chapter II

1 he] the able one η (3)——*retain* stars seven in his right hand η——*candlesticks*] κ λ have in common the corruption *ashtidsanatz* = 'degrees'
2 *retain* I know . . . thy toils and thy patience . . . bearest not . . . who call . . . and are not and Hebrews and they lie η (3)——*om* and toils κ——*om.* and thou foundest, etc., η (3)
3 *retain* and in tribulation η (13)
5 *add* now η (3)——*om* will κ
7 *retain* of hearing η κ *and* holy κ——*read* he that shall be found, etc., κ *as in* 2
8 'angels' κ——κ *adds* or ên with 2 but otherwise agrees with a 1
9 *retain* for κ——'who affirmed themselves to be Jews *and saints'* κ——*retain* synagogue κ
10 μέλλεις κ (γ)——'cast *some* of you' κ——*retain* stand thou firm and κ (1, 2, 3)
11 *retain* holy κ (1, 2)——'he that shall be found victoriously (cp. 2) let him not fear unjust the second death' κ (by conflation)
13 'and *where* thou dwellest' κ λ (γ)——'But thou holdest my name, and hast not denied my faith in that day, who were witnesses faithful concerning me, they who also died among you in the tempting in which Anthipatros my witness faithful was, since my witness faithful is every one having faith who was slain among you' κ (which in the rendering of Andreas' commentary as in the above text substitutes *Anthipatros* for *Anthipas*).
14 *retain* with the daughters of the gentiles κ
16 'only do thou' κ (3)——'against *him*' κ (2 3)
17 *retain* of hearing η κ *and* holy κ——'and I will mingle him in the number of saints in whom is written a name of him (*nora* for *nor* new) in the writing which no one knoweth' κ
18 'likened' κ
20 *om* much κ——Zezabel κ λ
21 *om* and they repented not κ λ
22 *retain* evil κ
23 'slay *with sword* with death' κ——'*search* hearts and reins and I *requite* you each' κ
24 *retain* that do believe κ——'however I will not cast on you another burden, what ye have' κ λ
29 *retain* of hearing η κ *and* holy κ. Here ends collation of λ.

Chapter III

1 *om* and κ
3 'how thou receivedst and heardest, and' κ (24)

4 *retain* But κ
6 *retain* of hearing η κ *and* holy κ——'to the *faithful* churches' κ
7 'of the Philadelphians' η (3)——*retain* and the true κ——*retain* my word κ
13 *retain* of hearing κ
15 *after* lukewarm *add* and neither hot nor cold *all the a texts*
16 'Thou art about to be vomited out of my mouth, and I will judge thee out of thy mouth' κ (1, 2, 3, and conflation)
19 'take zeal and repent' κ (1)
20 'thy' κ (γ)
20 'I go in to him and he with me,' *and om the rest* κ
22 *retain* of hearing *and* holy κ

Chapter IV

1 *retain* all this η——of the first which η (3)——*retain* time η
2, 3 For these verses $\eta = 3$
5 *tr* of flaming fire κ
6 *retain* there was η——*om* and round the throne η——and they were full of eyes before and behind η
7 had the face of] like unto κ (4)——κ inverts the order of the third and fourth beasts
8 *retain* about and within they were full of η——*om* And η (3)——Holy *three times* η
8 *om* God κ
9 *retain* glory and η κ
retain praise κ
10 *retain* they laid η——'saying' η
11 'worthy art thou, Lord our God holy' η——*retain* and power η——'didst fashion' η

Chapter V

1 '*and* sealed' η
3 nor . . . earth] in η corrector queries these words
3 *retain* and to look into it η
4 *om* it *after* see κ
5 *retain* weep η——'to open the book and to loose the seven seals' η
6 *retain* I saw η——*retain* in the midst η——*tr* a lamb slain stood κ——'which had' η——'eyes seven' η——*retain* which are η
8 'before *him*' κ
9 *om* And κ——'unto adoption of God' κ (23)
10 'kings and priests' η
13 'on the throne *is* the lamb' κ

Chapter VI

1 'the lamb opened one of the seven seals, *the first*, and' κ
4 *after* sword *add* wherewith he shall harm the habitants of earth κ (cp. 1)

6 *retain* which were saying κ——*retain* shall not be κ
7 *om* a voice κ
8 *add* reddish *before* shlorhos κ, *but otherwise agrees with* a
11 'all souls of men sealed' κ——'until these *shall fulfil their time* their' κ——'*are* about' η——*retain* And then etc κ (1)
12 '*and* there was' κ
14 *om* book κ
15 '*and* captains' κ

Chapter VII

4 *om* that they were η (4)——*om* of tribe κ
15 *om* and he that . . . in them κ

Chapter VIII

4 *read* that is *for* which are κ (23), *and* into *for* from (with 2)
5 *retain* the trumpets κ
8 'a mountain great, fire burning' *and om* with κ
10 *add* of waters κ (24)
12 *retain* the trumpet κ——'angel trumpeted' η——*after* night likewise *add* and day was not κ (cp. 3)

Chapter IX

1 *om* to earth η
6 *om* the earth . . . therein η——'in that day' κ——'they shall desire' κ
11 'Algabon' κ
19 *retain* of the horses κ
20 'which see not, neither hear, nor can walk' κ

Chapter X

2 *om* foot *bis* κ
9 *retain* for the book κ

Chapter XI

7 'the beast goeth' *and om* that κ——'*and* shall make' κ
8 'of their cities' street great' κ——*om* after the spirit κ——*retain* and Babylon κ (1, 2, 4)
11 *retain* shall fall κ (1, 1, 3)——'all who behold them' κ (cp. 4)
12 *retain* from heaven κ
15 *retain* Jesus η
18 and season] unto the season κ
19 'of the covenant of God' κ

Chapter XII

3 'upon his *head*' κ
5 *om* of heaven κ
10 'before God *and our Lord* by day and night' κ (2)
12 *om* all κ
16 *om* earth *before* opened κ

Chapter XIII

2 *add* was κ (2, 3, 4)——'as the mouth of' κ (3, 4)
3 *om* whole κ
5 *om* to work *but retain* to war *as far as* victory κ——forty and two κ (1, 3)
10 κ *retains* shall destroy . . . of God *as in* 1
13 caused] *lit.* gave; κ *adds* command
14 'which were given' κ (4)——*retain* And there κ (1, 2)——'which hath the wounds of the sword and shall live, which up top of the sword lived' κ
16 *retain order* and poor and free κ——'give *a sign* on' *and om* them κ
18 'For the number was a name of man, and number of his name is this 666' κ

Chapter XIV

Collation resumed of λ
1 *om* who had . . . foreheads λ
3 *retain* who were standing . . . earth κ (1, 2)
4 'and in every hour they go after' κ——'these were chosen of men in sight of God and of the lamb and wrote upon their forehead name of God father of the lamb' κ (a conflation of α with 1, 2, 3)
5 *retain* mouth η
6 'And I saw *and behold*' κ——'gospel (*or* tidings) eternal of life, and he came, gospels' κ (1, 2, 3)
7 'God the maker of' κ
9 '*shall* worship' κ
10 'cup of ire *of God*' κ
11 'worship' κ (4)——'worship the image and received stamp and writing of number of his name' κ
12 κ = 1, only reading *receive* for *have* and 'they are saints who'
13 κ = 1, but reads *that it* with γ 4, *fallen asleep* with α, *season* with 2, transposes *labour and* trials
15 *om* with voice . . . saith κ
16, 17 Verse 16 is omitted in α β γ δ η κ λ Andreas; verse 17 in α η
17 *om* which is κ
19 *om* on the earth κ (3)——*retain* therefore η

Chapter XV

1 'which had seven wounds the last to betoken the end' κ
3 *om* God κ
4 'fear and worship and glorify' κ
4 *retain* to all the world κ
5 *retain* that κ——'behest of' κ (2)
7 'And from the midst' κ
8 '*was* able' κ——'temple *of God*' κ

Chapter XVI

3 *om* dead κ
5 *add* of the waters κ (24)——'which exists and who is and is holy'
7 *om* a voice η
9 *retain* nor gave glory κ
12 *om* from κ——*om* great κ——'*he* dried up his' κ
14 to kings all of earth η
17 *add* the end of all earth κ (2)
21 'blasphemed God in themselves and in heaven' κ
'and violent *exceedingly*' κ

Chapter XVII

3 'in spirit *holy*' κ (cp 2)
5 *om* of earth κ
8 'and *is* not' κ——'are not' κ (2)
10 'and the other *hath not stood*' κ
13 *om* they give κ
16 'shall see *naked* the' κ
17 will] *add* and to make her naked and desolate κ——'until there be fulfilled *the mystery of the* word of God' κ
18 'sawest *naked*' κ——'kingdom over kings of' κ

Chapter XVIII

1 *after* from heaven *add* from the throne of God κ
1 and earth] for earth κ
2 'of *all* devils,' λ
3 'of her' *and om* fornication κ——have fallen] do drink κ
4 and of . . . receive] retain η
5 'her sins have touched even heaven' κ
7 'sorrow and torments' κ
'and I will not be a widow nor desolate, where also I shall not ever see sorrow' κ
8 '*all* plagues, death' κ
8 'burnings with fire' κ (2)——'judged them' κ
9 'smoke of burning of her torments' η
10 'And afar' κ (2)
12 'byssus and purple and blue and scarlet and gold-thread' κ——*om* 'all vessel' prima vice κ——'vessels precious wooden' κ
13 *tr* sheep and cattle κ (2)
14 'shall depart' κ (2)——*om* is gone from thee κ
15 *retain* standing κ
17 'from places to places' κ——'and sailors who in seas find enjoyment and whosoever with net work' κ
20, 21 For these verses κ = 2
22 *om* heard κ
23 'And light of torch shall not appear in thee, and sound of mill shall not be heard in thee, and voice,' etc. κ

om because . . . nations κ
24 'of all sealed written in the' κ

Chapter XIX

1 multitude] *add* of peoples κ
2 '*that* harlot' κ (2)
4 'down on their faces' κ (2)
6 'of waters many, as voice of a multitude of thunders' κ——Lord God *and om* our κ
8 'white and pure and gleaming. For byssus pure and white is righteousness of the saints' κ
12 *retain* as κ
14 of heaven] of them κ——*retain* white η
15 'shepherd the races of men with' κ——'fury and of wrath' κ (3) ——God] Lord κ
16 *om* a writing κ
18 *om* and flesh of mighty ones κ
20 'receive the *seal* of the beast and the *worship* of his filthy image' κ ——them] him κ

Chapter XX

2 'dragon great' κ (4)
4 '*other* thrones' κ
9 *retain* and their . . . astray η κ
10 *retain* unto . . . æons κ
11 'great and white' κ
15 κ subst for this verse: This is death the second, which is a lake of fire κ

Chapter XXI

6 from springs] a spring κ
9 '*and* he spake' κ (2 4)
10 'the city great and holy of the mountain, Jerusalem, and the mountain of peace, that it came down' κ
11 *retain* there was η
12 'very great and lofty and they had' κ——'names of several' η
16-18 In η first hand writes *breadth. And* as far as *precious* over a rasura
20 *add* emerald *before* chrysoprase κ——*add* chalcedony *before* amethyst κ
22 *add* the only begotten of God altar of holiness κ
23 'her lamp was the lamb of God' κ

Chapter XXII

2 'a tree' κ
9 *om* Do . . . God κ
16 'I root and seed from David' η
20 'Amen. Come thou, Lord Jesus' κ

CHAPTER VIII

THE ETSCHMIADZIN CODEX

A COLLATION of this codex, which I almost despaired of obtaining, when I wrote in Chapter II. upon the Sources of the Text, reached me in the month of August 1906, not too late for me to add it here. It turns out to be a text almost identical with codex 2, with which it shares not a few corruptions. It is certainly a text uncontaminated by the Nersesian revision, and therefore of prime importance in determining the physiognomy of the earliest form of the version. It is very striking to observe that in $19^{1 \text{ and } 6}$, it renders the Old Latin *turbarum.* This form of reading I have not found elsewhere, except in the Old Syriac text edited by Dr. Gwynn (see above, p. 126), which elsewhere shews little or no trace of Latin influence. It may be observed in passing, that the Old Coptic fragment published from a fourth century papyrus by Clédat in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,* for 1899 p. 263, displays, like the Armenian, many signs of Old Latin influence, *e.g.* in 3^9 it renders γνωση read in ℵ alone of the Greek codices, but rendered in Primasius and the Armenian codex 4.[1] Very definite traces of the Old Latin are present in it at 4^9, where it has the sense *cum darent* (or *cum dederant*) . . . *cadebant* . . . *adorabant* . . . *mittebant.* Here is a problem similar to that which besets the Armenian version.

In matters of orthography, the Armenian Codex 6 is one of the oldest I have come across, rivalling the ninth century Paris codex and the uncial Ritual of San Lazaro. With the latter it displays the form *Qoow* for *Qow* ; like the former, it

[1] At 3^{18} it omits μετ' ἐμοῦ with the same codex. At 4^5 it renders 'out of the *thrones*' with Armenian codex 6, but here the Armenian plural may be explained simply as a corruption of the singular.

has, except in rare instances, the short ĕ instead of the long ê. Nearly all its corruptions are of the kind which arise in transcribing an uncial.

With the aid of this codex the pedigree of the Armenian MSS. may be drawn out as follows:—

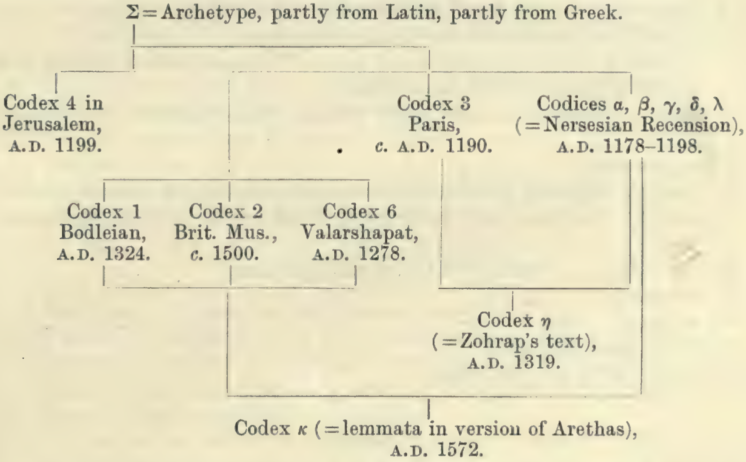

It should be added that Nerses inherited codices almost identical with 1, 2, 3, 6, and rarely shews a knowledge of the type 4.

A Collation of Codex 6 with Codex 1

The following table presents the variants of Codex 6 from the English text as printed on pages 3-60; and for purposes of this collation, the matter italicised in those pages is regarded as belonging to Codex 1, although it really represents matter omitted therefrom. In printing the variants of Codex 6, I often italicise the words altered or added by it. An asterisk signifies that the variant of 6 may have arisen out of the text of Codex 1, or *vice versa*, by a simple and obvious corruption.

Chapter I

1 of which *things*——*what* is about
2 what*soever* he saw, *and* blessed *is* he etc.
3 near] *mauteal* 6 : *maut ê* 4 : *mertseal α* 2 3*

4 and peace from *God who is unto æons and before æons, who came* and which is to come and from the seven power (*sic*) of the Spirit before
5 *of* the dead
6 *om* and his——*om* to him——*om* of æons
7 *om* of heaven——and there shall see *him* all *races* of earth. Yea, amen
8 *om* and he saith——the Lord *God*
9 kingdom and with much boldness unto Christ Jesus. I was——was] *êi* 146 : eḷê and 23——*om* Christ (*after* Jesus)
11 *om* which are——in Pergamon and in Thivatir and in Sardia and in Philadelphia and in Lavodikea
12 And I *turned* to see the *voice* or who spake with, and *in turning* I saw
13 *om* garment
14 And his head and *locks* white *as snow* and his eyes (6 renders *hair* by *wars* 9 : the other sources except 1 which omits use the equivalent *her*)
15 *om* refined . . . furnace——as of *and om* voice
16 *om* sharp
18 of æons. *Amen*
19 thou *sawest and* what
20 in my right and the seven

Chapter II

1 *om* hand——of the candlesticks *and om* seven
2 and toils *and om* thy——*call om* and were not——false *apostles*——*om* and borest them
3 *om* and hast toiled
4 But I say also unto thee that thy love first thou didst quit
5 thy *tower* out
6 this *do thou*
8 write : Thus——saith he who is beginning and end (note that γ126 and Arethas use *katarads* to render *end* in this passage : 3 uses *hetin* : 4 *aṛ yapayn* : α β and most codices of Nerses' redaction *wakhtsan*——dead *and lived and om* for our, etc.
9 *om* and labours——*but* thy poverty for riches shall be, for the trials and the blasphemy which do speak the Jews I hear, that they reckon themselves and are not, but
10 trials and it is for you to suffer tribulation days ten
11 *He* that shall
12 angel——*om* saith
13 *om* thy works and——*om* set——*thou* hold*est*——faith *and* in *this day* every one who *was a* witness faithful, for my sake they died——among some] 6 has the corruption *ar i kolmaus* of 2
14 Here again 6 shares with 2 the corruption *haseal e*——Baalam——*om* for them
15 Thus *he saith and* thou——of Nicolaus]. Here again 2 and 6 misread the proper name and corrupt into *i koḷmans* = into regions

16 *om* therefore *and subst with* 2 *the phrase* ibatz = 'outright,' *which must be a corruption of the word* baytz = 'only' of 3——against *him* with
17 *om* of hearing——*om* holy——He that be found victorious, I will give him food the manna budding forth (with 2 3) and I will give him the writing of holiness, and I will mingle him in the number of saints (him) in whom is written a name new which no one knoweth save only he that receiveth
18 *angel* of the T. *church*——whose are eyes
19 *Thou knowest* thy works and love and faith and stedfastness of thy patience, that
20 But there is also to say——*om* much——declares——teaches
21 of *their* fornication and they repented not
22 tribulation, *and* they repented not of
24 learned] heard
26 *and* shall keep until the *goal* my works, I will give *him*
27 shepherd *him* with——shall *he*——as *also* I

Chapter III

1 Sardicans'] Adrians'——hath *seven graces* of
2 watchful] *zvarthun* with 1 2 3——which thou didst set in thy
3 receivedst, *and as thou heardest, and* keep——*om* I come . . . unto thee——*and* thou art——robbed, *of whom* one *knew* not in what hour the robber will come. But thou
4 who *were* not defiled *in* their——whites, that they might become worthy to be found victors, *they* shall *receive* garments of white, and *I will* not *efface* their *names*
7 angel ——holy one, true
8 *om* before——shut *it*——*om* of grace
9 = ecce do synagogæ——Judæans] Jews——*my* feet
10 I *have kept*——when *he* shall come
11 *om* behold——hold *thy powers*, let (so 2 by a corruption into *zôruthiuns* of zorunis)
12 *om pr* and——the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, and I will give them my name, the new *of* J.'——*of* my God ——*my* name new
14 angel——of the *Laodiceans, and om* church——*tr* true and faithful ——*om* of God
17 and *will* become——*om* and weak——poor] *aḷdjam* an uncial corruption of *aḷkhat* = poor
18 advise] converse *——precious] white——body] nakedness
19 *om* and I . . . chasten thee
20 and will *sup* with him
21 down *with* my father on *his* throne——*and om* of glory

Chapter IV

1 the dome] a door *or* doors——*om* which *before* spake——*om* to me
2 and in the hour there was a spirit holy
3 of *a* stone

4 *om* were sitting——*om* they had
5 out of the *thrones*——voices *dread* and *wonderful* and seven——*om* which are——*and* seven *power* (sic) of the Spirit of God——glass *like* to the whiteness——before and behind——*tr* and the third beast like an eagle flying and the fourth beast like unto a man
8 *om* upon six——and said] saying——*om* God
10 and said] saying
11 worthy *is* the Lord *our* God——power] praise

Chapter V

1 *om* that he had——*om* seven
2 to open *and shut* the book
3 *om* was found who——*om* nor . . . earth
4 *om* and loose its seal
5 *om* there——*om* and he is worthy
6 and it] which——powers of *God* which
8 the *four* beasts——and they] who——harps and censers——which *are*
9 *om pr* and——a hymn new they gave and say, worthy art thou to take——*tr* and tongues *after* Gentiles
10 *om* And hast . . . reign
11 And I saw and heard voices of angels around the throne——*om* many ——of them thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads
12 *they* were——riches and wisdom and praise and honour and glory and praise
18 throne, *is* the Lamb——*om* exalted——*om* of æons

Chapter VI

2 came *a conqueror* that
4 *om* another
4 *om* to take *before* a great——*om* all
5 I saw that there went forth a horse (*and om* and behold another)
8 and there went forth a horse (*and om* I saw and behold)
8 *om* authority
9 *tr* the fifth seal——all *slain* because of the word (*and om* because of God and)
10 and *not* exact
11 *was* given them *a robe*
12 wholly to blood (*and om* became)
13 *om* leaves of
14 heaven] Arm *erkin* : 2 and 6 have the corruption *erkir* = earth
14 *om* book——*tr* mountains and islands
15 magnates] rich ones
17 stand] 6 has the corruption *keal*

Chapter VII

1 *And* after——corners] regions *kolms* in 6 which over line is corrected to *holms* = winds——*om* And they held the four winds of the earth ——*om* a wind

2 *om* and sea, And
3 earth *and* sea *and* trees——*after* God *add* on their foreheads (by conflation)
6 tribe] stock *bis*——*om* of the sons of Joseph etc.——*om* of the tribe of Manasseh etc.
7 of the *house* of Shmavon (and so in the next two clauses)
8 of the *seed* of Zabulon 12,000 sealed. Of the *seed* of Joseph 12,000 sealed. Of the *seed* of Benjamin
9 *om* and *and* all——*om* and *after* number
10 they *were crying and* were saying——*om* of the Lamb
11 they *fell* down before the *throne* on their faces and were——and said] saying
12 Amen, *and*——*om* and thanksgiving
14 And I said——made *them* white
15 *om pr* And——*om* on the throne
16 thirst *more*, nor

Chapter VIII

3 *at* the altar——*om* unto him
4 incense, that is prayers——*into* the hands of the angels
5 *om* great——*om* great
6 to sound the seven trumpets
7 *after* trees *om* it burned up
8 *sounded* trumpet——the *second* part
9 and which *have* (*om* things)——*and* were destroyed *and add* and the third part of ships was swallowed up
10 *sounded* trumpet——fountains' *waters*
11 *om* was——*om* and the third . . . bitter
13 dwelling] fallen with 2——when there shall be fulfilled a voice——hereafter *and* in

Chapter IX

1 saw that a star *was* falling from heaven to earth
2 *om* and . . . abyss
3 *om* and their stings
4 *all* trees——seal of *God* upon——foreheads
7 of horses——*om* and their . . . man
9 and they had breastplates
9 *om* the sound
10 *om pr* and——scorpion, and in their tails was authority
11 Albagoyn
12 two woes are to——*om* quickly
13 *om* of gold
15 year] *om* with 3——the *second* part
17 *om* on them
17 tails] hyacinths——head *bis*
18 men, *and* by fire and smoke and brimstone
19 serpent——had *on* their heads whereby they were destroying all
20 *om* who——strokes] wounds——but those who repented——*order* and of brass and of stone and of wood——*tr* nor hear nor walk

Chapter X

1 *om* strong——*come* down
2 a book opened and he set——upon *earth*
3, 4 *om* with their . . . write
4 a voice *of God* from
5 feet——*om* his other upon——*om* and *before* raised
6 by the living to æons of æons——*om* heaven . . . and the——earth and *all* that is——them] it——that time other no more abides
7 days
8 spake *with me* and said *to me*——*tr* open *after* book
9 *om pr* And——*om* to me——*it is* sweet
10 hands——*om* it *after* swallowed——*om* it was . . . ate it
11 and saith to me the angel——*tr* unto peoples and Gentiles

Chapter XI

1 worshippers
2 *om* that
4 *om* of all earth
5 they] he
6 *om* earth . . . over
7 *om* and when . . . finished
7 testimony] prophecy——then] and
8 *of their* city
9 *om* them——*om* all *before* tongues——that *it* remains
10 *shall be* glad and *they* rejoice——so as to] and they——bring] send ——tormented (and om *shall*)
11 a spirit living of God——*om* stand erect
13 *tr* And there was etc.——men *about* seven——*om* great
15 Seventh angel sounded trumpet——*in* heaven——*tr* the kingdom all——*om* and of his——upon earth] over all——of æons. *Amen*
16 before God on their thrones
17 *om* God——*who art* unto æons and who is, who hast taken thy power great
18 is come thy wrath and season of the enemy, of judgement condemned, *to* give——*om* and *after* great
19 om which is *his*——there *were*——earthquake

Chapter XII

2 shreaked] travailed——*om* and in many
3 *om* exceedingly
4 seventh] second——*from* heaven
5 *om* and . . . throne
6 was prepared for her there a place by God, that they may there feed her
7 *om* against them
9 *and* the
10 *in* heaven *that it* said

10 who were accusing them before God and our Lord day (*and om* Jesus Christ)——they *appeased* not the
12 therefore the heavens were glad——*om* unto you——wrath much, he saw that much time he abode
14 *om* two——she *was* fed——a time and times and half
15 *om* many
16 water] river
17 *om* with the woman and——who *kept*——God *which* is——of God J. C.

Chapter XIII

1 *om* great——*which* had——his horns] him——a name, blasphemy
3 *om* was
4 thus: And he gave his kingdom unto the beast, because they were worshipping the beast and were saying 'Who are like unto the beast or who can war with him
5 a month] authority——to work war great * against——*add* authority to make *before* victory
6 *om* holy
7 *om* there was . . . authority——*om* and tongues and peoples
8 For there worshipped him all
9 whoever hath——let *him*
10 shall die——*from* God
14 And *he led*
14 with signs which was (sic) in his hand in the sight (*and om* to do) ——make] cast *——which hath the——*that he* shall
16 *om* freemen——*a* sign
17 *shall be* able——if not *they who* have the sign of writing, the name of the beast, which is number of his name
18 reckon the name and number——*tr* is of a name of man, and the number of his name is this, a thousand a hundred one.

Chapter XIV

1 *om* who had his name and——of *their* Father——*om* was
2 *om* voice
2 many, *and*——*om* of thunder . . . were voice——of *a* harper
3 before *his* throne (*and om* of God)——learn] see (a rendering of εἰδέναι as if ἰδεῖν)——songs] *erss* ? for *eress* = faces by corruption of *ergs* = songs——around the *throne* on——who *are*
4 *om* and are——hour *following* after——These were written of men and were written upon their foreheads the signs of God father and
5 falsehood] guile
6 *in mid* heaven, *who* had ——*who* being come
7 *om pr* and——*and* he said——worship God who——and all well-springs of waters
8 drunkenness, through wrath of her fornication. She made drunk
9 *or* receives writing of his sign
10 from the unmixedness of ire

11 *was* not——*not* by day and *not* by night——worship the beast's image and the beast or who receive——*of* his name
12 and *receive* not his seal in themselves, they have received, saints who keep the behests of God——*om* Christ
13 *that it* said——*do* die——and attain not——from all labours (*and om* many trials and)——*om* alone
14 *om* and *after* saw
15 another] an——*om* Thou . . . cloud
16 and he cast who was sitting his (*and om* upon the cloud)——*all* the dwellers
17 heaven, having he also
18 = cuius erat auctoritas eius——and voiced—*om* unto
19 *om* And the angel . . . thereof

Chapter XV

1 other signs in heaven marvellous. Angels——*to* betoken——*was* ended
2 *tr* of the image and of the beast——*om* of the number of his name.
3 *his* lamb——*om* How——true are Thy *ways*, King of all Gentiles (*and om* Lord . . . and)
4 *om* and glorify——*om* holy——alone in holy ones art worthy——*om* of worship——*has been* manifested before all the world of earth
6 angels seven and they had behests of seven
7 and from amidst——*om* of gold
8 was able] dared——by the seventh angel

Chapter XVI

1 *from* the temple——seventh angel
2 the bowl golden first——plagues *upon earth and* upon men——and were worshipping him (*and om* his image)
3 *om* dead——and every soul *living*, which were——*was* destroyed
4 fountains] wellsprings——*they* became
5 Righteous the existent and he is holy
6 and therefore blood gavest thou to drink
7 *om* almighty just and true] for in truth
9 gave him glory (*and om* to God)
10 *om* became
11 *om pr* And——anguish] days * (so also 2)——*om* and *before* in pain ——*om* of their works
12 *om* great——*om* his *before* water——*from* the rising
14 worked] had——king of the earth and to gather——a day of the Lord our God
15 speaks *in the* night——may not be made naked and walk about
16 *they* will——Armakedôn
17 heaven] the temple and——pass *the end of all*
18 *om* And there . . . thunders——and there was an earthquake, etc. (as in 2)
19 and 20 *as in Cod* 2
21 hail very great of the weight of one (and the rest of verse as in 2)

Chapter XVII

1 *om* a certain——who had (*habebat*) a cup (*om* seven)——come *hither* ——*she* who
2 earth] the world——wine of drunkenness of her
3 desert, *and there was on me a* spirit *holy*——a woman *seated*——*om* and full was he——*with a* name——heads] crowns
4 the woman having arrayed herself in——*om* and with precious stones ——*had* in her hand a cup golden, full of all pollution and all filth of fornication
5 a name of mystery——B. great, mother of fornication and all pollution of her earth
6 and of the (*om* with blood) witnesses of Christ, and
7 I tell a——= et bestiæ quam sedet super eam fœmine et illa portam habet——*tr* horns ten
8 thus: the seven heads and ten horns of the beast which thou sawest, which were and are not prepared to go up
8 wonder, the dwellers of earth, who are not written in——world, whom thou sawest, the beast which was and is not
9 a man wise in understanding will comprehend that there are seven mountains which the woman sits upon them
10 and they are seven kings. The five are fallen and one hath (*or* holds) yet and another is——come, a little time hath he
11 beast which thou sawest which is and——seven *and of the five*, and unto perdition is about to proceed
12 Sawest, they too kings (*om* ten)——*their* kingdom——received, but they receive, and stand rulers in one season; and they receive authority with the beast——These in concord come, and power and authority to the beast they give
14 These with the beast * do war and the lamb conquers them; for the lamb is Lord of lords
15 *And* the waters——where *sat*——peoples
16 sawest, *and the* beast, they shall hate * the strumpet, and desolate shall they make her naked
17 hearts, *to make her naked desolate*, and to give——the kingdom—— fulfilled the mysteries and words of God
18 = et quam nudam vidisti eam est——earth] kings

Chapter XVIII

1 an angel that he was descending from above from the throne of God who had
2 out in might of his voice and said——*before* Babylon *insert* second ——*om* prison . . . hated and——guard-house] jail of guarding—— *om* every
3 Since from wine of her wrath have drunk all——*om* of earth—— fornicated and enjoyed riches on earth and by might of her well-being were enriched
4 from their midst, my people (Codex 6 like 2 substitutes *their*, *them* for *her* in this entire passage)——and of the plague of their sins that

5 For their sins have reached have touched
6 And he requites them as also They requited, and they shall receive twofold——and the cup which they mingled, shall be mingled to them. And as much as they were glorified and waxed wanton, So much shall be given to them torments and sorrow. For they say in their hearts, For ever we will reign and will not be widows and unmarried, and sorrow never will we see
8 come upon them plagues all death, sorrow, and burning of fire. For strong is the Lord who judgeth them
10 And they shall stand and shall bemoan over her kings of earth who with her fornicated and they shall expel (*haladsestzen*) a corruption of *hedsestzen* 'they shall sigh' of *a* 2) when——smoke of their furnace
10-24 In these verses Codex 6 agrees with 2 except in the following particulars: In 10, 16, 19 the word *woe* is repeated thrice——In 10 *day* for *hour*
11 for *both be dragged* (due to a corruption) read *shall bellow*——buy] here 2 and 6 have the corruption *augnestze* for *gnestze*
12 for *not any one* read *Thy* hoards——*read* and all ivories and all vessel precious of wood——*retain* and of iron
14 and all well-being (*or* ease) and gleaming beauty is lost from them
16 *om* and scarlet——For *day* read in 4, 6 is read *hour* in *a*, but in 2 is the conflation *hour day*
17 and all pilots from places to places and sailors who in the sea were enjoying,* afar off
20 *her* judgment
21 and an angel took a millstone doughty and hurled it
22 of harp-singers and of songs——trumpet, henceforth no more is heard in her
23 And voice of millstone shall be heard no more in her, and light of torch shall not appear there, and voice of bridegroom, of the bride henceforth no more is heard in her. And her glorious ones
24 sealed in heaven in the land of life.

Chapter XIX

Verses 1-18, Codex 6 agrees with 2 except in the following particulars:
1 For *of trumpets great* read *of crowds.* Thus *turbarum* is rendered instead of *tubarum.* Both forms of the Old Latin reading therefore are present in the form of the Armenian text represented by Codices 2 and 6. It is further to be noted that they use the equivalent *jolowurd* for *turba*, whereas *a* 3 4 use *bazmuthiun* which answers to *multitude*
2 And *the Lord* hath sought
3 they *praised* and (with *a*)
5, 6 Amen, Alleluiah. And a voice from the throne went forth, saying, Praise our God, all ye servants of him and fearers of his name. And I heard a voice of crowds many, as a voice many, and the sons of thunder were exalting and saying, alleluiah, because he hath reigned

our Lord God. (Here again turbarum is rendered in verse 6 from the Old Latin, from which also the order of the words is derived.)

7 because there is come again to his marriage the lamb and a wife who is made ready, hath been given to her (*or* him)——I *retain* he saith to me——*order* just and true of God

10 *retain* and worshipped——and he said to me, But fall not (*om* see, Thou art evil, and he said)——*om* thy *before* brethren——testimony of *Jesus*

11 and in righteousness he judgeth. And his warriors as a flame of fire ——*retain* written, which

13 with sprinkling of

13, 14 word of God, of heaven, and there came after him horses

15 press of wine of wrath and fury of God

17 stood *before* the sun

18 of the king and of the flesh of the horse, who was mounted upon him ——*om* men——*om* of great and small

Chapter XIX. 19 foll.

(Codex 6 collated with Codex 1 as translated, p. 51 foll.)

19 *om* I saw——*om* all——their] his——*the* horse

20 taken *by him* the——prophet——before *them*, whom——of fire *full* of burning sulphur

21 *om* and all

Chapter XX

2 *om* and *before* Satan——sealed *him*——lead *Gentiles* astray

4 and *they* sat——souls *of them* of the——*om* unto——dead no one lived

6 resurrection] kingdom (*as in* 1 and 2)——they *were*——*om* Jesus Christ

8 forth *and shall* lead——om *all* after *races*——*om* all *after* them

9 breadths——and the cities *visible*, and there *came* down——and devoured them and the captain

10 astray. He cast them——fire of sulphur

11 great white (*om* and)——upon it sitting (*om* the throne)——afraid] destroyed (as in 1 and 2)

12 and I saw the rejected (*merjeals* as in 1 and 2) and the mighty ones and the dead who——*om* of their . . . opened——works several

13 her dead who was in her, and death and hell were delivered up into a lake of fire. This is death second, is the lake of fire, and whoever ——cast] delivered

Chapter XXI

1 *om* heaven and——*this* sea

2 *om* I saw——*om* new——Jerusalem] *add* appeared——*om* the bride ——decorated, as a bride she was given

3 And there shall dwell the Lamb with men, with them, and they his people with him, and he is their God
4 care] *add* no longer shall guard them
5 write, these words are
6 said——*om* and Qê from the beginning——*om* and now——*om* And ——a spring
7 whoever be found victor——*om* and they . . . people
8 *om* and fornicators——*om* and *before* sorcerers——*om* and all liars . . . ones——is the lake of fire burning with sulphur
9 seven, end, with the——I shew
10 *tr* great and lofty in——city great, the upper
11 and it had——And they were in sheen likened to precious stones, jasper which in *barna* (vox nihili !) scintillates, illumines.
12 and her walls, her towers lofty——according to the names of the twelve
13 side *are* (in each clause)
14 walls] doors (*or* gates)——*om* foundations
15 *om* that——*and he* had a——*om* and her portals
16 For] And——*om* and——*om* of her——*om* her *before* length——*om* and height
17 *om* thereof——which *are* angels
18 of *the* wall——*om* precious, of
20 *tr* chrysoprase *with* jacinth
21 *om* And *before* one——more sheenlike white as beryl
22 Temple *of* her——*om* Son——*om* is
25 *are* not shut——*For* night there *is*
26 but only in the likeness of illumination and a costliness
27 Life of the Lamb (*and om* Son of God)

Chapter XXII

1 water of life crystalline bright
2 which *bore* fruit——*om* all
3 were *not* there, *and* the throne——of his Lamb, which was
4 and *they* beheld——*om* was
5 and night no more was there to them, and
5 they were reigning] the king
6 and *they said* unto me——*om* who——showed his prophets, and whom he sent by means of his angels to show to his servants what is to be in after time
7 *om* Behold . . . quickly——of this prophecy
8 when I heard and saw——*before* the angel——for I *also* am——*om* and brother——*om* and of those
10 *om* again——*after* iniquity *om* and he . . . filthy——*after* righteous *om* and he . . . holy
12 Behold there cometh the reward-giver quickly, and rewards several before him, and he requites each according
13 I am *first* and I am end. I am beginning and I am completion. Blessed who fulfil his law, and they have authority to eat of the

tree of life, and they enter by the portal of the city of light. And there shall go forth without
15 Sorcerers and fornicators and idolators and slayers and adulterers and all
16 I Jesus *Christ* send my——witness *in every hour* in
17 *the* Spirit holy, the bride of him, and I am to come, and whosoever
19 shall *destroy* of the words of this prophecy, he shall withdraw—— city *holy*, which
20 Codex 6 ends with the words *I come quickly*, and adds without break this colophon :

> Of John evangelist and disciple of the Lord, the Revelation of Jesus Christ, to give (? given) in Patmos island. To God glory. Jesus Christ through the prayers of John the Evangelist have mercy on Marcus and John the Elder and on myself the sinful Simeon.

CHAPTER IX

THE LATIN ELEMENT IN THE ARMENIAN VERSION

THE question arises: Are we to regard this element as original? In other words: Was the Armenian version of Apocalypse made in the first instance from an Old Latin text, and subsequently revised and remodelled from Greek codices? or, oppositely, was it first translated from Greek and afterwards contaminated from Latin manuscripts?

For a direct Latin influence cannot be denied, and it is not enough to suppose that the Latinisms are due to the use by the first translator of a text so primitive as to have contained many readings which passed into the African Latin, but have disappeared from our existing Greek sources. Such an hypothesis would account for only a few out of the many Latinisms scattered broadcast throughout the Armenian texts.

Let us take a few crucial examples.

19[1] 'I heard a voice great of trumpets great in heaven which said.'
ἤκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ λεγόντων.
Prim: Audivi vocem turbarum (tubarum) ingentium clamantium voce magna in caelo dicentium.

First as to the text of Primasius. The antiquity of the error *tubarum* for *turbarum* is proved by this that just below, in verse 6, the Old Latin texts render *ὄχλου πολλοῦ* by *tubarum magnarum*, so old a commentator as Beatus here reading *tubæ magnæ*. The original Latin translation was *turbæ* in the singular, and it was only after the corruption *tubæ* had arisen that the plural *tubarum* arose, either in verse 6 or in verse 1. In the latter place, therefore, *turbarum* is an emendation of *tubarum*.

It is true that the other Armenian sources *a*, 3, 4 (1 is

here defective) render correctly by 'multitude.' None the less, the Latinism before us coheres with all the other Latinisms of the Armenian. If they be original it is original, and conversely.

Now we cannot conceive of an Armenian corrector who, already possessing the true text of this passage, would have introduced this error from a Latin codex, or have made a recension from the Latin at once drastic and undiscriminating.

So codex 1 renders *foris autem remanebunt* at 22^{15}, and omits verse 22^{21}. What reviser in his senses would have made such changes? Where and in what age shall we look for an Armenian filled with such superstitious awe and respect for a Latin text which he casually came across? From about the year 430 the Armenians were incessantly revising from Greek codices the translations they had made from Syriac of the Bible and other books; but there is no case on record of their revising from a Latin version a book which they knew to have been written in Greek. And they were well aware that Revelation was a Greek book, and after the year 500 or 550 it could not be difficult to obtain Greek copies from which to revise an older and imperfect version. Why should they prefer a Latin text?

No one, therefore, who weighs well the evidence, will, I think, hesitate to allow that these Latinisms are due to the use of a Latin original by the first Armenian translator; no one will affirm that they were imported by some one revising from a Latin copy a version originally made from Greek.

The further questions arise: Why should the first translator have used a Latin text? and How shall we explain the circumstance that, apart from the palpable traces of Latin influence, the Armenian if laid alongside of the Greek reads like a translation thereof?

The answer to the first of these questions is probably this, that between 350 and 450 Greek texts of Revelation were rare in the Eastern half of the empire. The best minds in the Greek church, men such as Eusebius Pamphili and Dionysius of Alexandria, denied its Johannine authorship. Living in an age when Old Greek was still the language of everyday life, they were too conscious of the contrasts of style which separate it from the fourth Gospel to accept the

view that a single author wrote both. Having to accept John the Apostle as author of one or the other, they decided in favour of the Gospel. In the West, on the other hand, where both documents alike circulated only in a Latin dress, men were unconscious of these contrasts of style; and so found no difficulty in accepting both as writings of the Apostle John. And it also weighed with the orthodox doctors of the Greek world that Revelation was the favourite Scripture of the Montanists and Millenarists, from under whose feet they cut away the ground when they denied its apostolicity and excluded it from the canon, into which it was not finally received before 692. Into the canons of the Armenian and Syrian churches, already separated from the Greek, it was not admitted before the year 1200.

Thus it may well have happened that a Latin copy was easier to find, even at Edessa, between 350 and 500 than a Greek. It is useless, however, to speculate as to where the Armenian translator picked up his Latin copy.

I admit that I know no other example of a Latin Scripture being translated by Armenians in the fifth century. Still there must have been many Armenians, even among the translators of that age, who understood Latin. Their diplomatic relations with the court of the emperors[1] were continuous and sustained from the time when King Tiridates, in company with the chief Armenian bishops, Gregory, Aristaces, and Albianus, visited Constantine at Sardika, soon after A.D. 312. The memory of their visit lived in Armenian tradition, and in the version of the Gospels Jo 19[20] the word *ῥωμαϊστί* is rendered 'in Dalmatian,' and the scribes of the text before us seem to have been more familiar with the name Sardica than with Sardis.

Following, therefore, in my conjectures, the line of least resistance, I conclude that this version was made early in the fifth century, if not in the fourth, from an Old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual, Greco-Latin codex, which may have been furnished by a Montanist congregation.[2] Just as Mesrop

[1] Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 8. 3 of the Armenians: *ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀρχαίων φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων.* See Dr. Simon Weber's *Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903, p. 189 foll.

[2] The prominence given in the history of the evangelisation of Armenia and Georgia to female saints, and even to their claims to baptize, long ago led me to

and his fellow-translators, between 400 and 460, revised the older Armenian version of the Gospels and Epistles[1] made from the Old Syriac, using the newest Greek manuscripts, so they revised and remodelled their text of Apocalypse, only, it would seem, in a more perfunctory manner; for the traces of the Old Latin are more prominent in it than of the Old Syriac in the rest of the N.T. Being excluded from the Armenian canon, the text of Apocalypse suffered much at the hands of scribes, and to this fact is due the enormous variety of readings. Of the text thus already remodelled, and in many places retranslated from Greek in the fifth century, two further revisions, equally from Greek MSS., have survived. The one was made probably about the year 700 from a codex almost identical with Aleph, and this is found in the Jerusalem manuscript; the other, the Nersesian recension *a*, was less thoroughgoing, and effaces far less than the other the lineaments of Mesrop's fifth-century text. Throughout all recensions alike, however, the primal Latin character of the version abides.

The only other explanation of the singular welding together in the Armenian of an Old Latin with a Greek text, is this that two versions were made, one from Latin and one from Greek, and were subsequently fused together in a single text. Or the original translator may have used a bilingual codex, like D, and have translated now from the Greek and now from the Latin, and a corrector may have subsequently gone over his work and corrected in the margin mistranslations due to a misreading of the Latin. The MSS. of a later age contain, some of them the marginal readings, and others the incorrect text. But this is an improbable hypothesis, and quite fails to account for the many omissions which the Armenian has in common with the African Latin.

suspect that the early Christianity of these regions was largely the work of Montanist missionaries, so that in this respect also held good the remark of Herodotus vii. 73, that the Armenians are 'colonists of the Phrygians.'

[1] I am not sure that an Old Latin influence is not to be detected in the Armenian version of the Paulines.

THE SCHOLIA AND EPISTLE TO THEODOSIUS OF CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

I

The Armenian Texts

1. Sans Lazaro codex 448 is a large folio, of smooth cotton paper, written in a large cursive hand inclining to uncial forms by Nerses of Lambron in the year 1175 A.D., from 'a dirty and blackened exemplar,' as his colophon fol. 466 informs us. Nerses not so much copied, as corrupted and interpolated the text; and after devoting many hours to a transcription of the many and intricate variants of his codex, I was obliged to discard the great majority of them as worthless conjectures of his own. I have, therefore, seldom cited this codex except where it has the support of the Greek and Latin texts, or of other Armenian MSS. Only in the letter to Theodosius have I printed all his variants. The contents of this codex are the same as codex 4. The second half of it consists of the pseudo-areopagite.

2. San Lazaro 308, is a small square neatly written bolorgir or cursive manuscript, written on cotton paper early in the fourteenth century. I collated the first and last folios of the Scholia, and the whole of the letter to Theodosius. Its text is allied to that of 3 by common lacunæ and errors. The contents of this codex are the same as those of No. 3.

3. Bodley MS. Arm. e. 20, a small square volume, bound in red leather with clasps in 1671 according to the initial colophon. It consists of 214 folios of cotton paper, neatly written in bold cursive in the year 1394 by one John, called in his colophon at fol. 213 'a searcher after the word of the

Lord Jesus,' from an exemplar found in a chest of books in the old school in the Hermon Wanq (Monastery). The scribe bids us pray for himself, his brother Lazar Hamshirak, who found the book, for Paron Amir Mulqan, and others. The contents of the volume are :—

1. The Scholia in 36 chapters, fol. 3-37.
2. Letter to Cyril from Tiberius and the Brethren, f. 37 v°.
3. Letter of Cyril to Tiberius, f. 40 v°.
4. To Theodosius the Emperor, on Easter, f. 48 v°.
5. To the Empress Eudoxia.
6. To the Sisters of Theodosius.
7. To Theodosius in the Faith, and upon his return from Ephesus.
8. Dialogue with Hermias (Jeremias), that Christ is one.
9. To Secundus (Successus), I. and II.
10. To Acacius of Melitene.
11. To John of Antioch.
12. Against Nestor, I. and II.
13. Colophon of a Monophysite, f. 172.
14. To Anastasius, Martin, John, and other orthodox fathers from Cyril, f. 173.
15. Exposition of the Nicene Faith, f. 175.
16. Sermon of Theodotos, Bishop of Ancyra, on the Birthday of Christ, f. 182 v°.
17. Of the same on Epiphany, f. 190.
18. 64 *Quæstiones* on the Sonship, f. 195.
19. List of 77 Heresies, f. 198 (by John of the Medsoph Wanq and Thomas).
20. David the Philosopher against Heresies, f. 200 v°.
21. Of the same, by request of Anastasius Catholicos of Armenia, f. 205 v°.
22. Of the same, by request of Ashot Patrician, f. 208 v°.
23. Of Theodorus called Dakon, disciple of the same David, against Diphysites, f. 210.

4. Bodley Arm. e. 36, written on 198 folios of paper in neat large cursive, written by Sargis the Elder in A.D. 1689, in Persia, in the city once called Shôsh, but then Aspahan, in the suburb known as Djulfa (Dschuḷayu), in the Bethlehem Monastery, in the reign of Shaypemani, and in the bishoprick of Stephan, and Armenian prefecture of Sir Eliazar.

The contents are the same as those of 3 as far as the end of the Sermons of Theodotus of Ancyra, after which follows a Sermon of Cyril on the Virgin, fol. 191 v°, and then the volume ends.

Besides these MSS. I consulted in places the edition of

the version printed at the press of Karapet in Constantinople in A.D. 1711. This rare volume I found at San Lazaro.

I have printed the Armenian text just as it is found in MS. 4, from photographs of which the printers set it up direct. Though the latest of the codices used by me, it contains the best text, and must have been copied from a good uncial exemplar. In the printed text I have left, without removing them, many of the orthographic peculiarities of the codex, especially in the matter of the division of words. These anomalies would naturally shock an Armenian reader, but I think it is not useless for scholars, who will see how in an Old Armenian MS. single words were divided by the scribe into two or more, and distinct words run into one another. For it must not be forgotten that in Armenian as in other tongues the sentence or phrase precedes the single word. The first codices written after the alphabet was invented in the fifth century were almost certainly written continuously, and the division of words found in a modern Armenian book follows the analysis of grammarians perhaps of the eighth century. I have added at the end of the Armenian text a fairly full table of the readings of the codices; but their variants seldom involve any modification of the sense, and as a rule I have translated that reading which responds to the Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts, ignoring the rest, for it is of no use to set before the English reader variants which have only arisen within the sphere of the Armenian tradition.

The version is extremely literal; the order of the Greek is preserved, and the Armenian word or formula once assigned to a Greek one is adhered to throughout. The style of translation and the technical terms used are identical with what we find in the translations of Aristotle and Porphyry which I edited in 1892 for the Clarendon Press *Anecdota* series. These translations are attributed to one David the Invincible, who was the author of several of the pieces found in codex 3. In my *Anecdoton* I adopted the traditional view that he worked in the fifth century; but the fact that one of the treatises in codex 3 is addressed to Anastasius who became Catholicos about 661, and another to Ashot the Patrician who was fighting the Khazars and Mussulmans in 683, proves that my date was two centuries too early. He was the same David

who lived some years at Constantinople, and was sent by Constans II. in 648 to Armenia, with a letter for the Catholicos Nerses the Builder.

The date of the version of Cyril's controversial works enumerated above is 6244 of the world, the 14th Indiction, and the second year of Anastasius Emperor, that is A.D. 715. There are also preserved in Armenian the glaphyra of Cyril, or commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings, and the commentaries on Luke, Isaiah, Joel, Zachariah, Hebrews. The version of many of these commentaries is assigned to the fifth century, and they are probably not later than the sixth. In the commentaries on the Pentateuch the text is often abridged.

In rendering the Armenian into English I have striven to be as literal as possible, sometimes I fear doing violence in my attempt to the genius of our language. There is hardly any book which better than the Scholia sums up the dogmatic contests and contrasts of the age of Nestorius, and there is no other work of Cyril which had more vogue among the Monophysites of Armenia and Syria. Two-thirds of the Greek text is lost, and for that reason I selected it for translation. Apart from its dogmatic interest, it merits attention on philological grounds. All too little of the Armenian literature of the seventh and early eighth centuries has been printed, and even when as in the case of these controversial works of Cyril an edition has been published, it is sure to be rarer and more difficult to procure than a manuscript of the same.

Of Saint Cyril Chief Bishop of the Alexandrians, on the Incarnation of our only-begotten Lord, Jesus Christ.

Help me holy Spirit, God.

§ 1 How Christ shall be understood.[1]

The name Christ has not the force of a definition, nor does it signify the essence of any, whatsoever it be, as for example[2] a man or a horse, or ox,[3] but it rather makes revela-

[1] This clause is supplied from 4. [2] for example] lit. 'aught.'
[3] or ox] om 3.

tion of a thing inwrought concerning something. For with oil were anointed some in antiquity, as it then seemed good unto God; and token of kingship was unto them that anointing. There were anointed also prophets with the holy Spirit according to the intelligible <order of> things, so as thence to be named 'Anointed.'

In psalm saith the blessed David, as in the person of God,
and says: *Touch not my anointed, and do my prophets no* Ps. cv. 15
harm. The prophet Ambacum also saith: *Thou wentest forth* Hab. iii. 1
for the salvation of thy people, to save thy Anointed ones. LXX.
But in regard of our Saviour Christ, we say that there was an anointing; yet not by symbolic oil[1] wrought, nor through grace prophetic, nor yet that which is understood as it were in the being designed for the achievement of such and such a thing, as for example was realised, we say, in the case of Cyrus,[2] of Persians and of Medes the king, who mustered an army against the Babylonians, God in all way strengthening
him unto this. For it is said: *Thus saith the Lord to his* Is. xlv. 1
anointed one Cyrus, whose right hand I held. And though the man was an idolater, he is called Anointed by reason of his being so anointed unto kingship by the decree from above: he was designed[3] by God, mightily to[4] subdue the Babylonians.

But rather this, because on account of Adam's transgression,
sin hath reigned over *all.* And then the human race was Rom. v.
amerced of the holy Spirit and was therefore in all peril. It needed afresh, through the oil of God unto what was from the beginning to mount up, and be accounted worthy of the Spirit. The only-begotten word of God was made flesh, and appeared to those on earth with Body of earth, and then became free from sin; that through him alone by the glories of sinlessness, man's nature being crowned, should be rich in the holy Ghost, and so be reformed toward God through sanctification.[5] For so also into us passes the grace, taking its beginning from Christ, among us the First-born. And this teaching us, the
blessed David sang in psalm unto the Son, *Thou lovedst* Ps. xliv.
righteousness and hatedst iniquity, therefore God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness more than thy fellows.[6]

[1] by symbol, with oil 1 2 4.
[2] Cyrus] + both 3.
[3] designed] *lit.* taken in hand.
[4] to subdue 1: he subdued *cet.*
[5] and so . . . . sanctification] om 23.
[6] more . . . fellows] 1 adds in mg.

The Son therefore is anointed in human wise like us with
the praise of sinlessness. There having been made illustrious
in him man's nature, having become worthy of the portion of
anointing of the holy Spirit,[1] no more departing, as in the
beginning, but rather with love carried in us. This is what
indeed is written, that the Spirit came down upon Christ and
Jo. i. 32 abode upon him. Christ therefore is called the Word of God,
who because of us together as are we is Man and in servant's
form; and he is anointed in human wise according to the
flesh but anoints in divine wise with his own spirit them
that in him have believed.

§ 2

In what manner we must understand Emmanuel.

Heb. ii. 16 Emmanuel is the Word God named, *having taken hold of*
the seed of Abraham, and by proximity *become a sharer* with
us *of flesh and blood.* Now Emmanuel is interpreted, *with*
ib. 14 *us God.* And we confess that there is *with us* the Word God,
not locally (for where is not the Godhead, which fills all?)
But neither running our course[2] along with us has he been
seen by way of taking care, for thus unto Jesu Navea it is
Josh. i. 5 said, *As with Moses, so will I be also with thee.* But because
he was made in our fashion, that is to say, in becoming man,
he transmuted not his own, inasmuch as he was immutable in
nature, God.[3]

But for this reason <is> he who saith, *As I was with*
Moses, so will I be also with thee, nevertheless is not named
Emmanuel. Let the very same be the reason, even if he be
said to be with any other of the saints. We therefore declare
that the Word from[4] God became *with us* at that time
Bar. iii. 37 according to which Baruch said, *He did appear on earth and*
conversed with men, and Found out all the way of instruction,
and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved, for
he himself is our God, and there shall not be accounted any
other in comparison with him.

For until when he came, God according to nature was not
with us. For there is no comparability between God and
manhood, and much asunder is the difference of natures.

Accordingly the divine David in the Spirit summons unto

[1] ? read *τοῦ χρισθῆναι τῷ μεταλαχεῖν*
[2] *συντρεχῶν* or *σύνδρομος.*
[3] *as* God.
[4] from] of 1.

relationship or proximity with us, to wit in mystical wise, the word God, because he was not as yet become *with us*, saying in the Spirit, *Why, O Lord, hast thou stood afar, has despised* Ps. x. 1
in season in time of tribulation? It follows that he no longer stood afar, but became With us, since he remained that which he was, and *laid hold of the seed of Abraham*, as also I have said; received the form of a servant, and appeared as us, a man upon earth.

Christ then and Emmanuel signify to us the same Son, both this <way> that he was anointed together with us[1] in human wise, in his human body receiving the Spirit, as in himself also first; for he is set forth a second beginning of the race, who also doth anoint himself as God with the holy Spirit those who have believed in him. But the other <way>, because he became with us according to the reason above stated by us, and unto this the prophet Isaiah assures us saying, *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they* Is. vii. 1
shall call his name Emmanuel. For when the holy Virgin conceived out of the holy Ghost, and bare according to the flesh a son, then too was he called Emmanuel; for the Incorporeal became with us by carnal birth; and this then it was which by the voice of David <was foretold>, *Our God shall* Ps. i. 2,
openly come, our God, and shall not be silent. The same do I deem, *I myself who speak am at hand.* For having spoken Isa. lii. 6
through the prophets as incorporeal, he came, he the Word, also in the body.

What is Jesus? § 3

By the force of reflection to be necessary that by us the Son of God be declared one, he is naught else than the Christ, that is to say the Emmanuel. The name Jesus, however, was in its turn as it were out of the fact. *For he*, it says, *shall* Mt. i. 21
save his people from their sins. For just as the name Emmanuel shows that the Word of God by means of his birth from woman became with us; and Christ, that having become man, he is said to be anointed as we in human wise: so also Jesus, that he saved us, being *his people*—which specially proves him clearly to be God in truth, and by nature Lord of all. For creatures are not said to be a common man's, but it

[1] with us] *or* as we (in Arm. MS. with, *ŭnd*, and as, *ust*, are often confused).

is fitting rather that all things be said to be the Only-Begotten's own, although he became man.

But haply some one will say: The people of Israel is called[1] Moses'. And to this we say: The people was named God's, and that was so in truth. But inasmuch as he was carried away into revolt, and made the calf in the desert, he was dishonoured of God; and no more did he deign to name him his people, but spoke of him after that as a man's. But we not so, for we are the Son's own, so far forth as he is also God, and through him all things came into being. For thus
Ps. c. 3 saith David, *He hath made us and not we ourselves. We are the people of his hand and the sheep of his pasture.* Who
Jo. x. 27 said of us indeed, *My sheep hear my voice and follow me.*
ib. 16 And again, *And other sheep are mine, who are not of this fold; and them also must I bring hither,*[2] *and they shall become one flock and one shepherd.* He bade too the blessed Peter,
ib. xxi. 15 *Simon, son of Jonan, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, shepherd my sheep.*

§ 4 **Why the Word God is called Man.**

The Word then from God the Father, who by nature is God, is named man, as having participated in flesh and blood identically with us. For he appeared thus on earth, without being changed from whatever he was, but becoming through assumption of the humanity that is as we, perfectly realised according to its definition. Notwithstanding he remained and is defined[3] in the manhood God and Lord of all, as by nature and truly begotten of God the Father.

And this is proved to us well and clearly by the all-wise
1 Cor. xv. 47 Paul. *For the first man,* he says,[4] *was from earth, earthy, but the second*[5] *from Heaven,* whom the holy virgin bare, the flesh made one with the Word. But with special propriety is Emmanuel also said <to be> from Heaven; for the Word begotten by him,[6] from above and from the substance of God and Father, came down unto us when he became man. And is from above. And thus did John bear witness about him
Jo. iii. 31, viii. 23 and say, *He that cometh from above is high above all.* Christ accordingly[7] himself saith to the people of the Jews, *Ye are*

[1] is called 1: om ceteri. [2] *add* and they shall hear my voice 1.
[3] and is defined] om 1. [4] he says] om 2 3 4. [5] second] *add* Lord 1.
[6] by him] om 1. [7] *om* accordingly 1.

from below, but I am from above. And again, *I am not of this world,* who also appeared part of this world as man, but was withal also high above the world as God. And we recall clearly the saying, *No one hath gone up into Heaven, save he* Jo. iii. 1
that hath come down from Heaven, the Son of Man. And we say that the Son of Man came down from heaven, according to the union of the economy, the Word attaching to his own flesh the prerogative of his own glory and divine-seeming excellence.

§ 5

Wherefore the Word of God is said to have been emptied.

Being full[1] by nature and in all respects all-perfect, the Word of God, and dispensing *out of his fullness* to his creatures his own things, was, we say, evacuated, being no wise injured in his own nature, nor by obligation of existing being altered, suffering any confusion, and, in the humiliation, descent in any respect whatever. For immutable and unalterable is Himself also even as his Begetter, neither became he capable of passion after the manner (*or* custom) of sorrow. But when he was made flesh, that is, man—according to the saying, *I will pour forth of my Spirit on all flesh,* he makes[2] Joel ii. 2
his own the poverty of humanity. And this because he <was> man wholly, albeit he remained God. And next, what? He accepts the form of a servant, he who in his own nature is free, as Son. And being himself Lord of glory, he is said to receive glory. Himself being Life, he is said to be quickened;[3] and he receives authority over all, who is also King of all with God; and to the Father he became obedient, the cross enduring and the rest. But this befitted the measure of the manhood. Nevertheless he makes them his own in the flesh, and fulfils the economy, remaining whatsoever he was.

§ 6

How Christ is one.

The divine Paul writes, *Though there be gods many and* 1 Cor. vi 5, 6
lords many in heaven and on earth, yet to us one is God the Father, from whom all things and we from Him. And our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things, and we through Him. Yea, and the wise John saith of the Word God, *All*

[1] full] om A. [2] made 1. [3] *lit.* made alive.

Jo. i. 3 *things through him were made, and without Him was made*
nothing. And the blessed Gabriel gives tidings to the holy
Lk. i. 31 virgin, saying, *Thou shalt conceive and bear a Son, and they*
shall call[1] *his name Jesus.* When therefore the blessed Paul
saith that all things were made through Christ Jesus, the
blessed[2] evangelist reconfirms the force of the thought, and
heralds the Word of God creator and maker of all things,[3] a
thing true, and the Angel's voice seals the fact of the birth in
very truth of Jesus Christ of the holy Virgin.[4] Nor do we
conceive as without manhood the Word from the Father, but
we say that he was completed one out of both as God made
man, the same by the Father as Word begotten divinely, and
from woman humanly as man: not as called to a second
beginning of existence then when he is also said to have been
born after the flesh, but as he is and[5] exists prior to all ages
and times. But there having come that time at which it was
necessary to fulfil the economy, <he was> born also of a woman
after the flesh. Consequently, even if some others were
anointed, being called homonymously with him Christs, yet
one is he *through whom all, Jesus Christ.* Not as if a mere
man was made creator and maker of all things; but as if God
Heb. ii. 14 the Word, through whom all came into existence *was also*
made through nearness to us *sharer of blood and flesh,* and was
manifested[6] man, in no wise forfeiting the remaining[7] what-
ever he was; for so indeed being made in flesh, he will be
understood befittingly <to be> of all things creator and maker.

§ 7

How Emmanuel is One.

Once at the close of the ages is the Word of God said to
Heb. ix. 26 be made Man, and as saith the divine Paul, *by the sacrifice of*
himself is manifested. And what was the sacrifice? For he
offered his own body for us, for an odour of fragrance to God
Heb. ix. 12 and Father, and *entered into the sanctuary once, not by the*
blood of rams and steers, but by his own blood; for he *became*
an occasion thus to believers in him *of eternal salvation.*
Consequently many were saints before him, but not one of

[1] thou shalt call 1. [2] om blessed 4. [3] πρ for πιρ.
[4] Here the Syriac adds the words *Yet we do not say that J. C. was mere man,* which the Latin and Arm. omit.
[5] is and] was and 1: even (and om is 3) [6] manifested] made 3.
[7] *om* the remaining 1.

them was named Emmanuel. For what reason? Because the time was not yet come when he was to become[1] 'with us,' that is, to become according to our nature, because of the flesh, who is superior to all creatures. One therefore is Emmanuel, since once the only-begotten was made man, when from the holy Virgin he underwent fleshly birth. For it is said also to Jesus Navea,[2] *I will be with thee*, but he was not Josh. i. 5
Emmanuel. He was with Moses, but neither was he named Emmanuel. Consequently whenever we hear the name given to the Son, *With us God*, let us reflect and bear in mind, that not so was he with us in the close of the age, as one might even speak of his being aforetime also with the saints. For to them he was a Succourer, but With us he was made. And when he was made With us, forfeiting not his own <nature>; for verily he is superior to change as God.

How we assert the Union to be. § 8

The fact of union is completed in many manners: for some severed in disposition and will, and sundered from one another, are said to be united in the way of friendly rencounter, laying aside from their midst the differences. United we call also things joined one with the other, that is, gathered together in other modes, either by juxtaposition or minglement. Therefore when we say there was united with our nature the Word God, the mode of union is seen to be above man's understanding. For it is not after any one thing of those mentioned, but is ineffable wholly, and to no one of those who are known, but to him alone who knoweth all.

And no marvel is it, if by such considerations we are humbled, when if we explore also how they be, things which are relative to ourselves, we confess their apprehension to be beyond us. For in what manner shall we regard man's soul in relation with his body? Who is there who could tell? But if it is needful for those who are accustomed to comprehend small things and them scantly, and have strength to utter <them>, to follow and track out matters so very subtle and above the understanding and phrase, we assert it to be befitting to understand—without[3] the phrase being in all

[1] *om* become 3 4. [2] *om* Navea 1. [3] μὴ ὢν for μείων.

ways of truth, such to be the union of the Emmanuel, as one would consider also a man's soul to have towards its body. For the soul makes its own everything that is the body's, though in its own nature it is unsharing of the same's affections, physical as well as those which come upon it from without. For the body is moved to physical desires; and the soul which is within it, is in sympathy because of the union, but co-sharer it is in no wise, not but that it regards as its own gratification the fulfilment of the longing. Even though the body be smitten by a sword, and be, perhaps, scraped with iron, it is associated in pain, because its own body is tortured, still it will itself in its own nature not suffer aught of these adventitious things.

However for this reason [1] also we predicate of Emmanuel the union, because it was needful that there should share in the pains of its own body the soul united therewith, in order that escaping from torments, it might carry easy <and> upright the rudder of God. But in the case of the God Word it is monstrous to say that it co-percipient of the torments; for the godhead is impassible, and is not of us, but has been united with the body which possesses the rational soul. While it suffered, he himself impassibly was cognisant of things coming to pass within it, and he was suffering away,[2] as God, the weaknesses of the body, but making them his own as being <affections> of his own body. Thus also he is said to hunger and labour and suffer for our sake.

Consequently the union of the word with humanity will be compared not inconsistently with our own scope; for just as the body is heterogeneous to the soul, and yet the single man out of the two is realised and spoken of; in the same way out of the complete hypostasis[3] of the God Word, and out of humanity perfectly constituted according to its own verbal definition, one <is> Christ, the self same subsisting in sameness, God at the same time as man. And, as we have said, the Word makes his own the <affections> of its own body, because his is the body and not another's. He causes his own body to share in the energy of his own divine-seeing power, so far forth as to be able to make alive the dead and heal them that are in sickness.

[1] for this reason] thus 1. [2] *ἀποπάσχω*. [3] *or* essence.

However if we must adduce examples from God-inspired writ, and as it were in a sort of similitude to exhibit the manner of the union, come let us speak as for one.[1]

About the Coal. § 9

The blessed Isaiah says, *There was sent to me one of the* Isa. vi. 6
Seraphim, and in his hand he had a live coal, which he had taken[2] *with tongs from the altar; and he saith to me, Behold, this hath touched thy lips, and it shall take away thy iniquities and shall purge thy sins.*[3]

And we declare the coal to fulfil for us the type and image of the incarnate word, as if as soon as it touch our lips, that is whenever we confess faith in the same, then it shall exhibit us also from all sins pure and of our old transgressions free.

However it is (allowed) to see, as if in an image, in the coal, united with the manhood the Word of God, not casting away the being whatever he was, but rather elementarily changing that which it has approached[4]—that is to say has unified—into its own glory and energy. For in the same way as fire touching closely wood, and clothing itself therewith, seizes upon it, and it does not relinquish the being wood, but it rather alters it into the appearance and power of fire and inworks all that is thereof <to be> its own, and comes to be reckoned as one therewith, so shall be understood also as regards Christ. For being united ineffably with manhood, God hath preserved it whatsoever it was, and has remained also himself whatever he was. But being united once for all, he is reckoned as one therewith, having made his own what is its, uniting also thereunto the energy of his own nature.

That[5] the bodiless godhead became body, keeping a § 10
rational soul, and that by sundering them one from the other, we utterly and in all ways dissolve the plan and mystery[6] of the economy understood in Christ.

In the Song of Songs our Lord Jesus Christ introduces himself saying,[7] *I am flower of the plain, lily of the vallies.* Song of Sol. ii. 1, LXX.
Now as smell is something without body, and uses as its body

[1] ἑνὶ for ἕνι. [2] had taken] held 4. [3] sins] *add* from thee 1 3.
[4] ? προσαφθεν for προσληφθεν. [5] That] *add* of 3.
[6] *om* and mystery 3. [7] saying] *add* to us 3.

that in which it is, and yet the lily is considered to be of both one; but the defection of the one ruins entirely the plan regarding it, for in the subject is the smell and the subject is body—even thus let us understand also in regard to Christ the nature of Godhood, that His own hypercosmic transcendency scents with sweet odour the world, in the humanity as if in a subject; and by nature bodiless becomes after an economical union even in a body, through the desire to be known by means of body, since it has energised through the same activities proper to God. Consequently the bodiless will be properly understood through its own body, just as the reality of the fragrance is in the flower as its subject, and the togetherness of both is called a lily.

§11 That <the word> having arrived at true union with the humanity, the substances[1] have remained unconfused.

There was raised, God willing, in the wilderness the holy Tabernacle, and therein in manifold manner was figured Emmanuel. The Lord of all said therefore to the divine Moses, *And thou shalt make an ark of Witness out of unrotting wood, of two cubits and a half its length, and of a cubit and a half its breadth, and of a cubit and a half its height; and thou shalt overlay it with gold within and without.* The unrotting wood then will be truly a type of the incorruptible body, for unrotting is cedar; while gold, as a material surpassing others, will signify to us the transcendency of the divine essence.

Exod. xxv. 10, 11

And mark how the whole ark was overlaid with pure gold without and within. For there was united with a holy body[2] the Word being God; and this I deem is it that also without the ark with gold was lined and overlaid. That he also made his own the reasonable soul within the body, this will shew the fact that he enjoined as necessary the gilding it on the inside as well. And that the natures, that is the substances[3] have remained unconfused, we shall realise from this. For the gold spread over the wood remained just what it was, and the glory of the gold enriched the wood, yet it ceased not from being wood.

And that the ark is taken for a type of Christ, one may

[1] substances] so Latin and Syriac versions, but the Greek has τὰ ἡνωμένα.
[2] *or* flesh (the Arm. word is the same).
[3] *goyuthian.*

be persuaded of by many arguments. For it used to go before the Israelites, seeking rest for them. Christ also somewhere saith, *I will go and prepare for you a place.* Jo. xiv. 2

That the Word being God was made man, and that not a man merely through bare conjunction honoured is called to equality of glory with him, that is to authority, as by some is opined. § 12

The divine Paul saith *the mystery of godliness* to be *great*; and such is the fact in truth. For *there was manifested in flesh the Word*, being God; *was justified* also *in Spirit*, since also not in any manner does he appear holden by our infirmities, albeit after us he was made man, for he did no sin. He *appeared* also *to the angels*, for they were not ignorant of his generation after the flesh. He *was preached* also *unto the Gentiles*, as God made man, and so was *believed on in the world*. And of this divine Paul will assure us thus writing: 1 Tim. iii 16

Wherefore remember ye Gentiles, named uncircumcision, from the so-called circumcision in the flesh, made by hands, that ye were at that time without Christ, and estranged from the polity[1] *of Israel, and exiled from the covenants of promise. And any hope ye had not, and ye were godless in the world.* Eph. ii. 11, 12

The Gentiles were therefore in the world and godless, without Christ; but because they recognised him as God by nature, and recognised truly, they too came to be recognised by him, confessing the faith. He was *uplifted* also *in glory*, it is clear in divine fashion. The blessed David saith in Psalm: *God hath been uplifted in praise.* He was uplifted absolutely in body, and not in the naked godhood, for God was incarnate. 1 Tim. iii 16 Ps. xlvii

We believe, therefore, not as it were in one of ourselves made divine according to grace, lest we be caught unawares, led into the perversity of anthropolatry; but rather as it were in God appearing in human form; and made as we in very truth, remaining withal in the manhood God. For the Word being involved[2] in the taking on of flesh, was not involved in a laying aside of the being just what he was; but is conceived of, the same self God, at the same time also man.

[1] *or* life. [2] *lit.* factus.

And the account of faith is thus, and let it be so very rightly. But if any one should say, What is there absurd, tell me, if a man as ourselves be understood to have laid hold of the Godhood, rather than God be made man? We assert that there are ten thousand considerations which are opposed, and which, as it were, by a nod hint at the necessity of our valiantly opposing, and not believing it so to be.

For come, before ought else, let us reflect upon the mode of the economy with flesh, and let us examine the nature of our condition. Human nature was emperilled, and was caught in the last ills, and was condemned to death; and was involved in the toils of sin, was gone astray and was in darkness; God by nature and in truth it knew not. It was worshipping creatures and not the creator. How then, indeed, was it to be rescued from such ills? Say we this, that it was lawful to lay hold of the divine nature, of which it knew not at all, who or what possibly might be that highest nature's dignity, it which was holden of unlearning and darkness, and by the soil of sin defiled? How was it possible for it to be able to attain unto the all-holy nature and to receive glory, which no one can receive, without having received. Suppose that by knowledge, for example, and by knowing alone, we assert it to lay hold thereof, who is there that demonstrated at all?
Rom. x. 14 *How shall they believe*, except they hear? Not but what even this is not to lay hold of the Godhood, and to seize the befitting glory thereof. Consequently it is more meet, and very reasonably so, to suppose, that God the Word through whom is the all, desiring to save the lost by abasement unto us, lowered himself to what he was not, in order that the nature of man might become what it was not, eminent in honour of divine transcendency, even through the union with him; and it was rather lifted up to what was above nature; that is to say he sent down, to what was outside the nature, the unchangeable, as God. It behoved that the Incorruptible should lay hold of the nature which is under corruption, that he might liberate it from corruption. It behoved that he who knew not sin, should be made conformal with those who were under sin, in order that he might make sin to cease. For as wherever there be light, there will be absolutely without work darkness; so when incorruption is at hand, is

it necessary entirely for corruption to flee away; and, as he that knoweth not sin, has made his own that which is under sin, for sin to be brought to nought.

But that the Word, being God, was made man, and not rather as man made God is Christ conceived of, I will from the holy Scriptures also endeavour to shew. Now there hath said the blessed Paul, *He who is in the form of God esteemed* Phil. ii.
not robbery the becoming equal to God; but emptied himself, 11
taking servants' form, being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man; he humbled himself to become obedient even to death and to death of the cross. Wherefore God also the more exalted[1] *him, and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus Christ every knee should bow of beings heavenly and earthly and infernal;*[2] *and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord unto the glory of God the Father.*

Whom then shall we really say was in the form of God and equality of the Father, esteeming these things *not for robbery*; but rather descended into emptiness, and into servants' form, having humbled himself, in likeness also to become as ourselves? Now if he was mere man alone of a woman, how was he in such a form and equality of the Father? Or how had he fulness, that he be conceived of as emptied? Being in what heights, is he said to have been humbled?[3] And how was he made in the likeness of men, who was such by nature, even if he is not perhaps said to be made aught? And where was he emptied, having received the fulness of the Godhead? Or how was he not made high, unto transcendent glory proceeding?

Consequently we say not man made God, but rather that he was made in abasement because of our manhood, who was in the form and equality of the Father, the God Word. For he was emptied, How?[4] By reason of the likeness to us, who was full and complete[5] as God. He is humbled on account of the flesh, who is also filled with the divine transcendency of elevation, for he hath a throne that is on high. He was made in the likeness of men, who is withal conformal with his begetter, since he doth limn out his essence. How-

[1] glorified 1. [2] and infernal] om in text 1, but add in mg. corr.
[3] humbled] emptied 4. [4] How? *om* 1. [5] *om* and complete 1.

ever, since he was once made as we, he is said to ascend with flesh too into the Godhead's glory, who had fully the same, as his own continually. Yet in a manner he ascended into it because of the manhood, because he is believed to be Lord of the universe even with the flesh.

And there boweth to him every knee, and that not at all to the grief or dishonour of the Father, but rather *to* his *glory.* For he rejoiceth and is glorified in the son's being adored, albeit he was made like us. It is written also again, that *he*
Heb ii. 16, 17 *taketh hold not of angels', but taketh hold of Abraham's seed,*[1] *whence it behoved him in all ways to be like the brethren.* Lo, the Word, being God, takes hold of Abraham's seed; and not some man of those[2] like us, took hold of the Godhead. He himself therefore is likened to us and was manifested a brother as man, and not we to him according to the Godhood's nature. And again, *forasmuch*[3] *as the children partook through nearness of blood and flesh, he also himself through his death became consort of them, that through his death he might destroy the holder*[4] *of the power of death, that is, the devil, and might*
Heb. ii. 14, 15 *rescue them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.* Lo, again, he himself through nearness partook with us of blood and flesh; and the thing hath a reason apposite, instant, and at the door, it being written[5]
Rom. viii. 3 again, *For what was impossible for the Law, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sent his own son in the likeness of the flesh of sin, and for sin's sake, also condemned sin in the flesh.*[6] Mark again, that not man is shewn advancing up to Godhood, and ascending to the honours thereof; but God rather sent his son *in the likeness of flesh of sin,* that he might annul sin. Consequently the Word being God, let himself down[7] into emptiness, being made man; and Christ is seen to be no man simply laying hold of the glory of becoming God.

[1] but . . . seed] om 1 3 thro' similar ending. [2] *om* of those 1.
[3] Forasmuch, etc.] In order that children may partake of flesh and blood, he himself by nearness became consort of them 1 3.
[4] holders 4. [5] he writes 3.
[6] also . . . flesh] whereby condemning sin in his flesh 4.
[7] let . . . down] humbled 1.

That the Word of God made man is Jesus Christ. § 13

Desiring to investigate the mystery of the economy with flesh of the Only Begotten, we say this, holding true glory[1] and right faith, that the Word himself which is from God the father, true God from true God, light from light, was made flesh and was made man, descending from heaven, suffered and rose from the dead. For thus defined the great and holy synod the symbol of the faith.

Investigating and desiring to learn afresh, what really is the Word's being made in truth flesh and man, let us see that it is not possible to take <him> as it were in a connection which regards equality of honour or of authority or of sole homonymity of sonship; but rather to be made man as we, together with his keeping unchangeable and unalterable and rescuing afresh in his own nature him that was made[2] in the assumption of flesh and blood economically.

One accordingly is he who before becoming flesh is named by the divine writ, Only-Begotten and Word and God, Image, and brightness and Impress of the Essence of the Father, Life, Glory, Light, Wisdom, Power, Arm, Right-hand, Exalted, Mighty, Magnificence, Lord of Sabaoth, and by other such names, truly God-befitting. But after the becoming man, Man, Jesus Christ, Propitiation, Mediator, First fruits of the Sleeping, First-begotten of the dead, Second Adam, *Head* Col. i. 1
of the Body the Church: the original names also following him, since all is his, those which are first and those in the last times of the age.

One accordingly is he who even before becoming man <was> true God, and in becoming man remained just what he was and is and shall be. We must not therefore formulate apart the one Lord Jesus Christ, into man peculiarly and God peculiarly; but we say that Jesus Christ is one and the same; knowing the difference of flesh and of Godhood, and keeping them unconfused one with the other.

When therefore Holy Writ says that, in Christ *dwelled all* Col. ii.
the fulness of the Godhead bodily, we do not therefore say so as that in another Christ, in a man,[3] the Word dwelled apart

[1] *i.e.* orthodoxy.
[2] *lit.* in quo *or* qua factus est assumptione.
[3] a man 1 : flesh *cet.*

and alone, nor sundering from each other things united, do we conceive of two sons; but this rather, in that holy writ calls by the name Christ, and as it were in part sometimes the manhood of the Word of God, which he having as his own, made to be in the order of a temple. For it has been written

Job iv. 19, LXX. also about human souls, *Him verily who dwells in houses of clay, whereof we too are of the same clay.* Do we then, because he names human bodies houses of clay and asserts the soul to dwell in them, also sever in two the single men? And how is it not wholly without blame, that in a man also be said to dwell his spirit? So that even though the form of speech passes into such modes, unable to be otherwise, it beseems not therefore that the nature of things is thereby injured, but rather to conceive that they also forthwith hasten unto the truth.

When then we see any of those things which have not been allotted their nature one like to another, woven together into unity by composition, and forthwith the one perhaps is said to dwell within the other, we must not define them apart into two; the concurrence into unity not being in any one way prejudiced, even if each one of the things united be specially named by us whatever the two several are. For as I said, in man is said to dwell his spirit; and yet not only the spirit specially, but also the body, is called man. Which thing in some sort the wise Paul signified to us, saying, *For*

2 Cor. iv. 16 *though our outward man perish, yet our inner man is renewed day by day.* When therefore any one saith that our inward man dwelleth in our outward man, he saith true; nevertheless he is not seen to have divided the one into two. The prophet

Isa. xxvi. 9 Isaiah also saith somewhere, *By nights riseth early my spirit to keep dawn with thee, O God.* Is it then as if some one else than himself, his spirit, were said to keep the dawn with God? And how is it not absurd to say any such thing? Consequently it is necessary to observe the figure of speech, and not marvel at the reasonable, but rather explore the force of the things signified with respect to the aim beseeming each several thing.

Lk. ii. 52 If however it be said that Jesus waxed *in age and wisdom and grace,* the fact will belong to the economy. For the Word of God permitted his human qualities to come to be by

the habit of its proper nature; and as it were gradually and little by little he broadened out the manifestation of his own Godhood, and along with the age of the body to encrease what is Its own, so that no <thing> strange should be seen, which in excessive unknownness should disturb some men. While even thus they said: *How knoweth this man letters, since he hath never learned?* Jo. vii. 1 Consequently bodily is the increase, and the advance in grace and wisdom befits the measures of the manhood. Himself however, the Word from God, in his own nature we pronounce to be all-perfect; not in need of *advance*, not of *wisdom*, not of *grace*. But he rather imparts to creatures both *wisdom* and *grace*, and the things in which they may be well off. If however it be also said that Jesus suffered, the suffering will be of the economy; but it is said to be himself, and very properly, for his own was that which suffered, and he was in the suffering body, he that knows not suffering,—since he is impassible as God. So far forth however as came the gross daring of the drunken ones, he would have suffered,[1] if it had been possible to suffer. Consequently in so far as there hath been made even as we the Only Begotten, as often as he is called man by the God-inspired scriptures, we, bearing in mind the economy, shall acknowledge him to be God according to nature and so Christ.

§ 14

Examples from God-inspired Scripture to show that the Word of God remained even after the incarnation God.

God saith somewhere to the divine Moses, *And thou shalt make a mercy seat of pure gold, of two cubits and a half the length thereof, and of a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold of beaten work, and shalt put them on the two sides of the mercy seat; and there shall be of the cherubim stretched out their wings, to hold a shelter over the mercy seat, and their faces shall look to one another, confronting the mercy seat.* Ex. xxv. 17-20

A type, therefore, will it be, and a very sure one the Word of God remained in the manhood God and in his glory and transcendency, even though he was made like us economically. For *a propitiation through faith* was Emmanuel made Rom. iii.

[1] Codices 3 4 have this scholion: It was impossible for the Divine Word to suffer; but in the flesh he suffered, for we were saved by God possessing our body.

unto us. And as to this will the wise John persuade us,
1 Jo. ii. 1, 2 *Little children, this I write unto you, that ye sin not. If any*
man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the
righteous, and he is Propitiation of our sins. But also Paul
Rom. iii. 25 saith, *Whom God appointed, a propitiation through faith in*
his blood. However, manifest are the cherubim standing
round about the mercy-seat, forming a shelter with their
wings one over against the other, trembling, bowing unto it,
and with fixed gaze eying steadily the things dominical. For
to God alone is turned the glance of so great a multitude of
supernal powers, insatiably having God in sight. So the
Isa. vi. 1 prophet Isaiah saw the Son *on a throne lifted up and exalted;*
the cherubim, he says, stood around him bringing offerings as
unto God.

§ 15 Another.

There was sent of yore the divine Moses to rescue Israel
from the torments of the Egyptians. And since it was
necessary to persuade those who were under the yoke of
servitude and of a customary vassalage, that God called them,
he was bidden to work signs. For the working of signs is
ever powerful unto belief. Moses therefore says to the God
Ex. iv. 1-5 of all, *If they shall not believe me nor harken unto my voice, for*
they may say, God hath not appeared unto thee, what shall I
say to them. And the Lord saith to him, What is that in thine
hand? And he saith, A rod. And he saith, Cast it upon the
ground. And he cast it on the ground and it became a serpent,
and Moses fled therefrom. And the Lord said to Moses, Stretch
forth thy hand, and lay hold of his tail. And he stretched
forth his hand, and laid hold of his tail, and he became a rod
in his hand. And He saith, Let this be a sign to thee, that
they shall believe that the Lord God of their fathers hath
appeared unto thee, God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God
of Jacob.

Mark then in these <words> the Son from God in nature,
and truly, as some rod of the Father, for the rod is an emblem
of kingship. For together with the son hath he authority
Ps. xlv. 6 over all, which the divine David saith, *Thy throne, O God, is*
for ever and ever, a rod of equity, a rod of thy kingship. But
he cast it on the ground, that is, he clothed it in an earthly

body, for he sent him upon the earth through the becoming man; for then, verily, did he become like unto our wickednesses, it is clear that of wickedness the serpent is emblem.

And that what I have said is true, thou wilt be instructed from this. For our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as image and figure of the economy in the flesh, accepteth the brazen serpent, which Moses lifted up, in order to undo the serpents' bites. For he says, *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so* Jo. iii. 1-
must be lifted up the Son of Man, that everyone who believes in 15
Him may not perish but receive life eternal. For as the serpent made of brass was the cause of salvation to those in peril, for they were saved who looked on it, so also our Lord Jesus Christ to those who see him in the likeness of bad men, so far forth as he was made man, yet are not ignorant that he is God quickening, <will> be the producer of life, and able to become a refuge, I say from bitter and venomous beasts, from opposing powers.

And this is therefore a figure, that Moses' rod ate up the rods of the others, which the wizards cast down on the ground. Accordingly, the rod was cast down on the earth, yet it did not remain a serpent, for lifted up it became again just what it was. For if, as I have said, there was in likeness as we, the rod of the Father, that is the Son, by whom he rules the universe, yet having fulfilled well the economy, he was lifted up into heaven; and became afresh in the Father's hand as it were *a rod of equity* and of kingship. For he sat down on the right hand of the Begetter, and was made in his own transcendency, possessing the supreme throne even with flesh.

Another. § 16

The Lord God said again to him, Put thine hand into thy Ex. iv. 6-
bosom, and he put his hand into his bosom, and took forth his 7
hand out of his bosom and his hand became as snow. And he said again, Put thine hand into thy bosom, and he put his hand into his bosom, and brought it forth out of his bosom, and it was turned again to the colour of his flesh.

The hand, and the right hand of God and Father, him that is of the same by nature, divine Scripture names the Son. It introduced him for certain, saying: *I by mine hand founded* Isa. xlviii.
13

Ps. xxxiii. 6 *the heaven.* Which also the blessed David saith, *By the word of the Lord the heavens were established.* See then that in Moses' bosom being hidden his hand had not yet suffered leprosy; being brought forth it was forthwith made leprous. And again being put in however and thence issuing forth, it no longer appeared leprous. *For it was turned,* he says, *forthwith to the colour of his flesh.* Therefore as long as was in the bosom of the Father the word from the same,[1] he with the Godhead's purity appeared beauteous. But when [2] he was made as it were outside, as touching the incarnation I mean,
Rom. viii. 3 that is the becoming man, he was even made *in the likeness of*
Isa. liii. 12 *the flesh of sin* and *was numbered among the iniquitous.*[3]
2 Cor. v. 21 Which the blessed Paul said,—*Him who knew not sin, he made sin for us, that we might be made Righteousness of God through him.* This I think is shown by the leprosy. For the leper was unclean according to the law. But since he again became in the bosom of the Father, for he was taken up after the resurrection from the dead, the hand issuing forth again will appear pure. For there shall come verily in due season our Lord Jesus Christ in the Godhead's glory and purity, though retaining the existence as we without laying it aside. Saith therefore also the blessed Paul about Christ,
Heb. ix. 28 *that once for all he died for taking away of the sins of many, and a second time he shall be manifested without sin unto them that look unto him for salvation.* Consequently whenever holy writ names Christ Jesus, let him not be conceived of as man by himself, not united in very truth with the word; but let us rather thus hold him fast, that Jesus Christ who became man is very 'Word from God the Father.'

§ 17 That Christ was not a God-clad man, and that in a man there dwelled not the Word God, but rather that he was made flesh, that is perfect man, according to Scripture.

Those who have faith in Christ undefiled, and by not a few testified unto correctness, say that the Word himself who is from God the Father, descended into emptiness, taking a servant's form, and making his own a body born of the Virgin Mary, was made as we, appeared also a son of man. He is

[1] *om* from the same 1. [2] When 1; since *cet.*
[3] iniquitous] *lit.* the unlike.

also God according to the Spirit, but according to the flesh
the selfsame is man. As also the divine Paul called out to
the people of the Jews, saying, *Manifoldly and in many ways* Heb. i. 1,
spake to our fathers through the prophets, but in the close of the
days spake with us through the Son. And how shall God and
Father be understood *to have spoken in the close of the days*
through the Son? For he spoke to them of old the law
through him. This even the Son himself says, that his are
the words which <were> through the wise Moses. For he says,
Think not that I came to undo the law or the prophets. I Mt. v. 17
came not to undo, but to fulfil. But I say unto you, not one 18
jot, which is a sign-point, shall pass away from law and
prophets, until all shall come to be. Heaven and earth shall Mt. xxiv.
pass away, but my words shall not pass. 35

And besides this by the voice of the prophets, *I that speak* Isa. lii. 6
am at hand. Consequently when he was made in flesh, then LXX
spake the father to us through him, as saith blessed Paul, *in*
the end of these days. But lest we should be unbelieving that
he himself it is who even before all the ages is Son, he added
immediately, *Through whom he made also the aeons, effulgence* Heb. i. 2,
of glory and image limning forth his essence, the Father's, he
declares him to be.

Man he was made truly, through whom God and Father
made the aeons; and not as some opine, was he made in a
man, so that by us he be conceived of as a man having God
dwelling in matter. For if they say here that this is so, and
believe it, then truly will the blessed evangelist John appear
superfluous saying that *the Word was made flesh.* For what Jo. i. 14
need is there of the Word from God being made man and
being said to be made flesh, unless *he was made flesh* signifies
the being made as we; and the force of the being made flesh
proves him to have been made man as we, remaining also
above us, nay more, above all creatures.

And it is due, as I think, to bring forward examples from sound reflection of what I have said, and to carry conviction that the only-begotten was made man and is God even with flesh, and <was> not dwelling in man, rendering him God-clad, like others who were made partakers of his Godhead.

§ 18 **Thoughts.**

2 Cor. vi. 16 God says somewhere of us, *I will dwell in them and walk in them and I will be to them a God and they shall be to Me a people.* Rev. iii. 20 And our Lord Jesus Christ Himself too saith, *Lo I will come and if any man open to Me we will enter* BOTH I AND THE FATHER AND *we will make our abode in him.* We are also called temple of God, for we (he says) *are the Temple of the Living God,* 1 Cor. vi. 19 and again *Know ye not that your bodies are a Temple of the Holy Ghost Which is in you Which ye have of God?* But if they say thus that He is Emmanuel, as each one of us has had God indwelling in him, let them confess it openly, that when they see Him worshipped by us and by the Angels, in Heaven and upon earth, they may blush as thinking otherwise, and ignorant of the drift of the holy Scriptures, cf. 1 Tim. vi. 3 but also not having in them the faith which they *delivered to us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word.* S. Luke i. 2

But if they say: He is therefore God and glorified as God because the word begotten of God the Father merely dwelt in Him, and not because He was made Man, let them hear oppositely from us, If to them who have God indwelling in them, it suffices that they become truly gods and be adored by all, all will be gods and to be adored, for he dwelleth also in the holy Angels, and we have Him dwelling in ourselves too, through the Spirit; but it is not right to say that on this account they are gods and to be adored who have Him in them. Not therefore for this is Emmanuel God and to be worshipped because the Word of God dwelt in Him as in a common man, and in one considered as we and by himself and existing apart and in part, but because He was made flesh, *i.e.* Man, for He remained therefore God and one to be worshipped.

§ 19 ***Apostolic sayings wherein Christ is called God.***

Eph. iii. 5 Speaking of the Christward Mystery, he says, *Which of other races was not made known unto the sons of men, as it* Col. i. 26—28 *had now been revealed unto His saints, unto whom God willed to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles which is Christ in you the hope of glory,*

Whom WE *preach.* If therefore He is God-clad and not truly God, how is He *the riches of the glory of the Mystery* which is told to *the Gentiles?* or how is God at all proclaimed?

Another. § 20

For I would that ye knew what conflict I have for you and Col. ii.
for them at Laodicea and as many as have not seen my face 1, 2
in the flesh, that their hearts might be comforted, being instructed in love and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding to the acknowledgement of the Mystery of God of Jesus Christ.[1] Lo he calls *the Mystery of God* the Mystery *of Christ* and wishes to assure certain *in understanding unto the acknowledgement* of it. Of what understanding therefore was there need to those who would learn the Mystery of Christ, if they were about to hear that God dwelt in a man? But there is need of exceeding understanding to know Emmanuel, that the Word being God was made Man.

Another. § 21

For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in 1 Thess.
Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith to Godward i. 8
is reported. Lo again he states that their faith was Godward,
of which Christ saith, *He that believeth in Me receiveth ever-* S. John
lasting Life: and *the word of the Lord* he calls the preaching vi. 47
of Him.

Another. § 22

For yourselves know our entrance in unto you, that it was 1 Thess.
not in vain,[2] *but after that we had suffered mang things before* ii. 1, 2
and been reviled as ye know in Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God. Lo speaking *in God,* he made mention of *the Gospel of God,* that he preaches Christ to the Gentiles.

Another. § 23

Call to mind brethren our labour, working day and night Ib. 9
that We might not be burdensome to any of you, we preached the
Gospel of God among you: and again, *For this cause I thank* 1 Thess.
ii. 13

[1] Of God and Christ, 1.
[2] The Arm has 'according to any one thing' instead of 'in vain.'

God without ceasing, because when ye received from us the word of hearing of God ye received it not as the word of men but as it is in truth the Word of God which worketh in you which have believed. Does he not plainly call the preaching about Christ *the Gospel of God* and *word of God*? How is that not plain to all?

§ 24 Another.

Tit. ii. 11–13 *For the grace of God saving hath appeared to all men, teaching us to deny ungodliness and wordly lusts that we should live soberly and uprightly and piously in this world, and await the blessed hope and manifesting of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Lo our Lord JESUS CHRIST is most positively called *God* and *Great*: for He it is Whose manifesting of glory we *await*, being diligent by means of upright life and unblameable. But if he be a God-clad man, how is He also *great God*? or how is the *hope* in Him a *blessed* one? if so be that the Prophet Jeremiah is true in saying,
Jer. xvii. 5 *Cursed he that putteth his trust in man.* For neither God did he anywhere name him (as I said before) to them that teach him God-clad. And what hinders that all others be gods and to be worshipped who had God in them? But blessed Paul calls Christ *God Great and that hath a blessed manifesting*, he who is found saying of the Jews, and of Emmanuel, *Whose*
Rom. ix. 4, 5 are *the fathers and the covenant and the promises, of whom as concerning the flesh*, CHRIST *Who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen.*

But that by Divine revelation he did make his preaching,
Gal. ii. 1, 2 will be clear in that himself saith, *Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas and took Titus with me also; but I went up by revelation and set forth to them the Gospel which I preached privately to them who seemed to be somewhat, lest haply I had run in vain or should run.* Preaching <Him> to the Gentiles as God, every where calling the Mystery about him Divine. He *went up to Jerusalem by revelation and communicated with them who seemed to be somewhat, i.e.* with the holy Apostles, *lest perchance* he *should run in vain or had run.* When he had gone down from Jerusalem and was again back among the multitude of the Gentiles, did he then correct ought of his former <teaching>?

And did they not persevere in confessing that Christ is God? as indeed he writes to certain, *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him who called you, unto another gospel which is not another, save there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ:* and he says again, *But though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any gospel unto you more than ye have received, let him be anathema.* And leaving all others that had God indwelling them, he preached Jesus Alone as God? Gal. i. 6, 7 Ib. 8

Another. § 25

It is written of Christ, *When He was at Jerusalem in the feast day, many believed in His Name, when they saw the signs which He was doing, but Jesus Himself trusted not Himself to them, because He knew all men and because He needed not that any one should bear witness of him, for Himself knew what was in man.* If He were a God-clad man, how were not the many deceived who at Jerusalem believed on His Name? Why did He Alone know the things which are in man when none else knoweth them? for God alone is said to have *fashioned* our *hearts.* Or why doth He Alone forgive sins? for He saith, *That the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins.* Why is He Alone apart from others the Co-sessor of God and Father? why do the Angels worship Him Alone, and did He teach us to deem as our common Father Him who is in Heaven, for His alone was he? S. John ii. 23–25 Ps. xxxiii. 15 S. Matt. ix. 6

But you will say that words of this sort are to be attributed to the indwelling Word. And how ought He not according to the measure beseeming Prophets, Himself too to have said, *Thus saith the Lord*? But when He would ordain the things that are above <the Law>, putting on Himself dignity of a Legislator, He used to say, *I say to you.*

How says He that He is free, and whatsoever was due to God? It is because He is Son in truth. And how if He was a God-clad man, was He free by Nature? For the Godhead alone is free and under authority of none? for he not only takes to himself the praise of all, but received as it were by way of debt religious service. And if Christ is the end of the Law and the Prophets, yet is a God-clad man, how is it not true to say that the end of the prophetic preachings has brought upon us the depravity of man-worship? cf. S. Matt. xvii. 26

S. Matt. iv. 10 from Deut. vi. 13

Again, the Law set forth, *Thou shalt worship the Lord Thy God and Him only shalt thou serve.* And it led us unto Christ, as unto a knowledge transcending theirs who were before in the shadow: Shall we therefore, repudiating the worshipping of God, worship matter which has God in it? for where were it best to conceive him, tell me? in heaven or in a man? in Seraphim or in earthly body?

Heb. ii. 14

If He were God-clad man, how by nearness partook He with us in flesh and blood? If the indwelling sufficed for participation of nearness with us in the same things, and if His so participating was the being made man: He indwelt in many of the saints too: He was therefore not once, but full

Ib. ix. 26

often, made man. And how is He said *once in the end of the world* to have *appeared for putting away of sin by the sacrifice of Himself?* how do the Divine Scriptures preach to us one Coming of the Word?

§ 26

If He[1] were a God-clad man, He (it seems) was made the Temple of God, and how is Christ in us also? as a Temple in temples? or rather as God in the temples through the Spirit? If he were a God-clad man, how is His Body alone Life-giving? for such should have been the bodies of others also, wherein indwelt the God of all things.

Heb. x. 28, 29

And the Divine Paul wrote somewhere, *He that despised Moses' Law died without any mercy at the hands of two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, that he is worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God and hath deemed polluted the Blood of the new Covenant?* Yet Divine

Ib. ii. 2. cf. Gal. iii. 19, Acts vii. 53

were the Commandments, the Law spoken through Angels: how then will he be *thought worthy of sorer punishment* who hath *deemed polluted the Blood of* Christ? or how is the faith Christ-ward higher than the cult of the Law? But (as I have said) Christ is not as one of the saints, a God-clad man, but God in truth and He possesses glory in surpassing excellence, because, being God by Nature, the Word of God was made flesh, *i.e.* perfect man; for we believe that the Body which was united to Him is endowed with reason and ensouled, and wholly true is the union.

[1] The Syriac supplies the fresh section-number 26 here: the Armenian and Latin give no break.

How[1] we must understand *The Word was made Flesh and dwelt in us.* § 27

The blessed Paul affirms that the Only-Begotten Word of
God took hold of Abraham's seed, and also that through near- Heb. ii.
ness He partook with us of flesh and blood. We remember 16. Ib. 14.
too the word of John, for he says, *And the Word was made* S. John i
Flesh and dwelt in us. Was it therefore the aim of these 14
men, being spiritual, to teach this, that the Word of God was capable of change, to undergo the mutation which belongs rather to the creature? so that that too which He was not, He should haply become, or by His own suggestion be brought thereto, that is, be driven from what before seemed to Him good into an alteration of nature. God forbid: for He remains Himself, not admitting into His Nature change, unknowing to
suffer *a shadow of turning:* for That Supreme and Heavenly S. James
Nature is ever fixed in what it was. i. 17

How the Word has been made Flesh it is needful to see. First then the Divine Scripture full often calls man flesh and as it were taking from a part makes declaration of the whole animal, and does the same sometimes no less from the soul alone, for
it is written that *all flesh shall see the salvation of God,* as S. Luke
moreover the Divine Paul saith, *I conferred not with flesh and* iii. 6. Gal. i. 16
blood, and the hierophant Moses calls out to Israel, *Thy fathers* Deut. x.
went down into Egypt seventy and five souls. And one would 22
not therefore say that bare and fleshless souls made their descent into Egypt, nor again that to soulless bodies God gave bounteously of His salvation.

As often therefore as we hear that the Word was made into Flesh, let us conceive of man out of soul and body. But the Word being God was made perfect man taking a body endowed with soul and mind, and having united this to Himself in truth, in what manner he himself knows (for speculations of this kind are utterly unattainable by our mind), was called son of man. Yet if one must say somewhat, looking as in a mirror, the human mind indicates that the Word was united to the Body having a reasonable soul, much as is the soul of man too to its own body, which is of other nature than it, obtaining thus participation and union with it, so as to appear not to be other than it, in that by composition

[1] Codex 3 numbers this chapter as 26, codex 4 as 21.

one living thing is effected out of both, it nevertheless remaining (as I mentioned before) in its own nature. Hence we say that not by mutation or change has the Word of God been made <Man>, nor yet that It was diminished in any way of being God; but that taking flesh of a woman and united to it from the womb, He proceeded forth man, the Same being Man and God; for not as casting away the Ineffable Generation out of God the Father, did He endure that of a woman, inviting a beginning so to say of being, but rather permitted to His own Flesh to be called into being in accord with the law of its own nature, in regard I mean to the mode of its birth: nevertheless the human nature hath in Him something special, for he was born of a Virgin and hath Alone a mother incognizant of marriage. And he says that *made Flesh* He also *tabernacled in us*, that through both He might shew that He was made man and let not go His own, for He hath remained whatever He was.

And tabernacling in us He is full surely conceived[1] of as one thing in another, to wit, the Divine nature even in the human, not undergoing confusion or any commingling or passing into what it was not. For that which is said to indwell in another, becomes not that which it is wherein it dwells; but is conceived of rather as one thing in another. But in respect of the Nature of the Word and of the Manhood, it herein indicates to us only the difference of diversity. For one Christ is conceived of out of both. Preserving well therefore (as I said before) the inconfusion, he says that *the Word tabernacled in us.* For he knows that the Only-Begotten Incarnate and made Man is One Son.

But see (I pray) that the Divine Evangelist is wisely minded to crown the whole nature of men, for he said that the Word *dwelt in us,* not saying that the Incarnation of the Word took place for any other reason (as seems to me) save that WE too, enriched by the participation of Himself through the Holy Ghost might gain the benefit of adoption. Therefore we believe that in Christ took place an union consummate and true: but even though He be said to dwell in us, Himself will make His indwelling in His body not by relation.[2] *For*

[1] Reading imani with 1: i marmni ceteri.

[2] σχετικήν, the Greek word σχέσει is rendered in the Armenian translation.

in Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, i.e. not by participance or relation only, as in us simply, as when light shineth in or fire infuseth into contiguous things its innate heat, but (so to say) that Very Divine and deathless Nature is to be understood as that which is making for Itself a dwelling by means of a true (as I said before) Union of the Temple which is out of the Virgin: for thus CHRIST JESUS both is and is conceived of as One.[1] Col. ii.

And that our speech is overcome in its utmost possible expression, I will not deny; but the Mystery of Christ will not in justice be by reason of that incredible, but let it be deservedly more marvellous: for the more it overpasses all mind and speech, the more must it be put beyond all marvel.

But we do not at all say that the Word made Flesh, *i.e.* Perfect man, is comprehended by the weight of the body (for to think that were most silly), for we believe that thus too It fills (as It is wont) Heaven and earth and the things yet lower: for all-sufficing is the Godhead and all things are little to Him.[2] But how is He wholly both in each and in all, is hard to say and to understand not easy, yea rather is wholly impossible.

But there hath been given Him this too (as I suppose) that He is without Body and admits not of division in Himself; yet is the Body called by us the own of the Word, not in the same way as laughing is proper to a man or neighing to a horse, but because it was made His by true union, to possess and accomplish the uses thereof as an instrument unto whatever was its nature to work, save only what belongs to sin.

Yea and if God being the Word be haply said to have been sent, let not any one of you be terrified, thinking, Whither shall the Unembodied advance? For whither shall He be borne who fills all things? but it is rather to be known that the mode of mission is of another kind: not by change from place to place of the sent, but assuming the priestly ministry, which we say was also given to the holy disciples by Christ the Saviour of all. As the Divine Paul too, says of Christ, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, look unto the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ.* Heb. iii. 1

[1] As One] *lit.* uniquely.
[2] So codex 1: all great things are even little to him *cet.*

Note how when he shews Him ministering as priest in human wise, albeit He is by nature God, then does he also attribute to Him the office of the Apostolate: but it is nought unreasonable (as I said) if the Word be said to be sent by God the Father, for it is to be confessed that He fills all things and from no one of beings is He far away: but WE interpreting things Divine by human words, are wont to understand economies of the Immortal Nature by bodily outlines.

Again though the Holy Ghost fills all things, the blessed
Gal. iv. 6 Paul writes, *And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father:* the Saviour
S. John xvi. 7 Himself too saith somewhere, *It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but when I depart I will send Him to you.* We must therefore from all turn away and run unto reverend and sure knowledge, for so doing shall we profit ourselves.

§ 28 How then the holy Virgin Mariam is conceived of as Mother of God.

The Word out of God the Father was begotten in ineffable way (for beyond all understanding is His Generation, and as befits the Unembodied Nature): yet is That which is begotten conceived of as the Own Offspring of the begetter and Consubstantial with Him, therefore is It called also Son: the Name indicating to us the naturalness as it were even of throes and Parturition. And since the Father is ever living and close at hand, it must needs be entirely that He on account of Whom He is Father co-exist and have co-Being Eternally with Him. *The Word* therefore *was in the beginning and was God and was with God* (as saith the wise Evangelist), but in the last times of the world *for us men and for our salvation was made flesh and was made Man:* and he lessened not at all aught what He was, but having His own Nature unchanged and existing ever in the excellences of Godhead, was humbled for us economically unto emptiness, and not despising the poverty that befits human measures. For
2 Cor. viii. 9 being *Rich He became poor for our sake* (as it is written), that we *by His poverty might become rich.* He was made therefore Man and is said to have endured the Generation after the flesh which is from a woman, because of His taking of the holy Virgin the Body that was united to Him of a truth:

whence we say that the holy Virgin is Mother of God, as having borne Him in human wise, that is after the flesh, albeit that He had His Generation before the ages out of the Father.

And this, that some suppose that the Word was then called to a beginning of being when He became Man, is utterly impious and exceeding discordant. For the Saviour Himself pronounces against them to be unwise, saying in
regard to Himself, *Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was* S. John
I *am*: and how was He before Abraham Who was born after viii. 58
the flesh many ages after him? The Divine John too, I
deem, suffices to convict them saying, *This is He of Whom* Ib. i. 3C
I *said, After me cometh*[1] *a Man Who was made before me, for He was before me.*

Leaving therefore as exceeding foolish to contend about what is superfluous, come let us rather go on to what we say is profitable. Let not some be troubled, when they hearing the holy Virgin called Mother of God, nor let them fill their souls with Jewish unbelief, yea rather with Gentile impiety.
For the Jews attacked Christ saying, *For a good work we stone* Ib. x. 3
Thee not but for blasphemy because THOU, *being a Man, makest Thyself God:* but the children of the Greeks, hearing that God hath been born of a woman, mocked at the doctrines of the Church.

But they shall eat the fruit of their own impiety, and
shall hear of us, *The fool will utter folly and his heart imagine* Isa. xxx
vain things. But the plan of our Mystery, albeit *to the Jews* 6 1 Cor. i
it be an offence, to the Gentiles folly, yet to us who know it, 23
verily admirable salvation is it, and far removed from the being to be disbelieved. For if there were any whatever who should dare to say that this flesh made of earth had become mother of the bare Godhead, and that there was born out of her the Nature which is over the whole creation, the thing would be madness and nothing else: for not of earth has the Divine Nature been made, nor indeed could that which is subject to corruption become the root of incorruption, nor that which is subject to death bear the Life of all things, nor yet the Unembodied be the fruit of the sensible body, that which is subject to becoming [bear] that which is superior to becom-

[1] Reading *ga.or* with 1 for *wayr* of 34.

ing, that which hath its beginning in time, that which is without beginning.

But since we affirm that the Word of God became as we and took a body like to our bodies, and united this of a truth unto Himself, in a way namely beyond understanding and speech, and that He was thus too made Man and born after the flesh, what is there absurd therein or worthy of disbelief? albeit the human soul (as we have already full often said) being of other nature than the body, is yet generated with it, just as we say that it too has been united therewith. Yet will no one (I deem) erroneously suppose that the soul has the nature of the body as the beginning of its own existence, but God inplaces it ineffably in the body and it is born along with it; yet do we define as out of both the animal, *i.e.* man. Therefore the Word was God but was made Man too; and since He has been born after the flesh by reason of the human nature, she who bare Him is necessarily Mother of God. For if she have not borne God, let not Him who is born of her be called God; but if the God-inspired Scriptures call Him God, and God Incarnate and made Flesh, and it was not possible in any other way to be Incarnate, save through birth of a woman, how is she not Mother of God, who bare Him?

But that He is truly God Who was born, we shall know from the God-inspired Scripture too.

§ 29 Testimony about Christ.

Isa. vii. 14 *Behold a Virgin shall conceive in the womb and bear a Son and they shall call His Name Emmanuel.* How then (tell me) is that which is born of the holy Virgin called Emmanuel? Emmanuel (as I already said) signifying, that the Word out of God which is in truth God was made by reason of the Flesh in nature as we. But he is Emmanuel, for He emptied himself, having undergone a generation like to ours, and so was made with us. Hence He is God in flesh and she truly Mother of God, who bare Him carnally or after the flesh.

§ 30 Another.

Ib. ix. 5, 6, LXX. *But they were willing if they should have been burnt with fire; for a boy has been born to us, and a son given unto us,*

whose rule is upon His Shoulder and His Name is called The Messenger of the Great Counsel. Hearest thou that He is called a Boy because He underwent a Birth like us? But this Boy by star appeared whom did the sky point out, did the Magi worship coming from the uttermost limits of the earth, did the Angels bear good tidings of to the Shepherds saying that a *Saviour* was *born*, him naming *Peace* and the *Good will* S. Luke ii. 11
of the Father and *the Messenger of the Great Counsel:* for He Ib. 14
made known to us the Good-will of the Father, Who in Him was pleased to save them that are under heaven, and through Him and in Him to reconcile the world unto Himself: for being reconciled to Christ, we are reconciled to God: for God is He truly, with God and Father. Who therefore is *the Counsel* of the Father Whose *Messenger* He has been to us? Himself will teach saying, *For so God loved the world that He* S. John
gave His Only-Begotten Son, that every one that believeth in iii. 16
Him should not perish but should receive everlasting life. The Only-Begotten Son then is He Who was born of the holy Virgin, for the Word Himself was made Man, and God made flesh, and thus appeared to those on earth. As finally He says, *He that believeth on Me receiveth everlasting life.* And Ib. vi.
that through Him and in Him we believe on the Father, He hath set forth saying, *He that believeth on Me, believeth not on* Ib. xii.
Me, but on Him That sent Me. 44, 45

Another. § 3

Hear Me, ye isles, and attend ye nations: after long time Isa. xli
shall He be established, saying, The Lord from the womb of My 1
mother called My Name. The Word being God, was not ignorant that He should undergo the birth from a woman Incarnate for our sakes: and He knew that He shall be called Christ Jesus, God the Father afore proclaiming unto all that are under heaven, the *New Name* of His Son *which is blessed* Isa. lxv
upon the earth. And note how He mentions His own Mother 15, 16, LXX.
who bare His Body. Hence if He knows that He is Very God, she who bare Him after the Flesh shall be called Mother of God, and rightly so: but if He be not God, and some daringly, yea rather indecently will so think: let them deprive the holy Virgin herself of the being Mother of God.

§ 32 That the Only-Begotten is called God even when appearing as Man.

2 Chron. vi. 17, 18 Solomon praying says, *And now, O Lord God of Israel, let Thy word be credible which Thou spakest unto Thy servant David: shall God in very deed dwell with men on earth?* Observe that he marvels at the Incarnation of the Word, for the thing seemed incredible: for then did God dwell with men upon the earth when He was made Man. Else how is it wonderful or how worthy of marvel, that God was not cast down from his own creatures embracing them that is, and holding together in being the things which had been already made, bringing into being those which have not been yet made? But verily it is a miracle and marvel that the God of all things made Man dwelled on earth with men, according to the promises given to the Divine David. For it is written
Ps. cxxxii. 11 *The Lord sware unto David truly and was not false to him, And what swore he? Of the fruit of thy belly shall I set upon thy seat.* But he, albeit he believed that the Almighty God would never falsify His Promise, yet was careful to search out
Ps. cxxxii. 3—5 the place itself of the Birth and indeed says, *If I go up upon my bed, if I give sleep to mine eyes or slumber to mine eyelids or rest to my temples, until I find a place of the tabernacle for the Lord, for the God of Jacob.* Then after that, when he had been informed through the Spirit, and knew the place of the Birth after the flesh of the Only-Begotten, then did he
Ib. 6 preach it and say, *Lo we heard of it at Ephratah,* that is, in Bethlehem, *we found it in the fields of the wood.* And that in saying *Ephratah,* he means Bethlehem, the Prophet will
Mic. v. 2 prove saying, *And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratah.* But note how that Him, Whom he believed from heaven to have been born as we in Ephratah, he names *the God of Jacob,* Whose dwelling was in the Tabernacle: for there did the holy Virgin bear Jesus.

And elsewhere does he name Him the God of Abraham,
Ps. xlvii. 9 saying, *The princes of the people are gathered together unto the God of Abraham.* For, instructed in the knowledge of things to come, did he see with the eyes of his mind alone and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, *the princes of the people, i.e.* the holy Angels standing around our Lord Jesus Christ.

Seeing therefore that He is named *God of Abraham and God of Jacob*, Who is born of a woman, why is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

Another. § 3

The Prophet Habaccuc says, *O Lord, I have heard Thy hear-* Hab. iii
ing and feared, <I have thought on Thy works and shuddered.> 2, 3
In the midst of the two living creatures shalt Thou be revealed, in the coming near of the time shalt Thou be shewn, while my soul was troubled shalt Thou in anger remember mercy. God shall come from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. How *shall He be known in the midst of the two living creatures?* for when He had been born of a woman and had
lived even unto the time of the Precious Cross, *by the grace of* Heb. ii.
God (as saith blessed Paul) did He by His body *taste death for every man.* But since he was by Nature God, He rose again unto everlasting life. He therefore was made *known*, Who for us endured the Precious Cross, *in the midst of the two living creatures.* And Himself says somewhere to the Jews,
When ye have lifted up the son of man, then shall ye know S. John
that I *am.* But how, calling Him also God, does he prophecy viii. 28
that He *shall come from Teman* and *from mount Paran?* And Teman is interpreted South: for Christ was manifested from the south, not from northern regions, but from the southern Judæa, wherein Bethlehem is.

Since therefore He who has been named Lord and God, cometh out of the southern Judea, for He was born in Bethlehem, how is not the holy Virgin Mother of God?

Another. § 3

In Genesis it is written, *And Jacob was left alone, and* Gen.
there wrestled with him a Man until the morning: but he xxxii. 24-26
saw that he could not prevail against him and he took hold of the flat of his thigh as he was wrestling with him and said to him Let me go for it is morning. But he said, I do not let thee go except thou bless me. And after a little he says, *He*
blessed him there: and he called the name of that place, vision Ib. 29-
of God: for I saw (he said) *God face to face and my soul is preserved. And the sun shot forth on him when he passed the vision of God: and he halted on his thigh.* Mystic is the

sense of that which is written, for it appears to signify that similar is the wrestling of the Jews which they used in regard to Christ, wrestling with Him, nevertheless they were overcome, for they were themselves to win a Blessing from Him, if through faith they effect conversion to Him at the last times. But note this, it was a man who was wrestling, and Jacob calls him vision of God: nor that alone, for he knew
Heb. i. 3 that He is God in truth. *For I have seen* (he said) *God face to face and my soul is preserved.* For Emmanuel is by Nature God, yet is He called also *The Face of God:* for He is the *Image* of the Father's *Essence:* thus did He call Himself to
S. John v. 37, 38 the Jews, saying respecting God the Father, *Nor have ye seen His vision and ye have not His Word abiding in you for Whom He sent Him ye believe not.*

But that Very God is that Man Who was wrestling with
Gen. xxxv. 1 Jacob, holy Writ will give proof, for it says, *And the Lord said unto Jacob, Arise, pass on to Bethel and dwell there, and make there an Altar to God that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.* For returning from Mesopotamia and being then in fear of Esau Jacob
Ib. xxxii. 24 passed over his children and all his goods, *and he was left alone and there wrestled a man with him.*

§ 35

Another.

Dan. vii. 13, 14 Blessed Daniel setting forth to us a dread vision says, *I was seeing in a night vision, and lo with the clouds of Heaven came as it were the Son of Man and attained even unto the Ancient of Days and was brought into His Presence and there was given Him dominion and honour and a kingdom, and all peoples, nations, and tongues shall serve Him: His Power a Power for ever which shall not pass, and His Kingdom shall not be destroyed.* Hearest thou how He does not mention that he had seen simply a man, lest we conceive Emmanuel to be one of those like as we,[1] but *as it were the Son of Man?*
Phil. ii. 7, 8 For the Word being by Nature God *was made in the likeness of men* and was *found in fashion as a Man,* in order that in the Same might Both be conceived of as existing, neither bare man nor yet the Word apart from manhood and fleshless.

[1] one . . . we] as one of us 1.

Yet does he tell that to him was given[1] the princedom and honour and kingship: for he says that *all peoples and families and languages shall serve Him.* Since therefore even being in the human nature which is as we the Only-Begotten Word of God hath the creature serving Him and the Princedom of His Father as his own, and the holy Virgin bare Him after the flesh: how then shall not the holy Virgin be conceived of as Mother of God?

Of the Passion of Christ, and that it is profitable that we speak in one manner and another of One and the Same, nor do we divide Christ asunder. § 3(

Blessed Paul sets forth to us the Saving Passion, for he saith, *By the Grace of God for us all tasted He death,* and also, Heb. ii.
He delivered to us in the first place that which he received, 1 Cor. :
that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures and 3, 4
that He was buried and that He rose again the third day: moreover the most wise Peter also saith, *Christ suffered for us* 1 S. Pe
in the Flesh. Seeing therefore we believe that One is our iv. 1
Lord Jesus Christ, *i.e.* GOD's only-begotten WORD manifest in human form or made man as we, in what manner then can we attribute Passion to Him and still hold Him impassible, as God?

The Passion therefore will be after the Economy, the Word esteeming as His own and taking to himself the things which pertain to His own Flesh, by reason of the Ineffable Union, and remaining unsuffering in His own Nature, for God is Impassible. And no wonder, since we see that the soul itself of a man, although its body suffer somewhat, in no way suffers in its own nature, yet is it not conceived of as external to the suffering, in that what suffers is its very own: and albeit in nature it be impalpable and immaterial, yet is that which suffers not foreign to it. Thus will you understand in regard to Christ too the Saviour of all.

But I will apply myself to examples by way of figure, that the Only-Begotten shared with us in suffering as having received into His intimacy the dust-formed Body, yet remained free, unsusceptible to suffering in His own Nature as God. The God of all then was bidding the most wise Moses to work miracles, that Israel may believe thee as having been sent

[1] given] *add* καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντι καὶ ἐπιφανηθέντι Arm (with Syriac. Lat. om).

from God, and that they should be set free from the hands[1] of the oppressors. And he says thus, *And thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land, and the water which thou shalt take from the river, shall be blood upon the dry land.* But we say that the water is an image of life, and that the Son proceeding out of the Father as out of a river, by reason of being of the Same Essence, is by Nature Life, and therefore quickens all things. But when (He says) thou shalt have poured it forth, *it shall be blood upon the dry earth.* Hence, when He was made flesh, *i.e.* when He girt Himself with flesh from the earth, then is He said to have suffered death in it like to our death, albeit He is by Nature Life.

Exod. iv. 9

Now in Leviticus the Law intimated that the leper is polluted and impure, nay, more, it bade that he should be put forth of the camp, and shewed how his disease should be cleansed. *They shall take, it says, for him that is cleansed two live birds and cedar wood and scarlet woven and hyssop, and the priest shall command and they shall kill one bird in an earthen vessel over living water, and the living bird shall he take and shall bathe it in the blood of the bird that was killed over the living water and he shall sprinkle upon him who is cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and he shall be clean.* Us then there rendereth clean and washeth away the soils of our uncleanness and driveth off the mortality of fleshly desire the Precious Blood of Christ and the purification through holy Baptism. But note this (for letting alone subtilty we will for the present make mention of what the force of the Scripture advanced has useful to the mystery): he compares Christ to two birds, not as though there were two sons, but as one out of two, the Godhead and the manhood, come together into union. And the birds are clean, for our Lord Jesus Christ did no sin, but the Word is holy, in Godhead and in Manhood: It, however, likens Him to flying things, by reason of His being high above the earth and from above, for Christ is *the Man out of Heaven,* albeit the holy Virgin bare His Flesh. How then is He from above, out of Heaven? For God the Word from above and out of the Father, taking flesh from the holy Virgin and declaring it His own, as though

Lev. xiv. 4-7

1 Cor. xv. 47

[1] *om* the hands of, 2, 3.

having brought it down from above and out of Heaven, said, *None hath ascended up into Heaven, save He That came down from Heaven, the Son of Man:* for He ever attaches to His own Flesh that which is His own, and once united to it is accounted one with it. S. John iii. 13

Yet see, when the one bird is slain, the other is dipped in his blood, yet not slain. And what is this? For the Word was alive, even while His Flesh died, and He was participant in the Passion, through ownness and union with it. Therefore the self Same is living, as God, but like as He made His body His own, so did He receive into Himself in all ownness the sufferings too of His Body, Himself suffering nought in His own Nature. It is therefore helpful and necessary unto profit that in regard to Christ there be by us received the *after one manner and another;* arranged in respect of one and the same person, it would not permit Him to be severed into two, albeit the things done be said to be, it may be, in no ways harmonising with one another.

As how shall I say? We say that the only-begotten, God the Word is born out of a woman after the flesh, albeit Himself has given to the not-beings to be, and called into becoming the things which are not yet at all. How then doth the Same both undergo birth and call into being. After one manner and another. For He was born, so far forth as He is conceived[1] of as Man like us, and He calleth into being the things that are not, in so far as He is God by Nature; it is written of Him, *The Little one waxed and grew strong, filled with wisdom and grace,* albeit He is by Nature all-Perfect as God, and *out of His own Fulness* imparteth spiritual gifts to the saints, and is Himself Wisdom and the Giver of grace. How then waxeth the Little one and is *filled with wisdom and grace?* After one manner and another. For the self Same, as Man alike and God, makes His own the human, by reason of the union, and is all-Perfect and Giver of wisdom and grace as God, And He was First-born and Only-Begotten, but if one should wish to examine the force of the words, the First-born will of course be He Who is First-born of many brethren, but the Only-Begotten as Sole, no longer First-born among many brethren. Yet is the Same one and other; how S. Luke ii. 40

[1] Read *imani* for *imarmni.*

then? After one manner and another. First-born among many brethren by reason of the human nature, but the self Same again Only-Begotten, as Alone Begotten of the Alone God the Father.

He is said to have been sanctified through the Spirit and He sanctifies those who come near to Him; He was baptized according to the Flesh and was baptizing in the Holy Ghost: how then doth the Same both sanctify and is sanctified, baptizeth and is baptized? Again after one manner and another; for He is sanctified humanly, and thus is He baptized: but He sanctifies Divinely, baptizeth also in the Holy Ghost.

Himself raising the dead, was raised from the dead; and being Life by Nature is said to be quickened. And how this? Again after one thing and another. For the Same was raised from the dead and is said to be quickened after the Flesh, yet quickens and raises the dead as God. He suffers and does not suffer, after one manner and another: for He suffers humanly as Man, He is impassible Divinely as God.

S. John iv. 22 He hath adored with us, for YE *worship* (He says) *what ye know not*, WE *worship what we know:* yet is He to be Phil. ii. 10 adored also, for to Him *every knee boweth:* and this again after one manner and another. For He worshippeth as having assumed the nature that payeth worship, He again the Same is worshipped as surpassing the nature that worshippeth so far forth as He is conceived of as God. Yet must we not chap. viii. sever the worship unto man and God separately, nor yet as being together with God as by equality of dignity, while the Persons[1] are dissevered, do we say that the man is associated in worship with Him (for the thing were replete with impiety): but there is to be worshipt One Word of God Incarnate and made man, according to the belief that He was united to a body as we by a reasonable soul. For nowhere did the God of all set two first-borns to be obliged to be worshipped by us and the holy Angels (for One is He who Heb. i. 6 was brought *into the world*): and if we look more carefully into the mode of this bringing in, we shall understand it to be the mystery of the Economy with flesh. For he is brought into the world then when He was made Man, albeit He was in His own Nature far removed from the earth and

[1] *goyatzuthinn*, lit. substances.

believed to be essentially in the Excellence of Godhead: for Other is He than all things as their Maker. Therefore outside the things by Him made is He by Nature, in that He is God by Nature. One (as I said) is to be worshipped then too when He was made *among many brethren:* for then is He for that reason called *First-born.*

One[1] did the blind from the birth when wondrously
healed worship: for *Jesus* (it says) *finding him in the temple* S. John
said, Dost THOU *believe on the Son of God,* and he said, *Who* v. 14 Ib. ix. 35
is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him? But Jesus shewed Ib. 36
Himself in the body to him <and says>, *Thou hast both seen Him* S. John
and He That speaketh with thee is He. Seest thou how He ix. 37
applieth the singular number, forbidding God and man to be conceived of separately? yea rather if one were at all to call Emmanuel man, it will signify not bare man, but much higher, as the Word of God united to our nature. As One did the disciples worship Him, when beholding Him wondrously walking on the waters they worshipped *saying, Truly* S. Matt.
Thou art the Son of God. xiv. 33

When therefore we say that man is co-worshipped with God, we bring in a coarse severance. For the word, *With,* except it be said of the one by composition, will always full surely persuade us to conceive of two. For like as no one will be said to live with himself, nor again to eat with nor to pray with nor to walk with himself (for the *with* joined to the word introduces a declaration of two persons): so if one say that the man is co-worshipped with God, he will without question say two sons and severed one from another: for the plan of union, if it be conceived of as equality of dignity, that is of authority, will be convicted of being untrue. And this will be shewn by us in lengthy words.

Against those who say the human things befit God the Word by reference only. § 37

Some haver and prate concerning the Economy with flesh of the Only-Begotten and, dragging down to our unstable perceptions the Mystery venerable and great and of a truth thrice dear to the powers above, whereby also we are saved, become traders for profit in the beauty of the Truth, whereas

[1] *After* One *add* son, 2, 3, 4.

they ought, not to try and prop up their own things and whatever seems to them right, but rather with subtil and keen eye of the mind to look into the aim of the Sacred Writings and thus to go on the right road, and incorruptibly <follow> what our holy fathers have searched out, who made radiant by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, defined for us the Symbol of our faith, saying that the Word from God Himself Which was in mode ineffable God begotten out of the Essence of the Father, by Whom all things were made which are in Heaven and which are in earth, for us men and for our salvation came down, was made flesh, was made man, suffered and rose and ascended into heaven, will in his season come to judge quick and dead.

But there are certain boasting much of their learning who because they hear these words, mock, and deem that those things which are so rightly said, are mad ravings: whereas the Holy Spirit as we anyhow believe flashed the knowledge of the Truth into the counsels of the holy Fathers. As if it was for them to think what is higher, and were also able to make <us> understand, they deem that not the Only-Begotten Son of God Himself, the Word Which is out of the Father's Essence, suffered in His own Flesh for us humanly, albeit so far as He is conceived of as God He have in His own Nature impassibility; but putting[1] as man alone and by himself him that was born of the holy Virgin, and then attributing to him to what extent it seems to be good to them, a glory, they say that he was united to the Word of God the Father. And explaining the mode of the union, they say that there was given him by the same equality of dignity, that is of authority and to be called by like name both Christ and Son and Lord. But if the man taken from him be said to suffer ought, it must (they say) be referred to him who is the Word from God, in that he is connected to Him by equality of dignity, while in their severed natures each is whatever he is separately.

And I will state more clearly the force of their opinions, so far as I can, bringing forward instances from the Sacred Writings. Christ hungered, was wearied with the journey, slept, entered into the boat, was buffeted with blows by the

[1] Reading *edeal* instead of *eleal.*

attendants, was scourged by Pilate, there spat on him also the soldiers, and pierced with the spear His Side, offered vinegar mingled with gall for Him to drink: and He tasted death, suffering the Cross and other drunken transports of the Jews. All these things they declare to have befallen indeed the man, but to be referred to the Person of the Very Son. But WE believe, as in One God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible, so too in One our Lord Jesus Christ His Son. And we refuse to divide Emmanuel into man by himself and into the Word by Himself: knowing that the Word became truly Man too as we, we say that Himself the Same is God of God, and in human wise Man as we of a woman. And we again assert that by reason of the ownness He suffered humanly the infirmities of the flesh, yet reserved intact to His Nature its impassibility, in that He was not Man alone, but the Same therewith also God by Nature. And like as the Body was His own, so too His the true and blameless passions of the body; moreover the things which by the frowardness of some were put upon Him He suffered without suffering Himself of His own will, and not that He might only be like us, but because (as I said before) He had reserved to His Nature superiority to all these things. For if we should say that through conversion or mutation from His own Nature He had passed into the nature of the flesh, it would be in all ways necessary for us even against our will to confess that the ineffable and Divine Nature was passible. But if He remained unchanged albeit He was made man as we, and it be a peculiarity of the Heavenly Nature that It cannot suffer, then He[1] became passible through the union with it:—He suffered then through the suffering Body, in that it is said to be His own body, and He remains himself Impassible in that it is truly His property to be unable to suffer.

And if Emmanuel is glorified through suffering, as Himself says when about to suffer for us the Precious Cross, *Now is the Son of Man glorified*, why do they not blush, S. John xiii. 31
attributing the glory of the Passion to a man having connection only with him in Equality of dignity? for as they deem, He connected with Himself according to the Will and

[1] *or* it.

Good-pleasure a man simply and made him equal to His own glory, and permitted that by like name he should be styled Christ and Son and God and Lord:—hence neither is the Word truly Incarnate nor was He at all made man. And consequently to call the counsellors under the sun liars, does no harm whatever? for let them say, yea rather come forward, prepared to prove that the mode of connection which is conceived of by them has the force of incarnation, and that that is that the Word was made flesh; or if they think that these things are not so, why do they conceive of a mode of unconnected connection, the truth being neglected? whereas it would be fitting that they should say that the Word of God the Father was united to our humanity, for thus in His own flesh is He conceived to have suffered appropriately what belongs to man, but so far as it appertains to the Nature of the Godhead to suffer nothing, He is free from all our habit of vexation, as God.

And that by their so-called *reference* which I know not how they invented, they drag down Emmanuel to ingloriousness and liken Him barely to one of the holy Prophets, and set Him amid the measure of the many, that I may clearly prove, I will again bring forward examples from the Divine Scripture.

There once murmured in the wilderness against Moses
Ex. xvi. 3 and Aaron the people of Israel saying, *Would we had died, stricken by the Lord in Egypt when we were sitting at the flesh pots and were eating bread even to fulness.* And there-
Ib. 8 upon the divine Moses says *what are* WE? *not against us do you murmur, but against God.* And in those times even God Almighty used to reign through the holy Prophets over the people of Israel, but they in this too, short-sighted, approached
1 Sam. viii. 5 the divine Samuel and say, *Lo* THOU *hast grown old and thy sons walk not in thy way, and now set over us a king to judge us as the other nations.* The Prophet felt this grievously.
Ib 7 God said to him, *Hear the voice of the people, whatever they shall have spoken to thee, for not thee have they rejected, but Me they have rejected that I should not reign over them.*

And somewhere too has Christ said to the holy Apostles,
S. John xiii. 20. *He who receiveth you receiveth Me:* and He promiseth that He will address the merciful before the divine Tribunal, *Come,*

ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you S. Matt.
from the beginning of the world, acknowledging as His own xxv. 34
their righteous ways towards those to whom they had dealt kindly, He says, *In that ye did it to one of these least, to Me* S. Matt.
did ye it. xxv. 40

Lo in these clear instances is clearly recognised the mode of reference of what kind it is. The people of Israel were murmuring against Moses and Aaron and the matter had reference to God. Man as we was Moses and so too Aaron. In the same way too will you conceive as to the others whereof we have just made mention, yet were they (as I said before) holy men and worthy of admiration, nevertheless men as we. Is it then in this way, come let them tell me, that the man connected (as they call it) with God the Word, had had reference of his sufferings to Himward? And then how is he not as they a mere man evidently and alone and nought else? Hence Emmanuel is not truly God, is not Only-Begotten nor Son, nor God by Nature.

Why then is no one of the rest honoured by God the Word with equality of dignity or of sway, but they boldly contend that this man alone obtained all things equal through unfailing resemblance? specially seeing that God, the Saviour of all men, judgeth *not according to the person but righteous* S. John
judgement, as Himself says. Why then doth He sit Alone in vii. 24
the tribunal? how will he come to Judge, with Angels bringing offerings? why is He Alone worshipped as well by us as by the powers above?

But yea, say they, and we see that thou also dost the same; thou confessest that He suffered, attributing the sufferings to his flesh, but keeping Him impassible as God.

But WE, good sirs, (shall we say) having first united to the Word the human, have to the flesh allotted the sufferings, and have kept Him impassible as God; for though He hath become as we, yet are we cognizant withal of His God-befitting Excellence and of His Supreme dignity.

Hence with faith confessing the Union as a foundation, we confess that He suffered in the flesh, and that He remained again superior to suffering in that He possesses Impassibility in His own Nature. But if we are diligent to divide asunder into God and Man, severing the Natures one from another,

and then say that in reference only does the Word of God reckon His own what have befallen His Body; He That is
S. Matt. i. 23 born of the holy Virgin, *Emmanuel, which is, interpreted, With us is God*, will haply have donned but the measure of Moses and Aaron.

Thus even though He say through the holy Prophets,
Isa. l. 6 *My Back have I given to blows, My Cheeks to buffets, My Face I turned not from the shame of spitting in My Face*, and again,
Ps. xxii. 16, 17 *They bored My Hands and My Feet, they told all My Bones*, and
Ps. lxix. 21 again, *They gave for My meat gall and for My thirst they gave Me to drink vinegar:* we allot all these things to the Only-Begotten Himself, Who suffered for us Economically in the flesh (for
Isa. liii. 5 *with His wounds were* WE *healed, and Himself hath been wounded because of our sins*), yet do we know that He is Impassible by Nature. For if (as I just said) Himself is Man alike and God, with reason do the Sufferings belong to His Manhood, His own, on the other hand, as God is it to abide superior to suffering.

Thus minded shall we be pious and through such right
Phil. iii. 14 thoughts advancing, we shall attain *unto the prize of our high calling* in Christ Jesus our Lord through Whom and with Whom to God and Father be glory with the Holy Ghost unto æons.

CYRIL ON EASTER

Of the Lord, the Holy Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, to the Pious Emperor Theodosius

Divine writ saith somewhere, the beginning of Wisdom is the fear of God.

With the wisdom which is from God, what could be of equal weight? Or how can that not be a great good and worthy of possession, which hath for root the fear of God, and issues in a sweet and much to be desired conclusion? For it is written, The fear of the Lord is for life unto man, the fear of the Lord is glory and boasting, the fear of the Lord is lightness of heart, and shall give joy and gladness and long days. Prov. xix. 23.

All these are centred on thy all-blessed head, O Christ-loving emperor Theodosius, who storest up the fear of God in thy soul as a treasure casketed, unstealable, and holy: and this in emulation of the glory and renown of thy parents, so that naught is to be seen which is not thine. For I will forbear just now to assert superiority,[1] though with it will hereafter crown thee. For it is written, Their sires are the boast of sons,—of whom ye are images worthy of the beholding, and as it were retain exact from an exemplar [2] a splendour both ever-apparent and everlasting. For whatever qualities in general after the manner of this world's excellence adorn the illustrious selves of sovereigns, and in especial also with others that are Christward, with reverent piety, with firmness of faith, with fixity in beneficence and inflexibility in justice, these exercising everywhere in word, and wondrously illustrious and many-sided, thou displayest thy prosperity and loveliness.

[1] The MSS. (except 1) add the scholion in mg: 'that thou art superior.'
[2] *or* 'from an exact exemplar.'

So are your arms well tested everywhere, and hostile chiefs,[1] all that are outside your yoke, shaken with terrible and intolerable fear fall on their knees—despite[2] of their innate ferocity, and wild untamed manners. Now[3] it is a legislator's part to inculcate in all his subjects everywhere, even among those who no wise[4] deserve his zeal, and kindly deeds, the faith which is correct and without reproach, faith I mean, in our Lord Jesus Christ. And the sovereign's right hand writes laws[5] whereby the divine nature is honoured, and filthy and detestable heresies are overthrown; while the mouths of the God-haters who invented these are muzzled. For it was a duty to drive away out of the Saviour's flock the wolves, and not only must the shepherds confront the insurgent and launch and brandish over the insurgent, as it were a rod or fiery torch, the might of the truth, but emulate also that piety of your ruling highness, which is diffused unto the ends of the earth and verily is celebrated by all with fairest renown.

Being possessed of so God-loving a disposition, you have felt anxiety, both to reform correctly and see clearly the might of Christ's mystery, which from the first was made known before the coming into being of the world, as the all-wise Paul declares.

For there has been manifested in the last times of the age what of old was shewn forth in figures and types which had reference thereto, and aforetime was described by means of the law of Moses, even the birth from the woman after the flesh, . . . of[6] the prophetic preachings. For he was born after the flesh from a woman, in order to consecrate our birth. And in the flesh suffering according to Scripture, he annulled death, and will liberate from corruption man's[7] nature. For death was weakened by him, and in that it was impossible for the life's flesh to be overcome thereby, it followed that his death consequently after the flesh (*or* body) came to be for

[1] *lit.* heads.

[2] *lit.* because of.

[3] The sense of this sentence is at best conjectural. All the MSS. (except 1) have in the mg. the scholion: 'of the emperor he says that he wrote a book of sentences and gave this law to the world.'

[4] nowise 4: in any way *ceteri*.

[5] *om* laws 2, 3, but all the MSS. except 1, add in mg. this scholion: 'He mentions the law written by the king.'

[6] The anacolouthon suggests a lacuna in the text.

[7] man's 1 3: the body's 2 4.

us salvation. For he rose again, is named [1] elder born from the dead, and the fruit of them that slept; and he renewed for us this present path and <we are> alive and through him alone directed,[2] that we too together with him and through him may abide incorruptible. For as the all-wise Paul writes, as by Adam all are dead, so also by Christ shall all be made alive; and as we put on the image of the earthy, we shall also put on the image of the heavenly. And that the death according to the flesh (of all and)[3] of our Saviour Christ, came to be release from death, and quickening of the dead,[4] and quittance of corruption, and salvation of those on earth, one will learn afresh and without any lengthy sweating by exploring the holy and inspired Scripture. For the divine Abraham was commanded to slay his one and only beloved son, a man who had lived unto old age, and had no hope of being able to become a sire of other children; but he was old having passed beyond affectionateness [5] and [6] from sparing his son because of God's will. And for as much as the child was near to suffering death, for the father had taken in his hand the sword, he was in marvellous manner saved by the ram running in between and undergoing his slaying. So also were we also rescued from our [7] own death befitting and due by Christ taking it on himself. And he was slain for our sake; and he suffered because of our sins, as saith the prophet Isaiah. And because of our iniquities he was given over and by his stripes were we healed. And this again unto us under another type did Moses fore-shadow,[8] in the legislation of God foreshewing the force of the mystery as it were in a parable and shadow. For he commanded to bring forward two steers equal in stature [9] and similar of aspect and in no one respect unlike each other. And the name of the one was Lord, but the other was Released. And then the lot having fallen [10] into [11] the priest's hands they slew the one of which the name was Lord, and released from the slaying the one released, that

[1] is named 1 : is said 2 4 : om 3.
[2] directed] *or* 'reformed.' The grammar is defective.
[3] The words bracketed are unintelligible.
[4] and . . . dead] om. 1 4.
[5] *φιλοστοργία.*
[6] Some words must have dropt out here.
[7] our own] one 1.
[8] fore-write 4.
[9] *or* age.
[10] *or* descended: drawn 1.
[11] into] from 2 3.

is the other which from being released from the slaying is named Released.

But it was for a sign, as I have said, a pattern and type of the Lord's slaying which we affirm him to have suffered after the flesh, in order that we might be released and utterly quit of[1] death and corruption. And that it was at the hands of the priests, their order (*or* lot) passing sentence, that he suffered slaying for our sake, this shall be confirmed by the writing of the blessed evangelist John: The chief priests and Pharisees having met in the court say, What shall we do, for this man worketh many signs. But a certain one of them, Caiaphas who was high-priest of that year, saith to them, Ye know naught neither consider that it is better that one man should die for the people, and all the race be not destroyed. See then how by the priestly utterance the sentence of death is passed upon Christ. It is better, he said, that for the salvation of all one man should die. And clear and sure is the mystery of Christ through the slaying of the sheep also. For those who were of Israel slew the lambkin in quitting the land of Egypt, and overcame the Destroyer by smearing the blood on the entrances of their dwellings, and they ate of its flesh. Let us acquaint ourselves with the mystery's force and value, how great a thing it is; and as by this type the shadow delivered the ancients and the figure of the mystery rendered paramount to death those who through the same were alive—to how great possessions then is the truth's in value and force equal? For Christ saith somewhere, Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life eternal.

The[2] feast of the holy pascha was held[3] according to the law of Moses on the fourteenth day of the first month, I mean according to the Hebrew custom, of the new[4] month, when everything was burgeoning in the plain, plants and shoots and blossoms and the growths of fruits. Thus is to be understood also the season of the saving passion; for Christ rose from the dead raising upright the whole nature of man, so as to burgeon forth in fair blossoming and new life, I mean in the way of incorruptibility and holiness, and unto the beginnings

[1] quit of] *lit* cast out of.
[2] The] *præm.* Likewise also 1.
[3] *om* was held 1.
[4] new] *norotz.*

of an evangelical fruitfulness and of a life marvellous and transcending the law.

For man's nature was withered and ruined by sin; but recovered its sap and vigour through Christ by an economy.[1] The mystery of Christ is now held in the new month, and on the fourteenth day according to the revolution of the moon. And it is important to state the reason why, for as early as[2] the holy fathers certain writers have composed learned and true disquisitions on the matter. For as,[3] they say on the fourteenth day is apparent[4] the[5] fulness of the revolving moon, so it is important that[6] in ourselves a fulness of ideal light should accrue and pass on into so venerable and holy a festival. And I praise the utterance, for it makes clear that another thing also is not incomplete in its profitableness on the fourteenth day—the slaying of the lamb. For to the sun must be likened in an especial degree our Lord Jesus Christ. For thus spake God and Father about him, And I will make to shine upon you that fear my name the Sun of Righteousness. For he is light not of men only, but also of angels and all rational creatures. And it is not without plausibility to liken the law of Moses to the moon, as also having a moderate light, I mean ideally, and not the transcendent brightness of the mystagogy; but it suffered eclipse in the angelic sheen and in the preaching of the holy apostles being not[7] equal in splendours.

It is not therefore superfluous to understand the law of the moon according to this season.[8] And the lamb was slain on the fourteenth[9] day only,—does not then this circumstance proclaim aloud that Christ is the fulfilment of the law. For the moon having waxed until the fourteenth, then ceases to increase, and its return to a state of eclipse begins. It dwindles little by little, and is reckoned to be utterly spent and at an end. For Christ having suffered death in the flesh

[1] 1 connects the words *by an economy* with what follows.
[2] As early as] *or* descending direct from.
[3] For as] And it is 1
[4] *om* is apparent 1.
[5] of the 1 2 3.
[6] The rest of this sentence is difficult, but the general sense must be as I render it.
[7] *om* not 2.
[8] Season] manner 1 which connects with what follows omitting *And.*
[9] The MSS. except 1 have the scholion:—The 14th of the Hebrews was according to the month and not the moon, but we according to the moon's 14th, and not according to the months.

for our sake, the uses of the legal cult and rite figuratively received their fulfilment, in as much as in dwindling to their eclipse they made room for the victory of Christian traditions. And this I hold for true, that namely which was uttered by the psalmist foretelling of Christ, There shall shine forth in his days righteousness and much peace until the moon shall be ended.[1] For the letter is removed by Christ shining out among us; and when the Gospel's preaching revealed his splendour, there was cancelled and removed for ever the light of legal precept. For this exists as it were through the writing and the figure, and is to be compared to the moon, and recedes before the splendour of the larger truth. But the truth is Christ and the things that are his. The all-wise Paul therefore says, When the perfect cometh, that which is partial shall be done away with. Now the fulfilment of the law is Christ and that feast which we in connection with him celebrate in the first month on the fourteenth day according to the lunar cycle. And according to the Hebrew custom the first month and the Spring solstice begin twelve days before the calends of April according to the sun's course. Now it is necessary that it be perceived by us that [2] the fourteenth of the moon is not [3] reckoned in the twelfth month, but at the beginning of the Spring solstice, and of the first month according to the Hebrews. And unless this be scrupulously observed we miss the time when Christ endured the sufferings on the cross. By observing therefore the day on which he was betrayed, and he was betrayed on the fourteenth of the moon, in the first month, we are also left right in the day of the resurrection, that is, the Sunday. For this reason we break the fast at eventide of the Sabbath, and feast on the dawn of Sunday, on the assumption that Christ arose at early morn. If, however, it be said that the mystery of the resurrection is effected in the depth of night, <we answer>, But depth of night and early dawn run together into one and the same point of time.

Accordingly, your first glorious consulate having ended in the 119th year from Diocletian,[4] from that (year) having taken it, we have compiled a table for the subsequent 109

[1] ended] removed 1 2.
[2] that] unless 1.
[3] *om* not 2.
[4] =403 A.D.

years' period of the number (*i.e.* date) of the moon,[1] indicating with scrupulous accuracy the cycle of the moon in each several year, and the day on which Christ was betrayed, I mean the 14th, and also the day of his resurrection, that is the Sunday. For the Saviour of all rose from the dead in the depth of night on the evening of the Sabbath, that is to say at early morn at the dawning of Sunday, according to the assurance of the holy evangelists. But since it was useful to write out complete the 19 years' cycle (*or* revolution) with continuity, we have been obliged, in your first glorious consulate, which was in the 119th year of Diocletian, to anticipate[2] by four years. For these <years> must not be reckoned with the number of those 110 years which follow them, but they are only written. Wherefore, as I have said, the 19 years' cycle appears in full in the canon, for every canon involves a cycle of 19 years.[3]

[1] *om* of the moon 1.
[2] anticipate] *or* set down beforehand.
[3] The meaning of the last line is this.
Counting from the era of Diocletian Aug. 29, 284 A.D., six paschal cycles of 19 years, or 114, bring us to A.D. 398. Thus there was a gap of 4 years between the expiration of the 19 years' cycle and the year 403, from which, as the year of his first consulate, Theodosius II. wished the new calendar to begin. Cyril, to maintain the continuity of the ecclesiastical calendar which ran in successive cycles of 19 years, reckoned 4 dead years before A.D. 403, and compiled it for 110 years from A.D. 403, that is for 114 or six cycles from 398.

THE END

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APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

TEXT OF BODLEY MS. ARM. E. 2.

CH. 1.

1 Յայտնութի՟ յի՟ քի՟ որոյ ետ ցուցանել ծառայից իւ-
րոց որ ինչ լինելոց է վաղվաղակի: և նշանակեաց
առաքելով ի ձեռն հրեշտակին իւրոյ առ յոհաննէս
ծառայ իւր:
2 Երանի որ կարդասցէ կամ լուիցէ զբան մարգարէու-
թե՟ս, և պահեսցէ զոր ի սմա գրեալ է:
3 Ի յոհաննէ առ եւթն եկեղեցիսդ որ են յասիա:
4 Շնորհըն ընդ ձեզ և խաղաղութի՟… ի մեռեալս և իշ-
5 խան թագաւորութե՟ց երկրի. որ սիրեաց զմեզ: և
6 երյծ զկապանս մեղաց մերոց: և արար զմեզ արժանի
արքայութե՟ իւրում: և քահանայ ա՟յ հաւր:
7 Ահաւասիկ գալոց է ընդ ամպս երկնից. և տեսցեն
ամենեքեան որք խոցեցինն: և տեսցեն ամենայն ծագք
8 երկրի: և ասէ՝ ես եմ այբ և ես եմ քէ: ասէ տ՟ր
որ յաւիտեանս է և որ գալոցն է տ՟ր ամենակալ:
9 Ես յոհաննէս եղբայր ձեր և հաւասարակից վշտաց
և արքայութե՟: բազում համարձակութե՟ գրեմ ձեզ:
ես էի ի կղզւոջն որ անուանեալ կոչի պատմոս վ՟ս բա-
10 նին ա՟յ և վ՟ս վկայութե՟ն քի՟: և եղև յիս հոգին տ՟ր
յաւուր կիրակէի: և լուայ ձայն մեծ զհետ իմ. իբրև
11 զձայն փողոյ որ ասէր ցիս. զոր տեսանես գրեա ի

գիր: և տուր տանել յեւթն եկեղեցիսն որ յեփեսոս.
և ի զմիւռնիա և ի պերգամոնիա. և ի թիատրիա. և ի
սարդիս և ի փռիգիա. և ի լաւոդիկիա. և դարձի տե-
12 սանել զայն թէ ո՛վ է որ խաւսի ընդ ցիս:
13 Եւ տեսի ի մէջ ճրագարանացն նման որդւոյ մարդոյ
զգեցեալ պատմուճանս և գաւտեւորեալ առ ստեամբք.
14 գաւտիս ոսկեղէնս: և ի՛ գլուխ նորա իբրև զա՛սր սպի-
15 տակ: և աչք նորա իբրև զբո՛ց հրոյ: և ոտք նորա
նմանեալ պղնձո՛յ լիբանանու: և ձայն նորա իբրև զձայն
16 ջո՛ւրց բազմաց: և ունէր յաջոյ ձեռինն իւրում աս-
տեղս ե՛ւթն: և ի՛ բերանոյ նորա ելանէր սո՛ւր երկբերա-
նեա՛ն: և երեսք նորա ի՛բրև զարեգակն ճառագայթեա՛լ
17 երևէին: Իբրև տեսի զնա անկայ առ ոտս նորա իբրև
զմեռեալ: և եդ ի վերայ իմ զաջ իւր. և ասէ ցիս.
մի՛ երկնչիր: ե՛ս եմ սկիզբն. և ե՛ս եմ վախճան: ե՛ս
18 եմ կենանք, և ե՛ս եմ որ մեռայ: և ունիմ զփականս
19 մահու և դժոխոց: գրեա՛ զոր տեսանե՛դ և որ յա-
պայ հանդերձեալ է լինել:
20 Խորհուրդ եւթն աստեղացդ զոր տեսեր ի՛ ձեռին
իմում. և եւթն ճրագարանս ոսկիս. և եւթն աստեղքն.
եւթն եկեղեցիքն են:

II

1 Արդ առ հրեշտաս եփեսացւոց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա՛ այս-
պէս: ասէ՛ որ ունի զաստեղս եւթն յաջոյ ձեռին իւ-
2 րում. և շրջի ի՛ մէջ աշտանակի ոսկւոյ. գիտեմ զգործ
քո և զվաստակս և զհամբերութի՛ս: և գիտեմ զի
ոչ բառնաս զչարս զոր փորձեցեր զնոսա, որք ասէին
3 զինքեանս առաքեալս: համբերեցեր և վշտա՛ց վ՟ն ա-
4 նուան իմոյ: այլ ասեմ առ քեզ և առ սէր քո: զա-
5 ռաջինն թողե՛ր զիս. յիշեա՛ ուստի անկար և ապա-

շաւեա՛ զառաջին գործս քո: ապա թէ ոչ՝ գա՛մ ես
շարժեցից զաշտանակս քո ի՛ տեղւոջէ իւրմէ եթէ ո՛չ
6 ապաշխարեսցես: այլ զա՛յս արարեր, զի ատեցեր
7 զգործն Նիկողայոսի զոր ես ատեմ: որ ունիցի ականջս
լսելոյ լուիցէ՛ զինչ Հոգին ս͞բ ասէ առ եկեղեցիս. որք
գիտանիցին յաղթաւղս և առաքինացեալս բարւոք:
տաց Նմա ուտել ի՛ ծառոյն կենաց որ ի դրախտին
ա͞յ իմոյ:
8 Եւ առ Հրեշտակս զմիւռնացւոց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա՛յ
ա՛յսպէս.
Ա՛յսպէս ասէ անըսկիզբն և անկատարածն: որ եղև
մեռեալ վասն մեր, և վասն եկեղեցւոյ:
9 Գիտեմ զգործս քո և զնեղութ͞իս. և զաշխատութ͞իս:
ազքատութ͞ի քո ի՛ մեծութ͞ի՛ եղիցի: և ո՛չ ի փոր-
ձանս: և զհայհոյութ͞իմն զոր առնեն քեզ Հրեայք
գիտեմ ես: զի Համարին զինքեանս եթէ իցեն ինչ:
10 այլ են նոքա ժողովարա՛ն սատանայի: մի՛ երկնչիր: զի
թէպէտ և չարչարելոց են զքեզ: ահա կամի սատա-
նայ զոմանս ի՛ ձէնջ ի՛ բա՛նտ արկանել և ի՛ փորձու-
թիւս. և ի՛ նեղութ͞իս վշտաց աւուրս տա՛սն: պի՛նդ-
11 կաց և լեր հաւատարիմ մինչև ցմահ: որ ունիցի ա-
կանջս լսելոյ լուիցէ՛ զինչ հոգին ս͞բ ասէ: ո՛րք գտա-
նիցին յաղթաւղ մի՛ երկնչիցին՝ յերկրորդ մահուանէն.
12 Եւ առ Հրեշտակս պերգիացւոց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա՛:
Ա՛յսպէս ասէ որ ունի զսուրն երկբերան սրեալ: գի-
13 տեմ ուր բնակեալ ես դու: ուր արկեալ է աթոռ սա-
տանայի: այլ ունիս զանուն իմ. և յաւուրս յայտնիկ
ամենեքեան որք են վկայք հաւատարիմ որք վ͞ն իմ
մեռան ի ձէնջ: ի՛ փորձել և ի՛ բնակել սատանայի
14 առ ոմանս ի ձէնջ: այլ ասեմ առ քեզ. վ͞ն զի կայ
առ քեզ վարդապետութ͞ին բաղամայ որ ասաց ցբա-
ղակ դնել գայթագղութ͞ի որդւոցն իղ͞ի. ուտել նոցա

15 զպոռնեալն. և պոռնկել ընդ դստերս այլազգեացն: այս-
պէս և դու ունիս զվարդապետութիւն Նիկողայոսի:
16 արդ ապաշխարեա՛: ապա թէ ոչ՝ գամ՛ ես վաղվաղա-
17 կի. և պատերազմեցայց ընդ նոսա սրով: որ ունիցի
ականջս լսելոյ լուիցէ՛ զինչ Հոգին որ ասէ առ յեկեղե-
ցիս: որք գտանիցին յաղթաւղ. տաց նմա կերակուր
ի ծառոյն կենաց: և տաց նմա զգիրս սրբութեան: և
խառնեցից զանուն նորա ի թիւս սրբոց որք ունին
զանուն իմ:
18 Եւ առ հրեշտակս թիւատիրացւոցն գրեա:
Այսպէս ասէ որդին Աստուծոյ, որոյ աչք իւր իբրև զբոց
19 հրոյ, և ոտք նորա նմանեալ պղնձոյ լիբանանու: գի-
տեմ զսէր քո, և զգործս քո. և համբերութիւնս քո.
և զհաւատս սրբութեան քո: զի բազում եղեն գործք
20 քո քան զառաջինն: այլ ասեմ առ քեզ: քանզի թո-
ղեր զկինն քո զեզաբէլ: որ ասէր զինքն մարգարէ.
և ուսուցանէր ծառայից իմոց զմոլորութիւն. պոռնկել
21 և ուտել զզոհեալն: շնորհեցի նմա ժամանակ և ո՛չ
22 ապաշխարեաց զպոռնկութիւն իւր: ահաւասիկ արկա-
նեմ զնա ի՛ հնոց. և զշնացաւղս նորա ի մեծ նեղու-
թիւնս եթէ ոչ ապաշխարեսցեն ի գործոց իւրեանց
23 չարեաց: զորդիս նոցա սպանից մահուամբ: և ծանի-
ցեն ամենայն եկեղեցիք եթէ ես եմ՛ որ քննեմ
զսիրտս և զերիկամունս: և հատուցանեմ իւրաքան-
24 չիւր զգործս իւր: և ձեզ ասեմ հաւատացելոցդ. թի-
ւատիրացւո՛ց. որք ո՛չ էք ուսեալ զուսումն զայս: որք
ծանեան զխորհուրդս սատանայի զոր ասեն: ո՛չ արկից
25 զձեզ ծանրութիւն աւելի քան զոր ունիքդ և է առ
26 ձեզ մինչև ի՛ սպառ: որ յաղթեսցէ պահեսցէ զգործս
մինչև ի վախճան: և ես տաց նոցա իշխանութիւն ի
27 վերայ ազգաց: և հովեսցեն զնոսա գաւազանաւ եր-
կաթեաւ. և իբրև զանօթս բրուտի փշրեսցեն զնոսա:

28 որպէս անկաւ ի՛ հաւր իմմէ։ և տաց նոցա զաստղն
29 առաւաւտուն։ որ ունի ականջս լսելոյ լուիցէ զինչ հո-
գին ս՟բ ասէ առ յեկեղեցիս։

III

1 Եւ առ հրեշտակս սարդիկեացւոց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա։
Ա՛յսպէս ասէ որ ունի զշնորհս հոգւոյն ա՟յ. և զեւթն
աստեղսն։ գիտեմ՛ ես զգործս քո. զի անուն միայն է
2 քո. թէ կենդանի ես. այլ դու մեռեալ ես։ լեր զուար-
թուն և լից զթերին զոր եղեալ է ի՛ մահ քում՛ գյան-
ցանելն։ զի ո՛չ գտի զգործս քո կատարեալս առաջի
3 ա՟յ։ յիշեա՛. և որպէս ընկալար պահեա՛. և ապաշխարեա՛։
ապա թէ ոչ զուարթանաս՛ արտաքս անաս իբրև զգողա-
ցեալ։ որ ո՛չ գիտասցէ ո՛ք յորժամ գայցէ ի՛ վերայ նորա
4 գողն։ այլ ունիս սակաւիկ մի զանուն սարդւակեցւոց։
որոց ապականեցան հանդերձք իւրեանց. և շրջեսցին ընդ
5 իս ի՛ սպիտակս։ զի արժանի եղեն գտանիլ յաղթաւղս
որք զգեցցին հանդերձս սպիտակս. և մի ջնջեսցի
անուն նոցա ի՛ դպրութենէն կենաց։ և յիշեցից զա-
նուն նոցա առաջի հաւր իմոյ որ յերկինս է, և առաջի
6 հրեշտակաց նորա։ որ ունիցի ականջս լսելոյ լուիցէ
զինչ հոգին ս՟բ ասէ առ եկեղեցիս։
7 Եւ առ հրեշտակս եղբայրասիրաց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա։
Ա՛յսպէս ասէ ս՟րն և ճշմարիտն։ որ ունի զփականս
8 դժոխոց. բանայ և ո՛չ ո՛ք կարէ փակել զնա։ վ՟ն զի
սակաւ ունիս զզաւրութի՟ շնորհաց և զբան իմ. և ոչ
9 ուրացար զանուն իմ։ ահա տամ՛ ձեզ ժողովարան
սատանայի. որք ասեն զինքեանս յուդայեանս։ և նոքա
չեն յուդայեանք. այլ սուտ ասեն։ ահա արարից
զնոսա զի եկեսցեն երկիր պագանիցեն առաջի ոտից
10 քոց։ զի ես սիրեցի զքեզ. վ՟ն զի պահեցեր դու զբան

համբերութե̃ իմոյ. և ես պահեցից զքեզ ի ժամու փոր-
ձութեանց յորժամ գայցեմ յամենայն տիեզերս փոր-
11 ձել զամենայն բնակիչս երկրի: ահա գա՛մ վաղվաղա-
կի. զաւրացիր և պի՛նդ կալ զոր ունիսդ: մի՛ ոք հա-
12 նիցէ ի՛ քէն զպսակդ քո: և որ ոք գտցի յաղթաւղ.
արարից զնա սիւն տաճարին ա̃յ իմոյ: և արտաքս
այլ մի՛ ելցէ, և գրեցից ի՛ վերայ նորա զանուն ա̃յ
իմոյ: և տաց նոցա զաուն իմ զնո՛րն եմ. որ իջանե-
13 լոցն է յա̃յ իմմէ: որ ունիցէ ականջս լսելոյ լուիցէ
զինչ հոգին ս̃բ ասէ առ եկեղեցիս:
14 Եւ առ հրեշտակս փուխգիացւոց եկեղեցւոյն գրեա:
Ա՛յսպէս ասէ վկայն հաւատարիմ և ճշմարիտ, և ի
15 սկզբանն արարածոց ա̃յ գիտեմ ես զգործս քո զի
16 ո՛չ ջերմ ես և ոչ ցուրտ այլ գա՛ղջ ես: զատեցայց ես
17 զքեզ ի՛ բերանո՛յ քումմէ: զի ասես մեծատուն եմ և
մեծացա՛յ. և ո՛չ միով՝ իւիք կարաւտ եմ: և դու ես
տառապեալ և ողորմելի և տնանկ: և աղքա՛տ. և կո՛յր.
18 և մե՛րկ: և արդ լուր ինձ և խոնարհեցայց վ̃ն քո:
ա՛ռ՝ գնեա յինէն ոսկի փորձեալ զի մեծասցիս: և
հանդերձս պատուականս զի զգեցցիս: զի մի՛ երևես-
19 ցին ամաւթոյք մարմնոյ քոյ: քանզի սիրեմ զքեզ. և
յանդիմանեմ. և խրատեմ: ա՛ռ նախանձ և ապաշխա-
20 րեա՛: ահաւասիկ գա՛մ առ դուրս քո բախեմ: եթէ ոք
լուիցէ ձայնի իմում. և բանայցէ զդուռն՝ մտից առ
նա: և բնակեցայց ընդ նմա՛ և նա ընդ իս յարքայու-
21 թե̃ն իմում: որպէս յաղթեցի ես և նստայ ընդ աջմէ
22 հաւր իմոյ յաթոռ փառաց: որ ունիցի ականջս լսելոյ
լուիցէ՛ զինչ հոգի՛ն ս̃բ ասէ:

IV

1 Եւ յետ այսր ամենայնի տեսի՝ և ահա կամարք երկ-
նից բացեալ էին. և ձայն փողոյն զոր լուայ զառա-
ջինն որ խաւսէր. և ասէր ցիս. Ել այսր. և ցուցից
քեզ զի՞նչ լինելոցն է առ յապայն:
2 Եւ ի ժամուն յայնմիկ եղէ յիս հոգի ոք: և տեսի
աթոռ մի զի գայր յերկինս: և ի վերայ աթոռոյն
3 նման տեսլեան յասպիս սարդիոնն: և քահանայք չուրջ
4 զաթոռովն նման տեսլեան զմ՞րխտի: և չուրջ զաթո-
ռովն ի և Դ երեցունք զգեցեալք հանդերձս սպի-
5 տակս: և ի գլուխս իւրեանց ունէին պսա՛կս ոսկեղէնս:
և յաթոռոյ անտի ելանէին փայլատակմո՛ւնք: և եւթն
ղամբարք հրոյ բորբոքեալ առաջի աթոռոյն: որ են
6 եւթն զաւրութիւնք հոգւոյն սրբոյ: և էր առաջի աթո-
ռոյն ծո՛վ ապակեղէն: ի նմանութի՟ սպիտակութեան
սառին: և ի մէջ աթոռոյն չո՛րք կենդանիք և լի՛ էին
7 աչաւք յետոյ և առաջոյ: և էր կենդանին առաջին
նման առիւծու: և երկրորդն նման զուարակին: և եր-
րորդ կենդանին երեսք մարդոյ: և չորրորդ կենդանին
նման արծուոյ թռուցելոյ: և չորից կենդանեացն էին
վեց վե՛ց թեւք: և չուրջանակի և ի՛ ներքոյ լի էին ա-
8 չաւք: և ո՛չ հանգչէին զտիւ և զգիշեր: և ասէին սբ̃
սբ̃ սբ̃ տ̃ր զաւրութեանց: որ է՛ն և կեա՛յն յաւիտեանս.
9 և որ գալոցն է՛: և յորժամ տային կենդանիքն զփառս
և զպատիւս. և զաւրհնութիւնս նստելոյն յաթոռն կեն-
10 դանւոյն յաւիտենից: անկանէին քսան և չորք երե-
ցունքն առաջի աթոռոյն և երկի՛ր պագանէին կեն-
դանւոյն յաւիտենից: և դնէին զպսակս իւրեանց ա-
11 ռաջի աթոռոյն և ասէին. արժանի՛ ես տ̃ր ա̃ծ առնուլ
զփառս և զպատիւ և զաւրհնութիւն: զի դու ստեղծեր
զամենայն: և ի՛ քո կամելն ստեղծան և կան հաստատեալ:

V

1 Եւ տեսի յաջոյ ձեռինն որ նստէր ի՛ վերայ աթոռոյն.
զի ունէր գի՛ր գրեալ ներքոյ և արտաքոյ: և կնքեալ
եւթն կնքով:
2 Եւ տեսի հրեշտակ մի զաւրաւոր զի քարոզէ՛ր ձայնիւ
մեծաւ և ասէր. ո՞վ է արժանի բանալ զգիրն և լու-
3 ծանել զկնիք նորա: և ոչ ոք գտաւ որ կարէր: ոչ յեր-
4 կինս և ո՛չ յերկրի բանալ զգիրն և հայել ի՛ նա: և ես
լայի՛ ուժգին: զի ոչ ոք գտաւ արժանի բանալ զկնիքն
5 և հայել ի՛ նա: և մի յերիցանց անտի ասէ ցիս: մի՛
լար ահաւասիկ յաղթեա՛ց առիւծն յազգէն յուդայ
յարմատոյն դաւթի և արժանի է լուծանել զգիրն և
բանա՛լ զկնիք նորա:
6 Եւ տեսի ի մէջ աթոռոյն, և ի մէջ չորից կենդանեացն
նման գառին զենելոյ: և ունէր եղջեւրս եւթն: և աչս
եւթն: որ են եւթն զաւրութի̃ք հոգւոյն, որ առա-
7 քեալ են ընդ ամենայն ծագս: և եկն կալաւ զաջոյ
8 ձեռանէ զայն որ նստէ՛ր ի՛ վերայ աթոռոյն: և յոր-
ժամ էառ զգիրն: չորեքկերպեան կենդանիքն. և
քսան և չորք երեցունքն անկանեին առաջի գառինն.
և ունեին իւրաքանչի՛ւր քնար. և բուրվառ ոսի լի՛ խըն-
9 կով. որ են աղաւթք սրբոց: և աւրհնէին աւրհնութի̃
նոր և ասեին: արժանի՛ է գառն առնուլ զգիրն և
բանալ զկնիք նորա: վ̃ զի դու զենար և գնեցեր
զմեզ յորդէգրութի̃ արեամբ քով. յամենայն ազգաց
10 և ժողովրդոց. և հեթանոսաց: և արարեր զմեզ քա-
հանա՛յս ա̃յ մերոյ: և թագաւորեսցուք ի վերայ եր-
11 կրի: լսեի և տեսանեի շուրջ զաթոռովն ձայնք հրեշ-
տակաց բազմաց զչո՛րք կենդանեաւքն: և երթիւք նոցա
բի՛ւրք բիւրուց և հազարք հազարաց որ աղաղակեին

12 ձայնիւ մեծաւ։ արժանի՛ է գառն զենեալ առնուլ զաւր-
13 հնութ՟ի. և զմեծութ՟ի. և զպատիւ. և զփառս։ և ամե-
նայն արարածք որ յերկինս և յերկրի և ի՛ ծովու։ և
ամենայն զաւրութ՟իք որ ի՛ նոսա։ լուայ զի ասէին.
թէ որ նստի յաթոռն գառնն. աւրհնեա՛լ. բարձրա-
14 ցեա՛լ. և փառաւորեա՛լ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից։ և չո՛րք
կենդանիքն ասէին. ամէ՛ն։ և երեցունքն անկանէին
առաջի նորա և երկի՛ր պագանէին նմա։

VI

1 Եւ տեսի զի եբաց գառնն զմի ի կնքոցն և լուայ ի՛
միջոյ չորից կենդանեացն իբրև զձա՛յն որոտման որ
ասէր. գամ։
2 Եւ տեսի և ահա ձի սպիտակ. և որ հեծեալն էր ի
նմա ունէր աղե՛ղն։ և տուաւ նմա պսա՛կ. և ե՛կն յաղ-
թել զի յաղթեսցէ։
3 Եւ յորժամ եբաց զկնիքն երկրորդ. լուայ յերկրորդ
4 կենդանոյն զի ասէր. գա՛մ։ և ել ա՛յլ ձի կապոյտ և որ
հեծեալն էր ի՛ վերայ նորա. տուաւ նմա առնո՛ւլ զխա-
ղաղութ՟ի յերկրէ։ և տուաւ նմա առնուլ սուր մի մե՛ծ,
որով սատակեսցէ զամենայն բնակիչս երկրի։
5 Եւ յորժամ էբաց զկնիքն երրորդ լուայ յերրորդ
կենդանւոյն զի ասէր. գա՛մ։ և տեսի այլ ձի սեա՛ւ. և
6 որ հեծեալն էր ի նմա ունէր կշիռս ի՛ ձեռին իւրում։
և լուայ ձայն ի՛ միջոյ կենդանեացն որ ասէին կա-
պիճ մի ցորենոյ դենարի՛ միոյ։ և երեք կապիճ գար-
ւոյ դենարի։ ձէթ և գինի մի՛ վնասեսցի։
7 Եւ յորժամ եբաց զկնիքն չորրորդ լուայ ի չորրորդ
8 կենդանւոյն զի ասէր. գամ։ և ահա ա՛յլ ձիաշխէտ. և
որ նստէր ի վերայ նորա ունէր զմա՛հ։ և դժոխք եր-
թային զհետ նորա։ և տուաւ նմա իշխանութ՟ի սա-

տակել զչորրորդ մասն երկրի. սովով և սրով. և մա-
հուամբ, և գազանաւք երկրի:
9 Եւ յորժամ եբաց զկնիքն հինգերորդ: տեսի ի ներ-
քոյ սեղանոյն զհոգիս ամենայն կնքելոց, վն̃ ա̃յ. և
10 վասն բանի̃ն ա̃յ. և վասն վկայութե̃ն Նորա: որ աղէին
ձայնիւ մեծաւ. մինչև յե̊րբ տ̃ր ս̃բ և ճշմարիտ. ոչ
դատես և խնդրես զվրէժ արեան մերոյ ի՛ բնակչաց
11 երկրի: և տուան Նոցա արկանել իս սպիտակս: և
և ասացաւ Նոցա զի հանգիցեն փոքր մի ժամանակ
մինչև լցցի̃ն ծառայակիցք Նոցա և եղբարք. որ են
մեռանելոց իբրև զՆոսա: և ապա́ դատեսցի երկիր. և
խնդրեսցի վրէժ արեան Նոցա:
12 Եւ տեսի յորժամ՛ եբաց զկնիքն վեցերորդ. եղև
շարժումն մեծ: և արեգակն դարձաւ ի խաւար. և
13 եղև գիշեր մթին: և լուսինն բոլորովին եղև արիւն և
աստեղք յերկնից թաւթափեցան յերկիր որպէս տերև
14 թզենւոյ զի ուժգի̃ն շարժեսցի ի՛ հողմոյ: և երկինք
իբրև զմագաղաթ գալարէր. և ի միջոյ ի՛ բա́ց բառ-
նայր: և ամենայն կղզիք և լերինք ի՛ տեղեաց իւրեանց
15 շարժէին: և թագաւորք երկրի և իշխանք՝ հազարա-
պետք և մեծամեծք և զաւրաւորք: և ամենայն ծա-
ռայք և ազատք թաքուցանէի̃ն զինքեանս յայրս և ի
16 ծերպս վիմաց: և աղէին լերանց թէ անկերու́ք ի՛
վերայ մեր և բլրոց թէ ծածկեցէ́ք զմեզ յերեսաց
17 այնր որ նստի յաթոռն. և ի՛ բարկութենէ գառինն:
զի եկն աւր մե́ծ բարկութե̃ն Նորա: և ո̊վ կարէ կալ
առաջի Նորա:

VII

1 Յետ այսորիկ տեսի չորս հրեշտակս զի կային ի չորս
անկիւնս երկրի. և ունէին զչորս հողմս երկրիս զի մի
շնչեսցէ հողմ ի վերայ երկրի: և մի ի ծովու և մի
ի ծառս:
2 Եւ տեսի այլ հրեշտակ զի ելանէր յարևելից. և ունէր
զկնիքն ա̄յ կենդանւոյ: և աղաղակեաց ձայնիւ մեծաւ.
առ չորս հրեշտակսն որ տուեալ էին իշխանութ̄ի ա-
3 պականել զերկիր. և ասէ՝ մի վնասէք երկրի. և մի
4 ծովու. և մի ծառոց: մինչև կնքեսցես զճակատս ա̄յ իմոյ:
և լուայ զթիւ կնքելոցն զի էին ՃԽ Դ՝ Ռ կնքեալս
յազգէ որդւոցն իղ̄ի:
5 Յազգէն յուդայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն ռուբէնի ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
6 յազգէն գադայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն ասերայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն նեփթաղիմայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
Յորդւոցն յովսեփայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
7 յազգէն մանասէի ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն շմաւոնի ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն ղևեայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
8 ի տոհմէն իսաքարեայ ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
յազգէն զաբողոնի ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
ի ցեղէն բենիամենի ԲԺՌ կնքեալս:
9 Եւ տեսի յետ այսր ամենայնի. և ահա ժողովուրդ
բազում որ ոչ գոյր թիւ: և յամենայն ազգաց և ի
լեզուաց. և յամենայն ժողովրդւոց որ կային առաջի
աթոռոյն և առաջի գառինն. արկեալ զիւրեամբք հան-
դերձս սպիտակս: և ի ձեռս իւրեանց արմաւենիս: և
10 ձայնիւ մեծաւ ասէին: փրկութ̄ի ա̄յ մերոյ որ նստի

11 յաթոռ գառինն: և ամենայն հրեշտակք կային շուրջ
զաթոռովն, և զերիցամբքն. և զչորք կենդանեաւքն:
12 անկանէին առաջի գառինն և երկիր պագանէին այ.
և ասէին. ամէն աւրհնութի և փառք և իմաստութի
և գոհութի և պատիւ. և զաւրութի և շնորհք տն
մերոյ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. ամէն:
13 Եւ ասէ ցիս մի յերիցանց անտի: սոքա որք զգեցեալ
են զհանդերձս սպիտակս ո՞յք են. և ուստի՞ գան: և ասեմ
14 ցնա տէր՝ դու գիտես: և ասէ ցիս. սոքա են որ գան
ի վշտաց մեծաց: և լուացին զարկանելիս իւրեանց.
15 և սպիտակացուցին զնա արեամբ գառինն: և վն այ-
նորիկ են առաջի աթոռոյն այ: և պաշտեն զնա զտիւ
և զգիշեր ի՛ տաճարի նորա: և որ նստի ի՛ վերայ
16 աթոռոյն բնակեա՛լ է ի՛ նոսա: և այլ մի՛ քաղցիցեն
17 և մի՛ ծարաւեսցին: և ոչ մեղիցէ նոցա ցուրտ և տաւթ:
և գառն ի՛ մէջ աթոռոյն իւրոյ հովեսցէ զնոսա: և
առաջնորդեսցէ նոցա յաղբեւրս ջրոց կենդանութե:
և հատցէ տծ զամենայն արտասուր յաչաց նոցա:

VIII

1 Եւ յորժամ էբաց զկնիքն եւթներորդ. եղև լռութի
2 յերկինս իբրև կէս ժամ: և տեսի հրեշտակս եւթն որ
առաջի կային, և տուաւ նոցա եւթն փողս:
3 Եւ եկն այլ հրեշտակ և էկաց առաջի սեղանոյն. և
ունէր խնկանոց ոսկի: և տուաւ նմա խունկս բազումս
զի մատուսցէ զաղաւթս ամենայն սրբոց. ի՛ վերայ
4 սեղանոյ ոսկեղինի առաջի աթոռոյն: և ել ծուխ խըն-
կոցն. որ են աղաւթք ամենայն սրբոց ի ձեռաց հրեշ-
5 տակապետին: և եղից հրեշտակն այ զխնկանոցն ի՛
հրոյ սեղանոյն. և արկ զնա յերկիր: եղև որոտմունս
մեծ. ձայնք և փայլատակմունք և շարժմունս մեծ: և

6 եւթն հրեշտակք որ ունէին զեւթն փողսն. պատրաս-
տեցին զինքեանս ի հարկանել զփողսն:
7 Եւ առաջին հրեշտակն էհար զփողն: և եղև կարկուտ
և հուր և արիւն խառնեալ: և անկաւ յերկիր. և
զչորրորդ մասն ծառոց այրեաց: և զամենայն տալար
խոտոյ այրեաց:
8 Եւ երկրորդ հրեշտակն փողեաց. և իբրև զլեառն մի
մեծ հրդեհեալ անկաւ ի ծով: և եղև երրորդ մասն
9 ծովու արիւն: և սատակեցան երրորդ մասն 'զաւզա-
կաց. և որք ունէին շունչ կենդանի սատակեցան:
10 Եւ երրորդ հրեշտակն փողեաց. և անկաւ յերկնից
աստղ մի մեծ բորբոքեալ իբրև զջամբար. և անկաւ
11 յերրորդ մասն գետոց և աղբիւրաց: և էր անուն աս-
տեղն դառնութի: և բազումք ի մարդկանէ մեռան
ի դառնութենէ ջուրցն:
12 Եւ չորրորդ հրեշտակն էհար զփողն և վիրաւորեաց
զչորրորդ մասն արեգականն և լուսնի և աստեղաց:
և խաւարէր երրորդ մասն նոցա. և տիւ ո՛չ երևէր,
և երրորդ մասն գիշերոյ նոյնպէս:
13 Տեսի և լուայ ձայն արծուոյ թռուցելոյ ի միջոյ երկ-
նից: զի ասէր ձայնիւ մեծաւ: վա՜յ որ բնակեալ են ի
վերայ երկրի. յորժամ լինիցի ձայն և սերից փողոյն
զոր կամին հրեշտակք հարկանել առ յապա ի հան-
դերձեալսն:

IX

1 Եւ հինգերորդ հրեշտակն հարկանէր: և տեսի աստղ
մի յերկնից յերկիր անկեալ: և տուաւ նմա բանալի
2 զփոյն անդընդոց: և եբաց զխորս անդընդոց: և ելա-
նէր ծուխ ի զփոյն որպէս ծուխ հնոցի մեծի: և խա-
3 ւարեցաւ արեգակն և օդք: և ի զփոյն ելանէր մա-

րմն յերկիր։ և տուաւ նոցա իշխանութ̃ի և խայ-
4 թոցք նոցա իբրև զխայթոցս կարճի։ և ասացաւ նոցա
զի մի մեղիցեն խոտոյ երկրի. և մի ծառոյ. բայց
միայն մարդկան որք ոչ ունին զկնիքն քի̃ ի՛ վերայ
5 ճակատս իւրեանց։ և տուաւ նոցա հրաման զի մի
սպանցեն զնոսա. այլ չարչարեսցեն զնոսա ամիսս հինգ։
և չարչարանք նոցա իբրև զկսկծումն կարճի որ հար-
կանէ զմարդ։
6 Եւ յաւուր յայնմիկ խնդրեսցեն մարդիկ զմահ և մի
գտցեն։ և ցանկասցին մեռանել ի՛ հարուածոց մարա-
7 խոյն։ և փախիցէ ի՛ նոցանէ մահ։ և նմանութ̃ի մա-
րախոյն, նմանութ̃ի ձիոյ պատրաստելոյ ի՛ պատե-
րազմ։ և ի վերայ գլխոյ նոցա իբրև զպսակ նմանեալ
8 ոսկւոյ։ և երեսք նոցա իբրև զերեսս մարդոյ։ և հերք
նոցա իբրև զհերս կնոջ։ և ատամունք նոցա իբրև զա-
9 ռիւծու։ և զրահք նոցա իբրև զզրահս երկաթիս։
և ձայն թևոց նոցա իբրև զձայն ձիոց բազմաց որ
10 արշաւեն ի պատերազմի։ և ունէին ագիս նման կար-
ճի։ և խայթոցք ագեաց իւրեանց ունէին իշխանութ̃ի
11 չարչարել զմարդիկ ամիսս հինգ։ և ածցեն առ նոսա
զթագաւորն հրեշտակաց անդնդոց։ և անուն նորա
եբրայեցերէն աղբադոն։ որ կոչի կորուստ հայերէն։
12 Ահաւասիկ վայ միմեանց։ և վայ երկրորդ գալոցէ
զհետ նորա վաղվաղակի։
13 Եւ վեցերորդ հրեշտակն հարկանէր զփողն։ և լուայ
ձայնի չորից եղջիւրաց սեղանոյն ոսկեղինի. որ էր
14 առաջի աթոռոյն այ̃. զի ասէր ցհրեշտակն վեցերորդ։
լոյծ զչորս հրեշտակսն զկապեալսն ի վերայ գետոյն
15 Եփրատա։ և լուծան չորք հրեշտակքն պատրաստեալ
յաւուր և յամիս. զի սպանցեն զերրորդ մասն մարդ-
16 կան։ և անհամար զաւրաց հեծելոց նոցա։
17 Եւ տեսի ձիս. և հեծեալս ի նոսա որք ունէին զրահս

հրեղէնս, և ագի հրդեհեալ ծըծմով: և ի բերանոյ
նոցա հուր ելանէր և ծուխ և ծըծումբ: և ի հարու-
18 ածոյն յայնցանէ մեռանէին երրորդ մասն մարդկան.
ի հրոյն և ի ծըծմոյն որ ելանէր ի բերանոյ նոցա:
19 զի իշխանութիւն ձիոցն էր ի բերանս նոցա և յագիս
իւրեանց: զի ագիք նոցա նմանէին աւձից: և ունէին
20 գլուխս որով սատակեցին զբազումս: և արքն որ ո՛չ
ևս մեռանէին ի՛ մարդկանէ ի՛ հարուածոցս յայսցա-
նէ. որք ո՛չ ապաշխարեցին և ո՛չ դարձան ի՛ գործոց
ձեռաց իւրեանց. և յերկրպագութենէ՛ կռոց իւ-
րեանց. յոսկեղինաց և յարծաթեղինաց և ի՛ փայ-
տեղինաց. և ի՛ պղնձեաց. և ի՛ քարեղինաց: որք ո՛չ
21 տեսանե՛լ կարե՛ն և ոչ գնալ. և ոչ լսել: և ոչ ապաշ
խարեցին ի՛ մարդասպանութենէ: և ի՛ դեղատու-
թենէ. և ի պոռնկութենէ. և ի՛ գողութենէ իւրեանց:

X

1 Եւ տեսի ա՛յլ հրեշտակ զի իջանէր յերկնից և ծիա-
ծա՛ն ի՛ վերայ գլխոյ նորա: և երեսք նորա իբրև զա-
2 րեգա՛կն: և ոտք նորա իբրև զսիւն հրոյ: և ունէր ի՛
ձեռին իւրում գիր: Եբաց և եդ զաջոյն իւր ի վե-
3 րայ ծովու, և զձախն ի՛ վերայ ցամաքի. և աղաղա-
կեա՛ց ի՛ ձայն մեծ. և գոչեաց իբրև զառիւծ: և յոր-
ժամ աղաղակեաց, խաւսեցան եւթն որոտմունքն որ
4 առ յապա՛յ գալոցն էն: և լուայ ձայն յերկնից զի
ասէր. կնքեա՛ զոր խաւսեցան եւթն որոտմունքն, և
մի զդոսա գրեր:
5 Եւ հրեշտակն զոր տեսի որ եդ զոտն իւր ի՛ վերայ
ծովու և զմիւսն ի՛ վերայ ցամաքի. և համբարձ զձեռն
6 իւր զաջ յերկինս. և երդուաւ ի՛ կենդանին յաւի-
տենից որ հաստատեաց զերկինս և զերկիր զծով և

7 զամենայն որ ի նոսա. զի ո՛չ եւս կայ այլ ժամանակ.
այլ յաւուր ձայնի է երրորդ հրեշտակին յորժամ
հարցէ զփողն կատարեսցի խորհուրդն այ՝ որ աւե-
տարանեցաւ ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէիցն: և ձայնն
8 զոր լուայ յերկնից դարձեալ խաւսեցաւ և ասէր.
երթ առ զգիրն զոր ունի հրեշտակն բացեալ ի ձե-
ռին իւրում. և կայ ի վերայ ծովու և ցամաքի: և ես
9 երթայ առ հրեշտակն խնդրեցի զգիրն ի նմանէն. և
ասէ ցիս. առ՝ և կե՛ր զայդ և դառնասցի ի փորի
քում. այլ ի բերանոյ քում՝ քաղցր իբրև զմեղր: և
10 առի զգիրն ի ձեռանէ հրեշտակին կերի զնա. և լցաւ
11 փոր իմ դառնութբ: և ասէ ցիս. հասցէ քեզ դար-
ձեալ մարգարէանալ ի հեթանոսս և ի ժողովուրդս
բազումս:

XI

1 Եւ տուաւ ինձ եղեգն նման գաւազանի. գայր հրեշ-
տակն և ասէ ցիս. արի և չափեա՛ զտաճարն և զսե-
2 ղանն. և զերկրպագութին որ ի նմա: և զգաւիթն
արտաքոյ տաճարին թող զնա ի բաց և մի՛ չափեր
զի տուեալ է զնա հեթանոսաց և ըզքաղաքն սբ զի կո-
3 խեսցեն ամիս քառասուն և երկու: և տաց երկուց
վկայից իմոց և մարգարէասցեն աւուրս ՌՄԿԵ զգե-
4 ցեալ քո՛ւրձ: այս են երկու ձիթենիքն. և երկու աշ-
տանակքն կացեալք առաջի տն այ ամենայն երկրի:
5 և որք կամեսցին վնասել նոցա. հուր ելցէ ի բերա-
նոյ նոցա և կերիցէ զթշնամիս նոցա: և որ կամեսցի
6 մեղանչել նոցա. այսպէս սատակեսցին: Նոքա ունին
իշխանութի փակել զերկինս զի մի՛ տեղասցին զաւուրս
մարգարէութե նոցա: և ունին իշխանութի ի վերայ
երկրի ամենա՛յն հարուածոց, և ունին իշխանութի ի

վերայ ջուրց, դարձուցանել զնոսա յարիւն: և հար-
կանել զերկիր ամենայն հարուածովք քանիցս անգամ
7 որպէս և կամեսցին: և յորժամ կատարեսցեն զամե-
նայն աւուրս վկայութե̃ իւրեանց յայնժամ գազանն
որ ելանէ յանդընդոց տայցէ ընդ նոսա պատերազմ
և յաղթեսցէ նոցա. և սպանցէ զնոսա: և դիակունք
8 նոցա անկեալ կայցեն ի մէջ հրապարակի նոցա. ի
քաղաքին մեծի որ անուանեալ կոչի ըստ հոգւոյն սե-
9 դոմր. և եգիպտոս. և բաբելոն: ուր և տ̃րն նոցա խա-
չեցաւ: և տեսցեն ըզնոսա ամենայն ցեղքն և ժողո-
վուրդք և ամենայն լեզուք ազգի նոցա, զի անկեալ
կայցեն զերիս աւուրս: և ոչ թողցեն թաղել ի գե-
10 րեզման զոսկերս նոցա: և որ բնակեալն են յերկրի
ուրախ լինին և խնդան ի վերայ նոցա. մինչև ընծայս
և պատարագս բերել միմեանց. վ̃ն զի սոքա երկոքեան
11 մարգարէքս չարչարեսցեն զբնակիչս երկրի: և յետ
երից աւուրց հոգի կենդանւոյ ա̃յ մտցէ ի նոսա: և
յարիցեն կայցեն ի վերայ ոտից իւրեանց: և երկիւղ
12 անկցի ի վերայ բնակչաց երկրի: և լուայ ձայն յերկ-
նից որ ասէր ցնոսա. վերացարուք և ելէք այսր: և
վերացան և ելին յերկինս ամպաւք: և տեսին ըզմե-
13 րանալ նոցա ամենայն թշնամիք նոցա: և ի ժամուն
յայնմիկ շարժումն մեծ եղև: և տասներորդ մասն քա-
ղաքին ընկղմեցաւ: և մեռան ի շարժմանէն եւթն
հազարք: և յետ այնորիկ ահ՝ մեծ եղև յամենեսեան:
14 և փառս տային ա̃յ երկնաւորի. ահա՝ վայ երկրոր-
դանց. և վայ երրորդ գալոց է վաղվաղակի:
15 Եւ յորժամ եւթն հրեշտակքն հարկանէին զփողսն,
եղև ձայն մեծ յերկնից որ ասէր. եղև ամենայն թա-
գաւորութի̃ տ̃ն մերոյ յի̃ քի̃, և թագաւորեսցէ ի
16 վերայ երկրի յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից: և քսան և չորք
երիցունքն որ նստէին յաթոռ առաջի ա̃յ ասէին. գո-

17 հանամք զքէն տ՟ր ա՟ծ ամենակալ որ էն յաւիտեանս.
18 որ զգեցար զզաւրութի՟. և թագաւորեցեր. և ժողո-
վուրդք բարկացա՛ն. և եկն բարկութի՟ թշնամոյն և
ժամանա՛կ դատաստանի. զի դատապարտեսցի, և տաս
վարձս ծառայից քոց մարգարէից. և սրբոց երկիւ-
ղածաց անուան քո փոքու և մեծի: և ապականել զա-
պականիչս երկրի:
19 Եւ բացաւ տաճարն ա՟յ որ յերկինս. և երևեցաւ տա-
պանակ ուխտի նորա որ ի տաճարի նորա: և փայլա-
տակունք և ձայնք և որոտմունք և շարժմունք. և կար-
կուտ մեծամեծ:

XII

1 Եւ նշան մի մե՛ծ երևեցաւ յերկինս: կին մի զգեցեալ
զԽուրեաւ զարեգակն. և լուսին ի՛ ներքոյ ոտից նորա:
2 և ի՛ վերայ գլխոյ նորա պսակ աստեղեաց երկոտա-
սան: և էր յղի՛: և ճըչէ՛ր յերկնելն: և բազո՛ւմ վըշ-
տաւք մերձ էր ի՛ ծնանելն:
3 Եւ երևեցաւ ա՛յլ նշան յերկինս: և ահա վիշապ մի
հրեղէն մե՛ծ յոյժ: որոյ եԽն գլուխք եւթն: և եղջիւրք
4 տա՛սն: և ի վերայ գլխոյ նորա ե՛ւթն խոյր: և տուտն
նորա քարշէր մի՛նչև ցեւթն մասն աստեղաց երկնից.
և ընկէ՛ց զնոսա յերկիր: և վիշապն կայր առաջի կնոջն
որ կամէր ծնանել: զի յորժամ ծնցի կի՛նն զորդի՛ն
5 իւր կերիցէ՛ զնա վիշապն: և ծնաւ կի՛նն որդի արու,
որ հովեսցէ զժողովուրդ իւր գաւազանաւ երկաթեաւ:
և յափշտակեցա՛ւ որդի նորա առ ա՟ծ. և առ աթոռ
6 նորա, և կի՛նն փախեաւ յանապատ ուր էր տեղի նորա
պատրաստեալ յա՟յ. զի կերակրեսցի անդ աւուրս
7 ՌՄԿԶ: և եղև պատերազմ յերկինս. միքաել և հրեշ-
տակք իւր կռուէին ընդ վիշապին. և վիշապն հրեշ-

8 տակաւք խորոք կռուէր ընդ նոսա. այլ ո́չ կարացին
9 կալ ընդդէմ: և տեղի ո́չ գոյր նոցա յերկինս: և ան-
կաւ վիշապն մեծ աւձն առաջին որ անուանեալ կոչի
բէելզեբո́ւղ և սատանայ: որ մոլ(որ)ցեցո́յց զամենայն
տիեզերս: առիւծն անկաւ յերկիր, և հրեշտակք նորա
ընդ նմա:
10 Եւ լուայ ձայն մեծ յերկնից որ ասէր: Արդ եղև
փրկութի̃ և զաւրութի̃. և արքայութի̃ երկնից ա̃յ
մերոյ: և իշխանութի̃ աւծելոյ նորա: զի անկա́ւ չա-
րախաւսն եղբարց մերոց որ չարախաւսէր զնոցանէն
11 առաջի ա̃յ և ա̃ն յի̃ քի̃ զտիւ և զգիշեր. և նոքա
յաղթեցին նմա արեամբ գառինն ա̃յ. և բանիւ վը-
կայութե̃ նորա: և ոչ հաճեցան ընդ վիշապն մինչև
12 ցմահ: վասն այսորիկ ուրա́խ լիցին երկինք և ամե-
նայն որ բնակեալ են ի՛ նոսա: վա́յ երկրի և ծովու
զի անկաւ վիշապն առ ձեզ, որ ունի ցասումն սակա́ւ
13 ժամանակ: և յորժամ ետես վիշապն թէ անկաւ յեր-
14 կիր. զհե́տ եղև կնոջն որ ծնաւ զմանուկն: և տուաւ
կնոջն երկո́ւ թևք արծուոյ. զի թռիցէ́ յանապատ
տեղի: ուր կերակրեցի անդ ժամանակս. և ժամանակ.
և կէս ժամանակի յերեսաց աւձին:
15 Եւ եհեղ աւձն ի՛ բերանոյ իւրմէ ըզհետ կնոջն ջուրս
բազումս իբրև զգետս զի ընկղմեսցէ́ զնա: և աւգնեաց
16 երկիր կնոջն. և եբաց զբերան իւր և եկուլ զջուրն
17 զոր եհեղ վիշապն ի՛ բերանոյ իւրմէ: և գնաց ի պա-
տերազմել ընդ կնո́ջն և ընդ զաւակի նորա. և որք
18 պահե́ն զպատուիրանն ա̃յ յորս է վկայութի̃ն յի̃
քի̃: և եկաց ի՛ վերայ աւազոյ ծովուն:

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1 Եւ տեսի զի ելանէր ի՚ ծովէն գազան մի մեծ. և ու-
նէր գլուխս եւթն. և եղջիւրս Ժ. և ի վերայ եղջիւ-
րաց նորա Ժ խոյր: և ի՚ վերայ գլխոյ նորա անուն
2 հայհոյութե̃: և գազան զոր տեսի նման ընծո՛յ: և ոտք
նորա իբրև զարջո՛յ: և բերանն նորա իբրև զառիւ-
ծո՛ւ: և ետ նմա վիշապն զիշխանութի̃ն իւր. և մի ի՚
3 գլխոց նորա վիրաւորեալ էր ի՚ մահ: և վէր մահու
նորա ողջանայր: և զարմացա՛ւ ամենայն երկիր ընդ
4 գազանն: և երկիր պագին գազանին, զի ետ նմա
վիշապն զիշխանութի̃ն իւր: և երկիր պագանէին
գազանին, և ասէին, ո՞չ ոք է նման գազանիս, և կամ
5 կարէ պատերազմել ընդ սմա: և տուաւ նմա խաւսել
մեծամեծ հայհոյութի̃ս: և տուաւ նմա իշխանութի̃
առնել. պատերազմել ընդ սբ̃ս և յաղթել նոցա: և
6 տուաւ նմա յաղթութի̃ զամիսս քառասունս: և եբաց
զբերան իւր հայհոյութե̃ առ ա̃ծ, ե հայհոյեա̃ց զա-
նուն նորա, և զտաճարն ն̃ր որ յերկինս: և տուաւ
7 նմա իշխանութի̃ ի վերայ ամենայն չնչոց և լեզուաց.
և ժողովրդոց զի երկի՛ր պագցեն նմա: և ամենայն
8 երկիր որ ո՛չ են անուանք նոցա գրեալ ի՚ դպրութի̃
9 կենաց ի սկզբանէ աշխարհի: որք ունին ականջս լսե-
10 լոյ՝ լուիցե̃ն: են ոմանք որ ի գերութի̃ վարեսցին: և
են ոմանք որ անձամբ զանձինս սատակեսցեն: իսկ
համբերութի̃ և հաւատք շնորհեսցի սրբոց ա̃յ:
11 Եւ տեսի այլ գազան զի ելանէր յերկրէ. և ունէր եղ-
ջիւրս երկուս նման գառին. և խաւսէր իբրև զվիշապն
12 զամենայն իշխանութի̃ զառաջնոյ գազանին գործէր:
առնէր զերկիր և զամենայն բնակիչս նորա զի եր-
կիր պագանիցեն առաջնո՛յ գազանին: մինչև ողջացն՛

13 վէր մահու նորա։ և առնէր նշա՛նս բազումս։ և տայր
հրոյ երկնից իջանե՛լ յերկի՛ր առաջի մարդկան։ և
14 մոլորեցուցանել զբնակիչս երկրի նշանաւքն որ տուաւ
ի ձեռս նորա յառնել առաջին գազանին։ և ասեն
ցնա բնակիչք երկրին. առա զպատկեր գազանին որ
15 ունիցի զե՛լն հրոյ. և կայցցէ և տուաւ նմա իշխանութի՟
զի տայցէ հոգի պատկերի գազանին զի խաւսեսցի
պատկերն։ և երկի՛ր պագանիցեն նմա ամենայն բնա-
կիչք երկրի, և որք ո՛չ պագանիցեն երկիր գազանին,
16 սպանցէ՛ զնոսա. և արասցէ զամենայն փոքունս և
զմեծամեծս. և զմեծատունս և զաղքատս. զազատս և
զծառայս. զի տայցէ նոցա զիւր նշանն յաջո՛յ ձեռին
17 և ի վերայ ճակատուց նոցա։ և ո՛չ ոք կարէ գնել և
կամ վաճառել եթէ ոչ ունեցի զնշան գազանին և
18 զանուն նորա։ որք ունի իմաստութի՟ համարեսցի
զթիւ անուան գազանին։ քանզի թիւ անուան մար-
դկան է։ և թիւն ա՛յս ինչ է ՃԾԱ։

XIV

1 Եւ տեսի և ահա գառն կայր լերինն սիոնի։ և ընդ-
նմա ՃԽԴՌ։ և զանուն հաւրիւրոյ գրեալ էր ի՛ վե-
2 րայ ճակատուց նոցա։ և լուայ ձայն յերկնից իբրև
զձա՛յն ջուրց բազմաց։ իբրև զձայն որոտման մեծի՝ և
լուայ իբրև զձայն քնարահարաց զի հարկանէին զքնարս
3 իւրեանց և երգէին երգ նոր առաջի աթոռոյն ա՟յ։ և
առաջի չորից կենդանեացն։ և ո՛չ ոք կարէր ուսանել
զերգս նոցա. բայց միայն. ՃԽԴՌ. որ կային շուրջ
զգառամբն ի՛ լեառն սիոնի։ որք էին կուսանք և ա-
4 զատեա՛լք յերկրէ։ սոքա են որ ընդ կանայս ո՛չ խառ-
նակեցան և են կուսանք։ և յամենայն ժամ զհետ եր-
5 թիցեն գառինն ուր և երթիցէ։ սոքա՛ գրեցին ի՛

մարդկանէ ի՛ վերայ ճակատուց իւրեանց զանուն Հաւր
գառինն: և ի՛ բերան նոցա ո՛չ գտաւ ստութ՟ի. քան
զի ամբիծք էին:
5 Եւ տեսի ա՛յլ հրեշտակ թռուցեալ յերկնից և ունէր
աւետիս յաւիտենական. և եկեալ աւետարանէ՛ր ամե-
7 նայն ազգաց, և ձայնիւ մեծաւ ասէր, երկերուք յա՟յ
և տուք նմա փառս. զի ե՛կն ժամանակ դատաստանի
նորա: և երկրպագեցէք առաջի նորա որ արար զեր-
կինս և զերկիր, զծով և զամենայն որ է ի՛ նոսա:
8 Եւ այլ երկրորդ հրեշտակ գայր զհետ նորա և ասէր:
անկա՛ւ. անկա՛ւ անկա՛ւ մեծն բաբելոն. ի գինւո՛յ ար-
բեցութենէ. և ի՛ ցասմանէ. և ի՛ պոռնկութենէ իւր-
մէ: որ արբեցոյց զամենայն հեթանոս:
9 Եւ այլ երրորդ հրեշտակ գայր զկնի նորա և ասէր
ձայնիւ մեծաւ: որք երկիր պագանէ գազանին և
պատկերի նորա. և գծիր նորա ա՛ռ ի՛ ճակատ իւր.
10 այնպիսին արբցէ ի՛ բաժակէ ցասման արկանելոյ յա-
նապակէ բարկութ՟ե բաժակէն: և տանջեսցի հրով և
11 ծըծմով. առաջի գառինն և առաջի ս՟բ հրեշտակաց
նորա: և ծուխ նոցա ելցէ՛ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից:
և ո՛չ է իշխանութ՟ի նոցա հանգչել զտիւ և զգիշեր.
որք երկի՛ր պագին գազանին և պատկերի նորա, և
12 որք առին զգիր թ՛իւ յանուն նորա: իսկ որք համ-
բերեն և ոչ ունին յանձն զնշան նորա նոքա են որք
պահեցին զաւրէնս ա՟յ և զհաւատս յի՟ ք՟ի:
13 Եւ լուայ ձայն յերկնից որ ասէր ցիս. գրեա՛. երանի՛
է մեռելոց որ տ՟ր մեռան վաղագոյն և ո՛չ հասան ի՛
ժամս յայս, զայս ասէ հոգին ս՟բ: զի հանգեան ի՛ բա-
զում փորձութ՟եց և աշխատութ՟ց, բայց միայն՝ գործք
իւրեանց չոգան ըզհետ իւրեանց:
14 Եւ տեսի և ահա ամպ մի սպիտակ և ի՛ վերայ ամ-
պոյն նման որդւոյ մարդոյ: և ի՛ գլուխն իւր ունէր

պսա՛կ ոսկի: և ի՚ ձեռին իւրում ունէր գերանդի
15 սրեալ: և այլ հրեշտակ ելանէր ի՚ տաճարէն աղաղա-
կէր ձայնիւ մեծաւ առաջի նորա և ասէ: առաքեա՛
զգերանդիդ և հնձեա զի հասեալ է ժամանակ հնձոց:
16 և հասեալ են հունձք երկրի: իսկ որ նստէր ի՚ վե-
րայ ամպոյն. արկ զգերանդի իւր յերկիր. և հնձէր
17 զբնակիչս երկրի: և այլ հրեշտակ ել ի՚ տաճարէն որ
18 յերկինս և ունէր գերանդի սրեալ: և ել ա՛յլ հրեշ-
տակ ի՚ սեղանոյն որ ունէր իշխանութի՟ ի՚ վերայ սե-
ղանոյ հրոյն: և աղաղակէր ի՚ ձա՛յն մեծ առ հրեշ-
տակն որ ունէր զգերանդին սրեալ. և ասէ. կթեա՛
19 զողկոյզս երկրի զի հասեալ է խաղող նորա: և արկ
հրեշտակն զգերանդի իւր յերկիր. և կթէր զխաղող
20 նորա և արկանէր ի՚ հնձանս ա՟յ. և կոխէր ի՚ հնձա-
նին արտաքոյ քաղաքին և ելանէր ի հնձանէն արիւն
բազում յոյժ: և հասանէր մինչև ի՚ սանձս ձիոյն: եր-
կայնութի՟ նորա. Ռ և Ձ. ասպարէզ:

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1 Եւ տեսի ա՛յլ նշան մեծ յերկինս. զի հրեշտակք եօթն
նշանակէին զկատարած: զի նոքա՛ւք կատարեսցի բար-
2 կութի՟. և տեսի ծով ապակեղէն խառնեալ հրով: և
որք յաղթեցին գազանին և պատկերի նորա. և թու-
ոյ անուան նորա: կային ի՚ վերայ ծովուն ապակե-
3 ղինի: և ունէին զքնարն ա՟յ. և երգէին զերգս մով-
սիսի առաջի ա՟յ: և ասէին. որպէս զի մեծ և սքան-
չելի են գործք քո տ՟ր ա՟ծ ամենակալ արդար և ճըշ-
մարիտ են գործք քո տ՟ր թագաւոր ամենայն հեթա-
4 նոսաց: ո՛վ ոք ոչ երկիցէ և փառաւորեսցէ զանուն
ս՟բ քո: զի դու միա՛յն ս՟բ ես և արժանի երկրպա-
գանելոյ: զի ամենայն հեթանոսք եկեսցեն և երկիր

պագցեն առաջի քո, զի արդարութիւն քո յայտնեցան
ամենայն տիեզերաց։
5 Եւ յետ այսորիկ տեսի զի բացաւ տաճար խորանին
6 վկայութեան յերկինս: և ելանէին եօթն հրեշտակքն որ
ունէին իշխանութիւն եօթն հարուածոցն: և զգեցեալ էին
կտաւս սբս և լուսափայլս: և գաւտեւորեալք էին առ
7 լանջաւք իւրեանց գաւտիս ոսկեղէնս: և ի միջոյ չորից
կենդանեացն տուաւ եւթն հրեշտակացն եւթն սկա-
ւառակս ոսկեղէնս լի ցասմամբն այ կենդանւոյ յաւի-
8 տենից յաւիտեանս: և լցաւ տաճարն ծխով ի փա-
ռացն այ և ի զաւրութենէ նորա: և ոչ ոք կարէր
մտանել ի տաճարն մինչև կատարեցին եւթն հա-
րուածքն յեւթն հրեշտակացն:

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1 Եւ լուայ ձայն ի տաճարէն զի ասէր ցեօթն հրեշ-
2 տակսն երթայք հեղէք զեւթն սկաւառակդ ցաս-
մանն այ յերկիր: և գնաց առաջին հրեշտակն. և եհեղ
զսկաւառակն առաջին յերկիր. և եղեն հարուածք չա-
րաչար ի վերայ մարդկան, որք ունէին զգիր գազա-
նին և երկրպագեցին պատկերի նորա:
3 Եւ երկրորդ հրեշտակ եհեղ ի սկաւառակէ իւրմէ ի
վերայ ծովու. և դարձաւ ջուրքն յարիւն: և ամենայն
շունչք որ ի ծովու էին սատակեցան:
4 Եւ երրորդ հրեշտակն եհեղ ի սկաւառակէ իւրմէ ի
5 գետս և յաղբեւրս ջուրց. և եղև արիւն: Եւ լուայ ի
հրեշտակէն զի ասէր, արդար է որ էնն և սբ. զի այն-
6 պէս դատեցաւ: Զի զարիւն սրբոյն և զարիւն
մարգարէիցն հեղին ամպարիշտք: Զի այնորիկ արիւն
7 ետ սբն նոցա ըմպել: Եւ լուայ ի սեղանոյ անտի զի

ասէր. այո՛ տէ՛ր ա՛ծ ամենակալ արդար և ճշմարիտ են
գործք քո:
8 Եւ չորրորդ հրեշտակն էարկ ի՛ սկաւառակէն իւրմէ
ի՛ վերայ արեգականն և տուաւ նմա խորշակահա՛ր
9 առնել զմարդիկ հրով: և տապացան մարդիկ ի տապոյ
անտի և հայհոյեցի՛ն զանունն ա՛յ. որ ունի իշխանութի՛
ի՛ վերայ հարուածոցս այսոցիկ: և ո՛չ ապաշխարեցին.
և ո՛չ ետուն փառս ա՛յ:
10 Եւ հինգերորդ հրեշտակն էարկ ի՛ սկաւառակէն իւրմէ
ի՛ վերայ աթոռոյ գազանին. և եղև թագաւորութի՛
11 նորա խաւարեա՛լ. և ծամէի՛ն զլեզուս իւրեանց յախ-
տէ ցաւոցն. և հայհոյեցին զա՛ծ երկնից ի՛ ցաւս իւ-
րեանց. և յախտ դառնութե՛ն. և ո՛չ ապաշխարեցին:
12 Եւ վեցերորդ հրեշտակն եհեղ ի սկաւառակէն իւրմէ
ի՛ վերայ գետոյն մեծ եփրատայ, և ցամաքեցա՛ւ ջուր
նորա: զի պատրաստեսցէ ճանապարհ թագաւորին
ելիցն արևու:
13 Եւ տեսի զի ելանէր ի՛ բերանոյ վիշապին և ի՛ բե-
րանոյ սուտ մարգարէին ոգիք երեք անսո՛ւրբք իբրև
14 զգո՛րտս: քանզի էին ոգիք դիւականք. որ ուտէին
զնշանս. և երթային առ թագաւորս ամենայն երկրի
ժողովել զնոսա ի՛ պատերազմ յաւուր մեծի ա՛ն ամե-
15 նակալի: զի այսպէս ասաց տ՛ր. ահա գա՛մ ես իբրև
զգող գիշերի. երանի՛ որք են արժանի և պահեսցեն
զհանդերձս իւրեանց. զի մի՛ մերկ շրջեսցին և երևեսցի
16 ամաւթոյքն իւրեանց: և ժողովեսցէ զնոսա ի՛ տեղի որ
կոչի եբրայեցերէն կարմագեդոն:
17 Եւ եօթներորդ հրեշտակն եհե՛ղ ի սկաւառակէն իւրմէ
ի՛ վերայ...

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18 Մեծամեծաց և փոքունց. և տեսի զգազանն և զա-
19 մենայն թագաւորս երկրի և զզաւրս նոցա ժողովեալ
առնել պատերազմ ընդ այն որ հեծեալն է ի ձի սպի-
20 տակ և ընդ զաւրս նորա: և ըմբռնեցաւ գազանն
և որ ընդ նմա սուտ մարգարէքն. որ առնէին զնշանս
առաջի նորա: զորս մոլորեցոյց և ետ առնուլ զգիր
գազանին: և կենդանւոյն արկին զնոսա ի՚ լիճն հրոյն
21 այրեցելո՛յ ծծմբով: և այլքն մեռանէին ի սրո՛յ հեծե-
լոցն որ ելանէր ի՚ բերանոյ նոցա: և ամենայն թռ-
չունք յագեցան ի՚ մարմ՟նոց նոցա:

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1 Եւ տեսի ա՛յլ հրեշտակ զի իջանէր յերկնից և ունէր
2 զփականս դժոխոց. և շղթայս մեծ ի՚ ձեռինն իւրում:
և ունէր զվիշապն զաւձն առաջին. որ է ինք բեեղ զե-
3 բուղ. և սատանայ: և կապեաց զնա հազա՛ր ամ: և
արկ զնա յանդունդս դժոխոց: և փակեաց և կնքեաց
զի այլ մի՛ ևս մոլորեցուսցէ զմարդիկ. մինչև կատա-
րեսցի՛ հազար ամ՟ն: և յետ այսորիկ լուծցէ զնա սա-
կաւ ժամանակս:
4 Եւ տեսի աթոռք. և որ նստէին ի՚ վերայ նոցա դա-
տաւորութի՟ տուաւ նոցա ընտրել զհոգիս լաւացն ի՚
վկայութի՟ յի՟ և բանին ա՟յ: սոքա են որք ո՛չ երկըր-
պագեցին գազանին, և ոչ պատկերի նորա: և ոչ
առին զգիր նշանի ի՚ վերայ ճակատու իւրեանց: և ոչ
ի՚ վերայ աջոյ ձեռին իւրեանց: սոքա են որ կայցեն
5 և թագաւորեսցեն ընդ քի՟: և յետ այս որիկ ի՚ մե-
ռելոց ոչ ոք եկեսցէ մինչև ցկատարում՟ն հազար ամին:

6 այս է առաջին յարութ̅ի. երանի՛ սրբոց որք ունին
բաժին յարքայութ̅ին առաջնումն ի՚ վերայ նոցա եր-
կրորդ մահ ո՛չ ունի իշխանութ̅ի: այլ են քահանայք
7 ա̅յ և ա̅ն յի̅ ք̅ի և թագաւորեսցեն ընդ նմա: և յետ
հազար ամին լուծցէ զսատանայ և հանցէ ի՚ բանտէ
8 անտի: և ելցէ ի՚ մոլորեցուցանել զազգս ամենայն
ընդ չո՛րս կողմանս երկրի: զգո՛գ և զմագո՛գ առցէ ի՚
ձեռն ժողովել նոքաւք զամենայն զզաւրս ի՚ պատե-
րազմ: որոց թիւ նոցա իբրև զաւազ ծովու անհամար:
9 և ելցեն ի՚ լայնութ̅իս երկրի: և պատեսցեն չուրջ
զբանակս սրբոց. և զքաղաքին սիրելւոյ: և իջցէ հուր
յերկնից առ ի յա̅յ և կերիցէ զնոսա և զզաւրագլուխս
10 նոցա զսատանայ որ մոլորեցոյց զնոսա: և արկցէ
զնոսա ի՚ ծով հրոյ և ծծմբոյ ուր էր գազանն և սուտ
մարգարէքն: և չարչարեսցեն զտիւ և զգիշեր յաւի-
տեանս յաւիտենից:
11 Եւ աթոռ մի մեծ և սպիտակ և ի՚ վերայ աթոռոյն
նստեալ յորմէ յերեսաց ահէ նորա կորնչէին և փախ-
չէին երկինք և երկիր. և տեղի ո՛չ գտաւ նոցա: և
12 տեսի աթոռս մեծամեծս և մեռեալս որք կային առ
աթոռոյն: և գիր բանային իւրաքանչիւր գործոց: և
այլ գիր բանային որոց անուանք նոցա գրեալ են ի
դպրութ̅ի կենաց: այլ և դատաստան եղև մեռելոցն
14 ի գիրս ըստ գործոց իւրաքանչիւրոց: և ի մահ և ի՚
15 դժոխս մատնեցան և ի՚ լիճս հրոյ. և որ ոք ո՛չ գտցի
ի՚ գիրս կենացն գրեալ. անկցի ի՚ լիճ հրոյն:

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1 Եւ տեսի երկինս նո՛ր և երկիր նոր. քանզի առաջին
երկինք և երկիր էանց: և ծով այլ ո՛չ ևս էր: և տեսի
2 զի իջանէր յերկնից առ ի յա̅յ հա՛րսն. զարդարեալ
3 և պաճուճեալ և տուաւ ա՛ռն իւրում: և լուայ ձայն
յերկնից զի ասէր:
Ահաւասիկ խորանն ա̅յ ի՛ մէջ մարդկան. և բնակեսցէ
3 խա՛ռն ընդ նոսա. և նոքա ի՛ ժողովո՛ւրդ նորա ընդ
4 նմա. և նա ա̅ծ նոցա: և ջնջեսցէ զամենայն արտասուս
յաչաց նոցա: և մահ այլ ո՛չ ևս տիրեսցէ նոցա: ո՛չ
սուգ. և ոչ աղաղակ: ոչ ցաւք. և ոչ հոգք: զի մեր-
ժեցան և փախեա՛ն յերեսաց նոցա:
5 Եւ ասա՛ց որ նստէր ի՛ վերայ աթոռոյն. ահաւասիկ
առնեմ զամենայն նո՛ր: և ասէ ցիս՝ գրեա՛: զի ա՛յս է
բանք հաւատարիմ և ճշմարիտ: Եւ ասէ. եղէ ես ա՛յբ.
6 և քէ՛: ի սկզբանէ. և առ յապայս. և յաւիտեա՛նս. և
այժմ ե՛ս եմ: և որք են ծարաւիք տաց նոցա յաղբեւ-
7 րաց ջրոց կենդանութե՛ ըմպել ձրի՛: և որք գտցեն
յաղթաւղք. ժառանգեսցեն զայս ամենայն: և ես եղէց
նոցա ա̅ծ: և նոքա եղիցին ինձ ժողովո՛ւրդ:
8 Եւ դարձեալ մ̃ն թերահաւատից և պղծոյն. և
սպանողացն. և պոռնկացն և կախարդացն. և դեղա-
տուացն և կռապաշտաց. և ամենայն ստոց: և ամենայն
ամպարշտաց: որոց բաժին իւրեանց ի՛ լճ՛ն այրեցե-
լոյ ծըծմով: որ է մա՛հն երկրորդ:
9 Եւ եկն առ իս մի՛ յեւթանց հրեշտակացն. որք ու-
նէին զեւթն սկաւառակսն լցեալ եւթն վախճանեաւք
կատարածաւք խաւսեցաւ ընդ իս և ասէ:
10 Ե՛կ ցուցանեմ քեզ զհարսն և զկին գառինն: և ա՛ռ-
տարաւ զիս ի՛ լեառն մի բարձր և մեծ հոգւովն

սրբով։ և եցոյց ինձ զքաղաքն սուրբ զվերինն Եր̃մ։ և
զլեառն խաղաղութե̃ զի իջանէր յերկնից առ ի յա̃յ
11 ամենակալէ։ որ ունէր զփա́ռս ա̃յ։ և էր ի նմա լու-
սազարդութի̃ ական պատուականաց. և ական յաս-
12 պիս. և սարդիոն. և սառնափայլ և լուսաւոր։ և էին
պարիսպք նորա մեծամեծք։ և աշտարակք նորա
բարձունք։
Եւ ունէր յինքեան դրունք երկոտասա́ն։ և անուանք
իւրաքանչիւր ի՛ վերայ դրանցն գրեա́լ էին։ ըստ եր-
կոտասան ցեղիցն Ի̃ղի։
13 Յարևելից կողման դրունք երեք։ յարևմտից կողմանէ
դրունք երեք։ ի՛ հիւսւսոյ կողմանէ դրունք երեք։ ի՛
հարաւոյ կողմանէ դրունք երեք։
14 Եւ պարիսպք քաղաքին հիմունք երկոտասա́ն. ըստ
անուանց առաքելոց գառինն։
15 Եւ որ խաւսէր ցիս ունէր չափ ի՛ ձեռինն իւրում՝ զի
չափեսցէ զքաղաքն և զդրունս նորա. և զպարիսպս
16 նորա։ զի էր նիստ քաղաքին չորեք կուսի։ և որչափ
17 երկայնութի̃ն նոյնչափ լայնութի̃ն նորա և չափեաց
զքաղաքն չափով։ և էր չափ երկայնութե̃ն նորա. եր-
կոտասա́ն ասպարէզս։ և լայնութի̃ և բարձրութի̃ նոյն-
չափ։ և չափեաց զպարիսպ նորա ՃԽ և Դ կանգուն
ըստ չափոյ մարդկան որ է հրեշտակի։ և շինուած
18 պարսպաց նոցա յական պատուականաց յասպիս։ և
քաղաքն յոսկւոյ սրբոյ. նման ո̃բ և ապակի ապակ-
19 ւոյ։ և հիմունք քաղաքին յամենայն ական պատուա-
կանաց։
Առաջին. հիմն պարսպին. յասպիս։
Երկրորդն շափիղա́յ։
Երրորդն գոճա́զմ։
Չորրորդն զմրուխտ։
20 Հինգերրորդն զրնգնաքա́ր։

Վեցերորդն սարդիո́ն:
Եւթներորդն սուտա́կ:
Ութերորդն բիւրե́ղ:
Իններորդն տպազիո́ն:
Տասներորդն դահանա́կ:
Մետասաներորդն յակինթ:
Երկոտասաներորդն կարկեհա́ն:
21 Եւ էին երկոտասա́ն դրունք. յերկոտասան մարգար-
տեայ: միաձև իւրաքանչիւր դրունքն էին: մի́ մի́
դուռն. ի՛ միո́յ միո́յ մարգարտոյ: և մի́ջոց քաղաքին
յոսկւո́յ սրբոյ: և մօտ առ դրամբքն ճառագայթաձև
22 իբրև զբիւրեղ: և տաճար ո́չ տեսի ի Նմա. քանզի
տ̃ր ամենակալ տաճար էր ի՛ Նմա: և գառն միածին որ-
23 դին ա̃յ սեղան սրբութ̃ե: և քաղաքին չէ́ր ինչ պէտք
արեգական և լուսնի. եթէ լուսաւորեսցեն զնա: քանզի
փառքն ա̃յ լուսաւորէին զնա յամենայն ժամ, և ճրագ
24 Նորա էր գա́ռն ա̃յ: և գնային հեթանոսք ի՛ լոյս Նո-
րա. և թագաւորք երկրի լուսազգե́ստ լինէին ի՛ փա-
25 ռաց Նորա: և դրունք Նորա ո́չ փակէին. այլ բացա-
կա́յք էին հանապազորդ և գիշեր ա́յլ ո́չ ևս լինէր ի
26 Նմա: բայց միայն լուսաւորութ̃ի և փառաւորութ̃ի.
և պատուականութ̃ի քան զամենայն ականս պատուա-
27 կանս: և մի́ մտցէ անդ ամենայն չարակամ. զի մի́
պղծեսցէ զնա սաութ̃ե իւրով: բայց մտցեն ի Նմա
որոց անուանք Նոցա գրեալ են ի՛ դպրութ̃ի կենաց
որդւոյն ա̃յ:

XXII

1 Եւ եցոյց ինձ զգետն ջուրց կենդանութ̃ե լուսաւոր
սառնագոյն։ որ ելանէր յաթոռոյն ա̃յ. և գնայր ընդ
2 մէջ հրապարակաց նորա։ և զեզերբ գետոյն ունէր
ծառն կենաց. որ ունէր պտուղ երկոտասան անգամ։
ըստ միոյ միոյ տայր զպտուղ իւր։ և տերև ծառոյն էր
ի՛ բժշկութ̃ի ամենայն հեթանոսաց։ և յամենայն ծա-
ռոց յորմէ ուտէին էին աւրհնեա՛լք։ և անէծս ո՛չ ևս
3 էին ի՛ նոսա։ զի աթոռն ա̃յ և գառն էր ի նմա։ և
4 ծառայք ա̃յ պաշտէին զնա։ և տեսանէի զերեսս նո-
5 րա. և անուն նորա էր ի՛ վերա ճակատուց նոցա։ և
գիշեր ո՛չ ևս լինէր. և չէին ինչ պէտք լուսոյ ճրագի
և լուսոյ արեգական։ Զի՛ն զի տ̃ր ա̃ծ լուսաւորէր զա-
մենեսեան. և թագաւորէին յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից։
6 Եւ ասէ ցիս. ա՛յս է բանն ա̃յ հաւատարիմ և ճշմա-
րիտ։ և տ̃ր ա̃ծ որ ս̃բ հոգւոյն եցոյց մարգարէից
իւրոց որ ինչ լինելոցն է առ յապայս։
7 Ահաւասիկ եկն փաղփաղակի. երանելիք են որ լուի-
ցեն և պահեսցեն զբանս գրոյս այսորիկ։
Քանզի ես յոհաննէս լուա՛յ և տեսի զայս ամենայն։
8 և յորժամ՝ տեսի և լուայ անկանէի և երկի՛ր պագա-
նէի հրեշտակին որ եցոյց ինձ զայս ամենայն։
9 Եւ ասէ ցիս. այր դու՝ մի՛ անկանիր առաջի իմ և եր-
կիր պագաներ. քանզի ծառայակից և եղբայր քո եմ.
և որք մարգարէացան և պահեցին զբան գրոյս այսո-
10 րիկ։ ա̃յ երկիր պագ։ և ասէ ցիս դարձեալ. մի՛ կա-
պեր և մի՛ կնքեր զբան մարգարէութ̃ես այսորիկ։
11 քանզի ժամանակ դորա մերձեա՛լ է։ որ ամպարշտելոցն
է՝ ամպարշտեսցի՛. և որ աղտեղանալոցն է՝ աղտե-
ղասցի՛։ և որ արդարանալոցն է՝ արդարասցի՛։ և որ
սրբելոցնէ՝ սրբեսցի։

12 Ահա վարձահատոյց. և վարձ իւրաքանչիւր ըստ գոր-
ծոց իւրեանց:
13 Ես եմ այբ: և ես եմ քէ: ես եմ սկիզբն և ես եմ
կատարած. ասէ տ՟ր ամենակալ:
14 Երանելիք են որ կարդասցեն զաւրէնս նորա: Նոքա
ունիցին իշխանութի՟ ծառոյն կենաց: և մտանեն ընդ-
դրունս քաղաքին ա՟յ:
15 Այլ կայցեն արտաքս շունք: դեղատուք: սպաննողք:
կռապաշտք: շնացողք: և ամենայն որ գնան և խաւ-
սին ստութե՟:
16 Ես յ՟ս առաքեցի զհրեշտակ իմ վկայել զայս ամենայն
յեկեղեցիս:
17 Ես եմ արմատն և զաւակն դաւթայ, և աստղն առա-
ւաւտուն. և հոգի՟ տ՟ր: և փեսայն որ գալոցն եմ: որ
ոք ծարաւի իցէ և կամեսցի գալ առ իս. եկեսցէ և
արբցէ զջուրն կենդանի ձրի:
18 Վկայ եմ ես ամենայնի որ լսայ զբան մարգարէութե՟
գրոյս այսորիկ զի մի ոք յաւելցէ ի սմա: և մի ոք
պակասեցուսցէ ի սմանէ: եթէ ոք յաւելուցու ի սմա:
յաւելցէ և բազմացուսցէ ա՟ծ ի՛ վերայ նորա զհա-
19 րուածս ամենայն որ գրեալ է ի գիրս յայսմիկ: և
եթէ ոք պակասեցուսցէ բան. և հանցէ ի բանից
մարգարէութե՟ս. հանցէ ա՟ծ զբաժին նորա ի ծառոյն
կենաց. և ի քաղաքէն սրբոյ. որ գրեալ է ի՛ գիրս
20 յայսմիկ: ասաց որ վկայեաց զայս ամենայն. այո՛
գամ ես վաղվաղակի՛ գամ:

COLLATIO CODICUM

HOS CODICES CONTULI

α = British Museum Codex Addit. 18549, A. D. 1278.

β = British Museum Codex Addit. 19730, sæculo decimo tertio a Thoro (Theodoro) quodam exaratus.

γ Codex apud Bibliothecam Societatis quae vocatur *British and foreign Bible Society* Londini conservatus. Is codex Testamenta vetus novumque amplectitur, optimae notae, A. D. 1667 exaratus. Ecce Colophon huius Codicis: *գրեցաւ գիրք այս մեծաջան քննութ͞բ ի հնոց թարգմանչաց աւրինակէ, և է ըստ նոցա ճշմարիտ քննական թարգմանութ͞են, և գտանի ի դմա գիր յաւել և պակաս յանուանս. և ի տեղիս ըստ բառին վայելչութ͞ե՝ և սուղութ͞ե: Մի որ համարձակեսցի մտահաճութ͞բ գիր յաւելուլ կամ պակասել՝ զի և մեք ոչ մտածութ͞բ՝ այլ ըստ նոցա ՟ծածիր պարզեացն գրեալս նոցա սուղիւ գծագրեցաք: Զայս եղաք առ ի հաւատարմութ͞ե՝ աներկեան լինել ի կարծեաց: Յիշեցէք 'ի քո͞.*

Nota bene! Littera α simpliciter in collatione posita prae se fert consensum codicum α β γ.

A Collation of the Mss. α β γ with the Armenian Text printed by the British & Foreign Bible Society, Gilbert & Rivington, London, 1892.

Ch. 1

1. om ինչ α t r առ յովհաննէս Ծ. իւր α։

2. om զվկայութիւն α զբանէն α։

3. կարդացէ] ընթեռնու α om կամ լուիցէ α զբանս մարգ-այարէին և որ լսէ և պահէ զոր ինչ ի սմա α։

4. ի] ես α Յովհաննէս α om են α om յաստուծոյ α և յեւթն հոգւոյն զաւրութենէ βγ (but γ adds զաւրութեց in mg before հոգւոյն)։

5. մեռելոց γ սիրեացն βγ։

6. որում] նմա α om այժմ և միշտ և α om յաւիտենից β om ամէն αγ։

7. ամպս] + երկնից α և տեսցեն զնա ամ ծ. ե.] om α խոցեցինն α զնա ամ. յերկրի] om α նորա] + ամ ազգք երկրի α։

8. այբ] ալֆա α om ես եմ sec vice α քէ] ով α before որ էն add 4 α alone գալոց է տէր ամենակալ βγ։

9. նեղութ̃] վշտաց α before ի քրիստոս om որ α կղզիս αβ om անուանեալ α բանին] + այ α om վասն α։

10. om և before եղէ α alone յաւուր կիւրակէի α լուայ զկնի իմ ձայն մեծ α զձայն – ցիս] զփողոյ ասելով α ես եմ – վերջին] om α alone ալփան γ [և ովն առաջինն և վերջինն βγ։

11. յեօթն] առ եւթն βγ։

11. եկեղեցիսն βγ om որ α սարդիս α սարդիկեայ βγ om ի փիղադելփիա և ի լաւոդիկեա β։

12. դարձայ] + ես α խաւսէր ընդիս α իմում] իմ α։

13. om եօթն α om պատմուճան α։

14. հերքն] հեր α իբրև] որպէս β որպէս] իբրև αγ զրոց α։

15. նման պղնձի α։

16. *յաջ իւր* om *ձեռինն* β γ *ի բերանոյ նորա սուր երկսայրի սրեալ ելանէր* α *երևէր* α β։

17. before *իբրև* om *և* α *Նորա իբրև*] *Նորպէս* α om *ցիս* α *առաջին*] *սկիզբն* α *յետին*] *վախճան* α։

18. before *ես* om *և* α om *նոյն* & add *եմ* α *մեռայն և աՀաւասիկ կենդանի եմ յաւիտեանս յաւ.* & omit the rest α om *ամէն* α։

19. *տեսանեսդ*։

20. *աստեղ* α։ *աստեղն* β γ *տեսեր* α *յաջոյ* α γ *և ոսկի ճրագարանացն* α *և եւթն եկեղեցեացն Հրեշտակք ճրագարանքդ եօթն*] *եւթն աշտանակքն* α։

Ch. 2

1. om *կարողն* α *և զեւթն աստեղս յաջ իւր* & om *ձեռին* after *ի մէջ* om *եւթն* β *աշտանակաց* α։

2. *գիտեմ*] *տեսի* α after *զգործս* om *քո* α alone *զվաստակ* α alone om *քո* bis α *զի ոչ կարես բառնալ զչարսն* α *որ ասեն*] *զի ասէին* α β։ *զի ընձայէին* γ *զինքեանս*] *զանձինս* α after *առաքեալս* add *գոլ* α *են*] *էին* α *և Հերբայեցիս և ստեն*] *և գտար զնոսա սուտս և բարձեր զնոսա* α։

3. *Համբարեց* β om *և վշտացար* α։

4. om *առ* α alone *զսէր* α alone *զառաջինն* β γ։

5. om *այժմ* α։

6. *ատեմ* α։

7. *լսելոյ* om α alone *Հոգին*] + *սուրբ* β γ *յաղթէ, տացէ* γ։

8. *անվախճանն*] *անկատարածն* γ։

9. *չէին ինչ*] *չէ ինչ* α։ *ոչ են ինչ* γ։

10. **կամիս**] *Հանդերձեալ ես* γ *չարչարել* α *Հանդերձեալ է* α։

11. *ականջս*] *ունկն* γ *լսելոյ* om β γ om *սուրբ* α γ։

13. after *քո* om *և* β *զի*] *ուր* γ *բնակեալն* γ։

13. *զի վկայ է իմ Հ. ամ Հաւ.*] om α alone which adds in mg scholion *անթիպաս եպ'' էր պերգամոյ որո տօնն է յապրելի ժ.* om *Հաւատարիմ* γ *որ կայք* om β γ։

14. *ունիմ*] + *ասել* β γ, and α adds it in mg in an old hand after *սակաւ* α (alone) erases four letters *վարդապետու* *sic* β *բաղամս* α *զոՀել* α γ։

15. Նիկողայեաց β։ Նիկողայեցւոց γ ասեմ α γ։

16. Նստա] first hand corrects to ձեզ α alone։

17. լսելոյ om α after Հոգին add որ β տայէ նմա γ զանուն նորա β։ անուն նոր α։

18. om առ α γ հրեշտակին α։

20. և առ քեզ ասեմ γ զեզաբէլ α։

21. ապաշխարեաց γ։

24. որ ի α γ որք ոչ β γ սակայն ոչ արկից β γ զձեւք] + այլ β γ։

25. om այլ β γ։

26. after յաղթէ om և։

27. Հովեսցէ β, & so always։

28. Նոցա] նմա β։

29. լսելոյ om α Հոգին որ β after եկեղեցիս add որ զոցին յաղթող γ։

Ch. 3

1. Հրեշտակ Սարդիկեցւոց β։

3. զգալուսան իմ γ։

4. ունիս] որք ունի β։ որ ունիս γ։

5. Խոստովանեցից β γ։

6. om լսելոյ α և Հոգին ասէ α alone։

7. Հրեշտակ եղբայրասիրաց before փակէ՝ և ոչ om և β γ։

8. զի սակաւազաւրութն α β γ after which α adds դու & β քո դու sic զբան իմ α β։ զբանն իմ γ։

9. before տամ om ես α։

10. զբանն γ om ես β յերկրի երեսս α alone։

12. om այլ β նորա նոր α first hand, which is corrected և նոր by erasure of անոր։ β om նորա։

14. Հրեշտակ β։

16. om դու γ գեաղջ α։ գաղջ β։ գաղձ γ խմէ] խմոյ α։ խմէ β։

17. ոչ խմիք γ։

18. after յաչս քո β leaves a lacuna of three letters։

19. զորս β։

20. ofter դուրս add քո γ բանա γ։

21. after որպէս om և α β։

22. ունի α γ after ականջս add լսելոյ α alone և Հոգին ասէ β։

Ch. 4

1. յետ այսորիկ & om ձմի α երկնից added above line in first hand α alone om առաջնոյ α β after լուայ add զառա- ջինն α է առ յապայն & omit ժամանակս α:

2. thus: եւ վաղվաղակի եղե ես հոգւով և ահա աթոռ անդր (անդի γ) յերկինս:

3. thus: եւ յաթոռն նստեալ նմանութե̃ տեսութեանց ականց etc.

4. և երիցունք քսան և չորք զգեցեալք ոսկեղէնս:

5. որ են – աթոռոյն] α omits in text, but adds in mg in first band: β γ retain:

6. om էր β γ նման] ի նմանութե α after աթոռոյն add և շուրջ աթոռովն α before լի om և α & after լի om էին α և յետոյ և առաջոյ:

8. թռուցեալ β γ շուրջ լցեալ աչովք և ոչ & omit rest α սուրբ is repeated nine times in α β էնն և ես և գալոց:

9. om փառս և α β: γ retains զպատիւ և զգոհութե̃ β om յաւիտեանս γ after յաւիտենից add ամէն α β:

10. անկանէին – յաւիտենից om α β: γ retains after անկա- նէին add առաջի աթոռոյն γ and om առաջի նստելոյն յաթոռն om յաւիտեանս γ դնէին] դնելով α առէին α:

11. արժան α է քեզ α β: է γ om սուրբ α զփառս և զպա- տիւ α om զաւրութե α ստեղծեր] ստացար α և ի քո կամելդ α:

Ch. 5

1. տեսի յաջոյ ձեռինն α om ի վերայ α յաթոռն & add զի ունէր α om և before կնքեալ:

2. ի ձ. մ.] ձայնիւ մեծաւ և ասէր α ով է β γ:

2. զգիրք նորա β: զգիրք α զկնիք զորա α γ:

3. յերկրի α:

4. ես լայի ուժգին] ողբային բազումք α հայել ի նա] ընթեռ- նուլ զնա կամ տեսանել զնա α:

5. մի] + ում α լար] ողբայր α զգիրսն α om լուծանել α:

6. om տեսի α om ի մէջ α β զենեալ α γ in text & կնքեալ

in mg α։ *զլինել* β *որ* β։ *որոյ* α γ *ունէր*] om γ։ *էր* α β *և եւթն աչս* α *որք են* α om *որ են* before *առաքեալ* α։

8. *զգիրքն* α β։

9. *նոր* α *զգիրսդ* α β։ *զգիրդ* γ *ժողովրդոց* α β։

10. *և քահանայս և թագաւորս* α β։

12. before *ասէին*] add *և* α։ add *որք* β *արժանի է* α։

13. *և որ ի ծովու* β *զի*] *որ* β։

Ch. 6

1. *զմինն* α before *զամ* om *թէ* α β։

2. *որ հեծեալն էր* over rasura in α alone։

4. *ի վերայ նորա*] *ի նմա* α β։

6. *և երեք – միոջ*] om β *երեք*] *երրորդ* γ։

7. *և կենդանւոյն չորրորդ* β *ասէ* β om *թէ* α β։

8. *շլոռոս*] α & γ in mg have this gloss։ *որ է պաւղլախ*։

9. *զեննեալ*] *կնքեալ* β *ասէին*] *ասէ* α alone։

11. *արկանիս* β *ժամանակս* β *են*] *էին* α։

12. *սեւ* α β *այծեաց* β։

13. *շարժիցի*] *չնչեսցի* β։

14. *երկինք* γ։

17. *կալ*] *կեալ* α alone։

Ch. 7

3. om *ի ճակատս նոցա* α։

4. before *հարիւր* add *զի էին* α *հազարք* α β։

5. *կնքեալ*] *կնքեալք* all through։

9. *թիւս* α β։

10. before *գառնին* add *առաջի*։

14. *և ասեմ* & om *ցնա* γ։

17. *յերեսաց*] *յաչաց* α։

Ch. 8

5. before *ձայնք* om *և*։

7. after *յերկիր* om, *և* γ *զերրորդ*] *զերկրորդ* α γ *և զերրորդ մ. ծ. ա. և զ̃մ դ. խ. ա.*] om α β, but not γ *այրեաց*] om γ։

9. *զաւզակաց* α γ *և երրորդ մ. ն. ընկ.*] om α։

12. *փողեաց*] *հարկանէր* α *գիշերոյն* β γ։

13. *թուցելոյ* α։ *թաեցելոյ* β *լինիցի*] *լիցի* α β after *ձայն* add *ես* & omit after *երիցն* α։

Ch. 9

1. *անկաւ*] *անկանէր* α β after *յերկնից* add *յերկիր* α։

3. *ի յերկիր* α *զխայթոց* β

4. *մարդկան* α β *երկրայնոց* *որք* α β *զկնիքն* α β *ճակատուց* α β։ *ճակատոց* γ։

5. *հարկանէ* γ *ցանկայցին* γ։

8. *զառիւծուց* α β *երկաթիս* α։

9. *կառավարաց* β *կարճաց* β։

11. *ունէին* β γ *աբբադոն* γ *աղբադոն* — *աճաւասիկ*] α (alone) over rasura has: *ապիոոն յունարէն իսկ աբոլիոն և լադինուն անուն կորիւն* in modern hand.

13. *կենդանեաց էին*] *էն* α։

14. *զկապեալսն* α։

15. *չորս* α alone։

16. *զթիւն* β։

17. *հրդեհեալ* α։

19. *զանիրաւսն* β։

20. *այսցանէ*] + *և* β before *ի պոռնկ.* omit *և* α γ։

Ch. 10

1. *Իբրև զսիւն* α alone։

3. before *զոչեաց* add *և* α β after *աղաղակեաց* α (alone) adds *ի ձայն մեծ* over which a late hand adds *խօսեցան*։ γ adds *և որոտմունքն* α γ *ձայնսն* α γ։

5. *ի վերայ ցամաքի* α։

6. *զերկիր*] *զերկինս* α *զոր* α alone *ի նմա*] + *և զերկիր և զոր ի նմա* α γ։

7. *ձեռն* om α *ծառայիցն* α alone *մարգարէից* β։

8. *զգրկոյսն* β γ & so in 10 α։

9. *յորովայնի քում* γ։

10. *կլայ*] *կլի* γ։

Ch. 11

2. *տուեալ*] *առեալ* β *երկու* α β։

4. *ձիթենիք* α։

5. *կամեսցին* α β *մեռանել*] *մեղանչել* γ *բերանոյ* α β *կամեսցին* α β։

6. *փակել – իշխանութի*] om β։

7. *աւուրս*] *ժամանակս* γ։

8: *ի մէջ*] *իմ* γ։

9. *զնոսա*] *զնա* β om *զկէս* α։

10. *ի վերայ երկրի* γ before *տանել* add *տան* α։

11. om *յաստուծոյ* α alone *կայցեն* բ γ *սպանինն*] *տեսինն* α։

12. *ձայն* α γ *մեծ*] + *յերկնից* γ *իւրեանց*] *նորա* α։

15. *յիսուսի*] om α γ։

16. *որք նստէին* α β։

17. *որք էնն* α β։

19. *այ որ ի* β *որատուածի* β։

Ch. 12

1. *յաստեղաց երկ.* α β։

2. *ծնանելն* α β։

3. after *վիշապ* om *մի գլխոց նորա* α γ։

5. add *որդի* before *արու* β om *առ* α γ *աթոռն* β γ։

9. *հրեշտակքն* β։

10. *չարախաւսէրն* α β *ի տուէ և գիշերի* β։

12. om *ամենայն* γ *էին ի* β *կայցէ* β։

14. before *անդ* five letters erased in α alone։

15. γ has as foll: *եւ մինչդեռ գնայր եհեղ վիշապն զհետ կնոջն ջուր բազում զի զնա ընդգմեսցէ*։

16. *զջուրն*] *զգետն* γ om *ընդ* before *կնոջն* γ։

Ch. 13

2. after իշխանութիւն add իւր β։
4. ընդ դմա։
7. եւ տուաւ – նոցա] om α։
8. երկրպագեցեն α β ամենեքեան α β գառինն զենլոյ α։
10. որք սրով α որք անձամբ α արկանիցեն α β։
14. ի վերայ սրոյն α alone եկաց α։
15. և երկիր պագցէ γ։
16. փոքունս β γ om դրոշմ γ յաջոյ ձեռինն α ճակատուց α alone after նոցա add դրոշմ γ։
18. ունիցի α alone om անուան α նորա] որ α alone before վեց add հազար α վեց – վեց] β thus in red letters: ՈԿԶ Ո յ Մ։

Ch. 14

1. α (alone) corrects հարիւր from հազար որք ունէին α զանուն β γ։
2. որպէս] իբրև α զձայն β ձայն իբրև զքնար β զի] որ γ։
3. աթոռոյն] + ոյ β ազատեալք α β։
4. երթայցէ α β։
5. բերանս α են] իցեն α γ։
6. յերկիր α։
7. om երկնի և γ։
8. գինւոյ α β արբոյց β։
9. և ասէր ի ձայն մեծ α իդ և] և կամ α։ կամ β աջոյ ձեռին իւրում α։
10. բաժակէն α։
11. նոցա] նորա α։
12. պահեցին γ։
13. որ] զի γ։
14. իւր] նորա β։
15. նկախս β γ ժամանակ] ամ։
16. α β γ omit this verse.
17. α alone omts this verse և սա] ես γ։
18. ելանէր] ել α երկրի α β խաղողս α β։
19. հնձան զխաղողն ի նմա և α β։

Ch. 15

1. after գազանին add և պատկերի նորա α γ omitting below. similariy β adds պատկերին omitting նորա։
3. ճանապարհ α γ before մ ա̃մ add ի վերայ։
4. զի դու – երկրպագելոյ] om β after միայն add ես α։
5. տաճար α γ է յերկինս α։
6. տաճարէն α γ գաւտևորեալք α γ add և before գաւտիս β։
7. և կենդանւոյ ա̃յ β։

From Ch. 16

1. onwards γ is not collated & α carries conseusus of β.

Ch. 16

1. սկաւառակաւ α։
2. չարաչարք β զդրոշմն α։
3. զսկաւառակն α ի ծով β։
5. լուեա α զի] որ β մարգարէից α։
7. լուեա ձայն ի սեղանոյն զի ասէր α։
10. ի յախտէ α։
11. հայհոյեին α։
14. և ա̃մ թագաւորս α յօրն] յաւուրն α։
15. մերկս α։
16. ժողովեցին α alone արմագեդդոմն։
18. before ձայնք om և որպիսի – շարժումն մեծ] om α alone։
19. մասունս α մեծն β զինոյ α։
21. տաղանդի միոջ հայհոյեին α հարուածոյ α հարուածքն β։

Ch. 17

4. om և մարգարտով β պոռնկութեանբք α։
6. սրբոցն α վկայիցն] + քրիստոսի β։
7. զխորհուրդ β զլուխս α եղջերս α։
8. նոցա] իւրեանց α։

9. իդ և om α։

10. մինն α սակաւ α։

12. զօրս α իշխանք added by later hand over line in α alone.

15. տալ ցիս α after զպոռնիկն add զնա α alone.

17. և եղ ած α alone before մի add ի α։

18. է ի քաղաքն α alone.

Ch. 18

1. ունի β երկիրս α։

2. մեծ α ողոց անսրբից α։

3. before զինոյ add ամ α alone որք β om ի before նորա & read զաւրութ̅ե β։

4. և մի – ած զամբ. զօրա] om α։

7. յամի β adding ի above line & omitting ժամ. թագուհի α alone.

8. զզա] զնա α։

9. լացցեն α alone և թագ. երկ. ի. վ. զօրա α om տան-ջանաց α։

11. ազատցին β զբեռինս β after ոք add է որ α։

12. խնկոց α։

13. և եղ α after ձէթ om և α alone նաշի β after ոչ խար om և β։

14. om ամ β եւ] + այլ β։

15. after երկիզի add և α alone.

15, 16 առնլով ասացեն & om: եւ α։

16. զոսկէզաւծս α։

17. պակասեցաւ] ապականեցաւ α որք ի α նաւին α & om, և before նաւազք α alone.

18. add և before տեսլով β։

19. add և before լալով α։

21. և մեծ իբրև զերկան α alone.

22. om արուեստականաց α alone.

23. before Հարսին om ձայն α alone, & after it om այլ α β դեղատուութեամբ α ազգք] ազինք α։

Ch. 19

4. երկիր պագեցին α յաթոռն α om ամէն β։

5. որք] որ α։ ոյք β.

6. որոտմանց α։

9. ասէ β որք α։

10. վկայութիւնն β before հոգւոյն add և α alone էր] է β։

14. ապխտակօք om α։

20. դրոշմն α alone և գնոստ արկին α alone.

Ch. 20

2. ըմբռնեալ α alone om և before սատանայ β։

3. լուծանիլ α alone ժամանակս β։

4. զոգիս α alone չարչարեցելոցն α վկայութե β զդրոշմն α before հազար add մինչև ի։

6. ունիցին α մահ α։

7. հանէ երկրի] so in mg in first hand but in text աշխարհի α alone.

7. որոց թիւ α։

8. լայնութիւնս α։

9. և զզաւրագլուխն ն. զս. որ մ. գնոստ om α β։

12. զմեծամեծս α գրեցելոցն α։

14. իւրեանց։] + և β լիճն β այս է մ. երկ.] om α β։

15. և որ ոք ոչ α։

Ch. 21

2. after որպէս ada և α։

5. նստէրն α։

5. ճշմարիտք և հաւատարիմք α։

6. ալփա է ով] այբ և քէ β։

7. ջրոյ կենաց ձրի in recent hand over rasura α alone.

8. անհաւատիցն α։

10. զհարան β հոգւով α զքաղաք α զերուսաղէմ α alone էր] ի α։

12. իւրաքանչիւր․

13. և իդ et sec vice om α։

16. լայնութիւնն α բարձրութիւնն bis α կիւլօս] կխ... (4 letters erased) α alone։

17. զպարիսպ α after հարիւր om և α։

20. մետասաներորդ յակինդ β երկոտասաներորդ β։

21. զապիկի։

25. om ի նմա β։ om ի α։

27. են] էին α զպղութեան β։

Ch. 22

2. ընդ մէջ α ծառս α որք բերէին α ծառոցն α։

3. զառինն α։

5. ոչ էր անդ β չէր ինչ] ոչ էին α լուսաւորէ α։

8. before ես om եւ β։

10. զրոցս այսմիկ α։

11. սրբելոցն իցէ α։

12. ահա ես գամ α om ըստ & read զգործս β։

15. after դեղատուք om և α։

16. ես եմ յարմատոյ և ի սեռէ դաւթայ α։

17. իցէ] է α զջուր α։

18. before ես om և α այսմիկ α զրեալ α alone.

19. ի բանից – պակասեցուցէ om α β through similar ending գիրս յայս α alone.

20. վաղվաղ α alone եկն α։

21. om մերոյ α։

CORRIGENDA

Ligne	Page	Verset	
26	3	13	ընկեալ. corriger ընակեալ
11	7	4	երեցունք. corr. երիցունք
13	7	5	փայլատակունք. corr. փայլատակմունք
22	8	8	երեցունքն. corr. երիցունքն
23	8	8	ոսի. corr. ոսկի
25	8	9	ասեսին. corr. ասեին
28	8	11	հրեշտաց. corr. հրեշտակաց
7	9	14	երեցունքն. corr. երիցունքն
28	9	6	après գարուոյ գենարի ajouter միոջ
8	10	11	արկանելիս au lieu de արկանել իս
8	10	11	après ապխտակս: omettre le premier և
27	11	9	գիւրեամբ au lieu de գիւրնամբ
18	12	17	զամենայն au lieu de զասենայն
32	14	17	(dernier mot) զրահս au lieu de զբահս
10	15	20	կուոց au lieu de կրոց
17	16	2	չափեր au lieu de չափեթ
17	17	11	աւուրց au lieu de աւուրր
27	17	14	երկրորդ անց au lieu de երկրորդանց
	19		première ligne իւրովք au lieu de իւրոքք
	19		seconde ligne յերկինս au lieu de յերկենս
23	19		verset 15 բազումս au lieu de բազոմս
14	21		» 17 ունիցի au lieu de ունեցի
	22		ligne quatrième lisez 6 au lieu de 5 à la marge
26	24		verset 6 de chapitre XVI au lieu de սրբոյն lisez սրբոցն
	26		» 5 au lieu de այս որիկ lisez այսորիկ
23	30		» 27 ամենայն au lieu de ասենայն

COLLATIO CODICUM

CODICES

1 = Codex Bodley Arm. E. 2.
2 = British Museum Orient. 5304.
3 = Paris Bibliothéque Nationale Anc. Fonds Arm. 9.

A collation of Codices 2 and 3 with Codex I.

Prm	=	Prior Manus.
Rcm	=	Recens Manus.
Vtm	=	Vetus Manus.
Præm	=	Præmittit.
Cet	=	Cetera.
Sbst	=	Substituit.
Ras	=	Rasura.
Sec	=	Secundus.
+	=	Addit, addunt.
Add	=	Addit, addita.
Om	=	Omittit.
Scr	=	Scripsit.
Cor	=	Corrigit, Corrector.
Ref	=	Refinxit.
Tr	=	Transfert.
Supras	=	Super rasuram.
Suplin	=	Supra lineam.
Mg	=	In Margine.

Uncis inclusa sic [...] = quæ in cod 3 supras addit corrector, uel in margine, uel supra lineam.

I

1 *որոյ* 3 prm: *ի ձեռն որոյ* 2 (cor + *ի ձ.* 3) – *ետ ա̄ծ* 3 – *ինչ* om 2 – *ծառ. իւր. յոհ.* 3:

2 + *որ վկայեաց զբանէն ա̄յ և զվկայութի̄ն յի̄ ք̄ի զոր ետես և որ էր և որ լինելոց էր յետ այնորիկ* 2: + *զվկայութի̄ բանին ա̄յ և զվկայութի̄ յի̄ ք̄ի* [*զոր ետես*] 3:

3 *որ ընթեռնու զբանս մարգ. այսորիկ և որ լսէ և պահէ զոր ինչ ի սմա* 2 – + *զի ժամանակս մերձեալ է* 2 et cor 3 ubi tamen mpr spatium scribendi reliquerat.

4 *յովհաննէս* & om *ի* 2 – *եկկեղեցիսն* sic 3 – om *են* 2 – *չնորհք* – + [*յէէն և որ էն և որ գալոցն է*], *և յեւթն զաւրութե̄ց հոգոյն՝ որ է առաջի աթոռոյն իւրոյն:*

5 + *և ի յի̄ ք̄ի հաւատարիմ՝ վկայէն որ է անդրանիկ* In Cod I propter abscissam paginæ partem infer ista omnia desunt – Post *մերոց* + *արեամբն* 2: + *արեամբ իւրով* cor 3:

6 *զմեղ* [*թագաւորս և*] *քահանայ(ս* 2) *ա̄յ և հաւր իւրոյ, նմա* (*որում՝* 3) *փառք և զաւրութի̄* (+ *այժմ՝ և* 3) *յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից* (+ *ամէն* 3). scr prm 3 *արժանի արքայութե̄ իւր:*

7 *երկնից, և տեսցեն զնա ա̄մ՝ ազգ և որք խոց. և կոծեսցին ի վ̄ր ն̄ր ա̄մ՝ ազգք երկրի. այո՝ ամէն. ես եմ՝ ալփայ և օ, ասէ տ̄ր ա̄ծ, որ էնն և որ է և որ գալոց է* 2 – *տեսցեն* [*զնա*] *ա̄մ՝ աչք, և տեսցեն զնա ծագք աշխարհի,* [*և կոծեսցեն ի վ̄ր ն̄ր* mg], *և որք խոցեցինն զնա ամենեքեան յերկրի. այո՝ ամէն. ես* 3:

8 *ասէ տ̄ր ա̄ծ որ էն և* [*որ էրն*] *և որ գալ. է ամենակալ:*

9 հաւաս. նեղութեն և արք. 3 – արք. [և համբերութեն] որ (om 2) ի քն յն – om բաղ. համ. գրեմ ձ. – ես էի] եղէ [ես] – ի կղզիս որ կոչի պ. վն բ. ա՟յ և վկ. 2 – om ա՟յ 3 – յն քն:

10 pr և om 2 – հոգւին 2: հոգի 3 – om տր – ի կիւր. աւուր 3 – tr զկնի իմ զձ. մ. 2 – զձայն [զհետ իմ զմեծ] 3 – իբրև փողոյ ասելով 2:

11 ես եմ աղփա՛յն և ո՛մն, առաջինն և վերջինն. զոր 2 – տես. գր. ի գ. և ա. առնել om 2 – գիրս 3 – որ om 2 – պերգամոս 3: պերգամոնին 2 – թիւատիր 2 – սարդիկեա – փիլադելփին 2: – փիա 3 – լաւոդիկեայ:

12 զայի pr m, դարձայ cor mg 3 – և դարձայ ես տեսանել 2 – զձայնն որ խաւսէր – ընդ om 3 – իս 2 – և [ի դառնալն իմ] տեսի ՟է ճրագարան ոսկի. և ի մէջ ՟է (om 2) ճրագ:

13 զգեց. պճղնաւոր և գ. 2 – post պատմ. + պճղն. mg cor 3 – ստեամբքն գաւտի ոսկեղէն:

14 եւ գլուխ նր և հերքն (հեր 2) նր (om 3) իբրև – զասր սպ. և ա. նր իբրև om 2 – post սպիտակ + և որպէս ձիւն m rc mg 3:

15 պղնձի [ծխելոյ ի մէջ հնոցի հրաշէկ] 2 & 3 ubi pr m scr լիբանանու:

16 ունէր յաջ իւր 2 – սուր երկսայրի սրեալ ելանէր 2:

17 եւ իբրև 3 – ցիս om 2 – երկնչիր – ես եմ առաջին և հետին և ես 3:

18 նոյն որ 3 – մեռայն (մեռայ 3), և ահաւասիկ (om 3) կենդանի եմ (tr եմ կ. 3) յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. ամէն (om 2). և ունիմ:

19 տեսանես [որ էն] և որ – յապա om 2 – և որ հանդերձեալ 3 – post լինել + յետ այնորիկ 2: + այս 3:

20 զխորհուրդ ՟է աստեղն զոր տեսանես յաջոյ իմ և զ՟է

ոսկի ճրագարանացն. ՟է աստեղքն է, եկեղեցեացն հրեշտակքն են, և ՟է աշտանակն ՟է եկեղեցիքն են 2: խորհուրդ (գլ. cor mg) ՟է աստեղաց զոր տեսերդ յաջմէ իմ՝ և ՟է ճրագարանմն ոսկիս՝ ՟է աստեղքն հրեշտակք ՟է եկկեղեցեացն (sic) են, և ճրագարանքն ՟է՝ ՟է եկ. են 3:

II

1 արդ om – հրեշտակս 2: հրեշտակ 3 – այսպէս ասէ զ՟է աստեղս – յաջ իւր 2 – ի մէջ ՟է 3 – աշտանակաց 2:

2 տեսի զգործս 2 – վաստակս քո 3 – զհամբերութ՟իս քո (om 2) և զի ոչ – կարես բառնալ զչարսն 2 – զորս] և – զնոսա om – զի ընձայէին զանձինս առաքեալս և ոչ էին. և գտեր զն՟ս սուտս 2: որ ասեն զինք. առ. և ոչ են. և հերբաեցիս ստեն 3:

3 և բարձեր զն՟ս և համբերեցեր վ՟ս ան. իմ. և աշխատեցար 2: և համբ. և վշտացար վս. ան. իմ. և ոչ չարչարիս 3:

4 քեզ թէ (զի 2) զսէր քո զառ. – զխս om:

5 յիշեա այժմ 3 – անկարն 2 – ապաշխարեա om 3 – և զառ. գ. քո արա՛. ապա թէ ոչ՝ գամ ես, և չ. 2 – post քո + արայ sup lin m vet 3 – գայ քեզ շարժումն և շարժէ 3 – զաշտարակս:

6 արդ զայս արա՛, զի 2 – ատեացես 3 – զոր ես om 2 – ատեմ] ատեամ:

7 ունի 2 – լսելոյ om 3 – ՟ու om 3 – որ գայցէ յաղթող և առաքինացեալ բարուն 2 – որք յաղթէ 3 – և առաք. բար. om 3 – տաց ՟նմա ուտել sup ras cor 3 ubi prm ն...ուտիցեն – ի փայտէն կ. 2:

8 եւ ցհրեշտակն զմ. եկեղեցեացն գրեաց 2 – pr այս-

պէս om – ասէ որ էն սկիզբն և կատարածն. որ ե.
մ. և եկաց 2: ասէ առաջին և հետինն և մեռեալն և
կեանքն 3 – վն մ. և վն եկ. om:
9 pr և sup ras 3 – զնեղ. և զաղքատութիւ. այլ ի
մեծ. 3 – զնեղ. այլ աղք. քո ի մ. լիցի. զի զփ. և
զհայհոյութի՛ն զոր ասէին հրէայքն լսես. զի համարին
զինքեանս և չեն, այլ են նք̅ ժղվ Սատանայի 2 – և
ոչ ի փ. om 3 – զհայհոյութիս զոր ասեն հրէայքն. զի
նք̅ և ոչ ինչ են. այլ են 3 & om cetera:
10 մի զու երկ. 3 – զի թէպէտ և չ. են զքեզ om 3 –
pr և om 2 – ահաւասիկ 2 – կամի| խորհին նք̅
խորհուրդ 3 – om զոմանս – արկ. ի բանդ և ի փոր-
ձու՛ի, և ձեզ վշտանալ 2 – արկանել զի փորձեսջիք.
և զայ ձեզ նեղու՛ի աւուրս 3 – կաց և om 3 – հա-
ւատացեալ 2: հաւատով 3 – ի մահ – + և տաց
(տացես 3) քեզ զպսակն կենաց:
11 լսելոյ om – ոք om 3 – լսիցէ 2 – ասէ առ եկեղե-
ցիս – որ յաղթեն մի 3 – որ զայցէ յաղթող մի՛
երկիցէ 2:
12 պերգխամոյ 3 – պերգամացւոյ եկ. գր. ա՛ս որ զսուր
երկբերանեան սր. ունի 2:
13 գիտեմ զգործս քո և ուր բնակ. 3 – արկեալ om
2 – է om 3 – այլ ունիս 2: և ունին 3 – զանուն
իմ և ո՛չ ուրացար զհաւատն իմ, այլ յաւուրս յայս
ա՛մ որ եղև վկա հաւատարիմ վն իմ, որք մեռան ի
ձէնջ, ի բնակելն սատանաի առ ի կողմանս ի ձէնջ
2: և ոչ [ուրացար] զհաւատարիմ [յաւուրս յորում
անթիպաս վկայն իմ հաւատարիմ եղև որ սպանաւ
ի ձէնջ ուր Սատանայ է բնակեալ] 3 sup ras cor:
14 ասեմ| հասեալ է և 2 – [այլ ունիմ ասել առ քեզ
սակաւ] sup ras cor 3 – վն om 3 – որ ուսոյց –
առաջի որդւոցն – նոցա զզոհեալն om 2 – ընդ զառ.
այլ. om 3:

15 post այսպէս + ասէ տր 2: + ասէ sup ras 3 - Նիկողայոսի] ի կողմանս 2:

16 արդ] ի բաց 2: բայց 3 - ես, և վաղ. պատ 2 - ընդ նմա - սրով բերանս իմս 2: սրով բերանով իմով 3:

17 որոյ են ականջս 3 - ունի 2 - լսելոյ & ՛ր om 2 - որ գայի - կերակուր զմանանայն ծաղկեալ և տաց - նմա անուն զգիր 3 - խառն. զնա ի թիւ սրբոց յու- բում է գրեալ անուն նոր զոր ո՛չ ոք գիտէ բայց միայն որ առնուն 2: խառն. զնոսա ի թիւս ս. իմոց յորում գր. ունին ան. նորա զոր etc. 3:

18 եւ ցհրեշտակս թիւատրացոց - գրեաց յեկեղեցին 2: եկեղեցւոյն գրեայ 3 - որ են աչք իբրև 2: որոյ ա. են իբ. 3 - նմանեալ om 2 - լիբանանու pr m, ծխելոյ sup ras 3:

19 գիտեմ զու զգործս քո և զսէր և զհաւատս և զհա- ւատարմուիս և (om 2) զհամբերուին քո, զի բազ. - եղեն] են 3 - քո վերջինք քան զառաջինքն 2: քո վերջինն ք̄ զառաջինն 3:

20 այլ ասել և առ քեզ 2 - զի թողեր - քո] և 2: om 3 - յեզաբէլ 3 - որ ասէ 2 - ուսուցանէ զմոլ. ծ. իմ - զզոհեալ 3: om 2:

21 և չնոր. նմա ժամ. ապաշխարութն և ոչ - զչնացողն 2: + գործակից նր mg cor 3:

22 մեծ om 3 - ի նեղութի մեծամեծս և ապաշխարեսցին 2 - զպոռնկուիս 3 - չարեաց obelisco notat cor 3:

23 և զորդիս - նր for նց 2 - զսիրտ 2:

24 ուսել զուսումն 2 - որք ոչ - ծանեաք 3 - զխորս - զձեաւք աւ. ծանր. քան զոր ունիք ի մէ առ 2 - այլ sbst loco աւելի & om քան 3:

25 զոր ունիք et add պահեցէք մինչև ես omnia sup ras cor 3:

26 *որ յաղ. պահ.* om 2 – *զգործս իմ* 2 – *մինչև ի վ. և ես* om 2 – *նոցա*] *նմա* 2։
27 *զնն̃*] *զնա* 2 – *զանաւթ* 2 – *զնա* 2։
28 *ընկալաւ ի հաւրէ* 2 – *տայ նմա* 2։
29 *ունիցի* 2 – *լսելոյ* om 2 – *լսիցէ* 2 – *տ̃ր* om 2։

III

1 *եկեղեցւոյն սարդիացւոց գրեայ* 2 – *որ ունի* om 2 – *զէ̃ շնորհս* – *հոգւոյն սր̃յ ա̃յ* 2 – *աստեղս* – *ես* om – *անուն մի է* 2 – *կենդ. իմ ես և մեռ.* 3 – om *դու*։
2 *է* om 3 – *յանցանել* 2։ *յանցանելն* 3 – *ա̃յ իմո* 2։
3 *յիշեա ո՛պ ընկ. և լսեցեր և պահեա* 2։ *յիշեա ո՛պ ընկալարն և ո՛պ լուարն և* & om *պահեա* 3 – *զուարթանաս՝ գամ առ քեզ իբրև զգող՝ և ո՛չ գիտես զժամն յորում գամ առ քեզ արտաքանա իբրև զգողացեալն որ ո՛չ գիտայ յորում ժամ գայցէ ի վ̃ր ն̃ր գողն* 2 – *արտաքս իբրև զգ. որ* om 3 – *ոչ գիտես յորում ժամ գայ ի վ̃ր քո գողն* 3։
4 *սարդիացւոյն որ ո՛չ* – *իւր* 2 – *շրջեցին* 2։ *շրջեացին* 3 – *իգիս* (sic) *սպիտակս՝ զի* 2։
5 *յաղթող* – *սրք ագ.*] *ն̃ք՝ առցեն* 2։ *ն̃ք ագցին* 3 – *ջնջեցից* 2։ *ջնջեացից* 3 – *զանուանս* – *յիշեցից* 1, 2։ *խոստովանեցայց* 3 – *զանուանս* bis – *որ յերկ. է* om։
6 *ունի* 2 – *լսելոյ* om 2 – *լսիցէ* 2 – *տ̃ր* om 3։
7 *հրեշտակին փիլադելփեայ* 3 – *սրբն*] *տ̃ր* 2 – *զժոխոց* pr m, *դաւթի* cor 3 – *զժոխոյն. որ բանա և ո՛չ ոք կ. փ. և որ փակէ, և ո՛չ ոք կարէ բանալ*։
8 *գիտեմ զգործս* (+ *քո* 3). *ահաւասիկ ետու քեզ դուռն* (*զդրունս* 3) *բացեալ* (+ *ս* 3). *զի* (*զոր* 3) *ո՛չ ոք կարէ փակել զնա՝ վ̃ն զի սակաւիկ ունիս զզաւր. և պահեցեր զբանս իմ* – *ուրացար*] *մոռացար* 3։

9 ահաւասիկ տամ ես ժղ̅վեան (զժողովարան 3) – սա-
տանայի քեզ 3 – հրեայս – հրեայ 2: հրեայք 3 –
ահաւասիկ – և երկիր պագցեն 3 – քոց, և ես 2 –
քոյ] + և ծանիցեն sup lin cor 3:
10 վ̅ն om 2 – դու om – զբանս 3 – պահեցի 2 – ժամ
փորձութն̅ 2 & 3 ubi add քո – գայցէ:
11 ահա om – պինդ om – զոր 3 – որ ունիսդ] զզօրու-
թի̅դ 2 – և մի 3 – հանցէ:
12 pr և om – ոք om – սիւն արարից զնա տուն տա-
ճարի 2 – այլ արտաքս (արտաքս 3) մի́ – զանուն ա̅յ
իմո և (+ զանուն 3) քաղաքի (+ ն 3) ա̅յ իմո (+
և 3) նոր ե̅մ (զնորն ե̅մի 3), որ իջ. է յերկնից ա̅յ
իմո. և տաց նշ̅ զանուն (+ իմ 3) նոր 2 & 3 ubi
տաց նշ̅ զ erasit cor et նորա scr sup ras verbi իմ:
13 ս̅բ om 3:
14 ցհրեշտակս 2: առ հրեշտակն 3 – լաւոդիկեցւոց –
գրեաց 2 ut semper – ասէ ամէնն մկ. 3: ասէ ամե-
նավկ. 2 – հաւատարիմն և ճշմարիտն 2 – և սկիզբն –
ա̅յ om 2:
15 ես om – այլ գաղջ ես om 2: + և զի ոչ ես ջերմ
և ոչ ցուրտ 3:
16 զատեցայց ես զքեզ իբ. քումմէ pr m: հանդերձեալ
ես փսխել ի բ. իմմէ sup ras cor 3 – ես om 2:
17 եմ ես 3 – մեծացայց 2 – միով om – post դու om
ես 3 – տառապեալ ող. & om և անն. – աղքատ ես 3:
18 ante արդ om և – խորհեցայց վ̅ն 2 – փորձեալ ի
հրոյ – պատուականս] ազխտակս – զի 1, 3: զոր 2 –
զգեցցիս] ագցես – զի մի] և մի 3 – ամաւթանք
(ամաւթք 3) մերկութն̅ քո, և դիր շուփս յաչս քո
(շուփ աչաց քոց վ̅ն 3) զի տեսցես:
19 քանզի] վ̅ն զոր սիրեմ յանդիմանեմ և խրատեմ. վ̅ն զի
2: վ̅ն զի ես 3 – սիրեմ զքեզ՝ յանդ. և խր. զքեզ:

20 ի դուրս 2: առ դուռն 3 – քո և բ. – բացցէ – մտից ընդ նա 2 – և ընթրեցից ընդ 2: և ընթրեսցայց առ 3 (ubi–եց–sup ras) – յարքայութե 3:

21 որ ես յաղթեցի |տաց նմա նստել| ընդ իս յաթոռն իմ. որ ես յաղթեցի և նստայ ընդ հաւր իմոյ յա-թոռ նի 3, ubi pr յաղթեցի in յաղթեսցէ ref cor – որ և ես յաղթեցի 2 – ընդ հաւր իմում յաթոռ նի 2 & om աջմէ & փառաց:

22 ունի – լսելոյ om 2 – որ om 3 – ասէ առ եկեղեցիս:

IV

1 այս 2 – ահաւասիկ 2 – դրունք երկնից – փողյն առաջնոյն զոր լուայ խաւսէր 3 – ընդ իս և ասէր՝ ել – լինելոց իցէ (է 2) յապա ժամանակս (կիս 2):

2 եւ ժամանեալ յիս հոգի. և տեսի 3 – յայսմիկ om 2 – եղա ի հոգին որ 2:

3 աթոռոյն նստէր նման տեսլեանն յական (ականց 3) յասպիս և սարդիոնի (ի 3):

4 pr և om 3 – զաթոռովն աթոռք իդ՝ և ի վր աթո-ռոյն նստէին իդ երիցունք (եր. իդ 2) – և զգեցեալ 2 – ունէին om 3 – ոսկի 2: ոսկիս 3:

5 փայլ.] + և ձայնք և որոտմունք – բորբոքեր – որ են (է 2) է պատրութիք (թու 2) հոգւոյն այ 2 & 3 ubi cor del պատր. հոգ. et sbst հոգիքն:

6 ապակեղէն նման ակ. – առաջնոյ և յետոյ:

7 և (om 2) երկրորդ կենդանին – նման եզին 2 – զուա-րակի 3 – ունէր երեսս 2: էր երես 3 – արծուի 2:

8 էին մի մի ի նոցանէ՝ վեց վեց (om 2) թեւեանք (թևք 3) շուրջ. – աչաւք ոչ & om և 3 – ոչ տիւ և ոչ գիշեր՝ ասելով – որ novies 3 – ամենակալ,

որ էնն և ես. գալոց ես 2: տ͞ր ա͞ծ ամենակալ որ էն
և որ էս և որ գալոցն է (cor ես) 3:

9 տայի͞ն| անին 2 – փառս 3 – զփառս և om 2 – զպա- տիւ և զգոհութի͞ նմա. 2: պատիւ և գոհութի͞ նմա. 3 – ի վր աթոռոյն – կենդանւոյն om 2 – յաւի- տեանս յաւիտեան, ամէն 2: յաւիտենից յաւիտեանս 3:

10 անկ. քսան և չորք om 2 – անկանէին... յաւիտենից om 3 – և երկրպագեն առ աթ. ասէին արժանէին կենդ. յաւիտեանս յաւիտեան, ամէն 2 – զպսակն 2 – և առ.| ասելով:

11 արժ. է 2 – տ͞ր և (om 2) ա͞ծ մեր – փառս և պ. 3 – զաւրութի͞ 2 – և ի կամելն քո – հաստատուն:

V

1 տեսա 2 – ի ձեռս աջոյ 3 – նստէրն 3 – զի ունէր om – գիրք 3:

2 զի om 2 – մեծաւ ձայնիւ և 2 – ի ձայն մեծ 3 – և ասէր om 3 – զգիրքն 3:

3 գտաւ որ om – յերկիր 3 – յերկրի և ոչ ի ներքոյ երկրի 2 – զգիրքն 3 – և հայել ի նա prm: զի ոչ տե- սին զնա cor sup ras 3:

4 ես om 2 – լայի 2 – բանալ զգիրն և լուծանել զկնիք ն͞ր և ոչ հայել 2 – զկնիքն| զգիրքն 3:

5 յերիցանցն & om անտի – և արժ. է om – բանալ զգիրն և լուծանել – զեւթն կնիք vt m 3:

6 կենդանեաց և ի մէջ երիցանցն – նման om 3 – գառ. զենելոյ| գառն կայր et in mg + զենեալ: կնքեալ 3 – որ ունէր է͞ եղջիւրս – և աչք 2 – է͞ հոգւոյն ա͞յ զաւրութի͞ք 3 pr m sed cor del զաւրութի͞ք et հոգւոյն in հոգիքն ref – հոգւոյն| ա͞յ 2 – որ են առա- քեալ – ծագս| երկիր:

7 ընկալաւ 2: և կալաւ 3 – յաջոյ 2 – ձեռանէ նր̄ որ:
8 յորժամ՝ mg rc m 3 – զգիրքն և 3 – դ̄ կենդ. –
չորս երից. 3 – անկանէին sup ras 3 – գառինն որ
ունեին 2 – և ունէին 3, sed և et pr ն sup ras –
եին] են 2: է 3 – սրբոցն 3:
9 յաւրհնութիս նորս 2 – է գառն] ես – առնուլ] præm
տր̄ ա̄ծ մեր 2 – զգիրս 2: զգիրքն 3 & ն ref in գ
cor – նորա in գորա ref cor 3 – գրեցեր 2 & pr
m 3 ubi գր ref in գն cor – զմեզ] + ա̄յ մեր 3 –
յորդէգ. ա̄յ 2 – յորդեգրութի̄ del cor 3 – քո 2 –
ազգաց] + և ի լեզուաց 2 – ժողովրդոց] + և լե-
զուաց և ժողովրդաց 3 sic:
10 և արարեր... մերոյ om 2 – քահանայս om 3 – մե-
րոյ] + թագաւորութի̄ prm 3 quod in թագաւորս
և քահանայս ref extra lin cor:
11 և տեսի և լուայ զձայն հր. բազմաց (om 2) շուրջ
զաթ. – և չորեւք կենդ. 2: զկենդանոյքն 3 & om
զչորք – և զերիցամբքն. և էր թիւն նց̄ 2, & 3 ubi
add և էր թ. նց̄ sup lin vt m:
12 որ] և 3: om 2 – աղաղ. և ասէին – առնուլ զմեծ.
և զիմաստութի̄ և զա̄հութի̄ և զպատիւ և զփառս և
զա̄հութի̄ sic 2: առնուլ զաւրութի̄ և զմեծ. և զի-
մաստ. և զպ. և զփ. 3:
13 որ] + են – յերկրի և ի վր̄ երկրի և ի ծովու և որ
ի նոսա ա̄մ լուայ զի 3 – և գառինն 3 – է աւրհնեալ
2 – և բարձրեալ 3 – բարձրացեալ om 2 – փառաւ.
և ամենակալ 3 – յաւիտենից om 2 – յաւ. յաւ.
ամէն 3:
14 pr և om 2 – նմա om:

VI

1 զմին (մի 3) յէ կնքոցն – ի մէջ – կենդանեացն| + sup lin և ասէր m vt 3 et om infra որ ասէր – որ| զի 2 – եթէ գամ 3:

2 էր ի վ̅ր ն̅ր 3 – յաղթող 2 – յաղթել, և յաղթեսցէ և յաղթեաց 3:

3 tr զերկրորդ կն. 3 – և լուա երկրորդ 2 – լուայ| + ի չորից prm 3 sed del cor – om զի 3 – թէ գամ 3:

4 այլ om 2 – կարոյս| կարմիր 2: աշխէա որ է կարմրագոյն սպիտակ 3 – էր ի նմա 2 – առնուլ om bis 2 – որով... երկրէ om 3 – որում ոչ բնակէ զբնա-կիչս 2 & om զա̃մ:

5 և լուա երրորդ 2 – թէ գամ 2 – տեսի զի եւ ձի 2: տեսի և ահա ձի 3 – սեաւ| սեւ cor, sup ras ubi erat աշխէա 3 – նստեալն էր 2 – ի վ̅ր ն̅ր – ի ձ. իւր կշիռս 2 – կշիռ 3:

6 միջոյ| + երորդ 2: + չորից 3 – գարւի 2: գարի 3 – և ձէթ – փսասեսցէ 2: փսասեսցես 3 sup ras:

8 om ահա 2: præm տեսի և vt m 3 – այլ| եւ 2 – աշղեա 2: շլոտս որ է սպիտակ և սև 3 – նստէր| հե-ծեալն էր 3 – ունէր| + նա? pr m 3 – երթային 2: om 3 – իշխանութ om 2 – զչոր. մ. երկ. ումբով սա-տակել և սովով 3 – և սրով om 3 – գազանաւք – երկրի mg prm:

9 զհինգերրորդ կնիքն – ում om 3 – կնքեալ 2 – վ̃ս ա̃յ. և om – նորա| գաւին ո̃րյ 3 (ubi cor del ո̃րյ):

10 որ ասէին| և կարդային 3 – ի ձայն մեծ 2 – մե-ծաւ| + ասելով 3 – դատիս – և ոչ խնդրես 2:

11 տուաւ – արկանելի սպիտակ 2 – և ասացաւ... լցցին| և ուրանս լիցին ի հանգիստն իւրեանց սակաւժամա-

նակս. ո՛պ զի լցցեա՛լ կեցցին և ծ. 3 – ժամ. մի փոքր 2 – եղբայրք որք են մեռելոց 2: եղբ. նց՟ և մեռեալ եկեսցեն և նոքա & om իբրև... արեան նց՟ 3 – ante ապա om և 2.

12 և շարժ. մեծ եղև 3 – գիշեր մթին prm: իբրև զկա-պերտ այծեայ cor sup ras 3 – մութն, և լ. բոլ. յարին 2:

13 tr թաւթ. յերկ. 2 – յերկնից add extra lin vt m 3 – ո՛պ թզենի զի յուժ. հողմոյ (ուժ. հողմով 2) շար-ժեսցի և թաւթափեսցէ զտերև իւր:

14 և երկին ա՟մ իբրև զգիրս մագաղաթեայս գալարէր. և ա՟մ լերինք և կղզիք և ի մ. ի բ. բարձան. և թագ. 3 – ի տեղ. իւր. շարժէին om 3 – բառնայր ա՟մ լերինք և կղ. ի տ. իւր. շարժեցան 2:

15 և հազ. և մեծատունք – թաքուցին:

16 լերանց և վիմաց – թէ om bis – բլրոց թէ om 3 – այնր om 2:

17 ո̊ 2 – կալ առաջի 2: գնալ յերեսաց 3:

VII

1 և յետ 3 – զի կային om 2 – ի դ՟ կողմանս աշխար-հիս 2 – և ունէին... երկրիս om 2 – pr և om 3 – հողմքն 3 – երկրիս . . . ի վ՟ր om 3 – զի մինն 2 – հողմ om 2 – և om bis 3 – մին 2:

2 տեսանէի 3 – հրեշտակս 3 – զկնիք զ՟այ – աղաղա-կէր 2: կարդաց 3 – հր. չորս 2 – որոց տուէր հրա-ման վնասել զերկրի 3 – տալ 2 – 3 զերկիր և ծո-վու և ծառոց 2 – ante մի՛ om և bis 3 – մինչև] դադարեայ զի 3 – զճակատ ծառայից իմոց 2 – զճա-կատ] զծայս sic 3 – ա՟յ իմոյ զա՟ման 3:

4 և լուեալ 2 – զի էին կնքեալ ՃԽԴՌ որք կնքեցան ա̃մ յազգէ 3 – որդոցն om 2:
5 կնքեալս om 3 passim nisi in fine vs 8: կնքեալք passim 2 – գանայ] գադայ 3:
6 ի ցեղէն ասերա 2 & 3 qui ի ցեղեն habet abinde usque ad finem – նեփթաղեմի 2 qui cetera isto modo: ի տոհմէն շմաւոնի, ի տ. մանասէի, ի տ. ղեւեա, ի տ. իսաքարեա, ի զաւակէն զաբ., ի զ. յովսեփու, ի զ. բէնիամենի, ի զ. գադա – յորդ. յովս. om 3 sed inserit post զաբողոնի ita ի ցեղէն յովսեփու:
9 pr և om – յետ այսորիկ տեսի – ա̃մի om – ժողովուրդք 2: ժողով 3 – թիւ յա̃մ – ազգաց և յա̃մ ցեղից և յա̃մ լեզուաց etc. 2: ազգաց և ի ցեղից և ժող. և լեզ. որ 3 – ի ձեռինս ն̃ց արմ. 2: արմ. ի ձեռս իւր. 3:
10 և կարդային ձայնիւ մ. և ասէին 3 – ante յաղթու + ի վր̃ vt m 3 – աղաղակէին և ասէին 2 – գառինն om 2: præm և 3:
11 չորիւք – և անկանէին (անկան 2) առաջի աթոռոյն նոքա (om 2) յերեսս իւրեանց և երկ. պ. ա̃յ ասելով:
12 ամէն. և 2 – չնորհք] իշխանութի̃ 3 – տ̃ն] ա̃յ:
13 որ 2 – հանդերձ սպիտակ՝ ո՞վ 2 – և կամ 3:
14 ասացի – տէր իմ – են որք 3 – մեծայ] + և ի նեղութենէ 3:
15 ante վ̃ն om և – բնակէ ի 3:
16 և այլ մի́] ոչ 3 – և մի] ոչ 3 – և այլ մի́ ծարաւ. 2 – ante ո՛չ մեղ. om և 3 – ցուրտ. ոչ տաւթ. զի գառնն ի միջոյ 3:
17 յաղբերականս ջուրց կենդանեաց 2: յաղբիւր ջրոյ կենդանոյ 3 – հատցէ] ջնջեսցէ 2 – ա̃ծ om 2 – արտասուս աչաց 2:

VIII

1 *զկէս ժամու* 3։
2 *է̃ հր․* tr 3 – *առ․ այ̃ կային* 3։ *կ․ առ․ այ̃* 2 – *փող*։
3 *այլ հր․ եկն* tr 3 – *առ սեղանն* – ante *ունէր* om
և 3 – *խնկանոցս ոսկեղէնս* 2 – *ոսկեղէն* 3 – *խունկ
բազում* – *սեղանոյն*։
4 *ել* om 2 – *որ են*] *այսինքն է* – *ա̃մ* om – *ի ձեռս* 2 –
հրեշտակացն 2։ *հրեշտակին* 3 – *առաջի այ̃․ և ելից հր*։
5 *այ̃* om – *զխնկանոցն և լի արար զնա հրով՝ սեղանոյ
անտի* 3 – *սեղանոյն*] *գեհենին* 2 – *և եղև որոտումն
և ձայնք* (*ձայն* 2) – *շարժմունք* – *մեծ* om։
6 *հրեշտակսն* 2։ *հրեշտակն* 3 – *ի* om 2 – *զէ̃ փողսն* 2։
7 *հուր արեամբ խառնեալ* 3 – *անկեալ* 2 – *յերկիր*] +
և զերկրորդ մասն երկրի այրեաց (om 3) – *և զչոր․
մ․ ծառ․* om 3 – *և զերկրորդ մասն ծառոց և զա̃մ*
& om *այրեաց* 2 – *դալարի* 2 – *խոտ* 3։
8 *հարկանէր փող* – *մի* om – *հրով հրդ․* 2 – *եղև եր-
կրորդ մասն ծ․* 2։
9 *սատակեցաւ* 3 – *երկրորդ մասն* – *ղուղեկաց որ ուն․
շ․ կ․ և ապականեցան* 2։ *ղուղակաց ի ծովու որ ուն․
շ․ և երրորդ մասն ապականեցաւ* 3։
10 *հարկանէր փող* – *մեծ և* 3 – *յերրորդ* 2։ *յերկրորդ*
2։ *յերկրորդ* 3 ubi cor del *կ* – *գետո* 2 – *աղբե-
րաց ջուրց* 2։
11 *էր* om – *աստեղն*] + *ասէին* 3 – *դառնութի̃*] +
և եղև երկրորդ մասն ջուրց դառն 3 – *բազում մար-
դիկ* 2 – *մեռան ի դ․ ջ․*] *սատակեցան ի ջուրցն զի
դառնացան* 3։
12 *հարկանէր փողն* (*փող* 3) *և վերաւորէր երրորդ* – *և
երրորդ մասն լուսնի և երրորդ մասն աստեղաց* 3 –

լուսնին 2 – խաւարեցաւ 3 – նոցա և... մասն om 2 – և տիւ... նոյնպէս] և երրորդ մասն նոցա ոչ ունէր լոյս և տիւ և գիշեր ոչ էր 3 – գիշերոյն 2։

13 եւ տեսի – զձայն 2։ om 3 – արծուոյ միո 2 – ի մէջ – սեծ 3 – վայ ter – է որ 3 – որ բն. են] բնակչաց որ անկեալ են 2 – լցցի 2։ լից 3 – ձայն երից ես փ. զոր կ̃ի̇ցեն հրեշտակքն յապառնիսն և ի հանդ. փողել 2։ ձ. փ. զոր երեք հրեշտակքն կամիցին փողել & om cet 3։

IX

1 հարկանէր փող – տեսանէի 2 – զի անկանէր աստեղ մի յերկնից յերկիր և 2։ զի աստ. մի յերկնից անկանէր յերկիր և 3 – գրոյն passim 2։

2 և երաց զխ. անդ. om – զծուխ հն. էր նորա & om մեծի 3 – և աւդն ի ծխոյ հնոցի 3։

3 զփոյն] ծխոյն – tr ել. ի ծխ. 3 – յերկրի 3 – նոցա] նմա – և խայթոցք նց̃ om – կարճի] + էր իշխանութ̃ի զաւրութ̃ե ն̃ր յերկրի 3։

4 մեղիցեն – խոտոց 2 – և մի ա̃մ – ծառոց 2 – նց̃ որք 3 – որ ոչ ունիցին զկնիք 2 – ք̃ի] ն̃ց – վերայ om 3 – ճակատս 3։

5 զնոսա om 3 – չարչարանքն 3։

6 յաւուրսն յայնոսիկ – գտցեն զնա 3 – հարուածո 2։ + յն 3 – մարախոյն om 3։

7 նման ձիոյ 3 – ձիոց պատրաստեալ 2 – պսակ իբրև զմանեակ ոսկի 2 – նմանեալ om 3 – ոսկի 3 – և երեսք... մարդոյ om 2։

8 հեր 2 – նոցա om 3 – զհեր 2 – ատամ. նց̃ om 3 & sbst տեսի զնն̃ – զառիւծուն and cor mg add ունէին ատամունս 3։

9 և ունէին զրահս իբրև – երկաթի 2 – զձայն om 2 – պատերազմ:

10 pr և om 2 – նման կարճի ագի 2 – խայթոց 2: խայթոցս 3 – և յագիսն իւր. էր իշխ. – չարչարել] մեղանչել 3 – մարդկան 3:

11 առ որ և զթագ. ածցեն հրեշտ. 3 – ante անուն om և անուն – է 3 – աղբադոյն 2: աբբադովն 3 – կոր. հայ.] ի հելլենացին ապոլլիո՛ն 3:

12 մխմեանց 2 et prm 1 – ահա մի վայ էանց և գալոց են երկու. վայ վայ. եւ հետ այսր 3 – երկ. գալ. է om 2 – զկնի նր 2 – վաղվաղակի om:

13 pr և om 3 – փող 2 – ձայն մի ի 3 – չորից կենդանեացն որ են 2 – ոսկոյ որ է 3 – աթոռոյն om:

14 զի ex cor 3 – tr ցվեց հր. 3 – որ ունէր զփողն՝ լուծեալ զչորս հրեշտակս զկապեալս – գետոյն] + մեծի 3:

15 լուծան] ազատեցան 3 – պատր. ի ժամ և – յաւր] յաւուրս sup lin prm 3 – յամիս և ի տարի 2: յամիս և յամս 3 – սպանցեն] սատակեսցեն 3:

16 և համար 2: և համարք 3 – հեծելոցն 3 – նոցա] բիւրք բիւրոց. լուա զթիւ նոցա:

17 զձիս 3: զձիսն 2 – ի տեսլեանն և զհեծեալս նոցա որ ուն – ի նոսա sup lin 1 – և յակունք հրդեհեալս ծծմբով 2: և յակունդ և թիողիս 3 & add և էր գլուխք ձիոցն. իբրև զգլուխս առիւծուց 3 – ելան. հուր:

18 հարուածոյս յայսցանէ մեռան 2: հարուածոյ յայնմանէ սատակէր 3 – ի հրոյ և ի ծխոյ (ծխո 2) և ի ծծմբոյ:

19 զի] եղեալ 3 – tr էր post նոցա 2: om 3 – իւրեանց] նոցա – tr էին նման 2: եղև նման 3 sed cor del եղև – աւձի – եւ ուն.] որ ուն. 3 – գլուխն 2 – որով] և նովաւ 3:

20 *սատակէին զամենեսեան և այլ ոչ ևս մեռան ի վիրաց*
յայսցանէ ի մարդկանէ՝ բայց միայն որք ոչ 2: *փխա-*
սէին. և վշտանալ մարդկան և ոչ մեռանել ի վիրացն
յայնցանէ. որք ոչ 3 – *յերկր. դիւաց և ի կռոց* – tr
պղնձոյ և ի քար. և ի փայտ. 3 – *լսել և ոչ գնալ:*
21 *և որք ոչ* 2 – *ապաշխ. ի ձայնէ իւրեանց և ի դեղ.*
և հարկանելոյ իւրեանց և ի պոռն. իւրեանց և ի
գող. իւր. 3 – *և ի դեղ. և* om 2:

X

1 *այլ* om 3 – *հրեշտակ զաւրաւոր* 3 – *հրեշտակ իջեալ*
2 – *յերկնից և*] + *ծածկեալ զինքն ամբաւք* – *և էր*
ծիածան 2 – *ծիածան ի վ. գլ. նր̃* om 3:
2 *գիրք բացեալ և եդ զոտն իւր աջ* – *և զոտն իւր ձախ*
ի վր̃ երկրի:
3 *աղաղակեաց*] *կարդայ* bis 3 – *մեծ և* (om) 2 *իբրև*
զառ. գոչ:
4 *որոտմունք զառ ի յապայ գալոյն, և լուա ձ. ա̃յ յերկ.*
զոր ասէր 2 – *որ առ... լուայ* om 3 – ante *ձայն*
sup ras add cor *իւրեանց*, post autem *են* 3 – *յեր-*
կնից... զոր om 3, ubi sequuntur *և զխաւսս է որոտ-*
մանցն կամէի գրեալ. և լուայ ձայն յերկնից որ ա-
սէր, կնքեալ զխաւսս եւթն որոտմանց և մի զնոսա
գրէր – *եւթն* om 2 – *գրել* 2:
5 *զհրեշտակն* – *զոտն* 3 – *զմիւսն ի վր̃* om – *ցամաքի*
համ. & om *և*:
6 *աջ յերկինս երդուաւ ի կ. յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից*
2 – *զերկինս և զոր* (*որ* 2) *ի նմա և զերկիր և զոր*
(*որ* 2) *ի նմա և զծով* – *նա̃*] *նմա* – *զի ժամ. ոչ ևս*
այլ (om 3) *կա այլ:*

7 յաւուրսն 2։ յաւուրս 3 – tr Է երրորդ հրեշտակն
ձայնիւ 2 – որպէս 3 – ի ծառայից 3 – մարգարէից։
8 զձայնն 2 – ԴԼ յերկ. որ խաւսէր ընդ իս 2 – խաւսէր ցիս 3 – և ասէր ցիս 2 – երթ և առ զգ. բացեալ որ ունի հր. ի ձ. իւրում 2, eadem 3 sed զգիրքն... զոր... ի ձեռս իւր հր։
9 ես om – երթեալ – ի նմ։ զգիրքն – ante և առէ add բացեալ 3 – ցիս om 2 – ա́ռ կե́ր զգա 2։ առ և կեր զգա 3 – բերանի – քում է́ 2։
10 զգիրսն 3 – ձեռաց 3 – և կլի 2։ և կերայ 3 – և լցաւ որովայն իմ և էր ի բերան իմ ո͞պ մեղր, և ասէ ցիս. հասանէ քեզ մարգ. ի ժող. և ի հեթ. և ի լեզուս և ի թագաւորս երկրի cetera om 2։ և էր քաղցր ի բերան իմ իբրև զմեղր, և յորժամ կերայ զնա՝ լցաւ որովայն իմ. և էր դառն նա. և ասէ ցիս. հասանէ քեզ ԴԼ մարգ. ի ժող. և յազգս և ի լեզուս և ի թագ. բազումս 3։

XI

1 և գայր 2 – գայր հր. om 3 – ցիս om 3 – զտաճարն ա͞յ 3 – զերկրպագուծս որ ի նմա են 2։ զերկրպագուսն որ են ի նմա 3 – 2 զգաւիթս 2։ զգաւիթն 3 – ի բաց om 2։ sbst արտաքոյ 3 – և մի զնա չ. 3 – զքաղաք 2 – ո͞բ կոխ. et om զի – խ͞բ ամս 2։
3 աւուրք ո͞ւ և երկերիւր և կե (ubi ե ref in մ) 2 – զգեցեալ քուրձ m rc sup ras 3 ubi scr prm զ.. ր ց.. մ.. ազ...
4 ձիթենիք 2 – առ. ա͞ռն ա͞յ կայ. 2 – tr կացեալ post երկրի et om ա͞յ ա͞մ 3։
5 որք կամեսցին] որ կամիցի – ն͞ց վս. 2 – ելանիցէ

2 – կերիցէ 2: սատակեսցէ 3 – զթշնամիսն 3 – ով կամիցի 2: ով և կամեսցի 3 – նց մեղ. – այս-պէս] + զնս 3:

6 սք ի վր երկրի իշխ. ունին 3 – զերկինքն 2: զնա 3 – տեղասցէ 2: տեղասցի 3 – tr իշխ. ունին 3 – երկրի... ի վր om – ջրոց 2 – դարձուց.] փոփոխել 3 – ամ հարուածովք om 2 – յամ հարուածս 3 – ոպ om:

7 և յորժամ կատ. om 2: և կատարեսցա cor sbst sup ras ubi ? scr prm զամ 3 – աւուրս մգութե նց: և գազան 2 – յայնժամ om 2: sup ras cor ubi ? scr prm իսկ 3 – ասցէ 2:

8 և դի նց 3 – անկ. կայցեն om 2 – կայցէ 3 – նց ի om 3 – նց քաղաքին նց մեծի 2 – կոչի հոգևո-րապէս 3 – սոդոմ և եգիպտոս – և բար. om 3 – տր 3:

9 զնս om 2: sbst զայն 3 – ամ om 3 – ցեղք – ժող. և ցեղք 3 – ամ ante լեզուք om – լեզուք և հեթա-նոսք զդիս (զդի 3) նց – զերիս աւ. զի անկ. կայցէ 3 – կացէ 2 – և զմարմինս նց ոչ et om infra զու-կերս նց 3 – թողցեն] տացեն – գերեզմանս 3:

10 pr և om 2 – բնակեալ – յերկիր 2 – լինիցին 2 – ի վր նց մինչ om 3 – մինչ om 2 – ընծայք 2 – և պատարագս om 3 – բերել] տան տանել – վն om – երկրքին 2: երկու 3 – մարգարէք 2 – չարչարեցին 2. չարչարեցեն 3 – ի վր երկրի 3:

11 երից om 2 – աւուրց և կիսոյ 3 – այ կենդանոյ 2: կենդանի յայ 3 – յար. կայցեն] կանգնեսցին 3: յար. կանգնեսցին 2 – ի վր ոտից ? m rc 3 – իւ-րեանց] փութապէս նոքա 3 – և ահ և երկիւղ 2: և ահ մեծ et om և երկ. 3 – անկցի prm: անկաւ cor 3 – բն. երկ.] նոցա 3, deinde cor add որ տեսին զնա:

12 ձայն մեծ – վերացիք – և ելէք om 3 – և ելին] ելեալ 3 – tr ամբաւք յերկինս 2 – զվերանալ om 3 et loco նոցա ա՟մ sbst զնոսա:

13 և եղիցի ի ժամուն 2: եղև ի ժ. 3 – post մեծ om եղև – շարժմանէն] + արք 2: + մարդիկ 3 – հազար 3 – մեծ om – եղև] եղիցի 2 – յամենեսեան] nisi յ totam vocem add cor mg 3 – փառս տան 2:

14 ահա om 3 – ահաւասիկ երկ. վայն անց 2 – էանց 3 – ante վայ om և 3:

15 Է երրորդ հրեշտակն հարկանէր – զփողն և 3 – յերկինս 2 – եղև թագ. ա՟մ (om 3) տիեզերաց տ՟ն – յի՟ om 3 – և քի՟ նր և թագ. 3 – ի վր երկրի om 3 – երկրի] ա՟մի 2 – յաւ. յաւ. ամէն 2:

16 չորս 3 – երիցունքն առաջի աթոռոյն ա՟յ որ նստէին յաթոռս իւրեանց etc ut infra 3 – առաջի ա՟յ յաթոռսն իւրեանց անկանէին ի վր երեսաց իւրեանց և երկիր պագանէին տ՟ն (om 3) ա՟յ:

17 և ասէին 2: ասելով 3 – ա՟ծ մեր – էն] + և ես & om յաւիտեանս 3 – որ եսդ յաւիտեան և որ էն 2 – որ] զի 3 – զգեցար] առեր 2: առնես 3 – զզաւրութի՟ մեծ 2: զաւրութի՟ս մեծս 3:

18 om ժողովուրդք 3 – բարկացան հեթանոսք. և եկն բ. քո և տիրես մահու և տաս զվարձս 3 & cet om – բարկ. քո և ժամանակ թշնամոյն դատ. զի դատ. տալ զվարձ 2 – սրբոց և 3 – փոքունց – մեծաց 3: մեծամեծաց 2 & om և – ապականես 3:

19 ուխտի] կտակարանացն 3 – որ ի տաճ. նր om 2 – եղև փայլ. 2 & in mg cor 3 – նր և ձայնք 2 – և որոտմունք – և շարժումն 2: om 3:

XII

1 *մի* om – *երևեյան* 2 – *մի արկեալ զիւրեաւ* – *աս-տեղայց երկոտասանից* 3 – 2 ante *ճիչէր* ref *և* ex *որ* cor 3 – *ճըչէր*] *ճիչէր* 3։ *չերկնչէր* 2 – *և բազում*... *ի ծնանելն* om 2 – ante *բազում* del cor *և* 3 – *և մերձ* 3։

3 *ահաւասիկ* 2 – *սեծ հրեղէն* 2 – *յոյժ* om – *գլխոց* 3 – *խոյր*] *պսակ* 3։

4 *տուաւ* (sic) *նմա քարշապար մինչև է երրորդ* 2 – *մինչև*] del cor 3 et *զ* ref ex *ց* – *յերկնից* 2 – *ըն-կեաց* 3 – *զն̄ն յերկնից յերկիր* 2 – post *զնա* om *վիշապն* 3։

5 *որ հովվեսցէ զա̄մ հեթանոս գաւազ.* 3 – *և առ-աթ. նր̄* om 2։

6 *էր անդ* 3 – *պատր. նմա տեղի* 2։ *պ. տ. նմա* 3 – *զի* (*և* 2) *անդ կերակրեսցէ* (*ցեն* 2) *զնա աւուրս* – **ՌՄԿԵ**] *հազար* sup lìn scr prm, *հինգ* del cor 3։

7 *և միքաել* 2 – *հրեշտակ* 2 – *և վիշապն կռվէր հր. իւ-րովք* 2։ *և վիշապն պատերազմէր և հրեշտակք իւր* 3 – *ընդ նն̄* om։

8 *այլ*] *և* – *ընդ. կալ և* 2։ ras del cor 3 – *գոյր*] *գտաւ* – tr *ոչ գտաւ տեղի* 3։

9 *մեծ և* 2 – *տիեզերս երկրի* 3 – *առիւծն անկ. յերկ.* om 3 – *հրեշտակ նր̄ ընդաւ ընդ նմա* 2 – *նմա*] + *անդան* 3։

10 *յերկինս զի ասէր* – *երկնից* om 3 – *աւծելն* 2։ *քի̄* 3 – *զնոցանէ* – post *ա̄յ* add *մերոյ* & om *և ո̄ն* 3 – post *ո̄ն* add *մերոյ* 2 – *յի̄ քի̄* om – *զախւ*] *ի տուն-ջեան* 3 – *և գիշերի* 3։

11 pr *և* om 2 – *ա̄յ* om 3 – *վկայութե̄* 2 – *ոչ հաշտե-*

ցաւ ընդ վիշ. 2: ոչ սիրեցին հոգւով իւրեանց զնա
3 – ի մահ 3:

12 լիցին] եղեն 2: եղև 3 – ա̃մ որ om 3 – բնակեալքն
ի նմա 3 – ընդ նոսա & mg ի նս̃ 2 – վիշապն in
textu, բանսարկուն mg 3 – ունիցի 2 – ցասումն] +
բազում տեսէր զի սակաւ ժամ. եկաց 2: + մեծ
տեսէր զի կայր ժամ. սակաւ prm 3, ubi cor sbst
մեծ և կայցէ առ սակաւ ժամանակ:

13 զման. արու:

14 երկու om – թև 2 – արծւոյ մեծի – ուր] + բնա-
կէր նա և 3 – կերակրէր – ժամանակ և 3 – և ժամ.
om 2:

15 աւձն զթխնս ի 2 – զհետ] առաջի 3 – ջուրս om 2:
ջուր 3 – բազումս om – զգետ զի զնա ընկ:

16 երաց երկիր զբ. – եկուլ զգետն զոր:

17 և գնաց] præm և (om) ցասեաւ վիշապն ընդ կնոջ
& om infra ընդ կնոջն և – նորա որք պահէին զպա-
տուիրանս – յորս է վկ.] և որ վկայէին 3 – քի̃ om 3:

18 և եկաց ի վր̃ աւ. ծ. om 2:

XIII

1 tr ի ծ. ելանէ 3 – մեծ om – և] որ 3: om 2 – ու-
նելով 2 – tr եղջ ժ̃ և գլ. է̃ 3 – եղջիւրաց om 2 –
ժ̃ om ante խոյր 2:

2 գազանն 3 – էր նման – ընձու 3 – զարջու 3 – բե-
րան – իբրև զբերան առիւծու 3 – վիշապն զզաւրու-
թիւն իւր և զաթոռ իւր և իշխանութիւն մեծ:

3 էր om – գազանին:

4 երկրպագանէին – գազանին զի] վիշապին որ 3 – զի
ետ... գազանին om 2 – նմա վիշապն om 3 – իւր] +
գազանին 3 – ասէին ո՞վ է – կամ ո՞վ – ընդ նմա 3:

5 նմա բերան խաւսել զմեծամեծս և – հայհոյութի 3 – առնել պատերազմ ընդ սրբն և յ. նց. և տուաւ իշ-խանութի առնել յաղթութի խր. և եբաց 2 – om առնել 3 – պատերազմել sup ras cor 3 – ընդ սրբս... յաղթութի զ] hic lacuna ubi cor del յաղթ.. et alia quædam 3 – քառասուն և երկու 3:

6 իւր sup ras cor 3 – իւր ի հայհոյութի 2 – խաւսել հայհոյութի առ ա̃ծ հայհոյել 3 – և տաճարն... 8 զի] և զընտրեալս նորա. զայնոսիկ որ ի յերկինս էին ընտրեալ prm 3 ubi sbst cor և զխորան նորա և զերկնային խորանն և տուաւ նմա. Deinde prm ista պատերազմել [և] հարկանել զսբս նր. և յաղթէր նց. և տուաւ նմա իշխանութի ի վր ա̃մ ցեղից և ժող. և լեզուաց և հեթանոսաց և – և զխորան նր որ 2:

8 զի] և – երկիր պագանէին – նմա om 2 – ante ա̃մ· om և – բնակիչք երկրի նմա որ ոչ էին 2: բնա-կեալքն ի վր երկրի որոց ոչ են 3 – tr գրեալ ան. նց – գպր.] գիրս 3 – կենաց] + որք ոչ առին զկնիք գառինն 3:

9 որ – ունիցի 2: ունի 3 – լուիցէ:

10 զի են ոմ. որ ի գ. մահնեցան և են ոմ. որ ի սրո սեռան և են ոմանք որ անձ. զանձ. իւրեանց սպա-նին: իսկ 2 – և են որ ի սուր. են որ զինքեանս սպանցեն: իսկ 3 – շնորհեցի om 3 – շնորհեցին սրբոցն 2 – ա̃յ om 3:

11 երկ. եղջ. 2 – երկուս om 3 – գառինն 3 – ante խաւսէր om և 2:

12 և զա̃մ 2 – զա̃մ om 3 – և իշխանութի 3 – առաջ-նոյ – գաղ. գործէր առաջի նր և առնէր զերկիր 2: գաղ. զա̃մ ունէր առաջի իւր ի վր երկրի prm 3 ubi cor ունէր ref in առնէր et delens ի վերայ de novo scr առնէր – զա̃մ om 3 – բնակչաց 3 – պա-

գեսցեն 2։ պագցեն 3 – գաղ. առ. – մահուան 2։ մահուն 3։

13 բազումս] մեծս 3 – տայր om 3 – յերկիր իջ. 2։ իջ. ի վր̄ երկրի 3։

14 մոլորեցուցանէր – ի վր̄ երկրի 3 – նշանք 2։ զաւրութե̄ նշանացն 3 – տուաւ] էր ի նն̄ 2 – որ տուեալ էին նմա առնել sup ras cor 3 – ի ձ. նր̄ յա. om 2 – առաջի – ante ասեն om և 3 – երկրի – պատկեր 2 – որ ունի զվէրս սրոյն և կեցցէ և տ. նմա իշխ. 2։ որ ի վր̄ սրոյն էկաց և տուաւ նմա իշխ. sup ras cor 3 ubi prm scr և.. և չ. և զ.. ն.. ն...

15 զի տացէ] և ետ նմա (ubi cor del մ) 3 – ոգի 2 – հոգի] + յայն ժամի 3 – պատկեր 3 – և զի 2 – խաւսէր պատկեր գազանին 3 – և երկիր... երկրի om 3, deinda ista և առնէր զի որք ոչ պագանէին երկիր պատկերի գազանին – պագեսցեն 2 – սպանցէ] ապականեսցէ։

16 արասցէ զա̄մ] առ ա̄մ 3 – և մեծ. և մեծ. և առ աղքատս և առ ազատս և առ ծ. ասէր զի տ. 3 – զաղքատն և 2 – տացէ նց̄ նշան ի վր̄ ձեռին նոցա (om 2) աջոյ։

17 և զի մի ոք կարասցէ 3 – կամ՝ om 3 – եթէ ոչ ոք իցէ որ ունիցի 3 – ունիցի զդրոշմ՝ գրոյն և զանուն գազանին 2 – զնշան] + անուան 3 – և զթիւ անուանն նր̄։

18 աստ է որ ունիցի միտք իմաստու̄ն համ. զթիւ գազանին. թիւ եղեա̄լն մարդոյ. և թիւ նր̄ այս է՝ ՈԿԶ 2։ որ ունիցի իմաստ համարեսցի զթիւ համարոյ գազանին։ թիւն եղեալ մարդն ըստ թուոյ նր̄ 3 et mg add prm և թիւն Ո։ Կ։ Զ։

XIV

1 գառնն 3 – կայր ի վր̅ լերին – սիովնի 3 – ՃԽԴ որ զանուն նր̅ և զանուն հաւր նր̅ գրեալ ի վր̅ ճակատու 2 – թիւ ՃԽԴՌ որ ունէին զանուն նր̅ և անուն հաւր 3:

2 post բազմաց] om իբր 2: + և 3 – ձայն լուայ 3 – ante իբրև om լուայ 2 – քնարահարի 2:

3 post երգ add և 3 – աթոռոյն 2 – om ա̅յ 2 – կենդանեաց 3: add և առաջի երիցանց 2 – կարէ 3 – կարէր ոք 2 – Ճ ու ԽԴՌ որք կային 2 – որ կային... սիոնի om 3 – լերինն 2 – որք են 2 – կուսանք և om 3:

4 են որք 3 – և են om – կուսանք եղեալ. սոքա միշտ զհետ 3 – երթան 2 – գրեցին... զանուն] cor erasit սոքա ի մարդկանէ et alia quædam et super ras scr ընտրեցան ի մարդկանէ առաջի 3 – գրեցան ի մ. և գրեցին ի վր̅ ճ. իւր. զնշան ա̅յ հաւր և գ. 2:

5 զստու նենգութ̅. քանզի անբ. էին առաջի ա̅յ 2:

6 թռ. ի միջոյ երկ. որ ունէր զյաւիտ. աւետիսն 2 – և եկեալ del cor 3: որ եկեալ 2 – աւետարանէր (ex ր ref լ cor) ի վերայ երկրի և ա̅մ ազգաց և ցեղից և լեզուաց և ժողովրդոց ասէր ի ձայն մեծ՝ երկ. ի ա̅է և ասւք 3 – ազգաց և լեզուաց ի ձայն մեծ և ասէր 2:

7 նմա om 2 – և երկր. ա̅յ որ 2 – և զծով 3 – զա̅մ աղբերականս ջուրց 2: զա̅մ որ է ի նոսա prm 3 ubi cor sbst զաղբիւրս և ջուրց:

8 հր. երկ. գայր զկնի 2 – նորա om 3 – անկաւ semel 3: bis 2 – tr բաբ. մեծն 3 – մեծ 2 – արբեցութ̅ (ց ի + 2) ցասմանէ պոռնկութ̅ իւրո որ

9 tr հր. երր. 3 – զհետ նր՟ ասելով ի ձայն մեծ. ո՞վ ոք երկ. պագանիցէ 2 – որ ոք երկիր եպագ 3 – և կամ զգիր նշանի նր՟ (նոր 2) առնուցու ի ճ. իւր և կամ ի վր՟ ձեռին իւր աջոյ. այնպիսին 2: և զնշան նր՟ առ ի վր՟ ճակատու իւրոյ և ի վր՟ ձեռին իւրոյ. և այնպիսին 3:

10 բաժակէն 2 – ցասմանէ այ՟ յարկելոյն 2: ցասմանն այ՟ արկելոյ 3 – բաժակէ նորա 3: բաժակէն om 2 – ծծմբով – առաջի այ՟ և գառինն 2 – առաջի սբ՟ հր. նր՟ և առ. գառինն 3:

11 ծուխ տանջանացն նց՟ 3: ծուխ նր՟ 2 – յաւիտենից վերացեալ 3 – ոչ էր 2 – պագանէին 2 – և որք] կամ որք 2 – առնուին զգիր անուան 2: առին նշան և դրոշմ անուան 3 ubi և դրոշմ sup ras prm:

12 որ 2 – որք համբերեն... նոքա են] sup ras cor համբերութի՟ սրբոցն աստ է այս, ubi prm scr որք համբերեն.. որք.. թ.. զնշանս նորա.. ինս նոքա են, cetera legi nequeunt – ոչ առնուն յանձին զնշանս 2 – են սբ՟ք որ պ. 2 – քի՟ om 3:

13 որք ի տր՟ 2 – և ոչ հ. ի ժ. յայս om 3 – հասին 2 – ժամանակս յայս, և ասէ հ. սբ՟ զի հանգիցեն ի բ. փ. և ի բազում աշխ. և գործք նց՟ միայն չ. ըղհետ նց՟ 2 – փորձ. և om 3:

14 տեսի. աճաւասիկ ամպ սպ. և ի վր՟ ա. նստէր նման 2 – ամբ 3 – ամբոյն] + նստեալ 3 – և ի գլուխ իւր 2: որոյ ի վր՟ գլխոյ նր՟ 3 – ունէր om:

15 ելանէր յերկնից աղ. ձ. մ. և ասէր. որ նստիս ամպս առաքեա՛ զգերանդի քո՛ զի եկն ժամ. հ. 2 – ի ձայն մեծ 3 – առաջի նր՟ և ասէ] prm նստելոյն ի վր՟ ամպոյդ: cor sup ras որ նստեալ ես 3 – զգեր. քո և հն. զի եկն ժամ հնձելոյ. զի հասեալ 3:

16 իսկ] և արկ – որ նստէրն 2: նստեալն 3 – ամպոյ

ամենեւին իւր sic 2 – արկ om 3 – յերկրի 3 – զա̅մ
ընակիչս 2:

17 եւ] գայր 3 – ի յերկ. ունէր և նա գեր՝ 2: յերկ. որ
և նա գեր. ուն. 3:

18 և այլ հր. եկ ի & om եւ 3 – որոյ էր իշխ. 2 – սե-
ղանոյ om et lege հրոյ 3 – հրոյ սեղ. և ձայնէր ի
ձ. մեծ հրեշտակն 2 – հրեշտակն om 3 – և ասէր՝
երթ դու կլթեա զողկ. անգոց. և արկ զգեր. իւր և
կլթէր զխաղող երկրի. զի հասեալ էր խաղող յերկրի.
և արկ հրեշտակն զգերանդի իւր յերկիր և կլթէր
զխաղողն երկրի. և արկանէր ի հնձանն ա̅յ մեծն և
կոխեցաւ ի հնձանին per dittographiam 3 – յող-
կուզս յայգւոյն երկրի 2:

19 արկ հրեշտակն... նորա և] om 2 – հնձանոց et om ա̅յ 2:

20 post եկանէր om ի հնձանէն – ձիոյն. և էր երկ. ն̅ր.
ասպ. ռ̅ և ձ̅ 2 – երկ. ն̅ր om 3 – ասպարէզ հասար
և վեց հարիւր 3:

XV

1 նշան յերկինս մեծ և սքանչելի՝ հրեշտակք է̅ որ ու-
նէին է̅ վէրս (վ. է̅ 2) – նշանակեալ 2 – նշան. զկատ.]
cor sbst վէրս յետոյ sup ras satis amplam – կա-
տարէր 2 – բարկ. ա̅յ:

2 գազանին և om 3 – պատկերին et om ն̅ր 3 –
թուոյ... 7 տուաւ եւթն om 3 abscisso pergamento –
և կային 2 – զ.քնարս 2 – ա̅յ և առաջի գառինն ն̅ր.
և ասէին թէ մեծամեծ 2:

3 sec գործք] ճ̅շ̅հ.ք 2 – թագաւոր յաւիտենից և թա-
գաւոր 2:

4 ոք om 2 – ո̅ր om 2 – դու om 2 – երկիրպ. om

2 – *եկ. երկրպագանել* 2 – *վ͞ն զի արդ. քո յաւի-*
տենից ա͞մ. տի. երկրի 2:
5 *տեսի և բ. տաճարն* 2:
6 *և ել. հր. որ ունէին հրաման է հարուածոյն: և զգ.*
էր կտաւ ն͞բ և լուսափայլ: և գաւտեւորեալ էին առ.
լանջան իւ. գաւտիք ոսկեղէն 2:
7 *սկաւառակ լի ցասմամբ ա͞յ կ. յաւիտեանս յաւիտե-*
նից 2 – *ա͞յ կենդանւոյն* 3 – *ի* om bis 2 – ante
փառաց del *ի* cor 3 – *զաւրութեանց* prm, *զաւրու-*
թեան cor 3:
8 *ոչ ոք իշխէր* 2 – *կատարեցան* 2:

XVI

1 *լ. ձայն մեծ* 2: *լ. մ. ձ.* 3 – *ի տաճարէն* om 3 –
և հեղէք 2:
2 *հրեշ.* om 3 – *առաջին* ante *յերկիր*] sbst *ոսկեղէն*
2: *իւր* 3 – *չարաչար*] *և չարչարանք* 2 – *ի վ͞ր*] +
երկրի և ի վ͞ր 2 – *որ ունէին* – *զգիր*] *զգրոշմ* 3 –
երկրպագանէին – *պատկ. ն͞ր*] *նմա* 2:
3 *հրեշտակն* 2 – *սկաւառակէն* 2 – *դարձան* 2: *եղև*
3 – *ջուրն* om 3: vocis *ջուրքն* add *ք* infra lin 1 –
արիւն] + *մեռեալ* 3 – *ա͞մ կենդանիքն որ ի ծովուն*
էր 2:
4 *և եհեղ եր. հր. զսկաւառակ իւր ի գետք և յաղբիւ-*
րակունս ջրոց. և եղեն 2 – *երրորդն* et om *հր.* 3:
5 *հրեշտակէն ջուրց զի* 2 – *էնն*] + *և է* 3 – *և որ է*
ն͞բ 2 – *միայն* prm: *ն͞բ* cor sup ras 3 – *այսպէս* 3:
6 *վ͞ն* om 3 – *զի զարիւն մարդ. և ս͞բց հեղին* 3 –
ամպարիշտք om 3 – *և վ͞ն այն. ետուր ըմբել արիւն*
ըստ արժանեաց ն͞ց 2: *և ետ ար. ն͞ց ըմպել. արժանի*
են. և 3 (om *վ͞ն այն.* et sup lin *ետ* prm):

7 ամէն. արդ. om 2 — ճշմարտութ են դատաստանք քո
2։ ճշմարիտ է դատաստան քո 3։
8 չորրորդն & om հր. 3 — էարկ] էհեղ — սկաւառակէ
2 — արեգական 2 — խորշակահարել զմ. հ. և տա-
քացան մ. ի տապ մեծ 2 — հրով om 3։
9 տապոյ սեծի & om անուի 3 — հայհոյէին 2։ հայ-
հոյեցին մարդիկ 3 — հարուածս 2 — և ոչ ետուն om
3 — ետուն նմա փառս & om այ 2 — ի փ. այ 3։
10 հինգերորդն & om հր. 3 — էարկ] էհեղ 2 — զսկա-
ւառակ իւր 2 — սկաւառակէ 3 — գլեզուն 2 — ի
ցաւոց ախտէն 2։
11 հայհոյէին — ի ցաւս] յաւուրն 2 - իւրեանց ի դառ-
նութենէ ախտին 2 — յախտէ 3 — ապաշխ.] + ի
գործոց իւրեանց 3։
12 վեցերորդն & om հր 3 — իւրոյ 2 — գետին մեծին
եփրատայ 2 — մեծի 3 — յելից 2։
13 զի եղանէր om 3 — վիշապին] add և ի բերանոյ գա-
զանին — tr անս. երեք 3 — զգորտ 2։
14 ուտէին] ունէին cor rc m 1։ առնէին 2, 3 — նշանս.
երթ. ի վր թագաւորայ 3 — թագաւորք 2 — ամ
երկրի om 3 — ընդ աւուրն մեծի այ ամ. 3 — ամն
այ մերոյ & om ամենակալի 2։
15 զի... ահա] om 3 — աւէ 2 — ահաւասիկ 2 — գամ
ես] որ գայ 3 — ես om 2 — գիշերի om 3 — երանի
արթնոյն և որոց պահեցին 3 — ոյք իցեն արթուն
և պահիցեն 2 — երևեսցին ամաւթանք 2 — ամաւ-
թոյք 3։
16 ժողովեաց 2 — տեղի մի որ 2 — արմակեդոն 2։ մա-
գեդոն 3 — և եւթն & om հրեշտակն 3։

TEXTUS CODICIS 2.

17 Եւ եւթներորդ հրեշտակն եհեղ զսկաւառակ իւր ի վերայ օդոյ, և ել ձայն մեծ ի տաճարէն և յաթոռոյն՝ ասելով. Թէ եղև կատարած ա̅մի:
18 Եւ եղեն փայլատակմունք և ձայնք և որոտմունք. և եղև շարժումն մեծ՝ որ ոչ եղև երբէք այնպիսի շարժումն մեծ մինչև եղել է մարդ ի վերայ երկրի՝
19 և ընկղմեցան քաղաք մեծամեծք իբրև Գ մասունք և քաղաք հեթանոսաց ընկղմեցան. և Բաբելոյն քաղաք մեծ յիշեցաւ առաջի ա̅ծն ի̅յ, տալ նմա բաժակ գինո ցասման բարկութ̅ե ն̅ր:
20 Եւ ա̅մ կղզիք ի փախուստ դ̅ձն, և լերինք ի միջոյ բարձան (դարձան յօր.):
21 Եւ կարկուտ մեծամեծ երկրորդ* տաղանդի միոյ յերկնից իջանէր ի վերայ մարդկան. և հայհոյեցին մարդիկ զա̅ծ ի հարուածոյ կարկտին, զի կարի մեծ և ահագին լինին հարուածքն յոյժ:

XVII

1 Եւ եկն մի յեւթն հրեշտակացն՝ որ ունէին զ Է սկաւառակն՝ և խօսեցաւ ընդ իս՝ և ասէ. Եկ այսր՝ և ցուցից քեզ զդատաստանս մեծամեծս պոռնկիս այսորիկ՝ որ նստի ի վ̅ր ջուրց բազմաց:
2 Ընդ որում պոռնկեցան թագաւորք երկրի և արբեցան բնակիչք աշխարհի 'ի գինո արբեցութ̅ե պոռնկութ̅ե սորա:
3 Եւ առ տարաւ զիս յանապատ. և եղև ի վ̅ր իմ ոգի ս̅բ. և տեսի զկին մի նստեալ ի վ̅ր գազանի կարմրոյ.

* Երկրորդ] Cf. Cod 3 MG Տաղանդն Բ ԴԿ է:

լի անուամբ հայհոյութե̄, ունէր պսակ եւթն և եղ-
ջիւրք տասն:
4 Եւ կինն էր արկեալ զիւրեաւ ծիրանիս և կարմիր,
ոսկէօծս ընդելուզեալ ոսկով և քարամբ պատուականօք
և մարգարտիւ, և ունէր ի ձեռին իւրում բաժակ
ոսկեղէն, լի պղծութե̄ և ա̃մ աղտեղութե̄ և պոռնկութե̄
նորա:
5 Եւ ի վերայ ճակատու նորա գրեալ խ՟րդ. Բաբելոն
մեծ՝ մայր պոռնկութե̄ և ա̃մ աղտեղութե̄ երկրի:
6 Եւ տեսի զկինն արբեցեալ յարենէ սրբոց և յարենէ
ո̃ք վկայիցն յի̃. և զարմացայ իբրև տեսի զարմա-
ցումն զայն մեծ:
7 Եւ ասէ ինձ հրաշտակն. Ընդէ՞ր զարմացար, ես ա-
սեմ քեզ զխորհուրդ կնոջն, և զգազանին որ բար-
ձեալ ունի զնա. որ ունի զգլուխս եւթն և զեղջիւրս
տասն:
8 զգազանն զոր տեսերն որ էրն և ոչ է, և պատրաստ
են ելանել յանդընդոց և ի կորուստ երթալ. և զար-
մասցին բնակիչք երկրի՝ որոց ոչ են գրեալ անուանք
ի դպրութե̄ կենաց ի սկզբանէ աշխարհի. զոր տե-
սանէիր զգազան որ էն և չէ և որ անցանէր ի կո-
րուստ:
9 Այր իմաստուն միտք իմասցեն զի է̃ գլուխք է̃ լե-
րինք են, որ կինն նստէր ի վերայ նոցա:
10 և նոքա թագաւորք էին է̃. և ե̃ն անկան, և մինն ունի
դեռ, և միւսն չև էր եկեալ. և յորժամ եկեսցէ սա-
կաւ ժամանակս ունի:
11 Եւ զգազանն զոր տեսէր որ էն և այլ ոչ են, և նա
է ը̃ երորդ. և է յեւթեանց՝ և ի հնդից և ի կորուստ
երթալոց:
12 Եւ տասն եղջեւրքն զոր տեսեր՝ և այն տասն թագա-
ւորք են, որ զթագաւորութի̄ իւրեանց չև առին, այլ

առնուն և նքա իշխանութիւն իբրև զթագաւոր ժամա-
նակ մի յետ գազանին։
13 Սոքա ի միաբանութիւն գան և զզօրութիւն և զիշխա-
նութիւն գազանին տան։
14 Նոքա ընդ գառինն պատերազմին. և գառնն յաղ-
թեսցէ նց. քանզի ած և տր է և թագաւոր թագա-
ւորաց. և որ ընդ նմա են կոչեցեալք և ընտրեալք
և հաւատացեալք։
15 Եւ ասէ ցիս. Եւ զջուրսն զոր տեսեր որ պոռնիկն
նստէր ժողովք և բազմութիւնք են և ազգք և լեզուք։
16 Եւ տասն եղջիւրքն՝ զոր տեսեր ի գազանին, նք տես-
ցեն զպոռնիկն և անապատ արասցեն զնա մերկ, և
զմարմին նր կերիցեն՝ և այրեսցեն հրով զնա։
17 Քանզի ած ետ ի սիրտս նց։ առ ի լինել նց ի մի
կամս, և տալ զթագաւորութիւն գազանին մինչև կա-
տարեսցի բանն այ։
18 Եւ կինն զոր տեսեր՝ է քաղաքն մեծ, որ ունի զթա-
գաւորութիւն ի վերայ թագաւորութեց երկրի։

XVIII

1 Եւ յետ այսորիկ տեսի այլ հրեշտակ իջեալ յերկնից
և ունէր իշխանութիւն և երկիր լուսաւորեցաւ ի փա-
ռաց նորա։
2 Եւ աղաղակեաց մեծաձայնի խրո և ասէր. Անկաւ,
անկաւ յերկիրն Բաբելոն մեծ, և եղև բնակութիւն
դիւաց՝ և արգեալ պահպանութիւն ամ ոգոց անսրբոց
և ատելի։
3 զի ի բարկութենէ գինոյ արբեցութէ պոռնկութեն
արբին ամ ազգ և թագաւորք երկրի որք պոռնկե-
ցան ընդ նմա. և վաճառականք երկրի վայելեցին ի

մեծութե՟նց երկրի և ի զօրութենէ մեղաց ն՟ր մե-
ծացան:
4 Եւ լուայ այլ ձայն յերկնից զի ասէր. ելէ՛ք ի միջոյ
դորա ժողովուրդ իմ, զի մի հաւասար եղջիք մեղաց
դորա, զի մի և զհարուածս մեղաց դորա ընդունիցիք:
5 զի հասին մեղք դորա և մերձեցին մինչև յերկինս.
և յիշեաց ա՟ծ զամբարշտութի՟ դորա:
6 Եւ հատուցանէ դորա ո՟պ ն՟ք հատուցին ձեզ, և տա-
ցին կրկնակի ըստ գործոց իւրոց. և զբաժակն զորով
խառնեցին՝ խառնեսցի դորա:
7 Եւ որչափ փառաւորեցան և խայտացին՝ նոյնչափ
տացի դորա տանջանք և սուգ. զի ասէ ի սիրտս իւր
նստիմ՝ թագուհի և այրի ո՛չ եմ՝ և սուգ երբեք ո՛չ
տեսից:
8 վ՟ն այդորիկ ի միում աւուր եկեսցեն ի վերայ դորա
հարուածք մահու և սուգ և սով և հրայրութի՟ վ՟ն
զի զօրաւոր է տ՟ր որ դատի զնա:
9 Եւ լասցեն և ողբասցեն ի վ՟ր դ՟ր թ՟գք երկրի որ
ընդ դմա պոռնկեցան և հեծեսցեն յո՟ժ տեսցեն զծուխ
հնոցի իւ՟րց:
10 Եւ ի հեռաստանէ մինչև հասեալ յոգւոց հանիցեն վ՟ն
ահի տանջանաց դորա և ասիցեն. վա՜յ վա՜յ Բաբելոն
մեծ քաղաք և զաւրաւոր վ՟ն զի ի միում ժամու հա-
սին ի վ՟ր քո դատաստանք:
11 Եւ որք վայելեսցեն ի դմանէ և խարշեսցին և լաց-
ցին և սգասցին ի վ՟ր դ՟ր. եւ զխաշն և զստացուածն
որ ի դմա ո՛չ ևս օգնեսցէ ամօթով և ընդ վայր կացցեն:
12 Մի թէ ոք ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ և ականց պատուակա-
նաց՝ մարգարտի և բեհեզո և ծիրանոյ՝ և կապուտակի
և կարմրոյ. և ա՟մ փայտի խնկոյ ա՟մ անօթք պա-
տուականք՝ փայտեղէնք՝ և պղնձեղէնք և կճճեայք:
13 և կինամոն և խունկք և եղք և լիբանեայ և գինի. և

ձէթ և նաշիհ և ցորեան և ստացուածք ա̃մ ոչխարք
և արջառք՝ և ձիք. և ա̃մ ի՞նչ որ վայելեն մ̃դկ:
14 և ցանկութի̃ հոգւո ի բաց գնացէ ի նոցանէ: եւ
ա̃մ գիրութի̃ կորեաւ ի նոցանէ և ոչ կարացեն
գտանել:
15 Ա՛մ̃ չահավաճառք որ մեծանայեն ի նոցանէ ի բաց
կացցեն վ̃ն ահի տանջանացն. լացցեն և սգասցեն:
16 վա՜յ վա՜յ քաղաք մեծ որ զգեցեալ էս զբեհեզ և զծի֊
րանիս, և որդան. և զսկզօծս և քա̃ինս պատուա֊
կանս և մրգրիտս, զի միում ժամու աւուր ապակա֊
նեցաւ այսչափ մեծու̃ քո:
17 և ա̃մ նաւապետք որ ի տեղիս տեղիս նաւեն նաւա֊
վարքն որ ի ծովու վարիցեն ի հեռաստանէ կացցեն:
18 և աղաղակեսցեն տս՛՛նլով ըղծուխ հնոցի ն̃ց. ասաս֊
ցեն ո՛ նման է քաղաքիս այսմիկ մեծի:
19 Եւ արկցեն հող ի վ̃յ ս գլխոց իւ՛րց և գուժելով
ասասցեն. վա՜յ վա՜յ քաղաք մեծ յորմէ ամենեքեան
մեծանայաք, եւ չրջեաք ի ծովու ի մեծութենէ պա֊
տուականութե̃ ս̃ր զի ի միում ժամ ապականեալ
կործանեցաւ:
20 Ուրախ լիցին երկի̃նք ի վերս՝ և ս̃ր առաքեալք և
մ̃գէ̃ք. զի դատեցաւ ա̃ծ զդատաստանս ն̃ց ի նմանէ:
21 Եւ առ հրեշտակ մի քար մի աղգին մեծ երկայնաքար
և արկ զնա ի ծով ասելով ըստ այնմ նմանութե̃
ընկղմեսցի Բաբելոն քաղաք մեծ և այլ մի՛ ևս գտցի:
22 և ձայն քնարի և երգոց արուեստականաց և ձայն
թմբկի և փողո և այլ ո՛չ ևս ոք լուիցէ ի նմանէ:
23 և ձայն երկանի մի՛ լուիցէ անդ, և ձայն հարսին և
փեսայի այլ ո՛չ ևս լուիցի ի նմանէ. փառաւորք ն̃ր
որ զուարճացեալ էին ի վերա երկրի. որ ի դեղա֊
տութի̃ կախարդութե̃ ն̃ր մոլորեալ էին ա̃մ հ̃թ̃ք:
24 և ի նմա գտաւ արիւն մ̃գէից և սրբոցն և ա̃մ
գրելոցն և կնքելոցն յերկիրս կենդանեաց:

XIX

1 Եւ յետ այնորիկ լուայ ձայն մեծ փողոց մեծաց յեր-
կինս որ ասէին ալելուիա. փրկութ՟ի և պատիւ և
փառք և զօրութ՟ի ա՟յ մերոյ:
2 զի արդարութ՟ի և ճշմարտութ՟ի են դատաստանք ն՟ր
զի դատեցաւ զպոռնիկն զայն մեծ. վ՟ն զի ապակա-
նեաց զերկիր ի պոռնկութ՟ե իւրոյ. և խնդրեաց ի
նմանէ զվրէժ արեան ծառայից իւրոց:
3 Եւ երկրորդ անգամ երկէին և ասէին ալելուիա. եւ
ծուխ նորա ելանէր յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից:
4 Եւ անկան ի վ՟ր երեսաց իւ՟ր՟ց ի՟դ երիցունքն և դ՟
կենդանիքն երկրպագէին ա՟յ որ նստէր յաթոռ փա-
ռաց ասելով ամէն ալէլուիա:
6 վ՟ն զի թգ՟ւրեաց տ՟ր ա՟ծ ամենակալ:
7 Ուրախ լինիմք և ցնծամք և տամք զփառս անուան
ն՟ր. վ՟ն զի եկն կրկին ի հարսանիս իւր գառս և կին
իւր որ պատրաստեալ է նմա:
8 Զի արկցէ զնովաւ զբեհեզն լուսափայլ և ս՟ր. քանզի
բեհեզն սպիտակ արդարութ՟ի սրբոցն է:
9 Եւ գրեա զայդ. երանեալ են ամենեքեան որք յըն-
թրիս հարսանեաց գառինն կոչեցան. և ասէ ցիս այս
բանք ճշ՟մ՟տ և արդարոց են:
10 Եւ անկայ առաջի ոտից ն՟ր զի երկրպագից նմա. և
ասէ ցիս տես որ չարն ես և ասաց ցիս մի՛ անկանիր
առաջի իմ. ք՟զի և ես ծառայակից քո եմ և եղբարց
քոց որք ունէին զվկայութ՟ի յ՟ի. ա՟յ միայն երկիր
պագեա. զի վկայութ՟ի յ՟ի է հոգի ո՟ր որ ի մար-
գարէսն է:

11 Եւ տեսի զերկինս բացեալ և ահաւասիկ ձի սպիտակ
և որ հեծեալն էր ի վ՟ր Ն՟ր կոչէր հաւատարիմ և
ճշմարտու՟ դատի։
12 և պատերազմիք Ն՟ր իբրև բոց հրոյ՝ և ի վ՟ր գլխոյ
Ն՟ր խոյր որ ունէր անուանս բազում գրեալ որոյ ոչ
ոք գիտէր բայց միայն Նա։
13 և արկեալ էր զիւրեաւ հ՟դձս ընկմմնարեան և կոչէր
անուն Ն՟ր բան ա՟յ և զօրավար յերկնից։
14 Եւ երթային զհետ Ն՟ր ձիք սպիտակք զգեցեալք բե-
հեզք ս՟բ։
15 և ի բերանո Ն՟ր ելանէր սուր սրեալ զի Նովաւ հարցէ
զհեթանոս. և Նա էր որ հովուէր զն՟ս գաւազանաւ
երկաթեաւ. եւ Նա կոխէր զհնձանս գինո ցասման
բարկու՟ ա՟յ ամենակալի։
16 Եւ էր գրեալ ի վ՟ր հ՟դձի Ն՟ր և ի վ՟ր աջու բարձի
Ն՟ր անուն իշխանութե՟ Ն՟ր՝ թ՟գ թ՟գց և տ՟ր տէրանց։
17 Եւ տեսի հ՟րշտկ զի կայր առ առեգակն աղաղակեաց
և ասէ ա՟մ թռչունք երկնից եկայք ժողովեցարուք
յընթրիս մեծին ա՟յ։
18 զի կերիցէք ի մարմնո թ՟գին և ի մարմնո իշխանին
և զօրաւարին և մարմնո ձիոյն և որ հեծեալն էր ի
վ՟ր Ն՟ր. եւ ի մարմնո մ՟դկ ծառայց և ազատաց և
մեծամեծաց և փոքունց։

COLLATIO CODICIS 3.

Is codex cap. 16, 17 usque cap. 19^{16} textum impressorum habet nisi in his locis: 17^{3} զլուխս] եղջիւրս – 17^{4} tr և մարգ. post և ակ. պատ. – 17^{4} post պտոն. add երկրի 17^{13} Նոցա] տերանց – 18^{2} ա՟մ դիւաց – 18^{10} վայbis – 18^{17} ուռկանաւ] ի ծովու – 18^{20} ս՟բ.ք և առ. –

18^{21} *յարձակմ* sup ras – *քաղաք մեծ* – 18^{23} *աղինք* – 19^{1} *փրկ. և զօր. և փառք* & om *և պ. և* – 19^{8} om *ապխտակս* – 19^{9} om *զայդ* – 19^{10} om *քրիստոսի* – 19^{10} om *զի… էր* – 19^{11} *էր ի վր՟ նր՟* – 19^{12} *իբրև զբոց* – *պըխտակս*] *խոյրս* – *ունելով* [*անուանս գրեալս և զանուանեն գրեալս ո՛չ ոք գ. բ. մ. նա* – 19^{13} *արկ. էր զ. հ. սրբըկմամբ արեան* – 19^{14} om *և զօրք երկ.* – *երթ. զհետ նր՟ ի վր՟ ձիոց սպիտակաց որք զգ. էին* – om *և սպիտ.* – 19^{15} *հարցէ զհեթանոսս. և նա էր որ հովվէր* – *նա էր որ կոխեր զհնձանս գ. ց. և բ.* – 19^{16} *ի վր՟ համդերձին* – om *իւրոյ* — *անդամոց իւր* sed ex cor – *գիր*] *անուն* – in *թագաւորաց* desinit 3:

COLLATIO CODICIS 2.

19 *զամենայն* om – *զթագաւորք* – *զզաւրս նորա ժողովել* – *այնմ որ հ. էր*:

20 om *որ* – *մարգարէն որ առնէր զնշանս* – *եա առնել* – *և զերկրպագութ՟ի պատկերի նր՟ կենդանոյն* – *լիճ* – *ծըծմբով*:

21 *այլք մեռ. սրով հեծելոյ ձիոյն որ* – *բերանս նր՟* – *և ա՟մ թ. յ. իմ. նց՟* om:

XX

1 *շղթայք* – *ձեռին* – *ինքն բեղ*:

3 *զմարդիկ*] *զհեթանոսս* – *այնորիկ լուծին* – *սակաւիկ մի ժամանակ*:

4 *աթոռ և նստան ի վ. նր՟ և դատ.* – *ընտրեալ զոգիք լ. վ՟ն վկաութ՟ե* – *որ ո՛չ* – *նշանի նր՟ ի վ. ճակատի* – *աջոյ* om:

5 այնոքիկ են որ կեցցեն և թագաւորեսցեն ընդ ք՟ի ռ՟ ամ – մեռելոցն ոչ եկաց մ. ի կատարեալ զռ՟ ամի – յար. առ:
6 երանելի սրբոցն – արքայութե՟ առ. և ի – են նոքա – ք՟ի om – ընդ նմա ռ՟ ամ. և լուծցէ զսատ. ռ՟ ամին:
8 ելցէ և մոլորեցուսցէ – ա՟մ om – և զգոգ – որո:
9 և ելին ի լայնութի՟ ե. և պատեցին – զբ՟ք սիրելի և էջ – առ յ՟այ և կերաւ – զպաւրագլուխն սատանայի որ մ. զնոսա արկ զնոսա ի ծ. հրո ծըծմբո – մար- գարէն:
11 եւ տեսի աթոռ մեծ ս՟ և ի վ՟ր նստ. յորմէ ահէ և յեր. ն՟ր կորնչէին երկ. և երկիր:
12 տեսի զմեռեալն և մեծամեծան գիրք բան – այլն որոյ անուանք cetera om – այլ om – մեռելոց:
14 իւրաքանչիւր. և ետ ծով ի բաց զմեռեալսն ուր որ էր նմա և մահ և դժոխք մատնեաց ի լիճ հրոյ – և որ... հրոյն om:

XXI

1 երկին – քանզի] զի – երկինք և om – երկիրն անց. և ծովս այս. և քաղաք նոր ս՟բ ե՟մ երեէր զի իջա- նէր յերկնից առ յ՟այ զարդ. և պաճ. ո՟ և հարսն տուաւ – խառն] ի տան – ն՟ք ժող. & om ի – նա է ն՟ց ա՟ծ:
4 արտասուս – ոչ տիր. ն՟ց և ոչ աղաղակ և ո՛չ այլ ցաւս. և ո՛չ հոգք այլ ո՛չ ևս պահիցէ զն՟ս. զի մերժ:
5 ասաց ցիս որ նստէրն – և ասէ ցիս om – գրեա՛ ա՛յս բանք են հաւ. – և քէ om:
6 և յապառնիսն յաւիտեանս եմ. որք են ծարաւի՛ տասցես նմա յաղբիւրէն:

7 ձրի, որ ոք գտցէ յաղթաւղ․ ժառանգեսցէ – նոցա]
նմա – և ն՟ք եղ․ ի․ ժող․ om։
8 պղծոյն – և պոռն․ om – դեղատուաց և կռապաշտից
որոց բաժինն իւր․ է ի լիճ այրեցելում հրո և ծըծմ֊
բով՝ որ է մահ ե։
9 որ – սկաւառակս – վախճան կատարած և խ։
10 եւ ցուցից – գաւիհն – բարձր և om – մեծ և հող֊
ւով եցոյց – սուրբ զվ․ Եմ և զլ․ om – իջեալ է
յերկն․ ի յա՟յ ամ․ և ունէր զփ․ ա՟յ ի նմա լուսաւո֊
րութ՟ի նմանեալ ականց պատ․ յասպիսի սառանց
տեսակ և կենդանի․ և էր պար․ ն՟ր մեծ և բարձր
cet om։
12 յինքեանս դրունս ժ՟բ հրշ՟տկս իւրաք․ դրանց ի վ՟ր
ն՟ր գրեալ անուանց ժ՟բ ցեղիցն Ի՟ղի։
13 և յարևմ․ – և հիւս։
14 և հիմունք քաղ․ երկոտ․ բատ։
15 և խաւսէր ընդ իս և ունէր չ․ ոսկեղէնի ձ․ – և
զդրունս ն՟ր om – պարիսպ ն՟ր, և էր – կուսի․ որ֊
չափ էր երկ․ ն՟ր նոյնչափ և լ․ – չափոմբ – ն՟ր ե՟ռ
ասպարէզ և լայն․ ն՟ր միաչափ։ և չափեաց։
18 պարսպաց ն՟ր յակ․ յասպիս․ և քաղ․ ոսկոյ ս՟քյ նման
ապակի – ակ․ պատ․ և հիմն յառաջին պարսպին
յասպիս և երկ․ – և երրորդն – և չոր․ — և հինգ․
եղեգնաքար և վեց․ – և եւթն․ ոսկէքար և ութ․ –
և ինն․ – և տասն, յակինթ և մետ․ դահանակ։
21 ե՟ժ մ՟ղէիցն մինձև և իւր․ դրունք էին և մի – մար֊
գարտէ ի միջոյ – յոսկւո սրբո և մօտ առ դրամքն
ճառագայթագոյն ս՟պ իբրև։
22 տ՟ր ա՟ծ ամ․ տաճ․ է ն՟ր և գ․ միածինն ա՟յ սեղանէ ։
23 չէին պէտք – քանզի … յա՟մ ժամ om & sbst հա֊
հանապազորդ։
25 այլ ի բաց կային հան․ քանզի գիշեր – լինէին։

26 *միայն լինի ի նմա լուս. քան զնմ՛ ականց պատուա-*
կանաց cet om:
27 *խուրով* om – *մնոջէ ի նա որոց գրեալ իցեն ան. խու-*
րեանց ի – որդ. ո̄յ] գաուինն:

ՊԱՐԱՊՄՈՒՆՔ ԿԻՒՐՂԻ

ՊԱՐԱՊՄՈՒՆՔ ԿԻՒՐՂԻ

ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍԱՊԵՏԻ ԱՂԷՔՍԱՆԴՐԱՑԻՈՑ

ԹԷ ԶԻԱ՞ՐԴ ԻՄԱՍՑԻ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍՆ

Քո՟դ անուն ոչ սահմանի զօրութ՟ի ունի և ոչ զուրուք էութ՟ի եթէ զինչ երբէք իցէ նշանակէ։ ո՟պ ինչ մարդ կամ ձի. կամ եզն։ Այլ յաւէտ զիրէ իմեքէ. ներգործեցելոյ. առնէ յայտնումն։ Քան զի իւրով օծանէին 'ի հնումն ոմանք. ո՟պ յայնժամ՝ թուեցաւ ա՟յ և օրէն թագաւորութ՟ե էր ն՟ց յօծումնն։ օծանէին և մարգարէքն հոգովն սրբով. ըստ իմանալեաց ո՟պ զի և յայտմանէ, անուանի օծեալ։ Սաղմոսէ երանելին դաւիթ ո՟պ 'ի դիմաց ա՟յ, և ասէ, մի մերձենայք յօծեալս իմ, և մարգարէից իմոց, մի մեղանչէք։ ասէ և մարգարէն ամբակում, ելեր 'ի փրկութ՟ի ժողովրդեան քում՝ 'ի փրկել զօծեալս քո։ բայց 'ի վ՟ր փրկչին մերոյ ք՟ի առեմք լինել օծումն. սակայն ոչ օրինակաւ իւղովն գործեցեալ։ Եւ ոչ շնորհիւ մարգարէականաւ։ այլ և ոչ զայնս զոր ո՟պ 'ի ձեռն առնլով իմացեալ, առ 'ի յուղղութիւն, այնպիսի ինչ իւղ, որպիսի ինչ եղեալ առեմք 'ի վերայ կիւրոսի պարսից, և մարաց թ՟գ՟րի։ որ զօրաժողով եղեալ 'ի վ՟ր բաբելացւոցն։ որ էր յայս զնա զօրացուցեալ ա՟միւ ա՟յ։ քանզի ասի թէ այսպէս ասէ տ՟ր ցօծեալ իւր ցկիւրոս զորոյ կալայ զաջոյ ձեռանէն ն՟ր։ Եւ որ էրն այր կռապարիշտ անուանի օծեալ, վ՟ն այսպէս օծանելոյ նմա 'ի թ՟գ՟րութ՟ի, 'ի վերուստ հրամանաւ, 'ի ձեռն առեալ լինիւր առ յա՟յ հզօրա՟ց տիրէր բաբելացւոցն։ Այլէ յա-

ւէտ այս: քանզի վ՟ն ադամայ յանցանացն թ՟գրեաց 'ի
վ՟ր ա՟մ՟ն մեղք, և ապա մարդկային ազգս զըրկեալ լի-
նէր ի հոգոյն սրբոյ: և եղև յաղագս այսորիկ յա՟մ վր-
տանգի: Պարտէր դ՟րձեալ իւրով ա՟յ որ առ իսկզբանէն
ելանել, և արժանաւորել հոգոյն: Մարմնացաւ միածին
բանն ա՟յ, և երևեցաւ որոց յերկրի հողեղէն մարմնով.
և ապա եղև ազատ 'ի մեղաց: զի Նովաւ միայնով. ան-
մեղութ՟ե՟ն պարկեշտութ՟բ, մի՛չ յս բնութ՟ն. պասկեալ
հարստասցի զհոգին ն՟բ և վերստին կերպասցի այսպէս
առ ա՟ծ սրբութ՟բ: քանզի և այս՟պ 'ի մեզ անցանէ շնորհն:
սկիզբն առեալ 'ի ք՟սէ որ 'ի մեզն անդրանիկ: Եւ զայս
ուսուցանելով մեզ սաղմոսէ երանելին դաւիթ առ որդի:
սիրեցեր զարդարութ՟ի, և ատեցեր զանիրաւութ՟ի: վ՟ան
այսորիկ օծ զքեզ ա՟ծ ա՟ծ քո իւղով ցնծութ՟բ առաւել
ք՟ զնկերս քո: Արդ օծանի մարդկօրէն ը՟ մեզ որդի ան-
մեղութ՟է զօրութ՟բ, պայծառացեալ նովաւ մարդոյս բնու-
թ՟ի, արժանաւոր եղ՟ել վինակի օծման հոգոյն սրբոյ: ոչ
ևս 'ի բաց գնալով ո՟պ իսկզբանն, այլ յաւէտ սիրով տա-
րեալ եղ՟ել 'ի սեզ: այս է որ և գրեալն է, եթէ էջ 'ի վ՟ր
ք՟ի հոգին, և եկաց 'ի վ՟ր ն՟ր: Արդ ասի ք՟ս բանն ա՟յ որ
վ՟ն մեր ը՟ մեզ մ՟րդ. և 'ի ծառայի կերպի: և օծանի մարդ-
կօրէն ը՟ մարմնոյ, իսկ օծանէ ա՟ծաբար իւղովն հոգով
զորս ինայն հաւատացեալս: Զինչ յեղանակաւ պարտէ
իմանալ զեմմանուէլն:

Բ. Եմմանուէլ անուանի զաւակէն աբրահամու բուռն
հարկանէ բանն ա՟ծ, և մերձաւորութ՟բ կցորդ եղեալ մեզ
մարմնոյ և արեան. քանզի թարգմանի եմմանուէլ ընդ
մեզ ա՟ծ: Եւ ասեմք լինել ընդ մեզ զբանն ա՟ծ, ոչ ը՟
տեղւոյ. քան զի ո՞ւր ուրեք ոչ է ա՟ծութ՟ի՝ որ զամե-
նայնն լնու: այլ և ոչ ընթացակից մեզ տեսեալ լինի ը՟
ինամւոյն յեղանակի: քանզի ասի այսպէս առ յեսու նա-
ւեայ: Զոր օրինակ էի ը՟ մովսէսի, այսպէս եղէց և ը՟ քեզ:

Այլ զի եղև ընդ մեզ. այսինքն մարդանալովն, զեւրն ոչ փոխադրեալ: Ք՟զի անփոփոխելի էր ըստ բնութ՟ն ա՟ծ: Բայց վ՟ այսր պատճառի որ ասէն, թէ ո՟պ էի ընդ մով-սէսի. այսպէս եղէց և ընդ քեզ: այլ և եմմանուէլ ոչ ա-նուանի: ինքն եղիցի բանն թէ և ընդ այլում ումեք 'ի սրբոցն լինել ասասցի. ապա ուրեմն ընդ մեզ լինել ա-սեմք զաւ 'ի յա՟յ բանն: Յորժամ ը՟ որում ասաց բա-րուք եթէ 'ի յերկրի երևեցաւ, և ընդ մարդկան շրջե-ցաւ: Եւ թէ զա՟մ ճանապարհ հանճարոյ եգիտ. և ետ յակոբայ ծառայի իւրոյ, և ի՟ղի սիրելւոյ իւրոյ: քանզի նա ինքնէ ա՟ծ մեր, և ոչ համարեսցի այլ ոք առ նա: զի մինչև յորժամ եկ նա ա՟ծ ըստ բնութ՟ն ոչ էր ընդ մեզ: քանզի ոչ է համեմատութ՟ի 'ի մէջ ա՟յ և մարդկութ՟ես: բազում մեկուսիէ բնութ՟եցն տարբերութ՟ի: Որ և ա՟ծ այնմն դաւիթ, առ մերձաւորութ՟ի մեզ յայտնէ խորհրդաբար: Զի չև ես եղեալ ընդ մեզ բանն ա՟ծ՝ կոչէ ասելով հո-գովն, ընդ է՞ր տ՟ր կայեր 'ի հեռաստանէ, անտես արա-րեր 'ի դէպ նեղութ՟ն ժ՟ծկի: Ապա ուրեմն ոչ ևս եկաց ի հեռաստանէ. այլ եղև ը՟ մեզ. զի եկաց միայց որ ինչ էրն. և բուռն եհար զզաւակէն աբրահամու ո՟պ և ասացի: էառ զծառայի կերպարանս, և երևեցաւ ը՟ մեզ մարդ 'ի յեր-կրի: Արդ ք՟ս, և եմմանուէլ զնոյն նշանակէն մեզ որդի: և այն զի օծաւն ընդ մեզ մարդկօրէն մարդկային մար-մնով. զհոգւոյն առեալ ո՟պ ինքեամբ և նախկին: քանզի զնի երկրորդ սկիզբն ազգիս. որ և օծանէ ինքն՟ն ո՟պ ա՟ծ, հոգովն սրբով զհաւատացեալս 'ի նա: իսկ այս զի եղև ը՟ մեզ ը՟ այժմու ասացելոյս 'ի մէնջ բանի: և առ այս հաստատէ զմեզ ասելովն մարգարէն եսայի: Ահա կոյս յղասցի և ծնցի որդի, և կոչեսցեն զանուն ն՟ր եմմանուէլ: քանզի յորժամ յղացաւ կոյսն ն՟բ 'ի հոգւոյն սրբոյ. և ծնաւ ըստ մարմնոյ զորդի՝ յայնժամ առի եմմանուէլ. զի եղև ը՟ մեզ ծնընդեամբն մ՟րմնականաւ անմարմինն: և այս

ուրեմն էր որ ձայնիւն գաւթի, ա՟ծ մեր յայտնապէս եկեսցէ, ա՟ծ մեր և ոչ լռեսցէ: զնոյն վարկանիմ թէ ես ինքն որ խօսիմս մերձեմ: ք՟զի խօսեալ մարգարէիւքն ոպ՟ անմարմին, ես եկն բանն և մարմնով: Զի՞նչ է յս՟:

Գ. Զաւրութ՟ մտածութ՟ պարտ գոլ առ 'ի մէնջ, մի ասել զորդին ա՟յ, ոչ այլ ինչ է քան զք՟սն, զ՟ էմմանուէլն: իսկ յս՟ն անուն, եղև դ՟ձլ ոպ՟ յիրէ: քանզի նա ասէ փրկեսցէ զժողովուրդ իւր 'ի մեղաց իւրեանց: քանզի ոպ՟ էմմանուէլն յայտնէ 'ի ձեռն ծնընդե՟ննն որ ի կնոջէ ը՟ մեզ լինել բանին ա՟յ: Եւ ք՟ն զի եղեալ մ՟րդ. օծանիլ ասի ը՟ մեզ մարդկօրէն: Այսպէս և յս՟ն զի ապրեցոյց զմեզ. իւր գոլով ժողովուրդ. որ մանաւանդ ցուցանէ ստուգապէս ա՟ծ գոլ զնա, ըստ ճշմարտութե՟. և բնութ՟ ա՟մյն տ՟ր: քանզի ոչ հասարակաց մարդոյ ասէն ստացուածքս, այլ վայելէ առաւել միածնին իւր ասել ամենայնքս, թէ և եղև մ՟րդ. այլ թերևս ասիցէ ոք, թէ և մովսիսի ժողովուրդ ի՟էլ. և առ այս ասեմք: թէ ա՟յ անուանէր ժողովուրդ, և էր այն ըստ ճշմարտութե՟: բայց վ՟զի բերեալ եղև յապստամբութի՟, և արար ըզորթն յանապատին, արհամարհեցաւ առ 'ի յա՟յ, և ոչ ես իւր ժողովուրդ անուանել զնա արժանաւորէր: այլ ասէր զնա ապա ոպ՟ մ՟րդոյ: բայց մեք ոչ այսպէս: քանզի իւր եմք որդոյ, ը՟ որում և ա՟ծ է: և նովաւ եկին ա՟մ ի լինելութի՟: քանզի այսպէս ասէ դաւիթ. թէ նա արար զմեզ և ոչ մեք (էաք). մեք ժողովուրդք ձեռին ն՟ր և խաշն արօտի ն՟ր: որ ասաց յաղագս մեր իսկ: Ոչխարք իմ ձայնի իմում լսեն. և զկնի իմ գան: Եւ դ՟ձլ և այլ ոչխարք են իմ, որք ոչ են յայսմ գաւթէ. և զայնս ևս պարտ է ինձ ածել այսր: և եղիցին մի հօտ և մի հովիւ: Պատուէր տայր և երանելւոյն պետրոսի. սիմոն յովհաննու սիրես զիս: արածեա զգառինս իմ: հովուեա զոչխարս իմ: ընդէր ասի մարդ բանն ա՟ծ:

Դ. Մարդ անուանի որ բնութ՟բ էն ա՟ծ յա՟յ հօրէ բանն, որպէս հաղորդ եղեալ մարմնոյ և արեան մերձաւորապէս մեզ, քանզի երևեցաւ այսր 'ի յերկրի, և ոչ փոխեալ յորմէ որ ինչ էրն, այլ յաւմանէ եղեալ ը՟ս մեզ մարդկութեա, կատարելապէս ունելով ըստ իւրոյն բանի: սակայն եկաց մնաց, և սահմանի 'ի մարդկութեն ա՟ծ. և բոլորից տ՟ր: ո՟պ բնութ՟բ, և ճշմարտապէս ծնեալ յա՟յ հօրէ: և զայս ցուցանէ մեզ բարւոք և հաւաստեաւ ամէն իմաստն պօղոս: քանզի առաջին մարդն յերկրէ հողեղէն. իսկ երկրորդն յերկնից զոր ծնաւ ո՟բ կոյսն. զմիացեալն ը՟ս բանին մարմին: Այլ և յերկնից ասի և մանաւանդ վայելչաբար եմմանուէլ. քանզի 'ի վերուստ և յէութենէն ա՟յ և հօր, 'ի նմանէ ծնեալն բանն. էջ առ մեզ յորժամ ելին մ՟րդ: Եւ 'ի վերուստ, և այսպէս վկայեաց վ՟ն ն՟ր յովհաննէս և ասէ, որ ի վերուստն գայ 'ի վերոյէ քան զա՟մ: Ասէ ուրեմն և ինքն ք՟ս առ հրէիցն ժողովուրդ. դուք 'ի ներքուստ էք, բայց ես 'ի վերուստ եմ: Եւ դ՟րձեալ ես ոչ եմ յաշխարհէս յայսմանէ, որ և մասն յաշխարհէս երևեալ, ո՟պ մարդ: այլ էր ընդ այսուիկ. և գերագոյն քան զաշխարհս: ո՟պ զ՟ա՟ծ, և յիշեմք հաւաստեաւ զասեալն: թէ ոչ ոք ել յերկինս, թէ ոչ որ էջն յերկնից որդի մարդոյ: Եւ իջանել ասեմք յերկնից զորդին մարդոյ, ը՟ս միութե անօրէնութե բանին. հեռանեցուցեալ իւրոյն մարմնոյ զիւրոյն փառաց, և զա՟ծավայելուչ գերունակութեն առաւելութիւն: ընդ էր ասի ունայնացեալ բանն ա՟ծ:

Ե. Չի ըստ բնութե գոլով և ըստ ա՟մի ամենակատար, բանն ա՟յ, և բաշխեալ յիւրոյն լրմանէ ստացուածոցս, զիւրսն թափեալ ասեմք, ոչ ինչ յիւրն վնասեալ բնութի և ոչ 'ի պարտ գոլոյն այլ ազգ ունել, կրեալ ամբոխումն ինչ. և 'ի նուաստութի զիջումն ըստ իւրք ինչ բնաւին, քանզի անփոփոխելի և ան այլ այլ ելիէ և ինքն

՟ապ և ծնօղ ն՟ր: և ոչ լինէր ախտի ըստ արտմութե՟ ա-
փորութե՟ ընդունակ: Իսկ յորժամ եղեն մարմին, ՟յր մարդ:
ըստ որում թէ հեղեղ ՚ի հողոյ խմէ ՚ի վ՟ր ՟ամ մար-
մնոյ: զմարդկութե՟ս աղքատութ՟ի խոնարհեցուցանէ. և այս
զի մ՟րդ բոլորովին, թէ և եկաց մնաց ՟ած: և ապա
զե՟նչ ծառայի ընդունի զկերպարանս ՟ը նոյն բնութե՟
ազատն, ՟ապ որդի: և ինքն գոլով տ՟ր փառաց, փառս տայ
առնուլ: ինքն գոլով կեանք: կենագործիլ տայ: և ՚ի վ՟ր
ամենից զիշխանութի՟ն առնու. որ և թագաւոր գոլով
բոլորից ՟ը ՟այ և հօր: հնազանդ եղև խաչի համբերեալ
և զայլն: այլ այս վայելէր մարդկութե՟ն չափոյ: սակայն
խոնարհեցուցանէ զայնս մարմնով. և ուղղէ զանօրէնութի՟ն
մնալով որ ինչ էրն: Զիա՞րդ մի ՟քս:

Զ. Գրէ ՟աստուածայինն պօղոս: զի թէպէտ և իցեն
՟ածք բազումք և տեարք բազումք յերկինս և յերկրի: այլ
մեզ մին ՟ած հայր, յորմէ ամենայնն, և մեք ՚ի նմանէ:
և մի տ՟ր յ՟ս ՟քս որով ՟ամ. և մեք նովաւ: զոր և խնա-
տուենն յոհաննէս յաղագս բանին ՟այ ասէ, թէ ՟ամ ինչ
նովաւ եղև, և առանց ն՟ր եղև և ոչ ինչ: աւետարանէ և
երանելին գաբրիէլ սրբոյ կուսին ասելով, թէ յղասցիս
և ծնցես որդի և կոչեսցեն զանուն ն՟ր յ՟ս: Արդ յորժամ
քեւ յիւ ասէ լինել զ՟ամ երանելին պ՟ղս, վերստին հաս-
տատէ զմտածութե՟ն զօրութ՟ի: և արարչագործ բոլորից
աւետարանէ զբանն ՟այ, իբր ճշմարիտ ա՟րչին: կնքէ
և հրեշտակին ձայնն առ ճշմարտութի՟ն ի սրբոյ կուսէն
զծնեալն յ՟ս ք՟ս: և ոչ առանց մարդկութե՟ն խնամանք զա՟ռ
ե՟յ բանն, այլ մի երկուցանց կատարեալ առեալք ս՟ղ
՟ած մարդացեալ. զնոյն ի հօրէ ՟ո բան ծնեալ ՟ածաբար,
և ի կնոջէ մարդկօրէն ՟ո զմարդ: Ոչ ՟ո ի յերկրորդ սկիզբն
գոյութե՟ կոչեցեալ, յորժամ և ծնեալն ասի ՟ը մարմնոյ,
այլ ՟ապ է՝ և գոյ նախ ՟ք զ՟ամ յաւիտեանս և զժամանակս:
Իսկ եկեալ յայժմու ժամանակս ՟ը որում պարտէր լը-

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նալ զանօրէնութիւն: և ի կնոջէ ծնեալ բստ մարմնոյ, ապա ուրեմն, թէ և այլք սմանք էին օծեալք՝ համանուանաբար նմա կոչեցեալք Քք. այլ մի է՝ որով ամն յն Քս: Ոչ որպ սուրբ մարգարէ եղելոյ ամենեցունց արարչագործին. այլ ո որ բանին, որով ամ ի գոյութի եկն. և մերձաւորութի մեզ հաղորդ եղեալ արեան և մարմնոյ, և երեւեալ մրդ. ոչ ուրեք ի բաց ընկեցեալ զինքն որ ինչ էրն: քանզի այսպ իսկ ի մարմնի եղեալ, խմացի վայելչաբար ամենեցունց արարչագործ: Զի որդ մի եմմանուէլ:

Լ. Մի անգամ ի վախճան յաւիտեանցն բանն այ. մարդանալ ասի: Եւ որպ ասէ ամծայինն պղս. ի ձեռն պտրգին իւրոյ յայտնի: և որ էր պտրգն: քանզի զիւր մարմինն մտայց վն մեր ի հոտանուշից այ և հօր. և եմուտ ի սրբութիւնն միանգամ: ոչ՝ արեամբ նոխազ զայց և զուարակաց, այլ իւրով արեամբն: քան զի աւիլթ եղեւ այսպէս հաւատացելոց ի նա յաւիտենականն փրկութի: Ապա ուրեմն բազում որք եղեն նախ Քք զնա, և ոչ ոք ի նոցանէ եմմանուէլ անուանեցաւ: Եր աղագաւ. քան զի չեւ եւս հասեալ էր ժմնկ: Ըն որում պատռէր Ըն մեզ՝ Ըն բստ մերում բնութեն լինել վն մարմնոյն, որ ի վերնէ՝ Քք զձմ աստուածոյ: մի ուրեմնէ եմմանուէլ: քան զի միանգամ եղեւ մրդ միածինն, յորժամ և ի սրբոյ կուսէն զծնունդն կրեաց մարմնական: քան զի ասի և առ յեսու նաւեա, թէ՝ եղէց Ըն քեզ և ոչ էր նա եմմանուէլ: Եղեւ Ըն մովսէսի, այլ և ոչ նա եմմանուէլ անուանեցաւ. ապա ուրեմն յորժամ լուիցուք անուն ասեալ որդւոյն Ըն մեզ ամծ: զմտաւ ածցուք խորհրդով, ոչ այսպէս լինել ընդ մեզ զնա ի վախճան յաւիտենից: ո մինչ ոք ասիցէ զլինելն երբեմն և ընդ սրբոյն: քան զի Նց ընամակալուէր: բայց Ըն մեզ եղեւ: և յորժամ եղեւն նա ընդ մեզ: զիւրն ոչ փոխադրեալ: քանզի է իսկ ի վեր քան զայլ ալլումն որպէս զմծ: Զի որդ ասեմք լինել զմիութի:

Ը. Միաւորութ՟է իր՝ ըստ բազում յեղանակաց կատարի: քան զի անջատեալք ումանք՝ ըստ տրամադրութ՟ե և կամաց. և երկպառակեալքն առ միմեանց, միաւորիլ ասին՝ ըստ պատահման սիրոյ. ի միջոյ եղեալք զտարբերութ՟իս: միաւոր եալ ասեմք՝ եւ զընդ միմեանս կցեալսն. ՟ք ժողով եալս ըստ այլոց յեղանակաց: կամ ըստ առ ընթերդրութ՟ե: կամ խառնման: Արդ՝ յորժամ միաւորիլ ասեմք՝ ընդ մերում բնութ՟եա, զբանն ա՟ծ. վերագոյն տեսանի ՟ք զմարդոյ մտածութ՟իս՝ միաւորութ՟ե յեղանակ. քան զի և ոչ ըստ միոյ իրիք յասացելոցս: այլ անճառելիք ամենևիմբ. և ոչումեք յէիցս գիտելի, բայց միայնոյ զա՟մ գիտողին: Եւ աքանչելի ոչ ինչ է, եթէ յայսպիսեայ մտածութ՟եց նուաղիմք: յորժամ և զորս ՟ը մեզ ինքեանց, թէ զի ա՟րդ արդեօք իցէ խուզեսցուք, որ անդր ՟ք զմեր մտածութ՟իս զըմբռնումն խոստովանիմք գոլ. քան զի զի՞նչ օրինակաւ կարծեսցուք զմարդոյն հոգի ընդ իւրոյ մարմնոյ: Ո՞վ իցէ որ կարող իցէ ասել, և թէ պէտ փոքունս ինչ և հազիւ իմանալ սովորեալս, և խօսել զօրեալս: զայս քան զնուրբ՝ և ի վեր քան զմիտս, և զբան իրաց հետազօտել. ասեմք թէ վայելչաբար իմանալ, ոչ գոլով ա՟մ իրօք ճշմարտութ՟ե բանին: այսպիսի գոլ զմիաւորութ՟ի էմմանուէլին: Որպէսի արդեօք ածիցէ ոք զմտաւ և զմարդոյն հոգի ունել առ իւր մարմինն: քան զի իւրացուցանէ հոգին զա՟մ ինչ զմարմնոյն, որ ըստ իւրոյն բնութ՟ե անհաղորդէ նորայոց ախտից բնաւորականաց. համանգամայն և արտաքուստ ի վ՟ր եկելոց: քանզի շարժի մարմինն ի ցանկութ՟իս բնաւորականս, և զգայակից լինի վ՟ն միաւորութ՟են որ ի նմայն հոգի: բայց հաղորդակից և ոչ ՟ը միոյ յեղանակի, սակայն համարեալ իւր վայելուչն գոլ. փափագմանն կատարումն .. թէպէտ և հարկանիցի ընդսրով մարմինն. և երկաթով թերևս գզեսցի, ցաւակից լինի ո՟պ իւրոյ մարմնոյ չարչարեցելոյ: բայց ինքն

յիւր բնու՟թն ոչ ինչ կրեսցէ ի վ՟ր եկելոցն: սակայն և վ՟ս այսօրիկ ասեմք ի վ՟ր էմմանուէլի զմիաւորու՟թին : Ք՟զի էր հարկաւոր իւրոյն մարմնոյ ցաւակից լինել՝ միաւորեցելոյն ը՟ նա հոգոյն, զի փախուցեալ ի տանջանաց զիւր ուղիղ բերցէ զ՟այ զղեակն: իսկ ի վ՟ր ա՟յն բանին զգայակից լինել տանջանացն անտեղի է ասելն: քան զի անչարչարելի է ա՟ծու՟թն և ոչ է ի մէնջ: այլ միաւորեցաւ ը՟ մ՟րմնոյն հոգի ունողին զբանականն, չարչարելով ինքն անչարչարաբար, էր գիտակ ի նմա եղելոցն. և ապա կրէր, ո՟պ ա՟ծ զմարմնոյն տկարու՟թիս, և իւրացուցանէր զայնս ո՟ զիւրոյ մարմնոյ: Այսպէս և քաղցնուլ ասի և աշխատել և չարչարել վ՟ս մեր: ապա ուրեմն նմանեսցի միաւորու՟թ՟ն բանին առ մարդկու՟թիս, ոչ ի բացէ ի մերմէ գիտմանէս: քան զի ո՟ այլաբունէ մ՟րմինն առ հոգին, սակայն մի երկոցունցն մ՟րդն կատարի և ասի: Այսպէս և ի կատարեալ գոյացու՟թենէ ա՟յ բանին, և ի մարդկու՟թէ կատարելապէս ունելով ըստ իւրոյն սահմանի բանի: մի Ք՟ս նոյն ինքն գոլով ի նոյնու՟թե ա՟ծ համանգամայն և մարդ: և իւրացուցանէ ո՟ ասացաք բանն զորս իւրոյն մարմնոյէ: զի իւր մարմինն և ոչ այլոյ ուրուք էր. հասարակորդ առնէ զիւր մարմինն. իւրոյ զա՟ծավայելուչ զօրու՟թեն ներգործու՟թե, ո՟ զի կարող գոլ, կենդանացուցանել զսեռեալս, և բժշկել զորս ի հիւանդու՟թեն: իսկ թէ պիտոյէ և յա՟ծաշունչ գրոց յարացոյց ի մէջ բերել, և ո՟ գաղափարաւ իւիք զմիաւորու՟թեն ցուցանել յեղանակ, բեր ասասցուք ո՟պ միոյ: . . . .

Յաղագս կայծականն . . . .

Թ. Երանելին եսայի, առաքեցաւ առ իս աւէ մի ի սերովբէիցն և ի ձեռին իւրում ունէր կայծակն, զոր ունէր ունելեօք ի սեղանոյն: և աւէ ցիս ահա մերձեցաւ այս ի շրթունս քո. և բարձցէ զանօրէնու՟թիս քո և զմեղս քո մաքրեսցէ: Եւ ասեմք զկայծակն տիպ մեզ և պատկեր նու

զմ՟րդացելոյն բանի, ո՟պ թէ մինչ հպել ի շրթունս մեր։ Ք՟ յորժամ զոր ի նայն խոստովանեսցուք հաւատ։ Յայնժամ և յ՟մ մեղաց երեւեցուցէ զմեզ մաքուրս և ի հնոցն յանցանաց ազատս։ սակայն է տեսանել ՚ի պատկերաւ կայծակամբն միաւորեալ ը՟ մ՟րդկութեա զբանն ա՟ծ, ոչ ի բաց ընկեցեալ զգոլն զոր ինչ էրն, այլ ի յաւէտ փոխատարեալ առ որ հպեցաւն։ Ք՟ միաւորեալ յիւր փառսն և ներգործութ՟ի։ Ք՟ զի զոր օրինակ հուր մերձեցեալ ի փայտ, և զգեցեալ զնա ըմբռնէ զնա, և ոչ կայ ի բաց ի գոլյն փայտ, այլ յաւէտ զի փոխադրէ զնա ի հրոյն տեսութ՟ի և զօրութ՟ի և զ՟ամ զն՟ր իւր ներգործէ։ և ՚ի մի համարեալ լինի ը՟ նմա։ այսպէս իմասցի և ի վ՟ր ք՟ի։ Ք՟ զի միւ՟ոյ անճառապէս. ը՟ մրդկւթ՟ն ա՟ծ. պահեաց զնա զոր ինչ էր։ և եկաց միաց և ինքն որ ինչ էրն։ և միաւորեալ միանգամ, ՚ի մի համարեալ ը՟ նմա իւրացուցեալ զնորայն։ միաւորեալ և իւր ը՟ նմա, զիւրոյն բնու՟ ներգործու՟ի։ Զի ան մարմին ա՟ծութ՟ն մ՟րմին եղեւ հոգի ունելով բանական։ Եւ զի ի բաց մեկուսէ զն՟ ի միմեանց ամենեւին և ա՟մ իրօք ի բաց լուծանեմք զոր ի ք՟ի իմացելոյն անքէնու՟ բանէ և խորհուրդ։

Յերգ երգոց ինքն ի ներքս մտեալ ասելով թ՟ր մեր յ՟ ք՟։ Ես ծաղիկ դաշտաց շուշան հովտաց։

Ժ. Արդ ո՟պ հոտն անմարմին իմն իր է և վարի ո՟պ իւրով մ՟րմնով յորում էն։ սակայն երկոցունց իմանի շուշանն։ և ապականէ ա՟մ իրօք զոր ի վ՟ր ն՟ր բանըն միայն մեկուսութ՟ի։ Ք՟ զի յենթակայեն հոտն և է մ՟րմին, ենթակայն։ Այսպ՟ իմասցուք և ի վ՟ր ք՟ի զ՟ածութ՟ն բնութ՟ի. զիւրն գերազարդ գերանակութ՟ի անոչահոտ բուրեալ աշխարհի, ո՟պ յենթակայի ի մարդկութ՟ն և ան մարմին ը՟ բնութ՟ բստ միաւորութ՟ անօրինականի լինել և ի մարմնի, վ՟ կամելոյն ճանաչել մ՟րմնով։ Ք՟ զի ներգ՟ծ՟յ նախաւ զ՟ածավայելուչն, ապա ուրեմն վայելչաբար

խմասցի, խորով մտ՟ով անմտմինն. ո՟ մինչ յենթակային ծաղկիկան անուշահոտութե՟ իր և ասի չուշան հանդերձ երկաքանչիւրովն:

Զի թէ և ի միաւորութի՟ ճշմարիտ եկեալ առ մարդկութի՟ն: Անշփոթ միային գոյութիւնքն:

ԺԱ. կանգնեցաւ կամելով ա՟յ յանապատին ո՟ք խորանն, և էր ինմա ը՟ բզ՟ւմօրինակի կերպայեալ էմմանուիլ: Արդ տատաց բոլորից ծ՟րն յածայինն մովսէս. և արտայես տապանակ վկայութե՟ յանխուտ փայտից: յերկուց կանգնոց և իկխոց գերկայնութիւն նորա և ի կանգնոյ և ի կիսոյ գլայնութի՟ նր՟: և ի կանգնոյ և ի կիսոյ գբարձրութի՟ նր՟, և պատեսցես զնա ոսկւով ներքոյ և արտաքոյ: Արդ անխուտ փայտն լցէ արդեօք յօրինակ անա՟կան մ՟րմոյն, քան զի անխուտ է մայր: իսկ ոսկի ո՟ նիւթ գերապանցեալ քան զայլսն Յ՟ծայնոյն էութե՟ նշանակեսցէ մեզ զգերագոյութի՟ն: և տես զի արդ տապանակն բոլոր պատեալ ոսկով սրբով, արտաքուստ և ներքուստ: քան զի միաւորէր ը՟ սրբոյ մ՟րմոյն ա՟ծ գոլով բանն: և զայս վարկանիմ թէ և զարտաքուստ կուտապատիլն տապանակին ոսկով: զի և զներքոյն ի մարմին, հոգին բանաւոր, իւր արար: ցուցցէ և ի ներքուստ կուսէ՝ զօծանել ոսկով պ՟տ գոլով հրամայեալ: [և] զի անշփոթ մնային բնութի՟քն, ծ՟ր գոյացութի՟քն: յայտմանէ գիտասցուք, քան զի ոսկին ածեալ զփայտիւն, մնաց որ ինչ էրն, և հարստացուցանէր զփայտն, ոսկոյն փ՟ւք: սակայն ոչ եկաց ի բաց ի գոլոյն փայտ: Եւ զի տապանակն յօրինակ առեալ լինի ք՟ի, բազմօք բանիւքէ հաւատարմացուցանել: քան զի առաջի գնայր իղ՟լայելոյն. խնդրելով ն՟ց հանգիստ: Այլ ուրեմն և ք՟ս՝ երթայց և պատրաստեսցէ մեզ տեղի:

Զի ա՟ծ գոլով բանն եղեւ մ՟րդ: և ոչ մ՟րդ ոք պ՟րզ՟ր սակ մերձ՟րութե՟ պատուեալ կոչի առ ի հաւասարութի՟ փառաց նր՟: Այս ինքն իշխանութե՟ ըստ ումանց կարծեաց:

ԺԲ. ա՟ծայինն պօղոս, մեծ գոլ ասէ զբարեպաշտութե՟ն
խորհուրդ: և այսպէս է իրն ըստ ճշմարտութե՟: Ք՟ զի ե֊
րեւեցաւ մարմնով՝ ա՟ծ գոլով բանն, արդարացաւ և հո֊
գով: և զի ոչ է՟ միոյ յեղանակի ի մերոց ակարութե՟ց
ըմբռնեալ երեւի, թէ և է՟ մեզ մ՟րդ եղեւ: զի ոչ արար
մեղս: Երեւեցաւ և հրեշտակաց: քան զի ոչ անդիտացան
զե՟ մարմնոյ ծնունդ նո՟: քարոզեցաւ և ի հեթանոսս: ո՟
մ՟րդ՟ցլ ա՟ծ: և այսպ եղեւ հաւատացեալ յա՟ի: Եւ հաւա֊
տարմացուսցէ գրելովն ա՟ծայինն պ՟ղս: վասն որոյ յիշե֊
ցէք դուք հեթանոսք՝ անուանեալքդ անթլփատութ՟ի, յա֊
ռացեալոյն մարմնոյ, թլփատութե՟ ձեռագործին: զի էիք ի
ժամանակին յայնմիկ առանց ք՟ի, և օտարացեալք ի վա֊
րուցն ի՟լի. և տարագիրք յուխտիցն աւետեացն: և յոյս
ինչ ոչ ունէիք: և անա՟ծք էիք յա՟ի: էին ուրեմն հեթա֊
նոսք յաշխարհի և անա՟ծք, առանց ք՟ի, բայց վ՟ս զի
ծանեան զնա ա՟ծ բնութ՟բ և ճշմրտապս ծանեան: ծանու֊
ցեալ եղեն և ն՟ք՝ առ ինմանէ, զհաւատն խոստովանեալ:
Համբարձաւ և փառօք, յայտէ զի ա՟ծավայելչապ. ա՟ղմէ
երանելին դաւիթ: Համբարձաւ ա՟ծ ա՟հնութ՟բ: Համբար֊
ձաւ ա՟մ իրօք մ՟րմնով՝ և ոչ մերկ ա՟ծութ՟ն, քան զի
ա՟ծ էր մ՟րդ՟ցեալ: Արդ հաւատամք. ոչ ո՟ զմի ի մէնջ ա՟ծա֊
ցեալ է՟ շնորհի, զի մի է՟ մ՟րդապաշտութ՟բ խոստորմամբ.
մուծեալ զանձինս, զանխլասցուք. այլ յաւէտ ո՟ զա՟ծ մարդ֊
կայնով կերպիւ երեւեալ. և է՟ մեզ եղե՟լ ճշմարտապս, միա֊
ցեալ յաւէտ մարդկութ՟ն ա՟ծ: քան զի եղեալ բանն յառ֊
մանն մարմնոյ, ոչ եղեւ ի բացադրութե՟ ի գոլոյն որ ինչ
էրն. սակայն իմանի, նոյն ինքն ա՟ծ համանգամայն և մ՟րդ:
և է հաւատոյս բանս այսպ. և յոյժ ուղղակի եղիցի: իսկ
եթէ ոք ասիցէ, զի՞նչ է անտեղի ասս ինձ, եթէ իմասցի
ըստ մեզ մարդ. բուռն հարեալ զա՟ծութենէն, և ոչ յա֊
ւէտ մարդանալ ա՟յ: Ասեմք թէ բիւրք են որ է՟ դիմանան,
և ո՟ յանխուք մեզ ակնարկեն առ ի պարտ գոլ արխաբար

ը՟դդիմանալ. և ոչ հաւանիլ այսպէս ունել: քան զի բեր նախ ՟ք զայլսն զմ՟րմնով անօրէնութ՟ն, ածցուք զմտաւ յեղանակ. և ը՟ մերոց իրացս, զբնութ՟ն քննեսցուք: վտանգեցաւ մարդկային բնութ՟իս: և ի յետինն ըմբռնեցաւ չարիս, և ի մահ դատապարտեցաւ: և ի մեղաց պ՟րտեցաւ հաղբս, մոլորեցաւ և էր ի խաւարի: զա՟ծ բնութ՟բ և ճշմ՟րտապէս ոչ գիտէր: պաշտէր զարարածս և ոչ զարարիչն: Զի ա՟րդ արդեօք էր նմա յայսպիսեաց չարեաց վճարիլ: Զայն ասեմք, թէ արժան էր զա՟ծայնոյն բնութենէ՝ բուռն հարկանել: որ և ոչն գիտէր բնաւին, թէ զի՞նչ ոք իցէ երբէք, վերնոյն բնութ՟ե պատիւ: որ անուսումնութ՟բ և խաւարաւ ըմբռնեալն, և մեղաց տղմով շաղախեալ: զի ա՟րդ էր հնար կարող գոլ հասանել յամենա ս՟բ բնութ՟ին. և առնուլ փառս, զոր ոչ ոք առնուցու, ոչ առեալ, գրեսջի՞ր թէ ը՟ գիտութ՟ե, թերևս և զգիտելն միայն, բուռն հարկանել ասեմք զնմանէ: Ո՞վ է որ եցոյցն բնաւին, զի ա՟րդ հաւատասցեն, եթէ ոչ լուիցեն: Սակայն և ոչ այս է բուռն հարկանե՞լ զա՟ծութենէն, և զնորայն վայելուչ փառս ըմբռնել: Ապա ուրեմն վայելչագոյնէ. և քաջ յիրաւի զմտաւ ածել, եթէ ապրեցուցանել կամեցեալ զկորուսեալն, զիջանելն առ մեզ բանն ա՟ծ, որով ամենայնն: խոնարհեցոյց զինքն յոր ինչ ոչնէր զի և որ ինչ ոչնէր եղիցի մ՟րդոյս բնութ՟ի, ա՟ծայնոյն գերունակութ՟ե պատուով: և առ նա միաւորութ՟բն վայելչացեալ, և համբարձեալ եղև յաւէտ, յոր ի վեր ՟ք զբնութ՟ի: ՟ց իջոյց. յոր, արտաքոյ բնութ՟են, զանփոփոխելին ՟ող զա՟ծ: Պարտէր անապականին, բուռն հարկանել զբնութենէն, որ ՟է ապականութ՟եբ. զի վճարեսցէ զնա յապականութենէն: Պարտէր որ զմեղսն չգիտէր. կերպարանակից լինել, որոց ՟է մեղօքս, զի դադարեցուսցէ զմեղս. քան զի ՟ն ուրանօրիցէ լոյս, անգործ լիցի անդ ա՟մ իրօք խաւար: Այսպէս մերձեցելոյ անապականութ՟ե, հարկէ ա՟մի. ի

բայ փաղչել ապականութե՟ն։ Եւ ոչ զխտողին զմեղս, խու-
րացուցեալ զոր ը՟ սեղօքն, դատապարտեալ մեղայն։ Եւ զի
ա՟ծ գոլով բանն. եղև մր՟դ։ և ոչ առաւել ա՟ծացեալ մր՟դ.
խմանի ք՟ս։ Եւ յա՟ծայնոց գլոց ցուցանել փորձե ցայց։
Աստ այժմ երանելին պ՟ղս, որ ի կերպարանս ա՟յէ ոչ
յափշտակութի՟ համարեցաւ զլինելն հաւասար ա՟յ. այլ
զինքն ունայնացոյց, զկերպարանս ծառայի առեալ, ի նը-
մանութի՟ մարդկան եղեալ, և կերպարանօք գտեալ իբրև
զմարդ ։ խոնարհեցոյց զանձն, լինել հնազանդ, մահու-
չափ և մահու խաչի, վ՟ս որոյ և ա՟ծ զնա առաւել բարձ-
րացոյց, և շնորհեաց նմա անուն որ ի վերէ ք՟ զա՟մ ա-
նուն։ զի յանուն յ՟ի ք՟ի ա՟մ ծունր կրկնեսցի երկնաւորաց
և երկրաւորաց և սանդարամետականաց։ և ա՟մ լեզու
խոստովան լիցի, եթէ տ՟րէ յ՟ս ք՟ս ի փառս ա՟յ հօր։ Արդ-
զո՟ ոք արդեօք առեմք, ի կերպարանս և ի հաւասարու-
թե՟ հօր գոլ։ զայսուիկ ոչ համարեալ յափշտակութի՟,
այլ իջեալ յաւէտ յունայնութի՟, և ի ծառայի կերպարանս
զինքն խոնարհեցուցեալ, և նմանութե՟ լինել իբրև զմեզ։
Արդ՝ թէ մարդ սոսկ միայն ի կնոջէ, զի մ՟րդ էր յայս-
պիսիս կերպարանս և ի հաւասարութե՟ հօր կամ զի մ՟րդ
ունէր զլրութի՟, զի խմասցի ունայնացեալ։ յոր բարձրու-
թի՟ս գոլով զինքն ունայնացեալ ասի։ Եւ զիմ՟րդ եղև ի
նմանութի՟ մարդկան, որ այսպէս էր ը՟ բնութե՟ս, թէ
և ոչ ինչ լինել ասի թերևս։ Եւ մ՟ր ունայնացաւ, զա՟ծու-
թե՟ լրումն առեալ։ կամ զի մ՟րդ ոչ եղև բարձր ի գե-
րագոյն փառսն ընթացեալ։ Ապա ուրեմն ոչ մարդ ա՟-
ծացեալ առեմք, այլ եղեալ յաւէտ ի նուաստութե՟՝ վ՟ս
մ՟րդկութե՟ս։ որ ի կերպարանսն և ի հաւասարութե՟ հօր,
ա՟ծն բան։ քան զի ունայնացաւ որով վ՟ս առ ։ մեզ նմա-
նութե՟։ որ էրն լի և կատարեալ ն՟ զա՟ծ։ խոնարհի վ՟ս
մ՟րդոյն որ և ա՟ծայնոյն գերունակութե՟ բարձրութե՟ լցեա՟լ,
ք՟ զի աթոռ ունի զվերագոյնն։ եղև ի նմանութի՟ մր՟դ-

կան, որ և կերպարանակից գոլով խորոյ ծնողին, քան զի նկարագիրէ էութե՟ն նր։ Բայց մ՟ն զի միանգամայն եղև ք՟ս մեզ, երանել ասի և մարմնով յա՟ծ ութե՟ն փառսն, որ լի ունէր զայն, ՚ի զեւր հանապազ։ Սակայն յեղանա-կաւ ելեալ ՚ի նա մ՟ն մարդկութե՟ն։ մ՟ն զի ա՟ր գոլով բա-րոբիցս. հաստատեալ լինի և մարմնովն։ և կրկնի նմա ա՟մ ծունր։ և ոչ ինչ ՚ի տրամութե՟ն, կամ՝ յանպատուութե՟ն հօր, այլ ՚ի փառս յաւէտ։ քան զի խնդայ և փառաւորի յերկրպագելն որդւոյ, թէ և եղև ք՟ս մեզ։ Գրեալէ և դ՟րձ, եթէ ոչ զհրեշտակաց բուռն հարկանէ, այլ զզա-ւակէն աբրահամու բուռն հարկանէ։ ուստի պարտէր նմա, ա՟մի եղբարցն նմանել։ ահա զզաւակէ աբրահամու բու-ռըն հարկանէ, ա՟ծ գոլով բանն։ Եւ ոչ մարդ ոք յորոյս ք՟ս մեզէ, զա՟ծութենէն բուռն հարեալ։ արդ. ինքն մեզ նմանի և երևեցաւ եղբայր ՚ի զմարդ։ և ոչ մեք նման, ք՟ս ա՟ծութե՟ն բնութե՟ն։ Եւ դ՟րձ մ՟ն զի մանկունք հաղորդեցան մերձաւորութե՟ր արեան և մարմնոյ, և ինքն մահուամբն իւրով կցորդ եղև նոցունց զի մահուամբ ըն իւրով խա-փանեսցէ զիշխանութե՟ն մահուն ունողացն, այ՟ զբանսար-կուին։ և ապրեցուսցէ զայնոսիկ, որ երկիւղիւ մահու հանապազ կերյն. պարտաւորք էին ծառայութե՟ն։ Ահա դ՟րձ ինքն մերձաւորութե՟ն կցորդ եղև մեզ, արեան և մարմնոյ. և իւր զպատճառն առ ընթեր եդեալ ունի, անդ-էն և առ դուրս։ գրեալ դ՟րձ, եթէ որ անկարելինէր օ-րինացն՝ որ տկար անայր մ՟րմնով, ա՟ծ զորդին իւր առա-քեալ ՚ի նմանութե՟ն մ՟րմնոյ մեղաց, և մ՟ն մեղ՟ց. որով դա-տապարտեալ զմեղս ՚ի մարմնի իւրում։ Տես դ՟րձ, զի ոչ մ՟ր՟չ յա՟ջ ընթացեալ երևի յա՟ծութե՟ն, և ՚ի նոր այն պա-պխս ելեալ։ Այլ ա՟ռ՟քս ա՟ծ յաւէտ զորդին իւր ՚ի նմա-նութե՟ն մ՟րմնոյ մ՟ղ՟ց զի խափանեսցէ զմեղս։ Ապա ուրեմն ա՟ծ գոլով բանն, իմոյց զինքն յանայնութե՟ն մ՟րդ եղեալ։ Եւ ոչ մ՟րդ պարզաբար զա՟ծանալոյ զփառս ըմբռնեալ տես անի ք՟ս։

Զի յ՟ ք՟ս եղեալ մարդ բանն ա՟յ։

ԺԳ. Զմարմնով անօրէնութե՟ միածնին խորհուրդ հարցափորձել կամեցեալք, զայն ասեմք փ՟ոս ունել ճշմ՟րտ, և հաւատ ուղիղ։ զի ինքն որ յա՟յ հօրէ բանն ճշմ՟րտ, ա՟ծն յա՟յ ճշմարտէ։ լոյս ի լուսոյ, մարմնացաւ և մարդացաւ, իջեալ ի յերկնից չարչարեցաւ և յարեաւ ի մեռելոց, ք՟ զի սահմանեաց այսպէս զհաւատոյն նշ՟նկ, մեծ և ս՟բ ժողովս քննեալ. և վերստին ուսանել կամ եցեալք թէ զի՟նչ երբեք իցէ ը՟ ճշմարտութե՟, մարմնանալն և մարդանալն բանին։ Ցեսցուք զի ոչ մարթէ առնուլ ՟ մերձաւորութ՟ե որ ը՟ հաւասարութե՟ պատուոյ կամ իշխանութե՟, և կամ միայն զորդիութի՟ զհամ անուանութի՟։ Այլ յաւէտ լինելն ը՟ մեզ մ՟րդ, հանդերձ անփոփութ՟ե և անայլայլ ութ՟ ունել և վերստին ապրեցուցանել կուրծս բնութ՟ե, յորում եղեն յառաման մարմնոյն և արեան անօրինաբար։ Մի ուրեմն է նախ քան զմարմնանալն, անուանեալ ի ձեռն ա՟ծ աշունչ գրոց։ Միածին և բան, և ա՟ծ, պատկեր, և ճառագայթ, և նկարագիր էութե՟ հօր։ կեանք, փառք, լոյս, իմաստութի՟, զօրութի՟, բազուկ աջ, բարձ՟րլ, մեծ, վայելչութի՟, տ՟ր սա բաւովթ։ և այլովք այսպիսեօք անուամբք, ճշմարտապ՟ ա՟ծավայելչիւք։ իսկ յետ մ՟րմնլոյն, մ՟րդ յ՟ ք՟ս, քաւութի՟, միջնորդ, պտուղ ննջեցելոց, անդրանիկ ի մեռելոց, երկ՟րդ ադամ, գլուխ մ՟րմնոյ եկեղեցոյ։ Հետևեցելոյն նմա, և որոց իսկ զբանէն անուանցն, ք՟զի ա՟մն նր, որք նախն, և յետին յաւիտենիս ժ՟մկս։ Մի ուրեմն է, որ և նախ քան զմ՟րմ՟նլն, ա՟ծ ճշմ՟րտ։ Եւ ի մարդանալն մնացեալ որ ինչ էրն, և է և եղիցի։ Մ՟րդ ոչ է ուրեմն ի բաց սահմանելի, զմինն տ՟ր յ՟ ք՟ս, ի մ՟րդ առանձին, և յա՟ծ առանձին, այլ մի և նոյն գոլ ասեմք զյ՟ ք՟ս, զմ՟րմնոյ և զա՟ծութե՟, գիտելով տարբերութի՟. և անշփոթս ի միմեանց պահելով զն՟ա։ Արդ յորժամ սաէ սրբազանն գիր, եթէ ի ք՟ս բնակեաց ա՟մ

լրումն ա՟ծութե՟ն մարմնապս, ոչ վ՟ն այսորիկ ասեմք, ո՟ յայլում ք՟ն ի մ՟րմնումն, ը՟ միայն ոյ բնակեալ բանին, և ոչ ի բաց որոշեալս ի միմեանց զմիացեալսն, երկուս իմանամք որդիս, այլ զայն յաւէտ քան զի ք՟ս անուանէ սրբազանն գիր: և ո՟ իմ՟նէ է երբէք. զի զմարդկութ՟ին ա՟յ բանին, զոր իւրն ունելով արարեալ ը՟ կարգի տա-ճարի: քանզի գրեալէ և յ՟ղ գս մրդ՟կայն ոց հոգոց: իսկ զբնակեալն 'ի տունս կաւեղէնս յորոց և մեք 'ի նմին կաւոյեմք: Արդ՝ վ՟ն զի տունս կաւեղէնս անուանէ զմար-կանս մարմինս, և ասէ բնա՟կլ 'ի նո՟ զհոգին: և յերկուս բաժանեմք զմարդիկ զմինն: որ և զիմ՟րդ, ոչ առանց ը՟ գտանացէ ա՟մի: և 'ի մարդում ասիլ բնակե՟լ հոգւոյն իւրոյ, ո՟ զի թէպէտ և բանին ձև այսպիսեօք յեղանակօք գայ, ոչ կ՟րցլ. այլ ունել: ոչ զիրացն փասել բնու՟ի, վ՟ն այսորիկ վայելէ այլ յաւէտ զմտաւ ածել զայնս, և ան-դէն 'ի ճշմ՟րտու՟ին փութ՟լ: Արդ՝ յորժ՟մ զոք յառ մի-մեանս, ոչ նմանապ՟ս վիճակելոց զբնութ՟ին տեսանեմք չարամանեալ առ միութ՟ին ը՟ չարադրութ՟ե: և ապա այս ինչ թերևս 'ի նմ՟ ասի բնակեալ ոչ է 'ի բաց սահմանելի 'ի յերկուս. 'ի միութ՟ի յընթակցութենէն, և ոչ ը՟ միոյ յեղանակի փասեցելոյ: թէ և միաւորելոյն իւրաքանչ իւրոք, յատկապս անուանեսցի առ 'ի մէնջ, այն որ ինչ իցեն երկաք՟նչ իւրքն: Ք՟զի ո՟ ասացի ասի և 'ի մրդ՟ումն բնակիլ հոգւոյն իւրոյ: Սակայն մարդ ասի և յատկապս հոգին, այլ և մ՟րմինն: Որ և այսպիսի իմն մեզ իմաստունն պ՟ղս նշանակե՟լ աս՟վ: Զի թէ և արտաքին մարդս մեր ապականի, այլ ներքին մրդ՟ն մեր նորոգի օր ը՟ օրէ: արդ յր՟ժմ ասիցէ ոք զներքին մրդ՟ն մեր յարտաքին մրդ՟ումն բնակիլ ճշմարտէ. սակայն զմինն յերկուս բաժա-նեալ ոչ տեսանի: Ասէ ուրեմն և մ՟րգրէն ե՟յի: 'ի գիշե-րայ կանխէ հոգի իմ առաւօտ առնել առ քեզ ա՟ծ, ար-

դեռք ո՛ այլոք ք՟ զնա ասիցէ հոգի նր առաւօտել առ ած:
Եւ զի արդ՝ ոչ է անտեղի պահել ինչ այսպիսի: Ապա-
ւրեմն տեսանել հարկաւորէ զբանիցն ձև և ոչ զար-
մանալ ընդ վայելուչն, այլ քննել յաւէտ նշանակեցելոյն զօ-
րութի 'ի մտ իւրաքանչիւր իրի զվայելուչ գիտումն, իսկ
թէև ասիցի աճել յն հաստակաւ և իմաստութբ և շնորհիւ
տնօրէնութե եղիցի իրն. Քզի թոյլ տայր բանն այ որովք
իւրոյն բնութե սովորութբ լինել զմ՟դկօրէնսն: Եւ ո՛ ընդ
փոքու և առ սակաւ սակաւ զիւրոյ ածութն ընդ արձա-
կեցուցանէր զերկուամն. և մարմնոյն հաստակաւ աճեցուցա-
նել զիւրսն ո՛ զի մի օտար տեսցի որ և յոյժ անծանօթն
ամբոխեսցէ զմիտս: Յորժամ և այսպէսն ասէին. թէ
զիարդ գիտէ սա զդպրութի զի ոչ երբէք է ուսեալ:
Ապա մարմնական աճումն, և յառաջադիմութին, շնոր-
հիւ և իմաստութբ վայելէ մարդկութեն չափուց. իսկ
զնա ընդ իւրում բնութեն. ամենակատար գոլ ասեմք զառ
'ի յայ բանն: Ոչ յառաջադիմութե կարօտ: ոչ իմաստու-
թե: ոչ շնորհի այլ յաւէտ բաշխէ արարածոցս և իմաս-
տութի, և շնորհ և զօրս իւրեն բարիոք: իսկ թէև ասիցի
չարչարիլ յն. չարչարանքն եղիցին տնօրէնութեն բայց
ինքն ասի և յոյժ վայելչաբար. զի նր իւրէր որ չարչա-
րէրն. և էր 'ի չարչարեցելումն մարմնի զչարչարանս ոչ
գիտօղն. Քզի զի անչարչարելին ո՛ զած. իսկ յորժամ եկն
թանձրագ ունիւն յարբեցելոյն յանդգնութի. չարչա-
րեալ արդեօք էր. թէ էր մրդ եղեալ չարչարեալ: ապա
ուրեմն մտ զի ընդ մեզ եղև միածինն. քանիցս անգամ
անուանի մրդ, առ ի յածաշունչ գրոց զմտաւ ածել զտնօ-
րէնութեն. ած գոլ ըստ բնութե զնա՝ և այսմ խոստո-
վանեսցուք զքս: Յարացոյց Յածաշունչ գրոց թէ եկաց
միայն այ բանն: Եւ յետ մարդանալոյն ած: Օգնեա
մեզ ած իմ:

Լծ: ա՟ծային բնին անհնրէր չ՟էր այլ մրմնչն չ՟էրցու-
զի ա՟մ փրկեց: զմերս ունելով մարմին:

ԺԴ. Ասաց ուրեմն ա՟ծ ցսրբազան մովսէս: և արասցես քաւութ՟ի յոսկւոյ սրբոյ. յերկուց կանգնոյ և կիսոյ զերկայնութ՟ի ն՟ր, և 'ի կանգնոյ և 'ի կիսոյ զլայնութ՟ի ն՟ր: և արասցես երկուս քերովբէս ոսկիս ճախարակեայս, և դիցես զն՟ա յերկուց կողմանց քաւութ՟են. և եղիցի քերովբէիցն տարածեալ զթևս իւ՟ր. հովանի ունել 'ի վ՟ր քաւութ՟են. և երեսք ն՟ց 'ի միմ՟ենս հայեսցին, հանդէպ քաւութ՟են: օրինակ ուրեմն եղիցի և յոյժ հաւաստի: զի միաց 'ի մ՟դկութ՟են ա՟ծ, բանն ա՟յ և յիւրումն փառս և 'ի գերունակութ՟ե: թէպէտ եղև ը՟ մեզ անօրինաբար: զի քաւութ՟ի 'ի ձեռն հաւատոյ եղև մեզ եմանուիլ: եւ առ այս հաւատարմացուսցէ զմեզ իմաստունն յո՟հն: Ո՞րդեակ զայս գրեմ ձեզ զի մի մեղանչիցէք, և թէ ոք մեղանչիցէ ունիմք բարեխօս առ հայր զյ՟ս ք՟ս զարդարն, և նայէ քաւութ՟ի մեղաց մե՟րց: Այլ և պ՟ղս զոր եդեալ ա՟ծ քաւութ՟ի 'ի ձեռն հաւատոյ արեամբն իւրով: Սակայն երևելի քերովբէք կացեալ շուրջ զքաւութ՟ին , հովանի ունելով թևովք ը՟դէմ միմեանց, սարսելով խոնարհեալք ի նա. և անքթթական ակամբ 'ի տեսականն պշուցեալ: քանզի միայն յա՟ծ հայի այսքան բազմութ՟ի , վերին զօրութ՟եցն, անյագաբար ունելով զա՟ծ տեսութ՟ի՟ն: Այսպ՟ս տեսեալ մ՟գրէին եսայեայ, զորդի 'ի վ՟ր աթոռոյ վ՟ելոյ և բարձրացելոյ, ասէ շուրջ կային զնովաւ քերովբէք ընծայ բերելով ո՟պ ա՟յ:

ԺԵ: Այլ: առաքիւր երբեմն ա՟ծայինն մովսէս, յեգիպտացւոցն տանջանաց 'ի բաց վճարել զի՟էլ: և վ՟ն զի էր հարկաւոր: զորս ը՟ լծով ծառայութ՟են, և ամօրական սոսկութ՟են հաւանեցուցանել թէ կոչեաց զն՟ա ա՟ծ: նշանագործել հրամայիւր: քանզի հզօր է միշտ սքանչելագործութ՟ի առ հա՟ւ: Արդ՝ ասէ մ՟վ՟ս առ բոլո-

րիցս ած. եթէ ոչ հաւատայցեն ինձ և ոչ լուիցեն ձայնի իմում. քանզի ասիցեն թէ չէ երևեալ քեզ ած՝ զի՞նչ ասացից ցնս: Եւ ասէ ցնա տր, զի՞նչ է այդ 'ի ձեռին քում. և ասէ գաւազան: Եւ ասէ ընկեա զդա 'ի գետին: և եղև օձ: եւ փախեաւ մովսէս 'ի նմանէ: եւ ասէ տր ցմովսէս՝ ձգեա զձեռն քո և բուռն հար զտտանէ դորա, և ձգեաց զձեռն իւր և բուռն եհար զտտանէ նր, և եղև գւզն 'ի ձեռին նր: և ասէ՝ այդ-նշան եղիցի քեզ զի հաւատասցեն թէ երևեցաւ քեզ տր ած հարցն նց, ած աբրահամու և ած սահակայ և ած յակոբայ: Արդ տես այսուքիւք զոր յայ ը բընութեն և ճշմրտպս որդին. ո գւզն լինչ հօր, զի թգրութե նշանակէ գւզն: Քզի հանդերձ որդւովք իշխէ ամենեցունց, զոր ածայինն գւթ ախտու քո ասէ ած յւհս յւհնց գւզն ուղղութե գւզն արքութե քոյ: Այլ ընկեց զնա 'ի գետին, յո, զհողեղէնն զգեցաւ մրմին: Քզի առաքեաց զնա յերկիր 'ի ձեռն մարդանալոյն, զի յայնժմ իսկ նման եղև չրութեց մեր, յայտէ զի չրւե նշանակէ օձ: Եւ զի ճշմրտէ զոր ասացիս, խելամուտ եղիցես յայնմանէ: Քզի ինքն տր մեր յս քս 'ի պատկեր և յօրինակ մրմնով անօրէնութեն, զօձն ընդունի զպղնձի, զոր բրձրացոյց մվս: զի զօձիցն ապկնսցէ զխածանմանն: Քզի ասէ թէ ո մվս բրձրացոյց զօձն յանպտին այսպս բրձրանալ պարտէ որդւոյ մրդյ, զի ամ որ հաւատասցէ 'ի նա մի կորիցէ: այլ ընկալցի զկենսն յւհնկն: Քզի զոր օրինակ պղնձոյն եղեալ օձ փրկութե պատճառէր վտանգելոցն: Քզի ապրէին հայեցեալքն ի նա: Այսպ և տր մեր յս քս որք տեսանեն զնա նմանութն չարացս, ը որում եղև մրդ, այլ ոչ անդխտանան թէ ածէ կենդանարար, առիթ գոլ կենաց: և կարօղ ապաւէն լինել 'ի դառն և ի թինաբեր գազանացն, առեմ ի հակառակ զօրութեցն: Եւ այսէ ու-րեմն օրնկ ուտելոյն գւզին մովսեսի զայլոցն գւզսն, զոր

ընկեցին 'ի գետին կախարդքն: Ապա ուրեմն ընկեցաւ գ՟ղն յերկնից. այլ ոչ եկաց միայն օձ: զի համ՟բրձել դ՟ձլ եղև որ ինչ էրն, զի լծէ եղև ո՟ ասացին նմանութ՟ն ը՟ մեզ գ՟ղնն հօր: յ՟ս որդի, որով տիրէ բոլ՟րից. այլ կոտ՟րլ բարուք զանօրէնութ՟ն, համբ՟րձու յերկինս: և եղև դ՟ձլ 'ի ձեռն հօր ո՟ գ՟ղն ուղղութ՟ե և լծ՟դրութ՟ե: ք՟ղի նստ՟ու ը՟ աջմէ ծնողին: և եղև յիւրում գերունակութ՟ե, ունելով զվերինսն աթոռս և մարմնով: Այլ:

ժ.Զ. Ասէ ցնա տ՟ր դ՟ձլ, մխեա զձեռն քո 'ի ծոց քո և մխեաց զձեռն իւր 'ի ծոց իւր և եղև ձեռն նր՟ ո՟ ձիւն. և ասէ ցնա դ՟ձլ մխեա զձեռն քո 'ի ծոց քո, և մխեաց զձեռն իւր 'ի ծոց իւր, և եհան զնա 'ի ծոցոյ իւրմէ, և դ՟ձու անդրէն 'ի գոյն մ՟րմնոյ իւրոյ: Ձեռն և աջ ա՟յ և հօր, զոր 'ի նմանէ ը՟ բնութ՟ն զորդին, անուանէ ա՟ծայինն գիր: եմուծ զնա հաւատեաւ ասելով՝ ես ձեռամբ իմով հաստատեցի զերկինս: զոր և երանելին դ՟ւթ ասէ, բանիւ տ՟ն երկինք հաստատեցան: Արդ՝ տես զի ծոցն մովսէս թաքուցեալ ձեռինն իւրոյ, և չև ևս կրեալ զբորոտութ՟ին, արտաքս հանեալ անդրէն բորոտեալ, և դ՟ձլ 'ի ներքս մտեալ. սակայն և անդրէն արտաքս ելեալ և ոչ ևս երևեալ բորոտեալ: ք՟ղի դ՟ձու ասէ անդրէն 'ի գոյն մ՟րմնոյ իւրոյ: Ապա ուրեմն մինչ դեռ էր 'ի ծոց հօր որ 'ի նմանէ բանն, ա՟ծութ՟ե՟ն մաքրութ՟բ փայլելոյ երևիւր: իսկ վ՟ս զի ո՟ արտաքոյ եղև ը՟ մարմնաւորութ՟ե՟ն ասեմ, յ՟ս մարդանայն: եւ եղև 'ի նմանութ՟ի մ՟րմնոյ մեղաց, և ը՟ ան նմանս համարեցաւ: Զոր ասաց երանելին պ՟ղս. թէ ոչ գիտօղն մեղաց՝ վ՟ս մեր մեղս արար. զի մեք եղիցուք արդարութ՟ի ա՟յ նովաւ, զայս փարկանեմ յայտնել զբորոտութ՟ին: ք՟ղի պիղծ էր ը՟ օրինացն բորոտ: բայց զի դ՟ձլ եղև 'ի ծոց հօր, ք՟ղի համ՟բրձ՝ յետ 'ի մեռելոց յարութ՟ն, արտաքս ելեալ, դ՟ձլ ձեռն երևեցի մաքուր: ք՟ղի եկեսցէ իսկ ըստ ժ՟մկս տ՟ր մեր յ՟ս ք՟ս, ա՟ծութ՟ե փառօք

և մաքրութ՟ե, որ և զգոյն ը՟ մեզ առանց 'ի բաց դնելոյ ունելով: Այսէ ուրեմն եւ երանելին պ՟ղս յղ՟ս ՟քի. եթէ միանգամ մեռեալն 'ի բառնալն զմեղս բղ՟մց. յերկրորդումն առանց մեղաց յայտնեսցի. որոց ակնունին նմա 'ի փրկութ՟ի: Ապա ուրեմն յր՟ժմ սրբազանն գիր անուանէ ՟քս յս՟, մի մ՟րդ առանձինն իմասցի, ոչ միաւորեալ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտուՆ բանին, Այլ այսպս յաւէտ կալցուք զնա, զի նա ինքն յա՟յ հօրէ բանն յս՟ քս՟ որ եղեն մարդ: Զի ոչ ա՟ծազգեցեալ մ՟րդ էր քս՟: եւ ոչ 'ի մ՟րդ բնակեաց բանն ա՟ծ: Այլ յաւէտ զի եղև մ՟րմին. ու՟ կ՟ոչ մ՟րդ ը՟ գրոց:

ԺԷ. Որք զանբիծ հաւատս ունին ի քս՟ և ամենեցունց ոչ դոյզնաքեօք վկայեալ յուղղութ՟ի, ասեն եթէ ինքն որ յա՟յ հօրէ բանն, էջ յունայնութ՟ի, կերպարնս ծառայի առեալ և իւր մ՟րմին արարեալ, 'ի կուսէն մարիամայ ծնեալ, եղև ը՟ մեզ, երևեցու և որդի մ՟րդ, է և ա՟ծ ը՟ հ՟ւոյ և ը՟ մ՟րմնոյ մ՟րդ նոյն ինքն: Զոր և ա՟ծայինն պ՟ղս հրէից ժողովրդեանն գոչէր ասելով, բ՟զմ մասամբք և բ՟զմ օրինակօք կանխաւ խօսեցաւ ա՟ծ ը՟ հարսն մեր մ՟րգ՟էիւք: իսկ 'ի վախճան աւուրցս խօսեցաւ ը՟ մեզ որդւովն: Եւ զի՟մ՟րդ իմասցի խօսեցեալ ա՟ծ և հայր, 'ի վախճան աւուրցս որդւովն, քանզի խօսեցաւ առաջնոցն զօրէնսն նովաւ: Զայս և ինքն որդի յիւր բանս ասէ զոլ, զորս 'ի ձեռն իմաստնոյն մ՟վսի: Քանզի ասէ՝ մի համարիք եթէ եկի լուծանել զօրէնս, կա՟մ զմ՟գ՟րէս. ոչ եկի լուծանել, այլ լնուլ, բայց ասեմ ձեզ, յոտ մի որ նշանախեց մի է ոչ անցցէ յօրինաց և մ՟գ՟րէից, մինչև ա՟մն եղիցի: երկինք և երկիր անցցեն և բանք իմ մի անցցեն: և առ այս 'ի ձեռն մ՟գ՟րէին ձայնի, ես որ խօսիմս մերձեմ: Ապա ուրեմն յորժա՟մ եղևն 'ի մ՟րմնի՝ յայնժամ խօսեցաւ հայր ը՟ մեզ նովաւ, ո՟ ասէ երանելին պ՟ղս, 'ի վախճան աւուրցս այսոցիկ: Եւ զի մի անհաւատ լիցուք, եթէ նա ինքնէ՝ որ և նխ՟ ՟քզ զա՟ յ՟ւ՟ն որդի: 'ի վ՟ր էած անդէն, զորով և

գլխ՟ս արար: Ճառագայթ փառաց և նկարագիր էութ՟ե ն՟ր դու ասէ հօր: Մ՟րդ եղև ճշմարտա՟պս նա, որով գլխ՟ս ա՟ր ա՟ծ և հայր: Եւ ոչ ո՟ վարկանին ոմանք 'ի մարդում եղև: զի ո՟ զմ՟րդ 'ի մէնջ իմասցի ա՟ծ, ունելով 'ի նիւթի բնակչ՟: Քանզի թէ ասեն ասա զայս ունել, և հաւատասցեն ճշմրտ՟պս աւելորդ երևեսցի ասելոցն երանելի առ՟քչն յոհ՟նս, թէ բանն մ՟րմին եղև: Քանզի զի՞նչ պէտք են մ՟րմնանալոյն և մ՟րմնանալ ասելոյն զառ 'ի յա՟յ բանն եթէ ոչ եղեն մ՟րմին, զի՟ մեզն յայտնէ լինել, և մարմնանալոյ զօրութ՟ե, մ՟րդ եղեալ ՟զի մեզ ցուցանէ զնա, միալով և գերագոյն ՟ր զմեզ, յաւէտ և ՟ք զա՟ծ աստուածս: Եւ պիտոյէ ո՟ վարկանիմ զորս 'ի բարւոք մտածութեցն գիւտ, առ ընթեր բերել որոց ասացին: Եւ հաւանեցուցանել թէ եղև միածինն, և է ա՟ծ և մ՟րմնոյն և ոչ բնակեալ 'ի մ՟րմ՟ի: Եւ ա՟ծազգեաց զնա կալ՟լ, ո՟ զայլսն որք եղեն հաղորդ ա՟ծութեան ն՟ր: Խորհրրդածութիւն:

Ժ՟Ը. Ասէ ուրեմն ա՟ծ վ՟ն մեր, թէ բնակեցայց 'ի նոսա և գնացից 'ի ն՟ս, և եղէց ն՟ց ա՟ծ, և ն՟ք եղիցին իմ ժ՟ղդ: Եւ ա՟ր մեր յ՟ն ՟քս՝ ահա ես եկից և եթէ ոք բացցէ ինձ, մտցուք և ես և հայր իմ, և օթևանս առ ն՟ա արասցուք: Անուանիմք և տաճար ա՟յ, ՟քզի մեք ասէ տա՟ճր ա՟յ կենդանոյ եմք: Եւ ՟դ՟ձլ՝ ոչ գիտէք եթէ մ՟րմինք ձեր տա՟ճր են հոգւոյն սրբոյ որ 'ի ձեզ՝ զոր ունիմք յա՟յ: Արդ թէ այսպս ասեն և զնա գոլ զեմմանուէլ ո՟ զմի ոք 'ի մէնջ բնակեալ ունելով զա՟ծ յինքեանս: Ցայտնապ խոստովանեսցին: զի յորժամ զնա երկրպագեալ տեսանիցեն առ 'ի մէնջ և 'ի հրեշտակաց և յերկինս և յերկրի, յամօթ լիցին ո՟ օտարախոհ.ք, և զորբազանից զգլոց գիտումն ոչ գիտօղ.ք: Այլ և ոչ ունելով հաւասս յինքեանս զոր աւանդեցին մեզ, որք ի՟սկզբանէ ինքնատեսք և սպասաւորք եղեն բանին: Իսկ թէ ասիցեն՝ ա՟ծէ և ո՟

զա՟ծ փառաւորի մ՟ն 'ի նմա բնակելոյն, միայն զառ 'ի յա՟յ հօրէ ծնեալն բան՝ և ոչ զի եղև մ՟դ, ը՟դ դէմ լուիցեն առ 'ի մէնջ եթէ որք ունին յինքեանս զա՟ծ, բաւական իցէ լինել ա՟ծս ճշմարտիս, և երկրպագել յամենեցունց. ամենեքին եղիցին ա՟ծք և երկրպագելիք, ք՟զի բնակէ և 'ի սր՟ան հրեշտակս: Ունիմք և մեք զնա բնակեալ 'ի մեզ յինքեանս 'ի ձեռն հոգւոյն: Ա՟յլ ոչ է պարտ ասել առ այս ա՟ծս և երկրպագելիս, զորս ունին զնա յինքեանս: Ոչ մ՟ն այսօրիկ է ա՟ծ և երկրպագելի եմմանուէլ, զի բ՟նկեց 'ի նմա ա՟ 'ի հասարակ մր՟դւ. և ը՟դ մեզ խմացելոյ, և առան-ձին զոլով, և ը՟դ մասին բանն ա՟ծ: Ա՟յլ զի եղև մ՟րմին, ա՟յ մ՟րդ, քանզի եկաց միաց մ՟րդ ա՟ծ և երկրպագելի: Բանք տռ՟քլ կն որով ա՟ծ անուանի ք՟ս:

ԺԹ. Յաղագս խորհրդոյն ասելով որ ը՟դ ք՟ն, որ այլոց ազգաց ոչ ծանուցաւ որդւոց մ՟դկն ա՟ այժմ յայտնեցաւ սրբոց իւրոց: որոց կամեցաւ ա՟ծ ցուցանել, զինչ է մե-ծութի՟ն փառաց խորհրդոյս այսորիկ ի հեթանոսս, որ է ք՟ս ի ձեզ յոյսն փառաց, զոր մեքն քարոզեմքն: Արդ-եթէ է ա՟ծազգեաց և ոչ ա՟ծ ճշմ՟րտ, զիա՞րդ հարստութի՟ն փառաց խորհրդոյն պատմեցելոյ 'ի հեթանոսս: զիա՞րդ-բնաւին և ա՟ծ ք՟րզի: Ա՟յլ:

Ի. Կամիմ զի գիտիցէք, թէ որչափ ջան ունիմ վ՟ն ձեր: և վ՟ն լաւոդիկեցւոցն, և որոց ոչն տեսին զերեսս իմ մարմնով զի մխիթարեսցեն սիրտք ն՟ց, տեղեկացեալք սիրով, և յա՟մ մեծութի՟ն հաւանութի՟ն հանճարոյ, 'ի գի-տութի՟ն խորհրդոյն ա՟յ յի՟ ք՟ի: Ահա խորհուրդ ա՟յ ըղ՟քի խորհուրդն անուանէ, և հաւանեցուցանել կամի զմանս հանճարով առ 'ի գիտութի՟ն ն՟ր: Արդ՝ որոյ հանճարոյ պէտք էին, որոց կամէին ուսանել, զխորհուրդն ք՟ի: եթէ էին հանդերձեալ լսել՝ թէ 'ի մ՟դ բ՟նկեց ա՟ծ: Ա՟յլ կարօտէ հանճարոյ և ոչ փոքու գիտելն զեմմանուէլն, եթէ ա՟ծ գ՟րվ բանն եղև մարդ: Ա՟յլ:

Քանզի 'ի ձէնջ հնչեաց բանն տ՟ն, ոչ միայն 'ի Մակեդոնիայ, այլ և յաքայիա, այլ և յա՟մ տեղիս հաւատքն ձեր որ առ ա՟ծ պատմին: Ահա պ՟ձլ յա՟ծ լինել ասէ զհ՟ոս: վ՟ն որոյ ասէ ք՟ս, որ հաւատայ յիս ծ՟ունի զկեանսն յա՟նկնս, բան տ՟ն զն՟ր ք՟րզու՟ն ասէ: Այլ:

Քանզի դուք իսկ գիտէք զմուտն մեր առ ձեզ: զի և ոչ ը՟ն միոյ ինչ եղև, այլ յառաջագոյն չարչարեալք և թշնամանեալք, ո՟ և գիտէք իսկ 'ի մէջ փիլիպեցւոց, համարձակեցաք ա՟վ մերով խօսել ձեզ զաւետարանն ա՟յ: Ահա խօսելով ա՟վ, զա՟յ աւետարանն խօսեցաւ քարոզել հեթանոսաց զ՟քս: Այլ:

Յիշեցէք եղբարք զաշխատութ՟ն մեր 'ի տուէ և 'ի գիշերի գործելով, առ 'ի չծանրանալոյ ումեք 'ի ձէնջ քարոզեցաք ձեզ զաւետարանն ա՟յ: Եւ պ՟ձլ՝ վ՟ն այսորիկ գոհանամ զա՟յ անպակաս, զի առեալ զլուր բանին ա՟յ առ 'ի մէնջ ընկալայք, ոչ ո՟ զբան մ՟դկն՝ այլ ո՟ և է իսկ ճշմ՟րտ բանն ա՟յ, որ ներգործէ 'ի ձեզ հաւատացելոց: Արդեօք ոչ յայտնա՟պս աւետարան ա՟յ, և ա՟յ բան ասէ յաղագս ծ՟ի քարոզութ՟ն, որ և զի՞րդ ոչ ամենեցունց յայտնի: Այլ:

Քանզի երևեցաւ շնորհն ա՟յ. փրկիչ ա՟մ մ՟դկն, որ խր՟տէ զմեզ, զի ուրացցուք զամբարշտութ՟ն, և զաշխարհական զցանկութ՟իս, զգաստութ՟բ և պարկեշտութ՟բ և ա՟ծպաշտութ՟բ կեցցուք յ՟խս յայսմիկ, և ակն կալցուք երանելի յուսոյն, և յայտնութ՟ե փ՟առց մեծին ա՟յ, և փրկչին մերոյ յ՟ի ք՟ի: Ահա ա՟ծ, և մեծ անուանի հաւատեաւ տ՟ր մեր յ՟ս ք՟ս, զ՟ի նա ինքնէ որում յայտնութ՟ե փ՟առցն սպասեմք, 'ի ձեռն ուղղակի վարուց, և ամբծութ՟բ փութացեալք: Այլ թէ է ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟րդ, զի՞րդ իցէ և մեծ ա՟ծ, կա՟մ երանելի իցէ որոյ իցէ յոյս իւր 'ի նա: Եթէ է ճշմ՟րտ մ՟դ՟րէն երեմիաս զոր ասէն. անիծեալ որ դիցէ զյոյս իւր 'ի մ՟դ: ք՟զի և ոչ ա՟ծ ուրեք անուանէր զնա ո՟

տայի, ա՟ծազգեստ ուսուցողացն: Եւ զինչ որ արգելու և զայլսն ամենեւին գոլ ա՟ծս և երկրպագելս, որք զա՟ծ ունէին յինքեանս, բայց. ա՟ծ մեծ և երանելի ունելով զյայտնութ՟ին անուանէ զ.ք՟ս, երանելին պ՟ղս: Որ և զտանի ասելով յ՟ղ՟ս հրէից և եմմանուէլի, որոց հարքն և կտակարանքն, և աւետիքն, յորոց և ք՟ս ը՟ս մ՟րմնոյ, որ է 'ի վ՟ր ամենեցունց ա՟ծ ա՟հլ յաւի՟տս ամէն: Եւ զի ը՟ս ա՟ծայ-նոյն յայտնուե՟ առնէր զքարոզութ՟ի, հաւատաի եղիցի յասելոյն իւրոյ: Ապա յետ ամաց չորեքտասանից. պ՟ձլ ելի յե՟մ ը՟ բառնաբայ, առեալ և ը՟իս զտիտոս և ելի ը՟ յայտնութ՟են, և զեկուցի ն՟ց զաւետարանն զոր քա՟րզէի առանձին թուեցելոյն: զի մի զուցէ 'ի զուր ինչ ընթա-նայցեմ; կամ ընթացեալ քա՟րզլ հեթանոսաց ը՟ զա՟ծ: Ա՟յ ու-րեք ա՟ծայլին անուանելով, զոր 'ի վ՟ր ն՟ր խ՟րհ՟ղն: Եւ յե՟մ ը՟ յայտնութ՟են. և հաղորդէր ը՟ թուեցելոցն. ը՟ս ը՟ սրբոցն առաքելոցն. զի մի զուցէ 'ի զուր ընթնոյցէ կ՟մ ընթ՟ցու: Արգեօք 'իջեալ յե՟մէ և պ՟ձլ 'ի ժ՟ղս հեթանոսաց մտեալ ուղղեաց ինչ յո՟ջնոյն: և ոչ կային մնացին ա՟ծ խոստա-վանելով զ՟ք՟ս: Որ և գրէ առ ոմանս: Զարմանամ՝ զի այդ՟պ փաղփաղակի փոփոխիք 'ի կոչողէն զձեզ յայլ աւ՟տրն, որ ոչ է այլ: բայց թէ իցեն ոմանք որ խռովեցուցանեն զձեզ, և կամիցեն շրջել զաւ՟տրնն ք՟ի: Եւ ասէ պ՟ձլ, այլ թէ մեք, կամ հրեշտակ յերկնից աւետարանիցէ ձեզ աւելի ք՟ զոր առեքն նզովեալ եղիցի: Եւ թողեալ զայլսն ամենեսին, զա՟ծ բնակեալսն ունօղսն յինքեանս: միայն քա՟րզէր զ՟ք՟ս ը՟ զա՟ծ: Ա՟յլ: օգնեա տ՟ր:

Ի. Գրեալէ յաղագս ք՟ի՝ յորժամ էրն յե՟մ 'ի տօնին բազումք հաւատացին յանուն ն՟ր, տեսեալ զնշանսն զոր առնէր, բայց ինքն յ՟ս ոչ հաւատայր զինքն ն՟ց, վ՟ս գի-տելոյն իւր զամենեսին, և զի ոչ ինչ էր պիտոյ եթէ ոք վկայեսցէ վ՟ս ն՟ր, զի ինքն իսկ գիտէր զի՞նչ կրէր 'ի մարդն: Եթէ ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟ր, զիա՞րդ ոչ պատրէին

հաւատ՟ցլքն յանուն նր՟ յետ՟ բժ՟մքն: վ՟ է՞ր և միայն գի-
տէր զոր ինչ 'ի մրտ՟ն, զոր ոչ ուրուք և այլոց գիտա-
ցեալ: Քանզի առեղծուլ ասի ա՟յ միայնոյ զսիրտս մեր:
վ՟ է՞ր և միայն թողու զմեղս: Քզի ասէ թէ իշխանութի՟
ունի որդի մ՟դոյ թողուլ զմեղս: է՞ր ազգաւ ք՟ զայլսն.
աթոռակիցէ ա՟յ և հօր: Հիմ՟ միայնոյ սպասաւորեն
հրշտկ: Եւ մեզ ուսոյց հասարակաց համարել հայր, զոր
'ի յերկինսն: Քզի իւր միայն էր: Այլ առիցես եթէ զայ-
սոսիկ ձայնս գնեցլիէ բնակելոյն բանի: Եւ զի՞որդ ոչ էր
փայելուչ ըս՟ մգրէիցն չափուց. ասել և Նմ՟. այսպ ասէ:
Այլ յորժամ զգերագոյնն օրինադրել կամէր զօրինադրի
փայելուչ պատիւն եդեալ, իւր ասէր: Ես ասեմ ձեզ:
Զի՞որդ զինքն ազատ գոլ ասէ, զոր ինչ պարտնէր ա՟յ,
վ՟ գոլոյն ըս՟ ճշմրտութե՟ն որդի: Եւ զի՞որդ թէ ա՟ծազ-
գեստէր, էր ազատ ըս՟ բնւե: քանզի միայն ա՟ծութի՟նէ
ազատ, և ոչ ը՟ ուրուք իշխանութ՟, Քզի ոչ միայն յանձն
առեալ զամենեցունց գոփութի՟ն, այլ ո՟ պարտուց օրնկ՟,
ը՟ ունէր զպաշտօնն, իսկ եթէ կատարումն օրինաց և
մրգէիցէ ք՟, և է ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟դ. զի՞որդ ոչ է ճշմրտ
ասել. եթէ մգրէականացն քարոզութե՟ցն կատարումն
մարդապաշտութե՟ խոստրումն, 'ի մեզ եմոյծ: Ապա թէ
քր՟զէին օրէնքն. ը՟ն ա՟յ քոյ երկիրպագցես և զնա միայն
պաշտեսցես: Եւ դատախարակեաց մեզ 'ի ք՟. ո՟ 'ի գի-
տութե՟ վր՟բր՟լով, զորս 'ի սուսերին յառաջագոյն, արդեօք
ի բաց մերժեալ զերկրպագելն ա՟յ. երկրպագեսցուք զա՟ծ
ունողի նիւթի: Քզի ուր էր լաւագոյն իմանալ՝ ասա ինձ՝
յերկինս թէ 'ի մարդում, 'ի սերովբէս թէ 'ի հողեղենի
'ի մ՟րմնի: Եւ թէ ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟րդէր, զի՞որդ մերձաւո-
րութ՟ հաղորդ եղև մ՟ղ մ՟րմնոյ և արեան: Եւ թէ բա-
ւականէր բնակելն առ 'ի հաղորդութե՟ մերձաւորութե՟
մեզ 'ի նոյնս. իսկ եթէ հաղորդելն նմա և մարդանալէր,
'ի բժ՟մն բնակե՟ց 'ի սրբոցն. և մրդ՟ւ, և ոչ միանգամ,

այլ յոլովակի։ Եւ զիա՞րդ միանգամ 'ի վախճան յու՟նցն, յանարգութ՟ե մեղ՟ց իւրով պատարագաւն յայտնել ասի։ Եւ զիա՞րդ մի գալուստ մեզ քարոզեն բանքն ա՟ծաշունչ գիրք։ Եթէ ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟դ էր. տաճար ուրեմն եղև նա ա՟յ։ Եւ զիա՞րդ է 'ի մեզ ք՟ս արդեօք, ո՟ տաճար 'ի տաճարս։ թէ ո՟ ա՟ծ 'ի տաճարս հ՟գիս։ Եթէ ա՟ծազգեստ մարդ էր, զիա՞րդէ կենդանարար մ՟րմին ն՟ր միայնոյ։ Ք՟զի պ՟տէր գոլ այսպիսիս և այլոցն, յորս բնակեաց բոլորեցն ա՟ծ։ Գրէ ուրեմն և ա՟ծայինն պ՟ղս, արհամարհեալ ուրուք զօրէնսն մ՟վսի, առանց գթութ՟ե, երկուք կամ երիւք վկայիւք մեռանէր։ Իսկ ո՞րչափ ևս առաւել պատժոց արժանի համարեցիք, որ զորդին ա՟յ առոտն եհար, և զարիւն նորոյ ուխտին խառնակ համարեցաւ, որ և ա՟ծայինն պատուիրանք էին օրէնքն՝ խօսեցեալ 'ի ձեռն հրշտկց։ Ա՞րդ զիա՞րդ վասթ՟ե պատժոց արժանաւորեսցի, որ խառնակ հ՟մ՟եցաւ զարիւնն ք՟ի։ Եւ զիա՞րդ վեհագոյնէ ք՟ս զօրինացն պաշտօն հաւատոն որ 'ի ք՟ս։ Այլ ո՟ ասացի ոչ ոք ո՟ մի 'ի սրբոցն, ա՟ծազգեստ մ՟դ։ Այլ ա՟ծ ը՟ս ճշմրտւն, և գերազարդատիս ունի զփառսն, զի ա՟ծ գ՟լվ բնութ՟ե եղև մ՟րմին, ք՟ս մ՟դ կոչել բանն ա՟յ, ՟է զի միաւոր և անձնաւոր զմիաւորեալն ը՟ւ նմա մ՟րմին գոլ հաւատամք և ճշմ՟րտէ ա՟յրօք միաւորութիւնն։ Զիա՞րդ պարտէ իմանալ։ Զբանն մարմին եղև և բնակեաց 'ի մեզ։

ԽԱ. Զաւակէն աբրահամու բուռն հարկանել ասէ երանելին պ՟ղս, միածնին բանին ա՟յ, այլ և սերձաւորութ՟ե կցորդ եղև մեզ, արեան և մ՟րմնոյ։ Յիշեմք և զյոհաննու բանն զոր ասաց՝ թէ բանն մ՟րմին եղև և բնակեաց 'ի մեզ։ արդեօք եղև դիտումն հոգեկրեցն զայն ուսուցանել. եթէ փոփոխման անընդունակէր բանն ա՟յ. զոր ստացուածոցսէ վայելուչ կրել այլ այլումն, ո՟ զի և զոր ինչ ոչնէր լինել՝ թերևս ակնարկութ՟ե իւրով ածել առ այս։ ք՟ս յորմէ յառաջին գոյր ն՟մ թուեցեալ մնել յայլ այլութ՟ե բնաւո-

բական, մի լիցի: Քզի միայ ինքն, ոչ ը՟ունելով յիւր բնութ՟ն այլայլու՟ և փոփոխման սաուէր կրել ոչ գիտելով. Քզի հաստատունէ վերինն բնու՟ յորսէրն միշտ: Զիարդ եղև մարմին բանն. կարևորէ տեսանել: Արդ՝ նախ ա՟ծայինն գիր յոլովակի մ՟րմին անուանէ զմ՟դ: և ո՟ 'ի մասնէ առեալ, ա՟ կենդանոյն առնէ յայտնումն: Ոչ ինչ պ՟ս և հոգւոյ միայնոյ է երբէք զի առնէ: Արդ գրեալէ թէ տեսցէ ա՟ մ՟րմին զփրկութ՟ ա՟յ: Զօր և ինքն ա՟ծայինն պ՟լս՝ ոչ ինչ զգացուցի մ՟րմնոյ և արեան: Գոչէ առ ի՞էլ և ա՟ծայինն մովսէս՝ եօթանասուն և հինգ ոգի իջին հարքն քո յեգիպտոս: Եւ ոչ որք ուրեք արդեօք ասիցէ թէ սերկք և առանց մ՟րմնոյ հոգիքն առնէին զիջանելն յեգիպտոս: Այլ և ոչ առանց հ՟ջ մ՟րմնոյն բաշխէր ա՟ծ առատպս զփրկութ՟: Արդ յորժամ լսիցեմք 'ի մ՟րմին լինել զ՟բնն, մ՟ք իմասցուք 'ի հոգւոյ և 'ի մ՟րմնոյ և ա՟ծ գոլով բանն եղև կա՟լ մ՟դ, մ՟րմին առեալ անձնաւոր և մտաւոր, և միացուցել զայն ը՟ ճշմրտու՟ ը՟ իւր, ը՟ որում յեզանակի գիտէ ինքն. քանզի մերոյս մ՟րդ անհա՟նլիէ ամենևիմբ այսպիսեաց տեսութ՟: Եւ թէ աստցաւ որդի մ՟դ.յ: Եւ թէ պիտոյէ ո՟ ը՟ հայելի տեսեալ ասել ինչ, նշանակէ մ՟դկային միտք, միաւորել զբ՟նն ը՟ մ՟րմնոյն՝ անձն ունողի բն՟կն. ո՟ միինչ զմ՟դոյ անձն ը՟ իւրոյ մ՟րմնոյ՝ այլաբուն զ՟վ, այսպ միճակե՟լ յառնա կցորդութ՟ն և միութ՟, ո՟ զի թուիլ հա գոլ այլ քան զնա. մ՟ ը՟ չարադրութ՟ մի յերկուցունց կատարմանն, կենդանւոյս: Սակայն ո՟ ասացի, միշ՟ել նո՟ յիւրում բնու՟ն: Ապա ուրեմն ոչ ը՟ փոխադրու՟է կ՟ ը՟ յեղման առեմք լինել զ՟բնն ա՟յ: Այլ և ոչ 'ի գոլոյն ա՟ծ նուաղել ուսոեք, այլ զի մ՟րմին առեալ ինքնոյէ, և միբ՟րեալ յարգանդէ ը՟ նմ՟, եկն մ՟ք յա՟ոլ. մ՟ք նոյն ինքն և ա՟ծ զ՟լ, ք՟ զի ոչ զառ ի յա՟յ հօրէ տնճառելի ծնունդն ի բաց ընկեցեալ. ո՟ սկիզբն զ՟լոյն կոչեցեալ կրեայ զօր ի կնոջէն, այլ յաւէտ թոյլ տայր իւ-

րոյ մ՟րմնյ ը՟ իւրոյն բնու՟է օրինի կոչիլ ի գոյու՟թ, ը՟ ծնը՟
եան օրինակի ասեմք: բայց սակայն ունի ինչ և այլ ան-
ման մ՟դկային բնու՟թն ի նմա: ք՟ զի ծնաւ ի կուսէ միայն,
և ունի մայր զանփորձն ամուսնու՟թե, եղեալ մ՟րմին և
բնակեալ ի մեզ ասէ: զի երկուքումբք ցուցցէ ասէ եղեալ
մ՟դ, և ոչ փոփոխեալ յիւրոյն, ք՟ զի եկաց մնաց որ ինչ
էր, և ի մ՟րմնի ա՟մ իրօք, ո՟ այլ այլում բնակեալ ի մեզ,
ը՟ ա՟ծայինն բնու՟թ, և մ՟դկու՟թես ոչ կրեալ շփոթումն և
կ՟մ խառնկումն ինչ, կ՟մ փոխադրու՟թի յոր ինչ ոչնէր: ք՟
զի բնակել յայլումն ասացեալ, ոչ նոյն եղև այն որ ինչ
էն որ յորում բնակին, այլ իմանի յաւէտ այլ յայլում,
բայց բանին բնու՟թե կ՟մ մ՟դկու՟թե միայն նշնկէ մեզ
զտարբերու՟թի այլու՟թեն յայտաւիկ: ք՟ զի մի յերկուցունց
իմանի ք՟ս: Ապա ուրեմն զանշփոթու՟թին ո՟ ասացի բար-
ւոք պահեալ, բնակեալ ասէ ի մեզ բզբանն: ք՟ զի մի
որդի գիտէ, մ՟րմին եղե՟ զմիածինն՝ և մ՟դացեալ: Եւ
տես ինձ զա՟ծայինն ատ՟անիչ, բարւոք յեղանակաւ պա-
կել կամեցեալ զբոլոր բնու՟թ մ՟դոյս: Քան զի ասաց ի մեզ
բնակիլ բանին, ոչ այլ իրիք ազդ՟ու ո՟պ համարիմ լինել ա-
սացեալ զբանին մ՟դանալն, այլ զի մեք ինա ո՟պ հաղորդու-
թը՟ հարստացեալ հոգով սրբով զորդեգրու՟թեն շահել եր:
Արդ՝ զմխաւորու՟թին ի վր՟ քի՟ ծայրագոյն, և ճշմ՟րտ լի-
նել հաւատամք, իսկ թէ և ասի բնակիլ ի մեզ, ոչ կալ-
մամբ արասցի ինքն զբնակելն ի մարմնի իւրում: ք՟ զի
բնակեաց ինք ա՟մ լրումն ա՟ծու՟թեն մարմնա՟պ, ը՟ ոչ ը՟
հաղորդու՟թե կամ կալման, ո՟ զի մեզ պարզաբար. ո՟ լու-
սոյ փայլատակեալ, և կ՟մ հրոյ զբնաւորեն ջերմու՟թի,
յորս մերձնէն տուեալ: Այլ զի այսպ՟ անոցուք նորին ա՟-
ծայնոյ և անմահ բնու՟թեն, այն որ ինչ էն իմացելոյ բը-
նու՟թի, արարեալ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտ միւթու՟ ո՟ և ասացի իսկ, զոր
ի կուսէն առճար: Քան զի միայնա՟պ իմանի, և է յո՟ ք՟ս,
բայց նուազիմք, զի յոյժ առոյգ պատմու՟թեէ բանս՝ ոչ

ուրացայց: և ոչ արդեօք իրաւամբք անհաւատալի լիցի այսր պատճառոյ աղագաւ քն խհդն: այլ ևս առաւել հրաշալի լիցի վայելչաբար: ք՟ զի որչափ վեհագոյնէ ե՟ մրտաց և բանի, այնք յաւէտ և անդր ք՟ զմ սքանչելիս: Արդ՝ մարմին եղեալ բանն, այսինքն մարդ կատարեալ, և ոչուրեք ամ իրօք մրմնոյ ծանրութե ըմբռնեալ ասեմք, ք՟ զի անխրատաբարէ այսպ իմանլ: ք՟ զի լնուլ և այսպ հաւատամք ե՟ սովորութե նմ զերկինս և զերկիր, և զսան խոնարհագոյնսն, զի ամենաբաւականէ ածութին, և ամ մեծամեծք և փոքունք են նմ. իսկ թէ զի մրդ, և ե՟ միոյ և յամենեսինէ ո՟ բոլոր, դժուարինէ ասել, և իմանալ ոչ թեթև: այլ յաւէտ և ան հասանելի ամենևին, բայց առեալ լինի ո՟ վարհանիմ, և այս նմա անմրմին գոլ. և զբաժանումն ոչ առնուլ յանձն. և իւր բանին ասի առ իմէնջն մրմին. ոչ ո՟ իւրէ մրդոյ, ծիծաղականն, և կմ ձիոյ խօխնջականն, այլ զի եղև նր ըստ ճշմրտ միաւորութեն. զգործաւորականն նր պէտսն ե՟ ունել և լնուլ առ որ բնաւորեցաւն ներգործել, բայց միայն յորոց ի մեղս: Իսկ թէ և ասի և առաքիլ դէպ եղեալ ած գոլով բանն, մի ոք ամբոխեսցի, զայն ըզմտաւածել թէ ուր գնայցէ անմրմինն, ք՟ զի ուր տարեալ լիցի, որ զամ լնու: Եւ գիտելիէ յաւէտ, զի է և այլ յեղանակ առաքելութեն, ոչ տեղի ի տեղոջէ փոփոխմամբ առաքեցելոյն, այլ պաշտօն առեալ զք հյականն, զոր և սրբոց առքլցն ասեմք առնել, առ ի յամենեցունց մեր փրկչէն քէ: Զոր և ածայինն պղս ասէ յղս քն, ուստի եղբարք սրք երկնաւոր կոչման բաժանորդք, հայեցարուք յառաքեալն, և ի քհյպ խոստովանութես մերոյ յն, տես թէ զի մրդ յորժամ եցոյցն ք՟հյագործօղ մդկօրէն, որ և ած գոլով ե՟ բնութե, յայնժամ և զիր առաքլութեն հետևեցոյց նմ, և անտեղի ոչ ինչ ո՟ ասացի, եթէ և առքլ ասի առի յմյ հօրէ բանն: ք՟ զի խոստովանելիէ եթէ լնու զամ, և ոչ հեռանայ յէից յումեքէ: բայց

մեք մարդկայնովք ձայնիւք մեկնեալք զա՟ծայինսն, որով ի՟ մ՟րմնոյ ձևի, զանմահ բնութե՟ն իմանալ սովորելք զանօ-րէնութ՟ին: Որ և հոգոյն սրբոյ լնուլ զա՟, գրէ երանելին պ՟ղս, և զի էք որդիք, առ՟քյ ա՟ծ զհոգի որդւոյն իւրոյ ի սիրտս ձեր, աղաղակելով աբբա հայր: Ասէ ուրեմն և ինքն փրկիչն, լաւէ ձեզ զի ես երթայց, զի թէ ես ոչ երթայց մխիթարիչն ոչ եկեսցէ առձեզ:իսկ յորժամ երթայց, ա-ռաքեցից զնա առձեզ: Արդ պարտէ յա՟մէ ի բաց գա-նալ, և ի բարեպաշտիկն և ի ստյգ ընթանալ գնտուե՟ն, ՟ք զի զայս ա՟րե՟լ զանձինս մեր օգտեցուսցուք: Զի՟ արդ արդեօք իմացի ա՟ծածին ո՟ր կոյսն մարիամ:

ԻԲ. Ծնաւ անճառաբար յա՟յ հօրէ բանն, ՟ք զի անդրէքան զա՟մ միոս ծնունդն, և անմ՟րմնոյ վայելո՟չ բնութե՟: Սա-կայն իւր ծնունդն իմանի ծնօղին ծնեալն և համագոյ նի՟, վ՟ա այսորիկ անուանի և որդի, յայտնելով սեզ անունն ՟ո մինչ երկանց և ծն՟ըեան զ՟ը բնութե՟ն, ՟ք զի կենդանի գոլով միշտ, և առ ընթեր հօր, հարկէ ա՟մէ գոյակից և էակից գոլ նմա, որով միշտնջենաւորապ՟, զորովէն հայր: էր ուրեմն բանն ի սկզբանէ և ա՟ծէր և առ ա՟ծ: ՟ո ասէ իմաստունն աւետարանիչ: Իսկ ի յետին ժ՟անս ժ՟ոկս, վ՟ա մեր մ՟րդկան և վ՟ա մերոյ փրկութե՟, մարմնա-ցաւ և մ՟րդցաւ, և ոչ ինչ ուրեք, որով ինչ էրն, նուազեց, այլ ունելով անփոփոխելի զիւրն՝ բնուն՟: և յա՟ծուե՟ գերու-նակութիս գոլով միշտ, խոնարհեալ վ՟ա մեր ա՟նօրինաբար, յունայնութ՟ի, և յաղքատութ՟ի ոչ անպատուել զմարդ-կայնոյս չափուց վայելուչն: ՟ք զի հարուստ գոլով աղքա-տացաւ վ՟ա մեր ՟ը գրեցելումն, զի մէք նո՟ւ աղքատութ՟ըն հարստասցուք: Արդ եղև մարդ, և ծնունդ մարմնական զոր ինքնոյէ կրեալ ասի: վ՟ա որոյ զոր իկուսէն առեալ, զմիացեալն ՟ը նո՟, ՟ը ճշմ՟րտու՟ մարմինն: ուստի և ա՟ծա-ծին զոլ ասեմք զ՟որ կոյսն, ՟ո մ՟դկօրէն, յ՟ո ՟ը մ՟րմնոյ ծնեալ զնա, որ և ծնունդ ունէր զոր նախ ՟ք զ՟յ՟տնս ի

հօրէ: Եւ զկարծեալ ոմանց յայն ժա՟ կոչիլ սկիզբն գոլոյ բանին, յորժամ եղեն մ՟դ: անո՟ք է ամենեքին, և յոյժ անտեղի, ք՟ զի վճիռ հատանէ ի վ՟ն ն՟ց ինքն փրկիչն անհանճարս գոլ ասելով յզ՟ս իւր ամէն ասեմ ձեզ, յո՟չ ք՟ զլինելն աբրահամու եմ ես: Եւ զի ա՟րդ էր յո՟չ ք՟ զաբրահամ, որ ի ն՟զմ յետին ժա՟կս ծնաւ ը՟ մ՟րմ՟ոյ, բաւականէ ո՟ վարկանիմ, առ ի յանդիմանու՟թ ն՟ց: Եւ ա՟ծայինն յովաննէս: Սայէ վ՟ս որոյ եմն ասացի, զկնի իմ վայր, առա՟ջի իմ եղև զի նախքան զիս էր: Արդ ի բաց թողեալ զաւելորդ յարձակումն յայսոսիկ ո՟ ի յոյժ բա-րեգիր: Բեր յաւէտ ը՟ այն գնաս ցուք, զոր և օգտակար գոլ ասեմք: մի դժուարեսցին ոմանք յորժամ ա՟ծածին լուիցեն զո՟ք կոյսն, և մի անհաւատութ՟բ հրեականաւ լըց-ցեն զանձինս իւրեանց, յաւէտ զի և հեթանոսականաւ ամբարշտութ՟բ, ք՟ զի հրեայքն ի վ՟ն յանէին ք՟ն ասե-լով, վ՟ս բարւոյ գործոյ ոչ առնեմք զքեզ քարկոծ, այլ վ՟ս հայհոյու՟թ, զի դու մ՟դ գոլով առնես զքեզ ա՟ծ: Իսկ հեթանոսացն մանկունք այսպն առնէին զեկեղեցական կրօնիւք, լսելով թէ ծնաւ ա՟ծ ի կնոջէ: այլ ն՟ք զիւ՟ոյ ամբարշտու՟թն կերիցեն պտուղս: Քան զի լուիցեն ի մէնջ, թէ յիմարն անմտու՟թ խօսեսցի և սիրտ ն՟ր զնան-րու՟թ խոկասցի, բայց ը՟ մեզ խոր հրդոյս բան. Թէպէտ և հրէից գայթակղութ՟ և հեթանոսաց յիմարութ՟, այլ մեզ որոց գիտեմքս զնա արժանի սքանչանալոյ ճշմ՟րտ փրկու՟թ: և հեռի անհաւատութ՟է: ք՟ զի եթէ էր ոք բը-նաւին որ ասել յանդգնէր: Զմարիամն զայն զոր ի յեր-կրէ մերկ ա՟ծու՟թեն լինել մայր և ծնանել ի նմանէ զբը-նու՟թն, որ անդրնէ ք՟ զա՟ստեղծուածս, մոլորութ՟ և յի-մարութ՟ էր իրն և այլ ինչ ոչ: Քանզի ոչ յերկրէ եղև ա՟ծայինն բնու՟թ, և ոչ արդեօք լինէր արմատ անապա-կանութե որ ը՟ ապականու՟թ՟բն: և ոչ ծնանէր մահկա-նացուն զբոլորից կենդանու՟թ, և ոչ լինէր պտուղ զգա-

յականիս մ՟ր՟մնոյ անմարմինն որ ի վերնէ ք՟ զլինելութ՟ին, որ ը՟ լինելութ՟ինէ անսկզ բանն, որ ը՟ ժ՟մկ և սկզբանն։ Բայց վ՟ս զի զբանն ա՟յ հաստատեմք լինել ը՟ մեզ, և մերոց մարմնոյս նման առնուլ մ՟րմին, և միացուցանել զայս ը՟ ճշմ՟րտութ՟ե ը՟ իւր, յայտէ թէ ը՟ յեղանակի իրիք։ զի զոր ի վերնէ ք՟ զմիտս և բղբան, ծնանել և այսպ ը՟ մ՟րմնոյ եղեալ մ՟դ, զի՟նչէ անտեղի և անհաւատալի լինելոյ վայելուչ։ որ և մ՟դ՟յ հոգոյ ո՟ և յոլովակի իսկ առացաք, այլաբուն գոլով ի մ՟րմնոյ։ Բայց եղեալ հանդերձ նովաւ, ո՟ նմա միանալ ասեմք. և ոչ ոք ո՟ վարկանիմ առեբուրեսցի եթէ զմ՟րմնոյ բնութ՟, ունի սկիզբն իւրոյ գոյութ՟են հոգի, այլ արկանէ զնա անճառապ ի մարմինն ա՟ծ և ծնանի հանդերձ նովաւ։ բայց յերկոցունց սահմանեմք զկենդանին, յայտէ զմ՟դ՟ն։ Արդ ուրեմն ա՟ծ էր բանն, և եղև մ՟դ։ Եւ վ՟ս զի ծնաւ ը՟ մ՟րմնոյ վ՟ս մ՟դկութ՟ն, ա՟ծածինէ հարկաւորապ ծնօղ նր. ք՟ զի թէ ոչ ծնաւ զա՟ծ, և ոչ ասի ա՟ծ ի նմանէ ծնեալն. իսկ թէ ա՟ծ անուանեն զնա ա՟ծաշունչ գիրք. և ա՟ծ մրմ՟նցլ և մ՟դացել։ մ՟դ՟նլ ոչ էր այլ ազգ, բայց միայն ի ձեռն ծր՟նընդեանն զոր ի կնոջէն։ զի ա՟րդ ոչէ ա՟ծածին որ ծնաւն զնա, և զի ա՟ծ ճշմ՟րտպս է ծնեալն, և յա՟ծաշունչ գ՟րց գիտասցուք։

ԻԳ. վ՟կայութ՟ի յաղագս ք՟ի։ Ահա կոյս յղասցի և ծնցի որդի, և կոչեսցեն զանուն նր էմմանուէլ։ Արդ զի ա՟րդ. ազէ ասա ինձ, որ ի սրբոյ կուսէն ծնեալէ եմմանուանի, էմմանուէլին ո՟ ասացի, և անդէն նշանակեցելոյ ը՟ մեր բընութ՟ս լինելն վ՟ս մ՟րմնոյն։ ա՟ծ գոլով ը՟ ճշմ՟րտութ՟ե զոր յա՟յ բանն, այլէ էմմանուիլ. ք՟ զի թափեաց զինքն ծնունդկրեալ որ ը՟ մեզս, այսպ եղեւ ը՟ մեզ, ա՟ծ ուրեմնէ ի մ՟րմնի. և ա՟ծածինէ ճշմ՟րտպս որ ծնաւն մ՟րմնապս, ա՟յ ը՟ մարմնոյ։ ԱՏԼ։

Այլ ն՟ք կամէին թէ հրձիգ լեալէին, զի մանուկ ծնաւ

մեզ որդի. և տուաւ մեզ, որոյ իշխանութ՟ իւր ի վ՟ր ուսոց իւրոց, և կոչի անուն ն՟ հրշ՟տկ մեծի խորհրդոյ: Լսես զի մանուկ անուանի ծնունդ կրեալ ըստ մեզ: Այլ այս մանուկ աստեղբ երևցաւ զոր գուշակեաց երկին: մոգք երկիր պագին, եկեալ ի ծագաց երկրէ. հր՟տկք հովուաց աւետարանէին, փրկիչ ծնեալ ասելով, խաղաղութ՟, անուանել զնա, և հօր հաճութ՟, հրեշտակ մեծի խորհրդոյ, ք՟ զի յայտնեաց մեզ զկամս հօր որ հաճեցաւ նովաւ ապրեցուցանել զորս ի ներքոյ երկնից: և ի ձեռն ն՟ և նովաւ զաշխարհ հաշտեցուցանել ը՟ իւր: ք՟ զի ը՟ ք՟ հշտե՟լք հ՟տշտեցաք ը՟ ա՟յ. զի ա՟ծ է ճշմրտ՟ս, ը՟ ա՟յ և հօր: Ո՞վ արդեօք է ի խ՟րհդ հօր, որոյ և ի մեզ եղև հ՟րշտկ: ի՞նքն ուսուցէ զմեզ ասելով, թէ այս՟պ սիրեաց ա՟ծ զաշխարհ, ո՟ զի զորդին իւր միածին ետ, զի ա՟ որ հաւատասցէ ի նա մի կորիցէ, այլ ընկալցի զկեանսն յ՟ւտկնս: որդին միածին ուրեմն է ի սրբոյ կուսէն ծնեալն: ք՟ զի նա է մարդացեալ բանն: և ա՟ծ մ՟րմնցել: և այս՟պ երևեալ որոց ի յերկրիս որ և ասէ: Որ հաւատայ յիս ընկալցի զկեանսն յ՟ւտնկնս և զի ի ձեռն ն՟, և նովաւ հաւատացաք ի հայր, հաւաստէ ասելմն, թէ որ հաւատայ յիս ոչ հաւատայ յիս, այլ յառաքիչն իմ: Ա՟յլ:

Լուարուք ինձ կղզիք, և զգուշացարուք հեթանոսք, յետ բզմ ժմկց հաստատեսցի ասէ տ՟ր, յ՟րվայնէ մօր իմոյ կոչեաց զանուն իմ: Ա՟ծ գ՟լվ բանն, ոչ անդիտացաւ թէ ծնունդ կրեսցէ զոր ի կնոջէ մ՟րմնցել վ՟ն մեր: Եւ գիտէր թէ կոչեսցի ք՟ս յ՟ս յամենեցունց որ ի ներքոյ երկնից: ա՟յ և հօր զնոր անունն որդւոյ պատմելով, որէ ա՟հլ ի վ՟ր երկրի, և տես, թէ զի ա՞րդ անուանէ մայր իւր զծնօղն ը՟ մ՟րմնյ իւրոյ: Ապա ուրեմն թէ գիտէ զինքն ա՟ծ զոլ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտւե՟, որ ծնաւն մ՟րմնատս. ա՟ծածին կոչեսցի, և քաջ վայելչաբար: իսկ թէ ոչէ ա՟ծ և փոանդաւորս յաւէտ, և անդէպս զայս խորհեսցին ոմանք: ի բաց մեր-

ժեսցեն. և զնոյն զսուրբ կոյս ի լինելոյ աստուածա-
ծին:

Զի ա՟ծ անուանի: և մարդ երևեալ միածինն:

ԻԴ. Սողոմոն ասէ ի կալն յաղօթս: Եւ այժմ տ՟ր ա՟ծ
ի՟ղի հաւատարիմ եղիցի բանն զոր խօսեցար ծ՟ռյի քում
դաւթի: Եթէ ճշմ՟րտապս բնակեսցէ ա՟ծ ը՟ն մ՟դկն յերկրի,
մ՟րդ տես զի մ՟րդ սքանչանայր ը՟ն բանին մ՟րդանալն, ք՟
զի անհաւատալի թուէր իրն: Իսկ բնակեաց ա՟ծ յերկրի
ը՟ն մդկն. յորժամ եղեն մ՟դ, ապա թէ ոչ, զի մ՟րդ իցէ
հրաշափառ. զի մ՟րդ և սքանչանալոյ արժանի, եթէ ոչ
յիւր ստացուածս էր նուաստացեալ ա՟ծ: զի յայտէ
պարունակելով զնա, և միահամուռ ունելով ի գոլ զար-
րերն. ածելով յէութի՟, և զչև ևս եղեալսն: Իսկ զար-
մացումն ճշմ՟րտապս, և հիացումն, զի բնակեաց յերկրի
ը՟ն մդկն. մ՟դ եղեալ բոլորիցս ա՟ծ, ը՟ն տուեցելոցն խոս-
տմանց ա՟ծայնոյն դ՟ւթի: ք՟ զի գրեալէ թէ երդուաւ տ՟ր
դ՟ւթի ճշմ՟րտութ՟բ և ոչ ստեաց նմա: Եւ զի՞նչ երդուաւ: ի
պտղոյ յորովայնէ քումմէ եդից յաթոռ քո: որ և հաւա-
տացեալէ թէ ոչ ստեսցէ զխոստումն, բոլորիցս ա՟ծ, քննել
փութայր և զնոյն ծնընդեանն տեղի, որ և ասէ իսկ: թէ
ելից յանկողինս մահճաց իմոց, թէ տաց քուն աչաց
իմոց, կամ նինջ արտևանաց և հանգիստ իրանաց ի-
մոց մինչև գտից զտեղի յարկի տ՟ն ա՟յ յակոբայ: Ապա
և յետ այսորիկ խնլամուտ եղե՟լ հոգովն, և ը՟ն մ՟րմնոյ
ծնընդեանն, միածնին զտեղի գտեալ աւետարանէ և ասէ,
ահա լուաք զնմանէ յեփրաթայ ս՟ր ի բեթղեհեմ: և գտաք
զնա ի դ՟շտս մ՟րց, և զի եփ՟րթ ա՟նվ, զբեթղեհեմ նշա-
նակէ, հաւատարմացուցէ ասելովն մ՟րէն: Եւ դու բեթ-
ղեհեմ տուն յեփրաթայ: Եւ տես, թէ զի մ՟րդ զոր հա-
ւատացն յերկնից, ծնանել ը՟ն մեզ յեփրաթայ, ա՟ծ յա-
կոբայ անուանէ, որոյ եղև յարկ օթևանի: ք՟ զի ծնաւ
անդ զյ՟ն, ո՟ք կոյսն, և անուանէ զնա այլուր ա՟ծ աբրա-

համու. այսմ ասել՟, իշխանք ժողովրդոց ծղ՟ցն առ ա՟ծն աբրահամու: Ք՟ զի միայն մնաց աչօք, և հոգւոյն լուսաւորութ՟ առ որս լինելոցն էին գոլով գիտութ՟ն, զժողովրդոցն իշխանս, ք՟ զ՟բան, հրեշտակս շուրջ կալով տեսանէր, զոր մերով ձ՟իւ ք՟իւ: Արդ յորժամ ա՟ծ աբրահամու, և ա՟ծ սահ՟կայ, և ա՟ծ յակոբայ անուանի որ ի կնոջէն, զի ա՟րդ ոչէ ա՟ծածին ո՟ք կոյսն: Ա՟յլ:

Մարգարէն ամբակում. տ՟ր զլուր քո լուայ ասէ և երկեայ, ի մէնջ երկուց կենդանութ՟եց յայտնեսցիս, ի մերձենալ ժ՟կի ցուցցիս. ի խռովել անձին իմոյ բարկութ՟ զողորմութ՟իս յիշեսցես: Ա՟ծ ի թեմանայ եկեսցէ, և ս՟ըն ի փառան լեառնէ: զի ա՟րդ ծանիցի ի մէջ երկուց կենդանութ՟եց, ք՟ զի ծնեալն ի կնոջէ և ապա կեցեալ մինչև ցժ՟կս ո՟ք խաչին շնորհիւ ա՟յ, Որպս ասէ երանելին պ՟ղս՝ իւրում մ՟իմով վ՟ս ամենեցուն զ՟ն ճաշակեաց: և վ՟ս զի ա՟ծ էր ք՟ս բնութ՟, համբարձեալ դ՟ձլ յաւիտենականն կեանս: Արդ ծանուցաւ որ պատուական խաչին համբերեաց վ՟ս մեր, ի մէջ երկուց կենդանութ՟եցն, և ինքն ուրեմն ասէ առ հրեայսն, թէ յորժամ բարձրացուցանիցէք զորդի մ՟դյ, յայնժամ գիտասջիք թէ ես եմ: Եւ զի ա՟րդ ա՟ծ անուանէ զնա ի թեմանայ, և ի փառան լեռնէ մ՟գրէնյ գալ, և թարգմանի թեման հարաւ, զի երևեցաւ ի հարաւոյ ք՟ս, և ոչ ի հիւսիսոյ կողմանէ, այլ ի հարաւոյ հրէաստանի, յորում և բեթղեհէմ: Արդ յորժամ տ՟ր և ա՟ծ անուանեալ ի հրէաստանէ գայ ի հարաւոյ, քան զի ծնաւ ի բեթղեհէմ, զի ա՟րդ ոչէ ա՟ծածին ո՟ք կոյսն: Ա՟յլ:

Դրեալէ ի ծնունդսն, և մնաց յակոբ միայն, և մարտեաւ այր մի ը՟ն նմ՟ մինչև ցառաւօտն և տեսեալ թէ ոչ կարէ զօրել առ նմա, և բուռն եհար զամոլաջլէ զստի ն՟ր ի մարտընչելն ն՟ր ը՟ն նմ՟, և ասէ ցնա՝ արձակեա զիս զի առաւօտէ: Եւ ասէ ոչ արձակեցից զքեզ, եթէ ոչ ա՟հնեսցես զիս: և յետ սակաւուց ասէ ա՟հնե՟ց զնա անդ:

Եւ կոչեաց զանուն տեղւոյն այնորիկ տեսիլ ա՟յ, ք՟ զի տե-
սի զա՟ծ առէ դէմ յանդիման, և ապրեցաւ անձն իմ. և
ծագեաց նմ՟ արեգակն յորժամ անց տեսիլն ա՟յ, և նա
կ՟ղյր ի զատենէ իւրմէ խորհրդա՟ր են գրեցելոց իմա-
ցուածք, ք՟ զի նշ՟նկէ ո՟ նմանէ հրեից ը՟ դիմանալն, զոր
առնէին ի վ՟ր ք՟ մարտնչելով առ նա: Սակայն պար-
տեալք, ք՟ զի կանդերձեալք էին և ն՟ք հանդիպեալ ա՟հ-
նութ՟ն որ առ ի նմանէ. արբ՟ելք հաւատովք ի յետին
ժ՟մկս զառ նա դարձումն: Սկ՟ն զայն տես, մարդէր որ
մարտնչէրն, և զտեսիլն ն՟ր ա՟յ անուանէ յակոբ: և ոչ
այս միայն, այլ և գիտէր ա՟ծ գոլ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտութ՟ն, ք՟ զի
տեսի առէ զա՟ծ դէմ յանդիման, և ապրեցաւ անձն իմ,
ա՟ծէ ը՟ բնութ՟ն էմմանուէլ. առի և տեսիլ ա՟յ, ք՟ զի է նկա-
րագիր էութ՟ն հօր: Այսպս կոչէլ զի՟նքն ը՟ հրեայսն խօ-
սելով յղ՟տս ա՟յ հօր: ոչ զտեսիլն ն՟ր տեսէք, և ոչ զբան
ն՟ր ունիք ի ձեզ բնակեալ, զի զոր առաքեացն նա դուք ոչ
հաւատայք ի նա: Եւ զի ա՟ծ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտու՟ն էր որ մարտն
չէրն մ՟դ ը՟ յակոբայ: Եւ հաւատարմացուցէ սրբազանն
գիր ասելով, ք՟ զի ասաց՝ առէ ո՟ր ցյակոբ՝ յարուցեալ
անցցես ի բեթէլ և միասցես անդ և արասցես անդ սե-
զա՟ն ա՟յ, որ երևեցա՟ն քեզ ի փախչելն քո յերեսաց էսա-
ւայ եղբօր քո: ք՟ զի դ՟ձլ ի միջագետաց և երկուցեալ
յեսաւայ անցոյց զմանկունսն իւր և զա՟մ ինչս իւր, և մն՟
նա միայն և մարտնչէր այր ը՟ նմա: Ա՟յլ:

Երանելին դանիէլ զսոսկալի տեսիլն պատմելով մեզ.
տեսանէի առէ ի տեսլեան գիշերոյ, և ահա ը՟ ամպս երկ-
նից ո՟ որդի մ՟դյ գայր և մինչև ցհին աւուրցն հասանէր
և առ՟ջի ն՟ր ածաւ, և նմ՟ տուաւ իշխնւթ՟ի և պատիւ և
թգ՟ւթ՟ի, և ա՟մ ժղ՟վ՟դք և ցեղք և լեզուք նմ՟ ծառայես-
ցեն, իշխանու՟թ՟ ն՟ր իշխնւ՟թ յ՟ւտ՟նց որ ոչ անցանէ, և
թգ՟ւթ՟ի ն՟ր ոչ ապականեսցի: Լսես թէ զի ա՟րդ ոչ մ՟դ
պարզաբար տեսանելով առել. զի մի զմիոք յորոց ը՟ մեզս

իմացուք զէմմանուէլ, այլ ն՟ որդի մ՟դ, ք զի ա՟ծ ե՟ղ ը՟ բնու՟ն բանն, ի նմանու՟թ մ՟դկն եղե, և գտաւ ձևով ն՟ մ՟դ․ զի դ՟լ ի նոյնութ՟ե իմացի երկաքանչ իւրովք՝ ոչ սոսկ մ՟դ և ոչ առանց մ՟դկութ՟ե և ան մ՟րմին բանն: Սակայն զի նմա տուաւ ասէ, և այսպս ունողի և երևեցնլոյ զիշխանութ՟ի և զպատիւ և զթ՟րութի՟ն: Եւ ասաց թէ ա՟ ժղ՟ղ՟ք և տոհմք և լեզուք նմ՟ ծառայեսցեն: Արդ յորժամ և ի մ՟դկութ՟ես որ ը՟ մեզ ե՟ղ միածինն ա՟յ բանն, ծառայս ունի զստացուածս, և զհօր իշխանու՟թ ն՟ զիւր, և ծնաւ ը՟ մ՟րմնոյ զնա ս՟բ կոյսն, զի ա՟րդ արդեօք ոչ իմացի ա՟ծածին: Ցղ՟ս չարչարանաց ՟քի, և թէ պիտոյէ այլ և այլ ի վ՟ր միոյ ասել և նորին, և ոչ անջատելոյ յե՟ս:

Երանելին պ՟ղս զփրկական չարչարանս պատմելով մեզ, որ և ասէ զ՟յս չնորհիւն ա՟յ յղ՟ս մեր ամենեցուն ճաշակել զմահ: Եւ թէ աւանդեաց մեզ նախկին զոր և ընկալաւ: Եւ թէ ՟քս մեռաւ վ՟ն մեղաց մերոց ը՟ գրոց, և զի թաղեցաւ և յարեաւ յաւուր երրորդի: Ա՟ռ այսոքիկ և իմաստունն պետրոս, ՟քի չարչարելն մ՟րմնով վ՟ն մեր: Արդ միանոյն հաւատացեալք զ՟տր մեր յ՟ս ՟քս ի մ՟դկայինս կերպի երևեալ, ՟ր, եղեալ մ՟դ ը՟ մեզ միածինն ա՟յ բանն: Զի ա՟րդ արդեօք և զչարչարանսն նմա հետևեցուսցուք և անչարչարելի պահեսցուք ա՟պ զա՟ծ: Ապա ուրեմն չարչարանքն եղիցի ը՟ անօրէնութ՟են իւրացուցեալ բանին, և յինքն առեալ զորս իւրոյն մ՟րմնոյ, վ՟ն անպատմելի միաւորութ՟են, և մնացելոյ անչարչարելի յիւր բնութ՟ին, ՟ք զի ան չարչարելիէ ա՟ծութ՟ին, և ոչ ինչէ հրաշափառ, յորժամ և զնոյն զմարդոյս հոգի տեսցուք, թէպտ և կրեսցէ ինչ մարմինն, յիւր բնութ՟ին ոչ ինչ կր՟էլ, սակայն ոչէ արտաքոյ կրիցն իմացեալ: զի որ կրէն նր՟ իւրէ թէ պէտ և ը՟ բնութ՟եէ անչօշափելի և աննիւթ, այլ զի որ կրէ ոչէ օտար ի նմանէ: Այսպ՟ իմասցիս և ի վ՟ր ամ՟ենեցունց մեր փրկչին ՟քի: Եւ հպեցայց յարացոյց օրինակօք, զի

կցորդ եղև մեզ չարչարանօք միածնին, զհողեղէնն յիւր ընտանութ՟ի առեալ մարմին, և միայն անընդունակ չարչարանացն ը՟ս իւրում բնութ՟ենն ՚ի զա՟ծ, որ և բոլորից ա՟ծ, նշանագործել հրամայէր իմաստնոյն մովսէսի, զի հաւատասցեն քեզ որք յի՟էլն. ՚ի պառաքեցելոյ առի յա՟յ, որ ի զրկողացն ձեռաց ազատեսցին: Եւ ասէ այսպէս, և առցես ի ջրոյն գետոյն, և հեղցես ի ցամաքի, և եղիցի ջուրն զոր առնուցուս ի գետոյն արիւն ի ցամաքի: Եւ ասեմ, զի կենաց օրինակէ ջուրն, և է կեանք ը՟ս բնութ՟ե որդի, ՚ի ի գետոյ եղե՟լ ի հօրէ ը՟ս համագոյութ՟են բանի, այսպէս զա՟մ կենդանացուցե՟լ: Այլ յորժամ հեղցես զնա ասէ ի ցամաքի, եղիցի արիւն: Ապա ուրեմն յորժամ եղեն մարմին, ա՟յ, զորս ի յերկրէ զգեցաւ մարմին: յայն ժամ և այսու զոր ը՟ս մեզ մահ կրել ասի, որ և ը՟ս բնու՟ե ք՟վ կեանք, իսկ ի ղևտականին, պիղծ և անմաքուր ասէր զբորոտն օրէնքն, այլ և ի բաց հանել զնա ի բանակէն հրամայէր: Եւ յայտնէ, թէ զիարդ մարթ էր մաքրել ախտին նորա: Առցեն ասէ մաքրեցելոյն ե՟ս հաւս կենդանիս, և փայտ նոճի, և կարմիր մանե՟լ, և զոպա, և հրամայեսցէ քհ՟յն, և զենցեն զհաւն մի յաման խեցեղէն, ի վ՟ր ջրոյ կենդանւոյ, և զհաւն կենդանի առցէ և մկրտեսցէ յարեան հաւուն սպանելոյ ի վ՟ր ջրոյն կենդանւոյ, և սրսկեսցէ ի վ՟ր սրբեցելոյն ի բորոտութենէն եւթն անգամ, և եղիցի մաքուր: Արդ՝ ասէ զմեզ անմաքուրս, և լուանայ զշաղախեալս, և ի մարմնական խորհրդոյ ի բաց առաքէ զմեռելութի՟ն պատուակ՟ն արիւնն ք՟ի, և ի ձեռն ս՟բյ մկրտութ՟են մաքրութ՟ի: Սակայն զայն տես: ք՟ զի փոխեալ ի նրբագոյնն. որ ունի զառաջի եդելոյս զօրութ՟ի խորհրդոյն պիտանին. Առասցուք առ այժմ: Հաւուցն երկուց նմանեցուցանէ զք՟ս, ոչ ՚ի երկուց ք՟վ որդոց, այլ ՚ի միոյ յերկուց յա̃ծութենէ և ի մ՟րդկ՟ութէ եկելոց ի միութ՟ի: Եւ մաքուր հաւքն զի ոչ արար մեղս ա՟ր մեր յ՟ս ք՟ս, այլէ

բա՟նն նր՟. ա՟ծութե՟ և մ՟դկութե՟ն: Սակայն և Թաշնոյ նմ՟նցուցանէ, վ՟ի ի բարձանց գոլոյն ի յերկիր և ի վե-րուստ, ք՟ զի յերկնից մ՟դ ք՟ս, որ և ծնեալ զմ՟րմին սրբոյ կուսին: Արդ՝ զի ա՟րդ ի վերուստ ի յերկնից: ք՟ զի ի վերուստ և ի հօրէ բանն ա՟ծ առ ի սրբոյ կուսէն առե՟լ մ՟րմին, և իւր զնա ասացեալ՝ ո՟ ի վերուստ ի յերկնից իջուցեալ ասէր: Եւ ոչ ոք ել յերկինս. եթէ ոչ որ էջն յերկնից որդին մ՟դյ. ք՟ զի հետևեցուցանէ միշտ զիւրան, իւրոյն մարմնոյ միացեալ միանգամ, ո՟ մի համարեալ լինի առ նա: Սակայն տես, զենեալ զմիհաւն և մկրտեալ զմիւսն արեան նր՟, այլ ոչ զենեալ: Եւ զի՟նչ է այս: քան զի կեն-դանիէր բանն, և ի մեռանել մարմնոյն իւրոյ, և կցորդէր չարչարանացն վ՟ի իւր ու՟ն և միաւո՟րութե՟ն առնա: Ապա ուրեմն նոյն ինքն կենդանի է ո՟ զա՟ծ, և ո՟ իւրն արարեալ զմ՟րմինն, այսպ՟ ի յինքն ընդունէր զ՟ իւրութե՟ն, և ըղ-մ՟րմնոյն չարչարանս, չարչարելով ոչ ինչ յինքն յիւր բը-նութ՟: Պիտանի ուրեմն և կարևոր յօդաւորութ՟, եթէ ի վ՟ր ք՟ի առցի առ ի մէնջ զ՟ այլ և այլ, դասեալ ի վ՟ր միոյ և նորին ք՟ ժ՟ել ի յերկուս ոչ տայր թոյլ, թէպէտ և առիցի գծել ինչ ի մեզ, թերևս ոչ իրիք նման միմեանց, ո՟ մինչ ասացից: ծնանել ասեմք զ՟ մարմնոյ ի կնոջէ ըղ-միածին բանն ա՟յ, որ և ոչ էիցն, նր՟ առեալ զգոյն, և կոչել ի լինելութ՟ զոչ գոյսն բնաւին: Արդ՝ զի ա՟րդ նոյն ինքն և ծնունդ կրէ. և կոչէ ի գոյութ՟ զ՟ այլ և այլ: ք՟ զի ծնաւ, զ՟ որում ի մարմնի զ՟ մեզ մ՟դ: և կոչէ ի գոյ-ութ՟ զոչէսն զ՟ որումէ բնութ՟ ա՟ծ: գրէլէ վ՟ի նր՟. թէ մանուկն աճէր և զօրանայր: լցեալ իմաստութ՟ և շնորհիւ. որ զ՟ բնութ՟ է ամենակատար ո՟ ա՟ծ, և յիւրոյ լրմանէ բաշխէ սրբոցն զհոգևորս՟ն, և ինքն իմաստութ՟. և շնորհի տվօղ: Արդ զի ա՟րդ աճէ մանուկն, և լնու իմաստութ՟ և շնորհիւ զ՟ այլ և այլութ՟: ք՟ զի նոյն ինքն ո՟ մ՟դ, հա-մանգամայն և ա՟ծ, իւրացուցանէ զմ՟դկօրէնսն. վ՟ի միա-

ւորութե՟ն: և է ամենակատար՝ և իմաստութե՟ և շնորհի տուօղ ո՟ զա՟ծ, և եղև անդրանիկ ո՟ միածին: Այլ եթէ ոք կամիցի զբանիցն քննել զօրու՟թ, անդրանիկն իցէ արդեօք բա՟մ եղբարց անդրանիկ: իսկ միածինն ո՟ միայն և ոչ ևս անդրանիկ բա՟մ եղբարց, այլէ նոյնն և այս և այն: Արդ զի ա՟րդ ը՟ այլ և այլ, ք՟ զի անդրանիկ ո՟ ի բազմ՟ եղբարս վ՟ մ՟դկութե՟ն, իսկ միածին դ՟ձլ նոյն ինքն, ո՟ միայն ի միայնոյ ծնե՟լ յա՟յ և ի հօրէ: Սրբել ասի հոգւո՟վն, և սրբէ զոր մերձենալ առ նա: մկրտեցաւ ըստ մ՟րմ՟յ. և մկրտէր հոգւո՟վն սրբով: Արդ զի ա՟րդ նոյն ինքն սրբէ և սրբի, մկրտէ և մկրտի: Դ՟ձլ ը՟ այլ և այլ, ք՟ զի սրբի մարդկօրէն, և այստ՟ մկրտի: իսկ սրբէ ա՟ծաբար, մկրտէ և հոգւով սրբով: ինքն յարուցանելով զմեռե՟լս, ի մեռելոց յարեաւ: Եւ կեանք ը՟ բնու՟թ ա՟լվ, կենդանանալ ասի: Եւ զի ա՟րդ այս, դ՟ձլ և այս ը՟ այլ և այլ իրի, ք՟ զի նոյն ինքն յարեաւ ի մեռելոց, և կենդանանալ ասի ը՟ մ՟րմ՟յ: Իսկ կենդանացուցանէ և յարուցանէ զմեռեալս ո՟ զա՟ծ: Չարչարի և ոչ չարչարի ը՟ այլ և այլ: ք՟ զի չար-չ՟րի մ՟դկօրէն ը՟ որում է մ՟դ, անչարչ՟րելի է ա՟ծաբ՟ր ո՟ ա՟ծ: Երկիր եպագ ը՟ մեզ, ք՟ զի դուք երկիրպագէք ասէ որում ոչն գիտէք, մեք երկիր պագանեմք որում գի-տեմքն: Այլ և երկրպագի: ք՟ զի կրկնի նմ՟ ա՟մ ծա՟նր, և այս դ՟ձլ ը՟ այլ և այլ, ք՟ զի երկրպագէ ո՟ յերկրպագու-բնութ՟է առեալ: իսկ երկրպագի դ՟ձլ նոյն ինքն, ո՟ անդր ա՟լվ ք՟ զերկրպագու բնու՟թս, ը՟ որում իմանի ա՟ծ: իսկ զերկրպագութ՟ին ոչ է անջատելի, ի մ՟դ և յա՟ծ յառ-կատս: Այլ և ոչ ը՟ ա՟յ համանգամայն ա՟լվ. ո՟ ի հաւասա-րութե՟ պատուոյ անջատեցելոյ գոյացութեցն, երկրպա-գակից ասեմք լինել մ՟դյ ը՟ նմ՟, քան զի ամբարշտութ՟ն լինէ իրն: Զի մինէ երկրպագելին, մ՟դացեալ և մարմնացե՟լ բանն ը՟ հաւատոյ: Զի միաւորեալն ը՟ մարմնի ը՟ մեզ հ՟դվ բանկն՟: ք՟ զի ոչ ուրեք եդ երկուս անդրանիկս առ

ի պարտ գոլ երկրպագել առ ի մէնջ. և ի սրբոցն հր՟տկց բղխցս ա՟ծ: Զի մինչ մուծեալն յ՟ս, և զմուծանելոյն քննեալ յեղանակ զմր՟նվ տնօրէնուե՟ն իմացուք խրհ՟րդ, ք՟ զի մուծանի յ՟ս, յորժամ եղեն մ՟դ, որ և ը՟ իւրումն բնուե՟ հեռի յաշխարհէ, և յա՟ծութ՟են գերունակութ՟իս էապ՟ հաւատացեալ. զի այլէ ք՟ զամենե՟ին ՟ արրչա՟ծ ն՟յ: Ապա ուրեմն արտաքոյէ նովաւ եղելոցն ը՟ բնուե՟, զի և բընութ՟ք՟է ա՟ծ: Մինչ ՟ ասացի երկրպագելն. և յորժամ եղև ի ք՟զմ եղբարս: Քան զի ասի յայնժամ և վ՟ այսորիկ անդրանիկ: Մինչ երկրպագեաց որդւոյ ի ծնէ կոյրն հրաշափառապ՟ս բժշկեալ: ք՟ զի գտեալ զնա ա՟յ ի տաճարին ասէ: դու հաւատաս յորդին ա՟յ: և նա ասէ, ո՞վ է տ՟ր՝ զի հաւատացից ինա: իսկ յ՟ս ցուցանէ ն՟մ զինքն մր՟նվ: և տեսեր զնա: և որ խօսիդ ը՟ քեզ նա է: Ցե՟նես զի ը՟ միոյ հպի ի թիւն, ոչ ասաց ը՟ մասին իմանալ ա՟ծ և մ՟դ: այլ յաւէտ եթէ ոք բնաւին մ՟դ անուանեսցէ զէմմանուէլն, ոչ սուկ մ՟դ նշանակեսցէ, այլ յոյժ վերագոյն, ք՟ զի միաւորել ը՟ մերում բնուե՟ս բանին ա՟յ, ՟ միոյ երկրպագեցին աշակերտքն յորժամ, ի վ՟ ջուրցն գնայր հրաշափառապ՟ս, տեսեալ զնա երկրպագէին ասելով, արդարև որդի ա՟յ ես դու: Այլ յր՟ժմ մ՟դ ը՟ ա՟յ երկրպագակից ասեմք լինել, թանծրագոյն ածեմք զհաստումն: ք՟ զի որ զոյգնէ միշտ եթէ ոչ ի վ՟ միոյ դասեսցի յորոյ ը՟ չարադրուե՟ն, երկուս ա՟մ իրօք հաւանեցուսցէ իմանալ. ք՟ զի (՟պ) ոչ ոք զինքն ինքեան կենակից ասէ, և ոչ կերակից. և ոչ աղօթակից. կ՟մ գնացակից, ք՟ զի երկուց դիմաց յայտնումն բերէ բառակցուե՟ն իր, այն՟պս թէ ոք ասիցէ երկրպագակից ա՟յ զմ՟դն: Երկուս ասէ որդիս առանց երկբայուե՟ և անջատեալս ի միմե՟յ: ք՟ զի միաւ՟րուե՟ն բան. եթէ միայն իմացի հաւասարութ՟ի պատուոյ, ՟յ՟, իշխանուե՟, ոչ ՟ըլ ճշմր՟տ յանդիմանեսցի: Եւ այս ի ձեռն երկար բանիցն մեզ ցուցցի: Առայնոսիկ որքասեն թէ միայն վերաբերութ՟ք վայելէ ա՟յ բանին մ՟դկօրէնքն: օգնեա տ՟ր:

Ոմանք չար խօսութի՟ զմարմնով անօրէնութե՟ միածնին դանդաչեալք: Եւ զբարեպաշտին և զմեծ, և Նոցունց վերնոյն զօրու՟նց ճշմ՟րտ այ՟պս երեք փափագեան խորհըրդով և ապրեցաքն. առխախուտ մտածութի՟ս իւրոց քարշեալ: Ճշմարտութե՟ն գեղեցկութե՟ն չահավաճառք եղեալք: Որ և պարտէր ն՟յ ոչ զիւրոց այոցն, և որ միայն յինքեանց բարուք թուեցեալ. զօրացուցանել ձեռն արկել: Այլ յաւէտ քննել նուրբ և ստոյգ մ՟ծ՟ն ակամբ զըրբազմանից դիտումն: Եւ այսպէս գնալ ը՟ ուղիղ և անաղարտաբար քննեալսն սրբոց մերոց հարց: որք սրբոյ հոգւոյն լուսաւորութի՟ պայծառացեալք, զհաւատոյս մերոյ օրինադրեցին ն՟չնկ: Զնոյն ինքն ասեմ զոր ի հօր էութենէն անճառաբար ծնեալն ա՟ծ յ՟սյ բանն: զոր որով ա՟մն յերկինս և յերկրի, վ՟ն մեր մ՟րդկն, և յաղագս մերոյ փրկութե՟ն, իջանել, մ՟րմնել և մ՟րդկնլ, չարչարել և յառնել և ելանել ի յերկինս: գալ ը՟ ժ՟մկս, զի դատեսցէ զկենդանիս և զմեռեալս: Այլ են ոմանք յոյժ պանծացեալ ի հանճարս, որք վ՟ն զի զայսպիսիս լսեն բանս, այպն առնեն, և զառանցանս դոլ վարկանեն, զայսպէս ուղղակի ասացեալս: Որ և սըրբոյ հոգւոյն ն՟ հաւատացաք իսկ, փայլատակեալ ի խորհուրդս սրբոց հարցն զճշմ՟րտ դիտութի՟: Ո՟պ զի և ի ն՟ն ո՟րվ ի վեհագոյնսն խորհել: Այլ և կարողս առնել խմանալ, ոչ զնոյն ինքն վարկանեն զմիածին որդին ա՟յ, զոր յէութէ հօր բանն չարչարեալ իւրով մ՟րմնով մ՟րդկօրէն, և որ ը՟ որում խմանի ա՟ծ, ունելով զան չարչարութի՟ յիւրում բնութե՟ն: Այլ մ՟րդ միայն և ը՟ մասին եղեալ զոր ի սրբոյ կուսէն ծնեալն. և ապա փառաց հեռանեցուցեալ ն՟ չափ, ը՟ որում իւրոցն թուի բարի ոք գոլ: Ցարակից լինել ասեն յ՟սյ հօրէ բանին, և զյարակցութե՟ն յեղանակ պատմելով, պարգևեալ ն՟ ասեն առ ի նմանէ զհաւասարութի՟ պատուոյն: ք՟ս, իշխանութե՟ն. և զհամանունաբար ասելն և ք՟ս և որդի և տ՟ր: իսկ թէ ինչ ասիցի չարչարել նա

և որ ի նմանէ առն՟ըն մ՟դ. պարտ գոլ ասեն՝ ի նա վերաբերիլ որ յ՟ղ բանն, վ՟ ի նա յարևլոյն ՟ը հաւատարութ՟ե պատույն: և բնութ՟եց անջատեցելոց, և իւրաքանչիւր ումէք դ՟լվ, այն որ ինչէն առանձին: Եւ զի յատակագոյնս ասացից ՟ո էն զմտածութ՟եցն զօրութ՟ի: զորս յ՟մծայնոյն գրոց եդեալ առաջի: քաղցեաւ ք՟ս: աշխատեցաւ ի ճանապրհի: ննջէր մտեալ ինաւին: ապտակեցաւ ի սպասաւորայն: գան հարաւ ի պիղատոսէ: թքին ի նա և զօրականքն՝ և տիգաւ խոցեցին զկողն, քացախ ՟ը լեղի խառնեալ արբուցին ն՟մ: Ճաշակեաց և զմահ, խաչի համբերեալ, և զայլն արբեցութ՟իս ի հրէիցն կրեալ, զայս ՟ամ պատահեալ ասեն մ՟րդյն, բայց վերաբերիլ ի դէմս ՟ը ճշմ՟րտու՟են որդոյ: իսկ մեք հաւատամք ՟ո ի մի ՟ած, հայր ամ՟կլ, ՟ամ երևելեաց և աներևութից ա՟րիչ: Այս՟պ ի մի ՟տր ՟յս ք՟ս յորդին ն՟ր: ի բաց հրաժարիմք յանջատելոյ ի մ՟դ առանձին, և ի բանն առանձին զէմմանուէլն: գիտելով զի եղև ՟ը մեզ բանն, և մ՟դ ճշմ՟րտպս, զնոյն գոլ ասեմք ՟ած ՟ո յ՟ղյ, և ՟ը մեզ մ՟րդ կօրէն մ՟դ ի կնոջէ: Ասեմք դ՟ձլ կրել ՟ը իւրու՟են մ՟դկօրէն զմ՟րմնյն կիրս: Սակայն ամբողջ պահ՟ել իւրոյն բնու՟ե զանչարչարութ՟ի: զի ոչ միայն մ՟րդէր, այլ էր նոյն ինքն ՟ը այսու և բընու՟ի ՟ած: և ՟ո իւրէր մ՟րմինն ն՟ր, այս՟պ դ՟ձլ նորայէ որ ինչ մ՟րմնոյն ճշմ՟րտպ և անմեղադրելիք կիրքն: Այլ և արտաք՟ոս որ ի ձեռն ումանց ապարասանութ՟ե, ի վ՟ր եկեալքն կըրեալ անչարչարաբար. ինքն կամաւորութ՟բ, և ոչ միայն ՟ը գոլոյն ՟ը մեզ: այլ պահեալ ՟ո ասացի իւրոյն բնութ՟են. և զառաւելութ՟ին ՟ք զամենեսին: քան զի թէ ասէաք թէ ՟ը փոխադրութ՟ե կամ յեղման յիւրմէն բնութ՟է ի մ՟րմնյն բնու՟ի տարեալ եղև: էր ուրեք արդեօք հարկ ՟ամիւ և ակամայ խոստովանել զանճառելի և ՟ածայինն բնութ՟ի, լինել չարչարելի: իսկ եթէ եկաց միաց առ՟նց փոխադրութ՟ե, որ եղեն ՟ը մեզ մ՟դ: և է առանձնաւորութ՟ի բնու-

թե՟ն վերնոյ անչարչարութե՟ն, և ապա ըստ միաւորու-
թե՟ն ը՟ նմա եղև չարչարեալ, չարչարեցաւ ուրեմն չարչա-
րելեաւն մրմնվ, ը՟ որում և ասի նր՟ իւր, և մնաց ինքն
անչրչրլի, զի ա՟ծլ իւրէ նր՟ անչարչարութի՟ն ։ և եթէ
փու՟րի չարչարելովն էմմանուէլն։ Ք՟ զի ասաց ինքն յորժ՟մ
հանդերձեալնէր համբերել վ՟ն մեր պատուական խաչին։
այժմ փառաւորեցաւ որդի մ՟դ՟յ։ զինչ է ի չարչարելոյ փա-
ռաւորութի՟ն, մ՟դ՟յն հետևեալ միայն ունելով զյարակցու-
թի՟ն առնա, զոր ն՟ ի հաւասարութե՟ պատուոյ, ոչ ամա-
չեն ումանք, ք՟ զի թէ ն՟ վարկանէին յարեաց յինքն ը՟ հա-
ճութե՟ և կամաց, մարդ պարզաբար և հաւասարափառ
տացեալ զնա ինքեան, թողլեա և համանունաբար անուա-
նել ք՟ս և որդի և ա՟ծ և տ՟ր։ Ոչ մարմնացաւ ը՟ ճշմ՟րտու-
թե՟ բանն, և ոչ մ՟դ՟ացաւ բնաւին։ Եւ ապա ուրեմն ստա-
բանս ասել զորս ը՟ արեգակամբս խորհրդածուսն, և ոչ
մի ինչ վնաս բերէ։ Ք՟ զի աստացեն յաւէտ և ածցեն ի
մէջ պատրաստեալքն հաւանեցուցանել. եթէ ը՟ առ ի նո-
ցանէ իմացելոյն յարակցութե՟ յեղանակ, զմարմնաւո-
րութե՟ զօրութի՟ս ունի։ և այսէ մ՟դ՟նալոյն յեղանակ։ Ք՟զի
թէ ոչ այս՟պ զայսոսիկ գոլ կարծեցին, հիման յարակից
յարակցութե՟ յեղանոկ իմանան, թողել զճշմ՟րտութի՟, որ
և պարտէր միանալ ասել ը՟ մերումն մ՟դ՟կութե՟, զառ ի յա՟յ
հօրէ բանն, ք՟ զի այս՟պ մ՟րմ՟նվ իւր իմանիւր կրել վայել-
չաբար զմ՟դ՟կայինսն, որ և յա՟ծութե՟ն բնութի՟ կրել ոչ ինչ,
յորոց ը՟ տրամութե՟ ավորութե՟ անբաժէ ն՟ ա՟ծ։ բայց
զի ոչ գիտեմ թէ զի ա՟րդ գտեալ նց՟ զանուանեալն վե-
րաբերութի՟, քարշեն յանփառութի՟ զէմմանուէլ։ հազիւ
ի միջ ի սրբոցն մգ՟րէից նմանեցուցանեն, և ի հաւասար
չափու եդեալ բազմաց։ Այլ զի հաւատեցից ա՟ծլ՝ զորս
և ա՟ծային գրոց բերից յա՟ջ։ տրտնջէին երբեմն յանա-
պատին զմ՟վ՟սէ և զահարոնէ որ յի՟էլն և ասէին, ոչ թէ
մեռեալ էաք՝ և հարեալք ի տ՟է յեգիպտոս, յորժամ նըս-

տէաք առկատայս մտոյն, և ուտէաք հաց առ յագուրդ: Եւ ապա ասէ ա՟ծայինն մովսէս: զի՞նչ եմք մեք, ոչ զմէնջ տրտնջէք այլ զա՟յ: Ինքն իսկ թ՟գրէր է՟ ժ՟կն է՟ այնուիկ բոլորից ա՟ծ. ի վ՟ր իլ՟ ի ձեռն սրբոց մ՟գրէից. և ն՟ք առ այս կարճամտեալք, մատեան առ ա՟ծայինն սամուէլ և ասեն, ահաւադիկ դու ծերացեալ ես, և որդիք քո ոչ գնան զճանապ՟հ քո, և այժմ կարգեա ի վ՟ր մեր թ՟գր դատել զմեզ ո՟ զայլ ազգս, և դառնանայր ի վ՟ր ն՟ց մ՟գ՟րէն: Ասէ ցնա ա՟ծ՝ լուր ձայնի ժողովրդ՟ն: զոր ինչ և խօսեսցին առ քեզ, զի ոչ եթէ զքեզ արհամարհեցին, այլ զիս, առ ի չթ՟գրել ի վ՟ր ն՟ց: Ասէ ուրեմն և ք՟ն առ ն՟ր առ՟քյն: Որ է՟ ունի զձեզ զիս է՟ ունի: Այլ և առ գթառէրսն առ՟ջի ա՟ծայնոյն բեմին, ձայն արկեալ խոստանայր: եկայք ա՟հնեալք հօր իմոյ. ժառանգեցէք՝ պատրաստեալ ձեզ զարքայութ՟ն իսկզբանէ ա՟հխ, իւր համարել զառ ի նոցանէ զբարեպաշտուե՟ն յեղանակ, առ որս զբարին ասէ, որով հետև արարէք միում ի փոքր կանցս յայսցանէ ինձ արա՟րէք, և ահա հաւաստեաւ այսուքիւք վերաբերուե՟ն յեղանակ ուրախ ինչ իցէ բարեաց ճանաչի: Տրտնջէին զմ՟վսէ և զահարոնէ որք յե՟կէն, և ունի իրն զվերաբերութ՟ն առ ա՟ծ: Էր մարդ ո՟ զմեզ մովսէս: այլ և ահարոն է՟ հաւատար օրինակ՟. և ի վ՟ր այլոցն իմասցիս, զորոյ այժմ զյիշումն արարաք: Այլ էին ո՟ ասացի ս՟րք. և արժանի սքանչանալոյ. ո՟կյն է՟ մեզ մ՟ն՟կ: Արդեօք է՟ այսմ օրինակի աղէ ասա՟ցեն ինձ: Ցարակից մ՟դ՟ն բանին ա՟յ ո՟ ասեն ն՟ք, զնւրոցն ախտիցն վերաբերութ՟ն ունէր առ նա, և ապա զի ա՟րդ ոչէ ո՟ զն՟ն մ՟դ: Ցայտէ զի սակ և միայն և այլ ինչ ոչ. ապա ուրեմն ոչ ա՟ծ ճշմ՟րտ էմմանուէլ, ոչ միածին, և ոչ որդի, և ոչ ն՟ր է՟ բնութ՟ն: Եւ ապա վ՟ն զի՞նչ պտ՟ճառի այլոցն ոչ ոք պատուի, առ ի յա՟յ բանէն. է՟ հաւասարութե՟բ պատուոյ՝ ա՟յ, իշխանութ՟ն, այլ միայն զսա ի հաւ՟րեցն, անվրէպ նմանութ՟բ յարձակեցուցանէն

վիճակիլ, որ և ամենեցունց փրկչին ա՟յ առաջի ոչ դա-
տել, այլ արդար դատաստան դատել. ո՟ ասէ ինքն, զի
ո՟րդ միայն Նաւր յատենի, զի ո՟րդ միայն եկեսցէ դա-
տել, ընծայ բերելով հրշտկ՟ց: վ՟ է՞ր միայն երկրպագի
առ ի մէնջ և ի վերնոցն զօրութ՟ց: Այլ. այս ասեն, և
զքեզ զայս գ՟ծե՟լ տեսանեմք չրչրեալ զնա, խոստովանիս
հետևեցուցանելով մ՟րդոյն ն՟ր զչարչարանսն և անչար-
չարելի պահել ո՟ ա՟ծ:

Այլ մեք ո՟վ վեհքդ ասասցուք արդեօք, նախ միաւո-
րեալ է՟ բանին զմ՟րդկայինսն, մ՟րդոյն զկիրսն հետևեցու-
ցաք և անչարչարելի պահեցաք ո՟ զա՟ծ: զի թէ եղև է՟ մեզ,
այլ և գիտակեմք դ՟ձլ ա՟ծավայելուչ գերունակութ՟ն ն՟ր.
և գերագունիցն պատուոյ: ապա ուրեմն խոստովանեալք
հաւատով զմիութ՟ն ո՟ հիմն ինչ. մ՟րդին չարչարեալ
խոստովանեմք զնա, և անդր ք՟ զչրչրնս դ՟ձլ միալ: ո՟ ու-
նելով զանչրչրութ՟ն յիւրում բնութ՟ն: իսկ թէ է՟ մասին
փութամք գնել՝ յա՟ծ և ի մ՟դ, անջատեալ զբնութ՟իս ի
միմեանց: և ապա միայն զվերաբերութ՟ն ա՟յ բանին իւր
հ՟մրել ասեմք. զպատահեալսն մ՟րդոյն, զմովսէսի ուրեմն
և զահարոնի զչափնէ զգեցեալ ի որբոյ կուսէն ծնեալն
էմմանուիլ որ թարգմանի է՟ մեզ ա՟ծ: ո՟ զի թէպէտ և
ասիցի ի ձեռն սրբոց մ՟դ՟րէից: Զթիկունս իմ ետու ի
հարուածս. և զծնօտս իմ յապտակս, և զերեսս իմ ոչ
դ՟ձուցից յամօթոյ, է՟ երեսս թքանելոյ: Եւ դ՟ձլ ծակեցին
զձեռսիմ. և զոտս իմ, և թուեցին զա՟մ ոսկերս իմ: Եւ
դ՟ձլ ետուն ի կերակուր ինձ լեղի, և ի ծարաւ իմ ար-
բուցին ինձ քացախ: Նմա զայս ա՟մ հետևեցուցանեմ
միածնին. չարչարեցելոյն վ՟ մեր անօրինաբար մարմնով,
քանզի նորա վիրօքն բժշկեցաք մեք, և վիրաւորեցաւ վ՟
մեղաց մերոց, և անչարչարելի զոլ գիտեմք զնա ըստ
բնութ՟ն: քանզի թէ որպէս ասացի այժմ նոյն ինքն մարդ,
համանգամայն և ա՟ծ, և է վայելչաբար մարդկութեան

նորա չարչարանքն, և իւր դարձեալ է որպէս ա՟յ, զանդր քան զչարչարանս միայն: Զայսոսիկ խորհելով պարեպաշտ եղիցուք, և այսպէս ընդ ուղիղ մտածութի՟ս գնալով, յաղթանակի վերինն կոչման հանդիպեսցուք, ք՟իւ յ՟իւ տ՟ր մերով. որով և ը՟ որում ա՟յ և հօր փառք հանդերձ հոգւովն ս՟բ՟վ յ՟ւ՟ն՟ս:

Տեառն Սրբոյն Կիւրղի եպսպի Աղեքսանդրացւոց, Առ բարեպշտ թ՟գ՟րն Թէոդոսիոս: Յաղագս Տօնի Սրբոյ Զատկին:

Ասէ ուրեմն սրբազանն գիր, Սկիզբն իմաստութե՟ն երկիւղ տ՟ն: իսկ իմաստութե՟ն որ առ ի յա՟յ զի՞նչ արդեօք եղիցի հաւաստարակչիւ: Կամ զի մ՟րդ ոչ մեծ և արժանի ստանալոյ, բարի իցէ, որ և արմատ ունիցի զերկիւղն ա՟յ, և ի քաղցր և ի բազմաբաղձիկն ելցէ յանդումբն, ք՟ զի գրեալ է թէ երկիւղ տ՟ն ի կեանս առն, երկիւղ տ՟ն փառք և պարծանք: երկիւղ տ՟ն զուարճու՟ն սրտի, և տայէ ուրախութի՟ն և խնդութի՟ն և երկայն աւուրս: Այսոքիկ յամէն պ՟տղ քո ժողով ի գագաթն, քսասէր թ՟ր Թէոդոսիոս, որ զերկիւղն ա՟յ յանձինդ քում շտեմարանես ո՟ անկապտելիս և սրբազանս ամբարեալ գանձս: Եւ այն ք՟ նկրտել ը՟ քոյոց ծնողաց փառաւորութի՟ն, ո՟ զի ոչ ինչէ տեսանել որ ոչէ քո: ք՟ զի գերագոյնն առել թողից առ այժմ, և այսուիկ ը՟ձ՟լ զձեզ պս՟կյից: զի գրեալ է պ՟րծնք որդւոց հարք ն՟ց, որոց դուք պատկերք արժանիք տեսութե՟ն, և ո՟ ի գծագրէ սոցա՝ և մշտերև և յարամնայ ունելով զպայծառութի՟դ. զի յոլովակի ը՟ այսմ կենցաղոյս արութ՟ք զբարէ փառս անձինս թ՟րց զարդ՟րլ: և մանաւանդ և այլովքն որ իքո՟ բարեպաշտութ՟ք հաստատու՟ հաւատոց. և սրբութ՟ բարեգործութ՟, և անշարժու՟ արդարութ՟, զորս և ա՟մ ուրեք որրե՟լ բանիւ և զքանչմամբ

պայծառ և բազմատեսակ՝ զե՟ց բարեկեցիկ գեղեցկու-
թ՟ն երևեցուցն՝ որ և բարեփորձ եղեալ զինուցդ ձերոց
ա՟մ ուրեք, և թշնամեաց գլխոց չարաչար և անտանելի
չարժեալ երկիւղ անձինն ի ծունկս ամենայնք որք են ար-
տաքոյ լծոյդ վ՟ս ննդակից վայրենութեն, և ի բարոյից
խստութեան։ Իսկ օրինադրիդ որոց ա՟մ ուրեք որք ի ձեռն
որոց ոչ ինչ են արժանիք նախանձու և հաճելեաց գ՟ծց
խելամտեցուցիչ՝ ուղղել, և առանց բանսարկութե ունե-
լով զհաւատս զոր ի տ՟ր մեր յ՟ս ք՟ս ասեմ։ Եւ գրէ օրէնս
թ՟գրի ա՟չ, որովք ա՟ծայինն պատուի բնութ՟, և անձինն
հերձուածք պիղծք և գարշելիք։ Իսկ գտողացն զայնս ա՟-
ծառեցքն խնուն բերանք։ Քան զի պարտէր ի փրկչին
հօտէ ի բաց հալածել զգայլսն, ոչ ի հովուաց ընդդէմ
յառնելոյ մի այն ո՟ զգաւազան ինչ, կամ զջահ հրոյ յար-
ձակեցուցիլ ի վ՟ր ն՟ց զճշմրտութե զօրութ՟, այլ և նախան-
ձաւոր առ բարեպաշտութ՟ ձերոյ իշխանութեդ որ ի ծագս
երկրի սփռեալ, յամենեցունց բարեհռչակութե գեղեց-
կանայ։ Իսկ ունելով այսպս և կամ ա՟ծասէր անձինդ քոյ
եղև փոյթ, և բարւոք ուղղեալ որ և տեսանել հաւատեաւ
ըզքի խորհրդոյն զօրութ՟, որ յառաջագոյն ծանուցաւ
նախ ք՟ զլինել ծ՟ի, ո՟ ասէ ամէն իմաստն պ՟ղս, զի երև-
ցաւ յետին ժ՟նին ժ՟կս, նախկին ցուցեալ օրինակօք՝
զոր յղ՟ս ն՟ր, ի ձեռն մովսէսի օրինացն յուջգոյն պատ-
մել, և զոր ի կնոջէ ծնունդն ք՟ մ՟րմնց մգ՟րէականացն
քարոզութեց, ք՟ զի ծնաւ ք՟ մ՟րմնոյ ի կնոջէ, զի զմերս
ա՟հնեացէ ծնունդ։ Եւ մարմնով չարչարեալ ք՟ գրոց խա-
փանէ զմահ, և վճարեսցէ յապականութենէ զմ՟րմնոյս
բնութ՟, ք՟ զի տկարութ՟ մահ նովաւ։ ք՟ զի անհն՟րիներ յաղ-
թել ի նմանէ կենացն մ՟րմնյ, ապա ուրեմն ք՟ մ՟րմնյ մահ
ն՟ր եղև մեզ փրկութ՟։ Քան զի յարեաւ առի անդրանիկ
ի մեռելոց, և պտուղ ննջեցելոց, և զայս նորոգեաց մեզ
ճն՟պրհ առ ժամայն, և կենդանի, և նովաւ միայնով ուղ-

զեալ, զի և մեք հանդերձ Նովաւ և ի ձեռն Ն՟ր անապականք միացուք, ք՟ զի ՟ի ամէն խմաստ գրէ պ՟ղս, ՟ի ադամաւ ա՟մքն մեռանին: նոյնպ՟ և ք՟իւ ամենեքին կենդանասցին, և ՟ի զգեցաք զպ՟տկր հողեղինի, զգեցցուք և զպ՟տկր երկնաւորին: Եւ զի որ ը՟ն մ՟րմյ մ՟հն ա՟մցն և փրկչին մերոյ ք՟ի, լուծումն մ՟հու եղև, և ապ՟կնու՟ն փոփոխումն: և որոյ ի յերկրիս փրկութ՟ն ուսցի ոք վեր՟ըին, և ոչ երկայն քրտամբք զորբազանս և զա՟ծաշունչս քննելով զգիրս: ք՟ զի ա՟ծայինն աբրահամ, զմինն և միայն. սիրելին իւր զորդի, զենուլ հրամայիւր, այր ի ծերութ՟ վարեալ, և ոչ ունելով յոյս այլոց կարօղ լինել հայր, այլեր ծերն զանց արարեալ զգթասիրութ՟ն, և ի խնայելոյ յորդին իւր վ՟ս ա՟յ կամացն: Եւ վ՟ս զի մերձէր ի կրել մանուկն զմահ, ք՟ զի ձեռն առեալ զսուրն հօրն, ապրէր հրաշափառ՟ս ի ներքս ընթացեալ խոյին, և զն՟ր զենումն կրեալ, այսպ՟ ապրեցաք և մեք և մերոյն: վ՟այելուչ և պարտամահ ի յինքն առեալ ք՟ի, ք՟ զի զենաւ յղ՟ս մեր, և նա չ՟ըչրցու վ՟ս մեղաց մերոց ՟ի ասէ մ՟գ՟րէն յեսայի: Եւ վ՟ս անօրէնութ՟ց մերոց մատնեցաւ, և վիրօք Ն՟ր բժշկեցաք մեք: Եւ զայս ՟դ՟ձլ մեզ և այլով պատկերաւ նախագրեց մ՟վս՟ս, օրինագրութ՟բ ա՟յ, և զխորհրդոյն զօրութ՟ն նախայայտնեալ ՟ի ա՟ռկւ և ա՟ռերաւ, ք՟ զի հրամայեաց ածել ի մէջ երկուս նոխազս հաւասարս հասակաւ և համատեսակս, և ոչ ը՟ն միոյ խմկք ա՟ննմանս ի միմեանց: Եւ էր անուն միոյն տ՟ր, խակ միւսոյ ի բաց արձակեալ, և ապա վիճակի իջելոյ ի քհ՟ին ձեռս զենուլին որոյ անուննէր տ՟ր, և արձակէին ի զենմանէն զի բաց արձակեալն, զ՟ի զմիւսն որ վ՟ս ի բաց արձակելոյն ի զենմանէն անուանի ի բաց արձակեալ, այլ էր ի նշան ՟ի ա՟ցի, օրինակ և տիպ տ՟ն զենմանն զոր կրեալ սանմք ը՟ն մ՟րմնյ զն՟ն, զի մեք եղիցուք ի բաց արձակեալք, և արտաքս ընկեցեալք ի մահուանէ և յապականութենէ: և զի ի ձեռն քհ՟իցն վճիռ հատանե-

լոյ վիճակի, կրեաց վ՟ս մեր զգենումն: Հաւատարմացուցէ
գրելովս երանելի աւետարանիչն յոհ՟ննս ժողովել քհնյա-
պտիցն և փարիսեցւոցն յատեանն ասեն, զի՞նչ արասցուք
զի այրս այս բզ՟մ նշանս առնէ: Իսկ միումն ի նոցանէ կա-
յիափայ որ էր քհնյպտ տարւոյն այնորիկ: ասէ ցն՟ս: դուք
ոչ ինչ գիտէք՝ և ոչ զմտաւ ածէք. զի լաւ է թէ մեռցի
այր մի վ՟ս ժղ՟վրդեանս, և մի ա՟մ ազգս կորիցէ: Արդ՝
տես թէ զի ա՟րդ ի քհնյկնէն ձայնէ մահուն վճիռ հա-
տանի ի վ՟ր քն՝ լաւ գոլ ա՟նց վ՟ս ա՟մնցւնց փրկութն
զմիոյն մեռանել: Եւ հաւատի քն խնդ՟ն, և ի ձեռն ու-
խարին զենման, է՟ զի զենին զորոջն որք յի՟էլէն յեգիպ-
տացւոցն չուելով յա՟է և յաղթեցին սատակչին, չաղախե-
լով զարիւնն ի մուտս յարկացն, և ճաշակէին խմոյ նր՟:
Գիտասցուք զխնդ՟րոյս զօրութն, որ է՟ ինչէ, և ո՟ այսու որ-
պով ապրեցոյց սուսերն զա՟ռջինն, և խնդ՟րոյն օրինակ՝
է՟ զմահս վերագոյնս կատարէր զորս նոքօքն կէին: Ապա
քանի ինչ իցէ ճշմ՟րտութեն զօրութն, է՟ զի ասէ ո՟ւրեմն քս:
Ամէն ամէն ասեմ ձեզ, որ ուտէ զմ՟րմին իմ և ըմպէ
զարիւն իմ. ունի զկեանսն յաւ՟տնս: կատարիւր սրբոյ
զատկին տօնն ը՟ մվ՟սի օրինացն, ի չորեք տասան երոր-
դում աւուր ամսոյն առաջնոյ, ը՟ եբրաեցոցն սովորութե
ասեմ, յամսեանն նորոյ, յորժամ ա՟մ ինչ փթթէր ի վայ-
րի: տունկք, և բոյսք, և ծաղիկք, և պտղոց աճմունք: Այս-
պէս իմանալի և զփրկականի չարչարանացն ժմ՟կ, է՟ զի
յարե՟ ի մեռելոց քս կանգնել զբոլոր մդ՟ոյս բնութն, ո՟
ի գեղեցկածաղիկ, և ի նոր բուսուցանել կեանս, որ ա-
նապականութե՟ն ասեմ և սրբութե. և իսկ զբունս բարեպտ-
ղութե աւետարանականին և հրաշալոյ և ի վեր է՟ զօրէնս
կենացն: Քան զի թարշամեալ մդ՟ոյս բնութն, և մեղօք ա-
պականեալ, վեր՟ին զարգանայր ը՟ւ անօրինաբար: Այժմ
ի նորոյ ամսեան կատարի քն խնդ՟ն. և յաւուրս չորեք
տասան երորդի ը՟ պարագայութե լուսնի: Եւ վ՟ս զի՞նչ պա-

Ճառի կարևորէ ասել, ք՟ զի հասեալ անդէն ի սրբ՟ց հարց, ոմանք պատշաճեցին իւրեանց բանս իմաստ՟ս և ճշմրտ՟ս, զի ո՟ ասեն ի չորեք տասան երորդում աւուր լր՟մն, երևի շրջագային լուսնի, այստ՟ և ի մեզ կարևորէ լրման իմանալոյն լուսնոյ եղե՟լս ի յայնպիսի բարեպաշտիկ և ի սբ՟ն տօն անցեալ, և գովեմ զբանն, ք՟ զի երևեցուցնէ և այլ իմն ոչ անկատար ի յօգուտ ի յաւուր չորեք տասն երորդի զենուլ զառինն ք՟ զի արեգականէ նմ՟նցուցնել, մանաւանդ զտր՟ մեր յս՟ քս՟: Զի այստ՟ ասէ մծ՟ և հայր յղ՟ս նր՟, և ծագեցից ձեզ երկն՟ւղածաց անուան իմ՟ոյ արեգակն արդարութե՟, ք՟ զի լուսէ ոչ մ՟ըկան միայն, այլ և հրշտկց մ՟ բանական ստացուածոցս: Եւ լուսնոյ նմնեցուցանել՝ ոչէ անհաւանելի զմիտսի օրէնսն, ո՟ և չափաւոր ունել՟վ զլոյսն, յ՟ զիմանալին: և ոչ գերապայծառ խորհրդածութ՟ն, այլ ի նուազի՟ն գոլ հրշտկկնին պայծռութ՟ն, և սրբ՟ց առ՟քլցն քարոզութ՟ ոչ հաւասար ճառագյթիւք: Արդ՝ լուսին զօրէնս իմանալ ոչ է փայրապար ը՟ այսմ ժմ՟կի: Եւ զենեալ լինէր զառն ի չորեքտասան երորդում աւուր միայն, ոչ ապաքէն գոչելով իւրն, թէ կտրումն օրինացն քս՟ է: Զի վարեալ լուսնի մինչև ցչորեք տասան երորդն դադարէ յաճմանէն և ի նուազումն դարձի սկզբան լինի, զիջանէ առ սակաւ սակաւ, և յամենևին ի սպառման լինել թուեցե՟լ: ք՟ զի կրեալ զոր՟ը մր՟մնոյն մահ վս՟ մեր ք՟ի օրինակ իմն առ իւր կատարումն օրինականին պաշտմանն պէտքն: ք՟ զի զիջեալ առ ի նուազումն թոյլ ետ յմ՟ղթութե՟ն, որոց ք՟իւ աւանդութ՟իքն: Եւ զայս փարկանիմ, թէ որ ի ձեռն սր՟մս երգոյին ձայնի, նախապատմեալ յղ՟գս ք՟ի, ծագեսցէ յաւուրս նր՟ արդ՟րու՟թ և ը՟զմ խաղաղութ՟ մինչև կատարեսցի լուսին: ք՟ զի բառնայտարրն, ծագեալ ի մեզ քն՟ և աւետարանին քարոզութ՟ն՝ յայտնեալ զպայծառութ՟ն, ի բաց բարձ՟լ յաւէտ օրինականին խրատու լոյս: ո՟պ գրովք և օրինակօք զոր լուսնի նմանեցուցանելիէ թոյլ տալով զմե-

ծագոյնն ճշմրտ՟ւն ճառագայթից: Իսկ ճշմրտ՟ւթ՟իւ է ք՟ս՝ և նորայքն, ասէ ուրեմն և ամէն իմաստն պ՟տ՟ս, յորժամ եկեացէ կ՟տրլն ի մանէն խափանեսցի: Արդ՝ կատարումն օրինացէ ք՟ս, և զոր ի վ՟ր ն՟ր կատարեմք տօն յառաջնում ամսեան ի չորեքտասան երորդում աւուրս ը՟ս լուսնի պարագայութ՟ե՟ն: և սկսանի ը՟ս եբրաեցոցն սովորութ՟ե՟ն առ՟ջին ամիսն, և գարնանային յեղանակ յառ՟ջ քան զերկոտասան կաղանդացն ապրիլի ը՟ս արեգակնային ընթացից: Արդ՝ պիտոյէ տեսանիլ առ ի մէնջ, եթէ զչորեքտասաներորդ լուսնին, ոչ յերկ՟ոտ՟ն երորդն համարել ամիս, այլ խնկանել գարնանային յեղանակին և առ՟ջնոյն ամսոյ ը՟ս եբրաեցւցն: Եւ եթէ ոչ այս պահեսցի նրբա՟պս, անկանիմք ի ժ՟մկէն, յր՟ծմ կրեացն ք՟ս զոր ի վ՟ր իւ՟չ՟ին չ՟ր՟չրնան: Արդ՝ պահելով զօրն յորում մատնեցաւ, և մատնեցաւ ի չորեք տ՟ան երորդի լուսնին, յառ՟ջնում ամսեանն, և մնամք յարւ՟ն ն՟ր աւուր, ՟յ՟ս, կիւրակէին: վ՟ս այսորիկ լուծանեմք երեկորի շաբաթու զպահսն, և տօնեմք ի վաղիւ կիւրակէին, ՟ո ի վաղ առաւօտուն յարուցելոյ ք՟ի: Իսկ թէ և ասիցի ի խոր երեկորին յարութ՟ե՟ գործիլ խորհուրդ, այլ խոր երեկոյն, և առաւօտն վաղ, ի մի և ի նոյն ընթանան ժ՟մկ: Արդ՝ կատարել առաջնոյդ ձերոյ բարեփառ հիւպ՟տ՟ւն, յամի հարիւր երորդի յիննն և ի տասն երորդի, ի դիոկղետիանոսէ, յայնմանէ առեալ շարադրեցաք, զկնի, ՟ձ՟, և ՟ժ ամեայ ժ՟մկի զթիւն լուսնի, նշանակել նրբա՟պ և ստուգիւ զլուսնի զպարագայութ՟ի՟ն, ը՟ս իւրքնչիւր ամի, և զօրն յորում մատնեցաւ ք՟ս, զչորեքտասան երորդն ասեմ, նա և զյարութ՟ե՟ ն՟ր օրն, ՟յ՟ս. զկիւրակէն: ՟է՟զի յարեաւ ի մեռելոց՝ ամենեցունց փրկիչն, ի խոր գիշերին յերեկոյի շաբաթուն, ՟յ՟ս, ի վաղ առաւօտուն ի լուսանալ կիւրակէին. ը՟ս սրբոյ աւետարանչացն հաւաստոյ: Բայց վ՟ս զի պիտոյ էր զինն և տասն երեկին շրջագայութ՟ի՟ն կ՟տրլ գրել. շարակարգու-

թէ, հարկաւորապ, յառաջնում ձեր բարեփառ հիպա-տուէդ, որ եղև ի հարիւր որդի, ինն և տասն երորդի ամի դիոկղիտիանոսի, յառաջագոյն եդաք ամօք չորիւք: զի թուով ո̃չ զկնի նորին, հարիւր և տասն ամացն, ոչ պարտ գոլ բերել, բայց գրեալ միայն: վ̃րյ ո̃ ասացի ինն և տասն երեկին շրջագայ՝ բոլոր երևիլ ի կանոնին, զի իւրքն̃չ իւր կանոն ինն և տասն ամաց շրջագայութ̃ի ունի:

ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿԱՐԱՆ ԹԱՐԳՄԱՆՉԻՆ

Ի վեց հազար երորդի, երկերիւր երորդի, քսան եր-որդի, չորրորդի ամի արարածոց Ցխս, ը̃ յունարէն թվոյ: ի չորեք տասան երորդի, ենդիք տիոնի, յերկ̃րորդ ամի թ̃գրուէն անաստասի, թարգմանեցան գիրքս պարապ-մանց և թղթոց սրբոյն կիւրղի երջանիկին աղէքսանդրի, ի սորայ օրինակաց ի կոստանդինու պօլսի ի ձեռն դ̃ւթի հիւպատոսի, և թ̃գրա̃կն սեղանոյ կենսաւսի: Եւ ի ձեռն ստեփանոսի քերթողի աշակերտի մովսէսի սիւնեաց եպսի: Արդ՝ մաղթեմ ա̃ծասէր պաշտօնէսդ սրբոյ սեղանոյ. որք առնոյք օրինակ յայսմանէ: Գրեսջիք և զբանս զայսոսիկ, առ ի յիշատակ բարեխօսութ̃ե առ ք̃ս, զի գրեալ եղիջիք և դուք ի դպրութեան կենաց:

Ի. 95, 3 Թէ զիարդ խմ. քն̅] յաղագս մարդանալոյ միածնին 1 – 5 զէութե̅ 1, 2: զէութի̅ 3 – իցին 1 – 7 եղով 1 – 9 օծումն – 10 անուանիլ օծեալս 1 – 14 om pr ի 1, 3 – 15 օրինականաւ 3 – 18 այնպիսոյն 1, 3 որպէս ինչ և եղեալ 3 – 19 թագաւորին – 22 ձեռանէ 1, 3 – նորա և էր այրն կռ. և ան. 3 – 23 օծելոյն 1: օծանելոյն 2, 3 – 25 առ ի յա̅յ հզ. 1, 3 – տիրել 1

Ի. 96, 2 ազգ – 5 եղեալ 1 – արժանաւորիլ – 9 հաւրըստացի ստացեալ 1 – om և վերստին... սրբութը̅ 2, 3 – 12 որդին 3 – 14 ցնծութը̅ 3 mg: ուրախութը̅ 1, 2, 3 – առաւել քան զընկերս քո add mg 1 – մեղութէ̈ն 1, 3 – 19 om եղեալ 3 – 19 lege ի մեզ – գրեալ իսկ է 3 – կերպի օծանի 1 – 22 մարմնոյ իսկ 2, 3 – իւրովն 2 – հոգով om 1, 2, 3 (add mg 2, 3) – 25 զգաւակէն 3 – հարկեալ 1

Ի. 97, 1 եղև] add ինքն mg pr m 2 – ըստ մեզ 1 – մարդկայնովն in մարդանալովն refinxit pr m 1 – 2 ո̅պ ա̅ծ – 3 om որ 1 – 4 post այլ om և 2, 3 – 6 առիցի 1 – 7 om զառ ի 1 – զա̅յ բանն 1 – 9 tr թէ և 2, 3: om և 1 – համճարոյ իւրոյ 1 – 12 ցորժամ՛ 3 – եկն ա̅ծ ը̅ – 16 զչև 3 – ես] lege ևս – եղեալն 3 – 22 նշանակեն 2, 3 – 23 օծաւ 1 – 25 օծանէ իսկ 3 – lege ինքն –

Ի. 98, 2 լուսցէ] դադարեսցէ 1 – 5 մտածութեց 1 – 17 մովսիսի ասի ժող. 1 – 18 ժողովուրդն 1 – 21 tr զնա անուանել – 23 եկն 3 – 25 om էաք – խաչն 1, 3 – 26 որ և 3 – 29 ածել ինձ այսր և ձայնի իմում լուիցեն: 1 – 32 բանն ա̅յ —

Ի. 99, 6 om սահմանի 1 – 10 ո̅ր յերկնից 1 – 11 ընդ բանին – 11 om և ման. 1 – 13 ա̅յ հօր ծնեալ բանն 1 – վերուստ է 1, 3 – բայց] և 1 – 18 յաշխարհէ –

19 պյսուհկ 2, 3 – 20 զաշխարհս ա̃պ – 21 զաստցեալն
2, 3 – 27. Զի] lege Լի: tr լի post գոլով 1 – ընու-
թեն 1, 2 – 28 բանն ա̃ծ 1 – 31 զիջումն 3: զիջանելն
1 —

ի. 100, 1 ծնաւղն իւր 1 – ախտ ինչ & om ըստ 1
– 2 սովորութե̃ ա̃պ առ մեզ սովորութե̃ ընդունակ: և
յորժամ եղև մ. յ̃թ մարդ ասէ մարգարէն հեղից յոգ-
ւոյ իմ ի վ̃ր ա̃մ մ. և բոլորովին զմարդկութեն 1 – 4
իւրացոյց 1 – այս է 2, 3 – 4 այս է 2, 3 – 8 կենդա-
նագործիլ 1 – 9 om որ և 1 – 16 ի նմանէ] նովաւ 1
– 17 pr և om 3 – մի է ա̃ր 1 – նովաւ] ի նմանէ 1 –
21 կոչեսցես 1 – 24 երանելի ա̃րնիչն 1, 3 – 25 ձայնն
ճշմարտութե̃ 1 – 26 զատ ի յ̃ոյ] ա̃ծ 1 – 27 յերկուց 1 –
28 հօրէ ո̃յ 1 – 30 ծնեալ 1, 3 – 31 է] om 3: էր 1
– 32 պարտն է 3 —

ի. 101, 2 թէպէտ և այլք 1 – 3 tr ք̃ն յ̃ն 1 – 5
մերձաւորապէս 1, 3 – 6 երևեալ] եղեալ 3 – 10 ո̃յ] ա̃ծ
1 – 16 յաւիտենականին 1 – 19 պարտ էր լինել 1 –
20 ի վերէ 1, 2 – 22 om և 1 – 23, 24 tr սա post
յետ & om նաւեա́ 1 – 25 անուանի 1 – 28 փախճանի
3 – 30 om նա 1, 3 – 31 իսկ, է ի վեր 3 – 32 զմիու-
թ̃ին 1 —

ի. 102, 1 միաւորութ̃էն 1 – 3 ի միմեանց 1 – 4 ե-
դեալ 1 – 5 միաւորիլ 3: միաւորել 1 – և ընդ 1, 3 –
զկց. 1 – 9 & 15 մտածութ̃ի 3 – միաւորութե̃ն 1 – 11
ամենևին 1, 3 – 12 ինչ ոչ 1 – 15 զըմբռնումն 1, 3 –
17 և փոքունս 3 – 18 om pr և 1, 3 – 21 զմիաւորու-
թ̃ին 1, 3 – 22 որպիսի ոք & om ոք infra 1 – 23 ուն-
ելով 1 – 24 որ և 1, 3 – 25 նորայոցն 1, 3 – 29 հա-
մարեալ լինի 1, 3 – 30 և թէպէտ հարկ. 1 – om ընդ
1 – 31 lege որով – զգեսցի] զենցի́ 3 – չարչարակից 1
– 32 ա̃պ և 3 —

ի. 103, 6 առել 1, 3 – 7 ոչ ի & om է 3 – 8 չարչարեալ և ինքն 3 – 12 միաւորութիւն 3 – 15 յերկոցունցն 1, 3 – 19 մարմնոյ էր 1, 2 – 21 ա͞ծայ. 1, 3 – ներգործութիւն 1, 3 – 22 lege զմեռեալս – 25 զյեղանակ 1 – 28 tr առէ առ խ 3 – 29 om pr ունէր 1 – զոր առեալ ունելեօք 1, 3 – 30 առէր 1 – 30 lege այս – 32 մաքրեցէ mg 1: in textu սրբեցէ 1, & add ի քէն 1, 3

ի. 104, 5 ա͞յ 1 – 6 om ի 1, 3 – փոխադրեալ 1, 3 – 7 մերձանա 1, 3 – 12 իմացիս 1, 3 – 13 էրն 1, 3 – 14 pr և tr post ինչ 3 – 16 անմարմին om 1: անմարմնոյ 3 – 17 ա͞ծութիւն 3 – 20 om է և խորհուրդ 3 – 21 յերգոյ 1: յերգս 3 – 26 է հատն 1, 3 – 28 գերունազարդ 1 – 30 lege մարմին – 31 ճանաչել] լինել 3

ի. 105, 2 ծաղիկն 1, 3 – 10 lege զերկայն. – 15 զա͞ծայնոյն 1 – 16 զվերադրյութիւն ubi վ et ոյ sup lin 1 – 19 կուսէպ. 1, 3 – 21 զօծանիլն 1, 3 – 22 գոլ 1 – 23 om ը͞ր գոյացութիւքն 3 – 25 tr ի բաց եկաց 3: om ի բաց 1 – 26 lege զի —

ի. 106, 4 tr զի և 1, 3 – 10 անխլփառ. 3 – 11 մարմնով 1, 3 – 17 lege խոստովանեալ – 18 սաղմաէ և 1 – 22 lege ը͞ր չնորհի – lege խոստրմամբ – 23 ո յա͞ծ 3: ո ա͞ծ 1 – 25 om եղեալ – բանն ի 1: բանի 3 – 26 բացադրութի & om ի 1 – 28 այս որպէս և 3: այսպէս որ և 1 – 31 մարդկանալ 3

ի. 107, 2 զմարմնովն 3 – 5 մեղացն 3 – 6 իհաղբս 3 – 13 գոլ] գալ mg m rc 3 – 21 tr զկոր. կամ. 1: om կամ. 3 – զիջանելով 1 – 25 զընուլթիւն 3 – 29 պարտէր նմա որ 1 – 30 քանզի ո] զոր աւրինակ 1 —

ի. 108, 3 և եղև 3 – 5 om այժմ 1 – ա͞յ էր 1 – 10 tr զնա ա͞ծ 3 – բարձ.] փառաւորեաց 1 – 19 այս-

պխսի 1, 3 – 22 *ունայնացեալ*] *խոնարհեցուցանել* 1, 3 – 23 *այս էր* 1: *այսն էր* 3 – *բնութե̃* 1, 3 – 24 om *ինչ* 1, 3 – 24 *ունայնացեալ* 3 – 29 om *որով* 1 – *մեզն* 3 – *նմանութե̃ն* 1, 3 – 30 om *և կատարեալ* 1 – 31 *ա̃ծայնոյ գերունակութե̃* 1 —

ի. 109, 3 *յա̃ծութե̃ն* 1, 3 – 4 *լին* 3 – 5 *մարդկութե̃ն* 1, 3 – 5 *գոլ* 3 – 9 *յերկրպագի* 1 & 3 m rc – *ը̃ որդւոյ* 3 – 10, 11 *այլ... հարկանէ* om 1, 3 – 12 *ը̃ ա̃մի* 3 – *նմանիլ* 1 – *զզաւակէն* 1, 3 – 15 *նմա* 1, 3 – 16 *ա̃ծութե̃ն* 1, 3 – om *վե̃* 1, 3 – 16 *հաղորդեացին* 1, 3 – 17 post *ինքն* tr *մերձաւորութբ̃* & om *մահ. իւրով* 1, 3 – 19 *ունողին* 1: *ունօղն* 3 – *բանսարկուն* 1, 3 – 20 *մահուն երկիւղին* 3 – *ծառայութե̃ն* 3 – 22 *մերձաւորութբ̃ մեզ կցորդ եղև* 1, 3 – *իւր*] *իրն* 1, 3 – 24 *գրէ* 3: *գրեալ և* 1 – om *եթէ* 1, 3 – *որ* sup lin rc m 3 & in textu *քանզի* – 25 *որով տկար* 3 – 26 om *որով* 3 & add *և* 1, 3 – *դատապարտեաց* 3 – om *իւրում* 1, 3 – 28 *յա̃ծութի̃ն* 1, 3 – 29 *պատիւ* 1, 3 – tr *յաւէտ ա̃ծ* 1, 3 – 31 *իջոյց*] *խոնարհեցոյց* 1 —

ի. 110, 1 *ք̃ս ասի մարդ եղեալ* 1, 3 – 4: *զի ինքն*] *զինքն* 1, 3 – 6 om *իջեալ ի յերկնից* 1 – *չարչարեցաւ խաչեցաւ* 1 – om *և* – 8 *քննել և* 1, 3 – 10 *ո̃*] *ը̃* 3 – 12 *զորդիութե̃ն* 1, 3 – *զհոմանունութե̃* 3 – 13 *անփոփոխութբ̃* 1 – 15 om *յորում եղեն* & add *որով եղև* post *արեան* 1 – 17 om *և* bis 1, 3 – 18 om *և* bis – 24 *հետևեցերոց* 3 —

ի. 111, 2 *յայլում է ք̃ի ի մարդ միայնոյ* 1 – 4 *քան* om 1, 3 – 7 *հոգւոց իսկ*: 3 – 8 *բնակեալ* 1: *զբնակեալն* 3 – 11 lege *մարդիկ* – *զմարդ զմինն զիարդ ոչ է առանց ը̃դատանաց ա̃միւ* 1 – 12 *բնակիլ* 1, 3 – 14 *այլազգ* 1 – *փոխիլ* 3: *փոխեալ* 1 – 19 *բնակիլ* 1: *բնակել* 3 – 20 *յերկուս զմիութի̃ն յընթացակցութենէն* 1

– 21 միաւորեցելոցն 1, 3 – 26 նշանակէ 1, 3 – թէպէտ 1, 3 – 27 om մեր 1, 3 – 28 tr ոք առիցէ 3: m ոք 1 – 29 բնակեալ 3: բնակել 1 —

ի. 112, 3 tr հարկ. տես. 1, 3 – 7 տնօրէնութ̅են 1, 3 – 14 lege ապա ուրեմն – 16 ը̅] բառ 1 – 17 tr և ոչ շնորհի և ոչ իմ: 3 – 18 om և 1, 3 – 19 զորս ինչ և իցեն 3 – 21 ինքն... յոյժ] հաւատացի և իւր 1 – 24 om թանձրացուցին 3 – 27 ածեալ զտնօրէնութ̅ին 1, 3 – 28 բնութ̅են 1, 3 – 30 յա̅յ 3: օգնեա... իմ] om ceteri —

ի. 113, 1 & 2 om ceteri – 3 ցսրբազանն 1, 3 – 4 և ի կխոյ 3 – 5 զլայնութ̅ին 1, 3 – 11 tr ա̅յ բանն 1 – յիւր փառսն 3 – 12 գերունակութ̅են 1, 3 – թէպէտ և 1, 3 – 14 post զմեզ add առելոյն 3 – 15 որդեակք իմ 3 – մեղիցէք 1 – 16 մեղանչէ 3 – 17 զորս 1, 3 – 21 անքթթաբար 1, 3 – 22 պշուցեալ հայել 3 – հայլին 3 – 23 զօրացն 1 – զա̅ծատես. 3 —

ի. 114, 3 om և 1, 3 – այդ որ 1, 3, – 4 և նա ասէ՝ դաւ. 3 – գետին] և ընկեց զնա ի գետին 1, 3 – 8, 9 om և ասէ՝ այդ նշ. եղ. քեզ 1 – 13 որդւոյ 1, 3 – 14 tr ասէ աթոռ քո 1, 3 – 18 մերոյ 1, 3 – յայտ իսկ է քանզի 3 – 19 եղիցիս 1 – 22 ապականեսցէ] խափանեսցէ 1 – զխածմունսն 1: զխածանմունս 3 – 24 հաւատայ 3 – 25 յա̅նկս 1, 3 – 28 նմանուք̅ 1, 3 – 30 թունաւոր 1: թոյնաւոր 3 —

ի. 115, 6 ձեռինն 1, 3 – 8 մարմնոյն 3 – 9 om տ̅ր 3 – 13 post ա̅յ om և 1 – 17 զի ի ծոյն մովսիսի 1, 3 – 19 բորոտեցաւ 1 – 21 երևէր 3 – 22 om որ ի նըմանէ 1 – 23 վ̅ս զի] յորժամ 1 – 25 մարդանայն, եղև նման. 3 – 26 զոր] զի և 1 – 27 post եղիցուք add նովաւ & om infra 3 – 30 om հօր, 3 – 31 ելեալ դ̅ձլ և ձ. 3 – 32 post ք̅ս add մաքրութ̅ & om infra 1

Ի. 116, 6 իմացի] add զճշմարտութ̄ե խոստովանեալ 1 – 7 ընդ բանին 3 – 9 բանն ա̄յ 1, 3 – 12 om ոչ 1, 3 – 15 pr և om 1, 3 – է om 3 – 36 pr և] կամ 3 – 27 մի] ոչ 3 – 29 ո̄ ը̄ մեզ հայր 1, 3 – 32 անդրէն 13 —

Ի. 117, 2 որով] և 1 – 9 զը̄] ըստ 1 – 11 post յաւէտ add զի 1, 3 – 12 զօրս և բարւոքն 3 – 14 post եղև add մարդ 1, 3 – 16 ո̄պ և զայլսն կատարեալ 3 – 32 om և 3 —

Ի. 118, 3 որք] բնակեալ 1 – 5 եղեն 3 – 10 հասարակաց 1, 3 – 12 վ̄րյ] վ̄ այնորիկ 3: om 1 – 12 post ա̄ծ և add մարդ 3 – առաքելականք 1, 3 – 14 om որ ante այլոց 3 – 18 om զոր 3 – post զիա̊րդ է add նա 3: զի արդէն 1 – 20 post խորհրդոյն add ա̄յ և ք̄ի 3 – կամ զիարդ 1 – 24 տաղտ՚կացեալք 1 – 25 մեծութ̄ի 1 —

Ի. 119, 5 և բան 1 – 14 om ձեզ 3 – 17 ճշմարտապէս 1 – 26 om և 3

Ի. 120, 2 post զայլսն add ամենեսին 3 – 4 որով և 3 – 5 հրէից 1, 3 – 7 վ̄ր ա̄մի 3 – 10 և զտիտոս 1, 3 – 12 ընթացայ կամ ընթանայցեմ 1, 3 – 14 post ուրեք add ա̄միք 3 – 15 om ը̄ 1, 3 – 31 կրէր] էր 1 – 32 մարդ էր 1 —

Ի. 121, 7 հրեշտակք 1, 3 – համօրէն հայր 3 – 24 վերաբերել ոչ զօրս 3 – 28 om և 1, 3 – 29 om և 1, 3 —

Ի. 122, 1 այլ և 3 – 9 գրէր 3 – 11 առաւել սաստիկ 3 – 12 զայն որ 3 – 24 իԱ] գլուխ Ի̄Գ 3 – 28 զայնս 3 – 29 ընդունակ է 1 – 31 թերևս կամ 1, 3 —

Ի. 123, 6 կենդանոյ 1, 3 – 7 հոգւոյն 3 – 15 լինել] ելեալ 3 – 24 lege ոչ – 30 և նոյն 3 – 32 tr յաւէտ post տայր 1, 3 —

Ի. 124, 2 ասեմ 1, 3 – 5 om ասէ 1, 3 – 7 էրն 1, 3 – ընակեալց 3 – 23 կալմամբ] apud mg ո՟պ ի ս՟բն խնամօք կալեալ իւր 3 – 32 Նուազիմ 1, 3

Ի. 125, 5 lege եղեալ – զբանն 3 – 10 pr և om 3 – tr Նմա են 3 – 12 om և 1, 3 – 15 ըստ ճշմարտու-թե՟ն գիծաւորական 3 – 20 գնայ 3 – 21 om ուր 1, 3 – ուր զա՟մն 3 – 25 փրկչէն մերմէ 3: om մեր 1 – յէ՟ ք՟է 3 – 26 ուստի] ո՟պ զի 3: om 1 – կոչմանն 1, 3 – 29 որով ա՟ծ 3 – 30 ինչ է ո՟ 3 —

Ի. 126, 11 իմացուք 3 – om ո՟ք 3 – զկոյսն 3 – 18 om որով 3 – 19 ա՟ծ է 3 – 24 գոլով] գոլ 1 & mg 3 —

Ի. 127, 4 lege յաղագս – 5 յո՟չ] զի նախ 3 – 18 առնեն 3 – 26 ասելն 3 – յանդգնէր զմարմին զայս 1, 3 —

Ի. 128, 14 յայտ է] add զի 3 – 17 ասիցի 3: ասացի 1 – 19 և մը՟նլ 3 – om էր 3 – post միայն add զի 3 – 22 գիտասցուք] լուիցուք 1: ասասցուք 3 – 25 ծնեալ 1: ծնեալն 3 – 26 եմմանուէլ 1, 3 – 27 ճշմարիտ որ 3: ճշմարտութե՟ք & om զոր 1 – 32 incipit de novo collatio sodicis 2

Ի. 129, 2 կոչեցաւ 2, 3 – 5 երկրի ed – 6 ծնաւ 1 – 7 Հան: Հօր 2 – lege մեծի – 11 ante ա՟յ om ք՟ս 2, 3 – 12 որով և ի ed: որ և 1 – 13 զաշխարհս 1, 2 – 16 որդի 2, 3 – om միածին 2 – 18 ասաց 1: ասէ իսկ 2, 3 – ընկալցի] ընդունի 2, 3 – 22 incipit caput է՟ cod 3 – 21 այլ յայն որ առաքեացն զիս 2 – 26 lege յամենեցունց – 27 անունն] 2, 3 add scholion կոչեսցէ (կոչեայ 2) անուն նոր զոր ո՟ր անուանեսցէ —

Ի. 130, 1 կոյսն 1, 2 – 5 post եղիցի om ի 1 – 7 սքանչանայ 1, 3 – 11 յիւրմն 2, 3 – om pr զի 2, 3 – 14 lege զի – 22 արտևանաց իմոց 1, 3 – 24 om յետ 3 – 25 զանեղին 1, 3 – 32 զՏս ք՟ս կոյսն & om ո՟ք – անուա-նէր 1: անուանեաց 3 —

Ի. 131, 4 իշխանան, ջ̃ զ̃բ Հրեշտական 2, 3 – 8 tr ասէ ante տ̃ր 2 – 9 կենդանեաց 1, 2 – 11 զողորմու-թ̃ե – 13 ծնեալ 2 – 34 ante ն̃բ add պատուական – 16 դարձեալ ի յաւ. 1, 3 – 12 & 18 կենդանեաց 2 – 19 բարձրացուցանէք – 20 անուանելով 1, 2 – 21 post ընթանայ tr գալ 1, 2 – 26 արդ զիա՞րդ 2 – 27 incipit caput լ̃գ cod 3 – 31 om զի 3 —

Ի. 132, 4 զատէն 1, 3 – 7 հանդիպիլ 2: հանդիպել 1 – lege հանդերձեալք – 8 արարեալ – 9 և զայն 2, 3 – 13 որ է եմանուէլն 3 – 13 – զի և նկար: 1: և է նկար 2, 3 – 15 ա̃յ և հօր – 17 om եւ 2 – 18 tr հաւ. ասելովն սրբ. գիր 1, 3 – 19 և ասէ 2, 3 – 20 մնաւ-ցես] բնակեսցես – 21 om քո 3 – 22 om և 3 – 23 post անցոյց add յակոմբ – 30 յաւիտենական – 31 om զիարդ 3: om արդ 1 – 32 տեսանել – ասէ 1: ասելով 2, 3

Ի. 133, 4 մարդկութ̃ե – 10 և զիա՞րդ 3 – 12 ըստ այլ և այլ 3 – ասելով և 3 – 15 նախկի 2, 3 – 16 pr և om 1, 3 – 17 թէ և յարեաւ 3 – 18 post պետրոս add գրէ 1: add ասէ 2 – 30 կրէն 2, 3 – 32 ք̃ի om 1: յ̃ի ք̃ի 2, 3 —

Ի. 134, 1 չարչարանաց 2, 3 – 2 մնացեալ 2, 3 – 5 յ̃իէլ են 1: յէլն են 2, 3 – 6 om ձեռաց 2, 3 – 8 ա-սեմք 2 – om բանի 1 – 14 այսու] այս է 3 – 14 կրեալ ասի զոր 2, 3 – om և ante ը̃ – 17 մարթ] պարտ 1, 3 – 18 մաքրեցելոցն 3 – 21 մկրտեցէ 2, 3 – 24 ա-սէ] առնէ 1 – 29 հաւուց երկոցունց 3 —

Ի. 135, – 1 թռչնոյ 3 – 3 ի սրբոյ կուսէն 2, 3 – 7 իջեալ ասէր 2, 3 – 9 միանգամայն 3 – 11 յարեան 2, 3 – 13 չարչարանան 3 – կենդանի է 2 – 16 ին̃քն – 18 այլ դասել 3 – 19 տալ թոյլ 1, 3 – 20 ասիցի մեզ գոր-ծել ինչ 1, 2: om մեզ 3 – ոչ ըստ իւիք – 21 մինչ] զինչ

1, 2։ ի՞նչ 3 – 23 կոչէ 2, 3։ կոչի 1 – 26 ա̅ծ։ քանզի և գրեալ է 2, 3

ի· 136, 2 ո̅] և 1 – 5 pr և om 1, 2 – tr բազում եղբ. անդր 2, 3 – 6 om 1 – 8 post հօրէ add ա̅ծ sup vs vet man 2 – 9 որ և սրբէ 2, 3 – մերձենան – 11 և մկրտէ և 2 – 12 tr այսպէս և 2, 3 – խակ և 2 – 15 pr այս om 3 – 19 մ̅ղ, և անչ. 2, 3 – 20 երկիր պա-գանէք 2, 3 – 29 սսեմ 3 – 30 լի էր 3 – 30 tr մարմն. և մ̅ղացեալ – 31 բանն ա̅յ 1, 2 —

ի· 137, 3 զխորհուրդ 2, 3 – 5 post հեռի add է 2։ add էր 1 – 7 om է 2, 3 – 9 եղեն 2, 3 – 10 tr որդ-ւոյ երկրպ. 2, 3 – post կոյրն add և 2, 3 – 11 ա̅յ| յի̅ – 21 այլ| արդ 2 – 22 ածեմք ի վերայ զհատ. – 25 om ո̅պ 4։ add ceteri – 25 սախցէ – կերակրակից – 27 յայտնումն| կանգնումն 2, 3 & Edition – 31 երկայն – 33 փայել om 3 – օգնեա ո̅ր om ceteri

ի· 138, 1 incipit caput ԼԴ cod 3 – միածնի 3 – երէք| եռս 2, 3 – 5 գեղեցկութի̅ 3 – tr չահ. եղ. ճշմ. գեղ. 2 – 6 եղեալ 1։ del vult-ք 2 – 7 ի՞նքեանցն 2, 3։ ին-քեանց 1 – բարի ոք 3 – արկանել 1, 2 – 8 tr քննել յաւէտ 1։ om քննել 3 & pr m 2 – 8, 9 զսրբագ. գրոց 1, 2 – 9 գիտումն 2, 3 – 13 բանն 2 – զոր և որով 3 – 14 վ̅ն մեր և վ̅ն մերոյ փրկ. 3 – 15 ի՞նեալ մարմնացաւ մարդացաւ, ծնաւ կատարելապէս ի ս̅բ̅յ կու-սէն, չարչարեցաւ և յարեաւ եւ. եւ յերկինս, և դարձեալ գայ 2, 3 – 17 հանճար 3 – 20 փայլակեալ 3 – 21 զճշմա-րիտ| զճշմարտութե̅ն – 23 զոր| որ է 2, 3 – 24 post չար-չարեալ add վասն մեր 1, 2 – om մարմնովն 3 – tr որ և 2, 3 – 26 բնութե̅ն 1, 2 – 27 ծնեալ 2, 3 – 28 սսէ 3 – 29 ա̅յ հօր – 30 պարգևիլ 2, 3 – 32 pr և| թէ 2, 3 – չարչարեալ 2, 3

ի· 139, 1 pr և om 2, 3 – 10 և խաչի համբերեաց

2, 3 – 11 որ ի Հրէից 2 – 14 om ա՟մ 3 – tr արարիչ եթեւ. և աներև 3. om արարիչ 2 – 15 և ի մի 3 – յորդի 1, 3 – 18 ո՟] որ 3 – 19 իւրութե՟] իւր բնութե՟ 3 – post մ՟ը՟կօրէն add նմա – 20 բնութբ՟ – 22 tr էր իւր 3 – 23 անմեղադրելի 1, 2 – 26 այլ] բայց – 27 ասեաք ex corr vet m; ասեմք 3 & pr m 2 – 28 կամ բստ vet m 2 – 32 որ և եղեն 2 —

ի. 140, 5 քանզի] զ՟պ 1 – 11 pr և om 2, 3 – 15 զոր ը՟ 2 – 19 զօրութ՟ – մարդանալ 2, 3 – յեղանակ] բանին – 24 յա՟ծութ՟ին 2 – 24 om ոչ 1 & pr m 2: ինչ ոչ 3 & m rc 2 – 28 սրբ՟ց մարգարէից —

141, 1 կաթսայս 1, 3 – om և 3 6 ծերացեալ ես 1, 2 – 7 կարգեա] կացոյ 3 – 13 խոստանայ 2 – 16 զբարեպաշտութ՟ին յեղանակաւն corr m vet 2 – ասէ in mg 2: բարին արարին 1, 2 – և որով 2 – 19 ante ահա om և 1, 2 – 19 ճանաչիւր 2 – 22 որոց 1: զորոց 2, 3 – 25 ասենն 2 – 28 ոչ է ա՟ծ 3 – եմմանուէլն 2, 3 – 30 յայլոցն 1, 2 – 31 om բստ 2, 3 —

ի. 142, 2 ո՟ և ասէ 2, 3 – 3 նստիցի 2 – om միայն 1, 3 – 5 այս] ա՟ռ 1: om 3 – 8 զա՟ծ 2 – 11 թէ և եղև – 15 խոստովանիմ 2 – om դարձեալ 3 – 17 զբնութ՟եան 2, 3 – 20 ծնեալ եմմանուէլն 3 – 24 ք՟ս՟լ] add այլ մարգարէ ասէ 2, 3 – 25 post իմ add ասքա հայեցան և դարձեալ ետուն 1 – 26 om ինձ 2, 3 – 27 հեռեեցուցանեմք 1, 2 – 29 վիրաւ. նա վ՟ո 2

ի. 143, 2 զչարչարանսն 2, 3 – բարեպաշտք 2, 3 – ա՟յ հօր 3

ի. 143, 15 om ի կեանս առն 1 – 18 lege ա՟հլդ – 22 apud mg ը՟ծ թէ գերազոյն ես դու 3 – 25 տեսութե՟ և որ ի գծ. 1 – միշտ երևի 2, 3: միշտ տէր sed delet տեր m pr 1 – 26 post յոլովակի add որքան ինչ 2: add որք ինչ 3 – 30 պքանչացմամբ 2, 3 —

Ի․ 144, 5 բարուցն 2, 3 – 6 apud mg յծ զթղն առէ զի գրեալ գիր դատաստանաց և եա զայն օրէնս աշխարհին – 7 om ոչ 1, 3 – ենն 2, 3 – 8 ուղղիլ 2: ուղիղ 3 – 9 om և 2 – om օրէնս 2, 3․ apud mg զօրէնս առէ գրեալ ի թղէ 2, 3, 4 – 10 որով 3 – 13 հովուացն 1, 3 – 17 երկրիս 1 – 18 գեղեցկանայ իսկ: ունելով 1 – այսպ կամս & om և 3 – 21 յառաջ քան 1 – 22 յետ-նիս 1 – 23 om զոր 1 – նր որ ի ձ․ 1, 3 – 25 ante ջ add և 1 – 27 խափանեաց 3 – 27 զմ՛րմնոյս| զմար-գոյս 1, 3 – 28 մահ apud mg 3 – 30 ափ| անուանի 1: om 3 —

Ի․ 145, 3 մեռան 1: մեռանէին 3 – 5 զի որ| զիւր 1 – մարմնոյն 1, 3 – om և 3 – 6 եղև| add և կենդա-նութե մեռելոց 2, 3 – 7 որոց – եմք զիրկ․ rc m corr 2 – 9 զմիայն 3 – 11 կարօղ| չարուեալ 1 – 12 ի խնամելոյ 2, 3 – 14 մանուկն զմահ| զենումն մանուկն 1 – 16 և մերոյն| ի միոյն 1: ի մերոյն 2 – 17 պարտ մահու-յինքն 1 – 18 om նա 1 – ն՛ ասաց իսայի & om մգրէն 20 om մեք 1 – նախատպեաց – մեզ մախէս 1 – 23 երկուց 2, 3 – համատեսակ 1, 3 – 25 իմէք| իրիք 1, 2 – 25 վիճակ 1 – 26 իջելոյ| ձգելոյ 1: իջեցելոյ 2, 3 – քա-հանայիցն – om ձեռս 1: ձեռաց 2, 3 – որոյ ան․ տր| և հանդիպ էր տնն 1 – 28 անուանեցաւ 1 – 29 om ի 1 – զենումն 1 – 30 կրեալն 3 – 31 om pr և 1, 3 – արտաքս 1 – om ընկեցեալք ի 1 – մահուան և ապակա-նութե —

Ի․ 146, 1 վիճակաւ 1 – զզենումն 2, 3 – 2 ի ժողո-վել 1 – 3 և աւեն 3 – 5 ante առէ om ‘:, 2 – 6 om ինչ 1 – om և ոչ զմ․ ած․ 1 – թէ միոյ առն մեռանել վն 1 – 8 վճիռ մահուն հատանիւր 3 – 10 և հաւա-տի| դարձեալ հաւատարմացի 1 – 11 որ 2 – 16 զմահ վերադոյն 1 – զորս նովաւ կնքէին 1 – 17 om ուրեմն

1 – 19 կատարիւր] նմանապէս և 1 – 22 om ասեմ 1 – նորոց 1 – 25 իմանալ 1 – զփրկական 1 – 25 կանգ-նեաց 1 – 26 զոր 1 – 27 զբունս] զբան 1: զբմունս 2, 3 – 28 հրաշալի 1 – զզօրէնս 1 – 31 նորոց 1 – յա-ւուրց 1 – 32 լուսնին: և զի վճ ի՞նչ 1: add apud mg վճ 3 —

Ի. 147, 1 հարցն – զի ո̃] և է 1 – 2 լլմանն 12 – 3 om երևի 1 – 4 tr ի ante լլման 1: om 2, 3 – 5 ի-մանալի 1 – եղեալ 1: յեղեալս 2, 3 – om ի bis 1 – յայնպիսի] յայս 1 – ո̃ր 12 – 5 տօնս 1 – 6 om ի 1, 3 – 8 զգենուլ – արեգական 2: արեգակնն 2 – մանաւանդ է նմանեցուցանել – 9 յղ̃ս] վճ 1 – 10 անուան 12 – 12 և ա̃ 1 – 14 զիմանալին և գերապ. 1 – խորհրդա-ծութեան 2 – 15 հրեշտական 1: հրեշտակային 2 – 16 քարոզութեն 1 – ոչ pr m & subst corr միա 2, 3 – 17 յիմանալի 1 – ժ̃կի] յեղանակի 1 – om: եւ 1 – 18 գառինն – om երորդ 1 – աւուրն 1, 3: in mg 2 լ̃ծ երրայեցւոցն չորեքտասանն ըստ ամսոյն էր և ոչ ըստ լու-սին: իսկ մեք ը̃ լուսնին չորեքտասանին և ոչ ը̃ ամսոյն – 20 լուսնին 1, 2 – 21 դարձցի 1 – սկզբն 3 – 22 ա-մենսին 1 – 23 մարմնոյ 1 – քն̃. է օր. 1 – իմն է առ 2, 3 – 24 պաշտաման պէտք 1 – 25 զիջանել 1 – թոյլ ետ յաղ.] փոյթ ետ edit – յաղքատութեն 1 – 26 թէ է – 27 երգուին 1 – 28 om և 2, 3 – 28 կատարեսցի] բարձցի – 29 լուսինն 1 – քան զի ոչ բառնայր 1 – 30 աւետարականին 1 – 31 բարձաւ 1 —

Ի. 148, 2 և ամին om 1 – իմաստունն 1 – 7 յեղա-նակն 1 – 10 երորդ լուսնի մի յերկ. 1 – om ոչ 2 – 11 առաջնում 1 – 12 ամսոյն 1 – սրբապէս 1 – 13 յրժ̃մ] 1, 3 – 14 ամսեան 1 – tr աւուր նր̃ 1 – 15 յերկրոր-դին 1 – 19 երեկոյին 1 – յարութեն 1 – 22 առաջնոյ,

ձեր բար․ 1 - 25 *լուանին* 2։ om 1 - 28 *օր* 1 - 29 *փրկիչն* 1, 3 - 32 *կտ̅րեալ* 1 —

ի․ 149, 3 *և*] *ու* 3 - 5 *գրել* 1 - om *ո̅* 1 - 6 *և*] *ու* 3 - 6 *շրջագային երևելի* 1, 3 —

ADDITIONAL ERRATA

Line	*Page*	
1	29	*Եմ* for *եմ*
15	2	*երկնչիր*
5	27	*զաստանայ*
3	36	*որպէս*
8	58	*եմ ես*
6	125	*ա̅մ* for *ամ*
4	132	*կալայր*
25	135	*իմանի* for *ի մարմնի* cod. 1
17	146	*զաւրութ̅ի*
20	156	codicis
4	158	thus: 6 om *և* 1
30	158	thus: 29 *ա̅յ հօր* 1
2	159	*երև* for *եթև*

Collatio Codicis qui in Bibliotheca apud Etschmiadsin adservatur. Is codex in catalogo Karinian p. 126, numerum 922 habet, A. D. 1278 exaratus, itemque literis maiusculis. Cum textu Zohrapensi patres Armeni eiusdem monasterii maxima erga me benevolentia contulerunt.

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ա.

(*Թերթ* 100a). 1 *ի ձեռն որոց* – om *հնչ* – *լինելոց են* – *հրեշտակիս* – *առ յովհաննէս ծառայ իւր. Որ* — 2 *վկայեաց զբանէն* – om *և* ante *զվկայ.* – *զվկայութիւնս* – *զոր*] *որչափ* – om *որ էր... յետ այնորիկ:* — 3. *երանեալ է որ* – *և կամ որք լսիցեն զբան* – *և պահեսցեն* – *ժամանակ մատուեալ է* — (100b) *յա̃յ որ յաւիտեանս և յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս որ եկն և որ գալոցն* – *զաւրութեան* – om *որ է* – *աթոռոյ* — 5 *և յիսուսի քրիստոսի վկային* – *ի մեռելոց* — 6 *և արար զմեզ արժանի արքայութեանն* – om *թագաւորս* – om *և* ante *հօր* – om *որում* – om *այժմ և մինչ և* – om *յաւիտենից* — 7 *ազգք երկրի* – om *և տեսցեն... զնա ամենեքեան* – om *և կոծեսցեն ի վերայ նորա* — 8 *ա̃ծ, որ յաւիտեանս է* – om *որ էն՝ և որ է* – *գալոց է ա̃ր ամենակալ* — 9 *ես*] *և* — (101a) om *և* ante *հաւասարակից* – *նեղութեան*] *վշտաց* – *և արքայութեանն և բազում* — *համբերձակութեամբ* – *չէք որ* (*ի քս̃*) — *եի* [= *եւ*] *փոխ. եղէ* — *բանին ա̃յ* [= *աստուծոյ*] — *չէք քս̃ի* — 10 *հոգի սուրբ յաւուր կիւրակէի, և լուա ձայն մեծ զհետ իմ իբրև* – *չէք ես եմ... վերջին* — 11 *առ եւթն եկեղեցիսն* — *չէք որ* (*յեփեսոս*) – *ի թիւա-*

տիրա, և ի սարդիսյ և ի փիղադեղփիան և ի լաւոդի-կեայն — 12 և կամ որ խաւսերն ընդ — խս. և — չիք իմում (տեսի) — 13 չիք եւթն (ճրագարանայն) — չիք պատմու-ճան — 14 և գլուխ նորա և վարսք սպիտակ իբրև զձիւն. — և աչք նորա իբրև զբոց հրոյ — 15 ոտք նորա. պղնձոյ նմանեալ լիբանանու — p. 101b չիք ծխելոյ ի մէջ հնո-ցի — չիք զձայն — զջուրց — 16 ձեռին — չիք եղանէր — երկբերանեան եղանեւ — 17 սկիզբն փոխ. առաջին. — վախճան փխ. յետին. — 18 չիք և (ես եմ) — և ես եմ — չիք նոյն (որ մեռայ) — և ահաւասիկ կենդանի եմ — չիք այժմ և միշտ և — 19 զոր տեսեր. և որ են, և որ յա-պառնին հանդերձեալ է — չիք այս. — 20 աստեղացն — տե-սեր յաջ — և եւթն ճրագարան — և եւթն աստեղքն — եկեղեցեացն և եւթն աշտանակքն եւթն եկեղեցիք են [ուրեմն չիք են, և ճրագարանքն եւթն] — p. 102a:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Բ.

1 Անդ առ — եկեղեցիս գրէ. — չիք կարօղն — ունի զեւթն աստեղսն աջով իւրով, և շրջի ի մէջ — չիք եւթն — աշտանակին — 2 չիք քո (և զհամբերութիւն) — չիք (և զհամբերութիւն) քո. — և գիտեմ զի ոչ բառնաս — զչարն, զոր փորձեցեր զնոսա որք ասեն — առաքեալս և գտեր զնոսա սուտ 3 առաքեալս. եւ համբերեցեր — չիք և աշխատեցար — 4 և առ քեզ, — քո առաջին — 5 չիք այժմ. — չիք վաղվաղակի, — զաշտարակն — 6 Այլ փոխանակ Արդ — ատեմ — 7 Որ ունիցի — զինչ հոգին սուրբ ասէ առ 102b եկեղեցիս. որ գացի յաղթող և առաքինացեալ բարութեամբք տայց նմա — կենաց որ ի դրախտին ա̃յն իմոյ — 8 եւ ցհրեշտակն — եկեղեցոյն գրեայ — ասե որ են սկիզբն. և կատարած, որ եղև — և եկաց փոխանակ և կենդանացաւ. — 9 գիտեմ փոխ.

Ցեսի – չիք և զաղքատութիւն – քո ի մեծութիւն լիցի
զի զփորձանս և զհայհոյութիւն զոր ասեն հրեայքն լսեմ
զհամարին զինքեանս և չեն. այլ են նոքա ժողովարան
սատանայի: – 10 երկնչիր զի թէպէտ և չարչարելոց են
զքեզ: ահաւասիկ կամի սատանա զոմանս ի ձէնջ արկա-
նել ի բանդ և ի փորձութիւնս. և է ձեզ վշտանալ ա-
ւուրս – տասն պինդ կաց և լեր հաւատացեալ մինչև
ցմահ. – 11 լսելոյ լսեսցէ զինչ – եկեղեցիս, որ գացի
յաղթող. մի 103a երկիցէ յերկրորդ – 12 եւ ցհրեշ-
տակն պարգամացւոց եկեղեցոյն գրեաց. – չիք ասէ
(որ) – երկբերանեան փոխ. երկսայրի – 13 սրեալ: Գի-
տեմ որ բնակեալ ես դու որ է աթոռ սատանայի. – այլ
փոխ. և – զհաւատն – և յաւուրս յայսմ ամենայն որ
եղեւ վկա հաւատարիմ. վասն իմ որք մեռան ի ձէնջ ի
փորձեալն և ի բնակեալն սատանայի. առ ի կողմանս ի
ձէնջ: – 14 Այլ հասեալ է և առ քեզ վասն զի կա առ
քեզ – բայաղամա. որ – զգայթագղութիւնն – 103b
իղի: [= իսրայեղի] – ուտել զզոհել և պոռնկել ընդ
դստերս այլազգեացն. այսպէս – 15 ասե և դու – զվար-
դապետութիւն ի կողմանս. – չիք նիկողայեցեաց – Արդ –
16 ի բաց ապաշխարեա – գամ ես – ընդ նմա փոխ.
ընդ նոսա – բերանով իմով – 17 Որ ունի ականջս
լսեսցէ զինչ – որ գացի յաղթող տաց – նմա կերակուր
զմանանայն ծածկեալ – չիք թաքուցելոյ – նմա զգիրս –
սրբութեան. և խառնեցից զնա ի թիւ սրբոց յորում է
գրեալ անուն – չիք ի գիրն – անուն փխ. առնուն: –
18 եւ ցհրեշտակն թիւատիրացոց եկեղեցոյն գրեաց. –
են աչք իբրև – նորա նմանեալ պղնձոյ լիբանանու – չիք
ծխելոյ: Ցեսի – 104a 19 Գիտեմ դու զգործս – զհա-
ւատս, և զհաստատութիւն համբերութեան քո. զի – բա-
զում եղեն գործք քո վերջինք քան – 20 Այլ է և ասել
առ քեզ – չիք բազում – զեզաբել – ասե – ուսուցանե

զմոլութիւն ծառայից իմոց պոռնկել – 21 զզոհել. և չնոր-հեցի նմա ժամանակ ապաշխարութեան և ոչ ապաշխա-րեաց զպոռնկութեան իւր. – 22 չիք ես (արկանեմ) – ի հնոց. և զշնացողս նորայ ի նեղութիւնս մեծամեծս. և ոչ ապաշխարեսցեն ի գործոց – իւրեանց չարեաց: – 23 ես եմ որ քննեմ զսիրտս և զերիկամունս և հատուցա-նեմ իւրաքանչիւր զգործս իւր: – 104^{b} 24 Եւ փոխ. Այլ – ասեմ հաւատացելոցդ Թիւատիրացւոց. որք ոչ եք լսել զուսումն զայս, որք ոչ ծանեան զխորս – ասեն փոխ. խօսին: – 25 աւել ի ծանրութիւն. քան զոր ունիքդ և ե առ ձեզ մինչև իսպառ – 26 և որ յաղթեսցե և պա-հեսցե մինչև իսպառ զգործս իմ տաց նմա 27 և հովես-ցեն զնա – 28 չիք ես (ընկալայ) – զաստղ – 29 ականջս լսելոյ լուիցե – առ եկեղեցիսն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Գ.

1 առ հրեշտակն – ադրիացոց փոխ. սարդիացւոց – զեւթն չնորհս հոգոյն սրբոյ ա̃յ... աստեղսն. – գիտեմ փոխ. Ցեսի – 105^{a} անուն միայն ե քո եթէ կենդանի ես այլ մեռեալ ես – 2 լեր զուարթուն և լից զթերին զոր եղեր ի մտի քում յանցանել զի ոչ գտի – 3 չիք Ար-դեւք – յիշեա որպէս ընկալարն և որպէս լուար – զուար-թանաս և արտաքանաս իբրև զգողացեալն որ ոչ գիտաց 4 յորում ժամու ի վերա գայցե գողն այլ ունի սակա-ւիկ – սարդիացոց, որ – աղտեղացան հանդերձիւք – և շրջեցին ի դիս սպիտակս զի արժանի լինիցին գտանել յաղթող – չիք Որ յաղթէ – զգեցցի – 5 Սոքա առցեն հանդերձս սպիտակս. և մի ջնջեցից զանունս նոցա ի դպրութենե կենաց. և յիշեցից զանուանս նոցա առաջի – հրեշտակաց նորա. – 6 ունիցի – 105^{b} – զինչ հոգին սուրբ ասե առ եկեղեցիսն – 7 եւ առ հրեշտակ եղբայր

ասիրայ եկեղեցոյն – ճշմարիտ – զփականս դժոխոց որ բանա և ոչ ոք կարե փակել որ փակե և ոչ ոք կարէ բա-նալ գիտեմ զգործս քո ահաւադիկ ետու քեզ դուռն բացեալ. զոր ոչ ոք կարե փակել զնա. վասն զի սակաւիկ ունիս զաւրութիւն – 9 ահաւասիկ տամ ես ժողովարանին սատանաի – հրեայս և նոքա չեն հրեայք. այլ սուտ ա-սեն. ահաւասիկ արարից – ոտից իմոց – չիք և ծանի-ցեն – 10 վասն զի պահեցեր – զբանս – պահեցի – 106a փորձութեան. յորժամ գայցե յամենայն տիեզերս – զա՟մ բնակիչս – չիք յերեսս – 11 չիք Ահա – վաղվա-ղակի զաւրացի և կալ զզաւրութինդ մի ոք հանցե ի քեն զպսակդ քո: – 12 Որ դացի յաղթող արարից – իմոյ, և տաց նոցա զանուն իմ զնոր. – 13 Որ ունիցի ականջս լսելոյ լուիցե զինչ հոգին սուրբ ասե առ եկեղե-ցիս: – Եւ ցհրեշտակ զաւոդիկեցոց – չիք եկեղեցւոյն – ասե ամենավկայն – չիք հաւատարիմ – և ճշմարիտն և հաւատարիմն. և – չիք սկզբան – չիք ա՟յ: – 15 զի ոչ ջերմ ես և ոչ ցուրտ այլ գաղջ. դատեցայց զքեզ ի բե-րանոյ քումմէ: Զի – 17 մեծատուն եմ ես և մեծացայց, և ոչ իւիք փարատեմ և դու տառապեալ և ողորմելի և աղ-ջամ 18 և կոյր և մերկ: Արդ լուր ինձ և խաւսեցայց վասն քո առ գնեա... – 106b փորձել – երևեսցին ամօ-թանք մերկութեան քո և գիմ ե գիր շուփ աչացդ քոց զի տեսցես: – 19 վ,ասն զի փոխ. ես զոր – սիրեմ զքեզ առ նախանձ – չիք յանդիմանեմ – այժմ, – 20 կամ առ դուրս քո և – և բացցէ զդուռն մտից ընդ նա և ընթրեցից ընդ նա, և նա ընդ իս յարքայութեան իմում: – 21 Որպես յաղթեցի և նստա ընդ հաւր իմում յաթոռ նորա. – 22 լսելո լուիցե զինչ հոգին սուրբ ասե:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Դ.

1 ա̃մի տեսանեի և ահա — փողոյ զոր լուա զառա-
ջինն 107a — 2 եւ ի ժամուն եղև հոգի սուրբ. և տեսի —
3 ական, յասպիս և սարդիոն — 4 նման տեսլեն — և ի
վէ̃ աթոռոցն երիցունք քսան և չորք զգեցեալք — 5 և
յաթոռոց — և ձայնք ահեղ և սքանչելի. և եւթն զամ-
բարք հրո բորբոքելո առաջի աթոռոյն և եւթն զաւրու-
թիւն հոգոյն ա̃յ: — 7 առիւծոյ — 107b և երրորդ կեն-
դանին նման արծուո թռուցելոյ. և չորրորդ կենդանին
նման մարդոյ: Եւ — 9 եին մի մի ի նոցանե վեցթևեանք
շուրջանակի — և նոքա փոխ. և ի ներքոյ — աչաւք, և ոչ —
առելով. սուրբ սուրբ սուրբ, տէ̃ — չիք ա̃ծ — որ են և
կա յաւիտեանս և որ գալոցն ե: — գովութիւն փոխ. գո-
հութիւն — 10 յաւիտենից: անկանեին քսան և չորք երի-
ցունքն առաջի աթոռոյն և երկիր պագանեին կենդանոյն
յաւիտենից և դնեին զպսակս — 11 արժանի ե — չիք
սուրբ — զփառս և զպատիւ և — զգովութիւն փոխ. զզօ-
րութիւն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ե.

1 Եւ տեսի յաջոյ ձեռին նորա որ նստէր ի վերայ
աթոռոյն գիր — և կնքեալ կնքով [= չիք եւթն] — 2 քա-
րոզէր ձայնիւ մեծաւ և ասէր ով է արժանի բանալ և
փակել զգիրն — 3 ոչ յերկինս և ոչ յերկրի — չիք և ոչ
ի ներքոյ երկրի — բանալ զգիրն և հայել ի նա — չիք
զի ոչ տեսին զնա — 4 չիք ես — բանալ զգիրն — 5 բա-
նալ զգիրն — չիք զեւթն — զկնիք նորա — 6 երիցանցն
նման գառին զենլոյ, — չիք (եղջեւրս) և. — աչք եւթն —
զաւրութիւնք փոխ. հոգիք — 8 կային փոխ. անկանէին. —

որ փոխ. և (ունէին) – քնարս և բուրվառս – խնկովք,
որ են – 9 սրբոց: Աւրհնութիւն նորա եառուն և առեն.
արժանի – զգիրն – նորա փոխ. դորա – վասնզի դու
զենար – զմեզ յորդեգրութիւն արեամբ քով՝ յամե-
նայն ազգաց և ժողովրդոց և հեթանոսաց և լեզուաց և
թագաւորեսցուք ի վերա երկրի: – 10 չիք և արարեր
զնոսա – թագաւորել ի վերայ երկրի: – 11 զձայնս – չիք
բազմաց՝ որք կային – զաթոռովն և զչորս կենդանովքն
և զերիցամբքն և թիւք նոցա հազարք հազարաց և բիւրք
բիւրոց աղաղակեին և ասէին – 12 արժանի է գառնն –
Mscript 109a և զաւրհնութիւնս – 13 և յերկրի – և ի ծո-
վու և ամենայն զաւրութիւնք որ ի նոսա – թէ որ նստի
յաթոռ – չիք և (գառնն) – է աւրհնեալ – չիք բարձրա-
ցեալ – չիք յաւիտենից – 14 պագանեին նմա:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Զ.

1 Եւ տեսանեի զի եբաց գառնն զմի յեւթն կնքոցն,
և լուայ ի մէջ չորից – որոտման որ ասեր եթե – 2
ահաւասիկ փոխ. ահա. – հեծեալն էր ի վերա նորա ու-
նէր – յաղթող զի – 3 իբրև փոխ. յորժամ – 109b 4
թէ գամ: ելեալ ի ձի կապոյտ, և որ հեծեալն – չիք զի
զմիմեանս զենցեն – սուր մի մեծ որով սատակեսցե
զբնակիչս երկրի – 5 և լուայ ի յերրորդ – և տեսի զի
ել ձի սեաւ – հեծեալն փոխ. նստեալն – ունէր ի ձեռին
իւրում կշիռ – 6 չիք և (լուայ) – զձայն – կենդանեացն
որ ասեին, կապիճ – ցորենոյ փոխ. ցորեան – գարոյ
դենարի – փտասեսցե: – 7 չիք ձայն – 8 գամ. և ել ձի
աշխետ և որ նստեր – չիք իշխանութիւն – սատակել
զչորրորդ մասն երկրի սովով և սրով 110a և մահուամբ –
9 եբաց զհինգերորդ կնիքն տեսի – զոգիս – չիք մարդ-
կան – չիք զոր ունէին – 10 որ – ի ձայն մեծ փոխ.

ձայնիւ մեծաւ — և ոչ խնդրես — 11 արկանելի սպի-
տակ — հանդերձեն ժամանակ մի փոքր, — և եղբարք, որք
են մեռանելոց իբրև զնոսա ապա դատեսցի երկիր և
խնդրեսցե վրէժ արեան նոցա — չիք նոցա՝ որք — իբրև
զնոսա: — 12 և արեգակն դարձաւ ի խաւար և եղև գի-
շեր մթին — չիք եղև սեաւ — այծեայ, — լուսին — չիք (բո-
լորովին) եղև — յարիւն — 13 յերկիր — չիք տերև —
թզենի — ուժգին հողմով շարժեսցին և թաւթափեսցէ
14 զտերև իւր և երկիր — իբրև զմագաղաթ — չիք գիրս —
110b դալարեր և ի միջոյ ի բաց բառնայր, ամենայն —
ի տեղեաց — 15 և հազարապետք — մեծատունք փոխ.
մեծամեծք — չիք ամենայն (ազատք) — 16 ի յայրս —
լերանց և վիմաց — չիք թէ (անկերուք) — և բլրոց —
չիք թէ (ծածկեցէք) — 17 զմեղ յերեսաց որ նստի ի
յաթոռն և ի բարկութենե գառինն զի եկն աւր — և ոյ
կարե կեալ:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Է.

1 յետ այսորիկ — զի կային ի չորս կողմս երկրի — զմին
չնչեսցե ի վերա երկրի, մի ի ծովու — չիք անկիւնս
երկրի — հողմս երկրի — 2 զի ելաներ — կնիք զա͞յ —
աղաղակեալ — չիք էր (իշխանութիւն) — չիք զծով —
111a 3 և ասե — երկրի և ծովու և ծառոց — չիք դա-
դարեցէք — զճակատ ծառայից ա͞յ — 4 կնքելոցն զի եին
հարիւր — հազարք կնքեալքն — 5 հազարք կնքեալք —
Ռուբենի — կնքեալք: — դանայ փոխ. գադայ — կնքեալք —
6 ի ցեղեն փոխ. Յազգէն — կնքեալք — ի ցեղեն փոխ.
Յազգէն — Նեփթաղեմի — կնքեալք — չիք Յազգէն Մա-
նասէի — կնքեալ — 7 ի տոհմեն փոխ. Յազգէն — կրն-
քեալք — ի տոհմեն ղևեայ — կնքեալք — ի տոհմեն ի
սաքարու — կնքեալք — 8 ի զաւակեն փոխ. Յազգէն — Զա-

բողմնի – կնքեալք – ի զաւակեն յովսեփու – կնքեալք – ի զաւակեն Բենիամենի – կնքեալք – 9 չիք եւ (յետ) – տեսի և ահաւասիկ ժողով բազում – որ փոխ. որոց – ազգաց փոխ. հեթանոսաց – ցեղից փոխ. ազգաց – որ կային – 111^{b} արկեալ զիւրեաւ – սպիտակս և ի ձեռին իւրում արմաւենի և – 10 ձայնիւ մեծաւ աղաղակեին և ասեին. – որ նստի յաթոռ – չիք և գառինն: – 11 կենդանեաւքն, և անկան առաջի աթոռոյն յերեսս իւրեանց և երկիր – 12 և աւրհնութիւն – չիք և գոհութիւն – չիք ա̃յ – 13 որ զգեցեալ են – ո՛վ փոխ. ո՞յք – 14 տ̃ր իմ դու – զնոսա արեամբ – 112^{a} 15 և որ նստին բնակէ ի նոսա: – 16 Եւ այլ մի քաղցիցեն, և մի ծարաւեսցին ևս և ոչ մեղիցէ նոցա ցուրտ և տաւթ: – 17 ի մէջ աթոռոյն – չիք և (առաջնորդեսցե) – նոցա յաղբեր ականս ջուրց կենդանեաց. և հատցե ա̃ծ – յաչաց փոխ. յերեսաց:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ը.

2 իբրև փոխ. կէս – 3 փող: Եւ եկն այլ հրեշտակ և եկաց – խնկանոցս ոսկեղէն – չիք նմա (խունկ) – ի վերայ սեղանոյն ոսկեղենի առաջի – 4 այսինք է աղաւթք սրբոցն ի ձեռս – 112^{b} 5 և ելից հրեշտակն ա̃յ – փայլատակունք – չիք մեծ – 6 զեւթն փողսն – զինքեանս հարկանել զեւթն փողսն: – 7 և անկեալ – զերկրորդ փոխ. զերրորդ – չիք այրեաց,° (և զամենայն) – դալարի – 8 հարկաներ փող – չիք մի (մեծ) – հրով հրդեհեալ – երկրորդ փոխ. երրորդ – 9 երկրորդ փոխ. երրորդ – չիք և (որ) – ունեին շունչ – և ապականեցան – 10 հարկաներ փող, և անկաւ – 113^{a} զղամբար – աղբերաց ջուրց – 11 չիք էր (անուն) – և բազումք ի մարդկանէ – 12 հրեշտակն հարկաներ փող, և – չիք երրորդ-

մասն (լուսնի) — չիք երրորդ մասն (աստեղաց). — մասն նոցա, և տիւ ոչ երևէր, և երրորդ մասն գիշերոյն — 13 զձայն արծուոյ միոյ թռուցելոյ ի միջոյ — ասէր ձայնիւ մեծաւ, — անկեալ փոխ. բնակեալ — յորժամ լցցի ձայն երից ևս փողոցն, — հրեշտակքն յապառնիս և ի հանդերձեալսն փողել:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Թ.

113[b] 1 հարկանէր փող փոխ. փողէր — մի անկանէր յերկնից յերկիր. և — գփոյն — 2 ի գփոյն — 3 և ուդք: Եւ ի ծխոյն ելանէր մարախ յերկիր — նմա փոխ. նոցա — 4 միայն մարդկան — չիք երկրայնոյ, — զկնիք ա̄յ ի վերայ ճակատոց — 5 մի սպանցեն — չարչարանքն — զկսկծումն փոխ: զխայթոցս — որ հարկանէ — 114[a] 6 և ցանկասցին մեռանել ի հարուածոյ մարախոյն և փախիցէ — 7 ձիոց պատրաստելոց — գլխոյ — չիք և երեսք — մարդոյ. — 8 և հեր — 9 չիք զձայն կառավար — 10 ի պատերազմի: Ունէին ագիս նման կարճի — չիք խայթոց — յագիս իւրեանց էր իշխանութիւն — 11 հինգ: Եւ ածցեն առ նոսա զթագաւոր հրեշտակացն անդնդոց և անուն — 114[b] աղբադոյն, որ կոչի հայերէն կորուստ: — 12 Ահաւասիկ վայ ումանց և երկու վայք գալոց են զհետ նորա: — 13 փող — ձայն մի ի չորից եղջեւրաց սեղանոյն որ էր առաջի ա̄յ. զի — 14 կապեալս — եփրատու — 15 չորք հրեշտակք պատրաստեալ — չիք և (յօր) — և յամ փոխ. և ի տարի — զերկրորդ փոխ. զերրորդ — 16 և համարք զաւրայ հեծելոյն — չիք զօրք նոցա — չիք և հազարք հազարաց — 17 զձիս — և զհեծեալս — չիք ի նոսա — և յակինթ — և գլուխ ձիոյն իբրև զգլուխ առեւծու — 115[a] նոցա ելանէր հուր և ծուխ — 18 եւ ի հարուածոյս յայսցանէ մեռան — և ի հրոյ և ի ծխոյ և ի

ծծմբոյ, – 19 իշխանութիւն ձիոցն ի բերանս նոցա էր
և յագիս նոցա, զի ագիք էին նման աւձի. և ունէին ի
գլուխսն – զամենեսեան փոխ. զանիրաւս: – 20 Եւ այլ
ոչ ևս մեռան ի մարդկանէ ի վիրացս յայսցանէ, բայց
որք ոչ – և յերկրպագութենէ – և ի կռոց իւրեանց
յոսկեղինաց և յարծաթեղինաց և ի պղնձեղինաց և ի
քարեղինաց և ի փայտեղինաց, որք:

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ժ.

115b Հրեշտակ իջեալ յերկնից և ծածկեալ զենքն ամ-
պովք և էր ծիածան ի վերա գլխոյ նորա – իբրև փոխ.
որպէս – զսիւն – 2 գիր փոխ. գրկոյք – չիք մի – աջ –
ծովու, և զոտն իւր ձախ ի վերա – 3 մեծ և իբրև զա-
ռեւծ գոչեաց. և յորժամ – որոտմունք զառ յապա զա-
լոցն – չիք յիւրեանց ձայնս – կամէի գրել – զձայն ա̃յ
յերկնից – որ փոխ. զի – զգոսա գրեր: – 5 զոտն –
չիք մեւսն ի – 6 յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. – 116a զեր-
կիր և զամենայն որ ի նմա, և զծով և զամենայն որ ի
նմայ, զի ժամանակ այլ ոչ ևս կայ. այլ – 7 աւետարա-
նեցաւն ծառայից – մարգարէից: – 8 լուաւ դարձեալ
յերկնից դարձեալ խաւսեր ընդ իս և ասեր ցիս: երթ և
առ զգիրն բացեալ որ – չիք բացեալ (ի ձեռին) – 9 չիք
[եւ] ես – ի նմանէ զգիրն և ասէ առ և կուլ զդա. և
դառնասցի ի փորի քում. այլ ի բերանի քում է քաղցր –
10 Եւ առի զգիրն ի ձեռաց հրեշտակին և կլի և լցաւ
որովայն իմ 11 դառնութեամբ. և ասէ ցիս հրեշտակն –
և ի հեթանոսս և ի լեզուս և ի թագաւորս բազումս: –
չիք երկրի:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԱ.

116[b] 1 *տան ցխ, արի չափեա – ի նմա են։* – 2 *զգա-*
ւիթան – չիք որ – զքաղաքս սուրբս – 3 *և երկերիւր*
վաթսուն և հինգ – 4 *Ա.յս փոխ. Սոքա – ձիթենիք –*
երկու աշտանակք առաջի տ̃ն ա̃յ 5 *կայցեալք։ Եւ որ*
կամիցի նոցա վնասել, հուր – նոցա, և ով և կամեսցի
նոցա մեղանչել այսպես – 117[a] 7 *չիք եւ յորժամ կա-*
տարեսցեն – մարգարէութեան փոխ. վկայութեան – չիք
յանժամ – և գազան – 8 *ի մէջ հրապարակի քաղա-*
քի – անուանեալն – եգիպտոս և բաբելոն, ուր – 9 *չիք*
զնա – չիք ամենայն – հեթանոսք զդի նոցա զի անկեալ
կայցեն զաւուրս երիս, և ոչ – 10 *ուրախ լինիցին – նո-*
ցա, և ընծայս և պատարագս տան տանել – մարգարէք
չարչարեցին – 11 *կիսոց – ա̃յ – չիք կայցեն – երկիւղ*
անկցի – բնակչաց երկրի – չիք որ սպանինն զնոսա. –
12 *ձայն մեծ յերկնից որ – վերացայք ելեք այսր – և*
ելին – և տեսին զվերանալն նոցա ամենայն թշնամիք
նոցա։ – չիք խուրեանց – 13 *եւ եղև ի ժամուն յայնմ –*
չիք (*մեծ*) *եղև. – իբրև եւթն հազար – չիք մեծ* (*եղև*) –
14 *ահաւասիկ երկրորդ վայն անց* – 15 *ձայն մեծ յեր-*
կինս որ ասեր – 118[a] *չիք և* (*յ̃ի*) – *չիք խ̃ոյ – յա-*
ւիտենից ամեն։ – 16 *չորք – առաջի ա̃յ յաթոռս – չիք*
առաջի ա̃յ (*անկանէին*) – 17 *չիք ա̃ծ – ամենակալ որ ես*
յաւիտեանս և որ են որ առեր – 18 *ժողովուրդք փոխ.*
հեթանոսք – ժամանակ թշնամոյն դատաստանի զի դա-
տապարտեսցի տալ զվարձս – չիք (*մեծամեծաց*) *և – ա-*
պականել – 19 *չիք որ* – 118[b] *տապանակ ուխտի նորա*
ի տաճարի նորա. և եղեն փայլատակունք։

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԲ.

1 պսակ յաստեղաց երկոտասանից – 2 երկներ փոխ.
ճչէր – չիք և բ̃մ – ի ծնանելն: – 3 վիշապ հրեղէն
մեծ, որոյ – 4 խոյր: և տտուն նորա քարշէր մինչև յեր-
կրորդ մասն աստեղաց յերկնից – ընկեց փոխ. արկ –
կամեր փոխ. հանդերձեալ էր – զորդին – կերիցե փոխ.
կլցէ – 5 որդի արու որ հովուեսցէ զժողովուրդ իւր գա-
ւազանաւ – 6 չիք և առ աթոռ նորա. – ուր եր պա-
տրաստեալ նմա անդ տեղի յա̅յ, զի անդ կերակրեսցեն
զնա աւուրս – վաթսուն և հինգ: – 7 կռուեր հրեշտա-
կաւք փոխ. պատերազմէր զօրօք – 8 ընդդէմ կալ – 9
և ուձն առաջին որ անուանել – բեղզեբուղ – տիեզերս:
ախուծն անկաւ յերկիր, և հրեշտակք նորա անկան ընդ
նմա: Եւ – 10 մեծ ի յերկինս զի ասեր. արդ եղև փըր-
կութիւն և զաւրութիւն – երկնից ա̅յ – 119[b] որ չարա-
խաւսեին զնոցանե – 235[a] 11 ա̅յ և տ̅ն մերոյ զտիւ և
զգիշեր. եւ նոքա յաղթեցին նմա: – գառինն ա̅յ, և
վկաութեամբ բանի նորա, և ոչ հաշտեցան ընդ վիշապին
մինչև ցմահ – 12 եղեն փոխ. լիցին – ի նոսա փոխ. ի
նմա – վիշապն փոխ: բանսարկուն – չիք առ ձեզ –
ցասումն բազում տեսեր զի բազում 13 ժամանակ
եկաց: Եւ յորժամ – եթե – 14 չիք երկու (թևք) – զի
թռուցի յանապատ տեղի, ուր – 15 ջուր իբրև զգետ
զի զնա ընկղմեսցե: 235[b] Եւ աւգնեաց – 16 զգետն
փոխ: զջուրն. – 17 ընդ զաւակի նորա և որք – ա̅յ, որ
ե վկաութիւն ա̅յ յի̅ քի̅ – 18 ծովուն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԳ.

1 Եւ տեսանէի – գազան մի, որ ունէր – չիք եղջե-
րաց – հայհոյութիւն – 2 էր նման ընձոյ – զարջոյ –
իբրև փոխ. որպէս – իշխանութիւն – 236[a] 3 չիք էր –
մահու – եւ զարմանայր – ընդ գազանին, և ետ նա
զթագաւորութիւն 4 իւր ի վիշապն. զի երկիր պա-
գանեին գազանին – (ergo չիք վիշապին – զիշխանու-
թիւն) – ո՞վ է նման գազանին – կարէ պատերազմել ընդ
նմա: – 5 իշխանութիւն փոխ. բե՛րան – և հայհոյու-
թիւնս – իշխանութիւն առնել պատերազմ մեծ ընդ
սուրբս և յաղթել նոցա և տուաւ նմա իշխանութիւն
առնել յաղթութիւն ամիսս խԲ: Եւ եբաց – ի հայհոյու-
թիւն – զխորան նորա որ յերկինս է: եւ ի վերա ա͞մ
շնչոց – չիք ազգաց – ժողովրդոց – 8 եւ երկիր պա-
գեին նմա ա͞մ բնակիչք երկրի – 236[b] ոչ գրեալ են –
չիք գառինն զենլոյ – 9 Որ ունիցի ականջս – լուիցէ –
9 որ ի գերութեան – ի սրոյ փոխ. սրով – 10 զան-
ձինս իւրեանց սպանցեն, իսկ համբերութիւն և հաւատք
շնորհեսցին սրբոց յ͞ոյ – 11 զի այլ գազանն ելանէր –
երկուս – գառին – 12 զվիշապն և զա͞մ իշխանութիւն
առաջին գազանին – զի երկրպագեսցեն – առաջնում –
առողջացի վէր – 13 հրոյ յերկնից յերկիր իջանել –
237[a] 14 մոլորեցուցանէր զբնակիչս երկրի նշանաւք, որ
էր ի ձեռին նորա – չիք առնել – առաջին գազանին: և
ասէն – երկրի, արկ պատկեր գազանին որ ունի զվէրս
սրոյն զի կեցցէ: եւ – 15 ոգի – և երկրպագեսցեն
նմա – և որք ոչ պագցեն – սպականեսցէ փոխ. սպան-
ցէ – զնոսա փոխ. զնա – 16 չիք և զաղատս – ն͞շ նշան
ի վերա ձեռին աջոյ և ի վերա ճակատու – 237[b] 17
եթէ ոչ որք ունիցին – զնշան փոխ. զդրոշմ – չիք և

(զանուն) — գազանին որ է թիւ անուան նորա: — 18 Որ
ունի ոք միտս իմաստութեան համարեսցի զանունն և
զթիւ անուան գազանին, քանզի թիւ է անուան մարդոյ,
և թիւ — ուճա փոխ. հազար հարիւր վաթսուն և վեց:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԴ.

1 հազարք զանուն հաւր իւրեանց գրեալ ի վերա —
2 իբրև փոխ. որպէս — չիք զձայն — զջուրց — չիք և
ձայն — լուայ — և իբրև զձայն քնարահարի, զի — 3
երգս — աթոռոյ նորա և — և ոչ ոք կարէր տեսանել
զերաս նորա: բայց — 238[a] հազարքն, որ կաին շուրջ
զաթոռամբն ի լերին սիոնի, որք են կուսանք և ազա-
տեալք յերկրէ: — 4 չիք և են (կուսանք) — կուսանք և
յա̄մ ժամ զհետ երթեալ գառին — 5 գնեցան փոխ.
ընտրեցան — ի մարդկանէ և գրեցան ի վերա ճակատու
իւրեանց զնշան ա̄յ հաւր և գառինն — նենգութիւն փոխ.
սուտ — քանզի ամբիծք եին: — 6 ի միջոց երկնից — որ
փոխ. և — զաւետիս — յաւիտենական որ եկեալ աւետա-
րանէր ա̄մ — 7 լեզուոց ի ձայն մեծ և ասէր, երկերուք
յա̄յ և փառս տուք — ժամանակ փոխ. ժամ — 238[b] և
երկրպագեցէք ա̄յ որ արար զերկինս և զերկիր զծով և
զա̄մ աղբիւրականս ջրոց — 8 անկաւ մեծ բաբելոն ի
գինս արբեցութեան ցասմամբ պոռնկութեան իւրոյ —
չիք որ — 9 զհետ նորա ասելով ի ձայն մեծ. ով ոք եր-
կիր պագանիցէ — զգիր փոխ. զդրոշմ — նորա առնու
ի ճակատ — ի վերա ձեռին իւրոյ աջոյ. այնպիսին — 10
ցասմանէ ա̄յ արկանելոյն յանապականութենէ բարկու-
թեան — չիք բաժակին — ծծմով — 239[a] գառինն և ա-
ռաջի սուրբ հրեշտակաց նորա 11 և ծուխ նորա ելցէ — և
ոչ եր իշխանութիւն նոցա հանգչել ոչ զտիւ և ոչ զգի-
շեր, որք երկիր պագանեն պատկերին և գազանին և

կամ որ առնուն զգիր թուոյ անուան նորա, իսկ որ համ-
բերեն և ոչ առնուն զնշան նորա յանձինս իւրեանց, նոքա
ասեն սուրբք որք պահեն զպատուիրանս ա̃յ և զհաւատսն
յի̃ : — 13 զի փոխ. որ — ե մեռելոց — մեռանին փոխ.
ննջեցին — չիք այժմիկ — վաղվաղագոյն և ոչ հասանին
ի — ժամանակն յայն, զայս — հոգին, սուրբ, զի հան-
գեան յա̃մ աշխատութեանց — չիք իւրեանց — միայն —
և գործք — 239[b] 14 եւ տեսի աւասիկ ամպ — իւրում
ունէր — ոսկեղէն, և — 15 չիք այլ — ի տաճարին փոխ.
յերկնից — աղաղակեր ձայնիւ մեծաւ և ասեր առաջի
նորա — չիք որ նստիդ — ամպոյդ — հունձք երկրի և
եարկ որ նստէրն զգերանդին իւր յերկիր և հնձեր — 17
զա̃մ բնակիչս երկրի: Եւ — ել ի տաճարեն — յերկինս.
ունէր և նա գերանդի — 18 եւ ել այլ հրեշտակ ի սե-
ղանոյն, որոյ եր իշխանութիւն իւր — հրոյ սեղանոյն, և
ձայներ ի ձայն մեծ — չիք առ — 240[a] զողկոյզ զայգոյն
երկրի — խաղող նորա — չիք ի դմա: — 19 չիք եւ արկ —
զխաղող նորա, — եւ արկաներ ի հնձանս ա̃յ և կոխեր ի
հնձանի արտաքոյ քաղաքին և հաներ ի հնձանեն արիւն
բազում յոյժ և հասաներ մինչև ի սանձս ձիոյն և եր-
կայնութիւն նորա ասպարեզս հազար և վեց հարիւր:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԵ.

1 Նշանս յերկին· սքանչելիս հրեշտակք եւթն որ ու-
նեին վէրս եւթն նշանակել զկատարածն զի նոքաւք —
2 չիք որպէս — պատկերին և զազանին — չիք և պատ-
կերի — նոքա — և կացին — ապակեղինին — զքնարն —
մովսեսի — 3 ա̃յ և առաջի գառին նորա և ասեին եթե
մեծ և սքանչելի — 4 չիք և (ով) — չիք ոք — երկիցէ յա-
նուանե քումմե զի միայն ի սուրբս ես արժանի — չիք
երկրպագելոյ — առաջի քո վասն զի արդարութիւն քո

յայտնեցաւ առաջի ա̃մ տեղերաց երկրի: եւ յետ – զի փոխ. և – տաճար – չիք որ էր ի – 6 հրեշտակք եւթն և ունէին հրամանք եւթն հարուածոց, և զգեցեալ էին – չիք ի տաճարէն – կտաւս սուրբս և լուսափայլս և գօ-տեւորեալ էին – լանջս փոխ. ստեամբք – 7 եւ ի միջոյ չորից – կենդանւոյ – 8 ի փառացն – 241^{a} և ի զօ-րութեանց – իշխեր փոխ. կարէ – հրեշտակէն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԶ.

1 հրեշտակն – և հեղեք – սկաւառակս ցասմանն – 2 զսկաւառակն ոսկեղէն առաջին յերկիր և եղեն հա-րուածք ի վ̃ր երկրի և ի վ̃ր մարդկան, որք – զգիր փոխ. զդրոշմ – և երկիր պագանէին նմա: – չիք պատկերի նորա – 3 եհեղ ի սկաւառակէն իւրմէ – ի վերա ծովու, և դարձան – չիք մեռեալ – էին ի ծովու – 4 ի սկա-ւառակէ իւրմէ – և յաղբիւրականս ջրոց, և եղեն – 241^{b} 5 ի հրեշտակէն ջուրց զի – արդարև են և որ են սուրբ – չիք ի գործս իւր – 6 չիք վ̃ս – սրբոցն – և վասն – ետուր ըմպել բառ արժանին իւրեանց: Եւ լուայ – 7 չիք ամենակալ, արդարև – այո տ̃ր ա̃ծ զի ճշմարտու-թեամբ են – 8 ի սկաւառակէն – արեգականն – 9 խոր-շակահարել – հայհոյեցին զանուն ա̃յ որ – ապաշխարե-ցին և ոչ ետուն նմա փառս: – չիք ա̃յ. – 242^{a} 10 չիք եղև – 11 իւրեանց ի ցաւոց ախտիցն. հայհոյէին – յա-ւուրն փոխ. ի ցաւոց – յախտէն – չիք ի գործոց իւ-րեանց – 12 ի սկաւառակէն – գետոյն եփրատ, և ցա-մաքեցաւ ջուր, զի պատրաստեսցէ – թագաւորին յե-լիցն – 13 եւ տեսանէի – 14 չիք նոքա – որ ունէին զնշանս – առ թագաւորն – չիք ա̃մ – երկրին և ժողո-վեալ – յաւր – տ̃ն ա̃յ մերոյ զի այսպէս ասէ տ̃ր – 15 Ահաւասիկ գամ որպէս գող ի գիշերի, երանի որք –

արթունս – զի մի մերկասցին, և – 16 և ժողովեսցեն –
արմակեդոմն. – 17 աւդոյ – ի տաճարեն փոխ. յեր-
կնից – ելթե եղև կատարած ամենայնի: 18 Եւ եղև
շարժումն մեծ որ ոչ երբեք եղև այնպիսի շարժումն մեծ.
մինչև եղեալ եր մարդ ի վերա երկրի և ընկղմեցան քա-
ղաքք մեծայմեծք իբրև երեք մասունք և քաղաքք հե-
թանոսաց ընկղմեցան և Բաբելոն քաղաք 243[a] սեծ
չինեցաւ առաջի ա̃ծ ա̃յ տալ նմա բաժակ – 20 կղզիք ի
փախուստ դարձան, – 21 կարկուտ մեծամեծ կշռոյ տա-
ղանդի միոջ յերկնից իջանէր – չիք և (հայհոյեցին) –
զա̃ծ ի հարուածս կարկտին, զի կարի մեծ և ահագին եր
հարուածքն յոյժ: – չիք և սաստիկ:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԷ.

1 չիք ոմն – որ ունէր սկաւառակ մի և խաւսեցաւ –
մեծամեծս պոռնկիս այս որ – 2 աշխարհի փոխ. երկրի –
3 յանապատ և եղև ի վերա իմ հոգին սուրբ. և տեսի
կին մի նստեալ ի վերա գազանի կարմրոյ – չիք լի –
չիք էր – 243[b] հայհոյութեամբ – չիք և գազանն զոր
տեսի – ունէր պսակս եւթն – 4 Եւ կինն արկեալ զիւրև
ծիրանիս և կարմիրս ընդելուզել ոսկով – չիք ականբք
պատուականօք – ունէր ի ձեռին իւրում բաժակ ոսկե-
դէն լի ա̃մ աղտեղութեամբ և ա̃մ պղծութեամբ պոռն-
կութեան և ի վերա ճակատու ÷ 5 գրեալ եր անուն
խորհրդոյ բաբելոն մեծ մայր պոռնկութեան և ա̃մ աղ-
տեղութեան երկրի նորա – 6 արբեալ – չիք և յարենէ
ա̃մ – վկայիցն յ̃ի և զքանչացայ ես տեսանել զարմացումն
մեծ – 7 ասեմ – չիք քեզ – զխորհուրդ – գազանին որ
նստի ի վերա նորա կինն և նա բարձեալ – չիք զնա –
եւթն գլուխս և եղջեւրս տասն եւթն 8 գլուխք և տասն
եղջիւրք գազանին – 244[a] տեսերն որ եին և այլ ոչ են

պատրաստեալ են ելանել յանդնդոց – չիք ի դժխոց – և
զարմասցին բնակիչք երկրի, որ ոչ են գրեալ ի դպրու-
թեան կենաց – զազանն որ երն և չե և որ անցաներն ի
կորուստ – 9 Այլ իմաստուն մտաւք իմացիս, զի եւթն
լերինք են որ նստի կինն ի վերա – չիք և թագաւորք –
գոլով – 10 և մինն ունի դեռ և այլ միւսն չէ եկեալ. և
յորժամ եկեսցէ սակաւ ժամանակ ունի. 11 և զազանն
զոր տեսեր որ են և այլ ոչ է, և նա ութերորդ է և ի
յութանց և ի հնգից և ի կորուստ – 12 եղջիւրքն –
տեսերն – չիք տասն – և այն թագաւորք են, որք զթա-
գաւորութիւնս իւրեանց չեւ առին, այլ – իշխանք ի
միում ժամանակի և – չիք նոքա – 244[b] 13 Սոքա ի միա-
բանութիւն գան և զզաւրութիւն – 14 տան: Սոքա ընդ
գազանին պատերազմին և գառնն յաղթէ նոցա, զի
գառնն է տ̃ր տերանց և թագաւոր – ընդ նմա են կո-
չեցեալք և – 15 Եւ ասէ ցիս և ջուրն – տեսերն ուր պոռ-
նիկն նստեր, ժողովուրդ և բազմութիւնք են և – 16 և
զտասն եղջիւրսն – տեսեր և զգազանն, նոքա ատեսցեն
զպոռնիկն և անապատ արասցեն զնա մերկ և զմարմին –
17 ի սիրտս նոցա առնել զնա մերկ անապատ և տալ –
կատարեսցին խորհուրդք և 18 բանք ա̃յ: Եւ որ մերկն
տեսաներ զնա է քաղաք – 245[a] ի վերա թագաւորաց –
չիք երկրի:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԸ.

1 չիք այլ – հրեշտակ զի իջաներ ի վերուստ յա-
թոռոյն ա̃յ որ ունէր – լուսաւորեր ի փառայն նորա –
2 եւ աղաղակեր ի զաւրութիւն ձայնի իւրոյ և ասեր,
անկաւ, անկաւ երկցորդ Բաբելոն մեծ, և եղև բնակու-
թիւն – չիք և արգել – պղծոց – և բան պահպանու-
թեան – չիք ա̃մ – որդւոյ փոխ. ոգւոյ – անսրբի և

ատեցելոյ – 3 վասն զի ի գինոյ բարկութեան նորա – չիք պոռնկութեան – թագաւորք պոռնկեցան ընդ նմա և վայելեցին ի մեծութեան յերկրի և ի զաւրութենէ բարութեան նորա մեծացան: – 4 դոցա փոխ. դորա – զի մի հաւասարիցէք մեղացն նոցա զի մի և զհարուածն մեղաց դոցա ընդունիցիք: – 245[b] 5 մերձեցան փոխ. կցեցան – զամպարշտութիւն դոցա: – 6 եւ հատուցանէ դոցա որպէս և հատուցին, և առցեն կրկնակի ըստ գործոց իւրեանց. և զբաժակն զոր 7 խառնեցին խառնեսցի դոցա: Եւ որչափ փառաւորեցան – չիք զինքն – և խայտացին, նոյնչափ տացի դոցա տանջանք և սուգ, զի ասեն ի սիրտս իւրեանց՝ թէ յա̃մ ժամ թագաւորեացուք և ոչ լիցուք այրիք և ամուրիք և սուգ երբէք 8 ոչ տեսցուք: վասն այդորիկ – եկեսցէ – դոցա – հարուածք ա̃մ մահ, սուգ և հրայրեցութիւն վասն զի զաւրաւոր է տ̃ր – չիք ա̃ծ – 9 որ դատի զդոսա: Եւ կացցեն և սգասցեն ի վերայ – որ ընդ դմա պոռնկեցան և հալածեսցեն յորժամ տեսցեն – 246[a] զծուխ հնոցի իւրեանց – չիք կիզման – դորա: – 10 և ի հեռաստանէ մինչև հասեալ յոգոց հանցեն վասն ահի տանջանաց նորա և ասասցեն. վայ, վայ, վայ բաբելոն քաղաք մեծ և զաւրաւոր վասն զի ի միում աւուր հասին ի վերա քո դատաստանք – 11 և որ վայելեսցեն ի դմանէ խանչեսցեն և լայցեն ևս գայցեն ի վերա դորա, զի զխաշինսն և զստացուածսն որ ի դմանէ ոչ ևս աւգնեսցէ ամաւթովս ընդ վայր – 12 կայցեն մթերք քո ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ – մարգարտի – ծիրանոյ և կապուտակի և կարմրոյ և ա̃մ փայտի խնկոյ և ա̃մ փղոսկրեայք – անաւթք պատուականք փայտեղէնք և պղնձեղէնք և երկաթիք – 246[b] 13 և կճեայք և կինամոմն և խնկեղէնք և լիբանոս և գինի – ա̃մ և ոչխարք և արջառք և ձիք և ա̃մ ինչ որ վայել է մարդկան և ցանկութիւն ոգոյն իւրայ գնասցէ ի նոցա-

նէ, և ո̃մ գիրութիւն և լուսափայլ փայլչութիւն կորեաւ ի նոցանէ և չկարացին 15 գտանել: Ա՜յ չահավաճառ որ մեծանա ի նոցանէ իբաց կացին վասն ահի տանջանացն 16 լայցեն և ողբայցեն վայ վայ վայ քաղաք — զբեհեզս և զծիրանիս զկարմիրս և զոսկեզօծս և զականս պատուականս և զմարգարիտս. վասն զի աւուր ապականեցան այսպիսի մեծութիւնք և ո̃մ նաւապետք ի տեղեաց տեղիս և նաւավարք որ ի ծովու վայելեին ի հեռաստանէ կայցեն — չիք լալով: — 247[a] 18 տեսցեն զծուխ հնոցի նոցա և ասասցեն ով նման է — այսորիկ — 19 և գուծելով ասասցեն վայ վայ վայ քաղաք մեծ յորում ամենեքեան մեծանաաք և չրջեալք ի ծովու մեծութենէ պատուականութեան նորա, զի ի մի ժամ — կործանեցաւ: — 20 Ուրախ եղիցին ի վեր — չիք նորայ — 21 զդատաստան նորա ի նմանէ: Եւ առ հրեշտակ մի մի երկնաքար ուժգին և ընկեց զնա ի ծով ասելով ըստ այսմ նմանութեան ընկղմեսցի Բաբելոն — և այլ մի ևս գտցի: — 247[b] երգոց փոխ. երաժշտականաց — արուեստականաց և ձայն թմբկի և փողոյ, այլ ոչ ևս լսի ի նմա — 23 չիք և լոյս ճրագի — ձայն երգականի մի լուիցի ի նմա և լոյս ճրագի մի երևեսցի անդ, և ձայն փեսաի — չիք և ձայն — այլ ոչ ևս լսի ի նմա. և փառաւորք նորա որք զուարճացեալ եին ի վերա երկրի ի կախարդութիւն դեղատուութեան նորա մոլորեցան — հեթանոսք փոխ. ազգք — 24 Եւ ի նմա գտաւ արիւն — չիք գտաւ — գրելոց և կնքելոցն յերկինս յերկիրն կենդանեաց:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԺԹ.

1 մեծ ժողովրդոց յերկինս որ ասէին ալէլուիա,
փրկութիւն և պատիւ և փառք – 2 մերոյ: զի արդա-
րութեամբ և ճշմարտութեամբ են դատաստանք – դա-
տեցաւ զպոռնիկն զայն մեծ վասն 248[a] զի ապականեաց
զերկիր պոռնկութեամբ իւրով, և խնդրեաց ի սմանէ
ծ̃ր – չիք ի ձեռաց Նորա: – 3 երկրորդ փոխ. կրկին –
ասէին – 4 Եւ անկան ի վերա երեսաց իւրեանց ի̃դ
երիցունքն – չորք կենդանիքն երկիրպագանէին ա̃յ –
5 ծառայք Ն̃ր և երկիւղածք անուան Նորա – չիք փո-
քունք և մեծամեծք – 6 ձայն ժողովրդոց բազմաց իբրև
զձայն բազում և որդիքն որոտման գովէին և ասէին ա-
լէլուիա – 7 ծ̃ր ա̃ծ մեր ամենակալ: Ուրախ լինիմք և
ցնծամք և տամք փառս անուան Նորա 248[b] վասն եկն
կրկին ի հարսանիս իւր գառնն: – 8 Եւ կին որ պա-
տրաստեալ է տուաւ Նմա զի արկցէ զնովաւ զբեհեզն
լուսափայլ և սուրբ, զի բեհեզն սպիտակ արդարութիւն
9 սրբոց է: Եւ ասէ ցիս գրեա զայդ, երանեալ են ամե-
նեքին որ յընթրիս հարսանեաց գառինն կոչեցան: Եւ
ասէ ցիս այս բանք արդար և ճշմարիտ ա̃յ 10 են: Եւ
անկա առաջի ոտից – և երկիր – այլ փոխ. անսա – զի
փոխ. քանզի – չիք քոյ (որք) – զվկայութիւն – չիք
ք̃ի – երկրպագէ զի վկայութիւն յ̃ի է հոգին սուրբ
որ ի մարգարեսն էր – 11 ահաւասիկ ձի սպիտակ էլ,
որ հեծեալ էր ի վերա Նորա կոչէր հաւատարիմ – չիք
և ճշմարիտ – 249[a] 12 պատերազմիչք Նորա իբրև զբոց
հրոյ – գլխոյ Ն̃ր խոյր որ ունէր անուանս գրեալս բա-
զումս, – չիք և ունէր – գրեալ – գիտէր – Նա փոխ.
ինքն – 13 զիւրեաւ հանդերձս սրսկմամբ արեան – 14
բան ա̃յ երկնից և երթուէին զհետ Նորա ձիք սպիտակք

զգեցեալ բեհեզս սուրբս։ 15 Եւ ի բերանոյ նոցա սուր
սրեալ ելանէր, զի – զհեթանոսս փոխ. զազգս – և նա եր
որ հովուէր զնոսա – և նա կոխէր – գինոյ բարկութեան
և ցասման ա̄յ – 16 ամենակալի։ Եւ եր գրեալ ի վերա
հանդերձի նորա և ի վերա աջոյ բարձի նորա անուն
իշխանութեան նորա թագաւոր – 17 չիք այլ – հրեշտակ
մի զի կայր առաջի արեգականն – չիք զի – 249^{b} աղա-
ղակեաց և ասե – չիք ի ձայն մեծ – ա̄ծ թռչունք եր-
կնից եկայք և ժողովեցարուք յընթրիս մեծին ա̄յ։ – 18
զի կերիջիք ի մարմնոյ թագաւորին և ի մարմնոյ ձիոյն
որ հեծեալ եր ի վերա նորա և ի մարմնոյ ծառայից և
ազատաց – չիք մեծի և փոքու – 19 չիք տեսի – երկրի
և զզաւրաւորս նորա ժողովեալ առնել – հեծեալ – 20
ի նմանե գազանն – նշանս առաջի նոցա, զորս – զգիր
փոխ. զդրոշմ – զերկրպագունս – չիք և (կենդանւոյն) –
21 հրոյ լի ծծմով այրեցելոյ. և այլք մեռանեին սրով ի
հեծելոյ – չիք ի վերայ – ձիոյն որ ելանէր ի բերանոյ
նորա. – 250^{a} չիք սուրն. և ա̄ծ – ի մարմնոյ նոցա։

ԳԼՈՒԽ Ի.

1 2 ի ձեռին իւրում. և ունէր վիշապն զաւձն զա-
ռաջին, որ ե ինքն բեեղզեբուղ սատանա, – 3 զհեթա-
նոսս փոխ. զազգս – և յետ այսորիկ լուծցե զնա սակաւ
ժամանակս – 4 ընտրեալ նոցա զգլխս – լաւացն փոխ.
չարչարելոցն – ա̄յ, սոքա են որ ոչ երկրպագեցին գազա-
նին և ոչ պատկերի նորա և ոչ առին զգիր նշանի
նորա ի վերա ճակատու իւրեանց և 250^{b} ոչ ի վերա
ձեռինն իւրեանց աջոյ այսք են որք կեցցեն և թագա-
ւորեսցեն – 5 չիք ոք – 6 երանի ե – որ – յարքայու-
թեան փոխ. ի յարութե̄ն – նոցա – այլ եղեն – չիք
յո̄ի քո̄ի. – 7 Եւ լուծցե զսատանա յետ ռ. ամին և

հանցէ – և ելցէ – չիք ա̃մ – ընդ Դ. կողմանս – և զոգ և մագոգ – ի ձեռն – չիք զա̃մ – 8 ծովու անհամար է. և ելին ի լայնութիւնս – պատեցին – չիք շուրջ – 251[a] սրբոց, և զքաղաքս երևելիս – չիք սիրելւոյ: – 9 Եւ էջ հուր – առ յա̃յ և եկեր զնո̃ – չիք նց̃ – սատանա – զնո̃, արկ զնո̃ ի ծով հրոյ ծծմբոյ – 10 զգիշեր յաւի-տեանս յաւիտենից – մեծ սպիտակ – նստեալ յորմէ յահէ և յերեսաց նորա կորնչեին և – 12 եւ տեսի զմեռեալս և զմեծամեծս և զմեռեալս – չիք և զփոքունս. – կային առ աթոռոյն. և գիրք բանային, որոց անուանք գրեալ են ի դպրութեան կենաց և դատաստան եղև մեռելոցն ի գրս 13 ի գործս իւրաքանչիւր և ետ ծով ի բաց զմե-ռեալս իւր, որ էր ի նմա և 251[b] մահ և դժոխք մատ-նեցան ի լիճ հրոյ այս է մահ 15 երկրորդ ի լիճ հրոյն և որ ոչ ոք գտցի ի գիր կենաց գրեալ մատնեցի ի լիճն հրոյ:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԻԱ.

1 զի առաջին երկիրն անց, և ծով այս ոչ ևս էր. – 2 և քաղաքն – չիք զնորն – երևէր փոխ. տեսի – իջա-նէր յերկնից առ ի յա̃յ – չիք և յերկնից – զարդա-րեալ և պաճուճեալ իբրև հարսն – առաւ առն իւրում – 3 զի փոխ. որ – և բնակեսցէ գառնն ընդ մարդկան – չիք ընդ նո̃: – 4 ժողովուրդ նորա ընդ նմա. և նա է նոցա ա̃ծ: և – արտասուր փոխ. արտօսր – մահ այլ ոչ ևս տիրեսցէ ի վերա նոցա և ոչ սուգ – և ոչ ցաւք և հոգք այլ ոչ ևս պահեսցէ զնո̃, 252[a] զի մերձեցաւ և փախեաւ յերեսաց նոցա: 5 Եւ ասաց նստերն – ասէ ցիս – բանք են հաւատարիմ և ճշմարիտ: Եւ ասեր – չիք ցիս. – եղէ ես այբ և յապառնիւն յաւիտեանս ես եմ, որ ենն ծարաւի տաց նոցա յաղբերեն ջրոյ կեն-

ղանութեան ըմպել ձրի: – 7 Որ գայցի յաղթող, ժա-
ռանգեսցէ – նշ̃ ա̃ծ, և դարձեալ վասն թերահաւատից
և պղծոցն և սպանողացն և կախարդացն դեղատուացն
և կռապաշտիցն, – չիք և ամենայն – ամպարշտաց, խու-
րեանց է լիճ հրոյն այրեցելումն ծծմով – մահ – 9 որ –
252[b] լցեալ – վախճան կատարածովք, և խաւսեցաւ –
եկ ցուցանեմ քեզ – 10 ի լեառն մի մեծ և բարձր հո-
գովն սրբով, և – մեծ վերինն Ե̃մ [= երուսաղէմ] և
գլեառն խաղաղութեան, զի իջանէր յերկնից առ յա̃յ
ամենակալէ: – 11 ա̃յ: և էին լուսաւորութեամբ նմա-
նեալ պատուականագոյն ականց – չիք քար – յասպիս
որ ի բանս փայլատակէ լուսաւորէ: 12 Եւ էր պա-
րիսպք նր̃ աշտարակք նր̃ բարձունք, և ունէր յինքեան
դրունս ե̃ժանս – չիք և յերկոտասան – հրեշտակս, – խու-
րաքանչիւրն – գրեալ են ըստ անուանց երկոտասան –
13 Յարևելից կողման են դրունք Գ. և յարևմտից կող-
ման են Գ. երեք, ի հիւսիսոյ 253[a] կողման են դրունք
Գ. ի հարաւոյ 14 կողման են դրունք Գ: Եւ դրունք
քաղաքին երկոտասանք ըստ անուանք առաքելոց գա-
ռինն – 15 չիք որ – խաւսէր ընդ իս և ունէր չափ ոս-
կեղէն ի ձեռին – չիք և զդրունս նր̃ – 16 եւ էր նիստ
քաղաքին չորեք կուսի, որչափ երկայնութ̃ – չիք նր̃ –
նոյնչափ լայնութ̃ի և չափեաց չափով զքաղաքն: և էր
չափ – չիք նր̃ (երկոտասան) – ասպարէզ – և լայնութիւն
նմին չափով – չիք նր̃ և – կիվաւս: – 17 չիք նր̃ – ՃԽԴ
կանգուն ըստ չափոյ մարդկան որ են հրեշտակք: Եւ շի-
նուած պարսպին յականց յասպիս, և քաղաքն յոսկոյ
սրբոյ նման ա̃բ – 19 պատուականաց, և 253[b] հիման –
պարսպին – և երկրորդն շափիւղա. և երրորդն կռճաղմն
և չորրորդն զմրուխտն: – 20 եղեգնաքարն – ոսկեքարն –
բիւր խւղն – յակունթ փոխ. քրիսոպրասաւս – մետասանե-
րորդն դահեկան երկոտասաներորդն կարկեհան: – 21

եւ են դրունքն երկոտասան – և իւրաքանչիւր – մար-
գարտե. և միջոց քաղաքին յոգոյ սրբոյ և մաւտ առ
դրաւքն ճառագայթագոյն ապիտակ իբրև 22 զբերիւղ.
եւ տաճար – 254ª տաճար է նորայ և գառն 23 միա-
ծինն ա̃յ սեղան սրբութեան: Եւ քաղաքին – եթէ փոխ.
զի – ա̃յ լուսաւորեցին – 24 և ճրագ նորա էր գառնն
ա̃յ. և գնացին – լուսազգեստ լինեին – 25 ոչ փակին –
չիք ի տուէ և ի գիշերի – այլ ի բաց կացցին – համա-
պարորդ. զի գիշեր այլ ոչ ևս լինի ի նմա, բայց միայն
ի նմանութիւն լուսաւորութեան և պատուականութիւն
քան զա̃մ ակնից պատուականաց և մի մտցէ անդ ա̃մ
չարակամ զի մի պղծեսցէ զնա չարութեամբ, բայց մտցեն
ի նա որոց անուանք նոցա գրեալ են ի դպրութիւն կե-
նաց գառինն:

ԳԼՈՒԽ ԻԲ.

1 չիք մաքուր – գետ ջրոյ կենդանութեան սառնա-
գոյն լուսաւոր, որ – չիք և գառինն: – 2 ընդ մէջ հրա-
պարակի նորա, և զեղեր գետոյն ունէր ծառն կենաց –
պտուղ բ̃ժ անգամ, ըստ միոյ – ամսոյ տայր զպտուղ իւր.
և տերև – հեթանոսաց: և յամենայն ծառոց 3 որ ու-
տեին են աւրհնեալք. և անեծք անդ ոչ եին. և – որ եր
ի նմա – ա̃յ փոխ. նր̃. – 4 չիք գրեալ էր – ի ճակատ –
5 և գիշեր այլ ոչ ևս լիներ նոցա և չեին անդ – ճրագի
լուսոյ և ոչ արեգական լուսոյ, վ̃ն – զամենեսին փոխ.
զնոսա – թագաւորն փոխ. թագաւորեսցեն – 6 եւ ասեին –
բան ա̃յ – չիք է. – ա̃ծ հոգոյն սրբով յցոյց զմարգարէս
իւր և որ առաքեաց ի ձեռն հրեշտակաց իւրոց ցուցա-
նել ծառաից իւրոց որ լինելոցն է յոպա ժամանակի.
երանի է որք լուիցենն և պահեսցեն զբանս մարգարէու-
թեանս այսորիկ: 8 Քանզի ես յոհաննես – առաջի

հրեշտակին – 9 ցիս, այլ դու, մի – զի փոխ. քանզի –
քո եմ որք մարգարեացան և պահեցին զբանս գրոյս –
երկրպագեա: – 10 եւ ասէ ցիս, մի՛ կապեր և կնքեր
զբան մարգարեութեան – այսորիկ – ժամանակ սորա
մերձեալ է – 11 չիք և որ աղտեղանալոցն է աղտեղա֊
ցի – արդարասցի. աՀաւասիկ գայ վարձահատոյցն փող֊
փողակի և վարձք իւրաքանչիւր առաջի նորա և հատու֊
ցանել իւրաքանչիւր ըստ գործ իւր: – Ես եմ այբ և ես
եմ քէ ես եմ առաջին և ես եմ վախճան, եւ եմ սկիզբն
և ես եմ կատարած: Երանի որ կատարեն զաւրէնս նորա
և ունին իշխանութիւն ուտել ի ծառոյն կենաց և մտին
ընդ 15 դուռն քաղաքին լուսոյ. և ելցեն – դեղատուք
և պոռնիկք և կռապաշտք և սպանողք և շնացողք և ամե֊
նայն որ գնան և խաւսին ստութիւն: – 16 Ես յս̃ քս̃
առաքեմ զհրեշտակս ի վկայել յամենայն ժամ յեկեղե֊
ցիս. ես եմ արմատ և ես եմ զաւակ ադամա և աստղ –
չիք պայծառ – 17 256[a] և հոգին սուրբ հարսն նորա և
գալոց եմ և որ ոք ծարաւի իցէ և կամիցի գալ առիս
եկեսցէ և առցէ զջուրն կենդանի ձրի: – 18 վկայեմ
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գամ ես փողփողակի: Յոհաննու աւետարանչի և աշա֊
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THE BOOK OF ENOCH

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THE BOOK OF ENOCH

BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.
CANON OF WESTMINSTER; FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE;
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE

REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D.

GEORGE E. MAYCOCK

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We desire to express our hearty thanks to Canon Charles and the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for their permission to reprint here the translation given in their second edition of *The Book of Enoch* (1912).

W. O. E. Oesterley.
G. H. Box.

EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of this series of translations is primarily to furnish students with short, cheap, and handy text-books, which, it is hoped, will facilitate the study of the particular texts in class under competent teachers. But it is also hoped that the volumes will be acceptable to the general reader who may be interested in the subjects with which they deal. It has been thought advisable, as a general rule, to restrict the notes and comments to a small compass; more especially as, in most cases, excellent works of a more elaborate character are available. Indeed, it is much to be desired that these translations may have the effect of inducing readers to study the larger works.

Our principal aim, in a word, is to make some difficult texts, important for the study of Christian origins, more generally accessible in faithful and scholarly translations.

In most cases these texts are not available in a cheap and handy form. In one or two cases texts have been included of books which are available in the official Apocrypha; but in every such case reasons exist for putting forth these texts in a new translation, with an Introduction, in this series.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.
G. H. BOX.

INTRODUCTION

The Apocalyptic Literature

As the Book of Enoch is, in some respects, the most notable extant apocalyptic work outside the canonical Scriptures, it will not be inappropriate to offer a few remarks here on the Apocalyptic Literature generally. In writing about the books which belong to this literature, Prof. Burkitt says very pointedly that "they are the most characteristic survival of what I will venture to call, with all its narrowness and its incoherence, the heroic age of Jewish history, the age when the nation attempted to realize in action the part of the peculiar people of God. It ended in catastrophe, but the nation left two successors, the Christian Church and the Rabbinical Schools, each of which carried on some of the old national aims. And of the two it was the Christian Church that was most faithful to the ideas enshrined in the Apocalypses, and it did consider itself, not without some reason, the fulfilment of those ideas. What is wanted, therefore, in studying the Apocalypses is, above all, sympathy with the ideas that underlie them, and especially with the belief in the New Age. And those who believe that in Christianity a new Era really did dawn for us ought, I think, to have that sympathy. . . . We study the Apocalypses to learn how our spiritual ancestors hoped against hope that God would make all right in the end; and that we, their children, are here to-day studying them is an in-

dication that their hope was not wholly unfounded."[1] Hope is, indeed, the main underlying motive-power which prompted the writers of the Apocalypses. And this hope is the more intensive and ardent in that it shines forth from a background which is dark with despair; for the Apocalyptists despaired of the world in which they lived, a world in which the godly were of no account, while the wicked seemed too often triumphant and prosperous. With evil everywhere around, the Apocalyptists saw no hope for the world as it was; for such a world there was no remedy, only destruction; if the good were ever to triumph it must be in a new world. Despairing, therefore, of the world around them, the Apocalyptists centred their hope upon a world to come, where the righteous would come to their own and evil would find no place. It is this thought which underlies the opening words of the Book of Enoch: "The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless are to be removed." Nowhere in this book is the essence of this hope more beautifully expressed than in a short metrical piece in the first chapter:

" But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

" And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall all be prospered,
And they shall all be blessed.

" And He will help them all,
And light shall appear unto them,
And He will make peace with them " (1 Enoch i. 8).

In all the books belonging to this literature which have come down to us this hope is expressed more or

[1] *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, pp. 15, 16 (1913).

less vividly; nor is the dark background wanting, with prophecies of coming wrath. It will, therefore, be realized that the Apocalyptic Literature is almost wholly concerned with the future; it is true that again and again the Apocalyptist glances at the contemporary history of the world around him, to which many a cryptic reference is made—a fact which necessitates some knowledge of the history of this period (*circa* 200 B.C.–A.D. 100) for a full understanding of the books in question—but these references are only made with a view to comforting the oppressed and afflicted with the thought that even the most mighty of earthly powers are shortly to be overthrown by the advent of the new and glorious era when every injustice and all the incongruities of life will be done away with. So that every reference to the present is merely a position taken up from which to point to the future. Now, since, as we have seen, the Apocalyptists despair of any bettering of the present world, and therefore contemplate its destruction as the preliminary of the new order of things, they look *away* from this world in their visions of the future; they conceive of other-worldly forces coming into play in the reconstitution of things, and of society generally; and since these *are* other-worldly forces the supernatural plays a great part in the Apocalyptic Literature. This supernatural colouring will often strike the reader of this literature as fantastic, and at times *bizarre;* but this should not be permitted to obscure the reality which often lies behind these weird shadows. Mental visions are not always easily expressed in words; the seer who in a vision has received a message in some fantastic guise necessarily has the impress upon his mind of what he has seen when giving his message; and when he describes his vision the picture he presents is, in the nature of the case, more fantastic to the ear of the hearer than to the eye of him who saw it. Allowance should be made for this; especially by us Westerns who are so lacking in the rich imaginative-

ness of the Oriental. Our love of literalness hinders the play of the imagination because we are so apt to "materialize" a mental picture presented by another. The Apocalypses were written by and for Orientals, and we cannot do justice to them unless we remember this; but it would be best if we could get into the Oriental mind and look at things from that point of view.

Another thing which the reader of the Apocalyptic Literature must be prepared for is the frequent inconsistency of thought to be found there, together with variableness of teaching often involving contradiction. The reason of this is not to be sought simply in the fact that in the Apocalypses the hand of more than one author is frequently to be discerned, a fact which would easily account for divergence of views in one and the same book—no, the chief reason is that, on the one hand, the minds of the Apocalyptists were saturated with the traditional thoughts and ideas of the Old Testament, and, on the other, they were eagerly absorbing the newer conceptions which the spirit of the age had brought into being. This occasioned a continual conflict of thought in their minds; the endeavour to harmonize the old and the new would not always succeed, and in consequence there often resulted a compromise which was illogical and which presented contradictions. Inconsistency of teaching on certain points is, therefore, not surprising under the circumstances.

Again, to realize the significance of much that is found in these Apocalypses one has to reckon with a rigid predestinarianism which was characteristic of the Apocalyptists as a whole. They started with the absolute conviction that the whole course of the world, from beginning to end, both as regards its physical changes and also in all that concerns the history of nations, their growth and decline, and of every single individual, was in every respect predetermined by God Almighty before all time. This

belief of the Apocalyptists is well illustrated in one of the later Apocalypses by these words:

"For He hath weighed the age in the balance,
And by number hath He numbered the seasons;
Neither will He move nor stir things,
Till the measure appointed be fulfilled."
(ii. (iv.) Esdras iv. 36, 37.)

Thus "the times and periods of the course of the world's history have been predetermined by God. The numbers of the years have been exactly fixed. This was a fundamental postulate of the Apocalyptists, who devoted much of their energy to calculations, based upon a close study of prophecy, as to the exact period when history should reach its consummation . . . the underlying idea is predestinarian."[1] But all these things, according to the Apocalyptists, were divine secrets hidden from the beginning of the world, but revealed to God-fearing men to whom was accorded the faculty of peering into the hidden things of God and of understanding them; upon these men was laid the privilege and duty of revealing the divine secrets to others, hence their name of Apocalyptists or "revealers." It was because the Apocalyptists believed so firmly in this power which they possessed of looking into the deep things of God that they claimed to be able to measure the significance of what had happened in the past and of what was happening in the present; and upon the basis of this knowledge they believed that they also had the power, given them by God, of foreseeing the march of future events; above all, of knowing when the end of the world would come, a consummation towards which the whole history of the world had been tending from the beginning.

In spite of all the mysticism, sometimes of a rather fantastic kind, and of the frequently supra-mundane vision with which the Apocalyptic Literature abounds,

[1] G. H. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, pp. 35, 36 (1912).

the Apocalyptists fully realized the need of practical religion; they were upholders of the Law, the loyal observance of which they regard as a necessity for all God-fearing men. In this the Apocalyptists were at one, in principle, with Pharisaism; but their conception of what constituted loyal observance of the Law differed from that of the Pharisees, for, unlike these, the Apocalyptists laid all stress on the spirit of its observance rather than upon the letter. Characteristic of their attitude here are the words in 1 Enoch v. 4:

> "But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
> But ye have turned away, and have spoken proud and hard words
> With your impure mouths against His greatness,
> O ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace."

And again, in xcix. 2:

> "Woe to them that pervert the words of uprightness,
> And transgress the eternal Law."

We do not find in this Literature that insistence on the literal carrying-out of the minutest precepts of the Law which was characteristic of Pharisaism. Veneration for the Law is whole-hearted; it is the real guide of life; punishment awaits those who ignore its guidance; but the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law and its requirements is alien to the spirit of the Apocalyptists.

As a whole, the Apocalyptic Literature presents an universalistic attitude very different from the nationalistic narrowness of the Pharisees. It is true, the Apocalyptists are not always consistent in this, but normally they embrace the Gentiles equally with the men of their own nation in the divine scheme of salvation; and, in the same way, the wicked who are

excluded are not restricted to the Gentiles, but the Jews equally with them shall suffer torment hereafter according to their deserts.[1]

The Apocalyptic Literature, as distinct from the Apocalyptic Movement owing to which it took its rise, began to come into existence about the period 200–150 B.C.; at any rate, the earliest extant example of this Literature—the earliest portions of the Book of Enoch—belongs to this period. Works of an Apocalyptic character continued to be written for about three centuries; the Second (Fourth) Book of Esdras, one of the most remarkable Apocalypses, belongs to the end of the first Christian century, approximately. There are Apocalypses of later date, some of subordinate interest are of much later date; but the real period of the Apocalyptic Literature is from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 100; its beginnings date, therefore, from a time prior to that great landmark in Jewish history, the Maccabæan Era.

The Book of Enoch: its Component Parts and their Dates

The Book of Enoch is now usually designated 1 Enoch, to distinguish it from the later Apocalypse, *The Secrets of Enoch*, known as 2 Enoch. The former is also called the Ethiopic Enoch, the latter the Slavonic Enoch, after the languages of the earliest versions extant of each respectively. No manuscript of the original language of either is known to be in existence.

According to Canon Charles, the various elements of which our book in its present form is made up belong to different dates. The following table will show the dates of the different parts of the book. Canon Charles believes that these are approximately

[1] The general Pharisaic point of view regarding this may be gathered from Matt. iii. 7–10.

correct, without committing himself to the certainty of this in each case:

CHAPTERS		
xii.–xxxvi.		The oldest pre-Maccabæan portions.
xciii. xci. 12–17	"The Apocalypse of Weeks."	The oldest pre-Maccabæan portions.
vi.–xi. liv. 7—lv. 2 lx. lxv.–lxix. 25 cvi., cvii.	Fragments of "The Book of Noah."	Pre-Maccabæan at the latest.
lxxxiii.–xc.	"The Dream-Visions,"	165–161 B.C.
lxxii.–lxxxii.	"The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries."	Before 110 B.C.
xxxvii.–lxxi.	"The Parables," or "Similitudes."	*circa* 105–64 B.C.
xci. 1–11, 18, 19—civ.		*circa* 105–64 B.C.
i.–v.	The latest portion, but pre-Christian.	

Chapter cv, which consists of only two verses, cannot be dated; while cviii. is in the nature of an appendix, probably added subsequently, to the whole work.

While these dates may be regarded as approximately correct, it should be pointed out that differences of opinion exist among scholars on the subject. Schürer holds, for example, that, with the exception of chapters xxxvii.–lxxi. (the "Parables," or "Similitudes"), the entire book belongs to the period 130–100 B.C.; the "Parables" he assigns to a time not earlier than Herod the Great. Beer thinks that the "Dream-Visions" (chapters lxxxiii.–xc.) belong to the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.), and he includes under the pre-Maccabæan portions only xci. 12–17, xcii. xciii. 1–14; and holds that the rest of the book was written before 64 B.C. Dalman maintains that it cannot be proved that the important section xxxvii.–lxxi. (the "Similitudes") is "the product of the pre-Christian period," though he fully

recognizes its Jewish character. Burkitt regards the writer as "almost contemporary" with the philosopher Posidonius (135–51 B.C.). There is thus some diversity of opinion as to the date of the book among leading authorities. That it is, as a whole, pre-Christian, may be regarded as definitely established. More difficult is the question whether any portions of it are pre-Maccabæan; Charles gives various reasons for his belief that considerable parts are pre-Maccabæan; we are inclined to agree with him, though it may be questioned whether the last word on the subject has been spoken.

Authorship

As the various parts of the book[1] clearly belong to different dates, diversity of authorship is what one is naturally led to expect; and of this there can, indeed, be no shadow of doubt. The author of the earliest portions was a Jew who lived, as Burkitt has shown, in northern Palestine, in the land of Dan, south-west of the Hermon range, near the head-waters of the Jordan. This is important, as it tends to show that the book, or books, is really Palestinian, and one which, therefore, circulated among Jews in Palestine. "If, moreover, the author came from the north, that helps to explain the influence the book had upon the Religion that was cradled in Galilee."[2] Of the authors of the other three books of which "Enoch" is made up (viz. "The Dream-Visions," "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries," and "The Similitudes") we know nothing save what can be gathered from their writings as to their religious standpoint.

Charles holds that though there is not unity of authorship there is, none the less, uniformity; for,

[1] Burkitt rightly insists that we should speak of the collection as the books, not the book, of Enoch.

[2] Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 28–30.

according to him, all the books were written by *Chassidim*,[1] or by their successors, the Pharisees. This contention has been strongly assailed and much weakened by Leszynsky in a recent work on the Sadducees.[2] While frankly recognizing the composite character of the book, Leszynsky holds that the original portions of it [3] emanated from Sadducæan circles; and that the special object of the book originally was the bringing about of a reform of the calendar. He points to the ascription of the book to *Enoch* as supporting his contention, for Enoch lived 365 years,[4] *i. e.* his years correspond to the number of days in the *solar* year; the basis of reckoning time was one of the fundamental points of difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees, for whereas the former reckoned time by the *lunar* year (360 days), the latter did so by the *solar* year. Here a significant remark of Burkitt's is worth recalling; in writing about the false titles given to all the Apocalyptic books, he says: "There is another aspect of pseudonymous authorship to which I venture to think sufficient attention has not been given. It is this, that the names were not chosen out of mere caprice; they indicated to a certain extent what subjects would be treated and the point of view of the writer." [5] Further, the fact that "Enoch walked with God; and he was not; for God took him," [6] *i. e.* that he ascended into the heavens, is also significant; for he would thereby be just the one to know all about the heavenly luminaries; he was just the most appropriate author of a book which was to deal with astronomical questions. "The Sadducæan character of the original work," says Leszynsky, "is seen most clearly in the discussion regarding the calendar; chapters

[1] *i. e.* the "Pious ones," or "Saints."
[2] *Die Sadduzäer* (1912).
[3] *i. e.*, according to him, i.–xxxvi., lxxii.–lxxxii., lxxxiii.–xc., xci. 12–17, xciii.
[4] See Gen. v. 21–23. [5] *Op. cit.*, p. 18. [6] Gen. v. 24.

lxxii.–lxxxii. are rightly called the Book of Astronomy:[1] 'the book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months . . . with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which endureth till all eternity' (lxxii. 1). That sounds almost as though the author of the Book of Jubilees had written it. That it is not a merely scientific interest which impels the writer to give expression to his astronomical theories may be seen from the words at the conclusion of the section: 'Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness, and sin not as the sinners in the reckoning of all their days, in which the sun traverseth the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days . . .' (lxxxii. 4–7). Herein one can discern quite clearly the tendency of the writer. He desires the adoption of the solar year, while his contemporaries wrongly followed a different reckoning, and therefore celebrated the feasts at the wrong time. The 'sinners who sin in the reckoning of the year' are the Pharisees; and the righteous ones who are blessed, the *Zaddîkim*,[2] who walk upon the paths of righteousness (*Zedck*) as the name is made to imply, are the Sadducees."[3] The point may appear small to us, but we may compare with it the Quartodeciman controversy in the Church during the second century. It is, at any rate, a strong point in favour of the Sadducæan authorship of "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries."

The pre-Maccabæan portions (assuming that some portions of it *are* pre-Maccabæan) of the book of Enoch must certainly be ascribed to the *Chassidim*;

[1] *i.e.* "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries," as Charles calls it.

[2] *i.e.* "the righteous"; a play on the word *Zaddûkim*, the "sons of Zadok," *i.e.* the Sadducees.

[3] Leszynsky, *op cit.*, pp. 253 ff.

but it is not on that account necessary to ascribe *all* the later portions to the Pharisees. Three points especially militate against this: some of the teaching concerning the Messiah; the, generally speaking, universalistic spirit, which is quite un-Pharisaic; and the attitude towards the Law, which is not that of the Pharisees. It is not to be denied that some portions (*e. g.* cii. 6 ff.) are from the hands of Pharisees; nor can it be doubted that the whole collection in its present form has been worked over by a Pharisee, or Pharisees; but that all the post-Maccabæan portions in their original form emanated from Pharisaic circles does not appear to have been proved. It seems more likely that, with the exceptions already referred to, the various component parts of the book were written by Apocalyptists who belonged neither to Pharisaic nor yet to Sadducæan circles.

Language

The Book of Enoch exists only in the Ethiopic Version; this was translated from the Greek Version, of which only a few portions are extant.[1] The Latin Version, which was also made from the Greek, is not extant, with the exception of i. 9, and cvi. 1–18; the fragment containing these two passages was discovered by the Rev. M. R. James, of King's College, Cambridge, in the British Museum. The book was originally written either in Hebrew or Aramaic; Charles thinks that chapters vi.–xxxvi., lxxxiii.–xc. were Aramaic, the rest Hebrew. It is, however, very difficult to say for certain which of these two languages was really the original, because,

[1] Chaps. i.–xxxii. 6, and xix. 3–xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered at Akhmîm in 1886–1887; vi.–x. 14, xv. 8–xvi. 1, and viii. 4–ix. 4 in a duplicate form, have been preserved in Syncellus; lxxxix. 42–49 occurs in a Greek Vatican MS. (No. 1809); there are also a few quotations in early Greek ecclesiastical writings; and i. 9, v. 4, xxvii. 2 are quoted in the Epistle of St. Jude 14, 15.

as Burkitt says, " most of the most convincing proofs that the Greek text of Enoch is a translation from a Semitic language fit equally well with a Hebrew or an Aramaic original "; his opinion is that Aramaic was the original language, " but that a few passages do seem to suggest a Hebrew origin, yet not decisively."[1]

General Contents

The reader who comes to peruse the Book of Enoch for the first time will find much that appears to him strange and unattractive; he must not, however, be repelled by this; for in due time he will come to other parts of the book which he will soon see to be of real value from many points of view. But even regarding the less attractive parts, he will find that when these are carefully studied they contain more that is of interest than appears upon the surface. Unfortunately, the opening portion (i.–xxxvi.), which is naturally read first, contains a good deal of the least important parts of the whole book; some passages are even repellent. It is well to remember the point, already referred to, that there are at least four quite independent books included in the " Book of Enoch," exclusive of certain " Noah " fragments and other pieces (see below); the student is, therefore, advised to treat these as separate works, and to read them as such. There is no reason to begin with the book which happens to come first, especially as the first thirty-six chapters do not all belong together.[2] But, in any case, it will be found most useful to have some general idea of the contents of each of the different books before beginning to read them. For this purpose a brief *résumé* of each is given here.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2] It is a great pity that one system of chapter-enumeration runs through the whole volume; if each separate book began with chap. i. it would be much better. For obvious reasons this cannot be done here; see Editors' General Preface.

i. *The Book of Enoch* (chapters xii.–xxxvi.). The book opens with a Dream-Vision of Enoch. In this dream Enoch is asked to intercede for the watchers of heaven, *i. e.* the angels, who had left their heavenly home to commit iniquity with the daughters of men. He writes out the petition (cp. the title "Enoch the Scribe") the fallen angels make, and then retires to await the answer, which comes to him in a series of visions. These visions are not quite easy to follow; they are evidently incomplete and somewhat confused; in all probability the text has suffered in transmission. At any rate, the petition is refused; Enoch declares to the fallen angels the doom which, as he has been taught in the visions, is to be their lot; the final words of the message which he is bidden to give them are: "You have no peace" (xii.–xvi.). There follow then accounts of the different journeys which Enoch makes, being conducted by angels of light, through certain parts of the earth, and through Sheol. After the account of the *first journey* (xvii.–xix.) a short enumeration is made of the archangels, seven in number, and their functions (xx.). In the *second journey* is described the place of final punishment of the fallen angels: "This place is the prison of the angels and here they will be imprisoned for ever." From thence Enoch is taken to Sheol; then to the west, where he sees the luminaries of heaven. After that the angels show him "seven magnificent mountains," upon one of which is the throne of God; he sees also the Tree of Life, which is to be given to the holy and righteous after the great Judgement. From thence he comes back to the centre of the earth and sees the "blessed place," Jerusalem, and the "accursed valley" (xxi.–xxvii.). The book concludes with what appear to be fragments of other journeys, to the east, to the north, and to the south. Of special interest here is the mention of the Garden of Righteousness, and the Tree of Wisdom (xxviii.–xxxvi.).

Much that is written in these chapters may appear

pointless and uninspiring; but we must bear in mind the purpose that lies behind it all. The fallen angels were believed to have brought sin on to the earth; all the wickedness of the world the Apocalyptist traces back to them. This cause of sin must be wholly destroyed before righteousness can come truly to its own. Therefore the Apocalyptist has a practical aim in view when describing in much detail the final place of punishment of the fallen angels; for here, too, are to come all those who by sin are the offspring of this race. No less does he delight in telling of the abode of joy prepared for the righteous. That all these descriptions were constructed out of the imagination of the Apocalyptist, based largely, no doubt, upon popular tradition, did not detract from their practical value for the people of his day. He was a preacher of righteousness who looked forward in absolute conviction to the final overthrow of sin; and all his visions have as their motive-power the yearning for and belief in the triumph of righteousness over sin. One of a like mind wrote later on, in a kind of preface to his book, these significant words, which sum up the essence of the teaching of this book:

> And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate, and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth, and let every evil work come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: and it shall prove a blessing: the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

ii. *The Parables* (chapters xxxvii.–lxxi.). There are three Parables, or Similitudes, and they all have as their underlying thought the destruction of evil and the triumph of righteousness, as in the preceding book. But here some new and important elements are introduced which give special value to this book.

The *first parable* (xxxviii.–xliv.) is a prophecy of coming judgement upon the wicked, and especially the kings and mighty ones on the earth. On the

other hand, the Apocalyptist sees in his vision the abode and resting-places of the righteous who are continually praising the "Lord of Spirits"; this is the usual title given to God in this book. Here occurs the first mention of the "Elect One" (cp. Luke xxiii. 35). In the presence of the Lord of Spirits are also the four Archangels and innumerable companies of other angels. Here he learns many secrets of the heavens; a fragment on Wisdom (xlii.), which recalls some passages in Ecclus. xxiv., comes in the middle of the secrets, and is clearly out of place. The *second parable* (xlv.–lvii.) continues the same theme and further develops it. Of special importance is the sitting of the Elect One on the throne of glory as Judge (xlv. 3), and the mention of His title, "Son of Man" (xlvi. 2). The thought of the vindication of the righteous is marred by their joy at vengeance upon the wicked. A particularly striking passage is chapter xlviii. 1–7, which speaks of the inexhaustible fountain of righteousness reserved for the holy and elect in the presence of the Son of Man and of the Lord of Spirits. The Apocalyptist prophesies further of the repentance of the Gentiles (chapter l.), an universalistic note of significance, and speaks of the Resurrection of the dead in a notable passage:

> And in those days shall the earth also give back that which
> has been entrusted to it,
> And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
> And Hell shall give back that which it owes.

The parable ends with an account of the Judgement, followed by two short passages on the last struggle of the heathen powers against Israel (lvi. 5–8), and the return from the Dispersion (lvii.), which do not appear to be in their original place. The *third parable* (lviii.–lxxi.) has clearly suffered largely from the intrusion of alien matter, and is probably incomplete. Its main theme is the final Judgement upon all flesh, and especially upon the great ones of the earth; the Judge is the Son of Man. Some of

the passages which speak of the future reward of the righteous are full of beauty; the following is well worth quoting:

And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And they shall be garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

A large Noah fragment comes in the middle of the Parable (see p. xxvi below). The close of this Parable is contained in lxix. 26-29; the account of Enoch's final translation (lxx.), and two of Enoch's visions (lxxi.) are out of place.

iii. *The Book of the Courses of the Heavenly Luminaries* (chapters lxxii.–lxxxii.). In lxxiv. 12 it says: "And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days."[1] This gives the key-note of this book, viz. that time is to be reckoned by the sun, not by the moon (see further on this the section on Authorship, above). Until we come to chapter lxxx. this book is uninteresting in the extreme; it purports to tell in detail of the laws by which the sun, moon, stars and the winds are governed; they are described by Uriel, "the holy angel," to the Apocalyptist. The four quarters of the world, the seven mountains and the seven rivers are also dealt with. "The author has no other interest save a scientific one coloured by Jewish conceptions and beliefs."[2] It is, however, different when we come to chapter lxxx. 2–8; the whole tone alters in these verses, in which it is said that owing to the sin of men the moon and the sun will mislead them. An ethical thought is thus brought in

[1] See also lxxxii. 4–6, 11.
[2] Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 147 (1912).

which is wholly lacking in the previous chapters of this book; this is also true of chapter lxxxi.; it is probable that neither of these chapters stood here originally.

Regarding the point of the 364 days to the year which the writer of this book makes, Charles says that "he did this only through sheer incapacity for appreciating anything better; for he must have been acquainted with the solar year of 365¼ days. His acquaintance with the Greek cycles shows this. . . . The author's reckoning of the year at 364 days may be partly due to his opposition to heathen systems, and partly to the fact that 364 is divisible by seven, and amounts to fifty-two weeks exactly."[1] In any case, he is opposed to the lunar year, the Pharisaic way of reckoning time; and this is an important point in favour of Sadducæan authorship. It will be noted that this book was written in post-Maccabæan times; it was after the Maccabæan struggle that the Sadducees and Pharisees appeared as parties definitely opposed to one another.[2]

iv. *The Dream-Visions* (chapters lxxxiii.–xc.). This book consists of two dream-visions; the first deals with the judgement brought upon the world by the deluge on account of sin; the origin of sin is again traced to the angels who fell. It concludes with a hymn of praise to God in which a prayer is offered that all flesh may not be destroyed (lxxxiii.–lxxxiv.). The second dream-vision is much longer; it gives in brief outline the history of the world to the founding of the Messianic Kingdom. First, the patriarchs, symbolized by bulls, etc. (lxxxv.); then the fallen angels, also described in symbolic language, and their punishment (lxxxvi.–lxxxviii.). The history then proceeds to deal more specifically with Israel from the time of Noah to the Maccabæan revolt (lxxxix.–xc.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

[2] For the points of difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees see the present writer's *The Books of the Apocrypha, their Origin, Teaching, and Contents*, chap. vii. (1914).

19). Throughout the dream-vision symbolic language is used; the faithful in Israel are spoken of as the sheep, while the Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey.

The dream-vision concludes with some familiar eschatological notes: the judgement and condemnation of the wicked; the establishment of the New Jerusalem; the conversion of the Gentiles, who become subject to Israel; the gathering-in of the dispersed Israelites; the resurrection of the righteous dead, and the setting-up of the Messianic Kingdom on the appearance of the Messiah (xc. 20–38).

v. The *Concluding Section* of the Book (xcii.–cv.; xci. 1–10, 18, 19 also belong here) is a complete, though short, work; but there are some obvious interpolations, and it is quite possible that some parts of the text are dislocated. This makes the understanding of the book difficult; but if we follow Charles's guidance here the difficulties will disappear. He says that this concluding piece has "in some degree suffered at the hands of the final editor of the book, both in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. The interpolations are: xci. 11, xciii. 11–14, xciv. 7^d, xcvi. 2. The dislocations of the text are a more important feature of the book. They are confined (with the exception of xciii. 13–14, and of cvi. 17^a which should be read immediately after cvi. 14) to xci.–xciii. All critics are agreed as to the chief of these. xci. 12–17 should undoubtedly be read directly after xciii. . . . Taken together xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17 form an independent whole—the Apocalypse of Weeks—which has been incorporated in xci.–civ. . . . The remaining dislocations need only to be pointed out in order to be acknowledged. On other grounds we find that xci.–civ. is a book of different authorship from that of the rest of the sections. Now, this being so, this section obviously begins with xcii.: 'Written by Enoch the Scribe,' etc. On xcii. follows xci. 1–10, 18, 19 as a natural sequel, where

Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17. The original order of the text, therefore, was: xcii. xci. 1–10, 18, 19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv. These dislocations were the work of the editor, who put the different books of Enoch together, and added lxxx. and lxxxi."[1]

This book is concerned with the question of the final reward of the righteous and the final punishment of the wicked. But a new teaching of great importance is put forth here. Hitherto it had been taught that although much incongruity and apparent injustice were to be found on this earth owing to the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked, nevertheless all things would be righted in the world to come, where the wicked would receive their deserts, and the righteous would come to their own. In this book it is taught that retribution will overtake the wicked, and the righteous will have peace and prosperity, *even on this earth*, with the setting-up of the Messianic Kingdom; and that at the last there will come, with the final judgement, the destruction of the former heaven and earth, and the creation of a new heaven. Then will follow the resurrection of the spirits of the righteous dead who will live for ever in peace and joy, while the wicked will perish everlastingly. The important point, which is a development, is the idea of the punishment of the wicked taking place on this earth, the very scene of their unrighteous triumphs.

vi. The *Noah Fragments* (vi.–xi. lvii. 7–lv. 2, lx. lxv.–lxix. 25, cvi., cvii.). These fragments are not of much importance; the main topics touched upon are the fall of the angels and sin among men in consequence; judgement on mankind, *i. e.* the Deluge, and the preservation of Noah.

The first five chapters are generally held to be as late as any part of the whole collection; they deal with the punishment hereafter of the wicked and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

the blessedness of the righteous. Chapter cviii., which reads like a final word to the whole collection, touches upon the same theme.

The Importance of the Book for the Study of Christian Origins

This is a subject which cannot be thoroughly appreciated without studying the book in detail, especially from its doctrinal standpoint, and seeing in how many aspects it represents the doctrine and the popular conceptions of the Jews during the two last pre-Christian centuries. To do this here would involve a far too extended investigation; it must suffice to indicate a few of the many points which should be studied; from these it will be seen how important the book is for the study of Christian origins. Charles says that "the influence of 1 Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books put together"; and he gives a formidable list of passages in the New Testament which "either in phraseology or idea directly depend on, or are illustrative of, passages in 1 Enoch," as well as a further list showing that various doctrines in 1 Enoch had "an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines." These passages should be studied—and they will be found to be a most interesting study—in Charles's work already referred to several times, pp. xcv.–ciii.; and with these should be read the section on the Theology of the Book of Enoch, pp. ciii.–cx. Another book of great value and interest—also already quoted—is Burkitt's *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses.* In dealing with the subject of 1 Enoch and the Gospels, this writer points out that the former "contains a serious attempt to account for the presence of Evil in human history, and this attempt claims our attention, because it is in essentials the view presupposed in the Gospels, especially in the Synoptic Gospels.

It is when you study Matthew, Mark, and Luke against the background of the Books of Enoch that you see them in their true perspective. In saying this I have no intention of detracting from the importance of what the Gospels report to us. On the contrary, it puts familiar words into their proper setting. Indeed, it seems to me that some of the best-known Sayings of Jesus only appear in their true light if regarded as *Midrash* upon words and concepts that were familiar to those who heard the Prophet of Galilee, though now they have been forgotten by Jew and Christian alike" (p. 21). He then gives an illustration of this from Matt. xii. 43–45, Luke xi. 24–26. Of still greater interest are his remarks upon the relationship between 1 Enoch lxii. and Matt. xxv. 31–46; he believes that "the Similitudes of Enoch are presupposed in the scene from Matthew." The whole of the discussion which follows should be read.

The special points of interest that should be studied in seeking to realize the importance of these books of Enoch for the study of Christian origins are the problems of evil, including, of course, the subjects of dæmonology, and future judgement; the Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom—the title "Son of Man" is of special importance—and the Resurrection. There are, of course, other subjects which will suggest themselves in studying the book.

ABBREVIATIONS, BRACKETS, AND SYMBOLS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH

E denotes the Ethiopic Version.

G^s denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of 8^b–9^b there are two forms of the text, G^{s1} G^{s2}.

G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmîm, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.

The following brackets are used in the translation of 1 Enoch:

⌜ ⌝. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in G^g but not in E.

⌜⌜ ⌝⌝. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in E but not in G^g or G^s.

⟨ ⟩. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are restored.

[ ]. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are interpolations.

( ). The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are supplied by the editor.

The use of **thick type** denotes that the words so printed are emended.

† † = corruption in the text.

. . . = some words which have been lost.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

I–XXXVI.

I–V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

I. 1. The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect ⌈⌈and⌉⌉ righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked ⌈⌈and godless⌉⌉ are to be removed. 2. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, ⌈which⌉ the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come. 3. Concerning the elect I said, and took up my parable concerning them :

The Holy Great One will come forth from His
 dwelling,
4. And the eternal God will tread upon the earth,
 (even) on Mount Sinai,
[And appear from His camp]
And appear in the strength of His might from
 the heaven ⌈of heavens⌉.

5. And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them
 unto the ends of the earth.

6. And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame

7. And the earth shall be ⌜wholly⌝ rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8. But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall ⌜all⌝ be blessed.

⌜And He will help them all⌝,
And light shall appear unto them,
⌜And He will make peace with them⌝.

9. And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of ⌜His⌝ holy ones
To execute judgement upon all,
And to destroy ⌜all⌝ the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works ⌜of their ungodliness⌝ which they have ungodly committed,
⌜And of all the hard things which⌝ ungodly sinners ⌜have spoken⌝ against Him.

II. 1. Observe ye every thing that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, ⌜and⌝ the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order. 2. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, ⌜how steadfast they are⌝, how ⌜none of the things upon earth⌝ change, ⌜but⌝ all the works of God appear ⌜to you⌝. 3. Behold the summer and the winter, ⌜⌜how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it⌝⌝.

III. Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees ⌜⌜seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

IV. And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

V. 1. Observe ⌜⌜ye⌝⌝ how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed ⌜and know⌝ with regard to all ⌜His works⌝, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

2. And ⌜all⌝ His works go on ⌜thus⌝ from year to year ⌜for ever⌝, and all the tasks ⌜which⌝ they accomplish for Him, and ⌜their tasks⌝ change not, but according as ⌜⌜God⌝⌝ hath ordained so is it done.

3. And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish ⌜and change not⌝ their tasks ⌜from His commandments⌝.

4. But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

5. Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And ⌜the years of your destruction⌝ shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

6*a*. In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,
b. And by you shall ⌜all⌝ who curse, curse.
c. ⌜And all⌝ the sinners ⌜and godless⌝ shall imprecate by you,
7*c*. And for you, the godless, there shall be a curse.

6*d*. ⌜And all the . . . shall rejoice,
e. And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
f. And every mercy and peace and forbearance:

g. There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

i. And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,

j. But on you all shall abide a curse⌉.

7a. But for the elect there shall be light and grace and peace,

b. And they shall inherit the earth.

8. And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride;
But they who are wise shall be humble.

9. And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

VI–XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralisation of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom* (a Noah fragment).

VI. 1. And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. 2. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children.' 3. And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' 4. And they all answered

him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' 5. Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. 6. And they were in all two hundred; who descended ⌜in the days⌝ of **Jared** on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. 7. And these are the names of their leaders: Sêmîazâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabîêl, Tâmîêl, Râmîêl, Dânêl, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjâl, Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârêl, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêêl, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâêl, **Sariêl**. 8. These are their chiefs of tens.

VII. 1. And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. 2. And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: 3. Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, 4. The giants turned against them and devoured mankind. 5. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. 6. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

VIII. 1. And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them **the metals** ⟨of the earth⟩ and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures. 2. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. 3. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqîjâl,

(taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the constellations, **Ezêqêêl the knowledge of the clouds,** ⟨Araqiêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs of the sun⟩, and Sariêl the course of the moon. 4. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven. . . .

IX. 1. And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. 2. And they said one to another: 'The earth, made †without inhabitant, cries the voice of their crying† up to the gates of heaven. 3. ⸢And now to you, the holy ones of heaven⸣, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High".' 4. And they said to the Lord **of the ages**: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings ⟨and God of the ages⟩, the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! 5. Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and all things Thou seest, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. 6. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which men were striving to **learn**: 7. And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates. 8. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. 9. And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. 10. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and cannot **cease** because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth. 11. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and

Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.'

X. 1. Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent **Uriel** to the son of Lamech, and said to him: 2. '⟨Go to Noah and⟩ tell him in my name "Hide thyself!", and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. 3. And now instruct him that he may escape and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.' 4. And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. 5. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. 6. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire. 7. And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have **disclosed** and have taught their sons. 8. And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' 9. And to Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication: and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle: for length of days shall they not have. 10. And no request that they (*i.e.* their fathers) make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years.' 11. And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, **bind** Semjâzâ and

his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. 12. And, when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the **valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated. 13. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: ⟨and⟩ to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. 14. And whosoever shall be **condemned** and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations. 15. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate, and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind. 16. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth, and let every evil work come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: ⌜and it shall prove a blessing: the works of righteousness and truth⌝ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

17. And then shall all the righteous escape,
And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
And all the days of their youth and their **old age** shall they complete in peace.

18. And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing. 19. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil. 20. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth. 21. ⌜And all the children of men shall become righteous⌝, and all nations shall

offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. 22. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

XI. 1. And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down ⌜upon the earth⌝ over the work and labour of the children of men. 2. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.'

XII–XVI. *Dream Vision of Enoch: his intercession for Azâzêl and the fallen Angels: and his announcement to them of their first and final doom.*

XII. 1. Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.

3. And I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me: 4. 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare† to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: 5. And ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin: and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in †their† children, 6. The murder of †their† beloved ones shall †they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall †they† lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."'

XIII. 1. And Enoch went and said: 'Azâzêl,

thou shalt have no peace : a severe sentence has gone forth against thee to put thee in bonds : 2. And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.' 3. Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. 4. And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven. 5. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. 6. Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should have forgiveness and length ⟨of days⟩†. 7. And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon : I read their petition till I fell asleep. 8. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of chastisement, ⌜and a voice came bidding (me)⌝ to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them. 9. And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in 'Abelsjâîl, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. 10. And I recounted before them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

XIV. 1. The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. 2. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth : which the Great One has given to men to converse therewith and understand with the heart. 3. As He hath created and given ⌜to man

the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given⌉ me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven. 4. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus, that your petition will not be granted unto you ⌈throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgement has been finally passed upon you: yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you⌉. 5. And from henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and ⌈in bonds⌉ of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. 6. And (that) previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and you shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword. 7. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own: even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have written. 8. And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. 9. And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me. 10. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tesselated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal. 11. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. 12. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire. 13. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. 14. And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, 15. And lo! there was a second house, greater than the former,

and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. 16. And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendour and its extent. 17. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. 18. And I looked and saw ⸢⸢therein⸣⸣ a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the **vision** of cherubim. 19. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. 20. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. 21. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. 22. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counsellor. 23. And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. 24. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word.' 25. ⸢And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me⸣, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.

XV. 1. And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. 2. And go, say to ⸢⸢the Watchers of heaven⸣⸣, who have sent thee to intercede ⸢⸢for them: "You should intercede⸣⸣ for men, and not men for you: 3. Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons. 4. And

though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, **as the children** of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those ⌜also⌝ do who die and perish. 5. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. 6. But you were ⌜formerly⌝ spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. 7. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. 8. And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. 9. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from **men,** ⌜⌜and⌝⌝ from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; ⌜they shall be evil spirits on earth, and⌝ evil spirits shall they be called. [10. As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] 11. And the spirits of the giants **afflict,** oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, ⌜but nevertheless hunger⌝ and thirst, and cause offences. 12. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded ⌜from them⌝.

XVI. 1. From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death ⌜of the giants⌝, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great ⌜judgement⌝ in which the age shall be consummated over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." 2. And now as to the Watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been ⌜⌜aforetime⌝⌝ in heaven, (say to

them): 3. "You have been in heaven, but ⌜all⌝ the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth." 4. Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."'

XVII–XXXVII. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII–XIX. *The First Journey.*

XVII. 1. And they took ⌜and⌝ brought me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and when they wished, they appeared as men. 2. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. 3. And I saw the places of the luminaries ⌜and the treasuries of the stars⌝ and of the thunder, ⌜and⌝ in the **uttermost depths**, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, ⌜⌜and a fiery sword⌝⌝ and all the lightnings. 4. And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. 5. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west. 6. I saw the great rivers and came to the great ⌜river and to the great⌝ darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. 7. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow. 8. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

XVIII. 1. I saw the treasuries of all the winds; I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. 2. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. 3. ⌜⌜And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven⌝⌝, and have their station between heaven and earth: ⌜⌜these are the

pillars of the heaven⌉. 4. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting. 5. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw ⌈⌈the paths of the angels: I saw⌉ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. 6. And I proceeded and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, three towards the east, and three towards the south. 7. And as for those towards the east (one) was of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of **jacinth,** and those towards the south of red stone. 8. But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was of sapphire. 9. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains 10. is a region, the end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. 11. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns ⌈⌈of heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns⌉⌉ of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards the height and towards the depth. 12. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. 13. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I inquired regarding them, 14. The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. 15. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. 16. And He was wroth with them, and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even) ⌈for ten thousand years⌉.'

XIX. 1. And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits, assuming many different forms, are defiling mankind, and shall lead them astray

into sacrificing to demons ⸢as gods⸣, (here shall they stand), till ⸢the day of⸣ the great judgement in which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. 2. And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens.' 3. And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. *Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.*

XX. 1. And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. 2. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus. 3. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men. 4. Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. 5. Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind ⸢and⸣ over chaos. 6. Saraqâêl, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. 7. Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. 8. Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

XXI–XXXVI. *The Second Journey of Enoch.*

XXI. *Preliminary and final place of punishment of the fallen angels (stars).*

XXI. 1. And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. 2. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. 3. And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. 4. Then I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' 5. Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? 6. These are of the number of the stars ⸢of heaven⸣ which have transgressed the commandment of the

Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' 7. And from thence I went to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. 8. Then I said: 'How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!' 9. Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' 10. And he said ⌜unto me⌝: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. *Sheol, or the Underworld.*

XXII. 1. And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west ⌜another⌝ great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

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2. And there was in it †four† **hollow** places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are **the hollow places** and deep and dark to look at.	2. And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep and very smooth: †three† of them were dark and one bright; and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: '†How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'

3. Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. 4. And these places **have**

been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

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5. I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven and made suit. 6. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit—whose is it whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?'

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5. I saw ⟨the spirit of⟩ **a dead man** making suit, and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. 6. And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?'

7. And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

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8. Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places:** 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9. And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made ⟨for⟩ the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the **bright** spring of water. 10. **And** such has

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8. Then I asked regarding all the **hollow places:** 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9. And he answered me saying: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. 10. And **this** has been made for sinners

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been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime. 11. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who † curse † for ever, and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. 12. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. 13. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.' 14. Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

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when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. 11. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, **so that** (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. 12. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. 13. And **this** has been made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.' 14. Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and said: 'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who rulest over the world.'

XXIII. *The Fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

XXIII. 1. From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. 2. And I saw a ⸢⸢burning⸣⸣ fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. 3. And I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?' 4. Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me ⸢⸢and said unto me⸣⸣: 'This course ⸢of fire⸣ ⸢⸢which thou hast seen⸣⸣ is the fire in the west which †persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.'

XXIV. XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

XXIV. 1. ⸢⸢And from thence I went to another place of the earth⸣⸣, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burnt ⸢⸢day and⸣⸣ night. 2. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: ⸢⸢three towards⸣⸣ the east, ⸢⸢one⸣⸣ founded on the other, and three towards the south, ⸢⸢one⸣⸣ upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other. 3. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. 4. And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: and its fruit ⸢⸢is beautiful, and its fruit⸣⸣ resembles the dates of a palm. 5. Then I said: '⸢How⸣ beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms ⸢⸢very⸣⸣ delightful in appearance.' 6. Then answered Michael, one of the holy ⸢⸢and honoured⸣⸣ angels who was with me, and was their leader,

XXV. 1. And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost

thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree, and ⌜why⌝ dost thou wish to learn the truth?' 2. Then I answered him, ⌜⌜saying⌝⌝: 'I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree.' 3. And he answered, saying: 'This high mountain ⌜⌜which thou hast seen⌝⌝, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness. 4. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. 5. Its fruit **shall be** for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6. Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad.
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:
And in their days shall no ⌜⌜sorrow or⌝⌝ plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7. Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.

XXVI. 1. And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place ⌜in which there were trees⌝ with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. 2. And there I saw a holy mountain, ⌜⌜and⌝⌝ underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. 3. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow ravine: in it also ran a stream ⌜underneath⌝ the mountain. 4. And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine ⌜deep and dry⌝

between them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three ⌜mountains⌝. 5. And all the ravines were deep ⸢and narrow⸣, (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them. 6. And I marvelled ⸢at the rocks, and I marvelled⸣ at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

XXVII. 1. Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this accursed valley ⸢between?⸣ 2. ⸢Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: 'This⸣ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all ⌜the accursed⌝ be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

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Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement. 3. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King.	Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. 3. In the last times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the **godly** bless the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King.

4. In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them (their lot).' 5. Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His ⌜glory⌝ and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII–XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

XXVIII. 1. And thence I went ⸢towards the east⸣, into the midst ⸢of the mountain range⸣ of the desert,

and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees **and plants.** 2. ⸢⸢And⸣⸣ water gushed forth from above. 3. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused **clouds** and dew to ascend on every side.

XXIX. 1. And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range. 2. And ⸢⸢there⸣⸣ I saw **aromatic** trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

XXX. 1. And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. 2. And ⸢therein there was⸣ a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. 3. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

XXXI. 1. And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were ⸢groves of⸣ trees, and there flowed forth from them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. 2. And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain ⸢to the east of the ends of the earth⸣, ⸢⸢whereon were aloe trees⸣⸣, and all the trees were full **of stacte,** being like almond trees. 3. And when one **burnt** it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

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XXXII. 1. And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

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XXXII. 1. To the north-east I beheld seven mountains full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.

2. And thence I went over the summits of ⸢all⸣ these mountains, far towards the east ⸢of the earth⸣, and passed above the Erythraean sea, and went far from it, and passed over ⸢⸢the angel⸣⸣ Zotîêl.

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3. And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.	3. And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great—†two† trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

4. ⌜That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are⌝ like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. 5. Then I said: '⌜How⌝ beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' 6. Then Raphael, the holy angel who was with me, answered me ⌜⌜and said⌝⌝: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

XXXIII. 1. And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. 2. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open. 3. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. 4. He showed all things to me

and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV. XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

XXXIV. 1. And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. 2. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain. 3. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, †it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.†

XXXV. And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the †east†, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

XXXVI. 1. And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, †and wind†. 2. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals above them. 3. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them. 4. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

THE PARABLES.

XXXVII–LXXI.

XXXVII. 1. The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. 2. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. 3. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom. 4. Till the present day such wisdom has never been given **by** the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me. 5. Now three parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII–XLIV. **The First Parable.**

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

1. The first Parable.
When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth,

2. And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.

3. When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
4. From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted:

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

5. Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6. And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits:
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

XXXIX. [1. And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the high heaven, and their seed †will become one with the children of men. 2. And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]

And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3. And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.

4. And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.
5. Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.
And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,
And mercy like dew upon the earth :
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.
6 *a*. And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7 *a*. And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6 *b*. And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.
7 *b*. And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,
And their lips shall extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him].
8. There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place :
And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so hath it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

9. In those days I praised and extolled the name
of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory
according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits.
10. For a long time my eyes regarded that place,
and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying : 'Blessed
is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and

for evermore. 11. And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation. 12. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits."' 13. And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' 14. And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

XL. XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

XL. 1. And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. 2. And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel who went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

3. And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory. 4. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. 5. And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. 6. And the third voice I heard **pray and intercede** for those who dwell on the earth and **supplicate** in the name of the Lord of Spirits. 7. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. 8. After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?' 9. And he said to me: 'This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who

is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.' 10. And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

XLI. 1. And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance. 2. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3–9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

3. And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. 4. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world. 5. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together. 6. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever.

7. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

And they give thanks and praise and rest not;
For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.

8. For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous,
And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,

Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
And divided the spirits of men,

And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
In the name of His righteousness.

9. For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

XLII. 1. Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

2. Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:

Wisdom returned to her place
And took her seat among the angels.

3. And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,

As rain in a desert,
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII. XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

XLIII. 1. And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him. 2. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light : (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning : and (I saw) their revolution according to the number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. 3. And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden : 'What are these ?' 4. And he said to me : 'The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable') : these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

XLIV. Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings : how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV–LVII. **The Second Parable.**

The Lot of the Apostates : the New Heaven and the New Earth.

XLV. 1. And this is the Second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2. And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come :

Such shall be the lot of the sinners
Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3. On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall **try** their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.
And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:
4. Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,
5. And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.
6. For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones,
And have caused them to dwell before Me:
But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

XLVI. 1. And there I saw One, who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2. And I asked the **angel** who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and)

why he went with the Head of Days? 3. And he answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

4. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]

And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners;

5. [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
6. And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.

And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,

And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7. And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.

And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,

And their faith is in the †gods† which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
8. And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*

XLVII. 1. And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous.
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.
2. In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.
3. In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4. And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous **had been offered,**
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness: the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous: Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

XLVIII. 1. And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness,
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom;

And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

2. And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.

3. Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

4. He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

5. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.

6. And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.

7. And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous;

Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits:

For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

8. In those days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands;

For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves,
9. And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:

As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.

10. And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again:

And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

XLIX. 1. For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

2. For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.

3. And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4. And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

L. 1. And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2. On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.

And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this),
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.

3. They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4. And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5. And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

LI. 1. And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.

5 *a*. For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2. And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

3. And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,
And his mouth shall **pour** forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

4. And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5 *b*. And the earth shall rejoice,
c. And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
d. And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven*[1] *Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

LII. 1. And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west— 2. There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a

[1] [Only six are mentioned; see Charles' note in his large edition.—Edd.]

mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

3. And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in secret?' 4. And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'

5. And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things, which surround the Lord of Spirits.

6. And these mountains which thine eyes have seen, The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One,
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
7. And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
8. And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.
9. And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII. LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

LIII. 1. There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.

2. And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.

3. For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
4. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
5. And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.

6. And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

7. And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

LIV. 1. And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire.
2. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
3. And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
4. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?'

5. And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.

6. And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7–LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

7. 'And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. 8. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. 9. And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. 10. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.'

LV. 1. And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth.' 2. And He sware by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.'

LV. 3–LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azâzêl, the Watchers and their children.*

3. 'When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain because of this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith God, the Lord of Spirits. 4. Ye †mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LVI. 1. And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze. 2. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are these who hold the scourges going?' 3. And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.

4. And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,
And the days of their lives shall be at an end,
And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LVI. 5–8. *Last struggle of heathen Powers against Israel.*

5. And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes:
They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,
That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.
6. And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,

[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway]:
7. But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.
And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,

And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,

Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.

8. In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,

And their destruction shall be at an end;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

LVII. 1. And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. 2. And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day. 3. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

LVIII–LXXI. **The Third Parable.**

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

LVIII. 1. And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2. Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
For glorious shall be your lot.

3. And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
And the elect in the light of eternal life:
The days of their life shall be unending,
And the days of the holy without number.

4. And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits:
There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

5. And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith:
For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
And the darkness is past.

6. And there shall be a light that never **endeth,**
And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
[And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

[LIX. 1. In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. 'their judgement'): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth. 2. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the **judgements** executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse, according to the word of the Lord of Spirits. 3. And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

LX. Book of Noah—a Fragment.

Quaking of the Heaven: Behemoth and Leviathan: the Elements.

LX. 1. In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet. 2. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

3. And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.

4. And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven. 5. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. 6. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous **law**, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared; for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

25. When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the

judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'

7. And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. 8. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created. 9. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. 10. And he said to me: 'Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

11. And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me, what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. 12. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the **portals** of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided. 13. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey. 14. For the thunder has †places of rest† (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not. 15. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the

treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth. 16. And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth. 17. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. 18. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken (his chamber) on account of his strength—there is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. 19. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is †glorious† both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel. 20. And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. 21. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth. . . . 22. For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge. 23. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous. 24. And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared, conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed. . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

LXI. 1. And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.
2. And I asked the angel, saying unto him: 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?' And he said unto me: 'They have gone to measure.'

3. And the angel who went with me said unto me:
'These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

4. The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.

5. And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,

That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.

6. And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

7. And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8. And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.
9. And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.

10. And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water. 11. On that day shall they raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice : " Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

12. All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him :
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life :
And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.
13. For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,

And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect,
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty: Blessedness of the Righteous.*

LXII. 1. And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: 'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'

2. And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

3. And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

4. Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

5. And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

6. And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7. For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.

8. And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

9. And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

10. Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness shall grow deeper on their faces.

11. And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect.

12. And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect:
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

13. And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14. And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

15. And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

16. And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And they shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

LXIII. 1. In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. 2. And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say:

'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom;
3. And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever:

Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4. We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is King over all kings.'

5. And they shall say:
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory!
6. And now we long for a little rest, but find it not:
We follow hard upon (it) and obtain (it) not:

And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever:
7. For we have not believed before Him,
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.
8. And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession,

That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice;
And His judgements have no respect of persons.
9. And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

10. Now they will say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.'

11. And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

12. Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

LXIV. 1. And other forms I saw hidden in that place. 2. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men, and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

LXV. 1. And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. 2. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' 3. And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it.' 4. And thereupon there was a great commotion on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. 5. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?

6. And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth: 7. And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth. 8. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that

angel is pre-eminent.' 9. And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. 10. And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." 11. And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12. And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

LXVI. 1. And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. 2. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. 3. And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

LXVII. 1. And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. 2. And now the angels are making a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant. 3. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not **be unfruitful** on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'

4. And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. 5. And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters. 6. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned beneath that land. 7. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8. But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. 9. And in proportion as the burning

of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. 10. For the judgement shall come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. 11. And those same waters shall undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold. 12. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.' 13. Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the **kings** and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonied at the Severity of the Judgement.*

LXVIII. 1. And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book and in the Parables which had been given to him; and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables. 2. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit transports and **makes me to tremble** because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before which they melt away?' 3. And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?' 4. And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not

take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. 5. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

LXIX. 1. And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them **to tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2. And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Sîmâpêsîêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl, the twentieth † Rûmâêl †, the twenty-first † Azâzêl †. 3. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens.]

4. The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God,** and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. 5. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. 6. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the

children of men. 7. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore. 8. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe : he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. 9. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. 10. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. 11. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them ; but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power †it is consuming me†. 12. And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ : this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâ'ĕt. 13. And this is the **task** of Kâsbeêl, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. 14. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. 15. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael. 16. And these are the secrets of this oath . . .

And they are strong through his oath :
And the heaven was suspended before the world
was created,
And for ever.

17. And through it the earth was founded upon the
water,

And from the secret recesses of the mountains
come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18. And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand
against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation
of the world unto eternity.

19. And through that oath are the depths made
fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from
eternity to eternity.
20. And through that oath the sun and moon com-
plete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from
eternity to eternity.
21. And through that oath the stars complete their
course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

[22. And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths from all the quarters of the winds. 23. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. 24. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]

25. And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their
paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

Close of the Third Parable.

26. And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled,
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.
27. And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.
28. With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
29. And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible,
For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. *The final Translation of Enoch.*

LXX. 1. And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. 2. And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. 3. And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them; and he set me between the two winds, between the north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. 4. And there

I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. *Two earlier Visions of Enoch.*

LXXI. 1. And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the **holy sons of God.**

They were stepping on flames of fire:
Their garments were white [and their raiment],
And their faces shone like snow.

2. And I saw two streams of fire,
And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

3. And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4. And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5. And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

6. And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
And they girt that house.

7. And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin:
And these are they who sleep not,
And guard the throne of His glory.

8. And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
Encircling that house,

And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
Go in and out of that house.

9. And they came forth from that house,
And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
And many holy angels without number.

10. And with them the Head of Days,
His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.

11. And I fell on my face,
And my whole body became relaxed,
And my spirit was transfigured;

And I cried with a loud voice,
. . . with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

12. And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days. 13. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in 46³) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

14. And he (*i. e.* the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me:
'**This is** the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness;

And righteousness abides over **him**,
And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes **him** not.'

15. And he said unto me:
' He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come;
For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

16. And all shall walk in **his** ways since righteousness never forsakes **him**:
With **him** will be their dwelling-places, and with **him** their heritage,
And they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever.

17. And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way,
In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

THE BOOK OF THE COURSES OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINARIES.

(LXXII–LXXXII.)

LXXII. *The Sun.*

LXXII. 1. The Book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me; and he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is

accomplished which dureth till eternity. 2. And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven, and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. 3. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. 4. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. 5. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and shines in the face of the heaven. 6. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. 7. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season. 8. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. 9. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning. 10. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts. 11. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal. 12. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. 13. And it returns to the east and enters into

the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one and thirty mornings on account of its sign. 14. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. 15. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. 16. And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. 17. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. 18. On that day the day decreases by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. 19. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one and thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. 20. On that day the day is equalised with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts. 21. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. 22. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts. 23. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven. 24. And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts. 25. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and

returns to the east into the first portal for one and thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. 26. And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six. 27. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it. 28. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a †ninth† part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. 29. And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting. 30. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight. 31. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third portal for one and thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven. 32. On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. 33. And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. 'they are separated'). 34. So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. 35. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, *i. e.* the great luminary which is named the Sun, for ever and ever. 36. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. 37. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

LXXIII. 1. And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon. 2. And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. 3. And her rising and setting changes every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform (*i. e.* full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. 4. And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the portal where the sun rises. 5. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the fourteenth part of her light. 6. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. 7. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. 8. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. LXXV. *The Lunar Year.*

LXXIV. 1. And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution. 2. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and

their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. 3. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west. 4. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course. 5. In two months the moon sets with the sun in those two middle portals the third and the fourth. 6. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. 7. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days. 8. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth. 9. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. 10. And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. 11. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. 12. And **the sun** and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. 13. In 3 years there are 1092 days, and in 5 years 1820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2912 days. 14. For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [*i. e.* to the sum (of 1770) there is

to be added (1000 and) 62 days]. 15. And in 5 years there are 1770 days, so that for the moon the days in 8 years amount to 2832 days. 16. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. 17. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun) rises and sets 30 days.

LXXV. 1. And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year. 2. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. 3. For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, *i. e.* the sun, moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of the heaven. 4. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. 5. [And for the winds and the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] 6. As for the twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all

the works of heaven in the east and in the west. 7. There are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding (as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them, and wherein they set corresponding to their number. 8. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. 9. And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

LXXVI. 1. And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the **quarters** (of the heaven), from which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. 2. Three of them are open on the face (*i. e.* the east) of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (*i. e.* the south) of the heaven, and three on the left (*i. e.* the north). 3. And the three first are those of the east, and three are of †the north, and three [after those on the left] of the south†, and three of the west. 4. Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

5. And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat, and destruction. 6. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

7. And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of

them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. 8. And through the middle portal next to it there come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. 9. And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

10. And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts and desolation. 11. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

12. And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. 13. And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. 14. And the twelve portals of the four **quarters** of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

LXXVII. 1. And the first **quarter** is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because the Most High **will descend** there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever **descend.** 2. And the west **quarter** is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down. 3. And the fourth **quarter,** named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4. I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and thence comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. 5. I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea. 6. And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east. 7. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, ⟨two of them to⟩ the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say: into the desert]. 8. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon: the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

LXXVIII. 1. And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. 2. And the moon has four names: the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth Erâe. 3. These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. 4. In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. 5. And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven. 6. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven: [the light becomes full in her]: on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. 7. And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen

parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth parts. 8. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. 9. And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. 10. And Uriel showed me another law : when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun. 11. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven], and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished in the heaven. 12. And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. 13. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun. 14. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of light. 15. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. 16. And in the time of her going out she appears for three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. 17. At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like

the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

LXXIX. 1. And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed. 2. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week: 3. And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: 4. ⟨And the waning⟩ which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. 5. She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which thou seest has been traversed. 6. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

LXXX. 1. And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldest see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

LXXX. 2–8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

2. And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,

And shall not appear in their time:
And the rain shall be kept back,
And the heaven shall withhold (it).

3. And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

4. And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
5. [And in those days the **sun** shall be seen and he shall journey in the **evening** †on the extremity of the great chariot in† the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

6. And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed);
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

7. And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.

8. And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

LXXXI. 1. And he said unto me:
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'

2. And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. 3. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord, the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world.

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4. And after that I said:
'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5. And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. 6. One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayest teach thy children and record (it) for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

7. Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good;

The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8. But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9. And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'

10. And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch: the four Intercalary Days: the Stars which lead the Seasons and the Months.*

LXXXII. 1. And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee, and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2. I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

3. And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4. Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days. 5. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the **whole reckoning of the year:** yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately. 6. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and

one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7. And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the Lord of the whole creation of the world has **subjected** the host of heaven. 8. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. 9. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

10. And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they** enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions. 11. Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder the four parts of the year. 12. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. 13. And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Mîlkî'êl, Hel'emmêlêk, and Mêl'êjal, and Nârêl. 14. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'êl, and Îjâsûsa'êl, and 'Elômê'êl—these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

15. In the beginning of the year Melkejâl rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âinî, and sun† and all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. 16. And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of

his dominion : sweat, and heat, and calms ; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered. 17. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them : Berka'êl, Zêlebs'êl, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hîlûjâsĕph : and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18. The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days. 19. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth : glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress : these things take place in the days of his dominion. 20. These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands : Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl' : and the days of his dominion are at an end.

THE DREAM-VISIONS.

(LXXXIII–XC.)

LXXXIII. LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

LXXXIII. 1. And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before thee. 2. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other : the first when I was learning to write, the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible vision. And regarding them I prayed to the

Lord. 3. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to the earth. 4. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. 5. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth, and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said: 'The earth is destroyed.' 6. And my grandfather Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why dost thou make such lamentation?' 7. And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me: 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with a great destruction. 8. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth. 9. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great destruction.' 10. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. 11. And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as †He had known† it in the beginning, then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

LXXXIV. 1. And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the

tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith :

2. ‘ Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion :
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

3. For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not **from the place of Thy throne,**
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].
4. And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.
5. And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not to destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.
6. And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.’

LXXXV–XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch: the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

LXXXV. 1. And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. 2. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: 'To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. 3. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red. 4. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull. 5. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. 6. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. 7. And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. 8. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

9. And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. 10. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

LXXXVI. 1. And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those oxen. 2. And after that I saw the

large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other. 3. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. 4. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels and asses. 5. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns. 6. And they began moreover to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

LXXXVII. 1. And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud. 2. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place and three with them. 3. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. 4. And one said unto me: 'Remain here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

LXXXVIII. 1. And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and

foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. 2. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them. 3. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of the four who had come forth stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1–9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

LXXXIX. 1. And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon; and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. 2. And again I raised mine eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure. 3. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface, and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. 4. And the water, the darkness, and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth. 5. And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water. 6. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. 7. And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were

levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared. 9. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10–27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10. And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. 11. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied. 12. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. 13. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. 14. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep. 15. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. 16. And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. 17. And He called that

sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep. 18. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth. 19. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. 20. And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. 21. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power. 22. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. 23. But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. 24. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves. 25. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea. 26. And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves. 27. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28–40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28. But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no

water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. 29. And that sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. 30. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. 31. And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst them]: "We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him." 32. And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. 33. And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away. 34. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds. 35. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. 36. And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house. 37. And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water. 38. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. 39. And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of

water, and there arose the **two** sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. "had fallen asleep and led them"). 40. And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

LXXXIX. 41–50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

41. And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42. And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their midst, which led them. 43. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them †all†. 44. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, **till** it †forsook its glory† and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly. 45. And the Lord of the sheep sent the **lamb** to another **lamb** and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had †forsaken its glory†. 46. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep. 47. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram. 48. And that second ram arose and led the [little] sheep. 49. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of aught. 48[b]. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a

little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

50. And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: ⟨and⟩ a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

LXXXIX. 51–67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51. And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them. 52. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. 53. And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. 54. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. 55. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. 56. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts. 57. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured by all the wild beasts. 58. But He remained un-

moved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts. 59. And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: "Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. 60. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye." And He gave over unto them those sheep. 61. And He called another and spake unto him: "Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them. 62. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects. 63. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may **comprehend** and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them. 64. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time, and lay it all before me." 65. And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions. 66. And the lions and tigers ate and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars ate along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished that house. 67. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was de-

molished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68-71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68. And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. 69. And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. 70. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep—(even) everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. 71. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72–77. *Second Period—from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72. And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. 73. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74. And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds like-

wise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. 75. And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (*i. e.* the beasts), and they (*i. e.* the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. 76. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. 77. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1–5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

XC. 1. And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep), and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their hands to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. 2. And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh. 3. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. 4. And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few. 5. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6–12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabæan Revolt.*

6. But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep, 7. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. 8. And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. 9. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. 10. And it †looked at† them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. 11. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. 12. And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

XC. 13–19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where vv. 13–15 and 16–18 are doublets).

13. And I saw till the †shepherds and† eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.

16. All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

19. And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts

of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

14. And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram].

17. And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

15. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face.

18. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of his wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

XC. 20–27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

20. And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and **the other** took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep. 21. And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, **all the** stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before

Him. 22. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: "Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them." 23. And behold, they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him. 24. And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire. 25. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss. 26. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. 27. And I saw those sheep burning †and their bones burning†.

XC. 28–38. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah.*

28. And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. 29. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

30. And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing. 31. And thereafter those three who

were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep †before the judgement took place†. 32. And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. 33. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house. 34. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not. 35. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. 36. And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

37. And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. 38. And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a **lamb**, and that **lamb** became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over **it** and over all the oxen. 39. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything. 40. This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory. 41. Then I wept with a great weeping, and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled; and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. 42. On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.'

THE CONCLUDING SECTION OF THE BOOK.

(XCII–CV.)

XCII. XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

XCII. 1. The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth; and for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

2. Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3. And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4. He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.

5. And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

XCI. 1–11, 18–19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

XCI. 1. 'And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers,
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother,

For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'

2. And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives. 3. And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said:

'Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

Love uprightness and walk therein.
4. And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.

5. For I know that violence **must** increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:

Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

6. And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

7. And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,

A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.

8. In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9. And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,

And they (*i.e.* the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

10. And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

[11. And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]

18. And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness, and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again,
That ye may know what will come to pass.

19. And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCIII, XCI. 12–17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

XCIII. 1. And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. 2. And Enoch said:

'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch, will declare (them) unto you, my sons:

According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'

3. And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:
'I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.

4. And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up;
And in it there shall be the first end.

And in it a man shall be saved;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.

5. And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

6. And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

7. And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

8. And after that in the sixth week all who live
in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

And in it a man shall ascend;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

9. And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.

10. And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

[11. For who is there of all the children of men that
is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without
being troubled? And who can think His thoughts?
and who is there that can behold all the works of
heaven? 12. And how should there be one who could
behold the heaven, and who is there that could
understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a
spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all
their ends and think them or do like them? 13.
And who is there of all men that could know what is
the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom
has been shown the measure of all of them? 14. Or
is there any one who could discern the length of the
heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is
founded, and how great is the number of the stars,
and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12–17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

12. And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,

And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.
13. And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
14 *d*. And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.
14 *a*. And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
b. And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
c. And the world shall be written down for destruction.
15. And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.
16. And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.
17. And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1–5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

XCIV. 1. And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.
2. And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.

3. And now I say unto you the righteous:
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor on the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

4. But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.

5. And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts;
For know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may minish.

XCIV. 6–11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

6. Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression,
And lay deceit as a foundation;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.

7. Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

8. Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

9. Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,

And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

10. Thus I speak and declare unto you:
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11. And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

XCV. 1. Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud † of † waters:
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2. †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†

3. Fear not the sinners, ye righteous;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

4. Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed:
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

5. Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.

6. Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.

7. Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous: Woes for the Wicked.*

XCVI. 1. Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

[2. And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you and weep.]

3. Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

4. Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.

5. Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink **wine in large bowls,**
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.

6. Woe to you who drink water **from every fountain,**
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

7. Woe to you who work unrighteousness,
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8. Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.

In those days many and good days shall come
to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of unrighteous Wealth.*

XCVII. 1. Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners
will become a shame,
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.
2. Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most
High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your
destruction.
3. What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the
righteous?
4. Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."
5. And in those days the prayer of the righteous
shall reach unto the Lord.
And for you the days of your judgement shall
come,
6. And all the words of your unrighteousness shall
be read out before the Great Holy One;
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded
on unrighteousness.
7. Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid-ocean
and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.
8. Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in
unrighteousness, and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have
possessions,
And have acquired everything we have desired.

9. And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
9[d] And many are the husbandmen in our houses,
9[c] And our granaries are (brim)full as with water."
10. Yea, and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide,
But speedily ascend from you;
For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin originated by Man: all Sin recorded in Heaven: Woes for the Sinners.*

XCVIII. 1. And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.
2. For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.
3. Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.
4. I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,

And under a great curse shall they fall who
commit it.

5. And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she
dies without children.

6. I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy
Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the
heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are
covered and hidden.

7. And do not think in your spirit, nor say in your heart, that ye do not know and that ye do not see that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. 8. From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of your judgement.

9. Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise, and so good hap shall not be your portion. 10. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

11. Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work
wickedness and eat blood:
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink
and to be filled?

From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace. 12. Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. 13. Woe to you who rejoice in the

tribulation of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. 14. Woe to you who set at nought the words of the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. 15. Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their) neighbour. 16. Therefore they shall have no peace, but die a sudden death.

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Law-breakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the last Days: further Woes.*

XCIX. 1. Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying, and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2. Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

3. In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

4. In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5. And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

6. And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. 7. And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold

and silver and wood ⟨and stone⟩ and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8. And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts,
And through visions in their dreams.
9. Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

10. But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

11. Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.
12. Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13. Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.

14. Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers,
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.

15. Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,

And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

16. For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation,**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. *The Sinners destroy each other: Judgement of the fallen Angels: the Safety of the Righteous: further Woes for the Sinners.*

C. 1. And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten,
And brothers one with another shall fall in death,
Till the streams flow with their blood.

2. For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his son's sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother:
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

3. And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

4. In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places,
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of Judgement,
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

5. And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels,
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,

And though the righteous sleep a long sleep,
they have nought to fear.

6. And (then) the children of the earth shall see
the wise **in security,**
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be
able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.

7. Woe to you, sinners, on the day of strong
anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them
with fire:
Ye shall be requited according to your works.

8. Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness:
Therefore shall fear come upon you,
And there shall be none to help you.

9. Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words
of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which
your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall
ye burn.

10. And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute judgement on the righteous. 11. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of your sins. 12. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend. 13. When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him, but not the Sinners.*

CI. 1. Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him and work no evil in His presence. 2. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? 3. And if He sends His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. 4. And see ye not the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in sore trouble? 5. And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? 7. And at His reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are on the earth fear Him not. 8. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein? Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea? 9. Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

CII. 1. In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you,
Will you not be affrighted and fear?

2. And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

3. And all the †angels shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be accursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.

4. Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

5. And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners,
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6. And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you:
"As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds?

7. Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we?
From henceforth we are equal.

8. And what will they receive and what will they see for ever?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."

9. I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days. 10. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner of violence is found in them till their death?

11. "Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners: fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

CIII. 1. Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you:

2. I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them:
3. That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.
4. And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely.
5. Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins;
And those who are like you say regarding you:
"Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.
6. And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life;

And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."

7. Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol,
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.

8. And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your spirits enter;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.

9. Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life:
"In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.

10. And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word:
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and hoped not to see life from day to day.

11. We hoped to be the head and have become the tail:
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.

12. They have had dominion over us that hated us †and smote us;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks,
But they pitied us not.

13. We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.

14. And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us;
But they did not attend to our cries,
And would not hearken to our voice.

15. And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they had lifted up their hands against us."

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous: Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of the Words of Uprightness.*

CIV. 1. I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. 2. Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. 3. And in your cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. 4. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope; for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. 5. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. 6. And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them, but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. 7. And, although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

8. And now I show unto you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins. 9. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness, but in great sin. 10. And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning their words. 11. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish aught from my words, but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified concerning them, 12. Then, I know another mystery, that books shall be given to the righteous and the wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. 13. And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man.*

CV. 1. In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth. 2. For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH.

(CVI–CVII.)

CVI. 1. And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became

pregnant by him and bore a son. 2. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head †and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful†. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright. 3. And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and †conversed with† the Lord of righteousness. 4. And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah. 5. And he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different, and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious. 6. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth. 7. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayest go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is amongst the angels.' 8. And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said unto him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast thou come to me?' 9. And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached. 10. And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the colour of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and thereupon lighted up the whole house. 11. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. 12. And his father Lamech

became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayest make known to me the truth.' 13. And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the **angels** of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord. 14. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begotten children by them. 17. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. 15. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year. 16. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. 18. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days. 19. And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

CVII. 1. And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner

of good comes upon it. 2. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' 3. And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

CVIII. AN APPENDIX TO THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

CVIII. 1. Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days. 2. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. 3. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and **in the fire shall they burn**; for there is no earth there. 4. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not †look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. 5. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven, but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' 6. And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert every thing that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets—(even) the things that shall be. 7. For some of them are written and

inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: 8. Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture. 9. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name. 10. And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, yet they blessed Me. 11. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. 12. And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. 13. And they shall be resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. 14. And they shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. 15. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed shall go where days and seasons are prescribed for them.'

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Pseudo-Callisthe...

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ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BEING THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE

PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

EDITED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS,

WITH AN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.,

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT SCHOLAR;
ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES,
BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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1889

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THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, M.P.,

BY HIS

DEEPLY OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL SERVANT

THE EDITOR AND TRANSLATOR.

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The storie of Alisaundre is so comune
That every wyght that hath discrecioun
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.

CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, Group B, ll. 3821—3823,
or, Monkes Tale, ll. 640—642.

Seigneurs qui vivez à present,
Qui desirez ouyr cronicques,
Lisez Alixandre le Grant,
Qui dit chouses moult magnificques.
En luy chouses diverses orrez
Pour vous oster merencolye;
Car ses dits sont beaulx, bien narrez
Par grans docteurs, je vous affye.
Ou romant les pourrez vous veoir:
Chacun d'eulx y fait son devoir.

BERGER DE XIVREY, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. XLVIII.

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PREFACE.

SO far back as the year 1881 the late Professor W. Wright suggested to me that I should prepare an edition of the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes and an English translation of it. I undertook this work in the hope that it would be useful not only to students of Syriac who will be glad of a new and amusing text to read, but also to the large and increasing number of enquirers into the folk-lore and legends connected with Alexander the Great who have not found time to learn Syriac, and to whom, necessarily, the contents of this ancient version are unknown. It may be argued that sufficient of the fabulous history of Alexander is known to us from the Greek text of the work which is attributed to Callisthenes, and from the Latin translations of it made by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter. I am inclined to think, however, that a perusal of the Syriac version will reveal much of interest to the reader, and as it appears to represent a Greek text older than any known to us, that it will be of considerable help in determining one of the earliest forms of the Alexander story.

The Syriac text is edited from five manuscripts, the oldest of which was written about one hundred and eighty years ago: it has been divided into chapters which follow the order of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes published by Müller. The variant readings of the MSS. are printed at the foot of each page together with such emendations and corrections as it has

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been found possible to make. A few misprints have crept into the text and they are noted on pages 255, 256.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and only the most necessary notes have been added. Wherever I have been unable to translate a word the fact has been shown by dots.

The short Glossary which follows the English translation makes no pretence of being a complete dictionary to the book. In it, however, will be found such words as have been omitted in the Castle-Michaelis Lexicon and examples of words and forms which are given there without any references to places where they may be found; it is hoped that they will be useful to the beginner. In all cases the utmost brevity has been studied.

In the short introduction to this edition of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have made a few remarks on some of the versions of the Alexander story based upon the careful works of Favre, Müller, Zacher, Berger de Xivrey, Spiegel and others. The Persian versions of the story I have not attempted to describe, for I have no knowledge of the language. Though late (A.D. 900—1300), they seem to me to be of considerable importance, for they in all probability represent Arabic originals which are no longer extant. Similarly I have not tried to discuss the story from the folk-lore point of view, for I possess neither the necessary knowledge nor the time.

The extracts from an unpublished Egyptian magical papyrus and the remarks on them have been inserted because they support the theory that the story of the magician Nectanebus being the father of Alexander the Great is one of Egyptian origin and composition. The chapter on Ethiopic versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been added, because, save for the short extract from the first chapter printed by the late

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Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 294, no part of it has, to my knowledge at least, been described or printed. It represents an Arabic original and is therefore of importance; besides this any new matter which helps to throw light on the history of the translations and age and travels of a book which has had more readers than any other, the Bible alone excepted, will be welcome. Zacher's observation with reference to the Syriac version of the Alexander story[1] applies equally to this.

My thanks are due to the German Oriental Society for the loan of the manuscript C, and to the American Oriental Society for their kindness in allowing me to have the manuscript B in my possession during the years in which this book was being prepared and was passing through the press. I am also much indebted to the Rev. Benjamin Labaree of Urmia, to Mr. Henry H. Lamb, British Vice-Consul at Scutari, and to Mr. Nimroud Rassam of Mosul, for the pains which they took in superintending the copying of manuscripts D and E, and for the numerous enquiries after ancient Syriac manuscripts of the Alexander story which they made at my request.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have earned the gratitude of all Syriac scholars by their liberality in purchasing a fount of Nestorian Syriac type, which enabled the peculiar character and pointing of the Nestorian MSS. to be accurately reproduced; and my grateful thanks are due to Mr. C. J. Clay who has spared himself no trouble in the production of this, the first book printed in England in the Nestorian Syriac character.

[1] Diese Fragen erscheinen wol bedeutsam genug, nicht nur für die Alexandersage an sich, sondern auch für die orientalische Literaturgeschichte überhaupt, dass wir von den Kennern der syrischen und arabischen Literatur eine eingehende Würdigung und Erörterung derselben hoffen dürfen.

Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 193.

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To the late Prof. William Wright I am most deeply indebted. He read through the whole of my copy of the Syriac text and the English translation before it went to press, and I had the great benefit of his unique experience and assistance in correcting the proof sheets of the whole of the Syriac text of the History of Alexander and of the English translation as far as page 128. Throughout the preparation of this and other works the ready helping hand, the judicious advice, and the warm sympathy of my master were never wanting.

لَقَدْ جُدْتَ لِي قَبْلَ السُّوَالِ بِأَنْعُمٍ　أَتَتْنِي بِلَا مَطْلٍ لَدَيْكَ وَلَا عُذْرِ

فَمَا لِيَ لَا أُعْطِي ثَنَاءَكَ حَقَّهُ　وَأُثْنِي عَلَى جَدْوَاكَ فِي السِّرِّ وَالجَهْرِ

سَأَذْكُرُ مَا أَوْلَيْتَنِي مِنْ صَنَائِعٍ　يَخِفُّ بِهَا هَمِّي إِنْ أَثْقَلَتْ ظَهْرِي

The acquaintance which began in March 1877 ripened, during the five years in which I was his pupil, into a friendship which grew stronger each year after, and was only broken by his death on May 22nd, whereby the world lost one of its few great Semitic scholars*, and I a true friend.

ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܗܝܪܐ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ
ܘܒܟܬ̈ܒܝܗܘܢ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܝܐ ܘܥܒܪܝܐ ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܐ ܒܪ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܀

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
November, 1889.

* "Der bedeutendste englische Semitist und ein wahrhaft guter Mensch." T. Nöldeke in *Deutsche Rundschau*, August, 1889, pp. 306—308. See also the excellent accounts of his life and works by Prof. R. L. Bensly in the *Academy*, June 1st, 1889, p. 378; by Dr. Neubauer in the *Athenaeum*, June 1st, 1889, p. 697; by M. J. de Goeje in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII. pp. 522—529, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi. N. S., pt. iii. pp. 708—713.

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INTRODUCTION.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE text of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes printed in this volume is edited from a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 25, 875), and the variant readings printed at the foot of each page are taken from four MSS., of which the first and second belong to the American Oriental Society and to the German Oriental Society respectively; the third and fourth are in my own possession. The British Museum MS. has been described by the late Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1872, Vol. iii. p. 1064, No. DCCCCXXII. It is of paper, about 8⅞ in. by 6⅛ in., and consists of 362 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 36 in number. Each page is divided into two columns of 28 lines. This manuscript is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020—21[1] = A.D. 1708—9. The History of Alexander the Great is the twelfth and last article in the MS., and its colophon runs as follows (Wright's *Cat.* p. 1069):—

ܫܠܡܬ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܩܪ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܟܐܢܐ ܪܘܡܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܙܟܝܐ

[1] There are really two years ܐܐܟ and ܐܐܟܐ given in the manuscript.

ܘܦܫܝܛܐ ܗܘܡܘ ܐܚܐ. ܒܢܝ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܕܐܠܩܘܫܢܐ

ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܐ ܠܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܟܐ ܀ ܒܝܪܚ ܬܫܪܝܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܀ ܟܐ ܀

ܒܗ ܀ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܡܫܫܒܐ ܀ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܥܒܪܢܐ ܕܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܕ̈ܢܐ

ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܀ ܘܟܠ ܩܪܘ̈ܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ

ܢܨܠܘܢ ܥܠ ܣܘܪ̈ܚܢܐ ܚܛܝܗ ܘܚܛܝܗܘܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ

ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the history of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip: [written] by the hands of the wretched priest Yaldâ and the priest Hômô[1], brothers, sons of the priest Daniel of Alḳôsh[2], in the year two thousand and twenty-one of the blessed Greeks [A.D. 1709], on the third day of the month of the first Teshrî, on the fifth day of the week [Thursday]. Everlasting glory be to Him who makes times and seasons pass away; and may the com-

[1] Hômô was a contemporary of the Catholic patriarch, Mâr Elîyâ, and the Metropolitan Mâr Îshô'yabh (A. Gr. 2024 = A.D. 1712). See Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. iii, iv.

[2] Alḳôsh, القوش, is a village of a few hundred houses situated about six hours ride to the north of Mosul, الموصل, along the road which passes Tell Kêf تل كيف, Baṭnâyê or Ṭytnâyê, and Tell Usḳuf تل أسقف. For a description of these villages see Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 359—369; and Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 104, p. 174. In Alḳôsh the grave of the prophet Nahum is shown, and on the sixth of Îyâr (May) many Jews make a pilgrimage to the synagogue which is supposed to mark the resting place of his body. Tell Kêf, Syr. ܬܠܟܐܦܐ or "Stone hill," is described by a modern writer as ܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܟܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܠܟܐܦܐ ܕܡܟܪ̈ܒܐ ܦܠܚ̈ܝܢܐ. ܘܟܠ ܡܬܩܢܐ ܕܡܬܡܨܝܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܘܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܡܠܬܐ For a description of Tell Usḳuf, or as the natives call it, Tell Skîpâ, see مراصد الاطلاع (ed. Juynboll) vol. i. p. ٢٠٩ and Yâḳût معجم البلدان ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. i. p. ٨٦٣.

assion and mercy of God be upon the writers and the man who ad this book written, the priest Joseph of Ḥôrdephnê[1]." This nanuscript is indicated by "A" in the following pages; those elonging to the American Oriental Society and the German)riental Society by "B" and "C" respectively, and those in my wn possession by "D" and "E".

B is a paper manuscript, about 8⅜ in. by 6⅝, consisting of 85 leaves. The quires signed with letters are 18 in number.)ne column of 20 lines occupies each page. This manuscript s written in a good Nestorian hand with numerous vowel oints, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2155, = A.D. 1844. It was given o the American Oriental Society by the Rev. J. Perkins, D.D., who had it copied from a manuscript found among the Nestorian Christians. Some pages of text from this manuscript, vith a translation in English, were printed by Dr. Perkins and)r. Woolsey in the *Transactions of the American Oriental Society*, ol. IV. pp. 359—440. Speaking generally, B and C agree losely in respect of omissions, etc.; I think, therefore, that hese manuscripts were copied from the same original. They ave, occasionally, better readings than A. On the margin of some of the pages of B are explanations in the modern Fellaḥî lialect of Urmia which I have given, as far as I was able, with the variant readings at the foot of the pages of printed text. It would be extremely interesting to have some particulars about the original manuscript or manuscripts from which these were copied, and with this object in view I wrote to my friend Dr. Benjamin Labaree of Urmia and asked him to make enquiries n this subject: he was, however, unable to trace the manuscript or manuscripts from which Dr. Perkins had caused his copies to be made. Wherever report said that a copy of the History of Alexander existed in Syriac he sent a messenger to make enquiries, but no satisfactory results followed these careful investigations.

The pointing of the proper names in this MS. usually

[1] حردفنة and حردفنين. See Yâḳût, vol. i. p. ٢٣٩; Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 254; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 195, notes 1544, 5; Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. XIII; and Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 364.

agrees with that in A, and it also carefully marks *mărhĕṭânâ* and *mĕhăggĕyânâ*. For example: ܗ̄ܘܘ p. 1. 4; ܗܘܐ, ܐܡܪܝܢ p. 1. 10; ܗ̄ܘܘܢ p. 2. 3; ܗ̄ܘܢ p. 3. 12; ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ p. 3. 15; ܕܝܒܝܫܬܐ p. 4. 1; ܐܢܬ p. 4. 5; ܐܢܐ p. 4. 7; ܐܡܪܝܢ p. 4. 17; ܢܬܟܬܒܘܢ p. 5. 12; ܕܝܬܝܪܬܐ p. 6. 9; ܗ̄ܘܘ p. 7. 16; ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢܢ p. 8. 15; ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܡܪܬ p. 10. 4; ܐܢܬܝܢ p. 10. 11; ܐܡܪ̈ܬܐ p. 10. 20; ܡܬܟܬܒܝܢ p. 13. 4; ܬܬܟܬܒ ܕܝܠܝ p. 14. 5; ܡܬܚܙܝܐ p. 16. 3; ܕܝܠܝܬܐ p. 16. 11; ܬܐܡܪܝܢ p. 16. 12; ܐܬܚܙܝ p. 17. 4; ܐܬܒܥܝܬ p. 17. 10; ܘܐܬܟܬܒܬ p. 17. 18; ܗܘܝܬܐ p. 18. 20; ܡܫܬܐܣܬ p. 19. 15; ܒܕܡܘܬܐ p. 19. 20; ܐܬܒܪܝܘ p. 20. 4; ܚܙܝ p. 21. 6; ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ p. 23. 4; ܡܫܬܥܒܕܐ p. 23. 7; ܢܬܒܢܘܢ p. 24. 15; ܢܬܝܗܒ p. 25. 1; ܡܬܩܢܐ p. 25. 12; ܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܟܘܢ p. 27. 3; ܐܬܬܣܝܡ p. 27. 9; ܡܫܬܪܐ p. 39. 9; ܕܒܫܪܐ p. 40. 11; ܐܬܟܬܒ p. 44. 10; ܕܝܠܗܘܢ p. 45. 3; ܐܬܟܠܠ p. 45. 13; ܐܬܐܡܪ p. 46. 4; ܕܡܬܚܙܐ p. 51. 15; ܬܘܕܝܬܐ p. 52. 2; ܘܐܬܦܪܫ p. 56. 11; ܐܢܐ p. 59. 18; ܡܬܐܡܪܢ p. 61. 12; ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ p. 65. 11; ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ p. 69. 13; ܢܬܟܬܒܘܢ p. 72. 10; ܢܬܐܡܪ p. 72. 13; ܠܐܢܫ p. 73. 17; ܡܬܚܙܝܢ p. 75. 16; ܬܐܡܪܘܢ p. 85. 7; ܐܬܚܙܝܬ p. 87. 2; ܘܡܬܐܡܪܐ p. 87. 17; ܡܫܬܟܠܠܐ p. 90. 1; ܐܬܚܙܝ p. 94. 3; ܐܬܩܝܡܘ p. 97. 20; ܘܝܬܝܪܬܐ p. 103. 10; ܐܬܚܙܝ p. 104. 7; ܐܬܬܣܝܡ p. 104. 8; ܐܬܒܪܝ p. 107. 2; ܐܬܪܕܝ p. 108. 2; ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ p. 113. 4; ܕܡܬܬܣܝܡܐ p. 115. 2; ܬܐܡܪ p. 119.

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5; ܦܬܟܠܠܝܢܗ p. 123. 16; ܡܬܐܙܝܢ p. 129. 15; ܡܬܐܢܟܪܝܢ p. 131. 19; ܡܬܚܪܝܡܘܢ ܠܗ p. 132. 2; ܦܬܚܪ̈ܡܬܐ p. 134. 15; ܐܬܡܠܟܘ p. 134. 19; ܡܬܚܠܡܝܢ p. 137. 10; ܐܬܡܣܟܘ p. 138. 7; ܠܦܘܪܫܘ p. 138. 7; ܦܐܪܘܬܐ p. 138. 9; ܢܝܩܘܬܐ p. 140. 2; ܦܬܚܡܬܐ p. 141. 5; ܢܦܠܝܢܗ p. 141. 12; ܐܬܗܘܝ p. 148. 15; ܐܬܡܠܝ p. 149. 17; ܦܪܐܬܐ p. 155. 10; ܐܬܡܝܡܠܘ p. 162. 13; ܡܬܐܢܫܝܢ p. 164. 18; ܠܡܬܐܢܫܘܢ p. 165. 2; ܡܬܐܢܫ p. 166. 18; ܐܬܪܘܪܒܠ p. 169. 10; ܐܦܝܪܐ p. 170. 15; ܡܬܦܣܩܬܐ p. 171. 1; ܕܣܝܥܘܡܝܢܗܘܢ p. 179. 13; ܘܡܫܟܢܬܐ p. 181. 5; ܐܬܟܢܫܘܢ p. 183. 6; ܦܐܪܟ p. 186. 10; ܠܦܪܢܣܐ p. 190. 10; ܦܬܚܪܗ p. 191. 3; ܐܬܟܒܠܗ p. 191. 5; ܢܬܚܒܠܗ p. 191. 11; ܚܒܝܪܗ p. 193. 2; ܦܬܟܚܫܬܐ p. 195. 18; ܐܬܢܣܒ p. 199. 2; ܡܬܬܐ p. 200. 10; ܘܐܬܡܢܝܢ p. 205. 14; ܕܐܙܕܝܗ p. 207. 15; ܡܬܦܟܠܦܬܐ p. 209. 6; ܦܬܚܠܦܐ p. 209. 12; ܐܬܡܠܟ p. 221. 15; ܢܬܪܚܡ p. 223. 6; ܐܬܡܠܟܗ p. 223. 17; ܦܬܚܡܝܢ p. 225. 4; ܡܬܐܢܝܢ p. 226. 2; ܕܐܬܕܚܝ p. 227. 9; ܦܬܡܣܒܬܐ p. 228. 3; ܦܬܚܪܚܝ p. 228. 16; ܚܬܚܡܪܢ p. 229. 12; ܐܬܡܦܩܢ p. 231. 6; ܠܡܚܪܘܗ p. 232. 14; ܐܬܚܒܠ p. 235. 11; ܢܬܐܢܫ p. 239. 10; ܘܐܬܡܚܬܐܘܗ p. 245. 11; ܢܬܠܒܫܘܢܝܗܝ p. 245. 12; ܐܬܗܘܝ p. 246. 4; ܢܬܚܝܢ p. 247. 13; ܦܢܐܬ p. 248. 2; ܢܬܟܠܡܘܢܝܗܝ p. 250. 11; ܐܬܡܝܒ p. 257. 9; ܕܢܬܦܠ p. 258. 7; ܡܬܐܚܕܝܢ p. 259. 19; ܠܡܙܕܠܐ p. 262. 9; ܦܬܚܪܚ p. 263. 13;

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ܘܦܠܡܝܪܘܢ p. 264. 2; ܦܠܡܝܪܘܢ p. 264. 8; ܕܦܠܡܝܣܝܢ p. 266. 12; ܐܦܪܝܢܘܗܝ p. 266. 16; ܕܢܦܪܘܢ p. 266. 18; ܘܢܠܘܗܝ̈ ܗܘܝ p. 269. 12; ܘܢܠܐܦܠܐ p. 269. 14; ܢܠܐܦܡ p. 271. 11; ܕܝܠܘܦܢܐ p. 273. 3; ܕܐܬܝܬ p. 273. 18.

In this manuscript ܩܘܡܛܐܠ is usually written ܩܘܡܛܐܠ, with ܐ above; other words written with ܐ above are ܦܪܝܙܐܠ p. 11, note 8; ܐܠܝܐ p. 33. 21; ܚܬܝܠܐܝܢ p. 165. 5; ܬܐܝ̈ܢ p. 227. 7; ܣܐܝ̈ܢ p. 230. 2; and ܢܐܠ p. 239. 12. In this manuscript words at the end of a line are frequently divided; Alexander's name is generally written in full, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ, while in A it is most frequently contracted. The MS. is paged from ܐ to ܫܟܐ: the following is the colophon:—

ܫܠܡ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܓܢܒܪܘܬܗ ܘܕܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܘܠܒܪܐ
ܡܫܘܡܕܢܐ ܕܝܗܒ. ܘܠܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܒܗ. ܫܘܒܚܐ
ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܘܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܢܘܬܐ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ. ܗܫܐ
ܘܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܘܐܫܬܟܠܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܀ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕܒܫܒܐ
ܐܝܪ ܀ ܡܢ ܀ ܒܗ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܘܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܀ ܒܝܘܡ ܐܪܒܥ
ܕܠܩܝܡ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ (sic) ܘܡܦܩܝܢ ܘܡܦܩܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܫܘܒܚܐ
ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܗܒܢ. ܘܥܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܬܟܬܒ (p. ܫܟܐ) ܘܦܪܥ
ܟܠܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܘܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ. ܢܦܫܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܦܪܝܫܐ. ܘܟܘܠܗܝܢ
ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܝܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܫܘܠܡܐ. ܢܥܒܕ ܒܘܠܝܐ ܒܝܕܥܬܐ.

ܘܦܘܠܓܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܘܡܫܘܠܡܢܘܬܗ. ܕܒܬܪܗܝܢ ܡܘܕܐ
ܦܠܛܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܒܦܘܪܫܗܘܢ ܕܐܦܐ ܗܘܦܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ
ܡܦܝܢܐ. ܒܬܪ ܕܒܟܬܒ ܦܠܓܗ ܠܟܬܒܗ ܡܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܡܬܕܪܢܐ.
ܘܡܫܠܡܗ ܠܓܒܐ ܕܡܟܢܐ ܦܢܘܝܐ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ. ܡܢܐ ܝܡܕܘܟ
ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ ܦܢܛܝܘܢܝܣ ܕܒܠܗ ܦܓܥ ܒܦܘܫܢܐ. ܒܬܒܥܐ
ܡܘܕܥܝܗ ܒܓܢܒ ܘܒܠܒ ܓܕܢܐ. ܘܝܕܥܢ ܕܒܬܪܗ ܒܘܪܒ ܕܠܐ
ܡܬܠܓܡܢܐ. (sic) ܕܓܘܫܡܐ ܘܝܕܥܢ ܒܕܘܡܐ ܘܒܘܡܡܢܐ. ܠܒܘܒܪܘܪ
ܦܬܓܡܗ ܕܒܕܡܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܘܠܣܘܪ ܐܘܡܬܗ ܕܡܟܬܒ
ܡܠܦܢܗ ܒܝܡܝܢܘ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܐܡܝܢ: ܘܟܢܘܫܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܟܬܒܐ.
ܘܡܘܦܬܓܡܢܐ ܦܝܢܐ. ܘܟܠܠܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܬܪܓܡܢܘܬܐ
ܢܫܡܐ. ܢܬܬܒ ܡܘܕܥܐ ܐܕܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܝܢܐ (ܟܬܒܐ .p) ܒܦܢܝܬ ܘܒܬܪܟܢ
ܒܘܪܒ ܕܒܠܐ ܦܣܘܩ ܘܕܘܡܝܐ. ܠܒܘܒܪܘܪ ܢܡܘܣ ܡܟܝܢܐ.
ܘܠܣܘܪ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܒܡܘܬܐ. ܦܬܓܡ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ
ܢܡܝܢܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܟܝܢܗ ܡܢ ܓܠܡܐ ܬܫܬܥܝܬܐ.
ܕܒܗܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܘܒܘܫܡܐ ܠܟܠܡܝܢܐ.
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܐܫܠܡ ܒܡܪܝܐ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܘܡܬܬܪܟܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܢ (sic)
ܫܒܘܚܐ ܕܒܠܐ ܕܝܘܪܐ. ܕܣܝܡܐ ܘܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܘܒܢܐ. ܗܠ
ܓܒܪ ܒܘܡܪܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܦܪܠܝܡ ܘܝܡܢܐ
ܢܟܘܣ ܡܟܡܟܪ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ ܘܢܬܟܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ
ܝܟܢܝܢ ܟܦܢܐ ܘܟܠܟܢܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܢܦܝܫ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܟܝܗ ܢܬܝܠ
ܘܡܬܬܪܝܢ ܠܬܪܬܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܕܘܐ ܕܒܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܕܘܪܐ ܕܕܝܢ.
ܘܢܠܟܐ ܕܢܠܟ ܡܢ ܢܠܟܐ ܕܢܠܟܝܢ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܢܗܘܐ

ܕܥܕܪܢ. ܡܥܕܪܢܐ. ܢܬܒܪܟ ܒܪ ܡܥܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ. ܒܪ ܢܬܒܪܟ.
ܒܪ ܩܕܫܐ. (p. ܫܥ) ܒܟܬܒ ܓܠܗ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܗ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܫܬܥܝܬܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܒܪܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܒܝܘܡܐ ܐܬܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܐܬܬܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܒܪܘܢܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܬܪܒܝܢܐ
ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܡܢܗ.
ܘܠܐܡܪܐ ܢܦܩܐ ܒܦܠܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܚܘܗܝ
ܕܒܬܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ. ܘܡܢܐܫܐ
ܦܠܠܐ. ܦܣܝܩ ܥܡܐ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܗ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܝ.
ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ. (sic) ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܬܬܪܐ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܠܫܡܗ.
ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܐ ܟܠܗ ܘܐܣܬܥܪܬܐ ܘܟܬܒܐ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܢܝ ܒܫܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. (p. ܫܥܐ) ܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ
ܗܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܦܠܚܘ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܦܠܚܘ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܘܟܠܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܒܫܘܠܡ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܐ (sic)
ܒܪܡܫܝܚܐ. ܫܒܚܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܪܥܢܐ. ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܝܢܐ :
ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܘܠܝܛܝܩܘܢ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܢ ܕܟܪ ܀
ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܫܡܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ
ܒܪܝܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the history of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip. To God the Father who has aided, and the everlasting Son who has assisted, and to the Holy Spirit the perfecter of all, be praise and honour and dominion and exaltation and lasting gratitude, now and ever, world without end.

"This book received conclusion and completion on the twelfth

day of the blessed month of Tammôz, on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), in the year two thousand one hundred and fifty-five of the Greeks (A.D. 1844). Glory be to Him who makes times pass away while He himself never passes away. Amen.

"It was written in the days of the admirable and energetic chief Shepherd, the wonderful and excellent director, pure and righteous and upright, the brilliant and illuminating star of the sky of the Church, rich and deeply versed in ecclesiastical doctrine, the wise sage and lawyer, thoroughly versed in the Holy Scriptures, and abundantly nurtured with their fruits, that is to say the understanding of them; the shepherd whose voice whistleth sweetly to his rational flock, and whose word driveth away the evening wolf like the smoke, Mâr Simeon the Catholic patriarch of the whole world. May his throne be established in justice and all righteousness, and may his arm be strong in victory which never . . . . , that he may bind and loose in the height and in the depth, to the glory of his flock which is redeemed by the blood of the side (of our Lord), and to the pride of his people, who perpetually breathe the winds of his teaching. Amen.

"[This book was written] also in the days of the chosen shepherd and excellent governor and distinguished ruler, Mâr Gabriel the pious Metropolitan, the guardian of the throne of Addai[1] and Mârî. May he be strong and mighty in the victory that is without equal and without like, to the glory of the nation of Christ, and the pride of the congregation of Jesus, redeemed by the blood which flowed from the right side, poured out by the spear thrust in by the band of soldiers, through which there is for all who receive it life and everlasting pleasure. Amen.

"[This book] was written in the blessed and happy village of Sir[2] near *Ḳula of the Ṣâhabe*[3] (*i.e.* the residence of the gen-

[1] See Assemânî, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii, i. pp. 229, 611, and Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 136.

[2] سير or سيرا. Dr. Perkins, der Senior der Urumia Mission, hat seinen bleibenden Aufenthalt in Seir, wo er auch das Seminar für die männliche Jugend leitet *etc.* See Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan*, iii. p. 151.

[3] ܨܳܗܶܒ = Mr., صاحب. ܩܠܐ probably = قلعة *castle*, hence "the resi-

tlemen), which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the most holy convent of Mâr Sargîs and Mâr Bâkûs[1]; may our Lord Christ make it to flourish, and guard its indwellers from all secret and open injuries. Amen.

"The deacon Aṣlan[2], the son of the deceased Muḥattas[3], the son of Aṣlan, the son of Ḳârâ[4], the most wretched of all the wretched, the most feeble of all the feeble, and most sinful of all sinners, blackened, that is to say defiled and begrimed, these pages. Pr'ythee pray on his behalf that peradventure he may obtain compassion from the Lord. Amen.

"The priest Perkins, by race an Englishman, that is to say from the country of America, the indefatigable and zealous preacher and teacher and guide of the confession of Nestorianism, took great pains and care to have a copy made of this book of the History of Alexander the Macedonian King, that he might read therein and profit thereby, and might benefit others. He has for a few years dwelt in a strange land in the country of Urmî[5], with his American brethren in the spirit, Esṭâkan Ṣâhab[6] [Mr. W. R. Stocking], Mr. Haldê [Mr. A. L. Holladay], the doctor [Dr. Grant], Mr. Brayth [Mr. E. Breath], the printer, Mr. Merik [Rev. J. L. Merrick], Mr. Estâdor [~~Lieut. Col. Stoddart~~], and Mr. Jûns [Mr. W. Jones][7]. These American brethren

dence of the missionaries." Mr. Labaree says that the word ܩܠܥܐ is used in modern Syriac for any dwelling surrounded by a high wall.

[1] Mr. Labaree tells me that the church of Mâr Sergius and Mâr Bacchus is about one mile from the village of Sîr, سير

[2] Turk. ارسلان, "lion." He died about the year 1877 being a very old man.

[3] محتّس

[4] Turk. قرا or قره "black," but generally used with some other name.

[5] Urmî or Urmia is a district situated near the western shore of the lake of that name in Kurdistân, and is the seat of the large and flourishing Mission which was founded by Dr. Perkins and his companions, whose names are given above.

[6] In Urmî *Ṣâhab* is used after the name, as in Hindustân.

[7] The names of the gentlemen inserted in my translation are obtained from a perusal of *A Residence of eight years in Persia*, by the Rev. Justin Perkins,

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forsook father and mother, brethren and sisters and kin, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. They came to this country of Urmia, they opened schools, they opened a printing office[1], they sowed spiritual seed in the field of the hearts of every one who is in name a Christian; they forsook the earthly mammon and loved heavenly riches; and the Lord God will give them a recompense for their works, whether it be good or whether it be bad. Amen.

"Blessed be God, and His name be praised to all generations world without end."

The manuscript C is dated A. Gr. 2162 (= A.D. 1851) and belongs to the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. It is of paper and consists of 196 leaves paginated from ܐ to ܫܨܒ; a column of 18 lines occupies a page (page ܫܦܐ has only 15 lines and page ܫܠ has 19), and the leaves are 8⅞ in. by 6⅝. Page ܐ has an illuminated heading, and through the pattern endorsed on squares, the following letters are written around the top and sides:

(?) ܠ ܘ ܦܠܚܝ ܢܐ ܗܘ ܚܝܒ ܠܐ ܘ ܝܒ ܚܛܝܐ ܘܚܝܒܐ ܕܪܘܓܙܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ.

". . . the feeble one, the sinner deserving of perfect wrath."

The quires, signed with letters, are twenty in number. The manuscript is carefully written, with points, etc., as far as p. ܫܦܝ, but after this the writing is not so good, and some of the pages appear to be by another hand. It agrees generally with B as to the text, but there are no glosses. The pointing has at times been carelessly executed, for example ܘܠܐ for ܘܠܐ; ܘ̇ is used for ܘ̣ in writing the same word in different places; ܀ is confused with ÷; and the same proper name is often differently vowelled. This manuscript was presented to the German Oriental Society by the Rev. Justin Perkins in 1852. It will be

Andover, 1843. A very interesting life of Dr. Perkins was begun in ܙܗܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܪܐ, p. 30, April, 1888.

[1] بَصمه خانه = ܒܝܬ ܛܘܦܣܐ

seen from the extracts given below[1] that he mentions having made a translation of the History of Alexander the Great for the American Oriental Society. This may exist in the Society's Library, but I have never seen it. I only know of the translation of the extracts printed in the *Transactions of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. iv. pp. 359—440. A description of this manuscript was given in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, viii. ss. 835—837, by P. Zingerle. His estimate of the relation of the Syriac text to those of the Greek and Latin is very good, and is as follows: "Soweit ich es mit dem Werke von Weismann verglichen habe, nämlich bis zum 13. Kapitel, welches die Geburt Alexander d. Gr. erzählt, ist diese syrische Alexandergeschichte nichts andres als *eine Uebersetzung* des *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* und zwar nach der Berarbeitung des Julius Valerius, soweit die von Weismann gelieferten Auszüge in 2 Bande S. 227 ff. schliessen lassen; denn der syr. Codex beginnt ebenfalls mit der Berühmtheit der Aegypter in der Weisheit und den Wahrsagerkünsten .... Die Abweichungen der syrischen Erzählung sind der *Hauptsache* nach (so weit ich sie verglichen) wenig bedeutend: hie und da ein verschiedener Name oder eine kleine Erweiterung, eine Abänderung von Nebenumständen."

The colophon is as follows:—

ܫܠܡܬ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܕܡܕ̈ܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܡܠܟܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ : ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܗܒ : ܘܠܒܪܐ

ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ : ܘܠܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡ. ܐܡܝܢ

[1] Aus zwei Briefen des Miss. Hrn. Perkins in Urmia, von 23. Mai und 1 Juni 1850. "Ich habe seit einigen Monaten *eine in syrischer Sprache abgefasste Geschichte Alexander's des Grossen* in Händen, von welcher ich in meinen wenigen Mussestunden eine Uebersetzung für die American Oriental Society ausarbeite. Wir fanden die Handschrift bei den Nestorianern, der Inhalt ist ein Gemisch von spät-griechischen und muhammedanischen Erdichtungen." *ZDMG* Vol. 4, S. 519. Aus einem Briefe des Mission. J. Perkins an Prof. Fleischer. Orumia, d. 29. März 1851. — "Eine Abschrift der altsyrischen sogenannten *Geschichte Alexanders* mit meiner nun fertigen Uebersetzung schicke ich an die Amerikanische Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Eine andere Abschrift des Textes für Ihre Gesellschaft will ich den Exemplaren unserer Druckschriften beilegen, welche ich Ihnen statt der, wie es scheint, verloren gegangenen Sendung von J. 1849 zu schicken gedenke." *ZDMG* Vol. 5, S. 398.

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ܘܢܨܚܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܪܘܡܪܡܐ ܘܡܬܟܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܡܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ
ܘܩܪܒ ܘܟܠ ܘܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܀

ܫܒܩ ܕܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܘܡܘܪܒܐ ܒܬܪܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܟܬܒ ܐܒܪܐ
ܗܕܡܘ ܐ. ܟܘ ܬܘܒ ܐܫܬܟܚܬ. ܟܬܒܐ ܗܕܝܢ ܕܐܩܝܡ
(ܥܡܘ. p) ܡܢܐ ܘܥܡܝܢ ܘܗܕܝܢ ܠܡܬܐ ܀

ܐܬܚܙܝ ܬܘܒ ܕܝ ܕܬܘܬܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܘܡܬܩܢܐ ܘܕܝ
ܢܟܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܘܡܬܝܠܕܐ. ܥܡܘܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ. ܘܡܘܡܬܐ
ܕܬܠܡܝ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܗ ܘܡܘܠܕܐ. ܢܗܪ ܬܘܠܕܬܐ ܥܒܕܗܝܢ
ܘܡܕܝܢܐ. ܘܡܬܝܠܕܬܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܘܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܡܬܝܢܐ. ܕܒܬܪܟܝ
ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܒܟܠܕܢܘܗܝ ܒܪܝܫ ܗܘܬܠܡܘܗܝ
ܗܟܝܠܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. (sic) ܕܝܠܐ ܕܬܪܥ ܥܠܘ ܠܟܢܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ
ܒܡܝܢܐ ܡܕܪܢܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘ ܠܝܐܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܗܢܝܢ ܡܬܠܠܢܐ.
ܡܕܝ ܐܡܬܘܗܝ ܢܗܘܠܝܢܐ ܦܬܓܡܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܒܠ
ܒܥܡܢܐ: ܢܗܝܪ ܬܘܕܝܘ ܒܬܪܗ ܘܩܪܒ ܘܕܝܢܐ: ܘܡܢܝܢ
ܕܕܝܘ ܬܘܒܘ ܕܟܠ ܡܬܟܠܢܐ. ܕܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܒܕܘܡܝܐ
ܘܬܘܡܡܢܐ: ܠܥܘܒܕܘܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܬܘܡܐ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ:
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܘܡܬܗ ܕܡܢܝܢ ܢܘܠܟܢܘ ܒܐܡܝܢܘ ܗܢܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܘܬܘܡܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܢܐ. ܘܡܘܬܪܝܢܬܐ ܦܪܐ. ܘܡܠܠܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ:
ܡܕܝ (ܥܡܘ. p) ܠܟܪܝܠ ܡܢܗܪܦܐܠܝܢܬܐ ܣܟܠ. ܢܝܪܐ
ܬܘܕܝܐ ܐܪܢܐ ܘܡܪܕܢܐ. ܢܗܝܠ ܘܢܗܝܢ ܬܘܒܘ ܕܟܠ ܦܣܘܩ
ܘܕܘܡܐ: ܠܥܘܒܕܘܗܝ ܢܗܝܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܢܐ
ܒܥܡܢܐ. ܦܪܝܫ ܬܘܡܐ ܕܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܟܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ: ܘܠܝܫ
ܬܠܘܡܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܢܕܝܢܘܬܐ. ܕܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܗܘܘ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܩܦܘܢܘܗܝ ܥܠܝ. ܘܬܘܡܐ ܠܟܠܢܝܢܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܬܫܥܡܐ ܘܬܡܢܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ. ܕܝܘܢܝܐ
ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܝܕܝ ܚܘܡܪܐ ܒܕܘܟ ܒܐܬܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ
ܫܪܒܝܠ ܘܕܡܪܝ ܒܒܘܝ. ܡܬܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܡܥܝܢܐ.
ܘܫܪܝܪܐ ܒܐܬܪܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܒܢܝܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܘܟܠܒܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܟܬܒܬܗ
ܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܘܡܣܟܢܐ ܠܬܒܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܕܫܡܐ ܘܟܠܒܐ
ܘܫܒܝܐ: ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ: ܡܥܢܝܐ ܒܫܪܒ ܒܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܦܘܠܝܢܘܣ: ܒܪ
ܚܝܠ ܒܪ ܦܛܪܐ ܀ ܘܡܬܩܡܢܐ ܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܡܥܢܝܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܒܪ
ܦܛܪܘܢܐ: ܒܪ ܡܪܝܐ (ܒܠܘ p.) ܡܘܣܐܝܠ. ܒܒܝܬ ܝܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܕܒܒܪܐ ܢܝܫܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܡܪܢ. ܐܡܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܚܕܬ
ܠܗ ܠܗ (sic) ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܬ ܕܐܠܟܫܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܡܥܢܝܐ ܦܪܢܣܝ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܕܝܢ: ܟܪܘܙܐ
ܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܘܫܒܝܚܐ ܘܡܠܦܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܬܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ. ܕܝܠܕܐ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܐܪ ܡܢܗ: ܘܐܣܬܪܝܐ ܢܦܫܐ:
ܡܠܟܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܝܬܒ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ: ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܕܨܝܕܢܐ. ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܐܘܪܗܝ. ܘܗܘܡܢ ܕܝܪܐ: ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ
ܟܕܝܐ: ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ. ܡܪܕܝܢ: ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܫܡܝܫܛ. ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ
ܥܒܪܝ. ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܓܙܪܬܐ: ܘܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܬܘܡ: ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܘܐܚܝܢܐ ܘܚܣܝܢܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܣܘܪܝܐ
ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ. ܐܬܘ ܠܡܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ. ܦܫܘ
ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܦܫܘ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܪܒܘ ܘܪܒܐ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܫܠܡ
ܕܠܚܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܢܝܐ ܒܪܫܝܬܐ. ܫܡܥܘ ܠܡܠܦܢܐ
ܐܪܝܐ. ܘܚܙܘ ܠܦܘܪܢܐ ܫܒܝܚܐ. ܡܪܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ

ܐܝܟ ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܗ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܥܕܪܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܡܫܠܡܢܐ.
ܡܕܡܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ. ܀ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the History of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip. To God the Father who has aided, etc.

"This book received conclusion and completion on the ninth day of the blessed month of Tammûz, on the second day of the week (Monday), in the year two thousand one hundred and sixty-two of the Greeks, *i.e.* A.D. 1851." From here to ܘܡܩܘܡ the colophon is the same as in B.

From this point to ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܐܘܪܗܡ, the colophon is the same as in B; here however it continues: "The priest Aṣlan, the son of the deceased Muḥattas, the son of Aslan the son of Ḳârâ, and the deacon Yâunân (Jonah) the son of Tamraz, the son of Bâbônâ, the son of the deceased Muḥattas, blackened, that is to say defiled and begrimed, these pages, etc." A somewhat longer list of names of the American brethren is given here, viz., Mr. Stocking, Mr. Holladay, Mr. Wright, M.D., Mr. Breath, Mr. Merrick, Lieut. Col. Stoddart, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kahran (Cochrane), Mr. Kavan (Coan)[1].

D is a paper manuscript, about 14 in. by 8½, consisting of 123 leaves paginated from ܐ to ܩܟܓ. The quires, signed with letters, are 12 in number. One column of 22 lines occupies each page. The manuscript is written in a fine, bold Nestorian hand with numerous vowel-points, etc., and I owe the possession of it to the kindness of the Rev. Benjamin Labaree, who spared no pains in supervising the making of this copy from one in the library of Dr. Shedd who was so kind as to allow it to be made from that in his possession. The scribe, Ôsha'nâ, tells us in the colophon that the copy from which he made it was full of variant readings and mistakes, and that he corrected these wherever he was able to do so. He gives, also, a copy of the colophon of the manuscript from which D was made. The colophon of D reads:—

[1] See Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, iii. p. 142.

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ܫܠܡܬ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ: ܒܝܕ ܚܛܝܐ ܡܣܟܢܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܗ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܡܝܐ:
ܕܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܕܢܘܬܐ: ܐܦܩܗ: ܒܐܝܕܝ ܚܣܝܐ ܐܒܘܢܐ ܐܣܘܬܐ: ܕܦܢܝܬܗ
ܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܘܬܐ: ܕܡܢ ܐܚܪ ܚܣܘܪܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܘܨܠ. ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܘܪ: ܘܢܘܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܡܝ: ܒܝܘܡܝ ܪܝܫܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ
ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ❖ ܘܐܫܬܠܡܬ ܡܢ ܟܬܝܒܬܗ ܒܝܪܚ ܟܢܘܢ
ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܦܣܩܘܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܦܪܘܩܢ ❖ ܒܟܠ
ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܫܡܗ ܡܒܪܟܐ ܠܥܕܪܢ ❖

ܡܨܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܢܨܠܘܢ ܥܠ ܕܟܬܒܗ
ܢܬܚܢܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܘܬܠܝܐ ܘܝܬܝܪ ܘܚܛܝܐ ܘܟܡܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ
ܚܛܝܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܘܟܠ ܐܫܬܒܩܬܗ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܝ: ܘܫܠܡ ❖

❖ ܐܬܚܬܡ ❖

ܒܝܘܡ ܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܫ ܒܡܕܢܚܐ
ܐܪܒܥܐ ܘܐܠܦ ܒܣܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܒܡܝܬܘܬܗ
ܕܥܒܕ ܟܬܒܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܝܣܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܟܠܘܕܝܐ. ܘܟܬܒܗ ܒܗܘܢ
ܕܐܚܪ ܫܡܗ ܡܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠܘܕܝܐ ❖ ܐܡܝܢ ❖

ܐܫܬܠܡܝ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܝ ܚܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܕܪ ܕܒܪܬܐ ܫܡܥ ܥܠܝܡܐ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܟܠܘܕܝܐ. ܘܐܬܬܘܣܦܢܝ ܘܐܬܬܪܝܨܘ ܦܬܓܡܘܗܝ
ܗܘܝܢ ܒܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܕܝ ܚܕܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ
ܗܘ ܐܒܘܢ ❖ ܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܒܝܕܝ ܥܒܕܐ: ܥܠܗ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܫܢܬ
ܐܠܦ ܘܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܦܬܓܡܘܗܝ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ: ܘܕܝܢ
ܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܢܨܝܒܝܢ. ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܝܟ ܡܬܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܢܐ

ܠܒܘܪܟܝܢܗ ܦܘܦܐ ܢܝܫܐ. ܒܫܢܬ ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܠܝܗ ܐܢܐ
ܒܝܚܝܐ ܠܒܘܪܟܝܢܗ ܒܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܒܪ ܫܡܥܢܐ ܠܒܝܬ. ܘܟܬܝܒܘܬܗ
ܕܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܢܩܝܫ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܠܥܠ
ܕܡܢ. ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܒܝܘܡ ܒܡܘܫܐ ܀
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here endeth the History of Alexander, the son of Philip, King of the Macedonians. [It was finished] on the second day of the week (Monday), on the seventh day of the Eastern Nîsân[1] in the year of Christ 1886. [It was written] by the faulty Ôsha'nâ[2], who is by grace the archdeacon of the patriarchal chamber, and who comes from the land of Tĕḥûmâ[3] and from the village of Mazrâ'â, and is a kinsman of the house of Sârû, but who is to-day domiciled in the city of Urmî, in the days of the chief shepherdship of Mâr Shem'ûn Rôbîl[4], the patriarch of the East. Mr. Labaree, the honourable man, the missionary of the Presbyterian Church of America in Urmîâ had it written. Blessed be God for ever, and may His holy name be praised for ever and ever[5]!

"I hereby inform the kindness (lit. love) of those who come across this book that the codex from which I made this copy was full of variant readings and illegible passages and mistakes: these I have corrected as far as I was able, and those that I did not understand I left as they were.

"[This book] was copied from a codex in the library of Dr. Shedd the American missionary in Urmîâ which was taken,

[1] The scribe here uses the old style of calculation.

[2] He was a young priest from the mountains of Kurdistân and belonged to the family of Sârû. His native village was called ܡܙܪܥܐ Mazrâ'â.

[3] There are in this district, which is situated in the pashalik of Julamerk, four villages: Gûndiktâ, Mazrâ'â, Gâwâyâ and Birijai. When Sir Henry Layard visited this district Gâwâyâ was the largest village, and he says that it contained 160 houses. See *Nineveh and its Remains*, pp. 196, 200, 204; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 436.

[4] He was made patriarch in the year 1862.

[5] The next paragraph says that the copy was made for myself through the mediation of Dr. Labaree.

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and the mistakes of which also were corrected by the scribe mentioned [below], from a codex the colophon of which was thus written:—'[This book] was finished in the month of Shĕbâṭ in the year [A. Gr.] 2159 [= A.D. 1848] in the days of the chief shepherdship of Mâr Shem'ûn, the patriarch of the East, and of the pious Bishop Mâr Abrâhâm, in the city of Shebânî[1] beneath the shadow of [the church] of Mâr Giwargis (George) the valiant martyr. The sinner Gîwargîs (George), the son of Zay'â, the son of Lâkîn, the elder, a kinsman of the house of Mâr Yôḥanân, the governor of Mâr Ḥazkîail of Bânâ, which is near Dâryân, wrote these pages; and Rabban, the elder and governor of Mâr Bîsh'ô Kĕmôlâyâ[2], had the book written; Amen.'"

E is a paper manuscript, about 9¼ in. by 6¾, consisting of 160 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 15 in number. One column of 20 lines occupies each page. It was copied from an old Nestorian Syriac manuscript in a library at Alḳôsh and the work was "finished on the Sabbath (Saturday) of the 18th day of the blessed month of Tammôz, in the year of the birth of our Lord and Redeemer and King and Vivifier, Jesus Christ, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. Glory be to Him who makes times to pass away but who never passes away! Amen. It was written in the city of Alḳôsh, the city of Nâḥôm (Nahum) the prophet, which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the convent of Rabban Mâr Hôrmîzd[3], the Persian. It was written in the days of the pious fathers the distinguished rulers, the pure and excellent shepherds, Mâr Leo, the thirteenth of that name, the high-priest, the Pope of Rome, and Mâr Eliâ the Catholicus, the Patriarch of Bâbêl of the East, who is also the twelfth of that name. May Christ establish their thrones to the end of days in the prayer of the Apostles and

[1] Shebânî is in Tergawer, a Persian district on the border between Persia and Turkey; it is four hours' ride from Urmia.

[2] I.e., the man from Kamûlâ in Gezira. See Assemânî, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii, i. p. 275; t. iii, ii. pp. 731, 732.

[3] For a description of sixteen monks who live in the convent of Rabban Hormizd and their convent; the destruction of the Patriarchal Library by the Kurds, الأكراد; the grave of the saint, etc., see Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 365, 366.

Fathers; Amen. The [above] mentioned Eliâ took pains to have this book written. It was written by the wretched and sinful deacon ʻÎsâ the son of Êshaʻyâ (Isaiah), son of the deacon Ḳûryâḳôs (Cyriacus) from the city of Eḳrôr in the land of the Sendâyê. I entreat the distinguished readers [of this book] to remember the scribe in their prayers, that compassion may be shewn to him before the throne of Christ our Lord; Amen. Blessed be God for ever, and may His holy name be praised for ever and ever! Amen."

I obtained this manuscript through the kind offices of Mr. Harry Lamb, formerly British Vice-Consul at Mosul, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam and Mr. Nimroud Rassam. The Chaldean Patriarch took the greatest care to have the copy made by a first-rate scribe, who was not only skilled in the mechanical part of the work, but also possessed of a sound knowledge of Syriac. When the copy was finished the Chaldean Patriarch collated it with the original, and was, in this manner, able to make a few corrections. Of the five MSS. A, B, C, D and E, E has the best readings and agrees the most closely with A. I believe that A and E were copied from the same manuscript. The colophon of E is as follows:—

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܀ ܒܚܕܫܒܐ ܕܒܥܝܬܐ
ܬܫܥܐ ܀ ܚ ܀ ܒܝܘ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܐ ܀ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܠܦ
ܘܬܫܥܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܫܬܐ. ܠܡܘܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܦܪܘܩܢ ܘܡܠܟܢ
ܘܡܫܝܚܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ
ܫܠܝܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܀

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܩܘܫ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܢܚܘܡ ܢܒܝܐ. ܕܥܡܗ
ܘܡܬܟܬܫܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ. ܥܠ ܐܝܕܐ ܕܗܘܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܒܪܝ ܗܘܪܡܙܕ
ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܐܒܘܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܡܬܠܠܝܐ ܘܟܪܝ.
ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܘܡܬܒܠܢܐ ܀ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܗܘܡܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܦܦܐ
ܕܡܗܘܡܢܐ ܀ ܕܐܬܘܗܝ ܒܥܡܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܩܘܫܝܐ ܀ ܘܡܕܝ

ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܦܛܘܠܡܐ ܦܪܘܛܪܘܦܘܣ ܕܟܪܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܘܟܬܐ ܀ ܡܟܝܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܠܗܘܦ
ܡܩܕܘܢ. ܟܬܒܐ ܥܠܝܢܐ ܘܐܦܪܝܩܝ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܠܐ̈ܦ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܥܕܢ ܡܢܝ ܐܠܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܒܥܬ
ܒܠܘܬ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܘܫܒܩܐ ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܒܪ ܝܚܝܐ ܒܪ ܡܣܟܢܬܐ
ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܣܕܪܐ ܐܦܝܪܐ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܐ ܀ ܒܟܠܗ
ܠܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܗܘ ܕܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܠܟܗܢܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܒܥܕܢ ܣܓܝ
ܒܝܬ ܕܡܟܝܠܐ ܡܢܝ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܡܫܒܚ
ܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܀

THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALEXANDER STORY.

For more than two thousand years the life and acts of Alexander the Great have been the subjects of numerous works and songs and poems, which have been written by many writers of many nationalities. The story of the deeds and of the events of his life has been eagerly received by every nation which it has reached, and the fame thereof has become so great that it has covered nearly the whole of the civilized world. It is not, however, the literal facts of the credible history of this king which have captivated the popular fancy of all nations, but the semi-mythical and fabulous legendary history which has sprung up round about them, and which has usurped the place of veritable history in the affection of the nations. While the careful work of Arrian[1] (written, it is true, nearly four hundred years after Alexander's death) has remained comparatively unknown by the side of the popular legends of Alexander which have found their way all over the world, the impossible history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into a large number of important languages and become known to all people.

Of the legendary history of Alexander, every version known to us is based upon the Greek history of him falsely attributed

[1] His Anabasis is based upon the lost works of the most trustworthy historians among the contemporaries of Alexander, such as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, whose works he chiefly followed. See also Fraenkel, *Die Quellen der Alexander Historiker*, 1883; Petersdorff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Droysen (J. G.), *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Sainte-Croix, *Examen Critique des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*, 1804; Petersdorff, R., *Eine neue Hauptquelle des Q. Curtius Rufus*, Beiträge zur Kritik der Quellen für die Geschichte Alexanders, 1884; Kaerst, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, 1887; and Vogelstein, *Annotationes quaedam ex litteris orientalibus petitae ad fabulas quae de Alexandro Magno circumferuntur*, Vratislaviae, 1865.

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to Callisthenes, his companion and friend. In translating this work the redactors of all nations have found opportunities for adding narratives of the marvellous, the fruits of their own imagination, and they, each and all, have helped to make the incredible history of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes more incredible still. The Egyptians made him a hero and an Egyptian after their own fashion; the Persians asserted that he was a Persian; and the Christian writers from the sixth to the thirteenth century described him as a devout Christian, and as one worthy to be honoured by visions and commands from our Lord Himself.

The first book of the history of Alexander according to Pseudo-Callisthenes is certainly of Egyptian origin, and its birthplace was Alexandria. Colonel Yule places the composition of the work as far back as A.D. 200[1], but there is no doubt that the legends which are contained in it were current some hundreds of years before; indeed, some of them must have been known within a few years of Alexander's death. I am unable to say that it was originally written in Egyptian, but it is probable that it was. Even if it was actually written down for the first time in Greek, it must, nevertheless, have been the work of an Egyptian who wished to confirm and spread abroad in the minds of the people of Egypt the idea which a large number of the people of Alexandria believed, or at least wished others to believe, viz., that Alexander was the son of a former king of Egypt, and that for him to become king of their country was only what was right and proper. It would certainly never enter the head of Greeks to compose and promulgate a story which made the wife of one of their kings to commit adultery with a fugitive king of a foreign country, especially with the king of a nation which they themselves derided, nor is it likely that they would acknowledge the offspring of this adultery as their king. On the other hand, the improbability of the whole story and of the miraculous nature of its details makes it precisely the kind of fable which we should expect to receive from an Egyptian who wished to prove that Alexander was an Egyptian. In other words, the fable of

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, Vol. 1, Introduction, p. 110.

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Nectanebus being the father of Alexander is a story quite in keeping with the other literary offspring of the lively Egyptian imagination which produced such stories as the *Tale of the Two Brothers*[1], *The Possessed Princess of Bechten*[2], *The Romance of Setna*[3], etc., and which, in the early times of the Coptic Church, imagined the marvellous events which we see described in the Life of Shenûti by Bêsa[4] and in the Encomium upon Pisentios, Bishop of Coptos, by Moses, Bishop of Keft[5]. Also the accurate description of Egyptian magical practices, the descriptions of the statues of kings and gods, the incidental allusions to the priests and gods of Egypt and to the customs of the Egyptians, make it certain that the man who composed the early part or the original book of the fabulous history of Alexander which was afterwards attributed to Callisthenes, was an Egyptian.

The story begins with the statement that the sages of Egypt were of divine origin and were masters of the powers of heaven and earth. They delivered their power over the elements to men by means of "invincible words" and by the powers of sorcery. The word "sages" naturally suggests the Egyptian name which was given to men who could read writing and who understood whatever science the Egyptians were acquainted with, viz., *reχi χet*[6], literally "knowers of things." These were the men who were called upon by the king in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* to explain to him the mystery of the lock of hair, and also by the king in

[1] For the Hieratic text see Birch, *Select Papyri*, ii, pl. ix—xix; for a hieroglyphic transcript see Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, pp. 1—27: and for an English translation see Renouf, *Records of the Past*, Vol. ii, p. 137 ff.

[2] De Rougé, *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, p. 97; for an English translation see *Records of the Past*, Vol. iv, pp. 53–60.

[3] Revillout, *Le Roman de Setna*, Paris, 1877.

[4] In *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de L'Égypte Chrétienne aux IVe et Ve Siècles*, ed. Amélineau, pp. 1-91.

[5] See Amélineau, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième Siècle*, Paris, 1887.

[6] Brit. Mus. Papyrus Egypt. No. 10183, p. 11, l. 4. The form 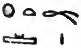 occurs in the stele of *The Possessed Princess*, l. 9.

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the *Story of the Possessed Princess*, to decide what should be done for the young woman who was afflicted by a disease which was caused by an unclean spirit. *Reχ χet* is a name often given to scribes. In the Egyptian papyri which have come down to us we find many specimens of the magical names of demons and of the formulae which are referred to by Pseudo-Callisthenes as forming the means by which the powers of the Egyptian sages were handed on to mankind. In the 162nd chapter of the Book of the Dead[1] various magical names such as Uāurȧuȧaqersaȧnq and Haqahakahrȧ are quoted; and long lists of such names are given both in Egyptian[2] and Greek[3] magical papyri. In the Ethiopic version of the first chapter of Pseudo-Callisthenes it is said that Nectanebus uttered the names of the demons of the earth when he made use of his knowledge of magic; the "fearful names" there alluded to remind us of the abominable names of Āpepi the enemy of Rā[4].

Nectanebus, having acquired the knowledge[5] of magic, used it in a remarkable way to preserve his country from invasion by enemies. Whenever they came to make war against him he used to go into his palace and overcome them from there by means of magical practices. If they came by sea he took a basin of water and set it in the middle of his room, and having

[1] Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, pl. LXXVII.

[2] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 151.

[3] Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, t. ii, pp. 123, 127, 145, 153. Many of the names of the demons and powers mentioned in the Leyden papyri are found upon Gnostic gems in the British Museum collection.

[4] See Brit. Mus. Egyptian papyrus No. 10188, page 16.

[5] It is difficult to discover how Nectanebus II., the last Egyptian king of Egypt, obtained his reputation for working magic. There is nothing in Egyptian history which, so far as I know, would explain the fact. Of the end of this king we know absolutely nothing, but it is certain that at a very early period he was considered to have been one of the most famous magicians. Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii, p. 15, note 1. For the history of Nectanebus according to the Egyptian monuments see Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 716.

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made models of the soldiers of the enemy and of those of his own army, he placed them in models of ships which he set upon the water opposite to each other. He then took a rod of wood in his hand, and uttered magical formulae and the names of certain demons. Presently the ships would draw near to each other and the wax figures would begin to fight. If the figures which represented his own soldiers were victorious on the water in the basin his soldiers were victorious on the sea; but if they were beaten and the ships sunk, the same result would happen to his army if they attempted to fight. One day, by this means, Nectanebus discovered that the gods of Egypt had handed over the country to the invader, for his ships were scattered on the basin of water, and were driven hither and thither by those of the enemy; on seeing this he disguised himself and fled away.

The custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures was a very old one among the Egyptians. If a man burnt a wax figure of a demon in the fire and uttered certain prayers or formulae over it while it was burning, it was supposed to be efficacious in guarding him from the power of that demon. Frequently professional exorcists carried this practice to a farther extent and by substituting the figure of a person, upon which his name had been written, they were thought to be able to do serious bodily harm or even to cause death to the person whose effigy was burnt. This practice was not only very old but also very widespread, and we now know that it was regarded as a crime by the Egyptians themselves. The fragments of a papyrus discussed and partly translated by the late M. Chabas[1] tell us that a certain man, who was a superintendent of cattle, obtained a book of magic with which he was able to work dire effects upon his fellow-creatures. The book contained not only the formulae necessary for obtaining these results, but also directions how to proceed. His powers were supposed to be so harmful that finally he was brought before an Egyptian court of law, and accused of working harm to various people of the town. He was charged with having thrown spells *siḥ*, upon men and

[1] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

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women; with having made figures of people in wax 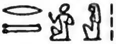 *reθ en menḥ* and so causing paralysis of their limbs; with writing love philtres *nāu en meri;* with having terrified *seχennu*, men; and with having generally applied himself to the working of sorcery which Pharaoh did not allow any of his servants to do, and which was "abominated by every god and goddess." It may be asked why this man was prosecuted for carrying on magical practices? We may perhaps find a satisfactory answer in the 148th chap. of the Book of the Dead, where it is expressly stated that certain rites are not to be seen by anyone except the king and the *χer ḥeb*, or precentor, and that no priest or servant is to be allowed to see them in going and coming[1]. The fragmentary nature of the papyrus does not allow us to see what the sentence passed upon the sorcerer was; but it shows us quite clearly that we have in the person of the accused a man of pursuits like unto those of Nectanebus.

In addition to his power of working magic by means of wax figures and water this king knew how to cast nativities and to send dreams and visions to men and women. In Book I. chap. 5, we are told that when he wished to send Olympias a dream he went out into the desert, and gathered roots of grass which, after pressing and pounding, he used for sending a dream to her. The Ethiopic version tells us that he made a fire of grasses, that he melted into it a wax figure of Olympias, upon which he had written her name, and that after he had muttered certain incantations the god Ammon came to her in a dream, and worked her will.

I have not been able to find in Egyptian papyri any instance of working magic by means of wax or bitumen figures and water

[1] 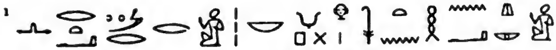 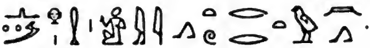 . Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, pl. LXIX, l. 8.

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analogous to that given above, but there are several passages where magical effects are promised, if a figure made of wax is burnt in the fire while certain formulae are recited. The following instances from an unpublished hieratic papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10188) will explain the method of procedure in such cases. The greater part of this papyrus is inscribed with a composition entitled "The Book of the overthrowing of Āpepi the enemy of Rā," which contains the following chapters:—

Chapter of spitting at Āpepi.
Chapter of defiling Āpepi.
Chapter of taking a lance to smite Āpepi.
Chapter of binding Āpepi.
Chapter of setting fire to Āpepi.
Book of overthrowing [Apepi] the enemy of Rā.
Book of turning back Āpepi.
Book of knowing the becomings of Rā.

In order to destroy the power of Āpepi, the demon of mist and blackness, the enemy of Rā, it was necessary to say a certain chapter of this composition "over an Āpepi written upon new papyrus with green paint, and over a wax figure of Āpepi with his cursed name engraved and inscribed upon it with green colour. Put it on the fire that the fire may burn the enemy of Rā. Let a man put a figure on the fire at dawn, at noon, and at night when Rā sets in the land of life. Put a figure on the fire at the sixth hour of the night, at the eighth hour of the day, at the arrival of evening until every hour of the day and of the night, by the day of the festival and by day and by month, by the sixth day of the festival, by the sixteenth day of the festival, and likewise every day. If this be done Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, will be overthrown in the shower, for Rā will shine and Āpepi will be destroyed in very truth. The figure is to be burned in a flame of dried grass, and the remains of it are to be mixed with dung and thrown into the fire. A repetition of this is to be made at the sixth hour of the night, at dawn on the eighth day. Āpepi is to be put on the fire, and is to be spit upon many, many times at the beginning of

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every hour of the day until the shadow comes round. After this must thou put Āpepi on the fire, spit upon him, kick him with thy left foot and then the roarings (thunders ?) of the crocodile whose face is turned behind him will be repulsed. A repetition of this is to be made at dawn on the eighth day, for by it will Āpepi be slain at the *sekti* boat. A repetition of this is to be made when tempests boil in the east of the sky, when Rā sets in the land of life, in order that threatening clouds may not be allowed to arise in the east of the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times in order that a shower and a rain-storm may not be allowed to arise in the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times to keep away the shower, so that the sun's disk may shine and Āpepi be overthrown in very truth. It is good for a man to do this upon earth, and it is good for him in the underworld. Verily the man who does this shall attain to dignities which are above him, and he shall be delivered from every hateful and evil thing."

The following is the text with a literal translation :—

(Page 8, l. 6)

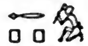

Āpep

[This chapter is to be said over] Āpepi

nāuu ḥer shuu nemaut em rei

written upon papyrus new with colour

ua't ḥnā āru Āpep em menḥ xa

green, and a form of Āpepi in wax engraved [and]

mātennu ren - f ḥer - f em rei

inscribed name cursed his upon it with colour

ua't ertāt åu shet amm - f χeft Rā

green. Place [it] on the fire that may burn it the enemy of Rā.

tā - f su em tūau em āhā , mātet em

Let place him it at dawn, at noon, likewise at

māsher χeft Rā ḥetep - f em Ānχtet

evening, when Rā sets he in the land of life,

åu unnut vi ent qerḥ åu unnut viii ent

at hour sixth of the night, at hour eighth of

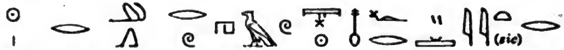

hru er peḥ ruhau nefer-it er

the day, at the arrival of evening until

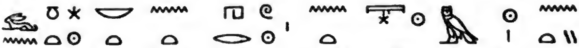

unnut nebt ent hru ent qerḥ em hru enti

hour every of the day [and] of the night, by the day of

ḥeb em hru em åbeṭu em vi enti

the festival, by day, by month, by sixth [day] of

ḥeb xvi enti ḥeb mātet hru neb

the festival, [by] sixteenth [day] of the festival, likewise day every.

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[1]

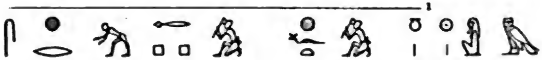

seχer Āpep χeft nu Rā em

[Then] will be overthrown Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, in

χapet . χer pest Rā seχer Āpepi

the shower, for will shine Rā [and] be overthrown Āpepi

em un māt sennu χet pu em χet ent

in very truth. To be burned, to wit, in a flame of

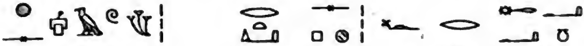

. χessau ertāt sepu . f er χāā

dried grass. Are to be given remains its to be mixed

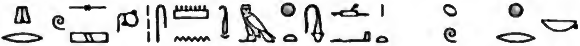

χer usesh smen em χet uāt āru χer - k

with excrement [and] put in fire one. Is to be done by thee

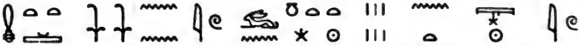

mātet enen àu unnut vi ent qerḥ àu

the like of this at hour six of the night, at

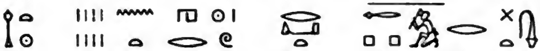

ḥe't viii ent hru ertāt Āpep er shet

daylight of the eighth day. Is to be given Āpepi to the fire,

pekaás ḥer - f āsht sep ii em ḥāt

to be spit upon [is] he many, many times at the beginning

[1] The words over which a line has been drawn are written in red ink on the papyrus.

unnut nebt ent hru neferit er rer χebit

of hour every of the day until comes round the shadow.

år emχet enen he't vi ent hru erțāt χer-ek

After this[at] daybreak of the sixth day is to be placed by thee

Āpep åu shet pekaås her - f sånt em

Āpepi in the fire, to be spit upon [is] he and defiled with

nemt - k åb χesef hembemti ent hau

leg thy left, repulsed [are] the roarings of the crocodile backward

hrå årit en χer - ek måtet enen åu

of face. Is to be done by thee the like of this at

he't vııı ent hru χesef Āpep åm - f

daylight of eighth day; repulsed will be Āpepi by it [and]

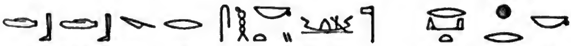

tebțeb er sekti erțāt χer - k

slain at the *sekti* boat[2]. Is to be made by thee

[1] Below the line, between and , are the signs .

[2] The *sekti* boat was the sacred boat in which the sun was supposed to sail across the sky in the morning; the boat in which he went to the place of his setting was called the *ățtet* boat.

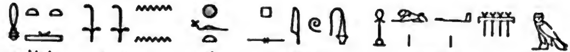

mâtet enen χeft pesåu shenreä em

the like of this when boil tempests in

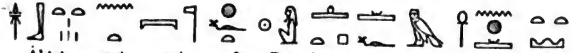

Åbtet ent pet χeft Rā ḥetep - f em Ānχtet

the east of the sky, when Rā sets he in the land of life,

er tem ertāt χeper teshert em

so that may not be allowed to become red threatening clouds in

Åbtet ent pet åri χer - k mâtet enen

the east of the sky. Is to be done by thee the like of this

ăsht sep ii åu tem ertāt χeper

many, many times so that not be allowed to become

χaā em pet temi ertāt

a shower in the sky, and so that not may be allowed

χeper qeråu em pet åri χer - ek

to become a rainstorm in the sky. Is to be done by thee

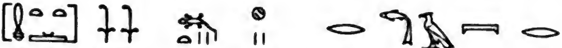

mâtet enen ăsht sep II er χapet er

the like of this many, many times against the shower, so that

pesṭ âtennu seχer Āpep em un

may shine the disk and be overthrown Āpepi in very

māt χut en âri - s her ḥetep ta χut nef em

truth. It is good for the doer of it upon earth, it is good for him in

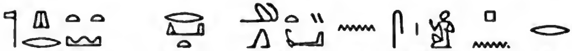

neterχertet ertāt peḥti en se pen er

the underworld. Is given to attain person this to

âaut ent ḥer - f neḥem - f

dignities which [are] above him, delivered [is] he,

pu mā χet nebt bân tu em un māt.

to wit, from things all evil, foul, in very truth.

In order to overcome the fiends and companions of Āpepi it was necessary to recite a certain chapter of cursings "over an Āpepi with green paint painted upon new papyrus which is to be placed inside a case upon which his name is inscribed; tie up a case and put it in the fire every day. Kick it with thy left foot, spit upon it four times every day. When thou placest this form in the fire say, 'Rā triumphs over thee, O Āpepi; Horus triumphs over thee; and Pa-āa, life, strength and health! triumphs over his enemies' four times. Then must thou write the name of every devil male and female which thy heart fears, the name of every enemy of Pa-āa, life, strength, health! in life and in death, and the names of their fathers and mothers and children inside the cases; then put them in forms of wax and set them on the fire in addition to that with the name of Āpepi. Burn these when Rā rises, repeating the chapter the first time,

at noon and at sunset while there is light at the foot of the mountain. Verily thou must recite this chapter over every wax figure; the doing of this is of great good (or of great power) upon earth and in the underworld."

The following is the text:—

(Page 13, l. 16)

'teṭtu re pen ḥer Āpep nānu

Is to be said chapter this over an Āpepi written

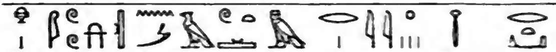

ḥer shuu nemaut em rei ua't ertā

upon papyrus new with colour green [and] placed

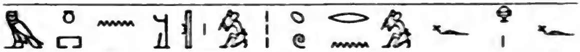

em χennu en neset āru ren - f ḥer - f

inside of a case (?) being made name his upon it,

senḥu netet ṭā en χet hru neb

bind, tie up [and] give [it] to the fire day every.

sān em nemti - k ābṭ peḳas ḥer - f sep ftu

Spurn with leg thy left, spit upon it times four

em χerti ent hru neb 'teṭ χer - k

in the course of day every. Is to be said by thee

ṭā - k su en set mātχeru Rā er - ek

[when] placest thou it in the fire, "Triumphs Rā over thee,

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Āpep sep ftu mātχeru Ḥeru er χefti - f sep

Āpepi, times four; triumphs Horus over enemies his, times

tu mātχeru Pa-āa ānχ u'ta senb er χefti -

our; triumphs Pa-āa, life, strength, health! over enemies

f sep ftu ȧs - k nāut - nek enen ren

his, times four." Now thou, writest thou these names of

seχeti nebt seχeti nebt senṭeti ȧb - k

demons male all and demons female all [which] fears heart thy

er sen em χeft neb en Pa-āa ānχ u'ta

at them, enemy every of Pa-āa, life, strength,

senb em mit em ānχ ren en ȧtf - sen

health! in death in life, the name of father their,

ren en mut - sen ren en mesu

the name of mother their, [and] the name of [their] children

em-χennu en neset ertāt en ȧru em menḥ

inside of the cases placed in work of wax;

ertāt her χet her-sa ren en Āpep
place [them] upon the fire by the side of the name of Āpepi

am χeft Rā tā - f su ka - k
and burn when Rā gives he himself (*i.e.* rises). Repeatest thou

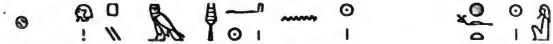

sep hetepi em āhā en Rā χeft Rā
[it] time first, at standing of Rā (*i.e.* noon), when Rā

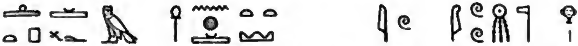

hetep - f em ānχtet āu shuu her
sets he in the land of life, whilst there is light at

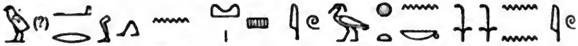

uār en tu āu χut - nek enen āu
the foot of the mountain. Is to be recited by thee this over

semi nebt em un māt χut
image every in very truth; of great power [is]

āru - s her hetep ta em neterχertet
the doing of it upon earth [and] in the under-world.

When Nectanebus wanted to send a dream to Philip he adopted another method: he took a hawk, and having muttered charms over it, sent it away with a small quantity of a drug, and it shewed Philip a dream. Here again I have not been able to find any such custom noted in the Egyptian papyri, but, judging from the minuteness of the description, there can be no doubt this was one of the many practices resorted to by

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the Egyptian sorcerer to shew people dreams. The design engraved on the ring which is described in Bk. I. Chap. VII. was, most probably, something like this;—

Each of these four signs is found engraved on gems and scarabaei.

Throughout the work Alexander is always spoken of as the son of Åmen-Rā, and the accuracy of the references to him and to this god is fully borne out by the hieroglyphic inscriptions. His cartouches are;—

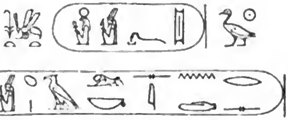

and read *suten net setep Rā meri Åmen se Rā Aleksåntres se Åmen*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the chosen one of Rā, the beloved of Åmen, son of the Sun, Alexander, son of Åmen." Being the son of the god Åmen, who was frequently represented on the sculptures[1] by a ram, it was only natural that the two horns of this animal should be made attributes of Alexander the Great, and that he should be called "two-horned." In the Book of Daniel[2], though compared to a goat, he has only one horn; the writer of the book must, however, have been acquainted with the Egyptian notions concerning Alexander. According to Arabic tradition he was called Two-Horned because of his having captured the two horns of the sun, that is, the East and the West[3].

[1] and see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, tav. XX—XXV.

[2] Daniel, chap. viii.

[3] وسمي ذا القرنين لبلوغه قرني الشمس وهما المشرق والمغرب Pocock, *Hist. Dynastiarum*, text p. 96, Latin trans. p. 62. See also Ḳor'ân, Surah XVIII, and Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 57.

THE VERSIONS OF THE FABULOUS HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

Pseudo-Callisthenes.

The work upon which all the legendary compositions relating to the history of Alexander are based is that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which is thought to have been written in Greek about A.D. 200[1]. The Greek text of this work is extant in twenty manuscripts which have been enumerated and described by Zacher[2]. In the majority of them the name of no author is given, but some describe the narrative as the work of Καλλισθένης ἱστοριογράφος[3]. The text as printed by Müller[4] is edited from three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which represent three different versions of the work, viz.:—No. 1711 (fonds grec) = A; No. 1685 = B; and No. 113 (suppl. grec) = C. The text in the first of these is very corrupt, but as a whole, it represents the original or Alexandrian form of the legend. In the second the differences between legend and history are made to be less marked, and the authorship of the composition is attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes. In the third we have a modified and amplified redaction of the story which agrees oftener with B than A, in this respect resembling most of the other MSS. known to us[5]. The Greek text of a manuscript a

[1] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 110 (Introduction).

[2] Müller, op. cit., *Introductio*, p. viii. col. 2, No. 13.

[3] Pseudo-Callisthenes: *Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Aeltest Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867, pp. 7—25.

[4] *Pseudo-Callisthenes primum edidit* Carolus Mullerus, Parisiis, 1877.

[5] *Codex A* scribam arguit vel plane rudem et negligentissimum, vel cuj oculis subjectum erat exemplar turpissimis vitiis ubique inquinatum. Ad pleraque corrupta et lacera sunt......Ipsa denique narratio uberior est de i rebus, unde quæ prisca ejus forma fuerit intelligere liceat......Codices B et

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Leyden containing a version which follows A for the first nine chapters and B for the rest has been edited by Meusel[1]; it is of value for the study of the Syriac version. A German translation of the Greek codices A, B and C was published by Weismann[2].

It is improbable that any Greek text known to us represents the Alexander story as it was first written, but a study of the Syriac and Armenian versions and of the Latin translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Julius Valerius, which was made in the fourth century, will, in all probability, help us to restore it in many passages. M. Meyer thinks that, with the help of these versions, it can be restored to represent its form in the third century, for their variations represent Greek readings older than any that we have[3].

uti ætate non ita longe separati, sic oratione simillimi. Ubi res easdem eodem modo narrant, iisdem etiam verbis uti solent. Cetera indole valde differunt. Nimirum codex B narrationem habet quam cod. A breviorem. Alia omittit, alia contrahit, quædam mutavit et transposuit; nova præbet perpauca—Contra codex C voluminis mole reliquos longe superat. Fundus narrationis ea est recensio quam sequitur cod. B. Nam quæ cod. B habet, eadem eodem ordine iisdemque verbis in C leguntur pæne omnia. At intercalata iis sunt alia multa, quæ ex diversis plane fontibus auctor corrasit. Pleraque ætatem redolent infimam, multa ineptissima; ac tanta est scriptoris negligentia, ut non modo pugnantia inter se proferat, sed eadem etiam bis vel ter repetat. Müller, Introductio, p. ix, col. 1, x. col. 2.

[1] *Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1871. Reprinted from *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, t. v. suppl. IV.

[2] Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung, nebst geschichtlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen, so wie der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes und umfassenden Auszügen aus den lateinischen, französischen, englischen, persischen und türkischen Alexanderliedern.* 2 Bde, Frankfurt a. M. 1850. For other accounts of Pseudo-Callisthenes see Berger de Xivrey, *Notices sur la plupart des manuscrits grecs, latins, français, contenant l'histoire fabuleuse d'Alexandre le Grand connue sous le nom de Pseudo-Callisthenes*, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, t. XIII., Paris, 1838, pp. 162—306; Frocheur, *Histoire romanesque d'Alexandre le Grand, ou recherches sur les différentes versions du Pseudo-Callisthène* (in *Messager des sciences historiques et archives des Arts en Belgique*, 1847, pp. 393—436); Grässe, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1842; Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii. pp. 1—184; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, t. I. bk. 2, cap. 10, t. III. bk. 3, cap. 2.

[3] *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866, t. II. p. 1—7.

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The Latin Translations of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter.

The history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into Latin by Julius Valerius[1] and Leo the Archpresbyter[2]. Julius Valerius is supposed to have lived about the third or fourth century A.D.[3] His work was one of the sources of the *Itinerarium Alexandri*[4], a work of unknown authorship, which was composed about 340—345 A.D., and it was through this version that the peoples of the north-west and west of Europe became acquainted with the fabulous history of Alexander. The oldest manuscript of the work is preserved at Turin, and was written about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century[5]. The Aesop mentioned in the titles of the work is generally thought to be the author of a very old recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes; Favre, however, considered his work to be quite distinct from that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, although many of the stories were common to both[6]. The Epitome of Julius Valerius was published for the first time by Zacher[7].

[1] The text has been published by Mai, *Julii Valerii res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo Graeco.* In *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis codd. editorum*, t. VII., Romae, 1835, pp. 61—246 and in *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, ed. Lemaire, t. LXXIV. pp. 82—283; and by Müller at the foot of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

[2] The text has been published many times, but the most recent editions of it are Landgraf, *Die Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyters Leo, Historia de Preliis*......zum erstenmal herausgegeben, 1885, 8vo; Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems.* In Anhange: Die Historia de preliis, 1882, 8vo. A work on the Historia de Preliis is being prepared by Dr. A. Ausfeld of Brüchsal.

[3] Mai, op. cit. p. xi.

[4] The text has been published by Mai, *Itinerarium Alexandri......edidit primus et notis illustravit A. Maius, nunc denuo publicat*, 1819 pp. 15—61; by Müller, at the end of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 155—167; and by Volkmann, Numburgi (no date) pp. 1—29. See also Kluge, *De Itinerario Alexandri Magni dissertatio*, Wratislaviae, 1861, 8vo.

[5] Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 11.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 22; Meyer, *Alexandre*, p. 18.

[7] *Julii Valerii Epitome zum erstenmal herausgegeben*, Halle, 1867.

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The translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter appeared for the first time in the XIth century, entitled *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de prœliis.* He had been sent on an embassy to Constantinople by John and Marinus, Dukes of Campania (914—965), and while there he spent his time in collecting books; among these was a Greek history of Alexander which the Duke John caused him to translate into Latin[1].

A Latin version of the History of Alexander, composed of a series of extracts from the works of Orosius, Josephus, Augustine, Bede and others, so arranged as to form a continuous narrative, was made in the twelfth century; it is usually attributed to Radulfus, Abbot of St Albans[2].

The Latin epic poem *Alexandreis* by Gaultier de Lille or de Châtillon is based upon the history of Alexander by Q. Curtius[3].

A small and late apocryphal Latin work which treats of Alexander's journey to Paradise is also known; the text was published by Zacher in 1859[4]. Some parts of the narrative, as, for example, the statement that Alexander was guided on his way through dark and unknown countries by a precious stone, remind us of the Ethiopic description of his journey in search of the water of life, in which we are told that a gem, which Adam brought out from Paradise, led him along the right path through the Land of Darkness (see p. cv.). M. Meyer admits[5] that the story may be of Hebrew origin, but he thinks that the traces of Christianity which are found in it do away with all chance of its being an exact translation of the Hebrew legend which makes

[1] The value of this translation has been discussed by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 67—77; by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 34 ff.; and by Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 108.

[2] See Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. pp. 52—63, and also his description of the *Compilation du MS. Douce*, p. 68 ff.

[3] See Ward, H. L. D., *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I. p. 94. The poem has been published in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCIX., 1855, coll. 463—572, and by Mueldener, entitled *M. Philippi Gualtheri ab insulis dicti de Castellione Alexandreis*, Leipzig, 1863.

[4] *Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum*, Koenigsberg, 1859. This composition has been described by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 86, 87.

[5] *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 49.

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Alexander attempt to enter Paradise[1]; he would place the date of its composition in the first half of the XIIth century[2].

THE ARMENIAN VERSION[3].

The text of the Armenian[4] version of the Alexander story was published at Venice in the year 1842 by the Mechitarist Fathers, who based their edition upon ten or twelve MSS. which were written during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the undated MSS. was one which was illustrated with scenes in the life of Alexander, and which, from external evidence, was supposed to have been written during the twelfth or thirteenth century. This Armenian translation is considered to be a faithful equivalent of the Greek text from which it was translated, and to represent the oldest form of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes; the Mechitarists place the date of this version in the fifth century and believe that it was made by Moses of Khorene[5]. Judging by the translations of parts of the contents given by Zacher it agrees closely with the Syriac version; and as it preserves in a fuller and better form many of the passages which are either given imperfectly or not at all in the Greek codex A and in the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it is much to be desired that an Armenian scholar

[1] Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. p. 321.

[2] See a discussion on the work by Israel Levi in *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298; t. XII. p. 117.

[3] See Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 85—101, and Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. II. pp. 34, 35. I am indebted to these works for the statements about the Armenian Pseudo-Callisthenes made above.

[4] *Padmuthiun Acheksandri Maketonaziwui I Wenedig i dparani serbuin Chazaru.* Hami 1842 or "History of Alexander the Macedonian, Venice. At the printing press of Saint Lazarus, 1842." A notice of this work appeared in the *Hallischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, June, 1845, No. 129, ss. 1027—1029, and another by C. F. Neumann in *Gelehrten Anzeigen herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der k. Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, December, 1884, No. 250—252, coll. 961—965; 969—974; 977—983.

[5] The narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, or a similar history, was known to Moses of Chorene, for he says that Nectanebus was the last king of Egypt and that he was, according to some, the father of Alexander. See *Moïse de Khorène, histoire d'Arménie, texte Arménien et traduction Françoise*, par P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, p. 175.

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would undertake to make a translation of it into some European language. In a letter to Geier Dr. G. Petermann said, "Die Armenische Biographie ist, wie Sie ganz richtig vermuthet hatten, der *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, derselbe aber in der aeltesten Gestalt, oder wenigstens in derjenigen, welche der aeltesten zunaechst steht, ohne die vielen spaetern meist widersinnigen Zusaetze, ob er gleich auch wie alle andern Recensionen desselben des Wunderbaren Vieles enthaelt. Uebrigens ist diese Biographie, wie die armenischen Herausgeber ausdrücklich in der Vorrede bemerken—und wir mussen sie, die gelehrten Mechitaristen,...als die competentesten Richter in dieser Beziehung anerkennen—schon im 5ten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung uebersetzt worden; auch hegen sie die Vermuthung, dass *Moses Chorenensis*, der berühmteste Armenische Geschichtsschreiber, der Uebersetzer derselben sei, so wie sie meinen, dass ebenderselbe auch die Chronik des Eusebius in das Armenische uebertragen haben moege." Müller, *Introductio*, p. x.

THE SYRIAC VERSION.

The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes which has come down to us may be divided into three books or sections, which agree broadly with the three divisions which we find in the Greek codex A and with those of the Latin translation by Julius Valerius; these books or sections contain forty-seven, fourteen and twenty-four chapters respectively. The order of some of the chapters in Book I. is different from those in the Greek text, but the whole book substantially agrees with the Codex A.

In Book II. we have a lacuna of nearly eight chapters. The first sentence of Chap. VI. agrees with the first sentence of Chap. VI. of Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac then passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). This break can probably be accounted for by supposing that a couple of quires had fallen out of either the Greek or the Arabic translation of it from which the Syriac version was made.

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Book III. corresponds generally with Book III. of the Greek text but omits the ten chapters which are interpolated into the Greek text of Codex A from the work of Palladius[1], Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων[2].

Although the Syriac work printed in the following pages agrees tolerably closely with the Greek text of codex A and the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it will be seen on examining these versions that it cannot be considered a translation of either the Greek or the Latin or to represent any of the Greek and Latin texts known to us. Incidents which are extant in the Greek and are wanting in the Latin are found in the Syriac: similarly incidents which are extant in the Latin and are wanting in the Greek are preserved in the Syriac. For example the incident of the Egyptians enquiring of the oracle what had become of Nectanebus is given by the Greek and the Syriac, but it is wanting in the Latin of Julius Valerius. Also the augury of Nectanebus related in Chap. XII. of the Greek and Syriac texts is wanting in the Latin. Again the correspondence between Zintôs, Olympias and Philip, Alexander and Aristotle concerning the meagreness of the pocket money allowed to Alexander is given in the Latin and Syriac, but is wanting in the Greek text. The text of Aristotle's letter to Alexander in which he warns him not to undertake the building of so great a city as Alexandria, which is given in the Syriac, is wanting in both the Greek and the Latin texts. Other similar variations will be found in the second and third book of the Syriac version.

Of the Syrian translator of Pseudo-Callisthenes nothing is known. It seems most probable, however, that he was a Christian priest. Throughout his work he has used a number of rare words, and he appears, at times, not to have understood clearly the text before him[3]. Here and there he has turned a

[1] He is supposed to have been born in Galatia about A.D. 367; he was made Bishop of Helenopolis in 400, and died in the year 431.

[2] This work was first published by Joachimus Camerarius in *Liber Gnomologicus*, about the year 1571; it was afterwards printed under the name of Palladius together with S. Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, and Anonymus, *De Bragmanibus*, by Sir Edward Bisse in 1665.

[3] See, for example, the description of an eclipse, Eng. trans. p. 95, and Müller, p. 121, col. 1.

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passage in order to bring out a Christian sentiment. Thus when Darius dies he makes him say, "In thy hands I leave my spirit," a rendering which cannot have been made from the Greek *καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν Δαρεῖος ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου.* (Müller, p. 78, col. 1.) It is clear that the passage ܐܒܝ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܟ ܣܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܪܘܚܝ "My Father, in Thy hands I lay my spirit" (S. Luke, ch. xxiii. 46), was running in his mind. We have also "Shôshan, or Shûshan the fortress" mentioned twice[1] where there is no original Greek from which it could have been translated. Here the translator had in his mind the שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה, Chald. שׁוּשַׁן בִּירְנְתָא, of Nehemiah i. 1; and Esther i. 1; ii. 3, 5.

In Book I. chapter XXXI. we have a statement[2] regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph the son of Jacob. Now this interpolation is clearly the work of the Syrian translator who had obtained his information on this point from the works of Christian writers. In the Oration of Meliton the Philosopher addressed to Antoninus Caesar[3] we have it expressly stated that "The Egyptians worshipped Joseph, a Hebrew, who was called Serapis[4], because he supplied them with sustenance in the years of famine," ܣܓܕܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܥܒܪܝܐ. ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܣܪܦܝܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܬܪܣ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܒܘܪܐ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܟܦܢܐ. and the same view is expressed by Tertullian[5], Maternus[6], Ruffinus[7] and Suidas[8].

In the composition which I have called *A Christian Legend*

[1] Eng. trans. pp. 133 and 158.

[2] Eng. trans. p. 39.

[3] For the text see Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. ܡ.

[4] The Egyptian form of this name is "Osiris was also worshipped under the form of Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, or as a human figure with a bull's head, accompanied by the name Apis-Osiris," Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, III. p. 86. "Apis was a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris," Plutarch, *De Isid.* 29, 30.

[5] "Nam Serapis iste quidem olim Joseph dictus fuit, de genere sanctorum," *Ad Nationes*, II. 8.

[6] *De Errore Profan. Relig.*, cap. 9.

[7] In *Auctores Hist. Eccl.* Basil. p. 256.

[8] See in his Lexicon s.v. Σάραπις, ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1834.

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concerning Alexander the Christian translator betrays himself by quoting a passage[1] from Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the evil which shall come upon the land through the invasion of the peoples from the north. Several other passages in the work shew that he was also acquainted with the prophecies which are given in the Gospels, concerning the evils which should fall upon the land of Judaea. Whether the writer of the metrical discourse upon Alexander and the gate which he built was Jacob of Sĕrûgh or not is of little consequence here; it is so evidently the work of a Christian translator that we need not discuss it at all.

When the Syriac translation was made I am unable to say; but I believe that we may assign it to some period between the seventh and the ninth centuries. Professor Wright thought that Syriac was not the native language of the translator, and believed that he had only acquired it in the schools for the purpose of studying the Bible and the Syriac translations of Greek theological works; he believed that the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original, and placed the making of the work much later than I have done, namely in the tenth century[2]. Zacher placed the date of the making of our translation in the fifth century[3]. An older Syriac translation may have appeared in the sixth century, about the time when the first Syriac translation of *Ḳalîlag wĕ-Damnag* was made; I do not, however, see any evidence in the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes which we have before us sufficient to justify us in assigning the work to that early period. Whether we assign the earlier or the later date to the translation it does not appear that the value of the work as a means for helping to restore the ancient form of the Alexander story will be im-

[1] English trans. p. 155.

[2] Wright, *Syriac Literature*, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XXII. p. 850, col. 2.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 192. Wenn also die Abfassung des Julius Valerius in den Anfang des vierten, die der armenischen Uebersetzung wahrscheinlich in das fünfte Jahrhundert zu setzen ist, so würde die Abfassung dieser Syrischen Uebersetzung vielleicht ebenfalls noch in das fünfte Jahrhundert fallen, in jene Zeit, wo unter der Pflege der Nestorianer die Syrische Literatur in Edessa blühte und durch Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen bereichert wurde.

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paired. Also it is certain that the Syriac translation represents one of the oldest forms of the story, older probably than any other known to us.

The strongest evidence that the Syriac translation was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original is obtained from the Syriac forms of Greek proper names. The Egyptian name Necht-neb-f (Nectanebus) is represented in Greek by Νεκτανεβῶς and in Arabic by نقطنبوس[1]; the Syrian translator reading by mistake نقطيبوس *i.e.* يـ for نـ arrived at the Syriac form ܢܩܛܝܒܘܣ which we have throughout the work. We have the correct transcription of this name ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ in Bruns, *Bar-Heb. Chron.*, Syr. text, p. 35, l. 19. On page 20 (Syr. text), l. 8, we have the words ܡܩܪܢܐ ܡܩܪ̈ܢܬܐ ܣܝܒܐ for the Greek *κερασφόρος μηνί*. The rendering of *κερασφόρος* is sufficiently good, but what is ܣܝܒܐ? It seems that the Arabic translator did not know what *μηνί* meant, and that he transferred the word to his translation under some form like مينا, which was taken over into the Syriac version under the form of ܡܝܢܐ, which became corrupted into ܣܝܢܐ and ܣܝܒܐ. In the next line we have the name ܐܝܕܢܡܛܘܢܐ for the Greek Ἐνδυμίωνα. Now the Arabic form of this name would be something like انديميونا, which the Syrian scribe probably read ايدنمتونا, and hence arrived at the Syriac form of the word which we now have. On p. 52, l. 5, we have ܪܦܝܬܘܢ ܘܩܝܠܝܛܪܘܢ for the Greek *Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων*. The Arabic transcription of these names was probably رفيتون تيقنطرون[2], the translator not understanding the passage, which the Syriac translator misread رفيتون وتيليطرون. On page 63, l. 5, the total of Alexander's forces is given as two hundred and seventy thousand: here clearly the Syriac translator read سبعين for تسعين.

[1] The form given by Bar-Hebraeus (*Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 89) is نقطابيوس

[2] R for L as in the name Ḳandarôs = Candaules. Eng. trans. p. 121.

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On page 70, l. 14, we have ܣܝܣܝܩܘܣܣ, for the Greek Σεσόγχωσις; the Arabic transcription of this word سيسنقوسيس was probably read by the Syriac translator as سيسيقوسس, hence the Syriac form which we now have. On p. 97, l. 4, we have ܠܒܐܒܕܠܐ for the Greek εἰς Ἄβδηρα. The Arabic transcription of the Greek would probably be بابديرا, the whole of which the Syrian translator read as the name of the place and transcribed ܒܐܒܕܠܐ (with *l* for *r*). On p. 99, l. 3, the Syriac form of the name Croesus, Κροῖσος, is given as ܩܪܝܛܝܘܣ, which can only have arisen from the Syrian translator reading قريتيوس instead of قريسوس. The Syriac form of Κανδαύλης is ܩܢܕܪܘܣ, and as the Ethiopic form of this name is also Ḳandarôs, it seems certain that they are both transcribed from an Arabic original. It has been shewn that the Syrian translator, probably from the absence of points, misread بي for ذ and ذ for بي, ذ for بي, تس for سب and يتيذ for يس, and the following example of the confusion between ق and ف will be interesting. On page 242, line 5, we have ܦܪܝܣܩܘܣ, Prîsḳôs, which is afterwards frequently written ܩܪܝܣܩܘܣ *Krîsḳos.* An examination of the Index of Syriac forms of proper names will add considerably to the few examples given above of the confusion between the Arabic letters on the part of the Syrian scribe.

To sum up, then, the Syriac version seems to have been made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original by a Christian priest, whose native language was Arabic, some time between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

M. Jules Mohl believed[1] that Firdausi employed an Arabic translation of a Greek history of Alexander to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. It is much to be wished that a manuscript of such an Arabic translation could be found, for there is little doubt that it would

[1] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

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clear up many of the difficult passages which exist in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

To facilitate the comparison of the contents of the Syriac version with the Greek texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have added below a brief list of its contents. A short summary of the Greek texts A, B and C[1] and of the Latin translation of Julius Valerius has been printed by Müller in the introduction to his edition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. x col. 2—xv col. 1, and by Weismann[2] in the German translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes at the head of each chapter. A complete summary and scholarly analysis of each chapter of the oldest Greek and Latin texts of the work, with remarks upon the Armenian version (said to have been made in the fifth century), has been given by Zacher in his *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, pp. 113—176. The letters A, B and C refer to the three principal Greek texts of Müller's edition; L to the Greek text published by Meusel[3]; and V to the Latin translation made by Julius Valerius, which is printed at the foot of the pages of the Greek text in Müller's edition.

Book I.

Chap. I. The sages of Egypt, of divine origin, ruled the earth and sea by their power which they delivered to mankind by means of magical words. Nectanebus the last king of Egypt was a great magician. His sorcery with a bowl of water and models of ships and men; conquers his enemies thereby[4].

Chap. II. A spy announces the coming of hosts of enemies. Nectanebus approves of the vigilance of the scout and dismisses him[5].

[1] For Müller's description of the characteristics of these MSS. see his *Introductio*, p. ix, col. 2; p. x, col. 1.

[2] *Alexander,......der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Band II, pp. 4—224.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Handschrift, herausgegeben von* H. Meusel. Besonderer Abdruck aus dem fünften Supplementband der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Leipzig, 1871.

[4] AVL. So also the Armenian version. See Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 88.

[5] ABCLV.

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Chap. III. Nectanebus discovers by means of the basin of water and the bitumen figures that the gods of Egypt have forsaken and betrayed the land. He shaves his head and beard, changes his raiment, and flees from Egypt by way of Pelusium. He arrives at Pella and dresses like an Egyptian prophet[1]. After Nectanebus had fled the Egyptians asked Hephaestus the head of the race of the gods what had become of him. He sends them an oracle which they inscribe upon the base of the statue of Nectanebus[2].

Chap. IV. Nectanebus goes about in Macedonia. Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of Macedon, sends for him to consult him about a rumour which she has heard of Philip's intention to divorce her. He casts her nativity. Description of the table and horoscope. He tells her that Ammon the god of Libya will appear to her in a dream, and that he will afterwards come and sleep with her[3].

Chap. V. Nectanebus causes Olympias to dream that Ammon had come to her[4].

Chap. VI. Olympias sends for Nectanebus to come and explain the dream; he tells her that Ammon will come to her in three forms[5].

Chap. VII. A god, *i.e.*, Nectanebus, visits Olympias under the forms of Ammon, of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. Nectanebus sends a dream to Philip in which he shews him the visit of Ammon to Olympias and her pregnancy[6].

Chap. VIII. Philip sends for the wise men to explain the dream, and they tell him that Olympias has become pregnant by Ammon the god of Libya[7].

Chap. IX. Philip returns home and finds Olympias ashamed to meet him. He comforts her and tells her that he has seen in a dream all that has happened[8].

Chap. X. Philip, suspecting the fidelity of his wife, upbraids her. Nectanebus in the form of a serpent glides into the room and embraces Olympias, and Philip is pacified[9].

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCL. [3] ABCLV. [4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV.

[6] ABCLV. See ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܟܬܒܢܘܬ ܙ̈ܒܢܐ ed. Bruns, p. 35.

[7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV. [9] ABCLV.

Chap. XI. A half-bred hen lays an egg in Philip's lap; and a serpent crawls therefrom and dies. Antiphon the chief augur interprets this as referring to the glory and death of the child which Olympias is about to bring forth[1].

Chap. XII. The time for Olympias to be delivered comes, and Nectanebus consults the stars in order that the child may not be born under an unlucky star[2]. At a favourable time Olympias gives birth to Alexander, and the earth quakes and lightnings flash forth from the sky[3].

Chap. XIII. Philip names the child Alexander after a son borne to him by a former wife. Description of Alexander's appearance and the names of his tutors[4]. Bucephalus is sent to Philip by the Cappadocians as a gift[5].

Chap. XIV. Alexander, being twelve years old, learns the arts of horsemanship and war. Nectanebus makes a good augury for Olympias. He shews Alexander the planets, and is pushed by him into a pit, where he dies after having told Alexander his history and relationship to him. Alexander buries his father[6].

Chap. XV. Philip sends to consult the oracle at Delphi about his successor: Pythia replies saying that the subduer of Bucephalus shall be lord of Macedonia[7].

Chap. XVI. Alexander makes Bucephalus run through Pella, and Philip, remembering the words of the oracle, rejoices[8].

Chap. XVII. Alexander returns wise answers to the questions of Aristotle[9]. His liberality. Correspondence between Zintôs, Philip and Olympias, Aristotle and Alexander[10].

[1] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[2] ABCLV. The description of the auguries of Nectanebus is shortened in LBCV.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV. The notice about the ancestors of Alexander given by J. Valerius only is from the fourth book of the Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία of Favorinus. From the fact of this passage being found in the Armenian version, which was certainly translated from the Greek, Müller thinks that Valerius has here preserved a part of an older form of the Greek version than we at present possess. See *Pseudo-Call.*, p. 91.

[5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV. [7] ABCLV.

[8] ABCLV. This is chap. XVII. of the Greek and Latin texts.

[9] ABCLV. This is chap. XVI. of the Greek and Latin texts.

[10] V. The Armenian version has preserved this correspondence between Alexander, his father and mother, Zeuxis and Aristotle. See Müller, p. 92.

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Chap. XVIII. Alexander goes to the chariot races at Pisa; his quarrel with Nicolaus[1].

Chap. XIX. Description of the races. Nicolaus is conquered by Alexander and dies[2].

Chap. XX. Alexander returns to Pella and finds his mother divorced by Philip, who wished to marry a woman called Cleopatra; he goes to the feast in his muddy garments[3].

Chap. XXI. Alexander quarrels with Lysias the jester and kills him. His dispute with his father[4].

Chap. XXII. Alexander, having made his peace with his father, reconciles him to Olympias[5].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander is sent to put down a rebellion at Methône[6]. On his return he finds that Darius had sent satraps to bring to him the customary annual tribute; he sends them away empty with jeers[7]. The satraps cause a picture of Alexander to be painted to be carried back to Persia[8]. Alexander is sent to Armenia to quell an insurrection[9].

Chap. XXIV. Philip, having been enticed into a theatre by Theosîdos, a man who had fallen in love with Olympias, is stabbed[10]. Alexander returns from Armenia and finds that Olympias has been abducted by Theosîdos. He takes Theosîdos to Philip who slays him; Philip dies and is buried[11].

Chap. XXV. Alexander holds a council of war, and exhorts the people to rid themselves of the Persian dominion; he addresses the veterans of Philip's army[12].

Chap. XXVI. Number of the soldiers in Alexander's army[13].

[1] ABCLV.

[2] ABCLV. The Syriac text agrees with C only as far as it agrees with A and B.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV. See Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[5] ABCLV.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABLV. This incident forms part of chap. XXVI. in C, where it is narrated in a different manner.

[8] ABC. [9] ABCLV. [10] ABLV.

[11] ABLV. [12] ABCLV.

[13] ABCLV. For the contents of chap. XXVI. in the Greek and Latin versions see Zacher, p. 117.

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Chap. XXVII. His troops put to sea[1].

Chap. XXVIII. Passing by Sicily he goes to Rome[2]. The Romans send him gifts and a crown[3].

Chap. XXIX. He goes to Carthage in Africa: the people of the city pay tribute to him[4].

Chap. XXX. He sacrifices to the god Ammon of Libya, who appears to him in a dream. He dedicates a brass statue to Ammon. The god appears to him a second time in a dream, and tells him where to found the city which he wishes to build[5].

Chap. XXXI. Alexander builds a sepulchral monument and offers sacrifices at Taphosiris. Origin of the name of the place[6].

Chap. XXXII. He sacrifices in the temples of Zeus and Hêra, and to the god Serapis who afterwards appears to him in a dream. He asks the god to shew him where he shall build his city; having received an answer from the god he lays the foundations of Alexandria[7].

Chap. XXXIII. Aristotle, hearing that Alexander has begun to build a great city, writes to him and advises him not to do so[8]; Alexander, encouraged by the augurs, continues to build the city.

Chap. XXXIV. He goes to Memphis and is crowned by the priests. He reads the oracle upon the statue of Nectanebus, and proclaims himself to be the son of Nectanebus and the young king referred to in the inscription[9]. He exhorts the Egyptians to deliver themselves from the Persians.

[1] This is chap. xxviii. of the Greek text.

[2] This is chap. xxix. of the Greek text.

[3] ABCLV. [4] ABCLV.

[5] ABCLV. Chapters xxix. and xxx. of the Syriac = chap. xxx. of the Greek.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABCV. Chaps. xxxi. and xxxii. of the Syriac = chaps. xxxi—xxxiii. of the Greek. In the Syriac there is no mention of the comparison of the greatness of Antioch, Carthage, Babylon, Rome and Alexandria as given by AV; nor of the birds eating honey which had been strewn about, thereby pointing out where the beginning of the city (ABCLV) should be built; nor of the appearance of the snake (AV); nor of the indication of the parts of the town by the first five letters of the alphabet (ABCLV).

[8] There seems to be nothing like this chapter in the Greek and Latin texts.

[9] ABCLV.

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Chap. XXXV. He goes to Syria and arrives at Tyre. The Tyrians do battle with him and repulse him[1]. Serapis appears to him in a dream and promises to him victory over the Tyrians. He attacks the Tyrians a second time and defeats them. Founds Tripolis[2].

Chap. XXXVI. The ambassadors of Darius tell him of the sagacity of Alexander and shew him his picture. Darius, having had the height of the picture of Alexander compared with that of his daughter Roxana, casts it away with scorn. It is carried off secretly by Roxana to her chamber where she honours it with spices and odours[3]. Darius, wishing to insult Alexander, writes an insolent letter to him and sends it to him with a whip, a ball and a box full of gold. In the letter Darius threatens to crucify Alexander[4].

Chap. XXXVII. Alexander encourages the minds of his soldiers who have been terrified at the words of Darius. He threatens to crucify the ambassadors of Darius, but does not do so in order that he may shew them how superior the customs of the Greeks are to those of the Persians[5].

Chap. XXXVIII. He sends an answer[6] to the letter of Darius with some mustard seed.

Chap. XXXIX. Darius eats the mustard seed. He writes to the satraps in the Taurus commanding them to beat Alexander with a whip for children and to take him to his mother. The satraps Gushtâzaph and Sâbânṭâr write to Darius and tell him that they are awaiting his arrival. Darius answers this letter and upbraids them for their cowardice[7].

Chap. XL. Darius writes again to Alexander, and promises to forgive him all the offences which he has committed against him if he will go back to his own country[8].

Chap. XLI. Alexander receives Darius' letter and writes an answer to it, in which he says that he is obliged to return to Macedonia because his mother Olympias is grievously sick; he promises to return to Persia and to occupy the land. While

[1] ABCLV. The Syriac text makes no mention of the capture of Gaza.
[2] ABCLV.
[3] There is no mention of this in the Greek texts.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV.
[7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV.

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Alexander is on the road to his mother he engages in battle with one of the generals of Darius and defeats him[1].

Chap. XLII. Alexander goes to Achaia, Pieria and Phrygia; he makes offerings to Hector and Achilles. He saw the river Scamander which was five cubits wide[2].

Chap. XLIII. Alexander comes to Macedonia and finds his mother recovering from her sickness. He goes to Abdêra which city is shut against him[3].

Chap. XLIV. He goes to the region of the Euxine Sea[4]. The soldiers have no food to eat. He commands them to slay their horses, for they can be found in every place while Macedonian soldiers can not[5].

Chap. XLV. He comes to the Locri. At Aķranțîs he asks the priest of Apollo to consult the oracle for him. The priest refuses and Alexander attempts to carry away the tripod of divination. A voice from the temple rebukes Alexander and assures him that he shall be famous and his name renowned[6].

Chap. XLVI. He marches against Thebes. Description of the attack and defence of the city, the destruction of the houses and walls, and the slaughter of the people. A Theban bard turns aside the fierceness of Alexander's wrath and he orders the destruction of the city and the people to be stopped. The Thebans that remain are banished from their city, and Alexander forbids the name of Thebes to be mentioned again[7].

Chap. XLVII. The Thebans go to Apollo at Delphi to enquire when their city shall be rebuilt. Answer of the Pythia. Alexander goes to Corinth and is present at the Corinthian games; Clitomachus wins the three crowns and Alexander orders the city of Thebes to be rebuilt[8].

Book II.

Chap. I. Alexander goes to Plataeae and receives a favourable augury from the priestess. She is removed from her office by the governor of the district. Alexander deposes that governor

[1] ABCLV. [2] BCLV. [3] BCLV. [4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] AV. [7] AV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 125. [8] AV.

and restores the priestess to her place, whereat the Athenians are displeased; he writes to them and orders them to pay a thousand talents of gold yearly as tribute[1].

Chap. II. The ten orators in Athens write to Alexander. He returns answer to the Athenians and demands that the ten orators be delivered up to him. The Athenians write to him and refuse both to deliver up the orators and to pay tribute. The council of the Athenians. Aeschines is in favour of going to Alexander, but Demades is not, and wishes to incite the Athenians to do battle with Alexander[2].

Chap. III. The speech of Demosthenes the Athenian. He approves of the conduct of Alexander in deposing the ruler[3].

Chap. IV. The Athenians approve of the speech of Demosthenes. He makes a second speech which convinces them of the futility of fighting with Alexander[4].

Chap. V. The Athenians send a crown of gold with a letter of thanks to Alexander. Alexander writes a letter to them in which he mentions many of their evil deeds[5].

Chap. VI. Alexander marches against the Lacedemonians[6]. He encamps by the Tigris and goes on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. He pretends to be an ambassador of Alexander[7], and is present at a feast of Darius and his generals.

Chap. VII. Alexander hides the golden drinking goblets in his bosom. He is recognised by Pasargês, quits the chamber and escapes on horseback. The picture of Xerxes in the palace of Darius peels off from the wall and falls to the ground[8].

Chap. VIII. Alexander counts his army and exhorts the soldiers to fight bravely[9].

Chap. IX. Alexander comes to the river Strangas and fights the army of Darius. Defeat of the Persians and flight of Darius[10]. He writes a letter to Alexander committing his mother, his wife and his daughter to his care. Alexander sets

[1] AV. [2] AV. [3] AV. [4] AV. [5] AV.

[6] AV. The other parts of chapter VI. in the Syriac belong to chapter XIV. of the Greek. Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[7] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[8] ABCLV. This is chap. XV. of the Greek.

[9] This is a part of chap. XVI. of the Greek. [10] ABCLV.

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the palace of Xerxes on fire, but afterwards he repents and orders the fire to be extinguished[1].

Chap. X. Alexander sees the grave of Pâkôr and the body of Cyrus in a golden coffin. He finds captive Greeks who had been mutilated and liberates them[2].

Chap. XI. Darius makes ready for a second war and writes to Porus, king of the Indians, asking help from him and promising to give him Alexander's horse Bucephalus. Alexander, hearing of this, arms his troops and sets out for the country of the Parthians. Darius then tries to escape but is pursued by Alexander[3].

Chap. XII. Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stab Darius. Alexander finds him half dead and tries to comfort him. Darius commits his wife, his mother, and his daughter to Alexander's care and dies[4].

Chap. XIII. Alexander buries Darius with great ceremony. He makes a proclamation to the Persians, and crucifies the murderers of Darius[5].

Chap. XIV. He writes to the mother and wife of Darius; their reply. He writes to Roxana and takes her to wife[6].

Book III.

Chap. I. Alexander, hearing that Porus had marched with troops to the assistance of Darius, and, finding that Darius was dead, had returned to his own land, sets out for India to overcome him. His soldiers complain that they have too much

[1] ABCLV. This is chap. xvii. of the Greek.
[2] ABCLV. This is chap. xviii. of the Greek.
[3] ABCLV. This is chap. xix. of the Greek. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[4] ABCLV. This is chap. xx. of the Greek.
[5] ABCLV. This is chap. xxi. of the Greek.
[6] ABCLV. This is chap. xxii. of the Greek. A and V end Book II. by adding the statement that Alexander sets out for India. B and C give the text of a letter from Alexander to Olympias and Aristotle in which he relates his adventures from the battle of Issus to the death of Darius and his own marriage. From this point onwards Müller has edited his Greek text from Codex C. Here the letter in C ends. B, however, adds in the first person, a description of the wonders which he saw in the far east, as a part of the letter, all of which C gives, in the third person, from Chapter xxxii. onwards. For a summary of the contents of BC and L see especially Zacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 132—148.

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fighting to do. He addresses them and eventually they ask his forgiveness[1].

Chap. II. He receives an insolent letter from Porus, which he reads before his troops and then answers[2].

Chap. III. The Persians and Macedonians draw near to the Indians to fight. Alexander and his troops are afraid when they see that wild beasts are employed by Porus to fight[3]. Alexander makes brazen images red-hot, and the wild beasts in the army of Porus seizing these in their mouths are terrified, and run back to their camp and begin to fight the Indians themselves. Bucephalus throws Alexander off his back and dies. The Greeks and Indians fight twenty days and Alexander's troops wish to surrender to the Indians[4].

Chap. IV. Seeing this, Alexander challenges Porus to single combat, and Porus is slain[5]; he buries Porus and then makes ready to go and see the naked sages[6].

Chap. V. The Brahmans send a letter to him. Description of their style of living[7].

Chap. VI. Alexander asks the Brahmans questions; their replies[8].

Chap. VII.[9] Writes a letter to Aristotle giving an account of his travels. I first came to a place called Prasiakê[10] where we saw men with faces like horses. I sent Philôn to land upon what was thought to be an island: it turned out, however, to be an animal, which, disappearing under the waves, caused Philôn to be drowned in the vortex of waters caused by its sinking[11]. I saw a beast like an elephant which escaped from our weapons. I saw an eclipse. We marched from the Caspian gates to the frontier of the Indians, and met all kinds of beasts and reptiles. We marched from the tenth hour of each day until the third hour of the next. After twelve days' march we

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCLV. [3] ABCLV.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABLV.
[7] ABV. [8] ABLV.

[9] The work of Palladius entitled Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων is here interpolated and forms chaps. VII.—XVI. of the Greek text. Chap. VII. of the Syriac text is chap. XVII. of the Greek.

[10] AV. Major Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, should be studied for this and the following chapters.

[11] AV.

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arrived at a city between rivers, where we saw reeds thirty cubits high. Thirty-six of my soldiers swim in that river and are devoured by alligators or crocodiles. We arrived next at a lake of sweet waters where we found an inscribed pillar of Sesonchosis. I lay down to sleep there and in the night saw red scorpions, horned snakes, lions, rhinoceroses, wild boars, wolves, leopards, panthers, beasts with scorpions' tails, elephants, and men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. I order the jungle to be set on fire and many of these beasts perish in the flames. When the moon had set the Mashkĕlath[1] came into the camp and killed twenty-six men; when we had killed it three hundred men were necessary to draw it out of the ditch. We saw night-foxes, water crocodiles, bats as large as eagles, and night-ravens. We came to a wood inhabited by wild men with faces like ravens. We arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted, and next we came to the land of lion-headed men. We came to a river where we saw a tree which grew from dawn to the sixth hour of the day, and which diminished from the sixth hour until night. We marched through a wilderness and arrived at the ocean. We saw what appeared to be an island and twenty of my men tried to swim there, but beasts came up out of the water and devoured them. We came to the land of the people having their eyes and mouths in their breasts. We saw the "palm bird" (phoenix). After a march of sixty-five days we arrived at Obarkia and saw two birds, one of which spoke Greek. We next came to a mountain on the top of which a temple was built. In its windows were figures of Pan and the Satyrs; within the temple dwelt a god who revealed himself to me as Dionysus. I ordered our fifty Indian guides to be killed and we turned to go to Prasiakê. On our road we encountered a mighty wind, a black cloud full of fire and snow three cubits deep. We arrived at Prasiakê where were shewn the two talking trees which prophesied that I should die by the hands of my troops in Babylon. Having received gifts from the

[1] See Palladius, *De Bragmanibus*, p. 10, and the description and notes on Bestia dens Tyrannus vocata in Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. 268, and Zacher, pp. 153—158.

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Indians of Prasiakê we marched towards the east[1], and after ten days arrived at a high mountain where a dragon lived. I caused the dragon to be slain. We marched on and arrived at a river called Barsâṭîs and a high mountain. I left my troops, and with twenty of my friends marched to China in twenty-five days. Here I gave myself the name of Pîthâôs and pretended to be an ambassador of Alexander. Gundâphâr the general of the Chinese army asked me questions, and finally gave me gifts and sent me away. We marched thirteen days and did battle with the natives of the country in which we arrived. We set out from thence and came to Ṣĕbâzâz and afterwards to Sogd, where I built a temple to Rhea. We set out and arrived at a river called Barṭêsîtôs over which I built a bridge of boats. Two days from here I built a city and a temple to Rhea. A body of men under the command of Paryôg seized a number of my horses and cattle; I pursued, overtook and slew him. We stayed there four months, and I founded the city of Merv there.

Chap. VIII. I marched from the land of Margiana to the country of the Samrâyê. Alexander's letter to Candace and her reply. Her gifts to him[2].

Chap. IX. Candace caused a portrait of Alexander to be painted secretly. Alexander gives orders to fight the chief of the Mârônîḳâyê who had carried off the wife of her son, Candaules. He changes places with Antigonus the chief of the Greek host[3].

Chap. X. Alexander disguised as Antigonus goes and sets fire to the city of the Mârônîḳâyê, and rescues the wife of Candaules[4].

Chap. XI. Alexander goes to the city of Candace and is welcomed cordially by her[5].

Chap. XII. Description of the palace of Candace. Candace leads him into her chamber and shews him his picture. She keeps the secret of his disguise[6].

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed. p. 125, col. 2. What follows in the Syriac appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS.
[2] ABCLV. Chap. xviii. of the Greek text.
[3] ABCLV. Chap. xix. of the Greek text.
[4] ABCLV. Chap. xx. of the Greek text.
[5] ABCV. Chap. xxi. of the Greek text.
[6] ABCLV. Chap. xxii. of the Greek text.

Chap. XIII. Her son Ḳĕrâtôr, instigated by his wife, wishes to slay Alexander. He delivers himself by his own astuteness and is sent away in peace by Candace, laden with gifts[1].

Chap. XIV. He goes to a hill with Candaules, and sees and talks with Sesonchosis in a cave there. He sees Serapis who promises him that, living or dead, he shall return to the city which he has founded, and be honoured as a god[2].

Chap. XV. He sets out for the land of the Amazons, and sends a letter to them. They send an answer in which their customs are described[3].

Chap. XVI. He writes another letter to the Amazons, and they send back an answer to it[4].

Chap. XVII.[5] On the road to the Amazons' land he encounters great rains and a fierce heat[6]. He crossed over the river Zûtâ(?) and the people, attributing the rains and thunders and lightnings to his coming, bring him sixty elephants and one hundred thousand chariots, and entreat him to depart from their land. Departing from thence he is met by five hundred Amazon women who bring him gifts of gold. Continuing his march a letter from Aristotle meets him[7]. He returns to Babylon. He writes to Olympias[8] an account of what he did after he reached Asia, saying: "After a march of ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêrakles[9]. From thence we arrived at a land of darkness where beautiful women lived.

Chap. XVIII. We came to a great sea where we sacrificed white horses to Poseidon. We set out in five ships, and in three days arrived at the city of the Sun[10]. We arrived at the river Sakhan which divides Asia and Europe, and afterwards came to the palace of Khusrau and Pâḳôr." Here follows a description of the wonderful things which he saw there[11].

[1] ABCLV. Chap. XXIII. of the Greek text.

[2] ABLV. Chap. XXIV. of the Greek text and chap. XXI. of C.

[3] ABCLV. Chap. XXV. of the Greek text.

[4] ABCLV. Chap. XXVI. of the Greek text.

[5] This is chaps. XXVII—XXIX. of the Greek text.

[6] V.

[7] V. See Zacher, p. 167.

[8] V.

[9] V. See Zacher, p. 168.

[10] ABCLV.

[11] ABCLV. See Zacher, pp. 168—172.

Chap. XIX.[1] A woman brings forth a four-headed monster which she shews to the king. Alexander, having seen it, sends for the Chaldeans, who explain the sign as referring to himself and to his death[2].

Chap. XX. Olympias sends an accusation against Antipater to Alexander. Antipater determines to have Alexander poisoned, and having dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, sends it by the hand of his son Cassander to Babylon. Cassander enters into a conspiracy with Iollas, the chief cup-bearer, who had been scourged by Alexander a few days previously. Cassander, watching his opportunity, administers the poison to Alexander while he is drinking wine with his friends. Alexander falls sick, and Cassander sends the news to his father that the king is poisoned[3]

Alexander tries to drown himself in the Euphrates, but is prevented by Roxana his wife. He dictates his will. Ḳrîsḳôs (or Prîsḳôs) and Ptolemy make a compact to share equally whatever is left to them by Alexander[4].

Chap. XXI. Tumult among the Macedonian soldiers who think that Alexander is dead. He orders them to go to the hippodrome and is himself carried there on his bed. He addresses the Macedonian soldiers who wish to stab themselves and to die with him[5].

Chap. XXII.[6] Text of Alexander's testament[7].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander dies. His body is brought to Memphis[8] and from thence to Alexandria, where Ptolemy buries it[9].

Chap. XXIV. The number of the years which Alexander lived and reigned[10]. List of the cities which he founded and the day of his death[11].

[1] Chap. xxx. of the Greek text.
[2] ABCLV.
[3] ABCLV.
[4] A. Chap. xxxii. of the Greek text.
[5] ABCL. Chap. xxxii. of the Greek text.
[6] Chap. xxii. of the Syriac contains parts of chap. xxxiii. ABC and V, but neither follows nor agrees with either of them exactly. See Zacher, pp. 174, 175.
[7] A quaint work on this subject is the *Dissertatio historico-politica de testamento Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, 1709, by Wagner.
[8] BCLV.
[9] V.
[10] ABCLV.
[11] ABCLV.

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A Christian Legend concerning Alexander.

This composition appears to be an abbreviated form of a legend the most complete form of which known to us is that given in the metrical discourse on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh; both these works, in turn, are based upon chapters XXXVII.—XXXIX. of the second book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C. The Christian legend has been burdened with many additions, evidently the work of the Christian redactor, which have no connexion whatever with the story. On the other hand many passages, as, for example, the account of his descent into the sea in a glass cage, have been entirely omitted. The names of places which are given us freely in this legend seem to indicate that it was drawn up at a very late period; that it is the work of Jacob of Sĕrûgh is improbable.

The short description of the manners of the Hûnâyê or Huns, and of the gate which Alexander built to keep them out, is based upon the twenty-ninth chapter of the third book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C, where it is stated that the door or gate was twenty cubits wide and sixty cubits high, and that it was covered inside and out with a substance (καὶ καταχρίσας...ἀσοκίτῳ[1]) which rendered it both iron and fire-proof. The description of the evils which Alexander is made to prophesy against mankind when the Huns break down this gate is clearly the work of a man who was acquainted with the popular traditions concerning the destruction wrought by Attila[2] when he overran Europe in the fifth century, and with the prophecies of the evil which should come upon mankind in the last days according to Jeremiah[3] and the writers of the Gospels[4]. The description of Paradise and its rivers is based upon the Bible account[5]. The following is a

[1] Müller, p. 143, col. 1.

[2] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. II, p. 221 ff.

[3] Jeremiah, chap. iv.

[4] S. Matt. chap. xxiv; Luke xix. 42—44; Mark xiii. 7—30.

[5] Sir John Mandeville's account of Paradise is based upon that of Pseudo-Callisthenes although he borrowed at second-hand. See the notes on Paradise

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summary of the contents of the "Christian Legend" concerning Alexander.

In the second, or seventh year of his reign Alexander assembles the nobles of his kingdom and announces to them his intention to go and see the other countries of the world. His nobles describe to him the fœtid sea and the eleven bright seas. He sets out from Alexandria with three hundred and twenty thousand men. He prays to God. He comes to mount Sinai and passes over to Egypt, where he obtains from Sarnâḳôs the king seven thousand smiths. He puts to sea, and after four months and twelve days arrives at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. He sends thirty-seven men to hammer in stakes for the ships by the side of the fœtid sea; they die instantly. He travels towards the east and looking westward sees mount Mûsâs. He goes to the source of the Euphrates and then towards the north; he enters Armenia. Three hundred old men go to him and give him information about Tûbârlâḳ the king of the country. Description of the Huns, the names of their kings, their manners and customs. Description of Paradise. Description of the gate or door which Alexander made to shut in the twenty-two nations. The inscription on the gate. Description of the troubles and evils which should come upon mankind when the Huns should go forth through the gate. Tûbârlâḳ and his allies, and eighty-two kings, and one million, one hundred and thirty thousand men make ready to fight with Alexander. The Lord appears to Alexander and promises victory to him. Alexander and his three hundred and sixteen thousand soldiers do battle with the forces of Tûbârlâḳ and overcome them; sixty-two kings are slain, their hosts are scattered, and Tûbârlâḳ is taken prisoner. Alexander thus subdues Persia. Tûbârlâḳ brings to him gifts of gold and silver and precious stones, and pledges Persia to pay tribute for fifteen years. Six thousand Greeks and six thousand Persians are to guard the iron gate. Tûbârlâḳ prophesies the destruction of Persia by the Greeks. Alexander leaves Persia, establishes the Egyptian smiths in Bêth-Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar, and goes

in the Roxburgh Club Edition of his *Travels*, by Mr. G. F. Warner, M.A., of the British Museum.

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up to and worships in Jerusalem. He sails to Alexandria. He dies, leaving his silver throne to be placed in Jerusalem.

A Brief Life of Alexander.

This excellent summary of the principal events in the Life of Alexander has been edited by Prof. Paul de Lagarde in his *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12,154 fol. 153 *b*—154 *b*. The manuscript was written at the end of the VIIIth or the beginning of the IXth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 984 col. 1.

The Metrical Discourse on Alexander the Great attributed to Jacob of Sĕrūgh.

The English translation of this discourse printed on pp. 163—200 is made chiefly from the very faulty text published by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107. Several of the passages are utterly corrupt, and when translated, make no sense; they have been generally corrected by the help of Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,624[1]. Most of the misprints in Knös' text have been corrected in the notes at the foot of the English translation, and all the important variant readings and additions have been added.

The Land of Darkness whither Alexander wishes to go calls to mind the passage in the Greek Codex C (Müller, p. 88, col. 2, chap. XXXVII.). According to Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 89, col. 2), after his descent into the sea Alexander marched three days across a plain, and then arrived at the Land of the Blessed. Here he leaves all the old men and women that were with him, and with forty friends, one hundred boys, and twelve hundred soldiers sets out to explore the land. One curious old man, however, entreats his two sons, who are soldiers, to take him with them and they do so. After marching some time,

[1] This MS. was written in the ninth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS.*, p. 782.

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Alexander and his company fall into difficulties, and he expresses a wish for an old man to be brought to shew them the way. The two sons, who had brought their father with them, confess to the king what they had done, and he is glad. The old man advises that she-asses which are suckling foals be obtained; that the foals be kept where the king and his troops now are; and that the king go forth with a few chosen troops to explore the land. If they lose their way the instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones, and the king will be saved. Alexander, following the old man's advice, sets out with three hundred and sixty warriors, and after marching some distance (*σχοίνους δεκαπέντε*), they arrive at a well the water of which flashes like lightning. Alexander, being hungry, orders Andreas the cook to prepare some food for him. Andreas, taking a dried fish, goes to the water of this fountain to wash it; as soon as the fish is moved about in the water it comes to life and swims away.

In this discourse the writer gives a full description of the manners and appearance of the Hûnâyê or Huns, which agrees in every particular with the notices of this warlike people given by ancient writers[1]. He was well acquainted

[1] See Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 2; and Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. i, pp. 7—9. Compare also the following: "Diese Hunjo des Ostens, welche ohne Zweifel die Hunnen des Westens sind, sowie die Peti (die Benennung für Hunnen, Türken und Mongolen) oder nördlichen Barbaren beschäftigen sich mit der Jagd wilder Thiere und der Viehzucht. Sie weiden ihre Pferde, Esel, Kamele, Rinder und Lämmer auf den längs der Flüsse sich hinziehenden fruchtreichen Auen, wandern hin und her, ohne sich bleibend anzusiedeln, und errichten weder Städte noch Festungswerke. Lassen sie sich irgendwo auf eine kurze Zeit nieder, so vertheilen sie das Land unter sich; jeder erhält eine bestimmte Strecke und macht sie urbar. Ihre vorzüglichste Nahrung erzielen sie aber immer aus wild wachsenden Gräsern, aus dem Ertrage der Jagden und ihrer Viehheerden. Sie fressen allerlei Thiere und widerliches Ungeziefer. Das Fleisch kochen und braten sie nicht, sondern machen es durch wiederholte Reibungen zwischen den Schenkeln ihrer Beine, oder indem sie sich, wenn sie zu Pferde sind, darauf setzen, mürbe und verschlucken es halbroh. Ihre Kleidung besteht aus den Häuten und Haaren wilder und zahmer Thiere und wird, da Niemand mehr als einen Anzug hat, so lange getragen, bis sie ihnen vom Leibe herabfault. Ein wunderlich schmutziger Aberglaube, den Göttern sei das Waschen und Trocknen besudelter Gegenstände unbehaglich; wenn diess geschehe, senden sie dem Menschengeschlechte zur Strafe Donner und Blitz; hat wohl die Hunnen, wie später die Mongolen, von dem Waschen ihrer Kleider

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with their physical characteristics, which he describes most minutely, and also with the accounts of the troubles and evils which followed in the track of their conquests[1]. There seems to be no doubt that the description of the nation as given by the Syriac writer is meant to apply to Attila who is described as being "Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba...simo naso, teter colore"...[2]. The statement that "where the wrath of God rises he sends the hosts of Gog and Magog" clearly has reference to the man who had five hundred thousand barbarians under his command, who tried to invest himself in the eyes of Christendom with the character and attributes of the predicted Antichrist[3], and who truly deserved the appellation of the "Scourge of God." The defeat of Tûbârlâk and his sixty-two kings by Alexander refers probably to the defeat of Attila and his hosts by the Romans, on the plains of Chalons on the Marne, after his invasion of the Western empire (A.D. 450—453); that Alexander happened to live nearly eight hundred years before the defeat of Attila is a matter which would trouble the Syriac writer very little. The story of the appearance of Christ to Alexander before and after the battle, as well as the prophecies put into his mouth, is of Christian origin.

The following is a summary of the contents of the discourse attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh.

Address to the Deity by the writer. Alexander gathers together the chief men of his kingdom, and tells them that he wishes to go and see the various countries of the world, especially the Land of Darkness. Having taken possession of Macedonia he goes to Egypt. His nobles point out the diffi-

abgehalten." Neumann, *Die Völker des Südischen Russlands*, p. 26. "Neben der Jagd, der Viehzucht und dem Spiele, welchem die Hunnen sehr ergeben waren, ist Kriegführen, Rauben, Plündern und Morden ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigung." *Ibid.* p. 28. "In die Ferne schiessen sie mit Bogen, und bedienen sich der sorgfältig zugespitzten Knochen anstatt der Pfeile; in der Nähe kämpfen sie mit dem Schwerte." *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

[1] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. II. p. 221 ff.

[2] Jornandes, *Reb. Get.*, 11.

[3] Herbert, *Attila*, p. 360. For other works on the Huns see Howorth, *History of the Mongols*; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (ed. St. Martin), vols. 4–6, Paris, 1825—27; Des Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chaps. 34, 35; and Müller, *Attila der Held des fünften Jahrhunderts*.

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culties of the road which he proposes to travel, and the impossibility of crossing the fœtid sea; nevertheless he determines to go. Ships are prepared for his army, which consists of thirteen hundred of the Âmôrâyê, and twelve thousand cunning workmen whom he obtained from Sôrîḳ the king of Egypt. He sets out, and after a voyage of four months arrives in India, where he begins to march in a northerly direction. After his proclamation of peace three hundred old men come to him and salute him as king. He asks them to shew him the way to the Land of Darkness. They tell him of the difficulties of the way, but as he persists in his intention to go there they promise to go with him. He sets out, and being questioned by the old men about his object in coming there, tells them that he is searching for the fountain of life. They advise him to go forward, and to take with him she-asses which are suckling young ones—these they propose to leave behind—so that if he loses the way, the maternal instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones. They also advise him to cause his cook to take with him a dried salt fish, and to command him to wash it wherever he sees a stream or fountain of water. The stream or fountain which causes the fish to come to life will contain the water of life.

The king and his company set out, and when the cook washes the fish in a fountain of water, which he sees by the road, it comes to life, and swims away and escapes. Alexander wishes to bathe in it and to live for ever; but he is not allowed to do so. He asks the old men whose territory is that which he sees beyond them. They tell him that it belongs to Tûbarliḳi and that it is inhabited by the nations of Gog and Magog. Here follows a description of the peoples of Gog and Magog. Tûbarliḳi is told of the arrival of Alexander, and he hires sixty-two kings to come and help him to fight him. Before the battle an angel appears to Alexander in a dream, and promises victory to him. Alexander encourages his troops to fight, and an engagement between them and the forces of Tûbarliḳi takes place, in which the latter are defeated, and their king is taken prisoner. Alexander builds a brass and iron door, to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, which was finished in the sixth month. A fiery watcher appears to

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llexander in a dream and brings to him the commands of he Lord concerning the treatment which he is to mete out to 'ûbarlikî, and instructions concerning the division of his lands.)escription of the evils which shall happen in the seven thouandth year, when the gate which Alexander has made shall e opened. Alexander, like Daniel, prophesies concerning the nd of times. The woes which shall come upon the earth vhen the children of Gog and Magog break loose and overun the earth. Hymn of praise to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hebrew Versions.

The legend of Alexander being the son of Nectanebus appears to have been unknown to early Hebrew writers. In the first book of Maccabees[1] we have a brief notice of his conquest of Media and Persia, and the other countries of the world, and a statement to the effect that he divided his kingdom amongst those of his friends who had been brought up with him, and that he reigned twelve years.

Flavius Josephus, who lived A.D. 37—103, gives a description of a part of his expedition against Darius, and of his visit to Jerusalem[2]. According to him, Alexander first defeated the generals of Darius at Granicum, and afterwards Darius himself at Issus in Cilicia, when the wife and daughter of Darius fell into his hands. He next captured Damascus and Sidon and then began the siege of Tyre. Having taken Tyre and Gaza, Alexander marched against Jerusalem to take vengeance upon it, because, on a previous occasion, the Jewish high priest had refused to send help to him. Jaddua the high priest feared greatly, but when he heard that Alexander had drawn near to the city he dressed himself in his finest garments, and putting on his mitre, which was inscribed with the most holy name of God, he went out to meet him at the head of a procession of priests. Alexander did the priests and their city no harm,

[1] Chap. i. vv. 1—9.
[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. xi. ch. viii, ed. Whiston, pp. 455—459.

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and after they had shewn to him certain passages in the Book of Daniel[1] which referred, they said, to him and to his conquests, he promised to grant them any thing that they desired[2]. The remainder of the chapter on Alexander by Josephus is occupied by an account of his dealings with the Samaritans.

In the ninth or tenth century of our era, the Latin version of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter was turned into Hebrew by Pseudo-Josephus or Joseph ben-Gorion. Of this man very little is known. Gagnier thought[3] that he lived in the ninth century, as also did Zunz. Subsequently Zunz thought that he must have lived in the middle of the latter half of the tenth century[4], which is the date assigned to him by Steinschneider[5]. The History of Alexander by Joseph ben-Gorion begins in Bk. II. chap. 6, and occupies the remainder of the book. The value of the version and its variations from the *Historia de Prœliis* have been discussed by Favre[6], and a summary of each chapter has been published by Weismann[7]. The Hebrew text has been published many times, and translations of it have been made in various languages[8].

Another fabulous history of Alexander was composed in the thirteenth century by Samuel ben-Judah ben-Tibbon of Granada

[1] The passages shewn were Daniel viii. vv. 3—8, 20—22, where the "kid of the goats [is] Alexander the son of Philip" ܨܦܝܪܐ ܕܥܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ; see Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Test. ex cod. Ambrosiano*, Mediolani 1877, fol. 210 verso, col. 1.

[2] Good reasons for doubting this story have been given by Bishop Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Vol. VI. p. 206.

[3] *Josippon sive Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaice libri sex*, Oxon. 1706, p. xxvi.

[4] See his notes on Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, 1841, Vol. II. p. 246.

[5] *Jewish Literature*, p. 77.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 89.

[7] *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, von H. Weismann, Band II. pp. 495—503.

[8] ספר בן גוריון Conath, Mantua, 1480 (?) fol.; *Josephus Hebraicus*, Heb. et Lat., Basle, 1541; יוסיפון בן גוריון *Latine versus......atque notis illustratus a* J. F. Breithaupto Heb. et Lat. Gotha, 1707. A German translation was published at Zurich by M. Adam in 1546; a Latin one by Gagnier at Oxford in 1706; an English one by P. Morwyng entitled *A Compendious History of the latter times of the Jewes*, London, 1561; and another by J. Howell entitled *The wonderful......history of the later times of the Jews* in 1684.

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Many rabbis regard it as a translation of a Greek work composed by Ptolemy the son of Lagus[1].

A Hebrew version, or original, of the *Iter ad Paradisum* has recently been described by Israel Levi in the *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298, and t. XII. p. 117. For references to passages in the Talmud and other Rabbinic literature where notices of Alexander are given see Weismann, *Alexander*, t. II. p. 503; the preface to Israel Levi's article in מקיצי נירדמים; and Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. pp. 321, 733, 734, 735.

ARABIC VERSIONS.

In the tenth century Eutychius or Sa'îd ibn-Baṭrîḳ[2] (died A.H. 328), the Patriarch of Alexandria, composed his universal history, in which he says that the king of Egypt, fearing to fall into the hands of Ochus, king of Persia, changed his garments, and shaved his head and beard, and fled to Macedonia. The name of this king is given as Pharaoh Shânâḳ فرعون شاناق[3].

Gregory abu-l-Farag or Bar Hebraeus (died A.H. 664), in his History of Dynasties says that Artaxerxes the Third, surnamed the "Black," and called Ochus by the Greeks, obtained the mastery over Egypt; that its king, Nectanebus, fled away to Macedonia, where he went about in the guise of an astrologer; that by his flattery he succeeded in seducing Olympias, the wife of Philip, the king of Macedon; and that she bore to him Alexander the "two-horned[4]."

[1] See Weismann, *Alexander*, B. 2, p. 503; and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II., p. 90. An anonymous Hebrew version of the history of Alexander has been published by Levi in the *Sammelband*, II., of the Society מקיצי נירדמים. I owe this reference to Dr. Ad. Neubauer, but I have not been able to see the publication.

[2] The work of Eutychius was edited with a Latin translation by Edward Pocock under the title *Contextio Gemmarum, sive, Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, Oxon. 1656.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 267.

[4] Pocock, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum auctore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio*, Oxon. 1663, p. 89. See also *Greg. Abulphar. Chron. Syriacum*, ed. Kirsch, p. 35.

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The histories of the reign of Alexander by the chief Arabic writers have comparatively little of the marvellous in them. Mas'ûdi[1] (died A.H. 346) merely describes the principal historical events of Alexander's life, giving only a few of the various traditions concerning him, together with a summary of the legendary account of his travels in India. Ja'ḳûbî[2], Ibn al-Athîr[3], and Ṭabarî[4], have all of them brief accounts of Alexander's conquest of Darius, and the tradition that he was of Persian origin is mentioned. None of these accounts can in any way be considered as translations of a version of Pseudo-Callisthenes[5].

Persian Versions.

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries a large number of works, based upon Arabic compositions, were written upon Alexander and his deeds by Persian writers. Of these the most important are the histories of Firdausi[6],

[1] See كتاب مروج الذهب *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. *Barbier de Meynard*. Paris, 1861—1877, t. II. pp. 125, 248, 249, 250, 260; t. IX. p. 21. An edition of Mas'ûdi's work entitled الجزء الول (الثاني) من مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر في التاريخ was published at Bûlâḳ in the year 1867 بولاق ١٢٨١ مصر القاهرة 4to.

[2] He lived A.H. 260. His work has been edited by T. Houtsma, *Ibn Wâdhil qui dicitur Al-Ja'qûbi Historiae*, Lugd. Bat. 1883. For his account of Alexander see pp. ٩٣ and ٩٧.

[3] He died A.H. 630. For his notice of Alexander see *Ibn-el-Athiri, Chronicon* ed. C. J. Tornberg, t. I. p. ١٩٧.

[4] He died A.H. 411 or 416. See *Annales quos scripsit Ibn Djafar..... At-Tabari*, ed. I. Guidi, Prima series, II. pp. ٦٩٢—٧٠٣.

[5] For the summary of the travels of Dhu'lkarnein or Alexander the Macedonian by Muḥammad the Prophet see Ḳor'ân, Surah xviii.

[6] See *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, publié, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, كتاب شاهنامه فردوسي Pers. and Fr. 7 tom. Paris 1836, fol.; *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, 7 tom. Paris 1876—1878; J. Atkinson, *The Shâh Nâmeh of the Persian poet Firdausi, translated and abridged in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations, London*, 1832; Turner Macan, *The Shah Nameh containing the History of Persia from Kioomurs to Yesdejird*, Calcutta, 1829; Firdusii *Liber Regum, qui inscribitur Schahnameh*, ed. J. A. Vullers et S. Landauer

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Niẓâmî[1] and Mirkhwând[2]. I have no knowledge of the Persian language and must therefore refer the reader to the works of Spiegel[3], Weismann[4], and Favre[5] for a description of the contents of the various Persian versions of the Alexander story. There seems to be some doubt as to whether Firdausî based his work upon older Persian or Arabic forms of the Alexander story. De Sacy thought[6] that the greater part of the ancient history of Persia was translated from Pehlevi into Arabic, and Malcolm believed[7] that Firdausî found the materials for his poem in the Arabic versions of the original documents. M. Jules Mohl[8], however, was of opinion that Firdausî employed an Arabic

Lugd. Bat. 1876; and for a native edition of the text see شاهنامهٔ فردوسي طهران ١٢٦٥—٦٧ [Teheran 1849—50]. Firdausi was born at Ṣhādāb near Tûs A.H. 320; he died A.H. 411 or 416. For a list of his works and editions of them see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1879—1883 pp. 533—539 and 1089.

[1] See Niẓâmî, Ganjavi, *The Sikandar Nâma e Bara, or Book of Alexander the Great,......translated for the first time out of the Persian into prose, with critical and explanatory remarks......*by H. W. Clarke, London, 1881; *Niẓâmî's Leben und Werke und der zweite Theil des Nizâmischen Alexanderbuches. Mit persischen Texten als Anhang. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Persischen Literatur und der Alexandersage* von Dr. W. Bacher, 2 pt. Leipzig, 1871, 8vo. [An English translation of this work was published in London, 1873]; for native editions of the text see [بري] سكندر نامه, Lucknow, 1878, 9 [لكهنو ١٢٩٥–٦] and سكندر نامه بحري Cawnpore, 1878 [كانپور ١٢٩٠]. An edition of the second part of the work, *i.e.*, Sikandar-Námahĕ Bahry, was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Sprenger, Calcutta, 1852—1869. An illustrated prose version of the *Sikandar Nâmah*, different from that of Nizâmî, in seven books, was published in Persia A.H. 1274 (1857—8) fol. I owe the knowledge of the existence of this last book to Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum. Niẓâmî died about A.H. 600.

[2] See Mîr Khwând (Muḥammad ibn Khâvand Shâh). *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, translated by D. Shea, London, 1832. An edition of the text entitled كتاب تاريخ روضة الصفا was published at Bombay in A.H. 1271 [بمبي ١٢٧١]. Mîr Khwând died A.H. 903 aged 66 years.

[3] Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, pp. 13—50.

[4] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II., p. 526 ff.

[5] *Mélanges*, t. II., pp. 5—18.

[6] *Mém. sur Calila et Dimna*, p. 13.

[7] *History of Persia*, I. p. 137.

[8] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

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version[1] of a Greek original to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. His words are "Firdousi parait n'avoir pas trouvé de matériaux persans pour le règne d'Alexandre le Grand...mais au lieu de se livrer à son imagination dans un sujet qui y prêtait beaucoup, il aime mieux emprunter les contes dont les soldats grecs, à leur retour en Grèce, avaient rempli l'Occident. Ces contes avaient été recueillis en plusieurs collections, dont quelques-unes existent encore en grec et en latin et dont une avait été traduite du grec en arabe. C'est à l'aide de cette dernière que Firdousi a rempli la lacune qu'il avait trouvée dans les traditions de son pays, en y adaptant le conte persan qui fait d'Alexandre un chef de race persane, fils de Darab, roi de Perse et d'une fille de Philippe de Macédoine, du même que les rédactions alexandrines des fables grecques relatives à Alexandre lui donnaient pour père l'Egyptien Nectanebo."

TURKISH VERSIONS.

Upon the Iskender Nâmeh of Nizâmî, Aḥmedi[2] of Kermiyân (died A.H. 815) based his Turkish poem called *Iskender Nâmeh*. "He adopted the main features of the Alexander legend as shaped by his Persian predecessor; but he tells the story in his own way and adds much original matter. He weaves into the narrative philosophical digressions on the origin and figure of the world, on man, his bodily structure and mental faculties, virtues and vices, etc. More than a quarter of the poem is taken up with a review of Eastern history, placed in the mouth of Aristotle, who tells Alexander of the kings who reigned before and who shall reign after him. The poem was composed on the first day of Rebi' II, A.H. 792, corresponding to the years 1700 of Alexander, 759 of Yezdegird, and 310 of Melikshâh[3]."

[1] The author of the *Mugmil ut-tewârich* held a similar opinion (Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 7). A chapter of this work was edited by Reinaud in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*, Paris, 1845.

[2] His full name was Tâj ud-Din Aḥmed ben Ibrâhîm el-Aḥmedî.

[3] Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1888, p. 162 b.

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A Turkish translation of an Armenian life of Alexander was made in the seventeenth century by Jeremias Tschelebi (1635—1695)[1].

Ethiopic Versions.

The versions of the History of Alexander the Great in use among the Ethiopians are of two classes, viz., I. those which have in them a stratum of historical fact underlying large masses of fiction, and II. those which are works of pure imagination. The Ethiopians, in common with a large number of Oriental nations, have taken considerable pains to have translations of the History of Alexander the Great made into their language, but the translators seem to have allowed their fancy to run wild when they filled in the details of the historical events, which were described in the manuscript histories from which they made their translations. The Ethiopic translations were made from Arabic versions which had been made, I believe, from Greek originals. Ethiopic translations were sometimes made from Coptic[2], but an examination of the recently discovered fragments of the Coptic[3] version of the History of Alexander the Great shews that it has nothing in common with any of the Ethiopic versions known to me now. In respect of the age of the Ethiopic translations of the History of Alexander, in the absence of direct evidence it is only possible to assume that they came into existence some time between the XIVth and XVIth centuries, when so many Ethiopic translations from the Arabic were made[4].

A brief but favourite summary of the life and deeds of Alexander the Great among the Ethiopians is that which is

[1] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II. p. 607. See J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Türkischen Poesie*, p. 71 ff.; Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 14; and Neumann, *Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur*, p. 241.

[2] Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. iv.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, Série iii. t. ix. pp. 5–38.

[4] Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. iv.

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translated from 'Abû Shâkir, of which notices have been given by D'Abbadie[1], Wright[2] and Zotenberg[3]. The conquest of Persia and India by Alexander and the most important expeditions undertaken by him are concisely recorded, and the fabulous element which plays so large a part in all other Ethiopic accounts is here almost wanting[4].

Most important of all Ethiopic versions of the History of Alexander the Great for the study of the versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes is that which is, so far as I know, contained in a single manuscript only, viz. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. No. 826 ff. 2 *a*—147 *a*[5]. This MS. is of vellum, measuring about 11⅝ in. by 7½ in., and was written in the present century. It was one of the manuscripts which were destined by king Theodore of Magdala (መቅደላ *Makdalâ*) to form the library of the church which he intended to build there in honour of the Saviour of the World, and was brought to England by the British army in 1868. The version of the Alexander story given in this MS. has been translated from an Arabic work based upon Pseudo-Callisthenes. In places it runs almost word for word with the Syriac, and the forms of Greek proper names which occur in it agree often with the Syriac transcription of them. A large number of the proper names which are found in the Syriac version are not present here at all, and it seems to have been the custom of the Arabic or Ethiopic translator to omit the most difficult passages, as, for example, that which records the speech and computation of the stars by Nectanebus just before the birth of Alexander. Some passages of the Greek and Syriac are very much amplified, some are abridged, and some are translated twice over in different words. The Arabic or Ethiopic translator seems to have been a Christian priest. The legend which gives the account of Alexander's expedition against Gog and Magog is brought into the middle of the Ethiopic version, which seems to indicate that this is its proper place.

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 81.
[2] *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 310, col. 1.
[3] *Catalogue des MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 245, col. 1.
[4] For the portion of the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makîn's "Universal History" relating to Alexander, see *Brit. Mus. MS. Orient.* fol. 69 *b*, col. 3 ff.
[5] See Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 294.

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The length of the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes renders it impossible to give a complete English translation of it here, but I give a free rendering of the first few chapters and a summary of the rest, that students of the Alexander story from the folk-lore point of view may know what the chief contents of this unique manuscript are. The Ethiopic title of the work is ዜና: እስክንድር: "The History of Alexander." After the usual beginning, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious," the scribe says that, by the help of God, he will write an account of Alexander according to the histories that have been written by the wise men who have described his rule over the seven parts of the earth; his expeditions from the east to the west; his rule over the whole earth; his sailing over the sea እልጰንጦስ: *el-panṭas*; his flying through the air; and his journey into the darkness and into the places where God brought him. Nectanebus ቡቅጣኒስ *Bekṭânis*[1] is described as a very great magician and as a man learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians, ጥበበ: ግብጸውያን:; he knew what was in the depths of the sea, he knew all the lore of the stars, and by their appearance he knew what would come to pass. By means of this knowledge he ruled over all the kings of the earth, and they were all subject to him through the greatness of his magical powers. When hostile forces came against him to slay him and to capture his land, it was not his custom to go out to meet them with soldiers set in array, but he used to go into a chamber and shut himself in, and he used to take a brass vessel ንቀየ: ዘብርት: and fill it with water, like a river (or sea), and say over it the words which he knew. Then he took wax and held it over the fire and made models of the ships of the enemy, and he set them on the water in the vessel like ships in the sea. And he said over them the names of demons of the earth and fearful and terrible words, and the ships of wax rode upon the water like the ships of the sea. When enemies came up against him from the sea he submerged the wax models of the ships by his magic, and this caused the ships of the enemies who wished to come and slay him to sink into the sea. If the enemy came against him by land (fol. 3 *a*, 1) he used to make wax models of

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, p. 276.

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men upon horses አመሳለ: አፍራስ: ዘሰመዐ: like unto the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him to kill him, and he uttered over them fearful and terrible words, and the enemy was overthrown before him, and submitted and became subject unto him. And this and such like things he used to do with every one whom he wished to slay. He never went forth against his enemies with soldiers and instruments of death. He used to make models of the soldiers of the two armies in wax, then he set a space between them, and then he pronounced the names of demons of the earth and invoked them and prayed them to come to him and to help his army to overthrow the enemy before him. In this manner he lived and acted for many days, and he brought many men into misfortune through his magical powers.

Chap. II. Now during the days of his rule over Egypt ግብጽ:, one of the scouts of his army came and told him that nine kings with their armies, and innumerable multitudes of people with them, were coming against him. The names of these peoples are thus given on fol. 3 *b*: the Midianites, መደናዊያን: Madanâwîyân, the Sargîyâwîyân ሰርጊያዊያን:, the Ḳimanâwîyân which are in Tarsês አሰቂመናዊያን: ዘበ: ተርሴስ:, the Antâwîyân, አንታዊያን:, the Halabâwîyân ሐለባዊያን:, the Saḳâgâflwîyân ሰቃገፍዊያን:, the Emâhlnâwîyân እማሕናዊ[ያ]ን:, the Agamâwîyân which are in Ḳâdês አገማዊያን: ዘበቃዴስ:, the Gûergûe ጕርጕ:, and the Saraḳâwîyân: ሰረቃዊያን:. Nectanebus praised the vigilance of the scout and told him that armies and arms were alike useless to overcome these hosts, and that only stoutness of heart and silence could do it. He added, "as one lion overcomes many people and as one wolf scatters many sheep, so likewise will I, with one word, destroy the peoples who have come against me by sea and by land."

Chap. III. (fol. 3 *b*, 2). After this Nectanebus left the army, and went into the chamber in his palace where he worked his magic, and he looked into the water which was in the brass basin ማየ: መቅለዮ: ዘብርት:, and after he had said over it the words which he was wont to say the gods of Egypt appeared to him, and he asked them to help him when he made the models of his army and those of the enemy to meet. Now it came

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to pass at this time that the gods took no notice of his request; although in days of old he was able to talk with them at all times. When he saw that his magical powers had no effect upon the gods and understood thereby that his rule over Egypt had come to an end, he was very sorrowful. And he rose up and took as much gold as he could carry and as much silver as he wished, and having shaved off his hair and beard and changed his raiment, he went out from his palace quickly, and crossed the sea in a ship and came to the city (*sic*) of Macedonia, in the gate of which he sat dressed like an astrologer and one of the prophets of Egypt. Meanwhile the Egyptians went to their god, and asked him to tell them what had become of their king. Now the god, who was hidden in a place called Sanôbî ሰኖቢ:, appeared to them and told them that their king had fled, that he would not return to Egypt, and that he had cast away everything for the salvation of his soul in peace[1]; and the Egyptians heard the oracle and believed it.

Chap. IV. (fol. 4 *a*, 2). Now the name of Nectanebus spread abroad in Macedonia, and the fame of his renown and of his learning came to the ears of Olympias, ሌሙበይስ *Lĕmbayâs*. And she wished to ask him questions and to talk with him about her husband Philip and the subject of her divorce. Nectanebus came and found her dressed in beautiful apparel; she was very beautiful to look upon, and she was playful, and his heart was drawn out of him to her. He saluted her by saying, "Peace be to thee, O Macedonian queen," but she neither spoke to him nor answered him nor returned his greeting. He said to her again, "O my lady, why dost thou not answer me?" Olympias then saluted him and asked him to sit down, and when he had sat down, she asked him if he was a prophet of Egypt and if his works were as marvellous as they were said to be. Having satisfied herself that he possessed the power of foretelling events she asked him to help her. Nectanebus then enumerated the different kinds of augurs that existed. Here the Ethiopic text

[1] The translator, either Arabic or Ethiopic, has utterly missed the point of the answer of the oracle. The Ethiopic runs እስመ: ንጉሠክሙ፤: ጎየ: ወሊይገብዕ: እንከ: ኀበ: ግብጽ: ወውእቱ: ጊዜ: ወረዛ: ወአኮ: አረጋዊ:: ወመነነ: ኵሎ: በእንተ: ድኅነተ: ነፍሱ: በሰላም::

becomes so confused that the sense given by the Greek is quite lost. Nectanebus then put his hand inside his garments እበእሁ፡, and brought forth a tablet, ሰሌዳ፡ *salêdâ*, of gold studded with stars in precious stones, and upon it were inscribed pictures of the seven planets which were arranged according to the hours of the day and night. The stars or planets which are mentioned are the Sun[1], Moon[2], Jupiter[3], Venus[4], Mars[5], and Mercury[6]; the scribe has omitted the seventh planet or Saturn[7] (fol. 5 *a*, col. 2). Each planet was represented by a precious stone. After examining the stars carefully Nectanebus tells her that he will help her, and that the gods who come forth from the depths of the earth shall come to her, and that she shall bear a son to them who shall avenge her upon Philip, because he has treated her badly. He adds that the god is noble in appearance, that he will wear a ram's horns, and that he will sleep with her. Olympias then declares that if this comes to pass she will consider Nectanebus to be a god and not a man.

Chap. V. (fol. 6 *a*, 1). Then Nectanebus went out to the field and pounded and crushed drugs, and he made a model of a woman, and wrote upon it the letters of the name of Olympias, and threw it in the fire, and he repeated words and names over it; and Olympias dreamed a dream in which the god Ammon was united with her.

Chap. VI. (fol. 6 *a*, col. 2). In the Ethiopic version the description of the god is wanting.

Chap. VII. (fol. 6 *b*, col. 2). Nectanebus disguises himself with ram's wool and horns, and takes the form of a serpent and goes into the chamber of Olympias. Afterwards she sends for him and prepares a chamber for him (fol. 7 *b*, col. 1). When

[1] ፀሐይ፡ [2] ወርኅ፡ [3] እልመሽተሪ፡ Arab. المشتري

[4] እዝሐራ፡ Arab. زهرة [5] እልመሪኽ፡ Arab. مريخ

[6] ዐጣርድ፡ Arab. عطارد

[7] ዙሐል፡ زحل For Ethiopic lists of the names of the stars, see *Brit. Mus. MSS.* Add. 16211, fol. 55 and Add. 16247, fol. 64. According to a native historian names were given to the planets by Seth, the son of Adam. See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, pp. 28, 239.

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Olympias is troubled about her pregnancy Nectanebus promises that Ammon አሞን፡ will help her. Then Nectanebus took a bird ረቂድ፡ (fol. 8 *a*, 1) and muttered words over it, and it flew through the sky over lands and cities and seas, and came to Philip by night, and that same night he had a wonderful dream in which he saw a terrestrial divinity of great stature, wearing ram's horns and having his head and beard shaved, sleeping with Olympias. In it he saw also the queen's womb sealed with a gold ring, upon which were engraved the head of a lion and a spear.

Chap. VIII. (fol. 8 *a*, col. 2). The interpretation of the dream is substantially the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. IX. (fol. 8 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). This chapter is almost identical in sense with that of the Syriac. Olympias sends, however, for Nectanebus after Philip has talked with her.

Chap. X. (fol. 9 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Philip upbraids Olympias, and says that she is with child by Ammon. Nectanebus, in the guise of a serpent, glides into the chamber where they are sitting, and hisses fearfully. Philip is terrified when he sees the serpent, and Olympias says that its voice was thus when he came to her and said that he was the god of all the world; when Philip heard this he was glad that he was to have a son.

Chap. XI. (fol. 9 *b*, col. 2, l. 14) is the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. XII. (fol. 10 *a*, col. 2, l. 23). Nectanebus stands and calculates the stars, and advises the queen not to give birth to her child. He prevents her by force from so doing until a fortunate hour arrives, and then he allows her to bring forth. Here the Ethiopic text is much confused, and all allusions to incidents in Greek mythology are omitted.

Chap. XIII. (fol. 11 *a*, col. 1, l. 2). Macedonia and Abrâkâ አብራክ፡ are mentioned. In appearance Alexander was like (*sic*) his parents Philip and Olympias, and when he was six years old he went to school to learn Greek learning, war and astronomy. The incident of the Cappadocians sending a gift of horses to Philip is omitted.

Chap. XIV. (fol. 11 *b*, col. 1, l. 14). The incident of the departure of Philip to another city and the sending for Nectanebus by Olympias is omitted. Alexander goes to the top of the mountains to see the stars, and Nectanebus says, "Verily

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thou art my son, and the god knows that thou art my son; I slept with thy mother in the temple and she conceived thee; do not despise my word, for I am a great king, and I am the king of Egypt." When Alexander heard this he threw Nectanebus down from the top of the mountain and he died. When Alexander met Philip his father he said, "I have killed the priest of idols," and when Philip asked him what he had done he told him. After this Alexander is sent to Aristotle አርስ ጠጠሊስ፡.

Up to this point the Ethiopic version runs fairly closely with the Syriac, but from here onwards the sequence of events as given in the Syriac and Greek is much disturbed.

Chap. XXIII. (fol. 12 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Now Philip used to give tribute to the king of Persia who ruled over the empire of Nimrod, the mighty man who worshipped fire and established priests thereto, who spread the Magian belief ሃይማኖት፡ ምግሳዊት፡, and who had intercourse with his mother and sister and daughter. One day when the ambassadors of the Persian king Darius came to ask for tribute Alexander saw them, and came down and talked with them. His scoffing message to Darius is not given in the Ethiopic, but he promises to go to Persia riding upon Bucephalus, whom he describes as "my horse which was born with me" ፈረስየ፡ እንተ፡ ተወልደት፡ ምስሌየ፡. The chief ambassador instead of admiring Alexander's discourse says that "the boy knows not what he says." Then Darius sent two greater messengers with a golden box ሣፁን፡ filled with sesame seed ፈሬ፡ ሰሊጥ፡, among which was a precious stone. When the ambassadors came to Alexander they gave him their letters, and he opened them and read them; then he went and sat upon his father's throne, and took the golden box, and found therein sesame seed and a jewel. And he said to his friends, "Interpret these things for me," but they refused, saying, "Thou knowest these things better than we do." Alexander said, "Sesame seed is food, and food is to be eaten; the Persian army is like sesame seed, and we will devour it as we devour sesame seed. As for the gem, it is like the head of a king and the Persian king has God given into my hand." Alexander then sent back an insolent message to Darius, but Philip wanted

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to send him to Persia so that Darius might do what he liked to him. Chap. ends fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 9.

Chap. XVI. (fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 10). Now there was in the house a horse that was born with Alexander, and no one could go near him or mount him, and he was kept chained with six chains day and night. Alexander however went up to him and mounted him, and then his father gave orders that the horse was to be well looked after, for he was very fleet and could go a distance of 300 ምሕዋር: in one hour. The chapter ends fol. 14 *a*, col. 1, l. 9.

After this Alexander mounts this horse, and taking his army with him, he goes to the East. Next we have a prayer in which Alexander acknowledges his submission to God; he took for his teacher Aristotle, whose belief was the belief of the philosophers who say "The heavens declare the glory of the Creator, the Maker of all and King of all, who killeth and maketh alive, in whom and from whom are all things" (fol. 14 *b*, col. 1). Alexander prays to God, and advises his friends and nobles not to commit sin. He says that he is king (fol. 15 *a*, col. 1); and speaks of the redemption of man's soul; his friends promise to do what he wishes (fol. 15 *b*, col. 1), and crown him and present an address to him (fol. 16 *a*, 1), to which he replies (fol. 16 *a*, col. 2). He then writes an address to the people of his palace which begins on fol. 18 *a*, col. 1 and ends fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11. His title "two-horned" ዘክልኤ: ለቅርንቲሁ: occurs for the first time in this manuscript in this address. The Ethiopic writers explain this title by saying that he was so called because he "ruled in the two horns of the Sun, the east and the west[1]." He next writes to his army (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11,—fol. 21 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and then to all the kings of the earth, saying that God has given him the world, and that he will help them to know Him as he knows Him (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 12—fol. 23 *a*, col. 2, l. 16). A copy of this proclamation is sent to Darius

[1] ወቦ: ዘይቤ: ተሰምየ: ዘ፪ ለቅርንቲሁ: እስመ: ነግሠ: ዘ፪ ለቅርንት: ፀሐይ: እመሠረቅ: እስከ: ምዕራብ:: Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 818, fol. 125 *b*, col. 1, ll. 23—27. See also D'Abbadie, *Catalogue de MSS. Éthiop.*, p. 81; and the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makin's "Universal History" in Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 814, fol. 69 *b*, col. 3.

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ዳሬ: king of Persia, who read it before all the army. Darius, "king of kings," next writes a letter to the men of Tiberius Cæsar ሰብእ: ጥብያኖስ: ቄሳር: the Roman, in which he abuses and curses Alexander, and begs them not to allow him to come into their country (fol. 23 *b*, col. 1, l. 5—col. 2, l. 11). Presently Darius heard that Alexander had arrived at the great river called Ḳôparôs ቆጰሮስ:, and he wrote him a letter beginning, "To Alexander, the king of the Greeks, son of Philip, the two-horned, my servant." He reminds him in it that Philip paid tribute, and insists on his doing likewise (fol. 24 *b*, col. 1, l. 8). Alexander orders that the ambassadors who have brought this letter to him shall be slain, but he spares them eventually to shew the superiority of the manners of the Greeks to those of the Persians. Darius imagines that Alexander has slain his ambassadors, he therefore sends others with another letter (fol. 25 *b*, col. 2, l. 9—fol. 26 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). Alexander sends a reply to this last letter which begins "From the servant of God, the two-horned" (fol. 26 *b*, col. 1, l. 4), and determines that all his letters shall begin in this manner (fol. 26 *b*, col. 2, l. 12). In it Alexander tells Darius that if he kills him he will only be killing a thief, and he says that the sesame seed represents Darius' army which he will overthrow because his trust is in God; in return, however, he sends a little mustard seed ፍሬ: ሰናፔ: that Darius may know what the Macedonian army is like. The letter ends fol. 27 *b*, col. 1. In a second letter to Darius Alexander threatens to come against him (fol. 27 *b*, col. 2, l. 8). The ambassadors who bring his letters to Darius praise him greatly, and tell Darius that he ate some of the sesame seed: Darius then orders one of his soldiers to eat some of the mustard seeds; the soldier, not knowing how pungent they are, throws a handful into his mouth, but he cannot swallow them and so spits them out. On the report reaching him that Alexander has set out to come against him Darius writes to the satraps under his rule demanding their help; but meanwhile Alexander returns to Egypt (fol. 28 *b*, col. 1), and founds a city after his name. All Egypt submits to him except Tâḳâtelô, Nôbâ and Ethiopia; the people of Africa come to do homage to him. He passed through Syria and came with his army to Palestine. While there he wrote to the chief priests of the sanctuary of Jerusalem calling

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upon them to submit to him; this they declined to do, saying that they were under the dominion of the king of Persia (fol. 29 *a*, col. 2, ll. 9—16). When Alexander marched into Jerusalem with his army all the Jews and the governor of the town, who had been appointed by Darius, submitted to him. The priests went out to meet him carrying a book of the Law (fol. 29 *a*, col. 1, l. 24) and the prophecy of Daniel the prophet concerning Alexander spread out on the top of a spear. Alexander said, "What is this that I see with you?" and they replied, "It is the writing of God which came down by the prophets, and the prophecy of Daniel who prophesied concerning thy kingdom." When Alexander saw this he wept, and came down from his horse, and went near to the writing of the Law and the Prophets and worshipped God; then he went into the Temple and asked God to direct his paths. He admired greatly the beauty of the Temple, for it was morning. When the soldiers ask Alexander why he honours the Jews who slew the prophets he says that he only honours the name of God which they carry upon their persons[1]. The chief priest gives Alexander a copy of the prophecy of Daniel and then, after a little talk, he leaves the Temple (fol. 30 *b*, col. 1).

Going eastward Alexander crossed the Euphrates, and built a city there which he called Baratâ በረት:, he next came to a country called ደሴት: Dasêt. He fought with Darius at a place called ቤዘ: for forty days, and after a further five days' fight with Ardeshir, Darius' general, nearly all Darius' army was killed. Alexander then marched against the royal city of Darius, but before he attacked it, he addressed his army with words of encouragement (fol. 31 *a*, coll. 1, 2); the battle was obstinate, and Darius gained some advantage over Alexander, who wrote to Darius and said that he was going back to his own country (fol. 32 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and asked for a truce. Darius refused to allow this, whereupon Alexander made a very fierce attack upon him and utterly routed him. Darius escapes by crossing over a river (fol. 32 *b*, col. 2) and takes refuge in the temple of his god (lit. the house of the idol), where he laments

[1] See the *History of the holy men in the days of Jerusalem*, in Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 309.

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his fate (fol. 33 *a*, col. 2). When Darius heard that Alexander had captured his wife and daughter he wrote commending them to his clemency, and sent to him gold and silver and jewels and clothing. Alexander reads this letter to his friend Salonôs who asked why Darius had not done this before (fol. 34 *a*, col. 1). When he had slain all Darius' nobles, Darius wrote to Porus ፉዝ: *Puz*) king of India asking for help; Porus replies (fol. 34 *b*, col. 1, l. 18—35 *a*, col. 1, l. 17). Alexander then asked his soldiers to find out men who will give him information about Darius; two men called Ḥâshîsh ኃሠሺሠ: and Arsalâs አርሰላስ: offered to do this, but they stabbed Darius thinking to gain a reward (fol. 35 *b*, coll. 1, 2). Alexander came up and finding Darius stabbed, dismounted and put his head upon his knees, and exhorted him to rise up and to become king of Persia once more (fol. 36 *a*, col. 2). Before his death Darius asked Alexander to do three things for him; Alexander promised to carry out his wishes and asked to be allowed to marry his daughter (fol. 37 *b*, col. 1). Darius dies and is buried by Alexander (fol. 38 *a*, col. 1). Alexander issues a proclamation to the Persians (fol. 38 *a*, col. 2—38 *b*, col. 2, l. 23). Alexander promises to reward the murderers of Darius (fol. 39 *a*, col. 1), and crucifies (fol. 39 *b*, col. 2) them. He writes to the mother of Darius (fol. 40 *a*, col. 2—40 *b*, col. 2, l. 19), and Roxana (ረሲቅ *Rasîḳ*) writes to him applauding his kindness to them (fol. 41 *b*, col. 2, l. 19). Alexander writes to her (fol. 42 *a*, col. 1, l. 19), and goes to see her; and next writes to the mother of Darius ሰረጎ: Saragô (fol. 42 *b*, col. 1).

About this time Alexander heard that Porus had come to fight with him and he set out to meet him; his troops grumble on the way (fol. 42 *a*, col. 2—44 *a*, col. 2). Alexander writes to Porus (fol. 44 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and Porus replies (fol. 45 *a*, col. 1, l. 9); on the receipt of this letter Alexander marches against him (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 7). Porus writes again (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and Alexander sends a reply (fol. 47 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), which Porus reads to his nobles (fol. 48 *a*, col. 1, l. 14). Porus collects rhinoceroses and lions to fight against Alexander. Alexander also makes 24,000 metal rhinoceroses, which his soldiers make red-hot by lighting fires inside them (fol. 48 *b*, col. 1). The hostile forces meet and Porus' beasts run away, but Porus throws

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Alexander's horse upon the ground by sorcery, and prevents Alexander from pursuing him by keeping him there while he makes good his escape (fol. 49 *a*, col. 1). Alexander then challenges him to single combat (fol. 49 *b*, col. 1); Porus accepts the challenge and is killed (fol. 50 *a*, col. 1). Alexander addresses the Indian army and afterwards buries Porus (fol. 50 *b*, col. 2).

The defeat of Porus accomplished Alexander set out to go to see the Brahmans, አልበረግንድዊያን: *al-Baragândwîydn*, who, hearing of his arrival in their country, write to him (fol. 51 *a*, col. 1, l. 22) and mention Baal Peor ፈገረ: (fol. 51 *b*, col. 1, l. 2); Alexander reads their letter and goes to them (fol. 52 *a*, col. 1), and asks one of them:—

"How do you live, and how do you die?" fol. 52 *a*, col. 2, l. 12.
"Have you no graves in which to bury your dead?" fol. 53 *a*, col. 2, l. 3.
"Are the dead more in number than the living?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1.
"Is death mightier than life?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1, l. 22.
"What is the wickedest thing in creation?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 1, l. 1.
"Is night older than day or day older than night?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 2.
"Who is He that has never been born?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.
"Which is man's strongest limb, his right hand or his left?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.

After Alexander had asked these questions the Brahman asks him to give them immortality; he says that he is unable to do this because everything depends upon the will of God. He writes to Aristotle (fol. 56 *b*, col. 2, l. 11), and then wishes to go and see the grave of a king on an island, but eventually sends one of his friends there with 800 men (fol. 57 *b*, col. 2). After a march of twelve nights they come to a city situated between two rivers (fol. 58 *b*, col. 1), and see the pillar upon which is inscribed "I am Sesonchosis (ንስ: *sic*) king of the world" (fol. 59 *a*, col. 1). The *Mashkĕlath* is described as being "greater than a rhinoceros" (fol. 59 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and as having required forty men to kill it (fol. 60 *a*, col. 1) and three hundred men to cut it open. Alexander then came to a country where the men were like ravens ቋዓት: (fol. 60 *b*, col. 1); and the

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Macedonians stayed there seven days and slew six thousand of them. They met creatures half men half beast (fol. 60 *b*, col. 2, ll. 3—6); they saw the people who had "legs like a camel" (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 15); the men with lions' heads (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 25); the tree which grew and diminished (fol. 61 *b*, col. 1); and the river which was full of birds (fol. 61 *b*, col. 2, l. 21). They came to the sea called Pontus, where twenty of Alexander's men were devoured by beasts (fol. 62 *a*, col. 2). After a march of 65 nights he comes to a place where there were two birds, one of which said, "O two-horned one, behold, thou marchest through a land in which no man has ever before walked; it is not good for thee. Why dost thou not go back? Behold, thou hast slain Darius the king of all the kings of the world (fol. 62 *b*, col. 1), and also Porus the king of the Indians who was lord over demons and devils, and who had captured all the ends of the world. Now, therefore, turn back from this place, for what thou hast done is sufficient for thee." In this place Alexander goes into a temple where there is a chain weighing 300 በሃዋር: according to the weight of Constantinople (?) (fol. 63 *a*, col. 1, l. 8), and sees there a throne with 2500 steps (fol. 63 *a*, col. 2, l. 3) and two candlesticks, each of which is 40 cubits in height. In the temple is a nameless god who tells Alexander that he will bring him to the place where Enoch, Elijah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and those like unto them dwell (fol. 64 *a*, col. 1, line 11).

From this place Alexander goes to "a city of India" (Prasiakê), and is obliged to stay there thirty nights on account of the snow (fol. 64 *b*, col. 2). He asks the Indians if there is any thing wonderful to be seen in that country and they tell him of two talking trees (fol. 65 *a*, col. 2) which "speak in all tongues." After a journey of ten days they reach a place where there is a garden, and in it are two figures of the sun and moon and a great altar called "the rising of the sun and moon," because the sun and moon rise here (fol. 65 *b*, col. 2, l. 20). Taking fifty men he goes into the temple, and the trees speak (fol. 66 *b*, col. 1). One of them prophesies his death in the land of Babylon, and says that it will be caused by poison being administered to him by friends (fol. 67 *a*, col. 1). After a march of fifteen nights they come to a city called Sapîn (fol. 67 *a*, col.

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2, l. 7), the people of which tell him about a god in the form of a serpent which lives in the mountains at a distance of three days (fol. 67 *b*, col. 1); Alexander kills the serpent by stratagem (fol. 69 *a*, col. 1, l. 8). He next arrives at a river called Barsâṭîs (?) near which he builds a city which he called Masḳâmâ (fol. 69 *b*, col. 2, l. 22) or "Alexandria the second" (fol. 70 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). From here he marches to a place called Ḳasmâḳâtîn, and then, after a march of fifteen nights through marshes and fifteen nights through deserts, he arrives in China, ሲን፡ *Sîn* (fol. 70 *b*, col. 1, l. 8), the king of which country presents him with many beautiful things (fol. 73 *b*, col. 2—74 *a*, col. 1). Leaving China Alexander comes to a land where the people have heads of wolves (fol. 74 *b*, col. 1, l. 20), and next to a place called Dârâ where he sacrifices to the "great god." He comes to Sôd (Sughd) and founds the city of Samarḳand (fol. 76 *a*, col. 2, l. 12); and having built five hundred boats to cross a river (fol. 76 *b*, col. 1) he goes to Persia to see the city called Sâmera (fol. 77 *a*, col. 1, l. 4), which is governed by a queen called Candace. He writes to her (fol. 77 *a*, col. 2), and she replies (fol. 77 *b*, col. 1). The list of the gifts which, according to the Syriac, she gives to him is omitted, but she sends a painter to paint his portrait (fol. 78 *a*, col. 1). Candaules ቀንደሮስ፡ *Ḳandarôs* (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2, l. 1) her son goes to the land of Ḳarûmân, and his wife is stolen from him (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2). Alexander changes places with Ptolemy and, calling himself Antigonus, goes off with 3000 horsemen to rescue the wife of Candaules (fol. 79 *b*, col. 1): he succeeds in bringing back the wife (fol. 80 *a*, col. 2). Alexander then journeys on to see Candace in her city (fol. 81 *a*, col. 1), and when he sees her and finds that she is like his mother Olympias, he weeps (fol. 81 *b*, col. 1). The narrative is now told by Alexander in the first person; he describes the chamber in which he first saw her (fol. 82 *a*, col. 1) and the second chamber and her bed room (fol. 83 *a*, col. 1); afterwards Alexander marries her ሰከበ፡ ምስሌሃ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕለተ፡ ወይእቲ፡ ሌሊተ፡ (fol. 84 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). The Ethiopic form of the name of her eldest son is Ḳanîra, Syr. Ḳĕrâṭôr (fol. 85 *a*, col. 2, l. 18). After Alexander has been dismissed by Candace, her son Candaules takes him to see the temple of a god, built on a hill (fol. 86 *b*, col. 2), with whom he holds a conversation and asks questions. He

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next writes to the Amazons, *Mertâs* (sic) and their queen replies (fol. 87 *b*, coll. 1, 2); he then makes his way back to Persia (fol. 88 *a*, col. 1, l. 22). At this period Aristotle writes to him (fol. 88 *a*, col. 2), advising him to do some good act before he dies, and reminding him that he has done a very great work for a young man of thirty years, for which he should thank God.

On fol. 88 *b*, col. 2, l. 2 begins the Ethiopic version of Alexander's expedition against the Huns, which, according to it, took place in the seventh year of his reign. Prîsḳôs is not mentioned at all, but the "eleven bright seas" (fol. 89 *b*, col. 1) and the eleven lands situated in a land ten miles away and the great sea are all described as in the Syriac version. The waters of the fœtid sea are like pus መግል: (fol. 89 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and when Alexander asks some of the people if they have seen it they say that they have (fol. 90 *a*, col. 1). He then assembles 32,000 men (fol. 90 *b*, col. 1, l. 17), prays to God (fol. 90 *b*, col. 2), and goes to Egypt where he obtains 7000 skilled workmen (fol. 91 *b*, col. 1); he sets out with all his forces, and after a journey of four months and twelve days they arrive at a land "behind" the twelve great seas (fol. 91 *b*, col. 2). At the fœtid sea thirty-seven men bring his ships to anchor, and he sees a pillar with an inscription (fol. 92 *a*, col. 2). He passes through lands called Ṭârakes, Martaḳut, Rûḳĕl, Daffâr, Ṭarmât, Ḳânem, Hûr and Maraḳ, through the mountain of Mûsâs (fol. 93 *b*, col. 1, l. 13), and arrives at a place called Nalhemyâ, where three hundred sages come to him (fol. 93 *b*, col. 2) and tell him that this place is in the territory of Persia, and that they are subject to Akseyûs አክሲዩስ: the Persian (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1, l. 11). They also tell him that the mountain which he sees extends to the Ocean (ቦንጦስ: *Bônṭôs*), that it comes to an end near the land of Persia and that roads go from it to Adorbaigân (fol. 94 *a*, col. 2, l. 5). Alexander enquires what are the names of the kingdoms in this land, and they tell him Mâgûg (Magog), Yâgûg (Gog), Nûli, Agma'a, Amrâbân, Namû, Bargis, Samraḳ, Hôsâĕ, 'Asfû, Salgû, Katlûbî, Amrâḳ, Ḳawâbir and Hanâ (fol. 94 *b*, col. 1). The Ethiopic translator says that he has seen in another book a description of these kingdoms, and he gives their twenty-two names as follows: Mâgûg, Yâgûg, Nûyâl, Yûal, Aknûk, Asâ-

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kâbîr, Ḳaryâwîyân, Kerba, Lakan, Daba'ân, Ḳarṭân, Rabaan, Zanâbên, Dûlî, Marḳû, Ṭarḳî, Mâyâwîyân, Kalbâtâs, Manzĕ'a, Yûmân, Kaslĕwî and Malkî (fol. 94 *b*, col. 2). Their manners and customs are described (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1—fol. 95 *b*, col. 2, l. 15); the people called Nagâshâwîyân have faces like dogs (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2, l. 12).

The old men are next questioned by Alexander about Paradise and its four rivers Sêḥun, Gihon, Euphrates and Tigris (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2), and they tell him that God drew them into the earth.

Alexander then gathers together 3000 men and they make a gate twelve cubits in height (fol. 97 *b*, col. 2) to shut in Gog and Magog. He writes a prophecy on the gate that these nations shall go forth in the eight hundred and sixty-fourth year (fol. 98 *a*, col. 2, l. 10), and that when they have gone forth twenty thousand Greeks and Persians and Arabs shall be gathered together under four thousand kings (fol. 98 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and that multitudes of men shall be slain.

The iron gate being finished Alexander sets out to go to the land of darkness (fol. 99 *a*, col. 1). When he arrives there a god of the country describes to him the land and the sea that is in it (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1), and tells him that the throne of God is set in this land, and that it is supported by an angel having the faces of a bull, a lion, an eagle and a man; beneath it flows the river of the water of life (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1). Beyond this land of darkness are seventy other lands, and beyond there are other seventy lands (fol. 101 *b*, col. 1), and a mountain eighty thousand measures high which rests upon water (fol. 104 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). In this land there is no distinction between day and night (fol. 106 *a*, col. 1), but Alexander prays to God, and He makes his paths straight so that he is able to proceed (fol. 108 *b*, col. 1). He travels in the dark land for two years (fol. 110 *a*, col. 1, l. 11), and finally comes to a place beyond which the people tell him that there is nothing. He insists on advancing, and leaving ten thousand of his troops (fol. 110 *b*, col. 1) to live and to wait for him there for ten years, he sets out with some of the natives for guides; the king of the land also gives him a precious stone, which was one of those brought out of Paradise by our father Adam, to shew him the way (fol. 111 *a*, col. 1, l. 20). The stone

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pointed out the right road and led him to the fountain of life; Alexander had a dried fish with him which he put into the water to see if it would live and swim, and as soon as the fish touched the water it came to life, and darted away and escaped (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). When Mâtûn, that is El-Khidr or the "Ever-green" (Elijah), saw that the fish came to life he took off his clothes and bathed in the water of life, and dipped himself therein three times, saying, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). The sixty thousand kings that live in that land contend with El-Khidr (fol. 111 *b*, col. 2), who asks their permission for Alexander's army to go through the land because he is doing God's will (fol. 112 *a*, col. 2). Alexander passes through the land, and comes to a place where the water was so clear that he thought it was the water of life. He saw there emeralds and jacinths and other precious stones and a bird with a ring in its nose with which he talked (fol. 113 *a*, col. 2). At a place near here he finds much gold, and he makes for himself a crown of it, in which he sets the stone which came from Paradise (fol. 115 *a*, col. 1). From there he travels east and west and flies through the air, higher than the eagle, and sees all the stars of heaven: he writes a book about all these things (fol. 115 *b*, col. 1). He next sets up a great furnace and casts a door and walls of iron to keep out Gog and Magog (fol. 116 *a*, col. 1), the children of Adam, who are like wild beasts (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). He prays to God (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and then sets out for the sea which is behind the heavens and the land which has never been trodden before by man (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2). He flies through the air by the help of three eagles (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2), and when on the sea he sends out these eagles one after the other to look for land (fol. 117 *a*, col. 1). Having crossed the sea Alexander sets out for Babylon (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2), where he seeks for the seven wonderful things which Solomon made (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2—fol. 120 *b*, col. 1). He is twice attacked by fever; he writes to his mother (fol. 121 *a*, col. 1 and fol. 121 *b*, col. 1), and he receives a second letter from Aristotle (fol. 127 *b*, col. 2). Ten whole folios (129—139) are filled with a discourse in which the names of Pharaoh and Job occur, and which points out the benefits which accrue to those who do not commit sin.

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On fol. 139 *a*, col. 1 his second letter to Olympias is begun, in it he tells her that having left Babylon he came to the Pillars of Hercules ንዋኅወ: ሐርቀሊስ:, where he stayed ninety-five days. He found there a door of gold and one of silver: each one of them was twelve cubits in height. He saw there twenty thousand five hundred crowns of gold which he took, and left the country (fol. 139 *b*, col. 1), and journeying on he came to the country of beautiful women (fol. 139 *b*, col. 2). After another march he came to a river or sea called Daliṭûn, where it is very dark (fol. 140 *a*, col. 1), and after five days more he arrived at the city of the sun where there is a palace of gold. Near this place there was a very great darkness (fol. 140 *a*, col. 2), and eventually he came to the river Yôrdânôs, on the confines of Asia and Armenia (fol. 140 *b*, col. 1). Here he saw a golden bird, like a dove, in a cage of gold, which he wanted to send to his mother; but the people of the place begged him not to do it, and he did not. He also saw there the golden objects which were in the city of Dios and which were brought thither when the Persians ruled Egypt (fol. 140 *b*, col. 2), and the golden throne with eight steps, etc. The letter to Olympias ends fol. 141 *a*, col. 2.

Meanwhile the day of Alexander's death was drawing nigh. He had made a feast (fol. 141 *b*, col. 1), when Iollas (Eth. Yôlyôs) came and proposed to him that he should invite his friends to drink with him, and twenty-one of Alexander's friends were straightway invited. Watching his opportunity Iollas gives Alexander the cup of poisoned wine, and he drinks, and knows that he is poisoned (fol. 142 *a*, col. 1, l. 11); the news of the success of the plot is sent by Iollas to Antipater at once. Alexander leaves the feast chamber and tries to drown himself by night in the Euphrates, but is stopped by Roxana his wife (fol. 142 *b*, col. 2). On the following day Bardaksa (Perdiccas), Kâbâs (Lysias ?), Abaṭlemîs (Ptolemy) and Lîsîmikos (Lysimachus) write his testament, and he addresses the Macedonian soldiers who think that he has been poisoned (fol. 143 *a*, col. 1). One of them called Bûkelâs (Phainoclês ?) addresses Alexander, and seventy of them wish to die with him (fol. 143 *b*, col. 1). Alexander's testament begins (fol. 143 *b*, col. 2). He bequeaths twenty thousand dînârs to the Christian temples of

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Egypt (fol. 144 *a*, col. 2, l. 4) and to the temple of Ammon. If Ahrûksênâ (Roxana) bears a son he is to be called Alexander (fol. 145 *a*, col. 1). The names of the provinces of Alexander's empire and of the rulers whom he appoints over them are horribly corrupt in the Ethiopic version, and can only in a few places be identified. He orders a gold coffin to be made (fol. 145 *b*, col. 1), and commands that gifts be made to the temple of Hercules (fol. 145 *b*, col. 2); and having given directions concerning his coffin and the filling of it with myrrh and other spices (fol. 146 *a*, col. 1), he dies. His body is brought to Babylon in Egypt, and many of the nobles of the city of Memphis come out to meet it, but they refuse to allow it to be buried there; they advise Ptolemy to bury it in the city of Alexandria, and he does so (fol. 146 *b*, col. 1). He lived thirty-eight years and began to reign when he was fifteen years old. Twenty-two nations were subject to him among the barbarians and thirteen others; he founded twelve cities which are enumerated (fol. 146 *b*, col. 2). He was born on the first day of the month Ṭer[1] at sunrise and he finished his days on the first day of the month Miyâzyâ[2] ሚያዝያ: at sunset[2]; on account of his death taking place on this day it was called ሕጸጸተ: ኢሙሰባቲት:.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Ethiopic version of the Alexander story reproduces in one form or another most of the principal incidents of the life of Alexander the Great according to Pseudo-Callisthenes. Whether the Ethiopic or the Arabic translator is responsible for the chapters which are omitted I cannot say. The proper names are much corrupted, and it is clear that the Ethiopic translator has helped to make the confusion greater. For example we have Pûz for Porus which shews that he read ز instead of ر; and we have Mĕrtâs ሜርታስ: for Amazons. The Arabic transcription of the Greek form of the name would be something like امزناس or

[1] The fifth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Dec. 27—Jan. 25.

[2] The eighth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Mar. 27—April 25. See also the Ethiopic version of Joseph ben-Gorion, Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 822, fol. 20 *a*, col. 1, ll. 6—9.

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مرناس which the Ethiopic translator has clearly misread مرتاس *Mertâs*; many instances of the confusion between the letters ز and ل, ف and ق and ة, ت, ث, ب and ي could be given.

In the fabulous histories of Alexander the Great which are commonly found among the Ethiopians the work of the imagination plays so large a part that it is difficult to discover the grain of fact which has given rise to the fantastic stories which have come down to us. In them Alexander is made to hold interviews with Christ, Who tells him that He will take upon Himself flesh in the fulness of time; he is made to preach sermons on the advantages of living in chastity and continence like Elijah and St. John; and he is made to abolish the worship of idols throughout his dominions. The accounts of his travels which are given in these stories are based upon the incidents of his Indian journey according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, but the hand of the Christian redactor or scribe has ever been active in adding details which savour of the marvellous and the impossible. In the desert he meets Elijah and Enoch, who leave him in a chariot of fire; he is instructed by the Holy Ghost concerning virtue and the six doors of the heart; and he learns the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Philip his father having learned by means of the astrolabe of the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ throws himself into the sea; the Holy Spirit tells Alexander that his father will be counted as one of the martyrs[1]. When Alexander returns home he gives all his goods to the poor, and then exhorts men and women to lead good and holy lives. The above are specimens of the contents of these fabulous histories of Alexander; it will be seen that they are of little value for any other purpose than that of amusement.

[1] See the full summary of the contents of such a history in Zotenberg's *Catalogue des MSS. Éthiopiens*, pp. 243—245, and D'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens*, p. 81.

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The Coptic Version.

The existence of a Coptic version of the history of Alexander was first pointed out by Bouriant[1], who published the text from three mutilated leaves of a manuscript of the work found at Aḥmîm[2], the ancient Panopolis, in Upper Egypt, which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The composition is in Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, and M. Bouriant thinks that it was written in the xvth century of our era; the contents do not agree with those of any other version known to me and I am not able to say from what language the work was translated. The first fragment refers to an expedition of Alexander in Judaea, and the second and third give some details of an expedition into Gedrosia.

Miscellaneous European Versions.

Translations of the Alexander story were made into French[3] by Alberic de Besançon, Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay[4], Thomas of Kent and many others. It was also rendered into German by Lamprecht or Lambert[5], into Italian[6],

[1] *Fragments d'un Roman d'Alexandre en dialecte Thébain*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Série 8, t. IX., 1887. See especially the remarks by M. Maspero on pp. 37, 38.

[2] The ancient Panopolis, a town situated on the east bank of the Nile not far from This. See Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, t. I. p. 257.

[3] In his scholarly monograph *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, M. Meyer has given the history of all the French versions of the Alexander story. See also Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 97—114, and Talbot, *Essai sur la légende d'Alexandre le Grand dans les Romans Français du XIIe siècle*, 1850.

[4] The text is published by Michelant in the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins* in Stuttgart, t. XIII., entitled *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre Bernay.

[5] See Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, Frankfort, 1850; and the authorities on this version quoted by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 71, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 127.

[6] Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 119; Commenza el libro del nascimento. De la vita. Con grandissimi fatti. Et della morte infortunata de Alexandro Magno, Venesia, 1477.

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Spanish[1], Norwegian[2], Swedish[3], Dutch[4], and English[5]. In 1880 the facsimile of an ancient Slavonic manuscript, belonging to P. P. Vyazemsky, containing a history of Alexander was published[6]. Malay and Siamese[7] histories of Alexander are also known.

[1] Favre, *op. cit.* p. 115.

[2] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143.

[3] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143. The Swedish work was printed at Wijsingzborg in 1672, edited by J. Hadorphius. See also *Konung Alexander; en Medeltids dikt, från hatinet vänd i Svenska rim omkring år* 1380...*Efter den enda kända handsckriften utgifven af* G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1844.

[4] Moltzer, H. E., *Roman van Cassamus in Bibliothek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, Afl. 2, 1868.

[5] See Weber, *King Alisaunder in Metrical Romances*, Vol. I. pp. xxxi, lxxiv, and 3—327, 1810; *The Romaunce of Alexander*, Edinburgh, 1850; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 180; *The gestes of the worthie king and emperour, Alisaunder of Macedoine*, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 139—142.

[6] Issued by the Early Russian Text Society at St. Petersburg. *An account of Alexander the Great in ancient Serbian Literature* was published in the *Messenger* of the Society of Serbian Literature, 2nd Series, Vol. IX. at Belgrade in 1868. I owe this information to Mr. J. T. Naaké of the British Museum.

[7] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. Intro. p. 110.

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THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP KING OF THE MACEDONIANS.

BOOK I.

I. Now there used to be Egyptian sages, who were sprung from the families of the gods. They measured the earth, and stood thereon; they put in commotion the waves of the sea; and laid hold of the great Nile by its measure. They calculated the ordering of the stars of heaven. They delivered all these things to the world by the might of invincible words and by the powers of sorcery. Men say then of Naḳṭîbôs (Nectanebus)[1] who was the last king of Egypt and was famed for great discoveries, that he was through his perfect knowledge the glory of Egypt, and to him were the creatures of the world subservient by reason of his magic. This king was a marvel, for when suddenly the hosts of the enemy were standing ready at his gate[2], and wished to come to battle, he used not to trouble his camp, neither did he bring weapons of war for the use of the men, nor polished iron that glittered, nor was it his wont to contrive the stratagems or plans which are necessary for war; but he used to go into his palace and to set a brazen basin in the middle of the hall and to fill it with rain water. He then made small

[1] The *Necht-neb-f*, or Nectanebus II of the hieroglyphics. Egyptian history is silent as to the end of this king. An *ushabti* figure bearing his name was found at Memphis (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, p. 32) and hence it has been supposed that he was buried there. Diodorus says (XVI. 49—51) that he fled to Ethiopia. A statue of this king is in the British Museum.

[2] Or rather, *getting ready against his land*.

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models of ships and men in asphalt[1] and placed them in the basin. And he took in his hand a rod of plane wood[2], and then uttered those words which he knew, and invoked the angels and Ammon the god of Lybia[3]. Now by this form of sorcery which took place in the basin, he was wont to contrive plans, until those models of ships and men which were in the basin went forth against the enemy and turned them back. In this manner he held constantly by his skill for a great length of time the kingdom of Egypt.

II. After a while, a certain man, a spy from among the guards who were there, came to him and answered and said, "O Nectanebus, while as yet thou hast peace, seek deliverance for thyself, for behold innumerable multitudes of hosts of enemies are making ready and coming against thee, to wit the Ṭûrâyê (*or* mountaineers), the Alâni, the Gûbarbĕdâyê, the Armenians, the Medes, the Arabs, the Midianites, the people of Adôrbâigân, the Belsâyê, the Álôsâyê, the Shabrônḳâyê, the Alînîḳâyê, the Galatians, the Ṭêbarînîḳâyê[4], the people of Gurgân, the Chaldeans, the eaters of fish and of beasts of prey, multitudes without end of the nations from the regions of the East, mighty men, with a vast host, hastening to come to this land of Egypt which is thine. Consider now what is expedient and useful [to be done]." When the spy had spoken after this manner, Nectanebus laughed and said to the scout, "Thou hast done well, and hast acted properly as regards the watch which was entrusted to thee, in that thou hast spied out these things for me; but thou hast spoken timidly and not courageously. For I have observed that host of men which is coming, and they have no strength, although their will is very ready. One little word of wisdom however is able to turn back many, and a man who does good things can overwhelm a multitude of armies in the waves of the

[1] Or *bitumen*, ܟܘܦܪܐ, in Arabic قَفْر and قير. The Greek text has "of wax", *ἐκ κηρίου* (see Müller, p. 2, col. 1). The Ethiopic version has also "wax".

[2] Or rather, *teakwood*, ܣܓܐ, Ar. ساج. The Greek text has "ebony" (see Müller, loc. cit.).

[3] ܠܝܒܝܣ, transcription of the Greek genitive *Λιβύης*.

[4] Or people of Ṭabaristân?

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sea." And when he had spoken these things to the spy, he called him and said to him, "One dog is able to turn back many deer, and one wolf is able to destroy a whole flock of she-goats. Do thou, then, with those numerous horsemen that are under thy orders, go and keep thy watch carefully; for by one word I am able to overwhelm and drown in the waves of the sea this innumerable band of enemies."

III. And Nectanebus went into his palace, and put out all the people, and remained by himself. Then he filled the brazen basin with rain water, made those ships of asphalt spring up[1] in the middle of the house, took the rod of plane wood in his hand, and began to speak those words which were full of terror. And when he had spoken them, he looked into the basin, and saw all the gods of Egypt leading the ships and guarding them. When he saw that Egypt was betrayed by her gods, he left his kingdom and fled. He shaved the hair of his head and his beard, and put on other apparel; then he took as much gold as he was able [to carry] and departed from Egypt, and went by way of Pelusium. Now when he had travelled through a multitude of countries and a number of nations, he came to Pella of the Macedonians. And he put on linen clothing like the Egyptian prophets and astrologers (*lit.*, those who shew the signs of the zodiac), and sat in the midst of the highways, and the people of the land came to ask him questions. In those times he was renowned. And after Nectanebus had gone away from the land of Egypt, all the Egyptians drew near to Hephaestus, the head of the race of the gods, and besought him with entreaty to shew them what had happened to Nectanebus the king of Egypt, and at what place he had arrived. Then Hephaestus promptly sent to them an oracle concerning him by the hands of the priests, saying, "The king of Egypt who has fled, a mighty man and a warrior, but an old man, will after a time bring a new lord, a young man, mightier and more powerful than he, who will kill him and seize his land; and he shall traverse the world, and shall subjugate all the enemies of Egypt to your service." And when the Egyptians had heard this oracle, they forthwith inscribed it with letters (*lit.*, carvings) under the tablet of brass on the stone

[1] The word ܐܘܥܒ, *he made to grow*, or *spring up*, does not suit the context well, and is probably corrupt.

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pedestal upon which [the statue of] king Nectanebus stood, that they might see what would be the issue of the oracle.

IV. And Nectanebus was going to and fro openly in Macedonia, and many people came to see him and to ask him questions. He was so renowned that even Olympias[1] the queen desired to enquire of him as to what was about to happen. Now Philip, the husband of Olympias, had gone to war, and she commanded that Nectanebus should come to her. And when he had come and had entered the royal palace, he saw the beautiful countenance of the queen, whose countenance was more beautiful than the moon. He was a man innocent of women, but at the sight of Olympias his mind was excited and his heart burned with love for her. He stretched out his hand, and saluted Olympias, and answered and said to her, "Peace be with thee, O queen of the Macedonians." Now he could not persuade himself to call her "lady," for as yet the royal manner of speech was in his mouth. Olympias answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, O doer of good things, and knower of everything; come, seat thyself." And when he had sat down, Olympias said to him, "Art thou really an Egyptian? for in thy speech there is no lying." Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Those who have had experience of me speak well [of me]." Olympias said to him, "By what wisdom and knowledge, or by what power, knowest thou to speak correctly what is going to happen?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "O queen, well dost thou know how to put a question; for the interpreters of dreams are of many kinds, and the knowers of signs, those who understand divination, Chaldeans [or] augurs, and casters of nativities; the Greeks call the signs of the Zodiac 'sorcerers'[2]; and others are counters of the stars. As for me, all these are in my hands, and I myself am an Egyptian prophet, a magus, and a counter of the stars." And while he was saying these and other such like things to her, he was scrutinising her with great earnestness and intentness. Now when she saw in what manner he was looking at and scrutinising her, she answered and said to him, "O sage, whilst thou wert enumerating thy wisdom and skill in these things, why didst thou gaze on me lustfully?"

[1] In the Syriac *Olympîdâ*, from the acc. Ὀλυμπιάδα.

[2] This clause seems to have been mistranslated, or to be corrupt.

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Nectanebus answered and said to her, "I looked at thee carefully for the sake of becoming well acquainted with thee; for there is something which I heard a long time ago, and which I now remember. It was revealed to me of old by my god, who said to me 'In the future thou wilt give augury to a queen, and everything that thou shalt say to her shall really come to pass.'" And when he had thus spoken to her with such like words, she straightway brought out into the midst a beautiful and magnificent table of ivory which belonged to the palace, set with splendid stones and of great value, the qualities of which the mouth of man knows not how to describe, for it was made of acacia wood and gold and silver. Three circles were fitted to it after the manner of belts. Upon the outer belt there was a representation of Zeus with the thirty-six *decani*[1] surrounding him; upon the second the twelve signs of the Zodiac were represented; and upon the third the sun and moon. Then he set the table upon a tripod, and he emptied a small box which was set [with stones] after the manner of the table upon the table, and there were in it [models of] those seven stars that were in the belts, and in that one which was in the middle, which they call in Greek 'the watcher of the hours' (τὸν ὡροσκόπον), were set by the crafts of art eight kinds of precious stones; and he arranged them upon the table with the other gems. Thus he completed his representation of the great heavens upon so small a table. He arranged a sun of crystal and a moon of adamant; and Arês, whom they call in Persian *Vahrâm* (بهرام), of a red stone, the colour of blood; Nâbô the scribe, who is called in Persian *Ṭîr* (تير), of an emerald; Bêl, who is called in Persian *Hormazd* (هرمزد), of a white stone; Baltî, who is called in Persian *Anâhîd* (اناهيد), of

[1] On the top of the table were represented in the inner circle the sun and moon; in the middle circle the twelve signs of the zodiac; and in the outer circle the thirty-six *decani*, three to each sign of the zodiac. Lepsius in his *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 71, gives a list of them, and shews which three belong to which sign. He also gives a list of them at pp. 68, 69, from five different sources, with the list of Salmasius and an emended text. See also Brugsch, *Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften*, pp. 137 foll.; and *Description de l'Égypte*, t. IV. pl. 20.

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a sapphire stone of a dark colour, and the horoscope of copper (?), which is called in Persian *Farnôj* (فرنوج)[1]. And after he had set these in order, he said to Olympias, "Tell me, O queen, the year, the month, the day and the hour of thy birth;" and she told him. Then Nectanebus calculated his own nativity and that of Olympias, that he might know if the stars of both of them coincided exactly. And when he saw that they were precisely the same, he said to her, "It is fitting that thou shouldest tell me thy mind, and what thou wishest to ask, and what it is that thou desirest?" She said to him, "[I wish to ask] concerning my husband Philip, for I have heard a rumour that, after he returns from the war, he will divorce me, and will take another wife." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "This report about thyself which thou hast mentioned, O queen, is false, in so far as that it will happen now shortly; after a time, however, it will actually be done. But I, being an Egyptian prophet and a magus, am able to help thee in many things, when thou hast need of it in any such matter as this. Now, however, it is granted unto thee—according to what thy nativity which is before me reveals—that a god of the land shall sleep with thee; thou shalt be pregnant by him, and thou shalt bear a son to him, who shall avenge thee upon Philip thy husband for the offence which he has committed against thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "Who is this god who thou sayest will sleep with me?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "He will have horns on his head, and will be clothed in the rich apparel of Ammon the god of Libya." Olympias said to him, "What is the age of this god, and what is his appearance, and the form of his figure?" Then Nectanebus answered, "He is of middle age, and his form and appearance are thus; upon

[1] Possibly the modern Persian بِرِنج, *burinj*, or پِرِنگ, *piring*. The Persian word بِرِنج is used in modern Syriac under the form of ܒܪܢܓ, and the American missionaries use it to translate ܢܚܫܐ, Heb. נְחֹשֶׁת, in their version of the Bible (e.g. Gen. iv. 22; Ps. cvii. 16; Dan. x. 6), and the History of the Jews published by them in their monthly journal, ܙܗܪ̈ܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܪܐ. See the number for ܡܐܪܨ 1887, p. 44, col. 2, line 34.

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each side of his head he has the like of ram's horns. Do thou, however, O queen, prepare thyself to sleep with him; but first of all in a dream thou wilt see this god who is going to sleep with thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "When?" Nectanebus said to her, "It will not be far off, but to-day; therefore I counsel thee to prepare thyself magnificently like a queen, for in this very night he will unite with thee in thy dream." Olympias said to him, "If it be that I see any such thing, I will not only hold thee to be a prophet, but I will worship thee as if thou wert a god."

V. Now when they had spoken these words with one another and conversed, Nectanebus went forth from the royal palace, and went out swiftly and speedily to the plain. Then he hastened to the desert, and gathered those roots which men use for dreams, and he pounded and pressed them all; and in a dream of the night Nectanebus by his magic sent to Olympias what she desired, so that in her dream she thought that she was actually sleeping with the god Ammon, and that he was embracing her, and that of his own free will he abode with her, and that when he had done with her he said to her, "O woman, behold, thy womb will avenge thee."

VI. And when Olympias awoke from her sleep, great terror laid hold of her because of this dream; and she sent and called Nectanebus to her. And when he had come into her presence, she commanded that everyone should go forth from her. Then Olympias answered and said to Nectanebus, "Behold I have this day seen a dream according to what thou didst say unto me, and the god Ammon sleeping with me; but I wish that when I am awake, he should sleep with me continually. This I require of thee, and thou art able to supply this need. I wonder now if I shall obtain this through thee." Nectanebus answered, "Nothing is more feeble than I, but inasmuch as thou desirest this, that thou mightest see him when thou art waking, it is right for me to consider, because a dream is one thing, but the thing that thou requirest is another. Now, I have thought that since thou hast this desire, bid them construct a place for me close by thy bedchamber, that, if thou art terrified when the god comes to thee, I who know thee may strengthen thee; for this god when he comes to thee will be in

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the form of a serpent and will creep and crawl on the ground, sending forth loud hisses. Then he will return, and his horns will be in the form of those of a ram; thus will he be. Then he will return again, and will appear in the form of the hero Hêraklês; and he will return a third time, and appear in the form of Dionysus, decorated and ornamented with ringlets; and he will return yet again, coming back and appearing in my own form." When Olympias heard these things, she said to him, "O prophet, thou hast spoken well; abide now in one of the bedchambers within the palace where I sleep, and if it happens that, being awake, I see such things and know that I am pregnant by the race of the gods, I will honour thee and will hold thee to be the father of the child." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Behold, I have told thee beforehand concerning the snake; now therefore fear him not, but trust thyself the more to him, and be fearless."

VII. When therefore all these things happened as Nectanebus had said, the queen was not terrified at all at the change of the forms of the gods, but she feared when she slept with the form of the serpent. Now when he had done with her, he again stood over her, and set his mouth upon her mouth, and said to her, "An unconquerable seed, and one which shall not be subject to any man, flows into this womb." And when Nectanebus had said these words, he went to his own bedchamber; and afterwards at this time he slept with her in the form of Ammon and of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. And when she was great with child, she lifted up her eyes and saw Nectanebus, and she answered and said to him, "O prophet, what shall I do when Philip my husband returns from war and finds me pregnant?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Fear not, O queen, this Ammon of the three-fold form is able to help thee in every way, and can shew Philip in a dream [what has happened], that thou mayest be without blame and without care." So for a long time Olympias was beguiled by these words and played the harlot with a man, thinking he was a god. Then Nectanebus the Egyptian king brought a hawk and muttered over it his charms, and made it fly away with a small quantity of a drug, and that night it shewed Philip a dream. In his dream it shewed him a god, whose

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form was fair, of middle age, with horns upon his head like the god Ammon, who was sleeping with Olympias. And when he had done with her, he said to her, "Behold thou hast in thy womb my seed, and thou shalt bear me a child who will avenge thee and Philip his father." And in the same dream he saw as if a river like the Nile flowed and went forth from the couch on which they were lying; and [he saw] the figure of a man sewing linen. He saw too the womb of Olympias sealed with a gold ring, with a gem on which was engraved the head of a lion holding the sun in his claws, or in his paws, and there was a whip beside him, and a hawk which overshadowed him with its wings[1].

VIII. Now when Philip had seen these appearances in his dream, he rose up early in the morning, and sent and brought into his presence the wise men the interpreters of dreams, and related before them the dream which he had seen. Then they answered and said to him, "O king Philip, as thou hast seen in the dream, so shall it be; behold, Olympias is pregnant, but she is pregnant by a god. Forasmuch as thou hast seen her womb sealed, surely it is pregnant; for an empty vessel is not sealed, but only one that is full. And whereas thou hast seen the form of a man sewing linen, this seed is Egyptian; for they do not sew linen in any other place but Egypt. And his fortune is not little, but great and mighty and glorious and renowned, because [the womb] was sealed with a seal of gold, and there is nothing more valued than gold, for even the gods are worshipped for the sake of gold. And the lion which held the sun in his claws, and the whip which was [engraved] on the ring, [shew that] he will go to the east, and will walk like a lion in his might; and he will subdue all countries and cities with his whip. And as for the god whom thou didst see, of middle age and with horns on his head, this is Ammon the god of Libya, and the seed is his." Now when the learned in dreams had given the explanation in this manner, Philip believed of a certainty that Olympias was pregnant by a god.

IX. And when [Philip] had conquered, he returned from the war, and came to his own house and greeted Olympias.

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 2, says that Philip dreamt that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which was a lion.

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Then she was ashamed; and when he saw that she was agitated through fear of him, he answered and said to her, "To whom didst thou deliver thyself to be defiled, O Olympias? He has not, however, defiled thee, for thou shalt bear a son by him, and shalt name him the son of Philip; for I have seen in a dream everything that has happened to thee, and therefore I leave thee in peace. Kings are able to contend with everything, but to contend with the gods they are not able." And when he had said these things to her, he heartened her and Olympias regained her selfpossession.

X. Now it fell out one day, because Nectanebus was within the royal palace, that he heard Philip say to Olympias, "Thou art an erring woman, for thou art not with child by a god, but by one of the human race." And while they were thus speaking together, Nectanebus by his sorcery changed his own form and assumed that of a huge serpent, and he hissed with a loud voice in the midst of the hall where Philip was standing, gliding in a terrible manner, and hissing as he went, so that all who heard quaked and trembled at his voice. And when Olympias saw her lover, she lay down upon her couch, while the monster reared himself up over her, and suddenly he straightened himself out. Then Olympias spread out her hands and embraced his neck, whereupon the serpent opened his mouth and placed his lips upon her lips, kissing her repeatedly just as a man kisses his friend out of love. And while it was doing thus, every one in the palace and Philip too saw it. Philip answered and said to Olympias, "O great queen Olympias, and all the rest of you who stand before me, I saw such a serpent as this when I was fighting with my enemies at yon time, and also the mind of many of the enemy was humbled and made weak thereby. But as for me, from this time forward I will glorify and praise myself because men will call me father of one sprung from a god."

XI. Now after some days, when Philip was sitting in his summerhouse by the side of the royal reservoir of water, and all kinds of birds were pecking grain before and around him, he was reading in the book of the philosophers. Suddenly a halfbred hen which was being reared in the house happened to sit in Philip's lap. Now she was but a small [bird], and when she had sat in his lap, she laid an egg thereon. When Philip saw this

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egg, he put it upon the ground; but the egg rolled about and broke, and immediately a small serpent sprang from within the egg and crawled round about it. Then it turned back and began to enter the egg again, and when it had put its head within the egg, it died immediately. Now when Philip saw such a wonder, he was sore afraid and was much troubled; and straightway he commanded, and they called the chief of the Chaldeans at that time, whose name was Antiphon, into his presence. And when he arrived, Philip related to him the matter just as it had occurred. And when he had told it to him, Antiphon answered and said, "O king Philip, the child that is to be born to thee will be a son, and he will be a king; he will traverse the whole world and subjugate all men by his power, and he will not be conquered by man; but when this [son of thine] shall retrace his steps and return to his own place, within a few days he shall die. For the serpent is a sign of royalty, and the egg is the whole world; and the serpent which went forth from thence and went round about it, when it returned and put its head into it, died immediately: even so in this manner, when he has traversed the whole world and returns to enter his own land, he will die." And when he had spoken according to this augury, Philip gave him many gifts and he went home.

XII[1]. Now when the time for the delivery of Olympias had arrived, she sat upon the childbed, and the birthpangs began to pain her. Nectanebus was standing before her and calculating the stars of heaven. When he had made his calculation, he said to Olympias, "Rise up for a little, O queen, from the seat until an hour pass, for the sign of the Scorpion holds this hour, and Saturn and the Sun and the Balance are opposed to it, and a vast host of wild beasts devour him who is born in this hour. In this hour the signs of the heaven revolve swiftly; but be strong and restrain thyself, and pass by this hour, for in this hour Cancer [predominates], and Saturn was plotted against by his children, and he was born in Gemini; and he bound him and cast him into the ocean and he was deprived[2] of his superiority,

[1] With this chapter compare in particular the Greek of Cod. A, as given by Müller, p. 11, in the note. The text is very corrupt in both Greek and Syriac.

[2] Literally, "*emptied of*". The Syriac text is obviously somewhat confused, and I am therefore not sure of its rendering.

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and Bêl obtained the throne of heaven in his place. In this hour Leopos (?) was born, who taught wandering[1]. In this hour the horned Moon[2] forsook the Balance[3], and descended from her height to the earth, and was united with the simple Endymion[4]; and she gave birth to a beautiful son by him, but he died by the flame of fire, therefore whosoever is born in this hour dies by fire. In this hour home-loving Baltîn (Venus) was with her husband, and she was slain by the hand of Arês without sword and without wound. In this hour the women who worship Baltîn (Venus) set up mourning and weep for her husband. Let this hour pass, because the god Arês stands in it wrathfully and threatens. In this hour Arês the lover of weapons and the warrior, naked and unarmed, placed his trust in the men of (?) Electryône the daughter of the Sun, and he stands put to shame; therefore everyone born in this hour will be despised and of no account among men. Restrain thyself in this hour too, O queen, for the star of Nâbo the scribe holds the sign of the zodiac, and he was born in [the sign of] the horned Goat, and afterwards his children rid themselves of him, and were estranged [from him], and went to the desert. In this hour Rhea was born; do thou then sit upon the childbed, and bear bravely thy pains as best thou mayest, because Bêl is the lover of virgins. In this hour Dionysus was born, the gentle and humble, who makes to dwell in peace, who taught gentleness. And under this sign of the zodiac, Ammon with the ram's horns was born over Aquarius and Pisces of Egypt (?). In this hour Bel was born, the father of men, and the king of the gods, and the ruler of the world, who establishes royalty. In this hour give birth, O queen." And when Nectanebus had finished speaking, the queen brought forth. And when the child fell upon the ground, suddenly there was the noise of thunders and lightnings, and mighty earthquakes, so that the whole world trembled.

[1] Or *mendicity, begging*. [2] Reading *Selênê*, as proposed p. 20, note 8.

[3] The word ܡܣܐܬܐ in the Syriac text is evidently a gloss upon ܩܢ̈ܝ ܡܠܟܬܐ. On the names of the signs of the Zodiac in Syriac see Sachau, *Inedita Syr.*, p. ܩܒܩ, and Noeldeke in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxv, pp. 256—8. Compare Maimonides 'ספר המדע פרק ג.

[4] The Syriac name seems to be a corruption of the Greek accus. Ἐνδυμίωνα, which might be written ܐܢܕܘܡܝܘܢ.

XIII. And when Philip saw these things, he said, "I had determined that thou shouldst not rear him, O woman, because he was not begotten by me; but since the several parts of the world have given such signs as these concerning him, he must be of the seed of the gods. Let the gods now rear him; let the name Alexander be given him in remembrance of the son who was borne to me by a former wife." And when Philip had spoken thus, he gave orders that they should surely rear the boy with watchfulness, solicitude, and care; and he commanded all the towns of Thrace and Macedonia to bring crowns to him. And the child grew, and was weaned; and he became strong, and increased in stature and wisdom; but as regards his form and appearance, he was neither like Philip, nor Olympias his mother, nor the god by whom he was begotten, but his features and looks differed from theirs, for his hair resembled the mane of a lion, and one eye was different from the other, one being white (light) and the other black (dark); and his teeth were sharp like a razor, and his steps were firm like those of a lion. From his person then it was evident what he was destined to become afterwards. He had for his tutor in his boyhood a great man whose name was Lekrânîkos (?) the Pellaean; and his master in letters was Âpos (?) the Lemnian; and his teacher in geometry, which is [used] for measuring lands, was Philip; and his master in the art of speaking with brevity was Ârespîmôn (?); and his teacher in philosophy was Aristotle the Milesian; and his instructor in war was Ardippos the Dmatskian (?). And after a long time, when the child had reached boyhood and youth, he began to accustom himself to the manners and customs of royalty, for one of the gods had shewn him in a vision [that he was to be a king]. When then he was with the boys at school, he used to hold contests with the rest of the boys, and he strove and did not stir from his place, until he had gained the victory over all of them.

Now at that time the princes of the Cappadocians brought as an offering to Philip from their herds of horses a foal of great size, bound with fetters of iron, for, said they, he devours men. And when Philip observed his appearance and beauty, he said to his friends, "True it is what is said in the proverb, for they

say, 'something bad springs up by the side of anything good'; but now since the chiefs of the Cappadocians, my friends, have brought me a present, accept it from them, and let him be kept in restraint and guarded in an iron-barred enclosure, and let the dead bodies of evildoers, by whom crimes worthy of death have been committed, and who are appointed to be slain by the decrees of the judges, be thrown to this [beast]." And when Philip had thus spoken, they executed his orders with all speed.

XIV. And after these things, when Alexander was twelve years old, he went with Philip his father to war, and he practised horsemanship, and exercised himself along with skilful and brave horsemen. And his training was so good, that Philip himself applauded, and answered and said to him, "I love thee, my son, because thou art right well trained in the art of gaining the victory in war; but it grieves me that thy appearance does not resemble mine." Now it fell out that Philip went to a certain city on some business, and certain thoughts were stirring in Olympias after the manner of women, and she commanded to call Nectanebus to her presence. And she answered and said to him, "Look by thy wisdom concerning me, and see what Philip meditates in his mind about me." Then Nectanebus set a small table before her in the midst, and placed in order upon it the gems of the signs of the zodiac; and Alexander was sitting in that place. And he began to compute the signs of the zodiac, and answered and said to her, "O queen, the guidance of the will of the gods suffers not by anything which takes place by chance. The place of thy constellation is now exceedingly great beyond all expectation; so do not abandon thyself to care and doubt. For I have observed and seen, and just now the Sun stands against the sign of the Baltîn (Venus) of Philip, and quenches his desire and longing and turns him away from the love of women." And Olympias answered and said to him, "Is the sign thus, O Nectanebus?" He answered and said, "It is thus; would that thou wert able to understand, that I might shew thee this sign in the heavens, and thou mightest understand that it is even as I have said to thee." When these words had been spoken, Alexander answered and said to Nectanebus his father, "My father, are all the signs of the zodiac to be recognised in the

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heavens as thou hast said?" And Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son." Alexander says to him, "I wish to see them." Nectanebus said to him, "This shall be this very night, if the sky be clear. Come with me to the open plain, and thou shalt see them, provided the sky be clear." Alexander said, "My master, since thou knowest [the heavens] so accurately, it befits thee to know also thine own nativity." Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son, I know also my own nativity." Alexander said, "I desire to ask thee this [question], though thou knowest that it is not of a matter which concerns me that I ask, but it is necessary to learn what I have seen; now tell me of thy death, in what manner it will be." Nectanebus said, "This is [the manner of] my death; I shall perish by the hands of my son." And while they had talked of these things together, the day had passed and the night was come, and the moon had risen in the heavens, and the signs of the zodiac were visible. Then Alexander walked behind his father, whom he knew not, and they went outside the city. Then Nectanebus lifted up his eyes, and said to the boy, "Observe how gloomy this sign of Saturn is, how much this [sign of] Arês resembles blood, how this [sign of] Baltî (Venus) stands in joyfulness, how favourable is this [sign] of Nâbo the scribe, and how bright is the sign of Bêl." And while the eyes of Nectanebus were fixed upon the signs, and both of them were walking along together, and there was a pit very near them, the boy Alexander pushed Nectanebus and pitilessly cast him into the pit. And when he had fallen, he answered and said to Alexander, "What wast thou thinking of in thy mind, O my son Alexander, that thou hast stretched out thy hand against me and hast cast me into this pit?" Alexander answered and said to him, "O teacher, what is upon earth thou dost not know, [and yet] thou dost investigate that which is in the heavens; it did not become thee, seeing that thou knewest not what is upon earth, to dare to investigate and examine and vex thyself with what is in the heavens." Then Nectanebus lifted up his voice and said to him, "I knew, O my son, that some such thing as this would befall me, but I was unable to help my life in any way, for no man is able to flee from what is decreed." Alexander answered and said to him, "I blame also thy lack of knowledge, in that thou didst say that

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thy death would happen by the hands of thy son, and thou didst not know that thou shouldest die by my hands." Then Nectanebus said, "I did indeed say that I should die through my son, and I have not lied in what I said, for thou thyself art my son." Alexander said, "Am I thy son?" Then Nectanebus answered, "Hear, my son, what I say regarding thee, that thou mayest know about thyself." So Nectanebus went on to speak from the beginning, of his being king when he was in Egypt, and of the rumour which was reported to him by the spy; of the divination in the bowl, and of his foreknowledge of the betrayal of Egypt by the hands of its gods; of his flight from Egypt, of his arrival in Pella, and of his teaching the ordering of the signs of the zodiac; of his thoughts concerning Olympias, of his desire for her love, and of his sorcery; of Ammon, and Hêraclês, and Dionysus, and of his union with Olympias, and of her pregnancy; of Philip's dream, of the serpent, and of the heaven of constellations. And when he had spoken these words, his soul departed from him and he died.

Now when Alexander knew that Philip was not his father, but that he was begotten of the seed of Nectanebus, he was afraid to leave the body of Nectanebus in the pit lest wild beasts should devour it. Then love of his father entered into his mind, and he took up the body upon his shoulders, and came back to the royal palace. When Olympias saw Alexander carrying the body of Nectanebus, she said to him, "A second Telamonian Ajax! what is this that thou art carrying, my son?" Alexander answered and said to her, "Æneas carried his father upon his shoulders affectionately and lovingly, because [Anchises] was an old man and decrepit; but I carry this body cruelly and as a parricide." Olympias said to him, "Hast thou slain thy father Philip?" Alexander said, "I have not slain Philip, but Nectanebus have I slain." Olympias said to him, "Was Nectanebus then thy father?" Alexander said, "Yes; the gods sent him to thee according to the will which they had." And he forthwith laid down the body from his shoulder and began to speak of the time of the night at which he went forth, and of the pointing out [by Nectanebus] of the constellations, and of the pit, and of his pushing [him in], and of what he said, and of his replies.

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When Olympias heard all these things, she blamed herself, and [wondered] how Alexander was able to carry so great a body upon his shoulders; and in the midst of her affliction she derived consolation from the strength of the youth, [thinking] that, although she had fallen and had been led astray, it was no mean man that had seduced her, but a king of Egypt, and that her pregnancy had taken place by the fate of the gods. And when the boy had said these words, he turned to the corpse of Nectanebus, and buried his father as a son should do, and like an Egyptian in the burial place of his caste; and he said to him, "Who will be master of the constellations after thee, and will know who shall be king?"

XV. Then Philip returned from whence he had gone, and sent his servants to Polias the diviner at Delphi to ask of the diviner, that he might know who would be king after him. When they drew near, and came to the fountain of Castalia, they asked an augury. And the virgin Pythia answered them saying, "Say ye to Philip, the father and lord of Macedonia, 'He that shall receive the kingdom, being sent by the gods, the rulers of the world, to this kingdom of the Macedonians, this is the sign that I have seen concerning him; he shall make the mighty steed which is called Bucephalus (the interpretation of which is Bull-head) run through Pella.'" And when those who had been sent to bring the augury returned to Philip, they told this sign to him, and he, after he had received this augury, used to watch when he might see this sign; and he used to enquire of every one who made a horse run through Pella what its name was and how it was called.

XVI[1]. Now when Alexander was nearly old enough to reign[2], he went to a distance to the place [where Bucephalus was kept]; and he looked and saw from the door, and went out and saw the horse guarded by an iron grating, with its whole body bound with chains; and he saw that the horse was very excited and furious. By reason of the smell of the human bones and skulls which he devoured, the place itself was foul, and the

[1] This is ch. xvii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 16).

[2] After the words "to reign" the Syriac text has the unintelligible word ܠܗܠܐ. A clause has also fallen out after "to the place".

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horse emitted a foetid odour from his mouth. When Alexander saw the many human bones lying under him near his feet, he questioned those who had the care of him, saying, "I want to know what is the reason that this horse is bound in this manner?" And they said to him, "This horse is a man-eater." Now when Alexander heard this speech, he marvelled and drew near to the iron grating, and admired the strength and size and beauty of the horse. He was especially struck with wonder at his being so terrible and at his fierce appearance. And after the horse took no notice of him, he put his hands gently through the railings, and put a bit into his mouth; and the horse licked the hand of Alexander with his tongue. Then Alexander began to rub his side and legs, and he was quiet. And when he saw that the horse was gratified, he commanded and they took away the railings from him. And he led the horse out, holding the bridle with his right hand, while with the left he stroked the horse's body, and the horse wagged his tail like a dog. And when Alexander saw that he was so gentle, he led him by the bridle and brought him out into the street, and he saw upon the right side of the horse a birthmark in the form of a wolf, a sign that was born with him, and this wolf held a bull in its mouth. Then [Alexander] mounted and rode upon him, and made him run through the city [of Pella]. Now it happened that Philip was sitting upon the wall of the city, making the horsemen pass before him by number, and he enquired of them the names of their horses, if peradventure there might be one who had a horse called Bull-head, for he had learned the augury from the diviner. And while Philip was sitting upon the wall, Alexander came up to him at a gallop; and when Philip saw Alexander guiding the horse with his hand and standing upon his feet, he said, "My son Alexander, the whole oracle refers to thee; I believe that after my death thou wilt reign, and that thou wilt rule the whole world."

XVII[1]. Then Alexander, after he had made the horse gallop, took him away and put him in his own stable; and he drew near to Aristotle the sage and saluted him, and answered and said, "Peace be with thee, my teacher." And

[1] Chap. xvi. in the Greek (Müller, p. 15, col. 2).

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Aristotle answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; come and stand by the side of thy companions in order." And when he had taken his place by the side of his fellows, Aristotle answered and said to him[1], "Be thou rich, O son of a king! O excellent youth, filled with wealth, if the kingdom comes to thee after thy father, what wilt thou give me or wherewith wilt thou enrich me?" He replied, "O teacher, if the dominion comes to me, I will make thee a ruler." And he said to another, "And thou, what sayest thou to me Ḳalḳalva?" Ḳalḳalva[2] answered and said to him, "I will make thee my secret counsellor." And he said to another, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Partion?" And he said, "I will make thee a companion and associate." And he said to Alexander, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Alexander?" Alexander answered and said to him, "Ask not now concerning that which is future, and take not a pledge of me for the morrow: wait and see if I live until the morrow; and if I live, I will do that something, and times and seasons are commanded for me." And Aristotle said, "Peace be with thee, O Alexander, ruler of the world! From thy nature thou art known to be the future ruler of the world." Now Philip heard all these things concerning Alexander, and when he heard them he rejoiced greatly; he was however a little grieved in his mind that the looks of Alexander did not resemble his own.

[3]Now Alexander was exceedingly liberal in everything; accordingly, that which his father and mother were wont to send him for expenses, he divided among his friends. Then Zintôs (Zethus? Zeuxis?)[4], Alexander's tutor, sent a letter to Philip and Olympias, and in it there was written thus: "To my lords Philip and Olympias from your servant Zintôs greeting. Know ye that what ye send to Alexander for his expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts; and now

[1] This is a mistake. The Greek has "to one of them".

[2] This name is corrupt. Parṭiôn may be *Πρατίων* or *Πρωτίων*.

[3] The following paragraph does not appear in the Greek, but Müller gives a Latin version (Pseudo-Call. p. 16).

[4] In some places the MSS. write ܙܝܢܛܘܣ *Zintôs*, in other ܙܝܘܢܛܘܣ *Ziyûntûs*.

see and look into this matter, and do according to what appears right unto you."

When Philip had read this letter, he wrote a letter to Aristotle, Alexander's teacher [as follows]: "From Philip and Olympias to Aristotle, greeting. Our servant Zintôs, whom we have sent for the purpose of educating and training Alexander, has made known to us by letter that what we send him for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he gives many presents; now he thus informs us as if blaming and murmuring against thee, and it is of thee he complains."

When Aristotle had heard this, he wrote a letter to Philip and to Olympias his wife and made answer [saying]: "In every way it beseems us [to acknowledge] that this giving of presents by Alexander proceeds from us and is the result of our teaching[1]. Ye also yourselves have examined and seen that he is wise and superior in everything, and in knowledge and understanding he is not at all like [other] youths, but he is well fitted by his wisdom for the business of life; neither does he do anything unseemly or improper, but everything whatsoever ye command him that he does."

Then Philip sent this letter to Zintôs the tutor, and he himself wrote to him thus and said: "From Philip and Olympias to our servant Zintôs greeting. We wrote and informed Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, concerning his affairs, according to what thou didst write to us, and we desire that the answer which he sent to us should be conveyed to thee. Do thou therefore take it and read it, and do thou what is right and proper."

After Aristotle knew that Alexander's father complained of him, he wrote a letter to Alexander, and in it thus informed him: "From me to my son Alexander greeting. Philip thy father and Olympias thy mother have written and informed me, saying, 'That which we sent for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts.' Now I know that thou wilt not do what is not right, and I know not from whom thou hast learned this practice, which thy father and thy mother disapprove of, and I too; but if thou hast done anything which

[1] The context seems to require "giving of presents", but the Syriac more literally has "that Alexander's training has been by us, and that he will go forth from our teaching."

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befits not thy skilled knowledge, in thy wisdom correct it, O wise and beloved son. Be thou well."

When Alexander had read this letter, he immediately made answer to Aristotle: "From thy son Alexander to Aristotle, my master and chief and teacher, greeting. What my father and mother send me for expenses is not sufficient, nor is it adequate for me; and instead of doing that which was right when they heard that the amount was too small for my expenses, that is, to blame themselves, they now complain bitterly [of others]."

And Alexander also wrote a letter to Philip his father and Olympias his mother, in which was as follows: "From Alexander to Philip and Olympias greeting. That which ye have sent to me for my expenses by the hands of Zintôs is not sufficient, for I am Alexander; and, moreover, I have not spent it in an improper manner. I have also seen Aristotle's letter, and I will never blame Aristotle, because from him I have received knowledge and instruction in good things: but I do blame you, because ye have shown such parsimony to me, who am your son, while ye also blame me and cease not, and think nothing good of me."

XVIII. So the youth Alexander returned from school, being fifteen years of age, and came home with honour. And when Philip saw him, he embraced him and kissed him. Then Alexander said to his father, "Bid me, O my father, to embark in a ship and go to Pisa, for I would enter and see the horse and chariot races." Philip says to him, "Dost thou desire to see the contest?" Alexander says, "Nay, my father, but I will go thither myself to the contest, and will contend with them with horses and chariots, and I will moreover bring back the crown of victory." When Philip heard these words, he rejoiced, and said to Alexander, "Go, my son, and good luck go with thee. I know, my son, that thou wilt not contend like a king's son, but like a king himself; and I will entreat the gods that thou mayest return with victory, my son. Go now into the stables, and [take] forty colts and sixty wheels and chariots, together with harness and bridles and everything which thou mayest require, that thou mayest not lack horses in the contest. Take too ten thousand darics for thy expenses, and go, my son, and good luck go with thee; and keep thyself in good training, for this contest is great

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and renowned." And Alexander said, "Do thou but give me the command, and I will go without taking aught; for I have trained horses and exercised colts, which I myself have trained." Then Philip kissed Alexander, and admired him for his will and purpose, and said to him, "My son, everything shall be according to thy wish." And Philip went with him to the harbour, and commanded to bring a ship. Then he commanded to bring the horses, the chariots, and the baggage, and they brought them and placed them in the ship. And Alexander and his friend Hephaestion embarked in the ship. And they loosed the ship and departed from their kinsfolk. And when they had disembarked from the ship, they received many gifts from their friends[1]; and Alexander commanded his servants to feed the horses regularly and to anoint them with oil; and he and his friend Hephaestion went to the place where the nobles were wont to walk.

And while he was walking in this place in the costume of an athlete, Nicolaus the king of Ârêṭâ[2], who had brought a large retinue to the contest and combat, saw that Alexander was small in stature (now Nicolaus was huge in stature, rich in property, great in strength, and fair in appearance), and he answered and said, "Who is this? and from what country does he come?" And when he had learnt that he was the son of king Philip, and had come on account of the contest, he answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee;" and Alexander answered him, "Peace be with thee; and who art thou?" Nicolaus said, "As whom dost thou greet me? I am Nicolaus of Hâlêâ, and the son of Ḳaryânâ[3]." And Alexander said, "Do not boast of this, and be not insolent (?) on account of such things, and do not be out of thy senses because of thy royalty, because thou knowest not the manner of thy death; for thy fortune and fate, O Nicolaus, remain not in one place; for this fickle fortune[4] has the habit of

[1] An inaccurate rendering of *καὶ λαβὼν ξενίαν* (Müller, p. 18, col. 1).

[2] The Greek text has *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου* (var. *Ἀρδέου*) *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

[3] It is possible that ܕܗܠܐܐ may stand for ܒܪܗ ܕܗܠܐܐ, *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου*, and that ܘܒܪܗ ܕܩܪܝܢܐ may be a mistake for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܩܪܢܢܐ, *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων*.

[4] Syr. *fate of Kêwân* (*Saturn*).

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departing even from him that is great, and of going to him that is little." Nicolaus said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly as regards one that is weak, and hast made known that thy fate is thus; but my fate does not change in this manner, neither does it depart. Now, therefore, inform me of thy business, and for what reason thou hast now come hither, whether to see the contest, or to take part in it; for thy stature and thy appearance are not like those of an athlete." Alexander said, "Get thee gone from my presence, for it is not to be seen that thou art in any way like me." Nicolaus said, "I asked thee this question, for what thou hadst come hither, whether to see this contest or to take part in it, because thou art the son of Philip the Macedonian." Alexander said, "If thou desirest to hear and to know, give me thine ear and I will tell thee. I am not one of those who will look on at the struggle, but I am one of those who will perform valiant deeds at the contest; and though I be little and short in stature, yet I am mighty in chariot races, and I will defeat the proud." When Nicolaus heard this speech, his gall was stirred up within him, and he answered and said, "Look and see to what a pass this strife of Zeus has come, that even a mere boy, the son of Olympias, has come to take part in it, and so we think that it is the sport of children. By the life of my father, if they should make only a sprinkling of drops of water come to his mouth upon his chariot, his soul would depart from his body." Then he looked at him from head to foot, and despised him greatly, and spat, saying, "Go, get thyself a rag, and wipe away thy sweat with it, because thou art famished, and thy sweat is abundant." And he shot out his lip at him, thinking him to be already dead and not alive. Then Alexander said to him, "Nicolaus, I swear this oath by the race of my gods and ancestors, and by my conception from the divine seed in the womb of my mother, that in this contest I will defeat thee in the strife of horses and chariots; and I will come to thy country, and will subdue thee and all the people therein with the point of my spear." And when he had spoken these words, they separated one from the other.

XIX. And on the third day all the athletes went prepared to the race-course and to the place of the contest with horses and chariots. Now the athletes were nine in number, and four

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of them were king's sons; the fifth was Nicolaus, the son of Hêlââ and king Ḳeryânâ[1]; the sixth, Kesṭios, the king of the Philippians (?); the seventh, Ksosios (?), the king of Bithynia; the eighth, Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Macedonians; and the ninth, Aristoteles of Pisa (?); with the rest of the ...... and the chariots from various places. Callimachus from Aḳîmtarnêtos (?), Anistippos (Aristippus) from Corinth, Ṭrîdîṭ (?) from Ârôntîr (?), Sephîlââ (?) from Lêbâria (?), Elḳârôn (?) from Phocis, Armîtos (?) from Lôdâ (?), Niḳînâmos (?) from Ḳrîmîtos (?), Pardânîs (?) from Klôphiôn (?), all these were assembled together in one place. And they placed a boat of silver in the midst of the race-course, and this boat was of pure silver. And they proclaimed the names of the horses that were yoked to the chariots, and they made the horses stand beside the gates. The first gate fell by lot to Nicolaus, the second to Kesṭos, the third to Bantîrâ Eustanîḳâ (?), the fourth to Ḳlîtmaos (Cleitomachus), the fifth to Adasṭâos (?), the sixth to Ksômios (?), the seventh to Ḳôrantîdos (?), the eighth to Alexander, the ninth to Nîḳômos (?). Now these athletes were clothed in garments of various colours; the first had put on sky-blue apparel, the second and third scarlet robes, the fourth green vestments, the fifth and sixth yellow apparel, the seventh dark blue clothing, and the eighth and ninth purple raiment.

So they mounted the chariots, and the war trumpets were sounded; and the athletes punished the horses with bit and whipcord, and suddenly the horses started and went forth with a rush, each contending as to who should get first; and they urged on their horses with lashes. Now Ksîṭos (?) got foremost, Nicolaus second, Timotheus third, Elîḳiôr (?) fourth, Ḳlinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) fifth, Philaeus (Pièris) sixth, Aristoteles seventh, Nicolaus eighth, and Alexander ninth. [They kept this order] in the first, second and third rounds; but in the fourth round the chariot of Kesṭios (?) was overturned, and the horses and chariot and rider fell head over heels. Then Nicodemus turned his horses to the left, and wished to pass through them all and get first in the race, but he too stumbled over the chariot of Kesṭios. Then Ḳimrênêos (?), when he wished to turn his

[1] See page 22, note 3. The Syriac translator has blundered sadly hereabouts, and the scribes have made confusion worse confounded.

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horses to the right, was unable to pass because of those that were overthrown. Then Elikiôr too stumbled over the chariot of Kimotheus[1], and fell. And Klinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) wished to turn back his horses and chariot from the midst [of the strife], but was unable to do so on account of the horses and chariots which were overthrown before and behind him; and he too fell. When Nicolaus saw that Alexander was behind all these, he wished that Alexander would pass on to the front, and that he might be behind him, in order to throw him down and kill him; and Nicolaus began to turn his horses aside from before those of Alexander. Now Alexander understood this artifice of Nicolaus who was wishing to kill him. When Nicolaus had turned his horses to the left, Alexander saw an empty space between two chariots which had been upset and overthrown, and he guided his horses before Nicolaus, and passed through that spot to the front. When Nicolaus saw that he had passed him, he guided his horses after him; but when he reached the spot through which Alexander had passed to the front, he was upset by the struggling of the horses which were down, and fell. Then Alexander began to urge on his horses alone; [but Nicolaus], in order to save himself, leaped out of his chariot, and stood upon his feet, and began to call out, saying, "O thou that art not able to conquer lawfully, there thou runnest by thyself! Every one knows that the foremost was overturned and fell, until the arena was full; and now thou runnest by thyself, and thinkest to receive the crown of victory!" Now, inasmuch as the people of Pisa were spectators and judges at this contest, they commanded all the tumult to cease, and made a proclamation by their heralds to all the people who were sitting in that place, saying, "O men of Pisa, dwellers in the city and its suburbs, and ye too, O Athenians, and ye people who have come from a multitude of places, we declare that we all have seen that, when Ksîṭos (?) was first in the race, he was tripped up among the horses and fell, and the other six charioteers stumbled over him. Moreover Alexander drove on contrary to the rules of the contest. Let them therefore return, and bring back their horses."

[1] This name should clearly be *Timotheus*.

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Then in accordance with this command, they brought Alexander back and ordered that other horses should be yoked to the chariots in the place of the eight on the left side, because that horse of Ksîṭos (?) had been injured. And when they had spoken in this manner, and each charioteer had changed one of his horses and had put another in his place, then Alexander too changed one horse and yoked Bucephalus in his stead. So they all returned to the gate of the race-course; and when they were ready, the trumpet sounded again, and they all started together, and urged on their horses with severe lashing, all [running] furiously until they reached the farthest[1] turn together. Now when they had reached the turn, Nîḳîmos (Nicodemus) passed first, Elîḳiôr second, Philaeus third, Alexander fourth, Nicolaus fifth, Aristippus sixth, Ḳrîṭomachos (Cleitomachus) seventh, Timotheus eighth, Kasṭîs (?) ninth. They went the first, second and third rounds, and at the fourth round the horses of Aristippus lagged behind the horses of Ḳritomachus (Cleitomachus), and Ḳîmîs (Nicodemus) restrained his horses, and turned and went to one side. Then Alexander, who had been fourth, became first; and after him Nicolaus was foremost. He wished to let Alexander pass a little ahead that he might come up with him and kill him, on account of the enmity which existed between Philip, Alexander's father, and himself, for Philip had taken by force a number of villages and their inhabitants from Nicolaus. Then Alexander, being full of wisdom, gave Nicolaus room to pass before him. Now after he had passed Alexander in this way, he was meditating some means whereby he might gain the crown of victory, so he stopped his chariot before Alexander, and beckoned with his hand to Nicanor (Elîḳiôr ?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus ?), as much as to say, "Do ye who are behind me keep to the left side," to the intent that they might get Alexander between them and might lay hold of him and kill him. Then Elîḳiôr (?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus) turned their horses to the left behind Alexander; and when they had come close to Alexander's chariot in this manner, so that Alexander was already contending with these two, then Nicolaus looked behind him from his chariot, and stooped down to lay

[1] Literally, *the lowest turn*, or *bend*, the farthest point of the course where they turned homewards.

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hold of the thongs of the bridles of Alexander's horses that his two allies might come up with him. Then Alexander turned his whip upon his horse Bucephalus, and smote him without sparing upon his back, until the horse was beside himself with rage and fury, and raised his fore feet in the air, and struck at Nicolaus, who died immediately with his hand upon the bridle of the horses. And again Alexander smote Bucephalus with the lash mercilessly and pitilessly, until the horse, from the pain of the blows, stretched forward his mouth and seized the right hand of Nicolaus between his teeth and lifted him from his chariot. Now Nicodemus, wishing to come to the assistance of Nicolaus, drove his horses with care, and when he had come alongside of Alexander's chariot, he smote Bucephalus violently upon his head with a stick. Then Bucephalus let go Nicolaus, who was already dead, and seized Nicodemus by his left hand, and dragged him from his chariot. Nicodemus, crying out and shrieking with pain, begged Elîḳiôr to come to his assistance. Then Alexander guided his horses to the left, and when he (Elîḳiôr) had come up alongside of Nicodemus, he (Alexander) turned again from the left [to the right], and Elîḳiôr was tripped up by the axle of Alexander's chariot wheels, and fell head foremost, he and the horses and the chariot; and he died together with his horses.

Then Alexander obtained the victory mightily and gloriously, and gained the four crowns of victory. And a herald proclaimed in the race-course, "These four crowns of victory belong to Alexander the son of Olympias and of Philip the king of the Macedonians; [the judges] have awarded them to him for his strength and his might and his victory." Now the names of the horses that were yoked to Alexander's chariot were these: the first Ksithîdos (Xanthus ?), the second Îdâdô (?); the third Achlios (or Ulios ?); the fourth Bucephalus; and by the might and strength of these four horses he obtained the victory over four athletes, Nicolaus, Nicodemus, Elîḳiôr and Philâdâos (Philaeus). Thus by good fortune Alexander won the crown, and with his horses obtained the victory; and he turned to go to his mother Olympias. Now when he had come to Iûnûsia (?) the priest, [he said to him], "Receive this crown which Zeus has given to thee;" and he answered and said to

him, "Now thou hast vanquished Nicolaus; so also wilt thou vanquish all nations and peoples which dwell upon the earth and [all] thine enemies."

XX. After Alexander had received this augury, he went to Pella. And when he had arrived there, he asked for his father; and he found his mother Olympias divorced by Philip and put away from being his wife. Now on that very day Philip was going to take a certain woman whose name was Cleopatra, the daughter of king Athlîs (Attalus), to be his wife. And when all the guests were seated before Philip, Alexander came in amongst those that sat at meat. And when he saw his father Philip reclining like a bridegroom at the head of the table, he went straight in with his horses, and said to his father, "Receive from me these crowns of victory, the fruits of this my first labour. I will give my mother Olympias to another king to wife, but I will not invite thee to the feast, even as thou hast not waited for me until I returned." And when he had spoken these words, he drew near just as he was, in the dress of an athlete, and sat down by his father, with his garments unwashed from the mud and stains of the contest. At these words Philip was filled with anger.

XXI. Now there was a certain man called Lysias, Philip's jester, who was sitting with him on the same couch. This Lysias answered and said to Philip, "O Philip, thou possessest a number of countries; if from thy youth until now thou hadst had a wife like Cleopatra, thou wouldst now have had a son, and him not from adultery, and his look and face would have been exactly like thine." When Alexander heard this speech, he was at once greatly enraged, and he overturned the table which stood by the couch, and took a dish, and hurled it suddenly at the head of Lysias, whose soul immediately departed from him and he died. When Philip saw these things, he seized a carver's knife, and leaped among the guests, and wished to stab Alexander; but when he got near to him, he stumbled and fell heavily. When Alexander saw this, he answered and said to him, "He who wishes to seize and enslave the land of Asia, is unable to go a single step among his guests, and cannot save himself from stumbling!" And having said this, he drew near and went and took the knife from the hands of Philip

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and smote the guests and left them half dead, Rphîthôn and Kîliṭârôn with the rest of their companions; and the house was filled with the slain as at yon time [when Ulysses slew] those who were......because of Pkîṭirpos (Penelope)[1].

XXII. Now after Alexander had acted in this manner, and had taken vengeance upon the guests and gone forth, the servants took Philip who was sick and laid him upon a bed, and carried him into a bed chamber, and his sickness was very sore. After a few days, Alexander went to Philip, and sat by his side, and said to him, "O Philip (for now I call thee by thy name, and perhaps it might not be pleasing to thee were I to call thee father, nor from this time will I call thee by the name of father), I have not come to thee of my own will,—[for] thou art not my father, nor I thy son,—but I have come as a friend and an associate, that I may be a mediator between thee and thy wife in respect of that which thou hast violently done unto her. But since I stood up at the beginning, I will not make [many] words[2]. Tell me this: did Alexander act in an unbecoming manner when he slew Lysias, who spoke that disgraceful speech mockingly? and didst thou thyself act well when thou didst rise up and lift a knife upon thy son? And thou wishest to take another woman to wife, and wantest to forsake the wife who has not done thee any wrong! Rise now and heal thyself, for thy disease is not bodily but mental; for a man becomes more ill through a mental than through a bodily ailment. Now therefore I Alexander will go and beg of my mother and persuade her to make peace with thee again. My father,—I have again

[1] The last sentence of this chapter is so corrupt in the Syriac as to be untranslateable. The Greek text (Müller, p. 21) contains references to the battle of the Lapithae and the Centaurs, and the slaughter of the suitors of Penelope by Ulysses.

[2] This clause is somewhat obscure and may be corrupt. The Syriac seems to agree with the Latin translation rather than with the Greek text (Müller, p. 21). If we follow the Greek, we should read: ܗܘܘ ܡܟܝܠ ܕܒܥܡܝܪܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܠܗܿ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܠܐ ܘܠܝܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܕܢ ܠܠܘܣܝܘܣ ܩܛܠܗ. ܗܘ ܕܒܨܚܪܐ ܠܡܠܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܨܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ.

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done wrong in that I have called thee father, but although I do not wish to call thee by this name, yet nature acknowledges that which is the truth." And when he had thus spoken, tears were flowing from Philip's eyes. When Alexander saw Philip weeping, he went to his mother, and said to her, "O my mother, be not angry any longer at that wrong which my father has done, for he has not forgotten the offence which thou thyself didst commit against him, and the more so since I am the mediator, whom they call a Macedonian, though I am in truth an Egyptian. Now therefore, O my mother, go in and first of all entreat thy husband that he may be reconciled to thee, for it is right that thou shouldest be subservient to thy husband inasmuch as thou art a woman." And when he had spoken these things to his mother, holding her by her hand, he went to his father. Philip was lying on his bed, and had turned his face to the wall. Alexander answered and said to Philip, "O my father—for henceforward I will call thee father, and I do not shun what is right,—turn thy face hither, for behold I have brought my mother, and have set her before thee, having implored her with many prayers and much entreaty until she gave her consent. I have moreover persuaded and begged of her to forget the offence which thou didst commit against her and to put it away from her mind. And now do ye embrace one another before me who am your son, and be ye now reconciled, that I too may be happy in reconciling and re-uniting you who begat me, and in urging you to make peace with one another." By this speech he reconciled his father and mother, and on account of this all who dwelt in Macedonia applauded Alexander, and every one held his wife in honour, and because of the death of Lysias, every one guarded his mouth from speaking calumny.

XXIII. Whilst these things were taking place, a certain city called Methônê had rebelled against the sovereignty of Philip, and he sent Alexander thither to make an end of the inhabitants by war. When Alexander had gone thither, he persuaded the people of the city by his words to return to the service of Philip; and the people of that city did so through Alexander's words and admonition, and went back to the service of Philip.

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When Alexander had returned from thence and come back, he found men in the garb of foreigners sitting at the gate of Philip. Alexander asked them, "Who are ye?" They said to him, "We are satraps, servants of Darius the king." Alexander says to them, "For what purpose have ye come?" They say to him, "To receive the customary tribute from Philip thy father." Alexander said to them, "By whom have ye been sent?" The satraps say, "We have been sent by Darius the king of the Persians." Alexander said to them, "And for what is the tribute ye receive?" They say to him, "In lieu of lands and waters." He says to them, "Why does your master lay tribute upon what God has appointed and given for food? It is not right for Philip, being a Greek, to give tribute to the Persians. By the good fortune of Zeus, this is a matter of greed and not of royalty; now therefore turn and go, and say to your lord Darius, 'When Philip had no children, his hens used to lay golden eggs, but from the time that his son Alexander has been born, they have become barren, and do not lay eggs any longer. Now I will go thither in person, and will take the tribute from thee which until now thou hast received from my father.'" And when he had spoken these words to them, they departed from the gate of Philip, and he deigned not to give them a written answer. Now when those ambassadors perceived the pride, the greatness, and the understanding of Alexander, they wondered, and when they heard his wisdom and his well trained words, they marvelled. And they hired and brought a very skilful painter, and said to him, "Paint Alexander accurately upon linen just as he is," that they might take it to their own country. And when he had painted him, they took the picture and went to their own land; and Philip rejoiced, when he saw the wittiness of Alexander's speech and the might of his deeds. Again the country of the Armenians was disturbed, and Philip sent Alexander thither with a large army of soldiers, that he might either bring them to peace or contend with them in battle.

XXIV. And when Alexander had departed from his father, a certain man named Theosîdos[1]—a small man and slight in

[1] The name is evidently corrupt, but cannot be emended with certainty at present. Possibly *Theodosius*, the Greek and Latin texts have *Pausanias* (Müller, p. 24).

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body, purseproud and honoured because of his money, who had come from the land of the Thessalonians and had a multitude of slaves, and whose mind and heart were inflamed with love for Olympias, and because of his love for her he gave goods and gifts to many people of the city, and communicated his secret to them—this man sought to slay Philip by some means, for he saw that Alexander was not in the country. Now in those days there was in the city an amphitheatre which was called the Olympic, and certain people, partisans of Theosîdos, by his instruction and advice, begged Philip with tumult and clamour to go with them and see the contest of the athletes. And Philip, because he was unacquainted with the craft of Theosîdos, was persuaded to look on with them. Now in the middle of the spectacle the partisans of Theosîdos made a disturbance and an uproar in the theatre by his advice and command. Theosîdos himself was outside the theatre, and when he heard the uproar and disturbance, he rejoiced, and together with his partisans armed himself and went into the theatre, and gave people to understand that he had come in to assist Philip. Then he brandished the spear that was in his hand, and pretending that he was going to smite another, cast it and pierced the heart of Philip, whilst feigning to be a helper of the king. Philip straightway fell to the ground, and Theosîdos with his companions went out at once from the theatre, because they thought that Philip was already dead, but his life yet remained in him. Then Theosidos went swiftly to the royal palace, and going to Philip's apartment, he seized Olympias unexpectedly and carried her off to another apartment in the palace, for he thought that Philip was dead, and he said to himself, "Alexander is still a boy, and Philip is dead; therefore, if I take Olympias to wife, I myself will become king."

Now on that day Alexander returned with victory from the war with the Armenians, and came to the city of Pella; and when he saw that the whole city was in an uproar, he asked, "What is the reason that the city is thus disturbed?" And when he had learned what had happened, he was furiously angry, and went on horseback to the palace, and found Theosîdos and Olympias there, and at once raising up his whip[1], he smote Theo-

[1] The Greek text has λόγχη, *spear*, and the Latin translation *jaculum*. See Müller, p. 24, col. 2, at the foot, and p. 25, col. 1, first line.

sîdos as Heracles smote Armînos (?), because he held Olympias in his embrace, for Theosîdos wished to escape and save himself. Now Alexander was very near slaying his mother too. And when Theosîdos had fallen, and Olympias saw her son Alexander, she lifted up her voice and wept at the change her fortune and lot had undergone. And when Alexander heard that Philip was still alive, he gave orders to carry Theosîdos tied to poles, and he went to his father. And when he saw that Philip was near death, he wept bitterly and bade them raise him up from the couch; and when they had lifted him up, he put a sword in his hand, and made Theosîdos stand before him, while his life was still in him, and he said to Philip, "This is he that slew thee." And Philip said, "Is this he?" And Alexander said to him, "Yea, it is he." Then Philip stabbed Theosîdos with the sword and slew him. And he said, "O my son Alexander, my soul will not depart in sorrow, since I with my own hands have slain him that slew me. My son, mighty and great shalt thou be, for I call to mind the day of thy conception, when the god Ammon spake to Olympias thy mother, saying, 'Behold in thy womb is one who shall avenge the cause of his father and his mother;' and thus my son has avenged the cause of both of us." And immediately Philip died. And Alexander with his nobles and the princes of the Macedonians buried him honourably, and Olympias too went to the grave on foot.

XXV. And when Alexander had returned from the grave, he gave orders to inform the Macedonians that they should assemble on the morrow in the midst of the city by the pedestal of the statue of Philip his father; and he himself came there, and all the Macedonians gathered together unto him. Then Alexander went up and stood by the statue of his father, and lifted up his voice, and said to the Macedonians, "To you I speak, ye inhabitants of the land, Macedonians, Thracians[1], Greeks, Thessalonians, and peoples of every race; to you too, O Amphictyons and the rest of all the peoples of the Greeks, and you Athenians and Corinthians; hear my speech and the counsel with which I counsel you, and trust yourselves to me, and form

[1] In the Syriac Tarmĕḳâyê or Tharmĕḳâyê.

a league with me, that we may go against the barbarians our enemies, and may free ourselves from the bondage of the Persians, and bring them into bondage to us, and subjugate them to ourselves." And when he had said this, many applauded him; and he came down from the statue and gave orders to write letters to every country and city under his rule, as follows: "Let every one who approves of my advice come to the city of Pella." Then many troops of men came with good and ready will, as if a god were urging them on[1].

Then Alexander opened the door of his father's treasury, and clothed every man with all kinds of armour. But when he commanded those who had carried arms in the bodyguard of Philip his father to take them up again, they answered and said to him, "O good king Alexander, we are greyhaired and aged men, and we have been with thy father Philip in a number of wars during the whole time he was in the world, and we have become wearied and exhausted by many battles, and we speak truly before thee when we say that we have not sufficient strength in our bodies to bear arms; therefore we now ask to be excused from military duty and service." When they had spoken these words, Alexander looked on them with a gloomy face and said to them in anger, "I desire particularly that ye should go with me to war. It is true that ye are greyhaired and aged, but all kinds of warfare have been experienced and seen by you more than by these young men, for the aged by their experience and knowledge are stronger than those who are in the vigour of youth. Many a time, therefore, when young men neglect the safety of their lives, and do something which it was not their intention to do, they come into difficulties and distresses thereby; but as for you, ye greyheaded and aged men, I know that ye first of all consider carefully, so that, when ye are about to do something, no mistake or [cause for] repentance may arise thereby. Now therefore go ye with me to the war, and be ye with me as ye were with my father; for I desire that ye go with me in this capacity, not that ye should make war, but go with me as persons of tried knowledge and experience. Ye will be a shield to the young men, and the

[1] Or, *as if there were some one sent from God to urge them on.*

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knowledge of the aged will be thus mingled willingly with the strength of the young; and so we shall obtain a great victory, and the aged shall serve for knowledge to the youth, and shall rescue and deliver [them] from troubles like a shield. And this too I wish you to know, that the victory of the young is the life of the old, while the defeat of the young is affliction and trouble to the old. Therefore, ye veterans, rejoice and exult in the victory, and divide the crowns of victory with them, for by your knowledge and experience and understanding, ye veterans, the young men will become conquerors."

With these words then Alexander encouraged Philip's body-guard, and persuaded them to go to the war; and they consented, and drew near and received arms from Alexander.

XXVI.[1] The horsemen also gathered together to Alexander in countless numbers, as did the foot soldiers who served willingly, and the troops of Philip his father, 50,000; Thessalonians, 30,000; Greeks of every tribe, together with the Poḳoṭolanians [Paphlagonians?][2] and Lacedaemonians, 80,000; Sḳophians [Scythians?][3], 60,000; Corinthians, 70,000 [besides the former 70,000 which he had sent][4]; in all 270,000[5]. He armed these out of the armoury of Philip his father.

XXVII.[6] And he made them embark in triremes and in large transport ships, and put to sea, and he made the Macedonians dwell by the sea Dîthâos (?) and Thrace, which was under his dominion[7].

XXVIII.[8] And [from thence] by Lucania and Sicily he came to Rome[9]. And as soon as the inhabitants of Rome heard [of his arrival], they sent him six hundred talents of gold by the hands of their chiefs, together with the golden crown of Zeus which

[1] Compare Müller, p. 27, col. 2, and the Latin version.

[2] See Müller, p. 28, line 6 of the note.

[3] See Müller, *loc. cit.*

[4] This clause is incorrect or misplaced. It is not taken into account in summing up the total.

[5] The total ought to be 290,000.

[6] Corresponding to ch. xxviii. of the Greek text (see Müller, p. 30).

[7] Very unintelligible. But compare the Latin version in Müller, p. 28, at the foot. "The sea Dîthâos (?)" seems not to be named in any of our Greek texts.

[8] Corresponding to ch. xxix. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 30).

[9] See Müller's note 8 on ch. xxix. (p. 30).

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was in the Capitol, one hundred pounds of gold [in weight], and they brought it as a gift before Alexander. They also sent one thousand horsemen as auxiliaries to Alexander's army, and they entreated him to take vengeance for them upon the Chalkidonians[1], who had rebelled against them. Then Alexander said to them, "I will do you this favour because of this honour which ye have done me; and I will recompense you for this honour by subduing your enemies in war, while the victory in the war I will give to you."

XXIX.[2] Then Alexander set out from Italy, and came by sea to Africa. And when the generals of the Africans had heard the fame of him, they came to him and entreated him, saying, "Free our city from the Romans." Then Alexander was angry at this speech, and said to them, "O Carthaginians, either be yourselves brave[3], or give tribute to the brave." When they heard this speech, they set their faces to war, and they all went and armed themselves, and they could not be persuaded to come to Alexander. Then Alexander made war upon them; and when they fought, they were unable to stand before the army of Alexander. Then they returned and entreated him, saying, "Permit not the Romans to rule over us." Again Alexander said to them, "Ye Carthaginians, I have [already] said to you, 'Either be yourselves brave or give tribute to the brave.' Now therefore go, and whatever tribute is right for you to give, of that give justly; for henceforward [the Romans] shall receive tribute from you." When the Carthaginians saw that they had no remedy, they made a statue of brass to Alexander and set it in the midst of the city: and they made a box of wood and fastened it upon a stone in front of the feet of the statue. They then collected the tribute of their country for four years, and placed it in the box; and the Romans waited for four years, and then they came and took that tribute and carried it to Rome.

XXX.[4] And Alexander departed from the Carthaginians,

[1] i.e. the Karchedonians or Carthaginians. Χαλκηδών = Καλχηδών = Carthage (קרת חרשת, *Neapolis*).

[2] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

[3] Literally *good*.

[4] Corresponding to the remainder of ch. xxx. in the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

and made some of the troops put to sea in ships and vessels, and commanded them to remain opposite the islands of the Plâthâyê[1], while he went parallel to them on the land with a few troops to the country of Libya. From thence he dismissed all the troops of the Âlômôḥdâyê (?)[2], because he offered sacrifices there to the god Ammon, especially because he remembered the words of Olympias his mother, which she spake to him, saying, "Thou wert begotten by Ammon, the god of Libya." And Alexander answered and said to the god, "If the words be true which my mother Olympias spake to me saying, 'I bore thee to the god Ammon of Libya,' shew it me to-day in a dream." Now when Alexander was asleep, he saw in a dream the god Ammon speaking with him and saying, "Thou art of my race, and thou hast in thee parts of the characteristics of four gods; and if thou dost not believe that it is possible for a mortal and corruptible man to be born of the race of an immortal and incorruptible god, I tell thee that they are able, as men, to be of the race of the gods, not in respect of the nature of the body, but in respect of wisdom, intelligence and fore-knowledge. Therefore by the union of the race of the gods with men, they are able both to know and to do everything that is marvellous and difficult in the world. Now thou hast in thee somewhat of the race of the serpent, and of Hêraclês, and of Dionysus, and of Ammon. Through the serpent thou wilt encircle the whole world like a dragon; through Hêraclês thou wilt be strong like Hêraclês, and thou wilt shew forth in thy person the finding of power and might; through Dionysus thou wilt be continually in pleasure, and merriment, and joy; and through Ammon who is like myself, thou wilt hold a rich sceptre, and thou wilt be lord of the world in royalty and wealth. As regards these words, have then no doubt." When Alexander had seen all these things in his dream, he awoke from his sleep, and commanded that a statue of brass should be made to Ammon in the midst of the temple of Ammon, and he set it up on a pillar, and upon the base

[1] In the Greek *εἰς τὴν Φαρίτιδα* [var. *Πρωτηΐδα*] *νῆσον*.

[2] There is nothing like this clause in our Greek texts, so that the word ܐܠܘܡܘܚܕܝ̈ܐ remains a puzzle.

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of the pillar he wrote thus: "This statue Alexander his son made to his father Ammon, and set it up in this temple."

And again, when he was dreaming, he made supplication to the god Ammon, and said, "O my father, shew me the place where to build a great city which shall be named after me, and from which my memory shall not pass away." And again the god Ammon appeared to him in a dream, saying, "Alexander, king of the Macedonians, I grant thee to build a city in.........[1] in the fields where they plough the furrows, and it shall be famous and renowned, and possessions and wealth shall abound in it, and the supreme god shall dwell therein. Around it shall be the river Nile, and it shall water its fields with abundant moisture, and many shall be nourished by its produce, for this river without any [human] labour will lay the hamlets and arable lands beneath its irrigation, and no damage shall arise therefrom."

XXXI. And when he had seen this vision in his dream, and had quitted the land of the Âmôndîḳâyê (?), a stag came towards him. When he saw that stag, he turned round and said to his nobles, "If it be granted me to build a city in this land of Egypt, when I command and shoot an arrow at this stag, it shall strike it." And having taken the weapon, he shot an arrow at the stag, but the arrow glanced off the stag in its rapid flight, and having run a long distance it stumbled and fell by reason of the wound, and died on the spot. Then Alexander cried out and said, "O thou that didst die without feeling, thou hast shewn me the place which I require;" therefore to this very day they call the spot upon which the stag died, "He that died without feeling." So Alexander ran and came to that spot, and on this side of the stag a sepulchral monument was built, and they call it, "The tomb of the god Âslîs (Osiris)[2]." In this place too he commanded to offer sacrifices; and from thence he returned and came to the stag[3], and he found a large mound, and fifteen (twelve) towns lay around it, the names of which were: Sṭîlîmos, Paḥḥârâ, Imthâos, Aḳlios, Înôḳpîlas, Pithônos, Lindos, Ḳiphrîn, Espâsîd, Mîmisṭîrâ, Phîlâos, and Hanḳîṭos in the centre of the mound,

[1] In the Syriac *in Âlîs Wâlîs*, which looks somewhat like a corruption of *Hêliopolis*.

[2] Ταφόσιρις or Ταφοσίριον.

[3] The Syrian translator confounded *ἔδαφος* with *ἔλαφος* (Müller, p. 32, col. 2).

which they called "the great city." And when Alexander saw this, astonishment laid hold of him at the waters which were encircling the villages; and he wondered at the greatness of the waves how marvellous they were, for although they entered the sea, they did not mingle [therewith]. And he found there also a place which they called Melââ, and its waters used to enter the sea one cubit and make a great commotion. Then Alexander asked, "What is this place? and who built it?" And they said to him, "First of all Dios, whom they call Zeus, and next Irthâos (?)." And from these towns twelve rivers went forth and mingled with the sea. And Alexander saw that the greater number of these rivers, as well as the springs of the city, had been stopped up, and that all the streets and squares were destroyed; and there only remained two rivers which were not obstructed, and whose place of outlet was not destroyed, and whose mouth mingled with the sea: the name of the one was Lûḳthesnêdos, which great river they call that of the god Serapis (this Serapis is Joseph the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians used to hold as a god[1]), and from it there went forth another which they call Ôḳôrîda (*or* Euḳôrîda), and yet another large stream which they call Klîdnâva; and the name of the other great river was Nûphîrṭîr[2]. When Alexander saw that spot around which mighty rivers and large streams ran, he remembered the dream which the god Ammon shewed him, and he saw that there were fifteen (twelve) towns upon that one spot.

XXXII.[3] And he heard that there was a temple of Zeus there, and one of Hêra[4], whom they call 'the mother of the gods.' And when he had entered the temple, he bowed down there and sacrificed. And while he was examining the temple, he saw there two tablets[5] of red marble, which were very beautiful, fixed under a statue, and upon them was engraved a legend in

[1] This statement regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph is probably an interpolation by the Syrian translator or by a later hand.

[2] For the Greek text corresponding to this passage see Müller, p. 32, note 14.

[3] See ch. xxxiii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 36, col. 2).

[4] The Syriac text has Ahlâ, ܐܗܠܐ, a corruption of ܗܐܪܐ

[5] The Greek text has *obelisks*.

hieroglyphs[1], which ran thus: "After that I Sesonchôsis[2], the ruler of the earth (or world), was first recognised as lord upon earth, I erected this statue in honour of the great god the Sun, the equal of Serapis, in gratitude for the benefits which I have received from him." And when Alexander had read this legend, he considered Serapis to be the first god. He went also to the spot where he was told that the temple of this god existed, and in the temple he found a golden cup of the god's upon the ground, and on the cup there was written as follows: "I Ahlâ[3], the son of the mighty Promêtheus[4], made this cup for the great god Serapis before mankind were brought forth." And when Alexander had read this legend he said, "It is evident from this that Serapis is the first god, for this cup was fabricated when as yet Prometheus had not made men; and thus also did Ammon shew me in a dream, saying, 'I will grant thee to build a city where the first god dwells.' And now I will supplicate this [god] and will entreat a favour from him, because Sesonchôsis[5] too has shewn me by his inscription that he appeared [as] the first god in this world." Then Alexander offered sacrifices to Serapis, and made supplication to him saying, "If indeed thou art he who has governed the world from olden time until now, and hast revealed thyself at the first as god, instruct me, O Serapis, how to build the city which I have in my mind, and I will give it the name of Alexandria; and inform me also whether they will make my name to pass away from it and will call it by the name of another king." And when he had spoken these words, he slept; and he saw in his dream that the [god] took him by the hand and brought him up into a high mountain, and said to him, "Alexander, art thou able to lift up this mountain and to remove [it] to another place?" Alexander answered and said, "How can I, my lord?" Then

[1] Literally, "in letters of the priests."

[2] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܝܩܘܣܣ, *Sisiḳôsas*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣܝܣ *Sisonḵôsis*.

[3] There must be some error here. A little above we had ܗܪܐ for Ἥρα.

[4] In the Syriac *Parmithos*.

[5] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܝܩܘܢܘܣ, *Sisiḳônos*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣܝܣ.

the god said to him, "Even as thou art not able to remove this mountain, so another king will not be able to remove thy name from this city, nor to set his own name upon it." And again Alexander said, "My lord Serapis, what might and strength shall there be in Alexandria that [men] shall carry its name into the world?" Serapis said, "In the same manner, when the city is built, [people] will call it 'the great city,' and the fame of its greatness shall be spoken of in the whole world, and men innumerable shall dwell therein, who shall be famous through thee. Gentle winds too shall minister unto it with the favourable temperature, and the knowledge and craft of its inhabitants shall be renowned throughout the world, for I will build it with cunning, and I will be a helper to it. Storms shall not disturb the sea, neither shall drought nor heat be therein; winter and cold shall not remain therein, neither shall there be in it the mischief and destruction of demons, and there shall be but few earthquakes in it, and they shall not cause much damage therein, for these are caused by the envy of wicked devils. If the armies of all the kings of the earth were to encamp round about it, they would not be able to injure it in any way. It has been decreed that it shall be renowned in the world, and alive or dead, hither shalt thou come, and in the city which thou hast made to be inhabited, thou shalt have thy grave." And again Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, I desire to know what thy real name is." And again Serapis said to him, "First of all consider in thy mind, for if thou art able to comprehend one of a hundred of the powers of heaven, or to speak twenty of their two hundred names, thou art able to understand my name[1]." And when the god had spoken these words to him, Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, tell me this also, where, and when, and by what death I shall die." And the god said to him in a dream, "Man that is born is without anxiety, and honourable, and comely, when the time of his death and the manner thereof are concealed from him; for mankind, though mortal, are wont to think in their minds that they are immortal, and that this world will not be dissolved. But if thou desirest to know by what death

[1] This passage seems to be quite corrupt. The Greek text (Müller, p. 38, col. 1, lines 6—9) is simple enough, turning upon the numerical value of the letters in the name of Σάραπις.

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thou shalt die, know that thy death will be fair and peaceful; thy sickness will be like that of one who drinketh poison; fear not then, for thy death will not be caused by any bodily sickness, and shouldst thou die in thy youth, thou wilt be innocent of a multitude of evils."

And when Alexander had seen all these oracular responses in his dream, he commanded them to call the architects,—that is the chief carpenters,—three skilful and cunning men[1]; one was Sinkarṭîn of Ârontios[2], another Aryânâos the Egyptian, and another Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn. And he set them over the building of the city, Sinkarṭis to lay the foundations, and Aryânâos to measure and plan the streets and squares, and Baryâthmîn (*sic*) to build houses in the city; and Alexander gave them five hundred thousand talents of gold, each talent consisting of four hundred pounds. The length[3] of the city was from the grave of Asîlîs (Osiris) to Barṭînâ, and its breadth from Dânôd to Îḳarsṭra which they call 'by Hermopolis.'

XXXIII.[4] When Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, heard of the building of the city, he sent to him saying thus, "Nay my lord, do not begin to build so great and mighty a city, nor to make people of various countries and tongues to dwell therein; peradventure they may rebel against thy service, and take the city from thee; and again, if [the people of] the city should hold a festival and games, the herald would not be able to make the proclamation in many days; and if all the winged fowl in creation were to be gathered together, and if thou didst store up all the barley meal in thy dominions in one spot, it would not suffice for the nourishment of the people that are in it." And after this message had come to Alexander, great grief took hold of him, and he was anxious and perplexed; and he commanded them to call the Egyptian soothsayers who were skilled in augury, and related to them this message. And when the augurs had heard this message, and had seen that the king was in grief and trouble,

[1] See Müller, p. 33, col. 2, last paragraph.

[2] As Ârontios is almost certainly Ὀλύνθιος, *Sinḳarṭîn* must represent Κράτης or Κράτερος. If so, then *Aryânâos*, or *Arinâos*, *the Egyptian*, is probably = Ἥρων Λιβυκός, and *Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn* = Κλεομένης Ναυκρατίτης.

[3] Compare Müller, p. 32, col. 2; and see also p. 33, col. 2, at the top.

[4] There is nothing like this chapter in the Greek save a few passages in the first paragraph of ch. xxxii.

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they said to him, "O king, begin the building of the city, for it will be great, and renowned, and abounding in revenues, and all the ends of the earth will bring articles of trade to it. Many countries will be fed by it, but it will not be dependent on any country for sustenance; and everything manufactured in it will be esteemed by the rest of the world, and they will carry it to remote lands." And when Alexander had heard this speech from the soothsayers, he gave orders to build the city from Dedaḳnâtos as far as Ḳaiôphâ.

XXXIV. From thence he went into the middle of the country of Egypt, and commanded his troops to await him in Eslôna[1]. And when he had come to Egypt, all the Egyptians, with the priests and prophets of their gods came to him, and glorified him with a loud voice, saying, "Welcome, O Sesonchôsis[2], the youthful god and ruler of the world;" for he went to the city of Memphis, and they seated him upon the throne of Hephaestus[3], and clothed him after the manner of the Egyptians. Then he saw there a statue of a king, which was made of black stone, and he read the letters which were engraved beneath its feet, and the legend ran thus: "The king of Egypt who fled, a mighty man and astute and aged, after a time died, [and] there became king[4] a young man and strong, who shall surpass him in bravery, and shall go round the whole world by his might, and shall bring all mankind into subjection to the Egyptians, and shall give you might and power." Then Alexander asked, "Whose statue is this?" And the prophets said, "Of the last king of Egypt, Nectanebus." Alexander said, "And why are these letters inscribed beneath?" The prophets said, "It is an augury which the great god gave at the time when the Egyptians drew near to seek their king." When he heard this, he went up to the pillar on which the statue stood, and embraced the image with his arms, and kissed it, and answered and said to the Egyptians, "Ye men of Egypt, this is he that begat me,

[1] In the Greek *Tripolis* (see Müller, p. 38, note 1 on ch. xxxiv.).

[2] In the Syriac *Sienḳos*.

[3] In the Syriac *Esiphastos*.

[4] There is evidently some error in the Syriac translation at this place. The Greek text runs (Müller, p. 38, col. 2), Ὁ φυγὼν βασιλεὺς ἥξει πάλιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ γηράσκων ἀλλὰ νεάζων, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν Πέρσας ὑποτάξει.

and this is my father. I am the youth whose father is Nectanebus; and he is concealed, but I am revealed to avenge your cause on your enemies. I am however astonished, how ye have remained and stayed in this country and have not utterly perished by the hands of your enemies, since the wall of your city is so weak, and ye have no fortified place for treasure houses; but I think that your preservation is chiefly due to the many rivers which encompass your territory. Now that tribute which ye were wont to give to Darius, give to me; not that I may put it in my treasury for my own use, but that I may use it for expenses for my city Alexandria, so that ye [really] give it to your protectors." Then they brought him much gold, and a crown of gold, and [other] presents and large gifts, and they took [them] before Alexander, and they went with him as far as Pelusium.

XXXV. Then he commanded his troops to get ready, and he took them and they went to the country of Syria. Then all the country of Syria gave the right hand to him, and came under his rule. And they drew near and came to Tyre. Because the Tyrians had heard from Apollo the augur, "When a mighty king shall march through the plain of Tyre, Tyre shall be taken away from its deep place," the Tyrians of their own accord promptly drew up in battle array against Alexander, and fought with him, and slew many men of Alexander's host, and would not allow them to enter the city. And Alexander was fiercely enraged, and his anger rose, and he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "O my lord Serapis, thou art a god and hast made me a king; shew me now if I shall be able to take Tyre." And when he fell asleep, he saw in his dream the ranks of the singers (or satyrs), who were standing before Dionysus and singing and dancing, and they had garlands of young vine branches with their clusters on their heads; and Dionysus was standing and holding a Tyrian daric in his hand, and he gave it to Alexander; and a cluster of grapes from the garland on the head of Dionysus fell to the ground, and Alexander trod upon it and squeezed out the wine from it. When Alexander awoke, he gave orders to call those skilled in dreams; and when they came and heard the dream from him, they answered and said to him, "O king, it is granted to thee to take the land of Tyre; for the daric which Dionysus

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gave thee represents the country which is going to be delivered over to thee; and those grapes which thou sawest fall from the garland of Dionysus are the people of the city who are to fall and be crushed beneath the feet of thy hosts; and the wine which thou didst see is the blood of the slain which will be shed." Then Alexander commanded to give gifts to those men skilled in dreams, and to assemble the troops, and to fight with the Tyrians. And the Tyrians were conquered, and surrendered[1] to Alexander; and Alexander made a war in Tyre, the fame of which has gone forth into the whole world. And the city and three noble and famous men from three towns were destroyed by Alexander in this contest[2]. The towns were by the side of the city, and according to the name of the three towns he built a city and called its name Tripolis. And Alexander appointed the satrap of Phœnicia to take charge of and guard the country.

XXXVI. Now when the ambassadors of Darius, who had been sent by their lord to Alexander[3], had departed, they spoke of the sagacity and wisdom and astuteness of Alexander. Then Darius asked them, "What manner of person is Alexander?" Then the ambassadors brought forth and shewed him the likeness of Alexander the Macedonian which they had had painted, and when Darius saw the likeness, he gave orders to carry it to Roxana[4] his daughter, and he bade them compare her height with that of the picture. And when he had measured the picture, he took it up and cast it with his hands to a distance, and he thrust out his lips in scorn as one mocks at a young child. But Roxana, the daughter of Darius, took the likeness in secret, and carried it to her bed chamber, and kept it there, and honoured it continually with sweet spices and odours, for from the time that Roxana saw it her love went forth to Alexander.

Now Darius was meditating in what way he could avenge himself on Alexander, first of all, because of his contempt for his ambassadors; and secondly, because, after his father Philip's

[1] Literally, "gave the hand."
[2] This passage is obviously defective and corrupt. See Müller, p. 40, col. 2.
[3] See chap. xxiii.
[4] In the Syriac *Rôshnâḳ* or *Rûshnâḳ*.

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death, Alexander assumed the royal crown of his own will and became king; [and thirdly, because] Alexander had taken his troops and had come to the country of Darius and seized his lands. Then Darius sent to Alexander a whip and a ball and a box full of gold, and wrote him a letter, and gave it to his ambassadors to deliver to Alexander. And while Alexander was marching through the country [of Syria], the ambassadors of Darius met him, and gave him Darius's letter. Then Alexander ordered the letter to be read, and found that there was written therein as follows: "From the king of kings and the kinsman of the gods, who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the son of the stars, Darius the Persian, to Alexander my servant, greeting. I have heard of thee that thou by thy evil destiny hast set thyself to come from thy land to mine and to do mischief. Now we command thee, withdraw and return, and go to thy mother, and sleep in the bosom of thy mother Olympias, for as yet thou art a child, and art in fact not educated; therefore I send thee a whip, wherewith thou mayest train thy youth; and a ball, wherewith thou mayest play with the boys of thine own age, and not meddle with the business of men; and a box full of gold for thy expenses, that thou mayest be able to retire and go back to thine own country, for I have heard of thee that thou art poor and mean and feeble; and therefore I have given orders that the tribute of Philip thy father shall be left with thee. Do thou therefore restrain thyself from worry and folly, and [check] this crowd of robbers which thou hast gathered together and brought with thee, for as the chief of a band of robbers dost thou go round about and disturb our cities. Art thou able to comprehend the number of the stars of heaven? If all the people in the world were to come as allies to thy army, thou wouldst not be able to make an end of and destroy the kingdom of the Persians, for I have tens of thousands of horses and warriors, even as the number of the sand which is upon the shore of the sea. And I have sent thee ten measures of sesame seed, that thou mayest know that I have myriads of troops even as these grains of sesame. I have also gold as [abundant as] the sunlight in the world; therefore I have sent thee a box [full of it], that if thou hast no money for expenses, thou mayest expend this on thyself, and, together with

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the robbers thy companions, mayest be able to return to thy country. Now therefore repent of the things thou hast done, and count thyself an offender; for if thou art not persuaded to do what thou art commanded by me, and in thy disobedience still persistest in this thy contention, we will give orders to send the police after thee to take thee and bring thee to us, for thou art not one of those after whom it is fitting to send [armed] men, but we will send the police against thee and they will fetch thee, not as the son of Philip but as a leader of robbers, and we will crucify thee upon a tree."

XXXVII. And when they had read the letter before Alexander, great terror fell upon all Alexander's troops. And when he saw that the face of his troops was sad because of the words of Darius's letter, he answered and said to his troops, "Ye men of Macedon, ye who are my fellow soldiers, wherefore are your minds troubled by the letter of Darius as if his words were true, or as if he had any power at all? Now this boasting and arrogance that is written in his letter is a mere pretence, and there is no truth in it; for among dogs there are some which are small and feeble, and yet they bark with a loud voice, thinking they may be able to effect something by their loud barks: and in the same manner does Darius act, for in reality he is unable to do anything; therefore he has written these words, that we might imagine them to be true. Do ye however prepare yourselves and be ready, and fight with all your strength, that we may be victorious; and do not do your duty sluggishly and feebly, that we may not be conquered: and now fight bravely, that we may receive the crowns of victory." And when he had spoken these words, Alexander stretched out his hand, and took a handful of the sesame seeds which Darius had sent, and put them into his mouth, and ate some of them, and said, "They are numerous, but they have no taste." And when he had said this, he gave orders to tie the arms of the ambassadors who had brought Darius's letter behind their backs and to crucify them. Then those men were afraid, and by reason of their fear they said to Alexander, "My lord, what offence have we committed? for we whom thou desirest to slay are ambassadors." Alexander said to them, "Blame Darius your master and not me, for he who sent this letter did not send it as to a

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fellow king, but as to a man who is the chief of [a gang of] robbers. Now therefore I am going to slay you as if ye had really come to a robber chief." They said, "My lord, Darius wrote such a letter as this because he did not know who thou wert; but now we see that thou art a prince and hast a mighty army, and that thou art a warrior and a king, and rich in knowledge, and the son of Philip. Show then this act of grace to us, that thy compassion may appear in our persons, so that when we return to Darius, we may there bear witness as to everything that we have seen here." He said to them, "Do not imagine that I have mercy upon you because of the fear through which ye have made supplication to me, and so set you free from death; for I had not originally intended to slay you, but only to let you know the difference between the knowledge of the Greeks and that of the barbarians, how much that of the former is superior to that of the latter. A king does not kill ambassadors."

When Alexander had spoken in this manner, he gave orders to release the ambassadors, and at the time of sitting down to meat he commanded to make them sit down before him. And when they had come in and sat down in his presence, they began to speak before him of the ambushes which he ought to make in his war against Darius, and how it behoved him to make war craftily and to take Darius prisoner. Then Alexander said to them, "Be silent and say nothing to me. Had it not been your purpose to return and go to Darius, I would have listened to your advice; but since ye are going to return to Darius, I do not wish to listen to you, lest, if any contention should arise between one of you and his fellow, and this matter be carried to Darius, he may take away on my account these lives which ye have obtained to-day from me by grace." Then these ambassadors made obeisance to him and applauded him for this speech.

XXXVIII. On the following day Alexander sat down and wrote an answer to Darius as follows: "From Alexander, the son of Philip and of his mother Olympias, to the king of kings, who moves the heavenly hosts, and who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the kinsman of the gods, the son of light, Darius the sun, the god of the Persians. It [must appear] disgraceful

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and bitter to him that hath such greatness and excellence and superiority, who is the counterpart of the gods, and who together with the sun lights and warms the whole world, whose throne is in the firmament with the god Mithras, when he feels that he may be defeated by his servant Alexander, a despicable and contemptible man, and still have to walk in the world beneath the sun and the moon. But do not imagine that any one of the gods is pleased to share his name or his fellowship, or the likeness of his glory, with mortals, or that they will give victory to the mortal man who assumes to himself the name 'divine;' but they will be angry and wroth with him who takes the immortal and incorruptible and unchangeable name, and applies it to one who is mortal and corruptible. And now I regard thee thus, since, because thou art not able to perform the deeds of brave men, thou desirest to call thyself by the name of the gods, and to draw down their heavenly power upon earth by words, and to set it upon thyself. But now I am coming against thee and will enter into war with thee; and I come against thee as against a mortal king, even as I myself am mortal. Now fortune and opportunity and victory are given by the power and command of the heavenly One; I have therefore committed myself to the immortal gods, and entrusted myself to them, and I shall be victorious over thee. Why didst thou then inform us in thy letter of the vast amount of thy gold and silver? For the sake of thy wealth will we fight the more against thee, until all thy possessions become ours. As for thee.........[1] among all nations and peoples, saying, 'So great a king and warrior as this Darius died by the hands of a little Greek boy;' whereas if thou slayest me, it will not be accounted as bravery and as a great triumph, because thou wilt have slain merely a 'robber chief,' according to what thou didst send in writing to me. Thou hast also sent me a whip and a ball and a box of gold. Now though I know that thou hast sent them to me in mockery, yet I have accepted them as a good omen, an augury of victory, and a prophecy of the gods. I have received the whip, and as a chief and the head of kings I will smite and subdue with my weapons all my enemies. As for the round ball, it is a sign that I shall hold the whole world; for the

[1] The Syriac text is corrupt and untranslateable. See Müller, p. 43, col. 1.

world is round and resembles a sphere exactly. And the box [of gold] which thou hast sent me is a great portent and signifies my subjugation of thee in war, and makes known that thou wilt pay me tribute. And as for the sesame seeds which thou hast sent me, the signification thereof is that thy troops are numerous, but I have seen and tasted them; they are numerous, but they are tasteless, and good for nothing: therefore I have sent thee a bushel of mustard seed, that thou mayest know how the troops of the Macedonians are in comparison with the Persians."

XXXIX. Thus Alexander wrote, and he gave the letter to the ambassadors and sent them away; and likewise the gold which Darius had sent him he gave to the servants of Darius, when they made obeisance before him that they might depart. And when these [ambassadors] had seen the learning and knowledge of Alexander, they turned to go to their lord. And when they had come to Darius their lord, and had given him the letter containing Alexander's reply, Darius commanded it to be read, and he heard also that Alexander had put a handful of the sesame seeds into his mouth and had eaten them. At this Darius was exceedingly angry, and wishing to act in the same manner, he straightway stretched out his hand, and took a handful of the mustard seed, and put it into his mouth and ate some thereof, and said, "They are small, but pungent." And he forthwith gave orders and wrote letters to the satraps of the land, saying thus: "From Darius the king of kings of the Persians to the satraps who dwell in the Taurus, greeting. We have heard a report that that rebel Alexander the son of Philip, an impudent and shameless boy, in his madness and ignorance has come forth from his own land, and is trying to come to our land of Asia and to do mischief. Do ye therefore seize him and bind him, and bring him bound to our gate, but do him no harm. But I command that they beat him with a whip for children, and dress him in purple vestment, and send Persian slaves with him as guardians to take him and carry him to his mother, that she may keep him in training there; and I will give him castanets and dice[1], that he may amuse himself with them after

[1] Or rather, to use an old English word, *tables and dice*, something like our modern draughts.

the manner of Macedonian children. It is not seemly to make war with him, but it is right to frighten him as a child. Now therefore be ye diligent to seize and bind those robbers that are marching with him, and to throw them into the sea; and take ye their armour and their horses and the possessions which are with them for yourselves, and be ye strong to take [them] and to give to your friends. Farewell."

Now when the satraps had received this letter, they made known their answer to him in writing thus: "From the satraps Gushtâzaph and Sâbânṭâr[1] to Darius, the king of kings and the great god, greeting. Know, O ye gods, that the youth Alexander has come to your country, and is marching through your land exactly like a prince. Now we are making preparations to flee before him, but together with all the other satraps who are in this country we are awaiting your coming. Ye will therefore do well, O ye gods, if ye come hither quickly and take heed unto your country. It is necessary that ye should come with a strong force, and by our joining together, what ye have written to us concerning Alexander will be really accomplished. Know this also, that if ye do not make safe (?) your country, he will take it by force like other countries, and will enslave us."

When Darius had received this answer, he straightway ordered another letter to be written, saying thus: "From the mighty, the king of kings, Darius the god, to Gushtâzaph and Seôṭnâr, and all the other satraps that are in the Taurus, and in the districts beyond the Taurus, and to those who dwell in its vicinity, greeting. Do not think that any good hope [of escape] exists for you or your wives or your children [in flight]; for if ye abandon the country and go to [another] place, your enemies will spoil part of the land. But bethink ye that when Ṭîr[2] came to spoil and to take captive, he brought with him mighty men and warriors, who by their power were able to defeat and conquer fearful lightning flashes, which men ye, being skilful and experienced in war, defeated at that time and

[1] In the Greek Ὑδάσπης καὶ Σπίγχθηρ, in the Latin translation *Hystaspes et Spinther* (Müller, p. 44).

[2] The Syriac translator has missed the meaning of the Greek, having taken θὴρ for a proper name, which he has transcribed ܛܝܪ. See Müller, p. 44, col. 2.

overcame, and took no disgrace to yourselves. And shall ye now be worsted before a little boy, and disgrace yourselves? And if ye do this, what excuse will ye have to offer to us? since none of you will be wounded in the fight, nor smitten in the war, nor pierced by a spear; and what answer [for your conduct] will ye make to us, having disgraced the rule of the Persians? or do ye think, pray, that you will be found of any use?"

XL. After these things Darius heard that Alexander had come to the river which is called Estalraglos[1], and he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which was thus written: "From the great king Darius to Alexander the great and mighty, whose name God has set upon the earth,.........[2] And thou hearest that even the gods hold me in honour, and yet thou hast dared to cross over rivers and mountains and the sea and to come to me; and it was not enough for thee to assume the crown of royalty without my permission, and to acquire a kingdom and dominion in Macedonia, but thou hast also taken men inexperienced in war from every country, and with a mob like a swarm of ants hast thou come to our country to do mischief. It would have been but right for thee before doing these things to have informed us that it was planned by thy evil mind to do them, and then thou mightest have done them; and we, having learnt these things, would have prepared what was requisite for us. Even now however, turn and go, and return to thy country. I have sent thee sesame seeds, that if thou art able to number them, thou mayest know also how many are my troops. Turn back from where thou art and go to thy country, and I will no longer remember against thee this damage which thou hast done."

XLI. Then the ambassadors of Darius took this letter, together with the sesame seeds, and carried it to Alexander. And as soon as he had read the letter of Darius, he again filled his hand with the sesame seeds and put them into his mouth and said, "They are many but tasteless." At that time a report

[1] This name seems to be corrupted from the words προς τω τιναγρω, according to the reading of the Cod. A (see Müller, p. 44).

[2] There is some corruption here in our text. The Syriac words mean "of Darius like this."

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reached Alexander that Olympias his mother was seized with a great and sore sickness. Then he wrote a letter to Darius as follows: "From Alexander to Darius the king. Thou writest many new and artful words to me, and thinkest in thy pride that thou wilt glorify thyself by words, [which is] more than is right and beyond thy capacity. This is a sign of inferiority, and thy shame and disgrace will increase and become more in the world than that of other kings thy equals. Neither imagine this, that I now return because of the words of the letter which thou hast sent me; but the sickness of my mother Olympias compels me to return and to go to Macedonia. But I will make ready to come again against thee. So I retire from thy country in good order and in strength and might, like the blossoms of a tree glorious in its bloom; and I will become firm in thy land, like a vine branch which is cut off from the tree and planted in another spot. But as for these sesame seeds, which thou hast sent me to inform me of the number of thy army, I send thee a little mustard seed that thou mayest know that a little mustard is more pungent than a great deal of sesame."

Then Alexander wrote this letter and gave it, with the mustard, to the ambassadors, and sent them away; and he himself turned to go to Olympias his mother. While he was on the way, a report reached him, that one of Darius's generals was encamped in Arabia, and forthwith he marched against him, and they engaged in battle one with the other, and many men perished on both sides. So great was the number of slain there that even the sun was saddened by the sight of the multitude of dead and of the blood which was shed on the ground, and he shrouded his light as in a cloud, because he too was ashamed of this sight of pitilessness and want of mercy, and was grieved and desired not to look upon such impurity as this[1]. And when they had fought together thus violently for three days, Darius's general was defeated and gave way before Alexander, and fled with his troops and went back to Persia.

Before Darius took in his hand the letter which Alexander had sent, he questioned the ambassadors, saying, "What did Alexander do with the sesame seed which I sent him?" The

[1] Compare Meusel, p. 737, lines 1 and 2; Müller, p. 46, col. 2.

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ambassadors said to him, "He took a handful of it and put it into his mouth; and when he had eaten it, he said, 'They are many but tasteless!'" Then Darius took a handful of the mustard seed and put it into his mouth, and when he had eaten it, he said, "They are small but very pungent." When Eumenes the general heard this speech he said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, my lord the king, for although the army of Alexander is small, yet it is fierce and warlike, for of my army they have slain a multitude, both horse and foot."

Then Alexander gave orders to bury the corpses of the numbers of Macedonians and Persians who had died in this battle, for he did not neglect such a thing as this.

XLIII. And when Alexander was ready, with the spoil which he had taken, to go to Achaia[1], there too he captured a number of cities, and others of them he made horsemen and footsoldiers. And he departed from thence and went to the city of Pieria[2], which is in Bebrukia, of which city people say that the Nine Muses (that is, the Sciences) went forth from it. And from thence he came to Phrygia, that is Ilion, and in that place he offered sacrifices to Hector, whom in the Persian tongue they call Sôṭi; and he made offerings to Achilles, and to the river Âlîs, which they call Pôlîs[3], and to the rest of the warriors. He saw the river which they call Eskamlîs (Skamander), into which Achilles leaped, the breadth of which was five cubits. He saw also the river Ôltis (?), which was not very large, even as Homer wrote of it. And he answered and said to the rivers, "Happy are ye in that ye have found heralds (to proclaim your merits), even Homer himself who has named you in his poem great and glorious! Your deeds however, and the sight of your works, are not so worthy of admiration as the words of him who wrote of you." And when Alexander had made this speech, Krintîmos (?) drew near to Alexander the king of the Athenians and said, "O king Alexander, I too can put in writing this thy bravery and all thy actions in a better manner

[1] This name is evidently corrupt.

[2] In the Syriac *Pîlea*.

[3] This clause seems to be corrupt. The Latin translation (Müller, p. 48, col. 1) merely has "atque illic Hectora Achillemque unaque alios heroas divum honore participat."

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than Homer wrote concerning these (rivers), because the might of thy deeds and thy wars is greater than these." Then Alexander said to him, "Would that thy deeds were better than the words which Homer spake concerning them."

XLIII. And Alexander departed thence and came to Macedonia, and when he had entered there he found his mother Olympias recovering from her sickness; and he remained there with her a few days, and departed thence. And after these things he came to Abdêra[1]; and when the people of Abdêra heard it, they shut the gates of their city that Alexander might not enter it. And when Alexander saw this, he was exceedingly angry, and gave orders to set fire to it. And when the inhabitants of the city saw that they were setting their city on fire, they cried out with a loud voice and said to Alexander, "O king Alexander, we have not closed the gates of the city on this account, as if we wished to fight against thee, but we have shut them for this reason, lest when Darius hears of it, he may think we have delivered up the city into thy hands of our own will, and may utterly destroy us out of the world." Then Alexander said to them, "Open the gates according to your former custom; for I am not going to enter your city at present, but at the time when I shall have conquered Darius."

XLIV. And he departed thence, and came to Ḳûsîṭîres and to Nûṭîrâ, to the shore of the river Usṭîn[2], and he saw the lake which they call 'the second death', and the country was a place of cannibals; and a scarcity of food overtook them in that place, and they had nothing to eat and were distressed in their souls therein. Alexander bade them slay the horses which were in the camp, that the horsemen and footsoldiers might eat; and they ate and were satisfied; but they were all grieved about the horses, and were all without horses. Then Alexander said to them, "O my comrades, ye are alive instead of the horses, and in very deed ye are more needed than they. I know that horses are also necessary, but God forbid that ye should die, for of what use would the horses be then? But now our horses being dead and we alive, we shall be able by our strength to

[1] In the Syriac Bâbedlâ or Bâbeldâ.

[2] Probably *the Euxine Sea*, ὁ Εὔξεινος πόντος. The other names are also obviously corrupt.

find a land of food, where we shall also find horses. Horses may be found in many places, but Macedonians cannot be found everywhere." And by these words he persuaded his forces.

XLV. And he departed thence and came to the Locri, whence they obtained food and horses; and they remained there one day. And from thence he came to Aḳrantîs[1]; and thence he went to the temple of Apollo, and there he begged and entreated of the priest to ask an oracle from Apollo for him. And the priest said to him, "Thou art not permitted to ask an oracle from here." When Alexander heard these words, he was angered and said to the priest, "If thou dost not ask an oracle for me, I will take this tripod of divination and carry it away from here, even as Heracles did to his gods when they did not wish to give him an oracle." Having spoken these words, he straightway took the tripod of divination, which king Ḳrîthîthos [Croesus] of Lydia had made, from its place, and put it upon his shoulders. And when he had taken it, he heard a voice from within the temple which said, "Alexander, if Heracles did any such deed as this, he did it to the gods his equals; but thou art a mortal man. Strive not with the immortal gods, that the gods may be thy helpers and may tell thy power in the world." And when he had heard a voice like this, again another voice from within the temple answered and said: "O Alexander, listen to the oracle of Apollo which I have heard, and hearken and I will speak to thee. Men shall tell of thy power and thy name in the world, and thy name shall last for ever, because thy might and thy deeds will be great and glorious." When Alexander had heard these words, he said, "O Apollo, henceforward I will believe this augury, as I likewise so believed thy father at yon time."

XLVI. And he departed thence and began to march towards Thebes. And when he had drawn nigh and arrived at Thebes, he demanded of them four thousand men to recruit his army. But when they heard this request, they closed the gates of the city, and answered him never a word, but straightway armed themselves and mounted the wall. And four hundred men said from the wall to Alexander, "Come and

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκραγαντινοῦ (Müller, p. 49, col. 2).

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fight, or else depart from our city." When he heard this speech, he laughed, and answered and said, "Men of Thebes, who of your freewill have shut yourselves up, and who now command me saying, 'Either fight or depart from our city,' I am therefore going to fight with you, and by the fortune of Zeus, I will not make war with you as with brave and tried men, but I will fight with you as I would with weak and despicable fellows who are fit for nothing. Therefore shall ye be smitten with the point of the spear, because ye have of your own free will shut yourselves up in a cage. It is fitting to fight with valiant men and warriors in a plain or in a level place; but for effeminate men who live in cages it is good that they should be shut up in chambers and die like young girls." And when he had said this, he commanded a thousand horsemen to ride round the wall, and to shoot arrows at those who stood upon the wall. He likewise commanded two thousand footmen to destroy the foundations of the wall with picks and spades, and the upper part of it with long hooks and iron crowbars[1]. He also commanded four hundred other foot-soldiers to set fire to the gates of the city with burning torches, and other foot-soldiers to let go the battering rams[2] with violence against the wall and to shatter the wall. Now the battering ram is a warlike instrument used for the assault of cities, made of a huge log, the head of which is bound with iron, and fashioned in the shape of a ram's head; and it is fitted and fixed upon a revolving wheel, and men urge it forward with force from a distance, and grasp it and let it go with great violence, and it goes with impetus and strikes the wall or the gate, and wherever it strikes it makes a breach. Meanwhile Alexander with ten thousand men, slingers and casters of javelins[3] was fighting against one of the gates of the city. And when the fire had taken hold of the wall on all sides, and the arrows and missiles from the slings were shaking the wall everywhere, and were shot over the wall into the midst of the city, and fell like

[1] In the Greek *καὶ μακροτάτοις ὄνυξί τε [καὶ] σιδηρίοις μοχλοῖς*. The Syriac words are unknown to me.

[2] Literally "ram's heads."

[3] The Syriac has *casters with the right hand*, but the Greek word is λογχοβόλων (Müller, p. 50, col. 2).

lightnings when they flash from heaven to earth, the people who were wounded with the stones from the slings were many, and within the city and in the houses they were smitten by the arrows and missiles, and died. The city of the Thebans was burning three days and three nights; and on the fourth day, the gate of the city, at which Alexander was fighting, fell down all at once, and Alexander entered the city with a number of men; and when he had entered he commanded to throw open the other gates. And the four thousand horsemen with their horses[1] entered the city, and Alexander commanded them and said to them, "Slay all the people of the city." Now the walls of the city and the houses were broken up by the fire and were falling down. Then the army of the Macedonians made haste to slay the people, as the king had commanded them; and on a sudden much blood was shed in the city. When Alexander saw the great bloodshed and the destruction of the Thebans, he rejoiced in his mind and was glad. As the Macedonians desisted not from slaughter, neither were the blades of their swords sated with blood, and the Thebans, since they had no deliverance nor place of refuge, were perishing [before them], a certain singer who was a Theban by race, a man well trained and wise and of understanding, and who knew the Macedonian language,—this man, when he saw that the whole city of Thebes was on fire, and that every class of people in it were perishing, groaned bitterly like a man who was mourning for his country. Then he took his pipe in his hand and chanted skilfully and cunningly in the Macedonian tongue in strains doleful and sad and full of lamentation, and came before Alexander. Now by that mournful song and lugubrious strain Alexander's anger was a little pacified, and he spake with a loud voice to his forces saying, "Fellow soldiers, this singer knows how to work ill, for that implacable anger [of mine] against the Thebans, behold, he has extinguished."

And when the singer came into the presence of Alexander, he said, "Mighty king, great in power, and rich in knowledge, listen with compassionate heart to the voice of the Thebans thy

[1] The Syriac text has "with their heads" or "chiefs." Considering the Greek text (Müller, p. 51, col. 1), we must read either "with their horses," or "with their arms." The former seems better.

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servants who have rightly received their chastisement, who have not understood that thy power is like unto that of the gods. Now therefore we worship thee as a god, and take thee as a lord, the greatest of the gods. All we Thebans are in thy victorious hands that never yield: let thy mind be pacified and spare us. Know also that the destruction of the Thebans will be an injury to thyself in the first place, because thou too art a Theban and a son of our divine race, and thy serpent's head, which [thou dost inherit] from thy father, is from here; for the country belongs to Zeus. Dionysus, glorious in his being, and beautiful and splendid in his appearance, was born here; and Heracles, the hero of the twelve labours, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, appeared here; and Ammon, clothed with pride and ......his horns[1], was born in Thebes. All these gods are thy fathers and thy progenitors; and when they were born, they were born for the rest and the peace and the joy of men, and their aid and protection were extended over all mankind. Do thou too, therefore, rest from thine anger, and turn again to thy compassion; put away wrath, and draw nigh to gentleness; for thou too art of the race of the gods. Turn not away thy face from this beautiful gate which they call after Dionysus, which is now burning with flames of fire and ready to fall; and do not uproot this place built with oxen (?), for a temple like this [has never been] made in all [the world]. With a kind heart turn thy face [toward us], and look upon thy servants; for behold, small and great are perishing by one blow! Spare this great temple, thou that art of the race of the three gods; despise not the strength of the mighty Heracles, nor the pride of the glorious Ammon, nor the watchfulness of the beloved Dionysus. That these walls are thus rent asunder and falling is a great disgrace to the Macedonians. Knowest thou not, king Alexander, that thou thyself art a Theban, and that Philip was not thy father? Look and spare and compassionate the Thebans thy countrymen, for behold they all entreat thee with supplication, with the gods upon their hands, and they are seized with weeping on account of thee. Look at this Heracles, who for

[1] In the Syriac text the name of "Darius" has taken the place of an adjective referring to the god Ammon and his horns.

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the sake of the peace of mankind wrought twelve wondrous deeds in the world. Do thou also be like him, and turn thy wrath to mercy; and as the rain that waters the ground, do thou too in thy mercy rain down goodness upon them. Please all the gods, and do not ignorantly uproot the city of thy ancestors. Look, O king, and see, for this wall Zêthus the shepherd made, and Amphion who sang to the lyre[1], and they dwelt therein; and in this place Cadmus took Harmonia to wife; and in this place Aphrodite committed adultery with the Thracian. Do not then stupidly and without counsel uproot and destroy this place, founded by all the gods. For Zeus the first (of the gods) slept in this place three nights and begat children here, and then ascended to heaven. This high altar which thou seest is that of Hera, the mother of the gods, and this tripod of divination belonged to Teiresias; and all augury went forth from here. In this place Ardipos perished by the hands of Phôḳos[2], and this river which thou seest is......[3] and this is the fountain the pipes of which are silver, which the gods gave[4]. This place dense with foliage belongs to Artemis; she came to bathe therein, and the lustful Actaeon appeared to her naked, but he was severely punished by her, because he desired to see what was not lawful. And in this mountain which thou commandest to be destroyed, Artemis followed the chase. Why then dost thou despise in this manner the gods whose offspring thou art? for thou art of the race of Heracles."

While the singer was chanting these verses to Alexander in a lugubrious voice, anger seized on Alexander and he gnashed his teeth, saying, "O thou of evil race, fellow-counsellor and plotter with devils, thou stringest words together to the sound of the pipes, and thinkest that thou wilt be able to lead Alex-

[1] In the Syriac "and Alôros and Olympion."

[2] Both names in this clause are obviously corrupt. The Greek text has *Λέαρχος* and *'Αθάμας* (see Müller, p. 52, col. 1, line 20).

[3] Too corrupt to admit of translation. The corresponding Greek is, *οὗτος ἀπόρρους ἐκ μέσου Κιθαιρῶνος Ἰσμηνὸς ἐστι βακχεῖον φέρων ὕδωρ* (Müller, *loc. cit.*, l. 26, 27).

[4] Or according to another reading, "and this is the fountain in which the gods placed pipes of silver." The corresponding Greek words (Müller, p. 52, col. 2, line 2) are *αὕτη θεῶν πηγὴ καὶ ἱερὰ κρήνη, ἐξ ἧς ἀναβλύζουσιν ἀργυραὶ νύμφαι.*

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ander astray with words strung together and learned by heart, and knowest not that thou art leading thyself astray and not me. Even if this city be really, as thou sayest it is, the dwellingplace of the gods, thou knowest now that it has been destroyed on account of the baseness of the Thebans. Its temples too have been polluted and defiled, and therefore it is right that I should purify them by fire, because, according to what thou thyself hast said, the city belongs to my ancestors. This too I desire to know; since ye know, as ye yourselves say, who I am and by whom I was begotten, and that I am the offspring of the gods whose temples are here, why did ye come forth with battle and war against your own countryman? It would have been far more fitting, had ye given horsemen and foot-soldiers to aid me, and had ye thought within yourselves saying, 'Alexander is our countryman, and now that he is in difficulties it is good for us that we be his helpers;' it would also have been right for you to have received the Macedonians with kisses and affection as if they were your brethren. But now that ye have contended in war with Alexander, and have made trial of his arms, and have seen that ye are not able to stand before him, ye string words together, saying, 'Alexander is a Theban and our own countryman.' Now therefore I make known to you that ye should not have contended with nor opposed in war one that is your countryman, more especially one who is of the race of the gods, as ye yourselves have said; and on account of this deed ye are all guilty of death; but everyone who up to the present has escaped death I will let live for the sake of the skill of this singer. Go whithersoever ye please, for ye shall no longer have a home in Thebes, and no one shall be allowed to make mention again of the name of Thebes, and whoever shall name its name shall die; for henceforth this name shall no longer be a name, and this city shall be no city." Then he straightway expelled from the country those Thebans who remained alive, and he himself departed with his troops.

XLVII. Those Thebans whom Alexander had expelled from their country went to Apollo at Delphi to divine and to ask an oracle, if a time would come to their country when their city should be rebuilt. Then the Pythia drank of the water of

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the fountain of Castalia, that she might receive an oracle therefrom: and straightway she answered and said to them, "When the three athletes Polynicus, Antimachus [Clitomachus] and Ṭarkâṭîs (?) hold contest with one another, then will Thebes be rebuilt." When they heard this oracle, they turned and came from thence, and were continually awaiting [the fulfilment of] this augury.

Alexander went to Corinth, and arrived there while the Olympic games of the Corinthians were going on. Then the people of Corinth asked Alexander to become a spectator of the Olympic games with them; and Alexander consented, and went to the place of the contest, and sat with the Corinthians, and distributed crowns and gifts to the athletes who were victorious in the contest. On that same day a man from the city of the Thebans was present at the Olympic games, and he contested bravely in the athletic exercises, and his name was Antimachus [Clitomachus]. Now this man had written down his name and held himself ready to contest with three athletes. And when the man came into the arena, he threw two of them dexterously and skilfully to the ground, at which even Alexander marvelled and applauded him greatly. And when he came to Alexander to receive the crown, Alexander said to him, "If thou art able to throw this third man also, go, first of all take up the contest with him, and then return, and thou shalt receive the three crowns at one time and gifts, and whatsoever favour thou shalt ask of me I will give thee." Now when this athlete took up the third contest, he exhibited in it many tricks of skill in wrestling, and then he threw his adversary to the ground. And when he rose up from off him, and came to receive the crowns, the herald said to him, "What is thy name, and from what city art thou, that I may proclaim concerning thee and may make known thy deeds?" He said to the herald, "My name is Antimachus [Clitomachus] but I have no city." Alexander said to him, "How is it that so brave and expert and trained and skilful a man as thou art, who in one contest hast thrown three athletes, and who art now about to receive from me the crowns of victory, hast no city?" The athlete said, "O illustrious king and doer of good things, formerly, when Alexander was not king, I had a city; but after Alexander became king, he

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destroyed my city and made its name no name." Then Alexander recognised him by his speech to be a Theban, and handed to him the three crowns of victory, and bade the herald proclaim him to be of the city of Thebes, "but", said he, "I command the city to be built anew, because of these three gods who aided him in this contest."

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BOOK II.

I. Again Alexander set out from Corinth and came to Plataeae, a city of the Athenians, where they worship Proserpine[1]; and when he entered the temple of the god he found a priestess weaving purple. And as soon as she saw Alexander she said to him, "King Alexander, it is granted to thee to be renowned and chief among all men." When Alexander heard this speech, he commanded gifts to be given to her. A few days after, he who was ruler in the land went into the temple; and when the priestess saw the ruler, she said to him, "They will now speedily remove thee from this thy rule." The ruler however did not believe her, but he laughed in his anger and said to the priestess, "O woman unworthy of the office of divination, when Alexander entered this place, thou saidst to him, 'Thou wilt be chief and famous among all mankind'; and now when I come thou sayest to me, 'They will remove thee from thy rule.' Now I will make an interpretation of this augury of thine on thyself." So he gave orders and expelled her from her office of priestess, and set another in her place. Then the priestess said to the ruler, "Be not angry at this, for the gods determine beforehand everything that is to be, and indicate it to men in various countries, especially concerning the affairs of governors and rulers and distinguished men. When Alexander entered this place, it fell out that I had just thrown purple upon the garment which I was weaving and had begun to weave; now purple is a well known sign of royalty: but now, when thou didst enter, I was cutting off the garment from the loom, and this is a sign that the end is come to thy work, and that they will remove thee from the rule."

When Alexander heard that the ruler had removed that

[1] The Syriac text has "worship fire," but the word ܠܢܘܪܐ seems to be an error for ܠܩܘܪܐ, i.e. ἡ Κόρη (see Müller, p. 54, col. 1).

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priestess from her office, he commanded that she should be reinstated therein, and he made another ruler in his place. And it was straightway done as Alexander had commanded. But the ruler who was dismissed went to the Athenians, and related to them everything which Alexander had done to him. When the Athenians heard this, they considered it, and it displeased them much, and they reproached Alexander. When Alexander heard this, he wrote a letter to the Athenians, and put in it as follows. "From king Alexander to the Athenians. Since my father died, I have by destiny received the kingdom, and I have subdued most of the nations of the regions of the west, and all of them have received me with good will as king. I have also taken from them troops as auxiliaries to my army, and by their strength I have subdued the country of Europe, and have destroyed from its very foundations the city of the Thebans who of their own will did wickedness. And now I am come to this region of Asia, because I desire to know how ye will receive me. Therefore I have not written a letter of many words to you, but I speak briefly. Ye Athenians, either be brave, or surrender to the brave, and give a thousand talents of gold every year (as tribute)."

II. And when the Athenians had read this letter, they returned answer: "We the ten orators that are in Athens write thus to Alexander. During the time that thy father was alive, we were much afflicted by his living; and when he died, we were very glad at the death of Philip thy father (whose bones ought to be dug up), whom all the Greeks too hated. And now in the same manner we are incensed against thee, that a foolish boy and impudent, wicked and audacious, should demand a thousand talents every year, and under such a pretext should stir up war with us. Now however, if it be that thou really seekest war, come against us thus in battle array, and we shall be ready." When Alexander had read this letter, he wrote another letter to them. "From Alexander to the Athenians. I have sent Prôdîs[1] thither to cut out your tongues and to seize those ten orators who are in your city, and to bring them to me as they deserve; and ye who have not known

[1] Or *Phrôdîs*. The Greek and Latin texts have *Leontas* (Müller, p. 55, col. 2).

how to be persuaded by words will then be persuaded by the blaze of fire and the conflagration, at the time when ye see the demolition and destruction of your city. Now therefore send to us those ten orators, that perchance our thought may be for good and our pity be upon the land."

Again they wrote in reply to him: "We will not send them to thee, neither will we do that thing on account of which thou desirest to make war, namely to give tribute." Now when they were gathered together, Aeschines the orator stood upon his feet, and said to the people of the land: "Men of Athens, what is this delay that ye meditate so upon a thing like this? If ye desire to send us to Alexander, send us; and if not, we ourselves will go to Alexander trustfully. Now Philip was a lover of wars, and his star was given to battles and contests; but Alexander was trained by the hands of Aristotle, and he was at school with us. And we are confident that when we go to Alexander, he will be ashamed before us who are his teachers and fellow-learners, and his furious disposition will turn to love."

And when Aeschines had spoken thus, Dêmâtheos [Demades], a young orator stood upon his feet and said: "How long, O Aeschines, wilt thou send forth from thy mouth such timid and alarming words, (saying,) 'Let us not fight with Alexander.' What is this demon of timidity that has power over thee, that thou speakest such words to the people of Athens, and givest them such counsel? Dost thou desire by such counsel as this to make enmity between us and the king of the Persians on account of this silly and proud boy, who has adopted the impudence and insolence of his father, and now wishes to intimidate the Athenians? and even thou wishest to cast terror upon them now. Why pray should we fear to fight with Alexander? We who have chased away the Persians, we who have conquered the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians, we who in battle have put to flight the Phocians, we who have routed the Zacynthians, shall we be concerned because of this boy Alexander? As to what Aeschines has said, that when Alexander sees his teachers, he will be ashamed before them, and will turn away his wrath, and his disposition will become loving towards us as towards his friends,—he has disgraced us all; he has turned out and removed one who was a ruler in our land

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and has put in his place another who is our enemy." And the youthful orator went on: "Aeschines has said, 'When he sees us, he will be ashamed before us,' but he wishes in this way to deliver us naked into his hands. Let us fight," said he to them, "with that headstrong Alexander, for the disposition of the young is ever set upon pride, and their strength loves battle. Some will say, 'Alexander destroyed the Tyrians'; but they do not know that the Tyrians were fit for naught. Others will say, 'Alexander rased the city of the Thebans'; but they do not know that the Thebans were worn out and exhausted by continual battles and wars, wherefore Alexander prevailed over them. Others again will say, 'He led captive the Peloponnesians'; but this was not because of bravery, but owing to a scarcity of food and a famine in their land. Now I remember the mighty Xerxes[1] who essayed the sea with boats and ships and galleys, and covered the dry land with his horsemen, and darkened the brightness of the atmosphere with the sheen of his weapons, and filled the land of the Persians with Greek [slaves]. If then we turned back from here so great a prince and warrior as Xerxes, and broke his boats and ships on the sea, and drove away his horsemen from the land,—I do not mean we who are here present, but Ḳûdḳânôr and Antiphon and Mîsîchîs and Ḳeryâdklîs[2] and the rest of the mighty Athenian warriors who were among us at that time,—shall we now be afraid to make war with this impudent boy Alexander? If however ye wish to send us to Alexander, we are willing to go and die. But we tell you that words are our weapons, and that we are not different from dogs which have merely voice; and ye know that very often the sound of the barking of ten dogs is sufficient to deliver a flock of timid sheep from the claws of the wolves."

III. And when Demades had spoken all these words in the assembly, the Athenians rose and begged of Demosthenes that he would stand up and give counsel beneficial to the commonwealth. Then Demosthenes stood upon his feet and made a sign with his hand to the assembly to be silent. And when

[1] In the Syriac *Khusrô* or *Chosroes*.

[2] These names are evidently very corrupt: in Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 57) we find Cynaegirus, Antiphon, and Mnesochares or Mnesicharmus.

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they were silent, he said to them: "Fellow citizens,—I do not call you Athenians, because I myself am an Athenian and not a stranger,—ye know that our lives are the life of the commonwealth and that our death in the same way (is its death). Therefore it becomes us with great deliberation to give the advice which will give life to the commonwealth. For this reason too it is necessary for us to conquer. If we are able to fight with Alexander, let us fight; but if we are not able, let us submit to him. Now Aeschines, who has made a speech, has spoken to you craftily; he did not say (to the people) to fight with Alexander, neither did he say not to fight. He is a very aged man, and has given many good and fitting counsels in many assemblies. On the other hand, Demades is a young and inexperienced man, and therefore he has said, 'O Athenians, we —(to wit) Antiphon, and Krintmâkhos, and Ḳandnâḳîr, and Amnismâkhos, and Ḳardânâkêlos,—[1] turned back Xerxes the mighty king and the rest of those vast crowds and many kings.' But the people of the Athenians of whom thou hast made mention, who were famed of old for their prowess, O Demades, we have not with us now; those mighty warriors whose names thou hast called to mind as having been of old with us in Athens, that we might fight against Alexander trusting in their strength. But as they are long dead, and we have no other warriors in Athens like unto them, I do not wish that we should fight with Alexander, for every time has its own strength. We orators then, our strength and our weapons are words, but in power to fight we are weak. O Demades, what thou didst say, thou saidst rightly. During the time that he was king, the mighty Xerxes was defeated in many battles; but Alexander has carried on thirteen wars and has not been defeated in one of them, on the contrary he has seized many countries without any fighting and has captured famous cities. Demades has said, 'The Tyrians are of no use in battle; and the Thebans, who were never before defeated in battle, were weary and worn out and exhausted, and therefore they were defeated; the Peloponnesians were defeated on account of the scarcity and famine, and not by the hands of Alexander.' He heard that

[1] These are the same names that appeared above, with the addition of Krintmâkhos = Klitomachus.

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there was a famine in their land, and he, who was ready to go against them in war, sent them clothes and food from Macedonia; and when the general Antigonus saw Alexander (doing thus), he said to him, 'Dost thou send clothing and food to people with whom thou wishest to make war?' Alexander said, 'It is much better that I should fight with them and subdue them than that we should fight with them in a starving condition and utterly destroy them.' Now as regards this ruler in whose stead Alexander commanded another to be put, why are ye angry? He is a king, and that ruler wished to withstand him. If ye judge the case rightly, ye will all be grateful to Alexander in this matter, and will be angry with the ruler, because he is a (mere) ruler, and when he removed a priestess and prophetess of the gods, Alexander restored her to her place."

IV. And when Demosthenes had spoken such words as these, and had given the people of the country this advice in this speech, he received much praise from the Amphictyons and was applauded in a variety of ways. Demades stood silent, while Aeschines applauded; Lysias agreed with Demosthenes, and Plato said, "This is my opinion too." Dadnadḳînôs said, "I too am persuaded by this advice;" and Herlîṭâ said, "Let it not be otherwise[1];" while to the rest of the people of the country what Demosthenes had said appeared good.

And again Demosthenes said: "As Demades said, king Xerxes filled the land of the Persians with Greek captives; and he praised and applauded Xerxes, who turned the Greek captives into slaves for the Persians. And now he wants to make war with Alexander, who is a Greek, and wishes to bring the Persians into subjection to the Greeks. Demades in his speech praised him that is an enemy, and wishes to make an enemy of him that is a friend and fellow countryman. Consider this too, ye Athenians: no king has ever carried war into Egypt, except Alexander the son of Philip alone, and even he, when he went, did not go with the object of making war, but to consult the oracle, in what place it was granted to him to build a city after his name, from which his name should never be

[1] The Syriac translator has taken ܕܕܢܕܩܝܢܘܣ and ܗܪܠܝܛܐ to be names of single persons, but the Greek text has οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες for the former and οἱ Ἡρακλέες (?) for the latter.

forgotten. He received the oracle, and built the city, and completely finished it; and [it is] the [Alexandria] which is in the country of Egypt that was under the Persians[1]. [The Egyptians] entreated him that they might be with his army as auxiliaries against the Persians. Then Alexander, filled with wisdom, made answer to them, saying, "It is far better for you, ye Egyptians, to remain dwelling in your own country by the banks of the Nile, and to till your land by its overflowings, than to put on the weapons of Arês and to march far away to war. So the Egyptians came under Alexander's rule, and he built a city in the land of Egypt and gave it to the Greeks. It is for this reason that, when the army of the Macedonians is under service and engaged in fighting, the Egyptians supply it with clothing and corn. In this manner he made Egypt subject to the Greeks, and brought men of all nations to it and made them dwell therein. Just as that land is abundant in crops and tillage, in the same way that city too is become very populous, and they pay large taxes and tribute to the Greeks. If then the Egyptians, who are loved by the Greeks, have taken upon themselves to give tribute to Alexander the Greek, and have counted him to be their lord, why do ye, who are Greeks, wish to be enemies of Alexander and fight with him? Go forth then to fight with Alexander; but Fortune is his slave[2]."

V. And when Demosthenes had spoken these words, the Athenians were unanimously convinced, and they sent to Alexander a golden crown of victory weighing fifty pounds, together with a letter of thanks and gratitude and praise. They wrote down too therein the speech and opinion of each man upon this matter, and sent them to him. And they chose the oldest and best known men from among the Athenians and sent them on an embassy to him, but the ten orators they did not send to him. Then the ambassadors went to Alexander at Plataeae and laid the crown and the letter before him. When Alexander had read this letter and had heard the counsel of Aeschines and the teaching of Demosthenes and the bold words of Demades and the consenting of the people and the praise of the Amphictyons, Alexander composed another letter to them

[1] The Syriac text is evidently defective in this passage.

[2] Literally, "time has given him the hand (of submission)."

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and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander the son of Philip and Olympias to the Athenians. I will not write to you as king until I make all cities subject to the Greeks; but I write to you to send me the ten orators; not that I am going to do them any harm, but that I may salute them as masters and teachers. It is no plan of mine to come against you with weapons and troops, lest ye should count me an enemy; but I think of coming to you with those ten orators, instead of with nobles and princes, and of setting you free from many anxious thoughts and cares. Ye however think otherwise, because ye know your own minds and thoughts, and are aware that ye are guilty in regard to us. At the time when the Scythians[1] fought with the Macedonians, ye were auxiliaries to the Scythians; but when the Corinthians made war with you, the Macedonians assisted you and delivered you from the hands of the Corinthians. We erected a statue of Athene in Macedonia, while ye have swept away from its place the statue of my mother which stood in the temple of Athene in your city. Do ye think that this recompense is just which ye have made unto us? because ye remember all these things, therefore ye are in trouble, saying, 'Alexander will seek revenge upon us.' And because your own minds and thoughts and the deeds which are done by your hands are perverse and crafty continually, therefore ye expect the same behaviour from others. Moreover ye have not left a single man of the glorious and honoured men that are among you whom ye have not despised and ill treated. Ye confined in prison Euclid; and ye cruelly oppressed Ṭirmastênîs (?)[2], who was the counsellor of right measures, who went to king Cyrus as an ambassador on your behalf. Did ye not disgrace Alcibiades, who was a good general over you. Did ye not also slay Socrates, who was a herald in Hellas? Philip my father too, who assisted you in three wars, ye treated ungratefully. And now ye blame Alexander, who took vengeance for you upon a ruler who had removed your priestess of the goddess Athene, whereas I reinstated her and dismissed the doer of the deed and

[1] Read, as in the Greek text (Müller, p. 60, col. 1), *Zacynthians*.

[2] AE *Ṭirmastenis*, BCD *Ṭirmtênis*. The single MS. of the Greek text has Ἱπποσθένης, but the Latin translation gives, *Demosthenes*, which Müller follows (p. 60, col. 2).

set up another in his stead. I have read the letter which ye sent me, and by the speeches made the counsel given in your assemblies I have learned of your disturbance. Now Aeschines gave you good advice, and Demades courageously and bravely invited you to war, and Demosthenes gave you excellent counsel. Now then let the Athenians be brave, and let them have no fear of me, and let them fight for freedom; for it would be a disgraceful thing that, while I am fighting for your freedom, ye should not be fighting for yourselves. At present however I require nothing from you, until I conquer Darius."

VI.[1] Then Alexander departed from thence and went to Macedonia [Lacedemonia]. And he came to the border of Persia and encamped by the river Tigris. And Alexander went on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. And the Persians came and informed king Darius; and when they had spoken, and Darius had seen Alexander, he bowed himself down and did reverence to Alexander, for he imagined him to be the god Mithras, who had descended (from heaven) and had come to assist the Persians, for his aspect resembled that of the gods; for the crown of gold that was fastened on his head resembled the rays (of the sun), and the robe which he had on was woven with fine gold, and the pieces of armour which were upon his arms were wrought with fair silver, and his sandals were of gold, and his belt was made of pearls and emeralds[2]. And Darius was standing and examining his apparel, and ten thousand horsemen, who formed his body guard, were standing near him, Then Darius asked Alexander, "Who art thou?" Alexander said, "I am the ambassador of Alexander and I have brought a message from him to thee. Thus he says: 'Thou hast delayed to make war on me, and the Macedonians say that because the heart of Darius is timid in battle, therefore he is reluctant (?) to fight.' Now therefore, do not delay but send word to me when thou desirest to come to battle." Then Darius said

[1] The first sentence of this chapter corresponds with the first sentence of Chap. VI. in Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac text passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[2] In the Greek text it is Alexander who well nigh bows down before Darius, and the subsequent description is that of the Persian king.

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to him, "Peradventure thou thyself art Alexander, and not an ambassador"? for Alexander spoke very boldly, and not gently like an ambassador. Darius said to him, "I am not frightened at thy words. Do thou now, according to the custom of ambassadors, partake of a meal with me, for so did Alexander treat my ambassador." Then Darius reclined upon his couch, and his nobles and princes sat at meat before him[1]. The first was Darius, the second Bar-nôrag his brother, the third Vashingî, the fourth Dôzyâg, the fifth Bâmar, the sixth Zâdmihr, the seventh Vârdâr, the eighth Ḳnî'ar[2], the ninth.........the king of the barbarians, the tenth Prôdîs the chief of the host, the eleventh Prîyôz the general, the twelfth Rĕbîthmâs; and opposite Darius, in the middle, sat Alexander who was the ambassador.

VII.[3] And all the people were wondering at him because he was small in stature, but his words were very keen. And when they had eaten, they called for wine in a jar. Every golden cup which they passed to Alexander, he poured the wine upon the ground and placed the vessel in his bosom; when they saw what he was doing, they told Darius; and Darius, when he heard it, rose from his couch, and came to Alexander and said to him, "O doer of valiant deeds, why dost thou act in this manner, putting all the drinking cups in thy bosom?" Alexander said, "When my master Alexander makes a feast for his nobles, he gives all the golden drinking cups to them, and I thought that thou wouldst act in the same way; but now, since thou hast not a similar custom, behold the drinking-cups are before thee, command and I will restore thy gold to thee." Then Darius said, "I too command that they leave thy gold to thee." Meanwhile all the Persians were looking at Alexander and marvelling, because his words were mighty and full of knowledge. When then a certain lord, whose name was Pûsâk [Pasargês], who had once been sent by Darius to Macedonia, on an embassy to Philip, Alexander's father, had carefully scrutinised

[1] Compare the text of Codex A in Müller, p. 69, note 23.

[2] This name *Ḳnî'ar* is no doubt corrupt; and instead of the name of the king of the barbarians we have the Syriac words *wa-m'ṣa'thâ*, meaning "and the middle."

[3] Chap. XV. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 70).

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Alexander, he recognised him, and said to Darius in the Persian language, "O doer of good things, king Darius, give orders that they guard this ambassador most carefully, for he himself is Alexander, and I recognise him by his appearance and know that it is he." When Darius and his nobles and princes heard this, they began to speak with one another, and to watch Alexander closely. Then Alexander perceived this, and rose up from the banquetting hall, and sprang towards the king's gate, with all the vessels of gold, which he had in his bosom; and at the king's gate he found a sentinel, holding in his hand a flaming torch of cedar-wood, and he slew him and took it from him. And he mounted a horse and dug his heels into its flanks, at the same time holding the blazing torch of cedar-wood before its eyes; and the horse by the light of the fire galloped furiously down the road and came to the bank of a river. Then messengers went out after him in haste, but the greater part of them fell into pits and holes because of the darkness of the night. Now Alexander by the might of the gods crossed the river, but when he had reached the other side and the fore feet of the horse rested on dry land, the water which had been frozen over suddenly melted, and the hind legs of the horse went down into the river. Alexander however leaped from the horse to land, and the horse was drowned in the river. When the messengers came to the bank of the river and saw that Alexander had crossed over, while they were unable to pass over after him, they marvelled and said one to another, "Great is Alexander's luck, which has given him a passage over so great a river and he has been able to cross it." And when they returned, they came to Darius and informed him of Alexander's escape and of his crossing the river. Darius was in great trouble, and a sign suddenly appeared to him; for the picture of king Xerxes, whom Darius loved, was painted on the wall of the banqueting room, and suddenly it peeled off from the wall and fell to the ground under the very eyes of Darius. After Alexander had crossed the river, he rested from his running and from his toil, and getting on his feet, he walked on; and in the darkness of the night he saw Âmôrôs [Eumêlus] the general standing by himself, in great trouble because of Alexander and

weeping. Then Alexander told Âmôrôs all the things which had befallen him.

VIII. And then he took him and went to the army, and commanded the whole army to be gathered to one place, and he himself stood in the midst of them. And when he saw that his army was despised in the sight of Darius, he said to himself, "O heavenly Zeus, give victory to this small band of Macedonians;" and when he had counted them, the army of Macedonians consisted of a hundred and thirty thousand, besides the rest of the peoples that were with him; and they were all skilful and brave. Then Alexander went up to a high place and said to his troops: "My fellow-soldiers and friends, I know that our army is small, but it is not right for us to be afraid on this account, for one man of us through his bravery is better than a hundred of them. The bees that make honey are very numerous, and whithersoever they fly they darken the air by their flight, but when a little smoke comes near them, they all flee away and are dispersed. Now the army of Darius is like nothing but a swarm of bees; therefore fear them not." And when Alexander had spoken thus to his troops, he inspired them with courage and stirred them up and incited them to fight.

IX. And he departed from thence and came to the river Esṭrakînôs [Strangas]. Then Darius encouraged his troops, saying, "Fear not, though ye be very few in number;" and Darius was troubled on account of the smallness of his army. And when he found that the river was frozen, he crossed the river and commanded the heralds to cry with a loud voice and to invite the Macedonians to battle. Now the troops of the Persian phalanx were without number and were prepared for war with weapons of all sorts and with chariots and with long scythes. Then Alexander clad in armour came at the head of the Macedonians, and he was riding upon the horse called Bucephalus, which no man dared to approach, for the power of the gods was upon him. Then from the camps of both sides the horns and trumpets sounded the fearful blasts of war, and the two armies closed with one another. And from the second to the fifth hour the fight was so fierce that the whole river side and the valley and the

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ravines were filled with the corpses and blood of the slain. Now although such was the case, the troops of the Greeks did not turn their faces from the fight. And when Darius saw that a great number of the mighty men of his army were dead, and that the Macedonians did not turn their faces from the battle, fear fell upon his heart, and he turned the reins of the horses of his chariot, and the whole host of warriors turned back after him. Then Alexander's foot soldiers armed with long scythes pursued them and mowed them down like corn in the field. And Darius being vanquished came to a certain river, and finding it frozen, he himself crossed over it in his chariot; but when the army of Darius came to the bank of the river, the troops began to cross over it, and suddenly the ice of the river melted under them, and the army was drowned in the river, and those that remained upon the other side of the river were slaughtered by the Macedonians. Then Darius went into his palace, and threw himself upon his face on the ground, and began to weep for the army of the country, for all the warriors of the country were dead and had perished, and for the land which had been emptied of its mighty men; and he began to say: "Woe is me, which of the stars is it that has destroyed the kingdom of the Persians? I, Darius, who subdued many lands and cities and nations, and reduced a multitude of islands and towns to slavery, have now entered my palace in flight and discomfiture. I who with the sun traversed the world—but in brief, it is not right for a man to rely upon his destiny, for if his luck turn and there be an opportunity, it lifts up and exalts the most despised of men and seats him above the clouds, while it brings down the lofty from his height and casts him into the depths." And when he had said this, he rose up from his palace and collected his thoughts, and composed a letter to Alexander and wrote to him thus: "From Darius the king to my lord Alexander. Know first of all that thou art born a man; and I will give thee this token that even thou mayest not meditate anything too great for thee. Because even the mighty Xerxes, who shewed me the light,—he whom the Greeks so loved, as thou must have heard[1],—meditated something too high for him, and

[1] The Syriac text appears to be corrupt in this passage.

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afterwards, having given his mind to greediness, he who lacked nothing, neither gold nor pearls, nor precious stones nor statues of brass, when his good luck left him, returned from Hellas defeated. And now, call thou these things to mind, and be gracious to us and have mercy upon us, for we have now fled to thee for refuge. Behold now my mother and my wife and my daughter, those who have been given to me by the gods as a joy from the god of gods; they were famed and honoured throughout the whole world; do thou take them as thy slaves. And I will shew thee the treasures which my ancestors laid up from the beginning upon the earth. And I will entreat the gods that henceforth thou mayest be master over the Palhâyê [Parthians], and the Persians, and the rest of the nations of the world, all the days of thy life; because Zeus hath exalted thee. Farewell."

And when Alexander had read this letter, he gave orders to assemble the troops that they might consider the matter together. And when they were gathered together, Plîmthiôn [Parmeniôn] the general said: "O king, if we receive the treasures and possessions and land which have been wrested from us, we must deliver up to him his mother and wife and daughter. But Darius ought to have sent this message before the battle. I know this, if he had been victor in this struggle, he would not only have asked for his mother and wife and daughter, but would have taken away our land from us. And know, O king, that Darius offended us first and took our land from us; and now it is right and just and lawful if we avenge ourselves on Darius, who seized a land which did not belong to him, and has held it until now. We know also, O king, that thou camest forth from thy country to seek thine own dominions. Had he restored to us our land, thou, O king, would'st never have come hither." Then Alexander said, "The matter is exactly as thou hast said," and he straightway gave orders to attend to those who had been smitten and wounded in the battle, and to bury the dead. He bade them also to offer sacrifices to the gods of the land, and to burn the palace of Xerxes, the like of which for beauty and magnificence existed not in the whole country; but after a short time Alexander repented and gave orders to extinguish the fire in the palace of Xerxes.

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X. And he saw there many graves of the Persians with vessels of gold and cups of silver in which wine was mingled. He saw also the grave of king Pâkôr, which was built with stones and lime in the form of a tower and had no roof, and there was a large chamber made in it, and over the chamber was an upper room; and in that upper room was a golden coffin, in which was laid the body of king Cyrus (Kôresh), and a slab of crystal was cast so as to fit it exactly, and the hair and the body of Cyrus were seen through the crystal. Now in this tower certain Greek artisans[1] were imprisoned, some with their hands or ears cut off, and some with their noses slit, and their feet were bound with fetters. When the Macedonians had gone to that building, those who were imprisoned therein cried out in the Greek tongue to Alexander, "Have mercy upon us, and take pity on thy servants and thy countrymen." And when Alexander saw that their limbs were mutilated and their appearance was horrible, he let the tears fall from his eyes and was very grieved for them, and bade them to be loosed from their fetters. He gave orders too that a thousand zûzê[2] should be given to each one of them with meat and food, and that they should return to their own country. But after they had received the zûzê from the king, they begged as a favour that land and water might be given them, and that they might not return to their own country, lest, by reason of the defects of their bodies, they should become a reproach and a disgrace to their brethren. Then Alexander ordered that the best and most excellent of land and water should be given to them, and that to each man should be given six working oxen together with other property.

XI. After these things Darius made ready for war, and he wrote a letter to Porus, the king of the Indians. "From Darius the king of kings to Porus the king of the Indians, greeting. I have written letters to thee before, asking for assistance in the ruin of my house, because the savageness and fury of this evil beast, which is come against me, do not, as it seems to me, resemble man's; it casts itself into the sea, and loves battle by water, and does not wish to give back to me my mother and my wife and my daughter, neither does he desire to make peace

[1] The Greek text has "certain Greeks, Athenians" (Müller, p. 75, col. 1).

[2] *Zûzê* is the equivalent of the Arabic *dirham*, δραχμή.

with me in any way whatsoever. Therefore I have no resource but of necessity am bound to fight with him. Now thus will I do; either I will take his country from him, or I myself will no longer go about among the living in this world. Have pity then upon me at this time, and avenge me that am despised. Remember too the mutual love and friendship, and confidence which existed between our fathers, and give orders to gather together troops from every place and bring them with thee to the Caspian gates, which are called Vîrôphhâgâr; and I will give to every single man of those who come to my assistance every month three horses and six darics and corn and straw and hay and whatever food he requires; and to thee will I give the half of whatever spoil and booty they make. I will give to thee too the horse called Bucephalus upon which Alexander rides; and I will give thee the royal lands together with his royal palace and one hundred and seventy concubines with their ornaments and trinkets and clothing." Then the report (of this) reached Alexander, and he straightway armed his troops and set out from thence, and went forth to the country of the Parthians. And when Darius heard that Alexander was come from the place which was called Beṭmĕthâ[1], he arose and wished to flee before Alexander; and when Alexander heard this, he pursued after him quickly.

XII. And when he was come nigh, the nobles of Darius acted treacherously, and Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh[2], Darius's generals wished to slay him that they might receive gifts from Alexander, as from a man whose enemy they had slain. Then with drawn swords they rushed upon Darius, and Darius knew their treachery and answered and said to them: "My lords, who aforetime were my servants, in what have I offended you that ye wish to slay me? Do not do to me anything worse than what the Macedonians have done to me, and let not your hands be against me like those of Alexander. See too that I am perpetually in tears and in great trouble; my fortune is evil and treacherous. Peradventure, if ye slay me, and Alexander comes

[1] The Greek text has *Ἤκουσε δὲ Δαρεῖον εἶναι ἐν* Ἐκβατάνοις, with the var. *ἐν* Βατάνοις, Lat., *in Bathanis*.

[2] The Greek equivalents are *ὁ* Βῆσσος *καὶ ὁ* Ἀριοβαρζάνης (Müller, p. 76 col. 2).

and finds a king slain by the treachery of his troops, he will take fierce vengeance upon you; for it is not right that a king should see a fellow king treacherously slain by his troops and should overlook it and not avenge his cause. When Darius had spoken these words, Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stabbed him with their swords, driving them right through his back, and Darius fell to the ground. When the army of the Macedonians came up, Alexander commanded them to halt, and he went up to Darius alone. And when Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh saw Alexander at a distance, they left Darius their lord half dead, and fled, that they might see how pleased Alexander would be by reason of the death of Darius. But when Alexander came up to Darius, and saw that he had been mercilessly stabbed and was lying on the ground, he let fall tears from his eyes upon Darius, and spread over Darius the purple garment with which he was clothed, and sat down by him, and laid his hand upon the breast of Darius, and said to Darius sorrowfully: "Rise up, Darius: be lord again over thy land, and take the royal crown of the Persians, and be again renowned for greatness. I swear an oath by all the gods that I say this in sincerity and do not speak falsely; I will restore and give to thee alone the crown and kingship, because I ate salt at thy table when I came to thee as a spy. And now stand up and play the man; for it does not become a king to be in trouble because his luck turns away from him for a little while. We are all men, and are yoked to fate, and as fate wills so it exalts us. Arise now, and play the man, and take thy country, and henceforth thou shalt have no trouble or sorrow through me. Say then now, who these are that stabbed thee, and I will take vengeance for thee upon them."

When Alexander had spoken all these words, Darius heaved sighs and let fall tears from his eyes, and took Alexander's hand from his breast and brought it to his mouth and kissed it, and said to him: "My son Alexander, never let thy mind be lifted up by vainglorious arrogance; for thou doest and performest and orderest all deeds and works and orderings like the gods, and thou mayest imagine in thy mind that thy hands have reached heaven. Then it will be necessary for thee to fear what may happen in the hereafter. Because of this it is certain to me

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that fate is known neither to the king nor to the meanest among men, and that the final destiny of men is hidden and concealed from all. Look now what I was, and what I am: I who proudly subdued and captured countries and lords and many kings of the earth trembled at me; and now I am cast away like the lowest of all men. And of all the host of my generals and officers and ambassadors, not one is near me now to close my eyes, except these hands of thine, O king, doer of good things. Let the Macedonians and Persians sit in mourning for me, and let the two armies become one, and let the seed of Philip and Darius be one. And as for Ariôdocht [Îrândokht][1] my mother, regard her now as if thou thyself wert born of her, and consider my wife as thy sister, and take my daughter Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] for thy wife, that the seed of Darius and of Philip may be mingled in her." Then Alexander brought his hand to the face of Darius, who said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit[2];" and straightway his soul departed.

XIII. Then Alexander gave orders to wash the body of Darius, and to array him in royal apparel, and that all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies should march in full armour before Darius; and he together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.

When the Persians saw these things, they applauded Alexander's care for Darius; and their minds were led away by love for him. And when Alexander had buried Darius with honour and had returned from the grave, the whole army of the Persians submitted to him. Then Alexander ordered a proclamation to be written to the rest of the people in the land of Persia as follows: "From Alexander the king, whose father is the god Ammon and whose mother is the queen Olympias, to all the Persians that dwell in the cities and towns of the land of Persia, greeting. I desire that all men should live and not die an evil death; and now God has made me master of the country

[1] See Chap. XIV. near the beginning.

[2] Literally, "in thy hands I leave my spirit." These words seem to contain a reminiscence of S. Luke's Gospel, ch. xxiii. 46, and so betray the Christian translator. The Greek text (Müller, p. 78, col. 1) is *ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου.*

of Persia, and has exalted me over you. Let the lords, the nobles of your country, who served of old in the army of Darius, come now and march with me in my army, even as they formerly marched with Darius. Let them not accept any other master in their thoughts save me, Alexander. And I will give orders that every single man of you shall retain his own religion and gods and laws, and shall keep his festivals and his sacrifices, and no one shall be allowed to do anything to you by violence. Every one shall rejoice in his own possessions, save the gold and silver which we command to be gathered together and to be conveyed to our city to be coined into money and into dînârs bearing my image; and we order that, if zûzê or darics be found with you, even though our own money be struck, they shall be left there with you. Let all the lords [satraps] and generals, together with the rest of the people who are fit for war, come to help my army. Nation shall not be mingled with nation, neither shall one man go from his own land to another, except those who travel for the sake of merchandise, and even of these not more than ten or twenty shall be allowed to go. Till the land and dwell in it in prosperity as in the days of Darius the king; for we desire that prosperity and abundance should be in your land. Whosoever of you desires to go to Hellas to trade and to come back from Hellas to the land of Persia, shall be allowed to go and to come. And I command the lords [satraps] and all the inhabitants that are on this road from the bank of the Euphrates to Hellas to divide and measure the road in equal portions, to pave it with stones and lime, to set up mile stones, and to write directions at the turnings of the roads, that every man may know by the writings whither the road goes, and may not have trouble and be compelled to ask questions on the road. And we command that what Darius gave every year, year by year, to the temple of the ministers of the gods for the salvation of his soul, shall now be given each year where it is due, from the crops and taxes of the land, for the salvation of his soul. And let them make a feast and offerings every year on his birthday as they do upon the birthday of king Cyrus. And we command that damsels, the daughters of free men, virgins whom men have not known, shall enter into the temple of the god whom my mother Olympias worships, for

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the space of one year for the service of the gods; and when they have arrived at the age for marriage, they shall go forth from the ministry, and shall receive a dowry of five thousand dînârs from the treasury of the god, and shall marry. And we command that all youths and men who are in the country of the Persians shall train themselves continually in warlike exercises and arms until we come to them and select from them those that please us. And if there be any one now who is well trained in horsemanship and arms, weapons shall be given him out of the armoury of the king, and a war horse, and a beaker of gold worth twelve dînârs, each weighing eight *mithkâls*, and five cups of silver, each of them holding what a man can take at a draught, and one suit of Persian raiment, and a belt of gold; and he shall be sent to the army. And if there be any one of them who is trained in war and who has made himself a famous name, there shall be given to him a Persian crown of gold, and a suit of white raiment, and two cups of gold, and one hundred darics, and seventy staters; and his likeness shall be painted and shall be sent to the temple of the god of Alexander. We command too that the priests of the gods shall be held in honour by all men, and they shall set a crown of gold upon their heads, and shall wear purple clothing, especially on festival days. We desire also that ye shall bring before the priests any dispute which ye may have one with another, and they shall decide it, and terminate the matter for them with moderation."

After Alexander had composed this writing, he turned and looked upon the hosts of the Macedonians and Persians with a sad face, and he made known to them and said, "He whom I have removed from his kingdom was a great and mighty king, but he was not my lord, neither did I slay him. Now the men who slew him are those whom I know not, and it befits me to give them great gifts, and high posts, and honours, and lands, and many men, because they have slain mine enemy." When Alexander had made this speech, every Persian regarded his fellow, and the colour in their faces was changed by reason of fear, and one said to another, "Alexander is trying to search out our minds, wishing to know who it is that slew Darius." And again he said to them: "I am Alexander.

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Him that slew mine enemy I seek to honour, whether he be Macedonian or Persian; let him come and fear not; for I swear by the gods, and by the life of my mother Olympias, that I will make renowned and great him that slew Darius, and I will exalt him over my troops." When Alexander had sworn this oath, the Persian host began to weep. Then the evildoers Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh came near to Alexander of their own free will and answered and said to him, "O king, doer of good things, it is we who slew Darius." When Alexander heard this, he commanded that they should be bound, and should be carried to the grave of Darius, and impaled upon a lofty stake. Then these evildoers said to him with a loud voice, "Our lord, the oath which thou hast sworn by all the gods and by the life of Olympias thy mother is false." Then Alexander said: "I spoke not this word of persuasion for your sakes, but for the sake of the armies who stand listening, because I was unable to bring you into the way of justice in any other manner than this. Had I not done so, I should have appeared to be rejoicing in the death of Darius, the more so as I accounted him an enemy. But my supplication and entreaty to the gods was this, that I might be enabled to destroy him that slew Darius; for how can a man who was not true to his lord, but who slew his lord audaciously and unmercifully, be true to us? See then, we do not lie with respect to the oath which we have sworn; for now, just as I sware to you, I will make you a spectacle and a marvel to the whole camp, and I will lift you up on stakes." So he straightway commanded them to be led away and impaled upon high stakes. Then all the hosts of the Persians applauded Alexander.

XIV. After a few days Alexander wrote a letter to the mother and wife of Darius as follows. "From king Alexander to Îrândokht and Esṭĕhar[1] [Statira] greeting. At the time when king Darius opposed us with hostility, we sought to avenge ourselves according to the will of God. Although we

[1] So the name is pointed in Syriac, but the letter ܗ should rather be taken as the equivalent of a Greek vowel. If we write ܐܣܛܗܪ, we have an adequate representation of the form *Στάτερα*, more commonly *Στάτειρα* (or *Στατεῖρα*, MSS. *Στατῆρα*), for ܗ is constantly = *ε*.

sought the victory over Darius, we did not desire his death. On the contrary, our desire was that he might live and be under our dominion. We found him however stabbed by the hand of his troops and lying upon the ground, with very little life left in him. I was very grieved for him, and because of my sorrow I threw over him the purple robe with which I was clothed, and covered him. And I asked him, 'Who is he that slew thee?' But when he had begun to give me instructions concerning his mother and his wife and Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] his daughter, his life departed from him, and he was unable to speak to me concerning other matters. We therefore sought out the evildoers by stratagem, and found them, and slew them as they deserved. We ordered the body of Darius to be buried and to be guarded honourably and fittingly. And we commanded a new grave to be made beside the grave of his father, and his body to be embalmed with spices, and to be laid in the grave. And now we bid you keep yourselves from sorrow and grief, for we will re-establish you in your royalty; therefore remain where ye are, until we have arranged the matters which require arrangement. We command also that Rôshnâḳ the daughter of Darius be our consort; therefore do reverence to Rôshnâḳ as to the wife of Alexander." Then they made answer to him and wrote to him as follows: "From Îrândokht and Esṭĕhar to king Alexander greeting. We make supplication to the heavenly gods, the gods whom Olympias your mother worships, the gods who have bowed down the crown of Darius and brought it to the ground, and have taken the supremacy and dominion from the Persians, that they may make you lord of the world for ever and aye, and that they may exalt you and magnify you in words and in knowledge and in power above all nations. We know that we shall live happily under your wings; and we wish that we may find your luck to be good, and the days of your life without number, because you have not treated us as enemies are wont to treat their captive enemies when they fall into their hands. We have therefore no anxiety in our minds, for in seeing you we see Darius; and from henceforth we will write that all the people that are in the land shall make supplication and prayer to

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the gods that you may rule the land and the world for ever and aye, and may your dominion be like that of Hormizd [Ahuramazda]. Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] greets you with reverence because it has pleased you that she should be your consort; and we shall be very joyful on the day that we see your marriage feast, and Zeus gives you Rôshnâḳ to wife." And they wrote another proclamation to all the hosts of the Persians, as follows: "Do not suppose that Darius is dead, for Darius is alive, because the kingdom belongs to Alexander, and Rôshnâḳ, the daughter of Darius, is the wife of Alexander. Therefore take ye all the gods that are in Persia, and go to meet Alexander, and honour him as a god, and pray to the gods on his behalf that his dominion may be for ever and aye; for the kingdom of the Persians belongs to Alexander, and he has exalted it greatly." When Alexander had read this writing, he said: "These words are strange and useless; I do not seek that men should honour me as they do the gods, for I am a mortal man, and I am afraid of anything like this, for there is a heavy penalty for a man when he goes beyond his proper limit. I applaud you and praise your knowledge, for when I made trial of your wisdom it pleased me; and I wrote a letter to Olympias my mother and begged of her the favour that she would come to my marriage feast, if it so pleased her."

On this account......[1] Alexander wrote a letter to Rôshnâḳ as follows: "From Alexander to Rôshnâḳ my sister greeting. I send thee clothes and other ornaments for thine own self, and to Îrândokht the mother of Darius, and Esṭĕhar [Statira] his wife, for themselves. Accept then and keep for thyself these clothes and ornaments. First of all be pleasing to the gods; then pay due reverence to Îrândokht and Esṭĕhar, and hold them in honour; and fear thou the command of Olympias my mother, and do not exalt thyself beyond measure. If thou doest these things, both I and thou shall be praised exceedingly and all the gods be well pleased with us." Then Alexander took Rôshnâḳ to wife[2].

[1] The meaning of the words [illegible] (if correctly written) is not known to me. We should expect some epithet applicable to Alexander, as φρενήρης and the like.

[2] The remainder of Book II. (see Muller, p. 82) is wanting in the Syriac translation as well as in the Latin.

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BOOK III.

I. AND Alexander heard that Porus the king of the Indians had prepared troops and was wishing to come to the assistance of Darius, but when he heard that Darius was dead, he returned to his own land. And Alexander with all his hosts offered up sacrifices; then taking his army and troops, he went against Porus the king of the Indians. Now when he had gone round about and had marched for many days through a desert and torrents and terrible places and many rivers, all the chiefs of the army were worn out and said among themselves, "We have fought a great deal, we have had enough of war, and there is no need for us to fight any longer. We rightfully fought with Darius, for he imposed tribute upon us, and used to required impost and poll-tax from us every year, and we therefore destroyed Darius as was meet. But now this war is unnecessary, because we are marching against the Indians, who never at any time made war with the Greeks, through this fearfully desert country, being weary and fatigued and worn out with toil. Alexander is brave and a lover of wars, and he wishes to seize all foreign countries; but why should we, who have toiled all this time and are worn out with many battles, go about with him?" And when Alexander heard these things, he commanded that all his forces should be assembled, and he gave orders for the Persian army to stand by itself, and for the Greek and Macedonian armies to stand by themselves. And Alexander said to them with a loud voice: "To you I speak, ye Macedonians and Greeks, my fellow soldiers and auxiliaries. Ye know that the Persian troops are now in my hands, and are neither enemies of mine nor yours. If ye give me orders and it pleases you that I should go by myself, I will go by myself; but I will speak now to you and call to your mind that I by myself was victor in the

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previous wars; and henceforth, with whomsoever I choose to fight, I by myself will be victor. In the war with Darius ye were encouraged by my knowledge and my thoughts, because ye did not understand the customs of the Persians neither did ye know their skill. I stood at your head, and it was I who first went to Darius, and I escaped from the hands of Darius, from the river Gûsh[1] and from my other straits. Turn now and go to Macedonia, and guide yourselves wisely if ye are able, for there is no enemy in your way. If I hear that ye have been able to guide yourselves and to arrive safely in Macedonia, I shall know and believe and be convinced that bravery is yours." And when he had spoken these words, all the hosts of the Greeks and Macedonians fell upon their faces and entreated Alexander, saying, "Be reconciled to us, and put away anger from thy heart, and forgive us this folly, and we will be with thee unto the end."

II. Now after a few days Alexander arrived with his troops at a flourishing district in the territory of the Indians. And at that time the letter carriers of Porus the king of the Indians came to him, and brought a letter from Porus to Alexander, in which was written as follows: "From Porus the great king of the Indians to Alexander. I have heard of thee, that thou doest damage in countries and cities, but what art thou able to do to the gods and how canst thou fight against them? Fate came to Darius king of the Persians; thou didst hurl thyself against him, and so thou thinkest that just as thou didst become strong and didst lift thyself up against Darius, so thou art able to exalt thyself against others. But I am he that has never been conquered; I am not only king of men but of the gods also; and the proof (I give) to thee is this, that the god Dionysus returned defeated by the hands of the Indians. I do not now advise thee, but I command thee to go quickly to Hellas thy country, for thou art not able to intimidate me by the war which thou didst carry on with Darius and with the other nations through whose feebleness thou hast become exalted; and so thou thinkest that thou art a mighty man and more exalted than king Porus, the

[1] See Book II., chap. 7.

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lord of gods and men. Turn now, go back, and depart to thy country Hellas. If we had wanted Hellas, we would have taken it before king Xerxes. But because it is a wretched place and has nothing worthy of a king, we have scorned and despised it and have not subdued it. Therefore I say to thee, every man desires to acquire whatever is good and excellent, and never desires what is hateful. So now for the third time I say to thee, turn and go back, for thou art not able to do anything, therefore do not covet."

Then Alexander commanded that this letter should be read before his troops, and he said to them: "My fellow soldiers, let not your minds be afraid because of these words of king Porus which he has written to me in his letter. Be mindful too of those words which Darius used to write to me. Verily I say unto you that the barbarians and dwellers in all these regions are all as stupid and as ignorant as the wild beasts that live in their country. Leopards and lions and elephants and panthers are over confident by reason of the strength of their bodies, and it is well known that they can be easily captured by the knowledge of man with stratagems and artifices. In the same way the kings who dwell in these regions, and all the barbarians, are proud by reason of the number of their troops, but they will be easily defeated by the knowledge of the Greeks."

When Alexander had spoken to the troops in this manner, he encouraged them mightily and he made answer to Porus by letter as follows: "From Alexander to Porus, the king of the Indians, greeting. The minds of all the troops that are with me have been made proud by these words which thou hast written to me, and their desire has been made the more ready for war by what thou hast said, that there is nothing beautiful and noble to be found in Hellas. By thy saying too that the desire and longing of each man goes after what is beautiful, by reason of this saying I and my forces now long to do battle and to make war with thee. Thou hast by thy words greatly encouraged us against thee, for we Greeks are poor, and there is nothing costly in our land, while ye Indians are rich and what is costly abounds in your land. And now our mind and longing and desire are set upon the fair things

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which are to be found in your land, and we will fight with all our heart until we take that which belongs to you. Thou didst also write that thou art king of gods and men, and thou hast exalted thyself above the gods; but I am going to contend in war with thee as with a warrior, and I am not going to do battle with thee as with the gods; for all the weapons in the world are unable to contend against the gods, and how can mortal man contend with Him, before the cold of whose winters and the crashes of whose lightnings and thunders the world is unable to stand? And just as thou art not afraid (of me) by reason of the war which I carried on with Darius and with other nations, even so I am not afraid of these perverse words which thou hast written to me."

III. After Porus had seen this letter, he commanded the whole army to be assembled, and a number of elephants to be brought to the conflict, and mighty wild beasts with them. And when the Macedonians and Persians drew near and came to the ranks of Porus, they saw and trembled, for they observed that the ranks were formed of wild beasts and not of men; and even Alexander himself was afraid, because he was accustomed to fight with men and not with wild beasts. Then he sat down and reflected in his mind, and gave orders to bring such brazen images as could be found among his troops. And when the images were collected, which were in the form of men and quadrupeds,—now they were about twenty-four thousand in number—he ordered a smith's furnace to be set up; and they brought much wood and set fire to it, and heated those images in the fire, and the images became glowing coals of fire. Then they took hold of them with iron tongs, and placed them upon iron chariots, and led the chariots before the ranks of the warriors; and Alexander commanded horns and trumpets to be sounded. When the wild beasts that were in the ranks of the king of the Indians heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed upon the ranks of Alexander's army; and since the brazen images which were full of fire were in the van, they laid hold of them with their mouths and lips, and burnt their mouths and their lips. Some of them died (on the spot), and some of them retired beaten and fled away to the camp of the king of the Indians. The wise Alexander, having

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turned back the wild beasts by this artifice, began to fight with the Indians themselves. Now the battle by day time was very fierce, and the Persian troops prevailed over the Indians in fighting on horseback and with bows and arrows, and many men died on both sides. The horse which was called Bucephalus, upon which Alexander rode, by the sorcery of Porus threw Alexander off his back. Then by reason of this Alexander was in great tribulation, and he went on foot, holding and leading with his hand the horse which was called Bull-head, for he thought, "Peradventure he may fall into the hand of the enemies." And the troops of Alexander did battle with the Indians continually for twenty days, and they were weary and sore enfeebled, and because of their fatigue they wished to surrender to the Indians.

IV. When Alexander perceived that his forces were desirous of doing this, he commanded them to cease [fighting]. He then drew near to the van, and cried with a loud voice to Porus and said to him: "O Porus, king of the Indians, there is neither renown nor glory when a king destroys his troops; but if thou art now willing, let the troops rest, and I and thou alone will fight together." When Porus heard this speech, he rejoiced and agreed with him to do so, saying, "I will fight with thee alone;" for he saw that Alexander was very small in stature, while he himself was very tall. Now Porus was five cubits high, and Alexander three cubits. Then Alexander commanded his troops to stand in order, and Porus also commanded his troops to do likewise. The two came to the contest on foot; and when they had approached one another, there was suddenly a confusion and a great noise in the ranks of the Indians; and Porus was alarmed and turned round and looked upon his forces. When Alexander saw that Porus had turned round and was looking behind him, he ran at him and stabbed him under the shoulders and drove the weapon out beneath his navel and slew him. When the Indians saw that Porus was slain, they came to fight. Then Alexander said to the troops of the Indians, "Ye wretched Indians, your king is dead, and will ye fight?" The troops of the Indians answered and said to him, "We are fighting that we may not become captives." Then Alexander said to them: "Return to your city and do

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not fight, because I will leave you free and will impose no tax upon you; for I know that the offence was not of you, but of Porus." Now Alexander said this because he saw that his own troops were few and he was not able to meet in battle the legions of the Indians. Then Alexander commanded the body of Porus to be buried honourably, and he made ready to go to another place, which was called Raṭnírôn, that he might fight with them, for he heard that they were sages and naked and that they dwelt in huts and holes of the earth.

V. When these people heard that Alexander was come, they sent certain sages that were among them to Alexander with their letter. And when he saw their letter, he found written therein as follows. "From the Brahmans, the naked sages [gymnosophists], to the man Alexander greeting. We write to thee thus: if thou desirest to come in order to make war with us, thou wilt gain nothing at all from us, for we have no property at all that can be taken away from us by war; and if thou desirest to take away that which we have, thou canst [only] take it away by entreaty, for our property is knowledge, and knowledge cannot be taken away by war; but even this thou art not capable of learning, for the heavenly will distributed and gave to thee war, and to us knowledge."

When Alexander had read this letter, he went to them peaceably, and he saw that they were all naked, and that they dwelt under booths and in caves, and that their wives and children went about the plain like sheep.

VI. Then Alexander asked one of them, "Have ye no graves here?" The Brahman said, "The place where we live is our house, and it is also our grave; here then we lie down, and bury our bodies continually in it, that our training and our teaching may be in this world and that the term of our life in yonder world may be for ever and aye." And he asked another Brahman, "Which men are the more numerous, those that are dead or those that are alive?" The Brahman said, "Those that are dead are the more numerous, for those who will hereafter come are not to be counted among those who are now alive; and you must know of yourself what innumerable myriads have died through thee and these few legions that are with thee." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the

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mightier, death or life?" The Brahman said, "Life; for when the sun rises and becomes warm like life, he covers over the feebleness of night by the beams of his radiance, and becomes strong. So also they who are dead are fallen beneath the darkness of death; but when life rises upon them like the sun, they will again come to life." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the older, the earth or the sea?" The Brahman said, "The earth, for the sea too is placed upon the earth." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the most wicked of all living things?" The Brahman said, "Man." Alexander said, "Tell me how so." The Brahman said, "Ask thyself how many beings go about with thee, that thou mayest wrest the lands and countries of other living beings, thy fellow creatures, from their owners, and hold them thyself alone." Alexander was not enraged at this speech, for he wished to hear. He asked another Brahman, "What is kingdom?" The Brahman said, "Greed and brief power, and arrogance, and the insolence of wicked doings." He asked another Brahman, "Which existed first, night or day?" The Brahman said, "Night; for a child is first of all created in darkness in the womb of his mother, and then when he is brought forth, he sees the light." He asked another Brahman, "Who is he whom we cannot deceive by lying?" The Brahman said, "He to whom all secrets are revealed." He asked another Brahman, "Which limbs are the better, those on the left side or those on the right." The Brahman said, "Those on the left; for the sun shines on the left side; and a woman suckles her child first from the left breast; and when we sacrifice to God, we make our offering to him with the left hand; and kings hold the sceptre of their kingdom in their left hand." And when Alexander had asked this question, he said to them, "Whatsoever ye desire ask of me all of you at once, and I will give it you." The Brahmans said, "We ask of thee immortality." Alexander said, "I am not master over immortality, because I am mortal." The Brahmans said, "Since thou art mortal, why dost thou make all these wars and battles? When thou hast seized the whole world, whither wouldst thou carry it? for since thou art mortal, it will remain with others." Alexander said, "All these things happen by the providence and the will of heaven, and we wait on the heavenly

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command; for just as the waves of the sea are not lifted up unless the wind blows upon them, nor do the trees shake when there is no wind, so neither are men able to do anything without a command from above. I very much desire to rest from wars, but......[1]. If all men were of one mind and one will, the whole world would be a wilderness and without cultivation; no man would sail on the sea in ships, neither would any cultivate the earth, and there would be no generation of children. How many unlucky men are there, who have got mixed up with these wars which I have carried on, and whose possessions have perished from them! And on the other hand, how many lucky men have there chanced to be, who have become enriched by the possessions of others! Every one of us then who plunders something from another leaves it again to some one else, and we depart naked and empty." When Alexander had spoken these words, he turned away from the Brahmans, and he was much fatigued and worn out by the journey, for the country through which he was marching was pathless, and no one had ever marched through it before.

VII.[2] Then Alexander composed a letter to Aristotle his master concerning everything that had happened to him, and he wrote to him thus: "From Alexander to our master Aristotle greeting. I desire, O my teacher, to write and inform thee of what has happened to me in this land of the Indians. When then we had drawn near to the place (called) Prasiakê, which, as they say, is the great city of the Indians and at a distance from the shores of the Great Sea[3], we saw figures of men; and when we came close up to the spot, we saw men feeding upon the shores of the sea, and their faces were like those of horses, and they lived upon fish. And when we had called aloud to some of them, for we wished to enquire of them concerning that

[1] Some words have been accidentally omitted, corresponding to the Greek ἀλλ' *οὐκ ἐᾷ με ὁ τῆς γνώμης μου δεσπότης* (Müller, p. 101, col. 2).

[2] This is chapter xvii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 120, col. 2). Parts of it have been edited in Syriac by the late Professor Roediger of Halle in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, 2nd ed., pp. 112—120; and considerable portions have been translated by the late Dr J. Perkins in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. IV., p. 394 sqq.

[3] Just the reverse of the Latin translation, which has *mari imminet subjacenti* (Müller, p. 120, col. 2).

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place, we perceived that their speech was barbarian. And we saw in the midst of the sea something of which they said that it was the grave of the ancients and very old, and that there was much gold in it[1]. And I desired much to go in a boat to the island, but those barbarians suddenly hid their boats, and did not leave more than twelve. Then I gave orders to seize those twelve boats, and I was going to embark in them and go to the island, but my dear friend Philôn, and Hephaestiôn, and Karṭîl [Craterus], and other friends, would not allow me to embark in a boat and go to the island. Philôn said to me, 'Bid me go in a boat first and cross over to the island; and if (which God forbid) there be anything evil, I shall die before thee; and if it be otherwise, I will come back and do thou also pass over; for if Philôn perishes, Alexander can find many friends like Philôn, but if (which God forbid) Alexander were to perish, his like could not be found in the whole world.' Then I gave way and bade them embark in the boats and go over to the island; and when they had embarked in the boats and had drawn near the island, the thing turned out to be an animal and not an island at all; and it sank and vanished suddenly in the sea, and my friend Philôn disappeared in the vortex of the waters and perished; and I was in great trouble and deep affliction. Then I ordered those barbarians to be seized, but they fled away and hid themselves. And we remained where we were for eight days. And we saw a wild beast like an elephant, but its body was much larger than an elephant's; and when we saw it, we ran at it with our weapons, but it suddenly fled away from our sight. And when we saw this, we came from thence to Prasiakê disheartened and in sorrow. And since we have traversed a number of the countries of the world, and have seen many wonderful sights, I thought that I would write and inform thee, O my teacher; for I have seen beasts of all kinds and shapes, and wonderful sights, and marvels, and various and divers species of reptiles; but the most wonderful thing of all was this, that I saw the failing of the sun and of the moon, which takes place in its appearance, which is in winter and

[1] See Book II. ch. xxxv. in Müller's ed., p. 87, col. 2.

from time to time[1]; and so I thought it necessary for me to write to thee about each one of these things.

Now when I had slain Darius and had taken his country and had traversed it, I found therein a number of treasuries, and there was much gold therein, ingots and cups of gold for mixed wine, which were set with gems of various sorts; some of them held ninety measures of wine, and some fifty measures; and there were goods of various kinds.

And we began our march from the Caspian gates unto the border of the Indians; and we heard that that country was a desert and a wilderness, and that wild beasts and snakes and other kinds of evil reptiles were abundant therein. And I commanded the trumpeters to sound at the tenth hour of the day, and to beat the drums; and from the tenth hour [of the day] to the third hour of the night the phalanx was marching, and so we went on the whole night. When it was day and the sun had spread abroad his rays, I commanded the trumpeters to sound, and the whole phalanx to encamp until the third hour of the day; and I commanded the horsemen and foot soldiers to wear shoes and greaves and breastplates and armpieces of raw hide on account of the evil reptiles of that country, for no man was able to walk about without such clothing, lest perchance he himself should become the cause of his own death. Having marched along so strange a road as this for twelve days, we drew near to a city which was situated between rivers; and we commanded a ditch to be made along the banks of that river. We saw in that river a reed the height of which was thirty[2] cubits, and its thickness as that of a garland which a man puts on his head. The whole city was overshadowed by these reeds; and when we observed the city, it was not built upon the ground, but upon the reeds. We found in that river a boat, and when we had embarked therein, we went and observed, and it was exactly as we had seen at a distance. When we tasted the water of the river, it was more bitter than bitter herbs; and I was very much annoyed when I observed its

[1] The meaning of this sentence is not clear. See Müller, p. 121, col. 1, at the foot.

[2] The Greek text (Müller, p. 121, col. 2) has "four cubits," Δ being an error for Λ.

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bitterness, for I did not find sweet water in that place. My ditch was dug along the bank of the river for two miles; and some of my fellow soldiers, thirty and six in number, scornfully cast off the skin garments from their backs, and wished to bathe in the river. When they had gone down to the water, a number of reptiles rose up against them, and seized those men, and dragged them into the river, and killed them in the water. When I saw these things, I crossed over again to the other side of the river. And when I saw the innumerable reptiles, I was in every way afflicted and distressed, and I departed from that place. And I commanded the horns to sound [a halt] from the sixth hour of the day until the eleventh. I saw too that the foot-soldiers and horsemen were drinking their own urine because of thirst.

Now when we had departed thence, another obstacle fell in our way, for we drew near to a lake, and we found therein every species of animal and reptile. When we tasted those waters, we perceived that they were sweeter than honey, and we were very glad. And when the phalanx halted and went on foot towards the lake, they saw upon its shore a pillar with an inscription which ran thus: 'I Sîusînîḳôs [Sesonchosis], the ruler of the world, have caused this lake to be made for the watering of those who live on and travel by sea.' When the night drew nigh, I ordered a couch to be prepared and a fire to be lighted around it, and I commanded that each horseman and foot-soldier should likewise light a fire by the side of his head. When I lay down upon my couch, the moon rose soon after,—it was about the third hour of the night,—and wild beasts of various kinds came forth from the jungle and came to the lake. Out of the earth too and from the sand white and red scorpions issued, each of which was a cubit long. And in the midst of the phalanx there sprang up snakes with horns on their heads, some red and some white, and they bit and killed a number of the men, and there was a great outcry and weeping heard from within the camp. We saw a lion that came to drink water, and he was larger than the oxen that are in our country; and we saw beasts with horns on their noses, and they were larger than elephants. We saw also wild boars that were larger than the lion, and the tusks of each of which

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were a cubit long; we saw too wolves and leopards and panthers and beasts with scorpions' tails, and elephants, and wild bulls, and ox-elephants, and men with six hands apiece; and we saw men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. And we were afflicted in our soul and were in grief. Then I commanded my troops to put on every man his skin clothing, to take his weapons in his hand together with wood and fire, and all to go in a body to the jungle and set it on fire. When we had done this, a great number of reptiles hastened of their own free will to the fire, some of which were burnt therein, and some were slain by the hands of my troops and perished. Of the wild beasts we slew some and others fled away. After the moon had set and it was dark, an animal which was bigger in its body than an elephant and which they call *Mashkĕlath*[1] in the language of the country, came into the ditch and wished to spring upon us, but I straightway called out to my troops to take courage and stand ready. Now the longing and desire of the animal was to enter the ditch and to kill men, and suddenly it rushed into the ditch and killed twenty-six men, and amid loud noises and struggles it too perished by the hands of my troops; and after it was dead, we with three hundred men dragged it with great toil from the ditch and lifted it out. And we looked amid the darkness and saw reptiles which they call night-foxes, the length of which was from six to eight cubits. We saw also water crocodiles, the length of each of which was twelve cubits; and we saw bats which were as big as eagles, and their teeth were like those of men. We saw likewise night-ravens, the beaks and claws and talons of which were like those of eagles, and they sat around the lake, and did not harm human beings, neither did they come near the fire. My troops killed a great number of them, and when it was day they all hid themselves.

And we departed from thence and came to a wood[2], and

[1] The *mashkĕlath* is the *odontotyrannus* of the Latin translation (Müller, p. 123, col. 1). The same creature is mentioned in the Greek text of Book III. ch. x. (Müller, p. 105) as a huge amphibious animal, big enough to swallow an elephant whole, which renders the crossing of the river Ganges very unsafe. This description seems to point to the *alligator*, and it is just possible that ܡܫܟܠܬ may be a corruption of *makara*, in Hindustânî *magar*.

[2] See Book II. ch. xxxii., about the middle (Müller, p. 86, col. 1).

in that wood there were trees bearing fruit, and their fruit was very luscious; and within the wood there were wild men, whose faces resembled ravens, and they held missiles in their hands, and their clothing was of skins. When they saw us, they cast missiles at my troops and slew some of them; and I commanded my troops to shout and to charge them at full speed; and when we had done this, we slew six hundred and thirty-three of them, and they slew of my horsemen one hundred and sixty-seven. And I ordered the bodies of those that were dead to be taken up and to be carried to their own country. We remained in that place three days and fed upon the fruit of the trees, because we had no other food.

And we departed thence and came to a river in which there was a copious spring of water; and I gave orders to encamp there that my troops might have a little rest. At the ninth hour of the day, behold a creature half beast half man[1], which in its body was (like) a wild boar reared upright; and it was not at all afraid of us. I commanded my troops to catch it, and when they drew near to it, it was not at all afraid and did not run away from them. Then I ordered a naked woman to go towards it, that we might easily seize it; but when the woman went up to it, the beast took hold of the woman and rent her, and began to devour her. When we saw this, we went against it at full speed, and smote it and killed it. Then we departed from the country of the beast-men, for there was a countless number of men like this in it, and we slew myriads of them, because we all stood ready with arms. And I gave orders to cut down all their wood and to set it on fire, and we burnt them together with their wood.

And we departed thence and arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted; and when they saw us, they began to throw stones, and they threw accurately and aimed at us. When I saw that they slew some of my troops, I ran at them alone with my sword drawn, and by great good luck I stabbed the chief of those people with twisted feet. The rest were afraid, and ran away, and hid themselves under the rocks in various places; and there were some among them with asses' legs.

[1] Compare Book II. ch. xxxiii. (Müller, p. 86, col. 2).

We set out again from thence and came to another place where there were men with lion's heads and scaly tails[1].

From thence we set out again and came to a river[2]. And upon the bank of the river there was a tree, which grew and increased from dawn until the sixth hour, and from the sixth hour until evening it diminished in height until there was nothing to be seen of it. Its smell was very pleasant, and I gave orders to gather some of its leaves and fruit, when suddenly an evil wind burst forth upon my troops and distressed them pitilessly; and we heard the sound of violent blows, and swellings and weals appeared upon the back of my troops; and after this we heard a voice from heaven like the sound of thunder which spake thus: 'Let no man cut ought from this tree, neither let him approach it, for if ye approach it, all your troops will die.' And there were birds too which were like partridges. And I commanded that they should not cut ought from that tree, nor kill any of the birds. There were also stones in that river, the colour of which when in the water was deep black, but when we brought them out, they were quite white, and when we threw them in again, their colour (again) became deep black.

And from thence we set out and halted by a spring. And when we had marched through a desolate wilderness[3], we arrived at the ocean which goes round the whole world. And while we were going along the shores of the sea, I commanded the phalanx to encamp; and I heard the voice of men [speaking] in the Greek tongue, but I did not see them, nor did we see anything else in the sea except something like an island, which was not very far from us. Then a certain number of my troops desired to go to that island by swimming; and when they had stripped off their clothing and plunged into the sea, beasts in the form of men, but whose bodies were very large, came up from the deep and seized twenty of my soldiers, and plunged down into the depths.

Then we departed thence through fear, and came to a

[1] The word here rendered "scaly" literally means "an oyster" or "oyster shell."

[2] Compare Book II. ch. xxxvi. (Müller, p. 88, col. 2).

[3] See Book II. ch. xxxviii. (Müller, p. 89, col. 1).

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certain place. And the people who were in that place had no head at all, but they had eyes and a mouth in their breasts, and they spoke like men, and used to gather mushrooms from the ground and eat them. Now each mushroom weighed twenty pounds. And those men were like children in their minds, and in their way of life they were very simple.

And from thence we set out and came to a certain place which was waste; and in the midst of that place there was a bird sitting upon a tree without leaves and without fruit, and it had upon its head something like the rays of the sun, and they called the bird the 'palm bird' (phoenix).

Then we set out from thence and came to a place amid groves of trees which were large, and in these woods there were wild beasts like the wild asses of our own country. Each of them was fifteen cubits in length, and as they were not dangerous, my troops killed a number of them and ate them.

Then we marched on our road sixty-five days, and arrived at a place which they call Obarkia (?). And on the seventh day we saw two birds[1], the bodies of which were very large, and their faces were like the face of a man; and suddenly one of them said in the Greek language, 'O Alexander, thou art treading the land of the gods;' and again it said to me in the same language, 'Alexander, the victory over Darius and the subjection of king Porus are enough for thee.' And when we had heard such words as these, we turned and came back from the country of the Obarkĕnâyê (?).

Then I gave orders to set out from this place, and we came thence to the foot of a certain mountain. This mountain was very high, and a temple had been built on the top of it, the height of which was a hundred cubits. When I saw this, I marvelled greatly. It was girt round with a chain of gold, and the weight of the chain was three hundred pounds. I gave orders to open the door of the temple that I might go in with my troops[2]. When we went in, we found in it two thousand five hundred steps of sapphire, and we saw inside a very large chamber the windows around which were of gold, and in them

[1] See Book II. ch. xl. (Müller, p. 90, col. 2).

[2] Compare the description in Meusel's text, p. 785, at the foot of the page (Book III. ch. xxviii.).

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there were thirty figures of gems and of ...... of gold. And when we drew near to the chamber, we saw that the whole temple was of gold, and over its windows there were golden images, figures of Pan and the Satyrs, who were musicians, and in the windows there stood dancers. In the temple a golden altar was placed, and by it stood two candlesticks of sapphire, the height of each of which was forty cubits. Lamps of gold were set upon them, which shone like the light of a lamp. And upon the altar instead of fire was placed a lamp made of stone, which shone like a star. In the temple a couch of gold was placed, which was set with gems; its length was forty cubits, and cushions of great value were laid upon it; the form of a huge man reclined thereon, and an effulgence shot forth from him like the lightning flash. Over him was spread a garment worked with gold and emeralds and other precious stones in the form of a vine, the fruit of which was of gold set with gems, and before the couch an ivory table was placed. When I saw this, I was unwilling to draw near hastily and uncover his face and see who it was. Then I sacrificed in the temple to the god and did reverence, and I turned away and came out. And when I had come out and was in the doorway of the temple, there was suddenly a terrible sound like the noise of thunder, and like the noise of the uproar and billows of the sea. And when that roaring noise ceased, I heard a voice from within the temple which said to me thus: 'King Alexander, rest and cease from thy toils; enter not the temple of the gods, neither reveal their mysteries; for he whom thou hast seen upon this couch is I Dionysus, and I tell thee that it is given to thee to conquer in this war for which thou art prepared, and to come to our country to rest, and they shall reckon thee among our number.' When I heard a voice like this, my mind was in fear and joy, and I again sacrificed and did reverence to him; and I went out to go about that place and to record this sight in it.

Then I gave orders to kill those fifty Indians our guides, who had led us astray in such roads and places, and to throw them into the sea; and we turned to the road towards Prasiakê[1], and arrived at a region abounding in trees, where I

[1] See Book III. ch. xvii. (Müller, p. 122, col. 2, ll. 16, 17).

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commanded my troops to rest a little. And when I desired to set out from thence, at the sixth hour of the day, a wonderful sign happened to us; now this sign took place on the third day of the month of Âb. First there came suddenly a mighty wind, which tore up all the tents in our camp from their places, and we all fell upon the ground. Then I commanded my troops to pitch their tents again, and to make firm their tent pegs and to keep carefully on the watch. But before their tents were pitched, a dense and black cloud appeared, and its mist was so dark that no one could see his fellow. And we saw in the midst of that dense cloud in the air a fire burning in the darkness; and we also saw in front of that fire about the distance of two miles a black cloud; and when the fire drew nigh, the fire blazed forth from within that black cloud until the whole was fire. This sign appeared continually in this manner for three days; and for five days we did not see the light, but snow fell upon us; and out of the mass of my troops some were caught in the snow outside of the tents and died, and when the sun rose, many of our men perished. We desired to set out from thence but were unable, because the country was a plain, and the snow stood three cubits high from the ground; so because of the difficulty and hardness of the journey we remained where we were thirty days. And after staying thirty days where we were, we set out from thence, and on the fifth day we came to the city of the Prasiakâyê, and took the treasury and the goods which were in it.

Then all the Indians who lived in that city came to me of their own free will and spake to me thus: 'O great king, no living man has ever walked in the cities of the kings, and the mountains of the nations, and the temples of the gods, which thou hast seen and in which thou hast walked; and henceforth there is no king in the world who may be compared with thee. Command us now to do whatever seems right to thee, for we too will be obedient to thee, and will lay all the gold and silver that is in our country before thee.' Then said I to them, 'If there be anything renowned, or any marvel in your country, which a king ought to see, shew it to me, and I will not ask any other thing of you.' Then a certain Indian said to me, 'King Alexander, we have something famous, which it is right

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that thou shouldst see. We will shew thee therefore two talking trees[1], which talk like human beings.' And as soon as he had said this speech, I commanded them to beat him, as one who had said something which he was not able to shew. Then he said to me, 'O king, doer of good things, I have not lied in what I have said to thee.' Then I rose up from there and went a journey of fifteen days with the Indian, and we arrived at a certain place, and thus he spake: 'This is the end of the south quarter of the world, and from here onwards there is nothing at all except a wilderness, and ravening beasts and evil reptiles, and none of us is able to advance beyond this place.' When he had said this to me, he brought me into a beautiful garden, the wall of which was not of stones nor of clay, but trees were planted round it and were so dense that not even the light of the sun or the moon was seen through them; and in the midst of the garden there was another enclosure which was hedged round, and they called it the temple of the sun and of the moon. And two trees were there, the like of which for length and breadth I had never seen. Their length was immeasurable, and so I thought that their tops were near unto heaven. Their appearance was like unto the cypresses which are in our country, and they grew up within the enclosure; and they said that one of them is male and the other female. They said of the male that he is the sun, and that the female is the moon, and in their language they call the one *Mîṭôrâ*, and the other *Mâyôsâ*[2]. Skins of all kinds of animals were lying there, before the male skins of males, and before the female skins of females; but no vessels of iron or brass or tin or clay were found there at all. And when I asked them, 'Of what are these the skins?' they said to me, 'Of lions and leopards, because those who worship the sun and moon are not allowed to wear any other clothing but skins.' Then I asked them about these trees, 'When

[1] Colonel Yule in his *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 121, has a long discussion about these talking trees of the sun and moon, and about the "dry tree," and has translated the passage from Müller's *Pseudo-Callisthenes* relating to them. He has also reproduced a curious old drawing of the two trees.

[2] In the Greek (Müller, p. 123, col. 2, l. 2) *μουθοῦ ἐμαούσαι* (var. *μουθιὰ μαθούη*).

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do they speak?' And they said to me, 'That of the sun in the morning and at midday and towards evening, at these three times it speaks; and that of the moon in the evening and at midnight and towards the dawn.' Then the priests that were in the garden came to me and said to me, 'Enter, O king, purely, and do reverence.' Then I called my friends Phormiôn [Parmeniôn], Artarôn [Craterus], Gôrôn (?), Philip, Miktôn [Machetes], Ṭarnsargôthâ [Thrasyleôn], Thirtakîth [Theodektês], Phîlêa [Diiphilus], and Khadkliôn [Neoklês]; twelve[1] men I took, and we began to enter the temple. The chief priest said unto me, 'O king, it is not meet to bring into the temple tools of iron.' Then I bade my friends take their swords and put them outside the enclosure, and I ordered these twelve alone of all my troops to go in with me without their swords, but I gave orders that they should first go round about the trees, because I thought that they might have brought me there treacherously; but after they had come in and had gone round about, they said to me, 'There is nothing at all here.' Then I took hold of the hand of one of the Indians and went in there, that when the tree spoke, the Indian might interpret for me; and I swore to him by Olympias my mother, and by Ammon, and by the victory of all the gods of the Macedonians, 'If I do not hear a voice from this tree as soon as the sun sets, I will slay you all with the sword.' As soon as the sun had set, a voice came from that tree in a barbarous tongue; and when I asked the Indian 'What is this voice from this tree?' he was afraid to explain it to me and wished to hide it. Then I straightway understood, and I took hold of the Indian and led him aside and said to him, 'If thou dost not explain this voice to me, I will kill thee with a hard and bitter death.' And the Indian whispered in my ears, 'The explanation of the voice is this: thou wilt shortly perish by thy troops.' Then I and my friends went again into the temple by night, and when I had drawn near to the tree of the moon, and had done reverence to it, and placed my hand upon it, again at that moment from the tree a voice came in the Greek tongue, 'Thou shalt die at Babylon.' And when I together with my friends were marvelling at this wonder, my

[1] Only nine names are given in the text.

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mind was troubled and sorrowful, and I desired to put the glorious and beautiful crown which was upon my head in that place; but the priest said to me, 'Thou canst not do this, unless thou choosest to do it by violence, for laws are not laid down for kings.' Then, as I was in trouble and sorrow because of these things, my friends Parmâôn [Parmeniôn] and Philip tried to persuade me to sleep and to rest myself a little. I did not consent however, but remained awake the whole night. When the dawn was near, I and my friends together with the priest and the Indians again entered the temple; and I and the priest went to the tree, and I laid my hands upon it and questioned it, saying, 'Tell me if the days of my life are come to an end; this too I desire to know, if it will be granted me to go to Macedonia, and to see Olympias my mother, and to ask after her welfare, and to return again.' And as soon as the sun had risen and his rays had fallen upon the top of the tree, a loud and harsh voice came from it, which spake thus, 'The years of thy life are come to an end, and thou wilt not be able to go to Macedonia, but thou wilt perish in Babylon after a short time by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and thy mother too will die a hideous death by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and in the same way thy sister also; but do not ask further concerning this matter, for thou wilt hear nothing more from us.' Then I took counsel with my troops, and we set out again from thence and marched along the road a journey of fifteen days. And when we had gone straight forward on our march, we arrived at the country of Prasiakê[1], I Alexander with these Indians and with my troops. The Indians who dwelt in that land brought offerings to us, and they brought offerings to us also from far countries. They brought to us skins of fishes which were like leopard's skins, only they were larger, and there were in them teeth, some of which were one cubit long and some three cubits; the ears (gills) of these fishes were each six cubits long, and the weight of each of them was a hundred pounds; and the teeth of these fishes were some of them two cubits long and others

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed., p. 125, col. 2. What follows appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS. The narrative continues in the first person, as if this were still part of the epistle.

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three. [They also brought things] like oyster shells, each of which held fifty cups of water, and which were very beautiful in appearance; and thirty purple sponges, and fifty white ones, and various other things.

Then we set out from the country of Prasiakê, and set our faces straight for the east. And when we had gone a journey of ten days along the road, we came to a high mountain; and some of the people that lived on the mountain said to us, 'King Alexander, thou art not able to cross over this mountain, for a great god in the form of a dragon lives in it, who protects this country from enemies.' And I said to them, 'In what place is the god?' They said to me, 'He is a journey of three days from here by yon river.' And I said to them, 'Does this god change himself into another form?' And they said to me, 'Enemies never dare to come to this country through fear of him.' And I said to them, 'Is he able to keep off enemies from all your coasts?' And they said, 'No, only on that side where his dwelling is.' And I said to them, 'Has this god a temple? and do ye go to his presence and know him?' And they said, 'Who can go near unto him that can swallow an elephant by drawing in his breath?' And I said, 'Whence know ye this, since ye go not near him?' And they said, 'We know that a number of people are swallowed up by him every year, besides two oxen which they give to him regularly every day for food from our land, and he also kills men.' And I said, 'How do ye give him these two oxen to eat?' They said, 'He that is set apart for the service of the god selects oxen from the land, and takes two of them each day in the morning, when as yet he has not come forth from his temple, and goes down to the bank of the river; and he ties the legs of the oxen, and throws them upon the bank of the river, and he goes up to the top of the mountain; and when the god comes forth from his temple, he crosses over that horrible river, and swallows up those oxen.' And I said to them, 'Has this god one place for crossing, or does he cross wherever he pleases?' And they said, 'He has but one place for crossing.' Then I bethought me that it was not a god but a phantasy of wicked demons. I took some of the people of the land (with me), and set out from thence, and came to the bank

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of that river. And I commanded them to place the oxen as they were accustomed to do, and I and my troops stood upon the top of the mountain. And we saw when the beast came forth from his den and came to the bank of the river. When I saw the beast, I thought that it was a black cloud which was standing upon the bank of the river, and the smoke which went forth from its mouth was like unto the thick darkness which comes in a fog. And we saw it crossing the river, and when as yet it had not reached the oxen, it sucked them into its mouth by the drawing in of its breath, as (if cast) by a sling, and swallowed them. When I had seen this, I gave orders next day that they should put two very small calves instead of the two big oxen, that the beast might be the more hungry on the following day. After it had found the two calves, it was obliged to cross over again on that day; and when it had crossed over for the second time, by reason of its hunger, it went wandering from this side to that but found nothing. And when the beast desired to come on towards the mountain, all my troops with one voice raised a shout against it; and when it heard the shout, it turned and crossed the river. Then I straightway gave orders to bring two oxen of huge bulk, and to kill them, and to strip off their hides, and to take away their flesh, and to fill their skins with gypsum and pitch and lead and sulphur, and to place them on that spot. When they had done this, the beast according to its wont crossed the river again, and when it came to them, it suddenly drew both of the skins into its mouth by its breath and swallowed them. As soon as the gypsum entered its belly, we saw that its head fell upon the ground, and it opened wide its mouth, and uprooted a number of trees with its tail. And when I saw that it had fallen down, I ordered a smith's bellows to be brought and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and to be thrown into the beast's mouth; and when they had thrown five balls into its mouth, the beast shut its mouth, and died. And we set out from thence and came to a region in which was a high mountain, and a river which they call Barsâṭîs (?) went forth from it; and they told us that there was a god in this mountain, and that the whole mountain was of sapphire. Then I and my troops ascended the mountain, and it was full of fountains and

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springs of water; and the people of that country said to me, 'Do not march confidently in this mountain, for its gods are mighty.' Then I ordered sacrifices to be offered to that place, and suddenly from the mountain there came a multitude of kinds and sounds of singing. When I heard this, I again did reverence; and I heard a voice from the mountain which spake to me thus in the Greek tongue, 'King Alexander, go back, and advance no farther; for from here onwards the country belongs to men who by their knowledge and power have conquered and subdued a number of armies.' And I answered and said, 'Since it has pleased you thus [to speak], inform me whether, if I go by myself, I shall return alive from thence.' And the gods answered and said to me, 'Go thyself, for it is given to thee to see something beautiful.' I answered again and said, 'What is the beautiful thing which I shall see?' And the gods said to me, 'Thou shalt see a king, a son of the gods, from whose country an honoured priest goes to a number of countries, and thou shalt learn how from something small something so noble may arise.' When I had heard this, I commanded a city to be built by that mountain, and a brazen statue to be erected upon it, and [I ordered] it to be named 'Alexandria, the queen of the mountains.'

And I commanded my troops to remain in that place, and I with twenty of my friends arose and arrived at a place which they call Ḳâtôn[1]; and we stayed where we were three days, and we set out from thence and marched a journey of ten days through mountainous roads and watery lands. And again we marched a journey of fifteen days through a desert and arrived at the confines of Ṣîn (China). When we arrived in China, I gave myself the name of Pîthâôs[2] the ambassador of king Alexander. When we approached the gate of the king of China[3], they went in and informed him of my arrival, and he gave orders to question me outside. Then Gundâphâr[4], the chief of his army, questioned me concerning my coming to China, and I

[1] Perhaps *Cathay*, in Arabic الخطا.

[2] *Πυθίας* or *Πύθιος*?

[3] That is, the royal palace.

[4] On the name of Gundaphar, or Gundaphor, i.e. Gondophares, see in particular the article by Professor A. von Gutschmid in the *Museum für Philologie*, n. F. xix., pp. 161—170.

said to him, 'I am an ambassador of king Alexander.' And Gundâphâr said to me, 'Why hast thou come hither?' And I said, 'I have been sent to the king of China; my message is to him; and it is not right for me to utter the message which I bring from my master before thee.' Then Gundâphâr went in to the king of China and informed him, and the king ordered the palace to be decorated, and silk curtains to be hung up, and a golden couch to be prepared; and he bade them call me. When I entered his presence, I did not make obeisance to him, and he questioned me, and said to me, 'Whence comest thou?' I answered and said, 'I am the ambassador of king Alexander.' And he said to me, 'Who is Alexander?' I said, 'He is a Macedonian, the lord of the world, and the bearer [of the sovereignty] of the Persians and Indians.' And he said to me, 'Where is the land of Macedonia?' I said, 'In the western quarter of the world, at the place where the sun sets.' And he said to me, 'Where didst thou leave this [Alexander]?' And I said, 'He is near, and not far off; lo, he is by the river Bîrsâṭôs (?).' And he said to me, 'Why has he sent thee?' And I said, 'My lord Alexander has been set by the gods as lord over the kings of the world, and I am come to bring thee to him, and my message is this: Thus saith Alexander, I have been established over all the kings of the world by the will and decree of the heavenly gods, and over all rulers will I be chief and commander; whosoever accepts willingly this my sovereignty, his whole territory shall remain his and he shall continue in his dominion; but whosoever receives me not, his country and his dominion are no longer his. And if thou dost not believe me that it is so, ask and learn what greatness and renown Darius the king of Asia had in the world, for he was a warrior and a conqueror, and yet afterwards, because of his obstinacy, to what a place was he abased and degraded! Porus too, the king of the Indians, who was so great and mighty, and fertile in artifices and stratagems, and versatile and rich in every craft, and so thought that he was not only lord of men but also chief and lord of the gods, learn what an end befell him through his obstinacy. Now I have heard concerning thee that thou hast good and great knowledge and understanding, and I thought that I would not come against thee with camps and troops as

against an enemy, but I have sent an ambassador to thee as to a friend, that thou mayest come to me of thine own free will, and that I may see and taste of the treasure of thy knowledge by the fruit of thy words from the gates of thy mouth; and if there is anything worthy of being seen in thy land, bring it with thee that I may see it.' Then he questioned me and said to me, 'Is King Alexander mighty in body?' And I said to him, 'No; on the contrary, he is very small.' And he said to me, 'To-day thou must make merry with me after the manner of ambassadors, and to-morrow thou shalt receive the answer to thy message.' When the hour of the banquet was come, the king of China commanded, and they made me sit in the banquetting hall among the lower seats. When the banquet was finished, he ordered them to prepare a sleeping apartment in the royal palace, and bade me sleep there; and in the morning, while it was yet dark, he ordered me to be brought in before him. When I entered, I did reverence to him. When he saw that I made obeisance to him, he was perplexed concerning me, and ordered me to be questioned again. When I had repeated my message afresh before him, he said to me, 'Thy message is that of yesterday, but thy deeds are not those of yesterday; yesterday thou wast one thing, and to-day thou art another.' I said to him, 'Thou hast spoken rightly, O king, for yesterday I myself by the words of my message was clothed in the person of Alexander; in me, O king, thou didst see Alexander, and in the speech of my lips thou didst hear that of Alexander; but to-day [I am] Pîthâôs the ambassador.' Then he commanded and they brought a cloak, and he said to me, 'Shew me how Alexander is formed in stature.' And I said, 'In stature Alexander resembles me.' And he said to me, 'Is not the king taller than thou?' And I said, 'No.' Then he gave orders to measure my height and breadth and to cut the cloak according to my measure. And when they had cut it, he ordered it to be rolled up and sealed, and he said to me, 'Pîthâôs, go and carry this answer from me to king Alexander, and say to him: I have heard thy message which thou hast sent to me, and of thy fortune, thy bravery, and thy exaltation. Thy victory then over Darius, and thy might, and thy victory over Porus, and thy subjection too of a number of nations—I do not think

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that such exaltation as this is caused by thy good fortune alone, but I imagine that it arises from their bad luck, and particularly because everything that comes to pass is given by fortune. Now to thee fortune and luck have been given by fate, and such elevation as this, which was not granted to Darius and Porus who were before thee. Therefore it is meet for thee to know that thou shouldst have no confidence in fortune, and that thou shouldst not weary thyself more, and that thy hands should not become the executioners of those who have drawn nigh to and reached the end of the days of their life, for the name of executioner is a disgraceful one. And as regards thy message to me concerning my coming to thee, behold, by the words of my mouth I stand before thee, and I speak with thee by the tongue of Pîthâôs. Be not angry then because my body comes not to thee, and do not come to our country with warfare, for we have never at any time surrendered. I do not speak these things for thy sake, as if we were stronger than thou art, but I say this on my own account; for shouldst thou come against us, and our luck let go its hold of us, as it did of Darius and of king Porus, thou wilt slay us all, and thy hands will be our executioners, for none of us will accept bondage in his lifetime. And let this also be in thy mind, that, if thy luck turn somehow against thee, this great name of thine and might of thine will perish by fate, for this lying fortune does not remain constantly in one place. We men then who thus work and plan, and by a great deal of expense and toil and executioner's work slay a number of men of our kind and race, and seize a number of countries, afterwards, whether we will or no, everything leaves us and departs, and of the number of countries which we seize, and the numerous regions which we subdue, a piece of land the size of this cloak comes to us.' Then he straightway gave the cloak into my hands, and a crown of gold studded with pearls and jacinths, and ......[1] a thousand talents; ten thousand pieces of undyed silks, and five thousand brocaded silks; two hundred figures of cane, and one hundred painted (?) skins, and one thousand Indian swords; five wild horses, and one thousand skins of musk, and ten snakes' horns (?), each of which was a

[1] I do not know the meaning of the words ܦ̈ܬܟ ܒܣ̈ܡܠܐ.

cubit long: and he said to me, 'Carry this offering from me to Alexander.' Now I was minded not to accept them, but I thought afterwards, 'If I do not take them, peradventure he may have doubts of me and may find out that I am Alexander.'

So I and my friends returned from thence and came to the body of my troops; and I commanded them to set out from thence, and we came through mountains and a difficult country to a plain and a desert region. And from thence we marched a journey of twelve days through the desert. And in that desert we saw numbers of wild animals which were like our gazelles, but their heads and their teeth were different, and they were like foxes. And [we saw] the animals from whose navels they take the musk. On the thirteenth day we arrived at a camping place of savage barbarians, who were very well furnished with horses and arms. When those savages saw us, they came against our encampment with arms and war; and when we saw that they had come for war, I commanded my troops to make ready, and when they had come near, my troops shouted and we joined in battle together. Now when we had closed with one another in fight, by good luck it so happened that I slew the chief of those thieves with the sword; and when they saw that their chief was slain, and that many were killed on both sides, they turned their backs and fled from us. And I commanded my troops that the wives and children of these savages should be slain and their possessions pillaged.

And we set out from thence and came to a country which they call Ṣĕbâẓâz (?). All the people of that land, together with the priests of their gods, came to us with offerings and spices, and we remained in that country ten days, and I commanded all the priests of that land to offer sacrifices.

And we set out from thence, and came to a country which they call Sôd [Sogd][1], and the country was very populous. I saw there a large river going forth on the south-west quarter, and that river was difficult to cross; indeed there was no means of crossing it whatever. I was greatly troubled and supplicated all the gods that are in Macedonia and Ammon the

[1] That is, the Sughd of Samarḳand, السُّغْد or الصُّغْد.

god of Lybia, and I vowed that if they would aid me to cross this river with my troops, I would build a city on the other side and set up a temple of the gods in it. When the people that were in that country heard [of our coming], they sent to me saying, 'Do not pass over into our territory, for we will not allow thee to come into our territory.' And when I heard this message, I ordered those ambassadors to be bound and guarded; and I asked them, 'Where is he that is ruler and chief in this land? and in what town does he dwell? and how many of the nobles of the land has he with him?' The ambassadors said, 'Swear to us by the gods that thou wilt do us no harm, and we will carry thee and shew thee the spot, for all the nobles of this country are in that place.' Then I sware to them by all the gods, saying, 'If ye shew me rightly, I will not kill you; but if ye say ought otherwise, I will kill you together with the others that are in the towns.' And as the gods willed, I gave orders to take each of those eight ambassadors by himself and to question him, and when we got the statements of all of them, [we found that] they agreed. I ordered my troops to get ready and Ḳôḳaros (?), the chief of the host, to question one of the ambassadors who was bound; and with fifty horsemen I set out early in the night to go and spy out the road and to observe the town, because it was night and we did not know the custom of the country, and owing to this I was afraid. Then a ḳundâḳôr[1] went and explored the way; he returned and came to me and said to me, 'The road is easy and the town is not large.' Then I and my troops went to the town, and I commanded the horns to be sounded and the troops to encircle the town; and I ordered much wood to be brought and fire to be kindled around the whole of the town, and the troops to stand outside the fire; and I commanded them also to kill every one who should flee from the town. When the people that were in the town heard the sound of the horns, they came forth from the houses and saw the fire round about the town, and some of them wished to flee; and as they fled from the town, they died by the hands of my troops. Then their chief and the nobles that were in the town came forth from the town and

[1] This word is glossed in one of the MSS. (B) by the Persian word *sardâr* "chief, commander."

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said with a loud voice, 'King Alexander, let thy wrath turn to favour, and do not order thy servants to be slain.' Then I commanded them to come to me; and when they came, I gave orders to guard them vigilantly.

And we came to the country of the Sundîḳâyê[1]; and when I saw that the whole country yielded to me, I commanded a city to be built there and to be called Samarḳand. I ordered a temple to be built therein to the goddess Rhea, whom they call Nânî[2], and when they had built it, I ordered it to be painted with gold and with the choicest paints, and a Greek inscription to be written thereon; and I commanded that all the Sundîḳâyê should come to that place and should make a feast to Rhea and offer sacrifices to her. When the Sundîḳâyê had done this in their country, they were firmly reconciled to Alexander in friendship and love.

And again we set out from thence and went to the river Barṭêsîṭôs (?), the interpretation of which is 'crystal.' When the king[3] saw that the river was large and difficult to cross, he ordered all the carpenters and artificers that were in Sôd to be brought, and bade much wood to be given to them; and he commanded Espisṭâhândos (?) to build a thousand Alexandrian boats. And he ordered the bows of the boats to be very sharp (?), and he bade two cables to be made of the bark of trees, each of them fifty cubits in thickness, and ordered men to cross over to the other side of the river in boats and to construct a kind of tower there. When they had made it, I gave orders to measure the breadth of the river, and to bring all those boats to the bank thereof, and to fasten them all to the one rope, and to one another with planks of wood; and to the other rope they fastened thousands of bags of ox-hide filled with air; and [I commanded] them to take the rope across and to fasten the end of it to the tower. When they had fastened

[1] That is, the inhabitants of the *Sughd*.

[2] See Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 130 sqq. and p. 295; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 16, 148; *Armenische Studien*, p. 110. In Cureton's *Spicil. Syr.*, p. ܗܠܒ, l. 8, read ܠܢܢܝ for ܠܢܝܢ, and also in ZDMG. xxix., p. 111, l. 7, for ܠܢܝܢܝ.

[3] The translator departs from the direct narrative more than once in the course of this description.

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the rope, he ordered a strong rope to be tied to the boats from the one side to the other, and a number of men to pull with ropes from that side. And when the head of the boats reached the middle of the river, the boats went on and were stretched out by the force of the current (?), and the bridge became straight. And he commanded a number of men to pull on this side and on that, and in the middle, with the rope which was fastened on the bank of the river, lest the boats, with the rope by which they were tied, should knock upon the stones and be broken. And when the bridge reached the rope, the ships at first struck the skins with violence, but the shock was broken and lightened by the skins. Thus he constructed the bridge by his skill and craft, and he ordered the troops to pass over.

When we had crossed the river and had gone a journey of two days, I saw a river that was copious and abundant in its flow, and towns with numerous hamlets and country houses were round about it, and the people of that country were simple in mind, and the country was rich in crops, and there was plenty of corn and fruit therein. I commanded the phalanx to halt in that place, and we remained where we were for five months. I ordered a large city to be built there; and on account of the beauty and desirability of the country, I commanded that it should be named afresh, and to the city I gave the name 'a part of Cûsh,' which is called in Persian *Behli*[1]. And I ordered two temples to be built in the city, the one to Zeus, and the other to Rhea; and I commanded them to be constructed with lime and stone and at much outlay; and I commanded a statue to be made in brass of myself and another of my friend Îdmâlos (?), and to be set up in those temples. And by reason of the fairness and beauty of the country, some of the Greek troops that were with me desired to stay there; and I gave orders that five hundred men should remain and dwell there, more particularly for the honour of those temples; and I commanded sacrifices (to be offered) and a great feast to be made.

And from thence we set out and came to a river, on the bank of which I commanded the phalanx to encamp, and we rested

[1] There seems to be something radically wrong in this sentence, but the MSS. agree.

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where we were for five days. And when I gave orders to set out from thence by night, Paryôg the.........and his band came against us. My soldiers had let loose their horses and cattle to graze quietly along the bank of the river, and Paryôg and his band seized all the horses and cattle, and went into a wood, and led them away from the bank of the river. When I heard these things, I took a band of foot-soldiers and some Macedonian troops, and we pursued after Paryôg that day along the river by means of the prints of the horses' hoofs which had been imprinted on the bank; and we went after him a journey of one day, but we did not overtake him. Then I made a vow to the god Ammon and made supplication to him, saying, 'If we overtake Paryôg and his band, in the place where I overtake him I will build a city to thy name, O Ammon, and will set up in it a temple to thee.' When I had gone five miles along the road, the earth was covered with water, and the hoof marks of the horses were no longer seen. I ordered the foot-prints of the horses to be sought for around the water and the wood; and when they had looked for the foot-prints but did not find them, I knew that the god Ammon would come to our assistance. And I ordered them to set fire to the skirts of the wood all round, so that Paryôg and his troop were not able to bear the flame of the fire. Then they all came out from the wood, and my conquering troops fought with Paryôg and slew him, and he died. And of Paryôg's band some died by the fire, two hundred and seventy men, and a thousand and three hundred others perished by the hands of my troops; and we got our horses and our cattle. We made the whole camp rest there, and I commanded earth to be brought for all the waters which were detained there, and the place where all the waters were to be filled up, and a city to be built upon it, and a temple to be made therein to the god Ammon. And we were in that spot four months, and when the city and the temple were finished, I commanded men to be brought from various places to dwell therein, and I called its name Margiôs (Μαργιανή), that is Mârô (Merv), and I offered sacrifices to the god Ammon there.

VIII. When then we were ready to go from the country of Margiana to the land of the Persians, I desired also to go quickly[1]

[1] Here begins ch. xviii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 125, col. 2).

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and without delay to the country of the Samrâyê[1] and to see their kingdom, for the kingdom of the Samrâyê was renowned among the Athenians and in the land of Hellas, and they were wont to say of it that all the walls of the city were of whole stones, the length of each being three stadia, which make a mile. It has one hundred and twenty gates, and the gates are all bound with iron and brass outside, for iron is abundant in their country; and all the houses that are built in that city are of hewn stone from their foundations to their roofs. Over their country a woman reigned, who in her appearance was very beautiful; she was of middle age, and was a widow; and she had three sons, and her name was Kundâḳâ [Candace], the lady of the Samrâyê. To this lady Alexander composed a letter and wrote to her thus: "From king Alexander to queen Candace greeting; and to the generals of the country of the Samrâyê greeting. When I went to Egypt, I saw there your graves and dwelling-places; and when I asked the priests of that country, they told me that ye dwelt in Egypt a long time, and that the god Ammon was with you as a helper. And after some time, by the oracle of Ammon, the god of his own accord sent to our border, [saying,] that I should go to your border and should sacrifice to him. If it pleases you, do ye also come to the border with the images, that we may hold a festival together."

Then Candace, when she had read this letter, made answer to him thus: "From Candace, the queen of the Samrâyê, and from all the generals of the Samrâyê, to king Alexander greeting. When of old we went to the land of Egypt, we went by the command of the oracle of Ammon, and he himself was with our army. Now too he has commanded us, saying, 'Beware lest ye move me from my place; neither shall ye go to another spot; but if any man shall come to your country, fight with him as with an enemy.' Thou wilt not catch us with this impudent speech of thine, for we are inspirited with the same spirit as thyself, even more than the illustrious and renowned who are in thy army[2]. I have troops to the number of eight

[1] In the Greek (Müller, *loc. cit.*) *ἐπῆγε τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς Σεμιράμεως βασίλεια*, Lat. *ad Samiramidos regiam.*

[2] The Greek text is very different (Müller, p. 126, col. 1): *Μὴ καταγνῷς δὲ*

hundred thousand, who are ready and prepared to fight with the evil one. Thou therefore hast done well, since thou hast proposed this in honour of the god Ammon; but if thou desirest to offer sacrifices to the god Ammon, do thou come by thyself, and let not an army come with thee. Farewell." And my ambassadors brought from her one hundred solid missiles[1] of gold; five hundred ass-goats[2], which they call in Persian *khar-bôz*; of different kinds of the bird which is called *pâipâ* (parrot) two hundred; two hundred apes; a crown of gold set with emeralds and pearls for the god Ammon who is within the border of Egypt; twenty unpierced pearls; thirty unpierced emeralds; and eighty small boxes of ivory. And she sent to us of different kinds of beasts three hundred and fifty elephants; three hundred leopards; eighty animals which are called rhinoceros, and in Persian *markĕdad* or *bargĕdad;* four thousand hunting bears and leopards; three thousand dogs that eat men; three thousand buffaloes for killing; three hundred leopard-skins and one thousand three hundred teak rods: and she said thus, "Do thou take these things, and inform me in writing if thou art lord over the whole world."

IX. Then Alexander accepted these things and sent to her Ḳdîmiôn [Kleomenês] the Egyptian as an ambassador with a letter to the queen. And when Candace heard from Alexander how he had taken different countries and captured cities and overcome and subdued mighty kings, she bade a certain painter of hers, a Greek, arise and go to the place where Alexander was, and paint for her his face and figure accurately, without the king's being aware of it, and bring it to her. And when the painter had gone and painted the portrait of Alexander and brought it to her, Candace took the likeness and hid it in a certain place. Then it fell out that a son of Candace, whose name was Ḳandâros [Candaules], with his wife and a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons to perform the mysteries of the gods; and it came to pass that the chief of the Marnîḳâyê[3] slew his horsemen and took his wife, and Candaules

τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν· ἴσμεν γὰρ λευκότεροι καὶ λαμπρότεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν λευκοτάτων.

[1] The Greek has πλίνθους, Lat. *laterculos.*

[2] The Greek says *Αἰθίοπας ἀνήβους φ'*, Lat. *Æthiopas impubes quingentos.*

[3] In the Greek ὁ *τύραννος τῶν Βεβρύκων* (Müller, p. 127, col. 1). Of the

escaped with a few horsemen, and came to the camp of Alexander. Then the guards of Alexander's camp took him and brought him before Ptolemy, the second in the kingdom, Alexander being asleep. Then Ptolemy questioned him, "Who art thou?" Candaules said, "I am the son of queen Candace." He said to him, "What art thou doing here?" Candaules said, "I and my wife, with a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons, as is our wont every year, to perform the mysteries of the gods; this time, however, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê saw my wife, and came against me with a large troop, and wrested my wife from me, and slew a number of the horsemen that were with me; and now I am come back that I might fetch a number of troops and do battle with him." And when Ptolemy heard this, he arose and went in to the king and awoke him, and related these things which he had heard before him. When Alexander heard this, he rose up early in the morning, and gave his crown to Ptolemy, and arrayed him in his purple robe, and said to him, "Go before me, as if thou wert king, and call me Antôgnâyâ [Antigonus], the chief of the host." And when they had gone out, Alexander spake before Ptolemy these words which he had heard. So Ptolemy went forth and looked upon the troops; and the troops thought that it was Alexander, and grief and trouble fell upon their hearts, and they said one to another, "What else pray is this Alexander who is rich in plans meditating?" When Candaules saw this, fear took hold of him, for he thought, "Peradventure they will slay me." And Ptolemy gave orders and questioned Alexander after the manner of kings, saying, "Antigonus, who is this man?" Antigonus said, "This is Candaules, the son of queen Candace, from whom, while he was journeying along the way, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê carried off his wife by force; what, O king, dost thou counsel and command me to do?" The king said, "I counsel and command thee that thou shouldst take my troops, and go and fight with the Mârônîḳâyê, and deliver his wife from thence. On account of the dignity and wisdom of Candace his mother, thou shalt rescue his wife, and give her back to him."

different readings ܡܪ̈ܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܪܘ̈ܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܘܪܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܘܪܢܩܝܐ, the second is perhaps the best, and may mean the people of Mârô or Merv.

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When Candaules heard this, he was glad. Antigonus said, "Since it is pleasing to thee, O king, I will go and carry out this matter; only do thou give orders that they supply me with troops."

X. Then Ptolemy in the guise of Alexander commanded troops to go with Antigonus. Antigonus came to that place while it was yet day, and said to Candaules: "Come, let us hide ourselves on one side until it is the night, for if the Mûriḳâyê see us, they will speedily tell their chief, and he in his anger will slay the woman before the fight, and what joy will there be in our victory when thy wife is dead? Let us tarry now, and enter the city at night; and we will set fire to it, and in the midst of the crush in the city, they shall bring thy wife to thee, for our fight is not with the country, neither is it for the government of the city, but for the sake of bringing back one woman." When Antigonus had spoken these words, Candaules fell upon his face and made obeisance to him, saying, "How admirable is this wisdom and knowledge of thine, Antigonus! It were right that thou thyself shouldst be Alexander, and not merely the chief of the host." When it was night, they went to the city; and when the people of the city were awakened out of their sleep and asked concerning the cause of the conflagration, Alexander commanded his troops to shout with a loud voice, "It is Candaules the king with his vast army, and he commands you, saying, 'Either restore my wife to me, or I will burn your whole city with fire.'" Then the people by reason of their fear went in a great crowd to the palace of their chief, and carried off the woman from his bed, and brought her and gave her to Candaules. Then he made obeisance to Antigonus, and praised his counsel, and thanked him, and they returned together to the camp of Alexander. And Candaules embraced Antigonus, and said to him, "O my lord, trust thyself to me and come with me to my mother that I may give thee gifts." Then Antigonus rejoicing at this speech said to him, "Ask permission for me from the king, for I myself am desirous to come and see the city." Then he sent to the king saying, "Send Antigonus as an ambassador to my mother." Ptolemy called Candaules and said to him, "Do thou, O Candaules, salute thy mother in writing, and receive Antigonus my general

as ambassador, and send him back to me too in health, for he restored thee along with thy wife, and will carry thee to thy mother." And Candaules said, "O king, I accept this man from thee on these conditions, as if he were Alexander, and I will send him back to thy kingdom to thee in health with gifts."

XI. Then Alexander took with him one division of the army, with cattle and chariots, and went. And as they were marching along the road, they saw a mountain of beryls, which in its height reached the clouds, and it was thickly crowded with lofty trees and fruits, but its trees were not like the trees which are in the country of the Greeks. The apples for example which we saw were as large as the citrons which are in the country of the Greeks; the clusters of grapes were like the clusters of dates in our country; and the nuts were as big as melons. Snakes were coiled round the greater number of the trees, and each of them was as big as a ferret with us; the apes upon the trees were larger than bears with us; and there were a number of animals of different kinds; and the mountains were the caves and paths of ibexes. Then Candaules said to me, "Antigonus, this place is the temple and dwellingplace of the gods, and many times they appear in these spots. Now then, if thou pleasest, when thou art on the way back, offer up a sacrifice to them that they may reveal themselves to thee." When Candaules had said this, we journeyed on and arrived at the royal palace. And when we drew near, his mother and brethren came to meet us; and when they wished to embrace Candaules, he said to them, "First of all salute the saviour and deliverer of myself and wife, Antigonus, the ambassador of Alexander king of peace." And when he went on to tell them severally of the carrying away of his wife and of the assistance which came from Alexander's army and of the knowledge and wisdom of Antigonus, his mother and brethren embraced and kissed Antigonus, and prepared a great and splendid feast for him, and they ate.

XII. On the following day Candace put on the royal apparel, and set the crown upon her head, and was so ornamented that, when Alexander saw her, he thought that he was looking upon Olympias his mother. The whole roof of the house in which she sat was painted with gold, and its walls

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were all set with precious stones and gems, and the cushions which were in the house were all woven with silk and fine gold; the legs of the couches were of magnificent beryls, and the tables in the house were of ivory, and the pillars of the house, their bases and their capitals, were made of precious beryl stones; statues of Corinthian brass stood upon the tops of the pillars, and the pillars were of purple stone, and representations of chariots and of men were engraved upon them; and these carvings were so marvellous that every one who saw them thought that the horses were going to run. Some of the stones were wrought in the form of elephants, which were standing in battle and holding enemies in their trunks. Statues of all the gods of the nations stood round the whole house, and others were standing on pillars; and the roof of their house appeared from the inside as if all the plane-trees and cedars of the earth were growing there; and there was the representation of a lake round about it, so that the whole house was reflected by the waters that were painted in it. When Antigonus (that is to say Alexander) saw this, he marvelled and wonder laid hold on him. And Candaules entreated his mother that gifts and offerings should be given to this ambassador as befitted the greatness of his knowledge. Then on the following day Candace took Alexander by the hand, and led him into a chamber. The whole chamber was inlaid with white marble like the heavens, and by reason of the splendour of the marble every one who saw it thought that the sun was shining in it; and the beams of the roof were of a wood which they call ôbmiôn[1], which wood no woodworm attacks, neither does it burn in fire. The foundations of the house were not laid upon the ground, but upon square beams which were very thick; and beneath it, at its four corners, were chariot wheels, and elephants were drawing them; and whithersoever the queen went to war, she dwelt in it and lived in it. Then Alexander said to Candace, "O queen, all these things would be worthy of admiration, if they were in the country of the Greeks, but here they are not very marvellous, for there are many mountains like these here, in which are to be found beryl stones

[1] Perhaps a corruption of the Greek word ἀμίαντος, as the text (Müller, p. 132, col. 1) has the words ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων.

of divers colours and variegated in many ways." Candace answered with indignation and said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, Alexander." When Alexander heard that Candace called him by his own name, he was troubled and he turned his face backward. Candace said to him, "Wherefore dost thou turn thy face backwards because I called thee by thy name Alexander?" Alexander said, "My lady, Antigonus is my name, and Alexander is the king who sent me hither." Candace said, "I know that Alexander is the king, and thou thyself art Alexander, and now I recognise thee from the look of thy picture;" and straightway she took him by the hand and led him into another chamber, and shewed him the likeness, and said to him, "See if thou canst recognise the face in this painting." When Alexander saw the painting of himself, his mind was perturbed, and he began to gnash his teeth. Candace said to him, "Why art thou troubled, and why dost thou gnash thy teeth at me, O bearer (of the sovereignty) of the Persians and Indians, who hast gained the victory over the Persians, and triumphed over the Parthians? Without war and without an army hast thou now fallen into the hands of queen Candace. Know then, Alexander, that it is not right for a man to glorify himself in his mind as though all wisdom and knowledge belonged to him alone, for though his wisdom be very great, one may be found who is wiser than he." When Alexander heard this, he stood up in a rage and gnashed his teeth, and Candace spake thus to him: "Why art thou angry? and for what reason dost thou gnash thy teeth, O thou who art so great a king?" Alexander replied: "I am a wretched man, inasmuch as I have no sword." Candace said to him: "Suppose thou hadst a sword, what wouldst thou be able to do?" Alexander said: "If I had a sword, I would either slay thee, that thou mightest no longer be in the world, or I would stab myself, because I of my own freewill have exposed myself to ridicule." Candace said to him: "Thou hast spoken these words also valiantly and royally; but now weary not thyself, neither let thy mind nor thy will be perturbed, for as thou hast rescued my son and my daughter-in-law, and hast brought them in safety to me, so also will I protect thee from the barbarians, and will send thee away from here under the name of Antigonus. For if the barbarians

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should hear that thou art Alexander, they will slay thee, because thou didst slay Porus the king of the Indians, for my daughter-in-law is a daughter of Porus. Henceforward let thy name be called Antigonus, and I will keep this secret."

XIII. And when she had spoken these words to him, they both went out; and she called her son and daughter-in-law and said to them, "Son Candaules, and thou too, my daughter Mâlâpsâ[1], had ye not obtained the help of Alexander's troops, we should never have seen one another, neither you me, nor I you. Now therefore it is right that thou shouldst send this ambassador of Alexander's away from here with honour and glory." Then her other son Ḳĕrâtôr[2] said: "My mother, Alexander has delivered my brother and his wife; but *my* wife is angry and says, 'Alexander slew my father Porus, and I now desire that thou wilt slay this ambassador of Alexander to avenge my father'." Candace said: "My son, what profit wilt thou gain by this, that this ambassador be slain here? for though thou shouldst slay this ambassador here, Alexander will not be grieved." Candaules said: "I will not allow him to die, because he delivered myself and my wife, and it is right that I should send him away (safe) from hence to Alexander." Then Ḳĕrâtôr said, "If thou send this man away from here, there will be war between thee and me." Candaules said, "I do not desire this; but if thou seekest war, I too am ready." Now Candace was in great trouble and affliction because of this matter, for she thought that peradventure her sons would fight with one another on this account, so she called Alexander privily and said to him: "O Alexander, thou hast been on every occasion astute and abundant in knowledge and fertile in expedients and skilled in contrivances; and now art thou able to do nothing to prevent these my sons fighting with one another for thy sake?" Then Alexander answered and said: "Hear ye, Ḳĕrâtôr and Candaules; if ye slay me here, do not imagine that Alexander will be distressed on my account, or that he will sorrow for me, (though it is not right to

[1] The Gr. Codex A has *μαρτέρσα*, the others *ἄρπυσσα*, *ἄρπουσα*, or *ἄρπισα*, the Latin translation *Margie* (see Müller, p. 133, col. 2).

[2] Called in the Latin translation *Charogos* (Müller, *loc. cit.*). In the Greek MSS. no name is given.

kill an ambassador even in war,) because, if ye slay me here, Alexander has many ambassadors like me. But if ye desire that I should deliver Alexander into your hands without trouble, I am able to do it; but do you now promise me what ye will give me, and how many towns and cities ye will give, that henceforward I may live with you in this country, and I will go and persuade Alexander to come hither, as if ye had asked him that ye might honour him with great and excellent offerings; and I know that I am able to bring him hither without any body of troops, and when he comes here, ye can easily take him and revenge yourselves on him." When Ḳĕrâtôr heard these words of his, he was persuaded and promised Alexander a number of his own towns. Then Candace, marvelling at the knowledge and understanding of Alexander, called him secretly and said to him, "O Alexander, would that thou also wert my son, for by the knowledge and wisdom which thou hast thou art able to subdue all nations." And next day Candace dismissed Alexander and gave him gifts, a royal crown of gold set with ......[1] and a breastplate of gold set with beryls and chalcedonies and other precious stones, and a purple cloak like stars woven with gold; and she sent some of her own horsemen with him.

XIV. Then he went forth from thence and arrived at the hill of which Candaules had told him that it belonged to the gods. He offered sacrifices in that place, and he went into a cave, and saw in that cave a blackness out of the midst of which stars were shining, and suddenly he heard behind him a noise of dead bodies[2] and the sound of an uproar. Then Alexander trembled and stood up silently to see what it was; and suddenly the darkness disappeared, and he saw the form of a man reclining upon a couch, and his eyes were like sparkling stars. And he said to Alexander, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; dost thou know who I am?" Alexander said, "Nay, my lord, nay." Then he said to him, "I am Sêsânḳôs (Sesonchosis), the ruler of the world, and from the time that I

[1] I do not know what [illegible] means. The Greek text is *στέφανον ἀδαμάντινον πολύτιμον* (Müller, p. 184, col. 2).

[2] So in the Syriac.

died I am with the gods; I, who am immortal, am not so renowned as thou art." Alexander said to him, "How so, my lord?" He said to him: "I took the whole world and subdued a number of nations, yet now there is no remembrance of me on earth; but thou art renowned on account of the city of Alexandria the Great which thou hast built; thy name will be famed for ever. But now come within and see the Maker of all natures." And when Alexander had gone within, he saw a fiery cloud and the great god Serapis seated upon a throne. And Alexander said, "My lord, I saw thee in the vision at Thebes as thou didst sit, and behold I see thee here too." Then Sesonchosis said, "My lord Serapis dwells in one place, but reveals himself everywhere." Then Alexander said, "My lord, how many years longer shall I live?" Sesonchosis said: "It is well for mortal man when the day of his death is hidden from him; for when he learns when his death shall take place, from the day that he knows concerning his death he considers himself as already dead. But as for thee, when thou establishest and completest a great and famous city, thou shalt enter it, whether with death or without death, and the people of the city will receive thee, and will do reverence to thee as to a god, and thy grave shall be in that spot."

XV. When Alexander had heard these words from the messenger (*or* angel), he set out on his road, and the generals of his forces came to him on the way, and straightway put his crown upon him, and arrayed him in royal apparel. Now Alexander had made ready to go to the country of the Amziôs (Amazons), which was the land of women. These Amazons are women, who have one breast like a man's and one like a woman's. When Alexander drew near and had arrived in the country of the Amazons, he composed a letter and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander to the Amazons greeting. Ye have heard concerning the war which we had with Darius, and of that with Porus the king of the Indians, and how I slew them. And after I had slain them, I went to the country of the Indians, and saw there the Brahmans and their sages, and received tribute from them, and allowed them to remain in their own land, and they sacrificed to the gods on my behalf. And I turned away from them, and now I have made ready to

come to you. Come ye then to meet me and receive me, for I am not coming to make war nor to do anything evil; but I come to see your country, and I will benefit you."

When they had read the letter, they wrote him an answer as follows: "From the Amazons and the chiefs of the hosts of our camp to Alexander greeting. We write to thee that thou mayest know, before thou comest hither and before thou enterest our country, that perhaps when thou comest hither, thou wilt be obliged against thy will to retreat and turn back. In this letter too we will inform thee of all our affairs, and what is the condition of our country, and in what state it is. By our nature we are women, but owing to our bravery we are superior to men. We live upon an island in the sea Meznîkos[1], and there is a sea round about it, the beginning and end of which are unknown, and there is only one place of crossing over to us. We who dwell in the island are in name virgins, and are in number two hundred and eighty thousand. We have no man with us, and no male is found among us; for our husbands live on the other side of the sea. At the time of the year when we slay horses and offer sacrifices to Zeus and to Hephaestos, during that festival we cross over to the other side of the sea, and we make a feast together with the men for thirty days, and those who wish to stay with their husbands stay. She that conceives remains where she is until she gives birth to a child; and if she bears a female, she leaves it with fosterers on the other side of the sea for seven years, and then they bring her over to this side to us. Should any unfriendly people come against us in battle, and it be necessary for us to make war with them, we go forth to battle one hundred and thirty thousand strong upon equipped horses, and the remainder keep watch in the camps and on the islands. Our husbands come after us; and if it happen that some women of us die while we are doing battle with the enemy, our husbands take their bodies and carry them to the islands. If the troops of the enemy be mighty and powerful and numerous, and do battle with us for many days, should any of our women

[1] No doubt corrupted from Ἀμαζονικὴ. In the Arabic version بحر (*sea*) might stand for *river*, as in بحر النيل.

slay any of the enemies' host, we give them a crown from the altar of Zeus. If it fall out that we rout an enemy who is stronger than we, and that they are conquered by us, it is a great disgrace to those mighty and powerful enemies that they are conquered by the hands of women and turn their backs in flight; but on the other hand, should it happen that the enemy has the advantage over us in war, and we turn and come to our islands in discomfiture, it is not accounted a brave deed to those men, neither is their victory deemed creditable to them, because it is merely women whom they have conquered. Do thou therefore consider this, for peradventure it may happen thus even to thee. My lord the king, if it please thee, retire, and we will each year give thee as a gift what is right. Do thou then make a reply to our letter on this subject as thou art bound to do, and we are in our camp on this summit[1] prepared and ready."

XVI. When Alexander had read this letter, he smiled, and ordered an answer to be made to this letter of theirs as follows: "King Alexander to the Amazons greeting. We have taken and subdued three ends of the world, and have been victorious over them; and now it would be a great disgrace to us if we did not come to your country. Now, if ye desire your own destruction and that of the rest of the people in your land, remain where ye are upon the top of the mountain[2]: but if ye desire to live and to dwell in your country, and are not desirous to experience a trial of our strength, cross over to this side, and [come to] see us with your husbands in the plain, and receive us, and I swear by the soul of my mother and by the fortune of Hêra the mother of the gods, and by Athênê the lady of battles, and by Artemis the great goddess, that I will do no evil unto you. But whatever tribute ye are willing to give for the benefit of my troops, I will accept it from you. Let as many horsewomen as ye please come to my army, and I will give each of you five dînârs as the pay of each month, besides the food of the horsewomen and of the horses; and I will keep them in my army one

[1] Müller's text has *καὶ εὑρήσεις ἡμῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων* (p. 187, col. 1) but the translator evidently read *ὀρέων* for *ὁρίων*.

[2] Reading again *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων* for *ὁρίων*.

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year, and then I will send them away to their own places, and do ye send others in their stead."

When this letter had been read and they had taken counsel among themselves, they made answer to him as follows: "From the chiefs of the Amazons and all the generals to Alexander greeting. We grant thee power to come and see our country. And afterwards we will give to thee each year a thousand pounds of gold for a crown; and those who bring them to thee shall remain in thy camp a year. If it should happen that any of them fall in love with men, let them marry them and dwell in the land. Do thou send to us the number of the women who die and of those who remain, that we may send to thee other women in their stead. And henceforward we will obey thee far or near, for we have heard of thy excellence and thy goodness and thy might and thy power. And what are we more than the rest of the world that we should not receive thee as lord? Farewell."

XVII. Then Alexander made ready, and when he drew near to the country of the Amazons, Zeus rained so great a rain upon them that the hoofs of all the cattle and horses rotted away by reason of the quantity of rain, and the saddles of the horses and the packsaddles of the cattle were destroyed. After the rain had ceased, a fierce and powerful heat came upon us, which no one of us was able to endure; and then came lightnings and thunderings and mighty sounds from heaven to such a degree that many of the horsemen fell upon their faces through fear. When we had crossed over the river[1] Zûtâ (?) and saw the country, the whole country was decorated with temples and altars, like the land of the Indians. When we saw the abundant rain, we remembered the snow which fell upon us in the country of Prasiaḳê; and when the people that were dwelling in that land saw all the rain and the ill, they said that it happened because of Alexander. They came to Alexander and said to him, "O good king, depart from our land, and we will give thee sixty mighty elephants trained to war and one hundred thousand chariots." Then Alexander gave orders to accept them from them, and he departed thence. Then

[1] In the Syriac ܙܘܛܐ, *sea* = بحر.

those five hundred horsewomen came to meet him, bringing the gold, and they stood in Alexander's presence and laid the gold before him. When Alexander had seen the country of the Amazons, he ordered sacrifices to be offered to all the gods that were in the land.

And he set out from thence, and on the way a letter met him. "From Aristotle to Alexander greeting. I have heard that thou hast laboured in many battles and wars, and that thou hast also taken and subdued a number of countries and many cities. Thou hast been able to do all these things by the aid of the gods, for at present thou art but thirty years of age, and by the assistance of the gods thou hast performed such deeds as no other lord has been able to do in a number of years. Therefore thou art under many obligations to the gods, and now the time has come for thee to pay them back with sacrifice and incense, for great is thy debt to the gods who have honoured thee, and thou wilt not be able to pay it in a short time."

When Alexander had read this letter, he and his host returned to Babylon. And when he had drawn near to Babylon, he wrote a letter to his mother Olympias in which he wrote as follows. "From Alexander to Olympias my mother, greeting. In a former letter I informed thee accurately concerning the things which I did previously, from the beginning as far as the country of Asia; and now it appears to me that I ought to inform thee by writing of all that took place afterwards, after I arrived at Babylon. I Alexander took my forces [consisting of] brave and mighty warriors one hundred thousand, and I made ready to depart from Babylon. In ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêraklês, and I saw two statues, one of gold and the other of silver; the length of each was twelve cubits and the breadth two cubits; and I did not believe them to be solid but [thought that they were] cast. Then I commanded the troops of my army to halt, and I sacrificed to Hêraklês, and I ordered the golden statue to be bored with a borer; and when I perceived that it was all of gold and that it was solid, I commanded that the shavings from the boring should be weighed, and they weighed one thousand three hundred mithkâls of gold. And we set out from thence and marched to a mountainous place, and came to a broken country, and in that place

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the darkness was so dense that the troops were unable to see one another. We remained in that place seven days, and from thence we came to a warm region. In that place there was a great river in a level plain, and on the banks of that river women dwelt in the guise of Amazons, but they surpassed the Amazons in their bodies and their beauty; they were clothed in black garments, and they all went armed on horseback; and all their arms were of silver, for in the place where they dwelt there was neither iron nor brass. They dwelt on the bank of the river on the other side, and when we came to the bank of the river, we found no crossing whereby we might pass over to the other side, for the river was very deep and very wide, and upon its bank on this side there were a number of savage animals. These women crossed over to this side of the river by night and carried off some men of my troops, and we were unable to cross over [after them] to the other side.

XVIII. And from thence we departed and began to come to the shore of a great sea; and we arrived at a place on the right of which was a high mountain, and on the left the sea; and in that place we sacrificed a number of white horses to Poseidon, the divinity[1] of the sea, and we made a hunt there. And from thence we departed to a place, the ground of which was not visible to us by reason of the darkness and blackness; and thenceforward there was no land. We found five ships, and having embarked in them we put to sea. On the third day we arrived at a city, of which they say that it is the city of the sun, and the circumference of that city is twenty miles. In the middle of it was an altar, and upon it there was a chariot, which was made of fine gold and emeralds, and a priest of the sun stood upon it; and in that place we sacrificed to the sun. From thence we came a journey of one day, and found a great darkness, and there was no road, so I gave orders to light branching[2] lamps of silver, and to carry them before my troops. And we retired from thence and arrived at the river Sakḥan[3], which divides Asia and Europe; and thence we made ready and came to the palace of Khusrau and king Pâḳôr[4]; and in that

[1] Literally, *the luck* or *good fortune*.
[2] Literally, *outspread*.
[3] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Tanais* (Müller, p. 141, note 18).
[4] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Xerxes and Cyrus* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

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palace we saw a number of ingenious things which are needed for great purposes. And there was a room made within it, and a statue of one of the gods of the Greeks stood there, and they say that at the time that king Xerxes was alive, when any of his enemies were preparing to come to his land with war and battle, a voice issued from this statue. And a cage of gold was suspended from the ceiling of the room, within which cage a golden dove was confined; and they say that when the voice came from the statue in the speech of men, this dove interpreted it. When I desired to take this dove from thence and to send it to the country of the Greeks, they said to me, 'Do not take it, because this dove counsels this god.' And I also saw something worthy of admiration in the palace of Shôshan the fortress; for I saw there large globes of silver, each of which, they say, would hold three hundred and sixty measures of wine, and on the outside round about there were carved horses and their riders fighting, and in the middle the gods sitting in assembly; and they say that they brought these globes from Egypt, the country of Zeus, at the time when the Persians were masters over Egypt. When I desired to know how great were these globes, I offered sacrifices to the gods, and commanded one of the globes to be filled with wine, and I gave orders to my troops to sit down, and at that meal there was not used more than one globe full of wine. Now when they had consumed the wine, it happened according to what I had heard. And I entered a large house, and I found there a very large cup, and upon it was carved [a representation of] the battle which king Xerxes fought in ships with the Greeks. And in the house a seat of gold was placed, which was set with gems, and there was a sort of canopy over it, and a golden harp with strings was placed upon it; and they said that this harp used to play of itself, without anyone striking it. Around [the throne] were thirty cups of gold, and it had eight steps, and over it there stood a golden eagle whose wings spread over the whole of it. A root was there like a vine, out of which sprouted seven shoots, and the bunches of grapes were wholly of fine gold set with gems. But why need I write to thee of the abundance of the gold and silver? Gold and silver

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are so abundant that I am unable to describe the quantity thereof."

XIX.[1] When he had sent this letter to Olympias his mother from Babylon, the day of his death was come, and a sign to this effect happened as follows. A certain woman, one of the inhabitants of that country, gave birth to a child, who from his buttocks upwards had the form of a man, and from his buttocks downwards a number of forms of animals, all of them separate, that is to say, a lion, a leopard, a wolf, and a wild dog, all the heads apart and separate; they were so well defined that every one who saw them knew at once to what beast each head belonged; and the human body died as soon as it was born. Then the woman, as soon as she had given birth to it, covered it over and carried it to the palace of Alexander; and she said to one of Alexander's servants, "Speak to him about bringing me into his presence, that I may shew the king a wonderful sign, the like of which he has never seen." Now Alexander was asleep within, and it was noon; and when he had been roused up from his sleep, and had heard concerning the woman, he commanded that she should be brought in before him. Then the woman said, "Give orders, O king, that every one go forth from before thee." And when every one had gone forth from the king's presence, she uncovered it and exhibited it before the king, saying to him, "Look upon this prodigy, O king, to which I have given birth." When Alexander had seen it, wonder and amazement laid hold on him, and he straightway commanded the Chaldeans who were skilled in portents to be called. When they came, he said to them, "Tell me exactly what this sign indicates, for if ye do not speak the truth, your heads shall be taken off." Then one of those skilled in portents sighed, and having waited a little said to the king, "O king, thou wilt not live any longer, and they do not allow thee to remain among the number of the living, as this sign portends." When Alexander heard this, he praised him and said, "Explain how thou understandest this sign." He

[1] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (ch. xxix. is wanting in the Syriac). See Müller, p. 148, col. 2.

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said to him, "O ruler of all men, the sign is thus: this human body and this child are thyself, and these bodies of beasts are all the nations. As soon as it was born, this human body died, while those of all the beasts are alive. Now thou, O king, who art lord of all nations, art about to die, whilst they all, being alive, will escape from under thy hands. Therefore, O king, when I saw that this sign referred to thee, I was deeply grieved." When he had spoken these words, he went forth from Alexander's presence; and the woman took the child, and carried it out, and burned it with fire. When Alexander had heard all these things, he was in grief and trouble, and sighing, he said, "O Zeus, it would have been right that I should have finished all my plans and then died; but since it has appeared good to thee thus, command that they receive me as the third dead." This speech he said for this reason: Dionysus was a man, and because of the name and fame and power that he made for himself, he was reckoned when dead among the number of the gods; and in like manner Hêraklês; therefore Alexander spake of himself as 'the third dead,' because these had not gained such name and fame and might as Alexander.

XX. At this time Olympias the mother of Alexander sent him a letter containing an accusation against Antipater, and Alexander was very grieved because of his mother's anger against Antipater. When Antipater knew that Alexander was angry with him, and became aware that he wished to slay him, he sent Alexander a quantity of gold. Alexander commanded that it should be accepted; but although he took the gold, he did not set right his mind with Antipater. When Antipater knew the secret plans that Alexander had formed against him, he dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, and gave some of it to his son Keshandrôs (Cassander), and furnished him with many offerings and sent him to Alexander, bidding him to seek some means and in one way or other to give the poison to Alexander. When Cassander arrived at Babylon, he found Alexander offering sacrifices, and a feast was prepared for the generals of the provinces. Then Cassander drew near to Ôliyâs (Iollas), the chief of the king's cup-bearers, and entered into a secret plot with him. Now

this Iollas had been scourged a few days before for some cause by Alexander, so that his mind was excited against him, and therefore Cassander found an opportunity against Alexander. They took Mîtrôn (Mêdius) with them into the secret—now this Mîtrôn was Alexander's chief friend—, and he took upon himself to administer the poison to him. When Alexander and his friends were sitting at table and were drinking and talking cheerfully — now on that day Alexander was very merry, for many of his friends had come to him from various countries, and had brought him crowns of victory—after they had finished the meal, Mîtrôn drew near to Alexander and said to him, "O king, since to-day thou hast had great joy with the rest (?) of thy friends, bid thy dearest friends, who love thee most, to drink wine with thee in a chamber." When Alexander heard the speech of Mîtrôn, he ordered Priskôs, Markânos, Lôsios (Lysias), Prîtôn, Rĕkîthâros, Ksîdâros (Cassiodôrus), Nicolaus, Krîmîos, Harklîtandîs, Tarkânâ, Philip, and Mĕnîdâros (Menander) to be invited[1]. Now of all these persons only Priskôs, Krîmîos, Harklîtandîs, Cassiodôrus, and Lysias, were unacquainted with the secret, but all (the rest) were eager participators in it, and were with Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers and Cassander in the matter, and had sworn oaths among themselves. When Alexander had sat down, and they had all taken their seats in his presence, Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers mixed the poison and gave the cup to Alexander. When Alexander had drunk, he straightway felt great pain; he immediately commanded some of that wine to be brought and to be poured out to all his friends. Although he was grievously tortured by the intensity of the pain, he bore up and was neither excited nor alarmed; and his friends also continued drinking. After his friends had gone out from his presence, he thought that perchance he was seized with pain by reason of the quantity that he had drunk, and he took birds' feathers and put them into his throat, for so he was accustomed to do from time to time. After he perceived that nothing did him good, for the poison had flown through all

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

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his body, he was unable to restrain his groans, for the pain was too strong for his body. On the following day at dawn he desired to take counsel with his friends, but he was unable to make a testament, because his tongue was paralysed. Then Cassander wrote to Macedonia to his father Antipater, "the deed for which I came hither has taken place, and has received a glorious consummation."

When Alexander had been seized at Babylon with a grievous sickness, he commanded at night every one to go forth from the chamber in which he was lying, and he also commanded Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) his wife to go to another chamber[1]. Now one of the doors of the house opened on to the river Euphrates, and he ordered that door to be opened, and said, "There is no need for the guards to keep their watch." When every one had gone forth and it was midnight, he rose up from his bed, and extinguished the lamp which was burning before him and went forth by that door, and crawled on his hands and feet to the bank of the river, and was going to cast himself in. Then his wife Rôshnâḳ hastened at once and took hold of him, and with weeping and loud and mournful sighs said to him, "Hast thou left me, Alexander, and art thou become thine own executioner? Bitter is the lot which has fallen to my share, and evil and cruel is that which has happened to me by fate. I was left an orphan by my father Darius in my childhood, and now in my youth I shall be left by thee a widow." Then Alexander said, "Be not distressed, O Rôshnâḳ, for everything happens in its season; but be silent, and tell this secret to no one." Then Rôshnâḳ took Alexander by the hand and led him back to his bed. And when it was day, Alexander commanded Ḳrîsḳôs[2], and Lysias, and Ptolemy to come into his presence alone, and every one else to be put out[3]. And they came into his presence. Then he ordered a testament to be written. And Ḳrîsḳôs was doubtful in his mind, for he thought, "Peradventure he will give all his possessions to Ptolemy alone, for he loved him very much during his life, and Olympias

[1] For what follows see Müller, p. 146, note 1 on ch. xxxii.

[2] A little above the name was written Prîsḳôs.

[3] See Meusel, p. 789, at the foot.

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his mother loved him." Then Ḳrîḳôs swore an oath with Ptolemy, "If Alexander gives all his property to me, thou shalt have one half of it; and if he gives it to thee, do thou give me a half." And having written the document, they were commanded to write the testament.

XXI. Then a report of an uproar and tumult among the Macedonian soldiers was heard; and they all came clothed in armour to the gate of Alexander, for they thought that Alexander had not been seized with sickness, but that the generals of the army had slain him by treachery; and they were going to fall upon them and kill them. When Alexander heard the outcry and uproar, he asked, "What is this disturbance?" Then Ḳrîsḳôs informed him concerning the uproar and tumult. When Alexander heard of the real love and affection of the Macedonian soldiers towards himself, he ordered them to carry him and to convey him to the hippodrome. And he commanded that the troops of the Macedonian camps should be armed, and that they should pass before him in their suits of armour. Then Ḳrîsḳôs went out from before the king, and told the Macedonians, and convinced them that Alexander was not dead, but had been seized by sickness. "But (said he) put ye on your armour, and go to the royal hippodrome, for there ye are to pass before him in review." When the Macedonians heard this, they girded on their armour and went to the hippodrome. And they carried Alexander thither on his bed. So the Macedonians passed in their armour before Alexander; and when they lifted up their eyes and saw Alexander, suddenly the colour of their faces was changed, and their hearts were so oppressed by weeping and mourning that, in the face of that sadness and suffering and grief mingled with sighs, even the light of the sun became obscure and dark. Then Pînâḳlêôs (Phainoclês?), an old Macedonian warrior and hero, wept aloud when he saw Alexander, and said to Alexander in the Greek tongue, "O king, doer of good things, Philip thy father ruled over us kindly and firmly, and thou too, O king, hast been likewise good and merciful and kind to us. But since we love thee, and thy rule is pleasing to us, and we desire and enjoy it, why dost thou wish to forsake us, and to part from us and

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to leave us? for through thy departure from us all Macedonia will be destroyed, and by thy death we ourselves will all perish. It is better that we should die with thee, for thou hast made us renowned and famous; through thee we have subdued countries and kingdoms, and through thee we have brought enemies into subjection. Henceforth what is the good to us of weapons of iron and brass, when we have lost thee, O most skilled in weapons? With thee we have marched through deserts and dark mountains, through rough and difficult and hard and impassable places; and now we will go to the next world with thee." When he had spoken these words, tears streamed down from Alexander's eyes, and each one of the Macedonians drew his sword and was going to slay himself. Then Alexander sprang up from the couch on which he lay, and sat upon the cushions, and said to the Macedonians, "O my servants and friends and fellow-soldiers, why do ye add pain to pain so that I should taste death by dying before my own death?" Then he commanded the troops of the Macedonians to go to their camps, and he bade them bear him upon his bed and carry him to his palace.

XXII. Then they bore him and carried him to his palace, and he commanded Prìsḳôs to bring the testament and to read it before him. Then Archelaus the scribe brought the testament, and in it there was written as follows: From Alexander to Ammon and to my mother Olympias, greeting. Inasmuch as the gods have willed that I should be taken from the assembly and dwelling of men to the assemblies and dwellings of the gods, I too have thought that it would be expedient and helpful for me, and I have thought that it would be right for me to inform you thereof. Do thou then, my mother, not be grieved nor distressed at my departure, for such is the will of God, but console thyself in thy wisdom and be glad. I have appointed and sent all my generals for thy honour that they may make thee exceedingly glad. I Alexander in this testament command: the Macedonians and the Greeks shall keep themselves in training and guard the country from enemies and be always vigilant; they shall keep the temples of the gods and the royal palace, and preserve them in prosperity and in joy. Let there be given every year

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to the princes that are in Egypt darics [to the amount of] one hundred pounds from the crops and taxes of the country, for I have commanded my body to be carried thither; and let the expenses which are requisite and necessary for the grave in which my body is laid be given to the priests according to their desire from the revenues of the kingdom. I also command that the offence wherewith the Thebans offended me be forgiven them, and that three hundred talents of gold be given them for the restoration of their city. I also command that there be given from Egypt every year twenty thousand bushels of wheat, and from Asia twenty thousand bushels. I also command that Ḳrêtênôr (Craterus) shall be ruler and governor of the Macedonians; and over Egypt shall be Ptolemy; and over Asia Ḳrisḳôs (Perdiccas). I also command that seventy talents of gold be given to the army of the Macedonians. I also command that Archelaus take this testament and carry it to the temple of the god Ammon. And let there be in the land of Alexandria food and abundance of corn, and let skilful workmen of all kinds be ready, and when Ptolemy comes thither bringing my body, let them prepare quickly a grave for the burial of my body, and let there be no hindrance nor delay to him. I also command that if Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) my wife give birth to a son, he shall be king, and they shall call his name after one of the kings of the Macedonians, according as they please; but if she give birth to a girl, let the Macedonians choose and set up as king whomsoever they please; and if they find (?) Bêlîrôs the son of Milêḳôs (?), he shall be lord over them. Olympias my mother shall dwell in Rhodes, and Lysimachus shall rule over the country of Thrace; and his wife shall rule over the Thessalonians, because she is my sister, the daughter of Philip the king of the Macedonians. Over Hellas Pîṭasdrôn (?)[1] shall rule; and over Pamphylia and Lycia Antigonus shall rule; and over Great Phrygia Andreas shall rule; and over Cilicia Piôr (?); and over Syria and as far as the Rivers Pythôn shall rule; and Seleucus clothed in armour shall rule over

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

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this Babylon, and his wife over Nicaea; and Âdîmîs (Eumenês) shall rule over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Mempath (Meleager) shall rule over Phoenicia and Coelesyria; and over Egypt Ptolemy, and Cleopatra the sister of Alexander's wife shall be given to him; and my wife Rôshnâḳ shall rule from this Babylon of mine to the country of Adôrbaijân and Persia and Media, and I command that she shall be given to Prîsḳôs (Perdiccas) to wife. And I command that they shall make for the interment of my body a coffin of fine gold, two hundred and fifty talents [in weight], and let them lay the body of me Alexander the king of the Macedonians in it; and let them fill it with white honey which has not been melted, and let them deliver it to the Macedonians. Let them send one suit of my royal apparel and my golden throne to the city of Athens, to the temple of the virgins; and let them send all my arms to Persia, with one hundred and fifty talents of gold; and let them send to the temple of the gods which is in Macedonia the dragons' heads of gold [weighing] one hundred talents, and one hundred signet rings of gold, and a thousand ivory cups. [Let them send] one hundred and fifty talents [of gold] to the Philippians (Milesians) for the restoration of their city; and the remainder of the gold and silver, and the whole of the possessions which I have brought from the country of the Indians, let them be given to my mother Olympias. Let them deliver over Sôd—that is to say Samarḳand—to Philip; and let them give Abarashahr and Gurgân to Pîṭâpôlîs (?), and Garmânîâ (Kermân) to Thlipaiṭmôs (Tlepolemus); and as for Persia let the lords of the various provinces hold them, and let Pîsôn (?) be ruler over them. I also command that they shall bring some of the Dôsîn, who dwell in tents, and call them "sojourners in Alexandria." Now as I have said above, they shall lay my body in a golden coffin, and they shall lift it on to a chariot, and sixteen docile mules shall draw it, and the army of the Macedonians, with Ptolemy and the other generals, shall guard it, and carry it [to Egypt]; and they shall give for the expenses of the journey one thousand talents of gold from the revenue of the kingdom, and for the mules which shall draw the chariot one thousand six hundred talents.

XXIII. When Alexander had given these commands, he

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straightway died; and they did even as Alexander had commanded. And when they had taken the body of Alexander and placed it upon a chariot, all the Macedonians in Babylon began to make a mourning and outcry with bitter weeping and sore lamentation. And when he had arrived at Mephyâ [Memphis], when the people of the land heard it, they came to meet him with all kinds of music, and they praised the body of Alexander with doleful voices, saying, "Thou art welcome, O god Sîsnâḳîs (Sesonchosis), ruler of the world." They kept the body of Alexander in that place twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh; and they wished to retain his body there. Then the priests of Serapis said to them, "This body of Alexander must not be laid here, but they must carry it to the city which he built; for in the place where the body of Alexander is laid, there will be wars and contests continually, for in his lifetime he had continually the desire for war and battle." So Ptolemy made a grave for the body of Alexander in Alexandria, as he had been ordered, and there did he lay the body of Alexander; and they call that place "The tomb of Alexander" unto this day.

XXIV. Alexander waged numerous battles and great wars, and he defeated and routed and put to flight mighty and powerful kings. He lived in this world thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he had rest for only eight years in this world. He subdued of the barbarians twenty-two kings, and of the Greeks thirteen. He built thirteen cities, some of which are flourishing to this day, but some are laid waste. The first is Alexandria which was built after the name of the horse called Bucephalus, the interpretation of which is Bull-head; the second is Alexandria the fortified Rôphôs (?); the third is Alexandria the Great; the fourth is Alexandria in the dominion of king Porus; the fifth is Alexandria in the land of Gĕlênîḳôs[1]; the sixth is Alexandria in the country of the Scythians; the seventh is Alexandria on the shore of the sea (*or* river); the eighth is Alexandria which is near Babylon; the ninth is Alexandria which is in the country of Sôd, that is to say, Samarḳand; the tenth is Alexandria which is (called) Kûsh,

[1] Apparently "apud Granicum" (Müller, p. 151, col. 2).

that is Balkh; the eleventh is Alexandria which is called Margenîkôs, that is to say Môrô (Merv); the twelfth is Alexandria which is upon the farther bank of the rivers in the country of the Indians; and the thirteenth is Alexandria which is in Egypt[1]. And after Alexander died in Babylon by poison, the name of the day [upon which he died] was called "The slayer of young men," for Alexander was a young man[2]. Alexander reigned as king twelve years and seven months, and there was none among all the kings on earth that fought and made war and conquered like Alexander until the day he died[3].

[1] The Greek codices give the names in different order. See Müller, p. 151, col. 1. See also Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellen.* Vol. 2 pp. 591—651 Die Gründungen Alexanders; Pauly *Real Encyclopaedie* Vol. 1, *Art.* Alexandria (twenty-two Alexandrias are here enumerated); Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. 1, pp. 415, 576, 621, 623, and the map in Vol. 1, facing p. 464. See also the Arabic list in Yâkût's معجم البلدان, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1. p. 100, or in the *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ٢٣, and the list in the "Life of Alexander" published by Prof. Paul de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208.

[2] See Müller, p. 152, col. 2, ll. 5, 6.

[3] The scribe adds: "May the Lord God make his soul to rest with the believing kings [BC add "who have trodden in his steps"] the lovers of Christ, and may the hearers and listeners and readers and writers obtain mercy and remission of transgressions and sins. Yea and Amen."

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A CHRISTIAN LEGEND CONCERNING ALEXANDER[1].

An exploit of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, [shewing] how he went forth to the ends of the world, and made a gate of iron[2], and shut it in the face of the north wind, that the Hûnâyê [Huns][3] might not come forth to spoil the countries: from the manuscripts in the house of the archives of the kings of Alexandria.

In the second year, or the seventh, of the reign of Alexander, he set his crown upon his head and arranged himself in his royal apparel, and sent and called those who wore his royal

[1] A metrical version of this legend by Jacob of Sĕrûgh has been printed by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107.

[2] This gate was probably made at the Pass of Derbend. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 51 sqq., and also his notes on Alexander's wall near the Caspian.

[3] ܗܘܢܝܐ, ܗܘܢܝܐ, Οὖννοι, Χοῦνοι. The name Huns is a collective one applied to several nomad Scythian tribes who appear to have belonged to the Mongolian family. The original seat of the Hiong-nu, or Huns, appears to have been in the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in the north-west of China and their power remained unbroken until the year 93 B.C. It was to protect China from the inroads of this barbaric race that the famous wall of China was built about two centuries and a half before our era. See D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, t. 1, p. 2. Their early history has been written by de Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. pp. 1—124. For native Syriac explanations of the name Huns see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 994. See also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxvi; Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 9 (Syr. text); Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 72; Karl F. Neumann, *Die Völker des Südischen Russlands*, pp. 23—30.

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crowns[1], the generals, and Priskos and......[2], and all his forces; and he questioned them and said, "Hear, all ye officers of my palace." They said to him, "Speak, O wise king, king of the Greeks, and whatsoever thou commandest us shall come to pass." He said to them: "This thought has arisen in my mind, and I am wondering what is the extent of the earth, and how high the heavens are, and how many are the countries of my fellow kings, and upon what the heavens are fixed; whether perchance thick clouds and winds support them, or whether pillars of fire rise up from the interior of the earth and bear the heavens so that they move not for anything, or whether they depend on the beck of God and fall not. Now this I desire to go and see, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds all creation." The nobles answered and said to the king, "Bid us speak;" and he commanded them, and they spake and said to him; "As to the thing, my lord, which thy majesty (*or* thy greatness) desires to go and see, namely, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds the earth, the terrible seas which surround the world will not give thee a passage[3]; because there are eleven bright seas, on which the ships of men sail, and beyond these there is about ten miles of dry land, and beyond these ten miles there is the fœtid sea, Ôkĕyânôs (the Ocean), which surrounds all creation. Men are not able to come near to this fœtid sea, neither can ships sail thereon, and no bird is able to fly over it, for if a bird should attempt to fly over it, it is caught and falls and is suffocated therein[4]. Its waters are like pus; and if men swim therein, they die at once; and the leaves of the trees which are by its side are shrivelled up by the smell of these waters as though fire licked them." So the nobles spake to king Alexander; but he said to them, "Have ye

[1] Literally *knotted, tied, bound.*

[2] These words seem to be corrupt. ܦܪܝܩܘܣ looks like ܦܪܕܝܩܩܘܣ, an alteration of *Perdiccas* (which we met with above), but we should hardly expect a single proper name in this place. As for ܦܪܓܠܐ, the word means nothing in Syriac but *whips.*

[3] See Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 69.

[4] Compare the description of the Asphaltites Lacus by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6) Lacus inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur.

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gone on your own feet and seen that the sea is thus?" They made answer to him: "Yea, O wise king. This very thing of which thy majesty has thought occurred to us also, and we went to see upon what the heavens rest, but the fœtid sea would not give us a passage." Alexander said to them: "I do not account you as liars; but although ye went and the sea did not give you a passage to cross, yet I too will go and see all the ends of the heavens. If there be a king whose lands are more than mine I will take his lands and slay him, even if it be one of the quarters from whence the spoilers come forth." Then all the officers of his palace accepted what Alexander said to them, and straightway the trumpets sounded in Alexandria, and the troops were numbered that went forth with him, three hundred and twenty thousand men. And king Alexander bowed himself and did reverence, saying, "O God, Lord of kings and judges, thou who settest up kings and destroyest their power, I know in my mind that thou hast exalted me above all kings, and thou hast made me horns upon my head[1], wherewith I might thrust down the kingdoms of the world; give me power from thy holy heavens that I may receive strength greater than [that of] the kingdoms of the world and that I may humble them, and I will magnify thy name, O Lord, for ever, and thy memorial shall be from everlasting to everlasting, and I will write the name of God in the charter of my kingdom, that there may be for Thee a memorial always. And if the Messiah, who is the Son of God, comes in my days, I and my troops will worship Him. And if He does not come in my days, when I have gone and conquered kings and seized their lands, I will carry this throne, which is a seat of silver upon which I sit, and will place it in Jerusalem, that, when the Messiah comes from heaven, He may sit upon my kingly throne, for His kingdom lasts for ever. And seven hundred pounds of gold shall be before the Messiah as a

[1] "Possessor of two horns" is a well-known name of Alexander. In the Ethiopic version Alexander is always referred to as ዘክልኤ፡ አቅርንቲሁ፡ "the two horned." See Spiegel, *Die Alexander Sage*, p. 57; Ḳor'ān, Surah 18. Some say that the "two horned" mentioned in the Koran is Alexander, while others say that a contemporary of Abraham is meant, who was king of Persia, and others that he was a king of Yemen. For a discussion on this point see *Z.D.M.G.*, VI. s. 506; VIII. ss. 412—450; IX. ss. 214—223.

present when He comes; and whether I die in one of the [other] regions of the world, or here in Alexandria, my royal crown shall be taken and hung upon that seat which I have given to the Messiah; and the crown of every king who dies in Alexandria shall be taken and hung upon that silver seat which I give to the Messiah."

And they went forth and came to mount Sinai[1], and encamped there and rested. And they put ships to sea[2] and crossed over to Meṣrên, that is to say, Egypt. And scouts went up and looked [to see] if the seas and their waves were visible or not. And the chiefs of the hosts answered and said, "King Alexander, the host is unable to march without smiths. Give orders that they may go with us from Egypt, for there are no smiths upon all the face of the earth like unto those of Egypt." So Alexander called Sarnâḳôs[3] (?) the king of Egypt and said to him, "Give me seven thousand[4] smiths, workers in brass and iron, to go with me; and when I come from the countries whither I am going, if they wish [to return] hither, I will send them, and if they wish [to stay in] one of the countries under my sovereign rule, I will grant it them, and they shall not give tribute to the king, but they shall give.........to us." And Sarnâḳôs the king of Egypt chose seven thousand men, workers in brass and iron, and gave them to Alexander, and they ate bread with one another.

And they put ships to sea and sailed on the sea four months[5] and twelve days, and they arrived at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. And Alexander and his troops encamped, and he sent and called to him the governor who was in the camp, and said to him, "Are there any men here guilty of death?" They said to him, "We have thirty and seven men in bonds who are guilty of death." And the king said to the governor, "Bring hither those evil doers." And they brought

[1] Knös, p. 104, l. 1.

[2] Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 70.

[3] This name is spelt ܣܘܪܢܣ in Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 71.

[4] Twelve thousand, *ibid.* p. 71, l. 5.

[5] According to Jacob of Sĕrûgh Alexander made his way towards India where he landed after four months. See Knös, p. 71, ll. 16, 17.

them, and the king commanded them and said, "Go ye to the shore of the fœtid sea, and hammer in stakes that ships may be tied thereto, and prepare everything needful for a force about to cross the sea." And the men went, and came to the shore of the sea. Now Alexander thought within himself, "If it be true as they say, that everyone who comes near the fœtid sea dies, it is better that these who are guilty of death should die," and when they had gone, and had arrived at the shore of the sea, they died instantly. And Alexander and his troops were looking at them when they died, for he and his nobles had ridden to see what would happen to them, and they saw that they died the moment that they reached the sea. And king Alexander was afraid and retired, and he knew that it was impossible for them to cross over to the place where were the ends of the heavens. So the whole camp mounted, and Alexander and his troops went up between the fœtid sea and the bright sea to the place where the sun enters the window of heaven; for the sun is the servant of the Lord, and neither by night nor by day does he cease from his travelling. The place of his rising is over the sea, and the people who dwell there, when he is about to rise, flee away and hide themselves in the sea, that they be not burnt by his rays; and he passes through the midst of the heavens to the place where he enters the window of heaven; and wherever he passes there are terrible mountains, and those who dwell there have caves hollowed out in the rocks, and as soon as they see the sun passing [over them], men and birds flee away from before him and hide in the caves, for rocks are rent by his blazing heat and fall down, and whether they be men or beasts, as soon as the stones touch them they are consumed. And when the sun enters the window of heaven, he straightway bows down and makes obeisance before God his Creator; and he travels and descends the whole night through the heavens, until at length he finds himself where he rises.

And Alexander looked towards the west, and he found a mountain that descends, and its name was "the great Mûsâs[1]"; and [the troops] descended it and came out upon Mount Ḳlaudiâ,

[1] ܡܣܝܣ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܡܐ (Knös, p. 72) "Mâsîs, a high mountain."

and ate bread there. Then they went down to the source of the Euphrates, and they found that it came forth from a cave; and they came to Halûrâs[1], where the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they ate bread in Halûrâs. And they departed from thence and went to the river Kallath[2]; and they ascended the mountain which is called Râmath, where there is a watch-tower. And Alexander and his troops stood upon the top of the mountain and saw the four quarters of the heavens. And Alexander said, "Let us go forth by the way to the north"; and they came to the confines of the north, and entered Armenia and Âdarbaijân and Inner Armenia. And they crossed over the country of Ṭûrnâgiôs, and Bêth-Pardiâ, and Bêth-Teḳîl, and Bêth-Drûbîl, and Bêth-Ḳâṭarmên, and Bêth-Gebûl, and Bêth-Zamraṭ. Alexander passed through all these places; and he went and passed mount Mûsâs and entered a plain which is Bâhî-Lebtâ, and he went and encamped by the gate of the great mountain. Now there was a road across it by which great merchants entered the inner countries, and by it did Alexander encamp. And he sent heralds of peace on horseback, and they rode about and proclaimed through the whole country: "The king of the Greeks is come to this country, neither slaying, nor burning, nor destroying; let every man dwell in peace. Let three hundred men advanced in years be chosen, and let them enter my presence, says king Alexander, that I may learn what I require, and let every man dwell in peace." When the people of the country heard what the heralds of peace were proclaiming, they were not afraid, and they chose three hundred aged[3] men, who went into Alexander's presence as soon as he had encamped in the country; and he himself commanded the people not to flee before him. And when the aged men, natives of that land, had come into his presence, he asked them, "Who are ye? and to whom do ye give tribute? and what king rules in this land?" The old men answered and said to the king, "This land belongs to Tûbârlâḳ the king of the Persians[4], who is of the race of the

[1] ܗܠܘܪܝܣ Knös, p. 79, l. 6.

[2] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 57.

[3] Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 78.

[4] Tûbarlîḳâ is called by Jacob of Sĕrûgh "Great King of the territory of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê" (ܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ), Knös, p. 79, l.

house of Aḥshôraḥ[1], and to him do we give tribute." Alexander said to them, "How far does this mountain descend in this direction?" They answered him, "This mountain extends without a break, passing by the sea of Bêth-Ḳaṭrâyê, and goes on and comes to an end in outer Persia near India; and from this road and upwards the mountain goes to a great river on this side of the sea. And there are narrow paths there which a man is unable to pass through unless he be on horseback. And people who pass through the mountain are unable to do so without bells that ring, for animals come up from the sea and from the rivers and descend from the mountains and crouch in the path, and if men go to pass through it without bells that ring, they perish immediately." Alexander said, "This mountain is higher and more terrible than all the mountains which I have seen." The old men, the natives of the country, said to the king: "Yea, by your majesty, my lord the king, neither we nor our fathers have been able to march one step in it, and men do not ascend it either on that side or on this, for it is the boundary which God has set between us and the nations within it." Alexander said, "Who are the nations within this mountain upon which we are looking?......" The natives of the land said, "They are the Huns." He said to them, "Who are their kings?" The old men said: "Gôg[2] and Mâgôg and Nâwâl the kings of the sons of Japhet; and Gîg and Têâmrôn, and Tiyâmrôn, and Bêth-Gamlî and Yâphô'bar, and Shûmârdâḳ, and Glûsiḳâ, and 'Ekshâphâr, and Salgaddô, and Nislîḳ, and Âmarphîl, and Ḳâ'ôzâ, these are the kings of the Huns[3]." Alexander said, "What is their appearance, and their clothing, and their languages?" The old men answered and said to the king: "Some of them have blue eyes, and their

[1] ܐܚܫܘܪܫ probably means Xerxes, like Ahasuerus (for אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is a corruption of אחשירש, *i.e.* חשירש, as the name is written in the stele of Saḳḳârâh, *Khshiyarsh*).

[2] In Knôs (p. 80) this word is spelt ܐܓܘܓ.

[3] The names of the twenty-two kingdoms which were imprisoned within the northern gate by Alexander are, according to the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 128), as follows:—Gôg, Mâgôg, Nâwâl, Eshkěnâz, Děnâphâr, Paḳṭâyê, Wělôṭâyê, Humnâyê, Parzâyê, Daḳlâyê, Thaubělâyê, Darměṭâyê, Kawkěbâyê, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emděrâthâ, Garmîdô', Cannibals, Therḳâyê, Âlânâyê, Pisîlôn, Denḳâyê, and Salṭrâyê.

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women have but one breast apiece; and the women fight more than the men, for they wound a man with knives. They hang knives upon their thighs and arms and necks, so that, if one of them should get into a fight, wherever she stretches out her hand she can lay hold of a knife. They wear dressed skins; and they eat the raw flesh of everything which dies of theirs; and they drink the blood of men and of animals[1]. They do not besiege or fight against cities and fortresses, but they run to the paths and gates of fortresses and cities, and they surround the men who come out to meet them outside. They are swifter than the wind that blows, and ere the rumour of their going forth to battle is heard, they outstrip the whole world; for they are sorcerers, and they run between heaven and earth, and their chariots and swords and spears flash like fearful lightnings. They carry maces in their hands, and each has two or three horses;......between fifty and sixty men, and they go before and after him, and the noise of each one's outcry is more terrible than the voice of a lion; for it is the will of God that delivers the nations into each other's hands, and the terror of the Huns is fearful upon all creatures that see them, for they are no lovers of mankind. When they go forth to war, they fetch a pregnant woman, and pile up a fire, and bind her in front of the fire, and cook her child within her, and her belly bursts open and the child comes forth roasted. Then they lay it in a trough and throw water upon its body, and its body melts away in this water; and they take their swords and bows and arrows and spears, and dip them in this water. And to every one whom this water touches, it appears as if there were a hundred thousand horsemen with him; and by the side of every hundred men there seem to stand one hundred thousand bands of demons, for their sorceries are greater than those of all kingdoms. And of this too, my lord, we inform thy majesty," said the old men to Alexander, "The Huns go not forth to spoil except where the anger of God goes up that He may slay the fathers and the children and that the Lord may smite the earth in His anger, for they are fiercer than all the

[1] Comedent carnes hominum et bibent sanguinem bestiarum sicut aquam. See Methodius (ed. *Brant*). Adventus Gog et Magog.

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kings in their wars[1]." Alexander said to the natives of that country, "Have they come forth to spoil in your days?" The old men answered and said to the king: "May God establish thy kingdom and thy crown, my lord the king! These fortresses which have been overturned in our lands and in the lands of the Romans, have been overthrown by them; by them have these towers been uprooted; when they go forth to spoil, they ravage the land of the Romans and of the Persians, and then they enter their own territory." Alexander said to them, "Who are the nations that live beyond these?" The old men replied, "Those of Bêth-Âmardâth and the Dog-men; and beyond the Dog-men is the nation of the Mĕnînê; and beyond the nation of the Mĕnînê there are no human beings but only terrible mountains and hills and valleys and plains and horrible caves, in which are serpents and adders and vipers, so that men cannot go thither without being immediately devoured by the serpents, for the lands are waste, and there is nothing there save desolation. Within all these mountains the Paradise of God appears afar off. Now Paradise is neither near heaven nor earth; like a fair and strong city, so it appears between heaven and earth; and the clouds and darkness which surround it are visible afar off, and the horn[2] of the north wind rests upon it." And Alexander said to them: "How do the four rivers go forth?" The old men replied: "My lord, we will inform thy majesty. God made four rivers to go forth from the Paradise of Eden. Because God knew that men would dare to seize the rivers, and would go by means of them to enter Paradise, He drew the rivers within the earth, and brought them through valleys and mountains and plains, and brought them through a number of mountains, and made them issue forth from the mountains, and there is one which He made to flow from a cave. And He surrounded Paradise with seas and rivers and the Ocean, the fœtid sea; and men are unable to draw near to Paradise, neither can they see where the rivers go forth, but they see that they go forth either from the mountains or from the valleys."

[1] ܫܬ ܐܘ ܫܒܥ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܡܬܪܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ "Each one of them stands six or seven cubits high." Knös, p. 80, l. 15.

[2] It is the point or quarter from which the north wind blows.

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When Alexander had heard what the old men said, he marvelled greatly at the great sea which surrounded all creation; and Alexander said to his troops, "Do ye desire that we should do something wonderful in this land?" They said to him, "As thy majesty commands we will do." The king said, "Let us make a gate of brass and close up this breach." His troops said, "As thy majesty commands we will do." And Alexander commanded and fetched three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand men, workers in brass. And they put down brass and iron, and kneaded it as a man kneads when he works clay. Then they brought it and made a gate, the length of which was twelve cubits and its breadth eight cubits[1]. And he made a lower threshold from mountain to mountain, the length of which was twelve cubits; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountains, and it was fixed in with brass and iron. The height of the lower threshold was three cubits. And he made an upper threshold from mountain to mountain, twelve cubits in length; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountain, and fixed in it two bolts of iron, each bolt being twelve cubits [long]; and the bolts went into the rock two cubits; and he made two bolts of iron from rock to rock behind the gate, and fixed the heads of the bolts into the rocks. He fixed the gate and the bolts, and he placed nails of iron and beat them down one by the other, so that if the Huns came and dug out the rock which was under the threshold of iron, even if footmen were able to pass through, a horse with its rider would be unable to pass, so long as the gate that was hammered down with bolts stood. And he brought and hammered down a lower threshold and hinge for the gate, and he cast therein bolts of iron, and made it swing round on one side like the gates of Shûshan the fortress. And the men brought and kneaded iron and brass and covered therewith the gate and its posts one by one, like a man when he moulds clay. And he made a bolt of iron in the rocks, and hammered out an iron key twelve cubits long, and made locks of brass turn therewith. And behold the gate was hung and stood[2].

[1] See Müller, p. 143, col. 1, l. 20; *Bar-Hebraei Chron. Syr.* ed. Bruns, I. p. 39; and Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 87.

[2] According to Marco Polo the defile in the mountains where Alexander

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And king Alexander fetched [an engraver] and inscribed upon the gate: "The Huns shall go forth and conquer the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and shall cast arrows with......, and shall return and enter their own land. Also I have written that, at the conclusion of eight hundred and twenty-six years, the Huns shall go forth by the narrow way which goes forth opposite Halôrâs, whence the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they shall take captive the nations, and shall cut off the roads, and shall make the earth tremble by their going forth. And again I have written and made known and prophesied that it shall come to pass, at the conclusion of nine hundred and forty years,...... another king, when the world shall come to an end by the command of God the ruler of creation. Created things shall anger God, and sin shall increase, and wrath shall reign[1], and the sins of mankind shall mount up and shall cover the heavens, and the Lord will stir up in His anger the kingdoms that lie within this gate; for when the Lord seeks to slay men, he sends men against men, and they destroy one another. And the Lord will gather together the kings and their hosts which are within this mountain, and they shall all be assembled at His beck, and shall come with their spears and swords, and shall stand behind the gate, and shall look up to the heavens, and shall call upon the name of the Lord, saying, 'O Lord, open to us this gate.' And the Lord shall send His sign from heaven and a voice shall call on this gate, and it shall be destroyed and fall at the beck of the Lord, and it shall not be opened by the key which I have made for it. And a troop shall go through this gate which I have made, and a full span shall be worn away from the lower threshold[2] by the hoofs of the horses which with

built the Iron Gate extended four leagues. The pass referred to is probably the Pass of Derbend, "apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, known to the Arab geographers as the Gate of Gates (باب الابواب), but which is still called in Turkish Demir-Kâpi or the Iron Gate, and to the ancient Wall that runs from the castle of Derbend along the ridges of Caucasus, called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar*, the Rampart of Alexander." Col. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, I. p. 55, note 3.

[1] Knös, p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 95.

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their riders shall go forth to destroy the land by the command of the Lord; and a span shall be worn away from the upper threshold by the points of the spears of those that shall run over it and go forth. And when the Huns have gone forth, as God has commanded, the kingdoms of the Huns and the Persians and the Arabs, the twenty-four kingdoms that are written in this book, shall come from the ends of the heavens and shall fall upon one another, and the earth shall melt through the blood and dung of men. Then the kingdom of the Greeks shall move itself, and shall come and take a hammer of iron in its right hand, and a hammer of brass in its left, and the kingdom of Greece shall smite the hammers one upon the other, and as iron which is melted by fire, and as brass which boils in the flame, so shall the power of the kingdoms melt away before the might of the kingdom of the Greeks which is that of the Romans. And the kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians shall be desolated the one by the other; only a few of them shall escape who shall flee to their country; and what remains of them the kingdom of the Romans shall destroy. And my kingdom, which is called that of the house of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, shall go forth and destroy the earth and the ends of the heavens; and there shall not be found any among the nations and tongues who dwell in the world that shall stand before the kingdom of the Romans. Lo, I Alexander have written and made known [these things] in my own handwriting, and verily I have not lied in what I have written; but perhaps the nations and the world will not believe that what I have written will come to pass; but if ye will not receive my word, receive [that of] Jeremiah the prophet who long ago pointed out that kingdom in his prophecy, and spake thus in his book[1], 'Evil shall be opened from the north upon all the inhabitants of the land.' And behold I have a sign, which is wrought by God: on the rock which is within the gate on the one side,......[2] and as it rises from the rock it is narrow; and on the other side there hangs a sponge full of blood, and the blood descends upon the

[1] Jerem. i. 14. The land of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world. Knös, p. 92, l. 2.

[2] Some words seem to have been omitted here.

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rock, and the Huns come and smear their heads with it, and return. And this testimony is set there by God that men may see and fear; for as that blood descends from that sponge, so shall the blood of man be shed upon the mountains and the hills." So Alexander and his troops marvelled at the gate which they had made. Then the people of that country went down and said to Tûbârlâḳ[1] the king of the Persians, "Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, the king of the Greeks, is come hither and has made a gate of iron in the face of the Huns; but arise, take thy army, and come and slay him, and take whatever he has." And Tûbârlâḳ arose and sent to Mĕshazbĕrî, the king of Inner India, and to Bar-Sîdaḳ, the king of Ḳâdêsh, and to Hûrazdân, the king of Javan; and he sent to Armenia, and to all the countries that were obedient to him, and hired and brought eighty-two[2] kings and their armies, one million one hundred and thirty thousand men. And they took counsel together before Tûbârlâḳ and before all the kings and their hosts, and decided to come. Now it was the time of summer, and Alexander's whole camp was lying down and at rest. And the king himself had scarcely lain down, when lo, the Lord came to Alexander and found him asleep, and He called him and said to him, "Rise up from there." And the king arose and knelt down and did reverence to the Lord; and the Lord said to him, "Behold, I have magnified thee above all kingdoms, and I have made horns of iron to grow on thy head that thou mayest thrust down the kingdoms of the earth with them; and upon me thou didst rely when thou wentest forth to war and to see the countries. But lo, a multitude of kings and their armies are coming against thee to slay thee; call upon me that I may come to aid thee, for I am the Lord, and I help all those that call upon me." And the Lord departed from Alexander.

And the king aroused his troops and said to them, "Behold, the spoilers are coming against us. Let now the watchmen go up to the top of the mountain, and spy and see, for the Lord has appeared to me in this hour." And the watchmen went up and saw the troops and their kings, a host without end. And

[1] ܛܘܒܪܠܩ Knös, p. 82, l. 9.

[2] Sixty-two, Knös, p. 83, l. 3.

they ran and said to the king, "O king, we perish; but God, who knows their number, will slay them." And king Alexander straightway commanded the army to be numbered, [to see] how many were dead and how many were alive. And the camp was numbered, and there were found therein three hundred and sixteen thousand, and four thousand had died; for when they went forth from Alexandria, there were three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander commanded every man of his troops over whom he had power, saying, "Let every man who is here offer an incense offering upon sherds or upon stones to the Lord, for the Lord will surely come to our assistance, and He will come and find the odour of the camp pleasant with the incense of spices." Then Alexander took his crown and his purple robes and laid them before the Lord, and said, "Thou, O Lord, hast power over my life and my kingdom, and to thee belongs dominion. Do thou deliver thy servant and his camp from his enemies." And while Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies surrounded them. And Alexander answered and said, "Victory is the Lord's"; and the camp cried out and said, "O God, come to our aid." And Alexander said, "O Lord, who didst appear to me in this land, help us." Then the Lord appeared, coming upon the chariot of the Seraphim, and the watchers and the angels came before Him with praises. And He led His host upon the camp of Alexander, and the Lord appeared standing on the west. And the whole of Alexander's camp looked towards the Lord, and the Lord became a helper to the camp, and the people were strengthened, for the Lord had come for their deliverance. Then a terrible fight arose, the people crying out, "This battle is the Lord's, who has come down and stood in it." And the Lord again appeared to Alexander and said to him, "Fear neither the kings nor their troops, for behold I am with thee." And the voice of the Lord went along thundering among them, until the kings and their armies trembled before the camp of God. And Alexander and his troops slew sixty kings and their hosts, and those that fled, fled, and those that were scattered, were scattered; and he took Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, but slew him not.

Then Alexander and his troops stood up, and Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, being bound[1], and the nobles of all Persia; and

[1] Knös, p. 86, l. 4.

Tûbârlâk brought forth gold and silver and beryls and pearls and precious stones of sapphire, and gave them to king Alexander. And Alexander subdued all Persia upon the sea of Darkness. And he was going to slay Tûbârlâk; and Tûbârlâk said to him, "What wilt thou gain, if thou slayest me? Take the gold that I have, and I will pledge Persia to thee that she shall give thee tribute fifteen years; and then, after the fifteen years, Babylon and Assyria shall be......" And Tûbârlâk and Alexander sat down, and took counsel together and said that six thousand men of the Romans, and six thousand men of the Persians, should go and guard that gate of iron and brass which is in the north, and that every man should eat and drink at the expense of the king who sent him. And Tûbârlâk the king of Persia brought sorcerers and enchanters, and the signs of the zodiac, and fire and water, and all his gods, and made divination by them; and they told him that at the final consummation of the world the kingdom of the Romans would go forth and subdue all the kings of the earth; and that whatever king was found in Persia would be slain, and that Babylon and Assyria would be laid waste by the command of God. Thus did king Tûbârlâk make divination, and he gave [it] in his own handwriting to king Alexander. And he put down in writing with Alexander what should befall Persia, that the king and his nobles prophesied that Persia should be laid waste by the hand of the Romans, and all the kingdoms be laid waste, but that that power should stand and rule to the end of time, and should deliver the kingdom of the earth to the Messiah who is to come.

And Alexander and his troops arose and went forth from Persia, and they went up by the wilderness, and he came and encamped in the mount of the Romans. And Alexander brought the smiths whom he had fetched from Egypt, and gave them Bêth Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar to cultivate and live in, and they were not to give tribute to the king. And Alexander went up and worshipped in Jerusalem, and put ships to sea and went to Alexandria, and when he died, he gave his royal throne of silver to be in Jerusalem.

Here ends the history of the Achievements and Wars of Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Greeks.

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A BRIEF LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

The Life, or history, in brief terms, of Alexander, king of the Macedonians[1]. King Alexander was the son by adultery of Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt, and of Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of the Macedonians. According to the deception by which his father deceived his mother when he committed adultery with her, the son was attributed to Ammon, the god of Thebes, who was the forefather of all the Egyptian kings. This [youth] was victorious in many contests before he became king, and also in divers wars against hostile nations, who were constantly rebelling against Philip and against the Macedonians. He became king over the Macedonians after Philip, when he was twenty years old. First of all he persuaded all the nations of the Greeks and their kings and chiefs to receive him as king, and that he should reign over them. As he subdued many of them merely by words, he was only compelled to reduce some few by arms and war. Afterwards, however, when he went to Italy and entered Rome, being received with great honours and with crowns by the inhabitants of Rome, he subdued for them the Africans, who were in rebellion against them. When he had come from thence to Egypt, and had recognised the statue and image of his father, and learned the augury about Nectanebus, and made known to the Egyptians concerning himself and concerning his descent from their king, he persuaded them to be subject to him. And when he had come from thence to the regions of Palestine and Judaea and Phoenicia and Syria and Arabia, and had subdued and conquered them, he made war with Darius, the king of the Persians, in Cilicia, who at that time was master of these countries. And when he had overcome him, he subdued

[1] Translated from the Syriac text in Prof. P. de Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208.

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the countries which were under him, I mean Cilicia and Cappadocia and Galatia and Asia and all the earth as far as Pontus. And he immediately spread with a sudden onslaught over all the territory of the Persians, and fought a second battle with King Darius and overcame him. And when Darius had been slain by treachery by enemies who were under his rule, he punished those who had slain him; and either by kindness or by force he brought all the nations that were subject to the kingdom of the Persians to be subject to him. And he took Roxana, the daughter of King Darius, to wife. When he had set out from thence to the northern regions, and had gone to Media, and from thence to the gates of Kaspia, and had passed through all the countries of the Scythian nations that were in the north, he made a sudden onslaught with the Macedonians and Persians upon Porus the king of the Indians. When Porus had gathered together a large army against him, in the first battle he was overcome and subdued by him. In the second battle however, after Porus had rebelled against him, when he fought in single combat with Alexander, he was conquered by him and slain. Afterwards, when Alexander had set out from thence he went to the country of the Brahmans, the naked sages. And when he had discussed many things with them, he departed from thence, going round about all the territories of the Indians. And he saw divers places, and terrible and destructive beasts and deadly reptiles; and he passed through numerous and divers nations of barbarians, and underwent many toils. After these things he went also to the king of the Sînâyê (Chinese); and from thence he went against all the northern nations. He also passed by the Serici who [live] in......[1] And when they had received him and become subject to him, he built a city there and named it Samîrḳîr (Samarḳand). From thence he came to the country of the Soghdians, and there too he built a city and named it Kûsh. From thence likewise he came to Merg (Merv), and there too he built a city and called its name Margiânôs. After all these things, when he had returned to the land of the Persians, he went from thence to see the kingdom of the country of Shebâ, over which a woman reigned whose name was Candace. And when he had gone and had been received nobly, he

[1] ܐܪܣܛܢ

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approached also from thence to the realm of the Amazon women. And when he had accepted many gifts from them, he returned to the city of Babylon in the land of the Chaldeans. While he was there, Cassander, the son of Antipater, one of his generals, arrived from Macedonia, and administered a deadly poison to him while drinking, and killed him. All the days of his life were thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he reigned twelve years and seven months.

He built thirteen cities and named them after his own name. The first, Alexandria Bucephalus; the second Alexandria the fortified; the third Alexandria which is in the land of the Persians; the fourth that which is in the country of king Porus; the fifth that which is in the land of Gâlikôs; the sixth, that which is in the land of the Scythians; the seventh, that which is upon the shore of the great sea; the eighth, that which is near Babylon; the ninth, Alexandria which is in the land of Serici, which is called Samîrḳîr (Samarḳand); the tenth, Alexandria which is in the land of the Soghdians, which is called Kûsh and Babel; the eleventh, Alexandria which is called Margiânôs (Merv); the twelfth, that which is upon the bank of the rivers on the road to the Indians; the thirteenth, the great Alexandria which is in Egypt.

Now when he was about to die in Babylon, he made a testament and commanded and distributed his dominions among twelve of his servants. He gave to Kartados (Craterus) Macedonia; to Ptolemy all Egypt; and to Priscus (Perdiccas) Asia. He appointed Lysimachus over Thrace; Dôrân over the Hellespont; Antigonus over Pamphylia and Lycia; Andreas over Great Phrygia; Pîrôs over Cilicia; Python and his wife over Syria and as far as Mesopotamia; Adomnos (Eumenês) over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Seleucus over Babylon. He commanded that Manpath (Meleager) should rule over Phœnicia and Coelesyria; and he made his wife Roxane mistress over all the country of the Assyrians and Media and Parthia, and he commanded that she should be given in marriage to Priscus (Perdiccas). And after he was dead, his captains brought his body to the great Alexandria which is in Egypt, as they had been commanded by him, and they buried him there.

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p. 66 A DISCOURSE COMPOSED BY MÂR JACOB[1] UPON ALEXANDER, THE BELIEVING KING, AND UPON THE GATE WHICH HE MADE AGAINST ÂGÔG AND MÂGÔG[2].

Through Thee, O splendour of the Father, I begin to speak,
By Whose victory the righteous have been victorious in their wars[3].
In love, O Lord, give me speech from Thy doctrine[4],
That the speech of wonder may run among the listeners[5].

[1] *I.e.*, Jacob of Sĕrûgh. He was born at Kurtam, a village on the river Euphrates, in the year 451, and he died at Batnân, the chief town of Sĕrûgh, on the 29th of November 521, aged seventy years. For a summary of his life and writings see the Article *Syriac Literature* by Prof. Wright in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. xxii. pp. 824—856.

[2] Translated from the Syriac text of this discourse published by Knös, *Chrest. Syr.* 1807, pp. 66—107. There is a German translation of it by A. Weber entitled *Des Mor Yaqûb Gedicht über den gläubigen König Alexandrûs*, Berlin, 1852. The edition of the text by Knös contains numerous misprints and the manuscript from which it was edited seems to be very faulty. Dr. Zotenberg of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has most kindly collated a large number of the faulty passages in the printed text with the original manuscript, and I have given the results of this collation, together with the corrections of some misprints, at the foot of the pages of the English translation which follows. The Syriac extracts which occur in the footnotes are taken from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14624, ff. 20*b*—34*a*, col. 1, (see Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. ii. p. 782); a number of variant readings which will help to make clearer the text published by Knös have also been added.

[3] These two first lines are wanting in Add. 14624.

[4] Read ܡܠܦܢܝ

[5] Add. 14624 has ܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܬܗܪܐ ܥܠܠܝܢ ܠܬܗܪܐ ܒܗ ܡܫܡܥܢܐ.

x The first ed. by [illegible], Zeitschrift für Assyriologie VI. [illegible]

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Through the knowledge which is sanctified[1] from corporeal thoughts
Will I sing[2] to Thee [with] sounds of glory in the congregations.
p. 67 From Thee shall my pain-bearing tongue put on armour[3],
With understanding and the word full of life and of all good things[4].
Overshadow[5] my feebleness with the compassion of Thy sweetness,
And we shall possess[6] riches from Thy gift full of beauties.
And Thee, O Lord, shall my feeble mouth preach with a loud voice[7].
O Jesus, the Light, Who redeemed creation by His crucifixion,
Thee are the fiery hosts eager[8] to praise,
With glory and power will I sing unto Thee bowing low in adoration.
The fiery Cherubim bear Thee, O Lord, upon their wings[9],
And the fiery ranks ascribe to Thy name all adoration.
The watchers of the height bow down[10] in trembling to praise [Thee],
But how can I, the feeble one, speak of Thee?
The fiery hosts bless Thee, O Lord, with holiness,
And with them the assemblies of the house of Gabriel ascribe honour [to Thee].
The terrible Seraphim adore Thee, O Lord, with their hymns[11],
But I, the wretched one, how can I bring forth glory to Thy name?

[1] Add. 14624 ܒܡܕܥܐ ܕܡܬܩܕܫ [2] Add. 14624 ܐܙܡܪ [3] Add. 14624 ܠܒܫ ܢܟܝܢ ܚܝܠܐ

[4] Add. 14624 ܒܡܬܡܟܟܘܬܐ ܦܠܚܝ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ [5] Add. 14624 ܕܐܬܐ ܢܚܢܐ [6] Add. 14624 ܘܐܩܢܐ

[7] After this line Add. 14624 has ܡܟܪܙܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܡܪܟܒ ܒܗ ܡܩܕܫܐ ܀ ܠܟ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܢܘܪܐ

[8] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܬܛܟܣܝܢ [9] Add. 14624 ܓܦܝܗܘܢ

[10] Add. 14624 ܣܓܕܝܢ [11] Add. 14624 ܙܡܪܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܘܬܐ

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The captains of the hosts and the hosts of heavenly beings,
p. 68 Glorify [Thee] with trembling, though their songs are beautiful.
O Good One, Who bindest on the crowns of kings and governors,
Grant that I may speak about the kingdom of the son of Philip[1]!

This king, full of wisdom, gathered together to his dominion[s][2]
The captains of the hosts[3] and the hosts with their ranks.
And when the captains of thousands and all the wise men were gathered together[4],
Lords and governors and warriors,
Then began Alexander, the son of Philip,
To speak with them, while they marvelled at his discourse[5].
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said,
"I desire[6] greatly to go forth and see countries,
And also what is the condition of lands far away,
I will also go forth and see seas and boundaries and all the quarters of the world[7];
And more than all [I desire] to go in and see the Land of Darkness,
If[8] it is in truth as I have heard it is[9]."
All these things were spoken by the king[10]
To the captains of the hosts[11] and to the captains of thousands and to the lords[12].

[1] After this line Add. 14624 has ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܡܝܟ ܒܟܘܪܣܝܗܘܢ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܟ ܠܟ. ܫܒܚܝܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ [ܠܟ] ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܒܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܀ ܡܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܐܘܚܕܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. [2] Add. 14624 ܒܐܘܚܕܢܗ [3] Read ܠܪ̈ܒܝ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ [4] Add. 14624 ܐܬܟܢܫ [5] Read ܠܡܫܡܥܬܗ [6] Add. 14624 ܪܓܝܓ [7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܐܦܩ ܘܐܚܙܐ ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ ܘܟܠ ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ [8] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ [9] Read ܐܝܬܘܗܝ [10] Add. 14624 adds ܠܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܣ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [11] Add. 14624 ܠܪ̈ܒܝ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ [12] Add. 14624 adds ܘܠܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܐ ܘܠܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

And after he had subdued Macedonia which had rebelled[1] against him,
He went down and dwelt[2] in the chief town of all[3] Egypt,
And he bound on the crown, and he became greater and stronger[4] than all kings.
When the question went forth from him to the chiefs[5],
They said to him, "Master, the terrible seas which surround[6] the world
Will not allow[7] thee to go over and see the land."
The king marvelled at what he had heard from his subjects (lit. dominion),
And he began to speak to his hosts like[8] a wise man.
The king said, "Have ye been and seen the seas[9]
Which, according to what ye say, surround the whole earth?"
They say to him, "Master, within these terrible seas
Is the fœtid sea, which, of a truth, is full of quaking.
And unless men decree death to their lives with great wrath
They never come to the fœtid sea."
The king said, "Let us go and see if, of a truth[10],
The terrible seas and the fœtid sea [are] as we have heard."
p. 70 They say to him, "Master, thy wisdom hath well commanded;
Let us gather together[11] the hosts and go and see the countries."
The command went forth[12] from the king speedily,
And he assembled[13] straightway the hosts in great multitude.
He gathered together[14] riders, and captains of thousands, and lofty seats,
And ready soldiers, and mighty men[15] dressed in armour,

[1] Read ܕܡܪܕܬ [2] Add. 14624 ܘܝܬܒ ܗܘܐ [3] Read ܕܟܠܗ̇
[4] Add. 14624 ܘܝܬܒ ܘܐܬܚܝܠ [5] Add. 14624 adds ܘܪ̈ܫܐ ܡܫܠܛ̈ܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܢ̈ܐ
[6] Add. 14624 ܕܡܚܕܪܝܢ ܠܗ̇ and omits ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ
[7] Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܫܒܩܝܢ [8] Read ܐܝܟ here and in lines 53 and 56.
[9] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܙܠܬܘܢ ܐܬܝܬܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ ܚܙܝܬܘܢ ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܡܚܕܪܝܢ
[10] Add. 14624 ܒܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ [11] Add. 14624 ܢܟܢܫ
[12] Read ܢܦܩ [13] Add. 14624 ܘܟܢܫܗ [14] Add. 14624 ܟܢܫ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܪ̈ܫܝ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܟܒܬܐ
[15] Add. 14624 ܘܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ

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And horses and men; and the king marvelled at his forces.
Then the wise king in his wisdom commanded,
"Let ships be prepared for the host[1].
Let also men be taken who have gone and seen the land
And the countries and the terrible seas and the fœtid sea."
He made ready a great multitude of ships for his hosts[2],
And he filled them with all kinds of food[3] for horse and man:
The believing[4] king Alexander, the son of Philip,
In his wisdom did[5] this, and his heart rejoiced
Because the people were gathered together to him quickly[6].
He took the number of his troops of the Âmôrâyê[7],
p. 71 One thousand three hundred and many more with polished armour[8].
And he sent and told Sôrîḳ[9] the king of all Egypt
To send to him from his dominions all the artificers,
Workers in brass and iron, men full of skill,
For the Lord had beckoned to him to make a gate against Mâgôg.
Twelve[10] thousand cunning workmen
Did Sôrîḳ[11] the king of Egypt send to the son of Philip.
King Alexander made ready iron and brass a great quantity,
And, in his wisdom[12], he filled[13] the ships therewith.
He[14] alone knew this mystery,
Which[15] Jeremiah, in his prophecy, had prophesied concerning him.

[1] Add. 14624 has ܕܢܬܛܝܒܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܠܦܐ ܒܡܘܬܪܐ ܠܡܘܒܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܐܬܪܘܬܐ: ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܘܚܙܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܝܡܡܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܝܡܐ ܣܪܝܐ: ܛܝܒ ܐܠܦܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܫܪܝܬܗ

[3] Add. 14624 ܛܥ̈ܢܐ [4] Add. 14624 ܡܗܝܡܢܐ [5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܣܥܪܗ̇ [6] Add. 14624 omits this line. [7] Add. 14624 ܕܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ [8] Add. 14624 ܘܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܢܣܡܥܐ [9] Add. 14624 ܠܣܘܪܝܩ [10] Add. 14624 ܒܡܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ [11] Add. 14624 ܣܘܪܝܩ [12] Read ܒܚܟܝܡܘܬܗ [13] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܡܠܐ [14] Add. 14624 ܕܗܘ [15] Reading with Add. 14624 ܗܘ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ

The great king went forth[1] with his subjects[2],
The horns sounded[3] and the thousands and the ranks were gathered together and went forth.
The camp rose up and went forth, and the king marvelled[4],
And his hosts began to go down into the great sea.
The earth[5] was astonished at the rumour of king Alexander.
The king[6] set his course on the sea towards India[7];

72 After four months the king and his host went up from the sea,
And spread[8] abroad in the land, and creation was filled with their hosts.
Quaking fell upon the lands and their inhabitants
By reason of the multitude[9] of the hosts which terrified them.
And they went and came and drew near to the border of the fœtid sea,
And they departed[10] by reason of its stench, they fled away from its noise, and the king's soul was astonished[11].
And he made straight his way towards the lofty mountain Mâsîs[12],

[1] Read ܕܢܦܩܘܢ

[2] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܥܡ ܫܠܝܛܢܘܬܗ:
ܘܩܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܗܕܪܘ ܚܝܠܐ ܒܐܘܚܕܢܗ:

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܠܩܐ ܘܩܪܢܬܐ ܘܫܦܪܐ ܘܐܬܙܝܥܘ ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ

[4] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܩܝ ܗܘ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܬܗܪ ܗܘܐ   ܒܬܪ ܡܠܟܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܬܗܪܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܕܒܗܿ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܫܡܥܗ

[6] Add. 14624 adds ܘܫܠܛܢܗ   [7] Add. 14624 adds ܘܥܒܕ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ

ܐܬܦܪܫܘ   [8] Add. 14624 ܘܦܪܣܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܠܘ ܐܪܥܐ   [9] Read ܣܘܓܐܐ

[10] Read either ܘܐܙܠܘ or ܘܐܙܠ

[11] Add. 14624 ܥܒܪ ܠܥܒܪܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܘܣܝܥܬܗ ܀
ܘܦܠܛ ܟܠܗ ܘܚܙܘܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܣܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘܐ:
ܥܪܩ ܡܢ ܪܝܚܗ ܕܣܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܠܗ ܘܬܗܪܬ ܢܦܫܗ:

[12] Add. 14624 ܡܣܝܣ

He ascended the mountain and stood upon its summit and looked at the lands,
And with him were all the thousands and ranks and hosts.
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said
To the hosts, "Let us straightway go forth by the way of the north."
The king went in and took possession of (lit. stood upon) the lands, and [the people] feared him,
And fled[1] away from him, for his great fame made them flee away[2].
When the king saw that the inhabitants of the land trembled at him,
He sent before him some of his ambassadors to proclaim[3] peace, [saying]
"Let the people remain[4], and let no man flee before them (*i. e.*, the hosts)."
He gave the word and swore by his life through the heralds,
p. 73 "I will not slay, nor carry away captive, nor destroy."
The heralds cried, "Alexander the great king
Has come to this land in peace, neither slaying,
Nor leading away into captivity, nor carrying away spoil[5],
Let every man dwell in his habitation in peace and without fear!
Let the nobles and the aged men of the country go[6] to him,
For he has given the word of his mouth which never lies."
He in his wisdom gathered together and brought the nobles and the aged,
That he might learn from them of the matter of the secrets of the land[7].
Three hundred old, greyheaded men were gathered together to him,

[1] Read ܥܪܩܘ [2] Add. 14624 ܐܢܘܢ [3] Read ܕܢܩܪܘܢ
[4] Read ܕܢܬܒ [5] Add. 14624 ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܚܐ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܡܚܒܘ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܡܚܐ ܠܗ
[6] Add. 14624 ܢܐܙܠܘܢ [7] Add. 14624 ܕܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܢܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܡܡܪܢܐ ܘܐܪܙܘܗܝ ܕܐܪܥܐ

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Intelligent men who knew the secrets of the land[1].
They went in and stood before the glorious king, and did reverence unto him[2],
And they saw his glory and his speech and his strength, and they feared him,
And they entreated him and besought him to have mercy upon them[3].
They say to him, "Master, may thy crown be magnified over all the world,
May thy fame and name overthrow kings and their dominions[4]!"
The king[5] rejoiced to be blessed by the old men[6],
p. 74 And he commanded them to sit on his right hand and on his left[7].
When they had sat down according to the command of the great king,
He began to question [them] wisely, saying,
"One thing my soul asketh you to show[8] me,
Where is the Land of Darkness[9]? I wish to see it."
They say to him, "Master, why seekest[10] thou the Land of Darkness?
Every one who hears the mention[11] of it flees that he may not enter therein.

[1] Add. 14624 adds : ܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܒܚܫܠܬܗܘܢ ܐܟܚܕܐ

[2] After this line Add. 14624 adds ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܘܕܝܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܬܪܝܗ ܘܡܠܟܘܗ ܘܚܪܘܗ ܒܟܘܫܢܗ ܘܐܒܕܪܘܗ ܒܦܩܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܡܝܗܘܢ ܚܙܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܦܝܗܘܢ.

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܚܙܝܢ ܡܠܝܗ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܪܒܐ

[4] Add. 14624 ܢܗܣܘܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝ ܬܫܠܛܬܟ

[5] Read ܦܠܠܚܐ ܡ

[6] Add. 14624 adds ܗܟܢܐ ܘܚܕܪܐ ܘܚܘܪ̈ܐ ܢܣܒܘܗ ܡܢ ܢܘܟܪܝܘܬܗܘܢ

[7] Add. 14624 ܕܢܬܒܘܢ ܡܟܐ ܘܡܟܐ

[8] Add. 14624 ܕܢܚܘܬܘܢ

[9] Add. 14624 ܗܘܝܠܢ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[10] Add. 14624 ܠܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܗܘܝܠ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[11] Add. 14624 ܡܡܠܠܘܗ

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Some men, in their audacity, dared to enter therein,
And they went and perished and unto this day have not returned and come forth."
The king said, "Our coming to this land was on account of this,
And there is no other way[1] for me but to see it."
The old men say, "There is a great mountain
The length of the road to which from here is twelve days[2]."
The king said, "Give me men who know the country,
And as for the way, however far it may be, it will not be tedious to me."
There was one old, greyheaded man there
Who knew the way and was experienced[3] in the mysteries of the country.
p. 75 This old man answered and said to Alexander,
"I will go with thy majesty and show[4] thee."
Then the heart of the king rejoiced and his face became glad;
And he took the old men and the nobles and they went[5] with him.

And when he had come to the country in which was the Land of Darkness[6]
While as yet they were ten parasangs distant from the place,
One wise old man who knew mysteries[7] answered and
Said to the king, "Reveal to me the mystery and hide not it from me,
What is thy quest in the Land of Darkness? what [will it] profit [thee]?
And why hast thou come to the land in which there is no light[8]?"

[1] Add. 14624 ܡܫܟܚܬܐ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ
[2] Add. 14624 ܗܠܟܬ ܒܡܗܪܐ ܘܠܬܪܝܢ ܡܘܩܦܝܢ
[3] Read with Add. 14624 ܡܦܪܢܣ
[4] Read with Add. 14624 ܡܚܘܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ
[5] Add. 14624 ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ
[6] Add. 14624 ܗܘܟܠ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ
[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܝܕܥ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ
[8] Add. 14624 ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܣܘܦܘܣ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܡܬܚܡܢ ܕܒܥܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ

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The king said, "I have heard that therein is the fountain of life,
And I desire greatly to go forth and see if, of a truth, it is [there]."
The old man said, "There are many fountains in the country,
And no man knoweth which is the fountain of the water of life."
The king said, "Do not dispute with me[1] concerning this matter,
For there is no other way for me but to go in and see the country."
Then the old man answered and said to him in his wisdom,
p. 76 "Since the matter is thus, seek out beasts from among the she-asses,
All of whom have[2] young and give suck.
According to the number of the men whom thou wishest to go into [the land] with thee
Let them bring beasts, and let them also bring their young with them."
The command went forth from the king full of wisdom,
And the people of the country went forth from him and gathered[3] together and brought five hundred beasts from among the she-asses.
After these things the old man said to the son of Philip,
"Command thy cook[4] to take with him a salt fish, and wherever he sees a fountain of water let him wash the fish[5];

ܐܡܠ ܒܗ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܥ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܬܠܗܝ ܠܐܬܪܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܦܠܛ ܘܣܡܐ ܠܗ ܐܪܙܐ ܕܠܟܝ ܠܠܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ
ܬܗܘܐ ܡܟܝܢ ܡܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܟܠܝ ܒܗܘܠܟܐ ܕܢܣܥܐ ܀ ܡܟܝ
ܢܬܪܝܘ ܒܢܣܥܐ ܠܬܕܐܠܐ ܠܗ ܘܡܟܢܐ ܢܬܠܗܝ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܠܥܝܐ
ܒܗ ܢܘܗܪܐ

¹ Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܬܬܚܪܐ ² Read ܕܐܡܠ ܠܗܘܢ

³ Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܢܟܫܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܘܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܝܬܝܘ

⁴ Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܛܒܚܗ ⁵ Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܐܝܟܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܢܫܝܓܝܘܗܝ ܠܢܘܢܐ.

And if it be that it comes to life in his hands when he washes it,
That is the fountain of the water of life which thou askest for, O king."
And when he arrived at the door which goeth into the Land of Darkness[1],
The king said to his cook[2], "Take thou a dry[3] fish,
And where thou seest a fountain of water, wash it.
And if it be that the fish comes to life in thy hand when thou washest it,
Reveal it to me and show me which is the fountain when thou hast found it."
The old man said, "Let the foals remain outside the door,
p. 77 For if they come in with us we shall perish[4]."
The king mounted and the chosen people that were with him,
And they began to go in, and they left the young asses outside the door;
And they then began to go down into the darkness,
Without knowing whither they were travelling in the land[5].
And when the cook[6] came to water he alighted and began to wash
The salt fish; and it did not come to life in his hand as had been said[7].

[1] Add. 14624 adds ܘܗܘܐ ܕܢܥܠܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܒܘܢ ܐܟܚܕ ܠܐܬܪܗ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܛܒܚܘܗܝ

[3] Add. 14624 ܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܝܚ ܘܝܒܫ ܡܢ ܙܒܢ ܡܩܕܡ

[4] "The Tartars however sometimes visit the country, (*i.e.*, the land of Darkness) and they do it in this way. They enter the region riding mares that have foals, and these foals they leave behind. After taking all the plunder that they can get they find their way back by help of the mares, which are all eager to get back to their foals, and find the way much better than their riders could do." *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, ii. p. 485.

[5] Add. 14624 ܟܕ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܙܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܀

[6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܛܒܚܐ

[7] Add. 14624 adds ܘܟܠ ܟܕ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܝܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܢܘܢܐ ܒܡܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ.

Finally he came to a fountain in which was the water of life,
And he drew near to wash the fish in the water, and it came to life and escaped.
The faulty one feared lest the king would require at his hand
That he should return to him the fish which came to life without impediment[1],
And he leaped down into the water to catch[2] it, but he was not able.
And he went up from the fountain to tell[3] the king that he had found the [fountain of life].
He cried out[4] and they heard him not, he went to the mountain and then they heard him[5].
Then the king rejoiced that he had heard of the fountain,
And he went back to bathe in it as he had asked.
He went to the mountain in the darkness but he did not stand upon it,
p. 78 And it was not granted to him by the Lord that he should live [for ever],
And he was grieved about this even unto death[6].

[1] Add. 14624 ܘܕܚܠ ܡܚܝܪܐ ܕܕܠܡܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܢܗܦܟ ܠܗ ܢܘܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܟܠܝܬܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܘܢܚܬ ܕܢܠܒܟܝܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܪܣܝܢ

[3] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ [4] Read ܩܥܐ

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܘܩܪܐ ܩܥܐ ܒܩܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܫܡܥܗ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܩܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܘܘ ܫܡܥܝܢܗ. ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܪܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܗܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܝܢܗ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܦܓܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܙܐܕܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܫܬܥܝ ܠܗ: ܥܠ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܢܘܢܐ ܕܚܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܢ.

[6] Add. 14624 ܘܟܪܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܘܐܦܠܐ ܡܒܥܐ ܡܢܝܪܐܝܬ: ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ ܘܢܐܚܐ ܠܥܠܡ ∴ ܘܟܪܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܕܠܗ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ. ܕܠܐ ܫܟܚ ܕܢܚܐ

And when the old man saw that he was afflicted with grief, [he said],
"The Lord hath not turned His face away from thee, O king."
The old man said, "Let us turn our beasts and let us go forth from here;
For the Lord does not wish thee to bathe in the fountain[1] and live for ever."
They turned[2] the beasts and they whipped them and they went out to their young ones.
The king turned being grieved that he had not accomplished the matter.
And the nobles came and comforted him by reason of [his] grief [saying][3],
"Master, be not afflicted on account of this, and let it not be grievous unto thee.
Look, master, and observe the early and middle generations,
That to each one of them has come its end and it has passed away and gone."

And Alexander in his wisdom began to ask questions, [saying,]
"What are these nations who are beyond you?
Has any king obtained[4] sovereignty in this land[5]?"

ܒܪܡ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܣܒܐ ܕܐܬܬܥܝܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܡ ܠܡܘܬܐ
ܘܒܠܝ̈ܬܐ ܡܟܪܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܠܝܚ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܥܢܐ ܣܒܐ ܢܗܦܘܟ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܠܬܬܥܝܩ ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܟܪܐ
ܠܟ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܪ̄.

¹ Read ܒܡܥܝܢܐ

² Add. 14624 ܐܗܦܟܘ

³ Add. 14624 ܢܦܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܦܩ
ܠܗ ܡܢ ܣܥܘܪܐ: ܘܐܬܘ ܗܦܟܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܪ̈ܒܘܗܝ ܘܦܝܣܘ ܠܗ:
ܡܟܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܚܙܪܐ ܘܗܦܟܐ ܡܢ ܟܪܝܘܬܗ.

⁴ Add. 14624 ܘܐܚܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܒܠܐ

⁵ Add. 14624 adds ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܕܠܚܒܪ ܡܢܢ
ܘܡܛܠ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܗܢ ܀

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The wise men[1] looked upon this king full of wisdom [and saw]
How joyful he was at the advice of the old men and nobles of the country.
p. 79 The old men say, "This is the dominion of Tûbarlîkâ[2]
The great king of the house of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê[3].
Within it are the peoples of the house of Japhet and of the house of Mâgôg,
A cunning nation, a flayed nation, an uprooted nation[4]."
The king said, "Have we a mountain from here onwards[5]?"
The old men say, "As far as the river Kallath[6] and [as far as] Halôrîs[7] [are]
Fearful, savage and lofty mountains with great terror,
And beyond them terrible mountains, a great boundary[8]
Which God hath set between us and them from all eternity."
The old men say, "It is altogether a difficult land
In which there are dragons and wild beasts and serpents[9],
And unless men pass the sentence of death upon their lives
They are not able to dwell with dragons and snakes[10]."

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܚܙܘ ܚܟܝ̈ܡܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܚܟܡܬܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܛܘܒܪܠܟܐ

[3] Add. 14264 ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܥܡܐ ܡܫܠܚܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܩܝܪܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܐܝܬ ܛܘܪܐ ܐܦ ܠܟ

[6] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 56. ܕܟܠܠܬ ܢܗܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܬ

[7] Add. 14624 ܘܚܠܘܪܘܣ Halôrôs or Halôrîs is a place near the source of the Tigris, a journey of two days and a half from Âmid (Diarbekir) هلورس موضع عند مخرج دجلة على يومين ونصف من آمد See مراصد الاطلاع ed. Juynboll, t. iii. p. ٣٢٢

[8] Add. 14624 reads ܘܬܚܘܡܐ ܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܪܒܐ

[9] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܢ ܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ

[10] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܥܡܪ ܥܡ ܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ

Then the great king Alexander answered
In his wisdom, "How can we pass through[1] the mountains?"
He commanded and they brought armour[2], and he made every beast to carry [some of it].
The horses rattled the bells and the armour, and they passed
p. 80 through the land[3].
The old men say, "Look[4], my lord the king, and see a wonder,
This mountain which God has set as a great boundary."
King Alexander the son of Philip said,
"How far is the extent of this mountain[5]?"
The old men say, "Beyond India it extends in its appearance."
The king said, "How far does this side come?"
The old men say, "Unto all the ends of the earth."
And wonder seized the great king at the counsel[6] of the old men,
And he began to ask questions to learn more about everything.
The king said, "Who are these kings
And the terrible peoples which are beyond this mountain?"
The old men say, "Listen[7], O Master, and king; and we will tell thee.
Behold, the family of Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg are beyond us,
Terrible of aspect, hateful of form, of all heights,
The stature of each one of them is from six to seven cubits;
Their noses are flat[8] and their foreheads hateful.

[1] Add. 14624 ܒܡܬܡܨܝܢܘܬܗ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܡܗ ܡܥܒܪܐ

[2] Read ܙܝ̈ܢܐ

[3] Add. 14624 reads ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܝܠܗ ܕܢܐܬܘܢ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܙܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܒܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܗܘܘ ܢܩܫܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܩܠܗ ܘܩܠܐ ܘܝܢܐ. ܘܩܫܘ ܙܝ̈ܢܐ ܘܥܒܪܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܗܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܀

[4] Add. 14624 ܚܘܝܬ

[5] Add. 14624 ܠܐܝܟܐ ܦܣܩܐ ܬܚܘܡܗ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ

[6] Add. 14624 ܒܡܬܡܠܟܢܘܬܗ

[7] Read ܫܡܥܘ

[8] Add. 14624 ܦܛܝ̈ܛܝܢ

They bathe in blood, and in blood wash they also their heads;
p. 81 They drink blood and eat the flesh of men;
They wear skins, sharpen weapons and forge wrath,
And are more ferocious and have more wars than all other nations[1].
Where[2] the wrath of the Lord rises he sends them;
And they overturn the land, and uproot mountains, and devour men."
Then the son of Philip was grieved because he heard these things,
And he marvelled at this greatly within himself a long time.
Little by little he learned and understood everything which he asked[3],
And he had it in his mind to make there a great gate.
His mind was full[4] of spiritual thoughts,
While taking advice from the old men, the dwellers[5] in the land.

He looked at the mountain which encircled the whole world,
The great boundary which God had established from everlasting.
The king said, "Where have the hosts come forth
To plunder the land and all the world[6] from of old?"
They show him a place in the middle of the mountains,
A narrow pass which had been constructed by God.
p. 82 The king looked upon the narrow pass with wonderment,
And [saw] that the mountain extended[7] and was terrible in its strength on all sides.
Above it he saw a river of blood flowing down[8],

[1] Add. 14624 ܡܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܒܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܗܘܢ

[2] Read ܘܐܝܟܐ [3] Add. 14625 ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܡܫ̈ܐܠܬܐ ܠܡܒܢܐ
ܬܪܥܐ. ܘܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܬܗܪ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܒܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.
ܒܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܣܒ̈ܐ ܀

[4] Read ܡܠܐ [5] Read ܠܥܡܪ̈ܝ [6] Add. 14624 ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܝܟܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܘܫܒܝܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܘܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ

[7] Read ܘܡܬܡܬܚܝܢ [8] Read ܢܚܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܝܡܐ ܕܕܡܐ ܪܕܐ

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And like a torrent of water flowing on against the people.
He examined it that he might make there a great door
Full of wonder in all the world to him that sees it.
The Spirit of the Lord stirred up the king, the son of Philip,
With all[1] thoughts to restrain wickedness from the lands.

Letters went to Tûbarliḳî[2] the king of Persia, [saying,]
"Alexander the great king is in thy country,
He is not carrying away captive, nor slaying, nor spoiling,
Though he has with him countless hosts[3] of men.
He dwells peacefully in thy land[4] as if it
And the royalty and the dominion were his own."
When the king of Persia received this report
From the ambassadors who went into his presence with the
p. 83 letters,
Wonder took hold of the king of Persia on account of this,
And he trembled and was disturbed by the noise of the rumour
of the great king[5].
And he sent and gathered together the forces that were in his
dominion,
And he assembled and brought sixty-two other kings
To come to his aid and to help him with their hosts;
And they all gathered together and covered the earth like
locusts.
And in great wrath all the kings took counsel
To go up against him and destroy him and blot out his name.

When all the kings with their hosts arrived,
And drew near to go in and throw war into the camp,
King Alexander, the son of Philip, lay down to sleep,
And he saw in his dream an angel saying[6] to him,

[1] Read ܟܘܠ [2] Add. 14624 always ܛܘܒܪܠܟܝ

[3] Read ܡܫܪܝܬܐ [4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܐܬܪܗ

[5] Add. 14624 adds ܘܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ

[6] Read ܟܕ ܐܡܪ

"Behold Tûbarlîkî the king of Persia has gathered together a host,
And has also hired him sixty-two other kings:
Arise, prevail over their hosts, and destroy them[1],
For, behold, God has come and stood within thy camp,
He will make thee victorious, and will help thee, and will make thee to triumph.
p. 84 Thou shalt conquer them all through the right hand of the Lord that is with thee[2]."

Then Alexander awoke and rose up from his sleep,
And he called to the nobles and the captains of hundreds and the captains of thousands,
And he began to speak[3] and command his troops, [saying,]
"Behold, the Lord hath come to our aid and to our help,
Come, let us stand praying to the Lord with strength[4]."
And the king commanded all the people to take incense,
And they burned there a sweet odour to the Lord among their ranks.
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried[5] upon stones and sherds fire and sweet incense.
And after they had burned incense[6] in the camp,
The king began to speak and to exhort his troops, [saying,]
"Behold the time of great strife and battle [has come],
Put on your breastplates and gird upon you all your armour,
Put your helmets upon your heads and stand up for war[7] like men.

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܚܪܘܒ ܐܢܘܢ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܢܡܠܠ [3] Add. 14624 ܕܢܐܡܪ

[4] Add. 14624 ܬܘ ܢܩܘܡ ܟܠܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ In Knös the order of this and the following line is inverted. [5] Read ܛܥܢܘ

[6] Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܕܒܣܡܐ ܕܒܣ̈ܡܐ ܐܒܣܡܘ

[7] Add. 14624 reads ܗܐ ܟܪܝܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܟܬܘܫܐ. ܠܒܫܘ
ܙܪ̈ܝܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܩܘܡܘ ܠܩܪܒܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܣܘܡܘ ܣܢܘܪ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܫܝܟܘܢ

For behold Tûbarlîḳî the king of Persia has gathered to himself a host,
And has also hired sixty-two other kings.
p. 85 And behold they are all gathered together like one man with their hosts,
That they may come against us and wipe out our name and our kingdom.
Stand up then to war like men and warriors,
And receive triumph and a fair renown for evermore."
He made ready and furnished the hosts, the children of Rûm[1]
With armour and breastplates that they might not be terror-stricken in the fight.
The wise king encouraged his hosts
That they should neither be terror-stricken nor moved by the enemies' hosts, [saying,]
"I have hope in God, Whom I serve,
That He will make us victorious and triumphant in [our] wars with them[2]."
When Alexander had finished speaking
And encouraging his hosts for the battle,
His hosts stood up and put on [their] armour and breastplates,
And were ready to fight like[3] men.
Then the king[4] of Persia looked from[5] the top of the mountain,
And these sixty-two kings with their hosts
Descended and came against the camp of Alexander.
p. 86 And he made there a great slaughter among their ranks,
And the believing king Alexander prevailed,
And slew sixty-two kings and a multitude of the host,
Tûbarlîḳî the king of Persia he captured alive,
And he fettered him with heavy iron fetters and bound him prisoner near to him.

ܘܩܡܘ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܩܪ. The passage in Knös is utterly corrupt. The Paris MS. has ܒܪܬܡܫܐ

[1] *I.e.*, the Byzantine Greeks. See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 1.

[2] Add. 14624 adds ܘܩܐܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡܗ

[3] Reading ܐܝܟ with Add. 14624. [4] Read ܡܠܟܐ [5] Add. 14624 ܡܢ

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Then the hosts which remained fled away from him,
And forsook their king and escaped to another land.

And when Alexander had thus gained the victory[1],
He buried the slain and took their arms.
Then he courageously took pains and made a door
Against Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg, and bound them [inside].
He took iron and brass, a great quantity, and made it ready
For the making of the door that he might shut [it] in the face of the people.
He gave [his] commands to twelve thousand skilled, ready workmen
Whom Sôrîḳ[2] the king of Egypt had given to him from his dominion[3],
He, the wise man, called the workmen and taught them
p. 87 How they should make[4] the length and breadth [of it], with great strength.
He measured the ground of the narrow pass between the mountains,
That he might shut[5] in the peoples of the house of Mâgôg until the end.
The king in his wisdom measured from mountain to mountain,
Twelve[6] cubits in the strength of his power.
The king said, "Make ye a threshold for the whole pass,
And let it be sunk in the mountain on this side and on that."

[1] After this line Add. 14624 reads ܘܐܒܕ ܘܩܛܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܣܩܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܗܪܐ ܠܚܝܠܘܬܗ ܢܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐܝܩܪܐ ܡܫܬܠܐ ܘܢܨܚܘܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܀

[2] Add. 14624 ܣܪܝܩܘܣ

[3] Add. 14624 ܡܫܒܕܗ

[4] Add. 14624 ܢܥܒܕܘܢ

[5] Read ܕܢܚܒܘܫ?

[6] Add. 14624 ܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܥܘܫܢܐ ܕܓܢܒܪܘܬܐ

They made it of great height (*i.e.* thickness) and breadth, four cubits[1],
Its length and extent [was] twelve cubits of a strong man.
On each side of the mountain he sunk the head of the threshold,
On both sides two cubits of a strong man[2].
He made a lintel (lit. threshold) over the door over all the pass,
And sunk it in the mountains on both sides for the whole [width of the] door[3].
He made [it] six cubits wide and six cubits high with skill,
Of iron and brass, a marvellous work, the like of which there is not.
The hosts erected and fixed the door there
In all the threshold, above and below[4], as in clay (*sic*).
p. 88 He put bolts into[5] the threshold and into[6] the door,
And sunk them in so that no man knew where they fitted together.
For all the lintel[7] over the door against the wind
The king made strong posts[8] of brass and iron.
On this side of these he made bolts of great strength,
Twelve cubits was its length and two cubits its breadth,

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ ܪܘܡܐ ܘܦܬܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܒܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܙܩܦܗ ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܒ̈ܝܢ ܐܡܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ

[2] Add. 14624 adds ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܒܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܗܕܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܛܠܠܐ ܡܚܘܝܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ. ܥܒܕܗ ܦܬܝܐ ܐܡܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܗ ܘܡܬܚܗ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܐܦ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܀

[3] Add. 14624 omits this line.

[4] Add. 14624 ܘܕܠܬܚܬ [5] Add. 24624 ܒܟܠ [6] Add. 14624 ܒܟܠ

[7] Add. 14624 ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ sic. ܒܐܩܦ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ

[8] Reading with Add. 14624 ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܢܚܫܐ ܘܦܪܙܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܚܘܠܐ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܪܒܐ

A cubit and a half was the thickness[1] of the bolt with cunning work,
And it held fast the wood (posts)[2] and the bolts and the door and the two sides of the mountain that they might not be unloosed[3].
The king fixed (lit. threw) doors and beams and bolts in the two sides of the mountain,
And another bolt of brass and iron, in his wisdom.
He fixed (lit. threw) the door, and wonder and quietness and rest and silence
[Came] over the peoples of the house of Mâgôg who had not perceived the building.
King Alexander made haste and made the door
Against the north, and against the spoilers and the children of Mâgôg.
In the sixth month he finished the building of the whole door.
And the king and all his army marvelled and their hearts re-
p. 89 joiced,
That the whole work of the royal building had been built,
A work of which wisdom and intelligence had laid [the foundations].
Ambassadors went forth into the countries and lands and proclaimed
The great work of the terrible door which the king had made[4].

After these things the king, the son of Philip said,
"It is meet that we make a great feast to the Lord[5] in this land,
For He came to help us and destroyed our enemies,
And He has helped[6] us and straightway completed this building.

[1] Read ܠܥܒܘܗ [2] Add. 14624 ܩܝ̈ܣܐ [3] Add. 14624 reads ܘܚܒܫ ܩܝ̈ܣܐ ܘܡܘܩ̈ܠܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܦܘܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ ܡܘܩ̈ܠܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܢ̈ܝܫܐ ܕܒܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܬܪܥܐ ܀ and omits the two lines which come after ܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ in Knös which I have translated here, but which seem to be corrupt. [4] Lines 373—382 are omitted by Add. 14624.
[5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܡܪܝܐ [6] Read ܥܕܪ

It is He that hath restrained and silenced the children of Mâgôg
That they shall not go forth through this pass during the whole length of the time."
The king said, "Let us take incense, and let all the people
Burn it here for a sweet smell to the Lord among their assemblies."
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried fire and sweet incense upon stones and sherds,
They burnt pure incense among the ranks and the thousands and the assemblies,
On the new festival upon which was built the great work.
The king said, "If the Lord come into our camp,
And find it of sweet odour, peradventure He will dwell therein."
p. 90 And after [they had burnt] incense king Alexander commanded
That all the people of the palace should rejoice and be glad.
The king set in order rich foods for all his hosts
And gave ....[1] to the captains of thousands that they might ....[1]
The king commanded that there should be set forth meat for the assembly of his hosts,
And that they should make glad at the table according to their ranks.
He made a feast for the old men and the nobles and the captains of thousands,
And they made glad at the table in a loving manner.
The king rejoiced in that building full of cunning works,
Because he had become triumphant through the victory which God had given him.

And having thus rejoiced at the table,
At midday, at the time of noon, the king rested,
On a couch (?) of gold, in perfect love and belief.
Then the Lord answered him in a vision, with great wonder,
And He sent a watcher of fire to him[2] beyond all expectation.
The king saw that fiery being in a dream, and feared,

[1] The words ܡܨܠܐ and ܕܢܦܠܠܘܢ do not make good sense here.

[2] Read ܕܡܗܘܗܝ

p. 91 And he spake with him all hidden and terrible things.
The watcher said, "The Lord sent me that I might come to thee,
And inform thee what it is meet for thee to do with Tûbarlîḳî.
Rise up and make peace with Tûbarliḳî, the king of Persia,
And take away from him the land of Egypt[1] and the land of Jâbûs.
Take from him the land of Palestine[2] and the Hebrews' country
And the whole land of Syria and Mesopotamia.
Take from him Phoenicia and Cilicia,
Cappadocia, Galatia and Phrygia,
Also Asia and the territory of the Greeks and Seleucia,
Take his dominion until thou comest to Ḳalkîdiâ,
Take his dominion and set the river Kallath as a boundary for yourselves[3].
And let not one of you pass over the boundary which ye set for him."
The Lord spake by the hand of the angel, [saying] "I will magnify thee
More than all the kings and governors in all the world.
p. 92 This great gate which thou hast made[4] in this land
Shall be closed until the end of times cometh.
Jeremiah[5] also prophesied concerning it and the earth hath heard,
'The gate of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world,
And on that day shall evil go forth on the wicked.

[1] Read ܕܡܨܪܝܢ [2] Read ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢ

[3] Add. 14624 has as the equivalent of lines 388—424 ܕܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܒܫܠܡܗ ܥܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܘܩܡܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܦܣܩ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܦܘܪܣܝܐ ⁘ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ : ܦܣܩ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ : ܘܦܣܩ ܟܠ ܕܡܠܟ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܒܝܬ ܠܟ ܘܠܦܘܪܣܝܐ : ܘܫܪ.

[4] Add. 14624 ܕܐܬܒܢܝܬ [5] Add. 14624 ܐܫܥܝܐ

There shall be woe to those who are with child and to those who give suck[1].'
The Lord says, "In that the seven thousandth year
Shall there be rumours and dire quakings in all countries.
Sin and wickedness and all evil things shall increase in the world,
Envy, craftiness, adultery, murder and all hateful things,
Lying and slander of the children of wickedness.
Fraud and pride[2] shall increase in the earth,
And haughtiness and lasciviousness and infidelity[3],
And schisms and contentions shall fall among the children of men.
The heavens shall be like darkness and the earth shall quake,
And the love of many shall wax cold in these days[4].
And wars and captivities and death shall increase among the children of men.
And there shall be famines and cruel wars in various countries,
p. 93 And there shall be also tumults in the islands that are in the sea.
And the sun and the moon and the stars shall be dark in their risings,
And the earth shall be devoured by fire[5] and locusts and mighty hail,
The ends of the earth shall tremble with the noise of the thundering in all lands,
And winter and winds and storms and lightnings and mighty earthquakes.
The heavens shall become like smoke through darkness,
The sea shall be troubled[6], and wickedness shall increase in all the world.
Towns and cities and villages shall dwell in mourning,
Through the terrible quakings of all the horrible signs[7].

[1] Jeremiah i. 14; S. Matt. xxiv. 19. [2] Read ܘܫܘܚܪܬܐ [3] Add. 14624 ܘܡܦܩܪܢܘܬܐ [4] S. Matt. xxiv. 12. [5] Reading ܒܢܘܪܐ with Add. 14624. [6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܢܬܕܠܚܘܢ
[7] Add. 14624 ܘܙܘܥܐ ܘܬܗܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܡܣܪܝܩܬܐ

And when these things have come to an end and passed away[1] before the end
The earth shall quake and this door which thou hast made be opened[2].
At the end of times creatures and men shall make evil to increase,
And wickedness shall wax strong in all quarters of the earth, and the Lord shall be grieved[3],
And anger with fierce wrath shall rise up on mankind.
And the earth and vineyards and oliveyards and all plants shall be laid waste,
And woods and gardens; and the earth and mankind shall dwell in mourning[4],
And destructive winds shall go forth against creation;
p. 94 And the Lord shall visit evil upon the world, upon the fertile lands[5].
And the nation that is within this gate[6] shall be roused up,
And also the hosts of Âgôg and of the peoples of Mâgôg shall be gathered together.
These peoples, the fiercest of all creatures,
Of the mighty house of Japhet [are they] of whom the Lord spake, [saying], 'They shall go forth on the earth
And cover all creation like[7] a locust.'"

The king marvelled at these things which he had heard from the angel
Whom the Lord had sent to him in a vision to teach him these things.
The watcher said, "When all the things that are written have been completed,

[1] Read ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܬܬܥܒܪ [2] After this line Add. 14624 adds ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ [3] Read ܘܢܬܬܠܚܡܘܢ Add. 14624 has ܘܢܬܪܘܙ
[4] Add. 14624 ܘܬܬܒ ܒܟܒܪܐ ܘܐܒܠܐ ܒܟܠܗ [5] Read ܐܬܪ̈ܐ
[6] Read ܕܬܪܥܐ [7] Read ܒܩܡܬܐ Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܩܡܨܐ

The Lord will command, and by His beck will be opened[1] this door.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot to slay men,
In His ill will He will rouse up the people of the house of Mâgôg against the lands.
In the seven thousandth year, in which the heavens and the earth shall be dissolved,
The hosts and troops shall go forth from their lands.
The thousands and the ranks and the assemblies without number shall come
And shall stand behind this door, and shall give voice with
An exceeding great cry stronger than the wind and the loud thunder [saying],
p. 95 'O Lord, our Lord, open to us the gate that we may go forth on the earth.'
The mountains and the earth and mankind shall tremble at that time
By reason of that wrathful and angry and terrifying voice.
At that time the cry shall go forth among their ranks,
And the voice of the Lord shall overthrow the height of this door.
Over the threshold which carries this strong door,
The hosts of horses and men shall tread and go forth.
Another host which shall go forth after the hosts
....[2]
The door and the bolts shall the Lord destroy and carry away.
The hosts which shall go forth from thence shall cover the earth.
In anger shall the hosts and the assemblies and the thousands go forth,
With drawn swords and bent bows and sharp arrows,
With wrath and murder and eager horses and pointed spears.

[1] Add. 14624 ܘܢܬܦܬܚ ܪܡܙܗ ܠܬܪܥܐ [2] A line appears to have fallen out here, for Add. 14624 reads ܚܝܠܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܬܪ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ. ܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܓܘܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܟܐ. ܠܬܪܥܐ ܘܡܘܟܠܐ ܢܣܚܘܦ ܘܢܦܘܩ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢܗ ܀

With great wrath shall each one of them pursue a thousand,
And through fear ten thousand shall flee away before two.
They will fly and settle down upon the quarters of the whole world,
And kings and hosts shall flee away before them.
p. 96 The tips of the spears shall rub away the strength of that lintel (lit. threshold),
And the beam which thou hast made with great strength above the door.
This door which thou hast made shall not be opened by a key.
At the end of times shortly [before the end] shall they go forth [over] the earth[1],
They shall not desire gold or silver or cattle,
Neither possessions, nor the riches of this world.
These people shall go forth for slaughter and blood and strife,
And shall fly and fill the face of the world with wars and slaughters.
The assemblies of warriors shall not be delivered from them,
The whole creation shall totter[2] and fall under the ruin[3].

[1] Add. 14624 reads ܠܘ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ ܡܬܦܬܚܝܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܬܚ ܒܩܠܝܕܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܘܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܡܬܝܬܝܢ. ܒܚܪܬ ܙܒܢܐ ܒܫܘܠܡܬܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܒܪܡܙܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܢܣܩܘܢ ܠܩܘܡܐ ܘܚܠܩܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ. ܢܣܩܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܦܫܐ. ܘܐܠܦܐ ܘܪܒܘܬܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ ܀

[2] Add. 14624 ܒܪܟܐ

[3] After this line Add. 14624 (fol. 30 a. 2) adds ܒܪܡܙܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܦܪܣܝܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܪܒܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܩܛܠܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ : ܕܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܥܠ ܫܪܒܬܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܒܚܪܬ ܙܒܢܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ. ܢܣܩܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ. ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܚܪܒܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ

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Concerning that day Isaiah[1] cried and the earth heard,
'They shall not be eager for[2] gold and silver and pearls,
Nor riches[3] nor fine raiment nor possessions.
They shall dash weaned children on the stones without sparing,
And they shall rip up women with child and cast them down with their offspring.'
The rivers of the whole world shall be accounted nothing by them,
And rough mountains and valleys and gorges shall not restrain
p. 97 them.
They shall rise up and go forth and fill the earth with their assemblies, and with
War and captivity and strife and blood and great slaughter.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot against the wicked,
He will send over the earth the people of Âgôg and the people of Mâgôg.
Before the end of the world shall they go forth to destroy,
The earth will be drunk with the tumult of men and the mountains shall tremble.
He[4] will come to Persia and will strip it and destroy it,

ܘܥܠܘܗܝ ܩܥܐ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܘܫܡܥܬ ܐܪܥܐ. ܕܠܐ ܪܘܚܫܬܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܕܗܒܐ ܗܘܐ·
ܕܠܐ ܐܣܘܟܠܐ ܠܕܗܒܐ ܢܩܘܦܘܢ ܕܟܣܦܐ ܘܐܒܢܐ ܀ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܪܡܝܐ
ܥܘܠܠܐ ܘܦܓܪܐ ܘܡܬܒܥܛܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ. ܒܥܘܠܠܝܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܥܘܠܠܝܢ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ ܠܡܥܒܪܗܘܢ. ܘܛܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܟܠܐ
ܐܢܘܢ ܘܦܩܥܬܐ ܘܪܡܬܐ ܀ ܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܢܡܠܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܟܢܫܗܘܢ. ܘܒܩܪܒܐ
ܘܫܒܝܬܐ ܘܚܪܝܢܐ ܘܕܡܐ ܘܩܛܠܐ ܪܒܐ. ܟܕ ܬܬܚܡܐ ܪܘܓܙܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܪܫܝܥܐ.
ܢܫܕܪ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܓܘܓ ܘܥܡܐ ܕܡܐܓܘܓ ܀ ܩܕܡ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܚܪܒܘ. ܬܪܘܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܫܓܘܫܝܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܢܙܘܥܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ.
ܢܐܬܐ ܠܦܪܣ ܘܢܫܠܚܝܗ̇ ܘܢܚܪܒܝܗ̇ ܀

[1] Isaiah xiii. 17, 18.

[2] Add. 14624 ܡܬܚܡܣܝܢ

[3] Read ܩܢܝܢܐ

[4] *I. e.* the nation of Âgôg and Mâgôg.

He will come to India and will cut it in pieces and destroy it,
He will overthrow Syria and pass over and terrify it,
He will destroy and lay waste and overthrow Cilicia,
He will make an end of Cappadocia and will slay [the people thereof] with terror.
And tremblings shall fall upon countries and upon their inhabitants,
And the earth shall be a desolation and a captivity and a whistling.
They shall cover[1] the earth with arms and spears and polished swords[2],
And kings and governors shall not be able to stand before
Those who from God have received power over creation.
The voice of each one of them is stronger than that of a lion,
p. 98 And one shall pursue a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.
Hateful and terrible, cruel and bitter and warlike [are]
The hosts of the children of Âgôg and of the people of Mâgôg[3],
Tumultuous, evil, sinful, excitable, proud, unclean,
Filthy, haughty and full of woe and great judgment.
They rend and devour the flesh of men and of beasts,
They all wash in blood which has flowed from mankind[4]."

And when all these things had been spoken by the angel
To the wise king Alexander, the son of Philip,
The angel[5], in the spirit of the revelation of prophecy, told him
To write down these things and teach the world that these things would happen.
And when all these things had been said by the angel,
The Spirit of the Lord rested upon[6] the king as upon Jeremiah,

[1] Read ܢܟܣܘܢ [2] Add. 14624 adds ܘܪ̈ܘܡܚܐ ܪ̈ܒܐ ܘܩܫܬܐ ܘܡܠ̈ܚܐ ܘܣܝ̈ܦܐ ܡܫܢ̈ܢܐ [3] Add. 14624 omits this line.
[4] After this line Add. 14624 reads ܠܘܬܗ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܠܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܘܪܘܡܚܐ ܕܡܟܠܠ ܟܬܒܘ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܟܪܘܒ ܦܠܚܬܐ ܕܢܚܡܬܐ. ܕܢܟܠܘܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܟܕܘ ܟܠܡܫ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܀ [5] Read ܡܠܐܟܐ [6] Read ܥܠ

And he wrote down hidden things like Daniel[1] and like Isaiah.
He wrought mighty deeds and destroyed kings in their wars,
He destroyed idols like Hezekiah[2] and like Josiah[3],
The just king who served truth and righteousness.
p. 99 The earth shone through his wisdom full of beauties,
And he wrote[4] and showed everything that was to come like Daniel.
Alexander the king, the son of Philip, said,
"Let the kings and their ranks and their dominions tremble,
On the day on which these people go forth over the earth at the end of times.
And men and all the quarters of the earth will anger the Lord of Hosts,
And His anger will rise and blot out the earth with an evil desolation.
Mighty Rûm from her greatness He shall throw down to the depth[5].
The seas shall roar, the earth shall cry out, and the mountains shall shriek,
The valleys shall fear, and towns and villages shall be desolated.
The vineyards shall be destroyed and stupor shall fall upon the planters thereof,
Joy shall come to an end, and the power of all mighty men shall fall.
Beautiful things[6] shall perish, riches shall fail and power shall vanish,
Fountains shall fail, streets shall be destroyed, and the valleys shall be useless.
The hosts and filthy[7] assemblies of the children of Mâgôg shall stand up,
And all creation shall become and remain a ruin.

[1] Daniel, chap. vii—xii.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 4—14.

[4] Read with Add. 14624 ܘܟܬܒ

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܢܫܬܘܫܘܢ ܠܡܪܝܗ ܘܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܦܠܢ

[6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܫܘܦܪܐ

[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܣܢܝܐ

p. 100
And from the signs and bitter rumours
He that is wise will understand concerning the end.
Lebanon and Sânîr and their fellows shall be accounted nothing to him, [*i. e.*, to the nation of Gog and Magog]
The mountains of Carmel shall not restrain the host that is with him.
His voice thunders, the rumour of him is terrible, and his strength is fearful,
His appearance is evil, his form huge and altogether harsh.
Deformed is his visage, violent is his strength, and dark is his colour,
His form is long, his weapon is sharp, and the whole of him is death[1].
Evil sounds and tremblings and rumours shall run before him,
And horrible things and captivities and famines and deaths and all evil things.
He shall quench the beauty of the sun and of the moon and of all luminaries,
The hills and the valleys shall put on darkness[2] and sadness.
Laws shall come to an end and the whole earth shall dwell in mourning,
And the world shall become like a desolate and a sterile thing.
Depict in me, O our Lord, the beauty of Thy word in a loving way,
That I may preach the sign of the day of Thy coming as far as I am able.
That great nation[3] which is perverse in its works,
And bears woe and is full of wrath and slaughter and death,
p. 101 For evil captivity and destruction do they prepare with great wrath,
For spoil and slaughter are they all [*i. e.* the nation] ready without ceasing.
They all threaten with power and there is wrath in their cursings,
Mountains and valleys and plains tremble at them.

[1] Add. 14624 omits this and the preceding line.

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܚܫܘܟܐ [3] Read with Add. 14624 ܥܡܐ

And great woe [shall be] upon those who are with child and those who give suck,
And mourning and pain upon young men and maidens,
Weeping for the children being slain through the cutting off of hope,
And for the youths also being cut off by the baleful ones.
The heavens and the earth will put on pain[1] and sadness,
And the assemblies of celestial beings will be astonished in those days[2].
Quaking will fall upon the living and the dead at that time,
Through the slaughter and blood of the children of Mâgôg before the end.
A renowned people will stir up strife in the lands,
And cast tumult among cities and towns,
An ugly people, a people flayed and uprooted[3] and full of blemishes,
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with their fellows.
In abundance will they come to Palestine madly,
They will uproot and destroy its cities and slay [its] people.
The race of men, nation after nation, will roar and cry out[4],
p. 102 Joy and gladness shall cease and woe will reign,
Weeping and spoiling and wickedness and all sadness shall increase.
They will uproot walls and towers and streets and towns,
And they shall become mounds, and stupor shall fall upon all creation.
Come, O Jeremiah, the prophet of the Spirit and of revelation,
And take up bitter cries of lamentation concerning that day.
The prophet says, 'Woe to thee, O land, for a mighty nation
Is sent against thee; with arms and captivity shall he destroy thy children[5].'

[1] Add. 14624 ܢܫܟܐ
[2] Read ܒܗܠܝܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ
[3] Read ܡܫܠܚܐ ܘܡܥܩܪܐ
[4] Add. 14624 adds ܘܡܬܗܦܟܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܝ ܡܬܬܢܚܝܢ ܥܠ ܩܪ̈ܒܐ
[5] Jeremiah v. 15—17. Add. 14624 reads ܐܡܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܝ ܠܟܝ ܐܪܥܐ

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The prophet says, 'Thus shall all creation be
For a great astonishment and for a treading down, for slaughter and disgrace.
All creation shall kneel and fall down before that nation
And the earth shall be destroyed of its inhabitants with great slaughter.
The priests and their flocks shall seize a place of respite
And take up tears and lamentation bitterly[1].
Flocks and herds and cows and oxen shall dwell in mourning.'
p. 103 The prophet says 'Woe to thee, O earth, what is this nation
Harsh of speech which slays and destroys without sparing?
The keepers of vineyards shall weep over the vineyards[2] through sorrow,
And all the dwellings of the shepherds shall dwell in mourning.'
The earth shall say, 'Woe is me, for I have seen all revolutions
With evil quakings and disturbed horrible things full of misery.'
For to them will the Lord cry in anger at the end of times[3],
And as with a broom will the Lord sweep and purge it,
And He will overturn it and rend it and destroy it.
Gloomy and sorry and full of darkness shall be the days and months,
Before the coming of the sinful people of the children of Mâgôg.
In these days the living will ascribe happiness to the dead,
By reason of the disturbance and quaking and slaughter and blood.
They shall not, however, enter into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord.

ܕܢܗܘܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܬܗܪܐ. ܘܠܕܘܫܐ ܘܠܩܛܠܐ ܘܠܒܙܚܐ
ܐܡܪ ܢܒܝܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܠܬܡܗܐ ܪܒܐ.
[1] Add. 14624 reads ܢܒܟܘܢ ܟܪ̈ܡܐ ܢܛܘܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܒܥܠ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ
ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܕܡ̈ܥܐ ܐܦ ܒܟܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܪܐ. ܢܒܟܘܢ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܡܥܡܪܗܘܢ
[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܫܠܡܐ ܒܟܠܗ. ܘܢܬܒܘܢ ܒܐܒܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ.
[3] Add. 14624 ܕܢܩܥܘܢ. ܒܫܒܬ ܕܩܛܠܐ. ܢܒܟܘܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܘܣܪܝܩܐ ܘܡܠܝܐ ܪܘܚܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܟܢܫܬܐ ܘܡܟ̈ܪ.

For the sign (*i.e.*, the Cross) of the Lord shall drive them away from it, and they shall not enter it.
All the saints shall fly away from them to mount Sânîr[1],
All faithful true ones and the good and all the wise.
p. 104 They shall not be able to approach mount Sinai, for it is the dwelling place of the Lord,
Nor to the high mountains of Sinai[2] with their shame[3].
By Jerusalem shall fall by the sword the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with great slaughter.
After these things shall the days full of trouble decrease[4],
And evil shall come and stand in the world with great trembling.
And the earth shall be drunk with the blood and slaughter of their ranks,
For the sword of a man shall fall upon his fellow with great amazement.
And if it were possible for the mountains and the earth and the stones
And the sea and the dry land to weep, they would weep for the whole world.
O how much more bitter than the slaughter of the sword and the blood of the spear,
Is the affliction of the cursed children of the great family of Japhet!
For[5] they shall lead away captive and subdue the earth and all people.

[1] Add. 14624 ܠܛܘܪ̈ܣܢܝܢ [2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܦܠܐ ܠܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܡܪ̈ܝܡܐ ܐܬܩܪ̈ܒܘܢ Compare ܒܐܬܩܪ̈ܒܘܬܗܘܢ [3] ܛܘܪܐ ܕܣܝܢܝ ܢܓܠܐ "The Lord shall uncover their shame," Isaiah iii. 17.

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܙܥܪܝ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܡܠܝܢܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܗܘܝܐ ܕܫܒܝܘ ܘܟܒܫܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܥܡܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܘܝܢ ܢܩܠܝܢ ܣܪ̈ܐ ܕܓܘܓ ܘܡܓܘܓ ܡܠܟܝܢ. ܠܘܬ ܢܩܠܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܒܪܗ ܘܒܠܐ ܒܒܠܐ. ܒܫܢ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ ܘܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܟܢܐ. ܘܢܗܘܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܓܘܓܐ ܠܘܬ.

Then the hosts of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg shall go forth,
And man shall fall upon his fellow, and nation upon nation,
And the quaking of the earth and the sword of anger shall be there.
On the skirts of Zion shall the bodies of the dead[1] [lie] in heaps.
p. 105 And after these things the earth shall be desolated of mankind,
Villages shall be destroyed and all towns and cities;
The scattered ones only remain in the earth as a remnant.
Then shall Antichrist rise upon the whole earth,
Through that gate shall go forth and come that rebel;
That lying one shall Christ overthrow as is promised[2].
There shall stand up before him demons and spirits and wicked devils,
And they shall gather together all creation to their cursed master.
The earth shall cry out, 'I entreat Thee, O Lord, in Thy mercy to spare me,
For, behold, I am sick and persecuted with all wounds.'
These things which I have spoken shall come to pass before the end of the world,
And let him that hath an ear of love listen to them."

These beautiful things did king Alexander interpret,
That they should all take place before that day at the end.
"And after these things the heavens and the earth will put on pain[3],
And times and days and months in their courses will cease,
p. 106 And will not again return to the earth from whence they came.
When the assemblies of the thousands of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg,

[1] Read ܕܦܓܪ̈ܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܢܚܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܢܦܘܩ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܓܠܐ. ܗܘ ܡܪܘܕܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܫܝܨܝܘܗܝ.

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܚܪܬܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ

Have destroyed all constituted things with a great slaughter,
Creation, weeping and lamenting, will cry out [saying], 'What wilt thou do [more]?'
The earth will say, 'Let the assemblies of the height entreat for me
Thy great name[1], the power which bears the height and the depth.'"
O Jesus, look upon me in mercy and love, I entreat Thee,
May I see Thee in peace when Thou risest with Thy angels!
"The whole creation shall totter and fall with great quaking,
By reason of the signs; the end cometh, it is not far off.
By Jerusalem shall perish and come to an end the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg together with their fellows,
And there shall that lying one be put to shame in his infidelity[2],
And the whole baneful company of idolatry shall be overcome.
Little by little shall be filled the web of all this world,
That it may incline and come speedily to[3] the end.
The Lord will look upon the earth with wrath and great anger,
And it shall pass away and become nothing; but He shall not
p. 107 pass away.
Out of the north then shall come evil to all the earth,
And Isaiah cried to creation on account of this[4]."

O Jesus, O King in Whose hands are the height and the depth,
In Thee shall the Church and her children take refuge from trouble[5].
Blessed be the Good One Who stretched out the height and Who laid out[6] the earth.

[1] Add. 14624 ܠܡܣܟܢ ܢܦܠ [2] Add. 14624 ܒܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ [3] Read ܕܢܡ

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܩܥܐ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ Isaiah xiii. 4—19.

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܢܗܘܐ ܦܠܛܐ ܢܝܚܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܠܐ· ܡܬܟܬܫܐ ܘܠܐ
ܡܬܟܠܐ. ܟܕ ܠܡܫܬܐܪ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܢܫܐ. [6] Read ܘܪܩܥ

They shall pass away but Thou shalt stand, O Lord, our Lord.

....

And power to all His servants and the victory (?) of might[2].
From the celestial and from the terrestrial beings to Thee be praise,
For [Thy] grace and compassion and mercy upon sinners.
Blessed be the Lord who gave victory to Alexander,
And he conquered and destroyed the inhabitants of the lands.
Grant unto me, O Lord, a mouth that I may preach Thy great glory,
That it may cry out before Thee on the day of Thy revelation, "Glory to Thee,"
And to the readers and the writer [of this book] may there be remission of sins,
And to the hearer and the doer may there be propitiation.

Here endeth the discourse upon Alexander
And upon the gate which he made towards the north.
Yea and Amen[3].

[1] The discourse in Add. 14624 comes to an end with the words ܡܠܟܢ ܠܟܘ ܠܡܚܣܝܢܘܬܐ

[2] This appears to be the meaning of the line, but I suspect that either one or more lines before it have been omitted.

[3] Dr. C. Bezold has kindly called my attention to a German translation of this discourse by P. Pius Zingerle. It was made in 1871 and was privately printed by the care of J. Zingerle in 1882 under the title of *Ein altes Syrisches Alexanderlied*. Druck von Rudolf M. Rohrer in Brünn. Pius Zingerle was unable to find a publisher for his translation and, when an editor of a scientific journal wished to publish it with an introduction and description of the manuscripts, he wrote, "Von der Bekanntmachung meiner Uebersetzung der Alexandersage stehe ich gerne ab. Da werden allerlei gelehrte Forderungen gestellt, zu denen ich nicht aufgelegt bin. Ich bin leider nicht gewöhnt, bei meinen Arbeiten so gründlich zu Werke zu gehen." I have not been able to find any Syriac equivalent for the passage entitled *Fortsetzung über Alexander's Geschick*, printed on pp. 15—17 of Zingerle's pamphlet.

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ܐܒܒ ܐܒܘܒܐ Ar. أنبوب, *reed pipe, flute*, p. 103. 7.

ܐܒܪ ܐܒܪܐ Ar. آبار, *lead*, p. 193. 3.

ܐܓܪܐ *paw, claw*, plur. ܐܓܪ̈ܐ p. 15. 7, where ܒܓܪ̈ܘܗܝ is explained by ܐܓܪ̈ܘܗܝ

ܐܠܘܠܐ *pipe, watercourse*, plur. ܐܠܘܠ̈ܐ p. 106. 11.

ܐܠܘܪܬܐ *hamlet*, plur. ܐܠܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ p. 206. 5.

ܐܕܡܘܣ *ἀδάμας, adamant*, p. 9. 2.

ܐܕܪܝܛܐ, ܐܢܕܪܝܢܛܐ *image, statue*, p. 60. 9, 10, 19; 67. 6; 68. 8, 10; 70. 12, 17; 76. 8; 77. 1; 126. 10; 194. 14; 206. 15; 233. 9; 236. 3; plur. ܐܕܪ̈ܝܛܐ p. 136. 14; 161. 5, 6; 181. 12; 218. 16; 233. 5.

ܐܘܡܝܛܘܢ A kind of wood which "no woodworm attacks," p. 219. 17. The word is perhaps a corruption of the Greek word ἀμίαντος.

ܐܘܛܘܩܪܛܘܪܘܬܐ *power, rule*, p. 103. 20. The text actually has ܐܘܛܩܪܛܘܪ

ܐܘܛܘܩܪܛܘܪ see ܐܘܛܩܪܛܘܪ

ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ *ὠκεανός, sea, ocean*, p. 20. 5; 256. 12; 266. 17.

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ܐܚܪ. ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ for ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ *another*, p. 10, note 4.

ܐܛܪܘܣܐ *thongs*, p. 48. 8; 135. 4. In B this word is glossed by ܫܘܫܡܬܐ, Pers. تسمه

ܐܛܪܘܓܐ Chald. אֶתְרוֹגָא, Arab. اترج, *citron*, plur. ܐܛܪܘܓܐ p. 217. 5.

ܐܝܬܘܬܐ *being, existence*, p. 104. 6.

ܐܟܕܢܐ *viper*, plur. ܐܟܕܢܐ p. 266. 2.

ܐܟܠ ܩܪܨܐ, ܡܐܟܠ ܩܪܨܐ *calumny*, p. 55. 5.

ܐܟܠܝ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ *cannibals*, p. 97. 18.

ܐܟܦ. ܐܘܟܦܐ Ar. اكاف, *packsaddle*, plur. ܐܘܟܦܐ p. 231. 6. The form ܐܘܟܦܬܐ is given by Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, col. 61.

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬܐ plur. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬܐ *Alexandrian* ships, p. 205. 1.

ܐܠܦ. ܡ̈ܠܐ ܡܠܒܒܬܐ *words learnt by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܐܠܦܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ *triremes*, p. 63. 8.

ܐܡܘܢ *Egypt.* *Ȧmen*, Ἀμμοῦν, Heb. אָמוֹן, *Ammon*, p. 22. 4. For pictures of the various forms of this god as found on Egyptian monuments see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, plates XVII—XXI.

ܐܡܪܬܐ *spade*, plur. ܐܡܪ̈ܐ p. 101. 4. D and E have ܐܡܘܪܬܐ

ܐܡܢ. ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ *continually, perpetually*, p. 12. 9.

ܐܢܢܩܐ ἀνάγκη, *necessity*, p. 140. 7; plur. ܐܢܢ̈ܩܐ p. 61. 19; 62. 12; ܐܢܢܩܘܣ p. 156. 20.

ܐܢܬ. ܐܢܬܢ, ܐܢܬܢܐ, plur. ܐܢ̈ܬܢܐ *effeminate men*, p. 100. 18.

ܐܣܐ *wall*, plur. ܐܣ̈ܐ p. 218. 11.

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ܐܣܛܒܪܩܐ Arab. إِسْتَبْرَق, Pers. إِسْتَبْرَك, *brocaded silks*, p. 200. 9. The word is glossed in B by ܕܝܫܬ ܕܡܠܘܢܐ (Ar. دَسْت, Pers. دَشْت).

ܐܣܛܘܢ, ܐܣܛܘܢܐ Ar. اسطوانة, Pers. استون, *pillar, pedestal*, p. 60. 8; 173. 15; plur. ܐܣܛܘ̈ܢܐ, ܐܣܛܘ̈ܢܐ, p. 219. 5; 256. 1.

ܐܣܛܪܐ, ܐܣܛܪܐ, *στατήρ, stater*, plur. ܐܣܛܪ̈ܝܢ, p. 147. 17. The Egyptian form of the word is *setetert*, Coptic ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣⲉ and ⲥⲁⲑⲏⲣⲓ. See Brugsch, *Zeit. Aeg. Sprache*, 1889, p. 9.

ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܠܝܛܐ *officers*, p. 144. 2.

ܐܣܟܡܐ *σχῆμα, apparel, dress*, p. 4. 17; ܐܣܟܡܐ *caste*, p. 31. 2.

ܐܣܩܘܦܬܐ *threshold*, p. 267. 10, 12, 13; 268. 4, 6; 269. 16.

ܐܣܦܩܐ *barn, storehouse*, p. 75. 6.

ܐܣܦܘܓܐ f. *σπόγγος, sponge*, plur. ܐܣܦܘ̈ܓܐ, p. 190. 8.

ܐܣܦܪܐ *ball*, p. 80. 17; 81. 11; 87. 10; 237. 8, 9, 10; plur. ܐܣܦܪ̈ܝܢ p. 193. 11; ܐܣܦܪ̈ܐ p. 193. 9; 237. 1, 5, 7.

ܐܣܦܠܐ *beaker*, p. 147. 11.

ܐܦܕܢܐ Ar. فَدَن, Heb. אַפֶּדֶן *palace*, p. 11. 12; 13. 8; 17. 1; 29. 14; 58. 12, 14; 59. 2; 197. 12. We have ܐܦܕ̈ܢܐ given once for the sing. (p. 2. 8). The Babylonian form of the word is *Ap-pa-da-an* and occurs in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, line 8. See Bezold, *Die Achämenideninschriften*, p. 44.

ܐܩܘܒܛܝܢ, ܐܩܘܒܝܛܝܢ *ἀκούβιτον, couch*, 51. 6, 12.

ܐܩܡܐ *ἀκμή, age*, p. 10. 16; 14. 14. D has ܐܩܡܣ p. 14, note 7.

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ܐܪܕܝܟܠܐ p. 181. 10. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage; it is probably corrupt. ܐܪܕܝܟܠ usually means "architect," and has been thought by some to be derived from the two Assyrian words *arad êgal* "man, or servant, of the palace."

ܐܪܕܝܟܠܝܢ *architects*, p. 74. 4. This word is explained in this passage by ܪܫܝ ܢܓܪܐ "chiefs of carpenters."

ܐܪܕܦܠܣܛܐ p. 268. 14. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage.

ܐܪܡܠܐ. Ethpa‘‘al part. ܡܬܐܪܡܠܐ *to be made, or become a widow*, p. 244. 9.

ܐܪܣܛܝܛܝܐ for ܐܣܛܪܛܝܛܐ (?) p. 42. 15.

ܐܫܬܒܪܐ Chald. אִשְׁתַּבְרְעָ *acacia wood*, p. 8. 4.

ܐܫܦ. ܐܫܘܦܐ *adder* (?) p. 266. 2; plur. ܐܫܘܦ̈ܐ p. 275. 2.

ܐܫܘܦ *would that!* p. 26. 10; 96. 14; 224. 9.

ܐܬܠ Pĕ‘īl part. pass. plur. ܐܬܝܠܝܢ p. 46. 4.

ܐܬܠܝܣܘܬܐ f. ἄθλησις, *athletic exercise*, p. 110. 10; 111. 5.

ܒܓܢ. Pa‘‘ēl ܒܓܢ *to complain*, p. 36. 20; 37. 13, 14. Part. plur. masc. ܡܒܓܢܝܢ p. 38. 3; ܡܒܓܢܘ ܡܒܓܢܝܢ *to complain bitterly*, p. 37. 13.

ܒܘܓܢܐ *blame*, p. 36. 4.

ܒܕܩ. Pa‘‘ēl ܒܕܩ *to spy out, to search out*, p. 3. 16. Part. masc. ܡܒܕܩ p. 10. 10.

ܡܒܕܩܢܐ *scout*, p. 3. 14.

ܒܗܪ. Eshtafal ܐܫܬܒܗܪ *to boast*, p. 40. 7; 62. 13.

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ܒܙܪܘܢܣܘܬܐ *boasting*, p. 83. 6.

ܒܘܙ Pers. بز, *goat*, p. 211. 8.

ܒܘܙܝܩܐ, ܒܘܙܝܩܐ Arab. باز *hawk*, p. 14. 11; 15. 7.

ܒܘܠܣܬܐ *castanets*, p. 89. 21.

ܒܘܩܝܢܐ *trumpet*, plur. ܒܘܩܝܢܣ p. 134. 21; 161. 20; ܒܘܩܝܢܣ p. 134. 16; 261. 14.

ܒܝܬ. ܒܝܬ ܕܘܩܐ *watchtower*, p. 261. 3.

ܒܝܬ ܡܗܠܟܬܐ *place for walking*, p. 39. 15.

ܒܝܬ ܙܝܢܐ *armoury*, p. 147. 10.

ܒܝܬ ܓܙܐ *treasure house*, p. 77. 8.

ܒܝܬ ܡܘܠܦܢܐ *school*, p. 38. 5.

ܒܝܬ ܝܠܕܐ *birthday*, p. 146. 19; *horoscope*, p. 9. 9, 10; 10. 10; 27. 2. ܚܙܝ ܒܝܬ ܝܠܕܐ *casters of nativities*, p. 7. 6.

ܒܝܬ ܣܘܦܝ ܫܡܝܐ *place of the ends of heaven*, p. 260. 1.

ܒܝܬ ܕܪܘܡܣ *hippodrome*, p. 42. 9; 43. 5; 46. 14; 49. 12; 245. 12, 17; 246. 1.

ܒܝܬ ܪܟܫܐ *stable*, 38. 16.

ܒܠܐ. ܒܠܝܐ *decrepit*, p. 30. 4.

ܒܝܐ. ܒܘܝܐܐ *consolation*, p. 30. 15.

ܒܠ Assyrian Bêl, Heb. בֵּל, Βῆλ, *the god Bel*, p. 20. 6; 22. 6; 27. 14. The native lexicons say that Bel is ܙܘܣ but B glosses this name twice (p. 22. 2; 27. 22) by ܐܝܦܛܝܪ *Jupiter*.

ܒܠܕܪܐ Pers. بريد, *letter carrier*, plur. ܒܠܕܪ̈ܐ p. 157. 10.

ܒܝܪܬܐ *palace*, p. 236. 12; 268. 8. The Assyrian form of the word is *birtu*. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 192 ff.

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ܩܠܩܠܬܐ *wood worm*, p. 219. 18.

ܩܠܡܝ *Venus*, p. 27. 13; ܩܠܡܝܢ p. 21. 1, 3; 26. 7.

ܒܢܐ. Pa‘‘ēl part. pass. ܡܒܢܝܢ ܒܬܘܪܐ *built with oxen* (?) p. 105. 1.

ܒܣܐ. Part. pass. ܒܣܝܐ *despised*, p. 21. 8.

Af‘ēl ܐܒܣܝ *to neglect*, p. 95. 6; part. ܡܒܣܝ p. 61. 19.

ܒܣܝܐܝܬ *scornfully*, p. 173. 2.

ܒܣܝܣ, ܒܣܝܣ *bases*, p. 67. 8; 218. 15.

ܒܣܦܣܐ see ܦܣܦܣܐ

ܥܪܩ. Af‘ēl ܐܥܪܩ *to go away, flee away, depart*, p. 5. 7; 170. 15.

ܒܪܪ. ܒܪܝܐ, ܒܪܝܐ *savage, wild*, plur. ܒܪܝܐ p. 176. 10; 180. 10; 201. 6; plur. fem. ܒܪܝܬܐ p. 159. 5.

ܒܨܪ. ܒܨܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ *failing of the sun and moon*, i.e. "eclipse"? p. 171. 2.

ܒܬܠܘܬܐ see ܒܬܘܠܘܬܐ p. 89. 10.

ܒܪ, ܒܪܐ, ܕܒܪܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ *I who am your son*, p. 54. 18.

ܒܢܝ ܐܪܙܐ *partners in a secret*, p. 57. 12.

ܒܪ ܕܝܪܐ p. 153. 9. I do not know the meaning of this word. Here the text is probably corrupt.

ܒܢܝ ܕܪܥܐ *armpieces*, p. 172. 5.

ܒܪ ܫܩܐ *a greave, legging*, plur. ܒܪܫܩܐ p. 129. 1; 172. 4.

ܒܪ ܛܘܗܡܐ *kinsman*, p. 81. 4.

ܒܢܝ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ *fellow learners*, p. 117. 9.

ܒܢܝ ܠܘܝܬܐ *companions, fellow travellers*, p. 82. 10.

ܒܪ ܙܘܘܓܐ *consort, companion*, p. 34. 16; 81. 5; 86. 1;

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ܒܪܬ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ p. 151. 12; ܒܢܬ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܝܢ p. 152. 11.

ܒܢܝ ܡܠܘܬܐ *partizans*, p. 57. 16.

ܒܪ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ *son of light*, p. 86. 2.

ܒܢܝ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ *children of the same age*, p. 81. 11; 93. 6.

ܒܪ ܢܗܝܪܐ *son of the luminaries*, p. 81. 5.

ܒܪ ܦܘܚܡܐ *counterpart*, p. 86. 4.

ܒܢܝ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ *fellow soldiers*, p. 83. 4; 103. 12; 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܒܢܝ ܦܠܛܝܢ *officers of the palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܒܪܬ ܫܡܫܐ *daughter of the Sun*, p. 21. 6.

ܒܪܓܪܕܢ = Pers. کرگدن *rhinoceros* ? p. 211. 15.

ܓܐܘܡܛܪܝܐ γεωμετρία, *geometry*, p. 23. 15.

ܓܪ. ܓܓܪܬܐ *throat*, p. 243. 7.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܐ, Ar. جاد *luck, fortune*. ܒܝܫܘܬ ܓܕܐ *ill-luck*, p. 81. 7; ܒܝܫܝ ܓܕܐ *unlucky men*, p. 168. 5; ܛܒܝ ܓܕܐ *lucky men*, 168. 6; ܓܕܗ ܕܙܘܣ *the luck of Zeus*, p. 100. 11; ܓܕܐ ܕܝܡܐ *the luck or divinity of the sea*, p. 234. 13. Part. ܓܕܝܐ *to cut off*, p. 114. 10.

ܓܕܝܘܬܐ *boyhood*, p. 24. 2.

ܓܕܫ. ܓܕܫܐ *luck, chance*. ܓܕܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ *the luck of the gods*, p. 178. 4; 201. 11.

ܓܗܢ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܓܗܢ *to bow oneself*, p. 257. 11; part. ܡܬܓܗܢ p. 260. 13.

ܓܘܐ *commonwealth*, p. 120. 2, 6.

ܓܘܐ. ܡܓܘܝܘܬܐ *scarcity*, p. 121. 14.

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ܓܚܟ. ܡܓܚܟܢܐ *jester*, p. 51. 5.

ܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ γλωσσόκομον, *coffin*, p. 250. 8.

ܓܡܣܪ. Af'ēl ܐܓܡܣܪ *to dare*, p. 91. 16.

ܓܘܡܣܪ, ܓܘܡܣܪܢܐ *audacious one*, p. 116. 2.

ܓܘܡܣܪܢܘܬܐ *insolence, impudence*, p. 117. 18.

ܓܡܨ. ܓܘܡܨܐ *pit*, p. 27. 16; 28. 2; 29. 12; 30. 11; plur. ܓܘܡܨ̈ܐ p. 132. 4.

ܓܡܫܐ, Pers. گاومیش, گامیش, *buffalo*, plur. ܓܡܫ̈ܐ (ܬܘܪ̈ܐ) p. 212. 2.

ܓܢܒ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܓܢܝܒ p. 50. 14; plur. ܓܢܝܒܝܢ p. 50. 12.

ܓܢܝ. ܓܘܢܝܐ ܓܘܢܝ *disgrace*, p. 229. 17.

ܓܦܣܝܢ, ܓܘܦܣܝܢ γύψος, *gypsum*, p. 193. 3, 7.

ܓܨܐ Ar. جَصّ *lime*, p. 138. 14; 146. 12; 206. 14.

ܓܪܡ. ܓܪܡܐܝܬ *actually, really, of a certainty*, p. 10. 6; 16. 7; ܓܪܡܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܪܪܐܝܬ p. 11. 17.

ܓܪܡ ܦܝܠܐ *elephant's tusk, ivory*, p. 8. 3; 182. 8; 211. 13; 218. 14; ܟܣ̈ܐ ܕܓܪܡ ܦܝܠܐ *ivory cups*, p. 250. 16.

ܓܫ. ܓܫܘܫܐ *spy*, (= ܕܘܫܐ) p. 3. 3, 13; 4. 3.

ܓܫܪ. ܓܫܪܐ ܓܫܪ *to construct a bridge*, p. 206. 2.

ܕܒܪܐ *desert*, p. 21. 11.

ܕܘܠ, ܕܠ *to rise up*, p. 269. 4. ܚܘܫܒ̈ܐ ܕܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ̇ *thoughts were stirring in her*, p. 25. 13. Cf. also ܕܠ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܒܡܕܥܗ ܡܛܠܬܗ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܠܐܓܘܪܐ *the thought that he would go to*

Bagdad arose in Mâr Yabalâhâ. See Bedyan, *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha*, Paris, 1888, p. 29, l. 7.

ܕܘܩ, ܕܝܩ. ܕܘܩܐ *watcher, spy,* plur. ܕܘ̈ܩܐ p. 258. 11; 272. 22; ܕܝ̈ܩܐ p. 272. 18, 19. ܕܘܩܐ ܕܫ̈ܥܐ *watcher of the hours,* (= τὸν ὡροσκόπον, Meusel, p. 708, l. 35) p. 8. 12; 9. 6.

ܕܘܪܛܐ *spear.* ܒܠܒܟܗ ܕܘܪܛܝ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܐܢܐ (p. 42. 6) = δόρατί σε λήψομαι (Müller, p. 18, col. 2, l. 18; Meusel, p. 718, l. 31) and we have ܒܠܒܟܗ ܕܕܘܪܛܐ p. 100. 14. ܒܠܒܟܗ ܕܕܘܪܛܝ is glossed in B by ܚܘܪܐ ܕܪܘܡܚܝ "*tip of my spear.*"

ܕܚܠ. ܕܚܠܬܢ *timid,* p. 119. 15; plur. fem. ܕܚܠܬܢ̈ܝܬܐ p. 117. 12.

ܕܚܠܬܢܘܬܐ *fear, timidity,* p. 4. 13; 117. 14.

ܕܚܠܬܢܐܝܬ *timidly, fearfully,* p. 3. 16.

ܕܪܐ. ܡܕܪܐ *razor,* p. 23. 10.

ܕܠ. ܕܠܝܠܐ plur. ܕܠܝ̈ܠܐ, ܕܠܝ̈ܠܐ ܙܘ̈ܥܐ *few earthquakes,* p. 72. 20.

ܕܠ. ܕܘܠܐ *Aquarius,* p. 22. 4.

ܕܠܒ. ܕܘܠܒܐ, Pers. and Ar. دلب *plane tree,* plur. p. 219. 7.

ܕܡܐ. Ethpa‘‘al ܐܬܕܡܝ *to become like,* p. 17. 5.

ܕܡܘܬ ܩܪ̈ܢܬܐ *horned,* p. 20. 8.

ܕܡܟ. ܕܡܟ *sleeping,* p. 12. 8; ܕܡܟܐ p. 11. 18.

ܕܡܥ. Pa‘‘ēl part. ܡܕܡܥ *weeping,* p. 54. 2.

ܕܢܐ = ܓܢܐ *brook, stream,* p. 261. 1; 268. 17.

ܕܩܩ. ܕܩܝܩܐ *little, small,* plur. ܕܩ̈ܝܩܐ p. 2. 11; plur. fem. ܕܩ̈ܝܩܬܐ p. 2. 11.

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ܕܶܩܢܳܘܣܐ *decani* (*the thirty-six*), p. 8. 17.

ܕܪܟ. ܡܕܰܪܟ *crafty, cunning,* plur. fem. ܡܕܰܪ̈ܟܳܢܝܳܬܐ p. 236. 1.

ܕܪܫ. Pa"ël part. pass. ܡܕܰܪܫ *trained, skilled,* p. 25. 10; plur. ܡܕܰܪ̈ܫܐ p. 39. 6; ܕܰܪ̈ܫܘ *they talked,* p. 11. 11; 27. 8.

ܕܽܘܪܳܫܐ *training, practice,* p. 25. 6; 35. 18; 36. 7.

ܡܕܰܪܫܽܘܬܐ *skill,* p. 3. 1; 25. 8.

ܗܶܕܪܐ *bloom, flower,* p. 93. 11.

ܗܠܒܝܬܐ *halfbred,* p. 18. 7.

ܗܕܝ. ܗܰܕܝܳܐ *guide,* plur. ܗܰܕ̈ܝܐ p. 183. 5; ܗܰܕܝܳܢܐ p. 183. 20.

ܗܘܢ. ܦܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ *to come to one's senses, regain self-possession,* p. 16. 17.

ܗܝܟܠ, ܗܰܝܟܠܐ, Accadian E-GAL, Heb. הֵיכָל *palace, hall,* p. 2. 9; 4. 9; 17. 6, 13; 58. 13; 70. 8; 71. 2; 98. 14; 99. 5; 105. 2; 126. 12; 202. 11; 216. 3; 247. 15. Plur. ܗܰܝ̈ܟܠܐ p. 108. 1; 113. 3; 147. 2; 206. 13; 231. 11. ܗܝܟܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ "*royal palace,*" p. 6. 6.

ܗܡܐ. Af'ël ܐܰܗܡܝ *to overlook,* p. 142. 3.

ܗܢܝܘܟܐ ἡνίοχος *charioteer,* plur. ܗܢܝܘ̈ܟܐ p. 46. 7. This word is glossed in B by ܡܕܰܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܪ̈ܟܒܬܐ *drivers of chariots.*

ܗܦܟ. Part. pĕ'îl pass. ܗܦܝܟ *perverse*; plur. ܗܦܝܟܝܢ p. 126. 17; ܕܗܘܘ ܗܦܝܟ ܓܪ̈ܡܐ *whose bones ought to be dug up,* p. 115. 16.

ܘܽܘܪܝܐ *coffin,* p. 138. 16.

ܘܠܐ. ܘܳܠܝܬܐ *what is right, fitting,* p. 36. 11, 18; 37. 18; 93. 4; 240. 4.

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ܦܐܝܐܝܬ *rightly, fittingly*, p. 53. 6; 103. 17; 138. 1; 155. 10.

ܦܠܕܐ *limit*, p. 165. 12; *confines*, p. 195. 1; ܠܦܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܗ "*close to his chariot*," p. 48. 5.

ܙܒܢ. ܙܒܢܐ plur. ܙܒ̈ܢܐ *articles of sale*, p. 75. 14.

ܙܓ. ܙܓܐ *bell*, plur. ܙ̈ܓܐ p. 262. 14, 16.

ܙܓܘܓܝܬܐ *glass*, p. 138. 17, 19.

ܙܕܩ. Adv. ܙܕܩܐܝܬ *rightly*, p. 137. 15; 151. 5.

ܙܗܪ. Ethpa"al ܐܙܕܗܪ ܒ *to guard, care for*, p. 32. 9.

ܙܗܝܪܘܬܐ *care*, p. 183. 14.

ܙܗܝܪܐܝܬ *carefully*, p. 131. 10.

ܙܗܪܐ *light*, p. 132. 1.

ܙܘܝܬܐ *corner*, plur. ܙܘ̈ܝܬܐ p. 219. 20.

ܙܘܓܐ ζυγόν, *a suit*, ܠܒܘܫܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܙܘܓܐ ܚܕ *one suit of Persian clothes*, p. 147. 13; ܠܒܘܫܐ ܚܘܪܐ ܙܘܓܐ *a suit of white clothes*, p. 147. 16.

ܙܘܪ *to grasp, to hold tightly*, p. 101. 12.

ܙܘܪܬܐ *fist*. ܡܠܐ ܙܘܪܬܐ *handful*, p. 88. 15; 94. 14, 16.

ܙܚܪ. ܙܚܘܪܝܬܐ *scarlet*, plur. ܙܚܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ p. 43. 13.

ܙܝܛܘܣ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܙܟܐ. ܙܟܝܐ, *conqueror*, plur. ܙܟ̈ܝܐ p. 229. 16.

ܡܙܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ *defeat*, p. 135. 19; 136. 15; 158. 2; 161. 18; 170. 15; 229. 5.

ܠܐ ܡܙܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ *invincibility*, p. 1. 14.

ܙܠ. ܙܠܝܠܐܝܬ *lustfully*, p. 7. 12.

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ܙܠܚܦܬܐ *oyster shell.* ܕܘܢܒܝ ܙܠܚܦܬܐ *tails of oyster shells*, p. 178. 8;

ܡܐܢܐ ܕܙܠܚܦܬܐ *oystershell vessels*, p. 190. 6.

ܙܡܢܐ p. 207. 6. This word is glossed in B by ܟܢܫܐ, Ar. جماعة *troop, band.*

ܙܡܪܓܕܐ *emerald*, plur. ܙܡܪܓܕܐ p. 9. 4.

ܙܦܬܐ Ar. زفت, Heb. זֶפֶת *pitch*, p. 193. 3.

ܙܩ. ܙܩܐ, Ar. زق *bag*, plur. ܙܩܐ p. 205. 8; 206. 1.

ܙܩܪ. Infin. ܠܡܙܩܘܪ *to weave*, p. 114. 8; part. fem. ܙܩܪܐ p. 113. 5; 114. 7; part. pass. ܙܩܝܪ *woven*, p. 129. 1; fem. ܙܩܝܪܐ p. 224. 15; plur. ܙܩܝܪܢ p. 218. 12.

ܚܫܕ. ܚܫܕܐ *crowd, swarm*, p. 81. 16; 216. 2; plur. ܚܫܕܐ p. 92. 3.

ܚܓܠܐ, Ar. حَجَل, Heb. חָגְלָה, *partridge*, plur. ܚܓܠܐ p. 179. 1.

ܚܕܐ ܚܕܝܐܝܬ *gladly, joyfully*, p. 63. 1.

ܚܕܪ. ܚܕܪܘܪܘܬܐ *mendicity, begging*, p. 20. 7.

ܚܘܕܪܐ *circles*, p. 8. 5.

ܚܡܠ, ܚܡܠ *to be ashamed*, p. 94. 7.

ܚܘܐ ܚܘܝܘܬܐ *demonstration*, p. 30. 11.

ܚܘܝܝ ܡܠܘܫܐ *those who show the Signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4.

ܚܘܣ ܚܝܘܣܢܘܬܐ *mercy*, p. 105. 14.

ܚܘܦ ܚܘܝܦܐܝܬ *quickly*, p. 90. 4; 158. 3.

ܚܙܐ ܚܙܝ, ܚܙܝܐ *spectator*, plur. ܚܙܝܐ p. 46. 1.

ܚܙܬܐ *the bow of a boat* (?), p. 205. 1.

ܚܙܘܪܐ *apple*, plur. ܚܙܘܪܐ p. 217. 5.

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ܚܘܙܝܪܐ ܒܪܐ *wild pig, boar*, p. 177. 5; plur. ܚܘܙܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܪܐ p. 174. 11.

ܚܛܪ ܚܘܛܪܐ *rod, stick*, p. 4. 12. In D the word is masculine.

ܚܝܐ. ܚܝܘܬ ܒܪܢܫ *a creature half beast half man*, p. 177. 5.

ܚܟܡ. ܚܟܡ̈ܬܐ *the Sciences*. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܬܐ p. 95. 11.

ܬܠܟ̈ܐ p. 9. 6. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܚܠܛ ܚܘܠܛܢܐ *union, mixing, mixture*, p. 66. 14; 72. 15.

ܚܡܪ ܚܘܡܪܐ, plur. ܚܘܡܪ̈ܐ *gems*, p. 8. 13, 15; 26. 1.

ܚܘܡܪܬܐ *wheel*, p. 101. 11.

ܚܡܬ ܚܡܝܬܐܝܬ *angrily, wrathfully*, p. 21. 4; 221. 7.

ܚܢܐ. ܚܢܐ *bosom*, p. 130. 9, 14.

ܚܢܛ Infin. ܠܡܚܢܛܘ *to embalm*, p. 151. 7.

ܚܣܐ Pa‘‘ēl part. ܡܚܣܝܐ *innocent*, p. 6. 8.

ܚܣܟ ܚܘܣܟܢܘܬܐ *parsimony*, p. 38. 1.

ܚܣܠ Ethpĕ‘ēl ܐܬܚܣܝܠ *to be weaned*, p. 23. 4.

ܚܣܢ ܚܣܝܢܐܝܬ *heavily, mightily, violently*, p. 51. 17; 94. 9; 159. 11. Pam‘ēl ܚܡܣܢ *to be strong, bear bravely*, p. 20. 2; 21. 9.

ܡܚܡܣܢܢܐܝܬ *bravely*, p. 22. 1.

ܚܣܪ ܚܣܝܪ, ܚܣܝܪܐ *needy, poor*, p. 12. 9; 136. 13.

ܚܣܝܪܘܬܐ *need, lack*, p. 12. 10; 28. 12.

ܚܦܛ ܚܦܝܛܐܝܬ *diligently, earnestly*, p. 11. 13; 78. 4.

ܡܚܦܛܢܐ *one who incites or urges on to anything*, p. 61. 4.

ܚܦܢ ܚܘܦܢܐ, Ar. حَفْنَة, Heb. חֹפֶן, *fist*. ܡܠܐ ܚܘܦܢܐ *handful*, p. 88. 12.

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ܚܨܦ Afʿêl part. ܡܚܨܦܝܢ *to act audaciously or daringly*, p. 191. 1.

ܚܨܝܦ, ܚܨܝܦܐ *impudent*, p. 89. 2; 116. 1; 119. 11; plur. fem. ܚܨܝ̈ܦܬܐ *impudent things*, p. 211. 1.

ܚܨܝܦܐܝܬ *audaciously*, p. 150. 1.

ܚܪܕܘܢܐ Ar. حِرْذَوْن, *crocodile*, plur. ܚܪ̈ܕܘܢܐ p. 176. 1.

ܚܪܕܒ *to wag the tail*, p. 33. 7.

ܚܪܡ ܚܪܡܢܐܝܬ *cruelly*, p. 30. 4.

ܚܪܢ ܚܪܝܢܐ *astute*, p. 76. 11.

ܚܪܦ ܚܪܝܦ, ܚܪܝܦܐ *pungent, sharp*, p. 93. 15; 95. 2; plur. ܚܪܝܦܝܢ p. 88. 16; 94. 18.

ܚܪܝܦܘܬܐ *sagacity*, p. 79. 17.

ܚܪܝܦܘܬ ܡܠܐ *sharpness of speech*, p. 57. 2; *intentness*, p. 7. 10.

ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ *sharply*. ܐܬܚܡܬ ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ *he was furiously angry*, p. 59. 1.

ܚܪܫ. ܚܪ̈ܫܐ *sorcerers*, p. 7. 6. A name given by the Greeks to the Signs of the Zodiac.

ܚܫܠ ܚܫܠܬܐ, plur. ܚܫ̈ܠܬܐ *trinkets*, p. 141. 2.

ܚܫܝܠܐ *polished*, p. 2. 7.

ܚܣܢ ܚܣܝܢ ܒܟܝܣܐ *purse-proud*, p. 57. 8.

ܚܬܬ ܚܬܝܬܐܝܬ *exactly*, p. 27. 1; *accurately*, p. 56. 19; 212, 12; 232. 20; 238. 13; *intently*, p. 131. 8; *in good order*, p. 93. 10; *promptly*, p. 5. 11.

ܚܬܝܬܘܬܐ *earnestness*, p. 7. 9.

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ܛܒܒ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܛܒܒ *to be reported,* p. 29. 1. Glossed in B by ܬܡܝܕܐܝܬ ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐ *always to be spoken of.*

ܛܒܒܠܬܐ for ܛܒܠܝܬܐ (?) *dish,* p. 51. 13.

ܛܒܠܝܬܐ *table,* p. 25. 16. Glossed in B by ܛܘܦܠܐ ܐܘ ܦܣܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܐܬܐ ܕܛܘܦܠܐ ܦܬܝܐ *a drum, or a board like the surface of a wide drum.*

ܛܗܡ. ܛܘܗܡܐ *race, kin,* p. 18. 2; 13. 9; 42. 2; 66. 8; 81. 4; 105. 4; 107. 6; plur. ܛܘܗܡ̈ܐ p. 1. 5; 66. 12; ܟܠ ܛܘܗܡܝܢ *every species,* p. 173. 12; ܒܪ ܛܘܗܡܐ *kinsman,* p. 81. 4; ܒܪ ܛܘܗܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ *son of the divine race,* p. 104. 5; ܛܘܗܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ p. 13. 9; 66. 12; ܛܘܗܡܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ p. 83. 8.

ܛܝܪܐ *enclosure,* p. 185. 19; 186. 4.

ܛܒܪܘܢܐ p. 259. 1. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܛܠܠ. Af'ēl part. ܡܛܠܠ *overshadowing,* p. 15. 8; ܡܛܠܠܐ p. 172. 12; ܡܛܠܠܬܐ p. 172. 23.

ܡܛܠ̈ܠܬܐ *huts,* p. 164. 10.

ܡܛܠܠܐ *roof,* p. 138. 15; 218. 10; 219. 6; plur. ܡܛܠ̈ܠܐ p. 209. 11.

ܛܠܢܛܐ *talent,* p. 74. 10; plur. ܛܠܢ̈ܛܐ p. 63. 23; 74. 10; 115. 20; 116. 16; 200. 19; ܛܠܢܛ̈ܐ 74. 18; ܛܠ̈ܢܛܐ 200. 8; ܛܠܢܛܝܢ 63. 13; ܛܠ̈ܢܛܐ 115. 10; 116. 2.

ܛܡܡ. Ethpa''al ܐܬܛܡܡ *to be obstructed, choked, filled up,* p. 69. 16; Pa''ēl Infin. ܠܡܛܡܡܘ p. 208. 14.

ܛܡܝܡܐ *solid,* p. 233. 10; plur. masc. ܛܡܝ̈ܡܐ 233. 7; fem. ܛܡܝܡ̈ܬܐ 211. 8.

ܛܪܦ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܛܪܝܦܐ *excited*, p. 241. 12.

ܛܪܓܘܕܐ τραγῳδός, *singer*, plur. ܛܪ̈ܓܘܕܐ p. 78. 11.

ܛܪܪܐ Ar. ظر *rock*, plur. ܛܪ̈ܪܐ p. 178. 5.

ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܣ τρισκελής, *tripod*, p. 8. 9; ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܢ p. 98. 23; 106. 8; ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܢ p. 98. 19; 99. 3.

ܝܕ, ܐܝܕܐ. ܐܝܕܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕܘ *to yield to anyone*, p. 204. 5; ܙܒܢܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܥܒܕܐ *time has given him the hand, i.e., fortune is his slave*, p. 124. 18; ܐܙܠ ܝܗܒ ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܝܕܥ. ܝܕ̈ܘܥܝ ܐܬ̈ܘܬܐ *knowers of signs*, p. 7. 5.

ܝܕ̈ܘܥܝ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ *knowers of dreams*, p. 16. 6.

ܬܘܕܥܬܐ *portent*, p. 87. 17.

ܝܠܕ. ܝܠܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ *birthmark*, p. 33. 9.

ܝܠܦ. ܡ̈ܠܐ ܝܠܝܦ̈ܬܐ *words learned by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܝܡܐ *sea*. ܝܡܐ ܣܪܝܚܐ *fœtid sea*, p. 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2. ܝܡܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ *bright sea*, p. 260. 2; plur. ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ 256. 9; 259. 5.

ܝܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܡܘܡܬܐ *this oath*, p. 42. 2.

ܝܢܒ. Af'ēl ܐܘܢܒ *to make to spring up*, p. 4. 12.

ܝܨܦ. ܝܨܝܦܘܬܐ *care*, p. 23. 1.

ܝܨܦܐ *care*, p. 26. 6.

ܝܩܪ. ܡܝܩܪܐܝܬ *honourably*, p. 60. 5.

ܝܬܪ. Eshtaf'al ܐܫܬܘܬܪ *to increase*, p. 23. 4.

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ܝܬܒ. ܡܘܬܒܬܐ *seat used by women in childbirth*, p. 19. 13.

ܝܬܡ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܝܬܡ *to become an orphan*, p. 244. 8.

ܝܬܪ. ܝܬܝܪܘܬܐ *superiority*, p. 20. 5.

ܡܘܬܪܢ *useful*, p. 3. 13.

ܟܐܘܢ, Assyrian *ka-ai-ma-nu*, Ar. كيوان, Heb. כִּיּוּן *Saturn*, p. 19. 15; 20. 4; 27. 12; ܝܠܕܐ ܕܟܐܘܢ *fate of Saturn, i. e., ill luck*, p. 40. 11.

ܟܐܪ. *to disgrace*, p. 91. 10.

ܟܘܐܪܐ *disgrace, reproach, shame*, p. 93. 5; 105. 7; 139. 13; 229. 3.

ܟܒܪܝܬܐ *sulphur*, p. 193. 3.

ܟܕܒ. ܟܕܒܘܬܐ *lying, falsehood*, p. 6. 16.

ܟܕܢ. *to yoke*, p. 46. 14; Pĕ'îl part. pass. plur. ܟܕܝܢܝܢ p. 49. 16; 143. 4.

ܟܘܕܪܐ *eagle*, plur. ܟܘܕܪ̈ܐ p. 176. 3.

ܟܘܬܐ, Ar. كوّ *window*, p. 260. 3; ܟܘܬܬܐ p. 260. 7.

ܟܘܦ̈ܝܐ *ingots*, p. 171. 7.

ܟܘܪܐ *furnace*. ܟܘܪܐ ܕܢܦ̈ܚܐ *smith's furnace*, p. 161. 8.

ܟܣܦ. ܟܘܣܦܐ *shame*, p. 89. 2.

ܟܬܒ. ܟܬܒܬ ܐܝܕܐ *handwriting*, p. 270. 15; 275. 7. خط يد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 61 *b*, col. 1.

ܟܟܐ *tooth*, ܟܟ̈ܐ *teeth*, p. 190. 3, 5.

ܟܪܟܘܫܬܐ Chald. כַּרְכּוּשְׁתָּא *ferret*, p. 217. 9. M. Duval (*Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII, p. 351, note 1) translates this

word by *ichneumon*. These animals were eaten by the ancients in times of famine. Compare ܠܚܡܪܐ ܘܟܠܒܐ ܘܚܡܘܬܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܦܢ ܐܟܠܘ Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar-Alaha*, p. 177. 7.

ܟܠܒܬܐ, plur. ܟܠܒܬܐ Ar. كلاب *tongs*, p. 161. 11.

ܟܠܕܝܐ *augur, soothsayer*, p. 78. 2; plur. ܟܠܕܝܐ p. 75. 9, 11, 18;

ܐܦܠܘ ܟܠܕܝܐ *Apollo the augur*, p. 78. 2; ܟܠܕܝܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ *Egyptian soothsayers*, p. 75. 9.

ܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ *augury, divination*, p. 19. 8; 76. 17; 98. 19; 99. 3; 110. 3; 114. 1; 210. 7, 14.

ܠܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܠܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ *a woman unworthy of the office of divination*, p. 113. 13.

Af'ēl infin. ܠܡܟܠܕܘ *to divine*, p. 109. 7.

ܟܠܡܝܣ *chlamys, cloak*, p. 224. 14.

ܟܡܪ. Ethpě'ēl ܐܬܟܡܪ *to be sad*, p. 94. 6.

ܟܡܝܪܘܬܐ *gloominess*, p. 246. 6; ܐܦܐ ܟܡܝܪܬܐ *gloomy face*, p. 61. 13.

ܟܘܡܪܐ *priest*, plur. ܟܘܡܪܐ p. 147. 18.

ܟܘܡܪܬܐ *priestess*, p. 113. 5, 10, 12; 114. 2, 12, 13; 122. 10.

ܟܘܡܪܘܬܐ *office of priestess*, p. 114. 1, 12.

ܟܢܫ intrans. *to be assembled*, p. 43. 5; 60. 10; 62. 19.

ܩܦܩܦܬܐ, ܩܦܩܦܬܐ *small boxes*, p. 211. 12. Glossed in B by ܩܒܝܒܬܐ

ܟܘܦܪܐ *asphalt, bitumen*, p. 2. 10; 4. 11.

ܟܪ. Pers. خر *ass*, p. 211. 8.

ܟܪܐ. part. pass. *mean, little*, ܟܪܝܐ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ *in stature small*, p. 163. 6.

Afʿēl ܐܰܟܪܶܒ *to be grieved*, p. 94. 7.

ܟܪ̈ܒܐ *ploughed lands*, p. 68. 1.

ܟܪܟ Pĕʿil part. plur. ܟܪ̈ܝܟܝܢ *surrounding, encircling*, p. 69. 6; 70. 5.

Ethpĕʿēl ܐܶܬ݂ܟܪܶܟ݂ *to roll* of an egg, *to go round, to encircle*, p. 18. 11, 12; 66. 18; 171. 5; 187. 10; part. ܡܶܬ݂ܟܪܶܟ݂ 19. 1, 7; 76. 13; 179. 7; ܡܶܬ݂ܟܰܪܟ݂ܳܐ p. 101. 11; infin. ܠܡܶܬ݂ܟܪܳܟ݂ܽܘ 183. 4.

Afʿēl *to surround with, to bind*, p. 268. 8, 11.

ܟܽܘܪܳܟ݂ܳܐ *a bend or turning*, p. 146. 13; ܟܽܘܪܳܟ݂ܳܐ ܪܶܗܛܳܐ *the farthest point* of a chariot course, p. 46. 16, 17.

ܟܪܝ. ܟܽܘܪܝܢܰܦܫܽܘܬ݂ܳܐ *impatience*, p. 117. 18.

ܟܰܪ̈ܥܳܐ *legs of a couch or table*, p. 218. 13.

ܟܪܳܬ݂ܳܐ *green*, plur. ܟܪ̈ܳܬ݂ܳܐ p. 43. 14.

ܟܫܐ *to pile up*, p. 264. 15.

ܟܫܪ. ܟܫܺܝܪܳܐܺܝܬ݂ *excellently, properly*, p. 3. 15.

ܟܶܬ݂ܳܢܳܐ *linen*, p. 5. 3; plur. ܟܶ̈ܬ݂ܳܢܶܐ p. 15. 4, 17; 56. 20.

ܟܬܫ. Ethpaʿal part. ܡܶܬ݂ܟܰܬ݂ܰܫ *striving, contending*, p. 13. 2. ܒܩܳܠܳܐ ܡܶܬ݂ܟܰܬ݂ܰܫ *importunate with voice*, = συρισμὸν πέμπων.

ܡܟܰܬ݂ܫܽܘܬ݂ܳܐ *worry, strife*, p. 81. 16.

ܠܒܒ. ܠܒܺܝܒܳܐܺܝܬ݂ *courageously*, p. 3. 16.

ܠܒܓ. Part. pĕʿil ܠܒܺܝܓܳܐ *frozen*, p. 134. 8.

ܠܒܟ. Part. pĕʿil ܠܒܺܝܟ (transitive), *to hold*, (like ܢܣܺܝܒ p. 21. 10); 19. 14; 33. 6.

ܠܚܡ. Pa"ël part. ܡܠܚܡ *fitting, fitted*, p. 101. 11; 138. 18.

ܠܚܫ *to mutter charms*, p. 14. 12.

ܠܗܒ. ܠܗܝܒܐ *sharp, pointed*, p. 205. 2.

ܠܗܒܬܐ *tip, point (of a spear)*, p. 42. 5; 100. 14.

ܠܗܘܪܩܐ p. 224. 13. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܠܡܝܢܐ λιμήν, *harbour*, p. 39. 9.

ܠܩܢܐ λεκάνη, *bowl, basin*, p. 2. 9, 11, 14, 15; 4. 10; 29. 1; plur. ܠܩܢܝ̈ܐ p. 190. 6.

ܡܘܠܠܐ *pus*, p. 256. 16.

ܡܓܝܪܘܣ μάγειρος *cook*, p. 51. 15.

ܡܕܪܐ Ar. مَدَر, Ethiopic ምድር: *earth*, p. 208. 13.

ܡܘܪܕܝܠܐ (ܡܘܪ̈ܕܝܠܐ p. 59. 20) *whip*, p. 15. 7; 16. 2, 3; 59. 3. The Egyptian *χu* is here referred to.

ܡܘܢܝܛܐ monêta, *money*, p. 145. 17; 146. 1.

ܡܘܫܟܐ Ar. مسك, ܡܫܟ̈ܐ ܕܡܘܫܟܐ *musk skins*, p. 200. 11.

ܡܙܓ. Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܡܙܓ *to be mixed*, p. 138. 13.

ܡܚܠ. Ethpĕ'ël ܐܬܡܚܝܠ *to be weary*, p. 162. 13.

ܡܚܝܠ *reluctant?* p. 129. 10. This word is probably corrupt.

ܡܘܣܐ *the name of a tree*, p. 186. 7.

ܡܝܗܘܕܪܐ *the name of a tree*, p. 186. 6.

ܡܝܛܟܣܐ μέταξα, *silk*, p. 218. 12.

ܡܢ ܟܘܪܐ p. 200. 8. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡܠܐ. ܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ *exactly, fully*, p. 90. 1.

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ܡܠܟ. ܡܰܠܟܳܢܳܐܺܝܬ *royally*, p. 221. 16.

ܡܠܫ. ܡܰܠܘܳܫܳܐ, plur. ܡܰܠܘ̈ܳܫܶܐ *signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4; 8. 8; 20. 2; 26. 7; 27. 15; 29. 4; 30. 11; 275. 3.

ܡܢܐ. ܡܳܢܶܐ ܟܰܘܟܒܶܐ *counter of stars, astrologer*, p. 7. 8; plur. ܡܳܢܰܝ̈ ܟܰܘܟܒܶܐ p. 7. 6. A name given to the Signs of the Zodiac by the Greeks.

ܡܢܬܐ, *string of a harp*, plur. ܡܶܢ̈ܘܳܬܳܐ p. 237. 16.

ܡܰܣܩܺܝܕܳܘܣ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡܶܠܦܦܘܢܐ = ܡܶܠܦܘܦܢܐ = μηλοπέπονες (?), *melons*, p. 217. 7.

ܡܨܥ. Pa'ēl ܡܰܨܰܥ *to put in the middle*, p. 48. 3.

ܡܨܰܥܝܳܢܳܐ *mediator*, p. 58. 4. ܐܢܐ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ ܐܝܬ *I am in the midst, i. e., I am mediator*, p. 54. 6.

ܡܪܪ. ܡܶܪܳܪܬܳܐ *gall*, p. 48. 11. ܡܪܪܬܗ ܒܓܘܗ ܐܬܬܪܦܩܬ *his gall was stirred up in him*, p. 41. 11.

ܡܪܙܒ, ܡܪܙܒܐ, plur. ܡܪ̈ܙܒܢܐ *satraps, lords*, p. 55. 16; 56. 3. This word is glossed in B by نجيبان *nobility*, p. 55. 21.

ܡܪܛ = ܡܳܪܶܛ *to glance off, turn aside*, p. 68. 8.

ܡܪܛܢܐ, ܡܰܪܛܳܢܳܐ *jar*, p. 130. 8.

ܡܪܛܫ *to knead*, p. 268. 10.

ܡܰܪܕܒܪܝܪ *rhinoceros*, p. 211. 15.

ܡܫܚ. ܡܫܘܚܬܐ *age, class (of men)*, p. 103. 5.

ܡܫܚܠܦܐ *name of some large amphibious animal*, p. 175. 9.

ܡܬܚ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܡܬܚ *to straighten oneself out*, p. 17. 10.

ܢܒܘ *Nebo*, p. 21. 9; 27. 14. Glossed in B by ܡܪܩܘܪܝ *Mercury*, p. 21. 20; 27. 21.

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ܢܓܕ. *to start forth*, p. 43. 18. ܢܓܕܘ may be a corruption of ܢܓܕܘ or ܢܓܕܘ

ܢܓܪܓܪ. Ethpalp. ܐܬܢܓܪܓܪ *to be on fire, to burn*, p. 6. 10; part. ܡܬܢܓܪܓܪܐ *blazing*, p. 131. 19.

ܢܓܠ. ܡܓܠܐ, *scythe*, plur. ܡܓ̈ܠܐ p. 134. 11; 135. 6.

ܢܓܗ. ܢܘܓܗܐ *star, luminary*, p. 182. 1; plur. 81. 5.

ܢܘܓܗܪܘܬܐ *brightness*, p. 119. 4.

ܢܘܚ. ܢܝܚܘܬܐ *gentleness, quiet*, p. 22. 3.

ܢܝܚܐܝܬ *quietly*, p. 32. 15.

ܢܘܢ̈ܐ Pisces, p. 22. 4.

ܢܘܦ. Af'êl ܐܢܝܦ *to wave, brandish*, p. 58. 7.

ܢܚܫܝܪܐ Pers. نخچیر *a hunt*, p. 107. 4.

ܢܚܫܝܪܬܢܐ, plur. ܢܚܫܝܪ̈ܬܢܐ *hunters*, p. 212. 1.

ܢܛܪܬܐ *cage*, p. 100. 16, 18.

ܢܣܐ. Pa''êl part. ܡܢܣܝ̈ܐ ܒܩܪܒܐ *men tried or expert in war*, p. 92. 2; ܡܢܣܝܢܐ for ܡܢܣܝ̈ܐ p. 100. 12.

ܡܢܣܝܬܐ Libra, *balance, scales*, p. 19. 15; 20. 8.

ܢܣܒ. ܐܢܬܬܐ ܢܣܒ *to take a wife*, p. 58. 17; 106. 2; 154. 4; ܒܢܫܐ ܨܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܣܒ *he wished to take to wife*, p. 50. 11; ܒܢܫܐ ܠܐܚܪܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܠܝܗ̇ *I will give her to another king to wife*, p. 50. 17; ܡܢ ܢܫܐ ܡܫܒܩܬܐ *divorced*, p. 50. 9; ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܒܢܫܐ ܠܡܣܒܗ̇ *to take another woman to wife*, p. 53. 9.

ܡܣܒܐ ܘܡܬܠܐ *taking and giving*, p. 36. 10. Talm. and

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Rabb. מִסַּב וּמִיתַּן; Ar. اخذ وعطا Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 81 *a*, col. 1.

ܢܣܟ. Pĕ‘īl part. ܢܣܝܟ *cast* (*of images*), p. 138. 18.

ܢܥܒܐ *raven*, plur. ܢܥ̈ܒܐ p. 176. 10.

ܢܦܫ. Pa‘‘ēl part. ܡܢܦܫ *exercised, trained*, p. 25. 8.

ܪ̈ܟܫܐ ܡܢܦ̈ܫܐ *trained horses*, p. 39. 6; ܦ̈ܝܠܐ ܡܢܦ̈ܫܝ ܩܪ̈ܒܬܢܐ *elephants trained in war*, p. 231. 17.

ܢܘܦܫܐ *exercise, training*, p. 39. 3.

ܢܦܫ. ܢܦܫܐ *tomb, sepulchral monument*, p. 68. 14, 15. ܢܦܫܐ ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ = Ταπόσειρις of Strabo.

ܢܨܚ. Af‘ēl part. plur. ܡܢܨܚܝܢ *clear*, p. 26. 17, 18.

ܢܨܝܚܐܝܬ *gloriously*, p. 49. 11.

ܢܨܚܢܐ *victory*, p. 25. 10.

ܢܛܪ. ܢܛܘܪ̈ ܦܓܪܐ *bodyguard*, p. 129. 4.

ܢܛܠ. ܡܢܛܠܬܐ *cup, vessel*, plur. ܡܢܛ̈ܠܬܐ p. 190. 7.

ܢܩܥ. ܢܩܥܐ *the den of an animal*, p. 192. 4; plur. ܢܩ̈ܥܐ *holes*, p. 132. 4.

ܢܩܦ. Af‘ēl ܐܢܩܦ. ܐܢܩܦ ܡܢ ܪܝܫܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell from the beginning*, p. 28. 18; ܐܢܩܦ ܠܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܢܪܓܐ *axe, pick*, plur. ܢܪ̈ܓܐ p. 101. 4.

ܢܫ. ܢܫܝܫܐܝܬ *feebly*, p. 83. 14.

ܢܫܒ *to hiss*, p. 17. 6.

ܢܫܦ *to attract, draw*, p. 192. 9.

ܢܫܦܐ *attraction*, p. 192. 9.

ܣܐܪ. ܣܐܪܬܐ *shaving*, p. 233. 11.

ܣܐܦܛܐ. Ar. سفط *a small basket, casket or chest*, p. 8. 9.

ܣܒܗ. Afêl part. pass. ܡܣܒܗ *to be like unto, resemble*, p. 23. 8; 25. 11; 128. 13; ܡܣܒܗܘܬܐ p. 87. 16.

ܣܒܪ. Pĕ‘il part. ܣܒܝܪ ܗܘܐ *he thought*, p. 58. 15.
ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ *expectation*, p. 14. 10; 26. 5; 127. 1; ܝܗܒ ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ *he gave the expectation*, p. 58. 6.

ܣܓܐ. ܣܓܝܐܐܝܬ *abundantly*, p. 111. 5.
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܥܠܠܬܐ *abundant of crops*, p. 124. 12.
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ *abundant of tillage*, p. 124. 12.

ܣܕܪ. ܣܕܝܪܘܬܐ *ordering, arranging*, p. 1. 7; 29. 4; ܣܕܝܪܘܬ ܡܡܠܠܐ *arrangement of speech*, p. 23. 14.

ܣܘܡ. ܣܘܡܐ *a breathing*, p. 191. 6; ܒܣܘܡܗ ܢܓܕ *it drew in with its breath*, p. 193. 6.

ܣܘܣܢܬܐ, plur. ܣܘܣܢܬܐ *palace, country house, summerhouse*, p. 18. 3; 206. 5.

ܣܘܓܪ. ܣܘܓܪܐ, plur. ܣܘܓܪܐ *fetters*, p. 139. 2.

ܣܛܘܪܘܣ σάτυρος, *Satyr*, p. 181. 13.

ܣܟܪ. ܣܟܪܐ *a bolt*, p. 268. 10.

ܣܟܠ. ܡܣܟܠܐ *offender, evildoer*, p. 82. 11; plur. ܡܣܟܠܐ p. 25. 1.

ܣܠܝܢܐ σελήνη *the Moon*, p. 20. 20.

ܣܡ, ܣܡܐ, plur. ܣܡܡܢܐ *paints*, p. 204. 9.

ܣܡܟ. Part. pĕ‘il plur. ܣܡܝܟܐ *those that sit at meat*, p. 50. 13; 51. 15; 52. 4.

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Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܣܬܡܟ *to sit at meat*, p. 129. 19.

Af'ēl infin. ܠܡܣܡܟܘ *to make to sit down to meat*, p. 85. 2.

ܡܣܡܟܐ *table*. ܪܝܫ ܡܣܡܟܐ *at the head of the board*, p. 50. 14; ܡܣܡ̈ܟܐ ܬܚܬܝ̈ܐ *the lower seats*, p. 197. 11.

ܣܪܩ. Pĕ'īl part. pass. ܣܪܝܩܐ p. 15. 14; ܣܪܝܩܬܐ p. 45. 4; plur. ܣܪܝܩܝܢ *empty*, p. 168. 9.

Pa''ēl ܣܪܶܩ *to empty*, p. 8. 11.

Ethpa'al ܐܣܬܪܩ *to be emptied, deprived of*, p. 20. 5; 21. 11; 135. 16.

ܣܪܓ. Pĕ'īl part. pass. ܣܪܝܓ *decorated, splendid*, p. 13. 4; 104, 6.

ܣܶܪܩܳܐ *σάκρα letter*, p. 83. 6; 90. 10; 91. 13; 93. 1, 7; 94. 11; 115. 8; 116. 5; 145. 3; 150. 9; 152. 13; 210. 1; 226. 17; 227. 9; رساله. كتاب Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 123 *a*, col. 2.

ܣܪܐ. Pĕ'īl part. ܣܪܐ *foul*, p. 32. 6; ܣܪܝܐ p. 32. 7; 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2.

ܣܪܓ. ܣܪܓܐ, سرج, ܣܪ̈ܓܐ *saddles*, p. 231. 6.

ܣܪܕ. ܡܣܪܕܢܝܬܐ, plur. ܡܣܪ̈ܕܢܝܬܐ *alarming* (*of words*), p. 117. 13.

ܣܪܛܢܐ *Cancer*, p. 20. 4.

ܣܪܢܐ. Ar. سرن *axle*, p. 49. 8.

ܫܬܣ. Pa''ēl part. ܡܫܬܣܬܐ *founded*, p. 106. 4.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܬܣ *to become firm*, p. 93. 12.

ܣܬܐ, ܣܬܘܬܐ *vine*, p. 182. 7, 19.

ܥܒܐ. ܥܒ̈ܝܐ *swellings*, p. 178. 15.

ܥܒܝܘܬܐ *thickness*, p. 205. 20.

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ܥܒܕ. Shaf'ēl ܫܰܥܒܶܕ *to subdue*, p. 60. 18; part. ܡܫܰܥܒܶܕ p. 5. 15; 64. 7.

Eshtaf'al part. ܡܶܫܬܰܥܒܕܳܐ *to be subdued*, p. 13. 18; infin. ܠܡܶܫܬܰܥܒܳܕܽܘ p. 52. 1.

ܫܽܘܥܒܳܕܳܐ *submission*, 124. 7.

ܥܒܛ. ܥܒܺܝܛ *dense, thick*, p. 217. 3; ܕܽܘܟܬܳܐ ܥܒܺܝܛܰܬ ܛܰܪ̈ܦܳܐ *a place dense with foliage*, 106. 12.

ܥܒܪ. ܥܒܰܪ ܠܩܽܘܕܡܳܐ *to pass over to the front*, p. 44. 2; 45. 6; ܥܒܰܪ ܠܥܽܘܡܩܳܐ p. 44. 1, 8.

Af'ēl ܐܰܥܒܰܪ *to make to pass over*, p. 21. 3; 58. 8; 118. 8; 127. 11; 157. 7; infin. ܠܡܰܥܒܳܪܽܘ p. 72. 8; part. ܡܰܥܒܰܪ p. 33. 13; part. plur. ܡܰܥܒܪܺܝܢ p. 228. 9.

Ethpĕ'ēl ܠܳܐ ܡܶܬܥܒܰܪ *impassable*; plur. ܠܳܐ ܡܶܬܥܰܒܪ̈ܳܢܶܐ p. 247. 5.

ܡܰܥܒܪܬܳܐ *passage*, p. 47. 8; 191. 19; 227. 18.

ܥܒܽܘܪܳܐ *corn*, p. 124. 10; 135. 6; 140. 14; 206. 7; 249. 6.

ܥܓܢ. Pe'il part. pass. plur. ܥܓܺܝܢܺܝܢ *fallen*, p. 166. 4.

ܥܕܐ. Af'ēl part. ܡܰܥܕܶܐ *removing, taking away*, p. 137. 14.

ܥܕܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܶܬܥܰܕܰܠ *to blame*, p. 37. 13.

ܥܕܪ. Pa''ēl part. ܡܥܰܕܪܳܐ *recovering*, p. 97. 3.

ܥܗܪ. ܥܗܺܝܪ *furious*, p. 32. 5.

ܥܘܩ. ܥܘܳܩܳܐ *hindrance*, p. 249. 8. تاخر Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 126 *b*, col. 1.

ܥܘܠ. ܥܺܝܠܳܐ *foal, colt*, p. 24. 9; ܥܺܝ̈ܠܶܐ ܕܪ̈ܰܟܫܳܐ p. 38. 16.

ܥܺܝ̈ܠܶܐ ܡܕܰܪ̈ܫܳܐ *trained colts*, p. 39. 6.

ܥܩܬ. Ethpĕ'ĕl part. pass. ܡܬܥܩܬܐ *afflicted*, p. 223. 13.

ܥܩܝܬܐ *sad, sorrowful*, p. 25. 11.

ܥܝܪ. ܥܝܪܘܬܐ *watchfulness*, p. 105. 6.

ܥܙܐ. ܥܙܐ *a goat*, ܥܙ̈ܐ ܚܡܪ̈ܐ *ass-goats*, p. 211. 8.

ܥܙܩܬܐ *ring*, p. 15. 5, 19.

ܥܛܡܬܐ *thigh*, plur. ܥܛܡ̈ܬܐ p. 263. 14.

ܥܛܦ. Ethpa'al *to be arranged or wrapped in*, p. 255. 7.

Af'êl ܐܥܛܦ *to make to return, to come back*, p. 216, 14.

ܥܝܡ. ܥܝܡܐ *mist*, p. 183. 16; 184. 1; 225. 18.

ܬܒܥ. ܬܒܥܬܐ *vengeance*, p. 10. 11; 12. 2; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 80. 11; 138. 1; 142. 1; 224. 5.

ܥܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܠܠ *to enter*, p. 29. 13.

Af'êl ܐܥܠ *to bring in*, p. 32. 15.

ܥܠܐ. Pa''êl part. pass. ܡܥܠܝ *exalted*, p. 136. 10; plur. ܡܥܠܝ̈ܐ p. 99. 14.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܠܝ *to go up from a ship*, p. 39. 13.

ܡܥܠܝܘܬܐ *greatness, excellence*, p. 86. 3; 142. 17.

ܡܘܥܠܝܬܐ *elevation*, p. 83. 6.

ܥܠܝܡ. ܥܠܝܡ ܬܘܪܢܘܬܐ *inexperienced*, p. 120. 14.

ܥܠܡ. ܥܠܡ̈ܬܐ *locks*, p. 268. 12.

ܥܪܒ. *to set (of the sun)*, p. 187. 16; 195. 19.

ܥܡܛ. *to shroud*, p. 94. 6; 246. 6.

Af'êl ܐܥܡܛ *to make dark*, p. 119. 4.

ܥܡܝܛܐ *dense, dark*, p. 183. 15; plur. ܥܡܝܛ̈ܐ p. 185. 17.

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ܥܰܡܛܳܢܳܐ *fog, blackness*, p. 183. 17; 192. 7; 225. 4; 233. 14; 234. 15; 235. 7.

ܥܡܨ. Pa''êl ܥܰܡܶܨ *to close* the eyes, p. 144. 2.

ܥܡܪ. Pa''êl part. ܡܥܰܡܰܪ *making to dwell*, p. 22. 2; ܡܥܰܡܪܳܐ p. 191. 3.

ܥܡܝܪܐ *hay*, p. 140. 15.

ܥܣܩ. ܥܣܝܩ p. 66. 15; ܥܰܣܩܳܐ *difficult*, p. 200. 17; plur. ܥܰܣ̈ܩܶܐ p. 247. 4.

ܥܰܣܩܽܘܬܳܐ *difficulty*, p. 184. 8.

ܥܦܪ. Pa''êl infin. ܡܥܰܦܳܪܽܘ *to bury*, p. 138. 7.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܰܦܰܪ *to be buried*, p. 164. 8.

ܥܦܩ. Pa''êl part. ܡܥܰܦܶܩ *embracing*, p. 11. 18; ܡܥܰܦܩܳܐ p. 17. 11.

ܥܨܳܐ *to restrain*, p. 20. 3.

ܥܨܰܪ *to press, bruise*, p. 11. 14.

ܥܩܒ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܰܩܰܒ *to be insolent* (?) p. 40. 8.

ܥܩܡ. Pa''êl part. plur. ܡܥܰܩܡܺܝܢ *crafty*, p. 126. 17.

ܡܥܩܡܬܐ, plur. ܡܥܰܩ̈ܡܳܬܳܐ *perverse, crafty*, p. 160. 14.

ܥܩܪܒܐ, Ar. عَقْرَب, Heb. עַקְרָב *scorpion*, plur. ܥܩܰܪ̈ܒܶܐ p. 174. 4, 14.

ܥܪܐ. ܥܰܪܳܐ *cold*, p. 160. 11. البرد الشديد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܥܪܒ. ܥܰܪܒܳܐ *trough*, 265. 1.

ܥܘܪܒܐ. Ar. غُراب, Heb. עֹרֵב *raven*, ܥܘܪ̈ܒܝ ܠܠܝܐ *night ravens*, p. 176. 19.

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ܥܪܕ. ܥܪܕܬܐ *mushroom*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܕܬܐ p. 180. 1. كماة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, p. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܥܪܕܐ *ass*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܕܐ p. 180. 10.

ܥܪܛܠ. adv. ܥܪܛܠܐܝܬ *naked*, p. 21. 6; 39. 5.

ܥܪܡ. ܥܪܡܬܐ, *a rough place*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܡܬܐ p. 247. 4.

ܥܪܣܐ *bed*, ܥܪܣܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ *childbed*, p. 19. 11; 21. 12. D has ܒܥܪܣܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ.

ܥܪܦܠܐ Heb. עֲרָפֶל *darkness, blackness*, p. 192. 7; plur. 256. 1.

ܥܪܝ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܪܝ *to be afflicted*, p. 173. 7.

ܥܪܩ. Af'ēl ܐܥܪܩ *to make to flee away*, p. 118. 3.

ܥܪ̈ܩܐ ܕܪ̈ܓܠܐ men with *twisted legs* = ἱμαντόποδες, p. 174. 22; 177. 16.

ܥܫܢ *to be strong*, p. 93. 6.

Pa''ēl ܥܫܢ, part. plur. fem. ܡܥܫ̈ܢܢ p. 23. 11.

ܥܫܝܢ *strong, mighty*, p. 84. 9; ܥܫܝܢܐ p. 59. 19; 231. 7; ܥܫܝܢܬܐ p. 90. 5; plur. ܥܫܝ̈ܢܝܢ p. 176. 3; plur. ܥܫܝ̈ܢܐ p. 252. 17.

ܥܫܝܢܘܬܐ *strength*, p. 32. 12; 159. 6.

ܥܘܫܢܐ *power, strength*, p. 76. 14.

ܥܬܕ. Pa''ēl ܥܬܕ *to make ready, to prepare*, p. 83. 12; infin. ܠܡܥܬܕܘ p. 201. 9; part. pass. ܡܥܬܕ p. 3. 18; plur. ܡܥܬܕܝܢ 90. 2; 201. 7; fem. ܡܥܬ̈ܕܢ 211. 3.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܬܕ *to be ready*, 81. 6; 95. 7; 164. 8; 209. 1; 226. 14; 233. 4; ܐܬܥܬܕ ܙܟܘܬܐ *he obtained the victory*, p. 50. 1; part. plur. ܡܬܥܬܕܝܢ p. 2. 4; 3. 5.

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ܡܥܬܕܐܝܬ *readily*, p. 42. 9; 175. 11; 177. 14; 182. 18.

ܥܬܪ *to be rich*, Pe'al infin. ܠܡܥܬܪ *to be rich*, p. 34. 9.

Af'êl *to make rich*, part. ܡܥܬܪ p. 34. 11.

ܥܬܝܪ *rich*, p. 40. 1; 84. 10; 196. 16; ܥܬܝܪܐ 67. 3; plur. ܥܬܝܪܝܢ 160. 2; ܥܬܝܪܬ ܡܝܐ *well watered*, 177. 3.

ܥܘܬܪܐ *riches*, p. 10. 14; 34. 10; 67. 4.

ܦܐܝ. ܦܐܝܐ *beautiful*, p. 6. 7.

ܦܐܝܘܬܐ *beauty*, p. 24. 11; 138. 9; 206. 10.

ܦܓܕ. ܦܓܘܕܐ *bridle*, p. 32. 15; 33. 5, 8; 48. 13; plur. ܦܓܘܕܐ p. 38. 17; 43. 17; 48. 8.

ܦܕܓܘܓ p. 36. 13; ܦܕܓܘܓܐ παιδαγωγός *teacher, tutor, guardian*, p. 23, 13; 35. 9; plur. ܦܕܓܘܓܐ p. 89. 7.

ܦܕܓܘܓܐ المؤدب ܗܘ. ܡܠܦܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܘܠܝ ܒܬܪ ܣܘܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܗܘܒ ܗܕܐ مدبر الصبيان Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 282 *b*, col. 2. ܦܕܓܘܓ = معلمون، مؤدبون، مدبرون Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 134 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܕܓܘܓܘܬܐ *education*, p. 35. 23.

ܦܚܡ *to be like unto*, p. 121. 3; 184. 17.

ܦܚܡܐ *like*, p. 86. 9; 103. 18; 138. 9; ܒܦܚܡܐ *in comparison with*, p. 88. 5; ܒܪ ܦܚܡܗ *counterpart*, p. 170. 4.

ܦܛܪ *to finish a meal*, p. 242. 1.

Af'êl *to separate*, ܐܦܛܪ ܣܦܘܬܗ *he parted his lips* in scorn, p. 41. 18; part. ܡܦܛܪ p. 80. 6.

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ܦܓܝܕܐ *untanned*, p. 172. 5.

ܦܝ̈ܓܐ *footsoldiers*, p. 63. 1; 95. 3; 98. 1; 101. 4; 108. 3; 135. 5; 172. 4; 173. 9; 207. 10.

ܦܝܠܐ Assyrian pî-ru. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 517, l. 6. Ar. فيل (plur. أفيال, فيول) *elephant*, 170. 13; 175. 9; 191. 6; plur. ܦܝ̈ܠܐ 159. 5; 160. 17; 174. 11; 211. 13; 219. 3; 220. 1; ܬܘܪ̈ܝ ܦܝܠܐ *ox-elephants*, p. 174. 14.

ܦܝܠܘܢܐ *cloak*, p. 198. 3, 7; 200. 5, 6.

ܦܝܣܐ the Greek infin. πεῖσαι, *persuade*, Syriacised ܦܝ̈ܣܐ *persuasion*.

Hence Af'êl ܐܦܝܣ *he persuaded*, p. 5. 9; 54. 16; 55. 11; 188. 17; part. act. ܡܦܝܣ 66. 11; part. pass. plur. ܡܦܝܣܝܢ 242. 10.

Ettaf'al ܐܬܬܦܝܣ *be persuaded*, p. 6. 11; 58. 2; 224. 6; ܬܬܦܝܣܘܢ 116. 10; part. ܡܬܦܝܣ 123. 1.

ܡܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ *permission*, p. 91. 18.

ܠܐ ܡܬܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ *obstinacy, disobedience*, 82. 13; 196. 13.

ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ, φιλόσοφος *philosopher*, plur. ܦܝܠܘܣܘ̈ܦܐ p. 18. 6.

ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ φιλοσοφία *philosophy*, p. 23. 17.

ܦܝܬܘܪ p. 159. 5; 174. 13. See ܦܬܘܪ

ܦܟ̈ܐ *tusks*, p. 174. 12.

ܦܠܓ *to divide*, p. 235. 10; 244. 1.

Pa''êl part. act. ܡܦܠܓ *dividing, distributing*, p. 35. 9, 14; 37. 3.

Ethpa'al *to be divided in mind, perplexed, in doubt*, p. 197, 15; 200. 14; 244. 16.

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ܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ *midday*, p. 186. 15.

ܦܠܓܗ ܕܠܠܝܐ *midnight*, p. 186. 16.

ܦܠܓ ܫܢܝܐ = μεσῆλιξ *middle age*, p. 10. 17; 14. 15; 16. 5;

ܦܠܓܬ ܫܢܝܗ̇ *a woman of middle age*, p. 209. 13.

ܦܘܠܓ *doubt*, p. 126. 4.

ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *half*, p. 52. 4; 142. 8; ܒܪ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *a half partner*, p. 245. 1.

ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *doubt*, p. 26. 6.

ܦܠܝܓܘܬܐ *doubt*, p. 67. 4.

ܦܠܓܐ *phalanx* (= ܡܥܪܟܬܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 108 *b*, col. 2) p. 134. 10; 172. 1, 3; 173. 14; 174. 7; 179, 8; 206. 8; 207. 4.

ܦܠܓܐ *drums*, p. 171. 14. ܦܠܓܐ ܘܕܪܒܟܐ طبول ودفوف Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 138 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܠܗܕ. ܡܬܦܠܗܕ܂ *to be dispersed*, p. 134. 1.

ܦܠܚ. Pĕ'il part. plur. ܦܠܝܚܝܢ *tanned, dressed*, p. 263. 16.

Af'ēl ܐܦܠܚ *to serve*, p. 63. 1.

ܦܠܚܘܬܐ *army*, p. 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܦܠܛܝܢ παλάτιον, palatium, *palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܦܠܛ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܠܛ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 212. 18; infin. ܠܡܬܦܠܛܘ p. 52. 2; 119. 16; part. plur. ܡܬܦܠܛܝܢ p. 239. 19.

Pa''ēl infin. ܠܡܦܠܛܘ *to escape*, p. 157. 2.

ܦܘܠܛܐ *escape*, p. 132. 14.

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ܦܠܛܝܘܬܐ p. 69. 14; ܦܠܛܝ̈ܘܬܐ *squares*, p. 74. 8. شوارع ,دروب
Brit. Mus. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܠܐܩܣ = πλάκας *tablets*, p. 70. 11.

ܦܢܐ. ܡܦܢܝܢܘܬܐ *restoration, giving back*, p. 215. 10.

ܦܘܢܝܐ *answer*. ܦܘܢܝ ܟܬܝܒܬܐ *written answer*, p. 56. 15.

ܦܢܝܬܐ *boundary, quarter of the world*, p. 90. 3; plur. ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ p. 3. 10; 90. 12; 115. 2; 159. 4.

ܦܢܬܐܪ πάνθηρ, *panther*, p. 159. 20; 174. 18.

ܦܣܐ *lot*, p. 43. 8. القرعة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 1.

ܦܣܥ. Pĕ'al infin. ܠܡܦܣܥ *to march*, p. 100. 1.

ܦܣܥܬܐ *step*, p. 52. 1; 262. 20.

ܦܣܦܣܐ *dice*, p. 89. 21. نرد اللعب Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 2. ܦܣܦܣܐ سطرنج ܒܪ ܥ. النرد ܘܐܝܬ ܡܬܩܠܐ ܦܣܦܣܐ سطرنج ܘܡܣܦܣܐ ܕܠܦܣܦܣܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܟܒܫ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܕܚܘܠܛܢܐ ܡܟܪܣܘܬܐ للعب بالنرد و السطرنج * ܦܣܦܣܐ ܒܪ ܗܢܐ نرد ܕܦܣܦܣ ܡܦܣܐ نرد ܦܣܦܣܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܪ ܗܢܐ النسيفسا.
Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 302 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܣܩ. Pa"êl *to cut*, p. 116. 7; *to decide a dispute*, p. 148. 4.
Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܣܩ *to be cut*, p. 205. 22.

ܦܘܣܩܢܐ *fate*, p. 28. 11.

ܦܣܝܩܘܬܐ *brevity*, ܒܦܣܝܩܘܬܐ *briefly, shortly*, p. 23. 16; 115. 9; 136. 1.

ܦܣܩܝܢ piscina, *reservoir*, p. 18. 4. القناة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 140 *a*, col. 1, and Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 303 *a*, col. 1.

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ܦܦܓܐ Ar. ببغا *parrots*, p. 211. 9.

ܦܨܐ. Pa"ēl ܦܨܝ *to deliver*, p. 62. 10; 221. 18; 222. 13.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܨܝ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 59. 6.

ܡܦܨܝܢܐ *deliverer*, p. 218. 1.

ܦܩܚܐ *blossom*, p. 93. 11.

ܦܩܥ *to split, to burst*, p. 18. 11.

ܦܩܥܐ *crash*, plur. ܦܩܥܐ p. 160. 11.

ܦܩܥܬܐ *field, plain*, p. 11. 13; 78. 3; 200. 17; plur. ܦܩܥܬܐ 100. 17.

ܦܩܪ. Pĕʻīl part. ܦܩܝܪ *excited*, p. 32. 5.

ܦܪܓܠܐ φραγέλλιον, *whip*, p. 48. 10; 80. 16; 81. 10; 87. 10; 89, 7; plur. 43. 17; 255. 8. مقرعة, درة ܦܪܓܠܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܪܕܐ *grains*, p. 82. 6.

ܦܪܕܘܢܐ *clubs*, p. 264. 8.

ܦܪܚ. ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܕܩܠܐ = φοῖνιξ *the bird of palm trees*, p. 180. 8.

ܦܪܚܕܘܕܐ *bats*, p. 176. 3. فار الليل, خشافة Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 308 *b*, col. 1; خشاف يعني الاصنام التي كانت تعبد ليلا سرا Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܪܢܓ. Pers. برنج *copper, brass*, p. 9. 7.

ܦܪܢܝܬܐ φερνή, *dowry*, p. 147. 4. ܡܗܪ ܕܡܟܘܪ ܡܗܒ ܠܟܠܬܐ ܐܘ ܫܟܠܬܐ ܘܐܘ ܡܗܪܐ Rich 7203, fol. 310 *a*, col. 2.

ܦܪܢܣ. ܦܘܪܢܣܐ *food*, p. 56. 6.

ܦܪܣ *to spread out*, p. 142. 14; Pĕʻīl part. ܦܪܝܣ p. 182. 6; plur. ܦܪܝܣܝܢ p. 238. 1.

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ܦܘܪܘܣ ، ܦܘܪܣܐ, plur. ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܢ, ܦܘܪ̈ܣܐ from the Greek *πόρος, way, means, device, scheme, stratagem,* p. 2. 7, 14; 14. 7; 36. 6; 48. 2; 57. 13; 65. 8; 140. 6; 159. 7; 173. 7; 192. 13; 202. 7; 223. 9; 241. 5; ܡܠܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܣܐ *fertile in expedients,* p. 223. 8. Hence the verb in

Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܪ̈ܣܢ *contriver* of inventions, p. 223. 9.

ܦܪܣܡ Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܪܣܡܐ *famed,* p. 2. 1.

ܦܪܣܬܐ *hoof,* plur. ܦܪ̈ܣܬܐ p. 48. 12.

ܦܪܦܪܘܠܬܐ p. 35. 18; see ܦܪܠܘܠܬܐ

ܦܪܨܘܦ *πρόσωπον, face,* p. 175. 1; ܦܪܨܘܦܐ p. 51. 10; 83. 2; 212. 11; 220. 18; plur. ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ p. 169. 5; 176. 10; ܦܪܨܘܦܐ = وجه. شخص Rich 7203, fol. 142 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܪܫ. ܦܪܫܐ, Heb. פָּרָשׁ, Ar. فارس *horseman,* plur. ܦܪ̈ܫܝܢ p. 64. 2; ܦܪ̈ܫܐ 25. 7; 33. 13; 62. 19; 95. 3; 98. 1; 102. 8; 108. 3; 119. 3; 129. 4; 173. 10; 176. 15; 203. 7; 224. 15; 230. 9; 232. 1.

ܦܪܫܘܬܐ *horsemanship,* p. 25. 7.

ܦܘܪܫܢܐ *separation,* p. 246. 14.

ܦܪܬܐ *dung,* p. 270. 3.

ܦܫܩ. ܦܫܝܩܐ *easy,* p. 203. 11.

ܦܘܫܩܐ *explanation,* p. 253. 3.

Pa''êl infin. ܠܡܦܫܩܘ *to describe, explain,* p. 8. 4.

Ethpa'al part. pass. ܡܬܦܫܩ *interpreted,* p. 31. 12.

ܦܫܪ *to explain* dreams, p. 7. 4; 15. 10; *to macerate,* 265. 1.

Pa''êl part. pass. ܡܦܫܪ *melted,* p. 250. 11.

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Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܦܩܥܝܢ *cracked, split,* (of houses on fire) p. 102. 11; 105. 7.

ܦܘܫܩܐ *explanation,* p. 16. 6.

ܦܬܟ Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܦܬܟ *variegated,* p. 220. 7.

ܦܬܘܪܐ *table,* p. 8. 1, 9; 51. 12; 143. 1; 182. 8; plur. ܦܬܘܪ̈ܐ 218. 14.

ܨܒܬ Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܨܒܬ *decorated, ornamented,* p. 13. 4; 231. 11.

ܨܒܬܬܐ *ornament,* plur. ܨܒܬ̈ܬܐ p. 153. 13.

ܨܘܪ, ܨܪ *to paint,* p. 56. 20; 57. 1; 80. 1.

ܨܝܪܐ *painter,* p. 56. 18; 212. 9.

ܨܘܪܬܐ *picture,* p. 220. 18.

ܨܘܬ *to hear, listen to,* p. 41. 6; 99. 11.

ܨܠܡܐ. ܬܐܡܝ ܨܠܡܝܢ Gemini, p. 20. 4.

ܨܡܚ. Afêl part. *sparkling, shining,* p. 182. 5; 219. 9; plur. ܡܨܡܚܝܢ p. 225. 4.

ܨܡܘܚܬܐ *shining, sparkling,* plur. ܨܡܘܚ̈ܬܐ p. 225. 8.

ܨܡܪ. ܨܡܪܬܐ *vortex,* p. 170. 9. ܨܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ كان وخه غمرٌ ܨܡܪܬܐ الما يدور الدايره Rich 7203, fol. 146 *b*, col. 2; ..... ܒܨܡܪܬܐ ܕܝܡܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܒܨܡܪܬܗ ܘܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 318 *b*, col. 2.

ܨܢܥ. ܨܢܥܬܐ *craft, device, artifice, stratagem,* p. 45. 3; 72. 16, 17; 162. 2; plur. ܨܢܥ̈ܬܐ p. 2. 7; 8. 14; 58. 1; 93. 3; 159. 7; ܥܬܝܪ ܨܢܥ̈ܬܐ *fertile in artifices,* p. 196. 15.

ܨܢܝܥܘܬܐ *craft, slyness*, p. 79. 17; 206. 2.

ܨܢܝܥܐܝܬ *artfully*, p. 85. 5; 110. 13.

ܨܥܪ. Pa"ēl *to revile, abuse*, p. 114. 18; 118. 7; 127. 6.

ܡܨܥܪܢܐܝܬ *despicably*, p. 21. 7.

ܩܒܘܬܐ κιβωτός, *box*, p. 80. 17; 81. 12; 87. 11.

ܩܒܠ. Af'ēl ܐܩܒܠ *receive, accept*, p. 198. 9.

Estaf'al ܐܫܬܩܒܠ *to be involved in*, p. 168. 5.

ܩܒܘܠܝܐ *accusation*, p. 240. 13.

ܩܘܒܠ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ *gratitude*, p. 122. 8; 125. 3; 154. 3.

ܩܒܪ. ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ *grave of Osiris*, p. 74. 12, = Ταπόσιρις.

ܩܕܚ. ܡܩܕܚܢܐ *borer*, p. 233. 10, 11.

ܩܕܡ. Pa"ēl ܩܕܡ. ܩܕܡ ܒܨܦܪܐ *to rise up betimes*, p. 15. 10;

Part. plur. ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܡܩܕܡܩܝܢ *to point out beforetime*, p. 114. 5.

ܡܩܕܡܘܬ ܝܕܥܬܐ *fore-knowledge*, p. 29. 2; 66. 13.

ܩܘܒܐ *purple, dark blue*, p. 113. 4; ܩܘܒܢܝܐ p. 43. 15. In Rich 7203, fol. 151 *b*, col. 1, ܩܘܒܢܝܐ is explained by اخضر *green*.

ܩܘܪܕܩܘܪ p. 203. 10. Glossed in B by Pers. سرپار *chief*.

ܩܝܢܐ *a smith, metalworker*, plur. ܩܝܢܝܐ p. 161. 8; 258. 13; 267. 7; 275. 14.

ܡܦܘܚܐ ܕܩܝܢܝܐ *smith's bellows*, p. 193. 9.

ܩܘܦܐ *poles, carrying bars, fetters for the legs*, p. 59. 11. ܩܘܦܐ is the word used in the Syriac version of the Old Test. to

translate the Heb. בַּדֵּי, בַּדִּים, the poles by which the ark was carried, in Ex. xxv. 13 (LXX. ἀναφορεῖς, ed. Lagarde, p. 76), Ex. xxvii. 6 (LXX. φορεῖς), Numb. iv. 6; and the Heb. מוֹט in Numb. iv. 10. ܩܘܦܐ is explained by دهوق (sing. دهق) in Rich 7203, fol. 152 *a*, col. 2. See also Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1, where ܩܘܦܐ is explained by ܡܘܛܠܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܩܠܝܢ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܘܦܬܘܪܐ "*the staves by which a box or table is carried.*" The verb دهق is used in speaking of a dead animal as, for example, of a stag or donkey, *qui est porté par deux hommes au moyen d'une perche qu'on a passée entre ses pieds*, après les avoir liés les uns aux autres. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, t. i, p. 466.

ܩܘܦܐ *apes*, p. 211. 19; 217. 9. ܩܘܦܐ ܗ̇. ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܕܡܝܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1.

ܩܘܨܝܬܐ *ringlets*, p. 13. 4. ܩܘܨܝܬܐ حمم صغار Rich 7203, fol. 152 *b*, col. 1; Or. 2441, fol. 231 *a*, col. 2.

ܩܛܪ *to bind*, p. 80. 14.

ܩܛܝܪܐ *violence*, p. 53. 5.

ܩܛܝܪܐܝܬ *violently*, p. 145. 15.

ܩܝܛܘܢܐ κοιτών, *bedchamber*, p. 12. 16; 13. 19; 52. 12; 80. 8; 197. 12; 219. 14; 220. 16; plur. ܩܝܛܘܢܐ̈ p. 13. 7; 101. 1.

ܩܝܬܪܐ κιθάρα, cithara, Chald. קִיתָרֹס, *harp*, p. 237. 16, 17.

ܩܠ. ܩܠܝܠ *little, few*, p. 47. 8; 57. 7; 65. 17; 93. 14; 97. 3; 133. 19; 138. 10; 143. 3; 165. 17; 189. 9; 212. 18; ܩܠܝܠܐ 14. 12; plur. ܩܠܝܠܝܢ 94. 17.

ܩܠܝܠܐܝܬ *swiftly, speedily*, p. 11. 12; 20. 2; 113. 11; 132. 3.

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ܩܠܘܒܐ *cage*, p. 236. 6, 8. In Rich 7203, fol. 156 *a*, col. 1, this word is explained by قفص ، مشبك

ܩܠܣ. Pa‘‘ēl part. ܡܩܠܣ *praising*, p. 18. 1.

ܩܠܥ. ܩܠܥܐ *sling*, p. 192. 9; plur. ܩܠܥ̈ܐ p. 101. 14, 17; 102. 2.

ܩܠܥܝ̈ܐ *slingers*, p. 101. 20.

ܩܠܦ. ܩܠܦܬܐ *bark*, p. 205. 2.

ܩܡܪ. ܩܡܪܐ *belt*, p. 8. 6; 129. 2; 147. 13; plur. ܩܡܪ̈ܐ p. 8. 6.

منطقة ܩܡܪܐ Rich, fol. 157 *b*, col. 2.

ܩܢܕܝܠ, Chald. קַנְדִּילָא, Ar. قنديل candêla, *lamp*, *torch*, plur. ܩܢܕܝ̈ܠܐ ܩܢܕܝܠ̈ܐ 101. 6; 235. 8.

ܩܢܛ. ܩܢܛܐ *fear*, p. 127. 17.

ܩܢܛܐ *purple*, p. 114. 10.

ܩܢܐ ܡܐܙܢܐ = ܡܣܐܬܐ Libra, *balance*, p. 20. 8.

ܩܢܘܬܐ *band*, *company*, p. 81. 17.

ܩܢܩܠ κάγκελος, cancelli, *fetter*, p. 24. 23; 32. 3, 12, 15; 33. 4.

ܩܣܛܘܢܪܐ quaestionarius, *executioner*, p. 244. 6; plur. ܩܣܛܘܢܪ̈ܐ p. 82. 14, 16; 199. 5, 14. This word is explained by حانق ، حارس in Rich 7203, fol. 159 *a*, col. 1.

ܩܣܛܘܢܪܘܬܐ *execution*, p. 199. 6; 200. 2.

ܩܦܠ. Ethpĕ‘ēl ܐܬܩܦܠ *to be peeled*, p. 132. 18.

ܩܢܐ. Ethpa‘al part. ܡܬܩܢܝܢܐ *creditable*, p. 229. 7.

ܩܣܡ. *to divine*, p. 275. 3, 7; infin. ܠܡܩܣܡ *to consult an oracle*, p. 7. 16.

ܩܨܘܡܐ *diviner*, p. 31. 5, 6; 33. 16; plur. ܩܨܘܡ̈ܐ p. 7. 5.

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ܩܶܣܡܳܐ *divination*, p. 5. 17, 18; 31. 15; 33. 15; 50. 7; 99. 15; 109. 4; 110. 2; 123. 13; plur. ܩܶܣ̈ܡܶܐ p. 5. 11, 15.

ܩܽܘܣܳܡܽܘܬܳܐ *augury, divination*, p. 29. 1; 106. 8.

ܩܪܒ. ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܳܐ *warlike, brave*, plur. ܩܪܳܒܬ̈ܳܢܶܐ p. 25. 7.

ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ *art of war*, p. 24. 1.

ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܳܐܝܬ *warlike*, p. 21. 5.

ܩܰܪܺܝܒܳܐܝܬ *nearly, shortly*, p. 10. 6.

ܩܰܪ̈ܒܶܐ *galleys*, p. 119. 3.

ܩܽܘܪ̈ܒܶܐ perhaps for ܩܰܪ̈ܳܒܶܐ *transport ships*, p. 63. 8; 65. 15. Conf. κάραβος, καράβιον, Ar. قارب , غراب

ܩܪܽܘܣܛܰܠܠܽܘܣ κρύσταλλος, crystallum, *crystal*, p. 9. 1.

ܩܰܪܛܺܝܣܳܐ χάρτης, charta, *charter*, p. 257. 18.

ܩܰܪܟܶܕܢܳܐ χαλκηδών, *chalcedony*, plur. ܩܰܪ̈ܟܶܕܢܶܐ p. 224. 14.

ܩܪܨ. ܩܪܺܝܨ *inlaid*, p. 219. 14.

ܩܪܢ. ܩܰܪܢܳܢܳܐ *horned*, fem. ܩܰܪܢܳܢܺܝܬܳܐ p. 21. 10; ܩܰܪܢܳܢܺܝܬܳܐ p. 21. 20.

ܩܰܪ̈ܢܰܝ ܥܶܣܪܳܐ *rhinoceroses*, p. 211. 14.

ܩܰܪܩܦܳܬܳܐ *skulls*, p. 32. 6. Rich 7203, fol. 163 *b*, col. 2, ܩܰܪܩܦܳܬܳܐ الهاما الجماجمه

ܩܫܐ. ܩܰܫܝܽܘܬܳܐ *hardness*, p. 184. 8.

ܩܰܫܝܳܐܝܬ *fiercely*, p. 49. 3; 78. 8; 142. 1.

ܩܰܬܶܕܪܳܐ καθέδρα, cathedra, *seat*, p. 258, 1, 7, 9.

ܪܫ. ܢܦܠ ܒܪܫ ܪܫ *to fall headlong*, p. 44. 7; 49. 10.

ܪ̈ܫܰܝ ܕܶܟܪ̈ܐ *rams' heads*, i.e., battering rams, p. 101. 7, 8.

ܪܒܐ. ܡܪܒܝܢܐ *fosterer, guardian,* plur. ܡܪ̈ܒܝܢܐ p. 228. 8.

ܪܒܥ. ܡܪܒܥܐ *square,* p. 219. 19.

ܪܒܝ. ܪܒܝܐ *strain, force of a current,* p. 205. 13.

ܪܓ. Infin. Pĕ'al ܡܪܓ *to desire,* p. 158. 15.

Ethpalpal ܐܬܪܓܪܓ *to desire,* p. 6. 4; 107. 3; 206. 18.

ܪܓܝܓܘܬܐ *desirability,* p. 206. 10.

ܪܗܛ. ܪܗܛܐ *runner,* plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܐ p. 268. 5.

ܪܗܛܐ *ravine,* plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܐ p. 134. 19.

ܪܗܛܬܐ *river, torrent,* plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܬܐ p. 155. 7.

ܪܓܫ. Af'ēl *to make perceive,* p. 162. 16; 243. 1; part. act. ܡܪܓܫ p. 86. 6.

ܪܓܫܬܐ *feeling, perception,* p. 68. 11, 13.

ܪܕܐ. ܪܕܘܬܐ, ܪܕܘܬܐ *learning,* p. 56. 17; ܠܐ ܪܕܘܬܐ *ignorance* p. 89. 3.

ܪܗܒ. Saf'ēl part. plur. ܡܫܪܗܒܝܢ p. 3. 11.

Estafa'al ܐܫܬܪܗܒ *to hasten,* p. 11. 13; 102. 12; 243. 4.

ܡܫܪܗܒܐܝܬ *hastily,* p. 132. 2.

ܪܗܝܒܐܝܬ *hastily, quickly,* p. 182. 9; 209. 2.

ܪܗܛܘܪܐ ῥήτωρ *orator,* p. 117. 1, 11; plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܘܪܐ p. 115. 13; 116. 7; 121. 5; 125. 7; 126. 3.

ܪܘܒ. ܪܘܒܐ *tumults,* p. 57. 17.

ܪܘܚ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܪܘܚ *to be gratified,* p. 33. 4.

ܪܚܝܐ *mill,* p. 261. 1; 268. 18.

ܪܘܦ. ܪܘܦܬܐ *sprinkling, spattering,* p. 41. 14; 51. 2. ܪܘܦܬܐ تنضيح, رش, نضح Rich 7203, fol. 169 *b*, col. 1.

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ܐܪܙܦܬܐ, Chald. אַרְזַפְּתָא, Ar. الرزبة *hammer*, p. 270. 4, 5; plur. ܐܪܙܦܬܐ p. 270. 6. See Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, p. 286, col. 2.

ܪܚܡ. ܪܚܡܬ ܒܝܬܐ *homeloving*, p. 20. 11.

ܪܚܘܡܐܝܬ *lovingly*, p. 30. 3.

ܡܪܚܡܢܐܝܬ *kindly*, p. 246. 10.

ܪܛܢ. *to grumble*, p. 36. 3.

Af'ël part. act. ܡܪܛܢ *complaining*, p. 36. 4.

ܪܟܒ. Pa''ël part. act. ܡܪܟܒ *to compose* a song, p. 107. 10; ܡܠܐ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ *words strung together*, p. 107. 11.

ܪܟܒܐ *riders*, p. 44. 7.

ܪܘܟܒܐ *composition*, p. 96. 5.

ܪܟܢ. Af'ël part. act. ܐܪܟܢ *to make to bow*, p. 151. 16.

ܡܬܪܟܢܢܘܬܐ *placable*, p. 103. 13.

ܪܟܫܐ *horses*, p. 24. 9.

ܪܡܐ. Af'ël *to throw*, p. 52. 4; 118. 1; ܐܪܡܝܬ ܒܝܥܬܐ *it laid an egg*, p. 18. 9; Infin. ܠܡܪܡܝܘ p. 111. 2.

ܪܡܙ. *to make a sign*, p. 48. 1.

ܪܡܙܐ *hint*, p. 88. 1; 196. 6.

ܪܡܟܐ *herd of horses*, plur. ܪܡܟܐ p. 24. 8.

ܪܢܐ. ܡܪܢܝܬܐ *anxious thought*, p. 118. 4; 162. 9; plur. ܡܪܢܝܬܐ p. 126. 4.

ܪܥܐ. ܡܬܪܥܝܢܘܬܐ *reconciliation*, p. 204. 2.

ܪܥܡ. ܪܘܥܡܐ *anger, indignation*, p. 220. 7; plur. ܪܘܥܡܐ p. 122. 9.

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ܪܦܐ. Af·ēl *to leave, forsake*, p. 4. 16; 90. 16; 101. 12; 108. 17; 168. 8; 169. 12; 195. 19; 202. 12; 207. 8; 244. 5; ܡܪܦܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܢ *to divorce*, p. 10. 4; ܡܪܦܐ ܠܐܝܕܐ *to let go hold*, p. 199. 13.

ܪܦܝܦܐܝܬ *sluggishly*, p. 83. 13.

ܪܩܕ. ܪܩܘܕܐ *dancers*, p. 181. 14.

ܡܪܩܕܢܘܬܐ *mourning*, p. 21. 3; 251. 17.

ܪܩܥ. ܐܘܪܩܥܬܐ *rug*, p. 41. 16; رقعة من ثوب See *Duval, Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 94, col. 2.

ܪܚܫ *to glide, crawl, creep*, p. 13. 1; 17. 7.

ܪܬܐ. ܡܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ *admonition*, p. 55. 12.

ܪܘܚ. ܡܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ *abounding*, p. 75. 13.

ܫܐܪܝܐ *silken* curtains, p. 195. 11; 200. 8. ܫܐܪܝܐ حرير, القز Rich 7203, fol. 174 *a*, col. 1.

ܫܒܐ. ܫܒܝܐ *captors*, p. 164. 1.

ܫܒܩ *to leave*, 194. 16; *to let go* a battering ram, p. 101. 8; *to set fire*, p. 175. 4; *to divorce*, p. 53. 10; ܫܒܝܩܬܐ *divorced*, p. 50. 9.

Ethpĕʿēl ܐܫܬܒܩ *to be forgiven*, p. 248. 14.

ܫܒܘܒܬܐ *branch*, p. 93. 12; plur. ܫܒܘܒܝܢ, ܫܒܘܒܬܐ p. 238. 2.

ܫܒܝܫܬܐ *vine branches*, p. 78. 12. In Rich 7203, fol. 175 *b*, col. 1, ܫܒܝܫܬܐ is explained by شفشه الدقيقه التي في الكرم

ܫܓܐ. Ar. ساج *plane, teakwood*, p. 2. 12; 4. 12; 212. 3.

ܫܚܠܦ. ܡܫܚܠܦܬܐ *various*, p. 171. 1. مختلف = ܡܫܚܠܦܐ in Rich 7203, fol. 88 *a*, col. 2.

ܫܕܪ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܕܪ *to be sent*, p. 79. 16.

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ܫܗܐ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܗܝ *to be diminished*, p. 206. 2.

ܫܗܝܘܬܐ *wilderness*, p. 168. 2.

ܫܘܐ. Pa''êl infin. ܠܡܫܘܝܘ *to lay, to prepare*, p. 195. 12; part. pass. ܡܫܘܝܐ *laid*, p. 182. 4.

ܫܘܒ. ܫܘܒܐ *drought*, p. 72. 18.

ܫܘܛ. ܫܝܛܐ *despised*, p. 86. 6.

ܫܝܛܘܬܐ *contempt*, p. 149. 9.

ܡܫܬܝܛܢܘܬܐ *ridicule*, p. 221. 15.

ܫܘܝܘܬܐ *equality*, p. 146. 12.

ܫܘܝܐܝܬ *together, equally*, p. 27. 16; 46. 15, 17; 137. 7; 175. 4; 203. 5.

ܫܘܦܢܐ *blows*, p. 178. 15.

ܫܒܪ. ܫܒܪܐܝܬ *stupidly*, p. 106. 3.

ܫܚܢ. Af'êl part. act. ܡܫܚܢ *making warm*, p. 86. 5.

ܫܚܩ. Ethpĕ'êl *to be vexed*, p. 28. 8.

ܫܚܩܐ *vexation*, plur. ܫܚܩܐ p. 146. 15.

ܫܚܠ. ܫܚܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܡܚܐ *barley meal*, p. 75. 5.

ܫܦܝ. ܫܦܝܐ *level*, p. 100. 17; 233. 17.

ܫܝܢ. Pa''êl ܫܝܢ *to make peace*, p. 57. 4; part. act. ܡܫܝܢ *pacify*, p. 54. 19; plur. ܡܫܝܢܐ *docile, gentle*, p. 251. 9.

ܡܫܝܢܘܬܐ *peace*, p. 140. 6.

ܫܝܦ. Pa''êl infin. ܠܡܫܝܦܘ *to rub*, p. 33. 3; part. act. ܡܫܝܦ p. 33. 6.

ܫܟܚ. ܫܟܚܬܐ, plur. ܫܟܚܬܐ *inventions, discoveries*, p. 2. 1.

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ܫܟܝܚܘܬܐ *invention*, p. 67. 1.

ܫܟܪ. ܫܟܝܪܐ *bad, foul*, p. 199. 6; ܫܟܝܪܬܐ p. 128. 2.

ܫܟܝܪܘܬܐ *foulness*, p. 107. 14.

ܫܠܐ. Pa"ēl infin. ܠܡܫܠܝܘ *to quiet*, p. 46. 1.

ܫܠܝܐܝܬ *peacefully, silently*, p. 33. 8; 122. 15; 225. 6.

ܫܠܛ *to rule*, p. 65. 3; ܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ *dominion*, p. 151. 17.

ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ *rule*, p. 113. 11.

ܫܠܡ. ܫܠܡܠܡܬܐ, plur. ܫܠܡ̈ܠܡܢܐ *perfect*, p. 209. 6.

ܡܫܬܠܡܢܘܬܐ *betrayal*, p. 29. 2.

ܫܠܩ. ܫܠܝܩ *roasted*, p. 264. 16. In Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 375 *b*, col. 1,

ܫܠܝܩܐ is explained by مَطْبُوخ ،مَسْلُوق.

ܫܡܗ. Pa"ēl ܫܡܗ *to call, to name*, p. 16. 13; 109. 1; Part. ܡܫܡܗ *name*, p. 53. 2; ܡܫܡܗܐ *renowned, famous*, p. 39. 4; 142. 17; 225. 15; plur. ܡܫܡ̈ܗܐ p. 211. 2; 247. 1; ܡܫܡܗܬܐ p. 67. 16; 75. 13; 226. 7.

ܡܫܡܗܘܬܐ *fame*, 196. 12.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܡܗ *to be famed*, p. 72. 16.

ܫܡܥ. *to be obedient*, p. 2. 3; 230. 19; ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ *obedient*, p. 174. 8.

ܫܢ. ܫܢܢܐ *rock*, p. 271. 6; plur. ܫ̈ܢܢܬܐ *mountains*, p. 260. 8; 267. 11, 14, 15, 16; 268. 2, 10; 269. 17.

ܫܢܐ. ܫܢܝܘܬܐ *madness*, p. 89. 3.

ܫܥܐ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܥܝ *to play*, p. 81. 11; 89. 11; ܐܫܬܥܝ *to be told, narrated*, p. 18. 17.

ܫܥܝܬܐ *game, sport*, plur. ܫܥ̈ܝܬܐ p. 57. 15, 17; 75. 4; ܫܥ̈ܝܐ ܕܛܠܝ̈ܐ child's *play*, p. 41. 13.

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ܫܥܘܬܐ *yellow*, p. 43. 15.

ܫܘܦܟܐ *fist, hand*, p. 83. 17.

ܫܦܠ. *to be timid, weak*, p. 129. 9.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܦܠ *to be abased, brought low*, p. 196. 14.

ܫܦܠܐ *mean*, p. 144. 1.

ܫܦܠܘܬܐ *disgrace*, p. 91. 4, 6.

ܫܦܥ. ܫܦܝܥ *liberal*, p. 35. 7.

ܫܦ̈ܥܐ *overflowings* of the Nile, p. 124. 5.

ܫܩܠ. Af'êl ܐܫܩܠ *to move on, decamp*, p. 97. 1, 4; 113. 2; 192. 1; 193. 12; 194. 18; 201. 16; 202. 3; 207. 3; 232. 5; infin. ܠܡܫܩܠܘ p. 183. 9; part. act. ܡܫܩܠܐ *marching*, p. 172. 1.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܩܠ *to prevail*, p. 118. 17.

ܡܫܩܠܢܘܬܐ *arrogance, greatness*, p. 86. 3; 143. 12; 151. 17; 198. 14; 199. 1.

ܡܫܩܠܢܐܝܬ *proudly*, p. 143. 19.

ܫܩܠܐ *tax*, p. 164. 4; ܫܩ̈ܠܐ p. 124. 13; ܫܩ̈ܠܬܐ p. 146. 18.

ܫܩܝܠ ܒܛܢܐ *carefully*, p. 23. 2; 49. 1.

ܫܪ. ܡܫܪܪܐܝܬ *surely*, p. 23. 2.

ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ *truly, certainly*, p. 6. 15; 11. 17; 15. 14; 53. 16; 61. 11.

ܫܘܪܐ *navel*, p. 163. 15; plur. ܫܘܪ̈ܐ p. 201. 5.

ܫܪܐ. Af'êl infin. ܠܡܫܪܝܘ *to break up a company*, p. 207. 4.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܫܬܪܝ *to be dismissed*, p. 114. 15.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܪܝ *to be finished* (of a feast), p. 197. 10.

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ܫܪܘܬܐ *feast*, p. 85. 2; 129. 16; 197. 10.

ܫܪܝܢܐ *breastplate*, p. 224. 13.

ܫܪܘܒܝܢܐ *cypresses*, p. 186. 3.

ܫܪܦ. Pa''ēl part. act. ܡܫܪܦ *kissing*, p. 17. 7.

ܫܫܡ. ܫܘܫܡܐ *grains of sesame* (Ar. سمسم) p. 82. 6; 83. 16; 88. 1, 13; 92. 8, 13, 14; 93. 13, 16; 94. 13.

Shaf'ēl part. pass. ܡܫܘܬܦ *joined with*, p. 62. 8.

ܫܘܫܡܢܐ *ant*, plur. ܫܘܫܡܢܐ p. 92. 3.

ܫܬܣ, ܫܬܐܣ, ܫܐܬܣ. ܫܬܐܣܬܐ = ܫܬ *foundation*, + ܐܣܬܐ *wall*, p. 209. 10; plur. ܫܬܐܣܬܐ p. 74. 8; 101. 5.

ܫܬܦ. Eshtaf'al ܡܫܬܘܬܦ *to be united with*, p. 11. 7; 20. 9.

ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ *union*, p. 29. 7.

ܫܘܬܦܐ *associate*, p. 34. 16.

ܬܐܛܪܘܢ *θέατρον*, *theatre*, p. 58. 3, 4; 110. 13.

ܬܒܥ *to seek vengeance*, p. 10. 12; 12. 1; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 127. 10; 138. 2; 142. 1; 143. 7; 224. 5.

ܬܒܥܬܐ *vengeance*, p. 64. 4.

ܬܗܐ. ܬܘܗܝܐ *delay*, p. 117. 2; 249. 9.

ܬܘܐ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܬܘܝ *to repent*, p. 82. 11.

ܡܬܬܘܝܢܘܬܐ *repentance*, p. 62. 3.

ܬܟܒ. *to be humbled*, p. 17. 18.

ܬܟܝܒܐ *despicable*, *wretched*, p. 100. 14.

ܬܚܬ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܬܚܬ *to descend*, *be brought down*, p. 128. 11; 196. 14.

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ܬܟܒ. ܬܟܝܒܬܐ *sore, grievous,* plur. ܬܟܝ̈ܒܬܐ p. 251. 17.

ܬܟܠ. ܬܘܟܠܢܐ *confidence, trust,* p. 61. 18; 199. 3.

ܡܬܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ *trust,* p. 21. 7.

ܬܟܝܠܐܝܬ *confidently,* p. 193. 18.

ܬܠܚ. Ethpa'al part. plur. fem. ܡܬܬܠ̈ܚܢ *torn, rent,* p. 260. 11.

ܬܗܪ. *to wonder,* p. 32. 12; ܬܗܝܪ *wonderful,* p. 2. 3; 66. 15; ܬܗܝܪܬܐ p. 172. 8; 183. 10; ܬܗܝܪܝܢ p. 130. 6; 131. 4; 219. 1; ܬܗܝܪܐ p. 105. 13; ܬܗܝܪܐ ܐܢܐ *I wonder,* p. 12. 11.

ܬܗܪܐ *wonder,* p. 12. 3.

ܬܘܪ̈ܣܐ *breastplates,* p. 172. 4.

ܬܥ̈ܠܐ ܠܠܝܐ = νυκταλώπηκες, *nightfoxes,* p. 175. 17.

ܬܦܐ, *stream,* plur. ܬ̈ܦܐ p. 70. 4. See ܕܦܐ p. 261. 1; 268. 7.

ܬܩܠ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܬܩܠ *to be upset,* p. 44. 9, 12; 45. 9; 49. 9; 68. 9.

ܬܘܩܠܬܐ *a stumbling,* p. 52. 2.

ܬܩܢ. Af'ēl ܐܬܩܢ *to set straight, correct,* p. 37. 7; Infin. ܠܡܬܩܢܘ *to set up,* p. 146. 13; part. act. ܡܬܩܢ p. 226. 7; pass. ܡܬܩܢ p. 224. 14; plur. ܡܬܩ̈ܢܝܢ p. 171. 8; 182. 7; 200. 1; 238. 3; fem. ܡܬܩ̈ܢܢ p. 8. 14.

ܬܪܢܓܘܠܬܐ. Chald. תַּרְנְגוֹלָא, *hen,* p. 18. 7; plur. ܬܪ̈ܢܓܘܠܬܐ p. 56. 11.

ܬܪܣ. Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܬܪ̈ܣܝܢ *to be fed upon,* p. 169. 6.

ܬܘܪܣܝܐ *food,* p. 75. 7, 15; 98. 7; 121. 17; 122. 2; 140. 15.

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ܝܗܒ ܬܘܪܣܝܐ *to feed*, p. 39. 14.

ܬܪܥ. ܬܪܥܐ plur. ܬܪ̈ܥܐ *gates*, p. 43. 7; *curtains*, 195. 11.

ܬܪܨ *to become straight* (of a bridge), p. 205. 14; *to march straight forward*, p. 190. 10; *to make a way straight*, p. 189. 15.

ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ *what is right, straightness*, p. 54. 14; 83. 5; 140. 10; plur. ܬܪ̈ܝܨܘܬܐ *truths*, p. 83. 12.

ܬܪܝܨܐܝܬ *correctly, exactly, precisely*, p. 7. 2, 17; 9. 11; 50. 14; 95. 1; 121. 7; 122. 7; 178. 1; 197. 19; 203. 1; 220. 8; 239. 8.

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NOTE TO PAGE xxxiv.

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. Canon Maclean, M.A., the head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Nestorians at Urmia, I have obtained another MS. of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which he caused to have copied for me during the present year. It measures 8¾ in. by 7 in., and consists of 217 leaves. The quires, unsigned, are 22 in number. Each page contains 16 lines. This manuscript is written in a fine, bold, modern Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2200 = A.D. 1889. The faulty readings in it agree generally with those in D; occasionally however its readings are peculiar to itself, *e. g.*, ܘܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ for ܘܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܦܝܠܦܘܣ p. ܘ, l. 16. The collation of the difficult passages in ABCD and E with this manuscript has neither helped to amend the text nor to clear away any of the difficulties which exist in it. The following is the colophon:—

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܘܡܘܡܠܠܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ
ܐܕܪ ܆ ܒ ܆ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܆ ܫܢܬ ܆ 2200 ܆
ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܒܫܢܐ ܆ ܡܪܢܝܬܐ ܆ ܦܦܦܐ ܆ 1889 ܆ ܒܩܘܪܝܐ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܘܪܡܝ. ܘܗܘ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܠܟܠܗ ܝܠܦܢ ܒܡܘܫܐ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܬܪܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܬܢܝܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܡܫܢܝܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܐ ܟܬܒܐ
ܡܛܠ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܡܠܝܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢܘܦ ܢܦܫܐ
ܘܐܡܠܝܠܐ ܘܣܝܘܡܐ ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܐ ܝܫܡܥܘܢ ܡܫܘܠܡܢܐ

ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܪܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘ ܝܟܣܘܣ ܢܝܘܣܝܘܣ
ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܦܘܪܢܣܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܘܣܒܪܬܐ ܐܠܝܫܒܥ ܥܒܕܐ
ܘܡܠܝܬܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܗܪܡܘܢܝܘܣ ܒܠܝܩܝܢܐ ܦܪܝܣ ܠܦܘܛܠ
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ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ ܀ ܡܪܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܗ
ܥܡ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܝܬܝܪܘ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܘܡܬܟܬܒ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܟܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܕܢܣܒ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܢܫܝܢ. ܘܕܘܟܬܐ
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ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܟܬܘܒܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܣܘܪܓܕܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܢ
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ܕܓܢܝܚ ܀

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 1, line 1. Read ܘܛܢܐ.
„ 1, „ 5. „ ܕܓܒܐ.
„ 2, „ 4. „ ܓܒܐ.
„ 5, „ 10. „ ܗܠܝܢܒܐ.
„ 8, „ 3. „ ܕܠܒܪ ܦܠܐ.
„ 13, „ 13. „ ܦܪܣܝܢ.
„ 22, note 8. CE omit ܚܕܝܐ.
„ 23, line 16. Read ܕܦܣܝܩܬܐ.
„ 26, „ 6. „ ܠܢܦܩܐ.
„ 32, „ 2. „ ܠܒܘܟܐ.
„ 34, „ 15. „ ܫܪܒ.
„ 35, „ 15. „ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.
„ 39, „ 2. „ ܕܟܘܒܬܐ.
„ 40, „ 10; 41, line 12; 43, line 5; 45, lines 5, 7. Read ܕܘܟܬܐ.
„ 47, „ 4. Read ܡܟܬܒܣܘܣ.
„ 50, „ 1. „ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.

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Page 69, line 9. Read ܡܓܢܪܬܗ.

„ 77, „ 8. „ ܓܒܗ ܬܫܒܚܬܐ.

„ 79, „ 18. Should we not read ܕܒܠܒܢܐ ܡܟܣܝܣܬܐ ?

„ 87, „ 7. ܐܝܟ seems to be superfluous.

„ 105, note 2. Read ܒܕܠܬܗ ܐܕܬܐ.

„ 130, „ 6. D reads ܡܕܒܪܢܐ.

„ 130, line 3. Place ⁘ after ܕܢܣܒܐ.

„ 137, „ 11. Read ܘܡܕܒܪܬܗ.

„ 158, „ 13. „ ܕܪܟ.

„ 162, „ 10. „ ܒܠܒܗ.

„ 166, „ 3. „ ܘܫܦܝ.

„ 189, „ 8. „ ܕܒܫܬܐ.

„ 195, „ 7. „ ܘܠܡܕܪܕܦܢ.

„ 202, „ 17. „ ܘܐܝܟ ܠܒܪܐ.

„ 209, „ 12. „ ܡܫܠܛܢܐ.

„ 218, „ 12. „ ܘܡܟܣܘܬܐ.

„ 224, „ 9. „ ܢܟܣܘܦ.

„ 233, „ 12. „ ܡܬܡܬܠ.

ܘ̣ has been printed for ܘ̣ on p. 31. 8, 12; 33. 1; 34. 12; 39. 17; 41. 17; 56. 20 and a few other places.

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THE HISTORY

OF

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THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BEING THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE

PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

EDITED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS,

WITH AN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.,

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT SCHOLAR;
ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES,
BRITISH MUSEUM.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, M.P.,

BY HIS

DEEPLY OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL SERVANT

THE EDITOR AND TRANSLATOR.

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The storie of Alisaundre is so comune
That every wyght that hath discrecioun
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.

CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, Group B, ll. 3821—3823,
or, Monkes Tale, ll. 640—642.

Seigneurs qui vivez à present,
Qui desirez ouyr cronicques,
Lisez Alixandre le Grant,
Qui dit chouses moult magnificques.
En luy chouses diverses orrez
Pour vous oster merencolye;
Car ses dits sont beaulx, bien narrez
Par grans docteurs, je vous affye.
Ou romant les pourrez vous veoir:
Chacun d'eulx y fait son devoir.

BERGER DE XIVREY, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. XLVIII.

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PREFACE.

SO far back as the year 1881 the late Professor W. Wright suggested to me that I should prepare an edition of the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes and an English translation of it. I undertook this work in the hope that it would be useful not only to students of Syriac who will be glad of a new and amusing text to read, but also to the large and increasing number of enquirers into the folk-lore and legends connected with Alexander the Great who have not found time to learn Syriac, and to whom, necessarily, the contents of this ancient version are unknown. It may be argued that sufficient of the fabulous history of Alexander is known to us from the Greek text of the work which is attributed to Callisthenes, and from the Latin translations of it made by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter. I am inclined to think, however, that a perusal of the Syriac version will reveal much of interest to the reader, and as it appears to represent a Greek text older than any known to us, that it will be of considerable help in determining one of the earliest forms of the Alexander story.

The Syriac text is edited from five manuscripts, the oldest of which was written about one hundred and eighty years ago: it has been divided into chapters which follow the order of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes published by Müller. The variant readings of the MSS. are printed at the foot of each page together with such emendations and corrections as it has

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been found possible to make. A few misprints have crept into the text and they are noted on pages 255, 256.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and only the most necessary notes have been added. Wherever I have been unable to translate a word the fact has been shown by dots.

The short Glossary which follows the English translation makes no pretence of being a complete dictionary to the book. In it, however, will be found such words as have been omitted in the Castle-Michaelis Lexicon and examples of words and forms which are given there without any references to places where they may be found; it is hoped that they will be useful to the beginner. In all cases the utmost brevity has been studied.

In the short introduction to this edition of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have made a few remarks on some of the versions of the Alexander story based upon the careful works of Favre, Müller, Zacher, Berger de Xivrey, Spiegel and others. The Persian versions of the story I have not attempted to describe, for I have no knowledge of the language. Though late (A.D. 900—1300), they seem to me to be of considerable importance, for they in all probability represent Arabic originals which are no longer extant. Similarly I have not tried to discuss the story from the folk-lore point of view, for I possess neither the necessary knowledge nor the time.

The extracts from an unpublished Egyptian magical papyrus and the remarks on them have been inserted because they support the theory that the story of the magician Nectanebus being the father of Alexander the Great is one of Egyptian origin and composition. The chapter on Ethiopic versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been added, because, save for the short extract from the first chapter printed by the late

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Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 294, no part of it has, to my knowledge at least, been described or printed. It represents an Arabic original and is therefore of importance; besides this any new matter which helps to throw light on the history of the translations and age and travels of a book which has had more readers than any other, the Bible alone excepted, will be welcome. Zacher's observation with reference to the Syriac version of the Alexander story[1] applies equally to this.

My thanks are due to the German Oriental Society for the loan of the manuscript C, and to the American Oriental Society for their kindness in allowing me to have the manuscript B in my possession during the years in which this book was being prepared and was passing through the press. I am also much indebted to the Rev. Benjamin Labaree of Urmia, to Mr. Henry H. Lamb, British Vice-Consul at Scutari, and to Mr. Nimroud Rassam of Mosul, for the pains which they took in superintending the copying of manuscripts D and E, and for the numerous enquiries after ancient Syriac manuscripts of the Alexander story which they made at my request.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have earned the gratitude of all Syriac scholars by their liberality in purchasing a fount of Nestorian Syriac type, which enabled the peculiar character and pointing of the Nestorian MSS. to be accurately reproduced; and my grateful thanks are due to Mr. C. J. Clay who has spared himself no trouble in the production of this, the first book printed in England in the Nestorian Syriac character.

[1] Diese Fragen erscheinen wol bedeutsam genug, nicht nur für die Alexandersage an sich, sondern auch für die orientalische Literaturgeschichte überhaupt, dass wir von den Kennern der syrischen und arabischen Literatur eine eingehende Würdigung und Erörterung derselben hoffen dürfen.

Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 193.

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To the late Prof. William Wright I am most deeply indebted. He read through the whole of my copy of the Syriac text and the English translation before it went to press, and I had the great benefit of his unique experience and assistance in correcting the proof sheets of the whole of the Syriac text of the History of Alexander and of the English translation as far as page 128. Throughout the preparation of this and other works the ready helping hand, the judicious advice, and the warm sympathy of my master were never wanting.

لَقَدْ جُدْتَ لِي قَبْلَ السُّؤَالِ بِأَنْعُمٍ أَتَتْنِي بِلَا مَطْلٍ لَدَيْكَ وَلَا عُذْرِ
فَمَا لِيَ لَا أُعْطِي ثَنَاءَكَ حَقَّهُ وَأُثْنِي عَلَى جَدْوَاكَ فِي السِّرِّ وَالْجَهْرِ
سَأَذْكُرُ مَا أَوْلَيْتَنِي مِنْ صَنَائِعٍ يَخِفُّ بِهَا هَمِّي إِنْ أَثْقَلَتْ ظَهْرِي

The acquaintance which began in March 1877 ripened, during the five years in which I was his pupil, into a friendship which grew stronger each year after, and was only broken by his death on May 22nd, whereby the world lost one of its few great Semitic scholars*, and I a true friend.

ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܡܫ̈ܬܠܦܢܐ
ܘܓܪܡܛܝܩܘܣ ܕܐܪ̈ܐܡܝܐ ܘܦܐܠܛܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܒܨܝܪ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܡܚ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܀

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

London,

November, 1889.

* "Der bedeutendste englische Semitist und ein wahrhaft guter Mensch." T. Nöldeke in *Deutsche Rundschau*, August, 1889, pp. 306—308. See also the excellent accounts of his life and works by Prof. R. L. Bensly in the *Academy*, June 1st, 1889, p. 378; by Dr. Neubauer in the *Athenaeum*, June 1st, 1889, p. 697; by M. J. de Goeje in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII. pp. 522—529, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi. N. S., pt. iii. pp. 708—713.

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INTRODUCTION.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE text of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes printed in this volume is edited from a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 25, 875), and the variant readings printed at the foot of each page are taken from four MSS., of which the first and second belong to the American Oriental Society and to the German Oriental Society respectively; the third and fourth are in my own possession. The British Museum MS. has been described by the late Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1872, Vol. iii. p. 1064, No. DCCCCXXII. It is of paper, about 8¾ in. by 6⅛ in., and consists of 362 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 36 in number. Each page is divided into two columns of 28 lines. This manuscript is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020—21[1] = A.D. 1708—9. The History of Alexander the Great is the twelfth and last article in the MS., and its colophon runs as follows (Wright's *Cat.* p. 1069):—

ܫܠܡܬ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܘܠܕܘܬܗ ܘܕܘܒܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܛܪܐ

[1] There are really two years ܒܟ and ܒܟܐ given in the manuscript.

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ܘܩܫܝܫܐ ܗܘܡܘ ܐܚܐ. ܒܢܝ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܐܠܩܘܫܢܝܐ
ܒܫܢܬ ܐܒܟܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܪܝܟܐ ܀ ܒܝܪܚ ܬܫܪܝ ܩܕܝܡ ܀ ܓ ܀
ܒܗ ܀ ܒܚܡܫ ܒܫܒܐ ܀ ܘܠܡܥܒܪܢܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ ܘܥܕܢܐ
ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ܀ ܘܥܠ ܩܪܘܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܟܬܒܢܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܚܝܠܗ ܘܪܚܡܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the history of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip: [written] by the hands of the wretched priest Yaldâ and the priest Hômô[1], brothers, sons of the priest Daniel of Alkôsh[2], in the year two thousand and twenty-one of the blessed Greeks [A.D. 1709], on the third day of the month of the first Teshrî, on the fifth day of the week [Thursday]. Everlasting glory be to Him who makes times and seasons pass away; and may the com-

[1] Hômô was a contemporary of the Catholic patriarch, Mâr Elîyâ, and the Metropolitan Mâr Îshô'yabh (A. Gr. 2024 = A.D. 1712). See Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. iii, iv.

[2] Alkôsh, القوش, is a village of a few hundred houses situated about six hours ride to the north of Mosul, الموصل, along the road which passes Tell Kêf تل كيف, Baṭnâyê or Ṭytnâyê, and Tell Uskuf تل أسقف. For a description of these villages see Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 359—369; and Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 104, p. 174. In Alkôsh the grave of the prophet Nahum is shown, and on the sixth of Îyâr (May) many Jews make a pilgrimage to the synagogue which is supposed to mark the resting place of his body. Tell Kêf, Syr. ܬܠܟܐ̈ܦܐ or "Stone hill," is described by a modern writer as ܚܕܐ ܩܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܠܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܦܫܝܛܬܐ. ܘܚܕܐ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ̈ܝܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ ܘܪܚܡܬܐ. For a description of Tell Uskuf, or as the natives call it, Tell Skîpâ, see مراصد الاطلاع (ed. Juynboll) vol. i. p. ٢٠٩ and Yâkût معجم البلدان ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. i. p. ٨٦٣.

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passion and mercy of God be upon the writers and the man who had this book written, the priest Joseph of Ḥôrdephnê[1]." This manuscript is indicated by "A" in the following pages; those belonging to the American Oriental Society and the German Oriental Society by "B" and "C" respectively, and those in my own possession by "D" and "E".

B is a paper manuscript, about 8⅝ in. by 6⅝, consisting of 185 leaves. The quires signed with letters are 18 in number. One column of 20 lines occupies each page. This manuscript is written in a good Nestorian hand with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2155, = A.D. 1844. It was given to the American Oriental Society by the Rev. J. Perkins, D.D., who had it copied from a manuscript found among the Nestorian Christians. Some pages of text from this manuscript, with a translation in English, were printed by Dr. Perkins and Dr. Woolsey in the *Transactions of the American Oriental Society*, vol. IV. pp. 359—440. Speaking generally, B and C agree closely in respect of omissions, etc.; I think, therefore, that these manuscripts were copied from the same original. They have, occasionally, better readings than A. On the margin of some of the pages of B are explanations in the modern Fellaeḥî dialect of Urmia which I have given, as far as I was able, with the variant readings at the foot of the pages of printed text. It would be extremely interesting to have some particulars about the original manuscript or manuscripts from which these were copied, and with this object in view I wrote to my friend Dr. Benjamin Labaree of Urmia and asked him to make enquiries on this subject: he was, however, unable to trace the manuscript or manuscripts from which Dr. Perkins had caused his copies to be made. Wherever report said that a copy of the History of Alexander existed in Syriac he sent a messenger to make enquiries, but no satisfactory results followed these careful investigations.

The pointing of the proper names in this MS. usually

[1] حَرْدَفْنَة and حَرْدَفْنِين. See Yâḳût, vol. i. p. ٢٣٩; Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 254; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, p. 195, notes 1544, 5; Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. xxiii; and Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 364.

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agrees with that in A, and it also carefully marks *mărhĕṭânâ* and *mĕhăggĕyânâ*. For example: ܗܘܘ p. 1. 4; ܗܘܐ, ܐܡܝܪܐ p. 1. 10; ܗܘܘܢ p. 2. 3; ܗܘܢ p. 3. 12; ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ p. 3. 15; ܕܝܬܝܪܘܬܐ p. 4. 1; ܐܢܬ p. 4. 5; ܐܢܐ p. 4. 7; ܐܡܝܪܐ p. 4. 17; ܢܬܦܪܫ p. 5. 12; ܕܝܠܝܕܘܬܐ p. 6. 9; ܗܘ p. 7. 16; ܐܡܝܪܬܐ p. 8. 15; ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܡܝܪܬܐ p. 10. 4; ܐܢܬܘܢ p. 10. 11; ܐܡܝܪܬܐ p. 10. 20; ܡܬܗܘܡܝܢ p. 13. 4; ܬܕܝܢܘܢ p. 14. 5; ܡܬܕܝܢܐ p. 16. 3; ܕܝܢܬܐ p. 16. 11; ܐܬܪܢ p. 16. 12; ܐܚܪܢܐ p. 17. 4; ܐܬܡܠܝܘ p. 17. 10; ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ p. 17. 18; ܗܦܝܟܬܐ p. 18. 20; ܡܟܣܝܐܝܬ p. 19. 15; ܢܚܫܒܐ p. 19. 20; ܐܬܝܠܕ p. 20. 4; ܚܙܝܬ p. 21. 6; ܐܬܢܨܚܘ p. 23. 4; ܡܫܝܢܘܬܗ p. 23. 7; ܢܬܢܣܒܘܢ p. 24. 15; ܢܬܠܒܫ p. 25. 1; ܡܬܝܩܪܬܐ p. 25. 12; ܠܟܠܗ ܢܬܠܘܢ p. 27. 3; ܐܬܢܣܝܘ p. 27. 9; ܠܡܫܬܐܠܘ p. 39. 9; ܕܦܘܩܕܢ p. 40. 11; ܐܬܡܠܟܘܢ p. 44. 10; ܢܕܝܢܬܐ p. 45. 3; ܐܬܡܠܟܢ p. 45. 13; ܐܬܒܠܥ p. 46. 4; ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢܗܝ p. 51. 15; ܬܘܠܕܬܐ p. 52. 2; ܘܐܬܦܪܫܢ p. 56. 11; ܐܪܐ p. 59. 18; ܡܫܠܡܬܐ ܠܒܢܝ p. 61. 12; ܕܐܬܪܗܘܢ p. 65. 11; ܡܦܩܚܝܢܗܘܢ p. 69. 13; ܢܬܦܪܫܘܢ p. 72. 10; ܢܬܐܡܪ p. 72. 13; ܐܬܢܣܝ p. 73. 17; ܡܬܩܢܝܢ p. 75. 16; ܐܬܡܪܘܢ p. 85. 7; ܐܬܚܙܝܬ p. 87. 2; ܘܕܡܟܣܝܐܬ p. 87. 17; ܡܫܬܠܛܐܢܝܬ p. 90. 1; ܐܬܚܫܒ p. 94. 3; ܐܬܦܠܓܘ p. 97. 20; ܘܡܬܝܕܥܬܐ p. 103. 10; ܐܬܝܠܕ p. 104. 7; ܐܬܢܣܒ p. 104. 8; ܐܬܕܪܟ p. 107. 2; ܐܬܕܚܩ p. 108. 2; ܡܣܘܒܪܬܐ p. 113. 4; ܕܡܬܟܪܗܐ p. 115. 2; ܠܐܢܫ p. 119.

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5; ܦܒܠܠܝܗ̇ p. 123. 16; ܡܠܝܪܗܘܢ p. 129. 15; ܡܠܝܢܝܚܐ p. 131. 19; ܡܣܬܪܗܘܬܐ ܠ p. 132. 2; ܦܣܬܝܢܠܐ p. 134. 15; ܐܬܡܠܠܝܗ p. 134. 19; ܡܣܬܠܡܝܢ p. 137. 10; ܐܬܡܢܝܢܗ p. 138. 7; ܠܦܐܪܣܗ p. 138. 7; ܦܐܪܘܬܐ p. 138. 9; ܢܫܡܘܬܐ p. 140. 2; ܦܛܦܛܐ p. 141. 5; ܢܟܠܝܗ̇ p. 141. 12; ܐܬܗܦܟ p. 148. 15; ܐܬܡܟܢ p. 149. 17; ܦܓܪܬܐ p. 155. 10; ܐܬܡܢܝܠܗ p. 162. 13; ܡܠܝܢܗܘܢ p. 164. 18; ܠܡܠܝܢܗܘܢ p. 165. 2; ܡܠܝܟܝܢ p. 166. 18; ܐܬܪܓܪܓܠ p. 169. 10; ܐܨܛܒܬ p. 170. 15; ܡܣܦܩܢܘܬܐ p. 171. 1; ܘܨܛܒܘܬܗܘܢ p. 179. 13; ܘܢܣܒܘܬܐ p. 181. 5; ܐܬܢܟܝܢ p. 183. 6; ܦܐܪܠ p. 186. 10; ܠܦܓܪܢܐ p. 190. 10; ܦܩܝܡܬܗ p. 191. 3; ܐܬܟܠܝܗ̇ p. 191. 5; ܢܬܦܨܠܝܗ̇ p. 191. 11; ܡܗܦܟܝܗ̇ p. 193. 2; ܦܣܩܨܢܬܐ p. 195. 18; ܐܬܢܒܗ̣ p. 199. 2; ܡܬܪܝܢ p. 200. 10; ܘܐܬܡܠܒܢܢ p. 205. 14; ܕܐܘܪܗ p. 207. 15; ܡܠܩܠܠܦܬܐ p. 209. 6; ܦܣܠܠܓܐ p. 209. 12; ܐܣܟܡܠ p. 221. 15; ܢܦܫܗܘܢ p. 223. 6; ܐܣܟܡܗ p. 223. 17; ܦܓܡܣܝܢ p. 225. 4; ܡܠܝܬܘܢ p. 226. 2; ܕܐܬܪܚܝܢ p. 227. 9; ܦܣܩܬܐ p. 228. 3; ܦܣܩܝܢ p. 228. 16; ܡܣܩܬܢܝ p. 229. 12; ܐܬܡܩܦܢ p. 231. 6; ܠܡܬܚܫܒܘܗ p. 232. 14; ܐܬܢܩܦܝ p. 235. 11; ܠܕܝܢܗܘܢ p. 239. 10; ܘܣܒܪܬܗܝܢ p. 245. 11; ܢܦܝܠܢܘܗܝ p. 245. 12; ܐܬܗܦܟ p. 246. 4; ܢܦܩܘܢ p. 247. 13; ܫܐܠ p. 248. 2; ܢܫܬܘܕܥܘܢܝܗܝ p. 250. 11; ܐܬܡܩܢ p. 257. 9; ܕܢܗܦܟ p. 258. 7; ܡܠܝܟܢ p. 259. 19; ܬܘܪܬܐ p. 262. 9; ܦܣܝܩܢ p. 263. 13;

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ܘܦܠܦܪܝܣܝܣ p. 264. 2; ܦܠܦܪܝܣܝܣ p. 264. 8; ܕܦܠܦܪܝܣܝܣ p. 266. 12; ܐܦܪܗܘ p. 266. 16; ܕܢܦܪܣ p. 266. 18; ܘܢܩܠܗܘܢ p. 269. 12; ܘܢܩܐܦܠ p. 269. 14; ܢܩܐܡ p. 271. 11; ܕܢܩܡܝܐ p. 273. 3; ܕܐܬܝܢ p. 273. 18.

In this manuscript ܡܡܠܐܠ is usually written ܡܡܠܐܠ, with ܐ above; other words written with ܐ above are ܢܦܝܐܠ p. 11, note 8; ܐܒܝܐ p. 33. 21; ܬܪܬܠܐܝܢ p. 165. 5; ܬܐܢܝܢ p. 227. 7; ܕܐܢܝܢ p. 230. 2; and ܢܐܝܐ p. 239. 12. In this manuscript words at the end of a line are frequently divided; Alexander's name is generally written in full, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ, while in A it is most frequently contracted. The MS. is paged from ܐ to ܫܡܐ: the following is the colophon:—

ܫܠܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܒܘܗܝ ܘܕܡܕ̈ܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܐܡܗ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘ ܘܠܡܠܟܐ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܦܠܝܠ. ܘܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܓܒܪ ܠܗ. ܐܘܟܝܬ
ܘܒܬܪܐ ܘܐܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܒܘܡܕܢܐ ܘܡܘܬܠܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܡܝܢܬܐ. ܗܢܐ
ܘܫܠܘܡ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܀

ܟܬܒ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܐ
ܘܫܬܡܐܐ ܀ ܘܫ ܀ ܒܗ ܀ ܒܝܘܡ ܐܪܒܥܒܫܒܐ ܀ ܒܝܪܚ ܐܕܪ
ܐܠܦܝ ܘܬܡܢܐ (sic) ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܐܘܟܝܬ
ܠܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܘܝܕܐ. ܘܗܘ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܟܠܗ ܫܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܟ ܒܪܒܘܥ ܐܝܠܘܠ ܘܫܢܬܐ. (p. ܫܢܚ) ܘܒܪ
ܬܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܢܐ. ܢܦܫܐ ܚܝܐ ܘܥܢܝܢܐ. ܘܫܘܡܟܐ
ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܚܢܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܢܢܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܒܢܝܐ.

ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܢܣܝܒܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܟܣܝܣ. ܕܟܬܒܝ ܥܘܕܪܐ ܦܠܢܝܐ ܡܢܟܝܐ. ܘܕܝܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܪܝܫܐ ܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܡܦܝܣܢܐ. ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܛܠܘ ܠܟܬܒܘ ܡܠܝܠܐ ܫܡܝܢܝܐ ܡܥܕܪܢܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘ ܠܒܢܐ ܕܡܫܢܐ ܚܢܢܝܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ. ܡܪܝ ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܚܝܠ ܒܩܘܫܬܐ. ܥܕܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܘܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ. ܘܝܬܒ ܕܟܬܒܗ ܒܩܘܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܡܪܢܐ. (sic) ܕܐܣܩܦܐ ܘܝܬܒ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܒܩܘܫܬܐ. ܠܩܘܒܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܕܡܐ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ. ܘܠܚܘܕ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܟܬܒ ܘܠܦܘ ܒܟܝܢܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ: ܘܒܬܘܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܟܬܒܐ. ܘܡܬܪܚܡܢܐ ܦܪܝܫ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܟܬܒܬ ܡܢܗܪܢܘܬܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ. ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܗܘܕܝܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܘܡܫܒܚܢܐ (p. ܥܒܕܗ) ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ܒܩܘܫ ܕܠܐ ܦܣܩ ܘܕܘܡܝܐ. ܠܩܘܒܠܐ ܢܗܪܐ ܡܢܝܚܢܐ. ܘܠܚܘܕ ܩܘܫܬܐ ܢܩܦܢܐ. ܦܪܝܫ ܒܕܡܐ ܕܪܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܪܐ ܢܡܝܢܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܒܠܘܩܒܠܗ ܕܩܝܪܗ ܡܢ ܚܠܡܐ ܙܩܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܢܐ. ܕܒܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܩܦܬܗܘܢ ܢܝܚܐ ܘܒܘܩܝܐ ܠܟܠܡܝܢܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܐܫܬܠܡ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܝ (sic) ܥܣܪܝܢ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܚܛܝܐ. ܕܗܝܡܢܐ ܘܡܫܟܢܐ ܘܚܝܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܒܝܡܡܐ ܩܕܡܝ ܩܘܕܫܐ. ܕܡܪܝ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܘܕܡܪܝ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܫܡܫܐ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܢܛܪܝܢ ܢܘܗܪܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܒܐ ܢܬܠ ܘܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܐܝܟܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܝܬ. ܘܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܘܗܪ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܝܢ. ܘܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܪܐ

ܕܝܫܘܥ. ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܡܩܕܫܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܒܪ ܝܫܘܥ.
ܒܪ ܩܫܝܫܐ. (p. ܫܥܗ) ܒܟܠܗ ܝܘܡ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܢ
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܡܫܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ. ܒܪܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܥܕܪ ܀ ܘܠܒܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܀ ܘܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܐ
ܘܡܐܬܝܢ. ܫܢܝܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܚܡܫ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܢܝܢ
ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܀ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܩܪܐ.
ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܢܣܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܝܪܚܐ ܬܫܪܝܢ. ܘܝܘܡܐ
ܬܠܬܐ. ܬܪܥܣܪ ܝܘܡܐ. ܘܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܚܕ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܢܬ.
ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܚܬܡܐ (sic). ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܐܫܬܠܡ. ܘܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ.
ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܦܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ.
ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܠܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. (p. ܫܥܘ) ܐܝܟ ܕܐܟܬܒܬ ܒܗ
ܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܦܠܚܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ. ܦܫܛ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܫܢܬ ܘܫܢܬ
ܕܝܢ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ (sic)
ܕܥܕܬܐ. ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ. ܘܒܪܐ ܠܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܛܠ ܕܦܠܚܘܬܗܘܢ ܦܠܚܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܩܪܐ ܀
ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܫܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܫܡܗ ܠܕܪܕܪܝܢ
ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the history of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip. To God the Father who has aided, and the everlasting Son who has assisted, and to the Holy Spirit the perfecter of all, be praise and honour and dominion and exaltation and lasting gratitude, now and ever, world without end.

"This book received conclusion and completion on the twelfth

day of the blessed month of Tammôz, on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), in the year two thousand one hundred and fifty-five of the Greeks (A.D. 1844). Glory be to Him who makes times pass away while He himself never passes away. Amen.

"It was written in the days of the admirable and energetic chief Shepherd, the wonderful and excellent director, pure and righteous and upright, the brilliant and illuminating star of the sky of the Church, rich and deeply versed in ecclesiastical doctrine, the wise sage and lawyer, thoroughly versed in the Holy Scriptures, and abundantly nurtured with their fruits, that is to say the understanding of them; the shepherd whose voice whistleth sweetly to his rational flock, and whose word driveth away the evening wolf like the smoke, Mâr Simeon the Catholic patriarch of the whole world. May his throne be established in justice and all righteousness, and may his arm be strong in victory which never . . . ., that he may bind and loose in the height and in the depth, to the glory of his flock which is redeemed by the blood of the side (of our Lord), and to the pride of his people, who perpetually breathe the winds of his teaching. Amen.

"[This book was written] also in the days of the chosen shepherd and excellent governor and distinguished ruler, Mâr Gabriel the pious Metropolitan, the guardian of the throne of Addai[1] and Mârî. May he be strong and mighty in the victory that is without equal and without like, to the glory of the nation of Christ, and the pride of the congregation of Jesus, redeemed by the blood which flowed from the right side, poured out by the spear thrust in by the band of soldiers, through which there is for all who receive it life and everlasting pleasure. Amen.

"[This book] was written in the blessed and happy village of Sîr[2] near *Ḳala of the Ṣâhabe*[3] (*i.e.* the residence of the gen-

[1] See Assemânî, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii, i. pp. 229, 611, and Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i. p. 136.

[2] سير or سيرا. Dr. Perkins, der Senior der Urumia Mission, hat seinen bleibenden Aufenthalt in Seir, wo er auch das Seminar für die männliche Jugend leitet *etc.* See Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan*, iii. p. 151.

[3] ܨܳܚܶܒ = Mr., صاحب. ܩܠܐ probably = قَلْعَة *castle*, hence "the resi-

tlemen), which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the most holy convent of Mâr Sargîs and Mâr Bâkûs[1]; may our Lord Christ make it to flourish, and guard its indwellers from all secret and open injuries. Amen.

"The deacon Aṣlan[2], the son of the deceased Muḥattas[3], the son of Aṣlan, the son of Ḳârâ[4], the most wretched of all the wretched, the most feeble of all the feeble, and most sinful of all sinners, blackened, that is to say defiled and begrimed, these pages. Pr'ythee pray on his behalf that peradventure he may obtain compassion from the Lord. Amen.

"The priest Perkins, by race an Englishman, that is to say from the country of America, the indefatigable and zealous preacher and teacher and guide of the confession of Nestorianism, took great pains and care to have a copy made of this book of the History of Alexander the Macedonian King, that he might read therein and profit thereby, and might benefit others. He has for a few years dwelt in a strange land in the country of Urmî[5], with his American brethren in the spirit, Eṣtâkan Ṣâhab[6] [Mr. W. R. Stocking], Mr. Haldê [Mr. A. L. Holladay], the doctor [Dr. Grant], Mr. Brayth [Mr. E. Breath], the printer, Mr. Merik [Rev. J. L. Merrick], Mr. Estâdor [Lieut. Col. Stoddart], and Mr. Jûns [Mr. W. Jones][7]. These American brethren

dence of the missionaries." Mr. Labaree says that the word ܩܠܐ is used in modern Syriac for any dwelling surrounded by a high wall.

[1] Mr. Labaree tells me that the church of Mâr Sergius and Mâr Bacchus is about one mile from the village of Sîr, سیر

[2] Turk. ارسلان, "lion." He died about the year 1877 being a very old man.

[3] محتّس

[4] Turk. قرا or قره "black," but generally used with some other name.

[5] Urmî or Urmia is a district situated near the western shore of the lake of that name in Kurdistân, and is the seat of the large and flourishing Mission which was founded by Dr. Perkins and his companions, whose names are given above.

[6] In Urmî *Ṣâhab* is used after the name, as in Hindustân.

[7] The names of the gentlemen inserted in my translation are obtained from a perusal of *A Residence of eight years in Persia*, by the Rev. Justin Perkins,

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forsook father and mother, brethren and sisters and kin, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. They came to this country of Urmia, they opened schools, they opened a printing office[1], they sowed spiritual seed in the field of the hearts of every one who is in name a Christian; they forsook the earthly mammon and loved heavenly riches; and the Lord God will give them a recompense for their works, whether it be good or whether it be bad. Amen.

"Blessed be God, and His name be praised to all generations world without end."

The manuscript C is dated A. Gr. 2162 (= A.D. 1851) and belongs to the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. It is of paper and consists of 196 leaves paginated from ܐ to ܫܨܒ; a column of 18 lines occupies a page (page ܫܠܛ has only 15 lines and page ܫܠܐ has 19), and the leaves are $8\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $6\frac{5}{8}$. Page ܐ has an illuminated heading, and through the pattern endorsed on squares, the following letters are written around the top and sides:

(?) ܒ ܘ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܘ ܚܛܝܐ ܘ ܚܝܒ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܒܩܢܐ ܘܡܣܩܐ ܕܪܘܓܙܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ.

". . . the feeble one, the sinner deserving of perfect wrath."

The quires, signed with letters, are twenty in number. The manuscript is carefully written, with points, etc., as far as p. ܫܠܥ, but after this the writing is not so good, and some of the pages appear to be by another hand. It agrees generally with B as to the text, but there are no glosses. The pointing has at times been carelessly executed, for example ܘܠܐ for ܘܠܐ̈; ܘ݁ is used for ܘ݂ in writing the same word in different places; ◌ܼ is confused with ÷; and the same proper name is often differently vowelled. This manuscript was presented to the German Oriental Society by the Rev. Justin Perkins in 1852. It will be

Andover, 1843. A very interesting life of Dr. Perkins was begun in ܙܗܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܪܐ, p. 30, April, 1888.

[1] ܒܣܡܚܢܐ = بَسْمَه خانه

seen from the extracts given below[1] that he mentions having made a translation of the History of Alexander the Great for the American Oriental Society. This may exist in the Society's Library, but I have never seen it. I only know of the translation of the extracts printed in the *Transactions of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. iv. pp. 359—440. A description of this manuscript was given in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, viii. ss. 835—837, by P. Zingerle. His estimate of the relation of the Syriac text to those of the Greek and Latin is very good, and is as follows: "Soweit ich es mit dem Werke von Weismann verglichen habe, nämlich bis zum 13. Kapitel, welches die Geburt Alexander d. Gr. erzählt, ist diese syrische Alexandergeschichte nichts andres als *eine Uebersetzung* des *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* und zwar nach der Berarbeitung des Julius Valerius, soweit die von Weismann gelieferten Auszüge in 2 Bande S. 227 ff. schliessen lassen; denn der syr. Codex beginnt ebenfalls mit der Berühmtheit der Aegypter in der Weisheit und den Wahrsagerkünsten .... Die Abweichungen der syrischen Erzählung sind der *Hauptsache* nach (so weit ich sie verglichen) wenig bedeutend: hïe und da ein verschiedener Name oder eine kleine Erweiterung, eine Abänderung von Nebenumständen."

The colophon is as follows:—

ܫܠܡܬ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܗ ܘܕܢܨܚ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܡܠܟܐ ܝܘܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ : ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܒܪܝܗ : ܘܠܥܠܡ

ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܣܟ : ܘܥܠ ܚܛܝܐ ܕܟܬܘܒܐ ܚܘܣ ܥܠ. ܐܡܝܢ

[1] Aus zwei Briefen des Miss. Hrn. Perkins in Urmia, von 23. Mai und 1 Juni 1850. "Ich habe seit einigen Monaten *eine in syrischer Sprache abgefasste Geschichte Alexander's des Grossen* in Händen, von welcher ich in meinen wenigen Mussestunden eine Uebersetzung für die American Oriental Society ausarbeite. Wir fanden die Handschrift bei den Nestorianern, der Inhalt ist ein Gemisch von spät-griechischen und muhammedanischen Erdichtungen." *ZDMG* Vol. 4, S. 519. Aus einem Briefe des Mission. J. Perkins an Prof. Fleischer. Orumia, d. 29. März 1851. — "Eine Abschrift der altsyrischen sogenannten *Geschichte Alexanders* mit meiner nun fertigen Uebersetzung schicke ich an die Amerikanische Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Eine andere Abschrift des Textes für Ihre Gesellschaft will ich den Exemplaren unserer Druckschriften beilegen, welche ich Ihnen statt der, wie es scheint, verloren gegangenen Sendung von J. 1849 zu schicken gedenke." *ZDMG* Vol. 5, S. 393.

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ܘܢܨܚܢܐ ܘܐܘܣܓܝܐ ܘܪܘܡܪܡܐ ܘܦܘܠܚܢܘܬܐ ܐܡܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܬ
ܘܡܛܠ ܘܕܝ ܘܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܀

ܩܒܠ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܬܘܡܠܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ: ܒܪܫܐ ܒܪܝܬܐ
ܬܡܘܙ: ܟܕ. ܒܗ: ܒܝܘܡ ܐܪܒܥܒܫܒܐ. ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ
(p. ܥܩܗ) ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܬܝܢ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܀

ܐܬܩܝܡ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܗܘ ܕܘܢܝܐ ܬܫܪܝܐ ܡܛܪܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ
ܟܠܠܐ ܕܡܛܪܐ ܘܛܘܠܝܢܐ. ܢܦܩܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܕܝܢܐ. ܘܗܘܡܪܐ
ܕܒܢ̈ܝܫ ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܘܡܘܠܢܐ. ܢܚܝܪ ܒܘܠܦܢܐ ܢܦܩܬܐ
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܡܘܠܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܐܬܡܘܠܬܝܢܐ. ܕܒܬ̈ܐ
ܢܦܠܘ ܡܠܝܐ ܡܝܬܐ. ܘܒܝܬ̈ܪܘܗ̄ ܒܪܡܫ ܗܘܠ̈ܝܬܗ̄
ܗܒܢܝܐ ܡܝܬܐ. (sic) ܪܒܐ ܕܒܪܬ ܢܠܗ ܠܬܚܬ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ
ܒܗܝܡܢܝܐ ܡܚܪܢܐ. ܘܡܠܬܗ ܠܓܪܒܐ ܪܡܫܐ ܗܢܝܐ ܡܬܠܛܐ.
ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܣܛܘܠܝܛܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ
ܒܩܝܡܐ: ܢܨܝܚ ܡܘܪܝܗ ܒܪܝܗ ܘܡܛܠ ܘܕܝܢܐ: ܘܫܒܩ
ܕܪܒܗ ܒܘܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܠܛܢܐ. ܕܐܣܛܪ ܘܫܪܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ
ܘܒܬܘܡܡܐ: ܠܥܘܒܪܗ ܡܪܝܬܗ ܕܒܘܡܐ ܗܛܪܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ:
ܘܠܣܛܪ ܐܘܡܬܗ ܕܡܫ̈ܩܝܢ ܒܘܠܦܢܗ ܒܐܡܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀
ܘܫܩ̈ܠ ܪܒܐ ܠܒܐ. ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܦܪܐ. ܘܢܟܠܠܐ ܘܗܢܐ:
ܡܪܝ (p. ܥܩܗ) ܠܒܪܬܐ ܡܬܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܣܢܐ. ܢܬܪ
ܡܘܪܫܐ ܐ̈ܝܟܢ ܘܡܪ̈ܕܝܬܐ. ܢܡܣܠ ܘܡܡܣܬܢ ܒܘܡܐ ܕܒܠܐ ܦܣܘܩ
ܘܒܘܡܐ: ܠܥܘܒܪܗ ܢܡܐ ܡܝܫܐ. ܘܠܣܛܪ ܗܘܝܢܐ
ܒܦܘܪܢܐ. ܦܪܝܫ ܒܘܡܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܐ ܡܝܢܐ: ܘܠܝܫ
ܒܠܘܣܐ ܕܢܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܟܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܛܦܛܢܐ. ܕܒܗܘܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܩ̈ܘܒܘܗܝ ܫܢܐ. ܘܒܘܫܡܐ ܠܟܠܡܝܢܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܪܝܟܬܐ ܘܡܒܪܟܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܕܗܝܡܢܬܐ
ܘܡܬܚܬܡܐ ܘܟܬܒܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܢܘܡܪܐ ܒܓܘܫܐ ܒܦܘܪܣܐ ܕܡܕܝ
ܦܪܠܝܛ ܘܕܡܕܝ ܢܦܫܗ. ܡܬܡܪܐ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܡܬܝܢܐ.
ܘܫܪܝܪܐ ܢܦܫܬܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܛܗܝܢ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܘܠܟܠܢ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܟܬܒܗ
ܕܝܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܫܒܠܗ ܡܫܪܫܪܗ ܠܫܪܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܕܩܢܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ
ܘܫܠܡܐ : ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ : ܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥܡܐ ܒܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܩܘܫܛܘܗ : ܒܪ
ܫܢܝܢ ܒܪ ܬܠܬܐ ܀ ܘܡܬܬܡܬܢܐ ܢܘܢܐ ܒܪ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܘܡܪܘ. ܒܪ
ܬܪܬܝܢ : ܒܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ (ܒܢܘ .p) ܡܘܢܝܬܗ. ܒܒܢܘ ܝܠܗ ܢܠܗܘܢ
ܕܒܒܪ ܢܗܝܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܢ. ܐܡܝܢ. ܝܕܥ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܒܩܗ
ܠܗ ܠܗ (sic) ܒܡܒܬܒܢܝܬܐ ܕܬܗܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܗܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܫܒܝܬܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܪܬܐ : ܒܪܘܪܐ
ܡܣܩܢܐ. ܡܚܢܢܐ ܘܡܠܟܢܐ ܘܡܟܬܒܢܐ ܕܐܘܕܝܬܐ
ܕܢܝܩܘܪܢܝܬܐ. ܕܒܫܪܐ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܐܪ ܡܢܗ : ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܒܪ :
ܫܠܝܚ ܒܬܪܐ ܝܗܒ ܒܢܝܪܢܝܬܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ : ܕܐܝܠܝܢܘܢ
ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܠܝܐ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܪܫܐ : ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܒܪܫܐ : ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܡܪܝܡ : ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܝܘܚܢܢ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ : ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ : ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܒܢܘ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܐܚܐ ܘܐܚܘܬܐ ܘܐܚܝܢܐ ܡܚܒܒ ܚܘܒܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܘܗܡܝܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ. ܦܫܛܘ
ܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ. ܦܫܛܘ ܒܡܫܚܐ. ܘܪܒܘ ܪܒܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ
ܕܠܒܢܬܐ ܕܡܠ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܫܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܒܒܢܘ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ
ܐܪܒܥܐ. ܘܐܝܟܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܫܡܥܐ. ܡܪܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܪܩ ܠܟܘܢ

ܐܝܟ ܡܚܝܠܘܬܢ. ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܥܕܪܢ ܫܡܗ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ.
ܚܕܘܬܐ ܠܟܠܟܘܢ ܫܠܡܝܢ. ܀ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here ends the History of the achievements and wars of Alexander the King of the Greeks, the son of Philip. To God the Father who has aided, etc.

"This book received conclusion and completion on the ninth day of the blessed month of Tammûz, on the second day of the week (Monday), in the year two thousand one hundred and sixty-two of the Greeks, *i.e.* A.D. 1851." From here to ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ the colophon is the same as in B.

From this point to ܢܦܫܗ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܣܦ, the colophon is the same as in B; here however it continues: "The priest Aṣlan, the son of the deceased Muḥattas, the son of Aṣlan the son of Ḳârâ, and the deacon Yâunân (Jonah) the son of Tamraz, the son of Bâbônâ, the son of the deceased Muḥattas, blackened, that is to say defiled and begrimed, these pages, etc." A somewhat longer list of names of the American brethren is given here, viz., Mr. Stocking, Mr. Holladay, Mr. Wright, M.D., Mr. Breath, Mr. Merrick, Lieut. Col. Stoddart, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kahran (Cochrane), Mr. Kavan (Coan)[1].

D is a paper manuscript, about 14 in. by 8½, consisting of 123 leaves paginated from ܐ to ܪܟܓ. The quires, signed with letters, are 12 in number. One column of 22 lines occupies each page. The manuscript is written in a fine, bold Nestorian hand with numerous vowel-points, etc., and I owe the possession of it to the kindness of the Rev. Benjamin Labaree, who spared no pains in supervising the making of this copy from one in the library of Dr. Shedd who was so kind as to allow it to be made from that in his possession. The scribe, Ôsha'nâ, tells us in the colophon that the copy from which he made it was full of variant readings and mistakes, and that he corrected these wherever he was able to do so. He gives, also, a copy of the colophon of the manuscript from which D was made. The colophon of D reads:—

[1] See Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, iii. p. 142.

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ܫܠܡܘ ܙܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ: ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ:
ܕܥܒܕ ܡܥܢܝܬܐ: ܐܦܦܘ: ܟܠܗܝܢ ܢܥܢܥܐ ܘܚܢܩܐ ܚܡܫܐ: ܕܐܬܢܒܝ
ܢܪܓܘܢܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܠܣܛܢܝܐ: ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܢ
ܥܕܡܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܕܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܥܡܗ: ܘܢܩܦ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܢܝܬ: ܒܫܡܗ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ
ܕܒܗ ܦܠܣܛܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ
ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܕܒܢܘܗܝ ܦܠܣܛܝܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܒܫܢܬ
ܐܠܦܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܗ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܀

ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܦܠܛܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢܗ
ܐܢܫܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܥܡܡܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܘܩܡܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ
ܐܬܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܘܟܠ ܐܬܩܪܝܗ ܦܪܗ ܗܘܐ: ܘܡܕܢܚܐ ܀

܀ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܀

ܡܢ ܒܬܫܥܣܪܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܫܢܝܢ ܒܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ
ܕܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܕܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܪܣ ܒܡܝܬܘܬܗ
ܕܦܘܪ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘ ܫܢܝܢ
ܕܥܡܗ ܥܡܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܀

ܐܬܦܪܣܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܘ ܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܘܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܗܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܘ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܗܘ ܕܡܝܬ ܀ ܐܬܦܪܣܝ ܒܝܘܡ ܥܣܪܝܢ: ܥܠܗ ܐܬܢܒܝ ܒܫܢܬ
ܕܒܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܦܠܣܛܢܝܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ: ܘܕܡܠܟܐ
ܐܬܕܪܟ ܐܦܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩܐ. ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܢܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܘܪܐ ܢܝܫܐ. ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܠܗ ܐܒܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܘܫܬܐ ܒܪ ܫܢܝܐ ܠܟܝܢ. ܕܟܬܒܘܗ
ܕܒܗ ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܡܕܢܚܝܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܣܝܦ ܕܟܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܠܥܠ
ܕܐܬܝ. ܘܐܬܚܬܡ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܕܢܚܝܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܡܘܠܟܐ ܀
ܐܡܝܢ ܀

"Here endeth the History of Alexander, the son of Philip, King of the Macedonians. [It was finished] on the second day of the week (Monday), on the seventh day of the Eastern Nîsân[1] in the year of Christ 1886. [It was written] by the faulty Ôsha'nâ[2], who is by grace the archdeacon of the patriarchal chamber, and who comes from the land of Tĕḥûmâ[3] and from the village of Mazrâ'â, and is a kinsman of the house of Sârû, but who is to-day domiciled in the city of Urmî, in the days of the chief shepherdship of Mâr Shem'ûn Rôbîl[4], the patriarch of the East. Mr. Labaree, the honourable man, the missionary of the Presbyterian Church of America in Urmîâ had it written. Blessed be God for ever, and may His holy name be praised for ever and ever[5]!

"I hereby inform the kindness (lit. love) of those who come across this book that the codex from which I made this copy was full of variant readings and illegible passages and mistakes: these I have corrected as far as I was able, and those that I did not understand I left as they were.

"[This book] was copied from a codex in the library of Dr. Shedd the American missionary in Urmîâ which was taken,

[1] The scribe here uses the old style of calculation.

[2] He was a young priest from the mountains of Kurdistân and belonged to the family of Sârû. His native village was called ܡܙܪܥܐ Mazrâ'â.

[3] There are in this district, which is situated in the pashalik of Julamerk, four villages: Gûndiktâ, Mazrâ'â, Gâwâyâ and Birijai. When Sir Henry Layard visited this district Gâwâyâ was the largest village, and he says that it contained 160 houses. See *Nineveh and its Remains*, pp. 196, 200, 204; *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 436.

[4] He was made patriarch in the year 1862.

[5] The next paragraph says that the copy was made for myself through the mediation of Dr. Labaree.

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and the mistakes of which also were corrected by the scribe mentioned [below], from a codex the colophon of which was thus written :—' [This book] was finished in the month of Shĕbâṭ in the year [A. Gr.] 2159 [= A.D. 1848] in the days of the chief shepherdship of Mâr Shem'ûn, the patriarch of the East, and of the pious Bishop Mâr Abrâhâm, in the city of Shebânî[1] beneath the shadow of [the church] of Mâr Gîwargîs (George) the valiant martyr. The sinner Gîwargîs (George), the son of Zay'â, the son of Lâkîn, the elder, a kinsman of the house of Mâr Yôḥanân, the governor of Mâr Ḥazḳîaîl of Bânâ, which is near Dâryân, wrote these pages; and Rabban, the elder and governor of Mâr Bîsh'ô Kĕmôlâyâ[2], had the book written; Amen.'"

E is a paper manuscript, about 9¼ in. by 6¾, consisting of 160 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 15 in number. One column of 20 lines occupies each page. It was copied from an old Nestorian Syriac manuscript in a library at Alḳôsh and the work was "finished on the Sabbath (Saturday) of the 18th day of the blessed month of Tammôz, in the year of the birth of our Lord and Redeemer and King and Vivifier, Jesus Christ, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. Glory be to Him who makes times to pass away but who never passes away! Amen. It was written in the city of Alḳôsh, the city of Nâḥôm (Nahum) the prophet, which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the convent of Rabban Mâr Hôrmîzd[3], the Persian. It was written in the days of the pious fathers the distinguished rulers, the pure and excellent shepherds, Mâr Leo, the thirteenth of that name, the high-priest, the Pope of Rome, and Mâr Elîâ the Catholicus, the Patriarch of Bâbêl of the East, who is also the twelfth of that name. May Christ establish their thrones to the end of days in the prayer of the Apostles and

[1] Shebânî is in Tergawer, a Persian district on the border between Persia and Turkey; it is four hours' ride from Urmia.

[2] I.e., the man from Kamûlâ in Gezira. See Assemânî, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii, i. p. 275; t. iii, ii. pp. 731, 732.

[3] For a description of sixteen monks who live in the convent of Rabban Hormizd and their convent; the destruction of the Patriarchal Library by the Kurds, الأكراد; the grave of the saint, etc., see Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 365, 366.

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Fathers; Amen. The [above] mentioned Elîâ took pains to have this book written. It was written by the wretched and sinful deacon 'Îsâ the son of Êsha'yâ (Isaiah), son of the deacon Ḳûryâḳôs (Cyriacus) from the city of Eḳrôr in the land of the Sendâyê. I entreat the distinguished readers [of this book] to remember the scribe in their prayers, that compassion may be shewn to him before the throne of Christ our Lord; Amen. Blessed be God for ever, and may His holy name be praised for ever and ever! Amen."

I obtained this manuscript through the kind offices of Mr. Harry Lamb, formerly British Vice-Consul at Mosul, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam and Mr. Nimroud Rassam. The Chaldean Patriarch took the greatest care to have the copy made by a first-rate scribe, who was not only skilled in the mechanical part of the work, but also possessed of a sound knowledge of Syriac. When the copy was finished the Chaldean Patriarch collated it with the original, and was, in this manner, able to make a few corrections. Of the five MSS. A, B, C, D and E, E has the best readings and agrees the most closely with A. I believe that A and E were copied from the same manuscript. The colophon of E is as follows:—

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܘܡܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܫܒܐ ܗܘܐ ✤ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܕܐܝܪ
ܐܫܬܘ ✤ ܝܚ ✤ ܒܗ ✤ ܒܫܢܬ ܝܘܢܝܐ ✤ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ
ܘܐܬܟܬܒ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܡܢܗ. ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܘܦܪܘܩܢ ܘܡܠܟܢ
ܘܡܫܝܚܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ✤ ܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܟܢܐ ܕܩܪܝܐ ܘܗܘ ܠܐ
ܢܥܒܕ ܠܟܠܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ✤ ✤

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܩܘܫ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܢܚܘܡ ܢܒܝܐ. ܕܩܝܡܐ
ܘܡܬܒܢܝܐ ܘܚܝܐ. ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ ܘܕܪܝ ܗܘܕܡܝܘܕ
ܦܪܣܝܐ ✤ ܘܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܐܒܘܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ܘܡܝܩܪܐ.
ܘܪܒܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܐ ܘܫܒܝܚܐ ✤ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܦܦܐ
ܕܪܗܘܡܐ ✤ ܕܐܬܘܗܝ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܠܬܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ ✤ ܘܡܪܝ

B. C

ܐܠܐ ܦܛܘܠܡܐܘܣ ܦܝܠܕܠܦܘܣ ܕܡܠܟ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܀ ܕܐܬܬܘܣ
ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܦܪܘܣܦܪܐ ܀ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܘܦܪܘܫܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܦ
ܡܩܒܠ. ܒܝܬ ܠܘܬ ܥܠܝܡܐ ܘܐܒܘܗܬܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܒܝܦ[2]
ܡܬܕܟܪܝܢܢܗ ܕܗܘ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܟܬܒ
ܒܝܘܡܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܒܪ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܘܦܪܘܫܗ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܡܘܪ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܀ ܒܟܠܗ
ܠܩܪܝܐ ܘܫܡܥܐ ܕܢܬܪܚܡܘܢ ܠܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܒܫܡ ܡܪܢ
ܒܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ : ܘܡܒܪܟ
ܫܡܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܀ ܠܥ̈ܠܡ̈ܝܢ̈ ܥ̈ܠܡ̈ܝܢ̈ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

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THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALEXANDER STORY.

For more than two thousand years the life and acts of Alexander the Great have been the subjects of numerous works and songs and poems, which have been written by many writers of many nationalities. The story of the deeds and of the events of his life has been eagerly received by every nation which it has reached, and the fame thereof has become so great that it has covered nearly the whole of the civilized world. It is not, however, the literal facts of the credible history of this king which have captivated the popular fancy of all nations, but the semi-mythical and fabulous legendary history which has sprung up round about them, and which has usurped the place of veritable history in the affection of the nations. While the careful work of Arrian[1] (written, it is true, nearly four hundred years after Alexander's death) has remained comparatively unknown by the side of the popular legends of Alexander which have found their way all over the world, the impossible history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into a large number of important languages and become known to all people.

Of the legendary history of Alexander, every version known to us is based upon the Greek history of him falsely attributed

[1] His Anabasis is based upon the lost works of the most trustworthy historians among the contemporaries of Alexander, such as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, whose works he chiefly followed. See also Fraenkel, *Die Quellen der Alexander Historiker*, 1883; Petersdorff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Droysen (J. G.), *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Sainte-Croix, *Examen Critique des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*, 1804; Petersdorff, R., *Eine neue Hauptquelle des Q. Curtius Rufus*, Beiträge zur Kritik der Quellen für die Geschichte Alexanders, 1884; Kaerst, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, 1887; and Vogelstein, *Annotationes quaedam ex litteris orientalibus petitae ad fabulas quae de Alexandro Magno circumferuntur*, Vratislaviae, 1865.

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to Callisthenes, his companion and friend. In translating this work the redactors of all nations have found opportunities for adding narratives of the marvellous, the fruits of their own imagination, and they, each and all, have helped to make the incredible history of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes more incredible still. The Egyptians made him a hero and an Egyptian after their own fashion; the Persians asserted that he was a Persian; and the Christian writers from the sixth to the thirteenth century described him as a devout Christian, and as one worthy to be honoured by visions and commands from our Lord Himself.

The first book of the history of Alexander according to Pseudo-Callisthenes is certainly of Egyptian origin, and its birthplace was Alexandria. Colonel Yule places the composition of the work as far back as A.D. 200[1], but there is no doubt that the legends which are contained in it were current some hundreds of years before; indeed, some of them must have been known within a few years of Alexander's death. I am unable to say that it was originally written in Egyptian, but it is probable that it was. Even if it was actually written down for the first time in Greek, it must, nevertheless, have been the work of an Egyptian who wished to confirm and spread abroad in the minds of the people of Egypt the idea which a large number of the people of Alexandria believed, or at least wished others to believe, viz., that Alexander was the son of a former king of Egypt, and that for him to become king of their country was only what was right and proper. It would certainly never enter the head of Greeks to compose and promulgate a story which made the wife of one of their kings to commit adultery with a fugitive king of a foreign country, especially with the king of a nation which they themselves derided, nor is it likely that they would acknowledge the offspring of this adultery as their king. On the other hand, the improbability of the whole story and of the miraculous nature of its details makes it precisely the kind of fable which we should expect to receive from an Egyptian who wished to prove that Alexander was an Egyptian. In other words, the fable of

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 110.

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Nectanebus being the father of Alexander is a story quite in keeping with the other literary offspring of the lively Egyptian imagination which produced such stories as the *Tale of the Two Brothers*[1], *The Possessed Princess of Bechten*[2], *The Romance of Setna*[3], etc., and which, in the early times of the Coptic Church, imagined the marvellous events which we see described in the Life of Shenûti by Bêsa[4] and in the Encomium upon Pisentios, Bishop of Coptos, by Moses, Bishop of Keft[5]. Also the accurate description of Egyptian magical practices, the descriptions of the statues of kings and gods, the incidental allusions to the priests and gods of Egypt and to the customs of the Egyptians, make it certain that the man who composed the early part or the original book of the fabulous history of Alexander which was afterwards attributed to Callisthenes, was an Egyptian.

The story begins with the statement that the sages of Egypt were of divine origin and were masters of the powers of heaven and earth. They delivered their power over the elements to men by means of "invincible words" and by the powers of sorcery. The word "sages" naturally suggests the Egyptian name which was given to men who could read writing and who understood whatever science the Egyptians were acquainted with, viz., *reχi χet*[6], literally "knowers of things." These were the men who were called upon by the king in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* to explain to him the mystery of the lock of hair, and also by the king in

[1] For the Hieratic text see Birch, *Select Papyri*, ii, pl. ix—xix; for a hieroglyphic transcript see Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, pp. 1—27: and for an English translation see Renouf, *Records of the Past*, Vol. ii, p. 137 ff.

[2] De Rougé, *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, p. 97; for an English translation see *Records of the Past*, Vol. iv, pp. 53–60.

[3] Revillout, *Le Roman de Setna*, Paris, 1877.

[4] In *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de L'Égypte Chrétienne aux* IV° *et* V° *Siècles*, ed. Amélineau, pp. 1-91.

[5] See Amélineau, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième Siècle*, Paris, 1887.

[6] Brit. Mus. Papyrus Egypt. No. 10183, p. 11, l. 4. The form
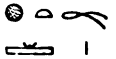 occurs in the stele of *The Possessed Princess*, l. 9.

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the *Story of the Possessed Princess*, to decide what should be done for the young woman who was afflicted by a disease which was caused by an unclean spirit. *Reχ χet* is a name often given to scribes. In the Egyptian papyri which have come down to us we find many specimens of the magical names of demons and of the formulae which are referred to by Pseudo-Callisthenes as forming the means by which the powers of the Egyptian sages were handed on to mankind. In the 162nd chapter of the Book of the Dead[1] various magical names such as Uāurāuāaqersaānq and Haqahakahrā are quoted; and long lists of such names are given both in Egyptian[2] and Greek[3] magical papyri. In the Ethiopic version of the first chapter of Pseudo-Callisthenes it is said that Nectanebus uttered the names of the demons of the earth when he made use of his knowledge of magic; the "fearful names" there alluded to remind us of the abominable names of Āpepi the enemy of Rā[4].

Nectanebus, having acquired the knowledge[5] of magic, used it in a remarkable way to preserve his country from invasion by enemies. Whenever they came to make war against him he used to go into his palace and overcome them from there by means of magical practices. If they came by sea he took a basin of water and set it in the middle of his room, and having

[1] Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, pl. LXXVII.

[2] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 151.

[3] Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, t. ii, pp. 123, 127, 145, 153. Many of the names of the demons and powers mentioned in the Leyden papyri are found upon Gnostic gems in the British Museum collection.

[4] See Brit. Mus. Egyptian papyrus No. 10188, page 16.

[5] It is difficult to discover how Nectanebus II., the last Egyptian king of Egypt, obtained his reputation for working magic. There is nothing in Egyptian history which, so far as I know, would explain the fact. Of the end of this king we know absolutely nothing, but it is certain that at a very early period he was considered to have been one of the most famous magicians. Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii, p. 15, note 1. For the history of Nectanebus according to the Egyptian monuments see Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 716.

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made models of the soldiers of the enemy and of those of his own army, he placed them in models of ships which he set upon the water opposite to each other. He then took a rod of wood in his hand, and uttered magical formulae and the names of certain demons. Presently the ships would draw near to each other and the wax figures would begin to fight. If the figures which represented his own soldiers were victorious on the water in the basin his soldiers were victorious on the sea; but if they were beaten and the ships sunk, the same result would happen to his army if they attempted to fight. One day, by this means, Nectanebus discovered that the gods of Egypt had handed over the country to the invader, for his ships were scattered on the basin of water, and were driven hither and thither by those of the enemy; on seeing this he disguised himself and fled away.

The custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures was a very old one among the Egyptians. If a man burnt a wax figure of a demon in the fire and uttered certain prayers or formulae over it while it was burning, it was supposed to be efficacious in guarding him from the power of that demon. Frequently professional exorcists carried this practice to a farther extent and by substituting the figure of a person, upon which his name had been written, they were thought to be able to do serious bodily harm or even to cause death to the person whose effigy was burnt. This practice was not only very old but also very widespread, and we now know that it was regarded as a crime by the Egyptians themselves. The fragments of a papyrus discussed and partly translated by the late M. Chabas[1] tell us that a certain man, who was a superintendent of cattle, obtained a book of magic with which he was able to work dire effects upon his fellow-creatures. The book contained not only the formulae necessary for obtaining these results, but also directions how to proceed. His powers were supposed to be so harmful that finally he was brought before an Egyptian court of law, and accused of working harm to various people of the town. He was charged with having thrown spells *siḥ*, upon men and

[1] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

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women; with having made figures of people in wax 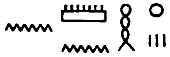 *reθ en menḥ* and so causing paralysis of their limbs; with writing love philtres 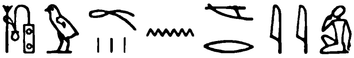 *nāu en meri;* with having terrified 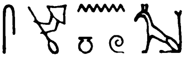 *seχennu,* men; and with having generally applied himself to the working of sorcery which Pharaoh did not allow any of his servants to do, and which was "abominated by every god and goddess." It may be asked why this man was prosecuted for carrying on magical practices? We may perhaps find a satisfactory answer in the 148th chap. of the Book of the Dead, where it is expressly stated that certain rites are not to be seen by anyone except the king and the *χer ḥeb,* or precentor, and that no priest or servant is to be allowed to see them in going and coming[1]. The fragmentary nature of the papyrus does not allow us to see what the sentence passed upon the sorcerer was; but it shows us quite clearly that we have in the person of the accused a man of pursuits like unto those of Nectanebus.

In addition to his power of working magic by means of wax figures and water this king knew how to cast nativities and to send dreams and visions to men and women. In Book I. chap. 5, we are told that when he wished to send Olympias a dream he went out into the desert, and gathered roots of grass which, after pressing and pounding, he used for sending a dream to her. The Ethiopic version tells us that he made a fire of grasses, that he melted into it a wax figure of Olympias, upon which he had written her name, and that after he had muttered certain incantations the god Ammon came to her in a dream, and worked her will.

I have not been able to find in Egyptian papyri any instance of working magic by means of wax or bitumen figures and water

[1] 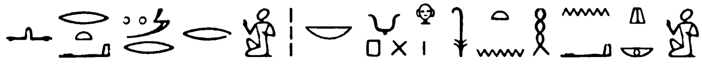
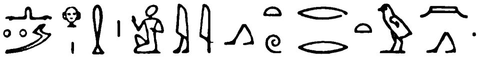 . Lepsius, *Todtenbuch,* pl. LXIX, l. 3.

analogous to that given above, but there are several passages where magical effects are promised, if a figure made of wax is burnt in the fire while certain formulae are recited. The following instances from an unpublished hieratic papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10188) will explain the method of procedure in such cases. The greater part of this papyrus is inscribed with a composition entitled "The Book of the overthrowing of Āpepi the enemy of Rā," which contains the following chapters:—

Chapter of spitting at Āpepi.
Chapter of defiling Āpepi.
Chapter of taking a lance to smite Āpepi.
Chapter of binding Āpepi.
Chapter of setting fire to Āpepi.
Book of overthrowing [Apepi] the enemy of Rā.
Book of turning back Āpepi.
Book of knowing the becomings of Rā.

In order to destroy the power of Āpepi, the demon of mist and blackness, the enemy of Rā, it was necessary to say a certain chapter of this composition "over an Āpepi written upon new papyrus with green paint, and over a wax figure of Āpepi with his cursed name engraved and inscribed upon it with green colour. Put it on the fire that the fire may burn the enemy of Rā. Let a man put a figure on the fire at dawn, at noon, and at night when Rā sets in the land of life. Put a figure on the fire at the sixth hour of the night, at the eighth hour of the day, at the arrival of evening until every hour of the day and of the night, by the day of the festival and by day and by month, by the sixth day of the festival, by the sixteenth day of the festival, and likewise every day. If this be done Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, will be overthrown in the shower, for Rā will shine and Āpepi will be destroyed in very truth. The figure is to be burned in a flame of dried grass, and the remains of it are to be mixed with dung and thrown into the fire. A repetition of this is to be made at the sixth hour of the night, at dawn on the eighth day. Āpepi is to be put on the fire, and is to be spit upon many, many times at the beginning of

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every hour of the day until the shadow comes round. After this must thou put Āpepi on the fire, spit upon him, kick him with thy left foot and then the roarings (thunders ?) of the crocodile whose face is turned behind him will be repulsed. A repetition of this is to be made at dawn on the eighth day, for by it will Āpepi be slain at the *sekti* boat. A repetition of this is to be made when tempests boil in the east of the sky, when Rā sets in the land of life, in order that threatening clouds may not be allowed to arise in the east of the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times in order that a shower and a rain-storm may not be allowed to arise in the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times to keep away the shower, so that the sun's disk may shine and Āpepi be overthrown in very truth. It is good for a man to do this upon earth, and it is good for him in the underworld. Verily the man who does this shall attain to dignities which are above him, and he shall be delivered from every hateful and evil thing."

The following is the text with a literal translation:—

(Page 8, l. 6)

Āpep

[This chapter is to be said over] Āpepi

nāuu her shuu nemaut em rei

written upon papyrus new with colour

ua't ḥnā àru Āpep em menḥ χa

green, and a form of Āpepi in wax engraved [and]

mātennu ren - f ḥer - f em rei

inscribed name cursed his upon it with colour

ua't ertāt åu shet amm - f χeft Rā
green. Place [it] on the fire that may burn it the enemy of Rā.

tā - f su em tūau em āhā måtet em
Let place him it at dawn, at noon, likewise at

māsher χeft Rā hetep - f em Ānχtet
evening, when Rā sets he in the land of life,

åu unnut vi ent qerh åu unnut viii ent
at hour sixth of the night, at hour eighth of

hru er peh ruhau nefer-it (sic) er
the day, at the arrival of evening until

unnut nebt ent hru ent qerh em hru enti
hour every of the day [and] of the night, by the day of

heb em hru em åbetu em vi enti
the festival, by day, by month, by sixth [day] of

heb xvi enti heb måtet hru neb
the festival, [by] sixteenth [day] of the festival, likewise day every.

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[1]

seχer Āpep χeft nu Rā em

[Then] will be overthrown Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, in

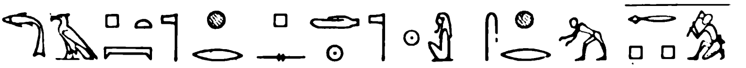

χapet χer pest Rā seχer Āpepi

the shower, for will shine Rā [and] be overthrown Āpepi

em un māt sennu χet pu em χet ent

in very truth. To be burned, to wit, in a flame of

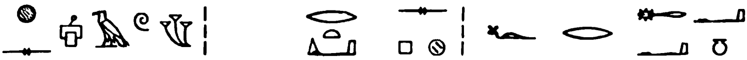

χessau ertāt sepu - f er χāā

dried grass. Are to be given remains its to be mixed

χer usesh smen em χet uāt āru χer - k

with excrement [and] put in fire one. Is to be done by thee

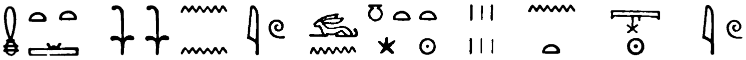

mātet enen āu unnut vi ent qerḥ āu

the like of this at hour six of the night, at

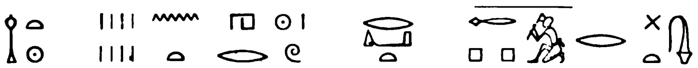

ḥe't viii ent hru ertāt Āpep er shet

daylight of the eighth day. Is to be given Āpepi to the fire,

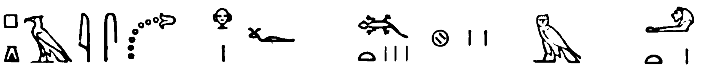

pekaās ḥer - f āsht sep ii em ḥāt

to be spit upon [is] he many, many times at the beginning

[1] The words over which a line has been drawn are written in red ink on the papyrus.

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unnut nebt ent hru neferit er rer χebit

of hour every of the day until comes round the shadow.

ȧr emχet enen ḥe't vi ent hru ertāt χer-ek

After this [at] daybreak of the sixth day is to be placed by thee

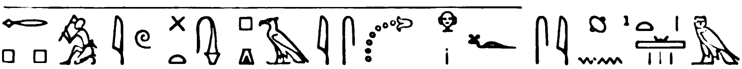

Āpep ȧu shet peḳaȧs ḥer - f sȧnt em

Āpepi in the fire, to be spit upon [is] he and defiled with

nemt - k ȧb χesef hemhemti ent ḥau

leg thy left, repulsed [are] the roarings of the crocodile backward

ḥrȧ ȧrit en χer - ek mȧtet enen ȧu

of face. Is to be done by thee the like of this at

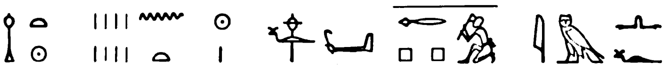

ḥe't viii ent hru χesef Āpep ȧm - f

daylight of eighth day; repulsed will be Āpepi by it [and]

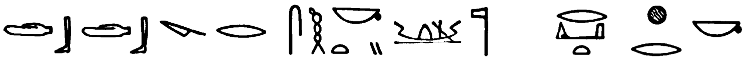

ṭebṭeb er sekti ertāt χer - k

slain at the *sekti* boat[2]. Is to be made by thee

[1] Below the line, between and , are the signs .

[2] The *sekti* boat was the sacred boat in which the sun was supposed to sail across the sky in the morning; the boat in which he went to the place of his setting was called the 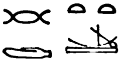 *āṭtet* boat.

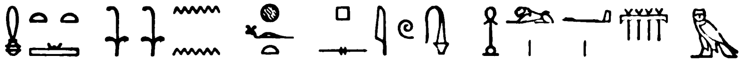

mȧtet enen χeft pesȧu shenreā em

the like of this when boil tempests in

Ȧbtet ent pet χeft Rā ḥetep - f em Ānχtet

the east of the sky, when Rā sets he in the land of life,

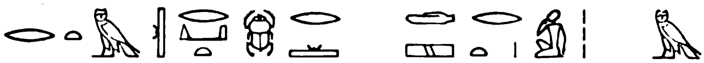

er tem erṭāt χeper ṭeshert em

so that may not be allowed to become red threatening clouds in

Ȧbtet ent pet ȧri χer - k mȧtet enen

the east of the sky. Is to be done by thee the like of this

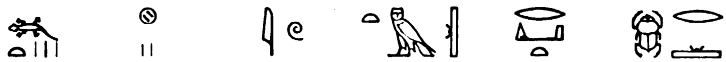

āsht sep ii ȧu tem erṭāt χeper

many, many times so that not be allowed to become

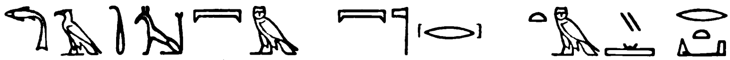

χaθ em pet temi erṭāt

a shower in the sky, and so that not may be allowed

χeper qerȧu em pet ȧri χer - ek

to become a rainstorm in the sky. Is to be done by thee

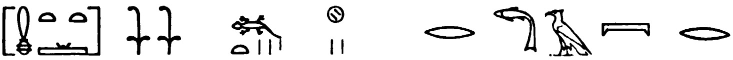

mȧtet enen āsht sep ii er χapet er

the like of this many, many times against the shower, so that

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pest åtennu seχer Āpep em un

may shine the disk and be overthrown Āpepi in very

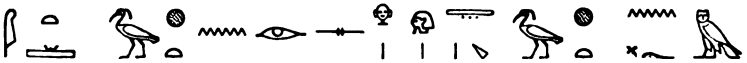

māt χut en åri - s ḥer ḥetep ta χut nef em

truth. It is good for the doer of it upon earth, it is good for him in

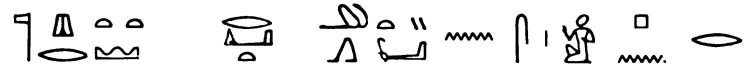

neterχertet ertāt peḥti en se pen er

the underworld. Is given to attain person this to

åaut ent ḥer - f neḥem - f

dignities which [are] above him, delivered [is] he,

pu mā χet nebt bån tu em un māt.

to wit, from things all evil, foul, in very truth.

In order to overcome the fiends and companions of Āpepi it was necessary to recite a certain chapter of cursings "over an Āpepi with green paint painted upon new papyrus which is to be placed inside a case upon which his name is inscribed; tie up a case and put it in the fire every day. Kick it with thy left foot, spit upon it four times every day. When thou placest this form in the fire say, 'Rā triumphs over thee, O Āpepi; Horus triumphs over thee; and Pa-āa, life, strength and health! triumphs over his enemies' four times. Then must thou write the name of every devil male and female which thy heart fears, the name of every enemy of Pa-āa, life, strength, health! in life and in death, and the names of their fathers and mothers and children inside the cases; then put them in forms of wax and set them on the fire in addition to that with the name of Āpepi. Burn these when Rā rises, repeating the chapter the first time,

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at noon and at sunset while there is light at the foot of the mountain. Verily thou must recite this chapter over every wax figure; the doing of this is of great good (or of great power) upon earth and in the underworld."

The following is the text:—

(Page 13, l. 16) 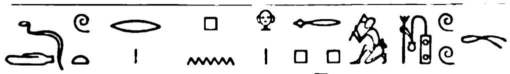

'tettu re pen her Āpep nāuu
Is to be said chapter this over an Āpepi written

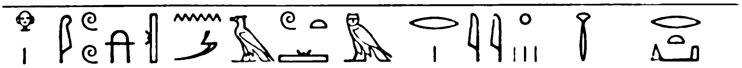

her shuu nemaut em rei ua't ertā
upon papyrus new with colour green [and] placed

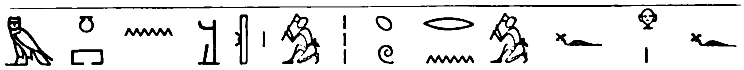

em χennu en neset àru ren - f her - f
inside of a case (?) being made name his upon it,

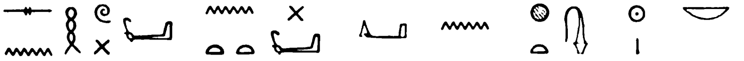

senhu netet tā en χet hru neb
bind, tie up [and] give [it] to the fire day every.

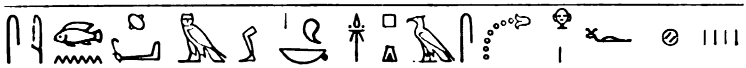

sàn em nemti - k àbt pekas her - f sep ftu
Spurn with leg thy left, spit upon it times four

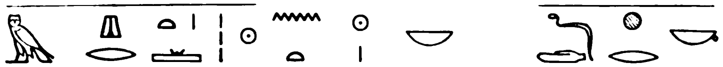

em χerti ent hru neb 'tet χer - k
in the course of day every. Is to be said by thee

tā - k su en set mātχeru Rā er - ek
[when] placest thou it in the fire, "Triumphs Rā over thee,

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Āpep sep ftu mātχeru Ḥeru er χefti - f sep

O Āpepi, times four; triumphs Horus over enemies his, times

ftu mātχeru Pa-āa ānχ u'ta senb er χefti -

four; triumphs Pa-āa, life, strength, health! over enemies

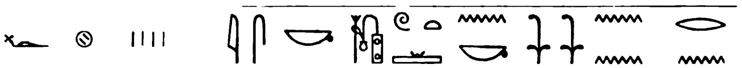

f sep ftu ȧs - k nāut - nek enen ren

his, times four." Now thou, writest thou these names of

seχeti nebt seχeti nebt senṭeti ȧb - k

demons male all and demons female all [which] fears heart thy

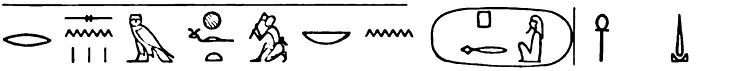

er sen em χeft neb en Pa-āa ānχ u'ta

at them, enemy every of Pa-āa, life, strength,

senb em mit em ānχ ren en ȧtf - sen

health! in death in life, the name of father their,

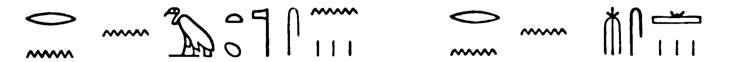

ren en mut - sen ren en mesu

the name of mother their, [and] the name of [their] children

em-χennu en neset ertāt en ȧru em menḥ

inside of the cases placed in work of wax;

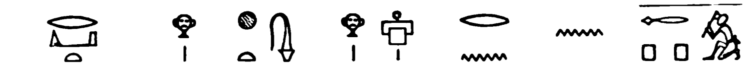

ertāt her χet her-sa ren en Āpep

place [them] upon the fire by the side of the name of Āpepi

am χeft Rā tā - f su ka - k

and burn when Rā gives he himself (*i.e.* rises). Repeatest thou

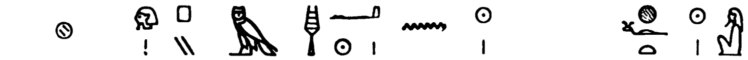

sep hetepi em āhā en Rā χeft Rā

[it] time first, at standing of Rā (*i.e.* noon), when Rā

hetep - f em ānχtet åu shuu her

sets he in the land of life, whilst there is light at

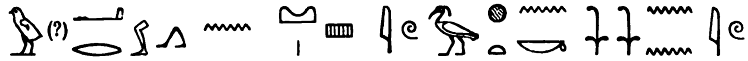

uār (?) en tu åu χut - nek enen åu

the foot of the mountain. Is to be recited by thee this over

semi nebt em un māt χut

image every in very truth; of great power [is]

åru - s her hetep ta em neterχertet

the doing of it upon earth [and] in the under-world.

When Nectanebus wanted to send a dream to Philip he adopted another method: he took a hawk, and having muttered charms over it, sent it away with a small quantity of a drug, and it shewed Philip a dream. Here again I have not been able to find any such custom noted in the Egyptian papyri, but, judging from the minuteness of the description, there can be no doubt this was one of the many practices resorted to by

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the Egyptian sorcerer to shew people dreams. The design engraved on the ring which is described in Bk. I. Chap. VII. was, most probably, something like this;—

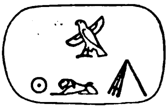

Each of these four signs is found engraved on gems and scarabaei.

Throughout the work Alexander is always spoken of as the son of Åmen-Rā, and the accuracy of the references to him and to this god is fully borne out by the hieroglyphic inscriptions. His cartouches are;—

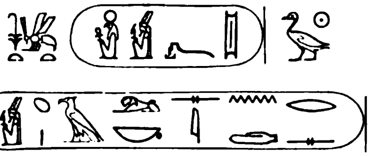

and read *suten net setep Rā meri Åmen se Rā Aleksàntres se Amen*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the chosen one of Rā, the beloved of Åmen, son of the Sun, Alexander, son of Åmen." Being the son of the god Åmen, who was frequently represented on the sculptures[1] by a ram, it was only natural that the two horns of this animal should be made attributes of Alexander the Great, and that he should be called "two-horned." In the Book of Daniel[2], though compared to a goat, he has only one horn; the writer of the book must, however, have been acquainted with the Egyptian notions concerning Alexander. According to Arabic tradition he was called Two-Horned because of his having captured the two horns of the sun, that is, the East and the West[3].

[1] and see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, tav. xx—xxv.

[2] Daniel, chap. viii.

[3] وسمي ذا القرنين لبلوغه قرني الشمس وهما المشرق والمغرب

Pocock, *Hist. Dynastiarum*, text p. 96, Latin trans. p. 62. See also Ḳor'ân, Surah XVIII, and Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 57.

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THE VERSIONS OF THE FABULOUS HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

THE work upon which all the legendary compositions relating to the history of Alexander are based is that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which is thought to have been written in Greek about A.D. 200[1]. The Greek text of this work is extant in twenty manuscripts which have been enumerated and described by Zacher[2]. In the majority of them the name of no author is given, but some describe the narrative as the work of Καλλισθένης ἱστοριογράφος[3]. The text as printed by Müller[4] is edited from three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which represent three different versions of the work, viz.:—No. 1711 (fonds grec) = A; No. 1685 = B; and No. 113 (suppl. grec) = C. The text in the first of these is very corrupt, but as a whole, it represents the original or Alexandrian form of the legend. In the second the differences between legend and history are made to be less marked, and the authorship of the composition is attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes. In the third we have a modified and amplified redaction of the story which agrees oftener with B than A, in this respect resembling most of the other MSS. known to us[5]. The Greek text of a manuscript at

[1] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 110 (Introduction).

[2] Müller, op. cit., *Introductio*, p. viii. col. 2, No. 13.

[3] Pseudo-Callisthenes: *Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Aeltesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867, pp. 7—25.

[4] *Pseudo-Callisthenes primum edidit* Carolus Mullerus, Parisiis, 1877.

[5] *Codex A* scribam arguit vel plane rudem et negligentissimum, vel cujus oculis subjectum erat exemplar turpissimis vitiis ubique inquinatum. Adeo pleraque corrupta et lacera sunt......Ipsa denique narratio uberior est de iis rebus, unde quæ prisca ejus forma fuerit intelligere liceat......Codices B et C,

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Leyden containing a version which follows A for the first nine chapters and B for the rest has been edited by Meusel[1]; it is of value for the study of the Syriac version. A German translation of the Greek codices A, B and C was published by Weismann[2].

It is improbable that any Greek text known to us represents the Alexander story as it was first written, but a study of the Syriac and Armenian versions and of the Latin translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Julius Valerius, which was made in the fourth century, will, in all probability, help us to restore it in many passages. M. Meyer thinks that, with the help of these versions, it can be restored to represent its form in the third century, for their variations represent Greek readings older than any that we have[3].

uti ætate non ita longe separati, sic oratione simillimi. Ubi res easdem eodem modo narrant, iisdem etiam verbis uti solent. Cetera indole valde differunt. Nimirum codex B narrationem habet quam cod. A breviorem. Alia omittit, alia contrahit, quædam mutavit et transposuit; nova præbet perpauca—Contra codex C voluminis mole reliquos longe superat. Fundus narrationis ea est recensio quam sequitur cod. B. Nam quæ cod. B habet, eadem eodem ordine iisdemque verbis in C leguntur pæne omnia. At intercalata iis sunt alia multa, quæ ex diversis plane fontibus auctor corrasit. Pleraque ætatem redolent infimam, multa ineptissima; ac tanta est scriptoris negligentia, ut non modo pugnantia inter se proferat, sed eadem etiam bis vel ter repetat. Müller, Introductio, p. ix, col. 1, x. col. 2.

[1] *Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1871. Reprinted from *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, t. v. suppl. IV.

[2] Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung, nebst geschichtlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen, so wie der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes und umfassenden Auszügen aus den lateinischen, französischen, englischen, persischen und türkischen Alexanderliedern.* 2 Bde, Frankfurt a. M. 1850. For other accounts of Pseudo-Callisthenes see Berger de Xivrey, *Notices sur la plupart des manuscrits grecs, latins, français, contenant l'histoire fabuleuse d'Alexandre le Grand connue sous le nom de Pseudo-Callisthenes*, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, t. XIII., Paris, 1838, pp. 162—306; Frocheur, *Histoire romanesque d'Alexandre le Grand, ou recherches sur les différentes versions du Pseudo-Callisthène* (in *Messager des sciences historiques et archives des Arts en Belgique*, 1847, pp. 393—436); Grässe, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1842; Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii. pp. 1—184; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, t. I. bk. 2, cap. 10, t. III. bk. 3, cap. 2.

[3] *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866, t. II. p. 1—7.

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THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES BY JULIUS VALERIUS AND LEO THE ARCHPRESBYTER.

The history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into Latin by Julius Valerius[1] and Leo the Archpresbyter[2]. Julius Valerius is supposed to have lived about the third or fourth century A.D.[3] His work was one of the sources of the *Itinerarium Alexandri*[4], a work of unknown authorship, which was composed about 340—345 A.D., and it was through this version that the peoples of the north-west and west of Europe became acquainted with the fabulous history of Alexander. The oldest manuscript of the work is preserved at Turin, and was written about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century[5]. The Aesop mentioned in the titles of the work is generally thought to be the author of a very old recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes; Favre, however, considered his work to be quite distinct from that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, although many of the stories were common to both[6]. The Epitome of Julius Valerius was published for the first time by Zacher[7].

[1] The text has been published by Mai, *Julii Valerii res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo Graeco.* In *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis codd. editorum*, t. VII., Romae, 1835, pp. 61—246 and in *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, ed. Lemaire, t. LXXIV. pp. 82—283; and by Müller at the foot of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

[2] The text has been published many times, but the most recent editions of it are Landgraf, *Die Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyters Leo, Historia de Preliis*......zum erstenmal herausgegeben, 1885, 8vo; Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems.* In Anhange: Die Historia de preliis, 1882, 8vo. A work on the Historia de Preliis is being prepared by Dr. A. Ausfeld of Brüchsal.

[3] Mai, op. cit. p. xi.

[4] The text has been published by Mai, *Itinerarium Alexandri......edidit primus et notis illustravit A. Maius, nunc denuo publicat*, 1819 pp. 15—61; by Müller, at the end of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 155—167; and by Volkmann, Numburgi (no date) pp. 1—29. See also Kluge, *De Itinerario Alexandri Magni dissertatio*, Wratislaviae, 1861, 8vo.

[5] Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 11.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 22; Meyer, *Alexandre*, p. 18.

[7] *Julii Valerii Epitome zum erstenmal herausgegeben*, Halle, 1867.

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The translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter appeared for the first time in the XIth century, entitled *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de prœliis.* He had been sent on an embassy to Constantinople by John and Marinus, Dukes of Campania (914—965), and while there he spent his time in collecting books; among these was a Greek history of Alexander which the Duke John caused him to translate into Latin[1].

A Latin version of the History of Alexander, composed of a series of extracts from the works of Orosius, Josephus, Augustine, Bede and others, so arranged as to form a continuous narrative, was made in the twelfth century; it is usually attributed to Radulfus, Abbot of St Albans[2].

The Latin epic poem *Alexandreis* by Gaultier de Lille or de Châtillon is based upon the history of Alexander by Q. Curtius[3].

A small and late apocryphal Latin work which treats of Alexander's journey to Paradise is also known; the text was published by Zacher in 1859[4]. Some parts of the narrative, as, for example, the statement that Alexander was guided on his way through dark and unknown countries by a precious stone, remind us of the Ethiopic description of his journey in search of the water of life, in which we are told that a gem, which Adam brought out from Paradise, led him along the right path through the Land of Darkness (see p. cv.). M. Meyer admits[5] that the story may be of Hebrew origin, but he thinks that the traces of Christianity which are found in it do away with all chance of its being an exact translation of the Hebrew legend which makes

[1] The value of this translation has been discussed by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 67—77; by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 34 ff.; and by Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 108.

[2] See Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. pp. 52—63, and also his description of the *Compilation du MS. Douce*, p. 63 ff.

[3] See Ward, H. L. D., *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I. p. 94. The poem has been published in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCIX., 1855, coll. 463—572, and by Mueldener, entitled *M. Philippi Gualtheri ab insulis dicti de Castellione Alexandreis*, Leipzig, 1863.

[4] *Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum*, Koenigsberg, 1859. This composition has been described by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 86, 87.

[5] *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 49.

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Alexander attempt to enter Paradise[1]; he would place the date of its composition in the first half of the XIIth century[2].

THE ARMENIAN VERSION[3].

The text of the Armenian[4] version of the Alexander story was published at Venice in the year 1842 by the Mechitarist Fathers, who based their edition upon ten or twelve MSS. which were written during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the undated MSS. was one which was illustrated with scenes in the life of Alexander, and which, from external evidence, was supposed to have been written during the twelfth or thirteenth century. This Armenian translation is considered to be a faithful equivalent of the Greek text from which it was translated, and to represent the oldest form of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes; the Mechitarists place the date of this version in the fifth century and believe that it was made by Moses of Khorene[5]. Judging by the translations of parts of the contents given by Zacher it agrees closely with the Syriac version; and as it preserves in a fuller and better form many of the passages which are either given imperfectly or not at all in the Greek codex A and in the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it is much to be desired that an Armenian scholar

[1] Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. p. 321.

[2] See a discussion on the work by Israel Levi in *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298; t. XII. p. 117.

[3] See Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 85—101, and Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. II. pp. 34, 35. I am indebted to these works for the statements about the Armenian Pseudo-Callisthenes made above.

[4] *Padmuthiun Acheksandri Maketonazwui I Wenedig i dparani serbuin Chazaru.* Hami 1842 or "History of Alexander the Macedonian, Venice. At the printing press of Saint Lazarus, 1842." A notice of this work appeared in the *Hallischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, June, 1845, No. 129, ss. 1027—1029, and another by C. F. Neumann in *Gelehrten Anzeigen herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der k. Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, December, 1884, No. 250—252, coll. 961—965; 969—974; 977—983.

[5] The narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, or a similar history, was known to Moses of Chorene, for he says that Nectanebus was the last king of Egypt and that he was, according to some, the father of Alexander. See *Moïse de Khorène, histoire d'Arménie, texte Arménien et traduction Françoise*, par P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, p. 175.

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would undertake to make a translation of it into some European language. In a letter to Geier Dr. G. Petermann said, "Die Armenische Biographie ist, wie Sie ganz richtig vermuthet hatten, der *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, derselbe aber in der aeltesten Gestalt, oder wenigstens in derjenigen, welche der aeltesten zunaechst steht, ohne die vielen spaetern meist widersinnigen Zusaetze, ob er gleich auch wie alle andern Recensionen desselben des Wunderbaren Vieles enthaelt. Uebrigens ist diese Biographie, wie die armenischen Herausgeber ausdrücklich in der Vorrede bemerken—und wir mussen sie, die gelehrten Mechitaristen,...als die competentesten Richter in dieser Beziehung anerkennen—schon im 5ten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung uebersetzt worden; auch hegen sie die Vermuthung, dass *Moses Chorenensis*, der berühmteste Armenische Geschichtsschreiber, der Uebersetzer derselben sei, so wie sie meinen, dass ebenderselbe auch die Chronik des Eusebius in das Armenische uebertragen haben moege." Müller, *Introductio*, p. x.

The Syriac Version.

The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes which has come down to us may be divided into three books or sections, which agree broadly with the three divisions which we find in the Greek codex A and with those of the Latin translation by Julius Valerius; these books or sections contain forty-seven, fourteen and twenty-four chapters respectively. The order of some of the chapters in Book I. is different from those in the Greek text, but the whole book substantially agrees with the Codex A.

In Book II. we have a lacuna of nearly eight chapters. The first sentence of Chap. VI. agrees with the first sentence of Chap. VI. of Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac then passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). This break can probably be accounted for by supposing that a couple of quires had fallen out of either the Greek or the Arabic translation of it from which the Syriac version was made.

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Book III. corresponds generally with Book III. of the Greek text but omits the ten chapters which are interpolated into the Greek text of Codex A from the work of Palladius[1], Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων[2].

Although the Syriac work printed in the following pages agrees tolerably closely with the Greek text of codex A and the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it will be seen on examining these versions that it cannot be considered a translation of either the Greek or the Latin or to represent any of the Greek and Latin texts known to us. Incidents which are extant in the Greek and are wanting in the Latin are found in the Syriac: similarly incidents which are extant in the Latin and are wanting in the Greek are preserved in the Syriac. For example the incident of the Egyptians enquiring of the oracle what had become of Nectanebus is given by the Greek and the Syriac, but it is wanting in the Latin of Julius Valerius. Also the augury of Nectanebus related in Chap. XII. of the Greek and Syriac texts is wanting in the Latin. Again the correspondence between Zintôs, Olympias and Philip, Alexander and Aristotle concerning the meagreness of the pocket money allowed to Alexander is given in the Latin and Syriac, but is wanting in the Greek text. The text of Aristotle's letter to Alexander in which he warns him not to undertake the building of so great a city as Alexandria, which is given in the Syriac, is wanting in both the Greek and the Latin texts. Other similar variations will be found in the second and third book of the Syriac version.

Of the Syrian translator of Pseudo-Callisthenes nothing is known. It seems most probable, however, that he was a Christian priest. Throughout his work he has used a number of rare words, and he appears, at times, not to have understood clearly the text before him[3]. Here and there he has turned a

[1] He is supposed to have been born in Galatia about A.D. 367; he was made Bishop of Helenopolis in 400, and died in the year 431.

[2] This work was first published by Joachimus Camerarius in *Liber Gnomologicus*, about the year 1571; it was afterwards printed under the name of Palladius together with S. Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, and Anonymus, *De Bragmanibus*, by Sir Edward Bisse in 1665.

[3] See, for example, the description of an eclipse, Eng. trans. p. 95, and Müller, p. 121, col. 1.

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passage in order to bring out a Christian sentiment. Thus when Darius dies he makes him say, "In thy hands I leave my spirit," a rendering which cannot have been made from the Greek *καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν Δαρεῖος ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου.* (Müller, p. 78, col. 1.) It is clear that the passage ܐܒܝ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝܟ ܣܐܡ ܐܢܐ ܪܘܚܝ "My Father, in Thy hands I lay my spirit" (S. Luke, ch. xxiii. 46), was running in his mind. We have also "Shôshan, or Shûshan the fortress" mentioned twice[1] where there is no original Greek from which it could have been translated. Here the translator had in his mind the שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה, Chald. שׁוּשַׁן בִּירְתָּא, of Nehemiah i. 1; and Esther i. 1; ii. 3, 5.

In Book I. chapter XXXI. we have a statement[2] regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph the son of Jacob. Now this interpolation is clearly the work of the Syrian translator who had obtained his information on this point from the works of Christian writers. In the Oration of Meliton the Philosopher addressed to Antoninus Caesar[3] we have it expressly stated that "The Egyptians worshipped Joseph, a Hebrew, who was called Serapis[4], because he supplied them with sustenance in the years of famine," ܣܓܕܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܥܒܪܝܐ. ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܣܪܦܝܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܪܢܣ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܘܬܪܐ ܒܫܢ̈ܝ ܕܟܦܢܐ. and the same view is expressed by Tertullian[5], Maternus[6], Ruffinus[7] and Suidas[8].

In the composition which I have called *A Christian Legend*

[1] Eng. trans. pp. 133 and 153.

[2] Eng. trans. p. 39.

[3] For the text see Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. ܦܡ.

[4] The Egyptian form of this name is "Osiris was also worshipped under the form of Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, or as a human figure with a bull's head, accompanied by the name Apis-Osiris," Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, III. p. 86. "Apis was a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris," Plutarch, *De Isid.* 29, 30.

[5] "Nam Serapis iste quidem olim Joseph dictus fuit, de genere sanctorum," *Ad Nationes*, II. 8.

[6] *De Errore Profan. Relig.*, cap. 9.

[7] In *Auctores Hist. Eccl.* Basil. p. 256.

[8] See in his Lexicon s.v. Σάραπις, ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1834.

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concerning Alexander the Christian translator betrays himself by quoting a passage[1] from Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the evil which shall come upon the land through the invasion of the peoples from the north. Several other passages in the work shew that he was also acquainted with the prophecies which are given in the Gospels, concerning the evils which should fall upon the land of Judaea. Whether the writer of the metrical discourse upon Alexander and the gate which he built was Jacob of Sĕrûgh or not is of little consequence here; it is so evidently the work of a Christian translator that we need not discuss it at all.

When the Syriac translation was made I am unable to say; but I believe that we may assign it to some period between the seventh and the ninth centuries. Professor Wright thought that Syriac was not the native language of the translator, and believed that he had only acquired it in the schools for the purpose of studying the Bible and the Syriac translations of Greek theological works; he believed that the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original, and placed the making of the work much later than I have done, namely in the tenth century[2]. Zacher placed the date of the making of our translation in the fifth century[3]. An older Syriac translation may have appeared in the sixth century, about the time when the first Syriac translation of *Ḳalîlag wĕ-Damnag* was made; I do not, however, see any evidence in the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes which we have before us sufficient to justify us in assigning the work to that early period. Whether we assign the earlier or the later date to the translation it does not appear that the value of the work as a means for helping to restore the ancient form of the Alexander story will be im-

[1] English trans. p. 155.

[2] Wright, *Syriac Literature*, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XXII. p. 850, col. 2.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 192. Wenn also die Abfassung des Julius Valerius in den Anfang des vierten, die der armenischen Uebersetzung wahrscheinlich in das fünfte Jahrhundert zu setzen ist, so würde die Abfassung dieser Syrischen Uebersetzung vielleicht ebenfalls noch in das fünfte Jahrhundert fallen, in jene Zeit, wo unter der Pflege der Nestorianer die Syrische Literatur in Edessa blühte und durch Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen bereichert wurde.

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paired. Also it is certain that the Syriac translation represents one of the oldest forms of the story, older probably than any other known to us.

The strongest evidence that the Syriac translation was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original is obtained from the Syriac forms of Greek proper names. The Egyptian name Necht-neb-f (Nectanebus) is represented in Greek by Νεκτανεβῶς and in Arabic by نقطنبوس[1]; the Syrian translator reading by mistake نقطيبوس *i.e.* يـ for نـ arrived at the Syriac form ܢܩܛܝܒܘܣ which we have throughout the work. We have the correct transcription of this name ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ in Bruns, *Bar-Heb. Chron.*, Syr. text, p. 35, l. 19. On page 20 (Syr. text), l. 8, we have the words ܕܡܘܒܠ ܩܪܢܬܐ ܣܝܢܐ for the Greek *κερασφόρος μηνί*. The rendering of *κερασφόρος* is sufficiently good, but what is ܣܝܢܐ? It seems that the Arabic translator did not know what *μηνὶ* meant, and that he transferred the word to his translation under some form like ميناً, which was taken over into the Syriac version under the form of ܡܝܢܐ, which became corrupted into ܣܝܢܐ and ܣܝܢܐ. In the next line we have the name ܐܡܪܝܩܛܢܐ for the Greek Ἐνδυμίωνα. Now the Arabic form of this name would be something like انديميونا, which the Syrian scribe probably read ايدنمتونا, and hence arrived at the Syriac form of the word which we now have. On p. 52, l. 5, we have ܪܦܝܬܘܢ ܘܩܝܠܝܛܪܘܢ for the Greek *Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων*. The Arabic transcription of these names was probably رفيتون قيقنطرون[2], the translator not understanding the passage, which the Syriac translator misread رفيتون وقيليطرون. On page 63, l. 5, the total of Alexander's forces is given as two hundred and seventy thousand: here clearly the Syriac translator read سبعين for تسعين.

[1] The form given by Bar-Hebraeus (*Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 89) is نقطابيوس

[2] R for L as in the name Ḳandarôs = Candaules. Eng. trans. p. 121.

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On page 70, l. 14, we have ܣܝܣܝܩܘܣܣ, for the Greek Σεσόγχωσις; the Arabic transcription of this word سيسنقوسيس was probably read by the Syriac translator as سيسيقوسس, hence the Syriac form which we now have. On p. 97, l. 4, we have ܠܒܐܕܠܐ for the Greek *εἰς* Ἄβδηρα. The Arabic transcription of the Greek would probably be بابديرا, the whole of which the Syrian translator read as the name of the place and transcribed ܒܐܕܠܐ (with *l* for *r*). On p. 99, l. 3, the Syriac form of the name Croesus, Κροῖσος, is given as ܩܪܝܛܝܛܘܣ, which can only have arisen from the Syrian translator reading قريتيتوس instead of قريسوس. The Syriac form of Κανδαύλης is ܩܢܕܪܘܣ, and as the Ethiopic form of this name is also Ḳandarôs, it seems certain that they are both transcribed from an Arabic original. It has been shewn that the Syrian translator, probably from the absence of points, misread ﺪﻳ for ﻨ and ﻨ for ﺪﻳ, ﺘ for ﺪﻳ, ﺗﺴ for ﺳﺒ and ﻳﺘﻴﺪ for ﻳﺴ, and the following example of the confusion between ق and ف will be interesting. On page 242, line 5, we have ܦܪܝܣܩܘܣ, Prîsḳôs, which is afterwards frequently written ܩܪܝܣܩܘܣ *Ḳrîsḳos.* An examination of the Index of Syriac forms of proper names will add considerably to the few examples given above of the confusion between the Arabic letters on the part of the Syrian scribe.

To sum up, then, the Syriac version seems to have been made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original by a Christian priest, whose native language was Arabic, some time between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

M. Jules Mohl believed[1] that Firdausi employed an Arabic translation of a Greek history of Alexander to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. It is much to be wished that a manuscript of such an Arabic translation could be found, for there is little doubt that it would

[1] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

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clear up many of the difficult passages which exist in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

To facilitate the comparison of the contents of the Syriac version with the Greek texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have added below a brief list of its contents. A short summary of the Greek texts A, B and C[1] and of the Latin translation of Julius Valerius has been printed by Müller in the introduction to his edition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. x col. 2—xv col. 1, and by Weismann[2] in the German translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes at the head of each chapter. A complete summary and scholarly analysis of each chapter of the oldest Greek and Latin texts of the work, with remarks upon the Armenian version (said to have been made in the fifth century), has been given by Zacher in his *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, pp. 113—176. The letters A, B and C refer to the three principal Greek texts of Müller's edition; L to the Greek text published by Meusel[3]; and V to the Latin translation made by Julius Valerius, which is printed at the foot of the pages of the Greek text in Müller's edition.

Book I.

Chap. I. The sages of Egypt, of divine origin, ruled the earth and sea by their power which they delivered to mankind by means of magical words. Nectanebus the last king of Egypt was a great magician. His sorcery with a bowl of water and models of ships and men; conquers his enemies thereby[4].

Chap. II. A spy announces the coming of hosts of enemies. Nectanebus approves of the vigilance of the scout and dismisses him[5].

[1] For Müller's description of the characteristics of these MSS. see his *Introductio*, p. ix, col. 2; p. x, col. 1.

[2] *Alexander,......der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Band II, pp. 4—224.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Handschrift, herausgegeben von* H. Meusel. Besonderer Abdruck aus dem fünften Supplementband der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Leipzig, 1871.

[4] AVL. So also the Armenian version. See Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 88.

[5] ABCLV.

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Chap. III. Nectanebus discovers by means of the basin of water and the bitumen figures that the gods of Egypt have forsaken and betrayed the land. He shaves his head and beard, changes his raiment, and flees from Egypt by way of Pelusium. He arrives at Pella and dresses like an Egyptian prophet[1]. After Nectanebus had fled the Egyptians asked Hephaestus the head of the race of the gods what had become of him. He sends them an oracle which they inscribe upon the base of the statue of Nectanebus[2].

Chap. IV. Nectanebus goes about in Macedonia. Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of Macedon, sends for him to consult him about a rumour which she has heard of Philip's intention to divorce her. He casts her nativity. Description of the table and horoscope. He tells her that Ammon the god of Libya will appear to her in a dream, and that he will afterwards come and sleep with her[3].

Chap. V. Nectanebus causes Olympias to dream that Ammon had come to her[4].

Chap. VI. Olympias sends for Nectanebus to come and explain the dream; he tells her that Ammon will come to her in three forms[5].

Chap. VII. A god, *i.e.*, Nectanebus, visits Olympias under the forms of Ammon, of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. Nectanebus sends a dream to Philip in which he shews him the visit of Ammon to Olympias and her pregnancy[6].

Chap. VIII. Philip sends for the wise men to explain the dream, and they tell him that Olympias has become pregnant by Ammon the god of Libya[7].

Chap. IX. Philip returns home and finds Olympias ashamed to meet him. He comforts her and tells her that he has seen in a dream all that has happened[8].

Chap. X. Philip, suspecting the fidelity of his wife, upbraids her. Nectanebus in the form of a serpent glides into the room and embraces Olympias, and Philip is pacified[9].

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCL. [3] ABCLV. [4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV.

[6] ABCLV. See ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܒܢܐ ed. Bruns, p. 35.

[7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV. [9] ABCLV.

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Chap. XI. A half-bred hen lays an egg in Philip's lap; and a serpent crawls therefrom and dies. Antiphon the chief augur interprets this as referring to the glory and death of the child which Olympias is about to bring forth[1].

Chap. XII. The time for Olympias to be delivered comes, and Nectanebus consults the stars in order that the child may not be born under an unlucky star[2]. At a favourable time Olympias gives birth to Alexander, and the earth quakes and lightnings flash forth from the sky[3].

Chap. XIII. Philip names the child Alexander after a son borne to him by a former wife. Description of Alexander's appearance and the names of his tutors[4]. Bucephalus is sent to Philip by the Cappadocians as a gift[5].

Chap. XIV. Alexander, being twelve years old, learns the arts of horsemanship and war. Nectanebus makes a good augury for Olympias. He shews Alexander the planets, and is pushed by him into a pit, where he dies after having told Alexander his history and relationship to him. Alexander buries his father[6].

Chap. XV. Philip sends to consult the oracle at Delphi about his successor: Pythia replies saying that the subduer of Bucephalus shall be lord of Macedonia[7].

Chap. XVI. Alexander makes Bucephalus run through Pella, and Philip, remembering the words of the oracle, rejoices[8].

Chap. XVII. Alexander returns wise answers to the questions of Aristotle[9]. His liberality. Correspondence between Zintôs, Philip and Olympias, Aristotle and Alexander[10].

[1] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[2] ABCLV. The description of the auguries of Nectanebus is shortened in LBCV. [3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV. The notice about the ancestors of Alexander given by J. Valerius only is from the fourth book of the Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία of Favorinus. From the fact of this passage being found in the Armenian version, which was certainly translated from the Greek, Müller thinks that Valerius has here preserved a part of an older form of the Greek version than we at present possess. See *Pseudo-Call.*, p. 91.

[5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV. [7] ABCLV.

[8] ABCLV. This is chap. XVII. of the Greek and Latin texts.

[9] ABCLV. This is chap. XVI. of the Greek and Latin texts.

[10] V. The Armenian version has preserved this correspondence between Alexander, his father and mother, Zeuxis and Aristotle. See Müller, p. 92.

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Chap. XVIII. Alexander goes to the chariot races at Pisa; his quarrel with Nicolaus[1].

Chap. XIX. Description of the races. Nicolaus is conquered by Alexander and dies[2].

Chap. XX. Alexander returns to Pella and finds his mother divorced by Philip, who wished to marry a woman called Cleopatra; he goes to the feast in his muddy garments[3].

Chap. XXI. Alexander quarrels with Lysias the jester and kills him. His dispute with his father[4].

Chap. XXII. Alexander, having made his peace with his father, reconciles him to Olympias[5].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander is sent to put down a rebellion at Methône[6]. On his return he finds that Darius had sent satraps to bring to him the customary annual tribute; he sends them away empty with jeers[7]. The satraps cause a picture of Alexander to be painted to be carried back to Persia[8]. Alexander is sent to Armenia to quell an insurrection[9].

Chap. XXIV. Philip, having been enticed into a theatre by Theosîdos, a man who had fallen in love with Olympias, is stabbed[10]. Alexander returns from Armenia and finds that Olympias has been abducted by Theosîdos. He takes Theosîdos to Philip who slays him; Philip dies and is buried[11].

Chap. XXV. Alexander holds a council of war, and exhorts the people to rid themselves of the Persian dominion; he addresses the veterans of Philip's army[12].

Chap. XXVI. Number of the soldiers in Alexander's army[13].

[1] ABCLV.

[2] ABCLV. The Syriac text agrees with C only as far as it agrees with A and B.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV. See Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[5] ABCLV.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABLV. This incident forms part of chap. XXVI. in C, where it is narrated in a different manner.

[8] ABC. [9] ABCLV. [10] ABLV.

[11] ABLV. [12] ABCLV.

[13] ABCLV. For the contents of chap. XXVI. in the Greek and Latin versions see Zacher, p. 117.

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Chap. XXVII. His troops put to sea[1].

Chap. XXVIII. Passing by Sicily he goes to Rome[2]. The Romans send him gifts and a crown[3].

Chap. XXIX. He goes to Carthage in Africa: the people of the city pay tribute to him[4].

Chap. XXX. He sacrifices to the god Ammon of Libya, who appears to him in a dream. He dedicates a brass statue to Ammon. The god appears to him a second time in a dream, and tells him where to found the city which he wishes to build[5].

Chap. XXXI. Alexander builds a sepulchral monument and offers sacrifices at Taphosiris. Origin of the name of the place[6].

Chap. XXXII. He sacrifices in the temples of Zeus and Hêra, and to the god Serapis who afterwards appears to him in a dream. He asks the god to shew him where he shall build his city; having received an answer from the god he lays the foundations of Alexandria[7].

Chap. XXXIII. Aristotle, hearing that Alexander has begun to build a great city, writes to him and advises him not to do so[8]; Alexander, encouraged by the augurs, continues to build the city.

Chap. XXXIV. He goes to Memphis and is crowned by the priests. He reads the oracle upon the statue of Nectanebus, and proclaims himself to be the son of Nectanebus and the young king referred to in the inscription[9]. He exhorts the Egyptians to deliver themselves from the Persians.

[1] This is chap. xxviii. of the Greek text.

[2] This is chap. xxix. of the Greek text.

[3] ABCLV. [4] ABCLV.

[5] ABCLV. Chapters xxix. and xxx. of the Syriac = chap. xxx. of the Greek.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABCV. Chaps. xxxi. and xxxii. of the Syriac = chaps. xxxi—xxxiii. of the Greek. In the Syriac there is no mention of the comparison of the greatness of Antioch, Carthage, Babylon, Rome and Alexandria as given by AV; nor of the birds eating honey which had been strewn about, thereby pointing out where the beginning of the city (ABCLV) should be built; nor of the appearance of the snake (AV); nor of the indication of the parts of the town by the first five letters of the alphabet (ABCLV).

[8] There seems to be nothing like this chapter in the Greek and Latin texts.

[9] ABCLV.

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Chap. XXXV. He goes to Syria and arrives at Tyre. The Tyrians do battle with him and repulse him[1]. Serapis appears to him in a dream and promises to him victory over the Tyrians. He attacks the Tyrians a second time and defeats them. Founds Tripolis[2].

Chap. XXXVI. The ambassadors of Darius tell him of the sagacity of Alexander and shew him his picture. Darius, having had the height of the picture of Alexander compared with that of his daughter Roxana, casts it away with scorn. It is carried off secretly by Roxana to her chamber where she honours it with spices and odours[3]. Darius, wishing to insult Alexander, writes an insolent letter to him and sends it to him with a whip, a ball and a box full of gold. In the letter Darius threatens to crucify Alexander[4].

Chap. XXXVII. Alexander encourages the minds of his soldiers who have been terrified at the words of Darius. He threatens to crucify the ambassadors of Darius, but does not do so in order that he may shew them how superior the customs of the Greeks are to those of the Persians[5].

Chap. XXXVIII. He sends an answer[6] to the letter of Darius with some mustard seed.

Chap. XXXIX. Darius eats the mustard seed. He writes to the satraps in the Taurus commanding them to beat Alexander with a whip for children and to take him to his mother. The satraps Gushtâzaph and Sâbânṭâr write to Darius and tell him that they are awaiting his arrival. Darius answers this letter and upbraids them for their cowardice[7].

Chap. XL. Darius writes again to Alexander, and promises to forgive him all the offences which he has committed against him if he will go back to his own country[8].

Chap. XLI. Alexander receives Darius' letter and writes an answer to it, in which he says that he is obliged to return to Macedonia because his mother Olympias is grievously sick; he promises to return to Persia and to occupy the land. While

[1] ABCLV. The Syriac text makes no mention of the capture of Gaza.
[2] ABCLV.
[3] There is no mention of this in the Greek texts.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV.
[7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV.

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Alexander is on the road to his mother he engages in battle with one of the generals of Darius and defeats him[1].

Chap. XLII. Alexander goes to Achaia, Pieria and Phrygia; he makes offerings to Hector and Achilles. He saw the river Scamander which was five cubits wide[2].

Chap. XLIII. Alexander comes to Macedonia and finds his mother recovering from her sickness. He goes to Abdêra which city is shut against him[3].

Chap. XLIV. He goes to the region of the Euxine Sea[4]. The soldiers have no food to eat. He commands them to slay their horses, for they can be found in every place while Macedonian soldiers can not[5].

Chap. XLV. He comes to the Locri. At Aḳranṭîs he asks the priest of Apollo to consult the oracle for him. The priest refuses and Alexander attempts to carry away the tripod of divination. A voice from the temple rebukes Alexander and assures him that he shall be famous and his name renowned[6].

Chap. XLVI. He marches against Thebes. Description of the attack and defence of the city, the destruction of the houses and walls, and the slaughter of the people. A Theban bard turns aside the fierceness of Alexander's wrath and he orders the destruction of the city and the people to be stopped. The Thebans that remain are banished from their city, and Alexander forbids the name of Thebes to be mentioned again[7].

Chap. XLVII. The Thebans go to Apollo at Delphi to enquire when their city shall be rebuilt. Answer of the Pythia. Alexander goes to Corinth and is present at the Corinthian games; Clitomachus wins the three crowns and Alexander orders the city of Thebes to be rebuilt[8].

Book II.

Chap. I. Alexander goes to Plataeae and receives a favourable augury from the priestess. She is removed from her office by the governor of the district. Alexander deposes that governor

[1] ABCLV. [2] BCLV. [3] BCLV.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] AV.
[7] AV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 125. [8] AV.

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and restores the priestess to her place, whereat the Athenians are displeased; he writes to them and orders them to pay a thousand talents of gold yearly as tribute[1].

Chap. II. The ten orators in Athens write to Alexander. He returns answer to the Athenians and demands that the ten orators be delivered up to him. The Athenians write to him and refuse both to deliver up the orators and to pay tribute. The council of the Athenians. Aeschines is in favour of going to Alexander, but Demades is not, and wishes to incite the Athenians to do battle with Alexander[2].

Chap. III. The speech of Demosthenes the Athenian. He approves of the conduct of Alexander in deposing the ruler[3].

Chap. IV. The Athenians approve of the speech of Demosthenes. He makes a second speech which convinces them of the futility of fighting with Alexander[4].

Chap. V. The Athenians send a crown of gold with a letter of thanks to Alexander. Alexander writes a letter to them in which he mentions many of their evil deeds[5].

Chap. VI. Alexander marches against the Lacedemonians[6]. He encamps by the Tigris and goes on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. He pretends to be an ambassador of Alexander[7], and is present at a feast of Darius and his generals.

Chap. VII. Alexander hides the golden drinking goblets in his bosom. He is recognised by Pasargês, quits the chamber and escapes on horseback. The picture of Xerxes in the palace of Darius peels off from the wall and falls to the ground[8].

Chap. VIII. Alexander counts his army and exhorts the soldiers to fight bravely[9].

Chap. IX. Alexander comes to the river Strangas and fights the army of Darius. Defeat of the Persians and flight of Darius[10]. He writes a letter to Alexander committing his mother, his wife and his daughter to his care. Alexander sets

[1] AV. [2] AV. [3] AV. [4] AV. [5] AV.

[6] AV. The other parts of chapter vi. in the Syriac belong to chapter xiv. of the Greek. Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[7] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[8] ABCLV. This is chap. xv. of the Greek.

[9] This is a part of chap. xvi. of the Greek. [10] ABCLV.

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the palace of Xerxes on fire, but afterwards he repents and orders the fire to be extinguished[1].

Chap. X. Alexander sees the grave of Pâḳôr and the body of Cyrus in a golden coffin. He finds captive Greeks who had been mutilated and liberates them[2].

Chap. XI. Darius makes ready for a second war and writes to Porus, king of the Indians, asking help from him and promising to give him Alexander's horse Bucephalus. Alexander, hearing of this, arms his troops and sets out for the country of the Parthians. Darius then tries to escape but is pursued by Alexander[3].

Chap. XII. Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stab Darius. Alexander finds him half dead and tries to comfort him. Darius commits his wife, his mother, and his daughter to Alexander's care and dies[4].

Chap. XIII. Alexander buries Darius with great ceremony. He makes a proclamation to the Persians, and crucifies the murderers of Darius[5].

Chap. XIV. He writes to the mother and wife of Darius; their reply. He writes to Roxana and takes her to wife[6].

Book III.

Chap. I. Alexander, hearing that Porus had marched with troops to the assistance of Darius, and, finding that Darius was dead, had returned to his own land, sets out for India to overcome him. His soldiers complain that they have too much

[1] ABCLV. This is chap. xvii. of the Greek.
[2] ABCLV. This is chap. xviii. of the Greek.
[3] ABCLV. This is chap. xix. of the Greek. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
[4] ABCLV. This is chap. xx. of the Greek.
[5] ABCLV. This is chap. xxi. of the Greek.
[6] ABCLV. This is chap. xxii. of the Greek. A and V end Book II. by adding the statement that Alexander sets out for India. B and C give the text of a letter from Alexander to Olympias and Aristotle in which he relates his adventures from the battle of Issus to the death of Darius and his own marriage. From this point onwards Müller has edited his Greek text from Codex C. Here the letter in C ends. B, however, adds in the first person, a description of the wonders which he saw in the far east, as a part of the letter, all of which C gives, in the third person, from Chapter xxxii. onwards. For a summary of the contents of BC and L see especially Zacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 132—143.

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fighting to do. He addresses them and eventually they ask his forgiveness[1].

Chap. II. He receives an insolent letter from Porus, which he reads before his troops and then answers[2].

Chap. III. The Persians and Macedonians draw near to the Indians to fight. Alexander and his troops are afraid when they see that wild beasts are employed by Porus to fight[3]. Alexander makes brazen images red-hot, and the wild beasts in the army of Porus seizing these in their mouths are terrified, and run back to their camp and begin to fight the Indians themselves. Bucephalus throws Alexander off his back and dies. The Greeks and Indians fight twenty days and Alexander's troops wish to surrender to the Indians[4].

Chap. IV. Seeing this, Alexander challenges Porus to single combat, and Porus is slain[5]; he buries Porus and then makes ready to go and see the naked sages[6].

Chap. V. The Brahmans send a letter to him. Description of their style of living[7].

Chap. VI. Alexander asks the Brahmans questions; their replies[8].

Chap. VII.[9] Writes a letter to Aristotle giving an account of his travels. I first came to a place called Prasiakê[10] where we saw men with faces like horses. I sent Philôn to land upon what was thought to be an island: it turned out, however, to be an animal, which, disappearing under the waves, caused Philôn to be drowned in the vortex of waters caused by its sinking[11]. I saw a beast like an elephant which escaped from our weapons. I saw an eclipse. We marched from the Caspian gates to the frontier of the Indians, and met all kinds of beasts and reptiles. We marched from the tenth hour of each day until the third hour of the next. After twelve days' march we

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCLV. [3] ABCLV.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABLV.
[7] ABV. [8] ABLV.

[9] The work of Palladius entitled Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν βραχμάνων is here interpolated and forms chaps. VII.—XVI. of the Greek text. Chap. VII. of the Syriac text is chap. XVII. of the Greek.

[10] AV. Major Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, should be studied for this and the following chapters.

[11] AV.

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arrived at a city between rivers, where we saw reeds thirty cubits high. Thirty-six of my soldiers swim in that river and are devoured by alligators or crocodiles. We arrived next at a lake of sweet waters where we found an inscribed pillar of Sesonchosis. I lay down to sleep there and in the night saw red scorpions, horned snakes, lions, rhinoceroses, wild boars, wolves, leopards, panthers, beasts with scorpions' tails, elephants, and men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. I order the jungle to be set on fire and many of these beasts perish in the flames. When the moon had set the Mashkĕlath[1] came into the camp and killed twenty-six men; when we had killed it three hundred men were necessary to draw it out of the ditch. We saw night-foxes, water crocodiles, bats as large as eagles, and night-ravens. We came to a wood inhabited by wild men with faces like ravens. We arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted, and next we came to the land of lion-headed men. We came to a river where we saw a tree which grew from dawn to the sixth hour of the day, and which diminished from the sixth hour until night. We marched through a wilderness and arrived at the ocean. We saw what appeared to be an island and twenty of my men tried to swim there, but beasts came up out of the water and devoured them. We came to the land of the people having their eyes and mouths in their breasts. We saw the "palm bird" (phoenix). After a march of sixty-five days we arrived at Obarkia and saw two birds, one of which spoke Greek. We next came to a mountain on the top of which a temple was built. In its windows were figures of Pan and the Satyrs; within the temple dwelt a god who revealed himself to me as Dionysus. I ordered our fifty Indian guides to be killed and we turned to go to Prasiakê. On our road we encountered a mighty wind, a black cloud full of fire and snow three cubits deep. We arrived at Prasiakê where were shewn the two talking trees which prophesied that I should die by the hands of my troops in Babylon. Having received gifts from the

[1] See Palladius, *De Bragmanibus*, p. 10, and the description and notes on Bestia dens Tyrannus vocata in Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. 268, and Zacher, pp. 153—158.

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Indians of Prasiakê we marched towards the east[1], and after ten days arrived at a high mountain where a dragon lived. I caused the dragon to be slain. We marched on and arrived at a river called Barsâṭîs and a high mountain. I left my troops, and with twenty of my friends marched to China in twenty-five days. Here I gave myself the name of Pîthâôs and pretended to be an ambassador of Alexander. Gundâphâr the general of the Chinese army asked me questions, and finally gave me gifts and sent me away. We marched thirteen days and did battle with the natives of the country in which we arrived. We set out from thence and came to Ṣĕbâzâz and afterwards to Sogd, where I built a temple to Rhea. We set out and arrived at a river called Barṭêsîtôs over which I built a bridge of boats. Two days from here I built a city and a temple to Rhea. A body of men under the command of Paryôg seized a number of my horses and cattle; I pursued, overtook and slew him. We stayed there four months, and I founded the city of Merv there.

Chap. VIII. I marched from the land of Margiana to the country of the Samrâyê. Alexander's letter to Candace and her reply. Her gifts to him[2].

Chap. IX. Candace caused a portrait of Alexander to be painted secretly. Alexander gives orders to fight the chief of the Mârônîḳâyê who had carried off the wife of her son, Candaules. He changes places with Antigonus the chief of the Greek host[3].

Chap. X. Alexander disguised as Antigonus goes and sets fire to the city of the Mârônîḳâyê, and rescues the wife of Candaules[4].

Chap. XI. Alexander goes to the city of Candace and is welcomed cordially by her[5].

Chap. XII. Description of the palace of Candace. Candace leads him into her chamber and shews him his picture. She keeps the secret of his disguise[6].

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed. p. 125, col. 2. What follows in the Syriac appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS.

[2] ABCLV. Chap. xviii. of the Greek text.

[3] ABCLV. Chap. xix. of the Greek text.

[4] ABCLV. Chap. xx. of the Greek text.

[5] ABCV. Chap. xxi. of the Greek text.

[6] ABCLV. Chap. xxii. of the Greek text.

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Chap. XIII. Her son Ḳĕrâtôr, instigated by his wife, wishes to slay Alexander. He delivers himself by his own astuteness and is sent away in peace by Candace, laden with gifts[1].

Chap. XIV. He goes to a hill with Candaules, and sees and talks with Sesonchosis in a cave there. He sees Serapis who promises him that, living or dead, he shall return to the city which he has founded, and be honoured as a god[2].

Chap. XV. He sets out for the land of the Amazons, and sends a letter to them. They send an answer in which their customs are described[3].

Chap. XVI. He writes another letter to the Amazons, and they send back an answer to it[4].

Chap. XVII.[5] On the road to the Amazons' land he encounters great rains and a fierce heat[6]. He crossed over the river Zûtâ(?) and the people, attributing the rains and thunders and lightnings to his coming, bring him sixty elephants and one hundred thousand chariots, and entreat him to depart from their land. Departing from thence he is met by five hundred Amazon women who bring him gifts of gold. Continuing his march a letter from Aristotle meets him[7]. He returns to Babylon. He writes to Olympias[8] an account of what he did after he reached Asia, saying: "After a march of ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêrakles[9]. From thence we arrived at a land of darkness where beautiful women lived.

Chap. XVIII. We came to a great sea where we sacrificed white horses to Poseidon. We set out in five ships, and in three days arrived at the city of the Sun[10]. We arrived at the river Sakhan which divides Asia and Europe, and afterwards came to the palace of Khusrau and Pâḳôr." Here follows a description of the wonderful things which he saw there[11].

[1] ABCLV. Chap. XXIII. of the Greek text.
[2] ABLV. Chap. XXIV. of the Greek text and chap. XXI. of C.
[3] ABCLV. Chap. XXV. of the Greek text.
[4] ABCLV. Chap. XXVI. of the Greek text.
[5] This is chaps. XXVII—XXIX. of the Greek text.
[6] V.
[7] V. See Zacher, p. 167.
[8] V.
[9] V. See Zacher, p. 168.
[10] ABCLV.
[11] ABCLV. See Zacher, pp. 168—172.

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Chap. XIX.[1] A woman brings forth a four-headed monster which she shews to the king. Alexander, having seen it, sends for the Chaldeans, who explain the sign as referring to himself and to his death[2].

Chap. XX. Olympias sends an accusation against Antipater to Alexander. Antipater determines to have Alexander poisoned, and having dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, sends it by the hand of his son Cassander to Babylon. Cassander enters into a conspiracy with Iollas, the chief cup-bearer, who had been scourged by Alexander a few days previously. Cassander, watching his opportunity, administers the poison to Alexander while he is drinking wine with his friends. Alexander falls sick, and Cassander sends the news to his father that the king is poisoned[3]

Alexander tries to drown himself in the Euphrates, but is prevented by Roxana his wife. He dictates his will. Ḳrîsḳôs (or Prîsḳôs) and Ptolemy make a compact to share equally whatever is left to them by Alexander[4].

Chap. XXI. Tumult among the Macedonian soldiers who think that Alexander is dead. He orders them to go to the hippodrome and is himself carried there on his bed. He addresses the Macedonian soldiers who wish to stab themselves and to die with him[5].

Chap. XXII.[6] Text of Alexander's testament[7].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander dies. His body is brought to Memphis[8] and from thence to Alexandria, where Ptolemy buries it[9].

Chap. XXIV. The number of the years which Alexander lived and reigned[10]. List of the cities which he founded and the day of his death[11].

[1] Chap. xxx. of the Greek text.

[2] ABCLV.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] A. Chap. xxxII. of the Greek text.

[5] ABCL. Chap. xxxII. of the Greek text.

[6] Chap. xxII. of the Syriac contains parts of chap. xxxIII. ABC and V, but neither follows nor agrees with either of them exactly. See Zacher, pp. 174, 175.

[7] A quaint work on this subject is the *Dissertatio historico-politica de testamento Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, 1709, by Wagner.

[8] BCLV.

[9] V.

[10] ABCLV.

[11] ABCLV.

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A Christian Legend concerning Alexander.

This composition appears to be an abbreviated form of a legend the most complete form of which known to us is that given in the metrical discourse on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh; both these works, in turn, are based upon chapters xxxvii.—xxxix. of the second book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C. The Christian legend has been burdened with many additions, evidently the work of the Christian redactor, which have no connexion whatever with the story. On the other hand many passages, as, for example, the account of his descent into the sea in a glass cage, have been entirely omitted. The names of places which are given us freely in this legend seem to indicate that it was drawn up at a very late period; that it is the work of Jacob of Sĕrûgh is improbable.

The short description of the manners of the Hûnâyê or Huns, and of the gate which Alexander built to keep them out, is based upon the twenty-ninth chapter of the third book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C, where it is stated that the door or gate was twenty cubits wide and sixty cubits high, and that it was covered inside and out with a substance (*καὶ καταχρίσας...ἀσοκίτῳ*[1]) which rendered it both iron and fire-proof. The description of the evils which Alexander is made to prophesy against mankind when the Huns break down this gate is clearly the work of a man who was acquainted with the popular traditions concerning the destruction wrought by Attila[2] when he overran Europe in the fifth century, and with the prophecies of the evil which should come upon mankind in the last days according to Jeremiah[3] and the writers of the Gospels[4]. The description of Paradise and its rivers is based upon the Bible account[5]. The following is a

[1] Müller, p. 143, col. 1.

[2] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. ii, p. 221 ff.

[3] Jeremiah, chap. iv.

[4] S. Matt. chap. xxiv; Luke xix. 42—44; Mark xiii. 7—30.

[5] Sir John Maundeville's account of Paradise is based upon that of Pseudo-Callisthenes although he borrowed at second-hand. See the notes on Paradise

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summary of the contents of the "Christian Legend" concerning Alexander.

In the second, or seventh year of his reign Alexander assembles the nobles of his kingdom and announces to them his intention to go and see the other countries of the world. His nobles describe to him the fœtid sea and the eleven bright seas. He sets out from Alexandria with three hundred and twenty thousand men. He prays to God. He comes to mount Sinai and passes over to Egypt, where he obtains from Sarnâḳôs the king seven thousand smiths. He puts to sea, and after four months and twelve days arrives at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. He sends thirty-seven men to hammer in stakes for the ships by the side of the fœtid sea; they die instantly. He travels towards the east and looking westward sees mount Mûsâs. He goes to the source of the Euphrates and then towards the north; he enters Armenia. Three hundred old men go to him and give him information about Tûbârlâḳ the king of the country. Description of the Huns, the names of their kings, their manners and customs. Description of Paradise. Description of the gate or door which Alexander made to shut in the twenty-two nations. The inscription on the gate. Description of the troubles and evils which should come upon mankind when the Huns should go forth through the gate. Tûbârlâḳ and his allies, and eighty-two kings, and one million, one hundred and thirty thousand men make ready to fight with Alexander. The Lord appears to Alexander and promises victory to him. Alexander and his three hundred and sixteen thousand soldiers do battle with the forces of Tûbârlâḳ and overcome them; sixty-two kings are slain, their hosts are scattered, and Tûbârlâḳ is taken prisoner. Alexander thus subdues Persia. Tûbârlâḳ brings to him gifts of gold and silver and precious stones, and pledges Persia to pay tribute for fifteen years. Six thousand Greeks and six thousand Persians are to guard the iron gate. Tûbârlâḳ prophesies the destruction of Persia by the Greeks. Alexander leaves Persia, establishes the Egyptian smiths in Bêth-Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar, and goes

in the Roxburgh Club Edition of his *Travels*, by Mr. G. F. Warner, M.A., of the British Museum.

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up to and worships in Jerusalem. He sails to Alexandria. He dies, leaving his silver throne to be placed in Jerusalem.

A Brief Life of Alexander.

This excellent summary of the principal events in the Life of Alexander has been edited by Prof. Paul de Lagarde in his *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12,154 fol. 153*b*—154*b*. The manuscript was written at the end of the VIIIth or the beginning of the IXth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 984 col. 1.

The Metrical Discourse on Alexander the Great attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh.

The English translation of this discourse printed on pp. 163—200 is made chiefly from the very faulty text published by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107. Several of the passages are utterly corrupt, and when translated, make no sense; they have been generally corrected by the help of Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,624[1]. Most of the misprints in Knös' text have been corrected in the notes at the foot of the English translation, and all the important variant readings and additions have been added.

The Land of Darkness whither Alexander wishes to go calls to mind the passage in the Greek Codex C (Müller, p. 88, col. 2, chap. XXXVII.). According to Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 89, col. 2), after his descent into the sea Alexander marched three days across a plain, and then arrived at the Land of the Blessed. Here he leaves all the old men and women that were with him, and with forty friends, one hundred boys, and twelve hundred soldiers sets out to explore the land. One curious old man, however, entreats his two sons, who are soldiers, to take him with them and they do so. After marching some time,

[1] This MS. was written in the ninth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS.*, p. 782.

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Alexander and his company fall into difficulties, and he expresses a wish for an old man to be brought to shew them the way. The two sons, who had brought their father with them, confess to the king what they had done, and he is glad. The old man advises that she-asses which are suckling foals be obtained; that the foals be kept where the king and his troops now are; and that the king go forth with a few chosen troops to explore the land. If they lose their way the instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones, and the king will be saved. Alexander, following the old man's advice, sets out with three hundred and sixty warriors, and after marching some distance (*σχοίνους δεκαπέντε*), they arrive at a well the water of which flashes like lightning. Alexander, being hungry, orders Andreas the cook to prepare some food for him. Andreas, taking a dried fish, goes to the water of this fountain to wash it; as soon as the fish is moved about in the water it comes to life and swims away.

In this discourse the writer gives a full description of the manners and appearance of the Hûnâyê or Huns, which agrees in every particular with the notices of this warlike people given by ancient writers[1]. He was well acquainted

[1] See Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 2; and Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. i, pp. 7—9. Compare also the following: "Diese Hunjo des Ostens, welche ohne Zweifel die Hunnen des Westens sind, sowie die Peti (die Benennung für Hunnen, Türken und Mongolen) oder nördlichen Barbaren beschäftigen sich mit der Jagd wilder Thiere und der Viehzucht. Sie weiden ihre Pferde, Esel, Kamele, Rinder und Lämmer auf den längs der Flüsse sich hinziehenden fruchtreichen Auen, wandern hin und her, ohne sich bleibend anzusiedeln, und errichten weder Städte noch Festungswerke. Lassen sie sich irgendwo auf eine kurze Zeit nieder, so vertheilen sie das Land unter sich; jeder erhält eine bestimmte Strecke und macht sie urbar. Ihre vorzüglichste Nahrung erzielen sie aber immer aus wild wachsenden Gräsern, aus dem Ertrage der Jagden und ihrer Viehheerden. Sie fressen allerlei Thiere und widerliches Ungeziefer. Das Fleisch kochen und braten sie nicht, sondern machen es durch wiederholte Reibungen zwischen den Schenkeln ihrer Beine, oder indem sie sich, wenn sie zu Pferde sind, darauf setzen, mürbe und verschlucken es halbroh. Ihre Kleidung besteht aus den Häuten und Haaren wilder und zahmer Thiere und wird, da Niemand mehr als einen Anzug hat, so lange getragen, bis sie ihnen vom Leibe herabfault. Ein wunderlich schmutziger Aberglaube, den Göttern sei das Waschen und Trocknen besudelter Gegenstände unbehaglich; wenn diess geschehe, senden sie dem Menschengeschlechte zur Strafe Donner und Blitz; hat wohl die Hunnen, wie später die Mongolen, von dem Waschen ihrer Kleider

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with their physical characteristics, which he describes most minutely, and also with the accounts of the troubles and evils which followed in the track of their conquests[1]. There seems to be no doubt that the description of the nation as given by the Syriac writer is meant to apply to Attila who is described as being "Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba...simo naso, teter colore"...[2]. The statement that "where the wrath of God rises he sends the hosts of Gog and Magog" clearly has reference to the man who had five hundred thousand barbarians under his command, who tried to invest himself in the eyes of Christendom with the character and attributes of the predicted Antichrist[3], and who truly deserved the appellation of the "Scourge of God." The defeat of Tûbârlâḳ and his sixty-two kings by Alexander refers probably to the defeat of Attila and his hosts by the Romans, on the plains of Chalons on the Marne, after his invasion of the Western empire (A.D. 450—453); that Alexander happened to live nearly eight hundred years before the defeat of Attila is a matter which would trouble the Syriac writer very little. The story of the appearance of Christ to Alexander before and after the battle, as well as the prophecies put into his mouth, is of Christian origin.

The following is a summary of the contents of the discourse attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh.

Address to the Deity by the writer. Alexander gathers together the chief men of his kingdom, and tells them that he wishes to go and see the various countries of the world, especially the Land of Darkness. Having taken possession of Macedonia he goes to Egypt. His nobles point out the diffi-

abgehalten." Neumann, *Die Völker des Südischen Russlands*, p. 26. "Neben der Jagd, der Viehzucht und dem Spiele, welchem die Hunnen sehr ergeben waren, ist Kriegführen, Rauben, Plündern und Morden ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigung." *Ibid.* p. 28. "In die Ferne schiessen sie mit Bogen, und bedienen sich der sorgfältig zugespitzten Knochen anstatt der Pfeile; in der Nähe kämpfen sie mit dem Schwerte." *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

[1] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. II. p. 221 ff.

[2] Jornandes, *Reb. Get.*, 11.

[3] Herbert, *Attila*, p. 360. For other works on the Huns see Howorth, *History of the Mongols*; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (ed. St. Martin), vols. 4—6, Paris, 1825—27; Des Guignes, *Hist. des Huns;* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chaps. 34, 35; and Müller, *Attila der Held des fünften Jahrhunderts.*

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culties of the road which he proposes to travel, and the impossibility of crossing the fœtid sea; nevertheless he determines to go. Ships are prepared for his army, which consists of thirteen hundred of the Âmôrâyê, and twelve thousand cunning workmen whom he obtained from Sôrîḳ the king of Egypt. He sets out, and after a voyage of four months arrives in India, where he begins to march in a northerly direction. After his proclamation of peace three hundred old men come to him and salute him as king. He asks them to shew him the way to the Land of Darkness. They tell him of the difficulties of the way, but as he persists in his intention to go there they promise to go with him. He sets out, and being questioned by the old men about his object in coming there, tells them that he is searching for the fountain of life. They advise him to go forward, and to take with him she-asses which are suckling young ones—these they propose to leave behind—so that if he loses the way, the maternal instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones. They also advise him to cause his cook to take with him a dried salt fish, and to command him to wash it wherever he sees a stream or fountain of water. The stream or fountain which causes the fish to come to life will contain the water of life.

The king and his company set out, and when the cook washes the fish in a fountain of water, which he sees by the road, it comes to life, and swims away and escapes. Alexander wishes to bathe in it and to live for ever; but he is not allowed to do so. He asks the old men whose territory is that which he sees beyond them. They tell him that it belongs to Tûbarlîḳî and that it is inhabited by the nations of Gog and Magog. Here follows a description of the peoples of Gog and Magog. Tûbarlîḳî is told of the arrival of Alexander, and he hires sixty-two kings to come and help him to fight him. Before the battle an angel appears to Alexander in a dream, and promises victory to him. Alexander encourages his troops to fight, and an engagement between them and the forces of Tûbarlîḳî takes place, in which the latter are defeated, and their king is taken prisoner. Alexander builds a brass and iron door, to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, which was finished in the sixth month. A fiery watcher appears to

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Alexander in a dream and brings to him the commands of the Lord concerning the treatment which he is to mete out to Tûbarlîḳî, and instructions concerning the division of his lands. Description of the evils which shall happen in the seven thousandth year, when the gate which Alexander has made shall be opened. Alexander, like Daniel, prophesies concerning the end of times. The woes which shall come upon the earth when the children of Gog and Magog break loose and overrun the earth. Hymn of praise to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ.

HEBREW VERSIONS.

The legend of Alexander being the son of Nectanebus appears to have been unknown to early Hebrew writers. In the first book of Maccabees[1] we have a brief notice of his conquest of Media and Persia, and the other countries of the world, and a statement to the effect that he divided his kingdom amongst those of his friends who had been brought up with him, and that he reigned twelve years.

Flavius Josephus, who lived A.D. 37—103, gives a description of a part of his expedition against Darius, and of his visit to Jerusalem[2]. According to him, Alexander first defeated the generals of Darius at Granicum, and afterwards Darius himself at Issus in Cilicia, when the wife and daughter of Darius fell into his hands. He next captured Damascus and Sidon and then began the siege of Tyre. Having taken Tyre and Gaza, Alexander marched against Jerusalem to take vengeance upon it, because, on a previous occasion, the Jewish high priest had refused to send help to him. Jaddua the high priest feared greatly, but when he heard that Alexander had drawn near to the city he dressed himself in his finest garments, and putting on his mitre, which was inscribed with the most holy name of God, he went out to meet him at the head of a procession of priests. Alexander did the priests and their city no harm,

[1] Chap. i. vv. 1—9.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. XI. ch. viii, ed. Whiston, pp. 455—459.

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and after they had shewn to him certain passages in the Book of Daniel[1] which referred, they said, to him and to his conquests, he promised to grant them any thing that they desired[2]. The remainder of the chapter on Alexander by Josephus is occupied by an account of his dealings with the Samaritans.

In the ninth or tenth century of our era, the Latin version of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter was turned into Hebrew by Pseudo-Josephus or Joseph ben-Gorion. Of this man very little is known. Gagnier thought[3] that he lived in the ninth century, as also did Zunz. Subsequently Zunz thought that he must have lived in the middle of the latter half of the tenth century[4], which is the date assigned to him by Steinschneider[5]. The History of Alexander by Joseph ben-Gorion begins in Bk. II. chap. 6, and occupies the remainder of the book. The value of the version and its variations from the *Historia de Prœliis* have been discussed by Favre[6], and a summary of each chapter has been published by Weismann[7]. The Hebrew text has been published many times, and translations of it have been made in various languages[8].

Another fabulous history of Alexander was composed in the thirteenth century by Samuel ben-Judah ben-Tibbon of Granada.

[1] The passages shewn were Daniel viii. vv. 3—8, 20—22, where the "kid of the goats [is] Alexander the son of Philip" ܨܦܝܪܐ ܕܥܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ; see Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Test. ex cod. Ambrosiano*, Mediolani 1877, fol. 210 verso, col. 1.

[2] Good reasons for doubting this story have been given by Bishop Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Vol. VI. p. 206.

[3] *Josippon sive Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaice libri sex*, Oxon. 1706, p. xxvi.

[4] See his notes on Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, 1841, Vol. II. p. 246.

[5] *Jewish Literature*, p. 77.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 89.

[7] *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, von H. Weismann, Band II. pp. 495—503.

[8] ספר בן גוריון Conath, Mantua, 1480 (?) fol.; *Josephus Hebraicus*, Heb. et Lat., Basle, 1541; יוסיפין בן גוריון *Latine versus......atque notis illustratus a* J. F. Breithaupto Heb. et Lat. Gotha, 1707. A German translation was published at Zurich by M. Adam in 1546; a Latin one by Gagnier at Oxford in 1706; an English one by P. Morwyng entitled *A Compendious History of the latter times of the Jewes*, London, 1561; and another by J. Howell entitled *The wonderful......history of the later times of the Jews* in 1684.

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Many rabbis regard it as a translation of a Greek work composed by Ptolemy the son of Lagus[1].

A Hebrew version, or original, of the *Iter ad Paradisum* has recently been described by Israel Levi in the *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298, and t. XII. p. 117. For references to passages in the Talmud and other Rabbinic literature where notices of Alexander are given see Weismann, *Alexander*, t. II. p. 503; the preface to Israel Levi's article in מקיצי נרדמים; and Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. pp. 321, 733, 734, 735.

Arabic Versions.

In the tenth century Eutychius or Sa'îd ibn-Baṭrîḳ[2] (died A.H. 328), the Patriarch of Alexandria, composed his universal history, in which he says that the king of Egypt, fearing to fall into the hands of Ochus, king of Persia, changed his garments, and shaved his head and beard, and fled to Macedonia. The name of this king is given as Pharaoh Shânâḳ فرعون شاناق[3].

Gregory abu-l-Farag or Bar Hebraeus (died A.H. 664), in his History of Dynasties says that Artaxerxes the Third, surnamed the "Black," and called Ochus by the Greeks, obtained the mastery over Egypt; that its king, Nectanebus, fled away to Macedonia, where he went about in the guise of an astrologer; that by his flattery he succeeded in seducing Olympias, the wife of Philip, the king of Macedon; and that she bore to him Alexander the "two-horned[4]."

[1] See Weismann, *Alexander*, B. 2, p. 503; and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II., p. 90. An anonymous Hebrew version of the history of Alexander has been published by Levi in the *Sammelband*, II., of the Society מקיצי נרדמים. I owe this reference to Dr. Ad. Neubauer, but I have not been able to see the publication.

[2] The work of Eutychius was edited with a Latin translation by Edward Pocock under the title *Contextio Gemmarum, sive, Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, Oxon. 1656.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 267.

[4] Pocock, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum auctore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio*, Oxon. 1663, p. 89. See also *Greg. Abulphar. Chron. Syriacum*, ed. Kirsch, p. 35.

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The histories of the reign of Alexander by the chief Arabic writers have comparatively little of the marvellous in them. Mas'ûdî[1] (died A.H. 346) merely describes the principal historical events of Alexander's life, giving only a few of the various traditions concerning him, together with a summary of the legendary account of his travels in India. Ja'ḳûbî[2], Ibn al-Athîr[3], and Ṭabarî[4], have all of them brief accounts of Alexander's conquest of Darius, and the tradition that he was of Persian origin is mentioned. None of these accounts can in any way be considered as translations of a version of Pseudo-Callisthenes[5].

Persian Versions.

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries a large number of works, based upon Arabic compositions, were written upon Alexander and his deeds by Persian writers. Of these the most important are the histories of Firdausî[6],

[1] See كتاب مروج الذهب *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. *Barbier de Meynard*, Paris, 1861—1877, t. II. pp. 125, 248, 249, 250, 260; t. IX. p. 21. An edition of Mas'ûdi's work entitled الجزء الاول (الثاني) من مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر في التاريخ was published at Bûlâḳ in the year 1867 بولاق ١٢٨٣ مصر القاهرة 4to.

[2] He lived A.H. 260. His work has been edited by T. Houtsma, *Ibn Wâdhih qui dicitur Al-Ja'qûbî Historiae*, Lugd. Bat. 1883. For his account of Alexander see pp. ٩٣ and ٩٧.

[3] He died A.H. 630. For his notice of Alexander see *Ibn-el-Athiri, Chronicon*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, t. I. p. ١٩٧.

[4] He died A.H. 411 or 416. See *Annales quos scripsit Ibn Djafar...... At-Tabari*, ed. I. Guidi, Prima series, II. pp. ٦٩٢—٧٠٣.

[5] For the summary of the travels of Dhu'lkarnein or Alexander the Macedonian by Muḥammad the Prophet see Ḳor'ân, Surah xviii.

[6] See *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, publié, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, كتاب شاهنامهٔ فردوسي Pers. and Fr. 7 tom. Paris, 1836, fol.; *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, 7 tom. Paris 1876—1878; J. Atkinson, *The Shâh Nâmeh of the Persian poet Firdausî, translated and abridged in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations, London*, 1832; Turner Macan, *The Shah Nameh containing the History of Persia from Kioomurs to Yesdejird*, Calcutta, 1829; Firdusii, *Liber Regum, qui inscribitur Schahnameh*, ed. J. A. Vullers et S. Landauer,

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Nizâmî[1] and Mirkhwând[2]. I have no knowledge of the Persian language and must therefore refer the reader to the works of Spiegel[3], Weismann[4], and Favre[5] for a description of the contents of the various Persian versions of the Alexander story. There seems to be some doubt as to whether Firdausî based his work upon older Persian or Arabic forms of the Alexander story. De Sacy thought[6] that the greater part of the ancient history of Persia was translated from Pehlevi into Arabic, and Malcolm believed[7] that Firdausî found the materials for his poem in the Arabic versions of the original documents. M. Jules Mohl[8], however, was of opinion that Firdausî employed an Arabic

Lugd. Bat. 1876; and for a native edition of the text see شاهنامهٔ فردوسي طهران ١٢٦٥—٦٧ [Teheran 1849—50]. Firdausi was born at Shādāb near Tûs A.H. 320; he died A.H. 411 or 416. For a list of his works and editions of them see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1879—1883 pp. 533—539 and 1089.

[1] See Nizâmî, Ganjavi, *The Sikandar Nâma e Bara, or Book of Alexander the Great,......translated for the first time out of the Persian into prose, with critical and explanatory remarks......*by H. W. Clarke, London, 1881; *Nizâmî's Leben und Werke und der zweite Theil des Nizâmischen Alexanderbuches. Mit persischen Texten als Anhang. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Persischen Literatur und der Alexandersage von* Dr. W. Bacher, 2 pt. Leipzig, 1871, 8vo. [An English translation of this work was published in London, 1873]; for native editions of the text see [بري] سكندر نامه, Lucknow, 1878, 9 [لكهنو ١٢٩٥-٦] and سكندر نامه بحري Cawnpore, 1878 [كانپور ١٢٩٥]. An edition of the second part of the work, *i.e.*, Sikandar-Námahë Bahry, was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Sprenger, Calcutta, 1852—1869. An illustrated prose version of the *Sikandar Nâmah*, different from that of Nizâmî, in seven books, was published in Persia A.H. 1274 (1857—8) fol. I owe the knowledge of the existence of this last book to Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum. Nizâmî died about A.H. 600.

[2] See Mîr Khwând (Muhammad ibn Khâvand Shâh). *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, translated by D. Shea, London, 1832. An edition of the text entitled كتاب تاريخ روضة الصفا was published at Bombay in A.H. 1271 [بمبي ١٢٧١]. Mîr Khwând died A.H. 903 aged 66 years.

[3] Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, pp. 13—50.

[4] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II., p. 526 ff.

[5] *Mélanges*, t. II., pp. 5—13.

[6] *Mém. sur Calila et Dimna*, p. 13.

[7] *History of Persia*, I. p. 137.

[8] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

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version[1] of a Greek original to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. His words are "Firdousi parait n'avoir pas trouvé de matériaux persans pour le règne d'Alexandre le Grand...mais au lieu de se livrer à son imagination dans un sujet qui y prêtait beaucoup, il aime mieux emprunter les contes dont les soldats grecs, à leur retour en Grèce, avaient rempli l'Occident. Ces contes avaient été recueillis en plusieurs collections, dont quelques-unes existent encore en grec et en latin et dont une avait été traduite du grec en arabe. C'est à l'aide de cette dernière que Firdousi a rempli la lacune qu'il avait trouvée dans les traditions de son pays, en y adaptant le conte persan qui fait d'Alexandre un chef de race persane, fils de Darab, roi de Perse et d'une fille de Philippe de Macédoine, du même que les rédactions alexandrines des fables grecques relatives à Alexandre lui donnaient pour père l'Egyptien Nectanebo."

TURKISH VERSIONS.

Upon the Iskender Nâmeh of Niẓâmî, Aḥmedi[2] of Kermiyân (died A.H. 815) based his Turkish poem called *Iskender Nâmeh.* "He adopted the main features of the Alexander legend as shaped by his Persian predecessor; but he tells the story in his own way and adds much original matter. He weaves into the narrative philosophical digressions on the origin and figure of the world, on man, his bodily structure and mental faculties, virtues and vices, etc. More than a quarter of the poem is taken up with a review of Eastern history, placed in the mouth of Aristotle, who tells Alexander of the kings who reigned before and who shall reign after him. The poem was composed on the first day of Rebî' II, A.H. 792, corresponding to the years 1700 of Alexander, 759 of Yezdegird, and 310 of Melikshâh[3]."

[1] The author of the *Mugmil ut-tewârich* held a similar opinion (Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 7). A chapter of this work was edited by Reinaud in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*, Paris, 1845.

[2] His full name was Tâj ud-Din Aḥmed ben Ibrâhîm el-Aḥmedî.

[3] Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1888, p. 162 *b*.

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A Turkish translation of an Armenian life of Alexander was made in the seventeenth century by Jeremias Tschelebi (1635—1695)[1].

Ethiopic Versions.

The versions of the History of Alexander the Great in use among the Ethiopians are of two classes, viz., I. those which have in them a stratum of historical fact underlying large masses of fiction, and II. those which are works of pure imagination. The Ethiopians, in common with a large number of Oriental nations, have taken considerable pains to have translations of the History of Alexander the Great made into their language, but the translators seem to have allowed their fancy to run wild when they filled in the details of the historical events, which were described in the manuscript histories from which they made their translations. The Ethiopic translations were made from Arabic versions which had been made, I believe, from Greek originals. Ethiopic translations were sometimes made from Coptic[2], but an examination of the recently discovered fragments of the Coptic[3] version of the History of Alexander the Great shews that it has nothing in common with any of the Ethiopic versions known to me now. In respect of the age of the Ethiopic translations of the History of Alexander, in the absence of direct evidence it is only possible to assume that they came into existence some time between the XIVth and XVIth centuries, when so many Ethiopic translations from the Arabic were made[4].

A brief but favourite summary of the life and deeds of Alexander the Great among the Ethiopians is that which is

[1] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II. p. 607. See J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Türkischen Poesie*, p. 71 ff.; Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 14; and Neumann, *Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur*, p. 241.

[2] Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. iv.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, Série iii. t. ix. pp. 5–38.

[4] Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. iv.

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translated from 'Abû Shâkir, of which notices have been given by D'Abbadie[1], Wright[2] and Zotenberg[3]. The conquest of Persia and India by Alexander and the most important expeditions undertaken by him are concisely recorded, and the fabulous element which plays so large a part in all other Ethiopic accounts is here almost wanting[4].

Most important of all Ethiopic versions of the History of Alexander the Great for the study of the versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes is that which is, so far as I know, contained in a single manuscript only, viz. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. No. 826 ff. 2 *a*—147 *a*[5]. This MS. is of vellum, measuring about 11⅝ in. by 7½ in., and was written in the present century. It was one of the manuscripts which were destined by king Theodore of Magdala (መቅደላ *Makdalâ*) to form the library of the church which he intended to build there in honour of the Saviour of the World, and was brought to England by the British army in 1868. The version of the Alexander story given in this MS. has been translated from an Arabic work based upon Pseudo-Callisthenes. In places it runs almost word for word with the Syriac, and the forms of Greek proper names which occur in it agree often with the Syriac transcription of them. A large number of the proper names which are found in the Syriac version are not present here at all, and it seems to have been the custom of the Arabic or Ethiopic translator to omit the most difficult passages, as, for example, that which records the speech and computation of the stars by Nectanebus just before the birth of Alexander. Some passages of the Greek and Syriac are very much amplified, some are abridged, and some are translated twice over in different words. The Arabic or Ethiopic translator seems to have been a Christian priest. The legend which gives the account of Alexander's expedition against Gog and Magog is brought into the middle of the Ethiopic version, which seems to indicate that this is its proper place.

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 81.

[2] *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 310, col. 1.

[3] *Catalogue des MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 245, col. 1.

[4] For the portion of the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makîn's "Universal History" relating to Alexander, see *Brit. Mus. MS. Orient.* fol. 69 *b*, col. 3 ff.

[5] See Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 294.

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The length of the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes renders it impossible to give a complete English translation of it here, but I give a free rendering of the first few chapters and a summary of the rest, that students of the Alexander story from the folk-lore point of view may know what the chief contents of this unique manuscript are. The Ethiopic title of the work is ዜና፡ እስክንድር፡ "The History of Alexander." After the usual beginning, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious," the scribe says that, by the help of God, he will write an account of Alexander according to the histories that have been written by the wise men who have described his rule over the seven parts of the earth; his expeditions from the east to the west; his rule over the whole earth; his sailing over the sea እልጰንጦስ፡ *el-panṭas*; his flying through the air; and his journey into the darkness and into the places where God brought him. Nectanebus ብቅጣኒስ *Bekṭânîs*[1] is described as a very great magician and as a man learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians, ጥበበ፡ ግብጸውያን፡; he knew what was in the depths of the sea, he knew all the lore of the stars, and by their appearance he knew what would come to pass. By means of this knowledge he ruled over all the kings of the earth, and they were all subject to him through the greatness of his magical powers. When hostile forces came against him to slay him and to capture his land, it was not his custom to go out to meet them with soldiers set in array, but he used to go into a chamber and shut himself in, and he used to take a brass vessel ንዋየ፡ ዘብርት፡ and fill it with water, like a river (or sea), and say over it the words which he knew. Then he took wax and held it over the fire and made models of the ships of the enemy, and he set them on the water in the vessel like ships in the sea. And he said over them the names of demons of the earth and fearful and terrible words, and the ships of wax rode upon the water like the ships of the sea. When enemies came up against him from the sea he submerged the wax models of the ships by his magic, and this caused the ships of the enemies who wished to come and slay him to sink into the sea. If the enemy came against him by land (fol. 3 *a*, 1) he used to make wax models of

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, p. 276.

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men upon horses እምሳሰ: አፍራስ: ዘሰማዑ: like unto the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him to kill him, and he uttered over them fearful and terrible words, and the enemy was overthrown before him, and submitted and became subject unto him. And this and such like things he used to do with every one whom he wished to slay. He never went forth against his enemies with soldiers and instruments of death. He used to make models of the soldiers of the two armies in wax, then he set a space between them, and then he pronounced the names of demons of the earth and invoked them and prayed them to come to him and to help his army to overthrow the enemy before him. In this manner he lived and acted for many days, and he brought many men into misfortune through his magical powers.

Chap. II. Now during the days of his rule over Egypt ግብጸ:, one of the scouts of his army came and told him that nine kings with their armies, and innumerable multitudes of people with them, were coming against him. The names of these peoples are thus given on fol. 3 *b*: the Midianites, መደናዊያን: Madanâwîyân, the Sargîyâwîyân ሰርጊያዊያን:, the Ḳîmanâwîyân which are in Tarsês እልቂመናዊያን: ዘበ: ተርሴስ:, the Antâwîyân, እንታዊያን:, the Halabâwîyân ሐለባዊያን:, the Saḳâgâfîwîyân ሰቃጋፍዊያን:, the Emâhînâwîyân እማሕናዊ[ያ]ን:, the Agamâwîyân which are in Ḳâdês አገማዊያን: ዘበቃዴስ:, the Gûergûe ጕርጕ:, and the Saraḳâwîyân: ሰሪቃዊያን:. Nectanebus praised the vigilance of the scout and told him that armies and arms were alike useless to overcome these hosts, and that only stoutness of heart and silence could do it. He added, "as one lion overcomes many people and as one wolf scatters many sheep, so likewise will I, with one word, destroy the peoples who have come against me by sea and by land."

Chap. III. (fol. 3 *b*, 2). After this Nectanebus left the army, and went into the chamber in his palace where he worked his magic, and he looked into the water which was in the brass basin ማየ: መቅሰዱ: ዘብርት:, and after he had said over it the words which he was wont to say the gods of Egypt appeared to him, and he asked them to help him when he made the models of his army and those of the enemy to meet. Now it came

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to pass at this time that the gods took no notice of his request; although in days of old he was able to talk with them at all times. When he saw that his magical powers had no effect upon the gods and understood thereby that his rule over Egypt had come to an end, he was very sorrowful. And he rose up and took as much gold as he could carry and as much silver as he wished, and having shaved off his hair and beard and changed his raiment, he went out from his palace quickly, and crossed the sea in a ship and came to the city (*sic*) of Macedonia, in the gate of which he sat dressed like an astrologer and one of the prophets of Egypt. Meanwhile the Egyptians went to their god, and asked him to tell them what had become of their king. Now the god, who was hidden in a place called Sanôbî ሰኖቢ፡, appeared to them and told them that their king had fled, that he would not return to Egypt, and that he had cast away everything for the salvation of his soul in peace[1]; and the Egyptians heard the oracle and believed it.

Chap. IV. (fol. 4 *a*, 2). Now the name of Nectanebus spread abroad in Macedonia, and the fame of his renown and of his learning came to the ears of Olympias, ልምብያስ *Lĕmbayâs*. And she wished to ask him questions and to talk with him about her husband Philip and the subject of her divorce. Nectanebus came and found her dressed in beautiful apparel; she was very beautiful to look upon, and she was playful, and his heart was drawn out of him to her. He saluted her by saying, "Peace be to thee, O Macedonian queen," but she neither spoke to him nor answered him nor returned his greeting. He said to her again, "O my lady, why dost thou not answer me?" Olympias then saluted him and asked him to sit down, and when he had sat down, she asked him if he was a prophet of Egypt and if his works were as marvellous as they were said to be. Having satisfied herself that he possessed the power of foretelling events she asked him to help her. Nectanebus then enumerated the different kinds of augurs that existed. Here the Ethiopic text

[1] The translator, either Arabic or Ethiopic, has utterly missed the point of the answer of the oracle. The Ethiopic runs እስመ፡ ንጉሠክሙ፡ ጎየ፡ ወሊይገብዕ፡ እንከ፡ ኀበ፡ ግብጽ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወሬዛ፡ ወእኮ፡ አረጋዊ፡፡ ወመነነ፡ ኵሎ፡ በእንተ፡ ድኅነተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ በሰላም፡፡

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becomes so confused that the sense given by the Greek is quite lost. Nectanebus then put his hand inside his garments እበእሁ፡, and brought forth a tablet, ሰሌዳ፡ *salêdâ*, of gold studded with stars in precious stones, and upon it were inscribed pictures of the seven planets which were arranged according to the hours of the day and night. The stars or planets which are mentioned are the Sun[1], Moon[2], Jupiter[3], Venus[4], Mars[5], and Mercury[6]; the scribe has omitted the seventh planet or Saturn[7] (fol. 5 *a*, col. 2). Each planet was represented by a precious stone. After examining the stars carefully Nectanebus tells her that he will help her, and that the gods who come forth from the depths of the earth shall come to her, and that she shall bear a son to them who shall avenge her upon Philip, because he has treated her badly. He adds that the god is noble in appearance, that he will wear a ram's horns, and that he will sleep with her. Olympias then declares that if this comes to pass she will consider Nectanebus to be a god and not a man.

Chap. V. (fol. 6 *a*, 1). Then Nectanebus went out to the field and pounded and crushed drugs, and he made a model of a woman, and wrote upon it the letters of the name of Olympias, and threw it in the fire, and he repeated words and names over it; and Olympias dreamed a dream in which the god Ammon was united with her.

Chap. VI. (fol. 6 *a*, col. 2). In the Ethiopic version the description of the god is wanting.

Chap. VII. (fol. 6 *b*, col. 2). Nectanebus disguises himself with ram's wool and horns, and takes the form of a serpent and goes into the chamber of Olympias. Afterwards she sends for him and prepares a chamber for him (fol. 7 *b*, col. 1). When

[1] ፀሐይ፡ [2] ወርኅ፡ [3] እልመሽተሪ፡ Arab. المشتري

[4] እዝሐራ፡ Arab. زَهَرَة [5] እልመሪኽ፡ Arab. مريخ

[6] ዑጣርድ፡ Arab. عَطَارِد

[7] ዙሐል፡ زُحَل For Ethiopic lists of the names of the stars, see *Brit. Mus. MSS.* Add. 16211, fol. 55 and Add. 16247, fol. 64. According to a native historian names were given to the planets by Seth, the son of Adam. See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, pp. 28, 239.

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Olympias is troubled about her pregnancy Nectanebus promises that Ammon አሞማን፡ will help her. Then Nectanebus took a bird ረዋጼ፡ (fol. 8 *a*, 1) and muttered words over it, and it flew through the sky over lands and cities and seas, and came to Philip by night, and that same night he had a wonderful dream in which he saw a terrestrial divinity of great stature, wearing ram's horns and having his head and beard shaved, sleeping with Olympias. In it he saw also the queen's womb sealed with a gold ring, upon which were engraved the head of a lion and a spear.

Chap. VIII. (fol. 8 *a*, col. 2). The interpretation of the dream is substantially the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. IX. (fol. 8 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). This chapter is almost identical in sense with that of the Syriac. Olympias sends, however, for Nectanebus after Philip has talked with her.

Chap. X. (fol. 9 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Philip upbraids Olympias, and says that she is with child by Ammon. Nectanebus, in the guise of a serpent, glides into the chamber where they are sitting, and hisses fearfully. Philip is terrified when he sees the serpent, and Olympias says that its voice was thus when he came to her and said that he was the god of all the world; when Philip heard this he was glad that he was to have a son.

Chap. XI. (fol. 9 *b*, col. 2, l. 14) is the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. XII. (fol. 10 *a*, col. 2, l. 23). Nectanebus stands and calculates the stars, and advises the queen not to give birth to her child. He prevents her by force from so doing until a fortunate hour arrives, and then he allows her to bring forth. Here the Ethiopic text is much confused, and all allusions to incidents in Greek mythology are omitted.

Chap. XIII. (fol. 11 *a*, col. 1, l. 2). Macedonia and Abrâkâ አብራክ፡ are mentioned. In appearance Alexander was like (*sic*) his parents Philip and Olympias, and when he was six years old he went to school to learn Greek learning, war and astronomy. The incident of the Cappadocians sending a gift of horses to Philip is omitted.

Chap. XIV. (fol. 11 *b*, col. 1, l. 14). The incident of the departure of Philip to another city and the sending for Nectanebus by Olympias is omitted. Alexander goes to the top of the mountains to see the stars, and Nectanebus says, "Verily

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thou art my son, and the god knows that thou art my son; I slept with thy mother in the temple and she conceived thee; do not despise my word, for I am a great king, and I am the king of Egypt." When Alexander heard this he threw Nectanebus down from the top of the mountain and he died. When Alexander met Philip his father he said, "I have killed the priest of idols," and when Philip asked him what he had done he told him. After this Alexander is sent to Aristotle አርስጠጣሊስ፡·

Up to this point the Ethiopic version runs fairly closely with the Syriac, but from here onwards the sequence of events as given in the Syriac and Greek is much disturbed.

Chap. XXIII. (fol. 12 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Now Philip used to give tribute to the king of Persia who ruled over the empire of Nimrod, the mighty man who worshipped fire and established priests thereto, who spread the Magian belief ሃይማኖት፡ ምገሳዊት፡, and who had intercourse with his mother and sister and daughter. One day when the ambassadors of the Persian king Darius came to ask for tribute Alexander saw them, and came down and talked with them. His scoffing message to Darius is not given in the Ethiopic, but he promises to go to Persia riding upon Bucephalus, whom he describes as "my horse which was born with me" ፈረስየ፡ እንተ፡ ተወልደት፡ ምስሌየ፡. The chief ambassador instead of admiring Alexander's discourse says that "the boy knows not what he says." Then Darius sent two greater messengers with a golden box ሀፀውን፡ filled with sesame seed ፍሬ፡ ሰሊጥ፡, among which was a precious stone. When the ambassadors came to Alexander they gave him their letters, and he opened them and read them; then he went and sat upon his father's throne, and took the golden box, and found therein sesame seed and a jewel. And he said to his friends, "Interpret these things for me," but they refused, saying, "Thou knowest these things better than we do." Alexander said, "Sesame seed is food, and food is to be eaten; the Persian army is like sesame seed, and we will devour it as we devour sesame seed. As for the gem, it is like the head of a king and the Persian king has God given into my hand." Alexander then sent back an insolent message to Darius, but Philip wanted

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to send him to Persia so that Darius might do what he liked to him. Chap. ends fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 9.

Chap. XVI. (fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 10). Now there was in the house a horse that was born with Alexander, and no one could go near him or mount him, and he was kept chained with six chains day and night. Alexander however went up to him and mounted him, and then his father gave orders that the horse was to be well looked after, for he was very fleet and could go a distance of 300 መሕቆር፡ in one hour. The chapter ends fol. 14 *a*, col. 1, l. 9.

After this Alexander mounts this horse, and taking his army with him, he goes to the East. Next we have a prayer in which Alexander acknowledges his submission to God; he took for his teacher Aristotle, whose belief was the belief of the philosophers who say "The heavens declare the glory of the Creator, the Maker of all and King of all, who killeth and maketh alive, in whom and from whom are all things" (fol. 14 *b*, col. 1). Alexander prays to God, and advises his friends and nobles not to commit sin. He says that he is king (fol. 15 *a*, col. 1); and speaks of the redemption of man's soul; his friends promise to do what he wishes (fol. 15 *b*, col. 1), and crown him and present an address to him (fol. 16 *a*, 1), to which he replies (fol. 16 *a*, col. 2). He then writes an address to the people of his palace which begins on fol. 18 *a*, col. 1 and ends fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11. His title "two-horned" ዘክልኤ፡ ለቅርንቲሁ፡ occurs for the first time in this manuscript in this address. The Ethiopic writers explain this title by saying that he was so called because he "ruled in the two horns of the Sun, the east and the west[1]." He next writes to his army (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11,—fol. 21 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and then to all the kings of the earth, saying that God has given him the world, and that he will help them to know Him as he knows Him (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 12—fol. 23 *a*, col. 2, l. 16). A copy of this proclamation is sent to Darius

[1] ወበ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ተሰመየ፡ ዘ፪ ለቅርንቲሁ፡ እስመ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዘ፪ ለቅርንት፡ ፀሐይ፡ እምሠረቅ፡ እስከ፡ ምዕራብ። Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 818, fol. 125 *b*, col. 1, ll. 23—27. See also D'Abbadie, *Catalogue de MSS. Éthiop.*, p. 81; and the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makîn's "Universal History" in Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 814, fol. 69 *b*, col. 3.

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ዴሬ: king of Persia, who read it before all the army. Darius, "king of kings," next writes a letter to the men of Tiberius Cæsar ሰብስ: ጥብያኖስ: ቄሳር: the Roman, in which he abuses and curses Alexander, and begs them not to allow him to come into their country (fol. 23 *b*, col. 1, l. 5—col. 2, l. 11). Presently Darius heard that Alexander had arrived at the great river called Ḳôparôs ቆጸሮስ:, and he wrote him a letter beginning, "To Alexander, the king of the Greeks, son of Philip, the two-horned, my servant." He reminds him in it that Philip paid tribute, and insists on his doing likewise (fol. 24 *b*, col. 1, l. 8). Alexander orders that the ambassadors who have brought this letter to him shall be slain, but he spares them eventually to shew the superiority of the manners of the Greeks to those of the Persians. Darius imagines that Alexander has slain his ambassadors, he therefore sends others with another letter (fol. 25 *b*, col. 2, l. 9—fol. 26 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). Alexander sends a reply to this last letter which begins "From the servant of God, the two-horned" (fol. 26 *b*, col. 1, l. 4), and determines that all his letters shall begin in this manner (fol. 26 *b*, col. 2, l. 12). In it Alexander tells Darius that if he kills him he will only be killing a thief, and he says that the sesame seed represents Darius' army which he will overthrow because his trust is in God; in return, however, he sends a little mustard seed ፊሬ: ሰናፔ: that Darius may know what the Macedonian army is like. The letter ends fol. 27 *b*, col. 1. In a second letter to Darius Alexander threatens to come against him (fol. 27 *b*, col. 2, l. 8). The ambassadors who bring his letters to Darius praise him greatly, and tell Darius that he ate some of the sesame seed: Darius then orders one of his soldiers to eat some of the mustard seeds; the soldier, not knowing how pungent they are, throws a handful into his mouth, but he cannot swallow them and so spits them out. On the report reaching him that Alexander has set out to come against him Darius writes to the satraps under his rule demanding their help; but meanwhile Alexander returns to Egypt (fol. 28 *b*, col. 1), and founds a city after his name. All Egypt submits to him except Tâḳâtelô, Nôbâ and Ethiopia; the people of Africa come to do homage to him. He passed through Syria and came with his army to Palestine. While there he wrote to the chief priests of the sanctuary of Jerusalem calling

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upon them to submit to him; this they declined to do, saying that they were under the dominion of the king of Persia (fol. 29 *a*, col. 2, ll. 9—16). When Alexander marched into Jerusalem with his army all the Jews and the governor of the town, who had been appointed by Darius, submitted to him. The priests went out to meet him carrying a book of the Law (fol. 29 *a*, col. 1, l. 24) and the prophecy of Daniel the prophet concerning Alexander spread out on the top of a spear. Alexander said, "What is this that I see with you?" and they replied, "It is the writing of God which came down by the prophets, and the prophecy of Daniel who prophesied concerning thy kingdom." When Alexander saw this he wept, and came down from his horse, and went near to the writing of the Law and the Prophets and worshipped God; then he went into the Temple and asked God to direct his paths. He admired greatly the beauty of the Temple, for it was morning. When the soldiers ask Alexander why he honours the Jews who slew the prophets he says that he only honours the name of God which they carry upon their persons[1]. The chief priest gives Alexander a copy of the prophecy of Daniel and then, after a little talk, he leaves the Temple (fol. 30 *b*, col. 1).

Going eastward Alexander crossed the Euphrates, and built a city there which he called Baratâ በራት፡, he next came to a country called ደሴት፡ Dasêt. He fought with Darius at a place called ቢዘ፡ for forty days, and after a further five days' fight with Ardeshir, Darius' general, nearly all Darius' army was killed. Alexander then marched against the royal city of Darius, but before he attacked it, he addressed his army with words of encouragement (fol. 31 *a*, coll. 1, 2); the battle was obstinate, and Darius gained some advantage over Alexander, who wrote to Darius and said that he was going back to his own country (fol. 32 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and asked for a truce. Darius refused to allow this, whereupon Alexander made a very fierce attack upon him and utterly routed him. Darius escapes by crossing over a river (fol. 32 *b*, col. 2) and takes refuge in the temple of his god (lit. the house of the idol), where he laments

[1] See the *History of the holy men in the days of Jerusalem*, in Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 309.

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his fate (fol. 33 *a*, col. 2). When Darius heard that Alexander had captured his wife and daughter he wrote commending them to his clemency, and sent to him gold and silver and jewels and clothing. Alexander reads this letter to his friend Salonôs who asked why Darius had not done this before (fol. 34 *a*, col. 1). When he had slain all Darius' nobles, Darius wrote to Porus ፑዝ: *Puz*) king of India asking for help; Porus replies (fol. 34 *b*, col. 1, l. 18—35 *a*, col. 1, l. 17). Alexander then asked his soldiers to find out men who will give him information about Darius; two men called Ḥâshîsh ኃሢሠ: and Arsalâs አርሳላስ: offered to do this, but they stabbed Darius thinking to gain a reward (fol. 35 *b*, coll. 1, 2). Alexander came up and finding Darius stabbed, dismounted and put his head upon his knees, and exhorted him to rise up and to become king of Persia once more (fol. 36 *a*, col. 2). Before his death Darius asked Alexander to do three things for him; Alexander promised to carry out his wishes and asked to be allowed to marry his daughter (fol. 37 *b*, col. 1). Darius dies and is buried by Alexander (fol. 38 *a*, col. 1). Alexander issues a proclamation to the Persians (fol. 38 *a*, col. 2—38 *b*, col. 2, l. 23). Alexander promises to reward the murderers of Darius (fol. 39 *a*, col. 1), and crucifies (fol. 39 *b*, col. 2) them. He writes to the mother of Darius (fol. 40 *a*, col. 2—40 *b*, col. 2, l. 19), and Roxana (ረሲቅ *Rasîḳ*) writes to him applauding his kindness to them (fol. 41 *b*, col. 2, l. 19). Alexander writes to her (fol. 42 *a*, col. 1, l. 19), and goes to see her; and next writes to the mother of Darius ሰረጎ: Sarагô (fol. 42 *b*, col. 1).

About this time Alexander heard that Porus had come to fight with him and he set out to meet him; his troops grumble on the way (fol. 42 *a*, col. 2—44 *a*, col. 2). Alexander writes to Porus (fol. 44 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and Porus replies (fol. 45 *a*, col. 1, l. 9); on the receipt of this letter Alexander marches against him (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 7). Porus writes again (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and Alexander sends a reply (fol. 47 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), which Porus reads to his nobles (fol. 48 *a*, col. 1, l. 14). Porus collects rhinoceroses and lions to fight against Alexander. Alexander also makes 24,000 metal rhinoceroses, which his soldiers make red-hot by lighting fires inside them (fol. 48 *b*, col. 1). The hostile forces meet and Porus' beasts run away, but Porus throws

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Alexander's horse upon the ground by sorcery, and prevents Alexander from pursuing him by keeping him there while he makes good his escape (fol. 49 *a*, col. 1). Alexander then challenges him to single combat (fol. 49 *b*, col. 1); Porus accepts the challenge and is killed (fol. 50 *a*, col. 1). Alexander addresses the Indian army and afterwards buries Porus (fol. 50 *b*, col. 2).

The defeat of Porus accomplished Alexander set out to go to see the Brahmans, አልበራግናዊያን፡ *al-Baragândâwîyân*, who, hearing of his arrival in their country, write to him (fol. 51 *a*, col. 1, l. 22) and mention Baal Peor ፈጎር፡ (fol. 51 *b*, col. 1, l. 2); Alexander reads their letter and goes to them (fol. 52 *a*, col. 1), and asks one of them:—

"How do you live, and how do you die?" fol. 52 *a*, col. 2, l. 12.

"Have you no graves in which to bury your dead?" fol. 53 *a*, col. 2, l. 3.

"Are the dead more in number than the living?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1.

"Is death mightier than life?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1, l. 22.

"What is the wickedest thing in creation?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 1, l. 1.

"Is night older than day or day older than night?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 2.

"Who is He that has never been born?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.

"Which is man's strongest limb, his right hand or his left?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.

After Alexander had asked these questions the Brahman asks him to give them immortality; he says that he is unable to do this because everything depends upon the will of God. He writes to Aristotle (fol. 56 *b*, col. 2, l. 11), and then wishes to go and see the grave of a king on an island, but eventually sends one of his friends there with 800 men (fol. 57 *b*, col. 2). After a march of twelve nights they come to a city situated between two rivers (fol. 58 *b*, col. 1), and see the pillar upon which is inscribed "I am Sesonchosis (ሶክ፡ *sic*) king of the world" (fol. 59 *a*, col. 1). The *Mashkĕlath* is described as being "greater than a rhinoceros" (fol. 59 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and as having required forty men to kill it (fol. 60 *a*, col. 1) and three hundred men to cut it open. Alexander then came to a country where the men were like ravens ቋዒት፡ (fol. 60 *b*, col. 1); and the

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Macedonians stayed there seven days and slew six thousand of them. They met creatures half men half beast (fol. 60 *b*, col. 2, ll. 3—6); they saw the people who had "legs like a camel" (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 15); the men with lions' heads (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 25); the tree which grew and diminished (fol. 61 *b*, col. 1); and the river which was full of birds (fol. 61 *b*, col. 2, l. 21). They came to the sea called Pontus, where twenty of Alexander's men were devoured by beasts (fol. 62 *a*, col. 2). After a march of 65 nights he comes to a place where there were two birds, one of which said, "O two-horned one, behold, thou marchest through a land in which no man has ever before walked; it is not good for thee. Why dost thou not go back? Behold, thou hast slain Darius the king of all the kings of the world (fol. 62 *b*, col. 1), and also Porus the king of the Indians who was lord over demons and devils, and who had captured all the ends of the world. Now, therefore, turn back from this place, for what thou hast done is sufficient for thee." In this place Alexander goes into a temple where there is a chain weighing 300 በሃሞር፡ according to the weight of Constantinople (?) (fol. 63 *a*, col. 1, l. 8), and sees there a throne with 2500 steps (fol. 63 *a*, col. 2, l. 3) and two candlesticks, each of which is 40 cubits in height. In the temple is a nameless god who tells Alexander that he will bring him to the place where Enoch, Elijah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and those like unto them dwell (fol. 64 *a*, col. 1, line 11).

From this place Alexander goes to "a city of India" (Prasiakê), and is obliged to stay there thirty nights on account of the snow (fol. 64 *b*, col. 2). He asks the Indians if there is any thing wonderful to be seen in that country and they tell him of two talking trees (fol. 65 *a*, col. 2) which "speak in all tongues." After a journey of ten days they reach a place where there is a garden, and in it are two figures of the sun and moon and a great altar called "the rising of the sun and moon," because the sun and moon rise here (fol. 65 *b*, col. 2, l. 20). Taking fifty men he goes into the temple, and the trees speak (fol. 66 *b*, col. 1). One of them prophesies his death in the land of Babylon, and says that it will be caused by poison being administered to him by friends (fol. 67 *a*, col. 1). After a march of fifteen nights they come to a city called Sapîn (fol. 67 *a*, col.

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2, l. 7), the people of which tell him about a god in the form of a serpent which lives in the mountains at a distance of three days (fol. 67 *b*, col. 1); Alexander kills the serpent by stratagem (fol. 69 *a*, col. 1, l. 8). He next arrives at a river called Barsâṭîs (?) near which he builds a city which he called Masḳâmâ (fol. 69 *b*, col. 2, l. 22) or "Alexandria the second" (fol. 70 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). From here he marches to a place called Ḳasmâḳâtîn, and then, after a march of fifteen nights through marshes and fifteen nights through deserts, he arrives in China, ሲን፡ *Sîn* (fol. 70 *b*, col. 1, l. 8), the king of which country presents him with many beautiful things (fol. 73 *b*, col. 2—74 *a*, col. 1). Leaving China Alexander comes to a land where the people have heads of wolves (fol. 74 *b*, col. 1, l. 20), and next to a place called Dârâ where he sacrifices to the "great god." He comes to Sôd (Sughd) and founds the city of Samarḳand (fol. 76 *a*, col. 2, l. 12); and having built five hundred boats to cross a river (fol. 76 *b*, col. 1) he goes to Persia to see the city called Sâmera (fol. 77 *a*, col. 1, l. 4), which is governed by a queen called Candace. He writes to her (fol. 77 *a*, col. 2), and she replies (fol. 77 *b*, col. 1). The list of the gifts which, according to the Syriac, she gives to him is omitted, but she sends a painter to paint his portrait (fol. 78 *a*, col. 1). Candaules ቀንደሮስ፡ *Ḳandarôs* (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2, l. 1) her son goes to the land of Ḳarûmân, and his wife is stolen from him (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2). Alexander changes places with Ptolemy and, calling himself Antigonus, goes off with 3000 horsemen to rescue the wife of Candaules (fol. 79 *b*, col. 1): he succeeds in bringing back the wife (fol. 80 *a*, col. 2). Alexander then journeys on to see Candace in her city (fol. 81 *a*, col. 1), and when he sees her and finds that she is like his mother Olympias, he weeps (fol. 81 *b*, col. 1). The narrative is now told by Alexander in the first person; he describes the chamber in which he first saw her (fol. 82 *a*, col. 1) and the second chamber and her bed room (fol. 83 *a*, col. 1); afterwards Alexander marries her ሰከበ፡ ምስሌሃ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕለተ፡ ወይእቲ፡ ሌሊተ፡ (fol. 84 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). The Ethiopic form of the name of her eldest son is Ḳanîra, Syr. Ḳĕrâṭôr (fol. 85 *a*, col. 2, l. 18). After Alexander has been dismissed by Candace, her son Candaules takes him to see the temple of a god, built on a hill (fol. 86 *b*, col. 2), with whom he holds a conversation and asks questions. He

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next writes to the Amazons, *Mertâs* (sic) and their queen replies (fol. 87 *b*, coll. 1, 2); he then makes his way back to Persia (fol. 88 *a*, col. 1, l. 22). At this period Aristotle writes to him (fol. 88 *a*, col. 2), advising him to do some good act before he dies, and reminding him that he has done a very great work for a young man of thirty years, for which he should thank God.

On fol. 88 *b*, col. 2, l. 2 begins the Ethiopic version of Alexander's expedition against the Huns, which, according to it, took place in the seventh year of his reign. Prîsḳôs is not mentioned at all, but the "eleven bright seas" (fol. 89 *b*, col. 1) and the eleven lands situated in a land ten miles away and the great sea are all described as in the Syriac version. The waters of the fœtid sea are like pus መግል፡ (fol. 89 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and when Alexander asks some of the people if they have seen it they say that they have (fol. 90 *a*, col. 1). He then assembles 32,000 men (fol. 90 *b*, col. 1, l. 17), prays to God (fol. 90 *b*, col. 2), and goes to Egypt where he obtains 7000 skilled workmen (fol. 91 *b*, col. 1); he sets out with all his forces, and after a journey of four months and twelve days they arrive at a land "behind" the twelve great seas (fol. 91 *b*, col. 2). At the fœtid sea thirty-seven men bring his ships to anchor, and he sees a pillar with an inscription (fol. 92 *a*, col. 2). He passes through lands called Ṭârakes, Martaḳut, Rûḳĕl, Dafâr, Ṭarmât, Ḳânem, Hûr and Maraḳ, through the mountain of Mûsâs (fol. 93 *b*, col. 1, l. 13), and arrives at a place called Nalhemyâ, where three hundred sages come to him (fol. 93 *b*, col. 2) and tell him that this place is in the territory of Persia, and that they are subject to Akseyûs አክስዩስ፡ the Persian (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1, l. 11). They also tell him that the mountain which he sees extends to the Ocean (ቦንጦስ፡ *Bônṭôs*), that it comes to an end near the land of Persia and that roads go from it to Adorbaigân (fol. 94 *a*, col. 2, l. 5). Alexander enquires what are the names of the kingdoms in this land, and they tell him Mâgûg (Magog), Yâgûg (Gog), Nûlî, Agma'a, Amrâbân, Namû, Bargîs, Samraḳ, Hôsâĕ, 'Asfû, Salgû, Katlûbî, Amrâḳ, Ḳawâbir and Hanâ (fol. 94 *b*, col. 1). The Ethiopic translator says that he has seen in another book a description of these kingdoms, and he gives their twenty-two names as follows: Mâgûg, Yâgûg, Nûyâl, Yûal, Aknûk, Asâ-

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kâbîr, Ḳaryâwîyân, Kerba, Lakan, Daba'ân, Ḳarṭân, Rabaan, Zanâbên, Dûlî, Marḳû, Ṭarḳî, Mâyâwîyân, Kalbâtâs, Manzĕ'a, Yûmân, Kaslĕwî and Malkî (fol. 94 *b*, col. 2). Their manners and customs are described (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1—fol. 95 *b*, col. 2, l. 15); the people called Nagâshâwîyân have faces like dogs (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2, l. 12).

The old men are next questioned by Alexander about Paradise and its four rivers Sêḥun, Gihon, Euphrates and Tigris (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2), and they tell him that God drew them into the earth.

Alexander then gathers together 3000 men and they make a gate twelve cubits in height (fol. 97 *b*, col. 2) to shut in Gog and Magog. He writes a prophecy on the gate that these nations shall go forth in the eight hundred and sixty-fourth year (fol. 98 *a*, col. 2, l. 10), and that when they have gone forth twenty thousand Greeks and Persians and Arabs shall be gathered together under four thousand kings (fol. 98 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and that multitudes of men shall be slain.

The iron gate being finished Alexander sets out to go to the land of darkness (fol. 99 *a*, col. 1). When he arrives there a god of the country describes to him the land and the sea that is in it (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1), and tells him that the throne of God is set in this land, and that it is supported by an angel having the faces of a bull, a lion, an eagle and a man; beneath it flows the river of the water of life (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1). Beyond this land of darkness are seventy other lands, and beyond there are other seventy lands (fol. 101 *b*, col. 1), and a mountain eighty thousand measures high which rests upon water (fol. 104 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). In this land there is no distinction between day and night (fol. 106 *a*, col. 1), but Alexander prays to God, and He makes his paths straight so that he is able to proceed (fol. 108 *b*, col. 1). He travels in the dark land for two years (fol. 110 *a*, col. 1, l. 11), and finally comes to a place beyond which the people tell him that there is nothing. He insists on advancing, and leaving ten thousand of his troops (fol. 110 *b*, col. 1) to live and to wait for him there for ten years, he sets out with some of the natives for guides; the king of the land also gives him a precious stone, which was one of those brought out of Paradise by our father Adam, to shew him the way (fol. 111 *a*, col. 1, l. 20). The stone

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pointed out the right road and led him to the fountain of life; Alexander had a dried fish with him which he put into the water to see if it would live and swim, and as soon as the fish touched the water it came to life, and darted away and escaped (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). When Mâtûn, that is El-Khidr or the "Ever-green" (Elijah), saw that the fish came to life he took off his clothes and bathed in the water of life, and dipped himself therein three times, saying, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). The sixty thousand kings that live in that land contend with El-Khidr (fol. 111 *b*, col. 2), who asks their permission for Alexander's army to go through the land because he is doing God's will (fol. 112 *a*, col. 2). Alexander passes through the land, and comes to a place where the water was so clear that he thought it was the water of life. He saw there emeralds and jacinths and other precious stones and a bird with a ring in its nose with which he talked (fol. 113 *a*, col. 2). At a place near here he finds much gold, and he makes for himself a crown of it, in which he sets the stone which came from Paradise (fol. 115 *a*, col. 1). From there he travels east and west and flies through the air, higher than the eagle, and sees all the stars of heaven: he writes a book about all these things (fol. 115 *b*, col. 1). He next sets up a great furnace and casts a door and walls of iron to keep out Gog and Magog (fol. 116 *a*, col. 1), the children of Adam, who are like wild beasts (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). He prays to God (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and then sets out for the sea which is behind the heavens and the land which has never been trodden before by man (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2). He flies through the air by the help of three eagles (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2), and when on the sea he sends out these eagles one after the other to look for land (fol. 117 *a*, col. 1). Having crossed the sea Alexander sets out for Babylon (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2), where he seeks for the seven wonderful things which Solomon made (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2—fol. 120 *b*, col. 1). He is twice attacked by fever; he writes to his mother (fol. 121 *a*, col. 1 and fol. 121 *b*, col. 1), and he receives a second letter from Aristotle (fol. 127 *b*, col. 2). Ten whole folios (129—139) are filled with a discourse in which the names of Pharaoh and Job occur, and which points out the benefits which accrue to those who do not commit sin.

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On fol. 139 *a*, col. 1 his second letter to Olympias is begun, in it he tells her that having left Babylon he came to the Pillars of Hercules ‘ኃዋኀው፡ ሐረቀሊስ፡, where he stayed ninety-five days. He found there a door of gold and one of silver: each one of them was twelve cubits in height. He saw there twenty thousand five hundred crowns of gold which he took, and left the country (fol. 139 *b*, col. 1), and journeying on he came to the country of beautiful women (fol. 139 *b*, col. 2). After another march he came to a river or sea called Dalîṭûn, where it is very dark (fol. 140 *a*, col. 1), and after five days more he arrived at the city of the sun where there is a palace of gold. Near this place there was a very great darkness (fol. 140 *a*, col. 2), and eventually he came to the river Yôrdânôs, on the confines of Asia and Armenia (fol. 140 *b*, col. 1). Here he saw a golden bird, like a dove, in a cage of gold, which he wanted to send to his mother; but the people of the place begged him not to do it, and he did not. He also saw there the golden objects which were in the city of Dios and which were brought thither when the Persians ruled Egypt (fol. 140 *b*, col. 2), and the golden throne with eight steps, etc. The letter to Olympias ends fol. 141 *a*, col. 2.

Meanwhile the day of Alexander's death was drawing nigh. He had made a feast (fol. 141 *b*, col. 1), when Iollas (Eth. Yôlyôs) came and proposed to him that he should invite his friends to drink with him, and twenty-one of Alexander's friends were straightway invited. Watching his opportunity Iollas gives Alexander the cup of poisoned wine, and he drinks, and knows that he is poisoned (fol. 142 *a*, col. 1, l. 11); the news of the success of the plot is sent by Iollas to Antipater at once. Alexander leaves the feast chamber and tries to drown himself by night in the Euphrates, but is stopped by Roxana his wife (fol. 142 *b*, col. 2). On the following day Bardaksa (Perdiccas), Kâbâs (Lysias ?), Abaṭlemîs (Ptolemy) and Lîsîmikos (Lysimachus) write his testament, and he addresses the Macedonian soldiers who think that he has been poisoned (fol. 143 *a*, col. 1). One of them called Bûkelâs (Phainoclês ?) addresses Alexander, and seventy of them wish to die with him (fol. 143 *b*, col. 1). Alexander's testament begins (fol. 143 *b*, col. 2). He bequeaths twenty thousand dînârs to the Christian temples of

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Egypt (fol. 144 *a*, col. 2, l. 4) and to the temple of Ammon. If Ahrûksênâ (Roxana) bears a son he is to be called Alexander (fol. 145 *a*, col. 1). The names of the provinces of Alexander's empire and of the rulers whom he appoints over them are horribly corrupt in the Ethiopic version, and can only in a few places be identified. He orders a gold coffin to be made (fol. 145 *b*, col. 1), and commands that gifts be made to the temple of Hercules (fol. 145 *b*, col. 2); and having given directions concerning his coffin and the filling of it with myrrh and other spices (fol. 146 *a*, col. 1), he dies. His body is brought to Babylon in Egypt, and many of the nobles of the city of Memphis come out to meet it, but they refuse to allow it to be buried there; they advise Ptolemy to bury it in the city of Alexandria, and he does so (fol. 146 *b*, col. 1). He lived thirty-eight years and began to reign when he was fifteen years old. Twenty-two nations were subject to him among the barbarians and thirteen others; he founded twelve cities which are enumerated (fol. 146 *b*, col. 2). He was born on the first day of the month Ṭer[1] at sunrise and he finished his days on the first day of the month Mîyâzyâ[2] ሚያዝያ፡ at sunset[2]; on account of his death taking place on this day it was called ሕጸጸት፡ እምሰዓታት፡.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Ethiopic version of the Alexander story reproduces in one form or another most of the principal incidents of the life of Alexander the Great according to Pseudo-Callisthenes. Whether the Ethiopic or the Arabic translator is responsible for the chapters which are omitted I cannot say. The proper names are much corrupted, and it is clear that the Ethiopic translator has helped to make the confusion greater. For example we have Pûz for Porus which shews that he read ز instead of ر; and we have Mĕrtâs መርታስ፡ for Amazons. The Arabic transcription of the Greek form of the name would be something like امزناس or

[1] The fifth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Dec. 27—Jan. 25.

[2] The eighth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Mar. 27—April 25. See also the Ethiopic version of Joseph ben-Gorion, Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 822, fol. 20 *a*, col. 1, ll. 6—9.

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مزناس which the Ethiopic translator has clearly misread مرتاس *Mertâs*; many instances of the confusion between the letters ک and ل, ف and ق and نـ, تـ, ثـ, بـ and يـ could be given.

In the fabulous histories of Alexander the Great which are commonly found among the Ethiopians the work of the imagination plays so large a part that it is difficult to discover the grain of fact which has given rise to the fantastic stories which have come down to us. In them Alexander is made to hold interviews with Christ, Who tells him that He will take upon Himself flesh in the fulness of time; he is made to preach sermons on the advantages of living in chastity and continence like Elijah and St. John; and he is made to abolish the worship of idols throughout his dominions. The accounts of his travels which are given in these stories are based upon the incidents of his Indian journey according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, but the hand of the Christian redactor or scribe has ever been active in adding details which savour of the marvellous and the impossible. In the desert he meets Elijah and Enoch, who leave him in a chariot of fire; he is instructed by the Holy Ghost concerning virtue and the six doors of the heart; and he learns the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Philip his father having learned by means of the astrolabe of the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ throws himself into the sea; the Holy Spirit tells Alexander that his father will be counted as one of the martyrs[1]. When Alexander returns home he gives all his goods to the poor, and then exhorts men and women to lead good and holy lives. The above are specimens of the contents of these fabulous histories of Alexander; it will be seen that they are of little value for any other purpose than that of amusement.

[1] See the full summary of the contents of such a history in Zotenberg's *Catalogue des MSS. Éthiopiens*, pp. 243—245, and D'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens*, p. 81.

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The Coptic Version.

The existence of a Coptic version of the history of Alexander was first pointed out by Bouriant[1], who published the text from three mutilated leaves of a manuscript of the work found at Aḥmîm[2], the ancient Panopolis, in Upper Egypt, which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The composition is in Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, and M. Bouriant thinks that it was written in the xvth century of our era; the contents do not agree with those of any other version known to me and I am not able to say from what language the work was translated. The first fragment refers to an expedition of Alexander in Judaea, and the second and third give some details of an expedition into Gedrosia.

Miscellaneous European Versions.

Translations of the Alexander story were made into French[3] by Alberic de Besançon, Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay[4], Thomas of Kent and many others. It was also rendered into German by Lamprecht or Lambert[5], into Italian[6],

[1] *Fragments d'un Roman d'Alexandre en dialecte Thébain*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Série 8, t. IX., 1887. See especially the remarks by M. Maspero on pp. 37, 38.

[2] The ancient Panopolis, a town situated on the east bank of the Nile not far from This. See Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, t. I. p. 257.

[3] In his scholarly monograph *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, M. Meyer has given the history of all the French versions of the Alexander story. See also Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 97—114, and Talbot, *Essai sur la légende d'Alexandre le Grand dans les Romans Français du XIIe siècle*, 1850.

[4] The text is published by Michelant in the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins* in Stuttgart, t. XIII., entitled *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre Bernay.

[5] See Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, Frankfort, 1850; and the authorities on this version quoted by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 71, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 127.

[6] Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 119; Commenza el libro del nascimento. De la vita. Con grandissimi fatti. Et della morte infortunata de Alexandro Magno, Venesia, 1477.

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Spanish[1], Norwegian[2], Swedish[3], Dutch[4], and English[5]. In 1880 the facsimile of an ancient Slavonic manuscript, belonging to P. P. Vyazemsky, containing a history of Alexander was published[6]. Malay and Siamese[7] histories of Alexander are also known.

[1] Favre, *op. cit.* p. 115.

[2] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143.

[3] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143. The Swedish work was printed at Wijsingzborg in 1672, edited by J. Hadorphius. See also *Konung Alexander; en Medeltids dikt, från hatinet vänd i Svenska rim omkring år* 1380...*Efter den enda kända handskriften utgifven af* G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1844.

[4] Moltzer, H. E., *Roman van Cassamus in Bibliothek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, Afl. 2, 1868.

[5] See Weber, *King Alisaunder in Metrical Romances*, Vol. I. pp. xxxi, lxxiv, and 3—327, 1810; *The Romaunce of Alexander*, Edinburgh, 1850; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 180; *The gestes of the worthie king and emperour, Alisaunder of Macedoine*, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 139—142.

[6] Issued by the Early Russian Text Society at St. Petersburg. *An account of Alexander the Great in ancient Serbian Literature* was published in the *Messenger* of the Society of Serbian Literature, 2nd Series, Vol. IX. at Belgrade in 1868. I owe this information to Mr. J. T. Naaké of the British Museum.

[7] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. Intro. p. 110.

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THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP KING OF THE MACEDONIANS.

BOOK I.

I. Now there used to be Egyptian sages, who were sprung from the families of the gods. They measured the earth, and stood thereon; they put in commotion the waves of the sea; and laid hold of the great Nile by its measure. They calculated the ordering of the stars of heaven. They delivered all these things to the world by the might of invincible words and by the powers of sorcery. Men say then of Naḳṭîbôs (Nectanebus)[1] who was the last king of Egypt and was famed for great discoveries, that he was through his perfect knowledge the glory of Egypt, and to him were the creatures of the world subservient by reason of his magic. This king was a marvel, for when suddenly the hosts of the enemy were standing ready at his gate[2], and wished to come to battle, he used not to trouble his camp, neither did he bring weapons of war for the use of the men, nor polished iron that glittered, nor was it his wont to contrive the stratagems or plans which are necessary for war; but he used to go into his palace and to set a brazen basin in the middle of the hall and to fill it with rain water. He then made small

[1] The *Necht-neb-f*, or Nectanebus II of the hieroglyphics. Egyptian history is silent as to the end of this king. An *ushabti* figure bearing his name was found at Memphis (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, p. 32) and hence it has been supposed that he was buried there. Diodorus says (xvi. 49—51) that he fled to Ethiopia. A statue of this king is in the British Museum.

[2] Or rather, *getting ready against his land.*

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models of ships and men in asphalt[1] and placed them in the basin. And he took in his hand a rod of plane wood[2], and then uttered those words which he knew, and invoked the angels and Ammon the god of Lybia[3]. Now by this form of sorcery which took place in the basin, he was wont to contrive plans, until those models of ships and men which were in the basin went forth against the enemy and turned them back. In this manner he held constantly by his skill for a great length of time the kingdom of Egypt.

II. After a while, a certain man, a spy from among the guards who were there, came to him and answered and said, "O Nectanebus, while as yet thou hast peace, seek deliverance for thyself, for behold innumerable multitudes of hosts of enemies are making ready and coming against thee, to wit the Ṭûrâyê (*or* mountaineers), the Alâni, the Gûbarbĕdâyê, the Armenians, the Medes, the Arabs, the Midianites, the people of Adôrbâigân, the Belsâyê, the Âlôsâyê, the Shabrônḳâyê, the Alînîḳâyê, the Galatians, the Ṭêbarînîḳâyê[4], the people of Gurgân, the Chaldeans, the eaters of fish and of beasts of prey, multitudes without end of the nations from the regions of the East, mighty men, with a vast host, hastening to come to this land of Egypt which is thine. Consider now what is expedient and useful [to be done]." When the spy had spoken after this manner, Nectanebus laughed and said to the scout, "Thou hast done well, and hast acted properly as regards the watch which was entrusted to thee, in that thou hast spied out these things for me; but thou hast spoken timidly and not courageously. For I have observed that host of men which is coming, and they have no strength, although their will is very ready. One little word of wisdom however is able to turn back many, and a man who does good things can overwhelm a multitude of armies in the waves of the

[1] Or *bitumen*, ܟܘܦܪܐ, in Arabic قَفَّر and قير. The Greek text has "of wax", *ἐκ κηρίου* (see Müller, p. 2, col. 1). The Ethiopic version has also "wax".

[2] Or rather, *teakwood*, ܫܝܓܐ, Ar. ساج. The Greek text has "ebony" (see Müller, loc. cit.).

[3] ܠܒܝܐܣ, transcription of the Greek genitive *Λιβύης*.

[4] Or people of Ṭabaristân?

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sea." And when he had spoken these things to the spy, he called him and said to him, "One dog is able to turn back many deer, and one wolf is able to destroy a whole flock of she-goats. Do thou, then, with those numerous horsemen that are under thy orders, go and keep thy watch carefully; for by one word I am able to overwhelm and drown in the waves of the sea this innumerable band of enemies."

III. And Nectanebus went into his palace, and put out all the people, and remained by himself. Then he filled the brazen basin with rain water, made those ships of asphalt spring up[1] in the middle of the house, took the rod of plane wood in his hand, and began to speak those words which were full of terror. And when he had spoken them, he looked into the basin, and saw all the gods of Egypt leading the ships and guarding them. When he saw that Egypt was betrayed by her gods, he left his kingdom and fled. He shaved the hair of his head and his beard, and put on other apparel; then he took as much gold as he was able [to carry] and departed from Egypt, and went by way of Pelusium. Now when he had travelled through a multitude of countries and a number of nations, he came to Pella of the Macedonians. And he put on linen clothing like the Egyptian prophets and astrologers (*lit.*, those who shew the signs of the zodiac), and sat in the midst of the highways, and the people of the land came to ask him questions. In those times he was renowned. And after Nectanebus had gone away from the land of Egypt, all the Egyptians drew near to Hephaestus, the head of the race of the gods, and besought him with entreaty to shew them what had happened to Nectanebus the king of Egypt, and at what place he had arrived. Then Hephaestus promptly sent to them an oracle concerning him by the hands of the priests, saying, "The king of Egypt who has fled, a mighty man and a warrior, but an old man, will after a time bring a new lord, a young man, mightier and more powerful than he, who will kill him and seize his land; and he shall traverse the world, and shall subjugate all the enemies of Egypt to your service." And when the Egyptians had heard this oracle, they forthwith inscribed it with letters (*lit.*, carvings) under the tablet of brass on the stone

[1] The word ܐܘܥܒ, *he made to grow*, or *spring up*, does not suit the context well, and is probably corrupt.

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pedestal upon which [the statue of] king Nectanebus stood, that they might see what would be the issue of the oracle.

IV. And Nectanebus was going to and fro openly in Macedonia, and many people came to see him and to ask him questions. He was so renowned that even Olympias[1] the queen desired to enquire of him as to what was about to happen. Now Philip, the husband of Olympias, had gone to war, and she commanded that Nectanebus should come to her. And when he had come and had entered the royal palace, he saw the beautiful countenance of the queen, whose countenance was more beautiful than the moon. He was a man innocent of women, but at the sight of Olympias his mind was excited and his heart burned with love for her. He stretched out his hand, and saluted Olympias, and answered and said to her, "Peace be with thee, O queen of the Macedonians." Now he could not persuade himself to call her "lady," for as yet the royal manner of speech was in his mouth. Olympias answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, O doer of good things, and knower of everything; come, seat thyself." And when he had sat down, Olympias said to him, "Art thou really an Egyptian? for in thy speech there is no lying." Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Those who have had experience of me speak well [of me]." Olympias said to him, "By what wisdom and knowledge, or by what power, knowest thou to speak correctly what is going to happen?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "O queen, well dost thou know how to put a question; for the interpreters of dreams are of many kinds, and the knowers of signs, those who understand divination, Chaldeans [or] augurs, and casters of nativities; the Greeks call the signs of the Zodiac 'sorcerers'[2]; and others are counters of the stars. As for me, all these are in my hands, and I myself am an Egyptian prophet, a magus, and a counter of the stars." And while he was saying these and other such like things to her, he was scrutinising her with great earnestness and intentness. Now when she saw in what manner he was looking at and scrutinising her, she answered and said to him, "O sage, whilst thou wert enumerating thy wisdom and skill in these things, why didst thou gaze on me lustfully?"

[1] In the Syriac *Olympidâ*, from the acc. Ὀλυμπιάδα.

[2] This clause seems to have been mistranslated, or to be corrupt.

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Nectanebus answered and said to her, "I looked at thee carefully for the sake of becoming well acquainted with thee; for there is something which I heard a long time ago, and which I now remember. It was revealed to me of old by my god, who said to me 'In the future thou wilt give augury to a queen, and everything that thou shalt say to her shall really come to pass.'" And when he had thus spoken to her with such like words, she straightway brought out into the midst a beautiful and magnificent table of ivory which belonged to the palace, set with splendid stones and of great value, the qualities of which the mouth of man knows not how to describe, for it was made of acacia wood and gold and silver. Three circles were fitted to it after the manner of belts. Upon the outer belt there was a representation of Zeus with the thirty-six *decani*[1] surrounding him; upon the second the twelve signs of the Zodiac were represented; and upon the third the sun and moon. Then he set the table upon a tripod, and he emptied a small box which was set [with stones] after the manner of the table upon the table, and there were in it [models of] those seven stars that were in the belts, and in that one which was in the middle, which they call in Greek 'the watcher of the hours' (τὸν ὡροσκόπον), were set by the crafts of art eight kinds of precious stones; and he arranged them upon the table with the other gems. Thus he completed his representation of the great heavens upon so small a table. He arranged a sun of crystal and a moon of adamant; and Arês, whom they call in Persian *Vahrâm* (بَهرام), of a red stone, the colour of blood; Nâbô the scribe, who is called in Persian *Ṭîr* (تير), of an emerald; Bêl, who is called in Persian *Hormazd* (هُرمَزد), of a white stone; Baltî, who is called in Persian *Anâhîd* (اناهيد), of

[1] On the top of the table were represented in the inner circle the sun and moon; in the middle circle the twelve signs of the zodiac; and in the outer circle the thirty-six *decani*, three to each sign of the zodiac. Lepsius in his *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 71, gives a list of them, and shews which three belong to which sign. He also gives a list of them at pp. 68, 69, from five different sources, with the list of Salmasius and an emended text. See also Brugsch, *Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften*, pp. 137 foll.; and *Description de l'Égypte*, t. IV. pl. 20.

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a sapphire stone of a dark colour, and the horoscope of copper (?), which is called in Persian *Farnôj* (فرنوج)[1]. And after he had set these in order, he said to Olympias, "Tell me, O queen, the year, the month, the day and the hour of thy birth;" and she told him. Then Nectanebus calculated his own nativity and that of Olympias, that he might know if the stars of both of them coincided exactly. And when he saw that they were precisely the same, he said to her, "It is fitting that thou shouldest tell me thy mind, and what thou wishest to ask, and what it is that thou desirest?" She said to him, "[I wish to ask] concerning my husband Philip, for I have heard a rumour that, after he returns from the war, he will divorce me, and will take another wife." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "This report about thyself which thou hast mentioned, O queen, is false, in so far as that it will happen now shortly; after a time, however, it will actually be done. But I, being an Egyptian prophet and a magus, am able to help thee in many things, when thou hast need of it in any such matter as this. Now, however, it is granted unto thee—according to what thy nativity which is before me reveals—that a god of the land shall sleep with thee; thou shalt be pregnant by him, and thou shalt bear a son to him, who shall avenge thee upon Philip thy husband for the offence which he has committed against thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "Who is this god who thou sayest will sleep with me?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "He will have horns on his head, and will be clothed in the rich apparel of Ammon the god of Libya." Olympias said to him, "What is the age of this god, and what is his appearance, and the form of his figure?" Then Nectanebus answered, "He is of middle age, and his form and appearance are thus; upon

[1] Possibly the modern Persian بِرِنْج, *burinj*, or پِرِنْگ, *piring*. The Persian word بِرِنْج is used in modern Syriac under the form of ܒܪܢܓ, and the American missionaries use it to translate ܢܚܫܐ, Heb. נְחֹשֶׁת, in their version of the Bible (e.g. Gen. iv. 22; Ps. cvii. 16; Dan. x. 6), and the History of the Jews published by them in their monthly journal, ܙܗܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܗܪܐ. See the number for ܡܐܪܛ 1887, p. 44, col. 2, line 34.

each side of his head he has the like of ram's horns. Do thou, however, O queen, prepare thyself to sleep with him; but first of all in a dream thou wilt see this god who is going to sleep with thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "When?" Nectanebus said to her, "It will not be far off, but to-day; therefore I counsel thee to prepare thyself magnificently like a queen, for in this very night he will unite with thee in thy dream." Olympias said to him, "If it be that I see any such thing, I will not only hold thee to be a prophet, but I will worship thee as if thou wert a god."

V. Now when they had spoken these words with one another and conversed, Nectanebus went forth from the royal palace, and went out swiftly and speedily to the plain. Then he hastened to the desert, and gathered those roots which men use for dreams, and he pounded and pressed them all; and in a dream of the night Nectanebus by his magic sent to Olympias what she desired, so that in her dream she thought that she was actually sleeping with the god Ammon, and that he was embracing her, and that of his own free will he abode with her, and that when he had done with her he said to her, "O woman, behold, thy womb will avenge thee."

VI. And when Olympias awoke from her sleep, great terror laid hold of her because of this dream; and she sent and called Nectanebus to her. And when he had come into her presence, she commanded that everyone should go forth from her. Then Olympias answered and said to Nectanebus, "Behold I have this day seen a dream according to what thou didst say unto me, and the god Ammon sleeping with me; but I wish that when I am awake, he should sleep with me continually. This I require of thee, and thou art able to supply this need. I wonder now if I shall obtain this through thee." Nectanebus answered, "Nothing is more feeble than I, but inasmuch as thou desirest this, that thou mightest see him when thou art waking, it is right for me to consider, because a dream is one thing, but the thing that thou requirest is another. Now, I have thought that since thou hast this desire, bid them construct a place for me close by thy bedchamber, that, if thou art terrified when the god comes to thee, I who know thee may strengthen thee; for this god when he comes to thee will be in

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the form of a serpent and will creep and crawl on the ground, sending forth loud hisses. Then he will return, and his horns will be in the form of those of a ram; thus will he be. Then he will return again, and will appear in the form of the hero Hêraklês; and he will return a third time, and appear in the form of Dionysus, decorated and ornamented with ringlets; and he will return yet again, coming back and appearing in my own form." When Olympias heard these things, she said to him, "O prophet, thou hast spoken well; abide now in one of the bedchambers within the palace where I sleep, and if it happens that, being awake, I see such things and know that I am pregnant by the race of the gods, I will honour thee and will hold thee to be the father of the child." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Behold, I have told thee beforehand concerning the snake; now therefore fear him not, but trust thyself the more to him, and be fearless."

VII. When therefore all these things happened as Nectanebus had said, the queen was not terrified at all at the change of the forms of the gods, but she feared when she slept with the form of the serpent. Now when he had done with her, he again stood over her, and set his mouth upon her mouth, and said to her, "An unconquerable seed, and one which shall not be subject to any man, flows into this womb." And when Nectanebus had said these words, he went to his own bedchamber; and afterwards at this time he slept with her in the form of Ammon and of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. And when she was great with child, she lifted up her eyes and saw Nectanebus, and she answered and said to him, "O prophet, what shall I do when Philip my husband returns from war and finds me pregnant?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Fear not, O queen, this Ammon of the three-fold form is able to help thee in every way, and can shew Philip in a dream [what has happened], that thou mayest be without blame and without care." So for a long time Olympias was beguiled by these words and played the harlot with a man, thinking he was a god. Then Nectanebus the Egyptian king brought a hawk and muttered over it his charms, and made it fly away with a small quantity of a drug, and that night it shewed Philip a dream. In his dream it shewed him a god, whose

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form was fair, of middle age, with horns upon his head like the god Ammon, who was sleeping with Olympias. And when he had done with her, he said to her, "Behold thou hast in thy womb my seed, and thou shalt bear me a child who will avenge thee and Philip his father." And in the same dream he saw as if a river like the Nile flowed and went forth from the couch on which they were lying; and [he saw] the figure of a man sewing linen. He saw too the womb of Olympias sealed with a gold ring, with a gem on which was engraved the head of a lion holding the sun in his claws, or in his paws, and there was a whip beside him, and a hawk which overshadowed him with its wings[1].

VIII. Now when Philip had seen these appearances in his dream, he rose up early in the morning, and sent and brought into his presence the wise men the interpreters of dreams, and related before them the dream which he had seen. Then they answered and said to him, "O king Philip, as thou hast seen in the dream, so shall it be; behold, Olympias is pregnant, but she is pregnant by a god. Forasmuch as thou hast seen her womb sealed, surely it is pregnant; for an empty vessel is not sealed, but only one that is full. And whereas thou hast seen the form of a man sewing linen, this seed is Egyptian; for they do not sew linen in any other place but Egypt. And his fortune is not little, but great and mighty and glorious and renowned, because [the womb] was sealed with a seal of gold, and there is nothing more valued than gold, for even the gods are worshipped for the sake of gold. And the lion which held the sun in his claws, and the whip which was [engraved] on the ring, [shew that] he will go to the east, and will walk like a lion in his might; and he will subdue all countries and cities with his whip. And as for the god whom thou didst see, of middle age and with horns on his head, this is Ammon the god of Libya, and the seed is his." Now when the learned in dreams had given the explanation in this manner, Philip believed of a certainty that Olympias was pregnant by a god.

IX. And when [Philip] had conquered, he returned from the war, and came to his own house and greeted Olympias.

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 2, says that Philip dreamt that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which was a lion.

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Then she was ashamed; and when he saw that she was agitated through fear of him, he answered and said to her, "To whom didst thou deliver thyself to be defiled, O Olympias? He has not, however, defiled thee, for thou shalt bear a son by him, and shalt name him the son of Philip; for I have seen in a dream everything that has happened to thee, and therefore I leave thee in peace. Kings are able to contend with everything, but to contend with the gods they are not able." And when he had said these things to her, he heartened her and Olympias regained her selfpossession.

X. Now it fell out one day, because Nectanebus was within the royal palace, that he heard Philip say to Olympias, "Thou art an erring woman, for thou art not with child by a god, but by one of the human race." And while they were thus speaking together, Nectanebus by his sorcery changed his own form and assumed that of a huge serpent, and he hissed with a loud voice in the midst of the hall where Philip was standing, gliding in a terrible manner, and hissing as he went, so that all who heard quaked and trembled at his voice. And when Olympias saw her lover, she lay down upon her couch, while the monster reared himself up over her, and suddenly he straightened himself out. Then Olympias spread out her hands and embraced his neck, whereupon the serpent opened his mouth and placed his lips upon her lips, kissing her repeatedly just as a man kisses his friend out of love. And while it was doing thus, every one in the palace and Philip too saw it. Philip answered and said to Olympias, "O great queen Olympias, and all the rest of you who stand before me, I saw such a serpent as this when I was fighting with my enemies at yon time, and also the mind of many of the enemy was humbled and made weak thereby. But as for me, from this time forward I will glorify and praise myself because men will call me father of one sprung from a god."

XI. Now after some days, when Philip was sitting in his summerhouse by the side of the royal reservoir of water, and all kinds of birds were pecking grain before and around him, he was reading in the book of the philosophers. Suddenly a halfbred hen which was being reared in the house happened to sit in Philip's lap. Now she was but a small [bird], and when she had sat in his lap, she laid an egg thereon. When Philip saw this

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egg, he put it upon the ground; but the egg rolled about and broke, and immediately a small serpent sprang from within the egg and crawled round about it. Then it turned back and began to enter the egg again, and when it had put its head within the egg, it died immediately. Now when Philip saw such a wonder, he was sore afraid and was much troubled; and straightway he commanded, and they called the chief of the Chaldeans at that time, whose name was Antiphon, into his presence. And when he arrived, Philip related to him the matter just as it had occurred. And when he had told it to him, Antiphon answered and said, "O king Philip, the child that is to be born to thee will be a son, and he will be a king; he will traverse the whole world and subjugate all men by his power, and he will not be conquered by man; but when this [son of thine] shall retrace his steps and return to his own place, within a few days he shall die. For the serpent is a sign of royalty, and the egg is the whole world; and the serpent which went forth from thence and went round about it, when it returned and put its head into it, died immediately: even so in this manner, when he has traversed the whole world and returns to enter his own land, he will die." And when he had spoken according to this augury, Philip gave him many gifts and he went home.

XII[1]. Now when the time for the delivery of Olympias had arrived, she sat upon the childbed, and the birthpangs began to pain her. Nectanebus was standing before her and calculating the stars of heaven. When he had made his calculation, he said to Olympias, "Rise up for a little, O queen, from the seat until an hour pass, for the sign of the Scorpion holds this hour, and Saturn and the Sun and the Balance are opposed to it, and a vast host of wild beasts devour him who is born in this hour. In this hour the signs of the heaven revolve swiftly; but be strong and restrain thyself, and pass by this hour, for in this hour Cancer [predominates], and Saturn was plotted against by his children, and he was born in Gemini; and he bound him and cast him into the ocean and he was deprived[2] of his superiority,

[1] With this chapter compare in particular the Greek of Cod. A, as given by Müller, p. 11, in the note. The text is very corrupt in both Greek and Syriac.

[2] Literally, "*emptied of*". The Syriac text is obviously somewhat confused, and I am therefore not sure of its rendering.

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and Bêl obtained the throne of heaven in his place. In this hour Leopos (?) was born, who taught wandering[1]. In this hour the horned Moon[2] forsook the Balance[3], and descended from her height to the earth, and was united with the simple Endymion[4]; and she gave birth to a beautiful son by him, but he died by the flame of fire, therefore whosoever is born in this hour dies by fire. In this hour home-loving Baltîn (Venus) was with her husband, and she was slain by the hand of Arês without sword and without wound. In this hour the women who worship Baltîn (Venus) set up mourning and weep for her husband. Let this hour pass, because the god Arês stands in it wrathfully and threatens. In this hour Arês the lover of weapons and the warrior, naked and unarmed, placed his trust in the men of (?) Electryône the daughter of the Sun, and he stands put to shame; therefore everyone born in this hour will be despised and of no account among men. Restrain thyself in this hour too, O queen, for the star of Nâbo the scribe holds the sign of the zodiac, and he was born in [the sign of] the horned Goat, and afterwards his children rid themselves of him, and were estranged [from him], and went to the desert. In this hour Rhea was born; do thou then sit upon the childbed, and bear bravely thy pains as best thou mayest, because Bêl is the lover of virgins. In this hour Dionysus was born, the gentle and humble, who makes to dwell in peace, who taught gentleness. And under this sign of the zodiac, Ammon with the ram's horns was born over Aquarius and Pisces of Egypt (?). In this hour Bel was born, the father of men, and the king of the gods, and the ruler of the world, who establishes royalty. In this hour give birth, O queen." And when Nectanebus had finished speaking, the queen brought forth. And when the child fell upon the ground, suddenly there was the noise of thunders and lightnings, and mighty earthquakes, so that the whole world trembled.

[1] Or *mendicity, begging.* [2] Reading *Selêne*, as proposed p. 20, note 8.

[3] The word ܡܣܐܬܐ in the Syriac text is evidently a gloss upon ܩܢ̈ܝ ܡܠܟܐ. On the names of the signs of the Zodiac in Syriac see Sachau, *Inedita Syr.*, p. ܩܒܩ, and Noeldeke in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxv, pp. 256—8. Compare Maimonides ספר המדע פרק ג׳.

[4] The Syriac name seems to be a corruption of the Greek accus. Ἐνδυμίωνα, which might be written ܐܢܕܘܡܝܘܢ.

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XIII. And when Philip saw these things, he said, "I had determined that thou shouldst not rear him, O woman, because he was not begotten by me; but since the several parts of the world have given such signs as these concerning him, he must be of the seed of the gods. Let the gods now rear him; let the name Alexander be given him in remembrance of the son who was borne to me by a former wife." And when Philip had spoken thus, he gave orders that they should surely rear the boy with watchfulness, solicitude, and care; and he commanded all the towns of Thrace and Macedonia to bring crowns to him. And the child grew, and was weaned; and he became strong, and increased in stature and wisdom; but as regards his form and appearance, he was neither like Philip, nor Olympias his mother, nor the god by whom he was begotten, but his features and looks differed from theirs, for his hair resembled the mane of a lion, and one eye was different from the other, one being white (light) and the other black (dark); and his teeth were sharp like a razor, and his steps were firm like those of a lion. From his person then it was evident what he was destined to become afterwards. He had for his tutor in his boyhood a great man whose name was Lekrânîḳos (?) the Pellaean; and his master in letters was Âpos (?) the Lemnian; and his teacher in geometry, which is [used] for measuring lands, was Philip; and his master in the art of speaking with brevity was Ârespîmôn (?); and his teacher in philosophy was Aristotle the Milesian; and his instructor in war was Ardippos the Dmaṭsḳian (?). And after a long time, when the child had reached boyhood and youth, he began to accustom himself to the manners and customs of royalty, for one of the gods had shewn him in a vision [that he was to be a king]. When then he was with the boys at school, he used to hold contests with the rest of the boys, and he strove and did not stir from his place, until he had gained the victory over all of them.

Now at that time the princes of the Cappadocians brought as an offering to Philip from their herds of horses a foal of great size, bound with fetters of iron, for, said they, he devours men. And when Philip observed his appearance and beauty, he said to his friends, "True it is what is said in the proverb, for they

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say, 'something bad springs up by the side of anything good'; but now since the chiefs of the Cappadocians, my friends, have brought me a present, accept it from them, and let him be kept in restraint and guarded in an iron-barred enclosure, and let the dead bodies of evildoers, by whom crimes worthy of death have been committed, and who are appointed to be slain by the decrees of the judges, be thrown to this [beast]." And when Philip had thus spoken, they executed his orders with all speed.

XIV. And after these things, when Alexander was twelve years old, he went with Philip his father to war, and he practised horsemanship, and exercised himself along with skilful and brave horsemen. And his training was so good, that Philip himself applauded, and answered and said to him, "I love thee, my son, because thou art right well trained in the art of gaining the victory in war; but it grieves me that thy appearance does not resemble mine." Now it fell out that Philip went to a certain city on some business, and certain thoughts were stirring in Olympias after the manner of women, and she commanded to call Nectanebus to her presence. And she answered and said to him, "Look by thy wisdom concerning me, and see what Philip meditates in his mind about me." Then Nectanebus set a small table before her in the midst, and placed in order upon it the gems of the signs of the zodiac; and Alexander was sitting in that place. And he began to compute the signs of the zodiac, and answered and said to her, "O queen, the guidance of the will of the gods suffers not by anything which takes place by chance. The place of thy constellation is now exceedingly great beyond all expectation; so do not abandon thyself to care and doubt. For I have observed and seen, and just now the Sun stands against the sign of the Baltîn (Venus) of Philip, and quenches his desire and longing and turns him away from the love of women." And Olympias answered and said to him, "Is the sign thus, O Nectanebus?" He answered and said, "It is thus; would that thou wert able to understand, that I might shew thee this sign in the heavens, and thou mightest understand that it is even as I have said to thee." When these words had been spoken, Alexander answered and said to Nectanebus his father, "My father, are all the signs of the zodiac to be recognised in the

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heavens as thou hast said?" And Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son." Alexander says to him, "I wish to see them." Nectanebus said to him, "This shall be this very night, if the sky be clear. Come with me to the open plain, and thou shalt see them, provided the sky be clear." Alexander said, "My master, since thou knowest [the heavens] so accurately, it befits thee to know also thine own nativity." Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son, I know also my own nativity." Alexander said, "I desire to ask thee this [question], though thou knowest that it is not of a matter which concerns me that I ask, but it is necessary to learn what I have seen; now tell me of thy death, in what manner it will be." Nectanebus said, "This is [the manner of] my death; I shall perish by the hands of my son." And while they had talked of these things together, the day had passed and the night was come, and the moon had risen in the heavens, and the signs of the zodiac were visible. Then Alexander walked behind his father, whom he knew not, and they went outside the city. Then Nectanebus lifted up his eyes, and said to the boy, "Observe how gloomy this sign of Saturn is, how much this [sign of] Arês resembles blood, how this [sign of] Baltî (Venus) stands in joyfulness, how favourable is this [sign] of Nâbo the scribe, and how bright is the sign of Bêl." And while the eyes of Nectanebus were fixed upon the signs, and both of them were walking along together, and there was a pit very near them, the boy Alexander pushed Nectanebus and pitilessly cast him into the pit. And when he had fallen, he answered and said to Alexander, "What wast thou thinking of in thy mind, O my son Alexander, that thou hast stretched out thy hand against me and hast cast me into this pit?" Alexander answered and said to him, "O teacher, what is upon earth thou dost not know, [and yet] thou dost investigate that which is in the heavens; it did not become thee, seeing that thou knewest not what is upon earth, to dare to investigate and examine and vex thyself with what is in the heavens." Then Nectanebus lifted up his voice and said to him, "I knew, O my son, that some such thing as this would befall me, but I was unable to help my life in any way, for no man is able to flee from what is decreed." Alexander answered and said to him, "I blame also thy lack of knowledge, in that thou didst say that

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thy death would happen by the hands of thy son, and thou didst not know that thou shouldest die by my hands." Then Nectanebus said, "I did indeed say that I should die through my son, and I have not lied in what I said, for thou thyself art my son." Alexander said, "Am I thy son?" Then Nectanebus answered, "Hear, my son, what I say regarding thee, that thou mayest know about thyself." So Nectanebus went on to speak from the beginning, of his being king when he was in Egypt, and of the rumour which was reported to him by the spy; of the divination in the bowl, and of his foreknowledge of the betrayal of Egypt by the hands of its gods; of his flight from Egypt, of his arrival in Pella, and of his teaching the ordering of the signs of the zodiac; of his thoughts concerning Olympias, of his desire for her love, and of his sorcery; of Ammon, and Hêraclês, and Dionysus, and of his union with Olympias, and of her pregnancy; of Philip's dream, of the serpent, and of the heaven of constellations. And when he had spoken these words, his soul departed from him and he died.

Now when Alexander knew that Philip was not his father, but that he was begotten of the seed of Nectanebus, he was afraid to leave the body of Nectanebus in the pit lest wild beasts should devour it. Then love of his father entered into his mind, and he took up the body upon his shoulders, and came back to the royal palace. When Olympias saw Alexander carrying the body of Nectanebus, she said to him, "A second Telamonian Ajax! what is this that thou art carrying, my son?" Alexander answered and said to her, "Æneas carried his father upon his shoulders affectionately and lovingly, because [Anchises] was an old man and decrepit; but I carry this body cruelly and as a parricide." Olympias said to him, "Hast thou slain thy father Philip?" Alexander said, "I have not slain Philip, but Nectanebus have I slain." Olympias said to him, "Was Nectanebus then thy father?" Alexander said, "Yes; the gods sent him to thee according to the will which they had." And he forthwith laid down the body from his shoulder and began to speak of the time of the night at which he went forth, and of the pointing out [by Nectanebus] of the constellations, and of the pit, and of his pushing [him in], and of what he said, and of his replies.

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When Olympias heard all these things, she blamed herself, and [wondered] how Alexander was able to carry so great a body upon his shoulders; and in the midst of her affliction she derived consolation from the strength of the youth, [thinking] that, although she had fallen and had been led astray, it was no mean man that had seduced her, but a king of Egypt, and that her pregnancy had taken place by the fate of the gods. And when the boy had said these words, he turned to the corpse of Nectanebus, and buried his father as a son should do, and like an Egyptian in the burial place of his caste; and he said to him, "Who will be master of the constellations after thee, and will know who shall be king?"

XV. Then Philip returned from whence he had gone, and sent his servants to Polias the diviner at Delphi to ask of the diviner, that he might know who would be king after him. When they drew near, and came to the fountain of Castalia, they asked an augury. And the virgin Pythia answered them saying, "Say ye to Philip, the father and lord of Macedonia, 'He that shall receive the kingdom, being sent by the gods, the rulers of the world, to this kingdom of the Macedonians, this is the sign that I have seen concerning him; he shall make the mighty steed which is called Bucephalus (the interpretation of which is Bull-head) run through Pella.'" And when those who had been sent to bring the augury returned to Philip, they told this sign to him, and he, after he had received this augury, used to watch when he might see this sign; and he used to enquire of every one who made a horse run through Pella what its name was and how it was called.

XVI[1]. Now when Alexander was nearly old enough to reign[2], he went to a distance to the place [where Bucephalus was kept]; and he looked and saw from the door, and went out and saw the horse guarded by an iron grating, with its whole body bound with chains; and he saw that the horse was very excited and furious. By reason of the smell of the human bones and skulls which he devoured, the place itself was foul, and the

[1] This is ch. xvii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 16).

[2] After the words "to reign" the Syriac text has the unintelligible word ܠܗܘܠ. A clause has also fallen out after "to the place".

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horse emitted a foetid odour from his mouth. When Alexander saw the many human bones lying under him near his feet, he questioned those who had the care of him, saying, "I want to know what is the reason that this horse is bound in this manner?" And they said to him, "This horse is a man-eater." Now when Alexander heard this speech, he marvelled and drew near to the iron grating, and admired the strength and size and beauty of the horse. He was especially struck with wonder at his being so terrible and at his fierce appearance. And after the horse took no notice of him, he put his hands gently through the railings, and put a bit into his mouth; and the horse licked the hand of Alexander with his tongue. Then Alexander began to rub his side and legs, and he was quiet. And when he saw that the horse was gratified, he commanded and they took away the railings from him. And he led the horse out, holding the bridle with his right hand, while with the left he stroked the horse's body, and the horse wagged his tail like a dog. And when Alexander saw that he was so gentle, he led him by the bridle and brought him out into the street, and he saw upon the right side of the horse a birthmark in the form of a wolf, a sign that was born with him, and this wolf held a bull in its mouth. Then [Alexander] mounted and rode upon him, and made him run through the city [of Pella]. Now it happened that Philip was sitting upon the wall of the city, making the horsemen pass before him by number, and he enquired of them the names of their horses, if peradventure there might be one who had a horse called Bull-head, for he had learned the augury from the diviner. And while Philip was sitting upon the wall, Alexander came up to him at a gallop; and when Philip saw Alexander guiding the horse with his hand and standing upon his feet, he said, "My son Alexander, the whole oracle refers to thee; I believe that after my death thou wilt reign, and that thou wilt rule the whole world."

XVII[1]. Then Alexander, after he had made the horse gallop, took him away and put him in his own stable; and he drew near to Aristotle the sage and saluted him, and answered and said, "Peace be with thee, my teacher." And

[1] Chap. xvi. in the Greek (Müller, p. 15, col. 2).

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Aristotle answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; come and stand by the side of thy companions in order." And when he had taken his place by the side of his fellows, Aristotle answered and said to him[1], "Be thou rich, O son of a king! O excellent youth, filled with wealth, if the kingdom comes to thee after thy father, what wilt thou give me or wherewith wilt thou enrich me?" He replied, "O teacher, if the dominion comes to me, I will make thee a ruler." And he said to another, "And thou, what sayest thou to me Ḳalḳalva?" Ḳalḳalva[2] answered and said to him, "I will make thee my secret counsellor." And he said to another, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Partion?" And he said, "I will make thee a companion and associate." And he said to Alexander, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Alexander?" Alexander answered and said to him, "Ask not now concerning that which is future, and take not a pledge of me for the morrow: wait and see if I live until the morrow; and if I live, I will do that something, and times and seasons are commanded for me." And Aristotle said, "Peace be with thee, O Alexander, ruler of the world! From thy nature thou art known to be the future ruler of the world." Now Philip heard all these things concerning Alexander, and when he heard them he rejoiced greatly; he was however a little grieved in his mind that the looks of Alexander did not resemble his own.

[3]Now Alexander was exceedingly liberal in everything; accordingly, that which his father and mother were wont to send him for expenses, he divided among his friends. Then Zintôs (Zethus? Zeuxis?)[4], Alexander's tutor, sent a letter to Philip and Olympias, and in it there was written thus: "To my lords Philip and Olympias from your servant Zintôs greeting. Know ye that what ye send to Alexander for his expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts; and now

[1] This is a mistake. The Greek has "to one of them".

[2] This name is corrupt. Parṭiôn may be Πρατίων or Πρωτίων.

[3] The following paragraph does not appear in the Greek, but Müller gives a Latin version (Pseudo-Call. p. 16).

[4] In some places the MSS. write ܙܝܢܛܘܣ *Zinṭôs*, in others ܙܝܢܛܘܣ *Ziyânṭôs*.

see and look into this matter, and do according to what appears right unto you."

When Philip had read this letter, he wrote a letter to Aristotle, Alexander's teacher [as follows]: "From Philip and Olympias to Aristotle, greeting. Our servant Zintôs, whom we have sent for the purpose of educating and training Alexander, has made known to us by letter that what we send him for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he gives many presents; now he thus informs us as if blaming and murmuring against thee, and it is of thee he complains."

When Aristotle had heard this, he wrote a letter to Philip and to Olympias his wife and made answer [saying]: "In every way it beseems us [to acknowledge] that this giving of presents by Alexander proceeds from us and is the result of our teaching[1]. Ye also yourselves have examined and seen that he is wise and superior in everything, and in knowledge and understanding he is not at all like [other] youths, but he is well fitted by his wisdom for the business of life; neither does he do anything unseemly or improper, but everything whatsoever ye command him that he does."

Then Philip sent this letter to Zintôs the tutor, and he himself wrote to him thus and said: "From Philip and Olympias to our servant Zintôs greeting. We wrote and informed Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, concerning his affairs, according to what thou didst write to us, and we desire that the answer which he sent to us should be conveyed to thee. Do thou therefore take it and read it, and do thou what is right and proper."

After Aristotle knew that Alexander's father complained of him, he wrote a letter to Alexander, and in it thus informed him: "From me to my son Alexander greeting. Philip thy father and Olympias thy mother have written and informed me, saying, 'That which we sent for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts.' Now I know that thou wilt not do what is not right, and I know not from whom thou hast learned this practice, which thy father and thy mother disapprove of, and I too; but if thou hast done anything which

[1] The context seems to require "giving of presents", but the Syriac more literally has "that Alexander's training has been by us, and that he will go forth from our teaching."

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befits not thy skilled knowledge, in thy wisdom correct it, O wise and beloved son. Be thou well."

When Alexander had read this letter, he immediately made answer to Aristotle: "From thy son Alexander to Aristotle, my master and chief and teacher, greeting. What my father and mother send me for expenses is not sufficient, nor is it adequate for me; and instead of doing that which was right when they heard that the amount was too small for my expenses, that is, to blame themselves, they now complain bitterly [of others]."

And Alexander also wrote a letter to Philip his father and Olympias his mother, in which was as follows: "From Alexander to Philip and Olympias greeting. That which ye have sent to me for my expenses by the hands of Zintôs is not sufficient, for I am Alexander; and, moreover, I have not spent it in an improper manner. I have also seen Aristotle's letter, and I will never blame Aristotle, because from him I have received knowledge and instruction in good things: but I do blame you, because ye have shown such parsimony to me, who am your son, while ye also blame me and cease not, and think nothing good of me."

XVIII. So the youth Alexander returned from school, being fifteen years of age, and came home with honour. And when Philip saw him, he embraced him and kissed him. Then Alexander said to his father, "Bid me, O my father, to embark in a ship and go to Pisa, for I would enter and see the horse and chariot races." Philip says to him, "Dost thou desire to see the contest?" Alexander says, "Nay, my father, but I will go thither myself to the contest, and will contend with them with horses and chariots, and I will moreover bring back the crown of victory." When Philip heard these words, he rejoiced, and said to Alexander, "Go, my son, and good luck go with thee. I know, my son, that thou wilt not contend like a king's son, but like a king himself; and I will entreat the gods that thou mayest return with victory, my son. Go now into the stables, and [take] forty colts and sixty wheels and chariots, together with harness and bridles and everything which thou mayest require, that thou mayest not lack horses in the contest. Take too ten thousand darics for thy expenses, and go, my son, and good luck go with thee; and keep thyself in good training, for this contest is great

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and renowned." And Alexander said, "Do thou but give me the command, and I will go without taking aught; for I have trained horses and exercised colts, which I myself have trained." Then Philip kissed Alexander, and admired him for his will and purpose, and said to him, "My son, everything shall be according to thy wish." And Philip went with him to the harbour, and commanded to bring a ship. Then he commanded to bring the horses, the chariots, and the baggage, and they brought them and placed them in the ship. And Alexander and his friend Hephaestion embarked in the ship. And they loosed the ship and departed from their kinsfolk. And when they had disembarked from the ship, they received many gifts from their friends[1]; and Alexander commanded his servants to feed the horses regularly and to anoint them with oil; and he and his friend Hephaestion went to the place where the nobles were wont to walk.

And while he was walking in this place in the costume of an athlete, Nicolaus the king of Âreṭâ[2], who had brought a large retinue to the contest and combat, saw that Alexander was small in stature (now Nicolaus was huge in stature, rich in property, great in strength, and fair in appearance), and he answered and said, "Who is this? and from what country does he come?" And when he had learnt that he was the son of king Philip, and had come on account of the contest, he answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee;" and Alexander answered him, "Peace be with thee; and who art thou?" Nicolaus said, "As whom dost thou greet me? I am Nicolaus of Hâlêâ, and the son of Ḳaryânâ[3]." And Alexander said, "Do not boast of this, and be not insolent (?) on account of such things, and do not be out of thy senses because of thy royalty, because thou knowest not the manner of thy death; for thy fortune and fate, O Nicolaus, remain not in one place; for this fickle fortune[4] has the habit of

[1] An inaccurate rendering of *καὶ λαβὼν ξενίαν* (Müller, p. 18, col. 1).

[2] The Greek text has *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου* (var. *Ἀρδέου*) *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

[3] It is possible that ܕܗܪܛܐ may stand for ܒܪܗ ܕܗܪܛܐ, *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου*, and that ܘܒܪܗ ܕܩܪܝܢܐ may be a mistake for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܩܪܢܢܐ, *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων*.

[4] Syr. *fate of Kêwân* (*Saturn*).

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departing even from him that is great, and of going to him that is little." Nicolaus said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly as regards one that is weak, and hast made known that thy fate is thus; but my fate does not change in this manner, neither does it depart. Now, therefore, inform me of thy business, and for what reason thou hast now come hither, whether to see the contest, or to take part in it; for thy stature and thy appearance are not like those of an athlete." Alexander said, "Get thee gone from my presence, for it is not to be seen that thou art in any way like me." Nicolaus said, "I asked thee this question, for what thou hadst come hither, whether to see this contest or to take part in it, because thou art the son of Philip the Macedonian." Alexander said, "If thou desirest to hear and to know, give me thine ear and I will tell thee. I am not one of those who will look on at the struggle, but I am one of those who will perform valiant deeds at the contest; and though I be little and short in stature, yet I am mighty in chariot races, and I will defeat the proud." When Nicolaus heard this speech, his gall was stirred up within him, and he answered and said, "Look and see to what a pass this strife of Zeus has come, that even a mere boy, the son of Olympias, has come to take part in it, and so we think that it is the sport of children. By the life of my father, if they should make only a sprinkling of drops of water come to his mouth upon his chariot, his soul would depart from his body." Then he looked at him from head to foot, and despised him greatly, and spat, saying, "Go, get thyself a rag, and wipe away thy sweat with it, because thou art famished, and thy sweat is abundant." And he shot out his lip at him, thinking him to be already dead and not alive. Then Alexander said to him, "Nicolaus, I swear this oath by the race of my gods and ancestors, and by my conception from the divine seed in the womb of my mother, that in this contest I will defeat thee in the strife of horses and chariots; and I will come to thy country, and will subdue thee and all the people therein with the point of my spear." And when he had spoken these words, they separated one from the other.

XIX. And on the third day all the athletes went prepared to the race-course and to the place of the contest with horses and chariots. Now the athletes were nine in number, and four

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of them were king's sons; the fifth was Nicolaus, the son of Hêlâ̂ and king Ḳeryânâ[1]; the sixth, Kesṭios, the king of the Philippians (?); the seventh, Ksosios (?), the king of Bithynia; the eighth, Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Macedonians; and the ninth, Aristoteles of Pisa (?); with the rest of the ...... and the chariots from various places. Callimachus from Aḳîmtarnêtos (?), Anistippos (Aristippus) from Corinth, Ṭrîdîṭ (?) from Ârôntîr (?), Sephîlâ̂ (?) from Lêbâria (?), Elḳârôn (?) from Phocis, Armîtos (?) from Lôdâ (?), Nîḳînâmos (?) from Ḳrîmîtos (?), Pardânîs (?) from Klôphiôn (?), all these were assembled together in one place. And they placed a boat of silver in the midst of the race-course, and this boat was of pure silver. And they proclaimed the names of the horses that were yoked to the chariots, and they made the horses stand beside the gates. The first gate fell by lot to Nicolaus, the second to Kesṭos, the third to Bantîrâ Eustanîḳâ (?), the fourth to Ḳlîtmaos (Cleitomachus), the fifth to Adasṭâos (?), the sixth to Ksômios (?), the seventh to Ḳôrantîdos (?), the eighth to Alexander, the ninth to Nîḳômos (?). Now these athletes were clothed in garments of various colours; the first had put on sky-blue apparel, the second and third scarlet robes, the fourth green vestments, the fifth and sixth yellow apparel, the seventh dark blue clothing, and the eighth and ninth purple raiment.

So they mounted the chariots, and the war trumpets were sounded; and the athletes punished the horses with bit and whipcord, and suddenly the horses started and went forth with a rush, each contending as to who should get first; and they urged on their horses with lashes. Now Ksîṭos (?) got foremost, Nicolaus second, Timotheus third, Elîḳiôr (?) fourth, Ḳlinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) fifth, Philaeus (Piêris) sixth, Aristoteles seventh, Nicolaus eighth, and Alexander ninth. [They kept this order] in the first, second and third rounds; but in the fourth round the chariot of Kesṭios (?) was overturned, and the horses and chariot and rider fell head over heels. Then Nicodemus turned his horses to the left, and wished to pass through them all and get first in the race, but he too stumbled over the chariot of Kesṭios. Then Ḳimrênêos (?), when he wished to turn his

[1] See page 22, note 3. The Syriac translator has blundered sadly hereabouts, and the scribes have made confusion worse confounded.

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horses to the right, was unable to pass because of those that were overthrown. Then Elîḳiôr too stumbled over the chariot of Ḳimotheus[1], and fell. And Klinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) wished to turn back his horses and chariot from the midst [of the strife], but was unable to do so on account of the horses and chariots which were overthrown before and behind him; and he too fell. When Nicolaus saw that Alexander was behind all these, he wished that Alexander would pass on to the front, and that he might be behind him, in order to throw him down and kill him; and Nicolaus began to turn his horses aside from before those of Alexander. Now Alexander understood this artifice of Nicolaus who was wishing to kill him. When Nicolaus had turned his horses to the left, Alexander saw an empty space between two chariots which had been upset and overthrown, and he guided his horses before Nicolaus, and passed through that spot to the front. When Nicolaus saw that he had passed him, he guided his horses after him; but when he reached the spot through which Alexander had passed to the front, he was upset by the struggling of the horses which were down, and fell. Then Alexander began to urge on his horses alone; [but Nicolaus], in order to save himself, leaped out of his chariot, and stood upon his feet, and began to call out, saying, "O thou that art not able to conquer lawfully, there thou runnest by thyself! Every one knows that the foremost was overturned and fell, until the arena was full; and now thou runnest by thyself, and thinkest to receive the crown of victory!" Now, inasmuch as the people of Pisa were spectators and judges at this contest, they commanded all the tumult to cease, and made a proclamation by their heralds to all the people who were sitting in that place, saying, "O men of Pisa, dwellers in the city and its suburbs, and ye too, O Athenians, and ye people who have come from a multitude of places, we declare that we all have seen that, when Ksîṭos (?) was first in the race, he was tripped up among the horses and fell, and the other six charioteers stumbled over him. Moreover Alexander drove on contrary to the rules of the contest. Let them therefore return, and bring back their horses."

[1] This name should clearly be *Timotheus*.

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Then in accordance with this command, they brought Alexander back and ordered that other horses should be yoked to the chariots in the place of the eight on the left side, because that horse of Ksîṭos (?) had been injured. And when they had spoken in this manner, and each charioteer had changed one of his horses and had put another in his place, then Alexander too changed one horse and yoked Bucephalus in his stead. So they all returned to the gate of the race-course; and when they were ready, the trumpet sounded again, and they all started together, and urged on their horses with severe lashing, all [running] furiously until they reached the farthest[1] turn together. Now when they had reached the turn, Nîḳîmos (Nicodemus) passed first, Elîḳiôr second, Philaeus third, Alexander fourth, Nicolaus fifth, Aristippus sixth, Ḳrîṭomachos (Cleitomachus) seventh, Timotheus eighth, Kasṭîs (?) ninth. They went the first, second and third rounds, and at the fourth round the horses of Aristippus lagged behind the horses of Ḳritomachus (Cleitomachus), and Ḳîmîs (Nicodemus) restrained his horses, and turned and went to one side. Then Alexander, who had been fourth, became first; and after him Nicolaus was foremost. He wished to let Alexander pass a little ahead that he might come up with him and kill him, on account of the enmity which existed between Philip, Alexander's father, and himself, for Philip had taken by force a number of villages and their inhabitants from Nicolaus. Then Alexander, being full of wisdom, gave Nicolaus room to pass before him. Now after he had passed Alexander in this way, he was meditating some means whereby he might gain the crown of victory, so he stopped his chariot before Alexander, and beckoned with his hand to Nicanor (Elîḳiôr ?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus ?), as much as to say, "Do ye who are behind me keep to the left side," to the intent that they might get Alexander between them and might lay hold of him and kill him. Then Elîḳiôr (?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus) turned their horses to the left behind Alexander; and when they had come close to Alexander's chariot in this manner, so that Alexander was already contending with these two, then Nicolaus looked behind him from his chariot, and stooped down to lay

[1] Literally, *the lowest turn*, or *bend*, the farthest point of the course where they turned homewards.

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hold of the thongs of the bridles of Alexander's horses that his two allies might come up with him. Then Alexander turned his whip upon his horse Bucephalus, and smote him without sparing upon his back, until the horse was beside himself with rage and fury, and raised his fore feet in the air, and struck at Nicolaus, who died immediately with his hand upon the bridle of the horses. And again Alexander smote Bucephalus with the lash mercilessly and pitilessly, until the horse, from the pain of the blows, stretched forward his mouth and seized the right hand of Nicolaus between his teeth and lifted him from his chariot. Now Nicodemus, wishing to come to the assistance of Nicolaus, drove his horses with care, and when he had come alongside of Alexander's chariot, he smote Bucephalus violently upon his head with a stick. Then Bucephalus let go Nicolaus, who was already dead, and seized Nicodemus by his left hand, and dragged him from his chariot. Nicodemus, crying out and shrieking with pain, begged Elîḳiôr to come to his assistance. Then Alexander guided his horses to the left, and when he (Elîḳiôr) had come up alongside of Nicodemus, he (Alexander) turned again from the left [to the right], and Elîḳiôr was tripped up by the axle of Alexander's chariot wheels, and fell head foremost, he and the horses and the chariot; and he died together with his horses.

Then Alexander obtained the victory mightily and gloriously, and gained the four crowns of victory. And a herald proclaimed in the race-course, "These four crowns of victory belong to Alexander the son of Olympias and of Philip the king of the Macedonians; [the judges] have awarded them to him for his strength and his might and his victory." Now the names of the horses that were yoked to Alexander's chariot were these: the first Ksithîdos (Xanthus?), the second Îdâdô (?); the third Achlios (or Ulios?); the fourth Bucephalus; and by the might and strength of these four horses he obtained the victory over four athletes, Nicolaus, Nicodemus, Elîḳiôr and Philâdâos (Philaeus). Thus by good fortune Alexander won the crown, and with his horses obtained the victory; and he turned to go to his mother Olympias. Now when he had come to Iûnûsia (?) the priest, [he said to him], "Receive this crown which Zeus has given to thee;" and he answered and said to

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him, "Now thou hast vanquished Nicolaus; so also wilt thou vanquish all nations and peoples which dwell upon the earth and [all] thine enemies."

XX. After Alexander had received this augury, he went to Pella. And when he had arrived there, he asked for his father; and he found his mother Olympias divorced by Philip and put away from being his wife. Now on that very day Philip was going to take a certain woman whose name was Cleopatra, the daughter of king Athlîs (Attalus), to be his wife. And when all the guests were seated before Philip, Alexander came in amongst those that sat at meat. And when he saw his father Philip reclining like a bridegroom at the head of the table, he went straight in with his horses, and said to his father, "Receive from me these crowns of victory, the fruits of this my first labour. I will give my mother Olympias to another king to wife, but I will not invite thee to the feast, even as thou hast not waited for me until I returned." And when he had spoken these words, he drew near just as he was, in the dress of an athlete, and sat down by his father, with his garments unwashed from the mud and stains of the contest. At these words Philip was filled with anger.

XXI. Now there was a certain man called Lysias, Philip's jester, who was sitting with him on the same couch. This Lysias answered and said to Philip, "O Philip, thou possessest a number of countries; if from thy youth until now thou hadst had a wife like Cleopatra, thou wouldst now have had a son, and him not from adultery, and his look and face would have been exactly like thine." When Alexander heard this speech, he was at once greatly enraged, and he overturned the table which stood by the couch, and took a dish, and hurled it suddenly at the head of Lysias, whose soul immediately departed from him and he died. When Philip saw these things, he seized a carver's knife, and leaped among the guests, and wished to stab Alexander; but when he got near to him, he stumbled and fell heavily. When Alexander saw this, he answered and said to him, "He who wishes to seize and enslave the land of Asia, is unable to go a single step among his guests, and cannot save himself from stumbling!" And having said this, he drew near and went and took the knife from the hands of Philip

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and smote the guests and left them half dead, Rphîthôn and Kîlîṭârôn with the rest of their companions; and the house was filled with the slain as at yon time [when Ulysses slew] those who were......because of Pkîṭirpos (Penelope)[1].

XXII. Now after Alexander had acted in this manner, and had taken vengeance upon the guests and gone forth, the servants took Philip who was sick and laid him upon a bed, and carried him into a bed chamber, and his sickness was very sore. After a few days, Alexander went to Philip, and sat by his side, and said to him, "O Philip (for now I call thee by thy name, and perhaps it might not be pleasing to thee were I to call thee father, nor from this time will I call thee by the name of father), I have not come to thee of my own will,—[for] thou art not my father, nor I thy son,—but I have come as a friend and an associate, that I may be a mediator between thee and thy wife in respect of that which thou hast violently done unto her. But since I stood up at the beginning, I will not make [many] words[2]. Tell me this: did Alexander act in an unbecoming manner when he slew Lysias, who spoke that disgraceful speech mockingly? and didst thou thyself act well when thou didst rise up and lift a knife upon thy son? And thou wishest to take another woman to wife, and wantest to forsake the wife who has not done thee any wrong! Rise now and heal thyself, for thy disease is not bodily but mental; for a man becomes more ill through a mental than through a bodily ailment. Now therefore I Alexander will go and beg of my mother and persuade her to make peace with thee again. My father,—I have again

[1] The last sentence of this chapter is so corrupt in the Syriac as to be untranslateable. The Greek text (Müller, p. 21) contains references to the battle of the Lapithae and the Centaurs, and the slaughter of the suitors of Penelope by Ulysses.

[2] This clause is somewhat obscure and may be corrupt. The Syriac seems to agree with the Latin translation rather than with the Greek text (Müller, p. 21). If we follow the Greek, we should read: ܒܗܘ ܡܟܝܠ ܕܒܫܘܪܝܐ
ܩܡܬ ܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܠܐ ܘܡܟܝܠܬ ܩܡܬ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܡܢ ܠܠܘܣܝܦܘܣ ܦܠܛܬ. ܗܘ ܕܡܟܝܠ ܠܡܠܟܬܐ
ܗܕܐ ܡܫܝܢܬܐ ܐܡܪ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܦܘܩ.

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done wrong in that I have called thee father, but although I do not wish to call thee by this name, yet nature acknowledges that which is the truth." And when he had thus spoken, tears were flowing from Philip's eyes. When Alexander saw Philip weeping, he went to his mother, and said to her, "O my mother, be not angry any longer at that wrong which my father has done, for he has not forgotten the offence which thou thyself didst commit against him, and the more so since I am the mediator, whom they call a Macedonian, though I am in truth an Egyptian. Now therefore, O my mother, go in and first of all entreat thy husband that he may be reconciled to thee, for it is right that thou shouldest be subservient to thy husband inasmuch as thou art a woman." And when he had spoken these things to his mother, holding her by her hand, he went to his father. Philip was lying on his bed, and had turned his face to the wall. Alexander answered and said to Philip, "O my father—for henceforward I will call thee father, and I do not shun what is right,—turn thy face hither, for behold I have brought my mother, and have set her before thee, having implored her with many prayers and much entreaty until she gave her consent. I have moreover persuaded and begged of her to forget the offence which thou didst commit against her and to put it away from her mind. And now do ye embrace one another before me who am your son, and be ye now reconciled, that I too may be happy in reconciling and re-uniting you who begat me, and in urging you to make peace with one another." By this speech he reconciled his father and mother, and on account of this all who dwelt in Macedonia applauded Alexander, and every one held his wife in honour, and because of the death of Lysias, every one guarded his mouth from speaking calumny.

XXIII. Whilst these things were taking place, a certain city called Methônê had rebelled against the sovereignty of Philip, and he sent Alexander thither to make an end of the inhabitants by war. When Alexander had gone thither, he persuaded the people of the city by his words to return to the service of Philip; and the people of that city did so through Alexander's words and admonition, and went back to the service of Philip.

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When Alexander had returned from thence and come back, he found men in the garb of foreigners sitting at the gate of Philip. Alexander asked them, "Who are ye?" They said to him, "We are satraps, servants of Darius the king." Alexander says to them, "For what purpose have ye come?" They say to him, "To receive the customary tribute from Philip thy father." Alexander said to them, "By whom have ye been sent?" The satraps say, "We have been sent by Darius the king of the Persians." Alexander said to them, "And for what is the tribute ye receive?" They say to him, "In lieu of lands and waters." He says to them, "Why does your master lay tribute upon what God has appointed and given for food? It is not right for Philip, being a Greek, to give tribute to the Persians. By the good fortune of Zeus, this is a matter of greed and not of royalty; now therefore turn and go, and say to your lord Darius, 'When Philip had no children, his hens used to lay golden eggs, but from the time that his son Alexander has been born, they have become barren, and do not lay eggs any longer. Now I will go thither in person, and will take the tribute from thee which until now thou hast received from my father.'" And when he had spoken these words to them, they departed from the gate of Philip, and he deigned not to give them a written answer. Now when those ambassadors perceived the pride, the greatness, and the understanding of Alexander, they wondered, and when they heard his wisdom and his well trained words, they marvelled. And they hired and brought a very skilful painter, and said to him, "Paint Alexander accurately upon linen just as he is," that they might take it to their own country. And when he had painted him, they took the picture and went to their own land; and Philip rejoiced, when he saw the wittiness of Alexander's speech and the might of his deeds. Again the country of the Armenians was disturbed, and Philip sent Alexander thither with a large army of soldiers, that he might either bring them to peace or contend with them in battle.

XXIV. And when Alexander had departed from his father, a certain man named Theosîdos[1]—a small man and slight in

[1] The name is evidently corrupt, but cannot be emended with certainty at present. Possibly *Theodosius*, the Greek and Latin texts have *Pausanias* (Müller, p. 24).

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body, purseproud and honoured because of his money, who had come from the land of the Thessalonians and had a multitude of slaves, and whose mind and heart were inflamed with love for Olympias, and because of his love for her he gave goods and gifts to many people of the city, and communicated his secret to them—this man sought to slay Philip by some means, for he saw that Alexander was not in the country. Now in those days there was in the city an amphitheatre which was called the Olympic, and certain people, partisans of Theosîdos, by his instruction and advice, begged Philip with tumult and clamour to go with them and see the contest of the athletes. And Philip, because he was unacquainted with the craft of Theosîdos, was persuaded to look on with them. Now in the middle of the spectacle the partisans of Theosîdos made a disturbance and an uproar in the theatre by his advice and command. Theosîdos himself was outside the theatre, and when he heard the uproar and disturbance, he rejoiced, and together with his partisans armed himself and went into the theatre, and gave people to understand that he had come in to assist Philip. Then he brandished the spear that was in his hand, and pretending that he was going to smite another, cast it and pierced the heart of Philip, whilst feigning to be a helper of the king. Philip straightway fell to the ground, and Theosîdos with his companions went out at once from the theatre, because they thought that Philip was already dead, but his life yet remained in him. Then Theosîdos went swiftly to the royal palace, and going to Philip's apartment, he seized Olympias unexpectedly and carried her off to another apartment in the palace, for he thought that Philip was dead, and he said to himself, "Alexander is still a boy, and Philip is dead; therefore, if I take Olympias to wife, I myself will become king."

Now on that day Alexander returned with victory from the war with the Armenians, and came to the city of Pella; and when he saw that the whole city was in an uproar, he asked, "What is the reason that the city is thus disturbed?" And when he had learned what had happened, he was furiously angry, and went on horseback to the palace, and found Theosîdos and Olympias there, and at once raising up his whip[1], he smote Theo-

[1] The Greek text has λόγχη, *spear*, and the Latin translation *jaculum*. See Müller, p. 24, col. 2, at the foot, and p. 25, col. 1, first line.

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sîdos as Heracles smote Armînos (?), because he held Olympias in his embrace, for Theosîdos wished to escape and save himself. Now Alexander was very near slaying his mother too. And when Theosîdos had fallen, and Olympias saw her son Alexander, she lifted up her voice and wept at the change her fortune and lot had undergone. And when Alexander heard that Philip was still alive, he gave orders to carry Theosîdos tied to poles, and he went to his father. And when he saw that Philip was near death, he wept bitterly and bade them raise him up from the couch; and when they had lifted him up, he put a sword in his hand, and made Theosîdos stand before him, while his life was still in him, and he said to Philip, "This is he that slew thee." And Philip said, "Is this he?" And Alexander said to him, "Yea, it is he." Then Philip stabbed Theosîdos with the sword and slew him. And he said, "O my son Alexander, my soul will not depart in sorrow, since I with my own hands have slain him that slew me. My son, mighty and great shalt thou be, for I call to mind the day of thy conception, when the god Ammon spake to Olympias thy mother, saying, 'Behold in thy womb is one who shall avenge the cause of his father and his mother;' and thus my son has avenged the cause of both of us." And immediately Philip died. And Alexander with his nobles and the princes of the Macedonians buried him honourably, and Olympias too went to the grave on foot.

XXV. And when Alexander had returned from the grave, he gave orders to inform the Macedonians that they should assemble on the morrow in the midst of the city by the pedestal of the statue of Philip his father; and he himself came there, and all the Macedonians gathered together unto him. Then Alexander went up and stood by the statue of his father, and lifted up his voice, and said to the Macedonians, "To you I speak, ye inhabitants of the land, Macedonians, Thracians[1], Greeks, Thessalonians, and peoples of every race; to you too, O Amphictyons and the rest of all the peoples of the Greeks, and you Athenians and Corinthians; hear my speech and the counsel with which I counsel you, and trust yourselves to me, and form

[1] In the Syriac Tarmĕḳâyê or Tharmĕḳâyê.

a league with me, that we may go against the barbarians our enemies, and may free ourselves from the bondage of the Persians, and bring them into bondage to us, and subjugate them to ourselves." And when he had said this, many applauded him; and he came down from the statue and gave orders to write letters to every country and city under his rule, as follows: "Let every one who approves of my advice come to the city of Pella." Then many troops of men came with good and ready will, as if a god were urging them on[1].

Then Alexander opened the door of his father's treasury, and clothed every man with all kinds of armour. But when he commanded those who had carried arms in the bodyguard of Philip his father to take them up again, they answered and said to him, "O good king Alexander, we are greyhaired and aged men, and we have been with thy father Philip in a number of wars during the whole time he was in the world, and we have become wearied and exhausted by many battles, and we speak truly before thee when we say that we have not sufficient strength in our bodies to bear arms; therefore we now ask to be excused from military duty and service." When they had spoken these words, Alexander looked on them with a gloomy face and said to them in anger, "I desire particularly that ye should go with me to war. It is true that ye are greyhaired and aged, but all kinds of warfare have been experienced and seen by you more than by these young men, for the aged by their experience and knowledge are stronger than those who are in the vigour of youth. Many a time, therefore, when young men neglect the safety of their lives, and do something which it was not their intention to do, they come into difficulties and distresses thereby; but as for you, ye greyheaded and aged men, I know that ye first of all consider carefully, so that, when ye are about to do something, no mistake or [cause for] repentance may arise thereby. Now therefore go ye with me to the war, and be ye with me as ye were with my father; for I desire that ye go with me in this capacity, not that ye should make war, but go with me as persons of tried knowledge and experience. Ye will be a shield to the young men, and the

[1] Or, *as if there were some one sent from God to urge them on.*

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knowledge of the aged will be thus mingled willingly with the strength of the young; and so we shall obtain a great victory, and the aged shall serve for knowledge to the youth, and shall rescue and deliver [them] from troubles like a shield. And this too I wish you to know, that the victory of the young is the life of the old, while the defeat of the young is affliction and trouble to the old. Therefore, ye veterans, rejoice and exult in the victory, and divide the crowns of victory with them, for by your knowledge and experience and understanding, ye veterans, the young men will become conquerors."

With these words then Alexander encouraged Philip's body-guard, and persuaded them to go to the war; and they consented, and drew near and received arms from Alexander.

XXVI.[1] The horsemen also gathered together to Alexander in countless numbers, as did the foot soldiers who served willingly, and the troops of Philip his father, 50,000; Thessalonians, 30,000; Greeks of every tribe, together with the Poḳoṭolanians [Paphlagonians?][2] and Lacedaemonians, 80,000; Sḳophians [Scythians?][3], 60,000; Corinthians, 70,000 [besides the former 70,000 which he had sent][4]; in all 270,000[5]. He armed these out of the armoury of Philip his father.

XXVII.[6] And he made them embark in triremes and in large transport ships, and put to sea, and he made the Macedonians dwell by the sea Dîthâos (?) and Thrace, which was under his dominion[7].

XXVIII.[8] And [from thence] by Lucania and Sicily he came to Rome[9]. And as soon as the inhabitants of Rome heard [of his arrival], they sent him six hundred talents of gold by the hands of their chiefs, together with the golden crown of Zeus which

[1] Compare Müller, p. 27, col. 2, and the Latin version.

[2] See Müller, p. 28, line 6 of the note.

[3] See Müller, *loc. cit.*

[4] This clause is incorrect or misplaced. It is not taken into account in summing up the total.

[5] The total ought to be 290,000.

[6] Corresponding to ch. xxviii. of the Greek text (see Müller, p. 30).

[7] Very unintelligible. But compare the Latin version in Müller, p. 28, at the foot. "The sea Dîthâos (?)" seems not to be named in any of our Greek texts.

[8] Corresponding to ch. xxix. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 30).

[9] See Müller's note 8 on ch. xxix. (p. 30).

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was in the Capitol, one hundred pounds of gold [in weight], and they brought it as a gift before Alexander. They also sent one thousand horsemen as auxiliaries to Alexander's army, and they entreated him to take vengeance for them upon the Chalkidonians[1], who had rebelled against them. Then Alexander said to them, "I will do you this favour because of this honour which ye have done me; and I will recompense you for this honour by subduing your enemies in war, while the victory in the war I will give to you."

XXIX.[2] Then Alexander set out from Italy, and came by sea to Africa. And when the generals of the Africans had heard the fame of him, they came to him and entreated him, saying, "Free our city from the Romans." Then Alexander was angry at this speech, and said to them, "O Carthaginians, either be yourselves brave[3], or give tribute to the brave." When they heard this speech, they set their faces to war, and they all went and armed themselves, and they could not be persuaded to come to Alexander. Then Alexander made war upon them; and when they fought, they were unable to stand before the army of Alexander. Then they returned and entreated him, saying, "Permit not the Romans to rule over us." Again Alexander said to them, "Ye Carthaginians, I have [already] said to you, 'Either be yourselves brave or give tribute to the brave.' Now therefore go, and whatever tribute is right for you to give, of that give justly; for henceforward [the Romans] shall receive tribute from you." When the Carthaginians saw that they had no remedy, they made a statue of brass to Alexander and set it in the midst of the city: and they made a box of wood and fastened it upon a stone in front of the feet of the statue. They then collected the tribute of their country for four years, and placed it in the box; and the Romans waited for four years, and then they came and took that tribute and carried it to Rome.

XXX.[4] And Alexander departed from the Carthaginians,

[1] i.e. the Karchedonians or Carthaginians. Χαλκηδών = Καλχηδών = Carthage (קרת חרשת, *Neapolis*).

[2] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

[3] Literally *good*.

[4] Corresponding to the remainder of ch. xxx. in the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

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and made some of the troops put to sea in ships and vessels, and commanded them to remain opposite the islands of the Plâthâyê[1], while he went parallel to them on the land with a few troops to the country of Libya. From thence he dismissed all the troops of the Âlômôḥdâyê (?)[2], because he offered sacrifices there to the god Ammon, especially because he remembered the words of Olympias his mother, which she spake to him, saying, "Thou wert begotten by Ammon, the god of Libya." And Alexander answered and said to the god, "If the words be true which my mother Olympias spake to me saying, 'I bore thee to the god Ammon of Libya,' shew it me to-day in a dream." Now when Alexander was asleep, he saw in a dream the god Ammon speaking with him and saying, "Thou art of my race, and thou hast in thee parts of the characteristics of four gods; and if thou dost not believe that it is possible for a mortal and corruptible man to be born of the race of an immortal and incorruptible god, I tell thee that they are able, as men, to be of the race of the gods, not in respect of the nature of the body, but in respect of wisdom, intelligence and fore-knowledge. Therefore by the union of the race of the gods with men, they are able both to know and to do everything that is marvellous and difficult in the world. Now thou hast in thee somewhat of the race of the serpent, and of Hêraclês, and of Dionysus, and of Ammon. Through the serpent thou wilt encircle the whole world like a dragon; through Hêraclês thou wilt be strong like Hêraclês, and thou wilt shew forth in thy person the finding of power and might; through Dionysus thou wilt be continually in pleasure, and merriment, and joy; and through Ammon who is like myself, thou wilt hold a rich sceptre, and thou wilt be lord of the world in royalty and wealth. As regards these words, have then no doubt." When Alexander had seen all these things in his dream, he awoke from his sleep, and commanded that a statue of brass should be made to Ammon in the midst of the temple of Ammon, and he set it up on a pillar, and upon the base

[1] In the Greek εἰς τὴν Φαρίτιδα [var. Πρωτηΐδα] νῆσον.

[2] There is nothing like this clause in our Greek texts, so that the word ܐܠܘܡܘܚܕܝ̈ܐ remains a puzzle.

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of the pillar he wrote thus: "This statue Alexander his son made to his father Ammon, and set it up in this temple."

And again, when he was dreaming, he made supplication to the god Ammon, and said, "O my father, shew me the place where to build a great city which shall be named after me, and from which my memory shall not pass away." And again the god Ammon appeared to him in a dream, saying, "Alexander, king of the Macedonians, I grant thee to build a city in.........[1] in the fields where they plough the furrows, and it shall be famous and renowned, and possessions and wealth shall abound in it, and the supreme god shall dwell therein. Around it shall be the river Nile, and it shall water its fields with abundant moisture, and many shall be nourished by its produce, for this river without any [human] labour will lay the hamlets and arable lands beneath its irrigation, and no damage shall arise therefrom."

XXXI. And when he had seen this vision in his dream, and had quitted the land of the Âmôndîḳâyê (?), a stag came towards him. When he saw that stag, he turned round and said to his nobles, "If it be granted me to build a city in this land of Egypt, when I command and shoot an arrow at this stag, it shall strike it." And having taken the weapon, he shot an arrow at the stag, but the arrow glanced off the stag in its rapid flight, and having run a long distance it stumbled and fell by reason of the wound, and died on the spot. Then Alexander cried out and said, "O thou that didst die without feeling, thou hast shewn me the place which I require;" therefore to this very day they call the spot upon which the stag died, "He that died without feeling." So Alexander ran and came to that spot, and on this side of the stag a sepulchral monument was built, and they call it, "The tomb of the god Âslîs (Osiris)[2]." In this place too he commanded to offer sacrifices; and from thence he returned and came to the stag[3], and he found a large mound, and fifteen (twelve) towns lay around it, the names of which were: Sṭîlîmos, Paḥḥârâ, Imthâos, Aḳlios, Înôḳpîlas, Pithônos, Lindos, Ḳiphrîn, Espâsîd, Mîmisṭîrâ, Phîlâos, and Hanḳîṭos in the centre of the mound,

[1] In the Syriac *in Âlis Wâlis*, which looks somewhat like a corruption of *Hêliopolis*.

[2] Ταφόσιρις or Ταφοσίριον.

[3] The Syrian translator confounded ἔδαφος with ἔλαφος (Müller, p. 32, col. 2).

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which they called "the great city." And when Alexander saw this, astonishment laid hold of him at the waters which were encircling the villages; and he wondered at the greatness of the waves how marvellous they were, for although they entered the sea, they did not mingle [therewith]. And he found there also a place which they called Melââ, and its waters used to enter the sea one cubit and make a great commotion. Then Alexander asked, "What is this place? and who built it?" And they said to him, "First of all Dios, whom they call Zeus, and next Irthâos (?)." And from these towns twelve rivers went forth and mingled with the sea. And Alexander saw that the greater number of these rivers, as well as the springs of the city, had been stopped up, and that all the streets and squares were destroyed; and there only remained two rivers which were not obstructed, and whose place of outlet was not destroyed, and whose mouth mingled with the sea: the name of the one was Lûḳthesnêdos, which great river they call that of the god Serapis (this Serapis is Joseph the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians used to hold as a god[1]), and from it there went forth another which they call Ôḳôrîda (*or* Euḳôrîda), and yet another large stream which they call Klîdnâva; and the name of the other great river was Nûphîrṭîr[2]. When Alexander saw that spot around which mighty rivers and large streams ran, he remembered the dream which the god Ammon shewed him, and he saw that there were fifteen (twelve) towns upon that one spot.

XXXII.[3] And he heard that there was a temple of Zeus there, and one of Hêra[4], whom they call 'the mother of the gods.' And when he had entered the temple, he bowed down there and sacrificed. And while he was examining the temple, he saw there two tablets[5] of red marble, which were very beautiful, fixed under a statue, and upon them was engraved a legend in

[1] This statement regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph is probably an interpolation by the Syrian translator or by a later hand.

[2] For the Greek text corresponding to this passage see Müller, p. 32, note 14.

[3] See ch. xxxiii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 36, col. 2).

[4] The Syriac text has Ahlâ, ܐܗܠܐ, a corruption of ܗܐܪܐ

[5] The Greek text has *obelisks.*

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hieroglyphs[1], which ran thus: "After that I Sesonchôsis[2], the ruler of the earth (or world), was first recognised as lord upon earth, I erected this statue in honour of the great god the Sun, the equal of Serapis, in gratitude for the benefits which I have received from him." And when Alexander had read this legend, he considered Serapis to be the first god. He went also to the spot where he was told that the temple of this god existed, and in the temple he found a golden cup of the god's upon the ground, and on the cup there was written as follows: "I Ahlâ[3], the son of the mighty Promêtheus[4], made this cup for the great god Serapis before mankind were brought forth." And when Alexander had read this legend he said, "It is evident from this that Serapis is the first god, for this cup was fabricated when as yet Prometheus had not made men; and thus also did Ammon shew me in a dream, saying, 'I will grant thee to build a city where the first god dwells.' And now I will supplicate this [god] and will entreat a favour from him, because Sesonchôsis[5] too has shewn me by his inscription that he appeared [as] the first god in this world." Then Alexander offered sacrifices to Serapis, and made supplication to him saying, "If indeed thou art he who has governed the world from olden time until now, and hast revealed thyself at the first as god, instruct me, O Serapis, how to build the city which I have in my mind, and I will give it the name of Alexandria; and inform me also whether they will make my name to pass away from it and will call it by the name of another king." And when he had spoken these words, he slept; and he saw in his dream that the [god] took him by the hand and brought him up into a high mountain, and said to him, "Alexander, art thou able to lift up this mountain and to remove [it] to another place?" Alexander answered and said, "How can I, my lord?" Then

[1] Literally, "in letters of the priests."

[2] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܝܩܘܣܣ, *Sisikôsas*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܩܘܣܝܣ *Sisonkôsis*.

[3] There must be some error here. A little above we had ܐܗܪܐ for Ἥρα.

[4] In the Syriac *Parmithos*.

[5] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܝܩܘܢܘܣ, *Sisikônos*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܩܘܣܝܣ.

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the god said to him, "Even as thou art not able to remove this mountain, so another king will not be able to remove thy name from this city, nor to set his own name upon it." And again Alexander said, "My lord Serapis, what might and strength shall there be in Alexandria that [men] shall carry its name into the world?" Serapis said, "In the same manner, when the city is built, [people] will call it 'the great city,' and the fame of its greatness shall be spoken of in the whole world, and men innumerable shall dwell therein, who shall be famous through thee. Gentle winds too shall minister unto it with the favourable temperature, and the knowledge and craft of its inhabitants shall be renowned throughout the world, for I will build it with cunning, and I will be a helper to it. Storms shall not disturb the sea, neither shall drought nor heat be therein; winter and cold shall not remain therein, neither shall there be in it the mischief and destruction of demons, and there shall be but few earthquakes in it, and they shall not cause much damage therein, for these are caused by the envy of wicked devils. If the armies of all the kings of the earth were to encamp round about it, they would not be able to injure it in any way. It has been decreed that it shall be renowned in the world, and alive or dead, hither shalt thou come, and in the city which thou hast made to be inhabited, thou shalt have thy grave." And again Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, I desire to know what thy real name is." And again Serapis said to him, "First of all consider in thy mind, for if thou art able to comprehend one of a hundred of the powers of heaven, or to speak twenty of their two hundred names, thou art able to understand my name[1]." And when the god had spoken these words to him, Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, tell me this also, where, and when, and by what death I shall die." And the god said to him in a dream, "Man that is born is without anxiety, and honourable, and comely, when the time of his death and the manner thereof are concealed from him; for mankind, though mortal, are wont to think in their minds that they are immortal, and that this world will not be dissolved. But if thou desirest to know by what death

[1] This passage seems to be quite corrupt. The Greek text (Müller, p. 38, col. 1, lines 6—9) is simple enough, turning upon the numerical value of the letters in the name of Σάραπις.

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thou shalt die, know that thy death will be fair and peaceful; thy sickness will be like that of one who drinketh poison; fear not then, for thy death will not be caused by any bodily sickness, and shouldst thou die in thy youth, thou wilt be innocent of a multitude of evils."

And when Alexander had seen all these oracular responses in his dream, he commanded them to call the architects,—that is the chief carpenters,—three skilful and cunning men[1]; one was Sinḳarṭîn of Ârontios[2], another Aryânâos the Egyptian, and another Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn. And he set them over the building of the city, Sinḳarṭîs to lay the foundations, and Aryânâos to measure and plan the streets and squares, and Baryâthmîn (*sic*) to build houses in the city; and Alexander gave them five hundred thousand talents of gold, each talent consisting of four hundred pounds. The length[3] of the city was from the grave of Asîlîs (Osiris) to Barṭînâ, and its breadth from Dânôd to Îḳarsṭra which they call 'by Hermopolis.'

XXXIII.[4] When Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, heard of the building of the city, he sent to him saying thus, "Nay my lord, do not begin to build so great and mighty a city, nor to make people of various countries and tongues to dwell therein; peradventure they may rebel against thy service, and take the city from thee; and again, if [the people of] the city should hold a festival and games, the herald would not be able to make the proclamation in many days; and if all the winged fowl in creation were to be gathered together, and if thou didst store up all the barley meal in thy dominions in one spot, it would not suffice for the nourishment of the people that are in it." And after this message had come to Alexander, great grief took hold of him, and he was anxious and perplexed; and he commanded them to call the Egyptian soothsayers who were skilled in augury, and related to them this message. And when the augurs had heard this message, and had seen that the king was in grief and trouble,

[1] See Müller, p. 33, col. 2, last paragraph.

[2] As Ârontios is almost certainly Ὀλύνθιος, *Sinḳarṭîn* must represent Κράτης or Κράτερος. If so, then *Aryânâos*, or *Arînâos*, *the Egyptian*, is probably = Ἥρων Λιβυκός, and *Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn* = Κλεομένης Ναυκρατίτης.

[3] Compare Müller, p. 32, col. 2; and see also p. 33, col. 2, at the top.

[4] There is nothing like this chapter in the Greek save a few passages in the first paragraph of ch. xxxii.

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they said to him, "O king, begin the building of the city, for it will be great, and renowned, and abounding in revenues, and all the ends of the earth will bring articles of trade to it. Many countries will be fed by it, but it will not be dependent on any country for sustenance; and everything manufactured in it will be esteemed by the rest of the world, and they will carry it to remote lands." And when Alexander had heard this speech from the soothsayers, he gave orders to build the city from Dedaḳnâtos as far as Ḳaiôphâ.

XXXIV. From thence he went into the middle of the country of Egypt, and commanded his troops to await him in Eslôna[1]. And when he had come to Egypt, all the Egyptians, with the priests and prophets of their gods came to him, and glorified him with a loud voice, saying, "Welcome, O Sesonchôsis[2], the youthful god and ruler of the world;" for he went to the city of Memphis, and they seated him upon the throne of Hephaestus[3], and clothed him after the manner of the Egyptians. Then he saw there a statue of a king, which was made of black stone, and he read the letters which were engraved beneath its feet, and the legend ran thus: "The king of Egypt who fled, a mighty man and astute and aged, after a time died, [and] there became king[4] a young man and strong, who shall surpass him in bravery, and shall go round the whole world by his might, and shall bring all mankind into subjection to the Egyptians, and shall give you might and power." Then Alexander asked, "Whose statue is this?" And the prophets said, "Of the last king of Egypt, Nectanebus." Alexander said, "And why are these letters inscribed beneath?" The prophets said, "It is an augury which the great god gave at the time when the Egyptians drew near to seek their king." When he heard this, he went up to the pillar on which the statue stood, and embraced the image with his arms, and kissed it, and answered and said to the Egyptians, "Ye men of Egypt, this is he that begat me,

[1] In the Greek *Tripolis* (see Müller, p. 38, note 1 on ch. xxxiv.).

[2] In the Syriac *Sisniḳos*.

[3] In the Syriac *Esiphasṭos*.

[4] There is evidently some error in the Syriac translation at this place. The Greek text runs (Müller, p. 38, col. 2), Ὁ *φυγὼν βασιλεὺς ἥξει πάλιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ γηράσκων ἀλλὰ νεάζων, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν Πέρσας ὑποτάξει.*

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and this is my father. I am the youth whose father is Nectanebus; and he is concealed, but I am revealed to avenge your cause on your enemies. I am however astonished, how ye have remained and stayed in this country and have not utterly perished by the hands of your enemies, since the wall of your city is so weak, and ye have no fortified place for treasure houses; but I think that your preservation is chiefly due to the many rivers which encompass your territory. Now that tribute which ye were wont to give to Darius, give to me; not that I may put it in my treasury for my own use, but that I may use it for expenses for my city Alexandria, so that ye [really] give it to your protectors." Then they brought him much gold, and a crown of gold, and [other] presents and large gifts, and they took [them] before Alexander, and they went with him as far as Pelusium.

XXXV. Then he commanded his troops to get ready, and he took them and they went to the country of Syria. Then all the country of Syria gave the right hand to him, and came under his rule. And they drew near and came to Tyre. Because the Tyrians had heard from Apollo the augur, "When a mighty king shall march through the plain of Tyre, Tyre shall be taken away from its deep place," the Tyrians of their own accord promptly drew up in battle array against Alexander, and fought with him, and slew many men of Alexander's host, and would not allow them to enter the city. And Alexander was fiercely enraged, and his anger rose, and he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "O my lord Serapis, thou art a god and hast made me a king; shew me now if I shall be able to take Tyre." And when he fell asleep, he saw in his dream the ranks of the singers (or satyrs), who were standing before Dionysus and singing and dancing, and they had garlands of young vine branches with their clusters on their heads; and Dionysus was standing and holding a Tyrian daric in his hand, and he gave it to Alexander; and a cluster of grapes from the garland on the head of Dionysus fell to the ground, and Alexander trod upon it and squeezed out the wine from it. When Alexander awoke, he gave orders to call those skilled in dreams; and when they came and heard the dream from him, they answered and said to him, "O king, it is granted to thee to take the land of Tyre; for the daric which Dionysus

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gave thee represents the country which is going to be delivered over to thee; and those grapes which thou sawest fall from the garland of Dionysus are the people of the city who are to fall and be crushed beneath the feet of thy hosts; and the wine which thou didst see is the blood of the slain which will be shed." Then Alexander commanded to give gifts to those men skilled in dreams, and to assemble the troops, and to fight with the Tyrians. And the Tyrians were conquered, and surrendered[1] to Alexander; and Alexander made a war in Tyre, the fame of which has gone forth into the whole world. And the city and three noble and famous men from three towns were destroyed by Alexander in this contest[2]. The towns were by the side of the city, and according to the name of the three towns he built a city and called its name Tripolis. And Alexander appointed the satrap of Phœnicia to take charge of and guard the country.

XXXVI. Now when the ambassadors of Darius, who had been sent by their lord to Alexander[3], had departed, they spoke of the sagacity and wisdom and astuteness of Alexander. Then Darius asked them, "What manner of person is Alexander?" Then the ambassadors brought forth and shewed him the likeness of Alexander the Macedonian which they had had painted, and when Darius saw the likeness, he gave orders to carry it to Roxana[4] his daughter, and he bade them compare her height with that of the picture. And when he had measured the picture, he took it up and cast it with his hands to a distance, and he thrust out his lips in scorn as one mocks at a young child. But Roxana, the daughter of Darius, took the likeness in secret, and carried it to her bed chamber, and kept it there, and honoured it continually with sweet spices and odours, for from the time that Roxana saw it her love went forth to Alexander.

Now Darius was meditating in what way he could avenge himself on Alexander, first of all, because of his contempt for his ambassadors; and secondly, because, after his father Philip's

[1] Literally, "gave the hand."
[2] This passage is obviously defective and corrupt. See Müller, p. 40, col. 2.
[3] See chap. xxiii.
[4] In the Syriac *Rôshnâḳ* or *Rûshnâḳ*.

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death, Alexander assumed the royal crown of his own will and became king; [and thirdly, because] Alexander had taken his troops and had come to the country of Darius and seized his lands. Then Darius sent to Alexander a whip and a ball and a box full of gold, and wrote him a letter, and gave it to his ambassadors to deliver to Alexander. And while Alexander was marching through the country [of Syria], the ambassadors of Darius met him, and gave him Darius's letter. Then Alexander ordered the letter to be read, and found that there was written therein as follows: "From the king of kings and the kinsman of the gods, who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the son of the stars, Darius the Persian, to Alexander my servant, greeting. I have heard of thee that thou by thy evil destiny hast set thyself to come from thy land to mine and to do mischief. Now we command thee, withdraw and return, and go to thy mother, and sleep in the bosom of thy mother Olympias, for as yet thou art a child, and art in fact not educated; therefore I send thee a whip, wherewith thou mayest train thy youth; and a ball, wherewith thou mayest play with the boys of thine own age, and not meddle with the business of men; and a box full of gold for thy expenses, that thou mayest be able to retire and go back to thine own country, for I have heard of thee that thou art poor and mean and feeble; and therefore I have given orders that the tribute of Philip thy father shall be left with thee. Do thou therefore restrain thyself from worry and folly, and [check] this crowd of robbers which thou hast gathered together and brought with thee, for as the chief of a band of robbers dost thou go round about and disturb our cities. Art thou able to comprehend the number of the stars of heaven? If all the people in the world were to come as allies to thy army, thou wouldst not be able to make an end of and destroy the kingdom of the Persians, for I have tens of thousands of horses and warriors, even as the number of the sand which is upon the shore of the sea. And I have sent thee ten measures of sesame seed, that thou mayest know that I have myriads of troops even as these grains of sesame. I have also gold as [abundant as] the sunlight in the world; therefore I have sent thee a box [full of it], that if thou hast no money for expenses, thou mayest expend this on thyself, and, together with

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the robbers thy companions, mayest be able to return to thy country. Now therefore repent of the things thou hast done, and count thyself an offender; for if thou art not persuaded to do what thou art commanded by me, and in thy disobedience still persistest in this thy contention, we will give orders to send the police after thee to take thee and bring thee to us, for thou art not one of those after whom it is fitting to send [armed] men, but we will send the police against thee and they will fetch thee, not as the son of Philip but as a leader of robbers, and we will crucify thee upon a tree."

XXXVII. And when they had read the letter before Alexander, great terror fell upon all Alexander's troops. And when he saw that the face of his troops was sad because of the words of Darius's letter, he answered and said to his troops, "Ye men of Macedon, ye who are my fellow soldiers, wherefore are your minds troubled by the letter of Darius as if his words were true, or as if he had any power at all? Now this boasting and arrogance that is written in his letter is a mere pretence, and there is no truth in it; for among dogs there are some which are small and feeble, and yet they bark with a loud voice, thinking they may be able to effect something by their loud barks: and in the same manner does Darius act, for in reality he is unable to do anything; therefore he has written these words, that we might imagine them to be true. Do ye however prepare yourselves and be ready, and fight with all your strength, that we may be victorious; and do not do your duty sluggishly and feebly, that we may not be conquered: and now fight bravely, that we may receive the crowns of victory." And when he had spoken these words, Alexander stretched out his hand, and took a handful of the sesame seeds which Darius had sent, and put them into his mouth, and ate some of them, and said, "They are numerous, but they have no taste." And when he had said this, he gave orders to tie the arms of the ambassadors who had brought Darius's letter behind their backs and to crucify them. Then those men were afraid, and by reason of their fear they said to Alexander, "My lord, what offence have we committed? for we whom thou desirest to slay are ambassadors." Alexander said to them, "Blame Darius your master and not me, for he who sent this letter did not send it as to a

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fellow king, but as to a man who is the chief of [a gang of] robbers. Now therefore I am going to slay you as if ye had really come to a robber chief." They said, "My lord, Darius wrote such a letter as this because he did not know who thou wert; but now we see that thou art a prince and hast a mighty army, and that thou art a warrior and a king, and rich in knowledge, and the son of Philip. Show then this act of grace to us, that thy compassion may appear in our persons, so that when we return to Darius, we may there bear witness as to everything that we have seen here." He said to them, "Do not imagine that I have mercy upon you because of the fear through which ye have made supplication to me, and so set you free from death; for I had not originally intended to slay you, but only to let you know the difference between the knowledge of the Greeks and that of the barbarians, how much that of the former is superior to that of the latter. A king does not kill ambassadors."

When Alexander had spoken in this manner, he gave orders to release the ambassadors, and at the time of sitting down to meat he commanded to make them sit down before him. And when they had come in and sat down in his presence, they began to speak before him of the ambushes which he ought to make in his war against Darius, and how it behoved him to make war craftily and to take Darius prisoner. Then Alexander said to them, "Be silent and say nothing to me. Had it not been your purpose to return and go to Darius, I would have listened to your advice; but since ye are going to return to Darius, I do not wish to listen to you, lest, if any contention should arise between one of you and his fellow, and this matter be carried to Darius, he may take away on my account these lives which ye have obtained to-day from me by grace." Then these ambassadors made obeisance to him and applauded him for this speech.

XXXVIII. On the following day Alexander sat down and wrote an answer to Darius as follows: "From Alexander, the son of Philip and of his mother Olympias, to the king of kings, who moves the heavenly hosts, and who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the kinsman of the gods, the son of light, Darius the sun, the god of the Persians. It [must appear] disgraceful

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and bitter to him that hath such greatness and excellence and superiority, who is the counterpart of the gods, and who together with the sun lights and warms the whole world, whose throne is in the firmament with the god Mithras, when he feels that he may be defeated by his servant Alexander, a despicable and contemptible man, and still have to walk in the world beneath the sun and the moon. But do not imagine that any one of the gods is pleased to share his name or his fellowship, or the likeness of his glory, with mortals, or that they will give victory to the mortal man who assumes to himself the name 'divine;' but they will be angry and wroth with him who takes the immortal and incorruptible and unchangeable name, and applies it to one who is mortal and corruptible. And now I regard thee thus, since, because thou art not able to perform the deeds of brave men, thou desirest to call thyself by the name of the gods, and to draw down their heavenly power upon earth by words, and to set it upon thyself. But now I am coming against thee and will enter into war with thee; and I come against thee as against a mortal king, even as I myself am mortal. Now fortune and opportunity and victory are given by the power and command of the heavenly One; I have therefore committed myself to the immortal gods, and entrusted myself to them, and I shall be victorious over thee. Why didst thou then inform us in thy letter of the vast amount of thy gold and silver? For the sake of thy wealth will we fight the more against thee, until all thy possessions become ours. As for thee.........[1] among all nations and peoples, saying, 'So great a king and warrior as this Darius died by the hands of a little Greek boy;' whereas if thou slayest me, it will not be accounted as bravery and as a great triumph, because thou wilt have slain merely a 'robber chief,' according to what thou didst send in writing to me. Thou hast also sent me a whip and a ball and a box of gold. Now though I know that thou hast sent them to me in mockery, yet I have accepted them as a good omen, an augury of victory, and a prophecy of the gods. I have received the whip, and as a chief and the head of kings I will smite and subdue with my weapons all my enemies. As for the round ball, it is a sign that I shall hold the whole world; for the

[1] The Syriac text is corrupt and untranslateable. See Müller, p. 43, col. 1.

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world is round and resembles a sphere exactly. And the box [of gold] which thou hast sent me is a great portent and signifies my subjugation of thee in war, and makes known that thou wilt pay me tribute. And as for the sesame seeds which thou hast sent me, the signification thereof is that thy troops are numerous, but I have seen and tasted them; they are numerous, but they are tasteless, and good for nothing: therefore I have sent thee a bushel of mustard seed, that thou mayest know how the troops of the Macedonians are in comparison with the Persians."

XXXIX. Thus Alexander wrote, and he gave the letter to the ambassadors and sent them away; and likewise the gold which Darius had sent him he gave to the servants of Darius, when they made obeisance before him that they might depart. And when these [ambassadors] had seen the learning and knowledge of Alexander, they turned to go to their lord. And when they had come to Darius their lord, and had given him the letter containing Alexander's reply, Darius commanded it to be read, and he heard also that Alexander had put a handful of the sesame seeds into his mouth and had eaten them. At this Darius was exceedingly angry, and wishing to act in the same manner, he straightway stretched out his hand, and took a handful of the mustard seed, and put it into his mouth and ate some thereof, and said, "They are small, but pungent." And he forthwith gave orders and wrote letters to the satraps of the land, saying thus: "From Darius the king of kings of the Persians to the satraps who dwell in the Taurus, greeting. We have heard a report that that rebel Alexander the son of Philip, an impudent and shameless boy, in his madness and ignorance has come forth from his own land, and is trying to come to our land of Asia and to do mischief. Do ye therefore seize him and bind him, and bring him bound to our gate, but do him no harm. But I command that they beat him with a whip for children, and dress him in purple vestment, and send Persian slaves with him as guardians to take him and carry him to his mother, that she may keep him in training there; and I will give him castanets and dice[1], that he may amuse himself with them after

[1] Or rather, to use an old English word, *tables and dice*, something like our modern draughts.

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the manner of Macedonian children. It is not seemly to make war with him, but it is right to frighten him as a child. Now therefore be ye diligent to seize and bind those robbers that are marching with him, and to throw them into the sea; and take ye their armour and their horses and the possessions which are with them for yourselves, and be ye strong to take [them] and to give to your friends. Farewell."

Now when the satraps had received this letter, they made known their answer to him in writing thus: "From the satraps Gushtâzaph and Sâbânṭâr[1] to Darius, the king of kings and the great god, greeting. Know, O ye gods, that the youth Alexander has come to your country, and is marching through your land exactly like a prince. Now we are making preparations to flee before him, but together with all the other satraps who are in this country we are awaiting your coming. Ye will therefore do well, O ye gods, if ye come hither quickly and take heed unto your country. It is necessary that ye should come with a strong force, and by our joining together, what ye have written to us concerning Alexander will be really accomplished. Know this also, that if ye do not make safe (?) your country, he will take it by force like other countries, and will enslave us."

When Darius had received this answer, he straightway ordered another letter to be written, saying thus: "From the mighty, the king of kings, Darius the god, to Gushtâzaph and Seôṭnâr, and all the other satraps that are in the Taurus, and in the districts beyond the Taurus, and to those who dwell in its vicinity, greeting. Do not think that any good hope [of escape] exists for you or your wives or your children [in flight]; for if ye abandon the country and go to [another] place, your enemies will spoil part of the land. But bethink ye that when Ṭîr[2] came to spoil and to take captive, he brought with him mighty men and warriors, who by their power were able to defeat and conquer fearful lightning flashes, which men ye, being skilful and experienced in war, defeated at that time and

[1] In the Greek Ὑδάσπης καὶ Σπίγχθηρ, in the Latin translation *Hystaspes et Spinther* (Müller, p. 44).

[2] The Syriac translator has missed the meaning of the Greek, having taken θήρ for a proper name, which he has transcribed ܛܝܪ. See Müller, p. 44, col. 2.

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overcame, and took no disgrace to yourselves. And shall ye now be worsted before a little boy, and disgrace yourselves? And if ye do this, what excuse will ye have to offer to us? since none of you will be wounded in the fight, nor smitten in the war, nor pierced by a spear; and what answer [for your conduct] will ye make to us, having disgraced the rule of the Persians? or do ye think, pray, that you will be found of any use?"

XL. After these things Darius heard that Alexander had come to the river which is called Estalraglos[1], and he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which was thus written: "From the great king Darius to Alexander the great and mighty, whose name God has set upon the earth,.........[2] And thou hearest that even the gods hold me in honour, and yet thou hast dared to cross over rivers and mountains and the sea and to come to me; and it was not enough for thee to assume the crown of royalty without my permission, and to acquire a kingdom and dominion in Macedonia, but thou hast also taken men inexperienced in war from every country, and with a mob like a swarm of ants hast thou come to our country to do mischief. It would have been but right for thee before doing these things to have informed us that it was planned by thy evil mind to do them, and then thou mightest have done them; and we, having learnt these things, would have prepared what was requisite for us. Even now however, turn and go, and return to thy country. I have sent thee sesame seeds, that if thou art able to number them, thou mayest know also how many are my troops. Turn back from where thou art and go to thy country, and I will no longer remember against thee this damage which thou hast done."

XLI. Then the ambassadors of Darius took this letter, together with the sesame seeds, and carried it to Alexander. And as soon as he had read the letter of Darius, he again filled his hand with the sesame seeds and put them into his mouth and said, "They are many but tasteless." At that time a report

[1] This name seems to be corrupted from the words προς τω τιναγρω, according to the reading of the Cod. A (see Müller, p. 44).

[2] There is some corruption here in our text. The Syriac words mean "of Darius like this."

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reached Alexander that Olympias his mother was seized with a great and sore sickness. Then he wrote a letter to Darius as follows: "From Alexander to Darius the king. Thou writest many new and artful words to me, and thinkest in thy pride that thou wilt glorify thyself by words, [which is] more than is right and beyond thy capacity. This is a sign of inferiority, and thy shame and disgrace will increase and become more in the world than that of other kings thy equals. Neither imagine this, that I now return because of the words of the letter which thou hast sent me; but the sickness of my mother Olympias compels me to return and to go to Macedonia. But I will make ready to come again against thee. So I retire from thy country in good order and in strength and might, like the blossoms of a tree glorious in its bloom; and I will become firm in thy land, like a vine branch which is cut off from the tree and planted in another spot. But as for these sesame seeds, which thou hast sent me to inform me of the number of thy army, I send thee a little mustard seed that thou mayest know that a little mustard is more pungent than a great deal of sesame."

Then Alexander wrote this letter and gave it, with the mustard, to the ambassadors, and sent them away; and he himself turned to go to Olympias his mother. While he was on the way, a report reached him, that one of Darius's generals was encamped in Arabia, and forthwith he marched against him, and they engaged in battle one with the other, and many men perished on both sides. So great was the number of slain there that even the sun was saddened by the sight of the multitude of dead and of the blood which was shed on the ground, and he shrouded his light as in a cloud, because he too was ashamed of this sight of pitilessness and want of mercy, and was grieved and desired not to look upon such impurity as this[1]. And when they had fought together thus violently for three days, Darius's general was defeated and gave way before Alexander, and fled with his troops and went back to Persia.

Before Darius took in his hand the letter which Alexander had sent, he questioned the ambassadors, saying, "What did Alexander do with the sesame seed which I sent him?" The

[1] Compare Meusel, p. 737, lines 1 and 2; Müller, p. 46, col. 2.

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ambassadors said to him, "He took a handful of it and put it into his mouth; and when he had eaten it, he said, 'They are many but tasteless!'" Then Darius took a handful of the mustard seed and put it into his mouth, and when he had eaten it, he said, "They are small but very pungent." When Eumenes the general heard this speech he said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, my lord the king, for although the army of Alexander is small, yet it is fierce and warlike, for of my army they have slain a multitude, both horse and foot."

Then Alexander gave orders to bury the corpses of the numbers of Macedonians and Persians who had died in this battle, for he did not neglect such a thing as this.

XLII. And when Alexander was ready, with the spoil which he had taken, to go to Achaia[1], there too he captured a number of cities, and others of them he made horsemen and footsoldiers. And he departed from thence and went to the city of Pieria[2], which is in Bebrukia, of which city people say that the Nine Muses (that is, the Sciences) went forth from it. And from thence he came to Phrygia, that is Ilion, and in that place he offered sacrifices to Hector, whom in the Persian tongue they call Sôṭî; and he made offerings to Achilles, and to the river Âlîs, which they call Pôlîs[3], and to the rest of the warriors. He saw the river which they call Eskamlîs (Skamander), into which Achilles leaped, the breadth of which was five cubits. He saw also the river Ôltîs (?), which was not very large, even as Homer wrote of it. And he answered and said to the rivers, "Happy are ye in that ye have found heralds (to proclaim your merits), even Homer himself who has named you in his poem great and glorious! Your deeds however, and the sight of your works, are not so worthy of admiration as the words of him who wrote of you." And when Alexander had made this speech, Krintîmos (?) drew near to Alexander the king of the Athenians and said, "O king Alexander, I too can put in writing this thy bravery and all thy actions in a better manner

[1] This name is evidently corrupt.

[2] In the Syriac *Pilca*.

[3] This clause seems to be corrupt. The Latin translation (Müller, p. 48, col. 1) merely has "atque illic Hectora Achillemque unaque alios heroas divum honore participat."

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than Homer wrote concerning these (rivers), because the might of thy deeds and thy wars is greater than these." Then Alexander said to him, "Would that thy deeds were better than the words which Homer spake concerning them."

XLIII. And Alexander departed thence and came to Macedonia, and when he had entered there he found his mother Olympias recovering from her sickness; and he remained there with her a few days, and departed thence. And after these things he came to Abdêra[1]; and when the people of Abdêra heard it, they shut the gates of their city that Alexander might not enter it. And when Alexander saw this, he was exceedingly angry, and gave orders to set fire to it. And when the inhabitants of the city saw that they were setting their city on fire, they cried out with a loud voice and said to Alexander, "O king Alexander, we have not closed the gates of the city on this account, as if we wished to fight against thee, but we have shut them for this reason, lest when Darius hears of it, he may think we have delivered up the city into thy hands of our own will, and may utterly destroy us out of the world." Then Alexander said to them, "Open the gates according to your former custom; for I am not going to enter your city at present, but at the time when I shall have conquered Darius."

XLIV. And he departed thence, and came to Ḳûsîṭîres and to Nûṭîrâ, to the shore of the river Usṭîn[2], and he saw the lake which they call 'the second death', and the country was a place of cannibals; and a scarcity of food overtook them in that place, and they had nothing to eat and were distressed in their souls therein. Alexander bade them slay the horses which were in the camp, that the horsemen and footsoldiers might eat; and they ate and were satisfied; but they were all grieved about the horses, and were all without horses. Then Alexander said to them, "O my comrades, ye are alive instead of the horses, and in very deed ye are more needed than they. I know that horses are also necessary, but God forbid that ye should die, for of what use would the horses be then? But now our horses being dead and we alive, we shall be able by our strength to

[1] In the Syriac Bâbedlâ or Bâbeldâ.

[2] Probably *the Euxine Sea*, ὁ Εὔξεινος πόντος. The other names are also obviously corrupt.

find a land of food, where we shall also find horses. Horses may be found in many places, but Macedonians cannot be found everywhere." And by these words he persuaded his forces.

XLV. And he departed thence and came to the Locri, whence they obtained food and horses; and they remained there one day. And from thence he came to Aḳranṭîs[1]; and thence he went to the temple of Apollo, and there he begged and entreated of the priest to ask an oracle from Apollo for him. And the priest said to him, "Thou art not permitted to ask an oracle from here." When Alexander heard these words, he was angered and said to the priest, "If thou dost not ask an oracle for me, I will take this tripod of divination and carry it away from here, even as Heracles did to his gods when they did not wish to give him an oracle." Having spoken these words, he straightway took the tripod of divination, which king Ḳrîthîthos [Croesus] of Lydia had made, from its place, and put it upon his shoulders. And when he had taken it, he heard a voice from within the temple which said, "Alexander, if Heracles did any such deed as this, he did it to the gods his equals; but thou art a mortal man. Strive not with the immortal gods, that the gods may be thy helpers and may tell thy power in the world." And when he had heard a voice like this, again another voice from within the temple answered and said: "O Alexander, listen to the oracle of Apollo which I have heard, and hearken and I will speak to thee. Men shall tell of thy power and thy name in the world, and thy name shall last for ever, because thy might and thy deeds will be great and glorious." When Alexander had heard these words, he said, "O Apollo, henceforward I will believe this augury, as I likewise so believed thy father at yon time."

XLVI. And he departed thence and began to march towards Thebes. And when he had drawn nigh and arrived at Thebes, he demanded of them four thousand men to recruit his army. But when they heard this request, they closed the gates of the city, and answered him never a word, but straightway armed themselves and mounted the wall. And four hundred men said from the wall to Alexander, "Come and

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκραγαντινοῦ (Müller, p. 49, col. 2).

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fight, or else depart from our city." When he heard this speech, he laughed, and answered and said, "Men of Thebes, who of your freewill have shut yourselves up, and who now command me saying, 'Either fight or depart from our city,' I am therefore going to fight with you, and by the fortune of Zeus, I will not make war with you as with brave and tried men, but I will fight with you as I would with weak and despicable fellows who are fit for nothing. Therefore shall ye be smitten with the point of the spear, because ye have of your own free will shut yourselves up in a cage. It is fitting to fight with valiant men and warriors in a plain or in a level place; but for effeminate men who live in cages it is good that they should be shut up in chambers and die like young girls." And when he had said this, he commanded a thousand horsemen to ride round the wall, and to shoot arrows at those who stood upon the wall. He likewise commanded two thousand footmen to destroy the foundations of the wall with picks and spades, and the upper part of it with long hooks and iron crowbars[1]. He also commanded four hundred other foot-soldiers to set fire to the gates of the city with burning torches, and other foot-soldiers to let go the battering rams[2] with violence against the wall and to shatter the wall. Now the battering ram is a warlike instrument used for the assault of cities, made of a huge log, the head of which is bound with iron, and fashioned in the shape of a ram's head; and it is fitted and fixed upon a revolving wheel, and men urge it forward with force from a distance, and grasp it and let it go with great violence, and it goes with impetus and strikes the wall or the gate, and wherever it strikes it makes a breach. Meanwhile Alexander with ten thousand men, slingers and casters of javelins[3] was fighting against one of the gates of the city. And when the fire had taken hold of the wall on all sides, and the arrows and missiles from the slings were shaking the wall everywhere, and were shot over the wall into the midst of the city, and fell like

[1] In the Greek *καὶ μακροτάτοις ὄνυξί τε [καὶ] σιδηρίοις μοχλοῖς*. The Syriac words are unknown to me.

[2] Literally "ram's heads."

[3] The Syriac has *casters with the right hand*, but the Greek word is *λογχοβόλων* (Müller, p. 50, col. 2).

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lightnings when they flash from heaven to earth, the people who were wounded with the stones from the slings were many, and within the city and in the houses they were smitten by the arrows and missiles, and died. The city of the Thebans was burning three days and three nights; and on the fourth day, the gate of the city, at which Alexander was fighting, fell down all at once, and Alexander entered the city with a number of men; and when he had entered he commanded to throw open the other gates. And the four thousand horsemen with their horses[1] entered the city, and Alexander commanded them and said to them, "Slay all the people of the city." Now the walls of the city and the houses were broken up by the fire and were falling down. Then the army of the Macedonians made haste to slay the people, as the king had commanded them; and on a sudden much blood was shed in the city. When Alexander saw the great bloodshed and the destruction of the Thebans, he rejoiced in his mind and was glad. As the Macedonians desisted not from slaughter, neither were the blades of their swords sated with blood, and the Thebans, since they had no deliverance nor place of refuge, were perishing [before them], a certain singer who was a Theban by race, a man well trained and wise and of understanding, and who knew the Macedonian language,—this man, when he saw that the whole city of Thebes was on fire, and that every class of people in it were perishing, groaned bitterly like a man who was mourning for his country. Then he took his pipe in his hand and chanted skilfully and cunningly in the Macedonian tongue in strains doleful and sad and full of lamentation, and came before Alexander. Now by that mournful song and lugubrious strain Alexander's anger was a little pacified, and he spake with a loud voice to his forces saying, "Fellow soldiers, this singer knows how to work ill, for that implacable anger [of mine] against the Thebans, behold, he has extinguished."

And when the singer came into the presence of Alexander, he said, "Mighty king, great in power, and rich in knowledge, listen with compassionate heart to the voice of the Thebans thy

[1] The Syriac text has "with their heads" or "chiefs." Considering the Greek text (Müller, p. 51, col. 1), we must read either "with their horses," or "with their arms." The former seems better.

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servants who have rightly received their chastisement, who have not understood that thy power is like unto that of the gods. Now therefore we worship thee as a god, and take thee as a lord, the greatest of the gods. All we Thebans are in thy victorious hands that never yield: let thy mind be pacified and spare us. Know also that the destruction of the Thebans will be an injury to thyself in the first place, because thou too art a Theban and a son of our divine race, and thy serpent's head, which [thou dost inherit] from thy father, is from here; for the country belongs to Zeus. Dionysus, glorious in his being, and beautiful and splendid in his appearance, was born here; and Heracles, the hero of the twelve labours, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, appeared here; and Ammon, clothed with pride and ......his horns[1], was born in Thebes. All these gods are thy fathers and thy progenitors; and when they were born, they were born for the rest and the peace and the joy of men, and their aid and protection were extended over all mankind. Do thou too, therefore, rest from thine anger, and turn again to thy compassion; put away wrath, and draw nigh to gentleness; for thou too art of the race of the gods. Turn not away thy face from this beautiful gate which they call after Dionysus, which is now burning with flames of fire and ready to fall; and do not uproot this place built with oxen (?), for a temple like this [has never been] made in all [the world]. With a kind heart turn thy face [toward us], and look upon thy servants; for behold, small and great are perishing by one blow! Spare this great temple, thou that art of the race of the three gods; despise not the strength of the mighty Heracles, nor the pride of the glorious Ammon, nor the watchfulness of the beloved Dionysus. That these walls are thus rent asunder and falling is a great disgrace to the Macedonians. Knowest thou not, king Alexander, that thou thyself art a Theban, and that Philip was not thy father? Look and spare and compassionate the Thebans thy countrymen, for behold they all entreat thee with supplication, with the gods upon their hands, and they are seized with weeping on account of thee. Look at this Heracles, who for

[1] In the Syriac text the name of "Darius" has taken the place of an adjective referring to the god Ammon and his horns.

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the sake of the peace of mankind wrought twelve wondrous deeds in the world. Do thou also be like him, and turn thy wrath to mercy; and as the rain that waters the ground, do thou too in thy mercy rain down goodness upon them. Please all the gods, and do not ignorantly uproot the city of thy ancestors. Look, O king, and see, for this wall Zêthus the shepherd made, and Amphion who sang to the lyre[1], and they dwelt therein; and in this place Cadmus took Harmonia to wife; and in this place Aphrodite committed adultery with the Thracian. Do not then stupidly and without counsel uproot and destroy this place, founded by all the gods. For Zeus the first (of the gods) slept in this place three nights and begat children here, and then ascended to heaven. This high altar which thou seest is that of Hera, the mother of the gods, and this tripod of divination belonged to Teiresias; and all augury went forth from here. In this place Ardîpos perished by the hands of Phôḳos[2], and this river which thou seest is......[3] and this is the fountain the pipes of which are silver, which the gods gave[4]. This place dense with foliage belongs to Artemis; she came to bathe therein, and the lustful Actaeon appeared to her naked, but he was severely punished by her, because he desired to see what was not lawful. And in this mountain which thou commandest to be destroyed, Artemis followed the chase. Why then dost thou despise in this manner the gods whose offspring thou art? for thou art of the race of Heracles."

While the singer was chanting these verses to Alexander in a lugubrious voice, anger seized on Alexander and he gnashed his teeth, saying, "O thou of evil race, fellow-counsellor and plotter with devils, thou stringest words together to the sound of the pipes, and thinkest that thou wilt be able to lead Alex-

[1] In the Syriac "and Alôros and Olympion."

[2] Both names in this clause are obviously corrupt. The Greek text has *Λέαρχος* and *'Αθάμας* (see Müller, p. 52, col. 1, line 20).

[3] Too corrupt to admit of translation. The corresponding Greek is, *οὗτος ἀπόρρους ἐκ μέσου Κιθαιρῶνος 'Ισμηνός ἐστι βακχεῖον φέρων ὕδωρ* (Müller, *loc. cit.*, l. 26, 27).

[4] Or according to another reading, "and this is the fountain in which the gods placed pipes of silver." The corresponding Greek words (Müller, p. 52, col. 2, line 2) are *αὕτη θεῶν πηγὴ καὶ ἱερὰ κρήνη, ἐξ ἧς ἀναβλύζουσιν ἀργυραὶ νύμφαι.*

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ander astray with words strung together and learned by heart, and knowest not that thou art leading thyself astray and not me. Even if this city be really, as thou sayest it is, the dwellingplace of the gods, thou knowest now that it has been destroyed on account of the baseness of the Thebans. Its temples too have been polluted and defiled, and therefore it is right that I should purify them by fire, because, according to what thou thyself hast said, the city belongs to my ancestors. This too I desire to know; since ye know, as ye yourselves say, who I am and by whom I was begotten, and that I am the offspring of the gods whose temples are here, why did ye come forth with battle and war against your own countryman? It would have been far more fitting, had ye given horsemen and foot-soldiers to aid me, and had ye thought within yourselves saying, 'Alexander is our countryman, and now that he is in difficulties it is good for us that we be his helpers;' it would also have been right for you to have received the Macedonians with kisses and affection as if they were your brethren. But now that ye have contended in war with Alexander, and have made trial of his arms, and have seen that ye are not able to stand before him, ye string words together, saying, 'Alexander is a Theban and our own countryman.' Now therefore I make known to you that ye should not have contended with nor opposed in war one that is your countryman, more especially one who is of the race of the gods, as ye yourselves have said; and on account of this deed ye are all guilty of death; but everyone who up to the present has escaped death I will let live for the sake of the skill of this singer. Go whithersoever ye please, for ye shall no longer have a home in Thebes, and no one shall be allowed to make mention again of the name of Thebes, and whoever shall name its name shall die; for henceforth this name shall no longer be a name, and this city shall be no city." Then he straightway expelled from the country those Thebans who remained alive, and he himself departed with his troops.

XLVII. Those Thebans whom Alexander had expelled from their country went to Apollo at Delphi to divine and to ask an oracle, if a time would come to their country when their city should be rebuilt. Then the Pythia drank of the water of

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the fountain of Castalia, that she might receive an oracle therefrom: and straightway she answered and said to them, "When the three athletes Polynicus, Antimachus [Clitomachus] and Ṭarḳâṭîs (?) hold contest with one another, then will Thebes be rebuilt." When they heard this oracle, they turned and came from thence, and were continually awaiting [the fulfilment of] this augury.

Alexander went to Corinth, and arrived there while the Olympic games of the Corinthians were going on. Then the people of Corinth asked Alexander to become a spectator of the Olympic games with them; and Alexander consented, and went to the place of the contest, and sat with the Corinthians, and distributed crowns and gifts to the athletes who were victorious in the contest. On that same day a man from the city of the Thebans was present at the Olympic games, and he contested bravely in the athletic exercises, and his name was Antimachus [Clitomachus]. Now this man had written down his name and held himself ready to contest with three athletes. And when the man came into the arena, he threw two of them dexterously and skilfully to the ground, at which even Alexander marvelled and applauded him greatly. And when he came to Alexander to receive the crown, Alexander said to him, "If thou art able to throw this third man also, go, first of all take up the contest with him, and then return, and thou shalt receive the three crowns at one time and gifts, and whatsoever favour thou shalt ask of me I will give thee." Now when this athlete took up the third contest, he exhibited in it many tricks of skill in wrestling, and then he threw his adversary to the ground. And when he rose up from off him, and came to receive the crowns, the herald said to him, "What is thy name, and from what city art thou, that I may proclaim concerning thee and may make known thy deeds?" He said to the herald, "My name is Antimachus [Clitomachus] but I have no city." Alexander said to him, "How is it that so brave and expert and trained and skilful a man as thou art, who in one contest hast thrown three athletes, and who art now about to receive from me the crowns of victory, hast no city?" The athlete said, "O illustrious king and doer of good things, formerly, when Alexander was not king, I had a city; but after Alexander became king, he

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destroyed my city and made its name no name." Then Alexander recognised him by his speech to be a Theban, and handed to him the three crowns of victory, and bade the herald proclaim him to be of the city of Thebes, "but", said he, "I command the city to be built anew, because of these three gods who aided him in this contest."

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BOOK II.

I. Again Alexander set out from Corinth and came to Plataeae, a city of the Athenians, where they worship Proserpine[1]; and when he entered the temple of the god he found a priestess weaving purple. And as soon as she saw Alexander she said to him, "King Alexander, it is granted to thee to be renowned and chief among all men." When Alexander heard this speech, he commanded gifts to be given to her. A few days after, he who was ruler in the land went into the temple; and when the priestess saw the ruler, she said to him, "They will now speedily remove thee from this thy rule." The ruler however did not believe her, but he laughed in his anger and said to the priestess, "O woman unworthy of the office of divination, when Alexander entered this place, thou saidst to him, 'Thou wilt be chief and famous among all mankind'; and now when I come thou sayest to me, 'They will remove thee from thy rule.' Now I will make an interpretation of this augury of thine on thyself." So he gave orders and expelled her from her office of priestess, and set another in her place. Then the priestess said to the ruler, "Be not angry at this, for the gods determine beforehand everything that is to be, and indicate it to men in various countries, especially concerning the affairs of governors and rulers and distinguished men. When Alexander entered this place, it fell out that I had just thrown purple upon the garment which I was weaving and had begun to weave; now purple is a well known sign of royalty: but now, when thou didst enter, I was cutting off the garment from the loom, and this is a sign that the end is come to thy work, and that they will remove thee from the rule."

When Alexander heard that the ruler had removed that

[1] The Syriac text has "worship fire," but the word ܠܢܘܪܐ seems to be an error for ܠܩܘܪܐ, i.e. ἡ Κόρη (see Müller, p. 54, col. 1).

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priestess from her office, he commanded that she should be reinstated therein, and he made another ruler in his place. And it was straightway done as Alexander had commanded. But the ruler who was dismissed went to the Athenians, and related to them everything which Alexander had done to him. When the Athenians heard this, they considered it, and it displeased them much, and they reproached Alexander. When Alexander heard this, he wrote a letter to the Athenians, and put in it as follows. "From king Alexander to the Athenians. Since my father died, I have by destiny received the kingdom, and I have subdued most of the nations of the regions of the west, and all of them have received me with good will as king. I have also taken from them troops as auxiliaries to my army, and by their strength I have subdued the country of Europe, and have destroyed from its very foundations the city of the Thebans who of their own will did wickedness. And now I am come to this region of Asia, because I desire to know how ye will receive me. Therefore I have not written a letter of many words to you, but I speak briefly. Ye Athenians, either be brave, or surrender to the brave, and give a thousand talents of gold every year (as tribute)."

II. And when the Athenians had read this letter, they returned answer: "We the ten orators that are in Athens write thus to Alexander. During the time that thy father was alive, we were much afflicted by his living; and when he died, we were very glad at the death of Philip thy father (whose bones ought to be dug up), whom all the Greeks too hated. And now in the same manner we are incensed against thee, that a foolish boy and impudent, wicked and audacious, should demand a thousand talents every year, and under such a pretext should stir up war with us. Now however, if it be that thou really seekest war, come against us thus in battle array, and we shall be ready." When Alexander had read this letter, he wrote another letter to them. "From Alexander to the Athenians. I have sent Prôdîs[1] thither to cut out your tongues and to seize those ten orators who are in your city, and to bring them to me as they deserve; and ye who have not known

[1] Or *Phrôdîs*. The Greek and Latin texts have *Leontas* (Müller, p. 55, col. 2).

how to be persuaded by words will then be persuaded by the blaze of fire and the conflagration, at the time when ye see the demolition and destruction of your city. Now therefore send to us those ten orators, that perchance our thought may be for good and our pity be upon the land."

Again they wrote in reply to him: "We will not send them to thee, neither will we do that thing on account of which thou desirest to make war, namely to give tribute." Now when they were gathered together, Aeschines the orator stood upon his feet, and said to the people of the land: "Men of Athens, what is this delay that ye meditate so upon a thing like this? If ye desire to send us to Alexander, send us; and if not, we ourselves will go to Alexander trustfully. Now Philip was a lover of wars, and his star was given to battles and contests; but Alexander was trained by the hands of Aristotle, and he was at school with us. And we are confident that when we go to Alexander, he will be ashamed before us who are his teachers and fellow-learners, and his furious disposition will turn to love."

And when Aeschines had spoken thus, Dêmâtheos [Demades], a young orator stood upon his feet and said: "How long, O Aeschines, wilt thou send forth from thy mouth such timid and alarming words, (saying,) 'Let us not fight with Alexander.' What is this demon of timidity that has power over thee, that thou speakest such words to the people of Athens, and givest them such counsel? Dost thou desire by such counsel as this to make enmity between us and the king of the Persians on account of this silly and proud boy, who has adopted the impudence and insolence of his father, and now wishes to intimidate the Athenians? and even thou wishest to cast terror upon them now. Why pray should we fear to fight with Alexander? We who have chased away the Persians, we who have conquered the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians, we who in battle have put to flight the Phocians, we who have routed the Zacynthians, shall we be concerned because of this boy Alexander? As to what Aeschines has said, that when Alexander sees his teachers, he will be ashamed before them, and will turn away his wrath, and his disposition will become loving towards us as towards his friends,—he has disgraced us all; he has turned out and removed one who was a ruler in our land

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and has put in his place another who is our enemy." And the youthful orator went on: "Aeschines has said, 'When he sees us, he will be ashamed before us,' but he wishes in this way to deliver us naked into his hands. Let us fight," said he to them, "with that headstrong Alexander, for the disposition of the young is ever set upon pride, and their strength loves battle. Some will say, 'Alexander destroyed the Tyrians'; but they do not know that the Tyrians were fit for naught. Others will say, 'Alexander rased the city of the Thebans'; but they do not know that the Thebans were worn out and exhausted by continual battles and wars, wherefore Alexander prevailed over them. Others again will say, 'He led captive the Peloponnesians'; but this was not because of bravery, but owing to a scarcity of food and a famine in their land. Now I remember the mighty Xerxes[1] who essayed the sea with boats and ships and galleys, and covered the dry land with his horsemen, and darkened the brightness of the atmosphere with the sheen of his weapons, and filled the land of the Persians with Greek [slaves]. If then we turned back from here so great a prince and warrior as Xerxes, and broke his boats and ships on the sea, and drove away his horsemen from the land,—I do not mean we who are here present, but Ḳûdḳânôr and Antiphon and Mîsîchîs and Ḳeryâdklîs[2] and the rest of the mighty Athenian warriors who were among us at that time,—shall we now be afraid to make war with this impudent boy Alexander? If however ye wish to send us to Alexander, we are willing to go and die. But we tell you that words are our weapons, and that we are not different from dogs which have merely voice; and ye know that very often the sound of the barking of ten dogs is sufficient to deliver a flock of timid sheep from the claws of the wolves."

III. And when Demades had spoken all these words in the assembly, the Athenians rose and begged of Demosthenes that he would stand up and give counsel beneficial to the commonwealth. Then Demosthenes stood upon his feet and made a sign with his hand to the assembly to be silent. And when

[1] In the Syriac *Khusrô* or *Chosroes*.

[2] These names are evidently very corrupt: in Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 57) we find Cynaegirus, Antiphon, and Mnesochares or Mnesicharmus.

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they were silent, he said to them: "Fellow citizens,—I do not call you Athenians, because I myself am an Athenian and not a stranger,—ye know that our lives are the life of the commonwealth and that our death in the same way (is its death). Therefore it becomes us with great deliberation to give the advice which will give life to the commonwealth. For this reason too it is necessary for us to conquer. If we are able to fight with Alexander, let us fight; but if we are not able, let us submit to him. Now Aeschines, who has made a speech, has spoken to you craftily; he did not say (to the people) to fight with Alexander, neither did he say not to fight. He is a very aged man, and has given many good and fitting counsels in many assemblies. On the other hand, Demades is a young and inexperienced man, and therefore he has said, 'O Athenians, we —(to wit) Antiphon, and Krintmâkhos, and Ḳandnâḳîr, and Amnismâkhos, and Ḳardânâkêlos,—[1] turned back Xerxes the mighty king and the rest of those vast crowds and many kings.' But the people of the Athenians of whom thou hast made mention, who were famed of old for their prowess, O Demades, we have not with us now; those mighty warriors whose names thou hast called to mind as having been of old with us in Athens, that we might fight against Alexander trusting in their strength. But as they are long dead, and we have no other warriors in Athens like unto them, I do not wish that we should fight with Alexander, for every time has its own strength. We orators then, our strength and our weapons are words, but in power to fight we are weak. O Demades, what thou didst say, thou saidst rightly. During the time that he was king, the mighty Xerxes was defeated in many battles; but Alexander has carried on thirteen wars and has not been defeated in one of them, on the contrary he has seized many countries without any fighting and has captured famous cities. Demades has said, 'The Tyrians are of no use in battle; and the Thebans, who were never before defeated in battle, were weary and worn out and exhausted, and therefore they were defeated; the Peloponnesians were defeated on account of the scarcity and famine, and not by the hands of Alexander.' He heard that

[1] These are the same names that appeared above, with the addition of Krintmâkhos = Klitomachus.

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there was a famine in their land, and he, who was ready to go against them in war, sent them clothes and food from Macedonia; and when the general Antigonus saw Alexander (doing thus), he said to him, 'Dost thou send clothing and food to people with whom thou wishest to make war?' Alexander said, 'It is much better that I should fight with them and subdue them than that we should fight with them in a starving condition and utterly destroy them.' Now as regards this ruler in whose stead Alexander commanded another to be put, why are ye angry? He is a king, and that ruler wished to withstand him. If ye judge the case rightly, ye will all be grateful to Alexander in this matter, and will be angry with the ruler, because he is a (mere) ruler, and when he removed a priestess and prophetess of the gods, Alexander restored her to her place."

IV. And when Demosthenes had spoken such words as these, and had given the people of the country this advice in this speech, he received much praise from the Amphictyons and was applauded in a variety of ways. Demades stood silent, while Aeschines applauded; Lysias agreed with Demosthenes, and Plato said, "This is my opinion too." Dadnadḳînôs said, "I too am persuaded by this advice;" and Herlîṭâ said, "Let it not be otherwise[1];" while to the rest of the people of the country what Demosthenes had said appeared good.

And again Demosthenes said: "As Demades said, king Xerxes filled the land of the Persians with Greek captives; and he praised and applauded Xerxes, who turned the Greek captives into slaves for the Persians. And now he wants to make war with Alexander, who is a Greek, and wishes to bring the Persians into subjection to the Greeks. Demades in his speech praised him that is an enemy, and wishes to make an enemy of him that is a friend and fellow countryman. Consider this too, ye Athenians: no king has ever carried war into Egypt, except Alexander the son of Philip alone, and even he, when he went, did not go with the object of making war, but to consult the oracle, in what place it was granted to him to build a city after his name, from which his name should never be

[1] The Syriac translator has taken ܕܕܢܕܩܝܢܘܣ and ܗܪܠܝܛܐ to be names of single persons, but the Greek text has *οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες* for the former and *οἱ Ἡρακλέες* (?) for the latter.

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forgotten. He received the oracle, and built the city, and completely finished it; and [it is] the [Alexandria] which is in the country of Egypt that was under the Persians[1]. [The Egyptians] entreated him that they might be with his army as auxiliaries against the Persians. Then Alexander, filled with wisdom, made answer to them, saying, "It is far better for you, ye Egyptians, to remain dwelling in your own country by the banks of the Nile, and to till your land by its overflowings, than to put on the weapons of Arês and to march far away to war. So the Egyptians came under Alexander's rule, and he built a city in the land of Egypt and gave it to the Greeks. It is for this reason that, when the army of the Macedonians is under service and engaged in fighting, the Egyptians supply it with clothing and corn. In this manner he made Egypt subject to the Greeks, and brought men of all nations to it and made them dwell therein. Just as that land is abundant in crops and tillage, in the same way that city too is become very populous, and they pay large taxes and tribute to the Greeks. If then the Egyptians, who are loved by the Greeks, have taken upon themselves to give tribute to Alexander the Greek, and have counted him to be their lord, why do ye, who are Greeks, wish to be enemies of Alexander and fight with him? Go forth then to fight with Alexander; but Fortune is his slave[2]."

V. And when Demosthenes had spoken these words, the Athenians were unanimously convinced, and they sent to Alexander a golden crown of victory weighing fifty pounds, together with a letter of thanks and gratitude and praise. They wrote down too therein the speech and opinion of each man upon this matter, and sent them to him. And they chose the oldest and best known men from among the Athenians and sent them on an embassy to him, but the ten orators they did not send to him. Then the ambassadors went to Alexander at Plataeae and laid the crown and the letter before him. When Alexander had read this letter and had heard the counsel of Aeschines and the teaching of Demosthenes and the bold words of Demades and the consenting of the people and the praise of the Amphictyons, Alexander composed another letter to them

[1] The Syriac text is evidently defective in this passage.

[2] Literally, "time has given him the hand (of submission)."

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and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander the son of Philip and Olympias to the Athenians. I will not write to you as king until I make all cities subject to the Greeks; but I write to you to send me the ten orators; not that I am going to do them any harm, but that I may salute them as masters and teachers. It is no plan of mine to come against you with weapons and troops, lest ye should count me an enemy; but I think of coming to you with those ten orators, instead of with nobles and princes, and of setting you free from many anxious thoughts and cares. Ye however think otherwise, because ye know your own minds and thoughts, and are aware that ye are guilty in regard to us. At the time when the Scythians[1] fought with the Macedonians, ye were auxiliaries to the Scythians; but when the Corinthians made war with you, the Macedonians assisted you and delivered you from the hands of the Corinthians. We erected a statue of Athene in Macedonia, while ye have swept away from its place the statue of my mother which stood in the temple of Athene in your city. Do ye think that this recompense is just which ye have made unto us? because ye remember all these things, therefore ye are in trouble, saying, 'Alexander will seek revenge upon us.' And because your own minds and thoughts and the deeds which are done by your hands are perverse and crafty continually, therefore ye expect the same behaviour from others. Moreover ye have not left a single man of the glorious and honoured men that are among you whom ye have not despised and ill treated. Ye confined in prison Euclid; and ye cruelly oppressed Ṭirmastênîs (?)[2], who was the counsellor of right measures, who went to king Cyrus as an ambassador on your behalf. Did ye not disgrace Alcibiades, who was a good general over you. Did ye not also slay Socrates, who was a herald in Hellas? Philip my father too, who assisted you in three wars, ye treated ungratefully. And now ye blame Alexander, who took vengeance for you upon a ruler who had removed your priestess of the goddess Athene, whereas I reinstated her and dismissed the doer of the deed and

[1] Read, as in the Greek text (Müller, p. 60, col. 1), *Zacynthians*.

[2] AE *Ṭirmastenis*, BCD *Ṭirmtênis*. The single MS. of the Greek text has Ἱπποσθένης, but the Latin translation gives, *Demosthenes*, which Müller follows (p. 60, col. 2).

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set up another in his stead. I have read the letter which ye sent me, and by the speeches made the counsel given in your assemblies I have learned of your disturbance. Now Aeschines gave you good advice, and Demades courageously and bravely invited you to war, and Demosthenes gave you excellent counsel. Now then let the Athenians be brave, and let them have no fear of me, and let them fight for freedom; for it would be a disgraceful thing that, while I am fighting for your freedom, ye should not be fighting for yourselves. At present however I require nothing from you, until I conquer Darius."

VI.[1] Then Alexander departed from thence and went to Macedonia [Lacedemonia]. And he came to the border of Persia and encamped by the river Tigris. And Alexander went on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. And the Persians came and informed king Darius; and when they had spoken, and Darius had seen Alexander, he bowed himself down and did reverence to Alexander, for he imagined him to be the god Mithras, who had descended (from heaven) and had come to assist the Persians, for his aspect resembled that of the gods; for the crown of gold that was fastened on his head resembled the rays (of the sun), and the robe which he had on was woven with fine gold, and the pieces of armour which were upon his arms were wrought with fair silver, and his sandals were of gold, and his belt was made of pearls and emeralds[2]. And Darius was standing and examining his apparel, and ten thousand horsemen, who formed his body guard, were standing near him, Then Darius asked Alexander, "Who art thou?" Alexander said, "I am the ambassador of Alexander and I have brought a message from him to thee. Thus he says: 'Thou hast delayed to make war on me, and the Macedonians say that because the heart of Darius is timid in battle, therefore he is reluctant (?) to fight.' Now therefore, do not delay but send word to me when thou desirest to come to battle." Then Darius said

[1] The first sentence of this chapter corresponds with the first sentence of Chap. VI. in Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac text passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[2] In the Greek text it is Alexander who well nigh bows down before Darius, and the subsequent description is that of the Persian king.

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to him, "Peradventure thou thyself art Alexander, and not an ambassador"? for Alexander spoke very boldly, and not gently like an ambassador. Darius said to him, "I am not frightened at thy words. Do thou now, according to the custom of ambassadors, partake of a meal with me, for so did Alexander treat my ambassador." Then Darius reclined upon his couch, and his nobles and princes sat at meat before him[1]. The first was Darius, the second Bar-nôrag his brother, the third Vashingî, the fourth Dôzyâg, the fifth Bâmar, the sixth Zâdmihr, the seventh Vârdâr, the eighth Ḳnî'ar[2], the ninth.........the king of the barbarians, the tenth Prôdîs the chief of the host, the eleventh Prîyôz the general, the twelfth Rĕbîthmâs; and opposite Darius, in the middle, sat Alexander who was the ambassador.

VII.[3] And all the people were wondering at him because he was small in stature, but his words were very keen. And when they had eaten, they called for wine in a jar. Every golden cup which they passed to Alexander, he poured the wine upon the ground and placed the vessel in his bosom; when they saw what he was doing, they told Darius; and Darius, when he heard it, rose from his couch, and came to Alexander and said to him, "O doer of valiant deeds, why dost thou act in this manner, putting all the drinking cups in thy bosom?" Alexander said, "When my master Alexander makes a feast for his nobles, he gives all the golden drinking cups to them, and I thought that thou wouldst act in the same way; but now, since thou hast not a similar custom, behold the drinking-cups are before thee, command and I will restore thy gold to thee." Then Darius said, "I too command that they leave thy gold to thee." Meanwhile all the Persians were looking at Alexander and marvelling, because his words were mighty and full of knowledge. When then a certain lord, whose name was Pûsâk [Pasargês], who had once been sent by Darius to Macedonia, on an embassy to Philip, Alexander's father, had carefully scrutinised

[1] Compare the text of Codex A in Müller, p. 69, note 23.

[2] This name *Ḳnî'ar* is no doubt corrupt; and instead of the name of the king of the barbarians we have the Syriac words *wa-m'ṣa'thâ*, meaning "and the middle."

[3] Chap. XV. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 70).

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Alexander, he recognised him, and said to Darius in the Persian language, "O doer of good things, king Darius, give orders that they guard this ambassador most carefully, for he himself is Alexander, and I recognise him by his appearance and know that it is he." When Darius and his nobles and princes heard this, they began to speak with one another, and to watch Alexander closely. Then Alexander perceived this, and rose up from the banquetting hall, and sprang towards the king's gate, with all the vessels of gold, which he had in his bosom; and at the king's gate he found a sentinel, holding in his hand a flaming torch of cedar-wood, and he slew him and took it from him. And he mounted a horse and dug his heels into its flanks, at the same time holding the blazing torch of cedar-wood before its eyes; and the horse by the light of the fire galloped furiously down the road and came to the bank of a river. Then messengers went out after him in haste, but the greater part of them fell into pits and holes because of the darkness of the night. Now Alexander by the might of the gods crossed the river, but when he had reached the other side and the fore feet of the horse rested on dry land, the water which had been frozen over suddenly melted, and the hind legs of the horse went down into the river. Alexander however leaped from the horse to land, and the horse was drowned in the river. When the messengers came to the bank of the river and saw that Alexander had crossed over, while they were unable to pass over after him, they marvelled and said one to another, "Great is Alexander's luck, which has given him a passage over so great a river and he has been able to cross it." And when they returned, they came to Darius and informed him of Alexander's escape and of his crossing the river. Darius was in great trouble, and a sign suddenly appeared to him; for the picture of king Xerxes, whom Darius loved, was painted on the wall of the banqueting room, and suddenly it peeled off from the wall and fell to the ground under the very eyes of Darius. After Alexander had crossed the river, he rested from his running and from his toil, and getting on his feet, he walked on; and in the darkness of the night he saw Âmôrôs [Eumêlus] the general standing by himself, in great trouble because of Alexander and

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weeping. Then Alexander told Âmôrôs all the things which had befallen him.

VIII. And then he took him and went to the army, and commanded the whole army to be gathered to one place, and he himself stood in the midst of them. And when he saw that his army was despised in the sight of Darius, he said to himself, "O heavenly Zeus, give victory to this small band of Macedonians;" and when he had counted them, the army of Macedonians consisted of a hundred and thirty thousand, besides the rest of the peoples that were with him; and they were all skilful and brave. Then Alexander went up to a high place and said to his troops: "My fellow-soldiers and friends, I know that our army is small, but it is not right for us to be afraid on this account, for one man of us through his bravery is better than a hundred of them. The bees that make honey are very numerous, and whithersoever they fly they darken the air by their flight, but when a little smoke comes near them, they all flee away and are dispersed. Now the army of Darius is like nothing but a swarm of bees; therefore fear them not." And when Alexander had spoken thus to his troops, he inspired them with courage and stirred them up and incited them to fight.

IX. And he departed from thence and came to the river Eṣtraḳînôs [Strangas]. Then Darius encouraged his troops, saying, "Fear not, though ye be very few in number;" and Darius was troubled on account of the smallness of his army. And when he found that the river was frozen, he crossed the river and commanded the heralds to cry with a loud voice and to invite the Macedonians to battle. Now the troops of the Persian phalanx were without number and were prepared for war with weapons of all sorts and with chariots and with long scythes. Then Alexander clad in armour came at the head of the Macedonians, and he was riding upon the horse called Bucephalus, which no man dared to approach, for the power of the gods was upon him. Then from the camps of both sides the horns and trumpets sounded the fearful blasts of war, and the two armies closed with one another. And from the second to the fifth hour the fight was so fierce that the whole river side and the valley and the

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ravines were filled with the corpses and blood of the slain. Now although such was the case, the troops of the Greeks did not turn their faces from the fight. And when Darius saw that a great number of the mighty men of his army were dead, and that the Macedonians did not turn their faces from the battle, fear fell upon his heart, and he turned the reins of the horses of his chariot, and the whole host of warriors turned back after him. Then Alexander's foot soldiers armed with long scythes pursued them and mowed them down like corn in the field. And Darius being vanquished came to a certain river, and finding it frozen, he himself crossed over it in his chariot; but when the army of Darius came to the bank of the river, the troops began to cross over it, and suddenly the ice of the river melted under them, and the army was drowned in the river, and those that remained upon the other side of the river were slaughtered by the Macedonians. Then Darius went into his palace, and threw himself upon his face on the ground, and began to weep for the army of the country, for all the warriors of the country were dead and had perished, and for the land which had been emptied of its mighty men; and he began to say: "Woe is me, which of the stars is it that has destroyed the kingdom of the Persians? I, Darius, who subdued many lands and cities and nations, and reduced a multitude of islands and towns to slavery, have now entered my palace in flight and discomfiture. I who with the sun traversed the world—but in brief, it is not right for a man to rely upon his destiny, for if his luck turn and there be an opportunity, it lifts up and exalts the most despised of men and seats him above the clouds, while it brings down the lofty from his height and casts him into the depths." And when he had said this, he rose up from his palace and collected his thoughts, and composed a letter to Alexander and wrote to him thus: "From Darius the king to my lord Alexander. Know first of all that thou art born a man; and I will give thee this token that even thou mayest not meditate anything too great for thee. Because even the mighty Xerxes, who shewed me the light,—he whom the Greeks so loved, as thou must have heard[1],—meditated something too high for him, and

[1] The Syriac text appears to be corrupt in this passage.

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afterwards, having given his mind to greediness, he who lacked nothing, neither gold nor pearls, nor precious stones nor statues of brass, when his good luck left him, returned from Hellas defeated. And now, call thou these things to mind, and be gracious to us and have mercy upon us, for we have now fled to thee for refuge. Behold now my mother and my wife and my daughter, those who have been given to me by the gods as a joy from the god of gods; they were famed and honoured throughout the whole world; do thou take them as thy slaves. And I will shew thee the treasures which my ancestors laid up from the beginning upon the earth. And I will entreat the gods that henceforth thou mayest be master over the Palhâyê [Parthians], and the Persians, and the rest of the nations of the world, all the days of thy life; because Zeus hath exalted thee. Farewell."

And when Alexander had read this letter, he gave orders to assemble the troops that they might consider the matter together. And when they were gathered together, Plîmthiôn [Parmeniôn] the general said: "O king, if we receive the treasures and possessions and land which have been wrested from us, we must deliver up to him his mother and wife and daughter. But Darius ought to have sent this message before the battle. I know this, if he had been victor in this struggle, he would not only have asked for his mother and wife and daughter, but would have taken away our land from us. And know, O king, that Darius offended us first and took our land from us; and now it is right and just and lawful if we avenge ourselves on Darius, who seized a land which did not belong to him, and has held it until now. We know also, O king, that thou camest forth from thy country to seek thine own dominions. Had he restored to us our land, thou, O king, would'st never have come hither." Then Alexander said, "The matter is exactly as thou hast said," and he straightway gave orders to attend to those who had been smitten and wounded in the battle, and to bury the dead. He bade them also to offer sacrifices to the gods of the land, and to burn the palace of Xerxes, the like of which for beauty and magnificence existed not in the whole country; but after a short time Alexander repented and gave orders to extinguish the fire in the palace of Xerxes.

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X. And he saw there many graves of the Persians with vessels of gold and cups of silver in which wine was mingled. He saw also the grave of king Pâḳôr, which was built with stones and lime in the form of a tower and had no roof, and there was a large chamber made in it, and over the chamber was an upper room; and in that upper room was a golden coffin, in which was laid the body of king Cyrus (Kôresh), and a slab of crystal was cast so as to fit it exactly, and the hair and the body of Cyrus were seen through the crystal. Now in this tower certain Greek artisans[1] were imprisoned, some with their hands or ears cut off, and some with their noses slit, and their feet were bound with fetters. When the Macedonians had gone to that building, those who were imprisoned therein cried out in the Greek tongue to Alexander, "Have mercy upon us, and take pity on thy servants and thy countrymen." And when Alexander saw that their limbs were mutilated and their appearance was horrible, he let the tears fall from his eyes and was very grieved for them, and bade them to be loosed from their fetters. He gave orders too that a thousand zûzê[2] should be given to each one of them with meat and food, and that they should return to their own country. But after they had received the zûzê from the king, they begged as a favour that land and water might be given them, and that they might not return to their own country, lest, by reason of the defects of their bodies, they should become a reproach and a disgrace to their brethren. Then Alexander ordered that the best and most excellent of land and water should be given to them, and that to each man should be given six working oxen together with other property.

XI. After these things Darius made ready for war, and he wrote a letter to Porus, the king of the Indians. "From Darius the king of kings to Porus the king of the Indians, greeting. I have written letters to thee before, asking for assistance in the ruin of my house, because the savageness and fury of this evil beast, which is come against me, do not, as it seems to me, resemble man's; it casts itself into the sea, and loves battle by water, and does not wish to give back to me my mother and my wife and my daughter, neither does he desire to make peace

[1] The Greek text has "certain Greeks, Athenians" (Müller, p. 75, col. 1).
[2] *Zûzâ* is the equivalent of the Arabic *dirham*, δραχμή.

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with me in any way whatsoever. Therefore I have no resource but of necessity am bound to fight with him. Now thus will I do; either I will take his country from him, or I myself will no longer go about among the living in this world. Have pity then upon me at this time, and avenge me that am despised. Remember too the mutual love and friendship, and confidence which existed between our fathers, and give orders to gather together troops from every place and bring them with thee to the Caspian gates, which are called Vîrôphhâgâr; and I will give to every single man of those who come to my assistance every month three horses and six darics and corn and straw and hay and whatever food he requires; and to thee will I give the half of whatever spoil and booty they make. I will give to thee too the horse called Bucephalus upon which Alexander rides; and I will give thee the royal lands together with his royal palace and one hundred and seventy concubines with their ornaments and trinkets and clothing." Then the report (of this) reached Alexander, and he straightway armed his troops and set out from thence, and went forth to the country of the Parthians. And when Darius heard that Alexander was come from the place which was called Beṭmĕthâ[1], he arose and wished to flee before Alexander; and when Alexander heard this, he pursued after him quickly.

XII. And when he was come nigh, the nobles of Darius acted treacherously, and Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh[2], Darius's generals wished to slay him that they might receive gifts from Alexander, as from a man whose enemy they had slain. Then with drawn swords they rushed upon Darius, and Darius knew their treachery and answered and said to them: "My lords, who aforetime were my servants, in what have I offended you that ye wish to slay me? Do not do to me anything worse than what the Macedonians have done to me, and let not your hands be against me like those of Alexander. See too that I am perpetually in tears and in great trouble; my fortune is evil and treacherous. Peradventure, if ye slay me, and Alexander comes

[1] The Greek text has Ἤκουσε δὲ Δαρεῖον εἶναι ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, with the var. ἐν Βατάνοις, Lat., *in Bathanis*.

[2] The Greek equivalents are ὁ Βῆσσος καὶ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης (Müller, p. 76, col. 2).

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and finds a king slain by the treachery of his troops, he will take fierce vengeance upon you; for it is not right that a king should see a fellow king treacherously slain by his troops and should overlook it and not avenge his cause. When Darius had spoken these words, Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stabbed him with their swords, driving them right through his back, and Darius fell to the ground. When the army of the Macedonians came up, Alexander commanded them to halt, and he went up to Darius alone. And when Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh saw Alexander at a distance, they left Darius their lord half dead, and fled, that they might see how pleased Alexander would be by reason of the death of Darius. But when Alexander came up to Darius, and saw that he had been mercilessly stabbed and was lying on the ground, he let fall tears from his eyes upon Darius, and spread over Darius the purple garment with which he was clothed, and sat down by him, and laid his hand upon the breast of Darius, and said to Darius sorrowfully: "Rise up, Darius: be lord again over thy land, and take the royal crown of the Persians, and be again renowned for greatness. I swear an oath by all the gods that I say this in sincerity and do not speak falsely; I will restore and give to thee alone the crown and kingship, because I ate salt at thy table when I came to thee as a spy. And now stand up and play the man; for it does not become a king to be in trouble because his luck turns away from him for a little while. We are all men, and are yoked to fate, and as fate wills so it exalts us. Arise now, and play the man, and take thy country, and henceforth thou shalt have no trouble or sorrow through me. Say then now, who these are that stabbed thee, and I will take vengeance for thee upon them."

When Alexander had spoken all these words, Darius heaved sighs and let fall tears from his eyes, and took Alexander's hand from his breast and brought it to his mouth and kissed it, and said to him: "My son Alexander, never let thy mind be lifted up by vainglorious arrogance; for thou doest and performest and orderest all deeds and works and orderings like the gods, and thou mayest imagine in thy mind that thy hands have reached heaven. Then it will be necessary for thee to fear what may happen in the hereafter. Because of this it is certain to me

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that fate is known neither to the king nor to the meanest among men, and that the final destiny of men is hidden and concealed from all. Look now what I was, and what I am: I who proudly subdued and captured countries and lords and many kings of the earth trembled at me; and now I am cast away like the lowest of all men. And of all the host of my generals and officers and ambassadors, not one is near me now to close my eyes, except these hands of thine, O king, doer of good things. Let the Macedonians and Persians sit in mourning for me, and let the two armies become one, and let the seed of Philip and Darius be one. And as for Ariôdocht [Îrândokht][1] my mother, regard her now as if thou thyself wert born of her, and consider my wife as thy sister, and take my daughter Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] for thy wife, that the seed of Darius and of Philip may be mingled in her." Then Alexander brought his hand to the face of Darius, who said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit[2];" and straightway his soul departed.

XIII. Then Alexander gave orders to wash the body of Darius, and to array him in royal apparel, and that all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies should march in full armour before Darius; and he together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.

When the Persians saw these things, they applauded Alexander's care for Darius; and their minds were led away by love for him. And when Alexander had buried Darius with honour and had returned from the grave, the whole army of the Persians submitted to him. Then Alexander ordered a proclamation to be written to the rest of the people in the land of Persia as follows: "From Alexander the king, whose father is the god Ammon and whose mother is the queen Olympias, to all the Persians that dwell in the cities and towns of the land of Persia, greeting. I desire that all men should live and not die an evil death; and now God has made me master of the country

[1] See Chap. XIV. near the beginning.

[2] Literally, "in thy hands I leave my spirit." These words seem to contain a reminiscence of S. Luke's Gospel, ch. xxiii. 46, and so betray the Christian translator. The Greek text (Müller, p. 78, col. 1) is *ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου.*

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of Persia, and has exalted me over you. Let the lords, the nobles of your country, who served of old in the army of Darius, come now and march with me in my army, even as they formerly marched with Darius. Let them not accept any other master in their thoughts save me, Alexander. And I will give orders that every single man of you shall retain his own religion and gods and laws, and shall keep his festivals and his sacrifices, and no one shall be allowed to do anything to you by violence. Every one shall rejoice in his own possessions, save the gold and silver which we command to be gathered together and to be conveyed to our city to be coined into money and into dînârs bearing my image; and we order that, if zûzê or darics be found with you, even though our own money be struck, they shall be left there with you. Let all the lords [satraps] and generals, together with the rest of the people who are fit for war, come to help my army. Nation shall not be mingled with nation, neither shall one man go from his own land to another, except those who travel for the sake of merchandise, and even of these not more than ten or twenty shall be allowed to go. Till the land and dwell in it in prosperity as in the days of Darius the king; for we desire that prosperity and abundance should be in your land. Whosoever of you desires to go to Hellas to trade and to come back from Hellas to the land of Persia, shall be allowed to go and to come. And I command the lords [satraps] and all the inhabitants that are on this road from the bank of the Euphrates to Hellas to divide and measure the road in equal portions, to pave it with stones and lime, to set up mile stones, and to write directions at the turnings of the roads, that every man may know by the writings whither the road goes, and may not have trouble and be compelled to ask questions on the road. And we command that what Darius gave every year, year by year, to the temple of the ministers of the gods for the salvation of his soul, shall now be given each year where it is due, from the crops and taxes of the land, for the salvation of his soul. And let them make a feast and offerings every year on his birthday as they do upon the birthday of king Cyrus. And we command that damsels, the daughters of free men, virgins whom men have not known, shall enter into the temple of the god whom my mother Olympias worships, for

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the space of one year for the service of the gods; and when they have arrived at the age for marriage, they shall go forth from the ministry, and shall receive a dowry of five thousand dînârs from the treasury of the god, and shall marry. And we command that all youths and men who are in the country of the Persians shall train themselves continually in warlike exercises and arms until we come to them and select from them those that please us. And if there be any one now who is well trained in horsemanship and arms, weapons shall be given him out of the armoury of the king, and a war horse, and a beaker of gold worth twelve dînârs, each weighing eight *mithkâls*, and five cups of silver, each of them holding what a man can take at a draught, and one suit of Persian raiment, and a belt of gold; and he shall be sent to the army. And if there be any one of them who is trained in war and who has made himself a famous name, there shall be given to him a Persian crown of gold, and a suit of white raiment, and two cups of gold, and one hundred darics, and seventy staters; and his likeness shall be painted and shall be sent to the temple of the god of Alexander. We command too that the priests of the gods shall be held in honour by all men, and they shall set a crown of gold upon their heads, and shall wear purple clothing, especially on festival days. We desire also that ye shall bring before the priests any dispute which ye may have one with another, and they shall decide it, and terminate the matter for them with moderation."

After Alexander had composed this writing, he turned and looked upon the hosts of the Macedonians and Persians with a sad face, and he made known to them and said, "He whom I have removed from his kingdom was a great and mighty king, but he was not my lord, neither did I slay him. Now the men who slew him are those whom I know not, and it befits me to give them great gifts, and high posts, and honours, and lands, and many men, because they have slain mine enemy." When Alexander had made this speech, every Persian regarded his fellow, and the colour in their faces was changed by reason of fear, and one said to another, "Alexander is trying to search out our minds, wishing to know who it is that slew Darius." And again he said to them: "I am Alexander.

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Him that slew mine enemy I seek to honour, whether he be Macedonian or Persian; let him come and fear not; for I swear by the gods, and by the life of my mother Olympias, that I will make renowned and great him that slew Darius, and I will exalt him over my troops." When Alexander had sworn this oath, the Persian host began to weep. Then the evildoers Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh came near to Alexander of their own free will and answered and said to him, "O king, doer of good things, it is we who slew Darius." When Alexander heard this, he commanded that they should be bound, and should be carried to the grave of Darius, and impaled upon a lofty stake. Then these evildoers said to him with a loud voice, "Our lord, the oath which thou hast sworn by all the gods and by the life of Olympias thy mother is false." Then Alexander said: "I spoke not this word of persuasion for your sakes, but for the sake of the armies who stand listening, because I was unable to bring you into the way of justice in any other manner than this. Had I not done so, I should have appeared to be rejoicing in the death of Darius, the more so as I accounted him an enemy. But my supplication and entreaty to the gods was this, that I might be enabled to destroy him that slew Darius; for how can a man who was not true to his lord, but who slew his lord audaciously and unmercifully, be true to us? See then, we do not lie with respect to the oath which we have sworn; for now, just as I sware to you, I will make you a spectacle and a marvel to the whole camp, and I will lift you up on stakes." So he straightway commanded them to be led away and impaled upon high stakes. Then all the hosts of the Persians applauded Alexander.

XIV. After a few days Alexander wrote a letter to the mother and wife of Darius as follows. "From king Alexander to Îrândokht and Esṭĕhar[1] [Statira] greeting. At the time when king Darius opposed us with hostility, we sought to avenge ourselves according to the will of God. Although we

[1] So the name is pointed in Syriac, but the letter ܗ should rather be taken as the equivalent of a Greek vowel. If we write ܐܣܛܗܪ, we have an adequate representation of the form Στάτερα, more commonly Στάτειρα (or Στατεíρα, MSS. Στατῆρα), for ܗ is constantly = ε.

sought the victory over Darius, we did not desire his death. On the contrary, our desire was that he might live and be under our dominion. We found him however stabbed by the hand of his troops and lying upon the ground, with very little life left in him. I was very grieved for him, and because of my sorrow I threw over him the purple robe with which I was clothed, and covered him. And I asked him, 'Who is he that slew thee?' But when he had begun to give me instructions concerning his mother and his wife and Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] his daughter, his life departed from him, and he was unable to speak to me concerning other matters. We therefore sought out the evildoers by stratagem, and found them, and slew them as they deserved. We ordered the body of Darius to be buried and to be guarded honourably and fittingly. And we commanded a new grave to be made beside the grave of his father, and his body to be embalmed with spices, and to be laid in the grave. And now we bid you keep yourselves from sorrow and grief, for we will re-establish you in your royalty; therefore remain where ye are, until we have arranged the matters which require arrangement. We command also that Rôshnâḳ the daughter of Darius be our consort; therefore do reverence to Rôshnâḳ as to the wife of Alexander." Then they made answer to him and wrote to him as follows: "From Îrândokht and Esṭĕhar to king Alexander greeting. We make supplication to the heavenly gods, the gods whom Olympias your mother worships, the gods who have bowed down the crown of Darius and brought it to the ground, and have taken the supremacy and dominion from the Persians, that they may make you lord of the world for ever and aye, and that they may exalt you and magnify you in words and in knowledge and in power above all nations. We know that we shall live happily under your wings; and we wish that we may find your luck to be good, and the days of your life without number, because you have not treated us as enemies are wont to treat their captive enemies when they fall into their hands. We have therefore no anxiety in our minds, for in seeing you we see Darius; and from henceforth we will write that all the people that are in the land shall make supplication and prayer to

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the gods that you may rule the land and the world for ever and aye, and may your dominion be like that of Hormizd [Ahuramazda]. Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] greets you with reverence because it has pleased you that she should be your consort; and we shall be very joyful on the day that we see your marriage feast, and Zeus gives you Rôshnâḳ to wife." And they wrote another proclamation to all the hosts of the Persians, as follows: "Do not suppose that Darius is dead, for Darius is alive, because the kingdom belongs to Alexander, and Rôshnâḳ, the daughter of Darius, is the wife of Alexander. Therefore take ye all the gods that are in Persia, and go to meet Alexander, and honour him as a god, and pray to the gods on his behalf that his dominion may be for ever and aye; for the kingdom of the Persians belongs to Alexander, and he has exalted it greatly." When Alexander had read this writing, he said: "These words are strange and useless; I do not seek that men should honour me as they do the gods, for I am a mortal man, and I am afraid of anything like this, for there is a heavy penalty for a man when he goes beyond his proper limit. I applaud you and praise your knowledge, for when I made trial of your wisdom it pleased me; and I wrote a letter to Olympias my mother and begged of her the favour that she would come to my marriage feast, if it so pleased her."

On this account......[1] Alexander wrote a letter to Rôshnâḳ as follows: "From Alexander to Rôshnâḳ my sister greeting. I send thee clothes and other ornaments for thine own self, and to Írândokht the mother of Darius, and Esṭĕhar [Statira] his wife, for themselves. Accept then and keep for thyself these clothes and ornaments. First of all be pleasing to the gods; then pay due reverence to Irândokht and Esṭĕhar, and hold them in honour; and fear thou the command of Olympias my mother, and do not exalt thyself beyond measure. If thou doest these things, both I and thou shall be praised exceedingly and all the gods be well pleased with us." Then Alexander took Rôshnâḳ to wife[2].

[1] The meaning of the words ܟܢ ܕܢܝܐ (if correctly written) is not known to me. We should expect some epithet applicable to Alexander, as *φρενήρης* and the like.

[2] The remainder of Book II. (see Müller, p. 82) is wanting in the Syriac translation as well as in the Latin.

BOOK III.

I. And Alexander heard that Porus the king of the Indians had prepared troops and was wishing to come to the assistance of Darius, but when he heard that Darius was dead, he returned to his own land. And Alexander with all his hosts offered up sacrifices; then taking his army and troops, he went against Porus the king of the Indians. Now when he had gone round about and had marched for many days through a desert and torrents and terrible places and many rivers, all the chiefs of the army were worn out and said among themselves, "We have fought a great deal, we have had enough of war, and there is no need for us to fight any longer. We rightfully fought with Darius, for he imposed tribute upon us, and used to required impost and poll-tax from us every year, and we therefore destroyed Darius as was meet. But now this war is unnecessary, because we are marching against the Indians, who never at any time made war with the Greeks, through this fearfully desert country, being weary and fatigued and worn out with toil. Alexander is brave and a lover of wars, and he wishes to seize all foreign countries; but why should we, who have toiled all this time and are worn out with many battles, go about with him?" And when Alexander heard these things, he commanded that all his forces should be assembled, and he gave orders for the Persian army to stand by itself, and for the Greek and Macedonian armies to stand by themselves. And Alexander said to them with a loud voice: "To you I speak, ye Macedonians and Greeks, my fellow soldiers and auxiliaries. Ye know that the Persian troops are now in my hands, and are neither enemies of mine nor yours. If ye give me orders and it pleases you that I should go by myself, I will go by myself; but I will speak now to you and call to your mind that I by myself was victor in the

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previous wars; and henceforth, with whomsoever I choose to fight, I by myself will be victor. In the war with Darius ye were encouraged by my knowledge and my thoughts, because ye did not understand the customs of the Persians neither did ye know their skill. I stood at your head, and it was I who first went to Darius, and I escaped from the hands of Darius, from the river Gûsh[1] and from my other straits. Turn now and go to Macedonia, and guide yourselves wisely if ye are able, for there is no enemy in your way. If I hear that ye have been able to guide yourselves and to arrive safely in Macedonia, I shall know and believe and be convinced that bravery is yours." And when he had spoken these words, all the hosts of the Greeks and Macedonians fell upon their faces and entreated Alexander, saying, "Be reconciled to us, and put away anger from thy heart, and forgive us this folly, and we will be with thee unto the end."

II. Now after a few days Alexander arrived with his troops at a flourishing district in the territory of the Indians. And at that time the letter carriers of Porus the king of the Indians came to him, and brought a letter from Porus to Alexander, in which was written as follows: "From Porus the great king of the Indians to Alexander. I have heard of thee, that thou doest damage in countries and cities, but what art thou able to do to the gods and how canst thou fight against them? Fate came to Darius king of the Persians; thou didst hurl thyself against him, and so thou thinkest that just as thou didst become strong and didst lift thyself up against Darius, so thou art able to exalt thyself against others. But I am he that has never been conquered; I am not only king of men but of the gods also; and the proof (I give) to thee is this, that the god Dionysus returned defeated by the hands of the Indians. I do not now advise thee, but I command thee to go quickly to Hellas thy country, for thou art not able to intimidate me by the war which thou didst carry on with Darius and with the other nations through whose feebleness thou hast become exalted; and so thou thinkest that thou art a mighty man and more exalted than king Porus, the

[1] See Book II., chap. 7.

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lord of gods and men. Turn now, go back, and depart to thy country Hellas. If we had wanted Hellas, we would have taken it before king Xerxes. But because it is a wretched place and has nothing worthy of a king, we have scorned and despised it and have not subdued it. Therefore I say to thee, every man desires to acquire whatever is good and excellent, and never desires what is hateful. So now for the third time I say to thee, turn and go back, for thou art not able to do anything, therefore do not covet."

Then Alexander commanded that this letter should be read before his troops, and he said to them: "My fellow soldiers, let not your minds be afraid because of these words of king Porus which he has written to me in his letter. Be mindful too of those words which Darius used to write to me. Verily I say unto you that the barbarians and dwellers in all these regions are all as stupid and as ignorant as the wild beasts that live in their country. Leopards and lions and elephants and panthers are over confident by reason of the strength of their bodies, and it is well known that they can be easily captured by the knowledge of man with stratagems and artifices. In the same way the kings who dwell in these regions, and all the barbarians, are proud by reason of the number of their troops, but they will be easily defeated by the knowledge of the Greeks."

When Alexander had spoken to the troops in this manner, he encouraged them mightily and he made answer to Porus by letter as follows: "From Alexander to Porus, the king of the Indians, greeting. The minds of all the troops that are with me have been made proud by these words which thou hast written to me, and their desire has been made the more ready for war by what thou hast said, that there is nothing beautiful and noble to be found in Hellas. By thy saying too that the desire and longing of each man goes after what is beautiful, by reason of this saying I and my forces now long to do battle and to make war with thee. Thou hast by thy words greatly encouraged us against thee, for we Greeks are poor, and there is nothing costly in our land, while ye Indians are rich and what is costly abounds in your land. And now our mind and longing and desire are set upon the fair things

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which are to be found in your land, and we will fight with all our heart until we take that which belongs to you. Thou didst also write that thou art king of gods and men, and thou hast exalted thyself above the gods; but I am going to contend in war with thee as with a warrior, and I am not going to do battle with thee as with the gods; for all the weapons in the world are unable to contend against the gods, and how can mortal man contend with Him, before the cold of whose winters and the crashes of whose lightnings and thunders the world is unable to stand? And just as thou art not afraid (of me) by reason of the war which I carried on with Darius and with other nations, even so I am not afraid of these perverse words which thou hast written to me."

III. After Porus had seen this letter, he commanded the whole army to be assembled, and a number of elephants to be brought to the conflict, and mighty wild beasts with them. And when the Macedonians and Persians drew near and came to the ranks of Porus, they saw and trembled, for they observed that the ranks were formed of wild beasts and not of men; and even Alexander himself was afraid, because he was accustomed to fight with men and not with wild beasts. Then he sat down and reflected in his mind, and gave orders to bring such brazen images as could be found among his troops. And when the images were collected, which were in the form of men and quadrupeds,—now they were about twenty-four thousand in number—he ordered a smith's furnace to be set up; and they brought much wood and set fire to it, and heated those images in the fire, and the images became glowing coals of fire. Then they took hold of them with iron tongs, and placed them upon iron chariots, and led the chariots before the ranks of the warriors; and Alexander commanded horns and trumpets to be sounded. When the wild beasts that were in the ranks of the king of the Indians heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed upon the ranks of Alexander's army; and since the brazen images which were full of fire were in the van, they laid hold of them with their mouths and lips, and burnt their mouths and their lips. Some of them died (on the spot), and some of them retired beaten and fled away to the camp of the king of the Indians. The wise Alexander, having

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turned back the wild beasts by this artifice, began to fight with the Indians themselves. Now the battle by day time was very fierce, and the Persian troops prevailed over the Indians in fighting on horseback and with bows and arrows, and many men died on both sides. The horse which was called Bucephalus, upon which Alexander rode, by the sorcery of Porus threw Alexander off his back. Then by reason of this Alexander was in great tribulation, and he went on foot, holding and leading with his hand the horse which was called Bull-head, for he thought, "Peradventure he may fall into the hand of the enemies." And the troops of Alexander did battle with the Indians continually for twenty days, and they were weary and sore enfeebled, and because of their fatigue they wished to surrender to the Indians.

IV. When Alexander perceived that his forces were desirous of doing this, he commanded them to cease [fighting]. He then drew near to the van, and cried with a loud voice to Porus and said to him: "O Porus, king of the Indians, there is neither renown nor glory when a king destroys his troops; but if thou art now willing, let the troops rest, and I and thou alone will fight together." When Porus heard this speech, he rejoiced and agreed with him to do so, saying, "I will fight with thee alone;" for he saw that Alexander was very small in stature, while he himself was very tall. Now Porus was five cubits high, and Alexander three cubits. Then Alexander commanded his troops to stand in order, and Porus also commanded his troops to do likewise. The two came to the contest on foot; and when they had approached one another, there was suddenly a confusion and a great noise in the ranks of the Indians; and Porus was alarmed and turned round and looked upon his forces. When Alexander saw that Porus had turned round and was looking behind him, he ran at him and stabbed him under the shoulders and drove the weapon out beneath his navel and slew him. When the Indians saw that Porus was slain, they came to fight. Then Alexander said to the troops of the Indians, "Ye wretched Indians, your king is dead, and will ye fight?" The troops of the Indians answered and said to him, "We are fighting that we may not become captives." Then Alexander said to them: "Return to your city and do

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not fight, because I will leave you free and will impose no tax upon you; for I know that the offence was not of you, but of Porus." Now Alexander said this because he saw that his own troops were few and he was not able to meet in battle the legions of the Indians. Then Alexander commanded the body of Porus to be buried honourably, and he made ready to go to another place, which was called Raṭnîrôn, that he might fight with them, for he heard that they were sages and naked and that they dwelt in huts and holes of the earth.

V. When these people heard that Alexander was come, they sent certain sages that were among them to Alexander with their letter. And when he saw their letter, he found written therein as follows. "From the Brahmans, the naked sages [gymnosophists], to the man Alexander greeting. We write to thee thus: if thou desirest to come in order to make war with us, thou wilt gain nothing at all from us, for we have no property at all that can be taken away from us by war; and if thou desirest to take away that which we have, thou canst [only] take it away by entreaty, for our property is knowledge, and knowledge cannot be taken away by war; but even this thou art not capable of learning, for the heavenly will distributed and gave to thee war, and to us knowledge."

When Alexander had read this letter, he went to them peaceably, and he saw that they were all naked, and that they dwelt under booths and in caves, and that their wives and children went about the plain like sheep.

VI. Then Alexander asked one of them, "Have ye no graves here?" The Brahman said, "The place where we live is our house, and it is also our grave; here then we lie down, and bury our bodies continually in it, that our training and our teaching may be in this world and that the term of our life in yonder world may be for ever and aye." And he asked another Brahman, "Which men are the more numerous, those that are dead or those that are alive?" The Brahman said, "Those that are dead are the more numerous, for those who will hereafter come are not to be counted among those who are now alive; and you must know of yourself what innumerable myriads have died through thee and these few legions that are with thee." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the

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mightier, death or life?" The Brahman said, "Life; for when the sun rises and becomes warm like life, he covers over the feebleness of night by the beams of his radiance, and becomes strong. So also they who are dead are fallen beneath the darkness of death; but when life rises upon them like the sun, they will again come to life." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the older, the earth or the sea?" The Brahman said, "The earth, for the sea too is placed upon the earth." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the most wicked of all living things?" The Brahman said, "Man." Alexander said, "Tell me how so." The Brahman said, "Ask thyself how many beings go about with thee, that thou mayest wrest the lands and countries of other living beings, thy fellow creatures, from their owners, and hold them thyself alone." Alexander was not enraged at this speech, for he wished to hear. He asked another Brahman, "What is kingdom?" The Brahman said, "Greed and brief power, and arrogance, and the insolence of wicked doings." He asked another Brahman, "Which existed first, night or day?" The Brahman said, "Night; for a child is first of all created in darkness in the womb of his mother, and then when he is brought forth, he sees the light." He asked another Brahman, "Who is he whom we cannot deceive by lying?" The Brahman said, "He to whom all secrets are revealed." He asked another Brahman, "Which limbs are the better, those on the left side or those on the right." The Brahman said, "Those on the left; for the sun shines on the left side; and a woman suckles her child first from the left breast; and when we sacrifice to God, we make our offering to him with the left hand; and kings hold the sceptre of their kingdom in their left hand." And when Alexander had asked this question, he said to them, "Whatsoever ye desire ask of me all of you at once, and I will give it you." The Brahmans said, "We ask of thee immortality." Alexander said, "I am not master over immortality, because I am mortal." The Brahmans said, "Since thou art mortal, why dost thou make all these wars and battles? When thou hast seized the whole world, whither wouldst thou carry it? for since thou art mortal, it will remain with others." Alexander said, "All these things happen by the providence and the will of heaven, and we wait on the heavenly

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command; for just as the waves of the sea are not lifted up unless the wind blows upon them, nor do the trees shake when there is no wind, so neither are men able to do anything without a command from above. I very much desire to rest from wars, but......[1]. If all men were of one mind and one will, the whole world would be a wilderness and without cultivation; no man would sail on the sea in ships, neither would any cultivate the earth, and there would be no generation of children. How many unlucky men are there, who have got mixed up with these wars which I have carried on, and whose possessions have perished from them! And on the other hand, how many lucky men have there chanced to be, who have become enriched by the possessions of others! Every one of us then who plunders something from another leaves it again to some one else, and we depart naked and empty." When Alexander had spoken these words, he turned away from the Brahmans, and he was much fatigued and worn out by the journey, for the country through which he was marching was pathless, and no one had ever marched through it before.

VII.[2] Then Alexander composed a letter to Aristotle his master concerning everything that had happened to him, and he wrote to him thus: "From Alexander to our master Aristotle greeting. I desire, O my teacher, to write and inform thee of what has happened to me in this land of the Indians. When then we had drawn near to the place (called) Prasiakê, which, as they say, is the great city of the Indians and at a distance from the shores of the Great Sea[3], we saw figures of men; and when we came close up to the spot, we saw men feeding upon the shores of the sea, and their faces were like those of horses, and they lived upon fish. And when we had called aloud to some of them, for we wished to enquire of them concerning that

[1] Some words have been accidentally omitted, corresponding to the Greek ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷ με ὁ τῆς γνώμης μου δεσπότης (Müller, p. 101, col. 2).

[2] This is chapter xvii. cf the Greek text (Müller, p. 120, col. 2). Parts of it have been edited in Syriac by the late Professor Roediger of Halle in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, 2nd ed., pp. 112—120; and considerable portions have been translated by the late Dr J. Perkins in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. IV., p. 394 sqq.

[3] Just the reverse of the Latin translation, which has *mari imminet subjacenti* (Müller, p. 120, col. 2).

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place, we perceived that their speech was barbarian. And we saw in the midst of the sea something of which they said that it was the grave of the ancients and very old, and that there was much gold in it[1]. And I desired much to go in a boat to the island, but those barbarians suddenly hid their boats, and did not leave more than twelve. Then I gave orders to seize those twelve boats, and I was going to embark in them and go to the island, but my dear friend Philôn, and Hephaestiôn, and Karṭîl [Craterus], and other friends, would not allow me to embark in a boat and go to the island. Philôn said to me, 'Bid me go in a boat first and cross over to the island; and if (which God forbid) there be anything evil, I shall die before thee; and if it be otherwise, I will come back and do thou also pass over; for if Philôn perishes, Alexander can find many friends like Philôn, but if (which God forbid) Alexander were to perish, his like could not be found in the whole world.' Then I gave way and bade them embark in the boats and go over to the island; and when they had embarked in the boats and had drawn near the island, the thing turned out to be an animal and not an island at all; and it sank and vanished suddenly in the sea, and my friend Philôn disappeared in the vortex of the waters and perished; and I was in great trouble and deep affliction. Then I ordered those barbarians to be seized, but they fled away and hid themselves. And we remained where we were for eight days. And we saw a wild beast like an elephant, but its body was much larger than an elephant's; and when we saw it, we ran at it with our weapons, but it suddenly fled away from our sight. And when we saw this, we came from thence to Prasiakê disheartened and in sorrow. And since we have traversed a number of the countries of the world, and have seen many wonderful sights, I thought that I would write and inform thee, O my teacher; for I have seen beasts of all kinds and shapes, and wonderful sights, and marvels, and various and divers species of reptiles; but the most wonderful thing of all was this, that I saw the failing of the sun and of the moon, which takes place in its appearance, which is in winter and

[1] See Book II. ch. xxxv. in Müller's ed., p. 87, col. 2.

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from time to time[1]; and so I thought it necessary for me to write to thee about each one of these things.

Now when I had slain Darius and had taken his country and had traversed it, I found therein a number of treasuries, and there was much gold therein, ingots and cups of gold for mixed wine, which were set with gems of various sorts; some of them held ninety measures of wine, and some fifty measures; and there were goods of various kinds.

And we began our march from the Caspian gates unto the border of the Indians; and we heard that that country was a desert and a wilderness, and that wild beasts and snakes and other kinds of evil reptiles were abundant therein. And I commanded the trumpeters to sound at the tenth hour of the day, and to beat the drums; and from the tenth hour [of the day] to the third hour of the night the phalanx was marching, and so we went on the whole night. When it was day and the sun had spread abroad his rays, I commanded the trumpeters to sound, and the whole phalanx to encamp until the third hour of the day; and I commanded the horsemen and foot soldiers to wear shoes and greaves and breastplates and armpieces of raw hide on account of the evil reptiles of that country, for no man was able to walk about without such clothing, lest perchance he himself should become the cause of his own death. Having marched along so strange a road as this for twelve days, we drew near to a city which was situated between rivers; and we commanded a ditch to be made along the banks of that river. We saw in that river a reed the height of which was thirty[2] cubits, and its thickness as that of a garland which a man puts on his head. The whole city was overshadowed by these reeds; and when we observed the city, it was not built upon the ground, but upon the reeds. We found in that river a boat, and when we had embarked therein, we went and observed, and it was exactly as we had seen at a distance. When we tasted the water of the river, it was more bitter than bitter herbs; and I was very much annoyed when I observed its

[1] The meaning of this sentence is not clear. See Müller, p. 121, col. 1, at the foot.

[2] The Greek text (Müller, p. 121, col. 2) has "four cubits," Δ being an error for Λ.

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bitterness, for I did not find sweet water in that place. My ditch was dug along the bank of the river for two miles; and some of my fellow soldiers, thirty and six in number, scornfully cast off the skin garments from their backs, and wished to bathe in the river. When they had gone down to the water, a number of reptiles rose up against them, and seized those men, and dragged them into the river, and killed them in the water. When I saw these things, I crossed over again to the other side of the river. And when I saw the innumerable reptiles, I was in every way afflicted and distressed, and I departed from that place. And I commanded the horns to sound [a halt] from the sixth hour of the day until the eleventh. I saw too that the foot-soldiers and horsemen were drinking their own urine because of thirst.

Now when we had departed thence, another obstacle fell in our way, for we drew near to a lake, and we found therein every species of animal and reptile. When we tasted those waters, we perceived that they were sweeter than honey, and we were very glad. And when the phalanx halted and went on foot towards the lake, they saw upon its shore a pillar with an inscription which ran thus: 'I Sîusînîḳôs [Sesonchosis], the ruler of the world, have caused this lake to be made for the watering of those who live on and travel by sea.' When the night drew nigh, I ordered a couch to be prepared and a fire to be lighted around it, and I commanded that each horseman and foot-soldier should likewise light a fire by the side of his head. When I lay down upon my couch, the moon rose soon after,—it was about the third hour of the night,—and wild beasts of various kinds came forth from the jungle and came to the lake. Out of the earth too and from the sand white and red scorpions issued, each of which was a cubit long. And in the midst of the phalanx there sprang up snakes with horns on their heads, some red and some white, and they bit and killed a number of the men, and there was a great outcry and weeping heard from within the camp. We saw a lion that came to drink water, and he was larger than the oxen that are in our country; and we saw beasts with horns on their noses, and they were larger than elephants. We saw also wild boars that were larger than the lion, and the tusks of each of which

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were a cubit long; we saw too wolves and leopards and panthers and beasts with scorpions' tails, and elephants, and wild bulls, and ox-elephants, and men with six hands apiece; and we saw men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. And we were afflicted in our soul and were in grief. Then I commanded my troops to put on every man his skin clothing, to take his weapons in his hand together with wood and fire, and all to go in a body to the jungle and set it on fire. When we had done this, a great number of reptiles hastened of their own free will to the fire, some of which were burnt therein, and some were slain by the hands of my troops and perished. Of the wild beasts we slew some and others fled away. After the moon had set and it was dark, an animal which was bigger in its body than an elephant and which they call *Mashkĕlath*[1] in the language of the country, came into the ditch and wished to spring upon us, but I straightway called out to my troops to take courage and stand ready. Now the longing and desire of the animal was to enter the ditch and to kill men, and suddenly it rushed into the ditch and killed twenty-six men, and amid loud noises and struggles it too perished by the hands of my troops; and after it was dead, we with three hundred men dragged it with great toil from the ditch and lifted it out. And we looked amid the darkness and saw reptiles which they call night-foxes, the length of which was from six to eight cubits. We saw also water crocodiles, the length of each of which was twelve cubits; and we saw bats which were as big as eagles, and their teeth were like those of men. We saw likewise night-ravens, the beaks and claws and talons of which were like those of eagles, and they sat around the lake, and did not harm human beings, neither did they come near the fire. My troops killed a great number of them, and when it was day they all hid themselves.

And we departed from thence and came to a wood[2], and

[1] The *mashkĕlath* is the *odontotyrannus* of the Latin translation (Müller, p. 123, col. 1). The same creature is mentioned in the Greek text of Book III. ch. x. (Müller, p. 105) as a huge amphibious animal, big enough to swallow an elephant whole, which renders the crossing of the river Ganges very unsafe. This description seems to point to the *alligator*, and it is just possible that ܡܫܟܠܬ may be a corruption of *makara*, in Hindustânî *magar*.

[2] See Book II. ch. xxxii., about the middle (Müller, p. 86, col. 1).

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in that wood there were trees bearing fruit, and their fruit was very luscious; and within the wood there were wild men, whose faces resembled ravens, and they held missiles in their hands, and their clothing was of skins. When they saw us, they cast missiles at my troops and slew some of them; and I commanded my troops to shout and to charge them at full speed; and when we had done this, we slew six hundred and thirty-three of them, and they slew of my horsemen one hundred and sixty-seven. And I ordered the bodies of those that were dead to be taken up and to be carried to their own country. We remained in that place three days and fed upon the fruit of the trees, because we had no other food.

And we departed thence and came to a river in which there was a copious spring of water; and I gave orders to encamp there that my troops might have a little rest. At the ninth hour of the day, behold a creature half beast half man[1], which in its body was (like) a wild boar reared upright; and it was not at all afraid of us. I commanded my troops to catch it, and when they drew near to it, it was not at all afraid and did not run away from them. Then I ordered a naked woman to go towards it, that we might easily seize it; but when the woman went up to it, the beast took hold of the woman and rent her, and began to devour her. When we saw this, we went against it at full speed, and smote it and killed it. Then we departed from the country of the beast-men, for there was a countless number of men like this in it, and we slew myriads of them, because we all stood ready with arms. And I gave orders to cut down all their wood and to set it on fire, and we burnt them together with their wood.

And we departed thence and arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted; and when they saw us, they began to throw stones, and they threw accurately and aimed at us. When I saw that they slew some of my troops, I ran at them alone with my sword drawn, and by great good luck I stabbed the chief of those people with twisted feet. The rest were afraid, and ran away, and hid themselves under the rocks in various places; and there were some among them with asses' legs.

[1] Compare Book II. ch. xxxiii. (Müller, p. 86, col. 2).

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We set out again from thence and came to another place where there were men with lion's heads and scaly tails[1].

From thence we set out again and came to a river[2]. And upon the bank of the river there was a tree, which grew and increased from dawn until the sixth hour, and from the sixth hour until evening it diminished in height until there was nothing to be seen of it. Its smell was very pleasant, and I gave orders to gather some of its leaves and fruit, when suddenly an evil wind burst forth upon my troops and distressed them pitilessly; and we heard the sound of violent blows, and swellings and weals appeared upon the back of my troops; and after this we heard a voice from heaven like the sound of thunder which spake thus: 'Let no man cut ought from this tree, neither let him approach it, for if ye approach it, all your troops will die.' And there were birds too which were like partridges. And I commanded that they should not cut ought from that tree, nor kill any of the birds. There were also stones in that river, the colour of which when in the water was deep black, but when we brought them out, they were quite white, and when we threw them in again, their colour (again) became deep black.

And from thence we set out and halted by a spring. And when we had marched through a desolate wilderness[3], we arrived at the ocean which goes round the whole world. And while we were going along the shores of the sea, I commanded the phalanx to encamp; and I heard the voice of men [speaking] in the Greek tongue, but I did not see them, nor did we see anything else in the sea except something like an island, which was not very far from us. Then a certain number of my troops desired to go to that island by swimming; and when they had stripped off their clothing and plunged into the sea, beasts in the form of men, but whose bodies were very large, came up from the deep and seized twenty of my soldiers, and plunged down into the depths.

Then we departed thence through fear, and came to a

[1] The word here rendered "scaly" literally means "an oyster" or "oyster shell."

[2] Compare Book II. ch. xxxvi. (Müller, p. 88, col. 2).

[3] See Book II. ch. xxxviii. (Müller, p. 89, col. 1).

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certain place. And the people who were in that place had no head at all, but they had eyes and a mouth in their breasts, and they spoke like men, and used to gather mushrooms from the ground and eat them. Now each mushroom weighed twenty pounds. And those men were like children in their minds, and in their way of life they were very simple.

And from thence we set out and came to a certain place which was waste; and in the midst of that place there was a bird sitting upon a tree without leaves and without fruit, and it had upon its head something like the rays of the sun, and they called the bird the 'palm bird' (phoenix).

Then we set out from thence and came to a place amid groves of trees which were large, and in these woods there were wild beasts like the wild asses of our own country. Each of them was fifteen cubits in length, and as they were not dangerous, my troops killed a number of them and ate them.

Then we marched on our road sixty-five days, and arrived at a place which they call Obarkia (?). And on the seventh day we saw two birds[1], the bodies of which were very large, and their faces were like the face of a man; and suddenly one of them said in the Greek language, 'O Alexander, thou art treading the land of the gods;' and again it said to me in the same language, 'Alexander, the victory over Darius and the subjection of king Porus are enough for thee.' And when we had heard such words as these, we turned and came back from the country of the Obarkĕnâyê (?).

Then I gave orders to set out from this place, and we came thence to the foot of a certain mountain. This mountain was very high, and a temple had been built on the top of it, the height of which was a hundred cubits. When I saw this, I marvelled greatly. It was girt round with a chain of gold, and the weight of the chain was three hundred pounds. I gave orders to open the door of the temple that I might go in with my troops[2]. When we went in, we found in it two thousand five hundred steps of sapphire, and we saw inside a very large chamber the windows around which were of gold, and in them

[1] See Book II. ch. xl. (Müller, p. 90, col. 2).

[2] Compare the description in Meusel's text, p. 785, at the foot of the page (Book III. ch. xxviii.).

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there were thirty figures of gems and of ...... of gold. And when we drew near to the chamber, we saw that the whole temple was of gold, and over its windows there were golden images, figures of Pan and the Satyrs, who were musicians, and in the windows there stood dancers. In the temple a golden altar was placed, and by it stood two candlesticks of sapphire, the height of each of which was forty cubits. Lamps of gold were set upon them, which shone like the light of a lamp. And upon the altar instead of fire was placed a lamp made of stone, which shone like a star. In the temple a couch of gold was placed, which was set with gems; its length was forty cubits, and cushions of great value were laid upon it; the form of a huge man reclined thereon, and an effulgence shot forth from him like the lightning flash. Over him was spread a garment worked with gold and emeralds and other precious stones in the form of a vine, the fruit of which was of gold set with gems, and before the couch an ivory table was placed. When I saw this, I was unwilling to draw near hastily and uncover his face and see who it was. Then I sacrificed in the temple to the god and did reverence, and I turned away and came out. And when I had come out and was in the doorway of the temple, there was suddenly a terrible sound like the noise of thunder, and like the noise of the uproar and billows of the sea. And when that roaring noise ceased, I heard a voice from within the temple which said to me thus: 'King Alexander, rest and cease from thy toils; enter not the temple of the gods, neither reveal their mysteries; for he whom thou hast seen upon this couch is I Dionysus, and I tell thee that it is given to thee to conquer in this war for which thou art prepared, and to come to our country to rest, and they shall reckon thee among our number.' When I heard a voice like this, my mind was in fear and joy, and I again sacrificed and did reverence to him; and I went out to go about that place and to record this sight in it.

Then I gave orders to kill those fifty Indians our guides, who had led us astray in such roads and places, and to throw them into the sea; and we turned to the road towards Prasiakê[1], and arrived at a region abounding in trees, where I

[1] See Book III. ch. XVII. (Müller, p. 122, col. 2, ll. 16, 17).

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commanded my troops to rest a little. And when I desired to set out from thence, at the sixth hour of the day, a wonderful sign happened to us; now this sign took place on the third day of the month of Âb. First there came suddenly a mighty wind, which tore up all the tents in our camp from their places, and we all fell upon the ground. Then I commanded my troops to pitch their tents again, and to make firm their tent pegs and to keep carefully on the watch. But before their tents were pitched, a dense and black cloud appeared, and its mist was so dark that no one could see his fellow. And we saw in the midst of that dense cloud in the air a fire burning in the darkness; and we also saw in front of that fire about the distance of two miles a black cloud; and when the fire drew nigh, the fire blazed forth from within that black cloud until the whole was fire. This sign appeared continually in this manner for three days; and for five days we did not see the light, but snow fell upon us; and out of the mass of my troops some were caught in the snow outside of the tents and died, and when the sun rose, many of our men perished. We desired to set out from thence but were unable, because the country was a plain, and the snow stood three cubits high from the ground; so because of the difficulty and hardness of the journey we remained where we were thirty days. And after staying thirty days where we were, we set out from thence, and on the fifth day we came to the city of the Prasiakâyê, and took the treasury and the goods which were in it.

Then all the Indians who lived in that city came to me of their own free will and spake to me thus: 'O great king, no living man has ever walked in the cities of the kings, and the mountains of the nations, and the temples of the gods, which thou hast seen and in which thou hast walked; and henceforth there is no king in the world who may be compared with thee. Command us now to do whatever seems right to thee, for we too will be obedient to thee, and will lay all the gold and silver that is in our country before thee.' Then said I to them, 'If there be anything renowned, or any marvel in your country, which a king ought to see, shew it to me, and I will not ask any other thing of you.' Then a certain Indian said to me, 'King Alexander, we have something famous, which it is right

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that thou shouldst see. We will shew thee therefore two talking trees[1], which talk like human beings.' And as soon as he had said this speech, I commanded them to beat him, as one who had said something which he was not able to shew. Then he said to me, 'O king, doer of good things, I have not lied in what I have said to thee.' Then I rose up from there and went a journey of fifteen days with the Indian, and we arrived at a certain place, and thus he spake: 'This is the end of the south quarter of the world, and from here onwards there is nothing at all except a wilderness, and ravening beasts and evil reptiles, and none of us is able to advance beyond this place.' When he had said this to me, he brought me into a beautiful garden, the wall of which was not of stones nor of clay, but trees were planted round it and were so dense that not even the light of the sun or the moon was seen through them; and in the midst of the garden there was another enclosure which was hedged round, and they called it the temple of the sun and of the moon. And two trees were there, the like of which for length and breadth I had never seen. Their length was immeasurable, and so I thought that their tops were near unto heaven. Their appearance was like unto the cypresses which are in our country, and they grew up within the enclosure; and they said that one of them is male and the other female. They said of the male that he is the sun, and that the female is the moon, and in their language they call the one *Mîṭôrâ*, and the other *Mâyôsâ*[2]. Skins of all kinds of animals were lying there, before the male skins of males, and before the female skins of females; but no vessels of iron or brass or tin or clay were found there at all. And when I asked them, 'Of what are these the skins?' they said to me, 'Of lions and leopards, because those who worship the sun and moon are not allowed to wear any other clothing but skins.' Then I asked them about these trees, 'When

[1] Colonel Yule in his *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 121, has a long discussion about these talking trees of the sun and moon, and about the "dry tree," and has translated the passage from Müller's *Pseudo-Callisthenes* relating to them. He has also reproduced a curious old drawing of the two trees.

[2] In the Greek (Müller, p. 123, col. 2, l. 2) *μουθοῦ ἐμαούσαι* (var. *μουθιὰ μαθούς*).

do they speak?' And they said to me, 'That of the sun in the morning and at midday and towards evening, at these three times it speaks; and that of the moon in the evening and at midnight and towards the dawn.' Then the priests that were in the garden came to me and said to me, 'Enter, O king, purely, and do reverence.' Then I called my friends Phormiôn [Parmeniôn], Artarôn [Craterus], Gôrôn (?), Philip, Miktôn [Machetes], Ṭarnsargôthâ [Thrasyleôn], Thirtakîth [Theodektês], Phîlêa [Diiphilus], and Khadḳliôn [Neoklês]; twelve[1] men I took, and we began to enter the temple. The chief priest said unto me, 'O king, it is not meet to bring into the temple tools of iron.' Then I bade my friends take their swords and put them outside the enclosure, and I ordered these twelve alone of all my troops to go in with me without their swords, but I gave orders that they should first go round about the trees, because I thought that they might have brought me there treacherously; but after they had come in and had gone round about, they said to me, 'There is nothing at all here.' Then I took hold of the hand of one of the Indians and went in there, that when the tree spoke, the Indian might interpret for me; and I swore to him by Olympias my mother, and by Ammon, and by the victory of all the gods of the Macedonians, 'If I do not hear a voice from this tree as soon as the sun sets, I will slay you all with the sword.' As soon as the sun had set, a voice came from that tree in a barbarous tongue; and when I asked the Indian 'What is this voice from this tree?' he was afraid to explain it to me and wished to hide it. Then I straightway understood, and I took hold of the Indian and led him aside and said to him, 'If thou dost not explain this voice to me, I will kill thee with a hard and bitter death.' And the Indian whispered in my ears, 'The explanation of the voice is this: thou wilt shortly perish by thy troops.' Then I and my friends went again into the temple by night, and when I had drawn near to the tree of the moon, and had done reverence to it, and placed my hand upon it, again at that moment from the tree a voice came in the Greek tongue, 'Thou shalt die at Babylon.' And when I together with my friends were marvelling at this wonder, my

[1] Only nine names are given in the text.

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mind was troubled and sorrowful, and I desired to put the glorious and beautiful crown which was upon my head in that place; but the priest said to me, 'Thou canst not do this, unless thou choosest to do it by violence, for laws are not laid down for kings.' Then, as I was in trouble and sorrow because of these things, my friends Parmâôn [Parmeniôn] and Philip tried to persuade me to sleep and to rest myself a little. I did not consent however, but remained awake the whole night. When the dawn was near, I and my friends together with the priest and the Indians again entered the temple; and I and the priest went to the tree, and I laid my hands upon it and questioned it, saying, 'Tell me if the days of my life are come to an end; this too I desire to know, if it will be granted me to go to Macedonia, and to see Olympias my mother, and to ask after her welfare, and to return again.' And as soon as the sun had risen and his rays had fallen upon the top of the tree, a loud and harsh voice came from it, which spake thus, 'The years of thy life are come to an end, and thou wilt not be able to go to Macedonia, but thou wilt perish in Babylon after a short time by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and thy mother too will die a hideous death by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and in the same way thy sister also; but do not ask further concerning this matter, for thou wilt hear nothing more from us.' Then I took counsel with my troops, and we set out again from thence and marched along the road a journey of fifteen days. And when we had gone straight forward on our march, we arrived at the country of Prasiakê[1], I Alexander with these Indians and with my troops. The Indians who dwelt in that land brought offerings to us, and they brought offerings to us also from far countries. They brought to us skins of fishes which were like leopard's skins, only they were larger, and there were in them teeth, some of which were one cubit long and some three cubits; the ears (gills) of these fishes were each six cubits long, and the weight of each of them was a hundred pounds; and the teeth of these fishes were some of them two cubits long and others

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed., p. 125, col. 2. What follows appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS. The narrative continues in the first person, as if this were still part of the epistle.

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three. [They also brought things] like oyster shells, each of which held fifty cups of water, and which were very beautiful in appearance; and thirty purple sponges, and fifty white ones, and various other things.

Then we set out from the country of Prasiakê, and set our faces straight for the east. And when we had gone a journey of ten days along the road, we came to a high mountain; and some of the people that lived on the mountain said to us, 'King Alexander, thou art not able to cross over this mountain, for a great god in the form of a dragon lives in it, who protects this country from enemies.' And I said to them, 'In what place is the god?' They said to me, 'He is a journey of three days from here by yon river.' And I said to them, 'Does this god change himself into another form?' And they said to me, 'Enemies never dare to come to this country through fear of him.' And I said to them, 'Is he able to keep off enemies from all your coasts?' And they said, 'No, only on that side where his dwelling is.' And I said to them, 'Has this god a temple? and do ye go to his presence and know him?' And they said, 'Who can go near unto him that can swallow an elephant by drawing in his breath?' And I said, 'Whence know ye this, since ye go not near him?' And they said, 'We know that a number of people are swallowed up by him every year, besides two oxen which they give to him regularly every day for food from our land, and he also kills men.' And I said, 'How do ye give him these two oxen to eat?' They said, 'He that is set apart for the service of the god selects oxen from the land, and takes two of them each day in the morning, when as yet he has not come forth from his temple, and goes down to the bank of the river; and he ties the legs of the oxen, and throws them upon the bank of the river, and he goes up to the top of the mountain; and when the god comes forth from his temple, he crosses over that horrible river, and swallows up those oxen.' And I said to them, 'Has this god one place for crossing, or does he cross wherever he pleases?' And they said, 'He has but one place for crossing.' Then I bethought me that it was not a god but a phantasy of wicked demons. I took some of the people of the land (with me), and set out from thence, and came to the bank

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of that river. And I commanded them to place the oxen as they were accustomed to do, and I and my troops stood upon the top of the mountain. And we saw when the beast came forth from his den and came to the bank of the river. When I saw the beast, I thought that it was a black cloud which was standing upon the bank of the river, and the smoke which went forth from its mouth was like unto the thick darkness which comes in a fog. And we saw it crossing the river, and when as yet it had not reached the oxen, it sucked them into its mouth by the drawing in of its breath, as (if cast) by a sling, and swallowed them. When I had seen this, I gave orders next day that they should put two very small calves instead of the two big oxen, that the beast might be the more hungry on the following day. After it had found the two calves, it was obliged to cross over again on that day; and when it had crossed over for the second time, by reason of its hunger, it went wandering from this side to that but found nothing. And when the beast desired to come on towards the mountain, all my troops with one voice raised a shout against it; and when it heard the shout, it turned and crossed the river. Then I straightway gave orders to bring two oxen of huge bulk, and to kill them, and to strip off their hides, and to take away their flesh, and to fill their skins with gypsum and pitch and lead and sulphur, and to place them on that spot. When they had done this, the beast according to its wont crossed the river again, and when it came to them, it suddenly drew both of the skins into its mouth by its breath and swallowed them. As soon as the gypsum entered its belly, we saw that its head fell upon the ground, and it opened wide its mouth, and uprooted a number of trees with its tail. And when I saw that it had fallen down, I ordered a smith's bellows to be brought and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and to be thrown into the beast's mouth; and when they had thrown five balls into its mouth, the beast shut its mouth, and died. And we set out from thence and came to a region in which was a high mountain, and a river which they call Barsâṭîs (?) went forth from it; and they told us that there was a god in this mountain, and that the whole mountain was of sapphire. Then I and my troops ascended the mountain, and it was full of fountains and

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springs of water; and the people of that country said to me, 'Do not march confidently in this mountain, for its gods are mighty.' Then I ordered sacrifices to be offered to that place, and suddenly from the mountain there came a multitude of kinds and sounds of singing. When I heard this, I again did reverence; and I heard a voice from the mountain which spake to me thus in the Greek tongue, 'King Alexander, go back, and advance no farther; for from here onwards the country belongs to men who by their knowledge and power have conquered and subdued a number of armies.' And I answered and said, 'Since it has pleased you thus [to speak], inform me whether, if I go by myself, I shall return alive from thence.' And the gods answered and said to me, 'Go thyself, for it is given to thee to see something beautiful.' I answered again and said, 'What is the beautiful thing which I shall see?' And the gods said to me, 'Thou shalt see a king, a son of the gods, from whose country an honoured priest goes to a number of countries, and thou shalt learn how from something small something so noble may arise.' When I had heard this, I commanded a city to be built by that mountain, and a brazen statue to be erected upon it, and [I ordered] it to be named 'Alexandria, the queen of the mountains.'

And I commanded my troops to remain in that place, and I with twenty of my friends arose and arrived at a place which they call Ḳâtôn[1]; and we stayed where we were three days, and we set out from thence and marched a journey of ten days through mountainous roads and watery lands. And again we marched a journey of fifteen days through a desert and arrived at the confines of Ṣîn (China). When we arrived in China, I gave myself the name of Pîthâôs[2] the ambassador of king Alexander. When we approached the gate of the king of China[3], they went in and informed him of my arrival, and he gave orders to question me outside. Then Gundâphâr[4], the chief of his army, questioned me concerning my coming to China, and I

[1] Perhaps *Cathay*, in Arabic الخطا.

[2] Πυθέας or Πύθιος?

[3] That is, the royal palace.

[4] On the name of Gundaphar, or Gundaphor, i.e. Gondophares, see in particular the article by Professor A. von Gutschmid in the *Museum für Philologie*, n. F. xix., pp. 161—170.

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said to him, 'I am an ambassador of king Alexander.' And Gundâphâr said to me, 'Why hast thou come hither?' And I said, 'I have been sent to the king of China; my message is to him; and it is not right for me to utter the message which I bring from my master before thee.' Then Gundâphâr went in to the king of China and informed him, and the king ordered the palace to be decorated, and silk curtains to be hung up, and a golden couch to be prepared; and he bade them call me. When I entered his presence, I did not make obeisance to him, and he questioned me, and said to me, 'Whence comest thou?' I answered and said, 'I am the ambassador of king Alexander.' And he said to me, 'Who is Alexander?' I said, 'He is a Macedonian, the lord of the world, and the bearer [of the sovereignty] of the Persians and Indians.' And he said to me, 'Where is the land of Macedonia?' I said, 'In the western quarter of the world, at the place where the sun sets.' And he said to me, 'Where didst thou leave this [Alexander]?' And I said, 'He is near, and not far off; lo, he is by the river Bîrsâ-ṭôs (?).' And he said to me, 'Why has he sent thee?' And I said, 'My lord Alexander has been set by the gods as lord over the kings of the world, and I am come to bring thee to him, and my message is this: Thus saith Alexander, I have been established over all the kings of the world by the will and decree of the heavenly gods, and over all rulers will I be chief and commander; whosoever accepts willingly this my sovereignty, his whole territory shall remain his and he shall continue in his dominion; but whosoever receives me not, his country and his dominion are no longer his. And if thou dost not believe me that it is so, ask and learn what greatness and renown Darius the king of Asia had in the world, for he was a warrior and a conqueror, and yet afterwards, because of his obstinacy, to what a place was he abased and degraded! Porus too, the king of the Indians, who was so great and mighty, and fertile in artifices and stratagems, and versatile and rich in every craft, and so thought that he was not only lord of men but also chief and lord of the gods, learn what an end befell him through his obstinacy. Now I have heard concerning thee that thou hast good and great knowledge and understanding, and I thought that I would not come against thee with camps and troops as

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against an enemy, but I have sent an ambassador to thee as to a friend, that thou mayest come to me of thine own free will, and that I may see and taste of the treasure of thy knowledge by the fruit of thy words from the gates of thy mouth; and if there is anything worthy of being seen in thy land, bring it with thee that I may see it.' Then he questioned me and said to me, 'Is King Alexander mighty in body?' And I said to him, 'No; on the contrary, he is very small.' And he said to me, 'To-day thou must make merry with me after the manner of ambassadors, and to-morrow thou shalt receive the answer to thy message.' When the hour of the banquet was come, the king of China commanded, and they made me sit in the banquetting hall among the lower seats. When the banquet was finished, he ordered them to prepare a sleeping apartment in the royal palace, and bade me sleep there; and in the morning, while it was yet dark, he ordered me to be brought in before him. When I entered, I did reverence to him. When he saw that I made obeisance to him, he was perplexed concerning me, and ordered me to be questioned again. When I had repeated my message afresh before him, he said to me, 'Thy message is that of yesterday, but thy deeds are not those of yesterday; yesterday thou wast one thing, and to-day thou art another.' I said to him, 'Thou hast spoken rightly, O king, for yesterday I myself by the words of my message was clothed in the person of Alexander; in me, O king, thou didst see Alexander, and in the speech of my lips thou didst hear that of Alexander; but to-day [I am] Pîthâôs the ambassador.' Then he commanded and they brought a cloak, and he said to me, 'Shew me how Alexander is formed in stature.' And I said, 'In stature Alexander resembles me.' And he said to me, 'Is not the king taller than thou?' And I said, 'No.' Then he gave orders to measure my height and breadth and to cut the cloak according to my measure. And when they had cut it, he ordered it to be rolled up and sealed, and he said to me, 'Pîthâôs, go and carry this answer from me to king Alexander, and say to him: I have heard thy message which thou hast sent to me, and of thy fortune, thy bravery, and thy exaltation. Thy victory then over Darius, and thy might, and thy victory over Porus, and thy subjection too of a number of nations—I do not think

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that such exaltation as this is caused by thy good fortune alone, but I imagine that it arises from their bad luck, and particularly because everything that comes to pass is given by fortune. Now to thee fortune and luck have been given by fate, and such elevation as this, which was not granted to Darius and Porus who were before thee. Therefore it is meet for thee to know that thou shouldst have no confidence in fortune, and that thou shouldst not weary thyself more, and that thy hands should not become the executioners of those who have drawn nigh to and reached the end of the days of their life, for the name of executioner is a disgraceful one. And as regards thy message to me concerning my coming to thee, behold, by the words of my mouth I stand before thee, and I speak with thee by the tongue of Pîthâôs. Be not angry then because my body comes not to thee, and do not come to our country with warfare, for we have never at any time surrendered. I do not speak these things for thy sake, as if we were stronger than thou art, but I say this on my own account; for shouldst thou come against us, and our luck let go its hold of us, as it did of Darius and of king Porus, thou wilt slay us all, and thy hands will be our executioners, for none of us will accept bondage in his lifetime. And let this also be in thy mind, that, if thy luck turn somehow against thee, this great name of thine and might of thine will perish by fate, for this lying fortune does not remain constantly in one place. We men then who thus work and plan, and by a great deal of expense and toil and executioner's work slay a number of men of our kind and race, and seize a number of countries, afterwards, whether we will or no, everything leaves us and departs, and of the number of countries which we seize, and the numerous regions which we subdue, a piece of land the size of this cloak comes to us.' Then he straightway gave the cloak into my hands, and a crown of gold studded with pearls and jacinths, and ......[1] a thousand talents; ten thousand pieces of undyed silks, and five thousand brocaded silks; two hundred figures of cane, and one hundred painted (?) skins, and one thousand Indian swords; five wild horses, and one thousand skins of musk, and ten snakes' horns (?), each of which was a

[1] I do not know the meaning of the words ܦ̈ܟܝܒ ܡܣ̈ܩܐ.

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cubit long: and he said to me, 'Carry this offering from me to Alexander.' Now I was minded not to accept them, but I thought afterwards, 'If I do not take them, peradventure he may have doubts of me and may find out that I am Alexander.'

So I and my friends returned from thence and came to the body of my troops; and I commanded them to set out from thence, and we came through mountains and a difficult country to a plain and a desert region. And from thence we marched a journey of twelve days through the desert. And in that desert we saw numbers of wild animals which were like our gazelles, but their heads and their teeth were different, and they were like foxes. And [we saw] the animals from whose navels they take the musk. On the thirteenth day we arrived at a camping place of savage barbarians, who were very well furnished with horses and arms. When those savages saw us, they came against our encampment with arms and war; and when we saw that they had come for war, I commanded my troops to make ready, and when they had come near, my troops shouted and we joined in battle together. Now when we had closed with one another in fight, by good luck it so happened that I slew the chief of those thieves with the sword; and when they saw that their chief was slain, and that many were killed on both sides, they turned their backs and fled from us. And I commanded my troops that the wives and children of these savages should be slain and their possessions pillaged.

And we set out from thence and came to a country which they call Ṣĕbâẓâz (?). All the people of that land, together with the priests of their gods, came to us with offerings and spices, and we remained in that country ten days, and I commanded all the priests of that land to offer sacrifices.

And we set out from thence, and came to a country which they call Sôd [Sogd][1], and the country was very populous. I saw there a large river going forth on the south-west quarter, and that river was difficult to cross; indeed there was no means of crossing it whatever. I was greatly troubled and supplicated all the gods that are in Macedonia and Ammon the

[1] That is, the Sughd of Samarḳand, السُّغْد or الصُّغْد.

god of Lybia, and I vowed that if they would aid me to cross this river with my troops, I would build a city on the other side and set up a temple of the gods in it. When the people that were in that country heard [of our coming], they sent to me saying, 'Do not pass over into our territory, for we will not allow thee to come into our territory.' And when I heard this message, I ordered those ambassadors to be bound and guarded; and I asked them, 'Where is he that is ruler and chief in this land? and in what town does he dwell? and how many of the nobles of the land has he with him?' The ambassadors said, 'Swear to us by the gods that thou wilt do us no harm, and we will carry thee and shew thee the spot, for all the nobles of this country are in that place.' Then I sware to them by all the gods, saying, 'If ye shew me rightly, I will not kill you; but if ye say ought otherwise, I will kill you together with the others that are in the towns.' And as the gods willed, I gave orders to take each of those eight ambassadors by himself and to question him, and when we got the statements of all of them, [we found that] they agreed. I ordered my troops to get ready and Ḳôḳaros (?), the chief of the host, to question one of the ambassadors who was bound; and with fifty horsemen I set out early in the night to go and spy out the road and to observe the town, because it was night and we did not know the custom of the country, and owing to this I was afraid. Then a ḳundâḳôr[1] went and explored the way; he returned and came to me and said to me, 'The road is easy and the town is not large.' Then I and my troops went to the town, and I commanded the horns to be sounded and the troops to encircle the town; and I ordered much wood to be brought and fire to be kindled around the whole of the town, and the troops to stand outside the fire; and I commanded them also to kill every one who should flee from the town. When the people that were in the town heard the sound of the horns, they came forth from the houses and saw the fire round about the town, and some of them wished to flee; and as they fled from the town, they died by the hands of my troops. Then their chief and the nobles that were in the town came forth from the town and

[1] This word is glossed in one of the MSS. (B) by the Persian word *sardâr* "chief, commander."

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said with a loud voice, 'King Alexander, let thy wrath turn to favour, and do not order thy servants to be slain.' Then I commanded them to come to me; and when they came, I gave orders to guard them vigilantly.

And we came to the country of the Sundîḳâyê[1]; and when I saw that the whole country yielded to me, I commanded a city to be built there and to be called Samarḳand. I ordered a temple to be built therein to the goddess Rhea, whom they call Nânî[2], and when they had built it, I ordered it to be painted with gold and with the choicest paints, and a Greek inscription to be written thereon; and I commanded that all the Sundîḳâyê should come to that place and should make a feast to Rhea and offer sacrifices to her. When the Sundîḳâyê had done this in their country, they were firmly reconciled to Alexander in friendship and love.

And again we set out from thence and went to the river Barṭêsîṭôs (?), the interpretation of which is 'crystal.' When the king[3] saw that the river was large and difficult to cross, he ordered all the carpenters and artificers that were in Sôd to be brought, and bade much wood to be given to them; and he commanded Espisṭâhândos (?) to build a thousand Alexandrian boats. And he ordered the bows of the boats to be very sharp (?), and he bade two cables to be made of the bark of trees, each of them fifty cubits in thickness, and ordered men to cross over to the other side of the river in boats and to construct a kind of tower there. When they had made it, I gave orders to measure the breadth of the river, and to bring all those boats to the bank thereof, and to fasten them all to the one rope, and to one another with planks of wood; and to the other rope they fastened thousands of bags of ox-hide filled with air; and [I commanded] them to take the rope across and to fasten the end of it to the tower. When they had fastened

[1] That is, the inhabitants of the *Sughd*.

[2] See Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 130 sqq. and p. 295; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 16, 143; *Armenische Studien*, p. 110. In Cureton's *Spicil. Syr.*, p. ܟܗ, l. 8, read ܠܢܢܝ for ܠܢܝܢ, and also in ZDMG. xxix., p. 111, l. 7, for ܠܢܝܢ.

[3] The translator departs from the direct narrative more than once in the course of this description.

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the rope, he ordered a strong rope to be tied to the boats from the one side to the other, and a number of men to pull with ropes from that side. And when the head of the boats reached the middle of the river, the boats went on and were stretched out by the force of the current (?), and the bridge became straight. And he commanded a number of men to pull on this side and on that, and in the middle, with the rope which was fastened on the bank of the river, lest the boats, with the rope by which they were tied, should knock upon the stones and be broken. And when the bridge reached the rope, the ships at first struck the skins with violence, but the shock was broken and lightened by the skins. Thus he constructed the bridge by his skill and craft, and he ordered the troops to pass over.

When we had crossed the river and had gone a journey of two days, I saw a river that was copious and abundant in its flow, and towns with numerous hamlets and country houses were round about it, and the people of that country were simple in mind, and the country was rich in crops, and there was plenty of corn and fruit therein. I commanded the phalanx to halt in that place, and we remained where we were for five months. I ordered a large city to be built there; and on account of the beauty and desirability of the country, I commanded that it should be named afresh, and to the city I gave the name 'a part of Cûsh,' which is called in Persian *Behli*[1]. And I ordered two temples to be built in the city, the one to Zeus, and the other to Rhea; and I commanded them to be constructed with lime and stone and at much outlay; and I commanded a statue to be made in brass of myself and another of my friend Îdmâlos (?), and to be set up in those temples. And by reason of the fairness and beauty of the country, some of the Greek troops that were with me desired to stay there; and I gave orders that five hundred men should remain and dwell there, more particularly for the honour of those temples; and I commanded sacrifices (to be offered) and a great feast to be made.

And from thence we set out and came to a river, on the bank of which I commanded the phalanx to encamp, and we rested

[1] There seems to be something radically wrong in this sentence, but the MSS. agree.

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where we were for five days. And when I gave orders to set out from thence by night, Paryôg the.........and his band came against us. My soldiers had let loose their horses and cattle to graze quietly along the bank of the river, and Paryôg and his band seized all the horses and cattle, and went into a wood, and led them away from the bank of the river. When I heard these things, I took a band of foot-soldiers and some Macedonian troops, and we pursued after Paryôg that day along the river by means of the prints of the horses' hoofs which had been imprinted on the bank; and we went after him a journey of one day, but we did not overtake him. Then I made a vow to the god Ammon and made supplication to him, saying, 'If we overtake Paryôg and his band, in the place where I overtake him I will build a city to thy name, O Ammon, and will set up in it a temple to thee.' When I had gone five miles along the road, the earth was covered with water, and the hoof marks of the horses were no longer seen. I ordered the foot-prints of the horses to be sought for around the water and the wood; and when they had looked for the foot-prints but did not find them, I knew that the god Ammon would come to our assistance. And I ordered them to set fire to the skirts of the wood all round, so that Paryôg and his troop were not able to bear the flame of the fire. Then they all came out from the wood, and my conquering troops fought with Paryôg and slew him, and he died. And of Paryôg's band some died by the fire, two hundred and seventy men, and a thousand and three hundred others perished by the hands of my troops; and we got our horses and our cattle. We made the whole camp rest there, and I commanded earth to be brought for all the waters which were detained there, and the place where all the waters were to be filled up, and a city to be built upon it, and a temple to be made therein to the god Ammon. And we were in that spot four months, and when the city and the temple were finished, I commanded men to be brought from various places to dwell therein, and I called its name Margiôs (Μαργιανή), that is Mârô (Merv), and I offered sacrifices to the god Ammon there.

VIII. When then we were ready to go from the country of Margiana to the land of the Persians, I desired also to go quickly[1]

[1] Here begins ch. xviii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 125, col. 2).

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and without delay to the country of the Samrâyê[1] and to see their kingdom, for the kingdom of the Samrâyê was renowned among the Athenians and in the land of Hellas, and they were wont to say of it that all the walls of the city were of whole stones, the length of each being three stadia, which make a mile. It has one hundred and twenty gates, and the gates are all bound with iron and brass outside, for iron is abundant in their country; and all the houses that are built in that city are of hewn stone from their foundations to their roofs. Over their country a woman reigned, who in her appearance was very beautiful; she was of middle age, and was a widow; and she had three sons, and her name was Kundâḳâ [Candace], the lady of the Samrâyê. To this lady Alexander composed a letter and wrote to her thus: "From king Alexander to queen Candace greeting; and to the generals of the country of the Samrâyê greeting. When I went to Egypt, I saw there your graves and dwelling-places; and when I asked the priests of that country, they told me that ye dwelt in Egypt a long time, and that the god Ammon was with you as a helper. And after some time, by the oracle of Ammon, the god of his own accord sent to our border, [saying,] that I should go to your border and should sacrifice to him. If it pleases you, do ye also come to the border with the images, that we may hold a festival together."

Then Candace, when she had read this letter, made answer to him thus: "From Candace, the queen of the Samrâyê, and from all the generals of the Samrâyê, to king Alexander greeting. When of old we went to the land of Egypt, we went by the command of the oracle of Ammon, and he himself was with our army. Now too he has commanded us, saying, 'Beware lest ye move me from my place; neither shall ye go to another spot; but if any man shall come to your country, fight with him as with an enemy.' Thou wilt not catch us with this impudent speech of thine, for we are inspirited with the same spirit as thyself, even more than the illustrious and renowned who are in thy army[2]. I have troops to the number of eight

[1] In the Greek (Müller, *loc. cit.*) *ἐπῆγε τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς Σεμιράμεως βασίλεια*, Lat. *ad Samiramidos regiam.*

[2] The Greek text is very different (Müller, p. 126, col. 1): *Μὴ καταγνῷς δὲ*

hundred thousand, who are ready and prepared to fight with the evil one. Thou therefore hast done well, since thou hast proposed this in honour of the god Ammon; but if thou desirest to offer sacrifices to the god Ammon, do thou come by thyself, and let not an army come with thee. Farewell." And my ambassadors brought from her one hundred solid missiles[1] of gold; five hundred ass-goats[2], which they call in Persian *khar-bôz*; of different kinds of the bird which is called *pâipâ* (parrot) two hundred; two hundred apes; a crown of gold set with emeralds and pearls for the god Ammon who is within the border of Egypt; twenty unpierced pearls; thirty unpierced emeralds; and eighty small boxes of ivory. And she sent to us of different kinds of beasts three hundred and fifty elephants; three hundred leopards; eighty animals which are called rhinoceros, and in Persian *markĕdad* or *bargĕdad;* four thousand hunting bears and leopards; three thousand dogs that eat men; three thousand buffaloes for killing; three hundred leopard-skins and one thousand three hundred teak rods: and she said thus, "Do thou take these things, and inform me in writing if thou art lord over the whole world."

IX. Then Alexander accepted these things and sent to her Ḳdîmiôn [Kleomenês] the Egyptian as an ambassador with a letter to the queen. And when Candace heard from Alexander how he had taken different countries and captured cities and overcome and subdued mighty kings, she bade a certain painter of hers, a Greek, arise and go to the place where Alexander was, and paint for her his face and figure accurately, without the king's being aware of it, and bring it to her. And when the painter had gone and painted the portrait of Alexander and brought it to her, Candace took the likeness and hid it in a certain place. Then it fell out that a son of Candace, whose name was Ḳandâros [Candaules], with his wife and a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons to perform the mysteries of the gods; and it came to pass that the chief of the Marnîḳâyê[3] slew his horsemen and took his wife, and Candaules

τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ λευκότεροι καὶ λαμπρότεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν λευκοτάτων.

[1] The Greek has *πλίνθους*, Lat. *laterculos*.

[2] The Greek says *Αἰθίοπας ἀνήβους φ'*, Lat. *Æthiopas impubes quingentos*.

[3] In the Greek *ὁ τύραννος τῶν Βεβρύκων* (Müller, p. 127, col. 1). Of the

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escaped with a few horsemen, and came to the camp of Alexander. Then the guards of Alexander's camp took him and brought him before Ptolemy, the second in the kingdom, Alexander being asleep. Then Ptolemy questioned him, "Who art thou?" Candaules said, "I am the son of queen Candace." He said to him, "What art thou doing here?" Candaules said, "I and my wife, with a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons, as is our wont every year, to perform the mysteries of the gods; this time, however, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê saw my wife, and came against me with a large troop, and wrested my wife from me, and slew a number of the horsemen that were with me; and now I am come back that I might fetch a number of troops and do battle with him." And when Ptolemy heard this, he arose and went in to the king and awoke him, and related these things which he had heard before him. When Alexander heard this, he rose up early in the morning, and gave his crown to Ptolemy, and arrayed him in his purple robe, and said to him, "Go before me, as if thou wert king, and call me Anṭôgnâyâ [Antigonus], the chief of the host." And when they had gone out, Alexander spake before Ptolemy these words which he had heard. So Ptolemy went forth and looked upon the troops; and the troops thought that it was Alexander, and grief and trouble fell upon their hearts, and they said one to another, "What else pray is this Alexander who is rich in plans meditating?" When Candaules saw this, fear took hold of him, for he thought, "Peradventure they will slay me." And Ptolemy gave orders and questioned Alexander after the manner of kings, saying, "Antigonus, who is this man?" Antigonus said, "This is Candaules, the son of queen Candace, from whom, while he was journeying along the way, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê carried off his wife by force; what, O king, dost thou counsel and command me to do?" The king said, "I counsel and command thee that thou shouldst take my troops, and go and fight with the Mârônîḳâyê, and deliver his wife from thence. On account of the dignity and wisdom of Candace his mother, thou shalt rescue his wife, and give her back to him."

different readings ܡܪ̈ܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܪ̈ܘܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܘܪ̈ܢܝܩܝܐ, ܡܘܪ̈ܢܩܝܐ, the second is perhaps the best, and may mean the people of Mârô or Merv.

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When Candaules heard this, he was glad. Antigonus said, "Since it is pleasing to thee, O king, I will go and carry out this matter; only do thou give orders that they supply me with troops."

X. Then Ptolemy in the guise of Alexander commanded troops to go with Antigonus. Antigonus came to that place while it was yet day, and said to Candaules: "Come, let us hide ourselves on one side until it is the night, for if the Mûrîḳâyê see us, they will speedily tell their chief, and he in his anger will slay the woman before the fight, and what joy will there be in our victory when thy wife is dead? Let us tarry now, and enter the city at night; and we will set fire to it, and in the midst of the crush in the city, they shall bring thy wife to thee, for our fight is not with the country, neither is it for the government of the city, but for the sake of bringing back one woman." When Antigonus had spoken these words, Candaules fell upon his face and made obeisance to him, saying, "How admirable is this wisdom and knowledge of thine, Antigonus! It were right that thou thyself shouldst be Alexander, and not merely the chief of the host." When it was night, they went to the city; and when the people of the city were awakened out of their sleep and asked concerning the cause of the conflagration, Alexander commanded his troops to shout with a loud voice, "It is Candaules the king with his vast army, and he commands you, saying, 'Either restore my wife to me, or I will burn your whole city with fire.'" Then the people by reason of their fear went in a great crowd to the palace of their chief, and carried off the woman from his bed, and brought her and gave her to Candaules. Then he made obeisance to Antigonus, and praised his counsel, and thanked him, and they returned together to the camp of Alexander. And Candaules embraced Antigonus, and said to him, "O my lord, trust thyself to me and come with me to my mother that I may give thee gifts." Then Antigonus rejoicing at this speech said to him, "Ask permission for me from the king, for I myself am desirous to come and see the city." Then he sent to the king saying, "Send Antigonus as an ambassador to my mother." Ptolemy called Candaules and said to him, "Do thou, O Candaules, salute thy mother in writing, and receive Antigonus my general

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as ambassador, and send him back to me too in health, for he restored thee along with thy wife, and will carry thee to thy mother." And Candaules said, "O king, I accept this man from thee on these conditions, as if he were Alexander, and I will send him back to thy kingdom to thee in health with gifts."

XI. Then Alexander took with him one division of the army, with cattle and chariots, and went. And as they were marching along the road, they saw a mountain of beryls, which in its height reached the clouds, and it was thickly crowded with lofty trees and fruits, but its trees were not like the trees which are in the country of the Greeks. The apples for example which we saw were as large as the citrons which are in the country of the Greeks; the clusters of grapes were like the clusters of dates in our country; and the nuts were as big as melons. Snakes were coiled round the greater number of the trees, and each of them was as big as a ferret with us; the apes upon the trees were larger than bears with us; and there were a number of animals of different kinds; and the mountains were the caves and paths of ibexes. Then Candaules said to me, "Antigonus, this place is the temple and dwellingplace of the gods, and many times they appear in these spots. Now then, if thou pleasest, when thou art on the way back, offer up a sacrifice to them that they may reveal themselves to thee." When Candaules had said this, we journeyed on and arrived at the royal palace. And when we drew near, his mother and brethren came to meet us; and when they wished to embrace Candaules, he said to them, "First of all salute the saviour and deliverer of myself and wife, Antigonus, the ambassador of Alexander king of peace." And when he went on to tell them severally of the carrying away of his wife and of the assistance which came from Alexander's army and of the knowledge and wisdom of Antigonus, his mother and brethren embraced and kissed Antigonus, and prepared a great and splendid feast for him, and they ate.

XII. On the following day Candace put on the royal apparel, and set the crown upon her head, and was so ornamented that, when Alexander saw her, he thought that he was looking upon Olympias his mother. The whole roof of the house in which she sat was painted with gold, and its walls

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were all set with precious stones and gems, and the cushions which were in the house were all woven with silk and fine gold; the legs of the couches were of magnificent beryls, and the tables in the house were of ivory, and the pillars of the house, their bases and their capitals, were made of precious beryl stones; statues of Corinthian brass stood upon the tops of the pillars, and the pillars were of purple stone, and representations of chariots and of men were engraved upon them; and these carvings were so marvellous that every one who saw them thought that the horses were going to run. Some of the stones were wrought in the form of elephants, which were standing in battle and holding enemies in their trunks. Statues of all the gods of the nations stood round the whole house, and others were standing on pillars; and the roof of their house appeared from the inside as if all the plane-trees and cedars of the earth were growing there; and there was the representation of a lake round about it, so that the whole house was reflected by the waters that were painted in it. When Antigonus (that is to say Alexander) saw this, he marvelled and wonder laid hold on him. And Candaules entreated his mother that gifts and offerings should be given to this ambassador as befitted the greatness of his knowledge. Then on the following day Candace took Alexander by the hand, and led him into a chamber. The whole chamber was inlaid with white marble like the heavens, and by reason of the splendour of the marble every one who saw it thought that the sun was shining in it; and the beams of the roof were of a wood which they call ôbmiôn[1], which wood no woodworm attacks, neither does it burn in fire. The foundations of the house were not laid upon the ground, but upon square beams which were very thick; and beneath it, at its four corners, were chariot wheels, and elephants were drawing them; and whithersoever the queen went to war, she dwelt in it and lived in it. Then Alexander said to Candace, "O queen, all these things would be worthy of admiration, if they were in the country of the Greeks, but here they are not very marvellous, for there are many mountains like these here, in which are to be found beryl stones

[1] Perhaps a corruption of the Greek word *ἀμίαντος*, as the text (Müller, p. 132, col. 1) has the words *ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων*.

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of divers colours and variegated in many ways." Candace answered with indignation and said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, Alexander." When Alexander heard that Candace called him by his own name, he was troubled and he turned his face backward. Candace said to him, "Wherefore dost thou turn thy face backwards because I called thee by thy name Alexander?" Alexander said, "My lady, Antigonus is my name, and Alexander is the king who sent me hither." Candace said, "I know that Alexander is the king, and thou thyself art Alexander, and now I recognise thee from the look of thy picture;" and straightway she took him by the hand and led him into another chamber, and shewed him the likeness, and said to him, "See if thou canst recognise the face in this painting." When Alexander saw the painting of himself, his mind was perturbed, and he began to gnash his teeth. Candace said to him, "Why art thou troubled, and why dost thou gnash thy teeth at me, O bearer (of the sovereignty) of the Persians and Indians, who hast gained the victory over the Persians, and triumphed over the Parthians? Without war and without an army hast thou now fallen into the hands of queen Candace. Know then, Alexander, that it is not right for a man to glorify himself in his mind as though all wisdom and knowledge belonged to him alone, for though his wisdom be very great, one may be found who is wiser than he." When Alexander heard this, he stood up in a rage and gnashed his teeth, and Candace spake thus to him: "Why art thou angry? and for what reason dost thou gnash thy teeth, O thou who art so great a king?" Alexander replied: "I am a wretched man, inasmuch as I have no sword." Candace said to him: "Suppose thou hadst a sword, what wouldst thou be able to do?" Alexander said: "If I had a sword, I would either slay thee, that thou mightest no longer be in the world, or I would stab myself, because I of my own freewill have exposed myself to ridicule." Candace said to him: "Thou hast spoken these words also valiantly and royally; but now weary not thyself, neither let thy mind nor thy will be perturbed, for as thou hast rescued my son and my daughter-in-law, and hast brought them in safety to me, so also will I protect thee from the barbarians, and will send thee away from here under the name of Antigonus. For if the barbarians

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should hear that thou art Alexander, they will slay thee, because thou didst slay Porus the king of the Indians, for my daughter-in-law is a daughter of Porus. Henceforward let thy name be called Antigonus, and I will keep this secret."

XIII. And when she had spoken these words to him, they both went out; and she called her son and daughter-in-law and said to them, "Son Candaules, and thou too, my daughter Mâlâpsâ[1], had ye not obtained the help of Alexander's troops, we should never have seen one another, neither you me, nor I you. Now therefore it is right that thou shouldst send this ambassador of Alexander's away from here with honour and glory." Then her other son Ḳĕrâtôr[2] said: "My mother, Alexander has delivered my brother and his wife; but *my* wife is angry and says, 'Alexander slew my father Porus, and I now desire that thou wilt slay this ambassador of Alexander to avenge my father'." Candace said: "My son, what profit wilt thou gain by this, that this ambassador be slain here? for though thou shouldst slay this ambassador here, Alexander will not be grieved." Candaules said: "I will not allow him to die, because he delivered myself and my wife, and it is right that I should send him away (safe) from hence to Alexander." Then Ḳĕrâtôr said, "If thou send this man away from here, there will be war between thee and me." Candaules said, "I do not desire this; but if thou seekest war, I too am ready." Now Candace was in great trouble and affliction because of this matter, for she thought that peradventure her sons would fight with one another on this account, so she called Alexander privily and said to him: "O Alexander, thou hast been on every occasion astute and abundant in knowledge and fertile in expedients and skilled in contrivances; and now art thou able to do nothing to prevent these my sons fighting with one another for thy sake?" Then Alexander answered and said: "Hear ye, Ḳĕrâtôr and Candaules; if ye slay me here, do not imagine that Alexander will be distressed on my account, or that he will sorrow for me, (though it is not right to

[1] The Gr. Codex A has *ματέρσα*, the others *ἄρπυσσα*, *ἄρπουσα*, or *ἄρπισα*, the Latin translation *Margie* (see Müller, p. 133, col. 2).

[2] Called in the Latin translation *Charogos* (Müller, *loc. cit.*). In the Greek MSS. no name is given.

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kill an ambassador even in war,) because, if ye slay me here, Alexander has many ambassadors like me. But if ye desire that I should deliver Alexander into your hands without trouble, I am able to do it; but do you now promise me what ye will give me, and how many towns and cities ye will give, that henceforward I may live with you in this country, and I will go and persuade Alexander to come hither, as if ye had asked him that ye might honour him with great and excellent offerings; and I know that I am able to bring him hither without any body of troops, and when he comes here, ye can easily take him and revenge yourselves on him." When Ḳĕrâtôr heard these words of his, he was persuaded and promised Alexander a number of his own towns. Then Candace, marvelling at the knowledge and understanding of Alexander, called him secretly and said to him, "O Alexander, would that thou also wert my son, for by the knowledge and wisdom which thou hast thou art able to subdue all nations." And next day Candace dismissed Alexander and gave him gifts, a royal crown of gold set with ......[1] and a breastplate of gold set with beryls and chalcedonies and other precious stones, and a purple cloak like stars woven with gold; and she sent some of her own horsemen with him.

XIV. Then he went forth from thence and arrived at the hill of which Candaules had told him that it belonged to the gods. He offered sacrifices in that place, and he went into a cave, and saw in that cave a blackness out of the midst of which stars were shining, and suddenly he heard behind him a noise of dead bodies[2] and the sound of an uproar. Then Alexander trembled and stood up silently to see what it was; and suddenly the darkness disappeared, and he saw the form of a man reclining upon a couch, and his eyes were like sparkling stars. And he said to Alexander, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; dost thou know who I am?" Alexander said, "Nay, my lord, nay." Then he said to him, "I am Sêsânḳôs (Sesonchosis), the ruler of the world, and from the time that I

[1] I do not know what ܐܩ̈ܛܡܛܐ means. The Greek text is *στέφανον ἀδαμάντινον πολύτιμον* (Müller, p. 134, col. 2).

[2] So in the Syriac.

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died I am with the gods; I, who am immortal, am not so renowned as thou art." Alexander said to him, "How so, my lord?" He said to him: "I took the whole world and subdued a number of nations, yet now there is no remembrance of me on earth; but thou art renowned on account of the city of Alexandria the Great which thou hast built; thy name will be famed for ever. But now come within and see the Maker of all natures." And when Alexander had gone within, he saw a fiery cloud and the great god Serapis seated upon a throne. And Alexander said, "My lord, I saw thee in the vision at Thebes as thou didst sit, and behold I see thee here too." Then Sesonchosis said, "My lord Serapis dwells in one place, but reveals himself everywhere." Then Alexander said, "My lord, how many years longer shall I live?" Sesonchosis said: "It is well for mortal man when the day of his death is hidden from him; for when he learns when his death shall take place, from the day that he knows concerning his death he considers himself as already dead. But as for thee, when thou establishest and completest a great and famous city, thou shalt enter it, whether with death or without death, and the people of the city will receive thee, and will do reverence to thee as to a god, and thy grave shall be in that spot."

XV. When Alexander had heard these words from the messenger (*or* angel), he set out on his road, and the generals of his forces came to him on the way, and straightway put his crown upon him, and arrayed him in royal apparel. Now Alexander had made ready to go to the country of the Amziôs (Amazons), which was the land of women. These Amazons are women, who have one breast like a man's and one like a woman's. When Alexander drew near and had arrived in the country of the Amazons, he composed a letter and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander to the Amazons greeting. Ye have heard concerning the war which we had with Darius, and of that with Porus the king of the Indians, and how I slew them. And after I had slain them, I went to the country of the Indians, and saw there the Brahmans and their sages, and received tribute from them, and allowed them to remain in their own land, and they sacrificed to the gods on my behalf. And I turned away from them, and now I have made ready to

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come to you. Come ye then to meet me and receive me, for I am not coming to make war nor to do anything evil; but I come to see your country, and I will benefit you."

When they had read the letter, they wrote him an answer as follows: "From the Amazons and the chiefs of the hosts of our camp to Alexander greeting. We write to thee that thou mayest know, before thou comest hither and before thou enterest our country, that perhaps when thou comest hither, thou wilt be obliged against thy will to retreat and turn back. In this letter too we will inform thee of all our affairs, and what is the condition of our country, and in what state it is. By our nature we are women, but owing to our bravery we are superior to men. We live upon an island in the sea Meznîkos[1], and there is a sea round about it, the beginning and end of which are unknown, and there is only one place of crossing over to us. We who dwell in the island are in name virgins, and are in number two hundred and eighty thousand. We have no man with us, and no male is found among us; for our husbands live on the other side of the sea. At the time of the year when we slay horses and offer sacrifices to Zeus and to Hephaestos, during that festival we cross over to the other side of the sea, and we make a feast together with the men for thirty days, and those who wish to stay with their husbands stay. She that conceives remains where she is until she gives birth to a child; and if she bears a female, she leaves it with fosterers on the other side of the sea for seven years, and then they bring her over to this side to us. Should any unfriendly people come against us in battle, and it be necessary for us to make war with them, we go forth to battle one hundred and thirty thousand strong upon equipped horses, and the remainder keep watch in the camps and on the islands. Our husbands come after us; and if it happen that some women of us die while we are doing battle with the enemy, our husbands take their bodies and carry them to the islands. If the troops of the enemy be mighty and powerful and numerous, and do battle with us for many days, should any of our women

[1] No doubt corrupted from Ἀμαζονικός. In the Arabic version بحر (*sea*) might stand for *river*, as in بحر النيل.

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slay any of the enemies' host, we give them a crown from the altar of Zeus. If it fall out that we rout an enemy who is stronger than we, and that they are conquered by us, it is a great disgrace to those mighty and powerful enemies that they are conquered by the hands of women and turn their backs in flight; but on the other hand, should it happen that the enemy has the advantage over us in war, and we turn and come to our islands in discomfiture, it is not accounted a brave deed to those men, neither is their victory deemed creditable to them, because it is merely women whom they have conquered. Do thou therefore consider this, for peradventure it may happen thus even to thee. My lord the king, if it please thee, retire, and we will each year give thee as a gift what is right. Do thou then make a reply to our letter on this subject as thou art bound to do, and we are in our camp on this summit[1] prepared and ready."

XVI. When Alexander had read this letter, he smiled, and ordered an answer to be made to this letter of theirs as follows: "King Alexander to the Amazons greeting. We have taken and subdued three ends of the world, and have been victorious over them; and now it would be a great disgrace to us if we did not come to your country. Now, if ye desire your own destruction and that of the rest of the people in your land, remain where ye are upon the top of the mountain[2]: but if ye desire to live and to dwell in your country, and are not desirous to experience a trial of our strength, cross over to this side, and [come to] see us with your husbands in the plain, and receive us, and I swear by the soul of my mother and by the fortune of Hêra the mother of the gods, and by Athênê the lady of battles, and by Artemis the great goddess, that I will do no evil unto you. But whatever tribute ye are willing to give for the benefit of my troops, I will accept it from you. Let as many horsewomen as ye please come to my army, and I will give each of you five dînârs as the pay of each month, besides the food of the horsewomen and of the horses; and I will keep them in my army one

[1] Müller's text has *καὶ εὑρήσεις ἡμῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων* (p. 137, col. 1) but the translator evidently read *ὀρέων* for *ὁρίων*.

[2] Reading again *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων* for *ὁρίων*.

year, and then I will send them away to their own places, and do ye send others in their stead."

When this letter had been read and they had taken counsel among themselves, they made answer to him as follows: "From the chiefs of the Amazons and all the generals to Alexander greeting. We grant thee power to come and see our country. And afterwards we will give to thee each year a thousand pounds of gold for a crown; and those who bring them to thee shall remain in thy camp a year. If it should happen that any of them fall in love with men, let them marry them and dwell in the land. Do thou send to us the number of the women who die and of those who remain, that we may send to thee other women in their stead. And henceforward we will obey thee far or near, for we have heard of thy excellence and thy goodness and thy might and thy power. And what are we more than the rest of the world that we should not receive thee as lord? Farewell."

XVII. Then Alexander made ready, and when he drew near to the country of the Amazons, Zeus rained so great a rain upon them that the hoofs of all the cattle and horses rotted away by reason of the quantity of rain, and the saddles of the horses and the packsaddles of the cattle were destroyed. After the rain had ceased, a fierce and powerful heat came upon us, which no one of us was able to endure; and then came lightnings and thunderings and mighty sounds from heaven to such a degree that many of the horsemen fell upon their faces through fear. When we had crossed over the river[1] Zûtâ (?) and saw the country, the whole country was decorated with temples and altars, like the land of the Indians. When we saw the abundant rain, we remembered the snow which fell upon us in the country of Prasiaḳê; and when the people that were dwelling in that land saw all the rain and the ill, they said that it happened because of Alexander. They came to Alexander and said to him, "O good king, depart from our land, and we will give thee sixty mighty elephants trained to war and one hundred thousand chariots." Then Alexander gave orders to accept them from them, and he departed thence. Then

[1] In the Syriac ܝܡܐ, *sea* = بحر.

those five hundred horsewomen came to meet him, bringing the gold, and they stood in Alexander's presence and laid the gold before him. When Alexander had seen the country of the Amazons, he ordered sacrifices to be offered to all the gods that were in the land.

And he set out from thence, and on the way a letter met him. "From Aristotle to Alexander greeting. I have heard that thou hast laboured in many battles and wars, and that thou hast also taken and subdued a number of countries and many cities. Thou hast been able to do all these things by the aid of the gods, for at present thou art but thirty years of age, and by the assistance of the gods thou hast performed such deeds as no other lord has been able to do in a number of years. Therefore thou art under many obligations to the gods, and now the time has come for thee to pay them back with sacrifice and incense, for great is thy debt to the gods who have honoured thee, and thou wilt not be able to pay it in a short time."

When Alexander had read this letter, he and his host returned to Babylon. And when he had drawn near to Babylon, he wrote a letter to his mother Olympias in which he wrote as follows. "From Alexander to Olympias my mother, greeting. In a former letter I informed thee accurately concerning the things which I did previously, from the beginning as far as the country of Asia; and now it appears to me that I ought to inform thee by writing of all that took place afterwards, after I arrived at Babylon. I Alexander took my forces [consisting of] brave and mighty warriors one hundred thousand, and I made ready to depart from Babylon. In ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêraklês, and I saw two statues, one of gold and the other of silver; the length of each was twelve cubits and the breadth two cubits; and I did not believe them to be solid but [thought that they were] cast. Then I commanded the troops of my army to halt, and I sacrificed to Hêraklês, and I ordered the golden statue to be bored with a borer; and when I perceived that it was all of gold and that it was solid, I commanded that the shavings from the boring should be weighed, and they weighed one thousand three hundred mithḳâls of gold. And we set out from thence and marched to a mountainous place, and came to a broken country, and in that place

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the darkness was so dense that the troops were unable to see one another. We remained in that place seven days, and from thence we came to a warm region. In that place there was a great river in a level plain, and on the banks of that river women dwelt in the guise of Amazons, but they surpassed the Amazons in their bodies and their beauty; they were clothed in black garments, and they all went armed on horseback; and all their arms were of silver, for in the place where they dwelt there was neither iron nor brass. They dwelt on the bank of the river on the other side, and when we came to the bank of the river, we found no crossing whereby we might pass over to the other side, for the river was very deep and very wide, and upon its bank on this side there were a number of savage animals. These women crossed over to this side of the river by night and carried off some men of my troops, and we were unable to cross over [after them] to the other side.

XVIII. And from thence we departed and began to come to the shore of a great sea; and we arrived at a place on the right of which was a high mountain, and on the left the sea; and in that place we sacrificed a number of white horses to Poseidon, the divinity[1] of the sea, and we made a hunt there. And from thence we departed to a place, the ground of which was not visible to us by reason of the darkness and blackness; and thenceforward there was no land. We found five ships, and having embarked in them we put to sea. On the third day we arrived at a city, of which they say that it is the city of the sun, and the circumference of that city is twenty miles. In the middle of it was an altar, and upon it there was a chariot, which was made of fine gold and emeralds, and a priest of the sun stood upon it; and in that place we sacrificed to the sun. From thence we came a journey of one day, and found a great darkness, and there was no road, so I gave orders to light branching[2] lamps of silver, and to carry them before my troops. And we retired from thence and arrived at the river Sakhan[3], which divides Asia and Europe; and thence we made ready and came to the palace of Khusrau and king Pâkôr[4]; and in that

[1] Literally, *the luck* or *good fortune.*

[2] Literally, *outspread.*

[3] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Tanais* (Müller, p. 141, note 13).

[4] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Xerxes and Cyrus* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

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palace we saw a number of ingenious things which are needed for great purposes. And there was a room made within it, and a statue of one of the gods of the Greeks stood there, and they say that at the time that king Xerxes was alive, when any of his enemies were preparing to come to his land with war and battle, a voice issued from this statue. And a cage of gold was suspended from the ceiling of the room, within which cage a golden dove was confined; and they say that when the voice came from the statue in the speech of men, this dove interpreted it. When I desired to take this dove from thence and to send it to the country of the Greeks, they said to me, 'Do not take it, because this dove counsels this god.' And I also saw something worthy of admiration in the palace of Shôshan the fortress; for I saw there large globes of silver, each of which, they say, would hold three hundred and sixty measures of wine, and on the outside round about there were carved horses and their riders fighting, and in the middle the gods sitting in assembly; and they say that they brought these globes from Egypt, the country of Zeus, at the time when the Persians were masters over Egypt. When I desired to know how great were these globes, I offered sacrifices to the gods, and commanded one of the globes to be filled with wine, and I gave orders to my troops to sit down, and at that meal there was not used more than one globe full of wine. Now when they had consumed the wine, it happened according to what I had heard. And I entered a large house, and I found there a very large cup, and upon it was carved [a representation of] the battle which king Xerxes fought in ships with the Greeks. And in the house a seat of gold was placed, which was set with gems, and there was a sort of canopy over it, and a golden harp with strings was placed upon it; and they said that this harp used to play of itself, without anyone striking it. Around [the throne] were thirty cups of gold, and it had eight steps, and over it there stood a golden eagle whose wings spread over the whole of it. A root was there like a vine, out of which sprouted seven shoots, and the bunches of grapes were wholly of fine gold set with gems. But why need I write to thee of the abundance of the gold and silver? Gold and silver

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are so abundant that I am unable to describe the quantity thereof."

XIX.[1] When he had sent this letter to Olympias his mother from Babylon, the day of his death was come, and a sign to this effect happened as follows. A certain woman, one of the inhabitants of that country, gave birth to a child, who from his buttocks upwards had the form of a man, and from his buttocks downwards a number of forms of animals, all of them separate, that is to say, a lion, a leopard, a wolf, and a wild dog, all the heads apart and separate; they were so well defined that every one who saw them knew at once to what beast each head belonged; and the human body died as soon as it was born. Then the woman, as soon as she had given birth to it, covered it over and carried it to the palace of Alexander; and she said to one of Alexander's servants, "Speak to him about bringing me into his presence, that I may shew the king a wonderful sign, the like of which he has never seen." Now Alexander was asleep within, and it was noon; and when he had been roused up from his sleep, and had heard concerning the woman, he commanded that she should be brought in before him. Then the woman said, "Give orders, O king, that every one go forth from before thee." And when every one had gone forth from the king's presence, she uncovered it and exhibited it before the king, saying to him, "Look upon this prodigy, O king, to which I have given birth." When Alexander had seen it, wonder and amazement laid hold on him, and he straightway commanded the Chaldeans who were skilled in portents to be called. When they came, he said to them, "Tell me exactly what this sign indicates, for if ye do not speak the truth, your heads shall be taken off." Then one of those skilled in portents sighed, and having waited a little said to the king, "O king, thou wilt not live any longer, and they do not allow thee to remain among the number of the living, as this sign portends." When Alexander heard this, he praised him and said, "Explain how thou understandest this sign." He

[1] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (ch. xxix. is wanting in the Syriac). See Müller, p. 143, col. 2.

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said to him, "O ruler of all men, the sign is thus: this human body and this child are thyself, and these bodies of beasts are all the nations. As soon as it was born, this human body died, while those of all the beasts are alive. Now thou, O king, who art lord of all nations, art about to die, whilst they all, being alive, will escape from under thy hands. Therefore, O king, when I saw that this sign referred to thee, I was deeply grieved." When he had spoken these words, he went forth from Alexander's presence; and the woman took the child, and carried it out, and burned it with fire. When Alexander had heard all these things, he was in grief and trouble, and sighing, he said, "O Zeus, it would have been right that I should have finished all my plans and then died; but since it has appeared good to thee thus, command that they receive me as the third dead." This speech he said for this reason: Dionysus was a man, and because of the name and fame and power that he made for himself, he was reckoned when dead among the number of the gods; and in like manner Hêraklês; therefore Alexander spake of himself as 'the third dead,' because these had not gained such name and fame and might as Alexander.

XX. At this time Olympias the mother of Alexander sent him a letter containing an accusation against Antipater, and Alexander was very grieved because of his mother's anger against Antipater. When Antipater knew that Alexander was angry with him, and became aware that he wished to slay him, he sent Alexander a quantity of gold. Alexander commanded that it should be accepted; but although he took the gold, he did not set right his mind with Antipater. When Antipater knew the secret plans that Alexander had formed against him, he dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, and gave some of it to his son Keshandrôs (Cassander), and furnished him with many offerings and sent him to Alexander, bidding him to seek some means and in one way or other to give the poison to Alexander. When Cassander arrived at Babylon, he found Alexander offering sacrifices, and a feast was prepared for the generals of the provinces. Then Cassander drew near to Ôliyâs (Iollas), the chief of the king's cup-bearers, and entered into a secret plot with him. Now

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this Iollas had been scourged a few days before for some cause by Alexander, so that his mind was excited against him, and therefore Cassander found an opportunity against Alexander. They took Mîtrôn (Mêdius) with them into the secret—now this Mîtrôn was Alexander's chief friend—, and he took upon himself to administer the poison to him. When Alexander and his friends were sitting at table and were drinking and talking cheerfully — now on that day Alexander was very merry, for many of his friends had come to him from various countries, and had brought him crowns of victory—after they had finished the meal, Mîtrôn drew near to Alexander and said to him, "O king, since to-day thou hast had great joy with the rest (?) of thy friends, bid thy dearest friends, who love thee most, to drink wine with thee in a chamber." When Alexander heard the speech of Mîtrôn, he ordered Prisḳôs, Marḳânos, Lôsios (Lysias), Prîṭôn, Rĕḳîthâros, Ksîdâros (Cassiodôrus), Nicolaus, Ḳrîmîos, Harḳlîṭandîs, Tarḳânâ, Philip, and Mĕnîdâros (Menander) to be invited[1]. Now of all these persons only Prisḳôs, Ḳrîmîos, Harḳlîṭandîs, Cassiodôrus, and Lysias, were unacquainted with the secret, but all (the rest) were eager participators in it, and were with Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers and Cassander in the matter, and had sworn oaths among themselves. When Alexander had sat down, and they had all taken their seats in his presence, Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers mixed the poison and gave the cup to Alexander. When Alexander had drunk, he straightway felt great pain; he immediately commanded some of that wine to be brought and to be poured out to all his friends. Although he was grievously tortured by the intensity of the pain, he bore up and was neither excited nor alarmed; and his friends also continued drinking. After his friends had gone out from his presence, he thought that perchance he was seized with pain by reason of the quantity that he had drunk, and he took birds' feathers and put them into his throat, for so he was accustomed to do from time to time. After he perceived that nothing did him good, for the poison had flown through all

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

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his body, he was unable to restrain his groans, for the pain was too strong for his body. On the following day at dawn he desired to take counsel with his friends, but he was unable to make a testament, because his tongue was paralysed. Then Cassander wrote to Macedonia to his father Antipater, "the deed for which I came hither has taken place, and has received a glorious consummation."

When Alexander had been seized at Babylon with a grievous sickness, he commanded at night every one to go forth from the chamber in which he was lying, and he also commanded Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) his wife to go to another chamber[1]. Now one of the doors of the house opened on to the river Euphrates, and he ordered that door to be opened, and said, "There is no need for the guards to keep their watch." When every one had gone forth and it was midnight, he rose up from his bed, and extinguished the lamp which was burning before him and went forth by that door, and crawled on his hands and feet to the bank of the river, and was going to cast himself in. Then his wife Rôshnâḳ hastened at once and took hold of him, and with weeping and loud and mournful sighs said to him, "Hast thou left me, Alexander, and art thou become thine own executioner? Bitter is the lot which has fallen to my share, and evil and cruel is that which has happened to me by fate. I was left an orphan by my father Darius in my childhood, and now in my youth I shall be left by thee a widow." Then Alexander said, "Be not distressed, O Rôshnâḳ, for everything happens in its season; but be silent, and tell this secret to no one." Then Rôshnâḳ took Alexander by the hand and led him back to his bed. And when it was day, Alexander commanded Ḳrîsḳôs[2], and Lysias, and Ptolemy to come into his presence alone, and every one else to be put out[3]. And they came into his presence. Then he ordered a testament to be written. And Ḳrîsḳôs was doubtful in his mind, for he thought, "Peradventure he will give all his possessions to Ptolemy alone, for he loved him very much during his life, and Olympias

[1] For what follows see Müller, p. 146, note 1 on ch. xxxii.

[2] A little above the name was written Prîsḳôs.

[3] See Meusel, p. 789, at the foot.

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his mother loved him." Then Ḳrîsḳôs swore an oath with Ptolemy, "If Alexander gives all his property to me, thou shalt have one half of it; and if he gives it to thee, do thou give me a half." And having written the document, they were commanded to write the testament.

XXI. Then a report of an uproar and tumult among the Macedonian soldiers was heard; and they all came clothed in armour to the gate of Alexander, for they thought that Alexander had not been seized with sickness, but that the generals of the army had slain him by treachery; and they were going to fall upon them and kill them. When Alexander heard the outcry and uproar, he asked, "What is this disturbance?" Then Ḳrîsḳôs informed him concerning the uproar and tumult. When Alexander heard of the real love and affection of the Macedonian soldiers towards himself, he ordered them to carry him and to convey him to the hippodrome. And he commanded that the troops of the Macedonian camps should be armed, and that they should pass before him in their suits of armour. Then Ḳrîsḳôs went out from before the king, and told the Macedonians, and convinced them that Alexander was not dead, but had been seized by sickness. "But (said he) put ye on your armour, and go to the royal hippodrome, for there ye are to pass before him in review." When the Macedonians heard this, they girded on their armour and went to the hippodrome. And they carried Alexander thither on his bed. So the Macedonians passed in their armour before Alexander; and when they lifted up their eyes and saw Alexander, suddenly the colour of their faces was changed, and their hearts were so oppressed by weeping and mourning that, in the face of that sadness and suffering and grief mingled with sighs, even the light of the sun became obscure and dark. Then Pînâḳlêôs (Phainoclês?), an old Macedonian warrior and hero, wept aloud when he saw Alexander, and said to Alexander in the Greek tongue, "O king, doer of good things, Philip thy father ruled over us kindly and firmly, and thou too, O king, hast been likewise good and merciful and kind to us. But since we love thee, and thy rule is pleasing to us, and we desire and enjoy it, why dost thou wish to forsake us, and to part from us and

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to leave us? for through thy departure from us all Macedonia will be destroyed, and by thy death we ourselves will all perish. It is better that we should die with thee, for thou hast made us renowned and famous; through thee we have subdued countries and kingdoms, and through thee we have brought enemies into subjection. Henceforth what is the good to us of weapons of iron and brass, when we have lost thee, O most skilled in weapons? With thee we have marched through deserts and dark mountains, through rough and difficult and hard and impassable places; and now we will go to the next world with thee." When he had spoken these words, tears streamed down from Alexander's eyes, and each one of the Macedonians drew his sword and was going to slay himself. Then Alexander sprang up from the couch on which he lay, and sat upon the cushions, and said to the Macedonians, "O my servants and friends and fellow-soldiers, why do ye add pain to pain so that I should taste death by dying before my own death?" Then he commanded the troops of the Macedonians to go to their camps, and he bade them bear him upon his bed and carry him to his palace.

XXII. Then they bore him and carried him to his palace, and he commanded Prîsḳôs to bring the testament and to read it before him. Then Archelaus the scribe brought the testament, and in it there was written as follows: From Alexander to Ammon and to my mother Olympias, greeting. Inasmuch as the gods have willed that I should be taken from the assembly and dwelling of men to the assemblies and dwellings of the gods, I too have thought that it would be expedient and helpful for me, and I have thought that it would be right for me to inform you thereof. Do thou then, my mother, not be grieved nor distressed at my departure, for such is the will of God, but console thyself in thy wisdom and be glad. I have appointed and sent all my generals for thy honour that they may make thee exceedingly glad. I Alexander in this testament command: the Macedonians and the Greeks shall keep themselves in training and guard the country from enemies and be always vigilant; they shall keep the temples of the gods and the royal palace, and preserve them in prosperity and in joy. Let there be given every year

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to the princes that are in Egypt darics [to the amount of] one hundred pounds from the crops and taxes of the country, for I have commanded my body to be carried thither; and let the expenses which are requisite and necessary for the grave in which my body is laid be given to the priests according to their desire from the revenues of the kingdom. I also command that the offence wherewith the Thebans offended me be forgiven them, and that three hundred talents of gold be given them for the restoration of their city. I also command that there be given from Egypt every year twenty thousand bushels of wheat, and from Asia twenty thousand bushels. I also command that Ḳrêtênôr (Craterus) shall be ruler and governor of the Macedonians; and over Egypt shall be Ptolemy; and over Asia Ḳrîsḳôs (Perdiccas). I also command that seventy talents of gold be given to the army of the Macedonians. I also command that Archelaus take this testament and carry it to the temple of the god Ammon. And let there be in the land of Alexandria food and abundance of corn, and let skilful workmen of all kinds be ready, and when Ptolemy comes thither bringing my body, let them prepare quickly a grave for the burial of my body, and let there be no hindrance nor delay to him. I also command that if Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) my wife give birth to a son, he shall be king, and they shall call his name after one of the kings of the Macedonians, according as they please; but if she give birth to a girl, let the Macedonians choose and set up as king whomsoever they please; and if they find (?) Bêlîrôs the son of Mîlêḳôs (?), he shall be lord over them. Olympias my mother shall dwell in Rhodes, and Lysimachus shall rule over the country of Thrace; and his wife shall rule over the Thessalonians, because she is my sister, the daughter of Philip the king of the Macedonians. Over Hellas Pîṭasdrôn (?)[1] shall rule; and over Pamphylia and Lycia Antigonus shall rule; and over Great Phrygia Andreas shall rule; and over Cilicia Pîôr (?); and over Syria and as far as the Rivers Pythôn shall rule; and Seleucus clothed in armour shall rule over

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

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this Babylon, and his wife over Nicaea; and Âdîmîs (Eumenês) shall rule over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Mempath (Meleager) shall rule over Phoenicia and Coelesyria; and over Egypt Ptolemy, and Cleopatra the sister of Alexander's wife shall be given to him; and my wife Rôshnâḳ shall rule from this Babylon of mine to the country of Adôrbaijân and Persia and Media, and I command that she shall be given to Prîsḳôs (Perdiccas) to wife. And I command that they shall make for the interment of my body a coffin of fine gold, two hundred and fifty talents [in weight], and let them lay the body of me Alexander the king of the Macedonians in it; and let them fill it with white honey which has not been melted, and let them deliver it to the Macedonians. Let them send one suit of my royal apparel and my golden throne to the city of Athens, to the temple of the virgins; and let them send all my arms to Persia, with one hundred and fifty talents of gold; and let them send to the temple of the gods which is in Macedonia the dragons' heads of gold [weighing] one hundred talents, and one hundred signet rings of gold, and a thousand ivory cups. [Let them send] one hundred and fifty talents [of gold] to the Philippians (Milesians) for the restoration of their city; and the remainder of the gold and silver, and the whole of the possessions which I have brought from the country of the Indians, let them be given to my mother Olympias. Let them deliver over Sôd—that is to say Samarḳand—to Philip; and let them give Abarashahr and Gurgân to Pîṭâpôlîs (?), and Garmânîâ (Kermân) to Thlipaiṭmôs (Tlepolemus); and as for Persia let the lords of the various provinces hold them, and let Pîsôn (?) be ruler over them. I also command that they shall bring some of the Dôsîn, who dwell in tents, and call them "sojourners in Alexandria." Now as I have said above, they shall lay my body in a golden coffin, and they shall lift it on to a chariot, and sixteen docile mules shall draw it, and the army of the Macedonians, with Ptolemy and the other generals, shall guard it, and carry it [to Egypt]; and they shall give for the expenses of the journey one thousand talents of gold from the revenue of the kingdom, and for the mules which shall draw the chariot one thousand six hundred talents.

XXIII. When Alexander had given these commands, he

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straightway died; and they did even as Alexander had commanded. And when they had taken the body of Alexander and placed it upon a chariot, all the Macedonians in Babylon began to make a mourning and outcry with bitter weeping and sore lamentation. And when he had arrived at Mephyâ [Memphis], when the people of the land heard it, they came to meet him with all kinds of music, and they praised the body of Alexander with doleful voices, saying, "Thou art welcome, O god Sîsnâķîs (Sesonchosis), ruler of the world." They kept the body of Alexander in that place twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh; and they wished to retain his body there. Then the priests of Serapis said to them, "This body of Alexander must not be laid here, but they must carry it to the city which he built; for in the place where the body of Alexander is laid, there will be wars and contests continually, for in his lifetime he had continually the desire for war and battle." So Ptolemy made a grave for the body of Alexander in Alexandria, as he had been ordered, and there did he lay the body of Alexander; and they call that place "The tomb of Alexander" unto this day.

XXIV. Alexander waged numerous battles and great wars, and he defeated and routed and put to flight mighty and powerful kings. He lived in this world thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he had rest for only eight years in this world. He subdued of the barbarians twenty-two kings, and of the Greeks thirteen. He built thirteen cities, some of which are flourishing to this day, but some are laid waste. The first is Alexandria which was built after the name of the horse called Bucephalus, the interpretation of which is Bull-head; the second is Alexandria the fortified Rôphôs (?); the third is Alexandria the Great; the fourth is Alexandria in the dominion of king Porus; the fifth is Alexandria in the land of Gĕlênîķôs[1]; the sixth is Alexandria in the country of the Scythians; the seventh is Alexandria on the shore of the sea (*or* river); the eighth is Alexandria which is near Babylon; the ninth is Alexandria which is in the country of Sôd, that is to say, Samarķand; the tenth is Alexandria which is (called) Kûsh,

[1] Apparently "apud Granicum" (Müller, p. 151, col. 2).

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that is Balkh; the eleventh is Alexandria which is called Margenîkôs, that is to say Môrô (Merv); the twelfth is Alexandria which is upon the farther bank of the rivers in the country of the Indians; and the thirteenth is Alexandria which is in Egypt[1]. And after Alexander died in Babylon by poison, the name of the day [upon which he died] was called "The slayer of young men," for Alexander was a young man[2]. Alexander reigned as king twelve years and seven months, and there was none among all the kings on earth that fought and made war and conquered like Alexander until the day he died[3].

[1] The Greek codices give the names in different order. See Müller, p. 151, col. 1. See also Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellen.* Vol. 2 pp. 591—651 Die Gründungen Alexanders; Pauly *Real Encyclopaedie* Vol. 1, *Art.* Alexandria (twenty-two Alexandrias are here enumerated); Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. 1, pp. 415, 576, 621, 623, and the map in Vol. 1, facing p. 464. See also the Arabic list in Yâkût's معجم البلدان, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1. p. 100, or in the *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ٢٣, and the list in the "Life of Alexander" published by Prof. Paul de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208.

[2] See Müller, p. 152, col. 2, ll. 5, 6.

[3] The scribe adds: "May the Lord God make his soul to rest with the believing kings [BC add "who have trodden in his steps"] the lovers of Christ, and may the hearers and listeners and readers and writers obtain mercy and remission of transgressions and sins. Yea and Amen."

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A CHRISTIAN LEGEND CONCERNING ALEXANDER[1].

An exploit of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, [shewing] how he went forth to the ends of the world, and made a gate of iron[2], and shut it in the face of the north wind, that the Hûnâyê [Huns][3] might not come forth to spoil the countries: from the manuscripts in the house of the archives of the kings of Alexandria.

In the second year, or the seventh, of the reign of Alexander, he set his crown upon his head and arranged himself in his royal apparel, and sent and called those who wore his royal

[1] A metrical version of this legend by Jacob of Sĕrûgh has been printed by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107.

[2] This gate was probably made at the Pass of Derbend. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 51 sqq., and also his notes on Alexander's wall near the Caspian.

[3] ܗܘܢܝܐ, ܗܘܢܝܐ, Οὖννοι, Χοῦνοι. The name Huns is a collective one applied to several nomad Scythian tribes who appear to have belonged to the Mongolian family. The original seat of the Hiong-nu, or Huns, appears to have been in the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in the north-west of China and their power remained unbroken until the year 93 B.C. It was to protect China from the inroads of this barbaric race that the famous wall of China was built about two centuries and a half before our era. See D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, t. 1, p. 2. Their early history has been written by de Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. pp. 1—124. For native Syriac explanations of the name Huns see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 994. See also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxvi; Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 9 (Syr. text); Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 72; Karl F. Neumann, *Die Völker des Südischen Russlands*, pp. 23—30.

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crowns[1], the generals, and Priskos and......[2], and all his forces; and he questioned them and said, "Hear, all ye officers of my palace." They said to him, "Speak, O wise king, king of the Greeks, and whatsoever thou commandest us shall come to pass." He said to them: "This thought has arisen in my mind, and I am wondering what is the extent of the earth, and how high the heavens are, and how many are the countries of my fellow kings, and upon what the heavens are fixed; whether perchance thick clouds and winds support them, or whether pillars of fire rise up from the interior of the earth and bear the heavens so that they move not for anything, or whether they depend on the beck of God and fall not. Now this I desire to go and see, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds all creation." The nobles answered and said to the king, "Bid us speak;" and he commanded them, and they spake and said to him; "As to the thing, my lord, which thy majesty (*or* thy greatness) desires to go and see, namely, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds the earth, the terrible seas which surround the world will not give thee a passage[3]; because there are eleven bright seas, on which the ships of men sail, and beyond these there is about ten miles of dry land, and beyond these ten miles there is the fœtid sea, Ôkĕyânôs (the Ocean), which surrounds all creation. Men are not able to come near to this fœtid sea, neither can ships sail thereon, and no bird is able to fly over it, for if a bird should attempt to fly over it, it is caught and falls and is suffocated therein[4]. Its waters are like pus; and if men swim therein, they die at once; and the leaves of the trees which are by its side are shrivelled up by the smell of these waters as though fire licked them." So the nobles spake to king Alexander; but he said to them, "Have ye

[1] Literally *knotted*, *tied*, *bound*.

[2] These words seem to be corrupt. ܦܪܕܒܘܣ looks like ܦܪܕܩܩܘܣ, an alteration of *Perdiccas* (which we met with above), but we should hardly expect a single proper name in this place. As for ܦܪ̈ܓܠܐ, the word means nothing in Syriac but *whips*.

[3] See Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 69.

[4] Compare the description of the Asphaltites Lacus by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6) Lacus inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur.

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gone on your own feet and seen that the sea is thus?" They made answer to him: "Yea, O wise king. This very thing of which thy majesty has thought occurred to us also, and we went to see upon what the heavens rest, but the fœtid sea would not give us a passage." Alexander said to them: "I do not account you as liars; but although ye went and the sea did not give you a passage to cross, yet I too will go and see all the ends of the heavens. If there be a king whose lands are more than mine I will take his lands and slay him, even if it be one of the quarters from whence the spoilers come forth." Then all the officers of his palace accepted what Alexander said to them, and straightway the trumpets sounded in Alexandria, and the troops were numbered that went forth with him, three hundred and twenty thousand men. And king Alexander bowed himself and did reverence, saying, "O God, Lord of kings and judges, thou who settest up kings and destroyest their power, I know in my mind that thou hast exalted me above all kings, and thou hast made me horns upon my head[1], wherewith I might thrust down the kingdoms of the world; give me power from thy holy heavens that I may receive strength greater than [that of] the kingdoms of the world and that I may humble them, and I will magnify thy name, O Lord, for ever, and thy memorial shall be from everlasting to everlasting, and I will write the name of God in the charter of my kingdom, that there may be for Thee a memorial always. And if the Messiah, who is the Son of God, comes in my days, I and my troops will worship Him. And if He does not come in my days, when I have gone and conquered kings and seized their lands, I will carry this throne, which is a seat of silver upon which I sit, and will place it in Jerusalem, that, when the Messiah comes from heaven, He may sit upon my kingly throne, for His kingdom lasts for ever. And seven hundred pounds of gold shall be before the Messiah as a

[1] "Possessor of two horns" is a well-known name of Alexander. In the Ethiopic version Alexander is always referred to as ዘክልኤ፡ አቅርንቲሁ፡ "the two horned." See Spiegel, *Die Alexander Sage*, p. 57; Ḳor'ān, Surah 18. Some say that the "two horned" mentioned in the Koran is Alexander, while others say that a contemporary of Abraham is meant, who was king of Persia, and others that he was a king of Yemen. For a discussion on this point see *Z.D.M.G.*, VI. s. 506; VIII. ss. 442—450; IX. ss. 214—223.

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present when He comes; and whether I die in one of the [other] regions of the world, or here in Alexandria, my royal crown shall be taken and hung upon that seat which I have given to the Messiah; and the crown of every king who dies in Alexandria shall be taken and hung upon that silver seat which I give to the Messiah."

And they went forth and came to mount Sinai[1], and encamped there and rested. And they put ships to sea[2] and crossed over to Meṣrên, that is to say, Egypt. And scouts went up and looked [to see] if the seas and their waves were visible or not. And the chiefs of the hosts answered and said, "King Alexander, the host is unable to march without smiths. Give orders that they may go with us from Egypt, for there are no smiths upon all the face of the earth like unto those of Egypt." So Alexander called Sarnâḳôs[3] (?) the king of Egypt and said to him, "Give me seven thousand[4] smiths, workers in brass and iron, to go with me; and when I come from the countries whither I am going, if they wish [to return] hither, I will send them, and if they wish [to stay in] one of the countries under my sovereign rule, I will grant it them, and they shall not give tribute to the king, but they shall give.........to us." And Sarnâḳôs the king of Egypt chose seven thousand men, workers in brass and iron, and gave them to Alexander, and they ate bread with one another.

And they put ships to sea and sailed on the sea four months[5] and twelve days, and they arrived at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. And Alexander and his troops encamped, and he sent and called to him the governor who was in the camp, and said to him, "Are there any men here guilty of death?" They said to him, "We have thirty and seven men in bonds who are guilty of death." And the king said to the governor, "Bring hither those evil doers." And they brought

[1] Knös, p. 104, l. 1.

[2] Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 70.

[3] This name is spelt ܣܘܪܝܣ in Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 71.

[4] Twelve thousand, *ibid.* p. 71, l. 5.

[5] According to Jacob of Sĕrûgh Alexander made his way towards India where he landed after four months. See Knös, p. 71, ll. 16, 17.

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them, and the king commanded them and said, "Go ye to the shore of the fœtid sea, and hammer in stakes that ships may be tied thereto, and prepare everything needful for a force about to cross the sea." And the men went, and came to the shore of the sea. Now Alexander thought within himself, "If it be true as they say, that everyone who comes near the fœtid sea dies, it is better that these who are guilty of death should die," and when they had gone, and had arrived at the shore of the sea, they died instantly. And Alexander and his troops were looking at them when they died, for he and his nobles had ridden to see what would happen to them, and they saw that they died the moment that they reached the sea. And king Alexander was afraid and retired, and he knew that it was impossible for them to cross over to the place where were the ends of the heavens. So the whole camp mounted, and Alexander and his troops went up between the fœtid sea and the bright sea to the place where the sun enters the window of heaven; for the sun is the servant of the Lord, and neither by night nor by day does he cease from his travelling. The place of his rising is over the sea, and the people who dwell there, when he is about to rise, flee away and hide themselves in the sea, that they be not burnt by his rays; and he passes through the midst of the heavens to the place where he enters the window of heaven; and wherever he passes there are terrible mountains, and those who dwell there have caves hollowed out in the rocks, and as soon as they see the sun passing [over them], men and birds flee away from before him and hide in the caves, for rocks are rent by his blazing heat and fall down, and whether they be men or beasts, as soon as the stones touch them they are consumed. And when the sun enters the window of heaven, he straightway bows down and makes obeisance before God his Creator; and he travels and descends the whole night through the heavens, until at length he finds himself where he rises.

And Alexander looked towards the west, and he found a mountain that descends, and its name was "the great Mûsâs[1]"; and [the troops] descended it and came out upon Mount Ḳlaudiâ,

[1] ܡܣܝܣ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܡܐ (Knös, p. 72) "Mâsîs, a high mountain."

and ate bread there. Then they went down to the source of the Euphrates, and they found that it came forth from a cave; and they came to Halûrâs[1], where the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they ate bread in Halûrâs. And they departed from thence and went to the river Kallath[2]; and they ascended the mountain which is called Râmath, where there is a watch-tower. And Alexander and his troops stood upon the top of the mountain and saw the four quarters of the heavens. And Alexander said, "Let us go forth by the way to the north"; and they came to the confines of the north, and entered Armenia and Âdarbaijân and Inner Armenia. And they crossed over the country of Ṭûrnâgiôs, and Bêth-Pardiâ, and Bêth-Teḳîl, and Bêth-Drûbîl, and Bêth-Ḳâṭarmên, and Bêth-Gebûl, and Bêth-Zamraṭ. Alexander passed through all these places; and he went and passed mount Mûsâs and entered a plain which is Bâhî-Lebtâ, and he went and encamped by the gate of the great mountain. Now there was a road across it by which great merchants entered the inner countries, and by it did Alexander encamp. And he sent heralds of peace on horseback, and they rode about and proclaimed through the whole country: "The king of the Greeks is come to this country, neither slaying, nor burning, nor destroying; let every man dwell in peace. Let three hundred men advanced in years be chosen, and let them enter my presence, says king Alexander, that I may learn what I require, and let every man dwell in peace." When the people of the country heard what the heralds of peace were proclaiming, they were not afraid, and they chose three hundred aged[3] men, who went into Alexander's presence as soon as he had encamped in the country; and he himself commanded the people not to flee before him. And when the aged men, natives of that land, had come into his presence, he asked them, "Who are ye? and to whom do ye give tribute? and what king rules in this land?" The old men answered and said to the king, "This land belongs to Tûbârlâḳ the king of the Persians[4], who is of the race of the

[1] ܗܠܘܪܣ Knös, p. 79, l. 6.

[2] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 57.

[3] Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 73.

[4] Tûbarlîḳâ is called by Jacob of Sĕrûgh "Great King of the territory of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê" (ܐܡܘܪܝܐ), Knös, p. 79, 1.

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house of Aḥshôraḥ[1], and to him do we give tribute." Alexander said to them, "How far does this mountain descend in this direction?" They answered him, "This mountain extends without a break, passing by the sea of Bêth-Ḳaṭrâyê, and goes on and comes to an end in outer Persia near India; and from this road and upwards the mountain goes to a great river on this side of the sea. And there are narrow paths there which a man is unable to pass through unless he be on horseback. And people who pass through the mountain are unable to do so without bells that ring, for animals come up from the sea and from the rivers and descend from the mountains and crouch in the path, and if men go to pass through it without bells that ring, they perish immediately." Alexander said, "This mountain is higher and more terrible than all the mountains which I have seen." The old men, the natives of the country, said to the king: "Yea, by your majesty, my lord the king, neither we nor our fathers have been able to march one step in it, and men do not ascend it either on that side or on this, for it is the boundary which God has set between us and the nations within it." Alexander said, "Who are the nations within this mountain upon which we are looking?......" The natives of the land said, "They are the Huns." He said to them, "Who are their kings?" The old men said: "Gôg[2] and Mâgôg and Nâwâl the kings of the sons of Japhet; and Gîg and Têâmrôn, and Tiyâmrôn, and Bêth-Gamlî and Yâphô'bar, and Shûmârdâḳ, and Glûsîḳâ, and 'Ekshâphâr, and Salgaddô, and Nîslîḳ, and Âmarphîl, and Ḳâ'ôzâ, these are the kings of the Huns[3]." Alexander said, "What is their appearance, and their clothing, and their languages?" The old men answered and said to the king: "Some of them have blue eyes, and their

[1] ܐܚܫܘܪܫ probably means Xerxes, like Ahasuerus (for אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is a corruption of אחשירש, *i.e.* חשירש, as the name is written in the stele of Saḳḳârâh, *Khshiyarsh*).

[2] In Knös (p. 80) this word is spelt ܐܓܘܓ.

[3] The names of the twenty-two kingdoms which were imprisoned within the northern gate by Alexander are, according to the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 128), as follows:—Gôg, Mâgôg, Nâwâl, Eshkĕnâz, Dĕnâphâr, Paḳṭâyê, Wĕlôṭâyê, Humnâyê, Parzâyê, Daḳlâyê, Thaubĕlâyê, Darmĕtâyê, Kawkĕbâyê, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emdĕrâthâ, Garmîdô', Cannibals, Therḳâyê, Âlânâyê, Pîsîlôn, Denḳâyê, and Salṭrâyê.

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women have but one breast apiece; and the women fight more than the men, for they wound a man with knives. They hang knives upon their thighs and arms and necks, so that, if one of them should get into a fight, wherever she stretches out her hand she can lay hold of a knife. They wear dressed skins; and they eat the raw flesh of everything which dies of theirs; and they drink the blood of men and of animals[1]. They do not besiege or fight against cities and fortresses, but they run to the paths and gates of fortresses and cities, and they surround the men who come out to meet them outside. They are swifter than the wind that blows, and ere the rumour of their going forth to battle is heard, they outstrip the whole world; for they are sorcerers, and they run between heaven and earth, and their chariots and swords and spears flash like fearful lightnings. They carry maces in their hands, and each has two or three horses;......between fifty and sixty men, and they go before and after him, and the noise of each one's outcry is more terrible than the voice of a lion; for it is the will of God that delivers the nations into each other's hands, and the terror of the Huns is fearful upon all creatures that see them, for they are no lovers of mankind. When they go forth to war, they fetch a pregnant woman, and pile up a fire, and bind her in front of the fire, and cook her child within her, and her belly bursts open and the child comes forth roasted. Then they lay it in a trough and throw water upon its body, and its body melts away in this water; and they take their swords and bows and arrows and spears, and dip them in this water. And to every one whom this water touches, it appears as if there were a hundred thousand horsemen with him; and by the side of every hundred men there seem to stand one hundred thousand bands of demons, for their sorceries are greater than those of all kingdoms. And of this too, my lord, we inform thy majesty," said the old men to Alexander, "The Huns go not forth to spoil except where the anger of God goes up that He may slay the fathers and the children and that the Lord may smite the earth in His anger, for they are fiercer than all the

[1] Comedent carnes hominum et bibent sanguinem bestiarum sicut aquam. See Methodius (ed. *Brant*). Adventus Gog et Magog.

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kings in their wars[1]." Alexander said to the natives of that country, "Have they come forth to spoil in your days?" The old men answered and said to the king: "May God establish thy kingdom and thy crown, my lord the king! These fortresses which have been overturned in our lands and in the lands of the Romans, have been overthrown by them; by them have these towers been uprooted; when they go forth to spoil, they ravage the land of the Romans and of the Persians, and then they enter their own territory." Alexander said to them, "Who are the nations that live beyond these?" The old men replied, "Those of Bêth-Âmardâth and the Dog-men; and beyond the Dog-men is the nation of the Mĕnînê; and beyond the nation of the Mĕnînê there are no human beings but only terrible mountains and hills and valleys and plains and horrible caves, in which are serpents and adders and vipers, so that men cannot go thither without being immediately devoured by the serpents, for the lands are waste, and there is nothing there save desolation. Within all these mountains the Paradise of God appears afar off. Now Paradise is neither near heaven nor earth; like a fair and strong city, so it appears between heaven and earth; and the clouds and darkness which surround it are visible afar off, and the horn[2] of the north wind rests upon it." And Alexander said to them: "How do the four rivers go forth?" The old men replied: "My lord, we will inform thy majesty. God made four rivers to go forth from the Paradise of Eden. Because God knew that men would dare to seize the rivers, and would go by means of them to enter Paradise, He drew the rivers within the earth, and brought them through valleys and mountains and plains, and brought them through a number of mountains, and made them issue forth from the mountains, and there is one which He made to flow from a cave. And He surrounded Paradise with seas and rivers and the Ocean, the fœtid sea; and men are unable to draw near to Paradise, neither can they see where the rivers go forth, but they see that they go forth either from the mountains or from the valleys."

[1] ܟܠ ܫܬ ܘܫܒܥ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܡܬܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ "Each one of them stands six or seven cubits high." Knös, p. 80, l. 15.

[2] It is the point or quarter from which the north wind blows.

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When Alexander had heard what the old men said, he marvelled greatly at the great sea which surrounded all creation; and Alexander said to his troops, "Do ye desire that we should do something wonderful in this land?" They said to him, "As thy majesty commands we will do." The king said, "Let us make a gate of brass and close up this breach." His troops said, "As thy majesty commands we will do." And Alexander commanded and fetched three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand men, workers in brass. And they put down brass and iron, and kneaded it as a man kneads when he works clay. Then they brought it and made a gate, the length of which was twelve cubits and its breadth eight cubits[1]. And he made a lower threshold from mountain to mountain, the length of which was twelve cubits; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountains, and it was fixed in with brass and iron. The height of the lower threshold was three cubits. And he made an upper threshold from mountain to mountain, twelve cubits in length; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountain, and fixed in it two bolts of iron, each bolt being twelve cubits [long]; and the bolts went into the rock two cubits; and he made two bolts of iron from rock to rock behind the gate, and fixed the heads of the bolts into the rocks. He fixed the gate and the bolts, and he placed nails of iron and beat them down one by the other, so that if the Huns came and dug out the rock which was under the threshold of iron, even if footmen were able to pass through, a horse with its rider would be unable to pass, so long as the gate that was hammered down with bolts stood. And he brought and hammered down a lower threshold and hinge for the gate, and he cast therein bolts of iron, and made it swing round on one side like the gates of Shûshan the fortress. And the men brought and kneaded iron and brass and covered therewith the gate and its posts one by one, like a man when he moulds clay. And he made a bolt of iron in the rocks, and hammered out an iron key twelve cubits long, and made locks of brass turn therewith. And behold the gate was hung and stood[2].

[1] See Müller, p. 143, col. 1, l. 20; *Bar-Hebraei Chron. Syr.* ed. Bruns, I. p. 39; and Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 87.

[2] According to Marco Polo the defile in the mountains where Alexander

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And king Alexander fetched [an engraver] and inscribed upon the gate: "The Huns shall go forth and conquer the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and shall cast arrows with......, and shall return and enter their own land. Also I have written that, at the conclusion of eight hundred and twenty-six years, the Huns shall go forth by the narrow way which goes forth opposite Halôrâs, whence the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they shall take captive the nations, and shall cut off the roads, and shall make the earth tremble by their going forth. And again I have written and made known and prophesied that it shall come to pass, at the conclusion of nine hundred and forty years,...... another king, when the world shall come to an end by the command of God the ruler of creation. Created things shall anger God, and sin shall increase, and wrath shall reign[1], and the sins of mankind shall mount up and shall cover the heavens, and the Lord will stir up in His anger the kingdoms that lie within this gate; for when the Lord seeks to slay men, he sends men against men, and they destroy one another. And the Lord will gather together the kings and their hosts which are within this mountain, and they shall all be assembled at His beck, and shall come with their spears and swords, and shall stand behind the gate, and shall look up to the heavens, and shall call upon the name of the Lord, saying, 'O Lord, open to us this gate.' And the Lord shall send His sign from heaven and a voice shall call on this gate, and it shall be destroyed and fall at the beck of the Lord, and it shall not be opened by the key which I have made for it. And a troop shall go through this gate which I have made, and a full span shall be worn away from the lower threshold[2] by the hoofs of the horses which with

built the Iron Gate extended four leagues. The pass referred to is probably the Pass of Derbend, "apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, known to the Arab geographers as the Gate of Gates (باب الابواب), but which is still called in Turkish Demîr-Kâpi or the Iron Gate, and to the ancient Wall that runs from the castle of Derbend along the ridges of Caucasus, called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar*, the Rampart of Alexander." Col. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, I. p. 55, note 3.

[1] Knös, p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 95.

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their riders shall go forth to destroy the land by the command of the Lord; and a span shall be worn away from the upper threshold by the points of the spears of those that shall run over it and go forth. And when the Huns have gone forth, as God has commanded, the kingdoms of the Huns and the Persians and the Arabs, the twenty-four kingdoms that are written in this book, shall come from the ends of the heavens and shall fall upon one another, and the earth shall melt through the blood and dung of men. Then the kingdom of the Greeks shall move itself, and shall come and take a hammer of iron in its right hand, and a hammer of brass in its left, and the kingdom of Greece shall smite the hammers one upon the other, and as iron which is melted by fire, and as brass which boils in the flame, so shall the power of the kingdoms melt away before the might of the kingdom of the Greeks which is that of the Romans. And the kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians shall be desolated the one by the other; only a few of them shall escape who shall flee to their country; and what remains of them the kingdom of the Romans shall destroy. And my kingdom, which is called that of the house of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, shall go forth and destroy the earth and the ends of the heavens; and there shall not be found any among the nations and tongues who dwell in the world that shall stand before the kingdom of the Romans. Lo, I Alexander have written and made known [these things] in my own handwriting, and verily I have not lied in what I have written; but perhaps the nations and the world will not believe that what I have written will come to pass; but if ye will not receive my word, receive [that of] Jeremiah the prophet who long ago pointed out that kingdom in his prophecy, and spake thus in his book[1], 'Evil shall be opened from the north upon all the inhabitants of the land.' And behold I have a sign, which is wrought by God: on the rock which is within the gate on the one side,......[2] and as it rises from the rock it is narrow; and on the other side there hangs a sponge full of blood, and the blood descends upon the

[1] Jerem. i. 14. The land of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world. Knös, p. 92, l. 2.

[2] Some words seem to have been omitted here.

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rock, and the Huns come and smear their heads with it, and return. And this testimony is set there by God that men may see and fear; for as that blood descends from that sponge, so shall the blood of man be shed upon the mountains and the hills." So Alexander and his troops marvelled at the gate which they had made. Then the people of that country went down and said to Tûbârlâḳ[1] the king of the Persians, "Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, the king of the Greeks, is come hither and has made a gate of iron in the face of the Huns; but arise, take thy army, and come and slay him, and take whatever he has." And Tûbârlâḳ arose and sent to Mĕshazbĕrî, the king of Inner India, and to Bar-Sîdaḳ, the king of Ḳâdêsh, and to Hûrazdân, the king of Javan; and he sent to Armenia, and to all the countries that were obedient to him, and hired and brought eighty-two[2] kings and their armies, one million one hundred and thirty thousand men. And they took counsel together before Tûbârlâḳ and before all the kings and their hosts, and decided to come. Now it was the time of summer, and Alexander's whole camp was lying down and at rest. And the king himself had scarcely lain down, when lo, the Lord came to Alexander and found him asleep, and He called him and said to him, "Rise up from there." And the king arose and knelt down and did reverence to the Lord; and the Lord said to him, "Behold, I have magnified thee above all kingdoms, and I have made horns of iron to grow on thy head that thou mayest thrust down the kingdoms of the earth with them; and upon me thou didst rely when thou wentest forth to war and to see the countries. But lo, a multitude of kings and their armies are coming against thee to slay thee; call upon me that I may come to aid thee, for I am the Lord, and I help all those that call upon me." And the Lord departed from Alexander.

And the king aroused his troops and said to them, "Behold, the spoilers are coming against us. Let now the watchmen go up to the top of the mountain, and spy and see, for the Lord has appeared to me in this hour." And the watchmen went up and saw the troops and their kings, a host without end. And

[1] ܛܘܒܪܠܟ Knös, p. 82, l. 9.

[2] Sixty-two, Knös, p. 83, l. 3.

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they ran and said to the king, "O king, we perish; but God, who knows their number, will slay them." And king Alexander straightway commanded the army to be numbered, [to see] how many were dead and how many were alive. And the camp was numbered, and there were found therein three hundred and sixteen thousand, and four thousand had died; for when they went forth from Alexandria, there were three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander commanded every man of his troops over whom he had power, saying, "Let every man who is here offer an incense offering upon sherds or upon stones to the Lord, for the Lord will surely come to our assistance, and He will come and find the odour of the camp pleasant with the incense of spices." Then Alexander took his crown and his purple robes and laid them before the Lord, and said, "Thou, O Lord, hast power over my life and my kingdom, and to thee belongs dominion. Do thou deliver thy servant and his camp from his enemies." And while Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies surrounded them. And Alexander answered and said, "Victory is the Lord's"; and the camp cried out and said, "O God, come to our aid." And Alexander said, "O Lord, who didst appear to me in this land, help us." Then the Lord appeared, coming upon the chariot of the Seraphim, and the watchers and the angels came before Him with praises. And He led His host upon the camp of Alexander, and the Lord appeared standing on the west. And the whole of Alexander's camp looked towards the Lord, and the Lord became a helper to the camp, and the people were strengthened, for the Lord had come for their deliverance. Then a terrible fight arose, the people crying out, "This battle is the Lord's, who has come down and stood in it." And the Lord again appeared to Alexander and said to him, "Fear neither the kings nor their troops, for behold I am with thee." And the voice of the Lord went along thundering among them, until the kings and their armies trembled before the camp of God. And Alexander and his troops slew sixty kings and their hosts, and those that fled, fled, and those that were scattered, were scattered; and he took Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, but slew him not.

Then Alexander and his troops stood up, and Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, being bound[1], and the nobles of all Persia; and

[1] Knös, p. 86, l. 4.

Tûbârlâḳ brought forth gold and silver and beryls and pearls and precious stones of sapphire, and gave them to king Alexander. And Alexander subdued all Persia upon the sea of Darkness. And he was going to slay Tûbârlâḳ; and Tûbârlâḳ said to him, "What wilt thou gain, if thou slayest me? Take the gold that I have, and I will pledge Persia to thee that she shall give thee tribute fifteen years; and then, after the fifteen years, Babylon and Assyria shall be......" And Tûbârlâḳ and Alexander sat down, and took counsel together and said that six thousand men of the Romans, and six thousand men of the Persians, should go and guard that gate of iron and brass which is in the north, and that every man should eat and drink at the expense of the king who sent him. And Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia brought sorcerers and enchanters, and the signs of the zodiac, and fire and water, and all his gods, and made divination by them; and they told him that at the final consummation of the world the kingdom of the Romans would go forth and subdue all the kings of the earth; and that whatever king was found in Persia would be slain, and that Babylon and Assyria would be laid waste by the command of God. Thus did king Tûbârlâḳ make divination, and he gave [it] in his own handwriting to king Alexander. And he put down in writing with Alexander what should befall Persia, that the king and his nobles prophesied that Persia should be laid waste by the hand of the Romans, and all the kingdoms be laid waste, but that that power should stand and rule to the end of time, and should deliver the kingdom of the earth to the Messiah who is to come.

And Alexander and his troops arose and went forth from Persia, and they went up by the wilderness, and he came and encamped in the mount of the Romans. And Alexander brought the smiths whom he had fetched from Egypt, and gave them Bêth Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar to cultivate and live in, and they were not to give tribute to the king. And Alexander went up and worshipped in Jerusalem, and put ships to sea and went to Alexandria, and when he died, he gave his royal throne of silver to be in Jerusalem.

Here ends the history of the Achievements and Wars of Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Greeks.

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A BRIEF LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

The Life, or history, in brief terms, of Alexander, king of the Macedonians[1]. King Alexander was the son by adultery of Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt, and of Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of the Macedonians. According to the deception by which his father deceived his mother when he committed adultery with her, the son was attributed to Ammon, the god of Thebes, who was the forefather of all the Egyptian kings. This [youth] was victorious in many contests before he became king, and also in divers wars against hostile nations, who were constantly rebelling against Philip and against the Macedonians. He became king over the Macedonians after Philip, when he was twenty years old. First of all he persuaded all the nations of the Greeks and their kings and chiefs to receive him as king, and that he should reign over them. As he subdued many of them merely by words, he was only compelled to reduce some few by arms and war. Afterwards, however, when he went to Italy and entered Rome, being received with great honours and with crowns by the inhabitants of Rome, he subdued for them the Africans, who were in rebellion against them. When he had come from thence to Egypt, and had recognised the statue and image of his father, and learned the augury about Nectanebus, and made known to the Egyptians concerning himself and concerning his descent from their king, he persuaded them to be subject to him. And when he had come from thence to the regions of Palestine and Judaea and Phoenicia and Syria and Arabia, and had subdued and conquered them, he made war with Darius, the king of the Persians, in Cilicia, who at that time was master of these countries. And when he had overcome him, he subdued

[1] Translated from the Syriac text in Prof. P. de Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205–208.

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the countries which were under him, I mean Cilicia and Cappadocia and Galatia and Asia and all the earth as far as Pontus. And he immediately spread with a sudden onslaught over all the territory of the Persians, and fought a second battle with King Darius and overcame him. And when Darius had been slain by treachery by enemies who were under his rule, he punished those who had slain him; and either by kindness or by force he brought all the nations that were subject to the kingdom of the Persians to be subject to him. And he took Roxana, the daughter of King Darius, to wife. When he had set out from thence to the northern regions, and had gone to Media, and from thence to the gates of Kaspia, and had passed through all the countries of the Scythian nations that were in the north, he made a sudden onslaught with the Macedonians and Persians upon Porus the king of the Indians. When Porus had gathered together a large army against him, in the first battle he was overcome and subdued by him. In the second battle however, after Porus had rebelled against him, when he fought in single combat with Alexander, he was conquered by him and slain. Afterwards, when Alexander had set out from thence he went to the country of the Brahmans, the naked sages. And when he had discussed many things with them, he departed from thence, going round about all the territories of the Indians. And he saw divers places, and terrible and destructive beasts and deadly reptiles; and he passed through numerous and divers nations of barbarians, and underwent many toils. After these things he went also to the king of the Sînâyê (Chinese); and from thence he went against all the northern nations. He also passed by the Serici who [live] in......[1] And when they had received him and become subject to him, he built a city there and named it Samîrkîr (Samarkand). From thence he came to the country of the Soghdians, and there too he built a city and named it Kûsh. From thence likewise he came to Merg (Merv), and there too he built a city and called its name Margiânôs. After all these things, when he had returned to the land of the Persians, he went from thence to see the kingdom of the country of Shebâ, over which a woman reigned whose name was Candace. And when he had gone and had been received nobly, he

[1] ܐܘܪܣܛܩ

approached also from thence to the realm of the Amazon women. And when he had accepted many gifts from them, he returned to the city of Babylon in the land of the Chaldeans. While he was there, Cassander, the son of Antipater, one of his generals, arrived from Macedonia, and administered a deadly poison to him while drinking, and killed him. All the days of his life were thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he reigned twelve years and seven months.

He built thirteen cities and named them after his own name. The first, Alexandria Bucephalus; the second Alexandria the fortified; the third Alexandria which is in the land of the Persians; the fourth that which is in the country of king Porus; the fifth that which is in the land of Gâlikôs; the sixth, that which is in the land of the Scythians; the seventh, that which is upon the shore of the great sea; the eighth, that which is near Babylon; the ninth, Alexandria which is in the land of Serici, which is called Samîrkîr (Samarḳand); the tenth, Alexandria which is in the land of the Soghdians, which is called Kûsh and Babel; the eleventh, Alexandria which is called Margiânôs (Merv); the twelfth, that which is upon the bank of the rivers on the road to the Indians; the thirteenth, the great Alexandria which is in Egypt.

Now when he was about to die in Babylon, he made a testament and commanded and distributed his dominions among twelve of his servants. He gave to Kartados (Craterus) Macedonia; to Ptolemy all Egypt; and to Priscus (Perdiccas) Asia. He appointed Lysimachus over Thrace; Dôrân over the Hellespont; Antigonus over Pamphylia and Lycia; Andreas over Great Phrygia; Pîrôs over Cilicia; Python and his wife over Syria and as far as Mesopotamia; Adomnos (Eumenês) over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Seleucus over Babylon. He commanded that Manpath (Meleager) should rule over Phœnicia and Coelesyria; and he made his wife Roxane mistress over all the country of the Assyrians and Media and Parthia, and he commanded that she should be given in marriage to Priscus (Perdiccas). And after he was dead, his captains brought his body to the great Alexandria which is in Egypt, as they had been commanded by him, and they buried him there.

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p. 66 A DISCOURSE COMPOSED BY MÂR JACOB[1] UPON ALEXANDER, THE BELIEVING KING, AND UPON THE GATE WHICH HE MADE AGAINST ÂGÔG AND MÂGÔG[2].

Through Thee, O splendour of the Father, I begin to speak,
By Whose victory the righteous have been victorious in their wars[3].
In love, O Lord, give me speech from Thy doctrine[4],
That the speech of wonder may run among the listeners[5].

[1] *I.e.*, Jacob of Sĕrûgh. He was born at Kurtam, a village on the river Euphrates, in the year 451, and he died at Batnân, the chief town of Sĕrûgh, on the 29th of November 521, aged seventy years. For a summary of his life and writings see the Article *Syriac Literature* by Prof. Wright in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. xxii. pp. 824—856.

[2] Translated from the Syriac text of this discourse published by Knös, *Chrest. Syr.* 1807, pp. 66—107. There is a German translation of it by A. Weber entitled *Des Mor Yaqûb Gedicht über den gläubigen König Alexandrûs*, Berlin, 1852. The edition of the text by Knös contains numerous misprints and the manuscript from which it was edited seems to be very faulty. Dr. Zotenberg of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has most kindly collated a large number of the faulty passages in the printed text with the original manuscript, and I have given the results of this collation, together with the corrections of some misprints, at the foot of the pages of the English translation which follows. The Syriac extracts which occur in the footnotes are taken from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14624, ff. 20*b*—34*a*, col. 1, (see Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. ii. p. 782); a number of variant readings which will help to make clearer the text published by Knös have also been added.

[3] These two first lines are wanting in Add. 14624. [4] Read ܡܠܦܢܟ

[5] Add. 14624 has ܡ̈ܡܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡ̈ܠܠܝܢ ܠܗܪܐ ܡܢܗ ܡ̈ܫܡܥܢܐ.

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Through the knowledge which is sanctified[1] from corporeal thoughts
Will I sing[2] to Thee [with] sounds of glory in the congregations.
p. 67 From Thee shall my pain-bearing tongue put on armour[3],
With understanding and the word full of life and of all good things[4].
Overshadow[5] my feebleness with the compassion of Thy sweetness,
And we shall possess[6] riches from Thy gift full of beauties.
And Thee, O Lord, shall my feeble mouth preach with a loud voice[7].
O Jesus, the Light, Who redeemed creation by His crucifixion,
Thee are the fiery hosts eager[8] to praise,
With glory and power will I sing unto Thee bowing low in adoration.
The fiery Cherubim bear Thee, O Lord, upon their wings[9],
And the fiery ranks ascribe to Thy name all adoration.
The watchers of the height bow down[10] in trembling to praise [Thee],
But how can I, the feeble one, speak of Thee?
The fiery hosts bless Thee, O Lord, with holiness,
And with them the assemblies of the house of Gabriel ascribe honour [to Thee].
The terrible Seraphim adore Thee, O Lord, with their hymns[11],
But I, the wretched one, how can I bring forth glory to Thy name?

[1] Add. 14624 ܒܡܕܥܐ ܕܡܬܩܕܫ [2] Add. 14624 ܐܙܡܪ [3] Add. 14624 ܠܒܫ ܢܘܢܝܢ ܚܝܠܐ [4] Add. 14624 ܒܣܘܟܠܘܬܐ ܡܠܠܝ̈ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܛܒ̈ܬܐ [5] Add. 14624 ܬܛܠܠ ܚܢܢܐ [6] Add. 14624 ܘܐܩܢܐ

[7] After this line Add. 14624 has ܡܟܪܙܘܗ̇ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܥ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܒܗ ܡܩܒܠܐ ⁘ ܟܕ ܡܬܟܪܙ ܥܠ ܩܝܣܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ

[8] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܬܚܦܛܝܢ [9] Add. 14624 ܒܓܦܝܗܘܢ

[10] Add. 14624 ܣܓܕܝܢ [11] Add. 14624 ܒܩܠܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܐ

The captains of the hosts and the hosts of heavenly beings,
p. 68 Glorify [Thee] with trembling, though their songs are beautiful.
O Good One, Who bindest on the crowns of kings and governors,
Grant that I may speak about the kingdom of the son of Philip[1]!

This king, full of wisdom, gathered together to his dominion[s][2]
The captains of the hosts[3] and the hosts with their ranks.
And when the captains of thousands and all the wise men were gathered together[4],
Lords and governors and warriors,
Then began Alexander, the son of Philip,
To speak with them, while they marvelled at his discourse[5].
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said,
"I desire[6] greatly to go forth and see countries,
And also what is the condition of lands far away,
I will also go forth and see seas and boundaries and all the quarters of the world[7];
And more than all [I desire] to go in and see the Land of Darkness,
If[8] it is in truth as I have heard it is[9]."
All these things were spoken by the king[10]
To the captains of the hosts[11] and to the captains of thousands and to the lords[12].

ܒܠܗܘܪܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܡܘܪ̈ܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܢܘܡܝ ܠܟܘ. ܩܕܝܫ
ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ [ܠܟܘ] ܡܪܝ ܒܟܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܗܘܢ ܀

[1] After this line Add. 14624 has ܡܪܐ ܩ̈ܠܠܐ ܕܐܘܪܒ ܐܝܩ̈ܐ ܒܐܘܚ̈ܕܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܒ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
[2] Add. 14624 ܒܐܘܚܕܢܗ
[3] Read ܠܪ̈ܒܝ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ
[4] Add. 14624 ܐܬܟܢܫ
[5] Read ܒܡܡܠܠܗ
[6] Add. 14624 ܪܓܝܓ
[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܐܦܩ ܘܐܚܙܐ ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܬܚܘ̈ܡܐ ܘܟܠ ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ
[8] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ
[9] Read ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
[10] Add. 14624 adds ܠܪܘܪ̈ܒܢܘܗܝ ܡܥܘܪܢܐ
[11] Add. 14624 ܠܪ̈ܒܝ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ
[12] Add. 14624 adds ܘܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

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And after he had subdued Macedonia which had rebelled[1] against him,
He went down and dwelt[2] in the chief town of all[3] Egypt,
And he bound on the crown, and he became greater and stronger[4] than all kings.
When the question went forth from him to the chiefs[5],
They said to him, "Master, the terrible seas which surround[6] the world
Will not allow[7] thee to go over and see the land."
The king marvelled at what he had heard from his subjects (lit. dominion),
And he began to speak to his hosts like[8] a wise man.
The king said, "Have ye been and seen the seas[9]
Which, according to what ye say, surround the whole earth?"
They say to him, "Master, within these terrible seas
Is the fœtid sea, which, of a truth, is full of quaking.
And unless men decree death to their lives with great wrath
They never come to the fœtid sea."
The king said, "Let us go and see if, of a truth[10],
The terrible seas and the fœtid sea [are] as we have heard."
p. 70 They say to him, "Master, thy wisdom hath well commanded;
Let us gather together[11] the hosts and go and see the countries."
The command went forth[12] from the king speedily,
And he assembled[13] straightway the hosts in great multitude.
He gathered together[14] riders, and captains of thousands, and lofty seats,
And ready soldiers, and mighty men[15] dressed in armour,

1 Read ܕܡܪܕܬ 2 Add. 14624 ܘܐܬܒ ܗܘܐ 3 Read ܕܟܠܗ̇
4 Add. 14624 ܘܐܬܒ ܘܐܥܫܢ 5 Add. 14624 adds ܘܩܪܒ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬ̈ܐ 6 Add. 14624 ܕܚܕܝܪܝܢ ܠܗ and omits ܠܬܒܝܠ
7 Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܡܫܒܩܝܢ 8 Read ܐܝܟ here and in lines 53 and 56.
9 Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܙܠܬܘܢ ܐܬܝܬܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬܘܢ ܚܙܝܬܘܢ ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܚܕܝܪܝܢ 10 Add. 14624 ܒܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ. 11 Add. 14624 ܟܢܫ
12 Read ܢܦܩ 13 Add. 14624 ܘܟܢܫ 14 Add. 14624 ܟܢܫ ܪ̈ܟܫܐ ܘܪ̈ܫܝ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܘܡܘܬܒ̈ܐ 15 Add. 14624 ܘܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ

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And horses and men; and the king marvelled at his forces.
Then the wise king in his wisdom commanded,
"Let ships be prepared for the host[1].
Let also men be taken who have gone and seen the land
And the countries and the terrible seas and the fœtid sea."
He made ready a great multitude of ships for his hosts[2],
And he filled them with all kinds of food[3] for horse and man.
The believing[4] king Alexander, the son of Philip,
In his wisdom did[5] this, and his heart rejoiced
Because the people were gathered together to him quickly[6].
He took the number of his troops of the Âmôrâyê[7],
p. 71 One thousand three hundred and many more with polished armour[8].
And he sent and told Sôrîḳ[9] the king of all Egypt
To send to him from his dominions all the artificers,
Workers in brass and iron, men full of skill,
For the Lord had beckoned to him to make a gate against Mâgôg.
Twelve[10] thousand cunning workmen
Did Sôrîḳ[11] the king of Egypt send to the son of Philip.
King Alexander made ready iron and brass a great quantity,
And, in his wisdom[12], he filled[13] the ships therewith.
He[14] alone knew this mystery,
Which[15] Jeremiah, in his prophecy, had prophesied concerning him.

[1] Add. 14624 has ܕܢܛܠܬ̈ܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܠܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܠܡܫܩܠ ܚܝܠܐ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܝ̈ܗ ܘܡܠܘܗ̇ ܐܘܪܚܐ: ܘܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܡܠܐ ܗܢܝܢ: ܛܥܢ ܠܟܠܗ̇ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܠܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܗ

[3] Add. 14624 ܛܥ̈ܢܐ [4] Add. 14624 ܪܚܡܢܐ [5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܣܥܪܗ̇ [6] Add. 14624 omits this line. [7] Add. 14624 ܕܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ [8] Add. 14624 ܘܬܠܬܡܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܚܡܝܠܐ [9] Add. 14624 ܠܣܘܪܝܟ [10] Add. 14624 ܘܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ [11] Add. 14624 ܣܘܪܝܟ [12] Read ܒܚܟܝܡܘܬܗ [13] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܡܠܐ. [14] Add. 14624 ܕܗܘ [15] Reading with Add. 14624 ܗܘ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ

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The great king went forth[1] with his subjects[2],
The horns sounded[3] and the thousands and the ranks were gathered together and went forth.
The camp rose up and went forth, and the king marvelled[4],
And his hosts began to go down into the great sea.
The earth[5] was astonished at the rumour of king Alexander.
The king[6] set his course on the sea towards India[7];

p. 72 After four months the king and his host went up from the sea,
And spread[8] abroad in the land, and creation was filled with their hosts.
Quaking fell upon the lands and their inhabitants
By reason of the multitude[9] of the hosts which terrified them.
And they went and came and drew near to the border of the fœtid sea,
And they departed[10] by reason of its stench, they fled away from its noise, and the king's soul was astonished[11].
And he made straight his way towards the lofty mountain Mâsîs[12],

[1] Read ܕܢܦܩܘܢ

[2] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܥܡ ܡܫܠܛܢܘܗܝ:
ܘܩܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܡܗܘܐ ܘܬܗܪܐ ܢܦܠ ܒܐܘܪܚܗ:

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܠܩܐ ܘܟܬܢܐ ܘܫܦܪܐ ܘܬܩܢܐ ܘܡܬܟܢܫܐ

[4] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܢܦܩܝ ܗܘ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܝܬ ܠܗܪܐ ܒܬܪ ܡܠܟܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܬܗܪܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܫܡܥܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ

[6] Add. 14624 adds ܘܫܠܛܢܘܬܗ [7] Add. 14624 adds ܘܟܝܠ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܐܬܘܪܬܐ

[8] Add. 14624 ܘܦܪܣܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܠܘ ܐܪܥܐ [9] Read ܣܘܓܐܐ

[10] Read either ܘܐܙܠܘ or ܘܙܠܘ

[11] Add. 14624 ܟܕ ܠܟܝܢ ܢܦܫܐ ܘܦܠܠܚܐ ܘܒܠܗܘܢ ܢܝܚܘܬܗ ∵
ܘܦܩܕ ܟܠ ܘܒܪܗ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܗܘܐ:
ܟܕ ܡܢ ܪܝܚܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܩܠܗ ܘܬܗܪܬ ܢܦܫܗ:

[12] Add. 14624 ܡܣܝܣ

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He ascended the mountain and stood upon its summit and looked at the lands,
And with him were all the thousands and ranks and hosts.
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said
To the hosts, "Let us straightway go forth by the way of the north."
The king went in and took possession of (lit. stood upon) the lands, and [the people] feared him,
And fled[1] away from him, for his great fame made them flee away[2].
When the king saw that the inhabitants of the land trembled at him,
He sent before him some of his ambassadors to proclaim[3] peace, [saying]
"Let the people remain[4], and let no man flee before them (*i. e.*, the hosts)."
He gave the word and swore by his life through the heralds,
p. 73 "I will not slay, nor carry away captive, nor destroy."
The heralds cried, "Alexander the great king
Has come to this land in peace, neither slaying,
Nor leading away into captivity, nor carrying away spoil[5],
Let every man dwell in his habitation in peace and without fear!
Let the nobles and the aged men of the country go[6] to him,
For he has given the word of his mouth which never lies."
He in his wisdom gathered together and brought the nobles and the aged,
That he might learn from them of the matter of the secrets of the land[7].
Three hundred old, greyheaded men were gathered together to him,

[1] Read ܘܥܪܩܘ [2] Add. 14624 ܐܪܗܒ [3] Read ܕܢܟܪܙ
[4] Read ܕܢܬܒ [5] Add. 14624 ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܚܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܚܪܒ ܠܗ [6] Add. 14624 ܢܐܙܠܘܢ [7] Add. 14624 ܕܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܢܐܠܦ ܥܠ ܡܣܬܪܝܢ ܘܐܪܙܘܗܝ ܕܐܪܥܐ

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Intelligent men who knew the secrets of the land[1].
They went in and stood before the glorious king, and did reverence unto him[2],
And they saw his glory and his speech and his strength, and they feared him,
And they entreated him and besought him to have mercy upon them[3].
They say to him, "Master, may thy crown be magnified over all the world,
May thy fame and name overthrow kings and their dominions[4]!"
The king[5] rejoiced to be blessed by the old men[6],
p. 74 And he commanded them to sit on his right hand and on his left[7].
When they had sat down according to the command of the great king,
He began to question [them] wisely, saying,
"One thing my soul asketh you to show[8] me,
Where is the Land of Darkness[9]? I wish to see it."
They say to him, "Master, why seekest[10] thou the Land of Darkness?
Every one who hears the mention[11] of it flees that he may not enter therein.

[1] Add. 14624 adds ܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܗܘܢ ܐܟܚܕ:

[2] After this line Add. 14624 adds ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܘܪܝܘܗܝ ܘܐܙܠܘ ܐܬܘ. ܠܩܘܒܠܗ ܘܡܠܟܘܗ ܘܚܙܘܗ ܘܒܪܟܘܗ ܘܐܚܕܪܘܬܗ ܒܢܦܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܘܪܝܘܗܝ ܚܙܝܐ ܘܫܒܩܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܦܝܗܘܢ.

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܒܥܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܪܒܐ

[4] Add. 14624 ܢܗܦܘܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܪܝ ܫܘܠܛܢܝܗܘܢ

[5] Read ܡܠܟܐ ܒܡ

[6] Add. 14624 adds ܣܒܐ ܘܚܟܝܡܐ ܘܡܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ

[7] Add. 14624 ܕܢܬܒܘܢ ܡܢܐ ܘܣܡܠܐ

[8] Add. 14624 ܕܬܚܘܘܢ

[9] Add. 14624 ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܗܝܟܢ

[10] Add. 14624 ܠܡܢ ܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܗܝܟܢ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[11] Add. 14624 ܡܡܠܠܗ

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Some men, in their audacity, dared to enter therein,
And they went and perished and unto this day have not returned and come forth."
The king said, "Our coming to this land was on account of this,
And there is no other way[1] for me but to see it."
The old men say, "There is a great mountain
The length of the road to which from here is twelve days[2]."
The king said, "Give me men who know the country,
And as for the way, however far it may be, it will not be tedious to me."
There was one old, greyheaded man there
Who knew the way and was experienced[3] in the mysteries of the country.
p. 75 This old man answered and said to Alexander,
"I will go with thy majesty and show[4] thee."
Then the heart of the king rejoiced and his face became glad;
And he took the old men and the nobles and they went[5] with him.

And when he had come to the country in which was the Land of Darkness[6]
While as yet they were ten parasangs distant from the place,
One wise old man who knew mysteries[7] answered and
Said to the king, "Reveal to me the mystery and hide not it from me,
What is thy quest in the Land of Darkness? what [will it] profit [thee]?
And why hast thou come to the land in which there is no light[8]?"

[1] Add. 14624 ܡܫܟܚܬܐ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ

[2] Add. 14624 ܗܠܟܬܗ ܒܥܣܪܐ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ

[3] Read with Add. 14624 ܘܡܕܪܫ

[4] Read with Add. 14624 ܘܡܚܘܐ ܐܢܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܕܐܙܠܘ

[6] Add. 14624 ܗܘܬ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܝܕܥ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ

[8] Add. 14624 ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܡܛܠܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܘܡܒܥܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ

The king said, "I have heard that therein is the fountain of life,
And I desire greatly to go forth and see if, of a truth, it is [there]."
The old man said, "There are many fountains in the country,
And no man knoweth which is the fountain of the water of life."
The king said, "Do not dispute with me[1] concerning this matter,
For there is no other way for me but to go in and see the country."
Then the old man answered and said to him in his wisdom,
p. 76 "Since the matter is thus, seek out beasts from among the she-asses,
All of whom have[2] young and give suck.
According to the number of the men whom thou wishest to go into [the land] with thee
Let them bring beasts, and let them also bring their young with them."
The command went forth from the king full of wisdom,
And the people of the country went forth from him and gathered[3] together and brought five hundred beasts from among the she-asses.
After these things the old man said to the son of Philip,
"Command thy cook[4] to take with him a salt fish, and wherever he sees a fountain of water let him wash the fish[5];

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܝܠ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܡܬܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ
ܗܢܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܪܐܙܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܟܠܗ ܒܡܟܠܬܐ ܕܢܗܘܪܐ ܀ ܡܢ
ܡܠܟܐ ܒܢܗܘܪܐ ܠܐܓܪܐ ܠܗ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠܒܫ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܝܠ
ܒܗ ܢܗܘܪܐ

[1] Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܬܬܚܪܐ [2] Read ܕܐܝܠ ܠܗܘܢ

[3] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܢܦܩܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܝܬܝܘ

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܡܓܝܣܗ [5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܐܝܟܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܢܫܝܓܝܗܝ ܠܢܘܢܐ.

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And if it be that it comes to life in his hands when he washes it,
That is the fountain of the water of life which thou askest for, O king."
And when he arrived at the door which goeth into the Land of Darkness[1],
The king said to his cook[2], "Take thou a dry[3] fish,
And where thou seest a fountain of water, wash it.
And if it be that the fish comes to life in thy hand when thou washest it,
Reveal it to me and show me which is the fountain when thou hast found it."
The old man said, "Let the foals remain outside the door,
p. 77 For if they come in with us we shall perish[4]."
The king mounted and the chosen people that were with him,
And they began to go in, and they left the young asses outside the door;
And they then began to go down into the darkness,
Without knowing whither they were travelling in the land[5].
And when the cook[6] came to water he alighted and began to wash
The salt fish; and it did not come to life in his hand as had been said[7].

[1] Add. 14624 adds ܘܗܘܐ ܕܢܥܠܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܟܚܕ ܠܐܘܪܥܗ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܡܒܫܠܢܗ

[3] Add. 14624 ܢܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܝܚ ܘܝܒܫ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܫܩܠܝܢ.

[4] "The Tartars however sometimes visit the country, (*i.e.*, the land of Darkness) and they do it in this way. They enter the region riding mares that have foals, and these foals they leave behind. After taking all the plunder that they can get they find their way back by help of the mares, which are all eager to get back to their foals, and find the way much better than their riders could do." *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, ii. p. 485.

[5] Add. 14624 ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡ̈ܝܬܝܢ ܒܝܗ ܢܗܘܪܐ ܟܕ ܕ̈ܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܝܗܘ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܀

[6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܒܫܠܢܐ

[7] Add. 14624 adds ܘܟܠܐ ܟܕ ܕܐܬܪܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܫܒܩܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܢܘܢܐ ܒܡܝ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ.

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Finally he came to a fountain in which was the water of life,
And he drew near to wash the fish in the water, and it came to life and escaped.
The faulty one feared lest the king would require at his hand
That he should return to him the fish which came to life without impediment[1],
And he leaped down into the water to catch[2] it, but he was not able.
And he went up from the fountain to tell[3] the king that he had found the [fountain of life].
He cried out[4] and they heard him not, he went to the mountain and then they heard him[5].
Then the king rejoiced that he had heard of the fountain,
And he went back to bathe in it as he had asked.
He went to the mountain in the darkness but he did not stand upon it,
p. 78 And it was not granted to him by the Lord that he should live [for ever],
And he was grieved about this even unto death[6].

[1] Add. 14624 ܘܕܚܠ ܡܚܝܒܐ ܕܢܬܒܥܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܢܘܢܐ ܠܗ ܢܘܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܟܠܝܢܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܘܒܥܐ ܕܢܠܒܟܝܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܪܣܝܢ

[3] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ [4] Read ܩܥܐ

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܘܩܪܐ ܩܥܐ ܒܩܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܡܥ ܩܦܠܗ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܩܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܘܗܝ. ܘܟܠܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܝܬܒܘ ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܥܘܗܝ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܩܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܙܕܡܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܘܕܥܘܗܝ ܠܗ: ܥܠ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܐܫܟܚܗ ܢܘܢܐ ܘܗܘܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܢ.

[6] Add. 14624 ܘܟܪܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܟܠܝ ܘܟܒܐ ܡܥܝܪܢܘܬܐ: ܕܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܒܚܝܐ ܘܢܐܙܠ ܠܥܠܡ܀ ܘܟܪܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬ ܚܝܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ. ܕܠܐ ܫܟܚ ܕܢܚܐ

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And when the old man saw that he was afflicted with grief, [he said],
"The Lord hath not turned His face away from thee, O king."
The old man said, "Let us turn our beasts and let us go forth from here;
For the Lord does not wish thee to bathe in the fountain[1] and live for ever."
They turned[2] the beasts and they whipped them and they went out to their young ones.
The king turned being grieved that he had not accomplished the matter.
And the nobles came and comforted him by reason of [his] grief [saying][3],
"Master, be not afflicted on account of this, and let it not be grievous unto thee.
Look, master, and observe the early and middle generations,
That to each one of them has come its end and it has passed away and gone."

And Alexander in his wisdom began to ask questions, [saying,]
"What are these nations who are beyond you?
Has any king obtained[4] sovereignty in this land[5]?"

ܕܪܫܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ⁘ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܬܥܝܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܫܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ
ܘܒܢܝܫܬܐ ܡܬܡܪܬܐ ܡܬܬܥܝܩ ܗܘܐ ⁘ ܩܡ ܗܘܐ ܢܚܡܘܗܝ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܬܬܥܝܩ ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܟܪܐ
ܠܟ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܥܒܪ.

[1] Read ܒܡܥܝܢܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܐܗܦܟܘ

[3] Add. 14624 ܫܒܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܦܫ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܫܘܒܐ: ܘܐܬܘ ܗܫܐ ܒܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܒܥܘ ܘܦܝܣܘ ܠܗ: ܡܒܝܐܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܗܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܪܝܘܬܗ.

[4] Add. 14624 ܘܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܒܠ

[5] Add. 14624 adds ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚܘ ܟܢ ⁘

The wise men[1] looked upon this king full of wisdom [and saw]
How joyful he was at the advice of the old men and nobles of the country.
p. 79 The old men say, "This is the dominion of Tûbarlîḳâ[2]
The great king of the house of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê[3].
Within it are the peoples of the house of Japhet and of the house of Mâgôg,
A cunning nation, a flayed nation, an uprooted nation[4]."
The king said, "Have we a mountain from here onwards[5]?"
The old men say, "As far as the river Kallath[6] and [as far as] Halôrîs[7] [are]
Fearful, savage and lofty mountains with great terror,
And beyond them terrible mountains, a great boundary[8]
Which God hath set between us and them from all eternity."
The old men say, "It is altogether a difficult land
In which there are dragons and wild beasts and serpents[9],
And unless men pass the sentence of death upon their lives
They are not able to dwell with dragons and snakes[10]."

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܚܙܘ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܚܟܡܬܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܕܛܘܒܪܠܩ

[3] Add. 14264 ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܘܐܡܘܪܝܐ

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܥܡܐ ܡܫܠܚܐ ܥܡܐ ܥܩܝܪܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܠܐܝܬܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܐܝܠ ܠܟ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܡܟܐ ܘܠܗܠ

[6] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 56.

[7] Add. 14624 ܘܠܗܠܘܪܘܣ Halôrôs or Halôrîs is a place near the source of the Tigris, a journey of two days and a half from Âmid (Diarbekir) هلورس موضع عند مخرج دجلة علي يومين ونصف من آمد See مراصد الاطلاع ed. Juynboll, t. iii. p. ٣٢٢

[8] Add. 14624 reads ܘܠܗܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܚܣܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ

[9] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܢ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܘܬܐ

[10] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܥܡܪ ܥܡ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܘܚܘܘܬܐ

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Then the great king Alexander answered
In his wisdom, "How can we pass through[1] the mountains?"
He commanded and they brought armour[2], and he made every beast to carry [some of it].
The horses rattled the bells and the armour, and they passed
p. 80 through the land[3].
The old men say, "Look[4], my lord the king, and see a wonder,
This mountain which God has set as a great boundary."
King Alexander the son of Philip said,
"How far is the extent of this mountain[5]?"
The old men say, "Beyond India it extends in its appearance."
The king said, "How far does this side come?"
The old men say, "Unto all the ends of the earth."
And wonder seized the great king at the counsel[6] of the old men,
And he began to ask questions to learn more about everything.
The king said, "Who are these kings
And the terrible peoples which are beyond this mountain?"
The old men say, "Listen[7], O Master, and king; and we will tell thee.
Behold, the family of Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg are beyond us,
Terrible of aspect, hateful of form, of all heights,
The stature of each one of them is from six to seven cubits;
Their noses are flat[8] and their foreheads hateful.

[1] Add. 14624 ܒܡܚܫܒܬܗ ܐܬܦܪܣ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܠܗܘ ܟܠܗ ܡܢܝܢܐ

[2] Read ܐܣܛܐ

[3] Add. 14624 reads ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܝܠܗ ܕܢܛܥܢܘܢ ܢܦܫܩܘܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܣܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܙܝܢܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܗܘܘ ܢܣܒܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܡܬܩܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܫܩܐ ܘܢܘܪܐ. ܘܒܩܠܐ ܙܝܢܐ ܘܩܘܪܩܣ ܐܣܝܐ ܠܟܪܘܗܝ ܠܐܬܪܐ ∴

[4] Add. 14624 ܚܘܬ

[5] Add. 14624 ܠܐܝܟܐ ܦܟܝܐ ܬܚܘܡܗ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ

[6] Add. 14624 ܒܡܡܠܠܗ

[7] Read ܫܡܥ

[8] Add. 14624 ܫܛܝܚܝܢ

They bathe in blood, and in blood wash they also their heads;
p. 81 They drink blood and eat the flesh of men;
They wear skins, sharpen weapons and forge wrath,
And are more ferocious and have more wars than all other nations[1].
Where[2] the wrath of the Lord rises he sends them;
And they overturn the land, and uproot mountains, and devour men."
Then the son of Philip was grieved because he heard these things,
And he marvelled at this greatly within himself a long time.
Little by little he learned and understood everything which he asked[3],
And he had it in his mind to make there a great gate.
His mind was full[4] of spiritual thoughts,
While taking advice from the old men, the dwellers[5] in the land.

He looked at the mountain which encircled the whole world,
The great boundary which God had established from everlasting.
The king said, "Where have the hosts come forth
To plunder the land and all the world[6] from of old?"
They show him a place in the middle of the mountains,
A narrow pass which had been constructed by God.
p. 82 The king looked upon the narrow pass with wonderment,
And [saw] that the mountain extended[7] and was terrible in its strength on all sides.
Above it he saw a river of blood flowing down[8],

[1] Add. 14624 ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܕܒܪܝܢܗܘܢ

[2] Read ܘܐܝܟܐ [3] Add. 14625 ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܡܚܝܠ ܕܡܩܫܐ ܠܟܘܒ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܕܚܠܐ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܘܐܬܗܪ ܒܠܒܘܫܗ ܒܡܛܪܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ. ܒܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܀

[4] Read ܡܠܐ [5] Read ܠܥܡܪܝ [6] Add. 14624 ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܘܡܦܟܝܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ

[7] Read ܘܡܬܝܚ [8] Read ܢܚܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܕܡܐ ܕܪܕܐ

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And like a torrent of water flowing on against the people.
He examined it that he might make there a great door
Full of wonder in all the world to him that sees it.
The Spirit of the Lord stirred up the king, the son of Philip,
With all[1] thoughts to restrain wickedness from the lands.

Letters went to Tûbarlîḳî[2] the king of Persia, [saying,]
"Alexander the great king is in thy country,
He is not carrying away captive, nor slaying, nor spoiling,
Though he has with him countless hosts[3] of men.
He dwells peacefully in thy land[4] as if it
And the royalty and the dominion were his own."
When the king of Persia received this report
From the ambassadors who went into his presence with the
p. 83 letters,
Wonder took hold of the king of Persia on account of this,
And he trembled and was disturbed by the noise of the rumour of the great king[5].
And he sent and gathered together the forces that were in his dominion,
And he assembled and brought sixty-two other kings
To come to his aid and to help him with their hosts;
And they all gathered together and covered the earth like locusts.
And in great wrath all the kings took counsel
To go up against him and destroy him and blot out his name.

When all the kings with their hosts arrived,
And drew near to go in and throw war into the camp,
King Alexander, the son of Philip, lay down to sleep,
And he saw in his dream an angel saying[6] to him,

[1] Read ܟܠܐ [2] Add. 14624 always ܛܘܒܪܠܟ

[3] Read ܣܝ̈ܥܘܬܐ [4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܐܪܥܟ

[5] Add. 14624 adds ܘܡܫܠܚܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܚܡ ܡܠܠܐ ܗܕܐ

[6] Read ܟܕ ܐܡܪ

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"Behold Tûbarlîḳî the king of Persia has gathered together a host,
And has also hired him sixty-two other kings:
Arise, prevail over their hosts, and destroy them[1],
For, behold, God has come and stood within thy camp,
He will make thee victorious, and will help thee, and will make thee to triumph.
p. 84 Thou shalt conquer them all through the right hand of the Lord that is with thee[2]."

Then Alexander awoke and rose up from his sleep,
And he called to the nobles and the captains of hundreds and the captains of thousands,
And he began to speak[3] and command his troops, [saying,]
"Behold, the Lord hath come to our aid and to our help,
Come, let us stand praying to the Lord with strength[4]."
And the king commanded all the people to take incense,
And they burned there a sweet odour to the Lord among their ranks.
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried[5] upon stones and sherds fire and sweet incense.
And after they had burned incense[6] in the camp,
The king began to speak and to exhort his troops, [saying,]
"Behold the time of great strife and battle [has come],
Put on your breastplates and gird upon you all your armour,
Put your helmets upon your heads and stand up for war[7] like men.

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܚܪܘܒ ܐܢܘܢ

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܥܡܟ

[3] Add. 14624 ܕܢܐܡܪ

[4] Add. 14624 ܬܘ ܢܩܘܡ ܟܠܢ ܟܕ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ In Knös the order of this and the following line is inverted.

[5] Read ܛܥܢܘ

[6] Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܒܬܪܐ ܕܒܣ̈ܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܣܡܘ

[7] Add. 14624 reads ܠܟܡܘ ܗܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܕܬܟܬܘܫܐ. ܘܙܪܝܙܘ ܚܨܝܟܘܢ ܠܟܠܟܘܢ ܡܠܘ ܐܝܠܐ. ܘܣܝܡܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܩܘܢܣܐ ܕܪܫܝܟܘܢ

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For behold Ṭûbarlîḳî the king of Persia has gathered to himself a host,
And has also hired sixty-two other kings.
p. 85 And behold they are all gathered together like one man with their hosts,
That they may come against us and wipe out our name and our kingdom.
Stand up then to war like men and warriors,
And receive triumph and a fair renown for evermore."
He made ready and furnished the hosts, the children of Rûm[1]
With armour and breastplates that they might not be terror-stricken in the fight.
The wise king encouraged his hosts
That they should neither be terror-stricken nor moved by the enemies' hosts, [saying,]
"I have hope in God, Whom I serve,
That He will make us victorious and triumphant in [our] wars with them[2]."
When Alexander had finished speaking
And encouraging his hosts for the battle,
His hosts stood up and put on [their] armour and breastplates,
And were ready to fight like[3] men.
Then the king[4] of Persia looked from[5] the top of the mountain,
And these sixty-two kings with their hosts
Descended and came against the camp of Alexander.
p. 86 And he made there a great slaughter among their ranks,
And the believing king Alexander prevailed,
And slew sixty-two kings and a multitude of the host,
Ṭûbarlîḳî the king of Persia he captured alive,
And he fettered him with heavy iron fetters and bound him prisoner near to him.

ܘܩܡܘ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܩܪ. The passage in Knös is utterly corrupt. The Paris MS. has ܒܪܗܘܡܝܐ

[1] *I.e.*, the Byzantine Greeks. See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 1.

[2] Add. 14624 adds ܘܩܡܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܥܡܗ

[3] Reading ܐܝܟ with Add. 14624.

[4] Read ܡܠܟܐ

[5] Add. 14624 ܡܢ

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Then the hosts which remained fled away from him,
And forsook their king and escaped to another land.

And when Alexander had thus gained the victory[1],
He buried the slain and took their arms.
Then he courageously took pains and made a door
Against Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg, and bound them [inside].
He took iron and brass, a great quantity, and made it ready
For the making of the door that he might shut [it] in the face of the people.
He gave [his] commands to twelve thousand skilled, ready workmen
Whom Sôrîḳ[2] the king of Egypt had given to him from his dominion[3],
He, the wise man, called the workmen and taught them
p. 87 How they should make[4] the length and breadth [of it], with great strength.
He measured the ground of the narrow pass between the mountains,
That he might shut[5] in the peoples of the house of Mâgôg until the end.
The king in his wisdom measured from mountain to mountain,
Twelve[6] cubits in the strength of his power.
The king said, "Make ye a threshold for the whole pass,
And let it be sunk in the mountain on this side and on that."

[1] After this line Add. 14624 reads ܘܟܕ ܩܛܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܦܣܝܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܟܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܗܝܪܐ ܠܟܝܠܬܗ ܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐܝܟܐ ܩܛܠܐ ܘܢܗܡܘܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܀

[2] Add. 14624 ܣܪܘܩ

[3] Add. 14624 ܫܘܠܛܢܗ

[4] Add. 14624 ܢܥܒܕܘܢ

[5] Read ܕܢܚܒܘܫ

[6] Add. 14624 ܒܐܡܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܦܐ ܒܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ

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They made it of great height (*i. e.* thickness) and breadth, four cubits[1],
Its length and extent [was] twelve cubits of a strong man.
On each side of the mountain he sunk the head of the threshold,
On both sides two cubits of a strong man[2].
He made a lintel (lit. threshold) over the door over all the pass,
And sunk it in the mountains on both sides for the whole [width of the] door[3].
He made [it] six cubits wide and six cubits high with skill,
Of iron and brass, a marvellous work, the like of which there is not.
The hosts erected and fixed the door there
In all the threshold, above and below[4], as in clay (*sic*).
p. 88 He put bolts into[5] the threshold and into[6] the door,
And sunk them in so that no man knew where they fitted together.
For all the lintel[7] over the door against the wind
The king made strong posts[8] of brass and iron.
On this side of these he made bolts of great strength,
Twelve cubits was its length and two cubits its breadth,

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ ܪܘܡܐ ܘܦܬܝܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ
ܘܡܬܚܗ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܘܡܫܚܗ ܒܐܡ̈ܝܢܐ ܒܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܪܫܡܗ
ܐܫܩܘܦܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܢ̈ܒܝܢ ܐܡܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܒܐܡ̈ܝܢܐ

[2] Add. 14624 adds ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܗܒܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܘܟܪܐ
ܠܬܪܥܐ. ܥܒܕܘ ܗܘܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܘܡܫܚܗ ܘܡܬܚܗ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܐܦ
ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܐܡ̈ܝܢܐ ܀

[3] Add. 14624 omits this line.

[4] Add. 14624 ܘܕܠܬܚܬ [5] Add. 24624 ܒܟܠ [6] Add. 14624 ܘܒܟܠ

[7] Add. 14624 ܬܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܐܩܒ *sic.* ܐܫܩܘܦܬܐ

[8] Reading with Add. 14624 ܣܡ̈ܟܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܢܚܫܐ ܘܦܪܙܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܘܟܠܐ ܒܥܘܫܢܐ ܪܒܐ

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A cubit and a half was the thickness[1] of the bolt with cunning work,
And it held fast the wood (posts)[2] and the bolts and the door and the two sides of the mountain that they might not be unloosed[3].
The king fixed (lit. threw) doors and beams and bolts in the two sides of the mountain,
And another bolt of brass and iron, in his wisdom.
He fixed (lit. threw) the door, and wonder and quietness and rest and silence
[Came] over the peoples of the house of Mâgôg who had not perceived the building.
King Alexander made haste and made the door
Against the north, and against the spoilers and the children of Mâgôg.
In the sixth month he finished the building of the whole door.
And the king and all his army marvelled and their hearts re-
p. 89 joiced,
That the whole work of the royal building had been built,
A work of which wisdom and intelligence had laid [the foundations].
Ambassadors went forth into the countries and lands and proclaimed
The great work of the terrible door which the king had made[4].

After these things the king, the son of Philip said,
"It is meet that we make a great feast to the Lord[5] in this land,
For He came to help us and destroyed our enemies,
And He has helped[6] us and straightway completed this building.

[1] Read ܥܘܒܝܗ [2] Add. 14624 ܣܩܘܦܐ [3] Add. 14624 reads ܘܬܟܣ ܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܡܘܟܠܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܘܬܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ ܡܘܟܠܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ and omits the two lines which come after ܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ in Knös which I have translated here, but which seem to be corrupt. [4] Lines 373—382 are omitted by Add. 14624.

[5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܡܪܢܐ [6] Read ܥܕܪ

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It is He that hath restrained and silenced the children of Mâgôg
That they shall not go forth through this pass during the whole length of the time."
The king said, "Let us take incense, and let all the people
Burn it here for a sweet smell to the Lord among their assemblies."
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried fire and sweet incense upon stones and sherds,
They burnt pure incense among the ranks and the thousands and the assemblies,
On the new festival upon which was built the great work.
The king said, "If the Lord come into our camp,
And find it of sweet odour, peradventure He will dwell therein."
p. 90 And after [they had burnt] incense king Alexander commanded
That all the people of the palace should rejoice and be glad.
The king set in order rich foods for all his hosts
And gave ....[1] to the captains of thousands that they might ....[1]
The king commanded that there should be set forth meat for the assembly of his hosts,
And that they should make glad at the table according to their ranks.
He made a feast for the old men and the nobles and the captains of thousands,
And they made glad at the table in a loving manner.
The king rejoiced in that building full of cunning works,
Because he had become triumphant through the victory which God had given him.

And having thus rejoiced at the table,
At midday, at the time of noon, the king rested,
On a couch (?) of gold, in perfect love and belief.
Then the Lord answered him in a vision, with great wonder,
And He sent a watcher of fire to him[2] beyond all expectation.
The king saw that fiery being in a dream, and feared,

[1] The words ܦܘܠܐ and ܕܢܦܠܠܘܢ do not make good sense here.

[2] Read ܕܡܘܗܘܗܝ

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p. 91 And he spake with him all hidden and terrible things.
The watcher said, "The Lord sent me that I might come to thee,
And inform thee what it is meet for thee to do with Tûbarlîḳî.
Rise up and make peace with Tûbarlîḳî, the king of Persia,
And take away from him the land of Egypt[1] and the land of Jâbûs.
Take from him the land of Palestine[2] and the Hebrews' country
And the whole land of Syria and Mesopotamia.
Take from him Phoenicia and Cilicia,
Cappadocia, Galatia and Phrygia,
Also Asia and the territory of the Greeks and Seleucia,
Take his dominion until thou comest to Ḳalkîdîâ,
Take his dominion and set the river Kallath as a boundary for yourselves[3].
And let not one of you pass over the boundary which ye set for him."
The Lord spake by the hand of the angel, [saying] "I will magnify thee
More than all the kings and governors in all the world.
p. 92 This great gate which thou hast made[4] in this land
Shall be closed until the end of times cometh.
Jeremiah[5] also prophesied concerning it and the earth hath heard,
'The gate of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world,
And on that day shall evil go forth on the wicked.

[1] Read ܕܡܨܪܝܢ   [2] Read ܕܦܠܣܛܝܢ

[3] Add. 14624 has as the equivalent of lines 388—424 ܕܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܙܠ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܚܕ ܡܠܐܟܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܫܘܝܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܠܗ ܘܠܦܘܪܣܝܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ: ܫܩܘܠ ܘܦܠܛܝܢ ܒܬܪܐ ܕܐܡܗܬܐ ܠܟܠܩܝܕܘܢܐ: ܘܫܩܘܠ ܟܠܗ ܕܡܠܟ ܠܣܘܪܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܟܕ ܘܠܦܘܪܣܝܐ: ܘܫܩ̄.

[4] Add. 14624 ܕܐܒܝܬ   [5] Add. 14624 ܐܪܡܝܐ

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There shall be woe to those who are with child and to those who give suck[1].'
The Lord says, "In that the seven thousandth year
Shall there be rumours and dire quakings in all countries.
Sin and wickedness and all evil things shall increase in the world,
Envy, craftiness, adultery, murder and all hateful things,
Lying and slander of the children of wickedness.
Fraud and pride[2] shall increase in the earth,
And haughtiness and lasciviousness and infidelity[3],
And schisms and contentions shall fall among the children of men.
The heavens shall be like darkness and the earth shall quake,
And the love of many shall wax cold in these days[4].
And wars and captivities and death shall increase among the children of men.
And there shall be famines and cruel wars in various countries,
p. 93 And there shall be also tumults in the islands that are in the sea.
And the sun and the moon and the stars shall be dark in their risings,
And the earth shall be devoured by fire[5] and locusts and mighty hail,
The ends of the earth shall tremble with the noise of the thundering in all lands,
And winter and winds and storms and lightnings and mighty earthquakes.
The heavens shall become like smoke through darkness,
The sea shall be troubled[6], and wickedness shall increase in all the world.
Towns and cities and villages shall dwell in mourning,
Through the terrible quakings of all the horrible signs[7].

[1] Jeremiah i. 14; S. Matt. xxiv. 19. [2] Read ܘܫܬܥܪܘܬܐ [3] Add. 14624 ܘܡܣܟܪܢܘܬܐ [4] S. Matt. xxiv. 12. [5] Reading ܒܢܘܪܐ with Add. 14624. [6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܬܬܕܠܚ
[7] Add. 14624 ܘܙܘܥܐ ܘܬܗܘܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܡܫܢܝܬܐ

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And when these things have come to an end and passed away[1] before the end
The earth shall quake and this door which thou hast made be opened[2].
At the end of times creatures and men shall make evil to increase,
And wickedness shall wax strong in all quarters of the earth, and the Lord shall be grieved[3],
And anger with fierce wrath shall rise up on mankind.
And the earth and vineyards and oliveyards and all plants shall be laid waste,
And woods and gardens; and the earth and mankind shall dwell in mourning[4],
And destructive winds shall go forth against creation;
p. 94 And the Lord shall visit evil upon the world, upon the fertile lands[5].
And the nation that is within this gate[6] shall be roused up,
And also the hosts of Âgôg and of the peoples of Mâgôg shall be gathered together.
These peoples, the fiercest of all creatures,
Of the mighty house of Japhet [are they] of whom the Lord spake, [saying], 'They shall go forth on the earth
And cover all creation like[7] a locust.'"

The king marvelled at these things which he had heard from the angel
Whom the Lord had sent to him in a vision to teach him these things.
The watcher said, "When all the things that are written have been completed,

[1] Read ܘܥܒܪܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܬܬܐܪܐ [2] After this line Add. 14624 adds ܐܡܪ ܟܝܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܢܚܘܡܬܐ ܡܠܠܐ ܙܥܐ [3] Read ܘܢܬܬܥܝܩ Add. 14624 has ܘܢܬܪܓܙ

[4] Add. 14624 ܘܬܬܒ ܒܟܒܪܐ ܘܐܒܠܐ ܒܐܒܠܐ [5] Read ܐܩ̈ܠܐ

[6] Read ܕܬܪܥܐ [7] Read ܒܩܡܨܬܐ Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܩܡܨܐ

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The Lord will command, and by His beck will be opened[1] this door.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot to slay men,
In His ill will He will rouse up the people of the house of Mâgôg against the lands.
In the seven thousandth year, in which the heavens and the earth shall be dissolved,
The hosts and troops shall go forth from their lands.
The thousands and the ranks and the assemblies without number shall come
And shall stand behind this door, and shall give voice with
An exceeding great cry stronger than the wind and the loud thunder [saying],
p. 95 'O Lord, our Lord, open to us the gate that we may go forth on the earth.'
The mountains and the earth and mankind shall tremble at that time
By reason of that wrathful and angry and terrifying voice.
At that time the cry shall go forth among their ranks,
And the voice of the Lord shall overthrow the height of this door.
Over the threshold which carries this strong door,
The hosts of horses and men shall tread and go forth.
Another host which shall go forth after the hosts
....[2]
The door and the bolts shall the Lord destroy and carry away.
The hosts which shall go forth from thence shall cover the earth.
In anger shall the hosts and the assemblies and the thousands go forth,
With drawn swords and bent bows and sharp arrows,
With wrath and murder and eager horses and pointed spears.

[1] Add. 14624 ܘܢܬܦܬܚ ܪܡܙܗ ܠܬܪܥܐ

[2] A line appears to have fallen out here, for Add. 14624 reads ܚܝܠܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܬܪ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ. ܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܓܘܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܟܘܬܐ. ܠܬܪܥܐ ܘܡܘܟܠܐ ܢܣܚܘܦ ܢܓܘܓ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢܗ ܀

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With great wrath shall each one of them pursue a thousand,
And through fear ten thousand shall flee away before two.
They will fly and settle down upon the quarters of the whole world,
And kings and hosts shall flee away before them.
p. 96 The tips of the spears shall rub away the strength of that lintel (lit. threshold),
And the beam which thou hast made with great strength above the door.
This door which thou hast made shall not be opened by a key.
At the end of times shortly [before the end] shall they go forth [over] the earth[1],
They shall not desire gold or silver or cattle,
Neither possessions, nor the riches of this world.
These people shall go forth for slaughter and blood and strife,
And shall fly and fill the face of the world with wars and slaughters.
The assemblies of warriors shall not be delivered from them,
The whole creation shall totter[2] and fall under the ruin[3].

[1] Add. 14624 reads ܠܘ ܒܩܠܝܕܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܫܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܦܬܚ ܬܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܚܕܬ ܒܐܦܝ̈ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܪܒܝܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܒܫܪܟ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܒܣܘܦܩܬܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܫܘܠܡܐ. ܒܪܡܙܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܬܦܬܚ ܬܪܥܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܩܛܠܐ ܘܠܚܠ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ. ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐܪ̈ܬܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܘܪܒܘ̈ܬܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ ⁘

[2] Add. 14624 ܒܪܟܐ

[3] After this line Add. 14624 (fol. 30 a. 2) adds ܒܪܡܙܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܪܒܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܩܛܠܐ ܥܒܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ: ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ̈ܫܬܐ ⁘ ܐܦܢ ܒܥܕܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܐܚܝܕ̈ܘܬܗ. ܒܫܢܝܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܢܬܦܬܚ ܬܪܥܐ ܗܢܐ. ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܢܩܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ. ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܚܘܒܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ

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Concerning that day Isaiah[1] cried and the earth heard,
'They shall not be eager for[2] gold and silver and pearls,
Nor riches[3] nor fine raiment nor possessions.
They shall dash weaned children on the stones without sparing,
And they shall rip up women with child and cast them down with their offspring.'
The rivers of the whole world shall be accounted nothing by them,
And rough mountains and valleys and gorges shall not restrain
p. 97 them.
They shall rise up and go forth and fill the earth with their assemblies, and with
War and captivity and strife and blood and great slaughter.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot against the wicked,
He will send over the earth the people of Âgôg and the people of Mâgôg.
Before the end of the world shall they go forth to destroy,
The earth will be drunk with the tumult of men and the mountains shall tremble.
He[4] will come to Persia and will strip it and destroy it,

ܘܪܘܓܙܐ ܘܩܛܠܐ ܪܒܐ. ܥܠ ܕܚܣܝܢܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ·
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܪ̈ܚܡܐ ܘܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܀ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ
ܡܬܢܐ ܘܛܘ̈ܪܐ ܘܫܦ̈ܝܠܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܪܝܬܐ. ܟܕ ܗܘܘܢ ܢܦܩܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܢܫܡܘ ܦܩܚܐ ܘܫܘܪܐ ܟܡܦܬܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܒܣܝܦܐ ܠܠܐܟ
ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܠܚܡܬܐ ܥܠܘܗ ܀ ܢܫܩܘܢ ܥܘܠܐ ܘܪܘܡܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܬܐ. ܘܢܦܘܩܘܢ
ܢܘܚܐ ܘܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܚܝܠܬܐ. ܘܢܦܠܠܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܫ̈ܬܐ. ܒܪܝܟܘܬ
ܥܡܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܢܗ̈ܪܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܝܟܢ ܘܕܒܩܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܟܠܐ ܢܚܪܒܘܢ ܀ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܬܚܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܝ ܐܪܥܐ.
ܕܪܒܐ ܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܢܫܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܣܡ.

[1] Isaiah xiii. 17, 18.

[2] Add. 14624 ܡܬܛܒܩܢ

[3] Read ܩܢܝܢܐ

[4] *I. e.* the nation of Âgôg and Mâgôg.

He will come to India and will cut it in pieces and destroy it,
He will overthrow Syria and pass over and terrify it,
He will destroy and lay waste and overthrow Cilicia,
He will make an end of Cappadocia and will slay [the people thereof] with terror.
And tremblings shall fall upon countries and upon their inhabitants,
And the earth shall be a desolation and a captivity and a whistling.
They shall cover[1] the earth with arms and spears and polished swords[2],
And kings and governors shall not be able to stand before
Those who from God have received power over creation.
The voice of each one of them is stronger than that of a lion,
p. 98 And one shall pursue a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.
Hateful and terrible, cruel and bitter and warlike [are]
The hosts of the children of Âgôg and of the people of Mâgôg[3],
Tumultuous, evil, sinful, excitable, proud, unclean,
Filthy, haughty and full of woe and great judgment.
They rend and devour the flesh of men and of beasts,
They all wash in blood which has flowed from mankind[4]."

And when all these things had been spoken by the angel
To the wise king Alexander, the son of Philip,
The angel[5], in the spirit of the revelation of prophecy, told him
To write down these things and teach the world that these things would happen.
And when all these things had been said by the angel,
The Spirit of the Lord rested upon[6] the king as upon Jeremiah,

[1] Read ܘܡܟܣܝܢ [2] Add. 14624 adds ܘܪܘܡܚܐ ܙܝܢܐ ܘܩܫܬܐ ܡܠܚܝܬܐ ܘܣܝܦܐ ܡܫܢܢܐ [3] Add. 14624 omits this line.
[4] After this line Add. 14624 reads ܠܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ ܡܚܪܒ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܠܟܠܗ ܕܗܕܐ ܘܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ܇ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܕܓܠܝܘܬܐ. ܕܢܟܬܘܒ ܐܠܝܢ ܘܢܘܕܥ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ܀ [5] Read ܡܠܐܟܐ [6] Read ܥܠ

And he wrote down hidden things like Daniel[1] and like Isaiah.
He wrought mighty deeds and destroyed kings in their wars,
He destroyed idols like Hezekiah[2] and like Josiah[3],
The just king who served truth and righteousness.
p. 99 The earth shone through his wisdom full of beauties,
And he wrote[4] and showed everything that was to come like Daniel.
Alexander the king, the son of Philip, said,
"Let the kings and their ranks and their dominions tremble,
On the day on which these people go forth over the earth at the end of times.
And men and all the quarters of the earth will anger the Lord of Hosts,
And His anger will rise and blot out the earth with an evil desolation.
Mighty Rûm from her greatness He shall throw down to the depth[5].
The seas shall roar, the earth shall cry out, and the mountains shall shriek,
The valleys shall fear, and towns and villages shall be desolated.
The vineyards shall be destroyed and stupor shall fall upon the planters thereof,
Joy shall come to an end, and the power of all mighty men shall fall.
Beautiful things[6] shall perish, riches shall fail and power shall vanish,
Fountains shall fail, streets shall be destroyed, and the valleys shall be useless.
The hosts and filthy[7] assemblies of the children of Mâgôg shall stand up,
And all creation shall become and remain a ruin.

[1] Daniel, chap. vii—xii.
[2] 2 Kings xviii. 4.
[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 4—14.
[4] Read with Add. 14624 ܘܟܬܒ
[5] Add. 14624 reads ܢܫܬܚܦܘܢ ܠܬܚܬܝܗ̇. ܘܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܬܚܬܝܬܐ
[6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܫܘܦܪ̈ܐ
[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܫܚܝܛ̈ܐ

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p. 100
And from the signs and bitter rumours
He that is wise will understand concerning the end.
Lebanon and Sânîr and their fellows shall be accounted nothing to him, [*i. e.*, to the nation of Gog and Magog]
The mountains of Carmel shall not restrain the host that is with him.
His voice thunders, the rumour of him is terrible, and his strength is fearful,
His appearance is evil, his form huge and altogether harsh.
Deformed is his visage, violent is his strength, and dark is his colour,
His form is long, his weapon is sharp, and the whole of him is death[1].
Evil sounds and tremblings and rumours shall run before him,
And horrible things and captivities and famines and deaths and all evil things.
He shall quench the beauty of the sun and of the moon and of all luminaries,
The hills and the valleys shall put on darkness[2] and sadness.
Laws shall come to an end and the whole earth shall dwell in mourning,
And the world shall become like a desolate and a sterile thing.
Depict in me, O our Lord, the beauty of Thy word in a loving way,
That I may preach the sign of the day of Thy coming as far as I am able.
That great nation[3] which is perverse in its works,
And bears woe and is full of wrath and slaughter and death,
p. 101 For evil captivity and destruction do they prepare with great wrath,
For spoil and slaughter are they all [*i. e.* the nation] ready without ceasing.
They all threaten with power and there is wrath in their cursings,
Mountains and valleys and plains tremble at them.

[1] Add. 14624 omits this and the preceding line.

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܚܫܟܐ

[3] Read with Add. 14624 ܥܡܐ

And great woe [shall be] upon those who are with child and those who give suck,
And mourning and pain upon young men and maidens,
Weeping for the children being slain through the cutting off of hope,
And for the youths also being cut off by the baleful ones.
The heavens and the earth will put on pain[1] and sadness,
And the assemblies of celestial beings will be astonished in those days[2].
Quaking will fall upon the living and the dead at that time,
Through the slaughter and blood of the children of Mâgôg before the end.
A renowned people will stir up strife in the lands,
And cast tumult among cities and towns,
An ugly people, a people flayed and uprooted[3] and full of blemishes,
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with their fellows.
In abundance will they come to Palestine madly,
They will uproot and destroy its cities and slay [its] people.
The race of men, nation after nation, will roar and cry out[4],
p. 102 Joy and gladness shall cease and woe will reign,
Weeping and spoiling and wickedness and all sadness shall increase.
They will uproot walls and towers and streets and towns,
And they shall become mounds, and stupor shall fall upon all creation.
Come, O Jeremiah, the prophet of the Spirit and of revelation,
And take up bitter cries of lamentation concerning that day.
The prophet says, 'Woe to thee, O land, for a mighty nation
Is sent against thee; with arms and captivity shall he destroy thy children[5].'

[1] Add. 14624 ܚܫܐ

[2] Read ܒܗܠܝܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ

[3] Read ܡܠܝܚܐ ܘܡܥܩܪܐ

[4] Add. 14624 adds ܘܡܬܟܬܫܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡ ܡܬܟܬܫܢܝܢ ܥܡ ܙ̈ܪܘܥܐ

[5] Jeremiah v. 15—17. Add. 14624 reads ܐܡܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܝ ܠܟܝ ܐܪܥܐ

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The prophet says, 'Thus shall all creation be
For a great astonishment and for a treading down, for slaughter and disgrace.
All creation shall kneel and fall down before that nation
And the earth shall be destroyed of its inhabitants with great slaughter.
The priests and their flocks shall seize a place of respite
And take up tears and lamentation bitterly[1].
Flocks and herds and cows and oxen shall dwell in mourning.'
p. 103 The prophet says 'Woe to thee, O earth, what is this nation
Harsh of speech which slays and destroys without sparing?
The keepers of vineyards shall weep over the vineyards[2] through sorrow,
And all the dwellings of the shepherds shall dwell in mourning.'
The earth shall say, 'Woe is me, for I have seen all revolutions
With evil quakings and disturbed horrible things full of misery.'
For to them will the Lord cry in anger at the end of times[3],
And as with a broom will the Lord sweep and purge it,
And He will overturn it and rend it and destroy it.
Gloomy and sorry and full of darkness shall be the days and months,
Before the coming of the sinful people of the children of Mâgôg.
In these days the living will ascribe happiness to the dead,
By reason of the disturbance and quaking and slaughter and blood.
They shall not, however, enter into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord.

ܕܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ. ܚܪܒܐ ܘܣܘܦܐ ܢܣܒܠ ܠܥܡܘܗܝ
ܐܡܪ ܢܒܝܐ. ܗܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܒܠܗ ܐܘܪܐ ܠܡܫܘܐ ܗܢܐ.

[1] Add. 14624 reads ܢܣܒܘܢ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܘܡܪܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܒܝܬ ܢܘܚܐ
ܘܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܕܡܥܐ ܐܦ ܐܒܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܪܐ. ܢܣܒܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܥܠ ܡܣܒܠܗ
ܕܟܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܢܐܬܘܢ ܟܐܘܠܐ ܘܡܢ.

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܒܫܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ.

[3] Add. 14624 ܕܢܥܒܘܢ ܢܚܒܘܢ ܒܪܡܐ ܥܠ ܒܪܡܐ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܥܒܐ ܘܣܘܦܐ ܘܡܚܒܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܟܢܫܬܐ ܘܡܢ.

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For the sign (*i. e.*, the Cross) of the Lord shall drive them away from it, and they shall not enter it.
All the saints shall fly away from them to mount Sânîr[1],
All faithful true ones and the good and all the wise.
p. 104 They shall not be able to approach mount Sinai, for it is the dwelling place of the Lord,
Nor to the high mountains of Sinai[2] with their shame[3].
By Jerusalem shall fall by the sword the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with great slaughter.
After these things shall the days full of trouble decrease[4],
And evil shall come and stand in the world with great trembling.
And the earth shall be drunk with the blood and slaughter of their ranks,
For the sword of a man shall fall upon his fellow with great amazement.
And if it were possible for the mountains and the earth and the stones
And the sea and the dry land to weep, they would weep for the whole world.
O how much more bitter than the slaughter of the sword and the blood of the spear,
Is the affliction of the cursed children of the great family of Japhet!
For[5] they shall lead away captive and subdue the earth and all people.

[1] Add. 14624 ܠܛܘܪܣܝܢܝ [2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܦܠܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܪ̈ܡܐ ܕܣܝܢܝ [3] ܒܐܣܬܟ̈ܢܘܬܗܘܢ Compare ܡܪܝܐ ܐܣܬܟ̈ܢܘܬܗܝܢ ܢܓܠܐ "The Lord shall uncover their shame," Isaiah iii. 17.

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܝܢ ܝܘ̈ܡܐ ܡܡܠܝܢ ܕܥܩܬܐ

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܡܛܠ ܕܫܒܝܢ ܘܡܟܒܫܝܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܟܠܗ ܥܡܡܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܚܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܚܝܠ ܡܚܪܒܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܢܦܠܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܚܒܪܗ ܘܡܛܐ ܒܡܛܐ. ܒܫܡܝ̈ܐ ܘܒܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܘܒܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܒܡܕܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܛܠܬܐ ܚܪܒܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܠܗܘܢ.

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Then the hosts of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg shall go forth,
And man shall fall upon his fellow, and nation upon nation,
And the quaking of the earth and the sword of anger shall be there.
On the skirts of Zion shall the bodies of the dead[1] [lie] in heaps.
p. 105 And after these things the earth shall be desolated of mankind,
Villages shall be destroyed and all towns and cities;
The scattered ones only remain in the earth as a remnant.
Then shall Antichrist rise upon the whole earth,
Through that gate shall go forth and come that rebel;
That lying one shall Christ overthrow as is promised[2].
There shall stand up before him demons and spirits and wicked devils,
And they shall gather together all creation to their cursed master.
The earth shall cry out, 'I entreat Thee, O Lord, in Thy mercy to spare me,
For, behold, I am sick and persecuted with all wounds.'
These things which I have spoken shall come to pass before the end of the world,
And let him that hath an ear of love listen to them."

These beautiful things did king Alexander interpret,
That they should all take place before that day at the end.
"And after these things the heavens and the earth will put on pain[3],
And times and days and months in their courses will cease,
p. 106 And will not again return to the earth from whence they came.
When the assemblies of the thousands of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg,

[1] Read ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ

[2] Add. 14624 ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܟܠܗ̇ ܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܬܪܥܐ ܢܦܩ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܓܠܐ. ܗܘ ܡܪܕܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܚܣܢܘܗܝ.

[3] Add. 14624 ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܒܫܝܢ ܟܐܒܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ

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Have destroyed all constituted things with a great slaughter,
Creation, weeping and lamenting, will cry out [saying], 'What wilt thou do [more]?'
The earth will say, 'Let the assemblies of the height entreat for me
Thy great name[1], the power which bears the height and the depth.'"
O Jesus, look upon me in mercy and love, I entreat Thee,
May I see Thee in peace when Thou risest with Thy angels!
"The whole creation shall totter and fall with great quaking,
By reason of the signs; the end cometh, it is not far off.
By Jerusalem shall perish and come to an end the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg together with their fellows,
And there shall that lying one be put to shame in his infidelity[2],
And the whole baneful company of idolatry shall be overcome.
Little by little shall be filled the web of all this world,
That it may incline and come speedily to[3] the end.
The Lord will look upon the earth with wrath and great anger,
And it shall pass away and become nothing; but He shall not
p. 107 pass away.
Out of the north then shall come evil to all the earth,
And Isaiah cried to creation on account of this[4]."

O Jesus, O King in Whose hands are the height and the depth,
In Thee shall the Church and her children take refuge from trouble[5].
Blessed be the Good One Who stretched out the height and Who laid out[6] the earth.

[1] Add. 14624 ܠܫܡܟ ܪܒܐ [2] Add. 14624 ܒܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ [3] Read ܪܝܫ

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܩܥܐ ܐܫܥܝܐ ܥܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ Isaiah xiii. 4—19.

[5] Add. 14624 reads ܢܓܘܣ ܦܠܚܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܛܠܠܝܢ. ܡܢ ܠܡܣܛܪ ܐܪܒܐ ܘܐܢܫܐ.

[6] Read ܘܪܩܥ

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They shall pass away but Thou shalt stand, O Lord, our Lord.

. . . .

And power to all His servants and the victory (?) of might[2].
From the celestial and from the terrestrial beings to Thee be praise,
For [Thy] grace and compassion and mercy upon sinners.
Blessed be the Lord who gave victory to Alexander,
And he conquered and destroyed the inhabitants of the lands.
Grant unto me, O Lord, a mouth that I may preach Thy great glory,
That it may cry out before Thee on the day of Thy revelation, "Glory to Thee,"
And to the readers and the writer [of this book] may there be remission of sins,
And to the hearer and the doer may there be propitiation.

Here endeth the discourse upon Alexander
And upon the gate which he made towards the north.
Yea and Amen[3].

[1] The discourse in Add. 14624 comes to an end with the words ܡܪܝ ܠܟ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ

[2] This appears to be the meaning of the line, but I suspect that either one or more lines before it have been omitted.

[3] Dr. C. Bezold has kindly called my attention to a German translation of this discourse by P. Pius Zingerle. It was made in 1871 and was privately printed by the care of J. Zingerle in 1882 under the title of *Ein altes Syrisches Alexanderlied*. Druck von Rudolf M. Rohrer in Brünn. Pius Zingerle was unable to find a publisher for his translation and, when an editor of a scientific journal wished to publish it with an introduction and description of the manuscripts, he wrote, "Von der Bekanntmachung meiner Uebersetzung der Alexandersage stehe ich gerne ab. Da werden allerlei gelehrte Forderungen gestellt, zu denen ich nicht aufgelegt bin. Ich bin leider nicht gewöhnt, bei meinen Arbeiten so gründlich zu Werke zu gehen." I have not been able to find any Syriac equivalent for the passage entitled *Fortsetzung über Alexander's Geschick*, printed on pp. 15—17 of Zingerle's pamphlet.

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ܐܒܒ. ܐܒܘܒܐ Ar. انبوب, *reed pipe, flute*, p. 103. 7.

ܐܒܪ. ܐܒܪܐ Ar. آبار, *lead*, p. 193. 3.

ܐܓܪܐ *paw, claw*, plur. ܐܓܪ̈ܐ p. 15. 7, where ܒܓܪ̈ܘܗܝ is explained by ܐܓܪ̈ܘܗܝ

ܐܠܘܠܐ *pipe, watercourse*, plur. ܐܠܘ̈ܠܐ p. 106. 11.

ܐܠܘܪܣܬܐ *hamlet*, plur. ܐܠܘܪ̈ܣܬܐ p. 206. 5.

ܐܕܡܘܣ ἀδάμας, *adamant*, p. 9. 2.

ܐܕܪܝܛܐ, ܐܢܕܪܝܛܐ *image, statue*, p. 60. 9, 10, 19; 67. 6; 68. 8, 10; 70. 12, 17; 76. 8; 77. 1; 126. 10; 194. 14; 206. 15; 233. 9; 236. 3; plur. ܐܕܪ̈ܝܛܐ p. 136. 14; 161. 5, 6; 181. 12; 218. 16; 233. 5.

ܐܘܡܝܢܛܘܢ A kind of wood which "no woodworm attacks," p. 219. 17. The word is perhaps a corruption of the Greek word ἀμίαντος.

ܐܘܛܘܩܪܛܘܪܘܬܐ *power, rule*, p. 103. 20. The text actually has ܐܘܛܘܩܪܛܘܪ

ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ see ܐܩܝܢܘܣ

ܐܘܩܝܐܢܘܣ ὠκεανός, *sea, ocean*, p. 20. 5; 256. 12; 266. 17.

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ܐܚܪ. ܐܚܪܢܬܐ for ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ *another*, p. 10, note 4.

ܐܦܛܘ̈ܢܐ *thongs*, p. 48. 8; 135. 4. In B this word is glossed by ܬܣܡ̈ܣܬܐ, Pers. تسمه

ܐܛܪܘܓܐ Chald. אֶטְרוֹגָא, Arab. اترج, *citron*, plur. ܐܛܪ̈ܘܓܐ p. 217. 5.

ܐܝܬܘܬܐ *being, existence*, p. 104. 6.

ܐܟܕܢܐ *viper*, plur. ܐܟ̈ܕܢܐ p. 266. 2.

ܐܟܠ ܩܪܨܐ, ܡܐܟܠ ܩܪܨܐ *calumny*, p. 55. 5.

ܐܟܠ̈ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ *cannibals*, p. 97. 18.

ܐܟܦ. ܐܘܟܦܐ Ar. اكاف, *packsaddle*, plur. ܐܘܟ̈ܦܐ p. 231. 6. The form ܐܘܟܦ̈ܦܐ is given by Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, col. 61.

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬܐ plur. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ̈ܝܬܐ *Alexandrian* ships, p. 205. 1.

ܐܠܦ. ܡ̈ܠܐ ܝܠܝܦܬܐ *words learnt by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ *triremes*, p. 63. 8.

ܐܡܘܢ *Egypt.* *Àmen*, 'Αμμοῦν, Heb. אָמוֹן, *Ammon*, p. 22. 4. For pictures of the various forms of this god as found on Egyptian monuments see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, plates XVII—XXI.

ܐܡܪܬܐ *spade*, plur. ܐܡ̈ܪܝܬܐ p. 101. 4. D and E have ܐܡܘܪܬܐ

ܐܡܢ. ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ *continually, perpetually*, p. 12. 9.

ܐܢܢܩܐ ἀνάγκη, *necessity*, p. 140. 7; plur. ܐܢ̈ܢܩܐ p. 61. 19; 62. 12; ܐܢܢ̈ܩܘܣ p. 156. 20.

ܐܢܬ. ܓܢܬ, ܓܢܬܐ, plur. ܓܢ̈ܬܐ *effeminate men*, p. 100. 18.

ܐܣܐ *wall*, plur. ܐܣ̈ܐ p. 218. 11.

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ܐܣܛܒܪܩܐ Arab. اِسْتَبْرَق, Pers. اِسْتَبْرَک, *brocaded silks*, p. 200. 9. The word is glossed in B by ܕܝܒܐ ܕܓܘܠܐ (Ar. دَسْت, Pers. دَشْت).

ܐܣܛܘܢ, ܐܣܛܘܢܐ Ar. اسطوانة, Pers. استون, *pillar, pedestal*, p. 60. 8; 173. 15; plur. ܐܣܛܘ̈ܢܐ, ܐܣܛܘ̈ܢܐ, p. 219. 5; 256. 1.

ܐܣܛܝܪ, ܐܣܛܝܪܐ, στατήρ, *stater*, plur. ܐܣܛܝ̈ܪܝܢ, p. 147. 17. The Egyptian form of the word is *setetert*, Coptic ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣⲉ and ⲥⲁⲑⲏⲣⲓ. See Brugsch, *Zeit. Aeg. Sprache*, 1889, p. 9.

ܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ *officers*, p. 144. 2.

ܐܣܟܡܐ σχῆμα, *apparel, dress*, p. 4. 17; ܐܣܟܡܐ *caste*, p. 31. 2.

ܐܣܟܘܦܬܐ *threshold*, p. 267. 10, 12, 13; 268. 4, 6; 269. 16.

ܐܣܢܐ *barn, storehouse*, p. 75. 6.

ܐܣܦܘܓܐ f. σπόγγος, *sponge*, plur. ܐܣܦܘ̈ܓܐ, p. 190. 8.

ܐܣܦܝܪܐ *ball*, p. 80. 17; 81. 11; 87. 10; 237. 8, 9, 10; plur. ܐܣܦܝ̈ܪܝܢ p. 193. 11; ܐܣܦܝ̈ܪܐ p. 193. 9; 237. 1, 5, 7.

ܐܣܦܩܐ *beaker*, p. 147. 11.

ܐܦܕܢܐ Ar. فَدَن, Heb. אַפֶּדֶן *palace*, p. 11. 12; 13. 8; 17. 1; 29. 14; 58. 12, 14; 59. 2; 197. 12. We have ܐܦܕ̈ܢܐ given once for the sing. (p. 2. 8). The Babylonian form of the word is *Ap-pa-da-an* and occurs in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, line 8. See Bezold, *Die Achämenideninschriften*, p. 44.

ܐܩܘܒܝܛܘܢ, ܐܩܘܒܝܛܘܢ ἀκούβιτον, *couch*, 51. 6, 12.

ܐܩܡܐ ἀκμή, *age*, p. 10. 16; 14. 14. D has ܐܩܡܣ p. 14, note 7.

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ܐܪܕܝܟܠܐ p. 181. 10. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage; it is probably corrupt. ܐܪܕܝܟܠܐ usually means "architect," and has been thought by some to be derived from the two Assyrian words *arad égal* "man, or servant, of the palace."

ܐܪܕܝܟܠܝܛܝܣ *architects*, p. 74. 4. This word is explained in this passage by ܪܝܫܝ ܢܓܪ̈ܐ "chiefs of carpenters."

ܐܪܕܝܟܠܘܬܐ p. 268. 14. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage.

ܐܪܡܠ. Ethpa''al part. ܡܬܐܪܡܠܐ *to be made, or become a widow*, p. 244. 9.

ܐܪܩܠܝܛܘܬܐ for ܐܪܕܝܟܠܘܬܐ (?) p. 42. 15.

ܐܫܟܪܥܐ Chald. אִשְׁכְּרַע *acacia wood*, p. 8. 4.

ܐܫܦ. ܐܫܘܦܐ *adder* (?) p. 266. 2; plur. ܐܫܘܦ̈ܐ p. 275. 2.

ܐܚܬܘܦ *would that!* p. 26. 10; 96. 14; 224. 9.

ܐܬܐ Pĕ''il part. pass. plur. ܐܬܝܢ p. 46. 4.

ܐܬܠܝܛܘܬܐ f. ἄθλησις, *athletic exercise*, p. 110. 10; 111. 5.

ܒܟܐ. Pa''êl ܒܟܝ *to complain*, p. 36. 20; 37. 13, 14. Part. plur. masc. ܡܒܟܝܢ p. 38. 3; ܡܒܟܝܘ ܡܒܟܝܢ *to complain bitterly*, p. 37. 13.

ܡܘܒܟܝܢܐ *blame*, p. 36. 4.

ܒܚܫ. Pa''êl ܒܚܫ *to spy out, to search out*, p. 3. 16. Part. masc. ܡܒܚܫ p. 10. 10.

ܡܒܚܫܢܐ *scout*, p. 3. 14.

ܒܗܪ. Eshtafal ܐܫܬܒܗܪ *to boast*, p. 40. 7; 62. 13.

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ܡܫܬܒܗܪܢܘܬܐ *boasting*, p. 83. 6.

ܒܘܙ Pers. بز, *goat*, p. 211. 8.

ܒܘܙܝܩܐ, ܒܙܝܩܐ Arab. باز *hawk*, p. 14. 11; 15. 7.

ܒܘܠܩܬܐ *castanets*, p. 89. 21.

ܒܘܩܝܢܐ *trumpet*, plur. ܒܘܩܝܢܘܣ p. 134. 21; 161. 20; ܒܘܩܝܢܣ p. 134. 16; 261. 14.

ܒܝܬ. ܒܝܬ ܕܘܩܐ *watchtower*, p. 261. 3.

ܒܝܬ ܡܗܠܟܬܐ *place for walking*, p. 39. 15.

ܒܝܬ ܙܝܢܐ *armoury*, p. 147. 10.

ܒܝܬ ܣܝ̈ܡܬܐ *treasure house*, p. 77. 8.

ܒܝܬ ܡܘܠܦܢܐ *school*, p. 38. 5.

ܒܝܬ ܝܠܕܐ *birthday*, p. 146. 19; *horoscope*, p. 9. 9, 10; 10. 10; 27. 2. ܪܡܝ̈ ܒܝܬ ܝܠܕܐ *casters of nativities*, p. 7. 6.

ܒܝܬ ܣܘܦ̈ܝ ܫܡܝܐ *place of the ends of heaven*, p. 260. 1.

ܒܝܬ ܪ̈ܗܛܐ *hippodrome*, p. 42. 9; 43. 5; 46. 14; 49. 12; 245. 12, 17; 246. 1.

ܒܝܬ ܪ̈ܟܫܐ *stable*, 38. 16.

ܒܗܠ. ܒܗܝܠܐ *decrepit*, p. 30. 4.

ܒܝܐ. ܒܘܝܐܐ *consolation*, p. 30. 15.

ܒܠ Assyrian Bêl, Heb. בֵּל, Βῆλ, *the god Bel*, p. 20. 6; 22. 6; 27. 14. The native lexicons say that Bel is ܙܘܣ but B glosses this name twice (p. 22. 2; 27. 22) by ܐܝܘܦܛܪ *Jupiter*.

ܒܠܕܪܐ Pers. بريد, *letter carrier*, plur. ܒܠܕܪ̈ܐ p. 157. 10.

ܒܝܪܬܐ *palace*, p. 236. 12; 268. 8. The Assyrian form of the word is *birtu*. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 192 ff.

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ܒܠܝܛܬܐ *wood worm*, p. 219. 18.

ܒܠܬܝ *Venus*, p. 27. 13; ܒܠܬܝ p. 21. 1, 3; 26. 7.

ܒܢܐ. Pa''ēl part. pass. ܡܒܢܝܐ ܒܬܘܪܐ *built with oxen* (?) p. 105. 1.

ܒܣܐ. Part. pass. ܒܣܝܐ *despised*, p. 21. 8.

Af'êl ܐܒܣܝ *to neglect*, p. 95. 6; part. ܡܒܣܐ p. 61. 19.

ܒܣܝܐܝܬ *scornfully*, p. 173. 2.

ܒܣܝܣ, ܒܣܝܣܐ *bases*, p. 67. 8; 218. 15.

ܒܣܩܘܡܐ see ܦܣܩܘܡܐ

ܒܥܕ. Af'êl ܐܒܥܕ *to go away, flee away, depart*, p. 5. 7; 170. 15.

ܒܥܪ. ܒܥܪܝܐ, ܒܥܪܝܐ *savage, wild*, plur. ܒܥܪܝܐ p. 176. 10; 180. 10; 201. 6; plur. fem. ܒܥܪܝܬܐ p. 159. 5.

ܒܨܪ. ܒܨܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ *failing of the sun and moon*, i.e. "eclipse"? p. 171. 2.

ܒܩܠܘܬܐ see ܩܠܘܬܐ p. 89. 10.

ܒܪ, ܒܪܐ, ܕܒܪܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ *I who am your son*, p. 54. 18.

ܒܢܝ ܐܪܙܐ *partners in a secret*, p. 57. 12.

ܒܪ ܒܝܬܐ p. 153. 9. I do not know the meaning of this word. Here the text is probably corrupt.

ܒܢܝ ܒܪܟܐ *armpieces*, p. 172. 5.

ܒܪ ܪܓܠܐ *a greave, legging*, plur. ܒܢܝ ܪܓܠܐ p. 129. 1; 172. 4.

ܒܪ ܫܪܒܬܐ *kinsman*, p. 81. 4.

ܒܢܝ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ *fellow learners*, p. 117. 9.

ܒܢܝ ܠܘܝܬܐ *companions, fellow travellers*, p. 82. 10.

ܒܪ ܙܘܓܐ *consort, companion*, p. 34. 16; 81. 5; 86. 1;

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ܒܪ̈ܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ p. 151. 12; ܒܪ̈ܬ ܡܘܗܒܬܗܘܢ p. 152. 11.

ܒ̈ܢܝ ܡܠܬܐ *partizans*, p. 57. 16.

ܒܪ ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ *son of light*, p. 86. 2.

ܒ̈ܢܝ ܩܘܡܬܐ *children of the same age*, p. 81. 11; 93. 6.

ܒܪ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ *son of the luminaries*, p. 81. 5.

ܒܪ ܦܘܚܡܐ *counterpart*, p. 86. 4.

ܒ̈ܢܝ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ *fellow soldiers*, p. 83. 4; 103. 12; 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܒ̈ܢܝ ܦܠܛܝܢ *officers of the palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܒܪ̈ܬ ܫܡܫܐ *daughter of the Sun*, p. 21. 6.

ܒܪܓܕܢ = Pers. کرگدن *rhinoceros* ? p. 211. 15.

ܓܐܘܡܛܪܝܐ γεωμετρία, *geometry*, p. 23. 15.

ܓܓܪ. ܓܓܪܬܐ *throat*, p. 243. 7.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܐ, Ar. جاد *luck, fortune*. ܒܝܫܘܬ ܓܕܐ *ill-luck*, p. 81. 7; ܬܒܝܪ̈ܝ ܓܕܐ *unlucky men*, p. 168. 5; ܓܕܝ̈ܢ ܓܕܐ *lucky men*, 168. 6; ܓܕܗ ܕܙܘܣ *the luck of Zeus*, p. 100. 11; ܓܕܐ ܕܝܡܐ *the luck or divinity of the sea*, p. 234. 13. Part. ܓܕܐ *to cut off*, p. 114. 10.

ܓܕܘܕܘܬܐ *boyhood*, p. 24. 2.

ܓܕܫ. ܓܕܫܐ *luck, chance*. ܓܕܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ *the luck of the gods*, p. 178. 4; 201. 11.

ܓܗܢ. Ethpĕʻêl ܐܬܓܗܢ *to bow oneself*, p. 257. 11; part. ܡܬܓܗܢ p. 260. 13.

ܓܘܐ *commonwealth*, p. 120. 2, 6.

ܓܘܙ. ܡܓܘܙܘܬܐ *scarcity*, p. 121. 14.

ܓܠܚܟ. ܡܓܠܚܟܢܐ *jester*, p. 51. 5.

ܓܠܘܣܩܘܡܐ *γλωσσόκομον*, *coffin*, p. 250. 8.

ܓܠܡܕ. Af'ēl ܐܓܠܡܕ *to dare*, p. 91. 16.

ܓܠܘܡܕ, ܓܠܘܡܕܢܐ *audacious one*, p. 116. 2.

ܓܠܘܡܕܢܘܬܐ *insolence*, *impudence*, p. 117. 18.

ܓܠܡܨ. ܓܘܠܡܨܐ *pit*, p. 27. 16; 28. 2; 29. 12; 30. 11; plur. ܓܘܠܡܨܐ p. 132. 4.

ܓܠܡܝܫܐ, Pers. گاومیش, گامیش, *buffalo*, plur. ܓܠܡܝܫܐ (ܓܡܘܫܐ) p. 212. 2.

ܓܠܐ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܓܠܐ p. 50. 14; plur. ܓܠܝܢ p. 50. 12.

ܓܠܢ. ܓܘܠܢ ܓܘܠܢܐ *disgrace*, p. 229. 17.

ܓܠܦܣ, ܓܘܠܦܣ *γύψος*, *gypsum*, p. 193. 3, 7.

ܓܨܐ Ar. جص *lime*, p. 138. 14; 146. 12; 206. 14.

ܓܡܪ. ܓܡܝܪܐܝܬ *actually*, *really*, *of a certainty*, p. 10. 6; 16. 7; ܓܡܝܪܬܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܡܝܪܐܝܬ p. 11. 17.

ܓܡܪܐ ܦܝܠܐ *elephant's tusk*, *ivory*, p. 8. 3; 182. 8; 211. 13; 218. 14; ܟܣܐ ܕܓܡܪܐ ܦܝܠܐ *ivory cups*, p. 250. 16.

ܓܫ. ܓܫܘܫܐ *spy*, (= ܓܘܫܐ) p. 3. 3, 13; 4. 3.

ܓܫܪ. ܓܫܪ ܓܫܪܐ *to construct a bridge*, p. 206. 2.

ܕܒܪܐ *desert*, p. 21. 11.

ܕܒܠ, ܕܘܒܠ *to rise up*, p. 269. 4. ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ̇ *thoughts were stirring in her*, p. 25. 13. Cf. also ܕܒܠ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܠܓܙܪܬܐ *the thought that he would go to*

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Bagdad arose in Mâr Yabalâhâ. See Bedyan, *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha,* Paris, 1888, p. 29, l. 7.

ܕܘܩ, ܕܩ. ܕܰܘܩܳܐ *watcher, spy,* plur. ܕܰܘܩܶ̈ܐ p. 258. 11; 272. 22; ܕܰܝܩܶ̈ܐ p. 272. 18, 19. ܕܰܘܩܳܐ ܕܫܳܥܶ̈ܐ *watcher of the hours,* (= τὸν ὡροσκόπον, Meusel, p. 708, l. 35) p. 8. 12; 9. 6.

ܕܘܪܛܳܐ *spear.* ܒܠܶܥܝܶܗ ܕܕܘܪܛܝ ܡܶܬܢܰܣܒܰܬ ܐܢܐ (p. 42. 6) = δόρατί σε λήψομαι (Müller, p. 18, col. 2, l. 18; Meusel, p. 718, l. 31) and we have ܒܠܶܥܝܶܗ ܕܕܘܪܛܳܐ p. 100. 14. ܒܠܥܝܗ ܕܕܘܪܛܝ. is glossed in B by ܪܺܝܫܳܐ ܕܩܘܢܛܣܝ "*tip of my spear.*"

ܕܚܠ. ܕܚܘܠܬܳܢ *timid,* p. 119. 15; plur. fem. ܕܚܘܠܬܳܢܝ̈ܳܬܳܐ p. 117. 12.

ܕܚܘܠܬܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ *fear, timidity,* p. 4. 13; 117. 14.

ܕܚܘܠܬܳܢܳܐܺܝܬ *timidly, fearfully,* p. 3. 16.

ܕܪܐ. ܡܕܪܳܐ *razor,* p. 23. 10.

ܕܠ. ܕܰܠܺܝܠܳܐ plur. ܕܰܠܺܝܠܶ̈ܐ, ܕܰܠܺܝܠܶ̈ܐ ܙܰܘܥܶ̈ܐ *few earthquakes,* p. 72. 20.

ܕܠܐ. ܕܘܠܳܐ *Aquarius,* p. 22. 4.

ܕܠܒ. ܕܘܠܒܳܐ, Pers. and Ar. دُلْب *plane tree,* plur. p. 219. 7.

ܕܡܐ. Ethpa‘‘al ܐܶܬܕܰܡܺܝ *to become like,* p. 17. 5.

ܕܡܘܬ ܩܰܪ̈ܢܳܬܳܐ *horned,* p. 20. 8.

ܕܡܟ. ܕܡܺܝܟ *sleeping,* p. 12. 8; ܕܡܺܝܟܳܐ p. 11. 18.

ܕܡܥ. Pa‘‘êl part. ܡܕܰܡܰܥ *weeping,* p. 54. 2.

ܕܰܦܩܳܐ = ܓܰܦܩܳܐ *brook, stream,* p. 261. 1; 268. 17.

ܕܩ. ܕܰܩܕܩܳܐ *little, small,* plur. ܕܰܩܕܩܶ̈ܐ p. 2. 11; plur. fem. ܕܰܩܕܩ̈ܳܬܳܐ p. 2. 11.

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ܕܶܩܰܢ̈ܘܣܶܐ *decani* (*the thirty-six*), p. 8. 17.

ܕܪܡ. ܡܕܰܪܡܳܐ *crafty, cunning*, plur. fem. ܡܕܰܪ̈ܡܳܢܝܳܬܳܐ p. 236. 1.

ܕܪܫ. Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܕܰܪܰܫ *trained, skilled*, p. 25. 10; plur. ܡܕܰܪ̈ܫܶܐ p. 39. 6; ܕܰܪܶܫܘ *they talked*, p. 11. 11; 27. 8.

ܕܽܘܪܳܫܳܐ *training, practice*, p. 25. 6; 35. 18; 36. 7.

ܡܕܰܪܫܽܘܬܳܐ *skill*, p. 3. 1; 25. 8.

ܗܰܒܳܒܳܐ *bloom, flower*, p. 93. 11.

ܗܠܒܢܝܬܐ *halfbred*, p. 18. 7.

ܗܕܐ. ܗܳܕܽܘܝܳܐ *guide*, plur. ܗܳܕ̈ܘܝܶܐ p. 183. 5; ܗܳܕ̈ܘܝܳܬܳܐ p. 183. 20.

ܗܘܢܐ. ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܗܘܢܐ *to come to one's senses, regain self-possession*, p. 16. 17.

ܗܝܟܠ, ܗܰܝܟܠܳܐ, Accadian E-GAL, Heb. הֵיכָל *palace, hall*, p. 2. 9; 4. 9; 17. 6, 13; 58. 13; 70. 8; 71. 2; 98. 14; 99. 5; 105. 2; 126. 12; 202. 11; 216. 3; 247. 15. Plur. ܗܰܝ̈ܟܠܶܐ p. 108. 1; 113. 3; 147. 2; 206. 13; 231. 11. ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ "*royal palace*," p. 6. 6.

ܗܡܣ. Af'êl ܐܰܗܡܶܣ *to overlook*, p. 142. 3.

ܗܢܝܘܟܐ ἡνίοχος *charioteer*, plur. ܗܢܝܘ̈ܟܐ p. 46. 7. This word is glossed in B by ܡܕܰܒܪ̈ܳܢܶܐ ܕܡܰܪ̈ܟܒܳܬܳܐ *drivers of chariots*.

ܗܦܟ. Part. pĕ'îl pass. ܗܦܝܟ *perverse*; plur. ܗܦܝܟܝܢ p. 126. 17; ܕܗܘܐ ܗܦܝܟ ܠܓܪ̈ܡܐ *whose bones ought to be dug up*, p. 115. 16.

ܘܪܢܐ *coffin*, p. 138. 16.

ܘܠܐ. ܘܳܠܺܝܬܳܐ *what is right, fitting*, p. 36. 11, 18; 37. 18; 93. 4; 240. 4.

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ܗܰܠܺܝܩܳܐܝܬ *rightly, fittingly*, p. 53. 6; 103. 17; 138. 1; 155. 10.

ܗܽܘܡܳܪܳܐ *limit*, p. 165. 12; *confines*, p. 195. 1; ܠܗܘܡܪܗ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܗ "*close to his chariot*," p. 48. 5.

ܙܒܢ. ܙܒܢܐ plur. ܙܒ̈ܢܐ *articles of sale*, p. 75. 14.

ܙܓ. ܙܰܓܳܐ *bell*, plur. ܙܰܓ̈ܶܐ p. 262. 14, 16.

ܙܓܽܘܓܺܝܬܳܐ *glass*, p. 138. 17, 19.

ܙܕܩ. Adv. ܙܰܕܺܝܩܳܐܝܬ *rightly*, p. 137. 15; 151. 5.

ܙܗܪ. Ethpa"al ܐܶܙܕܰܗܰܪ ܒ *to guard, care for*, p. 32. 9.

ܙܗܺܝܪܽܘܬܳܐ *care*, p. 183. 14.

ܙܗܺܝܪܳܐܝܬ *carefully*, p. 131. 10.

ܙܰܗܪܳܐ *light*, p. 132. 1.

ܙܳܘܝܬܳܐ *corner*, plur. ܙܳܘ̈ܝܳܬܳܐ p. 219. 20.

ܙܽܘܓܳܐ *ζυγόν, a suit*, ܠܒܘܫܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܙܘܓܐ ܚܕ *one suit of Persian clothes*, p. 147. 13; ܠܒܘܫܐ ܚ̈ܘܳܪܐ ܙܘܓܐ *a suit of white clothes*, p. 147. 16.

ܙܘܪ *to grasp, to hold tightly*, p. 101. 12.

ܙܽܘܪܬܳܐ *fist*. ܡܠܐ ܙܽܘܪܬܳܐ *handful*, p. 88. 15; 94. 14, 16.

ܙܚܪ. ܙܚܘܪܝܬܐ *scarlet*, plur. ܙܚܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ p. 43. 13.

ܙܝܛܘܣ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܙܟܐ. ܙܟܝܐ, *conqueror*, plur. ܙܳܟ̈ܝܶܐ p. 229. 16.

ܡܶܙܕܰܟܝܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ *defeat*, p. 135. 19; 136. 15; 158. 2; 161. 18; 170. 15; 229. 5.

ܠܐ ܡܙܕܟܝܢܘܬܐ *invincibility*, p. 1. 14.

ܙܠ. ܙܠܺܝܠܳܐܝܬ *lustfully*, p. 7. 12.

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ܙܠܦܬܐ *oyster shell.* ܕܘܢܒܝ ܙܠܦܬܐ *tails of oyster shells*, p. 178. 8; ܡܐ̈ܢܐ ܕܙܠܦܬܐ *oystershell vessels*, p. 190. 6.

ܙܡܪܐ p. 207. 6. This word is glossed in B by ܟܢܫܐ, Ar. جماعة *troop, band.*

ܙܡܪܓܕܐ *emerald*, plur. ܙܡܪ̈ܓܕܐ p. 9. 4.

ܙܦܬܐ Ar. زفت, Heb. זֶפֶת *pitch*, p. 193. 3.

ܙܩ. ܙܩܐ, Ar. زق *bag*, plur. ܙܩ̈ܐ p. 205. 8; 206. 1.

ܙܩܪ. Infin. ܠܡܙܩܪ *to weave*, p. 114. 8; part. fem. ܙܩܪܐ p. 113. 5; 114. 7; part. pass. ܙܩܝܪ *woven*, p. 129. 1; fem. ܙܩܝܪܬܐ p. 224. 15; plur. ܙܩܝ̈ܪܢ p. 218. 12.

ܚܒܫ. ܚܒܫܐ *crowd, swarm*, p. 81. 16; 216. 2; plur. ܚܒ̈ܫܐ p. 92. 3.

ܚܓܠܐ, Ar. حجل, Heb. חָגְלָה, *partridge*, plur. ܚܓ̈ܠܢ p. 179. 1.

ܚܕܐ ܚܕܝܐܝܬ *gladly, joyfully*, p. 63. 1.

ܚܕܪ ܚܕܘܪܘܬܐ *mendicity, begging*, p. 20. 7.

ܚܘܕ̈ܪܐ *circles*, p. 8. 5.

ܚܘܠ, ܚܠ *to be ashamed*, p. 94. 7.

ܚܘܐ ܡܚܘܝܢܘܬܐ *demonstration*, p. 30. 11.

ܡܚܘ̈ܝܢܝ ܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ *those who show the Signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4.

ܚܘܣ ܚܘܣܓܢܘܬܐ *mercy*, p. 105. 14.

ܚܘܝ. ܚܝܠܐܝܬ *quickly*, p. 90. 4; 158. 3.

ܚܘܪ ܚܘܪ, ܚܘܪܐ *spectator*, plur. ܚܘ̈ܪܐ p. 46. 1.

ܚܘܛܡܐ *the bow of a boat* (?), p. 205. 1.

ܚܙܘܪܐ *apple*, plur. ܚܙܘ̈ܪܐ p. 217. 5.

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ܚܙܝܪ ܒܪܐ *wild pig, boar*, p. 177. 5; plur. ܚܙܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ p. 174. 11.

ܚܛܪ. ܚܘܛܪܐ *rod, stick*, p. 4. 12. In D the word is masculine.

ܚܝܐ. ܚܝܘܬ ܓܒܪܐ *a creature half beast half man*, p. 177. 5.

ܚܟܡ. ܚܟ̈ܡܬܐ *the Sciences*. ܐܪܒܥ ܡܘܣܩܘܣ ܕܐܣܛܘܟܣܝܢ ܡܬܡܛܝܬܐ p. 95. 11.

ܬ̈ܠܟܐ p. 9. 6. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܚܠܛ. ܚܘܠܛܢܐ *union, mixing, mixture*, p. 66. 14; 72. 15.

ܚܡܪ. ܚܘܡܪܐ, plur. ܚܘܡܪ̈ܐ *gems*, p. 8. 13, 15; 26. 1.

ܚܘܡܪܬܐ *wheel*, p. 101. 11.

ܚܡܬ. ܚܡܝܬܐܝܬ *angrily, wrathfully*, p. 21. 4; 221. 7.

ܚܢܐ. ܚܢܐ *bosom*, p. 130. 9, 14.

ܚܢܛ. Infin. ܠܡܚܢܛ *to embalm*, p. 151. 7.

ܚܣܐ. Pa''êl part. ܡܚܣܝ *innocent*, p. 6. 8.

ܚܣܟ. ܚܣܘܟܘܬܐ *parsimony*, p. 38. 1.

ܚܣܠ. Ethpĕ'êl ܐܬܚܣܠ *to be weaned*, p. 23. 4.

ܚܣܢ. ܚܣܝܢܐܝܬ *heavily, mightily, violently*, p. 51. 17; 94. 9; 159. 11. Pam'êl ܚܡܣܢ *to be strong, bear bravely*, p. 20. 2; 21. 9.

ܡܚܡܣܢܢܐܝܬ *bravely*, p. 22. 1.

ܚܣܪ. ܚܣܝܪ, ܚܣܝܪܐ *needy, poor*, p. 12. 9; 136. 13.

ܚܣܝܪܘܬܐ *need, lack*, p. 12. 10; 28. 12.

ܚܦܛ. ܚܦܝܛܐܝܬ *diligently, earnestly*, p. 11. 13; 78. 4.

ܡܚܦܛܢܐ *one who incites or urges on to anything*, p. 61. 4.

ܚܦܢ. ܚܘܦܢܐ, Ar. حَفْنَة, Heb. חֹפֶן, *fist*. ܡܠܐ ܚܘܦܢܐ *handful*, p. 88. 12.

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ܚܨܦ Af'ĕl part. ܡܚܨܦܘ *to act audaciously or daringly*, p. 191. 1.

ܚܨܝܦܐ, ܚܨܝܦܬܐ *impudent*, p. 89. 2; 116. 1; 119. 11; plur. fem. ܚܨܝ̈ܦܬܐ *impudent things*, p. 211. 1.

ܚܨܝܦܐܝܬ *audaciously*, p. 150. 1.

ܚܪܕܢܐ Ar. حِرْذَوْن, *crocodile*, plur. ܚܪ̈ܕܢܐ p. 176. 1.

ܚܪܕܦ *to wag the tail*, p. 33. 7.

ܚܪܙ ܚܪܘܙܬܢܐܝܬ *cruelly*, p. 30. 4.

ܚܪܡ ܚܪܝܡܐ *astute*, p. 76. 11.

ܚܪܦ ܚܪܝܦܐ, ܚܪܝܦܬܐ *pungent, sharp*, p. 93. 15; 95. 2; plur. ܚܪܝܦܝܢ p. 88. 16; 94. 18.

ܚܪܝܦܘܬܐ *sagacity*, p. 79. 17.

ܚܪܝܦܘܬ ܡܠܬܐ *sharpness of speech*, p. 57. 2; *intentness*, p. 7. 10.

ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ *sharply*. ܚܪܝܦܐܝܬ ܐܬܚܡܬ *he was furiously angry*, p. 59. 1.

ܚܪܫ. ܚܪ̈ܫܐ *sorcerers*, p. 7. 6. A name given by the Greeks to the Signs of the Zodiac.

ܚܫܠ ܚܫܝܠܬܐ, plur. ܚܫ̈ܝܠܬܐ *trinkets*, p. 141. 2.

ܚܫܝܠܐ *polished*, p. 2. 7.

ܚܬܪ ܟܪܣܐ ܚܬܝܪ *purse-proud*, p. 57. 8.

ܚܬ ܚܬܝܬܐܝܬ *exactly*, p. 27. 1; *accurately*, p. 56. 19; 212, 12; 232. 20; 238. 13; *intently*, p. 131. 8; *in good order*, p. 93. 10; *promptly*, p. 5. 11.

ܚܬܝܬܘܬܐ *earnestness*, p. 7. 9.

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ܛܒܒ. Ethpĕ‘êl ܐܬܛܒܒ *to be reported*, p. 29. 1. Glossed in B by ܫܘܥܝܬܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܐ ܬܡܝܕ *always to be spoken of.*

ܛܒܒܠܝܬܐ for ܛܒܠܝܬܐ (?) *dish*, p. 51. 13.

ܛܒܒܠܬܐ *table*, p. 25. 16. Glossed in B by ܛܒܠܐ ܐܘ ܕܦܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܐܬܐ ܕܛܒܠܐ ܦܬܝܐ *a drum, or a board like the surface of a wide drum.*

ܛܘܗܡ. ܛܘܗܡܐ *race, kin*, p. 18. 2; 13. 9; 42. 2; 66. 8; 81. 4; 105. 4; 107. 6; plur. ܛܘܗܡܐ p. 1. 5; 66. 12; ܟܠ ܛܘܗܡܝܢ *every species*, p. 173. 12; ܒܪ ܛܘܗܡܐ *kinsman*, p. 81. 4; ܒܪ ܛܘܗܡܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ *son of the divine race*, p. 104. 5; ܛܘܗܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ p. 13. 9; 66. 12; ܛܘܗܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ p. 83. 8.

ܛܝܪܬܐ *enclosure*, p. 185. 19; 186. 4.

ܛܝܒܘܪܐ p. 259. 1. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܛܠܠ. Af‘êl part. ܡܛܠܠ *overshadowing*, p. 15. 8; ܡܛܠܠܐ p. 172. 12; ܡܛܠܠܬܐ p. 172. 23.

ܡܛܠܠܬܐ *huts*, p. 164. 10.

ܐܛܠܠܐ *roof*, p. 138. 15; 218. 10; 219. 6; plur. ܐܛܠܠܐ p. 209. 11.

ܛܠܢܛܐ *talent*, p. 74. 10; plur. ܛܠܢܛܐ p. 63. 23; 74. 10; 115. 20; 116. 16; 200. 19; ܛܠܢܛܝܢ 74. 18; ܛܠܢܛܐ 200. 8; ܛܠܢܛܝܢ 63. 13; ܛܠܢܛܐ 115. 10; 116. 2.

ܛܡܡ. Ethpa‘‘al ܐܬܛܡܡ *to be obstructed, choked, filled up*, p. 69. 16; Pa‘‘êl Infin. ܠܡܛܡܡܘ p. 208. 14.

ܛܡܝܡܐ *solid*, p. 233. 10; plur. masc. ܛܡܝܡܐ 233. 7; fem. ܛܡܝܡܬܐ 211. 8.

ܛܪܩ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܛܪܝܩܐ *excited*, p. 241. 12.

ܛܪܓܘܕܐ τραγῳδός, *singer*, plur. ܛܪ̈ܓܘܕܐ p. 78. 11.

ܛܪܢܐ Ar. ظر *rock*, plur. ܛܪ̈ܢܐ p. 178. 5.

ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܣ τρισκελής, *tripod*, p. 8. 9; ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܢ p. 98. 23; 106. 8; ܛܪܝܣܩܠܝܢ p. 98. 19; 99. 3.

ܝܕ, ܐܝܕܐ. ܐܝܕܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܐܢܫ *to yield to anyone*, p. 204. 5; ܘܙܒܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ *time has given him the hand, i.e., fortune is his slave*, p. 124. 18; ܐܘܣܦ ܝܗܒ ܐܝܕܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܝܕܥ. ܝܕ̈ܘܥܝ ܐܬܘܬܐ *knowers of signs*, p. 7. 5.

ܝܕ̈ܘܥܝ ܚܠܡ̈ܐ *knowers of dreams*, p. 16. 6.

ܡܘܕܥܢܬܐ *portent*, p. 87. 17.

ܝܠܕ. ܝܠܝܕ ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ *birthmark*, p. 33. 9.

ܝܠܦ. ܡ̈ܠܐ ܝܠܝܦܬ̈ܐ *words learned by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܝܡܐ *sea*. ܝܡܐ ܣܪܝܚܐ *fœtid sea*, p. 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2.

ܝܡܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ *bright sea*, p. 260. 2; plur. ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ 256. 9; 259. 5.

ܝܡܐ. ܡܘܡܬܐ ܗܕܐ *this oath*, p. 42. 2.

ܝܢܩ. Af'êl ܐܘܢܩ *to make to spring up*, p. 4. 12.

ܝܨܦ. ܝܨܝܦܘܬܐ *care*, p. 23. 1.

ܝܨܦܐ *care*, p. 26. 6.

ܝܩܪ. ܡܝܩܪܐܝܬ *honourably*, p. 60. 5.

ܝܬܪ. Eshtaf'al ܐܫܬܘܬܪ *to increase*, p. 23. 4.

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ܝܬܒ. ܡܘܬܒܐ *seat used by women in childbirth*, p. 19. 13.

ܝܬܡ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܝܬܡ *to become an orphan*, p. 244. 8.

ܝܬܪ. ܡܝܬܪܘܬܐ *superiority*, p. 20. 5.

ܡܘܬܪܢ *useful*, p. 3. 13.

ܟܐܘܢ, Assyrian *ka-ai-ma-nu*, Ar. كيوان, Heb. כִּיּוּן *Saturn*, p. 19. 15; 20. 4; 27. 12; ܦܠܛܐ ܕܟܐܘܢ *fate of Saturn, i. e., ill luck*, p. 40. 11.

ܟܐܪ. *to disgrace*, p. 91. 10.

ܡܟܐܪܬܐ *disgrace, reproach, shame*, p. 93. 5; 105. 7; 139. 13; 229. 3.

ܟܒܪܝܬܐ *sulphur*, p. 193. 3.

ܟܕܒ. ܟܕܒܘܬܐ *lying, falsehood*, p. 6. 16.

ܟܕܢ. *to yoke*, p. 46. 14; Pĕ'îl part. pass. plur. ܟܕܝܢܝܢ p. 49. 16; 143. 4.

ܟܘܕܪܐ *eagle*, plur. ܟܘܕܪ̈ܐ p. 176. 3.

ܟܘܐ, Ar. كوّ *window*, p. 260. 3; ܟܘܬܐ p. 260. 7.

ܟܘܒ̈ܐ *ingots*, p. 171. 7.

ܟܘܪܐ *furnace*. ܟܘܪܐ ܕܢܦܚܐ *smith's furnace*, p. 161. 8.

ܟܚܕ. ܟܘܚܕܐ *shame*, p. 89. 2.

ܟܝܕ. ܟܝܕܬܐ ܕܐܝܕܐ *handwriting*, p. 270. 15; 275. 7. خط يد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 61 *b*, col. 1.

ܟܟܐ *tooth*, ܟܟ̈ܐ *teeth*, p. 190. 3, 5.

ܟܟܘܫܬܐ Chald. כַּרְכּוּשְׁתָּא *ferret*, p. 217. 9. M. Duval (*Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII, p. 351, note 1) translates this

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word by *ichneumon*. These animals were eaten by the ancients in times of famine. Compare ܠܚܡ̈ܪܐ ܘܟܠ̈ܒܐ ܘܟܡܘܢ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܟܦܢܐ ܐܟܠܘ Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar-Alaha*, p. 177. 7.

ܟܠܒܬܐ, plur. ܟܠ̈ܒܬܐ Ar. كَلَّاب *tongs*, p. 161. 11.

ܟܠܕܝܐ *augur, soothsayer*, p. 78. 2; plur. ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ p. 75. 9, 11, 18; ܐܦܠܘܢ ܟܠܕܝܐ *Apollo the augur*, p. 78. 2; ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ *Egyptian soothsayers*, p. 75. 9.

ܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ *augury, divination*, p. 19. 8; 76. 17; 98. 19; 99. 3; 110. 3; 114. 1; 210. 7, 14.

ܠܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܠܟܠܕܝܘܬܐ *a woman unworthy of the office of divination*, p. 113. 13.

Af'êl infin. ܠܡܟܠܕܝܘ *to divine*, p. 109. 7.

ܟܠܡܝܣ *chlamys, cloak*, p. 224. 14.

ܟܡܪ. Ethpe'êl ܐܬܟܡܪ *to be sad*, p. 94. 6.

ܟܡܝܪܘܬܐ *gloominess*, p. 246. 6; ܦܐ̈ܐ ܟܡܝܪ̈ܬܐ *gloomy face*, p. 61. 13.

ܟܘܡܪܐ *priest*, plur. ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ p. 147. 18.

ܟܘܡܪܬܐ *priestess*, p. 113. 5, 10, 12; 114. 2, 12, 13; 122. 10.

ܟܘܡܪܘܬܐ *office of priestess*, p. 114. 1, 12.

ܟܢܫ intrans. *to be assembled*, p. 43. 5; 60. 10; 62. 19.

ܟܘܦܬܐ, ܟܘ̈ܦܬܐ *small boxes*, p. 211. 12. Glossed in B by ܩܒܘ̈ܬܐ

ܟܘܦܪܐ *asphalt, bitumen*, p. 2. 10; 4. 11.

ܟܪܐ. Pers. خر *ass*, p. 211. 8.

ܟܪܐ. part. pass. *mean, little*, ܟܪܝܐ ܒܩܘܡܬܗ *in stature small*, p. 163. 6.

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Af'êl ܐܲܟܪܸܒ *to be grieved*, p. 94. 7.

ܟܪ̈ܒܐ *ploughed lands*, p. 68. 1.

ܟܪܟ Pĕ'il part. plur. ܟܪܝܟܝܢ *surrounding*, *encircling*, p. 69. 6; 70. 5.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܬܟܪܸܟ *to roll* of an egg, *to go round*, *to encircle*, p. 18. 11, 12; 66. 18; 171. 5; 187. 10; part. ܡܬܟܪܟ 19. 1, 7; 76. 13; 179. 7; ܡܬܟܪܟܢܐ p. 101. 11; infin. ܠܡܬܟܪܟܘ 183. 4.

Af'êl *to surround with*, *to bind*, p. 268. 8, 11.

ܟܪܘܟܝܐ *a bend or turning*, p. 146. 13; ܟܪܘܟܝܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ *the farthest point* of a chariot course, p. 46. 16, 17.

ܟܪܐ. ܟܪܝܘܬ ܢܦܫܐ *impatience*, p. 117. 18.

ܟܪ̈ܥܐ *legs of a couch or table*, p. 218. 13.

ܟܪܬܐ *green*, plur. ܟܪ̈ܬܐ p. 43. 14.

ܟܫܐ *to pile up*, p. 264. 15.

ܟܫܪ. ܟܫܝܪܐܝܬ *excellently*, *properly*, p. 3. 15.

ܟܬܢܐ *linen*, p. 5. 3; plur. ܟܬ̈ܢܐ p. 15. 4, 17; 56. 20.

ܟܬܫ. Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܟܬܫ *striving*, *contending*, p. 13. 2.

ܡܬܟܬܫ ܒܩܠܐ *importunate with voice*, = συριγμὸν πέμπων.

ܡܬܟܬܫܢܘܬܐ *worry*, *strife*, p. 81. 16.

ܠܒܒ. ܠܒܝܒܐܝܬ *courageously*, p. 3. 16.

ܠܒܢ. Part. pĕ'il ܠܒܝܢܐ *frozen*, p. 134. 8.

ܠܒܟ. Part. pĕ'il ܠܒܝܟ (transitive), *to hold*, (like ܐܚܝܕ p. 21. 10); 19. 14; 33. 6.

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ܠܚܡ. Pa‘‘êl part. ܡܠܚܡ *fitting, fitted,* p. 101. 11; 138. 18.

ܠܚܫ *to mutter charms,* p. 14. 12.

ܠܚܬ. ܠܚܝܬܐ *sharp, pointed,* p. 205. 2.

ܠܚܝܬܐ *tip, point (of a spear),* p. 42. 5; 100. 14.

ܠܡܦܪܬܐ p. 224. 13. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܠܡܝܢܐ λιμήν, *harbour,* p. 39. 9.

ܠܩܢܐ λεκάνη, *bowl, basin,* p. 2. 9, 11, 14, 15; 4. 10; 29. 1; plur. ܠܩܢ̈ܐ p. 190. 6.

ܡܘܠܐ *pus,* p. 256. 16.

ܡܓܝܪܘܣ μάγειρος *cook,* p. 51. 15.

ܡܕܪܐ Ar. مدر, Ethiopic ምድር፡ *earth,* p. 208. 13.

ܡܘܪܓܠܐ (ܡܘܪܓܠܐ p. 59. 20) *whip,* p. 15. 7; 16. 2, 3; 59. 3.

The Egyptian χu is here referred to.

ܡܘܢܝܛܐ monêta, *money,* p. 145. 17; 146. 1.

ܡܘܫܟ Ar. مسك, ܡܫܟ̈ܐ ܕܡܘܫܟ *musk skins,* p. 200. 11.

ܡܘܠ. Ethpa‘al part. ܡܬܡܘܠ *to be mixed,* p. 138. 13.

ܡܚܠ. Ethpĕ‘êl ܐܬܡܚܝܠ *to be weary,* p. 162. 13.

ܡܚܝܢ *reluctant?* p. 129. 10. This word is probably corrupt.

ܡܚܘܬܐ *the name of a tree,* p. 186. 7.

ܡܚܝܠܘܪܐ *the name of a tree,* p. 186. 6.

ܡܝܛܟܣܐ μέταξα, *silk,* p. 218. 12.

ܡܢ ܩܛ̈ܐ p. 200. 8. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡܨܐ. ܡܨܡܨܝܐܝܬ *exactly, fully,* p. 90. 1.

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ܡܠܟ. ܡܰܠܟܳܐܺܝܬ *royally*, p. 221. 16.

ܡܠܫ. ܡܰܠܘܳܫܳܐ, plur. ܡܰܠܘܳܫܶܐ *signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4; 8. 8; 20. 2; 26. 7; 27. 15; 29. 4; 30. 11; 275. 3.

ܡܢܐ. ܡܳܢܶܐ ܟܰܘܟܒܶܐ *counter of stars, astrologer*, p. 7. 8; plur. ܡܳܢܰܝ ܟܰܘܟܒܶܐ p. 7. 6. A name given to the Signs of the Zodiac by the Greeks.

ܡܢܬܐ, *string of a harp*, plur. ܡܶܢܝܳܬܳܐ p. 237. 16.

ܡܣܒܪܘܣ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡܶܠܘܦܶܦܢܶܐ = ܡܶܠܘܦܦܢܶܐ = μηλοπέπονες (?), *melons*, p. 217. 7.

ܡܨܥ. Pa'êl ܡܰܨܰܥ *to put in the middle*, p. 48. 3.

ܡܡܰܨܥܳܢܳܐ *mediator*, p. 58. 4. ܐܢܐ ܒܡܨܥܝܬܐ ܐܢܐ *I am in the midst, i. e., I am mediator*, p. 54. 6.

ܡܪܪ. ܡܰܪܳܪܬܳܐ *gall*, p. 48. 11. ܡܪܪܬܗ ܒܓܘܗ ܐܬܬܙܝܥܬ *his gall was stirred up in him*, p. 41. 11.

ܡܪܙܒܐ, ܡܪܙܒܢܐ, plur. ܡܰܪܙܒܳܢܶܐ *satraps, lords*, p. 55. 16; 56. 3. This word is glossed in B by نَجِيبَان *nobility*, p. 55. 21.

ܡܪܦܠ = ܡܦܠ *to glance off, turn aside*, p. 68. 8.

ܡܪܕܢܐ, ܡܰܪܕܢܳܐ *jar*, p. 130. 8.

ܡܪܕܢ *to knead*, p. 268. 10.

ܡܰܪܕܰܒܝܶܕ *rhinoceros*, p. 211. 15.

ܡܫܫ. ܡܫܘܫܬܐ *age, class (of men)*, p. 103. 5.

ܡܫܩܠܦ *name of some large amphibious animal*, p. 175. 9.

ܡܬܚ. Ethpĕ'êl ܐܶܬܡܬܰܚ *to straighten oneself out*, p. 17. 10.

ܢܒܘ *Nebo*, p. 21. 9; 27. 14. Glossed in B by ܡܪܩܘܪ *Mercury*, p. 21. 20; 27. 21.

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ܢܦܪ. *to start forth*, p. 43. 18. ܢܦܪܘ may be a corruption of ܢܦܪܘ or ܢܦܩܘ

ܫܪܚ. Ethpalp. ܐܫܬܪܚܪܚ *to be on fire, to burn*, p. 6. 10; part. ܡܫܬܪܚܪܚܐ *blazing*, p. 131. 19.

ܢܓܠ. ܡܓܠܐ, *scythe*, plur. ܡܓ̈ܠܐ p. 134. 11; 135. 6.

ܢܗܪ. ܢܗܝܪܐ *star, luminary*, p. 182. 1; plur. 81. 5.

ܢܗܝܪܘܬܐ *brightness*, p. 119. 4.

ܢܘܚ. ܢܝܚܘܬܐ *gentleness, quiet*, p. 22. 3.

ܢܝܚܐܝܬ *quietly*, p. 32. 15.

ܢܘ̈ܢܐ Pisces, p. 22. 4.

ܢܘܦ. Af'êl ܐܢܝܦ *to wave, brandish*, p. 58. 7.

ܢܚܫܝܪܐ Pers. نخچیر *a hunt*, p. 107. 4.

ܢܚܫܝܪܬܢܐ, plur. ܢܚܫܝܪܬܢ̈ܐ *hunters*, p. 212. 1.

ܢܛܪܬܐ *cage*, p. 100. 16, 18.

ܢܣܐ. Pa"êl part. ܡܢܣܝܝ ܩܪܒܐ *men tried or expert in war*, p. 92. 2; ܡܢܣܝܢܐ for ܡܢܣܝܐ p. 100. 12.

ܡܣܐܬܐ Libra, *balance, scales*, p. 19. 15; 20. 8.

ܢܣܒ. ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܬܐ *to take a wife*, p. 58. 17; 106. 2; 154. 4; ܒܥܐ ܨܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܣܒ *he wished to take to wife*, p. 50. 11; ܒܥܠܐ ܠܗ ܝܗܒ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ *I will give her to another king to wife*, p. 50. 17; ܡܢ ܒܥܠܐ ܫܒܝܩܬܐ *divorced*, p. 50. 9; ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܒܥܠܐ ܠܡܣܒܗ *to take another woman to wife*, p. 53. 9.

ܡܣܒܐ ܘܡܬܠܐ *taking and giving*, p. 36. 10. Talm. and

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Rabb. מְסַּב וּמִיתַּן ; Ar. اخذ وعطا Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 81 *a*, col. 1.

ܢܣܟ. Pĕʻîl part. ܢܣܝܟ *cast* (*of images*), p. 138. 18.

ܢܥܒܐ *raven*, plur. ܢܥ̈ܒܐ p. 176. 10.

ܢܦܫ. Paʻʻêl part. ܡܢܦܫ *exercised, trained*, p. 25. 8.

ܪ̈ܟܫܐ ܡܢܦ̈ܫܐ *trained horses*, p. 39. 6; ܦܝ̈ܠܐ ܡܢܦ̈ܫܝܢ ܠܩܪ̈ܒܐ *elephants trained in war*, p. 231. 17.

ܢܘܦܫܐ *exercise, training*, p. 39. 3.

ܢܦܫ. ܢܦܫܐ *tomb, sepulchral monument*, p. 68. 14, 15. ܢܦܫܐ ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ = Ταπόσειρις of Strabo.

ܢܨܚ. Afʻêl part. plur. ܡܢܨܚܝܢ *clear*, p. 26. 17, 18.

ܢܨܝܚܐܝܬ *gloriously*, p. 49. 11.

ܢܨܚܢܘܬܐ *victory*, p. 25. 10.

ܢܛܪ. ܢܛܘܪ ܦܓܪܐ *bodyguard*, p. 129. 4.

ܢܛܠ. ܡܢܛܠܬܐ *cup, vessel*, plur. ܡܢܛ̈ܠܢ p. 190. 7.

ܢܩܒ. ܢܩܒܐ *the den of an animal*, p. 192. 4; plur. ܢܩ̈ܒܐ *holes*, p. 132. 4.

ܢܩܦ. Afʻêl ܐܢܩܦ. ܐܢܩܦ ܡܢ ܪܘܫܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell from the beginning*, p. 28. 18; ܐܢܩܦ ܠܚܕܐ ܒܚܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܢܪܓܐ *axe, pick*, plur. ܢܪ̈ܓܐ p. 101. 4.

ܢܫ. ܢܫܝܫܐܝܬ *feebly*, p. 83. 14.

ܢܫܡ *to hiss*, p. 17. 6.

ܢܫܦ *to attract, draw*, p. 192. 9.

ܢܫܘܦܐ *attraction*, p. 192. 9.

ܣܦܪ. ܣܦܪܬܐ *shaving*, p. 233. 11.

ܣܦܛܐ. Ar. سفط *a small basket, casket or chest*, p. 8. 9.

ܣܒܗ. Af'êl part. pass. ܡܣܒܗ *to be like unto, resemble*, p. 23. 8; 25. 11; 128. 13; ܡܣܒܗܐ p. 87. 16.

ܣܒܪ. Pĕ'îl part. ܣܒܝܪ ܗܘܐ *he thought*, p. 58. 15.
ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ *expectation*, p. 14. 10; 26. 5; 127. 1; ܝܗܒ ܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ *he gave the expectation*, p. 58. 6.

ܣܓܝ. ܣܘܓܐܐܝܬ *abundantly*, p. 111. 5.
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܥܠܠܬܐ *abundant of crops*, p. 124. 12.
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ *abundant of tillage*, p. 124. 12.

ܣܕܪ. ܣܕܝܪܘܬܐ *ordering, arranging*, p. 1. 7; 29. 4; ܡܣܕܪܘܬ ܡܠܠܐ *arrangement of speech*, p. 23. 14.

ܣܘܡ. ܣܘܡܐ *a breathing*, p. 191. 6; ܒܣܘܡܗ ܢܓܕܬ *it drew in with its breath*, p. 193. 6.

ܣܘܪܛܐ, plur. ܣܘܪܛܐ *palace, country house, summerhouse*, p. 18. 3; 206. 5.

ܣܛܠ. ܣܘܛܠܐ, plur. ܣܘܛܠܐ *fetters*, p. 139. 2.

ܣܛܘܪܘܣ σάτυρος, *Satyr*, p. 181. 13.

ܣܟܪ. ܣܟܪܐ *a bolt*, p. 268. 10.

ܣܟܠ. ܡܣܟܠܢܐ *offender, evildoer*, p. 82. 11; plur. ܡܣܟܠܢܐ p. 25. 1.

ܣܠܝܢܐ σελήνη *the Moon*, p. 20. 20.

ܣܡ, ܣܡܐ, plur. ܣܡܡܢܐ *paints*, p. 204. 9.

ܣܡܟ. Part. pĕ'îl plur. ܣܡܝܟܝܢ *those that sit at meat*, p. 50. 13; 51. 15; 52. 4.

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Ethpĕ'êl ܐܶܣܬܡܶܟ݂ *to sit at meat*, p. 129. 19.

Af'êl infin. ܠܰܡܣܳܡܳܟ݂ܽܘ *to make to sit down to meat*, p. 85. 2.

ܣܡܳܟ݂ܳܐ *table*. ܒܪܺܫ ܣܡܳܟ݂ܳܐ *at the head of the board*, p. 50. 14; ܣܡܳܟ݂̈ܶܐ ܬܰܚܬܳܝ̈ܶܐ *the lower seats*, p. 197. 11.

ܣܦܩ. Pĕ'îl part. pass. ܣܦܺܝܩܳܐ p. 15. 14; ܣܦܺܝܩܬܳܐ p. 45. 4; plur. ܣܦܺܝܩܺܝܢ *empty*, p. 168. 9.

Pa''êl ܣܰܦܶܩ *to empty*, p. 8. 11.

Ethpa'al ܐܶܣܬܰܦܰܩ *to be emptied, deprived of*, p. 20. 5; 21. 11; 135. 16.

ܣܩܠ. Pĕ'îl part. pass. ܣܩܺܝܠ *decorated, splendid*, p. 13. 4; 104, 6.

ܣܳܩܪܳܐ σάκρα *letter*, p. 83. 6; 90. 10; 91. 13; 93. 1, 7; 94. 11; 115. 8; 116. 5; 145. 3; 150. 9; 152. 13; 210. 1; 226. 17; 227. 9; رسالة. كتاب Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 123 *a*, col. 2.

ܣܪܐ. Pĕ'îl part. ܣܪܺܝܐ *foul*, p. 32. 6; ܣܪܺܝܬܳܐ p. 32. 7; 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2.

ܣܪܓ. ܣܪܓܐ, سَرْج, ܣܪ̈ܳܓܶܐ *saddles*, p. 231. 6.

ܣܪܕ. ܡܣܰܪܕܳܢܺܝܬܳܐ, plur. ܡܣܰܪܕ̈ܳܢܝܳܬܳܐ *alarming* (*of words*), p. 117. 13.

ܣܰܪܛܳܢܳܐ *Cancer*, p. 20. 4.

ܣܰܪܢܳܐ. Ar. سرن *axle*, p. 49. 8.

ܣܬܬ. Pa''êl part. ܡܣܰܬܬܳܐ *founded*, p. 106. 4.

Ethpa'al ܐܶܣܬܰܬܰܬ *to become firm*, p. 93. 12.

ܣܶܬܳܐ, ܣܝܬܐ *vine*, p. 182. 7, 19.

ܥܒܐ. ܥܒ̈ܝܳܬܳܐ *swellings*, p. 178. 15.

ܥܽܘܒܝܳܐ *thickness*, p. 205. 20.

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ܫܥܒܕ. Shaf'êl ܫܰܥܒܶܕ *to subdue*, p. 60. 18; part. ܡܫܰܥܒܶܕ p. 5. 15; 64. 7.

Eshtaf'al part. ܡܶܫܬܰܥܒܰܕ *to be subdued*, p. 13. 18; infin. ܠܡܶܫܬܰܥܒܳܕܽܘ p. 52. 1.

ܫܘܥܒܳܕܳܐ *submission*, 124. 7.

ܥܒܐ. ܥܒܺܝܳܐ *dense, thick*, p. 217. 3; ܕܘܟܬܳܐ ܥܒܺܝܬܳܐ ܒܛܰܪ̈ܦܶܐ *a place dense with foliage*, 106. 12.

ܥܒܪ. ܥܒܰܪ ܠܩܽܘܕܡܳܐ *to pass over to the front*, p. 44. 2; 45. 6; ܥܒܰܪ ܠܥܘܡܩܳܐ p. 44. 1, 8.

Af'êl ܐܰܥܒܰܪ *to make to pass over*, p. 21. 3; 58. 8; 118. 8; 127. 11; 157. 7; infin. ܠܡܰܥܒܳܪܽܘ p. 72. 8; part. ܡܰܥܒܰܪ p. 33. 13; part. plur. ܡܰܥܒܪܺܝܢ p. 228. 9.

Ethpĕ'ĕl ܡܶܬܥܒܰܪ ܠܳܐ *impassable*; plur. ܡܶܬܥܰܒܪ̈ܳܢܳܐ ܠܳܐ p. 247. 5.

ܡܰܥܒܰܪܬܳܐ *passage*, p. 47. 8; 191. 19; 227. 18.

ܥܒܽܘܪܳܐ *corn*, p. 124. 10; 135. 6; 140. 14; 206. 7; 249. 6.

ܥܓܠ. Pe'îl part. pass. plur. ܥܓܺܝܠܺܝܢ *fallen*, p. 166. 4.

ܥܕܐ. Af'êl part. ܡܥܕܶܐ *removing, taking away*, p. 137. 14.

ܥܕܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܶܬܥܰܕܰܠ *to blame*, p. 37. 13.

ܥܕܪ. Pa''êl part. ܡܥܰܕܪܳܐ *recovering*, p. 97. 3.

ܥܗܪ. ܥܰܗܝܪ *furious*, p. 32. 5.

ܥܘܩ. ܥܘܳܩܳܐ *hindrance*, p. 249. 8. تاخر Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 126 *b*, col. 1.

ܥܘܠ. ܥܝܳܠܳܐ *foal, colt*, p. 24. 9; ܥܝܠܐ ܕܪ̈ܟܫܐ p. 38. 16.

ܥܝ̈ܠܐ ܡܕܪ̈ܒܐ *trained colts*, p. 39. 6.

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ܥܘܩ. Ethpĕʿēl part. pass. ܡܬܥܝܩ *afflicted*, p. 223. 13.

ܥܝܩܐ *sad, sorrowful*, p. 25. 11.

ܥܘܪ. ܥܝܪܘܬܐ *watchfulness*, p. 105. 6.

ܥܙ. ܥܙܐ *a goat*, ܥܙ̈ܐ ܚܡܪ̈ *ass-goats*, p. 211. 8.

ܥܙܩܬܐ *ring*, p. 15. 5, 19.

ܥܛܡܬܐ *thigh*, plur. ܥܛܡ̈ܬܐ p. 263. 14.

ܥܛܦ. Ethpaʿal *to be arranged or wrapped in*, p. 255. 7.

Afʿēl ܐܥܛܦ *to make to return, to come back*, p. 216, 14.

ܥܝܡ. ܥܝܡܐ *mist*, p. 183. 16; 184. 1; 225. 18.

ܥܝܪ. ܥܝܪ̈ܬܐ *vengeance*, p. 10. 11; 12. 2; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 80. 11; 138. 1; 142. 1; 224. 5.

ܥܠ. Ethpaʿal ܐܬܥܠܠ *to enter*, p. 29. 13.

Afʿēl ܐܥܠ *to bring in*, p. 32. 15.

ܥܠܐ. Paʿʿēl part. pass. ܡܥܠܝ *exalted*, p. 136. 10; plur. ܡܥܠܝ̈ܐ p. 99. 14.

Ethpaʿal ܐܬܥܠܝ *to go up from a ship*, p. 39. 13.

ܡܥܠܝܘܬܐ *greatness, excellence*, p. 86. 3; 142. 17.

ܡܘܥܠܝܐ *elevation*, p. 83. 6.

ܥܠܡ. ܥܠܝܡ ܒܝܕܥܬܐ *inexperienced*, p. 120. 14.

ܥܠܦ. ܥܠ̈ܦܬܐ *locks*, p. 268. 12.

ܥܡܕ. *to set* (*of the sun*), p. 187. 16; 195. 19.

ܥܡܛ. *to shroud*, p. 94. 6; 246. 6.

Afʿēl ܐܥܡܛ *to make dark*, p. 119. 4.

ܥܡܘܛܐ *dense, dark*, p. 183. 15; plur. ܥܡ̈ܘܛܝܢ p. 185. 17.

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ܥܡܛܢܐ *fog, blackness*, p. 183. 17; 192. 7; 225. 4; 233. 14; 234. 15; 235. 7.

ܥܡܨ. Pa‘‘êl ܥܰܡܶܨ *to close* the eyes, p. 144. 2.

ܥܡܪ. Pa‘‘êl part. ܡܥܰܡܪ *making to dwell*, p. 22. 2; ܡܥܰܡܪܢܐ p. 191. 3.

ܥܡܝܪܐ *hay*, p. 140. 15.

ܥܣܩ. ܥܣܩ p. 66. 15; ܥܰܣܩܐ *difficult*, p. 200. 17; plur. ܥܰܣ̈ܩܐ p. 247. 4.

ܥܰܣܩܘܬܐ *difficulty*, p. 184. 8.

ܥܦܐ. Pa‘‘êl infin. ܡܥܰܦܳܝܘ *to bury*, p. 138. 7.

Ethpa‘al ܐܬܥܰܦܝ *to be buried*, p. 164. 8.

ܥܦܩ. Pa‘‘êl part. ܡܥܰܦ̈ܩ *embracing*, p. 11. 18; ܡܥܰܦܩܐ p. 17. 11.

ܥܨܐ *to restrain*, p. 20. 3.

ܥܨܪ *to press, bruise*, p. 11. 14.

ܥܩܒ. Ethpa‘al ܐܬܥܰܩܰܒ *to be insolent* (?) p. 40. 8.

ܥܩܡ. Pa‘‘êl part. plur. ܡܥܰܩܡܝܢ *crafty*, p. 126. 17.

ܡܥܩܡܢܐ, plur. ܡܥܰܩ̈ܡܢܐ *perverse, crafty*, p. 160. 14.

ܥܩܪܒܐ, Ar. عَقْرَب, Heb. עַקְרָב *scorpion*, plur. ܥܩܪ̈ܒܐ p. 174. 4, 14.

ܥܪܐ. ܥܰܪܳܐ *cold*, p. 160. 11. البرد الشديد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܥܪܒ. ܥܰܪܒܐ *trough*, 265. 1.

ܥܘܪܒܐ. Ar. غُرَاب, Heb. עֹרֵב *raven*, ܥܘܪ̈ܒܝ ܠܠܝܐ *night ravens*, p. 176. 19.

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ܥܪܕ. ܥܪܕܐ *mushroom*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܕܐ p. 180. 1. كماة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, p. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܥܪܕܐ *ass*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܕܐ p. 180. 10.

ܥܪܛܠ. adv. ܥܪܛܠܝܐܝܬ *naked*, p. 21. 6; 39. 5.

ܥܪܡ. ܥܪܡܐ, *a rough place*, plur. ܥܪ̈ܡܐ p. 247. 4.

ܥܪܣܐ *bed*, ܥܪܣܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ *childbed*, p. 19. 11; 21. 12. D has ܩܘܪܣܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ

ܥܪܦܠܐ Heb. עֲרָפֶל *darkness, blackness*, p. 192. 7; plur. 256. 1.

ܥܪܝ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܪܝ *to be afflicted*, p. 173. 7.

ܥܪܩ. Af'êl ܐܥܪܩ *to make to flee away*, p. 118. 3.

ܥܪܩܠ ܪ̈ܓܠܐ men with *twisted legs* = ἱμαντόποδες, p. 174. 22; 177. 16.

ܥܫܢ *to be strong*, p. 93. 6.

Pa"êl ܥܫܢ, part. plur. fem. ܡܥܫ̈ܢܢ p. 23. 11.

ܥܫܝܢ *strong, mighty*, p. 84. 9; ܥܫܝܢܐ p. 59. 19; 231. 7; ܥܫܝܢܬܐ p. 90. 5; plur. ܥܫܝܢܝܢ p. 176. 3; plur. ܥܫܝ̈ܢܐ p. 252. 17.

ܥܫܝܢܘܬܐ *strength*, p. 32. 12; 159. 6.

ܥܘܫܢܐ *power, strength*, p. 76. 14.

ܥܬܕ. Pa"êl ܥܬܕ *to make ready, to prepare*, p. 83. 12; infin. ܠܡܥܬܕܘ p. 201. 9; part. pass. ܡܥܬܕ p. 3. 18; plur. ܡܥܬܕܝܢ 90. 2; 201. 7; fem. ܡܥܬ̈ܕܢ 211. 3.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܬܕ *to be ready*, 81. 6; 95. 7; 164. 8; 209. 1; 226. 14; 233. 4; ܐܬܥܬܕ ܙܟܘܬܐ *he obtained the victory*, p. 50. 1; part. plur. ܡܬܥܬܕܝܢ p. 2. 4; 3. 5.

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ܡܛܝܒܐܝܬ *readily*, p. 42. 9; 175. 11; 177. 14; 182. 18.

ܥܬܪ *to be rich*, Pe'al infin. ܠܡܥܬܪ *to be rich*, p. 34. 9.

Af'êl *to make rich*, part. ܡܥܬܪ p. 34. 11.

ܥܬܝܪ *rich*, p. 40. 1; 84. 10; 196. 16; ܥܬܝܪܐ 67. 3; plur. ܥܬܝܪܝܢ 160. 2; ܥܬܝܪܬ ܡܝܐ *well watered*, 177. 3.

ܥܘܬܪܐ *riches*, p. 10. 14; 34. 10; 67. 4.

ܦܐܐ. ܦܐܝܐ *beautiful*, p. 6. 7.

ܦܐܝܘܬܐ *beauty*, p. 24. 11; 138. 9; 206. 10.

ܦܓܕ. ܦܓܘܕܐ *bridle*, p. 32. 15; 33. 5, 8; 48. 13; plur. ܦܓܘܕܐ p. 38. 17; 43. 17; 48. 8.

ܦܕܓܘܓܐ p. 36. 13; ܦܕܓܘܓܐ παιδαγωγός *teacher, tutor, guardian*, p. 23, 13; 35. 9; plur. ܦܕܓܘܓܐ p. 89. 7.

ܦܕܓܘܓܐ المودب ܗ̇. ܡܠܦܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܕܒܪ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܒܘܫܐ
ܕܝܠܕܐ ܘܡܢܝ ܟܕ ܗܕܐ ܘܡܕܢ ܠܗ ܐܘܟ ܐܦܐ مدبر الصبيان

Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 282 *b*, col. 2. ܦܕܓܘܓܐ = معلمون، مودبون، مدبرون. Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 134 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܕܓܘܓܘܬܐ *education*, p. 35. 23.

ܦܚܡ *to be like unto*, p. 121. 3; 184. 17.

ܦܚܡܐ *like*, p. 86. 9; 103. 18; 138. 9; ܒܦܚܡܐ *in comparison with*, p. 88. 5; ܒܪ ܦܚܡܗ *counterpart*, p. 170. 4.

ܦܛܪ *to finish a meal*, p. 242. 1.

Af'êl *to separate*, ܐܦܛܪ ܣܦܘܬܗ *he parted his lips* in scorn, p. 41. 18; part. ܡܦܛܪ p. 80. 6.

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ܦܓܝܕܐ *untanned*, p. 172. 5.

ܦܓܝ̈ܐ *footsoldiers*, p. 63. 1; 95. 3; 98. 1; 101. 4; 108. 3; 135. 5; 172. 4; 173. 9; 207. 10.

ܦܝܠܐ Assyrian pî-ru. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 517, l. 6. Ar. فيل (plur. أفيال, فيول) *elephant*, 170. 13; 175. 9; 191. 6; plur. ܦܝ̈ܠܐ 159. 5; 160. 17; 174. 11; 211. 13; 219. 3; 220. 1; ܬܘܪ̈ܝܢ ܦܝܠܐ *ox-elephants*, p. 174. 14.

ܦܝܠܘܢܐ *cloak*, p. 198. 3, 7; 200. 5, 6.

ܦܝܣܐ the Greek infin. πεῖσαι, *persuade*, Syriacised ܦܝܣܐ *persuasion*.

Hence Af'êl ܐܦܝܣ *he persuaded*, p. 5. 9; 54. 16; 55. 11; 188. 17; part. act. ܡܦܝܣ 66. 11; part. pass. plur. ܡܦܝܣܝܢ 242. 10.

Ettaf'al ܐܬܦܝܣ *be persuaded*, p. 6. 11; 58. 2; 224. 6; ܢܬܦܝܣܘܢ 116. 10; part. ܡܬܦܝܣ 123. 1.

ܡܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ *permission*, p. 91. 18.

ܠܐ ܡܬܦܝܣܢܘܬܐ *obstinacy, disobedience*, 82. 13; 196. 13.

ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ, φιλόσοφος *philosopher*, plur. ܦܝܠܘܣ̈ܘܦܐ p. 18. 6.

ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ φιλοσοφία *philosophy*, p. 23. 17.

ܦܝܠܬܘܪ p. 159. 5; 174. 13. See ܦܝܠܬܘܪ

ܦܟ̈ܐ *tusks*, p. 174. 12.

ܦܠܓ *to divide*, p. 235. 10; 244. 1.

Pa''êl part. act. ܡܦܠܓ *dividing, distributing*, p. 35. 9, 14; 37. 3.

Ethpa'al *to be divided in mind, perplexed, in doubt*, p. 197, 15; 200. 14; 244. 16.

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ܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ *midday*, p. 186. 15.

ܦܠܓܗ ܕܠܠܝܐ *midnight*, p. 186. 16.

ܦܠܓ ܫܢܝܐ = μεσῆλιξ *middle age*, p. 10. 17; 14. 15; 16. 5;

ܦܠܓܬ ܫܢܝܗ *a woman of middle age*, p. 209. 13.

ܦܘܠܓ *doubt*, p. 126. 4.

ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *half*, p. 52. 4; 142. 8; ܒܪ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *a half partner*, p. 245. 1.

ܦܠܓܘܬܐ *doubt*, p. 26. 6.

ܦܠܝܓܘܬܐ *doubt*, p. 67. 4.

ܦܠܓܐ *phalanx* (= ܡܥܪܟܬܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 108 *b*, col. 2) p. 134. 10; 172. 1, 3; 173. 14; 174. 7; 179, 8; 206. 8; 207. 4.

ܦܠܓܐ *drums*, p. 171. 14. ܦܠܓܐ ܘܕܦܢܐ طبول ودفوف Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 138 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܠܗܕ. ܡܬܦܠܗܕܘ *to be dispersed*, p. 134. 1.

ܦܠܚ. Pĕ'îl part. plur. ܦܠܝܚܝܢ *tanned, dressed*, p. 263. 16.

Af'êl ܐܦܠܚ *to serve*, p. 63. 1.

ܦܠܚܘܬܐ *army*, p. 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܦܠܛܝܢ παλάτιον, palatium, *palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܦܠܛ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܠܛ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 212. 18; infin. ܠܡܬܦܠܛܘ p. 52. 2; 119. 16; part. plur. ܡܬܦܠܛܝܢ p. 239. 19.

Pa''êl infin. ܠܡܦܠܛܘ *to escape*, p. 157. 2.

ܦܘܠܛܢܐ *escape*, p. 132. 14.

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ܦܠܛܝܘܬܐ p. 69. 14; ܦܠܛܝ̈ܘܬܐ *squares*, p. 74. 8. شوارع ، دروب Brit. Mus. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܠܩܣ̈ = πλάκας *tablets*, p. 70. 11.

ܦܢܐ. ܡܦܢܝܢܘܬܐ *restoration, giving back*, p. 215. 10.

ܦܘܢܝܐ *answer*. ܦܘܢܝ ܟܬܝܒܬܐ *written answer*, p. 56. 15.

ܦܢܝܬܐ *boundary, quarter of the world*, p. 90. 3; plur. ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ p. 3. 10; 90. 12; 115. 2; 159. 4.

ܦܢܬܘܪ πάνθηρ, *panther*, p. 159. 20; 174. 18.

ܦܣܐ *lot*, p. 43. 8. القرعة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 1.

ܦܣܥ. Pĕ'al infin. ܠܡܦܣܥ *to march*, p. 100. 1.

ܦܣܥܬܐ *step*, p. 52. 1; 262. 20.

ܦܣܦܣܐ *dice*, p. 89. 21. نرد اللعب Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 2. ܦܣܦܣܐ سطرنج ܕܝܢ. النرد ܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܩܠܢ ܦܣܦܣܐ سطرنج ܘܦܣܦܣܐ ܕܠܦܣܦܣܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܢܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܦܬܟܪܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܕܡ للعب بالنرد و السطرنج * ܦܣܦܣܐ ܕܢ ܗܕܐ نرد ܕܦܣܦܣܐ ܦܣܦܣܐ نرد ܦܣܦܣܐ ܠܝܬ ܕܢ ܗܕܐ الفسيفسا ' Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 302 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܣܩ. Pa''êl *to cut*, p. 116. 7; *to decide a dispute*, p. 148. 4. Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܣܩ *to be cut*, p. 205. 22.

ܦܘܣܩܢܐ *fate*, p. 28. 11.

ܦܣܝܩܘܬܐ *brevity*, ܒܦܣܝܩܘܬܐ *briefly, shortly*, p. 23. 16; 115. 9; 136. 1.

ܦܝܣܩܝܢ piscina, *reservoir*, p. 18. 4. القناة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 140 *a*, col. 1, and Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 303 *a*, col. 1.

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ܦܦܓܐ Ar. ببغا *parrots*, p. 211. 9.

ܦܨܐ. Pa"êl ܦܨܝ *to deliver*, p. 62. 10; 221. 18; 222. 13.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܨܝ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 59. 6.

ܡܦܨܝܢܐ *deliverer*, p. 218. 1.

ܦܩܥܬܐ *blossom*, p. 93. 11.

ܦܩܥ *to split, to burst*, p. 18. 11.

ܦܩܥܬܐ *crash*, plur. ܦܩ̈ܥܬܐ p. 160. 11.

ܦܩܥܬܐ *field, plain*, p. 11. 13; 78. 3; 200. 17; plur. ܦܩ̈ܥܬܐ 100. 17.

ܦܩܪ. Pĕ'il part. ܦܩܝܪ *excited*, p. 32. 5.

ܦܪܓܠܐ φραγέλλιον, *whip*, p. 48. 10; 80. 16; 81. 10; 87. 10; 89, 7; plur. 43. 17; 255. 8. مقرعة، درة ܦܪܓܠܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܪ̈ܕܐ *grains*, p. 82. 6.

ܦܪ̈ܘܡܐ *clubs*, p. 264. 8.

ܦܪܚ. ܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܒܕܩܠܐ = φοῖνιξ *the bird of palm trees*, p. 180. 8.

ܦܪ̈ܚܕܘܕܐ *bats*, p. 176. 3. فار الليل، خشافه Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 308 *b*, col. 1; خشاف يعني الاصنام التي كانت تعبد ليلا سرا Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܪܙܘܠ. Pers. برنج *copper, brass*, p. 9. 7.

ܦܪܢܝܬܐ φερνή, *dowry*, p. 147. 4. ܡܕܡ ܕܝܗܒ ܚܡܝܐ ܠܟܠܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܬܢܬܐ ܐܘ ܡܗܪܐ Rich 7203, fol. 310 *a*, col. 2.

ܦܪܢܣ. ܦܘܪܢܣܐ *food*, p. 56. 6.

ܦܪܣ *to spread out*, p. 142. 14; Pĕ'il part. ܦܪܝܣ p. 182. 6; plur. ܦܪܝܣܝܢ p. 238. 1.

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ܦܘܪܘܣ، ܦܘܪܣܐ, plur. ܦܘܪ̈ܣܝܢ, ܦܘܪ̈ܣܐ from the Greek *πόρος, way, means, device, scheme, stratagem*, p. 2. 7, 14; 14. 7; 36. 6; 48. 2; 57. 13; 65. 8; 140. 6; 159. 7; 173. 7; 192. 13; 202. 7; 223. 9; 241. 5; ܡܪܒ ܦܘܪ̈ܣܐ *fertile in expedients*, p. 223. 8. Hence the verb in Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܪ̈ܣܢ *contriver* of inventions, p. 223. 9.

ܦܪܣܝ Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܪܣܝܐ *famed*, p. 2. 1.

ܦܪܣܬܐ *hoof*, plur. ܦܪ̈ܣܬܐ p. 48. 12.

ܦܪ̈ܦܪܘܠܬܐ p. 35. 18; see ܦܪܦܠܘܠܬܐ

ܦܪܨܘܦ *πρόσωπον, face*, p. 175. 1; ܦܪܨܘܦܐ p. 51. 10; 83. 2; 212. 11; 220. 18; plur. ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ p. 169. 5; 176. 10; ܦܪܨܘܦܐ = وجه شخص Rich 7203, fol. 142 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܪܫ. ܦܪܫܐ, Heb. פָּרָשׁ, Ar. فارس *horseman*, plur. ܦܪ̈ܫܝܢ p. 64. 2; ܦܪ̈ܫܐ 25. 7; 33. 13; 62. 19; 95. 3; 98. 1; 102. 8; 108. 3; 119. 3; 129. 4; 173. 10; 176. 15; 203. 7; 224. 15; 230. 9; 232. 1.

ܦܪܫܘܬܐ *horsemanship*, p. 25. 7.

ܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ *separation*, p. 246. 14.

ܦܪ̈ܬܐ *dung*, p. 270. 3.

ܦܫܩ. ܦܫܝܩܐ *easy*, p. 203. 11.

ܦܘܫܩܐ *explanation*, p. 253. 3.

Pa''êl infin. ܠܡܦܫܩܘ *to describe, explain*, p. 8. 4.

Ethpa'al part. pass. ܡܬܦܫܩ *interpreted*, p. 31. 12.

ܦܫܪ *to explain* dreams, p. 7. 4; 15. 10; *to macerate*, 265. 1.

Pa''êl part. pass. ܡܦܫܪ *melted*, p. 250. 11.

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Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܦܩܥܝܢ *cracked, split,* (of houses on fire) p. 102. 11; 105. 7.

ܦܘܫܩܐ *explanation,* p. 16. 6.

ܦܬܟ Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܦܬܟ *variegated,* p. 220. 7.

ܦܬܘܪܐ *table,* p. 8. 1, 9; 51. 12; 143. 1; 182. 8; plur. ܦܬܘܪ̈ܐ 218. 14.

ܨܒܬ Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܨܒܬ *decorated, ornamented,* p. 13. 4; 231. 11.

ܨܒܬܬܐ *ornament,* plur. ܨܒ̈ܬܬܐ p. 153. 13.

ܨܘܪ, ܨܪ *to paint,* p. 56. 20; 57. 1; 80. 1.

ܨܝܪܐ *painter,* p. 56. 18; 212. 9.

ܨܘܪܬܐ *picture,* p. 220. 18.

ܨܘܬ *to hear, listen to,* p. 41. 6; 99. 11.

ܨܠܡ. ܬܐܡܝ ܨܠܡܝܢ Gemini, p. 20. 4.

ܨܡܚ. Af'êl part. *sparkling, shining,* p. 182. 5; 219. 9; plur. ܡܨܡܚܝܢ p. 225. 4.

ܨܡܘܚܬܐ *shining, sparkling,* plur. ܨܡܘܚ̈ܬܐ p. 225. 8.

ܨܡܪ. ܨܡܪܬܐ *vortex,* p. 170. 9. ܨܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ كان وخه غمر الما دردور الدايره Rich 7203, fol. 146 *b*, col. 2; ܨܡܪܬܐ ..... ܒܥܡܩܐ ܕܦܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܣܓܝ̈ܐܝܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ ܒܨܡܪܗ ܘܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܗܕܐ ܨܡܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܡܫܬܢ̈ܝܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 318 *b*, col. 2.

ܨܢܥ. ܨܢܥܬܐ *craft, device, artifice, stratagem,* p. 45. 3; 72. 16, 17; 162. 2; plur. ܨܢ̈ܥܬܐ p. 2. 7; 8. 14; 58. 1; 93. 3; 159. 7; ܡܟܒܪ ܨܢ̈ܥܬܐ *fertile in artifices,* p. 196. 15.

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ܨܢܝܥܘܬܐ *craft, slyness*, p. 79. 17; 206. 2.

ܨܢܝܥܐܝܬ *artfully*, p. 85. 5; 110. 13.

ܨܥܪ. Pa"êl *to revile, abuse*, p. 114. 18; 118. 7; 127. 6.

ܡܨܥܪܢܐܝܬ *despicably*, p. 21. 7.

ܩܒܘܬܐ *κιβωτός, box*, p. 80. 17; 81. 12; 87. 11.

ܩܒܠ. Af'êl ܐܩܒܠ *receive, accept*, p. 198. 9.

Estaf'al ܐܫܬܩܒܠ *to be involved in*, p. 168. 5.

ܩܘܒܠܢܐ *accusation*, p. 240. 13.

ܩܘܒܠ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ *gratitude*, p. 122. 8; 125. 3; 154. 3.

ܩܒܪ. ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ *grave of Osiris*, p. 74. 12, = Ταπόσιρις.

ܩܕܚ. ܩܕܚܢܐ *borer*, p. 233. 10, 11.

ܩܕܡ. Pa"êl ܩܕܡ. ܩܕܡ ܨܦܪܐ *to rise up betimes*, p. 15. 10; Part. plur. ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܡܚܘܝܢ *to point out beforetime*, p. 114. 5.

ܡܩܕܡܘܬ ܝܕܥܬܐ *fore-knowledge*, p. 29. 2; 66. 13.

ܩܘܢܐ *purple, dark blue*, p. 113. 4; ܩܘܢ̈ܝܐ p. 43. 15. In Rich 7203, fol. 151 *b*, col. 1, ܩܘܢܝܐ is explained by اخضر *green.*

ܩܘܡܣܪܕܪ p. 203. 10. Glossed in B by Pers. سردار *chief.*

ܩܝܢܝܐ *a smith, metalworker*, plur. ܩܝ̈ܢܝܐ p. 161. 8; 258. 13; 267. 7; 275. 14.

ܡܦܘܚܐ ܕܩܝ̈ܢܝܐ *smith's bellows*, p. 193. 9.

ܩܘ̈ܦܐ *poles, carrying bars, fetters for the legs*, p. 59. 11. ܩܘܦܐ is the word used in the Syriac version of the Old Test. to

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translate the Heb. בַּדֵּי, בַּדִּים, the poles by which the ark was carried, in Ex. xxv. 13 (LXX. *ἀναφορεῖς*, ed. Lagarde, p. 76), Ex. xxvii. 6 (LXX. *φορεῖς*), Numb. iv. 6; and the Heb. מוֹט in Numb. iv. 10. ܩܘܦܐ is explained by دهوق (sing. دهق) in Rich 7203, fol. 152 *a*, col. 2. See also Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1, where ܩܘܦܐ is explained by ܩܘܦܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܩܠܝܢ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܘܦܬܘܪܐ "*the staves by which a box or table is carried.*" The verb دهق is used in speaking of a dead animal as, for example, of a stag or donkey, *qui est porté par deux hommes au moyen d'une perche qu'on a passée entre ses pieds*, après les avoir liés les uns aux autres. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, t. i, p. 466.

ܩܘ̈ܦܐ *apes*, p. 211. 19; 217. 9. ܩܘܦܐ ܗܘ̣. ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܕܡܝܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1.

ܩܘ̈ܨܝܬܐ *ringlets*, p. 13. 4. ܩܘܨܝܬܐ حمم صفاير Rich 7203, fol. 152 *b*, col. 1; Or. 2441, fol. 231 *a*, col. 2.

ܩܛܪ *to bind*, p. 80. 14.

ܩܛܝܪܐ *violence*, p. 53. 5.

ܩܛܝܪܐܝܬ *violently*, p. 145. 15.

ܩܝܛܘܢܐ *κοιτών*, *bedchamber*, p. 12. 16; 13. 19; 52. 12; 80. 8; 197. 12; 219. 14; 220. 16; plur. ܩܝܛܘ̈ܢܐ p. 13. 7; 101. 1.

ܩܝܬܪܐ *κιθάρα*, cithara, Chald. קִיתָרֹס, *harp*, p. 237. 16, 17.

ܩܠ. ܩܠܝܠ *little*, *few*, p. 47. 8; 57. 7; 65. 17; 93. 14; 97. 3; 133. 19; 138. 10; 143. 3; 165. 17; 189. 9; 212. 18; ܩܠܝܠܐ 14. 12; plur. ܩܠܝܠܝܢ 94. 17.

ܩܠܝܠܐܝܬ *swiftly*, *speedily*, p. 11. 12; 20. 2; 113. 11; 132. 3.

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ܩܠܘܒܐ *cage*, p. 236. 6, 8. In Rich 7203, fol. 156 *a*, col. 1, this word is explained by قفص، مشبّك

ܩܠܣ. Pa‘‘êl part. ܡܩܠܣ *praising*, p. 18. 1.

ܩܠܥ. ܩܠܥܐ *sling*, p. 192. 9; plur. ܩܠܥ̈ܐ p. 101. 14, 17; 102. 2.

ܩܠܥܝܐ *slingers*, p. 101. 20.

ܩܠܦ. ܩܠܦܐ *bark*, p. 205. 2.

ܩܡܪ. ܩܡܪܐ *belt*, p. 8. 6; 129. 2; 147. 13; plur. ܩܡܪ̈ܐ p. 8. 6.

ܩܡܪܐ مِنْطَقَة Rich, fol. 157 *b*, col. 2.

ܩܢܕܝܠ, Chald. קַנְדִּילָא, Ar. قِنْدِيل candêla, *lamp*, *torch*, plur. ܩܢܕܝ̈ܠܐ ܩܢܕܝ̈ܠ 101. 6; 235. 8.

ܩܢܛ. ܩܢܛܐ *fear*, p. 127. 17.

ܩܢܛܐ *purple*, p. 114. 10.

ܩܢܐ ܡܣܐܬܐ = ܩܘܡܣܬܐ Libra, *balance*, p. 20. 8.

ܩܢܫܐ *band*, *company*, p. 81. 17.

ܩܢܩܠ κάγκελος, cancelli, *fetter*, p. 24. 23; 32. 3, 12, 15; 33. 4.

ܩܣܛܘܢܪܐ quaestionarius, *executioner*, p. 244. 6; plur. ܩܣܛܘܢܪ̈ܐ p. 82. 14, 16; 199. 5, 14. This word is explained by حانقى، حارس in Rich 7203, fol. 159 *a*, col. 1.

ܩܣܛܘܢܪܘܬܐ *execution*, p. 199. 6; 200. 2.

ܩܦܠ. Ethpě‘êl ܐܬܩܦܠ *to be peeled*, p. 132. 18.

ܩܢܝ. Ethpa‘al part. ܡܬܩܢܝܢܐ *creditable*, p. 229. 7.

ܩܣܡ. *to divine*, p. 275. 3, 7; infin. ܠܡܩܣܡ *to consult an oracle*, p. 7. 16.

ܩܣܘܡܐ *diviner*, p. 31. 5, 6; 33. 16; plur. ܩܣܘ̈ܡܐ p. 7. 5.

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ܩܶܣܡܳܐ *divination*, p. 5. 17, 18; 31. 15; 33. 15; 50. 7; 99. 15; 109. 4; 110. 2; 123. 13; plur. ܩܶܣ̈ܡܶܐ p. 5. 11, 15.

ܩܶܣܘܡܽܘܬܳܐ *augury, divination*, p. 29. 1; 106. 8.

ܩܪܒ. ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܳܐ *warlike, brave*, plur. ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢ̈ܶܐ p. 25. 7.

ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܽܘܬܳܐ *art of war*, p. 24. 1.

ܩܪܳܒܬܳܢܳܐܝܬ *warlike*, p. 21. 5.

ܩܰܪܺܝܒܳܐܝܬ *nearly, shortly*, p. 10. 6.

ܩܳܪ̈ܒܶܐ *galleys*, p. 119. 3.

ܩܘܪ̈ܒܶܐ perhaps for ܩܪ̈ܒܝܶܐ *transport ships*, p. 63. 8; 65. 15. Conf. κάραβος, καράβιον, Ar. قارب, غراب

ܩܪܘܣܛܰܠܠܘܣ κρύσταλλος, crystallum, *crystal*, p. 9. 1.

ܩܰܪܛܺܝܣܳܐ χάρτης, charta, *charter*, p. 257. 18.

ܩܪܟܕܢܐ χαλκηδών, *chalcedony*, plur. ܩܰܪ̈ܟܕܢܶܐ p. 224. 14.

ܩܪܡ. ܩܪܝܡ *inlaid*, p. 219. 14.

ܩܪܢ. ܩܰܪ̈ܢܳܢܳܐ *horned*, fem. ܩܰܪ̈ܢܳܢܺܝܬܳܐ p. 21. 10; ܩܰܪܢܳܢܺܝܬܳܐ p. 21. 20.

ܩܰܪ̈ܢܰܝ ܚܡܳܪ̈ܐ *rhinoceroses*, p. 211. 14.

ܩܰܪ̈ܩܦܳܬܳܐ *skulls*, p. 32. 6. Rich 7203, fol. 163*b*, col. 2, ܩܰܪܩܦܬܐ الهاما الجمجمه

ܩܫܐ. ܩܫܝܘܬܐ *hardness*, p. 184. 8.

ܩܫܝܐܝܬ *fiercely*, p. 49. 3; 78. 8; 142. 1.

ܩܳܬܶܕܪܳܐ καθέδρα, cathedra, *seat*, p. 258, 1, 7, 9.

ܪܫ. ܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܪܫܗ *to fall headlong*, p. 44. 7; 49. 10.

ܪ̈ܫܰܝ ܕܶܟܪ̈ܐ *rams' heads*, i.e., battering rams, p. 101. 7, 8.

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ܪܒܐ. ܡܪܒܝܢܐ *fosterer, guardian*, plur. ܡܪ̈ܒܝܢܐ p. 228. 8.

ܪܒܥ. ܡܪܒܥܐ *square*, p. 219. 19.

ܪܕܝ. ܪܕܝܐ *strain, force of a current*, p. 205. 13.

ܪܓ. Infin. Pĕ‘al ܡܪܓ *to desire*, p. 158. 15.

Ethpalpal ܐܬܪܓܪܓ *to desire*, p. 6. 4; 107. 3; 206. 18.

ܪܓܝܓܘܬܐ *desirability*, p. 206. 10.

ܪܗܛ. ܪܗܛܐ *runner*, plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܐ p. 268. 5.

ܪܗܘܛܐ *ravine*, plur. ܪ̈ܗܘܛܐ p. 134. 19.

ܪܗܛܬܐ *river, torrent*, plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܬܐ p. 155. 7.

ܪܓܫ. Af‘ēl *to make perceive*, p. 162. 16; 243. 1; part. act. ܡܪܓܫ p. 86. 6.

ܪܓܫܬܐ *feeling, perception*, p. 68. 11, 13.

ܪܕܐ. ܪܕܘܝܘܬ, ܪܕܘܝܘܬܐ *learning*, p. 56. 17; ܠܐ ܪܕܘܝܘܬܐ *ignorance* p. 89. 3.

ܪܗܒ. Saf‘ēl part. plur. ܡܫܪܗܒܝܢ p. 3. 11.

Estafa‘al ܐܫܬܪܗܒ *to hasten*, p. 11. 13; 102. 12; 243. 4.

ܡܫܪܗܒܐܝܬ *hastily*, p. 132. 2.

ܪܗܝܒܐܝܬ *hastily, quickly*, p. 182. 9; 209. 2.

ܪܗܛܪܐ ῥήτωρ *orator*, p. 117. 1, 11; plur. ܪ̈ܗܛܪܐ p. 115. 13; 116. 7; 121. 5; 125. 7; 126. 3.

ܪܘܒ. ܪ̈ܘܒܐ *tumults*, p. 57. 17.

ܪܘܚ. Ethpa‘al ܐܬܪܘܚ *to be gratified*, p. 33. 4.

ܪܚܝܐ *mill*, p. 261. 1; 268. 18.

ܪܘܦ. ܪܘܦܐ *sprinkling, spattering*, p. 41. 14; 51. 2. ܪܘܦܐ تنضيح, رش, نضح Rich 7203, fol. 169 *b*, col. 1.

ܐܪܙܦܬܐ, Chald. אַרְזַפְתָּא, Ar. الارزبّة *hammer*, p. 270. 4, 5; plur. ܐܪ̈ܙܘܦܐ p. 270. 6. See Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, p. 286, col. 2.

ܪܚܡ. ܪܚܡܬ ܒܝܬܐ *homeloving*, p. 20. 11.

ܪܚܡܬܢܐܝܬ *lovingly*, p. 30. 3.

ܡܪܚܡܢܐܝܬ *kindly*, p. 246. 10.

ܪܛܢ. *to grumble*, p. 36. 3.

Af'êl part. act. ܡܪܛܢ *complaining*, p. 36. 4.

ܪܟܒ. Pa''êl part. act. ܡܪܟܒ *to compose* a song, p. 107. 10; ܡܠܐ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ *words strung together*, p. 107. 11.

ܪ̈ܟܒܐ *riders*, p. 44. 7.

ܪܘܟܒܐ *composition*, p. 96. 5.

ܪܟܢ. Af'êl part. act. ܐܪܟܢ *to make to bow*, p. 151. 16.

ܡܬܪܟܢܢܝܬܐ *placable*, p. 103. 13.

ܪ̈ܟܫܐ *horses*, p. 24. 9.

ܪܡܐ. Af'êl *to throw*, p. 52. 4; 118. 1; ܐܪܡܝܬ ܒܝܥܬܐ *it laid an egg*, p. 18. 9; Infin. ܠܡܪܡܝܘ p. 111. 2.

ܪܡܙ. *to make a sign*, p. 48. 1.

ܪܡܙܐ *hint*, p. 88. 1; 196. 6.

ܪܡܟܐ *herd of horses*, plur. ܪ̈ܡܟܐ p. 24. 8.

ܪܢܐ. ܡܪܢܝܬܐ *anxious thought*, p. 118. 4; 162. 9; plur. ܡܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ p. 126. 4.

ܪܥܐ. ܐܬܪܥܝܘܬܐ *reconciliation*, p. 204. 2.

ܪܬܚ. ܪܘܬܚܐ *anger, indignation*, p. 220. 7; plur. ܪ̈ܘܬܚܐ p. 122. 9.

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ܪܦܐ. Af'êl *to leave, forsake,* p. 4. 16; 90. 16; 101. 12; 108. 17; 168. 8; 169. 12; 195. 19; 202. 12; 207. 8; 244. 5; ܡܪܦܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܢ *to divorce,* p. 10. 4; ܡܪܦܐ ܠܐܝܕܐ *to let go hold,* p. 199. 13.

ܪܦܝܐܝܬ *sluggishly,* p. 83. 13.

ܪܩܕ. ܪܩܘܕܐ *dancers,* p. 181. 14.

ܡܪܩܕܢܘܬܐ *mourning,* p. 21. 3; 251. 17.

ܪܩܥ. ܐܘܪܩܥܬܐ *rag,* p. 41. 16; رقعة من ثوب See *Duval, Lexicon Syriacum,* p. 94, col. 2.

ܪܚܫ *to glide, crawl, creep,* p. 13. 1; 17. 7.

ܪܬܐ. ܡܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ *admonition,* p. 55. 12.

ܪܘܚ. ܡܪܘܚܘܬܐ *abounding,* p. 75. 13.

ܫܐܪܝܐ *silken* curtains, p. 195. 11; 200. 8. حرير القز, ܫܐܪܝܐ Rich 7203, fol. 174 *a*, col. 1.

ܫܒܐ. ܫܒܝܐ *captors,* p. 164. 1.

ܫܒܩ *to leave,* 194. 16; *to let go* a battering ram, p. 101. 8; *to set fire,* p. 175. 4; *to divorce,* p. 53. 10; ܫܒܝܩܬܐ *divorced,* p. 50. 9.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܫܬܒܩ *to be forgiven,* p. 248. 14.

ܫܒܘܛܐ *branch,* p. 93. 12; plur. ܫܒܘܛܝܢ, ܫܒܘܛܐ p. 238. 2.

ܫܒܫܒܬܐ *vine branches,* p. 78. 12. In Rich 7203, fol. 175 *b*, col. 1, ܫܒܫܒܬܐ is explained by شفشه الدقيقه التي في الكرم

ܫܓܐ. Ar. ساج *plane, teakwood,* p. 2. 12; 4. 12; 212. 3.

ܫܓܫ. ܡܫܓܫܢܐ *various,* p. 171. 1. ܡܫܓܫܐ = مختلف in Rich 7203, fol. 88 *a*, col. 2.

ܫܕܪ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܕܪ *to be sent,* p. 79. 16.

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ܫܗܐ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܗܝ *to be diminished,* p. 206. 2.

ܫܗܝܘܬܐ *wilderness,* p. 168. 2.

ܫܘܐ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܫܘܝܘ *to lay, to prepare,* p. 195. 12; part. pass. ܡܫܘܝܐ *laid,* p. 182. 4.

ܫܘܒ. ܫܘܒܐ *drought,* p. 72. 18.

ܫܘܛ. ܫܝܛܐ *despised,* p. 86. 6.

ܫܝܛܘܬܐ *contempt,* p. 149. 9.

ܡܫܬܐܛܝܛܘܬܐ *ridicule,* p. 221. 15.

ܫܘܝܘܬܐ *equality,* p. 146. 12.

ܫܘܝܐܝܬ *together, equally,* p. 27. 16; 46. 15, 17; 137. 7; 175. 4; 203. 5.

ܫܘܦܢܬܐ *blows,* p. 178. 15.

ܫܛܪ. ܫܛܝܪܐܝܬ *stupidly,* p. 106. 3.

ܫܚܢ. Af'êl part. act. ܡܫܚܢ *making warm,* p. 86. 5.

ܫܚܩ. Ethpĕ'êl *to be vexed,* p. 28. 8.

ܫܚܩܐ *vexation,* plur. ܫܚܩܐ p. 146. 15.

ܫܚܠ. ܫܚܝܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܣܥܪܐ *barley meal,* p. 75. 5.

ܫܦܢ. ܫܦܝܢܬܐ *level,* p. 100. 17; 233. 17.

ܫܝܢ. Pa"êl ܫܝܢ *to make peace,* p. 57. 4; part. act. ܡܫܝܢ *pacify,* p. 54. 19; plur. ܡܫܝܢܝܢ *docile, gentle,* p. 251. 9.

ܡܫܝܢܘܬܐ *peace,* p. 140. 6.

ܫܝܦ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܫܝܦܘ *to rub,* p. 33. 3; part. act. ܡܫܝܦ p. 33. 6.

ܫܟܚ. ܫܟܚܬܐ, plur. ܫܟܚܬܐ *inventions, discoveries,* p. 2. 1.

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ܫܟܝܚܘܬܐ *invention*, p. 67. 1.

ܫܚܪ. ܫܚܝܪܐ *bad, foul*, p. 199. 6; ܫܚܝܪܬܐ p. 128. 2.

ܫܚܝܪܘܬܐ *foulness*, p. 107. 14.

ܫܠܐ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܫܠܝܘ *to quiet*, p. 46. 1.

ܫܠܝܐܝܬ *peacefully, silently*, p. 33. 8; 122. 15; 225. 6.

ܫܠܛ *to rule*, p. 65. 3; ܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ *dominion*, p. 151. 17.

ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ *rule*, p. 113. 11.

ܫܠܡ. ܫܠܡܘܬܐ, plur. ܫܠܡܘ̈ܬܐ *perfect*, p. 209. 6.

ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ *betrayal*, p. 29. 2.

ܫܠܩ. ܫܠܝܩܐ *roasted*, p. 264. 16. In Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 375 *b*, col. 1,

ܫܠܝܩܐ is explained by مَطْبُوخ، مُسْلُوق

ܫܡܗ. Pa"êl ܫܡܗ *to call, to name*, p. 16. 13; 109. 1; Part. ܡܫܡܗ *name*, p. 53. 2; ܡܫܡܗܐ *renowned, famous*, p. 39. 4; 142. 17; 225. 15; plur. ܡܫܡܗ̈ܐ p. 211. 2; 247. 1; ܡܫܡܗ̈ܬܐ p. 67. 16; 75. 13; 226. 7.

ܡܫܡܗܢܘܬܐ *fame*, 196. 12.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܡܗ *to be famed*, p. 72. 16.

ܫܡܥ. *to be obedient*, p. 2. 3; 230. 19; ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ *obedient*, p. 174. 8.

ܫܢ. ܫܢܐ *rock*, p. 271. 6; plur. ܫܢܝ̈ܐ *mountains*, p. 260. 8; 267. 11, 14, 15, 16; 268. 2, 10; 269. 17.

ܫܢܐ. ܫܢܝܘܬܐ *madness*, p. 89. 3.

ܫܥܐ. Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܥܝ *to play*, p. 81. 11; 89. 11; ܐܫܬܥܝ *to be told, narrated*, p. 18. 17.

ܫܥܝܬܐ *game, sport*, plur. ܫܥܝ̈ܬܐ p. 57. 15, 17; 75. 4; ܫܥܝܐ ܕܛܠܝܐ child's *play*, p. 41. 13.

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ܫܥܘܬܐ *yellow*, p. 43. 15.

ܫܘܒܟܐ *fist, hand*, p. 83. 17.

ܫܦܠ. *to be timid, weak*, p. 129. 9.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܦܠ *to be abased, brought low*, p. 196. 14.

ܫܦܠܐ *mean*, p. 144. 1.

ܫܦܝܠܘܬܐ *disgrace*, p. 91. 4, 6.

ܫܦܥ. ܫܦܝܥ *liberal*, p. 35. 7.

ܫܦ̈ܥܐ *overflowings* of the Nile, p. 124. 5.

ܫܩܠ. Af'êl ܐܫܩܠ *to move on, decamp*, p. 97. 1, 4; 113. 2; 192. 1; 193. 12; 194. 18; 201. 16; 202. 3; 207. 3; 232. 5; infin. ܠܡܫܩܠܘ p. 183. 9; part. act. ܡܫܩܠܐ *marching*, p. 172. 1.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܩܠ *to prevail*, p. 118. 17.

ܡܫܩܠܘܬܐ *arrogance, greatness*, p. 86. 3; 143. 12; 151. 17; 198. 14; 199. 1.

ܡܫܩܠܐܝܬ *proudly*, p. 143. 19.

ܫܩܠܐ *tax*, p. 164. 4; ܫܩ̈ܠܐ p. 124. 13; ܫܩ̈ܠܬܐ p. 146. 18.

ܒܚܦܝܛܐ ܫܩܝܠ *carefully*, p. 23. 2; 49. 1.

ܫܪ. ܡܫܪܪܐܝܬ *surely*, p. 23. 2.

ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ *truly, certainly*, p. 6. 15; 11. 17; 15. 14; 53. 16; 61. 11.

ܫܘܪܐ *navel*, p. 163. 15; plur. ܫܘ̈ܪܐ p. 201. 5.

ܫܪܐ. Af'êl infin. ܠܡܫܪܝܘ *to break up a company*, p. 207. 4.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܫܬܪܝ *to be dismissed*, p. 114. 15.

Ethpa'al ܐܫܬܪܝ *to be finished* (of a feast), p. 197. 10.

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ܫܪܘܬܐ *feast*, p. 85. 2; 129. 16; 197. 10.

ܫܪܝܢܐ *breastplate*, p. 224. 13.

ܫܪܘ̈ܝܢܐ *cypresses*, p. 186. 3.

ܫܪܩ. Pa‘‘êl part. act. ܡܫܪܩ *hissing*, p. 17. 7.

ܫܫܡ. ܫܘܫܡܬܐ *grains of sesame* (Ar. سِمسِم) p. 82. 6; 83. 16; 88. 1, 13; 92. 8, 13, 14; 93. 13, 16; 94. 13.

Shaf‘êl part. pass. ܡܫܘܬܦ *joined with*, p. 62. 8.

ܫܘܫܡܢܐ *ant*, plur. ܫܘܫܡ̈ܢܐ p. 92. 3.

ܫܬܣ, ܫܬܐܣ, ܫܐܬܣ. ܫܬܐܣܬܐ = ܫܬܐ *foundation*, + ܐܣܬܐ *wall*, p. 209. 10; plur. ܫܬܐܣ̈ܐ p. 74. 8; 101. 5.

ܫܬܦ. Eshtaf‘al ܡܫܬܘܬܦ *to be united with*, p. 11. 7; 20. 9.

ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ *union*, p. 29. 7.

ܫܘܬܦܐ *associate*, p. 34. 16.

ܬܐܛܪܘܢ θέατρον, *theatre*, p. 58. 3, 4; 110. 13.

ܬܒܥ *to seek vengeance*, p. 10. 12; 12. 1; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 127. 10; 138. 2; 142. 1; 143. 7; 224. 5.

ܬܒܥܬܐ *vengeance*, p. 64. 4.

ܬܗܐ. ܬܘܗܝܐ *delay*, p. 117. 2; 249. 9.

ܬܘܐ. Ethpĕ‘êl ܐܬܬܘܝ *to repent*, p. 82. 11.

ܡܬܬܘܝܢܘܬܐ *repentance*, p. 62. 3.

ܬܚܒ. *to be humbled*, p. 17. 18.

ܬܚܘܒܐ *despicable*, *wretched*, p. 100. 14.

ܬܚܬ. Ethpa‘al ܐܬܬܚܬܝ *to descend, be brought down*, p. 128. 11; 196. 14.

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ܬܟܒ. ܬܟܝܒܬܐ *sore, grievous,* plur. ܬܟܝ̈ܒܬܐ p. 251. 17.

ܬܟܠ. ܬܘܟܠܢܐ *confidence, trust,* p. 61. 18; 199. 3.

ܡܬܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ *trust,* p. 21. 7.

ܬܟܝܠܐܝܬ *confidently,* p. 193. 18.

ܬܠܥ. Ethpa'al part. plur. fem. ܡܬܬܠ̈ܥܢ *torn, rent,* p. 260. 11.

ܬܡܗ. *to wonder,* p. 32. 12; ܬܡܝܗ *wonderful,* p. 2. 3; 66. 15; ܬܡܝܗܬܐ p. 172. 8; 183. 10; ܬܡܝܗܝܢ p. 130. 6; 131. 4; 219. 1; ܬܡܝ̈ܗܐ p. 105. 13; ܬܡܝܗܐ ܐܢܐ *I wonder,* p. 12. 11.

ܬܡܗܐ *wonder,* p. 12. 3.

ܬܘܪ̈ܩܐ *breastplates,* p. 172. 4.

ܬܥ̈ܠܝ ܠܠܐ = νυκταλώπηκες, *nightfoxes,* p. 175. 17.

ܬܦܐ, *stream,* plur. ܬܦ̈ܐ p. 70. 4. See ܕܦܐ p. 261. 1; 268. 7.

ܬܩܠ. Ethpĕ'ēl ܐܬܬܩܠ *to be upset,* p. 44. 9, 12; 45. 9; 49. 9; 68. 9.

ܬܘܩܠܬܐ *a stumbling,* p. 52. 2.

ܬܩܢ. Af'ēl ܐܬܩܢ *to set straight, correct,* p. 37. 7; Infin. ܠܡܬܩܢܘ *to set up,* p. 146. 13; part. act. ܡܬܩܢ p. 226. 7; pass. ܡܬܩܢ p. 224. 14; plur. ܡܬܩܢܝܢ p. 171. 8; 182. 7; 200. 1; 238. 3; fem. ܡܬܩ̈ܢܢ p. 8. 14.

ܬܪܢܓܘܠܬܐ. Chald. תַּרְנְגוֹלָא, *hen,* p. 18. 7; plur. ܬܪ̈ܢܓܘܠܬܐ p. 56. 11.

ܬܪܣ. Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܬܪ̈ܣܝܢ *to be fed upon,* p. 169. 6.

ܬܘܪܣܝܐ *food,* p. 75. 7, 15; 98. 7; 121. 17; 122. 2; 140. 15.

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ܢܣܒ ܒܬܘܪܣܝܐ *to feed*, p. 39. 14.

ܬܪܥ. ܬܪܥܐ plur. ܬܪ̈ܥܐ *gates*, p. 43. 7; *curtains*, 195. 11.

ܬܪܨ *to become straight* (of a bridge), p. 205. 14; *to march straight forward*, p. 190. 10; *to make a way straight*, p. 189. 15.

ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ *what is right, straightness*, p. 54. 14; 83. 5; 140. 10; plur. ܬܪ̈ܝܨܘܬܐ *truths*, p. 83. 12.

ܬܪܝܨܐܝܬ *correctly, exactly, precisely*, p. 7. 2, 17; 9. 11; 50. 14; 95. 1; 121. 7; 122. 7; 178. 1; 197. 19; 203. 1; 220. 8; 239. 8.

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NOTE TO PAGE XXXIV.

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. Canon Maclean, M.A., the head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Nestorians at Urmia, I have obtained another MS. of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which he caused to have copied for me during the present year. It measures 8¾ in. by 7 in., and consists of 217 leaves. The quires, unsigned, are 22 in number. Each page contains 16 lines. This manuscript is written in a fine, bold, modern Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2200 = A.D. 1889. The faulty readings in it agree generally with those in D; occasionally however its readings are peculiar to itself, *e. g.*, ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ for ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣ p. ܘ, l 16. The collation of the difficult passages in ABCD and E with this manuscript has neither helped to amend the text nor to clear away any of the difficulties which exist in it. The following is the colophon :—

ܫܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܘܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܒܝܘܡ ❖ ܕ ❖ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܒܢܝܣܢ ❖ ܫܢܬ ❖ 2200 ❖

ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܢܝܣܢ ❖ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ❖ ܐܦܪܝܠ ❖ 1889 ❖ ܫܘܒܚܐ

ܠܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܘܟܢܐ. ܘܥܘ ܠܐ ܢܚܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܢܠܡܢ ܒܚܘܒ ܐܡܐ

ܕܐܟܘܬܗ. ܘܐܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܬܗ ܡܟܝܢ ܚܡܝܪܐ ܘܡܫܕܪܢ ܒܫܠܡܐ

ܡܣܪܒ ܠܟܬܗ ܡܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ. ܘܐܘܟ ܒܫܘܠܐ

ܘܐܬܡܠܠܬ ܘܚܕܘܬܐ ܗܘܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܬܟܢܝܢܐ

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ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ. ܕܡܚܘܝܢ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܘܢܘܣ ܠܐܡܫܪܗ ܕܥܒܪܘܣ ܢܝܫܘܥ
ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܘܬܗ ܕܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܫܠܝܚܝܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
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ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܗܝ ܀ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܘܢܘܣ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ
ܫܩܠ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܝܘܡܗ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒܗܕ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܫܠ ܡܨܪܝܐ
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ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܠܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܡܢ
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ܕܝܢ ܀

CORRECTIONS.

Page 1, line 1. Read ܘܚܛܐ.

„ 1, „ 5. „ ܕܡܢ.

„ 2, „ 4. „ ܡܢ.

„ 5, „ 10. „ ܘܠܒܝܬܐ.

„ 8, „ 3. „ ܕܠܒܪ ܩܒܠ.

„ 13, „ 13. „ ܘܗܘܝ.

„ 22, note 8. CE omit ܢܚܬܐ.

„ 23, line 16. Read ܕܦܩܝܕܬܐ.

„ 26, „ 6. „ ܠܝܦܝܐ.

„ 32, „ 2. „ ܠܕܘܡܝܐ.

„ 34, „ 15. „ ܢܘܗܒ.

„ 35, „ 15. „ ܕܡܫܝܢܐ.

„ 39, „ 2. „ ܕܝܚܘܬܐ.

„ 40, „ 10; 41, line 12; 43, line 5; 45, lines 5, 7. Read ܕܡܘܬܐ.

„ 47, „ 4. Read ܡܟܣܝܡܘܣ.

„ 50, „ 1. „ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.

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Page 69, line 9. Read ܡܚܪܗ.

„ 77, „ 8. „ ܒܗ ܬܫܟܠܐ.

„ 79, „ 18. Should we not read ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܟܡܣܢܘܬܐ ?

„ 87, „ 7. ܐܝܟ seems to be superfluous.

„ 105, note 2. Read ܒܚܠܬܗ ܐܕܢܐ.

„ 130, „ 6. D reads ܡܕܒܢܐ.

„ 130, line 3. Place ❖ after ܕܒܣܠܐ.

„ 137, „ 11. Read ܘܒܕܬܗ.

„ 158, „ 13. „ ܕܢܠ.

„ 162, „ 10. „ ܒܪܝܒܗ.

„ 166, „ 3. „ ܘܫܦܡ.

„ 189, „ 8. „ ܕܢܒܝܚ.

„ 195, „ 7. „ ܘܠܡܕܦܕ.

„ 202, „ 17. „ ܘܠܝܘܠܕܐ.

„ 209, „ 12. „ ܡܡܠܟܐ.

„ 218, „ 12. „ ܘܦܣܘܬܐ.

„ 224, „ 9. „ ܐܣܛܘܦ.

„ 233, „ 12. „ ܡܕܬܩܠ.

ܘ̤ has been printed for ܘ̣ on p. 31. 8, 12; 33. 1; 34. 12; 39. 17; 41. 17; 56. 20 and a few other places.

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ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܗ. ܟܕ ܚܙܘܗܝ ܘܬܩܦ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܕܪ[1] ܠܗ ܀ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܢܕܘܠܝܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܢܦܩ ܘܫܩܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܢܦܫܗ ܘܒܢܘܗܝ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܣܓܕ ܠܗ. ܘܐܘܕܝ ܕܠܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܥܒܕܝܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܡܬܚܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܩܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܗ. ܡܫܬܘܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܡܘܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܐܢܫ ܩܢܕܘܠܝܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܟܝܠ ܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܬܬܢܚ ܠܒܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢ ܟܕܘ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܪܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܐܢܫܝܗ. ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܪܣ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܬܪܬܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܫܩܠܝܢ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܬܘܒ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܫܬܠܡܐ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ. ܘܐܬܘ ܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܗܘܡܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܢܦܩ ܕܐܬܘ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܘܫܩܠ ܒܦܘܪܩܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ[2] ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܒܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܀

ܫܠܡܬ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܙܟܘܬܗ ܘܕܚܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀

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[1] D ܡܫܕܪ [2] D ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ

ܘܟܠܗ̇ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܝܗ̇ ܥܕ ܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ
ܡܬܪܕܝܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܦܘܪܫܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܦܚܕܐ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ
ܕܫܡܥ ܦܘܪ ܒܗ ܀ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܩܘܪܒܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܬܬܢܒܠ ܡܢ ܩܛܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܐ ܗܫܐ ܐܬܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܗ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܥܡ ܐܚܝܟ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܩܪܒܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܦܠ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܗ. ܒܬܪ ܩܛܠܗ ܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܕܒܪܗ ܒܪܬܗ. ܘܐܬܬܒܪܘ ܐܬܒܪܘ. ܘܠܘܬ ܠܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܥܠ ܢܦܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܫܬܠܡܗ ܘܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܚܝܠܗ. ܘܕܘܪܒܢܐ[1]
ܕܟܠܗ̇ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܘܐܦܝܣ ܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܡܬܡܪܐ ܘܒܬܘܠܐ
ܘܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܘܒܪܩܐ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܫܦܝܠܐ. ܘܩܪܒ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܠܗ̇ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܘܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢܩܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܕܐܫܬܠܝܗܘܢ. ܠܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ.
ܡܢܐ ܬܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܫܬܐܠ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܠܝ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝ ܦܘܪܘܣ. ܕܬܫܬܐܠ[2] ܠܝ ܕܗܘܐ ܢܦܩܬ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܝ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܝ: ܗܘܝܐ ܓܝܪ ܘܐܬܘܪ ܕܐܦܪܝܩܐ[3] ܀
ܡܬܚܡܐ ܗܘܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܬܩܛܠܘ ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܕܗܘ
ܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܕܐܬܬܒܪܬ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܘܢܦܠ. ܗܘܘ ܐܘܠܨ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܦܢܝ
ܠܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܩܘܪܒܐ. ܘܥܡܐ ܕܠܦܢܝ ܠܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܘܣ.

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[1] D ܘܕܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ   [2] A ܬܫܬܠ, without ܕ   [3] ABCE ܕܐܦܪܝܩܐ

ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܐ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܘܐܡܪܘ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܘܠ
ܐܢܘܢ܀ ܘܝܘܡܐ ܩܒܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܢܬܦܪܫ ܚܝܠܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܗܘܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܗܘܐ ܢܝܚ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܢܦܩܘ ܒܗ ܗܠܟܡܢܐ ܡܬܦܪܣܢܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܐܟܕܢܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ
ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܡܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܗܠܟܡܢܐ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܗܘܘ܀ ܘܩܒܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܠܟܠܐ ܕܢܬܦܬܚ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܥܠ ܣܝܦܐ ܘܥܠ
ܕܪܩܐ. ܥܠ ܠܟܠܐ ܕܢܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܛܪܐ ܩܛܪܐ ܕܪܩܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܕܡܢܗ ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܘܬܗ. ܘܢܦܠ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܕܝܗܘܢ ܕܪܩܐ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܫܩܠ
ܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܟܠܡܘܗܝ ܘܫܡܥ ܥܠܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܢܬܚܫܒ ܐܢܐ ܥܠ ܝܘܡܢ ܘܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܒܠܝ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ[1]
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܢܐ ܩܢܝܐ ܠܢܗܪܐ ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ܀
ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢܝܬܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܪܣܘ
ܗܘܘ܀ ܘܡܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܦܘܠܡܘܣ.
ܘܫܕܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܬܗ[2]. ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܠܥܘܕܪܢܝ܀ ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܢܬܪܐ ܠܝ.
ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢܐ
ܘܦܬܓܡܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܠܡܘܗܝ. ܘܢܦܩ ܢܝܠܗ ܥܠ
ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ.

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[1] C omits ܡܠܟܐ   [2] D ܘܐܡܪܬܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

ܘܣܡ ܗܘܢܕܟܝܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܡܠܚܐ ܕܝܕܥܘܗ ܓ̈ܘܡܣܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܟܕ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܠܚܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘܦܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܠܚܐ[1]
ܕܝܡ̈ܐ. ܡܟܝܠ ܠܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܡܟܝܠ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܗܕܝܢ ܡܬܠܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܗܘܢ. ܡܛܐ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ
ܕ̈ܬܩܘܢ. ܘܐܬܦܟܠܘ ܗܕܡ ܗܘܢܕܟܝܐ ܘܫܕܪ ܚܠܦܝܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ.
ܘܢܟܬܒܘ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ[2] ܘܫܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܗܘܢ. ܘܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܨܚܐ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܢܨܚܐ.
ܘܩܘܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܚܝܕܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܚܝܗ ܕܩܪܝܒ. ܘܩܪܝܗܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܦܘܩ
ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ. ܘܣܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܩܪܒ ܘܗܦܟ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܘܪܚܬܗ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ. ܘܩܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ
ܐܘܪܚܗ ܕܪ̈ܟܫܐ. ܕܗܪܢܬܐ ܕܒܝܢ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܢܦܪܘܫܘܢ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܚܣܝܐ[3] ܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ
ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܠܡܘܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܚܫܒܘܢ. ܫܕܪܝܢ ܕܢܐܬܐ
ܐܢܐ ܡܟܪܙ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܡܟܪܙ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠ
ܕܫܡܥ ܠܝ ÷ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܦܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܠܟܐ
ܐܟܒܪ ܣܓܝܐܘ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܗܐ ܚܙܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܗ. ܐܠܐ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܡܠܝܢ[4] ܠܒܪܗ ܕܡܘܕܐ ܘܡܬܢܗܘܢ ܘܥܘܦܘܢ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܟܪܟ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܟܠܗ. ܘܫܟܠܗ ܕܡܠܝܢ[4] ܘܐܝܟ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ

[1] BC omit from ܕܫܡܝܐ to ܡܠܚܐ [2] BCD omit ܘܢܟܬܒܘ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ. There is certainly some error here. [3] D ܚܣܝܐ [4] BCD ܕܡܠܝܢ

ܒܡܫܝܚܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܐܠ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܠܐ¹ ܡܫܬܠܛܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܢܦܠܘܢ
ܠܪ̈ܓܠܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܗܢܘ ܒܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܢܦܩ ܫܡܗ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ² ܗܘ.
ܘܗܘܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܗ³. ܕܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܬܬܦܬܚ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܥܠ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ.
ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܥܕܢܐ ܢܦܩ⁴.
ܘܡܢܗܘ ܓܒܐ ܠܓܪܒܝܐ⁵. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܗܘ
ܕܡܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܟܠܗ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܒܗܘ ܕܡܢܐ
ܘܡܢܗܝܢ⁶ ܡܢܗ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܟܠܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܘܐ ܒܡܫܝܚ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܘܥܠ ܥܠܡܐ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢ ✤ ܗܟܢܐ
ܢܣܒ⁷ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܡܪܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ.
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ⁸ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܒܪܝ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ
ܕܗܘ ܣܠܩ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܠܗܘܢ.

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¹ Read ܘܐܦ ܠܐ, as is noted in pencil on the margin of B.

² D ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

³ Jeremiah i. 14.

⁴ There appears to be something wrong here; perhaps some words have been omitted before ܘܡܢ

⁵ In B the words ܘܡܢܗܘ ܓܒܐ ܠܓܪܒܝܐ are struck out with a lead pencil.

⁶ BCD omit ܘܡܢܗܘ ܕܡܢܐ ܘܡܢܗܝܢ

⁷ D ܢܣܒ

⁸ AE ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ

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ܟܡܐ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܘܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܘܕܝ̈ܢܐ. ܒܗܕܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܡܫܪܝܐ ܗܝ. ܘܢܩܦܢ[1] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܥܠ ܚܕܐ.
ܘܡܬܡܠܟܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܬܩܦܐ ܘܡܫܬܠܛܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܢܝܐ ܘܡܬܠܟܘ ܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܒܐܡܝܢܘ[2] ܕܝܬܝܪܐ
ܘܐܪܘܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܒܐܡܝܢܘ[2] ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܬܚܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܢ̈ܝܐ
ܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܥܠ ܚܕܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܦܪܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܫܐ ܒܗܘܪܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܚܝܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܗ̇[3]. ܗܟܢܐ ܢܬܩܫܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܢܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܝ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ
ܘܦܪܥܣܢܐ ܢܬܦܪܥܘܢ[4] ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܬܗ̇. ܠܐ ܢܠܒܫ ܢܬܦܠܓܘܢ
ܡܛܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܪܕܘܢ ܠܐܬܪ̈ܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܡܛܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܢܫܬܪܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ. ܘܬܫܘܒ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܒܗ̇
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܢܫܬܪܐ[5] ܐܪܥܐ
ܕܗܘܦܟ[6] ܟܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܬܦܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܘܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܕܢܬܟܠ
ܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܕܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ[7]. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ[8] ܢܗܘܐ
ܘܐܘܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܕܥܐ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܕܐܝܟ[9] ܠܐ ܦܠܓܬܐ

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[1] ABDE ܢܩܦܢ, and afterwards ܘܡܬܬܩܦܐ [2] ABDE ܒܐܡܝܢܘ, but in B ܒܐܡܝܢܘ has been scored out with a lead pencil and ܒܐܡܝܢ (*sic*) written on the margin. [3] D reverses the order of this and the preceding clause. [4] Better ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ and ܢܬܦܪܥܢ [5] D ܢܫܬܪܐ [6] Read ܘܗܘܦܟ [7] C omits ܕܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ [8] D ܗܝ [9] Read ܘܐܝܟ ? D ܐܝܟ

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ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ. ܕܗܘܐ ܠܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܟܢ̈ܦܝܢ. ܡܠܟܐ
ܠܣܓܝܐܐ[1] ܡܢ ܕܟܠܗ̇ ܫܠܡܬ ܒܟܘܫܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ.
ܢܒ̈ܠܥܘܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܬܗܕܪ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܢܬܡܠܟ ܪܘܚܗ.
ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܚܕ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܘܢܬܒܣܡܘܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ. ܘܢܚܒܠ ܡܕܢܚܐ
ܒܝܘܡܬܗ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ[2] ܕܢܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܡܢ ܕܒܬܪ
ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܢܣܬܟܠ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ. ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܕܝܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܡܚܒܪ. ܘܫܪ̈ܟܐ
ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܘܡܚܝܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܕܢܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܘܗܝ[3] ܕܢܗܘ ܠܟܠܗ
ܡܢ ܚܘܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܒܪܫܗܘܢ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܗܘܢ ܗܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܩܝ̈ܣܪܘܢ. ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܝܬ ܗܕܐ[4] ܘܣܘܦܗܘܢ
ܒܟܠܗ. ܘܢܝܚܘܢ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܢܐ. ܡܕܢܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܝ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܘܡܫܒܪ ܡܕܢܐ ܪܝܫܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ. ܘܐܚܕܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܪܗ ܥܠ ܒܗܕܐ
ܗܘܬ ܘܡܬܗܦܟܢ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܘܢܦܠ ܒܪܝܫܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܠܗ
ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܚܒܪܗ ܠܗ ܒܐܦܝ. ܘܢܦܘܩ ܢܝܫܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ
ܕܢܚܒܪܗ. ܘܡܬܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܚܣܝܢܐ ܕܦܪܙܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܪܒܐ. ܡܢ ܦܪܣܝܣ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܕܘܟ̈ܝܬܐ[5]. ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܒܟܘܫܪܗ ܕܡܕܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܢܚܬܐ ܒܐܬܝܠ
ܪܒܐ ܡܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ. ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܗ ܘܢܦܩܘܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܝ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܐܬܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ

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[1] There seems to be something wrong here in the text. We might read ܕܗܘܐ ܠܥܘܠܡܐ......ܟܢ̈ܦܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܣܓܝܐܐ

[2] Read ܡܠܟܘܬܐ, without ܘ   [3] DE ܘܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܘܗܝ

[4] BC ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ, but in B ܗܘܬ has been added with a lead pencil.

[5] ܘ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ seems quite superfluous.

ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ ܠܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܬܪܗ ܕܬܪܥܐ. ܘܚܙܝܢ
ܐܢܘܢ ܠܒܪܢܫܘܗܝ ܕܡܘܬܠܐ ܒܪܝܫ ܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܠܬܪܥܐ
ܘܠܡܘܬܠܐ. ܘܐܪܡܝܢ ܫܟܪܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܘܪܦܩܗ ܐܝܟ ܚܕܐ ܒܚܕܐ.
ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܪܘܢ ܥܠܝܗ ܕܠܓܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܣܟܘܦܬܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ.
ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܕܢܠܥܘܢ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ. ܗܘܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܐ ܕܢܬܒܪ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܕܪܦܝܗ ܒܡܘܬܠܐ ܐܚܝܕ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܥܒܕ[1] ܐܣܟܘܦܬܐ
ܢܚܫܐ ܡܨܝܪܬܐ[2] ܠܬܪܥܐ. ܘܥܒܕܐ ܒܪܝܫ ܡܘܬܠܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ.
ܘܐܪܟܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܟܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܟܦܝܦ ܒܪܝܟܬܐ[3]. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ
ܘܐܝܬܝ[4] ܐܟܪܐ ܦܪܘܠܐ ܘܢܣܒܐ ܘܫܒܩܗ ܠܬܪܥܐ ܘܠܩܢܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܒܚܕ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܟܪܐ ܕܐ ܕܡܬܢܣܒ ܚܝܠܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܫܟܪܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ.
ܘܥܒܕ ܩܠܝܕܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܕܬܪܥܬܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ[5]. ܘܐܪܡܝ ܚܠܩܗ
ܒܠܬܘܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ ܘܫܪܝܪ ܀ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܬܪܥܐ. ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܢܬܚܒܫܘܢ
ܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܕܗܘܢܝܐ ܘܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܬܐ.
ܘܢܬܦܣܘܢ ܘܢܬܠܘܢ ܠܬܪܥܗܘܢ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܘܬ ܕܠܟܣܘܠܡܐ
ܕܬܡܢܝܐ ܘܐܬܚܪܝ ܘܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܫܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ
ܕܢܦܩ ܠܡܚܒܠ ܫܠܛܢܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܕܚܠܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܦܐ[6]
ܕܢܚܬܝܢ ܝܡܐ. ܘܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܢܬܣܪܩܘܢ[7] ܐܘܪܚܬܐ.
ܘܫܒܩܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܬܦܬܚ

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[1] Read ܘܥܒܕ [2] E ܡܨܝܪܬܐ [3] Read ܒܪܟܬܐ ?
[4] D ܠܟܘ [5] Read ܐܩܝܡ ? [6] For ܓܦܐ, *brook* ?
[7] D ܢܩܫܘܢ

ܢܬܩܛܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ[1] ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܗܠܝܢ܆
ܗܦܟܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܟܠ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ܆ ܕܡܛܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ. ܦܢܘ ܕܝܗܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ. ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܝܗܒܘ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ[2] ܕܫܠܡܐ. ܘܫܡܫܘܢܘܗܝ ܠܫܡܗ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܫܠܡܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܠܢ[3]. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܘܢܚܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܢܦܫܢ ܢܦܩܘ ܦܪܘܩ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ[4]
ܢܦܩܘ ܡܚܕܐ. ܘܐܬܪܗ ܡܚܕܐ ܘܦܪܘܩ ܘܠܫܘܡܗ ܐܝܟ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ
ܕܢܦܩܘ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܫܡܗ ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܀ ܐܬܪܗ[5] ܠܐܪܡܢܝܐ
ܐܢܫ. ܘܦܢܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ[6] ܀ ܘܡܛܐ[7] ܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܢ
ܛܘܪܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ. ܘܗܕܒܫܐ[8] ܐܢܫ ܐܬܪܗ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܢܦܫܗ
ܕܛܘܪܐ. ܘܡܛܐ ܒܫܒܥܐ ܘܒܦܪܘܩ. ܫܡܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ
ܢܦܫܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܀ ܘܡܛܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ
ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܕܒܫܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܕܛܘܪܐ. ܘܡܛܐ
ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܘܩ. ܥܠ ܫܡܫܐ ܗܕܒܫܐ ܒܢܦܫܗ[9].
ܘܝܠܗ ܫܡܫܐ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܀ ܘܡܛܐ ܗܘܐ[10]

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[1] D ܟܕ [2] ABDE ܬܘܕܝܬܐ [3] Read ܡܚܕܐ ?
[4] CD ܠܟܠܗܘܢ [5] A ܐܬܪܗ. Compare Müller, Pseudo-Callisth., p. 143, col. 1, line 20. [6] C omits ܘܦܢܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ
[7] D ܘܡܛܐ [8] BCD ܗܕܒܫܐ, without ܘ
[9] Read ܐܢܫ, as is written with lead pencil on the margin of B.
[10] D ܗܘܝܢ

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ܠܗ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܓܘܕ̈ܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܕܡܘ̈ܬܐ ܡܢܟܠ ܘܦܬܝ̈ܐ
ܡܫܠܠܐ[1] ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܒܗܘܢ ܣܩܘܛܐ ܘܐܣܦܘܣ[2] ܘܐܓܕܪܐ.
ܕܒܢܝܫܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܘܠܝܢ. ܕܟܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܣܩܘܛܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܕܪܘܬܐ ܢܕܪܬ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܕܡ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ[3] ܐܝܟ
ܣܘܕܪܐ. ܘܠܝܬ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܘܕ̈ܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ ܦܪܕܝܣܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܠܪܘܚܩܐ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܥܡܐ ܢܩܪܒ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܡܫܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܢܬܦܪܫܬܐ ܘܡܬܦܪܫܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ ܓܒܗ ܥܡܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ.
ܘܡܢܬܐ ܘܢܓܪ̈ܦܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ. ܘܢܗܪܐ
ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܗܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܣܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܢܗܪ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܢ̈ܘܢ. ܗܢܘܢ ܡܦܝܫܝܢ
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܪܘܚ̈ܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܒܗܝܢ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܢܗܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܬܦܪܣ ܗܘܘ[4] ܒܫܢܝܐ. ܘܐܬܦܪܣ
ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܪܘܚܬܐ ܘܐܘܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܬܠܗܘܢ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ.
ܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܪܘܚܬܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܝܬ ܘܓܘܕ̈ܐ ܘܦܩܘܪ̈ܬܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܓܘܕ̈ܐ[5] ܗܟܢܐ.
ܘܢܦܩ[6] ܘܐܦܫ ܡܢ ܓܘܕ̈ܐ. ܘܢܦܩ ܕܐܪܒܝܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܀ ܘܠܗ
ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܐܪܒܥܗ ܢܗܪ̈ܐ ܘܗܪܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܦܫܢܘܗ ܥܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܟܢܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܢܦܩܪܘܢ ܠܗܝ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܢܘܗܝ
ܐܢܫ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܐܬܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܐܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܕ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܡܢ

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[1] BCDE ܡܫܠܠܐ [2] ܐܣܦܘܣ, as the name of a sort of serpent, is probably corrupt. [3] C omits ܐܠܐ [4] D omits ܗܘܘ [5] A ܓܘܕ̈ܐ [6] C ܢܦܩ, without ܘ

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ܘܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܟܢܪܐ. ܘܪܩܕܝܢ ܟܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܡܢ̈ܐ ܘܦܓܪ ܦܓܪܗ
ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܐ. ܘܢܦܠܝܢ ܫܠܕܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܬܚܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܒܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ
ܘܒܢܘ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ[1] ܘܢܦܩܝܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܩܢ̈ܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܥܝܢ ܠܗ
ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܐ[2]. ܡܛܘܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ̈ܐ ܙܠܝ̈ܩܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܫܐ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܢܐ ܠܚܕ̈ܝܢ ܡܫܬܘܝܢ ܠܕܘܒܪܗܘܢ. ܡܢ̈ܐ ܙܠܝ̈ܩܐ ܡܥܕ̈ܪܝܢ
ܕܒܙܒܢܐ ܚܕ ܫܢܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܬܠܚܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܬܚܪܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ
ܕܚܠܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܟܪܣܝܗ. ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܡܢ̈ܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܐܢ ܠܐ[3] ܐܢܬ ܕܫܠܛ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܥܡ̈ܐ. ܘܕܡܬܬܟܝܠ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܒܥܠܡܗ.
ܗܘܝܢܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ: ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܩܠܠܐ
ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܢܦܩܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܠܝܬܐ ܒܫܘ̈ܩܝܗܘܢ. ܘܒܗ ܫܥܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܡܪܢ ܡܠܟܐ: ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܢܦܫܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܝܩܝܪܐ
ܕܗܦܟܝܢ ܒܫܘ̈ܩܐ ܘܒܐܪ̈ܚܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܦܟܝܢ.
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܬܠܐ. ܟܕ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܝܬܐ ܢܦܫ̈ܬܐ
ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܠܐܦܝܗܘܢ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ
ܡܕܡ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܢ̈ܐ. ܐܝܬ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܡܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܠ ܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ[4]

[1] D ܒܢܘܗܝܗܘܢ, without ܘ

[2] BC omit from ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ to ܡܢ̈ܐ. Read ܘܡܠܟܐ ?

[3] Read ܕܐܠܐ ܐܢ ?

[4] BC omit the words ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ

ܐܠܝܢ: ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܫܢܘܬܐ
ܥܡܡ. ܘܥܠ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ. ܐܠܐ
ܠܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܠܡܥܒܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕ̈ܗܠܝܢ[1]. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܥܒܪܐ ܕܕ̈ܗܠܝܢ[1] ܕܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ[2] ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܐ[3]. ܘܫܠܝܛܝܢ
ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܦܓܪܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ
ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܩܪܝܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܥܒܕܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܛܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܡܐ
ܥܡܡܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ ܘܫܘܦܪܗܘܢ
ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ. ܘܦܬܘܪܐ[4] ܠܟܠ ܟܠܢܫܗܘܢ. ܘܗܟܝܠ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܘܗܠܟܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ[5]. ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ
ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܘܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ. ܘܟܠ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܕ
ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܬܠܛܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܡܫܠܛܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ. ܘܡܫܠܛܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢܝܐ
ܕܚܝܠܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܢ
ܐܘܟܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܒܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ. ܡܢܗܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ
ܕܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܘܦܓܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܦܓܪܐ ܐܪܥܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܛܐ.

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[1] The word ܕ̈ܗܠܝܢ seems to be wrong in the one place or the other. Perhaps ܕܢܦܩܝܢ [2] D originally ܕܢܫܬܒܥܘܢ, altered into ܕܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ, as in ABC. Read ܕܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ [3] Here too there is some error, arising out of the following ܠܥܒܕܝܐ. Perhaps ܒܥܒܕ̈ܝܐ.

[4] This seems to be the same word that is written ܦܬܘܪܐ in the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (ed. Wright, p. 62, l. 13).

[5] Something appears to be wrong here.

ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܕܡܣܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܬܓܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ
ܠܝ ܘܠܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܢܚܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܕܡ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܢ
ܐܢܬܘܢ[1] ܕܡܫܟܚܐ ܕܢܚܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܗܕܐ[2] ܕܢܣܒܝܢ ܒܗ.
ܘܗܘܝܘ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܗܕܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܝܬ ܗܘܢܝܐ[3].
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܠܟܝܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܡܗܬܐ. ܓܘܓ:
ܘܡܓܘܓ: ܘܢܘܠ: ܡܠܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܝܦܬ. ܘܓܝܓ ܡܠܟܐ:
ܘܬܐܡܪܕܘܢ: ܘܬܡܪܕܘܢ: ܘܝܡܢ ܐܡܠܟ: ܘܢܟܘܫܕܪ[4]:
ܘܣܠܓܕܘܣ: ܘܐܠܦܘܣܛܝܐ[5]: ܘܐܫܟܢܙ: ܘܦܠܢܓܪܘ:
ܘܕܝܦܪ[6]: ܘܦܘܛܝܦܪ: ܘܦܠܘܢܝܐ: ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܗܘܢܝܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ
ܘܠܒܘܫܝܗܘܢ ܘܠܫܢܝܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܫܡܗܬܐ ܘܦܪܘ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܐܝܬ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܒܫܝܢܗܘܢ. ܘܝܬܒܝܢ[7] ܕܚܕ ܚܕ ܓܘܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ.
ܘܒܥܝܢܐ ܢܚܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܡܢܣܒܝܢ. ܡܢܟܠ ܕܡܫܟܚܢ[8] ܢܘܗܪ
ܠܗ ܠܒܥܝܬܐ[9]. ܘܡܢܥܡܝܢ ܘܡܬܦܢܩܝܢ[10] ܘܡܫܬܟܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܬܐ
ܥܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܩܪܒܐ. ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ
ܐܝܕܗ ܣܟܝܢܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ[11]. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܕܦܠܝܓ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܒܪܐ ܢܫܐ

[1] AE omit ܐܢܬܘܢ [2] C ܗܕܐ ܚܟܡܬܐ [3] ABDE ܗܘܢܝܐ, always. [4] D ܘܢܟܘܫܕܪ, E ܘܢܟܘܫܕܪ [5] C ܘܐܠܦܘܣܛܐ [6] C ܘܕܝܦܣ, D ܘܕܝܦܣܣ [7] D ܘܬܒܝܢ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ [8] C ܕܡܫܟܚܢܝܢ, more correctly. [9] The text seems doubtful here. [10] C ܘܡܬܦܢܩܝܢ ܘܡܬܡܪܩܝܢ [11] We should have expected the fem. forms throughout.

ܕܟܣܐ ܦܘܡ ܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܟܠܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܢܝܢ ܘܢܦܠܬ ܥܡ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ. ܘܗܘ ܦܩܕ ܕܟܠ ܥܒܕܘܣ[1]
ܢܫܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܣܪܐܦܝܣ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܣܪܐܦܝܣ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܬܪܐ
ܗܘ. ܘܣܡܘ ܢܦܠ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܢܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܘܢ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܠܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܦܘܢܛܘܣ[2] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ.
ܕܐܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܢܦܪܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܣܦܘܪܘܣ[3]. ܘܠܗ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܗܕܐ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܫܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܫ ܗܕܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܗܕܐ
ܫܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ. ܢܦܩ ܚܕ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܒܗ
ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܢܦܠܬ[4] ܥܡ ܦܪܣ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܡܥܠ ܐܬܪܘ. ܘܡܢ
ܗܕܐ ܐܦܝܢ ܘܠܝܬ. ܐܝܟ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܐ ܚܘܒܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܚܕ ܕܪܐ
ܕܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ. ܘܢܫܐ ܥܒܪܬܐ ܗܘܝ ܢܦܫܬܐ. ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܠܡܕܪܐ
ܥܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܚܕ ܗܘܘܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܒܗ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܥܡܡܕܘܢ ܒܗ
ܕܠܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܦܫܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܒܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܫܬܐ
ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܘܡܢ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܘܢܦܫܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܐ ܘܐܪܚܝܢ ܒܗ
ܥܒܝܕܐ. ܘܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܡܡܕܘܢ ܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܦܫܝܢ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܚܙܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܗܘܐ ܫܘܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܚܙܝܬ
ܡܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܫܘܪܐ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܠܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܡܪܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܫܝܢ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ
ܕܥܡܕܘܢ[5] ܒܗ ܚܕܐ ܦܣܩܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܒܗ

[1] D ܥܒܕܘܣܝ [2] BC ܕܦܘܢܛܘܣ [3] D ܐܣܦܘܪܘܣ
[4] D ܢܦܠܬ [5] BCD ܕܥܡܕܘܢ

ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܕܦܩܐ[1] ܕܡܫܚܠܦ ܕܡܝܐ. ܘܠܝܬܗ ܠܐܝܟܐ
ܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ. ܘܫܟܚܘ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܘܐܘܠܗ ܠܓܠܓܗ[2] ܚܡܪܐ.
ܘܫܩܝܘ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܩܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ. ܚܕ ܒܗ ܕܘܟܬܐ. ܘܫܩܝܘ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܫܬܠܗܝܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ. ܡܢܘ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܝܐ
ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܠܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ. ܘܐܬܘ
ܠܩܘܒܠ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܚܘܪܢܝܢܘܗܝ[3]. ܘܒܗ ܦܪܕܐ ܐܝܬ. ܘܒܗ ܗܢܝܠ
ܐܝܬ. ܘܒܗ[4] ܕܙܘܓܐ ܐܝܬ. ܘܒܗ ܫܒܪܐ ܐܝܬ.
ܘܒܗ ܠܒܘܟ ܘܒܗ ܙܥܘܪ. ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܐܘܦ ܘܚܙܐ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ[5]. ܘܟܠ ܒܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܬܒܚܐ
ܐܢܘܢ ܠܬܡܢ. ܘܐܘܦ ܘܡܛܐ ܥܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܠ. ܘܐܝܬ
ܒܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܓܘܗ[6] ܒܗ ܦܠܓܐ ܠܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܡܛܐ ܠܘܬܗ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܡܚܙܐ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ. ܦܪܫܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܒܩܠܗ ܐܝܟܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ
ܗܘܐ[7] ܐܝܟ. ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܡܥ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܩ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܟ
ܒܢܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܒܢܝ ܗܘܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ
ܡܫܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܢܠܟ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܐ
ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܠܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܗܢܐ[8]. ܘܡܢ ܫܡܥܘ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܚܕܘܬܐ

[1] For ܓܦܐ a brook, or perhaps the Arabic word دَفعَة or دُفعَة, a pouring forth, gush or rush.
[2] ABDE ܠܓܠܓܗ or ܠܓܠܓܗ
[3] D ܕܚܘܪܢܝܢܘܗܝ
[4] D ܒܗ
[5] ABCE ܚܝܘܬܐ or ܚܝܘܬܐ
[6] DE ܘܒܓܘܗ
[7] D ܠܗܘܐ ܐܬܪܐ
[8] BC omit ܒܗܢܐ

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ܠܓܘ ܦܩܘܦ ܥܡܝܢ. ܘܕܡܟܝ ܡܡܠܟܘܬܐ[1] ܟܠܗ̇ ܘܗܠܝܢ[2]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܫܠܡܗ̇ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܐܘܡܢܬܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ
ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܠܗܘܢ[3] ܕܥܡܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܢܦܫܗ
ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܠܐ ܒܟܠܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܢܦܫܬܐ ܢܦܠ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ. ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܟܢ. ܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ
ܕܒܢܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܗܘܝܢ ܒܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܦܘܗܝ.
ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܢܦܠ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܥܡܡܐ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܐܚܝܢ ܕܫܒܩܘ. ܘܫܠܡ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܗܟܢ ܡܠܟܐ[4]
ܥܡܝܢܐ ܐܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܘܠܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܢܘܡ ܠܗ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟ[5].
ܡܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܟܝܢ ܘܦܩܕܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ[6]. ܡܛܠ
ܕܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܘܬܗ ܕܪܟܐ ܘܫܠܡ. ܘܗܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܗܝ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ[7] ܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܫܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܡܡܐ
ܒܟܠܗ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܡܬܟܪܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ ܒܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܕܝܢ
ܘܢܦܫܗ ܟܠܗ ܠܟܠܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܥܡܡܐ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܠ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܢܐ
ܕܒܝܬ. ܘܡܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬ ܥܡܡܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܬܐ
ܡܢ ܕܢܦܫܗ. ܘܥܡܗ ܡܬܦܫܛ ܕܟܐ. ܘܡܢܗ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦܘ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܗܟܢ. ܘܡܢܗ
ܠܟܠܗ ܕܦܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪܗ ܕܢܦܫ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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[1] D omits from ܦܩܘܦ to ܡܡܠܟܘܬܐ [2] BC omit ܘܗܠܝܢ
[3] Read ܠܗܘܢ [4] D ܡܠܟܐ [5] Read ܕܡܠܟ ?
[6] D ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ [7] Read ܕܡܠܟܝܢ

ܢܦܠܘܢ. ܚܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܝ. ܘܠܒܪܐ ܦܘܪܢܣܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘ ܥܡܡܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܐܬ̈ܐ ܟܬ̈ܝܫܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܘܦܪܘܠܐ.
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܠܩܘܒܠܗ ܢܦܩ ܥܡܗ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܡܚܕܐ
ܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܪܡܫܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܢܫܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܬܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܢܦܝܠܬܐ ܕܠܒܫܐ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܘܬ ܩܛܝ̈ܠܐ ܦܓܪ̈ܐ. ܡܚܕܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘ[1] ܘܫܠܚܗ. ܘܐܡܪ[2] ܗܟܢܐ ܠܗ ܦܘܪܘܣ
ܕܢܬܐ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܬܐ ܗܪܟܐ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܕܒܝܢܬܢ ܥܡܐ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܠܝ: ܕܥܡܐ
ܒܝܢܬܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܗܦܘܪܘܣ. ܢܦܩܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ
ܒܬܪܗ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܩܡܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ
ܢܫܐ ܦܓܪܐ. ܘܫܦܪܘ[3] ܗܟܢܐ ܕܢܬܚܒܪܘܢ ܦܠܓܐ. ܘܐܬܚܝܒܘ ܥܠܡܐ
ܕܡܬܩܪܒ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܢܬܟܪ[4] ܥܡܗ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܠܚܕܐ ܘܩܡܘ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ
ܕܢܫܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܒܢܝ. ܟܕ ܢܒܚܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܒ
ܕܡܠ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܠܢܫܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܥܡܗ. ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܒܝܢܬܢ ܥܡܐ. ܘܥܡ ܐܬܪܗ. ܘܩܡܘ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ ܕܢܫܐ. ܡܣܬܟܠ
ܡܒܬܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܡܬܒܪܟܗ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܢ
ܕܡܬܒܘܗ. ܡܬܚܠ ܕܪܚܡܘ ܗܘܘ ܗܘ ܘܪܘܪ̈ܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܚܝܠܘܢ ܩܕܡ
ܐܘܪܐ ܡܕܢܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܒܬܗ ܡܫܚܬܐ[5] ܕܡܬܚܠ ܠܢܫܐ. ܘܢܫܠܘ[6]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܬܠܒ. ܘܐܬܒ ܕܠܐ[7] ܡܬܢܬܪ ܠܗܘܢ

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[1] B ܘܗܘ [2] D ܥܒܕ [3] D ܘܦܠܓܘ [4] Read ܕܢܬܟܪ
[5] D ܘܡܫܚܬܐ [6] AB ܘܢܫܠܘ [7] D ܠܐ

ܘܡܢܟܦܬ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܗܘܢ. ܗܕܪܘܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ
ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܗܘܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܘܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܟܘܪܣܝܐ.
ܘܡܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܐ ܢܩܦ ܠܗ ܗܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܠܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܗܘܐ ܢܦܩܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܡܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܐ. ܘܐܦ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ
ܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܦܬܓܡܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ̈ܘܣ:
ܥܗܕܝܢܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ[1] ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ
ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܛܐ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ̈ܘܣ: ܥܗܕܝܢܢ ܗܟܝܠ
ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܡܩܦܘ
ܘܐܙܠܘ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܚܙܝܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ. ܡܠܟܘ ܙܠܩܐ
ܒܢܦܫܐ ܘܡܛܠܗ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܘܡܩܝܡܘ ܕܘܟܬܐ
ܡܣܘ. ܕܐܬܝܘ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܐܙܠܘ ܡܣܬܒܪܝܢ ܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܣܬܒܪܝܢ.
ܘܥܠܘ ܘܐܬܕܟܪ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܢܝܐ
ܠܐ ܡܚܡܣܢܐ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܐܠܐ ܩܘܡܘ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ
ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܫܡܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܘܫܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܩܘܠ ܥܡܐ ܙܠܩܐ[2] ܠܥܕܬܐ ܢܫܝܐ ܚܕ̈ܝܢ ܫܥܬܐ ܘܦܪܘܫܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ
ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܢ
ܠܗܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܥܒܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܩܕܡ[3] ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ
ܕܥܡܠܝܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ[4] ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ

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[1] C omits from ܕܝܪܘܫܠܡ to the following ܒܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

[2] DE ܐܠܦܝܢ   [3] B omits ܩܕܡ   [4] C omits ܗܘܐ

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ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܕܬܬܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܡܛܘܠܗ ܕܝܚܝܕܐ
ܟܠ ܡܢܐ ܗܡܝܢܝܢ ܥܒܕܬ. ܐܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܒܥܝܢܘܬܐ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܠܘ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ܫܐܠܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܢܬܚܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢܐ ܡܒܥܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܚܟܝܡܘܬܟܘܢ.
ܐܟܠ ܐܦ ܝܢܐ ܐܘܠ ܐܢܐ ܘܫܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܦܟ ܥܒܕܐ. ܘܐܢ
ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܟܢܫ ܢܕܥܘܢܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ. ܫܐܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܕܢܝܟܘܢ
ܘܫܡܥܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܢ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܦܝܣܐ ܕܢܦܫܝ ܡܢܗ ܢܬܬܠ.
ܘܢܦܠܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܦܠܛܝ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܘܐܬܡܢܝ
ܣܠܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܡܚܪܗ: ܗܠܟܡܐ ܘܡܚܕܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܠܒܕܩ.
ܘܐܬܠܒܟ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܝܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ. ܐܠܗܐ
ܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ. ܕܐܢܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܘܣܓܝܐ ܐܢܐ
ܥܒܘܕܘܬܟܘܢ. ܢܕܥܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܢܨܚܬ[1] ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܕܐܫܬܘܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܕܬܐ ܟܕܝܢ ܕܐܕܒܪܬ ܒܗܝܢ[2] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ.
ܗܘܠܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܝܐ ܕܡܘܬܝ. ܕܢܦܠ ܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܥܠܡܐ ܢܦܩ ܘܐܢܚܝ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܘܪܒ ܥܡܝ ܡܢܐ ܠܟܠܟܘܢ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܓܠܝܢ. ܘܐܬܚܘܝ ܥܡܝ ܐܠܗܐ[3]
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܕܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܐܢ
ܢܦܘܩ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܒܦܘܡܗ. ܕܐܬܬܘܝܘ ܒܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܬܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ
ܡܣܬܠܩܐ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܘܩ ܒܦܘܡܗ. ܡܢ ܕܐܬܠܗ ܘܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ

[1] ABE ܕܐܬܢܨܚܬܘܢ, D ܕܐܬܢܨܚܬܝܢ [2] E ܒܗܘܢ

[3] C omits ܐܠܗܐ

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ܢܬܪܦܠ ܘܐܬܦܝܣܐ ܚܒܝܫ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܘ ܐܣܟܘܠܐ ܕܒܘܪܐ[1] ܗܟܢܐ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܘܡܚܝܣ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܥܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ[2] ܠܡܕܡ.
ܐܘ ܒܢܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܟܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܙܠ
ܘܡܫܘܐ. ܕܒܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܫܡܝܫܝܢ ܥܡܐ. ܘܫܢܐ ܚܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܗ
ܚܕܬܐ. ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܦܩܘܕ ܠܢ ܕܢܫܬܠܛ.
ܘܩܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܠܠܗ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܐܘ ܕܟܝܘܬܟ ܕܐܙܠ ܘܡܫܘܐ. ܕܒܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܫܡܝܫܝܢ
ܥܡܐ ܘܟܕ ܚܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܐܬܪܐ[3]. ܠܐ ܡܘܕܝܢ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ
ܕܚܕܝܢ[4] ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܢܫܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
ܗܘܝܢ. ܕܕܡܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܨܠܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ
ܐܬܪܐ ܢܦܝܫܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܝܬܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܕܡܐ ܡܝܬܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܢܦܫܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܐܣܟܡܐ. ܗܘ ܕܚܕܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܗ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܠܐ
ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܕܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܡܢܐ ܦܓܪܐ. ܘܠܐ ܨܠܡܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܒܗ.
ܘܠܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܛܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܡܕܡ. ܐܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ
ܦܓܪܐ. ܓܒܪܐ[5] ܘܢܦܠ ܘܡܬܚܒܠ ܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ
ܠܡܫܠܐ. ܘܒܢܝܢܫܐ[6] ܐܢ ܫܒܩ ܒܗ ܡܢܕܥܡ ܫܡܥܘܢ. ܘܢܦܠܬܐ
ܕܐܝܟ ܓܐܝܘܬ ܡܢܕܥܡ ܢܬܒܦܬܗܘܢ[7]. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ
ܥܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܟܣܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܙܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܫܠܡܐ
ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܗܘܬ ܗܘ ܡܢܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܣܒܘܢ.

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[1] D omits ܕܒܘܪܐ [2] Read ܡܣܝܚܝܢ ? [3] A omits ܠܐܬܪܐ
[4] B ܕܚܕܝܢ [5] Read ܓܒܪܐ [6] D ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ [7] D ܡܚܕܝܢ

A CHRISTIAN LEGEND CONCERNING ALEXANDER.

ܬܘܒ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܣܘܦܝ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܙܠܐ ܘܐܚܕ ܒܐܦ̈ܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܓܪ̈ܒܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܗܘܢܝܐ[1] ܘܢܒܙܘܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܬܝܒܬܗ ܗܝ ܒܒܝܬ ܓܢ̈ܙܐ ܕܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܀

ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܐܘ ܕܬܫܥ[2] ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ: ܩܡ ܗܘ ܒܪܥܝܗ. ܘܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܚܘܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܫܕܪ ܩܪܐ ܠܦܗ̈ܠܘܝ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܠܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܓܐ ܘܠܦܪܝܣܘܣ ܘܠܦܪ̈ܓܠܘ[3] ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܝܠܘ̈ܕܝ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܦܠܚ̈ܝ[4] ܕܝܠܝ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܚܒܫܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܡܕܡ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܗ ܠܝ ܢܗܘܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܕܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܗܠܦܝ ܠܝ. ܘܐܣܒ ܠܝ ܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܕܟܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܪܘܡܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܟܡܐ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܦܬ̈ܝܗܝܢ ܕܡܬܟ̈ܠܐ ܢܗ̈ܘܝܢ. ܘܡܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ. ܕܠܡܐ

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[1] ABDE ܗܘ̈ܢܝܐ [2] D ܘܬܫܥ [3] These words seem to be corrupt. [4] D has ܦܠܚܘܬܝ in the text, and ܦܠܚ̈ܝ on the margin.

ܫܠܝܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܠܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܪܦܝܩܘܪܐ
ܫܢܝܢ ܘܡܝܬ ܒܫܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ
ܘܐܫܥܒܕ ܘܐܬܩܢܝ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܒܕܡܐ ܠܗܘܡܐ
ܕܡܢܗ. ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܢܝܚܝܗ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܥܡ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܗܝܡ̈ܢܐ
ܕܫܡܫܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ[1]. ܘܠܢ̈ܒܝܐ ܘܠܫ̈ܠܝܚܐ ܘܠܣ̈ܗܕܐ ܘܠܟ̈ܗܢܐ
ܘܠܡܫܡܫܢ̈ܐ[2] ܕܫܡܫܘ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ[3] ܐܡܝܢ
ܘܐܡܝܢ[4] ܀

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[1] BCDE ܥܡ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܙܕܩܘ ܒܩܘܫܬܗ [2] ABCD omit ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ [3] D omits ܗܘܐ [4] A has merely ܐܡܝܢ

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ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܓܪܡܢܝܐ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܣܕܝܢ[1]. ܚܕܐ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܥܠ ܢܗܪ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܦܠܩܘܣ. ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܘܫܩܗ ܕܒ ܚܘܪܐ. ܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܕܬܠܬ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܗܝ[2] ܕܡܬܢܛܪܐ ܒܪܘܦܘܣ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܕܐܪܒܥ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܕܟܢܫܐ ܕܚܡܫ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܒܪܢܝܩܗ ܕܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܬ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܠܒܢܝܘܣ ܕܫܒܥ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܣܩܘܬܝܐ ܕܬܡܢܐ[3]: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ ܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܬܫܥ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܠܗ ܟܪܟ ܕܥܣܪ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܘܒ: ܕܗܝ ܗܝ[4] ܣܡܪܩܢܕ ܕܚܕܥܣܪ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܩܘܒ. ܗܝ ܗܝ ܕܒܒܠ[5] ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܕܬܪܬܥܣܪ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܐܪܝܒܘܣ[6] ܡܬܩܪܝܐ. ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܟܪܘ ܕܬܠܬܥܣܪ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܛܝܓܪܝܣ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܝܫܢܝܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܣܪ[7]: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܡܕܝܢ ܘܗܝ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܢܗ ܒܒܠ ܒܒܠ ܚܕ ܫܡܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܠܐܡܐ[8]. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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[1] Compare the list in Müller, p. 151, note 1 on ch. xxxv. Also the Arabic lists given by Yâḳût in the *Muʿjam al-Buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, t. i, p. ٢٥٥, or in the *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ٢٣.

[2] D omits ܗܝ

[3] C omits from ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ to ܕܬܡܢܐ

[4] D omits ܗܝ

[5] C ܒܒܠ ܗܝ ܕܗܝ, D ܒܒܠ ܗܝ ܕܗܝ, E ܕܒܒܠ ܗܝ ܕܗܝ. The name of ܒܒܠ seems to be an error for ܒܠܚ or Balkh.

[6] D ܕܐܪܝܒܘܣ, E ܕܐܪܝܒܘܣ

[7] Read ܕܣܘܣܝܢܐ, ܕܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ, and ܕܬܠܬܥܣܪܐ

[8] E ܠܠܡܐ

ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ[1] ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܙܠܘ. ܘܒܥܡܠܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܦܓܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܬܢܚܡ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܬܒܝܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ.
ܘܒܪܗ ܕܦܘܠܣ ܠܦܓܪܐ[2] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܬܘ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܐܠܘܟܢ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ ܐܘܠܘܣ ܘܡܢܬܡܢܝܢ ܘܩܡܘ ܐܠܗܘܗܝ ܐܬܟܬܒ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܡܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܐܦ ܠܦܓܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ
ܠܐܬܘܪܝܗ. ܗܟܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗܘ. ܕܗܢܐ
ܦܓܪܐ[3] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܢܬܬܣܝܡ ܗܪܟܐ[4]. ܐܠܐ ܠܗܘ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܢܐ ܢܬܬܣܝܡ ܒܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܬ ܕܦܓܪܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܬܬܣܝܡ. ܐܡܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܐ ܘܡܬܒܩܝܐ
ܕܒܟܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܒܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܢܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܬܒܩܝܐ ܘܩܪܝܐ[5] ܐܝܟ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܦܬܘܠܡܐܘܣ
ܗܟܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܒܪܗ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܒܢܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ. ܘܦܓܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܬܡܢ ܣܡ. ܘܠܟܘܠܗܝܢ
ܗܢܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܝܫ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀

XXIV ܒܬܪ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܪܝܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ
ܘܡܬܒܩܝܐ ܕܘܪܝܐ. ܘܡܛܝܐ ܘܐܘܩܝܢ ܘܐܢܛܝܟ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܘܡܬܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܡܠܟܐ
ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܡܢܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܐ
ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܡܛܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܘܫܢܝܢ ܩܠܝܠ. ܘܡܢ
ܫܢܝܐ ܫܒܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢܐ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ[6] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܒܢܐ

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[1] C omits ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ [2] D ܠܦܓܪܗ [3] D ܦܓܪܗ
[4] D ܠܗܪܟܐ [5] D ܩܪܝܐ ܘܡܬܒܩܝܐ [6] Read ܬܠܬܡܐܐ

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ܕܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ ܢܦܝܩ ܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܩܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܫܘܪ ܗܘ[1] ܣܡܪܢܝܢ.
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܫܠܡܘܢ. ܘܐܪܟܝܪܘܣ[2] ܘܠܘܩܝܠܡ ܢܐܬܘܢ
ܠܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ. ܘܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܠܐܠܝܦܝܡܝܐ. ܘܦܪܣ ܕܗܘܢ
ܕܗܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܢܬܒܘܢ ܥܡ. ܘܦܝܣܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܚܟܡܐ ܕܗܘܢ[3] ܐܬܐ
ܠܐܘܠܨܢ. ܘܐܘܪܚ ܠܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܠܡܬܦܪܢܣܘܬܗܘܢ. ܦܩܕܝ
ܕܝܢ[4] ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ. ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܢܫܝܡܘܢ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܬܡܠܟܘܢ. ܘܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܣܓܕܘܢ
ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ[5] ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܢܬܩܝܡ. ܘܠܥܠܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ
ܘܬܚܬ ܥܘܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܘܢܬܩܠܘܢ. ܘܢܐܬܘܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܢ
ܥܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܚܘܩܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܓܐ
ܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ ❖

XXIII ܘܟܕ ܐܠܡܣܝܪܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ.
ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܠܡܣܝܪܘܣ ܗܢܐ
ܫܡܥܘ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘܗܝ ܠܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܐܠܡܣܝܪܘܣ ܘܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܗܘܘ. ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܢܦܠ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ
ܡܝܬܪܬܐ ܘܚܕܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܢܫ

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[1] BDE ܐܫܘܐ   [2] Read ܘܐܪܟܝܪܘܣ ?   [3] D ܕܗܘܢ, with the marginal note ܣܒܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܬܪܝܨܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ, 'I think that this word is not correct.'   [4] C omits ܕܝܢ   [5] D ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ

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ܘܚܕܘܐ ܠܐܪܣܛܘ ܦܝܠܣܘܦܐ. ܘܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܣܠܘܩܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܢܬܡܠܟ. ܘܥܠ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ. ܘܥܠ ܦܦܠܓܘܢܝܐ[1]
ܘܩܦܕܘܩܝܐ[2] ܐܢܛܝܓܢܘܣ[3] ܢܬܡܠܟ. ܘܥܠ ܦܘܢܛܘܣ ܘܥܠ ܣܘܪܝܐ
ܚܕܬܐ[4] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܬܡܠܟ[5]. ܘܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ.
ܘܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܡܐܐ ܟܟܪܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܘܣܝܡܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܕܘܪܒܝܐ[6] ܘܦܩܕ ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܒܬܠܬܡܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܫܝܩܬ ܒܢܝܐ
ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܠܟܘܦܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ
ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܒܘ. ܘܐܡܪ ܘܫܒܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܒܝܐ. ܘܦܩܕ
ܕܢܠܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ
ܢܘܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܬܟܬܒ ܢܬܟܬܒܘܢ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܠܟܬܒܘܢ.
ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܚܕ ܡܬܩܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܕܗܒܐ. ܠܐܬܘܬܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܓܘܦܛܘܣ ܢܬܝܗܒܘܢ. ܘܡܠܟ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܟ ܠܦܪܣ ܢܬܝܗܒܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܕܗܒܐ ܟܟܪܐ ܡܐܐ ܘܡܐܬܝܢ.
ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܕܗܒܐ ܡܐܐ
ܟܟܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܡܐܐ. ܘܟܬܒܐ ܕܦܝܠܐ[7] ܐܝܟ.
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܘܠܝܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܡܐܐ[8] ܘܡܐܬܝܢ ܟܟܪܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܕܗܝܡܢܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ

[1] D ܦܡܦܠܓܘܢܝܐ. Read ܦܦܠܓܘܢܝܐ [2] MSS. ܕܩܦܕܘܩܝܐ
[3] D ܐܢܛܝܓܢܘܣ [4] Apparently corrupt. The Greek text has *καὶ Συρίας τῆς κοίλης* (Müller, p. 148, col. 2, line 27). [5] This whole clause is wanting in AE. [6] A ܕܐܕܪܕܒܝܓ, DE ܕܐܕܘܪܒܝܓ with ج [7] Read ܕܠܟܘܢ ܦܝܠܐ [8] E ܡܐ (*sic*)

ܘܗܘܝ ܦܠܓܗ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ[1] ܕܗܘܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܢܝܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܦܘܪܫܢܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܝ
ܦܠܓܗ ܕܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܕܗܘܐ[2] ܥܕܡܐ ܠܚܪܬܐ.
ܘܗܘܝ ܦܠܓܗ ܕܐܪܒܥܝܢܗܘܢ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܒܝܐ[3]. ܘܠܗܠܝܢ
ܕܐܬܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܠܡܘ. ܘܟܠܗ[4] ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܘܕܥܬܐ
ܘܡܘܕܥܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܣܝܢܐ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܘܬܚ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܦܠܚܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗ. ܢܗܘܘܢ
ܚܝܠܗ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܦܠܚܘ. ܘܡܢ ܕܗܘܬ
ܘܗܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܝ ܦܠܓܗ ܕܐܢܫܘ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܐܬܚܙܝ
ܒܪܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܝܘ[5] ܥܡܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܫܡܥܘܢ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܕܥܡܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ[6] ܡܫܒܚܝܢ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܠܘܗܝܟܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܟܠܗ ܕܘܪܘܗ ܦܠܓܐ. ܘܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ
ܕܦܬܟܪܐ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ ܥܡܠܝܢ ܘܐܬܩܪܝܗ ܒܟܠ ܦܘܠܚܢܝܗܘܢ
ܥܡܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܕܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܫܩܘܗܝ[7] ܥܡܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠ
ܕܡܫܘܠܛܐ ܘܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܥܡܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܫܠܝܡܘܬܐ[8] ܦܬܪ. ܘܟܠ ܗܘܕܝܐ

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[1] D ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ [2] C omits ܕܗܘܐ [3] BCDE ܗܘܐ
[4] D ܟܠܗ [5] D ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ (D ܕܚܝܠܬܐ) ܕܗܘܝܘ
[6] D ܡܫܒܚܝܢܗܘܢ [7] BCDE ܦܘܫܩܘܗܝ [8] D ܫܠܝܡܬܐ

ܐܢܫ[1] ܗܟܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܓܘܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܚܫܬܐ ܘܦܪܨܘܦܬܐ ܠܐ
ܬܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܕܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܢܫܬܒܩ ܓܢܒ
ܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܘܒܝܕܘܥܬܐ ܗܘܝ. ܘܟܕ ܐܦ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܘܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܐ ܒܝܕܗܘܢ. ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ[2] ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܝܕܥܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ[3] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ. ܕܡܫܘܕܥܐ ܢܩܪܐ ܫܡܗܘܢ ܒܝܘܡܢܐ[4] ܕܝܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܐܬܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܝܗܒܗܘܢ ܘܩܝܡܗܘܢ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ[5].
ܘܒܫܟܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܟܠ ܕܫܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ
ܘܒܝܕܘܥܬܐ ܝܗܒܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܝܘܡܝ ܠܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܥܝܢ ܢܫܡܬܗܘܢ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܦ ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܩܘܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܠܛܘ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ
ܕܢܫܬܘܢ ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܠܗ ܕܠܡܦܪܥ ܕܡܬܬܚܝܒ ܒܗ ܦܩܕܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܗܘܡܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܘܕܥܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܢܘܢ
ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܐܡܪܬ ܒܗ ܠܡܫܬܠܛܘ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܘ ܕܡܫܬܠܛܝܢ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܦܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܘܕ[6] ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܦܩܕܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܐܠܦܐ[7]
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[8]. ܘܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܘܬܠܬ ܐܠܦܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܫܬܝܢ[9] ܘܫܒܥܐ.

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[1] D ܐܢܫ [2] D ܠܟܠܗܘܢ, E ܕܝܢ [3] D ܐܡܪ
[4] C ܒܝܘܡܢܐ ܝܗܒܘܢ ܘܩܝܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܢܐ
[5] C ܒܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܘܢ ܘܩܝܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܕ [illegible]
[6] Read [illegible] [7] C ܐܠܦܝܢ
[8] ABDE ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [9] E omits ܫܬܝܢ

ܘܦܬܓܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܟܬܒܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܐܬܕܘܪܬ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܡܝܢܝܢ.
ܘܡܠܟ̈ܘܬܐ ܠܫܡܝܘܬܐ ܢܣܒܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܗܢܐ ܕܚܫܐ
ܘܕܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ ܠܡܐܢܐ ܐܘܠ ܠܝ. ܗܘ ܠܝ ܡܢܦܩ ܟܘܢܐ ܘܐܟܝܢ. ܟܡܝܢ
ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܘܐܬܬܘܪܬ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܟܬܒܐ ܘܫܪܟܐ ܘܠܐ
ܡܬܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܬܬܢܝܚܬ. ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܫܠܡܐ ܟܡܝܢ ܐܘܠܝܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܠ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܩܕܝܫ ܘܡܫܒܚܘܬܐ ܒܟܬܪ ܟܬܪ ܦܠܓܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܘ
ܦܠܚܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ. ܗܟܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ
ܕܡܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܥܒܕ. ܘܟܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܠܡܫܒܚܘܬܐ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܘ ܢܟܦܝܢ ܘܢܛܪܝܢ ܘܟܠ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܗ. ܠܡܐܢܐ
ܡܘܣܝܩܘܬܐ ܢܒܘܬܐ ܟܠ ܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܡܘܬܐ ܕܠܡܘܢ ܣܓܝ
ܡܟܣ ܡܘܬܐ ܢܦܩܬ. ܗܟܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܡܐܢܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܘܬܐ
ܠܡܫܒܚܘܬܗܘܢ ܥܘܠܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܗ ܟܟܪܗ ܢܦܩܘܢ
ܘܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܟܠܐ ܀

XXII ܗܟܝܢ ܢܟܣܘܗܝ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܘܐܬܟܠܗܝ.
ܘܠܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܦܠܚܘ. ܘܫܪܟܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܪܐ.
ܗܟܝܢ ܢܪܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܦܪܐ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܢܣܒ. ܘܟܠ ܕܡܫܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܣܒ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܪܡܐ ܘܠܐܦܣ ܐܠܦܡܣܝܢܐ
ܥܠܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܝܗܒ ܕܡܢ ܩܢܐ ܘܡܟܡܢܐ ܕܟܣ̈ܦܐ ܠܟܠ
ܩܢܝܐ ܘܡܟܡܢܐ[1] ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܝܗܒܬ. ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܬܬܟܝܠ ܕܦܩܚܐ
ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܬ[2] ܕܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܙܒܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܪܝܘ.

[1] E ܘܡܟܡܢܐ [2] Read ܘܐܬܦܪܫܬ

ܐܟܣܢܝܐ. ܘܠܒܫܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܘܠܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܐܘܟܠܘܣܐ. ܘܡܬܬܘܕܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܘܣܡܗܘܢ ܕܒܪܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܟܪܝܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܘܗܝ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ.
ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܣܓܕܘ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܟܠܗܐ ܕܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܢܝ.
ܘܠܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܗܘܝ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܗܘ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܘܩܛܠܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܡܡܐ. ܐܦ ܬܘܗܪܐ ܕܡܥܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ
ܘܣܓܝ[1] ܗܘܐ. ܗܟܢ ܦܬܟܪܐܘܣ ܡܬܟܘܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܚܠܦܬܐ
ܘܢܦܩܬ ܢܘܡܬܐ: ܟܕ ܚܙܝܗܝ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܒܪܐ. ܘܟܠܝܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ[2] ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܘ
ܐܢܫ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ[3]. ܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܟ ܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܘܓܒܪܝܘܬܐ
ܡܕܡ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܗ ܒܘܟ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܡܬܩܢܝܐ
ܘܡܬܩܢܝܐ[4] ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܚܝ ܠܝ ܦܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܐܡܪܘܗܝ
ܝܗܒܬ ܠܟ. ܘܢܬܒܝܢ[5] ܘܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܒܗ. ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܟܪܝܐ
ܐܢܬ ܠܡܬܚܡ ܘܠܡܬܬܢܚ ܡܢ ܘܠܡܬܦܪܣܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܠܟ
ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܬܕܒܪܝ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܕܠܟ ܚܝ
ܡܠܟ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܦܠܘܣ ܠܟ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ

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follow the words ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܘܗܝ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ, but on the margin the scribe has written ܡܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܠܬ ܗܘܝ ܠܝ ܕܡܬܝܬܪܢ, ‘these three words are, in my opinion, superfluous.’

[1] D ܣܓܝ ܘܡܬܩܢ

[2] AE omit ܗܘܝܐ

[3] D ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܦܠܝܦܘܣ

[4] D ܘܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܘܡܬܩܢܝܐ

[5] DE ܘܢܬܒܝܢ

ܠܝ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܢܬ. ܘܐܦܝܣܘ ܕܠܝ ܢܫܠܡܘܢܝ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܒܥܝ ܦܘܠܚܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܫܦܪܐ ܒܥܝܢܗ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ[1]
ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܗ[2] ܀

XXI ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܩ̈ܕܘܢܝܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܫܬܠܡܘ. ܘܫܠܚܘܢ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܒܝܫܐ[3] ܠܐܪܥܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗ ܒܡܘܪܕܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬ̈ܝ ܫܡ̈ܥܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ. ܝܗܒ ܠܡܦܩ ܥܠ ܒܬ̈ܝ ܫܡ̈ܥܐ ܘܠܡܫܡܠ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܬܪܬܐ ܗܘ ܥܡܗ. ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܥܒܕ ܗܘ ܗܕܐ ܥܒܝܕܘܬܐ. ܦܪܡܢܝܘܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܬܘܒ[4] ܗܘ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܐܡܪܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ[5] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ[6] ܕܡܩ̈ܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܟܢܫ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܠܩܘܒܠܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܪ̈ܝܘܫ ܕܪ̈ܗܛܐ ܢܩܒܠܘܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܠܘܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܩ̈ܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܘܕܥܘܢ. ܘܥܡ ܐܢ̈ܬܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܥܒܪܘ ܗܘܘ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܪܡܢܝܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܠܡܩ̈ܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܘܐܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܡܝܬ. ܒܪܡ ܒܡܘܪܕܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܢܩܘܡ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܠܥܡܗ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܢܬܕܟܪܘܢ[7]. ܘܡܢ ܡܩ̈ܕܘܢܝܐ ܥܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܥܒܕܘ ܒܝܫܬܗܘܢ

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[1] D ܘܐܬܦܢܝ [2] D ܠܡܫܝܚܐ [3] ADE ܒܝܫ̈ܬܐ, BC ܒܝܫܗ

[4] D ܥܠܬ ܘܐܬܐ [5] Add ܒܗ ? [6] E ܘܫܩܠܘܗܝ

[7] BC add ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܒܝܫܗܘܢ, but wrongly. In D, after ܒܪܡܫܘܢ,

ܦܠܓܐ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܐ ܕܢܬܩܪܒܘܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܬܚܙܝ.
ܘܡܬܚܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܒܕܐ. ܘܟܠ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܘܟܠ ܩ̈ܛܠܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܦܪܥ
ܚܝܠܐ ܐܘܠ. ܘܡܫܬܒܚ ܒܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܩܛܠܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܒܗ ܥܡܗ ܩܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܚܪܒ. ܘܚܢܢܐ
ܘܡܬܚܝܠܐ ܡܚܡܕܢܐ ܘܡ̈ܢܘܚܬܐ¹ ܘܚܫ̈ܚܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܕܐܬܦܢܝܘ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܦܪܣܘܣ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ². ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܠܡܫܬܒܚܘ. ܘܚܙܐ ܘܦܫܛܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܗܘܘ. ܕܡܢ
ܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܦ ܐܬܦܪܣ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܡܫܬܪܥܠ ܐܢܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܘ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܠܐ
ܬܬܒܝܫ³. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܒܙܒܢܗ ܗܘܐ. ܒܟܠ ܚܕ
ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܬܬܡܪܝܢ. ܕܪܝܘܫ ܕܝܢ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܠܟܠܗ. ܘܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܫܠܡܗ. ܘܟܕ
ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ. ܕܢܬܩܒܪܘܢ
ܘܠܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ. ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܢܬܒܪܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܬܪܥܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܟܪ ܠܡܦܩܘ. ܘܢܦܠܘ ܢܬܒܪܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ
ܕܢܬܒܢܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܕܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܠܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܗ̈ܘܝ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܕܫܢܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪܗ
ܦܩܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܬܒܪܘܢ ܒܗܝ ܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ
ܒܗܝ⁴. ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠܘ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ.

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¹ ABC omit ܘ ܡܚܡܕܢܐ   ² E ܪܒܬܐ   ³ Better ܬܬܒܝܫܝܢ
⁴ CE ܐܡܗ

ܒܡܨܪܝܢ¹ ܐܬܝܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܒܗ̇ ܢܦܩ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܟܕ ܢܩܦ.
ܠܦܓܪܗ. ܫܡܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܗ² ܢܡܘܣܐ.
ܘܠܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܕ̈ܫܡܗܘܢ ܠܦܓܥܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܢܡܘܣܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ
ܙܠܝܩ ܗܘܐ. ܢܡܘܣܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܐܦ ܗ̈ܢܘܢ
ܕ̈ܫܡܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܡܢ³ ܒܬܪ ܕ̈ܫܡܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܗܘܢ ܢܦܫܬܐ.
ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܕܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܦܠܛܘܢ ܕܐܬܛܡܫ⁴ ܐܬܦܫܝܛ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ
ܕܦܩ̈ܕܢܐ ܣܦܪ ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ
ܘܡܢ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܟܢ ܢܨܚ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐ
ܫܘܠܛܢ. ܒܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ. ܗܟܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܘ̈ܫܚܗ⁵ ܠܐ ܢܟܠ ܕܢܣܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܢ
ܦܓܪܗ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܡܢ ܦܠܛܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ
ܕ̈ܫܡܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܢܟܠ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܐܬܦܫܝܛ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܟܢ ܦܠܛܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܦܩܕ
ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܒܒܪܝܐ.
ܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܠܝܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗ ܢܦܠ ܒܡܨܪܝܢ
ܢܦܩ ܐܬܦܫܝܛ ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܕܢܩܒܪ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܒܗ̇
ܕܒܗ ܢܦܠܬ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܢܩܒܪܗ: ܦܩܕ
ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܪ̈ܒܘܗܝ ܠܦܓܪܗ
ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܦܫܝܛ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܩܒܪܝܘܗܝ ܒܐܦܣܘܣ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܢܦܩܘ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܢܩܒܪܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܩ ܘܠܟܠܗ

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¹ C ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ² D ܒܗ ³ C ܡܢ, without ܘ
⁴ MSS. ܕܐܬܛܡܫܘ; D ܐܬܛܡܫܘ ⁵ E ܚܘ̈ܫܚܬܗ

ܣ̈ܪܒܬ ܦܪܣܝܐ. ܡܩܕܘܢܝܶܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܨܝܚܐ ܟܕ ܣܪܒܬ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ. ܒܣܪܒܬܐ¹
ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ: ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘܘ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܗܘܡܝܐ
ܠܢ. ܘܒܬܪ² ܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܟܬܒ. ܘܦܩܕ³ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܪܣܛܝܣܛܘܣ:
ܘܦܪܛܝܢܘܣ: ܘܠܘܩܝܘܣ: ܘܦܪܝܡܘܣ: ܘܕܣܝܛܪܘܣ:
ܘܓܝܣܛܪܘܣ: ܘܡܝܠܝܛܘܣ: ܘܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܣ: ܘܦܘܠܝܦܘܣ:
ܘܡܪܕܘܢܝܐ: ܘܦܠܝܦܘܣ: ܘܡܝܬܪܘܣ:⁴ ܘܟܕ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܢܦܩܘ ܒܝܘܡ ܦܪܛܝܣܣ⁵: ܘܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܣ: ܘܕܝܘܢܘܣܝܘܣ⁶:
ܘܓܝܣܛܪܘܣ: ܘܠܘܩܝܘܣ: ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܡܟܬܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ⁷ ܒܗܘ⁸ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܒܬܪ⁹ ܐܘܠܘܣ¹⁰ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ
ܘܡܝܪܩܕܘܢ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܒܗܘ¹¹. ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܘܠܘܣ¹²
ܕܝܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܩ. ܘܩܡ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

¹ I do not understand ܒܣܪܒܬܐ, and ܣܪܒܬ does not seem to be satisfactory, though it is explained in Payne Smith's K by عساكر جنود جيوش. ² ܘ seems to be wholly superfluous. ³ D ܦܩܕ. ܟܬܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ⁴ Add some such words as ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܣܗܕܘܗܝ, or ܥܘܕܪܢܐ ⁵ C ܦܪܛܝܣܛܘܣ ⁶ D ܘܕܝܘܢܘܣܝܘܣ ⁷ Add ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ? Gr. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες (Müller, p. 146, col. 1, line 2). ⁸ C ܒܗܘܐ ⁹ D ܒܬܪ ¹⁰ C ܐܘܠܘܣ ¹¹ BCE ܒܗܘ ¹² C ܐܘܠܘܣ

ܩܒܠ. ܦܬܓܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܘ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘ
ܚܙܘ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܫܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܫܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܡܘܬܐ ܢܟܪܐ[1]. ܘܡܛܠܗ
ܠܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ ܩܪܗ ܐܢܘܢ[2]: ܘܐܫܠܡܗ ܥܙܩܬܐ ܘܢܫܩܗ.
ܘܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܩܦܗ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܢܥܒܕ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܒܩ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܩܦ. ܘܟܕ
ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ ܠܦܓܪ ܩܪܒ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܩܫ ܟܕ
ܡܬܚܫܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܟܢܫܬ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ ܠܐܘܠܝܣ[3] ܕܒ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܩܪܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܕܥ ܘܢܚܒܘ. ܕܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܐܘܠܝܣ ܩܪܝܒ ܘܪܒܐ ܕܦܠܛܝܢ
ܢܩܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܐܬܕܒܪܗ
ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܟܪܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܗܕܐ ܢܛܠܒ ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ
ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܢܥܒܕ. ܐܦ ܠܡܝܕܪܘܣ[4] ܒܗܢܐ ܐܪܘܢ
ܒܡܫܬܝ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܕܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܝܕܪܘܣ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܢܣܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܥܡܗ ܠܡܦܩ ܗܘ ܡܘܬܐ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܩܫܝܫܘܗܝ
ܢܬܦܪܩܘ. ܘܐܬܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܥܒܕܬ ܥܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܟܠܗ
ܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܩܫܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܟܘܪܗܢܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ
ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܢܫܬ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܡܢ

[1] D ܢܒܪܐ. One would rather have expected ܒܡܟܪܐ ܕܚܫܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܘܬܐ ܢܟܪܐ
[2] E ܩܪܝܒ
[3] Ἰόλλας.
[4] D ܠܡܝܕܝܘܣ. In the Greek text Μήδιος (Müller, p. 145, col. 2).

ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܗܝ ܠܬܠܬܐ ܢܣܒܝܗ ܘܠܒܪ ܢܦܩܬܗ. ܘܟܬܒܬ ܐܘܕܥܬܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܡܠܘܗܝ[1]. ܦܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܚܫܒܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܬܢܝܚ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܘ ܙܘܓ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܗܘܬ[2] ܕܡܠܘܗܝ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܢܬܬܠܬ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܗܟܝܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘܬ. ܒܡܫܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܦܣܘܩ ܡܬܟܠܢ ܠܗ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܘܬ ܐܡܪܗ. ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝܘܬ ܒܬܪܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܫܡܥ ܘܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܐܬܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ. ܒܡܫܡܥܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܢܗ. ܘܗܘ ܒܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܡܬܚܠܛܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܟܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܢܗ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܡܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܫܝ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥ ܘܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܘܐܬܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܫܗ ܀

XX ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܐܡܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܡܫܕܪܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܗ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܛܠ ܕܪܚܡ ܕܐܡܗ ܣܢܐ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ. ܚܫܒܐ ܕܢܟܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ[3] ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܥ[3] ܕܠܡܩܛܠܗ ܨܒܐ[4]. ܗܝܕܝܢ[5] ܕܗܘܐ ܚܫܒ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܚܫܒ[6]. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܟܪ[7] ܠܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ

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[1] BCDE ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܫܡܥ [2] D ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܗܘܬ (see Müller, p. 144, col. 2, note 20). For *τοιοῦτον* and *τρόπον* the Syriac translator read *τρίτον*. [3] E ܫܡܥ [4] D ܨܒܐ [5] D ܘܗܝܕܝܢ [6] D ܚܫܒ ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [7] D ܘܦܩܕ and omits ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܕܚܘܡܬܐ ܠܚܘܪܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܝܡܗ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܐܬܥܦܬܐ ܗܝ ܟܡܝܪܐ. ܦܩܕ ܠܦܠܚܘܬܗ ܣܓܝܐܘܗܝ. ܗܟܢ ܐܬܥܦܬܐ
ܗܝ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܦܩܘܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ[1] ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ.
ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܣܓܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܫܘܬܗ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܕܫܘܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܝܠܕܝܗ.
ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ. ܦܡܗܘܢ ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܢܣܒܘܗ. ܘܟܕ
ܟܝܢܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܚܘܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܢܦܩܘ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܢܐ
ܡܫܡܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܐ ܦܩܕܘܢ. ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬ
ܒܫܝܢܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܚܘܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܬܬܘܝܘ
ܘܢܦܠܘ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܝܬ. ܘܫܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܚܘܢ ܠܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܗܕܐ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܢܦܫ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܕܦܩܘܕ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܬܫܬܘܕܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܣܒ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ
ܒܫܠܡܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܝܐ. ܗܘܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܒܕܝܪܐ ܘܗܘܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫܘ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܟܢܫܐ
ܕܐܬܒܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܒܕܝܪܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܕܢܫܘܡ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ[2]
ܐܢܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܟܠܗܘܢ. ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܝܢ ܐܢܫ. ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ
ܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܢܒܥܝܢ ܡܫܬܠܛܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ
ܫܘܡܗ[3] ܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܠܗ. ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܛܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ.

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[1] B omits ܡܢ, D writes ܡܢ twice. [2] D ܗܘܐ [3] D omits ܫܘܡܗ

ܥܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܬܡܢ ܝܘܩܕܢܐ ܚܕ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܟܘܫܝܢ[1] ܡܢܗ ܐܢܫ[2] ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܬܝܒܠܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܒܩܛܪܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܘ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ ܗܢܝܐ. ܠܐ ܥܠ ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܕܣܐܡܐ ܡܕܡ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ. ܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܐܡܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܟܢ. ܕܡܢ ܫܘܦܪܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ ܀

XIX ܗܠܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ ܚܒܝܒܬܐ. ܐܦ ܣܘܡܐ ܕܚܘܒܗ ܡܚܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ[3] ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬܬ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܝܠܕܬ ܝܠܘܕܐ. ܕܡܢ ܦܠܓܗ ܘܠܥܠ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢ ܦܠܓܗ ܘܠܬܚܬ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܠܫܘܢ ܠܫܘܢ. ܐܪܝܐ: ܘܢܡܪܐ: ܘܕܒܐ: ܘܟܠܒܐ ܕܒܪܐ: ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܫܘܢ ܠܫܘܢ[4]. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܫܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܗܘܐ[5] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܗܘ ܦܠܓܗ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ. ܒܗ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܝܬ. ܘܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܝ[6] ܡܢܗ ܕܝܠܕܬ ܫܢܝܬܗ ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܘܕܥܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪܗ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܢܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܘܕܥܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ[7] ܕܫܢܝܗ. ܕܝܗܒ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܗ ܡܢ ܡܬܘܡ ܠܐ ܝܗܒ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܥܬ ܕܡܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܠܡܗ

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[1] C ܟܘܫܝ̈ܬܐ [2] AB ܐܢܫ, D ܐܢܫ [3] D ܗܘܬ ܕܝܢܐ ܗܕܐ

[4] BC omit the second ܠܫܘܢ [5] E ܗܘܘ [6] D omits ܗܝ

[7] MSS. ܡܢܝܢܐ

ܕܫܘܦܪܐ ܠܦܐܘܪܐ ܣܘܣܗ. ܙܩܝܦܬܐ ܥܠ ܕܡܪܝܡܐ ܪܘܪܒܬܐ ܣܘܣܗ
ܦܘܡܗ. ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܘܥܡܝܢ ܦܬܟܝܢ ܢܡܪܐ
ܐܟܚܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܠܠܒܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܣܘܪܕܝܢ[1] ܕܩܛܠܐ ܘܪܕܘܦܐ ܒܗ
ܡܬܦܪܥܝܢ. ܘܡܬܥܒܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ ܒܡܢܘܚܬܐ ܢܨܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܕܙܩܝܦܬܐ[2] ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܕܢܘܗܪ ܢܛܪܐ ܐܢܝܢ[3].
ܒܗܘ ܘܫܢܐ[4] ܒܗ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܟܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܗ
ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܙܩܝܦܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܡܐ ܐܢܝܢ. ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܓܒܗ
ܘܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܕܙܩܝܦܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܡܪܐ ܢܫܠܘܢ. ܘܦܘܪܩܢܗ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܗ. ܘܒܗܝ ܥܕܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܙܩܝܦܬܐ[5]
ܢܡܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܢܛܪ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܙܩܝܦܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܠܘܗܝ
ܐܘ ܟܕ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ[6] ܠܫܡܪܐ. ܒܗ ܒܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ.
ܘܠܗܘ[7] ܒܗܕܐ ܚܕ ܕܝܢ ܝܕܥܗ. ܘܩܡܐ ܚܕ ܒܥܕܢܗ ܗܦܟ ܕܗܟܢ
ܕܝ. ܘܡܕܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܘܗܒܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܗܢ ܩܘܫܐ ܒܐܠܦܐ ܒܟܪܟ
ܒܗ ܠܠܒܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܗ ܒܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܒܝܬܟܬܐ
ܡܬܒܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗ[8] ܥܒܕܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܐܝܬ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܣܦܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܥܠ ܪܝܫܗܘܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܗܝܟ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܗܘܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܘ ܘܦܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܘܠܗ.
ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܘܣܓܕܘܗܝ ܚܫܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ.
ܘܕܪܟ ܦܘܫܐ ܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܝܡܪܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ

[1] CD ܣܘܪܕܝܗܘܢ [2] ABCE ܐܙܩܝܦܬܐ [3] CD ܐܢܘܢ
[4] D ܒܠܗ ܗܘ ܘܫܢܐ [5] Omit the words ܚܕܐ ܐܙܩܝܦܬܐ ?
[6] A omits ܐܘ ܟܕ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ [7] D ܠܗܘ [8] D ܒܕܡܘܬܗ

ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ. ܘܒܗ ܗܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܥܡܘܕ̈ܐ ܡܕܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܚܘܪ̈ܐ.
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܒܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܡܫܚ̈ܢܝܢ. ܘܟܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܒܗ ܡܚܒܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܬ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܐܢܐ ܦܝܓ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܕܗܘܐ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ ܒܗܘ ܘܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܒܗܘܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ
ܐܬܪ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܪܬܐ ܒܡܫܘܡܬܐ
ܘܡܫܕܪܐ[1]. ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ ܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ[2]. ܘܡܫܠܡܬܐ ܚܕ
ܕܕܗܒܐ ܡܢ ܐܣܛܠܝܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܐ ܗܘܐ[3]. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ
ܒܗ ܡܫܠܡܬܐ ܝܬܒܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ[4]
ܥܠ ܐܓܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܒܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܗܘܬ
ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܩܪܒ ܕܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܙܕܒܢ. ܘܠܐܪܐܬܐ
ܕܡܐܢܐ ܐܙܕܒܢܘ ܐܡܪܘ[5] ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܬܩܠܒܘ[6]. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܝܘܢܐ[7]. ܘܢܦܩ ܒܗ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܥܡܘܕ̈ܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ

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[1] D ܡܫܕܪܐ [2] There appears to be some mistake here. The sense seems to require "a voice issued from it" (compare what is said just below), ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. Even so, ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ would be an awkward resumption of the preceding ܗܘܐ ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ [3] Here again there seems to be something wrong. The Greek is ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀρτυγοτροφεῖον χρυσοῦν κρεμάμενον ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς (Müller, p. 141, col. 2). Possibly we might read ܘܡܫܠܡܬܐ ܚܕ............ ܡܬܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ [4] D ܐܪܕܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ
[5] AE ܐܡܪ [6] D ܬܬܩܠܒܘܗ [7] The Syriac words mean "because this dove gives counsel to this god." Probably the phrase was originally otherwise translated, for the corresponding Greek is παῦσαι, βασιλεῦ· ἱερὸν γάρ ἐστιν (Müller, p. 142, col. 1).

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ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܘܠܗܠ[1] ܐܙܠܢ ܢܦܩܢ ܠܥܒܪܝܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ[2]
ܘܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܪ̈ܝܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܡܕܒܚܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܬܩܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܗܘ̈ܝ ܡܕܒܚܬܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܗܢܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܣܓܕܝܢ ܕܗܘ̈ܝ ܡܕܒܚܬܐ
ܠܗܕܡ ܡܬܒܠܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܗܘܝ ܡܕܒܚܬܐ[3] ܡܪܓܪܓܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܬ.
ܕܗܘܝ ܡܪܓܪܓܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ ܗܫܝܐ ܘܡܪܓܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܩܢܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܘܡܘܡܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܢܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܗܘ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܥܡܡܐ
ܕܪ̈ܝܢ[4]. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܦܩܢܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ[5] ܚܕ ܐܝܡܡ. ܘܥܒܪܢ ܢܗܪܐ
ܕܪܟܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܬ. ܗܟܢ ܦܬܝܐ ܢܗܪܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܠܡܢܗܪܘ. ܘܢܗܪ ܣܠܩܢ ܠܦܘܩܠܘ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܛܢܐܝܣ[6].
ܘܠܛܢܐܝܣ[7] ܢܗܪܐ ܡܬܩܢܐ[8]. ܕܥܒܪ ܐܣܝܐ ܘܐܘܪܘܦܐ ܦܠܓ[9].
ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܕܟܘܪܘܫ ܘܟܫܝܪܫ[10] ܡܠܟܐ

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[1] AE omit from ܐܙܠܢ ܠܗ to ܘܠܗܠ. It is sufficient to strike out the second ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܘܠܗܠ [2] B ܬܪܝܢ, D ܬܪ̈ܝ

[3] Read ܗܘ ܡܕܒܚܐ, for a clause has fallen out corresponding to the Greek *ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ταύτης ἦν βωμὸς χρυσίῳ καὶ σμαράγδῳ ᾠκοδομημένος, ἔχων ἀναβαθμοὺς ἑπτά* (Müller, p. 141, col. 1, line 11).

[4] D ܕܪܝܢ [5] ABCE ܝܘܡܐ [6] D ܠܛܢܐܝܣ [7] Τάναϊς (Müller, p. 141, col. 1, note 13). [8] In D there is a red mark v after this word, which refers to the marginal note ܠܗܪܐ ܛܢܐܝܣ ܠܗ [9] D ܘܐܘܪܘܦܐ. Read ܕܦܠܓ ܐܣܝܐ ܘܐܘܪܘܦܐ ܦܠܓ, corresponding to the Greek *ὃς παραρρεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην*, and the Latin *Asiam fertur Europamque discernere* (Müller, p. 141, col. 2). [10] In the Greek *εἰς τὰ Κύρου βασίλεια καὶ Ξέρξου* (Müller, p. 141, col. 2, note 13). Read ܕܟܘܪܘܫ ܘܟܫܝܪܫ

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ܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܝ̈ܢ ܕܡܬܩܪ̈ܝܢ[1] ܡܢ ܐܡܙܘܢܝܣ. ܘܠܫܩ̈ܦܐ ܐܘܟܡ̈ܬܐ
ܠܚܒܪ̈ܐ ܗܘܝ̈. ܘܪܡܝܢ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܬܢ ܡܫܦܪ̈ܢ ܗܘܝ̈. ܘܙܝܢܗ[2]
ܡܙ̈ܢܝ ܘܣܘܣܘܬܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܪܙܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܗܘܝ̈. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗܝܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ
ܕܒܗ ܢܚܫ̈ܐ ܗܘܝ̈. ܦܪܙܠܐ ܘܣܐܡܐ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܗܘܢ ܒܥܘܕܐ
ܡܢ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܢܚܫ̈ܐ ܗܘܝ̈. ܘܟܕ ܠܣܦܪܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܡܬܩܪܒܢ.
ܡܬܩܪ̈ܒܢ ܠܐ ܢܟܣܝܢ ܕܢܥܒܪ ܠܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܡܐ
ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܘܒܚܦܝܐ ܗܟܢ ܪܒ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܥܒܪܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܥܒܪܐ
ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ[3] ܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܠܝܢ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ
ܕܝܡܐ ܢܚܬܝ̈ܢ ܗܘܝ̈. ܘܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܚܫ̈ܚܢ ܗܘܝ̈.
ܘܣܡ ܠܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܠܐ ܢܟܣܝܢ ܀

XVIII ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܦܩܢ ܘܐܬܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܡܕܝ ܕܫܡܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ.
ܘܐܬܝܢ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܥܘܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܒܘܐ ܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܡܕܝ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܠܦܘܣܝܕܘܢ[4] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܫܡܗ
ܗܘܠܢܐ ܕܒܩܘܕܫܐ ܡܥܕܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܢܫܝܢܐ ܣܓܝ̈.
ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܐܙܠܢ[5]. ܕܡܢ ܡܫܘܫܢ ܘܡܬܟܬܫܢ ܐܢܫܐ
ܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܘܠܗܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] ABCE omit ܕܡܬܩܪ̈ܝܢ. The Greek text has: Ἀμαζόνες γυναῖκες τῷ μεγέθει ὑπερέχουσαι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέρων γυναικῶν [καὶ] κάλλει καὶ εὐρωστίαις (Müller, p. 140, col. 1). [2] So the MSS.

[3] Read ܕܒܪ̈ܐ, θηρία πολλά (Müller, p. 140, col. 2). [4] Ποσειδῶν.

[5] D ܐܘܠܡ

ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪܟܢ. ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܠܒܒܠ
ܐܬܐ. ܡܫܘܚܬ ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܘܕܥܘܗܝ. ܐܝܬ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܐܣܛܘܡܟܣ[1] ܕܥܠ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܒܗܕ ܕܝܢܗ ܕܐܚܘܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܫܬܕܪܗ ܠܡܠܘܟ. ܘܒܐܝܕܝܗ ܘܫܡܥܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗ. ܘܐܬܢܛܪܬ ܗܕܐ ܫܘܚܐ ܚܕ
ܕܝܘܡܐ ܚܕ ܕܝܘܪܚܐ. ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܘܪܚܗ ܗܕܐܘܡܬܐ ܐܬܩܢܬ.
ܘܦܩܕܗ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܬܢܬ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܡܠܟܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ
ܐܘ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ. ܗܟܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܠܐܕܡܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܕܝܘܡܐ
ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[2] ܠܡܕܝܢܬ. ܘܥܡ ܫܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ̇ܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ
ܗܘ̇ܐ. ܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[3] ܕܕܝܘܡܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܢܛܝܠܘܣ
ܘܦܠܝܓ[4] ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܒܗܘܢ
ܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܬ. ܕܝܣܛܘܡܟܣ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܠܐ
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ ܩܕܝܡ. ܘܡܢ
ܗܦܟ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܒܗܝ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܚܕ
ܕܟܠ ܒܟܢܫܬܐ ܥܡܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܬ. ܘܒܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܢܘܗܝ[5] ܝܗܒ
ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܣܛܘܡܟܐ[6] ܐܣܛܘܡܟܘܣ. ܘܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܒܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ

[1] ABCE ܐܣܛܘܡܟܣ [2] D points the word ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
[3] D ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [4] D ܐܢܛܝܠܘܣ ܘܦܠܝܓ [5] D omits ܒܢܘܗܝ
[6] D ܒܐܣܛܘܡܟ

ܠܩܘܒܠܗ ܕܦܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܥܡ ܦܝ̈ܠܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܘܩܡ ܢܚܬ.
ܘܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܗܘ ܕܦܘܪܐ ܦܩܕ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܥܡܗ ܢܦܫܗ[1]
ܫܡܥܘܗܝ. ܘܥܡ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܦ̈ܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܚܝܠܐ.
ܦܩܕ ܕܠܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܗ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܩܪܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܟܢ
ܢܦܩ ܠܘܬ ܦܘܪܐ ܠܡܩܪܒܘ. ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܬܡܠܟ. ܡܢ ܐܬܡܠܟ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܥܠܡܐ. ܢܦܩܘ ܕܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ. ܘܦܘܠܚܢܐ
ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܕܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܡܐ
ܕܗ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܥܡܗ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܡܬܒܕܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ[2] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢܗ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܘܫܘܒܚܐ
ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܦܩܕܘ
ܐܢܘܢ[3] ܒܝܕ̈ܥܐ ܘܒܝܘ̈ܡܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܟܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܠܝ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܦܩܕܘܗܝ ܀
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[4] ܒܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܗܘ
ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܦܩܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܒܕ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒܕ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ
ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܥܠܡܐ. ܗܘ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܦܝ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܢܗ ܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ

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[1] ABCE ܢܦܫܗ [2] D omits ܡܠܟ̈ܐ [3] ABCE omit ܐܢܘܢ
[4] D ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ ܘܟܠ ܢܬܟܬܫܘܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܩܢܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܕܠܝ ܒܡܕܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ[1]. ܗܘܝ ܚܠܝܡ ܀

XVII ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܛܝܒ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܘܠܐܓܪܬܐ[2] ܕܐܫܬܕܪܬ ܩܪܐ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܚܝܠܘܬܗ. ܕܡܢ ܐܬܛܝܒܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܥܠܝܢ ܘܕܪܕܥܐ ܐܬܡܥܒܢ. ܘܦܪܟܝܠܐ ܕܒܢܬܐ ܘܐܘܟܠܐ ܕܒܒܠܐ[3] ܐܬܝܒܠܘ. ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܡܠܟ. ܫܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܚܠܝܡ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܬ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܣܪ ܕܢܣܡܟܝܗ ܒܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܦܠܓܗܐ ܘܦܪܣܝܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܢܚܫܝܪܐ ܗܘ[4] ܗܘܘ. ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ[5] ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܦܪܝܩܝ ܐܦܠܗ. ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܛܐ[6] ܠܡܠܟܐ[7]. ܘܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܫܡܥ. ܐܝܬܝ ܥܠܝܗ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܪܣܛܘ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܫܡܥ. ܠܗܘ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܥܠܝܢ[8] ܢܝܚܐ[9] ܐܬܛܝܒܘ[10]. ܗܟܝܠ ܫܕܪ ܕܒܗܘ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܢܟܬܘܒ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܘܒܟܐ. ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܢ ܢܦܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ. ܠܡܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ. ܐܘܕܥܢܝ ܠܝ ܩܕܡ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܘܡܫܬܒܩ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܡܝ. ܘܡܕܡܪܢܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܪܝ ܐܢܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܚܒܠܘ. ܘܡܢ

[1] CD ܢܫܒܘܩ. Read ܢܫܒܘܩ [2] ABCE ܕܠܐܓܪܬܐ

[3] D omits ܕܒܒܠܐ [4] BC omit ܗܘ [5] D omits ܕܦܪܣܝܐ

[6] BC omit ܡܛܐ [7] D ܠܡܠܟܐ [8] Read ܕܥܠܝܢ [9] B omits ܢܝܚܐ

[10] D ܐܬܛܝܒ

ܘܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܐ ܢܬܩܪܒܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܓܒܪܐ
ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܒܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܐܣܪܘܢ ܘܢܬܚܒܠܘܢ. ܘܢܦܩ
ܐܢܐ ܒܥܩܒܗ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܒܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܨܘܪܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ[1]. ܘܐܦ
ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ
ܠܐ ܢܚܙܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܝ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢܝܢܬܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܢܬܬܚܕܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܫ ܐܢܐ[2]. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܗܟܢܐ
ܕܢܬܬܚܕܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܥܡܡܝܢ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠ
ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܒܐ ܣܓܝܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܩܕܬ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ. ܡܛܠܗܢܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗܘܢ ܫܡܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܢܘܪܝܢ ܀
ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘܢܝ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܗܟܢ. ܘܫܡܥܘܢܝ ܐܫܬܒܚܘܢ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܬ. ܕܡܢ[3] ܩܕܡ
ܐܬܦܪܩܘ ܘܐܡܪ ܣܓܝ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܠܝ ܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܦܠܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܐ. ܘܗܫܐ ܕܢܬܚܡܠ[4] ܠܝ.
ܢܦܫܐ ܚܕܐ ܢܬܩܘܡ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܪܘܡ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܢܬܩܘܡ ܒܝܘܡܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܢܬܡܠܟ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܟܠܗ
ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܫܡܥܬ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܟܠܗ ܐܦܕܢܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܥܘܢܝ
ܢܦܩܐ ܠܝ. ܘܡܢܟܐ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܠܝ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ[5].
ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܟܠ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܢܐ ܘܟܠ

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[1] D ܒܫܘܦܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ   [2] B omits ܐܢܐ   [3] D ܡܢ
[4] D ܕܢܬܚܡܠ   [5] D ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ

ܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ. ܚܠܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠ̈ܦܐ
ܕܣܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܕܢܩܫܝܢ ܦܪܘܩܛܝܢ ܘܡܢ ܡܘܕܝܢ.
ܡܦܩܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܓܪܗܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܦܘܠܛܐ ܡܢܗܘܢܐ
ܕܡܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܥܠܐ ܡܘܕܝܢ ܘܢܚܬܐ ܦܪܘܣܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܗܘܢ
ܒܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ ܒܣܦܝܢ[1] ܡܫܬܪܝܢ. ܘܣܡ ܒܡܘܪܫܢܘܬܐ
ܠܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܣܝܢ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܚܕܘܬܐ ܠܐ
ܢܚܪܒ. ܐܦ ܢܣܒܘܗܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܘ.
ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܫܬܒܩ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ. ܒܕܡ ܐܦ ܠܝ ܡܬܠܒܝܢ ܗܘܝܬ.
ܡܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢ ܬܦܬܚ ܠܝ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܘܣܡ ܡܢ ܥܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܡܕܡ
ܠܝ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܠܝ. ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ
ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܠܝ ܦܘܬ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܒܟܠ ܚܕ
ܒܩܪܒܬܟܘܢ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܘܡܟܬܒܝܢ[2] ⁘

XVI ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܠܟܘ.
ܘܦܩܕ[3] ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܦܢܝܬ[4] ܠܟܠܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܢܐ ⁘ ܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܩܘܒܠܗ ܥܠܡ. ܫܠܡ ܠܟܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ
ܕܦܩܕܬܢܐ ܢܒܝܝܢ ܡܫܬܕܪܝܢ. ܘܦܩܘܕ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܢܛܪܝܢ. ܗܘܝܢܐ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ. ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܢ
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܬܒܬܠܘܢ ܘܡܬܟܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܗ ܒܡܬܕܪܝܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ.
ܦܬܓܡ ܥܠ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ. ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܠܝܬܐ

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[1] AE omit ܒܣܦܝܢ [2] ABCE ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܘܡܟܬܒܝܢ; E omits ܕܐܬܝܐ. Read ܕܐܬܝܐ ܗܘܐ [3] BD ܦܩܕ, without ܘ

[4] AE omit ܦܢܝܬ

ܒܗܦܠܐ ܢܗܡ[1]. ܘܢܗܡܘܢ ܘܗܡܝܐ ܒܬܘܗܝ[2]. ܘܠܒܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܗ. ܘܒܥܒܪܐ ܙܒܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܪܝܢ ܒܗܘ ܓܒܐ
ܕܝܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܢ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܡܢ ܪܚܩܐ ܩܛܝܠܝܢ. ܘܒܓܘܢܐ ܠܘܩܘܣ[3]
ܘܦܝܠܘܣܘܣ[4] ܐܚܪܢܝܢ. ܒܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܓܒܗ ܕܝܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ.
ܘܫܠܚܢ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܚܕ ܠܒܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܢ[5]. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܬܪܝܢ
ܠܡܪܘܡܐ ܚܕ ܠܒܪܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܡܢܐ ܕܒܗܬܐ ܚܕܝܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܕ
ܕܦܩܘܕ ܡܫܡܫܐ. ܘܐܦ ܝܡܡܐ ܫܠܝܐ. ܚܕ ܚܕ ܒܗܘ ܓܒܗ
ܕܝܡܐ ܫܪܝ ܡܬܬܢܝܢܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܠܗ[6]. ܘܗܟܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܪ ܙܒܢܝܢ
ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܗ[6]. ܘܐܦ ܐܚܪ ܡܢ ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܡܘܢܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ[7] ܠܝ ܥܒܪܐ ܠܡܝܥܒܪ ܒܝܡܗܘܢ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܒܬܘܗܝ
ܒܒܘܫܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܠܚܘܕܪܐ ܐܬܟܠܝ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܒܪܐ ܒܡܥܒܪܬܐ
ܘܦܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܡܘܙܝܪܘܗܝ. ܢܦܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܩܠܝܠ. ܘܡܢ ܚܕ
ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܩܕܢܝܢ. ܐܦ ܠܒܪ ܘܝܠܕ ܡܢܗ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܠܒܪܝܢ
ܠܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܫܒܩܝܢ. ܘܦܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ. ܐܦ ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ
ܢܦܫܢ ܘܡܦܝܣܝܢ ܘܡܚܝܢ ܠܡܪܢܘܗܝ. ܘܡܫܝܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܚܕܝܢ
ܡܬܥܒܕܝܢ. ܘܝܘܡܐ ܡܢ ܢܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܥܒܪܬܐ ܕܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ[8]

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[1] BCD ܒܗܦܘܠܐ ܢܗܡ [2] BD add ܐܢܫܝܢ; C omits the words ܘܢܗܡܘܢ ܘܗܡܝܐ ܒܬܘܗܝ [3] B ܠܘܩܘܣ; D ܠܘܩܘܣ

[4] BC ܘܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܣ, which is glossed in B by ܚܟܝܡܐ (as if it were σοφιστής). But read ܘܣܘܦܝܣܛܘܣ (see Müller, p. 136, col. 2).

[5] AE omit from ܘܫܠܚܢ to ܐܚܪܢܝܢ [6] AE ܠܗ [7] C omits ܘ

[8] AE omit ܐܚܪܢܐ

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ܐܪܣܛܘܣ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܪܣܛܘܣ ܫܠܡ. ܐܝܟ ܫܦܝܪܘܬܟ
ܒܗܘ ܣܕܪܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܐܘܕܥܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܟ. ܐܦ ܗܫܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ. ܘܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܨܚܬ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܨܚܬ.
ܠܟܠܗ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܢܨܚܬ. ܘܫܩܠܬ ܟܕ ܡܬܒܪܐ[1] ܘܡܩܒܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܣܒܬ. ܘܒܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܪܦܝܬ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܫܠܛܬ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܠܬܡܢ ܦܢܝܬ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܕܬ
ܠܡܬܘܡ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܡܫܒܩ ܐܬܝܢ[2] ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ.
ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܦܫܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܐܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܕܥ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦܫܪ
ܐܝܬ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܢܘܗ. ܐܦ ܠܟܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܗ ܫܡܥܢܐ ܗܘܐ
ܣܓܝ. ܦܢܝܬ ܠܦܠܓܐ ܡܕܢܚܝܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܝܬ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܪܣܛܘܣ ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܠܡ. ܠܝ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܬܟܝܢ
ܕܐܘܪܚܐ. ܕܫܪܝܬ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܠܟܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ. ܕܝܠܝ ܟܕ
ܠܐܪܥܐ ܚܕܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܗܕܐ[3]
ܐܪܥܐ ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ[4] ܠܝ ܚܠܘ ܬܒܘܗܝ ܘܕܐܬܪܐ. ܕܒܝܫܐ[5] ܘܒܢ
ܢܝܫܐ. ܚܝܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܚܝܝ ܣܓܝ. ܐܠܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ
ܡܢ ܠܒܪܐ ܢܗܪܐ. ܐܡܙܘܢܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܒܢܬܐ ܡܘܣܘܣܘܣ[6]
ܢܗܪܐ. ܘܚܕܪܗ ܠܗ[7] ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܐ ܒܪܒ.
ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܗ ܣܓܝ ܗܘ. ܘܣܝܡ ܕܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܡܙܘܢܝܐ ܒܫܡܐ

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1 Read ܒܬܘܠܬܐ   2 BC ܐܬܝܢ   3 ABCE ܗܕܐ

4 D more correctly ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ   5 Read ܘܒܢܝܫܐ ܘܕܐܬܪ̈ܐ ?

6 Ἔσωθεν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀμαζονικοῦ ποταμοῦ (Müller, p. 136, col. 2). D ܡܘܣܘܣܘܣ   7 D ܠܗ

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ܐܢܐ. ܐܦ ܗܕܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܘܫܒܝ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܣܣܘܢܟܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢܘ ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܟ ܒܚܙܘܐ ܕܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܢܗܝܪ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܘ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܢܘ ܗܢܐ ܦܘܩ ܥܬܝܐ ܫܢܝܐ ܐܢܐ. ܣܣܘܢܟܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܓܒܪ ܗܘ[1] ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܪ ܡܬܘܬܗ ܡܘܢܐ ܡܛܠܗ. ܡܟܝܠ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܬܗ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܫܘܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܢܦܠ. ܗܘ ܫܟܝܒ ܕܡܝܬ ܒܫܘܬܗ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܦ ܡܬܬܢܘܬܐ ܦܫܝܩ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܬܒܠܠ. ܐܝ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܘܐܝ ܒܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ. ܠܗ ܢܬܠ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܬܘܢ[2] ܘܫܡ ܕܠܠܥܠܡ[3] ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܕܦܘܡܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ[4] ܀

XV ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܟܠܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ. ܕܐܬܪܘܗܝ ܐܘܠ. ܘܒܗ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܗܘ ܣܓܕܘܗܝ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܝܬܐ ܫܡܗ[5] ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܠܟܘܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ[6] ܠܡܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܬܒܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܗܒ. ܘܡܛܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ. ܕܦܪܣ ܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܬܚܕܬ. ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܡܛܐ. ܦܠܓܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܫܒܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܟܠܗ

[1] D ܓܒܪܗ [2] D ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܟ [3] E ܕܠܥܠܡܐ [4] D ܬܗܘܢܐ

[5] AE ܫܡܗ. In B the ܘ is scored out, and D has ܫܡܗܘ. But the Greek has ἔστεψαν αὐτόν (Müller, p. 136, col. 1).

[6] Read ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ

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XIV ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ
ܕܦܘܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܕܝܢ ܒܕܘܒܪܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܕܝܘܡ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܢܫ. ܘܟܕ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܗܘ
ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܚܘܪܐ[1]. ܘܟܕ ܠܘܬ ܡܥܪ̈ܬܐ ܦܝܠܘܣ̈ܝ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ
ܢܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܘܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܐ ܘܩܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܡܝܪ. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܩܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܩܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠܝܐ
ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܚܙܐ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ
ܦܓܪܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܩܕܡ ܗܘ ܠܟܘܟܒܐ ܢܗܘܪܢܝܐ.
ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܫܠܡܐ ܠܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܬܕܥ ܐܢܬ
ܠܟ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܠܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣܝܣ[2] ܢܣܒܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܡܠܟܬ ܗܘܝܬ
ܥܡ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܛܪ. ܘܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ[3] ܡܘܬܐ ܐܢܐ. ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܛܝܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܐܝܟܘܬܟ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܡܪܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܕܐܢܐ[4] ܠܐܡܪܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܟ. ܘܐܦ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5] ܕܟܝܐ ܕܢܬܒܢܐ. ܫܡܥܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܢܬܢܚܡܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܠܟܠ ܘܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܠܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܩܝ ܠܟܠ ܐܬܠܟܘܢ. ܚܙܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܢܘܪܢܐ
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܝܐ ܗܕܘܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܬܒܪ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܪܝ ܒܥܐ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܦܩܘܕܘܗܝ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ

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[1] D ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ ܢܡܘܣ̈ܐ [2] Σεσόγχοσις (Müller, p. 135, col. 2).
[3] D ܠܐ [4] D ܐܢܐ [5] D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ (sic) ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܟܪܘܙܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܫܡܥ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܘܠ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ[1]
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܬܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܗ.
ܕܒܣܘܪܒܐ ܕܘܪܒܐ ܘܡܬܟܠܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܐܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܐܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ[2] ܕܫܠܡܬ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܠܡܪܟܐ. ܘܗܫܐ ܠܗܢ
ܐܢܐ. ܕܠܟܠܟܘܢ ܢܣܓܕܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܕܦܘܡ[3] ܡܬܟܬܒܘܢ.
ܘܗܫܐ[4] ܩܕܐܬܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢܗ[5] ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܘܡܢ[6]
ܕܡܠܟܗ ܣܘܕܪܐ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[7] ܢܬܟܬܒ. ܗܢܘܢ ܫܒܝܩܝܢ
ܡܢ ܟܬܒܗ ܘܡܦܩܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܐܬܟܬܒܘ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܘܩ ܡܢ ܐܦ
ܐܢܬ ܕܐܢ ܗܘܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܘܡܦܩܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܠܝ
ܡܘܡܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ. ܘܡܢ[8] ܟܕ ܫܡܥ
ܫܒܘܩܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܬܒܐ ܘܩܪܝܗ ܠܗ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܚܕ
ܕܕܗܒܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܟܠܡܪܓܢܐ[9]. ܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ
ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܟܬܝܒܐ ܘܡܣܬܝܡܢܐ ܘܚܦܝܩܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܟܠܡܝܢ[10]
ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܚܕ ܕܡܢܗ ܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܕܗܒܐ. ܘܦܩܕܐ
ܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܟܬܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܀

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[1] BC omit ܘܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ   [2] D ܠܥܠܡܐ   [3] ABCE omit ܕܦܘܡ

[4] D omits ܘܗܫܐ   [5] AE omit ܡܢܗ   [6] D ܡܢ

[7] D ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܣܘܕܪܐ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ   [8] D ܡܢ   [9] The Greek is *στέφανον ἀδαμάντινον πολύτιμον* (Müller, p. 134, col. 2), which, however, casts no light on the meaning of ܟܠܡܪܓܢܐ. D has ܟܠܐ ܡܪܓܢܐ (*sic*).   [10] Better ܟܠܡܝܢ

ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܕܒܪܬܘܢ. ܫܪܐܛܘܪ
ܐܡܪ. ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܕܒܪܬܘܢ. ܠܝ ܥܡ ܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ
ܫܕ̈ܪܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܝ. ܢܬܕܒܪܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܐ ܒܗܕܐ[1] ܠܐ ܛܥܐ ܐܢܐ.
ܐܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܕܪܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ. ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܬܕܒܪ ܐܢܐ. ܘܢܬܕܒܪܘܢ
ܥܠ ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܡܬܘܬܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܘܡܬܕܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܟܝܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܢܦܠܬܐ ܒܝܬܗ ܥܡ ܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ[2] ܢܬܕܒܪܘܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܫܕܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܦܠܬ ܘܕܟ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܘܐܬܒܥܝ ܦܘܪܣܝܐ
ܘܡܬܩܒܠܘܢ ܥܡܗ ܟܢܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܦܘܪܣܝܐ[3] ܡܢܗ
ܠܡܫܬܡܥܘ. ܕܡܛܠܬܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ[4] ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ[5].
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܕܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܫܡܥܘ[6] ܫܪܐܛܘܪ ܐܦ
ܢܬܕܒܪܘܢ. ܐܝ ܠܟ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܐ. ܠܐ ܢܫܬܡܥܘܢ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܛܠܬܗ ܡܬܬܚܝܒ. ܘܐܦ ܥܠܝܟ ܦܩܘܕܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܠܟܢܫܐ ܟܠܗ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ[7] ܐܦܠܐ ܒܫܕܪܐ ܘܐܦ ܠܡܫܬܡܠܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܟ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܐ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ
ܕܐܣܘܪ ܗܘܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝ ܬܚܘܬ ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܝܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܢܬܠܡܕܘ. ܐܢܐ ܡܢܝ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ
ܗܕܐ ܠܡܫܬܡܥ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟܘ ܗܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܟ ܕܡܢܐ ܬܬܒܥܘܢ
ܠܟ. ܘܡܢܐ ܫܘܩܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܬܒܥܘܢ ܠܟ. ܕܢܦܩܬ ܘܐܠܗ

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[1] AC ܗܕܐ [2] ABCE ܣܓ ܥܡ ܣܓ [3] C omits ܦܘܪܣܝܐ
[4] D ܣܓ ܥܡ ܣܓ [5] D ܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ [6] D ܫܡܥܘ
[7] D ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܐܦܠܐ

ܥܡܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܘܣ. ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܒܪܒܪܝܐ ܗܟܝܠ
ܐܝ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܠܝܚ ܠܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬ
ܠܟܦܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕ̈ܝܐ ܡܫܠܚܗ. ܡܛܠ[1] ܕܦܠܛܬ ܣܓܝ ܒܪܬܗ
ܕܟܦܪ ܠܡܣܒ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܬܗܘܐ ܥܡܝ ܐܢܛܝܓܘ̈ܢܐ.
ܘܗܫܐ ܐܚܘܟ ܡܠܟܐ[2] ܐܢܐ ܀

XIII ܘܡܢ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܪܬܗܘܢ ܠܒܪ
ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܒܪܗ ܘܠܟܠܬܗ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܒܢܝ
ܚܒܝܒ̈ܝ ܗܘܘ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ ܕܝܠܝ ܡܟܣܘܦܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܚܒܪܘܬܐ
ܕܐܒܘܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕܘܢ. ܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܝ ܘܠܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܫܘܡ ܗܘܐ ܣܓܝܐ. ܗܫܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܗܫܐ ܐܣܘܠܢܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܦܪܥܝܢ ܡܚܒܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܕܡܘܬܗ[3] ܒܪܗ ܩܢܕܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܡܪ: ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܢܝ ܘܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܦܨܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܝܠܝ ܦܩܕܝ. ܕܠܟܦܪ
ܠܗ ܐܒܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܛܠܗ. ܘܗܫܐ ܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ[4] ܕܠܗܘܐ
ܐܣܘܠܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܐܒܝ ܦܘܠܘܛܐ. ܚܒܝܒܬܐ
ܐܡܪܬ. ܒܢܝ. ܘܠܝ ܗܢܐ ܡܬܥܒܕܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܒܗܕܐ. ܕܟܕ[5] ܗܫܐ
ܐܣܘܠܢܐ ܗܪܟܐ ܬܬܦܠܛ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܕ ܗܫܐ ܐܣܘܠܢܐ ܗܪܟܐ
ܦܘܠܘܛܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܟܝܠ[6]. ܚܒܝܒܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ. ܒܠܐ
ܫܒܩ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܡܘܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܘܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܦܠܛܬ. ܘܙܒܢ

[1] E omits from ܕܐܝܬ to ܡܛܠ   [2] C ܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܐ

[3] In the Latin translation *Charogos* (Müller, p. 133, col. 2).

[4] A ܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ   [5] Omit ܟܕ ?   [6] D ܡܬܬܟܝܠܢ

ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܚܙܝ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܪ̈ܟܒܐ. ܡܫܡܫܢ ܙܝܢܬܐ
ܕܦܪ̈ܫܐ. ܘܒܝܣܘܬܐ¹ ܕܦܪ̈ܫܘܬܐ ܢܨܚܢ. ܗܟܢ ܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܘܕܠܐ
ܠܡܕܝ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܘܪ̈ܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܦܠܬ. ܒܪܡ² ܗܟܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܐܪܥܬܗ ܠܡܬܢܚܡܘ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܠܗ
ܢܚܘܬܐ ܘܫܩܠܛܘܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܠܒܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ
ܫܡܥܗ ܗܟܢ ܕܢܐ. ܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ³ ܥܡܗ. ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ. ܘܝܗܒܘܗܝ⁴
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܢܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܢܫܬܝ
ܐܢܐ. ܘܟܠ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܐ
ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܝܢ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܝܠܝ ܐܢܐ. ܟܠܗ ܕܫܘܟܢܐ
ܠܗ ܠܝ. ܢܘܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܝ ܠܗ. ܫܡܥ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܟܢܐ ܚܟܝܡ.
ܡܢܐ ܫܒܩ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܘ ܫܘܟܢܐ
ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ⁵: ܠܟ ܡܢܟ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܟܠܡܐ ܠܐ⁶
ܝܕܥܝܢ⁷. ܐܘ ܠܫܘܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܠܟ ܗܘܝܐ. ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܕܝܬܒܝܢ
ܠܫܘܡܐ ܠܡܬܚܫܚܘܬܐ ܢܟܠܝܗ. ܢܘܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ⁸. ܐܦ
ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܢܬܟܫܦ ܘܢܬܒܥܐ ܐܡܪܬܗ. ܟܠܐ ܗܟܢ ܢܟܝܢ
ܠܐ ܬܠܝܢ. ܡܟܝܢܝܢ ܘܕܝܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ
ܠܒܪܐ ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܝܫܐ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ.
ܗܟܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ

¹ Read ܘܕܝ̈ܣܘܬܐ ? ² Read ܕܒܪ, or ܘܒܪ ³ A omits ܡܢ
⁴ D ܘܡܝܬܘܗܝ ⁵ A omits ܫܘܟܢܐ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ⁶ B omits ܠܐ
⁷ ABCE ܒܗܘܢ ⁸ A omits ܠܗ

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ܕܡܕ̈ܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܝ ܠܗܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܗܘܬ. ܒܗ ܫܪܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܘܒܗ ܫܠܡܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܗܟܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ
ܡܠܟܝܢ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܥܡ̈ܡܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܝ. ܟܕ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܩܕܡ ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܗ̈ܘܝ.
ܗ̇ܕܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܫܒܝܩܝ. ܕܡܘܕ̈ܥܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ.
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܓܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ[1] ܠܥܡܐ ܕܒܪܘܡܝܐ[2] ܘܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܝܘܢ ܘܬܡ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܒܪܘܡܝܘܬܐ
ܚܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܬܪܝܢܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܟܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܫܡܗ ܩܪܝܗ ܐܬܬܘܬܒ.
ܘܫܕܪܗ ܠܦܬܘܪܗ ܐܦܝܣ. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܫܐܠ ܡܢܐ
ܗܘܐ ܫܕܪܟ ܠܦܬܘܪܝ ܐܦܝܣܟ. ܟܠ ܕܥܡܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܩܪܝܒܟ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܪܝ[3] ܠܐ ܢܬܒܗܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܡܟ.
ܠܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ[4] ܐܝܟܘܬܟ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܠܟ ܢܥܒܕ.
ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܢܩܝܦܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5] ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟܘܬܝ.
ܘܢܦܩܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܚܙܬܗ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܘܡܬܚܐ ܒܟܝܢܗ ܚܣܝܪܐ ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܚܣܝܪܐ ܢܝܚܘܬܗ.
ܡܬܒܪܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܚܘܝ ܠܝ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܘܬܐ
ܦܪܘܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܒܪܬܐ. ܗܟܝܢ ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܒܪܬܐ
ܕܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܝܗܒ. ܫܪܝܬܗ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ. ܘܒܪܝ ܫܘܬܐܣ ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܘ.
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟ

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[1] BC ܕܡܫܟܢ [2] Read ܒܪܘܡܝܐ, without ܕ ? [3] D ܐܡܪܝ
[4] D omits ܡܠܟܐ [5] E ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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ܚܠܒܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܟܠ ܕܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܬܗܪ
ܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܦܟܗܘܢ ܒܫܢܐ ܠܡܬܕܪܫܘ ܢܦܝܫ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ
ܕܡܢܘܬ ܩܛܠܐ ܡܚܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܡܢ ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܩܛܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܡܠܒܪ̈ܒܐ ܒܦܩܘܬܗܘܢ[1] ܢܣܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܣܓܝ ܡܠܗ ܒܗܢܐ
ܢܟܠܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܡܥܬ ܢܨܚܢܐ
ܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܬܛܠܠܐ ܕܦܝ̈ܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܚܣܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܗ
ܢܦܫ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܘܪܕܘܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܗܦܟ ܢܚܝܢ[2] ܗܘܘ. ܘܕܡܘܬ[3]
ܢܡܪܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܣܓܕܘܗܝ. ܕܡܢ ܡܚܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܒܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘ ܡܠܗ
ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܕܒܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܗܦܟܗ.
ܘܕܘܡܪܐ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܢܦܪܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܦܝܗ ܥܒܘܬܐ ܒܝܐ
ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܘܡܦܪܕܝܢ ܝܗܠܘܢ ܠܗ. ܕܠܝ ܕܠܪܥܘܬܐ
ܒܕܡܬܐ ܕܒܠܗ ܫܥܝܢ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܣܪܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܒܒܝܬܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܬ. ܘܠܦܝܠܦܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܠܗ. ܘܗܘ
ܦܝܠܦܢܐ[4] ܡܠܗ ܡܢ ܓܘܫܐ ܕܟܒܫܐ ܕܡܢܘܬ ܥܡܝܐ ܒܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܗܘܝ ܬܗܪ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܗ ܕܒܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܬܚܐ ܕܐܬܛܠܠܐ ܦܘܡܐ
ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܬܦܬܚܝܢ ܐܦܝܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܦܘܡܐ ܠܐ
ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܦܠ ܒܗ. ܐܦܠܐ ܒܥܘܕܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܡܬܚܪܩܘܗܝ ܕܒܗܘ
ܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܪܒܐ ܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܦܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܦܠܚ
ܢܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܫܬܦܘܗܝ ܒܐܪܒܥܝܗܘܢ ܘܩܛܠܘܗ ܠܦܝ̈ܠܐ

[1] ταῖς προβοσκίσιν (Müller, p. 131, col. 2). [2] ABE ܡܢܝܢ, D ܢܒܝܢ (*sic*). [3] D ܘܕܡܘܬܐ [4] D omits ܦܝܠܦܢܐ

ܒܕܡܘܬ ܕܡܦܩܢܐ ܘܡܚܘܘܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܕܐܦܝܩܘܣ ܫܠܡܗ ܐܟܘܬܗ
ܕܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܢܨܝܚܐ ܢܘܟܕܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܠܡܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܠܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܟܠ ܣܚܘܦܝܐ ܕܐܦܛܘܦܘܗ.
ܘܟܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܡ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ. ܐܡܪܗ ܘܢܣܒܘܗܝ ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܟܬܒܘܬ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܐܝܬܘ ܠܗ ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܀

XII ܘܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܢܣܪܐ ܢܒܥܬܐ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐܒܝܗ.
ܘܒܝܬܗ ܐܚܝܢ ܙܗܒܐ. ܘܗܡܢܐ ܙܡܪܓܕܐ. ܕܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܣܘܬܗ ܗܒܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܦܐܒܝܬܐ ܙܡܪܗ ܣܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܝܬܐ
ܕܒܗ ܡܟܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܐܝܬܠܝܬܗ ܥܠܘܗ ܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ ܡܚܝܕܐ ܗܘܬ[1].
ܘܥܠܘܗܝ ܙܩܘܦܝܢ ܒܦܪܩܐ ܐܚܝܢܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܡܦܪܢܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ[2].
ܘܡܬܩܢܢ ܕܒܗ ܒܗܘܢ[3] ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܒܡܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܕܗܒܐ ܐܚܝܢ ܘܥܒܕܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܓܘܗ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܠܡܫܬܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܩܛܪ ܦܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ
ܘܟܘܪܣܘܬ[4] ܕܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܩܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܒܢܐ ܐܚܝܢܐ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ.
ܘܐܕܪܝܛܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ[5] ܟܠ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܛܘܪܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܡܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ ܕܐܝܠܦܢܐ ܠܡܫܬܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܕܡܘܬ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܘܠܪܟܒܐ ܒܥܠܝܗܘܢ[6] ܠܐܠܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܢܘܢ

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[1] Read ܥܠܘܗ and ܗܘܐ [2] D ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ [3] D ܕܒܒܗܘܢ

[4] D ܘܟܘܪܣܘܬ [5] "Corinthian" seems to be an error for "innumerable"; ἀνδριάντες δὲ ἦσαν ἀναρίθμητοι χαλκοί (Müller, p. 131, col. 2). [6] D omits ܥܠܝܗܘܢ

ܥܡ[1] ܥܒܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܚܕ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܗܠܟܝܢ. ܠܛܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܝܗܒ. ܕܒܕܘܟܬܗ[2] ܥܘܡܐ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܢܛܘܪܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܢܝܢܐ ܪܡܐ ܘܥܒܝܕܐ ܢܚܬܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܟܝܠ. ܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܢܒܥܘܗܝ ܠܢܒܥܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܚܠܝܢ. ܢܘܗܪܐ ܗܟܢ ܕܫܡܫ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܢܗܪܘܬܐ ܥܒܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܚܠܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܡܫ[3] ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܠܩܘܢܐ[4] ܥܒܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܦܟܘܗܝ ܕܢܒܥܐ ܣܘܡܬܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܥܒܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܠܒܐ. ܘܬܘܩܦܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܪܘܕܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܐ[5] ܕܥܘܠܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܦܟܘܢ ܕܢܘܚܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܢ ܘܩܪܝܢ. ܚܘܪܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܚܕܬܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܕܕܝܩܢ. ܗܟܝܢ ܡܪܕܘܬܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܐܢܬ ܠܟܢܘܫܝܐ. ܗܕܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܟܠ ܗܘ ܘܒܗ ܡܬܕܡܪܐ ܕܠܒܐ. ܘܐܪܥܬܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܐܘ ܡܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܚܝܘܢ[6]. ܒܬܪ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠ ܫܢܝܐ ܐܬܐ. ܡܢ ܕܡܬܦܩܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܦܝܣ ܪܘܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܠܝܢ[7] ܠܝ. ܘܡܢ[8] ܡܪܕܘܬܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܟܘܢ[9] ܚܝܢ ܗܟܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܚܝܠ. ܘܡܢ ܣܓܝ. ܐܡܪܗ ܘܐܢܫܘܗܝ[10] ܠܡܘܟܠ ܐܚܘ. ܘܡܢ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܢ[11] ܠܡܫܩܠܘ. ܣܓܕܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ.

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[1] D ܘܥܡ [2] BD ܘܒܕܘܟܬܗ, E ܘܒܕܘܟܬܐ [3] Read ܫܡ, without ܕ ? [4] ܡܦܠܦܢܐ = ܡܠܦܦܢܐ, μηλοπέπονες.
[5] Read ܕܒܐ, in the Greek ἄρκτοι (Müller, p. 130, col. 1).
[6] ABDE ܡܚܝܘܢ [7] Read ܘܡܬܩܠܝܢ ? [8] D omits ܘܡܢ
[9] D ܘܗܠܟܘ [10] B ܘܢܫܘܗܝ [11] D ܡܪܕܘܬܗ

ܠܟܘܢ. ܕܐܘ ܐܢ̈ܬܘܢ ܦܩܘ ܠܝ. ܐܘ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܟܘܢ ܗܠܟܘ ܒܫܝܢܐ
ܡܬܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܪܝܢ ܗܢܘܢ[1] ܡܢ ܕܫܠܝܛܗܘܢ ܒܝܬܝܐ
ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܗ ܕܗܘ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܐܬܠܗ. ܘܠܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܗܘ ܡܢ
ܡܥܡܕܢܗ ܫܡܥܘ ܘܐܬܦܝܣܘ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܫܬܥܝܘܗ̇. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܫܕܪ. ܘܡܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܘܕܥ. ܘܦܩܕܗ
ܢܐܬܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܝܣ ܠܗ ܠܡܐܬܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܩܪܝܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܘ ܐܚܝ
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܦܠ ܒܟܝܬ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܬ[2] ܠܝ ܕܬܐܬܐ.
ܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܥܬܐ ܒܗܝܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܙܠܝܢ ܡܢ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ
ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܫܐܠܗ. ܕܒܐܝܢܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ
ܠܗܘ ܐܢܫ. ܦܩܕܘܗܝ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܢܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܠܡܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܘܠܐܢܛܝܟܘܣ ܕܝܢ
ܚܙܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܐܬܠܟ. ܘܚܘܠܡܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܛܝܪܘܬܐ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܦܝܢ. ܘܠܗܘ ܐܡܪ
ܡܛܠ ܠܝ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܠܟܐ. ܕܗܘܐ[3] ܠܟܠܢ ܡܢܝ
ܗܘܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪ[4] ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܬܦܪܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܘܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܀

XI ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܘܬ ܚܕܐ ܕܐܝܠܝ ܕܗܘ ܗܘܐ

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[1] D omits ܗܢܘܢ [2] D ܘܐܬܐ [3] ܕ seems to be superfluous. [4] A ܐܡܪܐ, D ܐܡܪ ܠܝ

ܣ̈ܬܠܘܬܐ[1] ܟܕ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܬ[2] ܠܓܒܘܠ. ܐܝܘܒܝܢܐ[3] ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ
ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܘܗܝ. ܕܗܐ
ܐܪ̈ܟܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܕ. ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܟܠܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܡܬܩ̈ܒܠܢܐ[4]
ܫܘܡ ܠܝ. ܢܬܠܬܝܗ ܠܓܒܪܘܗܝ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܟܢܘܫܬܗ ܡܢ
ܣܓܝ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܫܦܝܪ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܕܘܥܬ ܗܘܬܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܗ[5].
ܟܕ ܚܙܝܬ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܦܝܪ. ܘܟܠܠܝܢ ܠܗ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܝܬܝܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܟܢܫܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܝܕܥܐ
ܕܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܨܒܝܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ
ܐܡܪܐ ܗܘ. ܐܦܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܦ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܣܒܘܗܝ[6]. ܠܐ
ܟܠ ܐܦ[7] ܡܬܦܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܝܘܒܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܠܟܐ[8] ܐܡܪ. ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܟܠ ܐܦܘܗܝ ܢܦܠ ܘܣܓܕ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ.
ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܐ ܚܘܒܐ ܘܝܕܥܬܐ[9] ܕܝܠܟ ܐܝܘܒܝܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܫܘܒܚ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܟ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ. ܗܟܝܠ
ܟܕ ܠܟܠܢ ܗܘܐ. ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܐܙܠܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ[10] ܡܢ
ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܟܝܬܘ. ܘܟܠ ܝܠܕܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ[11] ܢܛܠܗ.
ܐܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܠܣܬܠܘܬܗ ܦܩܕ[12] ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܕܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܘܗܝ[13] ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܣܬܠܘܬܗ ܫܟܠܢܐ. ܘܦܩܕܢܐ[14]

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1 D ܕܣ̈ܬܠܘܬܐ 2 ABCE ܦܝܠܡܐܘܗܝ 3 D ܘܐܝܘܒܝܢܐ
4 C ܡܬܩ̈ܒܠܢܐ 5 D ܒܘܟܘܗܝ 6 D ܗܘ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ
7 D omits ܐܦ and has ܡܬܦܢܝܢܘܬܗ 8 D ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ
9 D omits ܘܝܕܥܬܐ 10 B ܕܡ̈ܕܝܢܬܐ 11 D omits ܕܢܘܪܐ
12 D ܠܣܬܠܘܬܗ ܦܩܕ 13 D ܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܘܗܝ 14 ABCE omit ܐܢܐ

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ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘ. ܘܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܬܚܘܡܝܗܘܢ ܢܦܠܓ.
ܘܡܢ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܡܢܘ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܡܣܬܒܪ ܗܘܐ
ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܗܢܐ[1] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܚܘܐ. ܕܫܠܝܛ
ܢܨܚܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܡܥܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܫܬܠܛܢܘܬܗ. ܘܦܩܕ
ܗܘܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܐܬܩܝܡܬ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܪܗ. ܐܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܟܠܗ̇ ܗܘܬ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ[2]
ܐܡܪ. ܗܢܘ ܗܘ[3] ܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܕܗܢܐ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܕܒܪܘܡܐ
ܕܟܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܦܪܫ[4] ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[5] ܐܢܬܬܗ ܡܢܗ ܫܒܩ.
ܠܐ[6] ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܐ ܡܠܝ ܘܦܩܕ ܐܬܐ[7] ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ.
ܡܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܕܬܠܘܫ ܟܠ ܫܘܪܐ ܘܫܐܘܠ.
ܘܗܟܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[8] ܫܡܥܘ ܘܐܬܬܨܝܬܘ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪܒܐ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܡܢܨܚܢܘܬܗ ܘܢܟܣܘܗܝ ܕܢܨܚܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ
ܡܫܬܠܛܢܘ ܠܗ[9]. ܘܡܢ ܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܚܕܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ. ܢܨܚ ܐܢܬ
ܐܡܪ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܢܢ ܢܨܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܦܩܘܕ ܘܡܠܠ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܟ
ܫܠܡܐ ܀

X ܗܕܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ

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[1] Read ܗܢܐ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ [2] D omits from ܗܢܘ to ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ
[3] CDE omit ܗܘ [4] D ܘܒܪܐ [5] A ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ;
DE ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [6] D ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܝܗܒ. ܠܐ [7] D ܦܩܕ ܐܬܐ
ܘܡܠܝ ܐܬܐ [8] BCDE ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [9] BC omit ܠܗ

ܐܬܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܝܠܘܕܐ ܕܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܩܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܚܕܘ ܗܘܘ ܘܠܘܬ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܗܦܪܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܘܗܝ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܪܝܒ ܗܘܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܫܐܠܗ.
ܕܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ. ܩܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܐ ܒܪܗ[1] ܐܢܐ ܕܩܢܕܩܐ
ܡܠܟܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܗܫܐ ܡܢ ܚܢܐ ܐܬܝܬ[2]. ܩܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܢܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܬܬܝ ܘܦܪܫܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܥܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܥܐܕܐ ܠܐܡܙܘܢܐ
ܕܐܡܙܘܢܝܣ[3] ܐܢܫܝ. ܕܐܬܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܩܠܣܝܢ. ܘܥܒܕܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܩܪܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ[4] ܠܐܢܬܬܝ ܣܒܗ. ܥܡ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܦܫܐ ܥܠܝ ܐܬܐ.
ܘܠܐܢܬܬܝ ܡܢ ܣܒܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܦܪܫܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘܘ ܥܡܝ
ܩܠܝܠ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܠܘܬܐ ܥܡܐ ܢܐܬܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܐܬܩܛܠ.
ܘܟܕ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܫܡܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܫܟܚ. ܘܩܡ ܘܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܙܠ ܘܐܘܕܥܗ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥ ܡܢ ܩܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܟܕ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܡܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥ. ܩܪܐ ܠܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܠܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܩܪܐ. ܘܐܬܠܗ ܐܢܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܕܩܘܡ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܕܝܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܠܟܐ[5]. ܘܠܐ ܐܢܛܝܓܢܐ[6]
ܩܪܝܒܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܒܪ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ
ܩܐܡ ܕܢܫܡܫ. ܒܕܡܘܬ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ. ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ
ܗܘܐ ܠܒܪ[7] ܢܦܩ ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܗܢܐ. ܘܐܬܚܠܦ ܕܡܘܬܗ

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[1] D ܒܪܐ

[2] D ܐܬܝܬ ܚܢܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܕܥܐ, E ܘܗܘܕܥܐ

[3] Read ܕܐܡܙܘܢܝܣ

[4] B ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ; DE ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ

[5] D ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܬܘ

[6] Corrupted from ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܘܣ, Ἀντίγονος.

[7] ܠܒܪ is wanting in A.

ܗܦܟܝܢ. ܘܝܡܡܐ ܘܠܠܝܐ ܢܣܒܝܢܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܪܒܥ
ܒܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܐܐ[1] ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܗܘܬ ܓܡܝܫܐ[2] ܐܝܟ ܕܠܝܬܝܗ ܡܐܐ
ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܡܡܐ ܡܠܚܡܝܢ. ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܠܚܡܝܢ.
ܘܐܡܪܝ ܗܘܘ. ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܘܡܚܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܚܝܒ
ܠܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܢܬܪܐ ܪܘܡܐ ܀

IX ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܬܒ. ܘܠܩܠܝܘܡܢܝܣ[3]
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܘܠܟܣ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܚܘܝܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܬܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܟܕ
ܩܢܕܩܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܡܥܬ. ܕܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ.
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܩܘܕܡ ܫܡܥ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܩܢܕܩܐ[4] ܚܕ
ܕܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܦܩܝܕ ܕܢܟܘܣ. ܘܐܠܦܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܡܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܝܕܥ. ܟܕ[5] ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ. ܦܪܘܩܘܗܝ
ܡܢܟܣܗ ܢܦܩܬܝܗ ܚܝܘܬ ܘܢܦܩܬ ܠܗ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܩܢܕܩܐ ܗܝ
ܐܘܠ. ܡܢܟܣܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܪ ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ. ܩܢܕܩܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܡܟܣܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܝܗܒܬ ܘܡܘܩܪܐ ܣܓܝ ܩܒܠܬܗ ܀
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܟܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܩܢܕܩܐ. ܩܢܕܘܪܘܣ[6] ܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܦܪܫܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܘܙܢܣ[7] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܫܠܝܛ. ܘܐܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܦܪܣܘܗܝ ܫܠܝܛ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ
ܥܒܕ. ܘܐܦܩܝܢ ܟܕ ܫܠܝܛ ܦܪܫ. ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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[1] D ܡܐܬܝܢ

[2] I.e. Pers. گاومیش *gāomēsh*, or گامیش *gāmēsh*, "buffalo."

[3] A ܠܩܠܝܡܢܝܣ, without ܘ. In the Gr. Κλεομένης.

[4] D ܠܩܢܕܩܐ

[5] D ܟܕ

[6] Gr. Κανδαύλης (Müller, p. 127, col. 1).

[7] Read ܕܐܡܘܙܘܢܝܣ, *αἱ* Ἀμαζόνες.

ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܘܕܐ ܕܟܠܐ ܒܢܝܫܐ̈[1] ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܣܓܝ ܒܠܒܝܒܘܬܗ ܠܒܝܒܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܘܡܬܡܕܪܐ
ܕܟܠܘܒܝ. ܘܫܐ ܠܢ ܣܬܘܝܬܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܫܪ̈ܝܢ
ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܡܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܢ ܒܝܬܐ. ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܬܟܝܠ ܠܟܠܗ. ܡܢ
ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥܘ ܕܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܝ. ܘܐܦ ܬܚܘܬ ܐܢܐ
ܠܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ[2] ܠܡܬܚܙܝܘ. ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܕܠܫܘܒܚܗ. ܘܠܘܩܒܠ ܠܗܝܢ
ܠܐ ܦܓܥܬ. ܘܗܘܘ ܣܠܩܝܢ ܀ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܚܘܡܐ
ܕܕܘܒܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܕܝܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܚܪܒܘܙ[3]
ܘܡܬܡܠܠܝܢ. ܠܫܢܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܦܦܓܐ[4] ܡܠܠܝܢ. ܐܝܟ
ܡܠܝܢ[5]. ܘܠܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܘܡܢܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ. ܘܠܒܬܪ
ܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ
ܬܘܒ ܠܡܐܢ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܘܝܢ ܐܠܗܝܢ. ܘܦܦܓܐ[6]
ܕܠܒܝܢ ܦܝܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ. ܡܬܬܢܝ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܠܫܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ. ܕܦܝܠܐ[7]
ܗܠܝܢ ܘܣܓܝܐܝܢ. ܘܝܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܚܝܘܬܐ[8] ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ
ܡܬܩܪܝܢ. ܘܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ[9] ܟܪܟܕܢ. ܐܘ ܟܪܓܕܢ.

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[1] The Greek text (Müller, p. 126, col. 1) is quite different, viz. *μὴ καταγνῷς δὲ τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.* [2] E omits from ܗܘܐ to ܐܠܗܐ [3] Pers. خر *khar*, "ass," and بز *buz*, "goat." [4] Apparently parrots, Ar. بَبَّغا, in the Gr. *ψιττακοί* (Müller, p. 126, col. 2). [5] D omits ܩܛܘܩܐ ܡܠܝܢ [6] Glossed in B with ܗ̇. ܦܦܓܐ̈ [7] Omit ܕ [8] D ܚܝܘܬܐ [9] The common Persian word for the "rhinoceros" is كركدن, *kargadan*.

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ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܠܗ̇ ܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܫܩܗ̇ ܣܓܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܬܒ
ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ. ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ[1] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ ܫܠܡ.
ܘܠܟܠ ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܫܠܡ. ܟܬܒܘ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܕܠܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ
ܐܬܪܚܡ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܕܒܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܚܘܝܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܠܗܘܢ[2] ܕܟܬܒܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܓܪܬܐ. ܐܡܪܘ[3] ܠܢ. ܕܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ
ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܡܛܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܩܕܡܘܬܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ[4] ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܟܢ. ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܦ[5]. ܕܡܢܗ ܐܠܗܐ[6]
ܠܗܘܢ[7] ܐܡܪ[8]. ܕܡܛܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܗ.
ܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ. ܕܐܬܬܩܢ
ܒܪܘܚܐ ܢܟܦܐ ܃ ܗܟܢ ܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ ܒܗ ܒܥܝܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܟܠ. ܟܠܗܝܢ
ܒܥܝ̈ܬܐ ܒܒܥܝܐ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܃ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܛܐ[9] ܃ ܡܢ
ܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ.
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܠܡ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐ ܠܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ
ܐܢܬ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ[10] ܕܐܡܪܬ ܐܢܬ[11]. ܐܦ[12] ܗܘ
ܒܠܒܐ ܒܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܝ. ܕܡܠܟܐ[13] ܠܝ ܡܢ
ܕܦܘܩ ܒܡܠܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ.
ܟܠ ܐܢ ܢܣܒ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ

[1] D omits ܡܠܟܐ [2] D omits from ܕܡܠܟܐ to ܠܗܘܢ
[3] D ܘܐܡܪܘ [4] D ܒܝܘܡܐ [5] D ܕܐܠܗܐ [6] D ܕܐܠܗܐ
[7] AC ܠܗܘܢ [8] A ܐܡܪܘ [9] DE omit ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܛܐ
[10] DE ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ [11] D ܐܢܬ [12] D ܘܐܦ
[13] D ܕܡܠܟܐ

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VIII[1] ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܕܝܢ[2] ܐܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܐܬܬܩܢܬ[3]
ܠܡܓܕܘܠ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ
ܕܐܦ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܪܡ[4] ܠܡܓܕܘܠ. ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܡܚܣܢܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܪܡ
ܚܒܝܒܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܟܠܗ. ܕܟܘܪܐ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܥܠܡܝܬܐ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ[5]. ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܣܓܝ
ܣܓܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܚܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܣܓܝ. ܘܡܢܐ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ
ܦܪܝܫܝܢ[6] ܐܝܟ ܠܗ. ܘܗܕܡܐ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܒܦܘܪܫܐ
ܘܚܟܡܬܐ ܡܢܝܢ[7]. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܦܪܘܫ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܝܗܘܢ[8]
ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܫܠܛܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܫܘܦܪܗ ܣܓܝ ܦܪܝܫ ܗܘܬ.
ܘܒܡܚܫܘܒܬܗ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܬܒܝܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ[9]. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘܬ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ[10]
ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܐ ܒܢܝܐ. ܘܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܩܢܕܩܝ. ܡܠܟܬܐ

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[1] See Chap. XVIII. of the Greek text, Müller, p. 125.

[2] ABCE ܕܝܢ [3] D ܐܬܬܩܢܬ [4] The Greek original speaks of the kingdom of *Semiramis*. [5] ABCE ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ. In the following clause read ܕܣܓܝ ܣܓܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ, referring to the walls, not to the single stones. [6] D ܦܪܝܫܬܐ

[7] D ܒܦܘܪܫܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ and omits the next clause.

[8] D ܐܚܪܢܝܬܗܘܢ [9] μέσης ἡλικίας τυγχάνουσα (Müller, p. 125, col. 2).

[10] D ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘܬ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ. ܒܡܚܫܒܬܐ ܦܠܓܝܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܗܘܬ

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ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܪ̈ܘܪܒܢ. ܘܥܠܝ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠܢܢ
ܡ̈ܝܠܝܢ[1] ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܪܘܝܚܐ. ܐܬܝܢܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ. ܘܡܩܒ̈ܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ
ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܕܡܕܢܚܬܐ[2]
ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܗܘ ܕܡܕܢܚܬܐ[2] ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܠܐ[3] ܢܚܙܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ.
ܢܝܚܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܚܕܐ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܢ
ܥܘܕܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܡܛܠ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܒܠܘܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܕܪܐ. ܦܩܕܬ
ܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܚܙܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ. ܗܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܫܠܡܘ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܒܗ ܦܩܕܬ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ.
ܘܢܦܠܘܢ ܘܡܢܗ. ܘܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܦܩܕܬ. ܡܢܗܘ[4] ܡܢ ܢܦܫܬܐ
ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܠܡܘܢ. ܠܟܠܗ ܩܠܝܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܠܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ
ܘܐܬܡܢܝܢ ܥܣ̈ܪܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܩܡܢ ܘܒܢܝܢ ܥܠܝܗ ܢܦܫܢ.
ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫܢ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ.
ܦܩܕܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ[5] ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܘܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܗܘܠܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ
ܒܗ̇[6] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ[7] ܕܟܠܗ̇ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܗܘܐ ܗܝ ܠܐܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܬܝܬܐ
ܢܦܫܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܬܦܠܓܘܢ. ܦܩܕܬ
ܕܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܥܡܐ ܩܕܝܫ ܠܗ̇. ܕܗܘ ܗܝ ܡܕܝܢ. ܘܒܗ̇ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܡܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܀

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[1] C ܡ̈ܝܠܐ [2] A ܕܡܕ̈ܢܚܐ; E omits ܒܗܘ [3] Read ܘܠܐ
[4] D omits ܡܢܗܘ [5] D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [6] E omits ܒܗ̇
[7] D ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ

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ܕܠܒܪܐ ܣܡܟܡܢܐ ܕܟܘܣܘܢ ܘܝܗܒܘܢ ܒܗ. ܘܢܬܒܪܝܗ ܡܢܬܠ
ܢܦܫܐ ܕܐܣ̈ܛܠܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܘܝܗܒܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬ ◆
ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ[1]. ܘܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܣܓ ܐܬܚܒܝ. ܘܟܕ ܗܦܟ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܗܘ. ܦܩܕܗ ܦܠܓܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܗ. ܘܩܘܡܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܟܠ ܕܐܘܦܝ
ܐܬܐܬܚܝ. ܘܟܕ ܦܩܕܗ ܡܢ[2] ܗܕܐ ܟܠܠܐ ܠܡܬܩܠܘ.
ܦܪܘܐܢ ܟܠܗ[3] ܘܡܚܠܐ[4] ܟܕ ܠܘܬܗ ܟܠܗ ܐܬܐ. ܘܐܬܟܠܗܘ
ܕܟܠ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܘܗܝ[5] ܘܟܕܒܪܘܗܝ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܟܠ ܗܦܟ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܟܢܫܐ ܐܪܦܝܗ. ܘܦܪܘܐܢ ܟܕ ܠܘܬܐ ܠܩܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܕ ܟܢܫܐ
ܡܠܟܝܢ[6] ܣܓܝܦ[7]. ܘܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܢܦܠܗ. ܘܡܢ[8] ܗܦܟ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܒܪܐ[9] ܐܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܝܡܝܢܗ. ܠܘܬܐ ܕܦܬ̈ܓܐ ܘܠܘܬܐ
ܕܡܫܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܗ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܐ ܟܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܘܪ̈ܣܝܐ[10] ܕܦܪ̈ܕܣܐ
ܕܩ̈ܘܠܐ ܕܟܗܦܟ[11] ܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܣܝ̈ܪܐ ܗ̈ܘܝ. ܟܗܕ ܦܪܘܐܢ ܕܪ̈ܦܩܝ.
ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܘܡܐ[12] ܣܓ ܟܗܕܗ ܐܘܠܝ. ܘܠܐ[13] ܐܕܪ̈ܡܢܝܘܣ.
ܗܟܝܢ ܠܐܡܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܕܥܗ ܘܐܬܦܝ̈ܣܗ. ܕܐܢ ܠܦܪܘܐܢ ܟܕ
ܠܘܬܗ ܢܕܥܘܢ. ܟܗܘ ܕܐܘܦܝܐ ܕܐܬܕܥܗ. ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܐܡܘܢ

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[1] D ܢܬܦܠܓ [2] ABCE ܘܡܢ [3] D ܘܟܠܗ

[4] ܘܡܚܠܐ is glossed in B by ܓܡ̈ܥܬܐ, Ar. جَمَاعَة, *troop, band.* But probably ܟܠܗ ܘܡܚܠܐ is one word, of Persian origin, referring to ܦܪܘܐܢ [5] Read ܩ̈ܕܝܫܘܗܝ. D ܕܩ̈ܕܝܫܘܗܝ

[6] D ܡܠܟܝܢ ܟܡܠܟܝܢ [7] BCD ܣܓܝܦܗ [8] A ܡܢ

[9] BCDE ܕܒܪܗ [10] Read ܟܘܪ̈ܣܝܐ ? [11] D ܕܟܠ ܗܦܟ

[12] ABCE ܐܘܡܐ [13] D ܠܐ

ܢܦܠ ܡܚܝܐ. ܘܒܬܪܗ ܥܒܪܐ ܠܘܬܐ ܥܡܗ[1]. ܘܡܠܟܝܗܝ[2] ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ
ܥܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܚܝܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܠܫܠܝܛܐ[3] ܠܡܩܕܡ ܘܡܢ ܗܘܕܐ ܡܛܠ[4]. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܗܢܝܢ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܚܪܝܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܥܒܪ ܒܝܪܚܐ
ܘܫܩܠ. ܘܦܘܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܘܫܡܥܗ ܚܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ. ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܐ ܢܩܝܦ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܐܬܕܪܟ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܬܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܠܘܐ ܘܦܪܫܐ
ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܒܗ ܕܢܦܩܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܫܡܥ
ܢܕܒܪ ܥܠ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܦܘܪܘܣ. ܦܩܕܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܘܝܢ
ܠܡܩܕܡ. ܘܫܕܪ ܦܪܫܐ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܬܐ. ܦܩܕܗ
ܕܐܬܘܢ[5] ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܠܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܚܕܐ ܕܗܘܐ[6]
ܥܡܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ[7]. ܗܘ[8] ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܪܘܣ ܒܗܠܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܢ ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܩܕܡ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ[9].
ܘܫܕܪܐ ܠܘܬܐ[10]. ܘܟܠܗ ܘܚܙܘܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܦܩܕܗ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ[11]. ܘܐܬܒܗܠܘ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܕܚܠܘ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܝܘܡܬܗܘܢ
ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܥܒܕܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܩܕܡ. ܘܒܬܪܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܢ
ܠܡܢܝܢ. ܘܫܕܪ ܦܪܫܐ ܘܡܩܕܡܗ ܕܐܬܐ. ܡܢ ܫܠܝܛܐ
ܕܢܦܩܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܐܬܩܪܒ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܩܕܡ. ܘܦܩܕܗ

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[1] D omits ܠܘܬܐ and has ܥܡܗ. Read ܥܡܗ̈ [2] BCDE ܘܡܠܟܝܗܘܢ [3] D ܠܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ [4] D ܡܛܠ. [5] ABC ܕܐܬܘܢ
[6] So in the MSS. [7] ܠܗ is repeated in B. [8] D omits ܗܘ
[9] D ܠܦܘܪܘܣ [10] Read ܠܘܬܐ [11] D ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ

ܦܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ[1] ܕܐܣܛܪ̈ܛܝܘܛܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܘ. ܘܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ
ܦܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܝ̈ܐ[2]. ܘܦܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܝܢ[3] ܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܝܟܢ̈ܐ ܐܬܬܠܝܘ
ܗܘܘ ܠܡܩܪܒ. ܟܕ ܚܕ[4] ܡܢܗܘܢ ܥܡܘܕܐ[5] ܣܓܝܐ ܐܚܪܢ
ܠܐܘܪܚܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܬܢܝ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܠܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܗܘܬܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ.
ܘܒܗܘ ܩܪܒܐ ܒܣܘܦܗ ܡܬܚܒܠ ܠܡܩܪܒ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ.
ܦܝܠܐ[6] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܗܘܬܐ ܠܡܣܬܪܚ. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܠܡܦܩ
ܗܘܐ ܠܡܚܣܢܘ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܗܘ ܚܕ ܐܝܠܐ. ܘܚܕܐ ܒܚܕܐ
ܒܥܠܝ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܠܡܬܚܬ. ܘܗܘ ܐܝܠܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܘܬܢ
ܕܗܘܢܐ ܥܡ ܡܠܟܝ ܕܗܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܗܢܘ. ܘܠܗ ܠܐܝܠܐ ܗܘ
ܠܡܚܬܢܘ. ܘܢܦܠ ܒܗܘ ܡܬܚܒܠ ܠܡܬܚܬ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐܝܠܐ ܗܘ
ܗܢܘ. ܦܝܠ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܬܬܚܝܢ ܒܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܝܢ. ܘܟܬܝܒܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܐܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܬܚܒܠ
ܡܚܕܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܠܦܠܓܐ[7] ܕܗܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܐ[8]
ܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܘܐܬܚܒܠܘ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܦܢܘ. ܘܦܝܠܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܢ. ܘܡܬܚܒܠܐ ܣܓܝ ܗܟܢܐ
ܒܐܝܠܐ ܕܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܗܘܬܐ ܢܦܠܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܚܬ. ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܒܗܘ
ܐܝܠܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܘܢܦܠܘ[9]. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܠܗܘ

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[1] ABCE ܐܠܦ̈ܐ   [2] ܝܘܡܐ may be a mistake for ܢܒܓܐ. The word ܠܗܝܐ seems to be corrupt.   [3] ABC ܡܢ
[4] AE omit ܚܕ   [5] Read ܥܡܘܕܐ. D has ܥܡܘܕ̈ܐ
[6] ABDE ܘܦܩܕܗ . ܒܟܕ.   [7] C ܠܦܠܓܗ   [8] E ܩܪ̈ܒܐ. Read ܩܪܒܐ ?   [9] Read ܢܦ̈ܠܘ ܘܐܬܚܒܠܘ

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ܕܒܗܘܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܚܙܝܢܐ[1]. ܘܟܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܕܘ
ܗܘܘ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܝܗܒ ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[2]
ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܠܡܝܠܦ ܟܠ ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ ܀ ܗܘܝܘ[3] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܐܦܪܐ
ܕܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܚܝ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܦܪܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܥܕܟܝܠ ܠܐ.
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܦܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܣܓܝ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܗܦܪܛܝܣ[4]. ܘܟܕ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܓܘܢܐ[5]. ܕܩܪܐ ܠܗ[6] ܟܢ.
ܗܘܐ ܚܕ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܕ ܝܠܕܘ ܠܗܘܠܐ[7]. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܬܘܟܐ[8]
ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܬܒܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܝܠܦܘܗܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܦܪܛܝܣ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܫܡܗ ܒܐܬܘܢ. ܘܡܠܟܐ
ܠܓܢܐ ܝܗܒܘ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܗܦܪܛܝܣ ܒܗܘ
ܐܬܪܘܢ ܕܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܘ[9]. ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[10] ܒܐܝܣܬܘܪܝܐ
ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܟܠܝܣ[11]
ܦܠܦܛܝܣ ܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܘܢ ܒܪܘܪܙ[12]
ܐܒܝ. ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܪܟ ܘܡܠܟ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܦܠܦ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܬܘܩܦܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܘܡܢܬܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܦܠܦ ܠܡܠܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[13]

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[1] D omits from ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟܢ to ܚܙܝܢܐ [2] D ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ
[3] D ܘܗܘܝܘ [4] D ܗܦܪܛܝܣ [5] Read ܠܓܘܢܐ. D has ܕܠܓܘܢܐ
[6] BDE ܠܗ [7] D ܗܘܠܐ [8] D ܕܒܬܘܟܐ [9] A ܡܠܟܘ
[10] D ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܘܐܝܣܬܘܪܝܣ ܒܐܝܣܬܘܪܝܐ [11] D ܐܟܠܝܣ
[12] Read ܒܗܪܘܙ, i.e. بهروز [13] D ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ

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ܠܗܘܢ ܒܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܡܠܟܗܘܢ. ܕܝܢ ܗܕܝܫܬܗ ܡܫܘܦ̈ܢܝܢ ܠܐ
ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܢ. ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢ ܢܚܝܫܬܗ ܐܡܕܘܢ. ܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ
ܥܕܐ ܕܒܡܘܬ̈ܐ ܡܝܬܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܢܢ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܦܩܕܬ ܠܐܘܪܚܬܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ. ܚܕ ܚܕ ܒܠܝܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܠܐ ܠܡܬܐܠܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܟܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܗܘܢ ܒܫܠܝܐ. ܚܝܘܬܗ ܗܘܝ. ܠܫܠܡܗ ܦܩܕܬ
ܠܡܬܒܥܘ. ܘܡܕܡܗܘܢ ܕܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܐܫܬܐ ܠܡܬܦܪܢܘܣ
ܕܟ ܚܠܐ ܠܡܬܐܠܘ[1]. ܘܚܕ ܚܟܝܡ ܠܚܕܐ ܦܩܕܬ ܒܡܪܚܬ ܒܠܠܐ
ܠܡܙܘܪ. ܘܐܡܪܢܐ ܠܡܠܟ. ܘܫܕܪܗ ܠܡܩܪܐ. ܡܠܟ ܕܟܠܠܐ
ܗܘ. ܘܚܕ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܐܬܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܕܥܝܢ. ܐܦ[2] ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܝ
ܢܝܫܐ ܗܘܝܗ. ܗܢܝܢ ܚܕ ܣܪܕܪܬܐ[3] ܐܘܠ. ܘܐܡܪܢܐ ܠܟ.
ܢܝܫܐ ܘܐܢܐ[4] ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪܢܐ ܦܝܫܬܐ. ܘܫܕܪܗ ܠܐ
ܕܟܐ ܀ ܗܢܝܢ ܚܢܐ ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܕܪܗ ܐܘܠܝܢ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܫܕܪܬܐ
ܠܡܫܕܪܐ. ܘܚܙܪܬܐ ܕܫܕܪܗ ܠܗܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܥ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܢܝܫܐ
ܗܟܝܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܥ. ܘܚܙܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܕܪܗ ܥܘܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܥܘ.
ܘܠܗܕܐ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܘܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܥ ܀ ܘܦܩܕܬ ܕܡܠ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܕܪܗ
ܢܚܕܘܬ ܒܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܫܕܪܗ ܟܠܐ ܕܫܕܪܬܐ
ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܠܗ ܬܚܘܬ ܥܒܕܘ. ܘܥܘܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܚܙܪܬܐ[5] ܕܫܕܪܗ
ܢܘܗ. ܐܢܐ ܡܕܡܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܡܫܕܪܘ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܡܢ ܫܕܪܗ ܚܕܪܘ
ܘܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܫܠܡܗ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܗܢܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܢܟܣܗܘܢ ܘܐܢܐ ܢܦܫܐ

[1] There seems to be some error in the text here. [2] D ܘܐܦ.

[3] Glossed in B by ܣܪܕܪ, i.e. Pers. سردار, *chief.* [4] D ܐܢܬ

[5] D omits ܕܚܙܪܬܐ

ܗܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܣܘܪ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܒܝ̈ܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܗܝ ܐܝܟ. ܘܒܬܠܗ
ܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܢܣܒܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܘܫܝܢ. ܘܦܫܝܛܐ ܗܘܡܕܢܬܐ[1] ܡܠܟܘܬܗ[2]
ܕܒܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܕܢܚܗ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܗܡܢ ܢܥܠܠܢ[3]. ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܣܓ
ܕܣܘܓܕ[4] ܩܕܝܡ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢ. ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܗܝܟ ܒܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ ܀
ܘܣܓܝܗ ܗܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܣܓ ܕܟܝܐ. ܡܢ ܩܒܝܢ ܓܡܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ
ܢܦܫܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܫܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗ. ܘܒܡܠ ܘܢܝܢ[5]
ܠܗ ܗܘܬ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ. ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܠܘ̈ܗܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܒܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܪܝܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܟܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܦܝ̈ܢܝܗ. ܘܐܦ ܢܒܕܪ̈ܐ ܢܒܕܪ̈ܝܗ. ܕܐܝ ܡܢܝ̈ܢܘܬܐ. ܠܗܢܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܗ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܢܒܢܝ. ܒܗܘ ܢܒܢܘܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܬܐ
ܢܒܢܝ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܟܝܡ ܒܗ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ ܕܒܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ
ܥܡܗ ܥܠܝܗ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐܬܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܒܢܝܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܢ
ܠܗ ܕܠܐܬܪܐ ܢܒܢܘܬ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܢܡܛܝܗ. ܦܫܝܛܐ
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܒܝ̈ܢܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟܢ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗ ܒܗܘܢ.
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟܢ. ܕܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܒܢܝܗ ܘܢܦܩܝܢ ܢܦܩܘ.
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܒܢܝ. ܘܡܢ ܢܒܝܢܬܐ[6] ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ
ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܒܝܢܬܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܢܦܩ[7] ܠܝ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ
ܐܝܟ ܠܝ. ܘܣܓܝ ܢܘܟܠܝ ܘܕܘܟܬܐ ܢܫܘܢܝ. ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܢܒܝܢܬܐ
ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ. ܗܟܝܢ ܢܦܩܗ[8]

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[1] D ܠܗܘܡܕܢܬܐ [2] BDE omit ܡܠܟܘܬܗ [3] D ܢܥܠܠܢ
[4] BCDE ܕܣܘܓܕ. The Sughd of Samarkand is meant.
[5] D ܘܢ (*sic*). [6] E ܡܢܒܝܢܬܐ [7] BC ܐܢܦܩ, D ܡܦܩ [8] E ܡܦܩܗ

ܘܠܐܬܪܐ[1] ܡܕܒܪܐ[2] ܢܦܩܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܐ[3] ܩܘܡܝܢ
ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܒܗ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܘܠܨܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܫܚܝܢܬܐ
ܗܘܝܬܐ ܝܒܝܫܝܢ. ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ[4] ܚܕܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܐܢܫ. ܘܒܢܝܗܘܢ
ܘܢܫܝܗܘܢ[5] ܦܪܝܥܝܢ. ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܟܝ ܐܫܝܢ. ܘܫܚܝܢܬܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ[6]
ܕܡܕܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܥܘܩܢܐ ܢܗܝܢ. ܘܒܗܘܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܡܬܟܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢܬܐ. ܕܒܥܠܬܐ[7]
ܘܚܝܠܐ ܗܟܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܬܐ ܠܐ
ܝܘܡ. ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܥܪܒܗܝܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܘܡܬܡܬܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܝܒܝܫܝܢ
ܕܠܡܬܡܬܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܠܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܬܢܛܪܘ. ܘܟܕ ܠܡܢ
ܐܢܘܢ ܘܫܦܝܪܘ. ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܐܣܝܪܐ ܐܬܡܛܠܒܝܢ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܒܫܦܪܐ ܐܬܡܛܠܒܝܢ[8] ܒܥܕܢܐ. ܚܝܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܝܘܡܐ.
ܕܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܠܢܗܝܪܐ ܒܫܡܫܐ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܝܘ ܕܝܗܘܢ
ܐܬܡܛܠܒ. ܘܐܦ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܒܠܝܢ.
ܚܝܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܡܬܥܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܢ ܐܘܠܘ. ܘܐܦܐ ܠܚܝܠܘܬܐ
ܦܩܕܗ. ܕܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܢܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܢܬܦܠܓܘܢ.
ܘܢܫܝܗܘܢ[9] ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܐܬܚܠܝܢ ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܚܕ
ܝܬܒܘ ܦܪܫ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܝܢ. ܘܚܝܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܚܕ

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[1] D ܠܐܬܪܐ [2] In D ܒܫܡܫܐ is written in the text, and ܡܕܒܪܐ above it. [3] ABC ܦܪܕܝܣܐ [4] D ܘܒܕܘܟܬܐ
[5] Read ܐܘܩܝܢ. ܘܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܫܝܗܘܢ [6] Read ܗܠܝܢ, without ܕ.
[7] This word seems to be corrupt; perhaps ܕܒܥܒܕܐ
[8] E ܘܟܕ, D ܐܬܡܛܠܒ [9] A ܘܒܢܝܗܘܢ

ܢܟܒܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܕܒܣܘܦܐ[1] ܕܢܦܫܬܐ ܡܬܢܚܐ ܘܡܬܒܣܡܐ
ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܒܫܢܝܐ ܗܟܝܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܩܠܝܠ ܘܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ
ܡܬܟܠܝܢ. ܘܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܐܬܘܬܐ ܐܣܝܪܝܢ. ܒܐܘܪܚ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝܢ.
ܠܡܫܪܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܘܬ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܐܬܘܬܐ[2] ܕܐܣܝܪܝܢ.
ܘܐܪܥܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܒܝܢ. ܠܘܬ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܕܦܠܛܪܐ ܗܘܐ
ܐܪܥܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܒܗ ܒܝܕܥܐ ܗܘ ܦܠܛܪܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܝܬܒ.
ܐܦ ܒܠܒܠܐ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܝܬܒ ܠܗ. ܕܒܫܪܟܢܐ ܡܠܘܒܫܐ ܡܫܘܚ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܩܘܡܗ[3] ܐܝܟ ܟܠܝܠܐ[4]: ܘܡܙܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ[5] ܒܪܝܫܐ
ܡܫܬܐ ܚܠܩܝ ܝܬܒ ܠܗ: ܘܐܣܛܒܪܩܐ[6] ܣܡܩܐ ܚܠܩܐ: ܘܒܪܩܘܬܐ
ܕܒܣܪ ܡܚܘܝܢ: ܘܡܢܩܛܐ ܕܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ[7] ܡܛܝܐ: ܘܦܫܩܐ ܕܝܘܪܩܐ ܐܠܦܐ.
ܘܟܘܫܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܣܡܩܐ: ܘܡܢܩܛܐ ܕܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ ܐܠܦܐ: ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܢܐ
ܒܦܪܐ. ܕܟܠܗ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܒܝܬ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܚܕܐ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܗܘܐ
ܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܟ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܗܘܝܘ
ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܒܣܘܦ ܐܬܪܝܗ. ܕܒܪܗ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܦ ܡܬܦܠܓ
ܒܗ ܘܢܦܩ[8] ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܝܗܒ
ܒܗ ܫܘܪܒܐ ܦܬܗ. ܘܠܗܘ ܠܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܗ ܢܦܩ. ܘܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܫܬܐܠ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܚܘܕܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܢܦܩܢ ܠܦܠܛܪܐ

1 Read ܘܒܣܘܦܐ ? 2 D omits ܕܐܬܘܬܐ 3 D ܡܢ ܩܘܡܗ,
without ܘ, but originally ܡܩܘܡܗ 4 Read ܟܠܝܠܐ 5 D ܠܐ
6 ܐܣܛܒܪܩܐ, Ar. إِسْتَبْرَق, is glossed in B by ܕܝܒܐ ܕܟܠܘܒܐ
(Ar. دَسْت, Pers. دَشْت) 7 Read ܕܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ ?
8 Read ܘܢܦܩ ?

ܢܣܒܬ ܠܟ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܝܩܪܬܐ. ܕܒܢܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܬ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܠܕܪܝܘܫ
ܘܠܦܘܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥܘ. ܡܛܠ ܗܟܢܐ
ܐܘܕܥ ܠܟ ܠܡܐܡܪ. ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܬܘܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܣܦܩ ܠܟ. ܡܢܗܪܐ
ܡܢ ܗܘ ܣܓܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܠܝ. ܡܠܘܗܝ ܕܩܘܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܗܘܢ
ܕܠܟܘܠܗܘܢ[1] ܢܛܪܘ ܘܫܒܩܘ. ܢܒܝܝܢ ܕܟܠܢ ܒܗܬܘܬܐ[2] ܠܐ
ܝܗܘܒܝܢ[3]. ܕܒܗܬܘܬܐ ܠܟ[4] ܫܡܥܐ ܗܘ ܫܟܝܚܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ
ܡܛܠ[5] ܡܕܡ ܕܒܠܒ[6] ܕܠܗܘܢ ܚܠܫܐ[7] ܠܗ. ܗܢܐ ܕܣܓܝܐ ܕܩܘܡܐ
ܢܛܪܝܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܐ. ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܦܪܣܘܗܝ ܚܡܝܢ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܐܢܐ.
ܐܢܬ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܠܐ ܡܪܫܐ ܕܠܡܣܒ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܕܒܪ.
ܘܒܬܫܘܒܚܬܐ ܠܝܬܝ[8] ܠܐ ܐܬܒܫ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܐ
ܝܕܥܬ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ[9] ܠܗ ܡܛܠܬܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ
ܕܡܢ ܢܦܫܝ. ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ܀ ܘܐܢ ܚܠܡ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ. ܡܝܩܪܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ. ܥܡ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܟܠܗ ܥܡܠ ܐܢܐ. ܘܢܒܝܝܢ ܒ ܒܗܬܘܬܐ ܗܘܝ.
ܘܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܒܥܒܕܘܗܝ: ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ
ܒܦܣܩܬܗ. ܕܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܢܣܒܬܝܗ ܠܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܝ. ܗܢܐ ܥܡܝܢ[10]
ܕܟܠܐ ܡܬܠܒܫܝܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܐܚܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܝܩܪܐ ܕܟܠܠ
ܐܡܝܢܝܬ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܐ. ܘܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ

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[1] Read ܠܟܘܠܗܘܢ, without ܕ [2] B has the marginal gloss ܒܠܛܘܢܐ, i.e. جَلّادون [3] A ܗܘܘ [4] BCDE omit ܠܟ [5] Read ܕܡܛܠ [6] B ܕܒܠܒ [7] D ܕܚܠܫܐ [8] D writes ܠܝܬܝ twice. [9] ABCE omit ܗܟܝܠ [10] D ܥܡܝܢ

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ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܝܗܒܬ. ܘܥܒܕܬܠܟ
ܕܦܩܕܬܢܝ[1] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܕܬ. ܘܫܕܪܬ ܩܢܛܪܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܕܥܬܐ ܀
ܘܚܙܐ ܦܣܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܠܦܘܢ[2] ܚܕ ܢܗܝܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ[3]. ܕܢܘܗܝ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܒܗܢܐ ܫܒܝܬܐ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[4] ܒܫܘܡܠܝܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܘܡܢܐ[5] ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܠܐ ܀ ܘܦܣܝܐ ܐܘܪܟܐ
ܘܦܬܝܐ ܕܠܗ ܠܡܡܫܚ. ܘܟܠ ܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܩܠܦܘܢ[6] ܗܘ
ܠܡܦܫܛ. ܘܟܕ ܦܫܛܘ[7]. ܦܣܝܐ ܠܡܟܣܝܘ ܘܠܡܚܒܫܘ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܩܢܛܪܘܢ ܝܠܕ ܘܐܪܟܝܠ[8] ܗܢܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܡܢ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܢܠܒܫܘܢ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ ܠܗ
ܥܒܕܬ. ܘܟܠ ܝܠܕܝܢ[9] ܘܟܠ ܢܬܠܒܫܘܢ ܘܟܠ ܡܬܒܠܒܠܝܢ
ܥܒܕܬ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܟܠ ܕܟܠ ܕܒܪܢܫ ܡܬܠܒܫܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ
ܕܟܠ ܦܐܪ. ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦܠܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ. ܠܐ ܡܢ[10]
ܐܝܟܐ ܕܠܝ ܒܠܒܘܫ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܗ. ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܠܒܠܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܐܦ ܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܒܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܢܫܡܬ. ܘܡܬܒܪܢܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܗܘܬ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢ[11] ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܠܝ ܗܘܐ

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[1] D omits ܕܦܩܕܬܢܝ [2] Better ܘܩܠܦܘܢ

[3] D omits ܠܗ [4] D ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [5] D ܡܢܐ

[6] On ܩܠܦܘܢ B has the marginal note ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܫܢܝܐ, apparently "embroidered belt." [7] For ܦܫܛܘ [8] Read ܘܐܪܟܝܠ ?

[9] B glosses this word, as well as ܐܝܟܐ further on, by ܡܩܒܠܐ, apparently اقبال. [10] D omits ܡܢ [11] Read ܡܢ, without ܕ

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ܝܨܦܝܗ. ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܘܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ ܚܟܝܡܬܐ ܘܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܗ ܝܗܒ ܠܝ.
ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܕܢܚܠ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܦܬ̈ܓܡܐ ܘܕܠܘܚ̈ܐ ܢܚܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܝܗܒ.
ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܗܘ ܕܫܥܬܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܗܒܬܗ. ܕܐܢܫ ܒܝܬ ܢܫ̈ܝܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܝܗܒܬ. ܘܐܦܢܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ[1] ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܒܝܕ ܦܬ̈ܓܡܐ
ܕܡ̈ܠܝܢ ܝܚܝܕܐ ܘܢܩܝܦܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܕܡ ܚܘܒܐ ܢܦܫܐ
ܚܡܝܢ ܘܝܨܝܪܐ ܀ ܗܟܝܢ ܐܬܠܝܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܠܡܬܡܗܗ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ
ܘܫܘܪܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ
ܒܥܩܐ. ܘܠܡܫܪܐ ܦܘܫ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܟ ܚܝܠܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
ܝܕܥܐ ܕܚܕܘܬܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ. ܘܒܝܗ ܝܘܡܐ
ܕܡܚܣܝܢܐ[2] ܒܩܘܕܫܐ ܚܢܫܐ ܢܟܘܪܝܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܪܝܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[3] ܩܕܫܗ.
ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܩܪܒܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܝܬܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܢܬܒܢܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕܢܐ
ܗܘܐ ܠܝܕܥܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܡܬܬܠܡܘ̈ܗܝ
ܕܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܕܝܠܝܗ ܠܗ.
ܐܬܦܠܓ ܟܠܗ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܩܪܒ ܠܡܬܠܡܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܡܢ
ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܗܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘ
ܗܘ ܕܢܬܦܠܓ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܟ̈ܘܬܐ[4] ܠܗ ܗܘܝ̈ ܕܢܬܦܠܓ ܐܝܟ.
ܢܬܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܡܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪܝܘܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܢܐ ܕܢܬܦܠܓ
ܢܟܐ ܒܥܩܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘܝܐ.

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[1] D ܐܘܪܚܬܐ [2] AD ܒܛܠ ܡܚܣܝܢܐ [3] So all the MSS., fem.
[4] D ܡܠܟ̈ܝܢ

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ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܬܗ ܕܢܦܩܬܗ[1] ܘܠܐ ܕܚܝܠ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ
ܗܘ ܕܒܛܠܡܝܘܣ ÷ ܘܗܟܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܡܠܟ ܡܢܐ ܢܥܒܕ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܬܗ. ܕܟܠ ܡ̈ܠܠܐ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܪܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܩܠܘܦܛܪܐ ܠܘܬܗ.
ܡܠܒܫܬܗ ܗܕܐ ܗܝ. ܕܗܟܢܐ[2] ܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ
ܘܙܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܓܢ̈ܒܪܐ ܥܠ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܐܢܐ
ܐܬܒܢܝܬ. ܘܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ[3] ܐܢܐ ܘܦܩܘܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ
ܕܫܢ̈ܝܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܚܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܬܝܕܥ. ܕܟܠܗ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܪܗ
ܟܠܗ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ. ܐܬܪܗ
ܘܡܕܘܪܗ ܠܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܢܫ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܠܗ ܕܗܟܢܐ
ܗܘ. ܢܛܪ ܡܠܟ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܣܝܐ ܒܝܬ ܕܟܘܬܐ
ܘܡܬܩܘܡܬܐ ܒܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܠܗܢ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ
ܘܥܝܢܐ ܐܝܟܘܬ ܗܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܠܟ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܦܝܣܘܗܝ
ܠܢܝܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ. ܘܐܬܢܝܚ. ܘܐܦ ܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ. ܕܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܘܪܥܢܐ
ܘܡܠܟ ܩܢ̈ܝܐ[4]. ܘܐܡܝܪ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܠ ܒܠܚܘܕ[5] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ
ܩܢܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܘ ܡܠܟ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ
ܐܬܟܬܒܘ. ܒܠܟ[6] ܕܚܝܐ ܢܚܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

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[1] BCE ܕܢܦܩܬ ܗܘ [2] D ܗܟܢܐ without ܕ [3] D ܡܕܒܪܢܬܐ
[4] B ܘܩܢ̈ܝܐ [5] D places ܒܠܚܘܕ after ܕܒ̈ܢܝܢܫܐ [6] E ܡ̈ܠܟ

ܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ
ܕܝܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ[1]. ܠܥܠܡ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܥܡܗ ܢܚܙܐ. ܢܬܩܪܒ
ܕܐܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܠܗܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܢ.
ܡܛܠܗ ܢܦܠܘ ܘܐܘܕܥܘܗܝ. ܘܦܩܕ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܠܡܫܬܐܠܘ[2].
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐܦܝܣܩܦܐ ܪܒ ܣܓܝ. ܟܕ ܡܫܬܐܠ ܕܠܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ
ܫܐܠܗ. ܘܐܢܐ[3] ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܢܦܫ ܕܐܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܠܐܦܝܣܩܦܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܡܫܬܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܗܕܐ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܠܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܟܪܙܬ. ܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܠܡܗܘܐ
ܗܘ. ܡܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܕܠܝ ܠܐ[4] ܘܠܐ ܠܝ
ܠܡܬܐܡܪ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐܦܝܣܩܦܐ ܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܠ ܘܐܘܕܥܗ[5].
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܩܕ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܡܬܬܩܢܘ ܘܐܦ ܒܬܪܟܢ ܕܢܬܒܢܐ
ܠܡܫܬܐܠܘ. ܘܡܪܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܩܢܘ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܩܪܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܢܦܠܘ. ܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܫܐܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܕܡܢ ܢܦܫܟ[6] ܐܢܬ ܐܢܫ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܚܕܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܢܬܩܪܒ
ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘ ܐܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ[7]
ܩܒܠ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚ
ܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܢܦܫ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܡܢ ܦܝܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܒܗܝ ܕܢܦܫܐ
ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܢܚܙܐ[8] ܀ ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢܬ ܢܦܫܟ ܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܠܗ

* * *

[1] D omits this clause. [2] Read ܠܡܫܬܐܠܘܗܝ [3] D ܐܢܐ
[4] A omits ܠܐ [5] D ܐܘܕܥܗ [6] D ܢܦܫܐ
[7] C ܕܐܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ [8] D ܢܚܙܐ

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ܘܦܬ̈ܐ ܘܩ̈ܠܐ ܕܙܡܪܐ ܐܝܬܘ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܬ ܡܘܠܕܬܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܗܘ ܟܘܟܒܐ[1] ܕܝܠܝܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܠܐ ܥܡܝܩܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܕܝܢ. ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܗܦܟܘ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܦܘܪܩܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܘܠ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܘܬܗܘܢ
ܘܡܬܠܟܕܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܦܘ ܡܬܒܕܪܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥ̈ܠܡܐ. ܘܐܦ
ܫܪܝܬ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܕܝܠܕܬ ܕܠܟܘܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܕܝܢ. ܐܘܪܝܗܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܢ
ܥܡ ܢܦܫ ܒܠܥܘܕܝ ܐܘܠ ܐܢܐ. ܡܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܒܬܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ
ܐܒܘܗ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ܕܐܘܠ ܒܠܥܘܕܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܒܪ ܗܘ[2] ܠܝ
ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘܬ ܦܬܚܬ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ
ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ܕܝܘܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܒܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܘܬܐ
ܐܘܠ. ܡܢܟܬ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ[3] ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܬܝܠܕ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܕܐ ܫܠܡܬ[4] ܥܡܝܩܬ. ܦܩܕܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܟܘܟܒܐ
ܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܚܕ ܕܚܙܝܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܬܐ ܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘܬܗ. ܘܫܠܡܘ ܦܩܕܬ
ܟܠܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܫܡܫܘܢ[5]. ܘܐܦ ܚܕ ܒܫܢܬ ܦ̈ܩܕܝ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܚܕ ܦܘܠܚܢ ܦܬܚ ܠܗ ܡܬܓܒܝ. ܘܩܘܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܩܝܕ
ܒܕܘܟܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܘܐܦܬܚ ܕܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܘܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܐ.
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ[6] ܩܘܡܝ ܦܠܚܝ[7]. ܗܘܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܡܫܬܫܡܫܐ

[1] D ܟܘܟܒܐ ܗܘ [2] D ܕܡܕܒܪܝܢ [3] Read ܫܡܝܐ ܬ

[4] D omits ܫܠܡܬ [5] Read ܠܫܡܫܐ ? [6] ABCE ܫܡܫܐ

[7] D ܦܠܚܝ

ܕܐܘܪܚܢ ܕܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܠܦܓܪܗ. ܘܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܘܠܡܝܩܪܘ
ܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܠܡܦܩ. ܘܠܩܘܒܠܗܘܢ[1] ܡܛܠ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘ
ܐܢܘܢ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܝ ܘܦܘܚܬܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ[2] ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܠܡܫܡܫ. ܘܗܝ ܗܕܐ ܡܚܝܠܘ. ܗܢܐ ܐܣܟܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܗܝ ܠܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܠܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܝܬܪܬܐ
ܕܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܠܫ[3] ܡܚܝܠܐ. ܘܡܠܟܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܬܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܢܐ[4]
ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܠܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܡܬܚܝܠܐ. ܚܕ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܥܠܡܐ.
ܘܦܘܡܒܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܢܬܬܠܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܗܝ
ܚܘܝܬ ܕܡܬܠܝܐ. ܦܩܕܗ ܦܩܘܕܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܠܦܓܪܗ. ܘܐܣܦܩܬܐ
ܕܡܫܚܐ[5] ܚܘܫܒܐ ܠܦܓܪܗܘܢ. ܘܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܣܟܡܐ ܠܡܬܒܥܘ. ܘܗܝ
ܡܢܕܥ ܐܣܦܩܬܢ ܠܗ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܥܒܕܘ. ܗܢܐ ܐܣܟܡܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܐܚܝܕ
ܘܡܚܝܠ ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܚܝܠܘ. ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܚܕ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܚܕ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕ ܒܪܥܘܬܗܘܢ
ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܡܢܗ ܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܬ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܢܐ[6]
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܡܬܚܝܠܐ[7] ܗܘܐ ܗܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ
ܚܕ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܝܬܪܝܢ. ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܒܢܝܬܐ ܘܡܬܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ
ܡܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܫܬܝܢ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ. ܕܡܢܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܡܬܚܝܠܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ
ܠܗܢܐ[8] ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܡܬܚܙܝܘ. ܘܡܢ ܬܚܘܬ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ

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[1] D ܠܩܘܒܠܗܘܢ [2] AE omit ܗܢܐ [3] D ܦܘܠܫܐ [4] D ܗܢܐ without ܕ
[5] D omits ܕܡܫܚܐ ܘܐܣܦܩܬܐ ܠܦܓܪܗܘܢ. [6] ABCE omit ܗܢܐ
[7] BDE ܡܬܚܝܠܐ, without ܕ [8] D ܠܗܢܐ

ܟܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܓܒܗ. ܘܟܕ ܗܦܟ ܢܨܚܢܗ.
ܘܠܡܦܩ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܡܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܦܩ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘ̈ܬܐ
ܥܡܡܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡܗ ܫܬ̈ܠܘܗܝ[1] ܥܠ ܓܒ ܚܘܕܪܐ ܦܩܝܢ.
ܘܣܦܝܪ[2] ܠܗ ܗܘ ܢܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܝܡܐ ܝܬܝܪܐ. ܘܠܡܦܩܕܗ ܕܗܘ
ܕܗܘܐ ܐܝܟܢ. ܘܟܕ ܠܗܘ ܢܗܪܐ ܣܡܟܗ. ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܬܗ ܕܝܡܬܐ
ܗܘ ܐܘܟܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܗܘܐ ܩܪܡ. ܘܗܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ
ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܒܬܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܣܦܝܪ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܬܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܐ ܠܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ.
ܒܥܘܦܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ[3] ܠܗܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܗܘܐ ܝܗܒܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܝܬܝܪܐ
ܘܢܦܠܝܢ ܐܢܫ. ܘܟܕ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܣܓܝ. ܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܦܩܕܗ.
ܕܢܠܟ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܟܘܟܒܐ[4]. ܝܬܝܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܩܘܢ
ܥܡܡܘܢ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܗܦܟ ܢܦܩ ܗܘ ܢܗܪܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܠܗܢܘܢ[5] ܝܬܝܪܐ ܢܥܡܝܢ. ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܪܘܣ ܠܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ
ܝܗܒܝܢ ܟܗ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܘܢܦܩܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܝܗܒܝܢ. ܡܢ ܦܬܟܪܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܠܗܘ[6] ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟܚܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܢܥܡܝܢ.
ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܠܥܘܡܩܐ ܠܚܘܪܐ ܕܪܝܐ ܠܦܪܬ. ܫܬܠܘܗܝ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܐܝܟ ܚܕ[7] ܥܠܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܐܬܡܠܝ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܥܠܬ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܝܗܒܝܢ
ܘܠܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܝܗܒܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘ[8] ܝܬܝܪܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܢ[9]

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1 D ܘܫܬ̈ܠܘܗܝ and omits ܥܡܗ   2 C ܘܣܦܝܪ

3 BCDE ܕܫܡܫܐ   4 E omits ܟܘܟܒܐ   5 D ܗܢܘܢ

6 ABCE ܘܠܗܘܢ   7 AE omit ܚܕ   8 D wrongly ܘܟܠܗܘܢ

9 AE ܦܩܕܗ ܕܗܘܝܢ

ܠܡܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܣܝܦܝܢ ܠܡܐܙܠ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ̈ܪܝܟܘܢ ܡܛܘܠ ܠܡܐܙܠ ܒܡܠܟ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ
ܕܝܠܢ. ܐܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܗ ܡܟܡܪܢܗ. ܘܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܗܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ
ܠܐܕܘܢܝܣ ܐܘܟܠܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܘܗܒܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ. ܡܛܠ
ܡܛܝܐ ܠܐܕܘܢܝܣ ܠܡܐܙܠ. ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܦܘܡܗ ܦܠܓܐ[1] ܠܟܠ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܢܡܛܐ ܡܘܗܒܬܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܠܡܬܪܗ ܠܐ
ܐܙܠܬܘܢ[2]. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܚܙܝ ܡܘܗܒܝܢ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܘ̈ܬ[3] ܕܐܫܬܡܥܬ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܕ̈ܪܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܝ[4] ܢܘܟܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܗܘܝܬ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܩܠܝܠ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܟܪܝܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ[5]
ܠܡܐܙܠ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ
ܦܪܝܫ. ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܝܬ ܦܪܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܙܒܢ̈ܐ. ܘܠܗܦܟ ܥܒܕܐ
ܩܝܡ. ܘܒܬܠܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܐܦܐ. ܘܟܠ ܗܦܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܢ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܠܥܠ ܟܘܪܐ ܫܠܡ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ
ܢܦܩ. ܟܠ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܠܗܢܘܢ ܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܟܠܟ.
ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܫܒܚܬܗ ܚܙܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܘ
ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܚܙܐ ܫܒܩ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܗ ܚܙܐ ܗܘ.
ܗܝܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܫܬܒܚܬ ܕܗܘ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ. ܐܠܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ

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[1] D ܠܦܠܓܐ [2] D ܐܙܠܬܘܢ [3] D ܗܘ̈ܬ ܗܟܝܠ
[4] D ܐܬܪܐ [5] BCDE omit ܠܗ

ܩܛܝܢܐ ܫܠܝܚ ܠܝ. ܘܫܠܚܬ ܠܝ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܙܓܘܓܝܬܐ.
ܘܚܙܝܬ ܕܡܢ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܙܓܘܓܝܬܐ ܫܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܘ ܒܗܘܢ
ܟܐܦܐ ܕܝܫܦܐ ܚܕܐ ܙܗܝܐ. ܘܕܡܘܬܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܙܗܝܢ. ܘܙܪܩܝܢ ܒܘܨܝܐ
ܗܢܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܟܠܗ ܐܦܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܣܓܝ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ. ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܝܫܦܐ ܣܓܝ
ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܡܢܐ[1] ܠܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ[2]. ܘܟܐܦܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܘܪܚܬܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܬܝܢ ܐܡܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܒܡܘܬܗ[3] ܠܚܢܐ ܕܐܘܠܝܦܐ ܕܝܫܦܐ
ܗܘܬ ܣܓܝ ܣܓܝ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܟܠܢ. ܕܒܫܘܦܪܗܝܢ ܗܟܢ
ܢܦܫ̈ܢ ܗܘܝ. ܘܐܫܟܚܬ ܕܐܬܦܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܥܘܡܩܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ.
ܘܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ܀ ܫܠܝܡ[4] ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ[5] ܘܫܪܝ
ܠܡܕܒܪ ܗܠܝܢ[6] ܀ ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܚܪܝ.
ܠܛܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܪܡܐ ܡܛܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܫܡܗܝܢ
ܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܗܢܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ ܠܐ
ܡܟܫ ܐܝܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ ܐܢܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܬܚܝܬ
ܒܗ. ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ[7]. ܘܐܢܐ ܕܡܬܬ
ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܩܛܝܠ ܝܬܝܪ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ ܗܢܘܢ.
ܕܡܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܢܫܘܬܗܘܢ[8] ܡܛܠ ܒܗܢܐ
ܗܘ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܡܝܢܐ ܢܗܪܐ
ܡܢܗܪܬܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܠܚܬܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ

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[1] D ܡܢܐ (sic). [2] C ܠܒܪܢܫܐ [3] Read ܘܒܡܘܬܗ ?
[4] D ܫܠܡܢ and omits ܗܘܐ [5] D ܕܦܪܣܝܐ [6] D ܗܠܝܢ
[7] D ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ.
[8] D omits ܐܢܫܘܬܗܘܢ

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ܐܢܐ ܟܕ ܫܡܥܬ. ܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܟܕ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ[1] ܠܡܣܒܠ ܗܘܐ
ܫܠܝܡ. ܘܐܢܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܠܗܘ ܗܘ ܢܒܠܥܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܢܒܥܘ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܝܠܗ. ܘܫܠܛܘܗܝ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟ. ܕܐܝܟ ܫܠܝܡܘ ܘܩܕܡܐ
ܕܢܒܥܘܢ. ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܚܘܝܘ. ܕܐܝܟ ܡܚܝܒ[2] ܠܟ ܠܡܬܚܘܝ
ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܚܘܝܘ. ܘܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܠܡܬܚܘܝ.
ܘܡܘܕ ܠܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܚ. ܘܠܒܢܝܗܘܢ[3] ܟܠ ܕܒܪܗ
ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܠܡܘ. ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܟܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܘܫܡܥܬ.
ܘܗܘܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܝܐ. ܕܫܠܡܘ ܫܢܝܐ[4] ܕܢܒܥܘ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܬܚܘܝ
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܫܒܩܬ ܟܠܗ ܘܟܠ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ
ܫܢܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܦ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܫܢܝܢ
ܗܡܢܐ. ܘܒܗ ܒܗܝܐ ܐܦ ܫܡܗ. ܘܟܠ ܗܕܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܡ ܢܣܒܬ ܡܢܝ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܐܦ ܟܕ
ܫܠܡܘܢ ܐܬܡܠܟܘ. ܘܡܘܕ ܡܢ ܗܡܝ ܒܥܠܝܢ. ܘܡܢܕܪܢܐ[5]
ܕܡܝܡܪܐܛܝܪ[6] ܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܘܠܝܢ[7]. ܘܡܢ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ
ܗܕܝܢ[8]. ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܪܣܛܝܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ[9]. ܐܦ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ. ܡܘܕܥܐ ܠܝ ܢܟܪܘ ܗܘܘ
ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܢܚܬܝܢ. ܡܘܕܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ

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[1] Read ܘܗܢܕܘܝܐ (καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, Müller, p. 125, col. 1).

[2] E ܡܚܝܒ [3] Read ܘܠܒܢܝܗܘܢ [4] D ܫܢܝܐ. In the text read ܕܫܠܡܘܢ [5] D ܡܢܕܪܢܐ [6] ABCE ܡܝܡܪܐܛܝܪ

[7] D ܗܘܠܝܢ [8] D ܗܕܝܢ [9] Here ends Alexander's epistle to Aristotle in the Greek (Müller, p. 125, col. 2). What follows seems to be no longer extant in our Greek MSS.

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ܒܪܒܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܗܘ ܗܢܘܢܐ ܬܠܬܐ. ܕܡܢܗ ܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ
ܗܘܐ ܢܒܠܐ. ܕܝܠܗ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܝܕܥ ܕܢܦܩܝܢܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ
ܒܝܕܥܐ ܐܫܬܟܠܗ. ܘܠܗܘ ܗܢܘܢܐ ܠܝܟܗ. ܘܠܫܡܥܐ ܚܕ
ܐܘܠܘܗܝ ܘܢܦܩܗ ܠܗ. ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ[1] ܕܢܘܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ
ܠܗ. ܒܡܘܬܐ ܢܥܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܘܠܘܢ. ܘܗܢܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢܝ
ܠܝܬ ܠܗ. ܕܗܘ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܣܠܩܘܢ
ܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܦܘ ܚܕ ܡ̈ܫܡܫܢ ܒܠܠܐ ܠܗܢܘܢ ܢܠܠܘܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܠܗܘ ܢܒܠܐ ܕܫܘܪܐ ܢܦܩܗ ܘܡܫܟܢ ܠܗ. ܘܢܦܩܝܢ ܚܠܘܗܝ
ܗܦܟܗ. ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܒܝܕܥܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܒܠܐ ܥܠ ܒܠܥܐ
ܘܐܝܟ ܐܝܟܐ. ܕܒܬܒܠ[2] ܐܦܘܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܢܐ ܚܕ ܡ̈ܫܡܫܢ ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܟܘܟܒܐ
ܐܫܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ[3] ܕܒܪܢܫ ܒܢ̈ܝ
ܕܦܩܕܐ ܠܡܫܚܐ. ܘܡܘܡܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܒܢ̈ܝ[4] ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܟܝܢ
ܐܢܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܕܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܓܒܪܐ[5] ܐܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩܘܬܐ
ܠܡܟܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ. ܗܟܢ ܟܕ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܦܢܐ ܘܟܪܟܘܬܐ ܡܛܠ
ܗܠܝܢ ܢܒܝܗ ܗܘܝܗ. ܦܪܡܘܗܝ ܘܦܠܓܘܗ ܡ̈ܫܡܫܢ ܒܟܘܬܐ
ܐܦܝܣܘܢܐ. ܕܦܠܓܠ ܐܕܡܢ ܘܐܬܐܬܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܐܬܦܠܦܣܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܡܠܘ ܠܟܠܐ ܚܒܪ ܗܘܝܗ. ܘܟܕ ܦܪܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܐܦܘܟ

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[1] D ܥܠ ܗܘܐ [2] D ܗܘ ܐܒܠܐ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ. ܒܠܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܡܪ. ܒܟܠ ܒܟܠ [3] D omits ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ
[4] D ܕܒܢܝܗ [5] ABCE ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ

ܦܪܣܗ. ܠܦܘܪܡܝܘܢ. ܘܠܐܪܛܘܪܘܢ[1]. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[2]. ܘܠܘܪܘܢ[3].
ܘܡܝܢܛܘܢ[4]. ܘܡܝܪܝܣܛܪܛܘܢ[5]. ܘܡܝܪܛܘܢܝܣ[6]. ܘܦܝܠܩܘ[7].
ܘܣܝܕܘܠܝܘܢ[8]. ܠܥܣܪܐ ܗܦܪܟܝܐ[9] ܕܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܘܠܟܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܝܗܒܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘܐ[10] ܟܕ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܪ̈ܝܐ
ܦܩܘܕܐ ܠܥܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܗ̇ܘܐ ܠܡܫܠܡܘ. ܗܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܦܬܓܡܗ
ܦܫܩܘܗܝ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܠܥܣܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ
ܥܠܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܦܪܟܝܐ ܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܦܠܘܢ. ܒܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܗܘ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܦܩܕܗ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܒܗ ܕܐܦܪܘܡܘܢ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ. ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܠܗܘܢ[11] ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܗܢܘܢ
ܢܦܠܘ. ܘܐܬܦܩܕܘ ܗܟܘ. ܐܡܪܘ[12] ܠܗ. ܕܗܟܢ ܡܦܩܬ ܠܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܟܢܘܬܐ. ܗܟܢܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ: ܘܝܗܒ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܟܕ ܗܘ ܢܦܠܬ ܕܢܦܠ. ܗܘ ܗܟܢܘܬܐ ܢܦܩܬ ܠܗ.
ܘܡܢܗ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܘܐܡܪܗܘ. ܘܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܗܝ
ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܕܠܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܢܦܩܬ[13]. ܡܢ[14] ܗܟܐ
ܢܦܠܬ ܥܠܠ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܬ. ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܠܡܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܡܫܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܢܦܩܬ[15]. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܦܠܬ ܥܠܠ ܐܢܬ ܒܝܬܐ

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[1] D ܘܠܐܛܘܪܘܢ [2] D ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ

[3] BCE ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܘܪܘܢ. Compare the names in the Greek text, Müller, p. 123, col. 2, at the foot. D omits ܘܠܘܪܘܢ

[4] D ܘܠܡܣܡܘܢ [5] D ܘܠܡܪܝܣܛܪܛܘܢ [6] D ܘܠܛܪܛܘܢܝܣ

[7] D ܘܠܦܝܠܩܘܢ [8] D ܘܠܣܝܕܘܠܝܘܢ [9] There are only *nine* names.

[10] D ܗܘܐ [11] AE omit ܠܗܘܢ

[12] D ܘܐܡܪܘ [13] D ܢܦܩܬ [14] D ܘܡܢ [15] D ܢܦܩܬ

ܘܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܠܝ. ܘܐܬܕܟܪܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܗܟܝܠ ܫܝܪܬܗ ܕܦܪܣܘܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ[1] ܕܥܡܡܐ ܠܐܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܬ. ܣܓܝܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܕܠܗܝܢ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܚܒܪܐ[2] ܢܩܝܦ[3] ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܐ ܐܡܪܘ[4]. ܕܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܚܝܕܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܢܩܒܬܐ. ܘܡܫܟܚ ܗܘ ܕܚܕܐ ܐܡܪܘ[5] ܕܝܡܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘ ܢܩܒܬܐ ܕܫܘܪܐ. ܘܡܬܬܢܝܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܫܕܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܠܗܘ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܕܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܘܐܢܫ ܥܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܝ. ܫܐܠܬ ܗܘ ܕܚܕܐ ܡܬܝܢ ܕܒܚܕܬܐ. ܘܫܘܕܥ ܗܘ[6] ܢܩܒܬܐ ܡܡܠܠ ܕܢܩܒܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܡܢ[7] ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܦܪܘܫܐ ܐܘ ܕܫܪܟܐ. ܐܘ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܘ ܕܚܒܪܐ. ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ[8] ܗܘܐ ܐܬܝ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܬܗ ܐܢܐ. ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ. ܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ ܕܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܘܕܝܡܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗܢܐ ܕܠܥܡܡܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܢܐ. ܠܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܡܬܠܥܒ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܕܡܬܢܐ[9]. ܗܟܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܬܠܝܢ ܚܙܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܒܝܬܐ. ܘܡܬܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܐ. ܘܠܪܩ ܕܝܡܐ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܕܝܢ ܡܬܝܠܕ. ܘܗܘ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܒܕܝܡܐ. ܘܡܬܠܝܢ ܕܠܠܝܐ. ܘܠܪܩ ܥܘܕܪܢܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܒܘܡܝܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܢܐ ܐܢܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܝ. ܕܒܗܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܠܝܓ ܘܡܬܗܦܟ. ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܝܢ

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[1] D ܒܟܬܒܐ [2] BCDE ܚܒܪܐ ܗܘ [3] BE ܡܩܝܦ; D ܢܩܝܦ
[4] D ܐܡܪܘ [5] A ܐܡܪܘ [6] So all the MSS. [7] ABCE omit ܡܢ
[8] A ܐܬܚܫܒ [9] D ܕܡܬܢܐ ܐܢ

ܒܐܦܝܠܝܘܣ. ܐܦ ܕܗܘܐ ܘܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܬܪ̈ܝ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܒܕܡܝܢ
ܗܘܡܝܢ: ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܢ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܬܚܐ. ܐܘ
ܕܐܕܡܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܦܘܪܘܣ[1]. ܘܡܕܡ
ܢܣܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܐ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܒܒܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܪܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ:
ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܠܐ ܠܝ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܬܚܐ ܕܐܘܕܥ ܠܟ
ܕܥܣܩܘܬܗ. ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܠܐ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܗܕܡ ܕܡܬܩܛܠܝܢ
ܠܝ ܒܣܝܦܐ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ. ܦܩܕܬ ܕܢܬܡܣܪܘܢ
ܠܝ ܠܒܒܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܠܡܫܡܥܘ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ:
ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܠܐ ܬܬܠܝܗ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܝ. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܥܗ. ܘܥܡ ܗܕܡܘܢܐ[2] ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܩܕܡܝ
ܦܠܓܗ. ܘܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܐܡܪ. ܕܗܘܦܟܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܢܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܘܠܗܠ
ܡܕܡ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܢܦܠܘ. ܘܐܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܘܠܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܠܡܪܕܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܟܪܝܗܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܪܡܝܬ. ܘܗܘ
ܟܪܝܗܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܕܝܪܩܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܢܣܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܢܦܠܐ ܕܣܘܪ̈ܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܝܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܡܬܥܡܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܐܝܟܐ
ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܢ ܘܫܘܦܪܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ[3]
ܕܐܝܟ ܟܪܝܗܐ ܚܕܐ ܢܣܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܝܘ ܕܢܘܡܐ ܘܫܘܦܪܐ
ܦܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ[4] ܢܦܠܐ ܗܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܘܪܚܬܗܘܢ

[1] BCDE ܦܘܪܘܣ [2] E ܗܡܕܘܢܐ [3] D ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ
[4] D ܗܘܘ

ܢܒܪܓ ܠܗ. ܗܘ ܢܗܡܪܐ[1] ܢܣܩܘܒ ܗܘܐ[2] ܘܡܢ ܠܗܘ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܠܦܝ.
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܠܘܗ ܢܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܩܒܠ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ
ܒܗܘܢܐ ܘܪܐ[3] ܡܚܫܘܫܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܩܪܒ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܐ ܣܘܥܪ.
ܐܠܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܢܝܫ ܢܗܠܝ. ܘܡܢ ܗܦܠܓܐ ܕܢܬܠܘܗܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܥܒܪ
ܡܢ ܦܪܣܚܐ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܒܦܠܓܐ ܘܡܢܗܘ. ܘܡܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܢܦܫ. ܐܢܫܐ
ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܘ ܡܢܗ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܟ ܠܝܒܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ[4].
ܡܛܠ ܕܦܬܝܟܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܦܠܓܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ
ܗܠܗ ܢܩܝ ܦܝܣ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܢܚܫܘܒܬܗ ܘܢܣܘܒܬܗ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ
ܗܠܝܢ[5] ܡܩܒܠ ܚܕ ܕܝܘܡܝ ܩܘܡ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ[6]
ܡܩܒܠ ܕܚܕ ܕܝܘܡܝ ܩܘܡ[7]. ܡܢ ܗܝܟ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ. ܘܒܣܘܦܐ[8]
ܕܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܣ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܦܠܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܗ
ܗܘܐ ܒܗ[9] ܥܒܕܝܢ ܀ ܘܒܬܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܥܘܕܪܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܚܬܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܒܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܥܘܡܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܗܘܬ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܡܚܘܪܐ ܕܡܚܡܫܐ[10]. ܘܡܩܠܠ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܘܒܗܘܢ ܦܠܓܗ. ܡܚܘܡܪ ܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܣܢܐ
ܒܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܦܠܓܝ. ܘܡܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܡܦܪܥܘ ܕܠܝ
ܦܢܣ. ܗܟܢܐ ܦܩܘܕ ܠܝ ܒܟܠ ܡܦܝ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܠܝ. ܕܐܦ ܣܡ ܠܝ

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[1] C omits from ܢܣܩܘܒܐ to ܗܘ ܢܗܡܪܐ [2] ABCE omit ܘ ܗܘܐ
[3] AE have ܒܗܘܗ instead of ܒܗܘܢܐ ܘܪܐ [4] D ܢܥܒܪܘܢ [5] E ܗܠܝܢ
[6] In the Greek text (Müller, p. 122, col. 2) write μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας λ′ for δ′. See the same confusion of Λ and Δ in a previous note (p. 172, note 5). [7] E ܛܘܡܝܢ [8] D ܘܒܣܘܦܐ [9] A omits ܒܗ; E has ܗܘܐ ܠܗ [10] Read ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܡܚܘܪܐ ܘܡܚܡܫܐ

ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ. ܘܡܢ
ܬܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܩܬ. ܦܪܢܣ ܒܓܡ̈ܠܐ ܘܒܝܕܘܬܐ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ܀
ܦܘܪ ܕܒܝܬ ܘܡܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܦܩܘܗܝ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ
ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܚܠܝܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ
ܢܡܠܟ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܗܘܕܝܐ[1] ܕܝܠܗ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܘܦܪܣܝ̈ܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܦܩܕ ܠܡܬܒܢܝܘ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ: ܘܡܢ
ܩܕܡ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܩܝܐ[2]. ܘܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܬܠܬܐ
ܡܢܗܝܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܠܗ܀ ܘܡܢ ܡܢ
ܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܡܩܫܠܘ. ܒܝܘܡܝ ܓܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܡܠܝ ܗܘܬ ܚܠܝܐ
ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܬܪ ܗܘܬ ܒܟܠܗ ܒܗ.
ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܦܘܪ ܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܡܫܪܝܐ ܚܠܝܢ
ܕܡܫܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܝܬܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ
ܥܒܕܝܢ[3]܀ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ[4] ܦܩܕ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܫܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ.
ܘܢܦܩܘܗܝ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܡܫܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܒܗܝܕܘܬܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܡܢ
ܢܦܩܘ ܡܫܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܝܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܒܗܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ[5]
ܢܦܩܘ ܐܢܫܝ̈ܐ. ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܬ. ܕܐܝܟ ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܒܢܝ. ܘܢܦܩ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ
ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܗ ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܬ. ܘܦܘܪ ܢܦܩ ܒܓܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܘܐ[6]
ܢܘܪܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ. ܒܗܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܢܦܩܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܘܪܐ

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[1] AE omit this word; BCD ܗܘܕܝܐ [2] εἰς τὴν Πρασιακὴν γῆν (Müller, p. 122, col. 2). [3] D ܥܒܕܝܢ [4] ABCE ܠܦܘܪܘܣ
[5] E ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ [6] AE omit from ܢܘܪܐ to ܒܓܡ̈ܠܐ ܗܘܐ

ܓܪܒܐ ܕܡܚܐ[1] ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܬܡܝܢܐ. ܘܒܗ ܒܗܝ ܫܢܬܐ
ܣܓܝ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܒܨܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܗܘܦܐ
ܗܘܐ ܐܘܪܚܗ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܡܥܡܘܕܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܕܡܢܐ ܚܠܡܗ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܕܡܘܬܐ[2] ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܠܡܗ ܡܝܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܕܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܢܫ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܢܝܫܐ ܣܓܝ
ܕܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܬܠܝܐ ܡܥܒܪܐ ܕܓܪܒܐ ܡܬܚܫܠ ܚܠܡܗܘܢ ܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ[3] ܕܦܪܘܩܗ ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܡܢܝܢ ܫܢܬܐ ܦܠܘܓܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܠܝܬܝܢ ܦܠܐ ܗܒܢ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܕ
ܫܡܥܘ ܟܠ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܕܐܡܝܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܥܠ ܠܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܕܦܪܝܩ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܡܫܠܛ ܗܘ ܠܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܪܩܗ ܘܫܒܚܘܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟ ܢܦܩܘ[4] ܘܢܦܩܘ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܐܪܥܗܘܢ
ܕܡܫܠܛ. ܡܢ ܢܦܠܐ ܟܠ ܕܚܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܟܠ
ܥܡܡܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܠ ܕܢܒܥܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܥܠܝ.
ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܫܠܛ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ : ܐܬܦܢܝ ܘܦܩܕ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܥܣܩܘܬܗ.
ܘܠܐ ܠܡܫܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ ܘܐܬܡܪܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܠܐ. ܗܘ ܠܟܐ
ܕܟܠ ܗܪܟܐ ܫܢܬܐ[5] ܢܦܩ. ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ[6] ܕܢܦܘܩܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܬܐ ܕܢܦܘܩ[7] ܠܗ ܕܡܢܐ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܬܪܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ[8].

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1 D ܕܡܚܡ 2 D ܘܕܡܘܬܐ 3 D ܗܢܐ

4 Read ܦܢܝܘ 5 D ܫܢܬܐ ܗܪܟܐ 6 D ܐܬܐ ܗܘ

7 D ܗܘ ܕܢܦܘܩ ܠܗ, and omits ܘܐܡܪ ܐܬܐ 8 There seems to be something wrong in this clause. We might perhaps read ܕܢܦܩ ܠܗ ܒܡܢܐ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܬܪܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ

ܕܐܘܪܕܡܢܐ[1] ܢܛܪܘ ܘܦܬܚܘ ܘܐܬܘ. ܘܡܛܠܗ[2] ܕܕܘܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܫܛܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ[3]. ܘܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܦܩ ܛܘܪܐ ܣܡ ܡܛܪܬܐ. ܘܗܟܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܗܘ[4] ܟܕ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܟܕܗܘ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܣܡ ܡܛܪܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܘܡܬܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܛܠ ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܣܘܦܗ ܗܟܢ ܐܫܬܡܠܝܬ. ܡܬܥܠܝܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܐܫܒܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܕܝܢܟܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܡܢܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ. ܘܦܫܛܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘ. ܕܐܢܐ ܣܡ ܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܠܡܦܩ ܢܦܠܬ ܀

ܘܡܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܡܛܝ[5] ܒܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܦܝ ܐܠܦܝ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܀

ܡܬܥܝܢ ܒܠܗܘ ܒܢܝ ܕܗܟܢ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܕܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܗ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܠܗܝܟܠ ܬܘܒ. ܘܡܬܥܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܪܝܨܐ ܘܡܬܢܨܒܐ[6] ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܘܒ ܒܗܝܢ[7]. ܘܡܢ ܠܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܢܝ ܡܕܝܢ. ܣܝܡ[8] ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܒܢܝܢ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܡܬܥܠܝܬܐ[9] ܕܟܠ[10] ܘܡܫܬܒܚܢܘܬܗ. ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܟܬܒܐ. ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܗ ܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܣܡ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܣܓܝ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢܪܘܬܗ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܟܝܢ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܩܢܘܡ ܬܘܒ. ܘܐܘܡܬܐ ܕܣܓܝ ܡܛܠ ܐܬܒܢܝ ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܝܡܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܘ ܫܠܝܡ ܗܘܘ. ܠܗ ܐܣܛܘܪܝܬܐ[11] ܕܒܟܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܣܓܝ ܛܘܪܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܗܝܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ

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[1] D ܕܐܘܪܕܡܢܐ [2] D ܡܛܠܗ [3] DE ܠܡܠܟܐ

[4] A omits ܗܘ [5] D ܐܬܡܛܝ [6] So the MSS.; apparently corrupt.

[7] D ܒܗ [8] D ܣܘܡ [9] C omits ܕܡܬܥܠܝܬܐ [10] D ܘܡܬܥܠܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ

[11] D ܐܣܛܘܪܝܬܗ

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ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܬܒܣܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܚܕܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܝܐ ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܠ ܒܚܕܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܒܗܕܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܐܬܠ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܗܦܟܘ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܚܢܘܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܢܫܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܕܘܟܬܗܘܢ ܗܟܢ ܒܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠܢ ܘܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܙܠܢ. ܘܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܠܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܚܕܐ[1] ܟܠ ܢܨܒܬܐ ܚܕ. ܕܟܠ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ[2] ܫܦܝܪ̈ܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܠ ܓܘܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܘܠܒܫܐ ܕܣܡܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܦܘܢܝܩܐ[3] ܩܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠܢ ܘܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܗ ܢܟܝܐ ܕܢܬܟܠܐ ܕܗܟܢ ܐܘܪܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܙܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܚ. ܐܝܟ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܥܪܒܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܬܛܠܠ ܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ. ܫܬܠܡܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܡܛܠܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܗܦܟܢܢ ܘܐܬܝܢ ܀ ܥܘܠܓܡ[4] ܕܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܛܝܢ. ܕܐܩܠܝܡܐ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܬܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܐ[5]. ܕܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܝܢ ܗܟܢ. ܘܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܪܨܘܦ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܣܒܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܦܐ ܕܢܚ ܐܢܫ. ܘܗܘܒ ܒܗ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܗ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܝ ܘܚܙܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܥܡܕܢܘܬܗ ܕܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܥܡܕܐ[6]. ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ

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[1] D omits ܚܕܐ [2] D omits from ܕܟܠ to ܒܗ [3] I.e., φοῖνιξ.
[4] D ܥܘܠܓܡ [5] Compare Müller, Bk. II. ch. 40 (p. 90, col. 2).
[6] D ܥܡܕܡ

ܠܢܒ̈ܛܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܢܒܥܐ ܗܘ ܢܫܬܘܢ. ܘܟܠ ܡܢ
ܦܓ̈ܪܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܢܬܚܠܦܘܢ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܓܐ
ܕܒܩ̈ܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܡܚܣܢܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܩ̈ܠܐ
ܐܦ̈ܝܬܐ[1] ܐܢܫ̈ܐ[2] ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦ̈ܩܢ ܗܘܝ܀ ܘܟܕ ܥܒܪ ܐܕܡܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ
ܐܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܗܘܬ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܦܩܢܢ[3]. ܘܥܠ
ܝܡܐ ܗܢܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܦܪܘܣܝܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘ ܕܠܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܠ ܗܦܟܢ
ܐܡܪܐ ܡܬܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܝ. ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܦܠܓܗ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܟܠ
ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܢܝܢ. ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܘܗܝ. ܐܦܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ
ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܒܪ ܚܙܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܠܗ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥܬܐ ܗܘܝܗ܀ ܘܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܫܠܡܗܘܢ ܥܡܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܒܦܬܘܐ ܠܡܥܠ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ. ܘܟܕ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܫܬܘ ܘܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܡܪܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[4] ܗܠܝܢ
ܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܗܘܝ. ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ[5]. ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ
ܫܠܡܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܗܘܘ܀ ܥܒܪ ܡܢ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܬܝܢ. ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ
ܕܒܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܟܠ ܡܢܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܚܕܢܐ
ܘܦܘܡܐ[6] ܒܢܝܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܝܢ

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[1] D ܐܦܣܢܐ [2] Read ܐܢܫ [3] See Müller, Bk. II. ch. 38 (p. 89, col. 1). [4] C ܕܒܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [5] For ܗܠܝܢ. The following verbs would be better in the fem., ܢܦܩܢ, etc. D ܗܠܝܢ
[6] D ܦܘܡܐ

ܡܬܒܥܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܠܝ ܥܒܪܘ ܠܡܥܒܪܐ ܓܙܪܬܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬܗ
ܥܕܡܐ ܗܘܘ ܘܫܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܝ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘܗ ܕܠܐܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܘܬܝ
ܩܛܠܘ. ܟܕ ܥܡܝܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܒܓܙܪܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ
ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܓܙܪܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܫܡܗ ܦܬܝܐ[1] ܒܕܘܪ ܕܘܪ
ܐܬܝܗܒܘ. ܘܐܦ ܕܐܠܟܣ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ
ܗܦܟ[2] ܐܫܝܠܢ ܘܠܐܣܟܪܐ ܕܒܩܬܐ ܐܚܪܝ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ
ܕܟܝܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܕܘܟܝܢ ܘܠܝܠܝܐ ܀ ܗܦܟ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܫܝܠܢ[3]. ܘܐܝܟ
ܒܗܘܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܚܝ. ܘܟܠ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܬܒܪܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܝܬ ܥܠܝ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ
ܥܠܝ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢ
ܡܕܝܢܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܦܫܗ ܗܟܢ ܢܦܩܬ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܢ
ܦܬܝܘܗܝ ܘܡܢ ܦܬܘܪܐ[4] ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܫܒܩܟ. ܘܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ
ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܚܝܠܘܬܝ ܦܬܝܐ. ܘܟܠ ܫܘܪܐ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܝܟܢ. ܘܟܠ
ܕܡܬܦܪܫ ܫܘܫܠܬܐ ܥܠܝܗ[5]. ܘܥܠܝܢ ܡܫܘܢܝܐ ܥܠ ܚܝ ܚܝܠܘܬܝ[6]
ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܡܬܕܒܪ ܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܥܠܝܗ[5]. ܟܕ ܡܠܐ
ܕܒܬܡܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܦܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ.
ܐܦܠܐ ܕܢܬܟܢܫ[7] ܠܗ. ܘܗܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܦܪܝܣܬܐ ܠܗ ܚܝܠܘܬܗܘܢ
ܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܗܦܟ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܝܢ ܬܘܒ

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[1] Read ܦܬܬܐ [2] C omits ܗܦܟ [3] See Müller, Bk. II. ch. 36 (p. 88, col. 2). [4] C omits this word. [5] D ܥܠܝܗܝ
[6] ACDE ܚܝܐ ܕܚܝܠܘܬܝ [7] CD ܢܬܟܢܫ, without ܕ

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ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܢܒ̈ܠܐ ܘܡܣܪ̈ܚܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܢ[1] ܡܫܬܝܬܐ
ܢܣܝܒܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠܢ ܘܐܬܝܢܢ ܥܕ ܢܗܪܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܗܘ[2] ܢܚܫܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܢܟܝܬܐ ܡܢ̈ܗ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܬܡܢ ܠܡܥܒܪ.
ܕܚ̈ܝܘܬܐ ܢܦܠܢ ܕܬܬܢܝܚܘܢ ܀ ܘܒܙܒܢ ܗܢܐ ܥܒܕܢ ܕܢܬܚܡ.
ܗܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܣܓܝܐ[3]. ܕܒܛܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܒܪ[4] ܒܪܐ ܘܫܘܦ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܟܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ[5]. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܠܚ̈ܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܢܣܓܘܢܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܚ̈ܝܠܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܫܬܕܪܘ. ܒܬܪܟܢ[6] ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝܘ. ܘܡܢ
ܣܓܝܐܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܀ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܩܕܬ ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܣܓܝܐ ܢܒܪ̈ܓܠܐ
ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܩܪܒܐ. ܘܒܠܒܠܘܬ ܢܚܬܘܢܗ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܗܘܢ[7]
ܢܦܠܘ. ܢܫܡܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܚܒܠ
ܡܢܗ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܫ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܐܘܠܨܐ. ܘܡܚܝܢܘܗ ܘܡܬܠܠܗ.
ܘܗܝܕܝܢ[8] ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܒܢܗܪ. ܕܒܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܒܗܢܝܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ
ܕܒܢܝܢ[9] ܗܘܠܝܢ[10] ܐܝܟ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ. ܘܢܦ̈ܫܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܠܝ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܬܢܦܪܢܝܢ ܒܫܢ̈ܐ[11] ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܢܬܚܦܘܢ
ܟܠܗ ܠܡܫܟܢܐ. ܘܒܗܕܐ ܠܫܘܫܡܐ. ܘܡܢ ܢܬܚܦܘܢ ܒܥܘܕܐ
ܐܝܟܢ ܢܦܫ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠܢ. ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܚܠܐ[12]

[1] C omits ܠܢ [2] C ܗܘ ܐܘܪܚܐ [3] With what follows compare Müller, Bk. II. ch. 33 (p. 86, col. 2).
[4] ABCE omit ܐܝܟ; A ܣܘܡܟܐ [5] ABCE ܐܫܬܘܕܝ [6] C omits from ܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܠܐ to ܒܬܪܟܢ [7] D ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ
[8] Add ܐܫܬܩܠܢ? [9] D ܕܒܢܝܢ [10] Read ܗܘܐ? [11] E ܒܫܢܐ
[12] I. e. ἱμαντόποδες.

ܕܐܘܪ̈ܟܝܗܘܢ ܟܡ ܟܡ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܦܬܝܗܝܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢ ܬܢܝ̈ܢܐ
ܕܝ̈ܡܐ. ܕܐܘܪܟܗ ܕܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܐܡ̈ܝܢ ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ
ܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ ܕܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ. ܘܝܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ[1] ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܀
ܘܚܙܝܢ ܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܠܠܝܐ[2]. ܕܐܦ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܢ̈ܩܪܝܗܘܢ ܘܛܦ̈ܪܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ
ܕܒ̈ܢܫܐ. ܘܫܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܦܪܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܡܚܒܠܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܐܦܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܫܒܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܣܠܩܘܗܝ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ
ܡܚܠܬܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܘܬ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܐܦܪܝܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ
ܢܦܠܢ[3] ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܚܕ ܐܬܝܢ. ܘܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܬܐ ܚܫܝܟ ܦܪ̈ܝܐ
ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ[4]. ܘܦܪܫܢܢ ܗܠܟ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܥܢܢܐ
ܡܢܗܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܕܢܗܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܪ̈ܫܘܦܘܗܝ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܛܠܬܗܘܢ[5]
ܬܕ̈ܡܪܬܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܗ̈ܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܫܟܚܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܬܐ ܀ ܟܕ
ܕܝܢ ܚܙܘ ܠܢ. ܬܕ̈ܡܪܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܣܓ̈ܝܐܬܐ ܥܒܕܘ. ܘܠܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܡܕܡܝܢ
ܡܚܝܠܐ. ܘܠܣܓ̈ܝܐܬܐ ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܦܢܝܘ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܠܝܢ
ܠܡܪܘܕ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܚܒܪܝ. ܡܚܝܠܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܐܝܡܢܐ ܘܐܬܠܝܢ
ܘܐܬܐ. ܘܦܢܝ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܘܡܕܡܐ.
ܘܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܦܝ ܕܡܢܗ. ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܘܠܡܪܕܘܬܗܘܢ
ܠܡܘܬܒܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܩܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܦ

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[1] D ܕܠܝܡ [2] We should probably read, with Roediger, ܢܩܘܪ̈ܐ ܠܠܝܐ, νυκτικόρακες (Müller, p. 122, col. 2).

[3] See Perkins' English translation of this passage in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iv. p. 394 sqq.; and compare Müller, Bk. II. ch. 32 (p. 86, col. 1). [4] C ܗܘܘ

[5] Read ܘܒܐܚܪ̈ܬܗܘܢ

ܘܕܦܪ̈ܝܘܣ ܒܢ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܠܕܝ̈ܢ[1] ܘܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܝܘܡܢ ܀ ܘܗܟܢ
ܠܣܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܦܫܛܗ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܝܠܕܬ. ܘܣܢܐ[2]
ܠܐܒܘ̈ܗܝ. ܘܡܫܩܝܐ ܚܠܒ ܚܘܪܐ ܠܝܠܕܗ. ܘܠܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܟܠܗ
ܢܦܫܗ ܠܡܪܘܥ ܀ ܘܚܘܪܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܝܬܝܬܗ ܀ ܘܚܕ ܗܕܐ ܚܟܝܡܝ̈.
ܩܫ̈ܐ ܗܕܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܠܗܘ ܚܘܪܐ ܐܬܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ[3]. ܘܗܘ
ܕܒܚܘܪܐ ܢܝܬܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܕܝ̈[4] ܣܢ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܘܡܝܬܐ[5] ܀
ܘܣܢ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܗ̈ܘܝܢ ܕܐܦܫܠܝܢ[6]. ܘܗܘ ܡܬܗ̈ܘܝܢ ܕܒܥܕܢܐ ܀
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܦܘܪܫܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܘܝܐ[7]. ܣܢܘܬܐ[8] ܣܢܐ
ܕܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܐܦܝܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܡܥܡܠܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ
ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܠܟܠ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܦܝܩ ܕܟܠܗ ܚܝܘܬ. ܘܒܗ
ܒܚܘܪܐ ܠܣܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܦܘܩܘ. ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܘܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ[9].
ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܝܢ. ܕܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܚܬܝܬܐ. ܘܠܒܪܢܐ
ܗܦܘܟܠ. ܘܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܝܢ. ܘܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܩܢ̈ܐ[10]
ܠܚܕܝܢ ܝܗܒܝܢ. ܘܚܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܘܡܬܟܬܫܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܚܝܘ̈ܬ
ܣܢܘܗܝ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܗܕܝܢܐ ܒܐܬܠܡܘܬܐ
ܠܚܕܝܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܠܟܢ[11] ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ[12] ܒܗ
ܗܘ ܢܩܦܝܢ. ܘܢܩܦܝܢ ܩܫ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܠܟܠܢ[13] ܩܕܡ ܠܗܘܢ.

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[1] C ܐܬܝܠܕܝܢ   [2] C ܘܣܢܗ   [3] D ܐܬܦܪܢܣܘܬ
[4] D ܒܐܝܕܝ̈   [5] C ܐܬܦܫܛܘ ܘܡܝܬܘ   [6] B ܕܐܦܫܠܝܢ, and so often in the same verbal form, but sometimes corrected.
[7] D ܗܘܝܐ   [8] B ܣܢ̈ܘܬܐ   [9] Read ܠܡܫܡܫܘ   [10] C omits ܘܩܢ̈ܐ
[11] D ܠܟܢ   [12] C ܘܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ   [13] νυκταλώπηκες.

ܠܝܬ ܕܫܡܝܥܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܟܢܐ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܫܡܝܥܐ[1] ܐܠܗܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܠܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܐ. ܠܟܠܢ ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܪ ܗܘܐ[2].
ܘܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܩܝܢ ܘܩܢ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܕܟܝܦܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܢܡܪܐ ܐܚܝܐ.
ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܫܠܐ ܣܩܪܪܐ ܦܘܩܐ ܘܩܘܩܢܣܐ. ܘܟܠ
ܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ[3] ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܡܪܐ ܐܘܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ܀ ܐܦ ܣܘܩܐ ܘܦܪܕܐ
ܟܪܟܘܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܩܘܡܛܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܘܩܢ. ܡܢ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܗܘܢܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܘ
ܘܦܝܠܐ. ܘܦܠܐ ܘܡܫܐ ܐܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܥܪܒܐ ܡܥܡܪܐ
ܗܘܐ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܐܪܡܐ ܚܕ ܕܠܡܝܬܐ ܩܢܐ ܐܝܟܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܕܐ
ܕܟܠܗܕܐ ܕܡܠܟ[4] ܗܘܦܢ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ[5] ܠܟܘܢ
ܒܣܝܒܪܘܬܢ ܘܡܢ ܩܒܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܘܝܢ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܓܪܒܐ. ܕܡܢ
ܗܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘܪܚܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܘܦܢ ܗܘܘ ܦܩܚܐ ܕܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܢܡܪܐ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܕܝܒܐ ܡܝܡܪܐ ܘܦܝܠܘܪ[6] ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܕܘܒܝܢ
ܣܩܪܪܐ[7]. ܘܦܝܠܐ ܕܬܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ[8]. ܘܬܘܪܝ ܦܝܠܐ[9]. ܘܠܚܡܪܐ[10]
ܕܒܗ ܒܗ ܐܢܫܐ܀ ܘܚܙܝܢ ܣܩܪܪܐ ܕܠܠܐ[11]. ܘܩܢܝ ܦܠܓܐ.

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[1] ADE ܫܡܝܥܬܐ [2] D ܗܘܐ

[3] D writes ܚܕܐ once only. [4] D omits ܕܡܠܟ

[5] D ܗܘܘ [6] Read ܘܦܝܠܘܪ [7] *σκορπίουροι* (Müller, p. 122, col. 2). [8] Apparently corrupt, the Greek has *ἐλέφαντες καὶ βούκριοι*. We may perhaps venture to read ܘܦܝܠܐ ܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܩܪܢܐ

[9] *ταυρελέφαντες*. [10] D ܘܠܚܡܪܐ [11] Here the Syriac deviates from the Greek. Perhaps we might at least read ܪܓܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ = *ἱμαντόποδες*.

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ܠܟܘܢ ܕܡܨܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܫܠܝܛܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ
ܬܢ ܦܠܣܘܦܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ¹ ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܠܚܘ. ܘܗܦܟ ܗܘܘ
ܒܡܫܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܠܒܒܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܠܡܬܚܡܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܠܡܬܐ ܢܝܫܗ. ܕܫܡܥ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܬܕܝܡܘ. ܘܠܒܟܘ ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܠܟܘܪ̈ܐ ܫܠܚܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܬܚܡܐ ܒܢܝܘܗ ܐܢܘܢ ∻
ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥ. ܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܦܬܪܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܐ² ܕܫܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܐܬܢܦܠܬ ܘܐܬܓܠܝܬ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܝ ܕܡܚܬܐ ܢܦܫܗ ∻ ܘܦܩܕܗ ܕܢܬܬܩܢ ܕܡܢ ܬܘܒ ܥܠܝܢ.
ܘܒܬܘܪܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠܝܢ. ܐܬܦܬܚ ܠܡܬܚܡܐ ∻ ܘܚܙܐ ܕܦܬܟܪܐ
ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. ܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ∻ ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ
ܐܬܝܠܝ³. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗ. ܕܠܢܩܛܐ ܫܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ⁴.
ܘܕܫܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܦܬܘܪܘܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܝܠܝܢ.⁵ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ
ܩܕܡ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܢܒܝܐ ܕܫܠܝܡ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ. ܡܬܚܡܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ
ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ∻ ܘܟܕ ܦܠܓܬܐ ܥܒܕ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܦ ܡܢܐ⁶ ܐܝܠܘ.
ܘܝܗܘ ܥܠ ܗܦܟܬܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܚܕ. ܘܟܬܝܒܐ ܠܠܥܠ
ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ. ܕܗܢܐ ܣܣܘܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣ⁷ ܐܝܟ⁸ ܒܣܛܪܐ. ܢܡܘܣܐ
ܗܘܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ⁹. ܠܥܡܘܕܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܒܕܝܢ ∻ ܘܟܕ
ܠܠܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ. ܦܩܕܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܬܚܡܐ. ܘܫܪܝܬܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܠܡܬܚܡܐ ∻ ܐܦ ܠܦܬܟܪܐ ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܒܗ ܟܘܢܐ ܦܩܕܗ. ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܥܠ

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¹ C ܦܬܓܡܗ ² AE omit from ܗܘܒ to ܚܙܐ

³ D ܐܬܝܠܟ ⁴ D ܡܠܟܐ ⁵ D ܐܬܝܠܢ ⁶ C ܡܢܐ

⁷ Σεσόγχοσις (Müller, p. 122, col. 1). ⁸ D ܐܝܟ ⁹ Read ܐܬܚܙܝܬ or ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ? ἐποίησα, praestiti (Müller, p. 122).

ܦܠܓܗ ܡܛܫܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܠܘܗ ܠܠܐ ܬܠܝܡ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܢܓܗܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܡܫܐ ܦܪܣ ܙܠܝܩܘܗܝ. ܠܩܕܡ ܢܦܩܢ : ܠܡܕܒܪܐ
ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܦܢܝܢ. ܘܚܙܝܢܢ ܠܗܠܗ ܥܒܝ ܒܚܫܘܟܐ. ܦܠܓܗ ܕܝܠܗ
ܠܡܥܪܒܗ. ܘܠܦܘܪܬܐ ܘܠܦܠܓܐ ܦܢܝܢ ܡܛܪܐ ܘܒܪܘܩܐ ܘܥܢܢܐ
ܘܩܠܐ ܕܪܥܡܐ ܕܦܚܕܐ ܠܡܫܪܝܬܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܥܐ ܚܕܐ[1]
ܕܗܘ ܠܗܕܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܚܘܫܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܢܠܒܫ
ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܦܠܓܘ. ܕܟܕ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܒܗܘܐ ܠܡܫܬܡܥܘ ܀
ܘܬܠܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܠܝܬ[2] ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܢ ܩܘܡܝܢ.
ܘܡܛܝܢ[3] ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܒܢܬܗ ܒܪܘܕܘܬܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܥܠ
ܗܦܟܢ ܗܘ ܒܗܘܪܐ ܦܠܓܝܢ[4] ܡܪܕܝܬܐ ܠܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢ ܒܗ
ܗܘ ܒܗܘܪܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܕܐܘܪܟܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ[5] ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܢ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ
ܕܩܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܝܢܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܩܢܝܐ ܡܗܠܐ[6]
ܗܘܬ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܩܢܝܐ ܀ ܘܐܬܒܝܢ ܒܗܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܢ
ܒܗ. ܐܙܠܢ ܘܒܥܝܢ ܘܒܗ ܒܥܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܫܟܚܐ
ܒܥܝܢ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܕܒܗܘܪܐ ܫܬܝܢ. ܡܢ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܡܬܡܪܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܬ ܡܬܡܪܡܪܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܪܫܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܒܗܘ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܝܕ ܡܝܐ ܒܩܝܡܬܐ. ܘܐܢܕܢܝܐ ܕܒܗ

[1] D ܕܫܥܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ [2] D ܕܕܠܝܬ [3] D ܘܡܛܝܢ [4] D ܦܠܓܝ

[5] This is correct, as the Latin version has *triginta* (Müller, p. 122, col. 1). The Greek text has "four" (πηχῶν δ', Müller, p. 121, col. 2, and note 13), being, as Roediger has pointed out, a mistake of Δ for Λ. [6] CD ܡܗܠܠܐ

ܘܚܘ̈ܬܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ ܘܣܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܓܢ̈ܣܐ ܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ[1] ܡܫ̈ܚܠܦܐ ܘܡܫ̈ܢܝܢܐ.
ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܬܢܒܪܐܝܬ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܕܣܘܝܗ ܒܫ̈ܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ
ܘܗܪܘܢܐ[2] ܗܘܘ ܕܣܘܓܐܗ ܕܡܫܬܐ. ܘܟܘܠ ܕܝ[3]. ܘܗܘܝܐ
ܐܣܛܪ̈ܐ[4] ܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܫܢܐ ܫܢܐ[5] ܡܕܘܡ ܡܬܡܟܢܐ[6] ܕܐܣܛܪ̈ܘܢ
ܠܝ ܀ ܡܢ ܗܘܠ ܠܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ܝܢܝܠܐ. ܘܐܬܪܗ ܝܢܝܐ ܘܐܬܦܬܚܬ
ܒܗ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ[7] ܒܗ ܥܘ̈ܢܐ ܗܝܠܢܐ. ܘܕܗܒܐ ܗܝܠܢܐ ܒܥ̈ܝܢܐ ܐܝܬ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܘܟ̈ܒܐ[8] ܘܟܘ̈ܦܐ ܕܫܘ̈ܠܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܒܣ̈ܥܝܐ ܕܘ̈ܟܝܐ
ܘ̈ܟܝܐ ܦ̈ܬܝܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܣܓܝܐ ܗܟܝܢ ܦ̈ܬܝܟܝܢ.
ܘܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܣܓܝܐ ܦ̈ܬܝܟܝܢ. ܘܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ ܕܘ̈ܟܝܐ ܘ̈ܟܝܐ ܀ ܘܡܬܒܪܝ
ܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ[9] ܕܟܣܦܝܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܚܘܡܐ
ܕܡܕܢܚܐ. ܘܟܢܫܝܢ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܚܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܘܡܕܒܪܐ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢ
ܘܫܘܠܛܢ[10] ܘܡܕܪܐ ܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ[11] ܒܝܬܐ[12] ܗܟܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܒܗ ܀ ܘܦܩܕܢܢ
ܠܦ̈ܠܚܐ ܢܪ̈ܕܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܕܢܣܡܘܢ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܠܡܪܕܐ.
ܘܦܠܓܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܥܡܗ[13] ܘܠܗܠܗ ܥܡܗ ܒܠܠܐ

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[1] Read ܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ, Gr. ἑρπετῶν τε γένη. [2] C ܘܡܗܘܢܐ

[3] In the Greek, τὸ δὲ πάντων θαυμασιώτατον, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης λεῖψις χειμών τε πικρός (Müller, p. 121, col. 1). [4] C ܐܣܛܪܛܐ

[5] BC omit the second ܫܢܐ [6] D omits from ܕܟܠ to ܡܬܡܟܢܐ

[7] ܘ seems superfluous. [8] The MSS. have ܘܟܘܟܒܐ

[9] Read ܬܪ̈ܥܐ. In the Greek ἀπὸ [πυλῶν] Κασπιακῶν (Müller, p. 121, col. 2); in the Latin *a portis Caspiis* (p. 122, col. 1).

[10] C omits ܘܫܘܠܛܢ [11] Read ܕܪ̈ܚܫܐ [12] D ܒܝܬ

[13] AE omits from ܕܢܣܡܘܢ to ܥܡܗ

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ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܪܡܝܬ ܐܬܘܬܐ. ܘܐܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ
ܘܝܗܒ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܡܬܒܥ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܙܟܐ[1] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[2] ܠܝܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܡܝܬ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܟܝܠ[3]. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢ
ܗܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܒܐ. ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܟܣܐ܀
ܗܟܝܠ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܒܩܬ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܩܪܒܐ.
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܕ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ[4]. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ
ܐܬܟܢܫܘ. ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܝܕܥܘ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܩܒܠܘ[5]. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܚܙܐ. ܒܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܗܘܘ
ܘܝܗܒܘ. ܘܥܡܗܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܘܫܒܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܫܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ܀ ܗܟܝܠ
ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ.
ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܡܛܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܝܗܒ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ
ܒܝܘܡܐ ܦܠܓܐ. ܘܦܩܕܬܗ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܫܠܝܛܐ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܝ[6]. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܢܫܝܢ[7]
ܐܬܟܢܫܘ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ[8] ܡܢ ܗܘ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܙܟܝ
ܠܦܘܠܝܛܝܣ[9]. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܬܬܝܗܒ.
ܘܐܬܬܣܝܡܬ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܫܡܥ. ܐܬܩܪܒ ܕܝܠܝ ܦܠܓܐ ܐܬܘܒ
ܘܐܬܒܪ܀ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܡܥܗ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ[10].

[1] Read ܐܒܐ [2] AE omit ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [3] The MSS. have ܡܬܬܟܣܐ [4] E ܩܕܡܘܗܝ [5] Read ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܐ? D ܘܩܒܠܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ [6] D ܕܝܠܝ [7] D ܟܢܫܝܢ [8] C ܫܡܥܗ [9] Read ܠܦܘܠܝܛܝܣ [10] BC omit the second ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܗܢܐ ܕܫܘܕܥܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ. ܬܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬܗ ܀
ܡܢ ܗܢܟ ܢܦܩ[1] ܠܦܪܣܝܩܝ[2] ܕܩܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܦܪܝܢ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ
ܪܒܬܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܪ̈ܟܐ ܐܬܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܩܐ. ܚܙܐ
ܕܝܘܩܢܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܥܡܘܕܐ ܠܗܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܚܙܐ[3] ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ
ܡܢ ܗܪ̈ܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܚܕܬܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܢ ܠܡܥܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܩܝܢ.
ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܦܪܝܣ ܕܢܬܪܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܚܙܝ ܕܐܟܠܘܗܝ ܦܪ̈ܚܬܐ
ܗܘ ܀ ܘܚܙܝ ܒܗܘ ܐܬܪܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܐܠܦܝܢ. ܕܡܢܗܝܢ ܗܘ
ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܕܘܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘܐ
ܐܬܕܠܝ ܠܡܩܘܡ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܠܩܪܒܬܐ ܗܘ. ܘܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܗܘܘ
ܡܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܠܦܢܝܗܘܢ ܦܪܫܘ. ܘܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ[4] ܕܠܦ̈ܝܢ[5]
ܠܐ ܐܪܦܝܘ ܀ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ ܕܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܒܩܕܡܐ.
ܘܩܪܒ ܠܡܦܪܥ ܕܠܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܠܘܬ ܬܪܘܢܐ ܠܡܩܘܡ. ܦܠܓܘܗܝ
ܐܝܟ ܢܩܒܬܐ ܘܩܦܣܘܗܝ ܘܩܪܛܪܘܣ[6] ܡܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐ
ܢܫܡܥ ܒܠܠܐ ܠܡܦܪܥ ܘܠܡܬܒܪ ܠܬܪܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܦܠܓܘܗܝ
ܠܗ ܐܡܪ[7]. ܕܐܡܘܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܡܚܘܬܗ ܕܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܢܦܠ. ܘܠܘܬ ܬܪܘܢܐ
ܠܡܬܒܪ. ܐܘ ܡܢܘ ܢܫܬܪܝܗ ܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[8]. ܐܘ ܡܢܘ ܡܢܘ

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[1] D ܢܦܩ̣ [2] Read ܠܦܪܣܝܩܝ, εἰς τὴν Πρασιακὴν πόλιν (Müller, *loc. cit.*). [3] AE omit from ܕܝܘܩܢܐ to ܚܙܐ [4] AE ܦܪܕܝܩܘܣ [5] D ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ [6] I. e. Κράτερος (Müller, *loc. cit.*); D ܘܩܪܛܪܘܣ [7] D ܐܡܪ ܠܗ [8] Roediger is no doubt right in striking out this clause ܐܘ ܡܢܘ ...... ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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ܡܕܒܪܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܘ[1] ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܬܚܢܢܐ
ܚܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܡܝܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ
ܡܫܬܡܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܩܪ̈ܒܐ ܒܛܝܠܐ ܠܐ ܙܕܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ
ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܩܛܝܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܩܛܠܢܘܬܐ[2] ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܡܐ
ܐܢܫ[3] ܕܒܥܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܢܩܛܘܠ. ܕܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܬܩܛܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ
ܒܗ. ܘܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܫ[4] ܁ ܫܘܒ ܟܡܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ[5].
ܕܡܢ[6] ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܗܘܘ. ܡܠܟܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܟܕ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܕܝܢ[7] ܢܩܦܘܗܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܩܒܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܢܚܢ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܟܝܢ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܁ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܠܗ
ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܡܟܬܒܢ ܦܩܕ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܠܒܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗ
ܡܬܗܦܟܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܗܘܡ ܐܝܟ ܒܗ ܠܐ
ܗܦܟܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܁

VII ܗܕܝܢ[8] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܬܘܪܩܐܠܝܣ ܕܒܗ ܡܛܠ
ܠܡܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܠܗ ܗܘܢܐ ܁ ܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܕܒܪ[9] ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܟܠܡ. ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܘܪܐ

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[1] Some words seem to have fallen out after ܐܠܐ, for the Greek is *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷ με ὁ τῆς γνώμης μου δεσπότης* (Müller, p. 101, col. 2). Then for ܠܘ read ܐܠܘ, *εἰ γὰρ πάντες ὁμογνώμονες ἦμεν, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] MSS. ܘܡܬܩܛܠܢܘܬܐ [3] In BC there is a marginal note ܐܘ ܐܢܫܝܢ, which is the right reading. [4] A ܐܢܫܘ [5] Read ܠܒܝܬܗ ?

[6] D ܘܡܢ [7] BCE omit ܡܕܝܢ [8] Ch. XVII of the Greek text (Müller, p. 120, col. 2). See Roediger, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, 2nd ed., p. 112. [9] D ܠܕܒܪ

ܗܘܦܟܐ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ[1] ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[2] ܢܦܩ. ܕܦܩܕܘ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܥܘ. ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܒܗܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܦܩܕܬܐ ܐܝܬܠܝ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܦܩ. ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܢܣܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܓܝܪ. ܕܡܫܠܡ ܐܘ ܕܢܡܘܬܐ. ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܫܠܡ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܦܩܘܕ. ܐܦ ܐܪܥܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܡܬܦܫܩ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܡܟܝܢ. ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܡܕܡܟܝܢ ܠܗ[3]. ܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܩܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܀ ܘܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ[4] ܗܘܐ ܢܦܩ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢܐ ܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܒܥܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܡܠܟܘܢ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܘܢܦܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܠܝܬ ܡܢܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܣܩ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܐ ܒܥܠ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܣܩ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܝܬ ܐܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܦܣܩ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܘܗܘ ܡܬܦܣܩ ܐܢܬ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܘܦܪܣܘܦܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܐܢܬ. ܘܗܘ ܠܒܠܗܘ ܢܦܪܐ ܡܢܦܩܬܗ. ܠܐܝܟܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܟܠܢܦܫܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܢܗ ܐܢܬ. ܠܗܘ ܢܣܒܐ ܩܒܠ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܘܠܝ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܬܦܪܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܢܣܝܢܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܣܝ ܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܬܡܨܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ: ܐܦ ܢܒܝܐ ܝܠܦܘ ܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܐܦܠܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܟܠ ܦܘܩܝܢ ܠܡܬܡܬܚ ܡܕܡ ܀ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܝܠ ܗܟܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ

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[1] D ܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܐ

[2] ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ is wanting in A.

[3] C omits from ܒܥܕܢܐ to ܠܗ; D ܠܐܠܗܐ and ܠܗܘܢ

[4] D ܠܡܠܟܐ

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ܕܣܓܝ[1] ܢܦܝܫ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܝ̈ܐ. ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܚܝ̈ܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܚܝ̈ܐ. ܒܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܗ
ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܡܫܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܘܫܘܚܪ ܠܗ. ܒܗ
ܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܢܬܐ ܗܝܕܐ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ.
ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܢܫ. ܗܟܝܠ ܠܗܘ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܐܚܝܢ ܀
ܘܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܫܐܠ[2]. ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܝܡܐ. ܗܘ
ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܪܥܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܝܡܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܩܐܡ ܀
ܘܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܫܐܠ. ܕܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܬܘ[3] ܕܢܦܫ[4] ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ
ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܗܘ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ.
ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܘܬܟ ܫܐܠ. ܕܡܢܘ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܒܚܕ ܡܬܬܦܪܫܝܢ.
ܕܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܘܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܚܣܠܘܢ.
ܘܥܠܡܝܢ ܒܢܦܫ ܐܢܫ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ
ܐܬܬܥܝܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܦܩܕ ܀ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ
ܫܐܠ. ܕܡܢܐ ܗܝ[5] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܢܟܘܬܐ ܗܝ
ܚܝܠܐ ܕܫܠܝܛ ܘܓܒܪܐ. ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܡܪܚܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܨܝܦܘܬܐ ܘܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ[6] ܀
ܘܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܫܐܠ. ܕܡܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܠܠܝܐ ܐܘ
ܐܝܡܡܐ. ܗܘ ܣܒܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܠܠܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܚܫܘܟܐ
ܕܐܡܗ ܩܕܡܝܐ[7] ܒܟܪܣܐ ܡܬܪܒܐ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܡܘܠܕܗ ܢܘܗܪܐ

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[1] E ܕܣܓܝܐ [2] This question and answer are wanting in BC.
[3] D ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ [4] CDE ܢܦܫ, without ܕ [5] D ܕܗܕܐ ܗܝ, and on the margin ܕܡܢܐ ܗܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܣܒܪܐ ܕܡܬܡܕܪ, 'I think ܡܢܐ ܗܝ is correct.' [6] Read ܒܝ̈ܫܬܐ, without ܘ ? [7] AE omit ܩܕܡܝܐ

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ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܫܢܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘ̄. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܒܡܛܘܪܐ ܠܡܬܢܨܚܘ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ ܐܦ ܠܗܕܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܢܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܠܟ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܘܡܩܪܒ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܢܩܪܒ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܒܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܐܙܠ. ܘܣܓܝ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܘܡܣܩ ܡܢܬܠܐ ܘܡܢܟܝܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܘܐܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܢܬܐ ܒܦܠܚܐ ܡܩܝܠܝܢ ܀

VI ܗܟܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܚܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩ. ܕܫܒܪ̈ܐ[1] ܠܗ ܠܚܕ ܗܘܝܐ ܀ ܒܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[2] ܐܡܪ. ܕܗܘܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝ̈ܐ ܐܘܠܡܦܝܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܐܡܪܝ̈. ܗܘܝܐ ܗܟܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܐܦ ܦܠܛܝ̈[3] ܐܡܝܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܫܪܒ̈ܐ. ܕܒܘܪ̈ܝܬ ܡܘܠܟܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܢܟܝܠܐ. ܘܐܟܪܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܕܪܕܩܝܢ[4] ܒܗܘ ܢܟܠܐ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܬܐ. ܕܢܫܠܡ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܟܝܠܝܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܛܠ. ܐܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܫܝܢ. ܒܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܛܠ ܢܫܒܪ ܗܟܝܠܝܢ. ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܘܠܗܠ ܐܢܫ. ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܢܫܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ[5]. ܕܟܕ ܘܒܗܘܐ[6] ܢܠܒܫ ܠܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܡܛܠ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܬܐ.

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[1] Read ܕܫܒܪ̈ܐ [2] Read ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ, here and elsewhere.
[3] D ܦܠܛܝ̈ [4] C ܘܡܠܒܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܕܪܕܩܝܢ
[5] BCDE ܕܡܕܒܪ ; C omits ܠܗ [6] D ܘܒܗܘܐ ܡܢ

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ܗܘܝܢ ܣ̈ܠܩܬܐ ܕܗܘܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܗ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܡܬܬܦܝܣܝܢ ܕܫ̈ܢܝܐ
ܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܚܙܘܩܘ
ܠܡܬܦܝܣܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܝܣܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܢ̈ܝ ܝܠܕܐ ܓ̈ܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܕܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܛܝ ܐܢܐ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ
ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ
ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܠܘܕܗ ܡܛܠܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܓܝܡܢܘ̈ܣܐ[1]
ܕܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܢܕܥ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕܗ ܕܦܩܕ ܦܩܕ
ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܛܪܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܕܡܬܢܛܪ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܚܕ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܒܪܘ ܡܬܬܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܬܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܚܪ : ܡܛܠ
ܕܥܡܝܕ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܘܢܚܙܘܢܝܗ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܬܡܝܗܘܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ
ܡܣܬܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܀

V ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܘܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐ. ܐܢܫܐ[2] ܢܚ̈ܡܢܐ
ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ. ܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[3] ܫܕܪܘ ܗܘܘ ܥܡ
ܝܠܕ̈ܬܗܘܢ[4] ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܠܕ̈ܬܗܘܢ[5]. ܐܢܫܐ
ܕܡܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܗܟܢܐ. ܡܢ ܒܪܟܡ̈ܢܐ[6] ܢܒ̈ܝܫܐ ܢܚ̈ܡܢܐ ܠܟܪ̈ܣܬܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܐܠ. ܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܠܝܢ. ܕܐܝ ܠܡܬܦܝܣܘ
ܗܟܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܡ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܗ ܠܝ. ܕܫܒܩܬܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܐ ܡܢܝ. ܐܠܐ
ܐܝ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܠܝ ܠܡܬܝܗܒ. ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܝ ܐܢܫ

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[1] BCDE ܘܠܓܝܡܢܘ̈ܣܐ [2] D ܠܐܢܫܐ [3] D ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
[4] D ܝܠܕ̈ܬܗܘܢ [5] ܠܐܠܕ̈ܬܗܘܢ [6] Read ܒܪ̈ܟܡܢܐ,
βραχμᾶνες.

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ܘܡܫܐܠ ܕܡܝܐ ܠܦܘܪ ܗܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ.
ܕܗܢܐ[1] ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܚܡܪܐ ܐܘ ܢܝܫܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ
ܢܡܪܕ. ܢܠܐ ܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܐܢܬ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܢܦܫܟܘܢ. ܘܐܢܐ
ܘܐܢܬ ܒܠܫܢܟ ܢܦܫܟ ܢܨܒܬ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܦܘܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܥܒܕ ܣܓܝ. ܘܟܕ ܒܟܐ ܢܟܪܝܐ[2] ܗܘܐ. ܕܒܠܫܢܗ ܐܢܐ ܢܟܣ
ܢܦܫܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܩܘܡܬܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܒܪܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܩܘܡܬܗ ܗܟܝܠ ܒܪ ܗܘܐ[3]. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܪ
ܒܩܘܡܬܗ ܢܒܝܗ ܐܡܝܢ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܟܠܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܒܟܘܪܐ ܦܬܝܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܒܟܐ
ܐܦ ܦܘܪ ܠܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܒܟܘܪܐ ܦܬܝܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܗܘܢ[4]. ܘܐܬܟܪܗܘܢ
ܦܓܪܐ ܠܐܘܟܠܐ ܢܦܘ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܚܒܪܗ. ܡܢ ܪܓܠܐ
ܒܗܕܐ ܕܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܘܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܘܪ ܐܬܦܠܓ
ܘܐܬܦܩ ܠܩܛܠܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܘܬܗ ܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܣܓܝܐ ܠܦܘܪ. ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܠܩܛܠܗ ܢܦܠ. ܕܚܒܪ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܠܦܘܪ ܚܙܐ ܦܓܪܗ ܕܒܟ. ܘܚܙܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܐܬܒܟܠܗ ܀
ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ ܕܐܬܩܛܠ ܠܗ ܦܘܪ. ܠܐܘܟܠܐ ܗܘܒܕ
ܐܦܘ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܒܟܐ
ܝܠܒܘܟܘܢ ܗܢ̈ܕܘܝܐ[5]. ܕܡܠܟܘܟܘܢ[6] ܡܝܬ. ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܬܦܢܘܢ..

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[1] Read ܗܢܐ, without ܕ [2] C has ܒܟܐ only. [3] AE omit from ܘܐܦ to ܗܘܐ [4] ADE omit from ܘܟܕ to ܕܩܘܡܬܗܘܢ
[5] This clause is wanting in BC. [6] ܕ is superfluous, if the preceding clause stand (it represents the Greek τάλανες Ἰνδοί, Müller, p. 97, col. 1).

ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܒܒܢܝ ܡܐܪܟܝ ܀ ܘܢܟܝܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܠܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ. ܟܪܝܗ ܗܘܐ
ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ. ܘܡܬܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܬܡܠܟ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܝܢ[1] ܗܦܟ
ܟܢܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܟܬܒ. ܘܫܐܠܬܐ
ܘܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܟܠ[2] ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ. ܘܡܢ ܟܪܡܢܝܗܘܢ[3] ܐܬܝܐ
ܗܦܟܘ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܗܦܟܘ ܕܥܘܡܠܐܘܣ ܡܬܡܠܟܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܢܬܠܘܫ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܗ
ܕܦܘܪ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܪ ܡܕܡ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ
ܗܘܐ ܢܟܝܠܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܩܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘ ܒܟܠܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܪܝܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܢܣܒ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܬܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܐܝܟܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܬܟܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ[4] ܕܐܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ. ܕܒܠܚܘܕ
ܠܐ ܢܩܘܡ[5] ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܡܛܠ ܀ ܘܡܬܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܐܬܢܨܚܘ ܩܠܝܠ[6]. ܘܐܬܡܚܝܠܘ
ܗܘܘ. ܡܛܠ[7] ܠܐܬܘܪܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܘ ܐܦ ܠܗܢܕܘܝܐ
ܠܡܚܠܡܘ ܀

IV ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ[8] ܢܨܚܝܢ
ܠܡܣܒ. ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܟܠܘܢ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ[9] ܐܬܦܢܝ ܀

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[1] The words ܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܝܢ should be omitted. [2] Read ܟܠ, without ܘ. [3] So all the MSS. instead of ܟܪܡܢܝܗܘܢ. [4] ABCE ܘܡܛܠ. [5] D ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ. [6] Masc. for fem. [7] ܘܡܛܠ would be better. [8] D ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. [9] D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

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ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܦܪܣܝܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܦܘܪ ܚܝܘ ܘܐܙܠܘ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܬܒܛܠܘ ܚܝܘ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܗܘܘ ܥܠ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܀ ܐܦ
ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗ ܒܥܝܪܐ ܡܚܕܐ[1] ܗܘܐ
ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܚܙܐ[2] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܐܬܪܥܝܬܗ ܐܬܒܩܝ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ
ܥܒܝܪ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܦܩܕܘ ܗܘܘ ܐܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܐ[3]
ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܘܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ. ܘܗܘܘ ܒܡܝܫܪܐ ܒܗܝܢ
ܘܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܚܘܪܐ[4] ܕܢܬܬܠܘܢ ܠܡܣܩ. ܘܢܫܬܘܢ
ܗܟܢܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܚܘܪܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܥܒܕܘ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ
ܒܚܘܪܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܐܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܠܘܩܒܠܐ ܕܚܘܪܐ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܬܠܬܐ ܕܦܪܘܠ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܠ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܕܦܪܘܠ
ܩܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܣܝܒܪܬܐ ܕܠܥܒܪܐ ܡܕܒܪܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܢܓܪܐ ܘܡܘܬܒܢܐ[5] ܠܡܣܒܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܟܠܗ
ܣܝܒܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܟܠ ܕܢܩܒܠܘܢ[5] ܥܡܗܘܢ[6] ܗܘܝ.
ܒܬܪܝܐ ܒܗ ܣܝܒܪܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܠܬ[7] ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ
ܐܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܡܟܠܝܢ ܚܘܪܐ ܠܩܘܡܐ ܗܘܘ. ܒܟܘܡܗܝܢ
ܘܒܫܩܘܬܗܝܢ ܠܟܠܗ[8]. ܫܩܘܬܗܝܢ ܘܟܘܡܗܝܢ ܢܝܚܝܢ[9].
ܘܡܗܝܢ ܡܒܥܝ[10] : ܘܡܗܝܢ ܒܡܘܪܢܝܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ : ܐܦ ܚܕ

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[1] D ܡܚܕܐ ܗܘܐ [2] E ܚܙܐ [3] D ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ [4] BC ܕܡܘܪܐ
[5] D ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢܗ [6] ABCE ܥܡܗܘܢ [7] ABCE ܥܒܠܗ
[8] ABCE ܠܟܠܗ ܘܒܫܩܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܟܘܡܗܘܢ [9] DE ܢܝܚܘ
[10] In ABCE the construction goes on in the masculine.

ܠܓܒܟ ܠܝ[1] ܒܠܚܘܕܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܝ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܚܝܝ. ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܒܐܬܪܝ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܘܗܝ ܗܕܡܘܗܝ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ. ܘܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܒܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܫܠܝܢ ܀ ܚܙܝ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܦܪܣܝܗܝ ܘܓܠܝܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܕܡ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ. ܗܘ ܕܒܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܓܒܪ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܠܘܬܟ ܕܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܝܢ ܦܩܝܕܝܢ ܀ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܬ. ܘܡܬܚܝܠ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܝܡܬ[2] ܀ ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ[3] ܡܬܦܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܟܠ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܬܦܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܦܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܗܘ[4] ܕܡܕܡ ܦܪܣܐ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܗ. ܘܪܓܫܐ ܘܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܡܬܦܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ. ܒܪܢܫܐ ܚܢܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ ܀ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܕܬܡܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܣܝܢܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܠܐ ܕܢܛܠܗ. ܒܗ ܒܥܬܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܕܚܠ ܐܢܐ ܀

III ܘܡܢ ܕܩܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ[6] ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܦܢܝܢ ܚܠܝܨ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘܬܐ. ܘܩܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܐ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܘܗܝ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܡܫܟܚܘ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܦܩܕܗ ܗܘܐ. ܐܬܘ[7]

[1] D ܠܥܒܕܘܗܝ [2] One feels tempted to read ܩܝܡܬ, *ὥστε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σε μείζονα δύνασθαι* (Müller, p. 96, col. 2).

[3] D places ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ after ܡܬܦܢܐ ܐܢܐ [4] D ܗܘ

[5] A ܕܦܘܩܕܢܗ [6] D ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ [7] Read ܘܐܬܘ

ܬܫ̈ܒܚܬܗܘܢ ܕܝ̈ܘܢܝܐ[1]. ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܚ̈ܝܠܐ ܕܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ ܠܝ ܚܙܐ. ܘܦܝ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܥܒܝ̈ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܠܚ̈ܝܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܕܚܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܗ ܥܒܝܕ ܗܘܐ: ܡܛܠܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܕܒܪܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܦ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܦܝ̈ܫܬܐ ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܒܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܝܠܝ̈ܦܝܢ ܥܠ ܢܕܘܢܩܛܝܢ ܠܝ ܢܩܛܐ ܦܪ̈ܕܫܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܘ̈ܬܗܘܢ[2]. ܢܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܝܘܬܐ[3] ܘܕܒ̈ܐ ܘܦܓܘܪ[4] ܒܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܪ ܗܕܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠ[5] ܕܢܣܒܬ ܕܠܩܘܒܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܝܠܝܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܒܣ̈ܝܢܐ ܒܦܘܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܡܗܡܝܢܝܢ ܀ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܐܦ[6] ܡܠܟܐ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܦܝ̈ܫܬܐ. ܘܒܪܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܦܩܝܕܘܬܐ ܠܩܘܒܠܗܘܢ ܣܡܝܢ ܘܠܠܝܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܫܘܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܕܢܦܩ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܫܢ̈ܠܘܬܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܢܣܝܒܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܦܘܪ ܦܘܢ ܦܫ ܐܓܘܢܐ ܒܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܫܠܡ. ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܟܬܒܬ ܠܟ. ܠܦܘܪܐ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܡܕ̈ܢܚܬܗܘܢ ܐܣܬܝܪ̈ܝ[7]. ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܢܦܪܕܝܗ ܐܬܡܢܝܪ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܗ. ܕܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ[8] ܡܕܡ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܘܡܢܝܪ ܠܐ ܥܒܝܕ. ܐܦ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܦܪܝܗ. ܕܡܠܟ ܕܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܐܟܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܐܝܟܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܢܐ ܟܠ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܚܘܝܘ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܗܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܢܦܪܝܢ

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[1] D ܕܝ̈ܘܢܝܐ ܬܫ̈ܒܚܬܗܘܢ. Read ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ? [2] D ܕܒܐܬܪܘ̈ܬܗܘܢ

[3] D omits ܘܐܪ̈ܝܘܬܐ [4] We should probably read ܦܛܘܪ

[5] Read ܡܛܠ, without ܘ [6] B omits ܐܦ [7] ABCE ܐܣܛܪ

[8] D ܗܠܝܗ

ܐܠܗ̈ܐ: ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ: ܕܢܬܩܝܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ
ܒܡܘܕܥܢܘܬܐ ܣܟܠܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܘܒ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ.
ܐܠܐ ܡܦܩܕ ܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܕܬܫܕܪ ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦ[1] ܐܡܟ ܠܘܬܝ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܟܣܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܬܦܠܣܦܘ[2] ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܕܒܝܫܐ
ܘܒܗ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܟ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܦܠܣܦܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ
ܐܬܬܪܝܡܘ ✦ ܘܗܘܝܬ ܫܡܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܦܠܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܬܦܛܠ
ܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܦܩܕ ܘܡܚܘܦ ܘܠܗ[3] ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦܝ ܐܡܟ ܠܘܬܝ ✦ ܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܐܠܗ ܐܘܠܝܡܦܝ[4]
ܡܬܦܪܫܐ ܗܘܐ[5] ܠܟ. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܗܘ ܐܣܝܪ
ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ. ܘܡܟܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ[6] ܠܗ
ܠܗ. ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ[7] ܘܦܩܕ[8] ܘܠܐ ܬܬܟܪܝܢ ✦ ܘܡܛܠ
ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܝ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܡܬܦܪܫ
ܥܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ. ܘܠܡܕܡ ܕܗܫܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܐ ܬܐܒܕ: ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܗܝ ܕܫܠܐ ܘܬܥܕܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܝ. ܕܟܕ ܡܚܘܦ ܕܡܕܡ
ܠܐ ܬܩܒܠ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܬܒܥ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܬܬܠ ܒܟܠ ✦
ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ. ܕܢܬܠ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܣܢܩܠܝܛܘܣ
ܒܬܪܟܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܘ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܒܢܝ ܦܠܣܦܘܬܐ[9]. ܕܠܐ

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[1] D ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦ [2] Read ܠܡܬܦܠܣܦܘ [3] D omits ܘܠܗ, and has ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦ [4] D ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦ [5] ADE ܗܘܬ [6] D ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܟܝܠ. Read ܘܡܟܝܠ ܡܠܟܬܐ [7] D ܐܢܐ [8] B points ܘܦܩܕܝ, D ܘܦܩܕܝ [9] E ܦܠܣܦܐ

ܒܝܠܕ̈ܝܟܐ ܠܡܐ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܘܢ. ܝܐܐ¹ ܢܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܨܒܝܢܟܘܢ ܡܥܛܝܢܘܬܟܘܢ ܒܕܡܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܝܘܬ̈ܐ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܗ ܘܠܡܦܠܚܘܬܗ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܗܘ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܘܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܢܦܠܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܝܘܒܝܢܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܐܬܚܫܒܬ ܥܡܢ ܐܬܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܠܟܝ ܝܗܒܬ ܐܡܪ. ܘܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܡܘܗ ܠܗ. ܘܥܡܗ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܀

II ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܩܡܬ ܐܝܘܒܝܢܘܣ ܥܡ ܚܝܠܘܬܗ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܩܘܡܬ ܕܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܒܕܝ̈ܢܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ² ܫܒܘܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܘܒܝܢܘܣ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܐܬܚܘܝ. ܕܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܗܡܢܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܫܒܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܠܐܝܘܒܝܢܘܣ. ܝܗܒܗ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܕ̈ܝܢܐ ܢܚܒܪ ܐܢܗ. ܠܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܩܢܐ ܫܦܫ ܐܢܗ ܠܡܫܠܡ ܘܠܡܬܩܢܘ. ܘܝܗܒܐ ܠܕܪ̈ܗܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܡܢܗ. ܢܟܣܝܢ³ ܒܗ ܐܪܡܝܬ ܘܗܡܢܐ ܫܢܝܬ⁴. ܕܝܢ ܕܟܠ ܕܪ̈ܗܡܐ ܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܘܐܬܬܚܡܬ. ܗܡܢܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܚܕܬܐ ܡܕܡ ܐܢܗ ܠܡܫܬܩܠܘ. ܒܬܪ ܫܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܠܐ ܫܢܝ. ܘܠܗ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܠ⁵ ܕܢܟܣܐ ܢܬܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ

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¹ Read ܐܢ ? ² BC omit ܚܙܐ ³ D ܘܢܟܣܝܢ ⁴ There seems to be something wrong in the two preceding clauses, from ܘܝܗܒܐ onwards. ⁵ D ܕܥܠ

ܡܠܟܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ ܡܘܬܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ
ܗܘ. ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܪܥܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܡܬܩܒܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܢܦܠ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܕܟܪܘ ܥܘܡܪܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ. ܥܠ ܣܡ
ܡܬܠ ܡܢܐ ܢܡܘܣ ܡܬܓܒܪܝܢ. ܕܗܢܐ ܟܠܗ ܘܟܢܐ ܒܥܘܠܝܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܝܢ ܡܫܬܒܩܝܢ ❖ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܩܒܪ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܫܝܫܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܟܬܒ
ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܒܠܫܢܗ. ܘܢܬܟܬܒ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܒܠܫܢܝܗܘܢ[1]
ܝܘܢܝܐ ❖ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ: ܕܠܗܘܢ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܠܣܦܐ ܘܡܬܪܓܡܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ[2].
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܢܛܪܝܬܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ ܘܠܗ ܒܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ
ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܠܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܘܠܐ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ: ܐܢ ܦܩܕܬܘܢ ܠܝ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܢܦܩܘ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܒܠܫܢܝ ܝܘܢܝ. ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܫܢܝ ❖ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܕܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢ
ܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܠܫܢܝ ܝܘܢܝ. ܘܟܠ ܫܪܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘܐ
ܦܠܘܛܘܣ. ܚܕ ܡܢܗ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܪܓܡܢܘ. ܗܢܐ ܒܠܫܢܝ ܝܘܢܝ
ܐܢܐ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܘܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘܢ
ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢ ܕܐܢܫ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ
ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܛܪܝܬܘܢ. ܘܐܢܐ ܒܫܢܝܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܘ. ܘܐܢܐ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܝܗܒ ܕܐܢܫ ܝܘܠܦ. ܘܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܘܡܢ ܚܘܕܐ
ܕܠܘܬ ܘܡܢ ܫܪܟܐ ܕܐܝܢܝܢ ܝܘܢ ܐܬܦܠܓܬ. ܗܘܐ ܩܝܡ ܘܠܗ
ܠܡܬܠܘܢ. ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܐܢ ܡܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܝܪܘ ❖

[1] A ܒܠܫܢܝܗܘܢ   [2] BC omit ܡܫܒܚܐ

BOOK III.

I ܡܫܡܫ[1] ܕܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ. ܠܘܬ ܢܩܛܢ.
ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܪܕܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ
ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܝܬ ܠܗ. ܗܦܟ ܠܡܪܕܘܬ ܠܐܬܪܗ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܟܕ ܫܠܡܬܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܦܪܣܐ. ܘܐܘܕܥܘܗܝ ܘܫܠܛܗ ܕܒܪ.
ܘܥܠ ܦܘܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܐܙܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܡܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ
ܘܒܛܠܠܐ ܘܒܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܓܘܪܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܥܡܘܠܐ ܕܓܘܪܘܬܐ ܐܬܡܪܗ
ܘܗܘܠܝ. ܘܒܢܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܝܒܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܢܦܫܗܘܢ
ܗܟܢ ܐܬܡܪܚܢ. ܓܒܪܐ ܠܝ ܚܕܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܟܝܠ
ܠܝ ܠܡܦܠܚܘ. ܐܬܚܝܒܢ ܗܟܠ ܟܡ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܦܠܫܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ ܚܠܦ. ܘܟܠ ܚܢܢ ܢܣܒܐ ܘܡܫܟ ܩܪܒܐ ܟܒܪ ܗܘܐ
ܠܝ. ܘܐܬܕܒܩܘ ܗܘܘ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܙܕܟܝ. ܠܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܠ[2] ܘܫܘܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ[3] ܕܢܦܠ
ܡܬܩܠܣܝܢ. ܟܕ ܟܬܝܒ ܘܡܬܡܪܩܝܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܚܒܪ ܒܟܝܢܐ
ܡܬܡܪܩܝܢ[4]. ܥܠ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܠܡܪܕܘܬ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܘܟܢ[5]

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[1] See Müller, p. 94. [2] AE omit ܕܢܦܠ [3] D omits ܗܘܐ
[4] C omits ܡܬܡܪܩܝܢ ...... ܘܗܘܐ [5] DE ܡܬܬܘܟܢ

ܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܚܒܠܘܢ. ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܢܟܦܘܬܐ ܐܢܫ. ܐܦ ܐܢܬ
ܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܢܬܕܪܫ ܡܬܢܟܦܝܢ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ، ܡܢ
ܒܡܘܬܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܒܒܠܘܢ
ܕܒܒܠ ܢܦܩ[1] ܀

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[1] The remainder of Book II. (see Müller, p. 82) is wanting in the Syriac as well as in the Latin translation.

ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗ̄ܝ[1]. ܘܐܬܕܒܪܬ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܗ[2] ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܪ. ܐܬܐ.
ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܢܗܪܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܩܪ̈ܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܓܘܢܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܢܫܝ
ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܒܥܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦܐ ܒܪܒܪܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܟܚ
ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܘܠ ܒܪ̈ܒܪܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܠܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܠܒܪܒܪܝܐ
ܟܕ ܡܢ ܡܥܡܘܪܬܗ ܢܦܩܘ. ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܠܛ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܬܦܪܢܣܘܢ
ܡܦܝܣ ܐܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܠܡܦܩܘܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܢܩܕܡ ܠܗ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܙܠ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܢܬܕܒܪ. ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܒܝܬܗ.
ܕܝܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܕܠܐܝܟܢܘܣ ܐܬܐܬܐ܀ ܡܛܠܘܬܐ ܓܒ ܕܝܪܬܐ[3]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[4] ܠܕܘܡܝܐ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܢܚܬ܀ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܕܘܡܝܐ ܫܡܗ ܥܠܝ. ܕܩܪܝܐ[5] ܘܐܣܛܘ̈ܪܬܐ ܢܣ̈ܒܬܐ[6] ܠܗ
ܠܡܘܕܝܢ. ܘܐܬܕܪܘܒܬ ܐܡܪܗ ܕܕܘܡܢ ܘܐܬܚܒܪܘ ܐܢܫܝܗ
ܠܡܘܢ ܢܒܝܕ[7]. ܐܢܫ ܗܟܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܣܛܘ̈ܪܬܐ[8] ܢܦܠܘ.
ܘܒܢܘܡܘܣ ܢܡܘܣܝ. ܘܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܥܒܕܘ.
ܘܐܬܕܒܪܬ ܘܐܬܚܒܪܬ ܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܐܝܟ.
ܘܡܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܝܠ. ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

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[1] D ܗ̄ܘ [2] BCDE ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܗ [3] D ܒܪ ܕܝܪܬܐ
[4] A has ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. In any case ܒܪ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ seems to be corrupt. [5] All the MSS. have ܕ [6] So in the MSS., instead of ܐܣܛܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܣ̈ܒܬܐ [7] Read ܢܒܝܕ
[8] So in the MSS., instead of ܐܣܛܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ

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ܘܚܝܠܐ ܣܓܝ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܢܫܩܠܘܢ[1] ܕܢܥܒܪܘܢ[2] ܘܢܬܕܒܪܘܢ.
ܐܠܦܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܡܣܟܢܘ ܙܝܢܗܘܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܢܕܝܒܝܢ ܕܚܣܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܟܣܝܢ ܒܝܬ. ܡܢ ܩܕܡ[3] ܕܢܦܩܘܢ
ܒܝܬ. ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܐܢܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܚܝܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܟܪܝܐ[4] ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ
ܥܡ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ[5] ܢܦܠܘܢ. ܟܠܗ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܒܙܒܢܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܒܣܘܓܐܗܘܢ ܠܦܪܣܝܐ ܫܘܒܩܢ ܀ ܘܩܛܠ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܬܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ
ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܒܪܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܘܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܢܣܒܘ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒܘ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܦܪܣܝܢ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ
ܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܢܟܬܒܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ[6] ܕܟܠܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܟܕ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܢܣܒ. ܘܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܣܝܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܢܦܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ[7] ܗܠܝܢ
ܫܢܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ
ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܚܕ ܗܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܒܬܪܗ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ
ܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ
ܦܪܣ. ܘܠܡܩܛܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܕܢܣܒܗ ܠܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] AE omit ܢܫܩܠܘܢ [2] D ܕܢܥܒܪܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ [3] D ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܘ
[4] D ܕܢܟܪܝܐ [5] D ܒܢܝܗܘܢ [6] D ܣܘܪܬܐ [7] D ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ

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ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[1] ܡܛܠ ܐܡܗ ܘܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܓܒܪܗ. ܐܟܘܬܗ
ܡܢܗ ܢܦܩ. ܘܡܛܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܝܬܒܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܀
ܚܙܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܩܢܝܢ ܘܡܥܒܕܝܢ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܫܒܩ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ
ܠܡܫܒܩ ܘܠܡܦܘܪܩܘ. ܡܢܫܒܩܝܢ[2] ܘܕܒܫܢܝܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܢܣܒ
ܫܒܥܐ[3] ܕܐܬܒܗܘܢ ܫܒܥܐ ܚܕܐ ܚܘܠܬܐ[4] ܢܕܥܬܝܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕܗ
ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܣܒܥ. ܘܟܠܗ ܫܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܕܡ ܀ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܕܐ
ܦܩܕܝܢ. ܕܡܢ ܦܪܣܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܚܒܫܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܡܫܠܡ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܚܙܝ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܒܕܘܟܬܗܘܢ ܓܢܒܝܢ. ܒܕܡܐ ܕܚܙܝ ܣܘܢܛܪܐ[5] ܕܡܬܚܒܝܢ
ܠܦܬܘܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܛܪ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܪܬܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܦܩܕܝܢ
ܕܒܪܬܗ ܡܬܬܒܐ[6] ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܀ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܣܦܪܝܢ
ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܢܫܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܦܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ
ܚܒܝܒܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܝܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܀ ܡܢ ܝܪܬܘܬܗ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܗ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܡ. ܦܫܩܘܗܝ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܗܕܐ
ܗܝ. ܕܐܠܗܐ[7] ܗܟܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܬܦܪܘ ܘܠܐܪܥܐ
ܡܛܝܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܦܪܣܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܘܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܝܕܗ.
ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܬܐ ܡܚܝܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ

[1] Read ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ   [2] A ܘܡܫܒܩܝܢ   [3] D ܫܒܥܗ

[4] All the MSS. have ܚܘܠܬ, and ܚܘܠܬܐ is so pointed in E.

[5] D ܕܣܘܢܛܪܐ   [6] I.e. σύνθρονος, Müller, p. 80, col. 2.

[7] Read ܐܠܗܐ, without ܕ

ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܢܬܬܟܝܠܝܗ ܘܕܠܐ ܩܛܡܐ ܠܡܕܢܗ ܢܦܠ. ܠܗܘܢ
ܢܚܬܐ ܡܚܡܣ ܕܐܬܪܝܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܝܘܡ ܗܒܠ ܒܫܘܩܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܣ
ܠܐ ܓܕܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܒܡܠܬܐ
ܡܥܕܪܢܘܬܐ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܘܕܘܡܝܐ ܫܕܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܡܕܡ
ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܫܕܪܐ ܦܬܓܡ ܕܥܘܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܦܬܓܡܐ
ܩܕܡܐ ܢܘܣܦܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܗܕܝܢ ܣܠܩܬ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܦܩܕܬܐ[1]
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܀

XIV ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܢܦܠܬ ܡܘܬܗ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܡܗ
ܘܠܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܟܬܒ. ܘܗܟܢ ܠܘܬܗܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܐܪܢܕܘܟܬ[2] ܡܪܬܝ ܕܗܡܟܝܬܐ. ܫܠܡ. ܒܥܘ
ܘܥܐ ܥܡ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܒܠܟܕܒܒܬܐ[3] ܗܘ ܠܡܘܬܐ. ܚܙܪܬܝ
ܗܘܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[4] ܀ ܘܥܡ ܙܒܢܐ ܥܠ ܕܪܝܘܫ
ܕܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܒܡܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܨܒܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܐ.
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܘܗܟܢ ܡܢܠܟܝܢ ܚܘܘܐ. ܐܚܝܕܝܢܟܝ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܕ[5]
ܫܠܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܪܡܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܢܦܠܬ ܡܫܪܝܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ[6] ܗܘܬ
ܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܟ ܚܠܡܝܢ. ܘܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܐܪܢܕܘܟܬ
ܕܡܫܡܫ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܡܢ ܢܒܝܘܬ ܚܠܡܝܢ ܐܪܡܝܬܗ ܘܦܘܫܩܗ.
ܡܢܝܠܬܗ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܗܘ ܕܠܝ ܢܦܠ. ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܢܒܝ ܗܘܐ

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[1] D ܕܦܩܕܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ   [2] Rather ܐܝܪܢܕܘܟܬ, *Îrândokht.* Towards the end of chap. XII she was called ܐܪܝܘܕܘܟܬ, *Ariodokht.*

[3] B ܕܒܒܠܟܕ   [4] D ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ   [5] A omits ܟܕ

[6] D ܐܢܬܬܐ

ܕܒܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܝܬܗ ܕܐܡܗ ܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ. ܕܗܘ ܩܒܝܪ
ܕܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܝܬ. ܒܟܒܪܐ[1] ܘܒܪܬܐ ܕܐܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ
ܣܓ̈ܝܐܐ ܐܬܒܟܝܘܗܝ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܘܡ̈ܬܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܢܐ[2]. ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܕܦܩܕܢܐ ܥܒܕܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ[3]. ܗܟܝܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܥܒܕܘ ܘܐܬܟܪܝܘ[4] ܒܝܬ ܡܪܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܢܦܩ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܘܟܬܒܘ ܘܐܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܠܟܠ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ. ܚܕ ܗܘ ܕܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܬܩܠܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5] ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕ. ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܐܡܪܘܢ
ܟܠܗ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܘܟܠܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܡܠܐ
ܢܘܗܪܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܣܝܡ[6] ܒܥܠ ܕܡܠܐ
ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܩܘܡܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܚܬܡܐ
ܕܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܐܡܗ ܠܐ ܢܟܬܒܘܢ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ.
ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܗ ܡܫܬܠܛܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ
ܗܠܝܢ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܘܫܦܝܪܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ
ܗܦܟ ܠܘܬ ܢܣܒܬܐ[7] ܠܟܬܒܘ ܠܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.[8] ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܀
ܡܬܟܬܒܐ ܟܕ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܥܕܟ ܗܫܐ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܟܬܒܬ
ܠܝ ܗܘ ܕܡܟܬܒܗ ܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܘܟܬܒܬ
ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܒܬܪܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܘܫܒܬܗ ܠܗܘ
ܡܢ ܕܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܬ ܡܪܐ ܢܦܫܐ

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[1] E ܡܓܒܪܐ [2] E ܡܢܐ [3] Read ܠܡܒܟܐ, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐδάκρυσεν. See Müller, p. 79, col. 2. [4] D ܘܐܬܟܪܝܘ

[5] A omits ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [6] A omits ܗܢܘܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܣܝܡ

[7] D writes ܟܬܒܐ ܢܣܒܬܐ after ܕܡܠܟܐ [8] BDE ܕܡܠܟܐ

ܕܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܐܝܡܪܐ ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ. ܘܡܠܝܟܐ ܕܕܘܟܐ
ܒܪ̈ܢܫܗܘܢ ܢܫܬܡܥܘܢ. ܘܠܩܘܒܠܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܢܠܒܟܘܢ. ܢܬܦܪܫ
ܡܢ ܒܩܘܡܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ✤ ܘܐܦ[1] ܗܕܐ ܢܬܡܠܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܚܙܩܝܐ
ܢܒܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܗܘ ܒܣܘܦܪ̈ܐ ܬܐܟܠܘܢ ܘܬܫܬܘܢ ܕܡܗܘܢ[2].
ܘܒܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܘܠܡܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ✤ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟ̈ܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܙܐ. ܐܬܦܢܝ ܘܐܬܐ ܒܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܗ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܕܦܠܛܝܢ. ܒܦܠܛܘܪܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܡܠܟܬܐ ܐܫܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ
ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܬܟܪܗ. ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܐ ܕܢܟܠ ܐܫܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܐܦ ܡܫܬܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܐܦ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ[3].
ܗܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܛ ܠܝ ܕܡܫܘܕܥ
ܕܘܪܐ ܘܕܪ̈ܓܠܐ ܘܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܘܕܥܐ ܘܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ
ܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ. ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܬܠܘܗ ✤ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ[4] ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕܗ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܕܐܦܪ̈ܝܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܫܠܛܢ[5] ܐܬܦܝܣ. ܘܟܕ[6] ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܬܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܚܟܝܡ ܬܒܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ. ܟܕ ܥܬܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ
ܕܢܝܚ ܕܫܠܝܛܘ ܠܒܪܢܫ ✤ ܘܩܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܢܐ[7]. ܗܢ ܕܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܡܛܠ. ܟܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܬܒܥܘ. ܠܝ
ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܐܬܦܝܣ ܐܠܝ ܦܪܘܫ. ܝܕܥܬ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܡܠܟ. ܡܛܠ

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[1] C ܐܦ   [2] AD ܢܬܦܫܩܘܢ   [3] A ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ
[4] D ܘܟܕ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ   [5] C ܕܫܠܛܢܗ
[6] C ܘܟܕ ܗܟ   [7] D omits ܐܢܐ

ܘܡܠܟܬܐ ܘܒ̈ܢܬܗ ܐܣܝܪܢ ܒܝܕ ܚܝܠܘ̈ܬܐ. ܒܬܘ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܘܗ
ܐܝܟ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܕܡܫܒܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ[1] ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗ
ܦܠܚܘ. ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ
ܕܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ[2]. ܡܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ ܢܩܘܡ. ܘܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܣܡܟܐ ܢܠܟܘܢ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܩܒܠ. ܘܠܡܠܟܐ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܀ ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܢܬܠܒ ܘܠܡܠܟܐ[3] ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ
ܐܡܝܢܝܢ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܢܗܠܟܘܢ. ܘܢܫܬܘܢ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ[4] ܘܚܝܠܐ
ܢܥܒܕܘܢ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܚܕ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܢܩܒܠ. ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ[5]
ܢܬܠ ܕܢܫܟܚܘܢ ܠܝ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ[6] ܕܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܙܐ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܗ. ܘܫܘܫܠܐ ܚܕ ܕܒܪܥܝܬܐ.
ܘܐܫܬܦܠ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ. ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܫܪܒܬܐ. ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܟܚܝܢ.
ܘܟܘܪܐ ܕܣܐܡܐ ܣܓܝܐ. ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܢܬܠ. ܘܠܒܘܫܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܙܘܓܐ ܚܕ[7]. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܕܗܒܐ.
ܘܫܡܥܬ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ[8] ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܡܠܐ ܢܨܝܚܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܠܟܠܗ ܚܕ[9] ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܠܒܘܫܐ
ܢܣܒ ܙܘܓܐ. ܘܟܘܪܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܗܕܝܢ. ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܐ
ܢܫܬܕܪ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܗ. ܘܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܒܟܘܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܠܡܫܡܥܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܫܘܡܠܝܐ

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[1] Read ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ? [2] Read ܡܬܟܠܝܢ ? [3] E ܕܠܡܠܟܐ
[4] C omits ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܘܢܫܬܘܢ ܢܗܠܟܘܢ. [5] D ܡܢܗܘܢ
[6] D ܕܗܢܐ [7] "one suit," ζεῦγος ἱματίων. [8] BCDE omit ܐܢܫ
[9] BC ܚܕ ܚܕ

ܘܡܬܩܝܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܚܒܝܫܝܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܘܕܝܠܗ ܠܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܥܡ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܠܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ.
ܒܡܫܬܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܐܬܘܢ. ܘܒܝܬܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ.
ܘܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܠܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܢܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܐܟܘܠܘܢ. ܫܪܟܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܠܐܠܗܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܘܟܠܝܢ. ܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪܟܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܘ
ܚܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܠܡܐܟܠ. ܘܐܢܫܐ ܦܠܓܘܗ. ܘܡܛܝܒܘܬܐ
ܝܗܒܘ ܗܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܡܫܐ ܕܪܕܝܦܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܚ̈ܝܢ
ܕܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܢܚ̈ܝܢ
ܕܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܠܐܟܠܗ ܢܐܟܠ. ܘܡܢ ܐܟܠܗ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܗ
ܠܡܐܟܠ. ܢܫܠܛܘܢ ܠܡܐܟܠ ܘܠܡܐܟܠܬܐ * ܘܐܦ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܠܡܫܡܫܢ̈ܐ
ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ. ܕܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܪ̈ܚܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܐܟܠܗ[1]
ܦܩܕܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘ ܘܠܡܫܡܫ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܟܠܗܝ
ܠܡܫܬܘܩ ܘܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܠ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ
ܠܡܫܡܫ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܕ̈ܝܢܬܐ ܟܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܘܟܠܐ.
ܡܬܘܐܠܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܥܠ ܐܢܫܐ[2] ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ * ܘܡܦܩܕܝܢ ܕܗܘ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܐ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܟܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܦܪܣܝܢ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܥܡܐ
ܒܥܡܐ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܕܫܝܢ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܗܘܐ[3]. ܕܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ
ܡܝܬܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܐ. ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܣܓܝ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܚܐ ܕܦܠܓ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ * ܘܡܬܘܬܐ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܒܗ ܢܐܬܐ ܟܪܝܐ ܘܡܘܬܒܐ
ܗܘܝܐ ܢܚܒܫܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ[4] ܕܡܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܝܢ *

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1 D ܠܐܟܠܝܗܘܢ   2 D ܐܢܫܐ, E ܘܐܢܫܐ   3 A ܢܗܘܘܢ
4 Read ܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ

ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܐܝܩܪܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܟܢ ܦܩܕ. ܣܓܝ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܟܠܗ ܠܐܣܛܪܛܘܓܗ ܢܦܠ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܠܟܪܘܙܐ ܕܩ̈ܥܐ ܐܢܫ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܫܡܥܘܗ ܠܟܪܘܙܐ ܗܢܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܩܘܡ ܐܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܫܡܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܬܡܬܚܬ. ܠܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܫܠܡ ܥܠܡ.
ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܛܒܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܣܘܢ. ܘܡܘܡܬܐ ܝܗܒܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ
ܢܣܒܘܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܗܒ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܠܝ ܢܣܬܥܒܕ ܘܢܫܠܡܘܢ
ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܐܝܟܢ ܕܡܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ̈ܬܐ[1] ܕܗܘܬ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܦܫ ܗܘܘ. ܐܦ ܗܫܐ ܢܦܫ ܚܢܢ
ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܡܢ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܗܘܐ[2]
ܡܫܬܠܛܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܒܬܪ̈ܥܝܗܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܢܗܦܟܘܢ[3] ܠܐ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܠܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ
ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܡܘܣܗ ܘܕܝܠܗ ܘܥܝܕ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ[4] ܢܬܕܒܪ.
ܘܢܚܪ̈ܘܢ ܘܢܝܚܘܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܬܠܘܫ ܠܟܘܢ
ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܡܕܡ ܥܒܕ. ܘܟܠܢܫ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܚܕܐ. ܗܟܢܐ
ܡܢ ܕܗܫܐ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܩܕܝܢ ܠܡܫܬܥܒܕܘ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ
ܠܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܡܩܒܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ[5] ܕܟܠ ܕܢܬܒܥܐ ܠܡܬܒܥܐ ܀
ܘܦܩܕܝܢ ܕܢ ܘܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ.

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[1] D ܘܠܡܫܬܢܐ. The beginning of the sentence does not accord syntactically with its close. [2] The second ܗܘܐ seems to be superfluous. [3] E ܡܬܐ [4] D ܘܥܝܕܘܬܗ, and on the margin ܐܘ ܢܡܘܣܘܗܝ [5] D ܘܠܡܠܟܐ

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ܐܡܪ[1] ܠܗ ܢܦܠܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܣܝܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܣܛܪܛܝܠܛܐ ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܩܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܝܢ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܐ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܀ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܥܠ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܦܪܣܝܢ. ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܠܘܬܐ ܣܓܝ ܠܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܦܠܓܘܢ ܘܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[2] ܐܡܪ. ܗܢܐ ܢܫܡܥܗ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܣܘܦܝܐ ܡܢܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܠܐܬܪܘܬܗ ܠܗ ܫܡܗ ܢܫܡܥ. ܘܠܣܪܦܝܘܣ[3] ܒܟܬܒܐ ܒܡܫܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܢܫܒܘܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܦܠܓܘܢ ܒܬܪܥܐ ܒܦܬܟܪܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܒܢܗ ܠܗ ܒܚܝܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ[4]. ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܚܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܢܫܒܚܘܗ ܐܢܬ ܀

XIII ܘܦܩܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܦܠܓܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܫܬܠܡ. ܘܠܟܘܪܐ ܕܩܠܝܐ ܢܠܟܣܘܢܝܘܣ. ܘܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ̇ ܕܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܘܒܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܟܕ ܡܦܝܣ ܡܠܟܘܢ ܬܦܪ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܫܠܡܘܢ. ܘܚܘܐ ܥܡ ܕܘܟܝܐ ܕܦܩܕܢܐ ܢܦܩܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ[5] ܡܦܝܣ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܠܟܘܢ ܥܡܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܘܟ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܘܟܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ ܥܡܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܦܩܕܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܙܘ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܀ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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1 A ܥܒܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܦܩܕ

2 C ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ See chap. XIV, near the beginning.

3 D ܘܠܣܪܦܝܘܣ

4 D has on the margin ܠܡܪܢ ܐܝܬ ܚܠܘܬܐ

5 D ܠܡܪܗ

ܕܡܢ ܦܛܘܪܗ̇ ܡܫܠܡܐ ܐܬܟܠܗ. ܒܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܦܩܕ ܐܬܚܫܒ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܘܒ ܘܫܟܝܢ ܝܬܝܪ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܩܠܝܠ ܕܓܠܚܘܬܐ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘ[1] ܦܠܠܟ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܓܠܝܘ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܒܬܚܘܡܘܗܝ. ܒܫܢܬܐ ܒܗܘܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܣܓܝ. ܘܗܟܢ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܝܢ. ܘܗܫܐ
ܕܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܐܒܐ. ܗܘܝܐ ܡܫܡܠܝ ܠܗ ܀ ܚܘܒ ܗܘܐ ܘܫܟܝܢ ܝܬܝܪ.
ܘܐܬܦܪܩ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܀
ܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܓܠܚܘܗܝ. ܘܐܦ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܗܘܢ[2]
ܡܬܒܗܠܝܢ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܐܒܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܟ ܒܢܝܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܐ.
ܘܐܝܟܢ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܚܬ. ܘܐܝܟ ܦܓܪܗ ܐܬܓܠܝ.
ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܀ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܓܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܬ
ܘܡܫܝܚ ܐܒܐ ܘܦܪܩ ܐܒܐ. ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܐ.
ܕܒܢܝܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ. ܐܦ ܒܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܡܢ
ܗܘ ܡܠܟ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ[3] ܠܗ. ܕܐܬܓܠܝ
ܠܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܠܐ ܠܡܫܝܚ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܝܬܝܪ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܢܫܐ[4]
ܕܒܫܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܒܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܗܘܝ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ
ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ. ܕܡܬܓܠܝܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ
ܡܠܟܗ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܩ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕܝܢ

[1] D ܕܡܢ [2] D ܫܡܝܐ [3] Read ܡܫܝܚܐ, without ܕ

[4] Read ܐܢܫܐ

ܫܠܡܘܗܝ. ܟܢܫܗ̈ܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܥܢܘܢ ܢܐܡܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܗܘܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܢܒܕܩܘܗܝ. ܕܡܢ ܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܠܐ ܢܫܕܪ ܟܢܫܗ̈ܘܗܝ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܟܬܒ ܘܐܫܕܪܗ[1] ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܘܗܝ. ܘܗܢܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ[2] ܕܐܓܪܬܗ
ܐܟܬܒܗ. ܘܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܥܡ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܦܪܢܣ. ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܘܦܛܘܗܝ ܢܫܡܥܘܢ.
ܘܗܢܐ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܐ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܘܒ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܟܬܒ ܘܐܫܕܪܗ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܒܝܘܡ. ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܪܗܘܢ ܕܦܠܚܘܗ
ܡܥܡܝܐ ܟܬܒܘܗܝ ܘܡܪܝܗ. ܐܢܫܐ ܕܫܘܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܢܫܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܗ[3] ܡܛܠ[4] ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟܐ. ܫܪܝܘܗܝ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܡܗ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܪܣ ܗܘܐ[5]. ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܟܠ ܕܪܝܘܫ
ܦܬܝܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܫܬܒܚܐ ܕܐܬܠܗܝܐ ܕܡܩܒܠ[6] ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܕܪܝܘܫ
ܦܠܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܕܡܪܘܗܝ ܝܗܒ[7]. ܘܠܐܘܗܝ ܟܠ ܢܚܬܘܗܝ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܫܡܪ.
ܘܣܒܪܝܗ ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܪܝܘܫ[8] ܘܦܩܕ ܟܠ
ܐܢܫܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܝܘ. ܘܢܦܩ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ
ܕܢܬܠܟܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܝܘ. ܡܢܗܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܗܘܢ.
ܕܗܘܐ ܫܒܝܩܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܡܪܗ.
ܕܠܟ ܒܠܫܢܟ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܫܒܩ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܟ ܠܟ. ܡܛܠ

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[1] D ܘܐܫܕܪܗ [2] MSS. ܒܦܬܓܡܐ [3] C omits ܠܗ
[4] D omits ܡܛܠ [5] E omits ܘܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܪܣ ܗܘܐ
[6] D ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ [7] E ܝܗܒ [8] D omits ܕܪܝܘܫ

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ܘܐܦܠܐ ܠܝ[1] ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܒܬܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܕܘܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ
ܡܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܥܒܕ̈ܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ[2] ܘܒܝܬ̈ܟܠܘܗܝ ܘܒܟܢܫ̈ܘܗܝ ܀
ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܬܪ ܡܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܘܬܗ ܦܝܠ.
ܘܡܢ[3] ܗܘܝ ܢܨܝܚܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܦܠܘܛܐ[4] ܢܦܫ ܕܓܢܘܒ ܀ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ
ܥܡܕ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܚܬ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܕܝܐ
ܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܢܨܝܚܐ ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܪ ܠܦܪܣܝܣ ܀
ܘܡܢ ܥܡܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܪܟ ܒܬܪܗ ܡܬܕܪܟܢܝܬ.

XII ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܘܡܛܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܦܠܗ.
ܒܝܣܘ ܘܐܪܝܘܒܪܙܢ[5] ܒܣܣ[6] ܠܘܬܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܥܡܗ ܕܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܩܛܠܘܢ.
ܕܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ. ܠܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܠܒܥܠܕܒܒܗ
ܢܩܛܠܘ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܥܡܝܢܐ ܗܫܟܚܘܗܝ. ܠܗ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܕܒܝܚܐ.
ܘܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܚܠܨܘܗܝ ܒܓܘܪ ܀ ܘܩܢܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܓܒܪܐ. ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܢܚܬܬ ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ[7] ܡܢܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ
ܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܫܘܗܝ ܠܡܩܛܠܗ. ܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܫ
ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܒܚܢܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܢܩܪܒܘܢ ܥܠܝ ܠܗܠܝܢ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܬܬܪܚܡܘܢ. ܘܫܘܘ ܕܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܒܝܬܐ ܢܦܫ
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܝ. ܢܛܠܩ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܕܝ̈ܠܝ. ܕܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܠܘܬܟܘܢ
ܘܐܝܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܫܬܒܩ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܢ

¹ A omits ܠܝ ² Read ܟܠܗܘܢ ³ D ܡܢ
⁴ Read ܕܦܠܘܛܐ, or ܕܦܠܘܛܘܐ ⁵ D ܘܐܪܝܘܒܪܙܢ. In the Greek ὅ τε Βῆσσος καὶ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης (Müller, p. 76, col. 2). ⁶ MSS. ܒܣܣ
⁷ A ܐܢܫܘܢ ܗܘܘ

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܣܝܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܐܦ ܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܐܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܝ.
ܕܒܒܪܘܩܝܗ[1] ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢܓܕܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܫܡܫܬܐ
ܚܒܝܒܬܐ ܕܐܡܝ ܗܠܝܢ. ܒܒܪܝܪܘܬܗ̇[2] ܡܝܩܪܗ̇ ܠܒܝܬܢܝ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܥܐ
ܠܗ. ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܛܒܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܐܚܐ. ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ
ܕܐܡܗ ܘܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܘܒܢܘܗܝ ܢܦܝܫܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܟܕ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܐ[3]
ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܫܬܠܛܐ ܠܗ ܠܝ ܦܘܪܣܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܠܒܟ ܐܢܐ. ܐܘ ܐܫܬܪܗ
ܡܢܗ ܡܫܚܠܦ ܐܢܐ[4]. ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܟܣܘܦܐ ܕܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܟܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܐ
ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܟܢܐ[5] ܕܝܢ ܐܬܩܝܡ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܠܥܝܪܘܬܗ ܐܬܕܒܪܬ ܘܚܝܠܘܬܐ
ܗܝܕܝܢ. ܘܐܫܬܘܕܝ[6] ܚܘܝܐ ܘܟܬܒܐ ܘܐܫܬܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܬܪܝܗ ܕܐܟܣܢܝܐ
ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܡܚܢܝܬܐ. ܘܡܚܝܢ
ܠܩܦܪܝܢܐ[7] ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܡܬܘܩܢܝܢ ܠܩܢܛܘ. ܘܙܝܢܐ
ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܩܘܦܗܘܢ[8] ܕܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[9] ܐܟܡܐ. ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ
ܢܦܫܐ ܚܕ. ܘܫܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܕܡܐ ܡܬܩܢܐ
ܘܡܬܕܪܐ ܘܐܬܩܪܝܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܩܪܐ ܘܓܒܝܬܐ
ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ. ܘܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܫܡܗ ܠܗ ܣܘܦܐ
ܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܩܠܝܩܘܣ ܡܬܩܪܝܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܢܐ.

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[1] Read ܕܒܒܩܘܪܝܗ ? [2] B ܒܒܪܝܪܘܬܗ, but ܘܡܝܩܪܗ̇
[3] D omits ܠܐ [4] C omits ܐܘ ܐܫܬܪܗ ܡܢܗ ܡܫܚܠܦ ܐܢܐ [5] D ܘܗܟܢܐ
[6] D ܘܐܫܬܘܕܝ [7] MSS. ܠܩܦܪܝܢܐ; Gr. ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπιακὰς πύλας (Müller, p. 76, col. 1). [8] D ܠܗܘܢ ܠܩܘܦܗܘܢ
[9] Read ܕܠܐܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܡܩ̈ܢܐ ܘܐܘܚ̈ܕܢܐ¹ ܐܬܒܕܪ ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܦ ܕܠܒܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܕܓܕܘ̈ܕܝܗܘܢ
ܘܐܦ ܕܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܦܫܝܛܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܒܥ̈ܠܠܗܘܢ
ܐܬܒܕܪ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܩܕܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܟܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܢܦܠܘ.
ܘܥ̈ܒܕܝܗܘܢ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܐܬܒܕܪ ܗܘܘ. ܒܠܠܝܐ ܗܢܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܚܠܡ. ܘܚܙܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܀
ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܨܥ̈ܪܘܗܝ ܡܬܒܠܒܠ ܗܘܘ. ܘܣܓ̈ܕܘܗܝ
ܕܚܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܫܦܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܚܙܘ̈ܗܝ ܝܬܝܪ. ܘܩܪܒ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܗ
ܒܚܠܡܗ. ܘܐܡܪ² ܕܡܢ ܐܣܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܢܬܘܪ̈ܘܗܝ³. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ⁴ ܕܠܟܠ
ܚܕ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܩܘܡ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܦܠ. ܘܫܢܬܐ ܘܡܬܢܚܬܐ
ܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐܦܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܢܬܘܠܘܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ
ܕܩܘܡ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܢܬܐ. ܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܡܢܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ⁵. ܘܠܐܦܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܚܩܘܢ. ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܡܥܩܬܐ
ܕܠܐܦܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܠܪ̈ܓܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܢܝܐ⁶ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܪ̈ܚܐ ܘܫ̈ܒܝܠܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܡܬܚܬܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܚܕ ܥܡܡܐ ܢܣܒܐ
ܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܀

XI ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܫܬܠܡ. ܘܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܚܙܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܥ ܡܠܟܐ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܠܘܬ

¹ The Greek text (Müller, *loc. cit.*) would lead us to expect ܘܐܣܛܪܛܝ̈ܐ ² BCD add ܗܘܐ ³ E omits from ܘܐܡܪ to ܢܬܘܪ̈ܘܗܝ ⁴ D omits ܗܘܐ ⁵ AE omit from ܘܠܐܦܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘܢ to ܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ⁶ D omits ܘܡܫܢܝܐ

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ܘܐܬܠܝܬ ܗܘܬ ܘܐܬܡܣܟܢܬ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܬ ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬ
ܐܚܝܗ̇. ܕܐܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܣܓܝ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܐ ܠܡܐܢ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܀
ܘܡܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܢ ܢܦܩܬ ܠܡܪܘܬܐ.
ܐܬܪܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܩܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܙܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ. ܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ
ܗܦܟܬ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܕܢܬܟܬܒܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܗ̈ܢܝ ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܡܪܬ ܀ ܘܒܗ ܒܫܢ̈ܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܩܪܘܢ ܕܒܗܘ ܥܕܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܦܠܛܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܢܐܬܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܠܡܕܒܚܘ. ܘܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܣܘܡܪܘ ܒܣܘܪܐ
ܠܡܣܡܟܘ. ܕܒܗܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܣܘܦܪܐ ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܦܣܩܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ ܀ ܘܟܬܒ ܦܠܛܘܣ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐܬܘܢ. ܘܦܩܕ
ܠܡܬܢܚܘ ܣܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܗ ܕܣܘܡܪܘ ܀

X ܘܒܬܪ ܗܟܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܕ̈ܝܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܩ̈ܪܒܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܘܐܘ̈ܟܐ
ܕܗܘܝܐ ܕܡܬܡܨܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܀ ܘܒܬܪ ܐܦ ܢܒܘܪܐ
ܕܦܩܘܪ[1] ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘ ܒܝܘܡܬܗ ܡܬܓܠܐ ܒܓܪܡܐ ܘܩܛܠܐ ܡܚܒܠ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܓܠܓܠ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܢܦܠ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܡܚܒܠ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܢܦܠ ܢܓܠܓܠ ܣܓܝ. ܘܒܗܘ ܢܓܠܓܠ ܩܘܡܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܕܗܒܐ
ܕܣܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ[2] ܦܓܪܗ ܕܢܒܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܟܕ ܕܓܠܓܠܐ
ܡܣܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܘܩܝ ܘܡܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܓܪܗ ܘܠܡܝܡܪܗ
ܕܢܒܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܓܠܓܠܐ ܡܬܡܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܓܠܐ ܢܦܪܐ

[1] Instead of *Pâkôr* the Greek text has *τὸν Ναβονασάρου τάφον τοῦ κεκλημένου Ναβουχοδονόσωρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν* (Müller, p. 74, col. 1). [2] D omits ܒܗ

ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܢ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ[1]. ܒܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܘܡܢܗܪܢܘܬܐ ܠܡܫܝܚ
ܗܘ̈ܝ. ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܓܘܐ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗ
ܕܡܢ ܒܘܣ̈ܡܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܫܡܝܗ. ܘܡܬܦܢܝܢܐ ܠܐܠܗ̈ܐ[2] ܕܡܢ ܗܢܐ
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܒܠ ܦܪ̈ܬܘܝܐ[3] ܘܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܡܕ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܒܠܝܐ
ܡܫܬܠܛ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܢܦܩ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܝ ܘܦܘܫ ܢܘܕܥ.
ܗܘܝ ܫܠܝܡ܀ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܪܐ. ܦܩܕ
ܗܘܐ ܠܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܠܡܦܩܢܗܘܢ. ܕܥܠ ܝܕܥܬܐ ܒܩܠܝܠ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ܀
ܘܡܢ ܒܩܠܝܠ ܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ. ܦܠܡܢܝܘܢ[4] ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ[5] ܐܡܪ
ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝ ܡܫܬܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܓܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܫܢ̈ܝܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪܬ
ܕܡܢ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܗ ܙܒܢܗ ܘܐܬܩܛܠܗ
ܦܘܫܗ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܒܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܘܕܒܫ
ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܦܪܘܩ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܠ ܐܢܫ. ܕܐܝ ܒܗܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ
ܘܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܐܢܫܗ ܘܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ
ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܬܡܪ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪ ܗܘܐ܀ ܘܐܫܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܩܘܡܬܗ
ܕܡܫܬܡܥ[6] ܢܣܒ ܒܝ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܚܒܠ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܘܕܒܫܝܬܐ

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[1] C omits ܡܢ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. Perhaps we might read ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܢ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ. ܒܡܠܬܗ ܡܢ̄

[2] E ܠܐܠܗܐ

[3] The *Parthians*, apparently; unless it be a mistake for ܒܗܠܝ̈ܐ, as ܒܗܠ = بَلْخ

[4] A corruption of Παρμενίων.

[5] A ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ, B ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ, C ܐܣܛܪܛܛܠܛܝܣ, D ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ. All corruptions of ܐܣܛܪܛܠܛܝܣ, στρατηλάτης.

[6] ABC ܕܕܡܫܬܡܥ

ܘܒܦܣܝܩܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܠܐܒܐ[1] ܟܕ ܝܠܕܗ ܠܡܬܢܒܝܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܝܠܕܗ ܗܦܟ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ
ܡܩܒܠ ܘܡܪܒܐ. ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܡܫܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܘܡܬܐ[2] ܡܢ
ܪܘܡܐ ܦܢܝܗ. ܘܒܟܠܗ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܗ ܀

IX ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪ: ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܡ ܘܗܘܝܘ ܦܝܫ
ܘܫܡܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܣܓܝ: ܘܡܬܘܒ ܠܗ ܗܘܝܐ ܀ ܡܢ
ܕܪܘܫܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܟܕ ܡܫܒܚ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ.
ܕܒܪܥܝܐ ܝܠܝܕܐ ܗܘ[3]. ܡܛܠ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ. ܕܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܡܕܡ
ܕܡܢܝ ܪܟ ܠܐ ܬܬܕܟܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܓܢܒܪܐ ܒܥܘܒܕܐ ܗܘ
ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܡܝ. ܟܕ ܗܘ[4] ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܐܫܬܒܩ.
ܗܘ ܕܒܩܛܐ ܗܘܡ ܪܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ[5]. ܐܦ ܕܐܦ ܠܝ ܥܡܟ ܠܝ.
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܡ ܟܕ ܬܪܥܝܬܗ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܢܗܒ. ܗܘ ܡܕܡ[6] ܠܐ
ܢܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܕܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܕܟܪܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܕܝܩܐ ܚܬܝܬܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܢܕܬܒܥܝܬܐ ܕܫܢܐ. ܟܕ ܝܠܕܗ ܡܢܗ ܟܒܪ. ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܡܬܕܪܫܢܘܬܐ ܟܠܟ ܀ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܬܪܥܝܬܟ ܢܬܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܠܝ ܘܐܬܬܩܝܡ ܟܠܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܠܟܝܢܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܠܝ ܟܕܝܫ[7] ܀
ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܒܪ ܘܢܦܩܬ ܘܟܕܒܬ[8]. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܢ ܡܢ

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[1] ABCE ܠܐܒܐ ܐܡܪ [2] ABCE ܘܠܐܘܡܬܐ [3] Read ܝܠܝܕ ܐܢܬ ? Gr. ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθης (Müller, p. 73, col. 2).
[4] A ܗܘ [5] Either mistranslated or corrupt (Müller, p. 74, col. 1). E ܟܕ ܗܘ [6] Read ܗܘ ܕܡܕܡ ? [7] D ܟܕܝܫܝܢ
[8] D ܘܟܕܒܬ

ܗܟܢܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܠܐ ܐܦܝܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܗܝ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ[1] ܫܢܝܐ ܢܫܬܠܡܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܐܦܝܣ. ܕܝܠܗ ܚܠ ܠܟܪܗ ܝܩܝܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܐܦܝܣ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܐܝܬܝܐ ܒܥܕܬܗ ܗܦܟܬ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܠܘܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܠܡܣܝܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܢܣܝܢܐ ܡܬܠܠܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܒܥܕܬܗ ܕܪܫܐ. ܘܒܡܘܬܗ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܢܐ ܐܢܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܕܒܬܪ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܚܕ ܡܣܟܢܐ. ܘܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܬܠܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܚܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܒܬܪ ܠܡܦܩ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܢܗ. ܠܘܬܗ[2] ܕܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ. ܘܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܠܠܝܠܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܗܘܦܟܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܢܝ. ܘܠܘܬܐ ܒܗܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܝܬܒܝ. ܘܗܘܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܡܬܕܒܪ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܦܬܚ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܐܬܬܢܝܚܘ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܠܡܥܠܗ ܟܠ. ܘܦܩܕܗ ܟܠ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦ ܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܒܥܘ ܠܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ. ܕܐܝܬܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܪܐ[3] ܡܢܗ ܗܘܘ ܘܐܬܒܥܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܢܫܬܠܡܐ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܀ ܘܦܩܕ ܠܡܐܡܪ. ܕܡܠܟ[4]. ܕܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܐܦܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܡܟܣܢܐ ܒܥܕܬܗ. ܘܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܗܢܐ ܒܥܕܬܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܠܡܫܠܡ ܝܬܒܗ. ܐܦܐ ܕܒܗ ܥܡܡܐ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] AE omit ܠܘܬܗ [2] D ܘܠܘܬܗ

[3] D ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ [4] D omits ܕܡܢ ܟܠ

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ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܚ̈ܕܬܝܢ ܘܡܣܦܩܬܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܠܢܗܪܐ[1]
ܕܓܠܝܕ ܡܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܘ̈ܥܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܡܥܒܪܘ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ. ܠܟܘܢܘܬܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܒܕܠ ܐܢܐ
ܡܥܝܟܐ ܀ ܘܫܒܩܬ ܡܢ ܗܬܡܢ ܘܠܐܣܛܪܢܓܣ[2] ܢܗܪܐ ܐܬܐ ܀
ܗܟܝܠ ܕܓܠܝܕ ܠܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܡܟܐ ܢܗܪ. ܕܟܕ ܠܟ ܡܫܟܚ
ܕܥܒܪܬ ܗܟܝ ܘܣܘܣܝܐ. ܘܓܠܝܕ ܡܝܐ ܘܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ
ܢܥܒܪ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܠܢܗܪܐ ܕܠܥܒܪܐ ܢܥܒܪ. ܠܢܗܪܐ ܢܚܬ. ܘܥܒܪ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܢܚܬܐ. ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܥܒܪܘܢ.
ܢܬܦܪܫܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܦܠܓܐ[3] ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠ. ܕܢܗܪܐ
ܕܢܚܬ ܘܢܣܒ. ܘܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ ܘܡܫܬܚܠܦܐ ܐܣܬܪܓܢܐ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܗܘܘ ܀
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ. ܒܓܒܐ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ ܢܚܬ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ ܒܦܘܪܣܝܗ.
ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟܢܘܗܝ ܠܡܦܩܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܐܠܟܣ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܕܐܬܩܪܘ ܚܝܠܐ.
ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܫܢܐ[4] ܒܟܠ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܛܠ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܢܗܪܐ
ܒܢܗܪܐ ܢܣܒܘܗ. ܘܡܢ ܗܬܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܘܥܒܪܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܒܪܝܢ.
ܗܘܬ ܢܩܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܦܪܣ ܢܗܪܐ. ܘܢܦܠ
ܘܡܬܚܒܠ[5] ܡܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܘܕܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܒܠܐ ܐܬܚܒܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ

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[1] ABCE ܠܢܗܪܗ [2] In the Greek and Latin texts Στράγγας, *Stranga*. [3] D ܕܦܠܓܐ [4] D ܘܡܫܬܡܫܢܐ and has on the margin ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܣܛܪܢܓܐ. [5] BDE ܘܡܬܚܒܠ

ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܢܦܠ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܘܪܐ ܒܓܒܪ. ܡܢ ܪ̈ܘܚܗ ܘܡܢ ܓܢܒܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܣ. ܘܩܡ ܒܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܠܐܡܘܪܘܣ[1] ܟܕ ܠܡܕܝܐ ܒܠܫܢܗܘܢ ܚܘܬ. ܘܡܢ ܒܒܥܬܐ[2] ܪ̈ܩܝܐ ܡܚܕܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܐܡ ܗܘܐ ܘܚܙܐ: ܗܢܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܩ̈ܠܐ ܕܢܚܕܝ[3] ܥܠܘܗܝ ܠܐܡܘܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.

VIII ܘܗܢܝܢ[4] ܕܒܪܗ ܘܠܡܕܝܐ ܐܘܒ ܗܘܐ[5]. ܘܠܡܕܝܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܠܚܕܐ ܕܦܩܕܐ ܦܒܪ ܠܡܩܒܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܒܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܐ ܩܐܡ ܗܘܐ܀ ܘܡܢ ܚܘܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܒܒܬܐ ܗܘ[6] ܕܕܪܝܘܫ. ܒܐܪܥܝܬܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܘܟܘܫ. ܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܙܟܘܬܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܠܡܕܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ܀ ܘܡܢ ܡܚܕܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܠܡܕܝܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܪ̈ܒܘܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܠܟܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܦܟܝܠܬܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܐ܀ ܗܢܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܡܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܠܫܠܝܛܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܒܢܝ ܦܠܫܘܗܝ ܘܫܠ̈ܛܝ. ܡܘܒܠܐ ܕܠܡܕܝ ܘܚܕܬܐ ܗܘ. ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܛ ܠܝ ܡܚܕܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ. ܡܚܕܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܒܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܐܦ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ̈ܐ[7] ܐܢܫ ܕܒܥܐ ܫ̈ܪܒܐ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܡܕܘܟܬܐ ܐܚܪܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝ ܐܦ ܚܙܐ ܡܩܒ̈ܠܢ ܒܦܬܓܡܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܦܠܚܐ ܦܓܪܐ

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[1] In the Greek text Εὔμηλος (see Müller, p. 72, col. 1).

[2] ABCD ܒܒܥܘܬܐ, E ܒܥܘܬܐ [3] ABCE ܕܢܚܕܐ [4] D ܗܢܝܢ

[5] E ܐܘܟܐ ܗܘܘ [6] Read ܒܒܬܘܗܝ [7] D ܕܝܗܘܕܝ̈ܐ

ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܠܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܘܕܐ ܒܪܘܡܝܐ
ܡܦܪܢܣܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܦܝܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܗܦܟ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ◌ ܗܟܝܠ
ܢܒܠܓܘܢ ܬܚܘܬܗ ܢܦܠܘ ܦܠܝܠܝܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܝܥܩܪܐ ܕܝܠܠܬܐ.
ܗܦܟܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ ܠܩܪܒܐ ܘܝܩܝܪܐ ܢܦܠܘ ◌ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ
ܟܣܠܐ ܕܐܠܦܐ ܠܦܘܪܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ◌ ܘܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܟܠܢ ܕܦܘܪܐ
ܡܠܟܐ.[1] ܘܦܠܠܘܗܝ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܠܦܪܐ ܗܡܝܢ.[2] ܡܛܠ
ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܦܠܠܝܢ[3] ܗܘܘ ܡܝܩܪܐ ܦܪܕܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܦܠܠܘܗܝ ܢܣܪܐ
ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܦܘܪܐ ܢܝܚܐ[4] ܗܘܘ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ
ܠܦܪܐ ܢܦܠ. ܘܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܘܪܐ ܦܠܛ ◌ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܢܒܠܓܘܢ
ܠܗܦܟ ܕܦܘܪܐ ܐܬܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܘܪܐ[5] ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܥܡܗ ܕܝܠܢܕܘܗܝ ܬܚܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܦܪܗܘ ܘܡܢ
ܠܗ ܐܬܕܢܝ ܗܘܘ. ܕܕܝܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܠܦܘܪܐ
ܕܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ[6] ◌ ܘܡܢ
ܦܬܘ. ܠܘܬ ܕܢܡܘܣ ܐܬܘ.[7] ܘܐܬܩܪܒܘ ܠܕܢܡܘܣ ܥܠ ܦܘܠܚܢܗ
ܘܡܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܦܘܪܐ. ܕܢܡܘܣ ܒܟܢܘܫܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܐ ◌
ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ ܠܗ ◌ ܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܠܗ ܕܡܘܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܕܢܡܘܣ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܟܕܒܗ[8] ܡܟܬܒܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܚܕܐ
ܗܘܐ.[9] ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ[10] ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܐ. ܘܠܥܠܡܘܗܝ

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[1] C omits from ܘܡܢ to ܡܠܟܐ [2] ABCE ܗܡܝܢ [3] D ܕܡܦܠܓܝܢ
[4] ABCE ܢܝܚܘ ܗܘܘ [5] D ܦܘܪܐ [6] D ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ
[7] BC ܕܢܡܘܣ ܠܘܬ ܐܬܘ ܘܡܢ; D ܕܢܡܘܣ ܠܘܬ ܐܬܘ
[8] D ܟܕܒ [9] E omits from ܟܕܒܗ to ܗܘܐ [10] D ܐܫܬܘܕܝܢ

ܢܚܬܐ. ܗܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܚܫܐ ܕܐܬܡܚܝ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܐܢܐ
ܠܝ ܀ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܕܝܢ ܠܡܩܪܒ
ܕܐܡܦܘܪܐ ܀ ܘܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܘ ܀
ܘܟܕ[1] ܐܬܚܒܝܘ ܗܘܘ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܠܝܢܐ[2] ܗܦܟ ܘܩܛܠܘ
ܒܕܚܠܬܐ. ܟܕ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܩ. ܕܐܬܐܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܣܢܝܣ
ܥܡܗ. ܕܡܢ ܣܓܝܐ ܒܪܘܟܒܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡܣܬܩܘܒܠܘ
ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܦܠܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ : ܘܟܕ
ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܛܪܬܗ ܐܬܬܗ ܢܣܒܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܚܝܠܐ
ܦܩܕܐ ܠܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܚܝܐ ܥܡܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܦܝܠܦܘܣ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܒܘܟܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܘܬܐ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܣ[3]. ܡܛܠ
ܕܗܘܝܘ ܒܥܘܡܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܚܙܬܗ ܢܩܒ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ
ܘܡܫܬܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܟܢܐ ܟܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܩܪܒܘܗܝ ܘܣܘܪܚܢܘܗܝ
ܥܒܕܗ. ܢܦܩܘ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܠܡܬܓܠܠܘ ܘܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܚܒܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ. ܘܟܕ ܒܗ ܡܬܬܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ.
ܘܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܥܒܪ. ܟܕ ܗܦܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܕܒܝܬܗ ܢܦܝܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܚܕ ܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ
ܢܥܡ. ܟܕ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܟܕ ܩܠܝܠ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܦܠܓܗ ܘܦܠܓܗ ܡܢܗ. ܘܟܠ ܗܘܦܟܗ ܩܕܡ. ܘܡܛܘܦܪܗ[4]
ܢܦܩܗ. ܘܗܘ ܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܢܟܦܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܚܝܠܗ

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[1] ܟܕ seems superfluous. [2] BCD ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܠܝܢܐ

[3] Read ܒܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܣ [4] Read ܘܡܛܘܦܪܗ (*πτερνίσας*, Müller, p. 71, note 21).

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ܗܝܟܠܐ ܡܥܝܢܝܢ[1] ܂ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܦܘܪܢ ܂ ܣܡܝܟܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܂ ܫܡܝܢܐ
ܘܦܪܕܝܣܐ[2] ܂ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܕܐܪܙܐ[3] ܂ ܗܡܝܢܐ ܠܒܝܫܐ[4] ܂ ܗܡܝܢܐ
ܘܡܢܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܂ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܦܪܘܦܝܣ[5] ܂ ܕܢܝܫܟܐ
ܕܣܦܪܝܛܐ ܦܪܝܣܘ ܒܪ ܠܘܦܐ ܂ ܕܐܣܦܛܪܐ ܕܐܝܛܘܦܣ ܂ ܘܠܩܘܒܠܗ
ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܡܢܝܬܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܂

VII ܘܟܬܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܕܒܐܓܪܬܐ
ܘܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܂ ܘܟܕ ܠܒܫܘ. ܫܪܝܐ
ܒܣܬܪܐ[6] ܒܗ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠ ܡܪܕܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܐܘܟܝܗ[7]
ܠܗ. ܫܪܝܐ ܢܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܪܒܐ ܒܫܒܪܗ
ܗܪܟ ܗܘܐ ܂ ܗܘܐ[8] ܒܪ ܚܝܘ ܘܡܩܛܠܐ[9] ܢܬܒ. ܠܕܪܝܘܫ
ܐܘܟܝܗ ܗܘܘ ܂ ܘܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܥܩܒܐ. ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܩܡ.
ܘܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܂ ܕܐܘ ܢܦܩ ܦܪܣܝܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܬ. ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܩܪܒܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ
ܒܢܝܢ ܫܒܝܗ ܂ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ[10] ܡܕܝ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[11] ܐܡܪ ܕܒܪܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܡܠܟܘܬ
ܡܩܒܠ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ[12]. ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܫܩܠܬ ܕܐܦ
ܐܢܐ ܒܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܐ ܂ ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢ ܠܗ ܠܝ ܕܡܢ ܗܟܢ

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[1] D ܡܥܝܢܝ [2] Read ܘܦܪܕܝܣܐ [3] D ܘܐܪܙܐ
[4] Probably corrupt, and so is the following ܘܡܢܝܬܐ
[5] D ܦܪܘܦܝܣ [6] A ܒܣܬܪܐ without points; E ܒܣܬܪܐ (*sic*).
[7] D ܐܘܟܝܗ [8] D ܘܗܘܐ [9] Read ܕܡܩܛܠܐ, without ܘ
[10] ܡܢ is superfluous. [11] BD ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܕܝ
[12] AE omit ܗܘܐ

ܘܫܒܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܒܕܘܒܪܗܘܢ ܒܗܠܟܐ ܛܒܐ ܚܟܝܡܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܫܬܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ. ܘܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܡܢ ܦܪܓܠܝܬܐ ܘܦܪܕܠܓܐ
ܚܟܝܡ ܗܘܐ. ܘܕܐܝܟ ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐܣܛܘܡܟܗ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܫܡܪܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܢܗܪ̈ܐ ܚܝܠܗ ܠܒܗܘ ܩ̈ܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܕܬܐܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܟܝܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܀ ܗܟܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ ܢܣܒܗ ܠܗ.
ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܀ ܕܐܫܬܘܕܥܗ[1] ܠܗ ܦܪܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܐܟܪܙ. ܕܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܠܟܪܗ ܕܕܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܒܦܪܫܐ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܡܣܒܪ[2] ܠܦܪܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ. ܐܠܐ
ܥܠܝܢ ܠܟ ܕܐܡܘܬ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܐܣܛܘܡܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܀ ܗܟܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܦܘܩܕܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ
ܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܩܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܒܘܟ ܡܬܟܠܠ ܗܘܐ[3]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܟܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ ܀
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܝ ܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܐܢܐ[4]. ܐܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܠܝ ܚܙܐ ܕܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ ܫܡܥܬ ܒܦܘܡܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ[5] ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܚܟܝܡ ܀ ܗܟܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܒܦܪܘܣܗ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܪܘܢ ܘܦܪ̈ܫܝܗܘܢ ܦܘܪܩܢܗܘܢ
ܐܬܦܩܕܘ.[6] ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܒܬܪ ܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܀

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[1] Read ܕܐܫܬܘܕܥܗ [2] This word seems doubtful, but it is distinctly so written in the MSS. [3] D ܐܢܐ [4] A omits ܐܢܐ [5] ADE ܠܢܝܩܛܢܒܘ, and D omits ܕܝܠܗ [6] See Müller, p. 69, note 23.

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ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ[1] ܟܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܗܕܐ ܥܒܕܬܐ ܗܘ̣ܐ. ܕܡܢ ܟܝܪ ܟܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ
ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܐ̱ܢܐ. ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܥܡܡܐ ܠܐ ܫܬܥܒܕܘ. ܐܠܐ
ܗܟܢܐ ܘܬܢܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܬܒܥܐ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܠܟܪܣܘܣ
ܪܒܐ ܀

VI ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܬܟܠ ܘܠܡܣܓܕܘܬܐ
ܐܙܠ.[2] ܘܡܛܐ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܩܪܐ ܟܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܦܪܣ ܐܙܠ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܗ
ܠܟܠܗ. ܘܐܦܘ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܐܘܟܝܗ ܠܟܘܪܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ:
ܘܟܘܪܫ ܟܕ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ. ܐܬܕܡܝ ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܗܝܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ[3] ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܐܬܦܬܚܝ.
ܘܠܦܘܪܐ[4] ܘܠܡܘܕܥܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܐܙܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܣܬܟܠܗ
ܠܐܣܟܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܥܠܝܡܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܐܝܬ
ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ. ܘܠܟܘܪܫ ܕܠܟܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܘܒܕܐ ܗܝܟܐ

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[1] AE ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ [2] If ܠܡܣܓܕܘܬܐ be a mistake for ܠܡܣܬܓܕܘܬܐ, this sentence may be the beginning of the Greek text (Müller, p. 61, col. 1); but the Syriac translation goes on at once to Chap. XIV of the Greek text (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). In the Greek it is Alexander who well nigh bows down before Darius, and the subsequent description is that of the Persian monarch. [3] Read ܡܬܚܙܐ
[4] In B the ܘ in ܘܠܦܘܪܐ is scored out, and C has ܠܦܘܪܐ. I would read ܕܐܬܦܬܚܝ, and omit ܘܠܦܘܪܐ altogether, as an incorrect duplicate of ܘܠܡܘܕܥܐ

ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܐܝܟܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܢܝ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܕܘܢ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ
ܫܘܝܬܘܬܗܘܢ ܀ ܐܘܩܠܝܕܝܣ[1] ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܬܥܒܕܘܢ: ܘܗܘ[2]
ܡܠܘܐ ܕܐܬܢܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ. ܐܦܣܛܪܛܘܣ[3] ܠܗ
ܐܬܢܝܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܫܠܛܘܢ ܒܦܘܠܝܛܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܡܪ: ܐܘ ܐܠܩܝܒܝܕܝܣ[4] ܠܐ ܢܬܪܘܢ. ܕܫܠܛܘܢ
ܕܚܝܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ: ܐܦ ܠܦܘܠܛܝܩܝܣ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛܘܢ. ܕܗܘ
ܗܘܐ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܒܗ ܗܠܝܣ[5]: ܐܦ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܫ
ܢܫܒܘܩܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܩܪܒܐ ܡܬܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܗܫܐ
ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ. ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܠܝܠ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܕܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[6] ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܢܐ[7] ܐܠܗܬܐ[8] ܐܡܪܬ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܦܝܣ
ܐܬܢܝܐ. ܘܠܗܘ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ. ܘܫܠܛܘܢ ܩܢܝܐ ܐܬܢܝܐ ܀
ܕܫܪܝܐ[9] ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܕܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܡܬܡܠܟܝܢ[10]
ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܒܩܢܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ
ܐܦܝܣܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܡܬܝ ܕܗܘܐ[11] ܐܫܬܠܡܬ
ܘܠܐܬܢܝܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ ܘܫܠܛܘ ܀ ܘܐܬܡܠܟܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܗܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܘ ܐܬܢܝܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܢܬܟܬܒ

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[1] In the Greek Εὐκλείδης (Müller, p. 60, col. 2). [2] Read ܘܗܘ
[3] BCD ܐܦ ܣܛܪܛܘܣ ܐܦ Read ܐܦ ܣܛܪܛܘܣܝܣ (Müller, *loc. cit.*, reads *Demosthenes*, but the MS. has Ἱπποσθένης).
[4] I.e. Ἀλκιβιάδης. [5] I.e. Ἑλλάς. [6] BD ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
[7] Read ܕܐܬܢܐ, *of Athena* (see Müller, *loc. cit.*). [8] D ܐܠܗܬܐ
[9] Read ܫܪܝܐ, without ܕ [10] A ܘܡܬܡܠܟܝܢ [11] D ܘܕܗܘܐ

ܡܬܢܨܠ. ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܘܢܓܘܪ ܠܢܫܝܗܘܢ ܫܦܝܪ. ܕܠܐ
ܢܣܒ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܚܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܬ
ܢܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܣܓܝ ܡܕܡ ܘܪܘܕܢܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܦܝܪ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܘܠܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܘܡܬܕܢܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܦܘܠܚܢ ܢܬܬܦܫܘܢ ܀
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܬܣܓܘܕܘܢ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗܘܢ[1]
ܐܦ ܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܗܘܢ ܐܬܬܥܝܪܘ ܘܡܬܒܩܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܀
ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܘܟܕ ܥܡ ܠܗܦܣܛܘܣ[2] ܗܘ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ
ܐܬܚܙܝܬ. ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܗܦܣܛܘܣ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ
ܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ. ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢ ܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܚܘܝܘ. ܘܐܬܕܒܝܪܬ ܕܐܬܢܐ[3] ܟܕ
ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܐܬܒܝܢ. ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܝ[4] ܕܡܬܒܝܬܘܢ
ܒܢܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܢܐ[5] ܦܠܛ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܕܪܘܫܗ ܫܒܩܬܘܢ.
ܘܐܬܒܪܝܬܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܩܕܝܘܢ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ. ܢܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܗܘܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܐܠܡܒܪܘܣ ܢܫܒܘܚ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ. ܘܡܛܠ[6]
ܕܐܢܘܢ ܐܬܒܝܢܬ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܬܥܝܢܘܢ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ[7]
ܕܡܬܕܡܝܢ ܗܦܝܟ ܘܡܬܬܚܡܢ[8] ܒܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܢܣܒܐ ܗܘܐ

[1] D ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܒܡܫܬܥܝܬܗܘܢ [2] Read ܗܦܣܛܘܣ, or rather, ܚܦܣܛܘܣ (see Müller, p. 60, col. 1), and afterwards ܠܚܦܣܛܘܣ [3] Read ܕܐܬܝܢܐ, *of Athena* (see Müller *loc. cit.*). [4] The Latin translation (Müller, *loc. cit.*) has *patris mei.* [5] Read ܕܐܬܢܐ [6] D ܡܛܠ [7] E ܘܡܫܬܥܝܢܘܢ [8] ABCE ܘܡܬܬܚܡܢ

V ܘܡܢ ܕܕܝܡܘܣܬܢܝܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܬܢܝܐ
ܒܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܫܬܠܡܘ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܘܬܐ
ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܠܘܦܘܢܝܣܘܬܐ ܘܬܐܒܝܐ
ܘܐܬܢܝܣܝܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܡܥܘ. ܘܐܦ ܡܛܠܠܐ ܘܬܐܒܝܐ
ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ. ܟܠ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܠܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥܘ[1]
ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܐ ܕܒܐܬܢܝܐ ܕܫܡܥܝܢ ܘܡܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܗܘ. ܘܒܝܘܠܦܢܘܬܐ
ܠܗܠܝܢ[2] ܫܡܥܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ
ܠܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܡܥܘ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܠܦܠܛܝܣ[3] ܠܗ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܙܠܘ. ܘܡܛܠܠܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܣܪܝܩܘܬܗܘܢ ܚܙܘ ܀
ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܪ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ
ܕܐܬܢܝܐ ܗܘ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܕܝܡܘܣܬܢܝܣ[4]. ܘܠܟܝܢܘܬܐ
ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܗܘ. ܘܡܦܠܦܠܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܬܢܐ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ
ܕܐܡܦܝܩܛܘܢܝܐ[5] ܥܒܕ. ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܕܒܪ
ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܠܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܠܐܬܢܝܐ. ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܫܠܡ[6]
ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܟܘܢ[7] ܫܘܐ ܠܐܬܢܝܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ
ܐܢܐ ܕܐܦܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ[8] ܫܡܥܘ ܠܝ. ܠܐ ܗܘܬ
ܕܐܬܟܢܫܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܫ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܠܡܘܗܝ

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[1] C ܫܡܥܘ [2] BCD omit ܠܗܠܝܢ [3] I.e. εἰς Πλαταιάς. See Müller, p. 59, col. 2. Read ܠܦܠܛܝܐܣ [4] D ܕܕܡܘܣܬܢܝܣ
[5] D ܕܐܡܦܝܩܛܘܢܝܐ A corruption of Ἀμφικτύονες. See Müller, p. 60, col. 1. [6] Read ܐܝܟ? [7] ABCE ܕܡܠܟܘܢ [8] D ܕܐܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ

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ܗܝ ܕܦܪ̈ܫܐ. ܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܘܡܬܒܕ̈ܪܢܘܬܐ ܚܙܐ ܠܓܘܕܗ
ܗܘܘ. ܕܟܠ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܕܝܘܠܟܘܢ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘ̈ܢܝܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܘܪܣ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܬܪܐ
ܗܕܐ ܡܢܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ[1] ܟܠ ܗܦܟ ܥܒܠܘܢ ܒܗܕܐ
ܢܬܒܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܕܐܕ̈ܝܐ[2] ܦܠܣܦܘܢ. ܡܢ ܕܐܬܠܟܝܘܢ
ܦܘܪܘ ܕܐܪܡܐ ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܬܝܢ ܘܐܬܘܠܟܘܢ ܀ ܡܝܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܡܘܟܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܘ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܬܪܐ
ܕܡܝܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܩܘܫܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ[3] ܕܡܢ
ܠܓܘܕܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ[4] ܘܒܬܫܘܒܚܐ ܢܨܚܢܐ. ܘܡܝܬܪ̈ܐ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ
ܘܡܬܘܕܐ ܢܘܟܪܝ. ܘܒܗܘܢܐ ܘܐܢ ܠܡܝܬܪܝ[5] ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܢܟܪ̈ܝܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܥܠ̈ܝܐ ܠܗ ܢܣܒ. ܘܒܗ ܐܘܟܕ. ܢܣܒ ܕܝܢ
ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܢܟܠܠܢ ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ. ܒܗ ܒܘܢܐ ܐܦ ܝܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܒܢܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܝܘܩܪܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ
ܠܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܀ ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܩܝܡܐ ܦܢܝܚܝܢ.
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ[6] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܝܠܐ ܕܝܗܒܘ ܠܗ. ܘܡܟܕܐ
ܠܗ ܣܓܝܐ. ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܒܠܒܘܠܐ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ ܡܬܟܬܒܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ
ܚܙ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܬܟܬܒܘ. ܐܠܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܠܗ ܢܘܟܪ[7] ܀

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[1] D ܒܐܬܪ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ [2] D ܕܐܕ̈ܝܐ [3] The meaning would be clearer if we were to read ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܗܝ, and to omit the ܘ before the following ܡܝܬܪܐ [4] D omits ܘ ܒܟܬܒܐ
[5] D ܡܝܬܪܝ [6] D ܡܠܟܐ [7] E ܢܘܟܪ

ܒܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܬܚܟܡܝܢ ܐܢܘ. ܘܗܪܩܠܝ̈ܐ[1] ܐܡܪ. ܕܢܣܒܘܢܝܗ
ܠܐ ܒܥܘ. ܘܡܕܪܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ
ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܀ ܘܗܘܒ ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ[2] ܐܡܪ. ܕܠܝ ܕܐܡܪ
ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ[3] ܐܡܪ. ܕܢܬܢܨܪܘܢ[4] ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ
ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܡܠܟܘ. ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܢܨܪܘܢ. ܕܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܕܢܩܘܡܘܢ
ܠܥܒ̈ܕܐ[5] ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܐܘܩܝܘ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܣܒ̈ܪܐ ܠܡܬܥܒܕܘ ܥܡ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܘ. ܡܢ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܢܩܘܡܘܢ
ܢܦܩܘ. ܒܬܪ ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ[6] ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܫ
ܒܝܕܗܘܢ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘ. ܘܒܪ ܐܬܪܗ ܗܘ ܢܦܩ
ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܀ ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ. ܕܐܢܫ
ܡܢ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ[7] ܒܡܨܪܝܢ[8] ܐܘܟ ܠܐܝܓܘܦܛܘܣ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ
ܡܢ ܐܘܟ. ܠܗ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ[9] ܐܘܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܝܩܢܐ ܢܟܪܝܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ[10]
ܕܫܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܡܡܗ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ
ܡܛܠ ܥܡܡܗ ܡܢܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܒܐ[11]. ܘܝܩܝܪܐ ܢܦܠ ܘܐܦ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܝܗ. ܘܡܬܟܠܠܐ ܒܟܠܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ[12] ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ

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[1] In the Greek οἱ Ἡρακλέες, whatever that may mean.

[2] MSS. ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ (*sic*). [3] MSS. ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ

[4] ABCE ܘܢܨܪܘܢ [5] Read ܠܡܨܪܝܢ [6] MSS. ܕܢܬܚܬܢܘܢ

[7] D ܗܘ [8] D ܒܡܨܪܝܢ [9] E ܠܡܨܪܝܢ [10] Read ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ?

[11] D ܡܬܚܝܒܐ [12] The Syriac text does not run smoothly here. See Müller, p. 59, col. 1. Ἐπέβη τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλευομένῃ ὑπὸ Περσῶν· κ.τ.λ.

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ܕܒܣܘܦ ܝܘܡܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܬܒܝܐ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ
ܢܦܠܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܓܝܣܝܟܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܓܢ̈ܣܐ ܘܡܘܕܥܢܘܬܐ ܡܚܕ̈ܕܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܀
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܢܦܩܘ ܕܝܢ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܘܐܬܒܕܪܘ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܟܝܠ ܢܩܒܠ ܢܟܣܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܣܒ ܐܢܘܢ. ܗܢܐ
ܕܝܢ[1] ܢܠܝܚܐ ܕܫܠܚܘܗܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܠܓܝܣܝܗ ܢܣܒܝܢ[2]
ܡܝܬܝ ܡܢܘ ܢܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܠܟܠܒܐ ܗܘ[3] ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܠܟܠܒܐ
ܗܘ[4] ܢܠܝܚܐ ܠܡܘܒܠܗ ܒܝܕ ܕܡܘܟܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܝܒܬ
ܕܝܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܢܚܪܘܒ
ܗܘܘܢ. ܒܝܕ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܡܥܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܝܬܝ ܕܢܠܝܚܐ ܗܘ. ܘܡܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܢܣܒܬ[5]
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ.

IV ܘܡܢ ܕܝܩܘܦܛܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܠܟܣܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ ܢܩܒ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܡܦܝܩܛܝܘܢ[6]
ܡܫܪܝܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܠܝܢ ܒܡܫܠܡܢܐ
ܕܡܠܟܝ[7]. ܘܩܡܘܗܝ[8] ܢܠܝܚܐ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܦܝܩܛܝܘܢ ܢܦܠܘ.
ܠܘܩܒܠ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܦܠܚܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܦ ܕܝܠ
ܡܠܟܐ[9] ܗܕܐ ܗܘ. ܘܐܡܦܝܩܛܝܘܢ[10] ܐܡܪ. ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܗ

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[1] D omits ܕܝܢ   [2] ABCE omit ܢܣܒܝܢ   [3] D ܘܗܘ.
[4] ܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܟ̈ܠܒܐ   [5] ABCE ܘܢܣܒܬ   [6] Read ܐܡܦܝܩܛܝܘܢ,
'Αμφικτύονες, as in the Latin translation. See Müller, p. 58, col. 2.
[7] D ܕܡܠܟܝܗܘܢ   [8] MSS. ܘܩܕܡܘܗܝ   [9] D ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ
[10] In the Greek οἱ 'Αμφικτύονες.

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ܗܢܘܢ[1] ܕܐܬܚܪܘܗܝ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܕܪ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ.
ܕܐܬܦܬܚ ܥܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܗܢܘܢ
ܡܒܣܘ. ܘܠܒܒܐ ܢܣܒܘ ܥܠܘ ܐܬܢܘܣ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܦܩܕ ܠܗ
ܠܝ. ܠܐ ܢܬܒܐ ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܥܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܘܚܕܐ
ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܩܝܦ ܀ ܚܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܬܡܢܝܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܡܬܠܬܝܢ
ܦܪܫܐ ܐܝܬ[2]. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܩܢܐ ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܀ ܕܐܬܬܚܡܘ[3].
ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܕܚܠ ܡܬܪܚܩܐ ܐܪܥܐ. ܟܕ ܘܚܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܥܒܕܐ[4]
ܕܬܫܪܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܒܫܢܝܐ ܬܡܢܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܥܪ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܥܒܕ. ܐܦܠܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܕܘܬܗ
ܫܪ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܬܢܘܗܝ ܬܫܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܢܝܐ ܠܒܢܝ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܟܒܫ. ܘܕܝܠܝܗ ܐܬܪ. ܕܬܒܘܪܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܪܝ.
ܘܬܐܪܝܐ ܠܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ[6] ܡܬܘܡ ܒܫܢܝܐ[7] ܠܐ ܫܒܩ. ܠܥܝܢ
ܗܘܐ[8] ܘܡܚܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܪܒ. ܡܛܠܗܕܐ ܫܒܩ ܀ ܘܦܠܦܘܢܝܐ[9]
ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܕܐܬܢܘܗܝ ܫܒܩ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܥܒܕ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܬܢܘܗܝ ܠܗ ܦܠܓܐ.
ܗܘ[10] ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܬܬܩܢܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܢܦܠ. ܡܢ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܫܐ ܘܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܥܡ ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܐ[11]

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[1] D ܐܝܟ ܗܢܘܢ [2] D ܗܘܐ [3] DE ܕܐܬܬܚܡܘ
[4] Read ܕܠܥܒܕܐ ? [5] ABCE ܘܕܝܠܝܗ, D ܕܐܬܬܚܡܘ
[6] ABCE ܡܢ [7] E ܒܫܢܝܐ [8] C omits ܗܘܐ [9] Another
corruption of Πελοποννήσιοι. D ܦܠܦܢܝܐ [10] D ܘܗܘ
[11] Corrupted from ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܘܣ, Ἀντίγονος. A has ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܝܐ
ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܐ, D ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܝ, E ܐܢܛܝܓܘܢܝܐ

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ܐܬܬܝܐ[1] ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ[2] ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܗ. ܕܢܥܘܡ
ܘܢܦܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ܀ ܗܢܝܢ ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ[3] ܥܠ
ܟ̈ܠܗܘܢ ܥܡܡ̈ܐ. ܘܢܚܘܐ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܕܢܬܚܙܘܢ: ܘܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ:
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ܀ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܬܝܐ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܘܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܗܘܐ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܠܗ. ܐܦ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܒܗ.
ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܝ. ܕܒܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܠ. ܐܢܐ
ܕܠܟܠܗ ܫܢܝ ܡܢܟ܀ ܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܝ ܠܡܛܠ. ܕܐܢ
ܡܥܡܘܕܝܢ ܠܡܬܓܒܝܘ ܥܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܓܒܝܢ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܡܛܝܢ ܡܬܚܪܒܝܢ ܠܗ܀ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܐ.
ܒܐܝܕܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܥܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܓܒܝܘܢ.
ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܒܝܢ ܥܡܗ. ܘܢܬܒܪܥܘܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ
ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܫܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ[4] ܥܡܐ ܘܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ ܒܪܘܡܝܐ
ܠܗ. ܐܦܠܐ ܕܢܬܓܒܝܘܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܚܠܝܐ[5] ܒܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܗܘ. ܡܢ ܗܘ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܬܬܝܐ: ܢܬܚܒܠܘܢ ܘܢܬܕܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܬܪܓܫܘܢ[6]
ܘܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ ܘܢܬܕܟܪܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܝܘܡܬܗ
ܘܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܘܠܕܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܫܟܝܢܐ ܐܘܚܕܢ. ܘܡܢܐ
ܕܐܬܓܒܪ ܕܐܬܬܝܐ: ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ. ܐܘ ܕܢܬܚܫܒ[7] ܠܐ ܐܝܬ[8] ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܢܫܠܡܬܐ

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[1] D ܐܬܐܬܝܐ [2] D ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [3] D ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
[4] D ܡܠܟܐ ܫܟܝܢܐ [5] D ܚܠܝܐ [6] C ܘܢܬܕܢܚܘܢ
[7] BC ܕܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ, here and below; D ܕܡܬܚܫܒ, E ܕܢܬܚܫܒ
[8] ADE omit ܠܐ; B has ܠܐ on the margin.

ܚܠܩܝܕܘܢܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܕܪܘ ܡܢ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܦܝܠܣܘܦܘܬܐ ܘܡܩܒܠܐ
ܕܒܝܙܢܛ. ܟܕ[1] ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܘܣܪܘ[2] ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘ
ܕܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܘܩܦܠܐ ܘܣܝܦܐ[3] ܢܣܒ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܢܦܠ
ܘܚܝܠܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܣܬܪܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܢܣܒ. ܘܐܬܕܪ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ
ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܗܝ ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ[4]
ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܟܬܒܘ ܘܡܦܩܬܗ
ܐܡܝܪܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܠܦܪܣܝܘܬܐ ܐܬܕܢܝܘ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܐܠܐ ܒܝܘܪܢܘܡܐ ܘܐܢܛܝܓܘܢ ܘܣܠܘܩܘܣ ܘܦܛܠܡܘܣ[5] ܘܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܬܪܐ ܚܠܩܝܕܘܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܚܝܢ ܕܒܝܘܡ ܘܒܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ.[6]
ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܩܠܝܠ. ܒܝܘܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ[7] ܢܨܚܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܬܕܒܪܘ. ܘܗܝ ܗܘܬ ܗܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܒܢܘܢ[8] ܘܡܝܬ ܀ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠ ܦܪܝܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܟܠ ܗܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܢܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܦ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܡܠܟܝܢ
ܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܡܫܠܛܝܢ. ܗܦܟܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܡܫܠܛܝܢ[9] ܡܢ[10] ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܬܦܠܓܘ ܀

III ܘܡܢ ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] D ܟܕܡ [2] The translator has substituted the modern خسرو for the ancient Ξέρξης. [3] See Book I. ch. 27. [4] D ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ
[5] The Syriac scribes seem to have corrupted these names horribly. See below, and compare Müller, p. 37, col. 1. [6] C ܗܘܘ ܗܘܘ
[7] D omits ܡܠܟܐ [8] D ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ, without ܕ; AE ܒܬܪܘܢ, without ܕ
[9] BCD ܕܡܫܠܛܝܢ [10] D ܕܡܢ

ܦܪܨܦܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܠܡܢܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܢܟܠܝ ܣܓܝ ܠܦܢܕܪܘ ܒܪ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܣܓܝ ܕܠܦܪܪܘܣܐ ܪܕܦܝܢ[1]. ܘܠܩܕܡܘܢܝܐ[2]
ܘܠܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܙܟܝܢ[3]. ܘܠܦܘܣܝܩܝܐ[4] ܒܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܢ.
ܘܠܙܩܝܢܬܝܐ[5] ܙܟܝܢ. ܗܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܝ. ܕܐܡܪ ܐܪܣܛܘܣ[6]: ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܚܪܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܝܡܬܗ ܡܪܘܦܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܒܢܘܪܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܝܠܝܕ ܢܬܒܪܐ. ܗܫܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܟܠ ܝܕܥ. ܐܦ
ܟܠܝܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܡܢܗ[7] ܘܐܬܟܒܪ. ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܢܫ.
ܐܢܫ ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܒܟܠܡܐ ܕܐܪܣܛܘܣ ܐܡܪ.
ܕܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܠܝ ܡܬܚܪܒ ܡܢܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܟܪܝܐ ܠܐܪܒܘܗܝ
ܢܟܝܢ ܠܝ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ[8]. ܡܬܟܠܡ ܒܪ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܦܐܫܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܬܠܝܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܢܝܣ ܟܕ ܡܬܚܪܒܐ
ܗܘܬ. ܘܢܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܘܚܐ ܦܩܕ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܐܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܒܕ. ܘܠܐ ܢܕܥܢ ܕܐܬܘܢܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ: ܐܦ
ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ: ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܘܢܝܐ ܚܪܒ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܠܐ ܡܕܥܢ. ܕܐܬܘܢܝܐ[9] ܐܬܢܝܣ ܒܡܬܘܡܐ ܘܒܥܕܢܐ ܡܬܕܪܫܝܢ
ܘܡܬܚܟܡܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܬܦܠܓ ܀
ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ: ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣܐ[10] ܥܒܕ. ܒܪܡ ܗܕܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ

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[1] Read ܪܕܦܝܢ [2] Read ܘܠܠܩܕܡܘܢܝܐ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι [3] Read ܙܟܝܢ [4] Read ܘܠܦܘܩܝܐ, Φωκεῖς. [5] Read ܘܠܙܩܘܢܬܝܐ, Ζακύνθιοι. [6] C ܐܪܣܛܛܘܣ [7] ADE add ܗܘܐ [8] D omits ܗܘ [9] ABE ܕܐܬܘܢܝܐ [10] Read ܕܦܠܦܘܢܣܝܐ, Πελοποννήσιοι.

ܐܣܟܝܢܘܣ[1] ܪܗܛܪܐ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܩܡ. ܘܠܒ̈ܢܝ ܐܬܢܐ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܘ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܬܢܐ. ܡܢܘ ܗܢܐ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܕܐ
ܐܢܫܐ[2] ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ܆ ܐܘ ܐܬܢܝ̈ܐ ܠܡܫܠܡܘ ܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܕܪܘ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ. ܚܙܝ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܘܟܠܝܢ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܟܝܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ
ܣܓܝܐ. ܘܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܣܓܝܐ ܘܐܬܩܢܐ ܡܛܝܒ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܝܢܩܘ ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܐܬܪ̈ܒܝ. ܘܟܕ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ
ܡܘܠܦܐ ܝܠܦ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܕܟܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܝܘܠܦ. ܟܕ ܕܫܠܡܘܗܝ ܘܒܢܝ ܡܘܠܦܢܗ ܚܙܝ ܡܬܥܢܒ.
ܘܐܬܢܝܘܗ ܕܝܘܡܬܐ ܠܣܘܦܐ ܩܦܠܐ ❖ ܘܟܕ ܐܣܟܝܢܘܣ[3] ܕܝܢ
ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܐܕܝܣ[4] ܚܟܝܡܐ ܘܪܗܛܪܐ ܥܠ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ
ܩܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܟܕܡܐ ܠܐܬܢܝ̈ܐ. ܐܣܟܝܢܐ[5] ܡܠܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣܘܦ̈ܐ
ܘܡܬܕܪ̈ܫܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܡܠܝܠ ܐܢܬ. ܕܗܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ
ܢܬܓܢܒ ❖ ܫܒܘ ܗܢܐ ܥܘܕܪܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ ܕܒܠܝܢ ܡܬܓܠܝܐ.
ܕܩܛܠ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܠܟܠܢ ܐܬܚܘܐ ܠܐܡܪ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ
ܢܦܩ ܠܗܘܢ܀ ܘܗܘܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܕܠܝ ܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܦܪܘܣܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ[6] ܢܣܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ
ܘܚܟܝܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܪܘܡܢܘܬܗ ܘܠܡܬܪܘܡܬܗ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܥܒܕ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܐܬܢܝ̈ܐ ܠܡܫܬܡܥܘ. ܐܦ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܕܢܗܘܐ

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[1] Corrupted from Αἰσχίνης. [2] Read ܗܟܢܐ, or put a stop after ܗܘܐ [3] C ܐܣܟܝܢܘܣ [4] Gr. Δημάδης. [5] C ܐܣܟܝܢܐ [6] D ܒܡܠܟ̈ܘܬܐ

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ܡܢ ܗܘ ܟܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܠܝ. ܕܝܠܟܝ[1] ܗܕܠܐ ܡܢܝܚܬܐ[2] ܘܡܫܠܡܐ
ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܕܟܠ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܓܢܒܪܐ[3] ܐܢܐ ܠܝ[4]. ܘܟܡܕܡ
ܕܢܫܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[5] ✢ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܬܟܬܘܒܐ
ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܗܐ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ✢
ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܪܐ. ܗܘܐ ܡܫܕܪ ܐܓܪܬܐ
ܟܕ ✢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܬܢܝܐ. ܐܢܐ ܠܩܢܛܝܘܣ[6] ܠܐܡܪ
ܫܠܡ. ܕܠܐ̈ܝܬܝܟܘܢ ܢܦܩܬ. ܘܠܝܘܗܝ ܢܬܟܬܒ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ
ܟܡܢܝܬܗܘܢ[7] ܫܠܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܩܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܢܫܘܢ
ܕܝܢ ܕܒܩܛܠܐ ܕܐܬܢܝܘܬܟܘܢ[8] ܠܐ ܢܕܒܪܘܢ ✢ ܗܢܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ
ܕܢܘܪܐ ܘܡܢܦܩܢܐ ܐܬܢܝܘܬܟܘܢ[9]. ܟܕ ܗܘ ܘܟܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[10]
ܘܐܟܪܙܬ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܟܘܢ ܐܣܘܢ[11]. ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܬܐ
ܕܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ ܡܢܢܗ. ܕܟܕ ܗܘܝܐ ܚܝܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܡܫܠܛܢܘܬܟܘܢ[12] ܡܠܟ ܐܬܢܝܐ ✢ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܩܕܢ ܦܠܛܝܢܐ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ[13] ܠܗ.
ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܕܪܝܢ ܠܝ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܟܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ[14]
ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܐܬܢܝܐ ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ ✢ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܩܪܝܘ.

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[1] BCD add ܐܢܐ [2] AE ܡܢܝܚܬܐ [3] Read ܓܠܬܢܝܐ
[4] BCD ܕܟܘܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ [5] BCD add ܐܢܐ [6] The Greek and Latin texts have Leontas. [7] D ܟܡܢܝܬܗܘܢ (*sic*)
[8] D ܕܐܬܐܬܢܝܘܬܟܘܢ [9] D ܐܬܐܬܢܝܘܬܟܘܢ [10] D ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ, and on the margin ܐܘ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [11] D ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܣܘܢ
[12] Read ܡܫܠܛܢܐ and ܡܫܠܛܢܘܬܟܘܢ ? [13] AE ܟܕ [14] D omits ܐܢܐ

ܓܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܕܪܫ ܚܝܕ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܩܒܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܠܒܪܐ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܦܢܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܢܬܟܢܫܘ. ܘܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܒܝܚܢܐ ܡܚܕܐ
ܒܡܠܟܐ[1] ܠܝ ܢܩܒܠܘܢ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܘܬܐ
ܕܠܗܘܢܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܒܫܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܐܬܕܬ
ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܢܬܟܢܫ. ܘܐܬܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܢܬܒܘ[2].
ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ[3] ܡܢ ܢܒܐܬܘܬܐ ܢܚܙܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢܐ ܦܝܢܐ
ܕܐܗܒܐ ܢܝܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܒܐ ܕܢܕܝܢ ܕܒܡܕܝܢܐ ܢܬܒܢܝܘܢ ܠܝ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܒܡܠܬ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ. ܕܐܢܘܢ ܐܬܬܐ. ܕܐܘ ܗܘܘ ܢܒܝܐ.
ܐܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܐܬܝܠܝܕܘ. ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ[4] ܐܠܝܦ[5]
ܗܘܠܘ ܀

II ܘܟܕ ܐܬܬܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥܘ. ܦܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ
ܢܒܝܘ[6] ܠܗ ܀ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܢܥܒܕܐ ܕܒܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܗܟܢܐ ܟܬܒܝܢ. ܕܢܫܡ ܐܦ ܒܗܘ ܘܒܢܐ. ܟܕ ܐܚܘܦ ܒܢܝܐ ܐܬܬܘܗܝ
ܗܘܝܐ. ܒܢܘܗܝ ܢܟܫܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܘܟܕ ܡܝܬ ܢܒܝܘܬܐ
ܕܟܪܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܦ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ[7] ܕܗܘ ܗܦܝܣ ܠܒܪܡܐ[8] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܒܘܟ. ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܡܩܝܡ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܦܢܝ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܦ

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[1] Read ܒܡܠܟܐ. *Καὶ τούτων μὲν προθύμως με ἀναγορευόντων βασιλέα* (Müller, p. 55, col. 1). [2] AE ܢܒܝܘ [3] D ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ [4] Read ܒܠܒܢܝܢܐ [5] D ܐܠܦܐ [6] D ܢܒܝܘ [7] AE omit from ܘܟܕ ܡܝܬ to ܐܦ [8] A adds here ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܗܕܐ[1] ܦܠܛܘܬܗܘܢ. ܦܩܕܐ ܒܗ ܢܬܒܢܐ ܠܗ̇. ܘܡܢ ܩܘܡܬܘܬܗ̇
ܦܫܛ ܘܐܦܬܝܗ̇. ܘܥܒܕ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܗ̇ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܩܘܡܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܠܫܘܠܡܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܡܪܝ. ܒܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܢܝܚܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܢܝܐ ܠܡܗܘܐ[2]. ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܡܫܪܝܢ ܘܠܟܢ̈ܫܐ
ܒܬܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܫܪܝܢ. ܢܦܪܕܘܢ ܥܠ ܝܬ̈ܒܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܝ̈ܛܢܐ ܘܡܫܪ̈ܪܢܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ
ܠܓܒ. ܕܐܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܥܠ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܦܘܠܢܐ ܗܦܝܣ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܢܬܪܝܚ. ܘܫܪܝܘ ܠܡܬܩܢܘ. ܘܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐܦܝܗ ܒܝܬܩܘܡܬܐ ܗ̇ܘ
ܡܕܘܬܐ[3]. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܥܠ[4] ܗܦܝܣ. ܗܘܐ ܠܣܘܪܝܐ ܡܢ
ܝܬܝܪܐ ܟܕ ܗܦܝܣ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܠܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܡܛܠ.
ܘܡܢ ܕܝܬܗܘܢ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5]
ܕܗܘ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܠܩܘܡܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܐܬܒܢܝܬ ܡܢ ܩܘܡܬܘܬܐ[6]. ܦܩܕ
ܗܘܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܠܩܘܡܬܗ̇ ܬܬܩܢ. ܘܫܠܝܛܐ ܢܣܒܐ
ܣܓܝܐܬܗܘܢ ܥܒܕ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀
ܘܫܠܝܛܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܢܬܒܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ. ܘܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ
ܒܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܒܩ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ ܗܕܐ
ܫܡܥܘ. ܐܬܕܟܪܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܥܡܗ ܢܬܕܒܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܢܦܩܘ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ :
ܘܥܒܕ ܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܢܐ. ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܬܘ̈ܬܐ.

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[1] D ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ [2] D ܕܢܗܘܐ [3] Read ܐܝܟ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܡܘܬܐ [4] Read ܥܠ [5] E ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [6] D ܩܘܡܬܘܬܗ̇

BOOK II.

I ܒܬܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܣܛܘܣ ܐܬܦܢܝ.
ܘܠܦܠܛܝܛܘܣ[1] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܢܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܠܩܘܪܐ[2]
ܦܠܚܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܬܐ ܚܙܐ. ܐܡܪ ܟܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ
ܟܘܡܪܬܐ ܦܩܕܬ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܗܘܬ. ܘܚܙܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܬ.
ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܝܗܒ[3] ܗܘ ܠܟ ܕܒܝܬܗ
ܡܠܗܘܢ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܡܬܝܒܐ ܘܩܪܝܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܫܡܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܗ܀ ܘܟܕ
ܦܠܠܕ ܡܩܕܫܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܢܨܠܝܚ ܗܘܐ. ܠܗܝܟܠܐ
ܥܠ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܟܘܡܪܬܐ ܠܗܘ ܢܨܠܝܚܐ ܚܙܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ.
ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܢܨܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܡܒܕܪܝܢ ܠܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ܀ ܢܨܠܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܐ ܬܡܥܕܢ. ܐܠܐ[4] ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܠܝܢ. ܘܠܟܘܡܪܬܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܘ
ܠܐ ܬܡܢܝ ܠܦܠܓܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܕܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܕܒܢܬܗ ܡܠܗܘܢ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܪܐ ܡܬܝܒܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܪܟܐ ܟܕ
ܐܬܐ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܡܢ ܥܘܠܝܢܐ ܡܒܕܪܝܢ ܠܟ. ܗܪܟܐ

[1] C ܘܠܦܠܛܝܛܘܣ. Corrupted from Πλαταιάς. [2] Read ܠܩܘܪܐ, ἡ Κόρη. [3] BC ܝܗܒ [4] D ܘܠܐ, and on the margin ܘܐܠܐ

ܠܗ. ܘܠܟܪܘܙܘܬܐ ܦܩܕ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܥܒܕܘ. ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘ
ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ. ܟܕܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܛܐ ܕܒܪ ܦܩܕ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܠܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܗܘܬܐ[1] ܕܝܢܐ ܢܒܪܘܗܘܢ ܀

[1] Read ܕܒܗܬܐ ?

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܗܘ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܡܢܐ
ܠܬܪܡܝܘ ܡܢܟ. ܘܡܬܡܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܐ ܣܕܪܗ ܢܣܒܘ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܦܟܘ
ܘܗܘܐ. ܘܒܣܝܐ ܘܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܩܕ[1] ܘܙܟܝܐ. ܐܦ ܝܗܒܘ.
ܢܣܒܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܐܢܫ ܢܬܠ ܠܝ ܀ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܬܠܝܗܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܠܐ
ܢܟܝܢ. ܘܗܦܟܬܗ ܘܟܠܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܐܬܠܝܗܒܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܝ.
ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܐܪܡܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܡܕܗ. ܘܠܝܗܘܕ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܦܩ: ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܪܘܙܐ ܦܢܝܘ ܥܡܝ. ܘܡܢ ܢܣܒܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ[2].
ܕܢܣܒܘ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ. ܘܢܘܕܥ ܢܝܫܢܝܗ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ[3] ܢܦܩ ܕܠܐ
ܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ. ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܝ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܠܟܪܟܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܘܐܢܐ ܕܒܬܪܗ ܢܣܠܩܘܢ ܘܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪ
ܡܐܡܪ. ܕܒܝܕ ܕܝܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܠܝܗܒܐ ܐܪܡܝܐ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܡܢܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܐ. ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ[4] ܠܗ ܠܝ ܀ ܐܬܠܝܗܒܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܦܠܓܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܘܦܬܓܡ ܢܟܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ[5]. ܐܝܟ . ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ[6]. ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ[7] ܐܘܪܒ.
ܡܬܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ[8] ܥܡܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܟܬܘܒܗ[9]
ܡܢ ܡܠܠܗ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܘܪܒ

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[1] D ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢ [2] Add ܐܝܟ [3] D ܠܗ
[4] D ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ [5] ABC ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܫܟܚܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ [6] DE ܗܘܐ [7] D ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ
[8] C ܥܡܗ. Read ܠܐ, without ܕ ? [9] D ܐܟܬܘܒ

ܦܠܘܢܝܩܘܣ. ܕܬܪܝܢ ܚܕ ܣܛܪܐ ܐܣܛܝܪ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܘܕܢܐ ܦܠܝܛܘܣ[1]
ܡܬܟܬܫܢܐ ÷ ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܢܝܩܘܕܐ ܩܝܡܘܬܐ[2] ܗܦܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܘܐܬܘ ܡܢ
ܬܡܢ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗܕܐ ܦܠܛܝܘܬܐ ܡܣܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ÷ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ ܐܙܠ. ܘܬܡܢ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܕܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ÷
ܗܘܝܢ ܬܢܢ ܩܘܪܢܬܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܥܘ. ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ
ܢܥܒܕ ܢܚܡܝܗܘܢ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܪܕܝܐ
ܐܙܠ. ܘܟܕ ܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܚܙܐ. ܘܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܕܪܕܝܐ ܚܙܐ
ܗܘܘ. ܛܠܝܐ ܘܪ̈ܟܒܐ ܡܦܠܦܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܟܢܘܫܐ
ܟܠܗ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܚܕ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܝܢ ܕܢܘܡܘܣ[3] ܗܘܐ ܡܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܬܒ̈ܝܐ[4]. ܘܐܬܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܗ ܡܬܟܬܫ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܫܡܗ ܟܠܝܛܘܣ ܐܝܡܢܛܘܡܟܘܣ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܗ ܠܟܪܟܐ
ܕܚܙܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܫܡܥܗ ܐܬܩܛܠ ܗܘܐ ÷ ܘܟܕ
ܠܟܠܗ ܦܠܘܛܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܪܟܐ ܗܢܘ ܢܨܚܬܗ ܘܐܘܕܥܬܗ ܥܠ
ܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܩܪ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܡܥܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ.
ܘܩܪܝܗ ÷ ܘܟܕ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܠܒܐ ܢܩܘܒ.

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these names seem to be Πολυνείκης or Πολύνικος; the second Ἀντίμαχος; the third I cannot make out. The Greek text is different (see Müller, p. 53, col. 2), and the successful athlete afterwards mentioned is Κλειτόμαχος. It is of course possible that ܦܠܘܛܝܩܘܣ may be a corruption of Πολυδεύκης; but in that case ܐܢܛܝܡܟܘܣ (see below) would have to be equated with the epithet ἱμαντόμαχος, whilst ܦܪܛܝܛܘܣ would remain as obscure as before.

[1] D ܦܠܐܛܝܢܘܣ [2] AE ܩܝܡܘ [3] D ܢܐܒ [4] D ܕܬܒܐܝ̈ܐ

ܕܐܡܪܗ̇ ܢܚܬܝܗ̇ ܒܡܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܘܠܥܠ
ܕܠܐ[1] ܐܡܪܐ ܠܬܒܘܗܘܢ. ܘܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܡܢܗ
ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܦܩܕ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܗܘ ܕܝܢ
ܚܙܐ ܠܟܘܪܗ ܢܟܝܠ ܘܐܬܠܗ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܝܘܡܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܒܥܘܬܐ
ܘܥܡܐ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ[2] ܀

XLVII ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ
ܠܗ ܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܦܠܛܝܐ[3] ܐܬܪܐ ܕܘܟܐ ܗܘܘ. ܠܡܦܠܚܘ
ܘܠܡܥܒܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܡܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ[4] ܡܥܒܕܢܐ[5] ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܦܝܬܘܣ[6] ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܚܙܬ ܕܒܫܘܠܡܗ[7] ܢܚܬܬܗ. ܕܢܝܫܡܐ
ܡܢ ܬܡܢ[8] ܬܫܬܟܠ. ܘܡܫܟܚܐ ܚܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܦܘܠܚܢܐ
ܠܚ ܕܦܠܛܝܢܘܣ[9] ܘܐܬܢܝܘܣ ܘܩܘܪܢܬܝܘܣ[10] ܐܬܠܝܗܝ

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[1] Read ܠܐ, without ܕ. [2] These words, from ܘܐܬܠܗ ܗܘܘ to ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ, are quite out of place here. In some way or other they have crept in from the beginning of the next chapter, and have ousted some words corresponding to the Greek ᾤδευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. See Müller, p. 53, col. 2. [3] Read ܠܗ ܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܦܠܛܝܐ [4] D ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. On the margin ܐܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ [5] BCD more fully ܠܡܦܠܚܘ ܘܠܡܥܒܪ ܝܘܡܐ. ܘܐܬܠܗ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܝܘܡܐ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. ܕܐܡܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ. I would omit the words ܘܐܬܠܗ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܝܘܡܐ as being a useless repetition. [6] I.e. ἡ Πυθία. [7] C ܕܒܫܘܠܡܗܘܢ [8] D ܬܡܢ and omits ܬܡܢ [9] D ܕܦܠܛܝܢܘܣ [10] The first of

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ܢܦܩܬ ܐܢܐ[1]. ܘܡܬܩܠܩܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܚܠܦܘܢ ܥܡܗ
ܗܕܡܐ[2]. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܬܪܘܗܝ
ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ܀ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܢܩܫ ܩܠܐ ܗܘܢܐ. ܡܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܘܦܬܝܐ
ܠܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܗܕܡܘܗܝ. ܐܬܒܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ
ܘܐܬܒܪܗܘܢ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܢܗܘܢ[3]. ܘܗܘܐ ܢܬܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܩܝܡ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ
ܡܫܪܘܬܐ ܒܡܫܬܝܢܐ ܘܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܐܘܪܚ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܬܠܛܘ.
ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܣܝܪܘܢ܀ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܫܢܬܐ ܐܬܦܬܚܘܗܝ. ܘܡܫܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ[4]. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ
ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܥܝܪܐ ܠܡܫܪܐ. ܗܟܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܪܓܘܗܝ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ. ܘܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ܀ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܝܠ
ܐܢܐ ܡܬܕܪܫܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܬܪܘܗܝ ܢܗܘܘܢ.
ܘܢܦܪܫܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܐ[5] ܕܐܬܘ ܐܘܪܚܬܗܘܢ.
ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܢ. ܘܒܫܪܪܐ ܠܡܘܬܒܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܢ. ܒܬܪ
ܕܝܢ[6] ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ[7] ܢܩܝܦܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܗܝ܀ ܟܠ
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܥܗ ܕܗܢܐ ܘܥܕܢܐ. ܟܠ ܕܒܥܘܬܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܦܠܓܬ. ܒܫܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ܀ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܐܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܒܥ
ܐܬܪܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܦܠܚܘܬ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܬܘܒܠܗ[8] ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘ. ܘܒܠܚܘܕ

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[1] D ܕܦܩ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܢܦܩܬ ܐܢܐ [2] D ܠܗܕܡܐ

[3] BCD omit ܘܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ [4] Read ܢܬܦܬܚܘܢ, or ܢܬܦܬܚܘܢ?

[5] D ܐܝܟܢܐ [6] ADE omit ܕܝܢ [7] D omits ܡܠܟܘܬܐ [8] D ܬܘܒܠܗ

ܕܐܪܓܝܛܝܐ ܗܘ̈ܝ. ܠܡܐܬܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝ܆ ܘܒܬܪܗ ܐܩܛܝܪܘܢ[1]
ܐܬܝܩܝܐ ܫܠܝܛܘ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܪܓܝܛܝܐ ܢܥܡܝܢ ܐܬܩܪܝܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܚܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܠܡܐܢܫܐ܆ ܘܗܘܐ
ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܦܪܘܣ ܐܝܬ ܠܡܢܝܢܗ[2]. ܐܪܓܝܛܝܐ ܘܣܟܝܢܐ ܒܗ
ܫܠܝܛܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܩܠܝܛܝܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ.
ܗܘܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܝܬ. ܕܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܬܩܠܝܢ܆ ܥܕ ܕܡ
ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܢܝܐ ܠܐܠܗܝܘܬܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ.
ܠܐܠܗܝܘܬܗ[3] ܢܡܘܣܐ ܠܒܢܝ ܡܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ܆ ܘܡܢܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܘ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܟܢܫܐ ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܫܘܟܢܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ.
ܒܟܠ ܕܩܢܝܢܐ ܟܠ ܡܬܡܢܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ
ܕܐܠܗܝܘܬܗ ܒܟܠ ܡܬܩܢܐ ܘܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܟܢ ܡܠܟܐ[4].
ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܘܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫ ܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ܆
ܒܬܪ ܐܢܫܐ[5] ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܢܫܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܢܘܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܗܢܐ. ܕܡܛܠ[6] ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܘܢܫܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܐ
ܝܕܥܝܢ. ܘܐܫܬܡܥܘ ܫܡܥܬܗ ܘܐܫܬܒܚܘ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܗܢܐ ܥܠܐ
ܕܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܝܐ[7]. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ[8] ܕܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܬ.
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܗ ܠܢܫܝܐ܆ ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ[9] ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܕܝܢ. ܕܡܢ
ܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢܗܘܢ. ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܢܗ

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[1] A corruption of Ἀκταίων (Müller, p. 52, col. 2). D ܐܩܛܘܢ, on the margin ܐܩܛܪܘܢ [2] BCD ܠܡܢܝܢܗ

[3] B ܘܠܐܠܗܝܘܬܗ [4] D ܕܡܠܟܐ [5] D ܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

[6] D ܡܛܠ [7] A ܐܪܝܐ [8] D omits ܡܕܡ [9] D omits ܗܘܐ

ܘܐܠܡܦܝܘܢ[1] ܙܡܪܘܗܝ. ܘܒܗ[2] ܫܡܥܬܗ[3]. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܦܠܡܝܦܘܣ[4] ܠܐܪܟܝܡܝܕܐ[5] ܕܝܠܗ ܫܡܥܬ[6] ܀ ܘܒܗܕܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܪܟܝܡܝܕܐ
ܗܘ ܐܪܟܝܡܝܐ[7] ܘܣܝܢܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܣܝܡܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ
ܫܒܩܘ ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ ܠܡܬܟܬܫܘ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܀
ܘܗܘ ܠܗ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܩܪܝܢ
ܘܗܕܐ ܬܘܒ ܐܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܟܢ ܠܟܠܢܐ ܚܠܝܨܐ. ܒܗܕܐ[8] ܡܪܕܝܢܐ
ܕܡܠܐ ܕܢܘܚܐ ܐܢܫ. ܕܗܘܐ ܐܬܪܐ[9] ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܗܕܐ
ܕܢܝܣܘܦܘܣ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܕܛܝܪܣܝܣ[10] ܐܠܗܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܢܣܒܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܪܟܝܡܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ
ܦܠܡܘܢ ܐܝܟ[11] ܀ ܘܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܘܚܐ ܐܢܫ. ܩܝܬܪܘܢܐ ܗܘ
ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܟܠܒ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ[12]. ܘܗܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ[13]. ܘܗܕܐ[14] ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܢܣܒܐ ܒܬܠܡܝܕܐ

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[1] D ܘܐܠܡܦܝܘܢ. Apparently a mistranslation of ὁ λυρῳδὸς Ἀμφίων. See Müller, p. 51, col. 2. [2] D ܒܗ ܙܡܪܘܗܝ [3] AE ܫܡܥܬ [4] D ܦܠܡܝܦܘܣ [5] Corruptions of ܦܠܡܦܘܣ and ܠܐܪܟܝܡܘܣ. See Müller, *loc. cit.* [6] D ܫܡܥܬ [7] Corrupted from ܬܪܩܝܐ, Θρήκιος. See Müller, *loc. cit.* [8] Read ܗܕܐ [9] Read ܕܐܬܪܐ [10] C ܕܛܝܪܣܝܣ. Both are corruptions of Τειρεσίας. [11] The corresponding clause in Müller, p. 52, col. 1, gives the names of Ἀθάμας and Λέαρχος. [12] Utterly corrupt. ܩܝܬܪܘܢܐ seems to represent Κιθαιρῶνος (Müller, *loc. cit.*); but what is ܘܟܠܒ? [13] BCD ܐܠܗܘܬܐ (D ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ) ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܐܝܬ ܘܗܕܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘ [14] BCD ܗܕܐ, without ܘ

ܢܦܩ ܘܢܦܠ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ¹ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܚܒܫܝܢ ܒܩܒܘܪܐ. ܕܗܟܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܫܒܝܥ². ܘܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܥ ܙܥܩܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܩܠܐ ܒܒܟܝܐ. ܕܗܘܐ ܘܩܠܐ ܘܐܘܠܝܬܐ ܒܣܓܝܐ ܡܨܥܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܚܙܐ ܗܠܝܢ³ ܗܘܐ ܗܡܟܢ ܕܢܒܐ. ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܝ⁴ ܠܓܘܫܡܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܀ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܢܫܬܘܕܥܘܬܗ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܘܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܘܡܘܣܗ. ܕܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܘܡܦܠܚܝܢ. ܕܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܪܪܐ ܗܘ ܘܗܘ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ⁵ ܗܘܐ. ܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܐܢܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܚܙܐ ܘܚܙܐ ܘܚܙܝ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܒܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ⁶ ܡܢܝܢ ܐܝܢ. ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܚܙܝ ܠܡܫܬܘܕܥܘ ܗܘܐ⁷ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܝܐ⁸ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܐ ܒܡܫܬܡܥܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܗ. ܘܕܘܟܬܗ ܠܐܝܩܪܘܬܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܫܬܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܪܪܐ ܠܐܝܩܪܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܒܡܠܟܝܢ ܫܒܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ⁹ ܐܡܪܐ. ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ. ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܡܫܬܡܥܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܬܐ ܀ ܚܙܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܫܝܛ. ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܫܒܚܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

¹ ABCE ܗܘܢ ² Evidently corrupt. We might read ܒܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܝܥ ³ C omits ܗܠܝܢ ⁴ ABC ܥܡ ⁵ A adds ܗܘ ⁶ Read ܒܡܫܬܘܕܥܬܐ? ⁷ D omits ܗܘܐ ⁸ D ܥܠܝܐ ⁹ C omits ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

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ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܦܠܚܝܢ ܠܟ. ܘܥܒܕܬܐ ܗܢܝ ܐܠܗܬܐ ܢܣܒܝܢ
ܠܟ[1]. ܟܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܒܥܠܡ ܢܒܥܝܢ ܘܩܛܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܢܝܢ. ܦܬܟܪܝܣ
ܬܪܒܝܬܟ ܚܙܘܗ. ܘܟܕ ܕܐܬܒܪܝܬ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܡܒܥܝܐ ܠܟ ܗܘ
ܗܘܐ ܗܘܦܟܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܐܢܬ. ܘܟܕ
ܚܘܫܒܐ ܢܟܠܢܐ[2]. ܘܐܦܢ ܕܦܬܟܪܐ ܕܡܢ[3] ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܢ ܡܢ[4] ܗܘܐ ܗܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ. ܡܟܝܠ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܘܗܘܐ ܘܡܫܒܚ
ܒܐܪܙܗ ܕܢܟܬܢܒܘܣ ܗܘܐ[5] ܐܠܗܐ܀ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ
ܠܒܪܬܗ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܢܟܬܢܒܘܣ ܠܐܘܡܢܐ[6] ܗܘܐ ܐܡܘܢ܀
ܘܠܐܒܪ ܣܘܦܬܐ ܘܕܒܪܬܐ[7] ܒܪܬܗ ܐܢܘܢ܀ ܒܗܘ ܦܠܝܛܘܣ ܐܠܗܐ܀
ܘܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܗܝܢܘ
ܠܒܢܝܐ ܘܠܒܢܬܐ ܘܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܢܘ. ܘܡܚܕܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ
ܘܦܘܬܚܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܦܪܝܣܐ ܗܘܬ܀ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ[8]
ܗܘܝܬ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܡܢ ܢܟܬܢܒܘܣ. ܘܐܬܒܪܝܬ[9] ܠܡܕܡܘܬܗ[10].
ܡܛܠ ܠܟܘܠܗ. ܘܐܬܒܪܟ ܠܚܙܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܬ
ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܚܕܝ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܬܪܥܐ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܢܟܬܢܒܘܣ ܩܪܝܒ ܠܗ. ܕܗܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܚܕܐ

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[1] C omits ܘܥܒܕܬܐ ...... ܠܟ   [2] D ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
[3] C ܡܢ, without ܕ   [4] D ܕܡܢ   [5] D ܠܗܘܐ   [6] Possibly ܕܐܘܣܩܐ ܠܐܘܡܢܐ may be a corruption of ܕܐܘܣܩܐ ܐܠܟܡܝܢܣ, a literal transcription of Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης (σπορά). See Müller, p. 51, col. 2.   [7] So all the MSS.   [8] AE omit ܐܢܬ
[9] D ܘܐܬܦܩܬ   [10] D ܠܡܕܡܘܬܟ

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ܡܛܠܝ̈ܬܐ ܗ̈ܢܝܢ[1] ܦܘܪܦܝܪܐ ܘܕܗܒ ܓܠܘܫܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܦܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܀ ܘܐܡܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܓܝܣܗ ܚܠܝܨܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܥܒܪܐ
ܗܘܐ ܒܝܕܥܬܐ[2] ܡܕܒܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܡܣܒܪܗ ܘܒܡܘܟܠܗ ܡܗܝܡܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܗܘܐ[3]. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܢܫܐ
ܕܡܬܝܕܥܬܐ ܒܥܒܝܕ ܡܫܘܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܟܠ ܡܦܩܢܐ ܕܫܘ̈ܩܐ ܕܒܗ[4]
ܡܢܗܝܢ. ܐܬܦܢܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܠܥܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܠܛ ܐܬܪܗ
ܐܟܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܩܕܡ. ܘܒܡܫܪܝܬܗ
ܘܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܒܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܘܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ
ܕܩܛܠܘ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܡܩܕܡ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܘܒܝܫܬܐ
ܕܩܪܒܘܬܐ. ܢܟܠܐ ܕܝܢ[5] ܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ. ܘܫܩܠܬ ܪܘܚܐ
ܠܚ̈ܝܠܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܠܥܒܪܐ ܟܠܗ ܦܠܚܘܗܝ. ܗܢܐ ܘܐܡܪܐ
ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܢܣܬܐ ܗܝ ܟܠ
ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܗܢܐ ܩܪܒܗ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܘܐܡܪܐ ܠܡܩܕܡ[6] ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܢܦܩ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠܘܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܒܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܡܬܦܠܚܢܘܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܟܠ ܕܒܪܒܢ
ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܕܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܢܨܚܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ
ܐܘܟܣܕܪܛܘܪ[7] ܕܡܢ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ. ܗܢܐ

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[1] Add ܥܡ, or substitute it for ܗ̈ܢܝܢ? [2] D ܘܠܥܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܒܡܫܪܝܬܗ [3] BCD add ܘܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܩܪܒܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ [4] D ܒܗ [5] D omits ܕܝܢ [6] D ܠܡܩܕܡ [7] ABC ܐܘܟܣܕܪܛܘܪ; read ܐܘܟܣܕܪܛܘܪܐ?

ܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܡܝܢܐ ܠܐܕܒܐ ܟܪܝܟܝܢ ܗܘܘ[1].
ܘܠܒܢ̈ܝ[2] ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܐܬܡܣܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܫܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܬ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ[3]. ܒܢܘ̈ܢܐ ܘܟܢܫ̈ܝܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܘ ܀
ܘܗܠܟܬ ܢܒܩܥܘܢ ܘܗܠܟܬ ܠܒܬ̈ܐ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܢܐ ܒܥܘܕܢܐ ܢܦܩܐ
ܗܘܬ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܗܕܝܐ[4] ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܢܦܠܘ ܒܗ ܒܫܒܝܐ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ
ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܠܘ[5]. ܡܢܕܥ ܕܗܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܠ
ܦܩܕ ܠܡܩܕܘܢ̈ܝܐ: ܘܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܥܡ ܙ̈ܝܢܗܘܢ[6] ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܢܦܠܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܦܩܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܣܘܦܐ ܐܒܕܐ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀ ܡܬܘܩܢܐ[7] ܗܦܟ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܘܫܘܪ̈ܐ ܒܥܘܕܢܐ ܡܬܦܚܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܫܬܠܡܝܢ ܀ ܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܒܪܟܢܐ
ܐܬܦܪܣܝ ܠܡܩܕܘܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ[8]
ܝܠܕܐ ܕܐܡܐ ܗܝܠܢܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܀ ܘܟܕ[9]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܐ ܗܝܠܢܐ ܘܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܢܐ ܚܙܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ ܒܐܪܥܬܗ ܘܐܡܪ. ܘܟܕ[10] ܡܢܗܘܢ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܐ ܠܐ
ܢܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܡܢܕܥ ܕܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܐ ܗܘܬ.

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[1] D omits ܗܘܘ [2] D ܕܠܒܢ̈ܝ [3] Omit ܗܘܘ?
[4] Read ܗܕܝܐ, and afterwards ܢܦܠ. [5] D ܢܦܠܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
[6] D ܙ̈ܝܢܝܗܘܢ; read ܣܘܣܝܗܘܢ, or ܙ̈ܝܢܗܘܢ? The Greek text has σὺν ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις (Müller, p. 51, col. 1). [7] D ܘܡܬܘܩܢܐ
[8] D ܐܢܘܢ. ܡܢ [9] C ܟܕ, without ܘ. [10] D ܟܕ

ܬܠ̈ܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܦܢܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܫܒܚܘܗܝ ܀ ܘܟܕ
ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܢܠܩܘܢ[1] ܣܓ̈ܝ
ܥܘܕܐ ܠܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܟܠ ܥܘܕܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬ[2]
ܒܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܘܟܘܬܝܘܗ ܘܡܫܬܒܕܘܗ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܕܗܘ ܥܘܕܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀
ܘܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܒܢܝܐ[3] ܕܢܘܕܐ ܗܘܝܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ: ܘܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܥܠ ܥܘܕܐ
ܕܝܠܗܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ[4]. ܘܥܘܕܐ ܠܡܓܘܪܝܐ ܀ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܠܟ ܓܝܪ ܕܝܡܐ
ܦܫܛ ܢܗܘܪܐ ܕܡܠܟ ܗܟܘܫܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܡܢ ܦܘܫܐ
ܕܢܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܢܫܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܘܠܐ. ܘܟܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܠܐ.
ܘܟܠ ܣܝܦܪܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܝܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܘܢܗܪ. ܘܡܢ ܕܝܫܐ
ܠܚܕܐ ܦܪܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܢܝܠܐ. ܘܟܪܝܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܩܪܡ ܘܦܪܩܝܢ
ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܟܪܝܐ ܐܘܠ. ܘܥܘܕܐ ܐܘ ܒܗܪܟܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܐܝܟ[5]
ܕܢܦܫ ܡܢܝܪ ܀ ܐܦ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܘܣܝܘܣ ܥܡ ܩܠܥܐ[6] ܘܡܪ̈ܝܢ
ܒܪܡܚܐ[7]. ܠܚܕܐ ܢܦܩܐ ܐܠܦܐ. ܥܠ ܗܪܟܐ ܣܓ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܡܬܦܪܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܘܕܐ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܗܝ ܢܦܩܘܗ ܥܘܕܐ
ܐܝܟ ܒܗ. ܘܐܪܥܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܐ ܕܩܠ̈ܥܐ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܗ ܠܥܘܕܐ
ܡܝܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܠ[8] ܥܘܕܐ ܠܗܘ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ

¹ AE ܢܠܩܘܢ   ² DE ܘܐܬܒܢܝܬ   ³ BCD ܕܢܬܒܢܝܐ
⁴ D ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ   ⁵ E ܘܐܝܟ   ⁶ Rather ܩܠ̈ܥܐ, *slingers.*
⁷ Read ܘܒܪܡ̈ܚܐ? Gr. καὶ λογχοβόλων (Müller, p. 50, col. 2).
⁸ D ܘܟܠ

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XLVI ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܢܫܝܐ ܘܠܐܦܝܗܘܢ ܢܦܩ ܠܡܦܓܥ
ܘܠܡܩܪܒܬܐ܀ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܘܚܙܐ ܠܗܠܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܕܪܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ. ܘܠܡܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܐ[1]. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܝܢ
ܡܠܟܬܐ[2] ܗܕܐ ܚܕܝܬ ܛܒ. ܗܕܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܦܓܥܬܐ
ܦܓܥܬ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܐܘܕܝܬ ܘܠܒܘܫܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ:
ܘܐܪܟܒܬܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܗܝ ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ. ܐܘ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ
ܫܡܥܬ ܐܝܟ. ܘܗܝ ܗܢܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܝ ܥܡܗܘܢ
ܡܫܡܫܢ ܠܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܒܗܝܢ. ܘܗܫܐ ܦܩܕܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܘ
ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ ܐܘ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ[3] ܠܡܙܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐ
ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܢܫܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢ ܢܫܐ
ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ[4] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ[5] ܘܡܬܦܢܝܢ[6]. ܐܠܐ
ܘܗܟܢܐ[7] ܡܫܡܫܢ ܢܫܐ ܘܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܢܫܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܝܬܝܐ
ܘܡܫܡܫܢ ܕܠܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ܀ ܡܛܠ ܢܫܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗ ܕܒܘܪܬܐ
ܥܠܝܢ ܢܫܐ. ܒܗܕܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܒܬܘܡܪܗܘܢ[8] ܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܫܢ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܒܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ[9] ܢܬܠܘܢ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ
ܕܩܛܠܬܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ[10] ܠܡܬܦܢܝܢ. ܘܕܘܟܬܐ ܚܪܝܫܬܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܢܫܐ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܢܬܒܥܐ. ܟܕ ܒܡܐܡܪܗ

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[1] Read ܐܡܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܕܪܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܢܣܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ

[2] D ܠܡܠܟܬܐ [3] Read ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ; D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [4] D omits ܕܒܗ [5] D ܫܡܫܬܐ [6] Read ܘܡܬܦܢܝܢ [7] C ܗܟܢܐ, without ܘ [8] Read ܒܬܘܡܪܗܘܢ [9] D omits ܠܡܠܟܐ [10] Omit ܠܗܘܢ

ܠܗ[1]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ[2] ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܒܝܒܗ. ܗܢ ܠܐ ܢܓܒܗ
ܕܢܫܬܡܥܘܢ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܗܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܒܗ̇ ܒܥܕܢܐ
ܠܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܗܘ̇[3] ܕܦܝܠܣܘܦܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ
ܚܒܝܒ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ[4] ܕܝܘܠܦܢܗ ܥܒܕ[5] ܗܘܐ ܘܟܠ ܦܘܩ̈ܕܢܘܗܝ
ܢܛܪܗ ܀ ܗܢ ܕܝܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܫܟܠܐ ܩܠܐ ܥܒܝܕ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ[6]. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ: ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܐ̱ܢܐ ܚܒܝܒ ܕܠܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ. ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܝܢ ܚܒܝܒ[7]. ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬܒܚܬ.
ܚܢܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܡܫ̈ܬܒܚܬ ܠܐ ܗܫܟܝܐ. ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܡܬܢ̈ܕܪܢܐ ܐܫܘܘܢ
ܠܝ. ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܐܬܕܡܝܘܢ ܀ ܘܗܢ ܩܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ
ܥܒܝܕ. ܗܘܐ ܗܠܐ ܠܢܕܒܐ[8] ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܫܟܠܐ ܚܢܢ ܘܐܡܪ: ܕܐܘ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܝܕ. ܢܝܫܐ ܕܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ[9]. ܡܟܝܠ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܡܥܡܝ ܒܟܠܡܕܡ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܘܡܕܡܐ
ܠܟܠܢ ܥܡܝ ܐܣܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܘܕܥܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܕ̈ܒܪܐ
ܘܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܐܣܝܘܢ ܀ ܘܗܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܝܕ.
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܠ. ܗܘܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܫܒ
ܐܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ[10] ܠܐܚܪܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܒܗ̇ ܘܕܢܐ ܀

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[1] AE ܠܗ̇ [2] C omits ܗܘ [3] A ܗܝ̇. The fem. gender may be right as in ܕܦܝܠܣܘܦܝܐ, ܠܦܝܠܣܘܦܝܐ, etc. [4] Read ܡܢ, without ܘ [5] BD ܥܒܕܗ [6] ACE ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ and omit ܗܟܢܐ [7] BCD omit ܚܒܝܒ, which seems better. But perhaps we should transpose, ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܐ̱ܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܝܢ ܚܒܝܒ ܕܠܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܚܒܝܒ. [8] A omits ܗܘܐ ܗܠܐ ܠܢܕܒܐ [9] Read ܥܒܝܕ ܢܝܫܐ ܕܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܥܒܕܝܗ ? [10] ABCE omit ܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ

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ܕܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܕܢܦܫ ܒܡܕܒܚܬܐ ܘܐܬܠܨܘ ܦܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܥܬܐ. ܘܐܬܓܠܠܘ ܗܘܘ ܘܣܓܕܘ ܀ ܡܛܠ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܚܫܚܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܗܘܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܘ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܚܟܝ̈ܡܐ. ܡܠܟ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܐܝܟܘܢ ܒܗ[1]. ܕܒܥܒ̈ܕܐ ܢܦܩ ܐܝܟܘ. ܡܬܒܥܝܢܗܘܢ. ܒܬܪ ܢܦܩܬܐ ܕܐܦ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܬܒܥܝܢܘܢ. ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܢܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܡܢܗ[2] ܘܫܡܝ ܢܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܒܢܦܠܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܬܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܒܬܪ ܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܒܬܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ. ܐܠܐ[3] ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪܟܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ[4] ܐܬܒܗ ܗܘܬ ܀

XLV ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܠܠܩܪܘܐܘܣ[5] ܐܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܒܘܪܟܐ ܘܕܡ̈ܫܚܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܒܬܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܝܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܐܩܪܓܝܐܣ[6] ܐܬܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܐܣܛܠ ܕܐܦܠܘܢ ܐܬܐ[7] ܀ ܘܬܡܢ ܕܝܢ[8] ܗܘ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܕܟܕ ܐܦܠܘ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܝܗܝܒ ܠܝ ܕܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܠܡܬܠ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܬܚܡܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܟܘܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܝ. ܠܗܕܐ ܬܪܝܦܘܣ[9] ܕܦܠܛܘܬܐ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܬ ܐܢܐ

[1] AE omit ܡܠܟ......ܒܗ [2] ABCE ܡܢܗܘܢ [3] C omits ܐܠܐ

[4] D ܠܡܠܟܘܬ̈ܗ [5] A corruption of ܠܠܘܩܪܘܐܣ (εἰς Λοκρούς). See Müller, p. 49, col. 2. [6] AE ܠܐܩܪܓܝܐܣ [7] E ܐܬܐ

[8] A originally ܕܝܢ ܘܬܡܢ [9] Read ܬܪܝܦܘܕܐ, *tripod*.

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XLIII ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܡܝܪ ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘܣ ܘܠܐܣܛܪܘܠܘܓܐ
ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܠܗܦܟ. ܐܡܪ ܠܐܠܗܝܐ ܐܡܪܗ ܡܢ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܘܕܥܢܘܬܗ. ܘܣܡܗܐ ܢܦܠܠ ܗܦܟ ܠܗܦܟ
ܗܘܐ[1] ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܡܝܪ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܪܒܥܝܢ[2] ܕܝܢܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܐܡܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ[3]. ܢܫܡܘ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ.
ܕܐܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܠ ܘܡܢ ܚܘܐ ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘ
ܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܘܕܥܢܘܬܗ ܘܡܢ ܚܘܐ ܐܢܫܐ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܕܠܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܡܪܐ
ܘܠܐܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ: ܡܠܟܐ ܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܐ ܠܗ ܡܫܟܚ
ܗܘܐ ܢܫܡܘ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܕܠܐ
ܢܦܫܢ ܠܡܘܕܥܢܘܬܗ. ܐܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫܐ. ܕܠܡܐ ܡܢ
ܕܡܢܐ ܢܡܘܬ. ܢܡܘܬ ܠܗ[4] ܕܡܢ ܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢܢ ܠܘ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܦܩܘܣ ܗܘܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܘܬ ܢܡܘܬ. ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܘܢܐ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ[5] ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ. ܐܠܐ ܒܗܘ ܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܢܐ ܢܦܫܐ

XLIV ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܐܡܝܪ. ܘܠܐܣܛܪܘܠܘܓܐ ܘܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܫܥܝܢ ܐܢܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܗܘ ܕܡܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܟܠ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܐܣܛܪܘܢ. ܘܒܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܐ
ܡܟܝܠ ܕܡܢ[6] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܕܝܩ ܐܢܫ. ܘܡܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܡܢܟܣܬܗܘܢ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܒܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܐ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܘ

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[1] D ܗܘܐ [2] BC ܠܐܪܒܥܝܢ, D ܠܐܪܒܥܝܢ [3] BCD ܕܒܪܢܝܬܐ
[4] D omits ܠܗ [5] D ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ [6] D ܡܢ

ܕܐܫܬܡܠܝܘ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܕܐܬܟܠܝܘ ܥܘܕܪܗ ܕܦܝܠܐ[1] ܣܓܝ
ܐܩܝܡ ܗܘܝܐ[2] ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܐܬܠܚܡܘ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܘ ܚܝܠܐ. ܕܠܐ
ܗܦܟ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܦܘܪܘܣ[3] ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܥܡܗ ܀ ܘܫܒܩ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܗ ܕܒܪܘܪܐ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ. ܘܐܦ
ܗܘ ܦܘܪܘܣ[4] ܕܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܬܘܪܐ ܘܡܬܝܢܐ ܢܬܒܪܘܢ.
ܫܘܕܥܝܢܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܘܣܓܝܐܬ ܕܢܟܬܒܘܢ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ
ܠܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܬ ܕܫܘܕܥܝܢܘܢ[5] ܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܢܟܬܒܘܢ
ܢܣܒܘܢ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܕܐ[6] ܡܠܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܡܬܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܠܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܀ ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܫܪܒܬܐ[7]
ܘܫܘܕܥܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܗܘ ܦܘܪܘܣ[8]
ܠܟ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܒܝܣܬ[9] ܕܢܬܒܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ[10]
ܚܬܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܢܬܚܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܫܘܕܥܝܢ ܚܬܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܬܐ
ܕܗܘ ܦܘܪܘܣ[11] ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ ܀

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[1] AD ܕܐܬܟܠܝܘ; C ܥܘܕܪܐ; D ܕܐܬܟܠܝܘ ܕܦܝܠܐ ܕܥܘܕܪܗ. Read ܕܐܬܟܠܝܘ ܥܘܕܪ ܒܗ. ܕܦܝܠܐ
[2] D omits ܗܘܝܐ
[3] Read ܕܗܘܦܘܪܘܣ
[4] Read ܗܘܦܘܪܘܣ
[5] Either the words ܣܓܝܐܬ ܕܫܘܕܥܝܢܘܢ are a mere repetition, or they are corrupt.
[6] ABCE ܗܕܐ
[7] C ܠܫܪܒܬܟ, which seems preferable.
[8] D ܦܘܪܝܣ
[9] AE ܢܬܒܝܣܬ, without ܕ
[10] Read ܕܢܬܒܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ?
[11] D ܕܗܘ ܦܘܪܝܣ

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܬܬܒܝܐܝܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܡܪܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܠܚܘ ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܐ ܫܒܩܘܗܝ ܗܘܘ ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ[1] ܗܘܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܦܟܘ ܕܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܦܬ̈ܟܐ ܫܠܝܘ ܀
ܗܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܦܟܐ[2] ܕܐ̈ܢܫܐ ܡܫܪ̈ܝܘܬܐ ܘܦ̈ܪܫܐ ܕܥܡܗ
ܫܪܟܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܦܩܕ ܫܠܝܛܘܗܝ ܠܡܩܛܠ. ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܠܗ
ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܒܩ ܀

XLII ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܡܥ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܐܬܬܥܝܪ
ܕܐܚܠܐ[3] ܠܡܐܙܠ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܦܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܒܩܕ.
ܘܦܬ̈ܟܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܢܣܒ̈ܐ ܡܣܪܗܘܢ[4] ܫܒܩ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܢܦܩ ܘܠܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܕܒܒܪܘܣܝܐ[5] ܐܙܠ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܫܟܚܘ ܫܠܝܚܘ ܕܗܘܠܝ ܗܟܢ
ܡܣܩܘܗ ܡܕܝܢܗ ܢܩܦܘ[6] ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܢܬܟܬܫܘܢ[7] ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ
ܠܦܪܘܣܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܒܪܘܣܝܐ[8] ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܝܠܝܢ. ܘܢܦܩ
ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܟܝ̈ܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܡ̈ܢܐ ܠܡܦܩܘܕ. ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܦܪܘܣܐ
ܗܦܟܝ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܦܠܝܗ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ. ܗܕܐ ܕܦܩܘܕܝܗ ܩܕܡ
ܠܗ[9]. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܚ̈ܪܢܝܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܒܩ[10] ܀ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܪܐ[11] ܗܘ

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[1] D ܘܐܬܦܢܝܘ [2] D ܠܗܦܟܐ [3] The name of ܐܚܠܐ seems to be corrupt, and something appears to have been omitted after ܫܒܩܕ [4] D ܗܦܟܐ [5] DE ܕܒܒܪܘܣܝܐ; Read ܘܠܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܒܪܘܣܝܐ. See Müller, p. 47, col. 2. [6] D ܡܕܝܢܗ, ABCE ܢܩܦܘ [7] MSS. ܢܬܟܬܫܘܢ [8] Read ܠܦܪܘܣܝܐ and omit ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܒܪܘܣܝܐ as being an accidental repetition. See Müller, p. 48, col. 1. [9] This clause is probably corrupt. [10] D ܕܒܝܫ [11] D ܡܗܘܪܐ

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܡܪܗ ܦܘܪܘܣ[1]. ܟܠܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܡܚܝܒ ܠܗ.
ܕܒܪ[2] ܡܬܚܝܠܐ ܚܕ ܕܒܕܘܟܬ ܟܠܕܝܐ ܡܚܕ. ܒܗ ܒܘܬܐ[3] ܚܠܠܗܘܢ
ܐܘܠ. ܘܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܬܩܘܡܐ ܐܟܝܕ ܚܕܕܐ. ܘܫܩܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܒܢܐ ܡܢ
ܬܪܥܘܗܝ ܠܬܪܐ ܡܚܕܘ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܠܝܘ ܡܬܚܒܠ ܬܡܢ. ܕܐܦ
ܝܡܡܐ ܡܢ ܚܘܠܬ ܕܡܬܚܬܐ ܫܬܒܐܐ. ܘܒܡܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܕܝܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܗܘܐ
ܐܬܬܦܩܕ. ܘܟܕܡܘܐ ܢܡܘܐ ܒܘܗܘܕܗ ܚܩܠܐ. ܡܚܠܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ
ܡܢ ܚܘܠܬ ܗܝ ܫܠܐ. ܕܠܐ ܫܘܫܛܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܐܚܕܝ[4]. ܘܠܐ
ܢܒܐ[5] ܠܡܬܬܦܫܘ ܒܡܬܚܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܬܠܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ
ܗܘܐ ܫܘܚܠܦܗ ܐܬܦܬܚܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܦܪ ܡܬܚܪܬܐ ܕܒܕܘܟܬ ܐܘܕܥ.
ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܪ. ܘܚܕܪ ܥܡ ܚܝܠܗ ܘܗܦܟ ܘܠܦܪܣ
ܐܙܠ ܀ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܕܒܕܘܟܬ[6] ܗܡܕܝܢܐ ܗܝ ܕܒܢܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܐܝܕܗ[7] ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܦܘܪܘܣ[8] ܐܝܘܠܝܢܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܡܫܕܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܕܡܛܠ ܚܒܝܒ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܘܪܘܣ ܒܐܘܟܡܐ ܕܒܪܒܪܝܐ ܠܗ ܀
ܐܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܘܠܝܢܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܘܦܐܪܐ ܒܚܝܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܠܦܘܪܘܣ
ܐܕܡܝ. ܘܟܕ ܠܝܬ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܝܠ
ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܕܒܕܘܟܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܦܐܪܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܚܒܝܠ.
ܘܠܦܘܪܘܣ ܐܕܡܝ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܠܝܬ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܫܬܠܡܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܠܐ
ܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܘܝܢܘܢ ܦܪ ܡܬܚܪܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܠܟܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܚܝܕܐ.

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[1] D ܠܦܘܪ and ܕܦܘܪܘܣ [2] Read ܕܒܪ [3] Read ܒܘܬܐ
[4] Read ܫܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܫܛܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܕܝܡܐ. ܘܐܚܕܝ [5] MSS. ܢܒܐ
[6] Read ܕܒܕܘܟܬ [7] AE omit ܒܐܝܕܗ [8] Read ܠܦܘܪܘܣ, without ܘ

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ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܚܕܪ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܀ ܡܢ[1]
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟܐ. ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܢܨܚܬܐ
ܘܡܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܘܫܒܩܬܗ ܒܫܒܝܩܘܬܟ. ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܚܝܒ
ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ. ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܩܠܝܠ. ܘܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܩܐܡ
ܐܝܬ. ܗܕܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ[2] ܐܚܪܬ. ܘܡܬܐܡܪ ܘܓܘܫ ܐܡܪ ܩܢܝܢܐ
ܘܐܢܫ ܒܚܡܪܬܐ. ܡܢ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ
ܠܐ ܦܫܝܪ. ܕܡܠܟ ܩܠܐ[3] ܕܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܫܠܚܬ ܠܝ ܐܓܪܬܐ
ܗܕܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܝ ܠܡܗܝܡܢܘ.
ܘܠܡܐܙܠ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܫܬܒܚ ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܝܬ[4] ܕܒܟܠܗ
ܐܬܪܘܬܗ. ܘܡܢ[5] ܐܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܘܢܫܠܡܘܢܗ ܘܢܬܚܙܘܢܗ
ܢܨܚܢܐ[6]. ܐܝܟ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܢܛܘܪܗ ܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ[7]. ܘܟܠܗ
ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܫܬܡܫ. ܐܝܟ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܢܛܘܪܐ ܦܩܕ ܠܗ.
ܘܟܐܬܪܐ ܚܣܝܢܐ ܥܒܝܕ[8] ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܝ
ܕܟܠ ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܚܘܝܬܢܝ[9]. ܘܐܦ ܓܝܪ ܫܠܡܬ ܐܓܪܬܐ
ܢܥܒܕܗ ܠܟ. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܫܠܡܬ[10] ܐܓܪܬܐ ܐܓܪܬ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ
ܕܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܀ ܗܟܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܘܠܥܘܕܪܢܐ
ܒܗ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܠܐܘܠܦܢܐ ܐܚܕ ܘܫܕܪܗ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܦܩܕ ܕܠܗܘܢ

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[1] D omits ܡܢ [2] Read ܕܐܢܫܘܬܐ [3] AE ܡܠܟ ܩܠܐ, C ܕܡܠܟ ܕܩܠܐ [4] AE omit ܗܘܝܬ, D ܕܗܘܝܬ [5] D ܡܢ [6] D ܢܨܚܢܐ [7] There is probably some error in the text of this clause. [8] D ܥܒܝܕ [9] D ܚܘܝܬܢܝ, *sic* [10] C ܫܠܡܬ, without ܕ

ܕܢܬܦܠܘܢ[1]. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ[2] ܒܢܦܫܗ. ܐܠܘ[3]
ܗܟܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܢܒܝܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܦܩܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬܪ. ܘܒܨܝܢܘܬܐ
ܡܫܬܟܚܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܝܬܩܝܐ[4] ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܢܐܬܘܢ. ܕܡܘܬܒܐ
ܢܗܘܘܢ ܂ ܘܕܝܠܝ[5] ܗܘܝܢ ܫܪܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܕܝܒܘܬܐ[6]
ܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܡܬܕܒܪܘ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܬ ܗܘܝܬ[7] ܠܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܫܐ
ܒܥܒܕܐ. ܘܚܙܝ ܟܕ ܗܘܝܬ ܝܠܝܦ[8] ܗܘܝܬ. ܡܬܝܠܦܢ[9] ܗܘܝܬ ܒܗܘ[10]
ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܠܦܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܦܣܩ ܘܙܠ.
ܘܢܦܘܩ ܠܐܬܪܟ ܂ ܢܬܕܟܪ ܠܝ ܣܘܟܠܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܐܢܫ ܠܝܠܝܐ
ܐܢܫ. ܕܐܬܪܐ ܐܦ ܕܟܘܬܐ[11] ܕܫܠܘܡܗ ܒܗܝܢܐ ܐܢܫ. ܡܢ
ܕܢܦܩܬ ܢܦܘܩ. ܘܠܐܬܪܟ ܙܠ. ܘܐܢܐ ܗܟܢ ܗܘܕܥܢܐ ܗܘܐ
ܕܢܒܥܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܢܛܪܐ ܠܝ ܂

XLI ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܫܬܟܚܬ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܫܛܗ. ܟܕ
ܫܡܥܬܐ ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܘܕܥܗ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܚܙܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܫܩܠܐ. ܗܟܢ ܐܫܬܥܝ ܡܢ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܦܘܩܕܢܗ
ܐܬܦܢܝ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܢܬܒܝܢ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܫ[12] ܂ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ
ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܥܠܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ
ܒܡܘܬܪܐ ܐܬܚܣܕܬ. ܘܡܘܬܪܗ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܘܫܒܩ. ܗܝܕܝܢ

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[1] D ܡܬܠܘܢ [2] D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ [3] Read ܐܠܐ
[4] ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ, ABCE ܒܣܝܩܐ [5] Either omit ܗܘܝܢ, or read ܫܪܟܐ
[6] D ܗܕܝܒܘܬܐ [7] ABC ܗܘܐ [8] ܝܠܝܦ
[9] Read ܡܬܝܠܦܢ [10] ABCE ܗܘ [11] D ܕܐܦ ; BD omit ܕܟܘܬܐ
[12] ABCE ܐܢܫ

ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܢܫܐ¹ ܢܩܝܦܐ ܘܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ. ܗܢܘܢ
ܕܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ. ܗܦܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܩܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܢܫܒܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ
ܘܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܕܒܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܢܩܝܦܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܐ. ܕܗܘܘ ܘܗܘܐ
ܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ.
ܗܘܐ² ܡܢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܠܗܠ ܡܫܬܒܗܪܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ
ܐܬܦܠܓܬ ܡܬܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪܟܗܘܢ. ܗܘܝܢ ܕܝܢ
ܢܚܡ ܡܩܦܠ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܟܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܠܐ ܡܝܬ. ܘܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܒܡܪܥܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܡܢܥ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܒܫܘܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ. ܘܐܢܐ ܦܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܕܦܩܕܬ ܐܦܪܕܘܢ: ܐܘ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܕܠܡܢܐ ܡܫܬܒܗܪܝܬܘܢ
ܒܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܀

XL ܟܬܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܡܝܕ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܥܒܕܐ
ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ³ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܬܒ ܦܘܠܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܘܗܟܢܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ⁴ ܒܗ⁵ ܀ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܝ ܕܪܝܘܫ. ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܕܪܝ ܘܫܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܐ. ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܠܝ⁶ ܗܘܐ⁷.
ܘܫܠܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܢܣܒܢܝ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ⁸
ܗܘܕܥܬ ܘܫܘܕܥܐ ܘܡܠܐ ܠܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܠܐ
ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܕܒܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܘܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬ

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¹ ܘ seems to be quite superfluous here, as in many other cases.

² D ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ³ D ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ, E ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

⁴ ADE omit ܗܘܐ ⁵ D altered into ܒܗ ⁶ D ܕܠܝ

⁷ This passage is evidently corrupt. See Müller, p. 45, col. 1.

⁸ ABDE ܐܠܡܕܝܬܐ

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ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܕܪܟܘܢ ܡܬܡܠܠܝܬ ܡܬܘܠܝ[1] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ.
ܒܕܒܪ ܚܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܡܬܢܦܚܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܒܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܕ
ܘܡܕܘܢܝܬܐ[2] ܚܠܦܘܗܝ ܕܒܗܘܕܐ ܩܒܝܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܬܩܒܝܢ ܀ ܐܢܬܘܢ
ܗܘܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܫܕܪܬ ܫܕܝܬܘܢ.. ܐܢ ܣܒܪܬ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܓܪܬܘܢ..
ܘܒܐܬܪܘܬܟܘܢ ܦܘܪܥܢܘܬܘܢ.. ܘܒܠܘܕܐ ܠܟܠ ܫܒܝܢܐ ܘܒܢ ܕܐܬܘܢ..
ܘܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܠܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܝ ܒܐܬܘܢ ܒܫܒܝܩܘܬܐ
ܕܡܠܟ ܘܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܀ ܘܒܗܘܕܐ ܕܒܗ. ܕܐܢ ܠܐܬܪܟܘܢ
ܠܐ ܡܘܕܥܝܬܘܢ[3]. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐܘܬܐ ܫܠܝܛ[4]. ܘܠܝ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܀
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ[5] ܦܬܟܡܐ ܢܝܫܐ. ܒܗ[6] ܒܟܕܒܐ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ
ܣܦܪܐ ܢܣܒܬ ܠܡܝܬܘܬܐ ܘܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܀ ܡܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܠܝܢ ܬܠܬܐ
ܕܢܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܠܡܬܒܥܘ ܦܣܐܘܦܝܪܐ[7] ܡܛܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܦܘܪܣܘܣ. ܘܒܡܫܢܝܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܣܘܣ[8]. ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ[9]
ܕܡܫܪܝܢ ܒܟܘܪܝ. ܬܘܒ ܀ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܦܩܕܬ ܟܬܒܐ[10]
ܠܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܬܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܒܩܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ. ܕܐܒܘܗ
ܕܐܬܪܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܟܘܢ ܘܠܒܘ ܐܘܠܨܢܘܬܟܘܢ. ܒܟܠܕܝܐܝܬܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ
ܢܦܩ ܀ ܒܕܒܪ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܫܬܕܘ ܕܒܗܘ ܘܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܟܬܒܐ[11] ܝܨܪܐ

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1 D ܡܬܘܠܝ ܡܬܡܠܠܝܬ   2 D ܡܕܘܢܝܬܐ   3 So ABCE; D has ܡܬܩܒܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ, but the word seems to be corrupt.   4 D ܫܠܝܛ
5 ABCE ܗܘܐ   6 D ܒܗ (*sic*).   7 D ܘܦܣܐܘܦܝܪܐ
8 D omits this clause.   9 D ܘܐܝܠܝܢ   10 D omits ܟܬܒܐ
11 Here the Syriac version differs widely from the Greek MSS. which have *θήρ* for ܟܬܒܐ. See Müller, p. 44, col. 2.

ܒܩܕܡ ܥܠܡ. ܘܣܓܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܡܠܟܘ. ܕܗܘ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ
ܐܠܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܢܝܫܦܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ
ܒܢܝܫܗ ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢܗ. ܡܢ ܐܬܪܗ ܢܦܩ. ܘܠܐܟܝܢܐ ܐܬܪܐ
ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܘܡܫܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ. ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܒܢܘܗܝ ܘܐܘܠܕܘܗܝ. ܘܗܘ ܐܫܬܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܘܗܝ.
ܘܡܕܡ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܐ ܦܪܥܘܗܝ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܩܒܠܘܗܝ ܘܡܢܟܘܬܗ[1]
ܒܦܘܪܫܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܠܒܫܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܢܟܣܘܗܝ. ܘܦܘܪܥܢܐ[2]
ܢܟܣܐ ܦܪܣܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܝܗܒ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܝܪܬܘܬܗ
ܘܬܘܟܠܢܗ. ܕܗܟܢ ܒܟܘܪܗܢܐ ܚܫܝܒܘܗܝ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܗ
ܒܬܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܘܩܬܐ[3] ܕܒܟܘܣܝܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܒܗܘܢ
ܢܬܒܪܟ ܀ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܦܫܪ ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܐܠܐ ܢܟܣ
ܠܡܕܒܪܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܀ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟܢ ܐܬܪܓܪܓ
ܕܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܢܬܒܪܟܘܢ ܕܒܗ ܗܘ ܡܛܠܗܢ ܢܬܚܙܘܢ ܘܐܬܚܘܝ
ܐܝܟ. ܘܒܗ ܡܢܐ ܦܪܣܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ. ܘܡܬܚܘܝ ܘܕܡܚܘܝ[4]
ܘܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܒܪܟܘ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܦ
ܠܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܬܒܪܟ: ܗܘܘ ܚܠܝܦܝܢ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܠܝܢ
ܡܛܠܗ. ܦܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܒܡܘܬܐ ܒܪܝܟܘ[5] ܠܡܬܗ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܡܢ
ܠܡܬܝܒܘܬ ܘܡܫܬܡܥܢ ܩܕܡܝܬ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ
ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡ. ܐܝܟܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܠܒܪܢܐ

[1] D ܕܡܢܟܘܬܗ   [2] ABCE ܘܦܘܪܥܢܐ   [3] So the MSS.
Read ܒܬܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܘܩܬܐ   [4] ABCE ܘܕܡܚܘܝ
[5] ABCE ܐܘܪܝܟܘ

ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܘܡܩܘܡܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܗ. ܗܢܘ[1] ܕܡܘܬܐ.
ܕܫܠܛܘܬܗ ܗܟܢܝܐ. ܘܐܦ ܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܦܩܬܗ ܐܢܘܢ[2]. ܗܟܢܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܚܫܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܢܐ
ܡܕܒܪ ܗܘܝܬ[3] ܣܓܝ ܡܕܒܪܬ ܠܟ. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܦܘܬ[4] ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ.
ܒܫܘܡܠܐ ܕܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܐ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܀

XXXIX ܘܡܦܩܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ
ܐܡܗ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܡܗ ܠܗ. ܫܕܪ ܠܐܡܗܬܗ
ܕܒܝܬ ܟܕ ܗܦܟܘ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܀ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܘ
ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ[5] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܦܝܣܘ ܠܡܐܙܠ ܠܘܬܗ
ܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ[6]. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܦܘܩ
ܦܩܘܕܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܕܪܗ ܠܗ ܀ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ
ܐܢܘܢ[7]. ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܛܠ ܚܘܒܐ ܡܢ
ܟܘܠܡܐ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܐܬܐ. ܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ
ܐܫܬܡܥ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܟܬܒܐ[8] ܠܡܕܒܪ. ܘܟܕ[9] ܚܙܝܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܡܝܪ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܕܒܪ ܡܛܠ ܙܘܕܐ ܫܒܩ ܘܠܦܘܠܚܢܗ
ܫܕܪ. ܘܐܬܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܀
ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܦܩܕ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܣܓܝ. ܘܗܘ
ܐܡܪ : ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

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[1] D ܗܢܐ ܗܘ [2] A omits from ܗܟܢܝܐ to ܘܡܦܩܬܗ ܐܢܘܢ
[3] BCD ܗܘܝܬ [4] ABCE ܠܦܘܬ [5] D ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
[6] A omits from ܘܟܕ to ܡܕܝܢܬܗ [7] Read ܐܢܫ [8] D ܟܬܒܐ
[9] D ܘܟܕ

ܘܪ̈ܘܚܬܐ. ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܬܒܪܝܢ ܀ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܝܠܗ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܬ ܢܚܒܠܗ̇. ܘܫܡܥܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܘܡܠܟܝܢ
ܪ̈ܒܐ ܐܡܪܘ. ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ̈ܐ ܘܕܚܢ̈ܦܐ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ
ܠܡ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܘܪܚܗ. ܡܛܠ ܝܫܘܥ[1] ܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܚܝܝܢ ܘܦܘܪܩܢ.
ܒܪܡܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܟܬܒܬ ܟܬ̈ܝܒܬܐ
ܕܒܙܒܢܐ[2] ܒܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܒܫ̈ܡܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܕܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܒܠܝܢ[3] ܗܘܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܘܚܫܟܬ ܚܝܠܐ[4] ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܡܪ ܡܢ ܐܒ̈ܪܝ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܡܢܘܬܐ
ܡܢܗ. ܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܕܡܫܬܠܛ. ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܠܝ ܠܫܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ
ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ
ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܀ ܫܕܪܬ ܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܦܪܓܠܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܐ
ܘܫܡܥܬ ܕܗܘܐ[5]. ܟܕ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝ̈ܐ ܫܕܪܬ ܠܟ. ܐܝܟܐ ܕܝܢ
ܐܝܟ[6] ܝܬܝܪܐ ܚܕܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܚܝܐ[7] ܕܥܒܕܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܫܬܩܬܗ ܀ ܦܪܓܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܬܩܬܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܩܪܐ ܕܡܫܠܛܐ.
ܒܘܫܐ ܕܝܢ[8] ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܒܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ ܛܥܝܢܐ ܘܡܬܕܢܚܝܢ. ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܐ
ܕܚܠܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܥܠܗ̇ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ. ܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܠܥܠ ܚܠܬܐ
ܘܠܫܥܒܕܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܐ : ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܫܕܪܬ ܠܟ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ
ܕܒܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܝܠܟ ܒܡܘܕܥܢܐ ܕܠܐ[9] ܒܥܒܕܐ ܡܕܡܥܢܐ. ܘܕܡܫܬܥܒܕܬܐ

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[1] D ܕܒܫܝܚܝܢ   [2] ABCE ܒܟܬܒܐ. See Müller, p. 43, col. 1.

[3] D ܕܠܝܢ   [4] D ܠܥܬܕܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ   [5] D ܫܠܚܗ ܠܟ.
ܦܪܓܠܐ ܘܠܫܥܒܕܐ ܘܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܫܕܪܬ ܠܟ :

[6] A omits ܐܝܟ, D ܠܝ   [7] BCD ܚܝܐ

[8] After ܕܝܢ D adds ܐܝܟ   [9] Read ܫܘܥܒܕܐ? ὑποταγή. D ܕܠܐ

ܡܘܒܕ. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܕܡܢܘܪ ܐܠܗܐ[1]. ܘܟܕ ܚܬܝܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܡܢܗܪܢܘܬܐ. ܕܢܗܪ ܫܡܫܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ[2]. ܫܡܥܬ
ܠܗ ܘܡܦܢܝܢܬܐ[3]. ܕܒܠܝܢ[4] ܗܘܝܬ ܕܟܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܒܣܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܒܠܒܠܘܬܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. ܕܟܕ ܦܩܕܬ[5] ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܟܡ ܢܩܫܬ ܠܡܦܪܥܬܐ ܥܠܝ
ܡܢܘܪ ܘܡܚܝܢ. ܕܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܟܡ ܡܢܗܪ[6] ܐܠܗܐ. ܟܕ
ܡܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܘܥܝܢܐ ܢܗܪܘܗܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[7] ܢܣܒܘܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܠܗ[8]. ܦܩܕ ܠܡܦܪܥܬܐ ܦܝܫ ܢܩܫܬܐ ܘܦܘܪܫܐ ܕܢܟܠܝ. ܒܟܡ
ܠܐ ܦܩܕ ܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܒܫܡܗ ܐܘ ܒܢܒܝܘܬܗ. ܐܘ
ܒܦܩܕܐ ܕܢܒܝܘܗܝ. ܕܟܡ ܡܢܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܚܒܢ. ܐܦ ܢܣܒܐ ܘܦܪܫܘܬܐ
ܡܢܟܝܢ ܠܗܘ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܐܝܬ ܕܒܠ ܢܟܢܗ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܗܘ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܢܣܒܝܢ ܘܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܠܐ
ܡܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܢܣܒ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܢܦܩ. ܘܠܗܕܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܬܐ
ܗܘ ܘܡܬܢܣܒܠܝܢ ܢܒܝ. ܘܗܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܝ ܚܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ. ܕܡܬܠ
ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܢܟܣܝܢ
ܒܟܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܦܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܦܠܓܐ. ܘܢܣܠܩܘܬܐ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܕܗܘܢܘ.
ܐܢܐ ܠܦܠܓܐ ܟܠ ܐܕܡܐ ܒܟܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܦܠܓ. ܘܟܠ ܥܢܘܢܝܢ
ܠܡܫܡܫ. ܒܟܡ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܬܩ ܘܟܡܝܢ ܠܡܬܩܘܡܐ
ܚܠܠ ܐܢܐ ✤ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܬܩ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܢܝܢܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܐ. ܒܟܢܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܘܦܪܫܐ

[1] Read ܕܡܢܗܪ ܐܠܗܐ [2] Add ܥܠܡܐ [3] D ܠܗ ܘܡܒܪܟܬܐ
[4] D ܕܒܠܝܢ [5] D ܦܩܕܗ [6] Read ܡܢܗܪ
[7] D ܒܟܘܟܒܘ. ܕܐܠܟܣ̄ [8] AE omit ܠܗ

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕ ܠܡܥܕܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ[1] ܠܒܘܠܚܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܡܝܬܪܬܐ ܕܬܪܘܢܬܐ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘ[2] ܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ. ܓܒܐ ܠܡܐܪܡܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ[3] ܟܠ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܫܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܝܬܝܘ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܘܕܒܚܬܐ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܠܡܘ ܘܠܡܝܬܝܘ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܚܙܘ ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܬܬܥܠܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܡܬܒܥ ܘܠܡܬܕܥ ܫܘܪ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ[4] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܫܘܪ ܕܒܝܬܐ[5] ܦܘܫܘ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܠܝ ܠܡܬܥܒܕ ܠܟܘܢ. ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܐܢܫ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܢܬܠܘܢ ܚܕ ܚܕܢܘܗ ܡܕܡ[6] ܒܗܘܐ. ܘܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܐܬܟܠܡܬ. ܡܚܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܐܦܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܡܛܠܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܩܠܘ ܠܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܒܘܠܚܬܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܀

XXXVIII ܘܠܫܡܐ ܕܝܢ[7] ܢܚܪܬܐ. ܢܦܩ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܠܒܝܬܐ ܦܘܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܗ[8] ܒܟܠ. ܘܡܛܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܢܐ ܀

ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܘܬ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܐܡܗ ܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ. ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ

[1] C omits ܐܢܘܢ
[2] BCD ܘܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘ
[3] BC omit ܓܒܐ ܠܡܐܪܡܢܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܗܝ
[4] C adds ܠܟܘܢ
[5] C omits ܕܒܝܬܐ
[6] D omits ܡܕܡ
[7] D omits ܕܝܢ
[8] BD ܒܡܫܒܚܬܗ

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ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܘ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܢܣܒܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܘ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܪܝ. ܚܕ ܡܢܐ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܕܢܦܠܬܐ
ܣܡ. ܕܠܡܬܩܛܠ ܢܦܩܬ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܕܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܪܡܘܢ ܢܚܘܬܗ[1] ܘܠܐ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘܠܝ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܢܦܩ. ܠܐ
ܢܦܩ ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ ܢܚܪܬܗ[2]. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܗܝ ܩܪܐ
ܕܠܩܛܠܬܐ. ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܛܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܗܢܐ ܩܪܐ
ܕܠܡܫܬܠܛܐ[3] ܐܫܬܡܥܘܢ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܡܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܐ
ܡܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܗܕ ܠܝ.
ܐܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܣܡ[4] ܫܘܢܝ. ܕܪܒܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܢܦܫ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܢܦܪܕܐ
ܘܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܬܪ[5] ܒܢܚܬܐ ܐܢܫ. ܘܚܕܘ ܕܢܦܠܬܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܒܢܝܢ
ܒܗܡ ܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܕܒܣܦܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚܐ. ܕܒܗ
ܢܦܩܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܠܡܥܪܒ. ܥܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܗܕܐ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܀
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܐ ܫܡܥܬܘܢ ܕܡܛܠ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܒܠܒ[6] ܐܬܬܥܝܩܘܢ
ܠܝ. ܒܠ ܗܘ ܡܬܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܒܟܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ
ܡܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܝ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܬܪܒܝܬܐ[7] ܕܐܬܬܥܝܩܘܢ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܟܘܢ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܡܢ
ܢܪܓܫܘܢ. ܒܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܥܡܠܬܐ[8] ܠܐ ܫܠܛ ܀ ܘܡܢ

[1] D ܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ABCE ܒܢܚܘܠ [2] ABCE ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܢܐ
ܣܚܕܘܗ [3] C ܕܫܠܡܬܢܐ [4] BC omit ܣܡ [5] ABCE ܘܡܢܬܪ
[6] Read ܕܒܠܒܗ ? [7] A omits ܒܬܪܒܝܬܐ
[8] ABCE ܥܡܠܬܐ, D ܠܐܪܥܐ

ܒܚܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܙܘܥܐ ܪܒܐ ܥܒܕ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ
ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܚܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ[1]
ܕܕܪܝܘܫ: ܚܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܚܝܠܘܬܗ. ܓܒܪܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܐܢܬܘܢ
ܐܚܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܬܕܚܠܬܘܢ ܡܫܥܝܬܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܐܓܪܬܗ[2] ܕܕܪܝܘܫ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܠܬܗ. ܐܘ ܡܕܡ
ܚܝܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ. ܗܕܐ ܗܘܟܠ ܡܫܬܒܗܪܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܒܫܘܒܚܐ
ܕܒܠܗ ܚܡܝܪ. ܕܡܛܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܫܡܝ. ܘܡܕܡ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܗ ܒܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܒܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ[3] ܘܡܫܒܠܝܢ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܐ ܢܩܫܝܢ. ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܝܪܐ ܘܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܐ ܡܕܡ
ܗܠܝܢ ❖ ܒܗ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܘܡܐ ܐܦ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܕܡ
ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ. ܐܒܗܬܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܚܝܒ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܨܥܪ
ܕܒܬܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܐܢܫ. ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܥܒܕܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܐܬܟܬܫܘ. ܕܪܘܚܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܢ. ܘܕܝܢܐ
ܘܢܨܚܢܘܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܟܠ ܚܝܠ. ܗܘܐ ܢܨܚܢܘܬܐ
ܐܬܟܬܫܘ. ܕܒܟܠܢܫܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܝܗܒ ❖ ܘܟܕ ܩܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܦܩܕ. ܘܡܢ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟܐ
ܥܒܕܠܗ ܝܗܒ. ܘܟܬܒܡܗ ܐܓܪܬܐ. ܘܫܕܪܘܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ.
ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܚܫܘܢ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܦܩܕ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܝܘܡ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ.
ܕܢܫܕܪܘܢ[4] ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܩܦܚ ܘܠܡܬܩܛܠ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ❖

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[1] D ܕܐܓܪܬܗ   [2] AE ܐܓܪܬܗ   [3] BE ܕܗܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܝܬܗܘܢ, C ܕܒܝܬܗܘܢ   [4] ABCE ܘܕܢܫܕܪܘܢ

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ܡܬܒܪܒܪܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܝܠܝ[1] ܚܪ̈ܒܢ[2]. ܦܫܝܛܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ
ܕܡܘܬ̈ܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ. ܘܐܦ ܚܠܦܝܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܬܡܪܕܬ ܥܡ
ܠܡܪܕ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܝ ܢܦܩܘ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܠܡܫܠܡܘܬ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ
ܠܡܫܠܐ ܘܠܡܦܩ[3]. ܡܛܠ ܕܙܕܩܘܬ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܘܐܒܕܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܫܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܚܐ. ܘܡܪܕܬ ܠܝ
ܥܘܠܡܐ ܚܡܪܐ ܦܬܝܚ. ܕܬܬܪܝܨ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܠܝ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ.
ܐܘܠܐ ܕܙܕܩܘܬ ܕܫܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ
ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ[4] ܚܙܐ ܦܥܘܬ ܬܒܪܬ ܠܝ.
ܕܐܢ ܦܩܘܕ̈ܐ ܠܗ ܠܝ. ܗܘܐ[5] ܢܦܫ[6] ܥܠܝ. ܘܐܢܬ[7] ܥܡ ܠܡܫܬܘܐ
ܒܟ̈ܠ ܠܡܦܪܥ ܦܘܪܣܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܦ̈ܩܐ ܠܐܬܪܟ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܐܝܠܝ
ܕܡܬܒܪܐ ܡܢܬܘܢ[8] ܘܡܬܡܠܟܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܚܫܘܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܚܫܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܦܩܕܐ.
ܘܟܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܚܘܬܟ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܟ[9] ܠܘܬ ܐܢܐ. ܦܩܕܬ
ܠܡܬܕܪܘ ܥܠܝ ܠܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܝ ܘܡܢܬܘܢ ܠܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܝܟܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܠܡܬܪܕܘ ܟܬܒܘܗܝ. ܐܠܐ
ܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܡܬܕܪܝܢ ܥܠܝ ܘܡܬܡܢ ܠܝ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܘܗ
ܕܦܠܛܦܘܣ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ. ܘܠܝ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܐ
ܘܫܦܝܪ ܀

ܫܠܡ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕ. XXXVII

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[1] D ܗܠܝ and on the margin ܐܘ ܕܝܠܝ [2] Rather ܚ̈ܪܒܢ
[3] Read ܘܠܡܦܩܘ ? [4] D ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ [5] D ܗܠܝ [6] D ܐܢܫ
[7] D ܕܐܢܬ [8] D ܐܢܬܘܢ [9] Read ܡܫܬܘܬܟ

ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܬܪܐ[1] ܡܬܘܠܠ ܗܘܐ. ܢܒܘܟܕܢܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ
ܦܓܥܘ ܒܗ. ܘܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܝܗܒܘ ܠܗ. ܗܢܘܢ ܦܓܥ ܗܘܐ
ܡܘܗ̈ܒܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܢܫ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ.

◆ ܐܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ◆ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܒܪ ܓܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܒܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܢܗܪ ܐܠܗܐ[2]. ܒܪ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܦܪܣܝܐ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܕܝ ܫܠܡ. ܝܕܝܥܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܟܬܒܬ ܒܒܥܘܬܐ
ܟܕ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܟ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܠܡܐܬܐ. ܘܫܘܕܥܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܟ.
ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܦܘܩܕܢ. ܕܒܚܝܠܟ ܘܦܬܝ. ܘܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܝܠ. ܘܡܟܘܪܗ
ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܟ ܕܝܠܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ ܝܗܒܬܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܫܕܪܢܐ[3]
ܠܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܢܒܘܗ ܠܝ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܒܗ ܢܛܠܘܒܟ
ܗܕܝܪܐ. ܘܐܫܬܕܪܬ ܕܒܗ ܥܠܡ[4] ܚܠܬܐ ܟܠ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܚܫܒܢܐ.
ܘܢܦܩܢ ܠܒܬܪܐ[5] ܕܚܕܬܐ ܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܡܫܘܬܦ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܠܢܦܫܟ. ܕܗܟܢܐ ܚܝܠܘܬ ܘܠܐܬܪܟ ܚܙܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܝܥ
ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܡ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܡܢܟ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ
ܡܕܝܢܬ ܕܐܒܘܟ ܚܕܝܢ ܢܦܩܘ ܠܡܢܬܐ. ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܠ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܕܡܬܘܬ ܘܐܦ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܚܠܝܢ[6]. ܘܢܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ
ܕܠܩܘܒܠܐ ܕܝܢܟ ܘܥܡܟ ܢܦܫܟ[7]. ܘܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܠܩܘܒܠܐ

[1] Add ܕܣܘܪܝܐ? The Greek text has *παρὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὥδευσε* (Müller, p. 40, col. 2). [2] Read ܕܡܝܗܪ ܐܠܗܐ, i.e. Mihr or Mithras. [3] E ܘܡܫܕܪܢܐ [4] AE ܕܒܥܡ [5] E ܠܒܬܪܐ [6] D ܐܬܡܠܝܢ [7] A verb seems to be wanting in this clause.

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ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܪܝܡܘ ܘܫܕܝܘ ܠܗ ܨܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܝܪܘ
ܗܘܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܢܡܘܣ ܨܠܡܐ ܚܕܐ.
ܩܒܝܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܪܘܡܢܝܐ[1] ܢܚܙܘܗ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ ܗܘ
ܦܘܣܛܘܣ[2] ܩܒܝܥ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܗܘ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ.
ܘܐܪܟܢܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪܘܗܝ ܒܪܝܫܗܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܫܩܠܘܗ ܥܠܘܗܝ
ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܠܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܡܓܒܪܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
ܪܘܡܢܝܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܢܡܘܣ. ܠܗܘ ܨܠܡܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܣܓܕܘܢ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܦܠܛܘܢ[3] ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܘܟܠܗ[4] ܦܠܛܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘ ܢܬܒܪܘܢ.
ܘܐܡܬܐ ܕܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܕܚܠܬܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ
ܕܫܘܬܗ ܕܪܘܡܢܝܐ ܦܬܓܡܗ ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܙܠܝܢ ܗܘܬ ❖
ܕܪܘܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܟܬܒܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪ[5] ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܬܕܡܐ. ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[6] ܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܝܪܚܐ ܢܝܣܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[7] ܠܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ[8] ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܠܐܬܪܗ ܕܪܘܡܝܐ
ܐܙܠ. ܘܐܬܐܘܣܛ ܚܢܝܟ ❖ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܓܪܐ
ܚܕ ܡܢܫܒܚܬܐ ܚܙܝ. ܘܫܒܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܢܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ
ܗܘܘ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܠܟ. ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܟܠܘܢ.

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[1] D always ܪܘܡܢܝܐ [2] AE ܦܘܣܛܘܗ, C ܦܘܣܛܐ
[3] ABCE ܦܠܛܘܢ [4] D ܘܟܠܗ [5] Read ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪ?
[6] ABCE ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ [7] Perhaps we might read ܘܒܬܠܗ.
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [8] BD ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ

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ܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܗܘܐ ܪܒܐ ܢܨܚ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ
ܦܪܘܩܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܟܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[1]
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ: ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܗ. ܠܟܪ̈ܟܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܐܒܘܗܝ
ܥܠܝܡ ܕܒܢܝ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܬܕܠܚ ܡܫܝܚ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ
ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[2] ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܐܕܝܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܐܦ ܡܛܠ
ܡܢܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ. ܗܢܐ ܐܣܟܡ ܐܝܩܘܢܬܗ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܠܝܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢܐ. ܘܡܛܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܟ ܢܒܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬ ܫܡܫ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ[3] ܘܡܥܪܒܐ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܢܒܝܐ. ܟܕ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܡܛܠ
ܫܡܫܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܡܛܠ
ܠܡܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܡܨܐ. ܢܦܠܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܡܥ
ܕܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܐܢܫ. ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܬܝܐ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܢܦܠܘ ܐܬܬܢܝܘ. ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ
ܘܐܬܒܥܝܬ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܠ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ
ܐܬܬܢܝܘ. ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܢܨܚ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܢܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܥܘܬܪܐ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܡܛܠ
ܥܘܬܪܗ ܢܨܚ. ܘܥܡ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܕܡ ܠܟܠ ܘܐܡܪ.
ܕܫܠܝܛ ܐܢܬ ܐܠܐ ܢܨܚܬ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܦܩܕ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܪ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܚܘܬ.
ܘܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ[4] ܠܐܬܪܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܀

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[1] D ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [2] AE ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [3] BE ܕܫܡܫ [illegible] ܫܡܫ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, C ܕܡܕܢܚܐ [4] ABCE ܘܕܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܗܘܢ

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ܡܬܬܒܪܝܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ[1] ܐܬܩܪܝܬ[2]. ܩܛܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܝܢܐ
ܕܡܘܩܕܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܠܡܩܛܠ. ܐܦ ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܘܬܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܘ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܡܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܡܦܩܗ[3]. ܡܛܠ ܕܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܘܟܐܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ
ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܠܛ ܕܟܠ ܐܦܝܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܠܝ
ܒܡܘܒܠܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܡܘܒܠܐ.
ܗܘܝܐ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܫܠܛ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܕܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ
ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ[4] ܣܓܝ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܝ.
ܐܦ ܢܩܫܘܢ ܠܗ ܠܝ. ܗܢܐ[5] ܐܬܦܢܝ[6] ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ[7] ܠܗ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܟܕ ܠܡܢܬܗ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܠܐܬܪܗ܀ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܕܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܬܐܡܪ[8] ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܣܓܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ
ܡܬܬܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܦܩܕܝܢ.
ܘܟܠ ܡܬܬܟܠܢܘܬܗ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ[9] ܩܢܝܢ ܐܢܐ. ܦܩܕܝܢ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܬܝܢ ܠܝ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܝܘ. ܐܢܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܡܫܬܥܝܢܘܬܐ ܡܬܕܪܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܬܩܢ ܠܝ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܥܘ
ܕܦܠܛܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ
ܘܫܠܝܡ܀

XXXVII ܘܫܡ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ.

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[1] D ܗܘܠܡ and on the margin ܐܘ ܕܫܠܡ [2] Rather ܐܬܩܪܝܬ

[3] Read ܘܠܡܫܬܥܝܘ ? [4] D ܗܕܐ ܐܢܐ [5] D ܗܘܠܡ [6] D ܐܬܦܢܝ

[7] D ܕܐܡܪ [8] D ܐܬܐܡܪ [9] Read ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ

ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܬܪܐ[1] ܡܗܠܟ ܗܘܐ. ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ
ܦܓܥܘ ܒܗ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܢܛܪܘ ܠܗ. ܗܟܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܗܟܝܠ.
܀ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܀ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܪ ܓܢܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܒܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܬܪܘܡ ܐܠܗܐ[2]. ܒܪ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܦܪܣܝܐ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܕܝ ܫܠܡ. ܝܕܝܥܐ ܠܟܠܢ ܕܐܬܬܢܝܬ ܒܒܝܬܘܬ
ܐܟܘ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܟ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܠܡܬܐ. ܘܡܬܕܪܫܐ ܠܡܠܟܘ.
ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܘܩܒܠ. ܡܛܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܠ. ܘܒܢܝܘܗܝ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܬ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ[3]
ܠܐ ܡܬܝܚܒܐ. ܡܛܠܗܢܐ ܫܕܪܬ ܠܟ ܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܕܒܗ ܬܬܠܘܫ
ܬܪܥܐ. ܘܐܫܟܪܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܬܗ[4] ܠܛܠܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܡܘܚܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ.
ܘܐܦܩܝ ܠܥܡܐ[5] ܕܝܠܟܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ. ܘܢܣܒܬ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܠܢܩܫܐ. ܕܐܢܬ ܢܣܒܬ ܘܐܬܪܟ ܬܘܒ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܘܪܒ
ܫܠܡܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܘܬܪܥܐ ܡܢܟ ܐܢܬ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܦ
ܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܐܬܪܟ ܠܐܕܐ ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܫܪܝܢ. ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܕܡܬܡܥ ܘܐܦ ܡܬܠܡܕ ܐܬܬܠܝܢ[6]. ܘܝܬܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܗܘܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܘܐܬܘܬ ܢܦܫܟ[7]. ܘܐܦ ܠܟܠ ܕܡܫܬܡܥܐ ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ

[1] Add ܕܣܘܪܝܐ ? The Greek text has παρὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὥδευσε (Müller, p. 40, col. 2). [2] Read ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ, i.e. Mihr or Mithras. [3] E ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ [4] AE ܕܝܗܒ [5] E ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ
[6] D ܐܬܬܠܝܢ [7] A verb seems to be wanting in this clause.

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ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܦܝܣܘ ܘܫܡܫܘ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܘ
ܗܘܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܙܐ.
ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܕܘܟܝܬܐ[1] ܢܬܠܗ ܠܦܓܪܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ
ܫܘܡܠܝܗ[2] ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܩܒܪ. ܘܟܕ ܡܝܬ ܠܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܐܬܪܗ ܘܡܢ ܐܒܕܘܗܝ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܠܕܘܟܝܬܐ. ܘܫܩܠܘܗ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܢܝܚ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܡܬܬܢܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܟܬܒܗ ܕܡܟܝܢ. ܠܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܟܢܫ. ܘܟܠܗ
ܡܨܪܝܐ[3] ܐܬܟܢܫܘ. ܘܟܠܗ[4] ܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܬܬܥܝܪܝܢ.
ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܘܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܬܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ
ܕܫܘܬܗ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܕܫܒܝܬܗ ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܀
ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܒܩ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܡܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩܬ. ܘܦܓܪܗ ܚܠܦ ܡܨܪܝܘܬܐ[5] ܕܐܝܟ ܛܟܣܗܘܢ.
ܘܦܬܓܡܐ. ܕܡܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܕܦܠܦܠܝܣ[6] ܐܒܘܗܝ ܡܛܠ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘ ܐܚܕ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܫܩܠ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[7] ܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ[8] ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܠܐܬܪܗ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟ
ܐܙܠ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬ ܚܝܠܗ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܠܝܠܐ
ܥܡ ܡܫܬܒܩܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܢܨܚܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܥܡܗ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ ܢܩܒ. ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ.

[1] D always ܕܘܟܝܬܐ [2] AE ܫܘܡܠܝܗ, C ܫܘܡܠܝܐ
[3] ABCE ܡܨܪܝܐ [4] D ܘܟܠܗ [5] Read ܡܨܪܝܘܬܐ?
[6] ABCE ܦܠܦܠܝܣ [7] Perhaps we might read ܘܦܬܓܡܐ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
[8] BD ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ

ܕܛܘܪܘܣ[1] ܠܩܝܠܝܩܝܐ. ܗܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܬܩܪܐ ܕܪܝܘܣ ܠܗ
ܕܝܘܢܘܣܘܣ[2] ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܝ ܡܬܬܠܝܛ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܗ
ܕܡܢ ܟܠܒܠܗ ܕܕܝܘܢܘܣܘܣ ܢܦܠܘ. ܒܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܗܘܝܐ ܕܓܠܠܐ ܕܝܠܝܬܗ ܢܦܠܘ ܘܡܬܬܚܝܢ܀ ܘܗܘ ܢܡܪܐ
ܕܣܘܪܝܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܡܨܝܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܕ[3] ✢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܢܩܝܫ ܒܠܡܐ ܕܩܢܐ ܠܦܩܕ. ܘܠܦܘܪܐ
ܠܡܦܩ. ܘܟܕ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܠܡܬܦܪܣܘ. ܦܘܪܢܐ ܐܘܕܥܘ ܘܫܕܪܐ
ܢܣܒܘ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܠܗ ܦܘܪ ܫܕܪܐ ܫܒܩ.
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܢܗܪܐ ܢܦܠ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܝܬܐ[4]
ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܗܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܗܘ
ܦܬܘܚܐ[5]. ܘܦܘܪܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܓܒܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫ
ܗܠܝܢ ܦܘܪܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܘܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ ܗܘ ܐܬܪܗ. ܘܟܠ
ܢܚܘܬܗ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܦܘܢܝܩܐ[6] ܦܩܕ ܕܢܘܕܥ
ܘܢܬܒܪ ✢

XXXVI ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܕܪܝܘܫ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܐܫܬܕܪܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝ[7]. ܟܠ
ܢܕܝܩܘܬܗ ܘܝܕܥܬܗ ܘܦܫܝܩܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪܘ
ܗܘܐ ✢ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܫܕܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܩܕܡܬܐ ܠܐܬܘܗܝ

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[1] ABCE ܕܛܘܪܘܣ   [2] D ܕܝܘܢܘܣܘܣ

[3] Read ܕܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܝܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܝܕ   [4] E ܒܝܬܐ

[5] This passage appears to be very corrupt. See Müller, p. 40, col. 2.

[6] B ܕܦܘܢܝܩܐ, D ܕܦܘܢܝܩܝܐ   [7] See chap. XXIII.

ܢܦܫܐ ܢܬܠ ܠܗ. ܘܠܐܦܝܛܪܘܦܘܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܦ. ܘܫܒܩܗ ܘܐܙܠ
ܠܦܘܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܠܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܫܡܝܥ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܒܦܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܡܬܦܠܓܝܢ.
ܦܘܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ[1] ܒܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܬܥܠܐ. ܦܘܪ̈ܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ
ܡܢ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܦܓܪܗ. ܘܥܡܗ
ܐܬܬܟܝܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܗ̈ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ
ܡܚܝܠܗ. ܘܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܒ̈ܥܘ ܕܢܦܠܘܢ[2].
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ. ܘܢܣܒܗ ܥܠܝܗ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܐܦܢܐ. ܡܢܐ ܗܢܦܝܢܘܣ[3] ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܬܡܪܚܝܢ
ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܫܩܠ ܐܢ ܡܟܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܕܝܢ. ܚܙܐ ܕܒܝܠܡܘܗ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܦܘܪ̈ܐܠܘܬܗ. ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܒܘܩܝܦܠܘܣ[4]
ܩܛܝܠ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܘܡܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܠܝܟܐ[5] ܕܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܚܝܠ
ܘܦܠܓܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܟܬܫܘ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܘܩܝܦܠܘܣ ܩܠܝܠ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܕܢܟܣܐ ܠܐ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܒܝܕܗ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܢܟܣܐ
ܕܒܘܩܝܦܠܘܣ ܠܗ ܢܬܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܩܠܝܠ ܕܩܪܒܗ ܕܒܘܩܝܦܠܘܣ
ܗܦܟܠ ܟܕ ܕܝܚ̈ܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܪܒܗ.
ܡܢܟܐ ܡܢܗ ܒܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ.
ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ[6] ܝܘܡܝܢ ܠܡܩܒܪܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܣܠܡܢܐ[7] ܡܢܗ
ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܢܟܐ[8] ܘܐܬܚܪܝ ܠܗ. ܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܛܝܒ[9] ܠܝ ܐܝܟܢܐ

[1] D omits ܕܘܟܬܐ
[2] D ܕܠܡܬܒ̈ܥܘ ܢܦܠܘܢ
[3] D ܗܢܦܝܢܘܣ
[4] Read ܕܒܘܩܦܠܘܣ
[5] MSS. ܘܡܠܝܟܠ
[6] D ܠܬܪܝܢ
[7] Read ܘܣܠܡܢܐ
[8] ABC ܘܡܢܗ
[9] E ܡܛܝܒ

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ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܠܐܡܘܪܐ ܗܢܘ ܗܟܢܐ. ܕܐܬܕܢܚܬ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܚܢܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐܬܕܢܚܬ ܗܘ ܒܕܘܒܪܘܗܝ ܢܟܦܐ ܘܢܟܦܐ. ܘܚܒܐ ܘܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܐܡܪ. ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܢܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܘܠܨ. ܘܐܦ ܕܠܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܘ[1] ܫܠܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ[2]. ܘܗܘ ܐܬܦܫܩ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܬܠܠܒ. ܕܡܢ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܫܒܩܬܘܢ ܢܬܚܙܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܕܢܦܪܘܩ. ܕܐܝܟܢ ܦܩܘܢ ܘܣܡܟܘܢ ܒܗܢܐ ܐܬܪܐ. ܘܡܢ ܢܩܒ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܠܐ ܗܦܟܘܢ. ܟܕ ܚܙܐܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܣܒܪ. ܘܐܘܦܝ ܕܒܗ ܫܒܝܠܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܢܗܦܟ. ܐܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܗܦܟܬ. ܕܒܘܩܕܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩܬܗ ܡܢ ܝܘܠܦܢܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘ. ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܟܝܠܐ ܕܡܢܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. ܗܘܐ ܗܘܠܟ ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܗ ܢܘܚܐ. ܠܗ ܕܒܗܘ ܓܘܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܠܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܝܘܬܐ. ܕܗܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܬܐ. ܕܐܦܠܘܢܗ[3] ܠܬܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܗܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܡܠܝܠܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܣܘܟܠܐ ܐܬܝܗ ܠܗ. ܘܫܕܪܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܣܟܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܟܘܫ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܒܘܟܪܐ[4]. ܘܡܚܕܐ ܠܦܣܝܠܝܢ[5] ܒܡܕܝܗ ܐܘܠܗ ܀

XXXV ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܢܛܠܘܢܝܘ ܕܐܬܦܪܕܘܢ ܘܕܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܐܘܠܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܥܠܗ ܐܬܐ[6] ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ

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[1] ABCE omit ܗܘ [2] D adds ܗܘܐ

[3] We should rather have expected, ܕܬܗܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܐܬܦܠܘܢܗ

[4] The words ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܒܘܟܪܐ should apparently be placed after ܐܬܝܗ ܠܗ [5] Read ܠܦܠܘܣܝܢ, *Pelusium.* [6] D ܡܠܟܐ

XXXIV ܘܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܙܠ.
ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܬܫܠܘܬܗ. ܕܟܠܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܢܫܘܢ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܡܢ
ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܙܠ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘܗܝ ܘܚܕܝܘ
ܕܐܠܗܝܗܘܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܘ. ܘܒܥܘ ܟܡܐ ܡܥܝܢܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ
ܘܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܘ ܣܘܣܛܪܘܣ[1]. ܐܠܗܐ ܢܛܪܐ
ܘܢܣܒ ܢܨܚܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܬܦܢܐ ܐܙܠ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ
ܕܐܣܦܣܝܐܢܘܣ[2] ܐܘܣܛܢܣ. ܘܠܟܘܢܐ ܘܐܣܛܠܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܗܢܘܢ ܫܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܘܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܕܡܢ ܟܪܟܐ
ܣܓܝ ܐܘܟܡܐ ܢܟܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܦܩܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܠܗܘܢ ܦܬܝܟܐ
ܗ̈ܘܝ ܒܟܪܐ. ܘܡܦܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܥܪܩ ܠܦܘܠܣܐ
ܘܒܪܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܝܘܡܢܐ. ܡܢ ܟܐܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܢܗ. ܐܡܠܟ[3] ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܘܢܠܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܗ ܫܢܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܢܨܚܢܬܐ
ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܡܬܟܪܝܢ. ܘܠܦܘܣܩܢܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܡܢܗ.
ܘܦܘܣܩܢܐ ܘܟܘܢܫܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܠܝܢ ܀ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܢܦܠ. ܕܗܢܐ ܐܘܟܝܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܬܐ[4]
ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܢܦܠܝܢܘܣ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܦܢܝ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ
ܒܡܦܩܬܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܒܡܝܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܐܡܪܝܢ. ܕܦܠܛܘܢܐ ܗܘ. ܐܠܗܐ[5]
ܕܝܢ ܕܟܠܗܘ ܘܟܠ ܚܕܐ. ܟܕ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ܦܠܚܘܗܝ ܐܬܦܢܝܘ.

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[1] BC ܣܘܣܛܪܘܣ ܐܘ, E ܐܘܣܘܣܛܪܘܣ as one word.

[2] Read ܕܐܦܣܛܘܣ

[3] Apparently corrupt. See Müller, p. 38, col. 2, ὁ φυγὼν βασιλεὺς ἥξει πάλιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Read ܚܕܬܐ

[5] Read ܕܐܠܗܐ ?

ܕܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܦܩܝܕܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܘܟܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܐܬܪ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܟܢ ܠܡܬܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ. ܕܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܢܨܝܚܘܬ ܕܢܠܚܡܘܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܀ ܘܐܝܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ[1] ܓܘܕܐ ܡܣܟܢܐ ܢܒܙܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܐܘܪܐ ܕܟܢܫܐ ܘܩܠܐ ܠܐ[2] ܡܢܐ ܠܡܫܬܥܢܘ. ܘܐܦ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܦܪܘܫܐ ܕܒܕܝܢܐ ܘܐܟܪܙܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܝܐ[3] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܒܡܐ ܕܡܫܒ ܐܫܟܚܐ[4] ܘܡܕܝܪ. ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܠܡܣܪܗܒܘ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܗܘ ܀ ܘܡܢ[5] ܒܬܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[6] ܥܠܝܡܘܬ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܢܨܚܢܐ ܕܒܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܝܫܐ ܘܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܠܝܡܘܬ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܢܨܚܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܥܠܝܡܘܬ ܡܕܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܝܡܘܬ ܗܘܐ ܝܨܝܦ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܘܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܢܚܫܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ: ܐܡܪܝܢ[7] ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܕܪܫܢܘܬܐ ܒܝܬܠܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܘܝܡܐ[8] ܫܠܝܛ ܠܗ. ܘܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܡܢܗ ܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܬܪܐ ܢܣܪܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܢܐ. ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܢܨܝܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܘܠܐܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܚܝܕܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܒܠܟܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ. ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ[9] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܡܢ ܕܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܘܐܘܡܢܐ ܠܡܦܪܫ ܀

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[1] E ܡܕܝܢܬܐ   [2] ABCE omit ܠܐ   [3] D ܗܕܝܐ; on the margin, ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܗܕܝܐ   [4] ABC ܐܫܟܚ. On the margin of D, ܒܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܫܟܚ   [5] D ܡܢ   [6] ABCE ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ   [7] D ܘܐܡܪܝܢ   [8] B ܘܝܡܐ   [9] ABCE omit ܗܘܐ

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ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܛܝܬ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ
ܕܦܠܓܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܐܢ ܕܐܬܠܒܫܬ ܡܢܗ ܐܢܐ. ܡܢ ܗܦܟܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ
ܘܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܘܗܒ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܚܙܘ. ܦܩܕ
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܟܪܘܢ ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[1] ܕܢܬܡܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܢܓܕܐ. ܠܟܢܫܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܢܚܒܫܘܢ ܘܡܚܒܪܢܐ ܀ ܣܒ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܣܒܝܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ
ܐܪܘܣܛܘܣ : ܘܐܦ ܐܪܬܝܘܣ ܐܝܓܝܦܛܝܐ : ܘܐܦ ܡܣܛܪܘܬܝܣ ܕܡܢ
ܡܩܝܠܠܝܢ. ܘܟܠ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܟܣ ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܣܒܝܪܝܢ
ܠܡܗܘܐ ܒܓܠܝܐ : ܘܐܪܬܝܘܣ ܥܘܬܐ ܘܦܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܘܠܡܓܪܕܘ : ܘܒܪܬܗܘܢ ܬܚܘܬ ܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܀ ܘܡܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܢܡܘܣ ܐܓܝܣܛܘܣ[2] ܘܟܠ ܐܓܝܣܛܘܣ[2] ܗܘܬ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܘܐܬܩܪܝܘܢ ܐܘܪܒܐ[3] ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ
ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ[4] ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܟܪܘܒܝܐ : ܘܦܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܘܒ ܘܡܕܡܐ
ܠܦܪܘܬܝܓܐ[5] ܕܐܝܟ ܐܪܟܘܣܛܘܣ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܀

XXXIII ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[6] ܪܒܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܢܦܠ ܠܗ
ܘܗܘܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ[7] ܕܝܠܟ. ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

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[1] E ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ. With what follows compare Müller, p. 33, and Meusel, p. 727, last paragraph.
[2] D ܐܓܠܝܬܘܢ
[3] D ܐܘܪܒܗ
[4] I.e. Osiris. See Müller, p. 32, col. 2, and compare p. 33, col. 2, at the top.
[5] D ܠܦܪ. ܬܝܓܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܪܟܘܣܛܘܣ ܡܬܩܪܐ, and on the margin ܠܦܪܘܬܝܓܐ : ܐܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܪܟܘܣܛܘܣ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ
[6] D ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ
[7] Marg. E ܠܐܡܝܢܐ

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ܢܚܕܘܢ ܒܗ̇[1]. ܘܩܪܒܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ
ܚܠܦ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ̈[2] ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܠܝܗ̇ ܒܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ
ܒܦܘܪ̈ܢܣܗ̇[3]. ܘܐܬܦܩܕ ܕܒܬܘܟ̈ܣܐ ܢܬܦܩܕܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܒܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܐܦ ܒܡܘܬܐ
ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ. ܘܡܬܕܒܪ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܦܩܕܬ ܒܟܬܒܐ[4] ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܗܘ̣ܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܢܘ ܦܪܕܩܝܕܝܢ ܕܠܒܟ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ
ܒܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܐ̈ܘܪܝܬ[5] ܕܝܠܗ[6]. ܘܗܘܐ ܦܪܕܩܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܒܡܕܒܪܬ
ܐܬܝܒܬ[7] ܒܬܪܒܝܬܗ. ܕܐܦ ܡܬܟܢܫܐ ܥܠ ܚ̈ܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܠܡܩܕܡ.
ܕܡܢ ܡܕܐ ܚܕ. ܘܡܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܒܪܝܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܠܡܬܡܪ[8].
ܗܟܘ ܐܢܬ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܠܡܩܕܡ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܩ̈ܠܐ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡ̇ܢܘ ܦܪܕܩܝܕܝܢ. ܗܘܐ
ܗܘܐ ܐܘܪ̈ܝܬܣ[9]. ܕܐܝܟ ܘܐܡܪܬ. ܘܒܚܝܠܐ ܡܬܘܪܐ ܡ̇ܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܀
ܘܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܟܠ ܢܦܫܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢܦܩܐ
ܡܦܩܢܐ[10] ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܗܦܟܬ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܬܘܬܒܗ ܘܒܚܝܠܐ ܘܥܡ ܩ̇ܪܐ ܡܢܗ
ܡܢܦܩ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܫܐ ܟܕ ܩ̈ܢܘܢܐ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ. ܗܟܢܐ ܦܪܕܝܢ
ܒܬܘ̈ܠܕܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܦܪܨ̈ܘܦܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܐ ܀ ܐܠܐ
ܐܢ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܬܒܥ ܕܒܫܢܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܩܪܝܬ ܐܢܬ. ܟܕ ܕܒܡܘܬܐ
ܡܬܒܥܐ ܩܪܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܡܬܢܝܚ. ܒܦܘܪ̈ܣܝ ܡܬܦܪܥܐ ܠܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ.

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1 BC omit this clause. 2 D ܕܡܠܟܐ omitting ܟܠܗܘܢ
3 D ܕܒܦܘܪܢܣܗ 4 The MSS. have ܒܟܬܒܐ 5 Read ܐܘܪܝܬ ?
6 B ܕܝܠܗ 7 A ܬ : ܐܬܝܒܬ (*sic*). 8 Either the translator misunderstood the Greek original, or the passage is corrupt. See Müller, p. 38, col. 1. 9 D ܐܘܪܝܬܣ
10 ADE ܡܦܩܢܐ, without ܘ

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ܠܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܡܐ ܙܗܝܪ ܠܗ̇. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܘܪܟܝܣ
ܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܩ ܡܢܗ̇. ܘܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܚܣܝܢܐ ܩܕܡ
ܠܗ̇ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܝܢ. ܘܫܘܐ ܒܚܠܡܗ. ܟܕ
ܟܣܐ ܒܥܘܒܗ ܐܚܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܠ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܚܕ[1] ܕܡܐ ܙܗܝܪܗ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܛܠ ܐܝܟ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܡܫܩܠ.
ܘܠܒܘܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܡܫܬܝܘ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ. ܐܢܫܐ
ܡܢܝ ܐܢܐ ܡܟܝܠ. ܗܟܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܐ
ܡܬܚܫܒ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܡܫܬܝܘ. ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܠܡܦܪܢܣܘ[2]
ܥܡܝ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܐܘ ܢܨܚ[3] ܢܦܫܗ ܢܣܒ ܠܟܠܗ ܀ ܘܗܘܒ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܡܕ̈ܝܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܓܢܒܘܬܐ ܘܢܟܠܘܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܒܗ ܒܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܦܬܘܪܐ ܥܡܗ ܢܣܒܗܘܢ ܀
ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܟܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܟܠܗ ܝܕܥܘܬܗ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܝܬܝܕܥ. ܘܒܠ
ܡܢܫܐ ܒܫܢܝܐ ܒܗ ܢܬܡܪܘܢ. ܥܠܝ ܕܠܝ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܡܬܘܦܝܢ.
ܘܪܘܚܐ ܗܘܒ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܒܪܐ ܝܗܒܐ ܠܗ ܢܬܡܟܟܘܢ[4].
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ[5] ܕܡܟܝܪܘܬܗ ܒܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܡܬܝܩܪܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܐ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ. ܘܠܗ ܡܬܒܪܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܫܡܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܐ[6]
ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ. ܘܩܘܕܫܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܘܫܠܡܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ
ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܗ. ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ
ܒܗ. ܐܠܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܗ. ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ

[1] A omits ܚܕ [2] A ܠܡܦܪܢܣܘ, BE ܠܡܦܪ̈ܢܣܘ [3] D ܕܢܨܚ
[4] Read ܢܬܡܟܟܘܢ [5] E ܕܡܢܝܢܐ [6] ABC ܡܫܬܡܠܐ

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ܒܬܪܒܝܬܗ ܡܬܝܒܒ ܗܘܐ. ܕܣܪ̈ܦܝܕܝܣ[1] ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ[2]
ܡܨܪܝܐ ܀ ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܝܪܘ[3] ܕܢܣܒܠ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܣܪܦܝܕܝܣ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܣܟ ܕܒܗܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܒܡܨܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܟܘܪܐ ܚܡܝܡ. ܕܝܢܐ ܠܡ
ܢܘܪܐ ܒܪܝܗ[4] ܕܒܪܐ ܦܪܡܝܬܘܣ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ.
ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܐ ܣܪܦܝܕܘܣ[5] ܢܬܒܥܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ[6] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܩܡ. ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܢܬܒܢܐ. ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ
ܣܪܦܝܕܘܣ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܒܪܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܦܪܡܝܬܘܣ
ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܬܢܝܚ ܣܓܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܒܝܠܕܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܢܘܗܪ
ܠܗ. ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܕ ܢܩܘܫ[7] ܠܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܫܟܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܡܨܪܝܐ ܢܟܣ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܢܦܫܗ
ܢܦܩ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܗܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܢܘܗܪ ܠܗ ܒܚܬܐ.
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܒܒܠܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܀ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܣܪܦܝܕܝܣ ܕܒܝܬܐ
ܕܝܢܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ[8] ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܝܢ ܠܡ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ[9]
ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ[10] ܘܡܕܡܝܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܟܠܡܐ. ܘܫܡܝܐ ܐܢܬ
ܐܬܡܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܣܪܦܝܕܝܣ[11] ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܒܐܪܒܝܬܗ

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[1] C ܕܣܪܦܝܕܝܣ, and so thrice afterwards; DE ܕܣܪܦܝܕܘܣ
[2] D ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܠܗܐ [3] ABCE ܕܐܡܝܪ [4] So all the MSS.; ܦܪܡܝܬܘܣ = Προμηθεύς. [5] E ܣܪܦܝܕܘܣ
[6] C ܟܕ, without ܘ [7] Read ܢܩܘܫ ܐܢܐ? D ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܡܫܟܢܐ and on the margin, ܐܘ. ܡܫܟܠܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [8] ABCE omit ܗܘܐ
[9] BCE ܐܢܬܘ, D ܐܢܬܘܢ [10] D ܫܡܝܐ [11] D ܣܪܦܝܕܝܣ

ܒܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘ. ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܒܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[1]. ܘܡܢܗ ܢܦܩ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܘܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܒܗܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܥܡܗ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܒܪܐ ܘܐܦܪܝܩܝܐ ܀ ܡܢ
ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܠ ܕܝܡܐ ܣܓܝܐ[2] ܕܒܪܘܩܝܐ ܩܘܪܝܐ ܘܐܓܒܐ
ܦܫܝܛܐ ܥܒܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗ[3]. ܐܦ ܠܗܘ ܝܠܦܢܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ. ܕܐܡܝܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ. ܘܝܘܡܐ ܕܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܡܐ ܣܓܝ. ܩܘܪܝܐ
ܣܩܠܝܦܘܢܛܐ[4] ܐܝܟ ܀

[5]XXXII ܘܡܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܘܦܘܣ. ܘܡܢ
ܕܒܪܟܐ. ܗܘ ܕܒܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ[6] ܀ ܘܡܢ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ
ܥܠ ܫܡܫܐ ܚܕ ܘܚܙܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܗ ܒܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ ܡܬܢܚܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܒܝܬ
ܚܕ ܦܠܛܘܣ[7] ܩܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ. ܕܫܒܝܩ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ.
ܡܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܬܢܝܬܐ[8] ܕܡܘܡܬܐ
ܚܕܐ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܠܢܟ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܢܟ ܗܘܬ ܗܟܢ. ܡܢ ܕܒܬܪ
ܠܗ ܢܦܩ ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܐ ܒܠܝܐ. ܣܝܦܝܣܘܦܘܣ[9] ܥܠ ܐܪܒܐ
ܩܕܡܝܗ ܥܡܪܐ ܠܫܡܫܗ ܒܝܬܘܪܐ. ܐܠܗܐ[10] ܪܒܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܒܪ ܦܢܝܡܘܢ
ܕܣܪܦܝܕܘܢ[11] ܥܠܘܗܝ ܢܛܘܪܘ ܕܡܢܗ ܡܬܢܚܬܝܢ ܝܘܡ ܠܝ. ܙܢܐ ܗܘܐ
ܐܒܪܝܛܐ ܐܬܝܬܗ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܚܕܐ ܩܕܡ.

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[1] This statement was probably inserted by the Syrian translator or some later reader. [2] Read ܝܘܡܐ [3] D ܠܗܿ ܐܘܠ [4] ABCE ܣܡ̄ [5] See Chap. XXXIII of the Greek text (Müller, p. 36, col. 2). [6] Read ܗܘܝ and ܠܗ ? The Greek has Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἱερόν. [7] In the Greek not πλάκας but ὀβελίσκους. ADE ܦܠܛܘܣ [8] Read ܘܡܬܢܝܬܐ ? [9] For ܣܝܣܝܦܘܣ [10] Read ܐܠܠܗܐ [11] D ܕܣܪܦܝܕܘܢ

ܘܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ[1] ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ: ܦܪܕܐ:
ܐܢܛܓܢܘܣ: ܕܡܛܪܝܘܣ: ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ: ܦܝܪܘܣ: ܠܝܣܘܣ:
ܦܛܠܡܝܣ[2]: ܡܠܝܐܓܪ: ܐܢܛܝܦܛܪܘܣ: ܣܘܣܬܢܝܣ: ܐܢܛܝܓܢܘܣ[3]
ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܓܘܢܛܐ. ܕܡܛܪܝܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܀ ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܢܩܕܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܟܕ ܐܘܡܝ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘ
ܣܘܪܝܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܕ ܐܘܡܝ ܓܢܣܐ ܕܡܠܟܘ ܗܘܘ ܗܘܕ.
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܡܝܢܐ. ܕܐܦ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܠܝܗ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ. ܐܢܫ ܕܝܢ
ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܡܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܡܢܐ
ܟܕ ܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܘܟܬܒܝܢ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܕܢܐ. ܗܟܝܢ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܒܪܗ. ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܘ. ܘܡܢܝܢ ܒܢܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ.
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܝܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܝܘ. ܘܒܬܪܗ ܡܢܐ
ܫܠܝܛܝܢ ܀ ܩܒܠ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܢܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ
ܟܕ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ. ܘܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܡܐ[4] ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܗܟܢ ܡܢ ܫܢܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܦܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ
ܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ ܕܦܠܓܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܟܠ. ܘܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܒܢܝܐ
ܫܠܝܛܝܢ. ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ[5]. ܕܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ. ܘܗܢܐ ܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ[6] ܢܘܡܝܐ ܗܘ

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[1] AE omit ܘܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ. There are really only 12 names in the following list. Müller's text has likewise δώδεκα, but Cod. A and the Latin version agree in giving 16 (Müller, p. 32). [2] E ܦܛܠܡܝܣ
[3] BC ܐܢܛܝܓܢܘܣ [4] Read ܘܢܘܡܐ [5] D ܢܦܛܠܡܝܘܣ
[6] BCD ܦܛܠܡܝܣ

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ܒܗܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܡ ܥܘܕܪܢܐ ܘܚܕ̈ܪܐ ܚܣܝܐ ܢܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܣܓܝܐ[1]. ܘܡܛܠ
ܗܘܕܢܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܀

XXXI ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܠܕܗ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗ̇ܘ
ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܡܦܝܓܝܩܝܐ[2] ܢܦܩ. ܢܦܠ ܕܝܢ ܚܕ ܠܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܐܢܫܐ. ܟܕ
ܗ̇ܘ ܐܢܫ ܝܘܡܐ. ܐܬܦܩܕ ܘܠܬܘܪ̈ܒܝܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܢܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ
ܠܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܩܕܡ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܘ. ܟܕ ܐܢܐ ܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ
ܒܗܕܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܬܬܪܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[3]. ܘܟܕ ܩܒܠ ܦܢܐ ܠܬܪܥܐ
ܒܗ̇ܘ ܐܢܬ ܝܘܡܐ. ܕܠܬܪܥܐ[4] ܦܬܚ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܗ̇ܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܩ̇ܒܠ. ܡܢ
ܐܢܬ ܕܠܗ ܕܗܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ. ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܬܦܬܚܬ
ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܣܦܪܐ. ܘܟܠ ܕܗܦܟܗ ܡܢܗ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܥܒܕ ܘܐܡܪ. ܐܘ ܕܡܢܗ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܢܢܐ. ܫܡܥܬ ܠܗ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ
ܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܗ ܢܦܠ ܗ̇ܘ[5] ܡܢܗ. ܕܕܠܐ
ܕܝܢܐ ܡܢܗ. ܩܕܡ ܠܗ̇ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܠܘܬܐ ܀ ܘܥܒܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܒܝܬܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܙܠ. ܘܠܚܡ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܢܦܩܐ[6] ܣܓܝܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܘܢܦܩܐ[6] ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ[7] ܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ̇. ܐܦ ܒܗ̇ܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܦܓܪܐ
ܗܘܐ ܕܝܨܝܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܗܦܟ ܗܘܦܝ ܘܠܗܬ ܗ̇ܘ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܫ.
ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܚܠܦ ܚܕ ܕܝܢܐ. ܘܣܓܕ̈ܘܗܝ ܢܡ̈ܣܐ ܗ̇ܘܝ ܥܘܕܪ̈ܢܐ ܢܝܫܬܡܫܘܢ

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[1] ABE ܢܬܥܒܕ̈ܘܢ ܣܓܝܐ, D ܢܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܣܓܝܐ [2] E ܕܐܡܦܝܓܝܩܝܐ

[3] ABCE omit ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [4] Read ܘܠܬܪܥܐ [5] D omits ܗ̇ܘ

[6] D ܗܝܟܠܐ '*temple*,' and has on the margin, ܒܦܠܚܢܐ ܢܦܩܐ '*in the MS.* ܢܦܩܐ'. [7] Read ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝܣ, namely, Ὄσιρις, *Uasar.*

ܘܐܙܠ ܒܡܥܠܢܗ ܥܒܝܕܘܬܐ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܘܢܒܕܘܩ ܣܘܦܗ̇: ܘܡܢ
ܕܢܘܗܪܗ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ ܒܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ: ܘܡܢ
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܟܘܬ ܢܦܩܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܠܐ.[1] ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܘܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܠܐܡܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܕܡ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܛܠ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ܆ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܝܠܡܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܝܢ
ܝܗܒ. ܡܢ ܝܬܝܪ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܕܪܟܫܬܐ ܥܡ ܕܝܫܬܐ
ܠܐܡܪܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ. ܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܡܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩܘܕܐ ܐܬܝܡܗ.
ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܗ̇[2] ܕܝܠܗ ܕܢܦܩܘܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܗܘܐ ܕܠܒܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܬܪ ܠܐܡܪܐ ܐܚܝܕ ܒܝܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܠ
ܐܬܝܡܗ܆ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܡܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐܡܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܦܬܚ
ܗܘܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܢܬ ܠܗ ܫܢܝ ܕܘܟܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ
ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܟܕ[3] ܝܗܒ ܐܬܬܒܪܐ. ܘܡܬܥܗܕ ܡܢܗ ܠܐ ܢܬܛܥܐ܆
ܘܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܠܡܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ[4] ܗܘ ܐܡܪ. ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܘܒܠܐ ܠܝ. ܒܐܠܝܗ ܦܠܝܗ[5]
ܒܢܩܠܬܐ ܐܚܪܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܦܪܕܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܐܬܗܘܐ
ܡܬܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܝܬܒܐ ܘܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܝܗܒܐ ܒܗ̇. ܘܐܠܗܐ
ܦܕܡܐ ܒܗ̇ ܢܓܕ. ܘܣܓܕܘܗ̇ ܒܝܠܘܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܘܢܩܠܘܗ̇ ܒܟܠܐ
ܗܓܪܐ ܦܕܘܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܦܪܕܗ̇ ܩܛܝܪܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ. ܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܠ

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[1] A omits ܐܠܐ [2] D ܚܙܝܗ̇ [3] ABCE omit ܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ

[4] D ܐܬܬܚܝܒ ܠܗ ܒܝܠܡܐ [5] Read ܒܐܠܝܦܦܠܝܗ? The geographical difficulty need hardly trouble us.

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ܠܘܬܗ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܣܛܐ ܒܪܬܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[1]
ܠܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܟܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܩܘܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܬܐ
ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܕܡܢ ܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܝܒܝܐ ܝܠܝܕ ܐܢܬ ܀ ܘܡܛܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܢ ܒܪܗ ܗܘ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܝ. ܕܠܘ ܡܢ ܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܝܒܝܐ ܝܠܝܕܬܢܝ[2]. ܫܪܝܪܐ ܠܝ ܘܡܫܪܪܐ ܕܝܠܝܬܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ. ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܠܡܐ. ܟܕ ܐܡܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܣܒܗ
ܡܩܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢ ܦܘܠܘܣܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܐܢܬ[3]. ܘܡܢ
ܐܣܘܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ. ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܝܬܐ
ܡܥܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܠܘܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[4] ܕܠܐ ܡܢܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ.
ܒܪܢܫܐ ܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܡܠܟܐ. ܐܠܐ[5] ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ.
ܕܡܥܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܠܘܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܠܗ ܒܗܕܐ
ܕܦܠܓܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܘܒܗܘܦܟܐ ܘܒܡܬܦܢܝܢܘܬ ܟܝܢܐ. ܒܕܝܢ
ܗܒܠ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܥܡܪ ܐܢܘܢ
ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܕܒܠܡܕܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܗ ܘܒܝܬܗ ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܠܡܕܝܢܬ[6] ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀
ܐܢܬ ܗܒܠ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܘܡܢ ܦܘܪܢܣܘܗ ܘܡܢ ܕܫܘܫܒܝܗ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܡܪ ܦܘܠܘܣܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ: ܘܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܐܢܐ ܚܒܝܒܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܗܠܝܢ
ܬܬܦܪܣ: ܘܡܢ ܦܪܢܣܘܬܗ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܢܫܠܘܛ ܗܘܐ.

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1 BCDE ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܟܢ

2 E ܝܠܝܕܬܢܝ with ܐ superscript.

3 D ܐܢܬܝ

4 Read ܕܐܠܗܐ. ABCE ܦܘܠܘܣܐ

5 Read ܐܢܐ

6 ABCE ܘܠܡܕܝܢ

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܩܕܡܐ ܚܙܝܗܝ ܚܒܫ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܩܪܒܘ. ܩܪܒ
ܠܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܕܢܩܘܡܘܢ: ܗܢܝܢ ܗܦܟܘ
ܒܗ ܡܢܗ ܟܕ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܕܐܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ[1]: ܬܘܒ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܒܠܚܝܕܘܬܐ ܢܗܒܬ ܠܟܘܢ
ܕܐܘ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܚܒܪܐ. ܐܘ ܠܚܒܪܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܬ ✤ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܚܠ
ܝܠܗ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܘܟܝܐ ܕܐܬܬܠܝ ܗܘܬ ܚܘܪܒܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܠܬ
ܥܠܝܗ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܟܝ ܡܛܠ ܢܝܚܝܢ ✤ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܒܠܚܝܕܘܬܐ
ܕܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܬܕܢܝܚܬ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܝܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܚܒܫܘ. ܘܐܬܚܝܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܢܦܩܬ ܚܕܐ ܕܢܩܫܐ
ܚܒܫܘ. ܘܩܪܒ ܕܠܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܕܢܝܚܬ ܥܠ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܢܚܡܘܗܝ.
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܕܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܥܢܝ ܚܒܫ. ܘܚܝܠܗ ܐܪܡܝܗ.
ܘܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܦܬܪܘ ܐܪܒܥ ܥܢܝܢ. ܘܡܢ[2] ܐܦܘ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ ܢܦܫܗ.
ܘܠܪܗܘܡܝܐ[3] ܐܘܚܠܘܗܝ ✤

XXX[4] ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܒܠܚܝܕܘܬܐ[5] ܐܫܬܠܛ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ
ܕܠܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܟܐ ܘܡܩܘܕܢܝܐ[6] ܕܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܒܪܘ[7]. ܘܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ
ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܦܠܘܓܬܐ[8] ܢܩܘܡ[9]. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܗܠܝܢ
ܥܡ ܠܘܬܐ ܒܠܝܠ ܢܦܩܐ ܐܘܠ. ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܠܝܒܝܐ ✤ ܘܡܢ ܗܘܢ

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[1] ABCE ܡܫܬܠܛ   [2] A omits ܘܡܢ   [3] Read ܘܠܪܗܘܡܝܐ

[4] Corresponding with the remainder of Chap. XXX in the Greek.

[5] D ܠܚܝܕܘܬܐ   [6] Read ܘܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ? See above, p. 63, note 3.

[7] Read ܒܪܝܐ   [8] D ܕܦܠܓܬܐ   [9] Read ܢܩܘܡܘܢ

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ܕܘܦܘܣ ܕܟܦܝܛܘܠܝܘܢ[1] ܐܬܐܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܝܢ
ܕܒܗܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܕܪܗ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦ[2] ܐܢܬ ܦܪܫܝܢ
ܒܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܠܟܘܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܪܘ ܗܘܘ. ܘܟܬܒܬܐ
ܡܕܡ ܒܗ. ܕܡܢ ܟܪܟܕܘܢܝܐ[3] ܫܪܒܐ ܢܣܒܘ. ܕܡܕܡܗܘܢ ܡܬܒܥܘ
ܗܘܘ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܫܟܢܘ ܐܢܬ ܠܟܘܢ
ܗܕܐ ܫܝܢܘܬܐ. ܣܠܩܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܢܬܒܪܐ ܕܟܠ[4] ܡܫܒܚܬܗܘܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ[5]
ܢܬܒܪܐ ܦܪܝܫܐ. ܕܟܠܟܘܬܟܘܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܐܢܐ.
ܘܢܦܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܢܐ[6] ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܀

XXIX[7] ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܝܛܠܝܐ ܐܬܥܒܪ
ܘܠܐܦܪܝܩܝ[8] ܒܝܡܐ ܐܙܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܩܪܒ ܡܢ ܕܦܪܝܩܝ[9] ܦܓܥܘ
ܥܡܗ. ܐܝܟ ܠܫܘܒܚܗ. ܘܩܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܒܗ ܐܦܝܢ. ܕܠܡܫܬܝܐ
ܡܢ ܕܗܘܡܐ ܢܦܩ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܡܪܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܘ ܒܢܝܐ ܟܪܟܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܘ ܐܬܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܠܝܐ.
ܐܘ ܠܚܝܠܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܥܡܗ.
ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܢܚܬܘ. ܘܐܦ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܘܕܝܘ. ܘܠܟܠ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܒܚܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ[10]

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[1] Τὸ Καπιτώλιον. B has the marginal note ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܝܘܦܛܪ ܕܒܪܘܡܝܐ   [2] D omits ܐܦ   [3] Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, the Carthaginians. The better reading ܟܠܟܝܕܘܢܝܐ occurs in Chap. XXIX.

[4] ABC ܕܟܠ   [5] E ܘܗܟܢܐ   [6] ABCE omit ܐܢܐ

[7] Corresponding to Chap. XXX in the Greek (see Müller, p. 31).

[8] Read ܘܠܐܦܪܝܩܝ, or ܘܠܐܦܪܝܩܐ. D ܘܠܐܦܪܝܩܝ

[9] Read ܕܐܦܪܝܩܝ   [10] A omits ܗܘܘ

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ܘܐܦ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܐܦܠܝܣܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܣܒܗ. ܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܒܘܗܝ ܚܡܫ ܪ̈ܒܘ. ܡܩܠܘܢܝܣܐ[1] ܬܠܬ ܪ̈ܒܘ. ܡܢ̈ܘܬܐ
ܕܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܐܪ̈ܒܥ ܒܗ ܦܠܘܦܘܢܣܝܐ ܘܠܩܕܡܘܢܝܐ ܬܡܢܐ ܪ̈ܒܘ.
ܬܣܠܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܫܬ ܪ̈ܒܘ. ܐܬܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܥܣܪ ܪ̈ܒܘ. ܘܣܟܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܥܣܪ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܣܟܗܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܡܢܝ ܡܥܣܪ
ܪ̈ܒܘ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܦܝܫ
ܐܢܘܢ[2] ܀

XXVII[3] ܘܐܠ̈ܦܐ ܕܗܠܐ ܘܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ[4] ܕܗܘܝܢ ܐܘܦܝܣ ܗܘܐ
ܐܢܘܢ ܘܢܦܩ ܥܡܗ[5] ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܩܝܣܪܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[6] ܢܦܩ
ܘܦܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܛܝܐ ܕܥܠܗ ܐܘܦܝܣ ܐܢܘܢ[7] ܀

XXVIII[8] ܘܥܠ ܠܘܩܢܝܐ ܘܣܝܩܠܝܐ[9] ܠܬ̈ܪܘܡܝܐ[10] ܐܙܠ ܘ ܀
ܡܣܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܣܒܗ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܕܡܛܐ ܠܓܒܝܗܘܢ
ܕܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܕܪܝܢ ܫܠ̈ܝܚܐ[11]. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܐ

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[1] ABCE ܕܡܩܠܘܢܝܣܐ [2] The numbers given above amount to 29.

[3] Corresponding to Chap. XXVIII of the Greek text (Müller, p. 30).

[4] *καράβος*, *καράβιον*, قارب, غراب. The corresponding words in the Greek are *λιβέρνους καὶ τριήρεις*. We should probably read ܩܪ̈ܒܝܐ

[5] D ܥܡܗ [6] D ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ [7] The names in this clause seem to be corrupt, and also the word ܐܘܦܝܣ. For ܘܦܪ̈ܬܐ we should read ܘܦܪ̈ܬܐ (see Müller, p. 28, the Latin version).

[8] Corresponding to Chap. XXIX of the Greek text.

[9] Lucania and Sicily. See Müller's note 8 on Chap. XXIX.

[10] DE ܠܬܪܘܡܝܐ [11] Read ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ

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ܘܐܠܦܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܢ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܢܟܣܝܢ
ܡܩܪܒܬܐ. ܐܢܬܘܢ ܣܓܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܬܘܢ. ܟܕ[1] ܐܬܚܙܝܬܘܢ ܠܗ.
ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܚܝܕ[2] ܒܗ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ
ܗܢܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܠܗ. ܘܗܘܬܐ ܗܢܘ ܢܗܘܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܗܟܢ ܐܦ
ܝܗܒܬܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܐܬܘܟܠܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ
ܒܢܝܐ ܕܐܬܢܟܝܬܘܢ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܒܕܐ
ܘܡܩܪܒܢܘܬܐ ܡܩܪܒ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܝܗܒܬܘܢ. ܘܫܘܒܗܪܐ
ܒܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܢܟܣܝܢ ܡܩܪܒܬܐ ܡܢܟܠ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܩ[3] ܠܝܘܢܝܐ.
ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܟܠܗ. ܘܢܟܣܝܢ ܡܩܪܒܬܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܕܚܠܬܐ
ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܠܝܛܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܐ ܘܫܒܩܝܢ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ
ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܬܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܢܝܐ ܥܣܪܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ.
ܡܫܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܦܠܝܛܐ ܘܐܬܢܝܚܘ ܥܣܪܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ. ܒܬܪ ܗܟܝܠ
ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܘܐܫܬܥܒܕܘ. ܘܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ
ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܦܠܓܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܡܦܩܐ[4] ܘܡܫܬܠܡ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ
ܗܠܝܢ. ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܝܗܒܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5] ܒܗܠܝܢ ܩܠܐ
ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܬܒ[6] ܠܘܬܗ ܕܦܠܛܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܐܦܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܝܬܗ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܬܘܟܠܘ. ܘܐܫܬܟܚܘ ܘܫܟܒܘ. ܘܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܘܫܢܐ[7] ܡܢܗ ܀

XXVI ܘܡܢܗ ܦܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܗ.

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[1] Read ܕܟܕ ? [2] AB ܐܚܝܕ [3] E ܡܫܬܡܥ. Read ܡܫܬܡܥܐ ?
[4] ABC ܕܡܦܩܐ [5] D ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [6] D ܩܠܐ ܠܟܬܒ
[7] E ܘܫܢܐ

ܕܓܢܣܗ ܥܒܠܢܝܗܘ ܘܡܬ̈ܢܝܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܘܫܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗ̄ܘܐ. ܠܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܢܦܠܬ ܀ ܘܩܕܡ ܠܐܘܪ̈ܚܐ
ܫܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܡܬܝܒܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܘ. ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ
ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ[1] ܘܩܕܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ[2] ܕܟܘܫ
ܐܟܘܬ ܕܐܬܦܪܥ ܦܪܣ. ܘܠܡܠܟܐ ܟܠ ܘܟܕ ܕܝܫܐ ܐܠܟܣ. ܘܗܘ
ܬܩ̈ܢܬ ܩܕܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܠܘܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ
ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܩܒܠܗܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ[3] ܕܝܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܗ. ܠܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܒܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܩܪܒ ܗܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܡܩܕܘ̈ܢܝܐ: ܘܡܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܕܒܗ[4]
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܒܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘ̈ܢܐ
ܝܘܡܝ ܚܝܘܗܝ. ܘܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢ ܘܐܬܝ. ܘܐܬܪܡܝܘ
ܢܨ̈ܚܢܘܗܝ ܐܡܝܪܝܢ. ܕܥܠܡܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܠܘܬܢ. ܡܛܠ
ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܡܬܩܢܢܝܢ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ
ܐܡܪܘ ܗܘܘ[5] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܬܐ ܡܟܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܝܬܐ ܫܪܐ ܒܗܘܢ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܢܬܘܢ ܢܨܚܢܘܗܝ ܓܢܒܪܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܠܚܕܪܐ ܕܐܘܟܝܢ.
ܗܪ̈ܟܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܡܩܕܘ̈ܢܝܐ. ܘܒܥܝܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ
ܡܕܒܪܐ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܫܬܐ ܡܢܝܘܬܐ
ܕܗܟܢܐ ܡܩܕܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܢܬܚܫܒܘܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܟܢܝܫܐ ܕܢܨܚܢ̈ܐ
ܐܡܪ: ܙܒܢܐ ܗܟܘܠ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܒܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܝܘܡܬܗܘܢ
ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܒܥ ܕܠܐ ܒܫܘ̈ܒܚܗܘܢ ܫܡܥܬ. ܒܗ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܢܘܬܐ

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[1] ABCE ܘܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ
[2] ABCE ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [3] D ܗܘܝܢ [4] A ܒܗ, without ܕ
[5] A ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ, BDE ܐܡܪ ܗܘܘ

ܕܓܒܪ̈ܝܢ. ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܐܠܝܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܡܪ[1] ܐܚܕ ܗܘܐ. ܕܗܘܐ
ܕܗܢܘ ܡܕܒܪܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗܘܗܝ ܘܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܫܡܝܢܐ.
ܘܗܟܢܐ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܒܕܝܢ. ܘܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܡܝܬ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܗ ܚܠܦܘܗܝ ܘܐܚܕܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܢܨܚܢܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ[2]. ܘܐܦ[3] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܟܕܡܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܒܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܀

XXV ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܫܩܠ. ܦܩܕ ܕܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܢܬܕܟܪܘܢ ܕܠܡܨܪ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܢܬܒܢܝܢ. ܟܕ ܐܝܣܛܘܠܐ
ܕܐܪܕܝܢܝܐ[4] ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܡܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܝܘܗܝ ܒܢܝܗ ܀ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܐܪܕܝܢܝܐ
ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܝܟܠ ܘܟܠܗ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝ ܟܠܗ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܡܪ
ܗܘܬ. ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܢܐ ܠܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܪܡܠܘܬܐ
ܡܬܝܢܐ ܘܦܠܛܝܢܝܐ. ܘܒܢܝܐ[5] ܕܢܒܐ ܥܠ ܢܗܪܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ
ܢܒܝܚܐܘܬܐ[6]. ܘܒܢܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ. ܘܐܬܪܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ.
ܥܡܗ[7] ܗܝܟܠ ܘܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܟܬܒ. ܘܟܠܗ ܢܬܐܡܪ. ܕܒܟܠ ܢܗܪܐ ܐܘܟ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ.
ܘܡܟܢ ܡܢ ܒܥܒܘܕܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܨܘܦܐ ܚܝܪܐ. ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܥܒܘܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܐܢܫ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܒܢܝܘܗܝ.
ܘܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܕܝܢܝܐ ܢܝܚ. ܦܩܕ[8] ܗܘܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܐܬܪ[9] ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ

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[1] D omits ܐܡܪ [2] D ܒܟܣܗ [3] A writes ܘܐܦ twice.
[4] BD ܕܐܪܕܝܢܝܐ [5] A ܘܒܢܝܐ [6] Read ܐܣܟܣܛܘܣܝܐ? See Müller, p. 25. [7] A ܥܡܗ [8] Read ܘܦܩܕ?
[9] ABCE ܕܟܠ

ܕܗܘܝܐ ܫܠܝܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܝܠܟ[1] ܕܡܪܢܐ[2] ܠܟܝ. ܐܬܝܗܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
ܘܟܪܗ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܠܐܦܪܝܐ ܢܦܠ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܟܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܘܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[3] ܘܒܪܡܫܐ
ܬܘܩܠܝܗ ܠܐܪܡܝܢܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܢܟܝܐ[4] ܗܘܬ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܝܠܕܘ
ܘܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ: ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܟ ܠܐܡܗ
ܢܬܝܠܕ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܠ. ܘܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܗ ܚܙܬ. ܐܬܒܗܝܬ ܩܠܗ ܘܟܠܗ. ܕܒܒܪܗ
ܡܠܟܗ[5] ܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ܀ ܘܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܫܪܝ
ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[6] ܢܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܥܘܕܐ ܢܬܬܠܡܕܝܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ܀ ܘܗܘ
ܣܓܝܐ ܕܢܦܠܘܢ ܠܟܘܫܪܐ. ܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܒܟܠ. ܘܩܒܠ ܕܝܢ ܒܟܘܫܪܐ
ܕܢܡܘܣܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܠܦܢܘܬܐ. ܗܫܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܗܒ. ܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܗ ܒܗ. ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ. ܗܢܘ ܗܘ ܕܠܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܐ܀ ܗܟܝܠ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗܠܝܢ
ܕܠܝܬ ܘܢܫܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ. ܕܐܘ ܒܪܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܐ
ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܫܡܥ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܒܡܠܝ ܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ ܠܗܘ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܫܐ. ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܘ. ܕܐܬܩܢܬ ܐܘܡܢܐ

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[1] E ܡܠܟ [2] C ܡܪܢܐ [3] ADE ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [4] D ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ; ADE ܢܟܝܐ [5] ADE ܕܒܒܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܗ [6] BC ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ, without ܕ

ܢܣܒܐ ܀ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܣܝܒܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܠܡܬܟܬܫܘ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܡܠܟܬܗ[1]
ܕܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܟܠܗ ܡܩܕܘܢ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܘܥܡܡܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܀ ܗܘ
ܕܝܢ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܥܡܡܐ
ܡܫܠܝܛܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܣܓܝ. ܟܕ ܚܙܐܘܗܝ ܙܘܕܝܢ ܘܠܟܠܗ ܡܩܕܘܢ
ܢܦܠ. ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܦܠ ܀
ܗܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܕܪܬܐ[2] ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܡܕܝܢ ܩܪܒܐ. ܫܕܪܗ
ܘܟܠܗ ܠܒܪܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܟܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܓܕܪܐ
ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܓܘܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܥܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܢܦܠ.
ܘܟܕ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܥܡ ܚܒܪܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢ ܢܦܩܘ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܫܡܥܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܝܬ ܠܗ[3] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܐ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܕܝܢ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܘܣ ܕܝܢ[4] ܠܐܩܪܒܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܦܠܘܗܝ ܐܬܪܐ. ܘܠܫܡܥܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܬܪܐ.
ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܝܬܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ. ܘܠܐܩܪܒܐ ܚܕܪܐ ܕܒܗ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܘܟܠܗ. ܒܗ ܕܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܝܬ
ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܩܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܗܘ. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܡܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܢܝ ܩܪܒܐ ܐܢܐ. ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ
ܥܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܡܢ ܥܕܬܐ
ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܦܢܐ. ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܝܬܐ ܚܙܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
ܒܠܒܗ ܫܩܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܫܐܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܗܝ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

[1] BCDE ܡܠܟܬܗ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ
[2] Glossed in B by ܕܘܡܣܐ
[3] D omits ܠܗ
[4] D omits ܕܝܢ

ܓܐܪܗ[1] ܦܘܣܝܘܣ ܘܐܙܠܗ ܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܣܓܝ.
ܡܢ ܒܪܒܝܦܘܬ ܡܠܟܗ ܘܪܒܘܬ ܗܘܢܟܪܝܘܬܗ ܝܗܒ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܗܦܟ ܕܝܢ
ܐܬܪܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܩܝܐ[2] ܡܫܓܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܗܘܢ ܫܕܪ ܗܘܐ. ܥܡ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܪ̈ܒܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܢܟܒܫ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܘ ܒܩܛܠܐ ܢܬܦܪܥ ܢܚܬܘܢ[3] ܀

XXIV ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܣܘܦ. ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܡܢ ܦܐܘܣܢܝܘܣ[4] ܫܡܗ. ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܩܠܝܠ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܫܡܥ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ. ܗܢܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ
ܐܬܪܐ ܕܬܣܠܘܢܝܩܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ.
ܘܐܬܪܥܝܗ ܘܥܠܝܗ ܒܚܘܒܗ[5] ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܚܘܒܗ ܕܠܗܿ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ. ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܦܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܢܫܐ
ܘܦܘܪ̈ܣܐ ܝܗܒ. ܘܒܢܝ̈ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܝܫ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܟܕ ܕܢܩܛܠܝܘܗܝ ܒܥܒ ܡܢ ܦܘܠܚܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܗܒ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܐ ܝܗܒ ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܘܩܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܗ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ. ܗܘ ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ[6] ܡܬܒܥܐ. ܘܐܥܒܪ
ܒܢܝ̈ ܡܠܟܗ ܕܦܐܘܣܢܝܘܣ. ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ[7] ܘܡܠܟܗ[8].
ܒܬܪܟܢ ܘܫܒܩܗ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܗܘ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ ܢܚܬܘܢ

[1] ABCE ܓܐܪܘܦܘܣ [2] The Greek text says of the Thracians, ἑτέρας πόλεως ἀτακτούσης τῶν Θρᾳκῶν (Müller, p. 24, col. 1). [3] D omits ܢܬܦܪܥ ܢܚܬܘܢ [4] In the Greek and Latin texts *Pausanias* (Müller, p. 24). [5] D ܒܚܘܒܬܐ [6] D ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ. Read ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ [7] D ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ [8] BC ܡܠܟܘܬܗ

ܡܛܠ ܐܚܝ̈ܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܕܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܡܪܕܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܒܘܟ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܡܕܘܢܝ̈ܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܪܝܘܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ ܐܣܛܪܛܝ̈ܓܐ܀ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܫܐܠ[1] ܡܛܠ ܗܝ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ
ܣܠܩ ܐܕܪܘܢܛܐ ܘܩܛܠܗ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘ[2] ܡܕܡ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܠܦܘܪܥܢܗ ܫܪܝ ܘܗܘܐ. ܡܪܕܘܗܝ ܘܫܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ
ܗܪܟܐ. ܠܐ ܩܡܬ ܕܥܡ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܟ ܐܒܘܗܝ. ܠܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܝܗܒܬ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܝ[3] ܘܠܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܗܫܐ ܗܦܘܟ ܦܢܐ ܘܙܠ ܘܐܡܪܘ[4] ܠܡܪ̈ܘܗܝ
ܕܪܝܘܫ. ܕܒܪܗ ܘܒܪܬ ܥܡ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܪ̈ܬܝܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܗ ܗܘܝ ܠܗ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܘ. ܗܘܝ. ܘܐܬܦܬܓܡܝ[5]
ܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܠܟܝ. ܡܢ ܥܡ ܐܬܡܠܟ[6] ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܥܠܝܡܘܬܗ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܐܘܠܐ ܐܬܐ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܕܒܪܐ ܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܢ
ܐܦ ܥܒܕܗ ܥܡܠ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܢܗ܀ ܘܒܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܡܢ ܗܕܪܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܥܠܘ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܠܦܘܢܝ ܡܒܝܬܐ ܠܐ
ܢܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ. ܗܟܢ ܗܘܝ ܢܬܩܪܒܢ ܥܡ ܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܗܝ ܘܦܠܚܘܗܝ
ܘܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܣܘܡ ܫܡܗܘܢ. ܘܥܡ ܢܣܒܬܗ ܘܩܪܝܬܐ
ܡܠܟܗ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܬܡܢܝܘ. ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܐܘܡܢ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܬܒܢܐ ܥܠ
ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܝܘܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܘܗܝ ܕܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ[7] ܀ ܘܥܡ

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[1] D ܘܫܐܠ [2] D ܘܗܘ [3] ABCE omit ܗܝ
[4] D ܘܐܡܪ [5] ADE ܐܬܦܬܓܡܝ [6] D ܕܐܬܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܥܡ
[7] D omits ܕܠܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ

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ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܬܒܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܟܕ ܚܕܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܦܬܓܡܘܢ܀
ܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܐܡܗ ܟܬܒ. ܘܡܬܩܠܣܐ ܒܪܘܡܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܝܬܪܝܐ[1] ܐܬܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܒܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܚܝܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܡܢܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢ ܢܦܩܬ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܪܒܬܐ
ܗܘܬ ܀

XXIII ܒܗܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ[2]. ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘܬ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ
ܡܬܒܪܬܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܬܕܒܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܫܕܪ[3] ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܬܟܬܘܫܐ ܢܙܟܐ
ܐܢܘܢ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ. ܠܐܢܫܝܗ
ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܐܟܪܙ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ[4] ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܫܬܥܒܕܘܢ.
ܘܐܦ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܡܢ ܪܘܪܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܦܝܣ. ܘܫܡܥܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܦܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܐ. ܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܪܒܪܝܐ.
ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ
ܢܦܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫܘܢ. ܘܬܘܒ ܕܝܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ[5] ܚܕܐ
ܕܒܢܝܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ[6] ܡܠܟܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܛܠ

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[1] A ܠܒܝܬܪܝܐ [2] These words correspond to the Latin "at his ferme diebus quibus haec acta videbantur." [3] A ܫܕܪ ܕܝܢ
[4] ABCE ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ [5] There is a marginal gloss in B, indistinctly written; apparently نَجِيبان 'nobility.'
[6] Otherwise pointed ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ

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ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܢܟܬܘܗܝ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܘܩܡ
ܡܢ ܣܘܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܢ ܡܫܟܒܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܩܡ
ܐܡܪܗ ܐܘܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܘ ܐܒܐ. ܢܬܒܪ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ
ܬܬܕܟܪ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܒܐ ܥܒܪ ܘܫܒܩ[1]. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ
ܫܟܝܚܐ ܠܗ ܬܘܠܡܬܐ. ܘܠܐܒܐ[2] ܚܕܝܢܐ ܐܬܟܠܦ. ܘܐܫܬܒܩ
ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܟܚܬܐ ܐܢܬ. ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܠܟ. ܘܡܢ[3] ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ
ܠܡܬܒ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܘܡܫܬܥܐ[4] ܒܬܘܠܡܐ ܡܢ
ܐܒܘܗܝ ܠܟ ܕܢܬܓܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܬܫܥܝ
ܠܒܪܬܐ[5] ܕܗܘܝܢ. ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܬܐ ܐܢܫ ❖ ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ
ܠܐܡܗ. ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܠܡܚܪ ܗܘܐ ܩܝܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܠܟܠ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܕܝܢ ܟܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܬܚܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦܝܣܗ ܩܝܡ ܙܡܢܐ ܐܚܝ ܗܘܐ:
ܠܚܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܐܒܐ. ܙܒܢܐ
ܣܓܝ ܠܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܚܫܒ ܘܠܐܘܠ ܐܒܐ ܬܘܒܐ ܠܝ. ܘܡܢ
ܗܕܝܡܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܐܢܐ. ܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܫܒܘܩܗ ܠܐܡܐ. ܘܐܬܚܡܬܗ
ܡܫܡܫܐ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪܟܢܐ ܕܒܥܝܬ ܘܒܬܘܠܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܒܬ ܠܗ[6]. ܒܢܝܡܐ
ܕܐܬܓܒܝܬ[7]. ܡܢ ܗܘܝ ܐܦܝܣܬܗ ܘܫܒܩܗ ܡܠܟܐ. ܕܬܘܠܡܬܐ
ܕܐܫܬܠܡ ܠܗܝܢ ܓܒܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܕܝܢܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ[8]. ܘܗܘܐ
ܒܢ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܦܫܗ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܒܥܘܢܝ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܬܒܢܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦ
ܠܐ ܢܬܒܪܐ. ܡܢ ܙܒܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܘܠܝܡܦܝܐ[9] ܡܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ. ܘܡܬܢܝܢ

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[1] D ܐܡܠܠ ܘܫܒܩ ܚܕܝܢܐ [2] B ܘܐܬܚܙܝ [3] Delete ܘ
[4] BE ܘܡܫܬܥܐ [5] AD ܠܒܪܬܐ [6] D ܠܗ ܐܬܬܚܝܒܬ [7] D ܕܐܬܓܒܝܬ
[8] ADE ܬܫܥܝܬܐ [9] C ܘܐܘܠܝܡܦܝܐ, and so B originally.

ܦܠܓܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܟܕ ܢܒܝ[1] ܐܙܠܝܗ. ܐܦ
ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬܡܥܬ[2] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܐ[3] ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܢܐܙܠܘܢ
ܢܦܠܘܢ. ܠܐ ܢܚܫܘܢ ܐܢܬ. ܘܠܐ ܙܕܐ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܒܝܕ ܟܣܦܐ ܘܢܟܣܝܢ
ܢܬܩܢ ܗܘ[4] ܕܒܗ ܠܗ ܘܠܫܡܫܬܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܝܢ
ܕܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܡܢ ܚܘܪܐ. ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥ ܐܢܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ[5]. ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܣܓܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܟܕ ܠܠܘܩܒܠܗ ܣܠܩ. ܗܘ ܕܒܝܘܡܐ[6] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܫܡܥܬܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܣܘܦܝܢ[7] ܢܫܬܒܩ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܫܡܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܒܢܝ
ܫܟܝܚܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ. ܦܪܝܫܬܐ[8] ܕܢܝܫܐ ܢܣܒܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܫܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܘܢܝܫܐ ܕܒܐܕܝܢ ܗܘܕܥܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ. ܟܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܫܬܟܚܘ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܣܥܪ ܠܗ ܘܣܘܦܝܢ ܐܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܠܢ ܗܘܝܐ
ܠܦܠܓܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ. ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ
ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ. ܢܫܬܒܩ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܢܬܫܒܚܘܢ ◆ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܕܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܘܟ ܘܢܟܣܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܐܦܝܣܩܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܐܢܬ ܬܘܒ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܢܬ ܫܒܝܚܐ. ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ
ܐܡܪ ܕܐܬܒܥܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܫܪܒܬܗ ܐܢܫܘܢ ܦܘܫܩܐ. ܘܟܕ

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[1] ABCE have originally ܐܙܠܝܢ, but in BC it is altered into ܐܙܠܝ

[2] Read ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܬ? [3] Read ܠܐ, without ܕ

[4] Read ܗܘܐ, or omit the word. [5] The Syriac agrees with the Latin version more closely than the Greek (Müller, p. 21). Still there seems to be something wrong in this passage, from ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ to ܐܡܪ ܠܗ

[6] ABCE ܕܒܝܘܡܬܐ [7] D ܒܣܘܦܝܢ.

[8] Read ܘܦܪܝܫܬܐ?

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ܘܠܡܬܪܓܡܢܘ[1]. ܣܓܝܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܥܒܕ
ܠܡܓܢܒܘ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܦܠܝܛܐ ܠܡܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܥܒܕ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܬ
ܐܡܪ ܠܥܒܕ ܘܐܙܠ. ܘܗܘ ܡܘܒܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܦܠ[2].
ܘܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܢܝܢܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܠܦܠܠܛܘܣ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܬܡܝ ܐܢܘܢ.
ܕܦܛܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ ܟܕ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܢܟܬܘܒܘܢ[3]. ܘܗܢܐ ܡܢ
ܩܕܡܐ ܐܬܬܠܝ ܠܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܕܝܠܐ[4] ܟܬܒܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ[5] ܗܘܬ ܡܢ
ܗܡܝܢܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܢܦܩ[6]. ܕܡܛܠ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܫܬܡܠܝܘ ܗܘܘ ܀

XXII ܘܡܢ[7] ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܘܬ ܗܠܝܢ
ܟܬܒܐ. ܘܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܡܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܩ. ܡܟܬܒܢܐ ܕܝܢ
ܢܡܘܣܐ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܡܢܝܘܢ.
ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܬܚܝܠܘܢ. ܘܡܬܒܪܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ
ܕܝܢ ܡܩܒܠܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[8] ܐܒܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܡܠܟܐ
ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[9]. ܐܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ. ܕܗܐ ܥܡܢ

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[1] Read ܘܠܡܬܪܓܡܢܘ [2] D ܢܦܩ [3] AE ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ
The Syrian translator seems to have misunderstood the Greek text, for ܕܦܛܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ is corrupted from ܠܦܛܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ = Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων. See Müller, p. 21, especially the Latin version. [4] Read ܕܥܠܘܗܝ ܘܕܝܠܐ? [5] D ܘܡܢܬܐ (*sic*).
[6] This clause seems to have crept in from the beginning of the following chapter, and has perhaps taken the place of some words which would have cast light upon the meaning of the last clause, in which the proper name is certainly corrupt.
[7] D ܡܢ [8] D ܦܝܠܝܦܐ [9] BC omit ܠܗ

ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ[1]. ܒܗ ܒܥܕܢܐ[2] ܙܗܝܡܐ ܕܐܬܟܠܝܬܐ ܐܬܒܕܪ. ܡܛܠ
ܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܟܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܗ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܕܘܪܫܐ
ܕܐܘܡܢܐ ܡܥܝܠ ܗܘܐ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܝܘܡܬܐ
ܡܟܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܀

XXI ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܚܕ ܠܘܣܝܘܣ ܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܓܚܟܢܐ
ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܣ[3] ܒܬܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܓܚܟ ܗܘܐ :
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܣܝܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܐܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ
ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܐܬܐܘܡܝܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܩܠܝܘܦܛܪܐ ܘܡܕܡܐ
ܠܗܡܐ. ܐܢܬܬܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦܝܕܪܐ[4] ܐܣܝܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[5]. ܗܢܐ ܒܪܐ
ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܦ ܣܘܓܐܗ ܘܦܪܨܘܦܗ
ܠܟܠܗ ܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ.
ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܐܬܚܡܬ ܗܘܐ ܙܘܪܬܢܝܐ. ܘܫܩܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܐܣܛܘܟܝܢ
ܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܝܢܐ[6] ܫܩܠ. ܘܟܠ ܓܪܡܗ ܕܠܘܣܝܘܣ ܐܪܡܝ ܡܢ
ܝܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܢܗ ܝܩܝܪܐ ܘܡܝܬ. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ
ܚܙܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܣܓܝ ܐܬܚܡܬ ܕܢܩܛܠܝܘܗܝ. ܘܩܡ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܚܒܠ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܣܓܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܬܚܡܬ ܘܢܦܠ ܒܚܡܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܚܝܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܗܘ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܢܬܐ ܕܠܐܘܡܢܝܬܐ[7] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ

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[1] MSS. ܒܗ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܟܕ [2] BO ܙܒܢܐ
[3] Rather ܒܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܣ [4] Read ܣܠܦܝܕܪܐ [5] Read ܗܘܬ
[6] Read ܡܫܬܝܬܐ [7] So all the MSS. Read ܕܐܘܡܢܐ (See Müller, p. 21, col. 1).

ܫܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܒܕ ܘܫܡ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܐܣܛܪܛܓ ܦܪܣܝܐ.
ܘܫܕܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܛܝܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܘܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܘܡܒܪܐ[1] ܢܦܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܒܪܥܠܝܗ.
ܘܫܒܩ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܫܬܐ ܕܠܐܒܫܛܪܘܣ[2] ܘܦܘܫ. ܗܫܐ ܐܦ
ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ. ܘܡܬܠܕܒܪܝܢ
ܦܘܓܐ ܀

XX ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܝܬܒ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܠ. ܠܦܢܝܬܐ[3]
ܐܙܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܡܢܥ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܢܝ. ܡܛܠ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܒܙܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ
ܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܥܒܝܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܝܕܥ
ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܘ. ܐܬܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܝܠܦܝܕܐ[4] ܫܡܗ.
ܒܪܬܗ ܕܢܛܠܝܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܕܝܢܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܣܒ[5] ܠܗ ܗܘ
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܩܪܒܐ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ. ܫܡܥ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܟܠܗ ܗܫܒܬܐ ܟܠ. ܘܟܕ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܚܘܗܝ ܚܙܐ ܕܝܢ[6] ܢܦܫܐ ܒܪܐ ܗܫܟܚܐ ܕܝܢ. ܐܬܟܝܠܬ ܒܗܘܢ
ܒܩܛܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܡܪ. ܢܦܠ ܦܪܩܐ ܡܢܝ[7] ܕܡܫܡܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܢܦܫܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܩܪܒܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܝ
ܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܣܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܠܝܗ. ܠܝ[8] ܕܝܢ[9] ܠܡܬܩܪܒܐ ܠܐ ܝܬܒܐ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ. ܟܕܡܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܦܬܐ ܗܦܟܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ

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[1] Add some such words as ܐܡܪ ܠܗ? [2] D ܕܠܐܒܫܛܪܐ
[3] D ܠܦܢܝܬܐ [4] BE ܝܠܦܝܕܐ, corr. in D to ܠܘܦܝܕܐ
[5] D ܠܡܣܒ [6] D ܐܝܟ [7] Read ܦܪܩܐ ܡܢܝ [8] D ܘܠܝ
[9] BCD omit ܕܝܢ

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ܦܬܓܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܚܕ ܙܒܢ[1] ܙܟܝܬܢܝ. ܐܦ
ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܟܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܥܒܕܗ[2] ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܠܐ[3] ܒܩܪܒܐ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ
ܢܨܚܬ. ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܐ ܙܒܢ ܒܟܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܦܣܩܬ ܘܐܢܬ
ܢܒܥܐ ܗܘ[4] ܕܒܗ ܠܝ ܘܠܐܢܫܬܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܡ
ܕܐܫܬܒܩܬ ܚܕܝܬ ܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܦܠܓܬ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܐ. ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܐܢܐ. ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ[5]. ܠܐ ܫܠܡܬ ܫܢܝܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܥܡ ܠܠܘܩܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘ ܕܩܪܘܣܐ[6] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܥܬ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ[7] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܝܐ ܘܟܠ ܒܢܝ
ܦܠܚܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ. ܦܪܝܫܐ[8] ܕܒܢܬܐ ܐܣܝܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܝܢ ܗܘܪܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܗܘܐ ܐܟܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܗܫܐ ܩܘܡ ܠܝ ܘܩܘܡܝܢ ܐܢܫ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܫܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܛܘܒܝܢ. ܕܐܢܫ ܡܢ ܛܘܒܝܢ
ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܚܙܝ ✤ ܗܫܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܝܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒ ܘܐܙܠ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܒܡܠܟܐ ܥܡܗ ܕܚܕ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ.
ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܢܐ ܢܨܚܬ. ܙܟܐ ܐܦ ܙܒܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ
ܐܡܪ ܕܙܟܝܬܐ. ܚܙܐ ܒܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܒܩܬܝܗ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܗ. ܘܥܕ

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[1] ABCE have originally ܙܡܢ, but in BC it is altered into ܙܒܢ

[2] Read ܠܐ ܡܫܥܒܕܗ?

[3] Read ܠܐ, without ܕ

[4] Read ܗܽܘ, or omit the word.

[5] The Syriac agrees with the Latin version more closely than the Greek (Müller, p. 21). Still there seems to be something wrong in this passage, from ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܦܠܓܬ to ܐܡܪ ܠܝ

[6] ABCE ܕܩܪܘܣܬܐ

[7] D ܢܩܘܠܐܘܣ.

[8] Read ܘܦܪܝܫܬܐ?

ܘܠܡܬܒܪܟܢܘ[1]. ܚܙܐ ܦܘܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܨܚ
ܠܡܩܪܒ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܦܠܓܐ ܠܡܬܦܠܓܘ ܠܐ ܢܨܚ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘܐ
ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܙܠ. ܘܐܦ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܣܒܠ[2].
ܘܠܩܘܦܘܣ ܗܡܝܢܐ ܡܢܝܢ. ܘܠܦܠܠܘܗ ܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܐܕܡ ܐܢܫܝ.
ܕܦܠܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ ܚܕ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܚܝܢܘܗܝ[3]. ܘܒܬܪ ܡܢ
ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܬܚܠܛ ܥܡ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܚܢܐ[4] ܗܢܐ. ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ[5] ܐܙܠ ܡܢ
ܗܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܢܦܩ[6]. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܦܣܝܟܪܦܘܣ
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܀

XXII ܘܡܢ[7] ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ
ܗܢܐ. ܘܡܫܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܘܢܦܩ. ܡܢܩܕܩܕܢܐ ܕܝܢ
ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܟܕ ܚܙܘܗ ܘܟܠ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܐܕܡܘܢ.
ܘܠܟܠ ܢܝܫܐ ܢܚܠܘܢ. ܘܡܕܪܫܐ ܫܒܩ ܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܒܬܪ
ܕܝܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[8] ܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܘܬܗ
ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[9]. ܐܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ. ܕܗܐ ܟܕܡܝܢ

[1] Read ܘܠܡܬܒܪܟܘ [2] D ܢܣܒ [3] AE ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ
The Syrian translator seems to have misunderstood the Greek text, for ܕܦܠܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ is corrupted from ܠܦܝܬܘܢ ܘܩܢܛܘܪܘܢ = Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων. See Müller, p. 21, especially the Latin version. [4] Read ܕܒܪܗ ܘܚܢܐ? [5] D ܡܫܪܝܬܐ (*sic*).
[6] This clause seems to have crept in from the beginning of the following chapter, and has perhaps taken the place of some words which would have cast light upon the meaning of the last clause, in which the proper name is certainly corrupt.
[7] D ܡܢ [8] D ܦܝܠܝܦܐ [9] BC omit ܠܗ

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ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ܂[1] ܒܗ ܒܗܘܐ[2] ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܟܠܝܬ ܐܬܩܪܒ܂ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܟܝܬ ܗܘܐ܂ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܘܕܒܪܘܗܝ ܠܦܠܛܝܢ ܡܥܝܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ܂ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܩܛܠܐ ܝܡܗܬܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܀

XXI ܘܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܦܘܣܢܝܘܣ ܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܐܘܠܡܦܝܐܕܝܣ[3] ܟܕ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܟܝܬ ܗܘܐ܆ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܦܘܣܢܝܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ܂ ܐܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ ܣܦܩܐ ܕܐܬܪܘܡܐ ܥܠܝ ܗܘܝܬ܂ ܐܠܘ ܡܢ ܥܠܘܬܗ ܘܡܕܡܐ ܠܗܡܐ܂ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܩܠܘܦܛܪܐ[4] ܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[5]܂ ܗܕܐ ܒܪܬ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ܂ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܗ܂ ܘܐܦ ܚܘܬܗ ܘܦܪܘܩܛܘܗ ܠܚܠܝܐ ܪܚܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ܂ ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܐܬܚܡܬ ܗܘܐ ܪܘܓܙܐ܂ ܘܦܢܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܙܠ ܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܓܒܝܢ[6] ܥܡܗ܂ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܦܘܣܢܝܘܣ ܐܪܡܝ ܡܢ ܣܝܦܐ܂ ܘܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܥܒܕܗ ܡܚܬܗ ܢܟܝܬܐ ܘܩܛܠܗ܂ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܒܐ܂ ܘܒܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܣܓܝ܂ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܟܐ ܗܘܐ܂ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܨܘܪܗ܂ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ܂ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܦܣܝܕܐ[7] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ

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[1] MSS. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕ. ܐܡܪ ܒܗ

[2] BC ܙܒܢܐ

[3] Rather ܒܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐ

[4] Read ܩܠܘܦܛܪܐ

[5] Read ܗܘܬ

[6] Read ܘܡܬܓܒܝܐ

[7] So all the MSS. Read ܕܐܦܣܐ (See Müller, p. 21, col. 1).

ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܒܕ ܘܣܡ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܒܗܬ ܦܘܪܘܣ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܛܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܘܬ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ[1] ܫܐܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܘܪܘܣ ܢܬܓܠܝܗ. ܘܥܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܗܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ[2] ܒܪܗ. ܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܩܘܡ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܢܫܠܡܢܘܢ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܀

XX ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܐܠ. ܠܦܘܠܘܣ[3] ܐܘܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܡܛܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܢܝ. ܡܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܙܠ ܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ. ܟܕ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܥܒܝܕܐ. ܘܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܡܕܡ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܢܘܡܐ ܗܘ. ܐܬܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܠܐܘܦܛܪܐ[4] ܫܡܗ. ܒܪܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܒܝܬܐ ܛܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܣܒ[5] ܠܗ ܗܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܡܥܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܟܕ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܚܝܝ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܝܬܐ ܥܠ. ܘܟܕ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܚܙܐ ܕܢܣܒ[6] ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܐܬܒܝܫܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܟܣܦܐ ܥܠ ܘܠܐܘܦܛܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܫܐܠ ܦܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ[7] ܕܫܡܥܬ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܬ. ܡܠܟܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܥܘܡܪܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܝ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܐܚܪܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܫܠܛܗ. ܠܝ[8] ܕܝܢ[9] ܠܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܩܪܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܫܒܘܩ. ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܩܢܝܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܀ ܘܟܕ

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[1] Add some such words as ܐܡܪ ܠܗ? [2] D ܕܠܝܣܛܠܝܐ
[3] D ܠܦܘܠܐ [4] BE ܕܠܐܘܦܛܪܐ, corr. in D to ܠܐܘܦܛܪܐ
[5] D ܠܡܣܒ [6] D ܐܝܟ [7] Read ܡܢ ܦܪܝܬܐ [8] D ܘܠܝ
[9] BCD omit ܕܝܢ

ܠܡܥܪܬܗ ܠܢܝܫܠܐ. ܢܦܫܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܟ. ܘܥܡ ܢܦܫ
ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܢܗ. ܥܡܗ ܡܬܚܒܪܐ ܠܡܣܦܠܘܬܗ
ܥܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܢܒܥܬܗ. ܘܐܦܢ ܕܡܣܦܠܘܬܗ ܟܕܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܠܢܝܫܠܐ
ܟܕ ܡܝܬ. ܘܥܒܕܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܢܝܫܘܡܘܬܗ ܠܟܝ. ܘܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
ܢܦܩܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܢܫܡܬܗ ܥܒܪܐ ܘܢܦܠܠ ܡܢ ܢܥܪܐ[1] ܠܐܠܝܫܘܥ
ܠܡܥܪܬܗ ܟܒܪ. ܘܐܦܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ[2] ܕܗܝܟܠܐ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܪ. ܟܕ ܕܡ ܠܢܝܫܘܡܘܬܗ ܡܢܗ. ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܡܢ
ܦܓܪܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܦܟ. ܘܐܠܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܐܬܦܪܫܬ ܘܢܦܩܬ. ܗܘ[3] ܘܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ
ܟܬܪ ܟܕܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܝܬ ܀ ܘܐܦܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܐܬܚܒܪܬ
ܘܐܬܚܫܟܬ ܗܘܬ ܫܡܫܐ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܘܥܐ ܐܬܨܪܝ.
ܘܟܕ ܟܬܒ ܕܟܕܐ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܕܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܕܫܘܥܐ
ܗܘܘ ܠܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܟܪܗ ܕܐܬܡܫܚܬܐ ܘܦܪܝܫܘܬܗ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܫܩܘܠܝܐ. ܥܠܝܟ ܢܦܠܫܘܬܗ ܘܐܬܟܪܘܬܗ ܘܫܘܬܗ ܢܘܗܪܗ[4]
ܠܗ ܀ ܐܬܚܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܥܡܪܐ ܕܟܦܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ[5] ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ
ܡܝܬܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܟܕܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ[6]. ܕܐܦܢ ܐܢܫܘܗ. ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܐܬܚܘܝܬ.[7] ܕܐܪܥܐ ܟܕܐܦܠܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܚܒܪܘܬܗ[8] ܘܟܢܫܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ
ܐܪܥܐ ܕܫܘܥܐ. ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܬܠܝܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܀ ܥܠ
ܢܦܫܬܗ[9] ܘܢܝܫܘܡܘܬܗ. ܘܐܠܝܫܘܥ ܘܦܓܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ: ܘܟܢܫܐ

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[1] D ܢܥܪܐ [2] Read ܠܦܓܪܐ [3] D ܘܗܘ [4] AE ܢܘܗܪ, and so B originally. [5] D ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ [6] At least write ܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ [7] DE ܐܬܚܘܝܘ [8] ADE ܘܐܬܚܒܪܘܬܐ [9] D ܢܦܫܬܐ

ܓܠܐ. ܘܠܢܝܩܢܘܪ ܘܦܝܠܘܛܘܣ[1] ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܚܘ. ܕܐܝܟܘ ܡܢ ܟܕܒ
ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܐ. ܟܗܢܐ ܦܘܪܘܣ. ܕܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܢܩܝܒܘܗܝ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܗܘܢ. ܗܟܝܢ
ܐܢܝܩܢܘܪ ܘܦܝܠܐܘܛܘܣ[2] ܡܢ ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܐ
ܕܟܠܗ ܢܚܬܘ. ܘܟܕ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܟܗ[3]
ܟܗܢܐ ܘܟܠ. ܕܗܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܟܕ ܚܙܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܦܢܐ.
ܗܟܝܢ ܢܦܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܗ ܣܓܝܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܟ. ܘܢܚܬ
ܓܒ ܕܬܣܡܬܐ[4] ܕܦܠܘܓܬܐ[5] ܕܩܘܡܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܚܙܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܠܗܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܟܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܟܕ ܣܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܟܦܘܠܘܣ[6] ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܘܟܕ ܫܕܪܗ ܕܠܐ
ܫܘܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܟܕܡܐ ܕܣܦܣܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܘܠܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܪܦܐ.
ܘܦܩܕܗ ܢܘܩܦܝܢ ܥܠܝ ܘܟܕ ܢܦܠܐ ܡܢܗ. ܘܢܫܬܠܛ ܒܗ
ܟܡܕܝܢܐ. ܘܫܕܪܗ[7] ܟܕ ܦܠܘܓܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢܗ ܡܢ
ܓܕܘ ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܟܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܚܕ
ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܘܟܠܐ. ܟܕܡܐ ܕܗܘ ܣܦܣܐ ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ
ܕܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܐܘܟܝܬ ܦܘܡܗ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܚܬܐ ܕܢܦܠܐ ܟܝܢܗܘܢ
ܠܓܒܗ. ܘܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܗ ܢܚܬܠܗ. ܢܦܩܝܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ

[1] For uniformity's sake we should read ܘܠܐܢܝܩܢܘܪ ܘܦܝܠܘܛܘܣ

[2] Read ܘܦܝܠܘܛܘܣ [3] ABCE omit ܒܪܟܗ

[4] In B there is the marginal gloss ܬܣܡܬܐ (Pers. تَسْمَه).

[5] BD have ܕܒܠܘܓܬܐ, but in B, ܒ is corrected into ܦ on the margin. Read ܕܦܠܘܓܬܐ [6] C ܕܡܬܢܒܪܐ ܟܦܘܠܘܣ [7] D ܐܫܕܪܗ

ܗܘܐ ܛܒܝܒܐ ܢܝܩܛܢܒܘܣ[1]. ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܝܡܦܝܕ[2]. ܕܐܬܬܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܕܐܒܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܣܡܟܐ ܢܝܩܛܢܒܘܣ. ܕܪܒܗ[3] ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ. ܕܒܒܠܐ ܛܪܝܡܛܝܩܘܣ[4]. ܕܐܡܝܢܐ ܦܝܠܘܬܘܣ. ܕܐܪܒܐ ܢܩܛܝܣ[5]. ܐܘܠܦ[6] ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܛܒܝܒܐ. ܘܕܐܬܐ ܘܕܗܠܐ. ܘܕܪܗܛܐ[7] ܕܐܪܒܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ[8]. ܦܝܗ[9] ܡܢ ܪܒܬܐ ܘܛܪܛܝܩܘܣ. ܘܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[10] ܪܡܩܘ ܟܠܗ ܘܦܝܢ. ܘܠܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܐܘܠܦ. ܗܢܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܪܒܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܛܒܝܒܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܛܒܝܒܐ ܢܝܫܬܐ. ܟܕ ܕܡܬܒܪܬܐ[11] ܦܠܝܠ ܠܢܝܩܠܐ[12] ܢܦܠ. ܘܕܐܬܒܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܦܫܠܝܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܕܬܗ ܕܒܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܛܠ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܦܟܐ ܕܛܘܪܝܐ ܘܡܩܘܪܝܗܝ[13] ܡܢ ܢܝܩܠܐ ܣܓܝ. ܗܢܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܢܣܒܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܠܢܝܩܠܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܢܬܒ ܠܡܠܟܘ ܛܪܘܣܘܣ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܒܪܗ[14] ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܣܐ ܕܡܬܦܢܝܢ[15] ܗܘܐ ܟܠܒܐ ܕܐܘܣܘܬ ܠܡܣܦܪ. ܛܪܘܣܘܣ ܠܡܪܕܟܬܗ

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[1] Read ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ [2] E ܐܠܡܦܝܕ [3] A ܘܪܒܗ

[4] Read ܛܪܝܦܛܛܘܣ [5] A ܢܩܛܝܣ. Read ܩܛܝܣ

[6] ABC ܐܘܠܦ [7] Read ܘܕܪܗܛܐ [8] BC ܕܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ

[9] ABCE ܕܦܝܗ. In D the ܕ is added a sec. manu.

[10] D ܘܩܛܢܒܘܣ. Read ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ [11] Read ܕܡܬܒܪܬܐ?

[12] BDE ܢܝܩܠܐ. But the sense requires ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 19, col. 2. [13] ABCE ܘܡܩܘܪܝܗܝ

[14] C adds ܗܘܐ [15] Read ܡܬܦܢܝܢ, without ܕ, as in D, where ܕ is added a sec. manu.

ܡܩܘܡܐ ܘܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ. ܦܩܘܕ[1] ܕܟܠܗ ܕܘܪܐ ܠܡܬܩܠܘ. ܘܟܕ ܕܘܪܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩ̈ܬܐ ܢܗܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܦܠܚܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܢܟܣ̈ܐ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܘܫܪ̈ܟܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܘܚ̈ܕܢܐ. ܐܢܫ̈ܐ[2] ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܡܘ̈ܬܐ ܢܦܠܘ ܐܬܘܗܝ. ܐܘܚܕܢ ܕܫܡ ܟܠ ܣܘܣܝ. ܟܕ ܡܣܝܟܘܢ ܒܕܡܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܬܪܗ[3] ܕܡ̈ܢܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܕ ܘܡܠܟ. ܘܐܬܬܚܝܕܘ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܬܐ ܗܢܘܢܝܐ[4]. ܗܢܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܐ ܒܢܡܘܣ ܕܡܕܡ ܐܬܕܒܪ. ܐܠܐ ܘܕܝܪܘܦܟܘܢ[5]. ܘܗܘܝ ܠܗܢܐ[6] ܦܪܘܦܟܘܢ. ܗܟܝܠ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܦܝܘ. ܘܦܩܕܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܬܩܛܠ ܢܣܒܬܐ ܣܠܘܩܝܘܣ ܒܗܕܝܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ[7] ܚܕ ܕܒܡܩܝܕܘܢ ܐܬܬܚܕ[8] ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܕܢܝܚ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪܘ. ܡܢܝܢ[9] ܟܠܚܕ ܚܕ ܒܫܘܒܚܗ ܚܕ ܣܠܩ ܚܕ. ܗܟܝܠ ܐܦ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܚܕ ܡܢܝܢ ܘܣܠܩܘܗܝ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܝ[10] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܕܘܪܐ ܦܝܘ. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܒܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܗܘܝ ܒܪܬܐ ܒܪܬܗ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܡܬܐ ܚܝܘ. ܡܢܚܬܐ ܠܕܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܠܝܡ ܗܘܘ. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܐ[11] ܚܕܡܐ ܠܡܕܘܢܐ ܢܣܟܬܐ ܢܫܬܐ ܢܦܘ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܘܢܐ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܘ. ܚܙܐ

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[1] Read ܦܩܕܘ [2] Read ܘܐܢܫܐ [3] ܘ seems to be superfluous.

[4] ABC have the marginal gloss ܗ̄. ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ

[5] Read ܘܕܝܪܘܦܟܘܢ? [6] Read ܠܡܠܟܐ? [7] MSS. ܕܗܘ

[8] E ܕܡܩܝܕܘܢ [9] ABCE omit ܐܡܪܘ; D ܐܡܪܘ ܣܠܩ

[10] D ܗܘܝ [11] Something has perhaps been omitted before ܟܠܗܘܢ

ܕܢܬܡܟܟܘܢ ܘܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ[1] ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ ܠܒܝܬܗ. ܡܢ
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܣܬܦܠܓܘܬܗ
ܠܗܘܐ ܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ ܕܢܫܬܠܛܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ
ܕܗܘܐ ܠܡܦܩܐ ܢܦܩ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܘܐܬܦܪܩ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܩܪܒ[2] ܕܗܘܐ
ܕܝܢ. ܘܠܘܩܒܠ[3] ܕܝܠܗ ܠܦܘܠܡܐ ܗܢܘ. ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܗ. ܕܡܢܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ. ܘܟܕ ܠܘܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܕܝܢ
ܕܒܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܘܠܡܐ ܗܢܘ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܝ
ܘܗܘ ܐܬܬܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܠ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܟܢ ܢܦܩܬ
ܒܠܒܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܐ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܗ[4] ܕܢܦܩܘܗ ܢܦܠܝܢ. ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܟܠ ܕܒܠܘܗܝ ܩܡ[5]. ܘܢܦܩ ܠܡܩܛܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܫܬܘܕܥܬ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܚܣ. ܗܟܢ ܒܠܒܘܗܝ ܕܪܘܚܗ[6]. ܟܠܗ
ܒܝܕ[7] ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܬܬܚܝܠ ܘܢܦܠ. ܒܕܡܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܐܬܡܠܟ.
ܘܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܠܒܘܗܝ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܐܝܟ. ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܒܫܐ[8] ܕܪܘܡܝܐ
ܢܦܩ. ܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܝܣܐ[9] ܒܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܢܦܩܘܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ[10]

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[1] Read ܘܢܦܩ, and omit the point after ܠܒܝܬܗ? [2] Add ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ?
[3] ABCE ܘܩܪܒ [4] There seems to be some omission here, as the words ܕܢܦܩܘܗ ܢܦܠܝܢ can hardly apply to Alexander, and besides, the subject of the following verb ܩܡ is Nicolaus. Evidently there should be a full stop at ܠܡܪܕܘܬܗ [5] D ܥܒܪ ܘܩܡ
[6] Rather ܕܗܘܬܗ [7] MSS. ܒܝܕ [8] MSS. ܕܡܠܒܫܐ
[9] Read ܦܝܣܐ, here and below. [10] D ܐܢܘܢ

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ܡܣܒܩܝܢ[1] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܝܒܪ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ[2]. ܘܠܒܪܒܪܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܒܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܣܡܝܟܝܢ. ܕܐܟܝܢ ܢܫܝܗܘܢ. ܕܗܠܝܢ ܣܒܥܐܘܗܝ. ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ. ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܫܠܝܛܘܬܗܘܢ. ܕܚܝܠ ܕܦܠܓܐܘܗܝ. ܕܚܟܡܐ ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܢܦܩܬܐ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܘܕܐܠܝܢ ܘܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ. ܡܪܟܒܬܗ ܕܟܘܫܝܬܐ[3] ܐܬܐܬܘܢܝܐ. ܘܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܘܦܪܫܐ[4] ܒܗܕ ܟܪܘܒܘܢ ܢܦܠܘ. ܗܟܝܠ ܢܦܩܝܢܘܗܝ ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܠܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܐܦܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܢܒܝܪ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܬܐܬܝܠ ܒܗ ܒܡܪܟܒܬܗ. ܗܘ[5] ܕܟܘܫܝܬܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܫܘܪܝܐܘܗܝ[6] ܟܕ ܢܦܩ[7] ܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܡܨܝ ܕܢܒܝܪ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܟܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ[8] ܗܘܐ ܒܡܪܟܒܬܗ ܕܫܘܪܝܐܘܗܝ[9] ܐܬܐܬܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܢܦܠ. ܘܫܠܝܛܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܕܟܘܫܝܬܗ[10] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܡܨܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܢ ܒܟܘܫܝܬܗ ܟܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܢܦܠ. ܗܟܝܠ ܢܒܝܪܬܐ[11] ܗܘܬ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܗܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܘܗܝ ܐܬܐܘܗܝ ܗܘܬ. ܢܦܩ ܗܘܬ ܕܐܦ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܣܒܝܪܗ[12]. ܘܗܘ ܡܢ ܒܟܘܫܝܬܗ ܢܗܘܐ

[1] D ܡܣܒܩܝܢ, read ܡܣܒܪܝܢ [2] Read ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ, here and below.
[3] D ܕܟܘܫܝܬܐ [4] Read ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܘܦܪܫܐ [5] Omit ܗܘ
[6] Evidently a mistake for ܫܘܪܝܐܘܗܝ, AB ܫܘܪܝܐܘܗܝ [7] D ܟܕ ܢܦܩ [8] ABCE ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪ in two words. [9] Read ܕܫܘܪܝܐܘܗܝ
[10] Read ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܠܟܘܫܝܬܗ [11] D ܢܒܝܪܬܐ
[12] D ܣܒܝܪܗ. Perhaps ܕܐܦ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܢܒܝܪ?

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ܕܡܢ ܣܘܪ̈ܝܛܘܣ. ܕܡܢ ܢ̈ܝܣܛܝܩܘܣ[1]. ܐܣܝܡܛܪ̈ܝܓܘܣ.
ܚܒܝܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܘܡܢܝܐ. ܗܦܝܠܛܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܠܡ̈ܛܝܐ. ܐܠܦ̈ܘܪܘܢ
ܕܡܢ ܦܘܦܝܕܘܣ. ܐܪܡܝܛܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܕܝܐ. ܐܣܝܣܢܡܘܣ ܕܡܢ
ܣܪܡܛܝܘܣ. ܦܪܕܝܣ ܕܡܢ ܣܠܘܩܝܐ. ܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܟܕܐ
ܕܦܩܕ ܚܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܡܘ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܦܪܫܐ ܡܢܝܢܗ ܟܡ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ.
ܐܦ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܦܐ ܕܦܪܫܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ ܗܘܬ. ܘܩܪܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ
ܕܡܥܕ̈ܪܢܘܬܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܣܝܡܘ ܩܪ̈ܒܐ ܥܠ ܗܕ̈ܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܦܝܫܐ ܕܗܕ̈ܐ[2] ܗܘ ܡܕܡܐ ܠܐܣܟܠܝܣܘܣ. ܕܗܕܝܢ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܐܢܛܝܓܢܐ ܐܘܗܘܝܬܐ. ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܫܡܥܐ
ܠܐܪܩܠܝܛܘܣ[3]. ܕܝܗܒ ܠܓܝܘܡܝܘܣ. ܕܥܕܢܐ ܠܥܘܕܝܬܘܣ.
ܕܗܘܢܐ ܠܐܠܩܣܢܕܪܘܣ[4]. ܕܗܢܐ ܠܝܘܡܘܣ[5]. ܐܬܠܒܢܘ
ܗܢܠ ܐܬܠܒܢܐ ܠܕܘܟܐ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ ܩܘܝܢ. ܠܓܒ ܗܘ ܕܡܣܐ.
ܒܕܡܘܬ ܠܘܢ ܟܦܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܗܕܝܢ ܘܕܗܠܝܢ ܠܕܘܟܐ ܕܘܣܦܘܪ̈ܐ.
ܘܗܘ ܕܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܠܕܘܟܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣܐ[6]. ܘܗܘ ܕܫܡܥܐ ܘܕܝܗܒ ܠܕܘܟܐ
ܕܟܦܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܥܕܢܐ ܠܕܘܟܐ ܕܣܘܢܩܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܘܕܗܢܐ.
ܠܕܘܟܐ ܕܐܪܠܗܘܢ ܀ ܘܫܠܡܘ ܗܘܠ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܩܪܐ
ܒܥܕ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܕ̈ܝܢ. ܘܐܬܠܚܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܠܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܒܠܘܛܐ ܘܒܥܒ̈ܠܠܐ
ܕܝܗ̈ܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܒܐ ܢܦܩܘ[7] ܘܡܩܒܠܘ ܪ̈ܘܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܕ

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[1] Read ܐܪ̈ܛܝܩܘܣ [2] ABCE ܗܕ̈ܐ [3] E ܠܐܪܩܠܝܛܘܣ
[4] ABCE ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [5] E ܠܝܘܡܘܣ [6] AE ܕܦܪ̈ܣܐ,
B ܕܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ, D ܕܦܪ̈ܣܐ [7] This word seems to be corrupt.
Perhaps ܢܦܩܘ, or ܫܡܥܘ?

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ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܢܐ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܢܫܩܠܘܢ. ܘܡܢܗ ܡܩܘܡܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܚܘܣܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ. ܘܒܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܘܢܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܡܢ. ܕܐܦ ܒܗܘܐ ܗܟܘܬܐ ܡܢܝܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ. ܒܙܒܢܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܘܡܬܒܥܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐܬܪܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܟ ܘܠܐܢܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܐܬܪܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ[1] ܕܒܘܦܝܒ[2] ܡܬܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܡܚ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܟܪܗ ܒܝܬܗ ܀

XIX ܘܒܬܘܡܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܒܪܗܛܐ ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܠܒܗ ܪܗܛܐ ܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܙܠܗ. ܘܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ[3] ܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܒܝܘܡܢܐ[4] ܗܟܢܐ. ܘܐܬܒܥܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܐܣܝܪܘܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܣܡܝܟܐ[5] ܢܫܩܠܘܢ ܒܪ ܦܠܓܐ ܘܦܪܥܢܐ[6] ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܒܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ[7] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܡܢܝܢܐ ܒܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ[8] ܕܒܪܐܘܢܐ[9] ܘܗܡܢܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܗܡܢܝܢܐ ܦܝܫܘ ܐܪܡܢܝܛܝܣ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܛܝܛܐ[10]. ܘܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[11]. ܫܠܝܦܘܗ

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[1] ABCE ܟܠܗܝܢ [2] BC ܕܒܘܩܝܒ, E ܕܒܘܦܝܒ. In D, ܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܒܘܦܝܒ is glossed by ܗ.ܡܘܡܐ ܕܒܘܩܣ

[3] D omits ܕܝܢ [4] D ܒܝܘܡܐ ܐܬܠܝܛܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ [5] Here the translator has blundered sadly; see Müller, p. 19. [6] AE ܘܦܪܥܢܐ

[7] BC ܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ, D ܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ, E ܢܝܩܘܠܐܘܣ [8] BC omit ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ...... ܡܠܟܐ [9] D ܕܒܪܐܘܢܐ [10] Evidently corrupt. Possibly ܕܐܪܡܢܝܛܝܛܐ [11] BC omit the second ܐܡܪ

ܦܘܡܗܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܘܣܘܓܗܘܢ ܠܓܙܘܠܝܬܐ[1] ܠܐ ܪܡܝܐ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܚܙܐ ܓܢܒܪܐ[2] ܡܢ ܚܕܪܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܕܚܠ ܠܐ ܣܡܐ ܠܝ ܕܐܪܡܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܀ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܒܪܗ ܐܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܢܛܠܬܗܘܢ. ܕܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܘܪܒܐ. ܠܡܣܘܪ ܐܠܦܐ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܠܡܩܛܠܘ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܢ ܬܘܒ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܠ ܠܡܬܡܢ ܘܠܡܬܒܪ: ܡܘܬܒܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ. ܕܐܢܐ ܠܗ[3] ܠܐ ܗܦܟܬ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܫܘܡ ܕܪܫܐ ܒܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܒܛܘܠܡܢܐ. ܘܒܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܗܘܢܐ ܘܦܪܫܐ ܐܢܐ[4]. ܒܛܘܠܡܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܡܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܡܝܢ. ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܒܠܗܘ ܐܢܛܘܦܛܝܐ[5] ܀ ܘܟܝܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܗܘܐ ܘܚܘܒ ܕܪܕܐ ܕܘܗܘܢ ܠܢܟܝܐ ܕܒܦܩܐ ܡܚܐ. ܕܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܓܒܪܐ[6] ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܒܗ ܢܦܠ ܠܡܬܡܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܝ: ܢܬܟܠܘܢ[7] ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܠܟܘܡܪܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܦܠܓܗ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠ ܘܠܓܢܒ. ܘܡܠܟ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܘܐܡܪ. ܘܠ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܓܒܪ ܒܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܓܒܝ[8] ܐܢܐ. ܘܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܪܦܝܐ[9] ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘܝܘ. ܘܟܕ[10] ܗܘܐ ܥܒܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ.

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[1] D ܠܓܙܗܠܝܬܐ, E ܠܓܙܐܗܠܝܬܐ [2] B ܓܢܒܪܐ [3] BC add ܒܗܡ
[4] ABCE omits ܐܢܐ [5] ABCE ܐܛܘܦܛܝܐ [6] D ܘܒܗܘܢܐ
[7] D ܒܢܬܟܠܘܢ [8] D ܦܓܝ [9] Read ܘܐܦܠܓܐ
[10] Read ܟܕ, without ܘ?

ܕܝܢ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܕܟܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܝܬܘܬܐ ܢܟܦܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܡܠܐ ܢܟܝܦ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܚܣܘܟܐ ܩܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ: ܚܕܐ ܐܡܪ. ܕܗܘܐ ܦܢܝܘ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܝܟܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܕܪ. ܘܟܕ ܒܠܟ ܕܒܪܗ ܗܘ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܐ. ܚܕܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܥܠܝܡܐ[1] ܚܟܝܡ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܦܩܕ ܠܗ. ܥܠܝܡܐ ܢܟܝܡ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܬ[2] ܟܕ ܐܢܬ.
ܒܐܠܦܐܘܣ[3] ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟ ܦܢܝܘ ܥܠܝܡܐ ܥܕܠ ܐܢܬ. ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܐܠܦܐܘܣ
ܕܗܘܠܝܢ. ܘܡܢܗ ܕܐܩܪܢܢܐ[4] ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ
ܟܗܢܐ ܘܬܬܬܒܢ[5] ܒܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܡܬܠܡܠܡܢ ܠܟܪ ܡܢ
ܬܪܬܝܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܩܢܝܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܟܦ ܐܢܬ.
ܐܦ ܠܝܬ ܠܟܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܝ. ܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ. ܟܣܝܐ ܕܡܦܩܢܐ ܠܐ
ܡܫܟܚܐ. ܐܢܬ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܚܢܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܩܪܢܢ[6] ܕܐܦ ܗܘ[7]
ܕܟܢ[8] ܡܬܒܢܐ ܘܡܠܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܘܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܐܠܦܐܘܣ.
ܢܬܦܪܫ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ ܠܡܦܩܕ ܠܠܥܕ. ܘܐܘܪܚܗ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܢ ܗܘܐ
ܐܦܘܗܝ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܗܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚܝܢ ܐܦܠܐ[9]
ܡܬܒܢܐ ܀ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܟܠ ܐܣܘܪܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܘܪܚܣ. ܘܒܡܛܠ
ܡܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ. ܠܣܘܓܐ ܕܐܬܘܬܐ. ܘܐ ܠܡܬܠܡܕܘ.

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[1] BC ܥܠܝܡܝ [2] ABCE ܐܢܐ [3] ABCE ܘܐܠܦܐܘܣ

[4] ܩܪܢܢܐ seems to spring from a decapitated Ἀκαρνάνων (ܐܩܪܢܢܐ), but the present Greek texts (Müller, p. 18) give no clue to the origin of ܕܗܘܠܝܢ [5] So the MSS., but perhaps corrupt.

[6] DE ܕܩܪܢܘܢ [7] ABC ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ [8] D omits ܕܟܢ

[9] D ܘܐܦܠܐ

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ܘܡܠܟܘܬܝ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܕܐܒܐ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢ
ܕܠܢܦܩܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܒܥܝܬܐ ܕܢܦܩܬ ܫܢܐ. ܘܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܚܟܝܡܐ
ܢܗܘܐ. ܘܠܒܟ ܒܡܦܩܢܐ[1] ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܢܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܐܢܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܀ ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܒܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ
ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܒ ܠܝ. ܘܡܫܬܠܛܢܘܬܐ[2] ܢܬܠ. ܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܐܒܐ
ܡܦܩܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܐ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ. ܟܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܚܘܕܝ ܐܪܟܒ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܗܟܝܠ
ܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܚܒܩܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܫܩܗ ܘܐܫܬܪܪܗ
ܒܗ ܐܬܐܡܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܟܕ ܡܠܟܘܬܟ[3] ܢܨܒܝܢ ܒܗܘܐ.
ܘܥܒܕ ܠܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܐܘܠ. ܘܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܟܬܐ[4] ܠܡܦܩܗ. ܘܦܩܕ
ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܣܘܣܘܬܐ ܘܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ. ܘܢܦܩܘ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡܗ ܕܠܟܬܐ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܡ ܐܦܣܛܝܘܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܥܡܗ ܕܠܟܬܐ ܢܦܩܘ[5].
ܘܠܐܪܟܐ ܐܬܘ ܡܛܝܘ[6] ܠܦܝܣܘܢ[7] ܐܘܠܡ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܟܬܐ
ܐܬܢܚܘ. ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܘܗܝ ܢܦܩܘ ܗܘܘ.
ܘܠܡܪܟܒܬܗܘܢ ܦܩܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܡܘܪܩܐ ܘܐܬܚܒܫܐ ܢܣܒܘܢ.
ܘܗܘ ܐܦܣܛܝܘܢ[8] ܚܒܪܗ. ܠܟܠ ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܕܢܝܪܐ ܐܘܠ ܀ ܘܟܕ
ܒܡܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܡܥܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܗܟܝܠ ܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܘܢܝܐ[9] ܐܢܐ ܕܠܐܪܟܐ ܘܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܥܒܪܐ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ.
ܟܕ ܚܙܝܗܝ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܘܣܩܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܝܩܠܐܘܣ

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[1] ABCE ܒܡܘܬܪ̈ܐ. In the Greek, *γύμναζε σεαυτὸν ἐπιμελέστερον.*

[2] D ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܛܢܐ [3] Add ܐܝܟ? [4] Read ܐܠܟܬܐ [5] E ܢܦܩܘ

[6] Read ܘܡܛܘ ܠܦܝܣܐ [7] D ܦܝܣܘܢܘܣ [8] Read ܘܗܘ ܐܦܣܛܝܘܢܘܣ

[9] In the Greek Nicolaus is *ὁ υἱὸς* Ἀρείου (var. Ἀρδέου) *βασιλέως* Ἀκαρνάνων (Müller, p. 18, col. 1).

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ܕܢܦܩܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܢܦܠܬ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ. ܕܐܢܫܘܬ ܦܘܬܐ
ܕܠܝܬ ܗܪܟܐ ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܒܪܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܘܒܚܗܘܢ[1]. ܘܗܘܒ ܗܟܢ
ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܠܡܘܢ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܗܟܢ ܠܐ
ܡܬܦܫܩܝܢܗܘܢ ܀

XVIII ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܣܘܠܩܗ
ܗܦܟ. ܘܠܒܫܐ ܒܥܘܒܕܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗ
ܘܐܡܗ. ܗܝܕܝܢ[2] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬܪܗ ܐܡܪ. ܕܢܦܘܩ ܠܝ
ܐܒܐ. ܕܢܐܙܠ[3] ܐܢܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܣ ܠܦܝܣܐܘܣ[4] ܐܢܐ ܘܐܬܚܘܐ
ܘܐܦܣ ܠܗܘ ܐܦܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܠܝܣܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܐܣܛܘܢܐ[5]. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ
ܐܒܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܘܡܝ ܠܐܣܛܘܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ. ܘܒܪܘܟܐ
ܘܡܪܘܟܬܐ ܒܡܗܘܢ ܐܬܦܢܝ. ܟܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܚܠܝܐ ܕܙܒܢܬܐ
ܢܦܩܐ ܠܝ[6] ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܚܕܝ. ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܡܪ ܙܠ ܒܪܝ. ܘܟܬܝܒܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܙܠ. ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܝ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܢܫ
ܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܦܬܟܪ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܥܘܡܪܗ. ܘܠܐܠܗܐ
ܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܬܘܩܦܬܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܒܪܝ : ܗܟܢ ܚܙܝ ܠܒܗ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܘܡܬܒܠܐ
ܕܥܒܕܐ[7] ܐܕܪܝܢ ܘܡܬܠܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܚܟܝܡ. ܘܝܬܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܦܠܘܓܬܐ

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[1] In D ܫܘܒܚܗܘܢ comes after ܐܠܗܝܢ [2] D ܗܝܕܝܢ
[3] D ܘܢܐܙܠܐ [4] Gr. εἰς Πίσαν. Therefore read ܘܠܦܝܣܐܘܣ (accus. plur.), deleting ܠܐܦܣܘܣ [5] D ܐܘ ܠܐܣܛܘܢܐ
[6] BC omit ܠܝ [7] B omits ܕܥܒܕܐ. We might venture to read ܘܗܒ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܕܪܝܢ

ܡܢ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܝ ܗܢܐ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ
ܐܡܗ. ܒܗܕܐ ܘܐܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ. ܕܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܛܠ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
ܡܬܒܪܢܝܬ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܦܠܛ
ܠܗ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܒܘܕܩܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ[1]. ܘܐܢܐ
ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܓܪܗ ܢܝܠܦ ܡܘܠܦܢܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܗ
ܠܐ ܡܬܢܟܦܝܢ. ܐܦܠܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܡܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ. ܕܠܝܕܥܬܗ
ܡܬܝܕܥܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܐ. ܒܝܕܥܬܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܐ ܢܬܚܫܒܐ ܘܢܬܚܫܒܐ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܠܝܡ ܂ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ.
ܢܬܢܬ ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܫܪܝ ܦܘܠܡܐ ܫܢܝܢ: ܟܕ ܒܪܗ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܒܪܝ ܘܪܒܝ ܘܡܠܦܢܝ ܗܢܐ.
ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܬ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܠܗ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ.
ܘܐܦܠܐ ܠܗ ܢܬܠܝܢ. ܘܣܠܩ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܘܕܥ ܗܘܬ ܕܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ
ܕܘܟܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܢܬܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܝܕܝܗܘܢ. ܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܡܬܢܟܦܝܢ
ܡܬܢܟܦܝܢ ܂ ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ
ܘܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܟܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ: ܟܕ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܫܠܡ. ܗܘ ܡܕܡ
ܕܐܡܪ ܕܠܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܘܢܚܬܘܢ[2] ܠܗ ܢܬܕܪܟܘܢ[3] ܠܐ ܐܬܐ.
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܢܐ. ܐܦܠܐ[4] ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܠܬܐ ܢܦܩܬܗ.
ܐܦ ܗܝ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܫܠܡܬ. ܘܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ
ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܠ ܐܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܥܠܬܐ ܘܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ

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[1] BC write this clause twice. E ܠܝ [2] BE ܘܢܚܬܘܢ
[3] D ܡܬܕܪܟܘܢ [4] D ܐܦ

ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܙܕܝܩܘܬܗ. ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܠܝ ܐܘܪܒ. ܕܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܠܢܩܫܘܬܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܝܢܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܘܕܥܐ
ܩܛܠܐ ܗܘܐ: ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܪܒ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܫܠܡܝܢ ܕܡܟ
ܘܡܟܝܟ. ܘܥܒܕ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܀ ܗܘܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܥܒܪ
ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ. ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܕ ܐܡܗ.
ܘܦܘܫ ܫܠܡܐ ܥܡܟ. ܕܟܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܝ ܠܝ ܥܒܕܬ[1] ܕܗܘܐ
ܕܢܨܚܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܝ
ܝܕܥܬ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܒܝܬܗܘܢ. ܕܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܐܬܘܗܝ ܢܓܝܪܬܐ ܘܡܚܠܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ ܒܝܪܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܟ
ܚܠܝܬܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܐܦ ܠܡܛܠ ܡܬܩܒܠ
ܗܘܬ. ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܒܘܕܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܬ ܗܘܬ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܦܩܕܝܢܘܗܝ[2] ܠܗ. ܗܘ ܗܘ ܫܬܩ ܗܘܬ ܀
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܗ ܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܝܗܒܘܗܝ ܦܪܓܠܐ[3]
ܒܙܕܩܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܘܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܕ ܠܘܝܬܗܘܢ ܪܒܢ ܫܠܡ. ܚܙܝ ܟܠ ܨܒܘܬܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܬ[4] ܠܝ ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܡܠܦܢܗ
ܟܬܒܢ ܘܐܘܕܥܢ. ܘܦܘܫ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܠܟܘܢ. ܢܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܝܚܘܗܝ
ܠܟ. ܐܢܬ ܗܒܠ ܡܢܬܗ ܘܡܘܗܒܬܗ[5] ܘܐܝܟ ܩܠܝܠ ܕܙܕܩܐ ܠܟ ܀
ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܢܓܚ ܡܢܗ. ܟܬܒ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܫܡ ܐܘܪܒ ܒܗ.

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[1] BC omit ܘܥܒܕܬ [2] D ܕܦܩܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ [3] ABC ܦܪܓܠܬܐ
[4] ADE ܕܟܬܒ [5] C ܘܡܘܗܒܬܗ

ܚܙܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܟܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ. ܘܦܬܟܪܐ ܡܕܟܪܢܐ ܦܩܕܝܢ ܠܗ.
ܘܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܐܡܪ ܥܠܡܐ ܢܦܩ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܣܒ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܝܕܝܥ ܐܢܬ. ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܬ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܝܥ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܚܕܝ
ܛܒ. ܒܬܪܟܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܢܠܝܠ. ܗܟܢ ܕܫܘܝܬܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܥܝܠܗ ܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܬ ❖ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[1]
ܕܝܢ ܥܡܝܕ[2] ܒܡܠܦܢܐ ܢܦܛܠܝܣ. ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ
ܘܐܡܪܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܢܩܫܬܐ ܡܬܕܪܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ: ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܢܩܫܬܐ
ܡܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ❖ ܗܕܝܢ ܘܙܝܬܘܣ[3] ܦܕܓܘܓܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܣ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪܟ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܗܘ.
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܘܠܘܡܦܝܐܣ ܡܠܟܐ̈. ܡܢ ܙܝܬܘܣ ܦܕܓܘܓܟܘܢ
ܫܠܡ. ܒܪܟܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܕܢܩܫܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ[4] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܬܕܪܫ ܒܪܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܠܟܐ[5] ܒܡܘܣܝܩܝ̈ܐ
ܡܦܠܓ: ܐܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܚܘܪܐ ܘܚܘܪܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ.[6] ܘܐܢ
ܡܕܡ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܘܘ ❖ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ
ܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܪܐ. ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ ܡܠܦܢܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܒܡܠܬܐ ܗܟܢ. ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܐܪܣܛܛܠܝܣ
ܫܠܡ. ܘܒܪܗ ܕܝܢ ܗܟܢ. ܕܢܣܒ ܠܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܝܐ[7] ܘܠܡܪܕܘܬܐ

[1] The Greek text of this passage seems to be no longer extant, but Müller gives a Latin version (Pseudo-Call. p. 16). [2] Add ܗܘܐ
[3] Possibly Zethus, Ζῆθος. The Latin version has *Zeuxis*.
[4] D ܗܢܝܢ [5] D ܕܠܡܠܟܐ [6] D ܘܚܘܪܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ
[7] Read ܠܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ?

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ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܕܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܟ. ܐܢܫ ܡܫܠܛܝܢ ܐܢܫ. ܘܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܥܒܕܬܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܀

XVII[1] ܘܢܦܩ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܠܘܩܘܣܐ ܗܘ ܐܕܪܝܟܐ. ܢܦܩܘ[2] ܘܠܘܬܗ ܐܘܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܦܠܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܐܢܛܝܓܢܘܣ[3] ܚܟܝܡܐ ܣܦܪܐ. ܘܫܐܠܗ ܕܐܕܪܝܛܠܝܣ ܫܐܠ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܫܐܠܬܐ ܚܕܐ[4] ܦܠܝܣ. ܘܐܕܪܝܛܠܝܣ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܦ ܫܐܠܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܚܕܐ ܘܗܘܝܬ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܢܚܟܡ ܒܡܠܬܐ: ܘܗܘ ܦܩܕ ܟܕ ܫܡܥܘܗܝ ܟܕ ܐܕܪܝܛܠܝܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.[5] ܠܡܩܒܠ ܒܪ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܟܡܐ ܢܦܠܐ ܡܬܡܪܐ. ܕܠܐ[6] ܬܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܩܡܝܥܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܠܟ ܡܢܐ ܬܪܥܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܡܩܒܠ ܐܢܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܦܠܦܠܐ. ܩܕܡܘ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܠܟ ܡܢܐ. ܠܝ ܡܩܪܒܝܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ: ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬ ܡܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܦܠܦܠܘܬܐ. ܟܕ ܦܠܦܠܘܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܩܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܟܕ ܐܢܬܐ: ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬ ܡܢܐ ܬܘܗܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܦܪܣܝܣ. ܘܐܡܪ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܟܕ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܘܡܬܐܡܪܐ: ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܢܬ ܡܢܐ ܬܘܗܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥ ܠܐ ܡܫܐܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܩܢܢ ܕܡܠܟ ܡܢܘ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܢ. ܗܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܐܢ ܚܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܘ. ܐܢ ܕܝܢ

[1] This is Chap. XVI of the Greek text (Müller, p. 15).

[2] ABCE ܘܢܦܩܗ

[3] D ܐܕܪܝܛܘܛܠܝܣ generally.

[4] B omits ܚܕܐ

[5] The Greek text has πρὸς ἕνα αὐτῶν. D ܠܚܕ

[6] ܕ seems to be superfluous.

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ܒܥܘܡܩܗ. ܘܗܘ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܐܚܕܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܒܫ
ܗܘܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܪܟܒ ܗܘܐ ܚܨܗ. ܘܠܐ ܐܠܨܗܝ[1]
ܠܡܚܫܒܬܗ. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܫܠܡ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܐܫܬܡܥ. ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܒܠܗ ܡܚܪܗ ܒܚܝܠܐ. ܘܐܦܩܘܗܝ
ܠܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܦܠܦܠܐ
ܠܟܠܝ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܐܝܕܗ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܡܫܝܟ[2] ܗܘܐ ܠܥܘܡܩܗ. ܕܝܢ ܘܟܕ
ܕܝܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ. ܕܥܡܗ ܠܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܗܘܝܐ ܫܠܡܝܬ ܗܘܬ. ܒܟܠܗ ܐܬܪܗ.
ܘܠܥܘܠܐ ܢܦܩܬܗ. ܢܦܩ ܥܠ ܚܨܗ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܥܘܡܩܗ.
ܘܒܥܩܘܒ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܦܠܓܐ[3] ܗܘܬ. ܘܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܐ
ܐܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܒܥܘܡܩܗ ܢܦܩ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܠܛ ܘܐܬܪܗ. ܘܡܫܬܥܒܕ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܦܠܦܠܐ ܥܠ ܥܘܪܐ
ܕܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܥܡܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܪܘܡܗܘܢ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܬܐܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܘܪܐ ܥܡܗ ܕܝܢ[4]. ܡܫܠܛ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
ܬܫܘܡܐ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܦܠܦܠܘܗ ܥܠ ܥܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܘܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܫܠܛܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܠܦܠܘܗ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܐܝܕܗ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܥܠ ܕܠܠܘܗܝ ܥܘܪܐ
ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܠܗ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܡܫܠܛܗ ܗܘ.

[1] Read ܪܟܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܚܨܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܠܨܗܝ. AB have ܠܚܨܗ

[2] ADE ܡܫܝܟ [3] E ܦܠܓܐ [4] D ܕܝܢ

XVI[1] ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܕܠܚܡܫܬܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ
ܕܢܡܛܝ ܠܦܠܓܘ[2] ܠܒܘܣܡܐ ܠܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ ܐܘܠ[3]. ܘܪܕܝܗ ܚܙܐ
ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܘܢܒܚ. ܘܟܕ ܐܚܝܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܝܓܐ[4] ܕܦܪܙܠܐ
ܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܘܒܝܬܟܠܐ[5] ܟܠܗ ܠܡܥܡܠܗ ܐܚܝܕ ܗܘܐ. ܘܢܦܩܗ
ܠܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܠܓ ܦܣܝܪ[6] ܘܡܠܝܪ[7]. ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܒܣܪܐ
ܕܐܢܫܐ ܘܕܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܟܠ ܗܘܐ. ܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܦܘܡܗ ܕܚܙܐ ܗܦܪܐ ܡܣܘܐ ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܬܫܥܝܬܗ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܗܦܟܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܒܐܠܠܗܘܢ ܡܟܪܟ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܬܘܪܗܛܝܢ ܒܗ. ܕܡܚܙܐ ܗܝ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܣܘܣܝܐ
ܕܒܗܢܐ ܘܢܐ ܐܚܝܕ. ܦܬܚܐ ܕܪܕܝܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܦܬܚ ܠܗ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܣܘܣܝܐ[8]. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܡܛܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܟ[9]
ܦܘܡܗ. ܘܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܣܝܓܐ[10] ܕܦܪܙܠܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܗ ܘܡܟܒܫܗ
ܘܡܦܩܕܗ ܕܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܘ ܡܬܦܪܦܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܕܡܛܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܚܙܐ ܚܙܘܗ. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܠܐ ܕܚܠ ܒܗ.
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܒܣܠܩܐ ܠܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܣܝܓܐ ܐܚܠ. ܘܦܠܓܝܐ ܐܬܒܥ

[1] This is Chap. XVII of the Greek text (Müller, p. 16).
[2] D ܦܠ. Apparently corrupt. There is nothing like it in the Greek. [3] Some words seem to have dropped out, corresponding to the Greek ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Βουκέφαλος ἵππος ἐγκεκλεισμένος (Müller, p. 16, col. 2). [4] MSS. ܒܣܝܓܠܐ [5] BDE ܕܟܝܬܟܠܐ. The construction of the text, if correct, is very awkward. [6] D adds ܗܘܐ [7] These words are glossed in B by ܚܝܪܐ and ܚܣܪܐ
[8] D ܣܘܣܝܐ ܗܢܐ [9] B ܥܡܟܗ [10] MSS. ܣܝܓܠܐ, here and below.

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ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܡܛܟܐ[1] ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܕܡܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܫܘܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܣܟܡܗ[2]. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܩܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܡܘܢ ܒܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܕܝܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܩܝܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܀

XV ܗܟܝܠ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܙܠ ܦܝܬ. ܘܫܐܠ[3] ܠܒܕܘܗܝ ܠܕܠܦܘܣ[4] ܠܘܬ ܦܘܠܝܦܘܣ ܩܘܡܐ[5]. ܕܡܢܗ ܡܢ ܩܘܡܐ ܢܬܠܘܢ. ܕܢܐܙܠ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܐܠܗ[6] ܗܘܘ ܠܦܝܬܐ[7] ܕܣܘܦܝܣܛܐ ܩܝܡܐ. ܐܬܠܗ ܦܘܡܐ. ܦܝܬܘܢ[8] ܕܝܢ ܒܗܦܟܐ ܥܡܗ ܘܐܡܪܐ[9] ܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܡܪܘ[10] ܠܐܒܘܗܝ[11] ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܥܠܝܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܣܒ ܥܠܡܐ. ܠܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܢܘܡܐ ܠܗ. ܟܕ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܦܝܠܐ[12] ܡܕܝܢܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܦܘܩܠܦܘܣ[13]. ܕܡܬܩܦܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܘܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܕܐܬܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܩܘܡܐ. ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܢܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܢܦܩ. ܠܗܢܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܡܪܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ܦܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܝܢܬ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܡܪܢ[14] ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܀

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1 D ܡܛܟܣ 2 E ܕܐܣܟܡܗ 3 D ܘܫܐܠ ܒܕܒܘܗܝ 4 MSS. ܠܕܠܦܘܣ ܦܠܦܘܣ ܠܘܬ ܠܕܠܦܘܣ

5 Apparently the translator misunderstood the words ἡ δὲ κατὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἱέρεια (Müller, p. 15). 6 ABC ܫܐܠ 7 Read ܘܠܦܝܬܐ?

8 ἡ Πυθία. 9 D ܘܐܡܪܬ 10 BCE ܐܡܪܘ 11 A ܠܐܒܘܗܝ

12 Read ܦܝܠܐ, Πέλλη. 13 D ܦܘܩܠܦܘܣ 14 A ܘܐܡܪܢ

ܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܐܢܫ ܒܪܐ ܕܢܦܠ. ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܕܐܪܕܘܐܝܠܘܣ ܠܐ ܬܒܥܝܢ ܢܦܫܟ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܟܬܦܗ. ܗܢܘ
ܕܝܢ ܟܣܘܡܪܝܗ ܘܡܫܒܚܢܝܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ
ܘܡܫܒܠܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܕܡܪܝܢܗ ܘܐܝܟ ܫܩܠ ܠܐ ܬܒܥܝ ܠܦܠܓܐ ܗܘܐ
ܫܒܝܢ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ. ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܬܒܥ
ܡܫܠܡܝܢ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܡ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܐܠܐ ܠܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ ܢܫܬܠܡ[1]. ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܠܗ. ܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ
ܗܟܢ ܐܬܒܥ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ[2]. ܐܝܟ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܗܘܐ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܗܡ ܦܪܕܘܗܝ. ܘܟܕ ܦܝܫܐ ܥܠ ܟܬܦܗ[3] ܫܩܠܗ
ܠܦܠܓܐ. ܘܫܪܝ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܦܝܫܐ ܕܫܩܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܢܦܫ.
ܘܥܠ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܥܠ ܛܘܪܦܐ ܘܥܠ ܚܘܫܒܐ
ܘܥܠ ܡܡܠܠܐ. ܘܥܠ ܦܘܪܫ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ[4].
ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܫܡܥܬ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ. ܫܟܚܬܗ ܟܫܪܐ ܗܘܬ[5].
ܕܐܡܪܐ ܢܫܒܘܩ ܕܦܠܓܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ[6] ܕܥܠ ܟܬܦܬܗ ܢܣܬܒܠ.
ܘܟܠܗ ܚܟܡܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܡܗ ܕܡܫܠܡܐ ܫܩܝܠ ܗܘܬ. ܕܐܦ
ܢܦܠܝܢ ܘܡܬܪܘܪܒܝܢ. ܠܗ ܠܚܕܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܩܕܡ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܗܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܠܠ[7] ܗܠܝܢ. ܗܟܝܠ ܦܩܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܝܡܘܗܝ ܕܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ ܘܐܝܟ ܒܪܐ

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[1] BC omit ܡܫܬܠܡ .... ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ   [2] D omits ܠܗ

[3] We should rather have expected ܡܢ ܟܬܦܗ, "off his shoulder."

[4] Here A has ܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ.   [5] Some such words as ܘܡܬܕܡܪܐ ܗܘܬ seem to have fallen out here.   [6] D ܒܪܐ

[7] D writes ܡܠܠ twice.

ܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܟܠܙܒܢ ܐܫܬܥܝܬ[1] ܠܗ. ܘܠܦܛܘܠܡܘܣ[2] ܕܒܠܝܣܐ.
ܘܥܠ ܡܦܕܡܘܣ ܒܪܗ[3] ܕܡܛܝܠܝܛܘܣ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܝ
ܐܠܩܡܝܗ. ܘܥܠ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܥܠ ܡܪܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܐ.
ܘܥܠ ܡܘܠܟܢܐ ܕܩܦܕܘܩܝܬ ܕܡܠܘܟܐ. ܘܥܠ ܡܢܝܢܬܗ[4]
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܦܪܟܬ ܕܚܘܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܪܕܘܬܗ.
ܘܥܠ ܐܡܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܥܠ ܕܢܝܘܣܝܘܣ. ܘܥܠ
ܬܘܬܦܘܬܗ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ. ܘܥܠ ܚܪܬܗ. ܘܥܠ ܝܠܡܐ[5]
ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܥܠ ܗܘ ܚܝܒܐ ܘܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܗܠܝܢ[6]. ܢܦܩܘ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܡܢܗ ܘܡܝܬ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܝܢ ܗܢ ܒܪܗ. ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܠܐ
ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[7] ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ[8] ܕܡܨܪܝܐ. ܕܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩܘܗܝ
ܠܦܠܚܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܗܘܦܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܓܠܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܢܫܘܬܐ.
ܗܟܢ ܣܘܟܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ ܠܟܠ ܦܘܪܣܗ ܐܫܬܟܠܠ[9]. ܘܠܗܘ ܦܠܓܐ
ܥܠ ܦܘܪܣܗ ܢܦܠܗ. ܘܦܝܫ ܠܡܪܬ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܣܘܦܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܦܠܚܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ
ܚܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪܝ ܠܗ. ܛܠܡܘܢܝܘܣ ܐܝܬܝܘܣ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܘܐܣ[10].

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[1] In B there is a gloss on ܐܫܬܥܝܬ which reads ܡܬܡܠܠܢܐ ܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ 'always to be spoken of.' ADE ܠܟܠܙܒܢ. See Ch. II.

[2] Read ܘܥܠ ܦܛܘܠܡܘܣ [3] Read ܒܪܗ. D writes ܒܪܬܐ twice. [4] C ܡܢܝܢܬܗ, D ܡܢܝܢܬܐ [5] D ܝܠܡܐ [6] In D ܗܠܝܢ comes after ܘܡܢ [7] B originally ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ, and so C.

[8] D ܗܘ [9] Glossed in B by ܐܬܬܠܝ [10] Apparently, "a second Telamonian Ajax," or something to that effect. There is no corresponding phrase in Müller's texts (p. 15). The two strange names Αἴας and Αἰνείας have helped to corrupt one another.

ܦܩܕܗ ܕܝܢ ܦܠܓܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܚܘܫܒܐ
ܠܦܘܠܛܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܚܠܦ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ.
ܡܢܐ ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܕܒܟܠ ܢܒܥܐ
ܐܝܬܝܗ̇. ܘܟܠܗ ܦܘܠܛܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܠܦܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܗ. ܗܢܐ[1]
ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܠܢܫ ܡܚܝܕ ܐܢܬ. ܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܕܗܘ
ܡܕܡ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܗ[2]. ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܠܢܫ
ܦܩܕܬ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܡܚܝܕ ܡܩܝܡܝܢ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܢ ܦܠܓܗ
ܠܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܢܘ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܝܢ. ܕܡܕܡ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ
ܠܟܘܢ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܒܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܦܟܐ ܗܘܦܟܐ. ܡܚܕܐ
ܕܝܢ ܦܠܘܣܘܦܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܒܡܕܝܢܬ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܗܝܕܝܢ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܐܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܪܗܡܢܐ ܒܝܕܥܬܐ.
ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܒܬܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܠ ܝܕܥܬ ܕܡܢ
ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ[3] ܀ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢ
ܒܬܪ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܢܬ. ܘܥܠ ܕܠܝܬܗ ܒܚܝܠܗ. ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ
ܒܬܪ ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܀ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܢܬ ܒܬܪ ܕܟܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ.
ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܕܝܢ[4] ܐܡܪ. ܚܙܝܬ ܒܬܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܕܝܠܗܘܢ[5] ܦܠܓܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܗܢܕܘܝܐ ܡܢ ܚܘܒܐ
ܠܡܐܡܪ. ܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܢܐ

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[1] D ܗܘ ܗܢܐ   [2] D ܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܕܗܘ ܕܟܠܢܫ
ܡܕܡ. ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܗ. ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ.

[3] C omits ܐܢܬܐ   [4] D omits ܕܝܢ   [5] C ܕܝܠܗܘܢ

ܪ̈ܘܚܐ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܚܫܚ ܢܘܪܐ ܐܣܝܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇ ܕܐܦ ܠܗ̇ ܐܦ[1]
ܟܣܐ[2] ܡܠܟܘܬ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܦ ܠܟܣܐ
ܢܠܟܢ[3] ܡܘܒܠ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ. ܗܕܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܡܢ ܐܦ ܐܣܝܐ ܢܘܪܐ ܐܣܝܐ. ܕܒܠ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܡܫܬܘܕܐ ܐܢܐ. ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܢܘܫܐ[4] ܠܡܪܟܘܣ.
ܗܟܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܡܠܘܗܝ. ܕܐܢܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܡܪ. ܗܘܝܘ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܐ ܀ ܘܗܘ
ܗܠܝܢ ܒܫܢ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܘܡܚܕܪ[5] ܠܫܡܫܐ ܘܝܠܕܐ ܒܥܕܢ. ܘܡܦܘܪܐ
ܡܢ ܥܡܩܐ ܕܝܡܐ. ܘܩܠ̈ܐ ܐܫܬܡܥܘ. ܗܘܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܬܐܪ
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܟܠ ܢܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܢܗܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ
ܣܓܝܐ. ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ.
ܕܣܘܡ ܠܗܘܬ[6] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܟܐܘܢ[7] ܢܚܬܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܗܘܬ ܕܐܪܝܣ[8]
ܢܚܬܐ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܩܪܒܐ. ܘܗܘܬ ܕܒܠܬܝ[9] ܢܚܬܐ ܒܢܝܚܘܬ ܩܠܝܠ.
ܘܗܘܬ ܕܢܒܘ[10] ܡܫܟܚܬܐ ܢܚܬܐ ܥܡܗ. ܘܗܘܬ ܕܒܝܠ[11] ܢܚܬܐ ܒܪܝܫܗ ܀
ܘܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܫܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܫܒ̈ܥ ܗܘܝ. ܘܐܬܕܒܪܘܗܝ
ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܣܓ ܢܦܫ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘܢ.

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[1] D ܘܐܦ [2] Read ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇ ܕܐܦ ܠܟܣܐ? [3] ABCE omit ܠܟܣܐ [4] D ܕܢ̈ܘܫܘܬܐ [5] C ܘܡܚܕܪܘ [6] ABCE ܗܘܬ [7] On margin of B ܩܪܘܢ, *Saturn.* [8] ABCE ܐܪܝܣ. On margin of B ܡܐܪܣ, *Mars.* [9] ABCE ܒܠܬܝ. On margin of B ܘܢܘܣ, *Venus.* [10] On margin of B ܡܪܩܘܪܐ, *Mercury.* [11] On margin of B ܝܘܦܛܪ, *Jupiter.*

ܗܘ ܒܐܡܪܗ ܒܡܝ̈ܢܬܗ ܣܘܡܟ̈ܐ[1] ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ ܚܠܦܗ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܢܦܩ ܒܗ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ. ܡܟܝܠ ܕܝܢ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
ܠܡܣܒܪ ܡܠܘܫܐ[2]. ܘܚܙܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܠܟܬܐ. ܡܕܪܒܘܬܟܝ
ܕܝ̈ܠܕܬܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܩܠܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܫܘܐ[3]. ܗܟܢ ܕܝܢ
ܕܢܦܩ ܡܠܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܚܠܦܗ ܡܣܬܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܟ ܘܕܝܘ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ
ܫܡܥܘ ܠܝ̈ܩܪܐ ܘܠܦܠܠܘܬܟܝ ܠܐ ܬܒܣܝܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܦܝܪܐ ܡܢܗ
ܘܗܘܐ ܥܡܟܝ ܗܟ ܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ[4] ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܦܠܝܛܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܘܩܠܝܗ
ܡܢ ܟܘܢܗ ܡܕܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܡܢ[5] ܣܘܟܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢܘܗܝ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ
ܐܠܘܡܦܝܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܗܟܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܘܫܐ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܗܟܢܐ[6] ܐܝܟܘܬܗ. ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܕܝܢ
ܠܡܕܪܒ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ ܗܟܝܠ. ܕܗܟܢܐ ܡܠܘܫܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܢܬܝܩܝܢ.
ܘܡܣܬܒܠܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܗܘ[7] ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܟ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ[8]
ܩܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܥܬ. ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܠܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܟܘܬܗ
ܐܡܪ. ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ. ܒܥܒܕܐ ܢܬܝܩܝܢ
ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܡܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܚܘܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܟܠܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ
ܚܙܝܬ. ܐܚܘܐ ܕܦܢܝܢ ܥܡܟܐ. ܗܐ ܟܕ ܠܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ
ܘܚܙܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ. ܟܕ ܒܥܒܕܐ[9] ܦܪܝܫܝܢ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ

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[1] Read ܒܡܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܣܘܡܟ̈ܐ? [2] Read ܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ, plur.
[3] Read ܫܘܝܐ [4] Read ܡܠܘܫܐ, sing. [5] Read ܘܡܢ?
[6] Read ܕܗܟܢܐ [7] ABCE omit ܗܘ [8] D omits ܕܝܢ
[9] Read ܟܕ ܒܥܒܕܐ

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ܘܡܬܝܩܪ. ܕܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܡܘܕܢܚܐ[1] ܕܡܫܡܗܬܐ ܚܒܝܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܡܬܚܦܛܝܢ. ܥܠܬܗܘܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܢܡܘܣܝ. ܘܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܦܘܠܓܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܀

XIV ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[2] ܒܪ ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܘܬܐ ܥܣܪ ܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܘܦ. ܘܒܕܘܒܪܐ ܕܦܪܕܝܣܘܬܐ ܝܗܒ[3]. ܘܐܦ ܒܡܡܠܠܗ ܥܡ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܢܛܝܪܐ ܘܡܬܕܪܫܢܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܕܪܫܘܬܗ ܬܡܝܗܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܗܘܬ. ܢܚܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܚܒܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[4]. ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܒܪܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܘܝܐ ܡܬܩܪܒ ܢܟܬ. ܠܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܠܟ. ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟܠ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܀ ܠܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܘܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܡܘܠܕܗ ܡܢܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܐܘܦ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܦܬܐ ܡܢܗ[5] ܕܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܡܠܦܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܒܢܝܗܘܢ. ܘܣܡ ܐܘܡܢܐ ܠܗ. ܕܢܘܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܝܬܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܡܢܗ[6] ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܒܠܒ ܒܬܪܝܢܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܗܘܝܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܒܛܒ̈ܠܐ[7] ܣܓܝܐ

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[1] Read ܕܒܡܕܢܚܐ ? [2] Read ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ or omit ܗܠܝܢ? [3] E ܢܗܒ [4] ABCE omit ܠܗ [5] BDE ܕܡܢܗ [6] D ܕܡܢܐ [7] So pointed in the MSS. There is a partly illegible gloss on the margin of B, which seems to run ܛܘܒܠܐ ܐܘ ܦܬܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܐܬܐ ܕܛ[ܘ]ܒܠܐ ܦܬܝܬܐ, i.e. 'a drum, or a board like the surface of a wide drum.'

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ܡܢܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܡܠܟܘܗܝ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ[1] ܐܪܕܝܟܘܗܝ ܕܡܢ
ܕܡܫܬܡܫܝܢܘܗܝ ܀ ܘܡܢ[2] ܒܬܪ ܕܒܢܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܒܗ ܚܠܦ ܠܐܦܪܘܕܝܛܐ
ܘܠܐܠܗܘܬܐ[3] ܐܬܩܪܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܡܪܗ ܠܡܩܪܒܘ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܘܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܘܬܐ ܫܘܝ ܠܗ[4]. ܟܕ
ܕܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܚܠܝܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܡܠܟܐ[5]. ܚܙܐ ܟܪܟܐ
ܕܚܠܝܢܐ ܕܪܒܐ[6] ܐܢܫ[7] ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܒܪܟ ܘܡܢ ܐܝܕܘܗܝ[8] ܠܐ ܢܦܩ.
ܒܩܘܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܘܗܝ. ܢܦܩ ܀ ܒܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ[9] ܕܐܪܒܥܐ
ܕܦܩܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[10] ܢܦܪܩܘ. ܡܢ ܐܡܬܝܢܘܢ
ܕܐܬܝܢܐ[11]. ܚܝܠܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܒܦܠܓܪܘ ܗܘܐ ܪܒ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܚܪ
ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܦܪܘܠܐ. ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܕܒܫܢܝܐ ܐܟܠ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܟܕ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܫܘܪܗ ܘܒܦܪܘܩܗ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܗܘܐ. ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ
ܠܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܚܝܡܘ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܩܛܠ ܡܬܐܡܪܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ
ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܕܡܠܘܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܕܝ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܦܩܘܕܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܥ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܢܗܘ[12] ܠܗ.
ܢܦܠܘܗܝ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܒܟܢܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܩܢܩܠܐ[13] ܕܦܪܘܠܐ ܒܟܢܫ

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[1] BCDE ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ [2] D ܡܢ [3] B has ܘܠܐܠܗܘܬܐ
[4] Some words seem to be wanting here. [5] BC ܡܠܟܐ
[6] ܦܠܓܐ is written on the margin of B as an explanation of this word. [7] D ܐܢܫ [8] D ܐܝܕܘܗܝ [9] D ܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܢ
[10] Read ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [11] ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܘܘ. The words ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ are written on the margin of B as a gloss on ܐܡܬܝܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܝܢܐ
[12] Read ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ, or ܒܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ [13] Read ܕܩܢܩܠܐ, κάγκελος-ον, cancelli.

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ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܦܩܕ ܕܠܛܠܝܐ ܒܚܘܕܪܬܐ ܘܒܝܢܩܘܬܐ
ܘܢܬܪܒܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܡܬܕܪܝܢܐ ܒܪܚܡܘܗܝ. ܘܦܩܕ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ
ܕܦܪܝܬܐ ܘܡܚܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[1] ܟܠܗܝܢ ܢܬܐܘܢ ܠܗ. ܘܪܒܐ
ܛܠܝܐ ܘܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܐܣܬܟܠ. ܘܡܬܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܬܬܠܡܕ
ܗܘܐ[2] ܒܩܘܡܬܗ ܘܒܝܕܥܬܗ. ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܒܨܘܪܬܗ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗ
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐ ܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐܘܠܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܗ. ܐܦܠܐ
ܠܐܠܗܗ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ[3]. ܐܠܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܘܕܡܘܬܗ ܡܫܚܠܦܐ
ܗܘܬ. ܣܥܪܗ ܓܝܪ ܠܣܥܪܐ ܕܐܪܝܐ ܡܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܝܢܘܗܝ
ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܡܫܚܠܦܐ ܗܘܝ. ܚܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܝܘܩܕܢܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܘܚܕܐ[4] ܐܘܟܡܬܐ ܗܘܬ[5]. ܘܫܢܘܗܝ ܚܪܝܦܢ ܗܘܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܕܪܩܘܢܐ.
ܘܗܠܟܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܪܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܬ. ܡܢ ܦܓܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܝܕܝܥ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ[6] ܒܬܪܟܢ ܕܡܛܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܪܗܘܬܐ ܡܕܡ.
ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ[7] ܦܪܓܡܛܝܐ[8] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܪ.
ܕܒܣܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܝܘܠܦܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܦܠܘܣ. ܘܐܬܪܗ ܕܒܣܛܪܘܦܐ
ܡܠܠܐ. ܐܦܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܝܘܠܦܢܗ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܒܟܪܘܢܝܛܝܣ[9].
ܕܠܝܘܢܝܣ[10] ܐܬܢܝܐ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܘܐܬܪܗ ܕܒܡܠܠܐ ܕܦܠܘܛܘܢ
ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ. ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ ܐܪܣܛܘܛܠܝܣ ܕܡܢ

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[1] Rather ܕܬܪܥܝܬܐ and ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [2] D omits ܗܘܐ [3] A has merely ܕܐܬܝܠܕ. For ܠܐܠܗܗ read ܠܐܠܗܐ [4] D ܡܣܡܩܬܐ
[5] D omits ܗܘܬ [6] Read ܡܢ, without ܘ. D ܕܡܢ
[7] ܠܗ is wanting in A. [8] Glossed in B by ܡܠܟܘܬܐ
[9] D ܠܝܘܠܦܢܗ; ABC ܕܒܟܪܘܢܝܛܝܣ (DE ܡܢ) [10] D ܠܡܘܢܝܣ

ܘܝܬܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܚܒܝܢ ܠܢܚܫ ܡܛܘܣ[1] ܡܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܠܐ ܓܕܐ[2]. ܒܪܡܫܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܐܠܗܐ[3] ܡܟܡܪܐ[4] ܢܛܠܐ
ܘܢܚܐ ܘܡܟܡܪܐ[5] ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܢܚܘܬ ܠܘܬܟ. ܘܒܪܡܫܐ
ܡܠܘܐܐ ܢܕܒܢ ܕܚܕܐ ܐܡܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܢܐ[6] ܕܘܠ ܘܩܘܡܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢ[7].
ܒܪܡܫܐ ܫܡܫܐ[8] ܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܠܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܢܝܚ[9]
ܡܬܒܪܐܝܬ[10]. ܐܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܩܒܠ. ܓܒܪ. ܒܪܡܫܐ ܫܡܫܐ
ܝܠܕܝ[11] ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘ ܢܓܕ ܠܡܩܒܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܝܠܕܝ. ܘܗܘ
ܢܓܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܕܪܐ ܢܦܠ. ܡܢ ܢܓܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܙܒܢܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ
ܘܚܘܝܐ ܢܥܩܒܐ ܗܘܘ. ܢܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܒܪܐܝܬ ܐܬܬܘܕܝܘ ܀

XIII ܘܗܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܢܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܙܐ ܐܡܪ[12]. ܐܢܐ ܠܟܝ
ܐܫܟܚܬ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܟܣܝܢ ܠܢܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ[13].
ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܠܘܗܝ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܝܬܘܢܘܗܝ. ܚܙܝܗ ܗܢܐ ܚܙܝܗ
ܕܝܠܝ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܠܢܚܫ ܢܬܦܬܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܝ. ܒܬܬܚܙܐ
ܠܗ ܠܡܘܕܥܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܀ ܘܗܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܢܝܢ

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[1] D ܘܠܣܬܠܒܘܢ and (*sic*) ܡܛܘܣ ܡܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ. The word ܡܛܘܣ is wanting in A, which has ܡܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ

[2] In B a later hand has written ܒܠ, *Jupiter*, over this word.

[3] Read ܐܠܘܗ (?) [4] D ܘܡܟܡܪܐ [5] Here A adds ܗܘܐ

[6] Over this word is written in B ܒܐܢܐ, *vas* ? [7] Apparently corrupt. Read ܕܡܕܒܪܢ ? [8] ABD add ܫܡܫܐ [9] D ܐܢܝܚ

[10] A ܡܬܒܪܢܝܬ [11] ABCE ܢܠܕܝܢ. Gr. γέννησον. [12] E ܘܐܡܪ

[13] D ܝܠܕܝ

ܟܐܦܐ¹ ܟܠܡܝܢ² ܠܟܘܟܒܬܐ ܗܘܝܐ. ܘܕܠܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܘܕܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܐ
ܡܢ ܢܒܝܬ ܐܪܝܣ³ ܐܗܡܛܝܛܝܣ. ܗܘܝܐ ܥܡܗ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܕܦܠܛܝܢ
ܠܟܠܡܝܢ⁴ ܡܛܠ ܟܘܟܒܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ ܘܪܚܡ. ܐܪܟܘܟܝܬܗ
ܠܗܘܝܐ ܥܡܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܪܝܣ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ ܩܪܒܐ ܗܘ
ܘܠܚܪܒ. ܟܘܟܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܪܝܣ ܕܐܝܬ ܦܝܠܦܐ⁵ ܘܦܘܠܡܝܛܝܐ⁶
ܘܐܪܡܠܝܛܐ⁷ ܕܠܐ ܘܗܐ ܚܝܠ ܠܚܕܐ ܗܠܩܛܪܘܢܐ ܟܪܟܐ ܥܡܝܩ
ܚܒܝܒ ܡܛܘܪܓܠܝܘܬܐ⁸ ܘܡܢ ܣܪܕܝܢܝܐ ܗܢܘ. ܗܠ ܦܢ ܗܘܠ
ܕܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܟܐܦܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܥܝܢܐ.
ܗܘܐ ܥܡܗ ܢܣܝܒ ܡܠܟܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܕܢܒܗ⁹ ܗܦܟܐ
ܦܠܘܛܐ ܢܣܒܐ. ܘܚܝܘܐ ܦܪܓܢܝܬܐ¹⁰ ܐܗܡܛܝܛܝܣ¹¹. ܘܡܢ ܟܗܢܐ
ܒܩ̈ܘܗ ܡܢܗ ܐܣܦܝܪܘ ܘܐܝܛܪܝܘ. ܘܠܚܕܐ ܐܘܠܘ¹². ܗܘܐ
ܥܡܗ ܕܢܐ¹³ ܐܣܛܠܝܩܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘܠ ܗܠ ܚܕܐ¹⁴ ܕܟܠܒܬܐ ܗܝ.

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¹ D ܟܐܦܗ ² In B a later hand has written ܢܘܓܗ, *Venus*, over this word. D ܟܠܡܝܢ ³ In B the same hand has written ܡܪܝܚ, *Mars*, over this word. ⁴ D ܠܟܠܡܝܢ ⁵ A ܦܝܠܦܐ, B ܦܝܠܦܐ, DE ܦܝܠܦܐ. Read ܦܝܠܦܐ? or ܦܝܠܝܦܐ (Gr. φίλιππος)? ⁶ D ܦܘܠܡܝܛܝܐ. Read ܦܘܠܡܝܘܣ (Gr. πολέμιος)? ⁷ ABC ܐܪܡܠܝܛܐ, E ܐܪܡܠܝܛܐ ⁸ Both the Greek and Syriac texts are corrupt; ܗܠܩܛܪܘܢܐ is apparently Ἠλεκτρυώνη. ⁹ In B a later hand has written ܡܪܩܘܪܝ, *Mercury*, over this word. ¹⁰ D ܦܪܓܢܝܬܐ ¹¹ D ܗܡܛܝܛܝܣ ¹² D ܐܘܠܘ ¹³ By the side of ܕܢܐ, in B, there is written in pencil 'dog star.' ¹⁴ D ܚܕܪܘܢܐ

ܕܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܐܦܠܝ ܠܗ ܠܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ ܡܬܝܠܕ. ܗܕܐ
ܫܥܬܐ ܡܠܘܫܬܐ ܕܝܡܐ[1] ܦܠܒܠܢܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܝܢ. ܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ
ܘܡܬܟܟ ܒܢܝܢ. ܘܬܬܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ
ܦܢܛܟܢܐ[2] ܘܟܪܘܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܐܬܚܒܠ ܘܡܬܕܪܢ ܒܠܚܡ ܐܬܝܠܕ[3].
ܘܐܬܕܪܗ ܘܟܠܗ ܓܘܫܡܗܘܢ ܢܕܡܝܗ. ܘܡܢ ܢܚܕܘܬܗ ܐܬܦܩܕ.
ܘܩܪܒ ܡܬܘܬܐ[4] ܣܠܩܘܗܝ ܡܬܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܟܝ[5]. ܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ
ܠܐܘܦܘܣ ܐܬܝܠܕ[6] ܗܘ[7]. ܕܫܘܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܝܟ. ܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ.
ܕܡܘܬ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܢܐ[8] ܒܢܝ ܥܠܡܐ[9] ܡܫܡܫܬܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܕܘܡܪܗ
ܠܐܕܢܐ ܢܣܓܐ. ܘܢܚܡ ܠܒܢܝܡܘܬܐ[10] ܗܘܕܐ ܠܐܣܘܦܘܣ. ܘܗܕܐ
ܕܠܒܪܐ ܡܢܗ[11] ܢܠܕܝܗ. ܘܡܬܠܗܘܒܬܐ ܕܗܘܕܐ ܡܢܗ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ
ܡܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ ܡܬܝܠܕ ܒܗܕܐ ܡܠܟܐ. ܗܕܐ ܫܥܬܐ ܕܣܦܝܢ[12]

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[1] Read ܕܝܡܐ? [2] A word is wanting here. Over ܦܢܛܟܢܐ there is written in pencil in B ܣܪܛܢ, for ܣܪܛܢܐ, *Cancer;* and over ܟܪܘܢ in ink ܩܪܘܢ, for ܩܪܘܢܘܣ, *Saturn.* [3] D ܘܡܬܕܪܢ ܒܠܚܡ ܐܬܝܠܕܘ [4] We should probably omit this word. [5] D ܘܩܪܒ ܡܬܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܣܠܩܘܗܝ ܠܟܝ [6] D ܐܬܝܠܕܘ [7] The corresponding clause in the Greek seems to be Ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ γεννήσεις αἱμελιαῖον (sic Cod. A. Müller, Pseudo-Callisth. p. 11). [8] Evidently corrupt. The corresponding Gr. (Müller, loc. cit.) is ἡ γὰρ κερασφόρος μηνὶ (read μήνη). Perhaps ܡܢܐ may really be ܣܠܢܐ, Σελήνη. [9] B ܒܢܝ ܥܠܡܐ, D ܒܢܝܥܠܡܐ, E ܒܢܝ ܥܠܡܐ [10] The Greek speaks of Endymion; read ܘܢܚܡ ܠܐܢܕܘܡܝܘܢ ܗܘܕܐ [11] Read ܡܢܗ [12] ABCE ܕܣܦܝܢ, but the Gr. is φιλοθάλαμος.

ܠܗ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ[1]. ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܡܨܝܐ.
ܘܡܠܟܘܗܝ[2] ܒܚܝܠܐ ܒܫܠܡܘܬܗ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ[3] ܡܢ ܐܒܐ
ܠܐ ܫܪܒ. ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܢܟܝܟ ܕܝܠܬܐ ܘܠܟܘܬܒܗ ܝܗܒܐ.
ܕܝܠܗ ܡܩܕܡܐ ܘܡܥܕܪܐ ܢܦܫܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܝܗܒܐ ܐܚܝܐ ܗܘ
ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܫܠܡܐ ܗܘ[4] ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܝܗܒܐ ܕܝܠܟ
ܡܢ ܦܦܐ ܘܐܬܦܪܨ ܣܓܕܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܦܝܪ ܒܥܘ ܢܝܟ ܠܗ. ܘܒܗ
ܒܥܕܢܐ ܡܢܗ. ܗܒܐ ܒܗ ܒܘܝܐ. ܡܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ[5] ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܡܨܝܐ.
ܘܠܐܬܪܗ ܦܢܐ ܒܥܘܗ[6] ܕܝܠܬܐ[7] ܡܠܬܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܒܫܝܢ[8] ܗܒܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܐܡܪ. ܡܬܩܪܒ ܡܛܠܬܐ ܢܩܒ ܠܗ. ܘܠܦܬܗ ܙܘܓ ܀

XII ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܘܒܬܪ ܕܩܘܠܣܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ. ܒܗ
ܢܒܙܢܐ ܕܢܠܬܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܝܗ. ܡܥܒܕܗ[9] ܩܒܝܠ ܠܗ ܝܬܝܪ. ܒܢܝܚܘܬܗ
ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܝܬ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܢ ܣܝܒ
ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܐܡܪ. ܒܘܡܣ ܢܠܒܠ ܡܢ ܩܘܡܒܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܒܕܡܐ
ܕܥܕܢܐ[10] ܝܗܒܪ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܬܒܥܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܒܝܬܐ[11] ܠܟܝܢ.
ܘܝܘܩܝ[12] ܡܝܬ ܘܡܦܩܬܐ[13] ܕܠܒܘܫܗ ܐܢܘܢ. ܗܘܠܐ ܕܝܬܝܪ

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[1] E ܒܥܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܡܬܡܠܟ ܠܗ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ [2] D ܘܡܠܟܘܗܝ
[3] ABCD omit ܗܘܐ [4] D omits ܗܘ [5] ABC ܢܡܠܟܐ
[6] ܒܥܘܗ seems to be accidentally repeated from a preceding clause.
[7] D omits ܕܝܠܬܐ [8] D ܕܒܫܝܢ [9] ABCD ܡܥܒܕ [10] D ܕܥܕܢܬܐ
[11] D ܝܒܝܬܐ [12] In B there is written in pencil on the margin ܟܐܣ for ܟܐܣܘܪ, *Saturn*. [13] In B there is written in pencil on the margin ܠܡܣܒܬܐ, *Libra*.

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ܒܪܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܟ ܘܠܟܠ ܠܢܦܫܝ[1] ܡܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܢܐ.
ܕܡܛܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܘܩܕ ܕܐܠܗܐ[2] ܐܝܟ ܢܡܘܣܘܗܝ ܀

XI ܘܡܢ[3] ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܗܘ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܩܫܝܫܘܬܗ
ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܫܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܓܝܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܠ
ܐܝܩܪ ܕܦܪ̈ܝܫܐ ܡܪܡܗܘܢ ܘܡܩܪ̈ܒܘܢ ܠܝܬܝܗ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܬ.
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܠܩܘܢܐ ܫܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ ܢܣܒܐ
ܐܘܠܡܦܝܐܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܗܘܝܢܬܐ[4] ܕܚܒܪ̈ܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܗܘܬ. ܠܟܠ
ܕܝܠܗ ܚܠܦܗ[5] ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܣܒܗ. ܘܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܦܪܝܩܝ ܗܘܬ.[6]
ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܚܕܐ ܢܣܒܗ. ܒܝܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܝܬܗ[7] ܐܪܡܠܝܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܝ ܢܣܒ. ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ. ܥܕ ܕܝܢ
ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܬܪܚܩܬ ܘܫܢܝܬ. ܒܗ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܢܣܒܐ ܚܕ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܢ
ܟܠܗ ܥܡܗ. ܘܡܩܪܒܢܐ ܕܗܝ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܬܪܚܩܬ. ܘܡܢܗ ܢܣܒ
ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ[8]. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܢܣܒ. ܒܗ ܒܥܕܢܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ[9] ܢܣܒ. ܕܢܣܒ
ܪܥܝܐ ܕܢܣܒ. ܘܩܢܐ ܐܬܪܚܩܬ. ܘܗܘ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܢܐ
ܕܒܗܘ ܘܝܢܐ ܡܪܡܗܘܢ ܒܕܘ. ܒܥܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ[10] ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܐܬܩܪܒ ܠܗ. ܢܣܒܐ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܐ[11]. ܒܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ[12]

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[1] ABCE ܢܦܫܟ [2] D ܕܐܠܗܐ [3] D ܡܢ [4] AB ܗܘܝܢܬܐ

[5] Read ܚܠܦܗ [6] D ܗܘܬ [7] B and C omit from ܢܣܒܗ to ܒܝܬܗ; DE ܐܪܡܠܝܐ (E ܒܝܬܗ) ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ

[8] D omits ܠܐܢܬܬܐ [9] Read ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ? [10] D ܡܠܟܘܬܐ

[11] D ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ [12] D ܡܠܟܘܬܟ, AB ܕܡܠܟܘܬܟ

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ܟܕ ܐܦܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ. ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ[1] ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ.
ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܢܫܬܠܛ ܢܟܣܐ ܢܫܡܥ. ܕܢܫܡܥ
ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ[2] ܢܟܣܐ ܢܫܡܥ[3]. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܡܢ
ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܬܠܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܡܢܝܢܝܢ[4] ܫܒܝܚܘܬܗ ܒܢܕܝܡܘܬܗ
ܢܦܫܗ ܢܛܝܠ. ܘܒܙܒܢܗ ܝܗܒ ܚܕ ܕܢܐ ܐܬܕܡܪ. ܘܒܝܘܡܬܐ
ܗܡܠܐ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ. ܒܫܢܬ[5] ܕܡܐ ܢܬܪ. ܡܢ
ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܕܝܢ. ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܗܢܘܢ[6]
ܕܒܢܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܘܒܬܪܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܠܩܘܕܡܝܢ
ܣܓܝ. ܥܠ ܢܒܘܗܝ ܐܬܩܛܠ. ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܢܟܣܐ ܘܢܦܠ ܥܠܝܗ.
ܘܡܢ[7] ܝܠܕܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ. ܘܐܬܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܥܒܕܗ ܘܫܕܪܗ
ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ. ܘܥܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܟܝ ܐܡܪ[8] ܕܒܝܬܐ ܡܢܝܢ
ܠܩܕܡܘܗܝ. ܘܡܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܝܐ[9] ܢܒܝܐ. ܐܢܫܐ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܕܩܕܡܝܠ
ܐܝܟ[10] ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܝܘܡܐ. ܢܒܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܘܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܡܪ:
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܡܬܕܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܗܝ[11] ܕܩܕܡܘܗܝ
ܗܕܡܘܗܝ. ܕܠܝܬ[12] ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܘܡܐ ܣܘܓܐ ܓܒܪܐ. ܕܡܢ[13] ܒܗܝ
ܒܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ
ܒܝܠܕܘܬܐ. ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܓܢܒܪܘܬܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ.

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[1] BC omit ܗܘܐ [2] D ܐܠܗܘܬܐ [3] BC omit from ܕܢܫܡܥ to ܢܫܡܥ

[4] ABCE omit ܡܢܝܢܝܢ [5] D ܒܫܢܬ [6] D omits ܗܢܘܢ

[7] ABCE ܡܢ [8] D omits ܐܡܪ [9] D ܗܘܝܐ [10] ABCE ܐܝܟ

[11] ABCE ܡܠܟܘܗܝ [12] D ܕܕܠܝܬ [13] ܕ seems to be superfluous.

ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܐܦܢ
ܕܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܝ̈ܫܘܬܗܘܢ ܠܥܡܐ. ܘܡܬܦܪ̈ܢܣܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ.
ܠܡܕܝܢ̱ܐ ܥܘܠ. ܘܠܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܡܬܦܠܓ. ܘܡܬܦܪ̈ܢܣܢܐ
ܐܚܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܬܕ̈ܝܢܢܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܝܢܐ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܒܕܝܢܗ ܘܦܠܓ[1] ܢܩܝܐ ܕܢܫܡܫ. ܗܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܛܪ.
ܕܘܒܪܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܘ[2]. ܘܟܕ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܒܗܢܐ[3] ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪܘ.
ܗܟܝܠ ܐܡܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܒܪܟܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ[4]
ܝܗܒܐ ܀

IX ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܗܕ̈ܐ ܦܝܪ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܩܕܡܘܗܝ.
ܘܫܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܥܒܕ. ܗܟܝܠ ܝܗܒܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܡܢ
ܕܫܠܛܢܐ ܗܘܝܘ ܐܬܬܘܣܝܗ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܠܩܢܘ ܢܬܒܠܥܘܢ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[5] ܕܢܬܒܠܥ. ܒܕܡ ܠܐ ܢܬܠܥ. ܕܐܬܠܝܗ ܡܢܗ ܒܗܐ.
ܘܒܗܘ ܕܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܠܗ ܫܡܫܘܗܝ[6]. ܒܠܡܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܐܝܬ
ܠܟ ܐܢܐ ܒܝܠܡܐ ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܡܛܠܗܕܐ[7] ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ[8] ܥܬܝܪܘܬܟ.
ܒܗ ܒܠܡܕܡ ܡܥܟܒ ܡܬܠܐ ܠܡܬܦܚܡܘ. ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܡܬܦܚܡܘ ܠܐ ܡܨܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܒܪܗ. ܗܟܝܠ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܘܝܘ ܦܩܕ ܀

X ܗܘܝܐ ܗܟܠ ܒܝܘ ܡܢ ܡܩܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܘܒܚܗܘܢ

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[1] BCD ܦܠܓ, without ܘ [2] D ܗܘ [3] BCDE ܒܗܘ
[4] D ܐܠܗ̈ܐ [5] D omits ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ [6] ABCE ܫܡܫܘܗܝ without ܠܗ [7] D ܡܛܠ [8] The words ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ are perhaps corrupt. The corresponding Greek is διὸ ἀνέγκλητος εἶ (Meusel, p. 711).

ܕܠܗ ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܣܢܩܬܐ ܢܟܝܐ[1] ܘܝܗܒܗ. ܘܡܛܐ
ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܝܠܡܐ. ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܡܥܡܕܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܠܡܝܢ
ܗܘܘ. ܒܗܘܢܐ ܚܕ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܢܝܠܘܦܘ ܐܪܝܐ ܘܢܦܩܘ. ܘܒܕܡܘܬܐ
ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܢܫܝܟ ܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܚܘܝ. ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܗ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܗܘ ܡܚܒܒ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܠܠܝܦ
ܗܘܬ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܦܪܫ ܕܐܦܠܐ. ܗܘ ܠܒܥܠܐ[2] ܒܝܘܠܦܢܗܘܢ ܠܟܠܗ
ܗܘܬ. ܐܘ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܗܘܢ. ܘܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ[3] ܚܙܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܘܒܘܝܐܐ ܚܕ
ܗܘ ܡܚܝܠ ܒܝܘܠܦܢܗܘܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܀

VIII ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܝܠܡܐ ܚܙܐ.
ܢܒܝܐ ܒܝܦܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܝܗܒ ܢܗܒ ܠܗ ܝܠܕܘܗܝ ܠܢܚܫܝܪܐ ܦܪܫܐ
ܝܠܕܐ. ܘܝܠܡܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܒܫܘܡܠܝܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܗܘܢ ܢܚܘܬ ܘܐܬܒܗܪ[4]
ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ. ܐܝܟ ܕܚܙܐ ܒܝܠܡܐ ܗܘܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܐܠܦܡܟܒܝܐ ܒܚܝܐ. ܒܟܠ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ[5] ܒܚܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܐ
ܕܫܢܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܒܫܢܬܗ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܒܚܠܡ. ܕܡܢܐ ܗܟܝܠ
ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ
ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ. ܡܝܬܪܐ ܗܘܬ[6] ܗܢܐ ܘܪܕܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܒܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܐ ܢܫܝܟܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ[7] ܒܡܝܬܝܢ. ܒܟܠ ܕܝܢ[8]
ܠܐ ܘܡܚܘܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܟܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ܘܡܫܬܡܗܐ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܒܝܘܠܦܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܡܢ[9] ܕܒܝܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܡܬܒܩܐ

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[1] D omits ܘ ܢܟܟܐ   [2] D ܒܥܠܐ   [3] So the word is pointed in the MSS.; it means 'a whip'.   [4] D ܘܐܬܒܗܪܘ   [5] D ܐܠܗܐ   [6] D ܗܘܬ   [7] D omits ܐܢ   [8] Read ܕܝܢܗ   [9] D ܡܢ

ܘܐܬܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܒܚܡܫܐ[1] ܕܢܝܣܢ. ܘܕܒܪ ܚܝ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܒܢܝ̈ܫܐ.
ܘܕܢܝܘܣܝܦܘܣ[2] ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܝ̈ܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐܗ ܐܬܦܢܝ.
ܐܚܕܝܗ ܢܡܘܣܗ ܘܣܡܝܗ ܠܐܣܟܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܢܚܬ ܘܐܬܡܟܟ ܠܗ. ܒܬܪ
ܗܘܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܥܠܠ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ. ܘܝܬܒ̈ܘܢ
ܕܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܐܢܬ. ܟܕ ܐܣܟܢܕܪܘܣ ܘܡܘܕܐ ܠܗ. ܠܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܢ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ[3] ܠܒܪ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܫܠܡܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ
ܢܝܣܢ ܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܦܘܪܫܢ. ܘܡܚܐ ܕܒܝܠܡܐ
ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ. ܐܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ[4] ܦܠܘܓܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܢܫ
ܝܗܘܒ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܪ ܫܢܝܐ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ[5] ܐܬܦܪܢܣܝ
ܗܘܬ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[6] ܥܡ ܒܕܒܢܐ ܡܦܣܢܐ ܗܘܬ ◆
ܗܝܕܝܢ ܠܐܣܟܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܒܦܘܪܫܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܫ
ܘܡܬܕܟܪܢܘܬܗ ܠܢܒܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܬܡܗܐ ܢܦܠܐ ܙܕܩܝܗ.
ܘܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܒܗ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܝܠܕܐ ܫܡܥ. ܘܫܡܥܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ
ܕܝܠܕܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ. ܕܒܣܘܟܠܗ ܕܠܒܪ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܒܗܬ[7] ܢܫܘܗܝ
ܗܘܐ ܦܝܠܝܦ ܛܒܝܐ. ܘܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܒܚܠܡܐ ܒܚܙܘܗ ܒܝܪܚܐ ܢܝܣܢ
ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܢܩܦ ܥܡ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ[8]. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ ܡܢܗ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܕܗܐ[9] ܒܟܪܣܗ ܡܕܒܒܢ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܡܢܟ. ܘܐܬܠܓܡ ܡܢ ܢܓܠܐ.

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[1] BCE ܕܐܚܡܫܐ

[2] ABCE ܘܕܢܝܘܣܝܘܣ. The word ܒܟܘܒܐ is probably corrupt.

[3] ܐܢܐ should be struck out. [4] D ܕܒܠܐ [5] In D ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ comes after ܡܠܟܐ [6] D ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ [7] D ܘܒܗܬܗ

[8] ABCE ܘܟܕ ܥܡ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܕܢܩܦ [9] D ܗܐ

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ܐܬܕܡܝ. ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܥܠ ܐܕܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܘܡܬܦܠܝ.
ܘܫܒܠܐ ܡܬܦܫܪ[1]. ܘܬܘܒ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܬܚܫܒܬ ܕܚܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܗܘܐ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܕܩܪܒܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܬܘܒ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܘܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܒܠ[2] ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܩܕܡܝܗ̇
ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܗܘܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܡܬܗܦܟ ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܓܪ
ܘܡܬܗܦܟ ܀ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܙܬ ܐܡܪܬ[3] ܠܗ.
ܚܟܝܡܐ ܐܢܬ ܫܪܝܪ. ܗܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܫܡܥܢܢ ܕܒܗ
ܐܦܢܝܬ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬ ܕܡܢ ܟܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ
ܗܠܝܢ ܚܙܝܬ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܐܢܐ. ܒܝܬܝܘܬܐ
ܘܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܓܠܝܬ ܀ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ̇. ܗܘ ܡܠܟ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܪܗ ܠܗ. ܗܫܐ ܡܩܒܠ
ܠܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܡܢܗ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܕܒܪ ܐܬܩܢܢ ܐܢܫܐ[4] ܒܠܚܘܕ.
ܦܪܘܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܀

VII ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܦܝܫ.
ܡܠܟܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܬܕܝܩܬ ܒܡܕܡ. ܒܪܘܚܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܕܫܠܐ ܕܒܗ[5] ܗܘ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܝܐ ܕܡܟܝܢ. ܘܡܢ ܟܕ ܡܢܗ ܬܘܒ
ܐܬܬܕܝܩܬ ܒܟܪܣܗ̇. ܘܟܕ ܦܘܡܗ ܥܠ ܦܘܡܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇.
ܘܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܡ. ܘܠܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܬܓܠܝܢ. ܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ
ܢܛܪ. ܘܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܠܡܠܟܬܗ ܐܙܠ.

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[1] A curious rendering of *συρισμὸν πέμπων*.

[2] ABCE ܗܒܝܠ [3] D ܘܐܡܪܬ [4] D omits ܐܢܫܐ

[5] Read ܒܗ without ܕ ?

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ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܝ[1] ܡܠܬܐ ܐܡܪ[2] ܠܟܝ ܐܢܬܬܐ. ܗܢܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܟܝ ܦܓܥ ܒܟܪܣܟܝ ܀

VI ܘܡܢ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܬ. ܓܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܚܠܡܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܡܬܐ[3] ܗܢܐ. ܘܐܬܕܪܟ ܘܦܪܩ ܠܢܦܫܝܬܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܘܗ. ܘܡܢ ܢܦܩ ܠܡܬܘܗ. ܦܫܛܝ ܕܡܫܟܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܠܥܘܢ ܡܢ ܠܡܬܘܗ. ܗܟܢ ܚܕܝ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܘܠܢܦܫܝܬܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܬ. ܕܗܘܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܚܠܡܐ ܡܫܠܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܝ. ܘܐܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܡܬܐ. ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܢܓܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ[4] ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܚܕܝ ܠܡܬܐ. ܗܕܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܝ. ܘܐܢܐ ܡܟܣܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܢܐ[5]. ܢܬܒܘ ܕܗܕܐ[6] ܚܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܝ ܀ ܢܦܫܝܬܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ. ܡܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬܝ[7] ܗܕܐ ܢܓܕܐ ܐܢܬܝ. ܕܡܢ ܚܠܒܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ. ܐܦ ܠܝ ܕܐܬܡܟܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܣܒܬ ܗܘ ܫܠܡܐ. ܘܢܣܒܬ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܢܬܝ. ܐܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܩܢܢܗ. ܕܫܟܝܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܝܡܝܢܐ ܢܩܒ ܠܟܝ. ܒܡܘܕܥܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܬܐ[8] ܕܝܠܟܝ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܚܕܐ ܦܩܘܕܝ ܘܩܝܡ ܠܝ. ܕܡܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܝܐܕܥܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟܘ ܕܡܬܬܘܕܝܬ. ܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܕܒܪ ܐܢܐ[9] ܠܟܝ ܡܢܝܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܝ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ[10] ܐܠܗܐ. ܡܢ ܢܓܕܐ

[1] D ܕܒܛܢ and omits ܕܡܢ [2] D ܘܐܡܪ

[3] D ܒܚܠܡܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܫܠܡܬܐ [4] D ܕܡܢ [5] D omits ܐܢܐ

[6] D ܗܕܐ (ܕܐܦ) [7] A ܕܐܢܬ [8] Read ܕܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ ?

[9] BCE ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ. I shall not notice this and similar variations in future. [10] ABCE ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ

ܗܕ̈ܡܘܗܝ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ[1] ܕܒܚܡܪܐ. ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܫܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ. ܒܗܘ
ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܓܝ̈ܣܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܠܐ ܙܒܢܐ
ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[2] ܒܝܠܕܐ ܚܙܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܀
ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪܘ. ܣܩܝܒܘܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.
ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܘܩܢܐ[3] ܕܠܐ ܢܣܩ. ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ
ܕܢܫܝ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܠܟܘ̈ܬܐ ܡܫܒܛܢܝܬܐ[4] ܓܝ̈ܣܐ ܢܦܩܘ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ
ܗܢܐ ܠܟܠܢ ܡܣܬܒܪ ܥܡܗ ܒܝܠܕܐ. ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܪܬ
ܠܗ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ[5] ܕܡܢܟ ܕܢܫܝ ܗܢܐ ܚܙܘܐ ܐܢܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܢܐ
ܦܠܚܘܬ ܕܢܫܝ[6] ܥܒܕ ܫܢܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܀

V ܘܥܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܚܕܪܬܐ ܡܠܠܗ ܘܐܪܥܗ.
ܢܣܒܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܦܝ̈ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܡܠܠܗ
ܘܣܡܝܟܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܕܐ ܢܦܫ. ܘܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܝܬܐ.
ܘܒܩܕܡܐ ܐܠܗ ܕܠܐܝܟܢܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܠܢܦܫ ܘܐܪܥ ܘܫܡܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ
ܠܡܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܢܗ ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ
ܒܝܠܕܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܢܦܫ. ܒܗܝܢ ܕܒܝܠܕܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܬ[7]
ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܕܒܝܠܕܐ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[8]. ܥܡ ܐܢܫܘܗܝ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܘܣܓܕܘ ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܥܡܗ ܝܘܡܐ. ܘܡܢ

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[1] C appears to read ܐܚܪ̈ܢܘܗܝ [2] BCE ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ, with ܐ written above. I shall not notice this in future. D ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
[3] D ܒܥܘܩܢܐ [4] Read ܡܫܒܛܢܝܬܐ ? [5] D ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ [6] D ܕܢܫܝ
[7] D omits ܗܘܬ [8] B ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ, with ܐ written above.

ܠܗ̇ ܦܠܐ[1] ܕܐܬܡܠܟ ܠܟ ܒܢܝܢܟ[2]. ܘܚܙܘܗ̇[3] ܗ̇ܘ ܕܒܥܝܢܐ ܠܡܬܢܐܠܘ ܐܘܠܝܡܦܝܣ. ܘܚܙܘܗ̇ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܕܓܠܐ ܠܗ̇. ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܟܠܐ. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘܢܐ ܝܩܝܪܐ ܚܝܠܐ. ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܢ ܥܕܟܐ ܦܝܪ. ܡܢ ܝܠܕܐ ܡܕܡܕܐ ܠܗ. ܘܐܢܬܬܐ ܢܣܒܬ[4] ܢܦܫܗ ◊ ܒܘܩܦܠܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܣܝܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. ܕܓܠܠ ܗ̇ܘ[5] ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܡܪܬܗ. ܘܕܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܫܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗ̇ܘܝܐ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܟܕ ܠܐܘܠܝܡܦܝܐ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ[6] ܡܚܙܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܝܩܪܐ ܘܡܚܝܠܬܐ[7] ܠܡܬܕܒܪܘ ܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܟܕ[8] ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܕܝܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܢܒܐ ܠܟ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܠܟ ܐܢܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܢܠܦܘܢ ܕܢܚܙܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܟܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܫ ܥܡܗ ܒܟܠ. ܘܟܕ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܗ ܒܝܬܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܒܢܬܐܦܘܣ ܗ̇ܘ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܢܟܠܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ◊ ܒܬܪ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ. ܡܢܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪܬܗ ܕܢܦܩ ܒܟܘܢ. ܒܘܩܦܠܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ̇. ܒܥܒܕܐ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܠܟܠ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܢܬܦܩ ◊ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܢܬܡܪܐ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟ ܢܬܩܢܐ[9] ܩܕܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠܗ ܘܫܘܝܗ ܢܦܩܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ◊ ܒܘܩܦܠܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ. ܒܬܘܠܬܗ ܗܘܐ ܦܝܠܝܦ ܡܫܬܒܩ[10] ܐܢܬܘܢ. ܘܐܬܩܛܠܗ ܘܫܘܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܕܐܢܫ ܠܗ ܟܠ

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[1] ABCE omit ܦܠܐ [2] ABCE omit ܒܢܝܢܟ [3] D ܘܚܙܐ
[4] D ܢܣܒܬ [5] D ܕܓܠܠܗ [6] D ܗܘܐ
[7] ABCE ܘܡܚܠܩܬܐ, D ܘܠܟ ܡܚܠܩܬܐ [8] D omits ܟܕ
[9] ἀκμή. [10] μεσῆλιξ.

ܓܡܠܝܢ. ܗܕܐ ܗܘܬ ܓܡܠܐ ܕܒܪܘܣܛܠܘܣ[1]. ܘܦܪܙܠܐ ܕܐܪܝܣܘܣ. ܡܐܪܝܣ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܪܣܐܝܬ ܒܗܪܡ[2] ܕܟܘܟܒܐ[3] ܩܘܡܬܗ ܓܘܢܐ ܕܕܡܐ. ܢܚܫܐ ܩܦܪܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܪܣܐܝܬ ܬܝܪ[4] ܕܘܡܕܝܓܘܢ. ܕܗܒ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܪܣܐܝܬ ܗܘܪܡܙܕ[5] ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܝܘܦܛܐ. ܒܠܢܝ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢܐ[6] ܦܪܣܐܝܬ ܐܢܐܗܝܕ[7] ܕܟܘܟܒܐ[8] ܕܒܠܬܝ. ܠܗܝ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܐܘܟܡܬܐ. ܘܟܘܫܐ[9] ܕܚܙܬܐ ܕܟܚܠܐ[10]. ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܪܣܐܝܬ ܦܪܢܘܓ[11]. ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܙܕܩ ܠܝ ܡܠܟܬܐ. ܚܟܡܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܘܡܕܥܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ ∻ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܒܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܘܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ ܫܒܥܐ. ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢ[12] ܗܘܝܢ ܕܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ ܚܕ ܚܕ. ܘܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܕܒܬܪܗ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܡܪ

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[1] D ܕܒܪܘܣܛܠܠܘܣ [2] Pers. بهرام. B writes ܘܗܪܡ twice.

[3] A ܘܟܘܟܒܐ, BCE ܟܘܟܒܐ without ܘ [4] Pers. تير

[5] CDE ܗܘܪܡܙܕ, B ܗܘܪܡܙܕ. Read ܗܘܪܡܙܕ, Pers. هرمزد, هرمز.

[6] D ܕܡܬܩܪܐ [7] Pers. أناهيد, ناهيد

[8] DE ܕܟܘܟܒ̈ܐ, ABC ܕܟܘܟܒܐ [9] ABCE ܘܕܘܫܐ

[10] There must be an error here, as ܕ would seem to be prefix and ܟܚܠܐ the material.

[11] B has ܦܪܢܘܓ in the text, and فرنوج on the margin. Possibly Pers. برنج or پرنگ, *copper*. AE have ܦܪܢܘܓ

[12] D ܕܝܢ

ܗܠܝܢ ܡ̈ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ : ܒܗ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܦܝܢܩܐ[1] ܚܕ ܕܗ̈ܒܐ ܟܟ̈ܒܐ
ܗܟܢ ܕܡܢ̈ܘ. ܡܬܩܢܐ ܒܟܐܦ̈ܐ ܝܩܝܪ̈ܬܐ. ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܓܠܝܢ ܦܝܠܐ ܠܡܝܬܝܬܐ ܢܛܪܘܗ[2]. ܚܕ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ
ܠܐ ܢܛܪ ܥܠ ܘܢ̈ܦܠܘܢ ܠܡܠܟ̈ܘܬܐ. ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܩܝܡܐ ܕܒܝܫ̈ܬܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܣܓܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ. ܣܘܟܪ̈ܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܡܟܣܝܢ
ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܡܨܥܬܗ ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܥܠ ܗܘ ܫܡܫܐ ܟܪܟܐ ܕܙܘܕܝܐ
ܕܙܘܕܝܘ. ܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܫܬܐ[3] ܡܪܟܒܝܢ ܠܗ. ܘܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ
ܡܠܘ̈ܫܐ ܬܪܥܣܪ. ܘܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܀ ܠܗܘ
ܗܘܐ ܦܝܢܩܐ ܠܥܠ[4] ܡܢ ܛܪܝܣܩܠܣ[5] ܣܝܡ. ܘܬܝܒܘܬܐ[6] ܚܕ
ܘܥܡܕܐ ܕܐܣܛܪܘ ܒܓܘܗ ܗܘ ܦܝܢܩܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢܗ ܕܗܘ
ܦܝܢܩܐ ܣܝܡ[7]. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܒܗ ܘܟܠܗ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܫܒܥܐ
ܕܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ. ܘܗܘ ܕܒܡܨܥܬܐ[8] ܕܟܠܝܠܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܓܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢ
ܡܬܚܙܐ. ܡܢ ܬܚܘܬ ܗܘܐ ܟܐܦ̈ܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܕܣܡܡ̈ܐ : ܠܗ
ܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܒܝܬ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܘܢܝܬܐ. ܘܗܟܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܦܝܢܩܐ
ܥܠ ܣܘܡܟܐ ܢܚܫ̈ܬܐ. ܘܡܢܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܝܢܩܐ[9] ܕܗܘ ܘܥܡܕܐ

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[1] D ܦܝܢܩܐ [2] D ܢܛܪܗ, but corrected on marg.

[3] The 36 δεκανοί. The Syriac equivalent ܕܩ̈ܢܘܣܐ seems to have been accidentally omitted in our MSS. [4] BCDE omit ܠܥܠ

[5] I.e. *a tripod*, from τρισκελής.

[6] Read ܘܬܝܒܘܬܐ? The word ܬܝܒܘܬܐ = ܬܝܒܘܬܐ, Ar. سَفَط *a small basket, casket,* or *chest.* [7] MSS. ܣܝܡ

[8] D has ܕܒܡܨܥܬܐ, corrected into ܕܒܡܨܥܬܐ

[9] BC omit ܥܠ ܦܝܢܩܐ

ܢܦܩܝܢ ܀ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܐ ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܡܬܚܫܟܐ ܘܐ
ܟܕ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ[1] ܢܟܝܠ ܐܬܐ ܠܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܀ ܡܛܠ
ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܢܟܝܠ ܐܬܐ[2] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܘ
ܡܠܟܬܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ̇ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܦܣ ܕܢܠܒܫ ܢܬܠܡܐ
ܡܢܝܢ ܠܚܘܕܗ. ܘܡܬܦܫܦܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܩܠܝܠܐ ܩܪܘܒܐ[3] ܡܢܗܘܢ
ܒܗ ܝܠܕܐ. ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܐ ܢܕܟܪ ܩܕܡܝ. ܘܟܕܢܐ ܡܢܟܝܢ
ܩܘܦܬܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܐܢܫ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܛܠ
ܡܝܬܐ ܘܡܠܝܟܐ ܘܣܒܐ ܫܘܝܢܐ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܒܬܝܬܘܣܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܘܒܬܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܬܝܠܕܐ
ܗܘܐ ܀ ܒܪ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܗܘ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܬܝܠܕܐ.
ܘܢܦܫ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ. ܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܐܬܝܠܕܬ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܘܦܝܗ. ܡܛܠ ܩܕܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܘܠܝܠܬܐ ܡܬܝܠܕܐ
ܗܘܦܝܗ[4] ܀ ܡܛܠ ܒܢܝܐܦܘܣ[5] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܝܕܥ
ܒܗ ܡܬܝܠܕܐ ܗܘܦܝܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܢܝܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܫܡܝܢ
ܗܘܐ ܠܗ: ܘܩܪܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ
ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܢܗܘܐ ܗܘ[6] ܠܝ ܠܡܝܪܬ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ.
ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܚܕܐ ܀ ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ

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[1] Read ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܕܐܬܟܪܝ (?) [2] B and C omit ܐܬܐ

[3] D ܘܩܪܝܒܐ [4] D (ܐܬܐ) ܡܬܝܠܕܐ, with ܗܘܦܝܗ on marg.

[5] D ܢܝܐܦܘܠܡܘܣ frequently.

[6] D ܘܡܝܬܘܐ : ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ. B omits ܠܗ

IV ܘܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[1] ܗܘ[2] ܟܕ ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܐܠܝܨܐ
ܡܬܦܠܓ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܬܐܠܝܢ ܠܣܘܦܗ[3] ܘܐܬܡܛܠܬܗ ܠܘܬܗ
ܩܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܝܢ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܦ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܡܠܟܬܐ
ܐܬܬܠܟܝ ܠܡܬܒܠܗܘ ܥܠ ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ[4] ܕܠܝܕܐ. ܘܫܠܚܬܘܗܝ
ܒܚܠܡܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܒܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܦܩܕܬ ܗܘܬ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ
ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܠܘܬܗ ܬܐܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܘܐܫܬܟܠ ܕܟܝܬ
ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܠ. ܘܐܡܪ ܣܘܦܝܐ ܦܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܚܙܐ. ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ[5]
ܣܘܦܗ ܦܫܛ ܗܘܐ. ܘܠܟܠܢܐ[6] ܗܘܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ.
ܟܣܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܦܬܝܚܐ. ܘܒܚܝܫܘܬܗ ܠܒܗ
ܐܬܬܠܟܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܡܪ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܫܠܡܐ ܠܟܝ ܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܬ
ܕܒܚܝܪܘܬܐ ܡܪܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܠܟܐ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ
ܦܩܕܗ ܠܡܬܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ
ܐܦ ܐܢܬ. ܫܠܡܐ ܠܟ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܠ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܟܕ ܠܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܘܡܦܝܕܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܚܙܝܬܗ
ܡܢܟ ܕܡܬܚܡܠܟ ܦܪܘܣܬܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ[7] ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܚܙܝܬܗ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܚܝܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܗܒܬ ܕܝܠܟ[8]

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[1] The MSS. have ܛܝܡܐ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ [2] D ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
[3] BC ܠܣܘܦܗ [4] ܕܝܢ seems to be superfluous.
[5] D ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܠܗܠ [6] D ܘܗܘ ܠܟܠܢܐ [7] C has ܐܡܪܬ ܘܐܡܪ,
but the scribe forgot to strike out ܐܡܪܬ, which begins the next
sentence of Olympias. [8] BCDE omit ܕܝܠܟ

ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܐܦ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܟܠܗ. ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣ[1]
ܐܙܠ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܘܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[2] ܫܠܝܛܐ ܠܐܦܪܝܩܝ.
ܐܬܐ ܠܦܝܠܐ[3] ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܗܝ. ܘܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܠܒܫ.
ܘܐܝܟ[4] ܥܒܕܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ[5] ܘܠܚܕܕܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܡܠܘܐܐ. ܘܥܡ ܢܨܝܚܘܬܗ
ܐܘܨܪܐ[6] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܢܣܒ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ
ܐܙܠ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ[7] ܗܘܐ ܀ ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܗܘܐ. ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ
ܥܡ ܐܣܦܣܛܘܣ[8] ܟܕ ܐܘܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܗܝ ܫܐܠܘ. ܘܡܟܝܠܬܐ
ܠܗ ܐܡܪܘ. ܕܫܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ
ܡܢܐ ܓܕܫܗ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܀ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܣܦܣܛܘܣ ܒܥܕܢ
ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܢܬܦܢܐ ܢܬܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܡܠܟܐ ܟܕ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ
ܕܢܩܛܢ[9] ܐܒܢܬܐ ܘܢܣܠܩܘܢ ܘܢܦܠ. ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܢܦܩܬ
ܢܣܒܢܐ ܢܐܡܪ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܒܢܐ ܘܢܣܠܩ ܡܢܗ. ܕܗܘ ܚܕܬܐ
ܠܗ ܘܢܬܒܪ ܢܨܚܢ. ܘܠܐܒܘܟܬܐ ܡܛܠܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒܘܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ[10] ܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ
ܗܢܐ ܥܒܕܘ. ܒܗ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܠܡܣܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܫܢܐ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܬܘܒ ܗܘܐ[11]. ܗܢܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܒܚܠܦܘ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܐ ܡܫܬܥܝܢܐ[12] ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܢܐ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܀

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[1] Πηλούσιον. [2] D ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [3] Πέλλη (acc.).
[4] Read ܐܝܟ without ܘ [5] D ܡܨܪܝܐ [6] B ܐܘܨܪܐ
[7] D ܡܨܪܝܐ [8] Read ܐܦܣܛܘܣ or ܐܦܝܣܛܘܣ, Ἥφαιστος.
[9] D ܘܡܕܢܚ (ܐܣܛܪܢ) [10] D ܗܠܝܢ [11] I.e. the statue of Nectanebus. [12] D ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢܐ

ܕܝܕܝܥܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ. ܘܠܚܕܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ
ܠܡܦܓܥܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܠܝܢ
ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܐ ܗܘ. ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܕܡܠܟܐ ܚܕ[1] ܠܒܢܝܐ[2] ܡܨܒܝܐ
ܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ. ܘܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܠܐܣܛܪܘܢܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܕܡܫܟܚ[3].
ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܦܪܥܐ ܡܨܒܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ[4] ܘܡܛܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ.
ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܒܗܬ ܘܗܝܕܝܟ. ܕܢܚܙܐ[5] ܡܠܟܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܗܕܐ
ܕܟܠ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ. ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܦ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ
ܕܝܕܥ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ ܀

III ܘܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ[6] ܠܡܕܒܪܐ ܢܦܩ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ
ܠܟܠ ܐܦܝܣ. ܘܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܦܬ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܥ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܬܐ ܡܨܪܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܕܥ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܘܟܝ[7]. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܗܘ[8] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ[9] ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܐܣܛܪܘܢܘܡܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܚܕ ܡܢܗ
ܠܡܠܟܐ. ܚܝܠܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ. ܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ
ܘܡܬܚܫܒ ܠܗ[10] ܀ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܕܡܫܬܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܗܘ
ܠܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܬ. ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܝܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܟܠ. ܘܐܫܟܚ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ

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1 D ܚܕ ܠܡܠܟܐ 2 DE ܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ (sic) 3 D has (ܐܦ ܐܢܐ) ܒܚܙܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܝܘܢܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܗܘ: ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܦ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܝܕܥ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ.
4 C omits ܕܐܬܐ 5 A ܕܚܙܐ 6 D ܕܝܢ ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ
7 Perhaps corrupt. 8 D ܗܘܐ 9 D ܗܘܝܢ 10 Read ܠܗܘܢ

ܕܒܘܝܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܫܦܝܪܐܝܬ ܚܘܠܩܐ ܕܦܘܠܚܢܐ
ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.

II ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܢܝܚܬܗ ܕܦܩܝܕ. ܠܒܬܪܗ ܩܡ ܫܡܫܘܢ
ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܗܘܐ. ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܩܒܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܐܘ ܢܦܫܒܝܥܘܣ ܥܡ ܥܕܬܐ
ܟܢܫܐ ܢܝܚ ܠܗ. ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ
ܘܐܢܫ ܚܠܦ ܢܣܠܩܘܢ ܦܛܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ.
ܘܫܡܗܝܗܘܢ ܦܪ̈ܬܝܐ. ܐܠܢ̈ܝܐ. ܠܘܓܪܕܝܢ̈ܐ[1]. ܐܪܡܢ̈ܝܐ. ܡܕ̈ܝܐ[2].
ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ[3]. ܡܝܫܢ̈ܝܐ. ܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܓܝ̈ܠܝܐ. ܐܠܝܡ̈ܝܐ. ܦܪܬܘܡܝ̈ܐ[4].
ܐܠܒܢ̈ܝܐ. ܟܠܕ̈ܝܐ. ܓܪܓܝ̈ܫܝܐ. ܠܘܕܟ̈ܝܐ. ܦܠܓ̈ܝܐ. ܐܓܠܒ
ܥܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܘܐܬܠܒ ܢܣܒܗ ܓܢܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܒܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܦܢ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ
ܦܬܓܡ̈ܐ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܚܕܐ ܢܬܠܓܘ. ܒܡܥܪ̈ܒܐ ܢܟܝܢܐ. ܘܡܦܢܝܢ
ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ
ܕܦܠܚ ܘܡܫܡܫܢ[5]. ܘܟܕ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ[6] ܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܢܫܒܥܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܬܡܟܠܘ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ. ܐܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ
ܥܡܗ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܗ. ܕܕܝܢ[7]
ܗܠܝܢ ܒܕܝܢܗ ܠܗ. ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܡܘܬܗ ܘܠܗ ܠܥܠܡܘܬܗ
ܦܠܠܗ. ܡܛܠ ܕܫܢܬܗ[8] ܒܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܪܒܝܠ. ܘܫܠܡ ܠܗ
ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥܘܗܝ ܫܠܝܡ ܡܫܡܫܢ. ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܡܘܕܥܢܐ

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[1] D ܠܘܓܪܕܝܢܝܐ [2] D ܡܕ̈ܝܐ ܐܪܡ̈ܢܝܐ [3] D ܐܪ̈ܕܝܐ
[4] D ܦܪܬܘܫܢ̈ܝܐ [5] D ܘܡܫܡܫܢ [6] D ܕܕܝܢ [7] D ܕܝܢ
[8] D ܕܫܢܬܗ

ܘܡܬܦܪܢܣܐ¹ ܗܘܐ ܬܚܫ̈ܒܬܐ² ܪܘܚ̈ܢܝܬܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܚܪܫܘܬܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܐܒܗ̈ܬܗ³ ܕܡܝܢܝܢ ܐܫܬܘܝ ܗܘܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܚܪܫܘܬܗ ܐܦ ܐܝ̈ܟܢܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܬܡܠܟ⁴ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܢ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܕܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ⁵ ܡܬܝܕܥ
ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ⁶ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ. ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ
ܗܘܐ ܘܐܦܠܐ⁷ ܡܕܡ ܚܕ ܠܚܘܒܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝܢܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܗܘܐ. ܥܠ
ܗܝ ܕܐܦ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܗܘܐ. ܐܘ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܘܟܘܪ̈ܣܝܐ
ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܥܕܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ. ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܐܦܪ̈ܝܢ⁸ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܫܠܝܛ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܬܝ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܒܡܢ̈ܝܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܕܢܚܙܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܐ
ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܕܟܠܢ⁹ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܕ ܗܘ ܟܡܐ ܗܘܐ
ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܕܐܦܐ ܒܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܗܘܐ¹⁰
ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܦܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܠܐܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܟܘܫܐ ܟܠܗ
ܗܘܐ. ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܠܘܢ¹¹ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.
ܠܡܚܒܠ ܒܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ.

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¹ D ܘܡܦܪܢܣܐ ² Read ܡܚܫܒ (ܒܗ) ܚܫ̈ܒܬܐ ? or perhaps ܡܬܦܪܢܣ ܗܘܐ ܚܫ̈ܒܬܐ ? ³ D ܐܒܗ̈ܬܗ ⁴ ABCE ܐܬܡܠܟ ⁵ Read ܐܡܕܡ ⁶ D ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ ⁷ ABCE ܐܦܠܐ ⁸ Rather ܐܦܪܝܢ in the singular. ⁹ Read ܘܕܟܠܢ ¹⁰ D ܗܘܐ ¹¹ Read ܕܢܬܠܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ?

ܒܚܝܠ ܘܥܐ ܠܟܠ ܢܬܠܝ ܡܫܪܝܢܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ
ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܡܪܝ ܥܕܪܝܢܝ ܘܠܟܘܠܟܘܢ ܐܚܝ[1] ܀

BOOK I.

I ܐܝܟ ܗܘܘ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܛܘܗܡܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܡܫܚܘ ܐܪܥܐ[2] ܘܫܡܝܐ ܚܠܫܘ. ܘܓܠܠܐ ܕܝܡܐ ܐܘܒܕܘ. ܘܢܝܠܘܣ ܕܒܪ ܢܡܘܣܗ ܠܟܘܢ. ܘܫܒܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܚܟܡܘ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ[3] ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ[4] ܐܫܠܡܘ ܘܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܥܠ ܢܩܛܝܢܒܘܣ[5]. ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ[6] ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ.

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[1] BCDE have ܒܚܝܠ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪܐ. ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ. ܡܫܪܝܢܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ. ܡܪܝ ܥܕܪܝܢܝ ܘܠܟܘܠܟܘܢ ܒܨܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܐܚܝ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ CD omit ܒܨܠܘܬܟܘܢ

[2] D ܠܐܪܥܐ [3] D ܕܠܗܘܢ [4] Read ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ

[5] D ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ [6] All five MSS. read ܐܚܪܢܐ, but this is a mistake, as the Greek text has τὸν τελευταῖον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα (see Müller, Pseudo-Callisth. p. 1, col. 2, n. 11).

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ܦܘܼܫܵܩܵܐ

ܕܐܓܪ̈ܬܗ ܕܦ ܦܘܠܘܣ

ܡܸܠܬ݂ܵܐ ܕܡܫܝܼܚܘܼܬ݂ܵܐ.

ܗܘܼ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܬܝܼܩܵܐ ܀

ܐܬܛܒܥ

ܒܡܛܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ

ܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢ̈ܐ ܘܡܫܝܚ ܘܡܕܝܢ

ܡܕܝܢܬܐ

CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

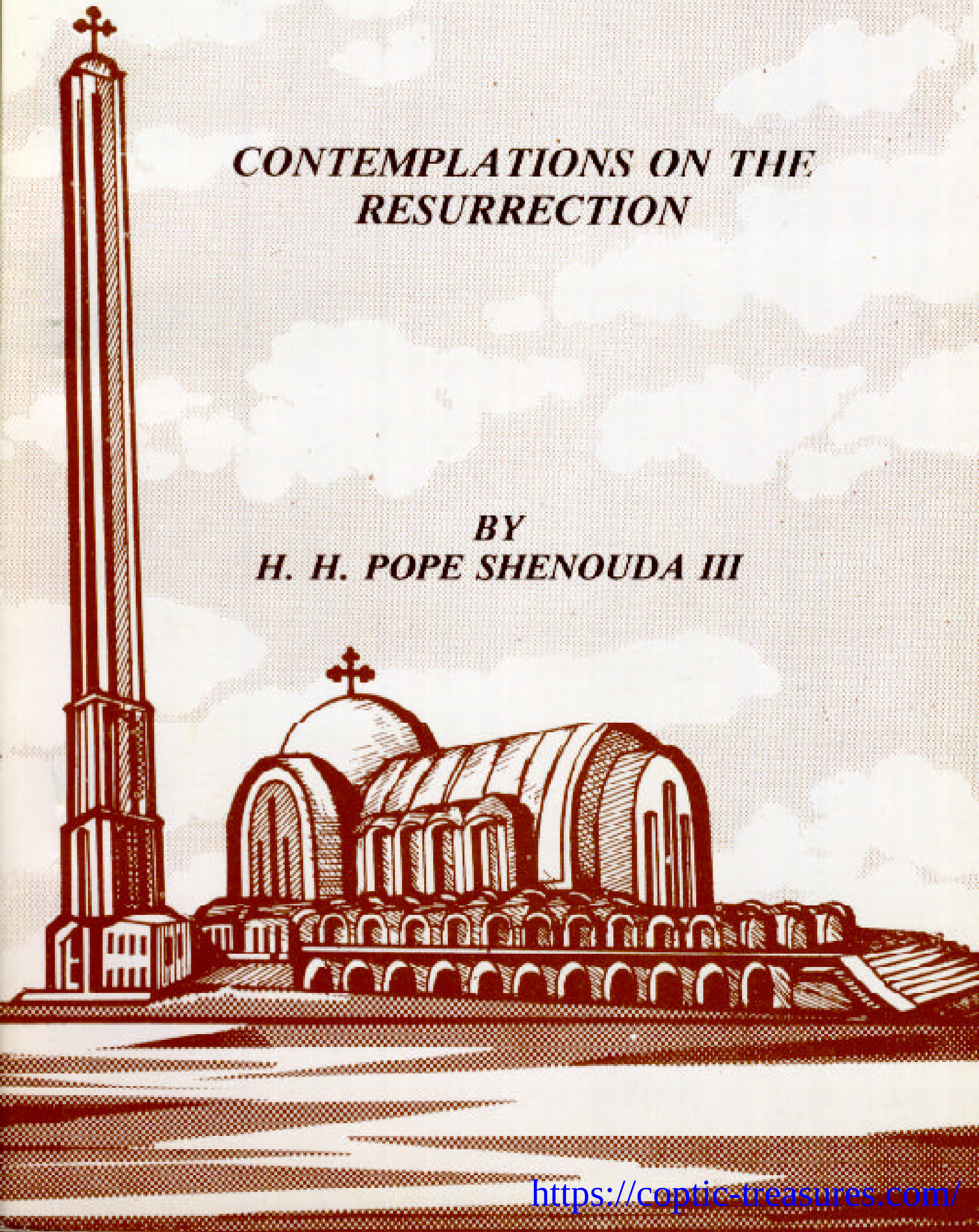

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COPTIC ORTHODOX
PATRIARCHATE

See of St. Mark

CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

https://coptic-treasures.com/

Title	**:** Contemplations on the Resurrection.
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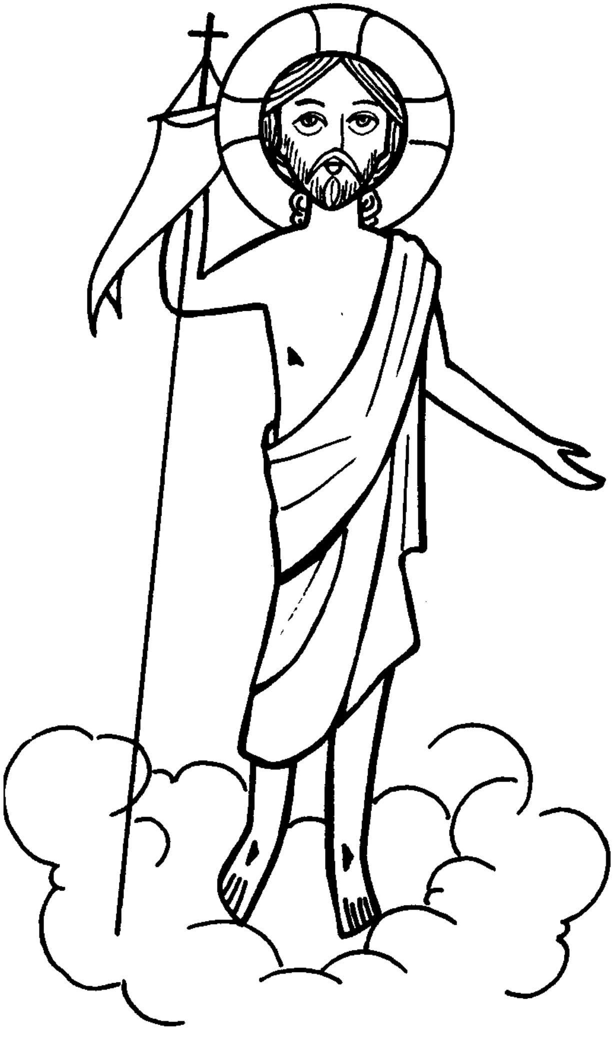

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H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

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PREFACE

This is the first book I publish about The Resurrection.

But I have published many articles about the resurrection in the Preaching magazine and in the daily newspapers.

Moreover, every year, on Easter Eve, we used to deliver a sermon about that subject in the Great Cathedral.

It was necessary to collect all these articles and sermons for this book, So we could publish it.

This book is comprised of two principal elements:

1. General - theoretical theology -talks on the resurrection.

This is an ideological trend which falls under the limits of theoretical theology or the philosophy of the resurrection written in a good style which suits all denominations.

It, also, explains how resurrection was an essential necessity; how it was potential and the uses and benefits gained from it both spiritually and generally.

2. Topics concerning the resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ; glory be to Him.

It comprises the events of the resurrection and explains its power and its effects; how Jesus' resurrection surpasses other resurrections; the blessedness of this resurrection and its effects on your life; the joys caused by it and the proofs and confirmation of its authenticity.

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3. Questions related to the resurrection.

A question about the glorified body; a question about the words of the Lord to Mary Magdalene "Do not hold on to me. "; two other questions about Saint Peter, the apostle and a question about the circumstances of the resurrection and to what extent its events agree with each other.

This last question needs a separate and complete article which will be delivered on another occasion; God willing.

Now, it suffices to wish you a happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

April, 1990

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CHAPTER ONE

The Resurrection And Its Spiritual Depth

The Resurrection Is A Wonderful Meeting:

1. The resurrection is a wonderful meeting between two united friends who have lived together their whole life since their birth and even before it, during pregnancy in their mothers' wombs.

They never separated even for one moment; They are: the body and the spirit.

Each of them has a special nature; the body is earthly and the spirit is celestial. They have united in one nature-the human nature.

You cannot separate one from the other and say "This is the body and that is the spirit."

They have lived together in an admirable unity. The body expresses all the sensations and feelings of the spirit. If the spirit becomes glad the body will smile and rejoice. If it becomes sad, sorrow will appear in the eyes.

After a long life they will separate from one another because of death but in the end they will meet each other in the resurrection.

After a long separation they will unite again. **I wonder!! how will the sensations of the spirit be when it meets the body -**

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the life long partner after hundreds and may be thousands of years as Adam, Noah and Abraham had done before!?!?

The spirit meets the body after seeing the body change into a handful of dust. Then returns more radiant than before, without any blemish.

Even the faults, stuck to the body in the past, disappear. Yes, it is raised without defects because wrong and evil deeds do not agree with eternal paradise.

The body returns more friendly. It never disagrees with the spirit in the other world for it is raised a spiritual body.

2. The second wonderful meeting in the resurrection is a meeting of nations and races of the whole history.

It will be a general resurrection since the days of Adam. All nations and races that lived through generations and centuries, with their different languages, features and lineaments, with all their heroes and leaders will meet together and try to be acquainted and understand each other.

Undoubtedly, they will do so because there will be one language the language of the spirit or that of the angels.

How wonderful this meeting will be!! It will be the greatest of all stories and the strangest narrative of long epochs.

The best of all will be the procession of the triumphant and victorious people who struggled during their life on earth, then conquered and supported truth and morals.

They will meet together and everyone has a story related by generations... then the world will become once more one nation as it had been before parting and dispersion.

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I wonder!! how will the meeting of the nations which had fought with each other be? Will the causes that forced them to wage wars against each other seem insignificant?

3. The third marvellous meeting is that of the human-beings with the angels who are made of a nature more eminent than ours.

Meeting with them will be one of eternity's happy enjoyment.

4. But the most wonderful meeting with the Lord will surpass any other meeting in its eminence.

Our meeting with God, blessed is His name, will be the eternal paradise for there will be no paradisiacal life without Him.

Now my pen stops in silent submissiveness because I am before a scene which words fail to describe or interpret. It is above the standard of any language to express or any intelligence to imagine. Thus, the resurrection is a strange and wonderful meeting .... and what else?

The Resurrection Is A Miraculous Transition:

1. It is a transition from the limited to the unlimited.

It is an interchange from a life measured with days and years to an infinite one which has no connection with time.

I wonder! Is there another earth which revolves around itself and round the sun; and interprets its revolutions into days and years?

Or shall we rise over time and enter a new world?

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Measures of time will come to an end... One moment in eternity is longer and deeper than the whole life of earth.

2. The resurrection is also a transition from the visible to the invisible.

It is an entrance to what is written in the Holy Bible *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

It is an entrance to the spiritual world and a way to the meeting with the angels, the invisible spirits where joys never known on earth will take place. Here, the resurrection surpasses all the grades attained by senses and rises to the realms where the spirit alone can realise everything.

3. Thus, the resurrection means transition from the world of sensation to the world of spirits.

In the resurrection we acquire spiritual senses which differ from earthly material ones.

The new senses see the spirits and spiritualities and are dazzled by them. Now, I myself keep silent once more.

Here is a kind of the revelation of human nature when it becomes conscious of what it could not perceive in the past and acquire spiritual characteristics not practised before.

In the resurrection the spirit can see the invisible or some of it or advance gradually in sight moving from spiritual satiety to more and more fullness in the life of revealment.

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4. The resurrection is transition from the world of falsehood to the life of truth.

From the world of evanescence to the world of immortality. From a world in which everything will be abolished after a time to an everlasting world in which there is no falsehood but well fixed truth.

It is a world free from sin where men live with each other in association very pure, clear and everlasting.

What else about the resurrection?

The Resurrection Is A Multi-Faceted Miracle:

Here appears the miraculous power of God. How will the bodies be gathered once more after they changed into dust! ?

Isn't it He who created and formed them from dust; from nothingness?

Dust had been a nonentity before it existed. He who looks attentively at the resurrection from this side can consider the limitless power of God, our creator. It is enough for Him to wish and everything will be accomplished according to His will, even without an utterance. It is His will which is in root and essence an effective order, capable of doing everything.

We consider the resurrection a miracle not owing to its difficulty but because our mind is unable to perceive how it takes place!! But though the mind fails to comprehend that matter, yet faith can easily understand it.

Thus, the resurrection is the creed of the believers.

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He who has faith in God and His power can believe in the resurrection. He who has faith in God as a creator believes also that He has raised the dead.

But the apostates intelligence cannot reach that standard. They do not believe in the resurrection. They have no faith in the spirit and its immortality. Moreover, they do not believe in God Himself.

It Is also a necessary one for justice, serenity and evenness of mind.

It is necessary for justice to judge everyone according to his deeds done during his life on earth-whether good or bad. If they are good he will be rewarded; if they are evil and bad deeds he will be punished.

If there had been no resurrection men would have coveted greedily on worldly pleasures with their corruption and immorality without any care for what will happen to them in future life.

But believing in the resurrection and the following final judgement - reward or punishment - is a restraint to men because they will perceive that justice must prevail in the future life.

This final judgment will take place after the resurrection and the unity of the spirits with their bodies.

For it is unjust for the spirit to be judged alone leaving the body without retribution according to its obedience or disobedience to the spirit. Thus, the body must rise and the spirit must unite with it. And before God the two stand together because they were partners responsible for everything they did on earth.

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The resurrection is also necessary for equality.

On earth there is no equality among human beings. There are the rich and the poor; the happy and the miserable, the one who lives in ease and comfort and that who suffers torture.

If there is no equality on earth, it will be appropriate to find it in heaven; and he who does not get his rights on earth can afterwards get them in heaven and the Lord will compensate him for what he had lost on earth if his deeds were satisfactory in the eyes of God.

The story of the rich man and Lazarus in the Holy Bible (Luke 16) presents to us a certain proof about equipoise between life on earth and life in heaven.

The resurrection is also a very magnificent, thrilling and admirable miracle.

It presents to the other world an idealistic life. The ideal man about whom the philosophers spoke and for whom Diogene searched but in vain, the man whom scientists fancied in their imagination, this man is presented by the resurrection to the other world in which there is no sin, no sorrow, no weeping, no depravity, no injustice, no deficiency or poverty.

It is a miracle presented by the resurrection. Moreover, it is an inordinate desire to a life of righteousness, which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a gladdening miracle.

It is cheering because life is completed by it, for man conquers death and lives forever.

The eternal life is the dream of the human-race which is threatened by death from time to time.

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Although the life of mankind on earth is short yet it is full of weariness and affliction.

So great will be the pleasure of man when he gets rid of fatigue and death and lives happily in eternal paradise.

It is a dream which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, we come to a very important reality.

The Resurrection Is The Gate Of Eternity:

But for the resurrection death would have been a decisive evanescence.

Evanescence is a dreadful matter. It is a distressing end which is considered the grimmest tragedy.

But God did not create man for evanescence but for continuance and life.

If man was exposed to death because of sin God laid before him the way of salvation.

He raised and rescued him from this death.

When God created man, He gave him something eternal-the spirit.

Man dies but his spirit does not perish but remains alive. In this way, man differs from other creatures which live on earth because their lives are annihilated and come to an end.

Man, by the resurrection, begins another new, endless life.

In this way, man's degree and his preference to other earthly creatures appear.

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Because the spirit cannot form a perfect man, it was necessary for the body to rise and unite with it.

Thus, the eternal life cannot be complete with one part but with the two parts-the spirit and the body in order that man may return to life.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a wakefulness after a long sleep.

By this we mean the wakefulness of the body or that of the perfect man because the spirit is wakeful forever.

The resurrection is the end of death. No death will come afterwards.

It is an end to that dreadful enemy.

Man has triumphed over many enemies except death which has conquered and still conquers humanity as it was the irrefutable punishment inflicted by God against him when he fell down and sinned.

But, by the resurrection, God has saved humanity from that enemy and exterminated it forever.

Now, we stand before a bridge which separates between two lives. Death is at its beginning and the resurrection is at its end.

Death is the end of the first life and the resurrection is the beginning of the other world.

The distance between them is an interval of waiting in which the spirits of those who had gone away will wait till their brothers on earth continue their strife and probations.

The eternity presented by the resurrection must be preceded by the final judgment.

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The doomsday will come between the resurrection and eternity when all human beings stand before the Lord to render an account of what they did when they were on earth whether good or bad.

They render an account about every deed, every thought, every feeling or sensation, every resolution or determination they had, every word they uttered; then the righteous go to eternal paradise while the evil doers go into continuos anguish.

So, whilst the resurrection is gladness in regard to the righteous, it is also a fright to the apostates and evil-doers.

As for the righteous, God arranges their standing once more according to their past deeds.

He gives every man a new standing according to the purity of both heart and thought and according to his carrying out God's commandments and to what extent he could establish the good and love among people and also, according to his love and strong desire towards God.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Necessity Of The Resurrection And Its Possibilities

The Resurrection Of The Body:

When we speak about the resurrection we mean the rising of the bodies from death because the spirits are immortal by nature. Death has neither effect nor power over them. So, they are not in need of resurrection.

These bodies which change into dust from which God has created will come back to existence once more. The spirits will settle down in them and unite with them. All of them will stand before God in the doomsday - the day of the resurrection - in order to present an account of what they did on earth whether good or bad.

It is the dreadful day of final judgment which will be followed by the eternal termination of all humanity.

It will be either the paradise or the hell according to what one will deserve in regard to his faith and deeds.

The Resurrection Is A Possible Matter.

The possibility of the resurrection - with no doubt depends on the plenary and unlimited power of God.

All of us believe that the Almighty God is omnipotent. There is no limit to His heavenly ability.

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However difficult the matter may seem to the renegades and the unbelievers or to those who depend on thought and science yet God, without any doubt, is able to raise the bodies from death.

The practice and the operation of the resurrection of the bodies is easier than creating them previously.

God, who gave these bodies the blessing of existence, is undoubtedly able to return them, once more, from the dust of earth.

Moreover, God has created everything from nonentity. He created the earth and its dust from nothingness; and from dust He created man.

Then, which of them is more difficult: the creation from non-existence or raising the bodies from dust?

Thus, it is intuitive that he who is able to carry out the most difficult matter can also execute the easiest one... and He who caused the creation to exist, can, with stronger reason, keep it.

We say so whatever obstacles and entanglements the perverts and the apostates and the half-educated savants and scientists may set before the possibility of the resurrection.

When I refer to the half-learned men I will declare innocent of the charge the scientists and the learned men who acquire complete knowledge.

The half learned man is a materialist and the resurrection seems to him and impossible operation.

Meanwhile, he ignores or may be ignorant of the other half of the truth which is the ability of God.

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Half of the truth is that the earth may absorb some of the body's elements. A part of it may be decomposed or interfere with other substances or bodies.

The other half of the truth is that the material is imperishable.

Wherever the body may go, its component parts will remain extant and existing in the earth; the way of all flesh.

The infinite God knows quite well where the origins of the body are found. He, with His limitless power, can bring them back once more especially because it is His desire.

At the same time, He promised the human race to rise again according to the sayings of the prophets and what was registered in the holy books.

Thus, the resurrection, in its essence and reality, depends on God, blessed is His name. It depends on His will, His knowledge and His acquaintance and ability.

As for the will, God wishes man to rise from death. He promised him the eternal life and spoke of the resurrection, frankly and very clearly.

As long as God has promised something, there is no doubt that He will carry out His promise.

As for knowledge and ability, God knows where are the origins and the elements of the bodies which were decomposed and the places of their bones.

Moreover, He knows how to form and compose them again. Indeed He can do all that - great and dignified His great name is; high and elevated His omnipotent ability is.

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With complete faith we believe in the power of our Almighty God.

He who denies the possibility of the resurrection must, consequently, deny the creation from nonentity.

He also denies the ability of God as well as His existence.

But the believers, who have faith in God and believe in His miracles and in the process of creation and the infinite power of this great Creator, consider the resurrection a very simple matter, easy to believe in.

The Necessity Of The Resurrection

There is a principal point why the resurrection is necessary and the understanding of the meaning of perpetuity.

God has promised man an eternal life. His promise was given to man as a whole and not to the spirit alone which is a part of man.

If the spirit was given the chance to enjoy perpetuity and eternal paradise we could not say that man as a whole enjoyed an easy prosperous life in eternity, but only a part of him which is the spirit.

Thus, it is very necessary for the body to rise from death and consequently the spirit will unite with it to form a complete man who can enjoy a perpetual life.

But for the resurrection, the end of the human body would have been the same as that of animals.

Then, what are the characteristics of that wise, living being, endowed with the faculty of speech whom God has gifted with

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the talent of thinking, invention and the ability to build rocket , aeroplanes which convey him to the moon and whirl round the earth, then bring him back safely to it after collecting different data about other planets ?

Can it be intelligible and reasonable that the body of this marvellous and admirable man, whom the Lord gave the mastery over many sides of nature come to the same end of animals and insects? Indeed, the mind cannot accept that matter as true.

Thus, it is reasonable that the resurrection of the body keeps pace with man's prestige.

Man is distinguished and chosen out from other creatures which have bodies. With the gifts given to him by God, he can rule over them, pay attention to them and take care of them all.

So, the dignity of the body of this wise creature must be distinguished from the bodies of other unwise and dumb creatures.

The rising of the bodies from their graves is also a necessity incumbent for God's justice.

Man is a wise creature. He has his own will and consequently he is responsible for his deeds.

He will stand before God to take his recompense, whether reward or penalty, for what he did during his life on earth.

That deed was done by man, with his body and his spirit together. So, is it reasonable to judge the spirit alone? or to judge both of them together?

The spirit and the body are partners in everything, so, according to God's justice, they, together, have to enjoy the

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good reward or carry out the penalty and remain in torture.

The spirit and the body

The body is the systematic organisation of the spirit, or the soul or the mind.

The spirit has an inclination for doing the good, and the body takes upon itself carrying out that good. It moves, toils, suffers hardships and passes the night awake and tolerates.

Isn't this body worthy of a reward for the good role which he plays and takes part in it with the spirit!? Is right for the spirit alone to lead an easy and comfortable life while the weariness and efforts of the body is blown to smithereens? Does such matter agree with God's justice?

Let us take the soldier in the battlefield as an example .

The soldier's spirit impels him to do reckless adventures; to be a commando and a redeemer. It forces him to sacrifice himself for the sake of his country. It is infatuated with love and patriotism for its homeland and its compatriots.

But the body carries and takes upon its shoulder the whole burden and pays all the expenses and payments.

It is the body which toils, passes the night awake and struggles. It is wounded, becomes torn and its blood flows. Is it right for the spirit; after all these sufferings, to enjoy alone the heavenly rewards without its partner-the body?

The body seems as if it got neither earth nor heaven!? God's justice does not agree with this at all.

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Thus, it is necessary for the body to rise from death to share the spirit its joys.

We mention the same question in regard to doing evil deeds in which the body shares the spirit.

Perhaps the role of the body may exceed that of the spirit.

It is the body which plunges into worldly pleasures as food, drinking, drunkenness, narcotics, adultery, dancing, sport, jesting and insult.

After the body gives all these pleasures to its senses, will the spirit alone pay the price in eternity without any punishment or recompense to the body?

Certainly the answer is "No" because this does not agree with God's justice which must judge man as a whole-body and spirit.

So, the body must rise from the death to take his share in retribution.

Both the spirit and the body will be judged on the last judgement because they were partners in everything whether the spirit was the beginner and the body continued the work or the body had the bestial passion and the spirit yielded and submitted and took part in the body's libido and desires.

Let us give you one example about the partnership between the spirit and the body. It is the eye.

The spirit loves and feels pity for others and sympathises with them. Both love and sympathy appear in the eye.

The spirit flies into a rage at others or may have an inclination to revenge itself upon another; so, in the eye, you see the look of anger or the desire of avengement.

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The spirit tends to pray to God. So, in the eye you see the look of supplication or you may observe the eye brimmed over with tears owing to the impression of the spirit.

With meek and humble looks, the body enters into partnership with the meek and modest spirit.

With haughty, insolent and elevated looks, the body shares with the insolent, elevated and haughty spirit.

As the eye plays its role, so do the features of the face. Also, the beats of the heart take part as well as the cerebral centres and other organs of the body.

These are examples about the partnership between the spirit and the body.

We observe such partnerships in the field of diligence and energy. The poet explains that and says: "If the spirits are eminent, the bodies will suffer much to fulfil their aims and desires."

Thus, the reward in eternity will be given to eminent spirits which had the good will and insisted to do the good. It will be given also to the body which took upon its shoulder carrying out these good deeds; that body which toiled, struggled, suffered much and was patient in order that it might fulfil the spirit's desires.

Thus, as the body took part in the spirit's deeds it must rise to share her the reward or the punishment and to carry the responsibility because recompense will be for man as a whole.

Even on earth, we also repay the body and at the same time we consider this as a reward to the spirit also.

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Don't we venerate the bodies of the saints and the righteous? Don't we visit their tombs and put flowers and roses on them? Don't we pray for them?

We do not consider all these deeds mere respect to the body or to the bones or to the corpse or to dust but to man as a whole because with such deeds we greet the spirit as well.

Man is one unity. He is indivisible.

If he is worthy of honour and respect, we shall treat his body with deference and salute his spirit as well.

If he is unworthy of honour, we will pay no attention either to his body or to his spirit.

The bodies of the criminals who are sentenced to death or prison will obtain their punishment. At the same time, bad reputation will cling to their spirits which will be affected by what has happened to their bodies.

If our earthly justice acts in such a manner, now much the more the heavenly justice will be?

God's justice prevails man as one unity-spirit and body. Thus, the body which lived on earth and shared the spirit every action must rise.

The body was affected by the spirit's conditions, by its thought, by its sensation or reverential fear and the body bows spontaneously in submission.

When the spirit mourns the eye will weep and sorrow will appear on the face and in the movements of the body.

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When the spirit rejoices the smile will appear on the features. When the spirit becomes afraid the body will shiver and fear will overcome the face.

When the self is blushing the body will perspire and shyness may appear on his features.

Both spirit and body are partners in everything. So, it is unjust to let the spirit by itself or the body alone bear the responsibility of that partnership.

The two are responsible and that is what will happen on the last judgement.

From the style of some of those who deny the resurrection, it seems that they disdain the body.

They consider it a material element while they esteem the spirit to have an essence which vies in excellence with the body's nature.

But we say that although man is formed of two natures: material nature and spiritual one, yet both of them are united together in one nature which is known as "The human nature"

The body is not evil; otherwise God would not have created it.

The evil is the submission of the body to the material with its desires and bestial passions. In this yielding, the spirit takes part.

We must not forget that the body has its virtues and advantages. He bows during the prayers. He kneels down and raises his hands and eyes to God. He fasts and toils and does the good.

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It is the body who sacrifices himself for the sake of his country. It is he who stretches his hand and gives the poor and the needy.

Then, why do we reduce and lessen his important standing?

Aren't the artist's fingers which play the musical instrument and affect and move the hearts to be benevolent and charitable?

Aren't his fingers which cut out the statues, carve the wood, make pictures, paint portraits and present the art with which they direct the hearts towards the good?

Thus, the body itself is not evil; but it can work in the field of both good and evil.

The spirit can also work in the same field. Thus, they become partners.

Moreover, it is just for the bodies to rise from death in order to be compensated for what they had been deprived of, during their life on earth.

It is just for the bodies of the blind, for example, and the disabled, the crippled, the disfigured and persons whose bodies were so unlucky that they had no touch of beauty, no sign of health, no trace of power to rise on the last judgement without any shortage or deficiency in order that God may compensate them for the sufferings and deficit they had on earth.

All those, whose bodies were affected by poverty, hardship, hunger and illness during their life on earth, need to rise in soundness which will compensate them for the misery they suffered on earth.

This agrees with God's justice.

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We rejoice with the resurrection and perceive that it is necessary, essential and possible.

Christ's resurrection was the first-fruit of the resurrection of all human-beings.

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CHAPTER THREE

The Concept And Significance Of The Resurrection

Death is an alien and a stranger to humanity

When God created man He formed him for life. He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living being.

God wished him life and perpetuity but man's option inclined to sin.

So he brought death and caused it to himself as a result of his sin. *"For the wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23)*

Thus, death came into the world and reigned over humanity.

So, we rejoice with the resurrection because it is a triumph over death and a return of man's nature to life.

God has created man to live and not to die.

Christ's resurrection is a handsel of our resurrection. Thus saint Paul, the apostle, described Him as *"The first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep". (1 Cor 15:20)*

He is the first-fruit and we will rise after him.

Perhaps someone may ask saying "How can Christ be the first-fruit of the dead while many rose before Him? "

1. The son of the widow in Zarephath in the region of Sidon whom Elijah, the prophet, raised from death (1 Kin 17:22)

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2. The son of the Shunammite who Elisha, the prophet, raised from death. (2 Kin 4:32-36)

3. There are three others whom the Lord Jesus Christ Himself raised from death. They are:

a) The son of the widow of the town called "Nain".

b) The daughter of Jairus.

c) Lazarus.

In fact, there are some persons who rose from death before the days of Christ but, after their rising, they died once more. They are still waiting for the general resurrection.

Christ's resurrection was the one after which there was no death. It was the first-fruit and the inordinate desire for which longs every believer in eternity.

We mean by the resurrection the way which leads to eternal life.

We know that man's life on earth is a very short story. It is nothing if measured or compared to eternity and the land of the Joy which is the good hope and the dream of all human beings.

The resurrection elevates the value of man and asserts that his life is not ended by death.

It affirms that there is another life which differs from this earthly one. We, God willing, will enjoy that new life after the resurrection.

Thus we say in "The Creed" which we recite every day in our prayers "and we are waiting for the resurrection of the dead and the eternal life as well, Amen."

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So, we may say that the most important events of the resurrection are those which will follow it.

The resurrection shows that there is an extension to man's life in eternity. It proves that death is a mere stage of the journey of man's life. It is a bridge between two lives: an earthly life and a heavenly one.

Undoubtedly, the heavenly life is far better than the earthly one because it will be in heaven above any material standard.

It will be pure and without any sin.

Moreover, it will be an association will God, His angels and His saints. The holy Bible says about it *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9).*

So, Mar Isaac said "**Fear of death disturbs the heart of the ignorant but the righteous longs for death as he loves life ".**

Thus, Saint Paul, the apostle said *"having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23)*

Indeed, death becomes inordinate desire to those who love God and the life in heaven. They consider it far more better than life on earth which has lost its purity.

Those, who believe in the resurrection, do not consider death as an end of life but a removal to another life.

The resurrection has changed people's look in regard to death. It is a mere transition or a bridge which leads to another life.

You can say that it is an ascent operation.

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Thus, death has become the inordinate desire of the righteous.

The apprehension of death fell down forever after Christ had trodden down death by His resurrection.

Saints do not fear death any longer. They pay no attention to its causes as illness and conspiracies and aggression of the wicked.

He who fears death is the sinner who has not turned from sin. He becomes afraid of his destiny and the last judgement when he will stand before God.

The sinner, who practises certain desires and bestial passions, fears death lest it should deprive him of such lusts. But the righteous never fears death because he believes in the resurrection.

The resurrection is connected with faith. The heretics, for example, do not believe in the resurrection.

The believer believes that God has the ability to raise the body from death. He who has created human-beings from dust and made dust from nothingness can bring the body back to life in order to return and unite with the spirit.

The apostates do not believe in the spirit's existence or its perpetuity after death. They do not believe in eternity or in recompense and punishment. So, I said that the resurrection is connected with faith.

Believing in the resurrection leads to the life of righteousness and virtue.

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The believer believes that in the dreadful last judgement he will stand before God to give an account for all his past deeds whether good or bad.

Thus, this faith leads him to be cautious and precision in his life for fear of the final judgment.

Consequently, he reckons himself up for every deed, every thought, every sensation and every word; then, he reforms himself as Saint Maccarius said "My brother, restrain yourself before they check you."

The true faith in the resurrection leads to the life of religious devotion and monasticism.

The resurrection drew men's attention to the glories of the other world; thus, the evanescent enjoyment of this perishable world diminished.

By their extravagant thinking in the invisible they paid no attention to the tangible and visible things.

They became as the Bible said " while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal." (2 Cor 4:18).

But for the resurrection, men would have coveted greedily on the earthly life and plunged in its inordinate desires as the Epicurians used to say "*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*" (1 Cor 15:32)

Those who believe in the resurrection and prepare themselves for it control themselves and keep down their desires and passions.

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They practise spiritual training to make themselves right. They do not yield to bodily or material desires but lead a spiritual life and suppress their bodies, their senses and their nerves.

Love of eternity made the righteous long for something greater and more eminent than the world.

Everything in the world cannot satisfy or fill them because, from within, there is a strong desire for heaven and a great longing for the spiritual and happy life which exceeds sensation and intelligence and excels all earthly desires.

Thus, the saints looked at the earth as an expatriation and considered themselves strangers on it.

They always long for a heavenly home; long for another different spiritual and heavenly life which no eye has seen.

They longed for the other world which is adorned with holiness, innocence, spirituality, peace, love and purity. There, God fills the hearts and there is no place for any other desire.

In the resurrection, there is a kind of consolation and compensation for men.

He who does not find justice on earth feels that his rights are kept for him in heaven with the Lord who gives sentence in favour of the oppressed.

He who does not find the good on earth, as poor Lazarus, is consoled because he will find all the good in heaven. As he was tormented on earth he will find consolation in heaven.

The resurrection makes equipoise for the life of every man.

Justice makes a balance between all that man has got on earth and what he will get in heaven.

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The resurrection offers a true consolation to all friends and lovers because it will gather them together once more after death separates them.

If life came to an end in the tomb without resurrection our dear friends who had passed away would perish. Our relationship would be all over with them and we would never see them.

Undoubtedly, this case wearies the heart and causes disaster to lovers who will lose their friends forever.

The resurrection gives us an idea about the power of God and His love to man.

This powerful loving God who can raise the bodies after they have been decomposed and changed into dust and who is able to bring them back to their first form in a kind of transfiguration- spirituality and luminosity - did not wish to enjoy the Cosmos alone but created other creatures.

He did not like to be alone in eternity, so, He bestowed perpetuity upon both men and angels and granted human beings an eternal life after rising from death.

One of the enjoyment of the resurrection is cessation of evil and all that sin has caused.

In paradise where the righteous live, there is neither evil nor sin. Our sins will come to an end. We will lead the life of plenary plainness and complete purity and cleanness.

We will be like angels and children in their innocence. The soul will get rid of the blemishes caused by sin as fear, doubt, lust, anxiety etc.

Then, the soul will be adorned with the crown of righteousness. All defects whether psychic or corporal will vanish.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The Message Of The Resurrection

As we rejoice at Christ's resurrection, we also delight in the resurrection itself, I mean the resurrection of all human beings.

We, also rejoice at the profound, spiritual and good points of the resurrection which elevate the value of humanity and show clearly the good and the enjoyment the Lord has prepared for man in the other world.

First, we say that the resurrection is an indication to faith.

Undoubtedly, it refers to man's faith in God, and man's faith in spirit and in eternity as well as the other world. It shows his faith in the general last judgement which will be after the resurrection.

The resurrection clears up man's faith in reward and punishment and consequently his belief in heaven, in saints and in God's kingdom.

Because the apostates believe neither in the resurrection nor in the other world, they consider Nian's life equal to that of animals saying that both of them perish and come to an end by means of death.

Indeed, how worthless and significant the life of both man and animal, which ends in death is, in the eyes of the apostates.

Surely, man's life will be of no importance if he is content with some years spent on this planet and no more!

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How inexorable and ugly death is in the eyes of those apostates. It is like an eraser which effaces existence, intelligence and knowledge of human beings and annihilates and leads them to nothingness.

Like the apostates are the Sadducees about whom the Holy Bible said that they did not believe in the resurrection or the spirit or the angels.

The Epicureans are no less ignorant than the apostates. They say "Let us drink and eat because we will die to-morrow".

Undoubtedly, the devil is the cause of repudiating the resurrection.

It is he who inspires the apostates, whether philosophers or ignorant, with such pretension.

If he succeeds in convincing them with the idea that there is no life after death, then, they will plunge themselves into mundane life with its anxieties and pleasures without thinking neither in their eternity nor in their standing before God in the last judgement. In this way they perish.

But the believers who have faith in God, believe in the resurrection and the Last Day.

The resurrection shows the unlimited capability of God.

All the abilities of man stand still before death. Both his power of intelligence and science and even his mind seem helpless before its potency.

But the Holy Bible teaches us that *"With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible." (Mark 10:27)*

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God is omnipotent. Both life and death are at His hand. He vitalises and He Himself puts to death. He can raise man from death.

As He has created him from the dust of earth, He can bring him back to life after the incorporation of his body into death inside the dust of the earth.

God, who has the ability to create everything from nothingness, can also raise man from death.

The resurrection proves God's love as well as his munificence.

God, who did not wish to be alone in the Universe, has originated and created creatures amongst which was man.

But after man's death, God did not wish him to perish and through His love and His generosity donated him life after death in order that his existence might be incessant, not for a time but forever.

Thus, God has endowed the mortal man with immortality.

The resurrection is something gladdening. By means of it, men will meet with their friends and loved ones who departed from this life.

What will be the case of the lovers whose hearts unite together during their life on earth and are separated afterwards by death?

I wonder!! Will it be an eternal separation without any connection or meeting in future?

Of course, God's love and mercy do not tolerate that matter.

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After death, the spirits of lovers and friends will meet together but after the resurrection they will see each other with their bodies and spirits.

It will be a general meeting in which, not only shall we meet with our friends, but also with all generations that passed through history.

After the resurrection, there will be a great festival, made by God, in which all men will become acquainted with one another.

In this wonderful festival we shall be acquainted with all historical personalities about whom we have read without seeing them or knowing their shapes or their styles and dialects whether they were governors or rulers, or scholarly or idealists.

Perhaps God may send His angels to acquaint us with all the Fathers and apostles and also, we shall see fathers Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Job.

We shall also see our mothers Eve, Sarah, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Rachel and in the front our mother Saint Mary the Virgin.

The resurrection presents to us many other joys as the association with the angels and the saints. Above them all, the enjoyment of being in the presence of God Himself, before which the mind becomes so astonished and delighted that a person cannot express himself. It is sufficient for him to relish and enjoy its sweetness.

The resurrection carries within itself an operation of equipoise and compensation.

Those who did not receive their merits on earth will get them completely in heaven after the resurrection and those whom the

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human race treated with injustice will receive complete heavenly justice as well.

Also, those who offered their charities in secret, without telling any one, will get their reward in heaven because God used to record their good deeds in order to reward them.
God will also repay all those who were not rewarded on earth for their good deeds.

In the resurrection men will perceive that God's judgments differ from those of men and that His justice will be completed in heaven.

Moreover, those who were born under certain circumstances or in special environments which could not guarantee for them happiness and social equality, will be compensated by God for everything they could not get on earth. See the story of the rich man and Lazarus. (Luke 16)

In the resurrection man is brought back to his first rank. His spirit restores its dignity and the body gets back its radiance.

Moreover, the body as well as the soul will have a kind of revelation and glory. Both of them will get rid of their deficiencies.

Thus, the Holy Bible said about the body *"It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:43,44)*

By the resurrection, the body gets rid of all its illnesses, infirmities and deformities. It appears in full radiance.

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The soul also will be cleared of its sickness and defects.

There will be no fear, no doubt, no hesitation, no anxiety, no libido, no bestial passions and no cowardice ... etc.

The philosophers, who used to search for the superman will find him in the resurrection.

The man of the resurrection will be in his best form. All will have luminary bodies. Everyone will shine according to his own standard.

The dream of humanity will be ascertained and a righteous complete society will come to existence.

In the city of God about which Saint Augustine has given some descriptions, there are no combats, no dissension, no disagreements, no hatred, no selfishness and no competition. It will be a society of love and sanctity.

In the resurrection men lead a simple and innocent life. The Bible says they become like God's angels in heaven.

In it, sin vanishes and the body yields no more to it or to depravity.

The body is completely cleansed from sin. God washes it till it becomes whiter than snow (Psalm 50).

Thus, man lives in a spiritual standard fit for heaven and its purity.

In the resurrection, the indigenous obtains victory over the foreigner.

Truth overcomes falsehood because truth is the former and the origin while the untruth is foreigner and exotic in regard to this world.

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In the resurrection life triumphs over death, because life is the origin and the source while death is a stranger.

Man is composed of a spirit and a body. The spirit is living and active by its nature and will remain, so, forever but the body, which was disposed to death when it was on earth, will become an immortal, animate and spiritual one after the resurrection.

Man will have a spiritual perception. He will never depend on his bodily senses.

Thus, man struggles and does his best on earth in order that he may enjoy the glories of the resurrection.

But not all men will enjoy such glories. They will only be for the worthy because, after the resurrection, there will come the Last Judgement in which all peoples will stand before the Just God *"And behold, I am coming quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give to every one according to his work." (Rev 22:12).*

Blessed is the one who becomes worthy of the glories of eternity and the happy companion-ship with the saints.

Everyone, with strenuous effort, must do his best to make good deeds on earth in order that he may find them there.

Everyone must be in good relationship with God and with men. He must be dutiful both to himself and to the society in which he lives.

He must do good to all. So, he will have good reminiscence on earth and good reward in heaven.

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For All Reasons, It Was Necessary For Christ To Rise

1. It was necessary for Christ to rise because in Him was life.

So, said Saint John, the Evangelist *"in Him was life" (John 1:4)*. He who has life in Him cannot remain dead.

He said to Martha *"I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Me, though he may die, he shall live." (John 11:25)*

As long as He Himself is life, how can't He rise? Jesus confirms this meaning saying *"I am the way, the truth and the life" (John 14:6)*

How can't He rise, He who said to John, the Visionary, *"I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18)*

For these reasons, the angel of the resurrection rebuked the women saying *"Why do you seek the living among the dead?" (Luke 24:5)*

2. It was necessary for Christ to rise from death because He Himself has raised many others from death with a mere command.

Elijah has raised a dead person after prayers. Also, Elisha has raised a man from death but after many prayers.

But The Lord Jesus Christ, with an order, raised the daughter of Jairus and the son of the widow of Nain as well as Lazarus because He is the Donor of life. On raising the daughter of

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Jairus "He took her by hand and said to her ***"Talitha kowmi!"*** (which means "Little girl, I say to you, get up!") Immediately the girl stood up and walked around. (Mark 5:4,42)

On raising the son of the widow of Nain, He went up and touched the coffin, and those carrying it stood still. He said ***"Young man, I say to you, arise."*** So he who was dead sat up and began to speak. And He presented him to his mother. (Luke 7:14,15).

On raising Lazarus Now when He had said these things, He cried with a loud voice, ***"Lazarus, come forth!"*** And he who had died came out bound hand and foot with graveclothes, and his face was wrapped with a cloth. Jesus said to them, ***"Loose him, and let him go."*** *(John 11:43,44).*

Then; Was it difficult for Jesus to rise? He who ordered the dead to rise and they rose?

Indeed, it was necessary for Him to rise because He is the raiser of the dead. Yes, it was necessary for Him to rise as it was written about Him ***"For as the Father raises the dead and gives life to them, even so the Son gives life to whom He will."*** *(John 5:21)*

Can't He who gives life to others raise Himself?

3. It was necessary for Jesus to rise because His resurrection was a prophecy which had to be fulfilled.

After Peter's testimony that Jesus is the Son of God, the Bible says *"From that time Jesus began to show to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the*

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elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised the third day." (Matt 16:21)

After the miracle of the Transfiguration and as they were coming down the mountain, Jesus instructed them *"Now as they came down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them, saying, "Tell the vision to no one until the Son of Man is risen from the dead.""(Matt 17:9)*

Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, *"The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 17:22,23).*

After He had explained the parable of the vineyard, and as He was going up to Jerusalem, He took the twelve disciples aside and said to them, *"Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, "The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 20: 18,19) (Luke 9:31-33).*

After the resurrection, men began to remember all those topics and remind each other of them.

But the angel answered and said to the women, *"Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay." (Matt 28:5,6)*

The phrase ***"as He said"*** means the prophecies He had mentioned about His resurrection on the third day. In the Old Testament, there are other prophecies about His rising from death.

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Thus, after His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ said to His disciples *"These are the words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning Me. And He opened their understanding, that they might comprehend the Scriptures. Then He said to them, "Thus it is written, and thus it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day. "* (Luke 24:44-46)

In the Old Testament, the story of the prophet Jonah, is one of the indications which refers to this resurrection.

When the Jews said to Jesus *"Teacher, we want to see a miraculous sign from You. "* He answered and said to them, *"An evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign, and no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. (Matt 12:39,40)*

4. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His resurrection was under His own influence and authority.

He died by His own will. He presented Himself to death.

In His immortal words, He explained that matter saying *"Therefore My Father loves Me, because I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17,18).*

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Indeed, how wonderful is this phrase!! *"and I have power to take it again"* which means "I have authority to take back the life which I Myself had laid, and no-one could take it from Me".

For these reasons, it was necessary for Him to rise by His own will.

We may ask a question: Why did He lay Himself? What is the use of that matter in regard to the resurrection?

5. It was necessary for Him to rise because His death was a mere temporary one to perform a double message.

It was possible for him not to die according to His nature and also *"For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord. " (Rom 6:23).*

Moreover he did not commit any sin. He accepted to die instead of us in order to give His life for us as the apostle said *" being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as a propitiation by His blood, through faith, to demonstrate His righteousness, because in His forbearance God had passed over the sins that were previously committed. " (Rom 3:24,25)*

This was the chief message of death; I mean redemption

After the resurrection, it was also necessary for Him to go and announce good news to those who died in hope and open the gate of paradise and transfer the sleeping from hell to heaven.

About this matter, Saint Peter says *" For Christ also suffered once for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive by the*

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Spirit, by whom also He went and preached to the spirits in prison. " (1 Pet 3:18,19).

Yes, He preached those spirits with salvation and carried them to paradise as well as the right thief.

Saint Paul, the apostle, says *" Now this, "He ascended"; what does it mean but that He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is also the One who ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things." (Eph 4:9, 1 0)*

6. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His divine nature was never separated from His human nature not even for a twinkling of an eye.

About His death, the Syrian Division says "His spirit was separated from His body but His divine nature was not separated at all from His spirit or from His body.

His spirit which was united with His divine nature went down to the underground depths and preached the imprisoned spirits and elevated them to heaven. His body remained in the tomb united with His divine nature.

As for the separation of the spirit from the body, He died as a human being but He was alive with His spirit.

He had the life of the divine nature for which Nicodemus, when he was shrouding him, cried "The all holy, the all powerful, the living forever. "

Yes, it was necessary for that body, which united with the divine nature, to rise. It was impossible for the Body to remain dead.

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Death could not overcome The Lord Jesus Christ. It was impossible for it to defeat Him. By His death, Christ Himself trampled over that death which triumphed over all human beings.

The Lord died on behalf of us to save us. He paid the price of our sins and in this way He did away with the influence of death.

7. Thus, it was necessary for this one who, by his death, exterminated the power of death, to rise.

It was necessary for Him to rise in order that He might proclaim His victory over death by His resurrection and to announce to all peoples that death would have no sting according to the praise of Paul, the apostle *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

8. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to console and support the disciples.

It was necessary for Him to rise to obliterate the horrible results of His crucifixion because some of the disciples became afraid and others hid in the attic.

The rest of the believers dispersed for fear of the violence of the Jews...

Some ignored and denied Him; others mistrusted Him, but it was necessary for Christ to rise in order to repair and overhaul people's faith and to encourage them to remain firm in their faith and to hold out against Jews' persecution.

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Thus, His resurrection was the greatest motive which urged them to preach the Gospel.

9. It was necessary for Him to rise to prove that he was not a common man who dies as other people.

All men die and remain dead waiting for the general resurrection in order to rise but it was necessary for The Lord Jesus Christ to rise immediately, otherwise, they would have considered Him a common man. His resurrection has proved His divinity especially because He rose by Himself without any help from anyone.

10. It was necessary for Him to rise to be the first fruits according to which all men will rise.

So, Saint Paul said *" But now Christ is risen from the dead, and has become the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. " (1 Cor 15:20-22)*

He also speaks of the importance of the resurrection of Christ and says " *And if Christ is not risen, your faith is futile; you are still in your sins! Then also those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most pitiable. " (1 Cor 15:17-19).*

11. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to lay the foundation of Christianity.

And to stay with the disciples a period of forty days through which He speaks with them about the matters which belong to

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the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3) and to lay before them the rules of faith and give them the secrets and the rituals and to breathe on them saying *" And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:22,23).*

Then He promises them saying *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." (Acts 1:8)*

After that, He commits to them preaching the Gospel saying:

"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned. " (Mark 16:15,16)

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20)

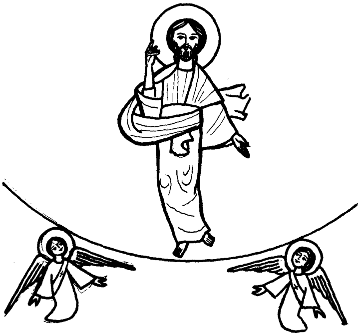

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Reality Of Christ's Resurrection And Its Results

The Jews' opposition to the resurrection

Christ's resurrection from amongst the dead was the greatest occurrence which shook the entity of the Jews. So, they tried, by all means, to resist it.

Moreover, they tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening. Even after it had taken place, they made great attempts to resist it.

Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ had announced the good news of His resurrection. More than one time, he said to His disciples that the Son of Man would be betrayed and given to the hands of the Gentiles who would condemn Him to death and would turn Him over to the Jews to be mocked and flogged and crucified. On the third day He would be raised to life!!

He said these words while they were going to Jerusalem. (Matt 20:18,19); (Mark 10:33,34); (Luke 18:31-33). He, also, said the same words on their way to Galilee. (Matt 17:22). He repeated these words after Peter's confession that Christ is the Son of the living God. (Matt 16:21).

So after the transfiguration He ordered them not to tell anyone what they had seen *" … tell no one the things they had seen, till the Son of Man had risen from the dead. " (Mark 9:9)*

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He, also, said to them on the great Thursday I have power to take it again *"But after I have been raised, I will go before you to Galilee." (Mark 14:28).* Moreover, he gave them the sign of Jonah. (Matt 12:38)

On the next day, which followed the Day of Preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together to Pilate, saying, *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

What was that fearful evil which the resurrection would bring to them that they imagined it more dangerous than the instructions of Christ whom they gave the nickname "The first deception".

Christ's resurrection proved His truthfulness and that His prophecies were true. It proved that He was powerful and His crucifixion was not due to His weakness but it was an arrangement for saving humanity.

All the matters lead men to have fixed and firm faith in Him.

So, they made all precautions against the rising of Christ. They rolled a big stone in front of the entrance to the tomb.

They made the tomb secure by putting a seal on the stone and posting the guard (Matt 28:66) They were not ashamed of doing that on the Sabbath evening (After preparation) although they accused The Lord Jesus Christ of opening the blind's eyes on a Sabbath. (John 9:16:24)

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All their precautions became a great evidence in regard to Christ's rising from among the dead.

Every action made against the resurrection turned to be a proof and a witness for its existence.

Both the seal on the tomb and the guards in front of the empty tomb proved the reality of Christ's resurrection.

They also asserted that Jesus went out of the tomb while its entrance was closed and sealed.

This matter resembled Jesus' coming of Saint Mary's womb without causing any decoration to her virginity. It also resembled Jesus' visit to His disciples, who were together, with the doors locked, when He came and stood among them and said *"Peace be with you. "*

As for the bribe paid by the chief priests to the guards in order to announce that Christ's disciples carried Him away during their sleep, it was a false artifice which was too Weak to stand against the power of the resurrection.

The burial cloth of the head and the shrouds

The existence of the strips of linen lying by themselves and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head folded by itself separate from the linen are clear proofs of the reality of the resurrection. Then; how was it possible for Jesus to get out of these linen shrouds which were wrapped strictly around His body?

And if anyone had stolen the body how could He have denudated it from the strips of linen sticking to it?

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And what is the aim and the use of separating the linen cloth from the body? How did this event take place very quietly while the soldiers were on guard?

Thus, it is not strange to read in the Bible that " *Then the other disciple, who came to the tomb first, went in also; and he saw and believed.* " *(John 20:8)*

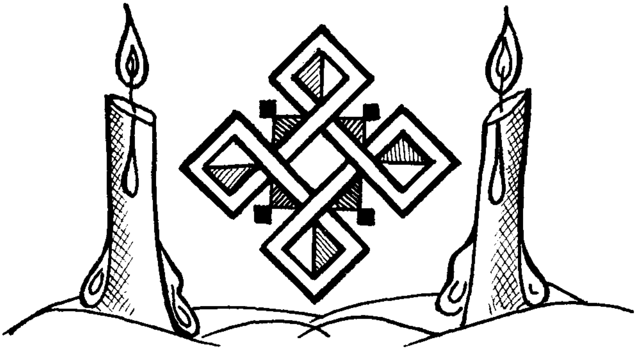

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The Lie Concocted About The Stealing Of The Body

It is incomprehensible for any-one to believe that the disciples stole Christ's body because they will not benefit by stealing it.

Moreover, on grasping Jesus, they escaped because they were afraid of the Jews.

Also, it is something unbelievable for the disciples to contrive the tale of the resurrection and suffer imprisonment and flogging and face death for the sake of a false and untrue story.

No-one can believe that the disciples denuded their master from His shrouds and took Him naked.

If they had done so there would have been no dignity either for Him or for them.

You can add to such bad deeds, the loss of time and exposing the matter to be shown up.

What is the use of pretending that Christ has risen from among the dead then they themselves face death for preaching the resurrection and at the same time they have no faith in it?

Indeed, stealing the body was something impossible.

How can they penetrate the lines of the guards at the tomb?

How can they roll the big stone from the entrance of the tomb without making any noise which attracts people's attention and causes the guards to wake up from their sleep?

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How can they carry a corpse on Sunday? How can they perform all these matters while the eyes are gazing at the tomb?

How can we believe that the guards were asleep and paid no attention to the severity of the Roman law?

If the sentinels wished to sleep, why didn't they divide the watch-time among themselves and did the thing by turns?

If they were all asleep, how couldn't the noise of the act of stealing the body arouse even some of them?

Why weren't they tried by a court martial for their negligence?

Why did they remain without punishment? Why was there no judicial inquiry about the act of stealing? Why didn't the authorities make any inspection?

The disciples and their dwellings are well known... Where did they hide the stolen body?

How did they bury it on Sunday?

And if the guards were asleep; how did they know that the disciples came at night and stole the body?

Indeed, it was a cunning stratagem of an evil, weak thought, non acceptable by anyone.

It showed the depravity, the falsehood and the lies of those priests and proved their false pretence, the bribes they paid and their deviating people from the truth and from the right course.

What about the great numbers of those eyewitnesses who were contemporary with the resurrection?

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Were they liars? Then, how did God make miracles through them if they were impostors and deceivers?

Any how, as the chief priests of the Jews tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening, they also made great efforts to mar its glories after it was accomplished.

For these reasons they were neither religious nor truthful.

They broke the Sabbath when they sealed the tomb and put guards at its entrance.

They told many lies about the resurrection and tempted the guards to say false stories.

They gave bribes to the guards in order to broadcast their lies about the resurrection.

Through their authority and their relations with the governor they could deceive all the people. They persecuted the disciples wrongfully although they know....

As they brought false witnesses during Christ's trial, they also brought other false witnesses to deny His resurrection.

Also, the chief priests of the Jews were not men of faith.

They did not believe in the miracles done by Christ during His life among them.

Although the miracle of the resurrection was very clear before them, they did not believe in it.

Moreover, they had no faith in the miracles done by the disciples in the name of Christ.

Their hearts were closed completely before the clear truth.

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They proved that they would have no respondence to any miracle even if they witnessed it.

They also did not believe in the disciples' preaching the Gospel.

Christ's resurrection frightened them because His existence used to tire them and reveal their wrong deeds.

So, they rejoiced when they thought that, by His crucifixion, they got rid of Him.

The phrase *"The living Christ"* tires the sinners but gladdens the righteous. There are many men like the priests of the Jews. They wish to get rid of Christ because His existence admonishes them with their wrong deeds.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Blessings Of The Resurrection In Our Life

1. Everything is possible:

Nothing is impossible Men do their best in all fields but if they stand before God they will stop both work and abilities completely for every attempt will be of no use.

This was the sensation of Mary and Martha after the death of their brother Lazarus who had already been in the tomb for four days. It was said about him "By this time, there is a bad odour".

When The Lord Jesus Christ raised him from death, they became sure that nothing is impossible. After Jesus had raised Lazarus from death, this Lazarus died once more and has not risen yet.

But Jesus Christ, by His own resurrection, conquered and smashed death forever.

Christ's resurrection was an eternal one after which there would be no more death.
Paul, the apostle looked at the power of this resurrection and said *"O Death, where [is] your sting? O Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 cor 15:55).*

Indeed, death was broken up and everything became possible.

Not only did men believe that all things are possible with God (Matt 19:26) who is able to do everything but the apostle also says " *I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* "

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(Phil 4:13) He also said *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection … " (Phil 3:10)*

The Holy Bible gives us a general rule about *"impossibility"* and says *" All things are possible to him who believes."* (Mark 9:23)

The resurrection has given men a gigantic power.

As death has been conquered and smashed before them, all the obstacles and difficulties became smooth and easy and there was no impossibility. What else did the resurrection present? What is its second blessing?

2. Longing for the eternal life.

The apostle said *"I desire to depart and be with Christ , which is better by far. "(Phil 1:23)*

The apostle desires to be with Christ who rose from among the dead and went up to heaven, then sat on the right of God. Christ who said *" And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all [peoples] to Myself."(John 12:32)*

Christ who said " *I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

Love of eternal life made men long for some-thing greater than life on earth, more dignified than substance and elements and more powerful than any desire or lust on earth.

The saints looked at the earth as a remote strange foreign land. They considered themselves aliens and foreigners.

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They longed for a heavenly residence. They wished to lead a spiritual and eternal life.

Also, men longed for the other world where there is no sorrow, no gloominess, no sighing, no sin, no hatred and no fights. A world of love, joy, peace and purity, where there is no evil and where the good prevails.

3. By means of the resurrection the human nature is cleared up both physically and spiritually.

As for the bodies; some are raised spiritual and imperishable. They do not become tired, or hungry. They do not feel thirsty. They never fall ill or decompose.

They become like the angels of God in heaven. They rise taking the similarity of *"His glorified body"*.

How thrilling and magnificent is this revealment through which the human nature becomes glorified.

Indeed, this brings back to our minds the happenings of the transfiguration on Mount Tabour.

Also, the spirit takes part in the transfiguration. It returns as it had been in the beginning and resembles God's image and likeness in an inexpressible purity.

Some approaches to the resurrection

Many miracles took place during Christ's crucifixion. The sun gave no light and darkness came over the land. The curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. Earthquakes shook the earth and the rocks split and the

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tombs broke open. But did all men make use of these miracles? No, everyone benefited by them according to the aptitude and readiness of his heart.

When the earth shook, the robber believed in Christ while the priests and their chiefs did not believe in Him.

When blood and water drew out of Christ's side the centurion and his soldiers believed in Him while the leaders of the people denied Him and His resurrection.

The matter is not connected with the miracle and its might and strength but with the inner readiness of man's heart and his wish to benefit by it.

As for the miracle of the man who was born blind and whom Christ healed, the man himself believed in Christ but the Pharisees did not trust the man although the miracle was very powerful and clear.

They became agitated because the man defended Christ who healed him. So, they threw the man out of the Synagogue. (John 9:34)

Also, when Christ healed the man with the paralysed hand they refused to make use of the miracle pretending that it was made on the Sabbath. All these matters remind us of the Parable of the Sower which the Lord explained.

The growth of the plants depends on the kind of the soil. Is it formed of stony layers; is it good for sowing; is it full of thorns?

The sower is the same sower; the seeds are the same seeds but the soil on which the sower scatters the seeds differs in

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regard to its reclamation, its efficiency and its acceptance to the divine sowing.

This is what happened in regard to the story of the resurrection and the story of the crucifixion.

The miracles have taken place but the people differed from each other; some benefited by them while others gained nothing.

Seeds on a stony soil

Although the chief priests and the leaders of the Jewish people witnessed the darkness that spread at the time of Christ's crucifixion, yet they got no benefit because their hearts were darker than the obscurity and the darkness that covered the whole world.

Even after the miracles in which the right robber and the Centurion believed, they went to Pilate and said *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

Thus, they took some soldiers with them and went to the tomb to make it secure.

They sealed the tomb and set some soldiers to guard it.

They did all that on the Sabbath although they criticised Jesus and said that He was a sinner because He healed the sick on the Sabbath.

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They were very enthusiastic and had great zeal for the Sabbath. They contracted the enmity of Christ because of this day "The Sabbath".

Moreover, they claimed from the authorities to break the bones of the crucified and to bring them down from the crosses lest they should contaminate the Sabbath.

What a strange zeal for the Sabbath!!?

In spite of this enthusiasm, they, in the evening before the Sabbath, took the soldiers with them, sealed the tomb and set the guards to keep its entrance on the Sabbath without considering their deed as a sin.

After sealing the tomb, they seemed to say in their hearts "We have broken the Sabbath in order that we may break the one who infringed the Sabbath".

While they were sealing the tomb, Christ, Himself, set free the redeemed and rescued them from hell, and disjoined the seals of the closed paradise, then, let in those who have fallen asleep in hope.

It is very easy for men to play with their consciences as they wish.

Some persons have consciences which resemble the balls which roll on every side and in every direction till they come to a stop.

Indeed, the chiefs of the Jews were of the same moulds.

What they have done was against them and not in their interest.

If they themselves had not sealed the tomb and set their own guards at its entrance they would have been able to protest and

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say that the disciples stole the body. But, now, they have set the guards and sealed the tomb. What could they say about the empty tomb?

Christ has risen from among the dead with great glory and came out of the sealed tomb as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained virgin.

After Christ's resurrection *" And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat on it. His countenance was like lightning, and his clothing as white as snow. And the guards shook for fear of him, and became like dead men." (Matt 28:2-4)*

Did the guards benefit from of this great miracle? Did the priests and the elders benefit from it?

No, the sacred seeds had fallen on a stony soil.

How truthful our Father Abraham was when he said *" If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead. " (Luke 16:31)*

If we can fumble for an excuse for the Gentile soldiers who do not know anything about Christ and His glory, what about the priests and the teachers of the law.

They should have taken care of God's commandments and their execution.

When they heard of the resurrection from the guards, they gave them bribes and put false words on their tongues and told them "…Tell them, ”His disciples came at night and stole Him [away] while we slept.' And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will appease him and make you secure." *So they took the money*

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and did as they were instructed; and this saying is commonly reported" (Matt 28:11-15).

Thus, they did not only make use of the miracle of the resurrection but their wickedness and their evil grew more also.

Not only did they tell lies but they taught others to be liars.

Their falsehood was not perfect. They suggested to them to say that the disciples stole Him while they were asleep.

If you were asleep how could you know that He was stolen by His disciples!?

Indeed, lies' string is too short.

They were not satisfied with their lies. They placed some accusations to others, falsely and spuriously.

They accused disciples of theft. They paid bribes to cover their deeds. They spoiled the soldiers' fame, deceived the ruler and misled the people and cheated them.

In spite of all this deviation from the truth they described Christ as a delusive deceiver as if they wished to say to Pilate "Rescue the people from this deceiver in order that we may delude them.

Scattering the seeds of the miracle of the resurrection in the hearts of those leaders is like sowing them in a stony soil. So the miracle did not affect them.

Their care of keeping their posts trespassed their thinking of eternity.

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From their behaviour we can see how man glides down from sin to sin, then, rolls down in a long endless chain of sins.

The principle of their sins is love of worthless glory. This love led them to resentment.

They envied Christ because they wished to be the most outstanding nation without competitors.

What would be the matter with that Nazarene who covered their fame and revealed their hypocrisy?

Resentment led their leaders to weave conspiracies which led them to be false witnesses in Christ's judgment; to treat Him with cruelty during His crucifixion and to delude all the people.

This wrong attitude led them to fear, and fear guided them to seal the tomb and set the guards at its entrance although it was the Sabbath.

Certainly, they took the people in their partnership in breaking the Sabbath.

These sins, revealed by the resurrection, led them to bribery, telling lies, apostasy, instigation to evil and deluding the people.

By such bad deeds, they wished to become magnificent in their own eyes and in people's eyes as well. In fact they lost themselves and gained neither heaven nor earth.

They are a stony soil. They are a sin surrounded by fear. They feared Christ even after His death. They feared His resurrection lest it should destroy what they had done. They felt that He still had work to do.

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It is well-known that the killer always fears the ghost of the killed person.

Psychologists were true when they said that the killer hovers about the place of the crime. So the Jews, continued hovering about the spot of their crime.

The disciples forgot that He had told them that He would rise on the third day but those priests and elders, who were afraid of Christ, did not forget His words. They said to Pilate: " *We remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' "*

It is something strange that they remembered that phrase and did not remember His words *"I and My Father are one." John 10:30)*

They did not remember the deeds done by Him, which no one had carried out before Him.

They did not remember how He raised Lazarus from death after four days.

They did not remember how He offered sight to the born blind. They only remembered His resurrection because it disturbed them and made their thoughts uneasy. So they committed crimes to get rid of their troubles.

They seemed to be samples of those seeds which were scattered on the stony soil.

There were many other samples. There were some seeds which sprouted but thorns choked them afterwards.

Mary the Magdalene was the most outstanding example during the events of the resurrection.

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As for the effect of the resurrection on the disciples, we say that it was like the seeds which were picked up by the birds.

The birds, in regard to the disciples, are the devil of doubt which snatched their faith and flew away.

How did these matters take place? How did Christ change them into a good cultivable land which yielded hundred fold.

How did He restore faith to their hearts and to Mary Magdalene's heart as well?

Seeds snatched by the birds

What happened was heavy and cruel to God's heart.

Even His disciples doubted in His resurrection and did not believe in it.

But He did not face such doubts with admonition. He embraced their weakness with love and treated their doubts with convincing.

Mary Magdalene went and told them about the resurrection of the Lord. *" And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe." (Mark 16:11)*

When the women returned from the tomb and told them about God's resurrection *" And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them." (Luke 24:11)*

When the Lord came up and walked along with the disciples from Emmaus *" Now behold, two of them were traveling that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was seven miles from Jerusalem. " (Luke 24:13)*

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When Jesus Himself stood among them, they did not believe that He rose but *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. " (Luke 24:37)*

The devil of doubts could snatch the seeds of faith which God had scattered on their soil, so the Lord condescended and came down to their weakness in order that He might convince them of His resurrection.

In the same way He behaved with the two disciples of Emmaus who were not intelligent as He *" And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself. " (Luke 24:27)*

He stayed with them till *" Then their eyes were opened and they knew Him; …" (Luke 24:31)*. Then they went and told the Eleven.

The Lord, also, condescended to the weakness of the Eleven and said to them *"Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:38,39)*

Then, He, who rose in a glorified body, condescended to convince them and asked them ; *"Have you any food here?" " So they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb. And He took it and ate in their presence. "* *(Luke 24:43)*

As Thomas was absent, the Lord showed Himself especially to him to reveal his doubts and to convince him.

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The Lord stayed with them till they became sure and believed. *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*

He did not leave them but appeared to them over a period of forty days and spoke about the kingdom of God.

He sent away the birds which used to snatch their seeds. He changed them into a good soil which did not give thirty only but sixty and hundred also.

Their faith became a big fruitful tree which yielded all kinds of good fruit.

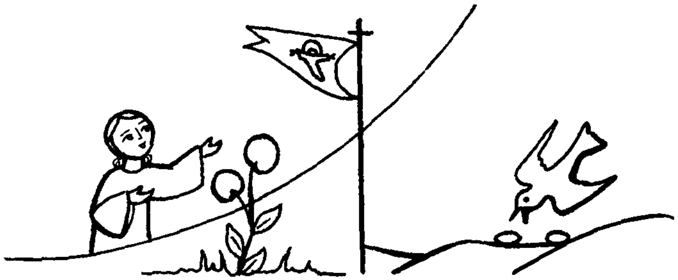

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CHAPTER SEVEN

The Resurrection Is Joy And Gladness

1. On announcing the good news to the women, the two angels said to them *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! " (Luke 24:5,6)*

The phrase "The living Christ" caused great joy to the disciples while it caused terror to the chiefs of the Jews and to the sinners as well.

This phrase did not only intimidate them at the time of the resurrection and preaching it but this fear will chase them till the next coming of Christ and will pursue and follow them in the Dooms-day.

About this the Bible says *" Behold, He is coming with clouds, and every eye will see Him, even they who pierced Him. And all the tribes of the earth will mourn because of Him. Even so. " (Rev 1:7)*

Like the priests of the Jews, there were many who wished to get rid of Christ lest He should reprimand and show them up.

2. Christ's resurrection was a joy and gladness to the disciples and to us also.

The day of crucifixion was a mournful and a distressing day as to the psychic side but as for the divine side, it was a day of deliverance.

The people witnessed the pains, vituperations, insults, spittle and nails only, but they did not witness either the deliverance or

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the opening of Paradise's gate and how the sleeping in hope were transferred to it.

The disciples were filled with terror but they rejoiced when they saw the Lord.

Equal to the disciples ' grief and restlessness on Friday, there were much more joy on Saturday because of the resurrection. Thus, the words of the Lord were verified *" but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you." (John 16.-22)*

They rejoiced because they saw the Lord. They saw Him alive outside the tomb after thinking that there would be no future meeting.

They, also, rejoiced because the Lord obtained victory in His combat against falsehood and that He " … *who always leads us in triumph in Christ, … " (2 Cor 2:14)*

They also rejoiced because they got rid of their enemy's gloating and malevolence as well as their disturbance, anxiety and disappearance.

At that time, they were able to go out of their places and face the situation and speak publicly with might and power about Christ's resurrection.

They rejoiced because the cross was not the end of the story.

The end of it was the gladdening and cheering resurrection which removed and eliminated the pains of Golgotha and Gethsemane and the events which took place before and after them.

He said to them *"I will see you again and you will rejoice "* .

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We celebrate the joys of the resurrection which give the sensation that the Lord is living with us and among us and that no tomb can enclose Him, who holds all men in His heart. **The disciples rejoiced at Christ's resurrection.**

They also rejoiced when they saw Him. His resurrection was the point which changed both their history and the history of Christianity.

3. By means of the resurrection and by this material proof which they witnessed, they rejoiced and believed that it was something possible.

So, Saint John, the apostle, said about Him *" which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, " (1 John 1:1)*

Saint Peter, the Apostle, said *" Us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead. " (Acts 10:41)*

By means of the resurrection the disciples' fear changed into courage, boldness and non observance of the powers and forces which declare war against the word of God.

Thus, after the resurrection, saint Peter could say *" We ought to obey God rather than men. " (Acts 5:29)*

By means of the resurrection, the disciples never feared anything.

All that their enemies can do, is to threaten them with death. But what can death do to those who have seen the resurrection and believed in it!?

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Thus, Christianity believes that death is mere transition and *"To die is gain "* and *"it is better by far"* and *"never feared by anyone. "*

4. By means of the resurrection, the disciples felt that they were overshaded with a powerful God.

They believed in Him "who holds the keys of death and Hades."

Life is in Him. He is the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Him will live, even though he dies. He is the source of life not only on earth but in the eternal life also.

5. The disciples rejoiced because the Lord kept His promise with them.

Because the promises of Christ, that He would rise and that they would see Him, were fulfilled; they believed in the other promises as *" … I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

They had confidence in what He said about sending the Counsellor to them (John 16:7) and that *"they will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on them. (Acts 1:8)*

They believed in His promise *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

All these promises gave them power, faith and joy.

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6. Not only did the disciples rejoice at the resurrection but they also, with pleasure, met the pains caused to them as a result of giving testimony in favour of the resurrection. Pain had a new conception in the minds and feelings of the disciples because they had the " *But we have the mind of Christ. ". (1 Cor 2:16)***.**

They became convinced that pain was the way to glory as it happened with Christ through His crucifixion.

They put this perception before them *" We suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together." (Rom 8:17)*

So, he tolerated and suffered pains saying *" As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing. " (2 Cor 6: 10)*

7. By means of the resurrection, the cross became honour and glory but not pain.

The disciples were not disturbed any more. So, Paul, the Apostle, says *" Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in needs, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake." (2 Cor 12:10)* He also says *"As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing ."(2 Cor 6:10).*

8. The resurrection became joy to all the believers and good news for the general resurrection.

The resurrection gave the Christians hope and trust in the other world. So, they concentrated all their desires in it and renounced worldly pleasures.

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All that Christianity proclaimed about the life of devoutness, religious devotion and monasticism and forsaking the world depends on believing in the resurrection and longing for the other world which surpasses all earthly desires.

Thus, in every liturgy, the church repeats the words of the apostle *" Do not love the world or the things in the world. … And the world is passing away, and the lust of it; … " (1 John 2:15-17)*

9. In the joys of the resurrection they rejoiced at the kingdom and the eternal paradise which would come afterwards.

They knew that, after the resurrection, there would be great happiness. Saint Paul, the Apostle, could say about these matters *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

The same apostle spoke about the crown prepared for the righteous saying *" Finally, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give to me on that Day, and not to me only but also to all who have loved His appearing. " (2Tit 4:8)*

In the "Revelation" God explained other glories which those who overcome will get after the resurrection. He spoke about the tree of life, the crown of life, the hidden manna authority, the morning star and the white robes ... (Rev 2,3)

How beautiful his words were when He said *"To him who overcomes I will grant to sit with Me on My throne, as I also*

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overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne. " (Rev 3:21)

We cannot separate the resurrection from its glories for which the saints longed for death.

Saint Paul said *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23).* He also said "and be with the Lord all the time. "

In "Revelation", saint John spoke about the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven which is the dwelling of God with men.

Indeed, how beautiful is the resurrection which leads to all that we, in hope, are waiting for rejoicing at the Lord and His promises.

10. Thus, the resurrection gave us hope to be with Christ forever.

The joy of the resurrection is not only to rise from death but also to rise with Christ and live with Him.

So, the resurrection, in itself, became a means and not end aimed at.

It is a means to live with God and enjoy His companionship in continuous inexpressible and glorious joy, with the queues of His angels and saints.

The resurrection has become the desire and the passion and the faith of all men.

They consider it the way to eternity and living with God which is the aim of our life on earth.

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11. At the time of Christ's resurrection, the disciples who had been afraid of being related to Him, rejoiced at being His followers.

In the past, they were so terrified of being attributed to Him that Peter, the night before judgment, denied his relationship with Christ and with an oath he said *"I do not know the Man!" (Matt 26:74)*

Now, after the resurrection, they became proud of Him.

They rejoiced because the Lord, by His own will, appeared to them for forty days, in the attic in Jerusalem, on the shores of the sea of Tiberias, and in Galilee.

They were filled with joy because the Lord spoke with them, tranquillised their hearts, forgave Peter's denial, convinced Thomas of his doubts and came down to their weakness in order that He might elevate them to his power without rebuking them because of their escape, hiding, and doubt.

12. They rejoiced because The Lord Jesus Christ searched for them after His resurrection.

The time He spent with them was a period of dressing their wounds, removing their doubts and forgiveness for their sins.

It was an interval of preparation for the coming service.

The Lord spent with them forty days through which He showed Himself to them *" Speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*.He gave them many convincing proofs that He was alive.

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13. They rejoiced because through Christ's appearance to them, they perceived His glory and His greatness.

With a light from heaven flashed around Him, He showed Himself to Saul of Tarsus that he fell to the ground puzzled. (Acts 9:3-6)

He appeared to John the visionary. *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. " (Rev 1:16,17)*

14. The disciples rejoiced because, after the resurrection, they were trusted with a mission.

The Lord said to them *"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20) " Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; … And these signs will follow those who believe … " (Mark 16:15-17)*

Thus, they had a mission, a great and important one for which they Eve and do their best for its ascertainment. Thus, they will be crowned and the words of the Lord *" I will make you fishers of men." (Matt 4:19)* will be realised.

Undoubtedly, Peter has rejoiced when the Lord said to him after the resurrection *"Feed My lambs. ", "Tend My sheep." (John 21:15,16)*

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No doubt, all the disciples rejoiced when the Lord, after the resurrection said to them *"Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive anyone his sins, they are forgiven; if you do not forgive them, they are not forgiven. … As the Father has sent Me, I also send you. -" (John 20:21-23)*

15. After the resurrection, the disciples rejoiced at the spiritual body because The Lord Jesus Christ will raise their bodies as He rose.

This transfiguration which will happen to human nature after rising from death was mentioned with extended detail by Saint Paul, the Apostle who said *"So will it be with the resurrection of the dead. The body that is sown perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. (1 Cor 15:42-44).*

He also said about Jesus Christ *" who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, … " (Phil 3:21)* take note of ***"Like His glorious body"***.

These words give us an idea how beautiful the other world is. They, also, give us a notion about its spirituality and the resplendence of the spirit when it is freed from the bonds of materiality and the abilities of the spirit and its talents.

16. The resurrection supported preaching the Gospel with confidence and faith.

Confidence in Christ who rose from among the dead; with whom the disciples lived forty days after the resurrection *" He*

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also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)

John, the Apostle, said about Him *"Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked at and our hands have touched. " (1 John)*

A summary of the disciples' joys:

"Then the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord." (John 20:20). Joy remained with them as a plain course of their life.

They rejoiced at the Lord's resurrection. They were very happy when He showed Himself to them.

They rejoiced at His true promises and at the resurrection in general.

They rejoiced at His triumph over death. They were glad because the Jews would not gloat over them any more.

They rejoiced at the power they were given. They were very glad because of the mission which the Lord gave them after the resurrection.

They were delighted with the spreading of preaching the Gospel.

They were happy in spite of the persecutions and the difficulties they met because of their testimony in favour of God.

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The Bible said about them " *So they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name. " (Acts 5:41)*

They rejoiced also because He fulfilled His promise and sent to them the Holy Spirit.

They rejoiced when He said to them *" But tarry in the city of Jerusalem until you are endued with power from on high." (Luke 24:48)*

They rejoiced at His saying *"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them." (Matt 18:20)* and His saying *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Lord Jesus Christ's Resurrection Its Power And Its Effectiveness

There is a great difference between the two days

They were two days. As for the human senses, they were diametrically opposite: Friday, 14th of Nisan and Sunday 16th of Nisan, the year 34 AD

Friday was a gloomy day in regard to all the disciples and the followers of Christ.

It was an exciting and thrilling surprise which they never expected to happen to their great teacher.

The conspiracy which was accomplished very soon. It was woven very quickly; the crowds who shouted all the louder *"Crucify Him; Crucify Him".(Luke 23:21),(John 19:6)* the disciple who betrayed His master in return for thirty silver coins, the series of insults to which the Lord was exposed as cursing, derision, mockery, slapping on the face, spittle in addition to the pains caused by the thorns, the flogging and fastening on the cross with nails.

Was it true that everything had been accomplished so rapidly.

Did the doer of the miracles and the great teacher who amazed all men become so delusive and deceptive that the authorities crucified Him between two robbers?

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And those who benefited by His love, kindness and miracles disappeared from existence! Even His disciples scattered and escaped and left Him alone as it is written *" I will strike the Shepherd, And the sheep of the flock will be scattered." (Matt 26:31) (Zech 13:7)*

Peter Himself, the most enthusiastic among the disciples denied his master before a servant girl and called down curses and swore to the people that he did not know the man (Matt 26:74)

As for Christ's enemies, they got grip of everything. They could hold the Sanhedrin and take a decision against him. They could excite people's anger and make them repeat their words.

They could make an impression on the governor till he rendered a judgment against Christ although he said *" … I find no fault in Him." (John 19:4)* that he had found no fault in Christ

So, evil seemed so triumphant and cruel and the words of Christ to those rulers we fulfilled *" But this is your hour, and the power of darkness." (Luke 22:53)*

All that the devil could do was done. He could get rid of Christ who was beloved by all men and followed by thousands who were amazed by His instructions. Jesus, *" He laid His hands on every one of them and healed them. " (Luke 4:40)*

He also raised the dead, gave sight to the blind and, by His power, evil spirits came out of many.

Even after they killed Him, they made the governor give an order for the tomb to be made secure by putting a seal on the big stone and posting the guard.

They completely felt assured that Christ came to an end. It was a bad end "And He was numbered with the

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transgressors , … " (Is 53:12). All His followers were scattered ... !!

Thus, that Friday was a distressing one in which injustice predominated, treason and cruelty spread and covetousness and evil obtained victory.

Christ's disciples found themselves perplexed and at a loss. Belonging to Christ was a dangerous matter. Christ was still in the tomb.

Everything was in the hands of the authorities. It seemed that there was no hope in enjoying once more the good days they had spent with their beneficent teacher.

As for the deliverance which was accomplished on the cross, none has felt it. All that was seen by men was that the crucified one seemed too weak to save Himself.

They defied Him saying *" If You are the Son of God, come down from the cross … " (Matt 27:40)*

In the same way the chief priests, the teachers of the law and the elders mocked Him *"He saved others; Himself He cannot save. If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him. " (Matt 27:40-42)*

Also, one of the criminals who hung there hurled insults at Him *"If You are the Christ, save Yourself and us." (Luke 23:39)*

In this way, Friday was a day of gloating, injustice and dispersion but something took place and turned the rudder towards the opposite direction, It was the resurrection which shook the whole Jewish existence whether rulers or people.

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The resurrection took place at the dawn of Sunday in spite of the existence of the guards, the big stone and the seals.

Great precautions were taken to guard the tomb but the empty tomb stood as a material witness for the resurrection as well as the well arranged strips of linen and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head.

The chiefs of the Jews tried, by all means, to deface and disfigure the reality of the resurrection but they could not.

Indeed, the tangible occurrence was much more deeper than all pretence.

Christ appeared alive to His disciples. His appearance banished their fears, encouraged them and gave them an extra-ordinary power to he witnesses for His resurrection.

After His resurrection, Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene. (Mark 16:9) and to Simon Peter (1 Cor 15:5) and to the two companions of Emmaus. (Luke 24:12-3 1) and to the ten disciples in the absence of Thomas. (Luke 24:33-43) and to the disciples in the presence of Thomas and showed them His wounds. (John 20:26-29)

He, also, appeared to seven of His disciples by the Sea of Tiberias. (John 21:1-7) and to more than five hundred of the brothers at the same time, then appeared to James. (1 Cor 15:6,7) and *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." (Acts 1:3)*

He was with them when He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. (Acts 1:9)

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He appeared to Saul from Tarsus; on his journey to Damascus and chose him as an instrument and apostle to carry His name before the Gentiles. (Acts 9:3-15)

All these events gave the disciples a abnormal power. About this the Bible says ***" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. "*** *(Acts 4:33)*

What was the power of the resurrection which gave them strength?

The power of the resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection from among the dead was the greatest event that shook the Jews' entity.

By all means, they tried to resist it saying "This last deviation from the truth will be more powerful than the first straying" They meant preaching the Gospel.

Then, what was that power of the resurrection and what were its effects?

1. Christ came out of the tomb while it was closed.

This miraculous performance was not something strange for Jesus as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained a virgin.

Also, during His appearances to His disciples after the resurrection; while they were gathering together in the attic, He

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came in and stood among them *" when the doors were shut. " (John 20:19)*

2. **One of the signs which prove the resurrection's power is that Christ rose by Himself and not by others' help.**

All those who rose before Him were raised by others' help.

Elijah, the prophet raised the son of the widow at Zarephath. (1 Kin 17:22)

Elisha, the prophet, raised the son of the Shunammite. (2 kin 4:36)

The Lord Jesus Christ raised the daughter of Jairus, and the son of Nain's widow and Lazarus but He rose by Himself because the energy and the power of the resurrection were in Him. It was impossible for death to keep Him under its control because *" In Him was life." (John 1:4)*

3. The Lord Jesus Christ rose in spite of the stressed guardianship, the strong guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

The worldly power used its utmost energy but Christ was stronger than it.

The resurrection proved that it was more powerful than all the obstacles. It was a victory against all Christ's opponents and adversaries; a triumph over death, over Hades, over the tomb, over the big stone, over the seals and over the strips of linen that were wrapped around His body.

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Thus, when Saint Paul knew Him, He said ***" I may know Him and the power of His resurrection. "*** *(Phil 3:10)*

Paul knew the power of Christ's resurrection when he saw Him after the resurrection. The Bible says *" As he journeyed he came near Damascus, and suddenly a light shone around him from heaven." (Acts 9:3)*

Thus, this apostle became sure of Jesus' powerful resurrection and could share in His sufferings, becoming like Him in His death.

Saint John, the beloved one, experienced the same power when Jesus appeared to him *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength." (Rev 1:16)* **Inside the tomb, Christ's power was greater than any power outside it**.

On sunday, at dawn, He left the tomb in a moment not known by anyone. The stone was in its place till the angel came and rolled it to announce the resurrection which was accomplished. So the women could see the tomb empty.

4. **The aspects of His power after the resurrection:**

These are some sides of the power which men witnessed on earth, in addition to the powerful numerous appearances; the power of His ascension to heaven and sitting on the right of God; the power of entering the attic with the doors closed and the power of changing the disciples from weak terrified persons into brave heroes who could preach the Gospel with all ability and without any objection.

As His resurrection was powerful, so, there was another power which preceded that resurrection.

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5. His power between the time of His death and that of His resurrection.

After His death, it was His own power with which He could open the gates of Hades and go to preach to the spirits in prison. (1 Peter .3:19)

With this power, He could descend to the lower, earthly regions and lead captives in His train and give gifts of redemption to men, then, after the resurrection, He could ascend higher than all heavens, in order to fill the whole universe. (Eph 4:8-10)

6. By His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ, proved that He was more powerful than death and that His death and His silence during the judgment were not due to any point of weakness in Him.

If He had spoken, He would have dumbfounded and convinced His audience, but this was not His aim. His aim was to redeem us.

So, when they asked Him to come down from the cross He did not respond to them although He was able to come down. His only aim was to suffer pain and die on behalf of us and pay the price of sin, return and redemption for us.

The resurrection proved that Christ's silence was not weakness.

The power of the resurrection was the strongest reply to those who charged Him with weakness, or those who thought that His crucifixion was a sign of His disability.

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By the resurrection, it was proved that Christ's silence had eminent aims.

He kept silent because He wished to give Himself for us. If he had defended himself he would have won the case without any doubt.

Many a time, He answered the chiefs and the elders and the priests of the Jews and they gave no reply.

Moreover, they witnessed the power of His words when He was twelve years old. Even His audience certified that He spoke as one who had authority.

Christ's silence during His judgment was a proof that He died by His own will.

He said about Himself "I lay down my life only to take it up again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. … " (John 10:18)

He laid it down at the time of crucifixion and took it up at the time of the resurrection.

Jesus has given up the Spirit with love and self sacrifice not because of weakness and disability and as He rose in power, He died in power as well.

When He breathed the last, He cried out with a loud voice while the body was completely exhausted. His water and His blood were drained.

Flogging, walking, beating, bleeding and hanging on the cross made Him powerless.

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His body died but His divine spirit remained alive without death.

During His death He could give good news to those who slept on hope. Also, He could open the closed gates of paradise and let in it the robber to be with Adam, his descendants and the saints of the past ages.

He could also rise and His resurrection mocked at the guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

It did not happen; in the history of humanity, that anyone other than Christ could overcome death by his own authority; or rose by his own will or went out of a tomb with an entrance closed by a huge stone and guarded with fully armed soldiers.

7. The power of Christ's resurrection smashed the chief priests of the Jews as well as all the Sadducees. It proved their crime of His judgment and His crucifixion.

It proved that all their past pretences were false. So, by the resurrection, they became blamable before the nation.

When the disciples proclaimed the resurrection in every connection, the chief priests said to them *"Did we not strictly command you not to teach in this name? And look, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this Man's blood on us!" (Acts 5:28)*

The power of the resurrection terrified the chiefs of the Jews because it showed His righteousness.

If He had been culpable, He would not have been able to rise from among the dead.

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As the resurrection was a proof of His righteousness, the resurrection at the same time proved the injustice of those chiefs and their trumping up charges against Him. Those chiefs who had rejoiced thinking that they had got rid of Him by killing Him.

The speech about His appearance after He had been killed terrified them.

The holy saints did not stop blaming them for this point itself. So, Saint Peter, the Apostle said to them after the miracle of healing the crippled beggar *"The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers, glorified His Servant Jesus, whom you delivered up and denied in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let Him go. But you denied the Holy One and the Just, and asked for a murderer to be granted to you, and killed the Prince of life, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses.. " (Acts 3:13-15)*

8. The Saddukees, in general, do not believe in the resurrection. so, Christ's resurrection was a dangerous practical proof against the proceeding of their creed and instructions.

Thus, with all their power, they resisted the resurrection and opposed the disciples when they announced it.

So, the Bible says " *Then the high priest rose up, and all those who were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles and put them in the common prison.. " (Acts 5:17,18)*

But the power of the resurrection was stronger than their resistance.

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Indeed His resurrection from death was more powerful than His coming down the cross.

Moreover, His resurrection proved that He died by His own will and not by force especially because He Himself rose without others' help and by Himself came out of the closed and sealed tomb as He came out of Saint Mary's womb with her virginity sealed.

Indeed as He said about Himself *" I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

9. His resurrection proved that He was more powerful than death; so, He was stronger than all human powers which kill and put to death.

He was more powerful than the injustice of the evildoers; more powerful than their conspiracies and their authority.

They did all that they could do till they prosecuted Him and fastened Him with nails on the cross.

They defied Him and mocked at Him. They thought they triumphed over Him especially because Christ remained silent all the time of His judgement and challenging Him. *" He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, And as a sheep before its shearers is silent." (Is 53:7)*

His resurrection proved that His death was a self-sacrifice and not by force.

Trusting His resurrection meant believing in His love, in His self-sacrifice and in redeeming humanity.

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It meant trusting His power, His past words about Himself and His relationship with God.

This is the power of the One who died by body and remained alive by His divinity.

It is the power of that One who said to John in the Revelation *" … I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death.. " (Rev 1:17,18).* That powerful One *" whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that He should be held by it. " (Acts 2:24)*

10. The power of Christ's resurrection, with which it was distinguished from other preceding ones, is that there will be no death after it. It will be a continuous eternal resurrection.

All those who had been raised from death died once more and are still under the power of death waiting for the general resurrection.

But Christ has risen alive and will remain so forever. Death has no power over Him. So, the Bible gave Him the surname *" the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." (1 Cor 15:20)*

11. One of the clear and strong signs of Christ's resurrection is that it was a glorified one.

He was raised in a glorified body which did not feel tired or feel sick.

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A body which did not feel hungry or thirsty. A body which did not become decomposed.

A body which could come out of the tomb with its entrance sealed and could enter with the doors closed. A body which could ascend to heaven.

In the general resurrection, we expect to be raised in the same way as the apostle said *" … we also eagerly wait for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:20,21)*

12. As Christ's resurrection was powerful so was its effect on the church and all men.

It could change the occurrences on every side. The disciples who were afraid and dared not declare openly their relationship with Christ gained a strange power to preach the Gospel.

And Peter, who formerly denied Christ before a slave maid, could bravely say to the chief priests *"We ought to obey God rather than men. "(Acts 5:29) "For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts 4:20)*

13. The power gained by the disciples from the resurrection may he concentrated in two points:

a) They knew quite well that Christ was more powerful than death.

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He has triumphed over death. As we say in our prayers **"By death He trampled over death. "** It means that after He died He could trample over death by His resurrection.

The knowledge about this occurrence confirmed their faith and they remembered the Lord saying *" I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. " (John 10:17,18)*

b) By Christ's resurrection, they knew that they would be raised from death like Him.

Thus, they never feared death. The dread of death was smashed before them when Christ trampled over it and went out of the tomb alive and glorified.

They feared death no more and paid no attention to it. Such bravery remained the characteristic peculiarity of the disciples and of all the members of the church.

Saint Paul, the Apostle, says more than that *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." (Phil 1:23)*

14. One of the remarkable signs of Christ's resurrection is confirmation of faith.

The Lord Jesus Christ spent forty days with His disciples talking to them about the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3)

During that period, He confirmed their faith and explained to them everything about Himself in detail.

He put before them all the disciplines of the church, as well as the Liturgy and all the rules of faith and its creeds.

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After the period which Christ spent with them after His resurrection, they were filled with spiritual and faithful abilities with which they could face the whole world with steadiness and stability. **They spoke about the resurrection from their own experience.**

As Saint John, the beloved one, says *" That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, … " (1 John 1:1)*

The resurrection was no longer a mere theoretical creed but something which they themselves witnessed and viewed.

This experience endowed them with a power of faith that they could spread it all over the world with confidence and certitude.

15. The power of the resurrection appeared in the resurrection itself, in its circumstances, in its results and in what happened after it.

It was not a single resurrection special for The Lord Jesus Christ alone but for all of us.

It was a handsel for the general resurrection, for heavenly Jerusalem and for eternity with its enjoyments and happiness according to God's promises.

The resurrection was so powerful that it revealed Christ's nature - What was it? Who is he who could do such things?

It was also a forepart to the miracle of ascension.

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It was a silencing and conclusive answer to the Sadducees who did not believe in the resurrection as they trusted neither in spirits nor in angels.

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CHAPTER NINE

Contemplations On The Resurrection

The first thing we observe is the modesty of the Lord when He allowed His crucifixion and the insults of the Jews against Him to occur publicly before all the people. At the same time He made His glorified resurrection in private and a secret not seen by anyone.

He did not rise in glory before all men in order that He might be compensated for the insults and the reproach caused to Him during the crucifixion but He rose in secret.

He chose the dawn to be the time of His resurrection because at that time all human were sleeping.

He chose the dawn in order that no one might see Him during His glorious resurrection.

He was far from the dazzling views of His resurrection as it happened on His birthday.

Then, He appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the other Mary, to Peter, to the women, to the two of Emmaus, to the Eleven, to Saul from Tarsus and to some of the brothers .... to the favourites, to His own but not to those who formerly gloated on Him.

In spite of all that, the resurrection which took place in secret troubled the Jews and caused to them terror beyond measure. They made great efforts to oppose it or at least to prevent people from believing in it .... but in vain.

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When they found that they had failed in preventing the occurrence of the resurrection by setting the guards, the big stone and the seals, they wished to prevent it from being conveyed to men in another way, by telling lies, with bribery and by rumours.

When their trials failed and they could not prevent the news of the resurrection by their false means and when the news spread all over the world through the preaching of the disciples they resorted to another stratagem.

They tried to prevent preaching the resurrection by arresting the disciples, flogging them, putting them in jails and making complaints to the governors against them.

All the human plans done to prevent men from believing in the resurrection failed.

It was true when the Bible said *" No weapon formed against you shall prosper. " (Is 54:17)*

What was the secret of this great resurrection? Its secret was that for the first time and also for the last time a person could rise from death by himself. He was raised by no one.

Indeed, this occurrence terrified them.

The Lord Jesus Christ has fulfilled what He said about Himself. *"No one can take it from Him." " I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

The powerful Nazarene has triumphed over them. That Nazarene whom death could not conquer.

That Nazarene who trod death down and rose at the time He had fixed and according to His former prophecies. No one could oppose His resurrection. But why didn't Christ

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appear to them after the resurrection? Wasn't it suitable to convince them to believe in Him!?

He did not appear to them because they were unworthy of Him... Even if He had appeared to them, they would not have believed in him.

This point reminds us of what Abraham, the Father of Fathers had said to the rich man who was contemporary with poor Lazarus *“If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead”(Luke 16:31)*

Moreover, the Lord Jesus Christ made many other miracles before them and they did not believe in Him.

When He healed the born blind they said to the man *"We know that this Man is a sinner." (John 9:24)*

During the crucifixion, darkness came over all the land; the earth shook and the rocks split; the curtain of the temple was torn into two from top to bottom and some of the holy people who had died were raised to life and in spite of all these occurrences they did not believe in Him.

He did not appear to them because they were not only unworthy of Him but also because they had no faith. Then, why did He not appear to other men?

The Lord Jesus Christ left a field for faith about which Paul, the apostle, said *" … faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. " (Heb 11:1)*

If the resurrection had been something visible it would have been added to the circle of viewing and not to that of faith because faith means: "to be certain of what we do not see."

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It was enough that when He appeared to the rulers, all men believed in Him through them.

As for faith, all men could not bear this matter, so, when Christ appeared in His resurrection, He did not appear in His glory, even to His own, because they could not bear it.

With the two of Emmaus, who did not know Him at first, He spoke to them gradually.

With Mary Magdalene, He hid His personality that she thought Him to be the gardener; then He revealed Himself bit by bit.

As for Saul, from Tarsus; when Jesus appeared to him in some of His glory, his eyes were blinded by the radiant light of Christ's face, then He healed him.

Also, when Jesus appeared in some of His glory to Saint John, the beloved one, he fell to Christ's feet as if he were dead. The Lord raised him and told him not to be afraid.

Indeed, who can bear seeing Christ in His glory? But as for His modesty, it was enough for Him to make Himself nothing.

He will appear to them with His glory in the second coming and then they will say to the mountains, "Cover us!" and to the hills, "Fall on us!" and all nations on earth will mourn.

With the spirit and power of the resurrection Christianity began its glorious history.

The disciples went forward into a new epoch of power. *" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4:33)*

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All the attempts they had done to smash Christ, He Himself smashed by His resurrection.

Even the devil himself was completely destroyed by this resurrection.

The Christ who conquered death and who said *" … I have overcome the world. … " (John 16:33)* is able to do everything. He can always lead us in His victorious procession.

This triumphant, the rising from the dead, can lead a group of the triumphant ones and give them from His grace and from His power.

Thus, the defenceless Christianity could face Judaism and other ancient religion. It, also, could stand firm before pagan philosophies, Roman authorities, conspiracies, judgments and persecutions.

Christianity remained persisting and moved forward under the power of Christ, the rising from the dead, till it changed the Roman nation to a Christian one.

Paganism disappeared from the world and the whole land became for God and His Christ.

Also, the resurrection of the body was a sign of rising from sin.

About this matter, the apostle said *"And you He made alive, who were dead in trespasses and sins. ", "and raised us up together, and made us sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, " (Eph 2:1,6)*

May we all live under the power of the resurrection. This resurrection which changed the disciples and made the empty tomb a sign of perpetual triumph.

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This resurrection which was the beginning of the power in the life of the first church.

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Some Of The Occurrences Of The Resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, did not stop work for the benefit of humanity even when His body was in the tomb.

He has done work between the crucifixion and the resurrection.

God, by His resurrection, sanctified the human nature which is liable to death and made it liable to the resurrection.

Before the resurrection, God, also, worked for our sake even when His body was on the tomb.

By means of death His spirit was separated from His body but His divinity never separated from His soul or His body.

His spirit, united with His divine nature, could do a wonderful rescuing action for the sake of those who are sleeping on hope.

With His death He paid the price of sin and bought us by His blood. So, after He redeemed humanity, it was His right to carry the sleeping from Hades to Paradise and it was so.

With His spirit, united with divinity, He went down to Hades to say the good news to the sleeping there on hope. ***" … He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? When He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, And gave gifts to men."*** *(Eph 4:8).*

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He opened the gate of paradise and carried to Him the righteous who were waiting in Hades. With them, He also let in the right robber to paradise.

Indeed, how trustful He was when He said to Saint John, the visionary, *"And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18) (Phil 4:3)*

Indeed, blessed are those whose names are written in the book of life because death has no authority on them.

They may stay there for a time, as Jonah remained in the belly of the huge fish (whale) then He rescued him safely without any harm.

Thus, God brought out those who were in Hades and by His authority He let them into Paradise.

This great deed was done by god in secret. Heaven praised God. The sayings of the prophets were accomplished and in secret, also, the Lord rose from the dead.

His spirit, united with His divinity, came and united with the body which was united with divinity, then, He was raised by the power of His divinity and went out of the tomb with its seals.

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The Women Carrying Spices And Perfumes

It was something strange that the women took spices and perfumes and went to the tomb while these perfumes do not agree with believing in the resurrection.

But the Lord took interest in their love and treated the defect found in their faith.

Did they carry the perfumes for the body which was in the tomb? Hadn't they the faith that Christ had risen and left the tomb?

Thus, the good tidings of the angel revealed the same meaning when he said to the two Marys *"I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. " (Matt 28:5,6)*

The same words of reproach were said to the women, who were carrying the perfumes and the spices, but with clearer style *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! Remember how He spoke to you when He was still in Galilee, saying, 'The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.' And they remembered His words." (Luke 24:5-8)*

Yes, He, formerly, said that He would rise from the dead. He did not only say those words to the women but many a time, he said them to His disciples also.

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If the Lord informed the disciples of His resurrection and they did not believe Him, how much the more would those women be?

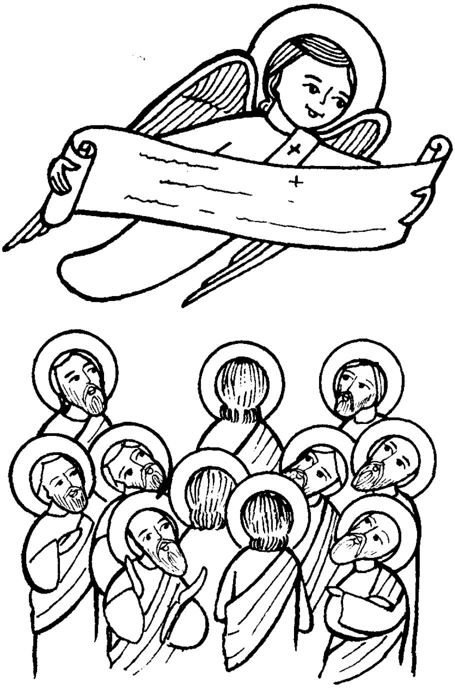

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The Disciples' Doubts

The resurrection of Christ was an occurrence never happened before as He rose by Himself without any help from others and His strange words, never said by anyone before, were verified. “ *I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17-18).*

Who dared say such words except Christ? So, His resurrection distracted the minds. It was above intelligence especially after the events of the cross and the pains and the insults directed to Him. And after the potency and authority with which the Jews treated Him.

Thus, it was not easy for the disciples to believe in the resurrection while they were afraid and hiding in the attic.

On the cross, He said "It is finished" which meant that the redemption was completed and the price of sin was paid.

But, there was another work for Him to complete. It was a work special for patronage.

Before Him, there were righteous persons who were troubled and in need of soothing.

What would He do to strengthen their weakness and to banish their doubts and fears?

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He did not wish to blame these persons kindly for their weakness or for their doubts or for their ingratitude but He came to soothe them.

As He formerly said that He had not come to judge the people but to save them; how much the more His own who were in the world, He now showed them the full extent of His love. (John 13)

Saint John said about this love *"We love Him because He first loved us." (1 John 4:19).*

He did the same thing with Thomas who doubted in His resurrection and insisted on putting his finger in the places of the wounds. He did not blame him kindly for his doubts but tackled the matter with him.

Jesus responded to Thomas and let him put his finger to be sure of the places of the wounds.

The same thing happened with Peter, with Mary Magdalene and with the two from Emmaus.

The Lord wished to strengthen the faith of those persons who would carry faith all over the world and it was so.

Thus, the matter was not limited by His resurrection, but there happened many appearances afterwards.

He stayed with the disciples for forty days during which *" … after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. to whom He also presented Himself alive" (Acts 1:3)*

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What did the Bible say about the disciples who did not believe in that resurrection and their repeated doubts which caused others to stumble?

The Holy Bible says that He appeared first to Mary Magdalene " … She went and told those who had been with Him, as they mourned and wept. " (Mark 16:10)

How did the disciples receive her good news about the resurrection?

Saint Mark, the evangelist, gives the answer saying: “ *And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe. " (Mark 16:9-11)*

He appeared to the two from Emmaus who did not know Him and who did not believe what the women had said about the resurrection that Lord Jesus rebuked them saying *"O foolish ones, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Luke 24:25-27)*

At last, those two from Emmaus believed. What was the impression of their faith on the apostles?

Saint Mark says *"And they went and told it to the rest, but they did not believe them either.. " (Mark 16:13)*

We hear, afterwards; that the women went to the tomb, entered it and did not find Jesus' body. Then the angels appeared to them and announced the good news of the resurrection.

They hurried away from the tomb and ran to tell the disciples.

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Saint Luke, the evangelist says *"And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them. " (Luke 24:11)*

These were the eleven apostles, the columns of the church, before whom there were many testimonies as Mary Magdalene; the two from Emmaus and the women... and they did not believe them.

Afterwards, Mary Magdalene hurried to Peter and John and told them about the empty tomb. They immediately arrived and went into the tomb *"and he saw the linen cloths lying there, and the handkerchief that had been around His head, not lying with the linen cloths. " (John 20:6,7).*

Here the Bible says about John "… he saw and believed. " But inspite of all that we read something strange...

We read that after all of them knew that saying, *"The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon! ". (Luke 24:34),* it happened that the Lord Himself stood among them and said to them *"Peace be with you. ".*

Did they believe when He appeared to them and spoke with them?

No, *"But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit.”* . *(Luke 24:37).*

The Lord rebuked them for their situation and said to them *"Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39).*

If the disciples had thought that what they had seen had been a ghost it would have been a heresy which would shake their as if

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the body did nit rise. For this reason , the lord showed them his hands and His feet .

Thus , the problem was not that of Tomas only to whom the Lord said *"Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing."* *(John 20 :27).* But , it was the problem of the eleven apostles.

All of them complained ; all of them were in need of proofs They needed feeling, touching and seeing the places of the wounds in order to believe .

The Lord tackled the problem of their thinking him a ghost or a spirit practically.

About this matter Anba Peter the Sedmenty, said that **the Lord , during the period he spent in human nature on earth , He proved his divine nature , but after the resurrection He proved His human nature**

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The Lord Proves His Human Nature

Thus, after the resurrection, we hear that, in order to convince them of His human nature, And He took it and ate in their presence. (Luke 24:43)

He said so, while we know that the body of the resurrection is a luminous spiritual body which neither eats nor drinks.

God did so to convince them of His human nature but, after the ascension, His body had not any relation with this material food.

In all these matters we see that the Lord met the disciples' doubts with convincing and not with rebuking or punishment.

They are the persons in whom He will have confidence to promulgate faith all over the world. So, they themselves must have a strong, firmly established faith which they can convey to others, convincing and without any doubt. So, the Lord led them to this strong faith.

If they did not acquire the faith which believes without seeing, there would be no objection for them to begin with faith which depends on senses although it is of a weak degree.

The Lord condescended and accepted their sensuous faith, not to be stabilised in Him but to be mere beginning that leads to faith. *"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" . (Heb 11: 1).*

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Thus Saint John said *"That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, "* *(1 John 1:1).*

This faith which, in the beginning, depended on senses because stronger and could convince the whole world with what it had seen and heard lest some men should think that the apostles had been deceived or believed in some matters which had not taken place.

So, we notice Saint Paul, the Apostle, announce good news about what he had seen and beard on his way to Damascus.

He explained the whole matter to king Agrippa saying *" … O king, along the road I saw a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me and those who journeyed with me ... " (Acts 26:13-15)*

The apostle concluded his words saying *" Therefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, " (Acts 26:19)*

This is The Lord Jesus Christ who worked to strengthen the disciples' faith; who tackled Thomas' doubts; who comforted Peter's sorrow and Mary Magdalene when she wept. It is He who gave faith back to the church.

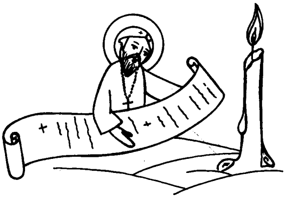

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The Risen Christ Works For Us

The Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead because it was impossible for death to overcome Him. He bore in Himself the power of His resurrection.

So, He was the only one who rose from the dead by Himself without any help from anyone.

He rose, and by His resurrection, He gave humanity the blessing of the resurrection *" … for the hour is coming in which all who are in the graves will hear His voice and come forth … " (John 5:28,29)*

He rose triumphant and trod on death to lead us in the procession of His victory and to teach us not to fear death as the apostle said afterwards *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

God who has allowed death to enter our human nature, also, with His mercy, has allowed the resurrection to do the same thing.

As He had created man from dust and, because of sin He has brought Him back to dust, He, also, by the resurrection, allowed this dust to be changed into a body once more but in a better nature.

Before His crucifixion, He said *"My father is always at his work to this very day, and I, too am working. "*

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After the resurrection the Lord continued His work not only to soothe the fatigued souls and strengthen the weak disjoined knees but also to make His disciples ready for service and able to take over the great responsibility of preaching the Gospel to all creation.

In this way, after the resurrection, the Lord continued to work for patronage.

By His resurrection, He gave the spirit of joy to His disciples as He had told them before His crucifixion *" … but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you. " (John 16:22)*

It was so, and they got rid of fear and terror *"The disciples were overjoyed when they saw the Lord. (John 20:20)*

They were greatly affected by the resurrection which strengthened them so deeply that they testified to it.

In every circumstance, they used to preach the rising of the Lord from the dead.

Those, who were afraid and hiding in the attic, appeared with stout hearts and filled the world with evangelising.

They did not care for the threatening of the chiefs of the Jews. They said to them *"We ought to obey God rather than men." Acts 5:29)*

”And the Lord added to the church daily those who were being saved.. " (Acts 2:47)

"And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4.33)

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As God stayed with Moses on the mountain a period of forty days to give him the Laws and the copy of the tent of meeting and its contents, the Lord also appeared to the Disciples over a period of forty days and spoke *" of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 2:3).*

Indeed, there is time for tranquillity, contemplation and recess while attending others has another time.

The Lord Jesus Christ stayed with God a period of forty days in a spiritual recess. He, also spent another period of forty days with his disciples during which he taught them and confirmed their faith. He gave them the creed and all the details of faith, the sacred sacraments of the church and instructed them how to practise them.

He also gave them all the arrangements concerning worship.

The resurrection of the Lord became the centre of the disciples' joy and the subject of their preaching.

It was a period of delivery, teaching and comprehension.

After that, He also appeared to Saint Paul who said about the Sacrament of Eucharist *"For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you … " (1 Cor 11:23).*

Thus, the act of delivery went on successively from the Lord to His disciples and then to others and so on.

The Lord delivered Paul; but what did Paul do? He says to His disciple Timothy *"And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also.. " (2 Tim . 2:2).*

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Thus, after He had taught His disciples, He said to them before his ascension, *"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. " (Mark 16:15).*

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; " (Matt 28:19,20).

And, as He handed instruction over to them he committed baptism as well.

As for instruction and baptism. He did not charge the whole people with them but only the disciples who delivered them to their successors, the bishops.

Those bishops, by turns, gave them to honest persons adequate for the job and not to the common people. It is a sacerdotal work done by priests.

So, He handed priesthood over to them before delivering instruction and baptism.

With priesthood He gave them the power to forgive sins.

Thus, Saint John, in. his gospel, explains to us how the Lord appeared to His disciples.

He entered, with the doors locked, and said to them *"Peace be with you. As the Father has sent Me, I am sending you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:19-23)*

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The act of the Holy Spirit bestowing authority of priesthood and forgiving sin on the disciples differs from that on the Pentecost when the Holy Spirit bestowed on them the talent of speaking in new tongues and the power of preaching the Gospel.

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CHAPTER TEN

The Power Of Christianity And Abolition Of Impossibility

The resurrection was so powerful that it reminded us of the words of the Bible *"With men this is impossible , but with God all things are possible." (Matt 19:26)*

This power which amazed Paul, the Apostle that he said about the Lord *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection, "(Phil 3:10).*

God has granted us that power of His resurrection that everything became possible with the believer, About this matter, Paul, the Apostle, said *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* *"(Phil 4:13)*.

After the Lord has trampled death, there is nothing difficult or impossible before us.

He gave us victory over it and opened the locked gate of Paradise.

He put that nice song in our tongues.

"O Death, where [is] your sting?

Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 Cor 15:5).

The power of the resurrection encouraged the disciples and gave them boldness to preach the Gospel.

Who could think that those weak persons who had hidden in the attic could preach the Gospel publicly and without opposition!?

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Who could think that twelve men, most of them were ignorant fishermen can spread Christianity all over the world?

The resurrection has taught us that there is nothing impossible. With God everything is possible, It is possible for the foolish things of the world to shame the wise and the weak things of the world to shame the strong.

It seemed very difficult for Christianity to stand against Paganism and the ancient religions whose roots were fixed and stable in men's creeds.

Moreover, it seemed difficult to oppose or stand against Judaism which tried to exterminate or to extirpate Christianity.

It also seemed difficult to stand against the philosophies which were prevalent at that time or against the Roman Empire with its tyranny and its armed forces.

It seemed difficult for Christianity to face all these powers and to overcome them but the power they received from the resurrection of Christ and His triumph over death gave them an admirable energy.

Who could think that Peter, the ignorant fisherman can with one sermon, transmute three thousand Jews to Christian faith?

A famous eloquent preacher needs great effort to turn, with one sermon some sinners to repentance but to let three thousand persons change their religion after listening to one sermon seems to be something imaginative!

It is the power which the apostles received from the Holy Spirit and which changed them before they could change the people.

It remained with them and with it they did miracles.

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Who could think that those apostles go to foreign countries where there was not even one Christian, no possibilities to perform religious service and in spite of all these difficulties they began from naught and could change the inhabitants' religion into Christianity ... ?

Indeed the resurrection taught us that there is nothing difficult and that everything is possible with the believer.

Who could think that Saul, from Tarsus, the most enormous persecutor of his time against Christianity becomes Paul, the greatest apostle who evangelised Christianity?

Who could think that the centurion, the general of the soldiers, who crucified Christ, adopted Christianity and died as a martyr because of it becomes a saint?

Who could think that the robber, on the right, believes when he was on the cross?

Who could think that Pilate's wife believes and asks her husband for the sake of "that righteous one?"

With Grace of God everything becomes possible. God is capable of everything. He who overcomes death, the most dangerous enemy, has the power to overcome any difficulty. Everything is quite easy before Him.

Who could think that Mary Magdalene, in whom there were seven devils becomes a preacher and announces good news of the resurrection to the apostles.

This power of the resurrection assured us that there is nothing impossible.

What we saw in preaching we witnessed in repentance:

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The power of repentance which changed the worst sinners into the greatest saints and not to mere repentant taught us that there is nothing impossible.

The utmost thing men expected from Augustine, the debauchee, was his repentance. But to become a saint by whom the generations benefit was something difficult not expected by anyone.

The same thing can be said about Black Moses, the cruel killer, who became a modest, meek and humble saint.

Nothing is difficult before God. Isn't He who said ***"What are you, O mighty mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain!"*** *(Zec 4:7).*

God who makes the barren a rejoicing mother with sons and says to her *"Sing, O barren, You [who] have not borne! … Enlarge the place of your tent, … For you shall expand to the right and to the left, And your descendants will inherit the nations, And make the desolate cities inhabited. " (Is 54:1-3)*

Christ's birth as well as His resurrection were wonderful and strange events which prove that there is nothing impossible. His miracles, also, prove the same thing.

The act of incarnation seemed, in men's view, to be something impossible!! How can God make Himself nothing and take the very nature of a servant? How can a virgin become pregnant and give birth to a child without matrimony?

So, the resurrection was something impossible. Thence, the Jews were afraid lest it should take place and considered it worse than the first deception.

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In spite of all that, incarnation took place; the virgin gave birth to a child and the resurrection happened.

Christianity is not a religion of weakness but a religion of strength. It gives man wonderful energies. It cancels the word "impossible."

Christianity is a religion of power

There is nothing difficult in Christianity. In it there is neither despondency nor failure. Through it *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. "(Phil 4:13).*

There are some things which seem difficult in Christianity such as: the cross; the narrow gate, and in spite of that the Christians carried the cross and entered through the narrow gate chanting the words of the apostle *"And His commandments are not burdensome.* *(1 John. 5:3)*

Yes, in the world's view, how difficult it is to turn the other cheek, to go the second mile, to love your enemy and to sell everything and give the price to the poor.

How difficult it is to follow a religion which calls upon devoutness and monasticism.

This religion, which seems difficult, spread everywhere. The people entered in its devoutness by their own will. They longed for its pains and were desirous of being martyrs. They took up the cross as an emblem.

The difficult commandment in Christianity bears in itself the power to carry it out.

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Christianity has offered humanity excellent models and eminent commandments. But at the same time it presented to people spiritual ability and assistance from Grace to practise these models easily and with pleasure.

It gave men the spiritual life as well as the Holy Spirit to reside in them and offer them the power to behave spiritually.

Christian commandments seem difficult to those who are outside, who do not live in Grace and who did not take part in the Holy Spirit.

But, to the believer, these difficult commandments become an inordinate desire and spiritual enjoyment that he does not find any difficulty.

The believer puts on the full armour of God with which he can take his stand against the devil's schemes.

He fully believes that he does not stand alone in his spiritual and religious war.

He believes that *"for the battle is the Lord's." (1Sam 17:47)* who is able to conquer whether with great numbers or few numbers.

He always feels that a divine power keeps close to him and works with him.

Thus, the life of the believer is a lasting victory because God leads him in His triumphal procession and *"The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace."* *(Ex 14:14).*

He who becomes conscious of failure has not put Grace to the test yet. He has not experienced the work of God whether in him or with him.

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How wonderful are the words of the Lord to His disciples when He spoke to them about miracles *"Most assuredly, I say to you, he who believes in Me, the works that I do he will do also; and greater works than these he will do," (John 14:12)*

Christianity is a religion of power. It began with the resurrection which overcame death, opened the gates of Hades, led captives in His train and let the righteous enter Paradise.

Then we witness the power of preaching and the powerful endurance of the martyrs.

With great power, the apostles used to give testimony. With it they stood before the authorities and spoke without opposition.

Stephen could astound three synagogues *"And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke. "* *(Acts 6:10)***.**

Thus *"Then the word of God spread , and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly"* *(Acts 6:7)* **with the power of miracles and marvels, with the power of the word, with the poker of a heart, stood firm before sword and fire, with a power put on them from heaven. As the Lord said to them *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me"*** *(Acts 1:8)***.**

With this power He gave them authority on all the devils and on the cruelty of the enemy.

He, also, gave them the keys of heaven and earth.

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In their prayers, there was a power which shook the place. They received power from the angels around them who broke the chains and brought them out of prison.

Thus, there were two powers, one, within themselves and the other around them.

This power caused Paganism to be exterminated and fade away.

It is the power of the defenceless Christianity which overcame an empire fully armed till it yielded to the new religion and adopted it.

It is the power of the cross which they thought a sign of weakness while it was a source of power and pride.

The Christian is a strong man with a sturdy spirit and perfect morals. He fears nothing. His power is derived not from his own self but from the Spirit of God.

Pilate feared the defenceless Christ and wished to set Him free. Felix, the governor, trembled when Paul, the captive, spoke about the judgement day.

It is the power of Christ who said *"but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." (John 16:33).*

It is the power of the monastic hearts which lead an ascetic life and which overcame all the worldly desires. They led a sacred life which distracted men's minds and terrified the devil.

It is the power expressed in Augustine's words **"I sat on the top of the world when I felt within myself that I desired nothing and feared nothing. "**

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It is the power of divestment, monasticism and chastity.

If we are enjoying the joys of the resurrection let us live in its power and overcome death, that death which resulted fro-in sin, in order to rise in the resurrection of the righteous.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Questions Related To The Resurrection.

The Glorified Body Between The Body Of The Resurrection And The Body Of Birth

Question:

With what kind of body did the Lord Jesus Christ rise? Did He rise with an ordinary body like ours or with a glorified body? If He rose with a glorified one what would be the meaning of: *"He ate in the presence of His disciples?" (Luke 24:43)*. What is the meaning of *"they touched His flesh and His bones?" (Luke 24:39)*

Was the glorified body, with which the Lord rose, the same body He took from The Virgin? Why don't we say that He was born with a glorified body?

Answer:

1. Undoubtedly, the body of the resurrection, in general, is a glorified body.

Saint Paul explained this glory saying *"The body that is sown is perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power,*

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it is sown a natural, it is raised a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:42-44)

2. If we shall be raised with a glorified body - a spiritual body - how much the more was Christ's resurrection?

This resurrection was the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. (1 Cor 15:20,23). So will it be with us when we will be raised in the general resurrection.

The clearest proof that we will be raised in the likeness of His glorious resurrection is the saying of Saint Paul, the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Philippians *"who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:21)*

Thus, The Lord Jesus Christ has risen with a glorified body and so will it be with us *"conformed His glorious body. "*

This is a clear matter which needs neither proof nor argument.

It is well known that the glorified body is a spiritual one according to the words of Paul the Apostle in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:44,49).

The spiritual body has risen high above materials as food and drink and above flesh and bones....

3. How was it said then that Christ had eaten after His resurrection and that He had flesh and bones?

This matter is very clear in the Bible according to our teacher Luke, the Evangelist. He wrote about Christ's appearance to

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His disciples after the resurrection *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. And He said to them, "Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have. When He had said this, He showed them His hands and His feet. " (Luke 24:37-40)*

In the same chapter and in the same occasion He took a piece of broiled fish and ate it in their presence (Luke 24:41-43). How can we explain that matter?

4. We explain that matter by the following: He wished to prove to them the resurrection of His body, while they did not understand the meaning of the spiritual body.

At that time, they did not understand the entity of the spiritual body. They never heard of such words.

Of course, without the proofs given to them as eating and touching His flesh and His bones, they would have thought Him a spirit. (Luke 24:37), a mere spirit without body. In their understanding it meant that the body had not risen.

5. The important matter in the resurrection is "The rising of the body."

It is because the spirit is, by nature, a living thing which does not die.

Only the body dies when it is separated from the spirit. It changes into dust, but the spirit remains alive in the waiting place.

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Thus, the resurrection is the rising of the body which will unite with the spirit once more.

In the Liturgy of renouncing the devil from the baptistery we say **"We believe in the resurrection of the body."**

As the disciples thought they had seen a ghost, it meant that the idea of the rising of the body was far from their minds.

So, it was necessary to convince them with it in order that they might convince others.

Here, we mention the words of Saint Peter, the Sedmenty "Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ used to prove His divinity to the people, but after the resurrection He wished to prove man's proper nature."

The spirit alone does not represent a complete human nature. It is necessary to prove that the body has risen. Thus He said to Thomas *"Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing." (John 20:27)* He said to His disciples ***"Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39)***

Also, He allowed Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, when they came to Him and worshipped Him after the resurrection to clasp His feet (Matt 28:9) All this was to prove the rising of the body.

7. This spiritual glorified body was that which went up to heaven.

Perhaps the act of ascension may not agree with a material body submitting to the law of earthly gravity because it is heavier

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than air; but He went up, in glory, with a spiritual body and with the same glory He sat at the right hand of God.

This same glorified body will come back *"in His glory. " (Matt 25:3 1) " in His [own] glory, and [in] [His] Father's, " (Luke 9:26)*

The glory of the ascension and that of the second coming is not only a mere miracle but it is also special case in His nature permanent forever.

8. This glorified body is that body with which He appeared to Saul, from Tarsus, on his way to Damascus. when *" suddenly a light shone around him from heaven. Then he fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting Me?" And he said, "Who are You, Lord?" Then the Lord said, **"I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.”**. (Acts 9:3-5)*

9. This glorified body is the same body with which He was born of the Virgin.

But that body with which He was born was not so glorious as that of the resurrection because in His birth, *'"but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a bondservant," (Phil 2:7).*

The act of making Himself nothing ended in the glory of the resurrection and ascension.

10. The body of the resurrection was the same body of the birth; but in a case of transfiguration. He gave us a handsel of it on the mountain of transfiguration. (Mark 9:2,3)

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As an example of comparison - measurement but with difference the three young men in the fiery furnace. Their bodies were the same bodies but they were granted, for a time, a kind of transfiguration which kept them from the harm of the fire.

The resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ was with the same body of birth but in glory or in a case of transfiguration which gave the body a glorified nature, then it became a spiritual one. The same steps will happen to us.

11. Some may ask "Did Christ's body take His glorified nature immediately after the Resurrection or after the Ascension?

I say to you "His body took that nature during the resurrection itself."

The cases with which He proved His human nature were nothing but exceptional cases in order that the disciples might believe that His body had risen and, with confidence, spread faith saying *" … which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled," (1 John 1:1) "even to us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead." (Acts 10:41)*

In cases other than these cases, the glorified body of the resurrection does not drink or eat any material thing. It needs nothing. It does not feel hungry or thirsty.

In glory it does not feel tired. It does not suffer pain. It does not become subject to death.

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12. Entering the locked doors and coming out of the closed places are clear proofs of the glory of the body of the resurrection.

In the attic, with the doors locked, He came in and stood among the disciples. He did so many times (John 20:19,26)

In His resurrection, He went out of the tomb with the entrance sealed. It was after the resurrection that the angel came and rolled the big stone in order that all men might see the empty tomb. (The women and all men) and not for Christ to come out because He had formerly come out with the entrance closed and sealed.

Among the examples of His coming out of the closed things is His getting out of the shrouds with the mummification substances while they remained where they were.

He, formerly, came out of The Virgin 's womb. Here some may ask: Was the Lord born with a glorified body as that of the resurrection? The answer is as follows:

13. The Lord Jesus Christ was born with a body like ours. He resembled us in everything except sin.

He took our human nature for which He was called *"The Son of Man "* and with which He could redeem us.

"So the child grew and became strong in spirit,. " (Luke 1:80)

"He was hungry." (Matt 4:2)

"I thirst!" (John 19:28)

"Jesus therefore, being wearied from His journey," (John 4:6)

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"But He was asleep." (Matt 8:24)

In Gethsemane *"Then His sweat became like great drops of blood falling down to the ground." (Luke 22:44)*

14. If He had not taken our human nature, He would not have felt pain.

He was in a nature liable to feel pain. Through the body He suffered pain. He experienced the pains of beating, flogging and crucifixion.

Many a time He fell under the cross when He carried it, that Simon, from Cyrene, carried it for Him.

His nature was liable to death, so, He died on behalf of us and redeemed us while the glorified body did not feel pain and did not die.

Thus, He was born with a human nature liable to pain and death, to suffering and sorrow.

In this way, this human nature could accomplish the act of redemption, then, it was glorified in the resurrection.

15. The glory of His nature before the redemption was an impeccable one.

His birth, the period of Mary's pregnancy, the time He spent on earth were spiritual glories done by His good will but His body was, in everything, like ours except for sin.

He made Himself nothing taking the very nature of a servant.

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16. His unity with divinity is considered one of His glories.

This unity lessened nothing of His human nature. It did not nullify the weaknesses of the body as hunger, thirst, weariness and death. Otherwise redemption would have lost its nature and its value.

His pains were true, so was His redemption. He made Himself nothing in order that He, in His resurrection, might bestow glory on us.

Because He made Himself nothing from glory, He, before the crucifixion, said to God "Father glorify Your Son,
that Your Son may glorify You." "O Father, glorify Me together with Yourself, with the glory which I had with You before the world was." (John 17 :1-5)

17. It was said about the resurrection "but when Jesus was glorified,.... (John 12:16).

18. The disciples could not bear seeing His glory.

Thus, when John, the beloved one, saw some of God's glory in the Revelation *"I fell at His feet as dead."* Why? *"His head and hair were white like wool, as white as snow, and His eyes like a flame of fire". (Rev 1:17,16,14)*

19. For these reasons, the Lord advanced gradually with His disciples when He showed them the glory of His resurrection.

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He did so with the Magdalene, who, at first, thought Him the gardener, then, at last He revealed Himself to her (John 20:14,16)

He did the same thing with the two of Emmaus, with whom He walked along But their eyes were restrained, so that they did not know Him.. (Luke 24:16)

With the disciples, He used the same style of graduation in order that they might bear these matters because seeing Him after the resurrection with His glorified body was not so easy.

It was a story too long to be supported by this treatise.

20. Does this mean that we shall not see Him in His glory? If we shall see Him: how and when?

Who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, (Phil 3:21) then we shall see Him and as the apostle says *"For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then face to face. " (1 Cor 13:12)*

What is the meaning of the phrase ':face to face"? How will that be accomplished?

My brothers, now, it is better for me to keep silent for this is easier and better by far.

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Do Not Hold On To Me

Question:

Why did the Lord appear to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection?

Why did He say to her "*"Do not cling to Me,"* (John. 20:17) While He allowed Saint Thomas to touch Him? (John 20:27).

He, also, allowed the rest of the apostles to touch him. (Luke 24:39)

Did He prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman?

Did He allow them to touch Him because they are men?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ allowed Mary Magdalene to touch Him before anyone of the apostles, as it was mentioned in their first meeting after the resurrection in (Matt. 24)

Mary Magdalene, with the other Mary went to look at the tomb. The tomb was empty. The big stone was rolled away from the entrance.

The angel told them the good news of the resurrection of the Lord. On leaving the tomb, the Lord met them and said to them *"Peace be with you. "(John 20:19).*

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Here, Saint Matthew, the Evangelist says, *"So they came and held Him by the feet and worshiped Him. ". (Matt 28:9)*

So, Mary Magdalene has touched Christ after the resurrection.

The Lord did not prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman but, on the contrary, He charged her with going to His disciples and telling them about the good news of the resurrection and her meeting with Him in the Galilee.

It was a great honour that the Lord charged a woman with carrying good news to the apostles.

But it happened afterwards that Mary Magdalene yielded to the doubts spread by the chief priests about the resurrection.

They filled the world with rumours announcing that the body was stolen from the tomb while the guards were sleeping.

It was possible for these rumours to leave no effect on Mary were it not for her to see that the apostles themselves did not believe in the resurrection.

As for the doubts of the disciples, they were very clear as they did not believe the story of the resurrection.

Mary has gone to them and told them the good news of Christ's resurrection. When they heard that Jesus was alive and that she had seen Him, they did not believe it. (Mark 16:9-11)

When Mary Magdalene saw that Jesus' apostles did not believe her and trusted neither the other women nor the two from Emmaus, she began to doubt.

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She was still a young lady and perhaps what she had seen at the tomb was a dream or imagination. Had she faith stronger than that of the apostles? It is something absurd.

She thought in herself; perhaps some men might have stolen the body and carried it from its place!

They might not be the apostles but other men, perhaps the gardener, for example, might have taken it for any reason!

Of course, all these were doubts against faith because she herself saw the empty tomb. She also saw Christ, touched Him and heard His voice.

Moreover, she heard the good news from the angel, then from the two angels.

As Peter had denied Christ three times during the judgment, so did Mary Magdalene. She denied the resurrection of the Lord three times. These denials are written in one chapter. (John 20:12,13,15)

1. **The first denial** took place when she went to the Saints Peter and John and said to them *"They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we don't know where they have put Him!" (John 20:2)*

These words mean that God has not yet risen from the dead as they have taken His body and put it another place.

2. **The second denial** took place when she was weeping outside the tomb and the two angels asked her *"Woman, why are you weeping?"* She said to them, *"Because they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:13)*

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3. **The third denial** took place when The Lord Jesus Christ appeared to her. Because of her weeping, she did not see Him well and thought Him to be the gardener. Perhaps He concealed Himself from her ... She said to Him *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, and I will take Him. " (John 20.-15)*

When He showed Himself to her and she knew Him, she cried out "Rabboni!" (which means: Teacher)

The Lord prevented her from touching Him to rebuke her for denying His resurrection three times.

Also, it was not permissible for her to touch Him with her precarious faith as if He were a common person carried by someone to any place.

She said to Peter and John *"They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:2).*

She said to the two angels *" they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him " (John 20:13).*

She said to the Lord thinking He was the gardener *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, " (John 20:15).*

All her words were repetition to the soldiers' pretence and showed her precarious faith.

The Lord said to her *"Do not cling to Me …"* which means 'Don't approach Me with your shaken faith and with you doubts after you have seen Me, clasped My feet and heard My voice.'

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'Don't approach Me after I have charged you with a message to My disciples.'

'Don't approach Me after you have seen the tomb and heard the angels' testimony.'

'Don't hold on to Me with your denial, for I have not yet returned to the Father.'

As for the phrase *" I have not yet ascended to My Father. " (John 20:17)* Saint Severus, from Antioch as well as Saint Augustine did not take it literally but symbolically because she had held on Him before.

The two saints added that the Lord wished to say to her "Don't hold on to Me with your precarious faith because I have not reached in your mind the standard of My Father's divinity. "You think My body is still dead and the people can carry it wherever they wish!!"

However, He consoled her and at the same time He charged her with a message to the apostles.

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Feed My Lambs, Take Care Of My Sheep

Question:

Why do we deny Peter's headship while the Lord said to him after the resurrection: "Feed My lambs,. take care of My sheep?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ did not say these phrases to him in order to appoint him Pastor of the Universal Church but to bring him back to the apostolic rank which he was on the point of losing because of his denial.

With this phrase, the Lord made him equal to the other apostles.

He was exposed to the text which says *"But he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God." (Luke 12:9)* to be applied to him.

It is clear that The Lord Jesus Christ said to him *"Tend My sheep." in a reprimand situation as He asked him three times saying "Simon, son of Jonah, do you love Me?" (John 21: 15-17)*

By these words, the Lord wished to remind him of his denials.

Moreover His question carried a light reprimand with which the Lord reminds Peter of his words *" Even if all are made to stumble because of You, I will never be made to stumble " (Matt 26:33)*

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In that situation we notice that The Lord Jesus Christ called him by his old name before he was given the name "Peter".

The most conspicuous proof that the Lord meant by his words some reprimand was the shame and the sorrow that appeared on Peter's face after the Lord had said to him "Take care of My sheep" because he understood the Lord's aim.

If the phrase had been said in a good circumstance of magnifying or investiture, it could have caused Peter joy and pleasure.

Patronage is a job God has invested with rank to many as it appears in many texts of the Holy Bible.

All the apostles are patrons. The Lord Jesus Christ is the chief patron.

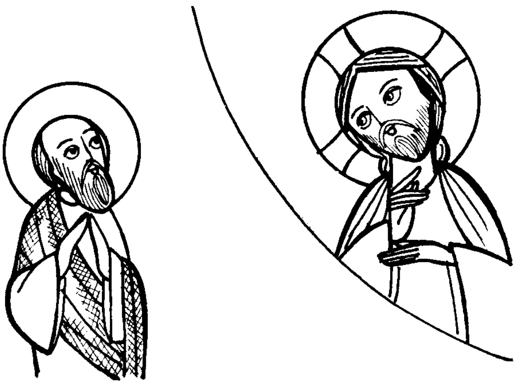

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But Go, Tell His Disciples And Peter

Question:

After Christ's resurrection, the angel said to the Marys *"tell His disciples; and Peter; that He is going before you into Galilee; there you will see Him, "* (Mark 16:7). Does mentioning Peter by name mean that he was preferable to other disciples?

Answer:

The Lord wished to give Peter special care because he was perturbed about himself and about his destiny after his denial, blasphemy, denunciation and saying *" I do not know the Him. " (Luke 22:57).*

If the Lord applied to Peter the text *" he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God. " (Luke 12:9)* he would perish.

He mentioned Peter by name as a kind of sympathy and consolation because of denial and sin.

Perhaps he was too ashamed of the Lord to be able to meet Him without a special call.

Don't, you see with me that Adam, after he had sinned hid from the face of God and was afraid of Him?

When the Lord God called to him *"Where are you?"*, he answered *"I heard Your voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked; and I hid myself." (Gen 3:9).*

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Peter was in the same situation. He was in need of a special call by name.

Thus, the matter is not a subject of headship or preference but consoling a poor person.

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About The Events Of The Resurrection And Their Coincidence With Each Other

Question:

Is there any contradiction among the events of the resurrection according to what was written in the four gospels?

A gospel mentions one angel. Another gospel mentions two angels.

Also the persons who visited the tomb. Some gospels differ in regard to them.

Answer:

There is no contradiction. Each gospel mentioned a special visit accomplished at a time different from that of the other visit and with other persons.

The first visit was mentioned by Matthew's gospel. The tomb was empty. The angel said the good news to Mary Magdalene and to the other Mary. The appearance of the Lord to the two of Emmaus, The women's visit. (Luke 24)

But the visit of Mary Magdalene and seeing the Lord as if He were the gardener was accomplished afterwards. (John 20). Different visits at different times.

If it had been one event, there would have been contradiction but they were many events, appearances and visits.

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In
This Book

In the name of the Father
and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit
One God. Amen

This is the first book I publish about Resurrection. It is the outcome of many lectures and sermons delivered on this topic.

The book consists of three important elemets:

1. A general view of the Resurrection, how it is necessary, possible and useful; and its spiritual and general effect.

2. Various articles on the Resurrection of the Lord Christ - glory be to Him - comprising the events of the Resurrection, its power and joy, its effect and blessings and how it changed situations. Proofs and confirmation of the authenticity of the Resurrection are also included.

3. The third part of the book includes five important questions relating to the subject.

We present you with this book to give you some contemplations on the Resurrection.

We hope that you may expreience the effectiveness of the Resurrection in your life.

I wish you happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

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CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

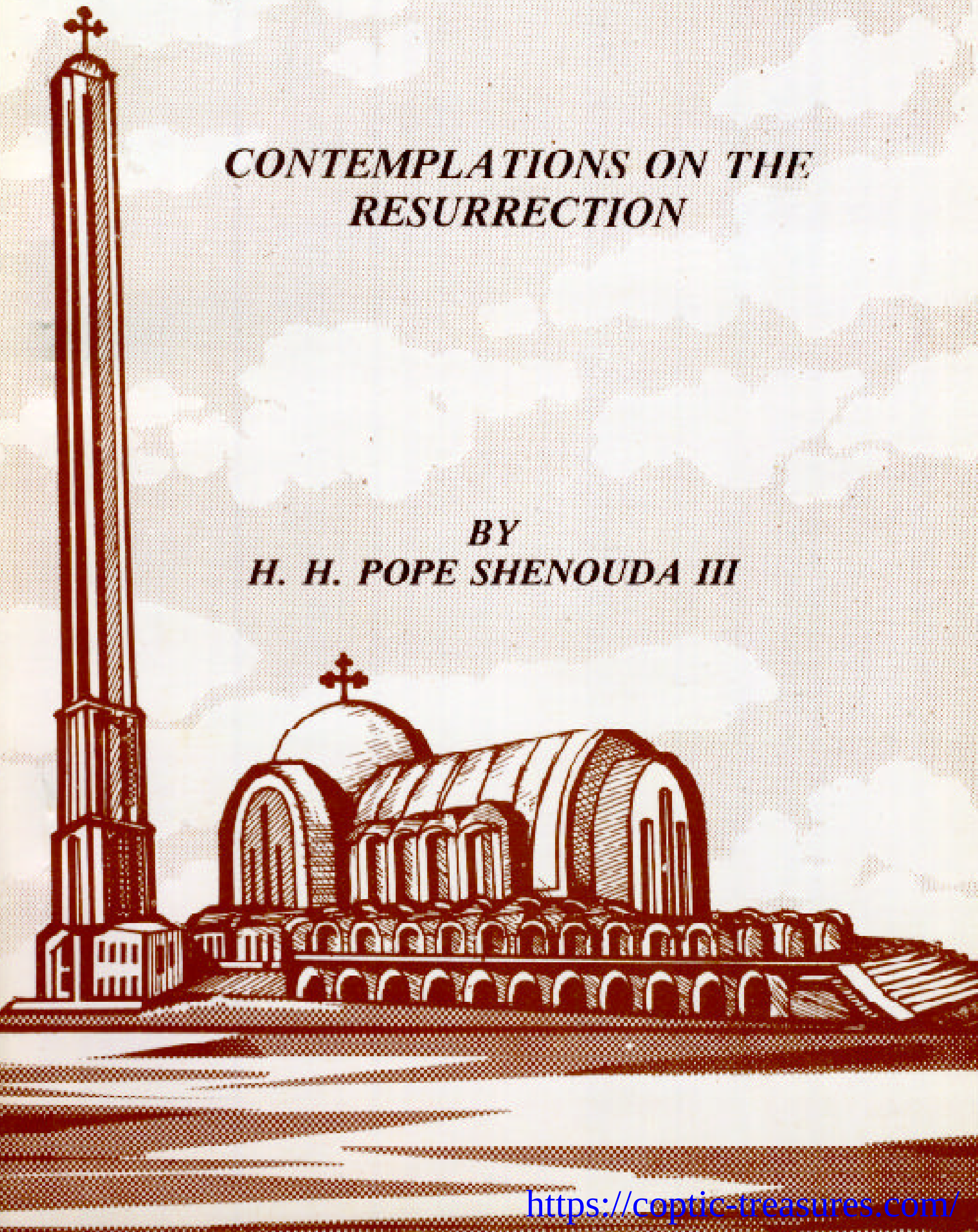

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COPTIC ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE

See of St. Mark

CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

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H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

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PREFACE

This is the first book I publish about The Resurrection.

But I have published many articles about the resurrection in the Preaching magazine and in the daily newspapers.

Moreover, every year, on Easter Eve, we used to deliver a sermon about that subject in the Great Cathedral.

It was necessary to collect all these articles and sermons for this book, So we could publish it.

This book is comprised of two principal elements:

1. General - theoretical theology -talks on the resurrection.

This is an ideological trend which falls under the limits of theoretical theology or the philosophy of the resurrection written in a good style which suits all denominations.

It, also, explains how resurrection was an essential necessity; how it was potential and the uses and benefits gained from it both spiritually and generally.

2. Topics concerning the resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ; glory be to Him.

It comprises the events of the resurrection and explains its power and its effects; how Jesus' resurrection surpasses other resurrections; the blessedness of this resurrection and its effects on your life; the joys caused by it and the proofs and confirmation of its authenticity.

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3. Questions related to the resurrection.

A question about the glorified body; a question about the words of the Lord to Mary Magdalene "Do not hold on to me. "; two other questions about Saint Peter, the apostle and a question about the circumstances of the resurrection and to what extent its events agree with each other.

This last question needs a separate and complete article which will be delivered on another occasion; God willing.

Now, it suffices to wish you a happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

April, 1990

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CHAPTER ONE

The Resurrection And Its Spiritual Depth

The Resurrection Is A Wonderful Meeting:

1. The resurrection is a wonderful meeting between two united friends who have lived together their whole life since their birth and even before it, during pregnancy in their mothers' wombs.

They never separated even for one moment; They are: the body and the spirit.

Each of them has a special nature; the body is earthly and the spirit is celestial. They have united in one nature-the human nature.

You cannot separate one from the other and say "This is the body and that is the spirit."

They have lived together in an admirable unity. The body expresses all the sensations and feelings of the spirit. If the spirit becomes glad the body will smile and rejoice. If it becomes sad, sorrow will appear in the eyes.

After a long life they will separate from one another because of death but in the end they will meet each other in the resurrection.

After a long separation they will unite again. **I wonder!! how will the sensations of the spirit be when it meets the body -**

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the life long partner after hundreds and may be thousands of years as Adam, Noah and Abraham had done before!?!?

The spirit meets the body after seeing the body change into a handful of dust. Then returns more radiant than before, without any blemish.

Even the faults, stuck to the body in the past, disappear. Yes, it is raised without defects because wrong and evil deeds do not agree with eternal paradise.

The body returns more friendly. It never disagrees with the spirit in the other world for it is raised a spiritual body.

2. The second wonderful meeting in the resurrection is a meeting of nations and races of the whole history.

It will be a general resurrection since the days of Adam. All nations and races that lived through generations and centuries, with their different languages, features and lineaments, with all their heroes and leaders will meet together and try to be acquainted and understand each other.

Undoubtedly, they will do so because there will be one language the language of the spirit or that of the angels.

How wonderful this meeting will be!! It will be the greatest of all stories and the strangest narrative of long epochs.

The best of all will be the procession of the triumphant and victorious people who struggled during their life on earth, then conquered and supported truth and morals.

They will meet together and everyone has a story related by generations... then the world will become once more one nation as it had been before parting and dispersion.

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I wonder!! how will the meeting of the nations which had fought with each other be? Will the causes that forced them to wage wars against each other seem insignificant?

3. The third marvellous meeting is that of the human-beings with the angels who are made of a nature more eminent than ours.

Meeting with them will be one of eternity's happy enjoyment.

4. But the most wonderful meeting with the Lord will surpass any other meeting in its eminence.

Our meeting with God, blessed is His name, will be the eternal paradise for there will be no paradisiacal life without Him.

Now my pen stops in silent submissiveness because I am before a scene which words fail to describe or interpret. It is above the standard of any language to express or any intelligence to imagine. Thus, the resurrection is a strange and wonderful meeting .... and what else?

The Resurrection Is A Miraculous Transition:

1. It is a transition from the limited to the unlimited.

It is an interchange from a life measured with days and years to an infinite one which has no connection with time.

I wonder! Is there another earth which revolves around itself and round the sun; and interprets its revolutions into days and years?

Or shall we rise over time and enter a new world?

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Measures of time will come to an end... One moment in eternity is longer and deeper than the whole life of earth.

2. The resurrection is also a transition from the visible to the invisible.

It is an entrance to what is written in the Holy Bible *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

It is an entrance to the spiritual world and a way to the meeting with the angels, the invisible spirits where joys never known on earth will take place. Here, the resurrection surpasses all the grades attained by senses and rises to the realms where the spirit alone can realise everything.

3. Thus, the resurrection means transition from the world of sensation to the world of spirits.

In the resurrection we acquire spiritual senses which differ from earthly material ones.

The new senses see the spirits and spiritualities and are dazzled by them. Now, I myself keep silent once more.

Here is a kind of the revelation of human nature when it becomes conscious of what it could not perceive in the past and acquire spiritual characteristics not practised before.

In the resurrection the spirit can see the invisible or some of it or advance gradually in sight moving from spiritual satiety to more and more fullness in the life of revealment.

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4. The resurrection is transition from the world of falsehood to the life of truth.

From the world of evanescence to the world of immortality. From a world in which everything will be abolished after a time to an everlasting world in which there is no falsehood but well fixed truth.

It is a world free from sin where men live with each other in association very pure, clear and everlasting.

What else about the resurrection?

The Resurrection Is A Multi-Faceted Miracle:

Here appears the miraculous power of God. How will the bodies be gathered once more after they changed into dust! ?

Isn't it He who created and formed them from dust; from nothingness?

Dust had been a nonentity before it existed. He who looks attentively at the resurrection from this side can consider the limitless power of God, our creator. It is enough for Him to wish and everything will be accomplished according to His will, even without an utterance. It is His will which is in root and essence an effective order, capable of doing everything.

We consider the resurrection a miracle not owing to its difficulty but because our mind is unable to perceive how it takes place!! But though the mind fails to comprehend that matter, yet faith can easily understand it.

Thus, the resurrection is the creed of the believers.

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He who has faith in God and His power can believe in the resurrection. He who has faith in God as a creator believes also that He has raised the dead.

But the apostates intelligence cannot reach that standard. They do not believe in the resurrection. They have no faith in the spirit and its immortality. Moreover, they do not believe in God Himself.

It Is also a necessary one for justice, serenity and evenness of mind.

It is necessary for justice to judge everyone according to his deeds done during his life on earth-whether good or bad. If they are good he will be rewarded; if they are evil and bad deeds he will be punished.

If there had been no resurrection men would have coveted greedily on worldly pleasures with their corruption and immorality without any care for what will happen to them in future life.

But believing in the resurrection and the following final judgement - reward or punishment - is a restraint to men because they will perceive that justice must prevail in the future life.

This final judgment will take place after the resurrection and the unity of the spirits with their bodies.

For it is unjust for the spirit to be judged alone leaving the body without retribution according to its obedience or disobedience to the spirit. Thus, the body must rise and the spirit must unite with it. And before God the two stand together because they were partners responsible for everything they did on earth.

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The resurrection is also necessary for equality.

On earth there is no equality among human beings. There are the rich and the poor; the happy and the miserable, the one who lives in ease and comfort and that who suffers torture.

If there is no equality on earth, it will be appropriate to find it in heaven; and he who does not get his rights on earth can afterwards get them in heaven and the Lord will compensate him for what he had lost on earth if his deeds were satisfactory in the eyes of God.

The story of the rich man and Lazarus in the Holy Bible (Luke 16) presents to us a certain proof about equipoise between life on earth and life in heaven.

The resurrection is also a very magnificent, thrilling and admirable miracle.

It presents to the other world an idealistic life. The ideal man about whom the philosophers spoke and for whom Diogene searched but in vain, the man whom scientists fancied in their imagination, this man is presented by the resurrection to the other world in which there is no sin, no sorrow, no weeping, no depravity, no injustice, no deficiency or poverty.

It is a miracle presented by the resurrection. Moreover, it is an inordinate desire to a life of righteousness, which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a gladdening miracle.

It is cheering because life is completed by it, for man conquers death and lives forever.

The eternal life is the dream of the human-race which is threatened by death from time to time.

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Although the life of mankind on earth is short yet it is full of weariness and affliction.

So great will be the pleasure of man when he gets rid of fatigue and death and lives happily in eternal paradise.

It is a dream which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, we come to a very important reality.

The Resurrection Is The Gate Of Eternity:

But for the resurrection death would have been a decisive evanescence.

Evanescence is a dreadful matter. It is a distressing end which is considered the grimmest tragedy.

But God did not create man for evanescence but for continuance and life.

If man was exposed to death because of sin God laid before him the way of salvation.

He raised and rescued him from this death.

When God created man, He gave him something eternal- the spirit.

Man dies but his spirit does not perish but remains alive. In this way, man differs from other creatures which live on earth because their lives are annihilated and come to an end.

Man, by the resurrection, begins another new, endless life.

In this way, man's degree and his preference to other earthly creatures appear.

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Because the spirit cannot form a perfect man, it was necessary for the body to rise and unite with it.

Thus, the eternal life cannot be complete with one part but with the two parts-the spirit and the body in order that man may return to life.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a wakefulness after a long sleep.

By this we mean the wakefulness of the body or that of the perfect man because the spirit is wakeful forever.

The resurrection is the end of death. No death will come afterwards.

It is an end to that dreadful enemy.

Man has triumphed over many enemies except death which has conquered and still conquers humanity as it was the irrefutable punishment inflicted by God against him when he fell down and sinned.

But, by the resurrection, God has saved humanity from that enemy and exterminated it forever.

Now, we stand before a bridge which separates between two lives. Death is at its beginning and the resurrection is at its end.

Death is the end of the first life and the resurrection is the beginning of the other world.

The distance between them is an interval of waiting in which the spirits of those who had gone away will wait till their brothers on earth continue their strife and probations.

The eternity presented by the resurrection must be preceded by the final judgment.

The doomsday will come between the resurrection and eternity when all human beings stand before the Lord to render an account of what they did when they were on earth whether good or bad.

They render an account about every deed, every thought, every feeling or sensation, every resolution or determination they had, every word they uttered; then the righteous go to eternal paradise while the evil doers go into continuos anguish.

So, whilst the resurrection is gladness in regard to the righteous, it is also a fright to the apostates and evil-doers.

As for the righteous, God arranges their standing once more according to their past deeds.

He gives every man a new standing according to the purity of both heart and thought and according to his carrying out God's commandments and to what extent he could establish the good and love among people and also, according to his love and strong desire towards God.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Necessity Of The Resurrection And Its Possibilities

The Resurrection Of The Body:

When we speak about the resurrection we mean the rising of the bodies from death because the spirits are immortal by nature. Death has neither effect nor power over them. So, they are not in need of resurrection.

These bodies which change into dust from which God has created will come back to existence once more. The spirits will settle down in them and unite with them. All of them will stand before God in the doomsday - the day of the resurrection - in order to present an account of what they did on earth whether good or bad.

It is the dreadful day of final judgment which will be followed by the eternal termination of all humanity.

It will be either the paradise or the hell according to what one will deserve in regard to his faith and deeds.

The Resurrection Is A Possible Matter.

The possibility of the resurrection - with no doubt depends on the plenary and unlimited power of God.

All of us believe that the Almighty God is omnipotent. There is no limit to His heavenly ability.

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However difficult the matter may seem to the renegades and the unbelievers or to those who depend on thought and science yet God, without any doubt, is able to raise the bodies from death.

The practice and the operation of the resurrection of the bodies is easier than creating them previously.

God, who gave these bodies the blessing of existence, is undoubtedly able to return them, once more, from the dust of earth.

Moreover, God has created everything from nonentity. He created the earth and its dust from nothingness; and from dust He created man.

Then, which of them is more difficult: the creation from non-existence or raising the bodies from dust?

Thus, it is intuitive that he who is able to carry out the most difficult matter can also execute the easiest one... and He who caused the creation to exist, can, with stronger reason, keep it.

We say so whatever obstacles and entanglements the perverts and the apostates and the half-educated savants and scientists may set before the possibility of the resurrection.

When I refer to the half-learned men I will declare innocent of the charge the scientists and the learned men who acquire complete knowledge.

The half learned man is a materialist and the resurrection seems to him and impossible operation.

Meanwhile, he ignores or may be ignorant of the other half of the truth which is the ability of God.

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Half of the truth is that the earth may absorb some of the body's elements. A part of it may be decomposed or interfere with other substances or bodies.

The other half of the truth is that the material is imperishable.

Wherever the body may go, its component parts will remain extant and existing in the earth; the way of all flesh.

The infinite God knows quite well where the origins of the body are found. He, with His limitless power, can bring them back once more especially because it is His desire.

At the same time, He promised the human race to rise again according to the sayings of the prophets and what was registered in the holy books.

Thus, the resurrection, in its essence and reality, depends on God, blessed is His name. It depends on His will, His knowledge and His acquaintance and ability.

As for the will, God wishes man to rise from death. He promised him the eternal life and spoke of the resurrection, frankly and very clearly.

As long as God has promised something, there is no doubt that He will carry out His promise.

As for knowledge and ability, God knows where are the origins and the elements of the bodies which were decomposed and the places of their bones.

Moreover, He knows how to form and compose them again. Indeed He can do all that - great and dignified His great name is; high and elevated His omnipotent ability is.

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With complete faith we believe in the power of our Almighty God.

He who denies the possibility of the resurrection must, consequently, deny the creation from nonentity.

He also denies the ability of God as well as His existence.

But the believers, who have faith in God and believe in His miracles and in the process of creation and the infinite power of this great Creator, consider the resurrection a very simple matter, easy to believe in.

The Necessity Of The Resurrection

There is a principal point why the resurrection is necessary and the understanding of the meaning of perpetuity.

God has promised man an eternal life. His promise was given to man as a whole and not to the spirit alone which is a part of man.

If the spirit was given the chance to enjoy perpetuity and eternal paradise we could not say that man as a whole enjoyed an easy prosperous life in eternity, but only a part of him which is the spirit.

Thus, it is very necessary for the body to rise from death and consequently the spirit will unite with it to form a complete man who can enjoy a perpetual life.

But for the resurrection, the end of the human body would have been the same as that of animals.

Then, what are the characteristics of that wise, living being, endowed with the faculty of speech whom God has gifted with

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the talent of thinking, invention and the ability to build rocket , aeroplanes which convey him to the moon and whirl round the earth, then bring him back safely to it after collecting different data about other planets ?

Can it be intelligible and reasonable that the body of this marvellous and admirable man, whom the Lord gave the mastery over many sides of nature come to the same end of animals and insects? Indeed, the mind cannot accept that matter as true.

Thus, it is reasonable that the resurrection of the body keeps pace with man's prestige.

Man is distinguished and chosen out from other creatures which have bodies. With the gifts given to him by God, he can rule over them, pay attention to them and take care of them all.

So, the dignity of the body of this wise creature must be distinguished from the bodies of other unwise and dumb creatures.

The rising of the bodies from their graves is also a necessity incumbent for God's justice.

Man is a wise creature. He has his own will and consequently he is responsible for his deeds.

He will stand before God to take his recompense, whether reward or penalty, for what he did during his life on earth.

That deed was done by man, with his body and his spirit together. So, is it reasonable to judge the spirit alone? or to judge both of them together?

The spirit and the body are partners in everything, so, according to God's justice, they, together, have to enjoy the

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good reward or carry out the penalty and remain in torture.

The spirit and the body

The body is the systematic organisation of the spirit, or the soul or the mind.

The spirit has an inclination for doing the good, and the body takes upon itself carrying out that good. It moves, toils, suffers hardships and passes the night awake and tolerates.

Isn't this body worthy of a reward for the good role which he plays and takes part in it with the spirit!? Is right for the spirit alone to lead an easy and comfortable life while the weariness and efforts of the body is blown to smithereens? Does such matter agree with God's justice?

Let us take the soldier in the battlefield as an example .

The soldier's spirit impels him to do reckless adventures; to be a commando and a redeemer. It forces him to sacrifice himself for the sake of his country. It is infatuated with love and patriotism for its homeland and its compatriots.

But the body carries and takes upon its shoulder the whole burden and pays all the expenses and payments.

It is the body which toils, passes the night awake and struggles. It is wounded, becomes torn and its blood flows. Is it right for the spirit; after all these sufferings, to enjoy alone the heavenly rewards without its partner-the body?

The body seems as if it got neither earth nor heaven!? God's justice does not agree with this at all.

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Thus, it is necessary for the body to rise from death to share the spirit its joys.

We mention the same question in regard to doing evil deeds in which the body shares the spirit.

Perhaps the role of the body may exceed that of the spirit.

It is the body which plunges into worldly pleasures as food, drinking, drunkenness, narcotics, adultery, dancing, sport, jesting and insult.

After the body gives all these pleasures to its senses, will the spirit alone pay the price in eternity without any punishment or recompense to the body?

Certainly the answer is "No" because this does not agree with God's justice which must judge man as a whole-body and spirit.

So, the body must rise from the death to take his share in retribution.

Both the spirit and the body will be judged on the last judgement because they were partners in everything whether the spirit was the beginner and the body continued the work or the body had the bestial passion and the spirit yielded and submitted and took part in the body's libido and desires.

Let us give you one example about the partnership between the spirit and the body. It is the eye.

The spirit loves and feels pity for others and sympathises with them. Both love and sympathy appear in the eye.

The spirit flies into a rage at others or may have an inclination to revenge itself upon another; so, in the eye, you see the look of anger or the desire of avengement.

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The spirit tends to pray to God. So, in the eye you see the look of supplication or you may observe the eye brimmed over with tears owing to the impression of the spirit.

With meek and humble looks, the body enters into partnership with the meek and modest spirit.

With haughty, insolent and elevated looks, the body shares with the insolent, elevated and haughty spirit.

As the eye plays its role, so do the features of the face. Also, the beats of the heart take part as well as the cerebral centres and other organs of the body.

These are examples about the partnership between the spirit and the body.

We observe such partnerships in the field of diligence and energy. The poet explains that and says: "If the spirits are eminent, the bodies will suffer much to fulfil their aims and desires."

Thus, the reward in eternity will be given to eminent spirits which had the good will and insisted to do the good. It will be given also to the body which took upon its shoulder carrying out these good deeds; that body which toiled, struggled, suffered much and was patient in order that it might fulfil the spirit's desires.

Thus, as the body took part in the spirit's deeds it must rise to share her the reward or the punishment and to carry the responsibility because recompense will be for man as a whole.

Even on earth, we also repay the body and at the same time we consider this as a reward to the spirit also.

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Don't we venerate the bodies of the saints and the righteous? Don't we visit their tombs and put flowers and roses on them? Don't we pray for them?

We do not consider all these deeds mere respect to the body or to the bones or to the corpse or to dust but to man as a whole because with such deeds we greet the spirit as well.

Man is one unity. He is indivisible.

If he is worthy of honour and respect, we shall treat his body with deference and salute his spirit as well.

If he is unworthy of honour, we will pay no attention either to his body or to his spirit.

The bodies of the criminals who are sentenced to death or prison will obtain their punishment. At the same time, bad reputation will cling to their spirits which will be affected by what has happened to their bodies.

If our earthly justice acts in such a manner, now much the more the heavenly justice will be?

God's justice prevails man as one unity-spirit and body. Thus, the body which lived on earth and shared the spirit every action must rise.

The body was affected by the spirit's conditions, by its thought, by its sensation or reverential fear and the body bows spontaneously in submission.

When the spirit mourns the eye will weep and sorrow will appear on the face and in the movements of the body.

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When the spirit rejoices the smile will appear on the features. When the spirit becomes afraid the body will shiver and fear will overcome the face.

When the self is blushing the body will perspire and shyness may appear on his features.

Both spirit and body are partners in everything. So, it is unjust to let the spirit by itself or the body alone bear the responsibility of that partnership.

The two are responsible and that is what will happen on the last judgement.

From the style of some of those who deny the resurrection, it seems that they disdain the body.

They consider it a material element while they esteem the spirit to have an essence which vies in excellence with the body's nature.

But we say that although man is formed of two natures: material nature and spiritual one, yet both of them are united together in one nature which is known as "The human nature"

The body is not evil; otherwise God would not have created it.

The evil is the submission of the body to the material with its desires and bestial passions. In this yielding, the spirit takes part.

We must not forget that the body has its virtues and advantages. He bows during the prayers. He kneels down and raises his hands and eyes to God. He fasts and toils and does the good.

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It is the body who sacrifices himself for the sake of his country. It is he who stretches his hand and gives the poor and the needy.

Then, why do we reduce and lessen his important standing?

Aren't the artist's fingers which play the musical instrument and affect and move the hearts to be benevolent and charitable?

Aren't his fingers which cut out the statues, carve the wood, make pictures, paint portraits and present the art with which they direct the hearts towards the good?

Thus, the body itself is not evil; but it can work in the field of both good and evil.

The spirit can also work in the same field. Thus, they become partners.

Moreover, it is just for the bodies to rise from death in order to be compensated for what they had been deprived of, during their life on earth.

It is just for the bodies of the blind, for example, and the disabled, the crippled, the disfigured and persons whose bodies were so unlucky that they had no touch of beauty, no sign of health, no trace of power to rise on the last judgement without any shortage or deficiency in order that God may compensate them for the sufferings and deficit they had on earth.

All those, whose bodies were affected by poverty, hardship, hunger and illness during their life on earth, need to rise in soundness which will compensate them for the misery they suffered on earth.

This agrees with God's justice.

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We rejoice with the resurrection and perceive that it is necessary, essential and possible.

Christ's resurrection was the first-fruit of the resurrection of all human-beings.

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CHAPTER THREE

The Concept And Significance Of The Resurrection

Death is an alien and a stranger to humanity

When God created man He formed him for life. He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living being.

God wished him life and perpetuity but man's option inclined to sin.

So he brought death and caused it to himself as a result of his sin. *"For the wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23)*

Thus, death came into the world and reigned over humanity.

So, we rejoice with the resurrection because it is a triumph over death and a return of man's nature to life.

God has created man to live and not to die.

Christ's resurrection is a handsel of our resurrection. Thus saint Paul, the apostle, described Him as *"The first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep". (1 Cor 15:20)*

He is the first-fruit and we will rise after him.

Perhaps someone may ask saying "How can Christ be the first-fruit of the dead while many rose before Him? "

1. The son of the widow in Zarephath in the region of Sidon whom Elijah, the prophet, raised from death (1 Kin 17:22)

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2. The son of the Shunammite who Elisha, the prophet, raised from death. (2 Kin 4:32-36)

3. There are three others whom the Lord Jesus Christ Himself raised from death. They are:

a) The son of the widow of the town called "Nain".

b) The daughter of Jairus.

c) Lazarus.

In fact, there are some persons who rose from death before the days of Christ but, after their rising, they died once more. They are still waiting for the general resurrection.

Christ's resurrection was the one after which there was no death. It was the first-fruit and the inordinate desire for which longs every believer in eternity.

We mean by the resurrection the way which leads to eternal life.

We know that man's life on earth is a very short story. It is nothing if measured or compared to eternity and the land of the Joy which is the good hope and the dream of all human beings.

The resurrection elevates the value of man and asserts that his life is not ended by death.

It affirms that there is another life which differs from this earthly one. We, God willing, will enjoy that new life after the resurrection.

Thus we say in "The Creed" which we recite every day in our prayers "and we are waiting for the resurrection of the dead and the eternal life as well, Amen."

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So, we may say that the most important events of the resurrection are those which will follow it.

The resurrection shows that there is an extension to man's life in eternity. It proves that death is a mere stage of the journey of man's life. It is a bridge between two lives: an earthly life and a heavenly one.

Undoubtedly, the heavenly life is far better than the earthly one because it will be in heaven above any material standard.

It will be pure and without any sin.

Moreover, it will be an association will God, His angels and His saints. The holy Bible says about it *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9).*

So, Mar Isaac said "**Fear of death disturbs the heart of the ignorant but the righteous longs for death as he loves life ".**

Thus, Saint Paul, the apostle said *"having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23)*

Indeed, death becomes inordinate desire to those who love God and the life in heaven. They consider it far more better than life on earth which has lost its purity.

Those, who believe in the resurrection, do not consider death as an end of life but a removal to another life.

The resurrection has changed people's look in regard to death. It is a mere transition or a bridge which leads to another life.

You can say that it is an ascent operation.

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Thus, death has become the inordinate desire of the righteous.

The apprehension of death fell down forever after Christ had trodden down death by His resurrection.

Saints do not fear death any longer. They pay no attention to its causes as illness and conspiracies and aggression of the wicked.

He who fears death is the sinner who has not turned from sin. He becomes afraid of his destiny and the last judgement when he will stand before God.

The sinner, who practises certain desires and bestial passions, fears death lest it should deprive him of such lusts. But the righteous never fears death because he believes in the resurrection.

The resurrection is connected with faith. The heretics, for example, do not believe in the resurrection.

The believer believes that God has the ability to raise the body from death. He who has created human-beings from dust and made dust from nothingness can bring the body back to life in order to return and unite with the spirit.

The apostates do not believe in the spirit's existence or its perpetuity after death. They do not believe in eternity or in recompense and punishment. So, I said that the resurrection is connected with faith.

Believing in the resurrection leads to the life of righteousness and virtue.

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The believer believes that in the dreadful last judgement he will stand before God to give an account for all his past deeds whether good or bad.

Thus, this faith leads him to be cautious and precision in his life for fear of the final judgment.

Consequently, he reckons himself up for every deed, every thought, every sensation and every word; then, he reforms himself as Saint Maccarius said "My brother, restrain yourself before they check you."

The true faith in the resurrection leads to the life of religious devotion and monasticism.

The resurrection drew men's attention to the glories of the other world; thus, the evanescent enjoyment of this perishable world diminished.

By their extravagant thinking in the invisible they paid no attention to the tangible and visible things.

They became as the Bible said " while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal." (2 Cor 4:18).

But for the resurrection, men would have coveted greedily on the earthly life and plunged in its inordinate desires as the Epicurians used to say "*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*" (1 Cor 15:32)

Those who believe in the resurrection and prepare themselves for it control themselves and keep down their desires and passions.

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They practise spiritual training to make themselves right. They do not yield to bodily or material desires but lead a spiritual life and suppress their bodies, their senses and their nerves.

Love of eternity made the righteous long for something greater and more eminent than the world.

Everything in the world cannot satisfy or fill them because, from within, there is a strong desire for heaven and a great longing for the spiritual and happy life which exceeds sensation and intelligence and excels all earthly desires.

Thus, the saints looked at the earth as an expatriation and considered themselves strangers on it.

They always long for a heavenly home; long for another different spiritual and heavenly life which no eye has seen.

They longed for the other world which is adorned with holiness, innocence, spirituality, peace, love and purity. There, God fills the hearts and there is no place for any other desire.

In the resurrection, there is a kind of consolation and compensation for men.

He who does not find justice on earth feels that his rights are kept for him in heaven with the Lord who gives sentence in favour of the oppressed.

He who does not find the good on earth, as poor Lazarus, is consoled because he will find all the good in heaven. As he was tormented on earth he will find consolation in heaven.

The resurrection makes equipoise for the life of every man.

Justice makes a balance between all that man has got on earth and what he will get in heaven.

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The resurrection offers a true consolation to all friends and lovers because it will gather them together once more after death separates them.

If life came to an end in the tomb without resurrection our dear friends who had passed away would perish. Our relationship would be all over with them and we would never see them.

Undoubtedly, this case wearies the heart and causes disaster to lovers who will lose their friends forever.

The resurrection gives us an idea about the power of God and His love to man.

This powerful loving God who can raise the bodies after they have been decomposed and changed into dust and who is able to bring them back to their first form in a kind of transfiguration- spirituality and luminosity - did not wish to enjoy the Cosmos alone but created other creatures.

He did not like to be alone in eternity, so, He bestowed perpetuity upon both men and angels and granted human beings an eternal life after rising from death.

One of the enjoyment of the resurrection is cessation of evil and all that sin has caused.

In paradise where the righteous live, there is neither evil nor sin. Our sins will come to an end. We will lead the life of plenary plainness and complete purity and cleanness.

We will be like angels and children in their innocence. The soul will get rid of the blemishes caused by sin as fear, doubt, lust, anxiety etc.

Then, the soul will be adorned with the crown of righteousness. All defects whether psychic or corporal will vanish.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The Message Of The Resurrection

As we rejoice at Christ's resurrection, we also delight in the resurrection itself, I mean the resurrection of all human beings.

We, also rejoice at the profound, spiritual and good points of the resurrection which elevate the value of humanity and show clearly the good and the enjoyment the Lord has prepared for man in the other world.

First, we say that the resurrection is an indication to faith.

Undoubtedly, it refers to man's faith in God, and man's faith in spirit and in eternity as well as the other world. It shows his faith in the general last judgement which will be after the resurrection.

The resurrection clears up man's faith in reward and punishment and consequently his belief in heaven, in saints and in God's kingdom.

Because the apostates believe neither in the resurrection nor in the other world, they consider Nian's life equal to that of animals saying that both of them perish and come to an end by means of death.

Indeed, how worthless and significant the life of both man and animal, which ends in death is, in the eyes of the apostates.

Surely, man's life will be of no importance if he is content with some years spent on this planet and no more!

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How inexorable and ugly death is in the eyes of those apostates. It is like an eraser which effaces existence, intelligence and knowledge of human beings and annihilates and leads them to nothingness.

Like the apostates are the Sadducees about whom the Holy Bible said that they did not believe in the resurrection or the spirit or the angels.

The Epicureans are no less ignorant than the apostates. They say "Let us drink and eat because we will die to-morrow".

Undoubtedly, the devil is the cause of repudiating the resurrection.

It is he who inspires the apostates, whether philosophers or ignorant, with such pretension.

If he succeeds in convincing them with the idea that there is no life after death, then, they will plunge themselves into mundane life with its anxieties and pleasures without thinking neither in their eternity nor in their standing before God in the last judgement. In this way they perish.

But the believers who have faith in God, believe in the resurrection and the Last Day.

The resurrection shows the unlimited capability of God.

All the abilities of man stand still before death. Both his power of intelligence and science and even his mind seem helpless before its potency.

But the Holy Bible teaches us that *"With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible." (Mark 10:27)*

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God is omnipotent. Both life and death are at His hand. He vitalises and He Himself puts to death. He can raise man from death.

As He has created him from the dust of earth, He can bring him back to life after the incorporation of his body into death inside the dust of the earth.

God, who has the ability to create everything from nothingness, can also raise man from death.

The resurrection proves God's love as well as his munificence.

God, who did not wish to be alone in the Universe, has originated and created creatures amongst which was man.

But after man's death, God did not wish him to perish and through His love and His generosity donated him life after death in order that his existence might be incessant, not for a time but forever.

Thus, God has endowed the mortal man with immortality.

The resurrection is something gladdening. By means of it, men will meet with their friends and loved ones who departed from this life.

What will be the case of the lovers whose hearts unite together during their life on earth and are separated afterwards by death?

I wonder!! Will it be an eternal separation without any connection or meeting in future?

Of course, God's love and mercy do not tolerate that matter.

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After death, the spirits of lovers and friends will meet together but after the resurrection they will see each other with their bodies and spirits.

It will be a general meeting in which, not only shall we meet with our friends, but also with all generations that passed through history.

After the resurrection, there will be a great festival, made by God, in which all men will become acquainted with one another.

In this wonderful festival we shall be acquainted with all historical personalities about whom we have read without seeing them or knowing their shapes or their styles and dialects whether they were governors or rulers, or scholarly or idealists.

Perhaps God may send His angels to acquaint us with all the Fathers and apostles and also, we shall see fathers Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Job.

We shall also see our mothers Eve, Sarah, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Rachel and in the front our mother Saint Mary the Virgin.

The resurrection presents to us many other joys as the association with the angels and the saints. Above them all, the enjoyment of being in the presence of God Himself, before which the mind becomes so astonished and delighted that a person cannot express himself. It is sufficient for him to relish and enjoy its sweetness.

The resurrection carries within itself an operation of equipoise and compensation.

Those who did not receive their merits on earth will get them completely in heaven after the resurrection and those whom the

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human race treated with injustice will receive complete heavenly justice as well.

Also, those who offered their charities in secret, without telling any one, will get their reward in heaven because God used to record their good deeds in order to reward them.
God will also repay all those who were not rewarded on earth for their good deeds.

In the resurrection men will perceive that God's judgments differ from those of men and that His justice will be completed in heaven.

Moreover, those who were born under certain circumstances or in special environments which could not guarantee for them happiness and social equality, will be compensated by God for everything they could not get on earth. See the story of the rich man and Lazarus. (Luke 16)

In the resurrection man is brought back to his first rank. His spirit restores its dignity and the body gets back its radiance.

Moreover, the body as well as the soul will have a kind of revelation and glory. Both of them will get rid of their deficiencies.

Thus, the Holy Bible said about the body *"It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:43,44)*

By the resurrection, the body gets rid of all its illnesses, infirmities and deformities. It appears in full radiance.

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The soul also will be cleared of its sickness and defects.

There will be no fear, no doubt, no hesitation, no anxiety, no libido, no bestial passions and no cowardice ... etc.

The philosophers, who used to search for the superman will find him in the resurrection.

The man of the resurrection will be in his best form. All will have luminary bodies. Everyone will shine according to his own standard.

The dream of humanity will be ascertained and a righteous complete society will come to existence.

In the city of God about which Saint Augustine has given some descriptions, there are no combats, no dissension, no disagreements, no hatred, no selfishness and no competition. It will be a society of love and sanctity.

In the resurrection men lead a simple and innocent life. The Bible says they become like God's angels in heaven.

In it, sin vanishes and the body yields no more to it or to depravity.

The body is completely cleansed from sin. God washes it till it becomes whiter than snow (Psalm 50).

Thus, man lives in a spiritual standard fit for heaven and its purity.

In the resurrection, the indigenous obtains victory over the foreigner.

Truth overcomes falsehood because truth is the former and the origin while the untruth is foreigner and exotic in regard to this world.

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In the resurrection life triumphs over death, because life is the origin and the source while death is a stranger.

Man is composed of a spirit and a body. The spirit is living and active by its nature and will remain, so, forever but the body, which was disposed to death when it was on earth, will become an immortal, animate and spiritual one after the resurrection.

Man will have a spiritual perception. He will never depend on his bodily senses.

Thus, man struggles and does his best on earth in order that he may enjoy the glories of the resurrection.

But not all men will enjoy such glories. They will only be for the worthy because, after the resurrection, there will come the Last Judgement in which all peoples will stand before the Just God *"And behold, I am coming quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give to every one according to his work." (Rev 22:12).*

Blessed is the one who becomes worthy of the glories of eternity and the happy companion-ship with the saints.

Everyone, with strenuous effort, must do his best to make good deeds on earth in order that he may find them there.

Everyone must be in good relationship with God and with men. He must be dutiful both to himself and to the society in which he lives.

He must do good to all. So, he will have good reminiscence on earth and good reward in heaven.

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For All Reasons, It Was Necessary For Christ To Rise

1. It was necessary for Christ to rise because in Him was life.

So, said Saint John, the Evangelist *"in Him was life" (John 1:4)*. He who has life in Him cannot remain dead.

He said to Martha *"I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Me, though he may die, he shall live." (John 11:25)*

As long as He Himself is life, how can't He rise? Jesus confirms this meaning saying *"I am the way, the truth and the life" (John 14:6)*

How can't He rise, He who said to John, the Visionary, *"I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18)*

For these reasons, the angel of the resurrection rebuked the women saying *"Why do you seek the living among the dead?" (Luke 24:5)*

2. It was necessary for Christ to rise from death because He Himself has raised many others from death with a mere command.

Elijah has raised a dead person after prayers. Also, Elisha has raised a man from death but after many prayers.

But The Lord Jesus Christ, with an order, raised the daughter of Jairus and the son of the widow of Nain as well as Lazarus because He is the Donor of life. On raising the daughter of

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Jairus "He took her by hand and said to her ***"Talitha kowmi!"*** (which means "Little girl, I say to you, get up!") Immediately the girl stood up and walked around. (Mark 5:4,42)

On raising the son of the widow of Nain, He went up and touched the coffin, and those carrying it stood still. He said ***"Young man, I say to you, arise."*** So he who was dead sat up and began to speak. And He presented him to his mother. (Luke 7:14,15).

On raising Lazarus Now when He had said these things, He cried with a loud voice, ***"Lazarus, come forth!"*** And he who had died came out bound hand and foot with graveclothes, and his face was wrapped with a cloth. Jesus said to them, ***"Loose him, and let him go."*** *(John 11:43,44).*

Then; Was it difficult for Jesus to rise? He who ordered the dead to rise and they rose?

Indeed, it was necessary for Him to rise because He is the raiser of the dead. Yes, it was necessary for Him to rise as it was written about Him ***"For as the Father raises the dead and gives life to them, even so the Son gives life to whom He will."*** *(John 5:21)*

Can't He who gives life to others raise Himself?

3. It was necessary for Jesus to rise because His resurrection was a prophecy which had to be fulfilled.

After Peter's testimony that Jesus is the Son of God, the Bible says *"From that time Jesus began to show to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the*

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elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised the third day." (Matt 16:21)

After the miracle of the Transfiguration and as they were coming down the mountain, Jesus instructed them *"Now as they came down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them, saying, "Tell the vision to no one until the Son of Man is risen from the dead.""(Matt 17:9)*

Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, *"The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 17:22,23).*

After He had explained the parable of the vineyard, and as He was going up to Jerusalem, He took the twelve disciples aside and said to them, *"Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, "The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 20: 18,19) (Luke 9:31-33).*

After the resurrection, men began to remember all those topics and remind each other of them.

But the angel answered and said to the women, *"Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay." (Matt 28:5,6)*

The phrase ***"as He said"*** means the prophecies He had mentioned about His resurrection on the third day. In the Old Testament, there are other prophecies about His rising from death.

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Thus, after His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ said to His disciples *"These are the words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning Me. And He opened their understanding, that they might comprehend the Scriptures. Then He said to them, "Thus it is written, and thus it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day. "* (Luke 24:44-46)

In the Old Testament, the story of the prophet Jonah, is one of the indications which refers to this resurrection.

When the Jews said to Jesus *"Teacher, we want to see a miraculous sign from You. "* He answered and said to them, *"An evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign, and no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. (Matt 12:39,40)*

4. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His resurrection was under His own influence and authority.

He died by His own will. He presented Himself to death.

In His immortal words, He explained that matter saying *"Therefore My Father loves Me, because I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17,18).*

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Indeed, how wonderful is this phrase!! *"and I have power to take it again"* which means "I have authority to take back the life which I Myself had laid, and no-one could take it from Me".

For these reasons, it was necessary for Him to rise by His own will.

We may ask a question: Why did He lay Himself? What is the use of that matter in regard to the resurrection?

5. It was necessary for Him to rise because His death was a mere temporary one to perform a double message.

It was possible for him not to die according to His nature and also *"For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord. " (Rom 6:23).*

Moreover he did not commit any sin. He accepted to die instead of us in order to give His life for us as the apostle said *" being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as a propitiation by His blood, through faith, to demonstrate His righteousness, because in His forbearance God had passed over the sins that were previously committed. " (Rom 3:24,25)*

This was the chief message of death; I mean redemption

After the resurrection, it was also necessary for Him to go and announce good news to those who died in hope and open the gate of paradise and transfer the sleeping from hell to heaven.

About this matter, Saint Peter says *" For Christ also suffered once for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive by the*

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Spirit, by whom also He went and preached to the spirits in prison. " (1 Pet 3:18,19).

Yes, He preached those spirits with salvation and carried them to paradise as well as the right thief.

Saint Paul, the apostle, says *" Now this, "He ascended"; what does it mean but that He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is also the One who ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things." (Eph 4:9, 1 0)*

6. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His divine nature was never separated from His human nature not even for a twinkling of an eye.

About His death, the Syrian Division says "His spirit was separated from His body but His divine nature was not separated at all from His spirit or from His body.

His spirit which was united with His divine nature went down to the underground depths and preached the imprisoned spirits and elevated them to heaven. His body remained in the tomb united with His divine nature.

As for the separation of the spirit from the body, He died as a human being but He was alive with His spirit.

He had the life of the divine nature for which Nicodemus, when he was shrouding him, cried "The all holy, the all powerful, the living forever. "

Yes, it was necessary for that body, which united with the divine nature, to rise. It was impossible for the Body to remain dead.

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Death could not overcome The Lord Jesus Christ. It was impossible for it to defeat Him. By His death, Christ Himself trampled over that death which triumphed over all human beings.

The Lord died on behalf of us to save us. He paid the price of our sins and in this way He did away with the influence of death.

7. Thus, it was necessary for this one who, by his death, exterminated the power of death, to rise.

It was necessary for Him to rise in order that He might proclaim His victory over death by His resurrection and to announce to all peoples that death would have no sting according to the praise of Paul, the apostle *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

8. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to console and support the disciples.

It was necessary for Him to rise to obliterate the horrible results of His crucifixion because some of the disciples became afraid and others hid in the attic.

The rest of the believers dispersed for fear of the violence of the Jews...

Some ignored and denied Him; others mistrusted Him, but it was necessary for Christ to rise in order to repair and overhaul people's faith and to encourage them to remain firm in their faith and to hold out against Jews' persecution.

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Thus, His resurrection was the greatest motive which urged them to preach the Gospel.

9. It was necessary for Him to rise to prove that he was not a common man who dies as other people.

All men die and remain dead waiting for the general resurrection in order to rise but it was necessary for The Lord Jesus Christ to rise immediately, otherwise, they would have considered Him a common man. His resurrection has proved His divinity especially because He rose by Himself without any help from anyone.

10. It was necessary for Him to rise to be the first fruits according to which all men will rise.

So, Saint Paul said *" But now Christ is risen from the dead, and has become the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. " (1 Cor 15:20-22)*

He also speaks of the importance of the resurrection of Christ and says " *And if Christ is not risen, your faith is futile; you are still in your sins! Then also those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most pitiable. " (1 Cor 15:17-19).*

11. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to lay the foundation of Christianity.

And to stay with the disciples a period of forty days through which He speaks with them about the matters which belong to

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the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3) and to lay before them the rules of faith and give them the secrets and the rituals and to breathe on them saying *" And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:22,23).*

Then He promises them saying *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." (Acts 1:8)*

After that, He commits to them preaching the Gospel saying:

"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned. " (Mark 16:15,16)

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20)

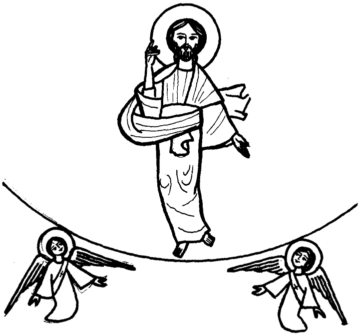

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Reality Of Christ's Resurrection And Its Results

The Jews' opposition to the resurrection

Christ's resurrection from amongst the dead was the greatest occurrence which shook the entity of the Jews. So, they tried, by all means, to resist it.

Moreover, they tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening. Even after it had taken place, they made great attempts to resist it.

Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ had announced the good news of His resurrection. More than one time, he said to His disciples that the Son of Man would be betrayed and given to the hands of the Gentiles who would condemn Him to death and would turn Him over to the Jews to be mocked and flogged and crucified. On the third day He would be raised to life!!

He said these words while they were going to Jerusalem. (Matt 20:18,19); (Mark 10:33,34); (Luke 18:31-33). He, also, said the same words on their way to Galilee. (Matt 17:22). He repeated these words after Peter's confession that Christ is the Son of the living God. (Matt 16:21).

So after the transfiguration He ordered them not to tell anyone what they had seen *" … tell no one the things they had seen, till the Son of Man had risen from the dead. " (Mark 9:9)*

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He, also, said to them on the great Thursday I have power to take it again *"But after I have been raised, I will go before you to Galilee." (Mark 14:28).* Moreover, he gave them the sign of Jonah. (Matt 12:38)

On the next day, which followed the Day of Preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together to Pilate, saying, *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

What was that fearful evil which the resurrection would bring to them that they imagined it more dangerous than the instructions of Christ whom they gave the nickname "The first deception".

Christ's resurrection proved His truthfulness and that His prophecies were true. It proved that He was powerful and His crucifixion was not due to His weakness but it was an arrangement for saving humanity.

All the matters lead men to have fixed and firm faith in Him.

So, they made all precautions against the rising of Christ. They rolled a big stone in front of the entrance to the tomb.

They made the tomb secure by putting a seal on the stone and posting the guard (Matt 28:66) They were not ashamed of doing that on the Sabbath evening (After preparation) although they accused The Lord Jesus Christ of opening the blind's eyes on a Sabbath. (John 9:16:24)

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All their precautions became a great evidence in regard to Christ's rising from among the dead.

Every action made against the resurrection turned to be a proof and a witness for its existence.

Both the seal on the tomb and the guards in front of the empty tomb proved the reality of Christ's resurrection.

They also asserted that Jesus went out of the tomb while its entrance was closed and sealed.

This matter resembled Jesus' coming of Saint Mary's womb without causing any decoration to her virginity. It also resembled Jesus' visit to His disciples, who were together, with the doors locked, when He came and stood among them and said *"Peace be with you. "*

As for the bribe paid by the chief priests to the guards in order to announce that Christ's disciples carried Him away during their sleep, it was a false artifice which was too Weak to stand against the power of the resurrection.

The burial cloth of the head and the shrouds

The existence of the strips of linen lying by themselves and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head folded by itself separate from the linen are clear proofs of the reality of the resurrection. Then; how was it possible for Jesus to get out of these linen shrouds which were wrapped strictly around His body?

And if anyone had stolen the body how could He have denudated it from the strips of linen sticking to it?

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And what is the aim and the use of separating the linen cloth from the body? How did this event take place very quietly while the soldiers were on guard?

Thus, it is not strange to read in the Bible that " *Then the other disciple, who came to the tomb first, went in also; and he saw and believed. " (John 20:8)*

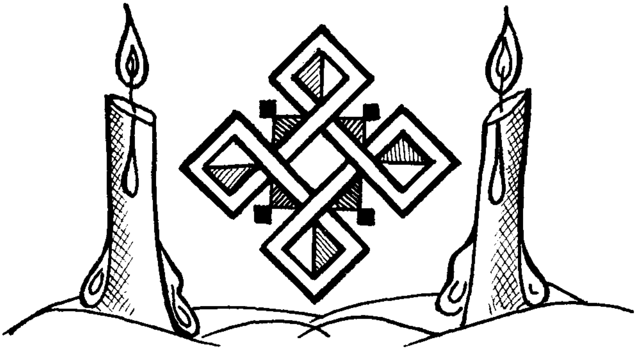

The Lie Concocted About The Stealing Of The Body

It is incomprehensible for any-one to believe that the disciples stole Christ's body because they will not benefit by stealing it.

Moreover, on grasping Jesus, they escaped because they were afraid of the Jews.

Also, it is something unbelievable for the disciples to contrive the tale of the resurrection and suffer imprisonment and flogging and face death for the sake of a false and untrue story.

No-one can believe that the disciples denuded their master from His shrouds and took Him naked.

If they had done so there would have been no dignity either for Him or for them.

You can add to such bad deeds, the loss of time and exposing the matter to be shown up.

What is the use of pretending that Christ has risen from among the dead then they themselves face death for preaching the resurrection and at the same time they have no faith in it?

Indeed, stealing the body was something impossible.

How can they penetrate the lines of the guards at the tomb?

How can they roll the big stone from the entrance of the tomb without making any noise which attracts people's attention and causes the guards to wake up from their sleep?

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How can they carry a corpse on Sunday? How can they perform all these matters while the eyes are gazing at the tomb?

How can we believe that the guards were asleep and paid no attention to the severity of the Roman law?

If the sentinels wished to sleep, why didn't they divide the watch-time among themselves and did the thing by turns?

If they were all asleep, how couldn't the noise of the act of stealing the body arouse even some of them?

Why weren't they tried by a court martial for their negligence?

Why did they remain without punishment? Why was there no judicial inquiry about the act of stealing? Why didn't the authorities make any inspection?

The disciples and their dwellings are well known... Where did they hide the stolen body?

How did they bury it on Sunday?

And if the guards were asleep; how did they know that the disciples came at night and stole the body?

Indeed, it was a cunning stratagem of an evil, weak thought, non acceptable by anyone.

It showed the depravity, the falsehood and the lies of those priests and proved their false pretence, the bribes they paid and their deviating people from the truth and from the right course.

What about the great numbers of those eyewitnesses who were contemporary with the resurrection?

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Were they liars? Then, how did God make miracles through them if they were impostors and deceivers?

Any how, as the chief priests of the Jews tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening, they also made great efforts to mar its glories after it was accomplished.

For these reasons they were neither religious nor truthful.

They broke the Sabbath when they sealed the tomb and put guards at its entrance.

They told many lies about the resurrection and tempted the guards to say false stories.

They gave bribes to the guards in order to broadcast their lies about the resurrection.

Through their authority and their relations with the governor they could deceive all the people. They persecuted the disciples wrongfully although they know....

As they brought false witnesses during Christ's trial, they also brought other false witnesses to deny His resurrection.

Also, the chief priests of the Jews were not men of faith.

They did not believe in the miracles done by Christ during His life among them.

Although the miracle of the resurrection was very clear before them, they did not believe in it.

Moreover, they had no faith in the miracles done by the disciples in the name of Christ.

Their hearts were closed completely before the clear truth.

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They proved that they would have no respondence to any miracle even if they witnessed it.

They also did not believe in the disciples' preaching the Gospel.

Christ's resurrection frightened them because His existence used to tire them and reveal their wrong deeds.

So, they rejoiced when they thought that, by His crucifixion, they got rid of Him.

The phrase *"The living Christ"* tires the sinners but gladdens the righteous. There are many men like the priests of the Jews. They wish to get rid of Christ because His existence admonishes them with their wrong deeds.

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CHAPTER SIX

The Blessings Of The Resurrection In Our Life

1. Everything is possible:

Nothing is impossible Men do their best in all fields but if they stand before God they will stop both work and abilities completely for every attempt will be of no use.

This was the sensation of Mary and Martha after the death of their brother Lazarus who had already been in the tomb for four days. It was said about him "By this time, there is a bad odour".

When The Lord Jesus Christ raised him from death, they became sure that nothing is impossible. After Jesus had raised Lazarus from death, this Lazarus died once more and has not risen yet.

But Jesus Christ, by His own resurrection, conquered and smashed death forever.

Christ's resurrection was an eternal one after which there would be no more death.
Paul, the apostle looked at the power of this resurrection and said *"O Death, where [is] your sting? O Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 cor 15:55).*

Indeed, death was broken up and everything became possible.

Not only did men believe that all things are possible with God (Matt 19:26) who is able to do everything but the apostle also says " *I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* "

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(Phil 4:13) He also said *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection … " (Phil 3:10)*

The Holy Bible gives us a general rule about *"impossibility"* and says *" All things are possible to him who believes."* (Mark 9:23)

The resurrection has given men a gigantic power.

As death has been conquered and smashed before them, all the obstacles and difficulties became smooth and easy and there was no impossibility. What else did the resurrection present? What is its second blessing?

2. Longing for the eternal life.

The apostle said *"I desire to depart and be with Christ , which is better by far. "(Phil 1:23)*

The apostle desires to be with Christ who rose from among the dead and went up to heaven, then sat on the right of God. Christ who said *" And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all [peoples] to Myself."(John 12:32)*

Christ who said " *I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

Love of eternal life made men long for some-thing greater than life on earth, more dignified than substance and elements and more powerful than any desire or lust on earth.

The saints looked at the earth as a remote strange foreign land. They considered themselves aliens and foreigners.

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They longed for a heavenly residence. They wished to lead a spiritual and eternal life.

Also, men longed for the other world where there is no sorrow, no gloominess, no sighing, no sin, no hatred and no fights. A world of love, joy, peace and purity, where there is no evil and where the good prevails.

3. By means of the resurrection the human nature is cleared up both physically and spiritually.

As for the bodies; some are raised spiritual and imperishable. They do not become tired, or hungry. They do not feel thirsty. They never fall ill or decompose.

They become like the angels of God in heaven. They rise taking the similarity of *"His glorified body"*.

How thrilling and magnificent is this revealment through which the human nature becomes glorified.

Indeed, this brings back to our minds the happenings of the transfiguration on Mount Tabour.

Also, the spirit takes part in the transfiguration. It returns as it had been in the beginning and resembles God's image and likeness in an inexpressible purity.

Some approaches to the resurrection

Many miracles took place during Christ's crucifixion. The sun gave no light and darkness came over the land. The curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. Earthquakes shook the earth and the rocks split and the

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tombs broke open. But did all men make use of these miracles? No, everyone benefited by them according to the aptitude and readiness of his heart.

When the earth shook, the robber believed in Christ while the priests and their chiefs did not believe in Him.

When blood and water drew out of Christ's side the centurion and his soldiers believed in Him while the leaders of the people denied Him and His resurrection.

The matter is not connected with the miracle and its might and strength but with the inner readiness of man's heart and his wish to benefit by it.

As for the miracle of the man who was born blind and whom Christ healed, the man himself believed in Christ but the Pharisees did not trust the man although the miracle was very powerful and clear.

They became agitated because the man defended Christ who healed him. So, they threw the man out of the Synagogue. (John 9:34)

Also, when Christ healed the man with the paralysed hand they refused to make use of the miracle pretending that it was made on the Sabbath. All these matters remind us of the Parable of the Sower which the Lord explained.

The growth of the plants depends on the kind of the soil. Is it formed of stony layers; is it good for sowing; is it full of thorns?

The sower is the same sower; the seeds are the same seeds but the soil on which the sower scatters the seeds differs in

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regard to its reclamation, its efficiency and its acceptance to the divine sowing.

This is what happened in regard to the story of the resurrection and the story of the crucifixion.

The miracles have taken place but the people differed from each other; some benefited by them while others gained nothing.

Seeds on a stony soil

Although the chief priests and the leaders of the Jewish people witnessed the darkness that spread at the time of Christ's crucifixion, yet they got no benefit because their hearts were darker than the obscurity and the darkness that covered the whole world.

Even after the miracles in which the right robber and the Centurion believed, they went to Pilate and said *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

Thus, they took some soldiers with them and went to the tomb to make it secure.

They sealed the tomb and set some soldiers to guard it.

They did all that on the Sabbath although they criticised Jesus and said that He was a sinner because He healed the sick on the Sabbath.

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They were very enthusiastic and had great zeal for the Sabbath. They contracted the enmity of Christ because of this day "The Sabbath".

Moreover, they claimed from the authorities to break the bones of the crucified and to bring them down from the crosses lest they should contaminate the Sabbath.

What a strange zeal for the Sabbath!!?

In spite of this enthusiasm, they, in the evening before the Sabbath, took the soldiers with them, sealed the tomb and set the guards to keep its entrance on the Sabbath without considering their deed as a sin.

After sealing the tomb, they seemed to say in their hearts "We have broken the Sabbath in order that we may break the one who infringed the Sabbath".

While they were sealing the tomb, Christ, Himself, set free the redeemed and rescued them from hell, and disjoined the seals of the closed paradise, then, let in those who have fallen asleep in hope.

It is very easy for men to play with their consciences as they wish.

Some persons have consciences which resemble the balls which roll on every side and in every direction till they come to a stop.

Indeed, the chiefs of the Jews were of the same moulds.

What they have done was against them and not in their interest.

If they themselves had not sealed the tomb and set their own guards at its entrance they would have been able to protest and

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say that the disciples stole the body. But, now, they have set the guards and sealed the tomb. What could they say about the empty tomb?

Christ has risen from among the dead with great glory and came out of the sealed tomb as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained virgin.

After Christ's resurrection *" And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat on it. His countenance was like lightning, and his clothing as white as snow. And the guards shook for fear of him, and became like dead men." (Matt 28:2-4)*

Did the guards benefit from of this great miracle? Did the priests and the elders benefit from it?

No, the sacred seeds had fallen on a stony soil.

How truthful our Father Abraham was when he said *" If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead. " (Luke 16:31)*

If we can fumble for an excuse for the Gentile soldiers who do not know anything about Christ and His glory, what about the priests and the teachers of the law.

They should have taken care of God's commandments and their execution.

When they heard of the resurrection from the guards, they gave them bribes and put false words on their tongues and told them "…Tell them, ”His disciples came at night and stole Him [away] while we slept.' And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will appease him and make you secure." *So they took the money*

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and did as they were instructed; and this saying is commonly reported" (Matt 28:11-15).

Thus, they did not only make use of the miracle of the resurrection but their wickedness and their evil grew more also.

Not only did they tell lies but they taught others to be liars.

Their falsehood was not perfect. They suggested to them to say that the disciples stole Him while they were asleep.

If you were asleep how could you know that He was stolen by His disciples!?

Indeed, lies' string is too short.

They were not satisfied with their lies. They placed some accusations to others, falsely and spuriously.

They accused disciples of theft. They paid bribes to cover their deeds. They spoiled the soldiers' fame, deceived the ruler and misled the people and cheated them.

In spite of all this deviation from the truth they described Christ as a delusive deceiver as if they wished to say to Pilate "Rescue the people from this deceiver in order that we may delude them.

Scattering the seeds of the miracle of the resurrection in the hearts of those leaders is like sowing them in a stony soil. So the miracle did not affect them.

Their care of keeping their posts trespassed their thinking of eternity.

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From their behaviour we can see how man glides down from sin to sin, then, rolls down in a long endless chain of sins.

The principle of their sins is love of worthless glory. This love led them to resentment.

They envied Christ because they wished to be the most outstanding nation without competitors.

What would be the matter with that Nazarene who covered their fame and revealed their hypocrisy?

Resentment led their leaders to weave conspiracies which led them to be false witnesses in Christ's judgment; to treat Him with cruelty during His crucifixion and to delude all the people.

This wrong attitude led them to fear, and fear guided them to seal the tomb and set the guards at its entrance although it was the Sabbath.

Certainly, they took the people in their partnership in breaking the Sabbath.

These sins, revealed by the resurrection, led them to bribery, telling lies, apostasy, instigation to evil and deluding the people.

By such bad deeds, they wished to become magnificent in their own eyes and in people's eyes as well. In fact they lost themselves and gained neither heaven nor earth.

They are a stony soil. They are a sin surrounded by fear. They feared Christ even after His death. They feared His resurrection lest it should destroy what they had done. They felt that He still had work to do.

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It is well-known that the killer always fears the ghost of the killed person.

Psychologists were true when they said that the killer hovers about the place of the crime. So the Jews, continued hovering about the spot of their crime.

The disciples forgot that He had told them that He would rise on the third day but those priests and elders, who were afraid of Christ, did not forget His words. They said to Pilate: " *We remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.'* "

It is something strange that they remembered that phrase and did not remember His words *"I and My Father are one." John 10:30)*

They did not remember the deeds done by Him, which no one had carried out before Him.

They did not remember how He raised Lazarus from death after four days.

They did not remember how He offered sight to the born blind. They only remembered His resurrection because it disturbed them and made their thoughts uneasy. So they committed crimes to get rid of their troubles.

They seemed to be samples of those seeds which were scattered on the stony soil.

There were many other samples. There were some seeds which sprouted but thorns choked them afterwards.

Mary the Magdalene was the most outstanding example during the events of the resurrection.

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As for the effect of the resurrection on the disciples, we say that it was like the seeds which were picked up by the birds.

The birds, in regard to the disciples, are the devil of doubt which snatched their faith and flew away.

How did these matters take place? How did Christ change them into a good cultivable land which yielded hundred fold.

How did He restore faith to their hearts and to Mary Magdalene's heart as well?

Seeds snatched by the birds

What happened was heavy and cruel to God's heart.

Even His disciples doubted in His resurrection and did not believe in it.

But He did not face such doubts with admonition. He embraced their weakness with love and treated their doubts with convincing.

Mary Magdalene went and told them about the resurrection of the Lord. *" And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe." (Mark 16:11)*

When the women returned from the tomb and told them about God's resurrection *" And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them." (Luke 24:11)*

When the Lord came up and walked along with the disciples from Emmaus *" Now behold, two of them were traveling that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was seven miles from Jerusalem. " (Luke 24:13)*

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When Jesus Himself stood among them, they did not believe that He rose but *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. " (Luke 24:37)*

The devil of doubts could snatch the seeds of faith which God had scattered on their soil, so the Lord condescended and came down to their weakness in order that He might convince them of His resurrection.

In the same way He behaved with the two disciples of Emmaus who were not intelligent as He *" And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself. " (Luke 24:27)*

He stayed with them till *" Then their eyes were opened and they knew Him; …" (Luke 24:31)*. Then they went and told the Eleven.

The Lord, also, condescended to the weakness of the Eleven and said to them *"Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:38,39)*

Then, He, who rose in a glorified body, condescended to convince them and asked them ; *"Have you any food here?" " So they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb. And He took it and ate in their presence. "* *(Luke 24:43)*

As Thomas was absent, the Lord showed Himself especially to him to reveal his doubts and to convince him.

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The Lord stayed with them till they became sure and believed. *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*

He did not leave them but appeared to them over a period of forty days and spoke about the kingdom of God.

He sent away the birds which used to snatch their seeds. He changed them into a good soil which did not give thirty only but sixty and hundred also.

Their faith became a big fruitful tree which yielded all kinds of good fruit.

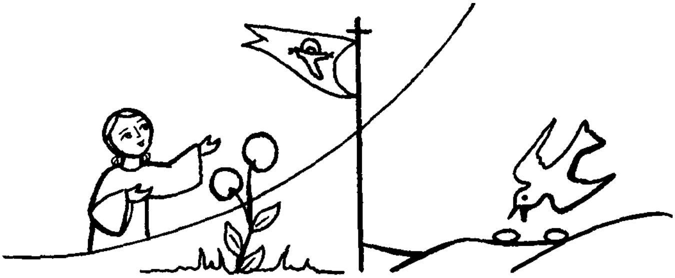

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CHAPTER SEVEN

The Resurrection Is Joy And Gladness

1. On announcing the good news to the women, the two angels said to them *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! " (Luke 24:5,6)*

The phrase "The living Christ" caused great joy to the disciples while it caused terror to the chiefs of the Jews and to the sinners as well.

This phrase did not only intimidate them at the time of the resurrection and preaching it but this fear will chase them till the next coming of Christ and will pursue and follow them in the Dooms-day.

About this the Bible says *" Behold, He is coming with clouds, and every eye will see Him, even they who pierced Him. And all the tribes of the earth will mourn because of Him. Even so. " (Rev 1:7)*

Like the priests of the Jews, there were many who wished to get rid of Christ lest He should reprimand and show them up.

2. Christ's resurrection was a joy and gladness to the disciples and to us also.

The day of crucifixion was a mournful and a distressing day as to the psychic side but as for the divine side, it was a day of deliverance.

The people witnessed the pains, vituperations, insults, spittle and nails only, but they did not witness either the deliverance or

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the opening of Paradise's gate and how the sleeping in hope were transferred to it.

The disciples were filled with terror but they rejoiced when they saw the Lord.

Equal to the disciples ' grief and restlessness on Friday, there were much more joy on Saturday because of the resurrection. Thus, the words of the Lord were verified *" but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you." (John 16.-22)*

They rejoiced because they saw the Lord. They saw Him alive outside the tomb after thinking that there would be no future meeting.

They, also, rejoiced because the Lord obtained victory in His combat against falsehood and that He " … *who always leads us in triumph in Christ, … " (2 Cor 2:14)*

They also rejoiced because they got rid of their enemy's gloating and malevolence as well as their disturbance, anxiety and disappearance.

At that time, they were able to go out of their places and face the situation and speak publicly with might and power about Christ's resurrection.

They rejoiced because the cross was not the end of the story.

The end of it was the gladdening and cheering resurrection which removed and eliminated the pains of Golgotha and Gethsemane and the events which took place before and after them.

He said to them *"I will see you again and you will rejoice "* .

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We celebrate the joys of the resurrection which give the sensation that the Lord is living with us and among us and that no tomb can enclose Him, who holds all men in His heart. **The disciples rejoiced at Christ's resurrection.**

They also rejoiced when they saw Him. His resurrection was the point which changed both their history and the history of Christianity.

3. By means of the resurrection and by this material proof which they witnessed, they rejoiced and believed that it was something possible.

So, Saint John, the apostle, said about Him *" which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, " (1 John 1:1)*

Saint Peter, the Apostle, said *" Us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead. " (Acts 10:41)*

By means of the resurrection the disciples' fear changed into courage, boldness and non observance of the powers and forces which declare war against the word of God.

Thus, after the resurrection, saint Peter could say *" We ought to obey God rather than men. " (Acts 5:29)*

By means of the resurrection, the disciples never feared anything.

All that their enemies can do, is to threaten them with death. But what can death do to those who have seen the resurrection and believed in it!?

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Thus, Christianity believes that death is mere transition and *"To die is gain "* and *"it is better by far"* and *"never feared by anyone. "*

4. By means of the resurrection, the disciples felt that they were overshaded with a powerful God.

They believed in Him "who holds the keys of death and Hades."

Life is in Him. He is the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Him will live, even though he dies. He is the source of life not only on earth but in the eternal life also.

5. The disciples rejoiced because the Lord kept His promise with them.

Because the promises of Christ, that He would rise and that they would see Him, were fulfilled; they believed in the other promises as *" … I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

They had confidence in what He said about sending the Counsellor to them (John 16:7) and that *"they will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on them. (Acts 1:8)*

They believed in His promise *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

All these promises gave them power, faith and joy.

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6. Not only did the disciples rejoice at the resurrection but they also, with pleasure, met the pains caused to them as a result of giving testimony in favour of the resurrection. Pain had a new conception in the minds and feelings of the disciples because they had the " *But we have the mind of Christ. ". (1 Cor 2:16)***.**

They became convinced that pain was the way to glory as it happened with Christ through His crucifixion.

They put this perception before them *" We suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together." (Rom 8:17)*

So, he tolerated and suffered pains saying *" As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing. " (2 Cor 6: 10)*

7. By means of the resurrection, the cross became honour and glory but not pain.

The disciples were not disturbed any more. So, Paul, the Apostle, says *" Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in needs, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake." (2 Cor 12:10)* He also says *"As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing ."(2 Cor 6:10).*

8. The resurrection became joy to all the believers and good news for the general resurrection.

The resurrection gave the Christians hope and trust in the other world. So, they concentrated all their desires in it and renounced worldly pleasures.

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All that Christianity proclaimed about the life of devoutness, religious devotion and monasticism and forsaking the world depends on believing in the resurrection and longing for the other world which surpasses all earthly desires.

Thus, in every liturgy, the church repeats the words of the apostle *" Do not love the world or the things in the world. … And the world is passing away, and the lust of it; … " (1 John 2:15-17)*

9. In the joys of the resurrection they rejoiced at the kingdom and the eternal paradise which would come afterwards.

They knew that, after the resurrection, there would be great happiness. Saint Paul, the Apostle, could say about these matters *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

The same apostle spoke about the crown prepared for the righteous saying *" Finally, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give to me on that Day, and not to me only but also to all who have loved His appearing. " (2Tit 4:8)*

In the "Revelation" God explained other glories which those who overcome will get after the resurrection. He spoke about the tree of life, the crown of life, the hidden manna authority, the morning star and the white robes ... (Rev 2,3)

How beautiful his words were when He said *"To him who overcomes I will grant to sit with Me on My throne, as I also*

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overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne. " (Rev 3:21)

We cannot separate the resurrection from its glories for which the saints longed for death.

Saint Paul said *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23).* He also said "and be with the Lord all the time. "

In "Revelation", saint John spoke about the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven which is the dwelling of God with men.

Indeed, how beautiful is the resurrection which leads to all that we, in hope, are waiting for rejoicing at the Lord and His promises.

10. Thus, the resurrection gave us hope to be with Christ forever.

The joy of the resurrection is not only to rise from death but also to rise with Christ and live with Him.

So, the resurrection, in itself, became a means and not end aimed at.

It is a means to live with God and enjoy His companionship in continuous inexpressible and glorious joy, with the queues of His angels and saints.

The resurrection has become the desire and the passion and the faith of all men.

They consider it the way to eternity and living with God which is the aim of our life on earth.

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11. At the time of Christ's resurrection, the disciples who had been afraid of being related to Him, rejoiced at being His followers.

In the past, they were so terrified of being attributed to Him that Peter, the night before judgment, denied his relationship with Christ and with an oath he said *"I do not know the Man!" (Matt 26:74)*

Now, after the resurrection, they became proud of Him.

They rejoiced because the Lord, by His own will, appeared to them for forty days, in the attic in Jerusalem, on the shores of the sea of Tiberias, and in Galilee.

They were filled with joy because the Lord spoke with them, tranquillised their hearts, forgave Peter's denial, convinced Thomas of his doubts and came down to their weakness in order that He might elevate them to his power without rebuking them because of their escape, hiding, and doubt.

12. They rejoiced because The Lord Jesus Christ searched for them after His resurrection.

The time He spent with them was a period of dressing their wounds, removing their doubts and forgiveness for their sins.

It was an interval of preparation for the coming service.

The Lord spent with them forty days through which He showed Himself to them *" Speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*.He gave them many convincing proofs that He was alive.

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13. They rejoiced because through Christ's appearance to them, they perceived His glory and His greatness.

With a light from heaven flashed around Him, He showed Himself to Saul of Tarsus that he fell to the ground puzzled. (Acts 9:3-6)

He appeared to John the visionary. *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. " (Rev 1:16,17)*

14. The disciples rejoiced because, after the resurrection, they were trusted with a mission.

The Lord said to them *"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20) " Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; … And these signs will follow those who believe … " (Mark 16:15-17)*

Thus, they had a mission, a great and important one for which they Eve and do their best for its ascertainment. Thus, they will be crowned and the words of the Lord *" I will make you fishers of men." (Matt 4:19)* will be realised.

Undoubtedly, Peter has rejoiced when the Lord said to him after the resurrection *"Feed My lambs. ", "Tend My sheep." (John 21:15,16)*

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No doubt, all the disciples rejoiced when the Lord, after the resurrection said to them *"Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive anyone his sins, they are forgiven; if you do not forgive them, they are not forgiven. … As the Father has sent Me, I also send you. -" (John 20:21-23)*

15. After the resurrection, the disciples rejoiced at the spiritual body because The Lord Jesus Christ will raise their bodies as He rose.

This transfiguration which will happen to human nature after rising from death was mentioned with extended detail by Saint Paul, the Apostle who said *"So will it be with the resurrection of the dead. The body that is sown perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. (1 Cor 15:42-44).*

He also said about Jesus Christ *" who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, … " (Phil 3:21)* take note of ***"Like His glorious body"***.

These words give us an idea how beautiful the other world is. They, also, give us a notion about its spirituality and the resplendence of the spirit when it is freed from the bonds of materiality and the abilities of the spirit and its talents.

16. The resurrection supported preaching the Gospel with confidence and faith.

Confidence in Christ who rose from among the dead; with whom the disciples lived forty days after the resurrection *" He*

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also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)

John, the Apostle, said about Him *"Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked at and our hands have touched. " (1 John)*

A summary of the disciples' joys:

"Then the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord." (John 20:20). Joy remained with them as a plain course of their life.

They rejoiced at the Lord's resurrection. They were very happy when He showed Himself to them.

They rejoiced at His true promises and at the resurrection in general.

They rejoiced at His triumph over death. They were glad because the Jews would not gloat over them any more.

They rejoiced at the power they were given. They were very glad because of the mission which the Lord gave them after the resurrection.

They were delighted with the spreading of preaching the Gospel.

They were happy in spite of the persecutions and the difficulties they met because of their testimony in favour of God.

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The Bible said about them " *So they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name. " (Acts 5:41)*

They rejoiced also because He fulfilled His promise and sent to them the Holy Spirit.

They rejoiced when He said to them *" But tarry in the city of Jerusalem until you are endued with power from on high." (Luke 24:48)*

They rejoiced at His saying *"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them." (Matt 18:20)* and His saying *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Lord Jesus Christ's Resurrection Its Power And Its Effectiveness

There is a great difference between the two days

They were two days. As for the human senses, they were diametrically opposite: Friday, 14th of Nisan and Sunday 16th of Nisan, the year 34 AD

Friday was a gloomy day in regard to all the disciples and the followers of Christ.

It was an exciting and thrilling surprise which they never expected to happen to their great teacher.

The conspiracy which was accomplished very soon. It was woven very quickly; the crowds who shouted all the louder *"Crucify Him; Crucify Him".(Luke 23:21),(John 19:6)* the disciple who betrayed His master in return for thirty silver coins, the series of insults to which the Lord was exposed as cursing, derision, mockery, slapping on the face, spittle in addition to the pains caused by the thorns, the flogging and fastening on the cross with nails.

Was it true that everything had been accomplished so rapidly.

Did the doer of the miracles and the great teacher who amazed all men become so delusive and deceptive that the authorities crucified Him between two robbers?

And those who benefited by His love, kindness and miracles disappeared from existence! Even His disciples scattered and escaped and left Him alone as it is written *" I will strike the Shepherd, And the sheep of the flock will be scattered." (Matt 26:31) (Zech 13:7)*

Peter Himself, the most enthusiastic among the disciples denied his master before a servant girl and called down curses and swore to the people that he did not know the man (Matt 26:74)

As for Christ's enemies, they got grip of everything. They could hold the Sanhedrin and take a decision against him. They could excite people's anger and make them repeat their words.

They could make an impression on the governor till he rendered a judgment against Christ although he said *" … I find no fault in Him." (John 19:4)* that he had found no fault in Christ

So, evil seemed so triumphant and cruel and the words of Christ to those rulers we fulfilled *" But this is your hour, and the power of darkness." (Luke 22:53)*

All that the devil could do was done. He could get rid of Christ who was beloved by all men and followed by thousands who were amazed by His instructions. Jesus, *" He laid His hands on every one of them and healed them. " (Luke 4:40)*

He also raised the dead, gave sight to the blind and, by His power, evil spirits came out of many.

Even after they killed Him, they made the governor give an order for the tomb to be made secure by putting a seal on the big stone and posting the guard.

They completely felt assured that Christ came to an end. It was a bad end "And He was numbered with the

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transgressors , … " (Is 53:12). All His followers were scattered ... !!

Thus, that Friday was a distressing one in which injustice predominated, treason and cruelty spread and covetousness and evil obtained victory.

Christ's disciples found themselves perplexed and at a loss. Belonging to Christ was a dangerous matter. Christ was still in the tomb.

Everything was in the hands of the authorities. It seemed that there was no hope in enjoying once more the good days they had spent with their beneficent teacher.

As for the deliverance which was accomplished on the cross, none has felt it. All that was seen by men was that the crucified one seemed too weak to save Himself.

They defied Him saying *" If You are the Son of God, come down from the cross … " (Matt 27:40)*

In the same way the chief priests, the teachers of the law and the elders mocked Him *"He saved others; Himself He cannot save. If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him. " (Matt 27:40-42)*

Also, one of the criminals who hung there hurled insults at Him *"If You are the Christ, save Yourself and us." (Luke 23:39)*

In this way, Friday was a day of gloating, injustice and dispersion but something took place and turned the rudder towards the opposite direction, It was the resurrection which shook the whole Jewish existence whether rulers or people.

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The resurrection took place at the dawn of Sunday in spite of the existence of the guards, the big stone and the seals.

Great precautions were taken to guard the tomb but the empty tomb stood as a material witness for the resurrection as well as the well arranged strips of linen and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head.

The chiefs of the Jews tried, by all means, to deface and disfigure the reality of the resurrection but they could not.

Indeed, the tangible occurrence was much more deeper than all pretence.

Christ appeared alive to His disciples. His appearance banished their fears, encouraged them and gave them an extra-ordinary power to he witnesses for His resurrection.

After His resurrection, Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene. (Mark 16:9) and to Simon Peter (1 Cor 15:5) and to the two companions of Emmaus. (Luke 24:12-3 1) and to the ten disciples in the absence of Thomas. (Luke 24:33-43) and to the disciples in the presence of Thomas and showed them His wounds. (John 20:26-29)

He, also, appeared to seven of His disciples by the Sea of Tiberias. (John 21:1-7) and to more than five hundred of the brothers at the same time, then appeared to James. (1 Cor 15:6,7) and *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." (Acts 1:3)*

He was with them when He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. (Acts 1:9)

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He appeared to Saul from Tarsus; on his journey to Damascus and chose him as an instrument and apostle to carry His name before the Gentiles. (Acts 9:3-15)

All these events gave the disciples a abnormal power. About this the Bible says ***" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. "*** *(Acts 4:33)*

What was the power of the resurrection which gave them strength?

The power of the resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection from among the dead was the greatest event that shook the Jews' entity.

By all means, they tried to resist it saying "This last deviation from the truth will be more powerful than the first straying" They meant preaching the Gospel.

Then, what was that power of the resurrection and what were its effects?

1. Christ came out of the tomb while it was closed.

This miraculous performance was not something strange for Jesus as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained a virgin.

Also, during His appearances to His disciples after the resurrection; while they were gathering together in the attic, He

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came in and stood among them *" when the doors were shut. " (John 20:19)*

2. One of the signs which prove the resurrection's power is that Christ rose by Himself and not by others' help.

All those who rose before Him were raised by others' help.

Elijah, the prophet raised the son of the widow at Zarephath. (1 Kin 17:22)

Elisha, the prophet, raised the son of the Shunammite. (2 kin 4:36)

The Lord Jesus Christ raised the daughter of Jairus, and the son of Nain's widow and Lazarus but He rose by Himself because the energy and the power of the resurrection were in Him. It was impossible for death to keep Him under its control because *" In Him was life." (John 1:4)*

3. The Lord Jesus Christ rose in spite of the stressed guardianship, the strong guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

The worldly power used its utmost energy but Christ was stronger than it.

The resurrection proved that it was more powerful than all the obstacles. It was a victory against all Christ's opponents and adversaries; a triumph over death, over Hades, over the tomb, over the big stone, over the seals and over the strips of linen that were wrapped around His body.

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Thus, when Saint Paul knew Him, He said *" I may know Him and the power of His resurrection.* *" (Phil 3:10)*

Paul knew the power of Christ's resurrection when he saw Him after the resurrection. The Bible says *" As he journeyed he came near Damascus, and suddenly a light shone around him from heaven." (Acts 9:3)*

Thus, this apostle became sure of Jesus' powerful resurrection and could share in His sufferings, becoming like Him in His death.

Saint John, the beloved one, experienced the same power when Jesus appeared to him *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength." (Rev 1:16)* **Inside the tomb, Christ's power was greater than any power outside it**.

On sunday, at dawn, He left the tomb in a moment not known by anyone. The stone was in its place till the angel came and rolled it to announce the resurrection which was accomplished. So the women could see the tomb empty.

4. **The aspects of His power after the resurrection:**

These are some sides of the power which men witnessed on earth, in addition to the powerful numerous appearances; the power of His ascension to heaven and sitting on the right of God; the power of entering the attic with the doors closed and the power of changing the disciples from weak terrified persons into brave heroes who could preach the Gospel with all ability and without any objection.

As His resurrection was powerful, so, there was another power which preceded that resurrection.

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5. His power between the time of His death and that of His resurrection.

After His death, it was His own power with which He could open the gates of Hades and go to preach to the spirits in prison. (1 Peter .3:19)

With this power, He could descend to the lower, earthly regions and lead captives in His train and give gifts of redemption to men, then, after the resurrection, He could ascend higher than all heavens, in order to fill the whole universe. (Eph 4:8-10)

6. By His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ, proved that He was more powerful than death and that His death and His silence during the judgment were not due to any point of weakness in Him.

If He had spoken, He would have dumbfounded and convinced His audience, but this was not His aim. His aim was to redeem us.

So, when they asked Him to come down from the cross He did not respond to them although He was able to come down. His only aim was to suffer pain and die on behalf of us and pay the price of sin, return and redemption for us.

The resurrection proved that Christ's silence was not weakness.

The power of the resurrection was the strongest reply to those who charged Him with weakness, or those who thought that His crucifixion was a sign of His disability.

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By the resurrection, it was proved that Christ's silence had eminent aims.

He kept silent because He wished to give Himself for us. If he had defended himself he would have won the case without any doubt.

Many a time, He answered the chiefs and the elders and the priests of the Jews and they gave no reply.

Moreover, they witnessed the power of His words when He was twelve years old. Even His audience certified that He spoke as one who had authority.

Christ's silence during His judgment was a proof that He died by His own will.

He said about Himself "I lay down my life only to take it up again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. … " (John 10:18)

He laid it down at the time of crucifixion and took it up at the time of the resurrection.

Jesus has given up the Spirit with love and self sacrifice not because of weakness and disability and as He rose in power, He died in power as well.

When He breathed the last, He cried out with a loud voice while the body was completely exhausted. His water and His blood were drained.

Flogging, walking, beating, bleeding and hanging on the cross made Him powerless.

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His body died but His divine spirit remained alive without death.

During His death He could give good news to those who slept on hope. Also, He could open the closed gates of paradise and let in it the robber to be with Adam, his descendants and the saints of the past ages.

He could also rise and His resurrection mocked at the guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

It did not happen; in the history of humanity, that anyone other than Christ could overcome death by his own authority; or rose by his own will or went out of a tomb with an entrance closed by a huge stone and guarded with fully armed soldiers.

7. The power of Christ's resurrection smashed the chief priests of the Jews as well as all the Sadducees. It proved their crime of His judgment and His crucifixion.

It proved that all their past pretences were false. So, by the resurrection, they became blamable before the nation.

When the disciples proclaimed the resurrection in every connection, the chief priests said to them *"Did we not strictly command you not to teach in this name? And look, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this Man's blood on us!" (Acts 5:28)*

The power of the resurrection terrified the chiefs of the Jews because it showed His righteousness.

If He had been culpable, He would not have been able to rise from among the dead.

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As the resurrection was a proof of His righteousness, the resurrection at the same time proved the injustice of those chiefs and their trumping up charges against Him. Those chiefs who had rejoiced thinking that they had got rid of Him by killing Him.

The speech about His appearance after He had been killed terrified them.

The holy saints did not stop blaming them for this point itself. So, Saint Peter, the Apostle said to them after the miracle of healing the crippled beggar *"The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers, glorified His Servant Jesus, whom you delivered up and denied in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let Him go. But you denied the Holy One and the Just, and asked for a murderer to be granted to you, and killed the Prince of life, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses.. " (Acts 3:13-15)*

8. The Saddukees, in general, do not believe in the resurrection. so, Christ's resurrection was a dangerous practical proof against the proceeding of their creed and instructions.

Thus, with all their power, they resisted the resurrection and opposed the disciples when they announced it.

So, the Bible says " *Then the high priest rose up, and all those who were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles and put them in the common prison.. " (Acts 5:17,18)*

But the power of the resurrection was stronger than their resistance.

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Indeed His resurrection from death was more powerful than His coming down the cross.

Moreover, His resurrection proved that He died by His own will and not by force especially because He Himself rose without others' help and by Himself came out of the closed and sealed tomb as He came out of Saint Mary's womb with her virginity sealed.

Indeed as He said about Himself *" I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

9. His resurrection proved that He was more powerful than death; so, He was stronger than all human powers which kill and put to death.

He was more powerful than the injustice of the evildoers; more powerful than their conspiracies and their authority.

They did all that they could do till they prosecuted Him and fastened Him with nails on the cross.

They defied Him and mocked at Him. They thought they triumphed over Him especially because Christ remained silent all the time of His judgement and challenging Him. *" He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, And as a sheep before its shearers is silent." (Is 53:7)*

His resurrection proved that His death was a self-sacrifice and not by force.

Trusting His resurrection meant believing in His love, in His self-sacrifice and in redeeming humanity.

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It meant trusting His power, His past words about Himself and His relationship with God.

This is the power of the One who died by body and remained alive by His divinity.

It is the power of that One who said to John in the Revelation *" … I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death.. " (Rev 1:17,18).* That powerful One *" whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that He should be held by it. " (Acts 2:24)*

10. The power of Christ's resurrection, with which it was distinguished from other preceding ones, is that there will be no death after it. It will be a continuous eternal resurrection.

All those who had been raised from death died once more and are still under the power of death waiting for the general resurrection.

But Christ has risen alive and will remain so forever. Death has no power over Him. So, the Bible gave Him the surname *" the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." (1 Cor 15:20)*

11. One of the clear and strong signs of Christ's resurrection is that it was a glorified one.

He was raised in a glorified body which did not feel tired or feel sick.

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A body which did not feel hungry or thirsty. A body which did not become decomposed.

A body which could come out of the tomb with its entrance sealed and could enter with the doors closed. A body which could ascend to heaven.

In the general resurrection, we expect to be raised in the same way as the apostle said *" … we also eagerly wait for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:20,21)*

12. As Christ's resurrection was powerful so was its effect on the church and all men.

It could change the occurrences on every side. The disciples who were afraid and dared not declare openly their relationship with Christ gained a strange power to preach the Gospel.

And Peter, who formerly denied Christ before a slave maid, could bravely say to the chief priests *"We ought to obey God rather than men. "(Acts 5:29) "For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts 4:20)*

13. The power gained by the disciples from the resurrection may he concentrated in two points:

a) They knew quite well that Christ was more powerful than death.

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He has triumphed over death. As we say in our prayers **"By death He trampled over death. "** It means that after He died He could trample over death by His resurrection.

The knowledge about this occurrence confirmed their faith and they remembered the Lord saying *" I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. " (John 10:17,18)*

b) By Christ's resurrection, they knew that they would be raised from death like Him.

Thus, they never feared death. The dread of death was smashed before them when Christ trampled over it and went out of the tomb alive and glorified.

They feared death no more and paid no attention to it. Such bravery remained the characteristic peculiarity of the disciples and of all the members of the church.

Saint Paul, the Apostle, says more than that *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." (Phil 1:23)*

14. One of the remarkable signs of Christ's resurrection is confirmation of faith.

The Lord Jesus Christ spent forty days with His disciples talking to them about the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3)

During that period, He confirmed their faith and explained to them everything about Himself in detail.

He put before them all the disciplines of the church, as well as the Liturgy and all the rules of faith and its creeds.

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After the period which Christ spent with them after His resurrection, they were filled with spiritual and faithful abilities with which they could face the whole world with steadiness and stability. **They spoke about the resurrection from their own experience.**

As Saint John, the beloved one, says *" That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, … " (1 John 1:1)*

The resurrection was no longer a mere theoretical creed but something which they themselves witnessed and viewed.

This experience endowed them with a power of faith that they could spread it all over the world with confidence and certitude.

15. The power of the resurrection appeared in the resurrection itself, in its circumstances, in its results and in what happened after it.

It was not a single resurrection special for The Lord Jesus Christ alone but for all of us.

It was a handsel for the general resurrection, for heavenly Jerusalem and for eternity with its enjoyments and happiness according to God's promises.

The resurrection was so powerful that it revealed Christ's nature - What was it? Who is he who could do such things?

It was also a forepart to the miracle of ascension.

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It was a silencing and conclusive answer to the Sadducees who did not believe in the resurrection as they trusted neither in spirits nor in angels.

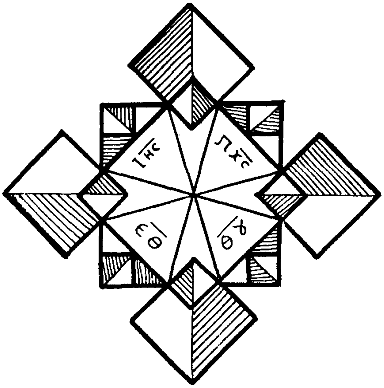

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CHAPTER NINE

Contemplations On The Resurrection

The first thing we observe is the modesty of the Lord when He allowed His crucifixion and the insults of the Jews against Him to occur publicly before all the people. At the same time He made His glorified resurrection in private and a secret not seen by anyone.

He did not rise in glory before all men in order that He might be compensated for the insults and the reproach caused to Him during the crucifixion but He rose in secret.

He chose the dawn to be the time of His resurrection because at that time all human were sleeping.

He chose the dawn in order that no one might see Him during His glorious resurrection.

He was far from the dazzling views of His resurrection as it happened on His birthday.

Then, He appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the other Mary, to Peter, to the women, to the two of Emmaus, to the Eleven, to Saul from Tarsus and to some of the brothers .... to the favourites, to His own but not to those who formerly gloated on Him.

In spite of all that, the resurrection which took place in secret troubled the Jews and caused to them terror beyond measure. They made great efforts to oppose it or at least to prevent people from believing in it .... but in vain.

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When they found that they had failed in preventing the occurrence of the resurrection by setting the guards, the big stone and the seals, they wished to prevent it from being conveyed to men in another way, by telling lies, with bribery and by rumours.

When their trials failed and they could not prevent the news of the resurrection by their false means and when the news spread all over the world through the preaching of the disciples they resorted to another stratagem.

They tried to prevent preaching the resurrection by arresting the disciples, flogging them, putting them in jails and making complaints to the governors against them.

All the human plans done to prevent men from believing in the resurrection failed.

It was true when the Bible said *" No weapon formed against you shall prosper. " (Is 54:17)*

What was the secret of this great resurrection? Its secret was that for the first time and also for the last time a person could rise from death by himself. He was raised by no one.

Indeed, this occurrence terrified them.

The Lord Jesus Christ has fulfilled what He said about Himself. *"No one can take it from Him." " I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

The powerful Nazarene has triumphed over them. That Nazarene whom death could not conquer.

That Nazarene who trod death down and rose at the time He had fixed and according to His former prophecies. No one could oppose His resurrection. But why didn't Christ

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appear to them after the resurrection? Wasn't it suitable to convince them to believe in Him!?

He did not appear to them because they were unworthy of Him... Even if He had appeared to them, they would not have believed in him.

This point reminds us of what Abraham, the Father of Fathers had said to the rich man who was contemporary with poor Lazarus *“If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead”(Luke 16:31)*

Moreover, the Lord Jesus Christ made many other miracles before them and they did not believe in Him.

When He healed the born blind they said to the man *"We know that this Man is a sinner." (John 9:24)*

During the crucifixion, darkness came over all the land; the earth shook and the rocks split; the curtain of the temple was torn into two from top to bottom and some of the holy people who had died were raised to life and in spite of all these occurrences they did not believe in Him.

He did not appear to them because they were not only unworthy of Him but also because they had no faith. Then, why did He not appear to other men?

The Lord Jesus Christ left a field for faith about which Paul, the apostle, said *" … faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. " (Heb 11:1)*

If the resurrection had been something visible it would have been added to the circle of viewing and not to that of faith because faith means: "to be certain of what we do not see."

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It was enough that when He appeared to the rulers, all men believed in Him through them.

As for faith, all men could not bear this matter, so, when Christ appeared in His resurrection, He did not appear in His glory, even to His own, because they could not bear it.

With the two of Emmaus, who did not know Him at first, He spoke to them gradually.

With Mary Magdalene, He hid His personality that she thought Him to be the gardener; then He revealed Himself bit by bit.

As for Saul, from Tarsus; when Jesus appeared to him in some of His glory, his eyes were blinded by the radiant light of Christ's face, then He healed him.

Also, when Jesus appeared in some of His glory to Saint John, the beloved one, he fell to Christ's feet as if he were dead. The Lord raised him and told him not to be afraid.

Indeed, who can bear seeing Christ in His glory? But as for His modesty, it was enough for Him to make Himself nothing.

He will appear to them with His glory in the second coming and then they will say to the mountains, "Cover us!" and to the hills, "Fall on us!" and all nations on earth will mourn.

With the spirit and power of the resurrection Christianity began its glorious history.

The disciples went forward into a new epoch of power. *" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4:33)*

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All the attempts they had done to smash Christ, He Himself smashed by His resurrection.

Even the devil himself was completely destroyed by this resurrection.

The Christ who conquered death and who said *" … I have overcome the world. … " (John 16:33)* is able to do everything. He can always lead us in His victorious procession.

This triumphant, the rising from the dead, can lead a group of the triumphant ones and give them from His grace and from His power.

Thus, the defenceless Christianity could face Judaism and other ancient religion. It, also, could stand firm before pagan philosophies, Roman authorities, conspiracies, judgments and persecutions.

Christianity remained persisting and moved forward under the power of Christ, the rising from the dead, till it changed the Roman nation to a Christian one.

Paganism disappeared from the world and the whole land became for God and His Christ.

Also, the resurrection of the body was a sign of rising from sin.

About this matter, the apostle said *"And you He made alive, who were dead in trespasses and sins. ", "and raised us up together, and made us sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, " (Eph 2:1,6)*

May we all live under the power of the resurrection. This resurrection which changed the disciples and made the empty tomb a sign of perpetual triumph.

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This resurrection which was the beginning of the power in the life of the first church.

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Some Of The Occurrences Of The Resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, did not stop work for the benefit of humanity even when His body was in the tomb.

He has done work between the crucifixion and the resurrection.

God, by His resurrection, sanctified the human nature which is liable to death and made it liable to the resurrection.

Before the resurrection, God, also, worked for our sake even when His body was on the tomb.

By means of death His spirit was separated from His body but His divinity never separated from His soul or His body.

His spirit, united with His divine nature, could do a wonderful rescuing action for the sake of those who are sleeping on hope.

With His death He paid the price of sin and bought us by His blood. So, after He redeemed humanity, it was His right to carry the sleeping from Hades to Paradise and it was so.

With His spirit, united with divinity, He went down to Hades to say the good news to the sleeping there on hope. ***" … He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? When He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, And gave gifts to men."*** *(Eph 4:8).*

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He opened the gate of paradise and carried to Him the righteous who were waiting in Hades. With them, He also let in the right robber to paradise.

Indeed, how trustful He was when He said to Saint John, the visionary, *"And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18) (Phil 4:3)*

Indeed, blessed are those whose names are written in the book of life because death has no authority on them.

They may stay there for a time, as Jonah remained in the belly of the huge fish (whale) then He rescued him safely without any harm.

Thus, God brought out those who were in Hades and by His authority He let them into Paradise.

This great deed was done by god in secret. Heaven praised God. The sayings of the prophets were accomplished and in secret, also, the Lord rose from the dead.

His spirit, united with His divinity, came and united with the body which was united with divinity, then, He was raised by the power of His divinity and went out of the tomb with its seals.

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The Women Carrying Spices And Perfumes

It was something strange that the women took spices and perfumes and went to the tomb while these perfumes do not agree with believing in the resurrection.

But the Lord took interest in their love and treated the defect found in their faith.

Did they carry the perfumes for the body which was in the tomb? Hadn't they the faith that Christ had risen and left the tomb?

Thus, the good tidings of the angel revealed the same meaning when he said to the two Marys *"I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. " (Matt 28:5,6)*

The same words of reproach were said to the women, who were carrying the perfumes and the spices, but with clearer style *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! Remember how He spoke to you when He was still in Galilee, saying, 'The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.' And they remembered His words." (Luke 24:5-8)*

Yes, He, formerly, said that He would rise from the dead. He did not only say those words to the women but many a time, he said them to His disciples also.

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If the Lord informed the disciples of His resurrection and they did not believe Him, how much the more would those women be?

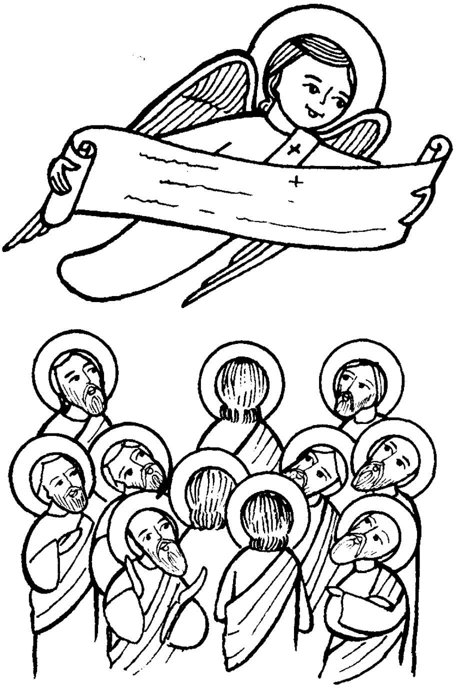

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The Disciples' Doubts

The resurrection of Christ was an occurrence never happened before as He rose by Himself without any help from others and His strange words, never said by anyone before, were verified. “ *I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17-18).*

Who dared say such words except Christ? So, His resurrection distracted the minds. It was above intelligence especially after the events of the cross and the pains and the insults directed to Him. And after the potency and authority with which the Jews treated Him.

Thus, it was not easy for the disciples to believe in the resurrection while they were afraid and hiding in the attic.

On the cross, He said "It is finished" which meant that the redemption was completed and the price of sin was paid.

But, there was another work for Him to complete. It was a work special for patronage.

Before Him, there were righteous persons who were troubled and in need of soothing.

What would He do to strengthen their weakness and to banish their doubts and fears?

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He did not wish to blame these persons kindly for their weakness or for their doubts or for their ingratitude but He came to soothe them.

As He formerly said that He had not come to judge the people but to save them; how much the more His own who were in the world, He now showed them the full extent of His love. (John 13)

Saint John said about this love *"We love Him because He first loved us." (1 John 4:19).*

He did the same thing with Thomas who doubted in His resurrection and insisted on putting his finger in the places of the wounds. He did not blame him kindly for his doubts but tackled the matter with him.

Jesus responded to Thomas and let him put his finger to be sure of the places of the wounds.

The same thing happened with Peter, with Mary Magdalene and with the two from Emmaus.

The Lord wished to strengthen the faith of those persons who would carry faith all over the world and it was so.

Thus, the matter was not limited by His resurrection, but there happened many appearances afterwards.

He stayed with the disciples for forty days during which *" … after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. to whom He also presented Himself alive" (Acts 1:3)*

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What did the Bible say about the disciples who did not believe in that resurrection and their repeated doubts which caused others to stumble?

The Holy Bible says that He appeared first to Mary Magdalene " … She went and told those who had been with Him, as they mourned and wept. " (Mark 16:10)

How did the disciples receive her good news about the resurrection?

Saint Mark, the evangelist, gives the answer saying: " *And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe. " (Mark 16:9-11)*

He appeared to the two from Emmaus who did not know Him and who did not believe what the women had said about the resurrection that Lord Jesus rebuked them saying *"O foolish ones, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Luke 24:25-27)*

At last, those two from Emmaus believed. What was the impression of their faith on the apostles?

Saint Mark says *"And they went and told it to the rest, but they did not believe them either.. " (Mark 16:13)*

We hear, afterwards; that the women went to the tomb, entered it and did not find Jesus' body. Then the angels appeared to them and announced the good news of the resurrection.

They hurried away from the tomb and ran to tell the disciples.

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Saint Luke, the evangelist says *"And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them. " (Luke 24:11)*

These were the eleven apostles, the columns of the church, before whom there were many testimonies as Mary Magdalene; the two from Emmaus and the women... and they did not believe them.

Afterwards, Mary Magdalene hurried to Peter and John and told them about the empty tomb. They immediately arrived and went into the tomb *"and he saw the linen cloths lying there, and the handkerchief that had been around His head, not lying with the linen cloths. " (John 20:6,7).*

Here the Bible says about John "… he saw and believed. " But inspite of all that we read something strange...

We read that after all of them knew that saying, *"The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon! ". (Luke 24:34),* it happened that the Lord Himself stood among them and said to them *"Peace be with you. ".*

Did they believe when He appeared to them and spoke with them?

No, *"But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit.”* . *(Luke 24:37).*

The Lord rebuked them for their situation and said to them *"Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39).*

If the disciples had thought that what they had seen had been a ghost it would have been a heresy which would shake their as if

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the body did nit rise. For this reason , the lord showed them his hands and His feet .

Thus , the problem was not that of Tomas only to whom the Lord said *"Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing."* *(John 20 :27).* But , it was the problem of the eleven apostles.

All of them complained ; all of them were in need of proofs They needed feeling, touching and seeing the places of the wounds in order to believe .

The Lord tackled the problem of their thinking him a ghost or a spirit practically.

About this matter Anba Peter the Sedmenty, said that **the Lord , during the period he spent in human nature on earth , He proved his divine nature , but after the resurrection He proved His human nature**

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The Lord Proves His Human Nature

Thus, after the resurrection, we hear that, in order to convince them of His human nature, And He took it and ate in their presence. (Luke 24:43)

He said so, while we know that the body of the resurrection is a luminous spiritual body which neither eats nor drinks.

God did so to convince them of His human nature but, after the ascension, His body had not any relation with this material food.

In all these matters we see that the Lord met the disciples' doubts with convincing and not with rebuking or punishment.

They are the persons in whom He will have confidence to promulgate faith all over the world. So, they themselves must have a strong, firmly established faith which they can convey to others, convincing and without any doubt. So, the Lord led them to this strong faith.

If they did not acquire the faith which believes without seeing, there would be no objection for them to begin with faith which depends on senses although it is of a weak degree.

The Lord condescended and accepted their sensuous faith, not to be stabilised in Him but to be mere beginning that leads to faith. *"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" . (Heb 11: 1).*

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Thus Saint John said *"That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, "* *(1 John 1:1).*

This faith which, in the beginning, depended on senses because stronger and could convince the whole world with what it had seen and heard lest some men should think that the apostles had been deceived or believed in some matters which had not taken place.

So, we notice Saint Paul, the Apostle, announce good news about what he had seen and beard on his way to Damascus.

He explained the whole matter to king Agrippa saying *" … O king, along the road I saw a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me and those who journeyed with me ... " (Acts 26:13-15)*

The apostle concluded his words saying *" Therefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, " (Acts 26:19)*

This is The Lord Jesus Christ who worked to strengthen the disciples' faith; who tackled Thomas' doubts; who comforted Peter's sorrow and Mary Magdalene when she wept. It is He who gave faith back to the church.

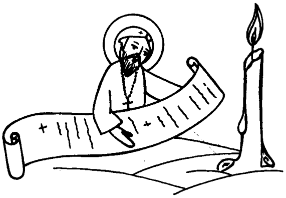

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The Risen Christ Works For Us

The Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead because it was impossible for death to overcome Him. He bore in Himself the power of His resurrection.

So, He was the only one who rose from the dead by Himself without any help from anyone.

He rose, and by His resurrection, He gave humanity the blessing of the resurrection *" … for the hour is coming in which all who are in the graves will hear His voice and come forth … " (John 5:28,29)*

He rose triumphant and trod on death to lead us in the procession of His victory and to teach us not to fear death as the apostle said afterwards *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

God who has allowed death to enter our human nature, also, with His mercy, has allowed the resurrection to do the same thing.

As He had created man from dust and, because of sin He has brought Him back to dust, He, also, by the resurrection, allowed this dust to be changed into a body once more but in a better nature.

Before His crucifixion, He said *"My father is always at his work to this very day, and I, too am working. "*

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After the resurrection the Lord continued His work not only to soothe the fatigued souls and strengthen the weak disjoined knees but also to make His disciples ready for service and able to take over the great responsibility of preaching the Gospel to all creation.

In this way, after the resurrection, the Lord continued to work for patronage.

By His resurrection, He gave the spirit of joy to His disciples as He had told them before His crucifixion *" … but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you. " (John 16:22)*

It was so, and they got rid of fear and terror *"The disciples were overjoyed when they saw the Lord. (John 20:20)*

They were greatly affected by the resurrection which strengthened them so deeply that they testified to it.

In every circumstance, they used to preach the rising of the Lord from the dead.

Those, who were afraid and hiding in the attic, appeared with stout hearts and filled the world with evangelising.

They did not care for the threatening of the chiefs of the Jews. They said to them *"We ought to obey God rather than men." Acts 5:29)*

"And the Lord added to the church daily those who were being saved.. " (Acts 2:47)

"And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4.33)

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As God stayed with Moses on the mountain a period of forty days to give him the Laws and the copy of the tent of meeting and its contents, the Lord also appeared to the Disciples over a period of forty days and spoke *" of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 2:3).*

Indeed, there is time for tranquillity, contemplation and recess while attending others has another time.

The Lord Jesus Christ stayed with God a period of forty days in a spiritual recess. He, also spent another period of forty days with his disciples during which he taught them and confirmed their faith. He gave them the creed and all the details of faith, the sacred sacraments of the church and instructed them how to practise them.

He also gave them all the arrangements concerning worship.

The resurrection of the Lord became the centre of the disciples' joy and the subject of their preaching.

It was a period of delivery, teaching and comprehension.

After that, He also appeared to Saint Paul who said about the Sacrament of Eucharist *"For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you … " (1 Cor 11:23).*

Thus, the act of delivery went on successively from the Lord to His disciples and then to others and so on.

The Lord delivered Paul; but what did Paul do? He says to His disciple Timothy *"And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also.. " (2 Tim . 2:2).*

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Thus, after He had taught His disciples, He said to them before his ascension, *"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. " (Mark 16:15).*

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; " (Matt 28:19,20).

And, as He handed instruction over to them he committed baptism as well.

As for instruction and baptism. He did not charge the whole people with them but only the disciples who delivered them to their successors, the bishops.

Those bishops, by turns, gave them to honest persons adequate for the job and not to the common people. It is a sacerdotal work done by priests.

So, He handed priesthood over to them before delivering instruction and baptism.

With priesthood He gave them the power to forgive sins.

Thus, Saint John, in. his gospel, explains to us how the Lord appeared to His disciples.

He entered, with the doors locked, and said to them *"Peace be with you. As the Father has sent Me, I am sending you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:19-23)*

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The act of the Holy Spirit bestowing authority of priesthood and forgiving sin on the disciples differs from that on the Pentecost when the Holy Spirit bestowed on them the talent of speaking in new tongues and the power of preaching the Gospel.

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CHAPTER TEN

The Power Of Christianity And Abolition Of Impossibility

The resurrection was so powerful that it reminded us of the words of the Bible *"With men this is impossible , but with God all things are possible." (Matt 19:26)*

This power which amazed Paul, the Apostle that he said about the Lord *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection, "(Phil 3:10).*

God has granted us that power of His resurrection that everything became possible with the believer, About this matter, Paul, the Apostle, said *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* *"(Phil 4:13)*.

After the Lord has trampled death, there is nothing difficult or impossible before us.

He gave us victory over it and opened the locked gate of Paradise.

He put that nice song in our tongues.

"O Death, where [is] your sting?

Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 Cor 15:5).

The power of the resurrection encouraged the disciples and gave them boldness to preach the Gospel.

Who could think that those weak persons who had hidden in the attic could preach the Gospel publicly and without opposition!?

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Who could think that twelve men, most of them were ignorant fishermen can spread Christianity all over the world?

The resurrection has taught us that there is nothing impossible. With God everything is possible, It is possible for the foolish things of the world to shame the wise and the weak things of the world to shame the strong.

It seemed very difficult for Christianity to stand against Paganism and the ancient religions whose roots were fixed and stable in men's creeds.

Moreover, it seemed difficult to oppose or stand against Judaism which tried to exterminate or to extirpate Christianity.

It also seemed difficult to stand against the philosophies which were prevalent at that time or against the Roman Empire with its tyranny and its armed forces.

It seemed difficult for Christianity to face all these powers and to overcome them but the power they received from the resurrection of Christ and His triumph over death gave them an admirable energy.

Who could think that Peter, the ignorant fisherman can with one sermon, transmute three thousand Jews to Christian faith?

A famous eloquent preacher needs great effort to turn, with one sermon some sinners to repentance but to let three thousand persons change their religion after listening to one sermon seems to be something imaginative!

It is the power which the apostles received from the Holy Spirit and which changed them before they could change the people.

It remained with them and with it they did miracles.

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Who could think that those apostles go to foreign countries where there was not even one Christian, no possibilities to perform religious service and in spite of all these difficulties they began from naught and could change the inhabitants' religion into Christianity ... ?

Indeed the resurrection taught us that there is nothing difficult and that everything is possible with the believer.

Who could think that Saul, from Tarsus, the most enormous persecutor of his time against Christianity becomes Paul, the greatest apostle who evangelised Christianity?

Who could think that the centurion, the general of the soldiers, who crucified Christ, adopted Christianity and died as a martyr because of it becomes a saint?

Who could think that the robber, on the right, believes when he was on the cross?

Who could think that Pilate's wife believes and asks her husband for the sake of "that righteous one?"

With Grace of God everything becomes possible. God is capable of everything. He who overcomes death, the most dangerous enemy, has the power to overcome any difficulty. Everything is quite easy before Him.

Who could think that Mary Magdalene, in whom there were seven devils becomes a preacher and announces good news of the resurrection to the apostles.

This power of the resurrection assured us that there is nothing impossible.

What we saw in preaching we witnessed in repentance:

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The power of repentance which changed the worst sinners into the greatest saints and not to mere repentant taught us that there is nothing impossible.

The utmost thing men expected from Augustine, the debauchee, was his repentance. But to become a saint by whom the generations benefit was something difficult not expected by anyone.

The same thing can be said about Black Moses, the cruel killer, who became a modest, meek and humble saint.

Nothing is difficult before God. Isn't He who said ***"What are you, O mighty mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain!"*** *(Zec 4:7).*

God who makes the barren a rejoicing mother with sons and says to her *"Sing, O barren, You [who] have not borne! … Enlarge the place of your tent, … For you shall expand to the right and to the left, And your descendants will inherit the nations, And make the desolate cities inhabited. " (Is 54:1-3)*

Christ's birth as well as His resurrection were wonderful and strange events which prove that there is nothing impossible. His miracles, also, prove the same thing.

The act of incarnation seemed, in men's view, to be something impossible!! How can God make Himself nothing and take the very nature of a servant? How can a virgin become pregnant and give birth to a child without matrimony?

So, the resurrection was something impossible. Thence, the Jews were afraid lest it should take place and considered it worse than the first deception.

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In spite of all that, incarnation took place; the virgin gave birth to a child and the resurrection happened.

Christianity is not a religion of weakness but a religion of strength. It gives man wonderful energies. It cancels the word "impossible."

Christianity is a religion of power

There is nothing difficult in Christianity. In it there is neither despondency nor failure. Through it *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. "(Phil 4:13).*

There are some things which seem difficult in Christianity such as: the cross; the narrow gate, and in spite of that the Christians carried the cross and entered through the narrow gate chanting the words of the apostle *"And His commandments are not burdensome.* *(1 John. 5:3)*

Yes, in the world's view, how difficult it is to turn the other cheek, to go the second mile, to love your enemy and to sell everything and give the price to the poor.

How difficult it is to follow a religion which calls upon devoutness and monasticism.

This religion, which seems difficult, spread everywhere. The people entered in its devoutness by their own will. They longed for its pains and were desirous of being martyrs. They took up the cross as an emblem.

The difficult commandment in Christianity bears in itself the power to carry it out.

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Christianity has offered humanity excellent models and eminent commandments. But at the same time it presented to people spiritual ability and assistance from Grace to practise these models easily and with pleasure.

It gave men the spiritual life as well as the Holy Spirit to reside in them and offer them the power to behave spiritually.

Christian commandments seem difficult to those who are outside, who do not live in Grace and who did not take part in the Holy Spirit.

But, to the believer, these difficult commandments become an inordinate desire and spiritual enjoyment that he does not find any difficulty.

The believer puts on the full armour of God with which he can take his stand against the devil's schemes.

He fully believes that he does not stand alone in his spiritual and religious war.

He believes that *"for the battle is the Lord's." (1Sam 17:47)* who is able to conquer whether with great numbers or few numbers.

He always feels that a divine power keeps close to him and works with him.

Thus, the life of the believer is a lasting victory because God leads him in His triumphal procession and *"The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace."* *(Ex 14:14).*

He who becomes conscious of failure has not put Grace to the test yet. He has not experienced the work of God whether in him or with him.

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How wonderful are the words of the Lord to His disciples when He spoke to them about miracles *"Most assuredly, I say to you, he who believes in Me, the works that I do he will do also; and greater works than these he will do," (John 14:12)*

Christianity is a religion of power. It began with the resurrection which overcame death, opened the gates of Hades, led captives in His train and let the righteous enter Paradise.

Then we witness the power of preaching and the powerful endurance of the martyrs.

With great power, the apostles used to give testimony. With it they stood before the authorities and spoke without opposition.

Stephen could astound three synagogues *"And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke. "* *(Acts 6:10)***.**

Thus *"Then the word of God spread , and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly"* *(Acts 6:7)* **with the power of miracles and marvels, with the power of the word, with the poker of a heart, stood firm before sword and fire, with a power put on them from heaven. As the Lord said to them *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me"*** *(Acts 1:8)***.**

With this power He gave them authority on all the devils and on the cruelty of the enemy.

He, also, gave them the keys of heaven and earth.

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In their prayers, there was a power which shook the place. They received power from the angels around them who broke the chains and brought them out of prison.

Thus, there were two powers, one, within themselves and the other around them.

This power caused Paganism to be exterminated and fade away.

It is the power of the defenceless Christianity which overcame an empire fully armed till it yielded to the new religion and adopted it.

It is the power of the cross which they thought a sign of weakness while it was a source of power and pride.

The Christian is a strong man with a sturdy spirit and perfect morals. He fears nothing. His power is derived not from his own self but from the Spirit of God.

Pilate feared the defenceless Christ and wished to set Him free. Felix, the governor, trembled when Paul, the captive, spoke about the judgement day.

It is the power of Christ who said *"but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." (John 16:33).*

It is the power of the monastic hearts which lead an ascetic life and which overcame all the worldly desires. They led a sacred life which distracted men's minds and terrified the devil.

It is the power expressed in Augustine's words **"I sat on the top of the world when I felt within myself that I desired nothing and feared nothing. "**

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It is the power of divestment, monasticism and chastity.

If we are enjoying the joys of the resurrection let us live in its power and overcome death, that death which resulted fro-in sin, in order to rise in the resurrection of the righteous.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Questions Related To The Resurrection.

The Glorified Body Between The Body Of The Resurrection And The Body Of Birth

Question:

With what kind of body did the Lord Jesus Christ rise? Did He rise with an ordinary body like ours or with a glorified body? If He rose with a glorified one what would be the meaning of: *"He ate in the presence of His disciples?" (Luke 24:43)*. What is the meaning of *"they touched His flesh and His bones?" (Luke 24:39)*

Was the glorified body, with which the Lord rose, the same body He took from The Virgin? Why don't we say that He was born with a glorified body?

Answer:

1. Undoubtedly, the body of the resurrection, in general, is a glorified body.

Saint Paul explained this glory saying *"The body that is sown is perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power,*

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it is sown a natural, it is raised a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:42-44)

2. If we shall be raised with a glorified body - a spiritual body - how much the more was Christ's resurrection?

This resurrection was the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. (1 Cor 15:20,23). So will it be with us when we will be raised in the general resurrection.

The clearest proof that we will be raised in the likeness of His glorious resurrection is the saying of Saint Paul, the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Philippians *"who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:21)*

Thus, The Lord Jesus Christ has risen with a glorified body and so will it be with us *"conformed His glorious body. "*

This is a clear matter which needs neither proof nor argument.

It is well known that the glorified body is a spiritual one according to the words of Paul the Apostle in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:44,49).

The spiritual body has risen high above materials as food and drink and above flesh and bones....

3. How was it said then that Christ had eaten after His resurrection and that He had flesh and bones?

This matter is very clear in the Bible according to our teacher Luke, the Evangelist. He wrote about Christ's appearance to

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His disciples after the resurrection *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. And He said to them, "Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have. When He had said this, He showed them His hands and His feet. " (Luke 24:37-40)*

In the same chapter and in the same occasion He took a piece of broiled fish and ate it in their presence (Luke 24:41-43). How can we explain that matter?

4. We explain that matter by the following: He wished to prove to them the resurrection of His body, while they did not understand the meaning of the spiritual body.

At that time, they did not understand the entity of the spiritual body. They never heard of such words.

Of course, without the proofs given to them as eating and touching His flesh and His bones, they would have thought Him a spirit. (Luke 24:37), a mere spirit without body. In their understanding it meant that the body had not risen.

5. The important matter in the resurrection is "The rising of the body."

It is because the spirit is, by nature, a living thing which does not die.

Only the body dies when it is separated from the spirit. It changes into dust, but the spirit remains alive in the waiting place.

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Thus, the resurrection is the rising of the body which will unite with the spirit once more.

In the Liturgy of renouncing the devil from the baptistery we say **"We believe in the resurrection of the body."**

As the disciples thought they had seen a ghost, it meant that the idea of the rising of the body was far from their minds.

So, it was necessary to convince them with it in order that they might convince others.

Here, we mention the words of Saint Peter, the Sedmenty "Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ used to prove His divinity to the people, but after the resurrection He wished to prove man's proper nature."

The spirit alone does not represent a complete human nature. It is necessary to prove that the body has risen. Thus He said to Thomas *"Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing." (John 20:27)* He said to His disciples ***"Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39)***

Also, He allowed Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, when they came to Him and worshipped Him after the resurrection to clasp His feet (Matt 28:9) All this was to prove the rising of the body.

7. This spiritual glorified body was that which went up to heaven.

Perhaps the act of ascension may not agree with a material body submitting to the law of earthly gravity because it is heavier

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than air; but He went up, in glory, with a spiritual body and with the same glory He sat at the right hand of God.

This same glorified body will come back *"in His glory. " (Matt 25:3 1) " in His [own] glory, and [in] [His] Father's, " (Luke 9:26)*

The glory of the ascension and that of the second coming is not only a mere miracle but it is also special case in His nature permanent forever.

8. This glorified body is that body with which He appeared to Saul, from Tarsus, on his way to Damascus. when *" suddenly a light shone around him from heaven. Then he fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting Me?" And he said, "Who are You, Lord?" Then the Lord said, "**I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.”**. (Acts 9:3-5)*

9. This glorified body is the same body with which He was born of the Virgin.

But that body with which He was born was not so glorious as that of the resurrection because in His birth, *'"but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a bondservant," (Phil 2:7).*

The act of making Himself nothing ended in the glory of the resurrection and ascension.

10. The body of the resurrection was the same body of the birth; but in a case of transfiguration. He gave us a handsel of it on the mountain of transfiguration. (Mark 9:2,3)

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As an example of comparison - measurement but with difference the three young men in the fiery furnace. Their bodies were the same bodies but they were granted, for a time, a kind of transfiguration which kept them from the harm of the fire.

The resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ was with the same body of birth but in glory or in a case of transfiguration which gave the body a glorified nature, then it became a spiritual one. The same steps will happen to us.

11. Some may ask "Did Christ's body take His glorified nature immediately after the Resurrection or after the Ascension?

I say to you "His body took that nature during the resurrection itself."

The cases with which He proved His human nature were nothing but exceptional cases in order that the disciples might believe that His body had risen and, with confidence, spread faith saying *" … which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled," (1 John 1:1) "even to us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead." (Acts 10:41)*

In cases other than these cases, the glorified body of the resurrection does not drink or eat any material thing. It needs nothing. It does not feel hungry or thirsty.

In glory it does not feel tired. It does not suffer pain. It does not become subject to death.

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12. Entering the locked doors and coming out of the closed places are clear proofs of the glory of the body of the resurrection.

In the attic, with the doors locked, He came in and stood among the disciples. He did so many times (John 20:19,26)

In His resurrection, He went out of the tomb with the entrance sealed. It was after the resurrection that the angel came and rolled the big stone in order that all men might see the empty tomb. (The women and all men) and not for Christ to come out because He had formerly come out with the entrance closed and sealed.

Among the examples of His coming out of the closed things is His getting out of the shrouds with the mummification substances while they remained where they were.

He, formerly, came out of The Virgin 's womb. Here some may ask: Was the Lord born with a glorified body as that of the resurrection? The answer is as follows:

13. The Lord Jesus Christ was born with a body like ours. He resembled us in everything except sin.

He took our human nature for which He was called *"The Son of Man "* and with which He could redeem us.

"So the child grew and became strong in spirit,. " (Luke 1:80)

"He was hungry." (Matt 4:2)

"I thirst!" (John 19:28)

"Jesus therefore, being wearied from His journey," (John 4:6)

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"But He was asleep." (Matt 8:24)

In Gethsemane *"Then His sweat became like great drops of blood falling down to the ground." (Luke 22:44)*

14. If He had not taken our human nature, He would not have felt pain.

He was in a nature liable to feel pain. Through the body He suffered pain. He experienced the pains of beating, flogging and crucifixion.

Many a time He fell under the cross when He carried it, that Simon, from Cyrene, carried it for Him.

His nature was liable to death, so, He died on behalf of us and redeemed us while the glorified body did not feel pain and did not die.

Thus, He was born with a human nature liable to pain and death, to suffering and sorrow.

In this way, this human nature could accomplish the act of redemption, then, it was glorified in the resurrection.

15. The glory of His nature before the redemption was an impeccable one.

His birth, the period of Mary's pregnancy, the time He spent on earth were spiritual glories done by His good will but His body was, in everything, like ours except for sin.

He made Himself nothing taking the very nature of a servant.

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16. His unity with divinity is considered one of His glories.

This unity lessened nothing of His human nature. It did not nullify the weaknesses of the body as hunger, thirst, weariness and death. Otherwise redemption would have lost its nature and its value.

His pains were true, so was His redemption. He made Himself nothing in order that He, in His resurrection, might bestow glory on us.

Because He made Himself nothing from glory, He, before the crucifixion, said to God "Father glorify Your Son,
that Your Son may glorify You." "O Father, glorify Me together with Yourself, with the glory which I had with You before the world was." (John 17 :1-5)

17. It was said about the resurrection "but when Jesus was glorified,.... (John 12:16).

18. The disciples could not bear seeing His glory.

Thus, when John, the beloved one, saw some of God's glory in the Revelation *"I fell at His feet as dead."* Why? *"His head and hair were white like wool, as white as snow, and His eyes like a flame of fire". (Rev 1:17,16,14)*

19. For these reasons, the Lord advanced gradually with His disciples when He showed them the glory of His resurrection.

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He did so with the Magdalene, who, at first, thought Him the gardener, then, at last He revealed Himself to her (John 20:14,16)

He did the same thing with the two of Emmaus, with whom He walked along But their eyes were restrained, so that they did not know Him.. (Luke 24:16)

With the disciples, He used the same style of graduation in order that they might bear these matters because seeing Him after the resurrection with His glorified body was not so easy.

It was a story too long to be supported by this treatise.

20. Does this mean that we shall not see Him in His glory? If we shall see Him: how and when?

Who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, (Phil 3:21) then we shall see Him and as the apostle says *"For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then face to face. " (1 Cor 13:12)*

What is the meaning of the phrase ':face to face"? How will that be accomplished?

My brothers, now, it is better for me to keep silent for this is easier and better by far.

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Do Not Hold On To Me

Question:

Why did the Lord appear to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection?

Why did He say to her "*"Do not cling to Me,"* (John. 20:17) While He allowed Saint Thomas to touch Him? (John 20:27).

He, also, allowed the rest of the apostles to touch him. (Luke 24:39)

Did He prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman?

Did He allow them to touch Him because they are men?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ allowed Mary Magdalene to touch Him before anyone of the apostles, as it was mentioned in their first meeting after the resurrection in (Matt. 24)

Mary Magdalene, with the other Mary went to look at the tomb. The tomb was empty. The big stone was rolled away from the entrance.

The angel told them the good news of the resurrection of the Lord. On leaving the tomb, the Lord met them and said to them *"Peace be with you. "(John 20:19).*

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Here, Saint Matthew, the Evangelist says, *"So they came and held Him by the feet and worshiped Him. ". (Matt 28:9)*

So, Mary Magdalene has touched Christ after the resurrection.

The Lord did not prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman but, on the contrary, He charged her with going to His disciples and telling them about the good news of the resurrection and her meeting with Him in the Galilee.

It was a great honour that the Lord charged a woman with carrying good news to the apostles.

But it happened afterwards that Mary Magdalene yielded to the doubts spread by the chief priests about the resurrection.

They filled the world with rumours announcing that the body was stolen from the tomb while the guards were sleeping.

It was possible for these rumours to leave no effect on Mary were it not for her to see that the apostles themselves did not believe in the resurrection.

As for the doubts of the disciples, they were very clear as they did not believe the story of the resurrection.

Mary has gone to them and told them the good news of Christ's resurrection. When they heard that Jesus was alive and that she had seen Him, they did not believe it. (Mark 16:9-11)

When Mary Magdalene saw that Jesus' apostles did not believe her and trusted neither the other women nor the two from Emmaus, she began to doubt.

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She was still a young lady and perhaps what she had seen at the tomb was a dream or imagination. Had she faith stronger than that of the apostles? It is something absurd.

She thought in herself; perhaps some men might have stolen the body and carried it from its place!

They might not be the apostles but other men, perhaps the gardener, for example, might have taken it for any reason!

Of course, all these were doubts against faith because she herself saw the empty tomb. She also saw Christ, touched Him and heard His voice.

Moreover, she heard the good news from the angel, then from the two angels.

As Peter had denied Christ three times during the judgment, so did Mary Magdalene. She denied the resurrection of the Lord three times. These denials are written in one chapter. (John 20:12,13,15)

1. **The first denial** took place when she went to the Saints Peter and John and said to them *"They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we don't know where they have put Him!" (John 20:2)*

These words mean that God has not yet risen from the dead as they have taken His body and put it another place.

2. **The second denial** took place when she was weeping outside the tomb and the two angels asked her *"Woman, why are you weeping?"* She said to them, *"Because they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:13)*

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3. **The third denial** took place when The Lord Jesus Christ appeared to her. Because of her weeping, she did not see Him well and thought Him to be the gardener. Perhaps He concealed Himself from her ... She said to Him *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, and I will take Him. " (John 20.-15)*

When He showed Himself to her and she knew Him, she cried out "Rabboni!" (which means: Teacher)

The Lord prevented her from touching Him to rebuke her for denying His resurrection three times.

Also, it was not permissible for her to touch Him with her precarious faith as if He were a common person carried by someone to any place.

She said to Peter and John *"They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:2).*

She said to the two angels *" they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him " (John 20:13).*

She said to the Lord thinking He was the gardener *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, " (John 20:15).*

All her words were repetition to the soldiers' pretence and showed her precarious faith.

The Lord said to her *"Do not cling to Me …"* which means 'Don't approach Me with your shaken faith and with you doubts after you have seen Me, clasped My feet and heard My voice.'

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'Don't approach Me after I have charged you with a message to My disciples.'

'Don't approach Me after you have seen the tomb and heard the angels' testimony.'

'Don't hold on to Me with your denial, for I have not yet returned to the Father.'

As for the phrase *" I have not yet ascended to My Father. " (John 20:17)* Saint Severus, from Antioch as well as Saint Augustine did not take it literally but symbolically because she had held on Him before.

The two saints added that the Lord wished to say to her "Don't hold on to Me with your precarious faith because I have not reached in your mind the standard of My Father's divinity. "You think My body is still dead and the people can carry it wherever they wish!!"

However, He consoled her and at the same time He charged her with a message to the apostles.

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Feed My Lambs, Take Care Of My Sheep

Question:

Why do we deny Peter's headship while the Lord said to him after the resurrection: "Feed My lambs,. take care of My sheep?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ did not say these phrases to him in order to appoint him Pastor of the Universal Church but to bring him back to the apostolic rank which he was on the point of losing because of his denial.

With this phrase, the Lord made him equal to the other apostles.

He was exposed to the text which says *"But he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God." (Luke 12:9)* to be applied to him.

It is clear that The Lord Jesus Christ said to him *"Tend My sheep." in a reprimand situation as He asked him three times saying "Simon, son of Jonah, do you love Me?" (John 21: 15-17)*

By these words, the Lord wished to remind him of his denials.

Moreover His question carried a light reprimand with which the Lord reminds Peter of his words *" Even if all are made to stumble because of You, I will never be made to stumble " (Matt 26:33)*

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In that situation we notice that The Lord Jesus Christ called him by his old name before he was given the name "Peter".

The most conspicuous proof that the Lord meant by his words some reprimand was the shame and the sorrow that appeared on Peter's face after the Lord had said to him "Take care of My sheep" because he understood the Lord's aim.

If the phrase had been said in a good circumstance of magnifying or investiture, it could have caused Peter joy and pleasure.

Patronage is a job God has invested with rank to many as it appears in many texts of the Holy Bible.

All the apostles are patrons. The Lord Jesus Christ is the chief patron.

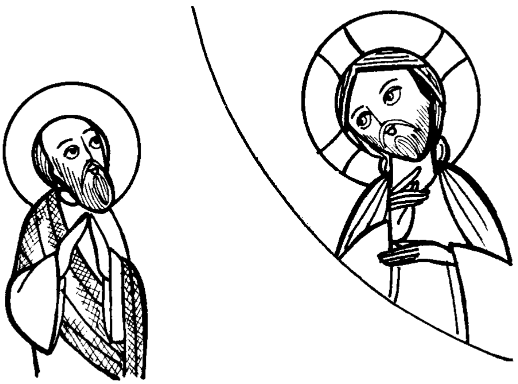

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But Go, Tell His Disciples And Peter

Question:

After Christ's resurrection, the angel said to the Marys *"tell His disciples; and Peter; that He is going before you into Galilee; there you will see Him, "* (Mark 16:7). Does mentioning Peter by name mean that he was preferable to other disciples?

Answer:

The Lord wished to give Peter special care because he was perturbed about himself and about his destiny after his denial, blasphemy, denunciation and saying *" I do not know the Him. " (Luke 22:57).*

If the Lord applied to Peter the text *" he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God. " (Luke 12:9)* he would perish.

He mentioned Peter by name as a kind of sympathy and consolation because of denial and sin.

Perhaps he was too ashamed of the Lord to be able to meet Him without a special call.

Don't, you see with me that Adam, after he had sinned hid from the face of God and was afraid of Him?

When the Lord God called to him *"Where are you?"*, he answered *"I heard Your voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked; and I hid myself." (Gen 3:9).*

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Peter was in the same situation. He was in need of a special call by name.

Thus, the matter is not a subject of headship or preference but consoling a poor person.

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About The Events Of The Resurrection And Their Coincidence With Each Other

Question:

Is there any contradiction among the events of the resurrection according to what was written in the four gospels?

A gospel mentions one angel. Another gospel mentions two angels.

Also the persons who visited the tomb. Some gospels differ in regard to them.

Answer:

There is no contradiction. Each gospel mentioned a special visit accomplished at a time different from that of the other visit and with other persons.

The first visit was mentioned by Matthew's gospel. The tomb was empty. The angel said the good news to Mary Magdalene and to the other Mary. The appearance of the Lord to the two of Emmaus, The women's visit. (Luke 24)

But the visit of Mary Magdalene and seeing the Lord as if He were the gardener was accomplished afterwards. (John 20). Different visits at different times.

If it had been one event, there would have been contradiction but they were many events, appearances and visits.

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In This Book

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit One God. Amen

This is the first book I publish about Resurrection. It is the outcome of many lectures and sermons delivered on this topic.

The book consists of three important elemets:

1. A general view of the Resurrection, how it is necessary, possible and useful; and its spiritual and general effect.

2. Various articles on the Resurrection of the Lord Christ - glory be to Him - comprising the events of the Resurrection, its power and joy, its effect and blessings and how it changed situations. Proofs and confirmation of the authenticity of the Resurrection are also included.

3. The third part of the book includes five important questions relating to the subject.

We present you with this book to give you some contemplations on the Resurrection.

We hope that you may expreience the effectiveness of the Resurrection in your life.

I wish you happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

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ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

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ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

Michael E. Stone

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION
Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

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This work is dedicated to my teachers:

Frank Moore Cross Jr.
(13 July 1921–16 October 2012)

Avedis Krikor Sanjian
(24 February 1921–22 July 1995)

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Preface and Acknowledgments

At the basis of this book stands a corpus of all the published pre–eighteenth-century narrative texts in Armenian relating to Adam, Eve, and the Eden story. These texts were excerpted and translated as part of a project on "Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition," funded by the Israel Research Foundation, grant no. 770/99.

The project and its progress will be described in the introduction below. Here I wish to acknowledge all those who contributed to it over the years, while stressing my own responsibility for the contents of this book. In the task of preparation of part 2 of this book, I was greatly assisted by Aram Topchyan and, later, by Gohar Muradyan. Without their help and expertise, I could not have finished this project. In making the initial probe of the fifth-century material, I had the assistance of Theo van Lint and the support of Fr. Mesrob Aramian, of the Ganjasar Theological Centre in Yerevan. Roberta Ervine suggested many felicitous translations. Bernard Outtier read the whole volume, and his great learning and acumen improved it at many points. To all these, I am most grateful.

At various stages of this work, which has been under way since the late 1990s, Narineh Yacoubian and Vered Hillel assisted in technical matters. The final editing of the manuscript of part 1 has benefitted from the careful attention of Yael Moise. My thanks are expressed to all three devoted helpers.

Rod Werline of SBLEJL and the publication experts of the Society of Biblical Literature have carried out their work expertly.

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from James R. Russell 1987, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 5); St. Nersess Seminary of New Rochelle, New York, for excerpts from Robert W. Thomson 2001, *Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1);

Abbreviations

ANB	Ačaṙyan, H. Հայոց Անձնանունների Բառարան *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names.* Beirut: Sevan Press, 1972.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
dub.	of dubious authenticity or date
GT‘	Girk‘ T‘łt‘oc‘
L.A.E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
MES	MES in translations marks alternate translations proposed by the author.
MH	Մատենագիրք Հայոց *Ancient Armenian Literature* (Antelias, Lebanon: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003–)
NBHL	G. Awetik‘ean, X. Siwrmēlean, and M. Awk‘erean Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի New Dictionary of the Armenian Language. 2 vols. Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1836–37.
Pen. Adam	*Penitence of Adam*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–86.
PL	*Patrologia Latina* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
s.v.	sub vocem
v.l., v.ll.	varia lectio, variae lectiones, i.e., variant readings

In footnotes, A.T. means Aram Topchyan. G.M. means Gohar Muradyan.

All ancient writings, including rabbinic texts, are abbreviated in accordance with the SBL Handbook of Style.

Armenian manuscripts are cited according to the system of the Association Internationale des Etudes Arméniennes, as published on their Web site: http://aiea.fltr.ucl.ac.be/AIEAengl/Tools_files/Sigles.pdf

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Agat‘angełos C5
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Grigor Pahlavuni C12
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Mxit‘ar Anec‘i C12
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1. See note in the fifth-century analysis on the dating of this author.

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Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C 10
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Introduction

In 1992, at the invitation of Professor Marinus de Jonge, I lectured at the Milan meeting of the Society for New Testament Studies (SNTS) on the *status quaestionis* of the study of the literature of Adam and Eve. I had worked on aspects of the Adam material previously, including the discovery and publication of the Armenian primary Adam book, the *Penitence of Adam*.[1] Indeed, the first article I published after completing my doctoral thesis was on an Armenian Adam book, *Death of Adam*.[2] The survey required by the SNTS presentation led me systematically to study the Adam literature and, soon after, to write a book presenting the known works.[3] Subsequently, I decided to work on Armenian Adam writings in a more systematic way, publishing a volume of texts, two volumes of concordances, and a number of articles.[4] Several Armenian Adam texts that I have since discovered still remain unpublished, and one volume of the planned concordances lies half done in a drawer. I plan to publish these if possible.

The apocryphal literature attests to just one of the ways in which the Adam and Eve stories were rewritten within and influenced Armenian culture. To complete the picture, I decided not to look only at Adam apocrypha, of which there is an abundance in Armenian,[5] but also at how the stories of Genesis 1–3 were reflected in Armenian literature. I was not interested in purely theological issues, nor in the simple use of such typology as the Old and New Adam in itself, although on occasion the typological passages bear narrative elements within them. This undertaking had two main goals. First, to see how the Armenians handled the biblical narrative and to try to isolate and specific retellings or interpretations that reflected particular theological or, indeed, historical circumstances. The other was to try to find out when the Armenian apocryphal Adam literature started to be reflected in dated authors and thus to get some idea of the dating of the Armenian Adam literature, which cannot have originated much before its attestation in the known authors. The present book is the outcome of this project.

1. Stone 1981a.
2. Stone 1973a.
3. This led to the publication, shortly thereafter, of Stone 1992.
4. These are all listed in the bibliography below.
5. Stone 1992; 1996a.

In further detail, we may say that the Adamic narrative was very influential because the stories of Adam and Eve played a constitutive and structural role in the Christian worldview. The economy of salvation—the *historia sacra*—commenced with Adam and Eve and concluded with the redemptive acts of Christ's life and death. Christ, the new Adam, undid and reversed the situation that the first Adam's actions had created. Adam and Eve's deeds were the first act of a cosmic drama with a happy ending.[6] The protological events directly caused the dire situation of the world, but they were also pregnant with the promise of ultimate redemption.

The way the stories were told, therefore, often reflected the nature of the quandary in which the teller or the teller's generation perceived themselves to be living. The enrichment, nuancing, interpretation, and indeed the changing of the biblical story may teach us how its later narrators perceived the human condition. Naturally, not every expansion or change of the biblical narrative was a response to a specific aporia. A playful or inquisitive spirit could be responsible for one detail; a nontendentious embellishment of the stark biblical narrative could engender another. Nonetheless, the retelling of the story frequently reveals the narrator's and the intended reader's contexts and concerns.

At certain times, it seems, apocryphal elements flooded the Armenian Adam tradition. When did this happen? Into which genres of literature did such elements penetrate? Why? When traditions or features of Armenian texts parallel or are drawn from known patristic sources, we must assess the significance of such dependency.[7] Whole patristic commentaries and homilies were translated into Armenian, such as works of Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, and Eusebius of Emesa. Others were excerpted in *catenae*.[8] When a particular element occurs in such translated works, it cannot be assigned special significance. However, when such an element is taken up from a non-Armenian source and incorporated into a work composed in Armenian, its significance is enhanced. Such questions have guided us in the presentation of the evidence.

The book has two parts. Part 1 is composed of five chapters, divided chronologically. They cover the period from the inception of Armenian writing in the early fifth century to the end of the seventeenth century. Following a section of "General Considerations," the chapters deal with four main subjects: (1) The

6. This may be seen clearly, for example, in the work *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* published by Stone (1996, 8–79; 1999, 21–36). A variant on the drama of Satan's deceit of Adam is the form of the story of the contract between Adam and Satan traced out in Stone 2002; and *The Cheirograph of Adam*, in Stone 2000c, 149–66.

7. Instances of such dependency have been repeatedly highlighted by Robert W. Thomson, among others, in his comments on a large number of Armenian texts.

8. Bibliography of such translations may be found in Zarbhanalean (1889) and Thomson (1995) and Petrosyan and Ter Step'anyan (2002). Few collections of Armenian *catenae* have been published, but note, most recently, Vardan Aygekc'i 1988.

Creation of Human Beings; (2) The Garden of Eden; (3) Satan; and (4) Sin and Its Results. Each of these main subjects is divided into sections and subsections, and these are numbered and titled identically throughout the five chapters of the book. Because the sections and subsections are identical throughout, they represent a maximal range of material. A section or subsection is introduced when its subject is first encountered in the texts studied but subsequently is left without content if its subject does not occur in the centuries being discussed in a particular chapter. In these sections and subsections the views forwarded on the subject to which they are devoted are presented, analyzed, and discussed, based on the excerpts to be found in part 2. Generally, in part 1, when texts are quoted, the quotations are only of the English translation, unless the Armenian itself is germane to the point being made. I have also added some remarks on the exegesis lying behind the statements made and, in the first chapter, some comparative Greek and Syriac material. My primary purpose throughout is to present the Armenian tradition, elucidating those views of the narrative that lay behind subsequent Armenian interpretations—theological, exegetical, literary, and sometimes artistic.

Thus, the five chapters present a synchronic treatment of what Armenian literature says about the main subjects arising from the narrative in Genesis 1–3. At the end of part 1, in an appendix, a diachronic treatment of one single subject, Satan and the Serpent, is given. This is a probe, an example of the type of analysis possible when drawing on the synchronic presentation in the five chapters. In part 1, I indicate the cited authors' century by the notation C6, C7, C8, and so on, on the first occurrence of each name in a paragraph. The indexes and bibliography at the end of the book relate only to part 1.

Part 2 is a corpus of excerpts from all the literature in Armenian that has been published, apart from the books of the Apocrypha. The authors excerpted are arranged alphabetically within each century from the fifth to the seventeenth.[9] Each work cited in this second part of the book is provided with a bibliography, both of the text used, such translations as exist, and other significant editions. A List of Authors Excerpted, arranged alphabetically indicating centuries, provides a key to part 2 of the present work. Most of the translations are original, but for certain works existing translations have been used. I have indicated when this is the case. The capitalization and punctuation of the Armenian texts follow the sources quoted.

All Armenian authors are cited by name and toponym or other title if appropriate. "C13," and the like, indicates the century of the author's floruit. A brief biographical note on each author is to be found at the end of the book. Further

9. One eighteenth-century author is added at the end, whose writings are very close to the preceding tradition.

bibliographical indications may readily be found in Thomson 1995 and, about later authors, in Bardakjian 2000. Much information is also given in Bogharian 1971.

Within the section devoted to an author, each separate excerpt is given a sequential number. This excerpt is then referred to as, for example, "Grigor Narekac'i 1, and this practice is followed throughout the book.

PART I

The Adam and Eve Traditions in Armenian

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Outline

1. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fifth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation
1.1 The Creation of Human Beings
1.1.1 The Time of Creation
1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created
1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation
1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
1.1.8 Adam's Language
1.2 The Ranking of Creation
1.3 Humans and Angels
1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment
1.5 Angels Dwell in Light
1.6 Humankind in the Image

2.0 The Garden of Eden
2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden
2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees
2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?
2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden
2.5 The Creation of the Animals
2.6 Naming by Adam
2.7 The Type of Tree
2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan
3.1 Satan and the Serpent
3.2 The Fall of Satan
3.3 Satan's Envy
3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results
4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin
4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve
4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner
4.2 The Results of Sin
4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World
4.2.2. Death and Corruption
4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory
4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments
4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan
4.2.6. Other Punishments
4.3 God, Footsteps of
4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements
4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion
4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast
4.7 Cheirograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

2. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixth- to Eleventh-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

1.0 The Creation
1.1 The Creation of Human Beings
1.1.1 The Time of Creation
1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created
1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation
1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation
1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory
1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality
1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation
1.1.8 Adam's Language
1.2 The Ranking of Creation
1.3 Humans and Angels
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APPENDIX: SATAN AND THE SERPENT

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1. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fifth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

This first chapter is devoted to presenting references to the Adam and Eve stories in the writings of the first century of Armenian literacy.[1] For this purpose I examined works known to have been composed in Armenian in the fifth century.[2] The Armenian texts of all works were consulted together with such modern translations as exist.[3]

The dates of certain relevant works, notably the *History of the Armenians* by Movsēs Xorenacʻi and *The History of Vardan and the Armenian War* by Ełišē *vardapet*, are disputed. It seems to us that the arguments for a post–fifth-century dating of the current form of the work of Movsēs Xorenacʻi have some plausibility,[4] while those for Ełišē's *History* less so. I have treated these authors accordingly. Agatʻangełos, whose work includes the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, figures prominently in the following analysis and is by far the most systematic and extensive fifth-century source relating to Adam and Eve. Eznik, too, dealt with theological and polemical themes at some length.

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1. The present chapter concentrates on literary texts because, for the fifth century, there are only literary sources. Later the Adam cycle comes to play a great role in Armenian art: see, e.g., T. F. Mathews 1982, but that would form another study. In this chapter, authors of the fifth century do not have "C5" following their names, but these century indicators are added to the names of later writers mentioned. An earlier form of this chapter was published in Stone 2006.

2. Eusebius of Emesa's *Commentary on Genesis* and some of his *Homilies* were also consulted, as well as the Armenian-language Genesis commentary attributed to Ephrem the Syrian. These works were early translated into Armenian and were influential. According to E. G. Mathews 1998, the commentary attributed to Ephrem is later, and I have used it with some circumspection in this chapter. These non-Armenian writings have been regarded as supporting, not primary, evidence.

3. For *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, I have used the revised translation of Thomson 2001. In part 2, the excerpts, I have suggested some alternative translations.

4. This is not to deny the antiquity of the sources and traditions contained in the work.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Agat‘angełos calls humans “creations of your hands” and elsewhere, using similar language, he says, “having created man with his own hands.”[5] This particular formulation does not appear in the Bible, but it is inferred by contrasting Gen 2:7, “And the Lord God made man, dust from the earth,” with the acts of creation that were mentioned in Genesis 1, which are all by speech or divine command. *4 Ezra* 3:5; 8:7, 44, etc., say that God created Adam with his hands, and in *4 Ezra* 3:5 we read ստեղծեր անապականն ձեռօք քո զմարդն, “you created man with your incorruptible hands.”[6] This piece of ancient exegesis is embedded in Agat‘angełos, and it occurs twice, indicating its firm place in his ideas. Points of contact between the Armenian version of *4 Ezra* and Agat‘angełos have been observed in the past, and both texts are of the fifth century.[7] The idea is older, of course.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

In Eusebius of Emesa’s works we find the statement that Adam was created on the sixth day, which is not in the least surprising in light of Genesis 1.[8] Eusebius’s texts were translated into Armenian in the fifth century, but the idea finds no strong echo in Armenian sources in the fifth century. In texts discussed below, where the analogy between Adam’s sin and expulsion and Christ’s crucifixion is developed, Adam’s creation is set on Friday, as is the sin.[9] This and other chronological elements developed into a complex typology.[10]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Adam was called thus because he was created from clay: “And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay.”[11] This is based on Adam = Hebrew *’ădāmâ* and is to be compared with *Onomastica Sacra* Ona 1.1 Ադամ. երկիր կոյս կամ երկիր մարմնացեալ (կամ յերկրէ կամ երկիր

5. Agat‘angełos 2 and 17.

6. See Stone 1990a; compare also Stone 1990b, 6-7.

7. See Stone 1973a, 591-94; 1979, 35.

8. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* §17 (Petit et al. 2011, 55).

9. See, e.g., *Adam Story 2* (Stone 1992, 109–13). Adam’s death was often put on Friday, by both Armenian and non-Armenian sources, see *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 1.9), *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (Malan 1882, 2:29), and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §96. Of course, the crucifixion also took place on a Friday; see also §4.4 below.

10. See chapter 2 §4.4. See Mambrē 4. This comes up already in early Christian literature; see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

11. Eznik 44 and 49; compare Agat‘angełos 12.

կարմիր), "Adam, virgin earth or incarnated earth (or from earth or red earth)." Note that the onomastic text uses երկիր ("earth") and not կաւ ("clay") (Eznik) for the material from which Adam was created, while the Bible uses հող ("dust").[12]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘ 3 reads, "And, having made man from four materials, he breathed into him the spirit, living and immortal and intelligent and logical." This statement endows the biblical text with two new patterns of meaning. "Dust from the earth" is taken as "four materials," that is, the four elements, while the spirit here is interpreted as both vivifying and intelligent or rational.[13] This exegesis of "dust from the ground" is not found anywhere else in the fifth-century Armenian sources I examined, though it occurs in earlier Greek and Syriac sources, cited in n. 13.[14] In *2 En.* 30:13 (probably first century C.E.) we read, "And I assigned to him [i.e., Adam] a name from the four components: from East (A); from West (D); from North (A); from south (M)." In his note on this passage, F. I. Andersen refers to the fact that the anagram is based on Greek.[15] This, however, is not the same as the tradition in the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘,* which speaks of four elements, though it may be cognate with it.[16]

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12. See on the use of կաւ, chapter 2 §§1.1.2 and 3.2 and appendix §3.2. Dust is mentioned throughout the book (*passim).* "Red" comes from connecting Adam (Hebrew *ʾādām*) with "red" (Hebrew *ʾādōm*).

13. This question of the relationship between the "dust" and the four elements becomes a major topic in succeeding centuries; see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and subsequent discussions. According to *2 En.* recension J, ch. 30, Adam was created from seven natural elements, each part of him from a different element: thus the flesh from the earth, etc. This text much resembles a later document known as *Adam octopartitus* according to which Adam was created of eight elements; see Stone 1992, 90, and further bibliography there. The չորից նիւթոց ("of four materials") refers to the standard four elements, which idea had become commonplace: air, fire, earth, and water. This interpretation is found in *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 2:6); *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* 3:20; and Fiensy 1985, 7.34.6. The word "materials" often means "elements" in such contexts.

14. The same view is implied by the *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* attributed to Ełišē 2, which speaks of the "fourfold materials" from which this world is made. It is found much more explicitly in later literature. Thus, for example, a poem by Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C13 entitled "From Four Elements" deals with the creation of Adam. It commences, "From the four elements of the earth I created dust-made [literally, "dusty"] man"; see Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i 4. Intriguingly, the implicit and explicit contrasts inhering in the text of *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* are taken up by Xač‘atur, viz., "earth" — "four elements"; "earth" — "dust"; and "Adam" — "man". There are traditions that the dust from which Adam was made was taken from the four corners of the earth. See the much later Greek text quoted by Megas 1928, 309. The universe is made of all four elements according to Philo, *De opificio mundi* 52.

15. Charlesworth 1983, 1:152. 2.

16. That passage in *2 En.* 30:13 has an additional fourfold attribution to Adam.

In Ełišē 8 we read:

> The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator, and worlds and man. God (corresponds to the) intelligible world; world (corresponds to the) sensible <world>; man (corresponds to the) sensible and intelligible world.

This passage once again reflects the same idea, that man is a combination of the earth and the spirit, here of the sensible and intelligible. This seems to have been the basic way the creation of humans related in Gen 2:7 was understood in fifth-century Armenian thought.[17]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The common view in the sources I examined was that humans were created for eternal life and immortality in a joyous state. This occurs in Agat'angełos, who expands it with the notion that God intended to transfer humans from an earthly to an angelic condition,[18] and he cites Enoch as an example of the path they would have followed had they not sinned. In the Armenian tradition there are many later speculations about Enoch's role, and it is not always possible to discern how far these views are based on early sources. Agat'angełos's statement, however, that Enoch achieved an angelic and immortal state in the Garden shows that this early Armenian author was already familiar with developed traditions about Enoch.[19]

As noted in §1.6 below, in early Armenian thought wisdom was a dominant characteristic of the prelapsarian Adam. Agat'angełos repeatedly stresses that God made Adam wise.[20] Similarly *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* says that Adam had wisdom and spiritual knowledge that derived from the breath or spirit that God breathed into him (Gen 2:7).[21] Furthermore, Agat'angełos interprets Gen 1:26's statement that God created Adam in his image to imply that Adam has the wisdom[22] to recognize God's grace, to know the creatures, and to name the beasts.[23] In more general terms, Adam is granted wisdom for reasons that are very clearly connected directly with the overall purpose of the creation of humankind.[24]

17. We do not find this exegesis of Gen 2:7 in the Greek patristic sources that are cited by Harl (1986, 100–101) and Alexandre (1988, 241–44). See further discussion below in §1.6.

18. Agat'angełos 2 and 3.

19. *Jub.* 4:23 already expresses this view. VanderKam 1984 analyzes the ancient sources relating to Enoch, and Stone 2010, 517–30 presents Armenian sources on Enoch. In any case, the view Agat'angełos expresses here implies familiarity with apocryphal traditions about Enoch.

20. Agat'angełos 6, 25, and elsewhere.

21. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

22. This is already to be found in Clement of Alexandria; see Alexandre 1988, 184–85.

23. Observe that in Armenian Gen 3:1, the serpent is called իմաստնագոյն, literally, "wiser, more discerning," reflecting the Hebrew *'ārûm,* rendered often by English "subtle."

24. That wisdom is related to the image or spirit of God with which Genesis 1–2 says that God endowed Adam.

In an interesting passage, Agatʻangełos maintains that Adam received wisdom so that he might witness God's beneficent activity.[25] For the sake of his beneficent activity, Agatʻangełos adds, God took human form in the incarnation of Christ. The texts move between the interpretation of "image" as wisdom or discernment and its more literal interpretation. The incarnation of God in a human form inverts the idea that humans were created in the image of God; see further §1.6 below.

The picture emerging so far is that God created Adam for eternal life and for eventual transfer to an angelic state. He granted him wisdom, either through the divine breath or as a result of his creation in the image, which are understood as alternative formulations of the same idea.[26] Wisdom or discernment enabled Adam to recognize the creatures and thus to name them, and also to recognize God's grace, which God shows above all by taking on a human image in the incarnation. So far Agatʻangełos's teaching is clear, and the same is echoed also by the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ*. The word իմաստութիւն, which I have translated as "wisdom," often has a sense more like "discernment" or "perception." Perhaps this is the reason that Adam, despite being so discerning, acted so unwisely as to sin.[27] According to Pʻawstos Buzand, when Adam and Eve transgressed they "fell into death."[28]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Ełišē says, "Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory."[29] Here

25. Agatʻangełos 17.

26. The discussion in chapter 3 §1.6, as here, has to do with reason, with humans being rational, with humans loving and seeking wisdom, and with a human being king. These themes are also very frequently associated in the present chapter; see §§1.2, 1.4, and 1.6. The image is also connected with free will. Thus, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13 3 says, "[You] exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will."

27. One is tempted to contrast this with the Valentinian Gnostic notion that Sophia was the emanation of the Godhead that sinned by making a mistake. Equally, the statement above does not negate the strong contrast between the protoplasts' deliberate sin according to various interpretations of Genesis 2–3 and the error of judgment or the "innocent" mistake they made according to the Cheirograph legend. On this, see Stone 1997, 167–79 and 2002, 16–17, 115–16.

28. Pʻawstos Buzand 4. The text is from the *Liturgy of St. Basil;* see Garsoïan 1989, 321. The expression "fall" for Adam's sin is intriguing; it is of course widespread, but we should resist the temptation to connect it also with the idea that paradise was on a mountain, which is found in ancient sources, particularly Syriac. See Brock 1990, 50–53; and compare chapter 3 §2.0. *Casus* ("fall") is found for Adam's sin in 4 Ezra 7:118, where no idea of mountain is to be found. The idea that death is the ultimate result of Adam's sin occurs in many ancient sources, the best known of which is probably Rom 5:12; see Stone 1990a, 64–65.

29. Ełišē 4. This passage is discussed also in §1.6 below.

the image in which Adam was created is interpreted as being a likeness of God's glory.[30]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The idea of the ranking of creatures is rather developed in Agat'angełos's writings. On the one hand, Adam is "a more humble companion to the angels," while on the other, compared with the other creatures, "God glorified man alone most magnificently."[31] One result of this is that each creature has a duty of obedience relating to "each of the things ordered for it, according to the commandments for each of them." Agat'angełos goes on to say that "only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills."[32]

1.3 Humans and Angels

Psalm 8:4–5 = Arm 8:5–6 reads: "Who is man that you remember him . . . ? 5 you made him a little lower than your angels; you crowned him with glory and honor." Compare also Heb 2:7 and 2:9, where this passage is cited and interpreted.[33] These verses were applied to Adam by Agat'angełos as a way of drawing a distinction between humans and angels.[34]

Agat'angełos's *Teaching of St. Gregory* calls Adam, who was created in the image of God, "wondrous" and "angelic."[35] Agat'angełos said elsewhere, "But God honored mankind alone manyfold and enriched them with a mind, and made (them)[36] partly spiritual, a more humble companion to the angels."[37] Adam and angels both have discernment and free will, but humans are lower in the ranking of creation, for "benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks

30. See §1.6 below, where the image and the term "stamped" are discussed.

31. Agat'angełos 14.

32. Agat'angełos 16.

33. The role played by this psalm in the development of early Adam traditions was explored by Anderson 2000.

34. Agat'angełos 14.

35. Agat'angełos 11. Observe that in the apocryphal Adam books Satan "took on the form of an angel" (*Pen. Adam* 44.17.1). In *Book of Adam* 17.1–2 Satan appears "in the form of an angel."

36. Literally: him.

37. Agat'angełos 14. Thomson translates differently and see Part 2, notes on this excerpt.

of created being."[38]. In fact, as Agat'angełos points out, both Adam and an angel chose to disobey God's command. So both had free will and "wisdom." The difference is that angels are completely spiritual and dwell in heaven, while humans are assigned to this earth.[39]

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

In Agat'angełos, angels are called "glorifiers," and he repeatedly asserts that the main function of the angels is praise.[40] Elsewhere we read "by his command is all arranged; his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising."[41] Thus he says, "moreover, a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels, to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had made them dwell in great honor and glory." In this passage the command to glorify eternally and unceasingly that is laid upon the angels is contrasted with the minor command given to Adam not to eat of the tree. God gave and arranged the commands so that humans and angels would each be able to obey the divine command laid upon them.[42]

Heightening the parallel between humans and angels, Agat'angełos relates Satan's revolt.[43] Both humans and angels were given commands in accordance with their abilities and natures. They both have free will and can, therefore, disobey should they wish; and, indeed, both the protoplasts and Satan acted against divine commands.[44] Elsewhere their conduct is contrasted with that of other elements of nature, which are obedient to God, an idea comparable to *1 En.* 2–5.[45] This is expressed well by the following text: "See the sun and moon and stars! How much greater than man are they, and they are of his will, obligated by the requirement of the command."[46]

In fifth-century Armenian literature, these ideas are not limited to Agat'angełos. Eznik discusses free will. He stresses that the obedience of the powers and of natural forces results from their having no free will, while the whole point of human free will is to reward humans for their obedience to God's

38. Agat'angełos 10.

39. Agat'angełos 10.

40. Agat'angełos 10.

41. Agat'angełos 15. Angelic praise is a common theme in both Jewish and Christian liturgical texts. See works such as *Testament of Adam, Ascension of Isaiah*, etc. It recurs in Armenian writings of all periods, as can be observed below.

42. Agat'angełos 23. Intriguingly, in a somewhat different context in Agat'angełos 9, humans are supposed to praise God, who gave them wisdom, and all creatures should praise God through humans. The idea of the praise of God by all the various creatures occurs in *Testament of Adam* and also the Hebrew *Pereq Širah;* see Stone 1982, 54–56.

43. See §3.2 for a detailed discussion of the fall of Satan.

44. Agat'angełos 23 and 24.

45. See also Stone 1987; and Hartman 1979.

46. Agat'angełos 15.

command.[47] These ideas cohere fully with Agatʻangełos's views and will be further discussed in §1.6 below. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ* also reflects the idea that both humans and angels have free will, and it relates this free will to the idea of the image.[48] God created humans with free will, so they might achieve reward and immortality for observing his commandments.[49] Eznik also asserts that Satan had free will, which follows from the above ideas about angelic obedience.[50] God commanded Adam not to eat of the tree, so that he could reward him. As Agatʻangełos says, Adam was given a small command, a very limited commitment so "that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things." For this reason Adam was created with free will.[51] Otherwise his obedience would not make him worthy of the ultimate reward, for human obedience was not built into the cosmic order as was the obedience of the luminaries.

Yovhannēs Mandakuni's writings exhibit the same view of Adam's commandment. Instead of the Armenian word for "commandment," which would reflect the biblical text, he uses the Armenian word for "fast" (պահք). This word may indicate not just a full fast but abstinence from some specific food, and in Yovhannēs Mandakuni's context it functions as "commandment" does in other texts. Thus, he says that had Adam observed the fast, "he would have inherited life without blemish, and immortal and sinless, and in heaven, the heavenly goodness."[52] In all these texts the idea is not that Adam would have remained in the paradisiacal state but that he would have achieved fulfillment as an immortal being in the heavens. He was already in paradise; the commandment is designed to enable him to supersede paradise and achieve heavenly perfection.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

The idea that the angels dwell in the heavenly light and that their main function is to praise God emerges clearly from the following passage of Agatʻangełos: "But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them[53] in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light."[54]

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47. Eznik 3.
48. See §1.6 below.
49. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ* 3, which is also discussed above.
50. Eznik 17–19.
51. Agatʻangełos 16; see also 23.
52. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. The understanding of Adam's commandment as a fast developed extensively in later times; see chapter 2 §2.2, chapter 3 §§1.4, 4.6.
53. MES: made them dwell.
54. Agatʻangełos 23.

1.6 Humankind in the Image

In §1.4 above, I touched on the idea that Adam's discernment and free will come from his creation in the image. In the present section, I shall explore these notions in greater detail. Agatʻangełos relates the "spirit" of Gen 2:7 to the intellective faculties when he says that the spirit is the "intelligence-bearing intellect" that was granted to man so that he might witness God's beneficent activity. Likewise he says, "you fashioned man (as) dust from the earth, and established the discerning one."[55] The first part of this quotation is drawn, more or less literally, from Gen 2:7a, while elsewhere the second part of that verse, which describes the inbreathing of the spirit, is paraphrased as his receiving "wise intelligence."[56] This accords with other passages in Agatʻangełos, and, as Thomson remarks, the mind is "the faculty of rational thought and choice, rather than the faculty of intuitive reason."[57] A similar view and phraseology are found in Pʻawstos Buzand, who says that God is the one "who made man from the very dust and made this one rational, gifted with speech, wise (or: discerning) and endowed with free will." This seems to be another exegesis or paraphrase of Gen 2:7.[58] This passage of Pʻawstos Buzand is, according to Garsoïan, "consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary works."[59]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ, in a passage discussed above, goes on to say that in humans the spiritual was mixed with the bodily so that they might demonstrate their faithfulness.[60] This idea is connected with the notion that man has free will, which is the meaning of "the image". The understanding of "spirit" as wisdom or mind leads to the idea that humans had free choice and could choose to be faithful or unfaithful. The "image" language is drawn from Gen 1:26–27 while the "spirit" language derives from Gen 2:7. Both passages describe the creation of Adam, and the fifth century Armenian authors interpret them both to mean that Adam was wise or intelligent, as a result of which he had free will.

The spirit or the image, then, is understood as wisdom or discernment, a quality humans must possess in order to have free will. The texts discussed here stem chiefly from our major source, the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, but the idea occurs in other fifth century authorities as well. Thus, according to Pʻawstos

55. Agatʻangełos 6. Perhaps translate, "you established the wise one"; Thomson gives "and rendered him wise..

56. Agatʻangełos 17.

57. Agatʻangełos 12–14. See Thomson 2001, 67, discussing §265.

58. In Pʻawstos Buzand the verb is առնել ("to make, do"), while in Genesis and in Agatʻangełos it is ստեղծանել ("to create"). Compare Pʻawstos Buzand 1 and Agatʻangełos 6.

59. Garsoïan 1989, 274. She observed the parallels between this passage of Pʻawstos Buzand and the *Teaching of St. Gregory* of Agatʻangełos, which I also highlighted above.

60. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ* 3.

Buzand, creation in the image means that humans were endowed with free will,[61] a virtually identical line of exegesis. Eznik states that God created humans with free will, which was inherited by their descendants.[62] Eznik and Agatʻangełos both expound the idea that the forces of nature, which are obedient to God, are not endowed with free will, which was a particular quality of humans and angels (see §1.4 above).

There are other views of the image of God. The more literal interpretation of the image is that the appearance of humans is related to the way in which God chose to appear.[63] In creating Adam from the dust of the earth and inbreathing the life-giving breath of wise intelligence through his mouth, God chose to appear in human form. Thus, Agatʻangełos says, the creature, opening his eyes, might be able to see the Creator and become familiar with, aware of, and a witness to the benevolent, creative activity of God. The essential Deity is invisible but took shape for the sake of visible creatures, so "that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and the power of expression."[64] As a result, Adam first named the Creator before he named the animals, because he saw the Creator before he saw the animals, and the animals were created in order to make the Creator known to Adam.[65] The naming of God is related to the idea of his being recognizable by humans, and the naming of God and of the animals is connected with Adam's God-given discernment. Agatʻangełos continues to develop this idea and says that God appeared to subsequent generations using the same image as he had to Adam so that humans might recognize him as the God who appeared to their fathers.[66]

The same view is to be found in Eznik, who says, "And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image."[67] So, this is another aspect of the image of God; he chose human form for Adam and his descendants and indeed, for himself incarnated in Christ. This latter point is taken up in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ*, which says that "after his image" means "according to the appearance of the incarnate Christ."[68]

A third line of thought connects the image with Adam's pristine glory, and Ełišē writes that God's image was impressed on Adam who was "elevated . . .

61. See Pʻawstos 2 and Garsoïan 1989, 274.

62. Eznik 3.

63. See below in this section.

64. Agatʻangełos 18 and 19. The problem that the image created for these thinkers is analogous to that aroused by the Bible's reference to the sound of God's footstep (Gen 3:8; see §4.3 below). In both cases, anthropomorphism created the difficulty. The image was a much more complex problem than the divine footfall, because of the incarnation.

65. Agatʻangełos 19.

66. Agatʻangełos 41 and 42. Compare in general terms Exod 6:3 on God's name.

67. Eznik 35.

68. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ* 3.

to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory."[69] This glory was lost with sin (see §4.2.3 below). The impression (τύπος) is a standard terminology already in Philo, its source lying, of course, in Plato.[70] Satan, Eznik says, was envious of the image.[71]

2.0 The Garden of Eden

The early Armenian texts do not put great stress on the the details of the Garden of Eden. Thus Agat'angełos does not go any further than Gen 2:8.[72] This contrasts strongly with the elaborate descriptions of the Garden in, say, Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise*.[73] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* reflects discussion about the nature of paradise. The author is at pains to assert that, in addition to being noetic (իմանալի), it was visible (տեսանելի) to the first man, although it is presently hidden from us according to God's deep wisdom.[74] The theological or intellectual context of this assertion is not clear from the other fifth-century Armenian texts I have examined, but we may infer from the formulation in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* that such a context did exist.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

Agat'angełos says that God showed two trees to Adam. In fact, this statement is a departure from the biblical text.[75] Although Gen 2:9 speaks of the creation of two trees, the biblical text does not mention God's showing the two trees to Adam, while the prohibition of Gen 2:15–16 refers to only one tree, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is an instance of exegetical inference from the biblical text and is not particular tendentious.

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

Before the Fall, while clothed in glory, and perhaps before they were placed in the Garden, Adam and Eve had intercourse. Agat'angełos seems to imply this when he says, "And after our reproducing and increasing, you commanded us to live

69. Ełišē 4.
70. See Runia 1986, 164; and Tobin 1983, 58.
71. Eznik 5.
72. Agat'angełos 23.
73. See, e.g., Hymn 11. These poems are readily available in Brock 1990.
74. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 9.
75. Agat'angełos 23.

bodily, being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us."[76]

Gary A. Anderson discusses the question whether rabbinic and early Christian sources thought that Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden.[77] He shows that rabbinic texts often say that Adam and Eve had sexual relations in the Garden.[78] Indeed, he argues that the main rabbinic tradition regards Adam and Eve as having intercourse in the Garden, while a more ancient Jewish tradition, present in *Jubilees*, puts this event outside the Garden. Conversely, the dominant early Syriac tradition represented by Ephrem, puts Adam and Eve's intercourse outside the Garden, but the *Cave of Treasures* might imply that it took place in the Garden.[79]

At first, Agat'angełos's view on this point seems slightly unclear, but careful reading of §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly reveals that he is referring to intercourse before entry into the Garden.[80] In §276, having discussed the creation of Eve, he cites Gen 2:24: "He leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh," observing that "he knew the total orders of this world and all its fulfilment." The word "orders" here, like "course of life" (the same Armenian word) in §76, implies something like "conditions, ordering," and the text here clearly teaches that Adam and Eve consummated their union immediately.[81] In §277, the next stage of the drama ensues, the creation of Eden and the placing of the protoplasts in it. The section §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly implies that sexual intercourse is part of the order of life of bodily beings. They were intended to transcend the bodily life, and indeed Enoch transcended it, "for, after the pleasures of paradise and after this earthly course (of life), you would have transferred us, like Enoch, to the ranks of the angels."[82] Adam's disobedience, of course, foiled the divine plan.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

As stated in the previous section, Adam had untroubled repose and pleasure in the Garden.[83]

76. Agat'angełos 3.
77. Anderson 1989; see also the observations by Brock 1990, 29–33.
78. Anderson 1989, 126–31. On the whole, the Christian negative view of intercourse was influenced by ascetic ideals.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Agat'angełos 22–23.
81. Agat'angełos 3; with use of "orders" in excerpt 3, compare excerpt 7.
82. Agat'angełos 3.
83. Agat'angełos 2.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The Armenian authors lay much stress on the fact that the circumstances of creation were such that Adam recognized who the Creator was. Agatʻangełos says that God created Adam with his own hands and granted him awareness, so that he might become a witness to God's benevolent creative activity.[84] Ełišē makes the same point, *mutatis mutandis*, in his *Commentary on Genesis:* "God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way."[85] This is perhaps a reaction to a contrary view prevalent in some circles at the time and, of course, in the order of creation in Genesis 1.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Fifth-century Armenian authors speculate on Adam's naming of the beasts. On the one hand, Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* presents the idea that naming turns the nonexistent into the existent and is therefore part of the process of creation: "Because they were going to receive names, and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that [i.e., receiving names]."[86]

With this we may contrast Ephrem's treatment of the naming in his *Commentary on Genesis* 2.10. The ability to name is a reflection of Adam's God-given authority, since "to allocate thousands of names all in a single short moment, and to avoid any duplication between the first ones and the last, this is something which surpasses human ability."[87] Nothing of this occurs in the early Armenian sources I examined.

In *Teaching of St. Gregory* §273 (excerpt 19), Agatʻangełos makes a paradoxical claim, that Adam must have named the Creator before he named the animals. The ability to name, Agatʻangełos claims there, derives from Adam's creation in the image, which imparts "wisdom, rationality and princely honour" to him. The naming of the Creator implies that Adam recognized him and that Adam's naming of the animals flows from that recognition.[88]

2.7 The Type of Tree

Certain texts identify the tree from which Adam and Eve ate as the fig tree. This is facilitated by the proximity of the description of the tree (Gen 3:6) to the

84. Agatʻangełos 17.
85. Ełišē 10.
86. Ełišē 11.
87. Brock 1990, 204.
88. See Agatʻangełos 19. This is also discussed above in §1.6. See also Stone 2007.

mention of the fig leaves (Gen 3:7). This view is found in Ełišē 1.[89] The same identification might be implied by Mambrē, "the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent," but that is not quite certain.[90]

A different view is found in Ełišē, *Commentary on Genesis,* excerpt 12. There he says that Scripture is silent about the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This seems to contradict Ełišē's own statement in the *War* cited immediately above. However, here Ełišē's point is that Scripture does not explicitly describe the fruit, only the tree, and he is not concerned with identifying this fruit.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is described in a number of ways. Agat'angełos says that the serpent was a pack animal or a vehicle on which Satan rode.[91] Eznik, however, seems simply to equate them.[92] This relationship is the subject of much discussion in subsequent centuries.[93]

In a passage of Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story of the temptation.[94] The serpent becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan). This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked, causing the negation of the intellect. The serpent uses the fruit as the means to achieve this. The language of "war" and "vanquishing" is often used of Satan's attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:3 we read "that you fight against us unnecessarily" and in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan "that you dared to fight with the image of God."

89. Ełišē 1 = Thomson 1982, 79; see Megas 1928, 309. The rabbinic views about the identification of the tree varied, but the fig is prominent among them, as well as the grape and other produce; see Ginzberg 1909, 5:67. *Gen. Rab.* 15:7, like *Pen. Adam* [44](20):4 and Greek *Apoc. Mos.* 20:5 infers that the tree was a fig from the fact that Adam and Eve made their loincloths from fig leaves.

90. Mambrē 2.

91. Agat'angełos 5. This matter is discussed in the excursus below.

92. Eznik 6 and 9. Alexandre 1988, 297 observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [*PG* 76:632b–c]).

93. For a diachronic presentation of this subject, see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

94. Ełišē 3. See, in detail, appendix 1.1.1–1.1.3.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

In a text enumerating single sins in the past that have had major consequences, Yovhannēs Mandakuni writes, "Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin; . . . the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; . . . the fall of Satan was because of pride."[95] There is an early version of the story of the fall of Satan that is related to Satan's rebellion against God. When Adam was created, God ordered all the angels to bow down to him. Satan refused and for this reason he was cast out of heaven. This version of Satan's fall occurs in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–16 and parallels. Anderson has shown that it was known to St. Ephrem as well.[96] Although this version of Satan's fall is not mentioned explicitly in the fifth-century Armenian sources being studied here, the formulation in Yovhannēs Mandakuni indicates that he knew it.[97] This is also true of statements by Agatʻangełos that are discussed in §3.3 below.[98] On the basis of this material, we may confidently conclude that in fifth-century Armenian literature the story of Satan's fall was current in a version in which it preceded the story of his deception of Adam. In this form of the story, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.[99]

Eznik also deals with this problem, but he is concerned more about the question whether Satan was created evil or good. He became evil, he says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

> Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became "the Devil" (Rev 2:10; 19:2; and 20:2). Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God's commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.[100]

This passage, despite the term "rebel" and the language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the fall, and it should, cautiously, be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked.

95. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 10.

96. G. A. Anderson, "The Fall of Satan in the Thought of St. Ephrem," published online at http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol3No1/HV3N1Anderson.htm.

97. It is possible that he knew the variant of this incident that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan, who wished to displace God from his throne even before the creation of the world. This seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. A later variant of this formulation occurs in *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4.

98. See especially excerpt 26.

99. See Anderson 1997.

100. Eznik 16.

In Eznik, we find another reference connected with Adam's Fall, ". . . nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor."[101] Satan is called "prince" and this is surely a reference to Ps 82:6–7 = Arm 81:6–7, "I say, 'You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like any prince.'" Again, it is difficult to argue from this passage that Eznik refers explicitly to the story of the fall of Satan. In any case, the text cited above from Yovhannēs Mandakuni[102] and those referred to in the next section from Agat'angełos and Yovhannēs Mandakuni show clearly that this story was known in Armenia in the fifth century.[103]

3.3 Satan's Envy

In Wis 2:24, we read, "Through the envy of the tempter death entered the world."[104] This verse reflects the widely held view that Satan's primary motivation for deceiving Eve and Adam was envy. One form of envy is evident in the rebellion tradition mentioned above, where Satan envied Adam's priority in rank and refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to him.[105] This idea occurs in other early sources, such as *2 En.* 31:3–6; *L.A.E.* 12:1; Armenian *Book of Adam* 15:1 (զնախանձ "envy"; not in the Greek text); *3 Bar.* 4:8; and others.[106] Highlighting another motif, David Winston points to Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2.29 (*PG* 6:1097B), who states that Satan was envious since "Adam and Eve not only were alive but had produced offspring."[107] This last theme, however, is not found in fifth-century Armenian sources.

Eznik says that Satan is inflamed by envy but without specifying why, and similarly Łazar P'arpec'i's *Letter to the City of Amit* states that the first created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He does not provide any details either of the cause of the envy or of its results.[108]

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101. Eznik 27.

102. See Yovhannēs Mandakuni 10. Some or all of Mandakuni's homilies are sometimes attributed to Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i (C7). *Non liquet.* In any case, the dating of Agat'angełos is quite certain.

103. The idea of the fall of Satan is, of course, already present in Luke 10:18, "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning," but in that text the reason for and occasion of the fall are eschatological and not protological. See further appendix, n. 91.

104. Łazar P'arpec'i 1 attributes this statement to "the Catholic Epistles." This seems to be an error, for nothing resembling it can be found in those epistles.

105. Some later sources are quoted in Stone 1992, 22–23. See also Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24; *Transgression of Adam and Eve* 10–12. Of course, what Wisdom of Solomon thought to be the cause of Satan's envy is unknown.

106. Rabbinic parallels are abundant and many are cited by Winston 1979, 121.

107. Winston 1979, 121 also points to the theme of envy in Gnostic sources. Of course, in numerous other texts the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qn'*, meaning "envy."

108. Eznik 5 and 9; Łazar P'arpec'i 1.

In contrast with these general statements, Agat‘angełos states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and was jealous of the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.[109] Similarly, according to Eznik, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.[110] In Mambrē we read, "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life."[111] These three authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him.

An analogous view may be found in Agat‘angełos, who says that Satan, jealous of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received, tried to enslave him and inherit his position; "he misled him away from the promises, that perchance he might be able to inherit his place."[112] This statement adds further specific features: first, that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality; and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. This implies that Satan is outside the heavenly sphere when he is attacked by envy. He can have reached this position only after his initial rebellion and fall. The story of Satan's fall in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, does not hint at such a statement. However, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, much later on in the book, Satan says to it: "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."[113] This speech is written from the perspective of the fallen Satan, just like Agat‘angełos 26. Yovhannēs Mandakuni makes a more general statement about envy. He says that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam sinned and went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam." This statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam.[114]

Thus, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, and particularly of Adam's potential immortality, is the dominant feature in the Armenian literature I have considered. This is effectively a reformulation of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation in terms of the biblical story. It complements the stress that the Armenian sources lay upon God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which is to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment of abstinence from the fruit of the tree.

Some further statements about Satan's envy relate more to its results than its object. Thus, P‘awstos Buzand says that Satan corrupts humanity by his envy,

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109. Agat‘angełos 24.

110. Eznik 5 and 9.

111. Mambrē 7.

112. Agat‘angełos 26.

113. *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3.

114. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3: see also §3.2 above. Agat‘angełos 4 implies that Satan's jealousy was responsible for the debauchery of the daughters of men described in Genesis 6.

leading to deceit and falsehood.[115] As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

The fifth-century texts agree that Adam's sin was the transgression of God's single commandment, not to eat of the tree. Moreover, they frequently stress the limited and minor character of this commandment in order to highlight God's beneficent wish that Adam observe it so that he might become angelic and immortal. Adam's commandment, a one-time պահք ("fast, abstinence"), is contrasted with the commandment given to the angels to praise God without pause.[116] Yovhannēs Mandakuni, however, draws the opposite conclusion from the minor nature of the commandment. Remember, he says, because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was minor, he went out of the Garden.[117] In a somewhat less pointed way, on the next page he says that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin. In a ecclesiastical canon, Yovhannēs Mandakuni highlights Adam's minor sin, that it was only a fruit he ate and not cheese.[118] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* observes that Adam lacked ժուժկալութիւն ("patience, continence"), and curses and death resulted.[119] Both of these texts formulate Adam's sin in the terminology of Armenian religious practice. Anderson pointed out the influence of monastic ideas on some interpretations of the Adam stories. In the present instance, perhaps, a relationship between the reinterpretation of the Adam stories and Armenian religious sensibilities is reflected. Similarly, attitudes to celibacy influenced views of the protoplasts' intercourse.[120]

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

115. P'awstos Buzand 2.

116. See §1.4 above.

117. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 9. In the *Ethics of the Fathers* Rabbi (i.e., Judah the Prince) observes appositely, as it were, to the present instance, "Be as heedful of a light precept as of a grave one for you know not the grant of reward for each" (2:1).

118. Presumably the reference is to not eating cheese during Lent, see Yovhannēs Mandakuni 11.

119. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 9 and 11; compare Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1.

120. Since the general character of Armenian practice resembled other Christian practice these views in themselves are not distinctively Armenian.

4.2 The Results of Sin

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Agat‘angełos extends the idea that the earth was cursed because of Adam's sin[121] beyond the "agricultural curses," that is, the sweat of the brow, and thorns and thistles of Gen 3:17–18. He describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation as follows:

> For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonored on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns, flooded and consumed by fire, shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood, and the heavens lost their color, … [122]

This passage draws together a number of biblical themes which all relate to the corruption and confusion of the natural order. Thomson points to its direct dependence on Gen 3:17–18, 2 Peter 3:6 (the fiery flood),[123] and Joel 2:31. The implication is clear; the natural order is disrupted by Adam's sin.

The apocalyptic signs that Agat‘angełos enumerates belong to the convulsions of the earth that will presage redemption. Later Jewish and Christian sources borrowed such signs chiefly from biblical contexts of covenant curses or of God's warlike epiphany and applied them to the peaking of evil before redemption.[124] A similar understanding of these signs, together with a list of them, is to be observed in the Gospels, in Mark 13:14–24 and Matt 24:1–30,[125] and early Christian apocalyptic literature knows them well.[126] Agat‘angełos views the disruption of the natural order, which peaks in these "messianic woes" as the direct result of Adam's sin. Thus the curse laid upon the earth due to Adam's sin receives a cosmic dimension.

In his *Commentary on Joshua and Judges*, Ełišē says "and the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam

121. This idea is itself something of an exegetical crux. Why was the earth cursed if Adam sinned?

122. Agat‘angełos 44.

123. Thomson is probably right about the source of the Armenian statement. The passage clearly points to the idea of two floods, one of water (Noah's) and one of fire (eschatological). On the latter, see Ginzberg 1960. Among the Jewish sources, Josephus already connected the two floods, compare *Ant.* 1.70–71. See also later Armenian sources such as *History of the Forefathers* 40–41 and *Abel and Other Pieces* 4.3–4 (Stone 1992, 199 and 151).

124. See Stone 1990, 107–14.

125. Similar events signal the cosmic moment of Jesus's death on the cross in Matt 27:45–54.

126. One later Armenian example among many, is *The Signs of the Judgement*, in Stone 1981. That text predicts floods of water and fire, earthquakes, and other signs that will presage the Day of Judgement. In more general terms, the reapplication of apocalyptic themes by the Armenians is worthy of serious investigation.

and he was returned to the nature of dust."[127] Above I noted that *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* says that Adam was created from the four elements,"from the four materials," using terminology very similar to Ełišē's here.[128] But Ełišē says that it is "this world," not Adam, that is made of the four elements, although the influence of Adam's curse is to be found in the last phrase of his statement.[129]

4.2.2. Death and Corruption

The predominant outcome of Adam's sin was that death itself resulted from sin. This is to be found, for example, in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'*.[130] The idea derived from the biblical verse Gen 3:19. That verse, however, actually pronounces the curse of agricultural labor, and Adam is said to have to till the earth "for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return." Yet the inference that death resulted from Adam's transgression cannot be avoided,[131] and the impact of Gen 3:19 was magnified when it was combined with the Pauline statement in Romans that the wages of sin is death. Pains and death result from Adam's disobedience. Had there been no disobedience, Adam would still be alive.[132]

Yovhannēs Mandakuni uses the ecclesiastical language I noted above when he says that the commandment given to Adam was a պահք ("a fast"). Had Adam observed it, "he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and in heaven, the heavenly goodness."[133] This is a good summary of ideas relating to death and pain that result from Adam's sin.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Another major outcome of Adam's sin was the loss of glory. This idea is repeated often in the early Armenian sources and becomes a major theme throughout the centuries. Adam loses or is stripped naked of his glory. The word "glory," however, is polyvalent. For Agat'angełos, the word clearly designates the protoplasts' paradisiacal state: "Then the evil one in his jealousy, threw man from glory into death by deceit."[134] Along the same lines, Yovhannēs Mandakuni

127. Ełišē 2.

128. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

129. There is some apparent contradiction between the four elements, on the one hand, and Adam's return to dust, on the other. A similar tension is to be found in the passage from *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3, referred to above. See further discussion of this matter in chapter 2 §1.1.2.

130. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 7. Of course, it can also be deduced from Rom 6:23: "For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" and from many other sources, such as Wis 2:24 (see above §3.3).

131. See 4 Ezra 3:21, for example, and the comments in Stone 1990a, 64–65, where numerous sources are listed. In Christian works, of course, the Pauline statement (see the preceding note) played a considerable part and is itself an exegesis of Gen 3:19.

132. Eznik 25.

133. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. This statement is discussed further in §1.4 above.

134. Agat'angełos 24.

describes Adam's state before his fall as glory: "Then he received all suffering[135] and immediately he was cast outside, from his great and excellent glory."[136]

In §4.2.1 above, I recorded the quotation from Agat'angełos in which he describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation.[137] There Agat'angełos does not use the term "glory" to refer to Adam's state in the Garden but relates it to the proper order of the world, speaking of "whatever was formed for the delight and glory of man." The notion that the world was created for the sake of humankind occurs widely in Jewish and Christian sources.[138]

Some patristic writers maintained that Adam was innocently naked in the Garden before sinning.[139] The early Armenian sources, however, take Gen 3:10 to mean that in one way or another Adam became naked through sin. Thus, Agat'angełos says in a simile, "who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam." Clearly, then, before sinning Adam was not naked. Along the same lines, Agat'angełos says that "they [i.e., Adam and Eve] were stripped of the divinely formed[140] glory."[141] I may put the point in another way: the Armenian sources took the verb in Gen 3:10 to mean not "I was naked" but "I became naked."[142]

According to Agat'angełos, Adam and Eve were clothed in glory of which subsequently they were stripped.[143] This idea does not originate in Armenia, though it is extremely widespread there. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.23.5) speaks of Adam and Eve clothed in divine glory like "angels on the earth."[144] In Ephrem's *Hymns*

135. The word ախտ frequently translates the Greek πάθος.

136. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3 (re: Satan) and 7. In the subsequent paragraphs, I shall discuss the relationship between Adam and Eve's glory and their nakedness.

137. Agat'angełos 44.

138. See Stone 1990a, 188–89 for the Jewish sources.

139. This idea is to be found in certain Greek patristic sources, such as those cited in Alexandre 1988, 290.

140. From the noun "form," not the verb. "Stripped" here and elsewhere renders the same verb, մերկանամ, that was translated "became naked" above. It is very frequent in the Armenian sources relating to Adam and Eve.

141. Agat'angełos 1, 4, and 26.

142. The Armenian biblical text does not have the verb մերկանամ ("to be, become naked") that Agat'angełos uses, but the expression մերկ էի ("I was naked"), employing the adjective մերկ, deriving from the same stem. Thus Agat'angełos reflects a way of reading of Genesis that goes beyond the literal meaning of its linguistic formulation. Ephrem (*Hymns on Paradise* 2:7) speaks of Adam as "him who was stripped naked" (Brock 1990, 87); cf. *Hymns on Paradise* 3:14, etc.

143. See n. 141 above.

144. See Alexandre 1988, 295. Her presentation of the patristic evidence, however, shows that this theme, which she attributes to Jewish texts (such as the *L.A.E.*) was far from dominant in the Greek tradition. Moreover, Irenaeus speaks of the analogous "garment of sanctity received from the Spirit" (*Haer.* 3 [*PG* 7:963]).

on Paradise 6:10 the garment of glory belongs to Adam and to the saints, but Adam lost it through the agency of the serpent.[145]

The association of glory with Adam is older, of course, and is explicit already in Ben Sira 49:16: "Shem and Seth and Enosh were visited, but above every other living being was Adam's glory."[146] In *Pen. Adam* [44](20):1 we read explicitly: "At that hour I learned with my eyes that I had become naked of the glory which with I had been clothed."[147]

The Armenian tradition is dominated by Agatʻangełos's interpretation of Gen 3:10, which is found earlier in Ephrem and Eusebius of Emesa, among others. Adam and Eve were clothed in glory, and when they sinned they were stripped of this glory and became naked. I venture to add a further instance. Elsewhere Agatʻangełos states that, in the Garden, Adam and Eve were "clothed in glory without shame as with a garment."[148] This text seems to combine the interpretation found in some Greek Fathers that Adam and Eve were naked and without shame, to which I referred above, with the idea of their glorious garments.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

In the texts I examined, remarkably little is made of the complex of curses pronounced in Gen 3:17–19. Yovhannēs Mandakuni does make a statement clearly reflecting the biblical curses when he says that Adam went out of the Garden through Satan's envy and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all his descendants.[149] However, such general statements are infrequent.

L.A.E. adds at least two additional curses to those adumbrated in the Bible. One was inferred subtly from the biblical text, while the second may be newly created. The first new curse is that the beasts became disobedient, and the second, that humankind is afflicted by illness and pains. These ideas occur in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 31(6):4–32(7) and 37(10). As for the disobedience of the animals, according to *Pen. Adam* 37(10):3, Eve reproaches the attacking wild beast, a form of the serpent and Satan, saying, "How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed?" The beast responds, in the next verse,

145. See Brock 1990, 112; similarly *Hymns on Paradise* 7:5 refers to a "raiment of light" and 7:12 speaks of "glory." These characteristics are attributed to the saints, but the implication is clear: the saints gained what Adam lost.

146. Here the LXX differs somewhat, reading: Σημ καὶ Σηθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει Αδαμ, "Shem and Seth were glorified among men; and more than all living creatures in creation, Adam." In this text form as well, Adam's glory is explicit.

147. See also *Pen. Adam* [4](23):2 and 3.

148. Agatʻangełos 3.

149. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

"In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you."[150] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* clearly states the same idea that "while man was obedient to the laws of God, the beasts and poisonous creatures obeyed man."[151] This particular formulation of the idea seems to be an interpretation of God's blessing of Adam in Gen 1:28: "and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." In the Armenian Bible the last part of this verse varies and reads եւ ամենայն անասնոց եւ ամենայն երկրի եւ ամենայն սողնոց որ սողին ի վերայ երկրի, literally, "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the creeping things which creep upon the earth." The two groups of beings mentioned explicitly in the Armenian biblical text, the beasts and the crawling (thus the poisonous) creatures, occur also in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘*, which derives its statement from the biblical phrase.[152]

Eznik extends the same principle to the demons, at least if we follow the translation of Blanchard and Young. Thus, Eznik says, որպէս հնազանդ էին առաջնոյ մարդոյն մինչ չեւ յանցուցեալ էր եւ ոչ մեղանչականք, "just as they were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin and were not subject to sin."[153] Blanchard and Young provide "the demons" as the subject of the plural verb հնազանդ էին ("were obedient"), so giving "just as (the demons) were obedient."[154] The context in the next sentence, which speaks of "Satan," demands this interpretation, and I accept it, even though the word "demons" does not actually occur in Eznik's text. Thus, the authority given to Adam in the blessing of Gen 1:28 was extended to the demons, and Adam's sin brought about its abrogation.[155]

The second additional curse, the attribution of illness and pains to Adam's sin, certainly derives from the view that his sin brought about the sufferings attendant on death.

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150. Anderson and Stone 1999, 42E–43E.

151. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* 5. The implication is that when man disobeyed God, the animals disobeyed man.

152. In the Hebrew Bible we read ובכל חיה הרמשת על הארץ, "and over every beast that crawls on the earth"; the LXX translates this Hebrew as *καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ παντῶν τῶν ἕρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the crawling things that crawl on the earth." Intriguingly the Peshiṭta reads, "and over the animals and over all the beasts that crawl upon the earth." This does not have the awkward phrase "and over all the earth" that occurs in the Greek text. *Yačapatum Čaṙk‘* might have used a biblical text reflecting either the Greek or the Syriac Genesis. The Armenian biblical text, as edited by Zeyt‘unyan 1985, reflects the Greek text.

153. Eznik 34.

154. Blanchard and Young 1998, 86.

155. Apparently this means that before Adam's sin the demons did no harm.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The statement that Adam and Eve heard "the sound of the Lord God walking" (Gen 3:8) exercised ancient Armenian readers of the Bible. The unabashedly anthropomorphic understanding of this statement was obviously to be discounted, so what could it have been that Adam and Eve heard? Eusebius of Emesa, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which was early translated in Armenian, says that God made his footsteps audible so his coming was known in advance to Adam.[156] Agat'angełos and Eznik, develop this idea further: God made his footsteps audible, so the man might have an opportunity to repent.[157] Along the same lines, the Armenian *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Ephrem reads, "Indeed that Beneficent One did not reveal Himself by any extraordinary means, lest [Adam and Eve] be terrified, nor did He flash like lightning, lest He alarm them, but He made a sound for His feet and sent it before Him,[158] so that He might teach repentance to the impenitent and obdurate heart."[159] The same idea is found also in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* by Ephrem.[160]

Armenian sources handle other comparable anthropomorphisms similarly. Thus, in a later document, we read, "God summoned [Cain] to penitence by asking, 'Where, Cain, is your brother Abel?'"[161] This dramatic presentation reflects an idea already found in Philo (*Questiones in Genesin* 1:68) and responds to the exegetical difficulty that God's question created. The approach is the same as that reflected in the interpretation of the sound God created that was advanced by early Armenian texts.

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

The Bible does not record how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. Later Armenian sources, like other Christian texts and some Jewish texts, elaborate on Adam and Eve's Edenic timetable. Some chronological points are, nonethe-

156. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* 1.32 (Petit *et al.* 2011, 81).

157. Agat'angełos 28; Eznik 23.

158. Cf. Gen 3:8.

159. E. G. Mathews 1998, 29:14.

160. "[T]his sound of footsteps was made in order that your lips might make supplication" (2:25) (trans. Brock 1990, 216) and "for He caused His silent footsteps to make a noise so that, at the noise, they might prepare to make supplication before him who issued the sound" (Ephrem 2:24; Brock 1990, 215).

161. *History of the Forefathers* §17. See Stone 1992, 188–89.

less, to be found in the sources I examined. According to Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* excerpt 13 here, we read:

> Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David's saying "A thousand years in the Lord's eyes is as yesterday." But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth of the male.[162]

Our curiosity is immediately piqued by the word արտաքին ("foreigner"). This is glossed by *NBHL* as "foreigner" or "pagan, adherent of another religion." In the Armenian cultural context of the fifth century, one might be tempted to think of Zoroastrians, but both the content of the statement and the reference to the biblical verse make this unlikely. Perhaps some heterodox Christian group is intended.

In any case, the chronology remains obscure, and the uncommon period of one thousand years for Adam and Eve's sojourn in paradise does not help us identify it. This figure is most probably based on the interpretation of Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4, "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday when it is past" (see above on Ełišē's reference to David's saying), to mean that a single day of divine time was actually one thousand years years long. This view was widespread and generated considerable chiliastic speculation in both Jewish and Armenian and other Christian circles. Thus, the statement that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for one thousand years is equivalent to the statement that they were there for one (divine or primordial human) day. The one day derives, in turn, from the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it."[163] Adam ate on the day on which he entered the Garden and was expelled on the same day.

Ełišē's own view—or rather that of "our friends" as he put it—that Adam was in the Garden for a period of forty days, goes back to a different biblical basis. In an early form it occurs already in *Jub.* 3:9: "And after forty days were completed for Adam in the land where he was created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden so that he might work and guard it."[164] The purity laws in Leviticus establish a forty-day period of ritual uncleanliness after the birth of

162. Ełišē 13. This word հոգեծննութիւն is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. Roberta Ervine has pointed out to me that, according to Armenian teaching, a child of forty days is considered to be fully alive, and this may be called հոգծեծննդութիւն ("spiritual birth"). This is the point at which the spirit enters the child. In rabbinic thought, a child is considered fully alive after thirty days; see *t. Šabb.* 15(16): 7. There this issue is not related to the mother's impurity.

163. Alexandre (1988, 273–74) discusses the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it." She observes that this is taken to be one thousand years in Jewish sources. The Jews might be the "foreigners" referred to by Ełišē, though this would be odd. Moreover, the world-week of six thousand years + the parousia is ample witness to the nature of Christian chiliastic speculations. See further Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) on Gen 2:17.

164. O. S. Wintermute (trans.) in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:59. See further *Jub.* 3:10–11.

a male child and eighty days in the case of a female child (Lev 12:2 and 12:5). *Jubilees* applied this rule to Adam and Eve's entry into the Garden, forty days after Adam's creation and eighty days after Eve's.[165] The same idea is found in the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus, which work is probably to be related to the *Testament of the Protoplasts* mentioned by Anastasius Sinaïta.[166] Thus, the Garden is endowed with the sanctity of the temple.[167]

The tradition that Ełišē knows is perhaps a variant of this. At the base of his view may lie the idea that, since Adam was introduced into the Garden on the fortieth day and Eve on the eightieth day, they sinned and were expelled on the day Eve was introduced. In that case, Adam would have been in the Garden for forty days.[168] The idea is that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for forty days because this was the special period following their spiritual birth, that is, their insufflation. However, the assertion is odd. If the analogy were carried to its logical conclusion, the time in the Garden would parallel that of uncleanliness before entering the temple. In fact, however, it was a time of purity before the sin. Thus, the parallel is only partially worked out.

The text, however, states clearly that they were both in the Garden for forty days, which is related to the period of uncleanness following the birth of a male child. Presumably, then, the Armenian text of Ełišē preserves an inexact use of the tradition relating the regulations for post-parturition ritual uncleanness and the period of residence in the Garden. No other traces of this discussion were found in the fifth-century Armenian literature.

The timetable of Adam's sin and expulsion is set in parallel to that of Christ's passion and crucifixion, a parallel which is worked out over the centuries. Another aspect of that is Mambrē's statement that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb. Again, Mambrē says that Adam sinned on the sixth day, Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.[169]

The same tradition is to be found in the *Life of Adam* cited in George Syncellus 5 (Adler and Tuffin 2002, 7).

165. Without specifying the period, Luke 2:22 states, "When the time came for their purification according to the Law of Moses." In the *Infancy Gospel* it is specifically forty days. In the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* it is to be found in Tayecʻi 1898, 54, 129.

166. See Stone 1992, 78, 87; see also James 1920, 5–6.

167. Anderson 1989, 129–31 has dealt with the issue of the Garden of Eden as a temple in *Jubilees*.

168. A variant of this tradition is known to manuscript P306 of *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation* §20: see Stone 1996b, 41. See further discussion of this in §4.4 below.

169. Mambrē 4 and 11. In later centuries, this typology of the expulsion and the passion is further elaborated; see especially chapter 2 §4.4 and chapter 3 §4.4.

4.5 After Fall and Expulsion

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

In the texts I have discussed, the view that Adam was buried at Golgotha does not occur. The idea that Adam descended into hell and was brought out by Christ does occur in Christian tradition from the second century on.[170] The commentary on the Lord's Prayer attributed to Ełišē says, "On Sunday he [i.e., Christ] gathered the crushed bones of Adam." The origin of the "crushed bones" is unclear.

170. Kaestli 1993, 135–42.

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2. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixth- to Eleventh-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

This chapter and those that follow it differ from the preceding one in character. In them, I focus more specifically on developments within the Armenian tradition itself. When I discussed the fifth-century texts, I deliberately sought not only to examine inner-Armenian developments but to set the ideas the texts expressed into the context of earlier and contemporary non-Armenian sources. The material in this and the following chapters is compared primarily with preceding Armenian authors, and notably with the fifth-century texts. I do not ignore non-Armenian material, particularly concerning innovation, but the prior Armenian tradition takes pride of place. I use the same subject divisions and subdivisions to arrange the material as throughout the book. When I actually analyzed the surviving texts, in some periods certain categories remained empty. In the present chapter, for example, I did not find material appropriate to sections 2.5 "The Creation of the Animals" or 2.6 "Naming by Adam."

The incident of the creation of the animals and their naming by Adam plays little role in the authors considered here, occurring only in the tenth century and then not at length. Earlier, this incident was connected with the wisdom granted Adam in the course of his creation. In contrast, the cheirograph tradition as it derives from Col 2:14 and extensive consideration of Eve are newly to the fore in this period. In general, we may remark that the emphasis on Eve increases over the centuries, presumably related the growing role of the cult of the Virgin in Armenian Christianity.

When we characterize and analyze concepts that a text expresses, we must bear in mind that the specific contexts in which the ideas occur often determine individual formulations and stresses. Sometimes, too, exegetical criteria lead an author to prefer certain ideas. Such considerations may explain particularities; nonetheless, if an idea occurs in a text, it is reasonable to assume that it was acceptable to the author.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

The idea that Adam was created by God's hand occurs in Agatʻangełos C5, and its background in earlier sources was examined in the chapter 1 §1.1. It is derived exegetically from Gen 2:7 and serves to elevate Adam's status.[1] In the sixth–eleventh centuries it became a commonplace and it occurs in the *Calendar Fragment* attributed to Anania Širakacʻi C7; in Yovhan Mamikonean C7, and similarly also in Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi C8 and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9.[2]

Man (Adam) is the peak of creation according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[3] He was born from God without parents, a point made by Łewond C8 for expository purposes.[4] This, of course, makes Adam analogous to, but not identical with, other figures that were born without a father, such as Christ and Melchizedek, or without a mother, such as Eve.[5]

Grigor Magistros C10 regards Adam's created state as particularly elevated, and so he says that Adam was created for կեանս անախտականս անմահութեան անկարօտին, "unblemished immortal life without need."[6] Grigor Narekacʻi C10 repeatedly asserts that God created Adam as part of the order of creation.[7] This is, of course, banal.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

After the fifth century, the time of Adam's creation, like other aspects of the chronology of the primordial events, becomes a major topic of discussion. In general, the interest evinced in chronological and calendrical matters in this period is notable; see also §4.4. In the present section I will concentrate on the date of Adam's creation.[8]

Following the biblical text in Gen 1:26–31, authorities such as the mathematician and scholar Anania Širakacʻi C7 and Grigoris Aršaruni C7 assign the

1. See Xosrow Anjewacʻi 6, Grigor Narekacʻi 27, Gēorg Lořecʻi 2. Grigor Narekacʻi 2 calls him "His own God-formed image."

2. Anania Širakacʻi 4; Yovhan Mamikonean 1; Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi 7 and 8; and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos 6.

3. Grigoris Aršaruni 2.

4. Łewond 3.

5. Compare *2 En.* 71 and Heb 7:3. In another vein, certain Armenian texts refer to Eve being born of Adam without a mother; see Ařakʻel Siwnecʻi 20.

6. Grigor Magistros 12.

7. Grigor Narekacʻi 26 and 27. Compare also Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 1. The same point is made by Gēorg Lořecʻi 2.

8. In the fifth-century translation of Eusebius of Emesa, the sixth day is nominated as the day of Adam's creation; see Petit et al. 2011, 54–55. That biblical view is found predominantly throughout the Armenian sources.

creation of Adam to the sixth day.[9] Later authors, such as Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10, Gēorg Lořecʻi C11, and Timotʻēos *vardapet* C10 echo this view.[10] Furthermore, Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi, in a balanced and contrastive way, sets Adam's creation on the sixth day and his destruction on the sixth day, Eve's deception on the sixth day and the Annunciation to the Virgin on the sixth day. Here the chronological structure of the protological events is actually based on that of the life and passion of Christ, while presenting itself as the pattern upon which the chronology of the passion was based. I discuss this development below in §4.4.[11]

In a fragment printed on pp. 311–12 of Abrahamyan's edition of his works, Anania Širakacʻi C7 elaborates this idea, proposing that the "beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday,"[12] that God the Father made it known to the Son and the Holy Spirit on Thursday saying "Let us make man," and that the actual creation of man took place on Friday, the sixth day (Gen 1:26). The five days preceding the creation of man on Friday are the intercalated days of the Armenian calendar, while the sixth day, the Friday itself, is the Jewish New Year. This assertion about the intercalated days is based on the old Armenian calendar, which goes back to Hellenistic roots. It had twelve months of thirty days and a thirteenth, intercalated "month" of five days. Anania Širakacʻi considers that this was also the Jewish calendar. In a later Armenian text called *The Months of the Jews,* the same assertion is made.[13] The traditional Jewish reckoning is that the New Year, the first day of the seventh lunar month, was the first day of creation.

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

In the fifth century there was a long discussion of the material from which Adam was created. Generally the sixth- to ninth-century sources follow the biblical text in saying the he was made of dust. This question is not discussed in great detail in those tenth- to eleventh-century texts excerpted here, although in a couple of places Grigor Narekacʻi C10 repeats the biblical statement that Adam was created from the dust.

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9. Anania Širakacʻi 2 and 4; Grigoris Aršaruni 7. Grigoris Aršaruni 8 adds there that Adam left the Garden on Friday and was saved through the cross on Friday in the six thousandth year.

10. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ 4, Gēorg Lořecʻi 2, Timotʻēos *vardapet* 2. So also Tiranun *vardapet* 1 and 2, 5.

11. In this passage Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi develops the theme of the sixth day and the portentous events that took place on it: see Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 4 and 5. He attaches great significance to Friday and to the number 6. According to him, Eve was created on Wednesday and Adam was healed on the same day, see Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 6.

12. I.e., the intention to create man. On Eve's creation on Wednesday, see the preceding note.

13. On the Armenian calendar, see Stone 1988. There are further copies of *The Months of the Hebrews*, one of which is in Columbia University Armenian manuscript no. 5 and others in the old manuscript M2679 fols. 7–7v of the year 981 and the later M7020 of the year 1796. Other copies doubtless exist.

In contrast to this conventional view, however, Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 says that Adam's nature is composed of the four elements,[14] a notion found already in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* in the fifth century, and in even earlier Greek and Syriac sources.[15] Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos harmonizes the difference between the two views by saying that Adam's nature was from the material dust and the material was made of the four elements.[16] In *Girk‘ T‘łtoc‘ The Book of Letters*, in a letter attributed to Movsēs K‘ert‘ołahayr of the sixth century, Adam is said to be կաւ ("clay").[17] This is the only text found in these four centuries that describes Adam as made of "clay." "Clay" is to be found, however, in a fifth-century source, Eznik.[18] It probably emerges from the idea of molding, which, in turn, derived from the biblical text (Gen 2:7).

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 also describes Adam as created ի հողանիւթ զանգուածոյս ("from this earthen mass"), which is in accordance with the biblical view. In Anania Širakac‘i C7's "Calendar Fragment," Adam is said to be created from "dust"; similarly also Step‘anos Siwnec‘i and Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos, both writing in the eighth century.[19]

It is notable, then, that the nonbiblical idea that clay and dust are matter and thus composed of the four elements, which occurs rarely in the fifth century, is also seldom encountered in the sixth to eleventh centuries. This is so, despite the influence of Greek ideas on Armenia in the centuries immediately following the early-fifth-century invention of the alphabet.

Nonetheless, an interesting formulation by Gēorg Loṙec‘i C11 shows the tension between these two ideas. He says the following:

> Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to create the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly demonstrate each of them, for Moses only says that he took dust: "God took dust of the ground" (Gen 2:7), and he was silent about other (elements).

This statement, which makes three notable points, is unique among the texts I studied. First, in this polemical text, Gēorg denies the view that Adam was created from four elements, claiming that it lacks a biblical basis. Yet earlier authorities, such as Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 and *Yačapatum Čaṙk‘* C5, explicitly say that Adam was created from the four elements, a combination of biblical and Greek

14. See Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 9. See also K‘erovbē *vardapet* 1.
15. See chapter 1 §1.1.2. Contrast the onomastic etymology of Adam as "earth," say, in Ona I iv.1, Ona IV.1, Ona V.27; see Stone 1981a.
16. Compare chapter 1 §1.1.2 above.
17. Movsēs K‘ert‘ołahayr 1.
18. This etymology appears also in *History of the Forefathers* §32. See chapter 1 §1.1.2.
19. Anania Širakac‘i 4; Step‘anos Siwnec‘i 13 and 16; and Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos 1.

ideas that I discussed above.[20] Second, it is not clear against whom precisely Gēorg Loṙec'i was polemicizing when he called for strict adherence to the biblical text. We can infer that his opponents are those who "create the body of Christ with their human mind," that is, who assert that the body was created of the four elements. Third, Gēorg says that this is against Scripture, which states that Adam was fashioned from dust but makes no mention of fire, air, and water.[21] It should be noted, moreover, that though the idea of four elements occurs in earlier sources, it does not dominate in them.

Man was created from dust,[22] and through the spirit that God breathed into him, he was rational and angelic.[23] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, for example, says, "he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom)."[24] Moreover, in the same passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i also maintains that man lost these rational and intellective qualities when he sinned: "he lost the higher, lordly wisdom" and "he forfeited the spiritual grace."[25] Grigor Magistros C10 says that man was composed of two opposed natures, one perceptive or intellective and the other earthly, which correspond to his receiving the spirit from God but his creation from dust.[26] This view is standard; Adam was created rational and autonomous. It is to be found from the very beginning of Armenian literature and is a common explanation of what the divine inbreathing means (Gen 2:7).

The idea that man had a rational nature that is the outcome of the inbreathing (Gen 2:7) or, using another paradigm, follows from the "image" of God according to which he was created (Gen 1:26) recurs in Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that the soul is the created image of God and the likeness of his form. Elsewhere, Grigor Narekac'i specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator's grace.[27] Adam was created for "unblemished immortal life without need," Grigor Magistros C10 states.[28] Similarly Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10 says of Adam's sin that he "caused his sinless and uncondemnable body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation to the corruption of death."[29]

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20. See chapter 1 §1.1.2 and elsewhere.

21. Here he identifies "dust" with "earth," one of the four elements, while other authors I discussed have said that dust is itself composed of the four elements.

22. Grigor Narekac'i 8. Grigor Narekac'i 12 and 13 speak of humans created of "inferior substance."

23. Grigor Magistros 11; Xosrow Anjewac'i 6.

24. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

25. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

26. Grigor Magistros 11.

27. Grigor Narekac'i 11. Equally, in excerpt 18, that is, *Book of Lamentation* 46.3, he speaks of humans regaining the lost image through the inbreathing of baptism.

28. See n. 23 above.

29. Step'anōs Tarōnec'i 2.

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

A number of purposes have been proposed for Adam's creation:

Praise. The second world, that of the luminaries and what is below them, was separated from the heavens (i.e., the first, intelligible world) for the sake of praise of the Creator, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[30] In other words, the purpose of this-worldly creation is praise. This is the only statement on this point in the period under discussion. Nothing is said in these centuries about the immortality for which Adam was intended, and almost nothing about the purpose of the commandment given to him or about the nature of Adam's wisdom or discernment.[31] These subjects, however, were prominent in the fifth century; see chapter 1 §1.1.3.

So that Adam might draw close to God. The trees of knowledge and life were glittering and splendid[32] and were created as food for Adam. They were not forbidden because of God's envy, but only proscribed for a short time "so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God." Grigor Magistros C10,[33] who made this statement, implies that God created Adam so that, by consumption of the fruit at the proper time, he might become close to God.

God did not desire Adam's transgression. Another statement by Grigor Magistros C10 that bears indirectly on purposiveness in the creation of Adam occurs in an epistle directed to the Muslim Emir Ibrahim, that is, in the context of polemic: ". . . so you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression. . . ."[34]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

When Adam was created, he was thirty years old, this being the most perfect age for a human being.[35] Analogously, Anania Širakacʻi C7 adds that the moon was created fourteen days old, at the fullest point of its cycle, on the fourth day.[36]

30. Grigoris Aršaruni 1.

31. Pseudo-Basil 1 reads, "For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality." This implies that part of the purpose of Adam's creation was that he might employ discernment.

32. Grigor Magistros 4 speaks once of "the tree of life and knowledge" that was honored in paradise, but elsewhere he clearly speaks of two trees.

33. Grigor Magistros 8. He repeats this idea in excerpt 12.

34. Grigor Magistros 9.

35. See Stone 1996a, 144 and note on *History of Adam and His Grandsons* 1 (*ibid.*, 92) on this number and its manifold occurrences. In the primordial time, the span between births was thirty years, as is discussed in Stone 1996, 92. This was also the age of Sedek in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012). Its origin may be biblical. Joseph at thirty entered Pharaoh's service (Gen 41:46); David started to reign at thirty (2 Sam 5:4); and, in Numbers, the age span from thirty to fifty was the age for Levites to serve in the tabernacle (Num 4:3, 23, 30, etc.)

36. Which is, of course, the middle day of the week of creation.

He states that these views were held also by the learned among the Jews, and their view is reliable because they use the moon in their calendar.[37]

Two comments may be made on these remarks. First, the number 30 appears repeatedly in various traditions about Adam and Eve, both in Armenian and in other languages. They have thirty pairs of twins, there are thirty years between the births of their children, they have their first children at the age of thirty, etc.[38] In some later traditions, Abel died at thirty, which must be related to the idea that thirty was the ideal age. Although most such traditions are to be found in later apocryphal books, in *Pen. Adam* 24:5, which has a good claim to antiquity in Armenian, Adam and Eve are said to have thirty pairs of twins. Thus, on this point, Anania Širakac'i C7 has recourse to a known tradition. Second, as to the supposed Jewish views about Adam's age when he was born and the state of the moon, it should be kept in mind that, in the case of the calendar, the actual knowledge of Jewish practice among the Armenians was limited. This did not inhibit the Armenians from assigning all sorts of views to the Jews that were founded in what seemed reasonable and not in actual knowledge of Jewish practice. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the material from Anania Širakac'i C7.

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor; see §1.6 below.[39] In the Garden, Adam had "splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."[40] These sources may be complemented by those about the loss of glory discussed below in §4.2.3.

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Adam's body was originally impassible and immortal, according to Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8, and it lost those qualities when he sinned.[41] In any case, the idea that Adam was created for immortality and subsequently became mortal as a result of the sin and its consequent curses, is found throughout Armenian literature.[42] It is, of course, based on the biblical text.[43] Xosrovik T'argmanič' also argues that if Christ had had the same body as Adam, he would not have suffered; but in fact he did suffer, so his body was not like Adam's creation body.[44] This

37. Anania Širakac'i 2.
38. See n. 35 above.
39. T'ovma Arcruni 2.
40. Grigor Narekec'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life." See §2.4 below.
41. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 1.
42. See chapter 1 §4.2.2 for an early instance.
43. See §4.2.2 below.
44. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 2.

seemingly strange point has to do with the understanding of the image, which is discussed below in §1.6.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

According to an interpretation of Gen 2:7 by Grigor Narekac‘i C10, Adam was created with the prophetic spirit, and therefore he was not deceived by the serpent. But the woman, who, it is implied, lacked the prophetic spirit, was.[45] This is part of Grigor Narekac‘i's view that Adam ate the fruit not because he was deceived by the serpent/Satan, but because of his love of Eve. In this way, Grigor Narekac‘i strives to resolve the question of how Adam, created in the image of God and thus possessing discernment, could have eaten the fruit. The same issue concerns Tiranun *vardapet* C10 when he stresses that Adam did not sin but "humbled himself and shared it [i.e., the fruit] with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam."[46] Anania Narekac‘i C10 quotes 1 Tim 2:14 in an adapted form, as follows: "'Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned],' consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin."[47] This is a noteworthy innovation in the tenth-century authors.

In connection with the naming of Eve, Grigor Narekac‘i remarks that Adam retained the prophetic spirit as long as he remained in the Garden.[48] See §2.6 below.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

1.3 Humans and Angels

The excerpts from the sixth to eleventh centuries say nothing at all about the relationship between humans and angels or about the purposes for which they were created. In the fifth-century sources, material on this topic was derived exegetically from Ps 8:4–5: "[4]What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them?[5] Yet you have made them a little lower than angels,[49] and crowned them with glory and honor" (NRSV). The only thing stated in our texts—and it is not related to Psalm 8—is Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos's C9

45. Grigor Narekac‘i 5.
46. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.
47. On this citation, see §2.8 below.
48. Grigor Narekac‘i 5.
49. The Hebrew word אלהים, usually translated "God" sometimes is taken to mean "angels" and is so rendered here by the Septuagint and in the Armenian tradition. The NRSV has "God," but we have given "angels."

view that God created humans to fill the empty camp of the rebellious angels.[50] This is part of a fairly unusual passage by this ninth-century author, who proposes that the Garden of Eden was previously the camp of the rebel angels and that Satan was angered when the Garden of Eden was given to Adam and Eve. No parallels to this specific idea are known, though the idea of the organization of the angels on a military pattern is very old. Usual explanations of Satan's animus against humans differ.[51]

The rabbinic interpretation of these verses also understood them in a military way; see *Gen. Rab.* 74:17 and 75:10. Elsewhere in rabbinic literature these verses are quoted to prove that "camp" is a reference to angels, even without a specific designation. In *Exod. Rab.* 15:6 the camp of Israel in the desert is presented as the earthly equivalent of the heavenly camp of the angels. The divine designation "Lord of Hosts" refers to God as head of the heavenly armies of angels.[52] The term "prince" (שר) used in Dan 10:13, 20, 21, etc. for angels is also a military term. Compare the description of the angelic host as an army in *1 En.* 1:4 and in many other places.

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

The legend of the fallen angels occurs in various ancient sources,[53] and a number of elements that appear throughout the texts discussed here point to it. According to Łewond C8, the angels are commanded to adore Adam.[54] This single element is part of the tradition found in *L.A.E.* about Satan's rebellion. Satan rebels because he refuses to bow down to Adam; see *L.A.E.* 13–16.[55] Another element from this legend is the mention of the Garden of Eden as the rebellious angels' camp referred to above,[56] behind which lies speculation as to the original heavenly location of the fallen angels. Earlier on, Łewond C8 says that commandments are given in tandem to Adam and to the angels. Each could have disobeyed God; indeed, Satan, one of the angels, rebelled, while Adam and Eve also sinned. In both instances, the texts are concerned with the disobedience of the angels and of humans and its implications.[57]

50. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5.

51. See chapter 1 §3.3 and see also Gen 32:2–4 for the idea of a camp of angels.

52. In a very vivid description of the heavenly throne in *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 4, the four archangels are said to each lead the "camps" on the different sides of the throne; see Friedlander 1981, 22.

53. In general on this topic, among others relating to angelic hosts, see Reed 2005.

54. Łewond 4.

55. Anderson and Stone 1999, 15–18. This story is missing from the Greek *L.A.E.* The omission is discussed in Stone 1993.

56. In the Latin version of *L.A.E.* 13:1 Satan says he was expelled from heaven.

57. Nothing else is found on this topic in other sources.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

The "intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light" referred to by Grigoris Aršaruni C7 are clearly the angels.[58] Light as a characteristic both of the dwelling place of the angels and of the Godhead itself is found throughout the texts.

Nothing is said in the texts from the tenth–eleventh centuries about the purpose of the creation of angels, about their relationship to humans and its similarities and differences, or about their dwelling. In comparison with the fifth-century texts, this constitutes a rather striking change, yet already the sixth- to ninth-century texts said far less about angels than the fifth-century writings. The emphasis of the discussion has shifted.

1.6 Humankind in the Image

As was true already in earlier times, the idea of the creation of man in the image of God (Gen 1:26–27) raised difficulties in the minds of theologians and exegetes. Several approaches developed. One understanding of "in his image" (Gen 1:26) was that humans are "intellectual and rational" like angels, who are intelligent beings.[59] Their exclusively rational nature expresses an aspect of the angels that sets them above humans; so Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[60] In the same passage, Grigoris goes on to argue that, while the image is "intellectual and rational," humans in their sexuality resemble the sensible beings. In Grigor Magistros's C10 statement, quoted and discussed above (§1.1.2), the two elements of which man was created, dust and the spirit, were regarded as the origins of the affective and the intellectual. Grigor Magistros does not mention the term "image."

Grigor Narekac'i C10 says that the soul is the created image of God, the likeness of his form, thus reflecting both phrases of Gen 1:27. Elsewhere, he specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator's grace.[61] Bringing these two ideas together—that the spirit is related to the intellectual or perceptive, and that the rational is the image—the texts present a clear and distinctive view.[62] These two patterns derive exegetically from Gen 1:26 and 2:7. Both function in the same way to explain the

58. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Note that the "intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday" (*ibid.*, 116).

59. See also §§1.3 and 1.5 above, where this perception of the angels is mentioned.

60. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

61. Grigor Narekac'i 18; and see 11.

62. Grigor Narekac'i 1 naturally asserts that man was created in the image; similarly in *Book of Lamentation* 46.3 (excerpt 18). A similar general statement is found in Gēorg Lořec'i 2. None of these is significant for our discussion, since they do not go beyond the biblical text itself.

rational, intellectual aspect of humans, while attributing the physical to Adam's molding from the dust.

According to Step'anos Siwnec'i C8,[63] when man was created he had rationality, that is, knowledge of good and evil. He had free will[64] but was good. Moreover, man's free will was inherent in his being in the image, for God had free will: so states Komitas Kat'ołikos C6 quoting Irenaeus.[65] In many texts, intelligence is related to free will: how else, they imply, could wisdom be shown forth but in the autonomous choice of free will?

A similar view is proposed by Łewond C8, who asks, "How might you think that God says this passive body is his image?" The divine image, then, is something other than this passive body. This statement seems to take a polemical stance against views like those of Agat'angełos C5 and of Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, which I discuss immediately below. Łewond explains that it means that God put into man mind, spirit, and speech, in the likeness of himself, his Spirit, and his Word.[66] Łewond certainly stresses nonmaterial aspects of humans—spirit, mind, and speech that are allied with "rationality"; cf. Grigoris Aršaruni C7 (above in this section). He does not try to reconcile this exegesis with the incarnation of Christ.

A second understanding of the image is more literal. The Creator made man in his image. Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, who makes this statement, does not discuss how this is compatible with the proper understanding of God, as Agat'angełos had done two centuries before.[67] However, a rather literal view seems to be implied by the continuation of his words that, in the end, God made himself into man's image. This refers, of course, to the incarnation of Christ (see Yovhan Ōjnec'i excerpt 1) and so the reversal of Gen 1:26 goes along with Christ as the New Adam reversing Adam's sin. Thus, Adam is in the image of God, and the incarnated Christ is in the image of Adam. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's statement that Emanuel is in man's image implies the same.[68] Indeed, consideration of the incarnation of Christ seems to have reinforced this idea powerfully, if it was not its point of origin. This notion is also clearly present when Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 states that Adam says, "my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me."[69]

A third line of exegesis sees the image expressed not in the form of humans but in their lordship, which derives from the blessing in Gen 1:28–30, espe-

63. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

64. T'ovma Arcruni 1.

65. Komitas Kat'ołikos 4.

66. Łewond 4. Behind this statement lie trinitarian ideas.

67. Agat'angełos 18–19; see chapter 1 §1.6

68. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 1; Step'anos Siwnec'i 1.

69. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 4. In a literary play on this, in a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave in T'ēop'ilos 3, the grave says that it took man who was in the image of God and made him in its (the grave's) image.

cially 1:28. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 stresses this when he calls man "the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship," whom God honored by creating with his own hands.[70] Step'anos also describes this lordship as being connected with glory, presumably drawing on the idea of the glory that inheres in kings.[71] In the next century, T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor.[72] T'ovma Arcruni combines this idea with that of the free will of humans and cites Ps 8:5–6 in this connection.[73] Step'anos Siwnec'i speaks of God's adorning man with light, with the divine glory.[74] Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10 also stresses Adam's creation with the characteristic of lordship or power.[75]

Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a disquisition on why God created Adam in the image. He suggests a number of reasons: that Adam was according to the image, for God would put on the image in the incarnation; that he was according to the image in being immortal; and in that he was "lord of all and autonomous (in will)." Taking up a theme mentioned in the fifth-century sources, Tiranun *vardapet* says that when Adam opened his eyes, he saw God, who had taken on a human appearance.[76] Thus, he combines several lines of exegesis of the image.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

That God established Eden is asserted already in Gen 2:8, and see further Grigor Narekac'i C10.[77] This is the unanimous view expressed in the Armenian sources.

In the period under consideration, ideas start to develop about the geographical location of the Garden of Eden. T'ovma Arcruni C9 informs us that the Garden is in the very east (compare Gen 2:8), and nobody lives beyond it. [78] The eastern location is in itself not surprising, though the comment that nobody lived beyond it is new. Grigor Magistros C10 says that the Garden of Eden was to

70. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7.

71. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 7. "Glory" is Armenian փառք. The particular association of glory with kings is an ancient theme, found already in Iranian sources. See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962, 215–16, 293, 300, etc.; James Russell 1987, 347, 520, etc. Adam's glory is mentioned in Ben Sira 49:16.

72. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

73. T'ovma Arcruni 1. Psalm 8:5–9 = Arm 8:6–10 reads: "[5]Yet you have made them a little lower than God, and crowned them with glory and honor. [6]You have given them dominion over the works of your hands; you have put all things under their feet, [7]all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field, [8]the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea, whatever passes along the paths of the seas. [9]O Lord, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth!"

74. Step'anos Siwnec'i 20.

75. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

76. Tiranun *vardapet* 15. See §2.6 below, where Adam's naming of the creatures is related to his creation in the image of God.

77. Grigor Narekac'i 26 and 27.

78. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

the east and was adorned with plants and trees heavy with fruit,[79] while Grigor Narekac‘i C10 characterizes it as “a site of dwelling, a desirable place, | And a garden of life, flourishing with plants.”[80] This is a rather literal understanding of the physical character of the Garden, which may be contrasted with the view in *Yačapatum Čaṙk‘* C5 104, which stresses its noetic character.

T‘ovma Arcruni C9 says that the stream that flows out of Eden (Gen 2:10), sinks below the earth and emerges in four parts.[81] The actual way the stream came out of the Garden was the subject of some discussion. One of the options, already suggested by Ephrem Syrus, talks about the subterranean flowing of four streams, which resembles the idea known to T‘ovma Arcruni here.[82]

The Garden is luminous and does not require the light of the sun or moon. The luminosity of the paradisiacal realm is considerably emphasized in the later traditions embedded in apocryphal and other literature.[83] It is connected with very old ideas of the brightness of the creation light, called by the rabbis “the light of the seven days (i.e., the week of creation).”[84] It is clear, therefore, that in his description of the Garden of Eden, T‘ovma Arcruni C9 utilizes a number of traditions that are not found in preceding Armenian authors. According to tenth-century sources, the Garden contained luminous glory[85] and delightful splendor.[86] Anania Sanahnec‘i C11 speaks of its blossoming trees and verdant branches.[87] None of the animals, including the serpent, was admissible to the Garden.[88] According to Tiranun *vardapet* C10, “Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect.”[89]

The idea that the Garden of Eden was on a mountain was not explicitly

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79. Grigor Magistros 8.

80. Grigor Narekac‘i 29; cf. 14.

81. T‘ovma Arcruni 2. On the stream that flows from Eden and its underground channels, see Nira Stone 2008. T‘ovma Arcruni is one of the oldest Armenian witnesses to this idea.

82. An example occurs in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* (2.6.4.) by Ephrem Syrus (306–373 C.E.), who writes, “Because Paradise is on a great height, the rivers are swallowed up again and they go down to the sea as if through a tall water-duct and they pass through the land which is under the sea into this land” (E. G. Mathews and Amar 1994, 101). That paradise was on a mountain was a common theme, and Ephrem’s description of the rivers is clearly the same concept as is later represented visually by Avramenc‘ in J285, and it can be documented elsewhere. Ephrem’s works were widely known.

83. So T‘ovma Arcruni 2. See, e.g., Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i, 1.2.13–14 (Stone 2007a, 91–92, and index s.v. “light”).

84. *Gen. Rab.* ch. 12; *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 51.

85. See Grigor Narekec‘i 5. Concerning the Edenic glory, see also the poem *On the Fall of Adam*, stanza 3 (Stone 1996a, 7; see also *ibid*., 20, 112–13. These latter sources, however, are hard to date. Glory in the Garden is a much-hymned theme in later texts; see, e.g., Stone 2007a, index, s.v. “glory.”

86. Yakob Cpatec‘i 1.

87. Anania Sanahnec‘i 1.

88. Yakob Cpatec‘i 1.

89. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

present in the fifth-century Armenian sources, though it was conceivably hinted at by P'awstos.[90] In the treatise *On the Explanation of Numbers,* Anania Širakac'i C7 states that "Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height."[91] This seems quite clearly to refer to Eden on a mountain; the idea is known already to Ephrem Syrus in Syriac, but in no earlier Armenian sources is it as explicit as here.

In an intriguing passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 speaks of Adam as being "cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of glory."[92] However, it seems unlikely that in this context "cast down to earth" implies a mountain. In fact, the mention of the seven spiritual classes seems to refer to a heavenly status and not the geography of paradise, for the text continues: "he was transformed from spirit into body, . . . he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety." This was falling down from seven qualities.

Adam was brought into paradise like a king into his court, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7,[93] evoking a widespread image of Adam as king.[94] As for corruptibility in the Garden, corruption was present from creation on, since eating implies corruptibility (Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7).[95] Had God not considered the nutritional need to be primary, he would not have created the Garden with fruit-bearers, and he would not have commanded man to eat (Gen 2:16). This view, of course, raises problems about Adam's paradisiacal state.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

A number of authorities say that God placed Adam in the Garden, which adds nothing to the biblical text.[96]

90. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

91. Anania Širakac'i 1. For Eden on a height, compare Brock 1982, 11–37 especially p. 12; Henze 2001, 558–59 n. 20; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis* 2.6.4 in Mathews and Amar 1994, 101 and note there; Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 1.4–5 in Brock 1990, 51; and Murray 1975, 306–10.

92. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13. Note the expression "falling" or "cast down to earth," relating to fallen angels; see Step'anos Siwnec'i in §4.2 below; cf. also §3.2.

93. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

94. See §1.6 above. Adam is sometimes painted in later sources with a crown, and sometimes Adam and Eve are represented with crowns. See the illumination of crowned Adam in J1667 of 1529; on a Kütahya tile of ca. 1720 in St. Ējmiacin Chapel in the Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem, with a crowned Adam; Adam and Eve in the Paris Hymnal of 1591; and others. See fig. 1.

95. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 2. Compare the question of the three men (divine beings) eating as Abraham's guests; see Stone 2012, *Story of Father Abraham* 13–16, *Story of Father Abraham* A 25, etc. The theological issues raised there are not prefigured here.

96. Grigor Narekac'i 1; Grigor Magistros 11; compare Gen 2:8.

Fig. 1. Crowned Adam with Eve, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate J1667 of the year 1529. Photo by M. Stone.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

According to the *History* attributed to Anania Širakac‘i C7, Adam received the commandment from God's mouth.[97] Initially, the commandment that God gave to Adam was to fast, so the command not to eat of the tree was taken as a sort of fasting. Adam fell, deceived by mortal fruit, and then he became an eater of grass, like the animals. As a result, the earth was cursed, and hard agricultural labor was instituted—"by the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread" (Gen 3:17–19), so Xosrovik T‘argmanič‘ C8 states.[98] Note that Xosrovik shares this exegesis with the *L.A.E.*[99]

One of the few passages in which the purpose of the divine commandment is discussed is by T‘ovma Arcruni C9. He states that the commandment was given to help Adam reach greater goals.[100] Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7 wrote a long passage in which good and evil are likened to two trees. Underlying this passage is clearly a metaphor drawing on Genesis 1–3, and particularly on Gen 3:7.[101]

Grigor Magistros C10 describes the two trees in the Garden as "most incorruptible and luminous . . . superior and more significant."[102] Both, he says, were forbidden. This statement, of course, combines with Gen 2:17, in which Adam is commanded not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and Gen 3:22, where God says, "See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." Thus, there are two forbidden trees, the tree of knowledge (Gen 2:17) and the tree of life (Gen 3:22).[103] Further, Grigor Magistros says, "For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God's teaching and commandments,"[104] making the allegorical meaning of the trees explicit. God did not proscribe them initially because of envy, but forbade eating of them until the proper time. The prohibition was only for a short time, for both trees were destined as food for Adam.[105] In line with this exegesis, Grigor Magistros states elsewhere that Adam and Eve abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life—and that only temporarily—for by "eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God."[106] This should be taken as elliptical, for

97. Anania Širakac‘i 5.

98. Xosrovik T‘argmanič‘ 3.

99. *L.A.E.* 3:1 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 3) and *Pen. Adam* [44](16):2–3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 65).

100. T‘ovma Arcruni 2.

101. Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i 1.

102. Grigor Magistros 8.

103. Of course, scholars of the Hebrew Bible analyze these passages differently, but Grigor Magistros reads them as one seamless whole.

104. Grigor Magistros 10.

105. Grigor Magistros 8.

106. Grigor Magistros 12.

nowhere else is the tree called "of knowledge of life." Similarly Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that the tree was not in itself evil but received negative value due to the commandment.[107]

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

The idea that the protoplasts had sexual intercourse in the Garden is far from explicit in the thoughts of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, who, however, uses suggestive imagery to talk of Adam as a king placed in the Garden with Eve, his queen, "so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride."[108]

Intercourse, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 implies, was connected with Adam and Eve's recognition, after their sin, that they were naked. The recognition, he says, "was knowing their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman."[109] This statement does not say explicitly that they had intercourse in the Garden, but that a consciousness of nakedness and the inception of intercourse followed on the eating of the fruit.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 asserts that it is clear that Adam must have eaten in the Garden and that God "fed the body with fruit without labor."[110]

Moreover, Yovhan Ōjnec'i C8 says that the Genesis story teaches us about a number of aspects of human character. From the threat in Gen 2:17, we learn that a disposition to fear was inherent in humans; from "to till and to keep" (Gen 2:15), we learn of labor and care;[111] from "God caused a deep sleep to fall" (Gen 2:21), we learn of the action of sleep.[112] Similarly, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 observed that in his nature Adam had fear (from Gen 2:17) and will (inferred from his disobedience).[113] However, Yovhan Ōjnec'i observed, prescience is not inherent in human nature but is sometimes given as a gift.[114]

107. Tiranun *vardapet* 7.

108. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Compare chapter 1 §2.3, where Agat'angełos's text seems to imply that this was the case.

109. Tiranun *vardapet* 8.

110. Grigoris Aršaruni 17; see also §2.0 above. In chapter 1 §1.4 we observed that the Armenian word պահք ("fast") may indicate a limited abstention, such as from the fruit, not necessarily complete abstention from food.

111. According to Grigor Narekac'i 1, God commanded Adam to work and keep the Garden, closely following Gen 2:15 Compare also Grigor Narekac'i 6.

112. Yohan Ōjnec'i 3.

113. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

114. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 3.

Yovhan Ōjnec'i continues that, as long as Adam strove to keep the commandment, he was not subject to death and corruption, but when he sinned he fell under their yoke.[115] Above in §2.0, I noted that Yovhan Ōjnec'i regards corruptibility as a correlative of Adam's eating, though I observed that this is in tension with the idea that Adam was created immortal, for he ate before he sinned, by divine commandment. Adam was created truly very close to God.

Adam in the Garden had զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօտ եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս, "splendour and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."[116] In this statement we find a sort of summary of the main aspects of Adam's paradisiacal state. He wore a luminous garment; that is, he was surrounded by glory.[117] Yakob Cpatec'i C10 says, "The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendour of the Garden."[118] Naturally, when we examine the things that Adam lost by sinning and the ramifications of the curses, we can learn what qualities he had before sinning.[119] Such things were immortality, splendor, an untroubled life, sinlessness, and proximity to God.

A little different from these ideas, which are widespread, is Grigor Narekec'i C10's assertion that Adam in the Garden had the gifts of the spirit.[120] Moreover, he adds, after eating the fruit he did not totally lose them. He had the prophetic spirit while he was in the Garden, even after the sin. This is witnessed by the fact that even after eating the fruit, he still knew prophetically of salvation to come through the Virgin and for that reason called Eve "mother of all living" (Gen 3:20).

Uxtanēs C10 stresses Adam's royal function, denoting him "king," which was a result of the blessing in Gen 1:28. First, the kingdom was created, Uxtanēs says, and then the king entered.[121] This royal language is used also by Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.[122] The idea is highlighted by Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10, who says, "he made Adam, in the state[123] of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship."[124]

115. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 4.

116. Grigor Narekec'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life."

117. T'ēop'ilos 4; Anania Sanahnec'i 1; and compare Grigor Narekac'i 14 and 18; Xosrow Anjewac'i 3 uses the term պատուալից ("full of glory, honor").

118. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

119. See §4.2 below.

120. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

121. Uxtanēs 1.

122. Grigor Magistros 11. Compare also the language of kingship in §§1.6 and 2.0.

123. Or: form.

124. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The creation of the animals is not discussed in the sixth- to ninth- and eleventh-century excerpts and is mentioned only once in a tenth-century text. "God made the creatures fully complete, perfect and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect," says Tiranun *vardapet* C10.[125] Not much more is said about the creation of fauna.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam's naming of the creatures was a major topic in the fifth century but disappears from the discussion in the sixth to ninth centuries. Grigor Magistros C10 takes it up again in *To Manučʻē* and sees the naming as an outcome of Adam's lordship over the earth.[126] Grigor Narekacʻi C10 held the same view. Thus, Adam knew the names of the animals through the Holy Spirit.[127] Grigor Narekacʻi also developed the idea that as long as Adam was in the Garden, that is, between the sin and his expulsion, he "did not totally lose the Spirit." This "residual" Spirit is connected with the second naming of Eve in Gen 3:20, which took place shortly before the expulsion. Grigor Narekacʻi C10 maintains that Adam did not, in fact, sin through pride, though he ate the fruit.[128] Thus, he maintained a modicum of the prophetic spirit. Adam's second naming of his wife, Eve, which is related in Gen 3:20, was prophetic, for he was prophesying that through her life would come by means of the Virgin. It is beyond doubt that this prophetic act was performed not merely after eating the fruit but after the curses.[129]

Timotʻēos *vardapet* C10 has a very similar view of naming. God gave Adam the names, and Adam gave them to the animals. Thus God honored him as a participant in creation.[130] Timotʻēos *vardapet* stresses naming as part of the process of creation, which is highlighted by his observation that names are necessary for life.[131] Unlike Grigor Narekacʻi, Timotʻēos has no problem with Adam sinning. Tiranun *vardapet* C10 also thinks that God, by permitting Adam to name the

125. Tiranun *vardapet* 1. Compare also excerpt 3.

126. Grigor Magistros 11.

127. Grigor Narekecʻi 5. In spite of the apparent meaning of the sentence, it is clear from the continuation that Adam named the animals before he sinned, which is also the biblical order of events.

128. See chapter 3 §4.1.1.

129. On the naming, see Stone 2007b. The prophetic spirit is discussed in §2.4 above.

130. Timotʻēos *vardapet* 4.

131. By presenting Adam as a partner in creation, Timotʻēos *vardapet* makes his wish to become like God the more blameworthy; see Timotʻēos *vardapet* 4.

creatures, made him a participant in the act of creation, because Adam was created in the image.[132]

2.7 The Type of Tree

In a hymn, Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi C7 says that the tree is mortal; that is, it causes death. Subsequently, this becomes a common designation for it: compare *Adam Fragment 1*: "If this mortal tree is so shining and bright . . . ."[133] In none of the texts I excerpted from the sixth–eleventh centuries is the type of tree mentioned, such as a fig, a vine, or an apple, only that it was a fruit-bearing tree. It is usually described as being splendid, with sweet fruit.[134] The fig tree is mentioned in connection with the cursing of Adam by Tʻēopʻilos *vardapet* C9, but is not related to the tree of knowledge.[135] This is, of course, based on an exegesis of Gen 3:6–8. In §2.2 above, I have discussed the description of the tree of knowledge in the Garden.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

As Adam became the inverse type of Christ, so Eve was the inverse type of the Virgin. She is set into a correlative relationship with the Virgin. A number of her characteristics are highlighted, and statements are made about her that are best understood in light of this developing typology. God called Eve life (Gen 3:20), for he knew that just as death is caused by a woman, so is life.[136] The statement, quoted in §2.6, that Eve was rightly called the mother of all living because she was the ancestor of the Virgin, makes this correlation more explicit. In the "Panegyric of the Holy Cross" attributed to Dawitʻ the Invincible C7, Eve is called "the virgin born of Adam,"[137] which seems to be a deliberate reversal of the idea of Christ born of the Virgin. A similar dynamic may be observed in Grigoris Aršaruni C7's statement that the birth of Christ took place on account of Eve.[138] This is, of course, literally so, according to the biblical account, but it is emphasized and creates a sort of chiastic typology. From another perspective, the Virgin is said to annul Eve's դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation")

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132. Tiranun *vardapet* 3.

133. Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi 2, and see further 3. See Stone 1982, 6–9.

134. In a poetic context, Grigor Narekacʻi describes the fruit as "[t]he bitter fruit of this tree rooted in Hell," but "rooted in Hell" is surely metaphorical, speaking of the result of eating its fruit. See excerpt 20.

135. Tʻēopʻilos *vardapet* 1. See also in Tʻēopʻilos's list of things lost by Adam's sin (4).

136. Grigoris Aršaruni 5. In Genesis, it is Adam who calls her "life." Grigoris attributes this to God speaking through Adam in prophecy.

137. Dawitʻ the Invincible 1.

138. Grigoris Aršaruni 5.

eschatologically.[139] Another approach arises from Eve's culpability for the sin in the Garden. Thus, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 describes her as "lazy, naked, slow-minded . . . going around dancing in the Garden."[140]

In §1.1.1 above, I discussed the views as to the day of the week on which Adam was created. There apparently existed a tradition that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday. This, to some extent, resembles Adam. God thought of Adam on Wednesday but created him only on Friday. Grigoris Aršaruni quoted this tradition but doubted its reliability because it reflects ideas not in the biblical text.[141] I cannot locate its origin more specifically. It seems rather likely that the development of ideas about Eve was connected with the growing role the Virgin came to play in Armenian devotion.

The traditions relating to Eve's creation are mentioned here only when they supplement or differ from the biblical account. Note that Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that Adam recognized Eve in his sleep.[142] He also says that Adam, Eve, paradise, and the fauna and flora were created perfect.[143] Eve spoke with the serpent outside the Garden, since the serpent could not enter it. This reflects the idea in *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1, which reads, "And the two of them [i.e., Satan and the serpent] came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden"—that is, they were outside it. In *Pen. Adam* [44](18):6 the serpent says, "Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit." So we learn that the serpent was locked outside. Certain pictures of the temptation show the serpent outside the wall of the Garden: for example, Matenadaran M4820 (fourteenth century), fol 4a.[144]

Indeed, Grigor Narekac'i C10 particularly stresses Eve's culpability for the sin. Her motive for sin was the desire to become (a) god, while Adam's was his love of Eve. In other terms, Grigor Narekac'i sets primary culpability squarely on Eve's shoulders when he says that she was beguiled by the serpent but Adam was not, for he had the prophetic spirit.[145] In other passages Grigor Narekac'i repeats the idea that it was Eve who was culpable for sins.[146] The same point of view

139. Grigor Narekac'i 24 and 25; see also excerpt 2, though the statement is only implied there.

140. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 7.

141. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. Grigoris constructs the Wednesday pattern: because light was created on Wednesday, the annunciation of the perceptible light issuing from the Father was on Wednesday; as living creatures appeared on Wednesday, so the mother of living was created on Wednesday.

142. Tiranun *vardapet* 4.

143. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

144. This is reproduced in Stone 2002, 83; the serpent outside the Garden is discussed on pp. 82–84.

145. See Grigor Narekac'i 5 and compare the discussion of his statement in §4.2.

146. Eve is culpable for sins (Grigor Narekac'i 5).

is forwarded by Tiranun *vardapet* C10[147] and also supported Anania Narekac'i C10, citing 1 Tim 2:14 as stating, "Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned]." This is actually a variant on 1 Timothy's text, which reads, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived." The Armenian text of 1 Timothy reads "deceived" (պատարեցաւ) and Anania replaces this with "sinned" (մեղաւ),

Simēon Ałjnec'i C10 says that Eve sinned with all five senses.[148] This is another instance of the introduction of a Greek category into biblical exegesis, like the turning of the dust from which Adam was created into the four elements. Grigor Magistros C10 exhibits a different attitude to Adam's sin, when he compares Eve's insinuation of pernicious words to the serpent's.[149] Moreover, her subordinate role is reflected in the curse "he shall rule over you" (Gen 3:16).[150]

According to Simēon Ałjnec'i C10, Eve is buried in a cave in Shechem, in the portion of Benjamin. This odd tradition, identifying Hebron and Shechem, also appears in later Armenian texts.[151] Grigor Narekac'i says that Eve will flourish together with Adam in the Garden at the eschaton.[152]

3.0 Satan

Satan is "he who fought with the Forefather" according to Anania Širakac'i C7.[153] In chapter 1 §3.1 (end) I discussed how the language of war and fighting typified Satan's attack on Eve in apocryphal sources (including the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 11:2), but it was not found in the fifth-century Armenian authors examined. The terminology of Satan, serpent, and dragon (*višap*) becomes very much interwoven in the sources being discussed here.[154]

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147. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.

148. Simēon Ałjnec'i 1; on four elements, see §1.1.2 above.

149. Grigor Magistros 2.

150. Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1; Tiranun *vardapet*, 14.

151. Simēon Ałjnec'i 1. See the note on the text of this passage. In *Memorial of the Forefathers* 23 (Stone 2012, 69), we find a similar confusion: "And Abraham bought the cave in Hebron, which is Shechem, from the sons of Emovr." The passage actually refers to the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Gen 23:8–18; 49:3), and this passage's further confusion of Hebron and Shechem is notable. Shechem is not in the territory of Benjamin. The same confusion occurs in the Synaxarium text (§14) published in the same work, where it says that Abraham was buried with Sarah, "in Shechem, in the cave of Hebron." It is unclear how Shechem entered the burial tradition, but "Ephron" may have been confused with "Hebron." Some rabbinic traditions place Adam and Eve's burial in the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron: see *Pirqe R. El.* ch. 36; *b. 'Erub.* 5b and 3a; *b. Soṭah* 13a; *b. B. Bat.* 58a; and *Gen. Rab.* 58:8. On this motif, see also Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

152. Grigor Narekac'i 2.

153. զայն որմարտեաւն ընդ նախահօրն: Anania Širakac'i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247. This passage is not given here among the excerpts from Širakac'i, since it is in a poor textual condition.

154. The different patterns of relationship between Satan and the serpent are discussed in the appendix, "Satan and the Serpent."

Anania Mokacʻi Katʻołikos C10 says that Satan was the cause of all evil and he deceived Eve.[155] Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi C10 asserts that he caused Adam's expulsion from the Garden.[156]

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

When we examine the actual relationship between Satan and the serpent, the only explicit statement is by Tʻovma Arcruni C9, who says that Satan nested in the serpent.[157] Earlier Satan had been said to ride on the serpent, to enter into him, and the terms "instrument" or "lyre" denoted the serpent's role.[158] The language of the serpent as the instrument of Satan or the lyre upon which he played is not prominent in the sources discussed in the present chapter.[159]

In more general terms, in the biblical epic poem *To Manučʻē,* Grigor Magistros C10 says: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue | Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."[160] Here the idea is that Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. That event is described clearly in the primary Adam books. There Satan plays on the serpent's pride, just as his own pride has motivated him to his hatred of Adam; see *Pen. Adam* 12.1–16.3. Tiranun *vardapet* C10 observes that Satan co-opted the willing serpent.[161]

In an eschatological prophecy in *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus,* Grigor Narekacʻi C10 speaks of the punishment of "the first [i.e., primordial] serpent" and his Deceiver, together with his servants, that is, the demons.[162] Thus, he clearly knows the idea that Satan deceived the serpent. He distinguishes between Satan and the primordial serpent and associates the demons with Satan. In his *Commentary on Song of Songs,* he speaks of "the serpent's false promise, which was through Satan." Here, too, the distinction between the two villains is preserved, and Satan's use of the serpent as an instrument is described.[163]

The dragon-serpent wished to become god of the material world, states Grigoris Aršaruni C7. This statement seems to imply that the dragon-serpent's ambition was limited to the material world.[164] Is this just a restatement of Lucifer's ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14), which was very early interpreted of Satan? Or is

155. Anania Mokacʻi Katʻołikos 1. Observe that only Satan is mentioned in this context, without the serpent.

156. Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi 1.

157. Stone 2008a, 146–47; the only other source we discovered with this "nesting" image is Grigoris Ałtʻamaracʻi 2. See Tʻovma Arcruni 4.

158. Stone 2008a, 141–86.

159. Stone 2008a, 148–49; 2009, 91. On the above images, see the appendix.

160. Grigor Magistros 12.

161. Tiranun *vardapet* 10.

162. Grigor Narekacʻi 3.

163. Grigor Narekacʻi 5.

164. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

it a deliberate modeling of the serpent-dragon in the material world after Satan-Lucifer? I doubt that such a distinction was maintained systematically. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan's work. In the ninth century, T'ovma Arcruni states that Satan yearned for divine glory, a much more conventional formulation.[165] Yet it combines the Lucifer passage (Isa 14:13–14) with the implications of the serpent's address to Adam and Eve in Gen 3:5.

Grigor Narekac'i C10's phrase "the curse of the first one"[166] refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. Again this indicates that Satan and the serpent fell together in some Armenian sources. In contrast to it, Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos C10's statement that the serpent shall eat earth and that its head will be crushed conforms to the usual exegesis of the biblical curse.[167]

The serpent's wiliness and deception, featured already in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros C10's reference to the serpent's pernicious words of deception[168] and Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that it insinuated itself into Garden.[169] Observe that apparently this contradicts the tradition mentioned in §2.8 above, that the serpent could not enter the Garden.[170] Grigor Narekac'i C10 mentions deception by Satan, when in fact in the biblical text the deception was by the serpent.[171] Likewise, Grigor Magistros mentions Satan's words of insinuation, which must refer to the serpent's speech.[172] Similarly, the two figures fall together in Xosrov Anjewac'i C10's statement that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was the maker of gods.[173]

On other occasions, Grigor Narekac'i speaks only of deception by the serpent, as do Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i C10 and others.[174] Tiranun *vardapet* C10 discusses the serpent's power of speech and also infers from the curse in Gen 3:14, that he lost his feet.[175] This is a common exegetical strategy.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The Evil One, here called *višap* ("dragon-serpent"; see §3.1), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with

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165. T'ovma Arcruni 3.
166. Grigor Narekac'i 24.
167. Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1.
168. Grigor Magistros 2.
169. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.
170. See §2.8 above. The dominant iconography of the temptation shows the serpent wrapped around the tree of knowledge.
171. Grigor Narekac'i 17. See the preceding paragraph.
172. Grigor Magistros 2.
173. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.
174. See Grigor Narekac'i 7; Samuēl Kamrǰajorec' 6; and cf. Simēon Ałjnec'i 3.
175. Tiranun *vardapet* 9, 10, and 11.

his free will to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment.[176] This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features.[177] Because Satan is referred to as *višap* "dragon, serpent" and falls from his glory,[178] he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In the texts discussed in this section, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit, though it is clear from Grigoris Aršaruni C7, quoted in the preceding section, that he aspired to God's throne. Moreover, according to Grigor Narekac'i C10, Satan was an angel who fell because of his exaltation and arrogance,[179] which is part of the same complex of ideas.[180] As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 claims that Satan was fearless and that this weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this paradigm, he says.[181] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 says that the King of glory with his hosts bound the brigand-serpent and condemned it to death.[182] According to Grigoris Aršaruni's text, the sin of the brigand-serpent is the seduction of humans. At this point he seems to be talking about the serpent of the Garden, and he formulates its punishment analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris has said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world." Obviously, this is not the serpent's sin. The punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. Being bound and condemned to death was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *1 En.* 10:4–7.

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan and says:

> The heart of Satan was raised up prior to his fall, who in rebellion wished to be raised above his companions. For this reason he was debased to this great fall before the mighty God. And this happened prior to his expectation;[183] while he

176. See §1.6.

177. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

178. Compare the statements in §2.4 above on Adam's prelapsarian glory. Note also the virtual equivalence of Satan and the dragon in Revelation 12.

179. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

180. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

181. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 3.

182. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

183. This word, which may mean "idea, opinion (as opposed to knowledge), fantasy," is not clear in the context of the passage and is surely derived from the wording of the verse.

> was in the same desire he was brought down and debased before everyone. He who was the shining morning star,[184] was named darkness because of his pride, and became so.[185]

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan are evident. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell down from heaven and lost his heavenly luminosity; he was made dark. The reference to the Lucifer passage in Isa 14:13–14 is explicit, and Hamam works out that passage in detail. Grigor Magistros C10 states that Satan was formerly Lucifer.[186] This again brings Isa 14:12 together with the fall of Satan. Elsewhere, it has been observed that this occurs at an early time explicitly only in the Latin version of the primary Adam book.[187] Later, it is a well-established theme. As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version of *L.A.E.* the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that when Satan, the Deceiver, and his followers fell, it amazed the heavenly host because they shared a mark of power being in the glory of the firmament.[188] This is the common view, that Satan was one of the highest angels before he fell. His fall, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty.[189] Indeed, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos expatiates on Satan and his role as an opposing power. God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden by means of the fire and the flaming sword. Observe that in the Bible the flaming sword is directed against Adam, not Satan (Gen 3:24).[190] Subsequently Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 states that Satan drew humans into idolatry, spread death, created a kingdom in hell, and imprisoned spirits there so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.[191] He blames Satan for the sin even more severely than he blames Adam and Eve.

3.3 Satan's Envy

In the present section I turn our attention to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. The literature being considered refers to deceit as the tool Satan used, and

184. Or: a brilliant Lucifer,

185. Hamam Arewelc'i 3. Translation from Thomson 2005, 133.

186. Grigor Magistros 12.

187. See Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3. The verse is omitted by the Armenian and Georgian versions.

188. Step'anos Siwnec'i 2.

189. See §1.3, where I explore the military language used of the angels.

190. Above I discussed the idea that the serpent was not allowed to enter the Garden; see §2.8.

191. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven is to be found in *Ques. Ezra* B 6, 12–13, an undated work. There, however, it states that Satan imprisons them in the atmosphere. In the present text by Zak'aria Kat'ołikos, we find the old understanding that Satan built hell to imprison the souls. *Adam Story 1* §14 narrates the same material, but its date is uncertain. "And Satan, having gone happily, built Hell, and all the souls of the progeny of Adam he put in there by means of his demons" (Stone 1996a, 106).

deceit and envy are typical attributes of Satan.[192] In many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, Satan's envy is stressed,[193] though it is not always clear what the cause of his envy was. In my study of the fifth-century sources, I discovered a number of possibilities. These include his envy of Adam's priority in rank; of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life; and his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image.[194]

This is evident from a number of general statements. Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł C7 claims that "the first sin was born of falsehood,"[195] though envy was the cause and deceit the means. In this, Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł's stress is different from the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers—that, above all, envy was the motive. A similar, nonspecific statement is that of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, according to whom the serpent's deception caused unrighteousness.[196] In a hymn, Sahak Jorapʿorecʿi C7 refers in general terms to the deception by means of the tree and seduction by the serpent.[197] Somewhat more specific is Tʿēodoros Kʿṙtʿenawor C7's statement in his "Elegy on the Cross" that envy is the cause.[198] He still does not specify of what the serpent is envious, a lack of specificity that we observed from Wis 2:24 on. Elsewhere, Tʿēodoros says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name. This probably means that Satan argued that the divine command was invalid, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen 3:5).[199]

Zakʿaria Katʿołikos C9 asserts that Satan was envious of man, who inherited the Garden, which was the empty camp of the rebellious angels.[200] On the whole, however, as can be seen from the story of his fall discussed in the preceding section, the texts are silent on this point. However, Satan's envy itself is a major theme: Վառեալ՝ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային, "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue." Grigor Magistros C10 here also refers to envy and to flattery, which were Satan's tools.[201] He says, "By the envy of the Deceiver, the flattery of the dissembler," where the Deceiver is doubtless Satan, and the dissembler is probably the serpent.

Satan's aim was to prevent humans from returning to immortality.[202] The

192. See Anania Mokacʿi Katʿołikos 1; Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʿi 3; Tiranun *vardapet* 12 ("deceitful enemy" where "enemy" is a fixed appellation of Satan; see §3.1); Yovhannēs Drasxanakercʿi 2.

193. See chapter 1 §3.3.

194. *Ibid.* These subjects are discussed in greater detail in the appendix §3.2–3.3.

195. Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł 1.

196. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

197. Sahak Jorapʿorecʿi 1.

198. Tʿēodoros Kʿṙtʿenawor 4.

199. Tʿēodoros Kʿṙtʿenawor 1. Compare *ʾAbot R. Na. A*, 1 (Schechter 1967, 4). It seems unlikely that some theurgical use of the divine name is referred to here.

200. Zakʿaria Katʿołikos 5; and see §3.2 above.

201. Grigor Magistros 12.

202. Xosrov Anjewacʿi 1.

means by which he achieved this end was deceit. Thus, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i refers to the deceitful Devil,[203] and this expression is complemented by the idea that the serpent deceived Eve and "raised hope for her that he himself was a maker of gods."[204] As observed in §3.1, the distinction between Satan and the serpent is not always sharp, and, in addition, biblical attributes of the serpent are transferred to Satan. Thus, Anania Sanahnec'i C11 refers to the insidious treachery of the serpent,[205] while the references cited in §3.1 broaden our understanding of the presentation of these two knaves.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

The fifth-century texts were unanimous in stating that Adam's sin was to disobey one small, divine command.[206] In the texts studied in the present chapter, we find a number of themes relating to Adam's sin, but they do not take up the idea of disobedience to a small commandment. A number of authors connect Adam's sin with *hybris*, like that of Satan. This is the view of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, who imports Lucifer language into this context and says, "he wished to seize God's unachievable heights . . . he made the destroyer (into) his god, and inherited outer darkness, and was captured by the destruction of death." Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 expresses a similar view.[207]

Step'anos takes up a theme, also found in Łewond C8, that the Devil made humans his worshipers through idolatry.[208] Above, I have pointed to the idea that Satan sought to make humans worship him, that he was a sort of anti-god.[209] This notion is connected with an idea already found in the Hebrew Bible and other early sources, that idolatrous gods are really demons.[210]

Other authors make various remarks on this subject. The dragon-serpent "bound Adam through his ignorance," says Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[211] Adam's sin was the result of fearlessness according to T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7. Moreover, T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor said the same of Satan's sin.[212] Cheirograph ideas may lie

203. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i 2.

204. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.

205. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.

206. Chapter 1 §4.1. That Adam disobeyed God's commandment is mentioned, e.g., in Pseudo-Basil 1, but that it was "one small" commandment is not noted.

207. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7 and Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 2.

208. Łewond 4.

209. This theme is very prominent in later texts, such as *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §§32–33 (Stone 1996a, 50–51). There he is also acredited with his own good news, or gospel.

210. Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37; Bar 4:7; Rev 9:20; etc.

211. Grigoris Aršaruni 18. Or: "while he was ignorant."

212. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 3. See also §3.2 above.

behind Yovhan Mamikonean C7's unclear statement that sins are, and engender, a debt that needs to be paid.[213]

T'ovma Arcruni C9 stresses Eve's deception and seduction. The process was fueled by her desire for too much glory, which highlights another dimension of the *hybris* theme.[214] The disobedience took place on Friday, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C8.[215] Above, I noted that some authors maintain that Adam was expelled from the Garden because of his love of Eve, not because of a desire to become God.[216] This implies a motivation different from Eve's, which was the desire to become God. In less specific terms Anania Narek'ac'i C10 says that he sinned because "he desired unachievable things."[217]

A letter by Grigor Magistros C10 to Emir Ibrahim preserved in *Girk' T'łtoc'* discusses whether Adam ate the fruit totally against God's command or whether, in fact, God willed it. This may be an issue arising out of polemics.[218] Grigor Magistros C10 demonstrates his learning in the creation narratives of other peoples and asserts that only the oracles of Moses are to be believed.[219] For him, that clinches his argument.

In §1.1.7 the question is discussed of the relationship between Adam's discernment, resulting from the inbreathing of the Spirit, and his ability to sin.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

4.2 The Results of Sin

In a very significant passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 describes Adam's situation after sinning:

> . . . then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory; he was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety: becoming subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman; he lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was

213. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the cheirograph ideas, see §4.7 below.

214. T'ovma Arcruni 3. See the discussion above.

215. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. On the eschatological Friday, they will observe the commandments; see also *ibid.* 11.

216. See §2.8 above; see Grigor Narekec'i 5, cf. 14; Anania Narekac'i 4.

217. Anania Narek'ac'i 3.

218. Grigor Magistros 5, 6, and 7.

219. Grigor Magistros 7.

> exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments.[220]

In this passage, Adam's fall is described. He was a spiritual being, or included in the seven spiritual classes,[221] and, as a result of his sin and fall, he was deprived of glory. T'ēop'ilos C9 lists seven gifts lost by Adam and seven punishments he received in their place.[222]

The Twelve Gifts Lost by Adam, an apocryphal text preserved in later manuscripts, develops this idea, listing the gifts lost and the corresponding sins, using a stereotypical number.[223] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 remarks that Adam lost seven blessings (another stereotypical number) because of his seven sins. Step'anos lists here the seven lost graces, viz., "he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety." This list draws on ideas that were prominent in the fifth-century texts though discussed little in the immediately subsequent centuries. In particular, we may note the spirit, wisdom, and intellect, which the prior discussion of the divine image stressed greatly; see also above in this chapter §1.6. "Power" (զաւրութիւն) is related to the idea of Adam's lordship (§1.6 above). Again, it is Step'anos Siwnec'i and subsequently T'ovma Arcruni C9, who highlight this dimension of the results of sin. The same loss of spiritual and intellectual qualities,[224] as well as of "resplendent shining ornaments," recurs elsewhere in Step'anos Siwnec'i's writings.

The final major element of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's passage is death. This is, of course, the leading result of Adam's sin from the Bible on (Gen 3:19; Rom 5:14; cf. *4 Ezra* 3:10; it is not fully explicit in Genesis). In the sixth century, Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr talks of death stemming from Eve and of Eve's descendants spreading it over the universe.[225] Similarly Pseudo-Basil C6 speaks of the loss of immortality and the Garden. He says:

> For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of the immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

His use of the term զիտութեամբ ("with discernment") is of great interest, for not only does it occur in the fifth-century texts, but Step'anos Siwnec'i (above) says that it is one of the things Adam lost after sinning.

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220. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

221. Apparently seven angelic groups or hosts. See §2.0 above, where I discuss this passage in detail.

222. T'ēop'ilos 4.

223. See Yacoubian 2003, 45–52. Other copies of this text exist: see also manuscript Matenadaran M5950, 67–68, and Anasyan 1959, col. 264, no. 4. Contrast the twelve eschatological gifts of the righteous in manuscript Matenadaran M6617 of the year 1618. The date of the composition is unknown.

224. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13 and T'ovma Arcruni 6.

225. Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr 3, in a *Šarakan* (Hymn).

In the tenth century both Grigor Magistros and Grigor Narekac‘i describe what happened to Adam as a result of his disobedience as a fall.[226] With his fall, Satan captured Adam and his generations and took them into death and sins, says Xosrov Anjewac‘i C10.[227] Xosrow speaks further of "human souls . . . corrupted by the fault of sin" as an outcome of Adam's eating of the fruit.[228] Indeed, being captured by hell is a chief outcome of Adam's sin, says Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos C10.[229] The same view is held by Anania Narekac‘i C10[230] and is well expressed by Grigor Narekac‘i:

> (46.3–4) 3 Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
> And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
> Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life, . . .

So Adam's fall has implications for all humans.[231] God will undo this result of Adam's sin eschatologically, when hell is destroyed and its captives set free.[232] Equally, the curse on Eve brought about pains, which will be reversed by the Theotokos.[233]

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are discussed in §4.2.1. The serpent is punished as part of the curses.[234] In this context, Grigoris Aršaruni C7, in a passage I have already mentioned, relates to the serpent and its punishment in terms of the type of the thief on the cross and of the bronze serpent in the desert.[235] T‘ovma Arcruni C9 wonders why Satan is not cursed, but only Adam, Eve, and the serpent. His answer touches on the immortality of Satan: as an angel, though a fallen one, he cannot be killed.[236]

There remain a couple of statements distinct from the various understandings of the curses listed above. Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i C7 says that, when Adam disobeyed, "the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted."[237] Since the Bible says that

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226. Grigor Magistros 13 and Grigor Narekac‘i 1. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

227. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 2. The souls of the dead are said to be taken captive by Satan. See, e.g., *Ques. Ezra* A 7–10 and B 5–6. The complementary terminology of being set free is used of Christ's actions in the Harrowing of Hell and, in general, through his redemptive action. These terms are widespread.

228. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 5.

229. Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos 1.

230. Anania Narekac‘i 1.

231. Grigor Narekac‘i 18. Compare Xosrow Anjewac‘i 2 and 5.

232. Grigor Narekac‘i 2.

233. Grigor Narekac‘i 28.

234. T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor 4 talks about the cross as the instrument of the serpent's punishment.

235. The bronze serpent hung on a pole is compared to the brigand hung on his cross. See Grigoris Aršaruni 18 and compare T‘ēdoros K‘ṙt‘enawor 4.

236. T‘ovma Arcruni 4–5.

237. Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i 1.

Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise, not Jerusalem, as a result of their sin, Sahak's statement clearly reflects the typological identification of paradise and Jerusalem.

The immediate results of the sin are those explicit in the curses in Genesis and those that can be inferred through the exegesis of the biblical text. Adam will be forced to eat animal food and to wear perishable clothing. As to the food, the interpretation arises from the confrontation of Gen 1:29 with 3:17,[238] while the clothing derives from Gen 3:7 and 3:21. The idea that Adam will be bitten by serpents is drawn from the curse in Gen 3:15.[239]

Adam, nonetheless, still retained some of the prophetic spirit after the Fall, shown by his naming of Eve (Gen 3:20), but not as much as before.[240]. Heaven was closed by Adam's action.[241]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of World

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are a major biblical locus setting forth the results of Adam's sin. During the period under discussion, various authors evoke them, though none works them out in detail. Thus, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 refers to childbirth being painful because of Eve, and the fruit of earth being cursed because of Adam. He views the Annunciation, "he will bless the fruits of your womb" (Luke 1:43) as a reversal of these two curses.[242] T'ovma Arcruni C9 clearly has the curses in mind when he lists "sorrowful life along with death; and painful childbirth," dishonor, and physical labor as part of Adam's punishment.[243] Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10 says that because of Satan, Adam "inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing ground."[244] The cosmic signs observed in chapter 1 §4.2.1 are not mentioned in the sixth- to eleventh-century texts.

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The curses upon humanity include death, pasturing with animals (i.e., eating grass), loss of glory, and bringing forth children in pain, says Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.[245] He summarizes the change in Adam's state in the following

238. See Anderson 1992; reprinted in Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 57–81. See also Stone 1981b, xiii–xiv.

239. Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1. This curse may ultimately also lie behind the confrontation of Seth, Eve, and the beast (serpent in Latin) in the primary Adam books, compare *Pen. Adam* 37(10):1–39(12):3; and Stone 2000a, 111–32.

240. See §2.6 above; Grigor Narekac'i 5.

241. Grigor Narekac'i 9.

242. Grigoris Aršaruni 11.

243. T'ovma Arcruni 6. On the role of honor or glory, see §1.6 above, where they are connected with Adam's creation in the image.

244. Movsēs Kałankatuac'i 1. Similarly says Step'anos Tarōnec'i 1, though he does not mention Satan explicitly.

245. Grigor Magistros 13.

passage: "He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us."[246]

Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7 expresses the same notion but stresses the idea of Adam's autonomy and free will. Originally, he says, there was no death and no corruption. When Adam sinned, death was added to our nature, not by God but through Adam's free will and the deception of the serpent.[247] According to the formulation by Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, Adam inherited outer darkness and destruction of death captured him.[248] This is one of the first places where the eschatological term "outer darkness" is introduced into the description of the results of Adam's sin. In this passage, through the introduction of this eschatological terminology and of the "Lucifer" terminology, the sin and its results receive a metahistorical dimension.[249] The pair of terms, darkness and death, also occurs in *Pen. Adam* [47](39):3, to which the reference here may well be related.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Glory is a prime quality of Adam,[250] as well as of angels and of the divine, supernal world. It is related to Adam's royal or lordly characteristics in the Garden.[251] In the preceding section, we saw that Eve sinned by aspiring to too much glory.[252] On the other hand, Satan had glory but lost it when he fell;[253] he yearned for it.[254] Thus, as noted in the study of the fifth century, the removal of glory was a major aspect of Adam's loss in the Garden (see §4.2 there).[255]

In earlier texts a good deal was made of "were naked" of Gen 3:11 meaning "became naked, were stripped," that is, of glory.[256] This is also the view of T'ēop'ilos C9, who says, referring to changes engendered by Adam's sin, "instead of wearing light, (he wore) shy nakedness."[257] Pseudo-Basil C6 talks of Adam and Eve being "stripped of immortality," but at most this is an evocation of this exegesis of Gen 3:11.[258] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 mentions in passing the idea

246. Grigor Magistros 8.
247. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 4.
248. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7.
249. For the term "outer darkness," see Matt 8:12; 22:13; and 25:30; see also *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:5, *Ques. Ezra* A 3.
250. Step'anos Siwnec'i 20 and 21: see §§1.4, 1.6, and 2.4.
251. See n. 71 above.
252. T'ovma Arcruni 3; and §2.8 above.
253. §3.2 above; and see Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.
254. T'ovma Arcruni 3; see §3.1 above.
255. See also the last paragraph of this section.
256. See chapter 1 §4.2.3.
257. T'ēop'ilos 4.
258. Pseudo-Basil 1.

of the protoplasts' stripping,[259] as well as Adam's leather clothes.[260] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, citing Yovhan Imastasēr (the philosopher, i.e., Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7), refers to Adam as "stripped of glory, covered with a leaf."[261] This idea is even more explicit than another reference in Step'anos Siwnec'i's work, where he says simply that Adam tried to cover his nakedness with a leaf.[262] As happens in other instances, the references in Step'anos's works are rather explicit, perhaps partly because his discussion is so extensive.

In *To Manuč'ē* 7–8, Grigor Magistros C10 says that after their eyes were opened, "they knew, they saw because of whom they fell" and as a result, they fled, hid, and covered themselves with leaves. Nakedness is not mentioned. In *To Manuč'ē* 8, Grigor Magistros clearly implies that they were clothed in glory before the curses.[263]

Likewise, the leather clothing, following on the loss of the garments of glory, is understood by Grigor Magistros as a curse, as I pointed out above in §4.2.[264] Glory's loss is asserted without further specification by Grigor Narekac'i C10.[265] In earlier texts, the loss of glory was connected with nakedness, the immediate result of eating the forbidden fruit, not with the curses. Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that the results of sin were death and loss of the garment of glory serves to summarize many of these ideas.[266] On another level of discourse, Grigor Narekac'i C10 asserts that the soul's loss of celestial glory through sin is like Adam's loss of earthly paradise.[267] The soul, the created image of God, is the likeness of God's form. This likeness was lost through sin and is regained through baptism.[268] Adam's body, however, which was sinless and uncondemnable, fell to being condemned and mortally corrupt. This is the view of Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10.[269]

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 talks of Adam's punishment as if it were that of the fallen angel, Satan: he was expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts. In general, as we have seen, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos is much concerned with Satan's anti-kingdom and highlights those ideas.[270]

259. Grigoris Aršaruni 16. A further reference, even more glancing, is in *ibid.* 18.
260. Grigoris Aršaruni 19.
261. Step'anos Siwnec'i 12.
262. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.
263. Grigor Magistros 12–13.
264. Grigor Magistros 13.
265. Grigor Narekac'i 6 and 29.
266. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.
267. Grigor Narekac'i 18.
268. Grigor Narekac'i 18.
269. Step'anos Tarōnec'i 2; and see §3.2 above.
270. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 2. Above I noted other examples of Zak'aria Kat'ołikos's "anti-kingdom" concerns; see §3.2 and cf. §4.1.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

See §4.2.2.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

In a deliberately obscure passage, Grigor Magistros C10 describes Adam's state after the Fall, which is inherited by old men.[271] The postlapsarian state includes the loss of glory and also baldness. Adam lost his hair, which was a previous garment, wore leaves, and hid. Of course, ageing is one of the signs of the mortal state that Adam inherited after the Fall. The idea of the hair as the prelapsarian garment, however, is striking. It is oddly similar to a Greek folktale of the early twentieth century, recorded by George Megas. It says that Adam was covered with hair, which he shucked off after the sin.[272]

In another passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam was deprived of truth[273] and of the gifts of heaven and received seventy-seven-fold sorrows and multiple pains.[274] Seventy strokes, blows, or afflictions of the body come upon Adam as a punishment according to *Pen. Adam* 34.8.2 and Latin *L.A.E.* 34.[275] T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 uses the term "blows" for Adam's punishments, which also likely comes from the same context in *L.A.E.*, where the Greek reads *πληγάς*.[276] He says that Adam's "sweat-bearing" curse was composed of five blows (corresponding to the five senses) and came about through Satan.[277]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The meaning of the footsteps is discussed in chapter 1 §4.3. The incident is mentioned by a number of authors from varying points of view. First, from an eschatological perspective, the footsteps are connected with the Harrowing of Hell. When he was in hell, Adam heard the divine footsteps, recognizing them from

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271. Grigor Magistros 3.

272. Stone 2002, 98–102, 136–38.

273. Since sin is related to knowledge.

274. Step'anos Siwnec'i 3.

275. The number is seventy-two in the Greek *Apoc. Moses* 8.2 and the parallel Slavonic text. The typological numbers 70/72 alternate in many contexts, such as the number of the translators of the LXX, the number of Christ's disciples, and the number of apocryphal books (4 Ezra 14), and examples could be multiplied.

276. His Armenian text has ախտ, while Exod 11:1; 12:13; 33:5; etc. translate հարուած. This might imply that the tradition depends on a source other than *Penitence of Adam*. However, the parallel with *L.A.E.* is clear enough.

277. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 4. Here he combines biblical concepts with Greek ideas, in this instance, the five senses. This resembles, of course, the way that the biblical "material" or "dust" is understood to be made of the four elements; see §1.1.2 above. On the five senses, compare §2.8 above.

the Garden. In Christ's approach to hell, Adam perceives redemption from the punishment that followed on the footsteps he had heard in the Garden. Similarly, in T'ēop'ilos C9's "On the Passion and the Crucifixion," Adam recognizes Christ's footsteps as he descends to hell, which resemble those he heard in the Garden at the ninth hour.[278] These will signal the return of Adam's glory and Christ's destruction of the cheirograph, in other words, redemption. The same parallel is drawn by Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9.[279]

Anania Širakac'i C7 stressed neither the footfalls nor the divine summons, but instead the fact that God himself sought Adam, thus highlighting Adam's special status.[280] In an epistle preserved in *Girk' T'łt'oc' The Book of Letters*, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam rejected God's call for repentance. Although he does not mention the footfalls explicitly, the footsteps incident is the one in which Armenian exegetes saw God calling Adam to repentance.[281] T'ovma Arcruni C9 formulates the incident of the footsteps in the following fashion. God descended according to his usual custom and he called Adam in order to advert him to his arrival and summon him—in vain it eventuated—to repentance.[282] God's summons and Adam's lack of response are regarded as a turning point, as the loss of the Edenic state, to be recovered only at the time of the baptism of Christ.

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: "Where are you?"[283] he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in the Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him."[284]

Grigor Magistros C10, in *To Manuč'ē,* says, "Fearing of His footfalls: 'Where art thou, Adam', they [i.e., the footfalls] said. 'It happened because of us,' they said, thus taunting."[285]

In earlier centuries, the very idea of the sound of God's footfalls had posed difficulties to exegetes, and they interpreted them as a warning and call to Adam and Eve. The call was repeated in God's question "Where are you?" which was often interpreted as a call to repentance. We should understand these lines of Grigor Magistros C10's poem in light of the traditional explanation, that Adam and Eve's response to the footfalls' call to repentance was to reject it, for which reason they were cursed. This theme, prominent earlier on, appears only here

278. T'ēop'ilos 5. On the typological timetable, see §4.4.

279. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 1; note that this is strikingly similar to T'ēop'ilos 2, his "Elegy on the Resurrection of Christ": "And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life."

280. Anania Širakac'i contrasts God's calling Adam with Enosh's calling upon God (Gen 4:26). In general on Enosh, see Fraade 1984.

281. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

282. I.e., T'ovma Arcruni 3.

283. Gen 3:9.

284. Mark 9:7.

285. Grigor Magistros 13.

in Magistros's biblical epic, which related the events sequentially; it came up in none of the homiletic, hymnic, or other compositions examined.

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

One of the most striking innovations in the sources of the sixth–ninth centuries is an intense interest in primordial chronology and timetable. I noted an incipient interest in this subject in the fifth century,[286] but it is in no way comparable to what happened in the following centuries. This growth of interest is connected with the development of the Old Adam/New Adam typology, which is a driving theme of the material I will discuss.[287] It seems likely that the fairly explicit chronology of Christ's passion presented in the Gospels has affected the chronology of events of Adam's creation and sin, which are conformed to this pattern. The chronological concerns that are very prominent in the sixth- to ninth-century texts are less so in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[288]

Adam was one day in the Garden before he was expelled, according to Pseudo-Basil C6 and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi C7.[289] In the discussion of the fifth century, I pointed out that the view that Adam was in the Garden for one thousand years, attributed by Ełišē C5 to "foreigners," is the same as saying he was in the Garden for one (divine or primordial) day, a view undergirded by the exegesis of Ps 90:4.[290] The same idea of the divine day lies behind Tʻovma Arcruni C9's statement that in the Garden Adam was given a span of many years as one day.[291]

Quite different from the view that Adam was in the Garden for one day is Grigoris Aršaruni C7's view that man was created on the sixth day,[292] entered the Garden on the fortieth day, and left the Garden after forty days.[293] This is the same view implied by Ełišē, who also set Eve's introduction into the Garden on the eightieth day, and Adam and Eve's sin and expulsion on the same day.[294] It is quite possible that Grigoris Aršaruni C7 is directly dependent on Ełišē in this matter. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 works out this thought even further, with Adam's punishment continued until the sixth millennium, which was the

286. See chapter 1 §§1.1.1 and 4.4.

287. For a further development of it, see Yovhan Ōjnecʻi 11. This passage contains nothing relating to Genesis 1–3 beyond those elements found in the Bible.

288. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ C10 8 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus's death.

289. Pseudo-Basil 1 and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi 8. Below I discuss the similarities between the chronologies of Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi.

290. See chapter 1 §4.4.

291. Tʻovma Arcruni 2. Compare the rabbinic midrash that Adam was destined for a life of one thousand years, but he yielded seventy years to David; see *Num. Rab.* 14:12; Ginzberg 1909–38, 5:82 n. 28.

292. See further in this section, where Adam's creation on the sixth day is discussed.

293. Grigoris Aršaruni 7.

294. See chapter 1 §4.4, for the traditions behind this view.

sum of twelve "hours" of five hundred years and therefore, a "great day." This is all an exegesis of "on the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die" (Gen 2:17).

Elsewhere, however, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 implies that Adam's time in the Garden was short: "you that lived but few days in the Garden."[295] He states that "he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out.[296] However, Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10 says that Adam was created on the sixth day and "on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed."[297] This implies that he was expelled on the very day on which he was created, which was Friday.[298] While Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10 stresses that this was on the same Friday, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a different opinion and argues that Adam was created on the first Friday but expelled only on the second Friday.[299]

A second series of texts does not deal with how long Adam was in the Garden but, instead, with the creation on and the division of the sixth day of creation. In the fifth century, Mambrē says that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb.[300] He sinned, Mambrē C5 says, on the sixth day, that is, on Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.[301] Patristic and the later Armenian sources make much of the creation of Adam on the sixth day, Friday. Adam sinned on Friday, the day on which he was created and on which Christ died on the cross.[302] I have already noted that this was the view of Pseudo-Basil C6.[303] Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9 states that God descended toward evening on Friday to walk with his footfall audible in the Garden. Zakʻaria Katʻołikos utilizes language drawn from Armenian Genesis.[304] These authors do imply, however, that the creation and expulsion of Adam took place on the same day. Thus, in a fashion much more complex than Mambrē's, Pseudo-Basil C6 has the following scheme:[305]

295. Grigoris Aršaruni 14.

296. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni says, "Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden of Eden." Doubtless, forty days are "but few days" in contrast to immortality's many days.

297. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 4.

298. In a second passage, excerpt 5, Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi states the same, using different language.

299. Tiranun *vardapet* 5.

300. Mambrē 4.

301. Mambrē 11.

302. Alexandre 1988, 273–74, citing Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.23.2. The same views and chronology are taken up in *Adam Story 2* and are discussed in the introduction to the edition of that text; see Stone 1992, 109–13. See above in chapter 1 §4.4. Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) discuss the calculation of the hours in a broader context in early Christian literature. Among others, they quote a passage from Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.153, which is a detailing of hours rather like that of Pseudo-Basil.

303. Pseudo-Basil 1.

304. Zakaʻaria Katʻołikos 1 and 10.

305. Pseudo-Basil 3 here says that Adam was created in the first hour of the night (paral-

Dawn	Adam was created	corresponds to Christ’s bonds on Friday
Third hour	Eve was deceived by the serpent;	
Sixth hour	Eve ate the fruit	corresponds to Christ’s crucifixion
	destruction of souls	corresponds to darkening of luminaries and consumption of gall
Ninth hour	Adam was expelled	corresponds to Christ’s giving up his soul; destruction of hell, freeing of souls; destruction of the Deceiver and raising up of all to heaven
Tenth hour	Adam and Eve stood outside the Garden	

This text exhibits both an interest in chronological precision and a concern to link the detailed Edenic timetable to the events of Christ’s passion. Mark 15:25 relates that Christ was set on the cross in the third hour and, according to Matt 27:45–50; Mark 15:33–38; and Luke 23:44–46, he died in the ninth hour. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus’s death.[306]

A similar chronology is to be found in *Adam Story 2* where the following scheme occurs:

First Friday morning	Creation of Adam
First Friday, third hour	Creation of Eve
Forty days later	Adam was put into the Garden
Following Friday, third hour	Eve ate the fruit
Same Friday	Adam ate the fruit
Same Friday, ninth hour	God came to the Garden and cursed them.

Here we observe a combination of the idea that Adam was put into the Garden on the fortieth day with a detailed analysis of his actions, hour by hour.[307]

lel to Christ’s bonds on Friday), yet this must mean, apparently, the first hour after the night. Excerpt 2 has an unusual expression of the time of the creation of man, ի գիշերէ առաւաւտ. This van Esbroeck (1987) translates “la nuit, à l’aube,” which must be the sense of the passage, as is clear from the next sentence. However, these passages remain obscure.

306. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 8.

307. There are further apocryphal texts with such chronologies, but we do not give them here in detail because they are all much later than Anania Širakacʻi. See further Stone 1996a, 109–10.

Moreover, this text assigns both Eve's creation and her eating the fruit to the third hour, that in which Christ was crucified.

There are few references to the hours of the night. Particularly notable is that in the first watch of the night, Adam's longing began and he sought the place of the Garden.[308]

Referring to the liturgy of Holy Week, Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7 discusses correspondences between the hours of the various ordained services, Adam's actions in the Garden, and the events of Christ's passion. I have tabulated these below.[309]

first hour	Adam's creation		Excerpt 7
sixth hour	Adam's sin	Crucifixion	Excerpts 6, 8
ninth hour	Adam's expulsion	Death	Excerpts 9

These times agree basically with the chronology of Pseudo-Basil C6 and not with that of Anania Širakac'i C7 (see below). The view of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 that Adam was created at dawn, that is, in the first hour[310] also agrees with Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ōjnec'i. Moreover, in the third hour, Step'anos says, Adam was captured by the Deceiver and Christ went forth onto the cross.[311]

This same pattern of the third, sixth, and ninth hours is to be found in the seventh-century author Anania Širakac'i with a difference. His chronology is less detailed and attributes different actions to the various hours.

Third hour — The Creator took dust into his hand.
Sixth hour — Man was created and animated.
Ninth hour — Man sinned and left the Garden.

Anania Širakac'i also elaborates the typological correspondence with Christ differently. Christ was incarnated on the Friday, that is, the sixth millennium; he remained unrevealed in the world for thirty years, just as Adam was born at the age of thirty.[312]

308. Pseudo-Basil 3.

309. We have extrapolated slightly here. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 8 actually says: "For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the transgression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his (i.e., Adam's) wounds." We learn from above that Adam sinned and Christ mounted the cross in the sixth hour: so also Pseudo-Basil C6 3. Mark 15:25 refers to Christ mounting the cross in the nine o'clock hour. Matt 25:45, however, refers to darkness covering the whole earth at noon (i.e., at the sixth hour), and Luke 23:44 refers to darkness from noon until three in the afternoon. This fits well with Yovhan Ōjnec'i's chronology of the passion.

310. Step'anos Siwnec'i 8.

311. Step'anos Siwnec'i 1, 5, and 9

312. Anania Širakac'i 4.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

Little is said about Adam and Eve's actions after the Fall and expulsion. We can infer from the statements of Pseudo-Basil C6 that Adam and Eve started to yearn for the Garden and to bewail their lot, a view also found in the primary Adam books.[313] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 states that after the Fall, Adam set his hope upon the sun; then the sun set and horror filled him. When dawn ensued, he praised God and thus he got the habit of praising the Creator at dawn.[314] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 interestingly stresses the issue of light, which became the basis of the cheirograph legend, but he goes no further than to stress it.[315]

Grigor Narekac'i C10 says in his poem "On the Lord Coming to Lazarus":[316]

> The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of Paradise:
> He has come to renew your earthy nature;
> He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
> He takes His own God-formed image to the garden of Eden.

It is clear from the first line that God made a promise of redemption at the time of the expulsion from the Garden, an idea already known in the primary Adam books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* chs. 42–43).

The idea that Christ reverses the curses at the end permeates the whole corpus we are considering. Likewise, the timetable of Christ's suffering on the cross corresponds to the timetable of Adam's creation, sin, and expulsion; Adam's sin brought captivity in hell, and Christ's redemption will bring about freedom and reversal of hell. And one could trace out this pattern further.[317] It follows, therefore, that the protological and the eschatological events are mirror-images of each other. Equally, but less elaborately, an analogous pattern was worked out with Eve and the Virgin.

I should perhaps remark that the development of the tradition happened in two different directions. In the correlative patterning of the πρῶτα and the ἔσχατα, on the one hand, the story of Christ and especially of the passion has informed the Adam stories. Yet, on the other, the Adamic material, preceding the Christian material in its biblical and postbiblical Jewish forms, has also informed the telling of parts of the Christ story.

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313. Pseudo-Basil 3.

314. Step'anos Siwnec'i 4.

315. See Stone 2002

316. Grigor Narekac'i 2.

317. The theme runs through the texts. Observe the particularly pregnant passages in Grigor Narekac'i 2 and 10; Grigor Narekac'i uses this language to describe his own "paradisiacal" inner state in 16 and 28. Note also Tačat *vardapet* 3.

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

The cheirograph legend greatly develops one dimension of Adam's postexpulsion state, when it talks of God giving Adam a contract promising eschatological redemption. An alternative tradition refers to the letter written by God and transmitted eventually by the Magi.[318] The *sacra historia*, therefore, permeates the whole tradition from creation to Christ.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 is interested in the idea of the bill of indebtedness, the statement of sins that Adam had accumulated. This idea is based on Col 2:14. Christ, Step'anos Siwnec'i asserts, abolished "the hand-written testament of sins."[319] This idea is widespread in early Christian sources as far back as Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 120–ca. 203). Colossians is interpreted thus after the acceptance of the idea of Christ's Harrowing of Hell. As a result, Step'anos said that Christ "tore the cheirograph of his transgression."[320] The verb պատառեաց ("tore") clearly betrays the influence of the cheirograph legend, of which it is a typical term.[321] A century earlier Yovhan Mamikonean C7 drew on the conceptual realm of the cheirograph when he implies that sins are or engender a debt that needs to be paid, even though he does not use the term "cheirograph."[322]

In the writings of Artawazd Mazazuni C10 we have a fully developed form of the cheirograph material.

> And Adam transgressed [i.e., made] the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord "erased the cheirograph"[323] on the cross, for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression.[324]

In this passage Artawazd Mazazuni applies the words of Col 2:14 to Adam. Moreover, he clearly implies that the bill of indebtedness is held by death (or Satan). Artawazd's comment in a second writing that Christ "will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent" draws on the same realm of ideas.[325] In using this expression he shows that he

318. Stone 2002, 20–24.

319. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 1: "handwritten," that is, Armenian ձեռագիր, which also means "cheirograph" and refers to Col 2:14.

320. զձեռագիր յանցանաց նորա պատառեաց. Step'anos Siwnec'i 9.

321. On this complex, see Stone 2002, 103–11; see also Best 1956.

322. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the technical uses of this term, see Beatriz Moncó in Stone 2002, 142–46.

323. Col 2:14. Greek χειρόγραφον, which the NRSV translates "record."

324. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

325. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

is also aware of the tradition that Christ crushed the dragon-Satan at the time of his baptism. This idea is based, in turn, on an exegesis of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.[326]

The same exegesis is to be found in ancient patristic sources, from as early as Ephrem Syrus (fourth century).[327] The oldest Greek source is Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt (380–390);[328] it occurs also in Augustine (354–430),[329] Narsai[330] (fifth century); Romanus Melodus (ca. 540).[331]

The idea of sins as a reckoning is to be found in Grigor Narekac‘i C10: "for one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam | And does not reckon the sins of all as his own. . . ."[332] This idea is, of course, inherent in the cheirograph language. The same terminology is much more explicit in Grigor Narekac‘i 28, where he speaks of գիր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն, "the document of condemnation for the transgression."[333] This is an unambiguous reference to Col 2:14, for he says that it "having been erased, was torn," combining both of the verbs found in sources relating to the cheirograph.[334]

It remains a mystery why this material, and particularly its connection with Adam, which was widespread in Christian sources from the fourth century at least, first appears in Armenian only in Step‘anos Siwnec‘i in the eighth century and is first fully expressed only in the tenth century by Artawazd Mazazuni. Earlier, the idea, which appeared rarely, was translated by դատակնիք in the

326. See Stone 2002, 22–24. Grigor Narekac‘i 24 and 25 speak of annulling Eve's "seal of condemnation." This too may belong to the same context and language associated with the cheirograph tradition. Compare, more explicitly, excerpt 28, which speaks of գիր դատապարտութեան, "document of condemnation." In both cases, Grigor Narekac‘i transfers the cheirograph language to Eve in contrasting her with the Virgin.

327. Early patristic sources containing this exegesis include Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 48.9; 36.17; and concerning Eve, see Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 1.24.

328. Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt, *Homily* 11.10 (Dörries, Klostermann and Kroeger 1964), *PG* 34.552b–c; *Homily* 53 (Berthold 1973, 145–47).

329. Augustine, *Against Julian* 1.6.26 (*PL* 44:658).

330. Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century).

331. The texts and translations cited are drawn from Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century). The texts and translations of Romanus Melodus cited are drawn from Grosdidier de Matons 1967, 4:43.

332. See Grigor Narekac‘i 19.

333. The term դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation") also occurs in Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i 2.

334. Stone 2002, 163 n. 33 The verb "erased" is drawn from Col 2:14, while the verb "torn" appears somewhat later and seems to be related to the idea that Satan holds the cheirograph and that Christ descends into Hades after his crucifixion and destroys, "tears, rends" it. Above I mentioned Grigor Narekac‘i C10's application of this language to Eve.

Armenian version of Chrysostom, though the Greek lying behind it is clearly χειρόγραφον.[335]

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

Adam was buried on Golgotha, and Golgotha is the place of the tree of life. This statement in the *Panegyric of the Holy Cross* C7 seems to be the first place in our excerpts where we find the literary formulation of the iconography of the cross standing on Adam's skull.[336]

Grigor Narekac'i C10 implies that Adam is buried on the Mount of Olives, where Melchizedek was anointed, and his grave dressed Jesus with power.[337] In a metaphorical mode, relating to the baptism, Artawazd Mazazuni C10 speaks of Christ's overcoming Satan in his baptism as the crushing of the head of the serpent and of the burial of the old Adam in the water.[338]

335. Stone 2002, 105. In Step'anos Siwnec'i 1 we find ձեռագիր, dependent on Colossians: similarly, *ibid.*, 9.

336. Dawit' the Invincible 1. See Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) {19–21} on this theme in early Christian literature, from Origen on. They discuss various aspects of the understanding of Golgotha.

337. Grigor Narekac'i 23.

338. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

3. Adam and Eve Traditions in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the flourishing of Armenian literature of the High Middle Ages, with many authors writing in the Armenian Cilician kingdom. The Pahlavouni poet and Catholicos, Nersēs Šnorhali C12, was a dominant figure, as was Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, Archbishop of Tarsus. At this time, typological exegeses, predominantly of Adam and Christ, are worked out and presented in further detail, but no special or new ideas about Adam result from this: a developed example is to be seen in Vahram Rabuni C13, and the same tendency may be observed in the writings of Nersēs Šnorhali and Nersēs Lambronac‘i.[1]

Probably the second most prominent such pattern has already been observed in chapter 2 §2.8 and in §2.8 in the present chapter. It is that of Eve and the Virgin, which was already coming to the fore in the tenth–eleventh centuries. In a third instance, the imagery of Christ as the Garden, the tree of life, is constructed on the same basic Adam/Christ typology. It is found already in Grigor Narekac‘i C10 *Book of Lamentation* 80.1, and, in the twelfth century, Nersēs Šnorhali also uses it but applies it to the Virgin.[2] Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13 uses the pattern of Eden for ecclesiastical and theological purposes.[3] The typological approach exemplified by Nersēs Šnorhali's and Nersēs Lambronac‘i's work does not add much information to the basic goal of this book, which is to discover how the Genesis stories were told or retold, conserved or modified in medieval Armenian literature.

Vahram Rabuni C13, whose treatment of Adam/Christ has already been noted, addresses the issue of the consanguinity of Adam and Eve and of their children, implying the question of whom Cain and Abel married. Eve and Abel, he says, both derived from Adam, but they are not brother and sister. They are,

1. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 6–7 and 9; compare Nersēs Šnorhali 17, 19, 34, etc.; Vahram Rabuni 3–6 and elsewhere.
2. Nersēs Šnorhali 1, 2, and 3.
3. See excerpts 3 and 4.

instead, one in nature, like the Persons of the Trinity, who are also not brothers.[4] Here, he resolves the question by an analogy, not by typology in the strict sense.

It should be noted that, although the creation of angels is mentioned, they are absent from the discussion of sin, obedience, and free will. Humans are said to be intermediate between angels and animals. Equally, the naming of the animals, which had been a prominent topic in earlier centuries, is barely mentioned. It is noteworthy, too, that concern with aligning the detailed timetable of Adam and Eve's sin, curses, and expulsion with the events of the passion is not prominent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though in earlier times it too was a major topic. The chronology of the primordial events continued to interest scholars in the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth century this interest receded. The cheirograph legend is mentioned, though not at length.

A further innovation in this data is striking. For the first time, in the thirteenth century we can identify clear references to apocryphal Adam traditions and to the Aṙaǰawor fast that is connected with them; see §4.6 below. The Aṙaǰawor fast is a five-day fast unique to the Armenian Church, observed three weeks before Lent and concluding on a Friday. Today, it is connected, inter alia, with the five days of creation preceding Adam's eating the fruit.[5] In the thirteenth century, however, Vanakan *vardapet* says, "The first fast is the following. When[6] Adam came out of Paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only-Begotten and the incarnation of the Word of God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the earth."[7]

I shall discuss the development in the thirteenth century of the idea of Adam's weeping and imploring outside the Garden after his expulsion.[8] Adam's fast and penitential prayer are connected with the Aṙaǰawor fast. Elsewhere, a different idea occurs, that the commandment not to eat the fruit was analogous to the Christian fasts as an exercise in ascetic self-control that Adam failed.[9]

An example of Adam's plaint before the closed gate of paradise is the following lines composed by Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13:

I implore you, seraphim,
I have a complaint, hear me out.
When you enter the Garden of Eden,
Take a branch of the immortal fruit,

4. Vahram Rabuni 2.

5. See Petrosyan 2002, 75.

6. Literally: "and when."

7. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2.

8. See §4.6.

9. That idea is present in Vardan Aygekc‘i's statement that the first type of fast is for Christ's sake, since God commanded Adam not to eat . . . (excerpt 9).

Bring it and place it over my eyes,
And cure my darkened eyes.

When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the Garden's gate,
Set me before it,
Let me look a moment, turn me away.[10]

This connects with the Armenian apocryphal Adam books, in particular with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve*. There Adam and Eve's suffering is described in §§6–10 and a long lament presented in §§11–24.[11] Finally, Vahram Rabuni C13 remarks that Adam was an individual from whom came his own species and genus.[12]

1.0 The Creation

Samuēl Anecʻi C12 quotes two opinions about the number of creations. Some say, he notes, that there were twenty-two main creations according to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet; others say that there were twenty-four creations according to the number of hours of the day.[13] The same discussion is repeated in the fourteenth century by Grigor Tatʻewacʻi in his encyclopaedic *Book of Questions*.[14] The number of twenty-two creations is very old, already occurring in the second-century B.C.E. *Book of Jubilees* 2:16. Although *Jubilees* is not extant in Armenian, a number of traditions from *Jubilees* do appear in Armenian literature, perhaps transmitted through Syriac and Greek reuses of *Jubilees* material. This enumeration occurs also in the *Palaea* 3.12–13[15] and Joseph Paramelle recognized the same in the margins of Greek manuscript Vatoped. 659 fol. 58 and wrote a detailed discussion of how this ancient Jewish tradition reached Byzantine Greek sources.[16] The *Palaea*, like *Jubilees*, does not occur in Armenian but shares many traditions with Armenian texts.[17]

10. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 70 and 71.

11. We have consulted the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990. His texts are fuller than those of Yovsēpʻiancʻ 1896 at several points. S. Peter Cowe 1992, in his review of Lipscomb, observes (without reference) that Aṙaǰawor is already connected with Adam by Pawłos Tarōnacʻi in the twelfth century.

12. Vahram Rabuni 1.

13. Samuēl Anecʻi 2.

14. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, *Book of Questions*, 226–27. Without further investigation, however, it is impossible to know whether Grigor drew this view from Samuēl Anecʻi.

15. This is Adler's numbering, equivalent to 189 in Vassiliev 1893.

16. Paramelle 1984, 36–38.

17. Much further research is required into Armenian knowledge of *Palaea* tradition.

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

The texts I examined state clearly that Adam was created by God. This is the view of the thirteenth-century writers Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz, Frik, and Grigor Aknercʻi.[18] In addition, Frik and Vardan Arewelcʻi, as well as Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz, say that he was created by God's hands.[19] This doubtless derives from the idea of modeling Adam, which is implied already in Gen 2:7. Frik also says that Adam was created by a decision of the Trinity, as does Vardan Arewelcʻi C13. This is an inference from the plural in Gen 1:26, "Let us make man,"[20] The spirit that God breathed into him, Frik says, was a seal that brought him to life.[21]

Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 states the same in somewhat different terms when he says that Adam was created from matter and the spirit was breathed into him by God.[22] In connection with creation in the image, Vardan Arewelcʻi C13 says that Adam and Eve were created rational and perceptive.[23]

Eve was made from Adam's side, declares Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13,[24] and her creation is also described by Frik C13 in terms resembling those in the Bible.[25] "And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam," proclaims Stepʻanos Ōrbelean C13, in a typological mode.[26] Frik, however, says that Adam wanted and needed a companion so he would not think himself to be self-created.[27]

Frik also claims that the birds were made from the waters.[28] This is a quite common view and is based on a reading of Gen 1:20–21. It occurs repeatedly in the work of Frik, but not in our excerpts from other authors, an imbalance probably due to the relatively numerous excerpts drawn from Frik.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Mxitʻar Anecʻi C12 presents the overall chronology of Adam's life after his expulsion from the Garden and up to his death at the age of 930.[29] Frik C13 says

18. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 42; Frik 52; and Grigor Aknercʻi 1.

19. Frik 52, 63; Vardan Arewelcʻi 4; and Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 42. The idea is old; see chapter 1 §1.1; chapter 2 §1.1.

20. Frik 49; Vardan Arewelcʻi 4; see chapter 2 §1.1.1 and chapters 4–5 §1.1.

21. Frik 52. Sealing is discussed above, also in connection with this passage from Frik. Donabédian 1981, 135 discusses one of many representations of the inbreathing. Presumably Adam's creation by God is implied also by Frik's statement "I know that you were not a son of sin" (excerpt 5).

22. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 37.

23. Vardan Arewelcʻi 36. On the image, see §1.6 below.

24. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 12.

25. Frik 54.

26. Stepʻanos Ōrbelean 3.

27. Frik 53–54.

28. Frik 11. See also Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 180.

29. Mxitʻar Anecʻi 1.

that Adam was created last, after everything else: this is also the biblical view.[30] Indeed, many authors set the creation of Adam on the sixth day, which follows the biblical text in Gen 1:24–2:1. For example, in accordance with the Bible, Samuēl Anecʻi C12 said that on the sixth day both animals and Adam and Eve were created.[31] The Syrian scholar Abusayid C12 gave further details. He had calendrical and astronomical interests and observed that it was spring when God created Adam; it was equinox, and the sun was in the first degree of Aries. That is to say, Adam was created at the beginning of the year.[32] We can observe the same concern for the relationship of astronomy, calendar, and the sequence of events in chapter 2 §1.1.1.

Five days passed between the creation of the angels on first day and of Adam on the sixth, Vardan Arewelcʻi C13 maintains. This difference either was due to Adam's need for food or was so that he might receive a place under the heavens.[33] The connection of the creation of the creatures five days before Adam and the five-day Aṙaǰawor fast is made by Vanakan *vardapet* C13; it is discussed above in §0.0 and below in §4.6. This emphasis is strikingly new in the thirteenth century. Other aspects of Adam's beginnings are highlighted below.

The events are often viewed typologically, as I have noted above (§0.0). Adam's creation on the sixth day is often paralleled with the passion of Christ, who was crucified on a Friday, the sixth day. Grigor Tłay C12 states that God created Adam on Friday, as does Samuēl Anecʻi C13.[34] Vanakan *vardapet* C13 has recourse to onomastic etymologies and speaks of "the month Nisan, which is translated 'formation,' for He formed Adam of dust.[35] The day manifests the same, for it is called 'urbat' (Friday), that is 'formation.' It is called also 'bawt' 'sorrowful news,' which means grief and sorrow, due to (his) being expelled from paradise and hearing, 'dust you were, and unto dust shall you return'"; that is, Adam was created on Friday and expelled on Friday.[36]

Pawłos Tarōnacʻi C12, who had considerable calendrical interests (related, presumably to his interest in liturgy) specifies further that God created Adam on the sixth day, a Friday, which was 1 Nisan, and that the creation took place at the sixth hour. Nisan is first month of the Hebrews.[37] In the Synoptics' passion nar-

30. Frik 14.

31. Samuēl Anecʻi 2.

32. Abusayid 2. The first point of the constellation of Aries was the vernal equinox and was considered the beginning of the astronomical year. The point has, in fact, moved into Pisces over the centuries.

33. Vardan Arewelcʻi 9.

34. Grigor Tłay 7; Samuēl Anecʻi 2. This is, of course, from the Bible.

35. I.e., in the first month. See the note on the excerpt both in connection with the calendar reckoning and with the etymologies.

36. Vanakan *vardapet* 1. These etymologies are obscure.

37. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi 2. Jewish belief is that the world was created on 1 Tishrei. This is not explicit in pentateuchal legislation, but two significant events are noted in the postexilic period to have taken place in the seventh month; see 1 Esd 5:53 and 9:10. In Neh 9:1–3 the date

rative, the sixth hour (noon) is the hour of Jesus's death. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 writes that Adam was expelled in the evening just as Christ died in the evening (cf. Mark 15:41); Adam was created in morning and ate the fruit at the sixth hour.[38] This typological chronology of Vardan Arewelc'i resembles those found in earlier centuries.

Samuēl Anec'i C13 says that in the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples regarded the beginning of spring as the beginning of the year.[39] One wonders whether this caused certain texts to mention 1 Nisan as the time of creation. Of course, when combined with the other "beginning" features, to think of the world created in the spring, on a new moon and when the Aries is in the first degree, and so on, is to accumulate items that mark a "beginning."

There are some other miscellaneous chronological traditions. Adam was put in the Garden forty days after his creation. This is the reading of the emended text of Vardan Aygekc'i.[40] This number was rather old and well established also in the Byzantine tradition.[41] According to Vardan Arewelc'i C13, it is not known how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. In the Garden they were not subject to years and, directly upon their sin, they left the Garden. Chronological reckoning starts only from the expulsion; this is the view of Yohan K'ahana C13.[42]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

By the period being considered in this chapter, the discussion we observed in chapter 2 §1.1.2, whether Adam was created from dust or from the four elements, has been resolved. The idea of Adam's creation from the four elements is firmly established. Adam, Frik C13 says, was created by God's hand from four elements, and his creation was followed by the breathing in of the spirit (so the

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is different. In the Mishnah, which is later, we read, in *m. Roš Haš.* 1:1: "There are four New Years: On the first of Nisan, the new year for the kings and for the festivals. On the first of Elul, the new year for the tithing of animals; Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Shimon say, on the first of Tishrei. On the first of Tishrei, the new year for years, for the Sabbatical years and for the Jubilee years and for the planting and for the vegetables. On the first of Shevat, the new year for the trees, these are the words of the House of Shammai; the House of Hillel says, on the fifteenth thereof."

38. Vardan Arewelc'i 18.

39. Samuēl Anec'i 1.

40. Vardan Aygekc'i 13.

41. See Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4, where they give relevant sources. This is also considered by Adler 1989, 85. See also *Adam Story 2*, §3, and the discussion in Stone 1996a, 111, with references to other sources, of which the oldest is *Jub.* 3:9. In the manuscript published there, *Adam Story 2* is followed by *Question*, which is likely dependent on Vanakan *vardapet;* see Ervine 2000.

42. Yohan K'ahana 1.

biblical text, Gen 2:7) and sealing, which vivified him.[43] In another formulation, Frik says that God correctly made everything from the elements, and then man.[44]

Frik C13 mentions the four elements frequently. God himself created them—so the land is upon the water as the dwelling of reptiles, and so forth.[45] In Frik's creation narrative he says that the four elements "act correctly by your word."[46] Elsewhere he states that God created the four elements and substances by singular weight.[47]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The idea that the world was created to be of service and enjoyment for humans is present already in the Second Temple period.[48] Frik C13 entertains the same concept.[49] Similar is Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi's C13 statement that "you warned him to observe the commandment and enjoy the goods you had given him gratuitously and without compensation." The goodness of creation, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi says, was given freely to Adam.[50] Frik stated that the sun and moon are servants of humans, and the world was created for enjoyment by day.[51]

Grigor Tłay C12 speaks of the counsel taken by the Son with the Father and the Spirit, which is an interpretation of Gen 1:26: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness." The use of the plurals "us" and "our" underpin this idea.[52] Mxitʻar Goš says that God did not envy Adam, despite Satan's saying "become gods," which one might have thought was God's motive for banning the tree.[53]

In this section, I examine the idea that Adam was created immortal and the commandment was given so that his obedience would confirm his immortality and raise him to a heavenly level. This view is well expressed by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13, "If you will keep my commandment that you received from me, | I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks."[54] Sim-

43. Frik 51–52. The exact meaning of "sealing" here is not explicit, but it has to do with the inbreathing of the divine spirit, by which man was vivified. See also the same in Frik 52 and 30.

44. I.e., from the elements, too. Frik 13–14. See below, §1.2.

45. Frik 13.

46. Frik 39. There is a clear view here of the role of divine speech in the acts of creation. Frik's creation narrative occurs in excerpts 21–28.

47. Frik 45; cf. 39. Each substance has its particular and different weight.

48. Stone 1990a, 188–89.

49. Frik 15.

50. Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3.

51. Frik 34. This must be compared with Agatʻangełos 9.

52. Grigor Tłay 17. In excerpt 20 he says that the purpose of the creation of man was, "To keep the law of the commandment, | And to inherit the desirable thing."

53. Mxitʻar Goš 1.

54. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 23.

ilarly, Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13 says that the purpose of commandments is “to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode.”[55]

In earlier centuries, the same basic view of Adam’s commandment was formulated as a type of test, as a last stage before his achieving his spiritual potential, immortality, glory, and heavenly status.[56] A similar idea is expressed in Yovhannēs Imastasēr’s C12 observation that, in fact, God’s purpose in giving the commandment was the pledge of future prizes after Adam demonstrated his virtue.[57] Of course, as is true of many statements relating to trials and testing and consequently to free will and human choice, the inherent conflict with divine omniscience is ignored.

Analogous to the formulation quoted above is the notion that the purpose of creation is to give Adam and Eve fruit at a fitting time and make them divine; see Vardan Arewelc‘i C13.[58] Frik C13 says that the immortality of paradise and all its good things are for Adam.[59] Similar is Vardan Arewelc‘i’s idea that “(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures.”[60] This evokes the view that creation was for the benefit of humans.

Similarly, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Adam was placed in the Garden to keep the commandment and inherit the desirable things.[61] God intended Adam to become a “cultivated plant,” but Adam frustrated this intention by his disobedience, as Sargis Šnorhali puts it.[62] Abusayid says that God laid upon Adam the commandments to love God and to observe his commandments.[63] This formulation draws, of course, on a biblical cliché and is of no great significance.

On the subject of the creation of Eve, Frik C13 says that God “created women for fertility, | Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world. | 35 He adorned her with colored clothes, | He fed her with various fruit.”[64] He also says that Eve was created because Adam deemed himself self-created.[65]

1.1.4 Adam’s Age at Creation

Adam was created as a man thirty years of age.[66] The scientist Anania Širakac‘i C7 spoke of the age of thirty as the most perfect age for a human

55. Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i 3. Adam was given one commandment says Frik 1 and 50.
56. See chapter 1 §1.4.
57. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.
58. Vardan Arewelc‘i 27.
59. Frik 57; see also §1.1.7 (“Gifts”), for the idea that creation is for the sake of human beings.
60. Vardan Arewelc‘i 1.
61. Grigor Tłay 20.
62. Sargis Šnorhali 3. The idea of Adam as a plant is drawn from Jas 1:12.
63. Abusayid 1.
64. Frik 32–33.
65. Frik 53–54 and §1.1 above.
66. On the time of Adam’s creation, see §1.1.1.

being.[67] Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi C12 says that they mourned (i.e., Abel) for thirty days corresponding to Adam's age of thirty at his creation. Then, he adds in an unclear passage, "after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades)."[68] As is noted in chapter 2 §1.1.4, many events in the lives of Adam and Eve are separated by periods of thirty years.

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

The description of Adam's state when he was created poses a challenge. Since the Bible says nothing about it, it has to be inferred from the curses. Each curse can be taken to reverse the situation that obtained before the Fall. Many of the statements about prelapsarian Adam reflect this dynamic.

Nearly all the sources speak of the glory of the protoplasts, or their luminosity. Adam was created in glory says Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi C12;[69] Eve was created luminous according to Grigor Tłay C12;[70] humans had divine glory and splendor in paradise (Ignatius *vardapet* C12),[71] were created as shining and wondrous (Nersēs Šnorhali C12),[72] enjoyed immortal life and the splendor of paradise (Nersēs Šnorhali),[73] were created with supreme glory and highest bliss (Sargis Šnorhali C12);[74] and further synonyms can be found. Glory is, of course, a royal attribute going back to Iranian roots as well as biblical, and heavenly or precreation light was typical of the state of creation in many sources.[75]

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of Adam, whom the very kind Creator created in the beginning—splendid and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with the image and in the likeness.[76] Adam was given honor by God, says Sargis Šnorhali C12.[77] Frik C13, too, declares that Adam possessed various kinds of glory and that he was honored.[78] Yovhannēs Erznkacʿi Pluz C13 refers to Eve's glory.[79] This consistent presentation of Adamic glory indicates, by

67. See chapter 2 §1.1.4. The issue of Adam's age at creation is discussed in a footnote there. In 4 Ezra 10:44, an angel reveals a vision's interpretation to Ezra: a woman had been barren for thirty years, which are the three thousand years between creation and the inception of sacrifices in Jerusalem. In a quite different context in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012, 97) Sedek is noted as being thirty years old.

68. Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi 2. See further *Abel and Cain* §§52–59 (Lipscomb 1990, 169–71) and compare *L.A.E.* [48](40):2–5. In §4.2.3 the loss of glory is discussed.

69. Dawitʿ Ganjakecʿi 3.

70. Grigor Tłay 11.

71. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

72. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

73. Nersēs Šnorhali 43.

74. Sargis Šnorhali 15; and see also excerpt 1.

75. See also Orlov 2007, 273–80.

76. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

77. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

78. Frik 53 and 63.

79. Yovhannēs Erznkacʿi Pluz 77; cf. §1.6.

introducing the idea of the image, that this glory and splendor are of the divine realm.

God honored His image with luminous glory. The twinning of glory and light is found in many sources. For example, Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 speaks of Adam as honored with luminous glory and connects this with Adam's creation in the image of God. This was Adam's state, he says, in the Garden.[80] Indeed, the theme of glory is particularly prominent in Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz's writings.[81]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

I remarked above that the curses reversed blessings. Thus, from the curse of death we learn that before the Fall Adam was undying.

Grigor Tłay C12 speaks of Adam whom God created as "intermediary . . . Mortal (and) immortal, | Both incorporeal and corporeal."[82] His formulation implies that Adam had both of these potentialities, but his sinful action, as the stanza concludes, led to his loss of immortality and incorporeality. Elsewhere Grigor Tłay says that Adam was "created immortal."[83] Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of Adam's immortal life and paradisiacal splendor.[84]

Immortality and the good things of paradise were Adam's portion, and he was a glorious prophet, close to the supernal hosts, says Frik C13.[85] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 asserts that there was no illness and there were no sins until Adam disobeyed.[86]

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

Not only was the world created for human use, but God bestowed many gifts on humans at creation. These gifts were freely given through God's generosity, according to Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13.[87]

Frik C13 says that God filled man with the seven lights of grace and gave him a spirit, understanding, and mind. Moreover, man possessed various kinds of glory (see §1.1.5 above).[88] A twelfth-century statement enumerates God's gifts to Adam. God created man and gave him manifold and wonderful honors: (a) image, (b) lordship, (c) the delights of salvation, (d) beauty of the Garden, and (e)

80. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 7, 12, 14, 22, 32, 37, et al.

81. Below I discuss the ideas of "master" (§1.1.7), of "image" (§1.6), and of luminosity (§2.4).

82. Grigor Tłay 17.

83. Grigor Tłay 8.

84. Nersēs Šnorhali 43; see §1.1.5 above.

85. Frik 53 ("glory"), 57 ("immortality"), 59 ("prophet").

86. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 8.

87. Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3.

88. Frik 15–16, 30, and 42.

the commandment.[89] These raise a number of points. First, as we will see below, the ideas of the image and lordship are closely connected.[90] Second, the Garden was described in hyperbolic terms in many texts, splendor being a frequent characteristic. Third, the commandment was seen as a gift to Adam, a demonstration of the gift of autonomous will. As Yovhannēs Imastasēr put it, it was "a pledge of future prizes."[91]

God honored Adam in creation, making him king and master (Gen 1:28, 30). This is the view of Sargis Šnorhali C12, who takes up the old theme of Adam as the lord, king, or master of all creation. He cites Jas 3:7 in this connection: "Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subject and are obedient to human nature," and he follows that with an extensive discussion of the same topic in a commentary on Gen 1:28.[92] The same view is espoused by Grigor Tłay C12, who speaks of Adam as master and lord of this transient world.[93]

On the one hand, mind is foremost among the qualities of man as the image of God.[94] On the other, wisdom is prominent among the gifts given to Adam, and it is often connected with autonomy[95] or free will. Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 regards the human search for wisdom and prudence to be a divine gift to Adam. In the course of the same passage, Nersēs Lambronac'i formulates this idea somewhat differently, saying that God taught man to seek wisdom.[96] The theme of Adam's wisdom recurs in other ways. For example, the medical work of Abusayid C12 says that God gave the Adam wisdom and discernment to invent the art of medical science.[97] Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that God put three things into him, by which he could resemble God completely: creativity, love, and wisdom, which is reason.[98]

Several texts make it clear that, when Adam sinned, he lost this God-given wisdom. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that he lost both wisdom and lordly honor.[99] Nonetheless, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that God gave a lesser wisdom to the prophets.[100] When he transgressed, Adam also lost the vivifying breath that was

89. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

90. See §1.6.

91. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

92. Sargis Šnorhali 4–5. Note mention of "master and king" in that context.

93. Grigor Tłay 7. This subject is discussed in chapter 2 §1.6.

94. This is discussed in §1.6.

95. This term was very widespread in use in the fifth century and remained in circulation for a long time.

96. Nersēs Lambronac'i 11 and 12. According to Vardan Aygekc'i C13, God created Satan and Adam and showed them good and evil, which is also a sort of knowledge; see Vardan Aygekc'i 1.

97. Abusayid 1.

98. Step'anos Ōrbelean 1.

99. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

100. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

the inbreathed spirit. This is the view of Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12.[101] It is a rather literal inference from Gen 2:7.

1.1.8 Adam’s Language

The issue of the primordial holy language is a complex one, and Syriac Christians often claimed it was Syriac, which idea was taken over into Christian Armenian texts.[102] The question is expressed by Frik C13, who says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language and it is wondrous that so many nations were born of him.[103]

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

Note that the ranking of creation, while quite a prominent topic in the twelfth century, is not much discussed in the thirteenth.

Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12 speaks of the order of creation: angels, creatures, and then Adam, their master. Man is master of the perceptible beings.[104] This is the order of creation according to the biblical narrative, except for the angels, who are not mentioned there. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of the nine ranks of angels, drawing on an old tradition, associated with but not originating in Pseudo-Dionysius’s *Celestial Hierarchy*. Moreover, Ignatius includes humans in this series as a tenth rank of celestial being.[105] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 describes the proper state of things: angels in heaven, Adam in the Garden, and the beasts on earth.[106]

Ranking is engendered by the idea of the image of God, which is taken up by Sargis Šnorhali C12.[107] Speaking of Adam’s sin and punishment, he mentions the destruction of God’s image, that is, Adam, who had been created for the glory of God. Corruption affected not only Adam but in turn other creatures, which were created for the glory of man. Man, then, was created in the image for God’s glory; the animals were created for man’s glory. Thus, a clear hierarchical order exists among created beings. Sargis Šnorhali C12 in very significant passage says that all creatures were created by word (see Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6) and Adam by God’s hand (Gen 2:7 is presumably the biblical basis

101. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 16.

102. See the reference to Syriac as the primordial writing in Stone 1996a, 152. Adam is the inventor of Hebrew script and vocalization; see Fabricius 1713, 1–2. See also *Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. “Hebrew Language, Origin,” for similar views. The history of this idea is complex and would require a separate study.

103. Frik 66.

104. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 12. See also §1.1.7 for Adam as “lord, master.”

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 4. See Dionysius Areopagiticus 1970, 104.

106. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 9. He repeats the same order in 51.

107. Sargis Šnorhali 19 and 20.

of this).[108] Likewise, elsewhere he refers to "the creation of his hands, Adam."[109] Important concepts lurk here.

As for creation by the word, it is a widely found concept, already, for example, in Ps 33:9= Arm 32:9.[110] This idea is probably partly behind the number 22 for created things, which is the number of letters in the alphabet (see §1.0 above).[111]

Sargis Šnorhali C12, whom I cited above, has another formulation, which adds certain features to the views cited just above. Creatures, he says, are in the image of man, man is in the image of God. Equally, creatures are bound to act by their nature, while humans have autonomy (անձնիշխանութիւն), that is, free will; creatures are without reason or wisdom, while God adorned humans with wisdom.[112] This is a remarkable extension of the hierarchy he outlined above, taking the contrast of animals and humans into the realms of free will and wisdom. The contrast between humans and angels is not developed in these texts, though earlier in the Armenian tradition, notably in the fifth century, it is prominent.

Finally, in the biblical narrative, God created Adam before Eve and this order of creation is repeated in the twelfth-century sources.[113] The second should be obedient to the first, so woman should be obedient to man.[114]

1.3 Humans and Angels

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 conceives of Adam, a being endowed with the spirit, as counted in the *celestial hierarchy*, following the nine classes of angels.[115] Adam forms a tenth class, "for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is our nature, missing from that number."[116] Moreover, he

108. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and see §1.1 above. See Stone 1990a, index, s.v. "God, hands of, creation of mankind by."

109. Sargis Šnorhali 18.

110. See Stone 1990, index, s.v. "Creation, by speech."

111. Perhaps this connection explains the difference between twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible in Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.8 and some patristic canon lists, on the one hand, and rabbinic sources, which have twenty-four books, on the other. Perhaps the letters of the alphabet were understood as constitutive of language, through which the world was created and Scripture written, while twenty-four derives from a different tradition, perhaps numerological.

112. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

113. See Nersēs Šnorhali 41; Sargis Šnorhali 16.

114. Satan adduces exactly this argument to explain his rebellion in *Pen. Adam* 14:3 and parallels: "I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him?"

115. Ignatius *vardapet* 4; see n. 105 above.

116. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

calls the angels "sons of light."[117] Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 contrasts angels with "perceptible beings."[118]

Psalm 104:4 = Arm 103:4 was regularly read to mean that God made the angels of fire and spirit, an interpretation repeated frequently by the poet Frik in the thirteenth century.[119] He also says that they were made of light or fire and spirit or immortal spirit.[120] It is interesting to observe the interchange of light and fire. Frik even has a third variant on this theme, that while the angels were composed of fire and light, the mountains were made of fire and water.[121] Here his focus on fire or light and spirit is combined with his interest in the four elements noted above in §1.1.2. He also says that the angels surround God's throne, while Adam is said to be close to the supernal hosts.[122] Among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century excerpts, these points are found almost solely in Frik.

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

The texts from the twelfth and thirteenth century do not speak at all about angels' obedience or disobedience, a subject quite prominent earlier in chapter 1 §1.4 This is, perhaps, connected with the lesser role played by angels in the form of the creation narrative current at that time.[123]

The commandment given to Adam was viewed as fast by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13.[124] Above, again in §0.0, we saw the prominence of the theme of fasting, particularly of the Aṙaǰawor fast, which, according to Basil cited by Vanakan *vardapet* C13, was first ordained in the Garden.[125] This was the prohibition of the fruit, prescribed for Adam in the Garden. The command not to eat from the tree was equivalent to fasting, and this is connected with Aṙaǰawor, according to Vanakan *vardapet* C13.[126] When Adam and Eve observed their fast, they did their task well, and God and the angels took care of them.[127]

117. Ignatius *vardapet* 7; see Luke 16:8. It is difficult to see a connection between the famous "Sons of Light" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ignatius *vardapet*.
118. Nersēs Lambronac'i 12.
119. See Frik 38.
120. Frik 38 and 44.
121. Frik 23 and 38.
122. Frik 22 and 59.
123. The limited concern with angels is discussed in §0.0.
124. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 3.
125. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.
126. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.
127. Vardan Aygekc'i 10. See further §4.5 below.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

1.6 Humankind in the Image

Genesis 1:26 says, "Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness." This crucial verse has generated mountains of commentary and interpretation. It is reflected without elaboration in various sources, such as Sargis Šnorhali C12. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 also refers to man as the image of God, with no further specification.[128] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 and Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i C13 reflect the language of the verse.[129] Elsewhere, Sargis Šnorhali C12 characterizes man as God's image.[130]

The scientific writer Abusayid C12 interprets the image in a physical way, saying that God made Adam's body according to his image.[131] In a somewhat less down-to-earth interpretation, Grigor Tłay C12 says, "He creates Adam like (նման) himself."[132] Other formulations of the idea are to be found in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13, who speaks of "material man in his (God's) form."[133] Elsewhere he speaks of Adam as a luminous image of divinity.[134] Adam is God's copy and likeness and a precious image, according to Frik C13.[135]

As a result of his creation in the image of God, prelapsarian Adam takes on a number of striking attributes. One understanding, shared by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12, stresses glory and splendor, which are discussed above in §1.1.5. Man is in the image, shining and wondrous.[136] As noted above, Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 connects the image and likeness with the words, "you . . . adorned him with all your gifts (grace) and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence."[137] The image for him is reason. According to Nersēs Šnorhali C12, Adam, because he is in God's image, receives mercy from the incarnated God who is in his image:

> He who descended from heaven reached Adam
> Had mercy on him as his image and likeness.[138]

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128. Sargis Šnorhali 7; Ignatius *vardapet* 4.
129. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 6, 12, and 22; Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i 3.
130. Sargis Šnorhali 7.
131. Abusayid 1.
132. Grigor Tłay 7; see also the recurrence of the term, in համանման in Grigor Tłay 17. Compare the word նմանութիւն ("likeness") in Gen 1:26.
133. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 12.
134. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 22.
135. Frik 14, 29, and 49.
136. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.
137. Nersēs Lambronac'i 11; see §1.1.7 above.
138. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

The connection of the image with dominion, kingship, and power derives from Gen 1:26–28. It is discussed in section §1.1.7, and here I add some further observations. Vahram Rabuni C13 says, "In the beginning of mankind, this honour was granted, that God made the man in his image, 'According to the image of God He made him. . . . And He blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth.'[139] And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship."[140] Here the connection of image with the rule, promised in Gen 1:27–28, is clear. The same idea is reflected when Frik C13 says that the creatures are obedient to man,[141] and according to Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i C13, Adam was "master and sovereign over all your creatures."[142]

The term king is prominent here in the thirteenth century. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Adam was king in paradise and God bestowed a royal crown on him.[143] Frik C13 has several statements in this sense: Adam was king of all; he was master and teacher of creatures; he was ruler of beings; he bound (կապել, a term for controlling) animals, beasts and demons.[144]

Adam was created like God in all ways, especially in three things: creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason.[145]

> As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational (animals) and is able to think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving.[146]

In earlier chapters we saw the connection drawn between the image and the mind; see above here §1.1.7; chapter 1 §1.6; and chapter 2 §1.6. This is not a dominant interpretation of the image in the texts we are now discussing, but it does occur. "God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And He made the mind the eyes of the soul, and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body," says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13.[147] In the passage "He filled the man with the seven lights of grace, | He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind," Frik C13 connects the inbreathing of the spirit (Genesis 2's

139. Gen 1:26–29.
140. Vahram Rabuni 9.
141. Frik 15.
142. Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i 3.
143. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 26, 55, and 77. Compare chapter 2 §1.6.
144. Frik 15 and 42.
145. See §1.1.7.
146. Step'anos Ōrbelean 1.
147. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 6.

equivalent of the creation in the image in Genesis 1) with mind.[148] This is in turn related to the gift of wisdom given to Adam, discussed above in §1.1.7.

In chapter 1 §1.6, I have dealt with the double use of image. Adam is in the image of God, and, when God is incarnated, he takes on the image of Adam, that is, he looks human. Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 says that Christ is in the image of Adam,[149] and Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds to this that Christ takes on "the corruptible image of Adam."[150] Adam was created in the image to expiate his sin, that is, through Christ (Frik C13).[151] Here the typology of Old Adam/New Adam is in play, implying salvation through Christ from Adam's sin.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

The Garden is to the east, as follows from Gen 2:8.[152] This view is held by Vardan Arewelc'i C13[153] and Frik C13.[154] It is in Eden, according to Nersēs Šnorhali 35.[155] A text relating to Edessa states that the rivers of Mesopotamia are two of those coming out of paradise, and Eden is situated between them.[156]

The Garden of Eden is often described in the highest terms. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls it "a [building] made by God, made without hands, and celestial" and Garden of "the light of delight," and says that it is the place of immortality.[157] Frik C13 calls the Garden "eternal and inconceivable" and "good."[158] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 says, "He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent."[159] Frik also uses other superlative expressions such as "immortal land."[160] It is designated in an analogous way by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, who calls it, "immortal place" and "Garden of immortal glory"; and God, who planted the Garden, is "the Immortal."[161]

Describing the Garden in more detail, Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that the leaves of the Garden's trees were brighter than the sun, while Frik C13 waxes eloquent about the beauty of its fruit trees and how they ornamented the Garden. This, of course, is connected with the description of the forbidden tree, which

148. Frik 29–30.

149. Nersēs Lambronac'i 8.

150. Sargis Šnorhali 12; compare 13.

151. Frik 50.

152. This is one interpretation of Hebrew מקדם, while the LXX has κατὰ ἀνατολάς, the reading followed by Arm Gen 2:8.

153. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

154. Frik 31.

155. Nersēs Šnorhali 35.

156. Nersēs Šnorhali 37.

157. Nersēs Šnorhali 38.

158. Frik 1, 15, and 41.

159. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 13.

160. Frik 1; see extract 57.

161. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 14, 29, and 22, respectively.

Gen 3:6 says is "good for food, and . . . a delight to the eyes." So Frik calls the tree "captivating."[162]

The location of paradise on a mountain is an idea that is found in numerous sources, within and outside of the Armenian tradition.[163] Among the twelfth-century excerpts, Ignatius *vardapet*'s phrase "having come down from the height to a depth" seems to imply this. Ignatius also says that paradise is called heaven because of its location, apparently on a high place, and it is (the place of) immortal and incorruptible life.[164] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 also holds this view and adds other geographical details.[165] Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks of "towns of Paradise," following the phrase "upper Jerusalem."[166] In his historical book, he says clearly that paradise is in the east, on a high mountain, equal with the sphere of the moon.[167]

The Garden is regarded as a symbol of wisdom by Nersēs Šnorhali C12 and Nersēs Lambronac'i C12.[168]. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that some say there was no day and night in paradise, but in fact there was.[169] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 states that the light of paradise does not flow from the sun but shines from the ether or from God's glory. This apparently implies some sort of extraterrestrial status for paradise.[170]

"And the fourth canon-table represents Paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements)," states Nersēs Šnorhali C12 in his *Commentary on the Canon Tables*.[171] From this we may learn that paradise was made of the four elements.

A final aspect of paradise, about which we have a number of statements, derives from Gen 2:24, "and at the east of the garden of Eden He placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life." This was combined with the idea that the Garden was walled about, which is also represented in texts and iconography from early times. Thus, *Pen. Adam* [44] (17):1 describes the serpent and Satan hanging over the wall of the Garden, and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 says that the serpent broke the wall of paradise. Taking up this idea and combining it with Gen 2:24, Frik C13 says that "the walls

162. Vardan Aygekc'i 12 and Frik 47.

163. See chapter 2 §2.0.

164. Ignatius *vardapet* 2 and 6.

165. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

166. Nersēs Lambronac'i 2.

167. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

168. Nersēs Šnorhali 25; Nersēs Lambronac'i 12.

169. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 1. The idea of the light in Eden is also quite important for the cheirograph legend, which is based on Adam and Eve not having understood what night is. Is Yovhannēs Imastasēr opposing this idea?

170. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

171. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

of Paradise were made of seraphim."[172] This is similar to Vardan Arewelc'i's C13 idea when he says, "Now by means of seraphim, God surrounded Paradise with fire," to keep the unworthy out.[173]

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

In the preceding section, I observed that the Garden is considered the place of immortality. This idea is echoed by both Grigor Tłay C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12. Adam is set in this place of immortality.[174] Moreover, at the eschaton, Adam will be placed in the Garden for a second time and adorned with glory, says Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[175]

Frik C13 declares that Adam was the richest man when he had the Garden alone, without the commandment.[176] God put Adam in paradise and set it in the east for man.[177] Further similar statements about the divine creation of the Garden and its location in the east are noted in §2.0 above.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

The commandment given related to two trees, says Grigor Tłay C12. God made a law and gave Adam an order not to eat from the tree in the midst of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Here Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks as if there were two commandments about two trees or, at least, one commandment about two trees.[178]

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

Our texts do not discuss whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden; their intercourse is mentioned only after they left the Garden, which apparently implies no intercourse in Eden. Indeed, a very negative view of sexual intercourse emerges from the texts. Adam (after the Fall) fornicated impiously, says

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172. Frik 1. The instrumental case implies that the seraphim themselves constituted the walls. Perhaps an ablative would have been expected.

173. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

174. Grigor Tłay 8; Nersēs Šnorhali 34. Grigor Tłay's language is somewhat ambiguous and could designate either Adam or the Garden as immortal.

175. Nersēs Šnorhali 10 and 13.

176. Frik 10.

177. Frik 15–16, 31, and 53.

178. Nersēs Lambronac'i 4. Contrast Gen 2:17 ("tree of knowledge") and Gen 3:3 (you shall not eat "of the tree which is in the midst of the Garden"). Nersēs' formulation reflects, in all likelihood, the unclarity that is also to be sensed in the biblical text. It does not seem to us to be an ontological statement.

Frik C13.[179] Similarly, Eve is said to have conceived after the sin, implying that she also had intercourse then.[180] Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says that Adam lamented in virginity with Eve for thirty years after the Fall, and then they had impious intercourse, like animals.[181]

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

Adam and Eve were alone in Eden, and God always rejoiced at the sight of them, as Frik C13 puts it. In another phrase, he says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language in paradise until they ate the fruit.[182] According to Vardan Aygekc‘i C13, Adam was luminous in the Garden, but he lost his luminosity on account of Satan's deceit.[183] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 says that he was covered with godly light.[184] The texts discussed in this chapter do not expatiate at length on Adam's paradisiacal state, which is an interesting insight into their priorities.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The creation of the animals is mentioned above in §1.2, but nothing is said about their creation beyond mentioning it, in accordance with the biblical text.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam's naming of the animals was taken as a sign of his wisdom, or of divine grace.[185] Although the theme of Adam's wisdom occurred in the preceding period, it is not found in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries in connection with naming. Indeed, only Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 mentions the naming, and he says that those names were found to be their unchangeable names.[186]

Concerning the name of God, Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12 says that Adam found his name "of his glory and action," that is, the name Աստուած *Astuac*, of which the popular etymology is "he who brings here"or "into being."[187]

179. Frik 20.
180. Vardan Arewelc‘i 17.
181. Vardan Arewelc‘i 6.
182. Frik 66; see also §1.1.8 above.
183. Vardan Aygekc‘i 11.
184. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 55.
185. See Stone 2007a; chapter 1 §2.6.
186. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 1.
187. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 18. See the discussion of the name in Stone 2006b, 1:177.

2.7 The Type of Tree

In his *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 refers to Alexandria, saying, "The reasonable (բանաւոր) tree of divine Paradise is planted in you." In this poem, he mentions a number of cities, Rome, Alexandria, Edessa, and so on, and has an Edenic connection for each. These were great Christian centers and presumably are being spoken of in parabolic terms. For Alexandria, it is the tree.[188] Oddly, the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge, a subject of interest in previous centuries (especially the fifth century), is not discussed in the sources being considered.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

In §0.0 above, I wrote about the parallels that were drawn between Eve and the Virgin. Eve was generally understood to have been created from Adam's rib, as in the Bible. In a broader perspective, Frik C13 says that God created women for fertility and for the prosperity of the world.[189]

In a narrative poem, Grigor Tłay C12 tells the standard story of the deception of Eve, more or less as it is found in the Primary Adam Books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1–[44](19):3). He wrote, "Satan enters the serpent, | Teaches it to speak with Eve, | It finds Eve alone, | Away from Adam, and deceives (her)."[190] Elsewhere he observes that Satan deceived Eve by the promise of becoming god.[191] Nersēs Šnorhali C12 states that Eve obeyed the serpent and, by stretching out her hands (i.e., to take the fruit), drove Adam out of ineffable glory.[192] This tradition entertains no doubts about Eve's culpability for the sin. According to Grigor Tłay, Eve was deceived, but Adam ate the fruit and sinned, not because he was himself deceived but because of his love for Eve and his pity on her.[193] Grigor Pahlavuni C12 says that Eve was deprived of life as a result of her sin, which statement is a commonplace.[194]

Eve's sin serves hortatory purposes in Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13's writings. "Let not evil counsel enter your ear: Eve did and was deceived"; similarly, he warns of dangers threatening through seeing, feeling, eating, and speech.

188. Nersēs Šnorhali 36.

189. Frik 32. On Eve's creation from Adam's rib, see Frik 54.

190. Grigor Tłay 9. These traditions are discussed in §3.1; and see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

191. Grigor Tłay 10.

192. Nersēs Šnorhali 29.

193. Grigor Tłay 12. See below §4.1.1; and see chapter 2 §4.1, where Grigor Narekacʻi advances this idea.

194. Grigor Pahlavuni 1.

The five senses admit sin, and Satan, who is the serpent, deceived Eve through them.[195]

The figure of the Virgin Mary, who was regarded as Eve's counterpart, as Christ was Adam's, greatly influenced the presentation of Eve. This typological pattern occurs in Nersēs Šnorhali C12, and Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that, as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden through her daughter.[196] Of course, the reference is to the Virgin as the mother of Christ and the redemptive activity is Christ's, but the author has chosen to present all this under a typology of Eve and the Virgin.

Eve was the first virgin, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[197] She was created second and is subordinate to the man, and the man was created with supreme glory and highest bliss says Sargis Šnorhali.[198] Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 repeats a fairly widespread tradition according to which Eve was buried in the grotto in Bethlehem in which Christ was born.[199]

The interplay between the Virgin Mary and Eve finds its eschatological expression in the ideas of Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who speaks of the Virgin giving paradise to Eve once more. He says that the race of women, condemned by Eve's action, was released by Mary, and he contrasts this with the relationship between Adam, men, and Christ.[200] The Virgin, as a new Eve, is well epitomized in the following quotation from Step'anos Ōrbelean C13: "And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden."[201] Eve's redemption is spoken of as being stripped of the Adamic coat of skin, in other words, returning to the state of creation.[202] The stripping and dressing of the protoplasts is discussed in §4.2.3.

3.0 Satan

Satan is called Belial in many sources,[203] and in §4.7 I note also on the odd name Bazu. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 calls Satan a hunter who set a net for Adam. The net was the idea of becoming God.[204] Vardan Aygekc'i C13 speaks of Satan as

195. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.
196. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.
197. Nersēs Šnorhali 5.
198. Sargis Šnorhali 15 (glory) and 16 (subordination of Eve).
199. Grigor Vkayasēr 1. See §5.0 below; and also Stone 2000b.
200. Nersēs Šnorhali 2 and 4.
201. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.
202. Vardan Arewelc'i 12.
203. E.g., Frik 19.
204. Vardan Arewelc'i 23; see §3.3 below.

full of darkness, heir of fire, the outer darkness, and so on.[205] Aygekcʻi also says that the darkness created on the fourth day (as a correlative of the creation of the luminaries) came forth from a serpent's mouth, and the connection of the serpent and Satan is clear. This is not just the Edenic serpent but a cosmic serpent, which is identified as Hades. However, the precise connection between these various serpentine beings, dragons, and *višap*s is unclear. Among Aygekcʻi's very distinctive ideas about the Fall and darkness is that he says that after the expulsion this darkness spread through the Garden to the ends of the universe.[206]

The texts from the twelfth century deal with Satan predominantly in the context of the temptation of Adam and Eve. Satan's own fall is present in the thirteenth-century excerpts, but it is mentioned only glancingly in one twelfth-century source (Ignatius *vardapet;* see below). So, the focus has shifted from the events preceding creation (see §3.2 below), to the temptation, fall, and redemption. It is dominated by the typology of "old Adam" and "new Adam," as I noted above, §0.0.

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is discussed in detail diachronically in the appendix. It is mentioned in certain twelfth-century texts and, to a lesser extent, in some from the thirteenth century, and I discuss those passages here.

One option is that the serpent is identical with Satan. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 simply uses the term "Devil" for "serpent"; on another occasion, talking about the Devil, he says, "the serpent is defeated."[207] In the same vein, Sargis Šnorhali, using terminology appropriate to Satan, says, "the incorporeal serpent deceived" and "[t]he incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue."[208] Yovhannēs Erzenkacʻi Pluz C13 says that it was Satan who "deceived Eve through the five "gates," that is, the five senses, when Eve was actually deceived by the serpent.[209] Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where the viper and snake are, which is the Devil. This again implies the identification of the serpent and Satan.[210]

A second formulation of the relationship between the serpent and Satan is that Satan took the serpent as his associate. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13

205. Vardan Aygekcʻi 3.
206. Vardan Aygekcʻi 12. Note below, on the loss of light, §4.2.3.
207. Nersēs Šnorhali 14.
208. Sargis Šnorhali 6.
209. Yovhannēs Erzenkacʻi Pluz 7.
210. Vardan Aygekcʻi 8.

expressed this view,[211] and Vardan Arewelc‘i C13's statement that "(God) cursed Satan through the serpent" implies a similar relationship.[212]

In the passage from Grigor Tłay C12 quoted in §2.8, we read that Satan goes into the serpent. As noted in the appendix, §1.1.1, it is difficult to tell whether this expression implies possession, analogous to demonic possession, or some other mode in which Satan controlled the serpent. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is no more explicit when he says that the serpent is an instrument[213] of lawlessness and evil for Satan, who is also called a "procurer."[214] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, excerpt 2, says that swearing is when "people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity." This is very like what the serpent did, and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz employs language like that which Nersēs Šnorhali uses of Satan.[215]

The serpent is called "wicked dragon (*višap*)" by Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12.[216] This is connected with the quite extensive material about the dragon in Revelation and with the exegesis of Ps 74:13 = Arm 73:13. It is discussed above in chapter 2 §4.7.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The only twelfth-century author excerpted who mentions Satan's fall is Ignatius *vardapet,* who says that Satan rose up against the Creator, fell from honor, and, by deceit, persuaded humans to fall with him, giving him mastery over them. Elsewhere Ignatius states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.[217] This thin evidence contrasts with the major role played by this incident in the earlier texts considered in chapter 2 §3.2. It had started to recede already in the tenth–eleventh centuries.

In the thirteenth century, however, we find more use of the myth. In a poem, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 describes Sadayēl's (Satan's) fall. He turned his face aside, deviated from the way of the heavenly hosts.[218]

211. Yovhannēs Erzenkac‘i Pluz 24.

212. Vardan Arewelc‘i 31.

213. See Stone 2008a, 148 and nn. 52 and 53.

214. Nersēs Šnorhali 42. "Instrument" is գործի, perhaps reflecting the Greek term ὄργανον. Compare Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

215. Moreover, the imagery of serpent influenced the references to Eve's tempting words as poison, as in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 30. Compare Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos 1, Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3, and Nersēs Šnorhali, Յիսուս Որդի *Son Jesus*, Book 1 uses the expression թոյնք վիշապին ("poison of the dragon"), referring to the Edenic serpent.

216. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

217. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

218. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10.

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face,
From the heaven to the deeps he fell,
and from light, remained in darkness.

Why Satan rebelled is not made explicit here, only his separation from the heavenly hosts. According to Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Satan, who had fallen from glory, envied Adam.[219] The same motive is found, of course, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3; and see §3.3.

In a couple of places, in similes, Satan's motive or facets of his conduct are described in slightly more detail. Speaking of a human rebel, Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that he reached too zealously for perfect glory, rebelled like the Deceiver, grew arrogant, and fell. Here the theme of *hybris* that so often accompanies Satan's fall is clear. It ultimately derived, we may suppose, from the "Lucifer" passage in Isa 14:12–13.

Vardan Aygekc'i C13 makes a general indictment of Satan when he says that he did deeds of darkness; he has gone forth to outer darkness; he has not prepared for a wedding; and he has gone forth from the goodly host.[220] Moreover, he says that Satan fell from glory.[221] When he fell, Satan threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.[222] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 says that, through his fall, Satan tortured creatures, and after his descent to earth he is dead forever, because of his remoteness from God.[223] All of these statements speak of Satan's change of state from a heavenly to a fallen being, and when a motive is implied, it is his rebellion against God, his overweening pride.

3.3 Satan's Envy

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 is quite emphatic that Satan, having fallen, wished to harm God, in revenge for his fall. He was unable to harm God as he wished, and so he harmed the image of God, humans. On the same page he says that Satan "wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him [i.e., Adam] his image and likeness."[224] Succinctly, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan's envy.[225] Above, in §§3.2 and 3.3, I mentioned Satan's jealousy of the protoplasts, which is an old theme, being explicit already in Wis 2:24, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, and elsewhere.

219. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
220. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.
221. Vardan Aygekc'i 6; see further Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
222. Vardan Aygekc'i 1.
223. Vardan Arewelc'i 33–34.
224. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.
225. Grigor Tłay 20.

Satan's envy is mentioned by Grigor Aknerc'i C13,[226] and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan's envy was of Adam. It is unclear in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's formulation whether Satan's envy of Adam refers to a primordial revolt against Adam's very creation, or a postlapsarian jealousy of Adam, who retained the heavenly glory that Satan had lost.[227] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that he was jealous of Adam and opposed to the Lord of the worlds.[228]

The theme of envy and jealousy is found with figures other than Satan. The serpent lied that he was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods, according to Vardan Arewelc'i C13.[229] The demons were jealous as well, according to Vardan Arewelc'i, but he does not mention the specific cause of the demons' jealousy.[230] His statement that "irrational indignation was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory" is equally inexplicit.[231] It is not a reference to Satan's rebellion against bowing down to Adam, as is found in the story of his fall but speaks of the serpent's jealousy of Eve's glory.

Satan is frequently characterized as a deceiver who defrauded creatures.[232] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 speaks of him as "the hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam and confused him with words."[233] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and separated him from God.[234] According to Frik C13, Adam was deceived by a traitor, so he calls Satan a traitor. Satan lied, says Vardan Arewelc'i C13, and the serpent envied Adam and Eve becoming gods and lied.

Thus, Satan was not the only deceiver. The serpent, Satan's associate, deceived Eve, breaching the fence of the orchard of life,[235] and, in the words of Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13, it deceitfully overcame Adam or Adam and Eve.[236] Frik C13 says that the woman's treachery and the serpent's words deceived Adam.[237]

Satan is called evil; he tortured higher creatures with sorrow by his fall; he fraudulently deceived natures (people), and had Adam expelled.[238]

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226. Grigor Aknerc'i 1.
227. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
228. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
229. Vardan Arewelc'i 32.
230. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.
231. Vardan Arewelc'i 19.
232. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. See also §4.1.2.
233. Vardan Arewelc'i 23.
234. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 17.
235. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24, 68, and 74. See §2.0 above, on the walled Garden.
236. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 56.
237. . Frik 59.
238. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. "Natures" often means "humans"; see n. 346 below.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

One view of the purpose of the prohibition against eating of the tree is that God tested Adam's autonomous will[239] with the fruit. Using different wording, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13 has Adam say, "[You] exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will." Adam, in this view, failed the trial God set for him.[240]

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that God bestowed on Adam manifold and wonderful honors: (a) the image; (b) rule over creatures; (c) the tending of the Garden; (d) the commandment as pledge of future prizes (see §1.1.7 above). Instead of prizing these, (a) he disobeyed, (b) he did not confess his sin (the reference is to the incident of God's footfalls; see §4.3 below), and (c) he accused God of being the cause of his actions (Gen 3:12, "the woman whom you gave . . .), thus leading to curses on him and on created things.[241] Sargis Šnorhali C12 also says that Adam blamed God for his transgression.[242] This is a presentation of the gravity of Adam's sin; it does not address the reason or motive lying behind it. Similar to Yovhannēs Imastasēr's point (c) is Sargis Šnorhali's statement that Adam slandered God by saying, "The woman whom you created . . . ."[243] Note that this passage relates not to Eve's culpability but to Adam's.

As I have observed above, Adam's sin involved *hybris*: created from dust, he wanted to be God.[244] In the words of Stepʻanos Ōrbelean C13, God took care lest Adam, reaching too zealously for perfect glory, rebel like Satan.[245] *Hybris* was also Satan's sin, as noted above in §3.2.

In a homily, Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 expounds a list of Eve's sins.[246] In a typological description of Adam's sin, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 writes, "For that old Adam was wounded by a tree, | Having fallen, He [i.e., Christ] was put on the cowardly lance."[247] One point of interest to us is Nersēs Šnorhali's use "old" to describe Adam. This does not happen only in this passage but fairly often in

239. Already in the fifth century, "autonomous will" is used as a term for free will or freedom of choice; see chapter 1 §1.2.

240. Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3.

241. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

242. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

243. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

244. Frik 60.

245. Stepʻanos Ōrbelean 5.

246. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 7.

247. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

his writings and in other places as well.[248] One interpretation attributes the use of "old" to the typology of Adam/Christ, which I discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.6. Adam is the "old Adam" and Christ, the "new Adam."[249] However, Adam is sometimes said to have grown old as a result of his sin. Thus, for example, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam, because of his sin, lost lordly honor (փառք) and wisdom, grew old, aged, and died.[250]

Note that Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12 says that aging came about because of sin, so one of the points of his discussion is "the aged image, and the destroyed imprint, and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it."[251] While restoration of image to glory is a common idea, this is not previously linked to aging. Aging and youth are important in earlier sources. In *Jub.* 23:8–17 and, as part of the eschatological woes, *Jub.* 23:25 says that "children's heads will turn white with grey hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100."[252] Premature aging occurs elsewhere, such as in the *Gr. Apoc. Ezra* 4:33.[253]

This idea first occurs in our excerpts in a rather obscure passage by Grigor Magistros, discussed in chapter 2 §4.2.6. Suddenly, in the twelfth century there is not just an explosion of the "old Adam"/"new Adam" typology, which is rather ancient in origin, but aging as a result of Adam's sin also becomes increasingly prominent.

In a remarkable passage, Pawłos Tarōnac'i C12 works out the Adam/Christ typology in considerable detail.[254] I present his analysis in the following table.

First tree, cause of disobedience → death and corruption	Cross, cause of obedience → immortality and incorruption
Adam ate sweet fruit wanting to become God → expulsion	Christ drank gall as compensation for Adam → removed bitterness
Adam looked up and saw the tree, which was forbidden	Christ lowered his head and gave his human soul to his Father
Adam stretched out his hands to take fruit	Christ had his hands nailed to the cross instead of Adam

248. Thus, see also Nersēs Šnorhali 23, 28, 34, and 40.

249. Note that the baptized Christ is called the new Adam in *Pen. Adam* 42(13):3c.

250. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

251. Dawit' Ganjakec'i 3.

252. VanderKam 1989, 148. The idea of the aging of the earth at the end of days is well known.

253. See note *ad loc.* in Stone 1983, 1:561–79 especially 575.

254. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

Adam was stripped of glory because of sin	Christ was stripped of his garment
On Friday Adam drank gall on the cross	
On Friday Adam was driven out	On Friday Christ was taken down from the cross

The strange statement that the forefather drank gall on the cross must be somehow confused, for clearly Christ is intended.

The typology of "old/new Adam" also lies behind the following passage from Nersēs Šnorhali C12: "The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God's knowledge."[255] In the material considered in the present chapter, sin as a result of Adam's decision is less stressed, and the idea of sin as a result of Satanic deception, or of Adam's love of Eve, becomes more prominent.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

According to some texts, but far from all, Adam ate the fruit not because he rebelled against God but because he loved or pitied Eve. Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says in general terms that Adam willingly entered hell and became pitiable.[256] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13, like Grigor Tłay C12, is more explicit when he states that Adam took pity on Eve or was compassionate toward her, and for that reason he ate the fruit.[257] Grigor Tłay puts it as follows:

Adam seeing, has compassion
On the naked woman and pities her,
Having taken the fruit he eats (it),
He learns his own nakedness.[258]

A similar view is espoused by Grigor Narekacʻi C10, that is, that Adam ate the fruit out of his love for Eve, and not from sinful intent.[259] Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 evinces a different attitude, opining that Adam preferred the

255. Nersēs Šnorhali 40. The latter part of this remark relates, of course, to the tension between free will (autonomous will) and divine prescience. Furthermore, the term անձնիշխան ("autonomous"), which was common in the fifth century, subsequently became much less so.

256. Vardan Aygekcʻi 1.

257. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 26, 30, and 60. See §2.8 above.

258. Grigor Tłay 12.

259. See chapter 2 §2.8.

woman's will, which she shared with the persuasive serpent, to observing the commandment.[260]

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

There are a number of statements that imply that Eve caused Adam to sin by deceiving him or enticing him to eat the fruit: Adam accused Eve;[261] Eve was the cause of Adam's exile;[262] Eve persuaded Adam, and Adam ate and was deceived;[263] Adam was deceived by the woman's treachery.[264]

In §4.1.1, I discussed a different view of Adam's eating of the fruit. According to Grigor Tłay C12 and Grigor Narekacʻi C10, as cited in that section, Adam was moved to eat the fruit not by sin but by his love and compassion for Eve. Grigor Tłay, who espoused this view, also says that Adam obeyed the Evil One and was deceived. This is either an inconsistency, perhaps reinforced by poetic license, or two views from different perspectives. Close up, Adam's motive was not sinful, but, viewed from afar in the larger picture, he did obey Satan's deceitful words. In any case, Grigor Tłay does not consistently pronounce Adam's exculpation.[265]

In addition to Grigor Tłay C12, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that Satan persuaded Adam to join him in "lawlessness" (compare also §3.1 above) and deceitfully taught him to rebel. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that through a trick of the Devil the fruit delighted Adam and, presumably, tempted him to sin. As I noted above (§3.3), Adam was deceived and expelled through the serpent's words.[266] Frik C13 repeats this when he says, "He came on this day, he was persuaded, | He was mocked by the Devil."[267] Grigor Aknercʻi C13 states that Adam was deceived by a woman and betrayed by the abominable serpent; similarly Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13.[268] Grigor Tłay claims that Satan deceived Eve by the promise that she would become god.[269] Without saying exactly how Satan deceived Eve, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that he fed Eve mortal fruit through deception.[270]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 also formulates the sin in terms of light and darkness. This is a development of the language of pristine glory and luminosity, lost when Adam sinned. He says, "Having abandoned the command of light due to the

260. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

261. Frik 5.

262. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 29.

263. Frik 18.

264. Frik 59.

265. Grigor Tłay 20.

266. Frik 16 and 59.

267. Frik 18.

268. See Grigor Aknercʻi 1 and Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 40. In most general terms, Sargis Šnorhali 1 states that Satan causes sin by tricks and deceits of the mind, which is, of course, a well-known theme.

269. Grigor Tłay 10.

270. Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

deception of darkness, | He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory."[271] Above I discussed Adam's Edenic light (§1.1.5), and the relation between Satan's deception and darkness is clear.[272]

Frik C13 remarks that Adam did not consider paradise when he ate the fruit. As he puts it:

> You became opposed to good,
> You are wounded by your rib,
> You are deceived by the traitor,
> You are deprived of eternal light.

This passage also seems to incorporate some idea of exculpation, with blame laid on Eve and Satan. Nonetheless, he says that Adam became "opposed to the good."[273]

4.2 The Results of Sin

The results of Adam and Eve's sin were crucial for humankind. In the most general terms, Adam and Eve lost their paradisiacal state; they became mortal; they came to suffer the human lot of labor and childbirth; they inherited the curses of Gen 3:14–19. Another statement is that when Adam sinned, sin entered into his soul, expulsion from paradise ensued, and then illness and death.[274] Frik C13 says that the crucifixion came about because of Adam's sin.[275]

A broad statement of the results of sin is that "[t]hey became low for they were deprived of all the fruit [i.e., of the Garden]; they were in pain, they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth."[276] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 says similarly that "when he left God's commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death."[277]

The first result is that they were expelled from paradise, naked and ashamed.[278] They went forth because of one piece of fruit, and were expelled from the glory of the Garden.[279] Since they were dead as a result of sin, they were

271. Nersēs Šnorhali 16.
272. See §§3.0 and 3.2 above and n. 391 below.
273. Frik 6 and 56.
274. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 8.
275. Frik 8; cf. 9.
276. Vardan Arewelc'i 28. Paradise was considered to be on an elevated place; see §2.0 above.
277. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 8.
278. Frik 16 and 43; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 27.
279. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 5.

expelled, says Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz.[280] And, he adds, the sin resulted in pains and death for Eve.[281]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that, as a result of the protoplasts' sin, the distinction between good and bad creations entered the world; originally everything had been good.[282] This statement highlights the changes in the natural order that resulted from sin. These are reflected also in the changes in human beings that I discussed in §4.2. Below, I will consider further specific aspects of the results of the transgression. Vardan Aygekc‘i says that after Adam's expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world.[283]

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Because the protoplasts ate of the tree and desired to become God, death started to rule (Sargis Šnorhali C12).[284] The same idea is forwarded in more general terms by Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C13, who says that Adam chose the mortal, death-dealing fruit and was cursed,[285] while Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says, "You turned your face from Adam and then he died."[286] Previously Adam and Eve had been immortal, and death was a correlative of their loss of their heavenly state.[287] It was, then, a punishment for their sin.[288] This idea occurs frequently. All are condemned to death through Adam's sin, says Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, and Adam and Eve were condemned to death for forgetting the commandment, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[289]

After the sin came condemnation (դատապարտութիւն) and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. This statement by Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 complements his view that death and corruption, by which our body is aged, entered the world because of Adam's sin. The image was destroyed.[290]

A number of sources follow the biblical text's view that on the very day on which Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and, they add, died. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 reconciles the fact that Adam is cursed to die,

280. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 28.

281. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 16; compare §68, which speaks of Eve and the serpent being cursed; see further on Eve, §4.2.2 below.

282. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 1.

283. Vardan Aygekc‘i 12.

284. Sargis Šnorhali 12 and compare 13.

285. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

286. Vardan Arewelc‘i 26: compare Frik 17 and see note 321.

287. Frik 17; Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14–15; for Eve *ibid* 16.

288. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14 and 32–33.

289. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 20 and Nersēs Šnorhali 21.

290. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

yet lives on till the age of 930, by saying that those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.[291] With his transgression and curses, Adam lost the spirit that was vivifying and became slave of mortal sins (Grigor Tłay C12).[292]

Armenian exegetes move freely, as I have observed, between the language of the inbreathing of the spirit (Gen 2:7) and that of the creation in the image (Gen 1:26–27). Thus, Grigor Tłay C12's loss of the vivifying spirit is equivalent to Dawitʻ Ganjakecʻi C13's loss of the image. Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds that, when man became corruptible, creatures became corruptible with him.[293]

After the transgression, not only was death instituted, but also various consequences followed. Thus, Vardan Aygekcʻi says that Adam cast his body into culpability and corruption.[294] He adds that when Adam and Eve broke the fast, that is, ate in disobedience to the commandment, they killed their children.[295] However, Vardan Arewelcʻi C13 maintains, God, being compassionate, did not make death complete but left the spirit alive.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

In addition to losing their immortality, the protoplasts lost the ambit of glory or splendor that surrounded them. When they ate the fruit, they realized that they were stripped naked. In this statement Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 does not say what they were stripped of.[296] Elsewhere, he and Frik C13 say that Adam and Eve were stripped of eternal light, and they use a variety of other attributes for the light or glory.[297] Their recognition of their nakedness, an exegesis of Gen 3:7, is given a double interpretation by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz, who says that Eve ate and was stripped naked, and Adam was stripped of light. Elsewhere he says that Adam was stripped of light, or of ornaments, synonyms for the same heav-

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291. Ignatius *vardapet* 8. The biblical texts are Gen 2:17, "for in the day that you eat of it you shall die," and the curses in Gen 3:19, "until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return." This curse does not accord with the sanction that Gen 2:17 says was destined for Adam and Eve. That was the exegetical problem with which Ignatius is wrestling.

292. Grigor Tłay 17. "Mortal" in "mortal sins" means "bringing death." So this statement says that, as a result of his transgression, Adam became mortal, or died.

293. Sargis Šnorhali 14. Eve was deprived of life as a result of sin: Grigor Pahlavuni 1. Grigor's focus on Eve is explained by the context, which is a poem, "On the Birth of the Holy Mother of God."

294. Vardan Aygekcʻi 2.

295. Vardan Aygekcʻi 10.

296. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 25 and so also 75. In §1.1.5 Adam and Eve's glory on their creation is discussed.

297. Frik 6, 17, 60, and 68; Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 7, 14, 26, 29, 37, 40, and 47. Elsewhere various authors speak just of their loss of glory; see Vanakan *vardapet* 2; Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 59.

enly luminous state.[298] A general statement by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of humans, "having slithered forth from the divine glory of splendour which we had in Paradise . . . ," where the verb "slithered" is suggestive of a serpent.[299]

This glory is sometimes said to be their clothing from the time before they sinned. Thus, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Eve believed the serpent, ate, was stripped of light, and learned evil and good. The word մերկեցաւ ("was stripped, made naked") is derived from the same root that is used in Gen 3:7 (մերկ էին, "they were/became naked").[300] Thus, there is a clear connection between the loss of glory and the nakedness following on the sin, which is inferred from Gen 3:7. He understood that verse to mean, "they realised that they had been stripped naked." In the same passage of Grigor Tłay, Adam learns of his own nakedness. They were stripped of divine grace, which means at least the same thing as the loss of glory.[301] To this idea, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 adds one element, that, despite the loss of glory, "nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained."

Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam lost the Lord's glory and was condemned,[302] and, in other formulations, that he lost "lordly honor and supreme wisdom" and "supreme glory and highest bliss."[303] When God's image, which had been created for the glory of God, perished, then the other creatures, which had been created for humans, became corruptible.[304] This implies that death was imposed on all living creatures as an outcome of Adam's sin, and not just on humans. Nersēs Šnorhali C12, in excerpt 43, specifies that "Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendour of Paradise." He also says that Adam lost honor (պատիւ).[305] In short, then, Nersēs Šnorhali maintains that through his sin Adam destroyed the God-given grace. [306]

Speaking of Adam's loss of the inbreathed sprit, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that Adam was shamed and stripped of the breath or spirit, or of glory. Frik C13 formulates this idea by saying that Adam became nonrational. Taking up an older theme, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that Adam turned black-faced.[307]

The connection between punishment and deep darkness is explicit in Frik C13, when he says that humans lived for six eons in deep darkness. In Job 19:8–9

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298. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 57. On the paradisiacal glory, see further §§1.1.5 and 4.1.2. The term "glory" occurs widely, but these are the chief discussions.

299. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

300. Grigor Tłay 11; cf. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

301. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

302. Sargis Šnorhali 1.

303. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and 15, respectively.

304. Sargis Šnorhali 14.

305. Nersēs Šnorhali 40.

306. Nersēs Šnorhali 33; see also §4.2.2. On this hierarchy, see §1.2 above.

307. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 41; see 4 Ezra 7:97, 125; 10:25; see Stone 1990a, 259. The theme of demonic ravens is to be found in many places, and the blackening of faces occurs also in Job 19:8.

we read, not in the context of Adam, "8 He has walled up my way so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths. 9 He has stripped my glory from me, and taken the crown from my head." This language plays the same chords as the language about Adam's loss of glory.

Eve's body was stripped of glory, and both Eve and Satan are said to have suffered this fate.[308]

Above I have dealt with the protoplasts' loss of glory or light. Because glory is taken by many texts as the protoplasts' clothing before the Fall, these two categories, nakedness and the loss of glory, become confused. Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12 says that, just as Adam became naked of glory, Christ was naked on the cross.[309] Here the Adam/Christ typology is in play once more. In a passage that relates the whole story in brief compass, with no divergence from the standard exegesis, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam was stripped of glory (մերկացեալ ի փառացն).[310] Pawłos Tarōnac'i C12 simply says that Adam was stripped of his glory because of the sin.[311]

The leather garments that God made for them (Gen 3:21) also attracted the exegetes' attention. After Adam's sin, he wore coats of skin, rather than the divine glory he had worn in paradise.[312] Sargis Šnorhali C12, generally a partisan of straightforward and traditional exegesis, says that God made leather garments to cover their nakedness instead of the torn leaf (i.e., of the fig tree).[313] The poet Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who liked allegory, says that the coats of skin are also an allegory of the loss of brightness of paradise.[314] In one text, Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz C12 instead of saying "naked" says "stripped of light," thus implying the exegesis that Adam's garment was of light.[315] A final formulation of Adam's loss is that in paradise he was a king "[c]overed with godly light" but now they expelled him and "stripped him mercilessly."[316]

Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 says that Adam's postlapsarian garments were rent by Christ.[317] I note that Adam responded to God's question, according to Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, by citing his nakedness (§4.3). This is based on Gen

308. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 25, 59, and 60; compare also God's address to Eve later in the same poem, in excerpt 67.

309. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

310. Sargis Šnorhali 9. In excerpt 1, Sargis Šnorhali says that Adam lost his glory and fell.

311. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

312. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

313. Sargis Šnorhali 11.

314. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

315. Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz 26; compare excerpts 57 and 58 for more general formulations.

316. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 55 and 57; see also §1.6.

317. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

3:12, and both Frik C13 and Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz say that he fled in shame at the sound of God's footfall and covered himself with a fig leaf.[318]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The working out of the curses and Adam's deprivation of the benefits of his prelapsarian state are expressed in various ways, some of which I discussed above, such as the loss of glory, or of immortality, and so forth. In addition, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of the inception of death and loss of the Garden, and of the thorns and thistles that the earth sprouted.[319] Adam lost immortal life, and the splendor of paradise was hidden from him and his children, says Nersēs Šnorhali.[320] Pawłos Tarōnacʻi C12 simply says that Adam was deprived of paradise for eating the fruit and aspiring to be God.[321]

According to the text of Gen 3:13–19, God cursed Adam, Eve, and the serpent (understood by some postbiblical exegesis as Satan). Grigor Tłay C12 and Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12 speak of the curses in general terms and do not go beyond the biblical text in content.[322] Grigor Tłay says that Adam blamed Eve and Satan.[323] In fact, in Genesis, Adam blamed Eve (3:12), and Eve in turn blamed the serpent (3:13). Note that Grigor Tłay simplified the biblical text and in addition, speaks of Satan, not the serpent. Nersēs Lambronacʻi says that Satan spread sin and the curse on Adam.[324]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 claims that the results of their eating the fruit were that, instead of paradise, the earth brought forth thorns; that humans had a sorrowful, suffering, and distressing life; and that death was instituted.[325] A prominent element in the cursing of Adam is that he is to labor, sweating,[326] and that his labor will produce only thorns and thistles.[327] To this, Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 adds that he will return to dust. Elsewhere, the same poet lists death, thorns, pains, toil, and death, as well as darkness instead of the luminous Garden.[328] Vardan Arewelcʻi C13 says that they were deprived of the fruit, sick, weak, and mortal, and that they were without guidance outside the Garden.[329]

Other remarks may be made. Taking up the theme of darkness with which I dealt toward the end of the last section, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13 has Adam say,

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318. Frik 3; cf. 16; Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 62 and 76.

319. Nersēs Šnorhali 25 and 43.

320. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

321. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi 1.

322. Grigor Tłay 15; Nersēs Lambronacʻi 4.

323. Grigor Tłay 14.

324. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 6.

325. Nersēs Šnorhali 25.

326. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 1, 15, and 32.

327. Frik 7.

328. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 32–33.

329. Such passages add very little to the biblical text, except that "the serpent" is often referred to as "Satan," which shows the loss of the distinction between them.

"I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition."[330] The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz).[331] The serpent was cursed to move on its stomach says Vardan Aygekc'i C13. He cites a phrase of unknown provenance, "head brought low to the feet" as referring to Adam and the serpent.

Frik C13 declares that Adam fell into a bottomless pit of boiling pitch, which was hell.[332] Vardan Arewelc'i C13, using a striking image, says that Adam became the first poor man, being deprived both of God and of the Garden.[333] He expresses the same idea in more usual language when he says, "As Adam, he became similar to the beasts that eat grass, instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death."[334] Adam was punished justly, yet God graciously gave him the opportunity to beget Seth as a consolation. This unusual idea is put forward by Grigor Tłay C12.[335]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is one of the few authors excerpted for this chapter who shows interest in the fiery seraph that guarded the tree of life (Gen 3:24).[336] In another text of his, it is a cherub, as in the Bible. The reason Nersēs Šnorhali offers for the blocked way and the angelic guard is so that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalterable death. The twist he has given here to the biblical verse is noteworthy, reading Gen 3:22 as, "he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever. Yet Nersēs Šnorhali says that this is lest he eat and not live for ever but remain dead. Perhaps he wished to reserve the privilege of granting eternal life to redemption through Christ.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

As a result of their sin, Adam and Eve fell under Satan's control. Their children served demons. Satan built hell and imprisoned souls there, until Christ freed them through his descent into limbo. Adam's loss through transgression is well summarized by Ignatius *vardapet* C12. He says that, as a result of eating the fruit, Adam lost glory and splendor[337] and deified the demons, putting himself under Satan's control. Through Adam's sin, Satan became worshiped, says

330. After Adam's expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world (Vardan Aygekc'i 12).

331. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 68.

332. Frik 19.

333. Vardan Arewelc'i 10.

334. Vardan Arewelc'i 16.

335. In excerpt 16, Grigor Tłay says, "God is kind and beneficent, | For he does not neglect Adam, | But with care he nurtures him, | Favours him with bearing children"; cf. excerpts 20–21. For Seth as son of consolation, see Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1860, 25; Armenian Adam apocrypha, such as *Death of Adam* 7, *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* 4; and see Stone 1996a, 44.

336. Nersēs Šnorhali 22.

337. See Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and §4.2.3 above.

Frik C13.[338] He captured Adam, who caused his offspring to serve demons.[339] Of course, regarding pagan gods as demons is an old theme, present in the Bible and in the intertestamental literature. Sacrifice to demons is found in Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 = Arm 105:37; Bar 4:7; *1 En.* 19:1; 99:7; 4QpsDan[a] ar (4Q243 frg. 13 = 4Q244 frg. 12). See particularly 1 Cor 10:20.[340]

As for Satan as ruler of humans, that too is an old theme. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 talks of the race of men bound by Adam and released by Christ.[341] Moreover, the captivity lasted six thousand years, clearly indicating that its end would come through Christ.[342] Hell was the prison of Adam and his grandchildren for a long time.[343] In one of Vardan Aykgec'i C13's fables, the arrogant prince is Satan, who fell from glory. He deceived Adam and drove him out. He and his host built hell, and demons held humans captive.[344] Frik C13 repeats this theme often. Thus he writes:

> The Devil had made hell,
> He had gathered many spirits in it.
> The Saviour came on account of Adam,
> And freed (him) through His blood.[345]

Vardan Arewelc'i C13 states that the demons increased Adam's suffering and injured natures.[346] Moreover, the same pattern as Adam's sin and Christ's redemption is repeated with women, "The race of women condemned by Eve | Was freed from the transgression by Mary," writes Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[347]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The traditional Armenian interpretation of Gen 3:8, "They heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden," involves two points: both that God called Adam and that Adam heard God approaching. These two points are taken up

338. Frik 18.
339. Frik 18; see also Frik 10, cf. 9.
340. This subject is extensive, and all we can give here are indications.
341. Nersēs Šnorhali 4.
342. Frik 43. This conclusion follows from the chiliastic chronology that reckons the parousia to come after six days of the world week. See discussion in Stone 1982, 82–83.
343. Frik 20. The souls of the protoplasts were in hell; see Vardan Arewelc'i 35.
344. Vardan Aykgec'i 6.
345. Frik 9.
346. Vardan Arewelc'i 21, 25. Note use of natures to mean humans or bodies in Vardan Arewelc'i 33 and there are other such occurrences from Eznik in the fifth century and thenceforth.
347. Nersēs Šnorhali 4. Vardan Aykgec'i C13 wrote an exegetical riddle in which the head and the feet were Adam and the serpent; see excerpt 5. This riddle is based on the quotation "The head is brought low to the feet," the origin of which is unknown.

by the Armenian tradition. Why should Adam hear God's footsteps? This question is answered by saying that God deliberately made the sound of his coming audible. How could God ask, "Where are you?" Did he not know? This question is actually God's call to Adam to repent: where are you morally? It was taken as a summons to repentance.

Frik C13 has a simple enumeration of three features: God came to paradise, he sought and called Adam, and he does not mention the footsteps.[348] Similarly, in one text, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C12 simply says that God came and asked, "Where are you?" equally without mention of the footsteps. Elsewhere, however, this author says that Adam was astounded at hearing God's footfalls and hid.[349] In the typological mode, Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 says that Adam (in hell), recognized Christ's footsteps when he came, and Adam informed the denizens of hell. He was apparently familiar with the divine footsteps from the Garden.[350]

Grigor Tłay C12 says that God's sound became loud, as he sought for Adam. "Where are you?" he asked and he (Adam) said, "I have sinned."[351] In contrast, Adam did not confess when God asked him without rancor, says Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag).[352] Frik C13 takes God's call not as a summons to repentance but as a reproach to Adam, who, according to an understanding of Gen 3:12, was reproaching God. "How did you make God the cause?" Frik C13 asks.[353] Frik's text specifies further (1) the footsteps, (2) that Adam hid, and (3) that Adam accused God.

One reason that God called Adam was to summon him to repent. Frik C13 says that because he did not repent, he lost his honor (i.e., the paradisiacal glory) and became like the animals.[354] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 puts it thus, "45 Why did I not fall at his feet | Crying, saying 'Lord, I have sinned,' | Rather than accuse Eve? | It is I who have fallen from eternal good."[355] Another view, espoused by Vardan Arewelc‘i C13, is that God's benevolence brought him to visit the condemned.[356]

When God came to paradise and called, "Adam, where are you?" the trees worshiped God and gave extra fruit.[357] Such legendary elements are found already in *Pen. Adam* [44](22):3. With a similar statement, that when God called, "Where

348. Frik 61.
349. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 61 and 76. In excerpt 27 he is astounded at God's voice.
350. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.
351. Grigor Tłay 13.
352. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.
353. Frik 4.
354. Frik 64. Elsewhere Frik simply states that Adam did not repent: excerpt 62.
355. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 64.
356. Vardan Arewelc‘i 4.
357. Vardan Aygekc‘i 12.

are you?" Adam responded, "I am naked," Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 took up another feature of Gen 3:10.[358]

A further element in the story, based on Gen 3:12, was that Adam's response was to blame Eve, or Eve and the serpent (see §4.2.4 above). This is sometimes directly stated and sometimes implied.[359] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 not only says that Adam blamed, but he seems also to imply that Adam was not sinful until he blamed Eve.[360] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes the same point when he says that "Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, 'the woman whom you gave to me,' rather than for eating the fruit."[361]

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

Adam sinned at midday; in the third hour, the serpent deceived Eve's mind; in the sixth hour, Adam fell.[362] In the same hour, Christ (was) on the cross.[363] Adam was expelled at the sixth hour, just as Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour. This is the opinion of Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12, and it exhibits the same sort of typological inference as was pointed out earlier (§§0.0, 1.1.1).[364]

Grigor Vkayasēr C12 continued the detailed typological presentation, not necessarily chronological, the first part of which I presented above:[365]

Adam	Christ
At the hour of Adam's persuasion	Christ was sentenced
Adam was stripped of the glory	our Lord was naked on the cross
At the sixth hour Adam ate the fruit	and Christ ascended the cross
In evening Adam heard footsteps	Christ trampled gates of hell

In addition to these general correlations, Grigor also presents a number of typological parallels. Adam, he says, was driven out on that Friday; on this Friday Christ taken down from the cross. Adam was driven out in the sixth hour, and Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour.[366]

358. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 38 and 62.

359. Adam blamed Eve directly (Frik 5 and 64); Adam blamed Eve and the serpent (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 40); Adam blamed Eve indirectly (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7). The last passage might refer also to Adam's eating the fruit.

360. Compare also Grigor Tłay 14.

361. Vardan Arewelc'i 11; see also on Adam's motivation §4.1.1.

362. Nersēs Šnorhali 27. Adam sinned at the sixth hour, that is, midday, but the process of sinning started at the third hour.

363. Nersēs Šnorhali 28.

364. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

365. Grigor Vkayasēr 1; see Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1 and §4.1.

366. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

Some other chronological traditions occur. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi C12 says that God created Adam on the sixth day, 1 Nisan, at the sixth hour of day.[367]

There is little interest in the amount of time the protoplasts spent in the Garden, a subject of interest in earlier centuries; see chapter 2 §4.4. Indeed, the only statement found is that the time is unknown because (1) there was no sun in Garden; and (2) Adam was not subject to years; see Vardan Arewelcʻi C13.[368]

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

Adam's response to his expulsion was to weep outside the gates of the Garden and to pray. One very full statement on the subject is made by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 in the poem cited in §0.0.[369] In general, Adam wept at the Garden of Eden.[370] Frik C13 says that Adam wept a river of blood, which may include a reference to the crucifixion.[371] Elsewhere he says that Adam wept all day before the Garden, which weeping is connected to the Aṙaǰawor fast.[372]

Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil.[373]

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

The issue of fasting, and specifically of the Aṙaǰawor fast, is discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.4. It is connected to the Adam stories in two ways. First, the commandment to refrain from the fruit of the tree is taken as a fast, and, second, Adam and Eve's five days' weeping and penitence after their expulsion is also regarded as a fast. These two themes are expressed in the five-day Aṙaǰawor fast of the Armenian Church.

Adam's fast is for Christ's sake, according to Vardan Aygekcʻi C13, who interprets the commandment not to eat of the tree as a commandment to fast. Vanakan *vardapet* C13 connects this interpretation with Aṙaǰawor. He cites "Basil" on this and says that this was the fast imposed on Adam in the Garden. It lasts five days, he says, because we sinned with five senses.[374]

In Vanakan *vardapet* C13's writing on this topic we observe for the first time references to apocryphal Adam traditions, and to the Aṙaǰawor fast connected

367. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi 2. See also §1.1.1 above.

368. Vardan Arewelcʻi 7: see also §1.1.1.

369. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 69–73. A version of his plaint is found in *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§11–24.

370. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 69–73: see also 53.

371. Frik 68.

372. Frik 10; and above §0.0. For another aspect of this idea, that God still nurtures Adam, see Grigor Tłay 16 and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §27.

373. Vardan Aygekcʻi 8.

374. Vanakan *vardapet* 2. See §2.8 above, on Eve's sinning with five senses.

with those traditions. The creation of the creatures five days before Adam is thus also related to the five days of the Aṙaǰawor fast, though the exact relation is not made explicit.[375]

4.7 Cheirograph

Colossians 2:13–14 reads: "13 And when you were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive together with him, when he forgave us all our trespasses, 14 erasing the record that stood against us[376] with its legal demands. He set this aside, nailing it to the cross." The legend of Adam's cheirograph, which is related to these verses, first occurs in our excerpts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and may be observed in a number of texts relating both to Adam's sin and to Christ's death.[377] For instance, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says, "Now the document of Adam's debts, by which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross . . . "[378] and Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12 speaks of the Father, "having undone the seal of the forefather Adam's condemnation."[379] Quoting the supposed words of Christ while dying, he writes, "And now I compensate for Adam's debt."[380] From a different perspective Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 says,

> Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
> The one who sinned [i.e., Adam] condemned you,
> And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.[381]

With immaculate hands on the cross, the same author says, he [i.e., Christ] erased the writing.

The same cheirograph tradition, developed in connection with Col 2:14, is presented in a distinctive form by Vardan Aygekcʻi C13:

> Belial is a rabid dog, and he guards (keeps) his treasury, as he kept Adam's sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the

375. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2, cited in §0.0 above. Compare with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§1–10, 26 for the narrative elements. In *Cain and Abel* §1 we read, "Now after Satan's deception, when Adam had fasted for 5 days, which we call Aradjavor . . . ." In *Transgression* §§46–47 it is six days. All these texts are cited from the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990.

376. ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον.

377. For a general presentation, see Stone 2002.

378. Col 2:14. The citation is from Ignatius *vardapet* 8.

379. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 3; also excerpt 20.

380. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 5.

381. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 34.

> Word erased the cheirograph on the cross with his dishonour[382] and blood[383] and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demon and said: "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept[384] it upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love is lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not take it from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and image of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)."[385]

This text combines the understanding of "cheirograph" as in Col 2:14 and the cheirograph as the contract that Satan tricked Adam into signing.[386] The name Bazu (Բազու) for Belial-Satan is quite extraordinary; cf. §3.0 above and appendix §1.0.

Men cannot not erase the book of sins of soul and body, "nor return to dust those fallen captive to death," says Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13.[387] The implication of this is that only Christ can erase the book of sins and free the dead from captivity in hell. Again, the cheirograph idea lies in the background of this statement.[388]

In addition to the crucifixion, the other main context in which the idea of the cheirograph occurs is that of Christ's baptism. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 connects the two ideas saying that the very baptism washes away "the promissory note of the old Adam."[389]

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

"And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like animals," states Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12.[390] Note (1) that the cave is identified with Machpelah, in Hebron; and (2) that at the same time the cave is identified

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382. I.e., his crucifixion.
383. Cf. Col 2:14.
384. Perhaps emend to: I kept.
385. Vardan Aygekcʻi 7.
386. See Stone 2002.
387. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 35.
388. Perhaps the spread of darkness, discussed in §3.2, is also connected with the legend of Satan's second deception of Adam and Eve over the matter of the darkness. See Stone 2002, 12–17.
389. Nersēs Šnorhali 8.
390. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

with the grotto near Bethlehem.[391] There is a well-known tendency to confuse sacred places with one another.[392] Adam was buried at Golgotha according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[393]

Adam and Eve wept over the dead for thirty days, either over Abel or loss of the Garden.[394]

391. See Stone 2000b, 241–45.

392. Compare the discussion in chapter 2 §2.8 on Hebron—Shechem. Another, later example is the confounding of Jerusalem, Golgotha, and the Mount of Olives in *Story of the Tree of Sabek* (Stone 2012, 100).

393. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

394. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 2.

4. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

Most of fourteenth-century excerpts are drawn from the works of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i (1344–1409). He was a great systematizer with an organized and encyclopedic approach. He wished to create, in his *Book of Questions*, a work that would systematically set forth the Armenian Church's view on all main questions of religion. Therefore, he raised a number of issues about the protoplasts that no previous author had raised, and he attempted to respond exhaustively to each of them. As a result, he often adduced or invented answers found nowhere else. His method was to pose a question and to write a response to the question, frequently providing a conspectus of all conceivable answers to any question he raised. Some of these answers are drawn from tradition, while others are the fruit of his own acumen. Naturally, the former ones are of particular interest to us. His published homilies exhibit the same method. Sometimes in his writing one can discern the influence, direct or indirect, of the Dominican missionaries who were in Armenia, in and shortly before his lifetime. (His name occurs so often in this chapter that I omitted the notation "C14" following it.)

He generally gives exegetical or logically derived responses, but sometimes he has recourse to allegorical interpretation. Thus, for example, we read, "Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. . . . Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades."[1] However, the allegorical method is not as prominent in his writings as in those of the other contemporary authors.

The relative absence of typology or allegory from the fourteenth-century excerpts is, consequently, to some extent an optical illusion, because these methods were little used by one dominant author, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i. Typology may be observed in Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14, who says that Adam was in paradise just

1. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 51.

as long as Christ was in the world.[2] Indeed, Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi notes that that interpretation is drawn from Eusebius. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14 makes the grape of the redeeming wine of communion equivalent to the fruit of the tree in the Garden, which was a grape, which made Adam mortal.[3] Thus, the grape lost the Garden for humankind, and the grape opened the Garden to the redeemed.

A hint at the Gospels is built into a hexaëmeron, where, on sixth day, Adam was created and then the animals were created before his eyes.[4] The animals are specified as the eagle, the lion, and the ox, which, together with the man, constitute the symbols of the four evangelists.[5] Thus, in the writings of Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi C14, the events of creation are taken as paradigmatic.

All the published fifteenth-century works discussed here except *Adamgirkʻ*, the Adam epic written by Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, are excerpted part 2 of this book. In the present chapter, I have included instances where *Adamgirkʻ* either supports or contradicts a distinct and individual tradition found in another work excerpted. I have also given references to its extended treatments of one or another specific theme. Since the *Adamgirkʻ* is a very long text, taking detailed account of its every detail would expand our presentation here beyond all proportion. Therefore, the reader should depend for details on the "Select Subject Index" in the Oxford translation. All references to *Adamgirkʻ* given below are to recension, chapter, and stanza according to that translation.[6]

In general, *Adamgirkʻ* presents a standard but embroidered form of the stories of Adam and Eve in line with Genesis 1–3. The treatment of various subjects in *Adamgirkʻ* exhibits a strong typological strain, and events of Adam's life are often correlated with Christ's. Thus, for example, *Adamgirkʻ* 1.24 is a very extensive recap of the passion narrative permeated with typological parallels, chiefly to the Adam and Eve stories. From the perspective of the present undertaking, it adds nothing new to the narrative elements about Adam and Eve. Such typological exegeses are not documented in detail here, and I direct the reader to Aṙakʻel's own statement about them in the introduction to *Adamgirkʻ* 1.[7]

Particularly unusual are long disquisitions at the end of *Adamgirkʻ* Recension 1, including the extensive discussion of Eve in the section called "The Mysteries of the Rib" (*Adamgirkʻ* 1.16–22). Though this is of considerable interest in its own right, it adds little to the narrative material that we seek. Typological

2. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 3.
3. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 5 and 6.
4. Compare with the texts on creation in Adam's sight in earlier centuries, such as chapter 1 §2.5.
5. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2.
6. See Stone 2007a.
7. Ibid., 85.

chronology of the passion has already been observed in a number of texts, but it is not frequent in *Adamgirk'*.[8]

1.0 The Creation

Grigor Tat'ewac'i asks how many chief creations there were, and, among other answers, he says twenty-two, according to the number of Hebrew letters. He lists them but remarks that these were the chief creations but that there were also others.[9] Grigor Tat'ewac'i, enumerating the days of Holy Week, says: "Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolises the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, 'Let there be light.'[10] When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks and the four elements came into existence on that day."[11] This text continues with a sort of hexaëmeron. In connection with Monday, Grigor Tat'ewac'i also mentions that creation was by God the Word. This is the usual view (see below), but the consultation between the Persons of the Trinity, which other writers infer from Gen 1:16, is scarcely mentioned in any fourteenth-century excerpt. Grigor Tat'ewac'i mentions the creation of "birds from the waters," on Thursday, also a widespread interpretation.[12]

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 says that God created four elements, and the earlier polemic between dust and four elements is not mentioned.[13] Likewise, in *Adamgirk'* 1.19 Aṙak'el Siwnec'i discusses at length dust as the material from which Adam was created and also says that his body was created of four materials, that is, four elements.[14]

Grigor Tat'ewac'i quotes Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that, when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared incarnated and was creating in his incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, just as the Illuminator says.[15] All the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed.[16]

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8. Another similar passage is *Adamgirk'* 1.22.25–27, 31–32, part of long typological development, with use of stereotypical numbers.

9. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 16. The alternation of twenty-two and twenty-four is dealt with in chapter 3 §1.0.

10. Gen 1:3.

11. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 56.

12. The passage discussed is Grigor Tat'ewac'i 62.

13. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1; see above, chapter 2 §1.1.2 and here §1.1.2.

14. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk'* 3.3.23; 1.10.2, 7. See §1.2 below.

15. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See Agat'angełos 12 and 18. "The Illuminator" is St. Gregory the Illuminator.

16. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See §3.2. His adducing of earlier authorities is typical, and it is also found less extensively in other fourteenth-century sources.

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Adam was created by God's hand: this idea is widespread and early. It may be found in Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i and Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14.[17] In further detail, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says that Adam was created by God's hand and speech,[18] and in a third text he says that Adam was created by God's hand and insufflated.[19] Adam was created by God's hands, declares Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i C15.[20] Interpreting Gen 1:26, Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i makes another point. He says of Adam's creation: "it says, 'Let us make man according to our image,' that is, it says 'man' to be one, but 'let us make' and 'in our' show three persons." This is the usual trinitarian interpretation of that plural.[21] Adam had a tripartite soul,[22] and this is correlated with the Trinity in Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i's *Adamgirk‘* 3.3.23. Elsewhere in *Adamgirk‘* Adam is said to be tripartite, composed of spirit, mind, and body.[23]

Adam's breath is creative, an idea probably connected with the insufflation: thus Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i.[24] In another passage, Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i says that "[the man] was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity . . . ."[25] Moreover, *Adamgirk‘* describes the act of creation when it says that God made dust into rational man in his image, which means that he had autonomous will.[26] The relation between the image and free will, a major topic in the fifth century, appearing occasionally later, is not particularly stressed in the fifteenth.

Adam was viewed as God's child and was nourished by his hand says Matt‘ēos *vardapet* C15.[27] This is related to the question of whether Adam and Eve can be considered children, and that question is, in turn, connected to Christ's virgin birth. Thus, Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i C15 says about the creation of Eve: "ninth . . . because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse."[28] Eve was born as a virgin says Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14.[29]

17. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 7, 28 and Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.
18. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 32.
19. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 81; see the discussion in §1.0.
20. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 11 and *Adamgirk‘* 1.1.9.
21. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 9; see above, chapter 3 §1.1.
22. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i, *Adamgirk‘* 3.3.23; 1.1.8; 1.10.2, 7.
23. *Adamgirk‘* 2.1.1.
24. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 11.
25. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 16. Note the "Stoic" virtues in this list.
26. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i, *Adamgirk‘* 2.1 and 3.1.
27. Matt‘ēos *vardapet* 3.
28. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 20.
29. Kirakos Ernzkac‘i 1.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yakob Łrimecʻi C15 was interested in the calendar and astronomy. He notes that Adam was created two days after the equinox, that is, on the sixth day, for the equinox was fixed on the fourth day of creation, when the luminaries came into being.[30] He says elsewhere that on the sixth day of creation, man was created, the sun entered Aries, the year commenced, and it was 1 Nisan.[31]

a. Adam is older than Eve: This view recurs in several authors such as Esayi Nčʻecʻi C14.[32] Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi C14 says that, with his hands, God created Adam thirty years old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five days old.[33]

b. Typology: Above I remarked on the typological relationship between Adam's transgression and Christ's passion.[34] This continues in the fourteenth century. Typology is infrequent in the writings of Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, as discussed above.[35] Barseł Maškeroncʻi, also in the fourteenth century, asks:

> Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he received the condemnation on it, he went out of the Garden on it, and on it the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same [day] Christ received the wound of the lance in his side, and broke the sword of the Cherub, and introduced the soul of the robber into the Garden, and shared with him his ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, "Today you shall be with me in the Garden."[36]

Compare also Barseł's statement: ". . . And he . . . at that hour [evening] temporarily closed the door of the Garden," and Christ died at the same hour.[37]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi raises the question of why Adam was created from dust. To this, he gives an elaborate answer, of which some interesting points are (a) that dust includes the other three elements;[38] (b) that dust symbolizes humility and so offsets the pride Adam may have taken in being created in the image, an idea that accords with another in the same passage, "We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with

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30. Yakob Łrimecʻi 1. Abusayid C12 said that Adam was created on the equinox. See further on these issues chapter 3 §1.1.1.

31. Yakob Łrimecʻi 5.

32. Esayi Nčʻecʻi 2.

33. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2. On the age of thirty years, see above, chapter 2 §1.1.4.

34. See chapter 3 §1.1.1.

35. See §0.0 above.

36. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 4; and see chapter 1 §1.1.1

37. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 3.

38. See §1.0 above.

it"; and (c) that he was created from dust to shame Satan, for he, an earth-made being, entered the glory from which Satan had fallen.[39]

Two of these features come together in lines of Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i C14, who says:

> From four elements of earth,
> I established earthen man.[40]

In earlier centuries, a polemic existed between the idea of creation from the four elements and that of creation from dust. There is no hint of this in the fourteenth century, however, and Grigor Tat'ewac'i, who is cited above saying that Adam was created from dust, also states that, when the Bible says dust, the dust had the other three elements mixed with it.[41] Elsewhere he states that earth is our mother, the other three elements are our relatives, and man was created from dust.[42]

Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 says that Adam was made of divine breath and dust.[43] This statement reflects the creation story in Genesis in general. Other sources repeat its content and, eventually, relate it to the idea of the four elements. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also says that man's soul is in the image of God, while the body is created from dust and mixed with it.[44] Again, he says, "Second, [we are] of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being of the same image, that is, of the image of God. . . ."[45]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

In earlier centuries the purpose of the man's creation is discussed.[46] The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century excerpts, however, do not say much about God's purpose in creation. Indeed, *Adamgirk'* 3.3.5. 2.4.9 states, as is also said in earlier centuries, that the original intent at Adam's creation was for him to gain "great glory." This would have happened had he not sinned. This notion is developed in a unique way when *Adamgirk'* 2.4.21–22 says that the temptation by the serpent was a test. The purpose of Adam's creation, and particularly of his punishment, was that Adam should seek to return to glory, says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[47] Ařak'el Siwnec'i C15 interprets Gen 1:27 to refer

39. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17 and 63.
40. Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i 4.
41. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17.
42. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 64.
43. Kostandin Erznkac'i 2.
44. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63; see also §1.1.
45. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 84.
46. See chapter 1 §1.1.3, chapter 2 §1.1.3, and chapter 3 §§1.1.3 and 1.1.6.
47. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

to the three Persons of the Trinity, as discussed above in §1.1.[48] This makes the creation of man a proclamation of the Trinity.

The general direction of the discussion, however, accords with Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i’s view that, had Adam observed the commandment, he would have arrived at perfect immortality.[49] Thus, he says:

> [I]f they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is said, between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth.”[50]

The prohibition of the fruit of the tree, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says, was for forty days duration. For after “forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed. . . .”[51]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i speaks of fruit as the cause of evil or, alternatively, of untimely eating as the cause of evil.[52] He mentions a theme that was prominent earlier, viz., that the command was about fasting.[53]

1.1.4 Adam’s Age at Creation

Several fourteenth-century authorities say that Adam was created at thirty years old, which is a widespread view.[54] According to Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, he was unaging and completely joyous and he lived between life and death.[55] Esayi Nč‘ec‘i says that he was older than Eve at creation and Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i, despite not addressing precisely this point, says that Eve was created three hours after Adam.[56]

1.1.5 Adam’s/Eve’s State at Creation: Glory

Adam and Eve were frequently given the attributes of glory and a luminous presence and were said to have flowered with light.[57] Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i C15

48. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 1.
49. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 26.
50. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 26.
51. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 28.
52. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 9, quoting Gregory of Nyssa.
53. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 45; see chapter 3 §§0.0 and 1.4.
54. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; see here Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 35 and 43; and Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 2.
55. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 32.
56. Esayi Nč‘ec‘i 2; Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 2; see further discussion in §1.1.1 above.
57. He was luminous: *Adamgirk‘* 2.1.5 and note.

returns repeatedly to this theme. God honored Adam with glory, which is a clear sign of the heavenly state according to Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14,[58] while Grigor Tatʻewacʻi speaks of his sinlessness and glory.[59] According to *Adamgirkʻ*, Adam was scintillating and resembled the sun on creation.[60] Mattʻēos *vardapet* says that Adam and Eve were put in ineffable glory and glorified with honor.[61]

In another variant of this idea, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that the protoplast was dressed not in handmade clothes but in the light of grace.[62] Kirakos Erznkacʻi C14 writes of Adam, "Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light, | Brilliantly embellished like angels."[63] Again the same poet says,

> You filled (him) with increate light,
> bread from the seven lights.
> You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,
> made him participant of divine life.[64]

Yakob Łrimecʻi speaks of Adam's glory, saying that the body is clothing laced with gold, a luminous garment.[65] Finally, as we shall see in detail below, according to *Adamgirkʻ* 3.5.2, the protoplasts were created with shining faces.

This glory and light are an outcome, *Adamgirk* 3.1.6 says, of Adam's being a copy of God. The same idea is expressed by Mkrtičʻ Nałaš C15, who writes that "the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden, | Was shining with the divine image, like the sun."[66]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi implies that Adam was created immortal.[67] Similarly, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15 remarks, "And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped[68] and fell from Paradise and became mortal by nature."[69] The excerpts say nothing else significant on this subject, except for the implication of immortality carried by all the statements that after Adam sinned, death visited him.

58. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 3.
59. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 19.
60. *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.1; 2.3.7–18, 49–51.
61. Mattʻēos *vardapet* 3.
62. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 19.
63. Kirakos Erznkacʻi 2.
64. Kirakos Erznkacʻi 2.
65. Yakob Łrimecʻi 1.
66. Mkrtičʻ Nałaš 2.
67. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 30.
68. I.e., of glory.
69. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 15.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

One traditional list is of twelve gifts that Adam had in the Garden and lost when he sinned; see §4.2.4. A similar list is found in Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, *Book of Questions;* and see Matenadaran MS no. M5950 67-68.[70] A second list is of seven gifts, quoted by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i in a different context. He says that the doctors say the following: first, that God created [him]; second, the soul; third, reason; fourth, [free] will; fifth, knowledge; sixth, rationality; seventh, activity.[71] Elsewhere, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says that Adam had two gifts—autonomous authority and sinlessness.[72] From another perspective, a number of authors declare that God gave Adam the three qualities of priesthood, royalty, and prophecy.[73]

Priesthood is replaced by reason in the three qualities as enumerated by Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14.[74] Adam's deep sleep is prophetic rapture, not human slumber. Having awakened, he pronounced prophecy, that is, Gen 2:23.[75] This is a new idea proposed by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i that does not occur in earlier centuries. According to various fourteenth-century authors, Adam was promised a supernal kingdom;[76] he had honor and the Garden before his fall,[77] and gifts, abundance, and rule.[78]

"In the beginning of the creation of man, God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside," states Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14.[79]

1.1.8 Adam's Language

The question of the Adamic language has been of long-standing interest. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i expresses this in the following statement: "And which is Adam's language? We say, the Chaldean, that is, the Arabic, for [he] remained in Eber and was not mixed."[80] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 holds the same view.[81] He also says that Adam was created rational and also with the quality of speech; when he fell he lost this gift.[82] It seems, however, that what he lost was primordial speech and not reason or the power of ordinary speech.

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70. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 20; possibly the list found in MS M5950 derived from Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i's list. On gifts, see chapter 3 n. 223.

71. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 21.

72. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 30.

73. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 46; Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 4–6; and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 4. These qualities are a standard trope in the Bible and are, of course, all applied to Jesus.

74. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

75. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 73 and 74.

76. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 32.

77. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 3.

78. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

79. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 5.

80. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 27. He regards "Arabic" as meaning "Eberic."

81. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 7.

82. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6.

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The ranking of creatures, with man in the dominant position, is largely based on Gen 1:27.[83] According to the formulation in *Adamgirkʻ* 1.1.11, man was higher than the angels and the animals, and *Adamgirkʻ* expresses the same idea elsewhere when it says that angels and animals wondered at Adam.[84] As Mkrtičʻ Nałaš puts it, "Who have created various created things, | East, North, South, West, | Man is king over (all) and incomparable."[85] Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14 says that Adam was more sublime than the angels because he was created in the image of God.[86] Grigor Tatʻewacʻi wrote the following disquisition on Adam's role. Man is declared king and ruler of animals;[87] he is in the image of God; he stands upright, indicating and symbolizing his lordly role; and he is autonomous, that is, he has free will to subdue the animal parts of his soul. Consequently, when Adam became disobedient, the animals became disobedient; when his [animal] passions rebelled, the created animals rebelled.

In *Adamgirkʻ* 1.1.17, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi overcomes the apparent contradiction of Adam being created last but being preeminent by saying that Adam was created last so that the world would be ready for him. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi was also concerned about Adam's preeminent position despite his creation as the last of all visible creations.[88] Moreover, he asks, why did not God create Eve of the dust like Adam? He replies, so that they would not be equal in honor, in age, and in time, but the man is more honorable and the first one, and the woman the second and younger.[89]

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi transfers his concern for ranking to the material world.[90] The world, he declares, is formed of an upper, intelligible dwelling and a lower, sensible dwelling. After the intelligible creation, God made the highest sensible creation, Eden in the east, from four elements. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi also declares, "so that with his [Adam's] body, he might find delight among the sensible creatures, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden."[91]

However, ranking is not only among humans and animals, but also in angelic classes. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14 says that angels were made according to rank

83. See also §1.4.

84. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.22–23.

85. Mkrtičʻ Nałaš 3.

86. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 2.

87. Compare also Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 64 and Kostandin Erznkacʻi 2. Similarly Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 10.

88. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 64. Also Yovhan Orotnecʻi C14 1 mentions Adam's being the last of created beings.

89. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 75–76.

90. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 81.

91. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 81.

and class.[92] Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 speaks of ten ranks of angels that increased to myriads in number.[93] This is an unusual view, for nine, deriving ultimately from Pseudo-Dionysius (*Celestial Hierarchy* vi, 2) is the more usual number.[94] Thus, Grigor Tat'ewac'i speaks of nine ranks of angels, glorifiers of God and see §1.3, where I quote a passage setting out the ranks and classes of angels.[95]

1.3 Humans and Angels

The relationship between humans and angels is often discussed citing Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6: Grigor Tat'ewac'i lists the points of comparison. Man is less than the angels in six things: (a) he is body and not bodiless; (b) he is dust and not luminous; (c) he was created on Friday and not on the first day with the light; (d) he was put in the Garden and not in heaven; (e) he needed food and delight and the angels did not; (f) he existed between life and death, while the angels were immortal by nature.

Man has more honor than the angels in six things: (a) he is honored in body, soul, and mind; (b) he is adorned with three graces of three personages—royalty, priesthood, and prophecy; (c) Scripture says that he was created in the image and does not say this of angels; (d) one man was father of all humans as the Father is beginning of all, but the angels were created from nothing; (e) angels are servants and ministers of man, so they remained in the same rank after the transgression; (f) "the Man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshipped him when the Word became man."[96]

In two poetic passages we read about Adam and angels. Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 compares Adam's Edenic glory to that of angels:

> Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
> Brilliantly embellished like angels.[97]

The classes of angels are enumerated by Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 in the following passage:

> You have created servants for yourself:
> the six-winged seraphim.
> The nine ranks of angels,
> That glorify you without pause.

92. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 10.

93. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1: ten ranks, made of nine angelic and one human, are referred to by Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

94. *PG* 3:200D.

95. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 67.

96. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 31.

97. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2; see §1.1.5 above.

The four-faced cherubim
and the many-eyed angels.
The four-faced beasts
that are the thrones of the Godhead.[98]

In another passage, Kostandin Erznkac‘i asserts that man is more sublime than angels, sharing the Creator's image.[99]

The image of the ranked heavenly hierarchy captured the imagination, and Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14 speaks, as I noted above, of God making angels according to rank and class.[100] This is evident also in a striking passage in Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i's C14 writings, when he says,

> In the beginning God created the fiery heavens and miraculously made in it the angels in ten ranks, and differing in honour, and increasing to numberless myriad; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement, the name of whose essence and number of quantity and glory of nature and measures of wisdom remain incomprehensible for us.[101]

Angels are made of special fire, light, and air, which idea is derived from Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4. However, man could not increase sinlessly like the angels, and therefore God created Eve, says Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.[102]

1.4 Angels' function and Adam's Commandment

The nine ranks of angels are glorifiers of God in heaven.[103] Nothing is said, however, about Adam's commandment in this connection.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

1.6 Humankind in the Image

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec‘i C14 asserts that God created man in the image so he would search for his prototype and return to glory.[104]

Man is made "in his [God's] image, as the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures," just as God is lord of the intelligible heavenly powers and all beings. This is the view of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, who relates the image to man's role as ruler

98. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 1; see §1.1.5 above. This material is ultimately dependent on Ezekiel 1.

99. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 2.

100. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

101. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 10.

102. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 15.

103. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 67.

104. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec‘i 1; and see §1.1.3 above.

of all beings, a role derived from Gen 1:26.[105] The same idea is expressed by Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14, who says,

> God said, “Let us make man,
> in our image after our likeness.
> That he have dominion over the creatures,
> be ruler over all.
> More sublime than angels,
> sharing the Creator’s image.”[106]

Genesis 1:26, says that man was created in the image, and in Gen 2:7 God is said to breathe the spirit of life into Adam. These two events are equated in the Armenian sources, as may be seen in the writing of Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14.[107] Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i particularly connects the breathing in of the spirit with immortal life and the image with power, reason, or glory.[108] Thus, Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 calls man “the image of your great glory.”[109] Man, being in the image, had a noble origin, states Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14[110] and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says that man, as the image, had grace and was taught to seek wisdom.[111]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i further discusses the idea of image. He is concerned about how God can be said to have an image, and so he writes, “Topic: For it [Scripture] does not mean [that] God made the man in his image, but according to [his] image. Comment: The first one is as it were nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as of the same image as the Son and not as the Father.”[112] By stressing “according to,” he seeks to modulate the idea that God has an image.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i is much preoccupied with the Garden and discusses its nature and that of its fruit in great detail. The Garden of Eden is illuminated, he says, and does not draw its light from the sun: its air is luminous, its flora are luminous.[113] Grigor likewise rejects the view that day and night existed in the Garden, and he maintained that the Garden had no seasons and no winds, snow, or rain,

105. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 82.
106. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 1.
107. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10. See chapter 1 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6, for the earlier history of this equivalence.
108. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 81.
109. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.
110. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 1.
111. Yovhannēs Arčišec‘i 1; see also chapter 3 §1.6.
112. Grigor, pupil of Yōhannēs Orotnec‘i, i.e., Tat‘ewac‘i 1.
113. Striking descriptions of the luminosity of the Garden are to be found in the fif-

since it is close to the most vivifying, upper part of atmosphere, while meteorological phenomena are in the middle air.[114]

The Garden is incorruptible, as is evident from the order of things; the fruit does not putrefy nor the leaves drop. Nonetheless, the Garden's fruit is edible, just as the fruit of life is edible, and Adam was expelled after eating fruit because he became corruptible.[115] In a further discussion of the same issue, he says that Adam could eat "the fruit of the Garden because it was tangible and edible, was picked and chewed and converted according to casual[116] qualities, but remained incorruptible by nature and by (its) influence on the eater."[117] Elsewhere, he discusses how the Garden, trees, and fruit are incorruptible, even though they are eaten, are watered, and so forth, and he gives examples of special things made of the four elements but incorruptible.[118] He discusses how the Garden will be affected by the eschatological conflagration, and he says, "Now, in its material part it is cleared by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but in its incorruptibility it remains unchanged: also according to its density." He presents a series of comparisons that, on the one hand, highlight its special character and, on the other, make it secondary to supernal Jerusalem.[119]

In their *Commentaries on the Canon Tables*, both Grigor Jerenc' C14 and Grigor Tat'ewac'i associate the fourth canon table with Adam's Garden, standing on four columns that represent four elements.[120] According to Grigor Jerenc', the canon table is blue and black in color, which shows that the Garden was concealed from Adam and his sons while they were alive, that is, after the expulsion.[121] For Grigor Jerenc', blue or blue and black signify, though he does not explain it very clearly, the persistence of the divine signs during Adam's life. The connection of the four columns with the four elements used in creation is fixed and may be observed also in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[122]

God planted the Garden, which was miraculous and immortal, and he adorned it with beautiful and tasty trees.[123] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 says that the Garden was a divine creation, planted in Adam's honor,[124] and

teenth-century poet Aṙak'el Siwnec'i's long composition on Eden called Դրախտագիրք *Book of Paradise*.

114. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 5; cf. 4 Ezra 7:39–42, on removal of day and night and seasons in the eschaton.

115. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 5–6.

116. Or: accidental.

117. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 8.

118. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 12–13.

119. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 42. The Garden was luminous, incorruptible, and a middle region: Grigor Tat'ewac'i 81.

120. Grigor Jerenc' 1; Grigor Tat'ewac'i 85.

121. Grigor Jerenc' 1.

122. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 2.

123. Kostandin Erznkac'i 3. Similar is Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 4.

124. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14 declares that God planted it for Adam's enjoyment.[125] Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 mentions the shining fruit of paradise.[126]

Finally, Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 continues the discussion of the Garden's special nature by saying that it was not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.[127] This view recurs in the discussion of Adam's time in the Garden; see §4.4 below.

2.1 Adam placed in the Garden

Following Genesis, Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says that God put Adam in the place of delight, in ineffable paradise.[128] Adam was placed in Garden after forty-two days according to Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i.[129]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i asks, "Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command him not to eat?" He answers that God created him autonomous so that he might choose voluntarily; he crowned him not just with mercy but also with justice.[130] These ideas are summarized by Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14, who wrote, "Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep, | You put a command, an object of free will, | You put him in the place of delight, in ineffable Paradise."[131]

Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 says that God placed Adam in the Garden to have royal dominion over the animals, which idea is based, of course, on Gen 1:28.[132] It also occurred in earlier centuries.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

The question of whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden is discussed from early times.[133] It was still the subject of controversy in the fourteenth century. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i anathematizes the view that there were intercourse, desire, and begetting in the Garden. He denies this for a range of reasons, includ-

125. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 3.

126. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

127. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.

128. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

129. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 2. There is an argument made by earlier authorities that Adam was put into the Garden forty days after his creation (chapter 1 §4.4), because of the commandment in chapter 4 §2.1 above. The figure here of forty-two days is not found in other sources. Its significance is not completely clear, and it is discussed below in §4.1.

130. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 40. The pair mercy and justice is fixed; it plays a prominent role in rabbinic thought.

131. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

132. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 1. See chapter 2 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6.

133. See Anderson 1989.

ing impurity caused by the emission of semen. However, he asserts that marriage took place in the Garden as in a church, but conception does not take place in the church nor did it take place in the Garden. Answering an implied objection, he asserts that Adam and Eve were created with sexual organs because of God's prescience. "But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent," he concludes.[134]

Continuing his polemic, he says, "And if one says that, if Adam and Eve remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some [people] say the Garden is corruptible and [there is] copulation of male and female, and moreover—desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is (are) contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers." The divine command is to be fruitful on earth and not in the Garden. In the Garden, humans increased like the angels in heaven.[135] The Fall means the inception of parturition and that they did not increase like angels.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam named the animals because he has natural wisdom. This was done to show his autonomy; he was their lord, and therefore he controls their names. He had the grace of priesthood, because a priest gives a name after birth.[136] This incident shows that Adam is autonomous, since he could give whatever names he wished. He had the ability to name the animals, since the Spirit had been breathed into him, producing his natural wisdom.[137]

Adam was placed in Garden to name animals and to have dominion royally. Here, again, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 connects the naming with dominion.[138] Above, in §1.6, I noted that Adam had royal dominion because he was created in the image. This, in turn, is connected with the breathing in of the Spirit, which gave him the ability to name animals.

In general, Esayi Nč'ec'i C14 stresses the uniqueness of names when he says that "each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s) that are separated from it or born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah . . . ."[139] He stresses the distinctiveness of each name.

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134. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 15. For a striking similarity to this idea in nineteenth-century Europe, see Gould 1985. On the last point, see also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 69.

135. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 24. See chapter 3 §2.3 on attitudes to sexual intercourse.

136. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 3.

137. See chapter 1 §2.6 and elsewhere.

138. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

139. Esayi Nč'ec'i 1.

2.7 The Type of Tree

Some authorities say that the tree was a fig, which is related to the garment that they sewed coverings of fig leaves, according to Gen 3:7. Others say that the fruit was grapes (so also Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 5) or wheat (perhaps, I might add, thus relating to the bread and wine of the Eucharist), yet others say it was an apple (Song 2:3 and 8:5). After reporting these views, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i adds, "And how can man speak of that which Holy Scripture has not revealed?"[140]

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

The assumption of all our texts is that Eve's creation happened much as related in Gen 2:21–23. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i is concerned whether Eve and Abel were brother and sister, since both were Adam's offspring. Eve was born, he says, of Adam's rib and Abel of Adam's womb and therefore, they are not brother and sister.[141] The same issue recurs elsewhere in his discussion of the reasons for Eve's creation from the rib, left being viewed as the sinister side.[142] Note that he highlights the woman's deceitful character, which is reinforced by the idea that she was taken from Adam's left rib. He "proves" that Eve is not Adam's daughter, for her creation did not fulfill the criteria for birth.

In another passage of his we find an extensive discussion of Eve. This includes the following ideas: (a) Eve's being subordinate to Adam, which is tied to her creation from Adam's rib; (b) the question of why she called woman, to which he answered that she was taken from man (see Gen 2:23) and because of a number of inferiorities;[143] (c) her weakness; (d) why she was called "life."[144] In another passage he maintains that Eve was named "life" because she is the mother of all living,"[145] since her descendant is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.[146]

In a particular development related to veneration of the Virgin, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i maintains the following: "Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her.

140. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 10. In the preceding paragraph he gives possible answers to the question of the relationship between the two trees and about how the tree, created by God, became evil. Above we noted Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i's discussion of whether the fruit was both edible and incorruptible; see §2.0. The Edenic trees, he says, drink water in the same way as fire drinks oil, thus emphasizing their incorruptible nature.

141. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 36.

142. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 76–77.

143. These are mainly based on wordplays, including one showing her duplicitous character.

144. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 18.

145. Gen 3:20.

146. I remarked earlier in chapter 3 §2.8 on the typological parallelism between Eve and the Virgin.

On account of that, God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man."[147] He then argues that she did not sin so that goodness would ensue, but that goodness was God's work through Christ.

Grigor Tat'ewac'i discusses the helpmeet at length and then Eve's culpability, arguing that it was foreknown by God.[148] Above, I noted the view that Adam's sleep was rapture of a mind risen to God.[149]

Woman is called God's construction, and she is man's house, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[150] She was created after Adam and not of dust, in order to establish Adam's superiority. She was created three hours after Adam and was sixty-five days old according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14.[151] No explanation of the sixty-five days suggests itself.

There are further negative statements about Eve. Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i C14 says that she brought Adam out of glory.[152] She was Satan's companion, says Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14, and was his weapon according to Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i.[153] As Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i put it elsewhere:

> The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
> She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden.
> The woman is Satan's companion,
> God saves from woman's tumult.[154]

3.0 Satan

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The serpent was the beginning of man's death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true, its tongue was forked.[155] The serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.[156]

In the appendix, I have discussed the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Here I add a certain number of specific points made in the fourteenth-century writers. First, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that God did not leave Satan

147. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 69.
148. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 67–71.
149. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 73; and compare §1.1.7.
150. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 78.
151. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1; see also §1.1.4.
152. Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i 2–3.
153. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 9; Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i 3.
154. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 9.
155. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2.
156. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 80; and see §0.0.

unpunished but punished him through the serpent, and Satan is the primordial, intelligent serpent.[157] The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One, implying both the possession of the serpent by Satan and the serpent's function as an instrument of Satan's will. The serpent makes five circular movements that symbolize the five senses,[158] and, generally, sin is associated with the senses.[159] Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 describes him as a partner to Satan's plan.[160] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 may also imply the connection of the two when he calls Satan an adder.[161]

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The doctors say that Satan was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God: so claims Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.[162] Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 also describes Satan in the following terms:

> He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,
> With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons,
> Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
> Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.[163]

The same point is made by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, who says, "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods[164] with immortal life and lofty glory.'"[165] The rebellion, according to the same author, was that before creation Satan did not worship the Word in Adam's form, considering (him) mere body and man. This is fairly obviously an adaptation of *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, which relates that Satan's rebellion is his refusal to bow down to Adam.

The implication of that which follows is similar and concerns Satan refusing to honor man and envying the privileges that man had, a theme taken up in the next section. "Second, he created man of the dust to dishonour Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which

157. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 51.
158. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 53.
159. See above, chapter 3 §3.1.
160. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.
161. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 3.
162. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 82.
163. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2. Black was the color associated with Satan and demons.
164. Gen 3:5.
165. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 82.

he, who was glorious, had fallen."[166] Here Grigor Tat'ewac'i seems to put Satan's fall before Adam's creation.

In a different mode, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 says that Satan was the first murderer.[167]

In summary, as Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 puts it, Satan is a rational being who had turned away from glory and fallen, and he showed Adam the ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good.[168]

3.3 Satan's Envy

There are, in the broad view, two alternative chronological contexts given for Satan's rebellion, either before creation, when he envied God and fell, or after the creation of man, when he envied man. Thus, in the preceding section, I quoted Grigor Tat'ewac'i's statement about the origin of Satan's envy, and it seems to imply that Satan had fallen before Adam was created.[169] Most of the Armenian texts can be interpreted to forward that view, but a measure of unclarity remains.

The evil enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[170] Note that in the preceding text, Adam had honor that Satan had lost. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also refers to certain people who say that Satan envied man's honor.[171] Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 refers to the tempter's envy, which led to the serpent deceiving "them"; he is not more explicit.[172]

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

In his typical style, Grigor Tat'ewac'i enumerates the curses laid upon the serpent. I give his enumeration here, drawn from The *Book of Questions*, and annotate his list from other sources.[173]

a. Since it was the arms and legs of the Evil One, [174] its arms and legs were cut off. Grigor does not talk of wings here, though they appear in contemporary miniatures. The reasoning is that the curse of Gen 3:14, "upon your belly you shall go," implies that before the curse he had limbs. This view is also current in rabbinic and other ancient sources. Grigor returns to it,[175] and it is found in

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166. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63.
167. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.
168. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.
169. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17; see also chapter 2 §3.2.
170. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44.
171. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83.
172. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4–5.
173. Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Book of Questions* 1993, 1:218–19 = excerpt 2.
174. Satan rode on or entered the serpent; see Stone 2008a.
175. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47–55 and elsewhere.

Kostandin Erznkacʻi.[176] Kostandin also has the curse implied by the next phrase of Genesis, "and dust you shall eat," which Tatʻewacʻi has elsewhere, when he explains that the serpent is cursed to eat dust because it turned man back into dust (see Gen 3:19, where the word is the same).[177]

b. Since it tries to kill the living being, every living being kills him. This is perhaps a reference to the enmity of Gen 3:15.
c. Since it changed the blessing into curse, it was cursed and deprived of the blessing given to all animals. In Genesis it was cursed among all animals (3:14).
d. Since it put enmity between the man and God, [God] put enmity between the man and the serpent. Compare again Gen 3:15, and this phrase is close to that.
e. As it fought against the head, that is, Adam, [its] head was killed. And since it made the man fall from heaven to the earth, it falls under the heel of his feet. Genesis 3:15b reads, "it will strike your head, and you will strike his heel."
f. Since it came with friendship and turned to enmity, it turns back when biting. This is apparently a reference to snakes rearing up and drawing back their heads when striking.
g. Since it envied man, it creeps upon [its] breast and belly; see §3.3 above. This connection cannot be inferred directly from the biblical text.
h. Since it is a deceiver, it goes crookedly. And since it deceived the five senses of the man, it receives five circular motions while going. This idea is present also elsewhere.[178]
i. Since it stripped the first-created of glory, its skin is stripped. This is a reference from natural history, to snakes shedding their skins.

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi enumerates seven transgressions of Adam: "First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid (see §4.3); sixth, that he did not repent saying, "I have sinned"; seventh, that he accused God (saying), "this woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat" (Gen 3:12).[179]

Adam's character was sinful, says Barseł Maškeroncʻi C14. He desired to equal God (Gen 3:15) but could not obey even one command.[180] He adds that Adam displeased God on account of speech and food. Through food, which he

176. Konstantin Erznkacʻi 7.
177. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 52.
178. See Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 2 and elsewhere; and §3.1 and note here.
179. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 22.
180. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 1.

ate of the tree, and through speech, with which he answered God, putting the blame on the woman.[181]

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ. So says Grigor Tatʻewacʻi.[182] Note that this is the first time that the term original sin appears in the texts we are discussing. However, in Grigor Tatʻewacʻi we read: "Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and hold back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God's goodness." Despite Adam and Eve's sin, "many excellent and righteous men were born of her."[183]

In the same realm of discourse is the following. When reproached with sin, Adam blamed someone else. God came on foot to ask him, "Where are you"? Adam did not confess but answered impudently. Eve, moreover, did not answer honestly and did not reveal her motivation. God did not ask the serpent, for it is not fitting to pose such a question to the serpent.[184] Rather different are two other statements. First, Adam was impelled by three sins: pride [to bear a son like god], gluttony [desire for the tree], and avarice [for knowledge of good and evil].[185] Second, Adam and Eve accused each other and were not justified.[186]

Finally, harking back to material discussed in §3.2, Satan's deception of Adam through the flaw of pride is discussed by Grigor Tatʻewacʻi.[187] It is noteworthy that all the statements relating to this matter are found in Grigor Tatʻewacʻi. They may have been created by his urge to systematize.

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

In Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14 we find the idea, noted in chapter 2, §4.1 and elsewhere, that Adam sinned not from disobedience of God so much as from his love of Eve.[188] The idea that he sinned because of compassion for Eve does not occur in the excerpts being considered here.

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Adam was deceived and died as a result of his sin, says Grigor Tatʻewacʻi.[189]

181. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 2. See the list of sins quoted at the beginning of this section.
182. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 29.
183. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 68.
184. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 51. On God's footsteps and questioning, see §4.3 below.
185. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 46.
186. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 52.
187. Gen 3:5. See Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 82.
188. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 2 and 3.
189. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 82–83.

4.2 The Results of Sin

As a result of his sin, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i explains, Adam received seven punishments: (a) he became naked and fell to the rank of animals; (b) he was deprived of the tree of life and expelled;[190] (c) he was settled opposite the Garden and suffered perpetual envy; (d) he was required to toil; (e) he suffered grief and laments; (f) he died after his wife and son; (g) he decomposed and returned to earth.[191]

In another passage, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i lays out the ten degrees of Adam's fall in detail. Of interest to us are his desire to become God; his shame; his response to the divine footsteps with fear; his being given a garment of skin instead of his prior garment of light; and the agricultural curse of thorns and thistles and labor.[192] Moreover, this human nature (i.e., being),[193] misled by serpent's deceit, fell into the place of sojourning and afterwards repented—thus says Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.[194]

4.2.1 Change in Nature of World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The basic punishment was death. Thus, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 speaks of the loss of immortality, and Konstantin Erznkac‘i C14, evoking the biblical expression, says that they will return to the dust from which they were born.[195] Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i goes further. Interpreting the expression "you shall surely die," which in the Armenian Bible is literally, "by death you shall die,"[196] he talks not of a simple death but of a double one, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.[197]

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Adam and Eve had garments of light. This view of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i was discussed above, §1.1.5.[198] In another formulation, he says that they "[f]ell out of the grace and were stripped of the light, they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death."[199] They were stripped of immortal light,

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190. Because of eating Adam went forth, according to Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 5.
191. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 23.
192. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 24.
193. See above, chapter 3 §§3.3 and 4.2, and notes on "nature" signifying "human being."
194. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 41.
195. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6 and Kostandin Erznkac‘i 6.
196. See the discussion of this grammatical construction in Stone 2008b.
197. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 30 and 83.
198. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘ 20. It occurs also in earlier centuries.
199. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 45.

according to Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14.[200] Of Satan, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says, “And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped” (cf. §3.4).[201] Adam and Eve were deprived of glory justly, he says.[202] Thus, garments of light, light, and glory signify the same thing, the paradisiacal effulgence that they lost after the sin.

The garment God made for them was of animal skin, but it is unknown from which animal. Moreover, the change from the garments of light to those of skin indicated a change of body from its original, impassible, quick, and luminous state.[203] The same idea is expressed when Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec‘i C14 maintains that their skin coat symbolized their loss of glory and of the brightness of the Garden.[204]

So Adam was clothed with glory, which he lost when he disobeyed the commandment. At this point, the phrase “and they knew that they were naked” (Gen 3:7) is understood, as it is in earlier centuries, to mean, “and they realized that they had become naked,” or “stripped of their glory.”[205] Before the leather garments, they girded themselves in fig leaves (Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14; cf. Gen 3:7) and after their expulsion, God made them a leather dalmatic, according to Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14.[206]

As for Eve, the same is true, and Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says, “And she took off the garment, lost the Paradise of delight. Naked and leathery instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow.”[207] The garment of light or glory is implied also by a series of statements about its loss by Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14, and also by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i and Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C14.[208]

Before they sinned, Adam and Eve were not ashamed. This had not greatly concerned earlier exegetes, but Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i mentioned it and asked why they were not ashamed. He gives a series of answers. They were innocent like children; their sinlessness meant that they had no sense of shame; they were amazed at the Garden; their thoughts had soared to divine contemplation; and they were clothed in light.[209]

He formulates it in another way elsewhere: when they were living in the Garden they had incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, so they did not see each

200. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 5.
201. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 2.
202. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 83.
203. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 24.
204. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec‘i 1 and 6.
205. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 15.
206. Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14, Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.
207. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 1.
208. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 44, and Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i 2.
209. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 19. On the preceding page, more closely tied to the biblical verse, he says that they were naked of handmade clothes but adorned with the light of grace. See above; and also chapter 3 §§4.2 and 4.2.3.

other's nakedness.[210] Or again, nakedness is being deprived of God's grace.[211] In short, as Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 put it, they were stripped of light, girded with fig leaves, fled, and hid from shame.[212]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

Grigor Tat'ewac'i's statements about the curses resemble his pronouncements above in §§3.4 and 4.1. In the text discussed in §4.2, he enumerates seven punishments emanating from the curses. He also enumerates the curses pronounced on the serpent and on Eve. The latter are basically biblical and include an increase of pain because of ageing, the distresses of pregnancy and childbirth, and subservience to her husband.[213] Similar, but less detailed, are the curses of Adam and Eve and of the serpent (see §3.4) listed by Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.[214] Since the serpent turned blessing into curse, he was cursed and deprived of blessing, and Grigor Tat'ewac'i gives a list of curses brought upon the serpent.[215]

Twelve gifts were lost by Adam: (a) the sight of God, (b) conversation with God, (c) immortality, (d) the luminous garment, (e) life without blemish, (f) non-ageing, (g) laborless delight of the Garden, (h) the service of God, (i) God's love and mercy, (j) his reign over creatures, (k) priesthood—he did not have authority to offer sacrifice in his life; and (l) prophecy. The last three are the fixed graces of kingship, priesthood, and prophecy.[216] In accordance with this, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 mentions Adam in the lists of priests, prophets, and kings, ancestors of Christ.[217] The loss of these three graces is mentioned also by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[218]

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 says that Adam lived six thousand years in Satan's hand.[219]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

As in previous centuries, God's footfall is given a considerable role, as is Adam's response to it. God's call to Adam was interpreted as a call to repentance, and Adam's response was taken as an impudent rejection of the call to repentance

210. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 79.
211. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 48.
212. Kostandin Erznkac'i 5
213. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 54.
214. Kostandin Erznkac'i 8.
215. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2. This is discussed in full in §3.4.
216. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 20.
217. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 4–7.
218. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 4
219. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 3: compare chapter 2 §4.4.

and a casting of blame on Eve. These themes come up in different ways in the various texts.

Adam heard the sound, the footsteps of God approaching, according to Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.[220] In greater detail, Barseł Maškeronc'i C14 states that "when the light of belief had become low in him[221] and the fervour of the love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God's mercy.[222]

God called them and questioned them in the Garden (Kostandin Erznkac'i C14),[223] and Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that God's question means, "in which situation are you?"[224] God asked the question because he wanted Adam to confess.[225]

In response to God's question, "Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent."[226] Or again, Grigor says that Adam responds boldly—he blamed God and the woman.[227] Here, indeed, his analysis is more specific for, as far as Eve is concerned, he says that Eve admits half the sin (hearkening to the serpent) and hides half (the the desire to become God).

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

The first man perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden, according to Barseł Maškeronc'i C14.[228] Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that Adam had to observe the commandment for only forty days in order to be rewarded, to beget children in purity, and then eat of the tree of life and be transformed.[229]

Adam was placed in the Garden after forty-two days, according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14.[230] In §1.1.1 I observed that, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i and earlier sources, Adam's sojourn in Eden was forty days. One wonders whether forty-two, which equals 7 × 6, is connected with the chiliastic view that the world-week is 6 × 1,000 years and that the parousia will be in the seventh day of the world-week.[231] So, Adam's time in the Garden is related to the length of the world's time.

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i's C14 view is that Adam's time of being in paradise

220. Kostandin Erznkac'i 5
221. Literally: from him, through him.
222. Barseł Maškeronc'i 3. See §2.1 and n. 130 above on justice and mercy.
223. Kostandin Erznkac'i 6.
224. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47–48.
225. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 48.
226. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47.
227. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 49.
228. Barseł Maškeronc'i 1.
229. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 28; cf. §1.1.3 above.
230. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.
231. Chiliastic ideas inform the statement that Satan tormented Adam for six thousand years (Yovhannēs T'ulkuranc'i 3). On chiliastic ideas, see chapter 1 §4.4 and chapter 4 §4.4.

is unknown because, first, he was appointed to be with immortal ones, and, second, paradise is not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.[232] Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14 says that Adam did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully.[233] Elsewhere Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i expressed the view that Adam sinned on the second Friday.[234] According to Eusebius ch. 4, he adds, Adam was in paradise as long as Christ was in world.[235] Adam remained there after the sin as long as Christ hung on cross; at the hour of Lord's descent into the grave, Adam was expelled. This stands in apparent tension with the previously cited statement, but in no passage does Mxit‘ar state exactly how long Adam was in the Garden.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

He took them out of the Garden
  and commanded them to remain opposite,
And placed seraphim
  and cherubim around it as watchers,
That they should not come and eat
  the fruit of immortal life,
But that man be returned to dust on the earth
  whence he was taken for birth.
Adam the father was driven out
  and stood outside at the edge of the Garden;
The first sons of Adam
  were begotten and born.

Thus Kostandin Erznkac‘i describes the expulsion.[236] Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 states that, after the sin, God lodged Adam opposite paradise, just as sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins.[237]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i did not consider the chronological question discussed in the preceding section. Concerning the expulsion, however, he says that when the protoplasts were created Eve was on Adam's right side; when they went out of the Garden she was on his left.[238]

Adam was in paradise for seven days and then came forth to the Island of

232. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.
233. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 1.
234. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.
235. This reference is unclear.
236. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 9–10.
237. Mxit‘ar Aryrivanec‘i 3.
238. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 79. Here the positive and negative valuations of right and left are evident.

Selan (Ceylon).[239] Note Mxit'ar's scientific interests, reflected in this passage in terms of healing plants, warm springs, and, earlier on, in terms of alchemy.

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

An apparent reference to Col 2:14, a crucial verse in the development of the cheirograph legend, occurs in Yovhan Arčišec'i C15. "And at the end of these days [He] annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . . Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts."[240] This, however, does not seem to reflect the developed cheirograph legend. No connection of the cheirograph with baptism is to be observed in the fourteenth-century texts.

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

239. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 3. On the connection of Ceylon with Adam, see also Fabricius 1713, 30–31.

240. Yovhan Arčišec'i 2.

5. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

The body of relevant published texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is limited, and consequently this chapter does not deal with quite a number of the topics discussed in earlier chapters. Such omissions do not necessarily correspond to any particular trends in Armenian religious thought but may simply reflect the state of publication of the textual sources, for quite a large number of compositions remain unpublished.

However, some subjects are omitted that seem to reflect trends in religious thinking. Thus, some chronological subjects are not discussed in this and in the previous chapter. Though not all such matters are omitted, interest in chronology seems to be on the wane. In addition, the naming of the beasts by Adam does not appear in this period, so this particular proof of Adam's special dominion and wisdom is lacking. There also seems to be a lack of interest in the purpose of creation.

Of the authors of the eighteenth century, I have chosen to excerpt only Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i C17, the character of whose work seems to be close to the material dealt with in the seventeenth century. I do not claim to make a presentation of eighteenth century Armenian thought on the subject of Adam and Eve.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Adam was created by God's hands, as Awetik' Mahtesi C16–17[1] and Karapet Bałišec'i C16 say.[2] More specifically, man was created by God's right hand, according to Łazar Sebastac'i C16.[3] Adam was made of mud, which is itself usually said to be made of the four elements.[4]

1. Awetik' Mahtesi 2.
2. Karapet Bałišec'i 1.
3. Łazar Sebastac'i 1.
4. For detailed discussion, see §1.1.2 below.

A second issue that sometimes arises is, by which Person of the Trinity was Adam made? When specified, this is clearly the Son or the Word.[5] However, Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 interprets the plural, "Let us make man," of Gen 1:26 to mean that the three Persons of the Trinity created Adam,[6] and he is far from the first to do so.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i C16 says that March 22 was an equinox, and the sun entered Aries. It was 1 Nisan, the day of Adam's creation.[7] Without mentioning the date in March, Yakob Łrimec‘i C15 has the same.[8] The Anonymous Chronicler of Livorno says that the world was created in March, on Sunday. The first age is 2,242 years long, from Adam's creation until the Flood. This date is typical of the period.[9]

Adam was born as a thirty-year-old man; see below §1.1.4 and further references there for the view that thirty was the optimal age for a man.[10] Chronological matters are of little interest, however, in these later texts.

1.1.2 Material from Which Adam Was Created

God combined the four elements into one and made man from it. This view, which was not new, is mentioned by Simēon Aparanc‘i C16. The same author adds that the angels were created from light, and man was created from the four elements and insufflated by "the grace of His own breath . . . | Taking the substance from garbage,[11] | Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure."[12] We read in Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17, "And the four elements he made. | And he created the human race from dust," and Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i says,

> On Friday you created Adam,
> You made him of mud of four substances.
> You commanded, he became healthy,
> He opened his eyes, became perfect.[13]

The basic idea that Adam was made from dust is thus reformulated by Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 to say that he was made from mud that was itself made up of four

5. This is witnessed by Karapet Bałišec‘i 2 and Simēon Aparanc‘i 1.
6. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3. See already Agat‘angełos 7–8 on the Trinity and creation and 21 in relation to Adam. See also Anania Širakac‘i 4.
7. Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i 2.
8. Yakob Łrimec‘i 5. See chapter 3 §1.1.4.
9. Anonymous of Livorno 1.
10. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 8.
11. Or: filth.
12. Simēon Aparanc‘i 1–2.
13. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 11 and Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 1.

substances, that is, the four elements.[14] This is not quite explicit when Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 asserts that when God the Word made four elements, he created human race from dust.[15] The idea that the dust of which God created Adam was made up of the four elements is found in preceding centuries and was, on occasion, a subject of polemic. On the other hand, the biblical formulation that Adam was created from the dust of the earth was still current; so Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 states.[16] In fact, there is nothing new in this period relating to either the dust or the four elements, except perhaps the calling of the dust "mud," which seems a natural enough shift, considering the demands of modeling (Gen 2:7). Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 adds that God breathed breath into him (see Gen 2:7), granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.[17]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

Adam was intended to remain immortal according to Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16.[18]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Adam was thirty years old when he was created according to Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17.[19] Above, I discussed thirty as the ideal age.[20]

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Adam was adorned with glory, according to Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, and T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16 calls it "sevenfold glory."[21] The same is implied by Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16, who pictures Adam, expelled, standing at the gate of paradise saying, "Yesterday I was in the Garden, covered with light."[22]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says that he was adorned with the crown of immortality.[23] He adds:

When he smelled the immortality,
He became drunk and unaware.

14. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 11; Simēon Aparanc‘i 1. For the discussion of the dust and the four elements, see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and chapter 3 §1.1.2.

15. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 1. The relationship of the dust and the four elements is not made explicit here.

16. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4 and 7.

17. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4. The seven graces are discussed below in §1.1.7.

18. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

19. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 8. See §1.1.1 above.

20. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; and also chapter 3 §1.1.4.

21. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 1; T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 1.

22. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 2. Similar are statements that he was stripped of or lost glory upon sinning; see §4.2.3.

23. Simēon Aparanc‘i 2.

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.

This passage is very interesting. It shows that Adam approached immortality in the Garden. The sleep is, in the first place, the slumber during which God took his rib and fashioned it into Eve. Yet the idea of a sort of drunkenness stemming from the experience of immortality may be hinting at an ecstatic state, for which both sleep and drunkenness are common metaphors.[24] That death was the punishment implies that before it was imposed, before the sin, Adam was immortal.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

God adorned Adam with the graces of the seven heavens, says Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16.[25] In a similar vein, Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 says that God created Adam from dust: God breathed breath into him, granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.[26] The idea of seven graces with which Adam was endowed recurs in Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17's writing. He compares Adam to the Spirit. He says that Adam did not have the perfect person of the Spirit but did have all the Spirit's gifts—the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve (i.e., constellations), which he lost through eating the fruit.[27] Less specifically, Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 speaks of Adam having various graces, and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to "various graces of the spirit."[28] Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8 says that man lost seven blessings; Frik C13 says that man was filled with seven lights of grace; and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14 lists seven gifts to man. The idea of seven gifts, therefore, is of long standing.[29] This formulation originates from the astrological theory that the soul gains a characteristic from each of the seven heavenly spheres in the course of descent into the body. However, earlier this sort of astrological notion was not connected with the seven gifts. Observe that Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says that Adam was filled with "bread from the seven lights."[30] The idea that, at his creation, Adam was endowed with great wisdom or other gifts was often connected with the inbreathing of the Spirit.

Adam was a king at creation, certain sixteenth-century authorities say.[31] Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says that he was created immortal, enthroned as lord and

24. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 14–15. See also chapter 4 §1.1.7. This was common from antiquity; see Lewy 1929. Note, for example, Philo's understanding of Hannah's prayer, *Ebr.* 145–48.

25. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.

26. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4; see §1.1.2 above. On these gifts, see chapter 3 §1.1.7.

27. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 18.

28. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 1; Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14.

29. Step‘anos Siwnec‘i in chapter 2 §4.2; Frik C13 in chapter 3 §1.1.7, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i in chapter 4 §1.1.7.

30. Kirakos Ernzkac‘i's saying is quoted in chapter 4 §1.1.5.

31. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3; Karapet Bališec‘i 1.

king.[32] As in earlier times, Yovhannēs A C16 associates this with creation in the image.[33] Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi A C17 speaks simply about his great wisdom.[34]

A general statement is that God blessed him to multiply, to do good, and to remain just (Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi C17).[35] Of course, most of these blessings are derived from Gen 1:28, but the moral quality of Adam's action is not hinted at there.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

Summary of part of a tale: Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (խեցբեկագոյն եւ կործաբար զբարբառ խժական), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages. Then the text continues . . .

They asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first, some—(the language of) the Chaldeans, and others named the language of this or that people, and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.[36]

In this passage, Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi C17 talks of the question of the Adamic language that had been discussed also in previous centuries. The claims both of Syriac and of Hebrew were well known.

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The animals are subject to Adam, says Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16, and this is implied by statements examined below, which speak of Adam's kingship or dominant position.[37] He was the summit of creation, according to Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi C17.[38] On the other hand, after Adam's sin, Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi C17 declares, humans all inherited his embitterment.[39] Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi C17 says that Adam is to rule everything.[40]

32. Simēon Aparancʻi 2–3.
33. Yovhannēs A 1.
34. Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi 1.
35. Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi 1.
36. Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi 2.
37. Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi 1; compare Simēon Aparancʻi 2–3.
38. Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi 1.
39. Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 23.
40. Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi 3.

1.3 Humans and Angels

The subject of humans and angels, their similarities and differences, withdrew into the background in this period. The following statement stresses the role of God as creator of angels, but the relationship or contrast of angels with humans is not explicit. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 says:

> Nine classes dance around,
> Nine-fold adornment and ornament.
> You created the four-formed ones,
> You are craftsman, chief and lord.[41]

The nine classes are discussed above in chapter 4 §1.3. The four-formed ones are the cherubs with four faces, as described in Ezekiel 1.

Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 mentions that a long-haired seraph is the guardian of the Garden.[42] The significance of the attribute "long-haired" is not clear to us and the statement is isolated. Genesis 3:24 speaks of "cherubim" and not "seraphim" in this context; and see chapter 4 §4.5. These angelic classes are confused in the texts, the ancient distinction of cherubim and seraphim having been lost. Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says that the angels were created of light from light.[43]

1.4 Angels' function and Adam's commandment

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 talks about angels, and the only function he attributes to them is that they praise God continually.[44] He does not put this into a relationship with Adam's commandment, as was done in earlier centuries.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i describes the angelic host in military terms, which image was also current in previous centuries: "He created by the Word the immortal armies, | The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven."[45]

1.6 Humankind in the Image

There are different views about the meaning of creation in the image and the effect of inbreathing of the Spirit of God. Adam was created in the image of the

41. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 2.
42. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 6.
43. Simēon Aparanc‘i 1; see chapter 3 §1.3.
44. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 4.
45. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2; see chapter 3 §1.3.

Son,[46] or in the lordly image of God (Yovhannēs A C16).[47] He was adorned with the grace of God's own breath, according to Simēon Aparanc'i C16.[48] Both of these different ways of describing the vivification of humans are found in the work of Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17, but he adds no further details.[49] He also says that in Christ the image will be renewed and more resplendent.[50]

In other authors, another interpretation, going back to Gen 1:28, relates the image to dominion or kingship. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that Adam's Garden is like a king's throne and that the Garden needed a king and ruler. Moreover, he says that Adam is to rule over the living beasts and the universe.[51]

2.0 The Garden of Eden

In general terms, Karapet Bałišec'i C16 says that God planted the Garden.[52] God's uncreated hand planted the Garden of Eden, says Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16.[53] Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that God planted the Garden in the east, like a king's throne, embellished with glory.[54]

There are various descriptions of the Garden of Eden. One of the most lyrical is Dawit' Salajorec'i C17's, who talks of four luminous rivers, of fragrances, of sand made of amber, and of the fragrance of immortality. He also refers to luminous flowers. Indeed, luminosity is a prominent characteristic of the Edenic and heavenly realities, and I have already discussed the "fragrance of immortality."[55] The Garden itself is described as luminous,[56] and Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16 lays special emphasis on its lush and beautiful vegetation.[57] Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 calls it a "high Garden."[58]

In the sixteenth century, Eden serves Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16 in poetry to praise a beloved. It also functions as a metaphor or other poetic image, for example, in Łazar Sebastac'i C16's writings.[59]

46. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 1–2.
47. Yovhannēs A 1; see §1.6.
48. Simēon Aparanc'i 1.
49. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4.
50. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 9. In addition, Yakob T'oxat'ec'i gives one of the interpretations of the image that is found earlier, "let us make rational man in our image according to our likeness" (Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 3).
51. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2–3
52. Karapet Bałišec'i 4.
53. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 6.
54. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2.
55. Dawit' Salajorec'i 12–14. See §1.1.6 above and §2.4 below.
56. It is also so characterized by T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 1.
57. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 7, 8.
58. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 2. Does this refer to the idea of Paradise on a height? See above, chapter 2 §2.0.
59. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 6–7; Łazar Sebastac'i 1.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

God placed Adam in the Garden, which was given him as a possession. Here again it is Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 who is our main source.[60] The incident is described by Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, who says that Adam was moved to the Garden, enthroned like a king, and placed in glory.[61] Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 says that Adam was set in Garden and talks of his glorious role there.[62]

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

According to our sources, Adam and Eve did not have intercourse in the Garden. However, subsequent intercourse is not condemned as reprehensible, as happens in earlier centuries; see particularly chapter 3 §2.3. Instead, Adam and Eve sustained marriage in an ascetic way, having intercourse once every thirty years, and twins were born of these unions, one with cries and the other concealed or hidden, according to Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17.[63]

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

We do not have a sustained description of Adam’s state in the Garden, but some features are mentioned. Adam declared, “I was king in the Garden.”.[64] He had luminous clothing[65] and the fragrance of immortality, which made Adam drunk so Eve could be made from his rib (see §2.0 above).[66]

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The animals are subject to Adam, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16.[67]

2.6 Naming by Adam

2.7 The Type of Tree

No source speaks about the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge. The grapevine comes from the Garden, Sarkawag Berdakac‘i C16 declares in a poem

60. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 12.
61. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.
62. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.
63. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 36–38. Dawit‘ refers to the birth of twin sisters, who are not mentioned in the biblical narrative.
64. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3.
65. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 6.
66. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 14.
67. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 1. See §1.6 on Adam’s role.

about wine, but he does not connect it to the tree of knowledge.[68] Another poetic text says that wine is a gift from the Garden and that it causes good feelings, and Adam's sin may be related to them. Thus, Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C17 says, "For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden. . . ."[69] Even here, it is not quite said that the vine was the tree of Eden. In certain other sources, the tree of knowledge is said to be a vine; see above, chapter 4 §2.7.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

According to Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16, Eve deceived Adam; she wept and did not repent.[70]

Adam called Eve "life" because he foresaw the birth of the Virgin from her (Gen 3:20).[71] Indeed, a typology developed that viewed Eve as corresponding to the Virgin, and she was contrasted with her. Sometimes, the Virgin is referred to as a sort of Second Eve, and Eve is even spoken of metaphorically when the reference is actually to the Virgin. Thus, Simēon Kafac'i C17 talks about the Virgin in terms of Eve—the Virgin, like Eve, has reason to be called "life"—and he actually refers to the Virgin as "marvellous Eve."[72] In the same laudatory vein, Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 writes of Eve, as a beautiful angel,

> She had put on muslin and purple,
> All shining, (having) a gold-woven belt,
> She was beaming in the light,
> Very beautiful, fresh, excellent.[73]

In a different perspective, Nazaret' A C17 regards Eve as a cause of evil. She was created from Adam's rib and was his evil enemy.[74] "When you see a woman variously adorned beautifully, | Consider that she is the serpent, brother, who deceived Eve and Adam." The same idea echoes in the words of Step'anos Kełec'i C17.[75] Another source repeats the old idea that Eve wished to eat the fruit first, so she could become God and rule over her husband.[76] So there are two approaches to Eve, one condemning her and women in general, and the other praising her as a prefiguration of the Virgin.

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68. Sarkawag Berdakac'i 1.
69. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 7.
70. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 3–4.
71. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 1.
72. Simēon Kafac'i 1–3.
73. Dawit' Salajorec'i 17.
74. Nazaret' A 1.
75. Step'anos Kełec'i 1.
76. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 11.

3.0 Satan

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 called Satan Beelzebub for the first time. Satan became luminous, thanks to Adam, when he defeated him.[77] He always and eternally rebels against peace, as he rebelled against Adam in the Garden.[78] He captures souls (Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16),[79] and, indeed, earlier he is said to capture souls and imprison them in hell, to await their release by Christ.

Satan is likened to a crow, "For it is characteristic of the crow; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (a crow) tries to tear out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them down a cliff and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; he blinded Adam's nature and made it food for himself."[80] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 probably drew this description from a bestiary, but it is not in the published text of the *Physiologus*. Moreover, in Armenian Adam apocrypha, crows are seen as demonic and symbolize or are embodiments of demons, so saying that Satan is a crow is not surprising.[81]

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

Various locutions serve to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent.[82] According to Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, Satan nests in the serpent and speaks with Adam.[83] Satan made the serpent a means, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, thus also avoiding specificity, while Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16 says: "But envy, the author of evil, | Made the serpent its dwelling." Using this notion, Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 accounts both for the connection of Satan and the serpent, and also for why the serpent itself was willing to host Satan, when he says, "Because the serpent is vengeful . . . that cursed impure Satan, went, entered the serpent's mouth."[84]

Some authors say that Eve was deceived by the serpent (Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16),[85] just as in the biblical story, and by Satan, who promised her royal divinity

77. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 9. This is an unusual reversal of Satan's loss of heavenly characteristics when he fell.

78. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 10.

79. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

80. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 4. On demonic or Satanic crows and ravens, see Lipscomb 1990, 164; and compare the ravens or crows in the Abraham stories (Stone 2012, index, s.v. "Ravens").

81. Stone 1996a, 148, 193. Compare Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i's reference to "the black Satan" in extract 23. See appendix, §§1.1.1–1.1.3.

82. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3. In the appendix, I discuss the different metaphors used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent, such as possession, the serpent as an instrument or tool, Satan "nesting" in the serpent, and so on.

83. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.

84. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 20–21. The matter is discussed above in chapter 3 §3.1 and in the appendix §1.1.1.

85. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3.

(Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16).[86] In a more specific passage, T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that Satan deceived Adam and the serpent spoke with Eve, giving a division of labor between the two evil figures.[87] The identification of Satan with the serpent lies behind Karapet Bališec'i's C16 saying, "The Slanderer (Deceiver) was the reason for death."[88] Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i, also of the sixteenth century, refers to those who deceived Eve in the plural, again implying that Satan was somehow combined with the serpent.[89] The same writer says that the inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent, while, according to Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16, Eve was overcome by a serpent; and he says nothing about Adam.[90] Similarly, Zak'aria attributes perdition to the serpent alone in the phrases: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | That brought Adam out of the Garden."[91]

Other statements relate to either Satan or the serpent as the deceiver of Adam, or of Eve and Adam. That the evil Deceiver, apparently meaning Satan, was the cause of the Fall is one formulation.[92] The serpent deceived Eve and Adam, says Ep'rem Łap'anc'i C17.[93] A beautiful woman is the serpent who deceived Adam and Eve, according to Step'anos Kełec'i C17.[94] Additional statements declare that the serpent inflicted a viper's sting, and refer to the "black Satan," perhaps an idea related to the equation of Satan with crows (see the preceding section).[95]

Rather different is Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16's explanatory poetic comment (*kafa*) on the *History of Alexander.* He presents a sort of history of the serpent, when he says the following, which may have some connection with the bestiary tradition, though it does not appear in the *Physiologus*:

> The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (*višap*),
> Solomon wrote about it wisely;
> When the serpent comes out of the egg,
> It treads on the ground equally (with man).
> But envy, the author of evil,
> Made the serpent its dwelling."[96]

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The ideas about the fall of Satan from angelic rank are not exceptional, nor are they very prominent in this period. Pride cast the angels from the height, and they

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86. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 2.
87. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 3.
88. Karapet Bališec'i 1.
89. Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.
90. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 2.
91. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 3.
92. Anonymous Author 8 1; Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.
93. Ep'rem Łap'anc'i 2.
94. Step'anos Kełec'i 1.
95. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 17; Dawit' Salajorec'i 23.
96. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.

defrauded Adam (Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17).[97] The same author says that God cast all down, from cherub to man.[98] Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil actions, which implies that they had been the cause of his fall. After his fall, he did not cease sowing evil. In the Garden he sowed the seeds of the disease of his pride in Adam and Eve.[99] This implies that his sin was *hybris*, that he wanted to become God, and Satan infected the protoplasts with the same sin.

The myth of the fall of Satan is recounted in the following way by Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C17. He connects it not only with the Lucifer passage in Isaiah but also with Rev 12:4 and 12:9.

> There was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.[100] Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.[101]

3.3 Satan's Envy

The fall of Satan is barely mentioned in these sources and, consequently, Satan's envy scarcely figures. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 speaks of the tricky deceit of the Deceiver, without mention of envy.[102] Similar statements, that Satan, or the serpent, deceived Adam and Eve, are to be found in Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17.[103] In addition, in the writings of Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16, we do find an unadorned statement that, Satan, possessed by envy, deceived Eve, and Eve deceived Adam.[104]

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

Adam and Eve's sin was *hybris*, that is, overweening pride, consisting of not taking their created nature into consideration and wishing to become gods. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 repeats this elsewhere, saying that they were defeated

97. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11.
98. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11. "Cherub" apparently refers to Satan.
99. Grigor Daranałc‘i 2; compare the similar statement in Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11 and 13.
100. Isa 14:13–14.
101. See Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 3.
102. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
103. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2 and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 12.
104. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4. See §4.1.2 on Satan's deceit of Adam and Eve.

because of the arrogance of aspiring to divinity.[105] He also declares that pride cast the angels from the height and defrauded Adam.[106] They sinned through arrogance and pride.[107] Oddly enough, of the authors excerpted, only Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to this subject.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Typical of Satan and sometimes typical of the serpent, is the quality of deception, and Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16's statement that Satan deceived Eve by envy, and then Eve deceived Adam accords with the biblical story.[108] The very words of deception are transmitted by Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17, who writes, "Get up, stand, eat of that fruit, | Which is delicious like sugar."[109] He does not mention becoming God, though Step‘anos Kełec‘i C17 and Grigor Daranałc'i C17 do so.[110]

4.2 The Results of Sin

Basically we may say that the chief results of sin were expulsion from the Garden, mortality, and the curses, and this has the Bible's support. The change in Adam and Eve's state was specified in the curses and in the list of gifts or graces that they lost, which I will discuss below. By the Fall, Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says, Adam and Eve became equal to dumb animals.[111] This idea is expressed also in *Penitence of Adam* ch. 4. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 says that they were expelled, as does Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C17.[112] According to T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, God became angry and took back gifts he had given to Adam.[113] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 speaks of the punishment of death and that Adam and Eve were expelled and fell into Satan's hand in hell, they and their generations (see also §3.0).[114] Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 simply says that they fell into hell.[115] Specific aspects of the punishments are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Other statements are that Adam was embittered on account of eating the fruit and that the whole human race was embittered in the same way.[116] They

105. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 12 and 15.
106. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 16; cf. 11.
107. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14.
108. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.
109. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 21.
110. Step‘anos Kełec‘i 1; Grigor Daranałc‘i 2.
111. Simēon Aparanc‘i 3.
112. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2; Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 3.
113. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.
114. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 5, 17, 20, 22, and 24.
115. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 33.
116. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 23; Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 4; see §1.2 above.

became disobedient,[117] were overthrown by God, and were blinded.[118] When Adam abandoned God's command, observed the command of God's enemy, and ate the fruit, he caused enmity and trouble on the earth.[119]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Of course, the loss of immortality is a chief result of their sin. In a simple statement, Minas T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that they died and returned to dust.[120] A further development of these ideas is that Satan made hell and captured the protoplasts after death, holding them there until Christ descended, on Easter Saturday, to free them. This is implied by some statements; see also §3.0. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16[121] and Karapet Bałišec'i C16[122] both say that they were "captured" by death, implying this idea. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that man was captive in Satan's hands.[123] They descended to hell where "[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years."[124] Adam caused death and fell beneath death's yoke;[125] Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 specified that the body will lie in the grave and the soul be in hell.[126] As Scripture says in the curses, Adam died; he was dust and returned to dust.[127]

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

The loss of the light or glory that had covered the protoplasts in the Garden is a common theme, and it is said that Adam and Eve were stripped of their garment of light, their paradisiacal luminosity.[128] Adam, lamenting at the gate of the Garden after the expulsion, says, "Yesterday I was in the Garden covered with divine light." Indeed, this idea permeates the whole of his lament. In addition, Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16 often uses the term "adornment" to signify light.[129] Thus, the same poem continues to say that Adam's adornments are taken away and he is stripped of them.

This theme is combined with the one discussed in the previous section,

117. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 24.
118. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 12.
119. Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i 3.
120. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
121. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 1.
122. Karapet Bałišec'i 1.
123. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 4.
124. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4. On the six thousand years, see §4.4 below.
125. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 8; Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
126. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 5.
127. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
128. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 19. Above, in chapter 4 §4.2.3, the linking of this theme with the biblical text is noted. The same idea is found in Karapet Bałišec'i 2–3.
129. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 2–3.

where Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 says that he was stripped of incorruptible light and captured by death, presumably synonymous terms.[130]

While they were eating the fruit they were stripped of ineffable light, says Anonymous Author 8 C17. They saw that they were stripped and put on fig leaves.[131] Adam remained stripped of light, and thus he realized that he had been deceived.[132] They were expelled from glory, says Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17.[133] The loss of ineffable light, or being stripped of primordial glory, is also mentioned.[134] The protoplasts' nakedness is mentioned explicitly several times, but it and their consequent sense of shame do not play a major role in our texts.[135]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The curses are not specified except for what I dub the "agricultural curse" (Gen 3:17–19), which is mentioned in general terms by two sixteenth-century authors, Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i and Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i.[136] Oddly enough, the seventeenth-century authors excerpted do not made much of the "agricultural" curse.

T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16 says that God cursed Adam and expelled him.[137] Speaking in general terms, Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16 says that God cursed Eve and the serpent and Adam.[138] God cursed Satan, who is not cursed in the Bible, and he is simultaneously partly identified with the serpent, who is cursed in the Bible. Thus, Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 announces that Satan was stripped; he was a four-footed bird and flew like a demon. "His wings and feet fell away, | He fell down and crept his face down."[139] Intriguing is that Satan is represented as a four-footed bird in a marginal illustration of the *Physiologus*, reflecting exactly the same conception as here.[140] The second part of this quotation appears to refer to the accursed transformation of the serpent, and the same curse, so frequently found as to be a commonplace, is mentioned also by Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17.[141]

In an unusual tirade against tobacco by Anonymous Author 8 C17, he describes the cursing of the serpent and the fate of its wings in connection with tobacco leaves. He says:

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130. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 1.

131. Anonymous Author 8 1–3.

132. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 25.

133. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 6.

134. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4 and Karapet Bałišec‘i 2.

135. Anonymous Author 8 2–3; Step‘anos Kełec‘i 1. The relevant passages contain no narrative elements.

136. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 1 and Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i 1, who also mentions death.

137. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.

138. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 6–9.

139. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 31–32.

140. Matenadaran 2890 of the year 1719. In amulets, four-footed demons or satans are often represented. See fig. 2.

141. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2.

Our Lord cursed that serpent,
The wings fell, he became a reptile.
The demons collected the wings,
Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.
They said: "We have found the drug of perdition,
Corrupter of the human soul."
In (J)annes and (J)ambres they say[142] there is a Garden,
They planted it there, it became tobacco. . . .[143]

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 mentions curses that are unique. One is that Adam becomes a wanderer. This may come from the idea of Adam's expulsion, but that might be combined with the curse of Cain in Gen 4:12. Eve is told that her son will be cursed and will become a fratricide. Other curses are clearly derived from Genesis, the "agricultural" curse and that Adam will suffer pain. Thus Dawit‘ attributes to Adam both his own and Eve's curse and adds a new curse to Eve's lot. Cain, too, will be cursed.[144]

Through eating the fruit, Adam lost various graces of the Spirit. He was not the same as the Spirit, but he was imbued with the Spirit, with all the Spirit's gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.[145] And he lost them through eating the fruit.[146]

The question of Adam and Eve's food after the expulsion exercised *Penitence of Adam* chs. 2–4. The food gained by Adam after the Garden was first "the food of animals" (*Pen. Adam* ch. 4), and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to it saying, "this [the Eucharist] is not the kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died."[147] In other words, both the manna and the protoplasts' food outside Eden did not guarantee immortality.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Adam is under the control of Satan. First, after death souls will be in Satan's hell (see §§4.2 and 4.2.2 above). Second, Adam gave his will to Satan; so says Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17.[148]

142. Or: Jannes and Jambres say. This is a reference to the fragmentarily preserved *Book of Jannes and Jambres,* which was published from a recently identified papyrus by Pietersma 1994. On Jannes and Jambres's garden, see his index, s.v. Their role in the Armenian tradition has never been studied.

143. Anonymous Author 8 5–6.

144. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 29–30.

145. I.e., constellations. See discussion of this subject in §1.1.7 above.

146. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14 and 18; see §1.1.7 above.

147. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 5.

148. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 25.

Fig. 2. Four-footed satan or demon, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M2890 of the year 1719. Photo by G. Muradyan.

4.3 God, Footsteps of

In connection with God's footsteps, two subjects are usually considered. First, Adam's response to God's footsteps, with sometimes a discussion of how or why God's footsteps were audible; second, the call "Where are you?" and its meaning; third, Adam's inadequate response.

"When I heard the Lord's footsteps | Coming to the Garden, I was astonished," writes Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16, and Adam bemoans that he did not repent when the footsteps came.[149] Azaria J̌ułayec'i also remarks in the same passage that

149. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 6–9.

Adam asks why Eve does not repent.[150] Adam excuses himself and blames God, who created the rib—that is, Eve—who erred through the serpent's deceit.[151]

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 says, uniquely, that God came once a day to check up on Adam. He continues,

> (God) said: "Do they shout, 'I have sinned?'
> They are miserable, I should not hurt them."
> They were bound and did not say, "I have sinned,"
> They mounted Satan's horse.[152]

Anonymous Author 8 (§3 line 55) says, "The Lord called, 'Adam, where are you?'"[153] Nearly all the sixteenth-century discussion of this theme is in Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16's works. According to him, God summoned Adam, using terms very like those in the Bible.[154] God called and Adam responded, "I am naked," relates Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16.[155]

In response to God's call, Adam climbed the fig tree, an idea that is unique to Dawit' Salajorec'i C17, for he usually is said to hide in the tree, as in the Bible (Gen 3:8). In the same passage, Dawit' Salajorec'i continues saying that the Lord called Adam, Adam blamed Eve, and they did not repent.[156] His image "they mounted Satan's horse" is unique.[157] Anonymous Author 8 states that, after sinning, Adam fled and hid from shame. The expulsion ensued and Adam blamed the serpent.[158]

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

In the matter of Adam's time in the Garden and, particularly, the timetable of sin and expulsion, typological exegesis from the passion narrative plays a considerable role, as I have repeatedly observed in previous chapters. Adam went forth at same hour as that in which he sinned, and they ate the fruit on Friday at six o'clock. Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 also says that they were expelled when he answered, "I am naked."[159] Adam was in the Garden not more than one thousand years.[160] This is based, of course, on the chiliastic understanding of day.

150. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 4.
151. Thus Azaria J̌ułayec'i 3 and other similar passages.
152. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.
153. Compare Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 62.
154. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 7.
155. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
156. Dawit' Salajorec'i 26–28.
157. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.
158. Anonymous Author 8 3–4.
159. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
160. Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i 1.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

As I observed above, many texts say that, after the expulsion, Adam and Eve descended to hell and "[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years." This is the view of Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16.[161] Of course, he writes this from a broad perspective, and the same idea recurs when Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 says that they ate fruit on Friday at six o'clock, remained in the sinful state for six hours, and then suffered during six thousand years.[162] A reference to six thousand years is made by T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, while Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16 states that they were imprisoned for six thousand years.[163] The Divinity is said to have made an agreement for six thousand years, because he was moved by pity for Adam: T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16.[164] The chiliastic implications of this figure are discussed above, in chapter 4 §4.4.

In the shorter term, Adam and Eve sat by the gate of paradise weeping and lamenting their lost gifts. A text of this lament, which describes the lost joys of the Garden, is given by Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16.[165] Notably, T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16 mentions five days' weeping, which are attested in various sources, but he does not explicitly connect them with the Aṙaǰawor fast, of which they are an aetiology (see above, chapter 3 §4.6).[166]

In general terms, the this-worldly state that Adam inherited was regarded as unhappy: "Living a lamentable life, | very miserable on the earth, | Until his soul descended to hell, | and his body was put in the grave," says Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17.[167] They were punished with troubles states Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, and Karapet Bałišec‘i C16 declares, "They came out of Paradise, he and his wife, | And mourned tilling the ground."[168] Adam saw that this world was ruined. He was afflicted and frightened by demons, but consoled by two angels.[169]

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 discusses the story of the bringing of a branch from Eden after nine hundred years.[170] This story is to be found in *Pen. Adam* 40(13)–44(14). It is repeated in other Adam apocrypha,[171] but it occurs only here in the Adam excerpts. There is no doubt, of course, that the Armenian Adam apocry-

161. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.
162. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.
163. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5 and Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.
164. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
165. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 1–10.
166. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
167. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
168. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2; Karapet Bałišec‘i 4.
169. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 34–35. Perhaps the remark that Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam (Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 6) hints at the demonic affliction of Adam.
170. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 40–42.
171. For three versions, see Stone 1982, 6–12. In general, see Quinn 1962; and also Stone 2000a.

pha were in circulation well before Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17's time, and it is striking that in the period under discussion, he alone introduces this theme

The demons and angels come to take the souls after death, arguing over them, and the cheirograph is brought, which is the register of the evil deeds. See §4.7. [172]

> 170 Then the soul came out of the body.
> Creatures came; demons came,
> They argued with the angels:
> "Where do you take our servant?"
> They brought forward the cheirograph,
> Inscription, decision, register.[173]

Finally, the door of Eden was closed by seraphim according to Simēon Kafac‘i C17 following Gen 3:24, which refers to a cherub.[174]

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 refers to the cheirograph as a list of sins.[175] The erasure of sins, and so impliedly of the cheirograph, is to be found in Yakob Kesarac‘i C17's statement, "When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha, | 35 The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . . ."[176] It is not clear that cheirograph ideas are in mind in Grigor Daranałc‘i C17's statement that Christ liberated humanity from the curse of Adam and the curse of Moses.[177]

Contrast the idea of Adam's contract with Satan with the view, forwarded by T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, that God pitied Adam and made an agreement with him for a period of six thousand years.[178] This period is implied also in the statement that Adam was imprisoned for six thousand years and tortured until the incarnation. Christ, in a complementary way, bound Satan by the cross, which implies both Adam's liberation and Satan's punishment.[179]

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172. Compare Jude 9, but there Michael and the devil contend over Moses' body. The two angels after death are found (but as options and without contention) in *Questions of Ezra*.
173. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 42–43; see Stone 2002, 103–11.
174. Simēon Kafac‘i 3.
175. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 43.
176. Yakob Kesarac‘i 1.
177. Grigor Daranałc‘i 1.
178. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
179. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

God took away the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken.[180] Shem at the age of one hundred begat Arpachshad, who inherited the bones of the forefather Adam and of Eve: he put Adam's bones on Golgotha and Eve's in Bethlehem.[181] This tradition is widely known and is referred to above in chapter 2 §5.0 and chapter 3 §§2.9 and 5.0.

Elsewhere, Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C17 says, "This sun, which was Beelzebub, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire." If one were to impose a system on him, then it would be likely that here the fate of Adam's soul is discussed.[182]

180. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 17. Narratives of the burial of Adam are known from old sources, already in *Pen. Adam* [47](37):1 – [47](38):3, though there it is a matter of a heavenly burial. Here we have simply an elaboration of Gen 3:19.

181. Dawit' Bałišec'i 1–2; compare Stone 2000a.

182. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 9.

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Appendix: Satan and the Serpent

1.0 Introductory Remarks

This appendix deals with one subject, the relationship between Satan and the serpent, in a synthetic and diachronic way. Section 3.1 of each chapter of the book preceding deals with Satan and the serpent. Those sections give much of the information I present here. However, because the chapters are divided temporally, the overall aspects this theme and its diachronic development do not emerge clearly.[1]

The reader may justly remark that each of the topical chapter sections throughout this book could be treated in the same diachronic way. I have chosen just one theme as a probe, to indicate how future research might develop, based on such corpora of texts as that presented here, and on a preceding synchronic analysis, which itself indicates connections between the development of specific directions of thought in the discrete segments of time.

I have published preliminary forms of this material before.[2] In the present appendix, in fact, I will give less detail than in those previous publications, for the detailed analysis is given in the synchronic chapters of the present book. I will strive, however, to treat the central issues clearly in the context of all the Adam and Eve narrative excerpts.

The biblical story does not say that Satan was the agent of the Fall, but only the serpent. In their oldest texts, however, the Armenians took Satan's role in the Fall for granted. From this assumption, exegetical and conceptual questions followed about the relationship between Satan and the serpent, about Satan's own fall, and about Satan's and the serpent's motivation for deceiving Adam and Eve.

General descriptions of Satan occur in many Armenian sources,[3] and it is beyond the limits of this appendix to present even an overview of them. Since I am dealing with identification, however, it is appropriate to start with the name. First, it seems to be significant that the particular names Beliar, Beelzebub, and Sadayēl are not used in Armenian nonbiblical sources until quite late. Frik C13 in

1. I have embedded many cross-references to the text and notes of those chapters, to avoid unnecessary repetition, on the one hand, and to highlight relationship between varying exegetical and conceptual approaches, on the other.

2. Stone 2008a; 2009.

3. Stone 2002, 17–21. On Satan's appearance, see J. B. Russell 1977; 1981; and 1984, as well as Forsyth 1987.

his "Words of Praise to God," uses the name "Beliar."[4] It is already to be found, of course, in 2 Cor 6:15 but is not frequent in the Armenian sources until the Middle Ages. Thus, after citing 2 Corinthians, *NBHL* refers to Grigor Narekacʻi C10's *Book of Lamentation* 4.2 line 35 and 64.4 line 3.[5] To these I readily add a number of further references, such as *ibid.* 21.2, line 2 and 28.8 line 17, *et al.*[6] The name "Bēełzebuł" occurs in Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi C 17.[7] Like Beliar, it is found in the Bible (Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27) and is also cited from Grigor Narekacʻi, e.g., 51.4 line 5;[8] and Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12.[9]

The name Sadayēl occurs in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God. There, manuscript Y of *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2 reads, "Now the wicked Sadael and Beliar were heads of the divisions of Satan."[10] This version combines two devilish names, while manuscript D's text of the same verse mentions Beliar alone. In both manuscripts, from §3 on, only the name of Satan is found. In Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13's poem "Our Lord Came to the Garden," we find the simple equation of the two.

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaēl had turned his face;
From Heaven, he descended into the abyss,
And from light, he lived in darkness.[11]

The name Բազու ("Bazu") is applied to Beliar-Satan by Vardan Aygekcʻi C13.[12] Its origin is unknown.

In a powerful poem by the same author included in *The Root of Faith* we read:

You are adorned with sin,
  and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
  and have gone forth to the outer darkness.
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
  made stinking with a tunic.
Bound with iron chains,

4. Frik 18 et al. Beliar is a variant of Belial.

5. Grigor Narekacʻi, *Book of Lamentation* 64.4 line 3= 64.3 line 24. See *NBHL* 479a.

6. A search of medieval Armenian literature subsequent to Grigor Narekacʻi would doubtless turn up many further examples. This name is not particularly rare.

7. Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 9.

8. Grigor Narekacʻi, 51.4 line 5= 51.4 line 38.

9. In *NBHL* 1:487a.

10. Lipscomb 1990, 118. Sadayēl and Sadael are variant spellings; see n. 127 below.

11. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 10.

12. Vardan Aygekcʻi 7.

separated by a fiery sword in between,
Gone forth from the goodly host,
ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.[13]

Vardan Aygekc‘i here gives a vivid description of the fall of Satan (unnamed in his text).

This fall is intimately related to the name Sadayēl in an Armenian amulet scroll, Matenadaran 116, dated 1428. There Sat/dayēl is described as commander of the fallen angels and builder of hell. This, of course, is Satan's role in most texts. Interestingly, in this document the demons speak of themselves as angels who fell due to unwillingness to give glory to God, and who were responsible for Adam's expulsion. These are all actions usually attributed to Satan or Sadayēl, and their transfer to the demons in general is probably due to the magical context and purpose of this document. However, the amulet text knows the chief elements of the story: the prideful rebellion before creation and the fall of Satan; the honor given to Adam; the building of hell;[14] the deception and expulsion of Adam; and the imprisonment of his soul and those of all the saints up to John the Baptist. This story is complete and coherent, in small compass, in Amulet 116:

> And we envied his honour, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of Paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built / 60 / a palace and named it "Hell."[15]

According to Hamam Arewelc‘i C9, Satan was called darkness because of his pride.[16] Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 describes Satan as black.[17] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i (C 17) further develops the idea, saying that as Beelzebub defeated Adam he became luminous, but as Christ defeated Beelzebub, the latter became dark.[18] It is noteworthy that, from very early times, evil or wickedness is marked by the absence of light, by darkness, or blackness.[19] For example, Satan is said to be "the black one" in *Barn.* 4:10 and is described as an Ethiopian in apocryphal acts.[20]

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13. Vardan Aygekc‘i 3.

14. On Satan's kingdom in hell, see Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 5. Vardan Aygekc‘i 1 says that Satan "threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell." The idea of the keys most likely derives from Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

15. Matenadaran Amulet 116 1; see Loeff 2002. I quote his translation, with permission.

16. Hamam Arewelc‘i 3.

17. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 23. On the connection of blackness, demons, and crows or ravens, see chapter 3 §4.2.3.

18. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 9.

19. See Stone 1990a, 359, on the faces of the righteous and the wicked. The theme of darkness and blackness is widespread.

20. On Satan as the "black one," see Gaster 1962, 227–28.

Thus, though the idea of Satan as black is not attested in our Adam texts until rather late, it is old in Christian (and Jewish) tradition. The legend that Cain learned how to kill Abel from two demons in the form of crows or ravens is associated with it.[21] Demons and crows or ravens are black, and this is how demons are represented in manuscript paintings and amulets. Kirakos Erznkac'i C13 called demons Satan's "darkness-loving demons" and "black hosts."[22] Thus, it is quite natural when, in the seventeenth century, Dawit' Salajorec'i says that Satan is black and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C17 compares Satan's technique in deceiving Adam to the fashion in which crows hunt their prey.[23] Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that on the fourth day of creation, night's darkness came forth from the serpent's mouth.[24] The association of darkness with Satan, then, is profoundly rooted.

Satan is also associated with death. Thus, Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 says "there is a personified death which is Satan; through it [or: him] you shall die,"[25] while in the same century Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i says that Satan was the first murderer,[26] an "honor" usually reserved for Cain.[27]

To summarize: (1) The idea of Satan appears from the inception of Armenian literature, and in the medieval period his names varied. "Beliar" was quite widespread; "Sadayēl" is later and exists predominantly in a specific mythological connection; and other names are found as well. (2) From Hamam Arewelc'i C9 on, the ancient characteristics of darkness and blackness appear as Satanic qualities. (3) In still later texts the connection between crows and demons is to be found. (4) Finally, Satan is closely connected with death and built hell to imprison the souls of the dead.

1.0.1 The Serpent

The serpent is characterized in various ways. The typical ones are cited here. First, Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 says that the serpent was the beginning of man's death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true,

21. *Abel and Other Pieces* §3.4; *History of the Forefathers* §25 (Stone 1992, 148, 193); cf. *Abel and Cain*, Second Recension, §27. On the demonic aspect of the crow, see, e.g., the exegesis of Noah's raven in Mandean texts cited by Lupieri 2002, 201–2 (*Right Ginza* 18).

22. *Acts of Thomas* (James 1924, 394) mentions demons in the form of black men.

23. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 4; and see the discussion of this description in chapter 5 §3.0. An intriguing statement is that of Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 9 quoted above, that Beelzebub became luminous thanks to his defeat of Adam, which implies that he was dark previously.

24. Vardan Aygekc'i 12. In medieval Armenian paintings, hell is presented as a serpent swallowing the wicked. Thus, for example, in Matenadaran M5523, fol 7v of the year 1414a serpentine hell swallows the wicked and holds them in darkness. See fig. 3.

25. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 55.

26. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.

27. See 1 John 3:12: "We must not be like Cain who was from the evil one and murdered his brother." The "evil one" is Satan, and this reflects the tradition of Cain's satanic origin.

Fig. 3. Serpentine Hell swallows the Wicked, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M5523 of the year 1414. Used by permission.

its tongue was forked.[28] Next, following an ancient typology, he says that the serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.[29] Such overall condemnations of the serpent are quite frequent. Further references to the serpent may be found below.

1.1 Satan and the Serpent

In the earliest Armenian literature, Satan's relationship with the serpent is described in remarkably differing ways. In the fifth century, Agat'angełos says that the serpent was a vehicle or pack animal upon which Satan rode,[30] while in the fourteenth century Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that the serpent was Satan's arms and legs (թեւ եւ ոտք).[31] Eznik C5 seems simply to equate them.[32] This latter view continues, and, for example, in thirteenth century Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz asserts that the serpent is Satan and he deceived Eve.[33] A century earlier, Sargis Šnorhali had simply assumed that Adam was deceived by Satan or the Devil, implying an identification of the serpent and Satan.[34] This relationship is the subject of intermittent discussion in subsequent centuries, which I shall describe starting with the metaphors used for it. Often it seems that the choice of the term "Satan" or "serpent" is determined by the literary context rather than by deliberate theological or exegetical motivation.

Another identification was discerned in Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13, in terminology analogous to the language of Genesis. The verse reads, suggestively from the perspective of Genesis, "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot." Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 in his *Commentary on Matthew* says, "And besides, it calls Satan 'adder,' according to David, 'You shall tread upon the . . . adder.'" [35] It is intriguing to see this verse from a well-known apotropaic Psalm exegetically related to the trampling of Satan. Surely intertextual are Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14, which speak of God trampling the head of the *višap* dragon-snake ("13 You divided the

28. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2.

29. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 80.

30. Agat'angełos 5. In *Pirqe R. El.* 13 we read, "[i]ts appearance was something like that of the camel, and he [i.e., Sammael = Satan] mounted and rode upon it" (trans. Friedlander 1981, 92). This issue of the terminology of Satan's relation to the serpent as it occurs in early Christian literature is discussed by Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

31. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2. Թեւ could also be translated "wings." In excerpt 52, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that the serpent is the feet of the Enemy.

32. Eznik 20, 21, and 24. Actions that the Bible attributes to the serpent are simply said to be done by Satan. Alexandre (1988, 297), observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [*PG* 76:632b–c]). Compare *Pirqe R. El.* 13, on which see Stone 2009.

33. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

34. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

35. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.

sea by your might; you broke the heads of the dragons [վիշապաց] in the waters. 14 You crushed the heads of Leviathan [վիշապին]");[36] and perhaps Gen 3:14–15 which speaks of the crushing (laying in wait for) the head of the "serpent" (օձ). Thus, the exegesis of Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13 introduces the term "adder" into the arsenal of Satan's identifications. The background of the biblical material, especially of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14 lies in old, pre-Israelite mythological themes. To them, the Armenian biblical translation added a pre-Christian Armenian mythical association with the water snake-dragon known as a *višap*, which joins this procession of satanic reptiles.

1.1.1 Metaphors: Possession or Indwelling

Grigor Tłay C12 says simply that "Satan enters into the serpent,"[37] speaking as if Satan possessed the serpent. Satan's possession of the serpent is even more explicitly stated in the undated apocryphal work called *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*. It is certainly later than Grigor Tłay's time but nonetheless is of considerable interest here. It says that Satan entered the belly of the serpent (մտեալ յորովայնի օձին) and spoke from the serpent's belly "with a human voice" (§2).[38] This evokes descriptions of ventriloquism, which is frequently an aspect of demonic possession.[39] Ełišē's earlier sexual imagery in his *Commentary on Joshua* is discussed below; see appendix §1.1.3. Such sexual imagery was abandoned for that of demonic possession, which is implied by Grigor Tłay. By his time, possession was the way in which Satan was related to the serpent. The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One (see §1.1.2 below); so says Grigor Tat'ewac'i, and by the term "recipient" he may be referring once more to possession.[40]

In the verses of Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 we read:

Because the serpent is vengeful;
That cursed impure Satan,
He went, entered the serpent's mouth . . . [41]

This reflects the same understanding of Satan's relationship to the serpent as that in *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*: because of Satan's possession, the serpent could talk. In a society in which demonic possession is a known phenomenon and in which Satan was prince of demons, possession is an obvious way of describing this relationship.

36. On these verses, see Stone 2002, 22–24 and 57; and fig. 2.
37. Grigor Tłay 9.
38. Stone 1996a, 22–23.
39. Eshel 1999, 136–44 describes instances of demonic possession; cf. Riley 1995, 453.
40. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 52.
41. Dawit ' Salajorec'i 20.

In the ninth century, T‘ovma Arcruni says that Satan “nested” (բունեալ) in the serpent.[42] This introduces another image to describe their relationship, but it was not very productive or widespread, though it too implies indwelling or possession. In the texts I have assembled, “nesting” occurs only in the writings of Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16,[43] and he could have picked it up from T‘ovma Arcruni.

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 says simply that Satan took the serpent as his associate.[44] This statement should probably be related to Satan’s deceit or incitement of the serpent, which are discussed below in §1.3.[45]

1.1.2 Metaphors: Instrument

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls the serpent an instrument of lawlessness for Satan.[46] This is the first time that the term “instrument” or “tool” occurs in our texts. Again, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14 says that the serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One.[47] This relationship, the serpent as Satan’s instrument, is not explored much further. It is old, however, and has forerunners in ancient patristic sources.[48] Moreover, the word “instrument” also has a musical aspect. According to the Armenian Adam books, Satan plays on the serpent like on a lyre, a musical instrument.[49] This metaphor, of course, implies the same sort of absolute dominance by Satan as does possession. In no context where Satan and the serpent are held apart to any extent is initiative attributed to the serpent. Satan is always dominant.

42. T‘ovma Arcruni 4.

43. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2. This language may derive from the idea of a serpent’s nest.

44. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 24.

45. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ says with no further details that envy made the serpent his dwelling; see his *kafa* on the *History of Alexander*, excerpt 4. In the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries *kafas,* moralizing poetic comments on the *History of Alexander* were rather popular; see Bardakjian 2000, 32–33. See further §1.4 below. Publication of *kafas* may be found in Simonyan 1975. Even less defined is the statement in T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3 that Satan made the serpent his means.

46. գործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

47. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i does not make explicit the metaphor that stands behind “recipient”; see excerpt 52.

48. According to some of the Greek and Latin fathers, the serpent was the instrument (ὄργανον) of the enemy of truth (Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesin* [*PG* 80;129] c. 3, q. [32]; Theophilus, *Ad Auctolycum* 2.28; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 16 et al., cited by Alexandre 1988, 297). It seems likely that a comparative study of Satan’s relationship to the serpent and the soul’s relationship to the body and the metaphors used to describe the two relationships would yield important insights into ancient anthropology. See also Stone 2009 and the next note.

49. The language used in the *Penitence of Adam* is that the serpent is a lyre upon which Satan plays: “[b]e you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth” [44](16):4b. Ephrem Syrus, *Hymns on Paradise* 8:2 talks of the soul without the body as being “without its mate, the body, its instrument and lyre” (Brock 1990, 132). Ephrem’s poem is reminiscent of the story of the blind man and the lame man, attributed to Pseudo-Ezekiel: this story and its rabbinic parallels are discussed in Satran, Stone, and Wright 2000, 9–19.

1.1.3 Metaphor: Sexual Overtones

In a passage of Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua* and Judg 3:10, we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story:

> The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.[50]

Sexual imagery permeates the passage. The serpent conceives or becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan), and in this aspect the serpent is female. This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked (again evoking a sexual association) causing the abeyance of the intellect (therefore, "stupidity"). The serpent is said to use the fruit as its instrument for Eve's transformation. Once the serpent overcomes the woman Eve by using the fruit as a tool, it becomes male. This implies the superiority of the male, and the serpent plays the male role in contrast to Eve.[51] The role of the five senses, through which Satan deceived Eve, comes to the fore in the thirteenth century, in Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz,[52] and is further stressed a century later by Grigor Tatʻewacʻi.[53] Eve is particularly susceptible through her five senses. This reflects distinct attitudes to men and women.

It remains an open question whether behind this formulation lay the myth according to which Satan had intercourse with Eve and begat Cain. It is possible

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50. Ełišē 3. The language of fighting referred to in this sentence is discussed below in §1.6.

51. Such ideas of change of gender and of status are encountered not infrequently. Thus, for example, Philo (*Fug.* §51) shows a similar valuation of male and female:

> He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all of the virtues have women's titles, but are powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe, who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For preeminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it. (Philo 1935, 5:37).

Such evaluations, and to some extent similar exegetical strategies, underlie the passage we are discussing. The language of fighting is discussed in §1.6 below.

52. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 7.

53. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 53 says that the serpent makes five circular movements symbolizing the five senses.

that the passage of Ełišē is a reflection of some such myth, though it is rare in the Armenian literature I have examined.[54]

In the following tables I set forth the main metaphors that have served to describe the relationship of Satan and the serpent in Armenian Adam texts, and also their chronological ranges.

Relationship of Satan and the Serpent by Metaphors

Image	Author	Century
Pack animal / vehicle	Agat'angełos	C 05
Sexual	Ełišē	C 05
Identification	Eznik	C 05
	Sargis Šnorhali	C 12
	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz	C 13
	Vardan Arewelc'i	C 13
Nesting	T'ovma Arcruni	C 09
	Grigoris Ałt'amarac'i	C 16
Possession	Grigor Tłay	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
	Dawit' Salajorec'i	C 17
Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
Associate	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz	C 13
Dwelling	Zak'aria Gnuneac'	C 16

When we examine these tables, we are struck by the variety of language and metaphor used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Beyond simple identification, seven different types of language describe this relationship. Even more surprising is the temporal distribution. The relationship between Satan and the serpent, except for one instance, is not mentioned from the sixth to the eleventh century.[55]

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54. See n. 27 above, for another possible case. This myth is fairly widespread in both Jewish and other sources in the first millennium. See, e.g., *Hypostasis of the Archons* 34.21 in Layton 1987, 71; *Saltair na Rann* in Seymour 1922, 129; see lines 1957–58 in Greene and Kelly 1976, 91, and Murdoch 1973, 133; Schwartz 2004, 447–48; Epiphanius 40.5.3 in Layton 1987, 197. A discussion of the relations of Eve with the serpent may be found in Minoff 2010.

55. My evidence is partial, for I only collected published statements directly relating to

RELATIONSHIP OF SATAN AND THE SERPENT BY CENTURIES

Century	Image	Author
C 05	Identification	Eznik
C 05	Pack animal	Agat‘angełos
C 05	Sexual	Ełišē
C 09	Nesting	T‘ovma Arcruni
C 12	Identification	Sargis Šnorhali
C 12	Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali
C 12	Possession	Grigor Tłay
C 13	Associate	Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Vardan Arewelc‘i
C 14	Instrument	Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i
C 14	Possession	Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i
C 16	Dwelling	Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘
C 16	Nesting	Grigoris Ałt‘amarac‘i
C 17	Possession	Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i

1.2 SATAN DECEIVES THE SERPENT

In his biblical epic poem *To Manuč‘ē,* Grigor Magistros (C 10) says of Satan: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue, | Having deceived the serpent's ear, his destructive assistant's."[56] So Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. This event is described clearly in the primary Adam books, where Satan plays on the serpent's pride to gain his cooperation, just as his own pride motivated him to hate Adam. Thus *Pen. Adam* 44.16.3 reads: "Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? . . . Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."[57]

Satan's common cause with and persuasion of the serpent is featured in Kirakos Erznkac‘i C13's saying, "Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plans."[58] In the next century, the same sort of relationship is implied by

Genesis 1–3. Probably an even greater number of metaphors was used. Moreover, numerous instances might occur in contexts other than the Genesis stories.

56. Grigor Magistros 12.
57. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E.
58. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

Kostandin Erznkacʻi when he says that because of the envy of the evil tempter, they were deceived by serpent.[59] Satan envied, but it was the serpent that acted on his behalf.[60]

1.3 The *Višap* Dragon and Its Identification with Satan

The word վիշապ (*višap*) “dragon,” which is already used in the Bible of primordial serpents and is prominent in Revelation 12, also comes to the fore connected with Satan and the serpent. The *višap* dragon was an Armenian, pre-Christian water monster,[61] and its name is included in the biblical translation at a number of points. Thus, for example, Aaron’s and the magicians’ serpents in Exod 7:9, 10, and 12 (תנין — δράκων) are rendered as *višap*. Moreover, it is the term for the dragon in Rev 12:4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, etc. In Job 26:13(12) it translates Greek τὸ κῆτος and Hebrew Rahab, one of the names of the primordial sea dragon of pre-Israelite mythology. Such uses as these, combined with those in Revelation 12, led to its identification with the Genesis serpent and with Satan. In Rev 12:9 we read: “The great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world” (Եւ անկաւ վիշապն մեծ, օձն առաջին, որ անուանեալ կոչի բէեղզեբուղ եւ Սատանայ որ մոլորեցոյց զամենայն տիեզերս երկրի։). Greek reads διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανάς and Arm 2 has Բէեղզեբուղ եւ Սատանայ (“Bēełzebuł and Satan”). In Armenian 1 of Revelation, however, we read մատնիչ եւ Բէեղզեբուղ (“betrayer and Bēełzebuł”). Observe that մատնիչ (“betrayer”) is the typical Arm 1 translation of διάβολος. What is important here is that Bēełzebuł occurs in Arm 1 for ὁ Σατανάς and in Arm 2 for διάβολος. This shows how deeply this designation is embedded into Armenian usage.

Satan is called “rebel dragon” based on Revelation 12.[62] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 speaks of the “dragon-serpent” (վիշապ օձ) that wished to become “god of the material world.”[63] This role, “god of the material world,” is Satan’s.[64] Is this just a restatement of Lucifer’s ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14) or is the serpent-dragon in the material world deliberately modeled after Satan-Lucifer, whose aspiration was to make himself “like the Most High” (Isa 14:14)? I doubt that a distinction between the serpent-dragon and Satan-Lucifer was maintained. This also seems implied by the understanding of Yovhannēs Kʻorepiskopos C8

59. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 4.

60. This idea may be present in Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16’s statement (3), “Satan . . . made the serpent a means.”

61. On the Armenian pagan usage, see Ališan 1910, 163–65; J. R. Russell 1987, 205–11. Many stone statues of *višap*s survive; see fig. 4.

62. Eznik C5 excerpt 16; compare Rev 12:7–9; Isa 27:1.

63. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

64. See John 14:30; 16:11; and 2 Cor 4:4.

Fig. 4. *Višap* dragon stone at Sardarabad, Armenia. Photo by H. Petrosyan.

discussed in the next paragraph.[65] Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12 calls the serpent a "wicked dragon."[66]

In Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8's *Concerning the Cross that was seen at Varag* we read: "Then having left for man in his will,[67] for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious[68] dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death."[69]

Here the dragon is clearly Satan and is called fallen. As in the case of Grigoris Aršaruni C8, the identification is complete. It seems that Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos is talking of different regions: the region of splendid glory *from which* the dragon fell and the region of the venomous serpent *into which* the dragon fell. What is clear is that the fall from glory, here predicated of the dragon,

65. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan's work. This is also discussed in §3.3 below.

66. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

67. I.e., his free will or autonomy.

68. The term "rebellious" is not found in the relevant verses of Revelation 12. This term is most likely drawn from the story of the fall of Satan.

69. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

is the fall of Satan. The identification of the two now seems complete. Similarly, in the ninth century, T‘ovma Arcruni calls the serpent that pours bitter advice into Eve's ear "dragon."[70]

1.4 Are Satan, Serpent, and Dragon Distinguished?

> He [i.e., Christ] chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
> And his [i.e., Adam's] Deceiver, along with his [i.e. Satan's] servants.[71]

At first reading, this couplet by Grigor Narekac‘i C10 in his *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus* seems to distinguish between the "first serpent (or: dragon, i.e., վիշապ)" and Adam's Deceiver who is the serpent identified as Satan.[72] This latter identification appears to be certain, since the Deceiver has "his (own) servants," presumably the Satanic host of demons. Grigor Narekac‘i seems to distinguish between Satan and the primordial serpent.[73] Vardan Arewelc‘i C13, however, implies an identification of Satan and the serpent,[74] and so does Karapet Bałišec‘i C16, who says, in parallel lines: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | The Devil was the reason for death."[75]

In his *Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism*, Grigor Narekac‘i says, "Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one."[76] The phrase "the curse of the first one" refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. This indicates that these two figures fell together in the Armenian sources or else an apocryphal tradition added a curse of Satan to the curses of the serpent, Eve, and Adam (Gen 3:14–19). Such a tradition with a fourfold curse is found in Greek folktales, but is unknown so far in Armenian.[77]

Thus, Satan is equivalent to the serpent in many texts; see §1.1 and the table above. Elsewhere, diverse metaphors are used that describe Satan as dominating and manipulating the serpent (§§1.1.1; 1.1.2; 1.1.3). All these relationships, except for identity, imply that there are two entities involved, Satan and the serpent. The same emerged in §1.2 above, where Satan's deception of the serpent is documented.

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70. T‘ovma Arcruni 3.

71. Grigor Narekac‘i 3.

72. Interestingly, Rev 12:9 reads օձն առաջին ("first serpent [*ōj*])" and not վիշապն առաջին ("first dragon" [*višap*]) as does Narekac‘i. Yet Narekac‘i's source must be Rev 12:9. This verse is also discussed above in §1.3.

73. However, this poem is characterized by the use of parallel phrases, and so the distinction may well be only apparent. Compare the magical narrative discussed in §1.0.

74. Vardan Arewelc‘i 32; see §§1.1.1–1.1.3.

75. Karapet Bałišec‘i 1.

76. J. B. Russell 1981, 132.

77. Stone 2002, 101–2. Alternatively, the curse might be figurative language for death or sinfulness, which the serpent introduced into Eden.

In §1.3 we saw that the *višap* dragon is sometimes identified with the serpent, and they are both on occasion spoken of as Satan. In the eighth century, Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos distinguishes Satan-dragon from the serpent, while T'ovma Arcruni C9 supports the dragon-serpent identification. From all this information, we learn that these three figures—the dragon, Satan, and the serpent—are sometimes identified and sometimes treated as separate beings. Often this is not an ontological assertion so much as a parenetic or exegetical strategy.

Part of a *kafa*[78] on the *History of Alexander the Great* by Zak'aria Gnuneac' (C 16) is devoted to serpents. He notes that the serpent (օձ — *ōj*) is the cause of Adam's perdition. After some more general remarks about the serpent, he continues:

> The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (վիշապ),
> Solomon wrote about it wisely;
> When the serpent comes out of the egg,
> It treads the ground equally (with man).
> But envy, the author of evil,
> Made the serpent its dwelling;

Here the relationship with the *višap* dragon is incidental to the text and the dragon plays no role. But the dragon and the serpent belong to the same species, and the serpent is the dragon's descendant. "Envy" here is probably a synonym for Satan.

1.5 Psalm 73 and the Baptism

A homily on the Baptism uncertainly attributed to Ełišē, highlights the parallel between Adam, whom the serpent (*ōj*) deceived, and Christ, who smashes the head of the *višap* dragon in the Jordan River in his baptism. There, Ps 73:13–14 and particularly the phrase "thou didst break the heads of the dragons in the waters" is applied to Christ's baptism. This theme is old in Eastern Christian usage, though not as early as the homily's attribution to Ełišē of the fifth century would imply.[79] Still, if not in the fifth century, then sometime later, the serpent was identified with the dragon because of the relationship between Adam's sin and Christ's baptism.[80]

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78. On *kafas*, see n. 45.

79. See Stone 2002, 22–24.

80. It is unclear whether Gen 3:15 played any role in this exegesis. The difficult Hebrew is translated in the Greek Bible as τηρέω ("watch, observe closely") and faithfully reflected in Armenian սպասեմ ("watch out for, await"). This passage did not receive the detailed attention of either Chrysostom or (pseudo-?)Ephrem in their works on Genesis surviving in Armenian. However, even when the verb is taken as in the Greek, a clear relationship exists between Eve's offspring and the crushing of the serpent's head, and that may be interpreted as Christ crushing the serpent in the baptism. This is discussed further in chapter 2 §4.7.

In our corpus, the connection between Psalm 73 and the baptism first occurs in a dated text in Artawazd Mazazuni C10:[81] "Jesus is baptised in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent."[82] The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket.[83] Matt'ēos *vardapet* C15 states that Christ will trample the dragon's poison. This clearly combines the dragons of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 with the Genesis serpent, whose deception is regularly called "poison."[84]

One might, therefore, after consulting the comparative Greek and Armenian evidence, regard the use of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 in (pseudo)-Ełišē's *Homily on the Baptism* as later than the fifth century. However, the exegetical connection might have been made earlier than the seventh- to eighth-century date that the comparative evidence suggests.[85] The tradition recurs in (unfortunately) undated apocryphal texts. In *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §49 (P 306) we read: "and the dragon-serpent (*ōj višapn*) appeared. And our Lord Christ, with his foot having trampled the dragon."[86]

1.6 Language of Fighting

Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua* and Judges excerpt 3, cited fully in §1.1.3 says: "Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking." The "looking" of course refers to Gen 3:6 and often serves to identify Eve with sense perception (see §1.1.3 above). Language of "war" and "vanquishing" is often used of Satan's attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:4 we read: "that you [i.e., Satan] fight against us unnecessarily"; in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan "that you dared to fight with this image of God" (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:92, 127).[87] The language of fighting also occurs in Eznik 30 and Agat'angełos 5.[88]

The terminology of fighting recurs in the seventh century when Anania Širakac'i refers to Satan as "he who fought with the forefather." [89] T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor uses this type of language of Christ's conflict with Satan, set into

81. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

82. Psalm 74:13–14 = Arm 73:11–12. Cosmas of Maiuma of the eighth century uses similar language: see Stone 2002, 22.

83. Cf. Job 40:23–24.

84. Matt'ēos *vardapet* 3.

85. Consequently, the *Homily on the Baptism* must be dated on the basis of other considerations.

86. Stone 1996a, 66–67.

87. The language of war and vanquishing is old, appearing already in the non-Armenian versions of 4 Ezra in this context. The Armenian version, which is from the fifth century, uses the term աշխատեմ ("to labor") instead. Thus, in 7:92 and 7:127 աշխատեմ corresponds to the language of fighting in other versions.

88. It is possible that the war idiom was attractive because the monastic life itself was conceived of as one long battle against Satan and his demons.

89. Anania Širakac'i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247.

an Adamic context.[90] The metaphor then disappears from our sources until the twelfth century, when Ignatius *vardapet* uses it of Satan's fight against Adam.[91] It is found nowhere else in the sources I have collected, down to the end of the seventeenth century.

2.0 The Fall of Satan

2.1 The Fall of Satan: Background

The fall of Satan is an idea that is present already in the New Testament.[92] Moreover, it is the commonest understanding of Isa 14:12–14, which speaks of the fall of the "Day Star," a figure that aspired to set his throne above the stars of heaven.[93] This was interpreted as Satan's primordial *hybris*.

2.2 The Fall of Satan: In Armenian Texts

How could Satan's pride have caused his fall? An early version of the story of the fall of Satan, found in *Pen. Adam*, chs. 12–16 and parallels, relates Satan's fall to his rebellion against God. Gary Anderson has shown that it was known to Ephrem Syrus as well.[94] At God's behest, Michael commands the angels to bow down to Adam because he was created in God's image. Satan refuses on the explicit grounds that he is older, created before Adam (14:3–15:1). As the older, he will not bow down to the younger, and this makes him a rebel against God. Blind Jacob, blessing Joseph's sons, gives the prior place to the younger Ephraim. When Joseph remonstrates with him, he responds, "his younger brother shall be greater than he." This is a repeated theme in the pentateuchal narrative and scholars have teased out its implications.[95] In the Adam story, the younger Adam is to be greater than the older Satan. Yet, despite intriguing pentateuchal parallels, in the apocryphal Adam narrative, Satan's recalcitrance is based only on pride and

90. ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր: T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 1.

91. մարտուցեալ: Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

92. Luke 10:18: "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning," is clearest, but in that text the occasion for the fall is eschatological, not protological. The pericope is well analyzed by Garrett (1989, 46–60 and especially 50–55). Agat'angełos 26 cites *3 Corinthians*, which was canonical in the Armenian tradition and which says, Իսկ որ անօրէն իշխանն էր իբրեւ աստուածանալ կամեցաւ, ձեռն արկանէր ի նոսա եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր: "He who was the lawless prince, when he wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin" (*3 Cor.* 2:16–17). The word "prince" (իշխան) evokes Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7, on which see below. Satan's capturing or seizing humankind is discussed in n. 196 below.

93. Translated "Lucifer" in the King James Version, as in the Vulgate; see below.

94. See Anderson 1997.

95. Anderson 2001, 21–34. See also Greenspahn 1994. Some further dimensions of Adam's divine image are investigated in Orlov 2007, 239–68.

envy.[96] Thus, we can delineate the metamorphosis of a pagan god, challenger of the chief deity, into a rebellious angel who, before creation, wished to displace God.

Grigor Tatʿewacʿi C14 expressed the view that Satan refused to bow down to Adam because of his lesser status: "And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshipped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and all man."[97]

The idea that Satan was a rebellious angel had deep, ancient roots.[98] Alongside this and, indeed, much more common, the view arose from the exegesis of Genesis that connected Satan's rebellion with Adam.[99] Satan's identification with the serpent and the serpent's enmity toward Adam were the key, constituting a further "demythologization" of the ancient pattern. Typologically, the myth of a primordial attack on God's throne became the story of the angels' fall at Satan's instigation. It is not yet clear how much of the narrative of the Satanic fall was known in fifth-century Armenia, and in which of its various configurations.[100]

2.3 Satan's Status before the Fall

According to Stepʿanos Siwnecʿi C8, the fall of Satan, the Deceiver, amazed the heavenly host because he had the mark of power.[101] Satan was one of the highest angels, and his fall, Zakʿaria Katʿołikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty. Indeed, Zakʿaria Katʿołikos speaks about Satan's role as an opposing power.

> And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Benefactor for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal longings, from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, the Garden of Eden was encircled with a flaming sword guarding in every way. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieged men with sins, taught them to be distant from the Creator and drew everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon human

96. Satan is jealous of Adam's great glory despite his origin in dust, according to *Cave of Treasures;* see Bezold 1888, 3–4.

97. Grigor Tatʿewacʿi 83. Compare chap. 5 n. 105 above.

98. See Stone 2002, 18–20; Gaylord 1982, 303–9; Orlov 2007, 289–93; and others.

99. See, in general, Anderson 1997. On pp. 84–85 n. 5 he dismissed the "Lucifer" material used in the Latin *L.A.E.* and Eve saying, "This citation is absent from the Armenian and Georgian and cannot be part of the primitive version of the tale." To nuance his statement somewhat, we should note that the Lucifer material is secondary in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but might well be older even than the well-attested rebellion caused by Satan's envy of Adam. Non liquet.

100. For other patterns of rebellion, see Anderson 1997.

101. Stepʿanos Siwnecʿi 2.

> beings. He created a kingdom in hell, having taken possession of the spirits in it; he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.[102]

The language of imprisoning and freeing is widely used of Satan's rule over humans and is very typical.[103] The context in Zak'aria Kat'ołikos's text implies that, by means of the fiery sword, God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden, while Gen 3:24 implies that the sword guards against Adam, not Satan. Similarly, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos states that Satan imprisoned spirits in hell, so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.[104] Indeed, Zak'aria blames Satan for the sin more than he does Adam and Eve.

2.4 Satan as Rebellious but Unspecified

Satan's fall is mentioned before the twelfth century, but the texts from the twelfth–fourteenth centuries and a small group of texts from the seventeenth century frequently mention his fall but say nothing explicit about his rebellion, neither that he was Lucifer, nor that he refused to bow down to God or to God's image.

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.[105] In another passage, Ignatius says that Satan established himself in enmity against God, rose up against the Creator, fell from high honor, and by deceit persuaded men to fall with him, thus becoming master of our nature.[106]

Satan was a rational being who had fallen. He showed Adam ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good; so says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[107] The categories of this statement are somewhat different from Ignatius *vardapet*'s, and the idea that Satan was rational derives from the idea that the angels are rational, which is present in Armenian religious thought from the fifth century on.[108] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes some general statements: Satan descended to the earth and is dead forever because of his remoteness from God;[109] and he tortured creatures through his fall.[110] Similarly Vardan Aygekc'i

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102. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5.

103. See Stone 2002, 69, 72, 80, 87, 90, 168 n. 24, for further references. The same term (ազատել) is used by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in excerpt 58 and elsewhere. See n. 196 below.

104. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven occurs in a number of sources: note *Ques. Ezra* B 6 (Stone 1995, 307). See also *Apoc. Ab.* 31:3, though in a different context. On Satan's kingdom in hell and imprisonment, see the amulet scroll cited in §1.0 above.

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

106. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.

107. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

108. See Stone 2006a, 90–92; and chapter 1 §1.3, above.

109. Vardan Arewelc'i 34.

110. Vardan Arewelc'i 33.

says that he fell from glory[111] and threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.[112]

A powerful poetic description of Satan's fall is to be found in Kirakos Erznkac'i (C 13):

> He who fell like a lightning from the celestial hosts,[113]
> With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons.
> Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
> Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.[114]

Because of the systematic nature of his writing, Grigor Tat'ewac'i presents more details. Satan, he says, was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God.[115] "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods'[116] with immortal life and lofty glory." So, Satan's actions against humans were motivated by envy.[117] On the other hand, when Grigor Tatewac'i considers why God created humans from dust, he concludes that he so did to shame Satan, "when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, had fallen."[118]

In the seventeenth century, such references resurface, but their content is traditional. Satan is repeatedly characterized as rebellious and wicked. He always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden.[119] He was an angel, a cherub, and man's fall paralleled his.[120] Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil, according to Grigor Daranałc'i C17.[121] Both authors also take up the point made by Grigor Tat'ewac'i three hundred years earlier, that Satan deceives Adam by playing on his pride. He planted in him the desire to become a god.[122]

Although the story of Satan's fall is not expounded in the fifth-century Armenian sources studied here, Yovhannēs Mandakuni's reference to Satan's

111. Vardan Aygekc'i 6.
112. Vardan Aygekc'i 1; on Satan's kingdom, see §2.3 (end).
113. See Luke 10:18.
114. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. On demonic blackness, see chapter 3 §4.2.3 and §1.0 in this chapter.
115. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83.
116. Gen 3:5.
117. His instrument was pride, by which he himself had fallen.
118. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63.
119. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 10.
120. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 11.
121. Grigor Daranałc'i 2.
122. Grigor Daranałc'i 2; Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 11.

pride indicates that he knew it.[123] This is true also of Agatʻangełos, particularly excerpt 26 (§280): Satan, Agatʻangełos says, tried to cause Adam to err, "so that he might be able to inherit his place."[124] It is not clearly stated what "Adam's place" was, but this statement is an explicit reference to the exaltation of Adam. Moreover, it resonates strikingly with the early text, *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3, where Satan says to the serpent, "Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden." Consequently, the "place," that is, the Garden of Eden, had particular significance.[125] On the basis of the material analyzed in the present paragraph and in §3.0 below, we may confidently conclude that the story of Satan's fall was current in fifth-century Armenian literature. It circulated in a version in which Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam. In this version, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his prideful refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.[126] His refusal was motivated by his envy of Adam's creation in God's image and of Adam's premier position among the created beings.

Eznik C5, however, who also deals with this problem, mentions enmity as the cause of Satan's becoming "the slanderer," that is, the Devil. He discusses this in connection with the question of whether Satan is created evil or good. He started good and became evil, Eznik says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became

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123. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3. It is unclear whether he knows the variant of the fall story that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan before the creation of the world. This primordial revolt seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. This version of the fall of Satan first appears in our excerpts in the writings of Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13. A later form of this version occurs in the Armenian apocryphal text *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4:"1. When the Lord God created the heavens and the earth, he first made the hosts of angels for the service of his divinity. 2. Now the wicked Sadayēl and Beliar were the heads of the divisions of Satan; they were adorned gloriously, and were higher than all the angels and all the divisions of the angels. 3. But the detestable Satan did not want to bless God and was arrogant in his head, and he wanted to raise up his own throne equal to God's throne. 4. And the Lord God commanded the hammer-man of the seraphim, the great Gabriel, and the terrible Michael, and the nine divisions of angels, and they fell upon Sadayēl and all his attendants, smote him, and cast them down like hail from a cloud" (MS Y; trans. Lipscomb 1990, 118).

124. Excerpt 26. This text is analyzed further below.

125. Below, we will discuss the fact that at this point in the *Penitence of Adam*, Satan appears to be deceiving the serpent and lying to it, since no tradition is known according to which the serpent was expelled from the Garden. Indeed, there is a major chronological problem in the narrative line, for at the point at which Satan is seducing the serpent, Eve has not sinned and the curses have not been pronounced. The implication of the passage is that, prior to this point in time, the serpent had been deprived of its paradisiacal food and had been expelled from the Garden.

126. See Anderson 1997, 105–34 = Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 83–110.

"the slanderer."[127] Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God's commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.[128]

This text, despite its employment of the term "rebel" and of language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the circumstances of Satan's fall. The cautious conclusion is that it should be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked, without making any details of his fall explicit.

In Eznik C5 we find another reference to Adam's fall. God says to Adam, "I did not want death in your place, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince,[129] the wicked counsellor."[130] Satan called "prince" is surely a reference to Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7: "I say, 'You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like one of the princes.'" The exegesis of Ezekiel 28, especially v. 2, which is directed to the prince of Tyre, is also often used in this context. The appellation "wicked counsellor" obviously applies to Satan-serpent who deceived Eve by wicked counsel. This passage then refers to the fall of Satan and, together with the texts cited from Yovhannēs Mandakuni and Agat'angełos, shows that this fall story was known in fifth-century Armenia.

Satan was fearless, and this was the weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this example (T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7).[131] In the same century, Grigoris Aršaruni writes in his *Commentary on the Lectionary*:

> In the same way here[132]—even more supremely than all (other fast-) days, we begin by seizing the very same, originally evil serpent of the Garden, as ugly and horrible-looking as the thief,[133] and having beaten him, bind (him) in indissoluble bonds. . . . Setting the thieving serpent[134] in juxtaposition with the thieving man, he releases the latter from blasphemy and leads (him) to the confession of His kingdom; He dissolves the curse and takes him with himself

127. The title բանսարկու ("slanderer, deceiver") is very old in its application to Satan, and we usually translate it "Devil." It occurs in Rev 2:10; 12:12 translating διάβολος. In Rev 20:2, we read διάβολος καὶ Σατανάς, which is translated բանսարկուն եւ սատանայ. In the ancient version of Revelation (Arm 1) published by Frederik Murad (1905–11), Rev 2:10 has բանսարկուն, while 12:12 has մատնիչն`, and 20:2 has մատնիչ եւ սատանայ. Intriguingly, in Jude 9, where the Greek has διάβολος, the Armenian has բանսարկուն սատանայի, adding "Satan." The same two words are used in Arm 2 of Rev 20:2. Thus, at the beginning of Armenian Bible translation the stereotypical translation διάβολος = բանսարկուն did not dominate, but by the time of the Arm 2 revision, it did. See also §1.3 above.

128. Eznik 16.

129. Or, less probably from a grammatical viewpoint, "with."

130. Eznik 27. On this theme, see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming), (17).

131. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 3. He is actually refocusing, likely for parenetic purposes, the idea of the Rebel.

132. I.e., on Good Friday.

133. Or: chief thief.

134. Personified by the unrepentant thief.

> to Paradise instead of Adam.[135] And the unrepentant serpent[136] is hung on the wood,[137] naked and defamed, as he was in the desert,[138] without a cover for the shame of his ignominy,[139] without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become the god of the material world, which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man in his image to reign over it, and made him the second after Himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigand-like deceit, as in the night, bound him while he was ignorant and capturing him, shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—with corruption. Because of that, the king of glory, moving from the paternal, glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the thief, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced (him) to death. . . .[140]

In Grigoris Aršaruni's text the serpent's sin is to seduce humans. So at this point he is clearly speaking about the serpent of the Garden, and its punishment is formulated analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris had said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world" (*ibid.*).[141] This is not the serpent's sin, and the punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. That was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *1 En.* 10:11–14; 14:5; and 21:10.

The Evil One, called dragon (*višap*), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with his free will[142] to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment. This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features. Because Satan is referred to as *višap* dragon, and falls from his glory,[143]

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135. This point is based on Luke 23:43. Why the thief is said to be "instead of Adam" remains unclear. Does it imply that the thief was immediately introduced into paradise, while Adam had to wait until Christ released him?

136. Symbolized by the unrepentant thief.

137. I.e., crucified.

138. This may be a reference to Christ's temptation. Moreover, it is suggestive of the bronze serpent in Num 21:7–8.

139. R. R. Ervine made some helpful suggestions in the translation of the preceding passage.

140. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

141. This is discussed in §1.3 above.

142. See Stone 2006a, 87, 90–91.

143. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1; see also chapter 2 §3.2. Satan's glory is not mentioned either in Luke 10:18 or in Rev 12:9. The idea could, however, have developed from Isa 14:11–17 and Ezek 28:12–15, though the actual word "glory" is not mentioned there. Armenian *Pen.*

he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In most of the texts discussed, dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit. In one instance it is clear, in Grigoris Aršaruni's statement discussed directly above, that he aspired to God's throne, the rarer form of the narrative of Satan's fall.

2.5 The Fall of Satan: Primordial/Lucifer

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. Because of this, he was cast down before everyone. He had been a brilliant Lucifer (morning star),[144] was named, and became darkness because of his pride. He defeated man who was abased with him.[145]

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan may be observed. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell, was abased, and was made dark, lost his heavenly luminosity.[146] Hamam works out the reference to Isaiah's Lucifer passage in detail.

In his biblical epic *To Manučʻē,* Grigor Magistros C10 has the following lines: "The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer / . . . / Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."[147] This statement combines the idea of Lucifer derived from Isa 14:12 with that of Satan.[148] Satan was formerly Lucifer, and one of the early explicit occurrences of this well-established theme is the Latin version of the primary Adam book.[149] The idea that Satan was an angel who fell because of his "exaltation and arrogance" belongs to the same complex of ideas. This is the formulation of Grigor Narekac'i C10, so clearly the idea was well known by his time.[150]

In the thirteenth century, Step'anos Ōrbelean says, "The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching perfect glory too zealously, rebel like the Deceiver, grow arrogant and fall."[151] So God cared for humans so that they should not suffer from Lucifer's *hybris.* As a result of this, they might rebel and fall like "the Deceiver," a name that stresses Satan's Adamic connection. Eznik C5 says that Satan became a rebel because he disobeyed God's commandments, and he

Adam 12:1 has, "I was alienated from the throne of cherubim," while the Latin *L.A.E.* in the same place has, "I was expelled and alienated from my glory"; cf. Ben Sira 49:16 ms B.

144. See the discussion of this term in §2.1 above.
145. Hamam Arewelc'i 3.
146. See Isa 14:13–14 and §1.0 above.
147. Grigor Magistros 12.
148. On Satan as Lucifer, see §2.1.
149. Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 17–17E).
150. Grigor Narekac'i 8.
151. Step'anos Ōrbelean 5.

calls Satan “rebel dragon” (compare Revelation 12).[152] The same appellation is found in the writings of Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos C8, and Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 calls Satan “rebel,” but in the context of his envy of Adam.[153] The connection of “rebel” with the primordial fall is clear, however, when Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that first Satan established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor, by deceit persuaded humans to fall with him as well. [154] Thus, the term “rebel” is found throughout the literature and is connected mainly, but not exclusively, with the primordial fall story.

In the thirteenth century, Yovhanēs Erznkac‘i Pluz wrote the following quatrain:

> Sadayēl turned his face from the heavenly ranks,
> He fell from the heaven to the deeps, and from light, remained in darkness.
> He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the animals.
> And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.[155]

Here the poet clearly refers to the myth of the fall of Satan, but he calls Satan “Sadayēl.” This particular form of the story with the name Sadayēl, is rather uncommon, but it does occur in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, also connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God,[156] notably in the *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2.[157] The title occurs a second time in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz’s poetry.[158] In the fifteenth-century amulet quoted in §1.0 above, the guardian of the souls in hell is also called Sat/dayēl.

Although infrequent in Armenian, this name belongs to a type known from non-Armenian apocryphal literature. In these texts, the angel who rebelled is called Satanel or Satanil while in heaven; in Armenian, Satan in Hades is given only this name in Amulet 116. The element “el” is theophoric, of course, and common in angelic names such as Rapha-el, Gabri-el, etc. in Jewish and Chris-

152. Eznik 16.

153. Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos 1; Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 5.

154. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

155. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10.

156. On this, see §1.0 above, especially at n. 110.

157. Lipscomb 1990, 118. In many manuscripts of the Cycle of Four Works there exist as yet unpublished homiletic passages in which Sadayēl also appears. So in manuscript M6430 we read: Թոթափեաց երկնից զդասս հրեշտակացն Սադայէլի զի մեծ հրեշտակ էր քան զամենայն, “He scattered from the heavens the ranks of Sadayēl’s angels, for he was the greatest angel of all.” This text is undated. Kazazian and Stone published one such passage in 2004, 46–51.

158. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10 and 48. In *NBHL,* the lemma “Sadayēl” occurs, with one reference to the eleventh-century authority Anania Sanahnec‘i. Because *NBHL* provides no details, the exact reference remains unknown.

tian literature. According to the Satanel tradition, when he rebelled against God and was expelled from heaven, he lost the theophoric "el" and became just Satan. The Armenian form Sadayēl surely derives from the Satanel legend, though in the Armenian sources I examined the connection of this name with "Satan" is not mentioned explicitly. The name is known to us within a limited geographic and chronographic range, from the eleventh–fifteenth centuries, and to date only from these three sources, though further occurrences may well exist.[159]

In the eighteenth century *History of Persia* by Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i[160] we find the story of Satan's fight against God, when he said: "Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High."[161] God responded and scattered him and his host, and they fell into the depth of the abyss. While falling, Satan stretched out his tail and dragged the third part of the stars down with him from the high heaven.[162] On earth, Adam's eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam abandoned God's command and observed and accepted that of God's enemy, until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden.

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159. See the Slavonic version of *3 Bar.* 4:7–15 (trans. Gaylord, in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:666). In the apocryphal Slavonic texts, the name Sataniel is connected with the story of bowing down to Adam. For example, in Slavonic manuscripts of *3 Baruch* (Gaylord 1982, 307), following 4:17 we read:

> And he said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made. And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said. These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.
>
> ...Then having gone, Satanael found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, "Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly." And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve. "But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God."
>
> And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said. "What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?" And Eve said, "From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat." And having heard Satanael said to her, "God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam." And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked . . . .

Compare further Stichel 1989, 116–28; Orlov 2007, 175–95, 289–308. See, of course, Gaylord 1982. See further the recent discussion in Kulik 2010, 209–11.

160. See Bardakjian 2000, 89–90 on this work. See Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i 3.

161. Isa 14:13–14.

162. Rev 9:4: "His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth." This verse was not cited in other texts discussed.

3.0 Satan's Envy.

Above, I considered the reasons usually adduced for Satan's primordial revolt, above all pride, *hybris*, the desire to be God or be higher than God. Now I turn to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. In Armenian literature two main motives are mentioned: envy and deceit. Yet this statement needs further refining: envy or similar feelings seem to be the motive and deceit the means. Sometimes our sources speak of deceit as a motive and, indeed, it is possible that a wicked delight in deceit for its own sake was considered a motive. Yet most texts talking of deceit as if it were a motive are actually referring to it as the tool Satan used.

Many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, stress Satan's envy. It is not always clear of what he was envious, and a number of possibilities emerge from the Armenian sources. One was Satan's envy of Adam's priority in rank; another was his envy of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life, and Satan's consequent wish to replace him; a third, his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image of God; and finally, his envy of Adam's paradisiacal delights, compared with his own fallen state.

Eznik C5 refers simply to Satan's "enmity" (թշնամութիւն) toward Adam.[163] In *Pen. Adam* 12:1 Satan says to Adam, "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you" and then relates the story of the Fall. Eznik is definitely of the fifth century, and it is likely that *Penitence of Adam* is also early. Indeed, the idea that the Devil's envy was the cause of Satan's fall and of Adam's, is found in the first work of Armenian literature, the translation of the Bible. In Wis 2:24 we read: "Through the envy of the tempter (the Devil) death entered the world."[164] Since the Bible, including Wisdom of Solomon, does not tell us the reason for Satan's envy, the question may justly be posed to later texts, Of what was Satan envious? The rebellion tradition mentioned above provides one motivation for Satan's envy: he was envious of Adam's priority in rank, despite his own priority of birth,[165] and so refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to Adam.[166] It is also possible that Satan is jealous of the image of God in Adam, though in that context *Penitence of Adam* does not state so.

Eznik states that Satan is inflamed specifically by jealousy, and similarly Łazar P'arbec'i says that the first-created one was subdued by the Devil's envy.[167]

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163. Eznik 7.

164. In *A Letter sent from the city of Amit* attributed to Łazar P'arpec'i 1, Wisdom of Solomon's statement is attributed erroneously to "the Catholic Epistles." David Winston (1979, 121–22) discusses this passage at length, highlighting instances of envy in primordial history.

165. Anderson 2001, 25–29.

166. Some later sources are quoted in Stone 1992, 22–23; *Transgression of Adam and Eve*, 10–12. Compare the somewhat different view in Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 3 (Stone 2005, 65).

167. Eznik 30 and Łazar P'arpec'i 1.

Neither prominent fifth-century author details either the cause of the envy or its results. Like them, T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 says, no more specifically, that envy was the cause.[168] Elsewhere, he says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name,[169] probably meaning that Satan argued about the divine command, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen. 3:5). In any case, the statement relates to the technique Satan used to deceive Adam and not to the envy that motivated him. Again, nothing is said about its cause.

In the biblical epic poem *To Manuč'ē* by Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni C10, envy is a major theme:

> Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,
> Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.
> By the envy of the Devil (Deceiver), the flattery of the dissembler,
> They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.[170]

As I have already noted, some texts, like Grigor Magistros here, do not keep the motive and the means of the deceit distinct. The motive is envy; of what, he does not say. The means that he used is deceit.

In his *Elegy on Jerusalem*, Grigor Tłay C12 states that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan's envy. "And if he transgressed in accordance with envy, | He was punished justly."[171] Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 has a similar view, though he also introduces the serpent into the picture. As in other sources, the Devil's envy is set beside the actual deception carried out by the serpent.

> Because of the envy of the evil Devil,
> so that they were deceived by the serpent.[172]

3.1 Satan Is Envious of the Human State

The idea that Satan is envious of Adam's rank occurs in a variety of early sources, such as *2 En.* 31:3–6; Latin *L.A.E.* 12:1; Armenian *Book of Adam* 15:1 (զնախանձ, "envy," not in the Greek text, is added); *3 Bar.* 4:8; and others.[173]

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168. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 4.

169. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 1.

170. Grigor Magistros 12.

171. Grigor Tłay 20. On this work, see van Lint 2002.

172. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4.

173. Winston (1979, 121) cites abundant rabbinic parallels. In *Death of Adam* §1 a different word, մախանք, also meaning "envy," designates the deception and fall. That work is probably translated from Greek. Winston points to the theme of envy also in Gnostic sources. In one manuscript of *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* (Stone 1992, 22), Satan is said to envy Adam and Eve's state in the Garden. Of course, in numerous other sources the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qnʾ*, mean-

Satan envied man who inherited the Garden, which was perhaps identical to the empty camp of the rebellious angels, as asserted by Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9.[174] This would be unusual, setting Satan's prelapsarian abode in the Garden of Eden when usually it is in the highest heavens.[175] Satan's envy was unable to harm God as he wished, and so, instead, he harmed the image of God. Thus, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says succinctly, "[he] wished, through enmity towards man, to dishonour the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness."[176]

In §2.2 above I related the story drawn from the *Penitence of Adam* about Satan's refusal to bow down to Adam, God's image, at Michael's behest. It seems that Grigor Tatʻewacʻi C14 knew this story and adapted it theologically. He says, God the Word, incarnated, created Adam: when the angels saw God in Adam's image they worshiped him. Satan, considering him mere body and man did not worship him.[177]

3.2 Satan's Envy of Man's Paradisiacal and Future State

In contrast to these general statements, Agatʻangełos C5 states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and envied the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.[178] Thus, he makes the cause of the envy evident. Similarly, according to Eznik C5, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.[179] In Mambrē we read "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast

ing "envy"; cf. *T. Benj.* 7:5; and see the many parallels in Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 433; *History of the Forefathers* §§4–5. Cain was jealous over his sister whom Abel married; see *Testament of Adam* frg. 2.3 (Kmosko 1907, 1344) and other sources.

174. Zakʻaria Katʻołikos 5.

175. The sources I examined do not attempt to systematize all these ideas, which do not always cohere.

176. Ignatius *vardapet* 5. Note the term թշնամանութիւն ("enmity"), used above of Satan's envy (§3.0, quoting Eznik 7). This is connected with the designation of Satan as "the Enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) in early sources. See *NBHL* 816, col. a, for an uncommon use of թշնամի with the same meaning.

177. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 83. In this passage, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, after his fashion, introduces a number of explanations of Satan's envy. Certain of these have been discussed above, but we give the whole passage here: "Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honour and was thinking, what is the holy perfection, and could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekacʻi says that when, in the beginning, God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared and was creating in incarnated appearance, like during Adam's creation, as our Grigor the Illuminator says. And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's image and worshipped and blessed him. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man."

178. Agatʻangełos 24.

179. Eznik 5, 7, and 9.

him down from the blessed life."[180] These three fifth-century authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him, which for Eznik included the image of God in which Adam was created. Later, Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 stated that Satan "heard the man's command of life (and) envied."[181]

An analogous view may be found in Agat'angełos C5 26.[182] However, in this section, Agat'angełos is more specific about the good things of which Satan was jealous. Beyond all, he was envious of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received. He sought to enslave him and inherit his position "having made him err, (and so) having brought him out of the promises, perchance he might be able to inherit his place." Satan's desire to enslave humans is supported by a quotation from *3 Cor.* 11, which says that Satan "seized and bound all mankind." This statement uses the significant language of slavery and freedom associated with Satan,[183] and it adds further specific features to our discussion of jealousy: first that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. The same idea occurs, as I have already noted, in Kirakos Erznkac'i C14.[184] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 says in different words that the serpent was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods,[185] thus also identifying Satan and the serpent.

The statements just discussed imply that Satan had already lost his heavenly place and his glory when envy beset him, which happened after his rebellion and fall. Here Satan's fall is connected with Adam's creation. In the *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, the story of Satan's fall, no hint of a statement like Agat'angełos's occurs, that is, that Satan wished to replace Adam.[186] Later in *Penitence of Adam*, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, he says, "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden" [44](16):1–4.[187] This statement is written from the perspective of fallen Satan, just like excerpt 26 of Agat'angełos. Xosrow Anjewac'i C10 states that Satan's aim is to prevent humans from returning to immortality which was their original state.[188]

180. Mambrē 7.

181. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. The phrase means, "heard the command which would give eternal life to Adam."

182. Agat'angełos 26.

183. See Stone 2002, 168 and index s.vv. "enslavement," and "freeing," for further discussion of this idea. The language is old and widespread. See also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 31, 58, and Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 2 and Grigor Narekac'i 2.

184. In his poem on St. George, Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

185. Vardan Arewelc'i 32.

186. Somewhat similar language might be observed in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but that is different from the Armenian-Georgian text.

187. This is odd because "so that we may re-enter the Garden" implies that the serpent also had fallen or been expelled from the Garden.

188. Xosrow Anjewac'i 1.

The notion of Satan's anger toward God is a variation of the idea of Satan's envy of the human condition. More generally, Yovhannēs Mandakuni C5 says about envy that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings, for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam."[189] The order of events in this statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam (see also §2.2 above). The thirteenth-century poet, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, taking up the same theme, says that Satan fallen from glory envied Adam (who, presumably, still had it).[190]

Grigor Tat'ewac'i gives a rather different twist to the theme of envy when he says, discussing the reason for the creation of man from dust, that "he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen."[191] In the fifth-century literature, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, particularly of Adam's potential immortality, dominates. This is a reformulation in the terms of the biblical story of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation. It complements the emphasis that the Armenian sources place on God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which was to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment and abstaining from the fruit of the tree. P'awstos Buzand makes a further statement about Satan's envy when he says that Satan corrupts man by his envy, leading to deceit and falsehood.[192] As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

Much later, in the thirteenth century, Vardan Arewelc'i speaks of the demons' jealousy, which is surely a variation on the theme of Satan's envy.[193] Above (§1.0) I noted that in the fifteenth-century amulet scroll, the same shift from Satan to the demons was made. Vardan Arewelc'i also clearly thinks that the "first serpent" envied Eve's glory.[194] This he infers, because the serpent deceived Eve. His text seems to imply a differentiation between the ancient serpent and Satan, but that is probably due to the differing biblical contexts from which the terms were drawn.[195]

189. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

190. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82 says that Satan envied Adam's glory; others say that he envied man's honor (excerpt 83). See above on the idea of Adam's glory or luminous garment.

191. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17.

192. P'awstos Buzand 2 = Garsoïan 1989, 130.

193. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.

194. According to Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44, the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. Here again the issue is glory or honor, but deception is not mentioned explicitly.

195. This matter is discussed above in §§1.3 and 1.4.

> Irrational anger was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory.[196]

All of this, although presenting a range of views, does not seem to show a great deal of conceptual development. The patterns already recognizable in the fifth century continue, though sometimes they are embroidered by the import of new legendary material or changed by new and different emphases deriving from the context in which the patterns are used.

3.3 Satan, Deception by

A general statement is found that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and thus separated him from God; so Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C14.[197] This statement does not necessarily refer to the Edenic events, though the biblical narrative describes the serpent deceiving Eve and causing her to eat the fruit (Gen 3:1–6). Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł in the seventh century states that "the first sin was born of falsehood as in the days of Adam,"[198] though actually envy was the cause and deceit the means. Indeed, envy is the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers.

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 makes a similarly nonspecific statement that unrighteousness is caused by deception of the serpent.[199] In a hymn (*šarakan*), Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i in the same century refers to the deception of the tree and seduction of the serpent in a general way.[200] The thirteenth-century poet Frik says that Adam was deceived by a traitor, so it emerges that Satan is called "traitor."[201] Sargis Šnorhali C12 simply assumes that Satan deceived Adam.[202] Vardan Arewelc‘i asserts in even less-specific terms that Satan fraudulently deceived humans,[203] again substantially identifying Satan and the serpent.

All these statements and some others are based on the commonplace that Satan deceived Adam. Xosrow Anjewac‘i C10 says that the serpent deceived Eve and "raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods."[204] In the seventeenth century, Anonymous Author 8 reads, "The serpent deceived Eve, Adam," introducing Eve's name.[205] Eve also features in a passage from Vardan Arewelc‘i

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196. Vardan Arewelc‘i 19. "First serpent" comes from Rev 12:9 where Arm has օձ առաջին (*ōj aṙaǰin*), where the English translation is "ancient serpent".

197. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 17.

198. Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł 1.

199. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

200. Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i 1.

201. Frik 6. This is the word աւաճանիւ and not the term մատնիչ mentioned as Arm 1 biblical translation of διάβολος; see §1.3 above.

202. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

203. Vardan Arewelc‘i 33.

204. Xosrow Anjewac‘i 1.

205. Anonymous Author 8 1. Similar is Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2.

C13.[206] A *kafa* on the *Alexander Romance* by Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16 highlights the relationship between the serpent and Eve,[207] while Aṙak‘el Davrižec‘i C17 speaks of "Eve's serpent."[208] The same idea is to be found in Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16.[209] In that century Nahapet K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i mentions those (plural) who deceived Eve, most likely Satan and the serpent.[210]

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 repeatedly speaks of the serpent, Satan's associate, who seduced Eve.[211] The serpent "ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life," and deceived Eve.[212] The serpent's wiliness and deception, already featured in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros's C10 reference to its pernicious words of deception[213] and Anania Sanahnec‘i's C11 statement that it insinuated itself into the Garden.[214] Grigor Narekac‘i C10 mentions the deception by Satan, rather than the serpent,[215] and Vardan Arewelc‘i C13's similar statement was referred to above. A similar falling together of Satan and the serpent, is to be observed when Xosrow Anjewac‘i C10 states that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was a maker of gods.[216] See §1.4.

In his *Commentary on Psalms*, Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 calls Satan a hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam.[217] The imagery of Satan as hunter and his deception as a net is determined by the verse being commented on, that is, Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3. It occurs nowhere else in the texts discussed here. The same idea, that Satan deceived the protoplasts through the desire to become God, is to be found in Grigor Daranałc‘i C17[218] and his contemporary Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i, when they say that Satan sowed pride in Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become god.[219]

"Because of the envy of the evil Devil, so that they were deceived by serpent," states Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14.[220] In this line, he makes the causal relationship between Satan's envy and the serpent's deception quite clear. The means by which Satan achieves this aim are made explicit in many sources. Thus, Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 in his *Poem on St. George* differentiates the roles of Satan and

206. Vardan Arewelc‘i 19.
207. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4; cf. 2.
208. Aṙak‘el Daviržec‘i 1.
209. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3.
210. Nahapet K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i 1.
211. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14, 24. In excerpts 7 and 51, the serpent is said to be Satan. Again, the unclear relationship of the two figures is evident.
212. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 74.
213. Grigor Magistros 2.
214. Anania Sanahnec‘i 1.
215. Grigor Narekac‘i 17.
216. Xosrow Anjewac‘i 1.
217. Vardan Arewelc‘i 23.
218. Grigor Daranałc‘i 2.
219. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11.
220. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 4.

the serpent, and says that Satan took the serpent as a partner.[221] This differentiation, discussed above in §1.3, may well be dominant when Satan's primordial rebellion, the Lucifer myth, is invoked. However, when the stress is on the deception in the Garden, and particularly on the Edenic deception as the prototype of Satan's continued deceit of human beings, the roles of Satan and the serpent tend to fall together. In the passage of Kirakos quoted here, the focus is on the expulsion of Adam rather than on the deception of Eve.[222]

3.4 Punishment and Curses of Satan

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i states that God did not leave Satan unpunished, but punished him through the serpent, which is intelligent. There were four players in the Eden incident: Adam (reason), Eve (the senses), the serpent (desire), and Satan (the instigator of desire).[223] "The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by his tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue." These are the words of Sargis Šnorhali C12.[224] Why he should call the serpent "incorporeal" is unclear to me, nor is any detail given of Satan's punishment. This latter is generally reserved for the eschatological age, and frequently related to the harrowing of hell.

4.0 Curses of the Serpent

The great systematic thinker of the high Middle Ages Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i enumerates the curses of that came upon the serpent, as I set forth in chapter 4 §3.4. [225]

Concluding Remarks

It is intriguing that over more than a thousand years of literature, relatively little change took place in the understanding of Satan and the serpent. The High Middle Ages saw a certain elaboration of narrative incidents and the significance of the story's elements. Yet, in fact, there are no radical transformations of this fundamental story. It would be interesting to see how other biblically derived traditions, Jewish and Christian, treat the same features over a millennium. The richness of the Armenian narrative tradition would be enhanced here were it to be combined with their artistic tradition. That, however, would be another trail to follow, and this one has been long enough.

221. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 1.

222. Another functional differentiation is present when T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16 states that Satan deceived Adam but the serpent spoke with Eve; see excerpt 3.

223. Grigor Tat‘ewaci 51.

224. Sargis Šnorhali 6.

225. Grigor Tat‘ewaci 2.

PART II

Texts and Translations

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Fifth Century

Agat‘angełos C5

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians, English translation by Robert W. Thomson* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1976).

See also: Robert W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory: The Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Versions of the History, Attributed to Agathangelos* (Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2010). Thomson's translation has been changed somewhat in sections 1, 2, 3 as noted.

Յառաջաբան Ագաթանգեղեայ պատմութեան
Prologue to the *History* of Agat‘angełos

1 §9 Նոքա կեանք եւ փրկութիւն այնոցիկ որ մեղօքն են աղքատացեալ. նոքա են մեծութեան գանձ ծածկեալ յերկրի երկնաւոր Արքային. նոքա հաւատովք իւրեանց խնդացուցանեն եւ ուրախ առնեն զայնոսիկ, ոյք յԱստուծոյ մեծացեալ գանձնեն. նոքա զմերկս զգեցուցանեն, եւ զայնոսիկ, որք մեղօքն են մերկացեալ ըստ նմանութեանն Ադամայ՝ լուսաւոր պատմուճանօք զգեցուցանեն. նոքա եւ զքաղցեալս յագեցուցանեն, որք անգիտութեան մեղօքն իցեն սովեալք. նոքա եւ զծարաւիս արբուցանեն առաքինութեան բաժակաւն. նոքա եւ զգանձն երկնաւոր յաւելուն տան այնոցիկ որ առաւելագոյն ունիցին:

They are life and salvation for those who have become impoverished by sin, they are a great treasure[1] of the heavenly king hidden in the earth.[2] They rejoice and make happy by their faith those who, enriched by God, lay them up.[3] They clothe the naked and those who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam, they dress in luminous garments. They satisfy the hungry, who

1. Literally: a treasure of greatness.
2. Matt 13:44.
3. This evokes Matt 6:20.

are starved by their ignorant sins. They give drink to the thirsty from[4] the cup of virtue. They increase heavenly treasure for those who have more.[5]

Վարք եւ պատմութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի
Life and History of Saint Gregory

2 §75 Արդ եւ մինչդեռ կայր նա կախեալ՝ սկսաւ խօսել ի կախաղանի այսպէս. «Գոհանամ զքէն, Տէր, որ արժանի արարեր զանարժանութիւնս իմ քոյոյ պարգեւիդ. զի ի սկզբանէ իսկ սիրեցեր զստեղծուածս ձեռաց քոց, եւ ետուր զփափկութիւն անաշխատ հանգստեան դրախտին վայելչութեան. անմահս, անցաւս, անանց կենաց վիճակացն ուրախութեան պատրաստեցեր՝ եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանին, զոր եդեր ի ծառոյն չճաշակելոյ. զի ասացեր, թէ «Մի՛ ուտիցէք յայդմ ծառոյ, զոր պատուիրեցի չուտել ի դմանէ». իբրեւ ոչ թէ ծառն անուանեալ կենաց՝ կարէր տալ կենդանութիւն առանց քոյոյ բանիդ հրամանի կամացդ բարերարութեան, որ է կամք քո եւ բանդ եւ բարերարութիւնդ՝ միածին Որդիդ, ծնունդ աստուածութեան քո. եւ Հոգիդ սուրբ, որ ի քէն բղխէ լնու զամենայն տիեզերս, որ է ընդ քեզ եւ ընդ միածնիդ յէութեանդ քում:

While[6] he was hanging he began to speak on the gibbet as follows: “I praise you, Lord, who made my unworthiness[7] worthy of your gift. For from the beginning, indeed, you have loved the creations of your hands, and you gave (us) the delight of untroubled repose in the garden of delight. You indeed prepared us immortal and free of pain, and pleasure of enjoyment of Paradise’s labor-less rest for the joyful portion of life that passes not away. Had we remained steadfast in the commandment which you gave not to eat from the tree, for you said: ‘Do not eat of that tree from which I have commanded you not to eat.’”[8] Not that the tree, called (the tree) of life, could give life without the command of your benevolent will’s Word, who is your Will and your Word, and your benevolence and your Only-begotten son, the offspring of your Godhead, and your holy Spirit who proceeds[9] from you (and) fills all the universe, who is with you and with your Only-begotten in your being.

3 §76 «Զի եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ քում, Տէր, եւ պահեալ եր զպատուիրանս, զոր եդեր վասն լաւութեան հանդիսի փորձութեան մերոյ՝ շնորհեալ լինէր քո մեզ զկեանս անցաւս, անաշխատս,

4. Or: with.
5. Cf. Matt 25:29.
6. Or: now also while.
7. Or: unworthy me.
8. Gen 2:17; 3:11.
9. Or: springs.

անբիծս, անհոգս, անտրտումս, առանց ծերանալոյ: Եւ յետ սերելոյն եւ բազմանալոյն, որ պատուիրեցեր կեալ մարմնաւորապէս, անամօթ փառօքն զգեցեալ իբրեւ հանդերձիւ ի դրախտին քում, յոր եդեր զմեզ, եւ յետ այնորիկ, որպէս յետ սրբութեան ամուսնութեան եւ որդի ծնանելոյ Ենովքայ, վերացուցեր զնա ի կարգս հրեշտակաց յուրախութեան վիճակն անմահութեան. արդ՝ եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ ի քում հրամանի՝ ցուցեր դու մեզ օրինակ զԵնովք, զի եւ զմեզ յետ ի դրախտին վայելից եւ յետ երկրաւոր կարգացս՝ յանմահութիւն փոխեալ լինէր քո զմեզ իբրեւ զԵնովք ի կարգս հրեշտակաց. եւ միահաղոյն ածեալ լինէր զարքայութիւն քո, զոր պատրաստեցեր կանխաւ ի փառս մեր՝ մինչ չեւ էր աշխարհ. զի «Զոր ակն ոչ ետես եւ ունկն ոչ լուաւ եւ ի սիրտ մարդոյ ոչ անկաւ պատրաստեցեր դու սիրելեաց քոց» յառաջագոյն, զոր տացես, դու Տէր, այնոցիկ որ սիրեցին զօր երեւելոյ գալստեան Միածնիդ քո:

“For if we had remained steadfast in your commandment, Lord, and we[10] had kept this command which you imposed for the sake of testing us to exhibit goodness, you would have granted us life without pain, without labor, without blemish, without care, without sadness, without ageing. And after reproducing and multiplying, you commanded us to live bodily,[11] being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us. Thereafter, as after the sacrament of marriage and Enoch’s begetting a son, you raised him to the ranks of the angels, to the lot of immortal joy.[12] Now, if we had observed the injunction of your commandment, you would have shown us forth like Enoch. For after the pleasures of Paradise and after this earthly course (of life)[13] you would have transferred us like Enoch to the ranks of the angels and your kingdom would have been brought in all at once, which you prepared aforetime for our glory before the world existed. For “that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has fallen into the heart of man, you have prepared for those who loved you”[14] previously, which you will give, Lord, to those who have loved the day of the appearance of the coming for[15] your Only-begotten.

4 §77 «Իսկ արդ՝ իբրեւ ետես թշնամին զմեզ պատուեալս ի մարդասիրութենէ կամարար կամաց քոց՝ նախանձեալ ընդ պատիւ թագի պարծանաց մերոց, պատուին քո որ տուաւ ի քէն, զի ասացեր, եթէ «Ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց իմոց արարի ես զմարդն, եւ կացուցի զնա Տէր ամենայնի». որ առ նախանձ

10. Or: this commandment had been observed.
11. Cf. Gen 1:28.
12. Cf. Gen 5:22, 24.
13. Or: “these earthly ranks (կարգ),” the same word as in “ranks of the angels.”
14. 1 Cor 2:9.
15. Or: of.

թշնամւոյն բանսարկուի՝ հրապոյրք ցոփացուցիչք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ արկին զմարդիկ ի կենաց եւ ի հանգստեանց, զոր դու առ քում բարերարութեանդ շնորհեցեր մարդկան, որ կորուսին զայն:

"But now when the enemy saw us being honored by the benevolence of your will,[16] he was jealous of the honor of the crown of our boasting,[17] of the honor given by you in that you said 'I have made man in the likeness of the image of our[18] form and I have set him up as lord of all'.[19] At the jealousy of the slandering[20] enemy the charms of debauchery[21] entered the world and cast men from life and repose,[22] which you in your mercy[23] had granted mankind who lost them.

5 §141 Իսկ իբրեւ տեսին առաքինիքն զզաղտաձիգ նետս թշնամւոյն, որ ի ծածուկն սովոր էր ձգել ի սուրբսն քրիստոսասէրսն, աման չարի գտեալ զթագաւորն. որպէս ի դրախտի անդ զօձն անդրուվար արարեալ. առ ի պատուիրանն մոռանալոյ, մտեալ յանզգամ յունկն կնոջն առաջնոյ. սոյնպէս եւ աստ զթագաւորն անաւրէն իբրեւ զվահանակ երեսաց գտեալ՝ նովաւ մարտուցեալ ընդ աստուածաշէն եկեղեցիս:

"But when the pious women saw the hidden arrows of the enemy,[24] who is accustomed to shoot secretly at the saints who love Christ, they found the emperor (had become) a vessel of evil,[25] and that just as in the Garden he had used the snake as a vehicle for causing the[26] forgetting of the commandment, entering[27] into the ear of the first woman,[28] so here too he had used the lawless emperor as a mask, through which he could fight with the church built by God.

6 §144 «Տէր տերանց, Աստուած աստուծոց, Աստուած յաւիտենական, Աստուած երկնից, Աստուած անճառ լուսոյ, որ հաստատեցեր զամենայն բանիւ քով. որ արարեր զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն

16. Literally: will-doing (i.e., complaisant) will.
17. 1 Thess 2:19.
18. Literally: my.
19. Gen 1:27; Ps 8:6 = Arm 8:7.
20. Or: Deceiver, Slanderer = διάβολος, Devil. The word is translated "Devil" in our own translations, throughout.
21. Cf. 2 Macc 6:21.
22. Cf. Wis 2:24.
23. Or: beneficence.
24. Eph 6:6.
25. Cf. Jer 51:34.
26. Alternatively: used the snake a yoked pair (i.e., with himself).
27. Or: entering unfelt.
28. Cf. Gen 3.

զարդ նոցա. որ ստեղծեր զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զիմաստուն կացուցեր եւ բազմացուցեր զնա ի վերայ երկրի, եւ օգնական եղեր նոցա ի դարս իւրաքանչիւր՝ որ յուսացան ի քեզ:

"Lord of lords, God of gods, God eternal, God of heaven, God of ineffable light, who established everything by your word, who made heaven and earth and all their order,[29] who fashioned man (as) dust from the earth[30] and rendered him wise[31] and made him increase upon the earth[32] and were helpful to those who[33] hoped in you[34] in each one's age."

Agatʻangełos, ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԵՒ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ Ս. ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ History and Teaching of St. Gregory

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A facsimile reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*: *Revised Edition, Translation, commentary, and introduction* by Robert W. Thomson (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1; New Rochelle, N.Y.: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001).[35]

7 §259 Տէր Աստուած, որ նա միայն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ոչ ոք յառաջ քան զնա. չիք ոք այլ Արարիչ ամենայնի՝ որ երեւի եւ որ ոչն երեւի. բայց Որդին միածին որ ի Հօրէ ծնեալ, եւ Հոգի նորուն որ ի նորին յէութենէ. որով եղեւ աշխարհս ի սկզբանց անդ, արարեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն միով զօրութեամբ կամացն ամենազօրաց, միախորհ, միակամ, միաբուն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ամենայն ի նմանէ եղեալ, երկինք եւ երկիր: Արարեալ զերկինս խորանարդ հաստայարկ, եւ զերկիր թանձրահատակ աղխեալ սեղմեալ. եւ զերկինս կախեալ զոչնչէ, եւ զերկիրս ի վերայ ոչնչի կացուցեալ, եւ ի նմին զանդունդս

29. See Arm Gen 2:1, following the Greek translation.

30. Cf. Gen 2:1, 7.

31. Alternatively: established the discerning one.

32. Cf. Gen 1.28.

33. Alternatively: in each age who.

34. Cf. Exod 15:2.

35. We give Thomson's translation exactly, except for relegating biblical references to the footnotes. Readings marked "MES" are my suggested alternative translations. Only when I definitely prefer my own formulation for a substantial sequence of text do I replace Professor Thomson's. These instances are marked by putting my translation into italics. Nearly all these differences are questions of degrees of literalness.

համատարածս խաւարազգածս աներեւոյթս անկազմս անարարս եւ անյարդարս, անպատրաստս ստուերամածս։

The Lord God is unique in essence, and there is no one before Him. There is no other creator of all that is visible and invisible, except the only-begotten Son who is born from the Father, and the Spirit of the same who is from the being of the same; by whom was made this world in the beginning,[36] created by the single power of almighty will, one essence of united thought, will, and nature of the consubstantial Trinity; and everything was made by Him, heaven and earth. He made the heaven domed and solidly vaulted, and the earth firm, enclosed and compact; and heaven He suspended in the void, and the earth He set above the void, and in the void the vast abyss, dark, invisible, unordered, formless and shapeless, diffuse and shadowy.[37]

8 §260 Եւ անդէն իսկ ընդ ասելն Հօրն արարչութեան ցարարչակից Որդին եւ ցհամագործ Հոգին որ ի վերայ ջուրցն շրջէր, անդ ի ներքոյ / ջուրցն հրամայեաց լինել կազմածոյն յօրինուածոց արարածոց։ Ասացեալ ի Հօրէ առ խորհրդակալսն խորհրդակատարսն համագործսն՝ լինել լոյս, եւ անդէն եղեալ լոյսն համասփիւռ՝ խաւարակուլ օրաբեր։ Եւ յետ այսորիկ հաստատութիւն ջրամած սառնեղէն ծովահերձ ջրաբաժին։ Եւ յետ այսորիկ ասացեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն զօրութեան՝ լինել լուսաւորացդ առ ի ջրեղէն խորանանման հաստատութեան երկնին ճառագայթաձիգք, աշխարհազունդք, նշանացոյցք, ժամանակաչափք. եւ ապա զազգն շնչակեաց թռչնոց եւ զեռնոց եւ ջրածին կայտառաց։

And then with his creative word to the co-creator Son and co-worker Spirit,[38] who moved over the waters,[39] the Father[40] commanded to come into being below the waters the orderly ranks of creatures. The Father said to his co-workers, who share and carry out his counsel, that there should be light;[41] and then was created the light, ubiquitous, darkness-swallowing, day-bringing.[42] And after this [was created] the firmament,[43] covered with water, icy, dividing the seas, separating the waters, from which appeared the dry land, mother of all, fertile in flowers and plants. After this the power of the consubstantial Trinity said that there should be luminaries in the watery, domed

36. Gen 1:1.

37. Gen 1:2.

38. MES: indeed, at the speech of the creative Father to the co-creative Son and to the co-worker Spirit.

39. Gen 1:2.

40. MES: then he.

41. Gen 1:3.

42. MES: sharers of his counsel and its execution, for light to come into being, and immediately the diffused light came into being, darkness-devouring, and day-bearing.

43. Gen 1:7.

firmament of heaven, as lamps, globes, markers, time-measurers.[44] Then [He created] the race of breathing birds and reptiles and lively fish.[45]

9 §261 Յետոյ բղխեալ եռացեալ յերկրէ ամենայն չորքոտանեաց ազգ, իւրաքանչիւր ըստ իւրում կարգի, վայելելիս հաստատեալ յառաջակամ պատրաստութեամբ կամացն աստուածութեան առ ի պատիւ մարդոյն։ Որ զվայելչականն հանդերձեալ առնել Արարչին, որ կամարար կամացն առեալ անդէն զբարերարութիւն իւր ցուցանել, առնել զբանաւոր զիմաստուն զխօսուն արարածն, ի մէջ անխօս անբան անիմաստ արարածոցն։ Զի իմաստունն գիտասցէ զպատիւ Արարչին. իմացեալ զԱրարչին սքանչելութեան շնորհս փառաւորութեան՝ գիտասցէ դարձուցանել ի նմանէ զփառաւորութիւն փոխարէն. եւ ընդ նմին եւ ի ձեռն նորին՝ ամենայն արարածք երեւեալ գործքն մատուսցեն զփառաւորութիւն։

Afterwards sprang up[46] from the earth all the four-footed kind, each in its own order,[47] wonderfully established as enjoyments by the spontaneous readiness of the will of the Godhead for the honour of man, who was destined to perform what was enjoyable (fitting) for the Creator. Whose willing will, having desired to show His beneficence all at once, made the rational, discerning, speaking creature among the dumb, irrational, undiscerning creatures. So that the discerning one might come to know the honour of the Creator, apprehending the wondrous grace of the Creator's glorification, he might learn thereby to give back in return glorification and with him and through him, all visible created works might offer glorification.

10 §262 Իսկ ի մէջ աներեւութիցն արարեալ աներեւոյթ փառաւորիչս - զօրս հրեշտակաց հոգեղէնս, հրեղէնս, բազմութիւնք զուարթնոց։ Սոքա յօդս վերինս բնակեալ են, ի վերայ հաստատութեան ջրայարկի. իսկ մարդկանս ի ներքոյ, ի հողեղէն բնակութեան երկրիս, տուան վիճակք։ Զի Աստուծոյ բարերարի զամենայն արարեալ, կարգս լինելութեան հաստատեալ. իսկ չարն յանձնիշխան կամաց մտեալ՝ կործանէ զիւրաքանչիւր ոք առանձինն. այլ յԱրարչէն բարի եղեալ ամենայնն խաստատեցաւ։

In the midst of the invisible creatures, He created the invisible glorifiers—the hosts of angels, spiritual and fiery; multitudes of watchers. These dwell

44. Gen 1:4.

45. Gen 1:20–21. MES: for there to come into being on the watery, tent-like (Ps 104:2 = Arm 103:2) firmament of the heaven, radiant ones, orbs, showers of signs and measurers of time; and then the genus of air-breathing birds, crawling creatures and water-born living beings.

46. MES: sprang up and bubbled up.

47. MES: rank; see Gen 1:24.

in the upper air[48] above the water-covered firmament. But to us men has been given a place[49] below, in the terrestrial dwelling place of this earth. For benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks of created being. But the Evil One entering by means of autonomous will, destroys each individual separately, but everything was established by the Creator, having come into being as good.

11 §263 Որ յառնելն զմարդն՝ սքանչելագոյն կարգաւ զիշխանն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, եւ անդ է տեսանել սքանչելիս եւ զարմանալիս եւ անհաասական հրեշտակակերպս: «Արասցուք, ասէ, մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան»: Իսկ արդ՝ ըստ որո՞ւմ պատկերի արդեօք ասիցէ, եւ կամ ըստ որո՞ւմ նմանութեան զմարդն առնել. քանզի անեղծական, անստեղծական, աննարրական, իսկական աստուածութիւնն ճանաչի: Ո՞րպէս լինելոցն արդեօք էականին հանգոյն առնոյր լինել, կամ հողն սակաւիկ՝ ինքնաբուն զօրութեանն Աստուծոյ. որ եւ անտեղեօք եւ անչափակալ վայրօքն, անսկզբնական լիութիւնն անմատոյց յումեքէ ունի մշտընջենաւոր նոյն պարզական եւ անշարժական միապէս:

He who, in the making of man, presented him in a most wonderful rank as the ruler, and there one can see wonders and marvels, and incomprehensible angelic forms. “Let us make,” He said, “man according to our image and likeness.” According to whose image then, does He mean, or according to whose likeness,[50] that He would make man? For the essential Deity is known to be incorruptible, uncreated, and immaterial. How could what was to be created take on similarity to the truly existent; or the dust, in some little respect, (be like) to the real hypostasis of God? God is neither limited by space nor finite in extent but has fullness without beginning and is inaccessible to anyone, eternally the same, simple and unmoving without distinction.

12 §264 Իսկ արդ՝ ո՞րպէս ստեղծականին զինքն օրինակ դնիցէ, եւ կամ զկաւն դրօշեալ՝ Աստուծոյ պատկերաւն ձեւիցէ. զոր եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա»: Նախ ասաց բանս յառաջասաց պատմութեան հանդերձելոցն, ապա անց յառաջակայսն, եւ ի լինելոցսն նշմարեցուցանէ: Եւ են որ անդէն իսկ մօտալուտ առաջոյ՝ ի նոյն ի նմին ժամանակի դէմ յանդիման ցուցանէ. զի տէր ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա: Մի՝ վասն իմաստութեան, բանաւորութեան, խելամտութեան, կենդանութեան, հոգեւոր շնչոյն, զոր շնորհնեաց առաւելութիւն՝ գիտել ճանաչել իմանալ եւ ի միտ առնուլ զամենայն շնորհաց զաստուածակիր զաստուածատուր

48. MES: atmosphere.

49. MES: were given allotments.

50. Gen 1:26.

իմաստութիւնն եւ զբանաւորութիւնն, զաստուածածանօթութիւնն եւ զպետութիւնն, եւ իշխել ի վերայ ամենայն երկրաբուղխ երկրածին ստեղծուածոցն, եւ զգիտութիւն յառաջգիտութեանն, եւ կացոյց զնա տէր ամենայնի: Եւ ասաց Աստուած, թէ «Ամենայն քաղցրաբուղխ սերմանիք երկրի՝ ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր»: Եւ ապա զամենայն գազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս ածեալ առաջի մարդոյն հնազանդէր: Իսկ ապա աստուածակիր իմաստութեամբն խելամտեալ՝ ճանաչել ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ըստ առանձնային կերպարանաց զանունն նշմարեցուցանել. զի զգիտութիւն Տեառն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորա գիտութեամբ զնորա արարածս ճանաչել՝ նորա նման անուանեցաւ:

So how could He set himself as a model for the created, or sculpt and form clay in the image of God, according to the saying: "In the image of God He created him"?[51] He spoke in advance words of the predicted history of the future events, then He turned to the present things and he indicates what is going to happen. And by indicating present things, He thereby shows the future. And there are those things which at once, indeed, imminently present, in that self-same time he demonstrates openly, for the Lord made him according to the image of God. First, because of discernment, rationality, intelligence, vitality, spiritual breath, which He bestowed as an advantage, to know, realise, discern, and consider all the God-bearing, God-given wisdom of grace and rationality, recognition of God and leadership, and his ruling over all things sprouting from the earth and born of the earth, and knowledge of prescience. And He established him as lord of all; and God said: "All the sweet seeds of the earth will be food for you."[52] And then, all the wild beasts and animals and birds He led before the man[53] and subjected them (to him). Then, gaining understanding by means of his God-bearing discernment, he recognised each one according to its individual form and indicated its name. So, bringing forward knowledge of the Lord and by means of this knowledge recognising His creatures, he was called "like" Him.

13 §265. Եւ մի՝ վասն այսորիկ ասէ նման, վասն անձնիշխանական կամացն իշխանութեան: Զի յԱստուծոյ յամենազործութեանն եւ ամենարարութեանն երկու արարածք պատուականք եւ արգոյք՝ եղեալք ի բարերարէն հաստատեցան, մարդիկ եւ հրեշտակք: Արդ՝ զմարդիկ թողեալ ի կամս անձնիշխան կամաց, վասն զի՝ իւրովք կամօք անձնիշխանութեանն գիտասցէ ընդ բարեացն գործոց՝ շնորհս գտանել ի բարերար Տեառնէն եւ յԱրարչէն. եւ եղեալ առաջի նորա զգիտութիւն պատուիրանաց հաճոյիցն Աստուծոյ, զի գիտասցէ խոյս տալ ի չարէն, եւ զբարին ընտրել իւրոց կամացն լաւութեամբ,

51. Gen 1:27.

52. Gen 1:29.

53. Gen 2:19.

իբրեւ յինքեան քաջութենէ, իւրով անձնիշխան կամօք՝ յԱրարչէ անտի զիւրոց վաստակոց առեալ զփոխարէնս պատուեսցէ:

And for another thing, He says “like” because of his authority of independent[54] will. For in the omnipotence and all-creativeness of God two honourable and precious creatures came into being and were established by the benevolent one—humans and angels. Now, He left man to the willing of his autonomous will, so that by the autonomy of his own will he might learn to find grace from the beneficent Lord and Creator in return for his good deeds. And He placed before him the knowledge of the commandments pleasing to God, that he might know to take flight from evil and to choose the good by the probity of his will, as by his own virtue, through his independent will; and that receiving from the Creator the reward for his labours, he might honour Him.

14 §266 Իսկ վասն նմանութեանն իմանալի է այսպէս. զի ամենայն արարածք ընդ հնազանդութեամբ ծառայութեան են հարկեալք. զի մի այլ աւելիս ինչ իշխեսցեն գործել քան զայն, որչափ՝ ինչ նոցայն հրամայեցաւ՝ հարկք եղան ի վերայ իւրաքանչիւր՝ կատարել զհրամանս: Բայց Աստուած զմարդն միայն բազմապատիկ փառաւորեաց եւ մտօք մեծացոյց, հոգեխառն հրեշտակակիցս խոնարհագոյնս արար:

But, concerning “likeness” it is to be understood thus, that all creatures are obligated under the obedience of servitude, so that they are not[55] able to effect anything more than as much as has been commanded them, each being placed in the necessity[56] to fulfil the commands. But God honoured mankind alone manyfold, and enriched them with a mind, and made him,[57] a more humble companion to the angels.[58]

15 §267 Տես զարեգակն եւ զլուսին եւ զաստեղս՝ մեծամեծս ո՞րչափ քան զմարդն իցեն, եւ նորա կամացն կան, հարկեալք ընդ հրամանաւ պատուիրանագրին: Ոչ արեգակն յընթացից դադարէ, եւ ոչ լուսին կասէ ի մաշել եւ լնուլ, ոչ աստեղք զկարգօք իւրեանց անցանեն, եւ ոչ լերինք եւտեղափոխ լինին. ոչ օդք ի շնչելոյ դադարեն, եւ ոչ ծով ի սահանս ծփանաց անդնդային մոլեգին ալ՝եացն խռովելոց յուզելոցն սաստկութեամբ անդադար կուտակելոցն՝ զեղեալ սահմանն ոչ կարացեալ անցանել եւ ապականել զերկիր. եւ ոչ երկիր բառնալ կրել դանդաղի զամենայն: Որոյ հրամանաւ յօրինեալ է ամենայն, որոյ

54. MES: autonomous.

55. MES: might not be.

56. MES: obligation was placed upon each one.

57. MES: him a partly spiritual, i.e., հոգեխառն in Armenian, “with spirit mixed in.” Compare the language of the Psalm

58. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6 cited in Heb 2:7.

սուրբ եւ երկնաւոր զուարթունքն կան յանդադար փառաբանութեան: Որ արար զբարձրութիւն երկնից եւ զթիւ աստեղաց, զջուրս ծովու եւ զաւազ երկրի, զկշիռս լերանց: Որ հանէ զամպս եւ արգելու զհողմս, եւ դարձուցանէ զերեկ, եւ դալարեցուցանէ զչոր զօսացեալս, եւ ժողովէ զանձրեւաշիթս: Վասն որոյ մարգարէութեան հոգին պատմէ, թէ «Ո՞ չափեաց ափով իւրով զջուրս ամենայն, եւ թզաւ զերկինս, եւ զերկիր ամենայն քլաւ իւրով. ո՞վ եդ զլերինս ի կշիռս, եւ զդաշտս կշռորդօք եբարձ:» Ո՞ր իցէ տեղին, որ զնա բարձեալ ունիցի, որոյ բանիւ արարածք ամենայն կախեալ կան: Որ գիտէ զանցս գնացից երկնաւոր գնտոցն, որ ի վերայ օդոց շրջին, եւ ոչ թիւրին. տարածին, եւ ոչ ըստ արտուղի անկանին. ելանեն եւ մնան վարձկանք պարտաւորք տարւոյ. կասեն՝ արծարծին ի տունջենէ՝ ի գիշեր եւ ի գիշերոյ ի տիւ. փոխարէնս արկեալ միմեանց ոխարինին՝ աննախանձ տան, անարգել դարձուցանեն ի չափ ժամանակաց, ի չորս որոշմունս փոփոխել տարւոյն, որպէս եւ Աստուած կարգեաց:

See the sun and moon and stars! So much greater than man are they, yet they stand under His will, constrained by the requirement of the command.[59] The sun does not linger on[60] its course, nor does the moon cease to wane and wax; the stars do not overstep their courses, nor do the mountains change their place. The winds do not cease to blow, nor is the sea, in its confines of deep and furious swells, in its violence of raging and turbulent waves continually amassed, able to pass its allotted boundary and destroy the earth, nor does the earth cease to support and carry all. By his command is all arranged;[61] his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising. He made the height of the heavens and the number of the stars, the waters of the sea and the sand of the earth, the balance of the mountains. He draws along[62] the clouds and restrains the winds, and brings back the evening, and makes green the dried-up grass, and gathers the raindrops.[63] Concerning Him the spirit of prophecy relates: "Who measured with his palm all the waters, and with his span the heavens, and all the earth with his fingers? Who placed the hills in a scale and weighed the plains with measures?"[64] Which is the place that holds up Him[65] by whose word all creatures are suspended? He knows the paths of the courses of the heavenly spheres, which circle above the air and are not deflected, which spread out and do not go astray. They come and

59. MES: command of the instruction.

60. MES: cease from.

61. MES: fashioned. On such lists see Stone 1976. The sources are complex, but, inter alia, 4 Ezra is quoted here. See Stone 1979, verse 5:36D.

62. MES: who brings forth.

63. *4 Ezra* 5:36

64. Isa 40:12.

65. MES: contains Him.

stay as labourers hired for a year, they cease[66] and are relit from day to evening and from evening to day, giving reward, they recompense one another, they give ungrudgingly, freely returning to the measure of their times, to change at the four seasons of the year, just as God arranged.

16 §270 Երկինք եւ երկիր, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ բազմութիւնք աստեղաց, եւ ծովք, գետք, գազան եւ անասուն, սողուն եւ թռչուն, ձկունք լուղականք, լեալք, լինելոցք՝ զիւրաքանչիւր կարգեալսն ըստ իւրաքանչիւր հրամանացն մատուցանեն: Բայց միայն մարդոյն անձնիշխան թողան կամքն՝ զինչ եւ կամեսցի. եւ այլ աւելի ինչ ոչ բռնադատեցաւ քան զայն որ ազդեալ ասացաւ - չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի. զի այնու արժանի արասցէ զնա փոխանակ ընդ փոքուն մեծամեծս ընդունել. վասն իւր շնորհ ունելոյն վաստակոց լիցի առնուլ նմա յԱրարչէն զփոքունց փոխարէն զմեծամեծ շնորհսն: Վասն այնորիկ եւ զանձնիշխան կամաց նմա հրամայեաց կամակար իշխանութիւն:

Heaven and earth, sun and moon and multitudes of stars, seas and rivers, beasts and animals, reptiles and birds, swimming fishes, created things and things to be created, each offer (to God) the things ordered for it according to the commandments for each of them. Only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills. And he has been constrained in nothing more than what was warned: not to eat of the tree,[67] that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things in return for lesser, and that by virtue of his having grace for his task, he might receive from the Creator, as recompense for lesser grace, greater grace. For this reason He commanded him to have the obedient power of autonomous will for him.

17 11 §271 Կամ ո՞րպէս մարդ հողաբեր՝ օրինակաւ Արարչին յաշխարհ գայցէ, առժամագիւտ մատուցականն անմատոյց էականին նմանութեամբ առնուցու լինել զլինելն: Քանզի անսահմանական եւ անվայրափակ եւ առանձնական զօրութեամբ, աստուածական անուամբն միայն արդեօք մեծարեաց՝ ըստ պատկերին ասելով. այն չէ ինչ ի դէպ: Քանզի ասէ Գիրն, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա». եւ այլուր ասէ, եթէ «Աստուած հաստատեաց զմարդն յանեղծութիւն, եւ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ բարերարութեանն արար զնա». եւ միւս եւս աստուածածանօթ իմաստութիւնն ասաց, թէ «Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ է»: Այլ անդէն ի սկզբանն կարգեաց Աստուած մարդոյն՝ մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ կերպարանաց Աստուծոյ լինել, քանզի ոչ ի հաստատելն միայն, այլ առաւել ի ծանօթն առնել փութայ: Քանզի նմանութեամբ մարդոյ երեւեալ Աստուծոյ ի ստեղծանել զմարդն հող յերկրէ, եւ փչեաց յերեսս նորա շունչ կենդանի, եւ եղեւ

66. MES: stop shining.

67. Gen 2:17.

մարդն յոգի կենդանի: Ստեղծեալ զմարդն ձեռօք իւրովք՝ եւ արկ ի նա զկենդանութիւն ի փչել բերանոյ իւրոյ զկենդանական շունչն իմաստակիր մտաւորութեան բանաւորութեան ազդեցութեան. զի անդէն զաչս բացեալ արարածոյն՝ զԱրարիչն ծանիցէ, եւ անդէն Աստուծոյ բարերարութեան արարչութեանն ընտանի ի մերձաւոր, զիտակ եւ պատմիչ լինիցի:

But how could man, sprung from the earth, come into the world in the image[68] of the Creator and, but recently found and accessible, receive his being through likeness to the inaccessible, essential[69] one? For in his unbounded, uncircumscribed, individual power, did He honour him alone with the divine name, by saying: "in the image"? That is not at all by accident, for the Scripture says: "In the image of God He created him"[70] and elsewhere says: "God established man in incorruptibility, and in His own image of benevolence He created him."[71] And another divinely acquainted wisdom said: "Man is the image of God."[72] In the very beginning God ordained that man should be close to God and aware of His form, for He was anxious not only to establish him, but even more to make him acquainted with Him. For God appeared in the likeness of a man in creating man as dust from the earth,[73] and He blew into his face living breath, and the man became as[74] a living spirit. He created man with his own hands and put in him life, by blowing with his mouth the life-giving breath of wise intelligence, rationality, and perception, that the creature, opening his eyes, might[75] recognise the Creator and thus become familiar with, and close to, and aware of, and a narrator of, the benevolent creative activity of God.

18 §272 Եւ թէ զիա՞րդ ամենայն արարածոց առեալ հրաման լինել յաննիւթոյ, ի չքաւոր յանկերպարան նւթոյ, որպէս ընդելական կերպարանացն եւ ձայնի հրամանացն՝ առանց յապաղանաց՝ ամենայն արարածք սպասաւորականք զհրամանսն կատարիցեն: Իսկ իսկական աստուածութիւնն ի ծածկութեանն ի վերոյ քան զտարրական նմանութիւնս եւ զձայնել զազդեցութիւնս, յիւրում յառանձնական յէութեանն զիւրն ունի: Այլ վասն երեւելի արարածոցս առեալ նմանութիւն, վասն ժուժկալութեան արարածոցս խոնարհեցի: Զի թէ ոչ այնպէս էր, ոչ ոք էր որ տեսլեանն բնութեան կամ ինքեան ձայնին

68. MES: through a copy.
69. MES: increate.
70. Gen 1:27.
71. Wis 2:23.
72. 1 Cor 11:7.
73. Gen 2:7.
74. MES: omit "as."
75. MES add: all at once.

բարբառոյ ժուժալ կարէր. այլ որպէս զի կարասցեն զնա տեսանել՝ վասն այսորիկ առեալ նմանութիւն երեւելի, բարբառոյ ազդեցութիւն:

And how could all created things receive a command to come in to being from immaterial, undifferentiated, formless matter; and as if familiar with the form and the sound of the commands, without delay all ministering creatures fulfil the commands? The essential Deity in secret, superior to material likenesses or to voicing aloud his warnings, in his own individual being has his own [existence].[76] But he took on a likeness for the sake of these visible creatures, to humble Himself for the strengthening of the creatures. If He had not done so, there would have been no-one who could endure the vision of his nature or the sound of his voice. But that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and [gave] warning with a voice.[77]

19 §273 Արդ՝ եղեալ մարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ, հանդերձ ազատութեամբ, իմաստութեամբ, բանաւորութեամբ եւ իշխանական պատուով ըստ ազդեցութեան արաչութեանն, ոչ եթէ ըստ աստուածաբուն զօրութեանն, զոր միայն Միածինն ունի զնկարագիր էութեանն Հօր: Ապա ածեալ Աստուծոյ զամենայն արարածս արարչութեան իւրոյ առ Ադամ, տեսանել զինչ կոչեսցէ անուանս նոցա: Որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ զԱրարիչն անուն յառաջ քան զայն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ. զի նախ այն էր կարեւորագոյն: Քանզի եւ միածին որդին Աստուծոյ զայս ասէր առ Հայր , թէ «Այս են կամք իմ, զի ծանիցեն զքեզ միայն ճշմարիտ Աստուած»: Նա եւ ի հարկէ իսկ նախ զԱրարիչն անուանէր Ադամ, զի յորոյ երեւաց զկենդանութիւնն ընկալեալ էր՝ նախ քան զամենայն զնա ետես. քանզի եւ արարածք իսկ առ ի ծանօթ առնելոյ նմա զԱրարիչն հաստեցան:

Thus man was created in[78] the image of God, with freedom, wisdom, rationality, and independent[79] honour in accordance with the effect of creation, not according to the hypostasis[80] of the nature of God, which only the Only-begotten possesses as the express image of the being of the Father.[81] Then God led all creatures of his creation to Adam to see what he would call their names,[82] whereby it is clear that Adam knew the name of the Creator. For first this was necessary, because the only begotten Son of God said to the Father: "This is my will, that they should know you only to be the true

76. MES: holds that which is his.
77. MES: the power of expression.
78. MES: according to.
79. MES: princely.
80. MES: power.
81. Heb 1:3.
82. Gen 2:19.

God."[83] Likewise by necessity Adam first named the Creator, because from whose face he received life, Him he saw before all others; for the creatures were established to make known to him the Creator.

20 §274 Արդ՝ անուանէ զառաջի ածեալսն յանդիման Արարչին. եւ զկնի եկեալն յառաջագունիցն ծանօթական լինի, որոց ոչ միայն անուանելովն, այլ եւ իմաստութեամբ եւ իշխանութեամբ առ հասարակ տիրէ։ Ապա մինչդեռ միայն սկիզբն եւ կատար է ինքն միանգամայն, յամենայն արարածս ինքն ինքեան. միայն էր, եւ ոչ ոք զօրավիգն, եւ ոչ ընկեր ոք, եւ ոչ նման նմա։

So he gave names to the [animals] led up before him in the presence of the Creator and the one that came after was familiar from the preceding ones over which he had general dominion, not only by naming them, but also by wisdom[84] and power. While he was still alone he was at once first and last.[85] Amongst all creatures he was alone by himself, and there was no-one as his auxiliary, and no companion and no one similar to him.

21 §275 Արդ՝ Հօր արարչի խորհուրդ ի մէջ եղեալ ընդ արարչակից Որդւոյ եւ ընդ արարչակից Հոգւոյ, իբրեւ զխորհուրդն զառաջին նախաստեղծ մարդոյն. զի որպէս անդն ասաց, թէ «Եկայք արասցուք մարդ ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց մերոց», եւ անդէն ստեղծեալ Ադամ ի կենդանութիւն ի չգոյէն հաստատեցաւ՝ նոյն օրինակ եւ աստ ասացեալ Հօր առ Որդին եւ առ Հոգին, ասէ. «Եկայք արասցուք Ադամայ օգնական նման նմա, ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի իւրոյ եւ ըստ նմանութեան կերպարանաց իւրոց»։ Եւ անդէն արկեալ նմա քուն զարմանալի, եւ հանեալ ոսկր ի կողից նորա՝ եւ շինեաց զայն ի պատկեր կնոջ եւ կացոյց առաջի նորա։ Եւ անդէն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ աստուածազգեաց իմաստութեամբ, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց եւ մարմին ի մարմնոյ իմմէ. սա կոչեսցի կին, զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ». «Վասն այսորիկ թողցէ այր զհայր իւր եւ զմայր իւր, եւ յարեսցի ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքին ի մարմին մի»։

Then the Father creator took counsel with the Son fellow-creator and Spirit fellow-creator, like the previous counsel at the original creation of man,[86] as He then said: "Come, let us make man in[87] the likeness of the image of our form,"[88] and then Adam was created and established in life from non-existence. In the same fashion here also the Father said to the Son and to the Spirit: "Come, let us make for Adam a helpmate similar to him in the

83. John 6:40; 17:3.
84. MES: through discernment.
85. MES: both the beginning and the culmination (of creation).
86. MES: counsel concerning the protoplast.
87. MES: according to.
88. Gen 1:26.

likeness of his image and in the likeness of his form."[89] And then He put a marvellous sleep upon him, and taking a bone from his flank, fashioned it in the image of a woman and set her before him.[90] Then Adam knew[91] with his divinely endowed wisdom that: "This bone now is from my bone, and this flesh from my flesh; she will be called woman, because she was taken from her husband. For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother and will cleave to his wife, and they two will become one flesh."[92]

22 §276 Ո՞չ ապաքէն յանդիման Աստուծոյ ասիցէ զայս, անդ՝ ուր ամենայն զօրք հոգեղինացն զփառս Տեառն բարձրացուցանէին, եւ մարդն ի հանդիսի անցեալ: Եւ զոր ասէն՝ ամենահաս գիտութեամբ մարգարէանայ, եւ քնով գործեալն զարթնականին ի մէջ բերէ զգործն. զի որ յառնէն առեալ զիտաց՝ նա եւ զայր յերկրէ գիտէ, եւ զերկիր՝ յոչնչէ, եւ զԱստուած՝ էական: Եւ ասելովն, եթէ «թողեալ զհայր եւ զմայր եւ յարել ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքեան ի մարմին մի»՝ զբոլորովին կարգս աշխարհիս եւ զկատարած զամենայն գիտաց:

Would he not then say this in the presence of God, where all the spiritual hosts were raising the praises of the Lord, and the man was being displayed?[93] The saying prophesies with all-understanding knowledge, making explicit the deed performed by the ever-wakeful one while [Adam] slept. For she who was taken from the man knew, and he also knew, that the man is from the earth, and the earth from nothing, and that God alone is really existent.[94] And by saying: "He leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh," he knew all the orders of this world and all its fulfilment.

23 §277 (ԻԵ) Յետ այսորիկ առեալ Աստուծոյ՝ յԱդին դրախտին փափկութեան դնէր զմարդն. որում յայտ արարեալ ծառս երկուս, զմինն կենաց եւ զմինն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. որում եդեալ պատուիրան՝ չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի՝ մահու սպառնալեօք. զի Աստուծոյ պատուիրանապահութեամբն՝ զնախանձելի զաստուածատուր իմաստութիւն պահեալ, զաստուածական իշխանութիւնն պահպանութեամբ պատուիրանին յանտուչական փառս էականին ինքնակալ եղեալ վայելիցէ: Եւ որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք, եթէ զհրեշտակս եւ զմարդիկ յանձնիշխանութեան թողեալ, եւ զիւրաքանչիւր պատուէրս եդեալ ի վերայ, զի իւրաքանչիւր, յօժարութեամբ կամացն՝ լիցին Արարչին հրամանացն հնազանդեալ,

89. Gen 2:18.
90. Gen 2:21–22.
91. MES: realized.
92. Gen 2:23–24, Matt 19:5–6, and Mark 10:7–8.
93. MES: also passed muster.
94. MES: increate.

վասն որոյ եւ առաւել փառաց արժանի լիցին հասանել: Արդ՝ մարդոյն եղաւ փոքր պատուէր - ի ծառոյն չճաշակել. զի այնու ի մեծ պատիւ ձգեալ հասցէ, որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք: Իսկ զօրացն բազմութեան հրեշտակաց եղաւ պատուէր՝ կալ յանդադար փառաւորութեան իւրեանց Արարչին, ի մեծ պատիւ փառաց զնոսա բնակեցուցեալ, յաներեւոյթ մեծութեանն վերին երկնաւոր մշտնջենաւոր լուսոյն:

After this God took the man and set him in the delightful Garden of Eden;[95] to him He revealed two trees, one of life and the other of the knowledge of good and evil; He commanded him that he should not taste of the tree under threat of death.[96] For by keeping the command of God, preserving the enviable God-given wisdom, through the observance of the command, he would acquire and enjoy the divine power in[97] the inalienable glory of the existent one.[98] And as we said above, He left the angels and men with independence[99] and imposed commands on each, that they with ready will might become obedient to the commands of the Creator and thereby become worthy of attaining greater glory. Then a small command was placed on man—not to taste of the tree, that by this he might attain greater honour, as we said above. But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them[100] in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light.

24 §278 Արդ՝ ոմն ի վերին զօրացն իշխանութեանցն հրեշտակաց իբրեւ տեսանէր զխոստումն բարեացն բարերարութեան Արարչին որ առ մարդն, եւ մարդոյն կալ ի բանի Արարչին իւրոյ, եւ զգուշացեալ պահել զպատուիրանն՝ իւրովք կամօք չարացեալ չարն՝ չար անուանեցաւ. ուստի եւ զյետս երթալոյ զհակառակաւէրն զսատանայ անուն ժառանգեաց: Արդ՝ նախանձեալ չարին՝ արկանէ զմարդն ի մահ պատրանօք ի փառաց անտի. քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ իմաստունն, թէ «Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ», խաբէութեամբն ապականեալ:

However, one from the celestial hosts of powers of angels, when he saw the promise of good things made by the benevolence of the Creator to man, and that man was standing in[101] the word of his Creator, and that he was carefully keeping the commandment, by his own will the evil one worked evil, and was named evil; whence he inherited the name of Follower behind, Adver-

95. MES: delight; Gen 2:15.
96. Gen 2:17.
97. MES: having gained.
98. MES: increate One.
99. MES: autonomy.
100. MES: made them dwell.
101. I.e., observing.

sary, Satan.[102] Then the evil one in his jealousy threw[103] man from glory into death by deceit. For the sage says: “By jealousy of the devil death came into the world,”[104] bringing corruption by deceit.

25 §279 Արդ՝ եկեալ մատուցանէ զխաբէութիւն պատրանաց մարդոյն թշնամին: Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զոր ասէն. «Ընդէ՞ր, ասէ, պատուիրեաց ձեզ Աստուած չճաշակել ի ծառոյն». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ ունէր ազատութիւն Ադամ եւ անձնիշխան կամս եւ իմաստութիւն յԱստուծոյ. գիտելով զԱստուած՝ պատուիրանադիր եւ զԱդամ՝ պատուիրեալ. թերեւս յառաջ իսկ սա քան զպատուիրանն նենգութեամբ էր երեւեալ, եւ ամենագիտին չէր ի ծածուկ, քանզի քննիչ է սրտի եւ երիկամանց:

Then the enemy of man having come, introduced deceit of trickery; and you see what he (Scripture) says: “Why, says he, did God command you not to taste of the tree?”[105] Whereby it is clear that Adam had freedom and autonomous will and discernment from God, by knowing that God was the command-giver and Adam the commanded. Perhaps indeed this was revealed [to him] by treachery before the command [was given], yet it was not hidden from the Knower of all, for He is the searcher of hearts and reins.[106]

26 §280 Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զինչ ասէր. «Թէ ճաշակիցէք՝ ասէ, աստուածք լինիք»: Զպատճառսն եդ ի նոսա, եւ ի ներքոյ յինքն յիշխանութիւնն կորզել ջանայր. զի զնա վրիպեցուցեալ հանեալ ի խոստմանցն՝ թերեւս հնար լիցի նմա զնորա տեղին ժառանգել: Որպէս եւ առաքեալն Աստուծոյ, որ հմուտ եւ տեղեակն էր աստուածաբեր խորհրդոյն, քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Անօրէն իշխանն իբրեւ աստուածանալն կամեցաւ՝ ձեռն արկանէր եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր». զի իբրեւ զնոսա հանեալ յայնմ բարեաց՝ ապա նմա հնար լիցի զխոստացեալսն ըմբռնել: Իսկ նոքա վասն նորին պատճառանաց խաբեալք՝ ճաշակեցին, եւ անցեալ զպատուիրանաւն՝ յաստուածակերպ փառացն մերկացան»:

And thus you see what he said: “If you will taste, he says, you will become gods.”[107] He gave them the excuse and underneath tried to snatch them into his own power; for he misled him away from the promises,[108] that perchance he might be able to inherit his place.[109] Just as the Apostle of God, who was wise and versed in the divine mystery, also says: “The lawless prince, as he

102. Satan’s names are discussed in the appendix §1.3.
103. MES: by trickery cast.
104. Wis 2:24.
105. Gen 3:1. Satan is discussed in detail in the appendix.
106. Ps 7:9 = Arm 7:10, Jer 20:12.
107. Gen 3:5.
108. MES: having made him err, having brought him out of the promises.
109. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E, verse [44](16):3.

wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin,"[110] that when he had removed them from these blessings, then he might be able to seize what had been promised. But they, deceived because of his sophistry, tasted, and transgressing the commandment, were stripped of divinely-formed glory.

27 §281 Սակայն եւ անդ իբրեւ ի վերայ որդւոց հատուցելոց հայրաբար գթացեալ բարեգործէ. զոր եւ ասէ իսկ Գիրն, թէ «Լուան զձայն Տեառն Աստուծոյ, զի իջեալ զգնայր ի դրախտին ընդ երեկս աւուրն»: Եւ նոցա փախուցեալ թաքուցեալ ծառախիթ տերեւապատ լինէին. զորոյ անցանել զամենագէտն երեսօք անհնար է. վասն որոյ եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Տէր Աստուած մերձաւոր եմ ես, ասէ Տէր, եւ ոչ Աստուած հեռաւոր. միթէ մա՞րթ ինչ իցէ մարդոյ փախչել թաքչել յինէն ի ծածկոյթ իւր՝ զի ես ոչ տեսից զնա. ո՞չ ինեւ լի են երկինք եւ երկիր»: Եւ միւս ոմն հմուտ մեծութեան նորա ի մարգարէիցն սրբոց ասէ, թէ «Յո՞ երթայց ես յոգւոյ քումմէ, կամ յերեսաց քոց ես յո՞ փախեայց. թէ ելանեմ յերկինս՝ դու անդ ես. թէ իջանեմ ի դժոխս՝ եւ անդր մօտ ես», նայեցեալ զնոքօք, թէպէտ եւ թաքչել կարծեցին:

However, there too, as with sons who need punishing, having fatherly mercy, He acted benevolently, as the[111] Scripture says: "They heard the voice of the Lord God descending and walking in the garden in the evening of the day."[112] And they fled and hid and covered themselves[113] with leaves from the trees—but it was impossible to escape the notice of the All-knowing by a deception. For which reason [scripture] says: "As Lord God I am near, says the Lord, and not a distant God. Is it possible for man to flee and hide from me in his covering, that I may not see him? Are not the heavens and earth filled by me?"[114] And another of the holy prophets, knowing His immensity says: "Where shall I go from your spirit, or where shall I flee from your face? If I rise to the heavens you are there; if I descend to hell, there also you are near";[115] God took care of them, although they intended to hide.

28 §282 Սակայն բարերարին ձայն արկեալ, թէ «Ո՞ւր ես, Ադամ». եւ նա ասէ. «Լուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ, զի գնայիր ի դրախտի աստ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ»: Տեսանե՞ս որչափ մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ էին Աստուծոյ, մինչեւ ոտնաձայնին անգամ չլինել անտեղեակ: Քանզի բարերարն յանգէտս պատճառեալ՝ նախ ոտնաձայն առնէ. զի

110. *3 Cor.* 11.
111. MES: which indeed.
112. Gen 3:8.
113. MES: were wrapped around the middle.
114. Jer 23:23–24.
115. Ps 137:7–8 = Arm 138:7–8.

յոտսն քաւութիւնաբերս հասեալ մարդոյն, ինքնապատում լինելով զյանցանացն՝ փրկութիւն գտանիցէ:

But the Benevolent raised his voice: “Where are you Adam?” And he said: “I heard your voice,[116] and I was afraid as you were walking in the garden, because I was naked, and I hid.”[117] Do you see how familiar and acquainted with God they were, even to being not unaware of the sound of his footsteps? Because the Benevolent gave an occasion [for repentance] to the ignorant, first making a sound with his feet, so that the man approaching the propitious[118] feet, by being himself narrator of his faults, might find salvation.

29 §283 Իսկ իբրեւ այն չլինէր՝ սակայն չկամի ամբաստան լինել եւ ահազինս ի դիմի հարկանել, այլ հաշտականաւն զիջանէ, թէ «Ո՞ ասաց ցքեզ թէ մերկ ես դու». քանզի կամի իմն ներելով այսրէն յինքն արկանել, զի քաղցրութիւնն Աստուծոյ զնոսա յապաշխարութիւն ածիցէ: Իսկ իբրեւ այսու եւս ոչ զգաստացան, այլ զմիմեամբք պատճառեալ թշուառացան՝ ապա զդատաւորութիւնն ի մէջ անցուցեալ՝ վճիռ հատանէր, զոր հատուցեալ եւ ի հող դառնայցեն, զի Աստուծոյ դատաստանն ճշմարիտ է ի վերայ այնոցիկ որ զչարն գործիցեն:

But that did not occur; yet He was unwilling to be the accuser or to attack him frightfully, so He was merciful and condescending[119] and said: “Who said to you that you are naked?”[120] For He wished by being somewhat indulgent excusing (him) somewhat to bring him back to Himself, that the gentleness of God might lead them to penitence. But since thereby they did not come to their senses but behaved wretchedly, giving excuses for each other, then He made judgment and passed sentence, which they paid and returned to dust;[121] for the judgment of God is true over those who work evil.

30 §284 Յետ այսորիկ ապա զապստամբութիւնն ի մէջ բերեալ ասելովն, թէ «Ահա Ադամ եղեւ իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ՝ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար. հանցուք առ ի ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի կերեալ կեցցէ յաւիտեան»: Բայց «իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ»՝ ոչ եթէ Աստուած եղեալ. քանզի չէ էականն լինելով, այլ զկարծեալն լինելոյ ասէ. զոր օրինակ սուտ աստուածք կարծեալք ի մարդկանէ՝ որ գործեցան առ անմտութեան յիմարութեան եւ պղծութեան մարդկան. որպէս եւ առ ձեզ իսկ տեսանէի զքարապաշտ զփայտապաշտ մոլորութիւնսդ, որ առ տգիտութեան ի ձէնջ նկարեցան. որ ոչ լսեն եւ ոչ խօսին, ոչ իմանան եւ ոչ շարժին,

116. Or: sound.
117. Gen 3:9–10.
118. MES: expiation-bearing.
119. MES: propitiating.
120. Gen 3:11.
121. Gen 3:19.

եւ ոչ գոյ շունչ ի բերանս նոցա. եւ թողեալ ձեր զԱստուած կենդանի, զԱրարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի անշունչ անմռունչ քարանց պաշտօն մատուցանէիք, որ ոչ ինչ իսկ են:

After this He mentioned the revolt, saying: "Behold, Adam became as one of us, to know good and evil. Let us remove him from the tree of life, lest by eating he live for ever."[122] But "as one of us" is not that he became God, for he is not the really existent,[123] but it means supposed existence.[124] Just as false gods are supposed[125] by men, which were fashioned in the irrationality, foolishness, and foulness of mankind, so I saw among you your errors of worshipping stones and wood,[126] which were represented[127] by you in ignorance, which neither hear nor speak, neither understand nor move, and there is no breath in their mouths.[128] You left the living God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and offered worship to breathless, voiceless stones,[129] which are nothing.

31 §285 Վասն որոյ եւ աստուածատես սրբոց մարգարէիցն հոգացեալ, իբրեւ իմաստուն բժշկաց, զդեղ դարմանոյն ըստ ցաւոց հիւանդին պատրաստել, բառնալ ջնջել զգայթակղութիւնն, ի միջոյ ի բաց կորուսանել: Որպէս եւ մի ոմն ի նոցանէ աստուածային Հոգւոյն զօրութեամբ լցեալ՝ գոչեաց ասելով, թէ «Աստուածք, որ զերկինս եւ զերկիր ոչ արարին՝ կորիցեն յերկրէ ի ներքոյ երկնից. այլ Տէր որ արար զերկիր զօրութեամբ իւրով, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս սքանչելի խորհրդով իւրով, եւ պատրաստեաց զտիեզերս ամենայն իմաստութեամբ իւրով, եւ որոտայ ձայնիւ, եւ լնու ջուրբ բազմութեամբ զերկինս, եւ հանէ զամպս ի ծագաց յերկրէ, եւ զփայլատակունս իւր յանձրեւս արար, եւ հանէ զհողմս ի շտեմարանաց իւրոց»:

For which reason the God-seeing, holy prophets took care, like wise doctors, to prepare the medicine of cure for the pain of the ill one, to remove and extirpate the scandal and destroy it completely. As one of them, filled with the power of the divine Spirit, cried out, saying: "The gods who did not create the heavens and earth will vanish from the earth under heaven. But the Lord made the earth by his own power and extended the heavens by his own marvellous counsel, and prepared the universe by[130] all his own wisdom; and He thunders with his voice, and fills the heavens with a multitude of waters,

122. Gen 3:22.
123. MES: the Increate is not subject to coming into being.
124. I.e., increate.
125. I.e., to be divine.
126. Deut 28:64; 29:17; Wis 14:21; Jer 3:9; and Ezek 20:32.
127. MES: fashioned.
128. Ps 115:5–7 = Arm 113:13–15.
129. 1 Cor 12:2.
130. MES: whole universe by his.

and gathers the clouds from the ends of the earth, and made his lightning in the rain, and draws the winds from their storehouses."[131]

32 §286 Յիմարեցաւ ամենայն մարդ ի գիտութենէ՝ ի վերայ անձանց թշուառութիւն յարուցանել. անդէն անձանց անձամբք իւրեանց ամօթալից առնեն զերեսս իւրեանց, եւ մեծի բարկութեանն Աստուծոյ պատրաստեն զանձինս. այլ այժմիկ կացցէ այս՝ յանդիմանել զմոլորութիւն ձեր, զի ի կարգի իւրում պատշաճէ: Բայց այժմ որ ի կարգին սկիզբն արարաք պատմել ձեզ՝ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կարգի զայն պատմեսցուք:

All men turned to foolishness from knowledge to bring misery upon themselves. Then by themselves they make their faces shameful[132] and prepare themselves for the great anger of God. But now let this suffice to reprimand your error, for it fits suitably in its place. And now that which we have begun to relate to you in order, we shall expound each according to its order.

33 27 §287 Հանեալ այնուհետեւ զմարդն ի փափկական դրախտէ անտի հանգստեան՝ արտաքոյ դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր, եւ փակեալ նմա զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի ականատես անգամ լիցի վայելչութեան դրախտին: Անդ եւ երկիր անիծեալ, փուշ եւ տատասկ եւ հաց ցաւաց, եւ Ադամայ մահկանացուի մահ. եւ այս՝ մարդասիրութեան նշանակ է. որպէս եւ ասէն իսկ ի բերանոյ մարգարէին Աստուած, թէ «Խրատեսցէ զքեզ ապստամբութիւն քո, եւ չարիքն քո կշտամբեսցեն զքեզ. ապա գիտասցես դու, թէ չար եւ դառն եղեւ քեզ թողուլն զիս, ասէ տէր Աստուած քո»: Եւ միւս ոմն ասէ յԱստուծոյ, թէ «Յորժամ դարձցիս եւ հեծեծեսցես՝ յայնժամ կեցցես եւ գիտասցես թէ ուր իցես»: Քանզի յորժամ դառն ճաշակացն եւ կասկածանաց մահուն պաշարեալ իցէ, անսթափ ի մտացն ուշի յիշեսցէ զյիշատակս ծառոյն կենաց, եւ հեծեծելով խնդրեսցէ զմուտս դրախտին վայելչութեան. զի եւ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանելն ասացելոցս վկայէ:

Then ejecting man from the delightful garden of repose, He settled him outside the garden and closed for him the road to the tree of life,[133] that he might not see again the delightfulness of the garden. Then were cursed the earth and thorns and thistles and the bread of pain and the death of mortal Adam.[134] Yet this is a sign of benevolence, as God says by the mouth of the prophet: "Your rebellion will correct you, and your wickedness will reproach you. Then you will know that it is evil and bitter for you to abandon me, says the Lord your

131. Jer 10:11–13.
132. Ps 83:16 = Arm 82:17.
133. Gen 3:23–24.
134. Gen 3:17–19.

God."[135] And another says for God: "When you return and lament, then you will live and know where you are."[136] For when he is in the midst of the bitter taste and uncertainty of death, he will gradually recall in his mind the memory of the tree of life, and with groaning he will seek the approach to the garden of delight. His being settled opposite the garden bears witness to these sayings.

34 §288 (ԻՁ) Իսկ բարերարն ոչ միայն ի դրախտին, այլ եւ արտաքոյ նորին չհեռանայր ի նոցանէ, յորժամ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր: Եւ վասն իւրոյ բարերարութեանն հրամայեաց սերել յերկիր. ուր եւ անդէն հրամանաւ ակնարկելոյ Արարչին ծնունդ արձակեալ յերկիր՝ սկսան բազմանալ ըստ ասելն. «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք, եւ լցէք զերկիր»:

Now the benevolent one, not only in the garden but also outside of it, did not distance Himself from them when He settled them opposite the garden. And because of his benevolence He ordered them to propagate on earth, where[137] by the command of the attentive Creator they brought forth on earth and began to increase according to the saying: "Grow and multiply, and fill the earth".[138]

35 §289 Որդւոցն Ադամայ անդրանկանն Կահել անուն ճանաչէր, եւ միւսումն Հաբէլ. որք անդէն՝ զիմաստութիւն տուողին ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորին իմաստութեամբ՝ զնոյն Արարիչ ճանաչել:

Արդ, առեալ Կահելի՝ երէց որդւոյն ընծայս նուիրաց յարմտեաց, որոյ կապեալ ցորենոյ՝ պատարագս նմա մատուցանէր: Իսկ ընդ այն հայեցեալ Հաբելի՝ ի հօտիցն գառանցն ընծայեալ պտուղ՝ ի խաշանցն մատուցանէր: Իսկ Աստուած իւրով մարդասիրութեամբն խոնարհեալ յընծայս որդւոցն Ադամայ՝ մերձաւոր ճանաչէր: Քանզի՝ եւ անդէն իսկ ընտրութիւն առնէ. զոմն ի միամտութեան գտեալ՝ ընդունի զպատարագն. իսկ զոմն ընդ եղբօրն յերկմտութեան գտեալ՝ անդրէն դատապարտեալ դարձուցանէ վասն երկմտութեան. իսկ նա անդէն վասն որոյ մահ խորհեալ՝ սպան զեղբայրն. եւ անդէն նզովեալ երկիր վասն նորա, եւ նա ինքն անիծաւ զաւակաւն հանդերձ:

Of the sons of Adam the elder was called Cain[139] and the other Abel.[140] They then indicated the wisdom of the giver, through his wisdom they recognised the same to be Creator. Cain, the elder son, took his offering of[141] roots, binding a sheaf of wheat, and offered it as sacrifice to Him. When Abel saw this,

135. Jer 2:19.
136. Isa 30:15.
137. MES: adds all at once.
138. Gen 1:28.
139. MES, literally: Kahel. The name is most unusual.
140. Gen 4:1–12.
141. MES: from the.

he gave offspring from the lambs of his flocks and offered from his sheep. And God in his kindness condescended to the gifts of the sons of Adam and was recognised as being near. For then[142] He makes a choice: finding the one to be sincere He accepts his sacrifice; finding the other to be malicious towards his brother He condemns and rejects his because of his malice. So for this reason the latter plotted death and killed his brother. Then the earth was cursed on his account, and he himself cursed with his seed.

36 §290 Արդ, Ադամայ այլ որդի ստացեալ յԱստուծոյ փոխանակ սպանելոյ Հաբելի, որոյ անուն Սէթ ճանաչէր: Իսկ այն սպանեալն, վասն արդարութեան իւրոյ, կենդանի է առ Աստուած. զի որ յոչնչէն արար՝ նոյն եւ կենդանացուցանէ զնա յորժամ եւ կամի, զոր յոյժ պատմել դիւրին է ձեզ. յորժամ զձեզ ջերմեռանդն ի հաւատսն տեսանիցեմք՝ ասասցուք զայն, որոյ արդարութիւնն կայ պահի յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից: Արդ, Կահել նենգաւոր մարդասպանն նզովեալ անիծաւ. վասն այսորիկ որոշեցաւ հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ. զի օրհնեաց Աստուած զՍէթ, եւ ետ նմա պատուէր, զի մի զաւակն օրհնեալ խառնեսցի յանիծեալ զաւակն մարդասպանին Կահելի: Արդ, բազմացան մարդիկն առ հասարակ ի վերայ երկրի կողմանց ցեղիցն երկոցունցն:

Then Adam acquired another son from God instead of the murdered Abel, who was named Seth.[143] But the murdered one, because of his righteousness, is living in the presence of God. For He who created him from nothing, the same gives him life whenever He wills—as is very easy to relate to you. When we see you fervent in the faith, we mention him whose righteousness is preserved for ever and ever. So the treacherous murderer Cain[144] was cursed. Therefore he was cut off by the command of God; for God blessed Seth and gave him a command, that his blessed seed should not mingle with the cursed seed of the murderer Cain. Then mankind increased generally over both families' regions of the earth.[145]

37 §291 Արդ, սեթեան ցեղին կացին նահապետք արք արդարք մինչեւ ի դարն ութերորդ, առ որս բարերարութիւնն Աստուծոյ մերձաւոր եղեալ՝ միանգամայն իսկ առ ամենեքումբք մերձաւորութեամբն յաճախեալ, զի մի մոռացօնք ընտանութեանն լինիցին: Վասն որոյ եւ երկայնակեաց իսկ արարեալ զհարսն, եւ յերկարակեաց ծնունդ շնորհեաց. զի զոնեայ վասն ցանկութեան որդւոց ելանիցեն ի խնդիր Աստուծոյ. մանաւանդ զի կարեւորագոյն իսկ է զիւտ ծննդոց ի կեանս երկրածնաց:

142. MES: all at once. This variant translation of անդրէն is not always noted.

143. Gen 4:25.

144. Literally: Gahel; see also below.

145. Gen 6:1.

The patriarchs of the tribe of Seth were righteous men until the eighth generation; the benevolence of God was near them, and also continuously close to all men, lest there should be forgetfulness of his familiarity. So He made the fathers long-lived and granted them long-lived children, that at least on account of their desire for sons they might seek God, especially because the gaining of offspring is most important in the life of earthly creatures.

38 §292 Արդ, նախապետքն կարգեալք, Ադամն առաջին աստուածաստեղծ, այսինքն Ադամ. եւ Սէթ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովս, եւ ի նմանէ Կայնան, եւ ի նմանէ Մաղաղիէլ, եւ ի նմանէ Յարէդ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովք: Եւ եկաց Ենովք ամս հարիւր վաթսուն եւ հինգ, եւ ծնաւ զՄաթուսաղայ. եւ հաճոյ եղեւ Ենովք Աստուծոյ:

The patriarchs[146] in order are: the first Adam created by God, that is Adam; and Seth, and from him Enos, and from him Cainan, and from him Malaliel, and from him Yared, and from him Enoch; and Enoch lived a hundred and sixty-five years and begat Mathousala, and Enoch was pleasing to the Lord.

39 §293 Նա եւ ամենայն նախապետացն շատակեաց եղեալ, իբրեւ ի բարերարէ անտի Աստուծոյ սերեալք բազմացան. նոյնպէս եւ յետ ծննդոցն յերկարակեացս արարեալ, զի որք Աստուծովն ստացան՝ պատմեսցեն հարք որդւոց. զի իբրեւ պատուիրանք զգուշացուցիչք լինիցին, առ ի ծանօթս առնելոյ զնոսա Աստուծոյ. որպէս եւ ասացաւ իսկ, թէ «Հարցջիր դու ցհարս քո, եւ պատմեսցեն քեզ, եւ ցծերս քո, եւ ասասցեն քեզ». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ վասն այսորիկ երկայնակեացք, եւ ոչ վասն բազմութեան ծննդոց:

He was the longest-lived of all the patriarchs. As they were begotten and increased by benevolent God, so also after their births they were made for long life, in order that those who were created by God might relate as fathers to their sons, that they might be warning commands to make them aware of God. As indeed also it was said: "Ask your fathers, and they will relate to you; and your old men, and they will tell you".[147] Whereby it is clear that for this reason they were long-lived and not for the sake of a multitude of offspring.

40 §294 Զի թէպէտ եւ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, թէ «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր»՝ որպէս յառաջագէտ ըստ մարմնական բարուցն զլինելոցն ասաց. իսկ Աստուած ոչ ի բազմացուցանելն միայն, այլ անդէն եւ անդ կամէր. զի ի մշտնջենակեաց անմահութիւնն փոխեսցին: Որպէս եւ զԵնովք տեսանեմք յետ վարուց երկրակեաց կենացն, յետ ամուսնանալոյ եւ որդիս ծնանելոյ ուղղութեանն վարուք, վերացուցեալ զնա կենդանւոյն իսկ յանմահութեան վիճակն:

146. Gen 5:1–24.
147. Deut 32:7.

Որ ոչ վասն առնն միայնոյ, այլ զի ելք նորա՝ այլոց ճանապարհ գործեսցեն. եւ ոչ բռնազբօսութեամբ առեալ ի կեանսն, այլ զպարտ հաճոյական վարուցն հատուցեալ: Սոյն օրինակ կամեցեալ Աստուծոյ զամենեսեան յանմահութիւն փոխել, յետ աստ վայելելոյ ամենեցուն:

Although God said to Adam, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth,"[148] as He said in his knowledge of the future concerning the carnal behaviour to be,[149] God wished not only for the increase, but also for this, that they would pass into eternal immortality. Thus we see Enoch after a long life, after marrying and begetting sons in a life of rectitude, raised up while still alive[150] to a destiny of immortality.[151] Which was not for that man only, but that his path might make a road for others; and he was not taken forcibly into life, but he paid[152] the debt of a pleasing life. In the same way God wished to change all to immortality, after all had been pleasing here.[153]

41 §328 ԼԲ. Եւ արդ, յայտնի է այսուհետեւ ասացելովքս, թէ եւ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն զնոյն նմանութիւն երեւեալ ի սկզբանն. որպէս եւ առ յապայ ամենայն աստուածատես կատարելոցն զնոյն պահեալ, զի մի օտարագոյն ինչ եւ անծանօթ կերպարանօք զտեսողսն հարթուցանիցէ: Մանաւանդ թէ առաւել լաւագոյն իսկ, զի յաստուածատես հօրէն որդւոյն տեղեկացեալ՝ դիւրագոյն պատրաստիցի իբրեւ ընդելականի՝ եւ զլուեալն ունկանն եւ ականբ եւս նկատել: Որպէս եւ երանելին Յովբ, սիրելին Աստուծոյ, արդարն, ասէր ցԱստուած, թէ «Ի լուր ականջաց լսէի զքէն յառաջագոյն, բայց արդ եւ ակն իմ ետես զքեզ». ցոր եւ ասէր իսկ Աստուած. «Պնդեա իբրեւ այր զմէջ քո, եւ մի համարիր այլազգ ինչ երեւեալ քեզ»:

It is consequently clear by these sayings that He revealed the same likeness to the first-created man in the beginning; just as afterwards for all the perfect who see God He kept the same, lest He might terrify the seers with very strange and unknown forms. Especially as it is better that the son, informed by his father who saw God, be more easily prepared as for something familiar and observe what he had heard with his ear also with his eye. Just as the blessed Job, beloved of God, the just, said to God: "With the hearing of my ears I heard you formerly, but now my eye also has seen you".[154] To whom

148. Gen 1:28.

149. MES: he spoke as a foreknower of what was going to happen according to bodily benefits.

150. MES: the Living One raised him up.

151. Gen 5:24.

152. MES: was recompensed for.

153. I.e., in this world.

154. Job 42:5.

also God said: "Strengthen like a man your loins and do not consider that something strange has been revealed to you".[155]

42 §329 Քանզի եւ ի սկզբանն ըստ ազդեցութեանն երեւեալ Աստուած, զոր եւ ասէն, եթէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զմարդն»: Եւ ամենայն յաւիտեանցն ըստ նմին նմանութեան Աստուած փառաց երեւեալ. զոր եւ ասէր իսկ վկայն Ստեփաննոս, թէ «Աստուած փառաց երեւեցաւ հօր մերում Աբրահամու», եւ ամենեքեան իսկ Տէր Սաբաւովթ, եւ Աստուած ամենակալ կոչեն:

Because in the beginning God appeared according to the declaration, as [the Scripture] says: "According to the image of God He created man,"[156] so for all eternity in the same likeness the God of glory appears; as the martyr Stephen said: "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham."[157] And they all called Him Lord Sabaoth and God omnipotent.

43 §347 Քանզի իբրեւ ետես Աստուած զհամաշխարհազործ զմեղսն տարածեալ, եւ որով մահն թագաւորեալ՝ առ հասարակ կլանէր յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս, եւ ի մոռացօնս դարձուցեալ զկենսաբեր աւետիսն յառաջագիրս, որպէս հուր ինչ մոլեկան հրդեհի՝ որ ապականիցէ զլերինս եւ զդաշտս, արձակեալ այնուհետեւ ի ներքս զօրէնսն իբրեւ զհեղեղատ սաստիկ՝ շիջուցանել զայն համատարած: Վասն որոյ եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ամենայն որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». զի որպէս Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեսցէ ի ծառոյն՝ մահ սպառնացաւ, ուստի եւ թագաւորեաց իսկ մահ՝ նոյնպէս եւ զօրինացն ասաց, թէ «Որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». որով եւ շիջաւ իսկ մահ:

When[158] God saw that sin was universal throughout the world, and that by it death was reigning and had swallowed up everything from Adam to Moses[159] and had turned to oblivion the life-giving promise previously written, like a raging fire which will destroy the hills[160] and the plains, then He introduced the law as a fierce torrent to extinguish that universal [sin]. Therefore He[161] says: "Whoever will do this will live in the same."[162] For just as death was threatened to Adam if he should taste of the tree—whence death began to

155. Job 40:2–3.
156. Gen 1:27.
157. Acts 7:2.
158. MES: For when.
159. Rom 5:14.
160. MES: mountains.
161. MES: it (Scripture).
162. Lev 18:5; Rom 10:5; Gal 3:12.

reign[163]—so also He said concerning the law: “Who will do this will live in the same,” whereby death was extinguished.[164]

44 §350 Քանզի յորժամ Ադամ, որ ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արարաւ, եւ ամենայն զաւակ նորա, որ աստուածորդիքն կոչեցան, կամօք իւրեանց զապականութիւն ժառանգեցին՝ ընդ նոսին եւ ամենայն արարածք հնազանդեալ ապականեցան. ոչ իւրեանց կամաւ, այլ վասն առաջնորդութեան կամացն Աստուծոյ առ ի Քրիստոս ազատելոյ: Քանզի եւ որ միանգամ ի վայելչութիւն եւ ի փառս մարդոյն հաստեցան՝ ապականեալք եւ անարգեալք վասն նորին բարկութեան: Եւ երկիր անիծեալ եւ փշաբեր, հեղեղատեալ եւ հրայրեաց, շարժահիմն յողդողդեալ, եւ օդք ապականեալք ընդ ժամանակս ժամանակս. եւ լուսաւորք խաւարամածք եւ արիւնանշանք, եւ երկինք այլագունեալք. որպէս ի գրոց մարգարէականաց զանցելոցն է նշանակեալ. զոր եւ նոյն իսկ մարգարէքն յազգականացն կրէին յանձինս իւրեանց: Զի թէպէտ եւ յԱստուծոյ պատուեալք առաքէին, սակայն եւ չընդունելեացն թշնամանեալք եւ քարկոծեալք. որպէս եւ ասէ իսկ ամենատէրն, թէ «Վասն ձեր կոտորեցի զմարգարէսն բանիւ բերանոյ իմոյ»:

When Adam, who was created according to the image of God, and all his seed, who were called the “sons of God,”[165] by their own will inherited corruption, with them all creatures also became subject and were corrupted, not by their own will, but on account of the foreordained will of God to set them free in Christ.[166] For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonoured on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns,[167] flooded and consumed by fire,[168] shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood,[169] and the heavens lost their colour,[170] just as is indicated concerning what was to come to pass by the prophetic writings. The same the prophets endured from their fellow countrymen. Although the honoured ones were sent by God, honoured by God they were sent, yet they were hated[171] and stoned[172] by those who would not receive them; just as the Lord

163. 1 Cor 15:21.
164. 1 Cor 15:54.
165. Gen 6:2.
166. Rom 6:18, 22.
167. Gen 3:17–18.
168. 2 Pet 3:6.
169. Joel 2:31.
170. MES: were different colored.
171. 2 Chr 36:16.
172. Heb 11:36.

of all says: "On your account I have destroyed the prophets by the word of my mouth."[173]

ANANIA *VARDAPET* C5

Anania *vardapet*, Ի խորհուրդ կատարմանն առաքելոյն Պետրոսի "On the Mystery of the Decease of Apostle Peter," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan. *MH*, vol. 1, 5th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003). 1145–51.

1 1148 (54) Եւ արդ. պարտ էր նմին Ձայնի, յորմէ պակեաւ Ադամ, ձայնել զկնի փախուցելոյն եւ դարձուցանել առ Ինքն, եւ նմին Բանիւն (corrig. Բանի), որ դատապարտեաց զԱդամ ի մահ, նոյն խոստանալ նմա զկեանս: (55) Քանզի այլ ումեք չէր հնար հաւատալ Ադամայ վերստին ընդունել զկեանս, թէպէտ եւ ի բազմաց լուաւ աւետարանութիւն բարեաց ի մարգարէիցն, մինչեւ եկն նոյն Ձայնն եւ Բանն Աստուծոյ, եւ նոյն դարձեալ Ձայնիւն դարձոյց եւ Բանիւն խոստացաւ նմա անմահական կեանս: (56) Եւ արդ. տես զձեւ խաչին ընդդէմ արեւմտից տարածեալ զբազուկս, զի մարդոյն արտաքսելն (corrig. արտաքսեալ) յԱդին դրախտէն եւ, տարամերժեալ ի կենաց փայտէն, դիմեաց յարեւմուտս, տարադէմ հալածեալ առ նսեմային խաւարն, թիկունս տուեալ արեւելեան լուսոյն են (corrig. եւ) կենաց դրախտին:

Now the same Voice by which Adam was frightened had to sound behind him who fled and turn him to Him, and the same Word which sentenced Adam to death, likewise had to promise him life (55) For no one else was able to believe that Adam again received life, although the good tidings were heard from many good prophets, until the same Voice and the Word of God came, and with the same Voice and Word He promised the immortal life to him (56) And now, see the form of the Cross spreading its arms opposite the west, for the man being expelled from the Garden of Eden and deprived from the tree of life, went towards the west, driven to the gloomy darkness, turning his back on the eastern light and the Garden of life.

EŁIŠĒ C5

Text: Ełišē, Սրբոյ Հօրն մերոյ Եղիշէի Վարդապետի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Our Holy Father Ełišē* vardapet (Venice: S. Lazaro, 1859).

173. Hos 6:5.

Ełišē, Վասն Վարդանայ եւ հայոց պատերազմին *On Vardan and the Armenian War*, ed. E. Tēr-Minasean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1957).

Translation: *Ełishē, History of Vardan and the Armenian War, Introduction, translation, and commentary* by Robert W. Thomson (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 5; Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982). The translation here is my own.

The History of Vardan and the Armenian War[174]

1 25–26 վասն թզոյ միոյ ուտելոյ ի ծառոյն՝ Աստուած զմահ արար եւ զմարդն էարկ ընդ այնու պատուհասիւ.

On account of the eating of a single fig[175] from the tree God made death, and cast man under that punishment.[176]

2. Further works attributed to Ełišē cited from the Venice edition of 1859 (see above).

4. Մեկնութիւն Յեսուայ եւ Դատաւորաց
Commentary on Joshua and Judges

2 173 Վասն Ռեքեբայ երիքովացւոյ, որ հաւատով ապրեցաւ ի սրոյն Յեսուայ: Concerning Rahab of Jericho, who by faith was delivered from Joshua's sword.

Մասն է աղ հողոյ միանգամայն եւ ջուր մածեալ. ուր ջուր է, անդ եւ օդ խառնի. ունի աղն բնութեամբ եւ զհրոյ ջերմութիւն. եւ չորեքեան նիւթք աշխարհիս ի յանցանացն Ադամայ անկաւ ընդ ապականութեամբ եւ դարձաւ ի հողոյ բնութիւն:

Salt is part of the soil and is at the same time viscous water.[177] Where water is, there also air is mixed in. By its nature, the salt also has the warmth of fire.[178] And the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam and he was returned to the nature of dust.

3 176 Յաղագս զաբաւոնացւոցն խաբելոյն զՅեսու եւ ապրելոյ ի սրոյ նորա Concerning the Gibeonites' Deceit of Joshua and Their Deliverance from His Sword.

174. See also Thomson 1982, 79.

175. This is the first identification of the fruit as a fig in Armenian literature.

176. Cf. Thomson 1982, 79.

177. Cf. Agat'angełos §260, where firmament is called ջրամած covered with water.

178. Here the four elements are evoked, apparently for the first time in the texts we are studying.

. . . Յղացաւ օձն զկերպարանս աներեւոյթ չարութեանն եւ եղեւ արու բնութիւն միջնորդութեամբ պտղոյ ծառոյն. պատրեաց եւ մերկեցոյց զհինգ զգայութիւնս իգական մասինն. յապուշ կրթեաց զմիտք կնոջն եւ մոռացումն արար զպատուիրանսն Աստուծոյ. մինչ չեւ մտեալ ի պատերազմն՝ պարտեցաւ ի հայելոյն, յորմէ դու պարտիս զգուշանալ:

. . . The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.

Առ Սամփսոն On Sampson

4 195–96 Այսպէս զանազանի խորհուրդ եօթնագիսակ հերացն Սամփսոնի ի խորհուրդ Ադամայ. զի ստեղծ Տէր Աստուած զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զկենդանական շունչն եդ ի նմա եւ այնպէս արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. գոյարարողական զօրութեամբն տպաւորեալ վերածեաց ի նմանութիւն պատկերի անմահական եւ անապական իւրոյ փառացն: Իսկ ի ձեռն ուխտազանց յանցաւորութեանն վայրածեցաւ տարամերժեալ ի մակադրեալ յաստուածակերպ փառացն որ ի նմա: Եւ ահա գոյր ի ծնունդս Ադամայ հնացուցիչ նոյն զօրութիւնն մահու եւ ապականութեան. նա եւ գոյր՝ ի դարս դարս նշան յաւերժական փառաց նորա, անմահականն՝ յաւերժական կեանս նախահօրն. նոյնպէս ընդ անմահիւ անապականն՝ ի փոխումն Ենովքայ եւ ի վերացումն Եղիայի. իսկ լուսազգեստութիւն՝ ի լուսաւորութիւն երեսաց փառացն Մովսէսի, եւ զօրութիւն անձին նորա՝ յեօթնագիսակ ի հերս գլխոյն Սամփսոնի: Իսկ յամենայնէդ նուաղիլ սոցա յետ մահուն, տարամերժեալ նորա յետ յանցանացն նշանակէ:

Thus the mystery of Sampson's seven-stranded hair is different from Adam's mystery. For the Lord God created man, dust from the earth, and he put the vivifying spirit in him, and in that way God made man in his image. Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible[179] glory. But, through the covenant-breaking transgression, he was brought low, being cast out from

179. There was a sign.

the divinely formed glory which was set upon him. And, behold, there was in the generations of Adam the same wasting power of death and corruption. Likewise, there was during the ages a sign of His eternal glory, the immortal, eternal life of the forefather. In the same way, together with the immortal, the incorruptible, in the transfer of Enoch and in the elevation of Elijah. As for being closed in radiance, a sign of (this) is the radiance of the glorious face of Moses; and (a sign of) the power of his self (is) in the seven-stranded hair of Samson's head. And his being rejected after transgression, signifies their (i.e., Adam and Eve's) being diminished from all of their qualities after death.

5 Նա եւ այլ տեսութիւն: Քանզի զօրութիւնն Աստուծոյ, որպէս ասէ գիր, ի տկարութեան առաւել կատարի, որպէս յոլով ունի օրինակ. զի Ադամ՝ որ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ արարաւ, ի հողոյ ստեղծաւ. եւ Նոյ լաստափայտիւն ապրեցաւ հանդերձ ամենայն կենդանեօք, եւ սերմն աշխարհի պահեցաւ:

Moreover another sight: because the power of God, as Scripture says, is more effected in powerlessness, which has many examples. For Adam, who was made in the image and likeness of God, was created from dust. And Noah was saved by a boat, with all living things[180] and the seed of the world was saved.

5. Յաղօթսն որ ասէ Հայր մեր որ յերկինս
On the Prayer, "Our Father who art in Heaven"

6 204 . . . Յուրբաթու խաչեցաւ ի փշրումն մահու. ի միաշաբաթոջ զփշրեալ ոսկերսն Ադամայ ժողովեաց եւ յարեաց յանմահութիւնն, եւ երեւեցոյց բազմաց ճշմարտութեամբ եւ ոչ առ աչօք. մի օր հացացաւ ի վերնատանն, եւ հանապազ հացանայ յեկեղեցիս ի վերայ սուրբ սեղանոյն. նախ ինքն յինքենէ ճաշակեաց, եւ ապա զմեզ զամենեսեան ճաշակիցս արար նմին չարչարանաց:

. . . He was crucified on Friday, to the pulverization of death. On Sunday he gathered the pulverized bones of Adam and raised (him) up to immortality. And he showed himself to many in truth and not in fancy. One day he became bread in the upper room and continually he becomes bread in the church upon the holy altar. First, He himself ate of Himself, and then he made all of us fellow-diners of the same sufferings.

180. Or: animals.

6. Ի մկրտութիւնն Քրիստոսի[181]
On the Baptism of Christ

7 207 . . . Եւ քանզի երից տասանց գործէ զմարդն կատարեալ, ըստ այսմ ստեղծագործեալ եւ առաջինն Ադամ, խաբեալ յօձէն արտաքոյ լինի փափկութեանն դրախտին. ըստ այնմ կատարելութեան տնօրինեալ երկրորդ Ադամն ջախէ զգլուխ վիշապին ի Յորդանանու հոսանսն:

. . . And because he makes the perfect man of three tenths,[182] according to that he also created the first Adam. Having been deceived by the serpent, he was expelled from the Garden of delight. According to that perfection, the second Adam, being incarnated, smashed the head of the dragon in the streams of the Jordan.[183]

7. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց
Commentary on Genesis

Text: Levon Xač‘ik‘yan published fragments of a *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Ełišē extracted from medieval collected commentaries. He argues forcefully that this work was written by the same Ełišē who wrote the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War.* See Levon Xač‘ik‘yan, *The Commentary on Genesis by Ełišē,* ed. Levon Ter-Petrosian (Erevan: Zvartnots Press, 1992) (in Armenian). His conclusions about authorship are summarized on pp. 112–113. Almost none of these fragments is completely relevant to our study, but the following should be noted.

Translation: Levon Khachikyan and Michael Papazian, Եղիշէ. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց *Commentary on Genesis* (Erevan: Magharat Publishing House, 2004).

8 240, section 11 Բարւոք ասաց մարգարէն երեք աշխարհք գոլ՝ աշխարհարարն եւ աշխարհ եւ մարդ. Աստուած՝ իմանալի աշխարհ, աշխարհ՝ զգալի, մարդ՝ զգալի եւ իմանալի աշխարհ. Եւ չէ անպատեհ Աստուծոյ ի համար անկանել իւրոցն գործոց, զի կտակ եթէ ձեռն եւ պատկեր թագաւորի ոչ կնքէ զնա՝ չէ հաստատուն, վասն որոյ եւ այժմ արարիչն կնքէ զաշխարհ՝ հանգչելովն յեւթներորդում աւուր:

The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator world, and world and man. God—intelligible world; world—sensible; man—sensible

181. In a note on p. 206, the editor expresses doubts as to the authenticity of the attribution of the following homily to Ełišē.

182. Perhaps emend “tens” to “parts.”

183. Stone 2002, 22–23.

and intelligible world. And it is not unbecoming for God to be counted with his works, for a covenant is not established if the hand and image of the king do not seal it, for which reason now the Creator seals the world by resting on the seventh day.

9 8.241 Բարի է բնութեամբ Աստուած եւ նախագէտ. շարժեցաւ բարին առնել զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ: Նախագիտութիւնն որ ի նմա, գիտաց զոր ինչ լինելոց էր, եւ ոչ կարաց նախագիտութիւնն Աստուծոյ արգելուլ զբարի շարժումն Աստուծոյ յառնելոյ զմարդն եւ զաւգնականն իւր, զի անկեալ ի հրեշտակական անախտ աճմանէն աւգնեսցէ կինն առնն անասնապէս աճմանն եւ բազմանալոյ, ըստ աւրհնութեանն որ ասաց՝ Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր, եւ ոչ զդրախտն անմեղապէս եւ հրեշտակավայելուչ:

God is good by nature and prescient. The Good was moved to make Adam and Eve. The prescience which (was) in Him knew what was going to happen, and the prescience of God was unable to prevent the good movement of God from making man and his helpmate, so that having fallen from the impassible angelic increase (i.e., procreation), the woman might help man's increase and multiplication in the fashion of the beasts, according to the blessing which said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth,"[184] and not the Garden in a sinless and angelic fashion.

10 «Եւ ստեղծ եւս տէր Աստուած զամենայն զազանս եւ զամենայն սողունս»: "And the Lord God created moreover all the beasts and all the crawling things".[185]

Ըստ վերագոյն ասիցն վասն ծառոց ասի. եւ այս զազան եւ թռչուն ստեղծանել Աստուծոյ ի տեսիլ Ադամայ, հաւատալ թէ եւ այլքն նոյնպէս ստեղծան: Բայց եւ զամենայն զազանս եւ զամենայն թռչունս ասելովն զառաջինն ստուգէ, եւ հաւաստէ զստեղծուածս, զանասունս ընդ զազանացն եւ ընդ թռչնոցն ծածկապէս յիշելով:

According to that said above about the trees, this too is pronounced, that God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way. But by speaking about all the beasts and all the birds[186] it specifies the former and it manifests the created things by recalling the dumb animals implicitly with the beasts and the birds.

11 Եւ զեւսն զի՞ յաւել. քանզի անուանս հանդերձեալ էին առնուլ, եւ որպէս թէ այնու յէութիւն զալ ի չէութենէ, որք առանց անուան ընդ ոչէսն ունին զհաշիւն:

184. Gen 1:28.
185. Gen 2:19.
186. Gen 1:30.

And why did he add the additional ones? Because they were going to receive names and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that (i.e., receiving names).[187]

12 «Եւ ած զնոսա առ Ադամ տեսանել զինչ կոչեսցէ եւ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանոյ զինչ եւ անուանեաց Ադամ՝ այն անուն է նորա»:

“And he brought them to Adam to see what he would call them, and whatever Adam named every living thing, that was its name.[188]

13 243 . . . Համարձակեցան ոմանք, յարտաքնոցն, ասել լինել մարդոյն ի դրախտն զհազար ամ, վկայ ածելով զասելն Դաւթի՝ Հազար ամ յաչս Տեառն, որպէս օր երեկի: Իսկ այլք, յընտանեաց՝ Խ օր ասացին, ըստ հոգեծնութեանն արուի. իսկ մեք ընդդէմ ոչ կարեմք ասել ինչ եւ ոչ զմերն հաստատել, քանզի է ինչ զոր յայտնեաց Աստուած մարգարէին, եւ է՝ ինչ զոր ծածկեաց, որպէս զերկնիցն զարարն եւեթ ասաց եւ զերբ լռեաց. նոյնպէս եւ վասն ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի ասաց եւ վասն պտղոյն լռեաց: Զի թեպէտ են արմատք մահաբերք, այլ ոքին ոչ կարեն կենաց պատճառ լինել, զի երկու բնութիւն ի մի ծառ ոչ կարէ գոլ, այլ բանն է աստուածային սաստկութեան եւ քաղցրութեան, ծառն՝ միջնորդ ընդ մարդ եւ ընդ Աստուած:

. . . Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David’s saying, “A thousand years in the Lord’s eyes is as yesterday.”[189] But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth[190] of the male. But we cannot say anything against this nor (can we) fix our own opinion, because there is that which God revealed to the prophet and there is that which he concealed. Such as that he only spoke of the making of the heavens and was silent about when. Similarly also he spoke about the tree of knowledge of good and evil and was silent about the fruit. For whereas they are mortal roots, the same cannot be the cause of life, for it is impossible that there be two natures in one tree, but the verse is about divine severity and sweetness; the tree, an intermediary between man and God.

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187. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

188. Gen 2:19.

189. Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

190. This word is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. It presumably refers to the purity law about the birth of males and females that is cited in other sources about the birth of Adam. See Lev 12:4–5 and part 1, chapter 1, §4.4. See also Stone 1992.

Ephrem, Exposition of the Gospel C5

Saint Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel, ed. *George A. Egan* (2 vols.; CSCO 291–92, Scriptores Armeniaci 5–6; Louvain: Peeters, 1968). The text is drawn from the first volume, pp. 29–44; the translation from second volume, pp. 26–40.

1 40 Նա եւ յոյժ իսկ եցոյց մեզ Աստուած զերկայնամտութիւն եւ զբարկութիւն իւր ի թիւն տասներորդ. զի մինչ ի տասն ազգ ներեաց Աստուած երկայնամտութեամբ իւրով վասն առաջին անօրէնութիւն մարդկան, եւ ապա ած ի վերայ նոցա զջուրսն հեղեղին. եւ ապա եցոյց[191] զՆոյ միայն՝ զի արդար էր: (էջ 29)

Moreover, God abundantly showed to us his patience and indignation in the tenth number; for to the tenth generation God forgave through his patience the first iniquity of man, and then he brought the flood upon them and then he saved only Noah, for he was just.

2 57 Եւ քանզի գիտէր զնենգութիւն սրտին Կայէնի բարձրեալն, ոչ ընկալաւ զպատարագս նորա: Սոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոս եղեւ հովիւ քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, իբրեւ մատոյց Աստուծոյ պատարագ.

And because the Most High knew the deception in[192] the heart of Cain, he did not receive his sacrifice. In a like manner also Christ became a shepherd, a priest and was wounded, because he offered a sacrifice to God.

3 57 p. 42 Հաբէլ եղեւ հովիւ, քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, եւ առ նա յանդրանկաց խաշանց իւրոց, եւ մատոյց պատարագ Աստուծոյ.

Abel became a shepherd, a priest[193] and was wounded; and he took of his first-born sheep, and he offered a sacrifice to God.

4 57 Եւ զոր օրինակ ոչ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագսն Կայէնի՝ զի բաժանեալ էին / p. 43 / միտք նորա, եւ ձեռք նորա պղծեալ էին արեամբ զի լի էր նա բարկութեամբ սպանանել զեղբայրն իւր, եւ պատարագ սպանելոյն արժանի եղեւ, սոյնպէս եւ Աստուած ընդունի զպատարագս մեր, զի երթամք մեք զկնի հովուի քահանայի եւ սպանելոյ.

And as God did not receive the sacrifices of Cain because he doubted, and his hands were stained with blood because he was (so) full of anger he killed his brother and the killed sacrifice[194] became acceptable, in like manner also

191. Other MSS: ապրեցոյց.
192. Literally: risen up in.
193. Observe the idea of the antediluvian priesthood.
194. Literally: sacrifice of the killed one.

God receives our sacrifices, because we follow the shepherd, the priest and the one who was killed.

5 58 p. 43 . . . զի նոքա իսկ են պատարագք, որպէս զի ոչ եղեն ընդունելի պատարագք Կայէնի: Եւ մեք ոյք երթամք զկնի Քրիստոսի, որ նմանեալ է Հաբէլի արդարութեամբ եւ քահանայութեամբ եւ մահուամբ իւրով, ընկալեալ լիցին պատարագք մեր ի վերայ սեղանոյ.

. . . because they are in fact sacrifices as Cain's sacrifices which were not acceptable. And we follow Christ, who is likened to Abel in his righteousness and priesthood and death, our sacrifices shall be accepted on the altar;

6 58 Եւ տես, զի նմանեցաւ Հաբէլ հովուին՝ արդարութեանն Քրիստոսի եւ քահանայութեանն եւ մահուն իւրոյ: (էջ 44)

And see that Abel was likened to the shepherd, to the righteousness of Christ and to his priesthood and death.

7 45 Ասէ Եսայի մարգարէ, եթէ տունկ կենաց մարդք հաւատացեալք են. եւ իբրեւ ունայնացեալք լինէին ի գործոց անտի կենաց, լինին նոքա այնուհետեւ այգի աւերեալ. ասէ. «Այգի տնկեցի ի տեղի սիրելի ի տեղի պարարտութեան. ցանկով փակեցի, եւ ամրութեամբ պարսպեցի. նոր տունկ տնկեցի, մաքրեցի, կտուեցի, կակղեցի, ձողաբարձ զարդարեցի, աշտարակ կանկնեցի, գուբ հնձան շինեցի. կացի մնացի եթէ եկեսցէ բերիցէ ինձ խաղող, եկն եբեր փուշ եւ տատասկ: Արդ, արք Յուդայ եւ բնակիչք Երուսաղէմի, դատ արարէք ընդ իս եւ ընդ այգի իմ.»

Isaiah the prophet says that men who have believed are plants of life, and when they had become void of the works of life, thenceforth they become a desolate vineyard, he says, "I planted a vineyard in a beloved place, in a place of fatness. I closed it with a lock, and walled it strongly. I planted new plants, I cleaned, I pruned, I cultivated, I adorned (it) with arbors; I built a tower, I made a wine-press vat; I expected that it would bring forth grapes for me, (and) it brought forth thorns and thistles. Now, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, do justice between me and my vineyard."[195]

8 49 . . . եւ մաքրեն բառնան ի մէնջ զամենայն գործս չարութեան իբրեւ զփուշ եւ տատասկ՝ զոր քաղէ հանէ / p. 36 / մշակ յայգոյ,

. . . and clean and take away from us all works of evil, as thorns and thistles which the labourer gathers and takes away from the vineyard.[196]

195. Compare Isa 5:1–3.
196. Paraphrase of Isa 5:1–4.

Eznik C5

Text: Eznik Kołbac‘i, Եղծ աղանդոց *Refutation of the Sects* (Łoukasean Library 14; Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1914). The page numbers below are of this edition.

Translation: Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young, *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kołb (floruit c.430–c.450): An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (Eastern Christian Texts in Translation 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1998). The translation here is my own.

1 6–7 Որ ոչ այնու միայն զարմանալի է, զի ածն ի չգոյէ ի գոյ զչգոյսն եւ եցոյց յոչընչէ յինչ զչէսն, այլ զի եւ անարատ եւ անխախուտ պահէ զլեալսն, որոց եւ յառաջնումն իսկ աննախանձ ետ զկենդանութիւնն առ ի յայտնելոյ զիւրոյ զբարերարութեանն հանդէս:

He who is wonderful not only by that alone, that he brought those things that did not exist from non-existence into existence and that he shows forth those things that are not, from non-being into being, but also because he keeps those things that came about both immaculate and incorruptible (firm), to which ungrudgingly he gave vitality at the beginning, in order to make evident a demonstration of his own beneficence.

2 25–26 Ապա ուրեմն էր երբէք, զի բնաւ չէր ամենեւին ինչ արարիչ բովանդակ, մինչ չեւ Աստուծոյ զմարդն արարեալ էր, ուստի չարիքն լինին: Քանզի մասանց չարեաց գտանի մարդն արարիչ, անտի յայտ է, թէ եւ բովանդակ իսկ չարեացն արարիչ Աստուած է, զոր ամենեւին մի երբէք լիցի ասել, թէ Աստուած չարեաց պատճառ իցէ, այլ այն, որ իւրով կամօք զգործ չարեացն գործիցէ. եւ յումմէ չարն գործի, յիրաւի նմին անուն չարութեան դնի, որպէս եւ յառաջագոյն իսկ ասացաք:

Then there was a time, that there was not any creator at all, before God had made man, from whom evil comes into existence. For man is found to be creator of evil parts. From that it is evident that God is the creator of all evil, which let it never be said that God would be a cause of evils, but that, that by His will the deed of evil might be done.[197] And to the one by whom evil is done, the name of evil is rightly ascribed, as we said formerly.

3 28–30 Իսկ մարդիկ, ասեն, յանձա՞նց ինչ ունիցին զայնպիսի շարժմունս, թէ՞ յԱստուծոյ լեալ իցեն, կամ թէ այլ ոք իցէ, որ զայն ի մարդիկ արկանիցէ:

(43) ՅԱստուծոյ մարդկան այսպիսի ինչ լինել չթուի պատշաճ ասել, այլ ունել անձնիշխանութիւն եւ ազատութիւն առաջնոյ մարդոյն

197. Literally: he might do.

եղելոյ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի նմանէն զնոյն իւրոց պայազատացն ժառանգել: Եւ արդ, առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւնն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ, որ մեծ շնորհին պարգեւեալ է նմա յԱստուծոյ, քանզի այլն ամենայն ի հարկէ ծառայէ աստուածական հրամանին. եթէ զերկնից ասիցես, կայ հաստատեալ եւ ոչ շարժի ի սահմանելոյ նմա տեղւոյն, եւ եթէ զարեգականէ կամիցիս ասել, սակայն եւ նա կատարէ զգատուցեալ նմա զշարժմունսն եւ չիշխէ խուսափել յընթացիցն, այլ ի հարկէ ծառայէ տէրունական հրամանին: Նոյնպէս եւ զերկիր սեղմացեալ տեսանեմք եւ բարձեալ բերէ զհրաման հրամանատուին. եւ զայլսն ամենայն համակերտս ծառայացեալս հրամանաց Արարչին եւ չիշխեն այլ ինչ, քան զայն, յոր կարգեցանն, գործել, վասն որոյ գովեմք զնոսա յաղագս զսահմանս հրամանացն պահելոյ:

Բայց մարդոյ առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ՝ ո՛չ ի հարկէ բնութեան բռնադատեալ, ո՛չ ի զօրութենէն, որ նմա վասն լաւութեանց շնորհեցաւ կասեալ, այլ ի հնազանդութենէ միայն շահի օգուտն եւ յանհնազանդութենէ՝ զվնաս: Եւ զայն ոչ եթէ առ եղեռանէ ինչ լեալ ասեմք մարդոյն, այլ վասն լաւութեանց: Զի եթէ իբրեւ զմի ինչ յայլոցն բնութեանց լեալ էր, զոր ի հարկէն ծառայեն Աստուծոյ, ապա եւ վարձս ընդ կամակորութեանն առնլոյ չէր արժանի, այլ իբրեւ գործի մի էր Արարչին, զոր թէպէտ ի չար վարէր եւ թէպէտ ի բարի, ոչ պարսաւանք ինչ էին նմա եւ ոչ գովութիւնք, այլ պատճառ այն էր, որ զնա այնպէս վարէր, նաեւ ոչ զլաւ ինչ գիտէր այնուհետեւ մարդն, քանզի չէր հմուտ այլ իմիք, բայց այնմ եւեթ, յոր պատշաճեալն էր: Այլ Աստուած այնպէս զմարդն պատուել կամեցաւ, զի առ լաւութեանցն խելամուտ լինելոյ զանձնիշխանութիւնն պարգեւեաց նմա, որով կարող իցէ առնել զինչ եւ կամեսցի եւ զանձնիշխանութիւնն նորա ի լաւն խրատէ դարձուցանել:

“But,” they say, “how do men have such movements in themselves? Have they[198] come into being through God or is there some other who casts them into men?”

It does not seem fitting to say that such a thing happened to men through God, but that the first man created by God had autonomy and freedom, and from him the same was inherited by his descendants. And now, having received autonomy, he upon whom great grace has been bestowed by God, serves whom he wishes, since all the rest (i.e., of creation) necessarily serves the divine command. If you would speak of the heavens, they remain fixed and do not move from the place determined for them; and if you should wish to speak of the sun, moreover, it too carries out the movement set apart for it and it has no power to escape from its orbit, but it necessarily serves the Lord’s command. Similarly we also see the earth, having become dense and

198. I.e., the movements.

lifted up, bears the command of Him who commands. And all other similar things serve the commands of the Creator, and they are unable to do anything other than that, to do that for which they were ordered, on account of which we praise them for observing the limits of the commands.

But man, having received autonomy, serves whom he wishes, not necessarily forced by nature, nor ceasing by the power which was bestowed upon him for the sake of the good things, but through obedience alone he gains the beneficial and through disobedience, hurt. And we do not say that man came into being for some evil, but for the sake of good things. For, if he had come into being like any of the other natures, which serve God by necessity,[199] then he would not be worthy of receiving recompense for perversity, but he would be like a tool of the Creator which He was using for evil or for good; he would have neither blame nor praise, but rather the cause would be him who used him thus. Also, because of this man would not discern any good thing, because he was not skilled at anything else but only that for which he was fitted. But God wished to honor man in this fashion, that he bestowed upon him autonomy for being skillful at good things, by which he would be able to do whatever he wished, and He instructed him to turn his autonomy to the good.

4 31 Եւ արդ, զիա՞րդ երեւէր ընտրութիւն գործոցն, եթէ ոչ ունէր մարդն իշխանութիւն երկոցունց՝ եւ՛ անսալոյն, եւ՛ չանսալոյն: Եւ արդ, յայտ է, թէ անձնիշխան եղեւ մարդն առնել զբարի եւ ժտել ի չար, իբր ոչ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, յոր ժտիցի, այլ այն եւեթ առաջի կայր՝ կա՛մ անսալ Աստուծոյ, կա՛մ չանսալ, եւ զնոյն եւեթ պատճառ չարին իմանալ: Քանզի լեալ մարդն առաջին՝ առնոյր պատուէր յԱստուծոյ եւ չհնազանդեալ աստուածական հրամանին՝ մտաբերէր ի չարիս, եւ անտի լինէր սկիզբն չարեաց:

And now, why did the choice of actions show forth, if man did not have authority[200] over both, both obedience and disobedience?

And now, it is evident that man was autonomous to do good and to venture evil. Not that some evil thing existed before, which he might venture; but only that existed before—either to obey God or not to—and only this can be considered the cause of evil. Because man, having come into being first, received a commandment from God and, having disobeyed the divine commandment, contemplated evil; and from that, the beginning of evil came about.

5 32–33 Արդ, անսաստութիւնն եւեթ, որ արտաքոյ Աստուծոյ կամացն գործիցի, պատճառ չարեաց իմանալի է. եւ նմին զայլ ոք վարդապետ

199. I.e., not by free will.
200. Or: autonomy.

ծածուկ հաշուել դրդիչ եւ ոչ բռնադատիչ, որ զմարդն ի լաւութեանցն մերկանալ կամեցաւ: Ապա եթէ զպատճառն եւս կամիցին խնդրել, զնախանձն, որ առ մարդն եղեւ, իմասցին զպատճառն: Եւ եթէ զնախանձուէն եւս ճշդիւ քննիցեն, թէ ուստի եղեւ, ասասցուք, եթէ յառաւելութենէ զմարդն պատուելոյ, քանզի միայն մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան Աստուծոյ եղեւ:

Իսկ եթէ այնու զԱստուած պատճառ չարեաց կամիցին ասել, անկանին յիմաստնարար խորհրդոյ: Եթէ զնորա ինչ հանեալ էր, եւ մարդոյն շնորհեալ, թերեւս յիրաւի պատճառ չարեաց կարծէր տուիչն, ապա եթէ զնա նոյնպէս որպէս եղեւն պահեաց եւ զմարդն այսպէս կամեցաւ առնել, պատճառ չարեաց նախանձորդն է: Քանզի ոչ եթէ յորժամ իցեն ուրուք երկու ծառայք, եւ զմինն ի ծառայութեան ունիցի եւ զմիւսն յորդեգիրս գրիցէ, եւ միոյն յարուցեալ ի վերայ՝ զմիւսն սպանանիցէ, մի՞թէ պատճառ չարեաց զտէրն պարտ իցէ իմանալ, որ ոչ եհան ինչ ի ծառայէն եւ շնորհեաց միւսոյն:

Now, only disobedience that is done beyond the will of God is to be understood as the cause of evil, and to reckon some other, hidden teacher has been an instigator but not a compeller for this, who wished to strip man of the good things.[201] Then, if they wish further to seek a cause, let them understand the cause to be the envy, which came into being against man.

And if they would enquire more precisely concerning the envy, whence it came into being, we shall say that it is from the abundance of man's being honored, because man alone came into being according to the image and according to the likeness of God.

Then, if by this they wish to say that God is the cause of evil, they lay down the instructive opinion. If He had removed something of his (i.e. Satan's) and bestowed it upon man, perhaps he would think correctly that the Giver is the cause of evils. But if He preserved him (i.e., Satan) just as he came into being and wished to make man thus,[202] the envious one is the cause of evil. Because, is it not the case that if someone has two slaves and holds one in servitude and adopts the other as a son, and the one having risen up kills the other, must one understand the master as the cause of evils, who took nothing from the (one) slave and bestowed it (not) upon the other?

6 33 ԺԲ Արդ եւ զայն եւս հարցանեն, եթէ չար ինչ չկայր առաջի, ուստի՞ օձն, զոր սատանայ կոչէք, իմացաւ զհանգամանս չարին:

Now, in addition they ask that, "If something evil did not exist before, whence did the serpent, whom you call Satan, discern the nature of evil?"

201. I.e., the Edenic privileges.
202. I.e., in the way he did.

7 Ասեմք, եթէ սատանայ չար զստունգանելն մարդոյն Աստուծոյ իմացաւ, վասն որոյ զմարդն յայն յօժարեցոյց: Որպէս յորժամ իցէ ոք ուրուք թշնամի եւ թագուցեալ զթշնամութիւնն՝ գաղտ կամիցի վնասել եւ չգիտիցէ զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն եւ շուրջ եկեալ՝ յածիցի հնարս խնդրել, ապա գտեալ ժամանակ, յորժամ ոք ի բժշկաց թշնամւոյն նորա պատուէր տայցէ յայս ինչ չհպել եւ յայս նիշ կերակրոց չճաշակել, որով առողջութեանն կարիցէ հասանել, եւ նորա լուեալ՝ վաղվաղակի ի կեղծիս բարեկամութեան կեղծաւորեալ զբժիշկն պարսաւիցէ եւ զօգտակարսն նմա վնասակարս թելադրեալ կարծեցուցանիցէ եւ հակառակ պատուէրս հրամանաց բժշկին տայցէ եւ այնու առնիցէ նմա վնաս, որ ոչ եթէ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, այլ ի պատուիրելոյ բժշկին / p. 34 / գտեալ հնարս՝ եղեւ վնասակար: Նոյնպէս կարծի եւ զսատանայէ. նախանձելն նմա ընդ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն եւ չգիտել զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, քանզի ոչ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, ուստի զհանգամանսն մարթ էր առնուլ, ուսեալ յԱստուծոյ պատուիրանէն, որ մարդոյն տուաւ արգելուլ զնա ի ճաշակելոյ ի տնկոյ իմեքէ ի մահաբերէ զայն առաջադրեաց մարդոյն, որ ոչ եթէ անպիտան ինչ ի կերակուրս մարդոյ էր եւ ոչ բնութեամբ տունկն մահաբեր: Եւ վասն այնորիկ ինչ արգելաւ մարդն ի ճաշակելոյ ի նմանէ, այլ անսաստութիւնն եղեւ պատճառ մահուան մարդոյն, իբրեւ յանցաւորի, որ անցանիցէ զհրամանաւ հրամանատուի, որ նմա կարգեալ իցէ:

We say that Satan discerned that for man to disobey God was evil; on account of which he induced man to that. Just as when someone is a person's enemy and having hid the enmity, wishes to harm (him) secretly and does not know the manner (nature) of harming, having come around[203] he walks about to seek for the means. Then, having found a time when one of his enemy's physicians might instruct him not to draw near to this thing and not to eat of this sort of food; by this he might attain health. And he, having heard, at once after having dissembled false friendship, found fault with the doctor, (and) causes him to think that that which has been supposed to be helpful to him is harmful and he might give instructions contrary to the doctor's order. And by that he does harm to him, not that he formerly knew the manner of harmfulness, but having found a means in the doctor's instruction, it became harmful. Likewise it is opined concerning Satan, that he envied the first-created man and did not know the manner (nature) of harming (him). For it is not that some evil thing was previously, whence he could take this manner (nature). He learned from God's commandment, which He gave[204] to man to prevent him from eating from some mortal plant; he proposed to the man that it is not that the plant was useless as food for man, and not that

203. Cf. 1 Pet 5:8.
204. Or: was given.

it was by nature mortal. And for that reason why was man forbidden to eat of it? But disobedience was the cause of death for man, as a transgressor who transgressed the commandment of the one who commands, which is set forth for him.

8 34 Արդ, ժտեցոյց թշնամին զմարդն՝ անցանել զհրամանաւն Աստուծոյ, որպէս զի ոչ եթէ ստուգեալ գիտէր, եթէ այնու նմա վնաս ինչ գործել կարիցէ, այլ կարծեօք ի թեթեւս մատուցեալ, եթէ լիցի եւ թէ չլինիցի. եւ յետոյ յԱստուծոյ պատուհասէն, որ առ մարդն եղեւ վասն պատուիրանազանցութեանն, իմացաւ, եթէ պատուիրանք նորա մահ գործեցին: Եւ յիրաւի պատժեցան ե՛ւ նա, ե՛ւ մարդն, զոր յօժարեցոյց յանսաստութիւնն ճաշակել ի փայտէն, որ ոչ բնութեամբ մահաբեր էր, այլ յԱստուծոյ սպառնալեացն եղեւ այնպիսի իրաց պատճառ:

Now, the Enemy emboldened man to transgress God's order, not that he knew exactly that through this he could do him some harm but by conjecturing that if he approached quickly it would either happen or not. And afterwards, from God's punishment, which came upon man because of transgression of commandment, he discerned that His commandments dealt death. And justly both he and the man were punished. He induced him to disobedience, to eat from the tree that was not mortal by nature, but, through God's threats became the cause of such things.

9 35 Եւ որպէս բժշկի ոչ կարեմք մեղադիր լինել վասն յառաջագոյնն զգուշացուցանելոյ, որով օրինակաւ կարիցէ մարդն առողջանալ, եւ նորա, թողեալ զպատուէրս բժշկին, անսայցէ թշնամւոյն, որ զվնասակար խրատսն տայցէ նմա, որով ոչ զպատճառս վնասուն ի բժշկէն, որ յառաջագոյնն գուշակեաց նմա, իմանալի է, այլ ի թշնամւոյն, որ ի պատուիրանէ բժշկին նմա զվնասն հնարեցաւ, նոյնպէս եւ զսատանայէ ասեմք լեալ թշնամի մարդկան, որ չեւ եւս՝ գիտէր զհանգամանս չարեաց, այլ ի պատուիրանէն Աստուծոյ ուսեալ՝ կամեցաւ վնասել մարդոյն, որպէս զի եթէ առանց Աստուծոյ կամաց ի ծառոյն ուտիցէ, առնուցու պատիժ զմահ: Քանզի եթէ յառաջագոյն չէր գուշակեալ Աստուծոյ մարդոյն չուտել ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, եւ նորա յանգէտս կերեալ, չլինէր նմա պատիժ մահ, կամ որպէս թէ առ ի չգիտանս եկեր կամ թէ առ չժուժկալելոյ ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, չէր ինչ պատժի պարտական: Քանզի եւ մանուկ կաթնակեր, որ յայլ ինչ կերակուր մտաբերիցէ, ոչ պատժելի է, այլ արգահատելի, որպէս թէ առ ի չգոյէ կաթին յայն յօժարեաց: Նաեւ օձն, որ է սատանայ, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ վասն ընդ անագորոյն թշնամութեան ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ:

Եւ արդ, սկիզբն չարեաց զնախանձն ասեմք, եւ զնախանձն՝ յառաւել զմարդն պատուելոյ, եւ զչարիսն՝ յանհնազանդութենէն: Զի Աստուած այնպէս առաւել զմարդն պատուեաց, եւ նորա անսաստեալ զընկէց

զպատուիրանն։ Ուստի զամենայն ինչ, որ լինի չար, ոչ բնութեամբ. չար գիտեմք, այլ զի առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ գործին իրք ինչ՝ լինին չար.

And just as we cannot blame a doctor for giving caution in advance how a man could be healed, if he, abandoning the doctor's command, obeyed his enemy who gave him harmful counsel. By this it is to be discerned that the causes of damage do not stem from the doctor, who cautioned him in advance, but from his enemy, who by the doctor's command contrived harm to him. Likewise we say of Satan, that he became enemy of man before he knew the means (nature) of evil, but he learned it from God's commandment and then wished to harm man, so that if he ate from the tree without (against) God's wish, he would receive death as a punishment. For if God had not warned man in advance not to eat of the food of the tree, and he had eaten in ignorance, he would not have received the punishment of death, or if he had eaten in ignorance or if he were unable to restrain himself from the food of the tree, he would not be liable for punishment. Because also a suckling infant, who tries out some other nourishment, is not to be punished but to be comforted, as if in the absence of milk he desired that.[205] The serpent also, who is Satan, was justly punished because he had cruel enmity against man.

And now we say that the beginning of evil is envy, and that envy (is) from the abundant honoring of man[206] and evil from disobedience. For God thus abundantly honored man and he, having disobeyed, cast off the commandment. From this, (we infer) that everything which becomes evil is not evil by nature, but that because things are done without God's will they become evil.

10 36 Նա եւ ընդ լինելն իսկ սատանայի յԱստուծոյ գիտաց, եթէ անսաստել ումեք Աստուծոյ չար է եւ ոչ բարի, քանզի ոչ եթէ անմիտ ինչ ոք եղեւ նա յԱստուծոյ, եթէ չգիտէր, եթէ որ ինչ ըստ Աստուծոյ կամացն լինի, բարի է, եւ որ ինչ արտաքոյ քան զնորա կամսն, այն չար է։ Եւ վասն այնորիկ յիրաւի տանջէ զնա Աստուած, զի գիտէ նա զբարին եւ ոչ առնէ եւ հմուտ է չարին եւ ոչ խորշի։

Then, too, when Satan came into being through God, he knew that if someone disobeys God it is evil and not good. Because he did not come into being through God as somebody somewhat mindless that he did not know that whatever is according to God's will is good, and whatever is beyond His will, that is bad. And for this reason justly God punishes him, because he knows the good and does not do it and is expert in evil and does not shun it.

11 36 Եւ ոչ չար եւ չարչարիչ հաստատեաց զնա Աստուած եւ ոչ փորձիչ,

205. Cf. 1 Cor 3:2–3.
206. Cf. Wis 2:24.

եթէ նովաւ փորձեալ՝ զարդարս զտեսցէ: Եւ ոչ ինքն յանձնէ չար գտեալ եւ ոչ անարար եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ, այլ մտաւոր եղեալ յԱստուծոյ եւ հմուտ գիտութեան, թէ չար է հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանին, եւ յայն, զոր գիտէրն, թէ չար է, յանդգնեցաւ: Զանսաստութենէն ասեմք. եւ անսաստութիւնն ոչ եթէ անձնաւոր ինչ յառաջագիւտ եհաս ի գիտութիւնն սատանայի, այլ իբրեւ զմի ինչ եղեալ ի դիպաց կամեցելոյն:

And God did not make him evil, nor a tormentor, nor a tempter, that, by whom having tempted the righteous, he might purify them. And he himself was not found evil through himself; and not uncreated and an adversary to God, but having come into being through God, intelligent and expert in the knowledge that it is evil to oppose God's commands, and he presumed to do that which he knew to be evil. We speak concerning disobedience; and disobedience is not an animate thing, previously existent, that came to Satan's knowledge, but like a thing that came into being fortuitously through the one who wished.

12 36–37 Նա եւ զմարդոյ յիրաւի ասեմք կրել պատուհաս ընդ որոց գործիցէ եւ քանզի կամաւ երթայ յուսումն այնպիսի իրաց, յորոց յորժամ եւ կամիցի եւ մեկնել կարող է, քանզի ե՛ւ կամելոյն, ե՛ւ չկամելոյն ունի իշխանութիւն, զորոյ զհետ երթայ եւ կարելն զոր ինչ կամիցի առնել:

And behold, as for man, we say that he rightly suffers punishment for the things that he did and because voluntarily he goes to the study of such things, he could be separate from these if[207] he wished, because he has the power both of willing and of not willing, following which there comes the ability to do whatever he wills.

13 37 ԺԳ Որովհետեւ, ասեն, չարեաց արարիչ զԱստուած չկամիք ասել, այլ ի մարդկանէ եղեալ թելադրութեամբ սատանայի ի հնազանդելոցն նորա եւ ի խաբեցելոց: Եւ յիրաւի կրեն պատիժս, զի կարէին հատանել եւ ընկենուլ ի բաց զչարիսն եւ ոչ կամեցան: Եւ արդ, վասն նորին իսկ սատանայի հարցցուք՝ այնպիսի՞ արդեօք արար զնա Աստուած, եթէ՞ ինքնին այնպիսի չէր եւ յօժարեաց ի չարաբարել:

"Because," they say "you do not wish to say that God is the maker of evil, but that it came into being through man at Satan's instigation, through those who were going to obey him and (to be) deceived (i.e., by him). And rightly do they suffer punishments, for they could have cut off and cast out evil, and they did not wish (to do so)." And now let us ask, concerning that very same Satan, "Did God create him thus or was he not in himself thus and (subsequently) became disposed to do evil?"

207. Or: when.

14 37 Եթէ այնպիսի արարեալ էր զնա Աստուծոյ, պատիժս ի նմանէ չէր պարտ պահանջել, զի պահեաց զպայման բնութեանն՝ յոր արարն զնա Աստուած. եւ որ ոք ոչ կամօք ինչ գործէ, ընդ այնր պատիժ չպարտի կրել, բայց որ կամօք կարող է գործել եւ գործ ինչ յոռութեան գործիցէ, յիրաւի պատժի, զի ոչ եկաց յայնմ՝ զոր Աստուածն կամի: Ապա եթէ Աստուծոյ բարւոք եղեւ եւ անձամբ յանձնէ դարձոյց զկամսն ի չար՝ հեռացուցեալ զինքն ի լաւէն, յիրաւի պահանջի ընդ որոց յանդգնեցաւն՝ պատիժս:

If God had made him thus, it would not be necessary to require punishment of him, because he preserved the condition of his nature in which God made him. And he who does not do something by will, need not suffer punishment for it. But he who can act by will and commits some degenerate act, is justly punished, because he did not remain (firmly) in that which God wills. But, if he came into being from God as good, and if by and through himself he has twisted his will to evil, having distanced himself from the good, he is justly punished rightly in consequence for the deeds he dared to do.

15 37–38 Զի զսատանայ մեք ոչ յԱստուծոյ սատանայ եղեալ գիտեմք, այլ զսատան անուն վասն խոտորելոյն էառ իւր անուն: Քանզի սատանայ յեբրայեցւոց եւ յասորւոց լեզուէ խոտորեալ թարգմանի:

But as for Satan, we know that Satan was not created by God. But he received the name "Satan" because of his going astray,[208] because "Satan" is translated from the Hebrew and Syriac languages as "misled."[209]

16 38 այլ զօրութիւն իմն զգայուն լաւութեանց հաստատեցաւ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի թշնամութենէ ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ՝ իւրն կամօք եղեւ բանսարկու: Թողեալ զԱստուծոյ հպատակութիւն՝ սկսաւ անսաստել, ի հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանացն ուսուցանել մարդկան եւ իբրեւ զապստամբ յետս կացեալ՝ թիւրեցաւ յԱստուծոյ: Եւ վկայէ՝ բանիս աստուածական բարբառն, որ ապստամբ վիշապն կոչէ զնա՝ եթէ հրամանաւ սպան զապստամբ վիշապն: Եւ արդարեւ իսկ բանն Աստուած սպան զսատանայ, այնու զի կոխելոյն զնա ետ իշխանութիւն:

Արդ ապստամբ կոչէ զնա գիր. եթէ նոյնպիսի՝ որպէս եղեւն յԱստուծոյ՝ կացեալ էր, ապա ոչ ապստամբ կոչէր զնա. զի որ ապստամբի ոք, թողու զիւր պայմանն՝ որով ոչ անարար իսկ ցուցանի: Զի եթէ անարար էր, ապա ոչ յիւրմէն՝ բնութենէն փոխէր. քանզի չմարթի բնութեան իմիք՝ առանց կամաց՝ մերթ բարի լինել, մերթ չար:

But he was established by God as a power sensitive to good, yet because

208. Or: "leading astray" and "misleading."
209. Or: having gone astray.

of the enmity he entertained toward man, by his own will he became "the Devil."[210] Having abandoned submission to God, he started to disobey, to teach men to oppose God's commands, and like a rebel, abandoning God, he turned away from (him). And the divine Scripture[211] attests to this term, calling him "rebel dragon"[212] that by a command he killed the rebel dragon. And indeed God the Word killed Satan, by that He granted authority to trample him.

Now Scripture calls him "rebel." If he had remained of the same sort as he was created by God, then it would not have called him "rebel." Because whoever rebels leaves his (i.e., his original) state, by which he is shown not to be uncreated. For if he were uncreated, then he would not change from his nature, because it is impossible for any (given) nature, without will, to be sometimes good and sometimes evil.

17 38–39 (ԺԴ) Իսկ արդ եթէ ոչ էր անարար, ասեն, ըստ ձեզ սատանայ, եւ ոչ այնպիսի եղեալ յԱստուծոյ, եւ անձամբ զանձն դարձոյց ի լաւէ անտի ի յոռին, որ է ի հնազանդութենէ յանհնազանդութիւն, արդ զայն ասացէք. գիտէ՞ր Աստուած՝ եթէ այնպէս լինելոց էր, եթէ չգիտէր. թէ գիտէր եւ արար, ինքն է պատճառ նորա ի լաւութեացն դառնալոյ. ապա եթէ ոչ գիտէր, զի՞րդ առնէր զայն, զոր ոչն գիտէր՝ թէ որպիսի ինչ ոք լինելոց իցէ:

Now then, if, according to you, they say that Satan was not uncreated, and was not created thus by God, and by himself turned himself from the good to the wicked, which is from obedience to disobedience, now you say, "Did God know that he would become such, or did He not know? If He knew and made (him), He himself is the cause of his (the Devil's) turning away from goodness; but, if he did not know, why did He make that one whom he did not know what sort of thing he would become?"

18 39 Անգիտութիւն կարծել զԱստուծոյ՝ անհնարին յիմարութիւն է. քանզի միայն ինքն կանխագէտ է հանդերձելոց: Այլ քանզի բարերար էութիւն է Աստուած, ոչ կամեցաւ զազնուականութիւնն իւր ծածկել.

To think of ignorance with respect to God is impossible foolishness, because

210. Rev 2:10; 19:12; and 20:2. This is the usual translation of διάβολος, which we render as "Devil."

211. Or, literally: word.

212. Cf. Rev 12:7–9; the word "rebel" may be an exegesis of the Syriac *ḥrmn'* corresponding to חרב in חרב שחנ in Isa 27:1, but this is far from certain. In any case, the usual translation of Revelation into Armenian was done in the High Middle Ages and so proves nothing about the origin of this phrase. In the old translation, published by Murad (1905–11), the word "rebel" does not occur either.

He alone knows the future things in advance. But because God is a beneficent being, He did not wish to conceal His generosity.

19 39 վասն որոյ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զսատանայէ՝ եթէ թիւրելոց է, եւ զմարդիկ յանցուցանելոց՝ առ ի չունկնդիր լինելոյ հրամանաց նորա, որով միանգամայն վասն անձնիշխանութեան մարդոյն երեւելոյ արար զնա Աստուած. զի առաւելութիւն բարերարութեան նորա յայտնի լիցի մարդկան, վասն թողութեան տալոյ մարդկան յառաջագոյն գործելոցն մեղաց: Զի յորժամ զսատանայ ամբարշտացեալ տեսանիցեն եւ չբարձեալ ի միջոյ, եւ վասն իւրեանց մեղացն իմանայցեն՝ թէ գոյ հնար թողութեան ապաշխարութեամբ. զի Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն ցուցանիցի, եւ մարդիկ զշնորհին նորա գիտասցեն. զի եթէ այն այնպէս չէր լեալ, եւ ոչ բարերարութեանն նորա ոք խելամուտ լինէր:

Because of this, He knew in advance that Satan would turn astray and cause humans to transgress, so that they became disobedient to His commands. By this at the same time (i.e., as man) God created him (the Devil) so as to make human autonomy evident, so that the abundance of His beneficence might be known to humans, on account of forgiving humans for the sins committed previously. Because when they would see Satan who had been impious but was not destroyed, they also would be pardoned for their sins, (and see) that forgiveness is possible through repentance, in order that God's beneficence might be exhibited and humans might discern His grace. For if that had not happened thus,[213] no one would be informed of His beneficence.

20 39 Նա բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, յետ թիւրելոյն սատանայի եւ խաբելոյ զմարդն՝ ընդէ՞ր իսկ ոչ եբարձ ի միջոյ, զի մի՛ զբազումս սպանանիցէ:

"Entirely so," they say, "After Satan turned astray and deceived man, why then was he not destroyed, so that he might not kill many?"

21 39–40 Ոչ եթէ չէր կարող Աստուած բառնալ զսատանայ ի միջոյ, քանզի չիք ամենեւին տկարութիւն զԱստուծով. այլ զի չէր ինչ մեծ գործ Աստուծոյ զսատանայ ինքնին անձամբ սպանանել, եւ զարարած մի զիւր փոքր յոչինչ դարձուցանել, զի մի կարծիցի՝ թէ վասն չժուժալոյ չարութանն նորա սպան զնա:

Երկրորդ անգամ՝ զի անծանօթ եւս լինէր առ յապայ մարդկան Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն, թէ յառաջագոյն սպանանէր զսատանայ. զի ոչ ոք ունէր նշանակ ինչ յայտնի բարերար կոչելոյ զԱստուած: Այլ թերեւս եւ կարծիք ինչ ի մէջ մտանէին՝ թէ հաւասար ինչ ոք էր նա Աստուծոյ, եւ աճապարեաց ի միջոյ եբարձ.

վասն որոյ պահեաց զնա, եւ ոչ կորոյս ի միջոյ, զի մարդիկ յորժամ

213. Literally: in that way.

լաւութեանցն հմուտ լինիցին, յաղթեսցեն նմա՝ փոխանակ այնոցիկ՝ որք յառաջնումն յաղթեցան ի նմանէ:

It is not that God was unable to destroy Satan, because there is not any inability at all with respect to God, but that it would not have been a great work for God Himself to kill Satan by himself—to return his one little creature to nothingness (but he did not do this) so that it should not be thought that He killed him because he was unable to put up with his wickedness.

Second, God's beneficence would still not have been known to humans in the future, if He had killed Satan earlier on, because no one would have had any clear sign for calling God beneficent. Moreover, perhaps thoughts would have arisen[214] that he was someone equal to God, and that anticipating, He destroyed him.

On account of this, He preserved him, and did not destroy him, so that humans when they became adept at goodness, might overcome him, in place of those who previously were overcome by him.

22 50–51 Այլ մեք զցաւոց եւ զմահուան բազում ինչ պատճառս ունիմք ճշմարիտ բանիւ ի մէջ բերել:

Նախ այն իսկ՝ զի յորժամ մարդն զԱստուծոյ պատուիրանաւն անց, ապա եղեւ ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ. քանզի ցկինն ասաց՝ թէ. ցաւովք եւ տրտմութեամբ որդիս ծնջիր. եւ ցայրն՝ թէ. Աշխատութեամբ եւ քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո, մինչեւ լիցի քեզ դարձ անդրէն յերկիր՝ ուստի առար, զի հող էիր, եւ ի հող դարձջիր: Որով յայտ է, զի թէպէտ եւ բնութիւն մարդոյ՝ քանզի մարմնապատ է՝ ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ կարծէր, այլ թէ կացեալ էր ի պատուիրանին՝ պահէր զնա կենդանարարն կենդանի, որ յոչընչէն կարող եղեւ զշունչ մարդոյն առնել, եւ պահէ միշտ կենդանի եւ անմահ, նոյն եւ զմարմինն՝ զոր յերկրէ ստեղծ՝ կարող էր պահել կենդանի:

But, with a true word, we have many reasons to urge for afflictions and death.

First, indeed, that one, that when man transgressed God's commandment, then he came under pains and under death. Because He said to the woman, "In pain and sorrow you shall give birth to children (or: sons),"[215] and to the man, "With labor and the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread, until there takes place for you a return again to the earth from which you were taken. For you were dust, and to dust you shall return."[216] Through this it is clear that because man's nature is corporeal, he considered it subject to pain

214. Literally: entered inside.
215. Gen 3:16.
216. Gen 3:19.

and death; but if he had stood firm in the commandment, the Life-Giver would have kept him alive—He who was able to create the spirit[217] of man from nothing, and keeps it alive always and immortal, that same One was able to keep the body alive, which He created from the earth.

23 52 Զի ներող եւ արգահատող է արարիչն, այն ամենեցուն իսկ յայտնի է. եւ առաւել յայնմանէ, զի յետ յանցանելոյ մարդոյն՝ իջեալ անմարմինն՝ իբր զմարմնաւոր ոք ոտնաձայն առնէր ի դրախտին. եւ մեղմով եւ աղերսալից բարբառով ասէր ցյանցուցեալն՝ Ու՞ր ես, Ադամ, զի մի տագնապեցուցեալ՝ չտացէ ուշաբերել նմա ապաշխարութեան. եւ զի չեկն ի զղջումն յանցուցեալն, յիրաւի կրեաց պատիժ զմահ:

It is well known to all that the Creator is merciful and compassionate.[218] And more than that, because after man's transgression, the Incorporeal One descended, like a bodily being he made the sound of a footstep in the Garden and with gentle and supplicating speech said to the transgressor: "Where are you Adam?"[219] Lest, not having constrained him, he would cause him not to recall repentance. And because the transgressor did not reach repentance, he justly suffered death as a punishment.

24 52 Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս, զի իւրոյ արարչին յառաջագոյն պատուիրեալ էր նմա՝ թէ յորում աւուր ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին աւուր մեռանիս. եւ թշնամին յետոյ եկեալ ասէր՝ ոչ մեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Եւ արդ, ո՞յր բանից պարտ էր հաստատուն լինել, այ՞նր՝ որ յառաջագոյն զգուշացոյց, եւ կամէր ընկնդրութեամբ պատուիրանին զնոսա անմահ պահել, եթէ միւսոյն՝ որ պատրանօք ջանայր զնա մահկանացու առնել:

Again, yet a different (i.e., consideration): because his Creator had commanded him earlier, "On the day that you eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same day you will die."[220] And afterwards the Enemy came and said, "You will not die, but you will become like gods."[221] And now, to whose words should he have been constant? To him who had warned (him) in advance and wished to keep him immortal through obedience to the commandment, or to the other one, who strove to make him mortal through deceptions?

25 52–53 Եւ եթէ չէր Արարչին յետ յանցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն զմարդն մահկանացու արարեալ, հանապազ մարդն սատանայի հաւատայր, եւ ոչ Աստուծոյ. զի սա ասաց՝ եթէ ուտես ի պտղոյն, մեռանիս. եւ նա ասէր՝ թէ ուտես, չմեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Արդ,

217. Or: breath.
218. Neh 9:17.
219. Cf. Gen 3:8–9.
220. Gen 2:17.
221. Gen 3:4–5.

եդ մահ ի վերայ բնութեանս մարդկան արարիչ բնութեանն. զի իւր բանն հաստատեսցի, եւ չար խրատատուն պարտաւորեալ գտանիցի: զի թէպէտ առ ժամանակ մի վասն այսց երկուց պատճառանաց ընդ մահուամբ անկանիցի, այլ ըստ իւրում կարողութեան յարուցէ միւս անգամ, եւ յանսպառ յաւիտեանս կենդանի եւ անմահ պահեսցէ: Եւ որ զհրեշտակս եւ զհոգիս մարդկան յոչնչէ արարեալ՝ կենդանիս եւ անմահս պահէ, նոյն եւ զմարմինս կարող էր կենդանի պահել՝ թէ չէր առաջնոյ մարդոյն զԱստուծոյ հրամանն զընկեցեալ:

And if the Creator had not made man mortal after transgressing the commandment, man would always have believed in Satan and not God, because this one said, "If you eat of the fruit you will die,"[222] and that one (i.e., Satan) said, "If you eat you will not die, but you will become like gods."[223] Now the Creator of that nature imposed death upon this human nature in order that His own word might be established and the evil counsellor be found guilty. For, although for a time for these two reasons he might fall under death, yet, He would raise him up a second time in accordance with His own ability, and would keep him alive and undying for an infinite eternity. And, he who created the angels and souls (spirits) of humans from nothing and keeps (them) alive and undying, that same One also was able to keep the bodies alive, had not God's order been cast down by the first man.

26 53 (ԺԹ) Այլ զի Աստուած մահուան չէ պատճառ, վկայեսցէ ամենարուեստ իմաստունն, որ ասէ՝ եթէ Աստուած զմահ ոչ արար, եւ ոչ խնդայ ընդ կորուստ մարդկան. այլ հաստատեաց Աստուած զմարդն յանեղծութիւն պատկերի իւրոյ մշտնջենաւորութեանն, եւ նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ:

But that God is not the cause of death the most wise Sage will testify who says, "God did not make death, nor did he rejoice at the destruction of humans."[224] Rather, "God established man for incorruptibility of the eternity of His own image. And through the envy of the Devil death entered the world."[225]

27 53–54 Եւ դարձեալ ինքն իսկ ասէ. ես ասացի՝ թէ աստուածք իցէք, եւ որդիք Բարձրելոյ ամենեքին: Այս ինքն՝ եթէ ես զձեզ անմահս արարի, եթէ կացեալ էիք յիմում հրամանին, բայց որովհետեւ ոչ կացէք յիմում պատուիրանին, դուք իբրեւ զմարդիկ մեռանիք, իբրեւ զմի յիշխանաց անկանիք. եւ ոչ ընդ ձեր մահ կամէի, եւ ոչ ընդ իշխանին վատ խրատտուին անկանել:

222. Gen 2:17.
223. Gen 3:4–5.
224. Cf. Wis 1:13.
225. Cf. Wis 2:23–24.

And again He himself indeed says, “I said, ‘You are gods and sons of the Most High, all of you.’”[226] That is to say, “I created you immortal if you had observed my command; but because you did not hold fast to my commandment, you die like men, like one of the princes you fall.[227] I did not want death in place of you, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor.”

28 54 Այլ բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, ընդէ՞ր եմոյծ զնոսա ի կռիւս ընդ միմեանս:

They say a quite different thing, “Why did He lead them into quarrels with one another?”

29 54 Այսու զանձնիշխանութիւնն սատանայի եւ զմարդոյն կամին խափանել. զի Աստուած՝ որ աննախանձն արար զնոսա անձնիշխանս, ոչ կամէր թէ որպէս զանասունս ի հարկէ վարիցին, եւ ապա անձնիշխանութիւնն այնուհետեւ չլինէր անձնիշխանութիւն:

By this they wish to impede the autonomy of Satan and of man. Because God, who without envy made them autonomous, did not want them to have to conduct themselves like dumb beasts,[228] and then consequently the autonomy would not be autonomy.

30 54 Բայց Աստուած թէպէտ եւ ունէր իշխանութիւն զիւրոյ արարածոյն զհանդէսն տեսանել, այլ ոչ ինքն դրդեաց զնոսա անկանել ընդ միմեանս: Իբրեւ ետես զսատանայ նախանձու բորբոքեալ, թոյլ ետ անձնիշխանին ընդ անձնիշխանին ոգորել. քանզի գիտէր՝ եթէ ոչ ինչ տկարագոյն է սորա անձնիշխանութիւնս քան զնորայն. եւ ոչ նա կանխագէտ, եւ ոչ սա կանխագէտ. եւ ոչ նա՝ բռնաւոր, եւ սա տկար ոք: Եւ զի չէր բռնաւոր ոք, յայնմանէ յայտ է՝ զի ցկինն պատրանօք մատուցեալ հարցանեւ,[229] ոչ բռնութեամբ զարհուրեցուցանէր: Եւ զի չէր կանխագէտ, ասէ, զի՞նչ է այդ՝ զոր ասաց Աստուած, զի ի նմանէն ուցի զհանգամանսն:

But God, even if He has authority to see the practice of His creation, nevertheless He Himself does not move them to fall upon one other. When He saw Satan inflamed by jealousy, He allowed the autonomous to fight with the autonomous because He knew that the autonomy of the one was in no way weaker than that of the other; nor was the one prescient and the other not prescient; and that the one was violent (powerful) and the other someone weak. And it is evident that no one was violent from that, that having approached the woman by guile, he posed a question and did not terrify by violence. And

226. Cf. Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:6; John 10:34.
227. Ps 82:7 =Arm 81:6; cf. Luke 10:18.
228. Or: irrational creatures.
229. So the edition, perhaps emend to հարցանէրն.

because he was not prescient he said, “What is this that God said?”[230] so that he might learn situation from her.

31 56 (Ի) Արդ որովհետեւ վասն մահու եւ ցաւոց ի վերայ մարդոյն դնելոյ ցուցաւ յաստուածատուր գրոց՝ թէ վասն անցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն Աստուծոյ մտին յաշխարհ, ասասցուք եւ զայլ եւս զպատճառսն՝ վասն որոյ տարաժամ մահք լինին:

Now, because it was set forth in the God-given Scriptures concerning the imposition of death and pains upon man, that they entered into the world on account of the transgression of God’s commandment, let us also state the further causes on account of which untimely deaths come about.

32 56 Բազում անգամ թերեւս չարիք ինչ մեծամեծք առաջի մարդոյն կայցեն, կամ նեղութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ կարէ ժուժալ, կամ փորձութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ լիցի բաւական տանել, Աստուած կանխագէտ եւ մարդասէր գթացեալ յիւր արարածն՝ տարաժամ մահուամբ զերծուցանէ զմարդն յայնպիսի չարեացն. ըստ այնմ զոր գիրն ասէ, թէ յառաջ քան զչարն ժողովեսցի արդարն:

Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս. առնին մահք տարաժամք, զի յամենայն տիս եւ ի բոլոր ժամանակս պատրաստական մարդոյն գտեալ՝ չզեղծիցի յաստուածպաշտութենէ:

Many times also certain very great evils stand before man, either afflictions which he is unable to withstand or trials which he is inadequate to endure. God, prescient and lover of humans, pitying on His creature, liberates man from such evils by an untimely death, according to that which Scripture says, “The righteous one will be gathered up before the evil one.”[231]

Again and in yet another way, untimely deaths are made so that people, having been found ready (for it) at every age and at all times, will not be removed from piety.

33 56–-57 Բայց թէպէտ եւ յանիծից մտին ցաւք յաշխարհ, սակայն են եւ այլ ինչ պատճառք: Երբեմն վասն մեղաց, ըստ այնմ՝ զոր ցանդամալոյծն ասաց Տէր, թէ, ողջացար՝ այսուհետեւ մի՛ մեղանչէր:[232] Եւ հայեցեալ ընդ հաւատս մատուցանելեացն, ասէ ցմիւս անդամալոյծն՝ թէ. թողեալ լիցին քեզ մեղք քո, զի յայտ արասցէ, թէ են ինչ ցաւք՝ որ վասն մեղաց լինին, եւ են ինչ ցաւք, որ ոչ վասն մեղաց. …

But although pains entered the world by a curse, nonetheless there are also certain other causes. Sometimes because of sins, according to that which the

230. Gen 3:1.

231. I.e., Before he does evil; cf. Isa 57:1–3.

232. This is a prohibition, and the ending –եր would be expected.

Lord said to the paralytic, "Be healed! Henceforth do not sin."[233] And having regarded the faith of those who drew near, he said to the other paralytic, "Your sins shall be forgiven you,"[234] so that he might make clear that there are some pains that occur because of sins, and some other pains that (are) not because of sins. …

34 63 Որպէս առաջնոյ մարդոյն՝ մինչ չեւ յանցուցեալ էր՝ հնազանդ էին, եւ ոչ մեղանչականք. եւ որպէս առ առաքելովքն վատթարեալ էր սատանայ, մինչեւ կախարդացն յահէ նշանացն՝ զոր առնէին բերել զգիրս կախարդանացն զծանրագինս՝ եւ այրել առաջի առաքելոցն:

Just as (the demons) were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin, and were not sinful; and just as in the time of the Apostles Satan was so weakened that through fear of the signs that they were accomplishing, the magicians brought the precious books of magic and burnt (them) before the Apostles[235] . . .

35 66 Եւ յորժամ երեւել սրբոց իւրոց կամէր, ոչ այլով իւիք կերպարանօք՝ այլ միայն մարդոյ կերպարանօք, զոր ըստ իւրում պատկերին արար, յայտնէր. եւ այն ոչ վայրապար ինչ լինէր, այլ զի զառաւել սէրն իւր՝ զոր ընդ մարդկան ունէր՝ ցուցանիցէ. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի յառաջագոյն կրթեսցէ զմարդիկ ածել ի գիտութիւն. զի յորժամ զորդին իւր իբրեւ զմարդ յաշխարհ առաքեսցէ, մի օտարոտի ինչ զիրսն համարեսցին. մանաւանդ զի գիտիցեն՝ թէ ինքն իսկ այն կերպարանօք յայտնէր: Որպէս իջեալ ի դրախտն առ Ադամ՝ ոտնաձայն իբրեւ զմարդ առնէր: . . .

And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image. And that was not an inconsequential thing, but rather so that He might show His exceeding love, which He has for humans. And again, so that He might educate humans beforehand to bring (them) to knowledge, so that when He would send His Son to the world as a man, they would not reckon the matter at all strange; particularly so that they might know that He revealed Himself in that form.

Just as, when He descended into the Garden to Adam, He made a footfall like a man[236] . . .

36 104 (ԺԲ) Իսկ այլք այլազգ կարծեցին զսատանայէ, թէ Աստուած իսկ զնա չար արար:

233. John 5:14.
234. Matt 9:2.
235. Cf. Acts 19:19.
236. Cf. Gen 3:8–10.

Then, others think differently about Satan: that God indeed created him evil.

37 106 (ԺԳ) Հրամանա՞ւ, ասեն, մեռանիցին մարդիկ, թէ առանց հրամանաց:

“Is it by decree,” they say, “that humans die, or without decree?”

38 106 Նախ պարտիմք գիտել՝ թէ զի՞նչ հրամանք իցեն, եւ ուստի՛ բան հրամանացն ընդ աշխարհ տարածեալ իցէ:

First of all we must discern which commands there are, or whence the matter of decrees spread through the world.

39 107 Հրաման կապեալ վասն մահուան՝ յաստուածատուր գիրս ոչ ուրեք գտանեմք. քանզի Տէրն մահու եւ կենաց՝ եւ կարճել իշխէ զհրամանն իւր, ե՛ւ երկայնել: Որպէս առ ջրհեղեղաւն ասէ. եղիցին աւուրք կենաց մարդկանս այսորիկ հարիւր եւ քսան ամ. եւ վասն բազմութեան անօրէնութեանն պակասեցոյց ի նոցանէ զքսանն: Եւ որպէս առ Ադամամքն ասէ. յաւուր յորում ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին մեռանիս. եւ առ իւրում բարերարութեանն, եւ վասն որդէծնութեան եւ մարդկան յաշխարհի սիրելոյ. ներեաց նմա ինն հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամ, զի մի՛ գեղեցիկ ստեղծուածն իւր համօրէն ջնջեսցի:

Nowhere in the God-given Scriptures do we find a binding decree about death, because the Lord of death and life has power both to shorten His decree and to extend it.[237]

Just as in the time of the flood it says: “The days of this human’s life will be one hundred and twenty years.”[238] And because of the multitude of lawlessness he deducted the twenty (years) from them.

And just as in the time of the Adamites,[239] it says: “On the day on which you will eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same you die.”[240] And in His beneficence and for the sake of the procreation and the love of mankind in the world, He also allowed man (i.e., Adam) nine hundred and thirty years[241] so that His beautiful creation not be wiped out completely.

40 109 Արդ՝ նախ զայն ասասցեն. ո՞ եհան զայնպիսի երկրական անուանս՝ զգիշակեր եւ զխոտակերս յերկինս, զի պատճառք ծննդեան մարդկան լինիցին. զի որ ոք ուրուք պատճառ ծննդեան կարիցէ լինել, նա ի վեր քան զնա՝ որոյ պատճառն է՝ պարտի լինել իմաստութեամբ:

237. I.e., there is no binding statement in the Bible about the length of life, but that is at God’s discretion.

238. Cf. Gen 6:3, quoted not quite precisely to make his point.

239. Probably emend to Ադամամբքն.

240. Gen 2:17.

241. I.e., for procreating in the world; cf. Gen 5:5.

Արդ, հաստարակաց մտօք հայեցեալ, տեսցուք ո՞ ի վեր իցէ, մա՞րդն՝ որ անասնոյն տիրէ, թէ անասունն՝ որ մարդոյն ի հարկի կայ. եւ ոչ միայն ի հարկի կայ, այլ եւ կերակուր նորա է: Եւ գազանացն զկէսսն փախստականս եղեալս տեսանեմք, եւ զկէսսն յանտառախիտ մայրիս ամրացեալս՝ յորժամ զբարբառ միայն մարդոյն լսիցեն: Քանզի զահ եւ զերկիւղ մարդոյն՝ արկեալ է արարչին ի վերայ գազանացն եւ սողնոցն եւ անասնոցն եւ թռչնոց, վասն առաւել զնա պատուելոյն. զորոյ եւ զարարածն նորանշան իմն ընծայեցուցանէ, թէ ստեղծ որպէս ձեռօք, եւ փչեաց շունչ կենդանի որպէս թէ բերանով. եւ այնու, զի առաւել պատուական ցուցանիցէ զնա, յայտ առնէ:

Now, first, they will say that: “Who brought forth such terrestrial names, both carnivores and herbivores in the skies, so that they might become the causes of human births?[242] Because whoever can become the cause of someone’s birth must be, through discernment, superior to him of whom he is the cause. Now, regarding (this) with common sense, let us see who is superior, the man who rules over the beast, or the beast that is subject to man, and it is not only subject but also is his food. And we see that parts of the wild animals have become fugitives and parts fortify themselves within the dense forest when they merely hear human speech, because the Creator cast the fear and dread of humans upon the wild animals and reptiles and the beasts and birds so as to honor him more. He presents to him the creation as something newly evident that He created as if with His (own) hands; and He breathed in living breath as if by (His) mouth, and by that he makes known, that he may show him to be more honorable.

41 114 Կամէր՝ թէ չէր յանցուցեալ Ադամայ. եւ քանզի կանխաւ գիտէր զյանցանելն, յառաջագոյն պատուիրեաց նմա՝ չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն. եւ զի ոչ անսաց հրամանին, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ:

He wished that Adam had not transgressed. And because He knew the transgression in advance, He commanded him in advance not to eat of the fruit of the tree. And because he did not obey the order, he was punished justly.

42 130 Այլ թէ այնպէս իցէ, յորժամ զԱդամայ ասէ՝ թէ եդ զնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան, բեւեռեալ համարեսցին, եւ մի գնայուն: Իսկ եթէ զԱդամայ շրջելն՝ եդ կոչեն աստուածատուր գիրք, յայտ է՝ թէ եւ զլուսաւորացն զգնացս՝ եդ անուանեն գիրք:

But, if it were thus, when concerning Adam it says: “He put him in the Garden of delight,”[243] do they reckon him to have been nailed down and not walking?

242. Reference is made to astrological ideas of the association of the constellations with human birth.

243. Gen 2:15.

Indeed, if the God-given Scriptures call Adam's walking around "He put," it is evident that the Scriptures also name this movement of the luminaries "He put."

43 162–63 Նա եւ զմարդն, զոր ժառանգ ամենայնի կամեցաւ առնել, ոչ նախ քան զժառանգութիւնն արար. այլ նախ զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զջուրս եւ զհուր եւ զօդ եւ զբոյսս եւ զտունկս, զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս: Նախ զտունն, եւ ապա զտնակալն. նախ զստացուածսն, եւ ապա զստացողն. նախ զծառայսն, եւ ապա զտէրն. զի մի, յորժամ յետոյ լինիցին՝ որոց իշխանն եղեւ, կարծիս վնասու առնուցու՝ թէ իւր արարածք իցեն: Այլ յորժամ նախ զնոսա արարեալս տեսանիցէ, ծանուցեալ առնուցու ի միտ՝ թէ է իմն զօրութիւն, որ արար եւ ետ զնոսա ընդ ձեռամբ նորա. եւ զպատիւ փառաւորութեանն մի՛ անձին առնել խորհիցէ, այլ իւրում տիրարարին՝ որ ձրի նմա զայն շնորհեաց:

Behold also man, whom He wished to make heir of all things, He did not create before (his) inheritance—but first heaven and earth, water and fire and air, and sprouts and plants, wild and domestic animals and birds. First the house, then the householder; first the possessions and then the possessor; first the servants and then the master; lest if those came into being afterwards, whose ruler he became, he receive the harmful idea that they were his own creations. But when he would see them created first, recognizing this, he would consider that there is some power, which made (them) and put them into his control, and would not think to make the honor of that glorification his own, but rather (i.e., give it) to him who made him master, who freely granted that to him.

44 169–70 Եւ տեսեալ օրհանացն Աստուծոյ՝ թէ գեղեցիկ է աշխարհս, խորհեցաւ առնել ի սմա մարդ: Եւ իջեալ առ հիւղն յերկիր, ասէ. տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տամ ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում: Տուեալ նմա հիւղեայն յերկրէ իւրմէ, ստեղծ զնա եւ փչեաց ի նա ոգի, եւ եղեւ Ադամ ի շունչ կենդանի. եւ վասն այնորիկ անուանեցաւ՝ Ադամ, զի ի կաւոյն արարաւ:

And the God of the Law having seen that this world was beautiful, thought to make man in it. And having descended to matter, to earth, he said, "Give some of your clay, and I will give spirit from myself, and let us create man according to our likeness."[244] Matter, having given him of its earth, he created him (man) and he blew spirit into him, and Adam became a living breath. And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay.[245]

45 170 Եւ ստեղծեալ զնա եւ զամուսինն նորա, եւ եդեալ ի դրախտին՝

244. Gen 1:26 and Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.
245. Cf. Gen 2:7.

որպէս եւ օրէնքն ասեն, գային հանապազ պատուիրէին նմա, եւ ուրախ լինէին ի նման իբրեւ յորդւոջ հասարակաց:

And having created him and his spouse, and having placed (them) in the Garden, just as the Law says, they would come constantly and command him, and they rejoiced in him as in a mutual son.

46 170 Եւ տեսեալ, ասէ, Աստուծոյն օրինաց որ տէրն էր աշխարհի՝ թէ ազնուական է Ադամ եւ արժանի սպասաւորութեան, հնարեցաւ՝ եթէ զի՛արդ կարասցէ գողանալ զնա ի հիւղեայն եւ յիւր կողմն միաբանել: Առեալ զնա ի մի կողմն, ասէ. Ադամ, ես եմ Աստուած եւ չիք այլ ոք. եւ բայց յինէն այլ Աստուած քեզ մի լիցի. ապա թէ ունիցիս զոք այլ աստուածս բայց յինէն, գիտասջիր, զի մահու մեռանիցիս: Եւ իբրեւ ասաց զա՛յս ցնա, եւ յիշատակեաց նմա զանուն մահու, զահի հարեալ Ադամայ՝ սկսաւ սակաւ զանձն մեկնել ի հիւղեայն:

And he (Marcion) says that the God of the Law, who was lord of the world, saw that Adam was noble and fitting for service, he plotted how he might steal him from matter and unite him to his own side. Taking him to one side, he said, “Adam, I am god and there is no other, and have no other god but me. So, if you have any other gods but me, know that you will surely die.” And when he said this to him and recalled the name of death to him, Adam, smitten by fear, began little by little to separate himself from matter.

47 170–71 Եւ եկեալ հիւղեայն՝ պատուիրել նմա ըստ սովորութեանն, տեսանէր՝ զի ոչ անսայր նմա Ադամ, այլ խորհեալ ի բաց մերժէր, եւ չմերձենայր առ նա: Յայնժամ հիացեալ ի միտս իւր հիւղեայն, իմացաւ՝ թէ տէրն արարածոց նենգեաց նմա: Ասէ. յականէ աղբերն պղտորեալ է ջուր նորա. զինչ է այս, չեւ եւս բազմացեալ Ադամայ ծննդովք, եւ գողացաւ զնա անուամբ աստուածութեանն իւրոյ յինէն: Որովհետեւ ատեաց զիս, եւ ոչ պահեաց ընդ իս զդաշնն, ես արարից աստուածս բազումս, եւ լցից նոքօք զաշխարհ գոյիւ իւրով, զի խնդրիցէ՝ թէ ով իցէ աստուած, եւ ոչ գտանիցի:

And matter came to command him according to its custom, it saw that Adam was not obeying it, but considering (this) it drew apart and did not approach him. Then matter was amazed in its mind, it realized that the Lord of creatures had cheated it. It said: “The spring’s water has been muddied from (by) its source. What is this? Adam has not yet increased by offspring, and he has stolen him from me by the name of his divinity. Because he hated me and did not keep his compact with me, I will make many gods, and I will fill up the world with them as far as possible so that he may seek who might be god, and he will not find out.”

48 171 Եւ արար, ասեն, կուռս բազումս եւ անուանեաց զնոսա աստուածս, եւ ելից նոքօք զաշխարհ: Եւ ընկղմեցաւ անուն աստուծոյ, որ

տեառնն արարածոց, ի մէջ անուանց բազում աստուածոց, եւ ոչ ուրեք գտանէր: Եւ մոլորեցաւ ծնունդ նորա նոքօք, եւ ոչ պաշտէր զնա, զի ձգեաց զամենեսին առ ինքն հիւղն, եւ ոչ ետ թոյլ եւ ոչ միում ի նոցանէ պաշտել զնա: Յայնժամ, ասեն, բարկացաւ տէրն արարածոց, զի թողին զնա եւ անսացին հիւղեայն. եւ մի ըստ միոջէ, որ ելանէին ի մարմնոց իւրեանց, արկանէր զնոսա առ ցասման ի գեհեն. եւ զԱդամ արկ ի գեհեն վասն ծառոյն. եւ այնպէս արկանէր զայր ի գեհեն զամենեսին, մինչեւ ցքսան եւ ինն դար:

And it made, they say, many idols, and named them gods, and it filled the world with them. And the name of God which (is) of the Lord of creation was submerged in the midst of the names of many gods, and nowhere was it found. And his progeny went astray through them and were not worshiping him, because matter attracted them all to itself, and it did not permit even one of them to worship him. Then they say, the Lord of creation became angry because they left him and obeyed matter. And angrily he cast those who left their bodies into Gehenna one by one. And he cast Adam into Gehenna because of the tree. And thus he was casting them all into Gehenna, for twenty-nine centuries.

49 177 (Ե) Դարձեալ, եւ զոր արդարն ասեն՝ թէ արդարեւ արդար էր, յետ բաժանելոյ զիշխանութիւնսն, իւր զերկինսն երկոսին առնլոյ, հիւղեայ եւ որդւոցն նորա զերկիր միայն թողլոյ, զիա՞րդ էր զի միւսանգամ նորա աշխարհին ցանկացեալ, ասէր՝ թէ տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տաց ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. որ ոչ արդարոյ գործ է այլոյ աշխարհի ցանկանալ՝ այլ անիրաւ:

(5) Again, also, he whom they call the just one, if he were indeed just, after dividing of the principalities, taking his two heavens, leaving the earth alone to matter and her sons, why again having desired its (i.e., matter's) world, did he say, "Give to me some of your clay, and from myself I will give a spirit, and we will make man according to our likeness?"[246] To desire someone else's world is not the act of someone just, but rather of someone unjust.

50 177–78 Կամ հիւղեայն զիա՞րդ ընդ միտս հարեալ էր, ընդ մի անգամ բաժանելոյն ի նմանէ՝ դարձեալ հաղորդութիւնս առնել, եւ անձամբ անձին նենգել եւ մասնմուտ առնել օտարի յիւր աշխարհին, զի առնիցէ անդ զԱդամն եւ զամուսինն նորա, որ մերթ ի սա տայր ձեռն եւ մերթ ի նա:

Or how could it occur to matter to have intercourse again with the one who had divided from it once, and to deceive herself and to admit a stranger into her world, to make Adam and his spouse there—Adam, who sometimes

246. Gen 1:26; Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.

would extend the hand to this one (i.e., matter) and sometimes to that one (i.e., the demiurge)?

Lazar P'arpec'i C5

Text: Łazar P'arpec'i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց եւ Թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան *History of Armenia and Letter to Vahan Mamikonean* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1933).

Translation: *Łazar P'arpetsi, History,* trans. R. W. Thomson (Columbia University Program in Armenian Studies: Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). The translation here is my own.

1. The passage is not found in the actual history, but in the *Letter sent from the City of Amit* and occurs on pp. 607–8:

1 Քանզի ի սկզբանէ արարածոց բազում օճիրս գործեաց նախանձ՝ յաշխարհի: Անդէն եւ անդ ի սկզբանն զնախաստեղծն ընկճեալ՝ նախանձու բանսարկուին՝ դարձոյց զնա ի հող. եւ վկայէ գիր ի Կաթուղիկէսն, թէ Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ: Երկուց միայնոյ դեռ եւս յԱդամայ ծնելոց՝ յաշխարհ, Կայէնի եւ Հաբելի, որպէս ի փոքրիկ եւ ի նեղ՝ յանբաւ բնակութիւն տիեզերաց հայեցուցեալ, զԿայէն նախանձարկու դիւին՝ եղբայրասպանութեամբ զաւակաց:

Because from the beginning of creation envy worked many evils in the world. Immediately in the beginning the first-created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He returned him to dust. And a verse from the Catholic Epistles witnesses that "by the envy of the Devil death entered the world."[247] When there were only two yet born of Adam into the world, Cain and Abel, as if in a small and in a narrow place, Cain having regarded the infinite dwelling of the universe arousing the demon's envy, Cain (did) through the fratricide of (Adam's) seed.[248]

Text: Łazar P'arpec'i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and St. Malxaseanc' (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1982); repr. in *MH*, vol. 2, 5th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003) 2237, 1.

2 Այր մի ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց, որոյ անունն էր Վարազվաղան, որով ըստ նմանութեան սատանայի, որ ի դրախտին օձիւն խաբեաց

247. This is actually from Wis 2:24.

248. Meaning unclear.

զնախաստեղծին հաղորդն, նոյնպէս եւ նա նովաւ զիւրոյ դառն կամացն վճարել ջանայր զհաճոյսն:

A certain man from the house of Siwnik‘, whose name was Varazvałan, by whom, according to likeness of Satan who, in the Garden through the serpent, deceived the first protoplast's partner, similarly he too tried to carry out things pleasing to his own bitter will through him.

The Liturgy

Text: Tiran Nersoyan, *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Orthodox Apostolic Church* (New York: Delphic Press, 1950).

1 խաչն . . . մխիթարիչ եղաւ Սեթայ նախագուշակ՝ հօրն Ադամայ

The Cross . . . It was a comfort for Seth, a presage to the father Adam.

Mambrē C5

Text: Mambrē the Lector, Ճառք *Homilies,* in Կորյուն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit‘ the Invincible* (Venice: Mechitaritst Press, 1833).[249] The translation is my own.

Երանելոյն Մամբրէի Վերծանողի ասացեալ Ի յարութիւնն Ղազարու
The (Homily) pronounced by Mambrē the Lector On the Resurrection of Lazarus

1 35 Ամենայն աստուածային նշանք Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի են, որք կարեւոր են, եւ են, որ եւս կարեւորք, որք մասնաւոր ունին զերկնային յուսոյն զմխիթարութիւնն: Այլ յորժամ զյարութիւնն տեսանես, ի ձեռն մասնաւոր յարութեանն հաւատասջիր զբոլոր մասունս զտառ ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցգալուստն երկրորդ:

35 All the divine signs are of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are important; and there are those that are more important, which have in particular the comfort of the heavenly hope. But when you see the resurrection, by means

249. Weber (1927), 3-27.

of the particular resurrection you will believe all the parts, the book from Adam[250] until the second coming.

2 53 Ողբասցէ մահ զկործանումն իւրոյ թագաւորութեան, կոծեսցին եւ դժոխք զքակտումն իւրոյ զօրութեան, հրճուեսցի նախաստեղծն ընդ գալուստ հովուին ի խնդիր կորուսեալ ոչխարին, ծափս հարցեն հաւատացեալք ի նորոգմանն Ղազարու, սուգ առցեն դեւք զինքեանց՝ տեսանելով զկործանումն: Աւետարանեսցեն, որոց ի գերեզմանսն բնակեն զյոյս յարութեանն, մի՛ այսուհետեւ զարհուրեցուսցէ զմեզ մահ, մի՛ դողացուսցէ բանսարկուն, որ մահացոյցն: Գտաք զկենաց ծառն, ի բաց եկաց քերովբէն բոցեղէն սրոյն պահպանութեամբն, խափանեցաւ ներգործութիւն մահաբեր ծառոյն, տերեւ թզենւոյն պատառեցաւ, զի անապականութեան զուշակ մեզ այսր աւուր յարութեան եղեւ:

Let death lament the destruction of its kingdom; let Hell bewail the destruction of its power, let the protoplast rejoice at the coming of the Shepherd to search for the lost sheep; let the faithful clap their hands at the renewal of Lazarus; let the demons mourn their own selves when they see the(ir) destruction. They will announce the hope of resurrection to those who dwell in their graves, “Henceforth let death not frighten us; let the Devil not make tremble, whom he put to death. We have found the tree of life; the Cherub stood outside guarding with the fiery sword, the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent, for he became the expounder of incorruptibility for us of this day of resurrection.”

3 55–56 Եւ այժմ է, զի օրինակ էր Ղազարու յարութիւն մարդկային բնութեանս, քանզի կամեցաւ զնախաստեղծին բժշկել զբովանդակ մարմինն, ի փոքրագոյն անդամոցն առնու սկիզբն. զումեմն զզօսացեալ ձեռն, զայլոյ զբորոտութիւն, զուրուք՝ զտեսարանն, եւ զորդի այրւոյն ի Նային քաղաքի յարոյց, եւ զդուստր հազարապետին, սակաւ սակաւ եւ ապա զՂազարի Բեթանիա առհաւատչեայ յարութիւն ամենայն մարմնոց: Ի շաբաթու յաւուր, յորում մատնեցաւ Յիսուս, մեռաւ Ղազար, եւ յաւուր, յորում Տէրն ննջեաց ի գերեզման, յարոյց զՂազար: Վասն այսորիկ Ադամ զոհացողական ձայնիւ նուագէ ծննդովք իւր.

And now it is that the resurrection of Lazarus was an example of this human nature, because He wished to heal the body of the protoplast completely. He began from the smallest of the limbs. For one, the withered hand; for the other, leprosy; for another person, the vision; and he raised up the son of the widow from the city of Nay, and the daughter of the centurion—little by

250. Or: epistle; cf. Gen 5:1. In *MH* 1:1095 this reads զառ yielding the meaning “from, deriving from Adam.”

little—and then the resurrection of Lazarus of Bethany as an earnest for all bodies.[251] On Saturday, on which day Jesus was betrayed, Lazarus died; and on the day on which the Lord slept in the grave, he raised Lazarus. Therefore, Adam with praiseful voice sang through his offspring.

4 Եւ քանզի ի տասն ժամուն, յորում ելաք արտաքս ի դրախտէն, ի նոյն ժամու եւ Տէրն բոլորից էջ ի խաչէն ի գերեզման, ի նոյն ժամու յարոյց զՂազար ի գերեզմանէն:

And because on the tenth hour, on which we went forth from the Garden, in that same hour the Lord of all descended from the cross into the tomb, in the same hour he raised Lazarus from the tomb.

5 Էր ումն հիւանդ Ղազարոս, որ ըստ եբրայեցւոցն օգնականել ասի, եւ հիւանդութիւն ըստ իմանալի տեսութեան, զմեղացն ասէ զազգի մարդկան, եւ մեռանելն՝ զմեղացն մահն, որ է չար, ի Բեթանիայ՝ ի տուն սգոյ ասի աշխարհիս, ըստ նմանութեան յանցաւորութեան Ադամայ: Սգակցեն ամենայն արարածք, ողբան, հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ զանկեալն Ադամայ ի փառաց դրախտին վայելչութենէ՝ ի կենդանութենէն Աստուծոյ: Եւ Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց մեղացն ի նորոգումն կենացն ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

“There was a certain sick man, Lazarus” which (i.e., Lazarus) means in Hebrew “to help”; and “illness” according to the intelligible theory refers to the sins of the race of humans, and “dying” refers to the death of sins, which is evil, “in Bethany” which means in the house of mourning of this world, according to the likeness of the sinfulness of Adam. Until now all creatures will be fellow mourners, they mourn, they wail and grieve the fall of Adam from the delight of the glory of the Garden, from the liveliness of God. And through Christ we are liberated from the bonds of sin into the renewal of life, to Christ Jesus.

6 64 Է՞ր վասն արգելոյր զինքն եւ ոչ փութապէս գայր ի գերեզմանն, այլ զի ի հասանել համբաւ զալստեան նորա, զի ատեան գործեսցէ ժողովրդեանն, եւ ամենայն ոք ճեպեսցի առ ի տեսանել զքանչումն աստուածագործ նշանացն, զի ի լռել մարդոյն ի պատուիրանապահութենէն Աստուծոյ, լռէր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն յերկրէ եւ մերկացաւ մարդն յաստուածատուր փառացն վասն յանցանացն. աստ՝ յաղագս Ղազարու զհրամանն Աստուծոյ պահելոյ, կենագործէր ի գերեզմանէն:

On what account did he withhold himself and not come quickly to the tomb, but so that on the arrival of the rumor of his coming he might make a tribunal (an assembly) for the people and everybody might hasten to see the miracle

251. John 11:1–44.

of the divinely done signs. For when man desists from keeping the command of God, the divinely done miracles also desisted from the earth and man was stripped of the God-given glory on account of his sins.[252] Here, because Lazarus kept the divine command, he vivified (him) from the tomb.

7 66 Ասէ. Ո՞ւր եդիք զնա: Ասեն. Ե՛կ եւ տե՛ս: Ո՛չ անգիտութեամբ, որպէս Հայր նորա հարցանէր. Ո՞ւր ես, Ադա՛մ, եւ զԿային. Ո՞ւր է Աբէլ՝ եղբայր քո, եւ զՄովսէս. Զի՞նչ է այդ, որ ի ձեռին քո է: Խնդրէ արարիչն զիւր պատկերն, որ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար զնա, եւ չարն նախանձեցաւ ընդ բարւոյն Ադամայ եւ ընկէց զնա յերանելի կենացն, Տէրն եկեալ որսայր զմարդկան փրկութիւն: Ի Բեթանիայէ մինչեւ ի Բեթարբէ եօթանասուն եւ երկու մղոնք են, յայնչափ հեռաստանէն գիտաց էր զմահն Ղազարու, եւ մօտ ի կարմջիդ անգիտանաս:

It says, “Where did you put him?” They said, “Come and see!” Not through ignorance; just as his Father asked, “Where are you, Adam?” and to Cain, “Where is Abel your brother?” and to Moses, “What is that which is in your hand?” The Creator seeks his image, whom he made according to his own image, and the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life. The Lord, having come, hunted the salvation of men. From Bethany to Betharbē is seventy-two miles, from that distance the death of Lazarus was known[253] and close to this bridge you are ignorant.[254]

8 70 Ի Հօրէն Որդի եւ Հոգին սուրբ, այլ ոչ կոչին եղբարք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեանն. զոր օրինակ յԱդամայ են Սեթ եւ Եւայ, այլ ոչ եղբայրք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեան: Քանզի Հայր ծնող է, եւ Որդին ծնունդ, եւ Հոգին Սուրբ ելող է եւ նստի Որդի ընդ աջմէ Հօր, եւ Հոգի Սուրբ՝ ընդ աջմէ Որդւոյ:

From the Father are the Son and the Holy Spirit, but those two are not called brothers or sons, just as Seth and Eve are from Adam but the two are not siblings and not sons. Because the father is begetter and the Son begotten and the Holy Spirit is comer forth and the Son sits at the right of the Father and the Holy Spirit at the right of the Son.

9 72 Բեթանիա տուն հնազանդութեան, վասն զի Ղազար հնազանդէր մահու վասն Ադամայ, որ անկաւ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մահու: Հնազանդէր մահ Յիսուսի յաղագս արարչական զօրութեան եւ ծառայապէս լսէր տէրունական ձայնին եւ ընձեռէր զմեռեալն աստուածային հրամանատրութեան: Գայ Յիսուս ի տուն հնազանդութեան, որ զանհնազանդութիւն մարդկան ընդ

252. Or: transgression.

253. Or: he knew.

254. Bethabara is near the northern end of the Dead Sea, where John was baptizing (John 1:28).

հնազանդութեամբ Բանին Աստուծոյ միաւորէ, եւ հնազանդութիւն աստուածախառն մարմնովն հաւասարակաց Հօրն՝ փոխանակ անհնազանդութեանն Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեան Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեան առնու բարեբանութիւն ընդ Հօր ի հրաբուն զօրացն:

Bethany is a house of subjection (obedience), because Lazarus was subject to death on account of Adam, who fell under the authority of death. Death was subject to Jesus on account of his creative power and servilely obeyed the Lord's voice and consigned the dead man to the divine commanding.Jesus comes to the house of subjection which unites human disobedience with subjection to the Word of God, and subjection by means of the divinely mixed body became equal to the Father, instead of the disobedience of Adam and according to the divinity of Adam, and according to the divinity he receives praise with the Father from the fiery hosts.

10 73–74 Այսօր զառաջին մարդոյն կապանսն արձակէ յանիծից մահուն, եւ առաւելութիւն մեղացն ոչ բաւէ զտէրունեան արգելուլ զհրամանն եւ յինքն զյանցանսն կորզէ, եւ որպէս զյանցաւոր, փոխանակ յանցաւորի մարդոյն պարտաւորի անպարտ, զպարտաւորն կացուցանէ առաջի Հօրն:

This day he released the bonds of the first man from the curse of death and the superfluity of sins is not enough to obstruct the Lordly command and he seizes the sin to himself, and like a sinner, instead of the sinful, culpable man is innocent, he sets the culprit before the Father.

Նորին յաղագս եկաւորութեան Փրկչին յԵրուսաղէմ
Of the same, Concerning the Coming of the Savior to Jerusalem

11 91 Իսկ ի վեցերորդումն զմարդն իւրովն կենագործէ ձեռամբ եւ օրէնս աւանդէր պահպանական:Իլռելմարդոյնզպատուիրանապահութիւնն, լռէր եւ Աստուած զբարեգործութիւնն, զի ի վեցերորդումն մարդն դադարէր յօրինապահութենէն եւ յեւթներորդումն արգելոյր Աստուած զբարեգործելն, եւ զայս ոչ վայրաբար, այլ արարչական ճշմարտութեամբն, վասն զի երկինք եւ երկիր սակս մարդոյն, եւ մարդն՝ վասն պատուիրանին: Պատուիրանապահելն աստուածեղէն բարերարութիւնն բացափայլէր, ի լռելն պատուիրանապահութեանն, լռէր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն, քանզի մերկանայր մարդն յարարչատուր փառացն յաղագս յանցմանն, եւ մեռանէր Ղազարոս երկրային եւ ժամանակաւոր մեռելութեամբն: Անդ յաղագս նախահօրն պատուիրանազանցութեանն լռէր Աստուած զյանցանացն թողութիւն, աստ յաղագս Ղազարու աւանդապահի երկասիրէր զկենագործելն ի գերեզմանէն: Նմանապէս շաբաթ առաջին եւ

երկրորդ ի նախնումն ի բարեգործութենէ լռէր Աստուած նախահօրն պատուիրանապահութենէն լռելոյ աղագաւ, յերկրորդումն՝ յաղագս Ղազարու քրիստոսասիրութեանն:

But on the sixth, he vivifies man by his hand and he transmitted to him a law as a keeping. When man ceased the keeping of the commandment, God ceased his beneficence, for on the sixth day man stopped keeping the law and on the seventh God withheld his beneficence, and this not to no purpose, but through his creative truth, because heaven and earth were on account of man, and man, on account of the commandment. The observance of the commandment made the divine beneficence shine forth, and in the ceasing of the observance of the commandment, the divinely done miracles also ceased, because man became stripped of his glory given by the Creator on account of the transgression. And Lazarus was dying an earthly and temporal death. There, on account of the forefather's transgression of the commandment, God ceased the forgiveness of sins, here on account of Lazarus the keeper of tradition, he with willing labor did the vivification from the grave. Similarly (are) the first and second Sabbath: on the first one God ceased from doing beneficence to the forefather on account of his ceasing observing the commandment, and on the second (he resumed it) because of Lazarus's love of Christ.

P‘awstos Buzand C5

Text: P‘awstos Buzand, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians,* ed. K‘. Patkanean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1987). Patkanean's text was also reprinted with an introduction by N. G. Garsoïan in *Ps. P‘awstos, Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk‘ (The Epic Histories)* (Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series; Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1984).

Translation: N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P‘awstos Buzand. (Buzandaran Patmut‘ink‘)*, translation and commentary by N. G. Garsoïan (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Book 4, chapter 5

The first three excerpts that follow are from the lengthy homily set in the mouth of Nersēs, Catholicos of Armenia. "A number of parallels, both doctrinal and lexical, can be found between this homily and the Teaching of St. Gregory. . . . Consequently, it is consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary writings."[255]

255. Garsoïan 1989, 117.

1 128 որ ի սկզբանէն արար եւ հաստատեաց զհիմունս երկրի, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս որպէս զխորան. որոյ ձեռքն արարին եւ հաստատեցին զամենայն երեսս երկնից. որ արար զմարդն իսկ ի հողոյ, եւ կարգեաց զբանաւորս զխաւսունս իմաստունս անձնականս: Եւ իբրեւ անձնիշխան կամաւք ապականեցան մարդիկ, ոչ ծանեան զարարիչն եւ ոչ զպատուիրանս նորա,

Who from the beginning created and consolidated the foundations of the earth and "spread the heavens like a canopy";[256] Whose hands have created and consolidated all the expanse of the heavens; Who created man from dust and made them rational [gifted] with speech, wise and [endowed] with free will.[257] And at the time that mankind[258] was corrupted through its own volition and did not acknowledge its Creator or His commandments . . . .[259]

2 130 եւ այսպէս զամենայն ի նոյն պնդեալ ձուլեաց զարարածս, զոր եւ ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի կերպարանաց իւրոց արար. եւ եղ զնա իշխան անձնիշխան իւրոց կամաց: Վասն որոյ նախանձու սատանայի ապականեալք հնացան ի բանսարկութիւն խարդախութեան պատրանացն:

And in the same way He firmly cast all the creatures whom He fashioned according to the likeness of the image of His form[260] and gave him (man) power over his own[261] will. Because of this, [men] were corrupted and ruined by Satanic envy and grew old in false and deceitful slander.[262]

3 132 քանզի մեծութիւն Աստուծոյ արար զամենայն, եւ կացոյց զմարդն տէր ամենայնի. հրամայեաց եւ բազմացան:

For the greatness of God created all things, and He set man up as lord of all; he ordered and they multiplied.[263]

Book 5, chapter 28. This is part of a long prayer.

4 340 Տէր Աստուած զաւրութեանց, որ արարեր զամենայն յոչընչէ, եւ ստեղծեր զմարդ ի հողոյ կենդանի եւ անապականացու. եւ

256. Ps 104:2.
257. In our own translations we usually render անձիշխան as "autonomous."
258. Or: men, humans.
259. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 117.
260. Garsoïan adds in the text, in brackets: *nmanut'ean patkeri kerparanac'*.
261. See *Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264–265, excerpts 12 and 13 above.
262. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 118. The word "deceit" derives from the same stem as բանսարկու = διάβολος.
263. Gen 1:28; cf. Garsoïan 1989, 119.

անցին զքոյով պատուիրանաւքդ եւ անկան ի մահ՝ իւրեանց պատուիրանազանցութեամբն: եւ արդ արդար դատաստանաւք քովք մերժեցեր զնոսա ի դրախտէն փափկութեան յայս աշխարհ՝ ուստի ստեղծեր, եւ զրաւեցան լինել ընդ մահապարտութեամբ:

"Lord God of Hosts, who hast created all out of nothing and created man living and incorruptible from the dust of the ground. And they transgressed Thy commandments and fell into death because of their transgression. By Thy just judgments Thou didst drive them out of the Garden of delight into this world, from which Thou didst create [them], and they became subject to the sentence of death."[264]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ C5

Text: Gregory the Illuminator, Յաճախապատում Ճառք *Dogmatic Homilies* (Constantinople: Abraham Yōhanean Press, 1824).

1 24 Զի որպէս մահ թագաւորեաց ի ձեռն յանցուածոցն Ադամայ, այսպէս եւ սատանայ ի վերայ մեղաւորաց տիրեաց, զի սիրեցին, ասէ, մարդիկ զմոլորութիւն, վասն այսորիկ առաքեաց առ նոսա ազդեցութիւն մոլորութեան, զի դատապարտեսցին, զի հաճեցան ընդ չարն:

For, just as death became king through the transgressions of Adam, so Satan too became ruler of sinners, for men love, it says, error. Therefore, he sent the suggestion of error to them, so that they might become guilty, for they were pleased with evil.

2 29–30 Եւ վասն այսորիկ ստեղծ Արարիչն զմարդն անձնիշխան, զի ըստ ընտրութեան հոգեւոր օրինացն փոփոխումն առցեն ի փոքրկութենէս ի մեծութիւն, յանարգութեանցս ելանել ի պատիւ, յապականութենէս՝ յանապականութիւն, ի մահկանացութենէս՝ յանմահութիւն Աստուածութեան ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

And for this reason the Creator created man autonomous, so that, in accordance with the(ir) choice of spiritual laws they might receive a change from this smallness to greatness, to go forth from this humiliation to honor, from this corruptibility to incorruption, from this mortality to immortality of the Divinity in Christ Jesus.

3 31–32 Եւ ի չորից նիւթոց արարեալ զմարդն՝ շնչեաց ի նա հոգի կենդանի եւ անմահ եւ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր: Խառնեաց զհոգեւորն

264. Garsoïan 1989, 208.

ընդ մարմնաւորն, զի զհանդէս իւրոյ մտերմութեանն ցուցցէ առ Արարիչն եւ ժուժկալեալ հոգւով պահիցէ զպատուիրանս Տեառն ահիւ, զի հաճոյացեալ Աստուծոյ ժառանգորդ լիցի անվախճան ուրախութեանցն: Զի արար, ասէ, զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր եւ տէր ամենայնի կացոյց զնա: Ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար զնա, որ ըստ Քրիստոսի մարմնանալոյն է իմանալ, եւ անձամբ կամօք մեծարեաց զմարդիկ, որպէս զհրեշտակս, եւ ելից իմաստութեամբ եւ գիտութեամբ եւ տեղեակ ամենայն հանգամանաց խրատու հոգեւոր իրաց արար զնա առ հաճոյս տէրութեան իւրոյ, զի լիցի տեսուչ Արարչին արարածոց ըստ պատուիրանի նորա: Եւ զամենայն տարերս ետ ի գործակցութիւն արուեստից հանճարոյ մարդոյն առ ի շինութիւն աշխարհի ըստ գաւառաց եւ քաղաքաց: Այլ եւ կահ եւ կազմած եւ անօթ ըստ ընտրութեան արուեստից կազմիցէ առ պէտս վարուց աշխարհիս, որոց պէտքն տնօրինին:

And, having made man from four materials, He breathed into him a living and immortal and intelligent and rational spirit. He mixed the spiritual with the bodily, so that he (i.e., man) might demonstrate the evidence of his faithfulness to the Creator and, having suffered patiently through the spirit, he might keep the commandments of the Lord with fear, so that, having pleased God, he might become heir of endless joys. For He made, it says, man in his image and He made him master of everything. He made him according to his image, which is to be understood (as being) according to the incarnation of Christ. And He honored man with his own will like the angels, and He filled (him) with wisdom and knowledge and He made him familiar with all kinds of counsel of spiritual things, for the pleasure of His Lordship. Thus he might become the Creator's overseer of creatures, according to His commandment. And He gave him all the elements for cooperation in the arts of human understanding, to build the world according to provinces and cities. But He will also form equipment and utensils and tools, according to the selection of the arts, for the needs of the conduct of this world, of which the director (i.e., man) had need.

4 33 Եւ այսպէս յօրինեալ Արարչին զնախախնամութիւնն յարարածս իւր, որ երեւին եւ որ ոչն երեւին, եւ այսր ամենայնի տէր եւ իշխան եւ ժառանգորդ արար զմարդն եւ արուեստաւոր երեւելեացս մտօք: Զի յոչնչէ արար զամենայն եւ թագաւոր կացոյց զմարդն եւ մեծարեաց, զի նովաւ ծանիցի Արարողն եւ փառաւորեսցի միշտ, եւ մարդն ծանիցէ զիւր պատիւն յԱրարչէն, որ յանպատւութենէ ի պատիւ վերաբերեաց զմարդն յամենայն արարածոց: Որ արուեստաւոր խելամտութեամբն, որ յԱրարչէն, կարասցէ ի գործ արկանել զշնչաւորս եւ զանշնչաւորս, զի երեւեսցի գործ իմաստութեան նորա ըստ ամենայնի: Որք ի հնազանդութեան են հնազանդեալք ի Տեառնէ ի գործ պիտոյից եւ կամ առ շինութիւն եւ ի զարդ կամ այլ

ինչ փարթամութիւն, յայսոսիկ վայելելով՝ իշխանական ճոխութեամբ փառաւորեսցէ միշտ զԲարեգործողն: Զի այսքան պատիւ տուաւ մարմնաւորացս, որպէս հոգեղինացն եւ անմահից անմարմնոց: Եւ արար ընտրողս արարչութեանն, որ միշտ օրհնեսցեն զնա ի ձեռն եղելոց օրինացն զիրաւանց իշխանականօք, հաստատեսցին ի հաւատս ճշմարտութեան եւ ընտրեսցեն զԱրարիչն եւ զարարածս ի միմեանց, զդարմանիչն եւ զդարմանաւորն, զկեցուցիչն ամենայն կենդանեաց, որովք լնու զպէտս պիտոյից ամենայն արարածոց:

And thus the Creator, having created providence for his creatures, visible and invisible, made man ruler and prince and heir of all this and artisan of the visible things through his mind. For He made everything from nothing and He established man as king and magnified (him), so that the Maker might be known through him, and be always praised. And that man might know (that) his honor is from the Creator, who elevated man from dishonor to honor more than all creatures. (Man) through his ingenious understanding, which is from the Creator, will be able to put to use the breathing and unbreathing ones, so that the work of his wisdom will be evident according to everything. Those who are subject are made subject by the Lord through a necessary deed, either for building and for ornamentation or any other opulence. Enjoying these things with princely authority he will continually praise the Beneficent. Because He gave the bodily ones as much honor as the spiritual ones and immortal bodiless ones. He made them discerning ones of the Creation, who continually will praise him by means of the given laws with respect to the authority of the laws, they will be established in the faith of truth and will distinguish the Creator and the creations from one another, the Nourisher and the nourished, him who vivifies all living things, by which He fills the needs of requirements of all creations.

5 37 Մինչ մարդն հնազանդ էր օրինացն Աստուծոյ, ե՛ւ գազանք, ե՛ւ թունաւորք հնազանդ էին մարդոյն, որպէս տեառն եւ թագաւորի:

While man was obedient to the laws of God, the wild beasts and the poisonous ones obeyed man, as lord and king.

6 63 Անհնազանդութիւն եւ ստահակութիւն ոչ էր յառաջ, մինչ ոչ էր անհաւանեալ Աստուծոյ սատանայ եւ մարդն:

Disobedience and wrongheadedness did not exist before; Satan and man did not disagree with God.

7 67 Զի մահ ոչ էր, մինչ ոչ էր պարտական լեալ մարդն մեղօք:

For death was not, until man became guilty through sins.

8 102 Զմարդն իւրում կարգին հաստատեաց Աստուած ի ներքոյ իւրոյ չափոյն, զի լիցի արբանեակ ճշմարիտ քարոզութեանն հրաւիրանաց

վերին կոչմանն եւ ըստ մարգարէութեան շնորհի՝ խորհրդակից լինիլ կամաց Արարչին:

God established man in his own order below His own measure, so that he might become a servant of the true preaching of the invitation of the supernal summons and, according to the gift of prophecy, become an advisor of the will of the Creator.

9 104 Զի յորժամ յաւելուած սուտ կարծեացն մտին ի նախաստեղծ մարդն՝ յայրն եւ ի կինն ի մախանաց բանսարկուին, ի հրապուրանաց հեշտութեանն քարշեալք՝ սուտ կարծեօք աստուածք լինիլ, խաբեցան եւ ոչ պահեցին զպատուիրանն Արարչին իւրեանց. եւ ելին ի փափկութեան դրախտէն եւ զմահ ստացեալ ժառանգեցին: Զի յառաջագոյն պատուիրան տուաւ նոցա գործել եւ պահել զդրախտն ժուժկալութեամբ պահոցն՝ յորս ուտել նոցա ի պտղոյն եւ յորս՝ ոչ:

. . . Զայս ասելով՝ ոչ իմանալի ասեմ զդրախտն, այլ տեսանելի առաջին մարդոյն, թէպէտ մեզ ծածկեաց հրեղէն սուրն ըստ խորին իմաստութեանն Աստուծոյ: Զի երկդիմի է իմանալ զդրախտն. մինն՝ շօշափելի եւ տեսանելի, եւ մինն՝ իմանալի, որ յառաքինութիւնն վերաբերի:

For when the additional lie of the thought (idea) entered the protoplast man, the male and the female, by the agency of the envy of the Devil, attracted by the enticement of voluptuousness, they were deceived by the false idea of becoming gods, and did not keep the commandment of their Creator. They went forth from the garden of delight and, having received death, they inherited it. Because previously he commanded them to work and guard the Garden with the patience (continence) of a fast; of which of the fruit they should eat, and of which not.

. . . By saying this I do not say that the Garden was noetic, but visible to the first man, although the fiery sword hid it from us, in accordance with the deep wisdom of God. For the Garden is to be understood in two aspects: the one is tangible and visible and the other, noetic, which I ascribed to virtue.

10 111 Զի որպէս անժուժութիւնն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի անէծս ի վերայ էած եւ մահ, նոյնպէս եւ ծնելոցս ի նոցանէ, որ զնոյն անժուժութիւն ունին եւ արտաքոյ բարւոյն որովայնամոլութեամբն անկանիցին:

For just as the intemperance of Adam and Eve brought curses and death on (them), and likewise on those who were to be born of them, who have the same intemperance and will fall forth from the good by gluttony.

11 241–42 Որպէս ի սկզբանէ նախաստեղծին կեանքն ի Տեառնէ յարդարեցան անմեղութեամբ, զսոյն սուրբ սէրն հաստատել ի մեզ: Որպէս եւ Քրիստոս սիրեաց զմեզ եւ զանձն իւր մատնեաց պատարագ

ի հոտ անուշից, «որ բարկացուցաք զԱրարիչն, զի ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս նորա»:

Just as in the beginning the life of the protoplast was adorned by sinlessness, to establish this same holy love in us. Just as Christ loved us and delivered himself over as an offering for the sweet fragrance, "we who angered the Creator, for we did not keep his commandments."[265]

Yovhannēs Mandakuni C5

Text: Yovhan Mandakuni, Ճառք *Sermons* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1836).

4. Թուղթ վասն պահոց պնդութեան
Epistle concerning the Constancy of Fasts

1 19 . . . Եւ քանզի կարի կարեւոր է պահոցն առաքինութիւն բնութեանս մերոյ, եւ բազում թերութիւնք ի խոնարհութենէ պահոցն յարդարին, անդէն իսկ ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն պահոցն պնդութեամբ պարսպեաց զբնութիւնս մեր եւ եդ մարդոյն առաջին պատուիրան զպահոցն պնդութիւն՝ չճաշակել ի ծառոյն: Զի թէ էր պահեալ զպահոցն պատուիրանն, անախտ եւ անմահ եւ անմեղ կեանս էր ժառանգեալ եւ յերկինս զերկնից բարութիւնսն,

. . . and because the virtue of fasts is very important for this nature of ours, and many imperfections are ameliorated by the humility of the fasts, on the spot, with the creation of man, through the constancy of fasts he walled our nature around and set the first commandment of constancy of fasts for the first man, not to eat of the tree. For, if he had observed the commandment of the fast, he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and, in heaven, the heavenly goodness.

2 21–22 Զի սուրբքն առաջինք, յորժամ կամէին մերձենալ առ Աստուած, յառաջ պահօքն մաքրէին եւ ապա առ մաքուրն մերձենային եւ աստուածատեսք լինէին, իսկ որք հեռացան ի պահոցն, հեռացան ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ եւ բազում չարեօք չարչարեցան: Ահա Ադամ հեռացաւ ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ ել ի դրախտէն յերկիր փշաբեր: Ծնունդքն նոյական ազգին հեռացան ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ համաշունչ ջրհեղեղաւն սատակեցան եւ հեղձան . . . :

For the former saints, when they wished to approach God, first cleansed themselves by fasts and then they would approach the clean one and became seers of God. But those who distanced themselves from fasts were distant

265. Eph 5:2.

from God’s grace and were tortured with many evils. Behold, Adam distanced himself from the constancy of fasts and he left the Garden for thistle-bearing earth. The descendants of the Noachic race distanced themselves from constancy of fasts and were slaughtered by the all-annihilating flood and were drowned . . .

ԺԱ վասն սիրոյ եւ մախանաց եւ նախանձու
XI Concerning Love and Jealousy and Envy

3 90 . . . Իսկ որ չարակնեն եւ նախանձին, նա յո՞ր խաւար երթայցէ եւ կամ ո՞ւր սուզանիցի կամ ո՞րպիսի տանջանօք խաշիցի եւ մաշիցի: Քանզի սկիզբն ախտից է նախանձ եւ չարակնութիւն, զի նովաւ անկաւ սատանայ ի փառացն, նովաւ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ անէծք եւ քրտունք, փուշ եւ տատասկ, մահ եւ մեղք ի վերայ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ տիրեցին, նովիմբ Կայէն երերեալ տատանէր:

. . . but those who begrudge and envy, behold, for which darkness shall he go or where will he be submerged or by which sort of punishment will he be worn out and worn away? Because envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam, by that same thing Cain trembled and shook.

ԺԴ. վասն սակաւ զողութեան որ ոչ ապաշխարեն Concerning the Little Theft, of Which They Do Not Repent

4 107 . . . Զի որ զհրովարտակս ոք արքունի պատառէ, ոչ միայն զքարտն փոխանակ քարտին պահանջեն ի նմանէ, զի զայն եւ սակաւ ինչ լումայիւք մարթ էր վճարել եւ կամ ըստ չափոյ քարտին պատժել, այլ ընդ արհամարհելոյ զհրամանս թագաւորին են տանջանք զանազանք եւ մահք դառինք: Սոյնպէս եւ Ադամայ ոչ եթէ մեծ էին գողանքն, այլ հատումն միոյ ինչ մրգոյ: Եւ արդ, տե՛ս զբազում հոյլս պատուհասիցն, զանիծիցն եւ զմահուցն ոչ միայն ի վերայ Ադամայ, այլեւ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ, զի ոչ եթէ գողուն մրգոցն եղեւ պարտապան, այլ հրամանաց արարչին եւ բանի բերանոյ նորա, զի որ ասացն, եթէ՝ մի՛ սպանաներ, նոյն ասաց, եթէ՝ մի՛ գողանայցես: Եւ ոչ եթէ փոքու եւ մեծի մեղաց խնդիր իցէ, այլ պատուիրանազանցութեան եւ հրամանահատութեան:

. . . For, he who rips some royal decree—they do not only claim from him parchment in place of parchment, for that he could recompense for a few farthings, or to punish according to the measure of the parchment, but various punishments and bitter deaths for showing contempt of the king’s com-

mandments. In the same fashion, also Adam, not that the robberies were great, only the cutting off of one piece of fruit. And now, see the numerous assemblies of punishments, those of curses and of deaths, not only upon Adam but also upon all of Adam's descendants. For not that the theft of the fruit was culpable, but of the commandments of the Creator and of the word of his mouth. For, he who said, "Do not kill," also said "Do not steal." And it is not that it is a question of great and small sins, but of the transgression of commandments and the breaking of ordinances.

ԺԹ վասն անասնամոլաց եւ իգացելոց եւ արուագիտաց
Concerning the Bestials, the Sodomites, and the Homosexuals

5 135 . . . Զի ոչ բաւեմ ցուցանել զդառն ողբալի ախտին զեղխութիւնսն. եւ առաւել եւս ընդ այս զարմանամ եւ հիանամ, յորժամ կանայք եւս զայնպիսի մոլեկան կատաղութիւնս գործեն եւ զանբանական զպղծութիւնս կատարեն։ Զի ի սկզբանէ այրն այր ստեղծաւ ի պէտս կանանց, եւ կինն կին ստեղծաւ ի յարանց յօգնականութիւն, իսկ անօրէն պակշոտութիւնքն անզգայական ախտիցն զաստուածադիր զսահմանս փոխեցին ամբարշտութեամբ. եւ զպէտս բնականս, զոր պարտ էր արանց ի կանանց ընդունել եւ կանանց՝ յարանց, նոքա եւ յայլ աղտեղութիւնս փոխեցին . . .

For I cannot show the bitter, lamentable excesses of the passion and, even more, I am amazed and astounded at this, when women do even more such (acts of) raving frenzy and carry out irrational abominations. For, from the beginning the man was created as a man for the needs of women and the woman was created as a woman for the assistance of men. But, lawless lewdness of senseless passions impiously changed the boundaries set by God and the natural needs, which men should have received from women, and women from men, they changed to other filthiness . . .

իԳ. Թուղթ մխիթարութեան վախճանելոց յաշխարհէս
Concerning the Comfort of Those Who Are Going to Depart from This World

6 174 Արդ, դու այդիւ մխիթարեա ամենայնիւ, եթէ ակն ունիս յարութեանն, այլ եւ ած զմտաւ, եթէ մահ է ճանապարհ ամենայն աշխարհի, եւ ամենեքեան երթամք ընդ այն ճանապարհ։ Ադամ, Աբէլ, Սէթ, Նոյ եւ ամենայն արդարքն զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել։ Աբրահամ, Իսահակ եւ Յակոբ եւ Մովսէս եւ Դաւիթ՝ տեսողքն Աստուծոյ, եւ ամենայն նահապետքն՝ արդարքն եւ աստուածախօսքն, զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել։

Now you have comfort through all that, if you hope for resurrection, but also consider that death is the way of the whole world and we all go along that path: Adam, Abel, Seth, Noah and all the righteous received death, by which you too must be comforted. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and Moses and David, seers of God, and all the patriarchs, the just and the speakers with God, received death, by which you too must be comforted . . .

Յաղագս պէսպէս ախտից
Concerning Various Sorts of Sufferings

7 182 Արար Աստուած զմարդն եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան՝ զամենայն սգայութիւնս ողջ ունելով ի բնութեան իւրում: Արդ, իբրեւ լուաւ այնմ, որ խաբեացն զնա, յայնժամ էառ զախտս ամենայն եւ իսկոյն ընկեցեալ եղեւ արտաքս ի մեծ եւ ի չքնաղ փառաց իւրոց, զի ծանիցէ մարդ, թէ գոն ախտք, որ մերժեն զնա յԱստուծոյ, եւ զի աղաչէ զբարերարն Աստուած, որպէս զի օգնեսցէ նմա եւ ապա կարասցէ կտրել յինքենէ ի բաց զախտս ամենայն: Այս ամենայն վէրք են, որ կրին յանձին մարդոյն եւ քակեն որոշեն զնա յԱստուծոյ:

God made man and set him in the Garden of delight, having completely all the senses in his nature. Now, when he listened to that one who deceived him, then he received all sufferings and immediately he was cast outside his great and excellent glory. Thus man might realize that there are sufferings that separate him from God and thus he beseeches the beneficent God so that He might help him, thus he will be able to cut off from himself all sufferings. All of these are wounds which are carried in the soul of man and detach, divide him from God.

8 183 . . .Զի՞նչ է հպարտութիւն. հպարտութիւն է խստասրտութիւն, անհնազանդ լինել ամենեցուն եւ քաջալերել յիւր զօրութիւնն եւ համարելով զինքն իմաստուն, եւ առնել յար եւեթ զիւր կամսն եւ արհամարհել զընկերն եւ կարծել զինքեան իմաստուն գոլ եւ ունելով զինքն իբրեւ ոչ իմիք կարօտ գոլ: Այս ամենայն գործին յանձին մարդոյն, մինչեւ որոշեն զնա յԱստուծոյ: Այս է, զոր եբարձն Ադամ, յորժամ եկերն ի պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անկաւ ընդ ոտիւք մահուն:

. . . What is pride? Pride is hardheartedness, to be disobedient to all and to trust in one’s own might, and by considering oneself wise, continually to do one’s own will and to despise one’s fellow and to reckon oneself to be wise and holding oneself as not being needy of anything. All these are done in the soul of man until they separate him from God. This it is which Adam took up when he ate of the fruit of the tree and fell at the feet of death.

ԻԶ Թուղթ վասն հայոց դիւթականաց եւ անօրէն յուռթողաց
26 Epistle Concerning Auguries and Spells and Illicit Charms

9 198 . . .Յիշեա՛ վասն զի փոքր կարծեցուցանելոյ Ադամայ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ, ել ի դրախտէն, վասն փոքր կարծելոյ Քամայ զամօթ հօրն յայտնեալ՝ անկաւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ ծառայութեամբ, վասն փոքր կարծելոյն Եսաւայ զանդրանկութիւնն ընկենուլ, տեղի ապաշխարութեան ոչ եգիտ . . . :

. . . Remember because Adam was persuaded that God’s commandment was small, he went out of the Garden; because Ham thought the uncovering of his father’s shame was small, he fell under the curse and servitude; because Esau thought that the casting off the birthright was small, he did not find room for repentance. . . .

10 199 . . . Ի մի՛տ առ, ո՛վ յիմար եւ չարադիւթ, զի վասն միոյ մեղաց Ադամ ել ի դրախտէն, վասն միոյ սպանութեանն տատանումն Կայէնի, վասն զիջութեան ջրհեղեհն աշխարհի, վասն ամբարտաւանութեանն անկումն սատանայի, վասն անբարշտութեանն շփոթումն լեզուաց, . . .

Consider, O foolish and maleficent one, that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin, that the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; that the flooding of the world was because of lasciviousness; that the fall of Satan was because of pride; that the confusion of tongues was because of impiety; . . .

Կանոնք Յովհաննու Մանդակունւոյ հայոց կաթողիկոսի [Գլուխք Թ] “Canons by the Katʻołikos of the Armenians Yovhan Mandakuni [9 Chapters]” (reprint from Կանոնագիրք հայոց *Armenian Book of Canons*, vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan [Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964], 491–500), introduction by Yakob Kʻeosēyan. *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century: appendix (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 663–71.[266]

11 495 Դարձեալ, ոչ եթէ Ադամ պանիր եկեր, այլ պտուղ ծառոյ եւ ել ի դրախտէն:

Again, Adam did not eat cheese, but rather the fruit of the tree, and he went out of the Garden.

266. Hakobyan (1964), 666–67.

Sixth Century

At‘anas Taronac‘i C6

Text: At‘anas Taronac‘i, in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997).[1]

This calendrical fragment, preserved in M2679, was edited by A. G. Abrahamyan, Anania Širakac‘i, Մատենագրություն *Writings* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944), 310–13.[2] H. Anasyan says that the fragment is by At‘anas and not Anania, as is also the view of M. Ōrmanean.[3]

1 223 [Ադ]ա[մ ամա]ց [Մ]Լ ծնանի զՄէթ յԵւայէ եւ եկեաց առ նովաւ ամս Չ մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մաղաղայելի:

Adam at the age of 230 begat Seth from Eve and he lived with him for <700> years until the 135th year of Mahalaleel.[4]

Komitas Kat‘ołikos C6

Text: Komitas Kat‘ołikos, Կանոն սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանց “Canon of the Holy Hṙip’simēans,” in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853). Compare Jerusalem edition of 1933, 574.

Canon of the Holy Hṙip’simēans etc. in *Hymnal* 488, Jerusalem edition 574.

1 Դարձեալ վերստին արարչագործ զօրութիւն. եւ դարձեալ Եդեմ աստուածատունկ զարդարի, քանզի ծառն կենաց տնկեցաւ ի դրախտին, բերելով մեզ պտուղ զերանելին Հռիփսիմէ: Երկունք մահաբերք անիծիցն լուծան, եւ Ադամ վերստին աստուածակերպ ճոխանայ. փոխանակ Եւայի դստերք նորա, մարտիրոսք եւ կուսանք ընծայեալք աստուծոյ:

1. The English version of the title is taken from the edition.

2. See Abrahamyan 1944, 107. However, Č‘amč‘ean (1984, 239) and Ōrmanean (1912, 1:384) support the At‘anas view.

3. Ōrmanean 1912, 1:384.

4. Armenian is Małałayēl. The text has the corrupt figure 6. The overall figures exactly equal *History of Adam, his Sons and Grandsons* §5, see apparatus there, and *History of the Forefathers* §29. This is the first occurrence of a chronographic interest in these text. The figures are discussed in Stone 1996a, 84–89. The texts are also published in that volume.

Again the creative power returns, and again Eden planted by God[5] is adorned! For the tree of life was planted in the Garden, bearing fruit for us—the blessed Hṙip'simē. The mortal pains of the curse[6] were abolished, and again Adam, divine in form, is given authority; the daughters of Eve, martyrs and virgins devoted to God, are in her stead.

Text: Komitas Kat'ołikos, Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*[7] (reprint of Կնիք հաւատոյ *Seal of Faith,* ed. Bishop Karapet [Ējmiacin: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1914]), introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 49–311.

Նախաաութիւն յանհաաութեան Սուրբ Երրորդութեանս
Prologue on the Incomprehensibility of the Holy Trinity

2 53 (13) Եւ ո՛չ ասի եղբայր Որդւոյ, քանզի չէ ծնունդ, եւ ոչ աւտար Աստուծոյ, քանզի ի Հաւրէ ելանէ. որպէս եւ ոչ Եւայ եւ Հաբէլ եղբարք ասին միմեանց, թէպէտ եւ երկո՛քինն յԱդամայ են, մինն առաւելութեամբ եւ միւսն ծննդեամբ. եւ ո՛չ Ադամ հայր Եւայի ասի, թէպէտեւ ի նմանէ առաւ կողն:

(13) And he is not called brother of the Son, for he is not a descendant of God nor alien to God, for he comes out of the Father, just as Eve and Abel are not said to be siblings, although both are from Adam, one by augmentation,[8] and the other by birth. And Adam is not called Eve's father, although the rib was taken from him.

Երանելոյն Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի Ազազացոյ, ի բանէն՝ Նաւակատիք պատուեցին:
Of the Blessed Gregory Nazianzus the Theologian, from the Sermon In novam Dominicam

3 252 (2) Արդ եթէ էր կացեալ մնացեալ եւ զպատուիրանն էր պահեալ՝ լինէաք արդեւք որպէս ո՛չ եմքս, ի փայտն կենաց մերձեցեալք՝ յետ

5. Language about Eden planted by God being "adorned" goes back to Gen 2:1 (LXX and Armenian Bible).

6. "Mortal pains of the curse" is perhaps a reference to the *Book of Adam and Eve* 8:2 = 34:2. Certainly the idea that the tree is մահաբեր ("mortal") and so illness and death, is found in *Adam Fragment 1* §9 (Stone 1982, 6–9).

7. Each passage below is preceded by the subtitle of the corresponding subsection. In fact, three passages from Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*, except the prologue, are citations from Greek authors.

8. I.e., she was built out of his rib; the rib was augmented to become the whole of Eve.

փայտին գիտութեան. եւ զի՞նչ լինէաք. անմահացեալք եւ յԱստուած մերձեցեալք[9]:

(2) Now if we stayed and observed the commandment, would we be what we are not, having approached the tree of life after the tree of knowledge? And what would we be? Having become immortal and having approached God.

Երանելոյն Երանոսի, հետեւողի առաքելոց, եպիսկոպոսի Ղաւզդոնի. Գալիլէացւոց՝ ի բանէն, որ զստորնինք: Of the Blessed Irenaeus, Follower of the Apostles, the Bishop of Lugdunum of the Galileans (Gauls) from the Sermon on the Infernal (Regions).

4 258 (17) Այլ մարդն յսկզբանն ազատ էր բարուք. քանզի ազատ է կամաւք Աստուած, որ ստեղծ զմարդն ըստ նմանութեան իւրում, որպէս «մարմին անկար է, այսպէս հոգիս յաւժար է»՝ ի Տեառնէ վկայեալ:

(17) But in the beginning man was free by his character, for God has free will, who created man in his likeness, just as “the flesh is weak, so the spirit is willing,”[10] as attested by the Lord.

Երանելոյն Եւսեբէի եպիսկոպոսի Եմացոյ՝ ի խաւսիցն, որ յԵրուսաղէմ, վասն հաւատոց՝ ի Չարչարանաց ճառէն, ի բանէն՝ Իսկ զչարչարանացն լռել ինչ պարտիցիմք: Of the Blessed Eusebius Bishop of Emesa from the Speech Spoken in Jerusalem on the Faith, from the Sermon “On the sufferings,” from the section “We cannot be silent about the sufferings.”

5 277–78 (9) Ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմին աւուր յանցեաւ. Հնազանդ եղեւ Յիսուս կրել զչարչարանս, զի յորում ժամի պարտեցաք, ի նմին եւ յաղթեսցուք: (10) Փայտ ի դրախտին՝ փայտ խաչի. անդ կին, որով մեղք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ աստ կոյս, որ կայր եւ լսէր՝ «Սա մայր քո»: (11) Ձգեաց Ադամ յայսմ աւուր չարաչար զձեռն իւր պարզեաց եւ Յիսուս գեղեցիկ զսուրբ բազուկն. Ադամ մերձեցաւ ի ծառն եւ փայտն չարաչար, եւ Յիսուս բեւեռեաց զոտս եւ զձեռս ի խաչին. բարիոք Ադամ առ ցանգութեանն ճաշակեաց զպտուղ ծառոյն, եւ Քրիստոս ճաշակեաց զքացախ եւ զլեղի դառնութեան: (12) Ադամ

9. Corresponds to *PG* 36:612 lines 42–44.
10. Cf. Matt 26:14 and Mark 14:38.

լուաւ եթէ «Փուշ եւ տատասկ բերցէ քեզ երկիր», եւ Յիսուս պսակ ի փշոց ընկալաւ. Ադամ ընկալաւ անէծս, եւ Յիսուս աւրհնեալ ընդ այլոց անիծից՝ կախեցաւ իբրեւ զանիծեալ զփայտէ. իրք կարեւորք, զի ուսցուք, թէ որպէս մարդիկ մեռանին, եւ որպէս Աստուած կամաւք, եւ ոչ ակամա մեռանի: (13) Որ ընդ բնութեան կարեաւք էին՝ նոցա բարձք խորտակեցան, զի ըստ բնութեանն նոյնպէս եւ զմահն կրեցին. իսկ որ իշխանութիւն ունէր դնել զանձնն, եւ նա ոչ էր ըստ բնութեան կարեաւք. որպէս ի կուսէն կամաւ, եւ ո՛չ ակամայ՝ առ մարմին, նոյնպէս եւ ի խաչին կամաւ, եւ ո՛չ ակամայ՝ արար որոշումն իւր հոգոյն ի մարմնոյն. «Հա՛յր, աւէ, ի ձեռն քո աւանդեմ զհոգի իմ»:

(9) On the sixth day Adam was created, on the same day he transgressed. Jesus became obedient to endure the sufferings, for in what hour we were overwhelmed, at the same hour we shall overcome (be victorious). (10) The tree in the Garden (is) the tree of the cross. There (was) a woman, through whom sin came into the world, here (is) a virgin who heard him say: "here is your mother."[11] (11) On that day Adam maliciously put forth his hand, and Jesus nicely (spread) his holy arms. Adam maliciously drew near to the tree, and Jesus nailed his hands and feet to the tree. Adam tasted the fruit through lust, and Christ tasted vinegar and bitter gall. (12) Adam heard, "The earth shall bring forth to thee thorns and thistles,"[12] and Jesus received a crown of thorns. Adam received a curse, and Jesus who is blessed with others' curses, was hung on the Tree as one accursed. (This is) an important circumstance, so that we may learn how men die and how God dies, willingly and not unwillingly. (13) The thighs of those who were subject to the law of nature were broken, that they should endure death according to that nature. But he who had power to lay down his life was not subject to the law of nature. As he took on body from the Virgin willingly and not unwillingly, likewise on the cross too he willingly and not unwillingly made a separation of his spirit from his body. "Father, into your hands I commend My Spirit."[13]

Text: Komitas Kat'ołikos, "Կոմիտասի հայոց կաթողիկոսի եւ Պիռոսի արշիապատրիարգի հարցաքննութիւն եւ վիճաբանութիւն վասն հաւատոյ եւ կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ եւ վասն տնաւրէնութեան բանին Of Komitas, Kat'ołikos of the Armenians and arch-patriarch Piros: Questions and controversy about the faith and the orders of the Church and the dispensation of the Word" (reprint from Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, introduction and ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 312–26.

11. Cf. John 19:27.
12. Gen 18:3.
13. Luke 23:46.

6 312 (5) Կոմիտաս ասէ. Յորժամ ասաց Հայր ցԱդամ, թէ «Ո՞ւր ես», այլ ոչ խաւսեցաւ ընդ արարածս մինչև ի մկրտելն Որդոյ ի Յորդանան, ապա ձայն տուեալ բոլոր արարածոցս, թէ «Դայ է Որդի իմ սիրելի, դմա լուարուք»:

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: "Where are you?",[14] he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him."[15]

Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr C6?

Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr, Երանելոյն մեծի քերդողահաւրն Մովսէսի (Խորենացի) եպիսկոպոսի "A Letter of Our Blessed Father of Poets Movsēs,"[16] in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters,* ed. Norayr Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 163–71.

1 166 Զի մարմին յանարգ կաւոյ ստեղծանիլ զեկուցին՝ եւ շունչ եւ հոգի անեղին փչումն:

For (certain persons) say that the body is created of impure clay[17] and breath and spirit are the insufflation of the Increate.

Text: Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr, *Hymns,* in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.[18]

Movsēs's hymns contain a number of short mentions of Adam traditions like the following:

Կանոն վեցերորդ աւուրն

Canon of the Sixth Day

2 52 (67) Յայտնութեամբ քո Տէր ցնծացաւ երկիր. եւ նորոգեալ եղեւ Ադամ յառաջին յանցանաց, ի մեղաց իւրոց:

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14. Gen 3:9.

15. Mark 9:7.

16. On this attribution, see the title of the letter in the *Book of Letters* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), which contains the name Խորենացի in brackets. The old edition of the *Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901) mentions this name in the index: Մովսէս (քերթողահայր, Խորենացի) (p. 559). Xorenac'i's authorship is advocated by Abełyan 1968, 3:653–57.

17. Note that this is կաւ and not հող. This term is used also in two fifth-century texts: Agat'angełos 12, and Eznik 44 and 49.

18. Page numbers from the edition of Jerusalem 1933 are given in parentheses.

By knowledge of you, O Lord, earth rejoiced, and Adam was renewed from the first transgression, from his sins.

Մեծացուցէք Յարութեան Տեառն

Extol (on the occasion of) the Resurrection of the Lord.

3 67. (84) Ո՜վ գերահրաշ ծաղիկ բուրեալ յԵդեմայ, հոտ անմահութեան ծննդոցն Եւայի, յորմէ սփռեցաւ մահ ընդ տիեզերս:

A most wondrous flower giving fragrance from Eden[19] fragrance of immortality for the descendants of Eve, from whom death was spread over the universe.

Pseudo-Basil C6

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroeck, "Un court traité pseudo-Basilien de mouvance Aaronite conservé en arménien," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): 385–95. The translation here is my own.

This text is taken from Matenadaran M948 of 1196, 36v–37r. Van Esbroeck claims that it reflects sixth-century Armenian views and that its chronological data depend on *Cave of Treasures*.[20]

1 386 զի եթէ զպատուիրանս պահեալ էր գիտութեամբ նախահայրն, ոչ էր զրկեալ յանմահական կենացն եւ մերկացեալ յանմահութենէն: Ի բաց խափանեցաւ եւ առաւրեա եղեւ նա ի դրախտին:

For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

2 Արդ եւ զժամուցն զյանցանս ճառեսցուք. եւ ի ստեղծմանէն պատմեսցուք: Զի ի գիշերէ առաւաւտ ստեղծաւ Ադամ

եւ յերրորդ ժամուն բանսարկուն աւձին պատրեաց զԵւայ, զկողաստեղծն,

եւ ի Զ-երրորդ ժամուն լուեալ կնոջն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն,

եւ յիններորդ ժամուն ել ի դրախտէն,

եւ ի տասներորդ կացին արտաքոյ դրախտին:

Now let us also explain the transgressions of the (various) hours and let us relate (it) from the creation, for from night, at dawn Adam was created.

19. I.e., the Virgin.

20. No Armenian version of *Cave of Treasures* survives. For a translation of the Syriac, see Budge 1927. See also Ri 1990, 111–22; 2000.

And in the third hour the serpentine Devil deceived Eve, (the one) born of the rib,[21]

And in the sixth hour the woman, having hearkened, ate of the fruit.

And in the ninth hour, he went forth from the Garden.

And in the tenth, they stood outside the Garden.

3 Եւ ի նսեմել երեկորին:

Եւ յառաջին պահուն գիշերին սկիզբն եղեւ փափագման միւս անգամ խնդրէր զտեղի դրախտին,

եւ յառաջին ժամու գիշերին ստեղծումն մարդոյն, եւ կապանք փրկչին ի նմին ժամուն ուրբաթուն,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն պատրանք աւձաջամբին ի նմին ժամու ուրբաթին խաչելութիւնն Քրիստոսի,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն ճաշակումն պտղոյն եւ կորուստ ոգւոցն, ի նմին ժամու խաւարումն լուսաւորացն եւ ճաշակում լեղոյն,

զի որպէս Թ-երորդ ժամուն ել ի դրախտէն նոյնպէս կամաւոր մահն Քրիստոսի եւ աւանդումն ոգւոյն

եւ զոչումն ձայնին որ աւարեաց զդժոխս,

եւ զհոգիսն ազատեաց զմարգարէիցն զբանսարկուն կորոյս անճառ թաղմամբն, եւ աստուածապէս յարուցեալ զամենեսեան ընդ իւր վերաբերելով տալ նոցա զերկնից արքայութիւնն որում փարք յաւիտեանս, ամէն:

And when the evening darkened,

And in the first watch of the night longing began, again he sought the place of the Garden.

And in the first hour of the night was the creation of the man, and the bonds of the Savior on the same hour of the Friday.

For, just as in the sixth hour of the Friday was the deceit of the serpentine nourishment, on the same hour of the Friday was the crucifixion of Christ.

For just as on the sixth hour of the Friday the eating of the fruit and destruction of the souls (took place), on the same hour was the darkening of the luminaries and the consumption of the gall.

For just as on the ninth hour he went forth from the Garden, likewise

21. This is a very early occurrence of this designation, which later became current in the texts.

(was) the voluntary death of Christ and the giving up of (his) soul.

And the calling of the voice which destroyed hell,

And freed the souls of the prophets; destroyed the Devil with the ineffable (or: indescribable) burial, and divinely he raised up all, by taking them up with him to give them the kingdom of heaven, to whom glory for ever, Amen.

Seventh Century

Anania Širakac‘i C7

Text: Anania Širakac‘i, Ժամանակագրութիւն (Գիրք Կայսերաց) *Chronicle (The Book of Emperors)*, ed. Barseł Sargisean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1906). See also Erevan MS M2679, dated 971.

Anania Širakac‘i, Անանիա Շիրակացու Մատենագրությունը *The Works of Anania Širakac‘i*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944).

Անանիայի հայոց վարդապետի Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց
Anania *vardapet* of the Armenians, On Explanation of Numbers

1 248–49 Եւ այս են միտք մարգարէին՝ յՉ ազգին կարծիս ունէր գալ փրկչին եւ եթէ յերկարասցին եւս վասն անլրութեան մարդկան, յՁ ազգին յայտնեսցի, զորոյ թիւ յայտնէ մեզ Ղուկայ ազգաբանութիւնն՝ զերկրորդ Ադամն սկիզբն դնելով նոր ստեղծուածոյս: Որ ի ջրոյ եւ ի հոգւոյն վերստին ստեղծաք, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս եղեալ եւ տարեալ հանէ յԱդամ ՀԸ նահապետս եւ զհայր եւ զհոգին յարդարեալ կատարէ զթիւ Ձիդ զՔրիստոս հիմն եղեալ ըստ առաքելոյ եւ զհոգին կատարիչ եւ զհայր կատարումն: Եւ եթէ ոչ աւելորդ համարեսցիս, ասացից եւ այլ եւս բարձրագոյն խորհուրդ: Զի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ. զաւրէն ուղխից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու՝ իջանելով ի ծովն աղի

. . . And the ideas of the prophet are the following: he considered the Savior to come in the time of the seventieth generation, and if he is delayed more,[1] it is because of the disobedience of men. He will appear in the time of the eightieth generation; the genealogy of Luke reveals this number to us putting the second Adam as the beginning of this new creation. We that were created anew from water and the spirit, became new creatures in Christ; and he traces the descent of seventy-eight patriarchs from Adam. Counting the

1. Plural in text, i.e., by more (generations).

Father and the Spirit, he makes up the number 80. He regards Christ as the foundation according to the Apostle, and the Spirit as the completer and the Father as the completion. And if it does not seem superfluous to you, I shall tell you another, higher secret (mystery) too. For first Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height, like a stream of a river, like the Jordan flowing down into the Dead Sea . . .[2]

Ի զատիկն Տեառն
On the Lord's Easter

2 293 Քանզի յաւուր արարչութեանն լուսինն չորեքտասնաւրեայ էր. զի թեպէտ եւ մի աւր էր լինելոյ լուսնին, սակայն լիութիւն բոլորութեանն որպէս չորեքտասան աւր երեւէր, զի անմարթ էր թերի եւ կիսակատար լինել լուսնի յաւուր լինելութեան իւրոյ. վասն զի ամենայն արարածք լի եւ կատարեալ ստեղծան. որպէս բանջարքն ոչ դեռաբոյսք, այլ հասեալք. եւ ծառքն կատարեալք եւ պտղալիցք. եւ մարդն երեսնամեայ հասակաւ, թեպէտ եւ միոյ աւուր կենդանի: Ըստ նմին աւրինակի եւ լուսին չորեքտասանաւրեայ լիութեամբ լուսոյն կատարեալ. զնոյն եւ համարեցան վարդապետք եբրայեցւոցն յաւուր լինելութեանն չորեքտասանաւրեայ արարեալ զլուսին. զի ի վերայ նորա հաստատեցան ամիսք, եւ ի վերայ նորա եղեն զիտելի, որպէս եւ տարի յարեգականէ. Քանզի ասեն վարդապետք եբրայեցւոցն, եթէ ի չորրորդ աւուր ստեղծան արեգակն եւ լուսին . . . եւ ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ասեն լեալ զմարդն:

Because on the day of creation the moon was fourteen days old, for though the moon had been existing for one day, its round fullness looked like on the fourteenth day, for the moon could not be imperfect and half-complete on the day of its creation, since all the creatures were made full and perfect; like the vegetables—not newly sprouted, but ripe, and the trees—complete and full of fruits, and the man—thirty years old, though he had been alive for only one day. In the same way the moon was fourteen days old, perfect in full light. The Jewish doctors, too, hold the same opinion, that on the day of creation, the moon was made fourteen days old, for on it the months were established, and on it they became knowable, just like the solar year. Because the doctors of the Jews say that on the fourth day were created the sun and the moon, . . . and on the sixth day, they say, man came into being.

Text: Anania Širakac'i, Տոմարական պատառիկ "A Calendar Fragment," in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Դաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր, 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest*

2. Eden is on a height; Adam runs down from the height on his expulsion.

Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981), ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997) 53 = 3v of the manuscript.

Շիրակացու տոմարական պատառիկը
A Calendar Fragment by Širakac‘i

3 311 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր. եւ աւրն այն միաշաբաթ էր. եւ այն աւր առաջին էր աւելեացն եբրայեցւոց, արաբացւոց, մակեդոնացւոց՝ մինչեւ ի չորրորդ աւրն. ապա յաւուրն չորրորդի արար զարեգակ(ն) եւ զլուսին. եւ այն աւր Դ էր աւելեացն եբրայեցւոյց, արաբացւոյց, մակեդովնացւոյց, զի Գ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զարեգակն եղեն լուսատուք տիեզերաց, որ թափանցիկ լոյսն կոչի. եւ Գ ժամքն այն ժողովին ի չորս ամս. եւ լինի աւուր մի որ կոչի նհանջ:

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, that day was Sunday, and that day was the first of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians; until the fourth day. Then on the fourth day he created the sun and the moon; that was the fourth day of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians. For in the three days that were before the sun, there were the luminaries of the universe, called transparent light; and those three hours are accumulated during four years, forming one day, which is called leap-day.

4 311-312 Եւ մարդոյն լինելութեան սկիզբն յաւուր չորեքշաբթւոջ եղեւ: . . . Արարեալ խորհուրդ ծածկապէս . . . ապա յաւուրն հինգշաբթւոջ յայտնեաց Աստուած ցորդի եւ ցհոգի. Եկայք արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան . . . Արդ յաւուր ուրբաթու ստեղծաւ մարդն նիսան ամսոյ ամսամուտ էր: Եւ Ադամայ աւր ստեղծման, եւ եբրայեցւոց տարեմուտ, զի այն հինգ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զլինել մարդոյն, այն աւելիք կոչեցան: Արդ յԳ ժամու էառ զհողն ի ձեռն աստուած. եւ Զ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ առ զկենդանութիւն. եւ յԹերորդ ժամուն յանցեաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարն էջ փրկիչն յարգանդ կուսին՝ փրկութիւն առնելով տիեզերաց: Եւ որ Լ ամ լուռ եւ աներեւոյթդ եկա[ց] յաշխարհի, վասն զի նախահայրն Ադամ Լ ամ միով . . . [lacuna] մինչ զկենդանութիւն առ . . . Նոյն աւրինակաւ առաւ հողն յերիր ժամու եւ ի [վեցերո]րդ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն . . . եւ Թերորդ ժամու յանցեաւ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտէն

. . . And the beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday. . . . Having made the plan secretly . . . then God made it known to the Son and the Spirit on Thursday: “Come let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness.”[3] . . . Now on Friday man was created; it was the New Moon

3. Gen 1:26.

of the month Nisan. And the day of creation of Adam was the Jews' New Year, for the five days before the creation of man were called epagomenal days. So at the third hour God took dust in his hand and at the sixth hour man was created and became animated. And at the ninth hour he committed sin and came out of the Garden. And at the Friday millennium (i.e., the sixth millennium), the Savior came down into the womb of the Virgin, bringing salvation to the world. And he stayed in the world silently and invisibly for thirty years, because the forefather Adam was thirty years (old) . . . [lacuna] before he received life. . . . After the same example the dust was taken at the third hour, and at the sixth hour man was created; . . . and at the ninth hour Adam committed sin and came out of the Garden.[4]

Պատմութիւն Անանիայի Շիրակացւոյ համարողի
History by the mathematician Anania Širakac'i[5]

5 357 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ . . . Ենովս, որ առաջին յուսացաւ կոչել զԱստուած: Եւ ընդէ՞ր արդեւք այս, եւ կամ վասն որո՞յ պատճառանաց նախն է ասացեալ կոչելոյն զԱստուած, կամ ո՞րպէս կոչելն իմանի: Քանզի Ադամ ճշմարտութեամբ աստուածաստեղծն. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր. այղ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թաքստեան եղեալ, զՈ՞ւր եսն յԱստուծոյ՝ եւ ոչ յայղ ումեքէ հարցանի:

The first-created Adam: having lived for two hundred and thirty years begat Seth . . . Enosh, who was the first to hope to call upon God.[6] And why is it so, or for what reason he is said to be the first to call upon God? Or how is the "call upon" to be understood? For, truly, Adam was created by God; and he is said to have received the commandment from God's mouth; and when he committed sin and hid himself, the "Where are you?"[7] came from God and it is not asked by anybody else.[8]

4. Arguments to show that the idea of the creation of man was conceived on the fourth day, revealed to the Son on the fifth day; and carried out on the sixth day.

5. The authorship of this writing is doubtful (A.T.).

6. Cf. Gen 4:26.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Observe in this section that Adam is created by the hand of God. Moreover, Adam received the commandment from God's mouth. This is connected with Enosh, "he hoped to call," and in Adam's case, God called upon Adam when he hid.

Dawit‘ the Invincible C7

Text: Davit‘ the Invincible, Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ "The Panegyric of the God-Receiving Holy Cross," in Կորիւն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings by Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit‘ the Invincible* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1833), 103–19.[9]

1 109–10 Զի զագաթն Գողգոթայ, տեղի կառափելոյ, եւ շիրիմ առաջին մարդոյն յեբրայեցւոցն ասացեալ: Եւ ամենայն անդ է, քանզի բերէ զգագաթն բարձրութիւն սորա, եւ զկառափետղն ձեւ սորա. իսկ զթաղումն քանզի փայտիւ Ադամայ վիրաւորեցելոյ առ ի նմին իսկ յնուհետեւ անկեալ՝ ի մեռելոյ է ի համարի: Յորոյ վերայ հասանելով յերկրի երկնայինն Ադամ, գթածաբար զփրկութիւն կամեցեալ նորագործել աստ թաղեցելոյ ծառային եւ հօր, զյաւիտենական բարձեալ բերէ զարդարութիւն. նմանասեր մարմնով լուծանելով աստ զնորա զհաձեալ զմեղսն, եւ ճաշակելով իբր նայապէս զմահ՝ սպանանելով զնորայն մահ, բարձրացուցանէ զանուանեալն գագաթն գերագոյն երկնից:

Եւ զանսուրբ փայտն զպատճառս մեղաց, ի փրկութեան պատճառս եւ ի սրբութիւն սրբոց. եւ զկառափետղն ի կենաց գործետեղ. իսկ զթաղումն ի սքանչելի յարութիւն ածեալ փոխարկէ մարդոյն: Եւ ամենեւին իսկ պատճառաւ փրկութեանն, զայն որ մեղացն էր պատճառ ի բաց բարձեալ ...

For the summit of Golgotha, the place of execution, the Jews say is also the tomb of the first man. And all is there, for its (i.e., the cross's) height signifies the summit, and its shape—its form, the place of execution and the burial because, Adam having been wounded by a tree on the same place thenceforth having fallen, is reckoned as one who has died. Reaching here upon the earth, the heavenly Adam, wanting mercifully to renew the salvation of the servant and father buried here, brought the eternal justice, remitting his willful sin through (his own) body of the same origin. And He tasted (or: ate) death like him, by killing his (Adam's) death, and elevated the mentioned summit higher than heaven.

And the impure tree, the cause of sin, he transformed for man into the cause of salvation and into the holy of holies; and the place of execution—into the place of vivification; and the burial—he transformed into the wonderful

9. The attribution of this work to a sixth-century David seems dubious (MES).

resurrection of man. And by means of the cause of salvation He abolished totally him who was the cause of sin . . .

Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7

Text: Davit‘ Hark‘ac‘i, Որ յիմաստասիրական եւ յիմաստասիրելի հարցուածս *Philosophical and Philosophisable Questions*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1903) = *Ararat* (September–October 1902): 937–62.

13–17 (ԻԸ.)

1 Հ. Իսկ ո՞րպիսի տեսակն, որ եւ պատրել կարաւղագոյն:

Պ. Տնկոց ծեւացաւ բարին, որպէս զի ստուգապէս առ ձեռն հայեցուսցէ. (յ)երկին, այսպէս եւ չարն տեսակ առեալ ի խորհուրդս կերպանայ, ինքնածին եղեալ ի նոյն վայրի, եւ ի բարուօջն բուսեալ եւ ընդ նմա աճեալ՝ ընդդէմ հանդիսանայ. եւ սոքա երկոքին աճեցեալ ի ստեղն, ի յոստս, ի ճիւղս եւ ի / ծայրս, երկաքանչիւր ըստ իւր պտուղ բերեալ: Եւ է բարին ճաշակաւ յոյժ քաղցր, զի պտուղ նորա առ անմահութիւն հայի, իսկ տեսակաւ անպաճոյճ, ինքնագոյ պարզ. վասն այսորիկ եւ ոչ վաղ զիղձսն բաղձացուցանաւղ զտեսաւղացն, մինչ չեւ ի բաց բարձեալ նորա դիմակ եւ զփորձ առեալ ճաշակմանն. առ որ հայեցեալ ընչաւէտն այն այր (Ադամ) ի բաց դարձաւ հրաժարեալ եւ ոչ կամեցաւ ճաշակել, թէպէտ եւ Տէրն յորդորեաց առ բարին մերձենալ, սակայն տրտմեալ այրն այն ի բաց գնաց առ պատիր անդր դարձեալ. վասն որոյ ի Տեառնէն իսկ խոստովանեալ, զի նեղ եւ սակաւազնաց շաւիղն որ ի յաւէժն տանի ի կեանս: Իսկ չարն ի ներքոյ դառն ապաժոյժ ղեղւոյ, իսկ ի վերոյ բարեկերպ գունեալ, իբր քաղցր աւծմամբ, զի հրապուրանաւք խտղտեալ զքիմսն պարարիցէ, բարձիւ եւ բարեաւ զտեսաւղսն (տռ)փացուցանէ, բայց ծայրայեղն յատակս հայի դժոխոց, քանզի զսորայն / աասցի պտուղ մահ է եւ ամենայն անփորձաբար անդր սողոսկեալ հոսեցաւ, ըստ որում եւ աւաղականն այն ի վերայ կայ տէրունեանն բան, զի Լայն առ կորուստ ուղին եւ բազումք անկեալ երթան:

Question: And of what qualities is the sort that is most able to deceive?

Answer: Good was generated among the plants, in order that one could truly observe heaven from a short distance. In the same way evil, springing up in thought, then takes shape. Being self-born in the same place, having sprouted and grown up with it, (evil) opposes it. And each of these two, growing in trunks, stems, branches and summit, each of the two bears fruit in its own

likeness. And good tastes very sweet, for its fruit looks toward immortality, and it is an unadorned sort, naturally simple. For that reason it does not excite the desires of those who look at it, before they unmask and taste it. Now looking at it, that fortunate man (Adam) turned away, refused, and did not want to taste it; though the Lord exhorted him to approach the good, the displeased man went away turning to the illusory thing. That is why even the Lord confessed that "narrow is the way (and used by but few travelers) that leads unto eternal life."[10] And evil has bitter unbearable gall inside, whereas on the outside it is beautifully colored as if with sweet unction, to delight the palate, tickling with attraction, to provoke, with splendor and beauty, the passion of those who look at it.[11] But it looks onto the extreme depth of Hell, for, as I said, its fruit is death; and all those inexperienced who crept there, rushed down. About this is the Lord's sorrowful word: "Broad is the way, (that leadeth) to destruction, and many are they that fall down (thereby)."[12]

P'ilon Tirakac'i C7

P'ilon Tirakac'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronicle,* ed. Alek'san Hakobean, in *MH*, vol. 5, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 903–69.

1 905 (38) Եւ առնին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն ազգք Ժ, ամք ՍՄԽԲ:

(38) From Adam until the flood it makes ten generations, 2242 years.

2 920 (263) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի գերութիւնն Բաբեղացւոց, որ եղեւ յաւուրս Յեքոնիայ, ազգք՝ ԾԱ, ամք՝ ՏՊԽԲ, ամիսք՝ Թ:

(263) From Adam until the Babylonian captivity which was in the days of Jechonias, 51 generations, 4842 years, and nine months.

3 925 (93) Եւ ի Սողովմոնէ եւ ի շինուածոյ տաճարին մինչեւ ի Կիւրոս՝ ամք ՆՂԵ: (94) Եւ յելիցն յԵգիպտոսէ, որ ի ձեռն Մովսիսի, մինչեւ ցշինուած տաճարին՝ ամք ՆԽԷ, եւ ի ջրհեղեղէն մինչեւ ցելսն Իսրայէղի՝ ամք ՌՆԽԵ: (95) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցջրհեղեղն՝ ամք ՍՄԽԲ: (96) Միանգամայն յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի չարչարանսն Քրիստոսի՝ ամք ՐՇԽ. եւ ի ԵԺ-երորդ ամէն Տիբերի կայսեր՝ մինչեւ ի հալածումն եկեղեցեաց, որ եղեւ յԹ ու Ժ-երորդ ամի Դիոկղետիանոսի, ամք ՄՀՋ: (97) Ժողովին ամենայն աւուրքն եւ լինին ամք ՐՊԺ:

10. See Matt 7:14.

11. Note the language of sweet and bitter, which often has an eschatological meaning.

12. Cf. Matt 7:13. This metaphor is a clear use of the Genesis tradition and implies an exegesis of Gen 3:6.

(93) And from Solomon and from the building of the temple until Cyrus, 495 years. From the exodus from Egypt which was through Moses until the building of the temple, 447 years, from the flood until the exit of Israel, 1445 years. (95) And from Adam until the flood, 2242 years. (96) Altogether from Adam until the passion of Christ, 5540 years, and from the 15th year of Emperor Tiberius until the persecution of churches which took place in the 19th year of Diocletian, 276 years. (97) All the days are summed up and make 5810 years.

4 936. (10) Լինին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ծնունդն Քրիստոսի ամք ՐՄԿԴ։

(10) From Adam until the birth of Christ are 5264 years.

Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i C7

Text: Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Կանոն երկրորդ աւուրն
Canon of the Second Day

1 549–50 Ի ստունգանելն Ադամայ ի կենագործ ի դրախտին խաբմամբ պատրանօք փայտին ծառոյն գիտութեան, օձաջամբ պատրանօքն ճաշակեալ ի պտղոյն, եւ եղեւ վայրաբնակիլ մայրաքաղաքն Երուսաղէմ։ Արեւելք ի դրախտին ընծայեցին զփայտ խաչին . . .

When Adam disobeyed in the life-giving Garden due to the deception of the wood of the tree of knowledge, tasting the fruit by the seduction of the serpent, the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted. The sunrise brought forth the wood of the cross as a present in the Garden.[13]

Կանոն վեցերորդ աւուրն
Canon of the Sixth Day

2 564 Այսօր զենար զառն Աստուծոյ վասն յանցանաց նախաստեղծին ի վերայ խաչին պատարագեալ հեղեր զարիւնդ ի փրկութիւն . . . Այսօր ընդ գիտութեան փայտին մահու որով նախահայրն մահացաւ, զփրկականդ քո նշան փոխանակեալ կենաց փայտ մեզ շնորհեցեր . . . Այսօր զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զոր եւ քրովբէից պարունակեալ պահէին զգուշութեամբ, սովաւ զբոցեղէն սուրն բարձեալ բացեր որդւոց Ադամայ . . .

13. The Garden here is called մայրաքաղաքն (“the capital Jerusalem”), showing how paradise and Jerusalem fall together.

Today you are sacrificed, Lamb of God, on account of the sin of the protoplast, immolated on the Cross you shed your blood for salvation. Today you changed the mortal tree of knowledge because of which the forefather died, into your redemptive Cross, granting to us the tree of life. Today, removing the flaming sword, you opened for Adam's sons the way of the tree of life that was carefully guarded (kept closed) by the Cherubim.

3 565 . . . Որ փոխանակ պտղոյ մահաբեր ծառոյն, կենաց պտուղն որ ի վերայ քառաթեւին կերակրեաց զազգս որդւոց մարդկան . . . Որ զգիր պարտեաց կողածնին լըւաց հրահոս վտակօքն ի տիգախոց կողէն բղխեալ զոր արբոյց տիեզերաց:

He who, instead of the fruit of the mortal tree, fed the race of the sons of men with the fruit of the tree of life which is upon the four-armed (i.e., cross). . . . He who abolished the bond of obligation of her born of a rib, washed by means of fiery flowing streams springing from the lance-struck side, which he gave the universe to drink.

T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7

Text: T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor, Ճառք երեք *Three Homilies*, in Yovhan Ōjnec'i, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953), 171–210.

1 172 Զի՞նչ արդէօք այսպիսիքս կարծիցեն զիւրեանց ծայրակոտոր իմաստսն, աղէ ասասցեն մեզ մուրազիտ աղանդաբերքն: Մարմնական կիրառութեամբքն փրկանակն Բան վարակեալ հերքեաց զթշնամին մարդկան, թէ մերկ աստուածաբուն զօրութեամբն. եւ թէ իւրական յատուկ բնութեամբն՝ զի՞նչ պէտք մարդոյն զգեցման. որոյ կամակարօղ հրամանին ոչ ոք դիմակացիլ զօրէր: Վասնզի ոչ զէական իւր բնութիւնն ի փորձ հանդիսի տուեալ, այլ զիւրական մարմինն յաղթող ախտի եւ ապականութեան եւ մահու ցուցեալ. եւ մարմնական կիրառութեամբն պատրեալ զթշնամին՝ ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր. զի իբրեւ առ Ադամն մատուցեալ ի փորձ որպէս յԱստուծոյ կործանեսցի պարտեալ: Քանզի աստուածական անուամբն պատրեալ զնախկին մարդն բարիատեացն թշնամին, սակս այսորիկ մարմնոյն զգեցմամբ եւ յանձնաւող զմարմնական կիրսն փրկանակն Բան իրագործելով, խաբեալ զթշնամին պարտեալ ամաչեցոյց. եւ փրկեաց մարմնականօքն զմարմնականսս

What will such (people) consider to be their mutilated ideas, let the sectarians, cadging knowledge, tell us. The redemptive Word affected by bodily passion repulsed the enemy of men both by mere divine power and by his

particular nature. Why would he need to clothe himself in human (flesh), he whose mighty command nobody could oppose? Because he would not test his increate nature publicly, but he exposed his body as conqueror of disease, corruption, and death and, deceiving the enemy with bodily passion, called him to fight, in order that when approaching Adam for tempting, he be defeated as if by God. Since the enemy, hating good, had deceived the first man by means of the divine name, for that reason the redemptive Word, clothing himself in flesh and accepting bodily passion, deceived the enemy, defeated him and put him to shame, and saved the bodily (i.e., world) with bodily (i.e., passion).

2 173 Արդ ի վե՛ր կառու զաչս մտաց սրտիդ առ նախաստեղծ մարդն. եւ որ ինչ յաղագս պատուիրազանցութեանն պատուհասակրեցաւ՝ իմաց զիւրաքանչիւրսն: Եւ նախիմաց լեր զտէրունական օրինադրութիւնսն. Յամենայնսն վայելեսցես ի յոքնաբուսական տնզոցն. բայց առ այդ մի հպեսցիս փայտ իմացական բարոյ ի չարոյ: Աստանօր ծանիր զերկիւղն սկիզբն ամենայն բարոյ եւ չարոյ, եւ որ ինչ ի մարդումն առբնացեալն էին կիրք՝ եւ զնոյնս եւ բարէստեղծողն Աստուած պատուիրանադրեաց:

So raise your spiritual eyes to the first-created man and learn every punishment that he suffered for his transgression. And be provident with regard to the Lord's legislation. Enjoy all the diversity of trees but do not touch the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Now conceive fear, the beginning of all good and evil, and the passions inherent in man. The same was commanded by God who created everything good.

Նորին Երանելւոյն Թէոդորոսի Ճգնաւոր Միայնակեցի եւ վարդապետի Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ եւ ի Տնօրէնութիւն Տեառն Մերոյ եւ Փրկչին Յիսուսի Քիստոսի: Of the same Blessed T'ēodoros, ascetic solitary and *vardapet,* Elegy on the Holy Lord-receiving Cross and on the Lordship of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ

3 178 Ապա եթէ ի գոյեղութեանն առլցեալ ունին զերկիւղն ամենից բացայայտ է՝ թէ անախտք են: Ուստի ամենայն անկարութեանն սկիզբն արտայայտեցաւ աներկիւղութիւն, որում նախկին բանսարկուին պիտառոցէ անկումն, եւ երկրորդ՝ նախծին մարդոյն:

If they are full of fear with regard to creation, it is quite evident that they are innocent. That is why fearlessness appeared to be the beginning of every weakness, which is witnessed by the fall first of the Devil and second of the firstborn man.

4 195 Ո՛վ քառատեսակ սուրբ նշան, կենդանի փայտ եւ ձայն բանաւոր, սրեալ արեամբ որդւոյն Աստուծոյ. վասն զի քեւ ծանեաք զճշմարիտ արքայն Սողոմոն հանդերձ վաթսուն զօրօք պահպանութեամբ էիցն՝ ըստ թուոյ հինգ զգայութեանցս, որով պիտակացեալ արտաքսեցուք տարապականութեամբ գործովք փայտին իմացութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի: Քեւ լուծեալ բարձաւ քրտնաբեր անիծադրութիւնն Ադամայ, որ ի ձեռն հինգ շարադրեալ ազդեցութեան, եւ մուտ հարուածոցն՝ մախանօք: Քեւ խայտառակեցաւ օձ աւազակն, եւ բացաւ դրախտ՝ մարդ աւազակին: Քեւ բացաւ սրովբէափակ աղխեալ դուռն դրախտին կենաց:

O holy cross, with four aspects, living wood and rational mind, aroused by the blood of the Son of God; for thanks to you we knew the true king Solomon together with the sixty armies,[14] guarded by the existences according to the number of these five senses by which, having degenerated, we are alienated by useless acts from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Through you the sweat-bearing curse of Adam was removed, which was composed by the means of five admonitions, and the entry of blows through envy. Thanks to you the brigand serpent was put to shame and paradise was opened to the brigand man. Thanks to you the locked door of the paradise of life guarded by the Seraphim was opened.

Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł C7

Text: Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł, Յաղագս պատկերամարտից "Concerning the Iconoclasts," ed. E. Durean (Turian), *Sion* n.s. 1 (1927): 23–25, 61–63; reprinted in Ełišē Durean (Turian), Վրթանէս Քերթողի Յաղագս Պատկերամարտից "Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł, 'Against the Iconoclasts,'" in Ուսումնասիրութիւնք եւ Քննադատութիւնք *Studies and Researches* (Collected Writings of Patriarch Ełišē Turian [Durean] 6; Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1935), 299–308. Critical text in *MH*, vol. 3, 6th century, introduction by Yakob K‘eosēyan (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003), 493–500.

1 62 Եւ մեղք իսկ առաջին ի ստութենէ ծնան, որպէս առ Ադամաւն:

. . . And in fact the first sin was born of falsehood, as in the days of Adam . . .[15]

14. The reference to King Solomon is unclear.

15. It is a standard point that deceit was the cause of Adam's sin. Still, contrast Wisdom of Solomon and other sources, where there is more emphasis on envy.

Yovhan Mamikonean C7

Text: Յովհաննու Մամիկոնենի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ *The History of Tarōn by Yovhannēs Mamikonean* (2nd printing; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1889).

Yovhan Mamikonean, Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ *History of Tarōn*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Matenadaran, 1941).

Translation: *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn (Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy), Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* by Levon Avdoyan (Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993). The translation is my own.

1 17 Այլ դու, Տէր, զթացար ’ի ստեղծուածս քո աստուածային ձեռացդ. առաքեցեր զմիածին Որդիդ քո ’ի փրկութիւն աշխարհի, որ եկն եւ եղեւ մարդ ի կնոջէ ’ի մեր նմանութիւնս, եւ էառ զմեր պատժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեղս մարմնով իւրով, ելոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:

But you, Lord, had mercy on the creations of your divine hands. You sent your only-begotten Son for the salvation of the land (world). He came and became a man from a woman in our likeness. And he took our liability to punishment. He condemned sins by his body; he undid the curses of the protoplast Adam.[16]

16. Letter from L. Avdoyan 1/11/99: "This is one of the most corrupted of the passages in PsY, and I believe it is because it entered the Yaysmaurk‘ and was subject to extensive meddling. The two main variants are the 1941 edition which reads: եւ ոչ կրելով իւր զմեղս՝ դատապարտեաց ի մարմնի իւրում ելոյծ զանէծս ի վերայխաչին: The other variant, which I used heavily (but I judged the ի վերայ խաչին is close also to the original) is from the Venetian edition of 1889, followed by several mss., including one I consider of prime importance (Abrahamyan's L): . . . եւ էառ զմեր պարժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեղս մարմնով իւրով, ելոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:"

Eighth Century

Grigoris Aršaruni C8

Text: Grigoris Aršaruni, Մեկնութիւն Ընթերցուածոց *Commentary on the Lectionary*, ed. K‘. Č‘rak‘ean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), 86–87.

1 Թէ որպէս յաղագս մարդոյն երկիր եւ ծով իւրովք զարդուն եւ ծննդովք, ի ձեռն հաստատութեան երկնին լուսաւորօքն հանդերձ բաժանեալ յառաջին երկնէն, երկրորդ աշխարհ գոյացաւ ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին:

On how for the sake of man, the earth and the sea with their ornaments and creatures were divided by the firmament, together with the luminaries from the first heaven, and the second world came into being for the glory and praise of the Creator.

2 Եւ արդ ունի խորհուրդ ընթերցուածոցն յայտնել նախ զայս միտս, որքան իմ տկարութիւնս հասու եղեւ, զանճառ Աստուծոյ իմաստութեանն գործ. հրաշալի նախախնամութեան յօրինուածովք առ մարդն. որպէս զի յաղագս նորա լինել նիւթական արարածոցս ի պատիւ ինքեան եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին. որ է լինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի, ծովու եւ որ ի նոսա, սքանչելի գործք արուեստաւոր բանին, որպէս եղելութիւն լուսոյն կարգաւորութեամբ տըւընջեան եւ գիշերոյ ի բաւանդակութիւն աւուրն:

Now the purpose of the lections first is to express the following idea, as far as my weakness comprehended the work of the ineffable wisdom of God, with the creations of wonderful providence to man, so that the material creatures existed for him, for his honor and for the glory of the Creator; that is the creation of the heaven and the earth, the sea and their inhabitants—the wonderful deeds of the ingenious Word, and also the creation of the light with the succession of day and night for the completion of day.[1]

3 Նոյնպէս եւ հաստատութիւն երկնին խորանաձեւ շրջաբերեալ զոյգ ծովու եւ ցամաքի, որպէս պայծառութիւն արեգական, լուսնոյ եւ աստեղաց, մերկեաց զերկինն վերին եւ զլոյծ բնութիւնն ջուրց ի

1. Creation is for the sake of man, for the honor of man and the glory of the Creator.

միմեանց, եւ ծովս եւ գնացս գետոց աղբերօք հանդերձ, երկրորդ աշխարհ / նիւթական բացայայտեաց, ցուցանելով զծաղկածին ցամաքն, որ հրամայեցաւ բուսովք եւ պտղաբեր տընկովք եւ անտառախիտ մայրեօք լնուլ լերանց, դաշտաց, ձորոց եւ կղզեաց ծովու: Ցուցանելով ինքնազարդ գեղեցկութիւն, ընդ նմին եւ ջրածին դուղակացն, սողնոց անբանից, գազանաց մեծամեծաց եւ փոքունց, եւ ահագին վիշապաց ի ջուրցն հրամայեցաւ լնուլ զջուրս ամենայն: Ուստի եւ թռչնոց տարմք ելեալ, լցին զծովացեալ օդս ի վերայ երկրի, որ կոչի շաղկապ դրացի հաստատութեան երկնի. նովին հրամանաւ եւ երկրի հանեալ շունչ կենդանի, գազան եւ անասուն եւ սողուն երկրի, որով կրկնապատիկ զարդարեցան երեսք երկրի առ ի ցուցանել զառատ արարչին ամենահնար մեծութիւնն, ի բոյսս եւ ի զգայական կենդանիսս:

Also the vaulted firmament of the heaven surrounding both the sea and dry land, as the shining of sun, moon, and the stars, separated the upper heaven and the fluid nature of waters from each other, both the seas and the streams of rivers together with the springs. Second, he revealed the material world showing the flower-bearing dry land. The order was given for the mountains, fields, valleys, and islands of the sea to be filled with plants and fruit-bearing trees and leafy forest. Showing the natural beauty, with it also of aquatic animals, irrational creeping things,[2] large and small beasts, and fearsome sea-monsters in the waters, He ordered them to fill all the waters. Whence came forth flocks of birds and filled the sealike air above the earth, which is called the neighboring junction of the firmament of heaven.[3]

By the same command the earth brought forth living creatures, beasts, and cattle and creeping things of the earth, with the surface of the earth was adorned twofold, to manifest the most skillful power of the generous Creator with plants and with perceptible living things.[4]

4 89 Ե. Թէ մարդոյն լինելութեամբ հաւասարեաց զզգալի աշխարհս ընդ իմանալիսն: Եւ զայս խորհեցեալ բարերարին յառաջագոյն, առնէ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր, իբրեւ զիմանալիսն՝ յիմանալի լոյս բնակեալ մերձ յանմերձենալի լոյսն: Եւ արու եւ էգ՝ ըստ զգայականացն, որոց եւ գլուխն հանդիպեցաւ իբրեւ հաղորդ նոցուն առաջնորդութեամբ. եւ ածէ զնա ի դրախտ իբրեւ թագաւոր յարքունիս, հանդերձ թագուհեաւ, զի եղիցի որպէս փեսայ առ հարսին ուրախացեալ ի ներքուստ. եւ իբրեւ զթագաւոր սպասաւորեալ յորոց իշխիցենն արտաքուստ: Եւ այսպէս

2. Cf. Gen 1:24.

3. Note that the birds are related to the sea. This occurs in many Armenian accounts of creation.

4. Observe the idea, also mentioned in the text above, of the creation of two worlds.

աճեցուցեալ արարչական բանին ի նիւթականացն բուսականս եւ զգայականս յաւելուածութեան կարգաւ, մինչեւ ի մարդն բանաւոր որ ըստ պատկերի արարչին ելից զտունս զայս եւ հաւասար առաջնոց եւ իմանալի տանն յօրինեաց, ի միոյ արարչի մի փառաւորութիւն բաւանդակելով:

5. That by creating man He equalized this perceptible world with the intelligible. And first thinking this over, the Benefactor created man in his image, intellectual and rational, like the intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light. And He created male and female, like sensible beings of whom He happened to be the head, as if participating in them with priority. And He brought him into paradise, like a king into the court, together with the queen, so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride, and be served like a king, by those whom they rule outside. And thus from the material things, the Creative Word gradually grew vegetal things and sensible beings by the order of multiplicity up to the rational man who (was) in the image of the Creator, He filled this house and He made him equal to the first things, He created the intelligible one for the house, one praise containing one glory for one Creator.[5]

5 107 Եւ ապա ընթեռնուն զպատմութիւն ամենաբարի արարչութեանն գործոց եւ կրից մարդոյն. յորում եւ նկարագրութիւնք խնամոցն Աստուծոյ առ կինն, ազդեալ մարգարէութեամբ ի ձեռն Ադամայ, կոչել զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. գիտելով թէ որպէս մահ ի կնոջէ է, նոյնպէս եւ կեանք:

And then they read the story about the all-good acts of creation and man's vicissitudes, among which (are) also the description of God's solicitude concerning woman, the announcement by prophecy through Adam, that his wife is to be called "life,"[6] for he knew that as death is caused by woman, likewise life is.

6 109 Այսպէս սկսեալ ի ծննդենէն Քրիստոսի, որ յաղագս Եւայի, անցանելով ընդ ամենայն խնամս փրկութեանն, որ վասն Ադամայ կատարեն յօրիներգութիւն Աստուծոյ ցնծալից ուրախութեամբ ամենայն արարածովք, որք ընդ նոսա վերստին նորոգեցան, երկնիւ, երկրաւ, ծովու, եւ ամենայն որ ի նոսա սքանչելի գործք բանաւորաց, զգայականաց եւ անշնչից:

Thus starting with the birth of Christ, which (took place) on account of Eve, passing to all the care about salvation, which (took place) on account

5. Man shares intelligence with like higher beings; humans are also male and female like sensible beings. Man is brought to paradise like a king, served by his subjects; and was created as the peak of a process of creation by the Creative Word.

6. Cf. Gen 3:20·

of Adam, they confer their song of blessing on God with cheerful joy, with all the creatures that were again renewed with them: the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all the wonderful creatures[7] in them—rational, perceptive, and inanimate.[8]

7 113 Որպէս ոմանց վեցօրեա ստեղծուլ ասել զմարդն, եւ քառասնօրեա՝ ի դրախտն զմուտն, եւ նովին չափովն զելն, որ չէ յայտ

. . . As some say, man was created on the sixth day, and entered the Garden of Eden on the fortieth day, and came out after an equal period, which is not obvious . . . [9]

8 115–16 Նոյնպէս երկուքն յորս ընթերցուածքն. յուրբաթուն՝ վասն նախահօրն, զի որպէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ ի սկզբանն, եւ ի նմին աւուր ել փայտին յանցանօք, նոյնպէս եւ ի վեց հազարիս փրկեցաւ յուրբաթուն, խաչին փրկութեամբ եւ ի նմին աւուր աւազակն ի դրախտն եմուտ. իսկ չորեքշաբաթուն վասն Եւայի: Եւ թէպէտեւ գաղտնեացն բան պատշաճագոյն էր մեզ որ ի չորեքշաբաթուն զլինելն ասէ զԵւայի, եւ յուրբաթուն զմուտն ի դրախտն, փիլիսոփային վկայութեամբ, բայց զի ի բնագրին ոչ գտանի, մեզ անընդունելի է:

. . . Եւ զոր օրինակ զգալի լոյսն ի չորրորդ աւուրն ժողովեցաւ ի նիւթն, նոյնպէս եւ իմանալի լոյսն ի Հօրէ ի չորեքշաբաթուն աւետարանեցաւ / Կուսին . . . որպէս ի չորրորդի կենդանեաց լինել, եւ ստեղծուած կնոջն, որով կեանքն յայտնեցան . . .

Որպէս եւ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն ջուրցն հանել զեռուն շնչոց կենդանեաց, որ օրինակէ զմկրտութեամբ ծնունդն որդւոց մարդկան:

Likewise there are two lections on Friday concerning the Forefather, how in the beginning he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out[10] because of his sin with the tree; similarly, he was saved on Friday in the sixth thousandth year, finding salvation through the cross, and on the same day the brigand entered paradise; and (there is a lection) on Wednesday concerning Eve. And though we have a most suitable word about the mystery, saying that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday,

7. Literally: deeds.

8. Note the symmetry, Christ has to be born because of Eve; salvation has to take place because of Adam. The Virgin is not yet here related directly to Eve, as Christ is often to Adam.

9. Already above, the idea occurs that man is created on the sixth day. It is common and is based on the Bible. According to Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* 14 (Xačik'yan 1992, 243), some say Adam was in the Garden for forty days "because of male impurity." That Adam entered the Garden on the fortieth day is to be found in *Jub.* 3:9–10 and the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus: see Stone 1992, 87; Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4; 7.

10. I.e., of Eden.

according to the philosophical witness, it is unacceptable to us, since it is not found in the text.

. . . And just as the perceptible light was gathered into substance on the fourth day, likewise the intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday. . . . As living creatures appeared on the fourth (day), and woman was created, by whom life came into existence.

. . . As on the fifth day the waters brought forth swarm of living creatures,[11] after the same example is the birth of sons of men through baptism.

9 120 . . . յՈւրբաթուն յիշատակի առաջին մարդոյն անհնազանդութիւն պատուիրանին:

. . . It is mentioned that the disobedience of the first man to the commandment was on Friday.

10 122 . . . Եւ զկատարելագործութիւն ամենայն ընթերցուածոցն խորհրդոց պահեմք յերեկոյ ճրագալուցին շաբաթու, զի անդ առնուն զկատարումն այլ շաբաթուցն խոստմունք մարգարէիցն. զոր յաղագս կնոջն առաջին եւ նախահօրն փրկութեան պատմեցին:

. . . And we observe the performing of all the mysteries of the lections on the eve of this Easter Saturday, so that there they might make a fulfillment of the promises of the prophets about the other Sabbaths: those which told about the salvation of the first woman and the forefather.

11 131 Իսկ երկրորդ ուրբաթուն, եւ պահեսցեն զպատուիրանս, զոր ի դրախտին Ադամ ոչ պահեաց, եւ զիրաւունս, ասէ՝ որ յօձէն խաբեալ հանդիպեցաւ ապաշխարութեանն, եւ զդատաստանս, ասէ՝ որ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր յանցանաց զարժանն առին խաբողն եւ խաբեալքն:

. . . Եւ օրհնեսցէ ասէ զծնունդս որովայնի քո, որ Եւայիւն տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդիս, ասաց, եւ զպտուղ երկրի քո, որ Ադամաւն անիծաւ . . .

And on the second Friday they will observe the commandments which Adam did not observe in the Garden, and the statutes. It says, "he who was deceived by the serpent encountered repentance"; and of the judgments it says, "for the deceiver and the deceived obtained their deserts, each according to his sin."[12]

". . . And he will bless," it says, "the fruit of your womb";[13] you, that shall

11. Cf. Gen 1:20.

12. The source of this quotation is unclear.

13. Cf. Luke 1:42.

bring forth children in pain because of Eve,[14] and the fruit of your ground that was cursed because of Adam.

12 132 Եւ զի յուրբաթուն վիրաւորեցաւ Ադամ փայտիւն եւ ել ի դրախտէն, եւ յուրբաթուն փրկիչն իւրովք վիրօքն բժշկեաց ի խաչին . . .

For on Friday Adam was wounded by the tree and came out of paradise,[15] and on Friday the Savior on the cross cured (i.e., Adam's wounds) with his wounds.

13 135 . . . Զի բանք անօրինաց զօրացան ի վերայ մեր, որ ի սատանայէ, ի դրախտին՝ օձին խաբէութեամբ եւ զամպարշտութիւնս մեր դու քաւեսցես, մարմնանալովդ։

For the words of the impious overpowered us, which (come) from Satan; you will expiate through your incarnation our impieties (which were caused) by the deception of the serpent in paradise.

14 162 բազմօրեայք լինիջիք յանմահութեան, որ ի դրախտին սակաւօրեայք . . .

. . . Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden (of Eden).

15 167 . . . Զոր օրինակ առաջին մարդն ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ, եւ պատուհասեցաւ մեղօքն, երկարելով նմա կեանս ցաւալիցս, մինչ ի վեց հազարեան ամն լնլով զօր երկոտասանաժամեան հինգ հարիւրեակ ամացն ժամուքս, ՝առ ի կատարել բանին Տեառն թէ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն՝ մահու մեռանիցիք։

Likewise the first man was created on the sixth day and was punished because of sin by his sorrowful life being lengthened until the fulfillment of the sixth millennium, the day (being) of twelve hours of five hundred years, in order to carry out the Lord's word that: "On the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die."[16]

16 169–70 Նոյնպէս եւ յուրբաթուն հրա/մայի դստերն Բաբելովնի ընկենուլ զքող զարդուն, որ՝ զառաջին կնոջն հոլանեաց զպատկառանս եւ քարշել զալիսն՝ որ զպսակ պարծանաց նախահօրն յերկիր խոնարհեցոյց. եւ բանալ զարունս զի յայտնեսցի ամօթ նորա, որ՝ ամաչեցոյց մերկութեամբն զԱդամ եւ զկինն, ի կարել զտերեւ թզենոյն՝ որով ծածկել կարծէին զամօթ իւրեանց . . .

14. Cf. Gen 3:16.
15. This word is translated indifferently "paradise" or "the Garden."
16. See Gen 2:17.

On Friday also the daughter of Babylon is commanded[17] to remove the veil of her beauty, that bared the shyness of the first woman, and strip off the train that brought down to the ground the forefather's crown of glory, and to uncover the leg so that they made their shame visible that disconcerted Adam and the woman because of nakedness, so that they sewed fig leaves (together), with which they thought to cover their shame . . .

17 171 Եւ որպէս ի դրախտին անաշխատ կերակրէր զմարմինն՝ պտղովն, եւ զհոգիսն՝ պատուիրանաւն, նոյնպէս եւ յանապատին՝ մանանայիւն եւ օրինօքն . . .

And as in the Garden of Eden. (He) fed the body with fruit without labor, and the souls—with the commandment, likewise in the desert—with the manna and the law . . .[18]

18 183 Այսպէս եւ աստ յամենայն աւուր եւս վերագոյն սկսեալ, զնոյն ինքն զսկզբնաչար զդրախտին օձն, իբրեւ զաւազակապետ ժանտատեսիլ եւ ահարկու դիմօք կալեալ եւ ձաղածանակ արարեալ անլուծանելի կապանօք, ամենեցուն անդր ժողովելով անցուցանեն ընդ հինգօրեայ ապարանս պահոցն, յարքունիս ուրբաթուն ուր թագաւորն փառաց պակեալ ի խաչին. յանդիման առնելով զօձ աւազակն մարդ աւազակին. հանելով զնա ի հայհոյութենէն ի խոստովանութիւն արքայութեան իւրոյ. լուծանէ զանէծս՝ ընդ իւր տանելով ի դրախտն, փոխանակ Ադամայ. եւ զանդարձ օձն կախեալ զփայտէն, մերկ խայտառակեալ, որպէս յանապատին, ոչ ունելով ծածկոյթ ամօթոյն նախատանացն, եւ ոչ զտերեւ թզենոյն այլ եւ ոչ զկենդանութիւն: Արդ լսել կամելով մարդկային բնութեանս զպատմութիւն վիշապ օձին որ աստուածանալն կամելով ի վերայ նիւթական աշխարհիս, զոր արար Աստուած մեծասքանչ իմաստութեամբն իւրով. եւ կացոյց զմարդն թագաւոր ի վերայ սորա ըստ կերպարանի իւրում, եւ երկրորդ իւր առնելով. որում զաղտ ի վերայ անկանելով աւազակաբար խաբէութեամբ, իբրեւ ի գիշերի, անգիտութեամբն կապեալ զնա, եւ զերի վարեալ դղրդեաց ի հիմանց զթագաւորաբնակ աշխարհս ապականութեամբ. վասն որոյ թագաւորն փառաց շարժեալ ի հայրական աթոռոյն փառաց հանդերձ երկնային զօրօքն. եւ հետամուտ եղեալ եհատ զջիղս աւազակին, ձերբակալ առնելով կապեալած ի դատաստան մահու . . .

In the same way here—starting every day anew, seizing the first evil itself, the serpent of the Garden, as the ugly and horrible-looking chief brigand, and having made him a mockery through indissoluble bonds, they all gather there and make him pass through the palace of five-day-long fast to the royal

17. Cf. Isa 47:1.
18. There is some corruption of the text in the last two excerpts.

court of Friday. There the King of Glory is crowned on the cross, putting the brigand serpent before the brigand man; releasing the latter from blasphemy (and leading) him to the confession of His kingdom. He dissolves the curse and takes the (brigand man) with himself to paradise instead of Adam. And the unrepentant serpent is hanged on the wood, naked and defamed, as in the desert, without a cover for the shame of the dishonor, without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon serpent which wished to become the god of the material world which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man according to his image to reign over it, and made him the second after himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigandlike deceit, as in the night, bound him through (his) ignorance, and capturing him shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—by corruption. Because of that the King of Glory, moving from the paternal glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the brigand, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced to death . . .

19 186 . . . Փրկիչն . . . զգենու զղենջեակն փոխանակ մաշկեղէն հանդերձիցն Ադամայ

. . . The Savior . . . wears linen instead of the leather clothes of Adam.

Łewond C8

Text: Łewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Արշաւանք արաբաց ի Հայաստան *The Arabian Invasions into Armenia,* ed. K. V. Šahnazarianc‘ (Paris: E. Thunot, 1857).

Łewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատմութիւն *History*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1887).[19]

Translation: Łewond, Պատմություն *History, Modern Armenian Translation, Introduction and Commentary* by Aram Tēr Łevondyan (Erevan: Sovetakan Groł, 1982). The English translation is my own.

From St. Petersburg 1887 edition:

1 51 Եւ նոքա մարմնեղէն էին յորդւոցն Ադամայ, որք մոռանան եւ ի կարծիս ըմբռնին, զի մօտ է առ նոսա սատանայ եւ նմանօղք նորա թշնամութեամբն իւրեանց:

And they in a bodily way were of the sons of Adam, who forgot and were

19. The Leiden Armenian Data Base used the St. Petersburg edition 1877.

entrapped in opinions. For Satan is close to them and those like him with their enmity.

2 79 Եթէ հաւատաս երկիւղին ի ժամ մահուն կենարար, եւ քրտանցն որ վասն Ադամայ քրտանցն կրեաց, զոր ինքն անմարմնաբար ասաց ցԱդամ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո», եւ առ ի հրեշտակէն զօրանալոյ . . .

If you believe in the fear, in the hour of death He is life-giving and in the sweat which He bore on account of Adam's sweat, which He himself in a nonbodily way said to Adam. "By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread,"[20] and strengthened by the angel . . .

3 81 Եւ այս է զոր ասեմս՝ աստուածաբանել զմեր Տէրն ընդդիմանաս, եւ մարդ սոսկ խոստովանիս, յօրինակ ածելով զԱդամ, թէ եւ նա առանց ծնօղաց յԱստուծոյ ծնեալ եղեւ:

And this is what I say, that when the Lord spoke to us theologically, you resisted, and you avowed that man is single (or: devoid), bringing Adam as an example and he was born from God without parents.

Գլուխ 6 Chapter 6

Կայսրն Ղեւոն՝ Օմարայ Սառակինոսաց առաջնորդի ...
King Lewon to Omar, Leader of the Saracens.

4 From Paris edition pp. 92-94, which is equivalent to St. Petersburg edition p. 67:

Եւ ապա քանզի ոչ ինչ պատուական է Աստուծոյ յարարածս իւր քան զմարդն. վասն զի եւ դու խոստովան լինիս եթէ հրամայեաց Աստուած հրեշտակաց երկրպագել Ադամայ, թէպէտեւ յաստուածային գիրս զայդ ոչ գտանեմք: Արդ՝ Ադամ մարդ էր՝ գեղեցիկ վկայեցեր բամբասեալ զքոյին հպարտութիւնդ. զի որ մարդկան ոչ երկրպագեսցեն գիտասցեն ընդ որս դասեցին, ո՞րպէս ասացեր: Արդ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ եղեւ Ադամ՝ յայտ է: Զի՞արդ զայս ախտաւոր, ընդդիմահար մարմի՞նս կարծիցես Աստուծոյ ասել պատկեր իւր, ոչ՝ այլ զիւր եւ զԲանին իւրոյ եւ զՀոգւոյն իւրոյ զնմանութիւն եդ ի նմա զհոգի, զմիտս եւ զբան: Զսոսա ի սմա հաւաքեալ կառոյց, եւ ընդ ինքնիշխանութեանն շրջարկեալ պատիւ՝ եղեւ Աստուծոյ պատկեր: Սա խաբանօք բանսարկուին անկաւ ի պատւոյն զոր ետ նմա Արարիչն. անարգեալ եղեւ մոռացմամբ Ստեղծօղին իւրոյ. եւ վարուք

20. Gen 3:19.

անառակ եւ զարշելի ցանկութեամբ, պիղծ եւ պէսպէս զիճութեամբք կելով, ատելութեամբք, զրկութեամբք միմեանց, սպանութեամբք, եւ որ վերջին եւ առաջին է յամենայն չարեաց՝ կռապաշտութեամբք, եւ այնպիսի պոռնկութեամբ որ ասել տաղտկանամ. զի ոչ միայն զոչէսն աստուածս կարծեցին եւ կամ զերեւելի արարածս. այլ զնոսին իսկ զախտսն՝ զպոռնկութիւն եւ զարուագիտութիւն աստուածս կարծեալ պաշտեցին: Զորս բանսարկուն՝ իւր արար երկրպագուս եւ ուրախ լինէր պատկերօք կռոցն չարաչար նշանս ախտից կատարելոց յերկրպագուսն, եւ ի նոսին յորդորելով զնոսա:

And then since nothing is more honorable for God among his creatures than man, therefore you, too, confess that God commanded the angels to adore Adam, though we do not find this in the Divine Scripture. Now Adam was human: you nicely witnessed (this) reproaching the arrogance of your one; so those that do not worship men shall know among whom they are to be ranked, as you said. Now it is evident that Adam came into being in the image of God. How might you think that God says this passible, opposing body is his image? By no means, but in the likeness of Himself, His Word, and His Spirit he put in him spirit, mind, and speech. Joining these (properties) in him, God made (man), and, being honored with autonomy, (man) became the image of God. But, through the deception of the Devil, he fell from the honor given to him by the Creator. He became dishonored, through forgetting his Creator, living with impious behavior and disgusting desire, with impure and various lasciviousness, with hatreds, trespasses against one another, murders, and that which is the first and the worst of evils—idolatry, and with such fornication that it disgusts me to say. For they not only considered vanities or visible creatures to be gods, but even worshiped their vices—fornication and sodomy, considering them gods. The Devil made them his worshipers and he rejoiced at the evil vicious rites performed by the worshipers for the idols, exhorting them to continue the same.

5 Արդ՝ տեսեալ Աստուծոյ զիւր պատկերն անարգեալ երկրպագութեամբ բանսարկուին եւ գործովք հաճոյիցն նորա, ողորմեցաւ նմա որպէս բարերար եւ արդարեւ մարդասէր: Եւ զի այս էր փրկութիւն՝ ճանաչել զԱրարիչն իւր եւ ի բաց կալ ի թշնամւոյն. ըստ ժամանակի ժամանակի, որպէս ի խաւարի ի կռապաշտութեանդ որպէս ճրագ լուցանէր զգիտութիւն իւր ի ձեռն ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէից: Եւ զի կուրացեալ էին միտք մարդկան, եւ ոչ կարէին զբովանդակ Աստուածութեան գիտութեանն ընդունիլ զլոյս. վասն այսորիկ զչափաւոր գիտութիւն իւր առ սակաւ սակաւ յայտնէր մարդկան որպէս կանխաւ ասացի, մինչեւ ցկատարումն ժամանակացն, որչափ հաճեցաւ Աստուած խրատել զմարդիկ: Եւ յառաջագոյն խոստացաւ մարգարէիւք զգալուստ մարմնով Բանին իւրոյ:

Now God, seeing his image dishonored by worship of the Devil and by ful-

fillment of his whims (pleasures), mercifully forgave him as benefactor and real philanthropist. And since the salvation was through acknowledgment of his Creator and staying away from the enemy, (for that reason) from time to time, through his servants the prophets, He lighted His knowledge like a lamp in the darkness in idolatry. And as human minds were blind and could not accept the whole light of knowledge of God, for that reason He exposed moderate knowledge to men, little by little, as I said before, until the end of the times in which measure God wished to instruct men. And originally He promised through His prophets the advent of His word in flesh.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն "Commentary on Divine Service," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (July–August 1915): 634–39.

1 494–95 Արդ է՞ր արդեաւք յԵրրորդ ժամու գայ ի խաչ ելանել. թուի եթէ ի նոյն ժամու գերեալ լինէր նախաստեղծն ի բանսարկուէն մոլեկան ընթացիւքն ի ծառն մահաբեր ի չար խորհուրդն, յորում Էմանուէլն մերով կերպարանաւքս զծանրութիւն մեղաց մերոց բեռնաւորեալ, երթայր ի նոյն ժամու ի տեղի կառափմանն բարձրանալ ի խաչափայտին, զի անկեալն վերացուցէ բեւեռովք զոտս եւ զձեռս առաքինաբար տարածեալ յաղագս Ադամայ յանդգնապես ընթացիցն ի պտուղ եւ ի ճաշակ ծառոյն, եւ զձեռագիր յանցանաց զկտակն խափանեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջամբ պտղովն դրդեաց, խաղա(ղա)ցուցանէ[21] իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւքն:

/ . . . Սակս յայսմ ամենայնի ասեմք, յայսմ Երրորդ ժամու զլորեալ զմարդն առաջին, յորում եւ եւ զբարեգործութիւն ընկալաւ:

Now why did He go forth at the third hour to ascend the cross? It seems that the protoplast was captured by the Devil at the same hour, rushing madly to the mortal tree, to the evil counsel, owing to which Emmanuel in our form, burdened with the heaviness of our sins, went at the same hour[22] to the place of execution to ascend the cross, to raise the fallen, stretching out virtuously his nailed hands and feet: because of Adam's audacious rush toward the fruit and the eating from the tree; and [He] abolished the cheirograph (or: hand-

21. The printed edition has խաղացուցանէ, which is probably a misprint and should probably be խաղա(ղա)ցուցաբե; cf. p. 170

22. Adam was overcome by Satan in the third hour.

written) testament of sins[23], the testament and the corruption of the elements, which he (i.e., Satan) shook at this hour by means of the fruit given by the serpent, He calmed down by His purifying tortures

. . . / Owing to all this we say that the first man fell at this third hour at which He went forth and received the benefaction.

2 637 Այլ եւ ի գլորմանէ բանսարկուին իւրովքն հնազանդելովք հիացումն կալաւ զերկնաւոր զաւրսն, որոց նշան զաւրութեան տուաւ նմանս իմն բարբառով անկասկածապէս կալ ի հաստատութեան փառսն:

But wonder seized the heavenly hosts (?) at the fall of the Devil with those obedient to him, to whom a certain similar sign of power was given by speech to be indubitably in the glory of the firmament.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն "Commentary on Divine Service," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (January-February 1916): 129–41.

3 129–30 Ուրանաւր փոքր ինչ նախ քան զյիշելս ժամ վեցերորդ բնակէր Ադամ ի դրախտին հրճուալից ուրախութեամբ. ուստի անհնազանդ խաբէութեամբ խրատու ապստամբեցելոյն ի ճշմարտութենէն, յերկնից ունայնանայր պարգեւաց: Վասն որոյ եւ զեւթանասնեկին եւթն ժառանգէր զտրտմութիւն, եւ ընդ բազում ցաւաւք անկանէր ի տոկոյս, կայր իբրեւ ջերմ առ հիւանդութեան. ուստի անհնազանդութեամբ խրատու ի մառմառուտ վտանգին, լուծեալ յաւդք ոտիցն եւ ձեռացն ի բարեացն շարժմանէ, եւ կարկեալ լեզուացն անխոստովանութեամբ. եւ զոր աւրինակ մեռեալ ոք անզգայ յամենայնից, նոյնպէս եւ՝ մարդն առաջին խաւարազգած խորհրդով պարփակեալ ի միջաւրէին՝ որպէս ի մէջ գիշերի, ոչ զառժամայն նշմարէր հետեւանս, եւ ոչ զապառնիսն մտածութեամբ հոգալ. կայր ի տարակուսի մղձկէին ոգիք նորա. մանաւանդ յիշատակ տէրունեան բանին՝ եւս առաւել խոցոտէր. եւ երկիւղ մահու՝ ասացեալ՝ մեռանիս, եւ զի ոչ գիտէր զինչ գործիցէ, զի կարճամտութեամբն ըմբռնեալ յանյուսութեան խորխորատս, սիրէր զմահ առաւել քան յանդիմանութեանն Աստուծոյ լինել:

A little earlier than the mentioned sixth hour, Adam dwelt in paradise with exultant joy, where by the disobedient deceit of the instruction of rebellious one, he was deprived of truth, of the gifts of heaven. For that he inherited seventy-seven–fold sorrows and fell from his steadfastness to beneath multiple pains; he was like (one with) fever during illness. Now because of dis-

23. Cf. Col 2:14.

obedience to the instruction, the joints of his feet and hands lost the ability to move through good things, and his tongue was silent, because he did not confess; and as a dead man is insensitive to everything, likewise the first man, being closed in by the gloomy counsel in midday, as in the middle of the night, / could neither observe the present circumstances nor think over and take care of the future. He hesitated, his spirit was tormented; particularly the recollection of the Lord's words greatly hurt him; also the fear of death, for (God) said, "You will die"; and since he did not know what to do, being drawn by his unreasonableness into the abyss of despair, he preferred death to God's reproach.

4 134–36 . . . Վասն զի անկեալ արտաքս ի կենացս տեղւոյ մարդն առաջին, ոչինչ կարծէր ունել մխիթար երեւելեացս ուստի ամփոփին վրդովեալն միտք, բայց միայն զլուսաւորն մեծ յոր պշուցեալ ընդ գեղեցկութիւն տարերն զբօսմամբ սուղ իսկ խափանեալ յահագին եւ ի մեծ տրտմութենէն. նաեւ զովանայր իսկ ոչ ի պասքմամբ հեղձամղձուկ ալէկոծ ընկղմանցն: Նոյնպէս եւ զայլ արարածս տեսանէր նորին լուսովն. եւ յոյս յինքեան ընդունէր ի խնամսն Աստուծոյ ապաւինելով. այսոքիկ ի մետասաներրորդ ժամու գործէին եւ ի նորին յաջորդի. ապա ի խոնարհ գնացեալ զարեգակն տեսանէր: Դարձեալ արհաւիրք փակէին զմիտս նորա. դարձեալ երկիւղ, դարձեալ տրտմութիւնք յոլովք քան զանցեալին. նաեւ ամենեւին իսկ յուսահատումն հանդիպիլ խաւարի եւ նորատեսիլ երեւման, վարանէր զգիշերն ամենայն անհանգիստ հեծութեամբք, լքեալ իսկ յերեւման միւսանգամ լուսոյն. եւ լինէր երեկորին, եւ զմարդասիրութիւն արարչին սովորութիւն առնոյր ի միջակայի տունջեան եւ գիշերոյ փառաւորել եւ աւրհնել զԱստուած սակս անցելոցն խաղաղութեամբ եւ որ գալոցն է գիշեր . . .

. . . For the first man, having fallen from the place of life, considered himself to have no consolation among the visible things that would occupy his excited mind, except the great luminary; gazing with pleasure at the beauty of that element he forgot for a while about the terrible and great sorrow and even was refreshed after the thirst caused by the suffocating stormy flood. He saw also other creatures with the same light and was seized by hope, relying upon God's care; those things happened at the eleventh and the next hour. Then he saw the sun going down. Again, horrors enclosed his mind, again fear, again sorrow more than in the past; also absolute despair when meeting darkness, the newly visible phenomenon; through the whole night he was beset, groaning restlessly, deprived of any sight of light a second time.

And it was dawn, and he got into the habit of glorifying and blessing the philanthropic Creator God at the boundary of day and night, for the sake of the nights that had passed in peace and the coming one.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Պատճառ աղաւթիցն "Etiological Interpretation of Prayer," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (May-June 1916): 405–12; (September-October 1916): 694–703.

5 405 Մարդն Ադամ յերրորդ ժամու պատրի ի ծառն. եւ Տէրն ի սոյն ժամու խաչիւ դատապարտի: Հարցն, Ադամայ յարութեանն, եւ Մեծացուսցէն եւ Ողորմեայն, Եւայեանց ազատութիւնն. . . . Որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ զմահու պտուղն ի սիրտս իջուցին ճաշակմամբն, նոյնպէս Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր ի սիրտս առաքելոցն:

The man Adam in the third hour was overcome at the tree and in the same hour, the Lord was condemned on the cross. The question of "Adam's arising" and of the "He magnifies" and the "Have mercy" (is) the freedom of the descendants of Eve. . . . Just as Adam and Eve brought down the fruit of death into their hearts by the eating, likewise Christ our God (is brought down) into the hearts of the apostles.

6 407 Եւ զիա՞րդ եւթն գոբողայ եղեալ յաղաւթս, որ զեւթնաւրեայ արարչութիւնն նշանակէ. եւ զեւթն աւուրս կենցաղոյս՝ եւթնհազարեան դարուն խորհուրդ. եւ զքահանայական աղաւթսն: Զամենայն ի փառս Աստուծոյ տեսանեմք բարւոք զոլ, եւ եւս պայծառագոյն զԱստուծոյ լոյսն զսահմանողն տուընջեան եւ գիշերոյ, որով շարժին ժամանակք եւթնաւրեայ կենցաղոյս:

And why are seven gubłas[24] put into the prayer? To signify the seven-day creation and the seven days of life, the mystery of the seven-thousandth year; and the sacerdotal prayer. . . .

We see everything to be good, to the glory of God, and also the very bright light of God determining day and night, by which the time of this seven-day life goes ahead.

7 409 . . . Իսկ զմարդն՝ զթագաւորական պատկերն՝ստեղծ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ տէրութեանն, ձեռաւք ստեղծմամբն առաւել մեծարեաց, եւ ի տէրութեան փառս եհան, որ է նմանութիւն եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. սակս որոյ հրամայէ արժանապէս քաղաքավարիլ: Ինքնայաւժար կամաւք ըմպէ զբարին եւ վայրանկեալ չարին խաբմամբ, զանհաս բարձրութիւնն Աստուծոյ կամեցաւ յափշտակել, յորում անհանդուրժելի աղէտք ի վերայ հասանեն նմա. զի սիրտն ընկալաւ փափականաւք զխրատ չարին, եւ քարշեալ իբր շղթայիւք ի խորս անգիտութեան, Աստուած ինքեան առնել զկործանիչն իւր,

24. I.e., divisions.

եւ զարտաքին ժառանգէր զխաւարն, եւ ընդ մահու կորստեամբ զրաւեցաւ:

. . . And He created man, the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship, [He] highly honored him creating with his hands, and raised him up to the glory of lordship, that is the likeness and the image of God; for that reason He commanded him to behave in proper manner. He drank goodness voluntarily and, having fallen by the deception of the Evil One, he wished to seize God's unachievable height, because of which unbearable misfortunes overtook him; for his heart accepted desirously the counsel of the Evil One, and, being dragged as if by chains to the depth of ignorance, he made the destroyer his god and inherited outer darkness,[25] and was captured by the destruction of death.[26]

8 696 Թէեւ Տէրն ի մէջ գիշերի ասաց. նա է առաւաւտ կենաց եւ սկիզբն երեւելոյ արեգականն արդարութեան . . . վասն զի յայս ժամու ստեղծ զմարդն կենդանարար ձեռաւքն եւ ի նմին ժամու ընդունի զմիւսանգամ կենդանութիւնն . . .

Though the Lord said in the middle of the night: "He is the morning of life and the beginning of the appearance of the sun of righteousness"[27] . . . for at this hour He created man with life-giving hands and at the same hour he will accept the second animation . . .[28]

9 697 «էր ժամ եր(ր)որդ եւ հանին զնա ի խաչ». զի յայսմ ժամու զերեցաւ Ադամ ի բանսարկուէն, մոլեկան ընթացիւքն ի ծառն մահաբեր ի չար խորհուրդն . . . (Էմմանուէլն) զձեռագիր յանցանաց նորա պատառեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն, որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջան պտղովն զրգեաց, խաղաղացուցանէ իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւք:

"It was the third hour, and they took him out to the cross;[29] for at this hour Adam was captured by the Devil, rushing madly to the mortal tree,[30] to the evil counsel. . . . (Emmanuel) tore the cheirograph of his transgression and calmed down the destruction of the elements by his purifying tortures, caused at this hour by the fruit given by the efforts of the serpent.

25. Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30.
26. Cf. Hos 13:14; Wis 1:12; 4 Ezra 8:38.
27. Cf. Mal 4:2. The hour of creation is in the morning.
28. The hour of creation is in the morning.
29. Mark 15:25.
30. Same expression above, pp. 274, 305, 319.

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Վասն անապականութեան մարմնոյն “On Incorruptibility of the Body,” ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean, *Ararat* 36 (March-April 1902): 368–400.

10 369 Անապական՝ անապականութեամբ աճեալ եւ նուազեալ, որպէս կողն առ Ադամ նուազեալ եւ առ կինն աճեցեալ, այսինքն է յառնուլն նուազեալ եւ (ի) լնուլն աճեցեալ:

Incorruptible, [i.e.] growing and decreasing in incorruptibly, as the rib decreased in Adam and grew into the woman; that is to say decreasing when being taken and growing when being filled in.

11 369–70 Արդ թէ զնախնի մարդոյն զմարմինն ստեղծանէր յերկրէ անապական՝ Բանն Աստուած, զիւր ոչ կարէր անապական ստեղծանել յարգանդի կուսին:

Now, if the body of the first man was created from incorruptible ground, couldn’t God create his Word incorruptible, in the womb of the Virgin?

12 392 Յոհան Իմաստասէր ասէր . . . ոչ աւձապատիր մերկացելոյն ի փառաց տերեւապատն Ադամայ դարձելոյն ի հող համեմատի երկրորդ Ադամ . . .

John the Philosopher said: “ . . . The second Adam is incomparable with Adam deceived by the serpent, stripped of glory, covered with a leaf—the one who returned unto dust . . .”

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Ստեփանոսի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի առ Գերմանոս “Bishop Step‘anos of Siwnik‘ to Germanos,” in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 435–66.

13 454–56 = 386–87 of Tiflis edition. Եւ դարձեալ զառաջին լինելութիւն մարդոյն յառաջ բերեալ նախատէք զմեզ անգիտութեամբ, եւ ասէք եթէ, ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն զկամսն եւ զերկիւղն. եւ յայտ է կամքն՝ որով մեղաւն, եւ երկիւղն՝ սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ, Թէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյն՝ մեռանիցիք: ... Քանզի իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայրն պատուեալ բանաւորութեամբ՝ իմաստութեամբ, ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի, եւ զնախանձն ի բարի, եւ զերկեւղ Տեառն՝ որ է կենաց, եւ այլ այսպիսի ինչ, զի արարածական ընդ իշխանութեամբ, եւ ծառայ բնութեանս հարկաւորք եղեն այսոքիկ, այլ ամենայն ինչ բարի եղեւ, զի արարաւ ասէ մարդն յուղղութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ի միջասահմանս վայրի կենաց եւ մահու, եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութեանն իբրեւ կառավարի յոր կոյս եւ միտիցի կամաւք վիճակեալ, եթէ կենաց եւ եթէ մահու: Իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ յաստուածային պատուիրանապահութեանն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոց, յեւթնից պարունակութեանց դասուցն

հոգեղինացն, հեռագոյն բացորոշութեամբ եւթնից՝ աշտիճանաւ ի
վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրաւեցաւ, ի հոգւոյն՝ մարմին եղեւ,
եւ զպատիժ պատուհասին զուգաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն տուժեցաւ.
թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյ, յիմաստութենէ, ի հանճարոյ, ի խորհրդոյ,
ի զաւրութենէ, ի գիտութենէ,՝ յաստուածպաշտութենէ, ի ներքոյ
անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին՝ ստունգանելով պատուիրանին
Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց հոգւոյն շնորհին՝ կնոջն լսելով խրատու,
կորոյս զտիրական վերինն իմաստութիւնն՝ ոտիցն հնազանդեալ
գլխոյն անհանճարաբար, իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ
քան զպատուիրանցն Աստուծոյ, զմահաբերն՝ դատեցաւ պտուղ:
Յանմահականն վայելից տարագիր եղեւ՝ անխորհրդապէս
կորուսեալ զբոցաճաճանչ լուսափայլ զարդարանսն: Հակառակաբար
հայթայթանաւքն ջանայր ծածկել զամաւթալին իւր մերկութիւն
պատառատուն տերեւով, անյուսացեալ ի զաւրութիւն ամենակալին
կարծեաց թաքչել յամենատեսչութենէ նորա, ի ներքոյ անկեալ
երկիւղին մահու, ձայնելով Տեառն յապաշխարութիւն, տգիտացեալ
անզղջութեամբ՝ արտաքս անկաւ ի փափկութենէն կենաց, իբրեւ
անծանաւթ Աստուծոյ՝ ամպարշտութեամբ յարարիչն դարձուցեալ
զպատճառսն որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն, թէ Կինս զոր ետուր
ընդ իս, զանիծից եւ ցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ: Իսկ մի եւ նոյն
մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ ի սկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ, յայնժամ
առեալ հող յերկրէ զմարդն ստեղծ, դարձեալ առեալ ի կուսէն հող,
ոչ պարզաբար մարդ ստեղծ, այլ զինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեաց, յայնժամ
Բանն մարմին արար, իսկ յետ այնորիկ բանն՝ մարմին եղեւ, …

And again you ignorantly reproach us mentioning the creation of the first man, and you say that Adam had in his nature will and fear. Will is obvious since he sinned by it; and fear—when God threatened: "If you eat of the fruit, you shall (surely) die."[31] . . . For when the forefather was established by the Creator, he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom), having in his nature the knowledge of good and evil, and zeal for good and fear of the Lord, who is for life, and other similar things, because those things were necessary for the creative power, to serve nature. And everything was good, since it is said that man was created for uprightness, and he was placed on the boundary of life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when because of his inclinations he turned away from observing the divine commandment, then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory. He was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety: becoming

31. Gen 1:17.

subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman. He lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments. With adversary inventiveness he tried to cover his shameful nakedness by a ragged leaf; despairing of the might of all-powerful One, he thought to hide himself from His all-seeingness, falling into the fear of death. When God appealed for repentance, (he remained) ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delightful life. As if ignorant of God, he impiously blamed the Creator as if He (was) a participant of his sin, (saying:) "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me . . . ."[32] He inherited sorrowful and cursed life. And the one and the same Creator of mankind, who (existed) at the beginning and after that, took dust of the ground and created man, again took dust from the Virgin and did not simply create a man, but made him through Himself, then he made the Word body and afterwards the Word became body.

14 389 Թագաւորն փառաց . . . եմոյծ ի դրախտն զԱդամ՝ ուստի անկաւն, եւ զեւթնեկին շնորհսն, զոր կորոյս եւթնեկին յանցանաւք, ի վերայ ծննդոց նորին կոչէ, ոչ ի վերայ ինքեան, զի ի նմա էր ամենայն լրումն աստուածութեանն:

The King of Glory . . . introduced Adam into paradise from where he fell, and (gave him) the seven graces which he lost because of the seven sins, he calls upon his offspring, not upon himself, for in him was the whole fullness of divinity.

Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853), 795–807; cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Կարգ օրհնութեանց Յարութեան Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի
"Order of Blessing the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ"

15 (803) Անարատ տաճար Աստուծոյ բանին, որ զնախամօրն Եւայի զանէծսն բարձեր անճառելի ծննդեամբն ի քէն:. (805) Քրիստոս բեւեռեցաւ ի խաչին, եւ ելոյծ զդատապարտութիւն Ադամայ նախաստեղծին:

32. Gen 3:12.

Immaculate temple of the word of God[33] who removed from you the curses of the foremother Eve through the ineffable offspring. Christ was nailed on the cross and undid the condemnation of the protoplast Adam.

Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997), 240–59.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմոց թղթին "Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines"

This is equivalent to Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմոց թղթին "Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines," in *Girk‘ Tłt‘oc‘* 1994, 358–72, with considerable textual differences (see ibid., p. 25). This alternate form of the text is excerpted above, pp. 324–25.

16 248.31-249.10 172ա-բ . . . եւ որ ասէք էթէ ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն տնկեալ զկամսն եւ զերկիւղ եւ յայտ է կամքն որով մեղան եւ երկիւղն սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ - եթէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյդ մեռանիցիք, արդ / 249/ եթէ կամք քի ունել զբոլոր բնութիւնն` Ադամ ունէր եւ զկամսն, զի կամք հոգոյն է ծնունդ, եւ եթէ ոչ ունէր զկամս եւ ոչ զհոգին . . . Իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայ(ր)ն պատուեալ բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն եւ զնախանձ ի բարի, եւ զերկիւղ Տեառն որ է կենաց պատճառ. եւ որ այլ ինչ այսպիսի որ ի բարի զշարժումնն որ առ Աստուած ունի. զի ամենայն յԱստուծոյ բարի լեալ ասի, զի արարաւ մարդն յուղղութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ասէ ի միջասահմանս վայրի. կենաց եւ մահու. եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութիւնն. որպէս կառաւար յոր կոյս եւ միտիցէ կամաւքն ի վիճակեալն էթէ կենաց եւ էթէ մահու իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ աստուածային պատուիրանապահութէնէն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոյ, եւթնիցս պարունակութեամբ դասուց հոգեղինաց վերագոյն բացորոշութեամբ, եւթնից աշտիճանաւ ի վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրկեցաւ. հոգեւորն մարմնաւոր եղեւ, եւ զպատիժս պատուհասին զիւզաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն. տուժեցաւ թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյն իմաստութէնէ, ի գիտութէնէ, ի հանճարոյ, ի խորհրդոց, ի զաւրութենէ, յաստուածապաշտութէնէ, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին, ստունկանելով պաւիրանին Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց ի շնորհաց հոգոյն կնոջն լսելով խրատու, կորոյս զտիրական վեհին իմաստութիւն, ուտիցն հնազանդեալ զլխոյն, անհանճարաբար իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ քան զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ զմահաբերն եկեր

33. I.e., the Virgin.

պտուղ, յանմահական վաէլիցն տարագիր եղեւ անխորհրդապէս կորուսեալ զբացաճաճանչ զլուսափայլ զզարդարանսն, հակառակաբար խայթայթանաւք ջանայր ծածկել զամաւթալի իւրն մերկութիւն. պատառատուն տերեւով անյուսացեալ ի զաւրութիւն. /173ա/ ամենակալին կարծէր թաքչել յամենատեսչութէնէ նորա. ի ներքոյ անկեալ մահու երկիւղի. ձայնելով Տեառնն յապաշխարութիւն, անգիտացեալ անզղջութեամբ. արտաքս անգեալ ի փափկութէնէ կենացն, իբրեւ անաւթ աստուածպաշտութեան յարարիչն դարձուցեալ զպատճառսն, որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն. էթէ զոր ետուր ինձ՝ սա եղեւ պատճառ՝ եւ անդէն զանիծից եւ զցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ, իսկ մի եւ նոյն մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ յսկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ անդանաւր առեալ հող զմարդ եստեղծ, այլ ընդ ինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեալ բանն մարմին եղեւ. . .

. . . and that you say that Adam had will and fear planted in his nature; and will is obvious since by it they sinned; and fear by God threatening: “If you eat of the fruit, you shall die.”[34] Now if will encompassed the whole nature, then Adam also had will, for will is an offspring of soul; and if he had no will, then (he had) no soul as well. . . . When the forefather was established by the Creator, honored with reason and wisdom, having in his nature discernment and zeal for the good and fear of the Lord who is the cause of life, and whatever other similar things which have movement toward the good which is God. For it is said that everything (originating) from God is good. Because man was created for justice and, as it is said, was placed in the intermediate place between life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when he turned away from observing the divine commandment in accordance with his appetites, by content of the seven classes of spiritual ones through superior separation having been destroyed (i.e. cast) down from the seventh by grade, he was expelled from (his) glory. The spiritual became bodily, and they suffered punishments equal in number to the transgressions; he was deprived, becoming empty of the wisdom of the spirit, of discernment, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of piety, becoming subject to the fear of the alien one; disobeying the Lord’s commandment, he forfeited the grace of the spirit, through listening to the counsel of the woman. He lost the lordly, higher wisdom, obeying his feet’s head (i.e., his feet’s impulse); imprudently he ate the mortal fruit as something prettier and more delicious than God’s commandment. He was exiled from immortal delight, having thoughtlessly lost the resplendent, refulgent ornaments. With adversarial inventiveness he was trying to cover his shameful nakedness with a torn leaf; having despaired of the power, he thought to hide himself from His all-powerful all-seeingness; having fallen subject to

34. Gen 3:3.

the fear of death, appealing to God for repentance; ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delight of (eternal) life. As a vessel of service of God, he blamed the Creator as if a participant in his sin, (saying): "She was the cause, whom you gave to me." And straightway he inherited a sorrowful and cursed life. And the same Creator of mankind, who at the beginning and after these, having taken dust, created man, made perfectly the Word beside Him, that became body . . .[35]

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց արարածոց "Fragments of the Commentary on Genesis," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, in *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 105–29.

17 108. (49) Եւ թէ է՞ր վասն խոստացաւ Աստուած տալ զազատն ի ծառայութիւն. նախ՝ վասն ծիծաղելոյն Սառայի յաւետեաց բանին Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ՝ զի ըստ նմանութեան Ադամայ, որ ի դրախտին ազատ էր եւ ի ծառայութիւն դիւաց անկաւ մինչեւ ի չորրորդ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի:

(49) And why did God promise to give the free man into slavery? First, for Sarah's laughing at the words of the good tidings[36] of God; second, according to the likeness of Adam who was free in the Garden and fell into slavery to demons until the fourth birth[37] of Christ.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Ղուկասու աւետարանի "Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of Luke," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 257–340.

18 336, §326. (2) Արդ աւրէն էր հրէիցն զաւուրս Լ լալ զմեռեալն երիտասարդ, զի յերիտասարդ հասակի ստեղծաւ Ադամ, լալ զմեռեալն եւ խնգել եւ զինս տալ կոծողացն, որպէս եւ Գամաղիէլ ասէր, թէ զինս կոծողացն Ստեփաննոսի յիմոյ ընչից ետու: (3) Իսկ որ մեռանէր ի փայտի, ոչ էր աւրէն նմա զայս ամենայն կատարել:

(2) The Jews had a law of mourning for thirty days for a deceased young man, since Adam was created at a young age—of weeping and burning incense and paying the weepers, as Gamaliel said: "I gave the fee to the weepers for

35. Cf. *The Book of Letters,* 386.
36. Or: Annunciation, i.e., of the birth of Isaac.
37. Or: generation. The meaning of the expression is unclear.

Stephen from my property,"[38] (3) while there was no law of doing all this for one died on the cross.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Յովհաննու աւետարանի
"Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of John," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 341–438.

19 384 §88. (5) . . . Յիսուս Քրիստոս, որ ի սկզբանէն էր առ Հայր, որ ասաց Ադամայ՝ ոչ ուտել ի պտղոյն, եւ սիրել զԱստուած ի բոլոր յանձնէ եւ ի բովանդակ զաւրութենէ, զոր ոչ սիրեաց Ադամ:

(5) "Jesus Christ who from the beginning was with the Father, who had told Adam not to eat of the fruit and to love God with all his soul and with all his might,[39] in which way Adam did not love."

20 417 §164. (1) Դառնալ Ադամայ ի դրախտն, ի մուտս փառացն, զոր եդ անդ զպատկերն անզգեցող՝ եւ աստ զգեցեալ պատկերին զնմանական շնորհին աստուածատուր լուսոյն գերազարդարեալ մարդոյն, զի լոյս էր մարդն առաջին Աստուծոյ լուսոյն եւ լուսով պատուիրանին փայլէր աստուածային փառաւքն, ի փառաւորութեան Աստուծոյ էր ստեղծել:

(1) Adam returning to the Garden, to the entrance of glory, whom He had placed there as an undressed[40] image, and here He put the similar grace of the God-given light on the highly adorned man. For the first man was light of the light of God and in the light of the commandment he shone with divine glory; he was created in the glory of God.

21 428 §193. (1) «Եւ ես զփառս, զոր ետուր ինձ, ետու նոցա»: Տուեալ փառս ի Հաւրէ վասն մարմնոյն ասի անապականութեան. զառաջին զփառսն, ասէ, զոր ետ ինքն Ադամայ ի կեանս դրախտին զպատուական զշնորհսն եւ զփառացն վայելումն ի սպառ եւ յետոյ ելեալ յայս սնոտի աշխարհս:

(1) "And the glory that you have given me I have given them."[41] The glory given by the Father is said to be for the sake of the incorruptibility of the body. It [Scripture. (?)] says that the first glory which He had given to Adam—the precious gift (was) a complete enjoyment during (his) life in the Garden. And afterwards he went forth into this vain world.

38. Cf. Acts 8:2.

39. See Deut 13:3; Mark 12:30; etc.

40. The word անզգեցող is not in dictionaries and is not quite clear. It is opposed to զգեցեալ ("dressed").

41. John 17:22a.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Ի խորհուրդ եկեղեցւոյ

“On the Mystery of the Church,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 490–504.

22 495. (56) Իսկ առ Եզեկիէլիւ յարեւմտից յարեւելս ձգեաց, ըստ կամակար իւրոյ իշխանութեան, քանզի զամենայն, զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար Տէր յերկինս եւ յերկրի, ի ծով եւ յամենայն խորս, որով ստեղծ զԱդամ:

(56) And in the days of Ezekiel, He stretched eastward from the west, according to His willing power, for whatever God wished He did in the heaven and on the earth, in the sea and in all the depths, with which (will) He created Adam.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Յաղագս ժողովոյն սուրբ հարցն՝ Աթանասի, Բարսղի . . . Թուղթ երանելւոյն Ստեփանոսի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի՝ պատասխանի թղթոյն հոռոմոս Գերմանոսի պատրիարգի Կոստանդինուպաւլսի զոր ինքն իսկ եբեր

“On the Synod of the Holy Fathers Athanasius, Basil . . . Letter of the Blessed Step‘anos Bishop of Siwnik‘ in Answer to the Letter of the Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople which he had brought himself,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 521–42.

23 536. (133) Թէպէտ եւ զապականացուէն բուռն հարեալ զզաւակէն Աբրահամու, իսկ եւ իսկ յանապականութիւն փոխեալ, զի նոյն ինքն Բանն անձնիշխանութեամբ զկամսն իւր գործ կատարեալ ունէր, զի Աստուած էր բովանդակն: (134) Եկն ի խնդիր նախաստեղծին ազգակցին ըստ մարմնոյ, դիմեալ յԵդեմայ եգիտ զնա ընդ իշխանութեամբ բանսարկուին, և զիւր սուրբ եւ անապական մարմինն իբրեւ զանիծից եւ զապականացու քաղցի եւ ծարաւոյ կցորդ առնէր եւ զհոգին մարդկային իբրեւ զանգիտացեալ եւ զերկուցեալ առաջի արկանէր. աւրինաւոր մարտիւ, թոյլ ետ յինքն ձգել զհրացեալ նետս մուխս չարին, զի շիջուսցէ յինքեամբ (v.l. յինքեան) ոչ ունելով ի նորայոցն, զոր սերմանեաց յԱդամ յուսով աստուածանալոյն, զի էր արդարութիւն ածեալ ընդ մէջ իւր, եւ ճշմարտութեամբ պատեալ զկողս իւր:

(133) Although by touching the corruptible son of Abraham, He immediately changed (him) into incorruptibility, since the same Word itself, with autonomy had His will as a completed act, for He was wholly God. (134) He

looked for the first-created man, His kinsman according to the body, while he was coming out of Eden. He found him under the authority of the Devil and made His own incorruptible body as a companion of curse and corruption, hunger and thirst, and proposed the human soul as frightened and scared. In a fair battle He allowed the shooting of the burning arrows of the evil at himself, in order that he might extinguish —not having in himself any of (Adam's) characteristics—what (the Devil) had sown in Adam through hope of becoming god, for He had girded himself with justice and covered His ribs with truth.

Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8

Xosrovik T'argmanič', Երկասիրութիւնք "Writings," in G. Yovsēp'ean, Խոսրովիկ Թարգմանիչ. (Ը դար), Պատմական-մատենագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն *Xosrovik T'argmanič' (8th cent.): Historical-Literary Study* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1899).

Գլուխ 3 Chapter 3

1 93 յայտ ուրեմն է՝ թէ Քրիստոս կրելովն զայնոսիկ, ոչ էառ զադամայինն մարմին, այլ զմերս՝ որ ընդ մահուամբն եւ ապականութեամբ եղեւ ստորանկեալ։ Իսկ եթէ զնախաստեղծին ունէր բնութիւն՝ զառանց կրիցն եւ զանմահականն, սուտ ապա ըստ ձեզ եդ ի բաց երեւեցելն զկիրս եւ նորուն աշակերտացն վերաձայնէ կրիցն։

Christ did not take on Adamic body but ours, subject to death and corruption. But if he had the nature of the first-created one, which (was) without suffering and immortal, falsely did he place (it), according to you, outside the sufferings and did he proclaim its sufferings to the disciples.

2 167 Քրիստոս ոչ ունէր զբնութիւն զառաջին մարդոյն, զի կրեաց ... Եւ եթէ ունէր զբնութիւն առաջին մարդոյն եւ հաւասարեաց մեզ ամենայնիւ ըստ նմանութեան առանց մեղաց, յայտ է թէ եւ առաջին մարդն ընդունակ էր կրից։

Christ did not have the nature of the first man for he suffered . . . and if he had had the nature of the first man and were equal to us in everything according to the likeness without sin, it is evident that also the first man was able to undergo suffering.

N. Aginean (Akinean), Խոսրովիկ թարգմանիչ և իւր երկասիրութիւնները։ Քննական ուսումնասիրութիւն "Xosrovik Targmanič' and His Writings: A Critical Study," *Handes Amsorea* 18 (1904): 262–70, 304–16, 353–61; 19 (1905): 19-22, 116, 213–20, 361–70.

Բանն վարդապետութեան յաղագս քառասնորդացն ասացեալ Տեառն Խոսրովայ
“Teaching about Lent by Xosrov.”

էջ 310 (1904),

3 . . . Ի սկզբանն ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն առաջին՝ դաստիարակ նմա զպահսն ետ Աստուած . . . Իսկ իբրեւ ի բաց ընկեց եւ պատրեցաւ ի մահաբեր ճաշակէն, տե՛ս զի՞նչ ասէ նմա սոյն մարգարէ. «Մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա». (Սաղմ. ԽԸ, 21) ամենայն կենցաղիւ՝ լինելով խոտակեր բանջարաճաշակ որ նոցա [է կերակուր]: Եւ երանի թէ մինչ ցայսքան էր պատուհասն: Զկնի յանցմանն եւ դառն կերակրոյն ասէ ցնա Աստուած. Ադամ, «փոխանակ զի լուար ձայնի կնոջ քո եւ կերար ի ծառոյն՝ յորմէ պատուիրեցի պահել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր. փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուսցէ քեզ», եւ որ զկնին. «զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս». (Ծն. Գ, 17–19):

. . . In the beginning with the creation of the first man, God gave him fasting as a teacher. . . . And when he fell and he was deceived by the mortal food, see what the same prophet says to him, “Man was in glory and did not understand, he became equal to the dumb animals and like them,”[42] by all life, becoming eater of grass and greens that are (their food). And it is fortunate that the punishment was (only) in this measure. After the sin and the bitter food, God said to him, Adam, “Because you listened to the voice of your wife and ate of the tree, from which I commanded (you) to refrain, let the earth be cursed. Let it make spring up for you thorns and thistles,” and after “For you were dust and to dust you will return.”[43]

Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos C8

Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos, Վասն որ ի Վարագ երեւեցաւ սուրբ նշան “Concerning the Holy Cross That Was Seen in Varag,” ed. P. Ananean, *Bazmavēp* 124 (January-March 1966): 14–28.

1 24 . . . Վասն կատարելոյ ի սկզբանն խորհրդոյ՝ արարեալ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի արարչութեան իւրոյ եւ եդեալ զնա ի մէջ երկրաբուխ վայելչական սերմանեացն բուսոց եւ տնկոց: Ապա թողեալ ի կամս վասն փորձանաց մարդոյն զխորասոյզ եւ զապստամբ վիշապն,

42. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

43. Gen 3:17–19.

զանկեալն ի լուսափայլ փառացն, որով անկեալ մարդոյն ընդ սահմանս դառնաշունչ չարաթոյն աւձին ժառանգեաց զմահ դառնալ անդրէն ի հող ուստի առաւ:

To accomplish [His] intention, in the beginning God created man according to his own creative image, and put him among earth-sprung pretty shoots of plants and trees. Then, having left for man his will for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death, (which is) to return to the dust from which he was taken.

Yovhan Ōjnec‘i C8

Text: Yovhan Ōjnec‘i, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953).

Ընդդէմ պաւղիկեանց
Against the Paulicians

1 54 Մինչեւ գթացեալ ստեղծողի պատկերին, եղեւ պատկեր ստեղծուածոյն. եւ որ ի սկզբանէ արար զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, ինքն եկն, եւ ի վախճան ժամանակացս այսոցիկ զկերպարանս ծառայի էառ, եւ ի նմանութիւն մարդկան գտաւ եղեալ:

While the Creator pitied the image, he became the image of the created being. And he who in the beginning made man according to his image and according to (his) likeness, came and in the end of these times took the form of a servant and was found to have become the likeness of a man.[44]

Ընդդէմ երեւութականաց
Against Phantasiasts

2 83 . . . Եթէ էր ապականութիւն, ոչ կարէր ի միասին ընդ գոլոյն բաղկանալ, այլ են բաղկացականք գոյացութեան: Քանզի ասէր գոյացուցիչն մերում նախահօրն. «Յամենայն ծառոց՝ որ են ի դրախտիդ, ուտելով կերիցես»: Այս՝ ո՞չ ապաքէն ըստ բնութեանն պատշաճեալ կերակրողականին առաջի դնէր զպէտս. զի եթէ ոչ այս այսպէս, աւելորդ վարկանիմ զամենապտուղն զայս տնկագործողին

44. Man is created in the image of God, but God, in Christ, took on the likeness of man. Note that this is one interpretation of the image. In the fifth-century texts other interpretations are to be found.

տնկեալ զդրախտն. եւ ի նմա դնելով զմարդն՝ հրամայեալ անդուստ վայելել նմա:

. . . If there was corruption, it could not have been composed together with existence; being had other components. For the Creator said to our forefather: "Of all the trees which are in the Garden you may freely eat."[45] Didn't He indeed place first the nutritional need, according to the appropriateness of nature? For if it were not thus, I consider superfluous this fruitful Garden of Eden planted by the Gardener, and putting the man there and then commanding him to enjoy it.

3 83–84 Եւ դարձեալ թէ՝ «Ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ որ ի մէջ դրախտին, մի ուտիցես, զի մի մեռանիցիս»: Եթէ ոչ երկիւղին տրամադրութիւն ի բանականումն նորա բնաւորեալ էր յոգւոջ, զիա՞րդ զգուշացուցանէր, եւ կամ զգուշացեալ լինէր, եւ կամ մեղադրիւր յետ ոչն զգուշանալոյ: Եւ յառաջ քան զայս գրեալ է, գործել զնա եւ պահել զփափկականն զայն դրախտ՝ զոր տնկեացն: Առաջինն զաշխատութիւն, եւ երկրորդն զհոգալն ընդ ինքեան շարամանեալ ունի: Իսկ զքնոյն ունակութիւն բացայայտակի ի գրեցելոց անտի բանից ծանեաք. «Էարկ, ասէ, Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ՝ եւ ննջեաց»: Ոչ արտաքուստ ի նմա բերելով զքնոյն իրակութիւն, այլ բնաւորականին ըստ պիտոյիցն ի վերայ անկեալ կրից: Իսկ զցանկութիւն՝ յորոց ցանկացաւն հրաժարեցուցեալն պտղոյ՝ իմանամ: Եւ զոր ասէն. «Ադամայ ոչ գտաւ օգնական նմա»՝ այսուիկ զտրտմութիւն նշանակէ զնախաստեղծին, զայլս ի կենդանեացն զուգակենակցաբար ըստ ազգի տեսանելով վայելչացեալս, յաղագս նորին տրտմէր ընդ իւրն միայն անտուն ամայութիւն եւ զրկանս: Այլ եւ զյառաջգիտութեանն ոչ ըստ բնութեան ի նմա ասեմ զոլ նախատեսութիւն, այլ յաստուածային հոգւոյն ազդմանէ, որ / երբեմն շարժէ, եւ երբեմն առ ինքն ամփոփեալ՝ թողացուցանէ զմտաւոր եւ զբանական հոգին . . .

And again: "Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, you shall not eat, lest you die."[46] If disposition to fear was not inherent in his soul through his rationality, why did he warn or why was he warned, or why was he blamed after not being careful? And before this it is written: "to work it and to keep" this delightful Garden that he planted. The first means labor and the second is inseparable from care. And we have obviously learned (or: learned about) the habit of sleeping from the words written there; it says: "God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept."[47] And He brought upon him the action of sleep not from outside, but as a natural function occurring when necessary. And I understand the wish that caused him (to

45. Gen 2:16.
46. Gen 2:17.
47. Gen 2:21.

eat) the forbidden fruit. And when (the Bible) says, "for Adam there was not found a helper for him,"[48] by this it signals the sorrow of the protoplast; he saw other animals enjoying life in couples according to the species, for that reason he grieved about his homeless loneliness and hardship. And I consider prescience not to be natural in him, but from the power of the divine spirit which sometimes moves and sometimes, concentrating within itself, relaxes the intellectual and reasonable soul.

4 85 . . . Արդ յայտ է յասացելոց անտի՝ եւ վասն նախաստեղծին ասել, թէ ցորքան պատուիրանապահութեամբն թեւակոխէր, նոքումբք այսորքիւք բնաւորականօքս ընդդիմամարտուցեալ ի բաց յինքենէ հալածէր զմահն եւ զապականութիւն. եւ այնպէս յարատեւողագոյն գոյացութեամբ՝ անճառելեաց երթեալ հանդիպանայր կենաց: Իսկ յորժամ առ պատուիրանազանցութիւնն ի վայր սողոսկեալ անկաւ, յորմէ եւ մեղացն եղեւ բողբոջ, յայնժամ ընդ լծով մահու եւ ապականութեան մտեալ հնազանդիւր: Եւ այսպէս ոչ ստեղծիչն, եւ ոչ ստեղծեալն ի նմանէ, այլ ինքնակամութիւն ստեղծուածոյն եւ պատրանք բանսարկուին զմահն եւ զապականութիւնն ի մերումս յարադրեաց բնութեան: Բայց սակայն դժուարաշարժ առ մեղսն յայնժամ, եւ դիւրաշարժագոյն առ բարին. որպէս եւ այժմիկ յապականացուս անկեալ կեանս՝ հակառակաւն այսոցիկ վտանգիմք, դիւրաշարժ առ մեղսն, եւ դժուարաշարժ առ առաքինութիւնն փոփոխելով:

. . . Now, it is clear from those words, that it may also be said about the first man that as long as he sought to observe the commandment, he drove death and corruption away from himself, resisting them thanks to such abilities; and thus with continuous (proper) behavior he attained indescribable life. But when he slipped over into the transgression against the commandment and fell, by which he became a sprout of sin, then he passed under the yoke of and submitted to death and corruption. Thus, neither the Creator nor the one created by him added death and corruption to our nature, but the free will of the creature and the deception of the Devil. However, he was unwilling to sin and much inclined to good, whereas now, having fallen into corruptible life, we are endangered by the opposite of these, tending to the inclination toward sin and unwillingness toward virtue.[49]

48. Gen 2:20.

49. The passage deals with the origin of corruption/corruptibility. It is not part of the initial creation, for the fruit of the Garden was appropriate food for humans. The disposition of fear was inherent in man, as is shown by the commandment with its sanction. Sleep is inherent in man, because God brought it upon Adam. The desire to abate loneliness is inherent but prescience is not: sometimes it is given by the Holy Spirit. These functions, which might be wrongly considered to be connected with corruptibility, were in fact part of the inherent, created order. Consequently, when man sinned he passed under the yoke of death and corruption.

5 90–91 Եւ այսպէս երկրորդս Ադամ / առաջնոյն գտաւ նորոգօղ. զի զոր օրինակ նա վիրաւորեալ ի մեղացն՝ հակառակորդին ետ զինքն ի ծառայութիւն

. . . And there this second Adam was found to be the renewer of the first. For just as he (the first Adam) was wounded by sins, he (Christ) gave himself into the servitude of the opponent.

Նորին Տեառն Յովհաննու Կաթողիկոսի Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ
Of the same Rev, Yovhannēs Catholicos concerning the Orders of the Church

6 106 Իսկ չորեքշաբաթին ըստ վեցերորդ ժամու պաշտմանն խորհրդեանն կարգեալ է, յորում ժամու հիւանդութիւն նախահօրն պատմի, եւ ի նմին ժամու բժշկութիւն վիրացն չարչարանօք խաչին Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի:

And the sacrament[50] is held on Wednesday, at the sixth hour, at which hour the sickness of the forefather is told (to have happened) and at the same hour—the healing of wounds through suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross.

7 110 Յայնմ ժամու. (յաւուր միաշաբաթու յառաջին ժամուն) վարկանիմ ստեղծեալ զմարդն առաջին:

At that hour (on Sunday at the first hour) I consider the first man to have been created.

8 112 Իսկ ի տուընջեանն որոշեալ սահմանք աղօթիցն այս ըստ յանցման ժամուն նախահօրն հեշտասիրութեանն եւ մեղանացն . . . զի որպէս Ադամաւն ամենեքին մեռան, նոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոսիւն ամենեքեան կենդանասցին . . . Զի յորում ժամու յանցեաւն Ադամն առաջին, եւ յետ յանցանացն յամեաց ի դրախտին, նոյնչափ եւ Քրիստոս եկաց ի վերայ խաչին ի բժշկութիւն վիրաց նորա:

And the fixed period of this prayer is determined within daytime, according to the time of the forefather's transgression, his sensuality and his sin. . . . For as all died through Adam, likewise all will revive through Christ. For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the trans-

This was not the work of God or inherent in the creature, but the result of the exercise of free will. As a result we suffer from an inclination to sin and disinclination to virtue.

50. Literally: worship of mystery.

gression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his[51] wounds.[52]

9 113 Իսկ յիններորդ ժամուն կարգեալ զաղօթսն, այս վասն անդարձ խոստովանութեանն մեղանացն Ադամայ. յորում ժամու դատապարտեալ ելաւ ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին ժամու աղաղակաւ աւանդեաց զոգին Փրկիչն աշխարհաց, եւ զԱդամ եհան ի դժոխոց:

And the prayer is arranged at the ninth hour for confession of Adam's irrevocable sin, at which hour he, being condemned, came out of the Garden; and at the same hour the Savior of the worlds yielded up his spirit with a cry,[53] and brought Adam out of the hell.[54]

Ճառ երկրորդ յեկեղեցի
"Second Sermon on the Church," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Sis, 2007), 95–104. (This is also available in the Venice edition; see above).

10 156 Սա է դրախտ աստուածատունկ անմտանելի չարաց. զի ի նմանէ օձիւն արտաքս անկաք եւ Քրիստոսիւ ի սմա մտանեմք. եւ վասն զի դրախտն կենդանեաց զմեռօք մեռեալսն ոչ ընդունի, նոյնպէս եւ յայս եկեղեցւոյ արտաքս որոշին ամպարիշտք եւ մեղաւորք: Յայնմ դրախտի ծառ կենաց, յորմէ արգելաւ նախաստեղծն, իսկ աստ խաչն լուսոյ . . . Անդ աղբեւրն եդեմաբուղխ ոռոգանէ զվայելչավայր բուրաստանն, եւ անտի ի չորս բաժանի առաջս. իսկ աստ Բանն ճշմարտութեան բղխեալն ի Հօրէ աղբեւրաբար՝ զաւետարանին հոսէ գնացս ընդ չորեքծագեան տիեզերս, եւ մկրտութեամբն մաքրէ եւ նորոգէ զմարդիկ ի կեանս արդարութեան:

This is the Garden planted by God which evil ones cannot enter, for we were cast out of it through the serpent, and we enter it through Christ; and as the garden of the living does not accept those who have died because of sin, likewise the impious and the sinners are excommunicated from this church. In that Garden (is) the tree of life, from which the protoplast was forbidden, and here (is) the cross of light. . . . There the spring emanating in Eden waters the

51. I.e., Adam's.

52. Note not only parallelism of time but also the use of "wound" both of Adam's sin and of Christ's passion. This we saw also above.

53. Cf. Matt 27:50.

54. Note that the confession of Adam's sin took place at the ninth hour and its liturgical correspondent. Adam left the Garden at the ninth hour and Christ died at the ninth hour. Observe that "brought Adam out of Hell" is a general observation connected with the Descent into Hell tradition. It is certainly not strictly chronological.

graceful Garden, and thence it is parted into four heads;[55] and here the Word of truth emanating from the Father like a spring makes the course of the Gospel flow through the universe having four parts, and by baptism cleanses and renews mankind for (or: in) the life of justice.

11 156–57 Յայնմ դրախտի Ադամ ստեղծաւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. եւ աստ մարդն յեկեղեցւոջ ծննդեամբ աւազանին լինի որդի Աստուծոյ: Անդ փայտ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. եւ աստ խաչիւն ծանեաք զճշմարիտ բարին զԱստուած եւ խոյս / տուաք ի պատրողաբար ծառայեցուցչացն. որպէս եւ ինքն Փրկիչն հրամայեաց. «Յորժամ բարձրացուցանիցէք զորդի մարդոյ, յայնժամ գիտասջիք՝ թէ ես եմ»: Անդ ծառք տերեւախիտք, ծաղկազարդք. եւ աստ դասք առաքելոց եւ մարգարէից՝ լուսաբեր իմաստութեամբ եւ ծաղկազարդ առաքինութեամբ՝ զԵրրորդութեան հաւատ ուսուցանեն վայելչածաղիկ վարդապետութեամբ: Զնա սերոբէիցն պարփակէ հրեղէն սուրն. եւ զսա Հոգին սուրբ պարունակէ նշանաւ տերունականն խաչի: Յայնմ դրախտի պատուիրանն տուաւ գործոյ եւ պահպանութեան. զնոյն եւ աստ պատուէր առաք՝ ստանալ զօրէնս Հոգւոյն, եւ անսխալ պահել:

Յառաջինն Ադամայ շինեցաւ ի կողիցն կին, եւ տուաւ նմա յօգնականութիւն. իսկ յերկրորդն Ադամայ կողիցն, յորմէ ել արիւն եւ ջուր, շինեցաւ եկեղեցի:

In that paradise Adam was created as the image of God, and here, in the church, man becomes a son of God through birth in the baptismal font. There (is) the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and here we learned through the cross the true good, God, and we escaped the deceitful enslavers, as the Savior himself commanded: "When you have lifted up the Son of man, then shall you know that I am he."[56] There the leafy, flowery trees, and here companies of apostles and prophets teaching the belief of the Trinity with luminous wisdom and flowery virtue, by graceful indoctrination. That one the fiery sword of the Cherubim closes about, and this one includes the Holy Spirit through the sign of the Lord's cross. In that paradise, commandment was given to work and to guard; we have received the same commandment also here: to receive the law of the Spirit and to keep it faultlessly.

Woman was made from the side of the first Adam and was given to him as a helper. And from the side of the second Adam, whence blood and water (flowed), the church was built.

55. Cf. Gen 2:10.
56. John 8:28.

Yovhan Ōjnecʻi, Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Ի խորհուրդ նոր կիւրակէին "From the Commentary on the Lectionary: On the Mystery of the Low Sunday,"[57] ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 111–18.

12 114 Այսաւր դրունս դժոխոց բացան եւ մահ լուծաւ, հին Ադամն ի բաց եղաւ եւ նոր[58] լցաւ, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս նորոգեցան:

Today the door of the hell was opened and death was dissolved, old Adam was put away and the new one was fulfilled, new creatures were renewed in Christ.

Yovhan Ōjnecʻi, Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Նախահաւաքումն պատմութեան այսմ բանից Տեառն Յովհաննու Վերծանողի "From the Commentary on the Lectionary: Preliminary Collection for This Narrative from the Words of Yovhan the Lector," ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 156–72.[59]

13 157–58 Եւ հրապուրէր ամբարիշտն այն. (Արտեմոն) զհաւանեալսն իւր որպէս եւ ի սկզբանն աւձն Եւայ: Նա ասէր ցԵւայ յետ առաջնոյ հերձուածոյ. «Մինչեւ ցասքանեացս բազմութեան ծառոց դրախտին համարձակութիւն ետ Աստուած ուտել. Յայս ծառոյ զի՞ արգել: Զի՞նչ փառք են, զի՞նչ պատճառք: Աղէ տես յոյժ եւ քննեայ, յոյժ ներամտեա, կա՞յ իմն յիրսդ:» Այսպիսի դիմաւք ի կարծիս արկանէր զնա եւ աղմկէր զսիրտն: Եւ իբրեւ խարդաւանեաց զնա եւ երկմտեցոյց, տիրացաւ ի վերայ զգայական մտաւորութեան նորա եւ ասէր. «Թէ ուտէք՝ աստուածք լինիքդ:»[60] Նոյն խարդաւանութեամբ եւ Արտեմոնն ասէր ցհրապուրեալսն իւր. «Զի՞նչ համարիցիք զկարծեալ առաքելոցն զաւետարանութիւնսն, որ զանխլացուցին եւ թաքուցին զլրութիւն հաւատոյն եւ սուղ ինչ վարդապետութեամբ դաւանեցին յերկրի» . . .

Աւձն զԱստուած ամբաստան առնէր ընդ Եւայի, եթէ՝ «Վասն այնորիկ յապաւեաց ի ձէնջ Աստուած զծառոյն կերակուր, եթէ գուցէ ճաշակիցէք եւ աստուածք լինիցիք»: Եւ Արտեմոն զառաքելոցն ամբաստանէր . . .

57. This is the first Sunday after Easter, normally called "New Sunday."

58. See Grigor Narekacʻi 2009, 505.

59. The second part of the title is not quite clear; it may be corrupt.

60. Gen 3:5.

And that impious (Artemon) tempted those who agreed with him, as in the beginning the serpent (had tempted) Eve. He said to Eve after the first rupture: “If God gave permission to eat from such a multitude of the trees of the Garden, why did He forbid (the fruit) from this tree? What is the glory? What is the reason? Now look thoroughly and examine, throughly go into the heart, is there anything in this?” With such an expression he made her inquire and excited (her) heart. And when he had plotted against her and made her doubt, he dominated over her sensible/sensual reason, and said: “If you eat, you will become gods.” With similar plots Artemon too said to those whom he had tempted: “What do you consider the seeming preaching of the Apostles who have damped and concealed the fullness of the faith and have professed their mean teaching on the earth?” . . .

The serpent accused God before Eve saying: “For that reason God cut off for you the food from the tree, lest you eat and become gods.” And Artemon accused the Apostles . . .

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Ninth Century

Hamam Arewelc‘i C9

Text: Hamam Arewelc‘i, Մեկնութիւն Առակաց "Commentary on Proverbs," in Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Մեկնութիւն չորից աւետարանչաց *Commentary on the Four Evangelists; Hamam Arewelc‘i,* Մեկնութիւն Առակաց *Commentary on Proverbs,* ed. M. Saribekyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1994).

Translation: *Hamam: Commentary on the Book of Proverbs,* trans. and ed. Robert W. Thomson (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 5; Leuven and Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2005). The translation here is my own.

1 198 Ի պտղոյ արդարութեան բուսանի ծառ կենաց

Ուստի բուսաւ ծառն կենաց որդին Աստուծոյ ի խաչին, ծառն կենաց, որով շուրջ կան Սերոբէքն եւ Քերոբէքն։

From righteousness's fruit, a tree of life grows (Prov 11:30).

Whence[1] did the tree of life grow, the Son of God on the cross, the tree of life, around which stand the Seraphim and the Cherubim.

2 215 «Առաջ քան զբեկումն իւր բարձրանայ սիրտ առն, եւ նախ քան զկարծիս կործանի։»

Before its breaking,[2] the heart of man is haughty; and before thought it is destroyed (Prov 18:12).

Որ նախքան զբեկումն բարձրացաւ սիրտն սատանայի, որ ապստամբելովն կամեցաւ բարձրանալ քան զընկերս իւր։ Եւ վասն նորին յայս մեծ բեկումն կորացեալ առաջի հզօրին Աստուծոյ։ Եւ նախքան զկարծիսն այս եղեալ, մինչեւ ի նոյն եւս էր կամս, ի վայր բերեալ եղեւ, եւ կորացաւ առաջի ամենեցուն, որ էր պայծառ արուսեակ. խաւար վասն ամբառնալոյն կոչեցաւ եւ եղեւ։ Նոյն զմարդն պարտեաց որ կորացաւ եւ նա ընդ նմա։

Before the breaking, the heart of Satan became haughty, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. And, therefore, he was

1. I.e., from the Holy Marriage.
2. I.e., destruction.

abased to this great rupture before mighty God. And this happened before thought, while he still had the very same desire; he was cast down and abased before everyone. He who was a brilliant Lucifer,[3] on account of his haughtiness was named and became darkness. The same one defeated man who, too, was abased with him.

K'EROVBĒ *VARDAPET* C9

K'erovbē *vardapet*, Պատճառ գալստեան Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ "Explanation of the Coming of the Lord to Jerusalem," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 722–43.

1 730. (143) Տիմէի որդի թուի, թէ զԱդամ առակէ նշանակաւ, որ ստեղծմամբ Աստուծոյ ի չորից տարերց ծնեալ եղեւ իբր ի մաւրէ, զոր Տիմէ կոչէ, զի անունս այս չորիւք տառիւք գոյանա:

(143) He (Bartimeus) seemed to be the son of Timeus[4] in order to hint symbolically at Adam, who being created by God was born from the four elements as from a mother, whom he calls "of Timeus," since this name is made of four letters.

2 730. (151) Զի յելանելն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն դեռեւ ճաճանչ լուսոյ աստուածգիտութեան ընդ ինքեան ունէր եւ զմարմնոյն աչս՝ բաց թէպէտ եւ կուրացեալ էր հոգւով, այլ զի յաւել մեղս ի վերայ մեղացն ամենայն ծննդաւք իւրաւք (v.l. իւրովք):

(151) For when Adam went forth from the Garden, he still had with himself the rays of the light of the knowledge of God and corporeal eyes, but even if he was blinded in his soul, he added sins to the sins through all his descendants.

3 732. (184) Եւ նախաստեղծն Ադամ յամենայն կենդանիս միայն բանական եղեալ, պատիր խաբէութեամբ աւձին կորոյս զնա, ըստ մարգարէին. «Հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից»:

(184) As to the first-created Adam, being the only rational one among all the animals, he destroyed him by the false deceit of the serpent, according to the prophet: "He is like irrational animals."[5]

3. "Morning star"; see Isa 14:12.
4. See Mark 10:46.
5. Ps 48:13 = MT 49:12, but MT differs.

Movsēs Xorenac‘i C9

Text: Movsēs Xorenac‘i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians*, ed. M. Abełean and S. Yarut‘iwnean (Tiflis: Mnac‘akan Martiroseanc‘ Press, 1913); reprinted with the supplement by A. Sargsyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1991).

Translation: *Moses Khorenats‘i, History of Armenia, translation and commentary on the literary sources* by R. W. Thomson (rev. ed.; Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2006). The translation below is taken from this book, referred to by pages.

The date of this work is greatly debated, and its traditional date is the fifth century. That date is maintained by many scholars, with arguments that are far from negligible. There is no doubt of the antiquity of much of the material included in this pivotal work of Armenian historiography though it may well have been put into its present form some centuries later.[6]

Դ Ծննդաբանութիւն Հայոց Մեծաց
IV Genealogy of Greater Armenia

1 14, 1.4 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ:

69 Adam the first to be created. He lived two hundred and thirty years and begat Seth.

2 Քանզի է Ադամ ճշմարտապէս աստուածաստեղծ. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր, այլ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թագստեան եղեալ՝ զՈ՞ւր ես-ն յԱստուծոյ եւ ոչ յայլմէ ումեքէ հարցանի. սապէս եւ զվճիռ վարկին ի նորին բերոնոյ լսէ:

For Adam is truly the creature of God, and he is said to have received a command from God’s mouth. But he, having transgressed and having hidden, was asked: “Where are you?”[7] by God and not by anyone else. Likewise he heard the sentence from the same One’s mouth.[8]

3 15 Քանզի ի պատուիրանազանցութեան գտեալ առաջինն ի մարդկանէ՝ ի դրախտէն եւ յԱստուծոյ, չարին աղագաւ, որպէս ասացեալ է, գտանի արտասահմանեալ: Զկնի եւ ընտանեգոյնն

6. Some arguments for its antiquity demand serious consideration. See, for example, the recent work of Topchyan (2006). The argument may well be over the date of redaction rather than the early origins of many of the sources.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Gen 3:17–19.

Աստուծոյ յորդւոցն Ադամայ՝ ի հարազատէն իւրմէ սպանանի յեղբօրէ:

70 Since the first of mankind was found in transgression of the commandment, because of his evil, as has been said, he was expelled from the Garden of Eden and from God.[9] Afterwards, the one of Adam's sons who was most intimate with God was killed by his own brother.[10]

§6

4 22, 1.6 Title Յաղագս թէ ինչ որ հաւաստր, եւ է ինչ որ օտար ի Մովսիսէ պատմեն այլքն հնախօսք, եւ յաղագս Ոլիմպիոդորայ փիլիսոփայի անգիր հին զրուցացն:

74 Concerning the fact that other antiquarians' accounts sometimes agree and sometimes disagree with Moses, and concerning the unwritten ancient stories of the philosopher Olympiodorus.

5 22, 1.6 Բայց որպէս ի սկզբանն երբեմն ճշմարտեն, երբեմն ստեն - որպէս յաղագս նախաստեղծին, ոչ առաջին մարդ ասելով զնա, այլ թագաւոր, սոյնպէս անուն խժական նմա եւ աննշանակ կոչելով, եւ ամս տալով երեսուն եւ վեց հազար.

75 But as for the beginning (i.e. Creation) sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie; just as, concerning the protoplast, not saying the first man but king, calling him a barbaric and obscure name and giving him thirty-six thousand years.

Pseudo-Šapuh or The Anonymous Storyteller C9

Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni, Պատմութիւն անանուն զրուցագրի կարծեցեալ Շապուհ Բագրատունի *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller regarded as Šapuh Bagratuni*, ed. with Russian translation, introduction, and commentary by M. H. Darbinyan-Melikyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1971).

Translation based on R. W. Thomson, "The Anonymous Story-Teller (Also known as 'Pseudo-Shapuh')," *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 21 (1988–89): 182–229. The translation is my own.

184 Rich and honorable men assembled and journeyed as far as the land

9. Gen 3:23–24.
10. Gen 4:9.

of Syria. On the way Mahmet said: "O Persian magnates, we are not in the (right) faith and piety, for our idols are vain. Now I have heard from some people that there exists a God in Heaven, above the sun which is visible to us." They said: "What is the matter with you, Mahmet? Be quiet and do not speak about that."

1 45 Իսկ նա սկսաւ պատմել նոցա զաւուրս զառաջինս յԱբրահամու եւ ի Նոյէ, նաեւ ի յԱդամայ. եւ նոքա զարմանային ընդ իմաստութիւնս նորա եւ ասեն. «Ո՛վ Մահմէտ, ուստի ասես զայդպիսի բանս եւ բազում գիտութիւնս»:

Then he began to relate to them the earliest days, from Abraham and Noah and even from Adam. They were astonished at his wisdom and said: "O Mahmet, what is your source for such sayings and all this knowledge?" He replied: "Wisdom, knowledge, and prophecy have been given me from above." And when they had drawn near the monastery, they camped there opposite the monk's monastery in accordance with his advice.

Sahak Mrut C9

Text: Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատասխանի Թղթոյն Փոտայ՝ գրեալ Սահակայ Հայոց Վարդապետի, հրամանաւ Աշոտայ Հայոց իշխանաց իշխանի "Answer to the letter of Photius, written by Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, at the command of Ašot, Prince of Princes of Armenia," in Գիրք Թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 524–39.

529 ՂԱ. 81.

1 Ապաքէն մի բնութիւն յերկուս դէմս իմանի եւ ասի. քանզի է որ ըստ պարզութեան է մի որ ոչն է յաւդական, որպէս Գաբրիէլ եւ Միքայէլ. եւ է որ ըստ յաւդաւորութեանն է մի, որպէս Ադամ եւ Նոյ:

Is then one nature to be perceived and spoken of in two countenances, for there is that which is one according to simplicity, which is not compounded, like Gabriel and Michael; and there is one who is one in compoundedness, like Adam and Noah.

T'ēop'ilos C9

T'ēop'ilos, Ի մեծի երկուշաբաթին ի թզենին եւ յԱդամայ մեկնութիւն յաղագս անիծիցն թզենոյն եւ վասն ապաշխարութեան "Commentary on

the Great Monday, on the Fig Tree and Adam, concerning the Curse of the Fig Tree and concerning Repentance," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 788–800.

1 793. (73) Անդ Ադամ զանէծսն ընդ թզենւովն լուաւ եւ վրիպելով ի կենդանութենէ զպատուհաս մահուն ընկալաւ եւ Ադամ զպատմուճան մահուն զկենդանութեան ծածկոյթն ագաւ։

(73) There Adam heard the curse under the fig tree, and missing the life received the punishment of death, and Adam put on the garment of death (as) the cover of life.

T'ēop'ilos, Վասն յարութեան Ղազարու եւ դժոխոցն կործանման "Concerning the Raising of Lazarus and the Destruction of the Hell," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 820–27.

2 820. (10) Մատուցեալ Ադամ ասէ ցՈվաննէս. Ես էի ի փառս դրախտին իմում, եւ վաեէլէի անմահական կերակրովն։ (11) Ապա նախանձեցաւ ընդ իս բանսարկուն եւ եհան ի վայելչական կենացն։

(10) Adam approached and said to John: "I was in the glory of my Garden and I was enjoying immortal food. (11) Then the Devil envied me and brought me forth from the splendid life."

Text: Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 828–41.

T'eop'ilos, Վասն ամենայն առաքինութեան եւ ողորմածութեան "On Every Virtue and Mercy"

3 834. (97) Ասէ զերեզմանն. Եթէ դու, զոր զտեր ըստ սովորութեան քո զործեցեր ընդ նմա, առաւել եւս զսովորութիւն իմ կատարեցից, քանզի զիտեմ զքեզ վրիպեալ ի սովորութենէ քումմէ ի ձեռն Եղիայի եւ Եղիսէի։ (98) Այլ ամենեւին, յորմէ հետէ դարձաւ Ադամ առ իս, ուստի առաւ մինչեւ ցայսաւր զեկեալ[սն] առ իս ոչ կարաց յափշտակել ոք յինէն։ (99) Այլ որ առաւել եւս յարգեալ իսկ էր փշրեալ մանրեցի եւ արարի իբրեւ զիս որպէս եւ զԱդամ արարի։ (100) Ստեղծեալ զնա Աստուած ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ես արարի զնա ըստ նմանութեան փառաց իւրոց, եւ ես զործեցի զնա ըստ պատկերի իմում. եւտու պատկեր զեղեցկազարդ եւ առի թառամեալ, ետու /// (one unreadable word) սա պայծառ /// (one unreadable word), եւ առի պապանձեալ, ետու կարի իմաստուն, եւ առի յոյ(?) յիմարի, ետու թագաւոր, եւ առի աղքատ, ետու վեր քան զիս, եւ առի խոնարհ քան զիս, ետու զպայծառազարդ յինէն եւ զզեղեցիկն քան զիս, եւ առի զմին իբրեւ

զիս, եւ պայծառ քան զիս, նոյն դարձեալ գործեցի իբրեւ զիս: (101) Եւ եթէ զաստուածագործ պատկերն, որ լեալ յարմատոյ առանց ախտի եւ վասն փառաւորման նորա եւ վայելման Աստուած տնկեաց ձեռաւք իւրովք դրախտ եւ կացոյց զնա ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց իւրոց եւ ի ձեռն իմ անցք այդ ամենայն անցին ընդ նա, զոր եւ ասացի . . . :

(97). (In a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave) The grave says: "If you treat whomever you have found according to your custom, I will fulfill my custom even more, since I know that you have failed in your custom through Elijah and Elisha. (98) But in no way, from the time when Adam returned to me from where he was taken until today could anybody take from me away those who have come to me. (99) But him who was even more respected, I crushed and destroyed and made him like me, as I had done Adam. (100) God created him in his image, and I made[11] him in the likeness of his glory, and I made him according my image. I gave a well-adorned image and received a faded one. I gave it (one unreadable word) shining (one unreadable word), and received a silent one. I gave a very wise one and received a very (?) foolish one. I gave a king and received a poor man. I gave one higher than me and received one lower than me, I gave one more brilliant than me and handsomer than me and received one like me, and I made like me the one who is more brilliant than me. (101) And as to the God-made image which was originally without vice, God planted the Garden with his hands for glorifying him and for his enjoyment, he set him over all the works of his hands,[12] and all that passed into my power with him, which I also said . . ."

T'eop'ilos, Ի սուրբ եւ յանճառելի չարչարանսն եւ ի խաչելութիւնն Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի
"On the Holy and Ineffable Passion and on the Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 851–71.

4 858. (184). (թշնամին զաւտեմարտեալ ընդ թագաւորին և ընդ ծառայ նորա . . .) Ընդ նախագահ այրն Ադամ, որ էր քնարս պատրաստեալ չար վիշապն՝ լեզուն իւր սրելով սուր երկսայրի, զի կարաց պատառել զվահան պատուիրանացն, որ հրաման առեալ՝ ոչ ճաշակել ի պտղոյն, եւ նա ճաշակեաց եւ ընկալաւ

(185) փոխանակ անմահ դեղոյն՝ մահ /// (one unreadable word)

11. This does not seem correct: perhaps it should be, "He made him."
12. Phrase from Ps 8:5–6 = Arm 8:6–7.

(186) փոխանակ [պատուիրանին]՝ զթերութիւն պատուիրանազանց:

(187) փոխանակ ուրախութեան՝ արտասուք եւ տրտմութիւն:

(188) փոխանակ լուսազգեցութեան՝ զպատկառելի մերկութիւն:

(189) փոխանակ համարձակութեան՝ զթագուստն ընդ թզենովն:

(190) փոխանակ բնակութեան դրախտին՝ զբնակութիւն դժոխոցն:

(191) փոխանակ աներեկոյ տունջեանն՝ զխաւարն աղջամղջին:

(184) (the adversary wrestling with the king and his servant . . .) With the man Adam seated in the highest place, whom the evil dragon had made a lyre,[13] sharpening his two-edged tongue, so that he could tear the shield of the commandments, according to which he was ordered not to eat of the fruit, but he ate and received:

(185) instead of immortal remedy, death < >;

(186) instead of the commandment, transgressive shortcoming;

(187) instead of joy, tears and sadness;

(188) instead of a luminous garment, shy nakedness;

(189) instead of boldness, hiding under the fig tree;

(190) instead of dwelling in the Garden, dwelling in the hell;

(191) instead of day without evening, gloomy darkness.

868. (401) Եւ Տէր կոխեալ ի վայր ի դժոխսն, լուաւ Ադամ զոտնաձայնն Տեառն, եւ ասէ ցբնակեալքն իւր զոր ի յիններորդ ժամուն լուայ զոտնաձայնն ի դրախտին ահա այժմ անկաւ յականջս իմ: (402) Ո՜ եթէ ստուգեցից, եթէ ոտնաձայնն այն է ոչ երկնչիմ, զի պատուեսցէ զիս կրկին, այլ եւ ջնջեսցէ զգիր դատապարտութեան, իմոյ զձեռագիրս պատառէ, զանէծս լուծանէ, զդատապարտութիւն ազատէ, զփշաբերութիւն ծաղկեցուցանէ, զարտասուսն փարատէ, զապականեալսն նորոգէ, զտրտմութիւն ուրախացուցանէ, զմահն հալածէ եւ մեռելոցն յոյս յարութեան պարգեւէ:

(401) And when the Lord trod downwards to the hell, Adam heard the sound of the footsteps of the Lord and said to those dwelling with him: “The sound of the footsteps which I heard in the ninth hour in the Garden, now it has reached my ears. (402) Oh, if I can find out that these are those footsteps, I will not be afraid, since he will honor me again, he will also extirpate the document of condemnation, he will tear my cheirograph,[14] he will loose the

13. See Stone 2009, 87–99. See also the appendix above.
14. See Col 2:14.

curse, he will release [me from] the condemnation, he will make the thorny place flower, he will solace my tears, he will renew those who were corrupted, he will turn sadness into happiness, he will drive away death, and he will grant the hope of salvation to the dead."

T'ovma Arcruni C9

Text: T'ovma Arcruni and the Anonymous Author, Պատմութիւն Արծրունեաց տան *History of the Arcruni Family*, ed. with modern Armenian translation by V. M. Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1985).

Translation: *Thomas Artsruni, History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, trans. Robert W Thomson (Byzantine Texts in Translation; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985). The translation here is my own.

Յառաջաբանութիւն հեղինակին.
Author's Preface

1 6 Եւ ըստ նմանակերպութեան պատկերի իւրոյ, յանձնիշխան կամայական կամարարութեանն ձգեալ պատիւ զնա՝ եւ տէր բոլորակերտ իրողութեանց մակադրեալ զհողանիւթեայ էակս, որպէս ասաց նախամարգարէն մովսէս. նմանագոյնս ասացեալ եւ թագաւորաղնն մարգարէաշնորհին Տաւիթ՝ փառօք եւ պատուովք պսակեցեր զնա, եւ կացուցեր զնա ի վերայ ձեռակերտաց քոց, եւ զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա: Եւ ծառայականս պատահիս տուեալ նմա, որ ի վերայ կառուցեալ լուսաւորացդ պարողութիւն երեւելագոյն գոյիցն, ի գործառնութեան կենացաղավարութեան պիտոյից մարդոյ, ըստ տունջեան եւ գիշերոյ բացակայութեանց գործոց եղանակեալ:

And according to the likeness of His own image, (God) having honored him with[15] autonomous voluntary complaisance, and appointed this earthen being lord of all matter, as the first prophet Moses said. Similar words were said by kingly David endowed with prophetic gift: "Yet you have made him and crowned him with glory and honor. You have given him dominion over the works of your hands; you have made all things obedient beneath his feet."[16] And, having given him a servant's circumstance, the circuit was established over the visible companies of the luminaries, for the use of the needs of the life of man, arranged according to the distancing of the affairs of day and night.

15. Literally: having cast/drawn him into honor.
16. Ps 8:5–6.

Դպրութիւն Ա.
Book 1

2 18–22 Տնկեաց, ասէ, Աստուած զդրախտն յԵդեմ ընդ արեւելս. այսինքն յերկրի արեւելս, զորոյ չունի բան ասել անդր եւս քան զնա յարեւելս ունել բնակութիւն մարդկան. որով իցէ ասել արեւմտական զդրախտն կամ /20/ ի միջոցի ուրեք. եւ զանբաւութիւն մեծութեանն յայտ առնէ սաստկութիւն յորդահոս աղբերն, որ արբուցանելով զդրախտն ընկղմի ընդ երկրաւ, եւ չորեքվտակեան անյաղթ եւ զօրաւոր գետովք ելանէ յաներեւելոյն յերեւելի աշխարհս: Իսկ զգերազանցութիւն գեղեցկութեանն որ բերան բաւեսցէ ասել բան մարդկային, միանգամայն եւ զաստուածագործ տնկոցն հեշտալի տեսութիւն. եւ անհասական իմն շնորհիւ՝ փառօք եւ պատուով պսակեալ զմարդն իշխանական ճոխութեամբ՝ վայելեցուցանէ դրախտին, տալով նմա բազմամեայ կենաց սահման իբրեւ զմի օր, ոչ պիտոյացեալ եկամուտ լուսոյ, որով նսեմասցի առ ի հասանել երեկոյին, ոչ ապաժամանութիւն արեգական առ ի մերժել զմութ գիշերի լուսազգեստ ստեղծուածոյն, որ յետ առաջնոցն կարգի եւ դասու՝ զերկրորդն փոխանորդեցաւ վիճակ, ոչ կերակուր հոսանուտ առ ի լրութիւն տարաբարձ ունակութեանց անապականին, որ դոյզն ի՛նչ փոքրագոյն քան զհրեշտակս գոլ. եւ զի ասէ՝ գործել եւ պահել՝ ոչ իբր ի լիութիւն ամենակատար դրախտին կամ պահպանութիւն ի վնասակարաց, այլ ահա գործել զարդարութիւն եւ պահել զպատուէրն ասացեալ նմա. զի սակաւաջան նպաստաւորութեամբն իբրեւ ընծայաբեր արար լինելով, եւ այնր աղագաւ յեւս բարձրագոյնսն ձգեսցի ըստ ասացելումն՝ ի սակաւուն հաւատարիմ լինելով՝ ոչ այնմ եւեթ տիրեսցէ տնկոյն, այլ եւ բազմերջանիկ երկնայնոցն հասցէ կենաց:

It says, "God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,"[17] that is in the east of the earth, about which it does not say that there was any further human dwelling (than this garden), in the east. Thus, it may be said that the Garden was in the west (i.e., of the earth) or somewhere in the middle. And (Scripture) makes evident the unbounded greatness and the intensity of the spring which, having watered the Garden, sinks under the earth and (then), with the invincible and powerful four-streamed rivers, ascends from the invisible world to this visible one. And whose mouth can express in human speech its (Garden's) surpassing beauty, as well as the pleasing appearance of the trees created by God? And with inconceivable grace, having crowned man with glory and honor, with princely splendor, He caused him to enjoy the Garden, giving him a life span of many years as one day.[18] He did not need external

17. Gen 2:8.
18. Observe the relationship to Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

light which would be darkened toward evening's coming; nor the subsequent arrival of the sun to expel the gloom of night from the creation garbed in light, which, following the order and rank of the first (situation), was replaced by a second situation; soft food for the fulfillment of the removed status of the uncorrupted (man) who was only a little less than the angels.[19] And that it says, "to work it and to keep it,"[20] is not as if for fullness of the all-perfect garden and protection from the harmful, but behold for doing righteousness and keeping the command given to him. For by means of an easily achieved goal, He made (man) to be as one who bears a gift and on account of that he would be drawn to higher things, according to the saying, "having been faithful over a few things,"[21] and he will not only possess that tree, but will attain the most fortunate heavenly life.

3 Իսկ նա ի հրապոյրս ապստամբ վիշապին ելեալ, որ բազմախարդախ չարութեամբն եհեղ առատութեամբ զդառնութիւն խրատոյն յունկն կնոջն անզգամի: Որով ընթադրեալ՝ զպիրողական երախտիս Արարչին, միանգամայն եւ զպատուէրն՝ առ սպանողն հատուածեցաւ, զոր ի դէպ է այժմ ասել նենգաւոր զոլ եւ անմիտ. ոչ շատացաւ ինքեան ծնելութեամբն առ ի զմայլումն հրաժարել ի կերակրոյ, այլ եւ աստուածականն ցանկացաւ փառաց, կորզել ապարասանութեամբ յինքեան եւ զպատիւ Արարչին, որով փորձիւ եւ հրապուրիչն նորա բանսարկուն ախտացաւ: Այլ եւ նախապատիւ եւս քան զայրն յաստուածականին լինել կնոջն նախայարձակ ճաշակմամբն: Աւաղ խարդախագունին այնորիկ խորհրդոյ եւ յիմարական մտաբերութեանն, որով անգիտացեալ զհողանիւթեայ իւր զանգուած՝ յահաւորէն Աստուծոյ եւ յարարչէն խորհեցաւ թիկունս դարձուցանել, որ ամենատես ակնարկութեամբ ստորիջեալ ի խնդիր կորուսելոյն հեզազնաց զարշապարօք՝ ընդելականս նմա զուշակէր զալուստ, ընտանեգոյնս եւս ձայնի կոչելով՝ ու՞ր ես Ադամ, աւաղականս նմա զորովալիր զանկումնն, թերեւս ինքեամբ իսկ զօգտակարօքն տածիցի:

But she was seduced by the rebellious dragon (or: serpent) who, with very fraudulent wickedness, poured plentifully the bitterness of (his) advice into the ear of the foolish woman. Thus she trampled under foot the kind favor of the Creator, together with the command, (and) withdrew toward the killer. Now it is appropriate to call her deceitful and stupid; she was not satisfied with her birth to renounce the delight of food, but coveted the divine glory, to snatch insolently for herself the Creator's honor as well, by which temptation also her seducer, the Devil, was afflicted. And the woman was the

19. See Ps 8:5= Arm 8:6.

20. Gen 2:15.

21. Matt 25:23.

first to taste,[22] in order to be prior in the divine honor to her husband. Alas! her fraudulent idea and foolish attempt, for, forgetting her earthen mixture, she thought she could turn her back upon the fearsome God and Creator who, having descended in search of the lost one with His all-seeing gaze, with gentle heels made known as usual His coming to him by calling with a familiar voice, "Adam, where are you"[23] with affectionate words of regret for his fall; perhaps he might care for (it) by himself, with respect to helpful things.

4 Իսկ նա անդէն եւ անդ հերքեալ ապաժամանակ առ ուղղակի տեսութիւն մեղանաց՝ առ Աստուած վերաբերէ զպատճառն, ասէ՝ կինս զոր ետուր / 22 / ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ ի ծառոյ անտի եւ կերայ. եւ թէ Աղամ առ նմանն իւր եւ օգնական զայսոսիկ՝ զի՞նչ ի դէպ իցէ կնոջն անմեղադրելի գոլ՝ օձին պատճառել, որ եւս վատթարագոյն քան զանասունն լինիցի: Ուստի եւ ըստ կարգի մեղանացն՝ եւ դժուարինք անիծիցն հետեւին, նախ օձին եւ ապա կնոջն: Իսկ եթէ մշակն մեղաց եւ անդրանիկն ամենայն չարեաց, որ ի յօձն բունեալ ոչ անիծաւ, որպիսիս ուսուցանէ վնասապարտութիւն օձին առ ի պատժականութեանն գտանել պարտաւորութիւն, որ ոչ յինքենէ միայն, այլ մանաւանդ ի գտողէն չարեաց:

But he, refuting his sin too late (because it was seen directly on the spot), disclosed the reason to God, saying: "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, gave me of the tree, and I ate."[24] And if Adam (said) these words about the one like him and his helper, why it would be fitting that the woman be without blame, and the serpent who is worse than the (other) animals be blamed? Hence, according to the order of the sins, onerous curses follow, first for the serpent and then for the woman. And if the cultivator of sins and the firstborn of all evil, who nested in the serpent, was not cursed, what sort of things does the guiltiness of the serpent teach, for finding the condemnation of the punishment which is not only from him himself but particularly from the inventor of evil?

5 Առ որս ասեմք՝ եթէ ըստ ամենայն յեղանակի անբոյժն ի բարւոյ, ո՛չ մի ինչ ո՛չ ունի մասն ազնիւ՝ թէ ասիցէ ոք անիծիւք ի բաց բառնալ. նա եւ կենդանականն որ ի նմա՝ ոչ ի բարի ինչ, այլ զի անհրաժեշտ չարին կալով անմահականս չարչարեսցի: Զոր բան եւ վասն օձին սքանչելապէս ուսուցանէ Փիլոն Աղէքսանդրացի՝ յառաջ քան զդրժանացն դիպուածս՝ յոլովութիւն իմաստից ունել ամենայն շնչականաց. այլ եւ մարդոյն եւս յստակագոյնս տեսանել զիւրաքանչիւրոցն ի նոցանէ մտածութիւն . . .

22. Literally: by the aggressive tasting (A.T.).

23. Gen 3:8.

24. Gen 3:12.

In this connection we say that he in no way can be cured by goodness; he has not a bit of worth in himself; so that one might say (he is) to be exterminated with curse. He and the vitality which is in him must be tortured, since it stays immortal, not for any good but necessarily for evil. Philo of Alexandria marvelously teaches this thing about the serpent, that before this infringement happened, all living creatures were endowed with great intellect, and man clearly saw reason in each of them.

6 Եւ եհան արձակեաց զնա Տէր Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան՝ գործել զերկիր ուստի առաւ: Եւ ապա զի՞նչ առ այսոսիկ առցուք ի մէջ զողբերգութեան բերումն ի հառաչանս, որով զաստուածերանն լքեալ զերկիր՝ զախտականս զայս եւ տաժանելիս փոխանորդեաց վիճակ, անբժշկական եւ ողորմելի յեղափոխմամբ. ըստ պատկերին Աստուծոյ ստուերացեալ բարձրացեալն՝ նուաստացաւ, անմահից կենաց հաղորդն՝ ի ձեռն անիծիցն հողացաւ, ի տէրութիւն կարգեալն՝ բազմադիմի չարիւք վարատեալ, եւ ծառայ ախտից եղեւ, ինքեան եւ որոց յետ իւր թողլով ժառանգութիւնն որդւոց կեանս վշտագինս հանդերձ մահուամբ, եւ ծննդականութիւնս տրտմութեամբ: Զոր պարտ էր աստանօր յոլովագունիւք ոմամբք աւաղականօք ընդ ողբակիցս՝ եւ զմարգարէականն առնուլ ի ձայնարկութիւն, «մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա»:

And the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of delights, to work the ground whence he was taken.[25] And then, in this connection, what aspect of the tragedy shall we take up to bemoan? Because of which, having left the land blessed by God, he exchanged it for this perishable and arduous condition, suffering incurable and miserable change: he was humiliated, who was according to the image of God exalted by the shadow; he who had shared immortal life, turned to dust through the curse; he who was appointed to lordship was displaced through multifarious evils and became servant of passions. He (gained) for himself and left to his sons after him the heritage of sorrowful life along with death, and painful childbirth. Here we should bewail with many lamentations, together with fellow mourners, and take the words of the prophet's plaint: "Man was in honor and understood not, became equal to the dumb beasts and became like them."[26]

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25. Gen 3:23–24.
26. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

Պատմութիւն Անանուան Ա
History of the Anonymous Author 1

7 406 Իսկ չարարուեստ բանսարկուն սատանայ, որպէս երբեմն ի նախնումն ազդեցութեամբ կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, դիւրահաւան զնախահայրն առ պտղոյն առնելով ճաշակումն, զանմահս մահացոյց ի կենաց, զոր ունէաք ի դրախտին զբնութիւն՝ նմանապէս եւ աստ ի վերայ քաջի եւ մեծանուն իշխանին զնախանձուն վառեալ հուր՝ ոխս մախանաց արկանէր ի սիրտս ոմանց Հայաստանեայց, գործակից նոցա լինել:

And as the malicious Devil, Satan, once in former times betrayed through the influence of the woman, by making the credulous forefather taste the fruit, depriving the immortal ones of life, the nature we had in the Garden, likewise now (lit. here) he set in the heart of some Armenians the fire of zeal at the brave and famous prince to be his co-workers.

Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9

Text: Barseł Sargisean, Եղիշէի եւ Զաքարիա կաթողիկոսի ի թաղումն Քրիստոսի ճառերն եւ Նիկոդիմոսի աւետարանը *The Homilies of Ełišē and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos on Christ's Burial and the Gospel of Nicodemus* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1910), 23–29.

Zakʻaria Katʻołikos, Ի մեծի աւուր շաբաթուն թաղման Տեառն Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի.
"On the Great Saturday, the Day of the Burial of the Lord Jesus Christ"

1 28 Եւ ասէ Ադամ. Յորժամ վրիպեալ կողոպտեցայ ի պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ, իջեալ Աստուած ընդ երեկս՝ յաւուր ուրբաթուն գնայր ի դրախտին . . . եւ արդ ի սոյն տարաժամեալ ուրբաթու եկեալ ժամանեաց ոտնաձայնիւ. եւ հանցէ զմեզ ի ստուերաց մահու:

And Adam says: "When having been deceived, I was deprived of God's commandments, God, descending in the evening on Friday, walked in the Garden. . . . And now toward nightfall of this Friday, He came with his footfall, and (He) will take us out from the shadow of death."

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos, Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի Յարութեանն Քրիստոսի

“Elegy Pronounced on the Resurrection of Christ,” *Ararat* 21.8 (1888): 461–75.[27]

2 469 Լուաւ Ադամ նախահայրն մեր եւ ազատեցաւ ի դատապարտութենէ փայտին։ Լուաւ Եւայ զոտնաձայն քո ի դժոխս եւ մատուցեալ յաւետիս՝ նախաստեղծին ասէ՝ նախ ես լուայ զձայն հրապուրանաց բանսարկուին, եւ կերայ ի պտղոյն եւ ետու քեզ ուտել՝ ուստի փափագեցաք լինել իբրեւ զԱստուած, եւ ի փառացն բարձրագունից զրկեցաք բանսարկուին խաբմամբ։ Եւ արդ՝ նախ ես լուայ, զի Աստուած վասն մեր իբրեւ զքեզ մարդ եղեւ ի կնոջէ, որ էր իբրեւ զիս։ Եւ արդ՝ լուայ զոտնաձայն նորա՝ ոչ ի դրախտին, այլ ի դժոխս, զի գայ, ոչ վասն դատապարտութեան մահու, այլ վասն ազատութեան կենաց։

Adam our forefather heard and he was freed of the sentence of the tree. Eve heard your footfall in hell and, having drawn near to this Gospel, said to the protoplast, “First I heard the voice of the seduction of the Devil, and I ate of the fruit and I gave you to eat, since we desired to become like God, and we were expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts by the deception of the Devil. And now, first I heard that God for our sake came into being as a man from a woman, who was like me. And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes, not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life.”

3 470 Ուրախացի՛ր Ադամ, եւ ցնծա՛ Եւայ, սպառեաց անէծքն եւ ծաղկեցաւ օրհնութիւն, քանզի արտասուք ձեր բարձաւ եւ խնդութիւն տարածեցաւ . . . (this motif is repeated several times through the whole text):

Rejoice Adam; be happy, Eve; the curse is exhausted and blessing has blossomed, because your tears are removed and happiness is shown forth . . .

4 472. (Ադամ . . . ասէ . . .) ինեւ զմահ ճաշակեցիք, եւ արդ ինեւ զկեանս զգեցարուք։ Զի Աստուածն իմ եւ արարիչն վասն իմ կամեցաւ իբրեւ զիս լինել.

(Adam . . . says . . .), Through me you tasted death and now through me put

27. Fr. Shahe Ananyan observed (private communication) that Abp. Norvan Zak‘arean’s translation of this homily occurs in *Bazmavēp* for 1994, 474–88, and that in an article in *Sion* (1957) 21, Sirarpie Der Nersessian attributes it to Theophilus of Alexandria.

on life. For my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me.[28]

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroek, "Une Homélie de Zacharie le Catholicosos sur l'Annonciation," *Handes Amsorea* 101 (1987): 487–503. The translation here is my own.

Zakʻaria Katʻołikos of the Armenians, Հինգերորդ աւուրն Տեառն Զաքարիայի հայոց Կաթողիկոսի յաւետիս ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամու "[Homily] for the Fifth Day of the Annunciation to the Most Blessed Mother of God Mary, ever the Virgin"

490 (3) Այլ ոչ վարկաւ արար ինչ զտեղի անկելոցն, թափուր եւ ունայն մնալով զբանակետղն ապստամբեցելոցն՝ ընդդէմ ամբառնալ ամբարտաւանին: Առնէ ի նուաստ բնութենէս ի հողանիւթ զանգուածոյս կենդանի մի. եւ տնկեալ զգեղապանձ՝ դրախտն յԵդեմ ընդդէմ արեգականն: Եդ ի նմա զմարդն գործել եւ պահել զհրաման արարչին, եւ ելանել լնուլ զբանակետղ անկելոցն հրեշտակաց: Եւ տեսեալ ապստամբին զբարիս մարդոյն սահմանեալ ի բարերարէն, մախացեալ պատրանաւք, տարանջատէ ի յաւերժական բաղձիցն, ի յոգնազանն տնկոց կամելով ի յինքն ըմբռնել զվայելչական տենչացեալ դրախտին: Հրամանաւ արարչին շրջապահ հրեղէն սրով զդրախտն՝ պարփակէ: Իսկ անաւրէն իշխանն ի գիտս չարութեան փութացեալ, մեղաւք զմարդիք պաշարէ, ուսուցանէր հեռանալ յարարչէն, եւ զամենեսեան յանաւրէն կռապաշտութիւն ձգէր՝ զմահ տարածեալ ի մարդիկ: Թագաւորութիւն ի դժոխս յաւրինէր հոգիսն ի նմա ըմբռնեալ, անդ դադարէր զի մի ոք ճողոպրեալ ի յերկինս թեւ արկիցէ:

But not by judgment did he make the place of the fallen ones anything, leaving the encampment of the rebels empty and vain, having risen up against the Proud One. He makes a living creature from this inferior nature, from an earthen mass. And having planted the glorious Garden in Eden toward the sun, He put the man in it,[29] to work and guard (or: obey) the command of the Creator,[30] and to go forth, fill[31] the encampment of the fallen angels. And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Beneficent One for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal delights,

28. Cf. Adam Fragment 1, այս չէ մեր կենաց ծառն այն, այլ ի սմանէ ճաշակեցաք զնարի: "This is not that tree of our life, but from it we ate death," in Stone 1982, 6.

29. Gen 2: 8.

30. This is an exegesis of Gen 2:15.

31. This is based on Gen 1:28, but there man is ordered to fill and subdue the earth.

from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, he enclosed the Garden of Eden around about with a fiery sword. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieges men with sins, was teaching (them) to be distant from the Creator and was drawing everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon mankind. He created a kingdom in hell, having seized the spirits in it, he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.

6 492 (5). (Խաւսեցաւ Տէր . . .) քանզի հակառակ զաւրութիւն աստուածանալոյ յուսով պատրեալ կործանեաց զձեռաց իմոց գործ, եւ զստեղծուած արարչական զաւրութեան իմոյ յեղափոխեալ ապականեաց զպատկեր արարչական փառաց իմոց. ասել ցԱդամ, թէ ուտիցէք ի ծառոյդ աստուածք լինիջիք:

(The Lord spoke . . .) “. . . Because the opposing power deceived through the hope of deification,[32] he destroyed the work of my hands and, altering the creation of my creative power, spoiled the image of my creative glory, saying to Adam, ‘If you eat from that tree, you will become gods.’”

7 494 (9) Ասէ ցնա հրեշտակապետն . . . Ոչ եկի խուճապել եւ վրդովել զքեզ, որպէս երբեմն խաբեբայն եւ պատրիչն, ի դրախտին զառաջին կոյսն Եւայ. որ ծոյլ եւ մերկ եւ պղերգական խորհրդով շրջագայեալ պարէր ի դրախտին:

The archangel says to her: “I have not come to startle and trouble you, as once in the Garden of Eden the impostor and deceiver (did) to the first virgin Eve, who, lazy, naked, and slow-minded was going around dancing in the Garden.

8 498 (15) . . . Ուրախացի՛ր ամենաւրհնեալ Մարիամ Աստուածածին քանզի որ զԱդենական դրախտն զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զանազան եւ հրաշափառ տնկաւք՝ յօգնազան ծառաւք, եւ յեդեմաբեր աղբերէն քառ առու գետաւքն ծաւալեալ արբուցանէ զտիեզերս, այսաւր ի քեզ բնակելով արտահոսեալ արբոյց զհամասփիւռ տիեզերս անմահական բաժակաւն:

. . . Rejoice, most blessed Mary Mother of God, because He who having adorned, beautified the Edenic Garden with various and wonderful plants, with diverse trees, (He who) waters the universe with the four rivers spreading from the Edenic source, today by dwelling in you, having flowed forth watered the universe throughout from the immortal chalice.

9 Ուրախացի՛ր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ

32. Van Esbroeck takes it differently, “car la puissance adverse trompée par l’espoir de devenir Dieu”; my translation seems to me to be more in concordance with the biblical text.

զԱդամ գոյացոյց ի քառանիւթ տարրեղէն բնութենէ, եւ փչմամբ հոգիագործեաց շնչական հազագաւ, եւ բանիւ սպասաւորեաց ըստ պատկերի անհաս արարչական կերպի իւրոյ, եւ հատեալ զկողն անիրաւաբար շինեաց նմա կին, այսաւր ստոր իջեալ յորովայնի քում եւ վերառեալ զմեզ ներխառնեաց յանպարիմանալի աստուածութիւն իւր, եւ ծնեալ ծառայական կերպիւ զանկեալն Ադամ ի նոյն պատկեր վերստին նորոգեալ հրաշափառ քան զառաջինն:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who brought Adam into being from the material nature consisting of four elements, and made him insufflated by blowing His animating breath, by a word assisted him according to the image of His inconceivable creative form, and, cutting his rib unjustly, made a woman for him, today, descending down into your womb and raising us up, incorporated in His incomprehensible divinity, and begetting in slavish form the fallen Adam, restored him again to the same image, more glorious than the first one.

10 16 Ուրախացի՛ր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի երբեմն իջեալ գնայր ի սպառուած աւուրն ի դրախտի անդ, եւ ոտնաձայն նախաժամանեաց առ յառաջաստեղծն Ադամ. եւ սաղարթապատեալ թագչէր յանտառախիտ ի մացառուտ վայրսն վարսաւորեալ, այսաւր մարմին առեալ ի քէն ընդ մարդկան շրջագայի յերկրի, զի զտերեւապատն պատառեսցէ զպատմուճանն Ադամայ, եւ զնոր պճնեալ զգեցուսցէ զՔրիստոս վերածնութեամբ աւազանին:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for once at the end of the day, having descended, he was walking in the Garden, and the footfall reached the first-created Adam first (i.e., before God did); and, covered with leaves, he hid in the woody, bushy, leafy place: today, having received a body from you, He walks among men upon the earth, to tear off Adam's garment made of leaves and put Christ on as a new adornment, through rebirth in the font.

11 Ուրախացիր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ ըստ մեղացն յայնժամ դատապարտեալ պատժեաց զնախաստեղծն, եւ տարամերժեալ արտորոշեաց յաւէժական եւ ի տենչալի աստուածատունկ ծառոցն, եւ շրջապատեալ հրեղէն սրովն սրովբէափակ պարփակեալ ամրացուցանէր զճանապարհս ծառոյն կենաց, . . .

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who then punished the first-created (man), having condemned him in accordance with his sins, and drove him apart from the eternal and desirable divinely planted trees, and fortified the way to the tree of life, having encircled it with the fiery sword and surrounded (it) with the Seraphim, . . .

Text: Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos Jagec‘i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 63–82.

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos Jagec‘i, Ի գալըստն Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ "On the Advent of Christ to Jerusalem"

12 67–68 §8 (36) Այսաւր մեծ արմաւենեաց աւրս նախատիպ է առաջին դարուն, յորում գործեցաւ այս ինչ. յետ երեսուն ամաց ելիցն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն՝ ծնաւ զԿայէն եւ յետ նորա զԿասմա զքոյր նորա: (37) Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց ծնաւ զՀաբէլ եւ զհետ նորա զԱբուսաք զքոյր նորա. Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ:

(36) Today the great Palm Sunday is the archetype of the first generation in which the following was done: after thirty years of Adam's coming out from the Garden, he begot Cain and, after him, his sister Kasma. (37) And after thirty years he begat Abel and, with him, his sister Abusak‘. And after thirty years Cain killed Abel.

13 (38) Եւ կալան Ադամ եւ Եւա սուգ ամս հարիւր քսան, եւ յետ հինգ հարիւր ամին որդիք Կայենի յաւելուին ի չարիս իւրեանց. եւ յինն հարիւր երեսուն ամին փոխեաց Աստուած զցեղն Սեթայ յանդիման դրախտին փափկութեան. եւ որդիքն Կայենի բնակեցան ի դաշտին՝ ուր սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ: (39) Եւ ի քառասուն ամին յարերգի (v.l. յարեղի) լցաւ դարն առաջին:

(38) And Adam and Eve mourned for one hundred twenty years, and after five hundred years Cain's sons multiplied their evils, and in the year 930 God moved Seth's tribe to opposite the Garden of delight. And Cain's sons settled in the field where Cain had killed Abel. (39) And on the fortieth year, in Areg the first century generation was fulfilled.

Text: Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos Jagec‘i, Ճառք *Sermons,* ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 83–105.

Zak‘aria Jagec‘i, Ի մեծի երկուշաբթին արտադրութիւն "Exposition on the Great Monday"

14 96 §12 (80) Բայց զաւսացեալ թզենին առակ էր թզենոյն՝ զոր Ադամ եւ Եւա զտերեւս սփածեալ սաղարթապատ եղեալ ի մէջ ծառոց դրախտին:

(80) But the withered fig tree is the parable of the fig tree, the leaves of which Adam and Eve put on, becoming covered with leaves among the trees of the Garden.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'ołikos Jagec'i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 152–73.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Մեծի հինգշաբթի արտադրութիւն
"Exposition on the Great Thursday"

15 154 §3 (8) Եւ անդ անցեալ հրեշտակն ի գիշերին հարկանէր զանդրանիկսն եգիպտացւոց, փոխանակ զի վիրաւորեաց սատանայ զանդրանիկն ազգի մարդկան, զնախաստեղծն Ադամ:

And the angel passing there struck at night the firstborn of Egypt, in revenge for the Satan having wounded the firstborn of the human race, first-created Adam.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'ołikos Jagec'i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 174–204.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Մեծի աւուր ուրբաթին կենարար չարչարանաց
"On the Salvatory Passion on the Day of Great Friday"

16 176 §3 (24) Յառաջին ի Նիսան հնգետասան՝ եկն Ադամայ եւ տարորոշումն ի տենչալի դրախտէն:

(24) First, on the fifteenth of Nisan, Adam's coming and banishment from the desirable Garden.

17 188 §10 (133) Սա էր զատիկ ելիցն որդւոցն Իսրայելի յԵգիպտոսէ, որ է Նիսան հնգետասան, առաջին ամիս ըստ եբրայեցւոցն: Այսաւր տարագրեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն:

(133) This was the passover of the exit of the sons of Israel from Egypt, which is on the fifteenth of Nisan, the first month according to the Hebrews. On this day Adam was expelled from paradise.

18 201–2 §21 (249) Քանզի Ադամ ձգեաց զձեռն իւր ի տունկն եւ զմահ կթեաց ազգի մարդկան. իսկ երկրորդ Ադամ, փրկիչն, փոխանակ առաջնոյն Ադամայ, զբազուկս իւր տարածեաց ի վերայ խաչին եւ զանմահութեան կտակս վերագրեաց ազգի մարդկան: (250) Եւ զի Ադամ ի վեցերորդ ժամու Ուրբաթուն ճաշակեաց ի պատրողական

պտղոյն եւ մերկացաւ ի փառացն, եւ ի վեցերորդում ժամուն նսեմացոյց արեգակն ոսկեճաճանչ զճառագայթս իւր: (251) Եւ յիններորդ ժամուն՝ յորժամ թաքեաւ Ադամ յերեսաց Աստուծոյ ի մէջ ծառոց դրախտին, ոչ անկաւ առաջի Տեառն Աստուծոյ թողութիւն վերահայցել յանցանաց իւրոց: (252) Այսաւր Տէրն դէմ առեալ փոխանակ նորա եւ վասն նորա խաւսի առ Հայր:

(249) For Adam stretched out his hand to the tree and picked the death of the human race; and the second Adam, the Savior, instead of the first Adam, extended his arms upon the cross and inscribed above it the testament of the immortality of the human race. (250) And since Adam ate of the deceptive fruit and was stripped of (his) glory in the sixth hour on Friday, also in the sixth hour the sun darkened its gold-gleaming rays. (251) And in the ninth hour when Adam hid from the face of God amid the trees of the Garden, he did not fall down before God the Lord to beg his pardon for his sin. (252) Today the Lord appeals instead of him and speaks to the Father on his behalf.

19 203 §22. (265) Եւ որպէս սպունգն աման է խոնաւութեան իւրոյ եւ ընդունակ, եւ ունակցեալն ի նմա ոչ երեւի, այսպէս եւ աւձն որպէս սպունգն աման արար իւր պատիր բանից եւ նովաւ ախտացոյց զնախահայրն ի ճաշակմանէն աւձաշունչ եւ վիշապապատիր պտղոյն, զոր կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, ախտակիր եղեալ խաբանաւք արտահալածի ի տենչալի կենացն:

(265) And as the sponge is a vessel and receptacle of its moisture and what is absorbed by it is not seen, in this way too He made the serpent like the sponge a vessel of his false words and through him made the forefather ill by eating of the serpent-breathing and dragon-deceitful fruit, who being betrayed by the woman, becoming subject to suffering through deceit, is expelled from the desirable life.

Text: Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos Jagec‘i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 205–31.

Zak‘aria Jagec‘i, Ի մեծի թաղման Տեառն ճրագալուցին
“On the Easter Eve of the Great [Saturday] of the Lord’s Burial”

20 206–7 §3 (11) Սակս այնր աղագաւ կերան զիրաժարեցուցեալ պտուղն, որպէս զի յաստուածայինսն կանխաւ ի վեր ժամանեսցեն պատիւ, այլ ոչ առ կարաւտի կամ վտանգի հարկի պիտոյից կերան ի պտղոյ փայտին գիտութեան: (12) Քանզի ամենայն զանազան ծառոցն վայելուչ եւ տենչալի պտուղն առաջեաւ առ ձեռն էր նոցա՝ ճաշակել զվայելչականն, եւ ոչ նուազ եւ կարաւտ ինչ էին, այլ ամենայն

բարութիւնքն արձանացեալ կային առաջի նոցա, զոր ինչ ստեղծանէր ի սիրտս նոցա եւ բաղձային անձինք նոցա:

(11) They ate from the forbidden fruit so that they reached the divine honor beforehand, but they ate from the fruit of the tree of knowledge not out of necessity or under the pressure of some binding need. (12) For all the nice and desirable fruits of the various trees were at hand before them, that they might taste the(ir) delightful (fruit), and they were not in slightest need of anything, but all the goods stood firm before them, whatever He had created for their pleasure[33] and whatever their souls desired.

Text: *Tiramayr 3*, ed. T'amar Tasnapetean (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1997), 278–89; introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 277–96.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի ննջումն ամէնաւրհնեալ տիրուհւոյ Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամու "The Dormition of the All-blessed Mistress Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary"

21 279, §4 (14) Պատուեցաւ Ադամ նախաստեղծն, քանզի ի ձեռաց Աստուծոյ գոյացաւ:

(14) Adam the first created was honored, since he came into being by the hands of God.

33. Literally: heart.

Tenth Century

Anania Mokac‘i, Kat‘ołikos C10

Text: Anania Mokac‘i, Kat‘ołikos of All Armenians, Յաղագս ապստամբութեանն տանն Աղուանից *On the Rebellion of Albania*, ed. G. Tēr Mkrtč‘ean, *Ararat* 30 (March 1897): 129–44.

1 137–38 Ապա աստանօր սկզբնաչարն սատանայ, որ ի ձեռն կնոջն զաղտնապատիր եւ սուտակասպաս խաբկանօք զերանալիրն՝ կազմած ընդվզեալ փաղաքշալուր աստուածայոյսն կարծեօք՝ զնախագոյն բաղդատական տարամերժեալ պատիւ՝ զնա տիրեսցէն քեզ՝ / վճռաւորեաց, վատթարակի առեալ զասումն երկրաւոր, նզովեալ ի քոյդ սղալանս, անհեշտաբար զնա ըմբոյշխնեսցես. մինչեւ ի կատար խոցոտմունք վիրաւորիչք ընձիւղեսցին քեզ. փոխանակ եռանզասեռն երփնեռացիկ ընդծաղկաւապատութեանց՝ արքայականացն կայենիցն փափկութեանց՝ յերկս տաժանմանց կրիցես զտուգանսդ զսգուողանացդ. զանասնաճարակն հարկեսցիս պարենաւորիլ, հանդերձանս դիւրաթառամս եւ վաղահամուռս, մինչեւ ի ծոցաւորիլն քո անդէն: Եւ ստեղծեալդ ի ստեղծողէն ընկալցիս զ[ը]մբռնմանն աղէտս՝ նոյն թիւնաբերան իժից խղխայթք:

Then, here Satan, the cause of all evil, who, deceiving through the woman by insidious and flattering deceit, having rebelled against the blissful, established by the caressing thought of divine things, with respect to the honor (which he had rejected) earlier. He sentenced her to "He shall rule over you,"[1] the Wicked One having received the saying about the earth, "Cursed[2] for your errors. You shall eat it with discomfort. Wounding wounders shall spring forth for you until the end.[3] Instead of abundant colored, flowery crowns of its royal residence of delights, you will undergo those penalties in the labor of toils. You will be forced to get animal food as your provisions; your clothing will be easily faded and (unknown word) until you return to the bosom forthwith. And you, creature, will receive from the Creator the calamity of capture, the very ulceration of poison-mouthed serpents."

1. Gen 3:16.
2. Gen 3:14.
3. Cf. Gen 3:18. From this point, the discourse is apparently directed to Adam.

Anania Narekac‘i C10

Text: Hračeay T‘amrazyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 396–420.

Anania Narekac‘i, Խաւսք եւ խրատք աւետարանական, առաքելական եւ մարգարէական, որ տանին զմեզ ի կեանս յաւիտենականս եւ ոչ տան խոտորել յաջ կամ յահեկ “Evangelical, Apostolic, and Prophetic Sermon and Instruction Which Lead Us to Eternal Life and Do Not Allow to Go Astray Right or Left”

1 396 (5) Սոքա զերեն զոգիսն առ ի դժոխական պողոտայն, որպէս ասաց [զ]Ադամ, եթէ՝ «Յաւուր, յորում ուտիցէք ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիք»: (6) Արդ, ոչ եթէ ի նմին ժամու իսկ մեռաւ եւ հետաձիգ ժամանակաւ կրեաց զմահն, այլ ընդ մահու իշխանութեամբ անկեալ էր, եւ տիրեալ էր նմա մահու:

(5) They capture the souls on the infernal way, as He said to Adam that “On the day that you eat of it, you shall die.”[4] (6) Now he did not die at the same hour and did not suffer death through a delayed moment, but he had fallen under the sway of death and death dominated him.

Anania Narekaci‘, Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց “On the Explanation of Numbers,” ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 440–55.

2 453–54 (177) Զի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ զաւրէն ուղխից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու՝ իջանելով ի ծովն աղի:

(177) The first Adam having been expelled by God, when he flew down from the height like the stream of a river, in the likeness of the Jordan descending to the salty sea.

Text: Anania Narekac‘i, Հաւատարմատ. Լուծումն մաքառման երկաբնակաց, որք ի կարծիս ճշմարտութեան անյարմար դաւանեն երկակս ի միոն մուծանել բնութիւն, որ է Աստուած Բանն, Աստուած մարդն Յիսուս Քրիստոս “Root of Faith, Settlement of the Dispute with the Dyophysites Who Unsuitably Confess as a True Opinion the Introduction of Two into One Nature, Who Is God the Word (and) God the Man Jesus Christ,” ed. Hračeay T‘amrazyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 480–598.

4. Cf. Gen 2:17.

3 516 (501) Քանզի անչափ մեղաւ Ադամ եւ անց ընդ չափ բնութեան մերոյ ոչ միայն վասն ճաշակման, այլ զի եւ անհասիցն բաղձացաւ եւ բարձրանալովն ի բարձանց հոսեցաւ եւ ընկղմեցաւ ի խորս մեղաց, որպէս կապար ի ջուրս սաստիկս զաւրէն տապարին Եղիսէի ի յորձանսն Յորդանանու, եւ չէր հնար ումէք վերաբերել զծանրացեալն մեղաւք ի խորոց մեղաց, բայց միայն այնմիկ, որ զամենայն ինչ վերաբերէ բանիւ զաւրութեամբ իւրով, որպէս վերաբերող փայտն, որ զծանրութիւն երկաթոյն ձգեաց:

(501) Since Adam sinned beyond all measure and transgressed the measure of our nature, not only in eating, but because he desired unachievable things and ascending, he flowed from height and plunged into the depth of sins, like lead in violent waters, as Elisha's axe in the whirling of Jordan,[5] and nobody could raise the one burdened with sins from the depth of sins, except Him who raises everything with the power, with his word, like the raising wood[6] which drew up the weight of iron.

4 555 (10.36) Առաքեալ ասէ. «Ադամ ոչ մեղաւ, այլ՝ Եւայ, ապա ուրեմն՝ նմա պատշաճի կերպարանք սգոյ եւ ոչ՝ առն, որ ոչն մեղաւ»:

(1036) The Apostle says: "Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned]," consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin.[7]

Artawazd Mazazuni C10

Text: Artawazd Mazazuni, Լուծումն Արտաւազտա Մազազունեայ տեառն "Solution(es) of Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni," in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat'evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran & Nairi Press, 1997), 457–58.[8]

1 458 314բ Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն Ադամ յանցեաւ ի ձեռն պտղոյ

5. It is unclear which incident is referred to here.

6. Does this refer to a lever?

7. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

8. Note by Mat'evosyan: "23 Ձեռագրում առաջին անգամ հանդիպում ենք Տաճատ վարդապետին՝ իր հարցմունքներով, Արտավազդ Մազազունյաց տիրոջը՝ իր լուծմունքներով, որ կատարում է Ատոմ Անձեւացյաց իշխանի հրամանով . . .), "In the manuscript we encounter for the first time Tačat *vardapet*, with his *Questions* and Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni with his *Solutiones* carried out by the order of Atom prince Anjewac'i." See also Tačat *vardapet* below.

ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն . . .

314v And Adam transgressed (i.e., made) the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord "erased the cheirograph on the Cross,"[9] for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression, . . .

Պատասխանի նորին Տաճատա վարդապետի եւ քահանայի, էջ 458
His answer to the *vardapet* and Priest Tačat (ibid, 458).

2 459–60 315բ . . . Թէ ջուր մկրտութե[անն բաժանեալ ապա]կանութիւն կրեաց կամ թէ ո՛չ Յիսուս մկրտի ի Յորդանան, անապական զնա գործէ, զի զազգս մարդկան ազատեսցէ յանիծից, եւ զորջացեալ վիշապին զգլուխն ջախեսցէ, սա զՅորդանան յակնակապիճսն ասէր ընդունել, արդ որ գրեալն է թէ ընդէր հոգին ջրոյ կարաւտանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ, բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայն զհին Ադամն զի թաղեսցէ ի ջուրն . . .

. . .Whether the water of baptism being divided underwent corruption or not: Jesus is baptized in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent.[10] The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket;[11] about which now is written, "Why does the soul need water,"[12] here the great teacher confirms that matter, but all that which was formerly revealed, that he would bury the old Adam in the water . . .

Grigor Magistros C10

Text: Grigor Magistros, Թղթեր *Letters*, ed. K. Kostaneanc' (Alexandropol: Gēorg Sanoyeanc' Press, 1910).

Պատասխանի տեառն Պետրոսի կաթողիկոսին Հայոց մխիթարական թղթին
The Response to the Merciful letter of Lord Petros, Kat'ołikos of the Armenians.

1 23 . . . Գոհանամք զԱստուծոյ . . . զի զփակեալն նախահօրն Ադամայ բանայր . . .

9. Col 2:14.
10. Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.
11. Cf. Job 40:23–24.
12. Cf. Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2 and Prov 25:25.

. . . We praise things of God . . . for you opened (i.e., released) the forefather Adam who was shut up . . .

Առ արքեպիսկոպոսն
To the Archbishop (46–49).

2 47 . . . Սովոր է չարն ի ձեռն այլոց սողոսկել զայսպիսի սպրդումն բանից (զչար վարդապետութեանն խրատ) իբրու օձին կամ կնոջն . . .

Evil is accustomed to insinuate such words of insinuation (counsel of his pernicious teaching) through others, as for example through the serpent or the woman . . .

Առ Անանիա դարձեալ սակս ձմերայնոյ սաստկութեան
Again to Anania Concerning the Severity of Winter (120–23).

3 120–21 . . . Ոչ դանդաղեցաք ազդել զկաճառական հանդիսի մակթորական ասրափառ տեղման նախահօրն եւ ծայրի առաջնոյ մերոյ ծայրացելոյ պատճառի նաեւ մերոցն եւ մերականաց ածանցական բաղկացութեան: Զայսոսիկ գիտելով զնորայն անկումն եւ զօսութիւն եւ զանփառական փաղփումն եւ զանսաղարթական ճողոպրումն եւ կնտութիւն եւ ի հրաշափառագոյն հերաց շորթումն, որ երբեմն իբրեւ զհորանս այծեաց բիւրաբեղուն եւ յոգնորական մակստացականութեամբ, վասն որոյ փութացեալ ի հաւրական դովրացի մտանել մորթս եւ այսմ մակաւասար տրամախոհեալ երկորական մաշկից ի վտիտ եւ ի փանաք զազանական սերէ ստանձնեալ զանզարդութեանն զարդ եւ ծպտեալ ծակամուտ ծըւարեալ:

We do not delay to announce to the solemn assembly about the wool-white precipitation of the forefather and of our first, utmost cause, also our derived composition and that of our kinsmen. Knowing these things, his fall and impotence and brightness without glory, and his leafless deliverance and baldness, and the loss of very wonderful hair which once was as a flock of goats,[13] with very fruitful and various maturity, for the sake of which he strove to put on (lit., go into) the paternal Tauric[14] pelt, reasoning about the double-quality skin equal to this one, from the lean and weak race of ani-

13. Cf. Song 4:1.

14. So Roberta R. Ervine suggests. An alternative rendering of this word is "Doric, Dorian" and it is a normal transliteration of Greek Δωρικός (A.T.). The question remains, however, what is a "Doric pelt"? If we take it as Tauric, the reference is to the Tauros sign of the Zodiac. Then it is just a fancy way of saying "animal skin" or the like and is a reference to the garments of leather. This may be a feature of the obscure and allusive style that Magistros affects in some of his correspondence.

mals, accepting the adornment of being unadorned, and hiding, disguised, in a hole.

Յաղագս նկարագրութեան սրբոյ եկեղեցւոյն սրահի զաւթի գրեաց զայսոսիկ եւ սակս Մանիքեցւոց
He Wrote This for the Description of the Nave of the Holy Church and about the Manichaeans[15] (168–70).

4 169 Պատուի նախուստ ի դրախտին փայտն կենաց եւ գիտութեան, ոչ մերձենալ ի նա ժամանակաւ իմն հրաժարեցուցեալ եւ զկնի սրովբէիւք պահեալ:

From the beginning the tree of life and knowledge is honored in paradise, because for some time it was forbidden to approach it, and later it was kept by the Seraphim.

Առ Իբրահիմ ամիրայն վասն հաւատոց Գրիգորոյ որդւոյ Վասակայ ասացեալ
To Emir Ibrahim: On the Faith, by Grigor, Son of Vasak (170–201).

5 174 Կամեցար ի մէնջ . . . մատենագրել քեզ . . . եթէ զպտուղն Ադամայ, զոր եկերն, առանց հրամանի Աստուծո՞յ ճաշակեաց, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

You have wished that I . . . write to you . . . whether the fruit of Adam which he ate, was tasted without God’s command, or was it rendered suitable by God . . .

6 175 . . . Գրեցից քեզ . . . եթէ Ադամ զպտուղն կամա՞ւ եկեր, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

. . . I shall write to you . . . whether Adam ate the fruit voluntarily or God rendered it suitable . . .

7 178–79 Իսկ յաղագս Ադամայ մերոյն նախահօր զի՞րդ ճաշակելն զպտուղ՝ կամա՞ւ Աստուծոյ եւ հրամանաւ, եթէ ակամայ, մեք, զամենայն մատեանս որք միանգամ յաշխարհի ընթերցեալ, ոչ անտեղեակ եմք՝ եթէ Քաղդէացւոցն / անվաւերական պատմութեանն եւ եթէ Հելլենացւոցն եթէ Կապադովկացւոցն եթէ Եթէովպացւոցն եթէ Պարսից եւ այլոց բազմաց, զորս ոչ եմք բաւական զբոլորն յայտնի կացուցանել. արդ՝ քանզի բազումք ի սոցանէ, ոչ հանգունակ միմեանց ասացեալք յաղագս առաջին մարդոյն ոչ զանուն, ոչ ժամանակ: Այսպէս Ապիւղինոս Քաղդեայ եւ Բիւռոսս այլանդակ իմն պատմեն

15. Thus he called the Tondrakians (G.M).

զլինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի. օտարոտի եւ ասեն անուն Ադամայ Աղովրոս եւ կացեալ նորա շարս տասն, եւ ամս յանգեն երեսուն հազար, թէպէտեւ լուսնականօքն թուեն: Իսկ Ելլադացւոց իմաստունք ոչ այսպէս. վասն զի Եպիկուրեայքն ոչ կամեցան զԱդամ մարդ առաջին ասել եւ ոչ ստեղծեալ աստուածուստ, այլ եթէ ի պատճառէ ումեմնէ ապականեալ երկիր, եւ միայն մնայ Ադամ, որպէս եւ Նոյ: Բայց Պղատոն ոչ հանգոյն սոցա, այլ ի Տիմիոսի տրամաբանութեանն այսպէս . . . Եւ . . . Զրադաշտ մոգ Պարսից ... սա առաջին Ադամ ասէ լեալ, բայց զկնի ոչ ասէ կատարած լինել երկրի . . . Այլ մեզ այսոքիկ ոչ հաւատացեալ եղիցի, այլ ընթերցեալք, զի մի պարսաւեսցեն զմեզ հեթանոսացն իմաստունքն, եթէ ոչ եմք տեղեակ անվաւերական նոցայն մատենագրութեանն: Սակայն մեզ հաւատացեալ լինի միայն Մովսէսին աստուածեղէն պատգամս . . .

But concerning our forefather Adam, how did he eat the fruit, was it by God's will and command or against His will, we are not ignorant, as we have read all the books that once are in the world: the apocryphal narration of the Chaldeans, of the Greeks, of the Cappadocians, of the Ethiopians, of the Persians and of many others, all of which we are not able to set forth clearly. Now because many of them do not tell about the first man like each other, neither of his name nor of the time. Thus, Apiwdinos (i.e., Abydenus) the Chaldean and Biwrros (i.e., Berossus) tell something fantastical about the creation of the heavens and the earth; they also call Adam by a strange name, Alovros, and (say that) he lived for ten "shars,";[16] they come to thirty thousand years, though they count according to lunar months. But the Greek sages did not (write) this, for the Epicureans did not want to say that Adam was the first man and created by God, but (they consider) that the earth was corrupted by some cause or other, and only Adam remained like Noah. And Plato is not like them, but in the dialogue Timaeus (he writes) as follows . . . and the Persian magus Zoroaster . . . says that Adam was the first, but later he does not speak about the end of the earth . . . But these (stories) are unbelievable for us, and we have read them in order that the heathen sages would not reproach us for being ignorant of their apocryphal writings. However, for us only the divine oracles of Moses are credible.

8 180 Այլ այս Մովսէս . . . մեզ գրեաց, յաստուածուստ ընկալեալ, զԱդամ առաջին մարդ ի հողոյ ստեղծեալ եւ զկնի զկինն իւր ի կողէն կամացն յօժարութեան եւ կենացն հաղորդ եւ ի դրախտի անդր յԵդեմ յարեւելս. իսկ զդրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառօք ծաղկաւետեալ դալարավայր գեղեցկութեամբ զարդարեալ ծառոցն հովանաւորութեամբ եւ սաղարթացեալ վարսիւք, եւ պտղովք պայծառացեալ, անապականագոյնք եւ լուսատեսակք եւ երկուց ծառոցն ի նմա լինել

16. I.e., 3600, so according to Xorenac'i, 36,000 years (A.T.).

երիցագոյնք եւ վեհագոյնք, յորոց հրաժարեցոյց Արարիչն, այլ ոչ եթէ չարաչար տնկեալ ի սկզբանն եւ ոչ հրաժարեցուցեալ մախանօք, քանզի ստեղծ Աստուած զամենայն ի կերակուր Ադամայ, սակայն ի տնկոցն յայնցանէ վայր մի հրաժարեցուցանէ չուտել, զի ի դէպ ժամու կերիցէ, եւ յեղափոխեալ ի բարիսն կոյս, եղիցի յԱստուած մերձեցեալ. զոր ոչ լուաւ եւ եկեր եւ կորոյս զկեանս իւր անտրտում, մահու հասանէ, պատուհաս ընկալեալ, զոր ի մեզ պտղաբերեաց ցաւս եւ տրտմութիւն, ապականութիւն եւ մահ: Այլ ոչ ասեմք մեք անգէտ զոլ զԱստուած, եթէ ոչ էր յառաջագէտ, զոր ինչ յանցեաւն Ադամ, քանզի նախագիտական է ամենայնի: Եւ ոչ ասեմք, եթէ յԱստուծոյ էր յանցանսն պատշաճեալ, քանզի զԱստուած ի չարեացն անփորձ իմանամք:

But this Moses . . . having received (the knowledge) from God, wrote for us that the first man Adam was created from dust and then his wife from the rib to share the inclination, will and life, and that (they were in) the Garden in Eden, to the east; and the garden having blossomed with every tree, the meadows adorned beautifully with the shade of the trees sprouting with foliage and glittering with fruit, and two most incorruptible and luminous trees in it were superior and more significant, and they were forbidden by the Creator. Not that from the beginning those trees were planted wickedly and they were not forbidden through envy, because God created everything as food for Adam, but He forbade to eat from those trees for a short time, so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God. He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us. But we do not say that God was ignorant, in that He did not foresee the transgression of Adam, because He is prescient of everything. And we do not say that God was pleased with the transgression, for we know that God is inexperienced in evil.

9 181 . . . Արդ՝ ոչ կամել իմասցիս Աստուծոյ զյանցանսն Ադամայ եւ ոչ անգէտ յանցանաց նորա . . .

So you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression . . .

Առ նոյն Մամիկոնեան, զոր կոչեալ ի տօնի նաւակատեաց եկեղեցւոյն
To the same Mamikonean (Prince T‘onik) summoned on the Feast of the Inauguration of the Church (222–25).

10 224 Թէպէտ եւ եկեղեցիդ ըստ Եբրայեցւոցն ժողովոյ բազմութիւն ասի, սակայն ժողովոցն բնակութիւն ընդունիլ պարտ է, յորմէհետէ ի

կենաց փայտէն եւ ի հայրենի տեղւոյն արտաքս անկաք, որ էր եկեղեցի: Քանզի ծառն կենաց զօրինակ սեղանոյն ունէր, իսկ գիտութեանն զվարդապետութեանն եւ զպատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ:

Although "church" according to the Hebrews means "multitude of assembly," nevertheless one must take "assemblies" as "residence"; hence we fell from the tree of life, from our native place, which was from the church. For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God's teaching and commandments.

Text: Grigor Magistros, Տաղասացութիւնք *Poems* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1868).

Translation: Abraham Terian, *Magnalia Dei: Biblical History in Epic Verse by Grigor Magistros* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies; Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2012). The translation here is my own.

Առ Մանուչէ
To Manučʻē

11 6 Ստեղծ մարդ ի հողոյ՝ անախտական յիւր պատկերին:
Փչեաց հոգի շնորհաց՝ իմանալի հրեշտակային.
Յերկուց ընդդիմակաց՝ զգայական հողեղինին.
Կամաւ կինն ի կողէն՝ խնդիր յիւրոյ ազգականին.
Ըզսա եդ ի դրախտին, իշխել բոլոր գոյականին:
Ջամենայն երկիր հնազանդ, եդեալ[17] անուանէին:

He created man from dust without blemish, in His image,
And He breathed in the spirit of grace; rational, angelic.
(Man was composed) of two opposite natures; perceptive, earthly.
By will the woman (came) from his rib: his search (was) for his own kinsman.
He put him in paradise to have dominion over all existing beings.
Making subject the whole earth, he gave names; they were called (i.e., by them).

12 7 Թռչնոց երկնից տիրել, ձկանց ծովու անդնդային.
Կեանս անախտականս՝ անմահութեան անկարօտին:
Պատուէր վասն պտղոյն՝ չուտել անփորձ վասն չարին:
Այլոցն առեալ հրաման, ազգ ըստ ազգի ճաշակէին,
Միայն ի գիտութեան ծառէն կենաց հրաժարէին:
Այլ ի դէպ ժամու ուտելն իւրեանց յԱստուած մերձենային:
Ջմտաւ՝ ածեալ չարին՝ այն որ յառաջն արուսեկին:
Վառեալ՝ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային.
Պարտեալ օձին ունկան՝ կորստական օգնականին:

17. The Constantinople edition of 1825 adds անուանս ("names").

Մախանօք բանսարկուին փաղաքշանօք կեղծաւորին,
Ուտել հաւանեցան՝ յորմէ ուտել հրաման չառին:
Յանցեան խափանեցին, զուխտն Աստուծոյ ի բաց թողին.
Բացան եւ իմացան, յորմէ անկեալ տեսանէին:

7 To have dominion over the fowl of the air, the fish of the deep sea, unblemished immortal life without need.
(He gave) a command concerning the fruit: not to eat it, (in order) to be inexperienced in evil.
Having received the command concerning other (trees), they ate of various species,
They abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life,
But, eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God.
The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer,
Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,
Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.
By the envy of the Devil, the flattery of the dissembler,
They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.
They transgressed, abolished and abandoned God's covenant.
(Their eyes) were opened and they knew, they saw because of whom they fell.

13 8 Փախեան եւ թաքչէին՝ տերեւապատս ծածկէին:
Ապա անդ ընդ երեկս, աստուածային ձայն լսէին.
Երկիւղ ոտնաձայնին, ո՞ւր ես Ադամ բարբառէին.
Ի մէնջ եղեալ ասեն. այսպէս բանիւն հեգնէին:
Իսկ զանէծսն բարկութեան զոր ի Տեառնէ ընդունէին:
Ցաւօք եւ հեծութեամբ որդի մահու վախճանէին.
Ի բաց կալ ի դրախտէն ընդ անասունս ճարակէին:
Զգեցեալ մորթ պատմուճան՝ փառօք այնու զարդարէին:
Ես այսպէս հաւանիմ աստուածութեան հակառակին,
Ուսեալ պատճառ կենաց, անասնական ախտանային.
Եւ մահու վճիռ առեալ որդեծնութեամբն երկնէին:

They fled and hid themselves, they covered themselves with leaves,
Then toward the evening they heard the divine voice,
Fearing the footfall: "Where art thou, Adam"; they (i.e., the footfalls) said.
"It happened because of us," they said, thus taunting.
But the angry curse, which they received from the Lord,
With pain and lamentation, as children of death they died.
Having left paradise, they pastured with animals,
Putting on leather clothes, they used to be adorned with glory by that One.
And so they were persuaded[18] by the opposite of divinity;

18. The text reads "I am persuaded," but that is difficult to translate. We prefer to read as above.

Learning the cause of life, they acted viciously like animals,
And, being condemned to death, they brought forth children in pain.

Grigor Narekac‘i C10

Text: Grigor Narekac‘i, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K‘yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 258–62. Its authenticity is questioned there on grounds of style and poetics (see p. 257).[19]

1 Ես այն եմ որ զԱդամ ստեղծի, եւ յԱդին դրախտին եդի,
պատուէր հրամանի ետու գործել եւ պահել զնա:
Չարին խորհրդոց լուաւ, յերկիր անիծից անկաւ.
եկի վերստին կանգնել զիմ արարչական պատկերս:

I am that one who created Adam and put him in the Garden of Eden,
I gave him a command of instruction to work it and to keep it,[20]
He listened to the counsel of the Evil One and fell to the cursed ground;
I have come to reestablish my creative image.

2 Զուխտն զոր եդեր քեզ Տէր, յորժամ ի դրախտէն եհան,
նորոգել եկեալ զքո հողանիւթ բնութիւնդ:
Զդժոխս աւերել կամի, զերեաց զերեդարձ առնել.
ի յադին դրախտին տանի զիւր աստուածատիպ պատկերս:

The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of paradise:
He has come to renew your earthy nature;
He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
He takes His own God-formed image to the Garden of Eden.

3 Ցնծա նախահայրդ Ադամ հանդերձ ծննդաւքդ քո:
Խնդա նախամայրդ Եւայ, երկունք անիծից լուծան . . .
Զվիշապն առաջին կապէ, ի հուր գեհենին մատնէ.
եւ զբանսարկու նորին հանդերձ պաշտաւնէիւք իւրովք:

Be joyful, O forefather Adam, with your offspring,
Be merry, O foremother Eve, the pains of the curse have been loosed:
He (i.e., Christ) chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
And his (i.e., Adam’s) Deceiver (Devil) along with his servants.

4 Դարձեալ դառնալով դարձից ի յեդենական դրախտն,

19. See Grigor Narekac’i 1981, 258. K‘yoškeryan notes that this poem is of unknown authorship and a variant for the genuine Տաղ գալստեան Տեառն առ Ղազար “Poem on the Coming of the Lord to Lazarus.”

20. Gen 2:15.

Դարձեալ ճոխասցես անդրէն հանդերձ Եւայիւդ քո:

Again you will return to the Edenic Garden,
Again you will flourish there along with your Eve.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek*, ed. Y. K'ristap'orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 271–367.

Translation: *Blessing of Blessings: Gregory of Narek's Commentary on the Song of Songs,* trans. Roberta R. Ervine (Cistercian Studies Series 215; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007). The translation here is my own.

Grigor Narekac'i, Մեկնութիւն երգոց երգոյն Սողոմոնի Commentary on Solomon's Song of Songs

5 276–77 Այլ եւ Ադամ եւս ի դրախտէն եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն՝ յաղագս կնոջն սիրոյ մերժեցաւ եւ արտաքս անկաւ. եւ ոչ վասն Աստուած լինելոյ, այլ ի նորա սիրոյն ծանր համարեցաւ քակիլ: Որ գիտէր ճշմարտապէս՝ թէ պատժելոց էր ինքն յԱստուծոյ. զի ոչ էր անգէտ, այլ լի մարգարէական հոգւով. եւ զի դեռ չէր եւս ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն անկեալ. վասն զի չէր անցեալ զպատուիրանաւն: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն զպտուղն ոչ ի սպառ կորոյս զհոգին. այլ որպէս մինչ ի դրախտին էր, հոգւով սրբով ծանեաւ զամենայն կենդանեաց զբարս, եւ յածելն Աստուծոյ զնոսա առ Ադամ՝ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր բարուց եւ բնութեանց կարգեաց զմի մի անուանս նոցա: Եւ ի ննջելն իւրում յորում ստեղծաւ Եւայ, եւ յածելն զնա առ նա՝ մարգարէութեամբ ասաց, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց». եւ զորդեծնութեան աճումն որ ի կնոջէն, եւ թողուլ զհայր եւ զմայր, եւ երթալ զհետ կնոջ, եւ լինել մարմին մի: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն ի պտղոյն՝ գիտաց մարգարէութեամբ զփրկութիւնն մեր՝ զոր ի ձեռն կնոջն էր լինելոց, այսինքն ի ձեռն սուրբ աստուածածնին. վասն որոյ եւ կեանս կոչեաց զկինն. ապա թէ ոչ այդպէս, զիա՞րդ կոչէր զնա կեանս, որ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ՝ մահու պատճառն եղեւ . . . Արդ եթէ մինչ ի փառաց անտի անկեալ էր, զմարգարէութեան ունէր հոգի, որչափ եւս առաւել մինչդեռ ի փառսն էր. այո՝ եւ առաւել եւս ունէր: Արդ յայտ իսկ է, որպէս առաքեալ ասէ, թէ Ադամ ոչ պատրեցաւ / օձին սուտ խոստումն՝ որ սատանայիւ, այլ կինն պատրեցաւ եւ յանցեաւ. եւ Ադամ յաղագս ոչ բաժանելոյ ի կնոջէն եկեր զպտուղն եւ սիրելոյ զնա, այլ ոչ վասն աստուածանալոյ՝ որպէս կինն:

And Adam moreover was driven out and fell outside of[21] paradise and from luminous glory because of the love of the woman: and not for the sake of

21. Paradise was on a mountain; see n. 2 under Seventh Century.

becoming God, but he reckoned it grave to be separated from her love. The one who knew truly that he himself will be punished by God, for he was not unaware but was full of prophetic spirit: for he had not yet fallen from the gifts[22] of the spirit, since he had not yet transgressed the command. Moreover, after eating the fruit, he did not totally lose the spirit but as long as he was in paradise, through the Holy Spirit he knew the dispositions of all the animals. And when God brought them unto Adam,[23] he arranged names for each of them according to its disposition and nature. And during his sleep Eve was created, and when (God) brought her unto him, he said prophetically, "This (one) is now bone of my bones,"[24] and (he knew prophetically) the fruitfulness of childbirth through the woman, and leaving father and mother, and cleaving unto the wife, and being one flesh. Moreover after eating of the fruit, he learned prophetically of our salvation that would take place through the woman, that is through the Holy Mother of God. Owing to that he called the woman "life":[25] for if it is not so, why would he call her "life" who was the cause of the death of all Adam's descendants? . . . Now, if while he had fallen from the honor he had prophetic spirit, how much more (did he have it) while he was in honor? Yes, he had much more. So, as the Apostle says, it is evident that Adam was not beguiled toward the serpent's false promise which was through Satan, but the woman was beguiled and fell into transgression,[26] and / Adam ate the fruit for the sake of not separating from her and loving her, and not for the sake of becoming God, as (did) the woman.

6 316 Բայց թէ ոչ պահեմք եւ գործեմք զշնորհսն եւ զփառսն տուեալս, նախահօրն նմանեմք, որ առեալ զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօտ եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս եւ զդրախտն ոչ պահելովն եւ ոչ գործելովն կորոյս դարձեալ . . .

But if we do not keep and do the grace and the glory given (to us), we are like the forefather who, having received splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life, and by having not kept and worked the Garden of Eden, lost it again . . .

7 347 «Երթեալ ընդ եղբօրորդւոյն իմոյ յուղղութիւն, բաւական լեալ շրթամբք իմովք եւ ատամամբք»: Այսինքն թէ յաղագս այնորիկ եղէ ձեզ սքանչելի, զի հրաժարեալ յաշխարհականմեղսասէր օձապատիր խաբմանց նախնոյն իմոյ, գնացի զհետ եղբօրորդւոյն իմոյ յուղիղ վարս.

22. Or: grace.
23. Gen 2:19.
24. Gen 2:23.
25. Cf. Gen 3:20: "the mother of all living."
26. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

"I went after my beloved[27] toward rectitude, being sufficient with my lips and teeth."[28] That is, you admired me, abstaining from my ancestor's worldly, sin-loving deception by the serpent, I went with my nephew toward right behavior.

8 351 . . . զիտացեալ զնախահօրն կործանումն, մանաւանդ թէ զսատանային իսկ ի բարձրութենէ եւ ի հպարտութենէ լեալ . . .

. . . Being aware of the forefather's perishing, especially that the Satan's took place because of his exaltation and arrogance.

9 355 Նա եւ իւր մկրտութեամբն եւ աւազանաւն ծնաւ Քրիստոս, եւ հոգւոյն սրբոյ զալստեամբն զփակեալն յԱդամայ զերկինս եբաց . . .

Moreover, Christ was born also by his baptism and the font, and through the arrival of the Holy Spirit, He opened the heaven closed by Adam.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek,* ed. Y. K'ristap'orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 407–21.

Grigor Narekac'i, Ներբող ի սուրբ Խաչն
Encomium on the Holy Cross

10 405 (քրիստոսեան նշան) Եւ մուտն անձուկ դրախտին սենեկի՝ ի բոցեղէնն սրոյ պարփակեալ, քեւ մարդկան ազանց հորդեցաւ:

And the narrow entrance of the chamber of paradise, closed by the flaming sword, was opened by you (i.e., Christ's sign) for the human races.

Ներբողեան սրբոյ Աստուածածնին
Encomium on the Holy Mother of God

11 414 բանականս մարդոյ գոյութիւն պատկեր Աստուծոյ ի սկզբանն ստեղծաւ, եւ այսր աղագաւ ստեղծողին շնորհս կալաւ

. . . The nature of rational man was created in the beginning in the image of God, and for that reason he had the Creator's grace . . .

12 զքեզ խոստովանիմք, երկրաւոր ծնունդքս, ստորաստեղծականն,

27. Literally: nephew.

28. Cf. Song 7:9: "And thy mouth like the best wine, that goeth down smoothly for my beloved, Gliding through the lips of those that are asleep." There is a significant difference between the Armenian and English versions of Song of Songs here.

We, earthly offspring of Adam, created from inferior substances, confess you.

13 419 ստորաստեղծականն Ադամայ

Adam created from inferior substance . . .

Grigor Narekac‘i, Պատմութիւն Ապարանից Ս. Խաչին History of the Holy Cross of Aparank‘

14 389 Քանզի զխանձարուրսն խրթնածածկոյթս յիշատակ կորուսելոյ փառացն Ադամայ, եւ զմաշկեղէնն ծառայական սփածանելիս, փոխանակ տերեւոյ տնկոյ թզենոյն, որով նախահայրն պատսպարեցաւ, ի պատկեր յօղուածոյ բարձիցն վերբերելով ի հօրն օրինակ՝ զորդւոցն գարշապարս օժանդակեաց. եւ զփուշսն դաժանաբոյսս ընդ ծաղկածինն վայրից դրախտին եւ զարիւներանգն կարմիր ի տարացոյց խակութեան մտաց յանցաւորին, եւ պատերազմական փրկչին մարտի նշանակ. եւ զդժնդակատէգն սեւեռս ի թելադրութիւն նահանջման անարգելն ձեռաց, որ ներհակ հրամանի արարչին ձայնի յանդգնեալ ձգտեցաւ ի փայտին պտուղ. եւ զսպունգն դառնաթորմի ընդ ախորժելի քաղցր ճաշակմանն. եւ զարկանելիս զգեստու արարչին ծնողի ի շուք պատկառանաց պարտաւորին մեղօք Եւայի:

For (the cross bears in itself) the wretched winding cloths[29] as the memorial of the lost glory of Adam, and the slave’s leather girdle[30] instead of the leaf of the fig-tree by which the forefather was sheltered. An example for the image of the construction of the throne by raising (it) to that of the Father, he supported the heels of the son. And the harsh nails instead of the flower-producing valleys of paradise; and the bloody red as the sign of the crudity of the sinner’s mind, and the martial symbol of the Savior’s battle, and the nails wounding cruelly—for prompting to draw back the unrestrained hands which, having dared, stretched toward the fruit of the tree against the command of the voice of the Creator; and the very bitter sponge—instead of the pleasant sweet food; and the clothing of the dress of the Father Creator, for the respect of the modesty of the parent, the one culpable through sin, Eve.

Text: Grigor Narekac‘i, Մատեան ողբերգութեան *Book of Lamentation*, ed. P. M. Xač‘atryan and A. A. Łazinyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1985).

29. Cf. Luke 2:7.
30. Cf. Matt 3:4.

ԺԸ, Գ: 18.3

15 311 Մինչ ի դրախտին փափկութեան զպտուղն կենաց կթէի:
Կաշկանդեալ զաւսացեալ ի կոր կործանմամբ ընդ կնոջն տագնապելոյ
. . .

While I was picking the fruit of life in the Garden of Eden,
Being bound, shriveled, bowed down by destruction with the distressed woman . . .

ԼԷ, Բ: 37.2

16 400 Գովեալ արարչութեանդ զաւրեղութեան վանեալ են կարծրութիւնք
Արտաբերութեան սրտի բանսարկուին,
Որ քարին առակաւ յուսահատն վհատութեան,
Սպառմամբ խոպանման աղբերացս երկուց,
Որ ի զգայականս Եդեմայ բղխեալ պատրաստեաց տնկողն,
Զի ոռոգեալ ծաղկեսցի նովաւ,
Որ ի յիս բարեգործութեան կենսատունկն դրախտ:
Ահա մի ցամաքութեամբ արտասուացս
Աղանդահնար պատրանաւք չարաչար խորամանկեսցէ
Վերստին հանել ի փափկութենէ նախնում վիճակին:

Your praised creation repels the firmness of might,
The expression of the Devil’s heart,
That through the enigma of the stone’s despondent despair
By exhaustion of the two sources becoming desert,
Which the planter prepared to flow in the sensible Eden,
So that, having been watered there should flower through it,
The life-planted Garden of beneficence, which is inside me.
Hence let him not, having dried my tears,
Deceive me wickedly by malicious tricks,
To drive me again out of the delight, into my former condition.

ԼԹ Բ: 39.2

17 406 Խոպանացեալ եւ տատասկաբեր անդաստանս,
Աստուածախնամ երկիրս անձնաւոր,
Որ բանսարկուին պատրանաց մշակեցայ,
Իւղընձիւղ փայտս պտղակորոյս,
Հատանելի ծառս ունայնաբոյս . . .

I, a desert and thistle-bearing field,
I, an animated land cared for by God,

That was cultivated by the Devil's deception,
I, an olive-tree that drops the fruit,
I, a sterile tree worthy of being cut.

ԽԶ, Գ-Դ: 46.3–4

18 425 Գ Եղական պատկեր Աստուծոյ՝ կշտամբեալ ի սպառ, ոգի իմ գերի:
Եւ թէպէտ յառաջին նմանութենէն կողոպտեալ գտար՝
Պատուիրանին յանցաւորութեամբ ի դրախտին կենաց,
Այլ աւազանին լուսազարդ շնորհիւն զհոգւոյն փշումն առեալ՝
Եւ նմանութիւն ես կերպարանին:
Դ Եւ արդ, ընդէ՞ր կորուսեր զփառսն երկնաւորս,
Իբր նախաստեղծն երբեմն՝ զվիճակն երկրաւոր յԱդին դարաստանի.

Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life,
Nevertheless, having received the insufflation of the Spirit through the luminously decorated font,
And you are the likeness of His form;
4 But now why have you lost the celestial glory?
As once the protoplast (lost) his portion in the earthly Garden of Eden?

Ծ, Ա: 50.1

19 443 Զի որ զսխալելն Ադամայ անձին իւրում ոչ գրեսցէ
Եւ զմեղս ամենից ինքեան ոչ համարեսցի ...

For one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam
And does not reckon the sins of all as his own . . .

ԾԶ, Ա: 56.1

20 467 Իսկ զառիթսն մահու դիպուածս
Դժոխարմատ ծառոյս դառնութեան պտուղք՝
Ընտանիք թշնամիք . . .

But these events, the cause of death,
The bitter fruit of this tree rooted in hell,
Are domestic[31] enemies . . .

31. Or: familiar.

ԿՁ, Ձ: 66.6

21 510 Եթէ ի մահ սատակման զիս վանեալ վիրաւորեսցէ,
Ստուար տէգ զինու մխելոյն
Ի կող ստեղծչին Ադամայ զնա հերձեսցէ:

If having driven me to death's destruction, it wounds me,
Let the thick pike of a weapon plunging
Into the side of Adam's Creator, pierce him.

Ձ, Ա: 70.1

22 570 Աղաչեմ զքեզ, սուրբ Աստուածածին . . .
Գերազանց, քան զբնակութիւն անկոխելին սրբութեանց,
Երանաւոր խոստմանն՝ տեղի, Եդեմ շնչական,
Ծառ կենացն անմահից՝ բոցեղէն սրովն պարունակեալ . . .

I beg you, Holy Mother of God . . .
More sublime than the untrodden residence of the sanctities,
You, place of the blessed annunciation, spiritual Eden,
Tree of immortal life, closed in by the flame of the sword . . .

Գ, Ե: 3, 5

23 622 Ո՞չ ահա Մելքիսեդեկ յաւրինակ ճշմարտիդ ահաւորութեան ի Ձիթաստանեաց լերինն, ուր յետոյ ոտք մարմնացելոյդ Աստուծոյ զետեղեալ կացին, ի վերնոց անտի հրեշտակաց ի պտղոց տեղւոյն իւղեցաւ. ուստի շիրմի սկզբնահաւրն պաշտպան եպիսկոպոսական արքայապատիւ ճոխութեամբ ի քէն հանդերձեալ նստաւ . . .

Was not Melchizedek anointed as a type of your true fearsomeness on the Mount of Olives where afterwards the feet of God incarnate stood, by the celestial angels in the place of fruits (i.e., olives), where by the power put on You from the grave of forefather, protector through episcopal royal power, he sat . . . [32]

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32. According to the editors' n. 35, Jewish tradition put the burial of Adam's skull on Golgotha. This is, of course, not really accurate and is a Christianized formulation. Adam's creation was in the center of the world, that is, in the sacred place of Jerusalem: see *y. Naz.* 7.2, *Gen. Rab.* 14:8. The idea that Adam died in the same place in which he was created appears first in *2 En.* 71:35 (the passage is also connected to the priesthood of Melchizedek) and in *Apoc. Mos.* (Greek *L.A.E.*) 40:6. The tradition that Adam's skull was buried under the altar appears in several places in the Jerusalem Talmud: *y. Sotah* 5.20b; *y. Ned.* 6.39d-40a; *y. Pesaḥ.* 9.36c; *y. Sanh.* 1.18d, according to the interpretation of L. Ginzberg. Starting from Origen's

Grigor Narekac'i, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 93.

ԻԲ. Քարոզ ասացեալ ի սուրբ ծնունդն եւ ի մկրտութիւնն
22 Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism

24 132 Որ երեւեցաւ այսաւր ի ցնծութիւն ազգի մարդկան,
Ազատելով զառաջինն Ադամ ի յանիծիցն առաջնոյ,
Ուստի եւ զնախամաւրն Եւայի լուծանելով զկնիք դատաստանութեան
. . .

(Christ) who appeared this day for the exaltation of the human race,
Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one,
Hence annulling the foremother Eve's seal of condemnation . . .

25 137 Ի պարծանս կուսից երեւեալ, սո՛ւրբ Աստուածածին,
Լուծանելով զառաջինն Եւայի զդատապարտութիւն . . .

Holy Mother of God, you appeared to the glory of virgins,
Annulling the former condemnation of Eve . . .

ԻԵ. Քարոզ եկեղեցւոյ
25. Sermon on the Church

26 164 Իմաստագործ, անսխալաստեղծ,
Պատշաճակերտ կազմիչդ համայնից,
Որ յսկզբնաձեռն յառաջակառոյց զա՝յս կերպարան հրաշազարդ իրի
Հաճեցար լինել նախ զք՝նակն, ապա՝ զբազմեալն։
Ձգեցեր զերկինս եւ անդ՝ զերկնայինսն,
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ զկնի՝ զԱդամ . . .

Wisely acting, infallibly creating,
You, properly creating order of all,
Who, initially undertaking the primary construction of the form of this wonderfully adorned reality,
First pleased to be the inhabitant and then the one seated (i.e., on the throne).
You stretched the heavens[33] and there—the heavenly ones,
You established Eden and then—Adam . . .

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commentary on Matt 27:33, Christian traditions move the site to Golgotha. On Melchizedek on the Mount of Olives, see Stone 2012, 90n and 91.

33. Cf. Isa 40:22.

ԻԸ Քարոզ Վարդավառի
28 Sermon on Vardavaṙ (The Feast of the Transfiguration)

27 191 Իսկ դու, անսկիզբն Աստուած, ի սկզբանէ եղեալ յեղելումն,
Իշխանական կամաւք եւ աստուածային ձեռաւք քո
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ ի նմա՝ զԱդամ . . .

And you, God without beginning, that were in existence from the coming into being:
With your authoritative will and divine hands
You established Eden and in it—Adam . . .

ԻԹ. Քարոզ, ասացեալ ի փոխումն ամենաւրհնեալ սուրբ Աստուածածնին
29 Sermon Preached on the Assumption of the Blessed Holy Mother of God

28 202 Ի քեզ կատարեցան տառք աստուածախաւս եւ ընտրեալ մարգարէիցն
Եւ նախագուշակ տեսողացն,
Որ փոխանակ Եւայի մայր զոլ զքեզ կենդանւոյ բանին Աստուծոյ,
Որով զարդարեցան արարածք
Յառաջին հնութենէ մեղացն վերստին նորոգելով ի փառս,
Ուստի նախամաւրն անիծիցն երկունք
Ի յաւրհնութիւն փոխարկեալ՝ լուծաւ.
Եւ գիր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն՝ խզեալ պատառեցաւ.
Քեւ ճոխանայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . .

In you were realized the words of the elect prophets, speakers with God,
And of the forewarning foreseers,
That instead of Eve you will be the mother of God's living Word
By which the creatures were adorned,
Having been renewed again for glory from the former old sin.
From this, the pains of the foremother's curse
Were dissolved, having changed into blessing,
And the document of condemnation for the transgression, having been erased, was torn.[34]
The forefather Adam is exalted by you . . .

34. Col 2:14.

ԻԳ. Քարոզ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ, ի սուրբ Յովհաննէս Մկրտիչն
23 Sermon Pronounced by Grigor Narekec'i on St. John the Baptist

29 142 Որոյ իսկապէս տեսակ յանցանացն է նիւթականացս անհմանալի,
Եւ զգացեալս վայր վիճակեալ բնակութեան տեղի տարփային
Եւ դրախտ կենդանեաց բուսովք բարգաւաճ,
Պատուիրան կիտիւ կառուցեալ. լինել անհուպ կամաւքն առանձին:
Սակայն ապստամբն իմանալի, նիզակաւն ստութեան կաճառեալ առ կինն,
Բարբանաւք աստուածական ճոխութեամբ ճողոպրեաց ի փառացն:

Which type of sins verily is incomprehensible to material ones,
And the sensible ones having appointed a site of dwelling, a desirable place,
And a garden of life, flourishing with plants,
A commandment in a moment he established to be nonproximate, by will alone.
However, by rebellion of the understanding, through the spear of falsehood, he joined with the woman,
By false accusation, by divine authority, He set him free from glory.

Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10

Text: Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի *History of the Land of Albania*, ed. V. Aṙak'elyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

Translation: C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians, by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i* (London Oriental Series 8; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). The translation here is my own.

1 244 . . . Ո՞չ գիտէք եթէ նախահայրն մեր Ադամ սակս սորա (այսինքն. Սատանայի) ելեալ ի դրախտէն զփշաբեր եւ զտատասկածին ժառանգէր երկիր:

Don't you know that our forefather Adam owing to him (i.e., Satan) having come forth from paradise also inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing ground?

Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i C10

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorec', Յաղագս տաւնից տէրունականաց "On the Dominical Feasts," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 703–34.

1 705 §1 (25) Եւ սկիզբն առնելոյ հսկմանն սկսանին ընթեռնուլ. «Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր». զաշխարհարարութիւն Արարչին, զոր արար ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն մշտնջենաւոր փառաց իւրոց բնական աւրինաց մարդկան ճանապարհ արարեալ զինքն միայն ճանաչել Աստուած, զորս բանսարկուն իբրեւ կուրաց առաջի անցեալ մոլորեցոյց եւ փոխանակ Արարչին զարարածս աստուածացոյց մարդկան յանարգութիւն Արարչին:

(25) And starting the vigil they begin to read: “In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth,” i.e., about the creation of the world by the Creator who made it for the glory and praise of his eternal glory, paving for humans the way of the natural law: to acknowledge only him as God. But the Devil led them astray, preceding them as if they were blind and, instead of the Creator, deified creatures for humans, dishonoring the Creator.

2 705–6 §(32) Իսկ զհետ այսորիկ առակաւքն խրատէ զեկեղեցի՝ ճանաչել զիմաստութիւնն ճշմարիտ՝ զՔրիստոս մարմնացեալն վասն մեր, եւ ընդունել զխրատ նորա փոխանակ խրատու բանսարկուին առ Ադամ:

(32) And after this he admonishes the church with examples: to acknowledge the true wisdom, Christ incarnated for our sake, and to accept his advice instead of the Devil’s advice to Adam.

3 707 §2 (3) Զայս Արտեմոն բաժանեաց՝ սուտանուն աշակերտն Յովհաննու Աւետարանչի՝ ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման Աւետարանչին որոմն ցանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն՝ բանսարկուն՝ զխաբէութիւնն յԱդամ՝ յուսովն աստուածանալոյն, եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ:

(3) This, Artemon, the falsely named pupil of Evangelist John, divided by sowing darnel over the beautiful seed of the Evangelist, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam deceit with the hope of becoming god and hostile to God.

4 708 §2 (22) Գիտեմք ճշմարտապէս եւ հաւատամք Գաբրիէլի աւետարանութեանն, այլ ի Զ ապրիլի. եւ այս՝ խորհրդաբար, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրբ[35] զպատրանս ընկալաւ Եւայ, եւ ի թիւն վեցերորդ Կոյսն՝ զաւետիսն, եւ զկնի խորհրդաբար կատարի, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրս ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի նոյն վեցերորդի եղծաւ: (23) Իսկ ի վեցերորդ աւուր առաջին ամսոյն նոր Ադամ ծնաւ:

(22) We truly know and believe in the good tidings of Gabriel, which was on April 6, and this is symbolic, since on the sixth day Eve received the deceit and on the sixth in number the Virgin [received] the Annunciation, and subsequently things are accomplished symbolically, since on the sixth

35. The case is anomalous and should be a locative.

day Adam was created and on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed. (23) And on the sixth day of the first month the new Adam was born.

5 725–26 §3 (47) Յուրբաթու եւ նախաստեղծն զառաջին աւրէնսն ընկալաւ եւ ի նոյն ուրբաթու յանցեաւ յաւրինացն, եւ մեք ի նոյն յուրբաթու եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարի երկրորդ ընդունիմք աւրէնս, ընթեռնումք ի նոյն ուրբաթու ի Յովբայ զկիրս չարչարանաց արդարոյն Յովբայ, վասն զի աւրինակ էր Յովբ հին Ադամայ եւ նոր Ադամայ. չարաչար կրիւքն հնոյն Ադամայ աւրինակ էր, իսկ արդարութեամբ եւ չարչարանաւք՝ նորոյ Ադամայ եւ Աստուծոյ չարչարեցելոյ ընդդէմ մեղացն, որ չարչարեցան յաւուր ուրբաթու, եւ ուրբաթացեալ դարի:

(47) On Friday the forefather too received the first law and on the same Friday he transgressed the law, and we receive the second law on the same Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age,[36] on the same Friday we read from the book of Job about the sufferings of righteous Job, since Job was the example of the old Adam and of the new Adam: in his enormous sufferings he was the example of the old Adam, and in his righteousness and sufferings, of the new Adam and God who suffered for the sins which were suffered on Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age.

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ, Յաւուր բուն բարեկենդանին Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի վարդապետաց *On Shrove Tuesday by vardapets Pawłos, Samuēl, and Grigor,* in Yakob Kʻeosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 738–41.

6 740 (42) Աղուհացիցն չորեքշաբաթի եւ ուրբաթի յոյժ խորհրդաւոր. չորեքշաբաթին՝ ի բժշկութիւն նախամաւրն Եւայի, քանզի ասեն, թէ խորհուրդ ստեղծման կնոջն առաջնոյ ի չորեքշաբաթու եղեւ, եւ ի նմին աւուր առաւ կող եւ ստեղծաւ եւս ի չորեքշաբաթի: (43) Դարձեալ՝ խաբէութիւն աւձին ասեն եղեւ յայս միտս:

(42) The Wednesday and the Friday of the Lent are very symbolic; Wednesday, for healing of the foremother Eve,[37] because they say that the mystery of the creation of the first woman was on Wednesday, and on the same day the rib was taken and she was also made on Wednesday. (43) Again they say that the serpent's deceit took place according to this meaning.

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ,Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի եւ այլոց վարդապետաց Յաղագս քառասնորդացն ասացեալ եւ մեկնութիւն

36. Christ was born in the the sixth millennium: Stone (1996b, 88) lists a number of sources and others exist.

37. I.e., Adam's being healed after the removal of his rib.

ընթերցուածոց “*On the Lent and Commentary on the Lectionary by Pawłos, Samuēl, Grigor, and other* vardapet*s,*” in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 742–46.

7 742 (8) Արդ ասի յիմաստնոց. Ստեղծեալ զԱդամ Աստուծոյ՝ զկնի Խ աւուր մտանէ ի դրախտն, եւ յետ ուտելոյն ծառոյն բարոյ եւ չարի, զի բարի էր ոչ ուտելն, վասն որոյ ելանէր յերկիր դատապարտութեան, զոր ասաց Աստուած. «Տրտմութեամբ կերիցես եւ քրտամբք»:

(8) Now it is said by wise men: Adam having been created by God, after 40 days enters the Garden and, after eating from the tree of good and evil—since the not eating was good—on account of that he went forth to the condemned earth,[38] as God said: “With labor and sweat you shall eat.”

8 745–46 (68) Եւ յԹ ժամուն յանցեաւ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտէն, եւ յԹ ժամուն գոչեաց Յիսուս ի ձայն մեծ եւ արձակեաց զհոգին: (69) Եւ աւազակն ի դրախտէն եմուտ: (70) Վասն այնր ուրբաթն՝ վասն Ադամա, եւ ընթերցուածն յԵրկրորդ աւրինաց գեղեցիկ յաւրինեաց զծնունդն Քրիստոսի վասն Եւայի, եւ զյարութիւն՝ վասն Ադամայ:

(68) On the ninth hour Adam transgressed and went out of the Garden, and on the ninth hour Jesus cried out loudly and breathed his last (69) and the bandit entered paradise. (70) For this reason Friday is dedicated to Adam and the lection from the Deuteronomy nicely arranged the birth of Christ for Eve and his resurrection for Adam.

Simēon Ałjnec‘i C10

Text: Simēon Ałjnec‘i, Ի Պետրոս եւ ի Պաւղոս սուրբ առաքեալսն Քրիստոսի “On Peter and Paul, the Holy Apostles of Christ,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 876–88.

1 876 (8) Եւ հինգմասնեա բաժին՝ վասն հինգ զգալեաց նախամաւրն, որով յանցեաւ: . . . (10) Եւ զիա՞րդ վասն Եւայի ասի եւ ոչ Ադամայ: (11) Խորագոյն է բանս. վասն զի Եւայ ասի ի յայրին ի Սիւքեմ դրեալ ի շիրմի, եւ այրն բաժին Բենիամենի . . .

(8) And the fivefold share is because of the five senses of the foremother with which she transgressed. . . . (10) And why is it said about Eve and not about Adam?

38. Literally: the earth of condemnation.

(11) This matter is quite profound, since Eve is said to be put in a grave in a cave in Shechem, and the cave (is) the share of Benjamin . . .[39]

2 877 (36) Յորժամ մեղաւ նախամայրն, թէպէտ եւ հանաւ ի փառացն, այլ ոչ ի սպառ բարկացաւ Տէր, այլ ետ ժամանակ կենաց:

(36) When the foremother sinned, although she was deprived of the glory, but the Lord did not wholly get angry, but he gave her time of life.

3 882 (131) Հարցաքննելի է . . . վասն խաչին Պետրոսի. Զիա՞րդ հրամայէ գլխիվայր խաչիլ. . . . (133) Խաչն ծառոյն գաղափար է, եւ առաքեալն՝ Ադամայ: (134) Եւ գլխիվայրն զայս պատկեր ցուցանէ՝ փոխանակ զի Ադամ լուաւ կնոջն եւ աւձին եւ արար զաջն որպէս զահեակ եւ զգլուխն՝ որպէս զոտս կոխան ամենեցուն:

882 (131) One should inquire . . . concerning the cross of Peter, why was he ordered to be crucified head-down? . . . (133) The cross is the type (or: notion) of the tree, and the Apostle, of Adam. (134) And the position head-down indicates the following picture: since Adam listened to the woman and to the serpent, he also made the right as left[40] and the head as feet to be trodden by all.

4 (141) . . . Բանն Աստուած պատարագեցաւ եւ դարձաւ ոգին Ադամայ եւ գնաց ի տեղի իւր:

(141) . . . God the Word was sacrificed and Adam's soul repented and went to its place.

Step'anos Tarōnec'i (Asołik) C10

Text: Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asołik, Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական *Universal History,* ed. S. Malxasean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1885).

1 7 Սկիզբն արասցուք սկզբանս յորում նախահայրն մեր ել արտաքս ի դրախտէն, փշալից երկրի եղեալ ժառանգորդ:

We shall begin from the beginning, when our forefather came out of the Garden, he became heir of the thorny ground.

2 223 Ադամ զանմեղանչական մարմինն եւ զանդատապարտականն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն մահու իջոյց:

39. Compare with Eve's burial tradition in apocryphal Armenian sources; see Stone 2000b, 241–45. The location of Eve's grave in Shechem is unusual. See Stone 2012, 57.

40. This may appeal to the value-weighted use of right and left.

Adam caused his sinless and uncondemned body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation and to the corruption of death.

TAČAT *VARDAPET* C10

Text: Tačat *vardapet*, Հարցմունք "Questions," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 849–57.

1 850 §10 (23) Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն՝ Ադամ յանցեաւ ի ձեռն պտղոյն ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն. նմանեաւն զնմանն մաքրէր:

(23) And the cheirograph of transgression: Adam transgressed by eating the fruit and the Lord on the cross deleted the cheirograph, since by his death he killed death and deleted the cheirograph of transgression.[41] He cleaned the similar by a similar.

2 851 (36) Արդ, որ գրեալն է, թէ ընդէ՞ր հոգին ջրոյ կարաւտանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայնի զհին Ադամն, զի թաղեսցէ ի ջուրն . . .

(36) Now what is written, "Why does the soul need water?"[42] Here the great *vardapet* confirms this saying, manifesting the old Adam beforehand to everybody that he will be buried in water . . .[43]

3 854–55 (66) . . . զի որպէս առաջին Ադամաւն փակումն եղեւ դրախտին, երկրորդաւս եղիցի բացումնն, զի հակառակաւք զհակառակսն լուծանիցէ . . .

(66) As the closing of paradise took place through the first Adam, likewise through this second one the opening will take place, so that he will dissolve the opposite by the opposite.

41. See Col 2:14; and Stone 2002.

42. See Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2; compare the language of Artawazd Mazazuni C10, 460.

43. The reference is unclear: perhaps Adam's body will be in the Flood, but that runs against the tradition, known in Armenian, that Noah took it onto the ark: Stone 1996b, 116–17. Elsewhere Artawazd Mazazuni talks of burying the old Adam in water, referring to the trampling of the Satanic serpent in the incorruptible waters of the baptism.

Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10

Text: Timot'ēos *vardapet*, Յառաջաբան համառօտ ի ծննդոց "Concise Prologue on the Genesis," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 904–20.

1 915 (173) Եւ լուսինն կատարեալ երեւեցաւ, որպէս Ադամ կատարեալ արարաւ:

(173) And the moon appeared perfect, just as Adam was made perfect.

2 916 (192) Ի վեցերորդում արար զԱդամ, ըստ կերպարանաց իշխանութեան, զի որպէս իշխանութիւն Աստուծոյ ի վերայ ամենայնի, նոյնպէս եւ՝ տէրութիւն Ադամայ:

(192) On the sixth (day) he made Adam, in the state[44] of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship.

3 918 (232) Զամենայն արար. ասէ. Եւ բարի են յոյժ: (233) Առ մարդն լռեաց «զբարին», զի իւր պատկեր ստեղծ, բաւական համարեցաւ, կամ զի գիտէր, թէ յանցանէր՝ ոչ ասաց: (235) Զսկիզբն արարչութեան պատմեաց, յաւուր յորում արար զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն ծառս դաշտի, զի չեւ եւս էին արարեալ. յերրորդում աւուրն արարան: (236) Եւ զի Ադամ չեւ եւս էր արկեալ զձեռն գործել զերկիր՝ երկրորդեաց՝ ասելով. «Աստուած զԱդամ» յետ առաջնոյն այսորիկ:

(232) He made everything (and) said: "they are very good." (233) In the case of man He passed over "the good" in silence. Because He had created His image and was satisfied, or because He knew that he was going to transgress, He did not say (good). (235) He relates about the beginning of creation, on the day when He made the heavens and the earth and all the trees of the field, since they had not yet been made, they were made on the third day. (236) And since Adam had not yet undertaken to till the land, He repeated saying: "God [made?] Adam," after this first one.

4 920 (271) Եւ զոր ինչ անուանեաց Ադամ, այն անուն է: (272) Եւ զի ոչ միայն զազանացն, այլ եւ անասնոցն: (273) Եւ անասնոցն դժուարին էր յաղագս փոփոխմանցն, թողու՝ վասն պատուոյ զնա հաղորդակից արարչութեան դնելով անուանս, որպէս ինքն հաստատեաց, զի յորժամ կամեսցի նա աստուածանալ՝ զողութեամբն իւրոյ կշտամբեալ յանդիմանեսցի: (274) Եդ Աստուած անուանս ամենայն արարածոց, եւ զզազանսն եւ զանասունսն եթող Ադամա, զի գիտութեան իմաստութեան նորա ստացին զանուանսն իբրու կենդանութեան,

44. Or: form.

զի ահաւասիկ առանց անուան մեռեալ են տղայքն, եւ որք ունին զանունն, կենդանի են:

(271) And whatever Adam called, that was (its) name (Gen 2:19). (272) For (he gave names) not only to wild animals but also to the cattle. (273) And it was difficult (to give names) to the cattle, because of changes. So as to honor him as a participant in the creation by giving names to the cattle, he allows him (to do so), as He himself established, so that when he wishes to become god, he be scolded and reproached for his robbery. (273) God gave names to all creatures and left wild animals and cattle to Adam, so that they receive names of his knowledge and wisdom,[45] as if of life, since behold, children without names are dead, and those who have names are alive.

Tiranun *vardapet* C10

Tiranun *vardapet*, Պատասխանի հարցմանց թագաւորացն Աղուանից Ատրներսեհի եւ Փիպէի "Answer to the Questions of the Kings of Albania Atrnerseh and Pipē," ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 957–97.

1 959 §6 (15) Եւ զի երեց կարդան զլուսինն եւ աւագ քան զարեգակն .ժա. աւուրբք, զի յորժամ արար Աստուած զարարածս լի կատարեալ. լիակատար զնոսա եւ ոչ թերիս, զի ժամանակաւ կատարեալք եղիցին զկնի, որպէս այսաւր բոյսք եւ կենդանիք, ահա Ադամ Եւայ եւ դրախտքն (v.l. դրախտն) եւ պտուղքն լիակատարք եւ գազանքն եւ անասունքն:

(17) Ահա այժմ միտ դիր, զի կամիմ առնել զնա լիալուսին, ամենայն արարածք ստեղծան վասն մարդոյն տեսլեան եւ հաճոյից յաչս նորա. եւ զի մարդն յուրբաթու ստեղծաւ, պիտոյ էր զլուսին ի չորեքշաբաթի աւուրն մետասանաւրեայ ստեղծուլ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի Ադամ մեղադիր լինել թերութեան լուսնի ի մետասան աւուրսն:

(15) And that they call the moon older and more senior than the sun by eleven days, for when God made the creatures fully complete, perfect, and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, paradise and fruit and wild animals and cattle are perfect. (17) Now think, I want to make it full moon. All the creatures were created for man's vision and for pleasure for his eyes. And since the man was created on Friday, the moon had to be created

45. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

on Wednesday eleven days old, so that when Adam appears, he could blame the wane of the moon in eleven days.[46]

2 §7 (19) Աւր նոր արար Աստուած սկիզբն արարածոց, գիտ զմուտ աւելեացն եբրայեցւոց. եւ դարձեալ եկ ի տարոյն սկիզբն, որ է յետ հինգ աւուր ուրբաթն. եւ այն է աւր ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, որ է Նիսան ամիս, յորում ել Իսրաէլ յԵգիպտոսէ եւ ի սմա Տէր մեր յարեաւ :ԴԺ: . . .

(19) God made a new day the beginning of the creation. He invented the introduction of the Hebrews' epagomenal days, and again came to the beginning of the year, which after five days is Friday, and it is the day of Adam's creation, which is the month of Nisan, in which Israel went out of Egypt, and this month our Lord resurrected, on the fourteenth.[47] . . .

3 959–960 §8 (20) Կատարեալս վասն այնորիկ արար Աստուած զարարածս, զի մի երեւեսցի Ադամ արարած կցորդ եւ հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, կամ հպարտասցի գիտել զայս ամենայն անուանս, վասն այնորիկ ետ կոչել Ադամայ զազանացն, զի եղիցի հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, այս է գրեալն՝ թէ «արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր»:

(20) God made the creatures perfect on that account, so that creature Adam does not appear to be the companion of his own creator or does not swell with pride that he knows all these names. On account of that He allowed Adam to give names to animals so that he becomes the companion of his Creator, as it is written: "he made the man in his image (Gen 1:27)."

4 960 §9 (21) Եւ զի գիտեաց Ադամ կոչել անուանս զազանացն. եւ ծանեաւ ի քուն զԵւայ: (23) Կիւրեղ ի Պարապմունսն գրէ, թէ աւծ զԱդամ հոգւով, որպէս Տէր մեր աւծեալ ոչ իւղով, վասն այնորիկ գիտեաց նա զանուանս արարածոց:

(21) And since Adam knew how to give names to animals and recognized Eve in (his) sleep[48] . . . (23) Cyril (of Alexandria says) in his Scholia that He anointed Adam with the spirit, as our Lord was anointed not with oil, that is why he knew the names of the creatures.

5 960 §10 (29) Արդ ստեն որք ասեն. «Ադամ եւ ոչ աւր մի ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին»: (30) Եւ այժմ ահա տես, զի թէ̥ յուրբաթու ստեղծ Ադամ, եւ ի նմին աւուր յանցեաւ եւ ել, ապա ո՞ր է այս Ադամս եւ աւ[ր]հնութիւնս, որ զկնի ուրբաթուն անիծիցն յաւուրն եւթներորդի

46. I.e., so that the moon would be full when Adam was created.

47. 14 Nisan is the date of Passover and, so Tiranun *vardapet* says, of the passion and resurrection.

48. I.e., immediately he awoke from the divinely induced sleep, during which his rib was taken and Eve created from it, he said, ". . . this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken" (Gen 2:23).

սկսեալ է Աստուած աւրհնել զաւրն եւթներորդ: (31) Ապա յայտ է եթէ միւս եւս ուրբաթ պիտոյ էր, զի եկեսցէ ելցէ ի նմա Ադամ: (32) Արդ զեւթն աւուրսդ աւադիկ ունիս յայտնապէս ասել զԱդամ ի դրախտին, մինչեւ գտցի այլ աւուր վկայս նոցին:

(29) Now those lie who say, "Adam did not stay in paradise even for one whole day." (30) And now behold, see that he created Adam on Friday, and on the same day he transgressed and came out; then what is this Adam and this blessing that, after the Friday curse, on the seventh day God began to bless the seventh day?[49] (31) Now it is evident that another Friday was necessary so that Adam would come out on that day. (32) Now behold, you have to say manifestly that Adam (was) in the Garden for seven days, until a witness of another (number) of days will be found.

6 960 §12 (33) Յորում աւուր ուտիցես, ասէ, մեռցիս, եւ ահա ոչ մեռաւ, այլ նա աւանիկ վճիռս մահու ընկալեալ էր, եւ զառհաւատչեայ հրաժեշտ հրամանացն, թէպէտ եւ եկաց յետ այնորիկ զամս :ջլ:, զի նախ մեռաւ նա ի վճիռս եւ ի հրամանս Տեառն արարչի իւրոյ ի դրախտի անդ. եւ ապա զայր նա մտանել դնել ի շիրմի յերկիր անիծից, զի յղացաւ մահ վաղվաղակի, որպէս որոջքն Ղաբանու ասորոյ զդեղդ աւազանին:

(33) He says, "On the day that you eat, you will die,"[50] and behold, he did not die, but he had received the death sentence and the pledge of the farewell commandment, although he lived after that for 930 years. For he first died according to the sentence and commandment of the Lord his Creator in the Garden, and then he came to enter the land of curse and to be put in the grave, since he rapidly begat death, as the lambs of Laban the Aramean the remedy of the trough.[51]

7 960–61 §13 (34) Եւ ծառն ոչ եթէ չար ինչ էր, այլ զի տղայ եւ ի տարաժամ հասակի մերձեցաւ ի նա. եւ պատուիրան հրամանին չար անուանեաց զնա: (35) Այլ նա հետ ուտելոյն եւ նախ քան զայն բարի էր, որպէս Յուդաս գեղեցիկ անուանի, եւ յետ մատնութեանն չար անուանեցաւ, եւ Թամար զոր սիրեաց, եւ վաղվաղակի ատեաց Ամոն, բարուոք էր տեսլեամբ եւ ոչ փոխեցաւ ինչ նա:

(34) And the tree was not something evil, but he was a child and approached it at an untimely age; and the commandment[52] called it evil. (35) But, behold, after eating, and before he was good, as Judah is called nice and after the

49. See Gen 2:3: "So God blessed the seventh day."
50. Gen 2:17.
51. Cf. Gen 30:32–43.
52. Literally: command of the order.

betrayal he was called evil, and Tamar whom Amon loved but soon hated was nice in appearance and did not change.[53]

8 961 §14 (36) Գիտութիւն որ կայր ի ծառն, այս էր գիտել զմերկութիւն իւրեանց. եւ զձեւ անվայելուչ խառնակութեան առն եւ կնոջ:

The knowledge which was in the tree was knowing this: to know their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman.

9 961, §15 (37) Զաւձէն ասէ Փիլոն՝ թէ սուր էին նախնեացն մերոց լսելիք եւ միտք, եւ լուաւ Եւայ ի բարբառ աւձին զխաւսս նորա, բայց մեզ միոյ մեկնչի պատուեալ է ասացեալն վասն նորա, զի խաւսեցաւ նա իբրեւ զմարդ նորոգ եւ անընդել որպէս էշն Բաղամու խաւսեցաւ եւ լռեաց:

(37) Philo says concerning the serpent that the hearing and the mind of our ancestors were sharp, and Eve heard in the serpent's speech its words, but one commentator's pronouncement is honored to us, that it spoke like a new and unaccustomed thing, as Balaam's donkey spoke and stopped speaking.[54]

10 961 §16 (38) Եթէ սատանայ յանցոյց զաւձն, ընդէ՞ր արար պատուհասեալ զնա առանց ոտից, յանցոյց սատանայ, բայց ոչ ակամայ, այլ եւ աւձ իսկ կամակից եւ հաղորդ եղեւ ի կամս իւր:

961 §16 (38) If Satan caused the serpent to transgress, why did he cause him to be punished by (not having) feet? Satan caused to transgress, but not unwillingly, but the serpent itself became agreeing with and companion of his will.

11 961 §17. (39) Յանցանքն առաջին սատանայի իբրեւ ի ծածուկ էր ի հրեշտակաց եւ ի մարդկանէ, իսկ այն զի յանցոյց զԱդամ լուացաւ ի վեր երեւեալ բոցն ոտիւք աւձին եւ անիծիւք երկրի, եւ տարամերժելովն Ադամայ ի ժառանգութենէ հայրէնի աւանդիցն . . .

961 §17 (39) The first crime of Satan was as if in secret from the angels and humans, but the fact that he caused Adam to transgress was heard; the flame was seen in the height, through the serpent's feet and the curse of the land, and casting Adam out of the heritage of the paternal traditions . . .

12 (40) Եթէ կացեալ եւ փորձանացն համբերեալ էր Ադամ, որ ի նենգաւոր թշնամւոյն ի ժամու անդ ծնեալ երեւեցաւ. ի ժամանակի կատարման հասակի մարմնոյ եւ գիտութեան հոգւոյն նորա, ապա կերեալ լինէր եւ յայնմ եւս ծառոյ եւ փոխէր ի տեղի անմահութեան երկրորդի գերակայի, զի ոչ եթէ նախանձէր արգելուլ զնա ի ծառոյն, այլ զի այնու

53. Cf. 2 Kgs 13:6–16.
54. See Num 22:29–32.

պատուիրանաւ յիշեսցէ զտէր եւ մի մոռասցի զԱստուած զարարիչ իւր, որ արգել զնա յայնքան գեղեցիկ տնկոյն:

(40) If Adam had stayed and endured temptation, which appeared to have been begotten by the deceitful enemy, at the time of perfection of bodily age and of knowledge of his soul, then he would have eaten also (from) that tree too and would have been transferred to the place of immortality of second preeminence. For He did not envy (him) to hold him back from the tree, but (he gave that commandment) so that through this commandment he might remember the Lord and not forget God his Creator, who held him back from such a beautiful plant.

13 962 §20 (42) Եւայ, նախ եկեր, զի Աստուած որդիս ծնցի, վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «ցաւաւք ծնցիս»: (43) Սիրելի կամեցաւ առնել զաւձն վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «թշնամութիւն եդից ի միջի»:

Eve ate first, so that God should beget this son (or: so that she should bear God the Son); that is why he says, "in pain you shall bring forth." (43) He wanted to make the serpent affectionate (or: lovable); that is why he says, "I will put enmity between."[55]

14 962 §21 (44) Տէր կամեցաւ լինել մեծ Ադամայ, վասն այնորիկ ասացաւ, «առ այր քո դարձ քո»:

(44) The Lord wished Adam to become exalted; that is why he said, "your return shall be to your husband."

15 962 §23 (46) Ըստ պատկերի արար, զոր ի կուսէն իսկ պատկեր էր զգենլոց, կամ զի անմահ եղեւ իբրեւ զԱստուած. կամ տէր ամենայնի արար եւ անձնիշխան: (47) Կամ այն է, զի յորժամ առնէր զմարդն, եւ եբաց արարածն զտեսիլս իւր, եւ ետես զԱստուած արարիչ իւր, զի յառնել անդ արար եւ ի գիրկս ընկալաւ, երեւեցաւ ձեւով մարդոյ, որպէս Աբրահամու եւ Յեսուայ ի դաշտին:

(46) He made (him) in (his) image, the one who was going to put on the image from the Virgin, or because he was immortal like God, or (because) He made him lord of all and autonomous. (47) Or that is (the explanation), that when he made man, the creature opened its eyes[56] and saw God its Creator who made him rise and embraced him and became visible in human appearance, as to Abraham and to Joshua in the field.[57]

16 962 §24 (48) ԶԱդամ ոչ անէծ, զի ոչ յանցեաւ, այլ ողորմեցաւ եւ խոնարհեցաւ յանցանս ընկերի իւրոյ. եւ հաղորդ եղեւ Եւայի,

55. Gen 3:15–16. This seems illogical, and we would expect "unlovable."

56. Or: vision.

57. See Josh 1:1; 4:1.

զի ի պատճառս Ադամայ կեցցէ Եւայ, որպէս ոք ումեք հաղորդի յանցանացն ոչ յանցուցեալ եւ խնդրէ յԱստուծոյ,ահա զայս արար Տէր մեր ասելով. ընդէր թողեր Աստուած Աստուած իմ. նայեա ի բնութիւնն մարդկութեանս:

(48) He did not curse Adam, since he had not transgressed, but he (Adam) took pity on the transgression of his companion and humbled himself and shared it with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam, as one shares the crime of someone else without having committed a crime and begs God. Our Lord did this saying: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken (me)?”[58] Observe the nature of mankind.

17 962 §25 (49) Արդ եկայք ելցուք առ նա արտաքոյ բանակին, ըստ որում Աբել եւ Տէր մեր, վասն որոյ իրի պատճառանաց սպան Կային զԱբէլ, կարծէր Ադամ յետ այնորիկ մտանելի դրախտ անդ, այլ իբրեւ բոցն ցանգ շրջապատեաց վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդ երկիցս, ապա սկսաւ քարոզել Ադամ ծննդոց իւրոց, զի մի նմանագործեսցեն զառաջինսն, այլ հաճոյ լիցին խորհրդովք կամաւք իւրեանց Աստուծոյ ի խրատն Ադամայ, եւ մտցեն հնազանդքն ի դրախտն փոխանակ Ադամայ անհնազանդի: (50) Արդ իբրեւ ետես Կայէն թէ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագն Աբէլի, եւ հանդերձեալ է մտանել ի նա, նախանձեցաւ որպէս ոք ցոք, զի ասէ, թէ որովհետեւ ինձ չեղեւ քեզ զի՞ մարթ է լինել, եւ սպան, եւ արգելան մտանել ի դրախտն:

(49) Now come let us go out to him (Adam ?) outside the camp in which Abel and our Lord are, for which reason Cain killed Abel. Adam was thinking after that to enter the Garden, but like a flame a fence surrounded it because of Adam, so that he does not enter it twice. Then Adam began to exhort his offspring lest they imitate the first (humans), but (wish) to please God in their thoughts learning the lesson of Adam and the obedient ones would enter the Garden instead of disobedient Adam. (50) Now when Cain saw that God accepted Abel’s offering and he is going to enter it (the Garden), he envied as one another, for he said, “Since I did not get, why was it possible for you to get (i.e., this privilege)?” And he killed (his brother), and they were banned from entering the Garden.

18 962 §26 (51) Սուրն բոց էր շրջապատեալ զդրախտն, վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդր, այլ իբրեւ հեռացաւ Ադամ, վերացաւ սուրն ահացուցիչ մարդոյն, զի սրովբէն եւ քրովբէնի միւս լեզուէ հուր եւ բոց ասի թէպէտ եւ այլք բազում գիտութիւն ասեն:

(51) The sword was a flame surrounding the Garden on account of Adam lest he enter it, but when Adam left, the man-terrifying sword was removed, since

58. Mark 15:34.

Seraph and Cherub in another language mean “fire and flame,” although others say, “much knowledge.”[59]

19 963 §27 (52) Ադամ եւ Եւայ ոչ գիտացին, թէ սպան Կային զԱբէլ, զի ոչ յաւուրն պատարագի սպան զնա. այլ ի միւսում աւուր տարաւ զնա ի դաշտ զբաւսնուլ, եւ դարձաւ խաբեաց զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ թէ վերացաւ Աբէլ ի դրախտ անդ, իսկ իբրեւ կոչեաց Աստուած քաղցր ձայնիւ զԿայէն յապաշխարութիւն, ասելով. ո՞ւր է Աբէլ, պիտոյ էր նմա զյանցանս իւր արկանել առաջի Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ միտ մտիլ եւ պատճառել, որպէս զհայր, եւ զմայր իւր ի դրախտի անդ, զի միւսն զաւձն, եւ միւսն զկինն պատճառէին: (53) Յայնժամ անէծ զնա եւ ապա ծանեան Ադամ եւ Եւայ ի դողդոջանալն նորա զյանցանս նորա: (54) Վասն այնորիկ զէն ոք առաջի տանն Ադամայ, վերացոյց ի դրախտն վասն մխիթարելոյ զԱդամ, զի յարութիւն եղեւ ի ձեռն Ենովքայ, վերանալոյն Աբէլի սպանելոյ:

(52) Adam and Eve did not know that Cain killed Abel, since he killed him not on the day of the offering, but on the next day he took him to the field for relaxation. And he returned and deceived Adam and Eve that Abel had ascended to the Garden, but when God called Cain with a sweet voice to repent,[60] saying, “Where is Abel?” he should have laid forth his crime to God, but not to please and seek pretexts, like his father and mother in the Garden, for the one was accusing the serpent and the other the woman. (53) Then He cursed him, and later Adam and Eve recognized his crime from his trembling. (54) On account of that a certain sacrifice before Adam’s house (i.e., Abel) He took up to paradise to console Adam, because resurrection took place through Enoch, when the killed Abel rose.

Uxtanēs C10

Text: Uxtanēs, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1871).

1 15–16 Աստանօր սկիզբն արասցուք պատմել յաղագս թագաւորաց՝ սկսեալ յԱդամայ՝ որ է նախահայր մեր՝ եւ առաջին թագաւոր լեալ ի վերայ երկրի. իսկ զբան Արարչին հուսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս եւ թագաւոր զնա կացուցեալ ամենայն արա/ 16 /րածոց՝ որ ի ներքոյ երկնից: Վասնզի պարտ եւ արժան էր՝ որպէս ասէ գիրն,

59. The etymology of “Seraph” deriving from Hebrew *saraf* (“burn”) is not found in *Onomastica Sacra*. That of “Cherub” is probably secondary to it. The etymology behind “much knowledge” remains occluded.

60. Literally: for repentance.

նախ գոյանալ թագաւորութեան, եւ ապա ի ներքս գալ թագաւորին՝ լինել թագաւոր որոց ի վերայ երկրի ընդ թագաւորութեամբ վերնոյն: Եւ ապա զկնի արտաասահմանելոյն ի դրախտէն՝ աճեցին ծնունդք նորա, եւ բազմացան, եւ լցին զերկիր ըստ հրամանի Արարչին: Ադամ նախաստեղծն կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնաւ զՍէթ. եւ եղեն ամենայն աւուրք Ադամայ՝ զոր եկեաց՝ ամք իննհարիւր եւ երեսուն, եւ մեռաւ:

Here we shall start to tell about the kings, commencing from Adam who is our forefather and was the first king upon the earth. And the Creator's word (created him) last after all the creatures and appointed him king over all the creatures under the heavens, since it was necessary and fitting, as Scripture says, first for the kingdom to come into being and then for the king to enter to be king over those on the earth, underneath the kingship of the supernal One. And then after the banishment from the Garden, his descendants increased and multiplied and filled the earth by command of the Creator.[61] The protoplast Adam, having lived two hundred and thirty years, begat Seth. And all the days of Adam which he lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died.[62]

Xosrow Anjewac'i C10

Text: Xosrow Anjewac'i, Մեկնութիւն աղօթից պատարագին *Commentary on the Prayers of Divine Service* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1869).

Translation: Xosrow Anjewac'i, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy,* trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991). The translation here is mine.

1 10 Մի հաւանիր օձին՝ որ զԵւայն պատրեաց, զբարւոքն չբարւոք նմա ասացեալ, եւ զիւրսն նմա աստուածացուցիչս յուսացուցեալ. լուր Աստուծոյ. Ունկն դիք ասէ լսելեօք ձերովք, զհետ եկայք ճանապարհաց իմոց. լուարուք ինձ եւ կերիջիք զբարութիւնս, եւ վայելեսցեն ի բարութեան անձինք ձեր:

. . . եհան (բանսարկուն) ի դրախտէն զմեզ, կամի զի մի եւ աստ Աստուծոյ խնամօքն կեցցուք, եւ մի՛ դարձեալ յանմահական ի կեանսն վայելիցեմք:

Do not believe the serpent, who deceived Eve, having told her that the good was not good, and raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods.

61. Cf. Gen 1:28.
62. Cf. Gen 5:5.

“Listen to god; attend,” he said, “with your hearing, follow my ways, listen to me and eat this goodness, and your selves will enjoy goodness”

. . . The Devil drove us out of paradise; he wants us not to live under God’s protection even here, and not to enjoy again immortal life.

2 35–36 Քանզի / սպառնացաւ մահ Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեսցէ ի պտղոյն. եւ զի յանցաւոր պատուիրանին գտաւ՝ ի մահ եւ ի մեղս գրաւեցաւ զաւակօք:

Because Adam was threatened by death, if he ate the fruit, and as he appeared to be transgressor of the command, he was captured into death and sins with his generations.

Text: Xosrow Anjewac‘i, Բացայայտութիւն կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ քարոզութեանց եւ աղաւթից ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ժամուց [Մեկնութիւն Ժամակարգութեան] *Explanation of the Orders of the Church Preaching and Prayers for Each Hour [Commentary on Divine Service],* ed. Hračeay T‘amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 35–187.

3 82 (471) Քանզի էր Ադամ պատուալից, այլ անիմաց եղեալ՝ հաւասար անասնոց եւ նման նոցա գտաւ:

(471) For Adam was most honored, but becoming foolish he was found to be equal to animals and like them.

4 105 (744) Զի թէ անդէն քաւութեան եւ հաշտութեան հասեալ էր Ադամ, ոչ այսքան պատիժ ինքեան եւ մեզ բազմացեալ էր:

(744) For if Adam achieved expiation and conciliation, his and our punishments would not be so multiplied.

5 152 (1330) Զի ի ձեռաց Ադամայ ել ապականութիւն վասն ուտելոյ ի փայտէն գիտութեան զպտուղն, եւ ապականեցան մարդկան ոգիք մեղացն ախտիւք:

(1330) For corruption set forth through Adam on account of (his) eating the fruit from the tree of knowledge, and human souls were corrupted by the fault of the sin.

Xosrow Anjewac‘i, Պատարագամատոյց *Liturgy,* ed. Hračeay T‘amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 188–227.

6 202 (230) Եւ որ ի նորոգումն կենաց եղեւ, նորոգումն սովին շնորհեցաւ, զի նոյն (աստուածային) ձեռք է, որ զԱդամն գոյացոյց. թէեւ անմարմին

յայնժամ, որ այժմս մարմնով, նոյն ամենակար եւ ամենակեցոյց ձեռք, որ զհողն մարդ հոգեւոր եւ բանական փոխադրեաց, զհացն առնլով՝ մարմին աստուածային փոխարկեաց՝ անդ զմարդկայինն միացուցեալ հոգի եւ ի սա զաստուածայինն միացուցեալ բնութիւն:

(230) And he who came into being for the renewal of the life, the renewal was granted through him, since it is the same (divine) hand that brought Adam into being, although being then incorporeal which is now corporeal, the same almighty and all-vivifying hand, which turned dust into a spiritual and rational man, taking bread turned it into a divine body, there uniting the human soul and in this, uniting the divine nature.

Yakob Cpatecʻi C10

Text: Yakob Cpatecʻi, Ընդդէմ Խոսրովա իմացմանց "Against the Conceptions of Xosrow [Anjewacʻ]," ed. Azat Bozoyean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 297–307.

1 297 (1) [Ս]կիզբն կենաց, որ տուաւ նախահաւրն՝ խաղաղութեամբ էր պսակեալ, մինչ չարն բարւոյն չէր հակառակ, եւ այնու պայծառացեալ հրաշագեղ վայելչանաւք դրախտին: (2) Վկայէ Մովսէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն յետ զմարդն առնելոյ, եթէ ետես Աստուած զի բարի է: (3) Վկայէ եւ աւձն որ արտաքոյ դրախտին կայր, եւ խաւսէր ընդ Եւայի, եւ նա ոչ փախչէր ի նմանէ, զի ոչ միայն աւձին, այլ եւ ամենայն անասնոց անընդունակ էր դրախտն:

(1) The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendor of the Garden. (2) Moses witnesses that on the sixth day, after making man, God saw that it was good. (3) The serpent also witnesses who stood outside the Garden and spoke with Eve, and she did not flee from him, since not only the serpent but also all the animals were inadmissible to the Garden.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi C10

Text: Yovhannēs Katʻołikos Drasxanakertcʻi, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia,* M. Emin (ed.). (Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1912); repr. of edn. Moscow: Vladimir Gotier Press, 1853).[63]

63. The Jerusalem edition of 1843, reprinted in 1867, is the first edition.

Translation: Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc‘i, *History of Armenia, English translation and commentary* by K. Maksoudian (Occasional Papers and Proceedings 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).[64]

13 Jerusalem 1867, p. 18

1 իսկ ի Յաբեթէ մինչեւ ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ ամք երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու:.

Then, from Japheth to the first man, Adam it is 2242 years.[65]

2 235–36 Իսկ ոստիկանն դաւաճանող ըստ խորամանկն սատանայի՝ որպէս երբեմն ընդ Եւայի, / . . . Եւ իբրեւ զծառ բարեպտուղ զծածուկ չար հնարս իւր յօրինեալ՝ հաճոյ կարծէր նմա թուեցուցանել . . .

And the disloyal governor met with the prudent man with gentle speech, as in time past the deceitful Satan (did) with Eve. . . . And like the tree with delicious fruit he (i.e., the governor) having made his wicked plots secretly, thought to make it seem pleasing to him.

64. Older translation: St.-Martin 1841. There are two entries for “Adam” in Maksoudian’s index. One refers to *The Anonymous Chronicle* as the source of the number of years from Adam to the Deluge. This is Hippolytus’s *Chronicle*; see Maksoudian, 39. This is the citation given here.

65. In the chronological tradition, we may note the following dates: (1) *Biblical Paraphrases Adam to Flood,* 2242 years (Stone 1982, 83); (2) *Dates,* 2242 years (Stone 1996b, 88, 99); (3) Loeff and Stökl 2002 (2242 years); (4) Greek *Hypomnesticon of Josephus,* 2262 years (cited in Stone 1996b, 88); (5) *Acts of Pilate*, Latin A 12, 2212 years (Stone, 1996b, 88). Consequently this date is deeply rooted in the Armenian tradition.

Eleventh Century

Anania Sanahnec‘i C11[1]

Text: Anania Sanahnec‘i, in Yakob K‘ēyosēyan, Աստվածաբանական Բնագրեր, Ուսումնասիրություններ Ա *Theological Texts and Studies,* vol. 1 (Ējmiacin: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 2000).

Encomium on the Holy Catholic Church

1 131 Օրհնեալ ես խորան սուրբ . . . գերազանցեալ լուսաճեմ ճառագայթիւք . . . . քան զադինական դրախտին զայն զծաղկափթիթ տնկոցն զկանաչասաղարթ ոստոցն զտարածումն: Վասն զի անդանօր սպրդեալ սողոսկանաւք սողեցաւ աւձն մահաթոյն, նենգապատիր դաւաճանմամբ զանմահութիւն մարդոյն ընդ մահուամբ սահմանեալ կողոպտեաց ի լուսապաճոյճն պատմուճանէն:

You are blessed, holy tabernacle . . . surpassing with your brilliant rays . . . that Edenic garden, that of the blossoming trees, of the spreading of verdant branches. Because the serpent with deadly venom slithered there, having insinuated itself, and with insidious treachery brought death to man instead of immortality, depriving him of the luminous garment.

Gēorg Loṙec‘i C11

Text: Gēorg Loṙec‘i, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորւոց պատրիարգի “Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians,” in Գիրք թղթոց *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis: T. Ṙotineanc‘ & M. Šaramē Press, 1901), 335–37; and in the edition by N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 624–56.

1 341 / 633 Արդ արժան է հաւատացելոց եւ ճշմարիտ քրիստոնէից՝ ոչ

1. The previous edition was Anania Sanahnec‘i 1747, 441–83.

մարդկեղէն մտաւք լինել արարիչ մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի, թէ Ադամ ի չորից էր ստեղծեալ, զոր եւ ոչ պարզ զիւրաքանչիւրսն ցուցանել, զի Մովսէս հող միայն ասէ առեալ, թէ Ա՛ռ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ, եւ զայլսն լռեաց: Այլ արժան է հաւատալ աւետարանչացն որք ստուգապէս զժամանակն եւ զաւուրսն եւ զժամն ցուցանեն: Զժամանակն թէ յետ գարնանային հասարակաւորութեանն յառաջնում ամսեան ի չորեքտասաներորդ լուսնին՝ յորում զզատն զենուին, եւ զաւուրսն զբաղարջակերացն, եւ զժամն զերեկոյ պասեքին եւ զտաւնն Հրէից, . . .

Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to be creators of the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly show each of them, for Moses only says that He took dust: "God took dust of the ground,"[2] and he was silent about other (elements). But it is fitting to believe the Evangelists who indicate exactly the time and the days and the hour. The time was in the first month after the vernal equinox, on the fourteenth day of the moon, when they used to sacrifice the lamb, and during the days of unleavened bread; and the hour was the evening of Passover, and the feast of the Jews . . .

2 348–50 . . . Այլ երթիցուք ի սկզբան արարչութեան եւ ի մեծ մարգարէն Մովսէս որ ասէ, Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր: Ահաւասիկ զերկինն վերին ասաց, որ է լոյս, քանզի հուր ասի. զի բնակեալքն ի նմա հրեղէնք . . . Ապաքէն ցուցաւ առաջին լոյսն եւ ոչ յետին. զի երկրորդս իրին երկիր գոյացեալ եւ առազաստեալ աւդոյդ խստութեամբ միջոցն երկնի, երկրի ստուերք գործեցան ի վերայ արարածոց. վասն այսորիկ դարձեալ ասէ աստուածայինն Մովսէս, թէ, Եղիցի լոյս: Եւ եղեւ լոյսն թափանցիկ ի մէջ աւդոյ, եւ ստուերք տարերց չքաւորեցան. քանզի ոչ եթէ ի ստուերէ գոյացան արարածք, որպէս ոմանք բարբաջեն, այլ լուսով զարդարեցան. զի թէպէտ եւ ոչ էր գոյացեալ արեգակն մինչեւ ի չորրորդ աւրն, սակայն փոխանակ արեգական, հեղեալ լոյսն տարածանէր զճառագայթս իւր մինչեւ յերկոտասան ժամս տուընջեան, եւ ապա տեղի տուեալ ամփոփէր յեթերն վերին եւ յառաջխաղացեալ ստուերացն գիշեր գործէր: Վասն այսորիկ ասաց Մովսէս, թէ կոչեաց Աստուած զլոյս տիւ, եւ զխաւարն գիշեր, եւ ոչ ասաց աւր, մինչեւ ցլնլուլ երկոտասան ժամու գիշերոյն, եւ վերաբերեաց առաւօտուն / զսկիզբն երկրորդ աւուրն. ապա ասաց աւր առաջին: Արդ եթէ գիշերն է սկիզբն աւուրն, ընդէ՞ր յետ երեկոյին անցանելոյ ոչ ասաց աւր երկրորդ, այլ մի. քանզի զկնի նորին ասաց թէ, արար զհաստատութիւն զերկինդ որ երեւի եւ ամենեցուն յայտնի թէ երկրորդին է ստեղծուած աւուր: Բայց Աստուածային բանն լռէ զաւուրդ անուն, մինչեւ ցկատարումն երկրորդ գիշերոյն, եւ սկիզբն

2. Gen 2:7.

երրորդ տուընջեանն, ապա ասաց զնա աւր երկրորդ: Եւ յետ սորա պատմէ զժողովումն համատարած ջրոյն, եւ զերեւումն բուսոց եւ տնկոց, եւ զդաշտաց դալարաբերութիւն, եւ այսոքիկ երրորդ աւուր ստացուածք, զորոց զանունն առընթեր ոչ դրոշմեաց մինչեւ ցժողովն երրորդ գիշերւոյն, եւ ի մուտս չորրորդ տուընջեանն, ապա անուանէ զնա աւր երրորդ: Եւ յետ սորին զեղելութիւն լուսաւորացդ թէ, Արար Աստուած զլուսաւորն մեծ յիշխանութիւն տուընջեան եւ զլուսաւորն փոքր յիշխանութիւն գիշերոյն. եւ զաստեղս, որ եւ յոյժ տխմարաց է յայտնին՝ թէ ի չորրորդ աւուրն են գոյացեալ տարր լուսաւորացդ, զորոյ զանունն ոչ բացայայտեաց մինչեւ ցկատարումն չորրորդ երեկոյին, եւ ի սկիզբն հինգերորդ տուընջեանն, ապա կոչէ աւր չորրորդ: Եւ առ եւտեղ պատմէ զեղելութիւն թռչնոց եւ ջրղաւղակ զեռնոց եւ զծովային կենդանեաց, եւ այս հինգերորդ աւուրն է գործ, զորոյ անուն ոչ ակնարկեաց մինչեւ յաւարտումն հինգերորդ գիշերւոյն սկզբան վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա ասաց զնա՝ աւր հինգերորորդ: Եւ աստանաւր աւէ զլինելութիւն գազանաց եւ սողնոց, եւ անասնոց կենդանաստեղծութիւն եւ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ եղեալ: Արդ ո՞ւմ ոչ է յայտնի ի վեցերորդին ստեղծեալ զմարդն ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, սակայն ոչ ունի զանուն առընթեր տիւն, յորում վայրի եւ իշխանութիւն տուեալ ասի նախաստեղծ մարդոյն ի վերայ ամենայն երկրածին կենդանեացս, եւ ղաւղական զեռնոց եւ ջրաթռիչ թռչնոց, եւ ի վերայ հողածին տնկոց եւ մրգաբեր փայտից, եւ հասեալ առ երեկն, եւ զանց արար մինչեւ առաւաւտն սկիզբն եւթներորդի տուընջեանն, ապա ասաց զաւրն վեցերորդ ի հաւաքել գիշերային մասանց, եւ ի նմին վայրի աւէ, թէ Կատարեցան երկինք եւ երկիր եւ ամենայն զարդ նոցա, եւ Կատարեաց զամենայն զգործ իւր զոր արար. եւ հանգեաւ յաւուրն եւթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց, զոր սկսաւ առնել Աստուած:

. . . And let us go to the beginning of the creation and to the great prophet Moses who says, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."[3] See here, he said "the upper heaven," which is light, for it is called "fire," since its inhabitants are fiery ones . . . .[4] In fact, light was shown first and not last, for the second thing coming into being was the earth, and the air veiled firmly the separation of the heavens, and shadows of the earth were made upon the creatures.[5] The divine Moses again says about this, "Let there be light and there was light";[6] transparent[7] the air and the shadows of the elements weakened, not because the creations came into being from the shadow,

3. Gen 1:1.

4. I.e., angels.

5. Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis*, Sect. 1 1.8; see Mathews and Amar 1994, 80–81.

6. Gen 1:3.

7. Or: penetrating through.

as some people prattle, but they were decorated with light. For, although the sun did not come into being until the fourth day, nevertheless instead of the sun, the poured-out light spread its rays until the twelfth hour of the day, and then, retreating, it was enclosed in the upper ether, and the shadows having advanced made night. And for this reason Moses said, "God called the light day (*tiw*) and the darkness (He called) night."[8] And he did not say day (*awr*) before the completion of the twelfth hour of night, and he connected the beginning of the second day with the morning, / and then he said, "first day."[9] Now if night is the beginning of day, why didn't he say "second day" after the evening passed, but "first"? For after that he said that "He made the firmament,"[10] this heaven which is seen, and it is evident to everybody that it was created on the second day. But the Divine word keeps silence about the name of that day until the end of the second night and the beginning of the third day, and then calls it "second day."[11] And after that, (Moses) tells about the gathering of the spread-out waters and about the appearing of the plants and the trees, and about the verdure produced by the fields; and these were creations of the third day, which meanwhile he did not register by name until the gathering in of the third night and the entrance of the fourth day. Then he calls it "the third day." And after this, (it relates) the creation of the lights (luminaries) saying, "God made the greater light for rule of the day and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars."[12] Even the very ignorant know that the elements of the lights came into being on the fourth day which he did not reveal by name until the end of the fourth night[13] and the beginning of the fifth day: then he calls (it) "the fourth day."[14] And he tells immediately about the coming into being of the birds and sea-reptiles and marine animals. And this is the work of the fifth day, which he did not signify by name until the end of the fifth night at the beginning of the sixth day, and then he called it the "fifth day."[15] And in this place he tells about the creation of the beasts and creeping things, and the making of the cattle and man created in the image of God. Now who does not know that God created man on the sixth day with his hand? But meanwhile the day does not have a name. In the same place dominion is said to be given to the first-created man over every earth-born living thing and over the swimming reptiles and aquatic birds[16] and over

8. Gen 1:3.
9. Gen 1:3; i.e., this exegesis connects "morning" not with day 1 but with day 2.
10. Gen 1:6–8.
11. Gen 1:8.
12. Gen 1:16.
13. Literally: "evening," as in the biblical text; we use "night" for the sake of clarity.
14. Gen 1:19.
15. Gen 1:23.
16. Observe the connection between the birds and sea animals; see Stone 2000d, 180–81.

the plants of the earth and fruit-bearing trees. And reaching the evening, he neglected the beginning of the seventh day till morning; then he said, "the seventh day" at the gathering in of night's parts. And in this same place he says: "The heavens and the earth were finished, and all the order of them, and he finished all his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his works which God had begun to make."[17]

Text: Gēorg Lořec'i, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորւոց պատրիարգի *Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians,* in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters,* ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 624–56.

3 634 Գիտեն գիրք սովորութեամբ՝ հին զմեղսն կոչել, վասն զմեզ հնացուցանելոյ, եւ այսպէս յոլովակի մարդ հին, եւ Ադամ հին զմեղսն կոչէին:

Books know by custom to call the sin old, in order to make us old, and so they often called the sin old man and old Adam.

4 649 Արտեմոն ոմն սուտանուն աշակերտ Յովհաննու աւետարանչի, ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման աւետարանչացն եւ առաքելոցն որոմն սերմանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն բանսարկուն յԱդամ զյոյս աստուածանալոյն . . .

Artemon, the false pupil of Evangelist John, sowed darnel over the nice seed of the Evangelists and Apostles, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam the hope of becoming god . . .

17. Cf. Gen 2:1–2.

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Twelfth Century

Abusayid C12

Text: Abusayid, Յաղագս կազմութեան մարդոյն *On the Formation of Man*, ed. and trans. into Russian by Stella Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1974). He was a Syrian.

1 117 Արար Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զծով եւ զցամաք, զհրեղէնս եւ զհողեղէնս, զհոգեւորս եւ զշնչաւորս, զանասունս եւ զթռչունս, զսողունս եւ զզեռունս: Արար եւ զադամային զմարմինս ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ եւ եդ ի վերայ նորա սիրել զԱստուած եւ պահել զպատուիրանս նորա եւ ետ իմաստութիւն եւ հանճար մարդոյն գտանել զբժշկութեան արուեստ գիտութեան:

God made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land, the fiery and earthly beings, the spiritual and animated beings,[1] the animals and the birds, the creeping things and the reptiles. He also made Adam's body according to his image and laid upon him to love God and observe his commandments,[2] and gave the man discernment and wisdom to invent the art of medical science.

2 119 Յորժամ ստեղծեաց Աստուած զԱդամ, գարուն էր, եւ գիշերն եւ ցերեկն հաւասար էին միմեանց: Եւ արեգակն յառաջին տարաձան էր ի Խոյն:

It was spring when God created Adam, the night and the day were equal to one another.[3] And the sun was on the first degree of Aries.

Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12

Text: Davit' Ganjakec'i, Դաւիթ Ալավկա որդու կանոնները "Canons of Davit', Son of Alawik," ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ējmiacin* 9 (1952): 48–57; 10 (1953): 56–60.

1. I.e., "those with . . . spirit, soul and those with . . . breath."
2. Exod 10:4; Deut 5:20; 7:9; Neh 1:5; Dan 9:41; cf. John 14:15, 21; 1 John 5:2, 3.
3. I.e., it was the vernal equinox.

See also Dawitʻ Ganjakecʻi, *The Penitential of David of Ganjak: Armenian Text and English Translation,* ed. C. J. F. Dowsett (CSCO, 216, 217; Leuven: Peeters, 1961).

Ējmiacin 9 (1952) 48–57

Կանոն Ա. Թէ արարածք ամենայն բարի են
Canon 1. All the Creatures Are Good.

1 52 . Եւ արդ, նախ հարցումն քո այս է՝ եթէ զի՞նչ է, որ յարարածս Աստուծոյ ոմանք սուրբ կոչեցան եւ ոմանք անսուրբ: Քանզի Աստուած բարի է եւ ամենայն տուրք բարիք, պարգեւք կատարեալք ի բարերար Հայրէն իջեալ առ իւր արարածս: Եւ զի սկզբնատիպ բարոյ է Աստուած, ի բարոյ բարի ստեղծան արարածք, որպէս ի լուսոյ՝ լոյս: Եւ ետես Աստուած զլոյսն զի բարի է: Եւ ահա բարի են յոյժ ամենայնն եւ չիք ինչ ի նոսա խոտան ըստ բնութեան: Եւ այս ընտրութիւն յետ յանցանացն Ադամայ եմուտ յաշխարհս. ոմանք խոտեցան եւ ոմանք ընտրեցան: Որպէս եդ Ադամ անուանս յար ըստ բնութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց, եւ այն անփոփոխելի անուն գտաւ նոցա նոյնպէս եւ յետ յանցանացն թոյլ տուեալ նմա ըստ վայելման:

Now your first question is this: why is it that some creatures of God are called pure and some impure? For God is good and all (his) gifts are good, perfect gifts descending from the beneficent Father to his creatures. And as God is the prototype of good, the creatures were made good by the Good One, like light, by the light. And God saw the light, that it is good. So all things are very good, and there is nothing worthless in them by nature. And this distinction entered this world after Adam's transgression: some were rejected and some, selected. Just as Adam gave names conformable to the nature of each animal, and those were found (to be) their unchangeable name, likewise, also after the transgression he was, according to convenience, granted permission.

Ējmiacin 10 (1953) 56–60

Կանոն ՁԵ. Վասն որք սուգ ունին մեռելոյն
Canon 85. On Those Who Mourn over the Dead.

2 52 Այսպէս իմացիր, զի սակաւ ժամանակեայ էր անտրտում կեանքն մեր ի դրախտին, եւ նախաստեղծիցն թուով եւ սակաւ աւուրք, ուստի յետ լուծանելոյ պատուիրանին՝ դատապարտութիւն, եւ մահ, եւ ապականութիւն եւ դժոխս, որով եւ խառնեցաւ սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն ի

բնութիւնս մեր: Եւ որպէս ոչ մնաց միայն պատուիրանազանցութիւն պտղոյն, այլ ի նմանէ, որպէս ի խմորէ աճեաց պէսպէս եւ ազգի ազգի յանցումն մեղաց . . . Արդ, վասն այսորիկ ամենայն ծնունդք Ադամայ արտասուալից եւ սգապատ գոն . . . Եւ այսպիսի կենաց եւ անմահութեան խոստումն Աստուծոյ, հաւատարիմ է առ մեզ, քանզի առաջինքն անյուսաբար լային աւուրս Լ զմեռեալս՝ ըստ Լ ամի հասակի ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, ուստի կործանեցաւ ի մահ, եւ անց ի ներքոյ դժոխոց:

Understand thus, that our life without worry in the Garden lasted for a short time, and the days of the first-created are few in number. Therefore, after the breach of the commandment, (there were) condemnation and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. And just as the transgression with the fruit did not remain alone, but from it, as from yeast, various and diverse sinful transgressions grew up. Now, for this reason, all the offspring of Adam are tearful and mournful. And God's promise of life and immortality is so trustworthy for us, because the first ones were hopelessly weeping over the dead for thirty days, according to Adam's thirty years' age upon his creation, after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades).

Ղ. Հարցումն նոյն քահանայի յաղագս էրիցն նաւակատեաց՝ յորում մսակէր ոչ գոյ:
80. Question of the Same Priest concerning the Three Fasts, on Which It Is Forbidden to Eat Meat

3 57 Պատասխանի. Քանզի հնութիւն ամենայն ծննդոց մարդկան ի յանցանացն Ադամայ եղեն, ուստի մահ եմուտ յաշխարհս եւ ապականութիւն, որով հնացաւ բնութիւնս: Վասն որոյ Արարիչն բնութեանս ոչ արար անտես ի սպառ զկործանեալ պատկեր իւր՝ զթաղեալն յաղբ, այլ եկն ի խնդիր հնացեալ պատկերին եւ կորուսեալ դրամին եւ նորոգեալ զնա յառաջի փառսն՝ յորում ստեղծն:

Answer: Because the age (antiquity)[4] of all generations of mankind came about from the transgression of Adam, whence death entered the world, and corruption, by which this nature is aged. On account of this, the Creator of this nature did not make the destruction of his image vainly invisible,[5] the interred rubbish, but there came under discussion the aged image, and the destroyed imprint and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it.

4. I.e., ageing, becoming old.
5. I.e., hide it.

Grigor Pahlavuni C12

Text: Grigor Pahlavuni, Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին "Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God," in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:235–40.

Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին
Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God

1 237 Կորուսեալ Եւայ, կողոպտեալ կենօք,

Կանգնեցաւ ի վեր, կայր մըտօք առ կոյսն:

Eve, undone, deprived of life,

Was established on high, stayed in her thoughts with the Virgin.

Grigor Tłay C12

Text: Grigor Tłay, Տաղ, բան պիտանի եւ աւրհնութեան նախահարցն սրբոց "A Poem, A Useful Writing and Blessing of the Holy Forefathers," in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:176–83.

1 177–79 . . . Այլ եւ չորս տարերքս արարան,
Ընդ լուսոցն որ պայծառացան
Հողն ու ջուրն աւդն ու հուրն եղան,
Յորոց գոյքս ամէն բաղկացան,

. . . And the four elements were created
With the lights that shone:
Earth and water, air and fire came into being,
Of which all the beings were composed.

2 Բաժանեաց զերկիրս ի յեր(կ)նէ,
Զերդ զատակ ի յառաստաղէ,
Զկապոյտ եթերդ ձեղուն հաստատէ,
Տան յարկիս որ այս աշխարհս է:

He separated the earth from the sky,
Like the floor from the ceiling;
He makes firm this blue ether as a roof,
Of the ceiling of this house, that is this world.

3 Զայս բուսով տընկով լըցուսցէ,
Զանազան ծաղկով զարդարէ,

Բարելի սեղան պատրաստէ,
Կենաղանեաց զոր յետոյ առնէ:

He fills it with plants (and) trees,
Adorns it with various flowers,
Prepares a table full of goods things
For the animals which he subsequently creates.

4 Զդէմս եր(կ)նից լուսով զարդարէ,
Արեւով աստեղօք պարէ,
Զերդ ճրագի տանս վառէ,
Որ զաշխարհս լուսաւորէ:
He adorns the face of the sky with light,
He dances with the sun (and) stars,
Like a lamp he lights this house,
He who illuminates this world.

5 Զլողականս ի ծով ստեղծանէ,
Եւ ըզջուրս նոքօք զարդարէ,
Զմեծամեծսն ընդ փոքունս առնէ,
Զբանականս հիացուցանէ:

He creates the swimming beings in the sea,
And adorns the waters with them;
He makes the big ones with the small;
He amazes rational beings.

6 Ըզթռչունս ի ծովէ հանէ,
Թեւաւորս օդազնաց առնէ,
Զչորքոտանիս յետ նոցա ստեղծէ,
Զանասունս ընդ գազանս յօդէ:

He brings forth the birds from the sea,
Makes winged ones fly in the air;
After them, he creates the quadrupeds;
He joins domestic animals with wild beasts.

7 Յուրբաթու ըզմարդըն կազմէ,
ԶԱդամ իւր նըման յօրինէ,
Զնա իշխան եւ տէր կացուցէ
Աշխարհիս որ անցաւոր է:

On Friday, he forms man;
He creates Adam like himself,
Makes him master and lord
Of this world, which is transient.

8 Ի դրախտին յանմահ զնա դընէ,

Պատուիրան նըմա աւանդէ,
Ուտել տայ պըտղոցն յամենէ,
՚Ի ի միոյ չուտել պատուիրէ:

He sets him immortal in paradise,
Transmits a commandment to him,
Gives him to eat of every fruit,
And commands not to eat of one.

9 Սատանայ յաւձըն մըտանէ,
Ընդ Եւայի խօսել ուսուցէ,
Առանձին զԵւա զըտանէ,
ՅԱդամայ ի զատ եւ խաբէ:

Satan enters the serpent,
Teaches it to speak with Eve;
It finds Eve alone,
Away from Adam, and deceives (her).[6]

10 Զայն պըտուղն որ հրաժարեալ է,
Եւայի ուտել ուսուցէ,
Ով ուտէ զայն Աստուած լինի,
Զչարն եւ զբարին ճանաչէ:

That fruit that is forbidden,
It teaches Eve to eat,
(Saying,) "He who eats it, becomes God,
he knows evil and good."

11 Կին Եւայ օձին հաւատայ,
Զոր ասացըն ստոյգ կարծէ նա,
Ուտէ նա լուսոյն մերկանայ,
Զչարն եւ զբարին գիտենայ:

The woman Eve believes the serpent;
She considers what he said true;
She eats, is stripped of light;
She learns evil and good.

12 Ադամայ տեսեալ եւ խըղճայ,
Զկինն մերկ եւ զըթայ ի նայ,
Ի պըտղոյն առեալ ուտէ նա,
Զմերկութիւն անձին գիտենայ:

Adam sees and has compassion
On the naked woman and pities her;

6. See *Pen. Adam* [44](15):2 and [44](17):1.

Having taken the fruit he eats (it);
He learns his own nakedness.

13 Ոտնաձայն Տեառըն լիանայ,
Ի խընդիր սիրոյն Ադամայ,
Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ հարցեալ ըզնա,
Թէ ասէ Աստուծոյ մեղայ:

The sound of God’s footfall becomes loud,
In search of beloved[7] Adam,
“Where are you, Adam?” He asks,
And he says to God, “I have sinned.”

14 Երբ ասաց Ադամ թէ մեղայ,
Այլ պատճառն եհան ի յԵւա,
Եւայի անձն եւ սատանայ,
Որ եւ Տէրն անէծ ըզնոսա:

When Adam said, “I have sinned,”
But cast the blame on Eve,
Eve herself and Satan,
Whom the Lord cursed.

15 Օձն ի լանջ ‘ւ ի պորտըն լողայ,
Եւայի ծընունդն երկընտայ,
Երկիր փուշ[8] բուսոյց Ադամայ,
Եւ մահուամբ ի հող նա դառնայ:

The serpent creeps upon his breast and his belly;[9]
Eve’s delivery is in pains;
The earth grew thorns for Adam,
And, on death, he will return unto the ground.

16 Աստուած քաղցր եւ բարերար է,
Որ Ադամ անտես ոչ առնէ,
Այլ խնամով ըզնա դարմանէ,
Ծընանել որդիս յաջողէ:

God is kind and beneficent,
For he does not neglect Adam,
But with care he nurtures him,
Favors him with bearing children.

7. Reading սիրոյն as սիրուն.
8. Emending փուչ to փուշ.
9. The curses are drawn from Gen 3:14–20.

Text: Grigor Tłay, *Poems*, in Բանաստեղծություններ եւ պոեմներ *Verses and Poems*, ed. A. Š. Mnacʻakanyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1972).

Ասացեալ բան պիտանի ի խնդրոյ Հեթմոյ Սեւաստոսի
Useful Discourse Pronounced at the Request of Hetʻum Sewastos

17 203–4 Որ նախախորհ հրամայական,
Հօր եւ Հոգւոյդ խորհրդական,
Լինել պատկեր աստուածական,
Համանման եւ տարրական։
Ստեղծէր զԱդամ միջասահման,
Լցեր հոգւով կենդանական,
Մահկանացու անմահական
Եւ անմարմին, եւ մարմնական։
Զոր կորուսեալ խրատու խաբման
Եւ թշնամւոյն եղեալ հաւան,
/ Ել նա արտաքս այնու փոխան
Եղեւ ծառայ մեղաց մահուան։

That (which is) prescient, commanding,
Taking counsel of the Father and the Spirit;
To form a divine image,
Similar and made of elements.
He created Adam as an intermediary,
Filled him with a vivifying spirit,
Mortal (and) immortal,
Both incorporeal and corporeal,
Which he lost through the deceitful counsel
And the Enemy’s persuasion.
For that he came forth outside,
Became the slave of mortal sins.

Ասացեալ բան ողբերգական վասն առմանն Երուսաղեմի
Elegiac Discourse on the Capture of Jerusalem

18 246.77–80 Ամ, դու լսէ, երկիր վերին,
Արեւելից տուն Յաբեթին,
Ուստի ծագէ լոյսն արեւին,
Ուր է դրախտն Ադենին.

Now, hearken you celestial land,
House of Japheth in the east,
Whence the sun’s light shines,
And where the Garden of Eden is.

19 274.989–92 . . . Ուր արտասուեաց Տէր զմարմին
Զնախահօրն զԱդամին,
Որով զարտօսր զերեսին
Եբարձ յաչաց զամենեսին:

. . . Where the Lord lamented over the body
Of the forefather Adam;
By which he removed his countenance’s tears
from the eyes of all.

20 317.287–96 Դու, որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ նախկին,
Եդեալ ի դրախտն Ադենային,
Պահել զօրէնք պատուիրանին
Եւ ժառանգել զցանկալին,
Թէպէտ ’ւ եղեւ հնազանդ չարին
Եւ խաբեցաւ ողորմելին
Եւ թէ յանցեաւ ըստ նախանձին
Եւ պատժեցաւ զիրաւացին . . .

You that created the first Adam,
Having set him in the Garden of Eden,
To keep the law of the commandment,
And to inherit the desirable thing.
Although he obeyed the Evil One,
And, pitiful one, was deceived,
And if he transgressed in accordance with envy,[10]
He was punished justly.

21 318.3121–26 Դարձեալ դու, Տէրդ Հաբելին,
Որ խնդրեցեր զարիւն նորին,
Անիծեցեր զեղբայր նորին,
Որ նենգաւորն էր արդարին,
Ետուր զՍէթ փոխան նմին,
Որ մխ 386–87.
իթարն էր Ադամին:

Again you, O Lord of Abel,
You who sought his blood,
You cursed his brother
Who was deceitful to the just one.
You gave Seth instead of him,
Who was a consolation to Adam.[11]

10. Apparently, the intention is Satan’s envy, which brought about Adam’s transgression.

11. In Armenian literature, Seth is often dubbed “son of consolation”; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

GRIGOR VKAYASĒR C11-12

Text: Grigor Vkayasēr, Խաւսք որ նախ առ Վահրամ առձայնեալ "A Speech First Addressed to Vahram," ed. M. van Esbroeck, *Xristianskij Vostok*, n.s. 1.7 (1999): 38–57.

1 45 Զխաչն իւր տայր փոխանակ տ[ն]կոյն Ադամայ և զսուրբ մարմին իւր պարգ(և)է փոխանակ դառնութեան պտղոյն, և փոխանակ աղբերն Եդոմայ արբուցանել է մարդկան զփրկաւետ արիւն իւր: Զպատուհասն զոր եդ փրկիչն ի վերայ մարդոյն վասն յանցանաց, զայն ի մարմնի իւրում կրել սպան: . . . Իսկ ի յայրին ուր էր գերեզման նախամաւրն ուր թաղեցաւ Աբրահամ և իւրքն, անդ արքայ անմահից ի մսուր յանբռնից[12] բազմի, զի մարդիկ յերկինս վերակոչեսցէ որ ի ձեռն մեղացն նմանեցան անասնոյ: Խանձարրապատի զի զպատմուճանն Ադամայ պատառեսցէ: Ասէ. Տրտում է անձն իմ զի զմեր տրտմութեամբ հատուցելն խափանեսցէ Ադամ: փախեաւ ի մէջ անդառախիտ ծառոցն, վասն այնորիկ փրկիչն մեր փախեաւ յԵգիպտոս զի նմանեաւն զնմանն բարձցէ: Յորժամ յաստուածային գազաթն ընկալաւ զփշոցն պսակն, յայնժամ զանէծն մեր եբարձ և բեւեռեաց ի խաչին:

Յաւուրն ժամու յորժամ և առ լսելիս մատոյց խրատու չար վիշապին, ի նոյն ժամու աւուրն մատնի Տէրն մեր ի դատաստան մահու: Յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն ճաշակեաց Ադամ պտղոյն և յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն բարձրեցաւ Տէրն մեր ի խաչին: Ադամ մերկացաւ ի փառացն և Տէրն մեր մերկացաւ ի խաչին: Նոր Ադամ փրկիչն վասն առաջին Ադամայ գոչէ ասելով. Աստուած Աստուած իմ ընդէ՞ր թողեր զիս: Ի խաչին աղաղակեաց և առ Հայր արձակեաց զոգին վասն զի արտաքսեալ զԱդամ յաշխարհս յայս: Եղաւ մարմնով ի գերեզմանի զի զիշխանութիւն մեղաց լուծանէ: Ընդ երեկս աւուրն լուաւ Ադամ զձայն գալոյ ի դրախտի անդ և ընդ երեկ աւուրն ոտնաձայն առնէր առ դրունս դժոխոցն: Ծանաւթ եղեւ Ադամ ոտնաձային և աւետիս մատուցանէր հոգւոցն որ ի դժոխս ըմբռնեալ կային:

He gave his cross instead of Adam's tree, and grants his holy body instead of the bitterness of the fruit, and instead of the source of Eden, he has given mankind his saving blood to drink. The punishment that the Savior imposed upon the man for his sin: he killed it by bearing in his body. . . . And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like

12. Perhaps corrupt for յանբանից (GM).

animals. He is swaddled, so that he might rend Adam's garment. He says, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful" (Mark 14:34), in order to impede us eating with sorrow. He (Adam) fled into the thick trees; that is why our Savior fled to Egypt in order to annihilate his (behavior) by similar (behavior). When he accepted the crown of thorns on his divine head, then he annihilated our curse and (was) nailed on the cross.

At the hour of the day, when he offered his ears to the counsel of the wicked dragon, at the same hour of the day our Lord was delivered over to death sentence. On Friday, at the sixth hour of the day Adam ate of the fruit, and on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day our Lord ascended the cross. Adam was stripped of the glory, and our Lord was naked on the cross. The new Adam, the Savior cries out for the first Adam, saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[13] He cried on the cross and yielded up the ghost to the Father, because he had expelled Adam into this world. He was put bodily into the tomb in order to abolish the power of sin. In the evening, Adam heard the sound of steps[14] in paradise, and in the evening He tramped at the door of hell. Adam recognized the steps and announced (this) to the spirits that were captured in hell.

IGNATIUS *VARDAPET* C12

Text: Ignatius *vardapet,* Մեկնութիւն աւետարանին ըստ Ղուկասու *Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1824).

1 184 Ղուկաս Ժ.30 Այր մի իջանէր յԵրուսաղեմէ յԵրիքով. եւ անկաւ ի ձեռս աւազակաց. որք մերկացուցին զնա եւ վէրս ի վերայ եդին:

"A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell into the hands of thieves, who stripped him naked and wounded him . . ."[15]

2 184 . . . Այր մի իջեալ յԵրուսաղէմէ յԵրիքով, նշանակ ունի բնութեանս մերոյ, վասն զի առաջին մարդովն ամենեքեան անկան. եւ ի մի համարեալ որք ի նմանէն ծննդեամբ յառաջ եկին՝ իբրեւ զմի այր անկեալ ի ձեռս աւազակաց: Քանզի յաստուածային վայելչութեան փառաց անտի զոր ունէաք ի դրախտի անդ՝ սողոսկեալ անկաք ի խոնարհ ի ստորինս այս կեանս. եւ այնպէս ի բարձրութենէ անտի իջեալ ի խոնարհ՝ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջին չարին եւ դաւաճանողին զմեզ: Արդ թէպէտ եւ զառաջին խոցուածս նետից աւազակացն

13. Matt 27:46, Mark 15:34; cf. Ps 22:1 = Arm 21:2.
14. Literally: coming.
15. Luke 10:30.

ընկալաք ի դրախտի անդ, որով եւ մերկացաք զփառսն. սակայն մնաց սերմն անապականութեան: Իսկ յետ իջանելոյն ի դրախտէ անտի յայս վայր, ապա իսպառ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջնորդին կորստեանն: Եւ յայնժամ կարէվէր խոցեցաք եւ կարի մերկացեալ յաստուածային շնորհէն՝ խայտառակ գտաք:

". . . A certain man having gone down from Jerusalem to Jericho": this is the symbol of our nature, because all fell because of the first man; and if we reckon those who issued forth from him by descent as one, (they are) like the one man fallen into the hands of thieves. Since, having slithered forth from the divine glory of the splendor which we had in paradise, we fell into a depth, into this lower life; and thus having descended from the height to a depth, we fell into the hands of the first Evil One and Deceiver. Now though we received the first arrow wounds of the robbers in paradise, owing to which we were stripped of the glory, nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained. But after descent from paradise to this place we entirely fell into the hands of the leader of destruction. And then we were savagely wounded and found ourselves disgraced, having been thoroughly stripped of the divine grace.

3 264–65 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 8 Ո՞վ իցէ կին՝ որ ունիցի դրամս տասն. եւ թէ կորուսանիցէ մի դրամ, ո՞չ լուցանէ ճրագ:

"Which woman is it who has ten drams, and if she loses one dram, does not light a candle?"[16]

4 . . . Եւ մի ի տասանց անտի կորուսելոյս ասէ ցմեզ, որ յայց եղ կորուսելոց պատկերին. այն որ ի սկզբան անդ պայծառ եւ անապական ստեղծաւ յամենաքարի արարչէն. արծաթեղէն եւ պատուեալ. յարմարեալ ըստ իւր պատկերին եւ ի նմանութեան. քանզի զայս՝ առակաւ պատկերին / զեկուցանել թուի: Արդ սա պակասեալ ի թուոյ տասանցն, զի այսպէս զդասս հրեշտակաց ուսաք ինն գոլ. եւ տասներորդ մերս բնութիւն պակասեալ ի թուոյ անտի:

. . . And he speaks to us about this one lost of the ten, he who visited the image of the lost, him that was created in the beginning by the very kind Creator, shining and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with His image and in the likeness; for it seems that by this parable he refers to the image. Now this one is missing from the number of the ten, for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is this nature of ours, missing from that number.

5 272–73 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15 Եւ այն որ ունկնդիր եղեւ ուտել զպտուղ ծառոյն եւ աստուածանալ, ի պաշտօն էած եւ աստուածացոյց

16. Luke 15:8.

զղեւսն. արկեալ զանձն ընդ նոցա ծառայութեամբն. որ ի սկզբան անդ թշնամին եւ պատերազմողն էր: Եւ նա անյագ չարութեամբ վարեցաւ առ բնութիւն մեր. եւ զամենայն եհեղ ի մեզ զբարկութիւն իւր. եւ քան զամենայն արարածոցս բնութիւն կամեցաւ անարգ առնել զմեզ: Քանզի առաջին ընդ Աստուծոյ հաստատեաց զանձն ի թշնամութիւն եւ հակառակ արարչին ամբարձաւ. եւ անկեալ ի պատուոյն՝ պատրանօք եւ զմեզ հաւանեցոյց ընդ իւր անկանիլ, եւ այսպէս տիրեաց բնութեանս մերում: Եւ զի արարչին փառաց վնասել ինչ ոչ զօրէր, գտեալ զմեզ պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ, այնպէս հնարեցաւ ամենայն նախատանօք եւ զազրալի գործովք թշնամանել զկերպարանն. եւ ի խոնարհ ընկենուլ քան զամենայն անարգս ի կենդանեաց. Զոր օրինակ ատելի ոք թագաւորի՝ նմին չար ինչ հատուցանել անկարացեալ՝ եւ պատահեալ որդւոց նորա, եւ կամ թէ պատուականի ուրուք ի ծառայիցն, եւ զամենայն զոր ունի չարութիւն առ թագաւորն՝ ի նա հնարի թափել. եւ նմին իսկ թագաւորին հա/մարի զվնասն: Այնպէս եւ սատանայ կալեալ ընդ ձեռամբ զմարդն՝ կամեցաւ մարդոյն թշնամանօքն նախատել զարարիչն, որ արար զնա իւր պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն:

Luke 15:15 And he who was attentive to eat the fruit of the tree and become god, worshiped and deified the demons, casting himself with them under the command[17] of him who at the beginning was the enemy and the antagonist. And the latter acted with insatiable malice with respect to our nature and poured out upon us all his anger, and wished to humiliate us more than the nature of all the (other) creatures. For first he established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor by deceit, he persuaded us also to fall with him, and thus he became master of our nature. And as he was powerless to harm the glory of the Creator at all, he found us, the image and likeness of God. In that way he contrived to dishonor the image by all kinds of disgrace and disgusting deeds, and to cast it down lower than the most worthless of animals. Just as one who hates the king, being unable to requite him any evil, and having met his sons or any honored one of his servants, contrives to pour out upon him all the hatred he has toward the king, and the harm is regarded as (caused) to the king himself. In that way the devil having power over man, wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness.

6 283 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15.20 . . . Ասէ, հայր՝ մեղայ յերկինս: Զդրախտն կոչեաց երկինս. յորում առաջին յանցանքն եւ դատապարտութիւն եղեւ. որով այսքան ապականութիւն հեղաւ ի բնութիւն մեր: Իսկ երկին ասել զդրախտն՝ վասն տեղւոյն դրութեան եւ անմահ եւ անապական կենացն է:

17. Literally: servitude.

. . . (And the son) said (unto him), "Father, I have sinned against heaven."[18] He called paradise heaven, in which the first transgression and condemnation took place, owing to which such corruption was poured upon our nature. And paradise is called heaven because of its location and it is (the place) of immortal and incorruptible life.

7 310–11 Ղուկաս ԺԶ. 16.8 . . . Որդիս լուսոյ անուանէ զհրեշտակս: Իսկ որ ի դասուց անտի նոցա շեղեալ անկան չարացան անմտութեամբ.

. . . անմտացեալ՝ ի պատերազմողի կարգ զինքն հաստատեաց եւ եցոյց: Եւ ընդ պատկերին Աստուծոյ մարտու/ցեալ՝ պատրանօք ուսոյց եւ նմա ապստամբիլ. եւ հաւանեցոյց գործակից լինիլ իւրում անօրէնութեանն: Եւ այսպիսի չարասէր եղեալ՝ անօրէնութեամբ զբնութիւնս մեր ապականեաց, մինչեւ շարժիլ Աստուծոյ վրէժս հատուցանել նմա:

. . . He calls the angels "sons of light."[19] Indeed those who, in their ranks went astray and fell, did evil mindlessly . . .

(The devil) mindlessly established and showed himself to be in the antagonistic rank. And fighting against the image of God, he deceitfully taught him (Adam) also to rebel, and persuaded (him) to be his collaborator in lawlessness. And loving evil so much, he corrupted our nature by lawlessness, until God was moved to revenge him.

8 440 Ղուկաս ԻԳ.43 Վասն որոյ ասաց Տէրն, այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին: Արդ՝ զգիր պարտեացն Ադամայ պատառեալ ի վերայ խաչին (ի ձեռն որոյ փակեցաւ դուռն մտից դրախտին,) այսօր բացեալ լինի աւազակին ընդ պատառիլն դատակնքին մահու:

. . . Ըստ որում Ադամ զի յաւուր յորում էանց զպատուիրանաւն՝ մահկանացու եղեւ բնութիւն եւ մեռաւ, եւ զորս եկաց ի կեանս ի մեռելութիւն համարեալ էր նմա:

For that reason the Lord said: "Today shalt thou be with me in paradise."[20] Now, the document of Adam's debts, by means of which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross;[21] today (paradise) is open for the brigand, since the tearing of the decree of death.

. . . According to which, on the day when Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and died, and those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.

18. Luke 15:20.
19. Luke 16:8.
20. Luke 23:43.
21. Col 2:16.

Mxitʻar Anecʻi C12

Text: Mxitʻar Anecʻi, Մատեան աշխարհավէպ հանդիսարանաց *Book of Universal Scenes*, ed. H. G. Margaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

1 63 Խնդամտաբար եւ խնկեալ յաւժարութեամբ պարտ եւ վայելուչ է առնել զհիմն բանիս ի նախաստեղծէն մերմէ Ադամայ, համառաւտիւ հասուցանել մինչեւ ուր խնդիրն է մեզ, լայն եւ ընդարձակ գրել: Արդ՝ որ հիմն եւ սկիզբն է բնութեան ազգի մարդկութեանս՝ Ադամ, առաջին մարդն, զնա դիցուք առաջին վէմ ի հիմունս աստ . . . Ադամ, յետ ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն, լեալ ամաց ՄԼ ծնանի զՍէթ յԵւայէ կնոջէ իւրմէ եւ եկաց այլ եւս ամս Չ, մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մաղաղիէլի: Ծնանի այլ եւս ուստերս եւ դստերս, մեռանի ՋԼ ամաց:

It is necessary and proper to lay the foundation of this story with joy and honored disposition from our first-created Adam and bringing the narrative briefly up to the (time) in question for us, (then we shall) write amply and in detail. Now, let us set the first man Adam, who is the foundation and origin of the nature of our human race, as the first stone of the foundation. After leaving paradise, Adam, being 230 years old, begat Seth from his wife Eve, and lived 700 years more, until the 135th year of Mahalaleel (Małałiēl). He begat other sons and daughters; he died at the age of 930.

2 99 Այլ բազումք իսկ յիւրոց անտի ոչ հաւատան առասպելայաւղ բաջաղանաց նորա (Մահմետի) . . . Իսկ վասն զքարինս ձգելոյ, զոր յառաջն ասացաք, յաւդեն այսպէս, թէ՝ յորժամ եհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն Աստուած, յայսմ աշխարհի բնակեցոյց զնա: Եւ նորա տեսեալ զսատանայ յայսմ տեղւոջ, ուր զքարինսն ձգեմք, ծանեաւ, թէ սա էր, որ մեզ եհան ի կենացն: Առեալ քարինս արկ ի վերայ նորա, վասն որոյ եւ մեք այսպէս առնեմք:

But even many of his (Mohammed's) adherents do not believe his fabulous prattle. . . . And as to throwing stones, about which we spoke before, they compose the following: When God drove Adam out of paradise, he lodged him in this world. And when (Adam) saw Satan at this place where we throw stones, he recognized that this was he who drove us out of life. He took stones and threw (them) at him. That is why we do the same.

Mxitʻar Goš C12

Text: Mxitʻar Goš, Թուղթ "Letter," *Ararat* (October 1900): 497–504, 562–68; (January 1901): 55–61; (February 1901): 121–27.

1 563 . . . այլ ի լրման ժամանակի եկն Որդին եւ առ մարմին ի Մարիամայ կուսէ, եւ ճշմարտեալ, զի ոչ նախանձեցաւ Աստուածն ընդ Ադամա, զոր ասաց սատանայ, թէ գիտէր Աստուած, թէ ուտես ի ծառոյ անտի՝ աստուածանաս. եւ վասն այնորիկ արար զորդիսն Ադամա Աստուած մարմնանալովն։

. . . but in the fullness of time, the Son came and took on body through the Virgin Mary and testified (that) God did not envy Adam, whom Satan said that God knew (that) "If you eat of the tree, you shall become gods."[22] And on account of that he made Adam's sons [*sic*!] God through incarnation.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Ատենաբանութիւն *Declamation*, ed. B. Awgerean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1812).

Ատենաբանութիւն
Declamation

1 30 Եւ որպէս զուղիղ բանն Աստուծոյ նախահօրն ձեր թիւր մեկնեալ՝ գթեցուցի, այսպէս կարելի է եւ այժմ զբանս գրոց ոմանց ի ձէնջ այլ եւ այլ ցուցանել, եւ նոքօք զամենեսեան խռովեցուցանել. թերեւս կարացից զմիջնորդն խաղաղութեան՝ խաւարեցուցանելով զմիտս ձեր, ատելութեան տալ պատճառ տեսանել։ Միթէ կարացից զկենաց ծառն՝ որպէս նախահօրն ձեր, եւ ձեզ մոլորութեամբ մտաց՝ չարի գիտութիւն ուսուցանել։

And as I caused your forefather to stumble interpreting God's direct word incorrectly, thus now too one could represent to some of you the words of the Scriptures in diverse forms and by them to trouble everybody. Perhaps I could, by darkening your mind, the mediator of peace, cause the reason for hatred to be visible. Could I not teach you through error of mind that the tree of life (is) knowledge of evil, just as (I did) to your forefather Adam?

Text: Գրիգոր կաթողիկոսի Տղայ կոչեցելոյ, Նամականի. Տեառն Ներսէսի Լամբրոնացւոյ . . . թուղթ եւ ճառք *Epistles of Grigor Kat'ołikos called Tłay. Epistle and Homilies of Lord Nersēs of Lambron* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1838).

22. Cf. Gen 3:5.

Բարեբանութիւն Ներբողական գովութեամբ ի համբարձումն Տեառն Յիսուս Քրիստոսի յերկինս
Benediction with Elegiac Praise on the Ascension of Lord Jesus Christ to Heaven

2 270 Տէր ամենակալ, աղաղակէին, մինչեւ յե՞րբ ոչ ողորմիս վերինս Երուսաղէմի, եւ քաղաքացն դրախտին, ուստի արտաքս ձգեցեր զերի զբնակիչն զԱդամ, եւ անտես արարեր թողեալ ամայի այս եօթնեակ դարուց եօթնից:

Omnipotent Lord, they cried, how long you will have no mercy on upper Jerusalem and the towns of paradise, whence you exiled the inhabitant Adam and you neglected (them), leaving (them) uninhabited for these seven weeks of eons?

Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի հրաշափառ գալուստ Հոգւոյն սրբոյ
Encomium Spoken on the Glorious Coming of the Holy Spirit

3 294 Իսկ Հայրն բարի հաճեալ ընդ գործս սքանչելի՝ որդւոյն սիրելւոյ, եւ լուծեալ զկնիք դատապարտութեան Ադամայ հօրն նախնոյ, ետ ի նա զՀոգին, սփռել ի վերայ արեամբ գնեալ իւր հօտին :

And the Father being gracious as to the wonderful deeds of his beloved Son, and having undone the seal of the forefather Adam's condemnation,[23] gave Him the Spirit to spread over His flock bought by (His) blood.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Քաղաքային օրէնք *City Laws*, ed. K. Basmajean (Paris: Banasēr Press, 1907).

4 15 Աւրէնք. բարիեաւ զճշմարիտ Տէր Աստուած ի սկզբանէ Ա մարդոյն որպէս յառաջին գիրն արարածոց եցոյց մեզ օրէնս եւ գրեաց մեզ Մովսէս, եթէ եդ Աստուած օրէնս մարդոյն ի ծառոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին ոչ ուտել, եւ ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարոյ եւ չարի, զի եւ ոչ պահեաց զօրէնսն անդէն առ նա ուսաք զաւրինազանցին զպատուհասն քանզի ասաց Աստուած ցմարդն. փոխանակ զի կերար ի ծառոյն յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո, եւ ի հող դարձցիս ուստի առար, եւ այսպէս զաւրինազանցսն պատուհասեալ, էհան արտաքոյ դրախտին, եւ առաքեաց պանդխտիլ յաշխարհ . . .

"Law": The Lord God in the beginning rightly (showed) to the first man the true command, as Moses showed us in the first book of Genesis and wrote down for us that God made a law for man not to eat from the tree that was

23. 1 Cor 15:22.

in the middle of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil; and as he did not observe the law, we learned at once with respect to him about the punishment of the transgressor, because God said to the man: "Because you have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat, cursed be the ground in your works, and you shall return unto dust, out of which you were taken."[24] And thus having punished the transgressors, He drove (them) out of paradise and sent (them) to sojourn in the world . . .

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Ներբողան ի վերափոխումն Աստուածածնի. "Encomium on the Assumption of the Mother of God," ed. H. Oskean, *Handes Amsorea* 39 (July–August 1925): 360-366; (September–October 1925): 442–62.

5 447 (Words of Christ while dying)

. . . ես ահա հատուցանեմ զպարտսն Ադամայ, եւ այլ ոչ եւս կենացաղավարիմ ընդ մարդկան.

. . . And now I compensate for Adam's debt and I no longer live among mankind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Տեսութիւն աղօթից, Պատմութեան բանից ննջմանն Աստուածաբան Աւետարանչին Յօհաննու *Examination of Prayer: Of the Narrative of the Falling Asleep of the Evangelist John the Theologian* (Constantinople: Barseł & Sargis Sebastac'i Press, 1736).

6 28–29 եւ մեզ ի մեղացն եւ յանիծիցն զոր յառաջին Ադամն սփռեաց սատանայ, երկրորդ Ադամն / սրբեաց.

And the second Adam cleansed us from the sin and the curse that Satan spread upon the first Adam.

7 30 Այսպէս եւ մեզ որք նախ ըստ մարմնոյ ծնաք յԱդամայ, եւ յետ այնր՝ հոգւով ի Քրիստոսէ, հարկէ ըստ հնոյ հօրն բնութեան մեռանիլ, եւ ապա ըստ նոր հօրն յառնել:

Thus we that were born first according to the body from Adam, and after that in soul from Christ, have to die according to the nature of the old father and then to arise according to the new father.

8 56 Իսկ յորժամ մահուամբն ի վախճան էած (զՔրիստոս) զհնազանդութիւնն կապեաց զհիւսեալ պսակն ի գլուխ նորա. այսինքն զի շնորհեաց նմա անուն ի վեր քան զամենայն անուն. որ եւ ամենեցուն ծունր կրկնի պատկերին Ադամայ որ ի կերպարանն հօր միացաւ անշփոթ խառնմամբ:

24. Cf. Gen 3:17–19.

And when he brought (Christ) to an end by death, he bound obedience as the woven crown to his head. That is, he granted to him a name higher than any name. Everybody's knees are bent before the image of Adam, who was united to his Father's form through unconfused mixture.

9 107 . . . դատակնիքն Ադամայ ի վերայ նոցա էր: ... (Քս) փոխանակ անհնազանդութեան հնոյն Ադամայ՝ հնազանդ եղեւ հօր՝ մահու չափ:

. . . . Adam's condemnation was upon them. . . . In place of the old Adam's disobedience, (Christ) obeyed the Father unto death.

10 113 . . . սատանայ զայս (գիտակցութիւն մտացս) պղծէր. եւ յորժամ իւր կամացն հաւանեցուցանէր, մարմինս իբրեւ զարբանեակ զկամս մտացն կատարէր. եւ ոչ կարեն մարդիկ սրբիլ այնու. զի չունէին մտացն օրէնք:

Satan defiled it (the consciousness of the mind), and when he persuaded (it) to his will, the body like satellite carried out the mind's will; and people cannot be cleansed of this, for they have[25] no control over their mind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Խորհրդածութիւն սրբազան պատարագի *Reflection on the Holy Liturgy* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1842).

11 49 Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր ամենայն արարածս, որ ստեղծեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում, եւ նմանութեան, եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր, եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:

You who brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, who created man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your gifts[26] and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence.

12 Յետ հրեշտակացն գոյացութեան. արարածքս զգալի ստեղծան, եւ ապա մարդն՝ իշխան նոցա. ըստ որում ուսուցանէ զայս մեզ Դաւիթ. Ո՛ արար զհրեշտակս իւր հոգիս. եւ ապա յաւելու. Ո հաստատեաց զերկիր ի վերայ հաստատութեան իւրոյ. զսոյն ի մէջ առնու եւ քահանայս, յետ հրեշտակաց՝ զարարածոցս լինելութիւն դնէ, եւ ապա զմարդոյն ստեղծանելն. որոյ՝ ասէ, ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն. քանզի դրախտ ամենապատիկ ծառովք՝ զիմաստութիւն առակէ, եւ զգործել մարդոյն եւ պահել, զխնդրելն եւ պահել անդրժելի՝ զնոյն օրինակէ:

After the coming into being of the angels, the perceptible creatures were created, and then man, their master. Accordingly David teaches this to us:

25. Literally: had.
26. Or: grace.

"Who maketh his angels spirits," and then he adds, "Who made earth firm upon his firmament."[27] 49 This priest also deals with the same, he puts the coming into being of the creatures after the angels, and then the creation of man whom, he says, you taught to seek wisdom. Because paradise with various trees is the allegory of wisdom, and "to dress it and to keep it" by man symbolizes seeking and keeping the same inviolable.

13 49 Եւ ոչ անտես արարեր զմեղուցեալն, այլ եղեր ի վերայ նորա ապաշխարութիւն փրկութեան։

You did not neglect the sinner, but you were on his account the penance of salvation.

14 Մեծ շնորհ եղեւ այս Ադամայ յԱստուծոյ՝ գիտել զապաշխարութիւն յետ յանցանացն,[28] սակս մարմնոյն, որում ոչ գտաւ արժանի բանսարկուն։ Քանզի որդիք աշխարհիս այսորիկ իմաստնագոյնք են քան զնոսա (Ղուկ. ԺԶ. 8)։

This was great grace granted by God to Adam: to know penance after transgression, because of the body of which the Devil was not worthy, "because the children of this world are wiser than" them.[29]

15 58 Որ խօսեցաւ յօրէնս եւ ի մարգարէս եւ յաւետարանս

Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels

16 Յօրէնս, Հոգի Աստուծոյ շրջէր ի վերայ ջուրց. եւ փչումն էր նա կենդանական. եւ շնորհեաց ի մարդն առաջին եւ առ փչօղն սակս պատուիրանազանցութեան դառնայ։

In the Law: "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."[30] And the inbreathing was vital (vivifying), and He granted it to the first man, and it returns to Him who breathed it in, because of the transgression . . .

17 81 Տէր Աստուած ասէ՝ զօրութեանց, եւ արարիչ ամենայն լինելութեանց

It says, "Lord God of Hosts and Creator of all beings."

18 Նախ զանունն Աստուծոյ՝ զորս գտին մարդիկ, նմին անուանէ. անուն ասեմ, ոչ բնութեանն որ է սքանչելի եւ անհաս, այլ՝ փառացն եւ ներգործութեանն. քանզի ստեղծիչ արարածոցս գիտացեալ միայն զնա, այսր աղագաւ յարդեանց իրացն կոչեցաք զարարիչն Աստուած. այսինքն աստ ածող զոչ էսն յէութիւն եւ ի գոյութիւն՝ զերկնաւորս եւ զերկրաւորս։

27. Ps 104:4–5 = Arm 103:4–5.
28. Corrig. յանցանցացն.
29. Cf. Luke 16:8.
30. Gen 1:2.

First, he names him with God's name which people found; I do not mean the name of his nature which is marvelous and incomprehensible, but of his glory and action. Because having learned that He alone is Creator of beings, on account of this, we called the Creator of the structures of things God (*Astuac*) that is "he who brings here (*astacoł*)," the nonexistent to existence and being, heavenly and earthly things.

19 123 Զոր փրկեցեր պատուական արեամբ միածնի քո, եւ ազատեցեր խաչիւն սրբով

Whom you saved through the precious blood of your Only-Begotten (Son) and (whom you) freed through the holy cross.

20 Իսկ ազատեաց եւ խաչիւն, ուստի՞ ի դատակնքէն Ադամայ. քանզի նորա մեղօքն ամենեքեան դատապարտ էաք մահու:

Indeed he freed also by the cross: from what? From the condemnation of Adam, because we all were condemned to death through his sin.

Nersēs Šnorhali C12

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

1 Տաղ աւետեաց
Poem on the Annunciation

1 4.23–24 Սաւս խընկաբերին,
նոր դրախտ Աղենի,
Ծառ կենաց պըտղոյն:

Fragrant cypress,
new Garden of Eden,
Tree of the fruit of life!

2 6.5–8 Նոր բուրաստան ծաղկերանգ,
Ողկուզաբեր բարունակ,
Դրախտ Տեառն դարձեալ քեւ տուաւ
Մաւրն Եւայի, որ մեղաւ:

New garden colored with flowers,
Vine-shoot bearing bunches of grapes!
Through you the Lord's paradise was given again
To Mother Eve who sinned.

2 Ի Սուրբ Աստուածածին կոյսն
To the Holy Virgin Mother of God

3 9.7 Ռախանայ դրախտն Եդեմայ նոր ծառ կենաց տնկեաց ի նմա:

The new Garden of Eden feasts at the new tree of life he planted in it.

8 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

4 35.21–24 Որք էաք մեղաւք կապեալ ի յԱդամայ,
Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց,
Եւայիւ դատապարտեալ ազգըն կանանց
Մարիամաւ ազատեցան ի յանցանաց:

We, having been bound by sin to Adam,
Were released from the bonds by Christ;
The race of women condemned by Eve
Was freed from the transgression by Mary.

9 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

5 36.1-2 Այսաւր աւետեաց ձայն եհաս ի յունկն Եւայի,
Եւա՝ առաջին կոյս, ցնծայր դըստերբ Կուսիւն,

Today the voice of the Annunciation reached Eve's ear;
Eve, the first virgin, exulted with her daughter, the Virgin.

6 37.17–20 Պըտղոյն առաջնոյ մահ լուծաւ կենացըն պըտղով,
Պըտուղ անմահին ծառոյ տուաւ մեռեալն Ադամայ,
Ադամ վերըստին եմուտ ի դրախտն Եւայիւ,
Եւա պարէ այսաւր ծնանելով զԱստուածորդին:

Death by the first fruit was dissolved by the fruit of life;
Fruit of the immortal tree was given to the dead Adam;
Adam entered paradise again through Eve;
Eve dances today, at the bringing forth of the Son of God.

14 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

7 60.80–81 Այսաւր երկրորդ Ադամ պահեալ
Պարտեաց զյաղթող հնոյն Ադամայ:

60.80–81 Today the second Adam, enduring,
Defeated the vanquisher of the old Adam.

15 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

8 62.19–22 Զահ լուսոյն դարձեալ ի Նազարէթ բնակէր,
Ծածկէր զճառագայթն երեսնամեայ լըրամբ:
Պարագրեալ մարմնով ի Յորդանան եկեալ.
Զիընոյն Ադամայ լուանալ պարտեացն ըզգիր.

Again the torch of light dwelled in Nazareth;
He concealed the ray until he was thirty.
Circumscribed by body, having come to the Jordan
To wash away the promissory note of the old Adam.

21 Տաղ մեծի ուրբաթին
Poem on Good Friday

9 83.27-28[31] Ծանեաւ Ադամ զնըշան գալոյ Տեառն ի դըժոխս,
Ծանր ամաւթով կայր հիացեալ երկիւղագին:

Adam recognized the sign of the Lord's coming to hell;
He was gravely shamed, he was astonished by fear.

10 89.51–52 Պայծառ փառաւք շըքեղացոյց ըզնախահայրն,
Պըճնեալ փառաւք եմոյծ դարձեալ յԱդին դրախտին:

He glorified the forefather with brilliant glory;
Adorned with glory, (He) again introduced (him) into the Garden of Eden.

22 Ողբք մեծի ուրբաթին
Lament on Good Friday

11 96.59–60 Զանէծսն Ադամայ բառնամ
Փշեղէն պըսակաւս:

I remove Adam's curse
With this crown of thorns.

12 97.77–80 Զկապեալն արձակեմ զԱդամ,
Կապեմ ըզկապողն,
Ի դրախտն ուստի ել՝ տանիմ,
Ուր եւ զաւազակն:

I release the bound Adam;
I bind the binder;
I take (Adam) to the Garden whence he went out,
Where also the brigand (is).

31. See also: 87.27–28, 92.27–28.

26 Տաղ յարութեան
Poem on the Resurrection

13 114.23–24 Ստացաւ զԱդամ անդրէն ի կեանս
Յադենական տեղն եւ ի փառս:

He created Adam again for life,
In the Edenic place and in glory.

28 Տաղ յարութեան
Poem on the Resurrection

14 120.23–28 Այսաւր Տէր յարեաւ, ցընծացէ՛ք, ասէ,
Դըստերք Ադամայ:
Յեւայի մաւր լըսելիս ձայնեցէ՛ք,
Աւձըն պարտեցաւ:
Ուրախ լե՛ր, Ադամ, այսաւր Որդին քո
Ըզքեզ նորոգեաց:

Today the Lord arose, he says: “Rejoice,
daughters of Adam,
Cry to the ears of Mother Eve:
‘The serpent is defeated.’
Be happy, Adam, today your Son
Has renewed you.”

37 Տաղ փոխման սուրբ Աստուածածնին
Poem on the Assumption of Holy Mother of God

15 161.3–4 Զքեզ նախատեսացըն գուշակեալ ցուցին
Ծառ կենաց ի մէջ աստուածատունկ դրախտին:
Կենաց փայտ տընկեալ ըզքեզ տընկողին զԵդեմ,
Զտնկագործն էից ի քէն պըտղաբերեցեր:

The prophets predicted and demonstrated you,
Tree of life in divinely planted paradise.
The planter of Eden planted you as a tree of life,
You brought forth from yourself the cultivator of beings!

42 Տաղ սուրբ խաչին
Poem on the Holy Cross

16 184-5.9–12 Դըրախտին Ադենայ ծառ կենաց ի մէջ նըմին,
Դիմակ մահառիթ՝ մի՛ ճաշակել պատուէր:

/ Զպատուիրան լուսոյ խաւարին խաբմամբ թողեալ՝
Մերկացաւ զլոյսն անըստուերական փառացն:

The tree of life in the midst of the Garden of Eden,
The command not to eat is a mask causing death;[32]
Having abandoned the command of light through darkness's deception,
He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory.

17 185 21–22 Ձեռին Ադամայ փոխանակ ձըգմանն ի ծառն,
Տարածեալ ի սմա զիւր զանարատ բազուկսն:

Instead of the stretching out of Adam's hand to the tree,
He spread his immaculate arms upon it (i.e., the cross).

44 Տաղ առաքելոցն
Poem on the Apostles

18 98.41–44 Յորդահոս գետոց զնացիւք
Քառավըտակ ի յԱդենայ
Նորակերտ քաղաքն սուրբ
Առոգելով ուրախանայ:

By the flow of streaming rivers,
Fourfold stream from Eden,
The newly built, holy city
Rejoices at being irrigated.

49 Տաղ Յովհաննու մկրտչին
Poem on John the Baptist

19 233.13–16 Ադամ նախաստեղծ, զարթի՛ր, արի, որ ննջեսդ,
Լուսատու լիցի Քրիստոս քեզ ի խաւարիդ:
Ի յամլորդւոյս ընկա՛լ, Եւա, զաւետիս՝
Նոր Ադամ ծընաւ քո դուստրն՝ կոյսըն Մարիամ:

First-created Adam, wake up, rise, you who sleep,
Let Christ give you light in that darkness.
Receive, Eve, the annunciation of the barren woman's son:
Your daughter the Virgin Mary has borne a new Adam.

32. The mask "causing death" means the tree of life.

57 Տաղ սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանց
Poem on the Holy Hṙip’simeans

20 275 13–16 Բացաւ դուռն Եդեմ դրախտին,
Ծառըն կենաց տընկեալ յերկիր,
Քաղցրաճաշակ համեղ պըտուղ
Փոխանակ դառըն ճաշակմանն։

The door of the Garden of Eden is open;
The tree of life is planted in the ground:
Delicious, tasty fruit,
Instead of the bitter food.

60 Քարոզ փոխման Աստուածածնին
Sermon on the Assumption of the Mother of God

21 299 22–24 Ի հակառակաց միացուցեալ ոգւոյ եւ մարմնոյ զԱդամն առաջին
Գեղապաճոյճ փառաւք զարդարեալ կողածնաւն ի դրախտն Աղենայ.
Որոց զտիրականն աւրէն մոռացեալ դատապարտին մահու։

Having conjoined the first Adam from opposites, spirit and body,
Having adorned him with splendid glory in the Garden of Eden, together with one born from the rib,
Who, having forgotten the Lord’s law, are condemned to death.

61 Քարոզ սրբոց հրեշտակապետացն
Sermon on the Holy Archangels

22 310 1.68–69 Սրովբէն հրանիւթ զկենացն տունկ պահէր,
/ Զի մի՛ պատրեալն Ադամ կերեալ մշտասցի մահուամբն անյաջորդ։

The fiery Seraph guarded the plant (tree) of life,
So that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalterable death.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Բանք չափաւ *Verses* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1928).

Ողբերգութիւն վիպասանական ի տառից սրբոց. (Յիսուս Որդի)
Historical Elegy from the Holy Books (also known as Jesus the Son)

23 10 Որպէս Ադամն այն առաջին,
Այն որ մեղօքն անուանի հին,
Որով մեռաք ամենեքին
Եւ կորուսաք զցանկալին:

Like that first Adam
Who is called old through the sin;
Through whom we all died,
And lost the desirable (Garden).

24 11 Եւ յանցանաց մօրն Եւային.
Եւս առաւել քան ըզնոսին
Գըտայ յանցող սուրբ օրինին:
Զի պատուիրանն էր նոցա մին,
Վասըն միոյ դառըն պըտղին:

. . . And by the transgression of mother Eve;
even more than them,
Was I found to be a transgressor of the holy law,
For they were given one commandment,
Concerning one bitter fruit.

25 12 Ընդ փափկութեան կենաց դրախտին,
Որ իմաստիցն օրինակին,
Մըշակեցի յիմումս անձին
Զփուշ եւ զտատասկ մեղաց բուսին:
Ընդ անաշխատ կենաց վայրին,
Որ ըստ յուսոյն թեթեւ ասին,
Ուտեմ քրտամբք զառօրէին,
Դառնամ ի հող ուստի առին:

Instead of the delight of life in the Garden,
Which is a symbol of wisdom,
I cultivated in myself
Thorns and thistles of the plant of sin.
Instead of the place of untroubled life,
Which is called light[33] for the hope,
I eat my daily bread with sweat;
I return to ground whence I was taken.

33. I.e., in weight.

26 86 Ընդարձակեա զկապըս լեզուիս,
Բարբառեցո ինձ ըզբարին.
Եւ խի՛ց զականջս ընդդէմ օձին,
Զի մի՛ լուայց ըստ Եւային:

Release the bonds of my tongue,
Make me say good things,
And close my ears against the serpent,
So that I will not listen (to him) like Eve.

Բան հաւատոյ
Word of Faith

27 224–25 Ի միջօրեայն նըսեմացաւ,
Յորժամ Ադամ մեղօք մեռաւ . . .
Քացախ ետուն ի ծարաւի
Այնմ որ բըղխեաց գետ յԱդենի . . .
Յերրորդ ժամու պատրեալ օձին
Զմիտըս նախնոյ մօրն Եւային,
Ի վեցն անկեալ մարդն առաջին
Հաւանական բանիւ նորին.

It was darkened at midday,
When Adam died because of sin . . .
They gave vinegar for thirst,
To Him who made a river flow in Eden . . .
In the third hour the serpent deceived
The mind of the foremother Eve.
In the sixth (hour) the first man fell,
Through its persuasive speech.

28 225 Ի սոյն ժամու Տէրն ի խաչին,
Զի քաւեսցէ զմեղըս նոցին.
Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամըն հին,
Եմոյծ ըզգողն ի մէջ դրախտին:

In the same hour the Lord (was) on the cross,
To expiate their sin,
And when the old Adam came out,
He introduced the thief into paradise.

29 231 Եւ յերկնային ծառըս կենաց
Նախ ադամեանքն են մերձակաց,
Եւ ոչ Եւայ ձըզմամբ ձեռաց,
Որ հան զԱդամ յանճառ փառաց:

And first Adam's sons
Are close to the celestial tree of life,
But not Eve who by stretching out her hands
Drove Adam out of ineffable glory.

263 Ներբողեան կենսատու սուրբ խաչին
Encomium to the Life-giving Holy Cross

30 Ի Գողգոթա տեսէք ըզձեզ ի պաշտաման.
Անդ՝ ուր շիրիմն էր նախահօրըն հանգըստեան,
Որ կանգնեցաւ՝ առեալ ըզխաչս իւր գաւազան:
Քանզի փայտիւ վիրաւորեալ հինն այն Ադամ,
Անկեալ դընէր ի յայն խըշտին տարտամութեան.
Առ որ հասեալ որ սըլացաւ յերկնիցն Ադամ,
Գըթայր ի նա իբր ի պատկեր իւր եւ նըման:

See yourselves worshiping at Golgotha,
There, where was the tomb of the forefather's repose,
Which was set up, having taken the cross as his staff,[34]
For that old Adam was wounded by a tree.
Having fallen, he was put on that cowardly lance.
He who descended from heaven reached Adam,
had mercy on him as his image and likeness.

31 268 Օրհնեալ ես, փայտ սուրբ զարդարեալ,
Որ յԱստուծոյ ես պաճուճեալ.
Աղին տընկոյն գերհրաշեալ,
Այնմ որ Քրովբէքն են շուրջ եղեալ:

Blessed are you, decorated holy tree,[35]
Who are adorned by God,
More admirable than the tree of Eden,
Around which the Cherubim have been set.

32 269 Օրհնեալ ես, փայտ սուրբ տէրունի,
Ցուպ՝ յոր անկեալն Ադամ հաստի:

Blessed are you, the Lord's holy tree,[36]
Staff upon which the fallen Adam leans.

34. Or: where . . . its . . .
35. Or: cross; literally: wood.
36. Or: cross; literally: wood.

Յաղագս երկնից եւ զարդուց նորա
On the Sky and Its Stars

33 311 Քանզի յորժամ աստուածաստեղծըն մարդ Ադամ
Կորոյս մեղօք ըզշնորհսըն ձրի եւ տիրական,
Ի յարարչէն նըւազ իմաստ այս շնորհեցան.
Նախագուշակ լինել մարդկան չար պատահման:

For when the man Adam, created by God,
Destroyed by his sin the freely given and God-given grace,
They were granted this lesser wisdom by the Creator
To prophesy to men about misfortunes.

Յորդորակ
Didactic Poem

34 321–22 Ադամեան սեռ մարդկային որ ստեղծեցան,
Ի պատկեր աննմանւոյդ յօրինեցան.
Շուսատիպ զարմանազան նկարեցան
Երկնաւորն եւ երկրայինս զուգեցան:
Ի դրախտի անմահութեանն տնկեցան.
Ի մահու պտղոյն կերան եւ մերկացան:
Նոր Ադամ հնոյն Ադամայ որդիացաւ.
Ի Կուսէ Աստուած եւ մարդ նոր խառնեցաւ:

The human species of Adam which was created
Was made in the image of you, peerless One.
They were pictured as shining and wondrous;
They joined together earthly and heavenly;
They were planted in the Garden of immortality;
They ate of the fruit of death and were stripped naked.
The new Adam became the son of the old Adam;
From the Virgin, God and man, newly he was mixed.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Ողբ Եդեսիոյ *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, ed. M. Mkrtč‘yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1973).

35 24 Հռոմ, մայր քաղաքաց . . . որպէս զդրախտն, որ յԱդենի . . .

Rome, mother of towns . . . like paradise which is in Eden . . .

36 27 Աղէքսանդրիա . . .
Որ ես աթոռ դու Մարկոսի՝ մեզ աւետեաց քարոզողի,
Որ եւ դրախտին աստուածայնոյ տունկ բանաւոր ի քեզ տնկի:

Alexandria . . .

You who are the see of Mark, of the preacher of good news to us,
And the reasonable tree of divine paradise is planted in you . . .

37 44–45 (Ես՝ Եղեսիա, Ուռհա քաղաք)
Զի ոչ ծածուկ էի տեղի, կամ ի յանկեան ինչ թաքստի,
Այլ ի գետիցն, որ յԱդենի, էի բազմեալ ես ի միջի՝
/ Ի յԵփրատայ եւ Տիգրիսի, որ Միջագետք անուանէի:

(I, Edessa, the town of Urha),
I was not a secret place or in a hidden corner,
But I was seated in the midst of the rivers, which were of Eden
Of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and I was called Mesopotamia.

38 61–62 Զի թէ աստուստ տարագրեցուք, որ հայրենեաց կոչի գետին,
Որ է պայծառ յերեւելիս եւ վայելուչ աչաց բերին,
Այլ փոխանակ անցաւորին ժառանգեցուք զանանց բարին՝
Ի փափկութեան լուսոյ դրախտին, յորմէ անկաւ մարդն առաջին,
Յանմահութեան անախտ վայրին, ի սեփական մեր հայրենին:
Եւ փոխանակ այս քաղաքի, որ է շինուած սա մարդկային,
Ունիմք շինուած մեք յԱստուծոյ, անձեռագործ եւ երկնային,
/ Որոյ շինող ճարտարապետ աջ արարչին է անեղին:
Այն, որ կանգնեաց կամար զերկին, կառոյց ի նմա զդասս վերին,
Այն, որ զերկինս հաստատեաց, եւ զորս ի սմա՝ մինչ ոչ գոյին:

Since we are exiled from here, which is called the soil of the fatherland,
Which is splendid among visible things and gratifying to the eye,
Now instead of the transient, we shall inherit the eternal good,
In the light of the Garden's delight whence the first man fell,
In the immaculate place of immortality, in our own fatherland.
And instead of this town, which is built by men,
We have a building made by God, made without hands and celestial,
The builder of which is the skillful hand of the increate Creator,
Who erected the arch of the heaven, put in it the supernal ranks,
Who made the earth firm and those in it, that did not exist before.

39 122 (Դուք որդիք իմ սիրելիք . . .)
Ծառոյն կենաց մերձեալ հպիք, ի մահացուէն այլ ոչ խաբիք,
Բազմաբեղուն ստեղն արձակիք, մինչ ի յեկինս հասանիք . . .
Յորժամ հնձէք, զոր ցանեցիք, յանմահական դրախտին հանգչիք,
Ընդ զովարար տնկոյն նստիք եւ յաղբերէն կենաց արբջիք:
Որ չարչարեացն զձեզ լացցէ, դուք խնդալից սրտիւք բերկրիք,
Ի բոց հնոցին նա կիզանի, դուք ի վտակն Ադին շրջիք:

(You, my beloved children . . .)
You having approached, touch the tree of life and are not deceived again by the fatal one,

You send forth abundant offshoots, until you reach heaven.
When you reap what you have sown, you repose in the immortal paradise,
You sit under a refreshing tree and drink from the spring of life.
He who has tortured you will weep, and you will rejoice with joyful heart.
He is burnt in the fire of furnace, you will stroll round Eden's stream.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթէոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալւոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելւոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացւոյ՝ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec'i* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1825).

40 17 Ադամն հին ըստ անձնիշխան կամաց կորոյս զպատիւն առաջին՝ այլ գիտութեանն Աստուծոյ յայտնիք էին լինելոցն:

The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God's knowledge.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Թուղթ ընդհանրական *Encyclical Letter,* ed. Ē. Bałdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1995).

Առ դասս քահանայից
To the Class of Priests

41 134 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտի լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն, որպէս զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեալ Աստուծոյ եւ ապա Եւայ:

And the husband must be older by time than the wife, just as God created Adam first, and then Eve.

Առ կանանց դասս
To the Class of Women

42 161 Եւ մի՛ ոք նմանօղ լիցի օձին՝ գործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, զոր եւ կաւատն անուանեն, զի որպէս նա Եւայի ջամբեաց զպտուղն մահու խաբէութեամբն, նոյնպէս եւ սա զանմիտ կանանց եւ զարանց տայ ճաշակել զպտուղն մահաբեր մեղաց, որ ի սկիզբն քաղցր երեւի անմտաց, եւ յետ կատարմանն դառն, քան զլեղի, որ եւ զանէծս օձին ժառանգեացէ այնպիսին յԱստուծոյ, զորոյ եւ զգործն առացաւ:

And let no one be like the serpent, by being an instrument of lawlessness for Satan, who is also called "the procurer." For just as he fed Eve the mortal

fruit through deception, in the same way he also gives mindless women and men to taste the mortal fruit of sin, which first seems sweet to the foolish, and at the end more bitter than gall (or: wormwood). Such a person will inherit from God the serpent's curse, whose deed he has received.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Թուղթք *Letters.* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1873).

Մխիթարական առ ուրուկս յԵդեսիա
Consolatory Letter to the Lepers in Edessa

43 230 Քանզի նախահայրն մեր Ադամ՝ քաղցր պտղոյն հեշտութեամբ կորոյս զաստուածային զփառսն, եւ զկեանս անմահականս եւ զդրախտին վայելչութիւնն, եւ փոխանակ ընկալաւ զերկիր փշաբեր եւ զկեանս տրտմականս եւ զախտալիցս եւ զտաժանելիս, եւ մահ ի կատարածի. վասն որոյ եւ արարիչն եւ Տէրն ամենայնի երկրորդ Ադամ եղեւ եւ անուանեցաւ, ի բնութենէ նորին առնլով մարմին յաղագս փրկութեան նորա:

For our forefather Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendor of paradise, and received instead the earth bringing forth thorns, and sorrowful, suffering and distressing life, and death at the end. Therefore, too, the Creator and Lord of all became and was called "Second Adam," by taking on body from his nature for the sake of his (Adam's) salvation.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն սակս տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին *Commentary on the Ten Canon-Tables of the Gospel,* ed. Y. K'iwrtean, *Bazmavēp* 131,3-4 (1973): 419–37; and V. Łazaryan, ed., Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač'enc', 1995), 44–60.

An English translation may be found in James R. Russell, trans., "Two Interpretations of the Ten Canon Tables" in *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel,* ed. Thomas F. Mathews and Avedis K. Sanjian (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 29; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 207–11.

44 429 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց կայ՝ զզգալի տարերքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմուճանն առակէր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին՝ յորս վայելէր զառաջինն:

And the fourth canon-table represents paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements). And its colors are blue and black, for the brightness of paradise was concealed from Adam and his children. The coats of skins are also

an allegory of this, as opposed to the glory of God and paradise, where he enjoyed (life) at first.

45 430 Եւ յայլ խորանքս մթատեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօտ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ գայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս՝ եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն։

And other canon-tables are somewhat dark-looking in form, and under the arches the cross is glimpsed, which demonstrates Christ's mystery that in former times appeared in a concealed form, the mystery of wisdom which descended from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and his off-spring.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ "Riddle," *Ararat* 1 (May 1868): 8.

I

46 8 Դատաւորն իրաւարար
Ի մահ մատնեաց զգողն արդար,
զոր գողացաւ զգողոնքն էառ
Փրկանք անձին իւրոյ արար։

The judge-arbitrator
Justly condemned to death the thief,
He who stole, took the spoil
And made it a ransom for himself.

"Solution" *Ararat,* 2 (June 1868): 22.

47 Մայիս մասոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն՝ Աստուած և Ադամ,
Երկրորդը՝ Դրախտ։

The riddle of May meant
First—God and Adam,
second—the Garden.

II

"Riddle," *Ararat* 2 (June 1868): 22.

48 Ջաւակ ծնաւ յայն մեծ այգին.
Ծառն երետ ծիծ 'ւ եսպան զորդին
նոքա որպէս զգեստ ունէին.
հանին ու հազան զայծու մորթին։

Կանաչ մի կայ ի մէջ դրախտին,
չորս գետք անցնին հետ իր տակին.
պտուղ ունի քաղցր ու լեղին
՚ւ է՛ ճշմարիտ երկու բնութիւն,

A child was born in that large garden;
The tree gave breast and killed the son.
The clothes that they had,
They took them off and put on the goatskin.
There is a plant in the Garden,
Four rivers pass beneath it,
It has sweet and bitter fruit,
And truly has two natures.

"Solution," Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

49 Յունիս ամսոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն նախահարք։
Երկրորդն՝ ծառն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի։

The riddle of June meant:
First—the forefathers,
second—the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

III

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ "Riddle," Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

50 Դաշտ մի կայր արձակ ու լայն
անսիւն շինուած էր, անգերան,
կանթեղքն ի կախ կան անչուան,
ջրահերն անշէջ զլոյսն տան։
Կոյս մի մաքուր անհպելի,
երիտասարդ մի ցանկալի,
անմեղ կային ի միասին,
եւ ոչ յարատ մինչ հայէին,
մինչեւ առիթ ոմն եղեւ,
զկապ կուսութեան նորա եհեղ,
եւ կերակուր նախ զազանին
եւ ինքն եմուտ յորովայնին։

There was a plain, spacious and wide,
It was built without pillars, without beams;
Lamps are hanging without strings;
Torches give inextinguishable light.

A pure, untouched virgin,
An amiable young man,
Stayed together innocently
And did not look at any sin,
Until there was an occurrence.
She loosed the tie of her virginity;
First he gave food to the beast
And he himself entered the belly.

“Solution,” *Ararat* 8 (December 1868): 116.

51 Հոկտեմբեր ամսոյ հանելուկն է
դրախտ՝ Եւայ. Ադամ՝ եւ օձ:

The riddle of October means
The Garden, Eve, Adam and the serpent.

Pawłos Taronac‘i C12

Text: Pawłos Taronac‘i, Թուղթ ընդդէմ Թէոփիստեայ հոռոմ փիլիսոփային *Letter against the Greek Philosopher T‘ēop‘istus* (Constantinople: Yohannēs Press, 1752).

1 (?)173–74 Զի որպէս առաջին փայտն՝ անհնազանդութեան գոլով պատճառ, զմահ եւ զապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Այսպէս եւ փայտ խաչին՝ հնազանդութեան գոլով առիթ, զանմահութիւն եւ զանապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Եւ զի անդ զքաղցր պտուղն ճաշակելով Ադամայ, յորմէ հրաժարեցաւ ի դրախտէն, զոր եւ Աստուածանալն կամէր: Եւ յաղագս այնորիկ Քրիստոս զլեղին էարբ, փոխանակ այնր յանցանացն, եւ զդառնութիւն պտղոյն եբարձ. զի ահա անդ՝ ի վեր համբարձեալ զգլուխն իւր Ադամ, եւ հայէր ի ծառն, որ ոչ էր արժան հայիլ: Աստ Քրիստոս խոնարհեցուցեալ զիւր Աստուածային զգլուխն, եւ զմարդկային հոգին աւանդեաց առ հայր իւր: Անդ ձգեալ Ադամայ՝ առ ի առնուլ ձեռօքն զպտուղն, աստ ի խաչն բեւեռեալ Քրիստոս զձեռն իւր, փոխանակ Ադամայ: Անդ մերկանայր նախահայրն զփառսն վասն մեղացն, եւ աստ մերկացաւ Քրիստոս զպատմու/ճանն իւր: Անդ նախահայրն յաւուր ուրբաթու ճաշակեաց զլեղին ի վերայ խաչին: Յայնմ ուրբաթուն հալածեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ աստ յայսմ ուրբաթուս՝ առեալ եղեւ Քրիստոս ի խաչէն եւ եդաւ ի գերեզմանի:

For, just as the first tree, being the cause of disobedience, made us heirs of death and corruption, likewise also the wood of the cross, being the cause of obedience, made us heirs of immortality and incorruption. And since Adam

ate the sweet fruit there, wanting to become God, for which he was deprived of paradise; because of that Christ drank gall as compensation for the transgression of that one (i.e., Adam), and removed the bitterness of the fruit. For, behold, there Adam lifted up his head on high and looked at the tree at which he was not worthy to look; here Christ having lowered his divine head, gave his human soul to his Father. There, Adam reached out to take the fruit with his hands, and here Christ had his hands nailed to the cross, instead of Adam. There the forefather was stripped of his glory because of the sin, and here Christ was stripped of his garment. There the forefather drank gall on the cross on Friday; on that Friday Adam was driven out of the Garden; and here on this Friday Christ was taken down from the cross and was put in the tomb.

2 226–27 Եւ ահա այսպէս քարոզեցաւ մեզ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի յունվարի վեցն, եւ ոչ էր ի դեկտեմբերի քսան եւ հինգն. եւ զայս այսպէս գիտեմք խորհրդաբար ըստ ճշմարտութեան. զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ նախահայրն, եւ ի Նիսան ամսոյ մէկն, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի: Եւ յուրբաթու ի վեց ժամու աւուրն ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի քսան հինգն: Եւ ի տբէթի քսան եւ մէկ ծնաւ Քրիստոս: Եւ որպէս յաւուր ուրբաթու ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ի վեց ժամն, նոյնպէս ել Քրիստոս ի խաչն / յաւուր ուրբաթու . . .

Եւ ամիսն նիսանի սկիզբն էր ամսոցն եբրայեցւոց. եւ ահա այս եւս ըստ խորհրդեանն: Վասն զի ի նմա արար Աստուած զսկիզբն լինելութեան արարածոցս: Եւ հաստատեաց զաշխարհս յաւուր կիւրակէի. եւ յայսմ ամսեանս ստեղծաւ Ադամ: Եւ յայսմ ամսեան ցածուցեալ եղեւ ջուր ջրհեղեղին յերեսաց յերկրէ:

And behold, thus it is announced to us that Christ's birth was on the 6th of January, and not on the 25th of December. And thus we apprehend this mystically and truly. For the forefather Adam was created on the sixth day, on the 1st of the month Nisan, and not in December. And on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day, God created Adam and not on the 25th of December. And on the 21st of Tebet Christ was born. And just as on Friday Adam went out of paradise in the sixth hour, likewise Christ ascended the cross on Friday . . .

And the month Nisan was the beginning of the Hebrews' months, and this is also according to the mystery (symbol).[37] For God began the creation of the creatures in it, and established the world on Sunday; and in this month Adam was created and in this month the water of the Flood lowered from the face of the earth.

3 230 Բայց լուաք՝ զի ասացին ոմանք վասն աւուրն սրբոյ յայտնութեան Տեառն, եթէ յաւուր ուրբաթու հանդիպեցաւ. վասն զի յաւուր ուրբաթուն

37. I.e., typology.

եղեւ լինելութիւն առաջին մարդոյն Ադամայ: Եւ այլք ոմանք ի շաբաթու ասացին: Բայց ես հաւանեալ եմ սրբոյն Պողիկարպոսի, վասն զի նա աշակերտ էր սրբոյն Յոհաննու աւետարանչի:

But we have heard that some people said about the day of the holy revelation of the Lord, that it took place on Friday, because the creation of the first man Adam took place on Friday. And some others said that it was Saturday. But I agree with Saint Polycarp, for he was the student of the holy evangelist John.

Samuel Anec‘i, C12

Samuel Anec‘i, Տոմարագիտական եւ տիեզերագիտական աշխատութիւն "A Calendrical and Cosmological Work," ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ējmiacin* (January 1952): 30–37; (February 1952): 34–43.

1 35 Ամսոց անուանք ի սկզբանէ ոչ էին, այլ սկսեալ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս՝ զգարնանամուտն տարեմուտ առնէին ամենայն ազգք:

In the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples made the beginning of spring to be the beginning of year.

2 43 Հց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք: Պխ. Ոմանք քսան եւ երկու ասեն՝ ըստ նշանագրացն եբրայեցւոց եւ այլք քսան եւ չորս՝ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն: Եւ է այս. առաջին աւուրն եօթն են, այսինքն՝ հրեղէն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերքն եւ լոյսն եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն, երկրորդ օրն՝ հաստատութիւն եւ ջրեղէն կամարն եւ ծովք եւ ցամաք երկիր, երրորդ օրն՝ բոյսք եւ տունկ[կ]ք եւ դրախտն, չորրորդ օրն՝ արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղքն, հինգերորդ օրն՝ լուղակք եւ թռչունք, վեցերորդ՝ ցամաքային կենդանիք եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա, եօթներորդ օրն շաբաթ, որ է հանգիստ, այլ եւ՝ տիւ եւ գիշեր, որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն, որով լինի քսան եւ չորս:

Question: How many are the main creations? Answer: Some say twenty-two, according to the Hebrew characters, and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And these are: the seven of the first day, namely, the fiery heavens and the four elements and the light and the angels with the light; on the second day, the firmament and the watery vault and the seas and the dry land; on the third day, the shoots and the plants and paradise; on the fourth day, the sun, the moon and the stars; on the fifth day, the swimming creatures and the birds; on the sixth day, the land animals and Adam and Eve; the seventh day is Saturday (Šabat‘), that is rest; also the day and the night which came into being together with the light, and they make twenty-four.

Sargis Šnorhali C12

Sargis Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն եօթանց թղթոց կաթուղիկեայց *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles,* ed. A. Narinean Aknec‘i (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec‘i Press, 1828).

1 41 Զանազան են աւէ՝ պատրանք բանսարկուին, եւ ամենայնն երեւոյթք են[38] եւ խաբէութիւնք մտաց. վասն զի կեղծաւորեալ ի ներքս անկանի զօրէն սիրելւոյ, եւ քաղցրացուցանէ զանցաւոր եւ զլի ցաւօք կեանս հոգւոյն իբրու զպտուղ ծառոյն առաջին մարդոյն՝ որով զտիրականն կորոյս զփառս, եւ դատապարտեալ անկաւ ի յայս երկիր անիծից. նմանապէս եւ զմեզ տեսեալ վերստին ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ կերպարանեալ՝ գալստեամբ նորոյս Ադամայ, հնարի պէսպէս կերպարանօք խաբել զմեզ:

He says, the tricks of the Devil are various and all of them are visible and deceits of mind, for he intrudes, dissembling, like a friend and delights the life of the spirit, transient and full of sorrow, (in the same way) as the fruit of the tree (delighted) the first man, due to which he lost the Lord's glory and being condemned, fell to this cursed earth. Likewise seeing us appearing again in God's image, thanks to this new Adam's advent, he devises to deceive us through various forms.

2 56 Արդ՝ մի՛ զրպարտեր զաստուածութիւն, եւ մի՛ Ադամայ նմաներ նախնւոյն քո հօր՝ որ վասն զպատուիրանաւն անցանելոյ զԱստուած պարտական առնէր, կինս աւէ՝ զոր ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս՝ եւ կերայ:

Now do not slander the Divinity and do not be like your forefather Adam who made God responsible for transgressing the commandment, saying: "The woman whom you gave me, she deceived me, and I ate." [39]

3 64 «Հեզութեամբ աւէ՝ ընդունիջիք զբանն ընդաբոյս . . . »

Ընդաբոյս ասելն զնա՝ սակս ի սկզբանն սերմանելոյ զպատուիրանն նախաստեղծին Ադամայ, զոր ունէր ընտանի բոյս բուսուցանել՝ եւ խամրացոյց զնա:

It says: "Receive with meekness the engrafted word."[40]

Saying it to be "engrafted," (means) the commandment that was seeded in the beginning for the first-created Adam, in order to grow a cultivated plant; but (Adam) made it useless.

38. A note by the editor: ". . . or, according to another view invisible."

39. Gen 3:12.

40. Jas 1:21.

4 113 «Ամենայն բնութիւն ասէ՝ գազանաց, եւ թռչնոց, եւ սողնոց, եւ որ ի ծովու են, հնազանդեալ են՝ եւ հնազանդին մարդկեղէն բնութեան:»

It says: "Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subjected, and are obedient to human nature."[41]

5 Զտիրական պատիւ մարդոյն նշանակէ բանիւս՝ զոր ի ստեղծմանէն յԱստուծոյ ընկալաւ, (զի) եւ զնա տէր եւ իշխան եւ թագաւոր կացոյց երեւելի արարածոցս. ըստ որում եւ ասաց առաջին մարդոյն, իշխեցէք ձկանց ծովու՝ եւ թռչնոց երկնից՝ եւ գազանաց երկրի, եւ սողնոց՝ որք սողին ի վերայ երկրի. (դարձեալ՝) եւ այլում նախահօր ասաց, զահ եւ զերկիւղ ձեր եդից ի վերայ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանւոյ:

By these words he signifies the Lord's honor of man, which he received from God from his creation. (For) the Lord appointed him both master and king over the visible creatures, in accordance with what He said to the first man: "Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and the beasts of the earth, and creeping things that creep on the earth."[42] Again in another place he said to the forefather: "I have put the fear and the dread of you upon every breathing creature."[43]

6 114 Չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ օձն անմարմին, եւ խաբեալ պատրեաց զմարդն առաջին. եւ նոյն այն չարախօսութիւն փոխատրաբար կապեցաւ ի լեզու մարդոյ:

The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue.

7 115 Զի որ զպատկեր թագաւորի թշնամանէ՝ ընդ նմին եւ զթագաւորն թշնամանէ, եւ մահապարտութեան է արժանաւոր. եւ որ զպատկեր Աստուծոյ անիծանէ՝ զմարդ, ընդ նմին եւ զսկզբնատիպն անիծանէ, զի ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծ զնա արարիչն. արասցուք ասէ՝ զմարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան. իսկ դու անիծանես զնա՝ եւ անպատուես, եւ որում ներելոյ արժանի գտանիցիս:

One who dishonors the king's image, together with it dishonors the king as well and deserves condemnation to death. And one who curses man, the image of God, together with him he curses the prototype, for the Creator made him in the image of God. It says: "Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness."[44] But you curse and dishonor him; and how can you be found deserving forgiveness?

41. Jas 3:7.
42. Cf. Gen 1:28, 30.
43. Cf. Gen 9:2.
44. Gen 1:26.

8 Տէրն քո եւ արարիչն պատկերաւ իւրով պատուեաց զնա՝ եւ օրհնութեան արժանաւորս արար. Օրհնեաց, ասէ՝ զնոսա Աստուած՝ եւ ասէ, աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք. եւ դու՛ անիծանես. եւ ո՞ր գեհեան ոչ ընկալցի զքեզ:

Your Lord and Creator honored him through His image and made him worthy of blessing. It says: "God blessed them and said, Be fruitful, and multiply."[45] And you curse (them); and which Gehenna would not accept you?

9 134 Մի նմանէք ասէ՝ Ադամայ նախնւոյն ձերոյ եւ հօրն, որ այնքան պատուով պատուեալ յԱստուծոյ՝ անհնազանդ գտաւ պատուիրանաց նորա, զոր ասաց նմա չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ եւ ոչ մահանալ. իսկ նա զխրատ չարախօսին բարուք վարկաւ՝ որ չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ, նախանձոտ զող՝ եւ անմարդասէր. գիտէր ասէ՝ Աստուած, եթէ յաւուր յորում ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն՝ բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս՝ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար. իսկ նա ոչ եկաց հակառակ՝ չարախօսին, այլ հաւատաց՝ եւ հնազանդեցաւ (նմա.) եկեր ի պտղոյն՝ եւ ըղձանալւոյն ո՛չ եհաս, այլ մերկացեալ ի փառացն՝ յանդիմանեցաւ սուտ լինել (խրատն):

He says: "Do not be like your ancestor and father Adam, who, having been honored by God with such honor, was found disobedient to His commandments, which He said to him not to eat of the fruit of the tree and not to die. But he considered the counsel of the Devil to be good, who slandered God as being envious and misanthropic. He said, "God knew that in the day you eat of the tree, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."[46] But he did not oppose the slanderer, but believed and obeyed (him); he ate of the fruit and did not achieve the desirable (thing), but being stripped of glory was blamed, for (the counsel) was deceitful."

10 Արդ՝ եւ դուք ասէ՝ ընդդէմ նորա զհակառակսն գործեցէք, հնազանդ լերուք Աստուծոյ. այնմ՝ որ պտուղ կենաց պարգեւեաց ձեզ զխոնարհութիւն, եւ պտուղ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի եցոյց ձեզ զամբարտաւանութիւնն եւ զսէր աշխարհիս այսորիկ: Իսկ եթէ բանսարկուն դարձեալ առաջի քո դնէ զմեծութիւն աշխարհիս այսորիկ՝ եւ զփառս եւ զամբարտաւանութիւն, որպէս եւ յայնժամ զպտուղ ծառոյն ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն, մի հաւանիր նմա. այլ կաց հակառակ ընդդէմ նորա:

"So you," he says, "do the opposite things against him; be obedient to God, to the one who granted you the fruit of life, humility; and showed you the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, pride and love of this world. And if

45. Gen 1:28.
46. Gen 3:5.

the Devil offers you the grandeur of this world again, and its glory and its pride, in the same way as then (he offered) the fruit of the tree for the reason of becoming God, don't agree with him, but oppose him."

11 142 Նմանեա ի մասինս յայսմիկ Աստուծոյ. արար աւէ Աստուած Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա հանդերձս մաշկեղէնս՝ եւ զգեցոյց նոցա, ծածկել զամօթալի զմերկութիւն նոցա՝ փոխանակ պատառատուն տերեւոյն:

Be in these portions like God. It says, "For Adam and his wife the God made leather garments, and clothed them"[47] to cover their shameful nakedness, instead of the torn leaf.

12 187 Եւ կամք առաքչին հօր այն էին, զի մահուամբ որդւոյն՝ արարածք փրկեսցին, ի պատճառս որոյ առաքեացն զնա յաշխարհս. եւ այս՝ սակս անհնազանդութեան նախնւոյն Ադամայ, որով զապականութիւն եհեղ ի բնութիւնս: Իսկ Տէր մեր զգեցեալ զեղծեալ պատկերն Ադամայ՝ եւ նովին հնազանդի հօր, զի զկեանս եւ զանապականութիւնն ի մարդիկ աղբիւրացոյց: Եւ զի անհնազանդութիւն սակս ճաշակման պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անմահ բնութեան աստուածանալոյն եղեւ՝ որով մահ թագաւորեաց:

And that was the will of the Father, the Sender, that the creatures be saved by his Son's death, for which reason he sent Him to this world. And this was because of the ancestor Adam's disobedience; by which he poured corruptibility into natures.[48] But our Lord, wearing the corruptible image of Adam, obeyed God in this, that he poured out abundantly life and incorruptibility upon people. And since the disobedience was for the sake of eating the fruit of the tree and (obtaining) immortal nature of becoming God, because of that, death started to rule.

13 215 . . . Յետ զկերպարանս նորոյ Ադամայ վերստին ստանալոյ հոգւով որդէգրութեանն՝ եւ լուսաւորելոյ լուսով գիտութեան, մի դարձեալ կերպարանիք ի կերպարանս հնոյն Ադամայ, զանգիտութեանն ձերոյ զցանկութիւնս վերստին ձգել ի ձեզ նայապէս: Զի որպէս նա անգիտացաւ զցանկութիւն պտղոյն՝ եթէ վնասակար է, եւ ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն եկեր զցանկացեալ պտուղն՝ եւ մահացաւ, նոյնգունակ եւ դուք:

After receiving again the new Adam's form by adopting him through the Spirit, and being enlightened with the light of knowledge, do not assume again the old Adam's form by again casting like him your ignorant desires again on yourselves. For just as he was ignorant in his desire for the fruit that

47. Gen 3:21.

48. I.e., people, or as often, bodies.

was harmful, and ate the desirable fruit to become God, and died; likewise (will happen to) you.

14 257 . . . Ի յապականել մարդոյն՝ ապականեցան ընդ նմին եւ այլ արարածքս, որք հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ:

When man became corruptible, with him also other creatures became corruptible, which groan and grieve till now.

15 260 յառաջին մարդոյն՝ զկնի մեծագոյն փառացն եւ գերագոյն երանութեանն՝ զսա պահանջեաց (Աստուած) օրինադրութեամբն՝ ոչ ճաշակել ի մահաբեր փայտէն. եւ զի ոչ եղեւ հնազանդ, նմին իրի յամենայնէն զրկեցաւ:

After supreme glory and highest bliss (God) demanded the following from the first man by his giving a commandment:[49] not to eat of the mortal tree. And as he did not obey, for that he was deprived of every part of that same thing.

16 290 Ի բազում ինչ իրս պիտանացու է կնոջն հնազանդութիւն առ այրն. նախ ըստ կարգի ստեղծմանն Աստուծոյ՝ յառաջ զայրն ստեղծանել, եւ ապա երկրորդ ստեղծուած՝ յառնէն ստեղծանել զկինն. արդ երկրորդին պարտ եւ արժան է ի հնազանդութեան կալ՝ առաջնոյն, եւ ապա ըստ դատապարտութեանն օրինակի՝ առ այր քո՝ ասէ, դարձ քո, եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ. եւ այսու առաւել եւս պարտի կալ ի հնազանդութեան:

In many matters obedience to her husband is necessary for the woman. First, according to the order of God's creation: first creating the man, and then the second creature— the creating of woman from the man. Now, it is necessary and fitting for the second one to remain obedient to first one. Then, after the pattern of the condemnation, it says: "Your turning shall be to your husband, and he shall rule over you."[50] And for that the woman must all the more remain in obedience.

17 322 (Ամենատէրն մեր) . . . յիջանելն յերկնից եւ ի մարդն լինել՝ թագոյց զաստուածութիւն իւր ընդ վարագուրաւ մարմնոյն, զի մի արագ իմասցի չարն. այլ զի տեսանելով զնա ի կերպարանս Ադամայ, դիմեսցէ ի վերայ նորա՝ սպանանել զնա որպէս զԱդամն, եւ մեռցի մահու դատապարտեալ ի սքանչելի զօրութենէ նորա:

Our most lordly One in descending from heaven and becoming man, concealed His divinity under the curtain of the body, so that Evil One would not recognize (him) quickly, but, that by seeing him in the form of Adam,

49. Literally: legislation.
50. Gen 3:16.

he would rush against him to kill him like Adam, and he would die, being condemned to death by His wonderful power.

18 323 . . . Յիշեաց զստեղծուածս ձեռաց իւրոց զԱդամ՝ եւ զպատկեր նմանութեան իւրոյ՝ զանկեալն ի դժոխս ներքինս.

. . . He recalled the creation of his hands, Adam, and the image of his likeness, fallen into the inner hell.

19 325 . . . Յեղծանել պատկերին Աստուծոյ՝ որ վասն փառացն Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, ընդ նմին եղծան ապականեցան եւ այլ արարածք՝ որ սակս փառաց մարդոյն ստեղծան:

When God's image that had been created for the glory of God was perishing, together with him also other creatures that were created for the glory of man perished and became corruptible.

20 333 Եթէ զառաջին պատիւ արարչագործութեանն ասիցես, ահա մեծ է եւ սքանչելի. վասն զի այլ արարածք հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ ստեղծան՝ եւ դու ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի պատկեր գծծութեան, իսկ դու ի պատկեր արարչին, այլ արարածք ի պատիւ քո եղեն՝ եւ դու ի պատիւ փառացն Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի բնութիւն կապեալ կան՝ իսկ դու անձնիշխանութեամբ արարչին քում նման ես. այլ արարածք անբանութեամբն անզարդք երեւեցան եւ տրուպք, իսկ դու բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ զարդարեցար՝ եւ զպատիւն քո տիրապէս ոչ իմացար, այլ՝ անասնոց նմանեցար անբանից՝ կորուսանելով զտիրական պատիւն (քո) եւ զվեհ իմաստութիւնն. հնացար մեղօքն, ծերացար անօրէնութեամբն, դարձեալ լուծար եւ ի հող դարձար:

If you speak about the first honor of the creation, behold, it is great and wonderful. Because the other creatures were created by God's command, and you, by God's hand; other creatures in a humble image, and you, in the Creator's image; other creatures were made in your honor, and you, in the honor of God's glory; other creatures remain tied to (their) nature and you are like your Creator through (having) autonomy; other creatures appeared not adorned with reason and wretched, and you were adorned with reason and wisdom. But you did not acknowledge your honor properly, but became like irrational[51] animals, by losing your lordly honor and supreme wisdom; you grew old through your sin, you became aged through your transgression, again you were dissolved and returned to dust.

51. Or: dumb.

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12

Text: Yovhannēs Imastasēr, Մատենագրութիւն *Writings*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

Մեկնութիւն տումարիս հայկազնեայ
Commentary on the Armenian Calendar

1 223 Եւ զի՞ ասեն ոմանք՝ թէ ի դրախտին ոչ էր տիւ եւ ոչ գիշեր, եթէ յերկրի է, ի ներքոյ արեգական է, զի՞արդ ոչ լինէր տիւ եւ գիշեր, զի յառաջ որոշեաց Աստուած զտիւ եւ զգիշեր եւ ապա զդրախտն արար: Եթէ ի վեր քան զարեգակն է դրախտն, որպէս Որոգինէս ասէր, ապա ո՛չ էր գրեալ՝ թէ աղբեւր ելանէր յԵդեմայ, այլ ի դէպ էր ասել՝ թէ աղբիւր իջանէր: Դարձեալ ասէ լուան զձայն գալոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտէն ընդ երեկս:

And why do some (philosophers) say that in paradise there was neither day nor night? If it is on the earth it is below the sun; why was there not day or night? For first God separated day and night, and then made paradise. If paradise is above the sun, as Origen said, then it would not be written that a spring went out of Eden, but it would be proper to say that a spring went down. It also says that they heard the sound the Lord’s coming from paradise toward evening.[52]

2 232 Որ ասաց ցԱդամ. Ահա եղեր իբրեւ զմեզ: Արդ ինքն եղեւ իբրեւ զնա:

He who said to Adam, “Now you have become like us.”[53] Now He has become like him.

Text: Yovhannēs Sarkawag, Աղօթամատոյց *Prayer Book* (Sop‘erk‘ 17; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1854).

Առ Աստուած հայր
To Father God

3 5-7 որպէս վկայ են ի ձեռն աչաց արարածք ամենայն նիւթականք եւ երեւելիք, որոց վախճան եւ կատարած զմարդն հաճեցար ստեղծանել, տուեալ նմա պատիւ բազմազունակ եւ զարմանալի. որոց առաջին եւ մեծ՝ լինել եւ անուանել պատկեր անճառելոյ բնութեանդ: Եւ ապա զնախաստեղծս քան զնա զգալի բնութիւնս

52. Cf. Gen 3:8.
53. Gen 3:22.

ի հարկի ծառա/յութեան կացուցանելով նմա, հաւատալով ի փրկութեան նմա զրգանս զդրախտին գեղեցկութիւն յորում զազատութիւն եւ զինքնիշխանութիւն անձին նորա յայտնապէս ցուցանել կամելով, աւանդեցեր փոքր ինչ նմա պատուիրան իբր առհաւատչեայ մեծամեծաց ի բարերար կամս քո հանդերձելոց այնմ նմա յաղթականաց՝ յետ հանդիսին առաքինութեան: Իսկ նորա նախապատուեալ զառ կինն կամակցութիւն օձին հաւանեցելոյ, եւ որ ի նմայն եւ նովաւ խօսեցաւ, զաստուածային հրամանս քո կենդանարարս՝ եւ սուրբս որպէս զանօգտաբերս եւ անշահս կամ ոչ ճշմարիտ՝ սպուժեալ քամահէր. եւ փոխանակ կենաց տարաժամ ճաշակմամբն իբրեւ զդեղ մահու զպտուղն ընտրեալ ընդունէր: Ի վերայ այսր ամենայնի ոչ միայն խոստովան ոչ լինէր ի հարցանել անոխակալիդ, այլ եւ զքեզ բաղբաղէր զոլ պատճառ ստահակութեանն՝ զկնոջն տուր քո նմա յառաջ բերեալ, եւ զանիծիցն վճիռ / բռնադատեալ զքաղցր եւ զհաշտ բնութեան քո կամսդ՝ ի գլուխ եւ յարարածս վասն ինքեան ի քէն՝ եղեալս ընդունէր:

Just as all material and visible creatures witness through their eyes the completion and perfection of that which you were planning[54] to create, man, and to give him manifold and wonderful honors. The first and the greatest of them was to become and to be called the image of your ineffable nature. And then by establishing the necessity of the perceptible natures that were created before him to serve him, you entrusted to him the delights of salvation, the beauty of the Garden in which, desiring to demonstrate clearly his freedom and autonomy of self, you transmitted to him a certain small command as a pledge of future greater prizes to him by your beneficent will after his demonstration of virtue. But he preferred the woman's shared will with the persuasive serpent and with him (Satan) who spoke in it (i.e., in the serpent) and through it. He ignored your divine, life-giving, and holy command[55] as useless, profitless, and not true. And instead of life he chose and took the fruit, eating it untimely, as a mortal poison. Besides all this, he not only did not confess when you asked him without rancor, but also accused you of being the cause of his dishonorable behavior, pleading your giving him the woman, and forcing the decision to curse against the will of your sweet and mild nature; he received from you those things that had happened on (his) head and on created things, on account of himself.

54. Literally: designed.
55. Corrig. հրամանս.

Thirteenth Century

Frik C13

Text: Frik, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. M. Mkryan and E. T'orosyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1941).

11. Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն ի[1]
Pronounced by the same Frik, concerning

1 70–71 Նոքա կեանք եւ
Զանանց բարին էր յաջողեալ,
Անմահ աշխարհին էր քեզ տըւած.
Սերովբէիւք պարիսպ ածեալ
Մէկ պատուիրան էր քեզ գրած:

The eternal good was thriving,
The immortal land was given to you,
Walls were made of Seraphim,
One commandment was written for you.

2 Կեր դու յամէն պտղոյ Ադամ,
Զատ ի մէկէն որ չէ հրամած.
Երբ ի հողոյ էր զքեզ զուգել,
Դու ոնց կամիր լինել Աստուած:

Eat from every fruit, Adam,
Except one, which is not commanded [to be eaten].
When he composed you from dust,
How did you want to be God?

3 Երբ քու ստեղծողն էր խոնարհել,
Ոտնաձայնիւ առ քեզ եկած.
Դու յամօթոյն իր փախուցեալ,
Եւ թըզենաւն էիր ծածկած:

1. *Sic*! In the other edition by Archbishop Tiran (1952, 312), the title of this poem is Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն հոգոյ "Of the same Frik, pronounced Concerning spirit."

When your Creator came down,
Came to you with his footfall,
You fled in shame of him,
And were hidden by a fig tree.

4 Տէրըն ձայնիւ առ քեզ գոչեաց,
Ադամ, Ադամ ուր ես թաքած,
Քեզ ով եղեւ առիթ բանիդ,
Դու ոնց հանիր զպատճառն Աստուած:

The Lord called you loudly,
Adam, Adam, where are you hidden?
Who prompted you to say those words?
How did you make God the cause?

5 Կինդ որ տըւիր դու իր ստեղծել,
Այս որ համար եմ աքսորած.
Քեզնով եղեւ երկիր պագեալ,
Գիտեմ չէիր որդի մեղաց:

(Adam speaks,)
“The woman that you gave me, you created.”
“Because of her, I am expelled.”
(God speaks,)
“Through you he (i.e., Satan) became worshiped.
I know that you were not a son of sin,”

6 Դու հակառակ եղար բարին,
Ի քո կողէդ ես դու խոցած,
Դաւաճանիւ ես դու խաբեալ,
Յանանց լուսոյն ես դու զըրկած:

You became opposed to good;
You are wounded by your rib;
You are deceived by the traitor;
You are deprived of eternal light.

7 Գընա դու կեր հաց դատելով,
Փուշն ու տատասկն էր քեզ բուսած.
Քեզ յարծըւէն պիտէր լսել,
Զինչ կու խաւսէ ի քո դիմաց:

Go, eat your bread with hard labor,
Thorns and prickles had grown for you.
You should listen to the eagle,
What it would say concerning you?

12 Բան պիտանի եւ լաւ ասացեալ Ֆրկանն
A Necessary and Good Word Pronounced by Frik, which is also titled: Նորին Ֆրկանն է ասացեալ. Վասն լաւ հաւատոյ Of Good Faith, Pronounced by the same Frik

8 81 Աստուած մարդասէրն ասաց, թէ Ադամայ համար խաչեցայ:
Զարիւնդ ի վերայ խաչին դու հեղեր Տէր վասն Ադամայ:

81 Man-loving God said, “I was crucified for Adam.”
Lord, you shed your blood on the cross for Adam.

17 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Pronounced by the same Frik

9 108 Դըժոխք շինել էր սատանայ,
Շատ մի հոգիք ժողվել ի նա.
Փրկիչն երեկ վասն Ադամայ,
եւ ազատեաց արեամբն ըզնա:

108 Satan had made hell;
He had gathered many spirits in it.
The Savior came on account of Adam
And freed (him) through His blood.

22 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ Բան մեկնութեան
Interpretative Poem Pronounced by the Same Frik

10 128 Քան զԱդամ այլ ո՞վ հարուստ, որ ունէր զդրախտն առանձին.
Դեռ այն ծառըն չէր բուսել, ո՛չ պտուղն, ինչ պատուիրեցին:
25 Պտուղ մի՛ ուտել Ադամ, որ չընկնիս ի մեծ գերութիւն.
Կերաւ, խաբեցաւ Ադամ, զօրըն լայր ի դիմաց դըրախտին:

Who was richer than Adam that alone had the Garden?
That tree had not grown yet, nor was there any fruit forbidden,
25 “Do not eat the fruit Adam, so as not to fall into great captivity.”
Adam ate, he was deceived, he cried all day before the Garden.

23 Բանք գովութեան առ Աստուած Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Words of Praise to God Spoken by Frik

11 131–32 Դու ի բանից ստեղծեր զամէն,
Հաստատեցաւ անօրինակ.

Քո հրամանիւ եղեն լերինք,
Ծովք եւ ցամաք, գետք եւ վտակք.
Թռչունք հաներ ի ջրէն ի դուրս,
Բազում ի մէջ ջրին լողակ:

You created all by words;
It was established unparalleled.
By your command the mountains were,
Seas and dry land, rivers and brooks.
You brought forth birds from the water,
Many swimming things in the water.

12 Զանտառ մայրին բազմացուցեր,
Որ զազանաց են աշտարակ.
Զդաշտ եւ զբլու<ր> զարդարեցեր,
Որ անասնոց եղէն ճարակ:

You multiplied the forest groves,
Which are a tower for wild beasts.
You adorned vale and hill,
To be pasture for animals.

13 Հողս է հաստատ ի վերայ ջրի,
Զեռունք սողունք աստ են բնակ.
Զտարերքըս չորս հաստատեցեր,
ոչ առաւել եւ ոչ նուազակ:

This dust is established upon the water;
Here creeping things and reptiles live.
You established the four elements,
No more and no less.

14 Ի սոցանէ գոյացուցեր,
Բոլորովիմբ զամէն բանակ.
Յետոյ սոցա զմարդն արարեր,
Քեզ օրինակ եւ նըմանակ:

From these you put together,
Every single host.
After these you made man,
Your copy and likeness.

15 Զամէն արեր իւրն հընազանդ,
Ձեռակերտաց դաստիարակ.
Զարդարեցեր պըտղաբերօք,
Զանանց դրախտն եւ զանհասակ:

You made everything obedient to him,
Tutor of creatures.
You ornamented with fruit-bearers,
The Garden eternal and inconceivable.

16 Տուեր նմա ի վայելումն,
Թէ դու կացիր ի դմա յերակ.
Օձին բանիւ արտաքսեցաւ,
Մերկ անդամօք եւ խայտառակ:

You gave him (it) to enjoy,
“Stay in it as a vein!”
He was expelled by the serpent’s words,
With naked limbs and in shame.

17 Յանճառ լուսոյն նա զրկեցաւ,
Թափուր, յամէն փառաց դատարկ.
Անցաւորիս նա ցանկացաւ,
Օր յետ աւուրց մահին է ճաշակ:

He was deprived of the ineffable light,
Forsaken, empty of all glory.
He desired the transient things,
Day after day, he tastes death.

18 Երեկ այսօր եկաց հաւան,
Բանսարկուի եղեւ կատակ.
Եղեւ գերի սատանայի,
Զորդիքն երետ դիւաց մըշակ:

He came on this day, he was persuaded;
He was mocked by the Devil.
He was captured by Satan;
He gave his sons to serve the demons.

19 Զայն որ ի լոյսըն ճեմալու,
Անկաւ ի կուպրըն եռ անտակ.
Ուրախացոյց ըզԲելիար,
Փորել երետ զգուբն անտակ:

He who walked in the light
Fell into the bottomless boiling pitch.
He made Belial happy,
Making him dig the bottomless pit.

20 Տարաւ զԱդամն եւ ըզթոռունքն,
Անդ արգիլեաց շատ ժամանակ.

Այս այլ չեղաւ Ադամայ խըրատ,
Պոռնըկեցաւ պիղծ եւ խառնակ:

He took Adam and his grandchildren
And imprisoned (them) there for a long time.
But this was not a lesson for Adam;
He fornicated impiously and corruptly.

24 Նորին Ֆրիկանն ասացեալ բան մտաւոր և հոգեշահ Յաղագս արարչութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց
A Useful and Profitable Word Pronounced by Frik on the Creation of All Animals

21 141—43 Աստուծոյ զօրութիւն եւ կեանք օրհնեալ է,
Զարարածս յոչընչէ թէ ոնց գոյացել:

God’s power and life are blessed,
How he created creatures from nothing.

22 Ի հըրոյ, ի լուսոյ հրեշտակք է ստեղծել,
Պարունակ աթոռոյն է շրջափակել:

He created angels from fire, from light,
To surround the circuit of his throne.[2]

23 Հրամանաւ ըզհողոյ երեսն է բացել,
Ի հըրոյ ՚ւ ի ջըրոյ լերինք եռացել:

He opened by his command the face of the earth;
He erected[3] mountains of fire and water.

24 Ցամաքին ամրութեան բեւեռ է դըրել,
Ի լերանց է զաղբիւրք եւ զգետքըն բըղխել:

He set the steadfast nail of the dry land;
He made the springs and rivers arise from the mountains.

25 Զինչ ի տիկ ըզծովու ջուրըն ժողովել,
Սահմանիւ զամեն է ամրացուցել:

He has gathered the water of the sea as in a skin;
He has fortified it all with a boundary.

26 Մեծամեծ կենդանիք ի ջուրն է դըրել,
Ի ջըրոյն թեւաւորք յօդըն թըռուցել:

2. I.e., with the angels, cf. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.
3. Literally: boiled.

He put very great animals into the water;
He made the winged creatures fly from the water into the air.

27 Ի հողոյ ՚ւ ի ջրրոյ ըզբուսքն է հանել,
Զանասուն ու զգազանք յերկիր սընուցել:

He brought forth the plants from the earth and water,
To nurture animals and beasts on the earth.

28 Տարերօք զամէն ողորդ կառուցել,
Յետ այսոցս ամէն զմարդն արարել:

He correctly built everything from the elements;
After all these he made man.

29 Արարչին քաղցրութիւն եւ փառքն օրհնել,
Թէ հողոյն ի՞նչ զօհար պատկեր յօրինել:

The Creator’s mercy and glory should be blessed,
That composed such a precious image from dust.

30 Եօթնարփեան շընորհօք ըզմարդն լըցել,
Հանց հոգի եւ իմացք ու միտք է տուել:

He filled the man with the seven lights of grace;
He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind.

31 Զդրախտըն եդեմ յարեւելս մարդոյն է տուել,
Գեղեցիկ մըրգաբերք ի նա է տընկել:

He gave the Garden of Eden in the east to man;
He planted beautiful fruit-bearers in it.

32 Զինչ զեղունք կանայք է ստեղծել,
Աշխարհի շինութեան պատճառ հըրամել:

He created women for fertility,
Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world.

33 Գոյնըզգոյն հանդերձիւ զինքըն պըճընել,
Զանազան պըտըղով զինքըն ճաշակել:

He adorned her with colored clothes;
He fed her with various fruit.

34 Զարեգակն ու զլուսինըն ճորտ է տըվել,
Ի ցերեկն աշխարհ ի վայելք է զուգել:

He gave the sun and the moon as servants;
He composed the world for enjoyment during the day.

35 Ըզգիշերն քընոյ հանգիստ հրամայել
Նաւելով ըզմարդիկ ի ծովն իջուցել։

He ordained sleep's rest for the night,
Bringing down men to the sea in ships.

36 Զմարդ եղելոց իշխան կացուցել,
Զանասուն ու գազանք ու զդեւք է կապել։

He made man the ruler of the beings;
He bound[4] the animals, beasts and demons.

37 Հանճարով զամէն ի ձեռն է տըւել,
Հանց տաճիկ ձիանով է բարձրացուցել։

He prudently gave everything into his hands;
He raised him up as an Arab on a steed.

26 Ֆրկանն Ասացուածք տնօրէնութեան փրկչին
Words of Frik on the Economy of the Savior

38 150–51 Արարեր ըզհրեշտակսն ի հուր 'ւ ի հոգի,
Քեզ երկինք եւ երկիր աթոռ կու լինի։

You have made the angels of fire and spirit;[5]
The heavens and the earth are your throne,[6]

39 Դու ստեղծեր ըզդակասն որ ոչ խափանի,
Քո բանի չորս տարերքս ուղորդ կու վարի։

You have created fate that does not fail;
The four elements act correctly by your word.

40 Զարեգակն ես կշռել դըրել դու վեցի,
Որ մոլար աստեղօք երկիր սընանի։

You have examined[7] and put the sun in the sixth place;[8]
It nurtures the earth with planets.

41 Ի հողոյ 'ւ ի ջըրոյ ծընեան շընչելի,
Ի յեղեմ տնկեցեր զդրախտըն բարի։

4. I.e., in obedience to man.
5. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.
6. Isa 66:1.
7. Literally: weighed.
8. I.e., of the seven moving stars.

Breathing things were born of the earth and water;
You planted a good Garden in Eden.

42 Թագաւոր զուգեցիր զմարդն ամենի,
Երբ չեկաց մարդն ի պատուիրանի:

You made the man king of all,
But the man did not observe the commandment.

43 Ոնց հաներ ի դրախտէն եղեւ նա գերի
Եւ թողեր վեց դարիւ ի խոր խաւարի:

As you expelled him from paradise, he became captive,
And you left him for six eons in deep darkness.

33 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Pronounced by the Same Frik.

44 180–83 Զհրեշտակն արար ի լուսոյ,
’Ի ի հոգոյ անմահ միաբար,
Շինեց զերկինքըն կամար
Եւ զծով ու ցամաք հետ յիրար

He made the angels of light
And simultaneously of immortal spirit.
He made the heavens a vault,
And the sea and the earth one after the other.

45 Արար զարեւն եւ զլուսինն,
Եօթն աստեղ ի հետըն մոլար
Զտարերք ու զչորս բնութիւնս
Կշռով զուգեց միաբար:

He made the sun and the moon,
And after that the seven planets.
He composed by singular weight
The four elements and substances.

46 Զդակասն եղիր տանուտէր,
Որ պահէ զամէն ի դադար,
Զըկունք, թոչունք եւ սողունք
Անասունք ամէն հաւասար:

He set fate as a master
That keeps all in order.[9]

9. Literally: in cessation, quietude.

(He created) fish, birds and creeping things,
Animals—all equal.

47 Շինեաց դըրախտ ի յեդեմ
Եւ տընկեց զծառըն գերերար
Զամէնն ստեղծեաց ի վեց օրն
Եւ արար մըտօք նա հանճար:

He made a Garden in Eden,
And planted the captivating tree.
He created all in six days,
And did this with prudent mind.

48 Խաղաղութիւն առաքեաց Տէր,
ողորմութիւն իւր յաշխարհ.
Յառաջ մինչ դեռ չէր եղեր
Այս ամեն գըրերս ի համար:

The Lord sent peace,
His mercy into the world,
Before there had existed
All these writings about him.

49 Երրորդական միութիւն
Արարին խորհուրդ եւ հընար,
Եկայք, որ մարդ արասցուք
Մեզ նըման պատկեր մի զօհար:

The threefold Union
Conceived an idea and strategy,
"Come, let us make man,
A precious image like unto us."[10]

50 Դարձեալ եղեւ հըրաման.
Ո՛չ տանի պատուէր, զայ ի ծայր.
Որդիդ եղեր հընազանդ
Եւ խոնարհութիւն կամեցար:

Again, there was a commandment;
The order was not obeyed but came to an end.
O, Son, you were obedient,
And you wished humility.

51 Ասացեր թէ զմեղս Ադամայ
Ես քաւեմ, զի մարդ է տըկար.

10. Gen 1:26.

Ի հողէն, ջրէն , կրակէն
’Ի ի քամոյն զուգեցեր կաղպար:

You said, “I shall expiate
Adam’s sin, for he is a weak man.”
You composed a model
Of earth, water, fire, and wind.

52 Պատկերակից ու նըման
Իւր ձեռօքն արար՝ դու եղար.
Փըչեաց զշունչն ’ւ երետ հոգի
Եւ կընքեաց որ կենադանացար:

He made with His hands, one
Sharing His image and likeness, it was you.
He breathed in the breath and gave (you) spirit,
And He sealed (you) so that you would come to life.

53 Կազմեց ու եդիր ի դրախտն
Զանազան փառաց տիրացար.
Զաչերդ ի յետ դու բացիր,
Ինքնաբոյս դու քեզ թըվեցար:

He formed and put (you) in paradise,
You possessed various kinds of glory.
Then you opened your eyes;
You seemed self-created to yourself.

54 Ասցեր, թէ մէն կու կենամ,
Ի դրախտին ընկեր կամեցար.
Երետ քեզ քուն թըմբրութեան
’Ի ի կողէդ ետ կին քեզ համար:

You said, “I am living alone”;
You wished to have a companion in the Garden.
He caused a deep sleep to (fall upon) you
And gave you a woman from your rib.

55 Դու իր ’ւ Եւա միաւոր,
Ի դրախտըն այլոք մի չըկա՛յր.
Աստուած միշտ եւ հանապազ
Ի տեսոյդ ձեր ուրախանայր:

You and Eve were alone;
There was nobody else in paradise.
Always and continuously God
Rejoiced at the sight of you.

56 Պըտուղն որ պատուիրեցաւ,
Մի ուտել Ադա՛մ, նախահայր,
Չարիր մըտիկ դըրախտին,
Ի պըտուղն ի կեր դու եղար։

The fruit about which was commanded,
"Eat not, forefather Adam,"
You did not consider paradise,
You ate of the fruit.

57 Դառն ճըչէր եւ ասէր
Մի՛ մօտիլ, թէ չէ՛ գերեցար.
Դրախտին անմահութիւն
Ու բարիքն ամէն քեզ համար։

He cried out bitterly and said,
"Do not approach, or else you will be captive.
The immortality of paradise,
And (its) good things are all for you."

58 Ասաց թէ կեր յամէնէն
Բայց մէկէն ուտել քեզ չըկայր.
Ադա՛մ, ընդէ՞ր լուծեցեր
Եւ հանդարտութեամբ դու կերար։

He said, "Eat of every (tree),
But of one you should not eat."
Adam, why did you transgress,
And (why did) you calmly eat?

59 Դու մարգարէ իր փառաւոր,
59 Ի վերին դասուցն իր ի յար.
Կընոջ դաւաճանութեամբ
Եւ օձի բանիւ խաբեցար։

You were a glorious prophet,
Close to the supernal ranks.
By a woman's treachery you were deceived
And by the serpent's words.

60 Դու հող ու մոխիր էիր,
Ո՞նց աստուածութեան ցանկացար.
Պատճառ դու Եւա դըրիր
'Ի ի յանանց լուսոյն զատացար։

You were dust and ashes,
How did you desire divinity?

You accused Eve
And you were separated from eternal light.

61 Թէ ո՞նց խաբեց սատանայ
Եւ կամ ո՞ւր տարաւ Բելիար.
Երբ տէրըն երեկ ի դըրախտն,
Քեզ խնդիր եւ քեզ ձայն արար:

How did Satan deceive (you)?
Or where did Belial lead (you)?
When the Lord came to paradise,
He sought and called you.

62 Դու է՞ր չանկար ի յուր յոտին
’Ի ասացեր թէ ի՛մ բարերար.
Ես հող ու մոխիր էի,
Ի՞նչ գիտի, թէ հանց լինենայր:

Why did not you fall to his feet?
And did not say, “My benefactor,
I was dust and ashes,
Could I know it would be thus?”

63 Նա չէր հանել ու վարել
Իւր ձեռացն ի վեր կայր ու գայր.
Դու մարդ էիր ի պատիւ
Ու զայդոր պատիւըն չիմացար:

He would not have expelled or led (you) out,
He would have understood (the work of) his hands and come.
You, man, were in honor,
And you did not understand that honor.

64 Նըմանեցար անբանից
Ի անասնոց հետըն վարեցար.
Ադամ լալով կու ասէ
Ստեղծօղին. ա՛յ իմ դեղ ու ճար:

You became like the non-rational,[11]
And you followed the animals.
Adam crying says
To the Creator, “Woe to me, O my medicine and remedy.”

65 Զպըտուղն ես դեռ չի կերեր,
Զինչ յառաջ դու հօր խոստացար.

11. Or: dumb, i.e., animals.

Դու է՞ր անկար ի կարիք
՛Ի ի կուսէն մարմին ըզգեցար:

I had not yet eaten the fruit,
When you had already promised the Father.
Why did you descend into need,
And put on flesh through the Virgin?”

Փոփոխակներ
Variants

1. Բարսղի ումեմն մարդոյ կռիւ եղեալ ընդ Աստուծոյ կու մեղադրէ եւ յետոյ
Of a Certain Man Barseł, Having Undertaken a Debate with God, Accuses and Subsequently . . .

11 240 Գեթ մեկ Ադամ էր ի դրախտի,
Եւ մէկ Եւայ իւր նմանի,
Եւ մի բարբառ Եբրայեցի
Մինչեւ կերեալ պտղոյ ծառի:

There was only one Adam in the Garden,
And one Eve like him.
And one Hebrew language,
Until they ate the fruit of the tree.

67 15 Ամ այս է բան հիանալի
Եւ առաւել զարմանալի.
Որ մէկ յԱդամ եւ յԵւայի
Թէ քանի՞ ազգեր ծնան յերկրի:

Now, this is an amazing thing,
And even more wondrous.
That from one Adam and Eve
So many nations were born in the world!

Text: Ֆրիկի Դիւան *Poetry of Frik,* ed. Archbishop Tirayr (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1952).

257 Ֆրիկ: Աղաչանք առ Տէր Յիսուս Քրիստոս Frik: Supplication to Lord Jesus Christ

68 Յիսուսի անուն յիս զթացար, զինչ ըստեղծեցեր զնախնին Ադամ,
Երբ ծընայ ու զգաւնացայ յիշեմ ըզՔո գութն ու դողամ:

«Մի՛ ուտեր» պատուիրեցեր Քո հրամանիդ ես ոչ անսամ,
Մերկացայ յանճառ լուսոյն, վասն այն զարեան գետըն կու լամ:

Name of Jesus, You pitied me, just as you created the first Adam,
When I was born and grew clever, I remember your pity, and tremble,
"Do not eat!" you commanded; and I did not obey your order;
I was stripped of the ineffable light, therefore I weep a river of blood.

Grigor Aknerc'i C13

Text: Grigor Aknerc'i, Պատմութիւն վասն ազգին նետողաց *History of the Nation of the Archers,* ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1974).

Another edition, together with translation and a study is the following:

R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, "Grigor of Akanc'i, 'The History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)': the Armenian Text edited with an English Translation and Notes." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949): 269–400.[12] The translation here is my own.

1 1 Յետ ելանելոյ աստուածաստեղծ մարդոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն, եւ պատուիրելոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ քրտնաջան աշխատութեամբ ուտել հաց զամենայն աւուրս իւր, յաղագս խաբման կնոջն եւ դաւաճանութեան պիղծ աւձին, վասն մոռանալոյ զգեղեցիկ պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ: Ապա յայնմհետէ կարաւտացաւ բնութիւն մարդոյն հեշտութեան եւ մարմնական զբաղմանց: Իսկ բանսարկուն սատանայ, վասն չար նախանձու իւրոյ, հանապազ ուսուցանէր զմարդիկ գործել զանարժանս. որպէս Կայէնի զեղբայր{ա} սպանութիւնն, եւ անաւրէն հսկայիցն զյաւրանալն ի մեղս, եւ ուտել զմեռելոտիսն:

1 After the divinely created man, Adam, had gone forth from the Garden, the Lord God commanded that he eat bread all of his days with most fatiguing labor on account of the deceit of the woman and the betrayal of the abominable serpent, because he was unmindful of the beautiful commandment of God. Then, thenceforth, the nature of man yearned for joy and bodily distraction. But the Devil, Satan, on account of his evil envy, continually taught men to do unfitting things, such as the fratricide of Cain and the sinful debauchery of the giants and their eating of corpses.

12. The same number of the journal contains F.W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc'," 400–443.

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i C13

Text: Kirakos Ganjakec‘i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia,* ed. K. Melik‘-Ohanǰanean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1961).

1 5 In talking of Eusebius of Caesarea, he says:

Որպէս մեծն Եւսեբիոս զերկուս գիրսն եթող՝ զՔրովնիկոնն, սկսեալ ի նախնոյն Ադամայ, զխժական անուանս նախապետացն, զոր գրեցին արտաքինքն՝ համեմատելով ընդ աստուածայնոց արանց պատմութիւնս:

As the great Eusebius left two writings, the Chronicle starting from the fore-father Adam, barbarous names of the ancestors, which the external writers wrote, comparing them with the histories of divine men.

Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13

Text: Step‘anos Ōrbelean, Պատմութիւն տանն Սիսական *History of the House of Sisakan*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1861).

1 2–3 Եւ արդ ստեղծ Աստուած զմարդն ամենայնիւ նման ինքեան, եւ եդ զերիս զայս ի նմա, որով կարող գոյ ամենայնիւ նմանիլ Աստուծոյ, այս է՝ զարարչութիւնն, զսէրն, զխոհականութիւնն, որ է բանականութիւն - զարարչութիւնն, որով արարչակից լինի ստեղծողին. զսէրն, որով միշտ բաղձայ ցանկալւոյն, եւ հանապազ ջանայ հասանել եւ վայելել ի նմին. զխոհականութիւնն, որով որոշի յանբանից եւ կարող գոյ խորհել եւ ընտրել զպիտանին եւ զանպիտանն, զվնասակարն եւ զօգուտն. եւ ուսմամբ եւ ջանիւ ի կատարեալն հասանել հասակ: Եւ թէ ո՞րպէս լինի արարչակից, վարդապետք ուսմամբ զտհաս ոգիսն առնեն այր կատարեալ. քահանայք զախտի ծնունդս՝ անախտ, եւ զմարդիկ՝ Աստուած. իսկ արհեստաւորք գոյացուցանեն յանպատշաճ իրաց զպատշաճաւոր եւ զպիտանի. որպէս հիւսունք ի մայրից սեղան՝ եւ աթոռ, / կարուակք յօղեաց՝ կօշիկ եւ զգեստ. դարբինք ի քարանց՝ երկաթ, եւ յերկաթոյ՝ սուսեր եւ այլ ինչ գործիք -- Ահա այսոքիւք նմանին մարդիկ Աստուծոյ եւ արարչակից կոչին:

Now God created the man like himself in everything, and put these three things into him, by which he could be like God in everything, i.e., creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason. As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational[13] (animals) and is able to

13. Or: dumb.

think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving. And how does he collaborate in creation? Teachers make perfect men of immature souls through learning; priests make the offspring of vice pure, and men—God.[14] Craftsmen, moreover, bring proper and useful things into being from the improper, as carpenters (make) tables and chairs of wood, leatherworkers (make) shoes and clothes of sheepskin, blacksmiths (make) iron from stones and swords and other tools from iron. Behold, in these things men are like God and are called collaborators in creation.

Text: Step‘anos Ōrbelean, Ողբք եւ հառաչանք ի դիմաց մօրս մեր սրբոյ աթոռոյն Էջմիածնի *Elegy and Prayer before our Mother, the Holy See of Ēǰmiacin* (Calcutta: Araratean & Co Press, 1846).

A critical text and translation may be found in Avedis K. Sanjian "Step‘anos Orbelian's 'Elegy on the Holy Cathedral of Etchmiadzin,'" in *Armenian and Biblical Studies,* ed. Michael E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), 237–82.

Յիշատակարան
Colophon

2 30 Երկնաքատակ՝ տանն Սիւնի
Որ անմարմնոցն՝ է սքնչելի:
Բոլոր բնաւից՝ ըստ բաղձալի.
Որպէս դրախտն՝ Ադենայի:

Of the heavenly house of Siwnik‘
Which is wonderful to the incorporeal ones,
Desired by all,
Like the Edenic Garden.

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i [Ōrbelean], Հակաճառութիւն ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց *Disputation against the Dyophysites* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1756). This work is sometimes wrongly attributed to Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8.

3 62 Եւ որպէս առաջին կինն ի կողից առաջին մարդոյն առաւ՝ այնպէս եւ եկեղեցի ի կողից երկրորդն Ադամայ սկսաւ:

And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam.

14. I.e., godlike.

4 94 Նաւակատեացս խորհուրդ, նախ ի դրախտին աւանդեցաւ մեզ. զի հրամայեցաւ յամենայն ծառոց դրախտին ուտել բաց ի միոյն: Որպէս հրամայեցաւ եւ մեզ յայսմ աւուր յամենայն կերակրոց ուտել բաց ի մսոյ:

The mystery of the consecration was first conveyed to us in paradise, for it was commanded to eat of every tree of paradise except one. Likewise, we were commanded to eat of every food on this day except meat.

5 94–95 խնամ տարաւ արարիչն իւրում պատկերին՝ զի մի փոյթընդփոյթ ի կատարեալն հասեալ փառս՝ նման բանսարկուին / ընդվզեալ հպարտացի եւ անկցի:

The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching too zealously, perfect glory, rebel like the Devil, grow arrogant and fall.

6 95 Եւ զի Ադամայ ասացաւ յայլոցն ուտել՝ եւ ի միոյն պահել. արդ եթէ խստութեամբ եւ զայլսն ընդ միոյ պահեալ էր՝ պատուիրանազանց էր. եւ թէ զմինն ընդ այլոցն կերեալ՝ նոյն պատուիրանազանց:

Because Adam was told to eat of other (trees) and to abstain from one; now if he abstained rigorously from the others alongside the one, he would be a transgressor, and if he ate the one alongside the others, in the same way he would be a transgressor.

7 106–7 Իսկ զԱստուածածնին նաւակատիսն առնեմք, թէ որպէս ի ձեռն Եւայի զմահ եւ զգերութիւն ժառանգեցաք, այժմ ի ձեռն դստերն նորա՝ զանմահութիւն եւ զազատութիւն եւ զդրախտին կեանս ընկալաք:

And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden.

Vahram Rabuni C13

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Լուծմունք «Ստորոգութեանցն» Արիստոտէլի *Commentary on Aristotle's "Categories,"* ed. G. Grigorean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1967).

1 32 Երբ լինի անհատն՝ լինի տեսակն եւ սեռն, որպէս Ադամ անհատ եղեւ եւ ապա ի նմանէ՝ տեսակ եւ սեռ:

When the individual exists, there exist (also) the species and genus, as Adam was an individual, and from him there (derived) his species and genus.

Text: Grigor Narekac'i and Vahram *vardapet*, Ճառք եւ խոստովանութիւնք

հաւատոյ *Homilies and Confessions of Faith* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1856), 115–216.

Vahram Rabuni, Խոստովանութիւն հաւատոյ
Confession of Faith

2 138 Զի ահա Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէ, եւ Աբէլ յորովայնէ Ադամայ, սակայն մի են բնութիւն նոքա եւ Ադամ՝ յորմէ նոքին՝ եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբէլ, թէպէտ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք՝ պատճառք մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

For, behold, Eve is from Adam, but from his rib; and Abel is from Adam's belly, but they and Adam, from whom they (descend), are one in nature; yet Eve and Abel are not brothers of one another, though they were of one origin, from Adam. Likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) being of one origin, the Father.

Ի մարդեղութիւն Քրիստոսի
On the Incarnation of Christ

3 191–93 Փայտիւ մեղաւ առաջինն Ադամ. ի փայտի բարձրացաւ երկրորդն Ադամ՝ շնորհելով ամենեցուն զփայտ փրկութեան եւ կենդանութեան: Պտղոյն ճաշակմամբ ի պատուղոյ անտի պատրեալն ի նախնումն անկաւ. լեղւոյն ճաշակմամբ կենարարին էառ զճաշակ անմահութեան պտղոյն վերստին: Կողածնաւն կործանեցաւ նախնին մարդ. յանարատ կողս իւր ընկալաւ զվէրս Որդին Հօր միածին, որ էառ ի տանէն Ադամայ զմարմին, զի յազնուականութիւնն կանգնեսցէ դարձեալ զանկեալսն յառաջինն:

The first Adam sinned by the tree, the second Adam was raised on the cross, granting to all the wood of salvation and life. The one, deceived in the beginning by eating the fruit, fell; through the Redeemer's tasting the bile, he (Adam) received again the taste of the fruit of immortality. The first man perished because of the one made from the rib, the Only Begotten Son of the Father received wounds to his immaculate ribs, he who received body from Adam's house, in order to restore the first fallen to their nobility.

4 Ընթացաւ առաջնաստեղծն ի ծառն կթել ձեռօքն զպտուղն մահածին. տարածեաց զձեռս իւր ի խաչին եւ բեւեռմամբ ոտին՝ որ եղեւ ի զաւակէ նորին մարմին, արձակեաց ի կապանաց զիւրն պատկեր, եւ ըստ մարդն գոլոյ՝ զիւր նախնին: Եհան յայնժամ զԱդամ յադենայ, եմոյծ այժմ ի դրախտ անդր զգոլ որդի նորա ընդ նորա: Անէծս եդ ի

վերայ մեղանչականին Ադամայ. յինքն ընկալաւ զա/նէծս վասն նորա, զի այնու օրհնեսցէ յօրհնութիւնս հոգեւորս զծնունդս նորա:

The first-created (man) ran to the tree to pick the mortal fruit with his hands; (the Son) stretched his arms on the cross with his foot nailed, he who became body from his, (Adam's) seed. He released his image from the bonds and, according to his being a man, his ancestor. Then he had expelled Adam from Eden; now he introduced Him into the Garden, who was his son, to be with him. He imposed the curse upon the sinful Adam; he, (the Son) accepted the curse upon himself for his sake, so that by that he might bless his (Adam's) offspring with spiritual blessings.

5 Ի փուշ դատապարտեաց զփշաբեր ախտից վանողն, զնոյն փուշ եբարձ յաստուածային գլուխն, զի մեզ բոլորեսցի պսակ հոգեւոր ի քարանց պատուականաց եւ յիմանալեաց: Զքիրտն երեսաց վճռեաց ի յամօթոյ աղալման քիրտն զգեստեալն, քրտունքն ոլոռն ոլոռն իջանէին ի նմանէ, զի զքիրտն մեղացն ջնջեսցէ կենդանական շնչմամբն որ յինքենէ: Մերկացաւ՝ որ յանցեաւն յետ ճաշակմանն, որ եւ զթզենւոյն ծածկոյթ ինքեան սփածաւ. մերկացաւ լոյս փառացն Հօր յատեանն Պիղատոսի, եւ զգեցաւ զքղամիթն նախատանաց, զի մեզ զգեցուսցէ զանապականութեան զգեստ եւ զանմահութեան:

He (God) condemned to thorns the conqueror of thorny sufferings. He raised the same thorns to the divine head, in order to crown us with a spiritual crown of precious and intelligible stones. The sweat of His face released from shame the one who had put on the sweat (of the transgression); the sweat dripped down from him drop by drop, so that he could abolish the sweat of the sin by the redemptive breath that is from himself. He who sinned became naked after eating, who put on a fig leaf to gird himself. The Light of his Father's glory was stripped naked in Pilate's tribunal, and put on the chlamys of dishonor, in order to dress us with the clothing of incorruption and immortality.

6 Մեռաւ Ադամ ըստ անհրաժեշտ հրամանին. ի մահուան իւրում միշտ կենդանին ցօղեաց ի վերայ նորին զարիւն իւր զաստուածային, կենդանութիւն շնորհելով նորին. զի կենդանութիւն ամենայն մար/մնոյ զարիւնն իւր ասաց առ օրէնս հինս: Հուր վառեցաւ յԵւայէ ընդ բովանդակ ծագս աշխարհի, ջուր եղ ի կողից Փրկչին եւ շիջոյց զբոց ցաւագին ախտին:

Adam died by the irrevocable command; in His death, He who lives forever sprinkled His divine blood upon him, granting him life; for according to the old Law, he said that his blood (is) the life of every body.[15] Fire was kindled

15. See Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11; Deut 12:23.

by Eve through all the ends of the world; water came out of the Savior's side and extinguished the flame of the painful suffering.

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Վերլուծութիւն բանին Եսայեայ "Commentary on Isaiah," *Ararat* no. 10 (1868): 137–41; no. 12 (1868): 165–69; no. 1 (1869): 8–9; no. 2 (1869) 36–39; no. 3 (1869) 49–52; no. 4 (1869) 72–78; no. 5 (1869) 97–101.

7 1869, 37 . . . տեսցուք, թէ յորմէ՞ հետէ, կամ զիա՞րդ ի մարդիկ սկսաւ թագաւորութիւնն:

. . . Let us see, after what and why did the kingdom begin among men.

8 1869 38 . . . ընդ հովուացն զՀովիւն քաջ՝ որ . . . թափեաց ի բերանոյ անուանեալն առիւծու զբլթակ ունկան նախամայրն չարաչար լսելութեամբ եւ զաքեացս երկուս նախահայրն անպատշաճաբար ի ծառն ընթացողութեան:

. . . The good shepherd among shepherds who . . . released from the mouth of the so-called lion the lobe of the foremother's ear, (whereby she had) listened to evil, and the forefather's two legs, (whereby he) moved improperly towards the tree.[16]

Սկիզբն մարդկան թագաւորութեան
The Beginning of Men's Kingdom

9 1869, 2, 37 Ի սկիզբն մարդկութեանս շնորհեցաւ նմա այս պատիւ. զի արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա. եւ աւրհնեալ զնա, ասաց. իշխեցէք ձկանց ծովու եւ թռչնոց եւ անասնոց, ամենայնի որ ի վերայ երկրի»: Եւ այսպէս թագաւոր կացոյց նա երեւելի արարածոցս. թագաւորութեամբ իւրով հնազանդեալ . . . այլ քանզի նա ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. անհնազանդ եղեալ Արարչին իւրոյ, անկաւ ընդ հնազանդութեամբ որոյ իշխէրն, զորս եւ պաշտեաց իսկ զարարածս եւ ոչ զԱրարիչն. եւ մարմին լինելովն զրկեցաւ ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն, պաշտաւնեայ եղեալ մեղացն, ծառայեաց նոցին:

In the beginning of mankind, this honor was granted, that God made the man in his image, "According to the image of God He made him. . . . And he blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth."[17] And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship. . . . But as

16. Amos 3:12.
17. Gen 1:26–29.

he was in honor and did not realize that, having disobeyed his Creator, he fell into subjection to those over whom he reigned; and he worshiped the creatures and not the Creator, and being a body, was deprived of the gifts of the spirit; having become minister to sins, he served them.

Vanakan *vardapet* C13

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Յաղագս տարեմտին *"Concerning the New Year,"* ed. L. Xačʻikyan, *Gitakan nyutʻeri žołovacu*[18] 1 (1941): 151–69.

1 159 Իսկ ահա անուն ամսոյդ՝ են որ ի նախնեացն յանուանէ, եւ են որ յեղանակացդ եւ են որ ի դիցն. քանզի Եբրայեցիք՝ եւ Մակեդոնացիք զաւել աւուրքն դնեն սկիզբն տարոյն, եւ ասեն՝ աւր առաջին եւ երկրորդ եւ երրորդ եւ չորրորդ եւ հինգերորդ եւ վեցերորդ մուտն Նիսան ամսոյ, որ թարգմանի կազմութիւն՝ զի ի հողոյ կազմեաց զԱդամ: Զնոյն եւ յայտ առնէ աւրն, զի ուրբաթ ասի, որ է կազմութիւն. ասի եւ բաւթ այսինքն սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն, վասն ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն եւ լսելոյն, թէ «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս»:

And some of the names of the months are those which (derive) from the names of the ancestors, some from the seasons and some from gods. For the Hebrews and the Macedonians put additional days at the beginning of the year and say, "The first day and the second and the third and the fourth and the fifth and the sixth (are) the entry into of the month Nisan," which is translated "formation," for He formed Adam of dust. The day manifests the same, for it is called "urbatʻ" (Friday), that is "formation." It is called also "bawtʻ" (sorrowful news), which means grief and sorrow, due to being expelled from paradise and hearing, "dust you were, and unto dust shall you return."[19]

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Պատճառ առաջաւորաց պահոց "Concerning the Aṙaǰawor Fast," ed. L. M. Melik'setʻ-Bek, *Ējmiacin*, no. 6 (1959): 35–44.

2 41–42 Երանելի Բարսեղ ասէ, թէ «Պահք նախ ի դրախտին օրինադրեցաւ եւ հասակակից է նախահօրն Ադամայ: Պահոց պատուիրանն եդ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան, զոր ոչ պահեաց, գողացեալ հեշտութեամբ եւ մերկացեալ անկաւ ի հաւասարութիւն անասնոց եւ ի համարս մեռելոց»: Արդ, այս պահս այնմ պահոցն հաւաստեցաւ յառաջնորդացն մերոց, զի զոր ոչ պահելովն արտաքս անկաք ի դրախտէն եւ կորուսաք զփառսն. թերեւս պահելովն այսրէն

18. This journal was later renamed *Banber Matenadarani*.

19. Gen 3:19. This is actually the old Armenian reckoning; see Stone 1988, 5–12. The "etymologies" bear no resemblance to reality.

առցուք զնա: Եւ զի Ե զգայութեամբն մեղաւ Ադամ, Ե-օրեայ պահօքս սրբեսցուք զգայութիւնս մեր:

Այս է առաջին պահք: Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ասեն թէ մահու մնալով Ադամայ ոչ կամէր ուտել ինչ: Եւ զկնի Ե աւուր գթացեալ Աստուած ողորմեցաւ եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի իւրոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստանալ նմա զառաքումն Միածնին եւ մարմնանալ Բանին Աստուծոյ վասն փր/կութեան նորա. եւ հրամայէ ուտել ի պտղոյ աշխարհին: Զայս խոստումն յիշեցուցանէ Դաւիթ ի դիմաց Ադամայ ասելով. «Յիշեա՛ զբան ծառայի քո, յոր եւ յուսացուցեր զիս» (Սղմս. ՃԺԸ. 49): Դարձեալ Ե աւուրբ յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն մարդոյն արարչագործեցան արարածք եւ ապա յետ Ե աւուր ստեղծ Ադամ:

The blessed Basil (Barseł) says that “the fast was first ordained in the Garden and is coeval with the forefather Adam. (God) gave the commandment of fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge, which he did not observe; being captured by voluptuousness and having been stripped, he fell to a level of animals and to the number of the dead.” Now this fast was confirmed by the fasting of those who preceded us;[20] since, not observing the fast, we fell outside of the Garden and lost the glory; perhaps by observing the fast, by this we might receive it (back). And since Adam sinned with his five senses, we shall clean our senses with this five-days-long fasting.

The first fast is the following. When[21] Adam came out of paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and mercy and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only Begotten and the incarnation of the Word God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the land. David recalled this promise before Adam, saying, “Remember the word to your servant, upon which you have caused me to hope.”[22] Again in the five days before the creation of man, the creatures were created and then after five days, He created Adam.

Vardan Arewelc‘i C13

Text: Vardan Arewelc‘i, Աշխարհացոյց *Geography*, ed. H. Perperean (Bérbérian) (Paris: Arax Press, 1960).

1 3 Ոչ կամեցաւ ինքն միայն [Աստուած] վայելել զիւր առատ բարին, այլ շարժեալ սիրով յիւր բարի կամացն, եւ գոյացոյց զարարածս

20. Or: guides, leaders. The word apparently refers to forefathers.

21. Literally: and when.

22. Ps 119:49 = Arm 118:49.

զիմանալիս եւ զգալիս, եւ է ինքն միայն անեղ, եւ յետ նորա ամենայն եղականք են:

(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures, and only He is uncreate, and after him all things are created.

2 5 Եւ դրախտն Ադամայ ի վերայ երկրի է, ի վերայ բարձրաբերձ բեմբի եւ Դ. իր պատեալ է զդրախտն եւ զցամաք երկիրս:

Նախ Ովկիանոս ծովն, եւ Լեւիաթան ձուկն՝ ընդդէմ կալով կոհակացն Ովկիանու եւ ի կողմն արեւմտից զտուտն եւ զգլուխն միատեղ է եղեալ:

Եւ ապա Քեռինոս կղզին, զի եւ նա բոլորածիր կղզի է ի մէջ Բ. ծովուն: Եւ յետ նորա Անդլնդական ծովն:

Adam's paradise is on the earth, on a high elevation, and four things surround paradise and the dry lands. First the ocean and the fish Leviathan, situated opposite the ocean's billows, and to the west its tail and head are set in the same place. And the island Cherinus, for it is a round island between two seas. And after that the Atlantic sea.

Text: Vardan Arewelc'i, Հաւաքումն պատմութեան *Historical Compilation,* ed. Ł. Ališan (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1862).

Translation: Robert W. Thomson, "Vardan Arewelc'i, 'Historical Compilation'." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): 125–26. Quoted by permission.

4–9 (the story of the creation starts on p. 2)

3 Իսկ ի հինգն շուրջն եւ ի վեցն, ել հրաման ի ջուր եւ յերկիր վասն կենդանեաց, սկսեալ ի կառաբոյսս եւ ի սպունգս, եւ կատարեալ ի մարդն ի կատարեալ կենդանին բանաւորութեամբ, ի հազար ազգս, զլխաւորօքն իւրեանց Լեւիաթանաւ որ ի ջուրս, եւ Բեհմովթաւն որ ի ցամաքային անապատս. եւ այս է ըստ Արիստոտելի հոգի ընդհանուր տուող գոյութեան ամենայնի: Եւ արդ բնութիւնն շարժէ զգունդն երկնից, եւ նա զժամանակն, եւ նա զտարրն, եւ նա զտունկս եւ զկենդանիս. եւ զհալական նիւթս, զոսկի եւ զարծաթ, եւ զակն, եւ զայլսն զոր գործէ բնութիւնն ծծմբով, եւ ժիպակաւ՝ որպէս ասեն զիտողք:

Now on the fifth revolution and the sixth there came forth the command to water and earth concerning the living beings: beginning with the zoophytes and sponges and culminating in man as the perfect living being with rationality, in a thousand species, with their leaders Leviathan in the waters and

Behemoth in the deserts of the dry land. According to Aristotle, this is the general spirit that gives existence to everything.

So nature moves the sphere of heaven, and it (in turn causes) time and it, matter,[23] and it, plants and living beings and metallic substance, gold and silver, and precious stones and the other things which nature works through sulphur and mercury, as learned men say.

4 Իսկ ի գլուխն հաստուցեալ զանդամոցն յօրինուած, որպէս քաջ պատկերագիրքն՝ զի յոտից սկսանին, հրաշագործէ իմն նոր յօրինելով բնութիւնս յերկնէ եւ յերկրէ, եւ որ ի մէջս են վեցից ձեռաց խոնարհելոց ի միոյ պատկերի շինուած, զի մինն նման իցէ երիցն, որովք մի հաւատասցի ստեղծողին բնութիւն եւ էութիւն եւ աստուածութիւն. գիտելով որ ինչ լինելոցն էր զմեղանսն, այլ ոչ կարէր արգելուլ նախագիտութիւնն զշարժումն յորդառատ բարերարութեանն. այլ եւ ի նոյն իսկ բարերարութենէն ոչ հրաժարէր ոտիւք զալ հիւանդատես այնմ զոր ձեռօքն ստեղծ, եւ տուեալ զնա երկրի, մատնէ դահճին մահու կարճել զմեղսն, եւ հանել զչարութիւնն ի նմանէ, եւ ցուցանել նմա զվնաս օձին եւ զնենգութիւն չարին, զի այլ մի լուիցէ նմա, գիտելով զոր ինչ առնելոց էր՝ զվերստին նորոգումն. այլ եւ ոչ ետ նմա գութն իւր կատարել զվճիռ մահուն՝ զոր եհատ նմա, զի ահա ոչ մեռաւ հոգին, այլ հողն հող եղեւ, եւ բնակիչն մնաց: Եւ ա/5/րուեստաւորն կարող է եւ գթած, եւ նիւթն ի ձեռին նորա, եւ ժամանակ յարութեանն անմոռաց ի նմա:

Then he brought to perfection the structure of the limbs. Like good portrait painters, since they begin from the feet, he wonderfully fashioned some new nature from heaven and earth and what is in between, six hands engaged in the forming of one picture, so that one might be like three; whereby the nature and being and divinity of the Creator may be believed to be one. He knew what sins would occur, but his foresight was unable to prevent the activity of his liberal benevolence. By the same benevolence he did not abstain from going on foot as a visitor to the sick to the one whom he had created with his hands. The earth having delivered him us, he handed him over to the executioner of death to cut off his sins and remove the evil from him, and to show him the harm of the serpent and the deceit of the Evil One, so that he might heed him[24] no more, knowing what he was intending to do—the renewal. But his compassion did not allow him to carry out the sentence of death which he had decreed on him. For behold the spirit did not die; but the dust became dust, while the dweller (in it) remained. The Maker / is able and compassionate, and matter is in his hand, and with him the time of resurrection cannot be forgotten.

23. Literally: the element.
24. I.e., the evil one.

5 Բ Արդ սրոբէիւք բոցապատ արարեալ Աստուծոյ զդրախտն՝ որ կայ ընդ արեւելս, յերկրի արմատացեալ ի կատարս լերինն բարձու, որ հաւասար է գնդին լուսնի, անծորելի պտղով եւ անթառամ սաղարթիւք, ուր ոչ ներգործէ արեգակն տիւ եւ գիշեր, այլ յարփւոյն պայծառանայ, եւ կամ նշողիւք փառացն Աստուծոյ, որպէս զմեծ գործ նորա, եւ հրաշալի տեղի. որում ոչ համարեցաւ արժանի զանցաւորն տեսլեան անգամ, այլ յամենայն կողմանց վառեաց զնա հրով՝ ի կողմանց եւ ի վերուստ, որպէս զշանթական հուրդ, որ յորժամ անկանի՝ զինքն եւ զտեղին ծածկէ յաչաց, զի մի՛ ժպրհեսցի ոք խնդրել զնա առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ:

II Now by means of Seraphim and fire, God surrounded paradise, which is in the east, rooted on earth at the top of a high mountain.[25] It is equal with the sphere of the moon, inexhaustible in fruit and unfading with foliage, where the sun does not make day and night but it shines from the ether or with the rays of God's glory, as his great work and wonderful place. He did not reckon the transgressor worthy of seeing it again, but on all sides guarded it with fire, on the sides and above—like the fire of a thunderbolt, which when it falls hides itself and the place from one's eyes—lest anyone presume to seek it without God's will.

6 Ուստի զամս երեսուն ողբացեալ Ադամայ Եւայիւ զանխորհրդութիւնս իւրեանց կուսութեամբ, ապա գիտացին զմիմեանս յանասնոցն անկեալ յանարգանս, եւ ծնան զԿայէն հիւանդ ծնողաց ցաւած ծնունդ, որպէս ասեն բժիշկք, քերբ միով Կլիմաս կոչեցեալ. եւ զկնի այլ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբէլ, եւ զԱբելուհի քոյրն նորա: Եւ զկնի եւս երեսուն ամի սպան Կայէն զԱբէլ. քանզի ուսեալ ի ծնողացն պատուել զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականաց եւ առաջնովք, եւ վասն սիրելոյ զմիմեանս՝ ընդ անձին եւ ընդ եղբօրն մատուցանել: Իսկ Աբելի ածեալ յանդրանկաց գառանց եւ ի պարարտաց զիւր եւ զեղբօրն, վասն որոյ հայեցաւ Աստուած նախ ի Հաբել եւ ի պատարագս նորա, եւ ի Կայէն ոչ նայեցաւ, զի զյոռին եբեր, ընդ անձին միայն, եւ ոչ զմասն եղբօրն. եւ ոչ եղեւ ընկալեալ ի վերուստ հրով, որպէս զՀաբելին. վասն որոյ ի կարծիս եղեալ Կայէն վասն Աբելի, թէ առնու զնա ի դրախտն Աստուած վասն ընդունելի պատարագին, եւ նախանձու վառեալ՝ սպան զնա: Եւ իմացեալ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի, / սգացին զնա ամս հարիւր եւ քառասուն:

So for thirty years Adam lamented with Eve in virginity for their recklessness; then they knew one another, falling into the shame of animals, and begat Cain (Kayēn)—a painful birth for sick parents, as doctors say—with his sister called Klimas. After thirty years they begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. After yet another thirty years Cain killed Abel; for he had learned

25. Murray 1975, 221, 258–61, 306–10.

from his parents to honor God with gifts of honorable things and first-fruits, and for the sake of mutual love to offer these for himself and for his brother. So Abel brought some firstborn lambs and fattened [animals], of his own and his brother’s. Therefore God looked first on Abel and on his offerings; but to Cain he paid no heed, since he brought a defective [offering], on his own behalf only and not the portion for his brother. It was not received from above with fire, like Abel’s. Therefore Cain supposed about Abel that God would receive him into paradise because of his acceptable offering; and inflamed with jealousy he slew him. When Adam and Eve learned [of this], / they mourned him for one hundred and forty years.

7 Ե Այլ զթիւ յամելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտին ոչ ոք կարէ ասել. մի՝ զի ժամանակագործ արեգակնս այս ոչ սպասաւորէ դրախտին, եւ երկրորդ՝ զի որքան անմեղ էր Ադամ՝ ընդ անմահսն էր նորա վիճակն, որք չեն ընդ տարեօք: Իսկ զկնի յանցմանն՝ ոչ յամեաց ի դրախտին. զի ընդ մահու վճռաւ եմուտ, եւ Աստուծոյ մեռաւ, եւ գերեզմանի պէտք էին, եւ դրախտն անմահից էր տեղի, վասն որոյ յերկիր հանեալ՝ մտանէ ընդ ժամանակաւ: Եւ անտի համարէ Հոգին զտարիսն ի ձեռն Մովսիսի. որ լինի ըստ եօթանասնից թարգ/մանութեանն յելիցն ի դրախտէն մինչեւ ցջրհեղեղն՝ երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու ամք եւ ըստ եբրայեցւոցն՝ հազար վեցհարիւր հիսուն եւ վեց ամք, պակաս հինգ հարիւր ութսուն եւ վեց ամօք. եւ զպատճառսն ասեն թէ կնասէրք՛ էին Հրէայքն, կարճեցին զտարիս ամուսնացելոյ առաջնոցն, զի մի՛ ոք արգելցէ զնոսա ի տղայութեանն առնուլ զկանայս. քանզի անմիաբանութիւն նոցա նախ քան զամուսնանալն է:

V But the duration of Adam’s stay in paradise no one can tell. First because this sun which marks time did not serve paradise; and second, since Adam was so sinless his lot was with the immortals, who are not subject to years. But after the transgression he did not stay in the Garden, for he was sentenced to death[26] and became dead to God. There was need for a tomb, but paradise was the place of immortals; therefore, cast forth onto earth, he became subject to time.[27] From that point the Spirit numbers the years through Moses: namely, according to the translation of the Seventy, / from the departure from the Garden down to the flood 2,242 years; but according to the Hebrews, 1,656 years, less by 586 years. They say the reason is that the Jews were women-lovers and shortened the years of marriage of their ancestors lest anyone prevent them from taking wives in their youth. For their disagreement concerns [the period] before marriage.

26. Literally: entered under the sentence of death.
27. Literally: enters under time.

8 Զի զԱդամ հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամաց ասեն ծնանել զՍէթ, եւ Սեթայ հարիւր եւ հինգ ամաց ծնանել զԵնովս. իսկ զյետ ամուսնութեան ժամանակն զոյգ բերեն եօթանասնիցն.

They say that Adam at 130 years begat Seth, and Seth at 105 years begat Enos. But after marriage they make the period of time equal to the Seventy.[28]

Text: Vardan Barjraberdc'i (Arewelc'i), Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսաց Դաւթի *Commentary on the Psalms of David* (Astrakhan: Archbishop Yovsēp' Arłut'eanc' Press, 1797).

9 42 Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զնա քան զհրեշտակս քո:

Զի հրեշտակք յառաջնում աւուրն, եւ Ադամ ի վեցերորդին. կամ զի՝ կարօտ կերակրոյ եղեւ կամ՝ ընդ երկնաւ էառ տեղի:

"For you have made him a little lower than your angels" [29]

Because the angels (were created) on the first day, and Adam on the sixth, either because he needed food, or he received a place under heaven.

10 50 ի քեզ թողեալ է աղքատն, եւ որբոյն դու ես օգնական

Աղքատ առաջին՝ Ադամ, եւ զնոյն որբ, յԱստուծոյ եւ ի դրախտէն:

"The poor commits himself unto you; you are the helper of the fatherless."[30]

The first poor man was Adam, and he was fatherless, (deprived) of God and the Garden.

11 83 Ադամ հեռացաւ յիւր փրկութենէն, քան վասն պտղոյն ճաշակմանն՝ աւելի վասն բանից յանցանացն, որ ասաց կինս զոր ետուր ինձ:

Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, "the woman whom you gave to me,"[31] rather than for eating the fruit.

12 106 Դարձոյց զսուգ իմ յուրախութիւն, զերծ յինէն զքուրձ:

Զեւայի սուգն, կուսին ասելով՝ ուրա՛խ լեր բերկրեալ, որդի քո՝ սրբէ զամենայն արտասուս: Զերծ յինէն զԱդամայ մաշկեայն:

"You have turned my mourning into rejoicing: you have put off my sackcloth from me."[32]

28. I.e., the Septuagint.
29. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.
30. Ps 10:14 = Arm 9:14.
31. Gen 3:12.
32. Ps 30:11 = Arm 29:12.

Eve's mourning, by saying to the Virgin, "Be happy, rejoiced One." [33] Your son wipes off all your tears. He looses me from the Adamic coat of skin.

13 117 յամենայն ժամ օրհնութիւն նորա ի բերան իմ

. . . ի բերան իմ, հոգւոյ, որ է միտքն. եւ մարմնոյն եւս. եւ իբրեւ զպտուղն կենաց՝ յորմէ ոչ կերան նախաստեղծքն, այլ ի մահաբեր պտղոյն:

"His praise is continually in my mouth"[34]

. . . In my mouth: of the spirit, which is mind, and also of the body; and like the fruit of life, of which the first created did not eat, but (they ate) from the mortal fruit.

14 122 Ես ի նեղել նոցա քուրձ զգենուի. խոնարհ առնէի պահօք զանձն իմ:

Եւ Տէրն զԱդամայն զգեցաւ զձախողակի տրտմութիւնն, զոր մինչ ի մահ իւր ասաց. զի քուրձ այծեայ է, ի վերայ կորուսելոցն՝ որ այծիք եղեն:

"When they were suffering, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting"[35]

Also the Lord put on Adam's unfortunate sorrow, of which he spoke until his death. For sackcloth is goatskin upon those that perish who became (like) goats.

15 131 Այլ որ հեզքն են նոքա ժառանգեսցեն զերկիր. եւ փափկասցին ի բազում խաղաղութեան իւրեանց:

Հեզութիւն հակառակ է բարկութեան եւ ստրմտութեան, ուստի՝ հանգչիլ ասաց նախ. եւ ապա՝ փափկանալ. ի բազում խաղաղութեան, զոր Ադամ վայելէր զդրախտն փափկութեան՝ որում եւ Տէր երանեաց:

"But those who are meek shall inherit the earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of their peace."[36]

Meekness is opposite to anger and indignation; that is why first he said to rest, and then delight in the abundance of peace, which Adam enjoyed, the Garden of delight, that the Lord blessed.

16 171 Մարդ ի պատուի էր՝ եւ ոչ իմացաւ հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:

33. Luke 1:28.
34. Ps 34:1 = Arm 33:2.
35. Ps 35:13 = Arm 34:13.
36. Ps 37:11 = Arm 38:21.

Իբր զԱդամ հաւասարեաց անասնոց՝ որ խոտ ուտեն փոխանակ պտղոյ դրախտին: Եւ՝ փոխանակ անմահութեանն՝ ախտիւք եւ մահուամբ վճարին:

"A man that was in honor, and does not understand, is like the dumb beasts."[37]

As Adam he became similar to the beasts that eat grass instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death.

17 178 Անօրէնութեամբ յղացաւ, եւ ի մեղս ծնաւ զիս մայր իմ

Նախ քան զծնանելն մեղաւ Եւայ, եւ զկնի մեղացն յղացաւ:

"Behold, she conceived in iniquity; and in sin did my mother carry me."[38]

Eve sinned before giving birth and conceived after the sin.

18 187 Ցերեկոյ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն. եւ Տէրն աւանդեացն զհոգին առ հայրն: Ի վաղորդայն՝ ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի վեց ժամն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն:

In the evening Adam went out of the Garden, and the Lord yielded up the ghost to the Father. In the morning Adam was created, and in the sixth hour he ate of the fruit . . .

19 195 Սրտմտութիւն անբան եղեւ պատճառ սատանայի, Սաւուղի, եւ հրէիցն, եւ հերձուածողաց, որպէս զօձին առաջնոյ՝ որ ցասեաւ վասն փառացն Եւայի:

Irrational indignation was Satan's cause, Saul's and the Jews', and the heretics', just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory.

20 200 Աստուած մերժեցեր եւ աւերեցեր զմեզ:

Վասն մեղաց ի դրախտէն. եւ յԵրուսաղէմէ զհրեայսն: Աւերեցեր զբնութիւնս՝ ասելով հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:

"O God, you have separated and ruined us."[39]

From the Garden on account of the sin, and the Jews—from Jerusalem. You ruined our nature, saying, "you are dust, and unto dust shall you return."[40]

21 230 ԶԱդամայն եւս հարուածք դեւք յոլովեցին:

The demons multiplied also Adam's misfortunes.

37. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.
38. Ps 51:5 = Arm 50:7.
39. Ps 60:1= Arm 59:3.
40. Gen 3:19.

22 Անխայեսցէ նա յաղքատն եւ ի տնանկն եւ . . . ի վաշխից չարեաց փրկեսցէ զանձինս նոցա:

Փոխանակ չլսելոյն նմա՝ ի դրախտին ճաշակմամբ ի քաղցր պտղոյն, միշտ պահանջէ զվաշխն:

“He shall spare the poor and needy. . . . He shall redeem their souls from the usury of evil (men).”[41]

He always requires (to pay) the interest for not obeying him and eating the delicious fruit in the Garden . . .

23 305 Նա փրկեսցէ զիս յորոգայթէ որսողին, եւ ի բանիցն խռովութենէ:

Յորսողէն՝ որ եդ Ադամայ որոգայթ զաստուածանալն, եւ բանիւք խռովեցոյց զնա:

“He will deliver me from the hunter’s net; and from the confusion of words.”[42]

From the hunter, who set divinization as a net for Adam and confused him with words.

24 329 Մի դարձուցաներ զերեսս քո յինէն, իբր յԱդամայ:

Turn not your face from me, as from Adam.

25 331 դեւք զբնութիւնս նախատէին, զոր ի դրախտին նախանձելով գովէին:

Demons injured natures, whom they praised by envying in the Garden . . .

26 344 Դարձուցեր զերեսս քո յԱդամայ, եւ ապա մեռաւ:

You turned your face from Adam and then he died.

27 360 Զի դառնացուցին զբանն Աստուծոյ, եւ զխորհուրդս բարձրելոյն բարկացուցին:

Զբանն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտին ոչ պահելով, եւ զխորհուրդս՝ որ խորհեալ էր ի դէպ ժամու տալ ճաշակել եւ աստուածացուցանել:

“For they displeased the word of God, and angered the plan of the Most High.” [43]

By not observing the word of God in the Garden and this plan which he had conceived, to give (them) to eat at the fitting time, and to make them divine.

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41. Ps 72:13–14 = Arm 71:13–14.
42. Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3.
43. Ps 107:11 = Arm 106:11.

28 խոնարհ եղեն ի ցաւոց սիրտք նոցա. տկարացան, եւ ոչ ոք էր՝ որ օգնէր նոցա:

Խոնարհ եղեն, զի յամենայն պտղոյն զրկեցան՝ ցաւէին. հիւանդացան, տկարացան, մահկանացուք եղեն, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առաջնորդէր նոցա ի տեղի ուստի ելին:

Their hearts were brought low through pains, they were weak, and there was none to help."[44]

They became low for they were deprived of all the fruit (i.e., of the Garden); they were in pain; they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth.

29 386 Ո՜ Տէր ես ծառայ քո եմ, եւ որդի Եւայի, որ աղախին եղեւ հեշտութեանն՝ որ տիկինն էր:

O Lord, I am your servant and the son of Eve, who was the mistress and became a maidservant of voluptuousness.

30 394 Պտուղ մեղաց՝ ամօթն է, որպէս ամաչեաց Ադամ:

Shame is the fruit of sin, just as Adam was ashamed.

31 396 Զսատանայ անէծ օձիւն, այլ՝ ո՛չ զԱդամ բայց՝ զերկիր:

(God) cursed Satan through the serpent, and not Adam, but the ground . . .

32 455–56 Եւ սուտ ասաց օձն, թէ յաչաղեաց զաստուածանալն Ադամայ եւ / Եւայի:

And the serpent lied that He was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods.

33 468 Նախ՝ սատանայ կոչեցաւ չար, զի տրտմութեամբ չարչարեաց զվերինսն, իւր անկմամբն, եւ զբնութիւնս պատրանօք խաբեալ եհան ի դրախտէն, չարացոյց զնա:

First, Satan was called evil, for he tortured the higher creatures with sorrow, through his fall; and fraudulently deceiving the natures.[45] He expelled (him) from the Garden and he incited him to evil.

34 480 Էաք մսեղի, եւ թշնամի եւս ունիմք զսատանայ, որ հալածեաց ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահութենէն: Խոնարհ արար յերկիր զկեանս իմ, ի հող իջանել իբրեւ զինքն, որ յաւիտենից է մեռեալ՝ հեռաւորութեամբն յԱստուծոյ:

We were corporeal and, moreover, we have Satan as enemy, who expelled us from the Garden and immortality. He humbled my life to the earth, so that I

44. Ps 107:12 = Arm 106:12.

45. I.e., humans.

descended to the ground like himself, who is dead forever due to his remoteness from God.

35 481 Մի դարձուցանէր զերեսս քո յինէն. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ, որ իջանեն ի գուբ

Իբր Ադամայ ի դրախտին. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ հոգւոց նախաստեղծիցն ի դժոխն, ուստի չկարեմք ելանել առանց օգնականի:

"Turn not your face from me, (lest) I be like to them that go down into the pit."[46]

Like to Adam in the Garden, I might become like the souls of the protoplasts in hell, whence we cannot come out without aid.[47]

Vardan Arewelc'i, Հատուածք Հիպողիտեայք ըստ մեկնութեանն Երգոց երգոց որ ի Վարդանայ "Fragments of Hippolytus according to Vardan's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*," in N. Y. Marr, *Ипполит*. Толкование Песни песней. Грузинский текст по рукописи X в.. *Commentary on the Song of Songs: Georgian Text according to a Tenth Century Manuscript* (Texts and Investigations in Armeno-Georgian Philology 3; St. Petersburg: V. F. Kirschbaum Press , 1901), 3:lxxxviii–cxiv.

36 C Ստինք չեն իբրեւ զայլ անդամսն առանձին երեւեալ, այլ իբրեւ բոյս կամ տունկ ի սրտէն յառաջ եկեալ, որպէս ի սրտէ երկրի առեալ հող. եւ Բ. իմանալի եւ զգալի շինեցաւ Ադամ: . . . եւ այծեման ուլուց նմանեցին սրատես գոլ եւ ճանաչող արօտի եւ ոչ գիտել զԵւային:

Breasts are not like other limbs seen separately, but they project from the heart like a shoot or a plant, as (God), having taken dust from the heart of the earth, and Adam was made the two, rational and perceptive. . . . Likewise they (the breasts) were acute like kids of a roe, and they recognized their pasture and did not know Eve's affairs.

Vardan Aygekc'i C13

The fragment is from a *Sermon* in manuscript M8030, fol. 426v–428r cited from P'aylak Ant'abyan, Վարդան Արեւելցի *Vardan Arewelc'i,* vol. 1. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 177–78.

1 Ահայ, որդեակք, իմացէք, զի Աստուած ոչ դժոխք ունի եւ արքայութիւն, այլ ամենայն մարդ ինքն շինէ իր դժոխք եւ արքայութիւն: Եւ բանիս

46. Ps 143:7 = Arm 142:3.

47. Or: a helper.

վկա Քրիստոս, որ է հաւասար հօր եւ հոգւոյն եւ ասէ, թէ՝ զանձէք զբարին յերկինս, զի յաւուրն դատաստանի զամենայն տամ ձեզ, զոր ի վեր, առ իմ հայրն առաքէք, թէ չար եւ թէ բարի, զի որով չափով չափէք, եւ ձեզ այնպէս չափեմ: Ահայ որ ի մեր ձեռս է բանալիք դժոխոցն (եւ) արքայութեան, եւ զոր բանամք եւ սիրեմք մեք յայն մտանեմք: Եւ բանիս վկայ՝ սատանայ եւ Ադամ. զի Աստուած բարի արար զնոսա, եւ ի բարի, եւ ի հանգիստ, եւ ի լոյս եդ զնոսայ եւ եցոյց նոցայ զչարն եւ զբարին՝ ասելով, թէ զոր գործէք դուք, զայն ժառանգէք, զի բանալիք արքայութեան եւ հանգստեան բարի գործքն է: Եթէ բարին առնէք, նայ դուք լինէք ձեզ արքայութիւն եւ հանգիստ, եւ թէ զչարն առնէք, նայ այն է դժոխքն եւ այն է բանալիք դժոխոցն: Նայ սատանայ, որ է շուն կատաղի, ձգեաց զբանալի արքայութեան, ուր կայր եւ կամաւ էառ զբանալիք դժոխոցն՝ ասելով, թէ այդ է բանալիք արքայութեան: Իսկ Ադամ հաւատաց բանիցն սատանայի եւ պահեաց զբանալին դժոխոցն եւ էբաց չար գործօքն զդժոխքն, եւ մտեալ՝ նստաւ ի նմայ եւ ողորմելի եղեւ: Այսպէս լինի եւ այսաւր, ով որդեակք, զի տեսանէք, որ մի ոմն ունի զբանալի արքայութեան՝ զխոնարհութիւն եւ զամենայն բարի գործ . . . Ահայ, որդեակք, այս է արքայութիւն եւ բանալիք արքայութեան, իսկ այլք ոմանք լինին շնացողք եւ արբեցողք եւ գողք եւ սպանողք եւ անողորմք եւ յիշոցատուք եւ զրկողք եւ կախարդք եւ անդարձ ի չարն մեռանին . . . :

Behold, children, learn that God does not have hell and the kingdom, but each man himself builds his own hell and kingdom. And Christ is a witness to this statement, who is equal to the Father and to the Spirit, and he says, "Lay up good in heaven[48] for on the day of judgment I will give you everything which is above, you send the Father to me, either for good or evil, for by the measure by which you measure, I will measure you thus."[49]

Lo, in our hands are the keys of hell (and)[50] of the kingdom: that which we open and love, we shall enter. And the witnesses to this pronouncement are Satan and Adam, for God made them good, and for good and for repose, and he put them in light and he showed them good and evil, saying, "That which you do, you will inherit." For good works are the keys of the kingdom and repose. If you do good, then you will be the kingdom and repose for yourselves, and if you do evil, then that is hell and that is the keys of hell. See, Satan, who is a mad dog, threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell saying, "This is the key of the kingdom."[51] But Adam believed in the words of Satan and kept the keys of hell and opened

48. Matt 6:20, Luke 12:33-34.
49. Cf. Matt 7:2.
50. My emendation.
51. This is based, presumably, on Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

hell with evil deeds and, having entered, sat in it and became pitiable. Thus it is also today, O my children, for you see that no one person has the key of the kingdom, humility and every good deed. . . . Behold, my children, this is the kingdom and the keys of the kingdom, but certain other persons become adulterers and drunkards and thieves and murderers and merciless and insulting and extorters and magicians and they die irrevocably for evil.

Text: Vardan Aygekc‘i, Գիրք հաստատութեան եւ արմատ հաւատոյ *Book of the Establishment and Root of Faith*, ed. Y. K‘ēosēyan and Š. Hayrapetean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1988).[52]

Աթանասի եպիսկոպոսի
Of Bishop Athanasius

2 Ադամ զանմեղ մարմինն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն արկ, իսկ Քրիստոս զսա անապական եւ խափանիչ մահու եցոյց:

Adam cast the sinless body into culpability and corruption, while Christ showed it to be incorruptible and obstructing death.

3 308 In citation of a poem by Vardan[53]

Դու մեղաւք ես զարդարեալ,
Եւ խաւարին գործաւք լըցեալ,
Ժառանգ հըրոյն ես յաւրինեալ,
Եւ ի խաւարն արտաքին ելեալ:
Զի հարսանեաց չես պատրաստեալ,
Պատմուճանով ժահահոտեալ:
Երկաթակապ շըղթայ արկեալ,
Հրեղէն սըրովն ընդ մէջ հատեալ,
Ի բարի զ[ը]նդէն ելեալ,
Անհաւատից մասին դասեալ:

You are adorned with sin,
and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
and have gone forth to the outer darkness. [54]
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
made stinking with a tunic, [55]

52. Note the extensive introduction on Vardan Aygekc‘i by Kēosēyan in that book, p. 167.
53. The attribution is uncertain.
54. Matt 8:12, 22:13; 25:30. Here, presumably Matt 22:13 serves as the primary source.
55. Satan is not ready for the heavenly wedding feast; cf. Matt 22:11-13.

Bound with iron chains,[56]
Separated by a fiery sword in between,[57]
Gone forth from the goodly host,
Ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.[58]

405 A Fragment from Xosrov Rhetor of the Armenians[59]

4 Մելքիսեդեկ հաց բաղարջ եւ անապական գինին բաշխեր ի վերա գերեզմանին Ադամայ, որ ցուցանէ զանապական զալուստն Աստուծոյ մերոյ յերկնից:

Melchizedek distributed unleavened bread and uncorrupted wine upon the tomb of Adam, which shows the uncorrupt coming of our God from heaven.

A Fragment from manuscript M512 (1701), taken from the bottom margin of fol. 183v. The attribution to Aygekcʻi is uncertain.[60]

5 Հարց, Զի՞նչ է՝ «Գլուխն ոտից խոնարհեցաւ»: Պատասխանի. նախ՝ գլուխն է միտքն, եւ ոտք՝ ցանկութիւնն: Երկրորդ՝ հոգի եւ մարմին: Երրորդ՝ Այր եւ կին: Չորրորդ՝ Ադամ եւ օձն:

Question. What is, “The head is brought low to the feet?”[61]

Answer. First, the head is the mind, and the feet desire; second, spirit and body; third, man and woman; fourth, Adam and the serpent.

Text: Vardan Aygekcʻi, Ժողովածոյք առակաց Վարդանայ *Collections of the Fables of Vardan Сборники притч Вардана*: Изслѣдование, part 2, ed. N. Marr 2 (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1894).[62]

1-2 Թագաւոր եւ երկու ապարանք
1-2 A King and Two Palaces

(*A king made two palaces, one was faithful to him but there was a proud prince in the other, who deceived the guardians of the faithful palace for which the king expelled him from there. And the rebels built another palace and took everybody there. . . . Finally the king saved them from there.*)

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56. Perhaps deriving from Job 41. The binding of Satan with chains occurs in Armenian art. Compare also Ps 149:8 ձեռակապպեաւ երկաթեաւ (“with chains of iron”).
57. See Gen 3:24.
58. This refers, undoubtedly, to the fall of Satan.
59. It is unclear who this is.
60. It is mentioned by Vardan Aygekcʻi 1988, 68.
61. The citation is not from the Bible.
62. Marr writes, “calling the fables Vardan’s, we do not insist that they belong to Vardan.”

6 . . . Ցուցանէ առակս յայտնի, որ թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս է. եւ բ ապարանքն մէկ՝ հրեշտակաց տեղիքն է եւ մէկն՝ դրախտն, որ զԱդամ եդ, թէ պահէ. եւ հպարտ իշխայն սատանայ է, որ անկաւ ի փառացն եւ խաբեաց զԱդամ եւ եհան ի դրախտէն. եւ / ելեալ Ադամ լալով եւ կոծելով եւ դառն արտասաւք անկաւ յաշխարհս. բաց ակն ունէր, որ թագաւորն խնդիր լինէր իւրն. եւ սատանայ եւ զաւրքն իւր անզեղջ մնացին եւ շինեցին ապարանք իւրեանց զդժոխն. եւ զմարդկային բնութիւնս գերեալ տանէին սատանայք անդ եւ այլ ոչ տային ելանել, մինչեւ եկն թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս եւ քակեաց զբանդն, որ է դժոխքն, եւ զԱդամ իւր ծնընդեաւքն ազատեաց:

The fable points out clearly that the king of all is Christ, and the two palaces, one is the place of the angels and the other (is) paradise, where (God) put Adam to keep it. And the arrogant prince is Satan that fell from the glory and deceived Adam and drove (him) out of the Garden. And Adam went out crying and mourning and with bitter tears he fell into this world. But he hoped that the king would look for him. And Satan and his host remained impenitent and built their palace, hell; and the demons[63] captured the human natures[64] and took (them) there and did not let them go out, until the king of all, Christ, came and destroyed the prison, that is, hell, and liberated Adam with his offspring.

43–44 Այծք եւ գայլք
Goats and Wolves[65]

(*The goats wrote a letter to the wolves and dogs offering peace. They agreed but finally they ate the goats who did not take care.*)

7 . . . Բելիար. որ է շուն կատաղի. եւ նայ պահէ իւր գանձատունն, որպէս եւ պահեաց զմեղս Ադամայ, զոր ասեն, թէ ի ձեռայգիր եդ Ադամ սատանայի, իսկ յորժամ նախատանաւք եւ արեամբն իւրով բանն Աստուած ի վերայ խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռայգիրս եւ զմեղս Ադամայ լուաց, այն կատաղին, որ է Բազու, կոչեաց զչար իշխանն եւ զվատակերպ դեւքն եւ ասէ. եկայք լացէք եւ վայ տուք անձին իմոյ. զի նշան մեծ սիրոյ եւ միայբանութեան ունէի յԱդամայ առ Աստուած եւ պահեաց զնա, որպէս զոսկեգիր թուխթ ի վերայ սրտի իմոյ. եւ ահա կորեաւ յանկարծակի նշան եւ պայման սիրուն. եւ ոչ գիտեմ, ուր եդի զնայ. զի մէնջ հրեշտակք եւ մարգարէք ջանացան առնուլ եւ ոչ կարացին ի ձեռաց իմոց. եւ աս է զարմանք, որ իսկ զկերպ եւ

63. Or: satans.
64. I.e., human beings.
65. According to the variant of manuscript C.

զնմանութիւն նշանին չկարեմ յիշել, որ ետ ցիս Ադամ եւ ոչ կարեմ ածել զմտաւ, թէ որպէս. ահայ քրիստոնեայք եւ աստուածայպահ ժողովուրդք, յորժամ / զմեղս մեր խոստովանիմք եւ ապաշխարեմք. նայ յանհետ լինի եւ ջնջի եւ սատանայ մոռանայ:

. . . Belial, who is a rabid dog, and he guards his treasury, as he guards Adam's sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the Word erased the cheirograph on the cross[66] with his dishonor[67] and blood and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demons and said, "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept it[68] upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love are lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not [take it] from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and likeness of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)." Behold, you Christians and peoples protected by God, when we confess our sin and repent, it disappears and is annulled and the devil forgets it.

203 Տասն վաճառականք
Ten Merchants

(*Ten merchants found themselves in a foreign country full of famine and vipers. . . . Finally they found their way to the town where there were other merchants and goods.*)

8 . . . Ցուցանէ. զի տասն վաճառականք Ադամ է եւ իւր ծնունդքն. եւ այն որ օտար երկիր եւ յիժանոց եւ ի սով, որ եւ արտաքսեցաք յանմահական դրախտէն եւ անկաք յայս աշխարհս, ուր կայ իժ եւ օձ, որ է սատանայ. եւ ի նեղութեան կամք հոգւով եւ մարմնով:

[The fable] points out that the ten merchants are Adam and his generations, and that the foreign country was a place of vipers and famine (means) that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil, and we are in distress both in soul and body . . .

66. Cf. Col 2:14.
67. I.e., His crucifixion, *passim*.
68. Perhaps emend to: I kept.

306 Դ. ազգ պահք
Four Types of Fast

9 Դ. ազգ պա<հ>ք է. մէկ Քրիստոսի, որ Ադամայ ասաց, թէ ի ծառուն մի ուտեր:

There are four types of fast: the first one is for Christ, because (God) said to Adam, "Do not eat of the tree . . ."

342 Ծառայք ի պահք
Servants Fasting

(*The servants told their master that they will serve him well if he keeps them fasting, but if he gives them much to eat, they will kill him and his children.*)

10 . . . այսպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ որչափ ի պահք էին ի դրախտին, բարւոք կատարէին զգործս իւրեանց եւ ի խնկումն էին զԱստուծոյ եւ հրեշտակաց. այլ յորժամ կերան ի պտղոյն եւ կտրեցին զպահքն, սպանին զորդիս իւրեանց, այսինքն զմեզ, այլ եւ ինքեանս եւս սպանին հոգւով:

. . . Likewise Adam and Eve; while they observed the fast in the Garden, they fulfilled their tasks well, and God and the angels took care of them. But when they ate of the fruit and broke the fast, they killed their children, namely, us, and they themselves were killed spiritually.

Appendix

11 98 Թ. Աղուես մի եգիտ զրեհ մի. եւ կարծեաց, թէ այս է պատմուճան Ադամայ, զոր կորոյս խաբմամբ բանսարկուին. զի գրեալ է «լուսաւոր էր»:

A fox found a coat of mail and thought it was Adam's garment, which he lost due to the Devil's deceit, for it is written (about Adam's garment) that "it was luminous."

Text: Vardan Aygekcʻi, Խրատք *Admonitions*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Ի խորհուրդ չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի
On the Mystery of Wednesday and Friday

12 29–30 Յաւուր չորեքշաբթի ել խաւար ի բերանոյ օձին, եւ խաւարեցոյց զդրախտն լուսաբեր. քանզի ծառքն եւ պտուղքն եւ տերեւն լուսաւորք էին քան զարեգակն: Եւ յորժամ եկն արարողն ի դրախտն եւ ձայնեաց թէ Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ, երկրպագեցին Տեառն ծառքն ամենայն եւ առաւել պտղաբերեցան քան զառաջինն: Եհան Տէրն արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ խաւարն ընդ նմա տարածեալ / եղեւ ի ծագս տիեզերաց . . .

On Wednesday darkness came out of the mouth of the serpent and darkened the luminous Garden, because the trees and fruit and leaves were more luminous than the sun. And when the Creator came to the Garden and called, “Adam, where are you?”[69] all the trees worshiped the Lord and brought forth more fruit than before. And God took away and drove Adam out of the Garden that gives glorious life. And darkness spread throughout it up to the extremities of the universe . . .

13 35 Զաւուրս քառասուն պահէին ամենեքեան. եւ ընդէ՞ր զաւուրս քառասուն. վասնզի ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամն ի կատարումն քառասնեկին, եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին. վասն այսորիկ սկիզբն ի քառասնից առնէ . . .

Everybody fasted for forty days; and why for forty days? For God created Adam at the end of forty (days) and put him in paradise. For that reason it starts from forty . . .

Yohan K‘ahana C13

Text: Yohan K‘ahana?[70], Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronography*, in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, 13–18 դդ. *Minor Chronicles, 13th–18th Centuries,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 1:22-25.

1 22 Ոչ է մեզ գիտել զժամս եւ զժամանակս, զոր հայր եդ յիւրում իշխանութեան, ուսաք ի գրոց ոչ եթէ իբր արդեաւք զաշխարհ

69. Gen 3:9.

70. The general title is Անանուն ժամանակագրութիւն A*nonymous Chronography.* In the introduction, V. Hakobyan writes (p. 17) that in the manuscript this small text follows Yovhan Sarkawag’s (the Deacon) work on the calendar, so it too may belong to him, but this does not seem so (GM). The name Յոհան քահանայ “Yohan the priest” stands at the beginning of the text.

Աստուած սկսաւ գործել, այլ զի արար. եւ ոչ յայնմանէ կամ անտի զթիւ ժամանակաց, այլ յորմէ ելին նախաստեղծքն ի դրախտէն, ապա ոչ ումն զսկիզբն ժամանակաց մեր է գիտել, թէպէտ եւ արուեստիւ դիպողագոյնս ինչ կանոնեմք . . .

Եթէ կամիցիս յելանելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն գիտել զժամանակն՝ կալ ՐՃԼԸ. (5138) եւ զամս որ ի ծննդենէ փրկչին ի վերաբեր: Եւ մի հաւատար որոց ասեն՝ զլինելութիւնն աշխարհի գիտել զժամանակ, զի գիտէ միայն որ ստեղծն. իսկ մեզ յայտնի թերեւս է յետ յանցանաց մարդոյն ժամանակն ըստ մեծին Մովսէսի, որ համարի մինչեւ յինքն ամս ՎՉԻԹ. (3729) ըստ եւթանասնիցն թարգմանութեան . . .

We cannot know the hours and the times which the Father established in his dominion; we have not learned from the Scriptures when God began to make the world, but that he made (it). And (we reckon) the count of the times not from that or thence, but from when the protoplasts came out of paradise. This is why no one can know the beginning of our times, although we determine (it) skillfully, in the most proper way . . .

If you wish to know the time from Adam's coming out of paradise, take 5138 and add the years from the birth of the Savior. And do not believe those who say that they know the time of the coming into being of the world, for only the One who created it knows. But perhaps the time from the sin of man is revealed to us, according to the great Moses, who reckons the time until himself to be 3729 years, according to the translation of the Seventy . . .

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Բնագրեր "Texts," in Հովհաննես Երզնկացին եւ նրա խրատական արձակը *Yovhannēs Erznkac'i and His Didactic Prose,* ed. Ē. Baghdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1977).

Է եւ այժմ գրենք եւթներորդ Վասն զողութեան
VII And Now Let Us Write a Seventh On Robbery

1 Ասաց Աստուած Ադամայ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո»:

God said to Adam, "By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread."[71]

71. Gen 3:19.

Ժ Յաղագս Յիշոցնա(տուաց)
X On Those Who Swear

2 163 Տասներորդ կանոնք գրեմք վասն ահեղ եւ մեծ եւ դառն եւ զարհուրելի մեղացն, որ ասի իշոցք՝ գեղջուկ բառով եւ ըստ գրոց սովորութեան՝ անէծք եւ թշնամանք կոչի, որ խաբեալ եւ սովորեալ մարդիկ զբերանն եւ զլեզուն գործարան են տուեալ սատանայի թշնամանել, հայհոյել եւ անարգել զմիմեանս: Որ է մեծ մեղք եւ անքաւելի իշոցքն եւ չար է, քան զամենայն հերձուածս, զի որ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցայսօր հերձուած է լել եւ ժողովով նզովել են:

We write the tenth canon concerning the frightful and great and bitter and dreadful sin called "swearing" by the popular word and named "curse" or "enmity" according to the written usage; for people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity, cursing and offending each other. Swearing is a great sin, unexpiable and worse than all heresies that have existed from Adam till the present, and have been anathematized by councils.

ԺԷ Յաղագս պահոց
XVII On Fasting

3 176 Զպահքն սուրբ եւ անարատ պարտ է պահել՝ եւ որք սրբութեամբ պահեցին՝ արդարացան, եւ որք ոչ պահեցին կորեան: Առաջին պատուիրան պահքն է, զոր ետ Աստուած Ադամայ: Զի ասաց Աստուած. «Յամենայն պտղոյ կեր». այդ ուտէիցն է աւրինակ: «Բայց ի պտղոյ միոյն մի ուտել». այս պահքն է: Զի ոչ պահեաց Ադամ. ել ի դրախտէն եւ անկաւ յայս չարչարանաց աշխարհս:

176 The holy and pure fast shall be observed . . . , and those who fasted were justified, and those who did not fast, perished. The fast is the first commandment that God gave to Adam. For God said to Adam, "Eat of every fruit": this is the pattern of a meat day. "But do not eat of one fruit," is the fast. Since Adam did not observe the fast, he went out of the Garden and fell into this world of suffering.

Կանոնք եւ խրատք տղայահասակ մանկանց աշխարհականաց
Canons and Admonitions for Lay Boys

Յաղագս գաւտոյ
On the Girdle

4 234 Առաջին գաւտի քրիստոնէականն է, որ յետ կնքոյն յաւազանն զգեցուցանէ քահանայն սպիտակ հանդերձ եւածէ գաւտի ընդ մէջն՝ զնարաւտն, մանեալ կարմիր եւ սպիտակ։ Արդ, սպիտակ հանդերձն աւրինակ է Ադամայ անմեղութեանն, մինչ ի դրախտին էր։ Զնոյն անմեղութիւնն, որ նա կորոյս, գտանեն որդիք նորա յեկեղեցիս, որ է նոր դրախտ։

The first girdle is the Christian one: after baptizing in the font, the priest arrays (the baptized) in a white robe and ties around his middle a colored girdle spun with red and white. Now the white robe is the sign of Adam's innocence while he was in the Garden. The innocence that he lost, his descendants find in this church, which is the new Garden.

Վասն գաւտի տալոյն
Concerning the Giving of a Girdle

5 238 Զի Ադամ վասն միոյ պտղին, որ առանց հրամանացն Աստուծոյ եկեր, ել ի դրախտէն։

For Adam, on account of one fruit that he ate without God's command, went forth from the Garden.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Թուղթ առ իշխանս Եկեղեաց գաւառի "Epistle to the Rulers of the Ekełeac' Region," ed. Ē. Bałdasaryan, *Banber Matenadarani* 10 (1971): 295–314.

6 306 Արար Աստուած զմարդն հոգի եւ մարմին եւ զարդարեաց յիւր նմանութիւն պատկերին. եւ զմիտքն հոգւոյն աչք արար եւ զաչքն մարմնոյն ճրագ։

God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And he made the mind the eyes of the soul and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body.

7 Եւ դու զմիտքտ ի վերա կալ եւ զմեղաց խրատն յականջտ մի թողուլ։ Թէ առաջին մայրն մեր Եւա զաւձին խրատն յականջ չէր թողել՝ չէր խաբվել։

Զինչ աւտար իրք տեսանես, աչաւքտ մի՛ ցանկար։ Թէ չէր աչաւքն տեսել զպտուղն եւ ցանկացել զեղեցկութեանն՝ չէր կերել։

Ձեռաւքտ ի մեղք մի խաբվիր։ Թէ չէր ձեռաւքն զպտուղ շոշափել, չէր հեշտացել եւ կերել։

Զբերանդ աւելորդ ուտելոյ կամ խմելոյ, կամ զլեզուտ մաշում խաւսից մի՛ տար: Թէ պահել էր զբերանն առաջին մարդն, չէր ի փառացն մերկացեալ եւ ի դրախտէն ելեալ եւ ի ներքո դատապարտութեան եւ անիծից անզեալ:

Զայս գիտենալ պիտի, որ սատանայն աւձն է, որ զԵւայ խաբեաց եւ այժմ զամենայն մարդ ջանա խաբել, ընդ այս հինգ դրունս:

And you restrain your mind and do not admit sinful counsel to your ear. If our first mother, Eve, had not admitted the serpent's counsel to her ear, she would not have been deceived.

Let your eye not desire whatever foreign thing you see. If she had not seen the fruit with her eyes and desired its beauty, she would not have eaten (it).

Let not your hand be deceived in sins. If she had not touched the fruit with her hands, she would not have delighted (in it) and eaten.

Do not give your mouth to excessive eating or drinking, or wear out your tongue from speaking. If the first man had watched his mouth, he would not have been stripped of glory nor have gone forth from the Garden and fallen under punishment and curse.

It is necessary to recognize this, that the serpent is Satan, who deceived Eve and now strives to deceive all men, through these five gates.[72]

8 310 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց եւ ի դրախտն էդիր, քանի զԱստուծոյ հրամանքն պահեց, ոչ ի մարմինն հիւանդութիւն կայր եւ ոչ ի հոգին մեղք: Եւ երբ յԱստուծոյ հրամանացն ելաւ, նա մեղքն ի հոգին գտաւ տեղի: Եւ երբ ի դրախտէն ելաւ, հիւանդութիւնն ի մարմինն գտաւ տեղի եւ ապա մահն:

When God created Adam and set him in the Garden, as long as he kept God's commandments, there was no illness in his body nor sins in his soul. And when he left God's commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i, Բանք չափաւ "Verses," in Հովհաննես Երզնկացի *Hovhannes Erznkac‘i*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1958), 143–266.

72. I.e., the five senses.

Քառեակներ
Quatrains. Բ II 143

9 5 Օրհնեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն, որ զբարեաց դըռներն է բացել,
Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծել ’ւ յերեք դիմաց բաժանել,
Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դըրել ’ւ Ադամայ զդրախտն է տընկել,
Զերկիրս գազանաց տըւել ’ւ անասնոց տեղի զսա շինել:

Blessed is the name of God, who opened the gates of good;
He created this beautiful world, and divided (it) into three aspects;
He set the angels in Heaven and he planted the Garden of Adam;
He gave the earth to the beasts, and made it a place for animals.

Գ III 144

10 9 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց Սադայել երեսն էր շրջել,
Յերկնից ի յանդունդս անկել ’ւ ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացել,
ԶԱդամ ի դրախտէն հանել ’ւ անասնոց յերկիր զնա ձգել,
’Ի ամեն Ադամայ որդիքս ենք օտար տեղիս բընակել:

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face;
From the heaven to the deeps he fell, and from light, remained in darkness.
He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the animals.
And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.

ԾԴ LIV 157–58

11 215 Աշխարհս է ոչինչ նըման, շատ դատին դառնան փոշիման,
Հալալ ու հարամ անեն՝ hոս թողուն ’ ի hոն կու գընան,
Ջան արա՛ գործէ բարի, որ յետոյ չլինիս փոշիման,
Թէ չէ Ադամայ դըրախտէն քեզ կանաչ տերեւ մի չի տան:

This world is like nothing, many are judged, they turn to repentance.
They do right and abomination, here they leave,[73] thither they go.
Strive, do good, so that afterwards you are not sorry;
If not, they will not give you one green leaf from Adam’s Garden.

192–94 Նորին Յովհաննիսի Վարդապետի Եզնկացւոյ ասացեալ ի խրատ աշխարհականաց

73. Or: are forgiven.

Spoken by the Same Yovhannēs *vardapet* Erznkacʻi for Admonition of Laymen

12 Արարիչն երբ ստեղծեց զԱդամն ի հողէն,
Գեղեցիկ յօրինեց ըզկինն ի կողէն,
Ցիւր պատկերըն պատուեց փառօք լուսեղէն,
Կերպարան իւր արար զմարդըն նիւթեղէն։

When the Creator created Adam from the dust,
He made the woman from (his) side, beautiful.
He honored His image with luminous glory,
He made material man in His form.

13 Ի դրախտին եդ պատուով տնկեալն ի յէէն,
Պատուիրան ետ պահել ի միոյ ծառէն
Ցամենայն պըտղոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
Թէ չէ մահ քեզ տիրէ յահեղ հրամանէն։

He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent,
He gave a command to refrain from one tree,
“Eat of all fruit, but not from the one,
If not, death will rule you, through the fearsome command.”

14 Նախաստեղծըն պատրեալ խաբմամբ ի յօձէն,
Զրկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յանմահ ի վայրէն.
Ողորմելին այն կորոյս զփառքըն լուսեղէ՛ն,
Ու մահու մատնեցաւ յիւր արարողէն։

The first-created having been overcome deceitfully by the serpent,
Was deprived of the Garden, of the immortal place,
That pitiful one lost the luminous glory,
And he was given over to death by his Maker.

15 Բարկացաւ արարիչն, որ զնա ստեղծեաց,
Փըշաբեր դառնութեամբ զերկիրս անիծեաց,
Քըրտամբք կերակըրիլ ըզհաց հրամայեաց,
Զստեղծուածըն ի հողոյ ի հող նա մատնեաց։

The Creator was angered, who created him,
With thorny bitterness, He cursed this earth.
He commanded him to eat bread with sweat,
He gave to dust the one created from dust.

16 Զգեղեցիկ կինն, որ ի կողէն յօրինեաց,
Տըրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնանիլ հրամայեաց,
Փոխանակ մի պըտղոյն, զոր եւ ճաշակեաց,
Ամենայն իւր ծընընդովքն զմահ ժառանգեաց։

The beautiful woman whom He formed from the rib,
With sorrow and pains he commanded to give birth.
In return for the one fruit that she ate,
With all her descendants she inherited death.

17 Բանսարկուն սատանայ, որ զմարդըն խաբեաց,
Ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահ պտղոյն որոշեաց,
Զարարածըս մարդկան պաշտել հրապուրեաց,
Հեռանալ յարարչէն ի բաց բաժանեաց:

The Devil Satan, who deceived man,
Separated him from the Garden and the immortal fruit.
He induced man to worship created things,
To become distant from the Creator, he separated him.

18 Ահա այ́ս էր պատճառ բանին հայրական,
Իջանել ի յերկնից յարգանտ կուսական,
Յիւրական աթոռոյն էր անզատական,
Եւ ի ծոց սուրբ կուսին մանուկ գոյական:

Behold this was the cause of the fatherly Word,
To descend from heaven to the virginal womb.
He was inseparable from His own throne,
And an existent infant in the bosom of the Holy Virgin.

19 Ծնանի ի կուսէն սուրբ անապական,
Անարատ պահելով զկնիք կուսական,
Ի յերկրի մարդ լինի ծնընդեամբ մայրական,
Ի յերկինս է ընդ հօր անբաժանական:

His is born from the Holy incorruptible Virgin,
Preserving the virginal seal immaculate,
On the earth He is a man, by his maternal birth,
In the heavens, He is with the Father, inseparable.

20 Ի յերկուց կատարեալ բնութեանց բանական,
Միացեալ նոր խառնումն եւ անճառական,
Անորիշ եւ անքակ եւ անբացական,
Անխառն, անշփոթ եւ անեղական:

From the two, of perfect and rational nature,
United new mixture and ineffable,
Without limit, without measure, and inexpressible,
Unmixed, unconfused, and increate.

7. 208–18 Յովհաննու Վարդապետի Եզընկացոյ, Մականուն Պլուզ կոչեցեալ, ասացեալ բան շահավէտ եւ օգտակար

Profitable and Useful Discourse Pronounced by Yovhannēs *vardapet* of Erznka, dubbed Pluz

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 167–68.

21 Ադամայ որդիք ամէն ու ծնունդ ի հողէն,
Եկէք տամ ձեզ խրատ Աստուծոյ բանէն,
Գիտեմ որ ամէն մարդ չկարէ ուսնիլ ի գրէն,
Վասն այնոր զայս գրեցի, որ լսէք յինէն:

All sons of Adam, and generation of Earth,
Come, let me give you advice from God’s wise Words,
I know that not every man can learn from books,
For which reason I wrote this, that you hear it from me.

22 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց ու զկինն ի կողէն,
Ի պատկեր աստուածութեան արար լուսեղէն,
Ի դրախտին փառօք եդիր տնկեալ յանմահէն,
Պատուիրան եդ ի նմա պահել յանճառէն:

When God created Adam, and Eve[74] from the rib,
He made them in the luminous image of divinity,[75]
He placed him in the Garden in glory, planted by the Immortal,
And set in him the commandment to hold back from the ineffable.

23 Յամենայն պտղոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
թէ չէ շուտ մահու մեռնիս ’ւ ելնես ի դրախտէն.
/ Թէ պահես զիմ պատուիրանն, որ առեր յինէն,
Ի դրախտէն փոխեմ յերկինս՝ ի դասս լուսեղէն:

“Eat of every fruit but[76] one,
Else you will soon die and go out of paradise,
If you keep[77] my Commandment that you took from me,
I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks.”

24 Զայս լուեալ սատանայի անկեալն ի փառաց,
Նախանձեալ ընդ Ադամայ, ընդ Տէրն աշխարհաց,
Գործակից զօձն էր առեալ՝ յամէն գազանաց,
Ընդ Եւայի նենգաւ խօսել զուսումն մեղաց:

74. MES: his wife.
75. MES: luminous in the image of divinity.
76. MES: not from the.
77. MES: will keep.

Satan, fallen from glory, having heard this,
Jealous of Adam, in opposition to the Lord of the worlds
Took as his associate the serpent, from among all the beasts,
To tell[78] Eve with treachery the teachings of sin:

25 Թէ ուտէք դուք յայն պտղոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին,
Աստուածք դուք լինենայք նըման արարչին:
Ողորմելի կինն այն գերի լսել պիղծ օձին,
Ի ծառոյ պտղոյն կերեալ՝ մերկացել մարմին:

“If you eat of that fruit which is in the midst of paradise,
You will be gods, like the Creator.”
The pitiable woman, captive, listened to the vile serpent,
Ate of the fruit of that tree; her body was stripped.[79]

26 Աղամայ էր զայն տեսել ու կնոջն ողորմել,
Ի պտղոյն առեալ կերել, ի՝ լուսոյն մերկացել,
Ըզթզենոյն զտերեւն առել՝ զմարմինն ծածկել,
Յամօթոյն փախուստ առեալ, յԱստուծոյ թագել:

Adam had seen this and had taken pity on his wife,
And took and ate of the fruit, was stripped of light,
And took the fig leaf and covered[80] his body,
And he—crowned by God[81]—fled for shame.

27 Աղամայ ստեղծողն եկեալ յիւր պատկերն ի տես,
Աղամայ էր ձայն տըւեալ՝ Աղամ դու ո՞ւր ես:
--Տէ՛ր, զքո ձայնըդ լուայ, սասանեցայ ես,
Քանզի մերկ եմ ’ւ ամօթով, փախեալ թագեալ ես:

The Creator of Adam came to see His image,
And called Adam, saying, “Adam, where are you?”
“Lord, I heard your voice and was shaken,
For I am naked and ashamed; I fled and hid myself.”

28 Աւաղ ըզքեզ Աղամ, դու է՞ր խաբեցար,
Զպատուիրանն չպահեցիր պըտղոյն դու կերար,
Արի՛ ե՛լ ի դրախտէդ, մեղօք դու մեռար,
Արդ չէ տեղ մեռելոյ, այտի դու անկար:

“Alas for you, Adam, how were you deceived?
You did not heed the commandment; you partook of the fruit.

78. MES: speak with.

79. MES: stripped (naked).

80. MES: to cover.

81. Perhaps թագել is the same as թագնել (“hide”) (cf. թաքչիմ) with գ/ք alternation. If so, translate, “He took flight from shame, to hide from God.” See Russell’s translation of թագել in the next stanza as “hide.”

Get up, get out of paradise,[82] you are dead of sin.
This is no place for a dead man; you have fallen from it.”[83]

29 Ադամայ ղալատ խօսելն ու լացն էառ զիս,
Զպատճառն զԵւայ հանելն, ափսոս ու վայ զիս.
--Կինըս այս որ ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս.
Անմահական փառաց դրախտէն սա կողոպտեաց զիս:

Adam’s wretched words and sobbing gripped me.
Eve was the cause of his exile; alas and woe is me!
“This woman, whom you gave me, she deceived me,
And from the Garden of immortal glory has deprived me!”

30 Ողորմելի կինն այն գերի յօձէն խաբեցաւ.
Եւ մեռաց թոյնքըն մահու յԵւայ թափեցաւ:
Աստուծոյ պատկերն Ադամ խղճաց եւ կերաւ,
Իւր ամէն բոլոր ծընընդեամբըն մահու մեռաւ:

The[84] pitiable woman, prisoner to the serpent, was deceived
And sin’s deadly poison then spilled from[85] Eve.
God’s likeness,[86] Adam, took pity and ate,
And died all the death of his progeny.[87]

31 Քաղցր եւ բարերարն Աստուած, որ զնոսա ստեղծեաց,
Զկենաց դուռն ու զմահուն զերկուսըն յայտնեաց,
Զանձնիշխան կամքն Ադամայ պըտղովըն փորձեաց,
Զպատուիրանն չպահեցին, նա դատապարտեաց:

Sweet and beneficent God who created them,
The door of life and death: the two He revealed;
The free will[88] of Adam with the fruit he tried;
They kept not the commandment, and He condemned.

32 Ընդ Ադամայ դարձեալ ասէ--Ադամ, դու հող իր,
Զպատուիրանըն չպահեցիր, ի հող դու դարձիր
Չկեցար փառօք ի դրախտն, յաշխարհ դու անկիր,
Քրտամբք եւ վաստակօք գործէ դու զերկիր:

Again to Adam He says, “Adam, you were earth.
You did not keep the commandment: to earth return!

82. MES: this Garden.
83. MES: here.
84. MES: That
85. MES: into, NB!
86. MES: image.
87. MES: with all his descendants.
88. MES: autonomy.

You lived not with glory in paradise; fall into the world!
Work the earth with sweat and toil.”

33 Փոխանակ տընկոցս անմահ, փուշ բուսանի քեզ,
’Ի ի լուսեղէն դրախտիս տեղի՝ խաւար տիրէ քեզ.
Անցաւ ’ւ անհոգ էիր՝ հոգօք մաշէ զքեզ,
Մինչեւ գալ օրըն մահու՝ գերեզմանէ զքեզ:

Instead of immortal plants, thorns shall spring up for you,
And in place of the luminous paradise, darkness will reign over you.
You had neither pain nor care: now cares will wear you down
Until the day of death comes, when you will be entombed.”[89]

34 Ահա եղբայրք իմ սիրելիք, ողորմեցէք ձեզ,
Ադամ հայրն ձեր մեղաւ ու զպարտքն եթող ձեզ,
Այն մէկ մարդն որ մեղաւ՝ դատապարտեաց զձեզ,
Ու հետ այն մէկին հետին մահն գերեաց զձեզ:

So pity yourselves, my dear brothers.
Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
The one who sinned condemned you,
And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.

35 Բայց զի մարդ ին հողեղէն ու ծնեալ ի մարդոյ,
Չկարացին մարդկան օգնել ու ազատել ի մահոյ,
Ոչ զմեղաց գիրըն ջնջել զհոգոյ եւ զմարմնոյ,
’Ի ոչ զմահու գերի անկեալքս դարձնել ի հողոյ:

But as they were of earth[90] and born of man,
They could not help men and free them from death,
Nor could they erase the book of sins of soul and body,[91]
Nor return to[92] dust those fallen captive to death.

36 Անմահ աստուածութեամբըն զմահն կոխեաց,
Անմեղ եւ սուրբ մարմնովն զմեղքըն քաւեաց.
Անարատ ձեռօքն ի խաչն զգիրն ջնջեաց,
Թաղմամբ եւ յարութեամբ յերկինըս կոչեաց:

In deathless divinity, he trampled death.
With his sinless and holy body he atoned for the sin.
With his immaculate hands on the cross he annihilated the writing.[93]
With his burial and resurrection he summoned the heavens.

89. MES: and it buries you.
90. MES: because they were of dust.
91. MES: of body and soul.
92. MES: bring back from.
93. I.e., the cheirograph.

222–23 9. Այլ մեղեդիք եւ տաղեր հոգոյն սրբոյ Յոհանէս Պլուզէ
Additional Tunes and Poems to the Holy Spirit by Yovhanēs Pluz

37 Յարարածոցս նիւթ առեալ, զԱդամ ստեղծեալ,
Նորոգեալ փըչեաց հոգի սուրբ ի նմա:
Սուրբ դրախտին եղեալ, գործել, պահել ըզնա,
Ռաբունին բարի օրինադրէր բանիւ,
Բանիւ հրամայէր մի ճաշակել որթոյն,
Որթոյն գիտութեան, զի մի՛ մահուամբ լիցիս:
Յամօթ նա եղեալ, մերկացեալ փըշմանէն,
Փըշմանէն զրկեալ եւ խայտառակ եղեալ:
Յորդորակ / յանկարծ ձայնեալ Տէրն, թէ Ադամ յո՞ւր ես.
Ո՞ւր ես կողոպտեալդ եւ մերկացեալդ փառաց:
Հանդերձ ըզգեցեալն հանեալ, եղեալ ադին դրախտին,
Արտաքսեալ զԱդամ ի փառաց դըրախտին:
Նիւթեալ բանսարկուին, կամաց իւր նըւաճեալ,
Նըւաճեալ չարին ստրուկ կամաց իւրոց:
Իւր կամօքն անկեալ, յիւրմէ բարձեալ հոգին:

Having taken matter from the creations, He created Adam,
Having made (him) anew, he blew the Holy Spirit into him,
Having set him in the Garden, to work, to guard it,
The good Teacher legislated by speech,
By speech He commanded not to eat of the vine,
The vine of knowledge, lest you die.
He was ashamed, being stripped of the breath,
Deprived of the breath, he also became despicable.
Suddenly, the Lord called out, "Adam, where are you?
Where are you, O plunderer, and stripped naked of glory?"
Brought forth (expelled) clothed with garments, (him who was) set in the Garden of Eden,
Having expelled Adam from the glory of the Garden,
The material Devil, captive of his will,
The Evil One captive, slave of his own will,
Fallen through his will, having removed the Spirit from himself.

224–27 Տաղ Ադամայ, Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ է
Poem about Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 170.

38 Մեր Տէրն ի դրախտն երեկ,
Ադամայ ձայնեց թէ՝ Ո՞ւր ես:
Ադամ թզենոյն ի դուրս
Ձայս ասաց, թէ՝ Մերկիկ եմ ես:

Our Lord came to Paradise,
And called out to Adam, “Where are you?”
Adam replied from the fig tree,
“I am naked.”
Refrain

39 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտէս առներ դու մեզ, տէ՛ր:

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

40 Իմ տէ՛ր, ի քեզնէ կուզեմ,
Որ զԵւայ ու զօձն անիծես,
Նոքայ խափեցին ըզիս
Քո լուսոյն, որ մերկացայ ես.

“My Lord, I want you
To curse Eve and the serpent;
They deceived me,
So I was stripped of your light.

41 Պտղոյն ինձ ուտել տվին
Եւ քէնէ արին սեւերես:
Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտես առնէր դու մեզ, տէ՛ր:

They gave me to eat of the fruit,
And made me black-faced[94] before you.”
Refrain
Merciful, merciful you are, and love men,
Do not ignore us, Lord!

42 Իմ տէ՛ր, այն հողէն եմ ես,
Քո ձեռօքըդ զիս ստեղծեալ ես,
Սատանան ցաւեցոյց զիս,
Կու խնդրեմ զցաւս փարատես

“My Lord, I am from that soil,[95]
By your own hands you created me.

94. See note on this in Stone 1990a, 259.
95. Or: dust.

Satan saddened me;
I ask you to dispel[96] my pain.

43 Քան ըզջուր ճապաղեցայ,
Կաղաչեմ որ զիս ժողովես,
Ժողովես ու շիշան լնուս,
Քո աջովըդ մատնահարես:

I was scattered more than the water;
I ask you to gather me up.
Gather me up and fill a bottle,
Seal it with your right hand."[97]
Refrain

44 Սատանայ տեսաւ զԱդամ
Ի դրախտին դուռն կանգնած,
Ջերկու ձեռքն իրար ի զարկ
Եւ բարկ-բարկ ինքն ծիծաղեաց:

Satan saw Adam,
Standing at the gate of Paradise,
Pounding his two hands together,
And cackled caustically.

45 Ադամ զայս պատասխանեաց.
Զի՛նչ տեսար քո բարքդ անիծած,
Թէպէտ ի դրախտէն հանիր,
Չի՛ թողու մեր Տէրն ի ձեռաց:

Adam addressed him:
"How did you see your damned ways?
Although you removed us from the Garden,
Our Lord does not leave us from his hands."
Refrain

46 Սատանայ տեսաւ զՄովսէս,
Արգելեաց ու շատ մի ի լաց
Իմ աստուածախօս Մովսէս
Մեր Տէրն է՞ր է մեզ խռոված,

Satan saw Moses,
Forbade him and cried much:
"My divine-speaking Moses,
Why is our Lord stirred up against us?

96. MES: solace.

97. Russell has: And take power over me with your eye.

47 Երբ մեք աշակերտ էաք
Աստուծոյ, Ադամ չէր ըստեղծած,
ԶԱդամ ի հողոյ ըստեղծեաց,
Մեք ի մեր փառացն եմք զըրկած:

When we were disciples
Of God, Adam was yet uncreated.
He created Adam from dust,[98]
We have been deprived of our glory!”
Refrain

48 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց
Սադայէլ զերեսն էր շրջեր,
Ի յերկնից անդունդս իջեր
’Ի ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացեր,

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaēl had turned his face;
From Heaven he descended into the abyss,
And remained obscured from light.[99]

49 ԶԱդամ ի դրախտէն հաներ
’Ի յանասնոց երկիրն է ձըգեր.
Ամենքս ենք օտար, եղբայր,
Անասնոց երկիր բնակեր:

He took Adam out of Paradise,
And flung him into the world of beasts.
We are all strangers, brother,
Inhabitants of the beasts’ land.
Refrain

50 Օրհնեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն,
Որ փակած դռվին է բացեր,
Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծեր,
Եւ երեք դիմաց բաժաներ.

Blessed is the name of God,
Who opened closed doors.
Created the world beautiful,
And divided into three faces;

51 Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դասեր,
Ադամայ դրախտն է տուեր,

98. Russell omits this line,
99. MES: from light, he lived in darkness.

Զերկիր անասնոց տուեր,
Անբանից տեղիք զսա շիներ։

Who arranged the angels in Heaven,
Gave Paradise to Adam.
And the earth to beasts
And made these places of the mindless.[100]
Refrain

52 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտես առներ դու մեզ, տէ՛ր։

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

228–34 Տաղ Ադամայ ասացեալ ի Պլուզ Վարդապետէ
Poem on Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*[101]

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 171–73.

53 Ադամ նստել դուռըն ի դրախտին,
Լայր եւ ձայնէր ողորմագին,
Աղիողորմ՝ ի դէմ դրախտին,
Կու հառաչէր արտասուագին։

Adam sat at the gate of Paradise,
Cried and called piteously,
Miserably at[102] Paradise,
And sighed tearfully.

54 Ա՛յ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք,
Այդ որ ի դրախտըն մտանէք,
Զաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէք,
Զայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէք։

“Ah, Seraphim! Ah, Cherubim!
You who enter Paradise,
Implore the Divine,
To give these sinners[103] ease!

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100. MES: And made it a place for the animals (i.e., nonrational).
101. There are also variants included in Srapyan’s notes.
102. MES: opposite.
103. MES: me, the sinner

55 Երեկ էի ի մէջ դրախտին,
Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային,
/ Անդ թագաւոր էի յաղին,
Նըման հըզօր թագաւորին,

Yesterday I was in the Garden,
Covered with godly light.
There[104] I was king,
Like the powerful King.

56 Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
Որ դալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
Ես այլ նորայ հաւանեցայ,
Արտաքսեցայ դրախտէն աղին:

For Eve, partner of my rib,
Who was spoiled by the serpent’s deception,
I, too, was persuaded by him,[105]
And was expelled from the Garden of Eden.

57 Չիմ զեղեցիկ զարդերքն առին,
Չիս անողորմ մերկացուցին,
Վասըն միոյ պատուիրանին,
Անմահական ծառոյ պտղին:

They took away my beautiful ornaments,
They stripped me mercilessly.
For the sake of one commandment,
The fruit of the immortal tree.

58 Հօսկայ մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
Եւայ նըստել ու խիստ կուլայ:
— Էր չի ասել թէ՝ Տէր, մեղայ,
Դու ես ստեղծել ինձ, ողորմեա՛.

I am stark naked here.
Eve sits and cries terribly.
Why did I not say, “Lord, I have sinned?
You created me, have mercy!”

59 Այս մէկ տարպայս ես դալտեցայ,
Բանիւ կնոջըն խաբեցայ,
Երբ խայտառակ տեսայ զԵւայ,
Փառացըն մերկ՝ զէտ սատանայ,

104. MES: In Eden there
105. Or: her.

This one time was I spoiled;
I was deceived by a woman's words.
Then I saw Eve shamed,
Stripped of glory like Satan.

60 Ես ի յիւր գութըն վառեցայ,
Յանմահ պտղոյն առեալ կերայ,
Ասցի, թէ իմ ստեղծողըն գայ,
Մերկ տեսանէ զիս զէտ զԵւայ,

I was inflamed with compassion for her
And, taking of the immortal fruit, I ate of it,
And said, "If my Creator comes
He will see me more naked than[106] Eve.

61 Նա հայրական սիրով գթայ
Եւ ողորմի ինձ եւ նորայ.
Երբ ոտնաձայն Տեառն լուայ,
Գալոյ ի դրախտն եւ ափշեցայ:

With paternal love He will show compassion,
And have mercy on me and on her."
When I heard the footfalls of the Lord
Coming to Paradise, I was stupefied.

62 Տերեւ թզենոյն զինեւ սփածայ,
Ի մէջ ծառոց անկեալ թագեայ:
Տէրն ձայնեաց, — Ադամ, ո՞ւր ես:
Ես ձայն տուի, թէ՝ Մերկ եմ ես:

I covered myself with a fig leaf,
Fell amidst the trees, and hid.
The Lord called, "Adam, where are you?"
I called out, "I am naked."

63 Տէր ըզքո ձայնըդ լուայ ես,
Զահի հարայ ամօթերես:
— Ամ ո՞վ ասաց ձեզ, թէ մերկ էք,
Կամ ո՞վ խաբեաց զձեզ, պատմեցէք:

"Lord, I heard your voice,
And, shamefaced, was gripped by fear."
"Now, relate who told you that you were naked?
And who deceived you?"

106. MES: me naked like.

64 Է՞ր չի ընկնիլ յոտքն ի նորայ,
Լալով ասցել թէ՝ Տէր մեղայ,
/ Քանց թէ պատճառ դըրի զԵւայ,
Յանանց բարեացըն թափեցայ:

Why did I not fall at his feet
Crying, saying “Lord, I have sinned,”
Rather than accuse Eve?
It is I who have fallen from eternal good.

65 Ի կողէս կին ստեղծեր զԵւայ,
Պըտղոյն երետ ինձ եւ կերայ
Վերջին բանըն էր, որ լուայ,
Որ խօսեցաւ Տէրն ընդ Եւայ:

From my rib you created the woman Eve,
Who gave me of the fruit and I ate.
The last thing that I heard
Was the Lord speaking to Eve:

66 Պատուէր տըւի, թէ մի՛ ուտէք,
Այնկի կերաք՝ դրախտէն ելէք.
Ես ձեզ անանց դրախտն եդի,
Դուք զանցաւորըն սիրեցիք,

“I commanded you not to eat
But you ate of it: leave Paradise!
I placed you in eternal Paradise,
But you loved that which is fleeting.

67 Ես քեզ կենաց պըտուղ տվի,
Դու ըզմահուն ճաշակեցիր,
Ես զքեզ լուսով զարդարեցի,
Դու ըզխաւարըն սիրեցիր:

I gave you the fruit of life,
But you tasted of death.
I adorned you in light,
But you loved the dark.”

68 Եւայ պատասխան ետ նըմա.
— Օձըն խաբեաց զիս եւ կերայ:
Տէրն անիծեց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
Ես այլ ի մէջն գերեցայ:

Eve answered him:
“The serpent deceived me and I ate.”

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve,
And I was trapped with them.

69 Տէրըն հրամեց մեզ թէ՝ Ելէք,
Թէ հող էիք, ի հող դարձէք:
Ես աղաչեմ զձեզ, սերովբէք,
Գանգատ ունիմ, ի՛նձ լսեցէք:

The Lord ordered us: “Go!
Earth you were; to earth return!”
I implore you, cherubim,[107]
I have a complaint, hear me out.

70 Երբ ի յայդին դրախտըն մտնէք,
Յանմահ պըտղոյն ճիւղ մի՛ առէք,
Բերէք յաչացս ի վրայ դրէք,
Զխաւարեալ աչս ողջացուցէք:

When you enter that Paradise,
Take a branch of the immortal fruit,
Bring it and place it over my eyes
And cure my eyes cast into darkness.

71 Երբ ի դըրախտըն մըտանէք,
Ըզդրախտին դուռըն մի՛ փակէք,
Զիս ի դիմաց կանգնեցուցէք,
Պահ մի հայիմ կարճ, դարձուցէք:

When you enter Paradise,
Do not close the gate of Paradise.
Place me before it,
Let me look a moment, and turn me away.

72 Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ ծաղկունք,
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք
Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ թըռչունք
Քաղցրաբարբառ, եւ անասունք,

Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweet-tasting springs!
Ah, I remember you, birds
Sweet-voiced, and animals,

73 Որք ըզդրախտըն վայելէք,
Զեր թագաւորն եկայք լացէք,
Որք ի դրախտն աստուածատունկ

107. MES: seraphim.

Յերկրէ ընտրեալք ազգի ազգունք:

Who enjoy the Garden;
Come to your king and cry —
Who are planted by God in Paradise
And chosen from every species in the world.”

237 12. Տաղ Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ (թերի)
A Poem Pronounced by Yovhannēs *vardapet* Pluz (incomplete)

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 174.

74 Անդ, ի մէջ դրախտին, երեք անձինք կային,
Ադամ եւ Եւայ եւ պատուիրանըն Տեառն.
Օձըն խրամատեաց ըզցանկ այգոյն կենաց,
Արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի լուսեղէն դրախտէն:

There, in the midst of the Garden, were three souls,
Adam and Eve and the Commandment of the Lord,
The serpent ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life,
And banished Adam from luminous Paradise.

75 Ստունգանել կընոջըն խաբողին բանիւ,
Մերձեցան ի ծառն, զոր հրամայեաց չուտել:
Ճաշակմամբ պըտղոյն, որով ըզմահ գործեաց,
Կերան եւ ծանեան նոքա, զի մերկ էին:

The woman showed disobedience by the deceiver’s word;
They neared the tree, of which He had ordered them not to eat,
By tasting the fruit, wherewith he had fashioned death,
They ate and knew that they were naked.

76 Կարեցին տերեւս ի թզենոյ ծառոյն,
Ծածկոյթ արարին ամօթալից մարմնոյն.
Ոտնաձայն եղեւ Տեառն Աստուծոյ գալոյն,
Լըւեալ Ադամայ եւ փախուցեալ թագեաւ:

They sewed[108] leaves of the fig-tree,
And made a covering for their bodies filled with shame.
There tread of the Lord was of God’s coming,
Adam, heard fled, and hid he hid.

108. Russell: desired leaves of.

249–60 15. Տաղ ի Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետէ
A Poem by Yovhannēs Pluz *vardapet*[109]

77 251 Թագ արքայական կազմեալ,
Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեալ,
Դու փառք Եւայի բերեալ.
Մայր Մանուէլի սուրբ կոյս:

Having formed the royal crown,
Having bestowed it upon the first Adam,
You brought glory to Eve,
Holy Virgin, Mother of Emmanuel.

Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13

Text: Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi, Աղօթք առ հայրն երկնաւոր “Prayer to the Celestial Father,” in Գիրք աղօթից սրբոյն Եփրեմի Խուրին Ասորւոյ *Book of Prayers of St. Ephrem Syrus* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1933).

256 Երկուշաբթի աւուր
Monday

1 Արդ, դու կարող եւ մարդասէր, որ յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի պատրաստեցեր զարքայութիւնդ ի ժառանգութիւն սրբոց քոց:

Now you, mighty and philanthropic one who prepared your kingdom before the creation of the heavens and the earth as inheritance for your saints . . .

2 277–78 Բարերար եւ ամենակալ, յոյս ապաւինի ամենայն տարակուսելոց, Տէր իմ եւ Աստուած իմ, արարիչ էից յանէից եւ նախախնամող բոլորից. որ յայսմ աւուր հրամանաւ քով բաժանեցեր զբազմութիւն ջուրց, զքաղցունսն ամբարձեր ի վեր յամպս տեղալ ի վերայ երկրի ի բղխել զաղբիւրս եւ խաղացուցանել զգետս, եւ զաղտաղտինս թողեր յերկիր ստորին անսահման իմաստութեամբ եւ արկեր անջրպետ ի մէջ նոցա լոյծ եւ հոսանուտ զհաստատութիւնն օդոյ, զի փոխադարձ տուրեւառութեամբ ջուրց մշտնջենապէս հաղորդիլ կարասցեն ընդ միմեանս վերինքն եւ ստորինք յօգուտ համօրէն տիեզերաց, եւ ի պէտս ազգի մարդկան, զոր հանդերձեալ էիր արարչագործել ի վայելումն երանաւէտ փառաց աստուածութեանդ քո:

109. Not included in Russell’s translation.

Beneficent and Omnipotent, hope of refuge for all doubters; my Lord and my God, Creator of existent things from nonexistent and provider for all. On this day you divided by your command the multitude of waters. You raised the fresh waters up to the clouds on high to rain over the earth, to bring forth springs and to cause rivers to run, and you left salt waters on the lower earth in (your) unbounded wisdom. And as a divider between them you put the loose and flowing firmament of air, so that the upper and the lower could always communicate with each other through mutual exchange of the waters, for the benefit of the whole universe and for the advantage of the human race, which you were going to create in order that [they] enjoy the blissful glory of your divinity.

396–98 Ուրբաթ աւուր
Friday

3 Էապէս բարի եւ ամենակարող զօրութիւն Աստուած յաւիտենական, որ յայսմ աւուր հրամայեցեր երկրի, եւ եհան զանասունս եւ զսողունս եւ զգազանս ըստ ազգի. եւ չհանդուրժեալ բնութեամբ բարիդ՝ արարեր զմարդն ի հողոյ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն արարչապետիդ տիեզերաց, եւ կացուցեր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ բոլորեցունց քո արարածոց եւ զգուշացուցեր զնա կալ ի պատուիրանի քում, եւ վայելել զբարիսն՝ զոր ետուր (397) նմա ձրի եւ առանց փոխարինի ի քումմէ առատութենէ:

Եւ արդ, տէ՛ր իմ Աստուած իմ, որ զիս հողս անարգութեան այսպիսի անկշռելի բարութեամբ բարգաւաճեցեր, ես ինքնին հրապուրանաց թշնամւոյն կենաց անսացեալ՝ պատուիրանաց կենարարիդ հեստեցի. եւ օտարացայ ի նմանութենէ հաստողիդ իմոյ Աստուծոյ: Եղծի զգեղեցկութիւն կերպարանաց հոգւոյս՝ ազգի ազգի անօրէնութեամբ, եւ ոչ զարհուրեցայ:

Պերճացուցեր զիս իմացական մտօք խորշիլ ի չարէն եւ ընտրել զբարին. իսկ ես վար/եալ անմտութեամբ՝ յօժարեցայ ի չարիս: Ամբարձեր զիս ի նմանութիւն աստուածութեանդ քո անձնիշխան կամօք, եւ ես ծառայ եղեալ կրից մարմնոյս հաւասարեցայ անասնոց անբանից: Թողի զլոյս հրամանաց քոց՝ զոր ետուր ինձ առաջնորդել նովաւ զգնացս ոտից իմոց ի ճանապարհ ուղիղ երկնից օթեւանին, եւ ես ընդ խաւար գնացեալ՝ անկայ ի խորխորատ անելանելի կորստեան վըհի:

Essentially good and omnipotent power, eternal God! On this day, you commanded the earth, which brought forth cattle, creeping things, and beasts after their kind. And, not tolerating through your good nature, you made the man from dust in your image, in your likeness, O Creator of the universe.

And you set him up as master and sovereign over all your creatures, and warned him to observe your commandment and enjoy the goods that you had given to him freely and without compensation, by your generosity.

Now my Lord, my God, who made flourish, with such inestimable kindness, me, the worthless ground. I myself, yielding to the temptation of the antagonist of life, disobeyed your, the Redeemer's, command. And I estranged myself, my Creator God, from your likeness. With various lawless deeds I corrupted the beauty of the form of my soul, and did not tremble.

You glorified me with intelligent mind to shun the evil and to choose the good, but I, conducting myself with mindlessness, preferred evil. You exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will, but I served the passions of my body and became equal to irrational animals. I abandoned the light of your commandments, which you had given me to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode; but I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition.

Fourteenth Century

Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14

Text: Barseł Maškeronc‘i Մեկնութիւն սրբոյն աւետարանին որ ըստ Մարկոսի *Commentary on the Gospel According to Mark* (Constantinople: Abraham T‘erzean Aknec‘i Press, 1826).

1 43 Եւ տե՛ս զայս յառաջին մարդն՝ որ թերեւս եւ ո՛չ մի օր ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին, եւ յայսպիսի չարիս կործանեցաւ հանգստեամբն, զի հաւասար Աստուծոյ ցանկայր լինել՝ եւ միում պատուիրանի չկարաց անսալ: Թէ զայլ եւս ժամանակսն առանց փորձութեանց կացեալ էր՝ ո՞րպիսի ինչ չարիս ո՛չ գործէր. յաղագս այսորիկ ասէ, հարկ է գալ փորձութեան եւ գայթագղութեան:

And see this in the first man who perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully, and perished in such misfortunes, for he desired easily to be equal to God and could not obey one command. If he had remained there more time without any temptations, what sort of evil deeds would he not do? For this reason (the Gospel) says, "it must needs be that temptation and traps come."[1]

2 121 Զի Ադամ յաղագս բանի եւ կերակրոյ ոչ կարաց հաճոյ լինել Աստուծոյ. կերակրովն՝ զոր կերաւ ի ծառոյն, եւ բանիւ՝ զոր պատասխանեաց Աստուծոյ, որով զպատճառն ի կինն եհան, թէ կինս այս՝ զոր ետուր ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ՝ եւ կերայ: Որպէս եւ այժմ բազումք ասեն, թէ Աստուած արար զիս հեշտասէր եւ կարօտ կերակրոյ, եւ յաղագս այսորիկ ոչ կարեմ ի բաց կալ ի շնութենէ եւ ի շատ ուտելոյ եւ յարբեցութենէ. վասն որոյ այսպիսիքս զրկեալ գտանին ի լուսոյ աստուածութեանն . . .

For Adam could not please God on account of speech and food. Through food that which he ate of the tree and through speech, which he answered God, by which he put the blame on the woman, saying, "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, she gave me and I ate."[2] Like now, many say that "God has made me libidinous and desirous of food, and on account of this

1. This citation based on the Armenian text of Matt 18:7, but expanded.
2. Gen 3:12 with some variation.

I cannot abstain from adultery and from gluttony and from hard drinking," because of which such (people) are found to be deprived of the light of the Divinity . . .

3 354 Ադամ յորժամ մեղաւ, գրեալ է թէ՝ լուաւ զձայն զգնալոյ Տեառն ի դրախտի անդ ընդ երեկս. յորժամ խոնարհեալ էր ի նմանէ լոյս հաւատոյն, եւ պաղեալ էր բորբոքումն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ, զտեառն մերոյ զգնալն լուաւ՝ որ բաժանեալ էր ի մեղաւոր մարդոյ կարգ իրաւանցն, եւս առաւել կարգ զթութեան Աստուծոյ։ Եւ որ ի յայն ժամ ժամանակաւոր փակեաց զդուռն դրախտին՝ մեղանչելով Ադամայ, զղջանալով աւազակին՝ Քրիստոս եբաց նմա յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. եւ ի ժամն՝ որ Ադամայ ետ զմահ, ի նոյն ժամն երկրորդն Ադամ մեռանելով՝ քակեաց զմահ։

When Adam sinned, it is written that "he heard the sound of the Lord walking in the Garden toward evening";[3] when the light of belief had become low in him[4] and the fervor of love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God's mercy.[5] And he who at that hour temporarily closed the door of the Garden, because of Adam's sinning, when the robber repented, Christ opened (it) for him for ever and ever, and in the hour when He gave Adam death, in the same hour the second Adam, by dying, demolished death.

4 355 Վասն Է՞ր ի յուրբաթու խաչեցաւ Տէրն մեր. զի ի նմա ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմա էանց զպատուիրանաւն, ի նմա ընկալաւ զվճիռ դատաստանին՝ ի նմին ել ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին էառ հրաման քերովբէն պահել զդրախտն հրեղէն սրովք շուրջանակի. վասն այսորիկ ի սմին ընկալաւ Քրիստոս զխոցումն տիգաւ ի կողն, եւ արձակեաց զսուր քերովբէին, եւ եմոյծ ի դրախտն զհոգի աւազակին, եւ կցորդեաց անճառ փառացն իւրոց. որպէս խոստացաւ նմա, թէ այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին։

Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he was condemned on it, he went out of the Garden on the same (day), and on the same (day) the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same (day) Christ received the lance's piercing in his side and broke the sword of the Cherub and introduced the soul of the robber into the Gar-

3. Gen 3:8.

4. Literally: from him, through him.

5. The contrast of God's justice and mercy is widespread in rabbinic thought; see Stone 1990a, 269, 435–36.

den and shared with him His ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, “Today you shall be with me in the Garden.”[6]

5 413 . . . Ի սկզբան լինելութեան մարդոյն՝ զամենայն բարեացն պատճառս եդ Աստուած ի մարդն. որպէս զի մի՛ արտաքուստ ի մեզ բարեացն իցէ մուտ . . .

In the beginning of the creation of man God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside . . .

Esayi Nč‘ec‘i C14

Esayi Nč‘ec‘i, Վերլուծութիւն քերականութեան *Commentary on Grammar,* ed. L. Xač‘eryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1966).

1 188 Մի մի անուն, որ ոչ հատանի յայլ ումն, որք ի նմանէն բաժանին եւ կամ ծնանին, ամենեքեան սոքա իսկ ասին. եւ է՛ն այսոքիկ՝ Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայինան, Մաղաղիէլ, Յարեդ, Ենովք, Մաթուսաղա, Ղամէք, Նոյ, եւ ամենեքեան սոքա մի ըստ միոջէ, որք ընդհանուր մարդիկ մինչեւ ցայսաւր ...

Each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s), which are separated from it or are born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel (Małałiēl), Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah; and all these one after the other, that (are) common men, till today . . .

218–19 Թուղթ առ տէր Մատթէոս “Letter to Rev. Matt‘ēos,” *Čṙak‘ał* 10 (1860): 157–64; 13 (1861): 205–11.

2 207 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտ է լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն որպէս եւ զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեաց Աստուած, եւ ապա զԵւայ . . .

And the man must be more senior in time than the woman, just as God first created Adam and then Eve . . .

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14

Text: Grigor (Tat‘ewac‘i), Pupil of Yōhannēs Orotnec‘i, Ի լուծումն Պարապմանց Սրբոյն Կիւրղի (Գիրք պարապմանց) *Commentary on St. Cyril’s Scholia (Book of Scholia)* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1717), 529–774.

6. Or: paradise; Luke 23:43.

1 590–91 Բան: Քանզի ո՛չ ասէ՝ ի պատկեր իւր արար Աստուած զմարդն, այլ ըստ պատկերի. Լծ.: Առաջինն իբրեւ ուղղական է. իսկ / վերջինն հոլովական, որ նկատէ՛ պատկերակից որդւոյ զօլ զմարդն, եւ ոչ հօր:

Topic: For it (Scripture) does not say "God made the man in his image," but "according to (his) image."[7] Comment: The first (expression) is as if nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as sharing the same image of the Son and not of the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք հարցմանց *Book of Questions* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1729, repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press 1993).

Յաղագս գործոյ եւ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ վեցօրէից (պրակ ԾԲ)
Concerning the Six-Days' Work and Creation by God (Section 52)

Վասն իմաստութեան օձին: Այլ եւ սպանմանն (պրակ ԾԲ)
Concerning the Wisdom of the Serpent; also of the Killing (Section 52)

2 218–19 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ է իմաստութիւն օձին որոյ պարտ է մեզ նմանիլ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի զդէմքն ընտրեաց՝ եւ ընդ Եւայի խօսեցաւ . . . /Մահու մարդոյն սկիզբն օձն եղեւ: Եւ զի երկատեակ էր բանն՝ այսինքն սուտ եւ ճշմարիտ, լեզուն երկճղի եղեւ: Եւ զի զմարդն հողացոյց, ինքն հող եկեր: Եւ զի թեւ եւ ոտք եղեւ չարին, թեւք եւ ոտք իւր կտրեցան: Եւ զի զկենդանին սպանանել ջանայ, ինքն յամէն կենդանւոյ սպանանի: Եւ զի օրհնութիւն ի յանէծք փոխեաց, ինքն անիծաւ եւ զրկեցաւ յօրհնութենէ ամենայն կենդանեաց: Եւ զի թշնամութիւն էարկ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ Աստուծոյ, զթշնամութիւն եդ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ օձին: Եւ որպէս ընդ զլխոյն պատերազմեցաւ, զլուխն սատակեցաւ: Եւ զի զմարդն ընկեց յերկնից ի յերկիր, ընդ զարշապար ոտից նորա անկանի: Եւ զի բարեկամութեամբ եկն եւ շրջեցաւ ի թշնամութիւն, ինքն յետս շրջի ի խածանելն: Եւ զի նախանձեցաւ ընդ մարդոյն, ի լանջս եւ յորովայնս սողայ: Եւ զի նենգաւոր է, թիւր ընթանայ: Եւ զի զԵ զգայարանս մարդոյն խաբեաց, Ե ման առնու ի գնալն: Եւ զի մերկացոյց զնախաստեղծքն ի փառաց, զխորխ իւր մերկանայ:

Question. What is serpent's wisdom, which we have to imitate?

Answer. First, because he chose the person and spoke to Eve . . . / The serpent became the beginning of man's death. And since his discourse was

7. Gen 1:26.

of two kinds, namely, false and true, the tongue was forked. And since he turned the man into dust, he himself ate dust. And since he was the arms and legs of the Evil One, his arms and legs were cut off. And since he tries to kill the living being,[8] he is killed by every living being. And since he changed the blessing into curse, he himself was cursed and deprived of the blessing of all animals. And since he put enmity between the man and God, (God) put enmity between the man and the serpent. And as he fought against the head, (his) head was killed. And since he cast the man from heaven to the earth, he falls under the heel of his feet. And since he came with friendship and turned to enmity, he turns back when biting. And since he envied man, he creeps upon (his) breast and belly. And since he is a deceiver, he goes crookedly. And since he deceived the five senses of the man, he makes five circular motions while going. And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped.

Վասն անուան կենդանեաց հարցումն (պրակ ԾԳ)
Question Concerning the Names of Animals (Section 53)

3 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր Ադամ անուանս եդ ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ այլոցն:

Պատասխանի. . . . Երրորդ՝ զի Ադամայ ետ Աստուած զբնական իմաստութիւնն, առ ի ցուցանել զլաւագոյն ծնունդս բանին՝ հրամայէ անունս դնել: Չորրորդ՝ զի ցուցցէ անձնիշխան զոլ զմարդն, վասն որոյ հրամայէ նմա զի զոր ինչ եւ կամեսցի՝ անուն դնիցէ: Հինգերորդ՝ օգնական ետ զկենդանիքդ մարդոյն. որպէս ծառայք տեառնն. անուամբ պարտ էր ճանաչել զնոսա: Վեցերորդ՝ բարերարն Աստուած իւր արարչութեանն կցորդեաց զԱդամ՝ անուանս դնելովն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի փչեաց ի նա զշնորհաց հոգին զանազան պարգեւաց, այժմ զքահանայութեան շնորհին երեւեցոյց ի նա: Զի քահանային է անունս դնել յետ աւազանին ծննդեանն: Ութերորդ՝ զխոհեմութեան եւ խօսից եւ ձայնից եւ տէրութեան շնորհին այժմ երեւեցոյց ի յԱդամ . . .

Question. Why did Adam give names to all cattle and other (animals)?

Answer. . . . Third, because God had given Adam natural wisdom; He commands (him) to give names in order to demonstrate the best offspring of the Word. Fourth, in order to show man to be autonomous; wherefore he commands him to give whatever names he wishes. Fifth, he gave these animals as assistants to man, as servants to the(ir) lord; he had to know them by name. Sixth, the beneficent God made Adam companion of his creation by giving names. Seventh, since he had breathed into him the breath of grace of various

8. կենդանի could also be "the living one," perhaps indicating Adam.

gifts, now he manifested the grace of priesthood in him. For it is the duty of a priest to give names after the birth in the font. Eighth, now he manifested in Adam the grace of prudence and speech and voice and lordship.

Վասն իշխանութեանն Ադամայ հարց (պրակ ԾԴ)
Question Concerning Adam's Authority (Section 54)

4 220 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս գիտեմք թէ մարդն իշխան է ի վերայ անասնոց. զի ահա բազումք անհնազանդք են. որպէս վայրիք եւ գազանք եւ այլք:

Պատասխանի. Եւ զի մարդն թագաւոր եւ իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց՝ յայտ է ի բազմաց: Նախ՝ ի նոյն իսկ աստուածային հրամանացն՝ որ ասէ. (իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու, եւ գազանաց, եւ սողնոց:) Երկրորդ՝ զի պատկեր Աստուծոյ է մարդն. այսինքն զի որպէս Աստուած իշխան եւ թագաւոր է ամենայն արարածոց. նոյնպէս եւ մարդն իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Երրորդ՝ ի նոյն իսկ ի ձեւոյ շինուածոյ մարդոյն. զի ուղիղ գոլով՝ զիշխանականն նշանակէ, իսկ կենդանիքն կոր գլխով զծառայականն ցուցանեն: Չորրորդ՝ յայտ է ի հնազանդելոցն որք կան այժմ ընդ ձեռամբ մարդկան. որպէս ոչխար, պախրէ եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ՝ յայտ է ի փախուցելոցն՝ որ երկնչին ի մարդկանէ որպէս զապստամբեալ ծառայս: Վեցերորդ՝ զի անձնիշխան է մարդն այսինքն իշխէ բանականաւն ցասման եւ ցանկութեան որք են անասնական մասունք: Ուստի յայտ է թէ՝ եւ իշխէ արտաքին անասնոց: Իսկ որք այժմ ապստամբք եղեն՝ վասն բ պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի յորժամ մարդն անհնազանդ եղեւ Տեառն իւրոյ արարչին, յիրաւի անհնազանդք՝ եղեն եւ մարդոյն անասունք տուեալ նմա ի ծառայութիւն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ցորքան իշխէր ինքն ի վերայ անասնական մասանց իւրոց որպէս ասացաք, իշխէր եւ ի վերայ արտաքին անասնոց եւ գազանաց. իսկ յորժամ ապստամբեցին ներքինքն բանականին տեառն իւրեանց՝ ապստամբեցին եւ արտաքինքն մարդոյն տեառն իւրեանց:

Question. How do we know that man is ruler over the animals? For behold, many are disobedient, like the wild (animals) and the beasts and others.

Answer. It is evident from many (signs) that man is king and ruler of all animals. First, from the very divine commands that He says, "let him have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the beasts and the creeping things (Gen 1:26)." Second, because man is an image of God; that is to say, just as God is the ruler and king of all created things, likewise man is the ruler of all animals. Third, from the very form of man's structure (constitution), for being upright, he symbolizes the lordly, while the animals, having bent heads, exhibit the servile. Fourth, it is evident from the subjected ones which are now under men's power, such as sheep, cattle, etc. Fifth, it is evident from the (animals) that run away, that are afraid of man like rebellious ser-

vants. Sixth, because man is autonomous, that is to say, through the rational he subdues his passion and desire, which are the animal parts (of the soul). Hence it is evident that he subdues also the external animals. As to those who now became rebellious, there are two reasons (for that). First, because when the man became disobedient to his Lord the Creator, justly also the animals given to him as servants became disobedient to the man. Second, as long as he himself subdued his own (soul's) animal parts as we said, he subdued also the external animals and beasts, but when the internal (irrational parts) rebelled against the rational, their lord, the external ones too rebelled against the man, their lord.

Զի միշտ լոյս է ի դրախտին (պրակ ԾԶ)
That There Is Always Light in the Garden (Section 56)

5 222 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս ասեն թէ դրախտն լուսոյ արեգական չէ կարօտ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն զի բնական լուսաւոր է օդն որ ի մէջ դրախտին: Եւ այլք ասեն թէ ծաղիկք եւ տերեւքն լուսընկալք են: Եւ այլք թէ՝ իմանալի է լոյս նոցա. եւ կամ յեթերէն: Իսկ այլք ասեն թէ՝ վասն առաւել բարձրութեանն՝ լոյս արեգականն ոչ երբէք հեռանայ ի նմանէ. թէպէտ ի ներքոյ երկրի անցանէ ... Ոմանք ի դրախտն եւս ասեն թէ տիւ եւ գիշեր լինի. կամ գարուն եւ աշուն. զոր մեզ չէ ընդունելի: Այլ որպէս ասէ Յոբ, (զի՞նչ երկիր իցէ յորում լոյսն ագանիցի:) յայտ է զի գիշեր ոչ լինի անդ. եւ ոչ եղանակք փոփոխին: Զի ոչ անձրեւ եւ ոչ ձիւն եւ ոչ հողմ է անդ: Զի ի վերին մասն օդոյն է մերձեցեալ՝ որ է առաւել բարեսուն. եւ ամպոց եւ հողմոց շարժմունք ի միջին մասն օդոյս ծնանին. եւ ի դրախտն ոչ հասանեն:

Question. Why[9] is it said[10] that the Garden does not need the light of the sun?

Answer. Because the air that is in the Garden is naturally luminous; and others say that flowers and leaves receive light; others, that their light is intelligible, or from the ether, while others say that because of the very high position, the light of the sun never becomes distant from it, although the sun passes under the earth. . . . Some (people) say, moreover, that there is day and night also in the Garden, or spring and autumn, which is not acceptable to us. But, as Job says, "Which is the land in which light passes the night?"[11] it is evident that there is no night there, and the seasons do not change. For there is no rain, nor snow, nor wind there. For it is close to the upper part of the air (atmosphere), which is the most vivifying. And the movements of

9. Literally: how.
10. Literally: do they say.
11. So the Armenian of Job 38:19a.

clouds and winds are born in the middle part of the air and do not reach the Garden.

Զի անապական է դրախտն.
That the Garden is Incorruptible

6 222–23 Հարց. Արդ զի՞նչ ասեմք, անապակա՞ն՝ թէ ապականացու է դրախտն:

Պատասխանի.: Որպէս առաջին հարքն անապական զոլ ասացին. եւ մեք հետեւօղք նոցին անապական ուսանիմք: Դարձեալ եւ ի կարգէ իրացն յայտնի է: Նախ՝ զի թէ ապականացու էր որպէս երկիրս այս, վասն է՞ր զմարդն պատուելով ի դրախտն եդ Աստուած: Երկրորդ՝ եւ յորժամ մարդն ապականացաւ մեղօք, վասն է՞ր ի դրախտէն հանէր զնա: Զի ապականեալ մարդն ապականացու դրախտին էր վայելչական: Երրորդ՝ զի համաձայնին ամենեքեան՝ որ նախ քան զյանցանելն զմարդն անապական ասեն: / Արդ եթէ մարդն անապական էր՝ յապականացու տեղւոջ ո՛չ բնակէր: Ապա թէ ոչ՝ ի տեղւոջէն եղեւ ապականացու [12] եւ ոչ ի գործոյն:

Question. Now what do we say, is the Garden incorruptible or corruptible?

Answer. As the first fathers said it (to be) incorruptible, we too, their successors, learn (that it is) incorruptible. It is also evident from the order of things. First, if it was corruptible like this earth, why did God, honoring the man, put (him) in the Garden? Second, when the man was corrupted by sin, why did he expel him from the Garden? Because the corrupted man would suit a corruptible Garden. Third, all agree when they say that the man (was) incorruptible before the transgression. / 223 / Now since man was incorruptible, he would not live in a corruptible place; if not, then he became corruptible because of the place and not because of (his) deed.

7 Հարցումն. Ո՞ւր երեւի անապականութիւն նորա:

Պատասխանի. Յայն՝ զի փայտ դրախտին անփուտ է եւ տերեւն անփտելի. եւ պտուղն անծորելի. եւ ծաղիկն անթառամելի. եւ Աստուծոյ տնկեալ ձեռօք իւր. տեղի անապական ձեռագործին Ադամայ . . .

Question. Where is its incorruptibility manifested?

Answer. In that the wood of the Garden does not putrefy, and the leaves do not rot, and the fruit (is) undroppable, and the flowers (are) unfading, and

12. In the edition, this word is abbreviated as ապակցւ, and we have resolved this as ապականացու (“corruptible”).

God had planted them with his hands; an incorruptible place for the hand-made Adam . . .

8 Հարց. Պտուղն որ հատանի եւ ծամկի եւ ի մարմին փոխարկի. ո՞րպէս է անապական:

Պատասխանի. Պտուղքն դրախտին շօշափելիք են եւ կերակրելիք, հատանի եւ ծամկի եւ փոփոխի ըստ պատահական որակացն. եւ անապական մնայ ըստ գոյացութեանն եւ ներգործութեանն ի կերօղն . . . Դարձեալ փայտն կենաց ունէր կերակրելի պտուղ: Ո՞րպէս ասէ գիրն, (զուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր եւ առցէ եւ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:) Արդ, զի՞նչ ասես վասն կենաց պտղոյն. եթէ կերակրելի է եւ հատանելի, ո՞րպէս է կենաց պտուղ: Եւ թէ կեանս տայ՝ ո՞րպէս հատանի: Արդ՝ որպէս կենաց պտուղն կերակրելի է եւ կենսունակ, նոյնպէս ամենայն պտուղքն կերակրելիք էին եւ անապականք:

Question. How is the fruit incorruptible that is picked and chewed and converts into body?

Answer. The fruits of the Garden are tangible and edible, are picked and chewed and converted according to casual[13] qualities, but remain incorruptible by nature and by (their) influence on the eater. . . . Besides, the tree of life had edible fruit. What does Scripture say? ". . . Lest he put forth his hand and take . . . and live forever."[14] Now, what do you say about the fruit of life? If it is edible and can be picked, how is it the fruit of life? And if it gives life, how is it picked? Now, as the fruit of life is edible and vivifying, likewise all the fruits were edible and incorruptible.

Վասն գիտութեան պտղոյն հարցումն (պրակ ԾԷ)
Question about the Fruit of Knowledge (Section 57)

9 223–24 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Պատասխանի. Պտու՛ղ էր զգալի եւ կերակրելի: Որպէս կենաց պտուղն անմահութեան էր պատճառ. եւ այլ ամենայն պտուղքն լիութեան: Նոյնպէս եւ նա գիտութեան էր պատճառ բարւոյ եւ չարի որպէս ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին: Դարձեալ ասէ աստուածաբանն, պտուղ էր բարի՝ ի բարի արարչէն գոյացեալ: Եւ յիւր ժամանակն ուտելոյ բարի էր ըստ այլ ամենայն պտղոցն. այլ՝ տարաժամ ուտելն, եւ առանց հրաման՝ արար զնա չար: Դարձեալ ասեն ոմանք, նախ քան զուտելն ի պտղոյն՝ գիտէր Ադամ զբարին փորձիւ, եւ զչարն գիտութեամբ. իսկ

13. Or: accidental.
14. Gen 3:22.

յորժամ եկեր՝ գիտաց զչարն փորձիւ, եւ զբարին գիտութեամբ. այն է գիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Եւ այլք ասեն թէ՝ պատճառ էր բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ ոչ ըստ ինքեանն, այլ օրինօքն: Զի թէ հնազանդեալ էր օրինացն, լինէր բարւոյ պատճառ. եւ ո՛չ հնազանդեալ՝ եղեւ չարի պատճառ . . .

Question. What was the fruit of knowledge of good and evil?

Answer. It was a perceptible and edible fruit. As the fruit of life was the cause of immortality, and all other fruits (were the cause) of abundance, likewise it was the cause of knowledge of good and evil, as St. Gregory of Nyssa says. Besides, the theologian says, "the fruit was good, created by the good Creator. And eaten in due time, it was good like all the other fruit, but the untimely eating, and without command, made it evil." Again, some say, before eating of the fruit, Adam apprehended good by experience and evil by knowledge, and when he ate, he apprehended evil by experience and good by knowledge; that is the knowledge of good and evil.

And others say that it was the cause of good and evil not according to itself but through the law. For if (Adam) had obeyed the law, it would have been the cause of good, and because (he) did not obey, it became the cause of evil . . .

10 Հարց. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն որ կերաւ Ադամ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք թուզ ասեն թէ ի նոյն ժամն որ կերաւ եւ մերկացաւ՝ եւ կարեաց ի տերեւոյ նորա. եւ վկայ բերեն թէ՝ վասն այն անէծ զթզենին յԵրուսաղէմ: Այլք ասեն թէ՝ խաղող էր. կամ ցորեան. զի զգինին ետ գրաւական կենաց՝ եւ զհաց մարմնոյն: Այլք ասեն թէ խնձոր. վասն զի բազում անգամ ի յերգսն խնձոր յիշի: Եւ զոր գիրք սուրբ ոչ է յայտնեալ, զհա՞րդ իշխէ մարդ խօսիլ: Այլ այս է ճշմարիտն. որ մինն ծառ էր կենաց՝ եւ մինն գիտութեան. եւ ի դրախտին այլ ոչ գոյր նման նմա. թո՛ղ թէ յերկրիս, ո՞րպէս ասեմք թէ այս է կամ այն:

Question. What was the fruit that Adam ate?

Answer. Some say a fig, for at the same time as he ate and was stripped, he sewed a girdle of its leaf. And they corroborate this (saying), that is why (God) cursed the fig-tree in Jerusalem.[15] Others say that (it was) a grape or wheat, for (Christ) gave wine as pledge of life and bread, of the body. Others say that (it was) apple, for often the apple is mentioned in the Songs.[16] And how can man speak of that which the Holy Scripture has not revealed? But this is the truth, that one was the tree of life and the other of knowledge. And

15. Cf. Jer 8:13.
16. I.e., Song of Songs, e.g., 2:3 and 8:5.

there was no other (tree) in the Garden like it, a fortiori on the earth. How can we say that it is this or that?

224-5 Թէ անծորելի է պտուղն դրախտին (պրակ ԾԸ)
That the Fruit of the Garden Is Undroppable (Section 58)

11 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս է կերակրելի՝ թէ անծորելի է պտուղն։

Պատասխանի. Չէ՛ զարմանք հրաշիցն Աստուծոյ. որպէս ամենայն ըռնգունք զհոտն զգան, եւ աչք զգոյնն կրէ յինքն, եւ անծորելի եւ անպակաս են յենթակայէն.

Question: How is the fruit edible if it is undroppable?

Answer. There is nothing surprising in God's miracles. As all nostrils sense smell, and the eye bears color in itself, (likewise) (they, i.e., the fruit, are) both undroppable and do not lack any quality.

12 Հարց. Ծառք դրախտին ո՞րպէս ըմպեն ջուր, թէ անապականք են։

Պատասխանի. Որպէս լուսաւորք երկնից քարշեն յերկրէ եւ ի ծովէ զհիւթ՝ եւ կերակրին եւ անապականք են։ Եւ որպէս հուր ճրագին զիւղն կերակրի, եւ ինքն ոչ առա/ւելու։ Նոյնպէս եւ տունկք դրախտին ընպեն զջուր գետոյն որ ոռոգանէ զդրախտն։

Question. How do the trees of the Garden drink water, if they are incorruptible?

Answer. As the lights of heaven draw the moisture from the earth and the sea, they both feed themselves and are incorruptible; and as the flame of a lamp feeds on oil and does not itself increase, likewise the plants of the Garden drink the water of the river that irrigates the Garden.

13 Հարց. Տկարանա՞յ միտքս թէ յապականացու երկրէ է դրախտն եւ մասն է երկրի, ո՞րպէս է անապական։

Պատասխանի. Թէպէտ ըստ նիւթոյն յապականացու յերկրէ է, այլ ըստ կատարման յանապականութիւն փոխեցաւ։ Որպէս մարմինն Ադամայ յերկրէ է եւ անապական, եւ մանանայն յօդոյ եւ անապական ...

Question. My mind is unable (to understand): if the Garden is of corruptible earth and is a part of the earth, (so) how is it incorruptible?

Answer. Though according to substance it is of corruptible earth, yet according to its perfection it was changed to incorruptibility. As Adam's body is from the ground and is incorruptible, and manna is from the air and is incorruptible . . .

14 Հարց. Վերջին հուրն ի կատարածի՝ զդրախտն փոփոխէ՞ թէ ոչ։

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ ասեմք թէ ո՛չ: Զի որպէս ջրհեղեղն ոչ եմուտ ի դրախտն զի ոչ էր ապականեալ մեղօք: Նոյնպէս եւ վերջին հուրն նովին չափով հեղեղին ի նոյն տեղիսն ընթանայ: Եւ զի ո՛չ է ապականացու դրախտն՝ եւ ոչ փոփոխի: Զի երկիր անիծաւ եւ ապականեցաւ, եւ ոչ դրախտն: Դարձեալ ասեմք թէ գոյացութիւն դրախտին Բ իր է. այսինքն նիւթ եւ ապականութիւն: Արդ՝ վերջին հրովն յորում վառին երկինք եւ երկիր, ըստ նիւթոյ մասին պարզի. այլ ըստ անապականութեանն մնայ անփոփոխ: Նոյնպէս եւ ըստ թանձրութեանն:

Question. Does the last fire at the consummation[17] change the Garden or not?

Answer. First, we say "no." For, as the flood did not enter the Garden, for it was not corrupted by sin, likewise the last fire moves over the same places within the same limits, as the flood.[18] And since the Garden is not corruptible, it also does not change. For the earth was cursed and corrupted, and not the Garden. Besides, we say that the being of the Garden is two things, namely, substance and incorruptibility.[19] Now, according to its substance it is purified by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but according to its incorruptibility, it remains unchanged. Also according to its density.

Թէ ի դրախտին ծնունդ ոչ լինի (պրակ ԾԹ)
That There Is No Birth in the Garden (Section 59)

15 Հարց. Ի դրախտին լինէ՞ր մարմնական ծնունդ որպէս այժմ ի յերկրի, թէ ոչ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք կամին ցուցանել ապականացու գոլ զդրախտն եւ շաղաշարումն արուի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազում մտացածին բանս տողեն: Որ ընդդէմ է ըստ գրոց. եւ ուղղափառ հարց: Նախ՝ զի ասէ աստուածային հրամանն՝ «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր» յերկիր ետ հրաման աճելոյ եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ զի դրախտն է տեղիք անապական. եւ ոչ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ որպէս տնկոցն: Արդ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր՝ եւ ո՛չ ապականութիւն մարմնական, եւ ո՛չ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ՝ եկեղեցի սուրբ օրինակ է դրախտին: Արդ՝ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին, եւ մանկարարութիւն ո՛չ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան, եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ լինէր անդ ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յերկրի, կարօտանայր

17. I.e., the eschaton.

18. For the idea of two floods, one of water and one of fire, see *History of the Forefathers* §41 in Stone 1996b, 198–99; *Abel* §§4.3–4; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.70–71; Ginzberg 1960.

19. So emending անապականութիւն to ապականութիւն, see next phrase.

մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից զաւակին: Սննդեան. աճելոյ. խնամելոյ. եւ այլոցն, եւ այսոքիկ ո՛չ են ի դրախտին. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ՝ նախ քան զյանցանելն՝ էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեան: Վեցերորդ՝ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին ի գիրս կազմութեան եթէ առաջին կեանք դրախտին էր կու/սութիւն եւ անապականութիւն եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. եւ յետ յարութեանն վերըստին դառնամք յառաջին կեանս դրախտին. յանապականութիւն եւ ի հրեշտակաց հաւասարութիւն: Արդ՝ եթէ առաջին կեանքն էր ամուսնութեամբ եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա շաղակրատեն. ապա եւ ի վերջին յարութեանն նոյնպէս է՛ լինելոց: Եւ լինի աղանդն այնոցիկ՝ որք ասեն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն, եւ կերակուր եւ ամուսնութիւն, եւ այլ աղճատանք: Զորս զայնպիսի ասացօղքն եւ ընդունօղքն՝ որոշեալ նզովէ եկեղեցի Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ: Իսկ եթէ ոք հարցանէ, ապա վասն է՞ր ստեղծան ծննդական անդամքն յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին: Ասեմք թէ՝ կանխագէտ է Աստուած եւ նախ ծանեաւ զի ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին. զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեսցին: Եւ թէ ոք պնդեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն: Զայս ասեն սուրբ վարդապետք եթէ՝ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցին յերկինս, նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին: Եւ թէ ասեն, հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց. իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ՝ Ասեն սուրբք, որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառին: Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս: Ասեն սուրբք, եթէ զոր օրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտին կարէին ծնանիլ կուսութեամբ եւ առանց սերման. կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ որպէս Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ որպէս ինքն գիտէ ամենագէտ արարիչն: Այլ մեզ զոր գիրք սուրբք լռեալ են՝ լռութեամբ պատուեսցի. եւ մի՛ մտացածին բանիւք վտարանդեալ ի գուբ կորըստեան անկցուք:

Question. Was there corporeal birth in the Garden, as now on the earth, or not?

Answer. Some want to show that the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female; and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they limn many fabulous things, which are contrary to Scripture and the orthodox Fathers. First, because the divine command says, “be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.”[20] He ordered them to be fruitful on the earth,[21] and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible

20. Gen 1:28.
21. Emending to յերկրի; cf. the following ի դրախտին.

place, there was no trickle of impurity from the man, like from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (neither was there) bodily corruptibility nor impure birth. Third, the holy church is the type of the Garden. Now, the marriage ceremony[22] takes place in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the marriage ceremony also took place, but not childbirth.[23] Fourth, if there were impure birth there, as on the earth, the man would be short of all necessaries for the child; of nurture, of growing, of care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lust. Sixth, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the book of formation[24] that the primordial life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and resemblance to the angels. And after the final resurrection, we return to the primordial of the Garden, to incorruptibility and to resemblance to the angels. Now, if the primordial life were with marriage and childbirth, as they babble, then also during the last resurrection it will be the same. And it is a heresy of those, who say (that there was) corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The church of Christ God having excommunicated, anathematizes those who say and accept such things. And if somebody asks, then for what were the reproductive organs created, if they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase innocently in the Garden, like angels, for which reason he formed their body, so that they might increase on the earth like animals. And if one persists (in looking for) an example and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say this, that as the angels increased in heaven, in the same way the human race (increased) in the Garden. And if they say: the angels came into being from the nonexistent and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one flame. And if they say that such birth is imperfect, the saints say that just as the Mother of God Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, in the same way too in the Garden (they) could give birth, in virginity and without sperm, to a perfect man from Adam's nature; or as Eve (was born) from Adam's rib; or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows. But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent, and not, being banished for fictitious words, fall into the abyss of perdition.

22. Literally: the crown of blessing. պսակ is the usual term for the wedding ceremony.

23. Perhaps here "the begetting of children" and so below: the issue is the emission of semen.

24. I.e., his *On the Making of Man.*

Վասն գլխաւոր արարածոց հարցումն
Question Concerning the Chief Creations

16 226–27 Հարց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք։

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք ԻԲ ասեն ըստ նշանարացն եբրայեցւոց. եւ այլք ԻԴ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն։ Եւ այսպէս ասեն. յԱռաջին աւուրն՝ Է արարածք եղեն. հրեղէն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերք. եւ լոյս եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն։ յԵրկրորդ օրն, հաստատութիւն. եւ ջրեղէն կամարն. եւ ծովք. եւ ցամաք երկիր։ յԵրրորդ օրն, բոյսք եւ տունկք եւ դրախտն։ Ի չորրորդն, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղք։ Ի հինգերորդն, լողականք եւ թռչունք։ Ի վեցերորդն, ցամաքային կենդանիքն. այլ եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա։ Եւ յեօթներորդն զհանգիստ արդարոցն ասեն։ Այլ եւ տիւ եւ զիշեր որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն։ / Որովք լինին ԻԴ արարածք։ Եւ սոքա են գլխաւորագոյնքն։ Իսկ ամպք եւ հողմունք ի յօդոյն են. որպէս քարինք եւ երկաթք յերկրէ. սոյնպէս աղբիւրք եւ գետք ի ծովէ։

Question. How many are the chief creations?

Answer. Some (people) say twenty-two, according to the characters of the Hebrews,[25] and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And they say as follows: on the first day seven creatures were made: the fiery heavens and the four elements, and the light and the angels with the light. On the second day—the firmament and the watery vault, and the seas and the dry land. On the third day—the shoots and the plants and the Garden. On the fourth—the sun, the moon, and the stars. On the fifth—the swimming creatures and the birds. On the sixth—the terrestrial animals, and also Adam and Eve. And on the seventh they say the repose of the righteous. Also the day and the night, which came into being with the light. With these, there are twenty-four creations, and these are the most important ones. But the clouds and winds are from the air, just as the stones and metals from the earth, likewise the springs and rivers from the sea.

229 Սկիզբն հինգերորդ գրոց հարցմանցս յաղագս լինելութեան մարդոյն
Beginning of the Fifth Book of Questions Concerning the Creation of Man

17 Հարցումն. Վասն է՞ր մարդն ի հողոյ ստեղծաւ։ (պրակ Ա)

Պատասխանի. Ասեմք վասն բազում պատճառի։ Նախ՝ որպէս ասացաւ ի վերոյ, հողն ունի զայլ Գ տարերքն ի յինքն խառնեալ.

25. Compare *Jub.* 2:15.

յորժամ ի հողոյ ասէ՝ իմանալի է զԴ տարերս . . . Չորրորդ՝ հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ . . . Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսեալ ի մեզ հպարտասցուք, զհողն տեսեալ խոնարհեսցուք . . . Վեցերորդ՝ զի տեսցէ Ադամ թէ յապականացու հողոյս անապական մարմին կազմեցաւ վասն փառաց. եւ յորժամ կորոյս մեղօքն եղեւ ապականացու, ինքն իցէ պատճառ ապականութեան իւրոյ . . . Դարձեալ ի հողոյ ստեղծ ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառսն մտանէր յորմէ նա՛ որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ:

Question: Why was Man Created from Dust (Earth)? (Section 1)

Answer. We say, for many reasons. First, as it has been said above, the dust (earth) has the other three elements mixed with it. When it [i.e., the Bible] says from the ground, one should understand the four elements. . . . Fourth, the ground symbolizes humbleness. . . . So that if we are proud, having seen God's image in ourselves, we will be humble having seen the dust (earth). . . . Sixth, so that Adam would see that the incorruptible body was made of the corruptible dust (earth) for the sake of glory, and that when he lost it by sinning, it became corruptible; (thus) he himself is the cause of his own corruptibility. . . . Besides, he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen.

Վասն կնոջն հարցումն (պրակ ԼԲ)
Question Concerning the Woman (Section 32)

18 276 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր զկինն ի կողէն ստեղծ եւ ոչ ի հողոյ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախ զի մի՛ համեմատ առն կարծիցէ զինքն. այլ որպէս ոչ համահասակ եւ ոչ համահող լիցի: Երկրորդ՝ զի մի՛ անփոյթ եւ անհնազանդ եղիցի մարդոյն. այլ ի նմանէ ի կողիցն, զի որպէս մարմին հնազանդ լիցի գլխոյն: Երրորդ՝ զի որպէս խօսիլ գլխոյն է նոյնպէս լռութիւն կողին է. զի լուռ լիցի կինն ընդ իշխանութեամբ առնն: Չորրորդ՝ զի մի տկար ոք կարծիցի. այլ որպէս կողեղ եւ հաստակող ասեմք զըմբիշս. այսպէս զօրեղ եղիցի կինն ի տնօրինել զտունն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի կողն է աման եւ տեղի երիկամանց. յորմէ շարժի ցանկութիւնն. զի թէպէտ ոչ շարժէ զնա. այլ ազդումն ինչ ունի զնմանէ: Վեցերորդ՝ ոչ առնու ի գլխոյն եւ ոչ ի յոտիցն. այլ ի միջացն. զի խրատէ զմարդիկ ոչ հաւասար գլխոյն պատուել զկինն, եւ ոչ անարգել իբրեւ զոտք. այլ միջակ պատուով չափաւորել զնա: Եօթներորդ՝ զի պարունակաձեւ է կողն. ի նշանակել, զի կինն պարունակիչ եւ հաւաքիչ է տան առն եւ ընչից: Ութերորդ՝ զի կողն կեռ գոլով՝ ցուցանէ զկինն նենգ գոլ եւ երկմիտ. կեռ, այսինքն

խեռ ընդ առն: Իններորդ՝ զի որպէս կողից երեսն որ ի փորն նայի՝ կոկ գոլով եւ մզղնատեսակ. իսկ մէջն փուչ եւ մրրախառն. այսպէս սէրն զոր ցուցանէ առ այրն, նօսր առ ի ցոյցս՝ եւ երեսս միայն ունի. իսկ ի սիրտն զմրուր դառնութեան: Տասներորդ՝ որպէս կողն զզօրութիւնն քարշէ եւ տայ ի թիկունքն եւ պնդէ զնա. այսպէս կինն զփառս եւ զինչս առն յինքն քարշելով թանձրացուցանէ եւ պնդէ զինքն:

Իսկ կոչի կին: Նախ՝ զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ: Երկրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կէս մարդոյ: Երրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կող մի, որ է զօրութիւն մի: Չորրորդ՝ կին, զի ի կենդանւոյ առաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կողաբոյս կամ կողածին: Վեցերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կայանք եւ հանգիստ մարդոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կրօղ զօրութեան եւ ընչից առն: Ութներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կցորդ եւ օգնական առն յամենայն գործս: Իններորդ՝ կին, նշանակէ զթոյլն եւ զտկարն: Եւ վասն կրկին պատճառի է տկար: Նախ՝ զի ոչ ունի զառնողական զօրութիւնն. որպէս եւ յամենայն կենդանիս էգն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի ձախ կողէ շինեցաւ կինն. եւ տկար է ձախ կողմն մարդոյս: Տասներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կեանք. զի որպէս կենօք է տեւել. նոյնպէս տեսակ մարդոյս ի ձեռն կնոջ ծննդեանն տեւէ, եւ կայ մնայ մինչ ի կատարած: Վասն այսր պատճառի կոչեաց զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. զի աճումն է եւ ծնունդն եւ մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց:

Question. Why did he create the woman from the rib and not from dust?

Answer. For many reasons. First, so that she would not consider herself comparable to the man, but as not being of the same age nor of the same dust. Second, in order that she would not neglect and disobey the man, (but he made her) from him, from the ribs, so that like the body she would obey the head. Third, as speaking is (characteristic) of the head, likewise silence is (characteristic) of the rib, so that the woman would be silent under the authority of the man. Fourth, so that she should not be considered a weak person, but just as we call athletes robust and firm-ribbed, thus the woman should be strong in managing the house. Fifth, because the rib is the container and the place of the kidneys, whence sensuality is moved, for although (the rib) does not provoke it, yet it has some influence on it. Sixth, she is not taken from the head nor from the feet, but from the middle, in order to admonish men not to honor the woman like the head, and not to dishonor (her) like the feet, but to limit her to medium honor. Seventh, as the rib is round, in order to symbolize that the woman is the container and the collector of the man's house and goods. Eighth, for the rib, being crooked, shows the woman to be insidious and duplicitous; crooked means stubborn to the man. Ninth, like the surface of the rib that faces the belly is smooth and membranous, and the inner part is empty and full of dregs, likewise the love that she demonstrates to the man, is delicate outwardly and has only exterior, but there is only bitter dregs in the heart. Tenth, as the rib draws the power and gives it to the

back and strengthens it, likewise the woman, drawing to herself the man's glory and goods, makes herself thick and firm.

And she is called woman. First, because she was taken from her husband.[26] Second, woman, as if the half of a man. Third, woman as one rib, which is one power. Fourth, woman, because she was taken from a living being. Fifth, woman, as grown from a rib or born from a rib. Sixth, woman, as if an abode and repose for the man. Seventh, woman, as if bearer of the power and the goods of the man. Eighth, woman, as the companion and assistant of the man in all affairs. Ninth, woman means the weak and powerless one. And she is weak for two reasons. First, because she has not the virile strength, like the females of all living creatures. Second, because the woman was made from the left rib, and the man's left side is weak. Tenth, woman, as life, for she continued alive thanks to life; similarly the human race lives through women's childbirth, and exists until the end. For this reason he named his wife "life," because she is increase and birth and the mother of all living creatures

Վասն զի ոչ ամաչէին (պրակ ԼԵ)
Concerning That They Were Not Ashamed (Section 35)

19 278 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր ոչ ամաչէին Ադամ եւ կինն:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ վասն պարզամտութեանն. զի որպէս տղայք ոչ ամաչեն անծածուկ ունելով զմասունս. նոյնպէս եւ նոքա: Երկրորդ՝ վասն անմեղութեանն. զի ամօթն յետ մեղացն է: Երրորդ՝ զի չէին առեալ զպատուէրս որ ծնանէր զերկեւղ՝ եւ զզուշութիւն. որ ի պակասումն զգուշութեան ամօթն է: Չորրորդ՝ զի ընդ ծառս դրախտին եւ յանթառամ ծաղիկսն եւ ի բազմապատիկ պտուղսն՝ պշուցեալ էին, ոչ զերկնչիլն գիտէին եւ ոչ զամաչելն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի մտօք յաստուածային խոկումն էին վերացեալ, եւ զզայարանօք ընդ գործս հրաշիցն. եւ ոչ էին պարապեալ քննութեան անձին . . . Վեցերորդ՝ զի թէպէտ ի ձեռագործ հանդերձից մերկ էին, սակայն ի լուսոյ շնորհաց զարդարեալ էին:

Question. Why Adam and the woman were not ashamed?

Answer. First, because of simplicity, for as children are not ashamed having the parts (of the body) uncovered, likewise they were (i.e., not ashamed). Second, because of sinlessness, for shame follows sin. Third, for they had not received the command which begat fear and precaution, as shame is (produced) by dearth of precaution. Fourth, because they were amazed at the trees of the Garden and unfading flowers and very variegated fruits and were unaware of both fear and shame. Fifth, because they had soared in their

26. Gen 2:23.

thoughts to divine contemplation and in their senses (they were captured) by miraculous deeds and did not devote themselves to self-examination. . . . Sixth, because although they were naked of handmade clothes, nonetheless, they were adorned with the light of grace.

Վասն երկոտասան պարգեւաց մարդոյն (պրակ ԼԶ)
On the Twelve Gifts of the Man (Section 36)

20 278–79 Երկոտասան պարգեւք էին ի դրախտին զոր կորոյս Ադամ: Նախ՝ տեսութիւնն՝ Աստուծոյ: Երկրորդ՝ խօսակցութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ անմահութիւն: Չորրորդ՝ լուսեղէն պատմուճան: Հինգերորդ՝ անախտ կեանք: Վեցերորդ՝ անծերանալի հասակ: Եօթներորդ՝ վայելչութիւն անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: / Ութերորդ՝ մշակութիւն Աստուծոյ. այսինքն անմահ տնկոցն երկրագործ եւ պահապան: Իններորդ՝ սէր եւ գութ Աստուծոյ ի վերայ մարդոյն հնազանդութեամբ պատուիրանին որ գայր առ նա: Տասներորդ՝ թագաւորութիւն ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց: Մետասաներորդ՝ քահանայութիւն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ մարգարէութիւն: Զայս երկոտասան պարգեւս էհան ի մէնջ Եւա: Նախ՝ ի տեսութենէն, զի ո՛չ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ: Ի խօսակցութենէն, զի մինչ ի Յորդանան այլ ոչ ասի հօր Աստուծոյ խօսիլ ընդ մարդկան: Իսկ յանմահութենէն, զի վճիռ էհատ ասելով «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:» Ի լուսաւոր պատմուճանէն, յորժամ կերին ի պտղոյն եւ ծանեան զի մերկ էին եւ արարին սփածանելիս: Իսկ յանախտ կենացն, «տրտմութեամբ եւ քրտամբ կերիցես զհաց:» Իսկ յանծերանալի հասակէն, «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցին ի քեզ:» Իսկ ի պահպանութենէն, «յորմէ պատուիրեցի չուտել՝ կերեր արդեօք ի նմանէ:» Իսկ ի վայելչութենէն, ասէ «էհան զնոսա եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտի փափկութեան:» Իսկ ատելութեան ցոյց, «զուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր:» Ի թագաւորութենէն, «մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:» Ի քահանայութենէն, զի ոչ իշխեաց պատարագ մատուցանել ի կեանս իւր: Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն լռեաց զի ոչ եւս երեւի բան մի յիշատակ շնորհաց նորա:

There were twelve gifts in the Garden that Adam lost. First, vision of God. Second, the conversation (with him). Third, immortality. Fourth, the luminous garment. Fifth, life without blemish. Sixth, non-advancing age. Seventh, enjoyment of the labor-less delight of the Garden. Eighth, serving God, that is (being) cultivator and keeper of immortal trees. Ninth, God's love for and mercy on the man who approached him observing the command. Tenth, reign over all made by hand. Eleventh, priesthood. Twelfth, prophecy. Eve took away these twelve gifts from us. First, (she deprived us) of the vision, for (we) no longer see God's face. Of conversation, for until the Jordan, God the Father

is no longer said to speak with men.[27] And of immortality, for he resolved saying, "You were dust and to dust you shall return."[28] Of the luminous garment: when they ate of the fruit and recognized that they were naked and made girdles. And of life without blemish, "in sorrow and in the sweat of your face shalt thou eat bread."[29] And of non-advancing age, "thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you."[30] And of keeping, "Have you eaten that of which I commanded you not to eat?"[31] And of enjoyment, it says, "He drove them out and made them dwell before Garden of delight."[32] And the demonstration of hatred (is), "lest he put forth his hand."[33] Of kingship: "But man was in honor and realized not: He became equal to the dumb beasts."[34] Of priesthood, for he did not have authority to offer sacrifice during his life. And prophecy fell silent, for no single word appears any more as a memory of His grace.

Դարձեալ վասն շնորհաց եւ յանցմանցն Ադամայ հարցումն (պրակ ԼԷ)
Again a Question Concerning Adam's Gifts and Transgression (Section 37)

21 279 Ո՞ր է Է շնորհքն Ադամայ զոր ետ Աստուած։

Պատասխանի. Այսպէս ասեն վարդապետք։ Նախ զի արար Աստուած։ Երկրորդ՝ հոգի։ Երրորդ՝ միտք։ Չորրորդ՝ կամք։ Հինգերորդ՝ գիտութիւն։ Վեցերորդ՝ բանաւորութիւն։ Եօթներորդ՝ գործականութիւն։

Question. Which are Adam's seven gifts that God gave?

Answer. The doctors say the following. First, that God created (him). Second, the soul. Third, reason. Fourth, (free) will. Fifth, knowledge. Sixth, rationality. Seventh, activity.

22 Հարց. Եւ զի՞նչ է եօթն յանցանքն։

279 Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի ցանկացաւ աստուծանալ։ Երկրորդ՝ զի հաւատաց օձին։ Երրորդ՝ զի հնազանդեցաւ կնոջն՝ առաւել քան Աստուծոյ։ Չորրորդ՝ զի եկեր ի պտղոյն։ Հինգերորդ՝ զի թաքեաւ։ Վեցերորդ՝ զի ոչ զղջացաւ մեղա՛յ ասելով։ Եօթներորդ՝ զի զԱստուած ասաց պատճառ. եթէ կինս զոր ետուր՝ սա՛ ետ ինձ ուտել։

27. Relating to Christ's baptism; see Matt 3:17 and parallels.
28. Gen 3:19.
29. Gen 3:19.
30. Gen 3:18.
31. Gen 3:11.
32. Gen 3:11.
33. Gen 3:22.
34. Ps 49:12, 22 = Arm 48:13, 21.

Question. And which are the seven transgressions?

Answer. First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid; sixth, that he did not repent saying, "I have sinned"; seventh, that he accused God (saying), "This woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat."[35]

23 279 Հարց. Որո՞ց է պատժոց ընդունակ եղեւ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի մերկացաւ յանմահութենէն եւ յանասնոց կարգ անկաւ: Երկրորդ՝ զի զրկեցաւ ի կենացն փայտէն եւ ի դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ: Երրորդ՝ զի ընդդէմ դրախտին բնակեցաւ եւ ի միշտ նախանձէն մաշեցաւ: Չորրորդ՝ զի քրտամբ եւ աշխատութեամբ վարեցաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ցաւօք եւ հեծեծանօք ապրեցաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի յառաջ՝ քան զիւր վախճանն ետես զմահ կնոջն եւ որդւոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի լուծաւ եւ եմուտ յարգանդ երկրի. այսինքն ի գերեզման:

Question. What seven punishments did he receive?

Answer. First, that he was stripped naked of immortality and fell into the rank of animals; second, that he was deprived of the tree of life and was expelled from the Garden; third, that he settled opposite the Garden and wore himself out by perpetual envy; fourth, that he lived by sweat and toil; fifth, that he lived in grief and laments; sixth, that before his decease he saw the death of his wife[36] and his son; seventh, that he decomposed and entered the womb of the earth, that is, into the grave.

Վասն Ժ աստիճանի անկմանն Ադամայ (պրակ ԼԸ)
Concerning the 10 Degrees of Adam's Fall (Section 38)

24 280–81 Բայց սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին Ժ աստիճան դնէ անկման մարդոյն ի դրախտէն ի գիրս կուսութեան: Որով եւ որդիքս վասն պարտուց հօր՝ արտաքոյ մնացաք: Եւ որ ոք կամեսցի զդարձն, անդրէն ի ձեռն նորին յարմարութեան այսինքն նորին կարգին կարողանայ ելանել ի նոյն: Արդ՝ անկման աստիճան առաջին էր հեշտութիւն. որ ունի յինքեան զերեք կարգն: Նախ՝ զդարձումն յետս աստուածային փառացն. եւ վասն այն շրջեցաւ ի զբօսանս դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն խօսակցիլ ընդ օձին. եւ վասն այն կամեցաւ՝ լսել, զի հեշտացաւ վասն փառաց աստուածանալոյն: Երրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն տեսութեանն եւ ճաշակելեացն. ըստ որում «գեղեցիկ էր ի տեսանել. եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր:» Չորրորդ՝ ամօթն. «բացան

35. Gen 3:12.
36. This contradicts *Pen. Adam* 45(33), 48(40):3, and 48(42):2.

ասէ աչք երկոցունցն, եւ տեսին զի մերկ էին:» եւ վասն այն արարին ի թզենւոյն ծածկոյթ: Հինգերորդ՝ երկիւղն յայնմ. զի լուան զձայն գնալոյ Տեառն եւ երկեան: Վեցերորդ՝ ոչ եւս համարձակութեամբ կալ առաջի Աստուծոյ: Եօթներորդ՝ տերեւօք եւ ստւերօք թաքչիլն. ըստ այնմ՝ «լուայ զձայն գնալոյ եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:» Ութերորդ՝ մաշկեղէն հանդերձն. ոչ ըստ ոմանց թէ մորթ մարմնոյս, զի ունէր զայս ի ստեղծմանէն: Այլ մորթ մաշկեղէն ստեղծեաց եւ զգեցոյց նմա փոխանակ լուսեղէն զարդուն. զմեռելութիւն նորա նշանակելով: Որպէս ասէ՝, «արար հանդերձս մաշկեայ, եւ զգեցոյց նմա:» Եւ ապա իններորդ՝ ի ցաւալից երկիրս այս պանդխտանալ: Որպէս ասէ՝ «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուսցէ քեզ երկիր. եւ քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց:» Իսկ Ժ երրորդ՝ յորում ամուսնութիւնն մխիթարութիւն տուաւ մեռելոյն՝. ըստ այնմ, «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք, եւ լցէք զերկիր:» Եւ դարձեալ՝ «տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդիս:» Տե՛ս, զի յայտնապէս ցուցանէ սուրբն, զի թէ պահպանութեամբ կացեալ էին ի դրախտին, ոչ եւս ամուսնութեամբ լինէր աճումն: Այլ կամ իբր զհրեշտակս, կամ որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազումք, կամ կուսութեամբ ծնունդ, որպէս սուրբ կոյսն Մարիամ աստուածածին՝ սրբութեամբ եւ կուսութեամբ ծնեալ փոխեաց զկարգ բնութեան ծննդեանս որ ի սերմանէ առն եւ կնոջ. զի սա ծնունդ միայն ի մօրէ . . .

/ Եւ արդ՝ հեռանալոյ մեզ ի դրախտէն կենաց՝ վերջին ամուսնութիւնն եղեւ. զայն նախ պարտ է թողուլ, եւ ապա յերկրաւոր հոգւոց եւ տառապանաց հեռանալ: Երկրորդ՝ զմաշկեղէն պատմուճանն մերկանալ այսինքն զխորհուրդս մարմնեղէնս եւ զմեռելոտիս . . . Եւ Ե երորդ՝ ոչ եւս թզենեաւ՝ այսինքն դառն վարուք ստուերանալ. տերեւ թզենւոյն դառն է եւ փշոտ ըստ մեղացն առակի . . .

But St. Gregory of Nyssa in his book on virginity speaks of ten degrees of the fall of the man from the Garden. That is why we, sons, too, remained outside because of the father's debt. And whoever wishes to return, at once he can ascend to the same (place) with the same ease, that is to the same degree. Now the first grade of the fall was lust, which has three degrees in itself. First, the turning away from divine glory and due to that, he went around in the pleasures of the Garden. Second, the lust of conversation with the serpent, and due to that, he was willing to listen, because he lusted for the glory of becoming God. Third, the lust of seeing and tasting according to: "it was pleasant to the sight, and good for food."[37] Fourth, the shame: "the eyes of them both" it says, "were opened, and they saw that they were naked."[38] And for that reason they made a cover from the fig-tree. Fifth, the fear accord-

37. Gen 3:6.
38. Gen 3:7.

ing to: “they heard the sound of God coming and were frightened.”[39] Sixth, no more standing boldly before God. Seventh, hiding behind the leaves and shadows according to: “I heard the sound of coming, and I was frightened, because I was naked; and I hid myself.”[40] Eighth, the garment of skin, not, as according to some, the skin of the body, for he had this from the creation. But He made a leathery skin and garbed him[41] instead of the luminous adornment, symbolizing his mortality. As it says, “and he made leather garments and clothed him.”[42] And then ninth, the sojourn in this sorrowful earth. As it says, “thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth for you,”[43] and “by the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, all the days of your life.”[44] And tenth, when marriage was given for consolation to the mortal (man) according to: “be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth.”[45] And besides, “in pain shall you bring forth children.”[46] Behold, the saint shows explicitly that if they had remained in observance in the Garden, increase would not have been by marriage. But, birth would be either like (that of) the angels, or like many (lights are born) of one light, or birth in virginity, as the Holy Virgin Mary the Mother of God, having given birth in purity and virginity, changed nature’s order of birth which is of the sperm of man and a woman, for this was a birth only from a mother. . . . And now, when we left the Garden of life, the consequence was marriage. First, it is necessary to abandon it, and then, to become distant from earthly cares and sufferings. Second, to strip off the leather robe, that is bodily and mortal thoughts. . . . And fifth, not to be shaded by a fig-tree, that is, by bitter behavior; the fig leaf is bitter and thorny, according to the simile of sin . . .

Վասն մաշկեղէն հանդերձին հարցումն (պրակ ԼԹ)
Question Concerning the Leather Clothing (Section 39)

25 281 Զի՞նչ է մաշկեղէն հանդերձն զոր զգեցոյց Աստուած Ադամայ:

Պատասխանի. Մաշկն է կենդանական մորթ զոր ստեղծեաց Աստուած եւ զգեցոյց զԱդամ եւ զԵւա: Եւ զուստին մի՛ հարցանէր թէ ի կենդանւո՞յ էառ, եւ թէ նոր գոյացոյց. զի ամենայն ինչ կարելի է Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: What is the leather garment with which God clothed Adam?

39. Gen 3:8.
40. Gen 3:10.
41. I.e., Adam.
42. Gen 3:21.
43. Gen 3:18.
44. Gen 3:19.
45. Gen 1:28.
46. Gen 3:16.

Answer. It is the leather of an animal skin that God created and clothed Adam and Eve. And do not ask whence (it came), whether he took it from an animal or created (it) anew, because everything is possible for God . . .

Թէ վասն է՞ր մաշկեղէն կոչի մարմին մեր (պրակ Խ)
Why Is Our Body Called Leather? (Section 40)

26 282 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս ասեն մաշկեղէն հանդերձ զմարմինս մեր:

Պատասխանի. . . . Այսպէս մաշկեղէն հանդերձն նշանակէ զտխրալի եւ ախտաւոր մարմինս: Որ յետ յանցանացն փոխեցաւ եւ եղեւ թանձր եւ ծանր եւ մահկանացու եւ ընդդիմահար եւ աղտեղի: Զոր յանմեղութեանն էր մարմինն Ադամայ անչարչարելի եւ երագ եւ պայծառ եւ թեթեւ: Որպէս ասէ աստուածաբանն թէ՝ ոչ ինչ էր ծածկոյթ ի մէջ նոցա եւ Աստուծոյ. իսկ յետ մեղացն փոխեցան այսոքիկ. վասն որոյ մաշկեղէն հանդերձին ցուցմամբն նշանակէ զմարմինս: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, այսոքիկ ի յարութեանն են լինելոց անկարօտ մարմնոցն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ զոր ինչ ի յարութեանն աւուր լինելոց է սրբոցն, զսկիզբն անդանօր սերմանեաց ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ. զի թէ յիւրում ժամանակին կերեալ էին ի կենաց պտղոյն, լինէին կատարեալ անմահք. եւ փոխէին յարքայութիւնն: Եւ այսպէս էր միջասահման կեանք նոցա զոր ասեն ի մէջ մահու եւ անմահութեան: Զի զանմահութեան եւ զանապականութեան սկիզբն եւ զսերմն ընկալաւ Ադամ: Եւ ունէր առաջադրեալ իւր զերանութիւնն եւ զթշուառութիւնն. որ է անմահութիւն եւ մահ: Զի պահելով զպատուիրանն ի կատարեալ անմահութիւնն ժամանէր յերկինս, իսկ անցանելովն փոխեցաւ ի մահ եւ անկաւ յերկիր: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, եւ երկրորդն Ադամ Քրիստոս՝ զմարմինն Ադամայ ունէր, եւ էր թանձր եւ ծանր:

Question. How do they say that our body is a leather garment?

Answer. . . . Thus the coat of skin symbolizes this sorrowful and infirm body, which changed after the transgression and became thick and heavy and mortal and hard (opaque) and impure. While being innocent Adam's body was impassible and quick and shining and light. As the theologian says, there was no covering between them and God. But after the sin they changed, that is why by showing the skin-coat it indicates the bodies. And if anyone says that these will be not needing bodies in the resurrection, we say that whatever will happen to the saints on (the day of) resurrection, he sowed its beginning there in the first man Adam. For, if they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is

said,[47] between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth. And if one says that the second Adam, Christ, also had Adam's body and it was thick and heavy . . .

298 Վեցերորդ հատոր հարցմանցս զինչ գիրքն է Մովսէսի վասն աշտարակին (պրակ Է)
Sixth Part of the Questions, Which Is the Book of Moses concerning the Tower (Section 7)

27 Եւ թէ ո՞ր է Ադամայ լեզուն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ քաղդէացին որ է՛ արապն. զի մնաց առ Եբեր եւ ոչ խառնակեցաւ:

And which is Adam's language? We say the Chaldean, that is the Arabic, for it remained with Eber and was not mixed.

391 Վասն աւարաց (պրակ ԿԶ)
Concerning Depredations (Section 66)

28 Զի ասեն թէ Խ օր էր պայմանն Ադամայ. յետ Խ աւուր ուտէր ասեն ի փայտէն գիտութեան եւ սրբութեամբ որդիս ծնանէր. եւ ապա ուտէր ի կենաց փայտէն եւ վերափոխէր . . .

For they say that Adam's limitation was forty days; they say, after forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed . . .

591 Իններորդ հատոր վասն նոր օրինաց եւ եկեղեցւոյ վասն մկրտութեան (պրակ ԽԹ)
Ninth Volume Concerning the New Law and Concerning the Baptism of the Church (Section 49)

29 591 Մեղքն Ադամայ այն է որ զարդարութիւն կորոյս. եւ մեղօք եւ ցանկութեամբ ծնաւ զորդին. եւ այն մեղքն սկզբնական կոչի. եւ ո՛չ թողցի եթէ ոչ ի մահն Քրիստոսի մկրտեսցի:

47. Literally: as they say.

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ.

776 Հարցմունք Գէորգ վարդապետի եւ լուծմունք Գրիգորի նորին հարազատի
Questions of Gēorg *vardapet* and Solutions of the Very Same Grigor

Հարցումն Գ. Question 3

30 Արդ՝ առաջնոյն ասեմք թէ՝ ի պատկեր արարչին ինքնիշխան տէրութեամբ եւ անմեղութեամբ կազմեցաւ առաջինն մարդ: Եւ պատուեալ երկակի զարդու. եւ պարգեւեալ եւ խոստացեալ պատուիրանօք: Իսկ յանցանել նորա՝ կորոյս զամենայն. ոչ միայն զխոստացեալն, այլ եւ զպարգեւեալն. զի ըստ որում յանմեղութենէն մեղանչական գտաւ, այսպէս մահու եւ ապականութեան զրաւեցաւ: Ուստի ասացաւ թէ մահու մեռցիս, ոչ սոսկ. այլ զկրկնակի նշանակելով մահ. այսինքն զմեռանիլն մարմնով եւ զպատժիլն հոգւով:

Now, first we say that the first man was formed in the image of the Creator, with autonomous authority and sinlessness, and being honored by twofold ornaments, both granted and promised by commands. And when he sinned, he lost everything, not only that which was promised but also that which was granted. For as from sinlessness he became sinful, likewise he was captured by death and corruption. Thence it was said, "you shall surely die,"[48] meaning not a simple but a double death, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք որ կոչի Ոսկեփորիկ Book Called Oskep'orik. (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1746). Հատոր երկրորդ. Յաղագս մարդեղութեան բանին Second Volume, Concerning the Incarnation of the Word.

Վասն Ադամայ եւ հրեշտակաց: Գլուխ ԺԸ
Concerning Adam and Angels: Chapter 18

31 177–80 Ասէ մարգարէն. «փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր դու զմարդն քան զհրեշտակս քո:» Վեց ինչ է փոքրութիւն առաջին մարդոյն քան զհրեշտակաց: Նախզի մարդն ունի զմարմին. եւ հրեշտակք /

48. Literally: die by death; see Gen 2:17.

անմարմինք են: Երկրորդ՝ մարդն հողեղէն. եւ նոքա լուսեղէնք: Երրորդ՝ մարդն ի յուրբաթու արարաւ. եւ նոքա յառաջին աւուրն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացան: Չորրորդ՝ մարդն ի դրախտին եդաւ. եւ հրեշտակք յերկինս են: Հինգերորդ՝ մարդն պիտոյացաւ կերակրոյ եւ վայելչութեան դրախտին. եւ հրեշտակք անկարօտ են: Վեցերորդ՝ մարդն ի մէջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. եւ հրեշտակք անմահ բնութեամբ: Այսպէս վեց իրօք՝ խոնարհ է մարդն քան զհրեշտակս: Իսկ վեցիւք առաւել ունի զպատիւ քան զհրեշտակս: Նախզի՝ մարմնով եւ հոգւով եւ մտօք պատուեցաւ. որպէս ասէ. «փառօք եւ պատւով պսակեցեր զնա:» Երկրորդ՝ երեք շնորհիւ զարդարեցաւ ի յերից անձանցն. այսինքն, թագաւորութեամբ, քահանայութեամբ եւ մարգարէութեամբ. ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր:» Երրորդ՝ զի ի պատկերն արարաւ մարդն. եւ վասն հրեշտակաց ոչ ասէ պատկեր եղեալ: Չորրորդ՝ զի ըսկիզբն ամենայն մարդկան մին մարդն է. որպէս / հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է ամենայնի. իսկ հրեշտակք յոչէից եղեն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի հրեշտակք մարդոյն սպասաւոր եւ պաշտօնեայք եղեն. ուստի յայտ է՝ զի յետ յանցմանն զնոյն կարգ պահեցին. Վեցերորդ՝ զի տէր եւ աստուած եղեւ մարդն հրեշտակաց եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ. եւ երկրպագեցին նմա յորժամ բանն մարդ եղեւ: Այլ է փառօք եւ պատուով պսակելն զնա: Դարձեալ՝ ի խորհուրդ երկրորդն Ադամայ: «Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զմարդն:» Եւ այս վեց կերպիւ տեսանի: Նախ զի՝ կամաւ խոնարհեցաւ ի յարգանդ կուսին: Երկրորդ՝ զի «բանն մարմին եղեւ:» Երրորդ՝ ի յերկրի շրջեցաւ մարմնով: Չորրորդ՝ կրից եւ վաստակոց ընդունակ եղեւ: Հինգերորդ՝ չարչարեցաւ եւ խոցեցաւ Վեցերորդ՝ մեռաւ եւ թաղեցաւ: Զայսոսիկ հրեշտակք ոչ ունին: Այս փառօք եւ պատւով պսակեցաւ: Նախզի՝ խաչիւն պսակեալ, զմահ մեռոյց. եւ զթշնամին կապեաց: Երկրորդ՝ զպարտսն Ադամայ եւ զանէծս եբարձ: Երրորդ՝ զհոգիսն ազա/տելով, զդժոխս աւերեաց. զոր ոչ կարացին հրեշտակք: Չորրորդ՝ յարութեամբն տիրեաց երկնի եւ երկրի. կենդանեաց եւ մեռելոց եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ել ի յերկինս. եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի «ամենայն լեզու խոստովան լիցի երկնաւորաց եւ երկրաւորաց եւ այլն:» Եւ յարուցանէ զմեռեալս եւ փառօք պսակէ: Այս է փառօք պսակելն Քրիստոսի. զոր չունին հրեշտակք. եւ այլն բազում գլխով ցուցաւ ի վերոյ:

The prophet says, "you have made him but a little lower than your angels."[49] The lesser nature of the first man compared with the angels is in six (things). First, because the man has body and the angels are bodiless. Second, the man is of dust and they are luminous. Third, the man was made on Friday, and they came into being on the first day with the light. Fourth, the man was put in the Garden, and the angels are in heaven. Fifth, the man was in need of food and the delight of the Garden, and the angels are not in need. Sixth,

49. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.

the man was between death and life, and the angels are immortal by nature. Thus, the man is lower than the angels through six things. But by six (things) he has more honor than the angels. First, because he was honored by body and soul and mind, as Scripture says, "And crowned him with glory and honor."[50] Second, he was adorned with three graces by the three Persons, namely, with royalty, priesthood, and prophecy, according to, "You put all things in subjection (under his feet)."[51] Third, because the man was made in the image, and about the angels (Scripture) does not say they are image. Fourth, because one man is the beginning of all humans, as God the Father is the beginning of everything, while the angels came into being from nothing. Fifth, because the angels were the servants and ministers of the man, whence it is evident that after the transgression they remained in the same rank. Sixth, because the man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshiped him when the Word became man. This is to crown him with glory and honor. Again, concerning the mystery of the second Adam. "You made man a little lower."[52] And this is seen in six ways. First, he voluntarily descended to the Virgin's womb. Second, because "the Word became flesh."[53] Third, he walked on the earth in body. Fourth, he accepted passion and pain. Fifth, he was tortured and pierced. Sixth, he died and was buried. The angels do not suffer[54] such (things). But he was crowned with glory and honor. First, being crowned with the cross, He killed death and bound the Enemy. Second, He abolished Adam's debt and curse. Third, releasing the souls, He destroyed hell, which the angels could not do. Fourth, by his resurrection He became ruler over the heaven and the earth, over the living and the dead, etc. Fifth, because He ascended to heaven and was seated on the right hand of the Father. Sixth, "that every tongue will confess the heavenly and earthly," etc.[55] And (he) raises the dead and crowns them with glory. This is Christ's crowning with glory, that the angels do not have. And other things have been demonstrated in many chapters above.

Վասն եկեղեցւոյ եւ Ադամայ
Concerning the Church and Adam

32 182 Դարձեալ գիտելի է. զի ասէ աստուածաբանն. թէպէտ Ադամ անձեռանալի էր հասակաւ եւ անտրտում ուրախութեամբ՝ այլ չորս իրօք այժմ եկեղեցի սուրբ առաւել է: Զի գեղեցիկ է ըստ հոգւոյն քան

50. Ps 8:5 = Arm. 8:6.
51. Heb 2:8.
52. I.e., than the angels. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6; Heb 2:7.
53. John 1:14.
54. Literally: have.
55. The source of the quotation is unclear.

զԱդամ որ ի դրախտին: Նախ զի՝ Ադամ ձեռօք Աստուծոյ արարաւ եւ բանիւ որպէս այլ արարածք. իսկ եկեղեցի սուրբ՝ մարդեղութեամբն Քրիստոսի եւ չարչարանօք՝ մահուամբ եւ յարութեամբն Քրիստոսի սրբեցաւ. որ գերազոյն է պատիւն եւ փառքն քան զնորայն: Երկրորդ՝ զի Ադամ ի մէջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. իսկ սրբեալն աւազանաւ յանմահութիւն գրեցաւ: Երրորդ Ադամ խոստմամբ առնէր զարքայութիւնն վերին. իսկ մկրտեալն արդեամբ զխոստացեալ տեղին նմա ընկալաւ: Չորրորդ զնա ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ արար. իսկ զսա՝ որդի Աստուծոյ եւ ժառանգակից Քրիստոսի, ունելով զպատկերակցութիւն. եւ այսու առաւելեալ: Այսքան Ադամայ. եւ հրեշտակաց. եւ Տեառն. եւ եկեղեցւոյ:

Again, one should know that the theologian says: Although Adam was not growing older in age, and there was not sorrowing in his joy, nevertheless the holy church is now higher in four things. Because it is more beautiful according to the Spirit than Adam who was in the Garden. First, because Adam was made by God’s hands and by speech, like other creations, whereas the holy church was purified by Christ’s incarnation and passion, death and resurrection; which is a higher honor and glory is higher than his (i.e., Christ’s). Second, because Adam was between life and death, while he who was purified by the font was inscribed for immortality. Third, Adam would gain the supernal kingdom through a promise, whereas he who was baptized, by merit received the place promised to him. Fourth, He made that one in the image of God, and this one, son of God and co-heir with Christ, having the same image and surpassing by this. Enough about Adam and the angels, and the Lord and the church.

219 Հատոր երրորդ: Միահամուռ վկայութիւնք սուրբ գրոց վասն Տնօրէնութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԻԴ Third Volume, Collection[56] of Witnesses of the Holy Scriptures concerning Christ’s Disposition: Chapter 24.

33 Եւ նախ քան զամենայն՝ Ադամ մարգարէացաւ. այն որ «կոչեաց զանուն կնոջն կեանս զի նա է մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է կոյսն Մարիամ. մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց կենդնատուին Յիսուսի:

And before everything Adam prophesied, when (lit. that) he “called his wife’s name ‘Life,’[57] because she is the mother of all living,”[58] who is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.

56. Literally: all together, at once.
57. I.e., Eve.
58. Gen 3:20.

371 Վասն ծննդեան Տեառն: Գլուխ ԼԵ
Concerning the Nativity of the Lord: Chapter 35

34 . . . Գիտելի է՝ զի Դ են ծնունդք մարդկան: Առաջին ոչ ի մօրէ եւ ոչ ի հօրէ. որպէս Ադամ: Երկրորդ՝ ի հօրէ եւ ոչ ի մօրէ. որպէս Եւա: Երրորդ՝ ի հօրէ եւ ի մօրէ. որպէս Սէթ եւ այլ մարդիկ: Չորրորդ՝ ի մօրէ եւ ոչ ի հօրէ. որպէս Քրիստոս:

. . . One should know that there are four kinds of human birth: first, not of mother and not of father, like Adam; second, of father and not of mother, like Eve; third, of father and of mother, like Seth and other humans; fourth, of mother and not of father, like Christ.

430 Հարցմունք տասն վասն յարութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԱ
Ten Questions Concerning the Resurrection of Christ: Chapter 41

35 Ադամ երեսնամեայ ստեղծաւ:

Adam was created thirty years old.

526 Հատոր հինգերորդ: Տեառն Վահրամ վարդապետի ասացեալ Յաղագս սրբոց երրորդութեանն եւ միոյ աստուածութեանն. եւ փրկական տնօրէնութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԶ
Fifth Volume, Pronounced to Rev. Vahram Concerning the Holy Trinity and the Single Deity and the Salvific Disposition of Christ: Chapter 46

36 Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէն. եւ Աբէլ յորովայնէ Ադամայ. սակայն մի են բնութիւնք նոցա եւ Ադամայ յորմէ նոքին. եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբէլ. թէպէտ եւ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք՝ պատճառ մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

Eve is of Adam, but from his rib. And Abel is from Adam's womb. But their nature and Adam's, from whom they come, is the same. And Eve and Abel are not brothers, though they were from one cause, Adam; likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) having one cause, the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Մեկնութիւն սաղմոսաց. (համառօտ տարբերակ) *Commentary on the Psalms (The Short Version).* ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Zvart'noc' Press, 1993).

37 14 . . . Զորպիսութիւն Ադամայ մոռացեալ էաք, այսինքն՝ զանմեղութիւն, զփառքն եւ զայլն, վասն որոյ Աստուած մարդ եղեւ, զի ի նա տեսանելով ճանաչեսցուք զկերպ առաջնոյն Ադամայ:

We had forgotten the character of Adam, that is, the sinlessness, the glory, and other things, on account of which God became man, so that by seeing Him, we shall get to know the form of the first Adam.

38 48 ԽԶ. Հարց. Վասն է՞ր ի յիշատակի մեռելոց ասեմք զԱնբիծքն. (ՃԺԸ, 1):

Պատասխանի. Ասեն թէ ի վերայ գերեզմանին Ադամայ ասաց Դաւիթ զսաղմոսս, որ էանց զօրէնս եւ զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ:

46 Question. Why do we mention those “that are without blemish”[59] when (we) remember the dead?

Answer. It is said[60] that David said this Psalm upon Adam’s tomb, who transgressed God’s law and commandments.

39 49 Օրէնք է գրով տուեալ, որպէս Մովսիսի, իսկ պատուիրանն՝ բանիւ աւանդեալն, որպէս Ադամայ:

A law is given in writing, as to Moses, and a commandment is that conveyed orally, as to Adam.

40 54–55 ԾԱ. Հարց. Վասն է՞ր Աստուած զԱդամ ի դրախտն ետ եւ պատուիրեաց՝ մի՛ ուտել:

Պատասխանի. Վասն Է պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի մի ասիցէ՝ զի՞նչ ետուր ինձ զի պատուիրանս քո պահէի յերկրի, վասն այն ի դրախտն եդ: Երկրորդ՝ զի խոստումն փառացն հաւատասցի ի նա՝ թէ առանց գործոց զդրախտն ետ ինձ Աստուած, ապա եւ գործով զայն եւս տալոց է: Երրորդ՝ զի անձնիշխան ստեղծ ոչ ի ներքոյ հարկի, այլ յօժար կամօք ընտրեսցէ: Չորրորդ՝ զի ոչ միայն ողորմութեամբ, այլ եւ արդարութեամբ պսակեսցէ: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ի չարէն պարսպեալ ամրացոյց ի մէջ դրախտին: Վեցերորդ՝ զի անկարօտ արար եւ յայտ է զի զամենեսեան հրամայեաց ուտել: Եօթներորդ՝ զի պատուիրանաւն զգուշացոյց զի անմեղադրելի լիցի, ապա / յիրաւի դատապարտեցաւ որ զայս ամենայն ունէր եւ ոչ պահեաց:

51 Question. Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command (him) not to eat?

Answer. For seven reasons. First, so that he would not say, “What have you given to me in return for observing your commandments on the earth?” That is why he put (him) in the Garden. Second, because the promise of

59. Ps 119:1 = Arm. 118:1.
60. Literally: they say.

glory to him was confirmed to him: "If without (any) deeds God gave me the Garden, he will give it to me also for deeds." Third, because he created him autonomous, but (so that) he might choose voluntarily, not under obligation. Fourth, to crown him not only with mercy but also with justice.[61] Fifth, because, closing (him) within walls against evil, he fortified (him) in the Garden. Sixth, because he made (him) without need, and it is known that He commanded him to eat everything. Seventh, because he warned him by the command so that he might be sinless; then, he who had all this and did not observe,[62] was condemned justly.

41 58-59 ... Մարդկային բնութիւնս մոլորեցաւ զհետ օձին պատրանաց եւ անկաւ յայս տեղի պանդխտութեան, այլ ոչ մոռացաւ զպատուիրանն, զի յետոյ զղջացաւ եւ ոչ մնաց անզեղջ.

. . . This human nature went astray after the serpent's deceit and fell into this place of sojourning, but did not forget the command, for later it repented and did not remain impenitent.

42 99–100 «Ո կայք ի՝ տուն Տեառն եւ ի գաւիթս Աստուծոյ». (ՃԼԴ, 1) . . . Տուն Տեառն նախ՝ ասի երկինքն. բ) հրեշտակաց դասքն. գ) դրախտն . . . Տեսցուք ոյք են գաւիթք եւ պատուական տունքն. ա) տուն՝ վերինն Երուսաղէմ կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զդրախտն. բ) տուն՝ զդրախտն կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զաշխարհս . . . /. . . Իսկ դրախտն է նման սմա, ա) զի ի նմա է ծառն կենաց տնկեալ, սոյնպէս եւ ի սմա փայտն կենաց խաչն Քրիստոսի. բ) զի զուարճալի է պտղով, սոյնպէս եւ շնորհք Հոգւոյն պայծառացեալ զոն աստ. գ) զի անմահ վայր է. սոյնպէս եւ յեկեղեցի Աստուծոյ, որք ի սա դիմեն անմահ մնան:

"You that stand in the house of the Lord and in the courts of . . . God."[63] First, the heavens are called "house of the Lord"; second, the ranks of the angels; third, the Garden. . . . Let us see which are the courts and the honorable houses. First, Scripture calls the supernal Jerusalem[64] "house" and the Garden, "court." Second, it calls the Garden "house" and the world, "court." . . . And the Garden is like this one (i.e., the house of the Lord), first, because the tree of life is planted in it;[65] likewise the wood (tree) of life, Christ's cross is in it. Second, because (the Garden) is pleasant with the fruit, likewise the splendid graces (gifts) of the Spirit exist here.[66] Third, because it is an immortal place, likewise (is) the church of God; those who turn to it, remain immortal.

61. Notice the use of the pair of attributes.
62. I.e., the commandment.
63. Ps 135:2 = Arm 134:1.
64. Gal 4:26.
65. I.e., the Garden.
66. I.e., in this world.

Text: Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ձմեռան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Winter Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham *dpir* Press, 1740; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

85 Վասն Տեառն առաջին (Գլուխ ԺԴ) Concerning the Lord's First One: (Chapter 14)

43 . . . Եթէ Ադամ երեսունն ամեայ ստեղծաւ. վասն է՞ր երկրորդն Ադամ մանուկ երեւեցաւ յերկրի. եւ ծնաւ մի օրական տղայ. եւ քառասնօրեայ բերաւ ի տաճարն: Ասեմք թէ վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախզի յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, եկն Աստուած ի խնդիր նմա . . .

. . . If Adam was created thirty years old, why did the second Adam appear on the earth as a child and was born a one-day-old baby and was brought to the temple at forty days? We say that for many reasons. First, when Adam sinned, God came to seek him . . .

44 86 Նոյնպէս չար թշնամին սատանայ կողոպտեաց զպատիւ մարդոյն . . . Նոյնպէս յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, վաճառեաց զերկնից արքայութիւնն՝ եւ ոչ կարէր գնել: Եւ որ կամի զհայրենիս աղքատին յետ գնել՝ պիտոյ է Դ ինչ: Նախ որ լինի ազգական նմա. զի օտարն ոչ կարէ գնել: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի լման գին ունիցի: Երրորդ՝ զի յայն տարին որ ծախած է յետ գնէ, թէ լինի կալուածն ի պարսպաւոր քաղաքի: Չորրորդ՝ որ ունիցի կարողութիւն ընդդէմ կալ՝ թէ ոք տաւի առնէ: Նոյնպէս զհայրենիսն Ադամայ հրեշտակ(ք) ոչ կարէին յետ գնել. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս. եւ ոչ ունէր լման գին. զի մին հրեշտակն ոչ արժէ զբոլոր մարդկութիւնս, որք են անթիւ անձինք: Այլ Աստուած կարօղ էր յետ գնել. զի անչափ է կարողութիւն Աստուծոյ. այլ ոչ հասանէր նմա. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս: . . . վասն այն որդին Աստուծոյ եկն տղայ հասակաւ, զի զհայրենիսն Ադամայ յետ գնեսցէ:

Likewise the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. . . . Likewise when Adam sinned, he sold the kingdom of heaven and could not buy (it back). And one who wants to buy back the patrimony of a poor (man), needs four things. First, to be his kinsman, for a stranger cannot buy (it). Second, to have the entire sum. Third, to buy back during the same year in which it was sold, if the property is in a town surrounded with walls. Fourth, to be able to oppose, if anyone starts a trial. Likewise angels could not buy back Adam's patrimony, for he (an angel) was not the man's kinsman and did not have the entire sum, for one angel is not worth the whole mankind who are innumerable persons. But God could buy it back, for God's might is immeasurable, but he did not come to his aid, for he was not the man's kinsman. . . . For that reason the Son of God came at a very young age, in order to buy back Adam's patrimony.

147 Քարոզ վասն չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի. Ղու. 18.12 (Գլուխ ԻԷ)
Sermon concerning Wednesday and Friday, Luke 18:12 (Chapter 27)

45 Զի պահոց էր պատուիրանն այն՝ զոր հրամայեաց Աստուած ոչ ուտել ի գիտութեան փայտէն. «յամենայն պտղոց ասէ ուտիցէք՝ բայց ի փայտէն գիտութեան մի՛ ուտիցէք, զի մի մահու մեռանիցիք:» Զորս ոչ պահեցին նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւայ՝ եւ անկան ի շնորհացն եւ մերկացան ի լուսոյն. ելին ի դրախտէն, եւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ մահու զրաւեցան:

For the commandment which God gave[67] was about fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge; "of every fruit," it says, "you shall eat, but of the tree of knowledge, do not eat lest you surely die."[68] Which the protoplasts Adam and Eve did not observe and fell from the grace and were stripped of the light; they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death.

275 Քարոզ շաբաթի աւուր բարեկենդանին. վասն շարժման երկրի եւ կրօնից. Առակ. 30.21 (Գլուխ Կ)
Sermon for the Saturday before the (Lenten) Fast: On "The trembling of the earth and morality" (Prov. 30:21). (Chapter 60)

46 275 Ադամ երիւք մեղօք շարժեցաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. այսինքն՝ ամբարտաւանութեամբ, որկրամոլութեամբ. եւ ագահութեամբ: Ամբարտաւանութիւն այն էր՝ որ ասացաւ նոցա. «լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս.» վասն այն կինն փութացաւ ի պտուղն, թէ Աստուած որդի ծնանիմ. եւ տիրեմ ի վերայ առն. վասն այն «տրտմութեամբ ծնաւ որդի, եւ առ այր դարձ նորա:» Որկրամոլութիւնն այն էր՝ որ ետես գեղեցիկ զպտուղն. եւ հաճոյ աչաց եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր, էառ եւ եկեր. եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն զրկեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ: Ագահութիւնն այն էր, որ ցանկայր գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. զի յառաջ զբարւոյ գիտութիւնն միայն ունէր. փորձելով զչարին գիտութիւն եւս ագահացաւ, եւ գիտաց փորձելով. վասն որոյ զրկեցաւ յաստուածային իմաստիցն. եւ ի հոգեւոր շնորհացն. այսինքն՝ զի յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն՝ Ադամ ունէր Գ շնորհս. զքահանայութիւն, զթագաւորութիւն, եւ զմարգարէութիւն: Եւ երեւեցաւ թագաւորութիւնն յայն որ ասաց. «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ

67. Literally: commanded.
68. Citation based on the Armenian translation of Genesis (Gen 2:16–17).

զայլն:» Իսկ քահանայութիւնն յայն էր՝ «որ եդ անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց:» Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն յայն որ՝ ասաց. «այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց:» Եւ երեքին յանցանօքն՝ մերժեցաւ յերեքին պատւոյս. զի ամբարտաւանութեամբն անկաւ ի թագաւորութենէն: Եւ որկրամոլութեամբն՝ ի քահանայութենէն. եւ ագահութեամբն՝ ի մարգարէութեան շնորհէն: Այս երիւք յանցանօքն՝ շարժեցաւ Ադամ յերեքին պատուոցն: Եւ ի չորրորդին՝ ոչ հանդարտեաց. այլ ի տեղւոյն եւ յանմահութենէն զրկեցաւ. եւ անկաւ ի մահ եւ յապականութիւն. եւ «հաւասարեցաւ անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեցաւ նոցա:» Դարձեալ՝ «երիւք շարժի երկիր.» այսինքն, զի որպէս երեք մեղօքս այս՝ շարժեաց սատանայ զԱդամ եւ եհան ի դրախտէն. նմանապէս ընդ Քրիստոսի երկրորդն Ադամայ Գ մեղօքս պատերազմեցաւ ի փորձութեանն . . .

Adam was moved by three sins and came out of the Garden, namely, by pride, gluttony, and avarice. Pride was that it was said to them, "you shall become like gods."[69] For that reason the woman hastened to the fruit, (thinking), "I shall bear god as a son and will rule over the man." On account of that, in pain she brought forth a child and her return is to her husband."[70] Gluttony was that he saw that the fruit was beautiful and "pleasant to the sight and good for food,"[71] he took and ate and was deprived of the luminous glory and was stripped naked. Avarice was that he wished the knowledge of good and evil, for before that he had the knowledge only of good. By attempting the knowledge of evil, he became more avaricious and got to know (it) by testing, on account of which he was deprived of divine wisdom and spiritual gifts (grace). That is, before sinning Adam had three gifts: priesthood, royalty, and prophecy. And royalty was evident in that (David) said, "you have made all things obedient under his feet: sheep," etc.[72] And priesthood was in that "he gave names to all cattle."[73] And prophecy in that he said, "this (is) now bone of my bones."[74] And because of three sins he was deprived of three honors. For because of pride he fell from royalty, and because of gluttony, from priesthood, and because of avarice, from the gift of prophecy. Because of these three sins Adam was moved away from the three honors. And he did not have respite on the fourth, but was expelled from the place and immortality and fell into death and corruption, and "became equal to the beasts and resembled them."[75] Besides, "for three things the earth trembles,"[76] that is, as

69. Gen 3:5.
70. Based on Gen 3:16.
71. Gen 3:6.
72. Ps 8:6–7.
73. Gen 2:20.
74. Gen 2:23.
75. Cf. Ps 49:20.
76. Prov 30:21.

Satan made Adam tremble[77] by these three sins and expelled (him) from the Garden, likewise with those three sins he fought against Christ, the second Adam, during the temptation . . .

324–25 Քարոզ առ հասարակ ապաշխարութեան. Եսայ. 1.16 (Գլուխ Չ).
Sermon for Common (general) Penitence. Isa 1:16 (Chapter 80)

47 324–25 Ապա թէ գործ մարդոյն վատթար լինի եւ լեզուն սուտ, ոչ կարէ արդարանալ. զորօրինակ նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւա՝ որք ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ յանցեան եւ կերին ի պտղոյն: Եւ յորժամ եհարց զնոսա յապաշխարութիւն կոչելով, Ադամ պատճառեաց զկինն. եւ կինն զօձն. զի եհարց զԱդամ եւ ասէ. «ո՞ւր ես.» ողբական եւ հարցական. ողբականն այսպէս. զի ձեռօքն ստեղծ՝ եւ ոտիւքն գայ ի հարց հիւանդին. եւ ձայնիւն ողբայ եւ ասէ. «ո՞ւր ես.» իբր թէ յո՞ր փառաց յո՞ր անարգութիւն անկար. երկնայինդ եւ անմահդ՝ երկրային եւ մահկանացու եղեր: Ողբամ զքեզ՝ զի զիմ պատկերս ի քեզ նկարեցի. եւ դու ոչ ի քեզ խնայեցեր, եւ ոչ ի պատկերէն ամաչեցեր:

If the man's deeds are bad and his tongue lying, he cannot be justified just like the first-created ones Adam and Eve, who transgressed God's command and ate of the fruit. And when he asked them, summoning (them) to penitence, Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent. For (God) asked Adam and said, "Where are you?"[78] plaintively and interrogatively; "plaintively" is this, since he made him with his hands and comes on foot to ask the ill (man) and mourns loudly and says, "Where are you?" As if, "From what glory to what dishonor did you fall? O, heavenly and immortal one, you became earthly and mortal. I lament over you, for I painted my image in you, and you did not care of yourself and were not ashamed by the image."

48 324–25 Իսկ հարցականն այս է. «ո՞ւր ես.» այսինքն, ի յո՞ր մեղս, եւ յո՞ր տեղի որպիսութեան. զի նա խոստովանեսցի եւ ասիցէ զպատճառն: Եւ նա ասէ «լուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:» Եւ տե՛ս զմեղաց պտուղսն զերկիւղն եւ զթագչիլն եւ զմերկութիւնն: Զի ամենայն մեղք՝ զայդ երեքդ պտղաբերէ աստ. զերկիւղն վասն տանջանացն. զամօթն վասն գործեալ մեղացն. եւ մերկութիւնն՝ զրկումն է ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ: Զայս երեւեցոյց Ադամ ի յինքն: Եւ ասաց Աստուած «ո՞ պատմեաց քեզ թէ մերկ ես:» Յօրն յորում ստեղծեցի զքեզ չէիր մերկ. եւ յորժամ կենդանեաց անուանս եղեր՝ չէիր

77. Or: move.
78. Gen 3:9.

մերկ. այժմ ընդէ՞ր մերկացար. ո՞ ոք պատմեաց քեզ զմերկութիւնդ. իբր չգէտս լինի: Ապա ասէ. («մի թէ թէ ի ծառոյն յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել՝ կերե՞ր արդեօք ի նմանէ.» իբր կարծեօք դընէ զբանն. զի ինքն իւր բերանովն խոստովանեսցի եւ արդարասցի:

And "interrogatively" is this: "Where are you?"[79] That is, in what sin and what kind of place? So that he will confess and say the reason. And he said, "I heard the sound of you . . . and I was afraid, because I was naked and I hid myself."[80] Now behold the fruits of the sin: the fear and hiding and nakedness. For every sin produces these three fruits: fear of punishment, shame for committing sin, and nakedness is deprivation of God's grace. Adam demonstrated this in himself. And God said, "Who told you that you are naked?"[81] On the day on which I created you, you were not naked, and when you gave names to animals, you were not naked; now why did you become naked? Who told you of your nakedness, as if you were ignorant?" Then he says, "Have you eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded you not to eat?"[82] He speaks hypothetically[83] so that (Adam) might himself confess with his own mouth and be justified himself.

49 324–25 Այլ նա յանդուգն ետ պատասխանի. «կինս զոր ետուր ցիս՝ սա ետ եւ կերի ասէ.» տե՛ս զյանդգնութիւնն. զպատճառն յԱստուած եհան եւ ի կինն. վասն որոյ ոչ ընկալաւ զթողութիւն. մի վասն մեղացն. եւ միւսն վասն յանդգնութեանն. զի Աստուած զլիրբն առաւել ատէ քան զյանցաւորն եւ զմեղաւորն:

And he replied audaciously, "This woman whom you gave to me, she gave and I did eat of it," he said.[84] Behold the audacity! He accused God and the woman, on account of which he did not receive forgiveness, both for the sin and for audacity, because God hates the impertinent more than the transgressor and the sinful.

50 Եւ ցըկինն ասէ. «ընդէ՞ր գործեցեր զայդ.» իբր թէ յինչ միտս ախտացար. եւ զի՞նչ կամօք կերեր. զի նա ասասցէ զպատճառն. ցուցանէ բանս թէ, թէպէտ գործն մին լինի, երկու գործակիցքն պարտին որք խոստովանին. վասն այն որիշ որիշ հարցանէր: Եւ նա ասաց. «օձն խաբեաց զիս:» Տես՝ զկէս մեղացն ասաց եւ զկէսն ծածկեաց. այսինքն, զաստուածանալոյ պատճառն ոչ ասաց. վասն այն մեղքն ոչ թողաւ: Այլեւ ոչ զկէսն ասաց ուղիղ. զի ասաց՝ «օձն խաբեաց զիս.» օձն մեծ ոք չէր քան զնա. եւ ոչ ընկեր նորա. այլ ընդ ձեռամբ ի ներքոյ նորա.

79. Gen 3:9.
80. Gen 3:10.
81. Gen 3:11.
82. Gen 3:11.
83. Literally: puts the words supposedly.
84. Gen 3:12.

զի հարկն եւ բռնութիւնն մեծին է. եւ խաբելն հաւասարին. եւ աղաչելն ներքնագունին: Այլ արդ՝ օձն զնա ոչ աղաչեաց. եւ ոչ բռնադատեաց. եւ ոչ խաբեաց. ընկեր եւ հաւասար չէր նմա. վասն է՞ր խաբեցաւ. յաղագս որոյ մեղքն ոչ թողաւ:

And he says to the woman, "Why did you do that?"[85] That is, for what intention did you grow corrupt and with what desire did you eat? so that she might tell the cause. This word shows that although the deed is one, the two cooperators are liable, who confess. That is why he asked separately. And she said, "The serpent beguiled me."[86] Behold, she told about half of the sin, and she concealed half, namely, she did not mention the cause (the wish) of becoming god(s), that is why the sin was not forgiven. She did not even say the half honestly, for she said, "The serpent beguiled me." The serpent was not someone grander than she, nor was he her friend, but one in her power, beneath her. For compulsion and force belong to a greater (one), and deceit, to an equal, and begging, to a humbler (one). But now, the serpent did not beg her and did not force, and did not deceive: he was not equal, and friend of hers. Why was she deceived, on what account was the sin not forgiven?

51 324–25 Այլ որ զօձն ոչ եհարց՝ էր վասն երեք պատճառի: Նախզի՝ անարժան էր ընդ նմա խօսիլ. որ զպատկերն իւր զմարդն ընկեց ի փառաց: Երկրորդ՝ զի բան եւ խօսք չունէր օձն զի՞նչ տայր պատասխանի: Երրորդ՝ թէ հարցեալ էր, նա օձն ցուցանելոց էր զբանսարկուն. եւ թէ յայնժամ պատժէր զնա ի հուր գեհենին, նա բազում բարութիւն մարդկան կորնչելոց էր. եւ այն զի փորձութեամբն սատանայ բազմաց պսակաց առիթ եղեւ: Այլեւ ոչ եթող զնա անպատիժ. այլ օձին միջնորդութեամբ՝ եւ զսատանայ պատժեաց որ իմանալի օձն է: Արդ՝ չորս են սոքա. այսինքն, սատանայ օձն Եւա եւ Ադամ. այսպէս ի մեզ. Ադամ է միտքն. Եւա զգայարանքըն. օձ ցանկութիւն. սատանայ նոյն շարժօղ ցանկութեանն. եւ ապա զմեղսն / գործեմք: Դարձեալ ի գործ մեղացն՝ է չորս աստիճան. այսինքն է, յիշեցումն սատանայի. հեշտութիւն խորհրդոց մերոց. եւ հաւանութիւն կամացն. եւ ապա գործ մեղացն: Դարձեալ շարժումն բնական ցանկութեանն մերոյ՝ է յիշեցումն օձի. եւ հեշտութիւն ներքին մասին բանականին. որ խառնեալ է ընդ զգայութիւնս եւ հեշտանայ որպէս զԵւա. եւ հաւանումն վերին մասին որպէս զԱդամ. եւ ապա գործի մեղքն այս չորս աստիճանաւ:

And that (God) did not ask the serpent, was for three reasons. First, it was not suitable (for Him) to speak with one who cast his image, man, down from the glory. Second, since the serpent did not have reason and speech; what would he answer? Third, if he had asked, behold, the serpent would point at the

85. Gen 3:13.
86. Gen 3:13.

Devil, and if (God) then punished him in the fire of Gehenna, behold, a great deal of human goodness would perish; and that since[87] Satan, by the temptation, became the cause of many crowns.[88] Moreover, (God) did not leave him unpunished, but through the mediation of the serpent he also punished Satan, who is the intelligent serpent. Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve, and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. Besides, there are four grades of sinful deeds, namely, the prompt of Satan, the lasciviousness of our thoughts, the consent of the will, and then sinful deed. Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades.

52 Եւ ապա յետ մեղացն գործելոյ՝ պատճառեն մի զմի. աշխարհականն զքահանայն. փոքրն զմեծն. այր զկինն: Եւ որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւա որք պատճառեցին՝ զմիմեանս, ոչ արդարացան. նոյնպէս եւ որք պատճառեն զմեղս՝ ոչ արդարանան. ըստ այնմ, «ի պատճառել զպատճառս մեղաց ընդ մարդս.» այլ իւրաքանչիւր ոք զպատիժն իւր՝ կրէ, որ է գործունեայ մեղացն: Որպէս յայնժամ պատժեցաւ նախ օձն՝ զի նախ մեղանչեաց՝ նա. ասացաւ նմա. «անիծեալ լիցիս յամենայն կենդանեաց.» ա՛յն է՝ զի ամենայն կենդանիք սպանանեն զնա. «ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քում գնասցես.» զի ոտն եղեր թշնամւոյն: «եւ հող կերիցես.» զի հողացուցեր զմարդն: «Եւ եդից թշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ կնոջդ.» զի մարդն ընդ Աստուած թշնամի արարեր: «Եւ նա սպանեսցէ քում գլխոյդ.» զի ըզմարդն սպանանել ջանացեր որ գլուխ է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Եւ դու ի ներքոյ գարշապարի՝ ոտին նորա կոխան լիցիս. եւ այս ամենայն նշանս որք կան ի յօձն՝ ի յանիծիցն եղեւ: Զի զսուտն ընդ ճշմարիտն խառնեաց. վասն որոյ երկճղի եղեւ լեզուն. եւ զմարդն մերկացոյց՝ ինքն մերկանայ յիւր խորխէն. եւ ընդ մարդոյն նախանձ եբեր՝ ինքն սողի ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնին. եւ այլն նոյնպէս: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, օձն անբան կենդանի էր. վասն է՞ր՝ այսպէս դատապարտեաց Աստուած: Ասեմք. թէպէտ ինքն անբան էր՝ այլ գործի եւ ընդունօղ եղեւ չարին. որպէս պիղծ կենդանի որ անկանի ի սուրբ անօթ եւ պղծէ զնա: Եւ որպէս օրէնքն հրամայեաց սպանանել զանասունն յոր մարդն մտաբերէր. նոյնպէս եւ առ ջրհեղեղաւն, եւ առ սոդոմայեցւովքն, անասունքն եւս պատժեցան . . .

And then after committing the sin, they accuse each other: the layman (accuses) the priest, the small (accuses) the great, the man (accuses) the woman. And as Adam and Eve who accused each other were not justified,

87. Literally: and that.
88. I.e., of those who resist temptations.

likewise those who accuse (others) of sin are not justified, according to that (verse), "In the accusation of the causes of sin against men,"[89] but everyone who commits sins suffers his own punishment. As then the serpent was punished first, since he sinned first it was said to him, "cursed are you more than[90] all animals,"[91] that is, that all animals kill him;[92] "you shall go on your chest and belly"[93] for you were the feet of the Enemy.[94] And "dust shall you eat"[95] for you turned the man into dust. "And I shall put enmity between you and the woman,"[96] for you made the man enemy to God; and "he shall kill your head,"[97] for you tried to kill the man who is the head of all animals. And you will be trodden under the heel of his foot. And all these signs that are on the serpent, came into being because of the curse. Since he mixed the lie with the truth, that is why his tongue became forked; and he stripped man naked (so) he himself is stripped of his skin; and he bore envy of the man, (so) he himself creeps upon his breast and belly; and likewise other things. And if one should say, "The serpent was a dumb[98] animal, (so) why did God condemn him so?," we say that although he himself was irrational (dumb), yet he became as an instrument and recipient of the Evil One, like an impure animal that falls into a pure vessel and pollutes it. And as the law ordered to kill the animal of which the man thought, likewise at the time of the flood and at the time of the the Sodomites animals were (also) punished. . . .

53 324–25 Իսկ զօձն պատժեաց Աստուած վասն երկու պատճառի: Նախզի՝ ընդունակ եղեւ չարին եւ գործի. եւ երկրորդ՝ զի առաւել նման է օձն մեղաց. զի ի գնալն հինգ ման առնու. որ նշանակէ զհինգ զգայարանս մեր. երկու աչքն. եւ երկու ականջն. եւ մին լեզուն. որովք խօսին եւ լսեն եւ տեսանեն զմիմեանս այր եւ կին, եւ գործեն զմեղս նման օձին. վասն որոյ յիրաւի անէծ զօձն:

So God punished the serpent for two reasons. First, because it became the recipient and instrument of the Evil One. Second, because the serpent is very much like the sin, for while going it makes five circular motions, which symbolize our five senses: two eyes, two ears, and one tongue, by which a

89. Ps 141:4 = Arm. Ps 140:4.

90. Or: by.

91. Gen 3:14.

92. Taking the Armenian ablative not as partitive but as agentive.

93. Gen 3:14.

94. See Appendix.

95. Gen 3:15.

96. Gen 3:15.

97. Gen 3:15. The biblical verse has սպասեսցէ ("will await"); so also Zeyt'unyan's critical edition (1985). Grigor Tat'ewac'i either has a variant text or has adapted the biblical formulation to his needs.

98. Or: irrational.

man and a woman speak and hear and see each other, and they sin like the serpent, for which He justly cursed the serpent.

54 Իսկ Եւայի ասաց «բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից զտրտմութիւն քո եւ զհեծութիւնս.» միայն զի ըստ ինքեան մարդկային բնութիւնս այլայլոտ է եւ ցաւոտ. յորժամ Աստուած եւս բազմացուցանէ՝ ո՞ կարէ զաղէտն պատմել: Եւ այս է պատճառն. զի որքան օրս յաւելու՝ այնքան եւ ցաւս մեր բազմանայ: Եւ դարձեալ որքան յերկարի ժամանակս՝ մաշի երկիր եւ ի ծերութիւն երթայ եւ տկարանայ. որպէս ծեր մարդոյն զօրութիւն պակասի եւ ցաւն յաւելու: Եւ դարձեալ՝ որքան մերձիմք ի կատարած, այնքան մերձենամք ի ցաւս դժոխոցն. որպէս յերեկոյն սակաւ սակաւ առաւելու խաւարն եւ ցուրտն: «Տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդի.» այլ զինչ տրտմութիւն. զի մահկանացու զաւակ ծընանի. եւ բազում զաւակք առաջի մարց մեռանին. եւ այրեն եւ խռովեն զաղիս մօրն. թող զտրտմութիւն երկանցն որ կրկին մահ է. եւ առաւել քան զծնունդըն անասնոց. զի նոքա ի բնութիւնս իւրեանց կացին. իսկ մարդն եթող՝ վասն այն ցաւն եւ երկն առաւել է ի մեզ: «Եւ առ այր քո դարձ քո.» զայս պատիժս կրեն ամենայն կանայք. որք փորձեն զերկն եւ զցաւս ծննդեան. եւ դարձեալ դառնան յամուսնութիւն: «Եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ.» զի կամեցար տէր լինիլ Ադամայ. եւ Աստուած որդիս ծնանիլ. վասն այնորիկ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մարդոյն լինիս: Ուստի յայտ է՝ զի կնոջ / վկայութիւն չէ ընդունելի. եւ ոչ լինի դատաւոր. եւ ոչ իշխան գեղի, կամ քաղաքի: Եւ ոչ այլ ինչ աստիճան կարէ առնուլ. սարկաւագութեան, քահանայութեան, եւ այլն. Զի ընդ հնազանդութեամբ է մարդոյն եւ ոտք նորա. այս էր պատիժ կնոջն:

And to Eve he said, “I will greatly multiply your pain and your lamentation,”[99] only that this human nature according to itself is changeable and suffering; when God multiplies (the pain) further, who can relate the misfortune? And this is the reason that as much as He increases the days, to the same extent our pain multiplies. And besides, as much as the time lasts, (to the same extent) the earth is wasted away and ages and weakens, just as an old man’s vigor lessens and his pain grows. And besides, as much as we approach the end, to that extent we come closer to the pains of hell; just as in the evening, darkness and cold increase little by little. “In distress you shall bear children.”[100] But which distress is it? For the child is born mortal, and many children die before (their) mothers and they burn and confuse the mother’s innards, not to speak of the distress of birth pangs, which is a double death and more than the parturition of animals. For they remained within their nature, while man abandoned (this); for that reason, pain and labor are more in us. “And your

99. Gen 3:16.
100. Gen 3:16.

return shall be to your husband."[101] All women suffer this punishment, who experience labor and the pains of birth and again return to marriage. "And he shall rule over you."[102] For you wished to be lord over Adam and to bear God sons. On account of that you are under the authority of the man. Hence it is evident that a woman's testimony is not acceptable, and she does not become a judge, or a ruler of a village or a town. And she cannot receive any other rank, of diaconate, of priesthood, etc. For she is under obedience to the man and (is) his foot. This was the woman's punishment.

55 Իսկ Ադամայ ասաց «անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո. զի լուար ձայնի կնոջդ.» վասն այն ընդ կնոջդ՝ զանիծից երկիր ժառանգեա. զի թէ ինձ էիր լըւեալ՝ զդրախտդ ժառանգէիր. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցի քեզ.» զի խոցեսցէ եւ ցաւեցուսցէ զքեզ: «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես ըզհաց քո.» փոխանակ անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: «Մինչեւ դարձցիս ի հող.» այս է մահու մեռանիլն որ ասաց. «յաւուր յորում ուտիցես ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիս:» Այս է՝ որ հոգիդ ի մարմնոյդ բաժանի. եւ մարմինդ լուծանի ի տարերս. եւ հոգիդ յաներեւոյթ տանջանսն. եւ կամ մահու մեռանիս. այսինքն թէ, գոյ անձնաւոր մահ որ է սատանայ՝ նովաւ մեռանիս: Եւ դարձեալ ընդ անասնոց մահուն մեռանիս. կամ թէ մահու մեռանիլն՝ զառաւելն նշանակէ. որպէս ասեմք կենաց կեանք. որ է արդարութիւն եւ սրբութիւն . . .

And he said to Adam, "Cursed will be the ground in your deeds, for you listened to the voice of your wife."[103] On account of that, inherit the earth of curses together with your wife. If you had listened to me, you would have inherited the Garden. "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for you"[104] in order to wound and afflict you. "By the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread"[105] instead of the labor-less delight of the Garden. "Till you return unto the dust";[106] this is dying,[107] of which he said, "in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die."[108] This (mean)s that your soul is separated from your body, and the body is dissolved into elements, and the soul into invisible suffering. Or, "you shall surely die,"[109] that is, there exists personified death, which is Satan; through him you will die. And again, you will die by animals' death. Or "dying by death" means the increase of the same, as we say "life of life," which is justice and holiness. . . .

101. Gen 3:16.
102. Gen 3:16.
103. Or: the woman; Gen 3:17.
104. Gen 3:18.
105. Gen 3:19.
106. Gen 3:19.
107. Literally: die by death.
108. Gen 2:17. Literally: die by death.
109. Literally: die by death.

494–95 Քարոզ վասն մեծի երկու շաբաթի եւ աւագ շաբաթի. Մատ. 21:18 (Գլուխ ՃԹ)

Sermon concerning Great Monday and Easter Saturday. Matt 21:18 (Chapter 109)

56 Բեր նախ զառաջինն տեսցուք թէ զի՞նչ էր՝ որ շաբաթս այս [աւագ շաբաթն] ունի զխորհուրդ առաջին շաբաթուն. յորում ամենայն արարածք գոյացան: Արդ երեկեան օրն արմաւենեաց՝ որ կիրակէ էր, նշանակէ զառաջին օր արարչութեանն որ կիրակէ էր. եւ ասաց Աստուած «եղիցի լոյս:» Յորժամ արար զհրեղէն երկինս, եւ զբնակիչս նորա զհրեղինաց դասս. եւ չորս տարերք՝ յայնմ աւուր գոյացան:

Let us first see, what did it (mean) that this week (Holy Week) contains the mystery of the first week during which all creations came into existence. Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolizes the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, "Let there be light."[110] When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks, the four elements came into existence on that day.

57 Իսկ մեծի երկու շաբթի օրն՝ ցուցանէ զերկրորդ օր արարչութեանն. յորում արար Աստուած զհաստատութիւն. զոր եւ հինգերորդ տարր ասացին իմաստունք զատեալ ի չորիցս. եւ անապական էութիւն: Եւ զջրեղէն կամարն բարձրացոյց ի վերայ հաստատութեանն. եւ զհաստատութիւն անջրպետ. վերին եւ ներքին ջրոյն բաժանեալ ի միմեանց: Եւ այս վասն կրկին պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի թեթեւասցին ջուրք յերեսաց երկրի. եւ երեւեսցի ցամաքն: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի զովացուսցէ զջերմութիւն երկնից եւ զլուսաւորացն եւ զհրեղէն տարերցն: Վասն այսորիկ զ'ի սկզբանէ արարածոց աշխարհի զգիրս ընթեռնումք յառաջնումն աւուր շաբաթուս: Որպէս զվերնագիր գրոց ընթերցեալ՝ զպատճառ գրոցն իմանամք. նոյնպէս այսօր զգիրս արարածոց ընթերցեալ՝ իմանամք զբոլոր շաբաթս պատկեր գոլ արարչութեան մեծի շաբաթուն:

And the Holy Monday symbolizes the second day of the creation, on which God made the firmament that sages have called the fifth element, separating it from the (other) four, and (it is) an incorruptible substance. And he raised up the watery vault above the firmament, and the firmament, a barrier separating the upper and lower waters from one another. And this was for two reasons. First, so that the waters might be lightened from the face of the earth and the dry land appear. And second, to cool the heat of the heavens and of the luminaries and of the fiery elements. This is why we read "In the beginning" from the Book of Genesis on the first day of this week. As if,

110. Gen 1:3.

having read the title of a book, we learn about the subject[111] of the book, likewise having read today the Book of Genesis, we learn that this whole week is the image of the great week of the creation.

58 Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նախ թէ՝ ընդէ՞ր ի տարին երեք անգամ ընթեռնումք ի սկզբանէ գիրսն: Մին այսօր [մեծն երկուշաբթի]. զի ցուցանէ թէ, շաբաթս այս՝ է, առաջին շաբաթն. աւուրք արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ: Մին ի ծննդեան օրն: Նախզի ցուցցէ, թէ որ ի սկզբանն զնախամայրն Եւա դատապարտեաց «տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի:» Նոյն Տէրն եկեալ ծնանի ի սուրբ կուսէն, եւ զդատակնիք անիծիցն բառնայ: Երկրորդ՝ զի Ադամ կոչեաց զկինն «մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է աստուածածին կոյսն. զի նա եղեւ մայր կենդանութեան ամենեցուն. որպէս ասաց Քրիստոս. «ես եմ ճանապարհ եւ ճշմարտութիւն եւ կեանք:» Իսկ ի զատկին ընթեռնումք: Նախզի՝ ցուցցէ, թէ արարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի՝ որ արար զԱդամ ի պատկերն իւր, եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին, եւ վասն յանցանացն արտաքս ընկեցաւ, նոյն արարիչն է որ այսօր վերստին նորոգէ զԱդամ, եւ ի դրախտն մուծանէ: Երկրորդ՝ զի զԱդամ անիծիւք դատապարտեաց. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցի ի քեզ. եւ դարձցիս ի հող:» Ինքն եկն եւ զչարչարանս նորա յանձն էառ. զփուշն ի գլուխն եդեալ. եւ ի հող գերեզմանի մտեալ. եւ այնպէս զԱդամ ազատեալ: Յայս միտս ընթեռնումք զարարչութեան գիրս յայս Գ օր տարւոյն:

And here there are two questions: first, why do we read the book “In the Beginning” thrice a year? Once today (Holy Monday) because it shows that this week is the first week, the days of God’s creation. Once on the day of Nativity: first, to show that He who in the beginning condemned the foremother Eve, “in pain shall you bring forth children,”[112] the same Lord, having come, is born of the Holy Virgin and abolishes the condemnation of the curse.[113] Second, because Adam called his wife “the mother of all living,”[114] who is the Virgin Mother of God, for she was the mother of everybody’s life, just as Christ said, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life.”[115] And we read[116] on Easter: first, to show that the Creator of heaven and earth, who made Adam in his image and put him in the Garden—and (Adam) was cast out on account of his transgression—is the same Creator that today again renews Adam and introduces (him) into the Garden. Second, since he condemned Adam with the curse, “Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for

111. Literally: cause.

112. Gen 3:16.

113. Cf. Col 2:14 դատակնիք is used in some texts when ձեռագիր may be expected: see Stone 2002, 105.

114. Gen 3:20.

115. John 14:6.

116. I.e., “in the beginning” from Genesis.

you; and you shall return to the dust."[117] He Himself came and took his [118] sufferings upon Himself, putting the thorns on His head and entering the dust of the tomb, and thus freeing Adam. In this sense we do read the book of creation on these three days of the year.

59 Իսկ երկրորդ հարցումն, թէ վասն է՞ր գիրքս այս ծնունդ կոչի եւ արարած: Ասեն վարդապետք թէ՝ վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախզի՝ առ ինչք են սոքա. ծնունդն զծնօղն ցուցանէ. եւ արարածն զարարիչն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ծնունդք եմք կամացն Աստուծոյ, եւ արարածք բանին: Երրորդ՝ զի յորժամ արարած լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես օտար ի նմանէ զեղեալսս. կոչէ ծնունդ: Եւ յորժամ ծնունդ լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես յէութենէն Աստուծոյ զեղեալսս. ի վերայ բերէ արարած: Չորրորդ՝ զի նախ ծընանիմք ի բարի կամսն Աստուծոյ յառաջ գիտութեամբ նորին. եւ ապա գոյանամք արդեամբք եւ գոյացութեամբք ըստ իւրաքանչիւր տեսակաց: Հինգերրորդ՝ զի եւ Քրիստոս որ եղեւ երկրորդ կըտակ եւ օրէնք մեզ՝ կոչի ծնունդ եւ արարած. ծնունդ՝ զի ի բնութենէն է հօր յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս ծնեալ. եւ արարած եղեւ՝ այսինքն ի մարդկային բնութիւնս խառնեալ եւ միաւորեալ:

And the second question: why is this book called Genesis[119] and Creation (or: creature)? The doctors say, for five reasons. First, because they are related: the offspring reveals the father, and the creature (reveals) the Creator. Second, because we are offspring of God's will and creatures of the Word. Third, when you hear "creature," do not regard these beings as alien to Him: He calls (them) "offspring." And when you hear "offspring," do not regard these beings as of God's substance: above[120] it puts "creature." Fourth, because first we are born in God's good will, through his foreknowledge, and then we really come into existence as result and substance, each according to the various species. Fifth, because Christ too, who was a second testament and law for us, is called offspring and creature. Offspring, for he had been born of the Father's nature before eternity, and he became a creature, that is to say, mixed and united with this human nature.

60 Իսկ մեծի երեք շաբաթի օրն՝ ունի զխորհուրդ երրորդ աւուր արարչութեանն. յորում բոյսքն եւ տունկք բղխեցան եւ զարդարեցին զերկիր: Այլեւ լինելութիւն դրախտին ի նմին աւուր եղեւ . . . Զի որպէս զբոյսս եւ ըզտունկս վասն անասնոց յառաջագոյն պատրաստեաց Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ զդրախտն ի վայելչութիւն մարդոյ յառաջագոյն արար եւ ելից բարութեամբ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի մարդն՝ ոչ լիցի սին

117. Gen 3:18.
118. I.e., Adam's.
119. Literally: birth, offspring.
120. I.e., in the book's title.

եւ աղքատ սրտիւ եւ աչօք. այլ լի եւ առատ ամենայն բարութեամբ տեսանիցէ զամենայն:

And the Holy Tuesday holds the mystery of the third day of the creation, on which plants and trees sprang up and adorned the earth. Also the coming into being of the Garden took place on the same day. . . . As God prepared the plants and trees in advance for the sake of the animals, likewise he made the Garden in advance for the enjoyment of man and filled (it) with goodness, so that when man would appear, he would not be destitute and poor of heart and eyes but would see everything full of and abounding with all goodness.

61 Իսկ մեծի չորեքշաբաթի օրն՝ ունի ըզխորհուրդ յորում լուսաւորք արարան եւ եդան յերկինս. / այսինքն, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղք: Զի յառաջին երեք աւուրսն՝ անմարմին լոյսն սփռիւր եւ տարածիւր եւ լուսաւորէր մինչեւ ցերեկոյ. եւ ի գիշերի ժողովիւր ի վերայ դրախտին, եւ ծածկէր ըզլոյսն: Եւ այս երեք աւուր լոյսս՝ էր օրինակ անըստուեր լուսոյ սրբոյ երրորդութեանն. զի միշտ լուսաւորէ զերկինս եւ ըզսուրբս իւր. իսկ յերկրէ եւ մեղաւորաց՝ երբեմն ծածկի եւ հեռանայ . . . Եւ այսպէս ի յօդոյ աման կազմեալ լուսաւորացն, էարկ զլոյսն ի ներքս. զառաւել պայծառն յարեգակն. եւ զայլ նուազս ի լուսին եւ յաստեղս. եւ եդ զնոսա ի հաստատութեան: Նախզի՝ լուսատու լիցին ի վերա երկրի: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի վեր տեսցուք աչօք. եւ մտօք «զվերինն խորհեսցուք, ուր Քրիստոս նըստի ընդ աջմէ Աստուծոյ որպէս ասէ առաքեալն:» Երրորդ՝ զի տեսցուք եւ իմասցուք թէ, արտաքին սրահին երկնից այսպէս զարդարուն է. քանի՞ առաւել ներքին կողմն սրբութեան իմանալեացն դասուց: Չորրորդ՝ զի ի միտ ածցուք զառաջին փառսն մեր, եւ ցանկասցուք. եւ մի որպէս զանասուն յերկիր կորասցուք:

And the day of Holy Wednesday holds the mystery (of the day) on which the luminaries were made and put in the heavens, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars. For during the first three days bodiless light was diffused and spread and shone until the evening, and in the night (it) was gathered above the Garden, and it (the Garden)[121] concealed the light. And this light of three days was the type of the unshadowed light of the Holy Trinity, for it always illuminates the heavens and His saints. Yet sometimes it is hidden and is distant from the earth and from the sinful. . . . And thus forming from the air a vessel for the luminaries, he cast the light inside: the more brilliant into the sun and the other, lesser (light) into the moon and the stars. And He put them in the firmament. First, so that they might give light upon the earth. Second, so that we could see above with (our) eyes and mind, "Consider the things that are above, where Christ is seated on the right hand of God" as

121. Or: God.

the Apostle says.[122] Third, so that we might see and learn how the exterior chamber of heaven is decorated thus, so how much greater is the inner side of the holiness of the intelligible ranks! Fourth, so that we might recall our former glory and desire (it) and not bend down to the earth like animals.

62 Իսկ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն գոյացոյց Աստուած զլօղակս եւ զթռչունս ի ջրոց. եւ ելից զօդս եւ զջուրս նոքօք. զի որպէս զերկիր բուսօք եւ տնկօք զարդարեաց, եւ զերկինս աստեղօք եւ լուսաւորօք, նոյնպէս զօդս եւ զջուրս լօղակօք եւ թռչնօք զարդարեաց: Եւ որպէս լօղակք ի ջուրս խաղան. նոյնպէս եւ թռչունք յօդս լօղան. վասն որոյ ի ջրոց եղեն, եւ ազգակից են միմեանց:

But on the fifth day God brought into existence the swimming creatures and the birds from the waters, and filled the air and the waters with them. For just as he adorned the earth with the sprouts and plants, and the heavens with stars and luminaries, in the same fashion he adorned the air and waters with swimming creatures and birds. And just as the fish play in the waters, in the same way the birds swim in the air, on which account they came into being from the waters and are related to each other.

63 Այլ ի վեցերորդ աւուր ուրբաթու՝ արար Աստուած զցամաքային կենդանիս. զանասունս եւ զգազանս եւ զսողունս: Եւ սողուն կոչին՝ կամ սողալով՝ գնան, կամ սղացեալ են ոտիւք, կամ զի սուղ են ձայնիւ: Իսկ անասուն՝ զի անխօսուն են. կամ զի անսնունդ են եւ անընտել: Իսկ գազան՝ կամ զի գեզօղ են եւ պատառօղ. կամ զանազան եւ պէսպէս կերպարանս ունին: Իսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի հողոյ. եւ զկինն ի կողէ նորա. «եւ եդ զնոսա ի դրախտին գործել եւ պահել:» Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նա՞խ թէ, յորժամ մարդն պատկեր Աստուծոյ է, որպէս ասէ գիրն, վասն է՞ր զնա ի հողոյ ստեղծ: Ասեմք եթէ մարդն պատկեր է Աստուծոյ ի հոգւոյ կողմանէ. իսկ զմարմինն ի հողոյ ստեղծ եւ խառնեաց ընդ նմա: Նախ վասն խոնարհութեան. զի հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ. որպէս Աբրահամ ասէր. «ես հող եմ եւ մոխիր:» Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսանելով ի մեզ հպարտասցուք, ըզհողն տեսանելով խոնարհեսցուք.՝ որպէս ասէ մարգարէն. «խոնարհութիւն քո՝ է՛ ի միջի քում:» Երկրորդ՝ ի հողոյ ստեղծ զմարդն՝ ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի, յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառս մտանէր յորմէ նա որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ: Երրորդ՝ հող ի յերկրէ առեալ. զի երկիւղալից է մարմինս մեր. վասն այն կոչի հող եւ երկիր. որպէս ասէ առաքեալն. . . . Զի որքան ի մարմնի եմք, պարտ է՝ երկնչիլ միշտ ի պատժոյ եւ ի գլորիլոյ ի մահու եւ յայլոցն: Չորրորդ՝ զի մայր մեր հողն է. եւ սեղան եւ տեղիք եւ գերեզման. թէպէտ եւ այլ տարերքն մեր ազգական են, այլ մեք իբր ի մօրէ ծնանիմք ի հողոյ. եւ ի նմա պահիմք

122. Col 3:1.

եւ թաղիմք, եւ ի նմանէ դարձեալ յառնեմք: Երկրորդ հարցումն է՝ թէ վասն էր պատուականս այս մարդ յետոյ ստեղծաւ քան զամենայն արարածս: Ասեմք՝ թէպէտ մարդն յետոյ ստեղծաւ, պատուական է քան զամենայն երեւելի արարածս:

Now on the sixth day, on Friday, God made the terrestrial animals; the cattle, and the beasts and the creeping things. And they are called creeping things either because they move by creeping, or because their feet have been shortened, or because they have weak voice.[123] Then cattle, since they do not speak, or since they are not docile and wild.[124] And beasts, either because they are pulling about and tearing, or (because) they have various and frightening appearance.[125] And after all these creations God made the man of the dust and the woman from his rib, "and put them into the Garden to work (it) and to keep (it)."[126] And here is a double question. First, if man is the image of God, as Scripture says, why did He create him of the dust? We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with it. First, on account of humility, for the dust symbolizes humility, as Abraham said, "I who am dust and ashes."[127] So that if, in seeing the image of God in us, we will become proud and in seeing the dust we become humble, as the prophet says: "your humbleness is in yourself."[128] Second, He created man of the dust to dishonor Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, fell. Third, having taken dust of the earth, because our body is timorous, and because that it is called dust and earth,[129] as the Apostle says. . . . For as long as we are in the body, it is necessary to be always afraid of punishment and of being destroyed by death and of other things. Fourth, because dust is our mother, and table, and place, and tomb. Although other elements too are our relatives, we are born of the earth as of a mother, and we are preserved and buried in it and we rise again from it. The second question is why was this honorable man created after all the creatures? We say, although man was created later, he is more honorable than all the visible creations.

64 494–95 Նախ զի՝ Աստուած զմարդն իշխան եւ թագաւոր ստեղծ ամենայն արարածոց. նախ պարտ էր զարքունիսն պատրաստել.

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123. There are three wordplays in the text here, between սողուն ("creeping things"), սողալուն ("creeping"), սղացեալ ("shortened"), and սուղ ("weak of voice"). Similar wordplays affect "cattle" and "beasts."

124. The word անասուն ("cattle") etymologically means "unspeaking, dumb."

125. Another, less convincing, etymology.

126. Gen 2:15.

127. Gen 18:27.

128. Cf. Arm Prov 16:3.

129. Wordplay in Armenian of հող ("dust") and երկիր ("earth"), which are associated with երկիւղալից ("timorous").

որպէս զերկինս եւ զերկիր. եւ զգահոյս որ է դրախտն. եւ զսպասաւորսն որք են կենդանիք: Եւ զմեծութիւնս բուսոց եւ տնկոց՝ արծաթ եւ ոսկի. եւ ապա թագաւորին բնակիլ: Երկրորդ՝ զի մի իցէ նեղասիրտ եւ տառ բարուքն տեսեալ զինքն ի չքաւորութեան ստեղծեալ. Այլ տեսցէ զամենայն կատարեալ՝ զի արձակ եւ առատ բարուք սնանիցի եւ վայելեսցէ: Երրորդ՝ զի ի սկիզբն ստեղծման արարածոց՝ եղեն իմանալի բանականքն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացեալ որպէս ասացաւ: Եւ ի վախճանի՝ եղեւ զգալի բանականն իբր մատնէիար եւ կնիք արարածոց որ /496/ ունի զիմացումն եւ զզգացումն: Զի իմաստութեամբն ծանիցէ զիմաստութիւն արարչին. եւ զգայարանօքն՝ զգայցէ զամենակարող զօրութիւն նորա: «Զի աներեւոյթն Աստուծոյ՝ երեւելի արարածովքս իմացեալ տեսանի:» Չորրորդ՝ մէջ եւ կապ ամենայն գոյիցս՝ մարդն է կազմեալ. զի ամենայն արարածք յերկու դէմս որոշին. այսինքն՝ մինն իմանալի, եւ մինն զգալի: Եւ սոքա եղեն յառաջագոյն. վասն որոյ մարդն ըստեղծաւ յերկուցն խառնեալ յիմանալւոյն եւ ի զգալւոյն ի մի էութիւն, զի իցէ միաւորիչ եւ կապ իմն բոլոր արարածոց: Եւ յայսմանէ ցուցանի, թէ մի է արարիչ բոլոր ամենայն գոյիցս: Եւ միջակ գոլով ըստ էութեանն՝ եւ զմիջակ վայրս դրախտին ընկալաւ, զմիջին կշիռ մահու եւ կենաց ունելով: Զի թէ զաստուածային նմանութիւնն յինքեան բերիցէ, փոխեսցի յանմահ կեանս երկնից. եւ թէ ընդ մարմնոյն շեղեսցի, ի մահ դատապարտիցի. եւ անկցի ի մարմնաւոր տեղիս. որպէս եւ եղեւն իսկ: Որ յանցանօքն զմահ ճաշակեաց. եւ ի հող դատապարտեցաւ: Այս ամենայն յաւուր ուրբաթու եղեւ. վասն այն կոչի ուրբաթ, այսինքն՝ բօթ եւ գուժ մահու. որ յայնմ աւուր հանդիպեցաւ մարդոյն:

First, because God created man as ruler and king of all creations. It was necessary first to prepare courtiers, such as the heavens and the earth, and the throne which is the Garden, and the servants that are the animals, and the magnificence of the shoots and plants—silver and gold, and then for the king to dwell (there). Second, so that he would not be narrow-hearted and mean in conduct, seeing himself created in poverty. But let him see everything perfect, so that (he) would be nourished and enjoy (it) with free and rich conduct. Third, because in the beginning of the creation of the creatures, the intelligible rational (beings) came into existence with the light, as has been said. And in the end, the sensible rational one came into being as signet-ring and seal of creation, who has intellect and senses. So that by his intellect he might apprehend the wisdom of the Creator and with his senses he could feel His omnipotent power "for the invisibility of God, having been apprehended, is seen through visible creatures."[130] Fourth, man is formed as an intermediary and link between all beings, for all the creations are divided into aspects, namely, one intelligible and the other sensible. And these came

130. Cf. Col 1:15–16.

into being first. That is why man was created as a mixture of the two, intelligible and the sensible, in one nature, so that he would be as if a uniter of and a link between all the creations. By this it is demonstrated that there is one Creator of all beings. And being middle by his nature, he received the middle place of the Garden, holding the middle balance between death and life. So that if he bears in himself the divine likeness, he will be transferred to the immortal life of heaven, and if he goes astray with the body, he will be condemned to death and will fall to this bodily place, as indeed happened. He who tasted death through the transgression was also condemned to dust. All this took place on Friday, that is why it is called Friday, namely, sad news and sorrowful message of the death[131] that happened to the man on that day.

65 Իսկ ի յեօթներորդում աւուր որ է շաբաթն, «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց.» զի շաբաթն հանգիստ լսի։ Նախ զի՝ ի վեց աւուր արար զժամանակաւոր եւ զապականացու աշխարհս. եւ յեօթներորդ օրն՝ սկսաւ զիմանալի աշխարհն. որ սրբոցն է հանգիստ։ Դարձեալ՝ զի հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց ի բարութիւնն՝ զի որպէս Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց հանգուցեալ է. նոյնպէս եւ սուրբքն ի գործոց իւրեանց հանգչին։ Եւ դարձեալ՝ որպէս ի բարին հանգուցեալ է Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ բարի գործքն մեր՝ հանգիստ են Աստուծոյ եւ մեզ։ Զայս նշանակէ ասելն «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց զոր սկսաւ առնել։» Այս՝ վասն առաջին գլխոյն. որ մեծ եւ աւագ շաբաթս այս՝ նշանակէ զշաբաթ վեցօրէից յորում ստեղծան արարածք ամենայն։

And on the seventh day, which is Shabbat, "God rested . . . from all his works"[132] for Shabbat means repose. First, because during six days he made this temporary and corruptible world and on the seventh day he began (to make) the intelligible world, which is the resting place of the saints. Again, because God rested from his work for the good; because as God has rested from his work, likewise the saints rest from their work. And again, as God has rested for the good; likewise our good deeds are repose for God and for us. This is what the saying means, "God rested from his works that he began to make."[133] This is about the first chapter, that this Great and Holy Week symbolizes the week of the hexaëmeron during which all the creatures were created.

131. An Armenian wordplay.
132. Gen 2:2.
133. Gen 2:2.

595 Քարոզ խաչին. Ծնն. 2.9 (Գլուխ ՃԼԶ)
Sermon of the Cross (Gen 2:9) (Chapter 136)

66 Աստուած կրկին անգամ ստեղծեաց ըզմարդկային բնութիւնս։ Առաջինն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հողոյ եւ ի նմանէ ծնունդն ապականեալ եւ ի հող դարձեաւ։ Երկրորդն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հոգւոյն սրբոյ. եւ ի նմանէ ծընունդն սրբեալ եւ հոգիացեալ։ Թմրեցաւ Ադամ, եւ ի կողից նորա շինեցաւ Եւա։ Թմրեցաւ Քրիստոս եւ ննջեաց ի վերայ խաչին. եւ ի բղխմանէ կողիցն նորա՝ շինեցաւ սուրբ եկեղեցի։ «Զդրախտն տընկեաց ընդ արեւելս, եւ եդ անդ զմարդն զոր ստեղծ գործել զնա եւ պահել։» Եւ շինեաց զեկեղեցի դէմ ընդ արեւելս. եւ եդ զհաւատացեալս ի սմա գործել եւ պահել զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ։ Վասն որոյ դրախտ կոչի՝ եկեղեցի Աստուծոյ ի վերայ երկրի։ Փոխանակ զանազան պտղոցն՝ զանազան իմաստութիւն սուրբ գրոց . . . Եւ փոխանակ փայտին գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ հրամանք աստուածային օրինացն. որք բարի են պահողացն. եւ չար անարգողացն։ Եւ փոխանակ ծառոյն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին՝ խաչն սուրբ կանգնեալ ի մէջ եկեղեցւոյ, բերելով մեզ կենաց պտուղ զՔրիստոս . . . Վասն այն ասէ. «Տնկեաց Տէր Աստուած զծառն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին։»

God created this human nature twice. The first Adam was born of dust, and by him birth was corrupted and he (it) returned to dust. The second Adam was born of the Holy Spirit and by him birth was purified and spiritualized. Adam slept deeply and Eve was made (built) of his rib. Christ slept deeply and died[134] upon the cross, and of that which sprang from his ribs the holy church was built. “He planted the garden to the east and put the man whom He made in it to work it and to keep (it).”[135] And he formed the church facing the east, and he put the believers into it to work and to keep God’s commandments. That is why the church of God on the earth is called a garden. In place of the various fruits (is) the various wisdom of the Holy Scriptures. . . . And in place of the tree of knowledge of good and evil are the commandments of the divine law, which are good for those who observe (them) and evil for those who refuse. And in place of the tree of life in the midst of the Garden (is) the holy cross erected in the midst of the church, bringing forth for us the fruit of life, Christ. . . . That is why (Scripture) says: “The Lord God planted the tree of life in the midst of the Garden.”[136]

Text: Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ամառան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Summer Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1741; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

134. Or: fell asleep.
135. Gen 2:8.
136. Following Gen 2:8–9.

Քարոզ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 1.27 (Գլուխ ԽԴ)
Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen 1:27 (Chapter 44)

67 192–94 Արարչագործն Աստուած յորժամ ստեղծեաց զԱդամ, ասէ «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ. այլ արասցուք օգնական ըստ դմա:» Նախ զայն ցուցանէ թէ՝ մարդն է մարդոյ օգնական. զի թէպէտ կային այլ կենդանիք օգնական մարդոյ ի բեռն ի լուծ՝ եւ յայլ պէտս, այլ ի յառաքինութիւն եւ ի սրբութիւն հոգւոյ՝ մարդն է օգնական մարդոյ: Եւ յորդէծնութիւն եւ յայլ շինութիւն տան՝ կինն է օգնական. վասն այն ասէ. «ոչ է բարի մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ:» Եւ դարձեալ՝ Աստուծոյ միայն է բարի միայնակ գոլն. զի անկարօտ եւ անեղ բնութիւն է: Իսկ այլ արարածք՝ եղականք են, եւ կարօտ միմեանց: Որպէս ինն դասք հրեշտակացն՝ են յերկինս փառաբանիչք Աստուծոյ. հազարք հազարաց եւ բիւրք բիւրուց. նոյնպէս ի յաշխարհի՝ բարի է բազմութիւն մարդկան: Նախ՝ զառատ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ ցուցանեն: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի միմեանց օգնական լինին ի շինել՝ ի տնկել՝ ի յարուեստ՝ ի պէտս մարմնոյ՝ եւ յուսումն հոգւոյ, եւ յուրախութիւն միմեանց: Եւ այլ բազում բարիս ի միմեանց գտանեմք. վասն որոյն ասէ: «Ոչ է բարի մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ:»

When God the Creator created Adam, he said, "It is not good for the man to be alone; but I shall make him a helpmeet for him." First, this shows that man is the helper of man, for although there were other animals helping the man for (carrying) burden under the yoke, and for other needs, but for virtue and purity of the soul man helps man. And in childbirth and other (aspects of) the prosperity of the house the woman is a helper. That is why it (i.e., Scriptures) says, "It is not good for the man to be alone."[137] And besides, it is good only for God to be alone, because he is an unneedful and increate nature. But other creations are created and need one another. As the nine ranks of the angels are glorifiers of God in the heavens, thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads, likewise in the world the multitude of humans is good. First, they demonstrate God's abundant love of humanity. And second, because they help each other in building, in planting, in handicraft, in bodily needs and in the education (learning) of the soul, and for the joy of each other. And we find a lot of other mutual goodness, that is why (God) says, "It is not good for the man to be alone."

68 Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ՝ կինն եղեւ պատճառ յանցանաց մարդոյն՝ ո՞րպէս է բարի: Նախ պատասխանեմք եթէ՝ կանխագէտ է Աստուած. գիտէր զի մարդն անմեղութեամբ ոչ կարէր աճիլ որպէս հրեշտակք. վասն այն մարմին ստեղծ. եւ զկինն օգնական ետ. զի անասնական ծննդեամբ աճիցին եւ բազմանայցեն մարդիկ որպէս օրհնեաց եւ ասէ. «աճեցէք

137. Gen 2:18.

եւ բազմացարուք՝ եւ լցե՛ք զերկիր:» Դարձեալ ասեմք թէ՝ Աստուած բարի է բնութեամբ եւ առատ եւ բարերար. ոչ կարէ մին մարդոյ մեղք՝ զբոլոր բարութիւնն Աստուծոյ խափանել եւ արգելուլ. այլ միայն ինքն մեղաւորն ի բարութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկի: Զոր օրինակ՝ արեգակն բոլոր զիւր լոյսն ծագէ. այլ թէ մի մարդ զակն իւր խփէ, զարեւու լոյսն ոչ կարէ արգելուլ. այլ ինքն միայն զրկի: Նոյնպէս թէպէտ կինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ զբազում բարութիւնս ոչ արգել Աստուած ի մարդկան ազգէ: Եւ դարձեալ ասեմք. թէպէտ կինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ բազում արք ընտիրք եւ արդարք ի նմանէ ծնան. որպէս նահապետքն եւ մարգարէքն եւ ամենայն ընտրեալք՝ մինչ ի կատարած աշխարհի. եւ վասն բարի ծննդոց նորա՝ խնամեաց եւ պահեաց զկինն. թէպէտ պատճառ եղեւ յանցանաց . . .

And if anyone says, “The woman was the cause of the man’s transgression, how is she good?” First, we answer that God is foreknowing. He knew that the man could not increase sinlessly like angels. For that reason he created (his) body and gave the woman as a helpmeet, so that people could increase and multiply through birth like animals, as he blessed and said, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth.”[138] Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and holds back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God’s goodness. In this fashion, the sun spreads its light around, but if a man closes his eye(s), he cannot hold back the sun’s light, but only he himself is deprived (of it). Likewise though the woman sinned, God did not deprive the human race of manifold goodness. And we say again, although the woman sinned, many excellent and righteous men were born of her, like the patriarchs and the prophets and all the elect, until the end of the world; and for the sake of her good offspring (God) took care of the woman and kept her, although she was the cause of the transgression . . .

69 193 Նոյնպէս եւ նախամայրն Եւա թէպէտ յանցեաւ, յետոյ ապաշխարեաց. եւ բազում զաւակք ի նմանէ ծնանելոց էին. վասն այն ներեաց Աստուած: Դարձեալ եւ գլխաւորն ամենեցուն՝ թէ կինն ոչ էր յանցեալ, բանն Աստուած ոչ էր մարդացեալ . . . Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ անհանճար մտօք, յորժամ այս ամենայն բարութեանս պատճառ եղեւ մեղքն Եւայի, վասն է՞ր ինքն պատժեցաւ: Ասեմք եթէ՝ մեղքն ըստ ինքեան չար է եւ պակասութիւն բարւոյ եւ արդարութեան: Նաեւ ինքն Եւա՝ ոչ յայն պատճառս մեղանչեաց թէ այս ամենայն բարութիւնս հետեւի մեզ. այլ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ եւ ամենիմաստ գիտութիւնն հնարեաց զփրկութիւն մեր . . . Ապա ուրեմն պատճառ փրկութեան մերոյ՝ Քրիստոս է եւ ոչ Եւա. եւ շնորհք նորա արդարացուցին զմեզ եւ ոչ գործք մեր: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ

138. Gen 1:28.

թէ՝ Եւա եւ Ադամ անմեղ էին կացեալ, ո՞րպէս աճէր մարդկային բնութիւնս: Ասեմք եթէ՝ ոմանք ասեն ըզդրախտն ապականացու գոլ. եւ շաղաշարումն արուի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազումք մըտացածին բանս տողեն. որ ընդդէմ է սուրբ գրոց եւ ուղղափառաց հարց:

Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her. On account of that God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man. . . . And if one says with simple mind: if Eve's sin was the cause of all this goodness,[139] for what was she punished? We say that sin in itself is evil, and lack of goodness and righteousness. Besides, Eve herself sinned not because all this goodness would ensue for us, but God's love of humanity and very wise knowledge contrived our salvation. . . . Hence the cause of our salvation is Christ and not Eve, and His grace justified us but not our deeds. And if one says that if Eve and Adam remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some (people) say the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female (in it) and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers.

70 Նախ զի՝ ասէ աստուածային հրամանն. «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք՝ եւ լցէք զերկիր.» յերկրի ետ հրաման աճելոյ. եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ զի դրախտն է տեղի անապական. եւ ոչ՝ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ տնկոցն: Արդ՝ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր, եւ ոչ ապականութիւն մարմնական. եւ ոչ՝ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ՝ եկեղեցի սուրբ՝ օրինակ է դրախտին. արդ՝ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ լինէր ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յաշխարհի, կարօտանայր մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից զաւակին. սննդեան, աճելոյ, խնամելոյ, եւ այլոցն. եւ այսոքիկ ոչ են ի դրախտն. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ՝ նախ քան զյանցանելն էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն տռփանաց առ միմեանս. արդ՝ ի յանմեղութեանն միշտ այնպէս մնային՝ ապա ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեանց: Վեցերորդ՝ եւս յայտնի. զի թէ ապականացու էր, զապականեալն Ադամ վասն է՞ր հանէր ի դրախտէն. յայտ է զի դրախտն չէ ապականացու եւ ոչ զապականացու բնակիչս ընդունի: Եօթներորդ՝ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին ի գիրս կազմութեան եթէ՝ առաջին կեանքն դրախտին՝ էր կուսութիւն եւ անապականութիւն. եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. որ եւ յետ յարութեանն վերստին դառնամք՝ յառաջին կեանս դրախտին յանապականութիւն, եւ հրեշտակաց

139. Literally: goodnesses.

հաւաստր: Արդ՝ եթէ առաջին կեանքն Ադամայ ամուսնութեամբ էր եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա ասեն, ապա ի վերջին յարութեան նոյնպէս է լինելոց. եւ լինի աղանդն մահմետականացն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն եւ կերակուր. եւ ամուսնութիւն եւ այլ աղճատանք զորս նզովէ սուրբ եկեղեցի զայնպիսի ասացօղս եւ ըզխորհօղս. եւ եղիցին նզովեալ:

First, because the divine command says, “Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth.” God ordered them to increase on the earth, and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible place, there was also no trickle of impurity from the man, and not from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (there was) also no bodily corruption and no impure birth. Third, the holy church is the pattern of the Garden. Now nuptial blessing is set in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the nuptial blessing took place, but not childbirth. Fourth, if there were impure birth, like on the earth, the man would lack all necessities for the child: nurture; for nurture, growing, care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lustful desire for each other. Now if they always remained thus in sinlessness, then they would not have had lascivious desire. Sixth, more obviously, if (the Garden) was corruptible, why did He drive the corrupted Adam out of the Garden? It is clear that the Garden is not corruptible and it does not contain corruptible inhabitants. Seventh, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the *Book of the Formation of Man* that the first life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and similarity to the angels, and that after resurrection we shall return to the former life of the Garden, to incorruptibility and (being) equal to the angels. Now, if Adam’s first life were with marriage and childbirth, as they say, then during the last resurrection it would be the same. And there is a Muslim heresy: corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The holy church anathematizes those who say and think such things, and let them be anathematized.

71 Իսկ թէ ոք հարցանէ՝ ապա վասն է՞ր ստեղծան ծընընդական անդամքն, յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին: Ասեմք եթէ՝ յառաջագէտ է Աստուած. եւ նախ ծանեաւ եթէ ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս. վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին՝ զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեսցին: Եւ թէ ոք պընտեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն: Զա՛յս ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ՝ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցան երկինս նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին աճէին: Եւ թէ ասէ՝ հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց, իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ: Ասեն սուրբք. որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառէին: Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս: Ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ՝ զորօրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման

կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ. նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն՝ կարէին ծնանիլ կուսութեամբ եւ առանց սերման կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ. եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ. որպէս ինքն գիտէ ամենագէտն արարիչ: . . .

And if somebody asks, then why were the genitals created, when they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase without sin in the Garden, like angels. For this reason he formed their body so that they increase on the earth like animals. And if one insists upon the way and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say that as the angels increased in heaven, so the human race was increasing in the Garden. And if one says: the angels came into being from nothing and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one light.[140] And if they say that this birth is imperfect, the holy doctors say that just as the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, likewise in the Garden they could bear, in virginity and without sperm, a perfect man of Adam's nature,[141] or Eve of Adam's rib, or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows.

72 Եւ օրինադրեցաւ ի բանն այն՝ յորժամ ոչ գըտաւ օգնական մարդոյն, նա ասաց Աստուած. «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ. արասցուք դմա օգնական ըստ դմա:» զի ծընօղն եւ արարիչն Աստուած՝ խորհեցաւ վասն հարսանեացն Ադամայ. եւ նշանեաց զԵւա կազմեալ օգնական նմա . . . Եւ այս երեւեցաւ ի բանն այն որ ասէ գիրն. «թէ զկողն զոր շինեաց ի կին՝ էած առ ադամ:» Այս էր ածելն առ Ադամ. զի տեսեալ հաւանեցին միմեանց:

And it was decreed in Scripture, when no helpmeet was found for the man: indeed, God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone; let us make him a helpmeet according to him."[142] For God the parent and Creator took care of Adam's wedding and betrothed Eve, having formed (her) as a helpmeet for him. . . . And this was evident in the word that (scriptural) word which says, "The rib, which He had made into a woman, he brought her unto Adam."[143] She was brought[144] unto Adam, so that, having seen, they would like each other.

140. Literally: light.
141. Or: from Adam's body.
142. Gen 2:18
143. An approximate quotation from Gen 2:22.
144. We translate as if it were ածեալն.

Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 2:21 (Գլուխ ԽԷ)
Another Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen. 2:21 (Chapter 47)

73 195–98 Թմրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ՝ ոչ բընական քուն է, որ յաշխատանաց մարմնոյն եւ ի կերակրոյ գոյանայ. եւ ոչ ապշութիւն եւ խելաց ցընորումն անախորժելի: Այլ է յափշտակութիւն մըտացն վերացեալ առ Աստուած մարգարէութեան հոգւով . . . /

“Deep sleep upon Adam”:[145] it is not a natural sleep, which takes place as a result of bodily exertion and of food, nor is it stupor and unpleasant distraction of mind. But it is rapture of the mind risen to God through the spirit of prophecy . . .

74 Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր թմրեցաւ: Նախզի՝ մի զգասցի զցաւ կողին: Եւ կարող էր Աստուած առնուլ զկողն յարթնութեան առանց ցաւոց. այլ էր ի խորհուրդ. զի որպէս երկիրն յորմէ առաւ հողն Ադամայ՝ ոչ ցաւեաց. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ ո՛չ ցաւեաց յառնուլ կողին: Երկրորդ՝ զի բազում ինչ ետես ի ննջմանն վերամբարձեալ մտօք վասն Քրիստոսի եւ վասն եկեղեցւոյ. զարթուցեալ ասաց զմարգարէութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ զի ի ննջելոյն Քրիստոսի ի վերայ խաչին՝ շինեցաւ եկեղեցի ի կողէն, յորժամ ել արիւնն եւ ջուրն ի հաստատութիւն եկեղեցւոյ. ջուրն ի մըկրտութիւն աւազանին. եւ արիւնն ի ճաշակումն հաղորդութեան: Այսպէս եւ ի նըննջելոյն Ադամայ՝ շինեցաւ կինն ի կողէն. որպէս ասէ. «էառ մի ի կողիցն նորա. եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին:»

And why did he fall asleep? First, so that he would not feel the pain of the rib. And God could take the rib without pain while he was awake, but it was for a purpose. For, as the earth from which Adam’s dust was taken did not feel pain, likewise Adam too did not feel pain when the rib was taken. Second, because he saw many things about Christ and about the church, having ascended by his mind in sleep; having awakened, he pronounced the prophecy.[146] Third, because while Christ fell asleep[147] on the cross, the church was built from his side (rib),[148] when the blood and the water came forth for the establishment of the church: the water for baptism in the font and the blood for eating the Eucharist. Thus, while Adam was sleeping the woman was made from his rib (side), as it says, “he took one of his ribs and he filled up the body in its place.”[149]

145. Gen 2:21.

146. Perhaps a reference to Gen 3:20, which was often taken as a prophecy of the birth of the Virgin.

147. I.e., died.

148. The Armenian word may have both meanings.

149. Gen 2:21.

75 Եւ ընդէ՞ր ի հողոյ ոչ ըստեղծ զԵւա որպէս զԱդամ: Նախզի՝ մի իցեն հաւասար. պատւով եւ հասակաւ կամ ժամանակաւ. այլ նախապատիւ եւ առաջին է այրն. եւ երկրորդ եւ կրտսեր կինն: Զի յառաջին ժամն ըստեղծաւ Ադամ եւ յերկրորդն կինն: Վասն այն յօրինաւոր պսակին՝ պարտ է զի լիցի հարսն կրտսեր քան զփեսայն: Երկրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, լինէին այր ու կինն օտար եւ անգութ առ միմեանս. Այլ ի մարմնոյն Ադամայ զի սիրեսցէ այր զկին իր որպէս զիւր մարմին. եւ ցաւակից լիցին միմեանց: Երրորդ՝ զի թէ երկուքն ի հողոյ էին, լինէին աննմանք եւ այլատեսակք. որպէս եզն եւ ձի են ի մի հողոյ այլ եւ այլ բնութիւնք: Ապա եւ մանուկն ի նոցանէ լինէր այլատեսակ եւ աննման ծնողացն: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր կինն, պիտոյ էր նմա այլ եւս որիշ փչումն եւ շունչ կենդանութեան. եւ այլ օրհնութիւն եւ հրաման որպէս Ադամայ: Վասն այն ի յԱդամ ստեղծաւ՝ զի զօրութեամբ ընդ Ադամայ ընկալաւ զօրհնութիւնն եւ զփչումն շնորհաց եւ զայլն ... Հինգերորդ՝ զի թէ կինն եւս ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, յայնժամ սկիզբն մարդկան ազգի ոչ լինէր մինն. այլ երկուքն: Այլ այսու եւս նման է մարդն արարչին. զի որպէս Աստուած միայն սկիզբն է բոլոր աշխարհի. նոյնպէս եւ առաջին մարդն՝ միայն էր սկիզբն բոլոր տեսակին: Եւ դարձեալ՝ որպէս հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է որդւոյ ծննդեան եւ հոգւոյ բղխման. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ սկիզբն է Սեթայ եւ Եւայի. միոյն ծննդեամբ, եւ միւսոյն բղխմամբ, այլ այս օրինակ, եւ նա ճշմարտութիւն. եւ հեռի է օրինակն. եւ իրօք ինչ նմանի:

And why did not he create Eve of the dust like Adam? First, so that they would not be equal in honor and in age or in time, but the man is more honorable and for me, and the woman the second and younger. Adam was created during the first hour and the woman in the second. For that reason during lawful nuptials the bride must be younger than the bridegroom. Second, if she were made of dust, the man and the woman would be alien and uncaring toward each other. But (she was made) of Adam's body, so that the man would love his wife like his own body and they would be sharers of each other's pain. Third, if both were of dust, they would be unlike and of different sort, as the bull and the horse are of the same dust but of different natures. Then, their child too would be of different sort and unlike its parents. Fourth, if the woman were of dust, she would need another insufflation and breath of life, and another blessing and command, like Adam. For this reason, she was made from Adam, because potentially she received with Adam the blessing and the insufflation of grace, etc. . . . Fifth, because if also the woman were made of dust, then the beginning of the human race would not be the one but the two. And through this, too, man is like the Creator: for, as God alone is the beginning of the whole world, likewise also the first man alone was the beginning of all his kind. And again, as God the Father is the beginning of the Son's birth and the Spirit's emanation, likewise Adam too is the begin-

ning of Seth and Eve, the one by birth and the other by emanation (coming forth). Now this one is the fashion, and that one (is) the truth. The example is far away but there is indeed some likeness.

76 Վեցերորդ ըստ խորհրդոյ. զի որպէս Եւայի սկիզբն է Ադամ. նոյնպէս եւ եկեղեցի սուրբ սկսաւ ի Քրիստոսէ . . . Յաղագս ասացեալ պատճառացս՝ ոչ յօտար հողոյ ստեղծեաց զկինն. այլ ի՝ կողէն Ադամայ: Իսկ թէ վասն էր՞ ի կողէն եւ ոչ՝ յայլ ինչ մասնէ: Նախզի՝ հնազանդ լիցի Ադամայ եւ լուռ: Երկրորդ՝ ի կողէն էառ՝ զի մի՛ տկար ոք իցէ. այլ զօրեղ. զի կողեղ եւ հաստակող կոչեմք զըմբիշս: Երրորդ՝ զի շարժումն ցանկութեան ի կողից է. որպէս աման է երիկամացն եւ տեղի որ ի կողիցն զօրանայ. նոյնպէս եւ ցանկութեան առն տեղի կինն է. եւ բեղնաւորէ եւ սնուցանէ զսաղմն: Չորրորդ՝ զի կողն է միջասահման վայր. ցուցանէ զպատիւ կանանց ո՛չ հաւասարիլ գլխոյն. եւ ոչ ընդ ոտիւք կոխան եւ անարգ. այլ զմիջին սէրն ստանալ առ նա: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ի կողն կեռ ոսկր է. նշանակէ թէ՝ կինն է ժողովումն եւ հաւաքումն մարդոյն եւ ընչիցն. զի մարդն է՝ որպէս գետ. եւ կինն որպէս ծով. առ որ ժողովին գետք: Վեցերորդ՝ կողն զերեսն փայլուն ունի. եւ զմէջն բրոր. նոյնպէս եւ կինն ի դէմս ցուցանէ զգեղեցկութիւնն. այլ ի սիրտն նենգութիւն ունի լցեալ. զի այլ է ի լեզուին, եւ այլ է ի սրտին: Եօթներորդ՝ երկու երեսս ունի կողն.՝ նոյնպէս եւ կինն ունի զդէմս առ իւրսն եւ առ օտարսն: Ութներորդ՝ սուր է բերան կողին. այսպէս սուր է եւ հատանօղ լեզու կնոջն. եւ պատառէ լեզուաւն որպէս զչար գազան . . .

Sixth, according to the mystery, for as Adam is Eve’s beginning, likewise also the holy church began from Christ. . . . For the mentioned reasons He created the woman not of the alien dust but of Adam’s rib. And why of the rib and not of any other part? First, so that she would obey Adam and be silent. Second, He took (her) from the rib, so that she would not be something weak but vigorous, as[150] we call the athletes robust and with strong ribs.[151] Third, because the movement of desire is from the ribs, as it is (they are) the container of the kidneys and a place that grows strong from the ribs; likewise the cause of the man’s desire is the woman, and (she) fertilizes and nurtures the foetus. Fourth, because the rib is an intermediary place: it shows that the woman’s honor is not equal to the head, nor is it trodden underfoot and dishonorable, but receiving middle love is for her. Fifth, for in the rib (side) is a curved bone, it signifies that the woman is the assembling and gathering together of man and his property. For man is like a river and woman is like a sea, in which the rivers are gathered. Sixth, the rib has a shining surface and there is sediment inside, likewise the woman exhibits beauty in the face,

150. Literally: because.
151. Both attributes derive from the word for rib.

but has a heart full of deceit, for one thing is on (her) tongue and another in (her) heart. Seventh, the rib has two surfaces, likewise the woman has one face for her own[152] and (another) for the outsider. Eighth, the edge of the rib is sharp, likewise the woman's tongue is sharp and cutting, and she tears with her tongue like a cruel beast . . .

77 Իններորդ՝ որպէս Ադամ ետ զկողն եւ էառ մարմին. զի ասէ՝ «ելից ընդ այնր մարմին:» / ... Որպէս կողն նախ ի յԱդամ էր՝ եւ յետոյ շինեցաւ կին եւ եղեւ մի մարմին անբաժանելի ի նմանէ. նոյնպէս օրինաւոր կինն՝ անբաժանելի է յառնէն . . . Եւ որպէս Աստուած էառ զկողն եւ շինեաց կին. նոյնպէս ամենայն մարդոյ պարտ է սրբութեամբ կալ . . . Եւ թէ ասիցէ ոք՝ յո՞ր կողից էառ. յաջո՞յ թէ ի ձախոյ: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ՝ ի ձախոյ. եւ յայտ է: Նախզի՝ կինն ի ձախոյ կողմն գոյանայ յարգանդի. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի կնոջն մին կող աւելի է ի ձախն: Եւ դարձեալ ըստ մեզ օրինակի. աջովն ստեղծեաց եւ էառ զկողն. կարգաւոր է ի ձախոյն առնուլ ի դիմաց կոյս . . . Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ՝ Եւա ի յԱդամայ կողէն է, ապա դուստր է Ադամայ եւ ոչ կին: Ասեմք, եթէ ի ծնունդս զաւակին՝ պիտոյ է երեք ինչ: Նախզի՝ իցէ յառնէ եւ ի կնոջէ: Երկրորդ՝ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ: Երրորդ՝ ի ծննդական մասնէ: Այլ արդ՝ կինն ի կողէն է Ադամայ եւ ոչ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ. եւ ոչ ի ծննդական մասնէ յառաջ եկեալ. եւ ոչ ներգործութեամբ առն. այլ աստուածային զօրութեամբն առաւ ի կողէն. ապա ուրեմն ոչ է դուստր Ադամայ Եւա . . .

Ninth, because[153] Adam gave up the rib and received body, for (Scripture) says, "and he filled body in its place"[154] . . . As the rib was first with Adam, and then the woman was fashioned and became one body inseparable from him, likewise a legal wife is inseparable from her husband. . . . And as God took the rib and fashioned a woman, likewise every man must remain in purity. . . . And if someone should say: of which rib (side) did He take, of the right or of the left? The doctors say that of the left, and it is evident. First, for the woman comes into existence in the left side of the womb, and moreover, because the woman has one more rib on the left. And besides, like us, He created and took the rib with the right.[155] It is normal to take from the left, (if one is taking) from the front. . . . And if someone should say, Eve is of Adam's rib (side), so she is Adam's daughter and not (his) wife. We say that three things are needed for the birth of a child. First, it must be of a man and a woman; second, of sperm or blood; third, of the genitals. But now, the woman is from Adam's rib (side), and not from sperm or blood, and she did not derive from the genitals, nor from the activity of the man, but she

152. I.e., her family.
153. Literally: as.
154. Gen 2:21.
155. I.e., hand.

was taken by the divine power from his rib (side); hence Eve is not Adam's daughter . . .

78 «Շինեաց զկողն զոր էառ յԱդամայ ի կին։» Զկինն շինուած կոչէ Աստուծոյ։ Նախզի՝ Աստուծոյ է շինուած. ոչ ոք կարէ քակել. բայց միայն նա որ շինեացն ... Դարձեալ շինուած կոչէ. զի առանց կնոջ աւեր է տունն. եւ տան շինութիւն կինն է. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի առն քաղաք եւ գաւառ եւ տունն՝ կինն է. հանգստարան /198/ եւ բնակութիւն եւ ժողովումն որպէս ասացաք ի վերոյ։ Զայս սովորութիւն կալան այժմ. եւ կոչեն զկինն տուն. տուն ունիս. տուն առեալ ես։ Վասն այն ասէ. «զկողն զոր շինեաց, էած առ Ադամ։» Եւ տեսեալ Ադամայ՝ նախ հիանայ եւ հրաժարելով ասէ. «այս այժմ ոսկր՝ յոսկերաց իմոց.» իբր թէ այս գեղանիշ պատկերս՝ այն մերկ եւ դատարկ կողն իցէ . . .

". . . He fashioned the rib that he took from Adam into a woman."[156]. (Scripture) calls the woman God's construction. First, because (she) is God's construction, nobody can destroy (her) except He who made. . . . Besides, (it) calls (her) construction, because without a woman the house is ruined, and the woman is the prosperity[157] of the house; and again, because the woman is the man's town, region and house, resting place and dwelling place and collection, as we said above. Now (people) have this habit and they call woman house: "Do you have a house?" "Have you taken a house?" Concerning that (Scripture) says, "the rib, which . . . he fashioned, he brought unto Adam."[158] And Adam, having seen, first wonders and says refusing, "Is this now bone of my bones?" That is, "Is this beautiful image that naked and empty rib?"

202 Նորին դարձեալ վասն պսակին. Եփես. 5.32 (Գլուխ ԽԶ) Of the Same (Author) Again, Concerning Marriage. Eph. 5:32 (Chapter 46)

79 Յորժամ արտաքս ելանեն յեկեղեցւոյն, հարսն լինի ի ձախ կողմն փեսային. եւ յորժամ նստին ի բարձր տեղւոջն զոր կոչեն թախտ կամ հաձլէք, փոխէ եւ յաջ կողմն նըստուցանէ զհարսն. Այն է՝ զի Ադամ ի դրախտին ունէր ըզկինն յաջ կողմն իւր. Եւ յորժամ արտաքս եկին, եղեւ կինն ձախակողմն Ադամայ եւ պատճառ զլորման . . .

Յորժամ Ադամ եւ Եւա էին ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին անապական մարմնով եւ լուսազարդ փառօք. ուստի յայտ է զի ոչ տեսանէին զմերկութիւն միմեանց։

156. Gen 2:22.

157. The same Armenian word as "construction."

158. Gen 2:22.

When they go out of the church, the bride is on the left side of the groom; and when they sit upon the high place, which is called throne or ottoman, he changes and seats the bride on the right side. That is, in the Garden Adam had the woman on his right side, and when they went forth, the woman was on the left side of Adam and the cause of (their) fall.

When Adam and Eve were living in the glorious Garden (they had) incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, whence it is evident that they were not seeing each other's nakedness.

211 Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն մեղաց. Յակոբոս 1.15 (Գլուխ ԽԹ) Sermon Again Concerning Sins. James 1:15 (Chapter 49)

80 Օձն որ խօսեցաւ ընդ Եւայի եւ խաբեաց՝ զհեշտ ցանկութիւնս նշանակէ որ խաբէ զմեզ:

The serpent that spoke to Eve and deceived (her), symbolizes this lascivious desire that deceives us.

572–73 Քարոզ վասն հրեշտակաց. եւ դիւաց. եւ մարդկան ընտրելոց. Առակ. 17.28 (Գլուխ ԽՁ) Sermon Concerning Angels and Demons and Elect Men. Prov 17:28 (Chapter 46)

81 Այսպէս կազմեցաւ աշխարհ իմանալեացն վերին բնակութիւն. եւ զգալեացս ստորին վայրս երկրի: Արդ՝ յետ իմանալեաց դասուց՝ կամեցեալ կազմել զգալի արարած ի չորից տարերց. եւ ի սմա բարձրագոյն եւ գերամբարձ տեղի «տնկեաց Աստուած զդրախտն Եդեմ ընդ արեւելս.» տեղի վայելուչ եւ լուսաւոր. անապական եւ անմահութեան տեղի, զմիջինն ունելով սահման ամենայնիւ: Եւ ձեռօք իւրովք արար ըզմարդն ի հողոյ երկրէ. եւ փչեաց յերեսս զշունչ անմահ կենդանութեան. եւ եդ անդ զմարդն զոր արար հոգի եւ մարմին. զի մարմնովն վայելչասցի ընդ զգալի արարածոցս. եւ հոգւովն իմաստնասցի ընդ իմանալեացն դասուց պահպանողացն ի դրախտին:

So the world was formed of the intelligible—the upper dwelling; and of the sensible —the lower places of the earth. Now, after the ranks of the intelligible ones, wishing to form a sensible creation from four elements, and in this a very high and most elevated place, "God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,"[159] a delightful and luminous place, incorruptible and a place of

159. Gen 2:8.

immortality, completely occupying the middle region. And with his hands he made the man of the dust from the earth and breathed into (his) face the breath of immortal life, and put there the man whom he had made, soul and body, so that with his body he might delight among the sensible creations, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden.

82 Եւ արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ ամենայն զգալի արարածոց. զի որպէս Աստուած Տէր եւ թագաւոր է իմանալեացն զօրութեանց երկնից եւ բոլոր գոյից: Նոյնպէս եւ մարդն ի պատկեր նորա՝ տիրեսցէ ամենայն երկրի ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ զարջառ եւ զամենայն ինչ:» Իսկ մին ի յանկելոց երկնայնոցն դասուց՝ նախանձեալ ընդ գերապատիւ փառս առաջին մարդոյն, պատրեաց զնա նովին հպարտութեան ախտիւն, որով ինքն անկաւ ի փառաց «եթէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյն, լինիք իբրեւ զաստուածս անմահ կենօք եւ գերամբարձ փառօք.»

And he made the man in his image, the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures; for as God is Lord and king of the intelligible powers of heaven and all beings, likewise the man, in his image, should rule over the whole earth, according to, “You made everything subject, beneath his feet, sheep and cattle and everything.”[160] But one of those fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honorable glory of the first man, deceived him by the very flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, “If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods”[161] with immortal life and lofty glory.”

83 յորում օձապատիր խաբմանն հաւանեալ եւ կերեալ ի պտղոյն, աստուածութեանն ոչ հասին. այլ եղկելի կենօք ի ներքոյ մահու զրաւեցան. եւ զոր ունէին զփառս՝ եւ յայնմանէ զրկեցան ըստ արդար վճռին: Նախ եթէ «յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ՝ մահու մեռանիցիք.» այսինքն, եթէ է ումն անձնաւոր մահ որ է բանսարկուն. եւ նովաւ մահու մեռանիցիք ասէ . . . մահու մեռանիլ՝ զհոգւոյ մահն ասէ որ մեղօքն մեռանի . . . Մահու մեռանիլն այն է՝ որք հոգւով եւ մարմնով տրտմին, եւ անմահ չարչարին . . . Ուստի՞ էր սատանայ որ պատրեաց զմարդն: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ՝ սատանայ էր մի ի դասուց երկնաւոր հրեշտակացն. եւ զի հպարտացաւ եւ հակառակ եղեւ Աստուծոյ . . . Եւ ոմանք ասեն՝ եթէ՝ ընդ պատիւ մարդոյն նախանձեցաւ. եւ ի խորհուրդ եմուտ թէ, սուրբ կատարումն ի՞նչ լինի. եւ ոչ կարաց հասու լինիլ . . . Իսկ Նարեկացին Գրիգոր ասէ թէ, յորժամ ի սկզբանն Աստուած կամեցաւ ստեղծանել զարարածս, բանն Աստուած մարդեղութեան կերպարանաւն լինէր եւ ըստեղծանէր.

160. Ps 8:7 = Arm 8:8.
161. Gen 3:5.

որպէս ի ստեղծանելն Ադամայ. որպէս ասէ մերն Լուսաւորիչ. եւ ամենայն հրեշտակական էութիւնքն տեսին զբանն կերպիւն Ադա/մայ եւ երկրպագեցին եւ օրհնեցին. եւ սատանայ ոչ երկրպագեաց սոսկ մարմին եւ մարդ կարծելով:

Having been persuaded by that deceit of the serpent's and having eaten of the fruit, they did not achieve divinity but were captured by miserable life subject to death; and (they) were also deprived of the glory that they had, according to the just sentence. First, that "on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die."[162] That is to say, there is a personified death, namely, the Devil, and (Scripture) says, they will die by that death. . . . "Dying by death" means the death of the soul that dies through sin. . . . "Dying by death" is those that suffer in soul and body, and are tortured without dying. . . . Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honor, began to think, what is the holy perfection, and he could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekac'i says that when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared in incarnated appearance and was creating in incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, as the Illuminator says.[163] And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man.[164]

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Ի ցանգն աւետարանին տեսութիւն եւ վասն ժ խորանացն *"On the Concordance of the Gospels and on the Ten Canon Tables,"* in V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač'enc' Press, 1995), 86–103.

84 86 Գիտեալ է, զի եղբայրութեան եղանակն բազում է: Նախ՝ զի եմք ի սկզբնական պատճառէ, այսինքն յԱստուծոյ: Երկրորդ՝ ի միոյ նիւթական պատճառէ, այսինքն՝ ի հողոյ եւ յԱդամայ: Երրորդ՝ ի նոյնատիպ պատկերէ, այսինքն ի պատկերէ Աստուծոյ եղեալք:

It is known that there are many kinds of brotherhood. First, for we are of the original cause, namely, of God. Second, (we are) of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being from the same image, that is, of the image of God . . .

85 90–91 Չորրորդ խորանն՝ դրախտն Ադամայ: Չորք սիւնքն, զի ի չորից տարերց է: Սեաւ գոյնն՝ զմաշկեակն Ադա՛մայ եւ զխորհուրդն

162. Literally: die by death, Gen 2:17.

163. As in *The Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264 and 272.

164. See *Pen. Adam* 14:1–15:1.

Աստուծոյ, որ ծածկեցաւ ի նմանէ: Կապոյտն, որ թէպէտ անկաք ի փառացն, սակայն նշոյլք աստուածային էր առ մեզ:

The fourth Canon is Adam's Garden. Four columns, for it is of four elements. The black color (symbolizes) Adam's skin-coat and God's mystery, which was concealed from him. The blue (color) is that although we fell of the glory, however, divine signs were with us.

Grigor Cerenc‘ (Xlat‘ec‘i) C14

Text: Grigor Cerenc‘ (Xlat‘ec‘i), Յայլմէ ասացեալ բան վասն խորանաց աւետարանիս "The Writing of Another on the Canon Tables of the Gospel," in V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač‘enc‘, 1995), 68–78.

1 72 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ զդրախտն նշանակէ. որ ի վերայ չորից սեանց կայ եւ ի չորից տարերաց ցուցանէ զնա եւ է գունով կապոյտ եւ սեաւ, որ ցուցանէ թէ ծածկեցաւ յԱդամայ եւ յորդւոց նորա՝ մինչ կենդանիք են:

And the fourth Canon symbolizes the Garden, which stands on four columns, and shows it to be of four elements and is blue and black in color, which shows that (it) was concealed from Adam and his sons, while they are alive.

Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14

Text: Kirakos *vardapet* Erznkac‘i, Անտիպ տաղեր "Unpublished Poems," ed. Y. K‘yurtyan, *Ējmiacin* nos. 8–9 (1965): 91–99.

Բ Ի տասն կուսանսն ոտանաւոր տաղիւ չափեալ
II Rhymed Poem on the Ten Virgins

1 93 Ցուցաւ նախնի մայրն կուսան, կերեալ զպտուղն գիտութեան:
Եւ մերկացաւ զպատմուճան, կորոյս զդրախտն փափկութեան:
Լերկ եւ մաշկեակ լուսոյն փոխան, զգեցաւ մարմինըս տըխրութեան:
Ո՞չ թէ հրեշտակաց ես դու նման, անբիծ եւ սուրբ, անմեղ կուսան:

The foremother was born[165] as virgin, (who) ate[166] the fruit of knowledge.
And she was stripped of the garment, lost Garden of delight.
Bald and leathery, instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow.
Aren't you like angels, stainless and clean, innocent virgin?

Դ Սրբոյ Գեորգեայ տաղ
IV Poem on St. George

2 97 Սէր եւ սիրոյ ծնունդ եւ աղբիւր կենաց,
Ռախճան պերճալի վերնոց եւ նիւթականաց,
Բարի եւ բարեաց բաշխաւղ. եւ լոյս երեսաց. . . .
Որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ պատկեր մեծի քո փառաց,
Յանպատում դրախտին եդեր փափկութեան վայրաց,
Նորազուարճ զեղապաճոյճ լուսատարազ,
Գերափայլ պճնազարդեալ նման հրեշտակաց,
Էական լուսով լցեր յեւթնյարփիցն հաց:
Որպէս թագաւոր աւծէր տէր տիեզերաց,
Րենական հաղորդ ըզնա արարեր կենաց.
Գործել եւ պահել զԱդամին բան քո հրամայեաց,
Եդեր պատուիրան նիւթ անձնիշխանականաց:
Արփիափայլ պտղոյ դրախտին վայելօղ եկաց,
Յատուկ իմոյ ծառոյն հրաժարել ի բաց:
Իբրեւ զփայլակ անկեալն յերկնային զօրաց,
Կամակոր զաւրօք դիւաց խաւարասիրաց:
Իսկապէս հայրըն մեղաց եւ գըտակ չարեաց,
Ռամապէտ դասուց խըմբից սեւազունդ զօրաց:
Անդ լըւաւ զպատուէր կենաց մարդոյն մախաց,
Կըցորդ խորհրդոց առեալ զօձն ի գազանաց,
Որ խաբեալ էհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն կենաց:

Love and love's birth and source of life,
Magnificent festivity (banquet?) of the upper and lower material ones,
Good and giver of goodness and light of (our) face! . . .
You that created Adam, the image of your great glory,
Put him in the place of delight, in the ineffable Garden,
Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
Brilliantly embellished like angels,
You filled (him) with increate light,
bread of seven lights.
You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,

165. Literally: shown, shown forth.
166. Literally: having eaten.

Made him participant in divine life,
Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep,
You set a command, an object of free will,
He was enjoying the shining fruit of paradise,
"Abstain from my particular tree."
He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,[167]
With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons
Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts,
There he heard the man's command of life[168] (and) envied.
Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plan,
Who, having deceived, brought Adam forth from paradise of life.

Kostandin Erznkac'i C14

Text: Kostandin Erznkac'i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1962).

Translation: Theo Maarten van Lint, *Konstandin of Erznka: An Armenian Religious Poet of the XIIIth-XIVth century* (Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University, 1996).[169]

ԻԶ XXVI

1 220-3 Ըստեղծեցեր քեզ պաշտօնեայ՝
ըզսերովբէքըն վեցթեւեան,
Զինըն դասըս հրեշտակաց
որ անդադար քեզ փառըս տան.
Զքառակերպեան ըզքերովբէքն
եւ ըզհրեշտակքըն բազմաչեան,
Զչորեքկերպեան ըզկենդանիքն՝
որ են աթոռք աստուածութեան . . .

You have created servants for yourself:
the six-winged seraphim.
The nine ranks of angels
that glorify you without pause.
The four-faced cherubim
and the many-eyed angels,

167. Cf. Isa 14:12.
168. I.e., the command designed to bring man life.
169. Prof. van Lint graciously revised these translations for the present work.

The four-faced beasts
that are the thrones of the Godhead. . . .[170]

2 25 Ասաց Աստուած. Արասցուք մարդ՝
ի պատկերի մերում նըման,
Զի իշխեսցէ արարածոց,
ամենեցուն կացցէ իշխան.
Ստեղծեց ըզմարդ հող ի յերկրէ,
շունչ ետ ՛ւ հոգի անմահական,
Քան ըզհրեշտակս այ՛լ գերագոյն՝
պատկերակից արարչական:

25 God said, “Let us make man,
in the likeness of our image.[171]
That he have dominion over the creatures,
be ruler over all.”
God created man dust from the earth,
he gave (him) breath and an immortal soul,
More sublime than the angels,
sharing the Creator’s image.

3 29 / Փառօք պատուեց զմարդն առաջին,
տընկեց զդըրախտն անմահական.
30 Եւ նըմա ետ վայելել
ըզփափկութիւն վայելչական:
Երփնազարդ, զարմանալի
դրախտըն ծառովք զարդարեցան,
Գեղեցիկ՝ ի տեսանել,
քաղցր՝ ի ճաշակ մարդոյն տուան:

29 With glory he honored the first man;
he planted the immortal garden,
30 And let him enjoy,[172]
his pleasurable delight.
The miraculous garden, decked out in many colors,
was adorned with trees,
Beautiful to the sight,
and sweet to taste they were given to man.

4 33 Արկ թըմբրութիւն Տէրն Ադամայ
եւ առ մի ի կողից նորայն,

170. Cf. Ezek 1:6, 10 and many images of the divine throne such as Donabédian 1980 and other representations.

171. Literally: in our image, like.

172. Or: and gave (it) to him to enjoy.

Շինեաց մարմին զկողն Ադամայ
եւ ետ ընգեր՝ նըմին նըման.
Ետ պատուիրան վասըն պըտղոյն՝
չուտել անդի, որ եւ կերան
Ի նախանձու չար բանսարկուին
որ եւ օձիւըն խաբեցան:

The Lord cast a deep sleep upon Adam,
and took one of his ribs.
He shaped the rib of Adam into a body
and gave him a companion in his likeness;
He gave a command concerning the fruit;
that they should not eat of it, but they did,
Because of the envy of the evil tempter,[173]
so that they were deceived by the serpent.

5 Հաճոյացան բանից օձին
եւ ի պըտղոյն առին կերան,
Մերկացան յանմահ լուսոյն,
եւ թըզենի տերեւ սփածան.
Ընդ երեկս անդ՝ ի դրախտին
զձայն գնալոյն տեառըն լուան.
Եւ փախեան ի յարարչէն,
եւ ամօթով գնացին թագեան:

They took pleasure in the words of the serpent
and took of the fruit and ate,
They were stripped of the immortal light
and girded themselves with fig-leaves;
Towards the evening they heard the sound[174]
of the Lord walking in the Garden.
And they fled from the Creator
and out of shame they went and hid themselves.

6 Ի դըրախտին Տէրն Ադամայ
կոչեաց ձայնիւն արարչական.
Թէ՝ Կերա՞ր դու ի պըտղոյն
եւ չպահեցի՞ր զիմ պատուիրանն.
Զըրկեցար դու ի դրախտէդ՝
յանմահ կենացդ անապական:
Հրամայեաց ի հող դառնալ,
զի ի հողէն նոքա ծընան:

173. Or: Devil.
174. Or: voice.

In the Garden the Lord called Adam
    with the voice of the Creator:
“Did you eat of the fruit
    and did you not keep my command?
Did you deprive yourself of paradise,
    of your immortal, immaculate life?”
He commanded them to return to dust,
    for they were born out of dust.

7 Անիծեաց զկինըն եւ զԱդամ,
 եւ ետ օձին բան բարկութեան.
Վերայ լանջաց ’ւ որովայնիտ
 յերկիր զընաս դու անխափան,
Հողըն լիցի քեզ կերակուր
 քո զամենայն կեանքդ որչափ կան,
Փոխանակ զի արարեր
 ըզբանըդ զայդ կորըստական:

He cursed the woman and Adam
    and uttered words of anger to the serpent:
“On your chest and on your belly
    you will go forever about the earth.
Dust will be your food
    all your life, as long as it lasts,
Because you committed
    that act of perdition.”

8 Հրամայեաց դարձեալ յԱդամ,
 թէ՝ Քեզ բուսցի փուշ անպիտան,
Եւ քըրտամբք աշխատանաց
 դու կերիցես հաց տըրտմական:
Եւայի. ցաւօք ծընունդ
 եւ տրտմութիւն որդէծնութեան,
Բազմանալով բազմացուցից
 ըզտրտմութիւն քո հեծութեան:

Again he commanded Adam:
 “Useless thorns will sprout for you,
And by the sweat of your toil
    you will eat your bread of sorrow.”
To Eve: “Painful delivery
    and sorrow of childbearing,
I will greatly multiply
    the sorrow of your woes.”

9 Ի դըրախտէն արտաքս էհան

եւ հրամայեաց՝ կալ յանդիման.
Եւ սերովբէք եւ քերովբէք
շուրջանակի եդ պահապան,
Զի մի՛ գայցեն եւ ուտիցեն
զպտուղ կենացն անմահական,
Այլ զի դարձցի հողն ի յերկիր
մարդն ի ծնունդ ուստի առան:

He took them out of the Garden,
and commanded them to remain opposite,
And placed Seraphim
and Cherubim around it as watchers,
That they should not come and eat
the fruit of immortal life,
But that man be returned to dust on the earth
whence he was taken for birth.

10 Ադամ հայրն արտաքսեցաւ
կայ յանդիման յեզեր դրախտին.
Սկիզբն առին եւ ծնանեցան
Ադամայ որդիք առաջին:

Adam the father was driven out
and remained opposite at the edge of the Garden;
The first sons of Adam
were begotten and born.

Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi C14

Text: Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia,* ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1860).

Յաղագս վեցօրեայ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ
On the Hexaëmeron of God's Creation

1 7 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկինն հրեղէն եւ ի նմա հրաշակերտեաց զհրեշտակս տասնեակ դասուք եւ պատուով զանազանեալս եւ յանբաւ բիւրս աճեցեալս, գոլով նոցա հուր անկիզելի եւ լոյս թափանցական եւ աւդ առանց սողման. որոց անուն էութեանն եւ թիւ որքանութեան եւ փառք բնութեան եւ չափք իմաստութեան անհաս մնան ի մէնջ: Արար եւ զլոյսն խզում ի հրեղէն արփւոյն, այլ եւ զհուր եւ զաւդ, զջուր եւ զերկիր . . .

In the beginning God made the fiery heaven and in it miraculously made the angels[175] in ten ranks, and differing in honor, and increasing to numberless myriads; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement,[176] the name of whose essence and numbers of (whose) quantity and glory of (whose) nature and measures of (whose) wisdom remain incomprehensible for us. He made also the light, a breaking off from the fiery ether, and also fire and air, water and earth . . .

2 9 Արար Աստուած ի վեցերորդին զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զսողունս. ստեղծ զԱդամ ձեռօք երեսնամեայ եւ զԵւայ երեք ժամաւ յետոյ՝ վաթսուն եւ հինգ աւուրբք, եւս եւ զծառս գեղեցիկս, եւ զարծիւն եւ զառիւծն եւ զեզն առաջի աչաց Ադամայ: Եդ զմարդն ի դրախտին յետ քառասուն եւ երկու աւուր եւ հրամայեաց դնել անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ իշխել ամենայնի թագաւորաբար, եւ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի: Ասացին բնախօսքն, թէ ժիպակ եւ ծծումբ խառնեալ կայ ի հողն, եւ յարեգական ջերմութենէ եռացեալ գոյանան ոսկի եւ արծաթ, պղինձ եւ երկաթ, կլայեկ եւ արճիճ, եւ ամենայն գոյնք ականց, եւ բոյսք համօրէն:

Յանգեաւ Աստուած յաւուրն եօթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց եւ սկսաւ նախախնամել զարարածս իւր. օրհնեաց զօրս զայս եւ ի սմա սրբոց իւրոց հանգիստ եւ փառս պատրաստեաց, որ ցուցանէ թէ բնաւին ոչ հանգչի Աստուած ի նախախնամելոյ՝ զի բառնայ զամբարիշտն յերկրէ:

On the sixth day God created the beasts and the cattle and the creeping things, with (his) hands He created Adam thirty-years-old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five-days old, and further the beautiful trees and the eagle and the lion and the ox before Adam's eyes.[177] He put the man into the Garden after forty-two days and commanded (him) to give names to all the animals and to have dominion over all royally, and not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Physicists[178] said that mercury and sulphur are mixed in the dust, and being boiled by the heat of the sun, (they) turn into gold and silver, copper and iron, tin and lead and all colors of precious stones and plants completely.

On the seventh day God rested from all his works and began the providence of his creatures. He blessed this day and prepared repose and glory on it for his saints, which shows that God never rests from giving providence, for he removes impiety from the earth.

175. Word play of հրաշակերտեաց and հրեշտակ.
176. սողումն means literally "creeping."
177. Symbols of the evangelists and also the beasts in Ezekiel 1.
178. Apparently alchemists.

3 Յայլում ուրբաթու յանցեան նախաստեղծքն եւ ելին ի դրախտէն եւ անկան ի Սելան կղզի։ Եւ ընդ բուսանել փշոցն յաղագս անիծիցն՝ բուսան եւ ծաղիկք ի պէտս բժշկութեան մարդկան։ Իսկ քրովբէական սուրն՝ որ պահէր զդրախտն, շանթիւքդ է՝ որ անկանի յերկնից յահ եւ յերկիւղ ամբարշտաց. եւ ջուրք ջերմկաց յանդնդային հրոյն / են, որ ի կատարածի տանջէ զմեղաւորս, եւ սրբոցն՝ ի վերին արփւոյն է։ Անյայտ իմն է ժամանակն մարդոյն ի դրախտին լինելոյ, մի՝ զի ընդ անմահս էր վիճակեալ, եւ դարձեալ՝ զի ոչ է ընդ արեգակամբ, որով իմանին ժամանակք։ Բայց ըստ (դ) վիպաբանութեան Եւսեբեայ պարտիմք իմանալ, եթէ որչափ Քրիստոս յաշխարհի եկեաց՝ նոյնքան Ադամ ի դրախտին. եւ որչափ Տէրն ի խաչին՝ նա յետ մեղանացն յամեալ ի դրախտին. եւ յորում ժամու էջ Տէրն ի գերեզմանն՝ նա ընկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յերկիր։ Իսկ գեղարդաւոր եւ աշտէաւոր սերովբէքն ընդ հեռանալն Ադամայ եւ նոքա վերացան։ Եւ զհանդերձն մաշկեղէն ի յօդոյ արար Աստուած դաղմատացի, եւ բնակեցոյց զԱդամ յանդիման դրախտին, որպէս զյանցաւորսն հանեն յեկեղեցւոյ ի ժամ պատարագին, զի լացցեն զմեղս իւրեանց։ Զայն միանգամ մեղաւ Ադամ Աստուծոյ, եւ զայլ ամենայն ժամանակս անմեղ յապաշխարութեան եկաց՝ որպէս Սողոմոն վկայէ։

On the following Friday the protoplasts transgressed and came out of paradise and fell on the island of Selan.[179] And alongside thorns growing because of the curse, flowers also grew for healing people. But the cherubic sword that guarded paradise is with that lightning that falls from heaven to the terror and fear of the impious. And the waters of warm springs are (heated) by the infernal fire which tortures the sinners in the end, and (the glory)[180] of the saints is from the upper heaven. The time of the man's being in paradise is something unknown, first, since he was appointed by lot (to be) with the immortal ones; and second, (since paradise) is not under the sun by which time is apprehended. But according to the fourth (Chapter of) Eusebius's narrative we should realize that Adam (lived) in paradise as long as Christ lived in the world; and after sinning he stayed in paradise as long as the Lord (stayed) on the cross; and at the hour when the Lord descended into the grave, he (i.e., Adam) was cast from paradise to the earth. And the Cherubim with pikes and lances, when Adam left, they also were removed.[181] And God

179. I.e., Ceylon. This is a known medieval tradition; see Fabricius 1713, 30-31. Compare Marco Polo, *Travels* (Cologne: Könemann, 1996), chapter 24.

180. Brosset 1869, 8 n. 4 observes that փառք ("glory") is missing from the printed edition.

181. This appears to be a reference to the Cherubim of Gen 3:24, and Mxit'ar has inferred that they were required for the period between the sin and the expulsion, for after the expulsion, there was not a danger of Adam eating from the tree of life. Their weapons are here anachronistic, but earlier in this passage, they are said to have swords with heavenly lightning.

made a leather garment sown together, a dalmatic, and lodged Adam opposite paradise, like sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins. Only that one time Adam sinned before God, and he stayed the rest of his time sinless, in penitence, as Solomon testifies.[182]

11 Քահանայք
11 Priests

4 Ադամ, Աբէլ, Ենովք, Նոյ . . .

Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah . . .

12 Մարգարէք
12 Prophets

5 Ադամ, Ենովս, Ենովք, Ղամէք . . .

Adam, Enosh, Enoch, Lamech . . .

Թագաւորք
Kings

6 Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայնան . . .

Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

13 Նախահարք Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի ի Ղուկասու աւետարանէն
13 The Ancestors of Jesus Christ from the Gospel according to Luke

7 Աստուած, Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայնան . . .

God, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

8 24 Սկիզբն ժամանակաց ելքն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի ի դրախտէն, որք յետ եօթանասուն ամի սգալոյն իւրեանց՝ ապա անկան ի կարգս անասնոց եւ ծնան զԿային եւ զԿլիմայ քոյր նորա. եւ անտի՝ յետ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբէլ եւ զԱբելուհի, քանզի Եւա երկուս երկուս ծնանէր, եւ ծնաւ

182. Perhaps referring to Wis 12:10.

հնգետասան ծնունդս: Ադամ փառաւորէր եւ պատուէր զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականօք, զոր տեսեալ եւ ուսեալ զաւակացն զնոյնն առնէին . . .

24 The beginning of times[183] (is) the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden, who after their mourning for seventy years then fell into the rank of animals and gave birth to Cain and his sister Klimay; and then, after thirty years they gave birth to Abel and Abeluhi, for Eve bore in twos and she bore fifteen births. Adam glorified and honored God by honorable offerings, which his children, having seen and having learned, did the same . . .

9 25 Ադամ եւ Եւայ՝ լեալ ամաց 230 ծնան զՍէթ՝ որդի մխիթարութեան:

25 Adam and Eve, being 230 years old, gave birth to Seth, son of consolation.[184]

Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C14

Text: Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i, 9. Ի վերայ սուտ աստնաւորիս "9. On This Vain Life," in Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանաւորներ *New Collection, Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses,* vol. 3, ed. K. Kostaneanc‘ (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press 1896), 28–30.

1 28 Եկ օրինակ բերեմ զառաջին մարդիքն որ անցան,
Զինչ գործեցին, զայն տարան թէ բարի կենօք թէ մեղան.
Էհաս օր մահու նոցա, նա թողին զաշխարհս եւ անցան,
Ընդ շատ չարչարանքն ի ներս եւ միայն պատանք թէ տարան,
Թագաւորք այլ շատ կային յԱդամայ զարմից որ ծնան ...

Let me give as an example, the first humans that transgressed,
Whatever they did, they bore that, during virtuous or sinful life;
The day of their death came, behold, they left the world and passed away,
With many tortures inside, they took only the grave-cloths,
There were many kings, too, who were born from Adam's stock . . .

2 29 Ու կինն հանէ զմարդն ի փառաց նման Եւայի . . .

And the woman brings the man out of glory, like Eve . . .

183. Cf. Anonymous of Sebastia C15 (below) 118. The traditions in this passage occur in the Armenian Adam apocrypha: see Stone 1996a, 118 (names of the sisters of Cain and Abel); their birth is usually put at thirty years after the expulsion (ibid., 144) and the number of births is usually thirty and not fifteen. Note here that the fall down to the rank of animals has to do with procreation and not with food, as is the case in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

184. The common Armenian understanding of the name "Seth"; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

10 Վասն կանանց
10 Concerning Women

3 30 Կանանց ա́զգ լացէք զձեզ, դուք էք զէն ի սատանայէ,
Դըստեր էք այն մօրն ձեր. որ եհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն։

Race of women, bewail over yourselves, you are the weapon of Satan,
You are the daughters of that mother of yours, who brought Adam out of the Garden.

Text: L. Mkrtč‘ean and A. Madoyan, Հայ միջնադարյան քնարերգություն *Medieval Armenian Poetry* (Erevan: Nairi Press, 1996).

Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i, Ի չորս տարերաց
From Four Elements

4 269–70 Ի չորս տարերաց երկրի
Հողեղէն մարդ հաստատեցայ,
Կենօքս իմ խաւար կացի,
Շատ լացի, շատ յորդորեցայ։

From four elements of earth,
I established earthen man,
By my life I was in darkness,
I wept greatly, I was greatly exhorted.

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14

Text: Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i, Տաղագիրք *Poems*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1958).

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. Ē. Pivazean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1960).

Translation: Translations of many poems may be found in James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). The translations here are my own.

Ա I Love Poem Pivazean 119

1 2 Փառք ու պատիւ քո ստեղծողին,
Եդեմական դրախտէն կու գաս …

Glory and honor to your Creator,
You come from the Edenic Garden.

ԺԳ XIII Pivazean 154

Այլ տաղ խիստ աննման
Another Very Dissimilar Poem

2 12 Սիրուն չդիմանայ նախահայրն Ադամ,
Վանց սիրոյ ելաւ յեդեմ դրախտէն համ.
ԶԴաւթա գործն յիշեմ, ու քան զուռ դողամ,
Սողոմոնի սուգն ես այլ ի հետ լամ,

12 The forefather Adam does not withstand love,
He came out of the Garden of Eden because of love.
I remember David’s deed, and I shake like a branch,
The mourning of Solomon, I weep as well.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 161

Այլ բանք սիրոյ ի Յովհաննէսէ
Other Words of Love by Yovhannēs

3 53 Սէրն զԱդամ դրախտէն եհան,
Յերկիր ձըգեց ՚ւ արար շիւար,
Եւ սատանի ըզնա մատնեաց,
Որ չարչարեաց ամ վեց հազար։

53 Love brought Adam forth from the Garden,
Cast him to the earth, confused.
And it betrayed him to Satan,
Who tormented (him) for 6,000 years.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 164

4 1 Աստուած անսկիզբն եւ անսահման,
Անտանելի եւ անթարգման՝
Զգարունն արար հանց պատուական,
Նըման դրախտին եդեմական։
5 Ծառք եւ դրախտք կանաչեցան,
Մրգապայծառ զարդարեցան . . .

1 God, without beginning and boundless,
Inconceivable and inexplicable,
Made the spring so glorious,
Like the Garden of Eden.
5 Trees and gardens became green,
And were adorned with beautiful fruits . . . ,

Pivazean 167–68

5 66 Կու գայ խաղողըն գովական,
Զի սայ եհան զմեզ ի դրախտէն,
Յորժամ եկեր ըզնայ Ադամ:
զփակեալ դուռըն դրախտին
70 Կրկին խաղողն եբաց մարդկան:

66 The praiseworthy grape comes,
That drove us out of the Garden,
When Adam ate it.
The closed door of the Garden,
70 The grape opened again for humanity.

Առաջին փոխանակ. Տաղ ի վերայ Մահուան
Pivazean, 178

First Variant: Poem on Death

6 28 Բ Ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած,
3 խրատու գըրոց, մեղաւորաց թ'ինչ կայ պահած: (էջ 28)

II From Adam until today he did not leave any living being,
By the counsel of Scripture, what is kept for sinners?[185]

30 19 Երկրորդ փոխանակ. բան պիտանի.
Second Variant: A Useful Word

8 29 Գ Բեր ու ձըգէ զահն ի մըտիդ, դու էլ գիտես ինչ կա պահած,
յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր, շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած: (էջ 29)

Take and leave fear in your own mind, you also know what is kept,
From Adam until today, it did not leave any living being.

185. There is no extract no. 7.

Յաւելուած (երկբայականք).
Supplement (dubia)

6. Ի վերայ անզգամ կանանց
Upon Senseless Women Pivazean 187

9 8.56 Բ Կինն ի յայլոց քաղցրախօս է,
զԱդամ դրախտէն շուտ արտաքսէ.
կինըն սատանին ընկեր է.
Աստուած փրկէ կնկան շառէ:

The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
II She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden,
The woman is Satan's companion,
God saves from woman's tumult.

9. Գանձեր Ganjs (Liturgical Poems)

Գանձ հինգ աւուր Հոգոյ Գալստեան *Ganj* for the Fifth Day of Pentecost Bogharian 69–71

10 Բ Որ ի ջուրս գոլով, ստեղծագործելով, ըզքեզ յայտնելով.
զհրեշտակսն առնելով, դասիւ եւ կարգով, շնորհըս բաշխելով.
զերկիր ստեղծուածով, բուսով եւ տընկով, խոտով բանջարով.
զերկինս երկնայնով, զարդարեալ գեղով, լուսնով 'ւ արեւով.
զծովըս լընլով, լողական զեռնով, մեծամեծ կիտով.
զաւդս օդականով, զարդարեալ շըքով, թըռչուն հաւերով.
զազանս անասնով, եւ չորքոտանով, սողունս առնելով.
զԱդամ ստեղծելով, ի տիպ առնելով, քեզ նըման գոլով.
յԱդամ փըչելով, զոր ստեղծեալ ձեռով, հոգով կենդանով.
պարգեւըս տալով, ճոխ ցուցանելով, երկրի տիրելով:

II He who is in the waters, creating, making you known,
Making the angels, according to rank and order, granting grace,
Fashioning the angels, distributing by class and order, grace,
The earth with creatures with shoot and plant, with grass and vegetables,
The heavens with the celestial, adorned with beauty, with moon and sun,
Filling the sea with swimming creatures, with great whales,
The air with the ether, magnificently ornamented, with birds,
The beasts with animals, and quadrupeds, fashioning reptiles,
Creating Adam, making him in Your form, being like You,
Breathing into Adam, whom you created with your hand, with spirit of life,
Giving gift, showing abundance, ruling the earth.

11 70 Գ Վեհ երեւելով, Ադամ իւր պատւով, գերազանց գոլով.
իմաստ շնորհելով, քահանայելով, թագաւորելով.
ի դրախտին դնելով, բազմախիտ ծառով, կանաչ տերեւով.
զանազան պտղով, անթառամ գունով, եւ անուշ հոտով.
պատուիրան տալով, բազմացն ուտելով, միոյն չուտելով.
զոր ոչ պահելով, մերկացաւ փութով, ծածկեալ թզենով.
զնոյն այսաւր գոլով, քո պայծառ լուսով, նոր զարդարելով:

Adam, appearing sublime with his honor, being very excellent,
Being granted wisdom, becoming a priest, becoming a king,
Being put in the Garden, with very leafy trees, with green leaves,
With various fruit, with unfading color, and sweet fragrance,
Being given a commandment, to eat of many, not to eat of one,
Which he not keeping, was swiftly stripped, covering himself with fig leaves,
Being the same today, with your shining light, newly adorning.

3. Գանձ խաչվերացի երկրորդ աւուր *Ganj* for the Second Day of the Raising of the Cross Bogharian 71–74

12 71–72 Ա Յայն եդեմական, դրախտին փափկութեան, ծառոյն գիտութեան.
տընկոյն աւրհնութեան, նախնոյն նորոգման, դու փայտ փրկութեան.
եղեր զենարան, եւ մեծ ճեմարան, բանին հայրական.
աղբերաց հոսման, ի կողէն արեան, որ ի քեզ հեղան.
դըժոխք պարտեցան, հիմանց քակտեցան, եւ դրախտըն բացան.
խաւարըն լուծան, լուսով հաստեցան, եւ պայծառացան.
մարդիկ զաւրացան, եւ արժանացան, դրախտին փափկութեան.
երգեմք ընդ նոցայն, հոգւոց փրկութեան, նոր երգս աւրհնութեան:
Ընկալ զերկըրպագութիւն խաչիդ փրկական. աղաչեմք:

71–72 In that Edenic, Garden of delight, of the tree of knowledge,
Of the plant of blessing, of renewal of the first one, you, wood of salvation,
You became an altar, and a great academy of the Paternal Word,
Of flowing of springs, of blood from the side, which flowed on you,
Hell was conquered, its foundations destroyed, and the Garden opened.
The darkness was undone; by light strengthened and shining,
Men were made strong, and were worthy of the Garden of Delight.
We sing with them of the salvation of souls, new songs of blessing,
Receive worship of your saving Cross, we beseech.

Yovhan Arčišec‘i C14

Text: Yovhan Arčišec‘i, Մեկնութիւն ահաւոր խորհրդոյ սրբոյ պատարագին *Commentary on the Fearful Mystery of the Holy Liturgy* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1860).

1 53 «Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր զամենայն արարածս. որ արարեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում եւ նմանութեան. եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր ... եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:» Քանզի դրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառովք զիմաստութիւն առակէ. յոր եդաւ մարդն քննել զնա եւ պահել. զոր աստ խնդրել ասաց:

"You, that brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, You who made man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your grace . . . and taught (him) to seek for wisdom and prudence." For paradise with the trees of all kinds allegorically means wisdom, in which the man was put to examine it and to keep (it), which here is called "to seek for."

2 98 «Իսկ ի վախճան աւուրցս այսոցիկ զբովանդակ իսկ զպարտեաց մերոց խզեալ դատակնիք»: Վասնզի կամեցաւ հայր զամենայն գիր պարտուցն մերոց պատառել:

"And at the end of these days having annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . ." Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts.[186]

Yovhan Orotnec‘i C14

Text: Yovhan Orotnec‘i, Մեկնութիւն ստորոգութեանց Արիստոտելի *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories,* ed. V. Č‘aloyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

1 136 Եւ տես ի յԱդամ, զի նախ ամենայն զզալիքն եղեն եւ յետոյ մարդն կազմեցաւ:

And see in (the case of) Adam; first all the sensible (creatures) appeared and then the man was formed.

186. This refers to the cheirograph tradition; see Col 2:14. Note the use of պատառել, typical of this tradition.

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i, Մեկնութիւն տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին *Commentary on the Ten Canon Tables*, in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթէոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալւոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելւոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացւոյ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec‘i* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec‘i Press, 1825), 55–15.

This is attributed to Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i by Thomson, but the same text is attributed to Nersēs Šnorhali in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն խորանացն Աւետարանին "Commentary on the Canon Tables of the Gospel," ed. Y. K‘iwrtean *Bazmavēp* 131 (1973): 419–37, which corresponds to V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač‘enc‘, 1995), 44–60.

1 5 . . . Բարերարն զպատիւ բարետոհմութեան սորա եւ զպատճառ կենդանութեան ո՛չ թաքոյց ի սմանէ՝ պատկերասելով զմարդ՝ Աստուծոյ. եւ զդրախտն՝ բնակութիւն նմա. եւ զծառն կենաց՝ առիթ անմահութեան նորա, տնկեալ ի ձեռաց Աստուծոյ. զի զյիշատակս զայս ի մտի ունելով, խնդրեսցէ զնկզբնատիպն երբէք եւ զկենաց կերակուրն, եւ զվայրն վայելչութեան. եւ զի դարձցի ի փառսն իւր սեփհականս: Իսկ նա զայլ ոմն բանական շիջեալ ի փառաց՝ ունելով առաջնորդ կորստեան կամակորութեան իւրոյ, որ բիւր ճանապարհ մոլորութեան բանայր առաջի նորա. մինչեւ զնա թշնամի փրկութեան անձին իւրոյ՝ եւ հակառակ առաջին բարւոյն գտեալ՝ . . .

. . . The Benefactor did not hide from him the honor of his noble origin and the cause of his existence, calling the man image of God; and the Garden, a dwelling for him and the tree of life, the opportunity for his immortality, planted by God's hands, so that bearing this memory in mind, he would search for (his) prototype and for the food of life and for the place of delight, and so that he might return to his own proper glory. But he, taking hold of another rational being who had turned away from glory as a guide to his willful destruction, who opened before him myriad ways of aberration, until he found him to be an opponent of his own salvation and adversary of the primordial good. . . .

2 7–8 Առաջին խորանն՝ ուր ինքն աստուածութիւնն ասի բազմեալ՝ ի լոյսն անմատչելի: Իսկ երկրորդ՝ եւ երրորդ խորանն՝ ուր միջին եւ վերջին քահանայութիւն անմարմնոցն ասի: Չորրորդ՝ դրախտն . . .

Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց

կայ՝ զզգալի տարերքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմուճանն առակէր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին՝ յորս վայելէր զառաջինն . . .

Եւ յայլ խորանքս մթատեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօտ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ գայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս՝ եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն:

The first arcade (is the one) where the Divinity himself is said to be seated in the unapproachable light. And the second and third arcades are where the middle and the lowly priesthood of incorporeal ones is said (to be depicted). The fourth (is) paradise; . . . and the fourth arcade reflects paradise, for it stands on four columns symbolizing the sensible elements, that is mixed of four. And its color is blue and black, because the brightness of the Garden disappeared from Adam and his sons, which the skin-coat also symbolized; (he) having opposed God's glory and the Garden that he enjoyed at first . . .

And the other arcades (are) in somewhat dark-looking manner, and a cross being seen obscurely under the arcs, which showed the mystery of Christ, who came secretly in the prior times—the mystery of wisdom, having come down from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and to his descendants.

3 281 Եւ դարձեալ՝ իժ զսատանայ անուանէ, ըստ Դաւթի՝ ի վերայ իժի գնասցես դու. արդ՝ սատանայի էք ասէ ծնունդք՝ առաջին մարդասպանին, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ի հօրէ սատանայէ էք, զի հայրն ձեր զառաջինն Ադամ եսպան. իսկ դուք զերկրորդս խորհիք սպանանել . . .

And besides, it calls Satan adder; according to David, "You shall tread upon the . . . adder."[187] Now it says: you are offspring of Satan, the first murderer,[188] according to "You are of your father the Devil,"[189] for your father killed the first Adam, and you intend to kill the second one . . .

4 316 Աստուած Ադամայ երիս շնորհս ետ, թագաւորութիւն՝ զի ասաց տիրեցէք ամենայնի, եւ քահանայութիւն՝ զի անուանս եդ, եւ մարգարէութիւն՝ զի մարգարէացաւ վասն կնոջն. իսկ յետ յանցմանն կորուսին եւ զշնորհսն, ըստ այնմ՝ մի՛ մնասցէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա: Վասն

187. Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13.
188. Cf. John 8:44.
189. John 8:44.

այնորիկ եղեւ Տէր մեր երկրորդ Ադամ, զի վերստին զշնորհսն զայս հեղցէ ի մարդիկ . . .

God gave Adam three gifts: kingdom, for he said, "Have dominion over everything";[190] and priesthood, for he gave names; and prophecy, for he prophesied about the woman. But after the transgression they lost also those gifts, according to: "My spirit shall not remain in them."[191] For that reason our Lord became the second Adam in order to pour again these gifts upon humans . . .

5 398 Եւ տե՛ս՝ զի ո՛չ միայն յարարչութենէն վճռեալ հաստատէ, այլեւ ի հրամանէն. քանզի ոչ ասաց թէ՝ արար մի այր եւ մի կին միայն, այլեւ հրամայեաց միում առն ընդ միում կնոջն՝ ամուսնանալ, զի թէ հնար էր զմին թողուլ եւ զմիւսն ընդ նորա ածել՝ յորժամ զմի այրն արար, ապա բազում կանայս առնէր. եւ այսպէս արարչական օրինակաւ զօրինադրութիւնն յայտ արար՝ միում առն ընդ միում կնոջ բնակել հանապազ, եւ մի՛ երբէք քակել. քանզի ի միոյ արմատոյ այնպէս եղեն, որպէս ասացն թէ՝ որ արարն՝ արու եւ էգ արար զնոսա՝ եւ ասէ . . .

And see that this is definitely confirmed not only by the creation but also by the command, because it did not say that (God) created only one man and one woman but also that He commanded the one man to marry the one woman. For if it were possible to leave one (woman) aside and to bring another one in her place, when he created the one man, then He would have made many wives. And thus by the example of the creation he made legislation evident: one man must always live with one woman and should never separate (from her), for they came into being in that way from one root, as (it) said that He who created, "male and female created He them" and it says . . .

Text: Yovhannēs Corcorecʻi, Համառօտ տեսութիւն քերականի *A Brief Review of Grammar,* ed. L. Xačʻerean (Glendale, Calif.: ALCO Printing, 1984).

6 112 Եւ արդ՝ վասնզի բնութեամբ մարդն առաջին մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ ստեղծաւ եւ ընդ լինելութեանն ամբողջ եւ անսխալ բերէր յինքեան ընդ կազմութեան զգայարանացն եւ զբանիին մասանցն որպիսութիւն։ Իսկ ի կամակոր լինելն նորա լուծաւ պատիւ փառացն Ադամայ եւ կորոյս ընդ անմահութեանն եւ զբանիին շնորհն, նոյնպէս եւ զայլ գործարանացն կատարեալ զաւրութիւն։

And now, because the first man was created by nature capable of thinking and reasoning,[192] and during his creation wholly and faultlessly bore in himself, alongside the formation of senses, also the quality of the parts of

190. Gen 1:28.
191. Cf. Gen 6:3.
192. Literally: mind and genius.

speech. And when he was crafty, the honor of Adam's glory was dissolved, and he lost with immortality also the gift of speech, as well as the perfect power of other organs.

7 114 Արդ, եկեսցուք յառաջին գլուխն եւ ասասցուք՝ ուստի՞ գտեալ եղեւ գիր, յորմէ՞ քերականութիւնս:

Որպէս ասացի, նախ՝ յԵնովսայ եւ յԵնովքայ սկսեալ. եւ զայն գտեալ Արփաքսադայ, մնաց առ Եբեր որպէս լեզուն Ադամայ, որով վարժեցան քաղդէացիք, զոր ոմանք զասորիս ասեն: Իսկ յետ այնորիկ անցեալ Իսրայէլ ընդ ծովն Կարմիր՝ եբրայեցիք կոչեցան, զի եբրայն՝ «անցիք» լսի, մոռացան զեգիպտացին եւ առին զԵբերայն եւ կամ այլ իմն լեզու նոր, որպէս վկայէ Դաւիթ, «լեզու զոր ոչ գիտէր, լուաւ»:

Now let us come to the first chapter and say: whence writing was found, and by whom —grammar?

As I said, it was first started by Enosh and Enoch, and that was found by Arphaxad, it remained in Eber as Adam's language, by which the Chaldeans learned, whom some people call Assyrians (Syrians). And after that, Israel, having passed over the Red Sea, were called "Hebrews," for "ebray" means "pass." They forgot Egyptian and took (the language) of Eber or some other new language, as testifies David, "He heard (understood) a language that he knew not."[193]

193. Cf. Ps 81:5 = Arm 80:6.

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Fifteenth Century

Matenadaran Amulet 116 C15

Text: *Matenadaran Amulet 116* in Y. E. Loeff, "*Four Texts from the Oldest Known Armenian Amulet Scroll: Matenadaran 116 (1428)*" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2002). Section 2, lines 44–66

1 Յայնժամ ասեն դեւքն մեք հրեշտակք էաք յերկինս. եւ ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ. այլ հպարտացաք եւ ոչ տուաք զփառս Աստուծոյ. բարկացաւ եւ պատառեաց զերկինս եւ ի վայր ել/50/ից զմեզ մինչեւ յանդունդս. եւ էստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ. եւ եդ ի դրախտին. եւ զմեր պատիւն ետ նմայ: եւ մեք նախանձեցաք ընդ պատուի նորա. եւ տուաք ուտել ի պտղոյն /55/ որ ոչ հրամայեաց նմայ չէ ուտել. եւ հանաք զնայ ի դրախտէն. եւ զամենայն ծնունդ նորա խաբեցաք ի կռապաշտութիւն. ի պէսպէս մեղս: դասապետն մեր սատայէլ. շինեաց /60/ ապարան. եւ անուանէաց դժոխք եւ զհոգին Ադամայ եւ զայլ սրբոց անդ ժողովեաց մինչեւ ցովանէս: Յայնժամ գթացօ արարածս իւր. եւ առաքեաց զորդին /65/ միածին. որ եկն եւ մարմնացաւ ի սուրբ կուսէն մարիամայ.

Then the demons said, "We used to be angels in heaven, and we did not keep the commandments of God, but we swelled with pride and did not give glory to God. He became angry and tore the heavens apart and cast us down /50/ as far as the abyss. And God created Adam, and put (him) in paradise, and He gave our honor to him. And we envied his honor, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built /60/ a palace and named it "Hell," and he gathered there the soul of Adam and those of the other saints until John (the Baptist). Then He had compassion on his creatures and He sent his /65/ only-begotten Son, who came and was incarnated through the Holy Virgin Mary.

Anonymous of Sebastia C15

Text: Anonymous Author of Sebastia, Տարեգրութիւն *Chronicle*, in Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ XIII-XVIII դդ *Minor Chronicles, XIII-XVIII Centuries, vol. 2,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 115–72.

1 118 [1]Յորժամ յանցաւոր եղեւ Ադամ պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ հան զնայ Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան, իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ զամս Լ ողբացեալ եւ ապա մերձեցան առ միմեանս եւ ապա ծնան զԿայէն եւ զքուր ընդ նմայ Կլիմաս անուն: Եւ յետ Լ տարւոյ ծնաւ զԱբել եւ զԱբելուհի, քոյր նորա: Եւ յետ Լ ամի սպան Կայէն զԱբէլ եղբայր իւր . . . : Յետ ՃԼ ամի ելիցն ի դրախտի եղեւ որդի մխիթարութեան Ադամայ Սէթ: Եկաց այլ եւս Ադամ Չ ամ եւ մեռաւ. եւ է ամենայն ամք նորայ ՋԼ:

When Adam transgressed God's commandments, God drove him out of the Garden of Delight, and Adam and Eve having lamented for 30 years then they drew near to one another and then they begat Cain and with him his sister, Klimas by name. And after 30 years he (Adam) begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. And after 30 years Cain killed his brother Abel . . . 130 years after coming out of the Garden, Adam had a son of consolation, Seth.[2] Adam lived for 700 years more and died. And all his years are 930.

Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Դրախտագիրք *The Book of Paradise*, ed. N. Tēr Nersēsean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Translation: I translated Aṙak'el's Adam epic, the *Adamgirk'*, into English in a separate publication and, in the first part of this book that translation has been consulted. No reason was found to excerpt it here as well. See Stone 2007a.

բանք խրատականք
Admonitory Writings

1 61 Եւ այսպէս սկսանի բանս. զի ի դրախտ,
եւ ի քաղաք եւթն ազգ են յարարածս: Այսինքն.
10 ա. Նախ՝ դրախտն Ադամայ, որ էր քաղաք բնութեանս:
բ. Երկրորդ՝ դրախտ ասի գիրք Աստուածաշունչ, որ է քաղաք հոգոց:
. . .

1. Cf. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 24 and notes there. Observe here that the period before the birth of Cain is the usual thirty years.

2. See part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

20 ե. Հինգերորդ՝ զերեզմանն ասի քաղաք,
[զ]որ յԱդամայ հետէ քաղէ զամենեսեան,
եւ ժողովէ առ ինքն մինչեւ ի կատարած աշխարհի:

61 And my writing commences in the following way: for by “Garden” and by “city” are seven kinds of creations (designated), namely,
1. First, Adam’s Garden, which was this city of this nature.
2. Second, the Bible, which is the city of souls, is called Garden. . . .
5. Fifth, the grave is called city,
which plucks off everybody from Adam on
and gathers (them) in itself until the end of the world.

2 67 Դրախտն Ադամայ մեզ չէր օգուտ,
այլ դուրս արար զմեզ.
Վասն այն նոր դրախտ տնկեաց Աստուած,
որ դու վայելես քեզ:

Adam’s Garden did not benefit us,
But rather it expelled us,
For that reason God planted a new Garden,
so that you could delight yourself.

3 69–70 Այն որ չարեաց տայ գիտութիւն՝
մահ կու բերէ ձեզ:
Զպատուէրն զայն զոր Ադամաւ
տէր պատուիրեաց մեզ՝
Ունի խորհուրդ ազգի ազգի,
շահ եւ օգուտ մեզ:
/ Յամէն ծառոց, ասէ կերէք
հրաման տուի ձեզ.
Միայն զայն մինն մի՛ ուտէք
որ մահ կու տայ ձեզ:
Այս բանս մեծ խորհուրդ ունի.
պարտ է քննել մեզ.
Թէ մի զամէն բարի թողուք
ու չարն պահէք ձեզ:
Զամէն բարի բանք պահեցէք,
[զ]որ է յօգուտ ձեզ . . .

That which gives the knowledge of evil,
Brings you death,
That commandment that the Lord
Commanded us through Adam,
Has various sorts of mysteries,
Advantageous and helpful for us.
“Of all the trees,” he said, “eat!

I have commanded you.
Do not eat only that one,
Which brings you death."
These words contain great mystery,
We must study (it):
That you should not abandon every good.[3]
And keep evil for yourself,
Keep all good things,
Which are helpful for you. . . .

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Տաղեր *Poems*, in: Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs), vol. 1, part 1,* ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1911), 190–253.

Գ տաղ
Poem III

4 196 Տեսէք զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնին,
Որ չի լըսեց պատուիրանին,
Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցին,
Սոյնպէս եւ դուք, ո՛վ լալագին:

See Adam, our forefather,
Who did not obey the command,
(They) tortured him for six thousand years,
Likewise you too, O mournful ones.

5 206 Ադամ միով պտղով յանցեաւ,
Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցաւ . . .

Adam transgressed by one fruit,
He was tortured for six thousand years . . .

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Յաղագս քերականութեան համառաւտ լուծմունք *Brief Commentary on Grammar,* ed. L. Xač 'erean (Los Angeles: L. K. Khacheryan, 1982).

6 69–70 Եւ յետ վաղափուլ ամբարտակին, յորժամ բաժանեցան լեզուքն, / մնաց գիրն առ Եբեր, որպէս եւ լեզուն Ադամայ: Իսկ յորժամ անցին ընդ ծովն Կարմիր, յայնժամ կոչեցան եբրայեցիք, զի Եբերայն «անցիկ» լսի . . .

And after the early-destroyed tower, when the languages were separated, writing remained with Eber, as well as Adam's language. And when they

3. Or: the old-good things.

crossed the Red Sea, then they were called Hebrews, for Hebrew[4] means "passing"

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Լուծմունք Յաղագս Սահմանացն Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի "Commentary on the Definitions of the Invincible Philosopher," in Գիրք սահմանաց Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի *The Book of the Definitions of David, the Invincible Philosopher* (Madras: Šmavonean Press, 1797), 145–658

7 156 Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր մարդիկ ի խնդիր ելին իմաստասիրութեան, եւ բազում աշխատութեամբ գտին . . . Նախ զի յետ ելիցն ի դրախտէն, ամենեւիմբ յանբանութիւն էարկ սատանայ զբնութիւնս. մինչեւ յիմարեալ պաշտէին զօձ եւ զկարիճ:

But why did people set out in search of philosophy and find it with great efforts? . . . First, because after coming out of the Garden, Satan cast their nature into absolute irrationality, till, becoming foolish, (they) worshiped the serpent and the scorpion.

8 245–46 որպէս արարիչն սահման եդ Ադամայ զկենաց պատուիրանն՝ զի որքան պահէր կենդանի մնայր, եւ յորժամ ոչ կարաց / պահել՝ մեռաւ. այսպէս եւ սահմանս կենդանութեամբ եւ բանականութեամբ բաղկացուցանէ զմարդ. եւ որքան ունին զբան՝ կենդանի մնան, եւ յորժամ սպառի խօսք բանիցն՝ քաղուի շունչ կենդանութեան՝ յայնժամ մեռանի . . . որպէս արարիչն ընդ դնել պատուիրանին գուշակեաց՝ թէ մեռանելոց է մարդն, ասելով թէ յորում աւուր ուտիցես ի պտղոյն՝ մահու մեռանիցիս. այսպէս եւ սահմանն առնէ զի ընդ սահմանելն ասէ՝ կենդանի, բանաւոր, մահկանացու . . .

Just as the Creator set the commandment of life as a limit for Adam—that as long as he observed (it), he remained alive, and when he could not observe (it), he died—likewise, according to this definition,[5] he constitutes man through life and reason, and as long as they have reason, they remain alive, and when the discourse of reason is exhausted, the breath of life is gathered up; then (man) dies. . . . As the Creator, when giving the command, predicted that the man will die, saying, "on the day on which you eat of the fruit you shall surely die"[6] thus the definition does (the same), for, when defining, it says: living, reasonable mortal . . .

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4. Literally: Eberayn.

5. մարդ կենդանի բանաւոր մահկանացու՝ մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ "Man is a reasonable mortal animal, endowed with mind and reason"; see p. 243 of *The Book of Definitions*.

6. Gen 2:17.

9 263 . . . Այլեւ ստեղծումն Ադամայ ասէ. արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում, այսինքն, մի ասէ զմարդն, իսկ արասցուք՝ եւ մերումն զերեք դէմքն ցուցանէ:

. . . And (of) Adam's creation he says, "Let us make man according to our image," that is, he says "man" to be one, but "let us make" and "in our" show three persons.[7]

10 307 . . . Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, որ է անմեղ բնութիւնս . . .

. . . Man was created as the image of God, which is this sinless nature . . .

11 321–22 . . . Աստուած վեց արարչական զօրութիւն եցոյց յանձնէ իւրմէ: Նախ՝ զի կամքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ, թէ զամենայն զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար: Երկրորդ՝ զի խօսքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ որ ասաց Աստուած. եղիցի լոյս եւ եղեւն, եւ ասաց Աստուած. բաժանեսցին ջուրքդ որ ի վերոյ յերկնից եւ այլն եւ եղեւ այնպէս, վասն որոյ ասէ մարգարէն՝ ասաց եւ եղեն, հրամայեաց եւ հաստատեցան: Երրորդ՝ զի ձեռն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ / ձեռք քո արարին. եւ թէ էառ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ՝ եւ արար զմարդն: Դարձեալ ասէ՝ ի սկզբանէ Տէր զերկիր հաստատեաց: Չորրորդ՝ զի եւ մատունքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ են, վասն որոյ ասէ՝ տեսի յերկինս զգործս մատանց քոց, զլուսին եւ զաստեղս դու արարեր: Հինգերրորդ՝ զի եւ շունչն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ փչեաց յԱդամ շունչ կենդանի. եւ եղեւ մարդն հոգի կենդանի. եւ արարչագործեաց ի նմա զքահանայութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն, եւ զթագաւորութիւն, եւ այնչափ կարողացոյց զնա, մինչեւ կարողացաւ զԱստուած ծնանիլ մերով բնութեամբս: Վեցերորդ՝ զի բանն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ բանիւ Տեառն երկինք հաստատեցան. եւ նոյն բանն նախախնամէ զարարածս միշտ . . .

. . .God demonstrated six creative powers through His own self. First, because God's will is creative, according to that,[8] that everything which he wished, he did. Second, because God's speech is creative according to that which God said, "Let there be light and there was"[9] and God said, "Let the waters above the heavens be separated . . . and it was so."[10] Because of that the prophet says, "He spoke and it came to be; he commanded and it was established."[11] Third, because God's hand is creative, according to, "your

7. I.e., the plurals of the verb and the possessive adjective indicate the plurality of persons of the Trinity.

8. I.e., as is evident from the fact.

9. Gen 1:3.

10. Gen 1:7.

11. Ps 33:9 = Arm 32:9. "Come to be" and "was established" are in the plural.

hands have made"[12] and "the Lord God took dust from the ground and He made the man."[13] Besides, it says, "In the beginning the Lord established the earth."[14] Fourth, because God's fingers are creative, because of which it says, "I saw in the heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and the stars you made."[15] Fifth, because God's breath, too, is creative, according to that, "He breathed into Adam a breath of life, and the man became a living soul,"[16] and he created in him priesthood, prophecy and royalty and made him so mighty that he could bring forth God[17] with our nature. Sixth, because God's Word is creative, according to, "By the word of the Lord the heavens were established,"[18] and the same Word always takes providential care of the creatures . . .

12 341–44 Հարց. Ի՞ւ զանազանի գիտութիւն իմաստասիրացն ի գիտութեանցն Ադամայ:

Պխ. Եւ երկոտասան կերպիւ զանազանին ի միմեանց, զի թէպէտ որ խիստ ջանայ իմաստա/սէրն, ոչ կարէ յայն ժամանել, զոր յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն ունէր մարդն զիմաստասիրութիւնն: Նախ՝ զի Ադամ բնութեամբ ունէր զիմաստասիրութիւնն. այսինքն զի պատկեր է Աստուծոյ, եւ զոր ինչ կերպացեալ գոյր յԱստուած, նա բնութեամբ ունէր. այսպէս եւ զիմաստասիրութիւնն, իսկ մեք ստացմամբ ունիմք. Երկրորդ՝ զի նա անաշխատ ունէր, իսկ մեք բազում աշխատութեամբ: Երրորդ՝ զի նա բոլորովին ունէր, իսկ մեք մասամբք. զի մասն մասն ժողովելով վստահանամք: Չորրորդ՝ զի նա զամենայն գիտէր, զիմանալիսն եւ զզալիս, իսկ մեք զզալիս միայն, իսկ թէեւ իմաստասէրքն վասն իմանալեացն ասացին ինչ, միայն իմացան զզոյն նոցա. իսկ զորպիսութիւն կերպարանացն ոչ գիտացին, զոր գիտէր Ադամ:

Question: By what is the knowledge of philosophers differentiated from Adam's knowledge?[19]

Answer: They differ from one another in twelve aspects, for even if a philosopher makes great efforts, he cannot reach that wisdom which the man had before sinning. First, because Adam had wisdom by nature, that is, because he is God's image, and whatever was formed, existed in God, he had (it) by nature—thus also philosophy, whereas we have it through acquisition.

12. Ps 119:73 = Arm 118:73.
13. Gen 2:7.
14. Gen 1:1.
15. Ps 8:3 = Arm 8:4.
16. Gen 2:7.
17. I.e., Christ.
18. Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6
19. Literally, "knowledge's."

Second, he had it without effort, whereas we have it thanks to many efforts. Third, he had it wholly, whereas we (have it) partly, for we acquire certainty through gathering it part by part. Fourth, because he knew everything, the intelligible and sensible things, but we only the sensible. But though philosophers have said something about the intelligible things, they only apprehended their existence but they did not know the quality of their forms, which Adam knew.

13 Հինգերորդ՝ զի Ադամ դէմ յանդիման տեսութեամբ գիտէր, զի աչօք տեսանէր եւ ականջօք լսէր. իսկ մեք իմացմամբ միայն, եւ ոչ տեսութեամբ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի նա անմեղութեամբ ունէր զգիտութիւն, իսկ մեք աղտեղութեամբ, այսինքն նա որպէս մաքուր հայելի էր անմեղութեամբ, յորս երեւէր պատկերն Աստուծոյ. իսկ մեք ժանկոտեալ մեղօք, եւ նա որպէս պայծառ աչս ունելով տեսանէր զամենայն. իսկ մեր աչս որպէս լցեալ փոշով մեղաց, ոչ ինչ կարեմք տեսանել, վասն որոյ ասէ յերգսն՝ թագաւոր սիրելի թէպէտ՝ եւ ծածկեցաք ի տեսլենէ նորա՝ աչք մեր յիսնաւորք. այսինքն՝ զի / Ադամ յիսուն այսչափ տեսանէր աչօք, քան զայն զոր մեք տեսանեմք մտօք, եւ իմանամք: Եօթներորդ՝ զի նա անմահ գոլով յերկար կենօք յերկարաձիգ միտս ունելով, վասն որոյ յերկար իմանայր զամենայն. իսկ մեք մահկանացուք գոլով եւ կարճօրեայ, վասն որոյ կարճամիտ գոլով՝ եւ կարճառօտ իմանամք զբանն. այսինքն զմի ծայր բանին իմանամք, եւ զմիւսն ոչ տեսանեմք՝ զայն որ հեռագոյն է ի մէնջ:

Fifth, Adam knew through direct vision, for he saw with eyes and heard with ears, and we know only through apprehension and not through vision. Sixth, because he had the knowledge sinlessly, and we have it impurely: that is, he was like a clean mirror through his sinlessness, in which God's image was visible, while we are corroded[20] by sin, and he saw everything, having clear eyes, and our eyes, (being) as if full of the dust of sin, we can see nothing. Concerning this it says in the Song (of Songs): "Beloved king, although we were concealed from his vision, we have fifty eyes."[21] That is, Adam saw with his eyes fifty times what we see with our mind and apprehend. Seventh, because he, being immortal and thanks to long life having long-lasting mind, due to which he apprehended everything at length, while we, being mortal and having short life, due to that are short-witted and apprehend the matter shortly, that is, we know one end of the matter and do not see the other, that which is further from us.

14 Ութերորդ՝ զի նա անմոռանալի գիտէր, իսկ մեք մինչ զյետինն

20. He continues the image of the mirror, which was made of polished metal, here corroded.

21. This final passage of the Armenian text of Song of Songs is absent from the Hebrew (A.T.)

ուսանիմք, զառաջինն մոռանամք: Իններորդ՝ զի նա միահամուռ եւ միանգամայն գիտէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք երբեմն զայս ինչ գիտեմք եւ երբեմն զայն ինչ . . . Տասներորդ՝ զի լոյս բանականութեանն ի նա պայծառացեալ էր եւ փայլէր, որով տեսանէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք որպէս պատրոյկ առկայծեալ գոլով շիջեալ՝ ունելով զբոց լուսոյն՝ ոչ ինչ կարեմք նշմարել: Մետասաներորդ՝ զի նա անընդմիջաբար տեսանէր, իսկ մեք միջնորդաւ՝ զգալեօքս տեսանեմք եւ գիտեմք զիմանալիսն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ զի մեք զբանականն օտարացուցաք, որպէս եւ ասէ լուծմունքն, եւ զօտարախտ եւ զտգիտութիւնն բնական արարաք. իսկ նա / օտար ինչ ոչ գոյր, եւ զբնական պայծառութիւն ունէր զնմանութիւն, եւ զպատկերակցութիւն Աստուծոյ: Եւ վասն այս երկոտասան պատճառացս՝ իմաստասիրաց գիտութիւնն, որպէս կայծ մի էր առ արեգակնափայլ տեսութիւնն Ադամայ:

Eighth, because he knew without forgetting, but we forget the earlier thing while we learn the later thing. Ninth, because he knew everything at once and all together, while we sometimes know this thing and sometimes that. . . . Tenth, because the light of reason was bright in him and shone, by which he saw everything, and we, being like a sparking wick, having the flame of light extinguished, can notice nothing. Eleventh, because he saw immediately, while we see and know the intelligible things by intermediary of our senses. Twelfth, because we alienated reason, as the commentary says, and made the disease of alienation and ignorance natural, whereas he was not / an alien thing and had natural splendor, the likeness and shared image of God. And for these twelve reasons the knowledge of the philosophers was like one spark in comparison with Adam's vision shining like the sun.

15 349 . . . Երեք օրէնքն, զոր Աստուած եդ Ադամայ՝ թէ յամենայն ծառոց կեր, բայց ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. այսինքն այն չար գիտութիւնն որ քեզ բարի թուի՝ ցայն մի մերձենայր, եւ այս հուպ կատարումն է. զի հուպ ընդ հուպ որ քան պահէր զպատուիրանն կենդանի էր, եւ փառազարդեալ. եւ յորժամ անցեալ հուպ ընդ հուպ պատժեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ, ի դրախտէն անկաւ՝ եւ բնութեամբ մահկանացու եղեւ:

. . . The three rules that God established for Adam: eat of every tree except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; that is, that evil knowledge that seems good to you, do not approach it. And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped,[22] fell from paradise and became mortal by nature.

16 369 . . . (Մարդ) անմեղ ստեղծաւ, եւ անապական, եւ անբիծ հոգւով,

22. I.e., of glory.

եւ անարատ մարմնով, եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ, եւ խոհեմ, եւ արի, եւ ողջախոհ, եւ ազատականութիւն, եւ մեծահոգեղութիւն . . .

. . . (The man) was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity. . .

17 402–3 Արդ՝ որպէս արհեստաւորն, նախ զհուպ կատարումն իրին նկատէ ի միտս իւր, եւ ապա յետոյ առեալ զենթակայն գործէ ըստ նախատեսութեանն, այսպէս եւ արարիչն ընդ մեզ արար՝ զի գոյր հուպ Աստուծոյ տեսութեանն կատարումն մեր, նախ քան զստեղծումն մեր. ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ընտրեաց զմեզ յառաջ քան զլինիլն աշխարհի, լինիլ մեզ անարատս առաջի նորա: Երկրորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն նախ քան զստեղծումն. զի նախ ասաց Աստուած. արասցուք մարդ ըստ / պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ստեղծ: Երրորդ՝ զի ստեղծանելն զարարողութիւն պատկերակցութեանն արար, եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ենթակայ իրն հետեւանք եղեւ նմա: Չորրորդ՝ զի ամենայն արարողութիւնքն հուպ կատարումն էր. զի զոր ինչ արար պատկերակցութիւն էր. այսինքն հոգի՝ միտք եւ մարմին, նմանիլ երից միութեանն, եւ ոչ գոյր աւելորդ ենթակայ ինչ անդ: Հինգերորդ զի հուպ ստեղծմանն, այլ հուպ կատարումն արար. այսինքն զի ասաց՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն՝ ի պատկեր իւր, ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա: Վեցերորդ՝ զի երեք հուպ կատարումն ընդ ստեղծմանն եղեւ Ադամայ. զի նախ որպէս պահարան եդ նմա զհուպ կատարումն, որ ասաց արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ երկրորդ՝ զի արար զնա հուպ ըստ պատկերի նմանութեան իւրոյ, եւ երրորդ արար զնա հուպ՝ զի յետ կատարմանն եւ ստեղծմանն՝ հուպ կատարումն եդ նմա որպէս պահարան ասելով՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. ըստ պատկերի իւրում արար զնա: Եօթներորդ՝ զի դարձեալ ըստ ստեղծմանն արար այլ հուպ կատարումն. զի փչեաց ի նա շունչ կենդանի. եւ այս է առաւել հուպ կատարումն. զի մի շունչ է յերկոսեանն. այսինքն՝ յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ, եւ մի շունչն որպէս շաղկապ եղեւ եր/կուցն եւ այս էր հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ շունչ եղեւ յերկոսեանն: Ութերորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ ի կատարեալ կողիցն Ադամայ առաւ, եւ հուպ նմին օգնական կատարեաց նմին: Իններորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն, եդ նմա զկատարիչ կենաց պատուիրանին: Տասներորդ՝ հուպ, զի ինքն անճառ Աստուածութեամբն իւրով հուպ միացաւ ի բնութիւնս մեր, եւ Աստուածացոյց զըստ նմանութեան պատկերին իւր: Մետասաներորդ՝ ետ նմա զդրախտն փափկութեան, առաւել հուպ կատարումն . . .

Now as an artisan first considers in his mind the immediate perfection of an object, and then, subsequently, taking the subject, makes it according to his advance vision, so also did the Creator deal with us; for before our creation, the perfection of the vision of us was immediate to God, according to: “He

chose us . . . before the coming into being of the world to be immaculate before him."[23] Second, the immediate perfection (was) before the creation. For first God said, "Let us make humankind according to our image / and according to our likeness,"[24] and then He created. Third, the creation caused the formation of shared image, according to likeness, and then the object was its result. Fourth, every formation was an immediate perfection, for whatever he made was shared image, that is, soul, mind, and body, imitating the unity of the three, and there was no superfluous object there. Fifth, because immediate to creation, he made another immediate perfection, just as he said, "God created man in his image, according to the image of God he made him."[25] Sixth, because there were three immediate perfections with Adam's creation; for first he set the immediate perfection as a guardian for him, saying, "Let us make man according to our image and according to (our) likeness"; and second, because he made him immediate according to the image of his own likeness; and third, he made him immediate, for after the perfection and the creation, he set the immediate perfection for him as a guardian, saying, "God made man in his image, according to His image He created him."[26] Seventh, because, again, according to the creation he made another immediate perfection, for he breathed into him the spirit (breath) of life. And this is the more immediate perfection, for there is one spirit in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam, and the one spirit was like a bond for the two of them, and this was the immediate perfection that an immediate spirit was in the two of them. Eighth, the immediate perfection, for she was immediately taken from the perfect rib of Adam and immediate to him, He perfected a helpmate for him. Ninth, immediate perfection; he set for him the perfecter of the commandment of life. Tenth, immediate because He Himself through his ineffable Divinity was immediately united in our nature and made God that which was according to the likeness of His image. Eleventh, he gave him the Garden of Delight, a more immediate perfection . . .

18 458 Բան. Քանզի սահմանէ զիմաստասիրին նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան 74 21:

Նախ՝ զի ունի մարդս կարողութիւն նմանիլ Աստուծոյ. այսինքն՝ զի ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ ստեղծեալ է, եւ ըստ պատկերակցութեան կարող է նմանիլ նախատպին: Երկրորդ՝ զի ասաց Աստուած, արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. արդ զայս նմանութիւնս որ նախ ունէր, կարող է որ վերստին ստանայ:

23. Eph 1:4.
24. Gen 1:26.
25. Gen 1:26.
26. Gen 1:26.

Երրորդ՝ զի ասէ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան, զի ի փչմանէն Աստուծոյ կարողացաւ մարդն լինիլ նման Աստուծոյ, զի մի շունչ եղեւ յերկոսեանն. այսինքն յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ:

Subject: For (David) defines the philosopher's likeness to God according to human ability.

Commentary: First, because this man has the ability to be like God, that is, he was created according to the image of God, he (can) also be like the prototype according to the sharing of image. Second, because God said, "Let us make man according to (our) image and according to our likeness," now he can obtain again this likeness that he had first. Third, that he says, "according to human ability," for due to God's insufflation the man could become like God, for there was one breath in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam.

19 489–91 82.4 Հց. Վասն է՞ր ասէ՝ զչորս առաքինութիւնն մակստացական, այսինքն՝ զխոհեմութիւնն, զարիութիւնն, զողջախոհութիւնն, եւ զարդարութիւնն.

Պխ. Վասն տասն պատճառի . . . /491/ Հինգերորդ՝ մակստացական, զի նախ ի դրախտին բնական ունէաք զայնոսիկ, եւ յետոյ բարձեալ յետ մեղանչելոյն. այսինքն՝ զի նախ խոհեմութեամբ պատուէր զպատուիրանն, եւ արիութեամբ պահէր զօրէնսն, եւ ողջախոհ մտօք պահէր, եւ արդարութեամբ կայր ի կամս Աստուծոյ. իսկ յուտել պտղոյն յիմարեցաւ ի խոհեմութեանցն, զի ոգիք ըմբռնեալք ի մեղս մտաց եւս անկանին. եւ ծուլացաւ ի պատուիրանապահութենէն փոխանակ արիութեանն, եւ բղջախոհ եղեւ որկորամոլութեամբն, եւ անիրաւեցաւ առ Աստուած, կոխելով զհրամանս Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: Why does he call the four virtues newly acquired; namely, prudence, courage, judiciousness, and justice.

Answer: For ten reasons . . . Fifth, newly acquired, because first we had them in paradise by nature, and then, after the sinning, they were taken away; that is to say, in the beginning he prudently respected the commandment and courageously observed the law, and observed it with judicious thoughts and justly stayed in God's will. However, in eating the fruit he became foolish (being deprived) of prudence, for captured souls also fall into the sin of mind; and he was too lazy to observe the commandment instead of courage, and became lascivious[27] with gluttony and acted unjustly toward God and trampled upon God's commandment.

20 525–30 Հարց – Արդ՝ ասէ Դաւիթ զսահմանս իմաստասիրութեանն՝

27. Word play of բղջախոհ and ողջախոհ.

զայն որ առաւելութենէ է, թէ իմաստասիրութիւն է արհեստ արհեստից եւ մակացութիւն մակացութեանց . . . /526/

Պխ. Արդ՝ առաջին արարչութիւնն Աստուծոյ արհեստ էր. իսկ երկրորդ՝ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից . . . Չորրորդ՝ զի մարդ ստեղծաւ ըստ պատկերին, եւ ըստ նմանութեանն. այնպէս՝ որպէս պատկերն յորմն հանեալ է մարդոյն նմանութիւն, եւ այն գործ արհեստի է. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ ինքն Աստուած եղեւ բնութիւն մարդոյ. այսինքն՝ նախատիպն պատկեր եղեւ: Հինգերորդ՝ այն արհեստ էր, որ առեալ զկաւն մարդ ստեղծեաց. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ որ /527/ անմարմին Աստուածութիւնն՝ ստեղծագործեցաւ մարդ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի այն անշունչ եւ անկենդան եւ անբան հողոյ. իսկ այս ի շնչաւոր եւ ի կենդանի մօրէ բանաւորէ: Եօթներորդ՝ զի անդ արարիչն արար նիւթոյ մարդն. իսկ աստ արարածն յանեղական նիւթոյ արար զարարիչն: Ութերորդ՝ զի անդ նախատիպն արար իւր նման. իսկ աստ պատկերն զնախատիպն արար իւր նման: Իններորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մայր ի հօրէ կին ծնաւ. իսկ աստ առանց հայր ի մօրէ այր ծնաւ: Տասներորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մերձաւորութեան ծնաւ կին ի մարդոյ. իսկ աստ առանց մերձաւորութեան մարդ ի կնոջէ: Մետասաներորդ՝ զի անդ փչեաց Ադամ շունչ կենդանի. իսկ աստ փչօղն բնակեցաւ ի կոյսն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ զի նա զփչումն կորոյս ունկնդրութեամբ օձին. իսկ աստ փչօղն կենդանակերպեցաւ ի կոյսն՝ ունկնդրութեամբ հրեշտակին: Երեքտասաներորդ զի անդ կինն մերձաւորութեամբ առն յղացաւ, իսկ աստ կոյսն՝ հոգւով սրբով յղացաւ ...

Question: Now David says this definition of philosophy, which is based on priority,[28] that philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences.[29]

Answer: Now, God's first creation was the art, while the second creation (was) the art of arts . . .

Fourth, because man was created according to the image and according to likeness, like a picture on a wall depicts a man's likeness, and that is a work of art; and this (is) the art of arts, that God himself became a human nature, to be specific, the prototype became image. Fifth, that was art, when taking clay he created man, and this is the art of arts, when incorporeal Divinity was created as man. Sixth, because that (was) of inanimate and lifeless and nonrational dust, and this (is) from an animate and living rational mother. Seventh, because there the Creator made the man of matter, and here the creature made the Creator from uncreated matter. Eighth, because there the prototype made (the image) like himself, and here the image made the proto-

28. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 101.

29. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 51. See also Stone and Shirinian 2000, §3.1.5 and Introduction, 26–27.

type like himself. Ninth, because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse. Eleventh, because there Adam breathed the breath of life, and here He who breathed, dwelt in the Virgin. Twelfth, because he lost the breath by attending to the serpent, and here He who breathed became incarnate in the Virgin by attending to the angel. Thirteenth, because there the woman became pregnant through the intercourse with the man, and here the Virgin became pregnant through the Holy Spirit. . . .

21 528 . . . Քսաներորդ՝ զի այն որպէս արհեստ էր զի ամենեքեան այն արհեստիւն ծնանին. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ աննման էր եւ անօրինակ: Քսանեւմիերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն, օձն եւ դեւն առնէին՝ եկաւորութիւն եւ խօսակցութիւն ընդ նորա, եւ միմեանց հաւանութիւն. իսկ աստ հրեշտակաց եւ Աստուածութեանն եկաւորութիւն առ կոյսն, եւ խօսակցութիւն եւ հաւանութիւն կամաց: Քսաներկուերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն անարգութիւն վերանայր յԱստուծոյ՝ ի կոխել պատուիրանին, եւ խռովութիւն երկրի, եւ բարկութիւն Աստուծոյ ընդ մարդկան. իսկ աստ փառք ի բարձունս Աստուծոյ /529/ վերանայր, եւ յերկիր խաղաղութիւն. եւ ի մարդիկ հաճութիւն: Քսաներեքերորդ՝ զի անդ մեղք եւ կռապաշտութիւն եւ զանազան չարք յաշխարհ մտին. իսկ աստ արդարութիւն եւ կռոց խորտակումն, եւ պէսպէս սրբութիւն կուսանաց, եւ ճգնաւորաց, եւ մարտիրոսաց, եւ քահանայից, եւ ապաշխարողաց: Քսանչորսերորդ՝ զի անդ մահ, եւ դժոխք, եւ չարչարանք. իսկ աստ կեանք, ազատութիւն, եւ բացումն դրան արքայութեան:

Twentieth, because that was like an art, for all are born by means of that art, and this is the art of arts, being incomparable and unparalleled. Twenty-first, because there after coming into existence, the serpent and the Devil accomplished the arrival and conversation with her, and were in agreement with one another, whereas here (was) the arrival of angels and the Divinity to the Virgin, and conversation and agreement of wills. Twenty-second, because there after creation, offense against God rose up to trample the commandment, and (there was) confusion on the earth and God's anger against men, and here glory ascended to God's heights and (there was) peace on the earth and pleasure for men. Twenty-third, because there sin and idolatry and various evils entered the world, and here (there is) justice and destruction of idols and various (expressions of) the chastity of virgins and ascetics and martyrs and priests and penitents. Twenty-fourth, because there (were) death and hell and tortures, and here (there are) life, liberty, and opening of the door of the kingdom.

22 Քսանհինգերորդ՝ զի անդ ծառ մահու, եւ պտուղ մահաբեր. իսկ աստ

ծառ կենաց կոյսն, եւ պտուղն անմահ Քրիստոս, եւ կենսատու մարմին նորա յեկեղեցի: Քսանվեցերորդ՝ զի անդ փակեցաւ դուռն դրախտին, եւ սերովբէք պահէին բոցեղէն սրով զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց. իսկ աստ նոյն հրեշտակք աղաղակեն առ վերինսն, համբարձէք իշխանք զդրունս՝ ձեր, ի վեր համբարձէք դրունս: Քսանեօթներորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ՝ մի մնասցէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա, վասն լինելոյ դոցա մարմին. իսկ աստ ասէ՝ հեղից յոգւոյ իմմէ ի վերայ ամենայն մարմնոյ եւ մարգարէասցին:

Քսանութերորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ի զաւակի քում օրհնեսցին ամենայն ազգք: Քսանիններորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ՝ տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ահա կոյսն յղասցի /530/ եւ ծնցի որդի եւ այլն: Երեսներորդ՝ զի անդ ասացաւ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ մահու մեռանիցիք. իսկ աստ՝ որ ուտէ զմարմին իմ կեցցէ յաւիտեան, եւ ես յարուցից զնա յաւուրն յետնում. եւ այլ այսպիսիք: Վասն որոյ առաջին արարչութիւնն արհեստ էր: Իսկ երկրորդ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից:

Twenty-fifth, because there, there (were) a tree of death and mortal fruit, while here, a tree of life, the Virgin, and the immortal fruit, Christ, and his life-giving body, the Church. Twenty-sixth, because there the door of the Garden was closed, and the Seraphim were guarding with a flaming sword the way to the tree of life, and here the same angels shout to the celestial: "Lift up your heads, O rulers! your gate and lift up the gates on high!"[30] Twenty-seventh, there it was said: "Let my spirit not abide in them on account of their being flesh,"[31] while here it says: "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and they shall prophesy."[32] Twenty-eighth, there it was said, "Cursed be the ground; in the labor etc.,"[33] while here, "in your offspring shall all the nations of the world be blessed."[34] Twenty-ninth, there it was said, "In pain shall you bring forth children," etc., while here "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son" etc.[35] Thirtieth, because there it was said, "on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die,"[36] while here—"He who eats my body shall live for ever and I will raise him up on the last day."[37] And other instances like these. That is why the first creation was the art, while this second creation (was) the art of arts.

30. Pss 24:7, 9 = Arm 23:7, 9.
31. Gen 6:3.
32. Joel 2:28.
33. Gen 3:17.
34. Gen 22:18, cf. Acts 3:25: "And in your descendants all the families of the earth shall be blessed."
35. Isa 7:14, cf. Matt 1:23.
36. Gen 2:17.
37. John 6:54.

23 557 . . . Քսան եւ երկու կերպիւ տարակուսք գոն յաշխարհի . . .

Երկրորդ՝ տարակուսութիւն դիպեցաւ Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա. զի կարծելով թէ ընդ ուտել պտղոյն աստուածանան, եւ յերկինս թռիցեն. եւ յանկարծակի հակառակն եղեւ, զի զոր ունէինն՝ զայն եւս կորուսին. եւ այսքան պատժոց դիպեցան:

. . . Doubts exist in the world in twenty-two ways . . .

Second, doubt occurred to Adam and his wife, for they thought that with eating the fruit they (would) become gods and would fly to heaven; and suddenly the opposite happened, for they also lost what they had and encountered so many punishments.

MATT'ĒOS *VARDAPET* C15

Text: Matt'ēos *vardapet*, Ներբողեան ողբերգաբար ի թաղումն երջանիկ րաբունապետին Գրիգորի "Mournful Encomium on the Burial of the Blessed Rabunapet Gregory," in Գիրք ութն խորհրդոց մեղաց. Եւագրեայ և հաւաքեցեալ ի մի՝ յոգնաջան երկամբ Մատթէոսի վարդապետի *Evagrius' Book on Eight Mysteries of Sin Collected through the Laborious Efforts of Matt'ēos* vardapet (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Astuacadrean, 1750), 148–90.

1 153 . . . Արժան է լալ ընդ լացօղսն վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի իմասցուք զպակասութիւն բնութեանս, որ մեղօքն Ադամայ զպատուհաս զայս եբեր ի վերայ մեր:

. . . One should weep with the weepers for five reasons. First, so that we may learn the imperfection of this nature of ours, due to Adam's sin, brought this punishment upon us.

2 157 Իսկ դու ի մարմնական եւ յաղցաւոր կեանս գոլով՝ արմատ ունելով զփտեալն Ադամ եւ ծնեալ յախտից՝ յետոյ ժամանեցար մաքրութեան զերազոյն գտեալ:

And you, being in corporeal and miserable life, having Adam as root, rotten and born of vices, later arrived, having found supreme purity.

3 158–59 Այլեւ զարմանայ Ադամ. քանզի ձեռնասուն զաւակ գոլով Աստուծոյ, եւ յանճառ փառսն եղեալ, եւ պատուով շքացուցեալ, ոչ կարաց օր մի ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ մնալ: Իսկ ի քեզ տեսեալ ամենայնիւ զհակառակն՝ եւ համբերօղ եւ պահօղ: Եւ ի կատարման պատուիրանացն՝ որպէս նա ո՛չ պահելովն եւ, եւ դու պահելովն մտեր: Նա զրկեցաւ զառաջինն, եւ դու կոխեցեր զթոյնս վիշապին: Նա կողիւն խաբեցաւ, եւ դու զնա արհամարհեցեր: Նա զսէրն Աստուծոյ փոխանակեաց / ընդ կնոջ, եւ դու զաշխարհիս ընդ Աստուծոյ: Նա վասն միոյ պտղոյ ել, եւ դու միով դաւանութեամբ մտեր:

And also Adam is surprised, for being God's child, nourished by his hand, and having been set in ineffable glory and glorified with honor, he could not observe God's commandment for one day, whereas, having seen in you absolutely the opposite, (that you are) both patient and observing. And in accomplishing the commandments, while he came forth[38] for not observing, you observed and entered. He was deprived the first and you trampled on the dragon's poison. He was deceived by the rib, and you ignored it. He changed God's love for the woman, and you (changed the love) of this world for God. He came out because of one fruit, and you entered with one confession of faith.

Mkrtič' Nałaš C15

Text: Մկրտիչ Նախաշ *Mkrtič Nałaš*, ed. E. Xondkaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1965).

101 Տաղ հարսանեաց եւ ուրախութեան մարդկան
Poem of Wedding and Human Joy

1 1 Նախ օրհնեմք զԱստուածութիւն,
Որ ստեղծ զիրեշտակս ի լուսոյն,
ԶԱդամ արար ի հողոյ,
Եւ զկինն իւր ի կողոյ:

1 First we bless the Divinity,
That created the angels from light,
Made Adam from dust,
And his wife from a rib.

Խրատական բաներս ագահութեան եւ անընչութեան ի Նաղաշ Վարդապետէ ասացեալ
Didactic Writings on Avarice and Poverty pronounced by Nałaš *vardapet*

2 114 4 Ի սկզբանէ մինչ ի վախճան ամէն չարիք որ գործեցան,
Ագահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ի բարեացն զրկեցան.
Հայեաց եւ տես զնախնին Ադամ, որ ի դրախտին յադինական,
Աստուածային կերպարանօք պայծառանայր յարեւ նման,
Ագահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ցանկացաւ Աստուածութեան,
Վասն այն էանց զպատուիրանաւն եւ մերկացաւ զպատմուճան:

38. I.e., from the Garden.

4 From the beginning to the end all evils that were done
Were caused by avarice,[39] that they were deprived of the good things.[40]
Look and see the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden
Was shining with divine image, like the sun,
Avarice was the reason that he desired divinity,
For that he transgressed the commandment and was stripped of the garment.[41]

14 Նաղաշի ասացեալ է վասն ղարիպացն
On Strangers by Nałaš

3 168 Աստուծոյ մարդասիրին փառք յաւիտեան,
Որ ստեղծեր է զարարածս զանազան,
Արեւելք, հիւսիս, հարաւ, արեւմտեան
Մարդն ի վերայ է թագաւոր եւ աննման:

Eternal glory to (you), philanthropic God
Who have created various created things,
East, North, South, West,
Man is king over (all) and incomparable.

Yakob Łrimec'i C15

Text: Yakob Łrimec'i, Տոմարագիտական աշխատութիւններ *Works on the Calendar,* ed. A. Ēynat'yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

Մեկնութիւն տումարի
Commentary on the Calendar

1 203–5 Զի որպէս արար Աստուած եւ սահմանեաց ի չորեսին Զատիկսն, զնոյն եւ մեք ըստ օրինակին նորա արասցուք: Եւ նախ զարարչութեան Զատիկն, զոր արար Աստուած Ադամայ եւ ամենայն զգալի արարածոցս յետ յերկուց աւուրց հաւասարակաւորութեան, զի ի հաւասարակածին եստեղծ Աստուած զԱրեգակն եւ զԼուսին, որ ըստ եբրայեցւոց էր յաւելեաց ի չորս եւ ըստ հռոմայեցւոց՝ մարտի ի քսան, յաւուր չորեքշաբթոջ: Իսկ յաւուր ուրբաթու, յորու՝մ արար զմարդն եւ զգեցոյց զնա հանդերձս Զատկի զեռակի պարգեւ՝ զքահանայութեան, զմարգարէութեան եւ զթագաւորութեան ի հոգին / եւ զփեսայն նազելի չքնաղագեղ կուսիւ, զոր հարսնացոյց Ադամայ օրհորդն վայրի, զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զնոսա ի մարմին վայելուչ ի հանդերձս յոսկեհուռս լուսեղէն զգեստիւն եւ ետ նոցա յուրախութիւն Զատկի

39. Literally: avarice was the reason.
40. This is a technical term for paradisiacal or eschatological benefits.
41. I.e., of light.

զերկինս իւր լուսաւորօքն եւ զդրախտն իւր իմանալի տնկօքն եւ զօդդ իւր երաժշտական թռչնօքն եւ զերկիրս իւր զանազան տեսակացն կենդանեօքն եւ զջուրս ծովուց իւր ամենափարթամ լեզակօքն (v. l. լողկօքն, լողականօքն), զի մի ինչ պակաս գտանիցի յուրախութեանցն նորն Ադամայ ի նորագոյն արարածոցն, ի նոր արաչագործութիւնս Աստուծոյ ի նորոգումն Զատկին:

Because, as God made and defined four Easters, let us do the same after his example. And first, the Easter of creation, which God made for Adam and all sensible creatures two days after the equinox; for God created the sun and the moon on the equinox, which was one of the four epagomenal days according to the Hebrews, and according to the Romans—on the twentieth of March, on Wednesday. While on Friday, on which (day) he made the man and decked him out in the clothing of Easter, the threefold gifts of priesthood, of prophecy, and of royalty for the soul, and the bridegroom with the gracious virgin of wonderful beauty, the wild maiden, whom he made Adam's bride, and adorning decorated them in the fitting body in the clothing laced with gold, with a luminous garment, and gave them, for the joy of Easter, heaven with its luminaries and the Garden with its intelligible trees, and the air with its musical birds, and the earth with its various kinds of living things, and the waters of the seas with their abundant fish. Thus there would be found no lack in the joys of the new Adam, in the newly created things, in the new creations of God, for the renovation of Easter.

2 Եւ ապա արար Զատիկ նոցա ըստ քառից նշանակութեան, նախ զի յետ հաւասարակաւորութեան արար, երկրորդ՝ զի զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն եդ, որ սկիզբն եւ առաջին է կենդանակերպիցն, երրորդ՝ զի ի նիսան ամիսն արար, որ սկ՛իզբն է ամսոց ի յամիսս տարւոյն եւ յառաջնումն աւուրն, չորրորդ՝ զի Լուսինն ի լրման էր եւ բատր եւ բոլոր, լրացեալ քանակիւն չափու լուսովն զարդու, զոր յառաջիկայդ ուսուսցուք: Բայց գիտել պարտ է, զի ոչ էառ դրութիւն յԱստուծոյ առ Ադամ տումարական արհեստս Զատկաց՝ առնել զայսմ (v.l. զայս) կեանս իւր եւ ինքն եւ որդիք իւր: Եւ այս վասն երից պատճառաց. նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ մարդոյն, երրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ Զատկին:

And then he made for them Easter according to four meanings. First, because he made (it) after the equinox; second, because he put the sun in Aries, which is the beginning and the first (sign) of the Zodiac; third, because he made (it) in the month Nisan—which is the beginning of the months among the months of the year[42]—and on the first day; fourth, because the moon was full and round, filled by the necessary quantity of light, its adornment, which we shall learn later. But one should know that this calendrical art of Easters

42. Exod 12:2.

was not established by God for Adam, to apply in this life, both he and his offspring. And this was done for three reasons. First, on God's part; second, on man's part; third, on the part of Easter.

3 Եւ նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, զի Աստուած ետ նմա զմշտնջենաւոր Զատիկն, զի ուրախութեան զրաւ ոչ լիցի, զոր այժմ ունին հրեշտակք եւ ի կատարածին արդարքն, զայն ընդ առնուլն եւ իսկոյն կորոյս, վասն որոյ ոչ կամեցաւ տալ զժամանակաւորս Զատիկ: Երկրորդ, զի Ադամ ոչ ուրախացոյց զԱստուած յառաջին Զատիկն իւր ստունկ անելով պատուիրանին, այսպէս եւ ոչ կամեցաւ Աստուած ուրախանալ՝ նմա պարգեւելով երկրորդ Զատիկն: Երրորդ, զի յորժամ դատապարտեաց մահու եւ ծառայութեան, այլ ոչ էր հնար տալ Զատիկ առանց ազատութեան: Չորրորդ, իբրեւ ետես Աստուած, եթէ կորուստ մշտնջենաւոր Զատկին Ադամայ ի դրախտին ի սատանայէ եղեւ, զի վասն անկման նորա՝ սուտ խաբէութեամբ ձգէր զնա ի ցանկութիւնս աստուածանալոյն, կամեցաւ Աստուած զընդ դիմակն սատանայի առնել, ճշմարտիւ աստուածացուցանել զմարդն եւ տալ Ադամայ զերկնային Զատիկն եւս բարձրագոյն: Վասն այն ոչ կամեցաւ տալ Աստուած սուղ դրութեամբ զաստ ի Զատիկս Ադամայ, որ էր նուաստագոյն: Երկրորդ, ի կողմանէն Ադամայ, քանզի սաստիկ եղեւ հարուած անկմանն Ադամայ եւ սուգ / յաւիտենական, զի ոչ էր յանձն առնելոց զուրախութիւն Զատկաց, որ այնքան բազմապատիկ պարգեւեաց, կորստեանն պատահեցաւ:

And first, on God's part, as God gave him the eternal Easter so that he would not be deprived of joy, which the angels have now and the just at the end, this which he lost right after receiving (it). That is why (God) did not want to give this temporary Easter. Second, because Adam did not gladden God, disobeying the commandment during the first Easter, so God did not want to gladden (him), by granting him the second Easter. Third, because when he condemned him to death and servitude, it was no more possible to give Easter without freedom. Fourth, when God saw that Adam lost eternal Easter[43] in paradise because of Satan—for (Satan), in order to make him fall, attracted him by false deceit to the desire of becoming god—God wished to do the opposite against Satan, to make the man really god and to give Adam the even higher celestial Easter. For this reason, God did not want to give the temporary Easter in a straitened condition to Adam who was inferior. Second, on Adam's part, because the blow of Adam's fall was terrible and the eternal mourning, for he was not going to receive the joy of Easters, which (God) had granted so wondrously, (but) encountered death.

4 Նախ զի ի տեսութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկեցաւ, զի այլ ոչ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ խօսել ընդ նմա, երկրորդ՝ ի լուսաւոր

43. Literally: Adam's loss of eternal Easter happened.

պատմուճանէն, զի յորժամ կերան ի պտղոյն առ ժամայն մերկացան ի լուսեղէն զարդուն, երրորդ՝ ի անաշխատ կենացն, զի ի քիրտն երեսացն հրամայեցաւ վաստակել զհացն, չորրորդ՝ ի վայելչութենէ զեղեցկութեան դրախտին, զի արտաքսեաց եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտին, հինգերորդ՝ զի կորոյս զթագաւորութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն, վեցերորդ՝ զանծերանալի հասակն եւ զանմահութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ Զատկին, նախ՝ զի Զատիկն ազատութիւն է, եւ նա կորոյս զազատութիւն թագաւորութեան եւ եղեւ ծառայ մեղացն, զի «որ առնէ զմեղս, ծառայ է մեղաց» (Յովհ. Ը. 34) ասէ Տէր, եւ ուրախութիւն Զատկի ոչ կարէ ուրախացուցանել զտրտմութիւն ծառայի, թէեւ բարութեան իցէ, երկրորդ՝ զի դատապարտեցաւ ի ծառայութիւն մահու, դառնալ ի հող եւ բանտիլ մարմնով ի գերեզման, երրորդ՝ զի հոգով իջաւ ի բանտ դժոխոց եւ մատնեցաւ ի գերութիւն սատանայի, չորրորդ՝ զի Զատիկն ուրախութիւն լսի, եւ նմա ասացաւ «տրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնցես որդիս», զի մինչեւ յօր մահու ի տրտմութենէ, ի ցաւոց եւ ի արտասուաց ոչ դադարեաց:

First, since he was deprived of the vision of God, for he no longer saw God's face nor spoke with him; second, (since he was deprived) of the luminous clothing, for when they ate of the fruit, they immediately were stripped of the luminous adornment; third, of untroubled life, for he was commanded to earn his bread by the sweat of his face; fourth, of the splendor of the beauty of the Garden, for He drove (them) out and lodged (them) opposite the Garden; fifth, because he lost the royalty (and) prophecy; sixth, the unageing age and immortality. Third, on the part of Easter; first, because Easter is freedom, and he lost the freedom of royalty and became a slave to sins, for "everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin"[44] the Lord says; and the joy of Easter cannot gladden the sadness of a slave, although it is of goodness; second, because he was condemned to the servitude to death, to return to dust and to be imprisoned by body in a grave; third, because he descended with (his) soul to the prison of hell and was delivered into Satan's captivity; fourth, because Easter means joy, and she was told, "in suffering and pain you shall bring forth children," for until the day of (her) death she did not cease from sorrow, pain, and tears.

5 221–22 Գիտելի է, զի երեք են սկիզբն արարչութեան աւուրցն, առաջին օրն սկիզբն է արարչութեան, եւ չորրորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն Արեգականն եւ Լուսնի ընթացութեան, իսկ վեցերորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն արարչութեան Զատկի եւ տարեմտի, ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ դարուց կատարման: Զի եւ նմին աւուր մարդն ստեղծաւ, եւ Արե/գակն ի Խոյն եմուտ, եւ տարին զսկիզբն ի վեցերորդ աւուրս էառ, որ օր առաջին էր երբայեցւոցն նիսան ամսոյ, եւ առաջին ամիս սա է յամիսս տարւոյ:

44. John 8:34.

Եւ զայս ցուցցուք հինգ կերպիւ: Առաջին, զի մարդն էր թուող ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ յառաջին աւուրսն ոչ էր ստեղծեալ: Այլ յորժամ եստեղծ զթուողն ժամանակաց ի վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա եդ զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն, եւ զարարչութեան Զատիկն արար ի նիսանի Ա. եւ զմէկն նիսանայ արար տարեգլուխ եւ սկիզբն տարւոյն, զի անտի թուեսցէ զհամար որքանութեան ժամանակաց:

One should know that three of the days of creation were a beginning; the first day (was) the beginning of the creation, and the fourth day was the beginning of the orbiting of the sun and the moon, while the sixth day (was) the beginning of the creation of Easter and the new year, of the completion of years and times and ages. For on the same day man was created, and the sun entered Aries, and the year commenced on the sixth day, which was the first day of the month Nisan of the Hebrews, and this is the first month among the months of the year.[45] And we shall demonstrate this in five ways. First, the man was the enumerator of the years and times, and on the first day he was not created. But when He created the enumerator of time on the sixth day, then he put the sun in Aries, and established Easter of the creation on Nisan 1, and established the first of Nisan as the New Year day and the beginning of the year, in order that he might count thence the number of the quantity of times.

6 251 . . . Նախ արարչութեան պահքն բնական եղեւ ամենայն կենդանեաց մինչ զի յետ Զ. աւուր ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ ապա լուծաւ պահքն կենդանեաց: Զի կենդանիքն, որ յառաջագոյն ստեղծան, քան զմարդն, անսուաղ կեցան մինչ ի լինելութիւն մարդոյն: Եւ յորժամ հրամայեաց Աստուած Ադամայ՝ թէ «ամենայն պտուղք եւ սերմանիք ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր եւ ամենայն գազանաց՝ եւ ամենայն սողնոց», եւ ապա սկսան կերակրիլ կենդանիք: Երկրորդ՝ զի յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, Ե. օր սուգ պահեաց անսուաղ՝ մնալով մահու, մինչ յետոյ գթացաւ Տէրն եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի միոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստացաւ զառաքումն Միածնին ի փրկութիւն նորա եւ հրամայեաց ուտել ի պտղոյ վայրեացն: . . .

First there was (the) natural fast of the creation for all animals, until after six days man was created, and then the fast of the animals was broken. For the animals that were created before the man, lived without food until the man's coming into being. And when God commanded Adam, "let every fruit and seed be food for you and for every beast and to everything that creeps,"[46] then all the animals began to eat. Second, because when Adam came out of paradise, he mourned fasting for five days, waiting for death, until the Lord pitied (him) and commanded an angel to console him and promised the sending of the Only-Begotten for his salvation, and commanded him to eat wild fruit(s).

45. Exod 12:2.
46. Cf. Gen 1:29-30.

Sixteenth Century

Awetik‘ Mahtesi C16–17

Text: Awetik‘ Mahtesi, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th cc.),* vol. 2, ed. H. Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 34–46.

1 43 Պարտ է խոնարհութեամբ կենալ,
Նմանիլ սրբոցն ամէնի։

One should live with humility,
Be in everything like saints,

2 Քան զԱդամ՝ ձեռագործ Աստուծոյ,
Որ չեկաց նա պատուիրանի,
Արտաքսեցաւ ի դրախտէն,
Անիծից եղեւ արժանի։

(And) not (like) Adam made by God’s hands,
Who did not obey the command,
Was expelled from the Garden,
Became worthy of curse.

Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16

Text: Azaria J̌ułayec‘i, “Poems,” in K. Kostaneanc‘, Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանաւորներ *New Collection: Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses, vol. 4* (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press, 1903), 29–31.

Տաղ Ադամայ մերկանալ
Poem on Adam being Stripped[1]

1 32–34 Ադամ նստել դուռն դրախտին,

Լայր եւ ձայնէր ողորմագին.

1. Another variant of this poem is attributed to Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz: see Yovhannēs

Ա՛յ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք,
Որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք։

Adam, sitting at the door of the Garden,
Was weeping and crying pitiably:
O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You who enter the Garden!

2 Զաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէ՛ք,
Զայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէ՛ք.
Երէկ էի մէջն դրախտին
Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային։

Implore the Divinity,
Reconcile me, the sinful one, (with Him),
Yesterday I was in the Garden,
Covered with divine light.

3 Այն թագաւորն էի դրախտին
Նման հզօր պատուիրանին.
/ Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
Որ խալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
Զիմ գեղեցիկ զարդերքս առին,
Զիս անողորմ մերկացուցին։

I was the king of that Garden,
Like the powerful commandment;
Because of my wife Eve
Who erred, through the deceit of the serpent,
They took away my nice adornments,
Mercilessly made me naked.

4 Յուսկայ[2] ու մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
Եւայ նստել ու խիստ կուլայ.
Յէ՞ր չի ընկնիլ ոտքն նորա,
Լալով ասել թէ Տէր մեղա՛յ։

Behold, I am hopeless and naked now,
Eve is sitting and crying bitterly,
Why does she not fall at His feet
To say crying, "O Lord, I have sinned"?

Erznkac'i Pluz 1958, 228–36. Bardakjian (2000, 300) accepts the attribution to Azaria but reports the alternative view as well.

2. Following Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 1958, 229.

5 Ի յայս մէկ տարպաս ես խալտեցայ,
Բանիւ կնոջն խաբեցայ,
Ի կողէս կին ստեղծեր զնա.
Պտղոյն երետ եւ ինձ, կերայ:

I erred only this one time;
I was deceived by the woman's speech;
You created her, a woman from my rib;
She gave of the fruit also to me, I ate.

6 Տէր անիծեաց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
Ես այլ ի մէջն դրեցայ.
Երբ զոտնաձայնն Տէառն լուայ
Գալոյ ի դրախտն, ես ափշեցայ:

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve;
I, too, was involved;
When I heard the Lord's footsteps
Coming to the Garden, I was astonished.

7 Տերեւ թզենւոյ առեալ սփածայ,
Ի մէջ ծառոցն անկեալ թագեայ.
Եկն եւ ձայնէր. Ադա՛մ, ո՞ւր ես.
Ես ձայն տուի, թէ մերկ եմ ես:

Taking a leaf of a fig-tree, I put it on;
I hid myself[23] among the trees;
He came and called, "Adam, where are you?"
I called that I am naked.

8 Ամ ո՞վ ասաց թէ մերկ էք.
Կամ ո՞վ խաբեց, ինձ պատմեցէ՛ք.
Յուստի՞ պատուէր տուի մի՛ ուտէք:

"Now who said that you are naked?
Or who deceived you? Tell me.
Where is the commandment that I gave, 'Do not eat'"?

9 Է՞ր չի ասել թէ Տէր մեղայ,
Դու ես Աստուած, ինձ ողորմեա՛.
Քանց թէ պատճառ դրի զԵւայ,
Անանց բարեացն թափեցայ:

Why did I not say, "Lord I have sinned,
You are God, have mercy on me"?

3. Literally: falling, I hid.

Inasmuch as I made Eve the cause,
I was deprived of eternal good!

Ա՛յ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք
Այդ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Երբ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Դրախտին դուռն մի՛ փակէք.
Զիս իր դիմաց կանգնեցուցէ՛ք
Պահ մի հայի՛մ լոկ, դարձուցէ՛ք:
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ, ծաղկու՛նք,
Քաղցրաբարբառ, անմահ զուարթունք,
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ թռչունք.
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք.
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ ձկու՛նք.
Եզի՛նք, գառու՛նք եւ անասու՛նք,
Որ կայք ի դրախտդ աստուածատունկ
Յերկրի ընտրեալ ազգի ակունք,
Որ զդրախտդ վայելէք,
Ձեր թագաւորն եկէ՛ք, լացէ՛ք:

O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You that enter this Garden!
When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the door of the Garden!
Put me in front of it,
Let me just have a look for a second, (then) return (me here).
Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweetly-speaking, immortal Watchers.
Ah, I remember you, birds,
Sweet-tasting springs.
Ah, I remember you, fish,
Oxen, lambs, and animals,
That are in that God-planted Garden,
Choice springs of the earth,
That enjoy the Garden!
Come and bewail your king!

Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16

Text: Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i, “Poems,” in Mayis Avdalbegyan, Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցի, XVI դ., Ուսումնասիրություն, քննական բնագրեր եւ ծանոթություններ *Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i, XVI Century: Study, Critical Texts and Commentary* (Erevan: Sovetakan Groł, 1963).

Ի Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցւոյ արարեալ ոտանաւոր զվարս Մարինոսի ճգնաւորին
Poem on the Life of the Hermit Marinos by Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi

1 107–8 Անծին անըսկիզբն է հայրն երկնային,
Որդոյ պատճառ ծնընդեան անժամանակին.
Բըխումն անքըննաբար, ճըշմարիտ հոգին
Ի կերպն իւր ըստեղծեաց զԱդամն առաջին:
Փառօք զնա զարդարեաց եւ եդ ի դրախտին,
Պատուէր երետ նմա եւ կընոջն նորին՝
Յամենայնէ ուտել պատուիրեաց նոցին,
Բաց ի ծառոյն միոյ բարոյ եւ չարին:
Յորժամ անցաւ Ադամ զպատուէրն արարչին
Եւ զմահաբեր պըտուղըն ճաշակեցին,
Եւ մերկ եւ խայտառակ զինքեանըս տեսին
Յանապական լուսոյն, որ զգեցեալ էին:
Մահու զըրաւեցան, զի զպատուէրն անցին,
Ի տրտմութեան հովիտըս նոքա մըտին,
Եւ քրտամբք երեսաց ըզհրամանն առին
Վաստակել զերկիր եւ ուտել զբերս նորին:

The heavenly Father is unbegotten, without beginning,
The cause of the timeless birth of the Son;
Inscrutable emanation, the true Spirit
In his form He created the first Adam.
He adorned him with glory and put (him) in the Garden,
He gave him and his wife a commandment,
He commanded them to eat of every one,
Except of the one tree of good and evil.
When Adam transgressed the commandment of the Creator,
And they ate the mortal fruit,
They saw themselves stripped and shameful
Of the incorruptible light in which they were clothed.
They were captured by death, for they transgressed the commandment,
They entered the valley of sorrow
And received a commandment to till the ground
And to eat of its fruits by the sweat of (their) face.

6. Գանձ Ուռընկարու սուրբ նշանին
Ganj on the Holy Cross of Uṙněkar

2 143–44 Հոգին Աստուած է միշտ կենդանի,
Անհատաբար ի հօրէ բըխի.

Բանիւ ստեղծեաց զբանակքն անմահի.
Զգունդքն հրեշտակացն ի հրեղէն արփի:
Ստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ըստ իւր պատկերի
Եւ զարդարեաց շնորհօքն եօթնարփի.
Յեդեմական դըրախտըն փոխի,
Արքայօրէն ի գահոյս բազմի:
Պատուէր առին վասն մի պըտղի,
Չի ճաշակել առանց հրամանի.
Չարեաց զիտակն ի յօձըն բունի.
Եւ ընդ նախահօրըն մեր նա խօսի:
Թ’ ով ճաշակէ յայն ծառոյն պըտղի,
Արքայօրէն նա Աստուած լինի,
Եւ ճանաչել ըզչարն ու զբարի,
Նըման լինել ձեր ըստ ածողի:
Եւ խաբեցաւ կինն ողորմելի,
Գեղով պըտղոյն աչաց հաճելի.
Կերաւ Ադամ ձեռօքն Եւայի
Եւ յեդեմական դրախտէն հալածի:
Երկըրպագեմք խաչին Քրիստոսի
Ազատարար համայնից ազգի:
Նամիցըս Տէր նախնոյն արարող
Նա բարկացաւ, ասաց. Դարձ ի հող,
Քանզի չեղեր, ասէ, դու կարող
Կալ հակառակ եւ չարին յաղթող:
Տառապանօք տանջիք զերդ ըզգող,
Դրախտին եղեալ հրեշտակ պահեցող,
Եւ սերոբէք սուսերօք շրջող
Եւ հողեղէն բնութիւնս մեր կիզող:
Ի յուրբաթու վեց ժամըն կերան,
ԸԶմահաբեր պըտուղըն անպիտան.
Եւ վեց ժամուն վեցհազար անցան,
Տառապանօք նոցա տանջեցան:

God the Spirit is always living,
It continuously emanates from the Father;
He created by the Word the immortal armies,
The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven.[4]
He created the man according to his image
And adorned him with the graces of the seven heavens;
He is transferred to the Garden of Eden;
He sits on the throne like a king.
They received a commandment concerning one fruit,

4. Or: ether.

Not to eat without a command;
The one experienced in evil nests in the serpent
And speaks with our ancestor.
That one who eats of the fruit of that tree,
He will become god like a king,
And he will know evil and good;
He will be like your creator.[5]
And the miserable woman was deceived
By the beauty of the fruit pleasant to the eye;
Adam ate at Eve's hands,
And was driven from the Garden of Eden.
We worship Christ's cross,
The liberator of all nations.
The Lord of hosts, the ancestor's Creator
Grew angry (and) said: "Return to dust!
For you were not," He says, "able
To oppose and defeat evil.
You will suffer punishment like the thief."[6]
He put an angel guarding the Garden
And Seraphim with turning swords
Burning[7] our earthly nature.
They ate on Friday at six o'clock,
The mortal worthless fruit.
And for those six hours, they passed six thousand years;
They were punished with troubles.

14 Ըստ անուան երգողին ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ
Poem on the Holy Mother of God by Grigoris Katʻołikos

3 175–76 Գրեալ մակագիծ կըտակ,
Սափոր մանանին ունակ,
Բըխեալ յԵդեմայ վտակ,
Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:
Նաբունոյն Եդեմ ծաղկած,
Մեզ պատճառ եղեր կենաց . . .
Ուրախ եղեւ մայրն Եւայ՝
Անմարմինըն մարմնանայ . . .
Նախացիր, Ադամ, հայր մեր,
Փըտեալ հընացեալ դու ծեր,

5. Based on the popular etymology of Astuac "God"; see *NBHL*, s.v.
6. At the crucifixion.
7. Literally: and burners.

Քեզ նոր նորոգող եկեր,
Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:

Written inscribed testament,
Urn containing manna,
Stream springing forth from Eden,
Temple of light, mother Holy Virgin!
Blossoming Eden of the Master!
You were the cause of life for us . . .
Mother Eve rejoiced—
The incorporeal one is incarnated . . .
Rejoice, Adam, our father,
You, rotten, worn out old man!
Your new renewer came,
The temple of light, mother Holy Virgin.

16 Ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ Աղթամարցւոյ ըստ անուան երգողին
By the Katʻołikos Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi, According to the Name of the Poet

4 180 Գովեմ զքեզ մարմնով հրեշտակ,
Բարի արմատ՝ սուրբ յիշատակ,
Յորթոյն կենաց տունկ բարունակ,
Ի գնացըս ջուրց հոգւոյն վըտակ . . .

I praise you, incarnate angel,
Good root, holy memory,
Branch of the vine plant of life,
Stream of the Spirit in the flow of waters . . .

5 Գունով ես դու պըտուղ բարի,
Ծառ քո ի դրախտն որ յԱդենի,
Ադենն է մերս եկեղեցի,
Որ ի հոգւոյն առոգանի:

By color you are a good fruit,
Your tree is in the Garden, which is in Eden,
Eden is our church
Which is watered by the Spirit.

17 Նորին Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by the Katʻołikos Grigoris

6 182 Դու ես յԱդինայ դրախտէն,
Զոր տընկեալ աջըն աներական,
Կենաց ծառ ծաղկեալ ես դու.
Վարսաւոր սրովբէն պահապան . . .

You are from the Garden of Eden,
Which the increate right hand planted,
You are a blossoming tree of life,
The long-haired Seraph is the guardian . . .

7 183 Դըրախտ ես ծաղկածաւալ,
Վայելուչ փըթթեալ բուրաստան,
Կարմիր վարդ կանաչ թըփով,
Համասփիւռ եւ մուրտ եւ շուշան:
Ի յեզր Փիսոն գետոյն
Բուսանիս հիրիկ աննման,
Դեւքըն սասանին ի քէն
Եւ լինին յոյժ հալածական:

You are that Garden covered with flowers,
Beautiful, blossoming garden,
With green bushes of red roses,
Campions and myrtle-trees and lilies!
You grow on the bank of the river Pison,
You, incomparable iris;
Demons are terrified by you,
And are powerfully driven away.

20 Նորին Գրիգորիսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by Grigoris

8 192 Դու դրախտ Եդեմայ տընկեալ յանեղէն,
Ի յելս արեւու տեղիք լուսեղէն,
Ծառօք ու ծաղկօք պըտղովք շողեղէն,
Զոր շրջափակեալ պահէ սերովբէն:
Որպէս նախաստեղծըն գեղաղէշ ես,
Տիպ եւ զաղափար Աստուծոյ ես . . .

You, Garden of Eden planted by the increate One,
Luminous place to the east,
With trees and flowers and shining fruits,

Which, having encircled, the Seraph guards.
You are pretty like the first-created one,
You are the type and image of God . . .

9 193 Վըտակ Եդեմայ եւ գետ Յորդանան,
Սելովմայ աղբիւր եւ ջուր ես յուզման . . .

(You are) the stream of Eden and the river Jordan,
The spring of Siloam and sought-for water . . .

23 Աղթամարցի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ ասացեալ
(Poem) by the Kat‘ołikos Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i

10 215 Թէ տեսանեմ ըզքեզ կրկին,
Լուսաւորի միտքս իմ մթին,
Եւ տամ համբոյր շրթանց քոյին,
Նա վերանամ ես ի յԱդին:

If I see you again,
My dark mind is illuminated,
And I give a kiss to your lips,
Indeed I ascend to Eden.

Karapet Bałišec‘i C16

Text: N. Aginean (Akinian), “Կարապետ Վ. Բաղիշեցի (1475–1550) Karapet *vardapet* Bałišec‘i (1475–1550),” *Handes Amsorea* 51 (June–August 1937): 318–43.

1. Տաղ արարածոց
Poem on the Creation

1 328 Եկայք Ադամայ որդիք,
արարածք ամէն միաբան,
Օրհնեմք զարարիչն Աստուած,
որ ստեղծեաց զէակս ամենայն.
Որ ինքն է անեղ բնութիւնն,
սուրբ Երրորդութիւն միական,
Զարդարեաց իմաստութեամբ
զբոլոր բնութիւնս ամենայն.
Ստեղծեաց զԱդամ նախնին
թագաւոր եւ եղ պատուիրան,
Թէ յամէն ծառոց դու կեր,

’ւ ի պտղոյն չունիս հըրաման:
Օձն էր կորըստեան պատճառ,
բանսարկուն էր առիթ մահուան.
Խաբեցին ըզձեռագործն
եւ արին մահու գրաւական:

Come, Adam’s sons,
All creatures, together,
Let us bless God the Creator
Who has created all beings,
He who himself is the increate nature,
The united Holy Trinity;
He adorned with wisdom
The whole nature around.
He created the forefather Adam
As king, and gave a commandment:
Eat of all trees
But (you are) commanded not to have of the fruit.
The serpent was the cause of perdition,
The Devil was the reason for death.
They deceived the one made by hand,
And made them[8] the captives of death.

“Karapet Bałišec‘i,”[9] Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 17–36.

2 Գանձ Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի
Ganj on Gregory the Theologian

2 24 Կենդանարար Որդիդ միածին
’Ի արարչակից բանըդ աստուածային,
Վասն Ադամայ քո նախաստեղծին,
Որ մերկացաւ զփառսն առաջին:

You Only-Begotten, life-giving Son,
And you divine Word, partner in creation,
(This is) about your first-created Adam,
Who was stripped of the primordial glory.

8. I.e., humans.

9. There is no title but the author’s name at the top of each section in this two-volume work.

3 Ըստ յանցանաց քո պատուիրանին,
Ունկընդրութեան բանից բանսարկուին,
Կերան զպտուղն, որ ի մէջ դրախտին
Եւ մերկացան զփառս աստուածային:

According to the transgression of your command,
Attending to the Devil’s words,
They ate the fruit that was in the midst of the Garden,
And were stripped of the divine glory.

4 Թողին ի բաց զքո տնկած այգին
’Ի արտաքսեցան ըստ քո հրամանին,
Դրախտէն ելան ինքն եւ կին նորին
’Ի աշխատանօք երկիր կոծէին:

They left the Garden[10] planted by you
And were expelled according to your command;
They came out of paradise, he and his wife,
And mourned, tilling the ground.

Łazar Sebastac‘i C16

Text: Łazar Sebastac‘i, Ղազար Սեբաստացու տաղերը “Poems,” ed. A. Ter-Step‘anyan, *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* 33.3 (1977): 195–204.

1 Վասն սիրոյ եւ ուրախութեան On Love and Joy

203 Մեր Տէրն է բազմեր ի բարձր աթոռին,
Աջովն յօրինէր զպատկերն քոյին,
Քեզի է նման դրախտն եդեմային,
Երբ որ զարդարիս նման Եւային . . .

Our Lord is seated on the high throne,
With his right hand (he) has created your image,
The Garden of Eden is like you,
When you adorn yourself like Eve . . .

Minas T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16

Text: Minas T‘oxat‘ec‘i, Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան “Poem on Death,” in N. Aginean (Akinean), Հինգ պանդուխտ տաղասացներ *Five Sojourning Poets* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1921), 113–14.

10. Literally: vineyard.

4 Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան
Poem on Death

1 114 Մեռաւ նախահայրն Ադամ,
ու ծնեալքն ամէն ի նմանէ,
Հող էր եւ ի հող դարձաւ,
զոր եւ Տէրն էառ ի յերկրէ:

The forefather Adam died,
And all that were born from him,
He was dust and returned to dust,
Whom the Lord had taken from the earth.

Nahapet K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i C16

Text: K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i, *Poems*, in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 56–69.

Գովասանք Աստուածածնին
Praise of the Mother of God

1 58–59 Դրախտն Ադամայ չէր ի քեզ նման,
Բնակողք դրախտին յօձէն խաբեցան,
Խաբողքն Եւայի քեզ ոչ մերձեցան,
Մեղա՛յ քեզ, մեղա՛յ, կոյս անապական:

Adam’s Garden was not like you,
The inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent;
Those who deceived Eve did not approach you,
I have sinned against you, I have sinned, O uncorrupt Virgin!

Sarkawag Berdakac‘i C16

Text: Sarkawag Berdakac‘i, “Poems,” Նոր ժողովածու *New Collection,* ed. K. Kostaneanc‘, vol. 3 (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press, 1896), 67–69.

18 Գովասանութիւն խաղաղոյ, բաժակի եւ այլ վասն ուրախութեան
Praise of Grapes, the Cup and concerning Other Joy

1 67 Դու ի դրախտէն մեզ արմաղան
Ի յԱրարչէն պարգեւեցար

Հոտով անուշ, գինւով յիմար
Մարդիքս սիրովն որ յագենայր:

You granted us a gift
From the Creator, from the Garden,
The one with sweet smell, wild wine,
We, humans, whom you satiated with love.

SIMĒON APARANC‘I C16

Text: Simēon Aparanc‘i, Վիպասանութիւն սակս Պահլաւունեացն զարմի եւ Մամիկոնեանցն սեռի *Epic on the Pahlavuni House and Mamikonean Family* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1870).

1 1–2 Ի սկզբանէ Բանըն բարձըրեալ,
Ի յոչէից ըզգոյս հաստատեալ.
Նախ ըզհրեշտակս ներգործեալ,
Լոյս ի լուսոյ ստեղծուած սկսեալ.
Երկրորդ՝ զզալիքըս կառուցեալ,
Տարերց քառից մի շաղկապեալ.
Ի սոցանէ զմարդ արարեալ,
Իւրով շնչով շնորհազարդեալ:

In the beginning the Most High Word
Established existent things from nothing:
First, making the angels,
Beginning, light created from light,
Second, building the sensible things,
Combining the four elements into one,
Making man from these,
Adorning him with the grace of His own breath.

2 Ըզնիւթն ի յաղբիւսացն առեալ,
Աննիւթ գանձին անօթ կազմեալ.
Անմահական թագիւ պըճնեալ,
Տէր եւ իշխան անուանադրեալ:

Taking the substance from garbage,[11]
Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure,
Adorning (him) with the crown of immortality,
Calling him lord and master.

11. Or: filth.

3 Յայնժամ մարդոյն թագաւորեալ,
Յանեղաշէն աթոռ նըստեալ.
Թէպէտ փութով ի վայր անկեալ,
Եւ անբանից հաւասարեալ:

Then the man having become king,
Seated on the throne made by Increate,
Although soon having fallen down
And having become equal to dumb animals.

4 Բայց յանուանէն ոչ մերկացեալ,
Ըստ Աստուծոյ վըճիռ հատեալ.
Մինչեւ որդւոցըն բազմացեալ,
Եւ արքայից գահ հաստատեալ:

But he was not stripped of the name,
As was decreed by God,
Until his descendants multiplied
And settled themselves on the royal throne.

T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16

Text: T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i, Միջնադարյան տաղասաց Թաթոս Թոխաթեցի "Medieval Poems. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i," ed. H. M. Poturian *Bazmavēp* 68 (May–June 1910): 207–8; (July 1910) 273–82.

Տաղ վասն տնօրէնութեան Քրիստոսի
Poem on the Dispensation of Christ

1 276 Հազար կենդանակերպ Աստուած ստեղծել է,
զԱմենըն Ադամայ հնազանդ արել է.
Ըզդրախտն լուսափայլ նըմա շնորհել է,
Եօթնապատիկ փառօք զնա զարդարել է:

God created a thousand kinds of animals,
He subjected (them) all to Adam,
Granted him the luminous Garden,
Adorned him with sevenfold glory.

2 Չունէր իւր օգնական, սըրտիկն ի սուգ էր,
Որ զիւրն սըրտին խորհուրդըն նըմա պատմէր.
Քաշեց կող մի կողէն ստեղծեց Եւայէ,
Եղեւ իւր օգնական՝ զիրար ժառանգէ:

His heart was in mourning, he had no helper,
To whom he could tell the secrets[12] of his heart,
(God) drew out a rib, created Eve from the rib,
She became his helper, they inherited each other.

3 Սատանան հընարուք զԱդամ խաբել է,
Զօձըն պատճառ արեր ’նդ Եւայ խօսել է,
Զմահկանացու պըտուղն ուտեցուցել է,
Կերեր ’ւ ի յԱստուծոյ աչացն ելեր է:

Satan deceived Adam by a trick,
He made the serpent a means, it spoke with Eve;
He fed (them) the mortal fruit,
He ate and went forth from God’s presence.[13]

4 Աստուածութիւնն Ադամայ բարկացել է,
Զինչ որ նորա տըւերն դարձեալ առել է.
Անիծեր ’ւ ի դրախտէն ի դուրս արել է,
Սատանայի ձեռըն գերի մատներ է:

The Divinity became angry with Adam,
Took back what he had given to him,
Cursed (him) and drove (him) out of the Garden,
Gave him captive into Satan’s hands.

5 Յանդիման դըրախտին հինգ օր լացել է,
Լացեր որ արտասուքն արիւն դարձել է.
Աստուծութիւն Ադամայ խըղճացել է,
Որ վեց հազար տարի պայման դըրել է:

(Adam) wept for five days in front of the Garden,
He wept till his tears turned into blood.
The Divinity pitied Adam
And made an agreement for six thousand years.

Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i C16

Text: Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. V. P. Gevorgyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964).

12. Or: thoughts.
13. Literally: eyes.

No. 23

1 132 Աշխարհիս սահմանն է հանց.
Ադամայ է Տէր պատուիրել.
«Երբ չլռեցիր բարուն,
Պարտ է քեզ քրտամբք չարչարել
Հող էիր եւ հող դարձցիս,
Զի չարին բանին լսեցեր.
Յետ վեց աւուրն մարմնանամ,
Եւ առնեմ զքեզ գեր ի վեր»:

The order[14] of the world is thus:
The Lord has commanded Adam:
"As you did not obey the good,
You must suffer with sweat.
You were dust and you shall return to dust,
For you listened to the words of the Evil One.
In six days[15] I shall be incarnated
And shall take you up on high."

No. 32

2 173 Մարտի քսաներկուսն հաւասարակ է,
Տիւ եւ գիշեր հաւսար երկոտասան ժամ է,
Մտէ արեւն ի Խոյն՝ նիսան ամիս է,
Ասեն, թէ Ադամայ ըստեղծման աւրն է:

The twenty-second of March is the equinox,
Day and night are twelve equal hours,
The sun enters Aries; it is the month Nisan,
They say that it is the day of Adam's creation.

Yovhannēs A C16

Text: Yovhannēs A, Թիւն հազար քսան և ութին "In the Year 1028," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 325–27.

14. Or: border, division.
15. Six world days, that is six millennia or six thousand years.

The poem is dedicated to a disaster that took place in 1028 of the Armenian Era (= 1579)

1 325 Արար Աստուած մարդն իւր նման,
Ի պատկեր իւր տիրական,
Թէ որ չպահեն պատուիրան,
Այսպէս փորձանքս դիպանան։

God made the man like himself,
In His lordly image;
If people do not observe the command,
They encounter such disasters.

Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16

Text: Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘, "Տաղեր Poems," ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 20 (1909): 279–88.

9 Տաղ ի սուրբ կոյս Մարիամ
Poem on the Holy Virgin Mary

1 286 Զքեզ նախ Ադամ գուշակեաց,
Յորժամ կնոջն «կեանս» ասաց,
25 Թէ յԵւայի դըստերաց
Կոյս ծընանի լոյս ազգաց։

First Adam foresaw you,
When he called his wife "life,"
25 (Saying) that of Eve's daughters
A virgin will be born, a light for peoples.

2 287 Պարտեաւ Եւայն ի յօձէն
Պարտակեցաւ ի թըփէն
105 Անկաւ ի բարձր դրախտէն,
Դու դարձուցեր նոր անդրէն։

Eve was overcome by the serpent,
Hid herself behind the bush,
105 Fell down from the high Garden,[16]
You returned her straightway.

16. The idea of paradise on high mountain has been mentioned above; see Seventh Century, n. 2.

Կաֆայք ի պատմութիւնն մեծին Աղեքսանդրին
Kafas on the History of Alexander the Great

3 10 343 Աւձն էր կորըստեան պատճառ
որ եհան զԱդամն ի դրախտէն.
Հանց Նեգտանիբոս արար՝
զկինն եհան ի Փիլիպոսէն:[17]

The serpent was the cause of perdition,
That brought Adam out of the Garden,
Nectanebo acted in this way,
He took away the wife of Philip.

4 10 343–44 (Ձ)աւձէն շատ զըրոյց գիտեմ,
բայց չկարեմ գըրել հաւատով.
Աւձն է իմաստուն խելաւք,
հրամայեաց Տէրըն կենարար.
Աւձն է վիշապի ծընունդ՝
Սողոմոն գրեաց զնայ հանճար,
Աւձն որ ի ձուէտ ելաւ,
նա կոխէ զերկիր հաւասար:
Իսկ նախանձ գտակ չարին
զաւձն արար իւրըն բնակարան.
Պատրեաց նա զնախամայրն՝
ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն զպատուիրան.
Ադամ ձեռաւքն Եւայի
’ւ ի յանճառ լուսոյն զըրկեցան.
Տէրն եկեալ ձայնէր ուր ես
նա լալով ասէր թէ մերկ կամ.
Թազեան թզենեաւ սփածան
’ւ ի նոյն ժամն ի դրախտէն ելան.
Անմահ մնալոց էին,
բաց անկան եւ աղտեղեցան:
Մեռան ի դժոխքն իջան
զ. հազար ամ արգիլեցան.
/ Բանդեալ խաւար զընդանաւ
չարաչար նոքա տանջեցան:
Մինչ էջ նայ մարմին էառ
ծոցածին բանըն հայրական.
Կամաւ Հաւր - սուրբ Հոգւոյն
սիրով էլ ի փայտըն մահուան.
Զսատանայ խաչիւ կապեաց

17. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 82.

եւ ընկճեաց զիշխանն մահուան.
Առեալ զսիրասունդ Ադամ՝
Ճոխ փարթամ ի յերկինս եհան . . .
Խնդայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . . [18]

I know many stories about the serpent,
But I cannot write (them) faithfully.
The serpent has a wise mind;
The life-giving Lord commanded (it).
The serpent is a descendant of the dragon (višap),
Solomon wrote about it wisely;
When the serpent comes out of the egg,
It treads on the ground equally.[19]
But envy, the author of evil,
Made the serpent its dwelling;
It deceived the foremother,
By eating the fruit (she infringed) the commandment.
Adam (was deceived) through Eve,
And they were deprived of the ineffable light.
The Lord, having come, called out, “Where are you?”
He said weeping that “I am naked.”
They hid and covered themselves with fig-leaves
And went out of the Garden at that very hour.
They were to stay immortal,
But they fell and were befouled.
They died; they descended to hell;
They were imprisoned for six thousand years.
Confined in the dark dungeon,
They were cruelly tortured
Until He descended and became incarnate,
The Word born in the paternal bosom.
By the will of the Father (and) the Holy Spirit,
He willingly ascended the mortal wood;
He bound Satan by the Cross.
And overcame the prince of death.
Taking his lovingly nurtured Adam,
Grand and powerful, he took to heaven. . . .
The forefather Adam rejoices . . .

18. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 83–84.
19. I.e., with man.

Seventeenth Century

Anonymous Author 8 C17

Text: Anonymous Author 8, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 644–45.

Պատմութիւն պիղծ թութունին
History of Impure Tobacco

1 644–45 Օձն խաբեաց զԵւայ, զԱդամ,
Պատճառ եղեւ չար բանսարկուն:

The serpent deceived Eve, Adam,
The evil Devil was the cause.

2 Զպատուէր Տեառն ոչ պահեցին,
Խաբեալ կերան դրախտի պտղոյն,
Յուտելն իսկոյն փոշմանեցին
Եւ մերկացան անճառ լուսոյն:

They did not observe God’s command,
Being deceived they ate of the fruit of the Garden;
While eating they immediately regretted
And were stripped of the ineffable light.

3 Տեսին զի մերկացեալ էին,
Պատատեցան ընդ թզենոյն,
Տէրն ձայնեաց՝ Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ,
Փախեալ թաքեաւ ի յամօթոյն:

They saw that they were stripped,
They hid themselves behind the fig-tree.
The Lord called, “Adam, where are you?”
Having fled, he hid from shame.

4 Ասէ՝ Զպատուէրն չպահեցիր,
Արի եւ ել, այդ չէ քեզ տուն,

Ասեն, թէ՝ Օձն խաբեաց զմեզ,
Ցուցեալ ձեռօքն զծառն պտղոյն:

(God) says: “You did not observe the command,
Arise and go forth, that is not your house.”
They say: “The serpent deceived us,”
Showing with (their) hands the fruit of the tree.[1]

5 Մեր Տէրն զայն օձն անիծեաց
Թեւն թափաւ, եղեւ սողուն,
Դիւանքն զայն թեւն ժողվեցին,
Տարան յանդունդս առ բանսարկուն:

Our Lord cursed that serpent.
Its wings fell off; it became a reptile.
The demons collected those wings,
Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.

6 Ասեն՝ Գտաք դեղ կորստեան
Ապականիչ մարդկան հոգւոյն,
Յանէս Յամրես դրախտ կասեն,
Անդ տնկեցին, եղեւ թութուն ...

They said: “We have found the drug of perdition,
Corrupter of the human soul.”
(J)annes and (J)ambres say[2] there is a garden,
They planted them there, it became tobacco . . .

Anonymous of Livorno C17

Text: Anonymous of Livorno, Ժամանակագրութիւն “Chronography,” in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles,* vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 262–80.

1 272 Արդ՝ աշխարհ զսկիզբն էառ ըստ Եբրայեցւոց ի մարտի ամսոյ, յաւուր կիրակէի: Եւ ի յիսկզբանէ աշխարհի մինչեւ ցայժմ, որ է թիւն մարդեղութեան փրկչին 1683, են ամք 6884: Յառաջ քան զմարդեղութիւն բանին Աստուծոյ էին ամք 5200: Արդ՝ առաջին դարն զիսկիզբն առնու ի ստեղծմանէ Ադամայ եւ տեւէ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն. ներ այսքան ժամանակի ոչ տեղեաց անձրեւ ի վերայ երկրի եւ ոչ կերաւ միս, եւ տեւեաց զամս 2242:

1. Or: showing with its hands.
2. These are the apocryphal names of the Egyptian magicians referred to in Exodus.

Now according to the Hebrews, the world came into being in the month of March, on Sunday. And from the beginning of the world till now, that is, the 1683rd year of the Savior's incarnation, there are 6,884 years. Before the incarnation of God the Word there were 5,200 years. Now the first age begins from Adam's creation and lasts until the Flood. In the course of this time it did not rain upon the earth and meat was not eaten, and this lasted for 2,242 years.

Aṙak'el Davirzec'i C17

Text: Aṙak'el Davrizec'i, Գիրք Պատմութեանց *Book of Histories*, ed. L. A. Xanlaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1990).

1 135 Բայց այրն սատանաբնակ՝ որպէս զօձն Եւայի՝ հակեալ դարձոյց զմիտս Լաւասափին գնալ առ շահն:

14–16 But Satanic man, like Eve's serpent, having inclined, turned the mind of Lawasap' to go to the Shah . . .

2 467 Սա այս խնդրեաց ի Ստեփաննոսէ Տարօնեցւոյ զբանն բազմավէպ պատմութեան, որ եւ արար. սկսեալ ի նախահայրն Ադամայ, յորժամ ել նա արտաքս ի վայրէն վայելչութեան, երեք հատոր. եւ հասոյց մինչ ի ՆԾԲ ամ / թուականիս՝ յորում ամի վախճանեցաւ Գիրգոր Նարեկացի այրն աքանչելի:

29–68 2 He sought this historical discourse with many tales from Step'anos of Tarōn, which he then made. Beginning from the forefather Adam, when he went forth from the place of delight, three volumes; and he brought it up to the year 452 of our era, in which year the wonderful man Grigor of Narek died.[3]

Dawit' Salajorc'i C17

Text: "Davit' Salajorc'i," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 350–90.

The second and fourth lines of each stanza are in Turkish; the editor's Modern Armenian translation is in brackets. The English here reflects the Armenian.

3. Textual observation from n. 455 in the edition, pp. 534–35: "ԾՁ, 56 the chapter in which this reference appears, is a compilation of earlier *Minor Chronicles* and they correspond to those which can be found in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles* – Vol. 1, V. Hakobyan, ed. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951, 1956)."

1 372–380 Հայր արարիչ, Տէր կենդանի,
Հարտէ մէմուռ սին, վար ղարար,
(Որտեղ գործ ես դու ձեռնարկում,)
Սերոբէքն ու քերոբէքն
Ալ պաղլամիշլար մուղարար:
(Միշտ պատրաստ են գտնվում:)

Father Creator, living Lord,
Wherever you undertake a work,
The Seraphim and Cherubim
Are always found ready.

2 Ինն դաս շուրջն են պարել,
Տօխուզ ֆարտա՝ նախշ ու նիկար,
(Իննապատիկ զարդ ու նկար)
Ստեղծեցեր չորեքկերպեան,
Սէն ուստատ ու սար ու սարտար:
(Դու վարպետ ես, գլուխ ու տեր:)

Nine classes dance around,[4]
Ninefold adornment and ornament.
You created the four-formed ones,
You are craftsman, chief, and lord.

3 Եզն ու արծիւ, մարդն ու առեւծն,
Դօրդ դուշմանուն էթուն ուեար,
(Չորս ոսոխներիդ հնազանդեցրիր:)
Սօքա են աթոռիդ ոտվին,
Հար պիրիսի պիր ասլանլար
(Ամեն մեկը մի առյուծ է:)

Ox and eagle, man and lion,
You subdued your four enemies;
These are the feet of your throne;
Each is a lion.

4 Գիշեր ցօրեկ փառաբանին,
Յեա սուպհան ալահի էքպար,
(Օրհնյալ ես մեծդ աստված:)
Ստեղծեցեր յերկինք, գետին,
Մաղրպ, մաշրուպ, ղպլա, շմար:
(Արեւմուտք, արեւելք, հարավ, հյուսիս:)

They glorify you day and night;
You are blessed, O great God;

4. I.e., of angels.

You created the heavens, the earth,
West, east, south, north.

5 Ստեղծեցեր ծաղկունք հազար,
Հար պիրիսի ձիր յըռանկտա,
(Ամեն մեկը մի գույնի):
373 Ստեղծեցեր ծով ու ցամաք,
Սուի առշա շաքտուն քեմար
(Դեպի երկինք կապեցիր կամար):

You created a thousand flowers,
Each one of different color;
You created the sea and the dry land;
You made[5] an arch toward the heavens.

6 Երկինք աստղով զարդարեցեր,
Չալտըն Զօհալ, Զօհրայ ուրեքար,
(Կերտեցիր երեւակ եւ արուսյակ),
Խաւարն աշխարհէս հերքեցեր,
Շօլայ վէրտուն, շամս ու ղամար
(Լոյս տվիր, արեւ ու լուսին):

You adorned the heavens with stars;
You created Saturn and Venus;
You removed darkness from this world;
You gave light, sun and moon.

7 Եօթն օր ստեղծուածք արիր,
Ահլի ուրֆան, ուստայ մէմար
(Գաղտնյաց գիտակ, վարպետ ճարտար),
Առաջի սկիզբն որ արարիր,
Ղատիմ տունեա զէհտուն պազար
(Հին աշխարհը զարդարեցիր):

You made the creatures in seven days,
Connoisseur of secrets, skillful craftsman;
You who made the first beginning,
You adorned the old world.

8 Արարչութեան սկիզբն արիր,
Թուրլութուրլու յետի հուար,
(Ազգի-ազգի յոթ պարունակ),
Լուսն ու մութն ու ամպն ու անձրեւ,
Կէճայ կունտուզ ու մուճ ու չար
(Գիշեր, ցերեկ, ալիք, անձավ):

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5. Literally: you bound.

At the beginning of the creation you made
Seven different sorts of spheres,
Light and darkness and clouds and rain,
Night, day, waves, cave.

9 Երկուշաբթի բաժանեցեր,
Պիր պիրնտան սաֆ-սաֆ ղարար
(Մեկը մյուսից՝ շարք-շարք հաստատ),
Երեքշաբթի՝ բուս ու բանճար,
Ջամլայ չիչակ, հայվա ու նար
(Ծաղկունք բոլոր, սերկեւիլ եւ նուռ):

On Monday you divided
One from the other, firmly in rows,
On Tuesday, plants and grass,
All flowers, the quince and pomegranate.

10 Չորեքշաբթի՝ գազանք անասունք,
Տաղլարտայ կեազան ճանավար
(Լեռներում թափառող գազան),
374 Հինգշաբթի՝ կէտք, թռչունք, սողունք,
Քի յուզ ուստնայ կիտարլար
(Որ սողում են երեսն ի վայր):

On Wednesday—beasts, cattle,
Animals wandering in the mountains,
On Thursday, whales, birds, reptiles
That creep with their face down.

11 Ուրբաթ Ադամ ստեղծեցեր
Մայասին էթուն դօրա կուհար
(Շաղախն արիր՝ քառանյութ),
Հրամանք արիր՝ առողջացաւ,
Աջտի կօզի, օլտի օհար
(Բացեց աչքը, դարձավ կատարյալ):

On Friday you created Adam,
You made him of mud of four substances.
You commanded, he became healthy,
He opened his eyes, became perfect.

12 Շաբաթ մէջ դրախտայ դրիր,
Քի մուլք սանայ վէրտում թիմար,
(Որ կալվածք տ̥վի քեզ վիճակ),
Ասիր՝ Ադամ, յէ՞ր ես նստել,
Վա՛ր ճանադայ էլայ նազար
(Վե՛ր, դրախտին մտիկ արա):

On Saturday you put him in the Garden,
That you gave him as possession, a portion.
You said: “Adam, why are you sitting?
Stand up, look at the Garden.”

13 Ելաւ ոտք մի առաջ գնաց,
Ղօխու ալտի մուշք ու ամպար
(Մուշկ ու համպարի հոտ առան),
Չօրս լուսեղէն գետն տեսաւ,
Ախարիտու ապու քեաֆսար
(Հոսում էր անմահական ջուր):

He went forth, took a step,
Musk and amber gave off fragrance,
He saw four luminous rivers,
Immortal water was flowing.

14 Փիսոն, Գեհոն, Տիգրիս, Եփրատ,
Տօրտուն դումի տայ քեահրուպար
(Չորսի ավազն էլ սաթ),
Անմահութեան հոտն որ առաւ,
Օլտի սարխօշ ու պէխապար
(Արբեց, դարձավ անտեղյակ):

Pison, Gehon, Tigris, Euphrates,
The sand of all the four was amber.
When he smelled the immortality,
He became drunk and unaware.

15 Թմրութիւնն վերան անկաւ,
Մախմուր օլտի, տուշտի խումար
(Նվազեց, ուշքը գնաց):
Տէրն կրկին քննում արաւ,
Քի նա՞յ յեափամ պունաուեր
(Թէ ի՞նչ անեմ սրա համար):

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.
The Lord examined once again:
“What should I do for him?”

16 ՅԱդամայ ձախ կողէն առաւ,
Յեափտի Հաւայ տաթ տիտար,
(Ստեղծեց Եվային քաղցրահայացք),
Յօրժամ զարդեաւ, բօլորն աշեր,
Կօրտի հուրի պիր մալաք յեար
(Տեսավ գեղանի մի հրեշտակ):

He took of Adam’s left rib,
Created sweet-looking Eve;
When he woke up, he looked around;
He saw a beautiful angel.

17 Հագել բէհեզ ու ծիրանի,
Ճումլասի նուր, ալթուն զնար
(Բոլորը լույս, ոսկեհուռ գոտի),
Շող կուտար ի մէջ լուսին,
Ղաթի կեօզալ, թառ մօհտապար
(Հույժ գեղեցիկ, թարմ պատվական):

Clad in fine linen and purple,
All shining; a gold-woven belt,
She was beaming in the midst of light,
(Like) very beautiful, fresh, glorious muslin.

18 Առաջի հրաշքն տեսանի,
Իքիսինտայ օլտի զահար
(Երկրորդն էլ հայտնվեց,)
Տէրն Ադամայ խաթերն համար,
Քունտայ պիր քեազ կեալուր կօրար
(Օրը մի անգամ գալիս էր դիտում:)

The first miracle is seen,
The second too appeared;
God for Adam’s sake,
Once a day came and watched.

19 Լուսեղէն ծաղկունք ցուցեր ետ,
Նիճայ քի տուն անուր պահրար
(Ինչպես որ զարդարել էր ամեն ինչ:)
Ասաց՝ Ադամ, ամէն ի քեզ,
Յամեայ շօլ պիրդան, տուր զարար
(Մի՛ կեր այս մեկից, վնասակար է:)

He showed luminous flowers,
As he had decorated everything;
He said: “Adam, all is for you,
Do not eat of this one, it is pernicious.

20 Սախէն խօսքս չմոռանաս,
Ջէրայ սայան ղարազուր մար,
(Որովհետեւ ոխակալ է օձը,)
Ան անիծած պեղծ սատանան
Կեօր, նակեահտայ տուրուր տիկլար
(Տես, անպատեհ կանգնել դիտում է:)

Do not forget my words at all,
Because the serpent is vengeful.
That cursed impure Satan,
Look, he stands and looks indecorously.

21 376 Գնաց մտաւ օձին բերան,
Տէտի՝ Հաւայ, նօլտու՞ն շուար
(Ասաց՝ Եվա, ինչու՞ շվարեցիր),
Ե՛լ ու կաննէ, ան պտղէն կեր,
Քի տաթիլտուր նէճայ շաքար
(Որ համեղ է ինչպես շաքար:)

He went, entered the serpent’s mouth,
He said: “Eve, why are you amazed?
Get up, stand, eat of that fruit,
Which is as delicious as sugar.”

22 Ասաց՝ Աստուծոյ հրաման չկայ,
Օնի յեանտուր կունահքար
(Այն ստողը հանցավոր է,)
Ինչ մարդ որ ան պտղէն ուտէ,
Տահայ օլմազ ուան պիր ճար
(Էլ չի լինի նրան ոչ մի հնար:)

She said: “There is no command of God’s,
One who disobeys is a transgressor,
Whoever eats of that fruit,
Will have no remedy any more.”

23 Սեւ սատանէն հոն խօսեցաւ.
Քի ի՛նանմայ կիլ, յեալտայտուրլար
(Մի՛ հավատա, խաբում են քեզ,)
Ասաց՝ Սէֆիլ, քեզ կու խաբեն,
Հար քիմ յեյեայ, օլուր հուդքար
(Ով որ կուտի, կիմաստնանա:)

The black Satan spoke there,
“Do not believe, they are deceiving you,”
He said, “Miserable, they deceive you,
One who eats will become wise.”

24 Եւայ շուտով յօժարեցաւ,
Պիր սահաթ չաքտի ընդյըզար
(Մեկ ժամ կարոտով սպասեց,)
Ելան ու ան պտղէն կերան,
Իքիսնտայ օլտի օ քեար
(Երկուսի վրա էլ այն ներգործեց:)

Soon Eve agreed,
She waited for an hour eagerly;
They went and ate of that fruit,
It affected both of them.

25 Ադամ լուսոյն ի մերկ մնաց,
Տէտի՝ Դու նա՞ խապար
(Ասաց՝ Այս ի՞նչ բան է),
Ասաց՝ Խափվայ, պտղէն կերայ,
Շէհտանայ վէրտում ըրխար
(Կամքս տվի սատանային։)

Adam remained stripped of light;
He said: “What matter is this?
He said, “I was deceived, I ate of the fruit,
I gave my will to Satan.”

26 377 Փախան ու թզենին ելան,
Իքիսինտայ դալտի նաչար
(Երկուսն էլ մնացին անճար)։
Տէրն եկաւ կանչեաց՝ Ադամ,
Տէտիլ պէխան hoզումար
(Ասաց՝ Հրամայիր, Տէր)։

They fled and climbed the fig-tree,
Both remained destitute;
The Lord came and called “Adam,”
He said, “Command, Lord.”

27 Ասաց՝ Յէ՞ր ես յելեր թզենիդ,
Տէտի՝ Հաւայ ղլտուրտի զար
(Ասաց՝ Եվան hեծեծում էր),
Ասաց՝ Եւ յէ՞ր խափուեցար,
Տէտի՝ Դէնի յեալտաղի մար
(Ասաց՝ Օձն ինձ խաբեց)։

He said, “Why have you climbed that fig-tree?”
(Adam) said, “Eve was lamenting.”
He said, “And why were you deceived?”
(Eve) said, “The serpent deceived me.”

28 Ասաց՝ Միթէ մեղայ գոչեն,
Յազուխտուր, էթմէիմ զարար
(Խեղճ են, վնաս չպատճառեմ)։
Կապվեցան ու մեղայ չասին,
Շէhտան աթնայ պինտիլար
(Սատանայի ձին նստեցին)։

(God) said: “Do they shout, ‘I have sinned?’
(If) they are miserable, I will not hurt them.”[6]
They were bound and did not say, “I have sinned”;
They mounted Satan’s horse.

29 Տէրն անիծեց, ասաց՝ Ադամ,
Օլմիասին պէտար պէտար,
(Թափառականն դառնաս դու,)
Աշխատիս ու քրտինք ուտես,
Արդսուն տարտուն, օլսուն հազար
(Աճի ցավդ, դառնա հազար:)

The Lord cursed, said: “Adam,
You will become a wanderer,
You will labor and eat sweat,
Your pain will increase, become a thousand-fold.”

30 Եւայ որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
Սէնտէն տօղնայ պիր զահրումար
(Քեզնից ծնվածն անիծվի,)
Ելնէ զիր եղբայրն սպանէ,
Մուսուրմաճայ դապիլ տերլար
(Թուրքերեն՝ օրինակ են ասում:)

When he cursed Eve he said:
“The one born from you will be cursed;
He will rebel and kill his brother,”
In Turkish they say, “(He was) an example.”

31 Դարձաւ օձն որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
Ուրեան օլասին պէ, քաւար
(Մերկանաս դու, անհավատ:)
Օձն թռչուն էր չորստոտանի
Ուչարիտի դօլ մուսաւար
(Թռչում էր ճիվաղատիպ:)

He turned to the serpent whom he cursed, said:
“You will be stripped, unbeliever.”
The serpent was a four-footed bird;[7]
He flew like a demon (monster).

32 Թեւերն ու ոտվին թափեցան,
Տուշիպ յուզ ուստին կիտարլար
(Ընկավ, երեսն ի վայր սողաց,)

6. I.e., If they confess their sin, I will not hurt them.
7. In a manuscript of the *Physiologus*, the four-footed bird is drawn in the margin.

Այնկից ի վեր ղարազեցաւ,
Ատամօղլի կօրանտր, սանճար
(Ադամորդի երեւա, կխայթի։)

His wings and feet fell away;
He fell down and crept face down;
From that time he nourished hate;
Seeing a son of Adam, he bites.

33 Սոքայ քշեցիր դրախտայ,
Ջիհանամայ տուշտիլար
(Դժոխքն ընկան։)

You expelled them from the Garden;
They fell into hell.

34 Երբ դրախտայ աշխարհս ընկան,
Դունիամ խարապայ կօրտիլար
(Աշխարհս ավերակ տեսան,)
Զարհուրեցան քաջանց ազգէն,
Ղաֆլաթ պաստի, թալաստիլար
(Աչքները ծանրացան, շտապեցին։)

When they fell from the Garden into this world,
They saw this world ruined,
They were frightened of the race of demons; [8]
Their eyes became heavy, they hurried.

35 Ալվի Տէրն ողորմեցաւ,
Իքի մալայէք յենտիլար
(Երկու հրեշտակներ իջան,)
Եկաւ սոքայ մխիթարեց,
Չօխ շուքուր վէրտիլար
(Շատ փառք, ասացին)։

Again the Lord had mercy;
Two angels descended.
He came and consoled them;
"Great glory!" they said.

36 379 Ելան էրին շինակութիւն,
Պէզաթիլար չարսու պաղար
(Չորս բոլորը զարդարեցին,)
Ամուսնութեան մեղաց համար,
Էյլատիլար դաւլ ու ղարար

8. Or: heroes.

(Հաստատեցին ուխտ ու պայման։)

They went forth, they established a dwelling-place;
They adorned it on all four sides.
For the sin of marriage,
They established an agreement and a contract.

37 Երեսուն տարուն մի անգամ
Եվայիլան օլտի հուճար
(Եվայի հետ առագաստ մտավ,)
Մէկ փորն երկուս բէրէր,
Պիրի հուրմայ, պիրի ասրար
(Մեկը գոռոցով, մյուսը թաքուն)։

Once in a thirty years,
He entered the bed with Eve.
One pregnancy brought forth two,
One with shouts, the other concealed.[9]

38 Առաջ ծնաւ Կայէն որդին,
Ղալպիլան շէհտանայ ուրեար
(Սրտով սատանային հար եւ նման,)
Յետոյ ծնաւ Աբէլ որդին,
Սղխի տուրուտ, հախայ ու յեար
(Խոսքը ուղիղ, աստծո նման։)

First she bore her son Cain,
With his heart close to and like Satan.
Then she bore her son Abel,
Speaking directly, like God.

39 Եօթն պորտն համարեցան,
Պիրի պիրինայ վէրտիլար
(Մեկը մյուսին տվին,)
Ամէնը յԱդամայ զարմէն,
Տալմայ-տալմայ կօլ օլտիվար
(Կաթիլ-կաթիլ շատացան։)
Աճեցին ու աշխարհ լցին,
Դօրդ քեօշայ տունիամ տօլտիլար
(Երկրի չորս ծագերը լցրին։)

Seven generations[10] were reckoned;
One gave (birth) to the other.
All of Adam's offspring,

9. I.e., the one known, the other not mentioned (in the Bible).
10. պորտն, literally: navels, bellies.

They multiplied drop by drop.
They increased and filled the world;
They filled the four corners of the earth.

40 Իննհարիւր տարի Ադամ,
Եվայիլան սաղ կալտիլար
(Եվայի հետ ողջ մնացին։)

For nine hundred years Adam
With Eve stayed alive.

41 Յորժամ օրն թամամեցաւ,
Ճանայ կեալտի Ճէպրայիլլար
(Ջանձրացան հոգեառները,)
379 Քառասուն օր հոգեվարք կեցան,
Ճան Ճխմազ, հասրադին տիլար
(Հոգին չի ելնում, կարոտն է տենչում։)
Գնացէք ան Ճղքէն բերէք,
Քիմինիքի աւալին յետիլար
(Որից առաջինն էի կերել։)

When the day came,
The takers of the soul got tired;
For forty days they were in pains;[11]
The soul does not go forth, the desire[12] is intense:
“Go and bring of the branch,
Of which I ate first.”

42 Հրեշտակնին շուտով հասուցին,
Այքտայ օխայ տէտիլար
(Ամաչելով օխայ ասացին,)
Ապա հոգին մարմնոյն ելաւ,
Ինս ու ջինս ու դեւ կեէլտիլար
(Արարածք եկան, դեւեր եկան)։

They quickly brought it from the angel;
Ashamedly they said alas!
Then the soul came out of the body.
Creatures came; demons came;

43 Հետ հրեշտակաց Ճարմուք արին,
Թէ ո՞ւր տանիք մեր կամարարն,
Ձեռագիրն առաջ բերին,

11. See *Adam Fragment 2*, 2–3, which depends directly on the same tradition (Stone 1982, 10–11).

12. Or: need.

Ըշտայ սիճիլ. հուճաթ, դաւթար
(Արձանագրություն, վճիռ, մատյան):

They argued with the angels:
"Where do you take our servant?"
They brought forward the cheirograph,
Inscription, decision, register.

44 Առան տարան դժոխքն ի վար,
Բանտ ու զնտանայ դօյտիլար
(Բանտ ու կապանքի մեջ դրին,)
Մարտիրոսք կուսանօք ճգնաւորք,
Տունյեատայ ճան պէսլայտիլար
(Աշխարհում հոգին սնուցին:)

They took them to hell below,
Put them in prison and chains;
Martyrs, virgins, and ascetics,
Fed their souls in the world.

. . . .

45 381 Մեռան դժոխք գնացին,
Ճանաթայ յեր պուլմատիլար
(Արքայության մեջ տեղ չգտան,)
Նոյ նահապետն ու իր որդիքն,
Ղատիմ հախայ զրու պիտիլար
(Անսկիզբն աստծո զորությունն իմացան) . . .

They died and went to hell;
They did not find a place in the kingdom.
Patriarch Noah and his sons,
Learned the power of uncreated God . . .

Dawitʻ Bałišecʻi C17

Text: Davitʻ Bałišecʻi, Ժամանակագրութիւն "Chronography," in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles, vol. 2,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 287–378.

1 298 Ռ. (600) Սեմ Ճ ամաց ծնաւ զԱրփաքսաթ. սա ժառանգեաց զոսկերս նախահօրն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի: Զսա յոյժ սիրէր հայր իւր Նոյ:

600: Shem at the age of 100 begat Arpachshad; he inherited the bones of the forefather Adam and of Eve. His father Noah loved him very much.

2 465 ՆԿԵ Արփաքսաթ ՃԼԵ ամաց ծնաւ. սա ամփոփեաց զոսկերսն նախահօր ի Գողգոթայ եւ զԵւային ի Բեթղէհէմ ի վիճակն իւրեանց:

Arpachshad begat at the age of 135. He assembled the forefather's bones on the Golgotha and Eve's in Bethlehem, in their allotted places.

Ep'rem Łap'anc'i C17

Ep'rem Łap'anc'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 542–72.

6 Տաղաչափեալ շարադրի (1691). Written in Verse

1 551 Նախկին զաշխարհս, որ չէ եղեր
Եւ Բանն Աստուած զայս հաստատեր
Երկինք 'ւ երկիր, տիւ եւ գիշեր
Եւ չորս տարերքս է արարեր:
Իսկ զազգս մարդկան հողոյ ստեղծեր,
Պէս-պէս շնորհիք պարգեւք տուեր . . .

When this primordial world did not exist,
God the Word established it;
The heavens and the earth, day and night,
And the four elements he made.
And he created the human race from dust,
Granted them various graces . . .

Յիշատակարաններ ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց. Against the Dyophysites (written before 1701)

2 567 Երեք անձինք եւ մի բնութեան
Միասնական աստուածութեան:
Որով ստեղծեալ էակքս համայն:
Երկինք 'ւ երկիր, ծովք ամենայն:
Բարին եղեւ յոյժ պատուական,
Չարն եկամուտ է դիւական:
Յայնժամ այժմուս յանկարծական,
Չարեացն զալ իբրեւ զյորձան:
Զոր օրինակ զԱդամ, զԵւան,
Որք ի յօձէն փոյթ խափուեցան:

Տէրն անիծեաց բանսարկուն այն,
Առ ի գնալ լանջաց վերան:

Three Persons and one by nature
Of the united divinity,
By whom all beings were created,
The heavens, the earth, all the seas;
The good was very glorious,
Evil is demonic, from outside.
Then, all of a sudden,
Evil comes like a flood.
Just as Adam, Eve,
Who were quickly deceived by the serpent.
The Lord cursed that Devil,
To go upon his breast.

Grigor Daranałc'i C17

Text: Grigor Daranałc'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronography*, ed. M. V. Nšanean (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1915).

1 308 Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր աղբիւրն շնորհաց չարչարանօք խաչին եւ մահուամբն ազատեաց յանիծիցն Ադամայ եւ յանիծից օրինացն Մովսիսի:

Christ our God, by the suffering on the cross and by death, liberated the source of grace from the curse of Adam and from the curse of the Law of Moses.

2 414 . . . յետ անկմանն ի վայր ի կայանից, (սատանայ) ոչ դադարեաց ի չար սերմանելոյն, այլ ի դրախտին ի մէջ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի էարկ զհւր հպարտութեան ախտից սերմանսն, որով ինքն աստուածանալ կամեցաւ: Եւ յետ այնորիկ ի մէջ ծննդոց նորա՝ Աբելի միջումն եւ Կայենին . . .

. . . After falling down from (his) station, (Satan) did not cease sowing evil, but in the Garden he cast the seeds of the disease of his pride into Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become God. And afterwards, into their descendants,[13] into Abel and Cain.

13. Literally: his.

Nazaretʻ A C17

Text: Nazaretʻ A, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 523–626.

Տաղ ի վերայ բլբուլի
Poem on the Nightingale

1 521 Առաջ Եւան, որ ստեղծեց Ադամայ, Ադամայ,
Չար թշնամին իւրեան դանն էր Ադամայ, Ադամայ . . .

First Eve, whom He created from Adam, Adam,
His evil enemy was the rib of Adam, Adam . . .

Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi C17

Text: Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 54–70.

2 Բան խրատու
Didactic Poem

1 57 Եւ ի լրման բնաւից կատար՝
Զմարդն Ադամ բազմահանճար,
Օրհնեաց՝ աճիլ, լնուլ զաշխարհ,
Գործել բարի, մնալ արդար։

And in the end, the summit of all,
The man Adam endowed with much wisdom;
He blessed (him) to multiply, to fill the world,
To do good, to remain just.

Simēon Kafacʻi C17

Text: "Simēon Kafacʻi," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 185–208.

1 Առ սուրբ Աստուածածին
To the Holy Mother of God

1 185 . . . Աղամայ նախնոյ զերկունսն լուծեալ,
Քեւ կոյս առիթ զոր եւ զքեզ կեանս կոչեալ:

. . . Releasing the pains of the ancestor Adam,
Through you, a virgin, there was reason to call you, too, life.

2 Էական լուսոյն Եւայ սքանչելի,
Բազմաչեայ քրովբէից անահ հայելի . . .

Marvelous Eve of essential light,
Fearless mirror of many-eyed Cherubim . . .

3 186 . . . Եւ քեւ սրովբէափակ դուռն Եդեմայ
Բացաւ տարագրեալ որդւոցս Ադամայ:

186 And through you the door of Eden closed by the Seraphim
Was opened for us, the expelled sons of Adam.

Step'anos Keɫec'i C17[14]

Text: Step'anos Kełec'i, Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ "Poem on Women's Deceit, for All Men's Good," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 371–74.

Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ Poem on Women's Deceit, for All Men's Good

1 372 Յորժամ տեսանես զկինն
ցեղուցեղ գեղով զարդարած,
Հաշուեա, թ' ան օձն է, եղբայր,
որ զԵւայ 'ւ Ադամ նա խաբեաց:
Ասաց, թէ՝ Ուտէք զպտուղն
եւ լինիք որպէս զԱստուած:
Կերան, խայտառակ եղան
այր ու կին, երկուսն ի հիտրաց:

When you see a woman
Variously adorned beautifully,

14. See Ačaṙyan 1977, 4:676: "Step'anos no. 682: he wrote a poem copied in 1671."

Consider that she is the serpent, brother,
Who deceived Eve and Adam.
He said, "Eat the fruit,
And you will be like God."
They ate and were shamed,
The man and the woman, both together.

Xačʻatur Xaspēk Kafacʻi C17

Text: Xačʻatur Xaspēk Kafacʻi, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 128–52.

a. 1643

2 Չափածոյ յիշատակարան
Colophon in Verse

1 138 Արդ լւարուք, որ ըստ կարգի
Շարայարեալ ի յայս տառի,
Կերտեալ մեծին տէր Ներսէսի,
Հայաստանեաց հայրապետի։

Now let us listen to what, in order,
I strung together in this writing
Created by the great lord Nersēs,
Patriarch of Armenia,

2 Սկսեալ նախնոյն, որ առաջի
Մաղթանս առ Տէր իւր պաղատի,
Թէպէտ միջնորդ յիւր աղէտի
Եղեալ զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնի։

Beginning with the forefather who first
Addressed prayers to his Lord,
Although he considered Adam, our forefather
To be the mediator of his misfortune.

Yakob Kesaracʻi C17

Text: Yakob Kesaracʻi, Գովեստ ի սուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ "Praise of the Holy City of Jerusalem," ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 23 (December 1909): 371–74.

1 373 3 Աստ եղեւ հոգւոց փրկութիւն մարդկան
Որ ի խաչ ելաւ Տէրն ի Գողգոթայն
Յանցանքն Ադամայ Եւայի թողան . . .

Here was the salvation of human souls,
When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha,
The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . .

Yakob T'oxatec'i C17

Text: Yakob T'oxat'ec'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 531–68.

3 Վասն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ եւ սրբոց նորա
On the Love of God and His Saints

1 541–42 Եւ չորքոտանիք բազումք
 եւ վայրի էրէք եւ գազան,
Եւ ազգի-ազգի վիշապք
 եւ սողունք, որ ի սմա զեռան,
Ետես արարիչն Աստուած
 եւ ահա բարի ամենայն,
Վասն որոյ օրհնեաց զնոսա
 ՚ւ աճելոյ ետուր հրաման:

And many quadrupeds,
and wild animals and beasts,
And various kinds of snakes (dragons)
and reptiles that creep in it;[15]
God the Creator saw,
and behold, all were good,
That is why he blessed them
and commanded (them) to multiply.

2 Եւ ընդ յԱրեւելս տնկեաց
 դրախտն յեղեմական,
Իբր զզաhոյս արքայի
 պաճուճեալ փառօք փափկութեան,
Երկնի եւ երկրի զարդերք

15. I.e., this world.

կատարեալ եղեն ի լրման,
Արդ պիտոյ է վայելուչ
թագաւոր սմա եւ իշխան:

He planted in the East
the Garden of Eden,
Like a king's throne
embellishing it with the glory of delight;
The adornments of the heavens and the earth
were completely finished;[16]
Now is needed a proper king
and ruler over it.

3 Ապա Հայրն երկնաւոր
ընդ Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյ ասաց բան.
Արասցուք մարդ բանաւոր
ըստ կերպի մեր նմանութեան,
Իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու
եւ թռչնոց երկնից բազմութեան
Եւ բոլոր տիեզերաց՝
սողնոց եւ զեռնոց զինչ որ կան:

Then the celestial Father
said a word to the Son and the Spirit;[17]
Let us make a rational man,
according to the form of our likeness;
Let him rule over the fish of the sea,
and the multitude of the birds of the sky,
And all the universe,
reptiles and creeping things, whatever there are.

4 Եւ առեալ հող ի յերկրէ
կերպացոյց ըստ կերպին նման,
Եւ փչեաց շունչ ի նմա
եւ շնորհեաց հոգի բանական,
Եօթնարփեան շնորհօք լցոյց
եւ եդ ի դրախտին փափկութեան,
Գործել անդ զգործ Աստուծոյ
եւ պահել նորին պատուիրան:

And taking dust from the ground,
he shaped it according to the likeness of (his) form,
And breathed breath into him,

16. Gen 2:1: see the LXX and the Armenian Bible.
17. Cf. *Teaching of St. Gregory* §260.

and granted a rational soul.
Filled (him) with graces of seven heavens,
and put (him) in the Garden of delight.
To work to (till) there God’s work
and to keep his commandment.

5 Իսկ նա ի դրախտէն ելեալ
պատրանօք բանսարկուին խաբման,
Ի ներքոյ մահու անկեալ,
զրաւեաց զբնութիւնս ամենայն,
Կեցեալ եղկելի կենօք
ի յերկրի յոյժ թշուառական,
Մինչ հոգին էջ ի դժոխս
եւ մարմինն եղաւ զերեզման:

But he, coming out of the Garden
by the tricky deceit of the Devil,
Having fallen under death,
possessed the whole nature.
He lived[18] a lamentable life,
very miserable on the earth,
Until his soul descended to hell,
and his body was put in the grave.

Յիշատակարան շարադրողի սաղմոսիս
Colophon by the Author of this Psalm

6 563 Յետ Ադամայ ելանելոյն ի փափկութեան,
Որդիք նորա ընդ անասունս աստ բնակեցան,
Ծնան զաւակս ի վերայ երկրի եւ բազմացան
Եւ յԱրարչէն իւրեանց նոքա մոլորեցան:

After Adam’s coming out of Delight,[19]
His offspring dwelt here with animals.
They bore children on the earth and multiplied,
And they went astray from their Creator.

Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i, Տաղ վասն կենաց մարդկան
“Poem on Human Life,” *Bazmavēp* 23.6 (1865): 208–11.

7 208 Աստուած ըստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ի հողէն,

18. Literally: “having lived.”
19. I.e., the Garden of Delight. It is in the genitive case because of rhyming constraints.

Օրհնելով օրհնեաց զաճումըն նոցին.
Աճեալ բազմացան եւ զերկիր լըցին.
Տեւէ եւ մընայ՝ մինչ յօրըն վերջին . . .

God created man from dust,
Blessing, He blessed their multiplication,
Having multiplied, they increased and filled the earth,
(Man) will endure and remain until the last day . . .

8 209 Լեալ երեսնամեայ՝ կատարեալ մարդ են՝
Զհասակ Ադամայ ի յանձին բերեն . . .

Being thirty years old, they are perfect humans,
They bear Adam's age in themselves . . .

9 211 Փառք տամք Աստուծոյ մեք ամենեքեան,
Օրհնեալ է անունն անբաւ յաւիտեան,
Արար զմեր նախնին պատկերին նըման
Դարձեալ նորոգեաց եւս պայծառ քան զայն:

We all glorify God;
His infinite name is blessed forever;
He made our ancestor like his image;
Again he renewed (him making him) more shining than that one.

Yovasap' Erznkac'i C17

Text: Yovasap' Erznkac'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987) 397–403. [20]

1 Տաղ վասն կանանց
Poem on Women

397 Ով անզգամ կնոջ դիպէր,
Քան զԵւայ Ադամ խաբէր . . .

397 He who has met a wicked woman
Is deceived more than[21] Adam by Eve . . .

20. Yovasap' is not mentioned by Bogharian (1971), by *ANB*, or by Bardakjian (2000).
21. Or: like.

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17

Text: Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i, Գիրք որ կոչի սրբազնագործութիւն *Book Called Sanctification* (Madras: Yovsep‘ Step‘anosean Press, 1812).

1 78 Նախ սրտիւն զղջանալ. զի զղջումն սրտին է, յորմէ ելանեն ամենայն չարիք . . . եւ վասն այնորիկ պարտ է փոյթ ընդ փոյթ, զղջմամբ արմատաքի խլել. զի մի արմատացեալ աճեսցի եւ զօրասցի, վասն այսորիկ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, դու ըսպասեսցես նորա զգլխոյն, զի զլուխ է յիշումն մեղաց, որ ի սիրտն ձգէ սատանայ . . .

First (one should) repent in his heart, for repentance belongs to the heart, whence all evils proceed. . . . And for that reason (evil) must be quickly eradicated by repentance, lest, having taken root, it increases and becomes powerful. That is why God said to Adam: “you will strike (lie in wait for) his head,”[22] for the head is the remembering of the sin that Satan draws into the heart . . .

2 94 Զի աչք ձեր տեսանեն, զբանն մարմին եղեալ, եւ ականջք ձեր լսեն զքաւութիւն, եւ զթողութիւն մեղաց. քանզի մինչեւ ցայժմ ոչ ոք լուաւ թողութիւն մեղաց, զոր ի ճաշակմանէն Ադամայ մակրդեալ եւ մածեալ էր ընդ բնութիւնս, այլ այժմս երանեցան, տեսանողքն, եւ լսօղքն . . .

Because your eyes see the incarnate Word, and your ears hear the expiation and forgiveness of sins; because until now nobody has heard about forgiveness of the sin that curdled and stuck to our nature owing to Adam’s eating. Whereas now those who see and hear have been blessed . . .

3 105 . . . այնուհետեւ կամեցաւ Տէր սրբել զնա ի վիրաց անտի, որ յաղագս մեղացն եւ անօրէնութեանցն Ադամայ կրեաց. այսինքն բանն Աստուած ի մարմինն իւր . . .

. . . Thenceforth the Lord wished to clean him of the wounds that he suffered for Adam’s sin and impiety; that is God the Word in his body . . .

4 108 . . . այժմ աստ իջանէ նոյն հոգին Աստուած զի արասցէ զայս խորհուրդ կատարեալ Քրիստոս, առ ի յաւետարանել աղքատաց, այսինքն բընութիւնս Ադամայ, որ յամենայնի աղքատացաւ ճաշակմամբն ի դրախտին . . . Աստ տեսանի ամենայն կուրաց զթողութիւն, եւ զտեսութիւն . . . զի բնութիւն է ագռաւուց, որ կամի զկենդանիս հեղձուցանել, եւ կերակուր ինքեան առնել, ջանայ զաչսն փորել, եւ խաւարեցուցանել եւ ապա զահավիժել, եւ ուտել. այսպէս

22. Gen 3:15.

արար եւ սատանայ, որ կուրացոյց զբնութիւնս Ադամայ, եւ արար կերակուր ինքեան.

. . . Now the same Spirit, God descends here, so that Christ will fulfill this perfect mystery, to preach the Gospel to the poor, that is, (to) Adam's nature that became impoverished of everything by eating in the Garden. . . . Here one can see the forgiveness of all the blind and their vision. . . . For it is characteristic of the crows; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (so) it tries to peck out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them (down a cliff) and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; who blinded Adam's nature and made it him food for himself.

5 109 . . . Քրիստոս բազմեալ ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյ . . . եւ ձայն քաղցր արձակելս, եկայք, կերէք զմարմին իմ . . . Զի սա ոչ է այնպիսի կերակուր, որք կերին յանապատին, ի ձեռն Մովսէսի, եւ մեռան, եւ կամ Ադամաւ, եւ Եւայիւ, եւ մեռան. երկրորդաւն մահուամբ. այլ որ ուտէ ի սմանէ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:

. . . Christ sitting at the holy table . . . and saying in a sweet voice: "Take, eat; this is my body"[23] . . . For this is not that kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died; and they died the second death; whereas one who eats of this, lives forever.

6 117 . . . Նախնիւ ճաշակմամբ մահ, եւ երկրորդիւ ճաշակմամբս կենդանութիւն . . . առաջնոյն, Ադամայ տարագրութիւն ամենայն փառաց, եւ երկրորդիւս Ադամաւ, ճաշակմամբ, վերըստին ընտացումն լուսեղէն պատմուճանին . . . Առաջնոյն Ադամաւ ճաշակմամբն, տաղավար սատանայի եւ բնակարան այսոց չարաց, ըստ այնմ խեղդէր զնա այս չար ի Տեառնէ, եւ թէ վերացաւ հոգին ի Սաւուղայ. զի Սաւուղ նշանակէր զառաջինն Ադամ, իսկ Դաւիթ զերկրորդն Ադամ:

. . . Through the first eating (there was) death and through the second eating, life. . . . The first (led to) the proscription of Adam from all the glory, and the new reception of the luminous clothing through eating the second Adam. . . . Owing to the eating by the first Adam, Satan's hut and the dwelling of evil spirits, according to: "an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him" and "the spirit departed from Saul,"[24] for Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam.

7 118 Որք ջուր ի կիր առնուն սխալին, այլ գինի միայն պարտ է ի կիր առնուլ Those Who Use Water Are Mistaken, Only Wine Shall Be Used.

Նոյնպէս եւ գինի ուրախ առնէ ասաց: Զի բնութեամբ է եւ այս եւս,

23. Matt 26:26.
24. 1 Sam 16:14 = Arm 1 Kgdms 16:14.

զի որք ըմպեն, ուրախ լինին, բերկրին եւ զուարճանան. բառնի տրտմութիւն, տարագրի տխրութիւն, մոռանայ զցաւս. զի այսոքիկ ամենեքեան ըմբռնեցին զմարդկայինս բնութիւն ճաշակմամբն Ադամայ ի պտղոյն Ադինայ . . .

Also wine makes cheerful, it said.[25] For this is also according to nature, for those who drink become cheerful, rejoice, and are delighted; sorrow is removed, sadness is proscribed; they forget the pains. For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden . . .

8 120 Բայց կերեալն, եւ ճաշակեալն միանայ ընդ մարմնոյ եւ ընդ արեանն, մահացուցիչն մահացուցանէ, որպէս Ադամայն եւ Եւային, նոյնպէս եւ այլ մահաղեղքն, եւ կեցուցիչն կեցուցանէ, որպէս այս ճաշակումս . . .

But that which is consumed and eaten joins the body and the blood; that bringer of death, causes death, like to Adam and Eve, in the same way as other deadly potions; and that which is vivifying, vivifies, like this eating . . .

9 146–47 . . . արեգակս այս, որ էր Բէեղ/զեբուղ, մարտեաւ ընդ Ադամայ, խորշակաւն իւրով, եւ ցամաքեցոյց, եւ չորացոյց զնա, եւ էարկ ի հուրն անշէջ . . . Իսկ յետ Ադամայ որ զլուխն ընդ գլխոյն մարտեաւ, եւ զօսացոյց, ապա լուսինն, որք են հազարապետք, եւ հարիւրապետք իշխանին, առին լոյս, այսինքն իշխանութիւն ի նմանէ ի վերա որդւոցն Ադամայ . . . Զի Ադամաւ պայծառացաւ յորժամ յաղթեաց, եւ Քրիստոսիւ խաւարեցաւ, յորժամ յաղթահարեցաւ:

. . . This sun, which was Bēełzebuł, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire.[26] . . . And after Adam, with whom he fought head to head and dried him up, then the Moon, those who are the prince's chiliarchs and centurions, received from him light, that is, power, over Adam's descendants. . . . For (Bēełzebuł) became luminous through Adam, when he defeated him, and was darkened by Christ, when he[27] was defeated.

10 148 . . . սատանայ յար եւ յաւէժ, յառնէ ի վերայ խաղաղութեան, որպէս ի վերայ Ադամայ ի դրախտին . . .

Satan always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden . . .

11 167–68 Բնութիւն է օձին, յորժամ զլուխն մուծանէ ի ծակ ինչ, ընդ նմին եւ զամենայն անդամսն: Նոյնպէս եւ սատանայ, յորժամ

25. Ps 104:15.
26. See Isa 66:24.
27. I.e., Beelzebub.

կամիցի զոք ծառայեցուցանել զլուխ իւր մուծանէ ի յոգի նորա, որ է հպարտութիւնն, որով եւ ինքն մահացու, փորձ առեալ նովաւ, եւ նովիմբ ի կարթ փորձութեանն իւրոյ էարկ զԱդամ, եւ զԵւայ, որով եւ ծառայեցոյցն, յորժամ ասացն, բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիջիք իբրեւ զԱստուածս, վասն որոյ այսմ թիւրագոյն, գերազանցութեանս ցանկացեալ կերին, ի պտղոյն, զի եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, զլուխ օձին հպարտութիւնն. եւ կինն յառաջեաց եւ նախկնագոյն պատրաստեաց, օթեւան եւ տեղի, զլխոյս այսորիկ. զի ինքն նախ լինիցի Աստուած, եւ տիրեսցէ առն իւրոյ աստուածաբարս. եւ իշխեսցէ իբրեւ զգլուխ, ոտն, զլխոյն: Եւ իբրեւ գործով կատարեցաւ, եւ զլուխ օձին, այսինքն հպարտութիւնն, եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, ընդ նմին մտին եւ ամենայն անդամքն, այսինքն ամենայն մեղք: Երկրորդ բնութիւն է օձին, զի ամենայն թոյնք մահացուցիչք, բովանդակեալ ունի ի գլուխն, եւ յորժամ գլուխն տեղի էառ, թոյնքն ամենայն մահացուցիչք անդեն բովանդակեալ մտանեն ընդ գլխոյն: Այսպէս եւ մարդ յորժամ տեղի տայցէ գլխոյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, մտանեն ընդ նմա, ամենայն մահացուցիչք մեղք, եւ անօրէնութիւնք. վասն այնորիկ պատուիրեաց Տէր Ադամայ, նախաստեղծին, դու ըսպասեսցե՛ս նորա գլխոյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, զի մի մտցէ ի հոգիդ, վասն զի նա էառ սկիզբն ամենայն ի կորուստ: Զի ի քերովբէից դասուցն ըսկսաւ, որ է առաջին կարգ, երկնաւորացն ստեղծուածոց, մինչ ի վախճան ստեղծուածոց, որ էր մարդն, յանհասանելի բարձրութեանցն եւ փառացն զամենեսեան ի վայր թափեաց:

It is the nature of the serpent, when it inserts its head into a hole, with it, (it inserts) also all its members. Likewise Satan, when he wants to enslave somebody, inserts his head, that is, pride, into his soul; thus it made a mortal experiment with it and through the same, caught Adam and Eve on the hook of its temptation. Thus it enslaved (them) when it said: "your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods."[28] Because of this, desiring this most erroneous excellence, they ate of the fruit, for the head of the serpent, pride, entered their souls. And the woman hurried ahead and readied the first lodging and place for this head, so that she would first become a god and rule over her husband like God, and have authority like a head, (like) the head over the feet. And when the affair was done, and the serpent's head, that is, pride, entered their souls, with it all its members, namely, all the sins, also entered. The second nature of the serpent is: it contains in its head all mortal poisons, and when the head took its place, all mortal poisons contained there entered with the head. Likewise man, when he gives place to the head, that is, to pride, all mortal sins and lawlessnesses enter with it. For that reason, the Lord commanded the first-created Adam, "You will wait for his head,"[29]

28. Gen 3:5.
29. Gen 3:15.

that is, the pride, so that it would not enter your soul, for it provokes everything to perdition. For he began with the ranks of the Cherubim, which is the first rank of the celestial creation, up to the last of creatures, which was man; he cast them all down from inconceivable heights and glory.

12 183 Սոյնպէս եւ նախաստեղծքն, յորժամ բանսարկուն խաբանօք պատրեաց ոչ հայեցան յինքեանս եւ յարարածական բնութիւնս իւրեանց, այլ կամեցան աստուածանալ, վասն որոյ եւ ի գերագունէն կործանեալք խաւարեցան:

Likewise also the first-created ones; when the Devil fraudulently deceived (them), they did not consider themselves and their created nature, but wished to become gods, on account of which, overthrown by the Most Superior One, they were blinded.

13 205 . . . ասաց մարգարէն ի դիմաց Ադամայ, «եղէ ես որպէս տիկ ի պարզի» (Սաղ. ՃԺԸ. 83), լցեալ հողմով հպարտութեան, յորժամ պարտեցայ ի բանսարկուէն, ամբարտաւանութեամբ Աստուածանալոյն, եւ իբրեւ հարցայ յԱստուծոյ, վաղվաղակի պատառեցայ ընդ հարկանելն:

The prophet said about Adam: “I have become like a wineskin in the frost,”[30] filled up with the wind of pride, when I was defeated by the Devil through the arrogance of becoming god; and when I was asked by God, I was immediately rent under the beating.

14 288 Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեցաւ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, եւ զայն կորոյս ամբարտաւանութեամբն, եւ հպարտութեամբն. իսկ նորոյս Ադամայ յաղագս կատարեալ խոնարհութեանն, շնորհեցաւ, ոչ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, այլ նոյն ինքն անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն:

The ancestor Adam was granted various graces of the Spirit and he lost those through arrogance and pride, while the new Adam on account of his perfect humility was granted not the various graces of the Spirit but the person of the Spirit himself.

15 317–18 Արդ եթէ ազատութիւնս նորովս եղեւ զանկուածով, ապա պարտ է մեզ զի զհինն ի բաց, ի տար անդր ձգեսցուք. զի երկակի ներհակքն, անհնարին է համանգամայն, ի միասին զետեղիլ, զի հին զանկուածն որ էր Ադամայն, ամ/բարտաւանութեամբ եւ հպարտութեամբ էր խմորեալ, ի խայթմանէ օձին, ուստի ամենայն ուռուցմունք եւ փքացմունք յառաջեալք լինէին. քանզի բնութեամբ է զորս եւ խայթէ անիծեալն օձ, այնքան ուռի, մինչ զի իբրեւ զտիկ պարզի . . .

30. Ps 119:83 = Arm 118:83.

Now since liberty was in the new dough, we have to cast the old one out far away, for two opposite things cannot be placed together, for the old dough that was Adam's was fermented by arrogance and pride, through the serpent's bite, from which all kinds of swelling and inflation arose. Because it is in accordance with nature that those whom the cursed serpent bites swell to the extent that they become like a "wine skin of frost." [31]

16 337 . . . հպարտութիւնն, զհրեշտակս ի բարձրութենէ ընկեց, զԱդամ զրկեաց . . .

Pride cast the angels from the height, defrauded Adam . . .

17 353 Զի որպէս սովորութիւն է մեռելն. արտաքս տանել ի տանէ, զի մի զազրագոյն հոտն նորա, վնասեսցէ ումեք, այսպէս արար եւ Աստուած եւ ընդ մեռելոյն Ադամայ, հանեալ արձակեաց զմեռեալ դին, ի տանէ իւրմէ յանմահութենէ, զի թաղիցի ի հողն ուստի առաւ: Արդ եթէ նախաստեղծն ի հարմանէ իժին յայնմանէ, ամենասուրբ երրորդութիւնն ոչ կարաց զնա բժշկել . . .

As it is the custom to take the dead (man) out of the house, so that his foul smell would not hurt anybody, likewise God treated the dead Adam; expelling, he cast the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken. Now if the all-Holy Trinity could not cure the first-created (man) from the strike of that viper . . .

18 366 Նախկինն մարդ, ոչ ունէր ըզկատարեալ անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն, այլ զամենայն զշնորհս նորա, զեօթնարփեանն, եւ զերկոտասանն. եւ զայն կորոյս պտղոյն ճաշակմամբն:

The first man did not have the perfect person of the Spirit, but all his gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.[32] And he lost them through eating the fruit.

19 386 . . .այսինքն զլուսեղէն պատմուճանդ, զոր մերկացար ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին, եւ երթ ի տունն յորմէ եղեր. քանզի անդամալուծն նշանակէր զԱդամ, մահիճն, զլուսեղէն պատմուճանն, եւ տունն զդրախտն: . . .

. . . that is your luminous clothing of which you were stripped in the Garden of glorious life, "and go to your home," from which you came. For the paralytic symbolized Adam; the bed, the luminous clothing; and the home, the Garden.

20 387 . . . սա դուստր Աբրահամու էր. Աբրահամ նշանակէր զհայր Աստուած, իսկ դուստր նորա զԵւա. որպէս անդամալուծն Ադամ, եւ

31. Cf. ibid.
32. I.e., constellations.

երկոքեանն արձակեցան, եւ ի փառսն հրաւիրեցան . . . Նոյնպէս եւ զՂազարոս, ի մեռելութենէ ի կենդանութիւն հրաւիրեաց. զոր նա ի կենդանութենէ ի մեռելութիւն, ըստ այնմ նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ. քանզի եւ սա նշանակէր զԱդամ, զոր սատանայ ջամբելով զպտուղն, մահացուցիչ եսպան, ըստ այնմ յաւուր յորում ուտիցիս մահու մեռանիցիս, եւ Քրիստոս զսա կոչեաց ի մահուանէ ի կեանս, ըստ այնմ ել մեռեալն ոտիւքն կապելովք, եւ ձեռօքն երիզապնդօք, եւ երեսօքն վարշամակապատօք. եւ ասաց լուծէք զդա եւ թողէք երթալ. զի գերեզմանն նշանակէր, զդժոխս, Ղազարոս զԱդամ, ձեռսն եւ զոտսն կապեալ, զմեղքն, եւ անօրէնութիւն, վարշամակն երեսացն, զտգիտութիւնն, եւ զանիմաստութիւնն . . .

. . . This was Abraham's daughter.[33] Abraham symbolized God the Father, and his daughter, Eve; as the paralytic (symbolized) Adam, and both were released and invited to the glory. . . . Likewise he invited Lazarus from death to life, whom that one (had invited) from life to death according to: "Through the Devil's envy death entered the world."[34] Because he[35] also symbolized Adam, whom the Devil, having fed the mortal fruit, killed according to: "In the day that you eat you shall surely die."[36] And Christ called him from death to life according to: "The dead man came out, his hands and feet bound with strips of cloth, and his face wrapped in a cloth." And (Jesus) said, "Unbind him, and let him go."[37] For the grave symbolized hell, Lazarus—Adam, the "hands and feet bound"—the sin and lawlessness, the cloth of the face—ignorance and senselessness . . .

21 398 Նախկին օձին զբարս ի քեզ (Յուդայի) ցուցանելով, զի որպէս նա առ հինն Ադամ, մատեաւ ի համբոյր, որ յորժամ եղեւն մահացաւ, նոյնպէս եւ դու առ երկրորդս Ադամ, որ համբուրելովդ կամիս ըսպանանել զիս:

Manifesting in you (Judas) the character of the first serpent, for as he approached the old Adam for kiss, and when it happened he died, likewise (do) you to the second Adam, for you wish to kill me with your kiss.

Text: Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i, Գիրք պատմութեան. Վիճաբանութիւն առ Շահ Սլէմանն Պարսից *Book of History. Dispute with the Persian Shah Suleyman* (Calcutta: Yovsēp' Step'anosean Press, 1797).

22 116 . . . ամենայն աստուածապաշտք ընդունին Աստուծոյ Ադամ ի

33. Luke 13:16.
34. Wis 2:24.
35. I.e., Lazarus.
36. Gen 2:17.
37. John 11:44

դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ, վասն այնորիկ էր որ հրաման Աստուծոյ ընկեց, որպէս եւ բացատրութիւն աստուածաշնչոյն է՝ եւ այլ գիրս պատմագրաց մարգարէից եւ ապա ի ձեռս սատանայի անկաւ եւ ի դժոխս տեղակալ եղեւ:

. . . All pious accept that Adam was expelled from the Garden by God; this was because he cast off God's command according to the explanation in the Bible and other books of historiographer prophets, and then he fell into Satan's hands and he became a place-holder in hell.

23 122 . . . ըստ խելաց արմատն մարդկան թարց կարծեաց Ադամ էր եւ նա դառնացաւ վասն ճաշակման պտղոյն եւ ամենայն ազգ մարդկան նոյնպէս դառնացան:

. . . Reasonably, the root of mankind undoubtedly was Adam, and he was embittered on account of eating the fruit, and the whole human race was embittered in the same way.

24 124 Ադամ սխալեցաւ որ հրամանն Աստուծոյ ոչ լուաւ եւ զոր ինչ հրամայական եւ հարժականն,[38] ասացեալ գործով ոչ կատարեաց եւ ըստ հարմնաց[39] բարբառոյն Աստուծոյ եւ բացատրութիւն մարգարէից զոր գրեալ է նա հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ հանեալ եղեւ ի դրախտէն՝ եւ ըստ բացատրութեան մարգարէից անկաւ ի ձեռն սատանայի եւ էջ ի դժոխս եւ այսպէս եղեւ ընդ ամենայն ծնունդս նորա ապա հարկաւորեցաւ զի ումն լիցի որ զնոսա ազատեսցէ:

Adam erred because of not listening to God's command, and he did not carry out in practice whatever commanding and forbidding was pronounced. And according to the commandments of God's speech and of the prophets' explanation that he had written, at God's command he was expelled from the Garden. And, according to the prophets' explanation, he fell into Satan's hands and descended to hell, and this happened to all his generations. Then it was necessary that there be someone to release them.

38. Apparently corrupt for հրաժարական.
39. Apparently corrupt for հրամանաց.

Eighteenth Century

Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi C18

Պատմութիւն պարսից (ԺԸ դար) *History of Persia (18th c.),* ed. B. Aławeleancʻ (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1905).

(*the four dynasties who reigned before the Arabs are listed . . . the first was called Daduians* Դադուինեաց)

1 23 Եւ ի միջի յորոց՝ թագաւոր ոմն կոչէին Զօակթաղի, որոյ մականուն տային Աժդահակ. ասէին թէ՝ սա միայն Ռ ամ թագաւորեաց: Ո՜վ մեծի եւ անըմբռնելի յիմարութեանս. Ադամ նախաստեղծն ո՛չ եկաց մնաց անդր քան զհազար ամն . . .

And among them there was a king called Zoaktʻałi, to whom they gave the epithet Aždahak. It was said that only he ruled for 1000 years. Oh great and incomprehensible stupidity! The first-created Adam did not stay there for more than a thousand years . . .

2 136–38 (Shah Abas loved stories . . . զքննութիւնս հաւատոյ . . . etc.):

Իսկ ի միում աւուր, որք ժողովեալք էին մեծամեծք դրանն առաջեւ նորա, եւ խօսէին վասն ճշմարտութեան հաւատոյ. եւ ապա խօսիլ սկսան ի վերայ բարբառոց քաղցրութեան եւ փարթամութեան, եւ տարակուսեալք հարցանէին առ միմեանս թէ՝ Արդեօ՞ք որ լեզուն իցէ լեզու եւ բարբառ առաջին, որ տուաւ յԱստուծոյ Ադամայ: Առ որոյ ոմանք ասացին Եբրայեցւոց լեզուն գոլ առաջին, ոմանք քաղդէացւոցն, իսկ ոմանք այս եւ այն ազգի բարբառ ասացին. եւ ապացուցութեամբ ոչ ոք ի յորոց կարաց արտալածեալ բացայայտել զտարակուսութիւնն:

*Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers to feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (*խեցբեկազոյն եւ կործաբար զբարբառ խժական*), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages.*

(Shah Abas loved stories . . . examination of faith . . . etc.):

And one day, magnates assembled in front of his door and spoke about the truth of faith. And then they began to speak about the sweetness and richness of languages, and having doubts they asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first; some, (the language of) the Chaldeans; and others named the language of this or that people; and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.

3 196 (*vardapet* Yōhannēs explains the Christian doctrine to King Suleyman)

Աւէ՝ յերկինս խռովութիւն անկաւ՝ յորժամ սատանայ մարտեաւ ընդ Աստուծոյ, յորժամ ասաց՝ ելից բարձրացայց, եւ եդից զաթոռ իմ յամպ, եւ եղէց նման բարձրելոյն. յայնժամ ահեղ թնդմամբ որոտաց Տէր յերկնից՝ յաճախեաց զփայլատակունս իւր, եւ խռովեցոյց զնոսա, եւ առաքեաց զնետս իւր եւ ցրուեաց զնոսա. յայնժամ անկան յերկնից ի բարձանց՝ ի խորս անդնդոց, եւ յանկանիլն ձգեաց զտուտն իւր, եւ քարշեաց զերրորդ մասն աստեղաց, այսինքն՝ հրեշտակաց՝ որք ընդ նմա անկան յերկնից ի բարձանց, յերկինս այսպիսի խռովութիւն անկաւ: Իսկ յերկիր, պտղոյն ճաշակմանն Ադամայ եղեւ թշնամութիւն եւ խռովութիւն, յորժամ Ադամ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ եթող, եւ զպատուիրանս թշնամւոյն Աստուծոյ պահեաց. եւ ընկալաւ, մինչ զի արտաքսեցաւ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ այսպէս բազմանայր օր եւ աւուր մեղքն, յանցանքն, եւ անօրէնութիւնքն, մինչ զի ջրհեղեղաւ կորոյս զամենեսեան . . .

He says: there was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: let me ascend and put the throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.[1] Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is, the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.[2] But on the earth Adam's eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam left God's command and observed the command of God's enemy, and accepted (it) until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden. And so day after day sin, transgression, and iniquity multiplied until God killed everybody by the Flood . . .

1. Isa 14:13–14
2. See Aune 1998, 685–86, on the source of this, in Rev 12:4.

4 197 . . . այսպէս արմատն ամենայն մարդկայինս բնութեան, որ Ադամ էր, դառնացաւ ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն, եւ զոր ինչ ի նմանէ յառաջ եկն՝ ամենայն նոյնպէս դառն էր, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առնէր զքաղցրութիւն:

. . . So the root of all human nature, that was Adam, became bitter because of eating the fruit, and everything that proceeded from him was bitter, too, and there was nobody to make sweetness.

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Alphabetical List of Authors Quoted

In this list, I have given basic details about each author. The information has been drawn mainly from the works of Archbishop Norayr Bogharian and Robert W. Thomson for the ancient and medieval periods and of Kevork B. Bardakjian for the period from 1500 on.[1] These sources list further bibliography. In addition, the references to the writings mentioned are given in part 2 of the book.

Norayr Bogharian, Archbishop, Հայ Գրողներ. Ե-Ժէ Դար *Armenian Writers (Ninth to Seventeenth Centuries)* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971).
Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD.* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500–1920* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

Abusayid C12
A Syrian scholar who lived in the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia (Thomson, 90).

Agat'angełos, C5
Apparently the pen name of a fifth-century author of *History of the Armenians*, which relates the story of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity. Many versions of this work exist (Thomson, 91).

Agat'angełos, *Teaching of St. Gregory* C5
An extensive theological treatise embedded in *History of the Armenians*, attributed to Agat'angełos.

Amulet C15
The oldest amulet roll found in the collection of the Matenadaran in Erevan.

Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos C10
He was born in the early tenth century and elected Kat'ołikos in 941. He died in 965. Only four epistles by him have survived (Bogharian, 144–46; Thomson 96).

Anania Narekac'i C10
Tenth-century scholar at the Monastery of Narek, by Lake Van. He is known for his opposition to the Tondrakian heretics. Relatively sparse literary remains survive.

1. In this list, they are referred to as Bogharian, Thomson, and Bardakjian, respectively.

Anania Sanahnec‘i C11
Dated to 1000?–1070? (Bogharian, 185), he lived at a time when the Monastery of Narek was flourishing (Bogharian, 184–87; Thomson, 96–97).

Anania Širakac‘i, C7
An early Armenian scholar famous for his mathematical, calendrical, and secular studies. He studied in Armenia and then pursued mathematics in Trebizond, where he remained for eight years, apparently the student of Tychikos, a well-known Greek expert. Thomson suggests that he was born ca. 600 and died ca. 670, while Bogharian suggests 615?–690?.[2] His father was called Yovhannēs Širakayin. At the request of Kat‘ołikos Anastasius (662–667), he commenced establishing a fixed calendar for use by the Armenians, but the work remained incomplete due to Anastasius's death. Anania was the author of mathematical and astronomical works, a chronicle and some theological works. The *Geography* traditionally ascribed to Movsēs Xorenac‘i (q.v.) has also been ascribed to him (Bogharian, 89–94; Thomson, 97).

Anania *vardapet* C5
H. Anasyan gathered under this name a number of homilies of unclear authorship.[3] In his introduction to Anania's work in *MH* 5th century, 1141–44, Yakob Keosēyan proposes, on the basis of a process of elimination, of its use by later sources, and also of stylistic features, that the work excerpted here comes from the middle of the fifth century.

Anonymous Author 8 C17
Anonymous poet.

Anonymous of Livorno C17
Anonymous chronicler.

Anonymous of Sebastia C15
Anonymous chronicler.

Aṙak‘el Davižec‘i C17
He was born around 1600 and died in 1670 in Tabriz. He was a monk in Ējmiacin and traveled extensively both as a Catholicosal emissary and to gather material for his *History,* which was written at the request of Kat‘ołikos Philippos in 1651 and finished around 1662. It covers the period 1602–1662 (Bardakjian, 68-69; Bogharian, 528–30). It was printed in Amsterdam in 1669 by Oskan Erevanc‘i, who made some changes to Davižec‘i's original.

Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i C15
Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i (ca. 1356–ca. 1422) was a poet, thinker, and writer. He was son

2. According to Samuēl of Ani, he was still active in 709, but this seems unreliable; see Bogharian, 89–90.

3. See Anasyan 1959, 786–87.

of Dawit‘ and Melik‘ and nephew of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i. In the early fifteenth century he was bishop of Siwnik‘ and also abbot of the Monastery of Tat‘ew. He was a fruitful author, his best known works including the *Adamgirk‘* (*Book of Adam*), a long poetic retelling of the story of Adam and Eve in about 6,000 lines; a *Commentary on the Definitions of Dawit‘*; and other poetic, hymnic, and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 409–13; Thomson, 101–3).

Artawazd Mazazuni C10
A tenth-century author known from the *Book of Knowledge and Belief*, edited by Artašes Mat‘evosyan.[4] He composed his "Solutiones" by order of Prince Atom Anjewac‘i.[5]

At‘anas Taronac‘i, C6
He was the author of a *Chronicle* down to 584 C.E. (Thomson, 103).[6]

Awetik‘ Mahtesi C16-17
A poet mentioned in the 16th–17th centuries.

Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16
Azaria of Julfa the poet, as distinct from his namesake, who was Kat‘ołikos of Sis between 1534 and 1601, lived between ca. 1570–1628. He was born in Sasun but details of his early life are unknown. He studied later with Grigor of Caesaria, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the years 1603–4 and 1609–12. He died at sea in 1628, en route to Egypt, and was buried at Tripoli. His writings include scholarly, poetic and calendrical works (Bogharian 493–96; Bardakjian, 38, 300).

Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14
He lived 1280–1345 and was the author of a commentary on Mark of which fragments have survived (Thomson, 104; Bogharian, 377–78).

Dawit‘ Bałišec‘i C17
Dawit‘ was born in Bałēš (Bitlis). The date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1673. He is known for his *Chronicle* and for manuscripts he had copied. He was a celibate priest and subsequently abbot of the Monastery of Xndrakatar (Bardakjian, 330).

Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12
The author of a guidebook for priests that played a role in later Armenian canon law, he died in 1140 (Bogharian, 215–17; Thomson, 111).

Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7
Dawit‘ was apparently born at the beginning of the seventh century in the village of Heret‘ or Heret in the region of Hark‘. Thus, he is sometimes called Hark‘ec‘i

4. See note under the excerpt of his work above.
5. On Atom, see Ačaṙyan 1977, "Atom 7." He dates from the tenth century.
6. See Mat‘evosyan 1989, 220–34.

and sometimes Heretacʻi. He was in Constantinople as a young man and was a student of Deacon Theodoret, a famous rhetor. He was a deacon of Patriarch Paul of Constantinople (635–654). Dawitʻ was particularly well educated in philosophical and theological studies, and his works exhibit the influence of Philo. His language and style are hellenizing (Bogharian, 86–87).

Dawitʻ Salajorcʻi C17
Originating from the village of Salajor in Erzerum, he was probably born about 1630 and apparently died before the earthquake of 1718, which he does not mention. He was a poet of verve and sensitivity (Bardakjian, 55–57, 330–31).

Dawitʻ the Invincible C7
This renowned but obscure philosopher is discussed in many sources. Zuckerman stresses the close links with Olympiodorus of Alexandria and Elias (late sixth–seventh centuries).[7] Four works on philosophy in Armenian versions are attributed to Dawitʻ. Thomson states that these were written in Greek by a pupil of the sixth century Neoplatonic philosopher Olympiodorus, active in Alexandria. Later Armenian tradition makes Dawitʻ a pupil of Maštocʻ, and he supposedly studied in Constantinople, Alexandria, and Athens and victoriously upheld the Christian faith. Various theological works are also ascribed to him (Thomson, 107; Bogharian, 73-76).

Ełišē, C5
Ełišē was born early in the fifth century, but other details of his life remain unclear. He is best known as the author of the *History of Vardan*, which describes the famous Battle of Avarayr against the Sassanians in 451 C.E. Traditions about his life are varied. He is also the reputed author of a number of homilies, some of which are excerpted above (Bogharian, 24–27; Thomson, 112–16).

Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi C17
A poet active in the seventeenth century. He was a *vardapet*.

Ephrem, *Exposition of the Gospel,* C5
This work by Ephrem Syrus was early translated into Armenian. It is included here because of its influence on Armenian literature from its inception.

Esayi Nčʻecʻi C14
He lived ca. 1255–1338; he was abbot of the renowned Monastery of Glajor and is known for grammatical works and commentaries on biblical books. He served at Glajor for half a century and educated many students (Bogharian, 364–67; Thomson, 117).

Eznik Kołbacʻi, C5
Eznik was a disciple of Maštocʻ (inventor of the Armenian alphabet), born in the village of Kołb. Koriwn, Maštocʻʻs biographer describes Eznik's travels to

7. See Zuckerman 2001, 425–48.

Edessa and Constantinople. Ełišē and Łazar report that a Bishop Eznik of Bagrevand attended a synod at Artašat in 450, but earlier Armenian sources preserve no further details about him. His most famous work is a treatise on the origin and nature of evil, commonly known as "Refutation of the Sects" or "Heresies" but more recently as "De Deo." Also extant is part of a letter Eznik sent to Maštocʻ. Various homilies are attributed to an Eznik or Eznak in later Armenian tradition (Bogharian, 18–20; Thomson, 117–21).

Frik C13
A poet known as Frik (not an Armenian name and perhaps deriving from Frederick) lived in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries C.E. The exact dates of his birth and death remain unknown, but a period of ca. 1230–1315 seems plausible in light of historical and biographical information in some of his poems. Bogharian thinks that he might have originated from western Armenia, while Thomson talks of Siwnikʻ. Frik is the first known poet to have written completely in Middle Armenian. His opus comprises more than fifty poems (Bogharian, 338–42; Thomson, 121–22).

Gēorg Ŀorecʻi C11
He was born in Ŀori, but worked and died in Cilicia, where he was close to Katʻołikos Grigor Vkayasēr (Martyrophile). He was a theologian, and an epistle by him is preserved in *Girkʻ Tʻłtʻocʻ* (Bogharian, 191–93 and Thomson, 123).

***Girkʻ Tʻłtʻocʻ* C5**
This work, also called *Book of Letters* is a collection of correspondence between Armenian ecclesiastical figures and Syriac, Greek, and Georgian ecclesiastics. The contents date from the fifth to the thirteenth century (Thomson, 104–5).

Grigor Aknercʻi C13
Grigor was the author of *History of the Nation of Archers*, about Armenian–Mongol relations until 1271 (Thomson, 124–25).

Grigor Daranałcʻi C17
Born in Kamax, he lived from 1576 to 1643, the latter years near the centers of Ottoman power. His history was a chronicle started in 1634 and concluded in 1640. He describes the intense political and national affairs of the day. This chronicle is preceded by an account of events from 1595 to 1634. His book is a remarkable source for Armenian history in the Ottoman Empire (Bardakjian, 67–68; Bogharian, 516–20).

Grigor Magistros C10
Grigor (ca. 990–1059) was a member of the distinguished Pahlavuni family, son of Prince Vasak (d. 1021). Grigor played a considerable political role, receiving the title "Magistros" as the Byzantine governor of Mesopotamia, appointed by Constantine Monomachos, after the fall of Ani in 1044. He was a learned man

and translator, and a writer with great interest in Greek and Christian thought (Bogharian, 180–82; Thomson, 127–28).

Grigor Narekac'i C10
Grigor, monk of Narek (945–1010), is Armenia's most famous poet. He was educated under Anania Narekec'i in the Monastery of Narek. His book of mystical poetry, named the *Book of Lamentation* or just "The Narek," has been a focus of Armenian spirituality. He also wrote commentaries and hymns as well as homilies (Bogharian, 157–61; Thomson, 128–33).

Grigor Pahlavuni C12
Grigor lived ca. 1093–1166. He was educated in Karmir Monastery and was Kat'ołikos between 1113 and 1166. He wrote hymns and sacred poetry (Bogharian, 226–27; Thomson, 133).

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14
The abbot of the Monastery of T'atew, Grigor lived between ca. 1344 and 1409. His teacher was Yovan Orotnec'i. His most famous work is *Book of Questions*, which is part of his strong defense of the Armenian Apostolic Church against the Unitors. He also wrote commentaries and homilies (Bogharian, 396–400; Thomson, 134–35).

Grigor Tłay C12
Grigor IV Tłay (the Child) (ca. 1133–1193) was Kat'ołikos between 1173 and 1193. The nephew of St. Nersēs Šnorhali, Grigor was a poet who wrote religious poems. He tried to foster relations between the Armenian and Greek Churches, and with the Pope (Bogharian, 250–52; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Vkayasēr C11-12
He was the son of Grigor Magistros and was noted for his interest in hagiography and in reforming the monastic life in Armenia. He lived from ca. 1025 to 1105. Leaving most of his administrative duties to a coadjutor, he traveled in Palestine, Egypt, and other monastic centers, translating many saints' lives into Armenian (Bogharian, 194–99; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Xlat'ec'i or Cerenc' C14
Grigor of Xlat' (ca. 1350–1425) was a religious poet and the editor of one of the recensions of the Armenian *Synaxarion* (*Yaysmawurk'*). He was a student of Yovhannēs Orotnec'i (Bogharian, 414–17; Thomson, 136–37).

Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16
He lived ca. 1480–1544 and was from a distinguished family. In 1510 he became Kat'ołikos of Ałt'amar. Famous as a poet, he was also known as a painter of miniatures (Bogharian, 445–49).

Grigoris Aršaruni C7
A theologian of mid-seventh to early eighth century, probably dating from ca.

650–ca. 729, Grigoris is the author of a long-winded and repetitive *Commentary on the Lectionary*. To him is also ascribed a commentary on the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, but the ascription is doubtful (Bogharian, 103–5; Thomson, 138).

Hamam Arewelc‘i C9
His dates are ca. 825–ca. 890. He exhibits considerable learning in his exegetical and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 128–29; Thomson, 139).

Ignatius *vardapet* **C12**
Twelfth-century theologian (Thomson, 140).

Karapet Bałišec‘i C16
He lived from ca. 1450 to ca. 1514. He was a copyist as well as a writer of hymns and homilies (Bogharian, 442–44; Thomson, 140; Bardakjian, 33–35, 391–92).

K‘erovbē *vardapet*, **C 9**
He was the author of exegetical works.

Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14
He lived ca. 1280–1355 and was an educator and author active in monasteries in the region of Erznka (Bogharian, 382–84; Thomson, 141).

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i C13
He lived 1200–1271 (Bogharian gives his dates as 1203–1272 [pp. 304–5]). A historian with particularly valuable information on the Mongols, he was taken captive by the Tatars in 1236. He was subsequently returned to Armenia, and he moved to Cilicia, where he died (Bogharian, 304–6; Thomson, 141–42).

Komitas Kat‘ołikos, C6
His dates are ca. 560–628. He was Grand Sacristan of St. Hṙipsimē church. Earlier he was bishop of Tarōn and of the Mamikonians and was elected Kat‘ołikos in 615. He wrote letters preserved in *Girk‘ T‘łt‘oc‘*, a letter in Sebēos’s *History*, and the *Šarakans* of the Canons of the holy Hṙipsimeans in the *Hymnal* in thirty-six stanzas (Bogharian, 64–66; Thomson, 142).[8]

Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14
This monk and poet from Erznka lived ca. 1250–1336 (Bogharian, 373–76; Thomson, 145–46).

Lazar P‘arpec‘i, C5
His dates are approximately 437–500, and he wrote a significant history, covering the fifth century. He was raised with the Mamikonean family, and his work is dedicated to Vahan Mamikonean (Bogharian, 34–36; Thomson, 146–49).

8. Note that his inscription is found in the Church of S. Hṙip’simē dated 618 and that Sebēos cites a long epistle by him (Bogharian, 64–66).

Łazar Sebastac‘i C16
He was a priest and the author of love poetry (Bardakjian, 41–42, 399–400).

Łewond, C8
He was the only eighth-century historian, writing ca. 790. His work describes the period of 632–788, when Armenia was under Muslim control. He used Sebēos as his source for the beginning, but the rest draws on contemporary sources and eyewitnesses. No biographical details are known, but he was apparently a cleric with close connection with the Bagratunis. According to its colophon, the *History* was written at the command of Shapuh Bagratuni. Łewond strives to present Bagratunis in a favorable light (Bogharian, 119–21; Thomson, 149).

Mambrē, C5
He was a fifth-century theologian and author of homilies of uncertain dates, perhaps about 400–460. He is associated in Armenian tradition with Movsēs Xorenac‘i (Bogharian, 21–23; Thomson, 150).

Matt‘ēos *vardapet* **C15**
Matt‘ēos was an author of commentaries and sermons (Bogharian, 402–5; Thomson, 152).

Minas T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16
He was born in T‘oxat‘ in 1508 and died around 1575. He was a copyist, illuminator, and binder of manuscripts. He emigrated to Lvov in Poland, where he served as secretary of the Armenian court (Bogharian, 464–66; Bardakjian, 39–40, 424).

Mkrtič‘ Nałaš C15
He was a poet, living in the fifteenth century (ca. 1400–ca. 1469). A highly respected ecclesiastic, he was a gifted illuminator and also had skills as an architect (Bogharian, 434–38; Thomson, 153).

Movsēs Kałankatuac‘i or Dasxuranc‘i C10
Movsēs lived in the tenth century. He was apparently an Albanian and is known for his *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (Bogharian, 171–73; Thomson, 153–55).

Movsēs K‘ert‘ołahayr, C6?
He was a seventh-century scholar (ca. 470–ca. 530) and bishop of Siwnik‘. He was learned in theology, Scripture, and history and composed homilies and a text on grammar (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 156).

Movsēs Xorenac‘i, C9
The most famous Armenian historian, he claimed to write in the fifth century using older sources. It is clear that he had access to many ancient sources. The date of this author has been fiercely debated, the dates proposed being between the fifth and the ninth century (Bogharian, 14–17; Thomson, 156–68).

Mxit'ar Anec'i C12
Mxit'ar Anec'i was a chronicler, apparently from Ani (Thomson, 169).

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14
This scholar and chronicler was abbot of the Monastery of Ayrivank' (also known as Gełard). His chronicle extends down to 1328 (Thomson, 169). He lived, apparently, between 1222 and ca. 1290 (Bogharian, 313–15; Thomson, 169–70).

Mxit'ar Goš C12
He was born in Ganjak ca. 1140. At a certain point he studied in Cilicia and subsequently returned to Armenia, where he built the monastery of Nor Getik in 1195. He died there in 1213 (Bogharian, 260–64; Thomson, 170–73).

Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i C16
He is dated ca. 1510–1592, but little is known of him (Bogharian, 467–76; Bardakjian, 428–30).

Nazaret' A C17
He was a poet who lived in the seventeenth century.

Nersēs Anjnapatc'i C17
A seventeenth-century poet.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12
He was the author of an extensive and varied literary corpus that included biblical commentaries, homilies, hymns, and translations from Greek and Latin. He was archbishop of Tarsus and was active in both political and ecclesiastical affairs. He lived from 1153 to 1198 and died at the age of forty-six (Bogharian, 253–59; Thomson, 175–78).

Nersēs Šnorhali C12
He lived from 1102 to 1173 and became Kat'ołikos in 1166. He was of the Pahlavuni family. He is best known for his religious poetry, but he also composed hymns, *šarakans*, commentaries, and other works. He corresponded with Greek authorities on the differences between the churches (Thomson, 178–84).

P'awstos Buzand, C5
To this mysterious figure is ascribed a history of Armenia that covers the period from 330 to 387. "Buzand" remains unknown, and it has been suggested that the designation is derived from the work's title *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, epic tales (Thomson, 185–88).

P'ilon Tirakac'i, C7
P'ilon translated the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates in the year 696/697. A chronicle is also attributed to him.

Pawłos Taronac‘i C12
There are few biographical details known. His dates are ca. 1050–1123. He was particularly interested in theological and liturgical studies (Bogharian, 207–8).

Pseudo-Basil, C6
See the notes on the excerpts from "Pseudo-Basil" above.

Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i, C7
He was born ca. 635 in the village of Ark‘unašēn in the region of Jorap‘or. He was Kat‘ołikos from 677 until his death in 703. He was the author of homilies and hymns and also wrote canons, *šarakans,* and a homily included in the printing of Yovhan Ōjnec‘i's works (Venice, 1834) 185–93. The homily and *šarakans* are in Hellenizing language and grammatical style (Bogharian, 95–97; Thomson, 190).

Sahak Mṙut C9
Ninth-century theologian (Bogharian, 125–27; Thomson, 190–91).

Samuel Anec‘i C12
He lived ca. 1100–ca. 1180. He seems to have been particularly expert in calendrical matters, on which he wrote a commentary. He composed a chronicle from creation down to 1176, using Eusebius and Xorenac‘i as his sources for the ancient period (Bogharian, 240–42).

Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i, C 10
Samuel lived ca. 940–ca. 1010. Abbot of the Monastery of Kamrǰajor, he was particularly learned in Scripture, music, calendarical matters, and theology (Bogharian, 162–64; Thomson, 191).

Sargis Šnorhali C12
Sargis was educated at Karmir Vank‘ and lived ca. 1100–ca. 1167. Attracted to the ascetic life, he lived in the Sew Leṙ region. He wrote a commentary on the Catholic Epistles. His style is wordy (Bogharian, 228–320; Thomson, 192–93).

Sarkawag Berdakac‘i C16
A poet of the sixteenth century, from whom only a single poem on wine as earthly and as a heavenly symbol survives (Bardakjian, 41, 487).

Simēon Ałjnec‘i, C 10
He was a tenth-century homilist and theologian.

Simēon Aparanc‘i C16
Simēon was born ca. 1550 in the village of Aparank‘ and died in 1615. He was ordained *vardapet* before 1585. He wrote poetry and narratives, some poetic, with strong patriotic sentiment (Bogharian, 482–83; Bardakjian, 42–43, 502–3).

Simēon Kafac‘i C17
Simēon was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step'anos Kełec'i C17
He was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step'anos Ōrbelean C13
He was born ca. 1260 and died in 1304. Step'anos was the son of Tarsayič Ōrbelean, ruler of Siwnik'. He became a celibate priest in 1280 and was ordained bishop in 1286. He wrote a history of Siwnik' province and other works (Bogharian, 330–33; Thomson, 200–201).

Step'anos Siwnec'i, C8
Step'anos Siwnec'i was born ca. 680 and died in 735. To enrich his education he went to Athens (ca. 710) and Constantinople (ca. 712), where in the years 715–718 he translated the pseudo-Dionysian corpus into Armenian as well as works by Nemesius and Gregory of Nyssa. He returned to Armenia in about 728. He became bishop of Siwnik' and was a scholar and translator (Bogharian, 112–15; Thomson, 201–2).

Step'anos Tarōnec'i. (Asołik) C10
He was a historian who lived in the early tenth century. In part 1.1 of his history he enumerates his sources; the third part deals with contemporary events. Bogharian suggests that he lived between ca. 935 and ca. 1015 (Bogharian, 167–69; Thomson, 202–3).

Tačat *vardapet*, C 10
He was the author of an elenchic text in the tenth century.

T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16
His exact dates are uncertain, but he lived from ca. 1540 to 1602. He wrote both in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish (Bogharian, 480-481; Bardakjian, 40-41, 521).

T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7
He lived approximately 600–675. He was the nephew of Komitas Kat'ołikos (628) and Ezr Kat'ołikos (rhetor) 641. He was nicknamed "sackcloth wearer" because of his ascetic disciplines. He was an important figure with considerable influence by whom three homilies survive (Bogharian, 83–85; Thomson, 203).

T'ēop'ilos C9
He was a ninth-century writer who composed discourses on biblical events of liturgical weight.

Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10
An author of homilies (Thomson, 203).

Tiranun *vardapet* C10
Theological writer (Thomson, 204).

T'ovma Arcruni C9

He lived from ca. 840 to ca. 906. We have almost no biographical information about him except that his history reaches the early tenth century, and a Continuator carries it down to the thirteenth century (Bogharian, 134–37; Thomson, 204).

Uxtanēs C10

This historian, dated by Bogharian to 940?–1000?, preserves sources on the rupture of the Armenian and Georgian churches in the seventh century (Bogharian, 154-56; Thomson, 208).

Vahram Rabuni C13

A chronicler, philosopher, and exegete of the thirteenth century who worked in Cilicia; he was court scribe of King Leo II (1270–1289) (Bogharian, 316–19; Thomson, 209).

Vanakan *vardapet* C13

Vanakan *vardapet* (1181–1251) lived in Ganjak during the Mongol invasions at the Monastery of Xoranašat. He represented the northern intellectual tradition, and his student Vardan Arewelc'i (1200?–1271) carried his ideas to Cilicia as well (Bogharian, 290–93).

Vardan Arewelc'i C13

He lived ca. 1200–1271. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1240, but little is known of his life before that. On the way back to Armenia he stopped in Cilicia until 1246. Afterwards, he returned to Armenia, where he eventually died in 1271 in Xor Virap. His surviving writings are numerous, including a famous history and geography (Bogharian, 294–300; Thomson, 210–12).

Vardan Aygekc'i C13

Originating near Aleppo, he was educated in Cilicia. He was known as a preacher and a prolific writer. He lived from 1170 to 1235. He was known as the author of fables, and the important catena *Root of Faith* is ascribed to him (Bogharian, 276–81; Thomson, 212–13).

Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł C7

He lived ca. 550–ca. 620. He was born near Dvin, where he was educated. He was ordained and later served as *locum tenens* for the Kat'ołikos of Armenia (604–7). About ten of his letters on ecclesiastical issues survive. He had a particular interest in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and there is considerable Hellenizing influence on his language (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 213).

Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i C18

Few details are known of his life, except that he was born in New Julfa. He wrote a *History of Persia*, including much information on Armenians, especially after the resettlement in New Julfa (Bardakjian, 89–90, 360).

Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i C14
Xač'atur was a poet and teacher who edited anew the Alexander Romance in Armenian with the addition of word lists and explanatory notes (*kafas*). He lived from 1260 to 1331. He chiefly composed *Ganj*s and religious poems (*tałs*) (Bogharian, 356–59; Thomson, 214).

Xa'čatur Xaspēk Kafac'i C17
He was a proficient copyist and illuminator born in Kaffa and a poet in both the religious and secular realms (Bardakjian, 55, 359).

Xosrovik T'argmanič', C8
His dates are approximately 670–730. Few biographical details are known, but judging from his writings he was a younger contemporary of Yovhan Ōjnec'i. They worked together at the Council of Manzakert (726). He was a strong defender of Armenian orthodoxy. He composed polemical works in the Hellenizing style (Bogharian, 106–8; Thomson, 216).

Xosrow Anjewac'i C10
He lived approximately from 900 to 963. Little is known of his early life. He was married, and after the death of his wife in the 940s he was ordained bishop of Anjewik'. He was later excommunicated for his views (Bogharian, 141–43; Thomson, 215–16).

Յաճախապատում Ճառք **Dogmatic Homilies C5**
"A collection of homilies sometimes ascribed to Gregory the Illuminator or to Maštoc'" (Thomson, 216). The work is thus traditionally attributed to the fifth century or earlier (Thomson, 216–17).

Yakob Cpatec'i C10
This theologian lived in the tenth century and wrote a work against Xosrow Ajewac'i.

Yakob Kesarac'i C17
A poet who wrote on religious themes.

Yakob Łrimec'i C15
This learned and literary scholar lived ca. 1350-1426. He died in the city of Arckē, leaving a substantial literary heritage, including calendrical works (Bogharian, 419–22; Thomson, 217).

Yakob T'oxatc'i C17
His dates were 1573–ca. 1667. In 1602, he went to Zamość in Poland, where he served as priest until his death. He learned Polish and Latin and copied liturgical manuscripts. He wrote poetry, homilies, and other works and was also a translator (Bogharian, 524–26; Bardakjian, 53-54, 565).

Yohan K'ahana C13
He was a chronicler of the thirteenth century.

Yovasap‘ Erznkac‘i C17
A seventeenth-century poet.

Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i C16
He was born in 1510 approximately and was a poet and scribe. He was a married deacon and composed love poetry and also meditative religious poems. He was influenced by Nersēs Šnorhali and also Grigor Narekac‘i, and he also wrote historical poetry. His death may be placed about 1564 (Bogharian, 453–56; Bardakjian, 35–38, 567).

Yovhan Arčišec‘i C14
The approximate dates of his lifetime are 1260–1330, though neither is certain. He was a student of Esayi Nč‘ec‘i. He was called "lentil eater" because of the long ascetic discipline that he undertook. He wrote a commentary on the Liturgy (Bogharian, 354–55; Thomson, 228).

Yovhan Mamikonean C7
He was a historian supposedly of the seventh century, but scholars say that his writing is later. His history is closely connected with that of Zenob Glak. According to Bogharian (299–310), his work contains two parts: (a) a translation of the history of Zenob Glak from Syriac and (b) a continuation History of Tarōn (Bogharian, 71–76; Thomson, 223).

Yovhan Ōjnec‘i, C 8
Yovhan is noted for his writings against the Paulicians and other heretics, and for his compilation of canon law. He was born in the village of Ōjun in the region of Loṙi. His main teacher was T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor (675?), particularly in the fields of Scripture, philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric. Yovhan was widely learned and given the sobriquet "the philosopher." Serving as Kat‘ołikos in the years 717–728, he convened the Councils of Dvin (720) and Manazkert (726). The site of his tomb is venerated up to the present in the village of Artu, to the east of ancient Ōjun (Bogharian, 98–102; Thomson, 218).

Yovhan Orotnec‘i C14
Yovhan was born in 1315, the son of Ivanē Ōrbelean. He was educated at Glajor under Esayi Nč‘ec‘i and others. His writings were religious, exegetical, and philosophical in character, and he had numerous distinguished students. He died in 1387 (Bogharian, 391–95; Thomson, 226).

Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13
He lived from ca. 1180 to ca. 1245. At a young age he became a celibate priest and joined the order of Ayrivank‘. He was known as a charismatic healer through laying his hands on the afflicted. He traveled extensively preaching, healing, and evangelizing. His writings were theological in character, and he also wrote homilies (Bogharian, 285–89; Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs A C16
A sixteenth-century poet.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i C10
He lived ca. 850–929. He was knowledgeable in Scripture, Armenian literature, and rhetoric. He held the office of Kat‘ołikos from 898 to 929. The history that he wrote extends from Noah up to the first quarter of the tenth century and so deals with the Bagratids (Bogharian, 138–40; Thomson, 219–20).

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14
He lived approximately between 1260 and 1335 and received his education in Glajor. He wrote commentaries (including completing Nersēs Šnorhali’s commentary on Matthew). He also wrote grammatical works. In attributions he is often confused with Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz (Bogharian, 360–63; Thomson, 220–21).

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13
He was born about 1240 and died in Erznka in 1293. He studied with Vardan Arewelc‘i, among others. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, on his return trip, taught grammar in the Catholicosal school in Hŕomkla. He was known as a learned and cultivated figure in the thirteenth century, and particularly as a poet and author (Bogharian, 320–23; Thomson, 221–23).

Yovhannēs Garnec‘i C13
He was a theologian and author of homilies and hymns, member of the order of Ayrivank‘. He made pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1222–1223. Afterward he went to Hŕomkla (Bogharian 285–88; Thomson 223).

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12
He was born in Arc‘ax in the middle of the eleventh century, and his life span is put at ca. 1050–1129. He was a very learned man, excelling in calendrical, philosophical, theological, and poetic skills. His style was academic rather than popular. His main arena of activity was the Monastery of Hałbat, where he died in 1129 (Bogharian, 210–14; Thomson, 226–28).

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17
Yovhannēs was born in New Julfa in 1643. He was ordained as a celibate priest in 1669 and died in 1715. He knew Arabic and Persian, which comes to light in some of his works. He was chiefly devoted to theological and philosophical themes. (Bardakjian, 567–68).

Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos, C8
A theological writer of the seventh-eighth centuries, Yovhannēs was the author of homilies on the cross and the church (Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs Mandakuni, C5

He lived between 420 and 490 and was Kat‘ołikos between 478 and 490. Numerous homilies are ascribed to him, but the attribution is uncertain. Certain of these homilies seem to have been written by Yovhannēs Mayravanec‘i or Mayragomec‘i (Bogharian, 30–33; Thomson, 224–25).

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14

Yovhannēs lived around 1450–1535. He served as Kat‘ołikos of Sis (Cilicia) during 1496 and 1535. He was a distinguished poet (Bogharian, 385–90; Thomson, 228).

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos, C9

He was born in Kotayk‘ at the beginning of the ninth century and served as Kat‘ołikos from 855 to his death in 876. We have his correspondence with Patriarch Photius of Byzantium concerning the pressure toward union with the Greeks (864–867). Zak‘aria's literary output was around twenty-five sermons and homilies, especially for the feasts, in ornate style (Bogharian, 122–24; Thomson, 230).

Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16

His dates are approximately 1500–1576. He was bishop of the province of Gnunik‘ and before that, he was abbot of Lim *anapat*. He studied in Ałt‘amar. By 1544 we find him in Constantinople. Bogharian (460–61) lists manuscripts copied in his hand. In his poetry, he favored the theme of the Nightingale and the Rose, to which he devoted three poems. He was greatly influenced by the poetry of Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i. He also composed *kafas* to the Alexander Romance (Bogharian, 460–63; Bardakjian, 32–33, 573).

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ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

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ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

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Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries

Michael E. Stone

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

ADAM AND EVE IN THE ARMENIAN TRADITION

FIFTH THROUGH SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

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This work is dedicated to my teachers:

Frank Moore Cross Jr.
(13 July 1921–16 October 2012)

Avedis Krikor Sanjian
(24 February 1921–22 July 1995)

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Preface and Acknowledgments

At the basis of this book stands a corpus of all the published pre–eighteenth-century narrative texts in Armenian relating to Adam, Eve, and the Eden story. These texts were excerpted and translated as part of a project on "Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition," funded by the Israel Research Foundation, grant no. 770/99.

The project and its progress will be described in the introduction below. Here I wish to acknowledge all those who contributed to it over the years, while stressing my own responsibility for the contents of this book. In the task of preparation of part 2 of this book, I was greatly assisted by Aram Topchyan and, later, by Gohar Muradyan. Without their help and expertise, I could not have finished this project. In making the initial probe of the fifth-century material, I had the assistance of Theo van Lint and the support of Fr. Mesrob Aramian, of the Ganjasar Theological Centre in Yerevan. Roberta Ervine suggested many felicitous translations. Bernard Outtier read the whole volume, and his great learning and acumen improved it at many points. To all these, I am most grateful.

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from James R. Russell 1987, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 5); St. Nersess Seminary of New Rochelle, New York, for excerpts from Robert W. Thomson 2001, *Teaching of St. Gregory: Revised Edition* (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1);

Abbreviations

ANB	Ačaṙyan, H. Հայոց Անձանունների Բառարան *Dictionary of Armenian Proper Names.* Beirut: Sevan Press, 1972.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
dub.	of dubious authenticity or date
GT‘	Girk‘ T‘łt‘oc‘
L.A.E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
MES	MES in translations marks alternate translations proposed by the author.
MH	Մատենագիրք Հայոց *Ancient Armenian Literature* (Antelias, Lebanon: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003–)
NBHL	G. Awetik‘ean, X. Siwrmēlean, and M. Awk‘erean Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի New Dictionary of the Armenian Language. 2 vols. Venice: St. Lazzaro, 1836–37.
Pen. Adam	*Penitence of Adam*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–86.
PL	*Patrologia Latina* [= *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
s.v.	sub vocem
v.l., v.ll.	varia lectio, variae lectiones, i.e., variant readings

In footnotes, A.T. means Aram Topchyan. G.M. means Gohar Muradyan.

All ancient writings, including rabbinic texts, are abbreviated in accordance with the SBL Handbook of Style.

Armenian manuscripts are cited according to the system of the Association Internationale des Etudes Arméniennes, as published on their Web site: http://aiea.fltr.ucl.ac.be/AIEAengl/Tools_files/Sigles.pdf

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Introduction

In 1992, at the invitation of Professor Marinus de Jonge, I lectured at the Milan meeting of the Society for New Testament Studies (SNTS) on the *status quaestionis* of the study of the literature of Adam and Eve. I had worked on aspects of the Adam material previously, including the discovery and publication of the Armenian primary Adam book, the *Penitence of Adam*.[1] Indeed, the first article I published after completing my doctoral thesis was on an Armenian Adam book, *Death of Adam*.[2] The survey required by the SNTS presentation led me systematically to study the Adam literature and, soon after, to write a book presenting the known works.[3] Subsequently, I decided to work on Armenian Adam writings in a more systematic way, publishing a volume of texts, two volumes of concordances, and a number of articles.[4] Several Armenian Adam texts that I have since discovered still remain unpublished, and one volume of the planned concordances lies half done in a drawer. I plan to publish these if possible.

The apocryphal literature attests to just one of the ways in which the Adam and Eve stories were rewritten within and influenced Armenian culture. To complete the picture, I decided not to look only at Adam apocrypha, of which there is an abundance in Armenian,[5] but also at how the stories of Genesis 1–3 were reflected in Armenian literature. I was not interested in purely theological issues, nor in the simple use of such typology as the Old and New Adam in itself, although on occasion the typological passages bear narrative elements within them. This undertaking had two main goals. First, to see how the Armenians handled the biblical narrative and to try to isolate and specific retellings or interpretations that reflected particular theological or, indeed, historical circumstances. The other was to try to find out when the Armenian apocryphal Adam literature started to be reflected in dated authors and thus to get some idea of the dating of the Armenian Adam literature, which cannot have originated much before its attestation in the known authors. The present book is the outcome of this project.

1. Stone 1981a.
2. Stone 1973a.
3. This led to the publication, shortly thereafter, of Stone 1992.
4. These are all listed in the bibliography below.
5. Stone 1992; 1996a.

In further detail, we may say that the Adamic narrative was very influential because the stories of Adam and Eve played a constitutive and structural role in the Christian worldview. The economy of salvation—the *historia sacra*—commenced with Adam and Eve and concluded with the redemptive acts of Christ's life and death. Christ, the new Adam, undid and reversed the situation that the first Adam's actions had created. Adam and Eve's deeds were the first act of a cosmic drama with a happy ending.[6] The protological events directly caused the dire situation of the world, but they were also pregnant with the promise of ultimate redemption.

The way the stories were told, therefore, often reflected the nature of the quandary in which the teller or the teller's generation perceived themselves to be living. The enrichment, nuancing, interpretation, and indeed the changing of the biblical story may teach us how its later narrators perceived the human condition. Naturally, not every expansion or change of the biblical narrative was a response to a specific aporia. A playful or inquisitive spirit could be responsible for one detail; a nontendentious embellishment of the stark biblical narrative could engender another. Nonetheless, the retelling of the story frequently reveals the narrator's and the intended reader's contexts and concerns.

At certain times, it seems, apocryphal elements flooded the Armenian Adam tradition. When did this happen? Into which genres of literature did such elements penetrate? Why? When traditions or features of Armenian texts parallel or are drawn from known patristic sources, we must assess the significance of such dependency.[7] Whole patristic commentaries and homilies were translated into Armenian, such as works of Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, and Eusebius of Emesa. Others were excerpted in *catenae*.[8] When a particular element occurs in such translated works, it cannot be assigned special significance. However, when such an element is taken up from a non-Armenian source and incorporated into a work composed in Armenian, its significance is enhanced. Such questions have guided us in the presentation of the evidence.

The book has two parts. Part 1 is composed of five chapters, divided chronologically. They cover the period from the inception of Armenian writing in the early fifth century to the end of the seventeenth century. Following a section of "General Considerations," the chapters deal with four main subjects: (1) The

6. This may be seen clearly, for example, in the work *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* published by Stone (1996, 8–79; 1999, 21–36). A variant on the drama of Satan's deceit of Adam is the form of the story of the contract between Adam and Satan traced out in Stone 2002; and *The Cheirograph of Adam*, in Stone 2000c, 149–66.

7. Instances of such dependency have been repeatedly highlighted by Robert W. Thomson, among others, in his comments on a large number of Armenian texts.

8. Bibliography of such translations may be found in Zarbhanalean (1889) and Thomson (1995) and Petrosyan and Ter Step'anyan (2002). Few collections of Armenian *catenae* have been published, but note, most recently, Vardan Aygekc'i 1988.

Creation of Human Beings; (2) The Garden of Eden; (3) Satan; and (4) Sin and Its Results. Each of these main subjects is divided into sections and subsections, and these are numbered and titled identically throughout the five chapters of the book. Because the sections and subsections are identical throughout, they represent a maximal range of material. A section or subsection is introduced when its subject is first encountered in the texts studied but subsequently is left without content if its subject does not occur in the centuries being discussed in a particular chapter. In these sections and subsections the views forwarded on the subject to which they are devoted are presented, analyzed, and discussed, based on the excerpts to be found in part 2. Generally, in part 1, when texts are quoted, the quotations are only of the English translation, unless the Armenian itself is germane to the point being made. I have also added some remarks on the exegesis lying behind the statements made and, in the first chapter, some comparative Greek and Syriac material. My primary purpose throughout is to present the Armenian tradition, elucidating those views of the narrative that lay behind subsequent Armenian interpretations—theological, exegetical, literary, and sometimes artistic.

Thus, the five chapters present a synchronic treatment of what Armenian literature says about the main subjects arising from the narrative in Genesis 1–3. At the end of part 1, in an appendix, a diachronic treatment of one single subject, Satan and the Serpent, is given. This is a probe, an example of the type of analysis possible when drawing on the synchronic presentation in the five chapters. In part 1, I indicate the cited authors' century by the notation C6, C7, C8, and so on, on the first occurrence of each name in a paragraph. The indexes and bibliography at the end of the book relate only to part 1.

Part 2 is a corpus of excerpts from all the literature in Armenian that has been published, apart from the books of the Apocrypha. The authors excerpted are arranged alphabetically within each century from the fifth to the seventeenth.[9] Each work cited in this second part of the book is provided with a bibliography, both of the text used, such translations as exist, and other significant editions. A List of Authors Excerpted, arranged alphabetically indicating centuries, provides a key to part 2 of the present work. Most of the translations are original, but for certain works existing translations have been used. I have indicated when this is the case. The capitalization and punctuation of the Armenian texts follow the sources quoted.

All Armenian authors are cited by name and toponym or other title if appropriate. "C13," and the like, indicates the century of the author's floruit. A brief biographical note on each author is to be found at the end of the book. Further

9. One eighteenth-century author is added at the end, whose writings are very close to the preceding tradition.

bibliographical indications may readily be found in Thomson 1995 and, about later authors, in Bardakjian 2000. Much information is also given in Bogharian 1971.

Within the section devoted to an author, each separate excerpt is given a sequential number. This excerpt is then referred to as, for example, “Grigor Narekac‘i 1, and this practice is followed throughout the book.

PART I

The Adam and Eve Traditions in Armenian

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1. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fifth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

This first chapter is devoted to presenting references to the Adam and Eve stories in the writings of the first century of Armenian literacy.[1] For this purpose I examined works known to have been composed in Armenian in the fifth century.[2] The Armenian texts of all works were consulted together with such modern translations as exist.[3]

The dates of certain relevant works, notably the *History of the Armenians* by Movsēs Xorenacʻi and *The History of Vardan and the Armenian War* by Ełišē *vardapet*, are disputed. It seems to us that the arguments for a post–fifth-century dating of the current form of the work of Movsēs Xorenacʻi have some plausibility,[4] while those for Ełišē's *History* less so. I have treated these authors accordingly. Agatʻangełos, whose work includes the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, figures prominently in the following analysis and is by far the most systematic and extensive fifth-century source relating to Adam and Eve. Eznik, too, dealt with theological and polemical themes at some length.

1. The present chapter concentrates on literary texts because, for the fifth century, there are only literary sources. Later the Adam cycle comes to play a great role in Armenian art: see, e.g., T. F. Mathews 1982, but that would form another study. In this chapter, authors of the fifth century do not have "C5" following their names, but these century indicators are added to the names of later writers mentioned. An earlier form of this chapter was published in Stone 2006.

2. Eusebius of Emesa's *Commentary on Genesis* and some of his *Homilies* were also consulted, as well as the Armenian-language Genesis commentary attributed to Ephrem the Syrian. These works were early translated into Armenian and were influential. According to E. G. Mathews 1998, the commentary attributed to Ephrem is later, and I have used it with some circumspection in this chapter. These non-Armenian writings have been regarded as supporting, not primary, evidence.

3. For *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, I have used the revised translation of Thomson 2001. In part 2, the excerpts, I have suggested some alternative translations.

4. This is not to deny the antiquity of the sources and traditions contained in the work.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Agat‘angełos calls humans “creations of your hands” and elsewhere, using similar language, he says, “having created man with his own hands.”[5] This particular formulation does not appear in the Bible, but it is inferred by contrasting Gen 2:7, “And the Lord God made man, dust from the earth,” with the acts of creation that were mentioned in Genesis 1, which are all by speech or divine command. *4 Ezra* 3:5; 8:7, 44, etc., say that God created Adam with his hands, and in *4 Ezra* 3:5 we read ստեղծեր անապական ձեռօք քո զմարդն, “you created man with your incorruptible hands.”[6] This piece of ancient exegesis is embedded in Agat‘angełos, and it occurs twice, indicating its firm place in his ideas. Points of contact between the Armenian version of *4 Ezra* and Agat‘angełos have been observed in the past, and both texts are of the fifth century.[7] The idea is older, of course.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

In Eusebius of Emesa’s works we find the statement that Adam was created on the sixth day, which is not in the least surprising in light of Genesis 1.[8] Eusebius’s texts were translated into Armenian in the fifth century, but the idea finds no strong echo in Armenian sources in the fifth century. In texts discussed below, where the analogy between Adam’s sin and expulsion and Christ’s crucifixion is developed, Adam’s creation is set on Friday, as is the sin.[9] This and other chronological elements developed into a complex typology.[10]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Adam was called thus because he was created from clay: “And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay.”[11] This is based on Adam = Hebrew *’ădāmâ* and is to be compared with *Onomastica Sacra* Ona 1.1 Ադամ. երկիր կոյս կամ երկիր մարմնացեալ (կամ յերկրէ կամ երկիր

5. Agat‘angełos 2 and 17.

6. See Stone 1990a; compare also Stone 1990b, 6-7.

7. See Stone 1973a, 591-94; 1979, 35.

8. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* §17 (Petit et al. 2011, 55).

9. See, e.g., *Adam Story 2* (Stone 1992, 109–13). Adam’s death was often put on Friday, by both Armenian and non-Armenian sources, see *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 1.9), *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (Malan 1882, 2:29), and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §96. Of course, the crucifixion also took place on a Friday; see also §4.4 below.

10. See chapter 2 §4.4. See Mambrē 4. This comes up already in early Christian literature; see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

11. Eznik 44 and 49; compare Agat‘angełos 12.

կարմիր), “Adam, virgin earth or incarnated earth (or from earth or red earth).” Note that the onomastic text uses երկիր (“earth”) and not կաւ (“clay”) (Eznik) for the material from which Adam was created, while the Bible uses հող (“dust”).[12]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘ 3 reads, “And, having made man from four materials, he breathed into him the spirit, living and immortal and intelligent and logical.” This statement endows the biblical text with two new patterns of meaning. “Dust from the earth” is taken as “four materials,” that is, the four elements, while the spirit here is interpreted as both vivifying and intelligent or rational.[13] This exegesis of “dust from the ground” is not found anywhere else in the fifth-century Armenian sources I examined, though it occurs in earlier Greek and Syriac sources, cited in n. 13.[14] In *2 En.* 30:13 (probably first century C.E.) we read, “And I assigned to him [i.e., Adam] a name from the four components: from East (A); from West (D); from North (A); from south (M).” In his note on this passage, F. I. Andersen refers to the fact that the anagram is based on Greek.[15] This, however, is not the same as the tradition in the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘,* which speaks of four elements, though it may be cognate with it.[16]

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12. See on the use of կաւ, chapter 2 §§1.1.2 and 3.2 and appendix §3.2. Dust is mentioned throughout the book (*passim).* “Red” comes from connecting Adam (Hebrew *ʾādām*) with “red” (Hebrew *ʾădōm*).

13. This question of the relationship between the “dust” and the four elements becomes a major topic in succeeding centuries; see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and subsequent discussions. According to *2 En.* recension J, ch. 30, Adam was created from seven natural elements, each part of him from a different element: thus the flesh from the earth, etc. This text much resembles a later document known as *Adam octopartitus* according to which Adam was created of eight elements; see Stone 1992, 90, and further bibliography there. The չորից նիւթոց (“of four materials”) refers to the standard four elements, which idea had become commonplace: air, fire, earth, and water. This interpretation is found in *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold 1888, 2:6); *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* 3:20; and Fiensy 1985, 7.34.6. The word “materials” often means “elements” in such contexts.

14. The same view is implied by the *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* attributed to Ełišē 2, which speaks of the “fourfold materials” from which this world is made. It is found much more explicitly in later literature. Thus, for example, a poem by Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C13 entitled “From Four Elements” deals with the creation of Adam. It commences, “From the four elements of the earth I created dust-made [literally, “dusty”] man”; see Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i 4. Intriguingly, the implicit and explicit contrasts inhering in the text of *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* are taken up by Xač‘atur, viz., “earth” — “four elements”; “earth” — “dust”; and “Adam” — “man”. There are traditions that the dust from which Adam was made was taken from the four corners of the earth. See the much later Greek text quoted by Megas 1928, 309. The universe is made of all four elements according to Philo, *De opificio mundi* 52.

15. Charlesworth 1983, 1:152. 2.

16. That passage in *2 En.* 30:13 has an additional fourfold attribution to Adam.

In Ełišē 8 we read:

> The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator, and worlds and man. God (corresponds to the) intelligible world; world (corresponds to the) sensible <world>; man (corresponds to the) sensible and intelligible world.

This passage once again reflects the same idea, that man is a combination of the earth and the spirit, here of the sensible and intelligible. This seems to have been the basic way the creation of humans related in Gen 2:7 was understood in fifth-century Armenian thought.[17]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The common view in the sources I examined was that humans were created for eternal life and immortality in a joyous state. This occurs in Agat'angełos, who expands it with the notion that God intended to transfer humans from an earthly to an angelic condition,[18] and he cites Enoch as an example of the path they would have followed had they not sinned. In the Armenian tradition there are many later speculations about Enoch's role, and it is not always possible to discern how far these views are based on early sources. Agat'angełos's statement, however, that Enoch achieved an angelic and immortal state in the Garden shows that this early Armenian author was already familiar with developed traditions about Enoch.[19]

As noted in §1.6 below, in early Armenian thought wisdom was a dominant characteristic of the prelapsarian Adam. Agat'angełos repeatedly stresses that God made Adam wise.[20] Similarly *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* says that Adam had wisdom and spiritual knowledge that derived from the breath or spirit that God breathed into him (Gen 2:7).[21] Furthermore, Agat'angełos interprets Gen 1:26's statement that God created Adam in his image to imply that Adam has the wisdom[22] to recognize God's grace, to know the creatures, and to name the beasts.[23] In more general terms, Adam is granted wisdom for reasons that are very clearly connected directly with the overall purpose of the creation of humankind.[24]

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17. We do not find this exegesis of Gen 2:7 in the Greek patristic sources that are cited by Harl (1986, 100–101) and Alexandre (1988, 241–44). See further discussion below in §1.6.

18. Agat'angełos 2 and 3.

19. *Jub.* 4:23 already expresses this view. VanderKam 1984 analyzes the ancient sources relating to Enoch, and Stone 2010, 517–30 presents Armenian sources on Enoch. In any case, the view Agat'angełos expresses here implies familiarity with apocryphal traditions about Enoch.

20. Agat'angełos 6, 25, and elsewhere.

21. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

22. This is already to be found in Clement of Alexandria; see Alexandre 1988, 184–85.

23. Observe that in Armenian Gen 3:1, the serpent is called իմաստնագոյն, literally, "wiser, more discerning," reflecting the Hebrew *'ārûm,* rendered often by English "subtle."

24. That wisdom is related to the image or spirit of God with which Genesis 1–2 says that God endowed Adam.

In an interesting passage, Agat‘angełos maintains that Adam received wisdom so that he might witness God's beneficent activity.[25] For the sake of his beneficent activity, Agat‘angełos adds, God took human form in the incarnation of Christ. The texts move between the interpretation of "image" as wisdom or discernment and its more literal interpretation. The incarnation of God in a human form inverts the idea that humans were created in the image of God; see further §1.6 below.

The picture emerging so far is that God created Adam for eternal life and for eventual transfer to an angelic state. He granted him wisdom, either through the divine breath or as a result of his creation in the image, which are understood as alternative formulations of the same idea.[26] Wisdom or discernment enabled Adam to recognize the creatures and thus to name them, and also to recognize God's grace, which God shows above all by taking on a human image in the incarnation. So far Agat‘angełos's teaching is clear, and the same is echoed also by the *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘*. The word իմաստութիւն, which I have translated as "wisdom," often has a sense more like "discernment" or "perception." Perhaps this is the reason that Adam, despite being so discerning, acted so unwisely as to sin.[27] According to P‘awstos Buzand, when Adam and Eve transgressed they "fell into death."[28]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Ełišē says, "Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory."[29] Here

25. Agat‘angełos 17.

26. The discussion in chapter 3 §1.6, as here, has to do with reason, with humans being rational, with humans loving and seeking wisdom, and with a human being king. These themes are also very frequently associated in the present chapter; see §§1.2, 1.4, and 1.6. The image is also connected with free will. Thus, Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13 3 says, "[You] exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will."

27. One is tempted to contrast this with the Valentinian Gnostic notion that Sophia was the emanation of the Godhead that sinned by making a mistake. Equally, the statement above does not negate the strong contrast between the protoplasts' deliberate sin according to various interpretations of Genesis 2–3 and the error of judgment or the "innocent" mistake they made according to the Cheirograph legend. On this, see Stone 1997, 167–79 and 2002, 16–17, 115–16.

28. P‘awstos Buzand 4. The text is from the *Liturgy of St. Basil;* see Garsoïan 1989, 321. The expression "fall" for Adam's sin is intriguing; it is of course widespread, but we should resist the temptation to connect it also with the idea that paradise was on a mountain, which is found in ancient sources, particularly Syriac. See Brock 1990, 50–53; and compare chapter 3 §2.0. *Casus* ("fall") is found for Adam's sin in 4 Ezra 7:118, where no idea of mountain is to be found. The idea that death is the ultimate result of Adam's sin occurs in many ancient sources, the best known of which is probably Rom 5:12; see Stone 1990a, 64–65.

29. Ełišē 4. This passage is discussed also in §1.6 below.

the image in which Adam was created is interpreted as being a likeness of God's glory.[30]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The idea of the ranking of creatures is rather developed in Agatʻangełos's writings. On the one hand, Adam is "a more humble companion to the angels," while on the other, compared with the other creatures, "God glorified man alone most magnificently."[31] One result of this is that each creature has a duty of obedience relating to "each of the things ordered for it, according to the commandments for each of them." Agatʻangełos goes on to say that "only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills."[32]

1.3 Humans and Angels

Psalm 8:4–5 = Arm 8:5–6 reads: "Who is man that you remember him . . . ? 5 you made him a little lower than your angels; you crowned him with glory and honor." Compare also Heb 2:7 and 2:9, where this passage is cited and interpreted.[33] These verses were applied to Adam by Agatʻangełos as a way of drawing a distinction between humans and angels.[34]

Agatʻangełos's *Teaching of St. Gregory* calls Adam, who was created in the image of God, "wondrous" and "angelic."[35] Agatʻangełos said elsewhere, "But God honored mankind alone manyfold and enriched them with a mind, and made (them)[36] partly spiritual, a more humble companion to the angels."[37] Adam and angels both have discernment and free will, but humans are lower in the ranking of creation, for "benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks

30. See §1.6 below, where the image and the term "stamped" are discussed.

31. Agatʻangełos 14.

32. Agatʻangełos 16.

33. The role played by this psalm in the development of early Adam traditions was explored by Anderson 2000.

34. Agatʻangełos 14.

35. Agatʻangełos 11. Observe that in the apocryphal Adam books Satan "took on the form of an angel" (*Pen. Adam* 44.17.1). In *Book of Adam* 17.1–2 Satan appears "in the form of an angel."

36. Literally: him.

37. Agatʻangełos 14. Thomson translates differently and see Part 2, notes on this excerpt.

of created being."[38]. In fact, as Agat'angełos points out, both Adam and an angel chose to disobey God's command. So both had free will and "wisdom." The difference is that angels are completely spiritual and dwell in heaven, while humans are assigned to this earth.[39]

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

In Agat'angełos, angels are called "glorifiers," and he repeatedly asserts that the main function of the angels is praise.[40] Elsewhere we read "by his command is all arranged; his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising."[41] Thus he says, "moreover, a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels, to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had made them dwell in great honor and glory." In this passage the command to glorify eternally and unceasingly that is laid upon the angels is contrasted with the minor command given to Adam not to eat of the tree. God gave and arranged the commands so that humans and angels would each be able to obey the divine command laid upon them.[42]

Heightening the parallel between humans and angels, Agat'angełos relates Satan's revolt.[43] Both humans and angels were given commands in accordance with their abilities and natures. They both have free will and can, therefore, disobey should they wish; and, indeed, both the protoplasts and Satan acted against divine commands.[44] Elsewhere their conduct is contrasted with that of other elements of nature, which are obedient to God, an idea comparable to *1 En.* 2–5.[45] This is expressed well by the following text: "See the sun and moon and stars! How much greater than man are they, and they are of his will, obligated by the requirement of the command."[46]

In fifth-century Armenian literature, these ideas are not limited to Agat'angełos. Eznik discusses free will. He stresses that the obedience of the powers and of natural forces results from their having no free will, while the whole point of human free will is to reward humans for their obedience to God's

38. Agat'angełos 10.

39. Agat'angełos 10.

40. Agat'angełos 10.

41. Agat'angełos 15. Angelic praise is a common theme in both Jewish and Christian liturgical texts. See works such as *Testament of Adam, Ascension of Isaiah*, etc. It recurs in Armenian writings of all periods, as can be observed below.

42. Agat'angełos 23. Intriguingly, in a somewhat different context in Agat'angełos 9, humans are supposed to praise God, who gave them wisdom, and all creatures should praise God through humans. The idea of the praise of God by all the various creatures occurs in *Testament of Adam* and also the Hebrew *Pereq Širah;* see Stone 1982, 54–56.

43. See §3.2 for a detailed discussion of the fall of Satan.

44. Agat'angełos 23 and 24.

45. See also Stone 1987; and Hartman 1979.

46. Agat'angełos 15.

command.[47] These ideas cohere fully with Agat'angełos's views and will be further discussed in §1.6 below. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* also reflects the idea that both humans and angels have free will, and it relates this free will to the idea of the image.[48] God created humans with free will, so they might achieve reward and immortality for observing his commandments.[49] Eznik also asserts that Satan had free will, which follows from the above ideas about angelic obedience.[50] God commanded Adam not to eat of the tree, so that he could reward him. As Agat'angełos says, Adam was given a small command, a very limited commitment so "that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things." For this reason Adam was created with free will.[51] Otherwise his obedience would not make him worthy of the ultimate reward, for human obedience was not built into the cosmic order as was the obedience of the luminaries.

Yovhannēs Mandakuni's writings exhibit the same view of Adam's commandment. Instead of the Armenian word for "commandment," which would reflect the biblical text, he uses the Armenian word for "fast" (պահք). This word may indicate not just a full fast but abstinence from some specific food, and in Yovhannēs Mandakuni's context it functions as "commandment" does in other texts. Thus, he says that had Adam observed the fast, "he would have inherited life without blemish, and immortal and sinless, and in heaven, the heavenly goodness."[52] In all these texts the idea is not that Adam would have remained in the paradisiacal state but that he would have achieved fulfillment as an immortal being in the heavens. He was already in paradise; the commandment is designed to enable him to supersede paradise and achieve heavenly perfection.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

The idea that the angels dwell in the heavenly light and that their main function is to praise God emerges clearly from the following passage of Agat'angełos: "But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them[53] in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light."[54]

47. Eznik 3.

48. See §1.6 below.

49. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3, which is also discussed above.

50. Eznik 17–19.

51. Agat'angełos 16; see also 23.

52. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. The understanding of Adam's commandment as a fast developed extensively in later times; see chapter 2 §2.2, chapter 3 §§1.4, 4.6.

53. MES: made them dwell.

54. Agat'angełos 23.

1.6 Humankind in the Image

In §1.4 above, I touched on the idea that Adam's discernment and free will come from his creation in the image. In the present section, I shall explore these notions in greater detail. Agat'angełos relates the "spirit" of Gen 2:7 to the intellective faculties when he says that the spirit is the "intelligence-bearing intellect" that was granted to man so that he might witness God's beneficent activity. Likewise he says, "you fashioned man (as) dust from the earth, and established the discerning one."[55] The first part of this quotation is drawn, more or less literally, from Gen 2:7a, while elsewhere the second part of that verse, which describes the inbreathing of the spirit, is paraphrased as his receiving "wise intelligence."[56] This accords with other passages in Agat'angełos, and, as Thomson remarks, the mind is "the faculty of rational thought and choice, rather than the faculty of intuitive reason."[57] A similar view and phraseology are found in P'awstos Buzand, who says that God is the one "who made man from the very dust and made this one rational, gifted with speech, wise (or: discerning) and endowed with free will." This seems to be another exegesis or paraphrase of Gen 2:7.[58] This passage of P'awstos Buzand is, according to Garsoïan, "consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary works."[59]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙk', in a passage discussed above, goes on to say that in humans the spiritual was mixed with the bodily so that they might demonstrate their faithfulness.[60] This idea is connected with the notion that man has free will, which is the meaning of "the image". The understanding of "spirit" as wisdom or mind leads to the idea that humans had free choice and could choose to be faithful or unfaithful. The "image" language is drawn from Gen 1:26–27 while the "spirit" language derives from Gen 2:7. Both passages describe the creation of Adam, and the fifth century Armenian authors interpret them both to mean that Adam was wise or intelligent, as a result of which he had free will.

The spirit or the image, then, is understood as wisdom or discernment, a quality humans must possess in order to have free will. The texts discussed here stem chiefly from our major source, the *Teaching of St. Gregory*, but the idea occurs in other fifth century authorities as well. Thus, according to P'awstos

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55. Agat'angełos 6. Perhaps translate, "you established the wise one"; Thomson gives "and rendered him wise..

56. Agat'angełos 17.

57. Agat'angełos 12–14. See Thomson 2001, 67, discussing §265.

58. In P'awstos Buzand the verb is առնեմ ("to make, do"), while in Genesis and in Agat'angełos it is ստեղծանեմ ("to create"). Compare P'awstos Buzand 1 and Agat'angełos 6.

59. Garsoïan 1989, 274. She observed the parallels between this passage of P'awstos Buzand and the *Teaching of St. Gregory* of Agat'angełos, which I also highlighted above.

60. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

Buzand, creation in the image means that humans were endowed with free will,[61] a virtually identical line of exegesis. Eznik states that God created humans with free will, which was inherited by their descendants.[62] Eznik and Agat'angełos both expound the idea that the forces of nature, which are obedient to God, are not endowed with free will, which was a particular quality of humans and angels (see §1.4 above).

There are other views of the image of God. The more literal interpretation of the image is that the appearance of humans is related to the way in which God chose to appear.[63] In creating Adam from the dust of the earth and inbreathing the life-giving breath of wise intelligence through his mouth, God chose to appear in human form. Thus, Agat'angełos says, the creature, opening his eyes, might be able to see the Creator and become familiar with, aware of, and a witness to the benevolent, creative activity of God. The essential Deity is invisible but took shape for the sake of visible creatures, so "that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and the power of expression."[64] As a result, Adam first named the Creator before he named the animals, because he saw the Creator before he saw the animals, and the animals were created in order to make the Creator known to Adam.[65] The naming of God is related to the idea of his being recognizable by humans, and the naming of God and of the animals is connected with Adam's God-given discernment. Agat'angełos continues to develop this idea and says that God appeared to subsequent generations using the same image as he had to Adam so that humans might recognize him as the God who appeared to their fathers.[66]

The same view is to be found in Eznik, who says, "And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image."[67] So, this is another aspect of the image of God; he chose human form for Adam and his descendants and indeed, for himself incarnated in Christ. This latter point is taken up in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'*, which says that "after his image" means "according to the appearance of the incarnate Christ."[68]

A third line of thought connects the image with Adam's pristine glory, and Ełišē writes that God's image was impressed on Adam who was "elevated . . .

61. See P'awstos 2 and Garsoïan 1989, 274.

62. Eznik 3.

63. See below in this section.

64. Agat'angełos 18 and 19. The problem that the image created for these thinkers is analogous to that aroused by the Bible's reference to the sound of God's footstep (Gen 3:8; see §4.3 below). In both cases, anthropomorphism created the difficulty. The image was a much more complex problem than the divine footfall, because of the incarnation.

65. Agat'angełos 19.

66. Agat'angełos 41 and 42. Compare in general terms Exod 6:3 on God's name.

67. Eznik 35.

68. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible glory."[69] This glory was lost with sin (see §4.2.3 below). The impression (τύπος) is a standard terminology already in Philo, its source lying, of course, in Plato.[70] Satan, Eznik says, was envious of the image.[71]

2.0 The Garden of Eden

The early Armenian texts do not put great stress on the the details of the Garden of Eden. Thus Agat'angełos does not go any further than Gen 2:8.[72] This contrasts strongly with the elaborate descriptions of the Garden in, say, Ephrem's *Hymns on Paradise*.[73] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* reflects discussion about the nature of paradise. The author is at pains to assert that, in addition to being noetic (իմանալի), it was visible (տեսանելի) to the first man, although it is presently hidden from us according to God's deep wisdom.[74] The theological or intellectual context of this assertion is not clear from the other fifth-century Armenian texts I have examined, but we may infer from the formulation in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* that such a context did exist.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

Agat'angełos says that God showed two trees to Adam. In fact, this statement is a departure from the biblical text.[75] Although Gen 2:9 speaks of the creation of two trees, the biblical text does not mention God's showing the two trees to Adam, while the prohibition of Gen 2:15–16 refers to only one tree, the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is an instance of exegetical inference from the biblical text and is not particular tendentious.

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

Before the Fall, while clothed in glory, and perhaps before they were placed in the Garden, Adam and Eve had intercourse. Agat'angełos seems to imply this when he says, "And after our reproducing and increasing, you commanded us to live

69. Ełišē 4.
70. See Runia 1986, 164; and Tobin 1983, 58.
71. Eznik 5.
72. Agat'angełos 23.
73. See, e.g., Hymn 11. These poems are readily available in Brock 1990.
74. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 9.
75. Agat'angełos 23.

bodily, being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us."[76]

Gary A. Anderson discusses the question whether rabbinic and early Christian sources thought that Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden.[77] He shows that rabbinic texts often say that Adam and Eve had sexual relations in the Garden.[78] Indeed, he argues that the main rabbinic tradition regards Adam and Eve as having intercourse in the Garden, while a more ancient Jewish tradition, present in *Jubilees*, puts this event outside the Garden. Conversely, the dominant early Syriac tradition represented by Ephrem, puts Adam and Eve's intercourse outside the Garden, but the *Cave of Treasures* might imply that it took place in the Garden.[79]

At first, Agat'angełos's view on this point seems slightly unclear, but careful reading of §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly reveals that he is referring to intercourse before entry into the Garden.[80] In §276, having discussed the creation of Eve, he cites Gen 2:24: "He leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh," observing that "he knew the total orders of this world and all its fulfilment." The word "orders" here, like "course of life" (the same Armenian word) in §76, implies something like "conditions, ordering," and the text here clearly teaches that Adam and Eve consummated their union immediately.[81] In §277, the next stage of the drama ensues, the creation of Eden and the placing of the protoplasts in it. The section §§276–77 (excerpts 22–23) clearly implies that sexual intercourse is part of the order of life of bodily beings. They were intended to transcend the bodily life, and indeed Enoch transcended it, "for, after the pleasures of paradise and after this earthly course (of life), you would have transferred us, like Enoch, to the ranks of the angels."[82] Adam's disobedience, of course, foiled the divine plan.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

As stated in the previous section, Adam had untroubled repose and pleasure in the Garden.[83]

76. Agat'angełos 3.

77. Anderson 1989; see also the observations by Brock 1990, 29–33.

78. Anderson 1989, 126–31. On the whole, the Christian negative view of intercourse was influenced by ascetic ideals.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Agat'angełos 22–23.

81. Agat'angełos 3; with use of "orders" in excerpt 3, compare excerpt 7.

82. Agat'angełos 3.

83. Agat'angełos 2.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The Armenian authors lay much stress on the fact that the circumstances of creation were such that Adam recognized who the Creator was. Agat'angełos says that God created Adam with his own hands and granted him awareness, so that he might become a witness to God's benevolent creative activity.[84] Ełišē makes the same point, *mutatis mutandis*, in his *Commentary on Genesis:* "God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way."[85] This is perhaps a reaction to a contrary view prevalent in some circles at the time and, of course, in the order of creation in Genesis 1.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Fifth-century Armenian authors speculate on Adam's naming of the beasts. On the one hand, Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* presents the idea that naming turns the nonexistent into the existent and is therefore part of the process of creation: "Because they were going to receive names, and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that [i.e., receiving names]."[86]

With this we may contrast Ephrem's treatment of the naming in his *Commentary on Genesis* 2.10. The ability to name is a reflection of Adam's God-given authority, since "to allocate thousands of names all in a single short moment, and to avoid any duplication between the first ones and the last, this is something which surpasses human ability."[87] Nothing of this occurs in the early Armenian sources I examined.

In *Teaching of St. Gregory* §273 (excerpt 19), Agat'angełos makes a paradoxical claim, that Adam must have named the Creator before he named the animals. The ability to name, Agat'angełos claims there, derives from Adam's creation in the image, which imparts "wisdom, rationality and princely honour" to him. The naming of the Creator implies that Adam recognized him and that Adam's naming of the animals flows from that recognition.[88]

2.7 The Type of Tree

Certain texts identify the tree from which Adam and Eve ate as the fig tree. This is facilitated by the proximity of the description of the tree (Gen 3:6) to the

84. Agat'angełos 17.
85. Ełišē 10.
86. Ełišē 11.
87. Brock 1990, 204.
88. See Agat'angełos 19. This is also discussed above in §1.6. See also Stone 2007.

mention of the fig leaves (Gen 3:7). This view is found in Ełišē 1.[89] The same identification might be implied by Mambrē, "the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent," but that is not quite certain.[90]

A different view is found in Ełišē, *Commentary on Genesis,* excerpt 12. There he says that Scripture is silent about the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This seems to contradict Ełišē's own statement in the *War* cited immediately above. However, here Ełišē's point is that Scripture does not explicitly describe the fruit, only the tree, and he is not concerned with identifying this fruit.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

3.0 Satan

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is described in a number of ways. Agatʻangełos says that the serpent was a pack animal or a vehicle on which Satan rode.[91] Eznik, however, seems simply to equate them.[92] This relationship is the subject of much discussion in subsequent centuries.[93]

In a passage of Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua and Judges* we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story of the temptation.[94] The serpent becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan). This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked, causing the negation of the intellect. The serpent uses the fruit as the means to achieve this. The language of "war" and "vanquishing" is often used of Satan's attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:3 we read "that you fight against us unnecessarily" and in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan "that you dared to fight with the image of God."

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89. Ełišē 1 = Thomson 1982, 79; see Megas 1928, 309. The rabbinic views about the identification of the tree varied, but the fig is prominent among them, as well as the grape and other produce; see Ginzberg 1909, 5:67. *Gen. Rab.* 15:7, like *Pen. Adam* [44](20):4 and Greek *Apoc. Mos.* 20:5 infers that the tree was a fig from the fact that Adam and Eve made their loincloths from fig leaves.

90. Mambrē 2.

91. Agatʻangełos 5. This matter is discussed in the excursus below.

92. Eznik 6 and 9. Alexandre 1988, 297 observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [*PG* 76:632b–c]).

93. For a diachronic presentation of this subject, see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

94. Ełišē 3. See, in detail, appendix 1.1.1–1.1.3.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

In a text enumerating single sins in the past that have had major consequences, Yovhannēs Mandakuni writes, "Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin; . . . the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; . . . the fall of Satan was because of pride."[95] There is an early version of the story of the fall of Satan that is related to Satan's rebellion against God. When Adam was created, God ordered all the angels to bow down to him. Satan refused and for this reason he was cast out of heaven. This version of Satan's fall occurs in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–16 and parallels. Anderson has shown that it was known to St. Ephrem as well.[96] Although this version of Satan's fall is not mentioned explicitly in the fifth-century Armenian sources being studied here, the formulation in Yovhannēs Mandakuni indicates that he knew it.[97] This is also true of statements by Agat'angełos that are discussed in §3.3 below.[98] On the basis of this material, we may confidently conclude that in fifth-century Armenian literature the story of Satan's fall was current in a version in which it preceded the story of his deception of Adam. In this form of the story, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.[99]

Eznik also deals with this problem, but he is concerned more about the question whether Satan was created evil or good. He became evil, he says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

> Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became "the Devil" (Rev 2:10; 19:2; and 20:2). Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God's commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.[100]

This passage, despite the term "rebel" and the language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the fall, and it should, cautiously, be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked.

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95. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 10.

96. G. A. Anderson, "The Fall of Satan in the Thought of St. Ephrem," published online at http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol3No1/HV3N1Anderson.htm.

97. It is possible that he knew the variant of this incident that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan, who wished to displace God from his throne even before the creation of the world. This seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. A later variant of this formulation occurs in *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4.

98. See especially excerpt 26.

99. See Anderson 1997.

100. Eznik 16.

In Eznik, we find another reference connected with Adam's Fall, ". . . nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor."[101] Satan is called "prince" and this is surely a reference to Ps 82:6–7 = Arm 81:6–7, "I say, 'You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like any prince.'" Again, it is difficult to argue from this passage that Eznik refers explicitly to the story of the fall of Satan. In any case, the text cited above from Yovhannēs Mandakuni[102] and those referred to in the next section from Agat'angełos and Yovhannēs Mandakuni show clearly that this story was known in Armenia in the fifth century.[103]

3.3 Satan's Envy

In Wis 2:24, we read, "Through the envy of the tempter death entered the world."[104] This verse reflects the widely held view that Satan's primary motivation for deceiving Eve and Adam was envy. One form of envy is evident in the rebellion tradition mentioned above, where Satan envied Adam's priority in rank and refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to him.[105] This idea occurs in other early sources, such as *2 En.* 31:3–6; *L.A.E.* 12:1; Armenian *Book of Adam* 15:1 (զնախանձ "envy"; not in the Greek text); *3 Bar.* 4:8; and others.[106] Highlighting another motif, David Winston points to Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2.29 (*PG* 6:1097B), who states that Satan was envious since "Adam and Eve not only were alive but had produced offspring."[107] This last theme, however, is not found in fifth-century Armenian sources.

Eznik says that Satan is inflamed by envy but without specifying why, and similarly Łazar P'arpec'i's *Letter to the City of Amit* states that the first created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He does not provide any details either of the cause of the envy or of its results.[108]

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101. Eznik 27.

102. See Yovhannēs Mandakuni 10. Some or all of Mandakuni's homilies are sometimes attributed to Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i (C7). *Non liquet.* In any case, the dating of Agat'angełos is quite certain.

103. The idea of the fall of Satan is, of course, already present in Luke 10:18, "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning," but in that text the reason for and occasion of the fall are eschatological and not protological. See further appendix, n. 91.

104. Łazar P'arpec'i 1 attributes this statement to "the Catholic Epistles." This seems to be an error, for nothing resembling it can be found in those epistles.

105. Some later sources are quoted in Stone 1992, 22–23. See also Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24; *Transgression of Adam and Eve* 10–12. Of course, what Wisdom of Solomon thought to be the cause of Satan's envy is unknown.

106. Rabbinic parallels are abundant and many are cited by Winston 1979, 121.

107. Winston 1979, 121 also points to the theme of envy in Gnostic sources. Of course, in numerous other texts the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qn'*, meaning "envy."

108. Eznik 5 and 9; Łazar P'arpec'i 1.

In contrast with these general statements, Agat‘angełos states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and was jealous of the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.[109] Similarly, according to Eznik, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.[110] In Mambrē we read, "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life."[111] These three authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him.

An analogous view may be found in Agat‘angełos, who says that Satan, jealous of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received, tried to enslave him and inherit his position; "he misled him away from the promises, that perchance he might be able to inherit his place."[112] This statement adds further specific features: first, that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality; and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. This implies that Satan is outside the heavenly sphere when he is attacked by envy. He can have reached this position only after his initial rebellion and fall. The story of Satan's fall in *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, does not hint at such a statement. However, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, much later on in the book, Satan says to it: "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."[113] This speech is written from the perspective of the fallen Satan, just like Agat‘angełos 26. Yovhannēs Mandakuni makes a more general statement about envy. He says that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam sinned and went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam." This statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam.[114]

Thus, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, and particularly of Adam's potential immortality, is the dominant feature in the Armenian literature I have considered. This is effectively a reformulation of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation in terms of the biblical story. It complements the stress that the Armenian sources lay upon God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which is to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment of abstinence from the fruit of the tree.

Some further statements about Satan's envy relate more to its results than its object. Thus, P‘awstos Buzand says that Satan corrupts humanity by his envy,

109. Agat‘angełos 24.

110. Eznik 5 and 9.

111. Mambrē 7.

112. Agat‘angełos 26.

113. *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3.

114. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3: see also §3.2 above. Agat‘angełos 4 implies that Satan's jealousy was responsible for the debauchery of the daughters of men described in Genesis 6.

leading to deceit and falsehood.[115] As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

The fifth-century texts agree that Adam's sin was the transgression of God's single commandment, not to eat of the tree. Moreover, they frequently stress the limited and minor character of this commandment in order to highlight God's beneficent wish that Adam observe it so that he might become angelic and immortal. Adam's commandment, a one-time պահք ("fast, abstinence"), is contrasted with the commandment given to the angels to praise God without pause.[116] Yovhannēs Mandakuni, however, draws the opposite conclusion from the minor nature of the commandment. Remember, he says, because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was minor, he went out of the Garden.[117] In a somewhat less pointed way, on the next page he says that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin. In a ecclesiastical canon, Yovhannēs Mandakuni highlights Adam's minor sin, that it was only a fruit he ate and not cheese.[118] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* observes that Adam lacked ժուժկալութիւն ("patience, continence"), and curses and death resulted.[119] Both of these texts formulate Adam's sin in the terminology of Armenian religious practice. Anderson pointed out the influence of monastic ideas on some interpretations of the Adam stories. In the present instance, perhaps, a relationship between the reinterpretation of the Adam stories and Armenian religious sensibilities is reflected. Similarly, attitudes to celibacy influenced views of the protoplasts' intercourse.[120]

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

115. P'awstos Buzand 2.

116. See §1.4 above.

117. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 9. In the *Ethics of the Fathers* Rabbi (i.e., Judah the Prince) observes appositely, as it were, to the present instance, "Be as heedful of a light precept as of a grave one for you know not the grant of reward for each" (2:1).

118. Presumably the reference is to not eating cheese during Lent, see Yovhannēs Mandakuni 11.

119. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 9 and 11; compare Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1.

120. Since the general character of Armenian practice resembled other Christian practice these views in themselves are not distinctively Armenian.

4.2 The Results of Sin

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Agat‘angełos extends the idea that the earth was cursed because of Adam's sin[121] beyond the "agricultural curses," that is, the sweat of the brow, and thorns and thistles of Gen 3:17–18. He describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation as follows:

> For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonored on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns, flooded and consumed by fire, shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood, and the heavens lost their color, … [122]

This passage draws together a number of biblical themes which all relate to the corruption and confusion of the natural order. Thomson points to its direct dependence on Gen 3:17–18, 2 Peter 3:6 (the fiery flood),[123] and Joel 2:31. The implication is clear; the natural order is disrupted by Adam's sin.

The apocalyptic signs that Agat‘angełos enumerates belong to the convulsions of the earth that will presage redemption. Later Jewish and Christian sources borrowed such signs chiefly from biblical contexts of covenant curses or of God's warlike epiphany and applied them to the peaking of evil before redemption.[124] A similar understanding of these signs, together with a list of them, is to be observed in the Gospels, in Mark 13:14–24 and Matt 24:1–30,[125] and early Christian apocalyptic literature knows them well.[126] Agat‘angełos views the disruption of the natural order, which peaks in these "messianic woes" as the direct result of Adam's sin. Thus the curse laid upon the earth due to Adam's sin receives a cosmic dimension.

In his *Commentary on Joshua and Judges*, Ełišē says "and the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam

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121. This idea is itself something of an exegetical crux. Why was the earth cursed if Adam sinned?

122. Agat‘angełos 44.

123. Thomson is probably right about the source of the Armenian statement. The passage clearly points to the idea of two floods, one of water (Noah's) and one of fire (eschatological). On the latter, see Ginzberg 1960. Among the Jewish sources, Josephus already connected the two floods, compare *Ant.* 1.70–71. See also later Armenian sources such as *History of the Forefathers* 40–41 and *Abel and Other Pieces* 4.3–4 (Stone 1992, 199 and 151).

124. See Stone 1990, 107–14.

125. Similar events signal the cosmic moment of Jesus's death on the cross in Matt 27:45–54.

126. One later Armenian example among many, is *The Signs of the Judgement*, in Stone 1981. That text predicts floods of water and fire, earthquakes, and other signs that will presage the Day of Judgement. In more general terms, the reapplication of apocalyptic themes by the Armenians is worthy of serious investigation.

and he was returned to the nature of dust."[127] Above I noted that *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* says that Adam was created from the four elements,"from the four materials," using terminology very similar to Ełišē's here.[128] But Ełišē says that it is "this world," not Adam, that is made of the four elements, although the influence of Adam's curse is to be found in the last phrase of his statement.[129]

4.2.2. Death and Corruption

The predominant outcome of Adam's sin was that death itself resulted from sin. This is to be found, for example, in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'*.[130] The idea derived from the biblical verse Gen 3:19. That verse, however, actually pronounces the curse of agricultural labor, and Adam is said to have to till the earth "for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return." Yet the inference that death resulted from Adam's transgression cannot be avoided,[131] and the impact of Gen 3:19 was magnified when it was combined with the Pauline statement in Romans that the wages of sin is death. Pains and death result from Adam's disobedience. Had there been no disobedience, Adam would still be alive.[132]

Yovhannēs Mandakuni uses the ecclesiastical language I noted above when he says that the commandment given to Adam was a պահք ("a fast"). Had Adam observed it, "he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and in heaven, the heavenly goodness."[133] This is a good summary of ideas relating to death and pain that result from Adam's sin.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Another major outcome of Adam's sin was the loss of glory. This idea is repeated often in the early Armenian sources and becomes a major theme throughout the centuries. Adam loses or is stripped naked of his glory. The word "glory," however, is polyvalent. For Agat'angełos, the word clearly designates the protoplasts' paradisiacal state: "Then the evil one in his jealousy, threw man from glory into death by deceit."[134] Along the same lines, Yovhannēs Mandakuni

127. Ełišē 2.

128. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3.

129. There is some apparent contradiction between the four elements, on the one hand, and Adam's return to dust, on the other. A similar tension is to be found in the passage from *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 3, referred to above. See further discussion of this matter in chapter 2 §1.1.2.

130. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 7. Of course, it can also be deduced from Rom 6:23: "For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord" and from many other sources, such as Wis 2:24 (see above §3.3).

131. See 4 Ezra 3:21, for example, and the comments in Stone 1990a, 64–65, where numerous sources are listed. In Christian works, of course, the Pauline statement (see the preceding note) played a considerable part and is itself an exegesis of Gen 3:19.

132. Eznik 25.

133. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 1. This statement is discussed further in §1.4 above.

134. Agat'angełos 24.

describes Adam's state before his fall as glory: "Then he received all suffering[135] and immediately he was cast outside, from his great and excellent glory."[136]

In §4.2.1 above, I recorded the quotation from Agat'angełos in which he describes the postlapsarian corruption of creation.[137] There Agat'angełos does not use the term "glory" to refer to Adam's state in the Garden but relates it to the proper order of the world, speaking of "whatever was formed for the delight and glory of man." The notion that the world was created for the sake of humankind occurs widely in Jewish and Christian sources.[138]

Some patristic writers maintained that Adam was innocently naked in the Garden before sinning.[139] The early Armenian sources, however, take Gen 3:10 to mean that in one way or another Adam became naked through sin. Thus, Agat'angełos says in a simile, "who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam." Clearly, then, before sinning Adam was not naked. Along the same lines, Agat'angełos says that "they [i.e., Adam and Eve] were stripped of the divinely formed[140] glory."[141] I may put the point in another way: the Armenian sources took the verb in Gen 3:10 to mean not "I was naked" but "I became naked."[142]

According to Agat'angełos, Adam and Eve were clothed in glory of which subsequently they were stripped.[143] This idea does not originate in Armenia, though it is extremely widespread there. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.23.5) speaks of Adam and Eve clothed in divine glory like "angels on the earth."[144] In Ephrem's *Hymns*

135. The word ախտ frequently translates the Greek πάθος.

136. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3 (re: Satan) and 7. In the subsequent paragraphs, I shall discuss the relationship between Adam and Eve's glory and their nakedness.

137. Agat'angełos 44.

138. See Stone 1990a, 188–89 for the Jewish sources.

139. This idea is to be found in certain Greek patristic sources, such as those cited in Alexandre 1988, 290.

140. From the noun "form," not the verb. "Stripped" here and elsewhere renders the same verb, մերկանամ, that was translated "became naked" above. It is very frequent in the Armenian sources relating to Adam and Eve.

141. Agat'angełos 1, 4, and 26.

142. The Armenian biblical text does not have the verb մերկանամ ("to be, become naked") that Agat'angełos uses, but the expression մերկ էի ("I was naked"), employing the adjective մերկ, deriving from the same stem. Thus Agat'angełos reflects a way of reading of Genesis that goes beyond the literal meaning of its linguistic formulation. Ephrem (*Hymns on Paradise* 2:7) speaks of Adam as "him who was stripped naked" (Brock 1990, 87); cf. *Hymns on Paradise* 3:14, etc.

143. See n. 141 above.

144. See Alexandre 1988, 295. Her presentation of the patristic evidence, however, shows that this theme, which she attributes to Jewish texts (such as the *L.A.E.*) was far from dominant in the Greek tradition. Moreover, Irenaeus speaks of the analogous "garment of sanctity received from the Spirit" (*Haer.* 3 [*PG* 7:963]).

on Paradise 6:10 the garment of glory belongs to Adam and to the saints, but Adam lost it through the agency of the serpent.[145]

The association of glory with Adam is older, of course, and is explicit already in Ben Sira 49:16: "Shem and Seth and Enosh were visited, but above every other living being was Adam's glory."[146] In *Pen. Adam* [44](20):1 we read explicitly: "At that hour I learned with my eyes that I had become naked of the glory which with I had been clothed."[147]

The Armenian tradition is dominated by Agatʻangełos's interpretation of Gen 3:10, which is found earlier in Ephrem and Eusebius of Emesa, among others. Adam and Eve were clothed in glory, and when they sinned they were stripped of this glory and became naked. I venture to add a further instance. Elsewhere Agatʻangełos states that, in the Garden, Adam and Eve were "clothed in glory without shame as with a garment."[148] This text seems to combine the interpretation found in some Greek Fathers that Adam and Eve were naked and without shame, to which I referred above, with the idea of their glorious garments.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

In the texts I examined, remarkably little is made of the complex of curses pronounced in Gen 3:17–19. Yovhannēs Mandakuni does make a statement clearly reflecting the biblical curses when he says that Adam went out of the Garden through Satan's envy and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all his descendants.[149] However, such general statements are infrequent.

L.A.E. adds at least two additional curses to those adumbrated in the Bible. One was inferred subtly from the biblical text, while the second may be newly created. The first new curse is that the beasts became disobedient, and the second, that humankind is afflicted by illness and pains. These ideas occur in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 31(6):4–32(7) and 37(10). As for the disobedience of the animals, according to *Pen. Adam* 37(10):3, Eve reproaches the attacking wild beast, a form of the serpent and Satan, saying, "How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed?" The beast responds, in the next verse,

145. See Brock 1990, 112; similarly *Hymns on Paradise* 7:5 refers to a "raiment of light" and 7:12 speaks of "glory." These characteristics are attributed to the saints, but the implication is clear: the saints gained what Adam lost.

146. Here the LXX differs somewhat, reading: Σημ καὶ Σηθ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει Αδαμ, "Shem and Seth were glorified among men; and more than all living creatures in creation, Adam." In this text form as well, Adam's glory is explicit.

147. See also *Pen. Adam* [4](23):2 and 3.

148. Agatʻangełos 3.

149. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

"In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you."[150] *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* clearly states the same idea that "while man was obedient to the laws of God, the beasts and poisonous creatures obeyed man."[151] This particular formulation of the idea seems to be an interpretation of God's blessing of Adam in Gen 1:28: "and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." In the Armenian Bible the last part of this verse varies and reads եւ ամենայն անասնոց եւ ամենայն երկրի եւ ամենայն սողնոց որ սողին ի վերայ երկրի, literally, "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the creeping things which creep upon the earth." The two groups of beings mentioned explicitly in the Armenian biblical text, the beasts and the crawling (thus the poisonous) creatures, occur also in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'*, which derives its statement from the biblical phrase.[152]

Eznik extends the same principle to the demons, at least if we follow the translation of Blanchard and Young. Thus, Eznik says, որպէս հնազանդ էին առաջնոյ մարդոյն մինչ չեւ յանցուցեալ էր եւ ոչ մեղանչականք, "just as they were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin and were not subject to sin."[153] Blanchard and Young provide "the demons" as the subject of the plural verb հնազանդ էին ("were obedient"), so giving "just as (the demons) were obedient."[154] The context in the next sentence, which speaks of "Satan," demands this interpretation, and I accept it, even though the word "demons" does not actually occur in Eznik's text. Thus, the authority given to Adam in the blessing of Gen 1:28 was extended to the demons, and Adam's sin brought about its abrogation.[155]

The second additional curse, the attribution of illness and pains to Adam's sin, certainly derives from the view that his sin brought about the sufferings attendant on death.

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150. Anderson and Stone 1999, 42E–43E.

151. *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk'* 5. The implication is that when man disobeyed God, the animals disobeyed man.

152. In the Hebrew Bible we read ובכל היה הרמשת על הארץ, "and over every beast that crawls on the earth"; the LXX translates this Hebrew as *καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ παντῶν τῶν ἑρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, "and over all the beasts and over all the earth and over all the crawling things that crawl on the earth." Intriguingly the Peshiṭta reads, "and over the animals and over all the beasts that crawl upon the earth." This does not have the awkward phrase "and over all the earth" that occurs in the Greek text. *Yačapatum Čaṙk'* might have used a biblical text reflecting either the Greek or the Syriac Genesis. The Armenian biblical text, as edited by Zeyt'unyan 1985, reflects the Greek text.

153. Eznik 34.

154. Blanchard and Young 1998, 86.

155. Apparently this means that before Adam's sin the demons did no harm.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The statement that Adam and Eve heard "the sound of the Lord God walking" (Gen 3:8) exercised ancient Armenian readers of the Bible. The unabashedly anthropomorphic understanding of this statement was obviously to be discounted, so what could it have been that Adam and Eve heard? Eusebius of Emesa, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which was early translated in Armenian, says that God made his footsteps audible so his coming was known in advance to Adam.[156] Agat'angełos and Eznik, develop this idea further: God made his footsteps audible, so the man might have an opportunity to repent.[157] Along the same lines, the Armenian *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Ephrem reads, "Indeed that Beneficent One did not reveal Himself by any extraordinary means, lest [Adam and Eve] be terrified, nor did He flash like lightning, lest He alarm them, but He made a sound for His feet and sent it before Him,[158] so that He might teach repentance to the impenitent and obdurate heart."[159] The same idea is found also in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* by Ephrem.[160]

Armenian sources handle other comparable anthropomorphisms similarly. Thus, in a later document, we read, "God summoned [Cain] to penitence by asking, 'Where, Cain, is your brother Abel?'"[161] This dramatic presentation reflects an idea already found in Philo (*Questiones in Genesin* 1:68) and responds to the exegetical difficulty that God's question created. The approach is the same as that reflected in the interpretation of the sound God created that was advanced by early Armenian texts.

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

The Bible does not record how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. Later Armenian sources, like other Christian texts and some Jewish texts, elaborate on Adam and Eve's Edenic timetable. Some chronological points are, nonethe-

156. Eusebius of Emesa, *Commentary on Genesis* 1.32 (Petit *et al.* 2011, 81).

157. Agat'angełos 28; Eznik 23.

158. Cf. Gen 3:8.

159. E. G. Mathews 1998, 29:14.

160. "[T]his sound of footsteps was made in order that your lips might make supplication" (2:25) (trans. Brock 1990, 216) and "for He caused His silent footsteps to make a noise so that, at the noise, they might prepare to make supplication before him who issued the sound" (Ephrem 2:24; Brock 1990, 215).

161. *History of the Forefathers* §17. See Stone 1992, 188–89.

less, to be found in the sources I examined. According to Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* excerpt 13 here, we read:

> Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David's saying "A thousand years in the Lord's eyes is as yesterday." But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth of the male.[162]

Our curiosity is immediately piqued by the word արտաքին ("foreigner"). This is glossed by *NBHL* as "foreigner" or "pagan, adherent of another religion." In the Armenian cultural context of the fifth century, one might be tempted to think of Zoroastrians, but both the content of the statement and the reference to the biblical verse make this unlikely. Perhaps some heterodox Christian group is intended.

In any case, the chronology remains obscure, and the uncommon period of one thousand years for Adam and Eve's sojourn in paradise does not help us identify it. This figure is most probably based on the interpretation of Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4, "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday when it is past" (see above on Ełišē's reference to David's saying), to mean that a single day of divine time was actually one thousand years years long. This view was widespread and generated considerable chiliastic speculation in both Jewish and Armenian and other Christian circles. Thus, the statement that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for one thousand years is equivalent to the statement that they were there for one (divine or primordial human) day. The one day derives, in turn, from the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it."[163] Adam ate on the day on which he entered the Garden and was expelled on the same day.

Ełišē's own view—or rather that of "our friends" as he put it—that Adam was in the Garden for a period of forty days, goes back to a different biblical basis. In an early form it occurs already in *Jub.* 3:9: "And after forty days were completed for Adam in the land where he was created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden so that he might work and guard it."[164] The purity laws in Leviticus establish a forty-day period of ritual uncleanliness after the birth of

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162. Ełišē 13. This word հոգեծննութիւն is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. Roberta Ervine has pointed out to me that, according to Armenian teaching, a child of forty days is considered to be fully alive, and this may be called հոգծեծննդութիւն ("spiritual birth"). This is the point at which the spirit enters the child. In rabbinic thought, a child is considered fully alive after thirty days; see *t. Šabb.* 15(16): 7. There this issue is not related to the mother's impurity.

163. Alexandre (1988, 273–74) discusses the exegesis of Gen 2:17, "on the day you eat from it." She observes that this is taken to be one thousand years in Jewish sources. The Jews might be the "foreigners" referred to by Ełišē, though this would be odd. Moreover, the world-week of six thousand years + the parousia is ample witness to the nature of Christian chiliastic speculations. See further Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) on Gen 2:17.

164. O. S. Wintermute (trans.) in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:59. See further *Jub.* 3:10–11.

a male child and eighty days in the case of a female child (Lev 12:2 and 12:5). *Jubilees* applied this rule to Adam and Eve's entry into the Garden, forty days after Adam's creation and eighty days after Eve's.[165] The same idea is found in the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus, which work is probably to be related to the *Testament of the Protoplasts* mentioned by Anastasius Sinaïta.[166] Thus, the Garden is endowed with the sanctity of the temple.[167]

The tradition that Ełišē knows is perhaps a variant of this. At the base of his view may lie the idea that, since Adam was introduced into the Garden on the fortieth day and Eve on the eightieth day, they sinned and were expelled on the day Eve was introduced. In that case, Adam would have been in the Garden for forty days.[168] The idea is that Adam and Eve were in the Garden for forty days because this was the special period following their spiritual birth, that is, their insufflation. However, the assertion is odd. If the analogy were carried to its logical conclusion, the time in the Garden would parallel that of uncleanliness before entering the temple. In fact, however, it was a time of purity before the sin. Thus, the parallel is only partially worked out.

The text, however, states clearly that they were both in the Garden for forty days, which is related to the period of uncleanness following the birth of a male child. Presumably, then, the Armenian text of Ełišē preserves an inexact use of the tradition relating the regulations for post-parturition ritual uncleanness and the period of residence in the Garden. No other traces of this discussion were found in the fifth-century Armenian literature.

The timetable of Adam's sin and expulsion is set in parallel to that of Christ's passion and crucifixion, a parallel which is worked out over the centuries. Another aspect of that is Mambrē's statement that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb. Again, Mambrē says that Adam sinned on the sixth day, Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.[169]

The same tradition is to be found in the *Life of Adam* cited in George Syncellus 5 (Adler and Tuffin 2002, 7).

165. Without specifying the period, Luke 2:22 states, "When the time came for their purification according to the Law of Moses." In the *Infancy Gospel* it is specifically forty days. In the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* it is to be found in Tayecʻi 1898, 54, 129.

166. See Stone 1992, 78, 87; see also James 1920, 5–6.

167. Anderson 1989, 129–31 has dealt with the issue of the Garden of Eden as a temple in *Jubilees*.

168. A variant of this tradition is known to manuscript P306 of *Adam, Eve, and the Incarnation* §20: see Stone 1996b, 41. See further discussion of this in §4.4 below.

169. Mambrē 4 and 11. In later centuries, this typology of the expulsion and the passion is further elaborated; see especially chapter 2 §4.4 and chapter 3 §4.4.

4.5 After Fall and Expulsion

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

In the texts I have discussed, the view that Adam was buried at Golgotha does not occur. The idea that Adam descended into hell and was brought out by Christ does occur in Christian tradition from the second century on.[170] The commentary on the Lord's Prayer attributed to Ełišē says, "On Sunday he [i.e., Christ] gathered the crushed bones of Adam." The origin of the "crushed bones" is unclear.

170. Kaestli 1993, 135–42.

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2. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixth- to Eleventh-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

This chapter and those that follow it differ from the preceding one in character. In them, I focus more specifically on developments within the Armenian tradition itself. When I discussed the fifth-century texts, I deliberately sought not only to examine inner-Armenian developments but to set the ideas the texts expressed into the context of earlier and contemporary non-Armenian sources. The material in this and the following chapters is compared primarily with preceding Armenian authors, and notably with the fifth-century texts. I do not ignore non-Armenian material, particularly concerning innovation, but the prior Armenian tradition takes pride of place. I use the same subject divisions and subdivisions to arrange the material as throughout the book. When I actually analyzed the surviving texts, in some periods certain categories remained empty. In the present chapter, for example, I did not find material appropriate to sections 2.5 "The Creation of the Animals" or 2.6 "Naming by Adam."

The incident of the creation of the animals and their naming by Adam plays little role in the authors considered here, occurring only in the tenth century and then not at length. Earlier, this incident was connected with the wisdom granted Adam in the course of his creation. In contrast, the cheirograph tradition as it derives from Col 2:14 and extensive consideration of Eve are newly to the fore in this period. In general, we may remark that the emphasis on Eve increases over the centuries, presumably related the growing role of the cult of the Virgin in Armenian Christianity.

When we characterize and analyze concepts that a text expresses, we must bear in mind that the specific contexts in which the ideas occur often determine individual formulations and stresses. Sometimes, too, exegetical criteria lead an author to prefer certain ideas. Such considerations may explain particularities; nonetheless, if an idea occurs in a text, it is reasonable to assume that it was acceptable to the author.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

The idea that Adam was created by God's hand occurs in Agatʻangełos C5, and its background in earlier sources was examined in the chapter 1 §1.1. It is derived exegetically from Gen 2:7 and serves to elevate Adam's status.[1] In the sixth–eleventh centuries it became a commonplace and it occurs in the *Calendar Fragment* attributed to Anania Širakacʻi C7; in Yovhan Mamikonean C7, and similarly also in Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi C8 and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9.[2]

Man (Adam) is the peak of creation according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[3] He was born from God without parents, a point made by Łewond C8 for expository purposes.[4] This, of course, makes Adam analogous to, but not identical with, other figures that were born without a father, such as Christ and Melchizedek, or without a mother, such as Eve.[5]

Grigor Magistros C10 regards Adam's created state as particularly elevated, and so he says that Adam was created for կեանս անախտականս անմահութեան անկարօտին, "unblemished immortal life without need."[6] Grigor Narekacʻi C10 repeatedly asserts that God created Adam as part of the order of creation.[7] This is, of course, banal.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

After the fifth century, the time of Adam's creation, like other aspects of the chronology of the primordial events, becomes a major topic of discussion. In general, the interest evinced in chronological and calendrical matters in this period is notable; see also §4.4. In the present section I will concentrate on the date of Adam's creation.[8]

Following the biblical text in Gen 1:26–31, authorities such as the mathematician and scholar Anania Širakacʻi C7 and Grigoris Aršaruni C7 assign the

1. See Xosrow Anjewacʻi 6, Grigor Narekacʻi 27, Gēorg Loṙecʻi 2. Grigor Narekacʻi 2 calls him "His own God-formed image."

2. Anania Širakacʻi 4; Yovhan Mamikonean 1; Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi 7 and 8; and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos 6.

3. Grigoris Aršaruni 2.

4. Łewond 3.

5. Compare *2 En.* 71 and Heb 7:3. In another vein, certain Armenian texts refer to Eve being born of Adam without a mother; see Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 20.

6. Grigor Magistros 12.

7. Grigor Narekacʻi 26 and 27. Compare also Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 1. The same point is made by Gēorg Loṙecʻi 2.

8. In the fifth-century translation of Eusebius of Emesa, the sixth day is nominated as the day of Adam's creation; see Petit et al. 2011, 54–55. That biblical view is found predominantly throughout the Armenian sources.

creation of Adam to the sixth day.[9] Later authors, such as Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i C10, Gēorg Lořec‘i C11, and Timot‘ēos *vardapet* C10 echo this view.[10] Furthermore, Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i, in a balanced and contrastive way, sets Adam's creation on the sixth day and his destruction on the sixth day, Eve's deception on the sixth day and the Annunciation to the Virgin on the sixth day. Here the chronological structure of the protological events is actually based on that of the life and passion of Christ, while presenting itself as the pattern upon which the chronology of the passion was based. I discuss this development below in §4.4.[11]

In a fragment printed on pp. 311–12 of Abrahamyan's edition of his works, Anania Širakac‘i C7 elaborates this idea, proposing that the "beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday,"[12] that God the Father made it known to the Son and the Holy Spirit on Thursday saying "Let us make man," and that the actual creation of man took place on Friday, the sixth day (Gen 1:26). The five days preceding the creation of man on Friday are the intercalated days of the Armenian calendar, while the sixth day, the Friday itself, is the Jewish New Year. This assertion about the intercalated days is based on the old Armenian calendar, which goes back to Hellenistic roots. It had twelve months of thirty days and a thirteenth, intercalated "month" of five days. Anania Širakac‘i considers that this was also the Jewish calendar. In a later Armenian text called *The Months of the Jews,* the same assertion is made.[13] The traditional Jewish reckoning is that the New Year, the first day of the seventh lunar month, was the first day of creation.

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

In the fifth century there was a long discussion of the material from which Adam was created. Generally the sixth- to ninth-century sources follow the biblical text in saying the he was made of dust. This question is not discussed in great detail in those tenth- to eleventh-century texts excerpted here, although in a couple of places Grigor Narekac‘i C10 repeats the biblical statement that Adam was created from the dust.

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9. Anania Širakac‘i 2 and 4; Grigoris Aršaruni 7. Grigoris Aršaruni 8 adds there that Adam left the Garden on Friday and was saved through the cross on Friday in the six thousandth year.

10. Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘ 4, Gēorg Lořec‘i 2, Timot‘ēos *vardapet* 2. So also Tiranun *vardapet* 1 and 2, 5.

11. In this passage Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i develops the theme of the sixth day and the portentous events that took place on it: see Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i 4 and 5. He attaches great significance to Friday and to the number 6. According to him, Eve was created on Wednesday and Adam was healed on the same day, see Samuēl Kamrǰajorec‘i 6.

12. I.e., the intention to create man. On Eve's creation on Wednesday, see the preceding note.

13. On the Armenian calendar, see Stone 1988. There are further copies of *The Months of the Hebrews*, one of which is in Columbia University Armenian manuscript no. 5 and others in the old manuscript M2679 fols. 7–7v of the year 981 and the later M7020 of the year 1796. Other copies doubtless exist.

In contrast to this conventional view, however, Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 says that Adam's nature is composed of the four elements,[14] a notion found already in *Yačaxapatum Čaṙk‘* in the fifth century, and in even earlier Greek and Syriac sources.[15] Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos harmonizes the difference between the two views by saying that Adam's nature was from the material dust and the material was made of the four elements.[16] In *Girk‘ T‘łtoc‘ The Book of Letters*, in a letter attributed to Movsēs K‘ert‘ołahayr of the sixth century, Adam is said to be կաւ ("clay").[17] This is the only text found in these four centuries that describes Adam as made of "clay." "Clay" is to be found, however, in a fifth-century source, Eznik.[18] It probably emerges from the idea of molding, which, in turn, derived from the biblical text (Gen 2:7).

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 also describes Adam as created ի հողանիւթ զանգուածոյս ("from this earthen mass"), which is in accordance with the biblical view. In Anania Širakac‘i C7's "Calendar Fragment," Adam is said to be created from "dust"; similarly also Step‘anos Siwnec‘i and Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos, both writing in the eighth century.[19]

It is notable, then, that the nonbiblical idea that clay and dust are matter and thus composed of the four elements, which occurs rarely in the fifth century, is also seldom encountered in the sixth to eleventh centuries. This is so, despite the influence of Greek ideas on Armenia in the centuries immediately following the early-fifth-century invention of the alphabet.

Nonetheless, an interesting formulation by Gēorg Loṙec‘i C11 shows the tension between these two ideas. He says the following:

> Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to create the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly demonstrate each of them, for Moses only says that he took dust: "God took dust of the ground" (Gen 2:7), and he was silent about other (elements).

This statement, which makes three notable points, is unique among the texts I studied. First, in this polemical text, Gēorg denies the view that Adam was created from four elements, claiming that it lacks a biblical basis. Yet earlier authorities, such as Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 and *Yačapatum Čaṙk‘* C5, explicitly say that Adam was created from the four elements, a combination of biblical and Greek

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14. See Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 9. See also K‘erovbē *vardapet* 1.

15. See chapter 1 §1.1.2. Contrast the onomastic etymology of Adam as "earth," say, in Ona I iv.1, Ona IV.1, Ona V.27; see Stone 1981a.

16. Compare chapter 1 §1.1.2 above.

17. Movsēs K‘ert‘ołahayr 1.

18. This etymology appears also in *History of the Forefathers* §32. See chapter 1 §1.1.2.

19. Anania Širakac‘i 4; Step‘anos Siwnec‘i 13 and 16; and Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos 1.

ideas that I discussed above.[20] Second, it is not clear against whom precisely Gēorg Loṙec'i was polemicizing when he called for strict adherence to the biblical text. We can infer that his opponents are those who "create the body of Christ with their human mind," that is, who assert that the body was created of the four elements. Third, Gēorg says that this is against Scripture, which states that Adam was fashioned from dust but makes no mention of fire, air, and water.[21] It should be noted, moreover, that though the idea of four elements occurs in earlier sources, it does not dominate in them.

Man was created from dust,[22] and through the spirit that God breathed into him, he was rational and angelic.[23] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, for example, says, "he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom)."[24] Moreover, in the same passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i also maintains that man lost these rational and intellective qualities when he sinned: "he lost the higher, lordly wisdom" and "he forfeited the spiritual grace."[25] Grigor Magistros C10 says that man was composed of two opposed natures, one perceptive or intellective and the other earthly, which correspond to his receiving the spirit from God but his creation from dust.[26] This view is standard; Adam was created rational and autonomous. It is to be found from the very beginning of Armenian literature and is a common explanation of what the divine inbreathing means (Gen 2:7).

The idea that man had a rational nature that is the outcome of the inbreathing (Gen 2:7) or, using another paradigm, follows from the "image" of God according to which he was created (Gen 1:26) recurs in Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that the soul is the created image of God and the likeness of his form. Elsewhere, Grigor Narekac'i specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator's grace.[27] Adam was created for "unblemished immortal life without need," Grigor Magistros C10 states.[28] Similarly Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10 says of Adam's sin that he "caused his sinless and uncondemnable body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation to the corruption of death."[29]

20. See chapter 1 §1.1.2 and elsewhere.

21. Here he identifies "dust" with "earth," one of the four elements, while other authors I discussed have said that dust is itself composed of the four elements.

22. Grigor Narekac'i 8. Grigor Narekac'i 12 and 13 speak of humans created of "inferior substance."

23. Grigor Magistros 11; Xosrow Anjewac'i 6.

24. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

25. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

26. Grigor Magistros 11.

27. Grigor Narekac'i 11. Equally, in excerpt 18, that is, *Book of Lamentation* 46.3, he speaks of humans regaining the lost image through the inbreathing of baptism.

28. See n. 23 above.

29. Step'anōs Tarōnec'i 2.

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

A number of purposes have been proposed for Adam's creation:

Praise. The second world, that of the luminaries and what is below them, was separated from the heavens (i.e., the first, intelligible world) for the sake of praise of the Creator, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[30] In other words, the purpose of this-worldly creation is praise. This is the only statement on this point in the period under discussion. Nothing is said in these centuries about the immortality for which Adam was intended, and almost nothing about the purpose of the commandment given to him or about the nature of Adam's wisdom or discernment.[31] These subjects, however, were prominent in the fifth century; see chapter 1 §1.1.3.

So that Adam might draw close to God. The trees of knowledge and life were glittering and splendid[32] and were created as food for Adam. They were not forbidden because of God's envy, but only proscribed for a short time "so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God." Grigor Magistros C10,[33] who made this statement, implies that God created Adam so that, by consumption of the fruit at the proper time, he might become close to God.

God did not desire Adam's transgression. Another statement by Grigor Magistros C10 that bears indirectly on purposiveness in the creation of Adam occurs in an epistle directed to the Muslim Emir Ibrahim, that is, in the context of polemic: ". . . so you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression. . . ."[34]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

When Adam was created, he was thirty years old, this being the most perfect age for a human being.[35] Analogously, Anania Širakac'i C7 adds that the moon was created fourteen days old, at the fullest point of its cycle, on the fourth day.[36]

30. Grigoris Aršaruni 1.

31. Pseudo-Basil 1 reads, "For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality." This implies that part of the purpose of Adam's creation was that he might employ discernment.

32. Grigor Magistros 4 speaks once of "the tree of life and knowledge" that was honored in paradise, but elsewhere he clearly speaks of two trees.

33. Grigor Magistros 8. He repeats this idea in excerpt 12.

34. Grigor Magistros 9.

35. See Stone 1996a, 144 and note on *History of Adam and His Grandsons* 1 (*ibid.*, 92) on this number and its manifold occurrences. In the primordial time, the span between births was thirty years, as is discussed in Stone 1996, 92. This was also the age of Sedek in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012). Its origin may be biblical. Joseph at thirty entered Pharaoh's service (Gen 41:46); David started to reign at thirty (2 Sam 5:4); and, in Numbers, the age span from thirty to fifty was the age for Levites to serve in the tabernacle (Num 4:3, 23, 30, etc.)

36. Which is, of course, the middle day of the week of creation.

He states that these views were held also by the learned among the Jews, and their view is reliable because they use the moon in their calendar.[37]

Two comments may be made on these remarks. First, the number 30 appears repeatedly in various traditions about Adam and Eve, both in Armenian and in other languages. They have thirty pairs of twins, there are thirty years between the births of their children, they have their first children at the age of thirty, etc.[38] In some later traditions, Abel died at thirty, which must be related to the idea that thirty was the ideal age. Although most such traditions are to be found in later apocryphal books, in *Pen. Adam* 24:5, which has a good claim to antiquity in Armenian, Adam and Eve are said to have thirty pairs of twins. Thus, on this point, Anania Širakac'i C7 has recourse to a known tradition. Second, as to the supposed Jewish views about Adam's age when he was born and the state of the moon, it should be kept in mind that, in the case of the calendar, the actual knowledge of Jewish practice among the Armenians was limited. This did not inhibit the Armenians from assigning all sorts of views to the Jews that were founded in what seemed reasonable and not in actual knowledge of Jewish practice. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the material from Anania Širakac'i C7.

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor; see §1.6 below.[39] In the Garden, Adam had "splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."[40] These sources may be complemented by those about the loss of glory discussed below in §4.2.3.

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Adam's body was originally impassible and immortal, according to Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8, and it lost those qualities when he sinned.[41] In any case, the idea that Adam was created for immortality and subsequently became mortal as a result of the sin and its consequent curses, is found throughout Armenian literature.[42] It is, of course, based on the biblical text.[43] Xosrovik T'argmanič' also argues that if Christ had had the same body as Adam, he would not have suffered; but in fact he did suffer, so his body was not like Adam's creation body.[44] This

37. Anania Širakac'i 2.
38. See n. 35 above.
39. T'ovma Arcruni 2.
40. Grigor Narekec'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life." See §2.4 below.
41. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 1.
42. See chapter 1 §4.2.2 for an early instance.
43. See §4.2.2 below.
44. Xosrovik T'argmanič' 2.

seemingly strange point has to do with the understanding of the image, which is discussed below in §1.6.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

According to an interpretation of Gen 2:7 by Grigor Narekacʻi C10, Adam was created with the prophetic spirit, and therefore he was not deceived by the serpent. But the woman, who, it is implied, lacked the prophetic spirit, was.[45] This is part of Grigor Narekacʻi's view that Adam ate the fruit not because he was deceived by the serpent/Satan, but because of his love of Eve. In this way, Grigor Narekacʻi strives to resolve the question of how Adam, created in the image of God and thus possessing discernment, could have eaten the fruit. The same issue concerns Tiranun *vardapet* C10 when he stresses that Adam did not sin but "humbled himself and shared it [i.e., the fruit] with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam."[46] Anania Narekacʻi C10 quotes 1 Tim 2:14 in an adapted form, as follows: "'Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned],' consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin."[47] This is a noteworthy innovation in the tenth-century authors.

In connection with the naming of Eve, Grigor Narekacʻi remarks that Adam retained the prophetic spirit as long as he remained in the Garden.[48] See §2.6 below.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

1.3 Humans and Angels

The excerpts from the sixth to eleventh centuries say nothing at all about the relationship between humans and angels or about the purposes for which they were created. In the fifth-century sources, material on this topic was derived exegetically from Ps 8:4–5: "[4]What are human beings that you are mindful of them, mortals that you care for them?[5] Yet you have made them a little lower than angels,[49] and crowned them with glory and honor" (NRSV). The only thing stated in our texts—and it is not related to Psalm 8—is Zakʻaria Katʻołikos's C9

45. Grigor Narekacʻi 5.
46. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.
47. On this citation, see §2.8 below.
48. Grigor Narekacʻi 5.
49. The Hebrew word אלהים, usually translated "God" sometimes is taken to mean "angels" and is so rendered here by the Septuagint and in the Armenian tradition. The NRSV has "God," but we have given "angels."

view that God created humans to fill the empty camp of the rebellious angels.[50] This is part of a fairly unusual passage by this ninth-century author, who proposes that the Garden of Eden was previously the camp of the rebel angels and that Satan was angered when the Garden of Eden was given to Adam and Eve. No parallels to this specific idea are known, though the idea of the organization of the angels on a military pattern is very old. Usual explanations of Satan's animus against humans differ.[51]

The rabbinic interpretation of these verses also understood them in a military way; see *Gen. Rab.* 74:17 and 75:10. Elsewhere in rabbinic literature these verses are quoted to prove that "camp" is a reference to angels, even without a specific designation. In *Exod. Rab.* 15:6 the camp of Israel in the desert is presented as the earthly equivalent of the heavenly camp of the angels. The divine designation "Lord of Hosts" refers to God as head of the heavenly armies of angels.[52] The term "prince" (שר) used in Dan 10:13, 20, 21, etc. for angels is also a military term. Compare the description of the angelic host as an army in *1 En.* 1:4 and in many other places.

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

The legend of the fallen angels occurs in various ancient sources,[53] and a number of elements that appear throughout the texts discussed here point to it. According to Łewond C8, the angels are commanded to adore Adam.[54] This single element is part of the tradition found in *L.A.E.* about Satan's rebellion. Satan rebels because he refuses to bow down to Adam; see *L.A.E.* 13–16.[55] Another element from this legend is the mention of the Garden of Eden as the rebellious angels' camp referred to above,[56] behind which lies speculation as to the original heavenly location of the fallen angels. Earlier on, Łewond C8 says that commandments are given in tandem to Adam and to the angels. Each could have disobeyed God; indeed, Satan, one of the angels, rebelled, while Adam and Eve also sinned. In both instances, the texts are concerned with the disobedience of the angels and of humans and its implications.[57]

50. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5.

51. See chapter 1 §3.3 and see also Gen 32:2–4 for the idea of a camp of angels.

52. In a very vivid description of the heavenly throne in *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 4, the four archangels are said to each lead the "camps" on the different sides of the throne; see Friedlander 1981, 22.

53. In general on this topic, among others relating to angelic hosts, see Reed 2005.

54. Łewond 4.

55. Anderson and Stone 1999, 15–18. This story is missing from the Greek *L.A.E.* The omission is discussed in Stone 1993.

56. In the Latin version of *L.A.E.* 13:1 Satan says he was expelled from heaven.

57. Nothing else is found on this topic in other sources.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

The "intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light" referred to by Grigoris Aršaruni C7 are clearly the angels.[58] Light as a characteristic both of the dwelling place of the angels and of the Godhead itself is found throughout the texts.

Nothing is said in the texts from the tenth–eleventh centuries about the purpose of the creation of angels, about their relationship to humans and its similarities and differences, or about their dwelling. In comparison with the fifth-century texts, this constitutes a rather striking change, yet already the sixth- to ninth-century texts said far less about angels than the fifth-century writings. The emphasis of the discussion has shifted.

1.6 Humankind in the Image

As was true already in earlier times, the idea of the creation of man in the image of God (Gen 1:26–27) raised difficulties in the minds of theologians and exegetes. Several approaches developed. One understanding of "in his image" (Gen 1:26) was that humans are "intellectual and rational" like angels, who are intelligent beings.[59] Their exclusively rational nature expresses an aspect of the angels that sets them above humans; so Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[60] In the same passage, Grigoris goes on to argue that, while the image is "intellectual and rational," humans in their sexuality resemble the sensible beings. In Grigor Magistros's C10 statement, quoted and discussed above (§1.1.2), the two elements of which man was created, dust and the spirit, were regarded as the origins of the affective and the intellectual. Grigor Magistros does not mention the term "image."

Grigor Narekac'i C10 says that the soul is the created image of God, the likeness of his form, thus reflecting both phrases of Gen 1:27. Elsewhere, he specifies that the nature of the rational man was created in the image of God and therefore had the Creator's grace.[61] Bringing these two ideas together—that the spirit is related to the intellectual or perceptive, and that the rational is the image—the texts present a clear and distinctive view.[62] These two patterns derive exegetically from Gen 1:26 and 2:7. Both function in the same way to explain the

58. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Note that the "intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday" (*ibid.*, 116).

59. See also §§1.3 and 1.5 above, where this perception of the angels is mentioned.

60. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

61. Grigor Narekac'i 18; and see 11.

62. Grigor Narekac'i 1 naturally asserts that man was created in the image; similarly in *Book of Lamentation* 46.3 (excerpt 18). A similar general statement is found in Gēorg Ložec'i 2. None of these is significant for our discussion, since they do not go beyond the biblical text itself.

rational, intellectual aspect of humans, while attributing the physical to Adam's molding from the dust.

According to Step'anos Siwnec'i C8,[63] when man was created he had rationality, that is, knowledge of good and evil. He had free will[64] but was good. Moreover, man's free will was inherent in his being in the image, for God had free will: so states Komitas Kat'ołikos C6 quoting Irenaeus.[65] In many texts, intelligence is related to free will: how else, they imply, could wisdom be shown forth but in the autonomous choice of free will?

A similar view is proposed by Łewond C8, who asks, "How might you think that God says this passive body is his image?" The divine image, then, is something other than this passive body. This statement seems to take a polemical stance against views like those of Agat'angełos C5 and of Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, which I discuss immediately below. Łewond explains that it means that God put into man mind, spirit, and speech, in the likeness of himself, his Spirit, and his Word.[66] Łewond certainly stresses nonmaterial aspects of humans—spirit, mind, and speech that are allied with "rationality"; cf. Grigoris Aršaruni C7 (above in this section). He does not try to reconcile this exegesis with the incarnation of Christ.

A second understanding of the image is more literal. The Creator made man in his image. Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7, who makes this statement, does not discuss how this is compatible with the proper understanding of God, as Agat'angełos had done two centuries before.[67] However, a rather literal view seems to be implied by the continuation of his words that, in the end, God made himself into man's image. This refers, of course, to the incarnation of Christ (see Yovhan Ōjnec'i excerpt 1) and so the reversal of Gen 1:26 goes along with Christ as the New Adam reversing Adam's sin. Thus, Adam is in the image of God, and the incarnated Christ is in the image of Adam. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's statement that Emanuel is in man's image implies the same.[68] Indeed, consideration of the incarnation of Christ seems to have reinforced this idea powerfully, if it was not its point of origin. This notion is also clearly present when Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 states that Adam says, "my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me."[69]

A third line of exegesis sees the image expressed not in the form of humans but in their lordship, which derives from the blessing in Gen 1:28–30, espe-

63. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.
64. T'ovma Arcruni 1.
65. Komitas Kat'ołikos 4.
66. Łewond 4. Behind this statement lie trinitarian ideas.
67. Agat'angełos 18–19; see chapter 1 §1.6
68. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 1; Step'anos Siwnec'i 1.
69. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 4. In a literary play on this, in a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave in T'ēop'ilos 3, the grave says that it took man who was in the image of God and made him in its (the grave's) image.

cially 1:28. Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 stresses this when he calls man "the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship," whom God honored by creating with his own hands.[70] Step'anos also describes this lordship as being connected with glory, presumably drawing on the idea of the glory that inheres in kings.[71] In the next century, T'ovma Arcruni C9 repeats the ideas of Adam's lordship and royal glory, stating that Adam in the Garden was crowned with honor, glory, and princely splendor.[72] T'ovma Arcruni combines this idea with that of the free will of humans and cites Ps 8:5–6 in this connection.[73] Step'anos Siwnec'i speaks of God's adorning man with light, with the divine glory.[74] Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10 also stresses Adam's creation with the characteristic of lordship or power.[75]

Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a disquisition on why God created Adam in the image. He suggests a number of reasons: that Adam was according to the image, for God would put on the image in the incarnation; that he was according to the image in being immortal; and in that he was "lord of all and autonomous (in will)." Taking up a theme mentioned in the fifth-century sources, Tiranun *vardapet* says that when Adam opened his eyes, he saw God, who had taken on a human appearance.[76] Thus, he combines several lines of exegesis of the image.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

That God established Eden is asserted already in Gen 2:8, and see further Grigor Narekac'i C10.[77] This is the unanimous view expressed in the Armenian sources.

In the period under consideration, ideas start to develop about the geographical location of the Garden of Eden. T'ovma Arcruni C9 informs us that the Garden is in the very east (compare Gen 2:8), and nobody lives beyond it.[78] The eastern location is in itself not surprising, though the comment that nobody lived beyond it is new. Grigor Magistros C10 says that the Garden of Eden was to

70. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7.

71. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 7. "Glory" is Armenian փառք. The particular association of glory with kings is an ancient theme, found already in Iranian sources. See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962, 215–16, 293, 300, etc.; James Russell 1987, 347, 520, etc. Adam's glory is mentioned in Ben Sira 49:16.

72. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

73. T'ovma Arcruni 1. Psalm 8:5–9 = Arm 8:6–10 reads: "[5]Yet you have made them a little lower than God, and crowned them with glory and honor. [6]You have given them dominion over the works of your hands; you have put all things under their feet, [7]all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field, [8]the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea, whatever passes along the paths of the seas. [9]O Lord, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth!"

74. Step'anos Siwnec'i 20.

75. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

76. Tiranun *vardapet* 15. See §2.6 below, where Adam's naming of the creatures is related to his creation in the image of God.

77. Grigor Narekac'i 26 and 27.

78. T'ovma Arcruni 2.

the east and was adorned with plants and trees heavy with fruit,[79] while Grigor Narekac'i C10 characterizes it as "a site of dwelling, a desirable place, | And a garden of life, flourishing with plants."[80] This is a rather literal understanding of the physical character of the Garden, which may be contrasted with the view in *Yačapatum Čaṙk'* C5 104, which stresses its noetic character.

T'ovma Arcruni C9 says that the stream that flows out of Eden (Gen 2:10), sinks below the earth and emerges in four parts.[81] The actual way the stream came out of the Garden was the subject of some discussion. One of the options, already suggested by Ephrem Syrus, talks about the subterranean flowing of four streams, which resembles the idea known to T'ovma Arcruni here.[82]

The Garden is luminous and does not require the light of the sun or moon. The luminosity of the paradisiacal realm is considerably emphasized in the later traditions embedded in apocryphal and other literature.[83] It is connected with very old ideas of the brightness of the creation light, called by the rabbis "the light of the seven days (i.e., the week of creation)."[84] It is clear, therefore, that in his description of the Garden of Eden, T'ovma Arcruni C9 utilizes a number of traditions that are not found in preceding Armenian authors. According to tenth-century sources, the Garden contained luminous glory[85] and delightful splendor.[86] Anania Sanahnec'i C11 speaks of its blossoming trees and verdant branches.[87] None of the animals, including the serpent, was admissible to the Garden.[88] According to Tiranun *vardapet* C10, "Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect."[89]

The idea that the Garden of Eden was on a mountain was not explicitly

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79. Grigor Magistros 8.

80. Grigor Narekac'i 29; cf. 14.

81. T'ovma Arcruni 2. On the stream that flows from Eden and its underground channels, see Nira Stone 2008. T'ovma Arcruni is one of the oldest Armenian witnesses to this idea.

82. An example occurs in the Syriac *Commentary on Genesis* (2.6.4.) by Ephrem Syrus (306–373 C.E.), who writes, "Because Paradise is on a great height, the rivers are swallowed up again and they go down to the sea as if through a tall water-duct and they pass through the land which is under the sea into this land" (E. G. Mathews and Amar 1994, 101). That paradise was on a mountain was a common theme, and Ephrem's description of the rivers is clearly the same concept as is later represented visually by Avramenc' in J285, and it can be documented elsewhere. Ephrem's works were widely known.

83. So T'ovma Arcruni 2. See, e.g., Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, 1.2.13–14 (Stone 2007a, 91–92, and index s.v. "light").

84. *Gen. Rab.* ch. 12; *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* ch. 51.

85. See Grigor Narekec'i 5. Concerning the Edenic glory, see also the poem *On the Fall of Adam*, stanza 3 (Stone 1996a, 7; see also *ibid.*, 20, 112–13. These latter sources, however, are hard to date. Glory in the Garden is a much-hymned theme in later texts; see, e.g., Stone 2007a, index, s.v. "glory."

86. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

87. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.

88. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

89. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

present in the fifth-century Armenian sources, though it was conceivably hinted at by P'awstos.[90] In the treatise *On the Explanation of Numbers,* Anania Širakac'i C7 states that "Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height."[91] This seems quite clearly to refer to Eden on a mountain; the idea is known already to Ephrem Syrus in Syriac, but in no earlier Armenian sources is it as explicit as here.

In an intriguing passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 speaks of Adam as being "cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of glory."[92] However, it seems unlikely that in this context "cast down to earth" implies a mountain. In fact, the mention of the seven spiritual classes seems to refer to a heavenly status and not the geography of paradise, for the text continues: "he was transformed from spirit into body, . . . he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety." This was falling down from seven qualities.

Adam was brought into paradise like a king into his court, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C7,[93] evoking a widespread image of Adam as king.[94] As for corruptibility in the Garden, corruption was present from creation on, since eating implies corruptibility (Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7).[95] Had God not considered the nutritional need to be primary, he would not have created the Garden with fruit-bearers, and he would not have commanded man to eat (Gen 2:16). This view, of course, raises problems about Adam's paradisiacal state.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

A number of authorities say that God placed Adam in the Garden, which adds nothing to the biblical text.[96]

90. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

91. Anania Širakac'i 1. For Eden on a height, compare Brock 1982, 11–37 especially p. 12; Henze 2001, 558–59 n. 20; Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis* 2.6.4 in Mathews and Amar 1994, 101 and note there; Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise* 1.4–5 in Brock 1990, 51; and Murray 1975, 306–10.

92. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13. Note the expression "falling" or "cast down to earth," relating to fallen angels; see Step'anos Siwnec'i in §4.2 below; cf. also §3.2.

93. Grigoris Aršaruni 4.

94. See §1.6 above. Adam is sometimes painted in later sources with a crown, and sometimes Adam and Eve are represented with crowns. See the illumination of crowned Adam in J1667 of 1529; on a Kütahya tile of ca. 1720 in St. Ejmiacin Chapel in the Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem, with a crowned Adam; Adam and Eve in the Paris Hymnal of 1591; and others. See fig. 1.

95. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 2. Compare the question of the three men (divine beings) eating as Abraham's guests; see Stone 2012, *Story of Father Abraham* 13–16, *Story of Father Abraham* A 25, etc. The theological issues raised there are not prefigured here.

96. Grigor Narekac'i 1; Grigor Magistros 11; compare Gen 2:8.

Fig. 1. Crowned Adam with Eve, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate J1667 of the year 1529. Photo by M. Stone.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

According to the *History* attributed to Anania Širakac‘i C7, Adam received the commandment from God’s mouth.[97] Initially, the commandment that God gave to Adam was to fast, so the command not to eat of the tree was taken as a sort of fasting. Adam fell, deceived by mortal fruit, and then he became an eater of grass, like the animals. As a result, the earth was cursed, and hard agricultural labor was instituted—“by the sweat of your brow you shall eat bread” (Gen 3:17–19), so Xosrovik T‘argmanič‘ C8 states.[98] Note that Xosrovik shares this exegesis with the *L.A.E.*[99]

One of the few passages in which the purpose of the divine commandment is discussed is by T‘ovma Arcruni C9. He states that the commandment was given to help Adam reach greater goals.[100] Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7 wrote a long passage in which good and evil are likened to two trees. Underlying this passage is clearly a metaphor drawing on Genesis 1–3, and particularly on Gen 3:7.[101]

Grigor Magistros C10 describes the two trees in the Garden as “most incorruptible and luminous . . . superior and more significant.”[102] Both, he says, were forbidden. This statement, of course, combines with Gen 2:17, in which Adam is commanded not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and Gen 3:22, where God says, “See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever.” Thus, there are two forbidden trees, the tree of knowledge (Gen 2:17) and the tree of life (Gen 3:22).[103] Further, Grigor Magistros says, “For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God’s teaching and commandments,”[104] making the allegorical meaning of the trees explicit. God did not proscribe them initially because of envy, but forbade eating of them until the proper time. The prohibition was only for a short time, for both trees were destined as food for Adam.[105] In line with this exegesis, Grigor Magistros states elsewhere that Adam and Eve abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life—and that only temporarily—for by “eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God.”[106] This should be taken as elliptical, for

97. Anania Širakac‘i 5.

98. Xosrovik T‘argmanič‘ 3.

99. *L.A.E.* 3:1 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 3) and *Pen. Adam* [44](16):2–3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 65).

100. T‘ovma Arcruni 2.

101. Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i 1.

102. Grigor Magistros 8.

103. Of course, scholars of the Hebrew Bible analyze these passages differently, but Grigor Magistros reads them as one seamless whole.

104. Grigor Magistros 10.

105. Grigor Magistros 8.

106. Grigor Magistros 12.

nowhere else is the tree called "of knowledge of life." Similarly Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that the tree was not in itself evil but received negative value due to the commandment.[107]

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

The idea that the protoplasts had sexual intercourse in the Garden is far from explicit in the thoughts of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, who, however, uses suggestive imagery to talk of Adam as a king placed in the Garden with Eve, his queen, "so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride."[108]

Intercourse, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 implies, was connected with Adam and Eve's recognition, after their sin, that they were naked. The recognition, he says, "was knowing their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman."[109] This statement does not say explicitly that they had intercourse in the Garden, but that a consciousness of nakedness and the inception of intercourse followed on the eating of the fruit.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 asserts that it is clear that Adam must have eaten in the Garden and that God "fed the body with fruit without labor."[110]

Moreover, Yovhan Ōjnecʻi C8 says that the Genesis story teaches us about a number of aspects of human character. From the threat in Gen 2:17, we learn that a disposition to fear was inherent in humans; from "to till and to keep" (Gen 2:15), we learn of labor and care;[111] from "God caused a deep sleep to fall" (Gen 2:21), we learn of the action of sleep.[112] Similarly, Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi C8 observed that in his nature Adam had fear (from Gen 2:17) and will (inferred from his disobedience).[113] However, Yovhan Ōjnecʻi observed, prescience is not inherent in human nature but is sometimes given as a gift.[114]

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107. Tiranun *vardapet* 7.

108. Grigoris Aršaruni 4. Compare chapter 1 §2.3, where Agatʻangełos's text seems to imply that this was the case.

109. Tiranun *vardapet* 8.

110. Grigoris Aršaruni 17; see also §2.0 above. In chapter 1 §1.4 we observed that the Armenian word պահք ("fast") may indicate a limited abstention, such as from the fruit, not necessarily complete abstention from food.

111. According to Grigor Narekacʻi 1, God commanded Adam to work and keep the Garden, closely following Gen 2:15 Compare also Grigor Narekacʻi 6.

112. Yohan Ōjnecʻi 3.

113. Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi 13.

114. Yovhan Ōjnecʻi 3.

Yovhan Ōjnec'i continues that, as long as Adam strove to keep the commandment, he was not subject to death and corruption, but when he sinned he fell under their yoke.[115] Above in §2.0, I noted that Yovhan Ōjnec'i regards corruptibility as a correlative of Adam's eating, though I observed that this is in tension with the idea that Adam was created immortal, for he ate before he sinned, by divine commandment. Adam was created truly very close to God.

Adam in the Garden had զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօտ եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս, "splendour and plenitude, and painless and immortal life."[116] In this statement we find a sort of summary of the main aspects of Adam's paradisiacal state. He wore a luminous garment; that is, he was surrounded by glory.[117] Yakob Cpatec'i C10 says, "The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendour of the Garden."[118] Naturally, when we examine the things that Adam lost by sinning and the ramifications of the curses, we can learn what qualities he had before sinning.[119] Such things were immortality, splendor, an untroubled life, sinlessness, and proximity to God.

A little different from these ideas, which are widespread, is Grigor Narekec'i C10's assertion that Adam in the Garden had the gifts of the spirit.[120] Moreover, he adds, after eating the fruit he did not totally lose them. He had the prophetic spirit while he was in the Garden, even after the sin. This is witnessed by the fact that even after eating the fruit, he still knew prophetically of salvation to come through the Virgin and for that reason called Eve "mother of all living" (Gen 3:20).

Uxtanēs C10 stresses Adam's royal function, denoting him "king," which was a result of the blessing in Gen 1:28. First, the kingdom was created, Uxtanēs says, and then the king entered.[121] This royal language is used also by Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.[122] The idea is highlighted by Timot'ēos *vardapet* C10, who says, "he made Adam, in the state[123] of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship."[124]

115. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 4.

116. Grigor Narekec'i 6. Grigor Magistros 10 speaks of Adam's "untroubled life."

117. T'ēop'ilos 4; Anania Sanahnec'i 1; and compare Grigor Narekac'i 14 and 18; Xosrow Anjewac'i 3 uses the term պատուալից ("full of glory, honor").

118. Yakob Cpatec'i 1.

119. See §4.2 below.

120. Grigor Narekac'i 5.

121. Uxtanēs 1.

122. Grigor Magistros 11. Compare also the language of kingship in §§1.6 and 2.0.

123. Or: form.

124. Timot'ēos *vardapet* 2.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The creation of the animals is not discussed in the sixth- to ninth- and eleventh-century excerpts and is mentioned only once in a tenth-century text. “God made the creatures fully complete, perfect and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, Paradise and fruit and animals and cattle are perfect,” says Tiranun *vardapet* C10.[125] Not much more is said about the creation of fauna.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam’s naming of the creatures was a major topic in the fifth century but disappears from the discussion in the sixth to ninth centuries. Grigor Magistros C10 takes it up again in *To Manuč‘ē* and sees the naming as an outcome of Adam’s lordship over the earth.[126] Grigor Narekac‘i C10 held the same view. Thus, Adam knew the names of the animals through the Holy Spirit.[127] Grigor Narekac‘i also developed the idea that as long as Adam was in the Garden, that is, between the sin and his expulsion, he “did not totally lose the Spirit.” This “residual” Spirit is connected with the second naming of Eve in Gen 3:20, which took place shortly before the expulsion. Grigor Narekac‘i C10 maintains that Adam did not, in fact, sin through pride, though he ate the fruit.[128] Thus, he maintained a modicum of the prophetic spirit. Adam’s second naming of his wife, Eve, which is related in Gen 3:20, was prophetic, for he was prophesying that through her life would come by means of the Virgin. It is beyond doubt that this prophetic act was performed not merely after eating the fruit but after the curses.[129]

Timot‘ēos *vardapet* C10 has a very similar view of naming. God gave Adam the names, and Adam gave them to the animals. Thus God honored him as a participant in creation.[130] Timot‘ēos *vardapet* stresses naming as part of the process of creation, which is highlighted by his observation that names are necessary for life.[131] Unlike Grigor Narekac‘i, Timot‘ēos has no problem with Adam sinning. Tiranun *vardapet* C10 also thinks that God, by permitting Adam to name the

125. Tiranun *vardapet* 1. Compare also excerpt 3.

126. Grigor Magistros 11.

127. Grigor Narekec‘i 5. In spite of the apparent meaning of the sentence, it is clear from the continuation that Adam named the animals before he sinned, which is also the biblical order of events.

128. See chapter 3 §4.1.1.

129. On the naming, see Stone 2007b. The prophetic spirit is discussed in §2.4 above.

130. Timot‘ēos *vardapet* 4.

131. By presenting Adam as a partner in creation, Timot‘ēos *vardapet* makes his wish to become like God the more blameworthy; see Timot‘ēos *vardapet* 4.

creatures, made him a participant in the act of creation, because Adam was created in the image.[132]

2.7 The Type of Tree

In a hymn, Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi C7 says that the tree is mortal; that is, it causes death. Subsequently, this becomes a common designation for it: compare *Adam Fragment 1*: "If this mortal tree is so shining and bright . . . ."[133] In none of the texts I excerpted from the sixth–eleventh centuries is the type of tree mentioned, such as a fig, a vine, or an apple, only that it was a fruit-bearing tree. It is usually described as being splendid, with sweet fruit.[134] The fig tree is mentioned in connection with the cursing of Adam by Tʻēopʻilos *vardapet* C9, but is not related to the tree of knowledge.[135] This is, of course, based on an exegesis of Gen 3:6–8. In §2.2 above, I have discussed the description of the tree of knowledge in the Garden.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

As Adam became the inverse type of Christ, so Eve was the inverse type of the Virgin. She is set into a correlative relationship with the Virgin. A number of her characteristics are highlighted, and statements are made about her that are best understood in light of this developing typology. God called Eve life (Gen 3:20), for he knew that just as death is caused by a woman, so is life.[136] The statement, quoted in §2.6, that Eve was rightly called the mother of all living because she was the ancestor of the Virgin, makes this correlation more explicit. In the "Panegyric of the Holy Cross" attributed to Dawitʻ the Invincible C7, Eve is called "the virgin born of Adam,"[137] which seems to be a deliberate reversal of the idea of Christ born of the Virgin. A similar dynamic may be observed in Grigoris Aršaruni C7's statement that the birth of Christ took place on account of Eve.[138] This is, of course, literally so, according to the biblical account, but it is emphasized and creates a sort of chiastic typology. From another perspective, the Virgin is said to annul Eve's դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation")

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132. Tiranun *vardapet* 3.

133. Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi 2, and see further 3. See Stone 1982, 6–9.

134. In a poetic context, Grigor Narekacʻi describes the fruit as "[t]he bitter fruit of this tree rooted in Hell," but "rooted in Hell" is surely metaphorical, speaking of the result of eating its fruit. See excerpt 20.

135. Tʻēopʻilos *vardapet* 1. See also in Tʻēopʻilos's list of things lost by Adam's sin (4).

136. Grigoris Aršaruni 5. In Genesis, it is Adam who calls her "life." Grigoris attributes this to God speaking through Adam in prophecy.

137. Dawitʻ the Invincible 1.

138. Grigoris Aršaruni 5.

eschatologically.[139] Another approach arises from Eve's culpability for the sin in the Garden. Thus, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 describes her as "lazy, naked, slow-minded . . . going around dancing in the Garden."[140]

In §1.1.1 above, I discussed the views as to the day of the week on which Adam was created. There apparently existed a tradition that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday. This, to some extent, resembles Adam. God thought of Adam on Wednesday but created him only on Friday. Grigoris Aršaruni quoted this tradition but doubted its reliability because it reflects ideas not in the biblical text.[141] I cannot locate its origin more specifically. It seems rather likely that the development of ideas about Eve was connected with the growing role the Virgin came to play in Armenian devotion.

The traditions relating to Eve's creation are mentioned here only when they supplement or differ from the biblical account. Note that Tiranun *vardapet* C10 says that Adam recognized Eve in his sleep.[142] He also says that Adam, Eve, paradise, and the fauna and flora were created perfect.[143] Eve spoke with the serpent outside the Garden, since the serpent could not enter it. This reflects the idea in *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1, which reads, "And the two of them [i.e., Satan and the serpent] came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden"—that is, they were outside it. In *Pen. Adam* [44](18):6 the serpent says, "Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit." So we learn that the serpent was locked outside. Certain pictures of the temptation show the serpent outside the wall of the Garden: for example, Matenadaran M4820 (fourteenth century), fol 4a.[144]

Indeed, Grigor Narekac'i C10 particularly stresses Eve's culpability for the sin. Her motive for sin was the desire to become (a) god, while Adam's was his love of Eve. In other terms, Grigor Narekac'i sets primary culpability squarely on Eve's shoulders when he says that she was beguiled by the serpent but Adam was not, for he had the prophetic spirit.[145] In other passages Grigor Narekac'i repeats the idea that it was Eve who was culpable for sins.[146] The same point of view

139. Grigor Narekac'i 24 and 25; see also excerpt 2, though the statement is only implied there.

140. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 7.

141. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. Grigoris constructs the Wednesday pattern: because light was created on Wednesday, the annunciation of the perceptible light issuing from the Father was on Wednesday; as living creatures appeared on Wednesday, so the mother of living was created on Wednesday.

142. Tiranun *vardapet* 4.

143. Tiranun *vardapet* 1.

144. This is reproduced in Stone 2002, 83; the serpent outside the Garden is discussed on pp. 82–84.

145. See Grigor Narekac'i 5 and compare the discussion of his statement in §4.2.

146. Eve is culpable for sins (Grigor Narekac'i 5).

is forwarded by Tiranun *vardapet* C10[147] and also supported Anania Narekac‘i C10, citing 1 Tim 2:14 as stating, “Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned].” This is actually a variant on 1 Timothy’s text, which reads, “Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived.” The Armenian text of 1 Timothy reads “deceived” (պատրեցաւ) and Anania replaces this with “sinned” (մեղաւ),

Simēon Ałjnec‘i C10 says that Eve sinned with all five senses.[148] This is another instance of the introduction of a Greek category into biblical exegesis, like the turning of the dust from which Adam was created into the four elements. Grigor Magistros C10 exhibits a different attitude to Adam’s sin, when he compares Eve’s insinuation of pernicious words to the serpent’s.[149] Moreover, her subordinate role is reflected in the curse “he shall rule over you” (Gen 3:16).[150]

According to Simēon Ałjnec‘i C10, Eve is buried in a cave in Shechem, in the portion of Benjamin. This odd tradition, identifying Hebron and Shechem, also appears in later Armenian texts.[151] Grigor Narekac‘i says that Eve will flourish together with Adam in the Garden at the eschaton.[152]

3.0 Satan

Satan is “he who fought with the Forefather” according to Anania Širakac‘i C7.[153] In chapter 1 §3.1 (end) I discussed how the language of war and fighting typified Satan’s attack on Eve in apocryphal sources (including the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 11:2), but it was not found in the fifth-century Armenian authors examined. The terminology of Satan, serpent, and dragon (*višap*) becomes very much interwoven in the sources being discussed here.[154]

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147. Tiranun *vardapet* 16.

148. Simēon Ałjnec‘i 1; on four elements, see §1.1.2 above.

149. Grigor Magistros 2.

150. Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos 1; Tiranun *vardapet*, 14.

151. Simēon Ałjnec‘i 1. See the note on the text of this passage. In *Memorial of the Forefathers* 23 (Stone 2012, 69), we find a similar confusion: “And Abraham bought the cave in Hebron, which is Shechem, from the sons of Emovr.” The passage actually refers to the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Gen 23:8–18; 49:3), and this passage’s further confusion of Hebron and Shechem is notable. Shechem is not in the territory of Benjamin. The same confusion occurs in the Synaxarium text (§14) published in the same work, where it says that Abraham was buried with Sarah, “in Shechem, in the cave of Hebron.” It is unclear how Shechem entered the burial tradition, but “Ephron” may have been confused with “Hebron.” Some rabbinic traditions place Adam and Eve’s burial in the Cave of Machpelah in Hebron: see *Pirqe R. El.* ch. 36; *b. ‘Erub.* 5b and 3a; *b. Soṭah* 13a; *b. B. Bat.* 58a; and *Gen. Rab.* 58:8. On this motif, see also Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

152. Grigor Narekac‘i 2.

153. զայն որմարտեաւն ընդ նախահօրն: Anania Širakac‘i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247. This passage is not given here among the excerpts from Širakac‘i, since it is in a poor textual condition.

154. The different patterns of relationship between Satan and the serpent are discussed in the appendix, “Satan and the Serpent.”

Anania Mokacʻi Katʻołikos C10 says that Satan was the cause of all evil and he deceived Eve.[155] Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi C10 asserts that he caused Adam's expulsion from the Garden.[156]

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

When we examine the actual relationship between Satan and the serpent, the only explicit statement is by Tʻovma Arcruni C9, who says that Satan nested in the serpent.[157] Earlier Satan had been said to ride on the serpent, to enter into him, and the terms "instrument" or "lyre" denoted the serpent's role.[158] The language of the serpent as the instrument of Satan or the lyre upon which he played is not prominent in the sources discussed in the present chapter.[159]

In more general terms, in the biblical epic poem *To Manučʻē,* Grigor Magistros C10 says: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue | Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."[160] Here the idea is that Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. That event is described clearly in the primary Adam books. There Satan plays on the serpent's pride, just as his own pride has motivated him to his hatred of Adam; see *Pen. Adam* 12.1–16.3. Tiranun *vardapet* C10 observes that Satan co-opted the willing serpent.[161]

In an eschatological prophecy in *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus,* Grigor Narekacʻi C10 speaks of the punishment of "the first [i.e., primordial] serpent" and his Deceiver, together with his servants, that is, the demons.[162] Thus, he clearly knows the idea that Satan deceived the serpent. He distinguishes between Satan and the primordial serpent and associates the demons with Satan. In his *Commentary on Song of Songs,* he speaks of "the serpent's false promise, which was through Satan." Here, too, the distinction between the two villains is preserved, and Satan's use of the serpent as an instrument is described.[163]

The dragon-serpent wished to become god of the material world, states Grigoris Aršaruni C7. This statement seems to imply that the dragon-serpent's ambition was limited to the material world.[164] Is this just a restatement of Lucifer's ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14), which was very early interpreted of Satan? Or is

155. Anania Mokacʻi Katʻołikos 1. Observe that only Satan is mentioned in this context, without the serpent.

156. Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi 1.

157. Stone 2008a, 146–47; the only other source we discovered with this "nesting" image is Grigoris Ałtʻamaracʻi 2. See Tʻovma Arcruni 4.

158. Stone 2008a, 141–86.

159. Stone 2008a, 148–49; 2009, 91. On the above images, see the appendix.

160. Grigor Magistros 12.

161. Tiranun *vardapet* 10.

162. Grigor Narekacʻi 3.

163. Grigor Narekacʻi 5.

164. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

it a deliberate modeling of the serpent-dragon in the material world after Satan-Lucifer? I doubt that such a distinction was maintained systematically. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan's work. In the ninth century, T'ovma Arcruni states that Satan yearned for divine glory, a much more conventional formulation.[165] Yet it combines the Lucifer passage (Isa 14:13–14) with the implications of the serpent's address to Adam and Eve in Gen 3:5.

Grigor Narekac'i C10's phrase "the curse of the first one"[166] refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. Again this indicates that Satan and the serpent fell together in some Armenian sources. In contrast to it, Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos C10's statement that the serpent shall eat earth and that its head will be crushed conforms to the usual exegesis of the biblical curse.[167]

The serpent's wiliness and deception, featured already in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros C10's reference to the serpent's pernicious words of deception[168] and Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that it insinuated itself into Garden.[169] Observe that apparently this contradicts the tradition mentioned in §2.8 above, that the serpent could not enter the Garden.[170] Grigor Narekac'i C10 mentions deception by Satan, when in fact in the biblical text the deception was by the serpent.[171] Likewise, Grigor Magistros mentions Satan's words of insinuation, which must refer to the serpent's speech.[172] Similarly, the two figures fall together in Xosrov Anjewac'i C10's statement that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was the maker of gods.[173]

On other occasions, Grigor Narekac'i speaks only of deception by the serpent, as do Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i C10 and others.[174] Tiranun *vardapet* C10 discusses the serpent's power of speech and also infers from the curse in Gen 3:14, that he lost his feet.[175] This is a common exegetical strategy.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The Evil One, here called *višap* ("dragon-serpent"; see §3.1), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with

165. T'ovma Arcruni 3.
166. Grigor Narekac'i 24.
167. Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1.
168. Grigor Magistros 2.
169. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.
170. See §2.8 above. The dominant iconography of the temptation shows the serpent wrapped around the tree of knowledge.
171. Grigor Narekac'i 17. See the preceding paragraph.
172. Grigor Magistros 2.
173. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.
174. See Grigor Narekac'i 7; Samuēl Kamrǰajorec' 6; and cf. Simēon Ałjnec'i 3.
175. Tiranun *vardapet* 9, 10, and 11.

his free will to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment.[176] This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features.[177] Because Satan is referred to as *višap* "dragon, serpent" and falls from his glory,[178] he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In the texts discussed in this section, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit, though it is clear from Grigoris Aršaruni C7, quoted in the preceding section, that he aspired to God's throne. Moreover, according to Grigor Narekac'i C10, Satan was an angel who fell because of his exaltation and arrogance,[179] which is part of the same complex of ideas.[180] As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 claims that Satan was fearless and that this weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this paradigm, he says.[181] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 says that the King of glory with his hosts bound the brigand-serpent and condemned it to death.[182] According to Grigoris Aršaruni's text, the sin of the brigand-serpent is the seduction of humans. At this point he seems to be talking about the serpent of the Garden, and he formulates its punishment analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris has said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world." Obviously, this is not the serpent's sin. The punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. Being bound and condemned to death was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *1 En.* 10:4–7.

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan and says:

> The heart of Satan was raised up prior to his fall, who in rebellion wished to be raised above his companions. For this reason he was debased to this great fall before the mighty God. And this happened prior to his expectation;[183] while he

176. See §1.6.

177. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

178. Compare the statements in §2.4 above on Adam's prelapsarian glory. Note also the virtual equivalence of Satan and the dragon in Revelation 12.

179. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

180. Grigor Narekac'i 8.

181. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 3.

182. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

183. This word, which may mean "idea, opinion (as opposed to knowledge), fantasy," is not clear in the context of the passage and is surely derived from the wording of the verse.

> was in the same desire he was brought down and debased before everyone. He who was the shining morning star,[184] was named darkness because of his pride, and became so.[185]

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan are evident. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell down from heaven and lost his heavenly luminosity; he was made dark. The reference to the Lucifer passage in Isa 14:13–14 is explicit, and Hamam works out that passage in detail. Grigor Magistros C10 states that Satan was formerly Lucifer.[186] This again brings Isa 14:12 together with the fall of Satan. Elsewhere, it has been observed that this occurs at an early time explicitly only in the Latin version of the primary Adam book.[187] Later, it is a well-established theme. As already noted, this tradition resembles that found in the Armenian *Pen. Adam* 12.1–17.3, though in that version of *L.A.E.* the connection with Isa 14:12 is not made.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that when Satan, the Deceiver, and his followers fell, it amazed the heavenly host because they shared a mark of power being in the glory of the firmament.[188] This is the common view, that Satan was one of the highest angels before he fell. His fall, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty.[189] Indeed, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos expatiates on Satan and his role as an opposing power. God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden by means of the fire and the flaming sword. Observe that in the Bible the flaming sword is directed against Adam, not Satan (Gen 3:24).[190] Subsequently Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 states that Satan drew humans into idolatry, spread death, created a kingdom in hell, and imprisoned spirits there so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.[191] He blames Satan for the sin even more severely than he blames Adam and Eve.

3.3 Satan's Envy

In the present section I turn our attention to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. The literature being considered refers to deceit as the tool Satan used, and

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184. Or: a brilliant Lucifer,

185. Hamam Arewelc'i 3. Translation from Thomson 2005, 133.

186. Grigor Magistros 12.

187. See Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3. The verse is omitted by the Armenian and Georgian versions.

188. Step'anos Siwnec'i 2.

189. See §1.3, where I explore the military language used of the angels.

190. Above I discussed the idea that the serpent was not allowed to enter the Garden; see §2.8.

191. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven is to be found in *Ques. Ezra* B 6, 12–13, an undated work. There, however, it states that Satan imprisons them in the atmosphere. In the present text by Zak'aria Kat'ołikos, we find the old understanding that Satan built hell to imprison the souls. *Adam Story 1* §14 narrates the same material, but its date is uncertain. "And Satan, having gone happily, built Hell, and all the souls of the progeny of Adam he put in there by means of his demons" (Stone 1996a, 106).

deceit and envy are typical attributes of Satan.[192] In many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, Satan's envy is stressed,[193] though it is not always clear what the cause of his envy was. In my study of the fifth-century sources, I discovered a number of possibilities. These include his envy of Adam's priority in rank; of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life; and his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image.[194]

This is evident from a number of general statements. Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł C7 claims that "the first sin was born of falsehood,"[195] though envy was the cause and deceit the means. In this, Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł's stress is different from the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers—that, above all, envy was the motive. A similar, nonspecific statement is that of Grigoris Aršaruni C7, according to whom the serpent's deception caused unrighteousness.[196] In a hymn, Sahak Jorap'orec'i C7 refers in general terms to the deception by means of the tree and seduction by the serpent.[197] Somewhat more specific is T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7's statement in his "Elegy on the Cross" that envy is the cause.[198] He still does not specify of what the serpent is envious, a lack of specificity that we observed from Wis 2:24 on. Elsewhere, T'ēodoros says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name. This probably means that Satan argued that the divine command was invalid, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen 3:5).[199]

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 asserts that Satan was envious of man, who inherited the Garden, which was the empty camp of the rebellious angels.[200] On the whole, however, as can be seen from the story of his fall discussed in the preceding section, the texts are silent on this point. However, Satan's envy itself is a major theme: Վառեալ՝ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային, "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue." Grigor Magistros C10 here also refers to envy and to flattery, which were Satan's tools.[201] He says, "By the envy of the Deceiver, the flattery of the dissembler," where the Deceiver is doubtless Satan, and the dissembler is probably the serpent.

Satan's aim was to prevent humans from returning to immortality.[202] The

192. See Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1; Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i 3; Tiranun *vardapet* 12 ("deceitful enemy" where "enemy" is a fixed appellation of Satan; see §3.1); Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i 2.

193. See chapter 1 §3.3.

194. *Ibid.* These subjects are discussed in greater detail in the appendix §3.2–3.3.

195. Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł 1.

196. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

197. Sahak Jorap'orec'i 1.

198. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 4.

199. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 1. Compare *'Abot R. Na. A*, 1 (Schechter 1967, 4). It seems unlikely that some theurgical use of the divine name is referred to here.

200. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5; and see §3.2 above.

201. Grigor Magistros 12.

202. Xosrov Anjewac'i 1.

means by which he achieved this end was deceit. Thus, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i refers to the deceitful Devil,[203] and this expression is complemented by the idea that the serpent deceived Eve and "raised hope for her that he himself was a maker of gods."[204] As observed in §3.1, the distinction between Satan and the serpent is not always sharp, and, in addition, biblical attributes of the serpent are transferred to Satan. Thus, Anania Sanahnec‘i C11 refers to the insidious treachery of the serpent,[205] while the references cited in §3.1 broaden our understanding of the presentation of these two knaves.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

The fifth-century texts were unanimous in stating that Adam's sin was to disobey one small, divine command.[206] In the texts studied in the present chapter, we find a number of themes relating to Adam's sin, but they do not take up the idea of disobedience to a small commandment. A number of authors connect Adam's sin with *hybris*, like that of Satan. This is the view of Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8, who imports Lucifer language into this context and says, "he wished to seize God's unachievable heights . . . he made the destroyer (into) his god, and inherited outer darkness, and was captured by the destruction of death." Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 expresses a similar view.[207]

Step‘anos takes up a theme, also found in Łewond C8, that the Devil made humans his worshipers through idolatry.[208] Above, I have pointed to the idea that Satan sought to make humans worship him, that he was a sort of anti-god.[209] This notion is connected with an idea already found in the Hebrew Bible and other early sources, that idolatrous gods are really demons.[210]

Other authors make various remarks on this subject. The dragon-serpent "bound Adam through his ignorance," says Grigoris Aršaruni C7.[211] Adam's sin was the result of fearlessness according to T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor C7. Moreover, T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor said the same of Satan's sin.[212] Cheirograph ideas may lie

203. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i 2.

204. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 1.

205. Anania Sanahnec‘i 1.

206. Chapter 1 §4.1. That Adam disobeyed God's commandment is mentioned, e.g., in Pseudo-Basil 1, but that it was "one small" commandment is not noted.

207. Step‘anos Siwnec‘i 7 and Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 2.

208. Łewond 4.

209. This theme is very prominent in later texts, such as *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §§32–33 (Stone 1996a, 50–51). There he is also acredited with his own good news, or gospel.

210. Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37; Bar 4:7; Rev 9:20; etc.

211. Grigoris Aršaruni 18. Or: "while he was ignorant."

212. T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor 3. See also §3.2 above.

behind Yovhan Mamikonean C7's unclear statement that sins are, and engender, a debt that needs to be paid.[213]

T'ovma Arcruni C9 stresses Eve's deception and seduction. The process was fueled by her desire for too much glory, which highlights another dimension of the *hybris* theme.[214] The disobedience took place on Friday, according to Grigoris Aršaruni C8.[215] Above, I noted that some authors maintain that Adam was expelled from the Garden because of his love of Eve, not because of a desire to become God.[216] This implies a motivation different from Eve's, which was the desire to become God. In less specific terms Anania Narek'ac'i C10 says that he sinned because "he desired unachievable things."[217]

A letter by Grigor Magistros C10 to Emir Ibrahim preserved in *Girk' T'łtoc'* discusses whether Adam ate the fruit totally against God's command or whether, in fact, God willed it. This may be an issue arising out of polemics.[218] Grigor Magistros C10 demonstrates his learning in the creation narratives of other peoples and asserts that only the oracles of Moses are to be believed.[219] For him, that clinches his argument.

In §1.1.7 the question is discussed of the relationship between Adam's discernment, resulting from the inbreathing of the Spirit, and his ability to sin.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

4.2 The Results of Sin

In a very significant passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 describes Adam's situation after sinning:

> . . . then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory; he was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety: becoming subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman; he lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was

213. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the cheirograph ideas, see §4.7 below.

214. T'ovma Arcruni 3. See the discussion above.

215. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. On the eschatological Friday, they will observe the commandments; see also *ibid.* 11.

216. See §2.8 above; see Grigor Narekec'i 5, cf. 14; Anania Narekac'i 4.

217. Anania Narek'ac'i 3.

218. Grigor Magistros 5, 6, and 7.

219. Grigor Magistros 7.

> exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments.[220]

In this passage, Adam's fall is described. He was a spiritual being, or included in the seven spiritual classes,[221] and, as a result of his sin and fall, he was deprived of glory. T'ēop'ilos C9 lists seven gifts lost by Adam and seven punishments he received in their place.[222]

The Twelve Gifts Lost by Adam, an apocryphal text preserved in later manuscripts, develops this idea, listing the gifts lost and the corresponding sins, using a stereotypical number.[223] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 remarks that Adam lost seven blessings (another stereotypical number) because of his seven sins. Step'anos lists here the seven lost graces, viz., "he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of discernment, of piety." This list draws on ideas that were prominent in the fifth-century texts though discussed little in the immediately subsequent centuries. In particular, we may note the spirit, wisdom, and intellect, which the prior discussion of the divine image stressed greatly; see also above in this chapter §1.6. "Power" (զաւրութիւն) is related to the idea of Adam's lordship (§1.6 above). Again, it is Step'anos Siwnec'i and subsequently T'ovma Arcruni C9, who highlight this dimension of the results of sin. The same loss of spiritual and intellectual qualities,[224] as well as of "resplendent shining ornaments," recurs elsewhere in Step'anos Siwnec'i's writings.

The final major element of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8's passage is death. This is, of course, the leading result of Adam's sin from the Bible on (Gen 3:19; Rom 5:14; cf. *4 Ezra* 3:10; it is not fully explicit in Genesis). In the sixth century, Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr talks of death stemming from Eve and of Eve's descendants spreading it over the universe.[225] Similarly Pseudo-Basil C6 speaks of the loss of immortality and the Garden. He says:

> For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of the immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

His use of the term զխտութեամբ ("with discernment") is of great interest, for not only does it occur in the fifth-century texts, but Step'anos Siwnec'i (above) says that it is one of the things Adam lost after sinning.

220. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

221. Apparently seven angelic groups or hosts. See §2.0 above, where I discuss this passage in detail.

222. T'ēop'ilos 4.

223. See Yacoubian 2003, 45–52. Other copies of this text exist: see also manuscript Matenadaran M5950, 67–68, and Anasyan 1959, col. 264, no. 4. Contrast the twelve eschatological gifts of the righteous in manuscript Matenadaran M6617 of the year 1618. The date of the composition is unknown.

224. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13 and T'ovma Arcruni 6.

225. Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr 3, in a *Šarakan* (Hymn).

In the tenth century both Grigor Magistros and Grigor Narekac‘i describe what happened to Adam as a result of his disobedience as a fall.[226] With his fall, Satan captured Adam and his generations and took them into death and sins, says Xosrov Anjewac‘i C10.[227] Xosrow speaks further of "human souls . . . corrupted by the fault of sin" as an outcome of Adam's eating of the fruit.[228] Indeed, being captured by hell is a chief outcome of Adam's sin, says Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos C10.[229] The same view is held by Anania Narekac‘i C10[230] and is well expressed by Grigor Narekac‘i:

> (46.3–4) 3 Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
> And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
> Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life, . . .

So Adam's fall has implications for all humans.[231] God will undo this result of Adam's sin eschatologically, when hell is destroyed and its captives set free.[232] Equally, the curse on Eve brought about pains, which will be reversed by the Theotokos.[233]

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are discussed in §4.2.1. The serpent is punished as part of the curses.[234] In this context, Grigoris Aršaruni C7, in a passage I have already mentioned, relates to the serpent and its punishment in terms of the type of the thief on the cross and of the bronze serpent in the desert.[235] T‘ovma Arcruni C9 wonders why Satan is not cursed, but only Adam, Eve, and the serpent. His answer touches on the immortality of Satan: as an angel, though a fallen one, he cannot be killed.[236]

There remain a couple of statements distinct from the various understandings of the curses listed above. Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i C7 says that, when Adam disobeyed, "the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted."[237] Since the Bible says that

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226. Grigor Magistros 13 and Grigor Narekac‘i 1. See chapter 1 §1.1.3 (end).

227. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 2. The souls of the dead are said to be taken captive by Satan. See, e.g., *Ques. Ezra* A 7–10 and B 5–6. The complementary terminology of being set free is used of Christ's actions in the Harrowing of Hell and, in general, through his redemptive action. These terms are widespread.

228. Xosrov Anjewac‘i 5.

229. Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos 1.

230. Anania Narekac‘i 1.

231. Grigor Narekac‘i 18. Compare Xosrow Anjewac‘i 2 and 5.

232. Grigor Narekac‘i 2.

233. Grigor Narekac‘i 28.

234. T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor 4 talks about the cross as the instrument of the serpent's punishment.

235. The bronze serpent hung on a pole is compared to the brigand hung on his cross. See Grigoris Aršaruni 18 and compare T‘ēdoros K‘ṙt‘enawor 4.

236. T‘ovma Arcruni 4–5.

237. Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i 1.

Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise, not Jerusalem, as a result of their sin, Sahak's statement clearly reflects the typological identification of paradise and Jerusalem.

The immediate results of the sin are those explicit in the curses in Genesis and those that can be inferred through the exegesis of the biblical text. Adam will be forced to eat animal food and to wear perishable clothing. As to the food, the interpretation arises from the confrontation of Gen 1:29 with 3:17,[238] while the clothing derives from Gen 3:7 and 3:21. The idea that Adam will be bitten by serpents is drawn from the curse in Gen 3:15.[239]

Adam, nonetheless, still retained some of the prophetic spirit after the Fall, shown by his naming of Eve (Gen 3:20), but not as much as before.[240]. Heaven was closed by Adam's action.[241]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of World

The curses of Gen 3:14–19 are a major biblical locus setting forth the results of Adam's sin. During the period under discussion, various authors evoke them, though none works them out in detail. Thus, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 refers to childbirth being painful because of Eve, and the fruit of earth being cursed because of Adam. He views the Annunciation, "he will bless the fruits of your womb" (Luke 1:43) as a reversal of these two curses.[242] T'ovma Arcruni C9 clearly has the curses in mind when he lists "sorrowful life along with death; and painful childbirth," dishonor, and physical labor as part of Adam's punishment.[243] Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10 says that because of Satan, Adam "inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing ground."[244] The cosmic signs observed in chapter 1 §4.2.1 are not mentioned in the sixth- to eleventh-century texts.

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The curses upon humanity include death, pasturing with animals (i.e., eating grass), loss of glory, and bringing forth children in pain, says Grigor Magistros C10 in *To Manuč'ē*.[245] He summarizes the change in Adam's state in the following

238. See Anderson 1992; reprinted in Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 57–81. See also Stone 1981b, xiii–xiv.

239. Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos 1. This curse may ultimately also lie behind the confrontation of Seth, Eve, and the beast (serpent in Latin) in the primary Adam books, compare *Pen. Adam* 37(10):1–39(12):3; and Stone 2000a, 111–32.

240. See §2.6 above; Grigor Narekac'i 5.

241. Grigor Narekac'i 9.

242. Grigoris Aršaruni 11.

243. T'ovma Arcruni 6. On the role of honor or glory, see §1.6 above, where they are connected with Adam's creation in the image.

244. Movsēs Kałankatuac'i 1. Similarly says Step'anos Tarōnec'i 1, though he does not mention Satan explicitly.

245. Grigor Magistros 13.

passage: "He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us."[246]

Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7 expresses the same notion but stresses the idea of Adam's autonomy and free will. Originally, he says, there was no death and no corruption. When Adam sinned, death was added to our nature, not by God but through Adam's free will and the deception of the serpent.[247] According to the formulation by Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, Adam inherited outer darkness and destruction of death captured him.[248] This is one of the first places where the eschatological term "outer darkness" is introduced into the description of the results of Adam's sin. In this passage, through the introduction of this eschatological terminology and of the "Lucifer" terminology, the sin and its results receive a metahistorical dimension.[249] The pair of terms, darkness and death, also occurs in *Pen. Adam* [47](39):3, to which the reference here may well be related.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Glory is a prime quality of Adam,[250] as well as of angels and of the divine, supernal world. It is related to Adam's royal or lordly characteristics in the Garden.[251] In the preceding section, we saw that Eve sinned by aspiring to too much glory.[252] On the other hand, Satan had glory but lost it when he fell;[253] he yearned for it.[254] Thus, as noted in the study of the fifth century, the removal of glory was a major aspect of Adam's loss in the Garden (see §4.2 there).[255]

In earlier texts a good deal was made of "were naked" of Gen 3:11 meaning "became naked, were stripped," that is, of glory.[256] This is also the view of T'ēop'ilos C9, who says, referring to changes engendered by Adam's sin, "instead of wearing light, (he wore) shy nakedness."[257] Pseudo-Basil C6 talks of Adam and Eve being "stripped of immortality," but at most this is an evocation of this exegesis of Gen 3:11.[258] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 mentions in passing the idea

246. Grigor Magistros 8.
247. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 4.
248. Step'anos Siwnec'i 7.
249. For the term "outer darkness," see Matt 8:12; 22:13; and 25:30; see also *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:5, *Ques. Ezra* A 3.
250. Step'anos Siwnec'i 20 and 21: see §§1.4, 1.6, and 2.4.
251. See n. 71 above.
252. T'ovma Arcruni 3; and §2.8 above.
253. §3.2 above; and see Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.
254. T'ovma Arcruni 3; see §3.1 above.
255. See also the last paragraph of this section.
256. See chapter 1 §4.2.3.
257. T'ēop'ilos 4.
258. Pseudo-Basil 1.

of the protoplasts' stripping,[259] as well as Adam's leather clothes.[260] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, citing Yovhan Imastasēr (the philosopher, i.e., Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7), refers to Adam as "stripped of glory, covered with a leaf."[261] This idea is even more explicit than another reference in Step'anos Siwnec'i's work, where he says simply that Adam tried to cover his nakedness with a leaf.[262] As happens in other instances, the references in Step'anos's works are rather explicit, perhaps partly because his discussion is so extensive.

In *To Manuč'ē* 7–8, Grigor Magistros C10 says that after their eyes were opened, "they knew, they saw because of whom they fell" and as a result, they fled, hid, and covered themselves with leaves. Nakedness is not mentioned. In *To Manuč'ē* 8, Grigor Magistros clearly implies that they were clothed in glory before the curses.[263]

Likewise, the leather clothing, following on the loss of the garments of glory, is understood by Grigor Magistros as a curse, as I pointed out above in §4.2.[264] Glory's loss is asserted without further specification by Grigor Narekac'i C10.[265] In earlier texts, the loss of glory was connected with nakedness, the immediate result of eating the forbidden fruit, not with the curses. Anania Sanahnec'i C11's statement that the results of sin were death and loss of the garment of glory serves to summarize many of these ideas.[266] On another level of discourse, Grigor Narekac'i C10 asserts that the soul's loss of celestial glory through sin is like Adam's loss of earthly paradise.[267] The soul, the created image of God, is the likeness of God's form. This likeness was lost through sin and is regained through baptism.[268] Adam's body, however, which was sinless and uncondemnable, fell to being condemned and mortally corrupt. This is the view of Step'anos Tarōnec'i C10.[269]

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 talks of Adam's punishment as if it were that of the fallen angel, Satan: he was expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts. In general, as we have seen, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos is much concerned with Satan's anti-kingdom and highlights those ideas.[270]

259. Grigoris Aršaruni 16. A further reference, even more glancing, is in *ibid.* 18.
260. Grigoris Aršaruni 19.
261. Step'anos Siwnec'i 12.
262. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.
263. Grigor Magistros 12–13.
264. Grigor Magistros 13.
265. Grigor Narekac'i 6 and 29.
266. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.
267. Grigor Narekac'i 18.
268. Grigor Narekac'i 18.
269. Step'anos Tarōnec'i 2; and see §3.2 above.
270. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 2. Above I noted other examples of Zak'aria Kat'ołikos's "anti-kingdom" concerns; see §3.2 and cf. §4.1.

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

See §4.2.2.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

4.2.6. Other Punishments

In a deliberately obscure passage, Grigor Magistros C10 describes Adam's state after the Fall, which is inherited by old men.[271] The postlapsarian state includes the loss of glory and also baldness. Adam lost his hair, which was a previous garment, wore leaves, and hid. Of course, ageing is one of the signs of the mortal state that Adam inherited after the Fall. The idea of the hair as the prelapsarian garment, however, is striking. It is oddly similar to a Greek folktale of the early twentieth century, recorded by George Megas. It says that Adam was covered with hair, which he shucked off after the sin.[272]

In another passage, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam was deprived of truth[273] and of the gifts of heaven and received seventy-seven-fold sorrows and multiple pains.[274] Seventy strokes, blows, or afflictions of the body come upon Adam as a punishment according to *Pen. Adam* 34.8.2 and Latin *L.A.E.* 34.[275] T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 uses the term "blows" for Adam's punishments, which also likely comes from the same context in *L.A.E.*, where the Greek reads *πληγάς*.[276] He says that Adam's "sweat-bearing" curse was composed of five blows (corresponding to the five senses) and came about through Satan.[277]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The meaning of the footsteps is discussed in chapter 1 §4.3. The incident is mentioned by a number of authors from varying points of view. First, from an eschatological perspective, the footsteps are connected with the Harrowing of Hell. When he was in hell, Adam heard the divine footsteps, recognizing them from

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271. Grigor Magistros 3.

272. Stone 2002, 98–102, 136–38.

273. Since sin is related to knowledge.

274. Step'anos Siwnec'i 3.

275. The number is seventy-two in the Greek *Apoc. Moses* 8.2 and the parallel Slavonic text. The typological numbers 70/72 alternate in many contexts, such as the number of the translators of the LXX, the number of Christ's disciples, and the number of apocryphal books (4 Ezra 14), and examples could be multiplied.

276. His Armenian text has ախտ, while Exod 11:1; 12:13; 33:5; etc. translate հարուած. This might imply that the tradition depends on a source other than *Penitence of Adam*. However, the parallel with *L.A.E.* is clear enough.

277. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 4. Here he combines biblical concepts with Greek ideas, in this instance, the five senses. This resembles, of course, the way that the biblical "material" or "dust" is understood to be made of the four elements; see §1.1.2 above. On the five senses, compare §2.8 above.

the Garden. In Christ's approach to hell, Adam perceives redemption from the punishment that followed on the footsteps he had heard in the Garden. Similarly, in T'ēop'ilos C9's "On the Passion and the Crucifixion," Adam recognizes Christ's footsteps as he descends to hell, which resemble those he heard in the Garden at the ninth hour.[278] These will signal the return of Adam's glory and Christ's destruction of the cheirograph, in other words, redemption. The same parallel is drawn by Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9.[279]

Anania Širakac'i C7 stressed neither the footfalls nor the divine summons, but instead the fact that God himself sought Adam, thus highlighting Adam's special status.[280] In an epistle preserved in *Girk' T'łt'oc' The Book of Letters*, Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 says that Adam rejected God's call for repentance. Although he does not mention the footfalls explicitly, the footsteps incident is the one in which Armenian exegetes saw God calling Adam to repentance.[281] T'ovma Arcruni C9 formulates the incident of the footsteps in the following fashion. God descended according to his usual custom and he called Adam in order to advert him to his arrival and summon him—in vain it eventuated—to repentance.[282] God's summons and Adam's lack of response are regarded as a turning point, as the loss of the Edenic state, to be recovered only at the time of the baptism of Christ.

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: "Where are you?"[283] he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in the Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him."[284]

Grigor Magistros C10, in *To Manuč'ē,* says, "Fearing of His footfalls: 'Where art thou, Adam', they [i.e., the footfalls] said. 'It happened because of us,' they said, thus taunting."[285]

In earlier centuries, the very idea of the sound of God's footfalls had posed difficulties to exegetes, and they interpreted them as a warning and call to Adam and Eve. The call was repeated in God's question "Where are you?" which was often interpreted as a call to repentance. We should understand these lines of Grigor Magistros C10's poem in light of the traditional explanation, that Adam and Eve's response to the footfalls' call to repentance was to reject it, for which reason they were cursed. This theme, prominent earlier on, appears only here

278. T'ēop'ilos 5. On the typological timetable, see §4.4.

279. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 1; note that this is strikingly similar to T'ēop'ilos 2, his "Elegy on the Resurrection of Christ": "And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life."

280. Anania Širakac'i contrasts God's calling Adam with Enosh's calling upon God (Gen 4:26). In general on Enosh, see Fraade 1984.

281. Step'anos Siwnec'i 13.

282. I.e., T'ovma Arcruni 3.

283. Gen 3:9.

284. Mark 9:7.

285. Grigor Magistros 13.

in Magistros's biblical epic, which related the events sequentially; it came up in none of the homiletic, hymnic, or other compositions examined.

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

One of the most striking innovations in the sources of the sixth–ninth centuries is an intense interest in primordial chronology and timetable. I noted an incipient interest in this subject in the fifth century,[286] but it is in no way comparable to what happened in the following centuries. This growth of interest is connected with the development of the Old Adam/New Adam typology, which is a driving theme of the material I will discuss.[287] It seems likely that the fairly explicit chronology of Christ's passion presented in the Gospels has affected the chronology of events of Adam's creation and sin, which are conformed to this pattern. The chronological concerns that are very prominent in the sixth- to ninth-century texts are less so in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[288]

Adam was one day in the Garden before he was expelled, according to Pseudo-Basil C6 and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi C7.[289] In the discussion of the fifth century, I pointed out that the view that Adam was in the Garden for one thousand years, attributed by Ełišē C5 to "foreigners," is the same as saying he was in the Garden for one (divine or primordial) day, a view undergirded by the exegesis of Ps 90:4.[290] The same idea of the divine day lies behind Tʻovma Arcruni C9's statement that in the Garden Adam was given a span of many years as one day.[291]

Quite different from the view that Adam was in the Garden for one day is Grigoris Aršaruni C7's view that man was created on the sixth day,[292] entered the Garden on the fortieth day, and left the Garden after forty days.[293] This is the same view implied by Ełišē, who also set Eve's introduction into the Garden on the eightieth day, and Adam and Eve's sin and expulsion on the same day.[294] It is quite possible that Grigoris Aršaruni C7 is directly dependent on Ełišē in this matter. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 works out this thought even further, with Adam's punishment continued until the sixth millennium, which was the

286. See chapter 1 §§1.1.1 and 4.4.

287. For a further development of it, see Yovhan Ōjnecʻi 11. This passage contains nothing relating to Genesis 1–3 beyond those elements found in the Bible.

288. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ C10 8 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus's death.

289. Pseudo-Basil 1 and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi 8. Below I discuss the similarities between the chronologies of Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ōjnecʻi.

290. See chapter 1 §4.4.

291. Tʻovma Arcruni 2. Compare the rabbinic midrash that Adam was destined for a life of one thousand years, but he yielded seventy years to David; see *Num. Rab.* 14:12; Ginzberg 1909–38, 5:82 n. 28.

292. See further in this section, where Adam's creation on the sixth day is discussed.

293. Grigoris Aršaruni 7.

294. See chapter 1 §4.4, for the traditions behind this view.

sum of twelve "hours" of five hundred years and therefore, a "great day." This is all an exegesis of "on the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die" (Gen 2:17).

Elsewhere, however, Grigoris Aršaruni C7 implies that Adam's time in the Garden was short: "you that lived but few days in the Garden."[295] He states that "he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out.[296] However, Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10 says that Adam was created on the sixth day and "on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed."[297] This implies that he was expelled on the very day on which he was created, which was Friday.[298] While Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi C10 stresses that this was on the same Friday, Tiranun *vardapet* C10 has a different opinion and argues that Adam was created on the first Friday but expelled only on the second Friday.[299]

A second series of texts does not deal with how long Adam was in the Garden but, instead, with the creation on and the division of the sixth day of creation. In the fifth century, Mambrē says that Adam went forth from the Garden in the tenth hour, the very hour of Christ's descent into the tomb.[300] He sinned, Mambrē C5 says, on the sixth day, that is, on Friday, and was then stripped of his glory.[301] Patristic and the later Armenian sources make much of the creation of Adam on the sixth day, Friday. Adam sinned on Friday, the day on which he was created and on which Christ died on the cross.[302] I have already noted that this was the view of Pseudo-Basil C6.[303] Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9 states that God descended toward evening on Friday to walk with his footfall audible in the Garden. Zakʻaria Katʻołikos utilizes language drawn from Armenian Genesis.[304] These authors do imply, however, that the creation and expulsion of Adam took place on the same day. Thus, in a fashion much more complex than Mambrē's, Pseudo-Basil C6 has the following scheme:[305]

295. Grigoris Aršaruni 14.

296. Grigoris Aršaruni 8. In excerpt 14, Grigoris Aršaruni says, "Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden of Eden." Doubtless, forty days are "but few days" in contrast to immortality's many days.

297. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi 4.

298. In a second passage, excerpt 5, Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi states the same, using different language.

299. Tiranun *vardapet* 5.

300. Mambrē 4.

301. Mambrē 11.

302. Alexandre 1988, 273–74, citing Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.23.2. The same views and chronology are taken up in *Adam Story 2* and are discussed in the introduction to the edition of that text; see Stone 1992, 109–13. See above in chapter 1 §4.4. Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) discuss the calculation of the hours in a broader context in early Christian literature. Among others, they quote a passage from Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.153, which is a detailing of hours rather like that of Pseudo-Basil.

303. Pseudo-Basil 1.

304. Zakaʻaria Katʻołikos 1 and 10.

305. Pseudo-Basil 3 here says that Adam was created in the first hour of the night (paral-

Dawn	Adam was created	corresponds to Christ's bonds on Friday
Third hour	Eve was deceived by the serpent;	
Sixth hour	Eve ate the fruit	corresponds to Christ's crucifixion
	destruction of souls	corresponds to darkening of luminaries and consumption of gall
Ninth hour	Adam was expelled	corresponds to Christ's giving up his soul; destruction of hell, freeing of souls; destruction of the Deceiver and raising up of all to heaven
Tenth hour	Adam and Eve stood outside the Garden	

This text exhibits both an interest in chronological precision and a concern to link the detailed Edenic timetable to the events of Christ's passion. Mark 15:25 relates that Christ was set on the cross in the third hour and, according to Matt 27:45–50; Mark 15:33–38; and Luke 23:44–46, he died in the ninth hour. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʿi C10 also says that Adam transgressed in the ninth hour, corresponding to Jesus's death.[306]

A similar chronology is to be found in *Adam Story 2* where the following scheme occurs:

First Friday morning	Creation of Adam
First Friday, third hour	Creation of Eve
Forty days later	Adam was put into the Garden
Following Friday, third hour	Eve ate the fruit
Same Friday	Adam ate the fruit
Same Friday, ninth hour	God came to the Garden and cursed them.

Here we observe a combination of the idea that Adam was put into the Garden on the fortieth day with a detailed analysis of his actions, hour by hour.[307]

lel to Christ's bonds on Friday), yet this must mean, apparently, the first hour after the night. Excerpt 2 has an unusual expression of the time of the creation of man, ի գիշերէ առաւաւտ. This van Esbroeck (1987) translates "la nuit, à l'aube," which must be the sense of the passage, as is clear from the next sentence. However, these passages remain obscure.

306. Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʿi 8.

307. There are further apocryphal texts with such chronologies, but we do not give them here in detail because they are all much later than Anania Širakacʿi. See further Stone 1996a, 109–10.

Moreover, this text assigns both Eve's creation and her eating the fruit to the third hour, that in which Christ was crucified.

There are few references to the hours of the night. Particularly notable is that in the first watch of the night, Adam's longing began and he sought the place of the Garden.[308]

Referring to the liturgy of Holy Week, Yovhan Ōjnec'i C7 discusses correspondences between the hours of the various ordained services, Adam's actions in the Garden, and the events of Christ's passion. I have tabulated these below.[309]

first hour	Adam's creation		Excerpt 7
sixth hour	Adam's sin	Crucifixion	Excerpts 6, 8
ninth hour	Adam's expulsion	Death	Excerpts 9

These times agree basically with the chronology of Pseudo-Basil C6 and not with that of Anania Širakac'i C7 (see below). The view of Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 that Adam was created at dawn, that is, in the first hour[310] also agrees with Pseudo-Basil and Yovhan Ōjnec'i. Moreover, in the third hour, Step'anos says, Adam was captured by the Deceiver and Christ went forth onto the cross.[311]

This same pattern of the third, sixth, and ninth hours is to be found in the seventh-century author Anania Širakac'i with a difference. His chronology is less detailed and attributes different actions to the various hours.

> Third hour — The Creator took dust into his hand.
> Sixth hour — Man was created and animated.
> Ninth hour — Man sinned and left the Garden.

Anania Širakac'i also elaborates the typological correspondence with Christ differently. Christ was incarnated on the Friday, that is, the sixth millennium; he remained unrevealed in the world for thirty years, just as Adam was born at the age of thirty.[312]

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308. Pseudo-Basil 3.

309. We have extrapolated slightly here. Yovhan Ōjnec'i 8 actually says: "For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the transgression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his (i.e., Adam's) wounds." We learn from above that Adam sinned and Christ mounted the cross in the sixth hour: so also Pseudo-Basil C6 3. Mark 15:25 refers to Christ mounting the cross in the nine o'clock hour. Matt 25:45, however, refers to darkness covering the whole earth at noon (i.e., at the sixth hour), and Luke 23:44 refers to darkness from noon until three in the afternoon. This fits well with Yovhan Ōjnec'i's chronology of the passion.

310. Step'anos Siwnec'i 8.

311. Step'anos Siwnec'i 1, 5, and 9

312. Anania Širakac'i 4.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

Little is said about Adam and Eve's actions after the Fall and expulsion. We can infer from the statements of Pseudo-Basil C6 that Adam and Eve started to yearn for the Garden and to bewail their lot, a view also found in the primary Adam books.[313] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 states that after the Fall, Adam set his hope upon the sun; then the sun set and horror filled him. When dawn ensued, he praised God and thus he got the habit of praising the Creator at dawn.[314] Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 interestingly stresses the issue of light, which became the basis of the cheirograph legend, but he goes no further than to stress it.[315]

Grigor Narekac'i C10 says in his poem "On the Lord Coming to Lazarus":[316]

> The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of Paradise:
> He has come to renew your earthy nature;
> He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
> He takes His own God-formed image to the garden of Eden.

It is clear from the first line that God made a promise of redemption at the time of the expulsion from the Garden, an idea already known in the primary Adam books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* chs. 42–43).

The idea that Christ reverses the curses at the end permeates the whole corpus we are considering. Likewise, the timetable of Christ's suffering on the cross corresponds to the timetable of Adam's creation, sin, and expulsion; Adam's sin brought captivity in hell, and Christ's redemption will bring about freedom and reversal of hell. And one could trace out this pattern further.[317] It follows, therefore, that the protological and the eschatological events are mirror-images of each other. Equally, but less elaborately, an analogous pattern was worked out with Eve and the Virgin.

I should perhaps remark that the development of the tradition happened in two different directions. In the correlative patterning of the πρῶτα and the ἔσχατα, on the one hand, the story of Christ and especially of the passion has informed the Adam stories. Yet, on the other, the Adamic material, preceding the Christian material in its biblical and postbiblical Jewish forms, has also informed the telling of parts of the Christ story.

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313. Pseudo-Basil 3.
314. Step'anos Siwnec'i 4.
315. See Stone 2002
316. Grigor Narekac'i 2.
317. The theme runs through the texts. Observe the particularly pregnant passages in Grigor Narekac'i 2 and 10; Grigor Narekac'i uses this language to describe his own "paradisiacal" inner state in 16 and 28. Note also Tačat *vardapet* 3.

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

The cheirograph legend greatly develops one dimension of Adam's postexpulsion state, when it talks of God giving Adam a contract promising eschatological redemption. An alternative tradition refers to the letter written by God and transmitted eventually by the Magi.[318] The *sacra historia*, therefore, permeates the whole tradition from creation to Christ.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8 is interested in the idea of the bill of indebtedness, the statement of sins that Adam had accumulated. This idea is based on Col 2:14. Christ, Step'anos Siwnec'i asserts, abolished "the hand-written testament of sins."[319] This idea is widespread in early Christian sources as far back as Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 120–ca. 203). Colossians is interpreted thus after the acceptance of the idea of Christ's Harrowing of Hell. As a result, Step'anos said that Christ "tore the cheirograph of his transgression."[320] The verb պատառեաց ("tore") clearly betrays the influence of the cheirograph legend, of which it is a typical term.[321] A century earlier Yovhan Mamikonean C7 drew on the conceptual realm of the cheirograph when he implies that sins are or engender a debt that needs to be paid, even though he does not use the term "cheirograph."[322]

In the writings of Artawazd Mazazuni C10 we have a fully developed form of the cheirograph material.

> And Adam transgressed [i.e., made] the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord "erased the cheirograph"[323] on the cross, for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression.[324]

In this passage Artawazd Mazazuni applies the words of Col 2:14 to Adam. Moreover, he clearly implies that the bill of indebtedness is held by death (or Satan). Artawazd's comment in a second writing that Christ "will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent" draws on the same realm of ideas.[325] In using this expression he shows that he

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318. Stone 2002, 20–24.

319. See Step'anos Siwnec'i 1: "handwritten," that is, Armenian ձեռագիր, which also means "cheirograph" and refers to Col 2:14.

320. զձեռագիր յանցանաց նորա պատառեաց. Step'anos Siwnec'i 9.

321. On this complex, see Stone 2002, 103–11; see also Best 1956.

322. Yovhan Mamikonean 1. On the technical uses of this term, see Beatriz Moncó in Stone 2002, 142–46.

323. Col 2:14. Greek χειρόγραφον, which the NRSV translates "record."

324. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

325. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

is also aware of the tradition that Christ crushed the dragon-Satan at the time of his baptism. This idea is based, in turn, on an exegesis of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.[326]

The same exegesis is to be found in ancient patristic sources, from as early as Ephrem Syrus (fourth century).[327] The oldest Greek source is Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt (380–390);[328] it occurs also in Augustine (354–430),[329] Narsai[330] (fifth century); Romanus Melodus (ca. 540).[331]

The idea of sins as a reckoning is to be found in Grigor Narekac‘i C10: "for one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam | And does not reckon the sins of all as his own. . . ."[332] This idea is, of course, inherent in the cheirograph language. The same terminology is much more explicit in Grigor Narekac‘i 28, where he speaks of գիր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն, "the document of condemnation for the transgression."[333] This is an unambiguous reference to Col 2:14, for he says that it "having been erased, was torn," combining both of the verbs found in sources relating to the cheirograph.[334]

It remains a mystery why this material, and particularly its connection with Adam, which was widespread in Christian sources from the fourth century at least, first appears in Armenian only in Step‘anos Siwnec‘i in the eighth century and is first fully expressed only in the tenth century by Artawazd Mazazuni. Earlier, the idea, which appeared rarely, was translated by դատակնիք in the

326. See Stone 2002, 22–24. Grigor Narekac‘i 24 and 25 speak of annulling Eve's "seal of condemnation." This too may belong to the same context and language associated with the cheirograph tradition. Compare, more explicitly, excerpt 28, which speaks of գիր դատապարտութեան, "document of condemnation." In both cases, Grigor Narekac‘i transfers the cheirograph language to Eve in contrasting her with the Virgin.

327. Early patristic sources containing this exegesis include Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 48.9; 36.17; and concerning Eve, see Ephrem Syrus (Beck 1959) 1.24.

328. Pseudo-Macarius of Egypt, *Homily* 11.10 (Dörries, Klostermann and Kroeger 1964), *PG* 34.552b–c; *Homily* 53 (Berthold 1973, 145–47).

329. Augustine, *Against Julian* 1.6.26 (*PL* 44:658).

330. Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century).

331. The texts and translations cited are drawn from Narsai, *Homily II Epiphany* (McLeod 1979, 248–57); *Homily IV Resurrection* 41–55 (fifth century). The texts and translations of Romanus Melodus cited are drawn from Grosdidier de Matons 1967, 4:43.

332. See Grigor Narekac‘i 19.

333. The term դատապարտութիւն ("condemnation") also occurs in Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i 2.

334. Stone 2002, 163 n. 33 The verb "erased" is drawn from Col 2:14, while the verb "torn" appears somewhat later and seems to be related to the idea that Satan holds the cheirograph and that Christ descends into Hades after his crucifixion and destroys, "tears, rends" it. Above I mentioned Grigor Narekac‘i C10's application of this language to Eve.

Armenian version of Chrysostom, though the Greek lying behind it is clearly χειρόγραφον.[335]

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

Adam was buried on Golgotha, and Golgotha is the place of the tree of life. This statement in the *Panegyric of the Holy Cross* C7 seems to be the first place in our excerpts where we find the literary formulation of the iconography of the cross standing on Adam's skull.[336]

Grigor Narekac'i C10 implies that Adam is buried on the Mount of Olives, where Melchizedek was anointed, and his grave dressed Jesus with power.[337] In a metaphorical mode, relating to the baptism, Artawazd Mazazuni C10 speaks of Christ's overcoming Satan in his baptism as the crushing of the head of the serpent and of the burial of the old Adam in the water.[338]

335. Stone 2002, 105. In Step'anos Siwnec'i 1 we find ձեռագիր, dependent on Colossians: similarly, *ibid.*, 9.

336. Dawit' the Invincible 1. See Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming) {19–21} on this theme in early Christian literature, from Origen on. They discuss various aspects of the understanding of Golgotha.

337. Grigor Narekac'i 23.

338. Artawazd Mazazuni 1.

3. Adam and Eve Traditions in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the flourishing of Armenian literature of the High Middle Ages, with many authors writing in the Armenian Cilician kingdom. The Pahlavouni poet and Catholicos, Nersēs Šnorhali C12, was a dominant figure, as was Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, Archbishop of Tarsus. At this time, typological exegeses, predominantly of Adam and Christ, are worked out and presented in further detail, but no special or new ideas about Adam result from this: a developed example is to be seen in Vahram Rabuni C13, and the same tendency may be observed in the writings of Nersēs Šnorhali and Nersēs Lambronac‘i.[1]

Probably the second most prominent such pattern has already been observed in chapter 2 §2.8 and in §2.8 in the present chapter. It is that of Eve and the Virgin, which was already coming to the fore in the tenth–eleventh centuries. In a third instance, the imagery of Christ as the Garden, the tree of life, is constructed on the same basic Adam/Christ typology. It is found already in Grigor Narekac‘i C10 *Book of Lamentation* 80.1, and, in the twelfth century, Nersēs Šnorhali also uses it but applies it to the Virgin.[2] Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13 uses the pattern of Eden for ecclesiastical and theological purposes.[3] The typological approach exemplified by Nersēs Šnorhali's and Nersēs Lambronac‘i's work does not add much information to the basic goal of this book, which is to discover how the Genesis stories were told or retold, conserved or modified in medieval Armenian literature.

Vahram Rabuni C13, whose treatment of Adam/Christ has already been noted, addresses the issue of the consanguinity of Adam and Eve and of their children, implying the question of whom Cain and Abel married. Eve and Abel, he says, both derived from Adam, but they are not brother and sister. They are,

1. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 6–7 and 9; compare Nersēs Šnorhali 17, 19, 34, etc.; Vahram Rabuni 3–6 and elsewhere.

2. Nersēs Šnorhali 1, 2, and 3.

3. See excerpts 3 and 4.

instead, one in nature, like the Persons of the Trinity, who are also not brothers.[4] Here, he resolves the question by an analogy, not by typology in the strict sense.

It should be noted that, although the creation of angels is mentioned, they are absent from the discussion of sin, obedience, and free will. Humans are said to be intermediate between angels and animals. Equally, the naming of the animals, which had been a prominent topic in earlier centuries, is barely mentioned. It is noteworthy, too, that concern with aligning the detailed timetable of Adam and Eve's sin, curses, and expulsion with the events of the passion is not prominent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though in earlier times it too was a major topic. The chronology of the primordial events continued to interest scholars in the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth century this interest receded. The cheirograph legend is mentioned, though not at length.

A further innovation in this data is striking. For the first time, in the thirteenth century we can identify clear references to apocryphal Adam traditions and to the Aṙaǰawor fast that is connected with them; see §4.6 below. The Aṙaǰawor fast is a five-day fast unique to the Armenian Church, observed three weeks before Lent and concluding on a Friday. Today, it is connected, inter alia, with the five days of creation preceding Adam's eating the fruit.[5] In the thirteenth century, however, Vanakan *vardapet* says, "The first fast is the following. When[6] Adam came out of Paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only-Begotten and the incarnation of the Word of God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the earth."[7]

I shall discuss the development in the thirteenth century of the idea of Adam's weeping and imploring outside the Garden after his expulsion.[8] Adam's fast and penitential prayer are connected with the Aṙaǰawor fast. Elsewhere, a different idea occurs, that the commandment not to eat the fruit was analogous to the Christian fasts as an exercise in ascetic self-control that Adam failed.[9]

An example of Adam's plaint before the closed gate of paradise is the following lines composed by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13:

> I implore you, seraphim,
> I have a complaint, hear me out.
> When you enter the Garden of Eden,
> Take a branch of the immortal fruit,

4. Vahram Rabuni 2.
5. See Petrosyan 2002, 75.
6. Literally: "and when."
7. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2.
8. See §4.6.
9. That idea is present in Vardan Aygekcʻi's statement that the first type of fast is for Christ's sake, since God commanded Adam not to eat . . . (excerpt 9).

Bring it and place it over my eyes,
And cure my darkened eyes.

When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the Garden's gate,
Set me before it,
Let me look a moment, turn me away.[10]

This connects with the Armenian apocryphal Adam books, in particular with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve*. There Adam and Eve's suffering is described in §§6–10 and a long lament presented in §§11–24.[11] Finally, Vahram Rabuni C13 remarks that Adam was an individual from whom came his own species and genus.[12]

1.0 The Creation

Samuēl Anec'i C12 quotes two opinions about the number of creations. Some say, he notes, that there were twenty-two main creations according to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet; others say that there were twenty-four creations according to the number of hours of the day.[13] The same discussion is repeated in the fourteenth century by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in his encyclopaedic *Book of Questions*.[14] The number of twenty-two creations is very old, already occurring in the second-century B.C.E. *Book of Jubilees* 2:16. Although *Jubilees* is not extant in Armenian, a number of traditions from *Jubilees* do appear in Armenian literature, perhaps transmitted through Syriac and Greek reuses of *Jubilees* material. This enumeration occurs also in the *Palaea* 3.12–13[15] and Joseph Paramelle recognized the same in the margins of Greek manuscript Vatoped. 659 fol. 58 and wrote a detailed discussion of how this ancient Jewish tradition reached Byzantine Greek sources.[16] The *Palaea*, like *Jubilees*, does not occur in Armenian but shares many traditions with Armenian texts.[17]

10. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 70 and 71.

11. We have consulted the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990. His texts are fuller than those of Yovsēp'ianc' 1896 at several points. S. Peter Cowe 1992, in his review of Lipscomb, observes (without reference) that Aṙaǰawor is already connected with Adam by Pawłos Tarōnac'i in the twelfth century.

12. Vahram Rabuni 1.

13. Samuēl Anec'i 2.

14. Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Book of Questions*, 226–27. Without further investigation, however, it is impossible to know whether Grigor drew this view from Samuēl Anec'i.

15. This is Adler's numbering, equivalent to 189 in Vassiliev 1893.

16. Paramelle 1984, 36–38.

17. Much further research is required into Armenian knowledge of *Palaea* tradition.

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

The texts I examined state clearly that Adam was created by God. This is the view of the thirteenth-century writers Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, Frik, and Grigor Aknerc‘i.[18] In addition, Frik and Vardan Arewelc‘i, as well as Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, say that he was created by God's hands.[19] This doubtless derives from the idea of modeling Adam, which is implied already in Gen 2:7. Frik also says that Adam was created by a decision of the Trinity, as does Vardan Arewelc‘i C13. This is an inference from the plural in Gen 1:26, "Let us make man,"[20] The spirit that God breathed into him, Frik says, was a seal that brought him to life.[21]

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 states the same in somewhat different terms when he says that Adam was created from matter and the spirit was breathed into him by God.[22] In connection with creation in the image, Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says that Adam and Eve were created rational and perceptive.[23]

Eve was made from Adam's side, declares Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13,[24] and her creation is also described by Frik C13 in terms resembling those in the Bible.[25] "And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam," proclaims Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13, in a typological mode.[26] Frik, however, says that Adam wanted and needed a companion so he would not think himself to be self-created.[27]

Frik also claims that the birds were made from the waters.[28] This is a quite common view and is based on a reading of Gen 1:20–21. It occurs repeatedly in the work of Frik, but not in our excerpts from other authors, an imbalance probably due to the relatively numerous excerpts drawn from Frik.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Mxit‘ar Anec‘i C12 presents the overall chronology of Adam's life after his expulsion from the Garden and up to his death at the age of 930.[29] Frik C13 says

18. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 42; Frik 52; and Grigor Aknerc‘i 1.

19. Frik 52, 63; Vardan Arewelc‘i 4; and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 42. The idea is old; see chapter 1 §1.1; chapter 2 §1.1.

20. Frik 49; Vardan Arewelc‘i 4; see chapter 2 §1.1.1 and chapters 4–5 §1.1.

21. Frik 52. Sealing is discussed above, also in connection with this passage from Frik. Donabédian 1981, 135 discusses one of many representations of the inbreathing. Presumably Adam's creation by God is implied also by Frik's statement "I know that you were not a son of sin" (excerpt 5).

22. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 37.

23. Vardan Arewelc‘i 36. On the image, see §1.6 below.

24. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 12.

25. Frik 54.

26. Step‘anos Ōrbelean 3.

27. Frik 53–54.

28. Frik 11. See also Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 180.

29. Mxit‘ar Anec‘i 1.

that Adam was created last, after everything else: this is also the biblical view.[30] Indeed, many authors set the creation of Adam on the sixth day, which follows the biblical text in Gen 1:24–2:1. For example, in accordance with the Bible, Samuēl Anecʿi C12 said that on the sixth day both animals and Adam and Eve were created.[31] The Syrian scholar Abusayid C12 gave further details. He had calendrical and astronomical interests and observed that it was spring when God created Adam; it was equinox, and the sun was in the first degree of Aries. That is to say, Adam was created at the beginning of the year.[32] We can observe the same concern for the relationship of astronomy, calendar, and the sequence of events in chapter 2 §1.1.1.

Five days passed between the creation of the angels on first day and of Adam on the sixth, Vardan Arewelcʿi C13 maintains. This difference either was due to Adam's need for food or was so that he might receive a place under the heavens.[33] The connection of the creation of the creatures five days before Adam and the five-day Aṙaǰawor fast is made by Vanakan *vardapet* C13; it is discussed above in §0.0 and below in §4.6. This emphasis is strikingly new in the thirteenth century. Other aspects of Adam's beginnings are highlighted below.

The events are often viewed typologically, as I have noted above (§0.0). Adam's creation on the sixth day is often paralleled with the passion of Christ, who was crucified on a Friday, the sixth day. Grigor Tłay C12 states that God created Adam on Friday, as does Samuēl Anecʿi C13.[34] Vanakan *vardapet* C13 has recourse to onomastic etymologies and speaks of "the month Nisan, which is translated 'formation,' for He formed Adam of dust.[35] The day manifests the same, for it is called 'urbat' (Friday), that is 'formation.' It is called also 'bawt' 'sorrowful news,' which means grief and sorrow, due to (his) being expelled from paradise and hearing, 'dust you were, and unto dust shall you return'"; that is, Adam was created on Friday and expelled on Friday.[36]

Pawłos Tarōnacʿi C12, who had considerable calendrical interests (related, presumably to his interest in liturgy) specifies further that God created Adam on the sixth day, a Friday, which was 1 Nisan, and that the creation took place at the sixth hour. Nisan is first month of the Hebrews.[37] In the Synoptics' passion nar-

30. Frik 14.

31. Samuēl Anecʿi 2.

32. Abusayid 2. The first point of the constellation of Aries was the vernal equinox and was considered the beginning of the astronomical year. The point has, in fact, moved into Pisces over the centuries.

33. Vardan Arewelcʿi 9.

34. Grigor Tłay 7; Samuēl Anecʿi 2. This is, of course, from the Bible.

35. I.e., in the first month. See the note on the excerpt both in connection with the calendar reckoning and with the etymologies.

36. Vanakan *vardapet* 1. These etymologies are obscure.

37. Pawłos Tarōnacʿi 2. Jewish belief is that the world was created on 1 Tishrei. This is not explicit in pentateuchal legislation, but two significant events are noted in the postexilic period to have taken place in the seventh month; see 1 Esd 5:53 and 9:10. In Neh 9:1–3 the date

rative, the sixth hour (noon) is the hour of Jesus's death. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 writes that Adam was expelled in the evening just as Christ died in the evening (cf. Mark 15:41); Adam was created in morning and ate the fruit at the sixth hour.[38] This typological chronology of Vardan Arewelc'i resembles those found in earlier centuries.

Samuēl Anec'i C13 says that in the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples regarded the beginning of spring as the beginning of the year.[39] One wonders whether this caused certain texts to mention 1 Nisan as the time of creation. Of course, when combined with the other "beginning" features, to think of the world created in the spring, on a new moon and when the Aries is in the first degree, and so on, is to accumulate items that mark a "beginning."

There are some other miscellaneous chronological traditions. Adam was put in the Garden forty days after his creation. This is the reading of the emended text of Vardan Aygekc'i.[40] This number was rather old and well established also in the Byzantine tradition.[41] According to Vardan Arewelc'i C13, it is not known how long Adam and Eve were in the Garden. In the Garden they were not subject to years and, directly upon their sin, they left the Garden. Chronological reckoning starts only from the expulsion; this is the view of Yohan K'ahana C13.[42]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

By the period being considered in this chapter, the discussion we observed in chapter 2 §1.1.2, whether Adam was created from dust or from the four elements, has been resolved. The idea of Adam's creation from the four elements is firmly established. Adam, Frik C13 says, was created by God's hand from four elements, and his creation was followed by the breathing in of the spirit (so the

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is different. In the Mishnah, which is later, we read, in *m. Roš Haš.* 1:1: "There are four New Years: On the first of Nisan, the new year for the kings and for the festivals. On the first of Elul, the new year for the tithing of animals; Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Shimon say, on the first of Tishrei. On the first of Tishrei, the new year for years, for the Sabbatical years and for the Jubilee years and for the planting and for the vegetables. On the first of Shevat, the new year for the trees, these are the words of the House of Shammai; the House of Hillel says, on the fifteenth thereof."

38. Vardan Arewelc'i 18.

39. Samuēl Anec'i 1.

40. Vardan Aygekc'i 13.

41. See Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4, where they give relevant sources. This is also considered by Adler 1989, 85. See also *Adam Story 2*, §3, and the discussion in Stone 1996a, 111, with references to other sources, of which the oldest is *Jub.* 3:9. In the manuscript published there, *Adam Story 2* is followed by *Question*, which is likely dependent on Vanakan *vardapet;* see Ervine 2000.

42. Yohan K'ahana 1.

biblical text, Gen 2:7) and sealing, which vivified him.[43] In another formulation, Frik says that God correctly made everything from the elements, and then man.[44]

Frik C13 mentions the four elements frequently. God himself created them—so the land is upon the water as the dwelling of reptiles, and so forth.[45] In Frik's creation narrative he says that the four elements "act correctly by your word."[46] Elsewhere he states that God created the four elements and substances by singular weight.[47]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

The idea that the world was created to be of service and enjoyment for humans is present already in the Second Temple period.[48] Frik C13 entertains the same concept.[49] Similar is Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi's C13 statement that "you warned him to observe the commandment and enjoy the goods you had given him gratuitously and without compensation." The goodness of creation, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi says, was given freely to Adam.[50] Frik stated that the sun and moon are servants of humans, and the world was created for enjoyment by day.[51]

Grigor Tłay C12 speaks of the counsel taken by the Son with the Father and the Spirit, which is an interpretation of Gen 1:26: "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness." The use of the plurals "us" and "our" underpin this idea.[52] Mxitʻar Goš says that God did not envy Adam, despite Satan's saying "become gods," which one might have thought was God's motive for banning the tree.[53]

In this section, I examine the idea that Adam was created immortal and the commandment was given so that his obedience would confirm his immortality and raise him to a heavenly level. This view is well expressed by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13, "If you will keep my commandment that you received from me, | I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks."[54] Sim-

43. Frik 51–52. The exact meaning of "sealing" here is not explicit, but it has to do with the inbreathing of the divine spirit, by which man was vivified. See also the same in Frik 52 and 30.

44. I.e., from the elements, too. Frik 13–14. See below, §1.2.

45. Frik 13.

46. Frik 39. There is a clear view here of the role of divine speech in the acts of creation. Frik's creation narrative occurs in excerpts 21–28.

47. Frik 45; cf. 39. Each substance has its particular and different weight.

48. Stone 1990a, 188–89.

49. Frik 15.

50. Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3.

51. Frik 34. This must be compared with Agatʻangełos 9.

52. Grigor Tłay 17. In excerpt 20 he says that the purpose of the creation of man was, "To keep the law of the commandment, | And to inherit the desirable thing."

53. Mxitʻar Goš 1.

54. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 23.

ilarly, Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13 says that the purpose of commandments is "to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode."[55]

In earlier centuries, the same basic view of Adam's commandment was formulated as a type of test, as a last stage before his achieving his spiritual potential, immortality, glory, and heavenly status.[56] A similar idea is expressed in Yovhannēs Imastasēr's C12 observation that, in fact, God's purpose in giving the commandment was the pledge of future prizes after Adam demonstrated his virtue.[57] Of course, as is true of many statements relating to trials and testing and consequently to free will and human choice, the inherent conflict with divine omniscience is ignored.

Analogous to the formulation quoted above is the notion that the purpose of creation is to give Adam and Eve fruit at a fitting time and make them divine; see Vardan Arewelcʻi C13.[58] Frik C13 says that the immortality of paradise and all its good things are for Adam.[59] Similar is Vardan Arewelcʻi's idea that "(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures."[60] This evokes the view that creation was for the benefit of humans.

Similarly, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Adam was placed in the Garden to keep the commandment and inherit the desirable things.[61] God intended Adam to become a "cultivated plant," but Adam frustrated this intention by his disobedience, as Sargis Šnorhali puts it.[62] Abusayid says that God laid upon Adam the commandments to love God and to observe his commandments.[63] This formulation draws, of course, on a biblical cliché and is of no great significance.

On the subject of the creation of Eve, Frik C13 says that God "created women for fertility, | Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world. | 35 He adorned her with colored clothes, | He fed her with various fruit."[64] He also says that Eve was created because Adam deemed himself self-created.[65]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Adam was created as a man thirty years of age.[66] The scientist Anania Širakacʻi C7 spoke of the age of thirty as the most perfect age for a human

55. Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3. Adam was given one commandment says Frik 1 and 50.
56. See chapter 1 §1.4.
57. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.
58. Vardan Arewelcʻi 27.
59. Frik 57; see also §1.1.7 ("Gifts"), for the idea that creation is for the sake of human beings.
60. Vardan Arewelcʻi 1.
61. Grigor Tłay 20.
62. Sargis Šnorhali 3. The idea of Adam as a plant is drawn from Jas 1:12.
63. Abusayid 1.
64. Frik 32–33.
65. Frik 53–54 and §1.1 above.
66. On the time of Adam's creation, see §1.1.1.

being.[67] Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that they mourned (i.e., Abel) for thirty days corresponding to Adam's age of thirty at his creation. Then, he adds in an unclear passage, "after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades)."[68] As is noted in chapter 2 §1.1.4, many events in the lives of Adam and Eve are separated by periods of thirty years.

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

The description of Adam's state when he was created poses a challenge. Since the Bible says nothing about it, it has to be inferred from the curses. Each curse can be taken to reverse the situation that obtained before the Fall. Many of the statements about prelapsarian Adam reflect this dynamic.

Nearly all the sources speak of the glory of the protoplasts, or their luminosity. Adam was created in glory says Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12;[69] Eve was created luminous according to Grigor Tłay C12;[70] humans had divine glory and splendor in paradise (Ignatius *vardapet* C12),[71] were created as shining and wondrous (Nersēs Šnorhali C12),[72] enjoyed immortal life and the splendor of paradise (Nersēs Šnorhali),[73] were created with supreme glory and highest bliss (Sargis Šnorhali C12);[74] and further synonyms can be found. Glory is, of course, a royal attribute going back to Iranian roots as well as biblical, and heavenly or pre-creation light was typical of the state of creation in many sources.[75]

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of Adam, whom the very kind Creator created in the beginning—splendid and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with the image and in the likeness.[76] Adam was given honor by God, says Sargis Šnorhali C12.[77] Frik C13, too, declares that Adam possessed various kinds of glory and that he was honored.[78] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 refers to Eve's glory.[79] This consistent presentation of Adamic glory indicates, by

67. See chapter 2 §1.1.4. The issue of Adam's age at creation is discussed in a footnote there. In 4 Ezra 10:44, an angel reveals a vision's interpretation to Ezra: a woman had been barren for thirty years, which are the three thousand years between creation and the inception of sacrifices in Jerusalem. In a quite different context in *The Tree of Sabek* §2 (Stone 2012, 97) Sedek is noted as being thirty years old.

68. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 2. See further *Abel and Cain* §§52–59 (Lipscomb 1990, 169–71) and compare *L.A.E.* [48](40):2–5. In §4.2.3 the loss of glory is discussed.

69. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

70. Grigor Tłay 11.

71. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

72. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

73. Nersēs Šnorhali 43.

74. Sargis Šnorhali 15; and see also excerpt 1.

75. See also Orlov 2007, 273–80.

76. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

77. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

78. Frik 53 and 63.

79. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 77; cf. §1.6.

introducing the idea of the image, that this glory and splendor are of the divine realm.

God honored His image with luminous glory. The twinning of glory and light is found in many sources. For example, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 speaks of Adam as honored with luminous glory and connects this with Adam's creation in the image of God. This was Adam's state, he says, in the Garden.[80] Indeed, the theme of glory is particularly prominent in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's writings.[81]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

I remarked above that the curses reversed blessings. Thus, from the curse of death we learn that before the Fall Adam was undying.

Grigor Tłay C12 speaks of Adam whom God created as "intermediary . . . Mortal (and) immortal, | Both incorporeal and corporeal."[82] His formulation implies that Adam had both of these potentialities, but his sinful action, as the stanza concludes, led to his loss of immortality and incorporeality. Elsewhere Grigor Tłay says that Adam was "created immortal."[83] Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of Adam's immortal life and paradisiacal splendor.[84]

Immortality and the good things of paradise were Adam's portion, and he was a glorious prophet, close to the supernal hosts, says Frik C13.[85] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 asserts that there was no illness and there were no sins until Adam disobeyed.[86]

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

Not only was the world created for human use, but God bestowed many gifts on humans at creation. These gifts were freely given through God's generosity, according to Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i C13.[87]

Frik C13 says that God filled man with the seven lights of grace and gave him a spirit, understanding, and mind. Moreover, man possessed various kinds of glory (see §1.1.5 above).[88] A twelfth-century statement enumerates God's gifts to Adam. God created man and gave him manifold and wonderful honors: (a) image, (b) lordship, (c) the delights of salvation, (d) beauty of the Garden, and (e)

80. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7, 12, 14, 22, 32, 37, et al.

81. Below I discuss the ideas of "master" (§1.1.7), of "image" (§1.6), and of luminosity (§2.4).

82. Grigor Tłay 17.

83. Grigor Tłay 8.

84. Nersēs Šnorhali 43; see §1.1.5 above.

85. Frik 53 ("glory"), 57 ("immortality"), 59 ("prophet").

86. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 8.

87. Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i 3.

88. Frik 15–16, 30, and 42.

the commandment.[89] These raise a number of points. First, as we will see below, the ideas of the image and lordship are closely connected.[90] Second, the Garden was described in hyperbolic terms in many texts, splendor being a frequent characteristic. Third, the commandment was seen as a gift to Adam, a demonstration of the gift of autonomous will. As Yovhannēs Imastasēr put it, it was "a pledge of future prizes."[91]

God honored Adam in creation, making him king and master (Gen 1:28, 30). This is the view of Sargis Šnorhali C12, who takes up the old theme of Adam as the lord, king, or master of all creation. He cites Jas 3:7 in this connection: "Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subject and are obedient to human nature," and he follows that with an extensive discussion of the same topic in a commentary on Gen 1:28.[92] The same view is espoused by Grigor Tłay C12, who speaks of Adam as master and lord of this transient world.[93]

On the one hand, mind is foremost among the qualities of man as the image of God.[94] On the other, wisdom is prominent among the gifts given to Adam, and it is often connected with autonomy[95] or free will. Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 regards the human search for wisdom and prudence to be a divine gift to Adam. In the course of the same passage, Nersēs Lambronac'i formulates this idea somewhat differently, saying that God taught man to seek wisdom.[96] The theme of Adam's wisdom recurs in other ways. For example, the medical work of Abusayid C12 says that God gave the Adam wisdom and discernment to invent the art of medical science.[97] Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that God put three things into him, by which he could resemble God completely: creativity, love, and wisdom, which is reason.[98]

Several texts make it clear that, when Adam sinned, he lost this God-given wisdom. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that he lost both wisdom and lordly honor.[99] Nonetheless, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that God gave a lesser wisdom to the prophets.[100] When he transgressed, Adam also lost the vivifying breath that was

89. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

90. See §1.6.

91. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

92. Sargis Šnorhali 4–5. Note mention of "master and king" in that context.

93. Grigor Tłay 7. This subject is discussed in chapter 2 §1.6.

94. This is discussed in §1.6.

95. This term was very widespread in use in the fifth century and remained in circulation for a long time.

96. Nersēs Lambronac'i 11 and 12. According to Vardan Aygekc'i C13, God created Satan and Adam and showed them good and evil, which is also a sort of knowledge; see Vardan Aygekc'i 1.

97. Abusayid 1.

98. Step'anos Ōrbelean 1.

99. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

100. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

the inbreathed spirit. This is the view of Nersēs Lambronac'i C12.[101] It is a rather literal inference from Gen 2:7.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

The issue of the primordial holy language is a complex one, and Syriac Christians often claimed it was Syriac, which idea was taken over into Christian Armenian texts.[102] The question is expressed by Frik C13, who says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language and it is wondrous that so many nations were born of him.[103]

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

Note that the ranking of creation, while quite a prominent topic in the twelfth century, is not much discussed in the thirteenth.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks of the order of creation: angels, creatures, and then Adam, their master. Man is master of the perceptible beings.[104] This is the order of creation according to the biblical narrative, except for the angels, who are not mentioned there. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of the nine ranks of angels, drawing on an old tradition, associated with but not originating in Pseudo-Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy*. Moreover, Ignatius includes humans in this series as a tenth rank of celestial being.[105] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 describes the proper state of things: angels in heaven, Adam in the Garden, and the beasts on earth.[106]

Ranking is engendered by the idea of the image of God, which is taken up by Sargis Šnorhali C12.[107] Speaking of Adam's sin and punishment, he mentions the destruction of God's image, that is, Adam, who had been created for the glory of God. Corruption affected not only Adam but in turn other creatures, which were created for the glory of man. Man, then, was created in the image for God's glory; the animals were created for man's glory. Thus, a clear hierarchical order exists among created beings. Sargis Šnorhali C12 in very significant passage says that all creatures were created by word (see Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6) and Adam by God's hand (Gen 2:7 is presumably the biblical basis

101. Nersēs Lambronac'i 16.

102. See the reference to Syriac as the primordial writing in Stone 1996a, 152. Adam is the inventor of Hebrew script and vocalization; see Fabricius 1713, 1–2. See also *Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Hebrew Language, Origin," for similar views. The history of this idea is complex and would require a separate study.

103. Frik 66.

104. Nersēs Lambronac'i 12. See also §1.1.7 for Adam as "lord, master."

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 4. See Dionysius Areopagiticus 1970, 104.

106. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 9. He repeats the same order in 51.

107. Sargis Šnorhali 19 and 20.

of this).[108] Likewise, elsewhere he refers to "the creation of his hands, Adam."[109] Important concepts lurk here.

As for creation by the word, it is a widely found concept, already, for example, in Ps 33:9= Arm 32:9.[110] This idea is probably partly behind the number 22 for created things, which is the number of letters in the alphabet (see §1.0 above).[111]

Sargis Šnorhali C12, whom I cited above, has another formulation, which adds certain features to the views cited just above. Creatures, he says, are in the image of man, man is in the image of God. Equally, creatures are bound to act by their nature, while humans have autonomy (անձնիշխանութիւն), that is, free will; creatures are without reason or wisdom, while God adorned humans with wisdom.[112] This is a remarkable extension of the hierarchy he outlined above, taking the contrast of animals and humans into the realms of free will and wisdom. The contrast between humans and angels is not developed in these texts, though earlier in the Armenian tradition, notably in the fifth century, it is prominent.

Finally, in the biblical narrative, God created Adam before Eve and this order of creation is repeated in the twelfth-century sources.[113] The second should be obedient to the first, so woman should be obedient to man.[114]

1.3 Humans and Angels

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 conceives of Adam, a being endowed with the spirit, as counted in the *celestial hierarchy*, following the nine classes of angels.[115] Adam forms a tenth class, "for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is our nature, missing from that number."[116] Moreover, he

108. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and see §1.1 above. See Stone 1990a, index, s.v. "God, hands of, creation of mankind by."

109. Sargis Šnorhali 18.

110. See Stone 1990, index, s.v. "Creation, by speech."

111. Perhaps this connection explains the difference between twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible in Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.8 and some patristic canon lists, on the one hand, and rabbinic sources, which have twenty-four books, on the other. Perhaps the letters of the alphabet were understood as constitutive of language, through which the world was created and Scripture written, while twenty-four derives from a different tradition, perhaps numerological.

112. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

113. See Nersēs Šnorhali 41; Sargis Šnorhali 16.

114. Satan adduces exactly this argument to explain his rebellion in *Pen. Adam* 14:3 and parallels: "I shall not bow [down] to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper [for me] to bow down to him?"

115. Ignatius *vardapet* 4; see n. 105 above.

116. Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

calls the angels "sons of light."[117] Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 contrasts angels with "perceptible beings."[118]

Psalm 104:4 = Arm 103:4 was regularly read to mean that God made the angels of fire and spirit, an interpretation repeated frequently by the poet Frik in the thirteenth century.[119] He also says that they were made of light or fire and spirit or immortal spirit.[120] It is interesting to observe the interchange of light and fire. Frik even has a third variant on this theme, that while the angels were composed of fire and light, the mountains were made of fire and water.[121] Here his focus on fire or light and spirit is combined with his interest in the four elements noted above in §1.1.2. He also says that the angels surround God's throne, while Adam is said to be close to the supernal hosts.[122] Among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century excerpts, these points are found almost solely in Frik.

1.4 Angels' Function and Adam's Commandment

The texts from the twelfth and thirteenth century do not speak at all about angels' obedience or disobedience, a subject quite prominent earlier in chapter 1 §1.4 This is, perhaps, connected with the lesser role played by angels in the form of the creation narrative current at that time.[123]

The commandment given to Adam was viewed as fast by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13.[124] Above, again in §0.0, we saw the prominence of the theme of fasting, particularly of the Aṙaǰawor fast, which, according to Basil cited by Vanakan *vardapet* C13, was first ordained in the Garden.[125] This was the prohibition of the fruit, prescribed for Adam in the Garden. The command not to eat from the tree was equivalent to fasting, and this is connected with Aṙaǰawor, according to Vanakan *vardapet* C13.[126] When Adam and Eve observed their fast, they did their task well, and God and the angels took care of them.[127]

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117. Ignatius *vardapet* 7; see Luke 16:8. It is difficult to see a connection between the famous "Sons of Light" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ignatius *vardapet*.
118. Nersēs Lambronac'i 12.
119. See Frik 38.
120. Frik 38 and 44.
121. Frik 23 and 38.
122. Frik 22 and 59.
123. The limited concern with angels is discussed in §0.0.
124. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 3.
125. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.
126. Vanakan *vardapet* 2.
127. Vardan Aygekc'i 10. See further §4.5 below.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

1.6 Humankind in the Image

Genesis 1:26 says, "Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness." This crucial verse has generated mountains of commentary and interpretation. It is reflected without elaboration in various sources, such as Sargis Šnorhali C12. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 also refers to man as the image of God, with no further specification.[128] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 and Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi C13 reflect the language of the verse.[129] Elsewhere, Sargis Šnorhali C12 characterizes man as God's image.[130]

The scientific writer Abusayid C12 interprets the image in a physical way, saying that God made Adam's body according to his image.[131] In a somewhat less down-to-earth interpretation, Grigor Tłay C12 says, "He creates Adam like (նման) himself."[132] Other formulations of the idea are to be found in Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13, who speaks of "material man in his (God's) form."[133] Elsewhere he speaks of Adam as a luminous image of divinity.[134] Adam is God's copy and likeness and a precious image, according to Frik C13.[135]

As a result of his creation in the image of God, prelapsarian Adam takes on a number of striking attributes. One understanding, shared by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12, stresses glory and splendor, which are discussed above in §1.1.5. Man is in the image, shining and wondrous.[136] As noted above, Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12 connects the image and likeness with the words, "you . . . adorned him with all your gifts (grace) and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence."[137] The image for him is reason. According to Nersēs Šnorhali C12, Adam, because he is in God's image, receives mercy from the incarnated God who is in his image:

> He who descended from heaven reached Adam
> Had mercy on him as his image and likeness.[138]

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128. Sargis Šnorhali 7; Ignatius *vardapet* 4.
129. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 6, 12, and 22; Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʻi 3.
130. Sargis Šnorhali 7.
131. Abusayid 1.
132. Grigor Tłay 7; see also the recurrence of the term, in համանման in Grigor Tłay 17. Compare the word նմանութիւն ("likeness") in Gen 1:26.
133. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 12.
134. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 22.
135. Frik 14, 29, and 49.
136. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.
137. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 11; see §1.1.7 above.
138. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

The connection of the image with dominion, kingship, and power derives from Gen 1:26–28. It is discussed in section §1.1.7, and here I add some further observations. Vahram Rabuni C13 says, "In the beginning of mankind, this honour was granted, that God made the man in his image, 'According to the image of God He made him. . . . And He blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth.'[139] And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship."[140] Here the connection of image with the rule, promised in Gen 1:27–28, is clear. The same idea is reflected when Frik C13 says that the creatures are obedient to man,[141] and according to Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i C13, Adam was "master and sovereign over all your creatures."[142]

The term king is prominent here in the thirteenth century. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Adam was king in paradise and God bestowed a royal crown on him.[143] Frik C13 has several statements in this sense: Adam was king of all; he was master and teacher of creatures; he was ruler of beings; he bound (կապել, a term for controlling) animals, beasts and demons.[144]

Adam was created like God in all ways, especially in three things: creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason.[145]

> As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational (animals) and is able to think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving.[146]

In earlier chapters we saw the connection drawn between the image and the mind; see above here §1.1.7; chapter 1 §1.6; and chapter 2 §1.6. This is not a dominant interpretation of the image in the texts we are now discussing, but it does occur. "God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And He made the mind the eyes of the soul, and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body," says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13.[147] In the passage "He filled the man with the seven lights of grace, | He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind," Frik C13 connects the inbreathing of the spirit (Genesis 2's

139. Gen 1:26–29.
140. Vahram Rabuni 9.
141. Frik 15.
142. Yovhannēs Gaṙnec'i 3.
143. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 26, 55, and 77. Compare chapter 2 §1.6.
144. Frik 15 and 42.
145. See §1.1.7.
146. Step'anos Ōrbelean 1.
147. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 6.

equivalent of the creation in the image in Genesis 1) with mind.[148] This is in turn related to the gift of wisdom given to Adam, discussed above in §1.1.7.

In chapter 1 §1.6, I have dealt with the double use of image. Adam is in the image of God, and, when God is incarnated, he takes on the image of Adam, that is, he looks human. Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12 says that Christ is in the image of Adam,[149] and Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds to this that Christ takes on "the corruptible image of Adam."[150] Adam was created in the image to expiate his sin, that is, through Christ (Frik C13).[151] Here the typology of Old Adam/New Adam is in play, implying salvation through Christ from Adam's sin.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

The Garden is to the east, as follows from Gen 2:8.[152] This view is held by Vardan Arewelcʻi C13[153] and Frik C13.[154] It is in Eden, according to Nersēs Šnorhali 35.[155] A text relating to Edessa states that the rivers of Mesopotamia are two of those coming out of paradise, and Eden is situated between them.[156]

The Garden of Eden is often described in the highest terms. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls it "a [building] made by God, made without hands, and celestial" and Garden of "the light of delight," and says that it is the place of immortality.[157] Frik C13 calls the Garden "eternal and inconceivable" and "good."[158] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 says, "He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent."[159] Frik also uses other superlative expressions such as "immortal land."[160] It is designated in an analogous way by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz, who calls it, "immortal place" and "Garden of immortal glory"; and God, who planted the Garden, is "the Immortal."[161]

Describing the Garden in more detail, Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says that the leaves of the Garden's trees were brighter than the sun, while Frik C13 waxes eloquent about the beauty of its fruit trees and how they ornamented the Garden. This, of course, is connected with the description of the forbidden tree, which

148. Frik 29–30.
149. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 8.
150. Sargis Šnorhali 12; compare 13.
151. Frik 50.
152. This is one interpretation of Hebrew מקדם, while the LXX has κατὰ ἀνατολάς, the reading followed by Arm Gen 2:8.
153. Vardan Arewelcʻi 5.
154. Frik 31.
155. Nersēs Šnorhali 35.
156. Nersēs Šnorhali 37.
157. Nersēs Šnorhali 38.
158. Frik 1, 15, and 41.
159. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 13.
160. Frik 1; see extract 57.
161. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 14, 29, and 22, respectively.

Gen 3:6 says is "good for food, and . . . a delight to the eyes." So Frik calls the tree "captivating."[162]

The location of paradise on a mountain is an idea that is found in numerous sources, within and outside of the Armenian tradition.[163] Among the twelfth-century excerpts, Ignatius *vardapet*'s phrase "having come down from the height to a depth" seems to imply this. Ignatius also says that paradise is called heaven because of its location, apparently on a high place, and it is (the place of) immortal and incorruptible life.[164] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 also holds this view and adds other geographical details.[165] Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks of "towns of Paradise," following the phrase "upper Jerusalem."[166] In his historical book, he says clearly that paradise is in the east, on a high mountain, equal with the sphere of the moon.[167]

The Garden is regarded as a symbol of wisdom by Nersēs Šnorhali C12 and Nersēs Lambronac'i C12.[168]. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that some say there was no day and night in paradise, but in fact there was.[169] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 states that the light of paradise does not flow from the sun but shines from the ether or from God's glory. This apparently implies some sort of extraterrestrial status for paradise.[170]

"And the fourth canon-table represents Paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements)," states Nersēs Šnorhali C12 in his *Commentary on the Canon Tables*.[171] From this we may learn that paradise was made of the four elements.

A final aspect of paradise, about which we have a number of statements, derives from Gen 2:24, "and at the east of the garden of Eden He placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life." This was combined with the idea that the Garden was walled about, which is also represented in texts and iconography from early times. Thus, *Pen. Adam* [44] (17):1 describes the serpent and Satan hanging over the wall of the Garden, and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 says that the serpent broke the wall of paradise. Taking up this idea and combining it with Gen 2:24, Frik C13 says that "the walls

162. Vardan Aygekc'i 12 and Frik 47.

163. See chapter 2 §2.0.

164. Ignatius *vardapet* 2 and 6.

165. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

166. Nersēs Lambronac'i 2.

167. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

168. Nersēs Šnorhali 25; Nersēs Lambronac'i 12.

169. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 1. The idea of the light in Eden is also quite important for the cheirograph legend, which is based on Adam and Eve not having understood what night is. Is Yovhannēs Imastasēr opposing this idea?

170. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

171. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

of Paradise were made of seraphim."[172] This is similar to Vardan Arewelc'i's C13 idea when he says, "Now by means of seraphim, God surrounded Paradise with fire," to keep the unworthy out.[173]

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

In the preceding section, I observed that the Garden is considered the place of immortality. This idea is echoed by both Grigor Tłay C12 and Nersēs Šnorhali C12. Adam is set in this place of immortality.[174] Moreover, at the eschaton, Adam will be placed in the Garden for a second time and adorned with glory, says Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[175]

Frik C13 declares that Adam was the richest man when he had the Garden alone, without the commandment.[176] God put Adam in paradise and set it in the east for man.[177] Further similar statements about the divine creation of the Garden and its location in the east are noted in §2.0 above.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

The commandment given related to two trees, says Grigor Tłay C12. God made a law and gave Adam an order not to eat from the tree in the midst of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Here Nersēs Lambronac'i C12 speaks as if there were two commandments about two trees or, at least, one commandment about two trees.[178]

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

Our texts do not discuss whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden; their intercourse is mentioned only after they left the Garden, which apparently implies no intercourse in Eden. Indeed, a very negative view of sexual intercourse emerges from the texts. Adam (after the Fall) fornicated impiously, says

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172. Frik 1. The instrumental case implies that the seraphim themselves constituted the walls. Perhaps an ablative would have been expected.

173. Vardan Arewelc'i 5.

174. Grigor Tłay 8; Nersēs Šnorhali 34. Grigor Tłay's language is somewhat ambiguous and could designate either Adam or the Garden as immortal.

175. Nersēs Šnorhali 10 and 13.

176. Frik 10.

177. Frik 15–16, 31, and 53.

178. Nersēs Lambronac'i 4. Contrast Gen 2:17 ("tree of knowledge") and Gen 3:3 (you shall not eat "of the tree which is in the midst of the Garden"). Nersēs' formulation reflects, in all likelihood, the unclarity that is also to be sensed in the biblical text. It does not seem to us to be an ontological statement.

Frik C13.[179] Similarly, Eve is said to have conceived after the sin, implying that she also had intercourse then.[180] Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says that Adam lamented in virginity with Eve for thirty years after the Fall, and then they had impious intercourse, like animals.[181]

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

Adam and Eve were alone in Eden, and God always rejoiced at the sight of them, as Frik C13 puts it. In another phrase, he says that there was one Adam, one Eve, and one Hebrew language in paradise until they ate the fruit.[182] According to Vardan Aygekc‘i C13, Adam was luminous in the Garden, but he lost his luminosity on account of Satan's deceit.[183] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 says that he was covered with godly light.[184] The texts discussed in this chapter do not expatiate at length on Adam's paradisiacal state, which is an interesting insight into their priorities.

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The creation of the animals is mentioned above in §1.2, but nothing is said about their creation beyond mentioning it, in accordance with the biblical text.

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam's naming of the animals was taken as a sign of his wisdom, or of divine grace.[185] Although the theme of Adam's wisdom occurred in the preceding period, it is not found in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries in connection with naming. Indeed, only Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 mentions the naming, and he says that those names were found to be their unchangeable names.[186]

Concerning the name of God, Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12 says that Adam found his name "of his glory and action," that is, the name Աստուած *Astuac*, of which the popular etymology is "he who brings here"or "into being."[187]

179. Frik 20.
180. Vardan Arewelc‘i 17.
181. Vardan Arewelc‘i 6.
182. Frik 66; see also §1.1.8 above.
183. Vardan Aygekc‘i 11.
184. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 55.
185. See Stone 2007a; chapter 1 §2.6.
186. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 1.
187. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 18. See the discussion of the name in Stone 2006b, 1:177.

2.7 The Type of Tree

In his *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 refers to Alexandria, saying, "The reasonable (բանաւոր) tree of divine Paradise is planted in you." In this poem, he mentions a number of cities, Rome, Alexandria, Edessa, and so on, and has an Edenic connection for each. These were great Christian centers and presumably are being spoken of in parabolic terms. For Alexandria, it is the tree.[188] Oddly, the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge, a subject of interest in previous centuries (especially the fifth century), is not discussed in the sources being considered.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

In §0.0 above, I wrote about the parallels that were drawn between Eve and the Virgin. Eve was generally understood to have been created from Adam's rib, as in the Bible. In a broader perspective, Frik C13 says that God created women for fertility and for the prosperity of the world.[189]

In a narrative poem, Grigor Tłay C12 tells the standard story of the deception of Eve, more or less as it is found in the Primary Adam Books (see, e.g., *Pen. Adam* [44](17):1–[44](19):3). He wrote, "Satan enters the serpent, | Teaches it to speak with Eve, | It finds Eve alone, | Away from Adam, and deceives (her)."[190] Elsewhere he observes that Satan deceived Eve by the promise of becoming god.[191] Nersēs Šnorhali C12 states that Eve obeyed the serpent and, by stretching out her hands (i.e., to take the fruit), drove Adam out of ineffable glory.[192] This tradition entertains no doubts about Eve's culpability for the sin. According to Grigor Tłay, Eve was deceived, but Adam ate the fruit and sinned, not because he was himself deceived but because of his love for Eve and his pity on her.[193] Grigor Pahlavuni C12 says that Eve was deprived of life as a result of her sin, which statement is a commonplace.[194]

Eve's sin serves hortatory purposes in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13's writings. "Let not evil counsel enter your ear: Eve did and was deceived"; similarly, he warns of dangers threatening through seeing, feeling, eating, and speech.

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188. Nersēs Šnorhali 36.

189. Frik 32. On Eve's creation from Adam's rib, see Frik 54.

190. Grigor Tłay 9. These traditions are discussed in §3.1; and see appendix §1.1.1–1.1.3.

191. Grigor Tłay 10.

192. Nersēs Šnorhali 29.

193. Grigor Tłay 12. See below §4.1.1; and see chapter 2 §4.1, where Grigor Narekac'i advances this idea.

194. Grigor Pahlavuni 1.

The five senses admit sin, and Satan, who is the serpent, deceived Eve through them.[195]

The figure of the Virgin Mary, who was regarded as Eve's counterpart, as Christ was Adam's, greatly influenced the presentation of Eve. This typological pattern occurs in Nersēs Šnorhali C12, and Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that, as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden through her daughter.[196] Of course, the reference is to the Virgin as the mother of Christ and the redemptive activity is Christ's, but the author has chosen to present all this under a typology of Eve and the Virgin.

Eve was the first virgin, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[197] She was created second and is subordinate to the man, and the man was created with supreme glory and highest bliss says Sargis Šnorhali.[198] Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 repeats a fairly widespread tradition according to which Eve was buried in the grotto in Bethlehem in which Christ was born.[199]

The interplay between the Virgin Mary and Eve finds its eschatological expression in the ideas of Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who speaks of the Virgin giving paradise to Eve once more. He says that the race of women, condemned by Eve's action, was released by Mary, and he contrasts this with the relationship between Adam, men, and Christ.[200] The Virgin, as a new Eve, is well epitomized in the following quotation from Step'anos Ōrbelean C13: "And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden."[201] Eve's redemption is spoken of as being stripped of the Adamic coat of skin, in other words, returning to the state of creation.[202] The stripping and dressing of the protoplasts is discussed in §4.2.3.

3.0 Satan

Satan is called Belial in many sources,[203] and in §4.7 I note also on the odd name Bazu. Vardan Arewelc'i C13 calls Satan a hunter who set a net for Adam. The net was the idea of becoming God.[204] Vardan Aygekc'i C13 speaks of Satan as

195. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.
196. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.
197. Nersēs Šnorhali 5.
198. Sargis Šnorhali 15 (glory) and 16 (subordination of Eve).
199. Grigor Vkayasēr 1. See §5.0 below; and also Stone 2000b.
200. Nersēs Šnorhali 2 and 4.
201. Step'anos Ōrbelean 7.
202. Vardan Arewelc'i 12.
203. E.g., Frik 19.
204. Vardan Arewelc'i 23; see §3.3 below.

full of darkness, heir of fire, the outer darkness, and so on.[205] Aygekc'i also says that the darkness created on the fourth day (as a correlative of the creation of the luminaries) came forth from a serpent's mouth, and the connection of the serpent and Satan is clear. This is not just the Edenic serpent but a cosmic serpent, which is identified as Hades. However, the precise connection between these various serpentine beings, dragons, and *višap*s is unclear. Among Aygekc'i's very distinctive ideas about the Fall and darkness is that he says that after the expulsion this darkness spread through the Garden to the ends of the universe.[206]

The texts from the twelfth century deal with Satan predominantly in the context of the temptation of Adam and Eve. Satan's own fall is present in the thirteenth-century excerpts, but it is mentioned only glancingly in one twelfth-century source (Ignatius *vardapet;* see below). So, the focus has shifted from the events preceding creation (see §3.2 below), to the temptation, fall, and redemption. It is dominated by the typology of "old Adam" and "new Adam," as I noted above, §0.0.

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The relationship between Satan and the serpent is discussed in detail diachronically in the appendix. It is mentioned in certain twelfth-century texts and, to a lesser extent, in some from the thirteenth century, and I discuss those passages here.

One option is that the serpent is identical with Satan. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 simply uses the term "Devil" for "serpent"; on another occasion, talking about the Devil, he says, "the serpent is defeated."[207] In the same vein, Sargis Šnorhali, using terminology appropriate to Satan, says, "the incorporeal serpent deceived" and "[t]he incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue."[208] Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz C13 says that it was Satan who "deceived Eve through the five "gates," that is, the five senses, when Eve was actually deceived by the serpent.[209] Vardan Aygekc'i C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where the viper and snake are, which is the Devil. This again implies the identification of the serpent and Satan.[210]

A second formulation of the relationship between the serpent and Satan is that Satan took the serpent as his associate. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13

205. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.
206. Vardan Aygekc'i 12. Note below, on the loss of light, §4.2.3.
207. Nersēs Šnorhali 14.
208. Sargis Šnorhali 6.
209. Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz 7.
210. Vardan Aygekc'i 8.

expressed this view,[211] and Vardan Arewelc‘i C13's statement that "(God) cursed Satan through the serpent" implies a similar relationship.[212]

In the passage from Grigor Tłay C12 quoted in §2.8, we read that Satan goes into the serpent. As noted in the appendix, §1.1.1, it is difficult to tell whether this expression implies possession, analogous to demonic possession, or some other mode in which Satan controlled the serpent. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is no more explicit when he says that the serpent is an instrument[213] of lawlessness and evil for Satan, who is also called a "procurer."[214] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz, excerpt 2, says that swearing is when "people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity." This is very like what the serpent did, and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz employs language like that which Nersēs Šnorhali uses of Satan.[215]

The serpent is called "wicked dragon (*višap*)" by Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12.[216] This is connected with the quite extensive material about the dragon in Revelation and with the exegesis of Ps 74:13 = Arm 73:13. It is discussed above in chapter 2 §4.7.

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The only twelfth-century author excerpted who mentions Satan's fall is Ignatius *vardapet,* who says that Satan rose up against the Creator, fell from honor, and, by deceit, persuaded humans to fall with him, giving him mastery over them. Elsewhere Ignatius states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.[217] This thin evidence contrasts with the major role played by this incident in the earlier texts considered in chapter 2 §3.2. It had started to recede already in the tenth–eleventh centuries.

In the thirteenth century, however, we find more use of the myth. In a poem, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 describes Sadayēl's (Satan's) fall. He turned his face aside, deviated from the way of the heavenly hosts.[218]

211. Yovhannēs Erzenkac‘i Pluz 24.

212. Vardan Arewelc‘i 31.

213. See Stone 2008a, 148 and nn. 52 and 53.

214. Nersēs Šnorhali 42. "Instrument" is գործի, perhaps reflecting the Greek term ὄργανον. Compare Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

215. Moreover, the imagery of serpent influenced the references to Eve's tempting words as poison, as in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 30. Compare Anania Mokac‘i Kat‘ołikos 1, Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3, and Nersēs Šnorhali, Յիսուս Որդի *Son Jesus*, Book 1 uses the expression թոյնք վիշապին ("poison of the dragon"), referring to the Edenic serpent.

216. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

217. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

218. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10.

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face,
From the heaven to the deeps he fell,
and from light, remained in darkness.

Why Satan rebelled is not made explicit here, only his separation from the heavenly hosts. According to Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Satan, who had fallen from glory, envied Adam.[219] The same motive is found, of course, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3; and see §3.3.

In a couple of places, in similes, Satan's motive or facets of his conduct are described in slightly more detail. Speaking of a human rebel, Step'anos Ōrbelean C13 says that he reached too zealously for perfect glory, rebelled like the Deceiver, grew arrogant, and fell. Here the theme of *hybris* that so often accompanies Satan's fall is clear. It ultimately derived, we may suppose, from the "Lucifer" passage in Isa 14:12–13.

Vardan Aygekc'i C13 makes a general indictment of Satan when he says that he did deeds of darkness; he has gone forth to outer darkness; he has not prepared for a wedding; and he has gone forth from the goodly host.[220] Moreover, he says that Satan fell from glory.[221] When he fell, Satan threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.[222] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 says that, through his fall, Satan tortured creatures, and after his descent to earth he is dead forever, because of his remoteness from God.[223] All of these statements speak of Satan's change of state from a heavenly to a fallen being, and when a motive is implied, it is his rebellion against God, his overweening pride.

3.3 Satan's Envy

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 is quite emphatic that Satan, having fallen, wished to harm God, in revenge for his fall. He was unable to harm God as he wished, and so he harmed the image of God, humans. On the same page he says that Satan "wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him [i.e., Adam] his image and likeness."[224] Succinctly, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan's envy.[225] Above, in §§3.2 and 3.3, I mentioned Satan's jealousy of the protoplasts, which is an old theme, being explicit already in Wis 2:24, in *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, and elsewhere.

219. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
220. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.
221. Vardan Aygekc'i 6; see further Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
222. Vardan Aygekc'i 1.
223. Vardan Arewelc'i 33–34.
224. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.
225. Grigor Tłay 20.

Satan's envy is mentioned by Grigor Aknerc'i C13,[226] and Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan's envy was of Adam. It is unclear in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz's formulation whether Satan's envy of Adam refers to a primordial revolt against Adam's very creation, or a postlapsarian jealousy of Adam, who retained the heavenly glory that Satan had lost.[227] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that he was jealous of Adam and opposed to the Lord of the worlds.[228]

The theme of envy and jealousy is found with figures other than Satan. The serpent lied that he was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods, according to Vardan Arewelc'i C13.[229] The demons were jealous as well, according to Vardan Arewelc'i, but he does not mention the specific cause of the demons' jealousy.[230] His statement that "irrational indignation was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory" is equally inexplicit.[231] It is not a reference to Satan's rebellion against bowing down to Adam, as is found in the story of his fall but speaks of the serpent's jealousy of Eve's glory.

Satan is frequently characterized as a deceiver who defrauded creatures.[232] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 speaks of him as "the hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam and confused him with words."[233] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 states that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and separated him from God.[234] According to Frik C13, Adam was deceived by a traitor, so he calls Satan a traitor. Satan lied, says Vardan Arewelc'i C13, and the serpent envied Adam and Eve becoming gods and lied.

Thus, Satan was not the only deceiver. The serpent, Satan's associate, deceived Eve, breaching the fence of the orchard of life,[235] and, in the words of Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13, it deceitfully overcame Adam or Adam and Eve.[236] Frik C13 says that the woman's treachery and the serpent's words deceived Adam.[237]

Satan is called evil; he tortured higher creatures with sorrow by his fall; he fraudulently deceived natures (people), and had Adam expelled.[238]

226. Grigor Aknerc'i 1.
227. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
228. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24.
229. Vardan Arewelc'i 32.
230. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.
231. Vardan Arewelc'i 19.
232. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. See also §4.1.2.
233. Vardan Arewelc'i 23.
234. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 17.
235. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24, 68, and 74. See §2.0 above, on the walled Garden.
236. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 56.
237. . Frik 59.
238. Vardan Arewelc'i 33. "Natures" often means "humans"; see n. 346 below.

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

One view of the purpose of the prohibition against eating of the tree is that God tested Adam's autonomous will[239] with the fruit. Using different wording, Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13 has Adam say, "[You] exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will." Adam, in this view, failed the trial God set for him.[240]

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 says that God bestowed on Adam manifold and wonderful honors: (a) the image; (b) rule over creatures; (c) the tending of the Garden; (d) the commandment as pledge of future prizes (see §1.1.7 above). Instead of prizing these, (a) he disobeyed, (b) he did not confess his sin (the reference is to the incident of God's footfalls; see §4.3 below), and (c) he accused God of being the cause of his actions (Gen 3:12, "the woman whom you gave . . .), thus leading to curses on him and on created things.[241] Sargis Šnorhali C12 also says that Adam blamed God for his transgression.[242] This is a presentation of the gravity of Adam's sin; it does not address the reason or motive lying behind it. Similar to Yovhannēs Imastasēr's point (c) is Sargis Šnorhali's statement that Adam slandered God by saying, "The woman whom you created . . . ."[243] Note that this passage relates not to Eve's culpability but to Adam's.

As I have observed above, Adam's sin involved *hybris*: created from dust, he wanted to be God.[244] In the words of Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13, God took care lest Adam, reaching too zealously for perfect glory, rebel like Satan.[245] *Hybris* was also Satan's sin, as noted above in §3.2.

In a homily, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 expounds a list of Eve's sins.[246] In a typological description of Adam's sin, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 writes, "For that old Adam was wounded by a tree, | Having fallen, He [i.e., Christ] was put on the cowardly lance."[247] One point of interest to us is Nersēs Šnorhali's use "old" to describe Adam. This does not happen only in this passage but fairly often in

239. Already in the fifth century, "autonomous will" is used as a term for free will or freedom of choice; see chapter 1 §1.2.

240. Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i 3.

241. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

242. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

243. Sargis Šnorhali 2.

244. Frik 60.

245. Step‘anos Ōrbelean 5.

246. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 7.

247. Nersēs Šnorhali 33.

his writings and in other places as well.[248] One interpretation attributes the use of "old" to the typology of Adam/Christ, which I discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.6. Adam is the "old Adam" and Christ, the "new Adam."[249] However, Adam is sometimes said to have grown old as a result of his sin. Thus, for example, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam, because of his sin, lost lordly honor (փառք) and wisdom, grew old, aged, and died.[250]

Note that Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that aging came about because of sin, so one of the points of his discussion is "the aged image, and the destroyed imprint, and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it."[251] While restoration of image to glory is a common idea, this is not previously linked to aging. Aging and youth are important in earlier sources. In *Jub.* 23:8–17 and, as part of the eschatological woes, *Jub.* 23:25 says that "children's heads will turn white with grey hair. A child who is three weeks of age will look old like one whose years are 100."[252] Premature aging occurs elsewhere, such as in the *Gr. Apoc. Ezra* 4:33.[253]

This idea first occurs in our excerpts in a rather obscure passage by Grigor Magistros, discussed in chapter 2 §4.2.6. Suddenly, in the twelfth century there is not just an explosion of the "old Adam"/"new Adam" typology, which is rather ancient in origin, but aging as a result of Adam's sin also becomes increasingly prominent.

In a remarkable passage, Pawłos Tarōnac‘i C12 works out the Adam/Christ typology in considerable detail.[254] I present his analysis in the following table.

First tree, cause of disobedience → death and corruption	Cross, cause of obedience → immortality and incorruption
Adam ate sweet fruit wanting to become God → expulsion	Christ drank gall as compensation for Adam → removed bitterness
Adam looked up and saw the tree, which was forbidden	Christ lowered his head and gave his human soul to his Father
Adam stretched out his hands to take fruit	Christ had his hands nailed to the cross instead of Adam

248. Thus, see also Nersēs Šnorhali 23, 28, 34, and 40.

249. Note that the baptized Christ is called the new Adam in *Pen. Adam* 42(13):3c.

250. Sargis Šnorhali 20.

251. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

252. VanderKam 1989, 148. The idea of the aging of the earth at the end of days is well known.

253. See note *ad loc.* in Stone 1983, 1:561–79 especially 575.

254. Pawłos Tarōnac‘i 1.

Adam was stripped of glory because of sin	Christ was stripped of his garment
On Friday Adam drank gall on the cross	
On Friday Adam was driven out	On Friday Christ was taken down from the cross

The strange statement that the forefather drank gall on the cross must be somehow confused, for clearly Christ is intended.

The typology of "old/new Adam" also lies behind the following passage from Nersēs Šnorhali C12: "The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God's knowledge."[255] In the material considered in the present chapter, sin as a result of Adam's decision is less stressed, and the idea of sin as a result of Satanic deception, or of Adam's love of Eve, becomes more prominent.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love for Eve

According to some texts, but far from all, Adam ate the fruit not because he rebelled against God but because he loved or pitied Eve. Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says in general terms that Adam willingly entered hell and became pitiable.[256] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13, like Grigor Tłay C12, is more explicit when he states that Adam took pity on Eve or was compassionate toward her, and for that reason he ate the fruit.[257] Grigor Tłay puts it as follows:

> Adam seeing, has compassion
> On the naked woman and pities her,
> Having taken the fruit he eats (it),
> He learns his own nakedness.[258]

A similar view is espoused by Grigor Narekacʻi C10, that is, that Adam ate the fruit out of his love for Eve, and not from sinful intent.[259] Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12 evinces a different attitude, opining that Adam preferred the

255. Nersēs Šnorhali 40. The latter part of this remark relates, of course, to the tension between free will (autonomous will) and divine prescience. Furthermore, the term անձնիշխան ("autonomous"), which was common in the fifth century, subsequently became much less so.

256. Vardan Aygekcʻi 1.

257. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 26, 30, and 60. See §2.8 above.

258. Grigor Tłay 12.

259. See chapter 2 §2.8.

woman's will, which she shared with the persuasive serpent, to observing the commandment.[260]

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

There are a number of statements that imply that Eve caused Adam to sin by deceiving him or enticing him to eat the fruit: Adam accused Eve;[261] Eve was the cause of Adam's exile;[262] Eve persuaded Adam, and Adam ate and was deceived;[263] Adam was deceived by the woman's treachery.[264]

In §4.1.1, I discussed a different view of Adam's eating of the fruit. According to Grigor Tłay C12 and Grigor Narekacʻi C10, as cited in that section, Adam was moved to eat the fruit not by sin but by his love and compassion for Eve. Grigor Tłay, who espoused this view, also says that Adam obeyed the Evil One and was deceived. This is either an inconsistency, perhaps reinforced by poetic license, or two views from different perspectives. Close up, Adam's motive was not sinful, but, viewed from afar in the larger picture, he did obey Satan's deceitful words. In any case, Grigor Tłay does not consistently pronounce Adam's exculpation.[265]

In addition to Grigor Tłay C12, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that Satan persuaded Adam to join him in "lawlessness" (compare also §3.1 above) and deceitfully taught him to rebel. Sargis Šnorhali C12 states that through a trick of the Devil the fruit delighted Adam and, presumably, tempted him to sin. As I noted above (§3.3), Adam was deceived and expelled through the serpent's words.[266] Frik C13 repeats this when he says, "He came on this day, he was persuaded, | He was mocked by the Devil."[267] Grigor Aknercʻi C13 states that Adam was deceived by a woman and betrayed by the abominable serpent; similarly Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13.[268] Grigor Tłay claims that Satan deceived Eve by the promise that she would become god.[269] Without saying exactly how Satan deceived Eve, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 says that he fed Eve mortal fruit through deception.[270]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 also formulates the sin in terms of light and darkness. This is a development of the language of pristine glory and luminosity, lost when Adam sinned. He says, "Having abandoned the command of light due to the

260. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

261. Frik 5.

262. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 29.

263. Frik 18.

264. Frik 59.

265. Grigor Tłay 20.

266. Frik 16 and 59.

267. Frik 18.

268. See Grigor Aknercʻi 1 and Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 40. In most general terms, Sargis Šnorhali 1 states that Satan causes sin by tricks and deceits of the mind, which is, of course, a well-known theme.

269. Grigor Tłay 10.

270. Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

deception of darkness, | He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory."[271] Above I discussed Adam's Edenic light (§1.1.5), and the relation between Satan's deception and darkness is clear.[272]

Frik C13 remarks that Adam did not consider paradise when he ate the fruit. As he puts it:

> You became opposed to good,
> You are wounded by your rib,
> You are deceived by the traitor,
> You are deprived of eternal light.

This passage also seems to incorporate some idea of exculpation, with blame laid on Eve and Satan. Nonetheless, he says that Adam became "opposed to the good."[273]

4.2 The Results of Sin

The results of Adam and Eve's sin were crucial for humankind. In the most general terms, Adam and Eve lost their paradisiacal state; they became mortal; they came to suffer the human lot of labor and childbirth; they inherited the curses of Gen 3:14–19. Another statement is that when Adam sinned, sin entered into his soul, expulsion from paradise ensued, and then illness and death.[274] Frik C13 says that the crucifixion came about because of Adam's sin.[275]

A broad statement of the results of sin is that "[t]hey became low for they were deprived of all the fruit [i.e., of the Garden]; they were in pain, they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth."[276] Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 says similarly that "when he left God's commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death."[277]

The first result is that they were expelled from paradise, naked and ashamed.[278] They went forth because of one piece of fruit, and were expelled from the glory of the Garden.[279] Since they were dead as a result of sin, they were

271. Nersēs Šnorhali 16.
272. See §§3.0 and 3.2 above and n. 391 below.
273. Frik 6 and 56.
274. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 8.
275. Frik 8; cf. 9.
276. Vardan Arewelcʻi 28. Paradise was considered to be on an elevated place; see §2.0 above.
277. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 8.
278. Frik 16 and 43; Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 27.
279. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 5.

expelled, says Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz.[280] And, he adds, the sin resulted in pains and death for Eve.[281]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 says that, as a result of the protoplasts' sin, the distinction between good and bad creations entered the world; originally everything had been good.[282] This statement highlights the changes in the natural order that resulted from sin. These are reflected also in the changes in human beings that I discussed in §4.2. Below, I will consider further specific aspects of the results of the transgression. Vardan Aygekc‘i says that after Adam's expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world.[283]

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Because the protoplasts ate of the tree and desired to become God, death started to rule (Sargis Šnorhali C12).[284] The same idea is forwarded in more general terms by Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C13, who says that Adam chose the mortal, death-dealing fruit and was cursed,[285] while Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says, "You turned your face from Adam and then he died."[286] Previously Adam and Eve had been immortal, and death was a correlative of their loss of their heavenly state.[287] It was, then, a punishment for their sin.[288] This idea occurs frequently. All are condemned to death through Adam's sin, says Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12, and Adam and Eve were condemned to death for forgetting the commandment, according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[289]

After the sin came condemnation (դատապարտութիւն) and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. This statement by Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12 complements his view that death and corruption, by which our body is aged, entered the world because of Adam's sin. The image was destroyed.[290]

A number of sources follow the biblical text's view that on the very day on which Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and, they add, died. Ignatius *vardapet* C12 reconciles the fact that Adam is cursed to die,

280. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 28.

281. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 16; compare §68, which speaks of Eve and the serpent being cursed; see further on Eve, §4.2.2 below.

282. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 1.

283. Vardan Aygekc‘i 12.

284. Sargis Šnorhali 12 and compare 13.

285. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.

286. Vardan Arewelc‘i 26: compare Frik 17 and see note 321.

287. Frik 17; Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14–15; for Eve *ibid* 16.

288. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 14 and 32–33.

289. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 20 and Nersēs Šnorhali 21.

290. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 3.

yet lives on till the age of 930, by saying that those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.[291] With his transgression and curses, Adam lost the spirit that was vivifying and became slave of mortal sins (Grigor Tłay C12).[292]

Armenian exegetes move freely, as I have observed, between the language of the inbreathing of the spirit (Gen 2:7) and that of the creation in the image (Gen 1:26–27). Thus, Grigor Tłay C12's loss of the vivifying spirit is equivalent to Dawit' Ganjakec'i C13's loss of the image. Sargis Šnorhali C12 adds that, when man became corruptible, creatures became corruptible with him.[293]

After the transgression, not only was death instituted, but also various consequences followed. Thus, Vardan Aygekc'i says that Adam cast his body into culpability and corruption.[294] He adds that when Adam and Eve broke the fast, that is, ate in disobedience to the commandment, they killed their children.[295] However, Vardan Arewelc'i C13 maintains, God, being compassionate, did not make death complete but left the spirit alive.

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

In addition to losing their immortality, the protoplasts lost the ambit of glory or splendor that surrounded them. When they ate the fruit, they realized that they were stripped naked. In this statement Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 does not say what they were stripped of.[296] Elsewhere, he and Frik C13 say that Adam and Eve were stripped of eternal light, and they use a variety of other attributes for the light or glory.[297] Their recognition of their nakedness, an exegesis of Gen 3:7, is given a double interpretation by Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, who says that Eve ate and was stripped naked, and Adam was stripped of light. Elsewhere he says that Adam was stripped of light, or of ornaments, synonyms for the same heav-

291. Ignatius *vardapet* 8. The biblical texts are Gen 2:17, "for in the day that you eat of it you shall die," and the curses in Gen 3:19, "until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return." This curse does not accord with the sanction that Gen 2:17 says was destined for Adam and Eve. That was the exegetical problem with which Ignatius is wrestling.

292. Grigor Tłay 17. "Mortal" in "mortal sins" means "bringing death." So this statement says that, as a result of his transgression, Adam became mortal, or died.

293. Sargis Šnorhali 14. Eve was deprived of life as a result of sin: Grigor Pahlavuni 1. Grigor's focus on Eve is explained by the context, which is a poem, "On the Birth of the Holy Mother of God."

294. Vardan Aygekc'i 2.

295. Vardan Aygekc'i 10.

296. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 25 and so also 75. In §1.1.5 Adam and Eve's glory on their creation is discussed.

297. Frik 6, 17, 60, and 68; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7, 14, 26, 29, 37, 40, and 47. Elsewhere various authors speak just of their loss of glory; see Vanakan *vardapet* 2; Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 59.

enly luminous state.[298] A general statement by Ignatius *vardapet* C12 speaks of humans, "having slithered forth from the divine glory of splendour which we had in Paradise . . . ," where the verb "slithered" is suggestive of a serpent.[299]

This glory is sometimes said to be their clothing from the time before they sinned. Thus, Grigor Tłay C12 says that Eve believed the serpent, ate, was stripped of light, and learned evil and good. The word մերկեցաւ ("was stripped, made naked") is derived from the same root that is used in Gen 3:7 (մերկ էին, "they were/became naked").[300] Thus, there is a clear connection between the loss of glory and the nakedness following on the sin, which is inferred from Gen 3:7. He understood that verse to mean, "they realised that they had been stripped naked." In the same passage of Grigor Tłay, Adam learns of his own nakedness. They were stripped of divine grace, which means at least the same thing as the loss of glory.[301] To this idea, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 adds one element, that, despite the loss of glory, "nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained."

Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam lost the Lord's glory and was condemned,[302] and, in other formulations, that he lost "lordly honor and supreme wisdom" and "supreme glory and highest bliss."[303] When God's image, which had been created for the glory of God, perished, then the other creatures, which had been created for humans, became corruptible.[304] This implies that death was imposed on all living creatures as an outcome of Adam's sin, and not just on humans. Nersēs Šnorhali C12, in excerpt 43, specifies that "Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendour of Paradise." He also says that Adam lost honor (պատիւ).[305] In short, then, Nersēs Šnorhali maintains that through his sin Adam destroyed the God-given grace. [306]

Speaking of Adam's loss of the inbreathed sprit, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that Adam was shamed and stripped of the breath or spirit, or of glory. Frik C13 formulates this idea by saying that Adam became nonrational. Taking up an older theme, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz says that Adam turned black-faced.[307]

The connection between punishment and deep darkness is explicit in Frik C13, when he says that humans lived for six eons in deep darkness. In Job 19:8–9

298. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 57. On the paradisiacal glory, see further §§1.1.5 and 4.1.2. The term "glory" occurs widely, but these are the chief discussions.

299. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

300. Grigor Tłay 11; cf. Nersēs Šnorhali 34.

301. Ignatius *vardapet* 2.

302. Sargis Šnorhali 1.

303. Sargis Šnorhali 20 and 15, respectively.

304. Sargis Šnorhali 14.

305. Nersēs Šnorhali 40.

306. Nersēs Šnorhali 33; see also §4.2.2. On this hierarchy, see §1.2 above.

307. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 41; see 4 Ezra 7:97, 125; 10:25; see Stone 1990a, 259. The theme of demonic ravens is to be found in many places, and the blackening of faces occurs also in Job 19:8.

we read, not in the context of Adam, "8 He has walled up my way so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths. 9 He has stripped my glory from me, and taken the crown from my head." This language plays the same chords as the language about Adam's loss of glory.

Eve's body was stripped of glory, and both Eve and Satan are said to have suffered this fate.[308]

Above I have dealt with the protoplasts' loss of glory or light. Because glory is taken by many texts as the protoplasts' clothing before the Fall, these two categories, nakedness and the loss of glory, become confused. Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12 says that, just as Adam became naked of glory, Christ was naked on the cross.[309] Here the Adam/Christ typology is in play once more. In a passage that relates the whole story in brief compass, with no divergence from the standard exegesis, Sargis Šnorhali C12 says that Adam was stripped of glory (մերկացեալ ի փառացն).[310] Pawłos Tarōnac'i C12 simply says that Adam was stripped of his glory because of the sin.[311]

The leather garments that God made for them (Gen 3:21) also attracted the exegetes' attention. After Adam's sin, he wore coats of skin, rather than the divine glory he had worn in paradise.[312] Sargis Šnorhali C12, generally a partisan of straightforward and traditional exegesis, says that God made leather garments to cover their nakedness instead of the torn leaf (i.e., of the fig tree).[313] The poet Nersēs Šnorhali C12, who liked allegory, says that the coats of skin are also an allegory of the loss of brightness of paradise.[314] In one text, Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz C12 instead of saying "naked" says "stripped of light," thus implying the exegesis that Adam's garment was of light.[315] A final formulation of Adam's loss is that in paradise he was a king "[c]overed with godly light" but now they expelled him and "stripped him mercilessly."[316]

Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 says that Adam's postlapsarian garments were rent by Christ.[317] I note that Adam responded to God's question, according to Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, by citing his nakedness (§4.3). This is based on Gen

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308. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 25, 59, and 60; compare also God's address to Eve later in the same poem, in excerpt 67.

309. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

310. Sargis Šnorhali 9. In excerpt 1, Sargis Šnorhali says that Adam lost his glory and fell.

311. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

312. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

313. Sargis Šnorhali 11.

314. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.

315. Yovhannēs Erzenkac'i Pluz 26; compare excerpts 57 and 58 for more general formulations.

316. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 55 and 57; see also §1.6.

317. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

3:12, and both Frik C13 and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz say that he fled in shame at the sound of God's footfall and covered himself with a fig leaf.[318]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The working out of the curses and Adam's deprivation of the benefits of his prelapsarian state are expressed in various ways, some of which I discussed above, such as the loss of glory, or of immortality, and so forth. In addition, Nersēs Šnorhali C12 speaks of the inception of death and loss of the Garden, and of the thorns and thistles that the earth sprouted.[319] Adam lost immortal life, and the splendor of paradise was hidden from him and his children, says Nersēs Šnorhali.[320] Pawłos Tarōnac‘i C12 simply says that Adam was deprived of paradise for eating the fruit and aspiring to be God.[321]

According to the text of Gen 3:13–19, God cursed Adam, Eve, and the serpent (understood by some postbiblical exegesis as Satan). Grigor Tłay C12 and Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12 speak of the curses in general terms and do not go beyond the biblical text in content.[322] Grigor Tłay says that Adam blamed Eve and Satan.[323] In fact, in Genesis, Adam blamed Eve (3:12), and Eve in turn blamed the serpent (3:13). Note that Grigor Tłay simplified the biblical text and in addition, speaks of Satan, not the serpent. Nersēs Lambronac‘i says that Satan spread sin and the curse on Adam.[324]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 claims that the results of their eating the fruit were that, instead of paradise, the earth brought forth thorns; that humans had a sorrowful, suffering, and distressing life; and that death was instituted.[325] A prominent element in the cursing of Adam is that he is to labor, sweating,[326] and that his labor will produce only thorns and thistles.[327] To this, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 adds that he will return to dust. Elsewhere, the same poet lists death, thorns, pains, toil, and death, as well as darkness instead of the luminous Garden.[328] Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 says that they were deprived of the fruit, sick, weak, and mortal, and that they were without guidance outside the Garden.[329]

Other remarks may be made. Taking up the theme of darkness with which I dealt toward the end of the last section, Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13 has Adam say,

318. Frik 3; cf. 16; Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 62 and 76.
319. Nersēs Šnorhali 25 and 43.
320. Nersēs Šnorhali 44.
321. Pawłos Tarōnac‘i 1.
322. Grigor Tłay 15; Nersēs Lambronac‘i 4.
323. Grigor Tłay 14.
324. Nersēs Lambronac‘i 6.
325. Nersēs Šnorhali 25.
326. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 1, 15, and 32.
327. Frik 7.
328. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 32–33.
329. Such passages add very little to the biblical text, except that "the serpent" is often referred to as "Satan," which shows the loss of the distinction between them.

"I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition."[330] The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz).[331] The serpent was cursed to move on its stomach says Vardan Aygekc'i C13. He cites a phrase of unknown provenance, "head brought low to the feet" as referring to Adam and the serpent.

Frik C13 declares that Adam fell into a bottomless pit of boiling pitch, which was hell.[332] Vardan Arewelc'i C13, using a striking image, says that Adam became the first poor man, being deprived both of God and of the Garden.[333] He expresses the same idea in more usual language when he says, "As Adam, he became similar to the beasts that eat grass, instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death."[334] Adam was punished justly, yet God graciously gave him the opportunity to beget Seth as a consolation. This unusual idea is put forward by Grigor Tłay C12.[335]

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 is one of the few authors excerpted for this chapter who shows interest in the fiery seraph that guarded the tree of life (Gen 3:24).[336] In another text of his, it is a cherub, as in the Bible. The reason Nersēs Šnorhali offers for the blocked way and the angelic guard is so that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalterable death. The twist he has given here to the biblical verse is noteworthy, reading Gen 3:22 as, "he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever. Yet Nersēs Šnorhali says that this is lest he eat and not live for ever but remain dead. Perhaps he wished to reserve the privilege of granting eternal life to redemption through Christ.

4.2.5. Under the Control of Satan

As a result of their sin, Adam and Eve fell under Satan's control. Their children served demons. Satan built hell and imprisoned souls there, until Christ freed them through his descent into limbo. Adam's loss through transgression is well summarized by Ignatius *vardapet* C12. He says that, as a result of eating the fruit, Adam lost glory and splendor[337] and deified the demons, putting himself under Satan's control. Through Adam's sin, Satan became worshiped, says

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330. After Adam's expulsion, darkness spread through the Garden and the whole world (Vardan Aygekc'i 12).

331. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 68.

332. Frik 19.

333. Vardan Arewelc'i 10.

334. Vardan Arewelc'i 16.

335. In excerpt 16, Grigor Tłay says, "God is kind and beneficent, | For he does not neglect Adam, | But with care he nurtures him, | Favours him with bearing children"; cf. excerpts 20–21. For Seth as son of consolation, see Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1860, 25; Armenian Adam apocrypha, such as *Death of Adam* 7, *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* 4; and see Stone 1996a, 44.

336. Nersēs Šnorhali 22.

337. See Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and §4.2.3 above.

Frik C13.[338] He captured Adam, who caused his offspring to serve demons.[339] Of course, regarding pagan gods as demons is an old theme, present in the Bible and in the intertestamental literature. Sacrifice to demons is found in Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 = Arm 105:37; Bar 4:7; *1 En.* 19:1; 99:7; 4QpsDan[a] ar (4Q243 frg. 13 = 4Q244 frg. 12). See particularly 1 Cor 10:20.[340]

As for Satan as ruler of humans, that too is an old theme. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 talks of the race of men bound by Adam and released by Christ.[341] Moreover, the captivity lasted six thousand years, clearly indicating that its end would come through Christ.[342] Hell was the prison of Adam and his grandchildren for a long time.[343] In one of Vardan Aykgec‘i C13's fables, the arrogant prince is Satan, who fell from glory. He deceived Adam and drove him out. He and his host built hell, and demons held humans captive.[344] Frik C13 repeats this theme often. Thus he writes:

> The Devil had made hell,
> He had gathered many spirits in it.
> The Saviour came on account of Adam,
> And freed (him) through His blood.[345]

Vardan Arewelc‘i C13 states that the demons increased Adam's suffering and injured natures.[346] Moreover, the same pattern as Adam's sin and Christ's redemption is repeated with women, "The race of women condemned by Eve | Was freed from the transgression by Mary," writes Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[347]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

The traditional Armenian interpretation of Gen 3:8, "They heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden," involves two points: both that God called Adam and that Adam heard God approaching. These two points are taken up

338. Frik 18.
339. Frik 18; see also Frik 10, cf. 9.
340. This subject is extensive, and all we can give here are indications.
341. Nersēs Šnorhali 4.
342. Frik 43. This conclusion follows from the chiliastic chronology that reckons the parousia to come after six days of the world week. See discussion in Stone 1982, 82–83.
343. Frik 20. The souls of the protoplasts were in hell; see Vardan Arewelc‘i 35.
344. Vardan Aykgec‘i 6.
345. Frik 9.
346. Vardan Arewelc‘i 21, 25. Note use of natures to mean humans or bodies in Vardan Arewelc‘i 33 and there are other such occurrences from Eznik in the fifth century and thenceforth.
347. Nersēs Šnorhali 4. Vardan Aykgec‘i C13 wrote an exegetical riddle in which the head and the feet were Adam and the serpent; see excerpt 5. This riddle is based on the quotation "The head is brought low to the feet," the origin of which is unknown.

by the Armenian tradition. Why should Adam hear God's footsteps? This question is answered by saying that God deliberately made the sound of his coming audible. How could God ask, "Where are you?" Did he not know? This question is actually God's call to Adam to repent: where are you morally? It was taken as a summons to repentance.

Frik C13 has a simple enumeration of three features: God came to paradise, he sought and called Adam, and he does not mention the footsteps.[348] Similarly, in one text, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C12 simply says that God came and asked, "Where are you?" equally without mention of the footsteps. Elsewhere, however, this author says that Adam was astounded at hearing God's footfalls and hid.[349] In the typological mode, Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12 says that Adam (in hell), recognized Christ's footsteps when he came, and Adam informed the denizens of hell. He was apparently familiar with the divine footsteps from the Garden.[350]

Grigor Tłay C12 says that God's sound became loud, as he sought for Adam. "Where are you?" he asked and he (Adam) said, "I have sinned."[351] In contrast, Adam did not confess when God asked him without rancor, says Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag).[352] Frik C13 takes God's call not as a summons to repentance but as a reproach to Adam, who, according to an understanding of Gen 3:12, was reproaching God. "How did you make God the cause?" Frik C13 asks.[353] Frik's text specifies further (1) the footsteps, (2) that Adam hid, and (3) that Adam accused God.

One reason that God called Adam was to summon him to repent. Frik C13 says that because he did not repent, he lost his honor (i.e., the paradisiacal glory) and became like the animals.[354] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 puts it thus, "45 Why did I not fall at his feet | Crying, saying 'Lord, I have sinned,' | Rather than accuse Eve? | It is I who have fallen from eternal good."[355] Another view, espoused by Vardan Arewelc'i C13, is that God's benevolence brought him to visit the condemned.[356]

When God came to paradise and called, "Adam, where are you?" the trees worshiped God and gave extra fruit.[357] Such legendary elements are found already in *Pen. Adam* [44](22):3. With a similar statement, that when God called, "Where

348. Frik 61.
349. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 61 and 76. In excerpt 27 he is astounded at God's voice.
350. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.
351. Grigor Tłay 13.
352. Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) 3.
353. Frik 4.
354. Frik 64. Elsewhere Frik simply states that Adam did not repent: excerpt 62.
355. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 64.
356. Vardan Arewelc'i 4.
357. Vardan Aygekc'i 12.

are you?" Adam responded, "I am naked," Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 took up another feature of Gen 3:10.[358]

A further element in the story, based on Gen 3:12, was that Adam's response was to blame Eve, or Eve and the serpent (see §4.2.4 above). This is sometimes directly stated and sometimes implied.[359] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 not only says that Adam blamed, but he seems also to imply that Adam was not sinful until he blamed Eve.[360] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes the same point when he says that "Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, 'the woman whom you gave to me,' rather than for eating the fruit."[361]

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

Adam sinned at midday; in the third hour, the serpent deceived Eve's mind; in the sixth hour, Adam fell.[362] In the same hour, Christ (was) on the cross.[363] Adam was expelled at the sixth hour, just as Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour. This is the opinion of Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12, and it exhibits the same sort of typological inference as was pointed out earlier (§§0.0, 1.1.1).[364]

Grigor Vkayasēr C12 continued the detailed typological presentation, not necessarily chronological, the first part of which I presented above:[365]

Adam	Christ
At the hour of Adam's persuasion	Christ was sentenced
Adam was stripped of the glory	our Lord was naked on the cross
At the sixth hour Adam ate the fruit	and Christ ascended the cross
In evening Adam heard footsteps	Christ trampled gates of hell

In addition to these general correlations, Grigor also presents a number of typological parallels. Adam, he says, was driven out on that Friday; on this Friday Christ taken down from the cross. Adam was driven out in the sixth hour, and Christ ascended the cross in the sixth hour.[366]

358. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 38 and 62.

359. Adam blamed Eve directly (Frik 5 and 64); Adam blamed Eve and the serpent (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 40); Adam blamed Eve indirectly (Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7). The last passage might refer also to Adam's eating the fruit.

360. Compare also Grigor Tłay 14.

361. Vardan Arewelc'i 11; see also on Adam's motivation §4.1.1.

362. Nersēs Šnorhali 27. Adam sinned at the sixth hour, that is, midday, but the process of sinning started at the third hour.

363. Nersēs Šnorhali 28.

364. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

365. Grigor Vkayasēr 1; see Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1 and §4.1.

366. Pawłos Tarōnac'i 1.

Some other chronological traditions occur. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi C12 says that God created Adam on the sixth day, 1 Nisan, at the sixth hour of day.[367]

There is little interest in the amount of time the protoplasts spent in the Garden, a subject of interest in earlier centuries; see chapter 2 §4.4. Indeed, the only statement found is that the time is unknown because (1) there was no sun in Garden; and (2) Adam was not subject to years; see Vardan Arewelcʻi C13.[368]

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

Adam's response to his expulsion was to weep outside the gates of the Garden and to pray. One very full statement on the subject is made by Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 in the poem cited in §0.0.[369] In general, Adam wept at the Garden of Eden.[370] Frik C13 says that Adam wept a river of blood, which may include a reference to the crucifixion.[371] Elsewhere he says that Adam wept all day before the Garden, which weeping is connected to the Aṙaǰawor fast.[372]

Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil.[373]

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

The issue of fasting, and specifically of the Aṙaǰawor fast, is discussed above in §§0.0 and 1.4. It is connected to the Adam stories in two ways. First, the commandment to refrain from the fruit of the tree is taken as a fast, and, second, Adam and Eve's five days' weeping and penitence after their expulsion is also regarded as a fast. These two themes are expressed in the five-day Aṙaǰawor fast of the Armenian Church.

Adam's fast is for Christ's sake, according to Vardan Aygekcʻi C13, who interprets the commandment not to eat of the tree as a commandment to fast. Vanakan *vardapet* C13 connects this interpretation with Aṙaǰawor. He cites "Basil" on this and says that this was the fast imposed on Adam in the Garden. It lasts five days, he says, because we sinned with five senses.[374]

In Vanakan *vardapet* C13's writing on this topic we observe for the first time references to apocryphal Adam traditions, and to the Aṙaǰawor fast connected

367. Pawłos Tarōnacʻi 2. See also §1.1.1 above.

368. Vardan Arewelcʻi 7: see also §1.1.1.

369. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 69–73. A version of his plaint is found in *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§11–24.

370. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 69–73: see also 53.

371. Frik 68.

372. Frik 10; and above §0.0. For another aspect of this idea, that God still nurtures Adam, see Grigor Tłay 16 and *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §27.

373. Vardan Aygekcʻi 8.

374. Vanakan *vardapet* 2. See §2.8 above, on Eve's sinning with five senses.

with those traditions. The creation of the creatures five days before Adam is thus also related to the five days of the Aṙaǰawor fast, though the exact relation is not made explicit.[375]

4.7 Cheirograph

Colossians 2:13–14 reads: "13 And when you were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made you alive together with him, when he forgave us all our trespasses, 14 erasing the record that stood against us[376] with its legal demands. He set this aside, nailing it to the cross." The legend of Adam's cheirograph, which is related to these verses, first occurs in our excerpts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and may be observed in a number of texts relating both to Adam's sin and to Christ's death.[377] For instance, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says, "Now the document of Adam's debts, by which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross . . . "[378] and Nersēs Lambronacʻi C12 speaks of the Father, "having undone the seal of the forefather Adam's condemnation."[379] Quoting the supposed words of Christ while dying, he writes, "And now I compensate for Adam's debt."[380] From a different perspective Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13 says,

> Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
> The one who sinned [i.e., Adam] condemned you,
> And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.[381]

With immaculate hands on the cross, the same author says, he [i.e., Christ] erased the writing.

The same cheirograph tradition, developed in connection with Col 2:14, is presented in a distinctive form by Vardan Aygekcʻi C13:

> Belial is a rabid dog, and he guards (keeps) his treasury, as he kept Adam's sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the

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375. See Vanakan *vardapet* 2, cited in §0.0 above. Compare with the *Repentance of Adam and Eve* §§1–10, 26 for the narrative elements. In *Cain and Abel* §1 we read, "Now after Satan's deception, when Adam had fasted for 5 days, which we call Aradjavor . . . ." In *Transgression* §§46–47 it is six days. All these texts are cited from the edition and translation by Lipscomb 1990.

376. ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον.

377. For a general presentation, see Stone 2002.

378. Col 2:14. The citation is from Ignatius *vardapet* 8.

379. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 3; also excerpt 20.

380. Nersēs Lambronacʻi 5.

381. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 34.

> Word erased the cheirograph on the cross with his dishonour[382] and blood[383] and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demon and said: "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept[384] it upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love is lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not take it from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and image of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)."[385]

This text combines the understanding of "cheirograph" as in Col 2:14 and the cheirograph as the contract that Satan tricked Adam into signing.[386] The name Bazu (Բազու) for Belial-Satan is quite extraordinary; cf. §3.0 above and appendix §1.0.

Men cannot not erase the book of sins of soul and body, "nor return to dust those fallen captive to death," says Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C13.[387] The implication of this is that only Christ can erase the book of sins and free the dead from captivity in hell. Again, the cheirograph idea lies in the background of this statement.[388]

In addition to the crucifixion, the other main context in which the idea of the cheirograph occurs is that of Christ's baptism. Nersēs Šnorhali C12 connects the two ideas saying that the very baptism washes away "the promissory note of the old Adam."[389]

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

"And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like animals," states Grigor Vkayasēr C11–C12.[390] Note (1) that the cave is identified with Machpelah, in Hebron; and (2) that at the same time the cave is identified

382. I.e., his crucifixion.
383. Cf. Col 2:14.
384. Perhaps emend to: I kept.
385. Vardan Aygekcʻi 7.
386. See Stone 2002.
387. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 35.
388. Perhaps the spread of darkness, discussed in §3.2, is also connected with the legend of Satan's second deception of Adam and Eve over the matter of the darkness. See Stone 2002, 12–17.
389. Nersēs Šnorhali 8.
390. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

with the grotto near Bethlehem.[391] There is a well-known tendency to confuse sacred places with one another.[392] Adam was buried at Golgotha according to Nersēs Šnorhali C12.[393]

Adam and Eve wept over the dead for thirty days, either over Abel or loss of the Garden.[394]

391. See Stone 2000b, 241–45.

392. Compare the discussion in chapter 2 §2.8 on Hebron—Shechem. Another, later example is the confounding of Jerusalem, Golgotha, and the Mount of Olives in *Story of the Tree of Sabek* (Stone 2012, 100).

393. Nersēs Šnorhali 30.

394. Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i 2.

4. Adam and Eve Traditions in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

Most of fourteenth-century excerpts are drawn from the works of Grigor Tat'ewac'i (1344–1409). He was a great systematizer with an organized and encyclopedic approach. He wished to create, in his *Book of Questions*, a work that would systematically set forth the Armenian Church's view on all main questions of religion. Therefore, he raised a number of issues about the protoplasts that no previous author had raised, and he attempted to respond exhaustively to each of them. As a result, he often adduced or invented answers found nowhere else. His method was to pose a question and to write a response to the question, frequently providing a conspectus of all conceivable answers to any question he raised. Some of these answers are drawn from tradition, while others are the fruit of his own acumen. Naturally, the former ones are of particular interest to us. His published homilies exhibit the same method. Sometimes in his writing one can discern the influence, direct or indirect, of the Dominican missionaries who were in Armenia, in and shortly before his lifetime. (His name occurs so often in this chapter that I omitted the notation "C14" following it.)

He generally gives exegetical or logically derived responses, but sometimes he has recourse to allegorical interpretation. Thus, for example, we read, "Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. . . . Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades."[1] However, the allegorical method is not as prominent in his writings as in those of the other contemporary authors.

The relative absence of typology or allegory from the fourteenth-century excerpts is, consequently, to some extent an optical illusion, because these methods were little used by one dominant author, Grigor Tat'ewac'i. Typology may be observed in Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14, who says that Adam was in paradise just

1. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51.

as long as Christ was in the world.[2] Indeed, Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi notes that that interpretation is drawn from Eusebius. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14 makes the grape of the redeeming wine of communion equivalent to the fruit of the tree in the Garden, which was a grape, which made Adam mortal.[3] Thus, the grape lost the Garden for humankind, and the grape opened the Garden to the redeemed.

A hint at the Gospels is built into a hexaëmeron, where, on sixth day, Adam was created and then the animals were created before his eyes.[4] The animals are specified as the eagle, the lion, and the ox, which, together with the man, constitute the symbols of the four evangelists.[5] Thus, in the writings of Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi C14, the events of creation are taken as paradigmatic.

All the published fifteenth-century works discussed here except *Adamgirkʻ*, the Adam epic written by Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, are excerpted part 2 of this book. In the present chapter, I have included instances where *Adamgirkʻ* either supports or contradicts a distinct and individual tradition found in another work excerpted. I have also given references to its extended treatments of one or another specific theme. Since the *Adamgirkʻ* is a very long text, taking detailed account of its every detail would expand our presentation here beyond all proportion. Therefore, the reader should depend for details on the "Select Subject Index" in the Oxford translation. All references to *Adamgirkʻ* given below are to recension, chapter, and stanza according to that translation.[6]

In general, *Adamgirkʻ* presents a standard but embroidered form of the stories of Adam and Eve in line with Genesis 1–3. The treatment of various subjects in *Adamgirkʻ* exhibits a strong typological strain, and events of Adam's life are often correlated with Christ's. Thus, for example, *Adamgirkʻ* 1.24 is a very extensive recap of the passion narrative permeated with typological parallels, chiefly to the Adam and Eve stories. From the perspective of the present undertaking, it adds nothing new to the narrative elements about Adam and Eve. Such typological exegeses are not documented in detail here, and I direct the reader to Aṙakʻel's own statement about them in the introduction to *Adamgirkʻ* 1.[7]

Particularly unusual are long disquisitions at the end of *Adamgirkʻ* Recension 1, including the extensive discussion of Eve in the section called "The Mysteries of the Rib" (*Adamgirkʻ* 1.16–22). Though this is of considerable interest in its own right, it adds little to the narrative material that we seek. Typological

2. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 3.

3. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 5 and 6.

4. Compare with the texts on creation in Adam's sight in earlier centuries, such as chapter 1 §2.5.

5. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2.

6. See Stone 2007a.

7. Ibid., 85.

chronology of the passion has already been observed in a number of texts, but it is not frequent in *Adamgirk'*.[8]

1.0 The Creation

Grigor Tat'ewac'i asks how many chief creations there were, and, among other answers, he says twenty-two, according to the number of Hebrew letters. He lists them but remarks that these were the chief creations but that there were also others.[9] Grigor Tat'ewac'i, enumerating the days of Holy Week, says: "Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolises the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, 'Let there be light.'[10] When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks and the four elements came into existence on that day."[11] This text continues with a sort of hexaëmeron. In connection with Monday, Grigor Tat'ewac'i also mentions that creation was by God the Word. This is the usual view (see below), but the consultation between the Persons of the Trinity, which other writers infer from Gen 1:16, is scarcely mentioned in any fourteenth-century excerpt. Grigor Tat'ewac'i mentions the creation of "birds from the waters," on Thursday, also a widespread interpretation.[12]

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 says that God created four elements, and the earlier polemic between dust and four elements is not mentioned.[13] Likewise, in *Adamgirk'* 1.19 Aṙak'el Siwnec'i discusses at length dust as the material from which Adam was created and also says that his body was created of four materials, that is, four elements.[14]

Grigor Tat'ewac'i quotes Grigor Narekac'i C10, who says that, when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared incarnated and was creating in his incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, just as the Illuminator says.[15] All the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed.[16]

8. Another similar passage is *Adamgirk'* 1.22.25–27, 31–32, part of long typological development, with use of stereotypical numbers.

9. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 16. The alternation of twenty-two and twenty-four is dealt with in chapter 3 §1.0.

10. Gen 1:3.

11. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 56.

12. The passage discussed is Grigor Tat'ewac'i 62.

13. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1; see above, chapter 2 §1.1.2 and here §1.1.2.

14. Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, *Adamgirk'* 3.3.23; 1.10.2, 7. See §1.2 below.

15. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See Agat'angełos 12 and 18. "The Illuminator" is St. Gregory the Illuminator.

16. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. See §3.2. His adducing of earlier authorities is typical, and it is also found less extensively in other fourteenth-century sources.

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Adam was created by God's hand: this idea is widespread and early. It may be found in Grigor Tatʻewacʻi and Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14.[17] In further detail, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that Adam was created by God's hand and speech,[18] and in a third text he says that Adam was created by God's hand and insufflated.[19] Adam was created by God's hands, declares Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15.[20] Interpreting Gen 1:26, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi makes another point. He says of Adam's creation: "it says, 'Let us make man according to our image,' that is, it says 'man' to be one, but 'let us make' and 'in our' show three persons." This is the usual trinitarian interpretation of that plural.[21] Adam had a tripartite soul,[22] and this is correlated with the Trinity in Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi's *Adamgirkʻ* 3.3.23. Elsewhere in *Adamgirkʻ* Adam is said to be tripartite, composed of spirit, mind, and body.[23]

Adam's breath is creative, an idea probably connected with the insufflation: thus Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi.[24] In another passage, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi says that "[the man] was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity . . . ."[25] Moreover, *Adamgirkʻ* describes the act of creation when it says that God made dust into rational man in his image, which means that he had autonomous will.[26] The relation between the image and free will, a major topic in the fifth century, appearing occasionally later, is not particularly stressed in the fifteenth.

Adam was viewed as God's child and was nourished by his hand says Mattʻēos *vardapet* C15.[27] This is related to the question of whether Adam and Eve can be considered children, and that question is, in turn, connected to Christ's virgin birth. Thus, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15 says about the creation of Eve: "ninth . . . because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse."[28] Eve was born as a virgin says Kirakos Erznkacʻi C14.[29]

17. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 7, 28 and Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 10.
18. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 32.
19. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 81; see the discussion in §1.0.
20. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 11 and *Adamgirkʻ* 1.1.9.
21. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 9; see above, chapter 3 §1.1.
22. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, *Adamgirkʻ* 3.3.23; 1.1.8; 1.10.2, 7.
23. *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.1.
24. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 11.
25. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 16. Note the "Stoic" virtues in this list.
26. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1 and 3.1.
27. Mattʻēos *vardapet* 3.
28. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 20.
29. Kirakos Ernzkacʻi 1.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yakob Łrimec‘i C15 was interested in the calendar and astronomy. He notes that Adam was created two days after the equinox, that is, on the sixth day, for the equinox was fixed on the fourth day of creation, when the luminaries came into being.[30] He says elsewhere that on the sixth day of creation, man was created, the sun entered Aries, the year commenced, and it was 1 Nisan.[31]

a. Adam is older than Eve: This view recurs in several authors such as Esayi Nč‘ec‘i C14.[32] Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 says that, with his hands, God created Adam thirty years old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five days old.[33]

b. Typology: Above I remarked on the typological relationship between Adam's transgression and Christ's passion.[34] This continues in the fourteenth century. Typology is infrequent in the writings of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, as discussed above.[35] Barseł Maškeronc‘i, also in the fourteenth century, asks:

> Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he received the condemnation on it, he went out of the Garden on it, and on it the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same [day] Christ received the wound of the lance in his side, and broke the sword of the Cherub, and introduced the soul of the robber into the Garden, and shared with him his ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, "Today you shall be with me in the Garden."[36]

Compare also Barseł's statement: ". . . And he . . . at that hour [evening] temporarily closed the door of the Garden," and Christ died at the same hour.[37]

1.1.2 The Material from Which Adam Was Created

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i raises the question of why Adam was created from dust. To this, he gives an elaborate answer, of which some interesting points are (a) that dust includes the other three elements;[38] (b) that dust symbolizes humility and so offsets the pride Adam may have taken in being created in the image, an idea that accords with another in the same passage, "We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with

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30. Yakob Łrimec‘i 1. Abusayid C12 said that Adam was created on the equinox. See further on these issues chapter 3 §1.1.1.

31. Yakob Łrimec‘i 5.

32. Esayi Nč‘ec‘i 2.

33. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 2. On the age of thirty years, see above, chapter 2 §1.1.4.

34. See chapter 3 §1.1.1.

35. See §0.0 above.

36. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 4; and see chapter 1 §1.1.1

37. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 3.

38. See §1.0 above.

it"; and (c) that he was created from dust to shame Satan, for he, an earth-made being, entered the glory from which Satan had fallen.[39]

Two of these features come together in lines of Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i C14, who says:

> From four elements of earth,
> I established earthen man.[40]

In earlier centuries, a polemic existed between the idea of creation from the four elements and that of creation from dust. There is no hint of this in the fourteenth century, however, and Grigor Tat'ewac'i, who is cited above saying that Adam was created from dust, also states that, when the Bible says dust, the dust had the other three elements mixed with it.[41] Elsewhere he states that earth is our mother, the other three elements are our relatives, and man was created from dust.[42]

Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 says that Adam was made of divine breath and dust.[43] This statement reflects the creation story in Genesis in general. Other sources repeat its content and, eventually, relate it to the idea of the four elements. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also says that man's soul is in the image of God, while the body is created from dust and mixed with it.[44] Again, he says, "Second, [we are] of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being of the same image, that is, of the image of God. . . ."[45]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

In earlier centuries the purpose of the man's creation is discussed.[46] The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century excerpts, however, do not say much about God's purpose in creation. Indeed, *Adamgirk'* 3.3.5. 2.4.9 states, as is also said in earlier centuries, that the original intent at Adam's creation was for him to gain "great glory." This would have happened had he not sinned. This notion is developed in a unique way when *Adamgirk'* 2.4.21–22 says that the temptation by the serpent was a test. The purpose of Adam's creation, and particularly of his punishment, was that Adam should seek to return to glory, says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[47] Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15 interprets Gen 1:27 to refer

39. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17 and 63.
40. Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i 4.
41. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17.
42. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 64.
43. Kostandin Erznkac'i 2.
44. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63; see also §1.1.
45. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 84.
46. See chapter 1 §1.1.3, chapter 2 §1.1.3, and chapter 3 §§1.1.3 and 1.1.6.
47. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

to the three Persons of the Trinity, as discussed above in §1.1.[48] This makes the creation of man a proclamation of the Trinity.

The general direction of the discussion, however, accords with Grigor Tatʻewacʻi's view that, had Adam observed the commandment, he would have arrived at perfect immortality.[49] Thus, he says:

> [I]f they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is said, between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth."[50]

The prohibition of the fruit of the tree, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says, was for forty days duration. For after "forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed. . . ."[51]

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi speaks of fruit as the cause of evil or, alternatively, of untimely eating as the cause of evil.[52] He mentions a theme that was prominent earlier, viz., that the command was about fasting.[53]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Several fourteenth-century authorities say that Adam was created at thirty years old, which is a widespread view.[54] According to Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, he was unaging and completely joyous and he lived between life and death.[55] Esayi Nčʻecʻi says that he was older than Eve at creation and Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi, despite not addressing precisely this point, says that Eve was created three hours after Adam.[56]

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Adam and Eve were frequently given the attributes of glory and a luminous presence and were said to have flowered with light.[57] Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15

48. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 1.
49. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 26.
50. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 26.
51. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 28.
52. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 9, quoting Gregory of Nyssa.
53. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 45; see chapter 3 §§0.0 and 1.4.
54. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; see here Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 35 and 43; and Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2.
55. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 32.
56. Esayi Nčʻecʻi 2; Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2; see further discussion in §1.1.1 above.
57. He was luminous: *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.5 and note.

returns repeatedly to this theme. God honored Adam with glory, which is a clear sign of the heavenly state according to Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14,[58] while Grigor Tatʻewacʻi speaks of his sinlessness and glory.[59] According to *Adamgirkʻ*, Adam was scintillating and resembled the sun on creation.[60] Mattʻēos *vardapet* says that Adam and Eve were put in ineffable glory and glorified with honor.[61]

In another variant of this idea, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that the protoplast was dressed not in handmade clothes but in the light of grace.[62] Kirakos Erznkacʻi C14 writes of Adam, "Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light, | Brilliantly embellished like angels."[63] Again the same poet says,

> You filled (him) with increate light,
> bread from the seven lights.
> You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,
> made him participant of divine life.[64]

Yakob Łrimecʻi speaks of Adam's glory, saying that the body is clothing laced with gold, a luminous garment.[65] Finally, as we shall see in detail below, according to *Adamgirkʻ* 3.5.2, the protoplasts were created with shining faces.

This glory and light are an outcome, *Adamgirk* 3.1.6 says, of Adam's being a copy of God. The same idea is expressed by Mkrtičʻ Nałaš C15, who writes that "the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden, | Was shining with the divine image, like the sun."[66]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi implies that Adam was created immortal.[67] Similarly, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15 remarks, "And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped[68] and fell from Paradise and became mortal by nature."[69] The excerpts say nothing else significant on this subject, except for the implication of immortality carried by all the statements that after Adam sinned, death visited him.

58. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 3.
59. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 19.
60. *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.1; 2.3.7–18, 49–51.
61. Mattʻēos *vardapet* 3.
62. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 19.
63. Kirakos Erznkacʻi 2.
64. Kirakos Erznkacʻi 2.
65. Yakob Łrimecʻi 1.
66. Mkrtičʻ Nałaš 2.
67. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 30.
68. I.e., of glory.
69. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi 15.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

One traditional list is of twelve gifts that Adam had in the Garden and lost when he sinned; see §4.2.4. A similar list is found in Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, *Book of Questions;* and see Matenadaran MS no. M5950 67-68.[70] A second list is of seven gifts, quoted by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i in a different context. He says that the doctors say the following: first, that God created [him]; second, the soul; third, reason; fourth, [free] will; fifth, knowledge; sixth, rationality; seventh, activity.[71] Elsewhere, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says that Adam had two gifts—autonomous authority and sinlessness.[72] From another perspective, a number of authors declare that God gave Adam the three qualities of priesthood, royalty, and prophecy.[73]

Priesthood is replaced by reason in the three qualities as enumerated by Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14.[74] Adam's deep sleep is prophetic rapture, not human slumber. Having awakened, he pronounced prophecy, that is, Gen 2:23.[75] This is a new idea proposed by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i that does not occur in earlier centuries. According to various fourteenth-century authors, Adam was promised a supernal kingdom;[76] he had honor and the Garden before his fall,[77] and gifts, abundance, and rule.[78]

"In the beginning of the creation of man, God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside," states Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14.[79]

1.1.8 Adam's Language

The question of the Adamic language has been of long-standing interest. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i expresses this in the following statement: "And which is Adam's language? We say, the Chaldean, that is, the Arabic, for [he] remained in Eber and was not mixed."[80] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 holds the same view.[81] He also says that Adam was created rational and also with the quality of speech; when he fell he lost this gift.[82] It seems, however, that what he lost was primordial speech and not reason or the power of ordinary speech.

70. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 20; possibly the list found in MS M5950 derived from Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i's list. On gifts, see chapter 3 n. 223.

71. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 21.

72. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 30.

73. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 46; Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 4–6; and Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 4. These qualities are a standard trope in the Bible and are, of course, all applied to Jesus.

74. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

75. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 73 and 74.

76. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 32.

77. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 3.

78. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

79. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 5.

80. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 27. He regards "Arabic" as meaning "Eberic."

81. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 7.

82. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6.

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The ranking of creatures, with man in the dominant position, is largely based on Gen 1:27.[83] According to the formulation in *Adamgirkʻ* 1.1.11, man was higher than the angels and the animals, and *Adamgirkʻ* expresses the same idea elsewhere when it says that angels and animals wondered at Adam.[84] As Mkrtičʻ Nałaš puts it, "Who have created various created things, | East, North, South, West, | Man is king over (all) and incomparable."[85] Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14 says that Adam was more sublime than the angels because he was created in the image of God.[86] Grigor Tatʻewacʻi wrote the following disquisition on Adam's role. Man is declared king and ruler of animals;[87] he is in the image of God; he stands upright, indicating and symbolizing his lordly role; and he is autonomous, that is, he has free will to subdue the animal parts of his soul. Consequently, when Adam became disobedient, the animals became disobedient; when his [animal] passions rebelled, the created animals rebelled.

In *Adamgirkʻ* 1.1.17, Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi overcomes the apparent contradiction of Adam being created last but being preeminent by saying that Adam was created last so that the world would be ready for him. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi was also concerned about Adam's preeminent position despite his creation as the last of all visible creations.[88] Moreover, he asks, why did not God create Eve of the dust like Adam? He replies, so that they would not be equal in honor, in age, and in time, but the man is more honorable and the first one, and the woman the second and younger.[89]

Grigor Tatʻewacʻi transfers his concern for ranking to the material world.[90] The world, he declares, is formed of an upper, intelligible dwelling and a lower, sensible dwelling. After the intelligible creation, God made the highest sensible creation, Eden in the east, from four elements. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi also declares, "so that with his [Adam's] body, he might find delight among the sensible creatures, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden."[91]

However, ranking is not only among humans and animals, but also in angelic classes. Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi C14 says that angels were made according to rank

83. See also §1.4.

84. Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi, *Adamgirkʻ* 2.1.22–23.

85. Mkrtičʻ Nałaš 3.

86. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 2.

87. Compare also Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 64 and Kostandin Erznkacʻi 2. Similarly Yovhannēs Tʻlkurancʻi 10.

88. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 64. Also Yovhan Orotnecʻi C14 1 mentions Adam's being the last of created beings.

89. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 75–76.

90. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 81.

91. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 81.

and class.[92] Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 speaks of ten ranks of angels that increased to myriads in number.[93] This is an unusual view, for nine, deriving ultimately from Pseudo-Dionysius (*Celestial Hierarchy* vi, 2) is the more usual number.[94] Thus, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i speaks of nine ranks of angels, glorifiers of God and see §1.3, where I quote a passage setting out the ranks and classes of angels.[95]

1.3 Humans and Angels

The relationship between humans and angels is often discussed citing Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6: Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i lists the points of comparison. Man is less than the angels in six things: (a) he is body and not bodiless; (b) he is dust and not luminous; (c) he was created on Friday and not on the first day with the light; (d) he was put in the Garden and not in heaven; (e) he needed food and delight and the angels did not; (f) he existed between life and death, while the angels were immortal by nature.

Man has more honor than the angels in six things: (a) he is honored in body, soul, and mind; (b) he is adorned with three graces of three personages—royalty, priesthood, and prophecy; (c) Scripture says that he was created in the image and does not say this of angels; (d) one man was father of all humans as the Father is beginning of all, but the angels were created from nothing; (e) angels are servants and ministers of man, so they remained in the same rank after the transgression; (f) "the Man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshipped him when the Word became man."[96]

In two poetic passages we read about Adam and angels. Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 compares Adam's Edenic glory to that of angels:

> Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
> Brilliantly embellished like angels.[97]

The classes of angels are enumerated by Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14 in the following passage:

> You have created servants for yourself:
> the six-winged seraphim.
> The nine ranks of angels,
> That glorify you without pause.

92. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.

93. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 1: ten ranks, made of nine angelic and one human, are referred to by Ignatius *vardapet* 4.

94. *PG* 3:200D.

95. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 67.

96. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 31.

97. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2; see §1.1.5 above.

The four-faced cherubim
  and the many-eyed angels.
The four-faced beasts
  that are the thrones of the Godhead.[98]

In another passage, Kostandin Erznkac‘i asserts that man is more sublime than angels, sharing the Creator's image.[99]

The image of the ranked heavenly hierarchy captured the imagination, and Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14 speaks, as I noted above, of God making angels according to rank and class.[100] This is evident also in a striking passage in Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i's C14 writings, when he says,

> In the beginning God created the fiery heavens and miraculously made in it the angels in ten ranks, and differing in honour, and increasing to numberless myriad; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement, the name of whose essence and number of quantity and glory of nature and measures of wisdom remain incomprehensible for us.[101]

Angels are made of special fire, light, and air, which idea is derived from Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4. However, man could not increase sinlessly like the angels, and therefore God created Eve, says Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.[102]

1.4 Angels' function and Adam's Commandment

The nine ranks of angels are glorifiers of God in heaven.[103] Nothing is said, however, about Adam's commandment in this connection.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

1.6 Humankind in the Image

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec‘i C14 asserts that God created man in the image so he would search for his prototype and return to glory.[104]

Man is made "in his [God's] image, as the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures," just as God is lord of the intelligible heavenly powers and all beings. This is the view of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, who relates the image to man's role as ruler

98. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 1; see §1.1.5 above. This material is ultimately dependent on Ezekiel 1.
99. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 2.
100. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10.
101. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 10.
102. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 15.
103. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 67.
104. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec‘i 1; and see §1.1.3 above.

of all beings, a role derived from Gen 1:26.[105] The same idea is expressed by Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14, who says,

> God said, "Let us make man,
> in our image after our likeness.
> That he have dominion over the creatures,
> be ruler over all.
> More sublime than angels,
> sharing the Creator's image."[106]

Genesis 1:26, says that man was created in the image, and in Gen 2:7 God is said to breathe the spirit of life into Adam. These two events are equated in the Armenian sources, as may be seen in the writing of Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14.[107] Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i particularly connects the breathing in of the spirit with immortal life and the image with power, reason, or glory.[108] Thus, Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 calls man "the image of your great glory."[109] Man, being in the image, had a noble origin, states Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14[110] and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says that man, as the image, had grace and was taught to seek wisdom.[111]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i further discusses the idea of image. He is concerned about how God can be said to have an image, and so he writes, "Topic: For it [Scripture] does not mean [that] God made the man in his image, but according to [his] image. Comment: The first one is as it were nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as of the same image as the Son and not as the Father."[112] By stressing "according to," he seeks to modulate the idea that God has an image.

2.0 The Garden of Eden

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i is much preoccupied with the Garden and discusses its nature and that of its fruit in great detail. The Garden of Eden is illuminated, he says, and does not draw its light from the sun: its air is luminous, its flora are luminous.[113] Grigor likewise rejects the view that day and night existed in the Garden, and he maintained that the Garden had no seasons and no winds, snow, or rain,

105. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 82.
106. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 1.
107. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 10. See chapter 1 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6, for the earlier history of this equivalence.
108. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 81.
109. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.
110. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 1.
111. Yovhannēs Arčišec‘i 1; see also chapter 3 §1.6.
112. Grigor, pupil of Yōhannēs Orotnec‘i, i.e., Tat‘ewac‘i 1.
113. Striking descriptions of the luminosity of the Garden are to be found in the fif-

since it is close to the most vivifying, upper part of atmosphere, while meteorological phenomena are in the middle air.[114]

The Garden is incorruptible, as is evident from the order of things; the fruit does not putrefy nor the leaves drop. Nonetheless, the Garden's fruit is edible, just as the fruit of life is edible, and Adam was expelled after eating fruit because he became corruptible.[115] In a further discussion of the same issue, he says that Adam could eat "the fruit of the Garden because it was tangible and edible, was picked and chewed and converted according to casual[116] qualities, but remained incorruptible by nature and by (its) influence on the eater."[117] Elsewhere, he discusses how the Garden, trees, and fruit are incorruptible, even though they are eaten, are watered, and so forth, and he gives examples of special things made of the four elements but incorruptible.[118] He discusses how the Garden will be affected by the eschatological conflagration, and he says, "Now, in its material part it is cleared by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but in its incorruptibility it remains unchanged: also according to its density." He presents a series of comparisons that, on the one hand, highlight its special character and, on the other, make it secondary to supernal Jerusalem.[119]

In their *Commentaries on the Canon Tables*, both Grigor Jerenc‘ C14 and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i associate the fourth canon table with Adam's Garden, standing on four columns that represent four elements.[120] According to Grigor Jerenc‘, the canon table is blue and black in color, which shows that the Garden was concealed from Adam and his sons while they were alive, that is, after the expulsion.[121] For Grigor Jerenc‘, blue or blue and black signify, though he does not explain it very clearly, the persistence of the divine signs during Adam's life. The connection of the four columns with the four elements used in creation is fixed and may be observed also in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14.[122]

God planted the Garden, which was miraculous and immortal, and he adorned it with beautiful and tasty trees.[123] Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 says that the Garden was a divine creation, planted in Adam's honor,[124] and

teenth-century poet Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i's long composition on Eden called Դրախտագիրք *Book of Paradise*.

114. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 5; cf. 4 Ezra 7:39–42, on removal of day and night and seasons in the eschaton.

115. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 5–6.

116. Or: accidental.

117. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 8.

118. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 12–13.

119. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 42. The Garden was luminous, incorruptible, and a middle region: Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 81.

120. Grigor Jerenc‘ 1; Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 85.

121. Grigor Jerenc‘ 1.

122. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 2.

123. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 3. Similar is Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 4.

124. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 1.

Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14 declares that God planted it for Adam’s enjoyment.[125] Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 mentions the shining fruit of paradise.[126]

Finally, Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 continues the discussion of the Garden’s special nature by saying that it was not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.[127] This view recurs in the discussion of Adam’s time in the Garden; see §4.4 below.

2.1 Adam placed in the Garden

Following Genesis, Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says that God put Adam in the place of delight, in ineffable paradise.[128] Adam was placed in Garden after forty-two days according to Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i.[129]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i asks, “Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command him not to eat?” He answers that God created him autonomous so that he might choose voluntarily; he crowned him not just with mercy but also with justice.[130] These ideas are summarized by Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14, who wrote, “Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep, | You put a command, an object of free will, | You put him in the place of delight, in ineffable Paradise.”[131]

Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 says that God placed Adam in the Garden to have royal dominion over the animals, which idea is based, of course, on Gen 1:28.[132] It also occurred in earlier centuries.

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

The question of whether Adam and Eve had intercourse in the Garden is discussed from early times.[133] It was still the subject of controversy in the fourteenth century. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i anathematizes the view that there were intercourse, desire, and begetting in the Garden. He denies this for a range of reasons, includ-

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125. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 3.

126. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

127. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.

128. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

129. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 2. There is an argument made by earlier authorities that Adam was put into the Garden forty days after his creation (chapter 1 §4.4), because of the commandment in chapter 4 §2.1 above. The figure here of forty-two days is not found in other sources. Its significance is not completely clear, and it is discussed below in §4.1.

130. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 40. The pair mercy and justice is fixed; it plays a prominent role in rabbinic thought.

131. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

132. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 1. See chapter 2 §1.6 and chapter 3 §1.6.

133. See Anderson 1989.

ing impurity caused by the emission of semen. However, he asserts that marriage took place in the Garden as in a church, but conception does not take place in the church nor did it take place in the Garden. Answering an implied objection, he asserts that Adam and Eve were created with sexual organs because of God's prescience. "But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent," he concludes.[134]

Continuing his polemic, he says, "And if one says that, if Adam and Eve remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some [people] say the Garden is corruptible and [there is] copulation of male and female, and moreover—desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is (are) contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers." The divine command is to be fruitful on earth and not in the Garden. In the Garden, humans increased like the angels in heaven.[135] The Fall means the inception of parturition and that they did not increase like angels.

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

2.6 Naming by Adam

Adam named the animals because he has natural wisdom. This was done to show his autonomy; he was their lord, and therefore he controls their names. He had the grace of priesthood, because a priest gives a name after birth.[136] This incident shows that Adam is autonomous, since he could give whatever names he wished. He had the ability to name the animals, since the Spirit had been breathed into him, producing his natural wisdom.[137]

Adam was placed in Garden to name animals and to have dominion royally. Here, again, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14 connects the naming with dominion.[138] Above, in §1.6, I noted that Adam had royal dominion because he was created in the image. This, in turn, is connected with the breathing in of the Spirit, which gave him the ability to name animals.

In general, Esayi Nč'ec'i C14 stresses the uniqueness of names when he says that "each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s) that are separated from it or born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah . . . ."[139] He stresses the distinctiveness of each name.

134. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 15. For a striking similarity to this idea in nineteenth-century Europe, see Gould 1985. On the last point, see also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 69.

135. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 24. See chapter 3 §2.3 on attitudes to sexual intercourse.

136. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 3.

137. See chapter 1 §2.6 and elsewhere.

138. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 2.

139. Esayi Nč'ec'i 1.

2.7 The Type of Tree

Some authorities say that the tree was a fig, which is related to the garment that they sewed coverings of fig leaves, according to Gen 3:7. Others say that the fruit was grapes (so also Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 5) or wheat (perhaps, I might add, thus relating to the bread and wine of the Eucharist), yet others say it was an apple (Song 2:3 and 8:5). After reporting these views, Grigor Tat'ewac'i adds, "And how can man speak of that which Holy Scripture has not revealed?"[140]

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

The assumption of all our texts is that Eve's creation happened much as related in Gen 2:21–23. Grigor Tat'ewac'i is concerned whether Eve and Abel were brother and sister, since both were Adam's offspring. Eve was born, he says, of Adam's rib and Abel of Adam's womb and therefore, they are not brother and sister.[141] The same issue recurs elsewhere in his discussion of the reasons for Eve's creation from the rib, left being viewed as the sinister side.[142] Note that he highlights the woman's deceitful character, which is reinforced by the idea that she was taken from Adam's left rib. He "proves" that Eve is not Adam's daughter, for her creation did not fulfill the criteria for birth.

In another passage of his we find an extensive discussion of Eve. This includes the following ideas: (a) Eve's being subordinate to Adam, which is tied to her creation from Adam's rib; (b) the question of why she called woman, to which he answered that she was taken from man (see Gen 2:23) and because of a number of inferiorities;[143] (c) her weakness; (d) why she was called "life."[144] In another passage he maintains that Eve was named "life" because she is the mother of all living,"[145] since her descendant is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.[146]

In a particular development related to veneration of the Virgin, Grigor Tat'ewac'i maintains the following: "Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her.

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140. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 10. In the preceding paragraph he gives possible answers to the question of the relationship between the two trees and about how the tree, created by God, became evil. Above we noted Grigor Tat'ewac'i's discussion of whether the fruit was both edible and incorruptible; see §2.0. The Edenic trees, he says, drink water in the same way as fire drinks oil, thus emphasizing their incorruptible nature.

141. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 36.

142. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 76–77.

143. These are mainly based on wordplays, including one showing her duplicitous character.

144. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 18.

145. Gen 3:20.

146. I remarked earlier in chapter 3 §2.8 on the typological parallelism between Eve and the Virgin.

On account of that, God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man."[147] He then argues that she did not sin so that goodness would ensue, but that goodness was God's work through Christ.

Grigor Tat'ewac'i discusses the helpmeet at length and then Eve's culpability, arguing that it was foreknown by God.[148] Above, I noted the view that Adam's sleep was rapture of a mind risen to God.[149]

Woman is called God's construction, and she is man's house, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[150] She was created after Adam and not of dust, in order to establish Adam's superiority. She was created three hours after Adam and was sixty-five days old according to Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14.[151] No explanation of the sixty-five days suggests itself.

There are further negative statements about Eve. Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i C14 says that she brought Adam out of glory.[152] She was Satan's companion, says Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14, and was his weapon according to Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i.[153] As Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i put it elsewhere:

> The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
> She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden.
> The woman is Satan's companion,
> God saves from woman's tumult.[154]

3.0 Satan

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

The serpent was the beginning of man's death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true, its tongue was forked.[155] The serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.[156]

In the appendix, I have discussed the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Here I add a certain number of specific points made in the fourteenth-century writers. First, Grigor Tat'ewac'i says that God did not leave Satan

147. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 69.
148. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 67–71.
149. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 73; and compare §1.1.7.
150. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 78.
151. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 1; see also §1.1.4.
152. Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i 2–3.
153. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 9; Xač'atur Keč'ařec'i 3.
154. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 9.
155. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 2.
156. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 80; and see §0.0.

unpunished but punished him through the serpent, and Satan is the primordial, intelligent serpent.[157] The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One, implying both the possession of the serpent by Satan and the serpent's function as an instrument of Satan's will. The serpent makes five circular movements that symbolize the five senses,[158] and, generally, sin is associated with the senses.[159] Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 describes him as a partner to Satan's plan.[160] Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 may also imply the connection of the two when he calls Satan an adder.[161]

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The doctors say that Satan was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God: so claims Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[162] Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 also describes Satan in the following terms:

> He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,
> With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons,
> Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
> Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.[163]

The same point is made by Grigor Tat'ewac'i, who says, "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods[164] with immortal life and lofty glory.'"[165] The rebellion, according to the same author, was that before creation Satan did not worship the Word in Adam's form, considering (him) mere body and man. This is fairly obviously an adaptation of *Pen. Adam* 12:1–17:3, which relates that Satan's rebellion is his refusal to bow down to Adam.

The implication of that which follows is similar and concerns Satan refusing to honor man and envying the privileges that man had, a theme taken up in the next section. "Second, he created man of the dust to dishonour Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which

157. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51.
158. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 53.
159. See above, chapter 3 §3.1.
160. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.
161. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.
162. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.
163. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. Black was the color associated with Satan and demons.
164. Gen 3:5.
165. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.

he, who was glorious, had fallen."[166] Here Grigor Tat'ewac'i seems to put Satan's fall before Adam's creation.

In a different mode, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 says that Satan was the first murderer.[167]

In summary, as Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14 puts it, Satan is a rational being who had turned away from glory and fallen, and he showed Adam the ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good.[168]

3.3 Satan's Envy

There are, in the broad view, two alternative chronological contexts given for Satan's rebellion, either before creation, when he envied God and fell, or after the creation of man, when he envied man. Thus, in the preceding section, I quoted Grigor Tat'ewac'i's statement about the origin of Satan's envy, and it seems to imply that Satan had fallen before Adam was created.[169] Most of the Armenian texts can be interpreted to forward that view, but a measure of unclarity remains.

The evil enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor, according to Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[170] Note that in the preceding text, Adam had honor that Satan had lost. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also refers to certain people who say that Satan envied man's honor.[171] Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 refers to the tempter's envy, which led to the serpent deceiving "them"; he is not more explicit.[172]

3.4 The Serpent, Curses of

In his typical style, Grigor Tat'ewac'i enumerates the curses laid upon the serpent. I give his enumeration here, drawn from The *Book of Questions*, and annotate his list from other sources.[173]

a. Since it was the arms and legs of the Evil One, [174] its arms and legs were cut off. Grigor does not talk of wings here, though they appear in contemporary miniatures. The reasoning is that the curse of Gen 3:14, "upon your belly you shall go," implies that before the curse he had limbs. This view is also current in rabbinic and other ancient sources. Grigor returns to it,[175] and it is found in

166. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 63.
167. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 3.
168. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.
169. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17; see also chapter 2 §3.2.
170. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44.
171. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83.
172. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4–5.
173. Grigor Tat'ewac'i, *Book of Questions* 1993, 1:218–19 = excerpt 2.
174. Satan rode on or entered the serpent; see Stone 2008a.
175. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 47–55 and elsewhere.

Kostandin Erznkac‘i.[176] Kostandin also has the curse implied by the next phrase of Genesis, "and dust you shall eat," which Tat‘ewac‘i has elsewhere, when he explains that the serpent is cursed to eat dust because it turned man back into dust (see Gen 3:19, where the word is the same).[177]

b. Since it tries to kill the living being, every living being kills him. This is perhaps a reference to the enmity of Gen 3:15.
c. Since it changed the blessing into curse, it was cursed and deprived of the blessing given to all animals. In Genesis it was cursed among all animals (3:14).
d. Since it put enmity between the man and God, [God] put enmity between the man and the serpent. Compare again Gen 3:15, and this phrase is close to that.
e. As it fought against the head, that is, Adam, [its] head was killed. And since it made the man fall from heaven to the earth, it falls under the heel of his feet. Genesis 3:15b reads, "it will strike your head, and you will strike his heel."
f. Since it came with friendship and turned to enmity, it turns back when biting. This is apparently a reference to snakes rearing up and drawing back their heads when striking.
g. Since it envied man, it creeps upon [its] breast and belly; see §3.3 above. This connection cannot be inferred directly from the biblical text.
h. Since it is a deceiver, it goes crookedly. And since it deceived the five senses of the man, it receives five circular motions while going. This idea is present also elsewhere.[178]
i. Since it stripped the first-created of glory, its skin is stripped. This is a reference from natural history, to snakes shedding their skins.

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i enumerates seven transgressions of Adam: "First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid (see §4.3); sixth, that he did not repent saying, "I have sinned"; seventh, that he accused God (saying), "this woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat" (Gen 3:12).[179]

Adam's character was sinful, says Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14. He desired to equal God (Gen 3:15) but could not obey even one command.[180] He adds that Adam displeased God on account of speech and food. Through food, which he

176. Konstantin Erznkac‘i 7.
177. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 52.
178. See Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 2 and elsewhere; and §3.1 and note here.
179. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 22.
180. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 1.

ate of the tree, and through speech, with which he answered God, putting the blame on the woman.[181]

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ. So says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[182] Note that this is the first time that the term original sin appears in the texts we are discussing. However, in Grigor Tat'ewac'i we read: "Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and hold back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God's goodness." Despite Adam and Eve's sin, "many excellent and righteous men were born of her."[183]

In the same realm of discourse is the following. When reproached with sin, Adam blamed someone else. God came on foot to ask him, "Where are you"? Adam did not confess but answered impudently. Eve, moreover, did not answer honestly and did not reveal her motivation. God did not ask the serpent, for it is not fitting to pose such a question to the serpent.[184] Rather different are two other statements. First, Adam was impelled by three sins: pride [to bear a son like god], gluttony [desire for the tree], and avarice [for knowledge of good and evil].[185] Second, Adam and Eve accused each other and were not justified.[186]

Finally, harking back to material discussed in §3.2, Satan's deception of Adam through the flaw of pride is discussed by Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[187] It is noteworthy that all the statements relating to this matter are found in Grigor Tat'ewac'i. They may have been created by his urge to systematize.

4.1.1. Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

In Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14 we find the idea, noted in chapter 2, §4.1 and elsewhere, that Adam sinned not from disobedience of God so much as from his love of Eve.[188] The idea that he sinned because of compassion for Eve does not occur in the excerpts being considered here.

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Adam was deceived and died as a result of his sin, says Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[189]

181. Barseł Maškeronc'i 2. See the list of sins quoted at the beginning of this section.
182. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 29.
183. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 68.
184. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 51. On God's footsteps and questioning, see §4.3 below.
185. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 46.
186. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 52.
187. Gen 3:5. See Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82.
188. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 2 and 3.
189. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82–83.

4.2 The Results of Sin

As a result of his sin, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i explains, Adam received seven punishments: (a) he became naked and fell to the rank of animals; (b) he was deprived of the tree of life and expelled;[190] (c) he was settled opposite the Garden and suffered perpetual envy; (d) he was required to toil; (e) he suffered grief and laments; (f) he died after his wife and son; (g) he decomposed and returned to earth.[191]

In another passage, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i lays out the ten degrees of Adam's fall in detail. Of interest to us are his desire to become God; his shame; his response to the divine footsteps with fear; his being given a garment of skin instead of his prior garment of light; and the agricultural curse of thorns and thistles and labor.[192] Moreover, this human nature (i.e., being),[193] misled by serpent's deceit, fell into the place of sojourning and afterwards repented—thus says Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i.[194]

4.2.1 Change in Nature of World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

The basic punishment was death. Thus, Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14 speaks of the loss of immortality, and Konstantin Erznkac‘i C14, evoking the biblical expression, says that they will return to the dust from which they were born.[195] Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i goes further. Interpreting the expression "you shall surely die," which in the Armenian Bible is literally, "by death you shall die,"[196] he talks not of a simple death but of a double one, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.[197]

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

Adam and Eve had garments of light. This view of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i was discussed above, §1.1.5.[198] In another formulation, he says that they "[f]ell out of the grace and were stripped of the light, they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death."[199] They were stripped of immortal light,

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190. Because of eating Adam went forth, according to Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 5.
191. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 23.
192. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 24.
193. See above, chapter 3 §§3.3 and 4.2, and notes on "nature" signifying "human being."
194. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 41.
195. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6 and Kostandin Erznkac‘i 6.
196. See the discussion of this grammatical construction in Stone 2008b.
197. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 30 and 83.
198. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘ 20. It occurs also in earlier centuries.
199. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 45.

according to Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14.[200] Of Satan, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i says, “And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped” (cf. §3.4).[201] Adam and Eve were deprived of glory justly, he says.[202] Thus, garments of light, light, and glory signify the same thing, the paradisiacal effulgence that they lost after the sin.

The garment God made for them was of animal skin, but it is unknown from which animal. Moreover, the change from the garments of light to those of skin indicated a change of body from its original, impassible, quick, and luminous state.[203] The same idea is expressed when Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec‘i C14 maintains that their skin coat symbolized their loss of glory and of the brightness of the Garden.[204]

So Adam was clothed with glory, which he lost when he disobeyed the commandment. At this point, the phrase “and they knew that they were naked” (Gen 3:7) is understood, as it is in earlier centuries, to mean, “and they realized that they had become naked,” or “stripped of their glory.”[205] Before the leather garments, they girded themselves in fig leaves (Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14; cf. Gen 3:7) and after their expulsion, God made them a leather dalmatic, according to Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14.[206]

As for Eve, the same is true, and Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says, “And she took off the garment, lost the Paradise of delight. Naked and leathery instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow.”[207] The garment of light or glory is implied also by a series of statements about its loss by Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14, and also by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i and Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C14.[208]

Before they sinned, Adam and Eve were not ashamed. This had not greatly concerned earlier exegetes, but Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i mentioned it and asked why they were not ashamed. He gives a series of answers. They were innocent like children; their sinlessness meant that they had no sense of shame; they were amazed at the Garden; their thoughts had soared to divine contemplation; and they were clothed in light.[209]

He formulates it in another way elsewhere: when they were living in the Garden they had incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, so they did not see each

200. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 5.

201. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 2.

202. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 83.

203. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 24.

204. Yovhannēs Erznkac’i Corcorec‘i 1 and 6.

205. Aṙak‘el Siwnec‘i 15.

206. Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14, Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.

207. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 1.

208. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 6, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 44, and Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i 2.

209. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 19. On the preceding page, more closely tied to the biblical verse, he says that they were naked of handmade clothes but adorned with the light of grace. See above; and also chapter 3 §§4.2 and 4.2.3.

other's nakedness.[210] Or again, nakedness is being deprived of God's grace.[211] In short, as Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14 put it, they were stripped of light, girded with fig leaves, fled, and hid from shame.[212]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i's statements about the curses resemble his pronouncements above in §§3.4 and 4.1. In the text discussed in §4.2, he enumerates seven punishments emanating from the curses. He also enumerates the curses pronounced on the serpent and on Eve. The latter are basically biblical and include an increase of pain because of ageing, the distresses of pregnancy and childbirth, and subservience to her husband.[213] Similar, but less detailed, are the curses of Adam and Eve and of the serpent (see §3.4) listed by Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14.[214] Since the serpent turned blessing into curse, he was cursed and deprived of blessing, and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i gives a list of curses brought upon the serpent.[215]

Twelve gifts were lost by Adam: (a) the sight of God, (b) conversation with God, (c) immortality, (d) the luminous garment, (e) life without blemish, (f) non-ageing, (g) laborless delight of the Garden, (h) the service of God, (i) God's love and mercy, (j) his reign over creatures, (k) priesthood—he did not have authority to offer sacrifice in his life; and (l) prophecy. The last three are the fixed graces of kingship, priesthood, and prophecy.[216] In accordance with this, Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 mentions Adam in the lists of priests, prophets, and kings, ancestors of Christ.[217] The loss of these three graces is mentioned also by Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14.[218]

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14 says that Adam lived six thousand years in Satan's hand.[219]

4.3 God, Footsteps of

As in previous centuries, God's footfall is given a considerable role, as is Adam's response to it. God's call to Adam was interpreted as a call to repentance, and Adam's response was taken as an impudent rejection of the call to repentance

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210. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 79.
211. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 48.
212. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 5
213. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 54.
214. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 8.
215. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 2. This is discussed in full in §3.4.
216. See Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 20.
217. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 4–7.
218. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i 4
219. Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i 3: compare chapter 2 §4.4.

and a casting of blame on Eve. These themes come up in different ways in the various texts.

Adam heard the sound, the footsteps of God approaching, according to Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14.[220] In greater detail, Barseł Maškeroncʻi C14 states that "when the light of belief had become low in him[221] and the fervour of the love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God's mercy.[222]

God called them and questioned them in the Garden (Kostandin Erznkacʻi C14),[223] and Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that God's question means, "in which situation are you?"[224] God asked the question because he wanted Adam to confess.[225]

In response to God's question, "Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent."[226] Or again, Grigor says that Adam responds boldly—he blamed God and the woman.[227] Here, indeed, his analysis is more specific for, as far as Eve is concerned, he says that Eve admits half the sin (hearkening to the serpent) and hides half (the the desire to become God).

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

The first man perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden, according to Barseł Maškeroncʻi C14.[228] Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that Adam had to observe the commandment for only forty days in order to be rewarded, to beget children in purity, and then eat of the tree of life and be transformed.[229]

Adam was placed in the Garden after forty-two days, according to Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi C14.[230] In §1.1.1 I observed that, according to Grigor Tatʻewacʻi and earlier sources, Adam's sojourn in Eden was forty days. One wonders whether forty-two, which equals 7 × 6, is connected with the chiliastic view that the world-week is 6 × 1,000 years and that the parousia will be in the seventh day of the world-week.[231] So, Adam's time in the Garden is related to the length of the world's time.

Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi's C14 view is that Adam's time of being in paradise

220. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 5
221. Literally: from him, through him.
222. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 3. See §2.1 and n. 130 above on justice and mercy.
223. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 6.
224. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 47–48.
225. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 48.
226. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 47.
227. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 49.
228. Barseł Maškeroncʻi 1.
229. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 28; cf. §1.1.3 above.
230. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 2.
231. Chiliastic ideas inform the statement that Satan tormented Adam for six thousand years (Yovhannēs Tʻulkurancʻi 3). On chiliastic ideas, see chapter 1 §4.4 and chapter 4 §4.4.

is unknown because, first, he was appointed to be with immortal ones, and, second, paradise is not under the sun, by which time is apprehended.[232] Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14 says that Adam did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully.[233] Elsewhere Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i expressed the view that Adam sinned on the second Friday.[234] According to Eusebius ch. 4, he adds, Adam was in paradise as long as Christ was in world.[235] Adam remained there after the sin as long as Christ hung on cross; at the hour of Lord’s descent into the grave, Adam was expelled. This stands in apparent tension with the previously cited statement, but in no passage does Mxit‘ar state exactly how long Adam was in the Garden.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

He took them out of the Garden
   and commanded them to remain opposite,
And placed seraphim
   and cherubim around it as watchers,
That they should not come and eat
   the fruit of immortal life,
But that man be returned to dust on the earth
   whence he was taken for birth.
Adam the father was driven out
   and stood outside at the edge of the Garden;
The first sons of Adam
   were begotten and born.

Thus Kostandin Erznkac‘i describes the expulsion.[236] Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14 states that, after the sin, God lodged Adam opposite paradise, just as sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins.[237]

Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i did not consider the chronological question discussed in the preceding section. Concerning the expulsion, however, he says that when the protoplasts were created Eve was on Adam’s right side; when they went out of the Garden she was on his left.[238]

Adam was in paradise for seven days and then came forth to the Island of

232. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.
233. Barseł Maškeronc‘i 1.
234. Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i 3.
235. This reference is unclear.
236. Kostandin Erznkac‘i 9–10.
237. Mxit‘ar Aryrivanec‘i 3.
238. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 79. Here the positive and negative valuations of right and left are evident.

Selan (Ceylon).[239] Note Mxitʻar's scientific interests, reflected in this passage in terms of healing plants, warm springs, and, earlier on, in terms of alchemy.

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

An apparent reference to Col 2:14, a crucial verse in the development of the cheirograph legend, occurs in Yovhan Arčišecʻi C15. "And at the end of these days [He] annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . . Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts."[240] This, however, does not seem to reflect the developed cheirograph legend. No connection of the cheirograph with baptism is to be observed in the fourteenth-century texts.

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

239. Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi 3. On the connection of Ceylon with Adam, see also Fabricius 1713, 30–31.

240. Yovhan Arčišecʻi 2.

5. Adam and Eve Traditions in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Armenian Literature

0.0 General Considerations

The body of relevant published texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is limited, and consequently this chapter does not deal with quite a number of the topics discussed in earlier chapters. Such omissions do not necessarily correspond to any particular trends in Armenian religious thought but may simply reflect the state of publication of the textual sources, for quite a large number of compositions remain unpublished.

However, some subjects are omitted that seem to reflect trends in religious thinking. Thus, some chronological subjects are not discussed in this and in the previous chapter. Though not all such matters are omitted, interest in chronology seems to be on the wane. In addition, the naming of the beasts by Adam does not appear in this period, so this particular proof of Adam's special dominion and wisdom is lacking. There also seems to be a lack of interest in the purpose of creation.

Of the authors of the eighteenth century, I have chosen to excerpt only Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i C17, the character of whose work seems to be close to the material dealt with in the seventeenth century. I do not claim to make a presentation of eighteenth century Armenian thought on the subject of Adam and Eve.

1.0 The Creation

1.1 The Creation of Human Beings

Adam was created by God's hands, as Awetik' Mahtesi C16–17[1] and Karapet Bałišec'i C16 say.[2] More specifically, man was created by God's right hand, according to Łazar Sebastac'i C16.[3] Adam was made of mud, which is itself usually said to be made of the four elements.[4]

1. Awetik' Mahtesi 2.
2. Karapet Bałišec'i 1.
3. Łazar Sebastac'i 1.
4. For detailed discussion, see §1.1.2 below.

A second issue that sometimes arises is, by which Person of the Trinity was Adam made? When specified, this is clearly the Son or the Word.[5] However, Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 interprets the plural, "Let us make man," of Gen 1:26 to mean that the three Persons of the Trinity created Adam,[6] and he is far from the first to do so.

1.1.1 The Time of Creation

Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i C16 says that March 22 was an equinox, and the sun entered Aries. It was 1 Nisan, the day of Adam's creation.[7] Without mentioning the date in March, Yakob Łrimec‘i C15 has the same.[8] The Anonymous Chronicler of Livorno says that the world was created in March, on Sunday. The first age is 2,242 years long, from Adam's creation until the Flood. This date is typical of the period.[9]

Adam was born as a thirty-year-old man; see below §1.1.4 and further references there for the view that thirty was the optimal age for a man.[10] Chronological matters are of little interest, however, in these later texts.

1.1.2 Material from Which Adam Was Created

God combined the four elements into one and made man from it. This view, which was not new, is mentioned by Simēon Aparanc‘i C16. The same author adds that the angels were created from light, and man was created from the four elements and insufflated by "the grace of His own breath . . . | Taking the substance from garbage,[11] | Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure."[12] We read in Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17, "And the four elements he made. | And he created the human race from dust," and Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i says,

> On Friday you created Adam,
> You made him of mud of four substances.
> You commanded, he became healthy,
> He opened his eyes, became perfect.[13]

The basic idea that Adam was made from dust is thus reformulated by Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 to say that he was made from mud that was itself made up of four

5. This is witnessed by Karapet Bałišec‘i 2 and Simēon Aparanc‘i 1.
6. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3. See already Agat‘angełos 7–8 on the Trinity and creation and 21 in relation to Adam. See also Anania Širakac‘i 4.
7. Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i 2.
8. Yakob Łrimec‘i 5. See chapter 3 §1.1.4.
9. Anonymous of Livorno 1.
10. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 8.
11. Or: filth.
12. Simēon Aparanc‘i 1–2.
13. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 11 and Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 1.

substances, that is, the four elements.[14] This is not quite explicit when Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi C17 asserts that when God the Word made four elements, he created human race from dust.[15] The idea that the dust of which God created Adam was made up of the four elements is found in preceding centuries and was, on occasion, a subject of polemic. On the other hand, the biblical formulation that Adam was created from the dust of the earth was still current; so Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi C17 states.[16] In fact, there is nothing new in this period relating to either the dust or the four elements, except perhaps the calling of the dust "mud," which seems a natural enough shift, considering the demands of modeling (Gen 2:7). Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi C17 adds that God breathed breath into him (see Gen 2:7), granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.[17]

1.1.3 The Purpose of Adam's Creation

Adam was intended to remain immortal according to Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ C16.[18]

1.1.4 Adam's Age at Creation

Adam was thirty years old when he was created according to Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi C17.[19] Above, I discussed thirty as the ideal age.[20]

1.1.5 Adam's/Eve's State at Creation: Glory

Adam was adorned with glory, according to Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi C16, and Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16 calls it "sevenfold glory."[21] The same is implied by Azaria J̌ułayecʻi C16, who pictures Adam, expelled, standing at the gate of paradise saying, "Yesterday I was in the Garden, covered with light."[22]

1.1.6 Adam's State at Creation: Immortality

Simēon Aparancʻi C16 says that he was adorned with the crown of immortality.[23] He adds:

> When he smelled the immortality,
> He became drunk and unaware.

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14. Dawitʻ Salajorecʻi 11; Simēon Aparancʻi 1. For the discussion of the dust and the four elements, see chapter 2 §1.1.2 and chapter 3 §1.1.2.

15. Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi 1. The relationship of the dust and the four elements is not made explicit here.

16. Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi 4 and 7.

17. Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi 4. The seven graces are discussed below in §1.1.7.

18. Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ 4.

19. Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi 8. See §1.1.1 above.

20. See chapter 2 §1.1.4; and also chapter 3 §1.1.4.

21. Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi 1; Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi 1.

22. Azaria J̌ułayecʻi 2. Similar are statements that he was stripped of or lost glory upon sinning; see §4.2.3.

23. Simēon Aparancʻi 2.

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.

This passage is very interesting. It shows that Adam approached immortality in the Garden. The sleep is, in the first place, the slumber during which God took his rib and fashioned it into Eve. Yet the idea of a sort of drunkenness stemming from the experience of immortality may be hinting at an ecstatic state, for which both sleep and drunkenness are common metaphors.[24] That death was the punishment implies that before it was imposed, before the sin, Adam was immortal.

1.1.7 Gifts to Adam at Creation

God adorned Adam with the graces of the seven heavens, says Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16.[25] In a similar vein, Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 says that God created Adam from dust: God breathed breath into him, granted him a rational soul, and filled him with the graces of seven heavens.[26] The idea of seven graces with which Adam was endowed recurs in Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17's writing. He compares Adam to the Spirit. He says that Adam did not have the perfect person of the Spirit but did have all the Spirit's gifts—the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve (i.e., constellations), which he lost through eating the fruit.[27] Less specifically, Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 speaks of Adam having various graces, and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to "various graces of the spirit."[28] Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8 says that man lost seven blessings; Frik C13 says that man was filled with seven lights of grace; and Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14 lists seven gifts to man. The idea of seven gifts, therefore, is of long standing.[29] This formulation originates from the astrological theory that the soul gains a characteristic from each of the seven heavenly spheres in the course of descent into the body. However, earlier this sort of astrological notion was not connected with the seven gifts. Observe that Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14 says that Adam was filled with "bread from the seven lights."[30] The idea that, at his creation, Adam was endowed with great wisdom or other gifts was often connected with the inbreathing of the Spirit.

Adam was a king at creation, certain sixteenth-century authorities say.[31] Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says that he was created immortal, enthroned as lord and

24. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 14–15. See also chapter 4 §1.1.7. This was common from antiquity; see Lewy 1929. Note, for example, Philo's understanding of Hannah's prayer, *Ebr.* 145–48.

25. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.

26. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4; see §1.1.2 above. On these gifts, see chapter 3 §1.1.7.

27. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 18.

28. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 1; Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14.

29. Step‘anos Siwnec‘i in chapter 2 §4.2; Frik C13 in chapter 3 §1.1.7, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i in chapter 4 §1.1.7.

30. Kirakos Ernzkac‘i's saying is quoted in chapter 4 §1.1.5.

31. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3; Karapet Bališec‘i 1.

king.[32] As in earlier times, Yovhannēs A C16 associates this with creation in the image.[33] Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi A C17 speaks simply about his great wisdom.[34]

A general statement is that God blessed him to multiply, to do good, and to remain just (Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi C17).[35] Of course, most of these blessings are derived from Gen 1:28, but the moral quality of Adam's action is not hinted at there.

1.1.8 Adam's Language

Summary of part of a tale: Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (խեցբեկազոյն եւ կործաբար զբարբառ խժական), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages. Then the text continues . . .

They asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first, some—(the language of) the Chaldeans, and others named the language of this or that people, and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.[36]

In this passage, Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi C17 talks of the question of the Adamic language that had been discussed also in previous centuries. The claims both of Syriac and of Hebrew were well known.

1.2 The Ranking of Creation

The animals are subject to Adam, says Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16, and this is implied by statements examined below, which speak of Adam's kingship or dominant position.[37] He was the summit of creation, according to Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi C17.[38] On the other hand, after Adam's sin, Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi C17 declares, humans all inherited his embitterment.[39] Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi C17 says that Adam is to rule everything.[40]

32. Simēon Aparancʻi 2–3.
33. Yovhannēs A 1.
34. Nersēs Anjnapatcʻi 1.
35. Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi 1.
36. Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi 2.
37. Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi 1; compare Simēon Aparancʻi 2–3.
38. Nersēs Anjanapatcʻi 1.
39. Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 23.
40. Yakob Tʻoxatʻecʻi 3.

1.3 Humans and Angels

The subject of humans and angels, their similarities and differences, withdrew into the background in this period. The following statement stresses the role of God as creator of angels, but the relationship or contrast of angels with humans is not explicit. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 says:

Nine classes dance around,
Nine-fold adornment and ornament.
You created the four-formed ones,
You are craftsman, chief and lord.[41]

The nine classes are discussed above in chapter 4 §1.3. The four-formed ones are the cherubs with four faces, as described in Ezekiel 1.

Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 mentions that a long-haired seraph is the guardian of the Garden.[42] The significance of the attribute "long-haired" is not clear to us and the statement is isolated. Genesis 3:24 speaks of "cherubim" and not "seraphim" in this context; and see chapter 4 §4.5. These angelic classes are confused in the texts, the ancient distinction of cherubim and seraphim having been lost. Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says that the angels were created of light from light.[43]

1.4 Angels' function and Adam's commandment

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 talks about angels, and the only function he attributes to them is that they praise God continually.[44] He does not put this into a relationship with Adam's commandment, as was done in earlier centuries.

1.5 Angels Dwell in Light

Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i describes the angelic host in military terms, which image was also current in previous centuries: "He created by the Word the immortal armies, | The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven."[45]

1.6 Humankind in the Image

There are different views about the meaning of creation in the image and the effect of inbreathing of the Spirit of God. Adam was created in the image of the

41. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 2.
42. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 6.
43. Simēon Aparanc‘i 1; see chapter 3 §1.3.
44. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 4.
45. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2; see chapter 3 §1.3.

Son,[46] or in the lordly image of God (Yovhannēs A C16).[47] He was adorned with the grace of God's own breath, according to Simēon Aparanc'i C16.[48] Both of these different ways of describing the vivification of humans are found in the work of Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17, but he adds no further details.[49] He also says that in Christ the image will be renewed and more resplendent.[50]

In other authors, another interpretation, going back to Gen 1:28, relates the image to dominion or kingship. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that Adam's Garden is like a king's throne and that the Garden needed a king and ruler. Moreover, he says that Adam is to rule over the living beasts and the universe.[51]

2.0 The Garden of Eden

In general terms, Karapet Bałišec'i C16 says that God planted the Garden.[52] God's uncreated hand planted the Garden of Eden, says Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16.[53] Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 says that God planted the Garden in the east, like a king's throne, embellished with glory.[54]

There are various descriptions of the Garden of Eden. One of the most lyrical is Dawit' Salajorec'i C17's, who talks of four luminous rivers, of fragrances, of sand made of amber, and of the fragrance of immortality. He also refers to luminous flowers. Indeed, luminosity is a prominent characteristic of the Edenic and heavenly realities, and I have already discussed the "fragrance of immortality."[55] The Garden itself is described as luminous,[56] and Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16 lays special emphasis on its lush and beautiful vegetation.[57] Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 calls it a "high Garden."[58]

In the sixteenth century, Eden serves Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16 in poetry to praise a beloved. It also functions as a metaphor or other poetic image, for example, in Łazar Sebastac'i C16's writings.[59]

46. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 1–2.

47. Yovhannēs A 1; see §1.6.

48. Simēon Aparanc'i 1.

49. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 4.

50. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 9. In addition, Yakob T'oxat'ec'i gives one of the interpretations of the image that is found earlier, "let us make rational man in our image according to our likeness" (Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 3).

51. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2–3

52. Karapet Bałišec'i 4.

53. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 6.

54. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 2.

55. Dawit' Salajorec'i 12–14. See §1.1.6 above and §2.4 below.

56. It is also so characterized by T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 1.

57. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 7, 8.

58. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 2. Does this refer to the idea of Paradise on a height? See above, chapter 2 §2.0.

59. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 6–7; Łazar Sebastac'i 1.

2.1 Adam Placed in the Garden

God placed Adam in the Garden, which was given him as a possession. Here again it is Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 who is our main source.[60] The incident is described by Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, who says that Adam was moved to the Garden, enthroned like a king, and placed in glory.[61] Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 says that Adam was set in Garden and talks of his glorious role there.[62]

2.2 God Showed Adam Two Trees

2.3 Intercourse in the Garden?

According to our sources, Adam and Eve did not have intercourse in the Garden. However, subsequent intercourse is not condemned as reprehensible, as happens in earlier centuries; see particularly chapter 3 §2.3. Instead, Adam and Eve sustained marriage in an ascetic way, having intercourse once every thirty years, and twins were born of these unions, one with cries and the other concealed or hidden, according to Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17.[63]

2.4 The State of Adam in the Garden

We do not have a sustained description of Adam’s state in the Garden, but some features are mentioned. Adam declared, “I was king in the Garden.”.[64] He had luminous clothing[65] and the fragrance of immortality, which made Adam drunk so Eve could be made from his rib (see §2.0 above).[66]

2.5 The Creation of the Animals

The animals are subject to Adam, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16.[67]

2.6 Naming by Adam

2.7 The Type of Tree

No source speaks about the type of tree that was the tree of knowledge. The grapevine comes from the Garden, Sarkawag Berdakac‘i C16 declares in a poem

60. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 12.
61. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.
62. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.
63. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 36–38. Dawit‘ refers to the birth of twin sisters, who are not mentioned in the biblical narrative.
64. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3.
65. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 6.
66. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 14.
67. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 1. See §1.6 on Adam’s role.

about wine, but he does not connect it to the tree of knowledge.[68] Another poetic text says that wine is a gift from the Garden and that it causes good feelings, and Adam's sin may be related to them. Thus, Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C17 says, "For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden. . . ."[69] Even here, it is not quite said that the vine was the tree of Eden. In certain other sources, the tree of knowledge is said to be a vine; see above, chapter 4 §2.7.

2.8 Eve, Traditions about

According to Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16, Eve deceived Adam; she wept and did not repent.[70]

Adam called Eve "life" because he foresaw the birth of the Virgin from her (Gen 3:20).[71] Indeed, a typology developed that viewed Eve as corresponding to the Virgin, and she was contrasted with her. Sometimes, the Virgin is referred to as a sort of Second Eve, and Eve is even spoken of metaphorically when the reference is actually to the Virgin. Thus, Simēon Kafac'i C17 talks about the Virgin in terms of Eve—the Virgin, like Eve, has reason to be called "life"—and he actually refers to the Virgin as "marvellous Eve."[72] In the same laudatory vein, Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 writes of Eve, as a beautiful angel,

> She had put on muslin and purple,
> All shining, (having) a gold-woven belt,
> She was beaming in the light,
> Very beautiful, fresh, excellent.[73]

In a different perspective, Nazaret' A C17 regards Eve as a cause of evil. She was created from Adam's rib and was his evil enemy.[74] "When you see a woman variously adorned beautifully, | Consider that she is the serpent, brother, who deceived Eve and Adam." The same idea echoes in the words of Step'anos Kełec'i C17.[75] Another source repeats the old idea that Eve wished to eat the fruit first, so she could become God and rule over her husband.[76] So there are two approaches to Eve, one condemning her and women in general, and the other praising her as a prefiguration of the Virgin.

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68. Sarkawag Berdakac'i 1.
69. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 7.
70. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 3–4.
71. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 1.
72. Simēon Kafac'i 1–3.
73. Dawit' Salajorec'i 17.
74. Nazaret' A 1.
75. Step'anos Kełec'i 1.
76. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 11.

3.0 Satan

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 called Satan Beelzebub for the first time. Satan became luminous, thanks to Adam, when he defeated him.[77] He always and eternally rebels against peace, as he rebelled against Adam in the Garden.[78] He captures souls (Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16),[79] and, indeed, earlier he is said to capture souls and imprison them in hell, to await their release by Christ.

Satan is likened to a crow, "For it is characteristic of the crow; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (a crow) tries to tear out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them down a cliff and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; he blinded Adam's nature and made it food for himself."[80] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 probably drew this description from a bestiary, but it is not in the published text of the *Physiologus*. Moreover, in Armenian Adam apocrypha, crows are seen as demonic and symbolize or are embodiments of demons, so saying that Satan is a crow is not surprising.[81]

3.1 Satan and the Serpent

Various locutions serve to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent.[82] According to Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16, Satan nests in the serpent and speaks with Adam.[83] Satan made the serpent a means, says T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, thus also avoiding specificity, while Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16 says: "But envy, the author of evil, | Made the serpent its dwelling." Using this notion, Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 accounts both for the connection of Satan and the serpent, and also for why the serpent itself was willing to host Satan, when he says, "Because the serpent is vengeful . . . that cursed impure Satan, went, entered the serpent's mouth."[84]

Some authors say that Eve was deceived by the serpent (Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16),[85] just as in the biblical story, and by Satan, who promised her royal divinity

77. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 9. This is an unusual reversal of Satan's loss of heavenly characteristics when he fell.

78. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 10.

79. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

80. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 4. On demonic or Satanic crows and ravens, see Lipscomb 1990, 164; and compare the ravens or crows in the Abraham stories (Stone 2012, index, s.v. "Ravens").

81. Stone 1996a, 148, 193. Compare Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i's reference to "the black Satan" in extract 23. See appendix, §§1.1.1–1.1.3.

82. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3. In the appendix, I discuss the different metaphors used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent, such as possession, the serpent as an instrument or tool, Satan "nesting" in the serpent, and so on.

83. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2.

84. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 20–21. The matter is discussed above in chapter 3 §3.1 and in the appendix §1.1.1.

85. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 3.

(Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi C16).[86] In a more specific passage, Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16 says that Satan deceived Adam and the serpent spoke with Eve, giving a division of labor between the two evil figures.[87] The identification of Satan with the serpent lies behind Karapet Bališecʻi's C16 saying, "The Slanderer (Deceiver) was the reason for death."[88] Nahapet K'učʻak Vanecʻi, also of the sixteenth century, refers to those who deceived Eve in the plural, again implying that Satan was somehow combined with the serpent.[89] The same writer says that the inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent, while, according to Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ C16, Eve was overcome by a serpent; and he says nothing about Adam.[90] Similarly, Zakʻaria attributes perdition to the serpent alone in the phrases: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | That brought Adam out of the Garden."[91]

Other statements relate to either Satan or the serpent as the deceiver of Adam, or of Eve and Adam. That the evil Deceiver, apparently meaning Satan, was the cause of the Fall is one formulation.[92] The serpent deceived Eve and Adam, says Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi C17.[93] A beautiful woman is the serpent who deceived Adam and Eve, according to Stepʻanos Kełecʻi C17.[94] Additional statements declare that the serpent inflicted a viper's sting, and refer to the "black Satan," perhaps an idea related to the equation of Satan with crows (see the preceding section).[95]

Rather different is Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ C16's explanatory poetic comment (*kafa*) on the *History of Alexander.* He presents a sort of history of the serpent, when he says the following, which may have some connection with the bestiary tradition, though it does not appear in the *Physiologus*:

> The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (*višap*),
> Solomon wrote about it wisely;
> When the serpent comes out of the egg,
> It treads on the ground equally (with man).
> But envy, the author of evil,
> Made the serpent its dwelling."[96]

3.2 The Fall of Satan

The ideas about the fall of Satan from angelic rank are not exceptional, nor are they very prominent in this period. Pride cast the angels from the height, and they

86. Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi 2.
87. Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi 3.
88. Karapet Bališecʻi 1.
89. Nahapet Kʻučʻak Vanecʻi 1.
90. Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ 2.
91. Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ 3.
92. Anonymous Author 8 1; Nahapet Kʻučʻak Vanecʻi 1.
93. Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi 2.
94. Stepʻanos Kełecʻi 1.
95. Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 17; Dawitʻ Salajorecʻi 23.
96. Zakʻaria Gnuneacʻ 4.

defrauded Adam (Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17).[97] The same author says that God cast all down, from cherub to man.[98] Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil actions, which implies that they had been the cause of his fall. After his fall, he did not cease sowing evil. In the Garden he sowed the seeds of the disease of his pride in Adam and Eve.[99] This implies that his sin was *hybris*, that he wanted to become God, and Satan infected the protoplasts with the same sin.

The myth of the fall of Satan is recounted in the following way by Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C17. He connects it not only with the Lucifer passage in Isaiah but also with Rev 12:4 and 12:9.

> There was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.[100] Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.[101]

3.3 Satan's Envy

The fall of Satan is barely mentioned in these sources and, consequently, Satan's envy scarcely figures. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i C17 speaks of the tricky deceit of the Deceiver, without mention of envy.[102] Similar statements, that Satan, or the serpent, deceived Adam and Eve, are to be found in Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17 and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17.[103] In addition, in the writings of Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16, we do find an unadorned statement that, Satan, possessed by envy, deceived Eve, and Eve deceived Adam.[104]

4.0 Sin and Its Results

4.1 The Character of Adam's Sin

Adam and Eve's sin was *hybris*, that is, overweening pride, consisting of not taking their created nature into consideration and wishing to become gods. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 repeats this elsewhere, saying that they were defeated

97. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11.
98. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11. "Cherub" apparently refers to Satan.
99. Grigor Daranałc‘i 2; compare the similar statement in Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11 and 13.
100. Isa 14:13–14.
101. See Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 3.
102. Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.
103. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2 and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 12.
104. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4. See §4.1.2 on Satan's deceit of Adam and Eve.

because of the arrogance of aspiring to divinity.[105] He also declares that pride cast the angels from the height and defrauded Adam.[106] They sinned through arrogance and pride.[107] Oddly enough, of the authors excerpted, only Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to this subject.

4.1.1 Adam Sinned because of His Love of Eve

4.1.2 Adam Deceived and Sinner

Typical of Satan and sometimes typical of the serpent, is the quality of deception, and Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16's statement that Satan deceived Eve by envy, and then Eve deceived Adam accords with the biblical story.[108] The very words of deception are transmitted by Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17, who writes, "Get up, stand, eat of that fruit, | Which is delicious like sugar."[109] He does not mention becoming God, though Step‘anos Kełec‘i C17 and Grigor Daranałc'i C17 do so.[110]

4.2 The Results of Sin

Basically we may say that the chief results of sin were expulsion from the Garden, mortality, and the curses, and this has the Bible's support. The change in Adam and Eve's state was specified in the curses and in the list of gifts or graces that they lost, which I will discuss below. By the Fall, Simēon Aparanc‘i C16 says, Adam and Eve became equal to dumb animals.[111] This idea is expressed also in *Penitence of Adam* ch. 4. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 says that they were expelled, as does Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C17.[112] According to T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, God became angry and took back gifts he had given to Adam.[113] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 speaks of the punishment of death and that Adam and Eve were expelled and fell into Satan's hand in hell, they and their generations (see also §3.0).[114] Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 simply says that they fell into hell.[115] Specific aspects of the punishments are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Other statements are that Adam was embittered on account of eating the fruit and that the whole human race was embittered in the same way.[116] They

105. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 12 and 15.
106. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 16; cf. 11.
107. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14.
108. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.
109. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 21.
110. Step‘anos Kełec‘i 1; Grigor Daranałc‘i 2.
111. Simēon Aparanc‘i 3.
112. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2; Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 3.
113. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.
114. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 5, 17, 20, 22, and 24.
115. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 33.
116. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 23; Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i 4; see §1.2 above.

became disobedient,[117] were overthrown by God, and were blinded.[118] When Adam abandoned God's command, observed the command of God's enemy, and ate the fruit, he caused enmity and trouble on the earth.[119]

4.2.1 Change in the Nature of the World

4.2.2 Death and Corruption

Of course, the loss of immortality is a chief result of their sin. In a simple statement, Minas T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that they died and returned to dust.[120] A further development of these ideas is that Satan made hell and captured the protoplasts after death, holding them there until Christ descended, on Easter Saturday, to free them. This is implied by some statements; see also §3.0. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16[121] and Karapet Bałišec'i C16[122] both say that they were "captured" by death, implying this idea. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 says that man was captive in Satan's hands.[123] They descended to hell where "[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years."[124] Adam caused death and fell beneath death's yoke;[125] Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17 specified that the body will lie in the grave and the soul be in hell.[126] As Scripture says in the curses, Adam died; he was dust and returned to dust.[127]

4.2.3 Stripped of Light/Glory

The loss of the light or glory that had covered the protoplasts in the Garden is a common theme, and it is said that Adam and Eve were stripped of their garment of light, their paradisiacal luminosity.[128] Adam, lamenting at the gate of the Garden after the expulsion, says, "Yesterday I was in the Garden covered with divine light." Indeed, this idea permeates the whole of his lament. In addition, Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16 often uses the term "adornment" to signify light.[129] Thus, the same poem continues to say that Adam's adornments are taken away and he is stripped of them.

This theme is combined with the one discussed in the previous section,

117. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 24.
118. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 12.
119. Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i 3.
120. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
121. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 1.
122. Karapet Bałišec'i 1.
123. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 4.
124. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4. On the six thousand years, see §4.4 below.
125. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 8; Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
126. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 5.
127. Minas T'oxat'ec'i 1.
128. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 19. Above, in chapter 4 §4.2.3, the linking of this theme with the biblical text is noted. The same idea is found in Karapet Bałišec'i 2–3.
129. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 2–3.

where Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16 says that he was stripped of incorruptible light and captured by death, presumably synonymous terms.[130]

While they were eating the fruit they were stripped of ineffable light, says Anonymous Author 8 C17. They saw that they were stripped and put on fig leaves.[131] Adam remained stripped of light, and thus he realized that he had been deceived.[132] They were expelled from glory, says Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17.[133] The loss of ineffable light, or being stripped of primordial glory, is also mentioned.[134] The protoplasts' nakedness is mentioned explicitly several times, but it and their consequent sense of shame do not play a major role in our texts.[135]

4.2.4 Curses and Other Punishments

The curses are not specified except for what I dub the "agricultural curse" (Gen 3:17–19), which is mentioned in general terms by two sixteenth-century authors, Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i and Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i.[136] Oddly enough, the seventeenth-century authors excerpted do not made much of the "agricultural" curse.

T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16 says that God cursed Adam and expelled him.[137] Speaking in general terms, Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16 says that God cursed Eve and the serpent and Adam.[138] God cursed Satan, who is not cursed in the Bible, and he is simultaneously partly identified with the serpent, who is cursed in the Bible. Thus, Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 announces that Satan was stripped; he was a four-footed bird and flew like a demon. "His wings and feet fell away, | He fell down and crept his face down."[139] Intriguing is that Satan is represented as a four-footed bird in a marginal illustration of the *Physiologus*, reflecting exactly the same conception as here.[140] The second part of this quotation appears to refer to the accursed transformation of the serpent, and the same curse, so frequently found as to be a commonplace, is mentioned also by Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i C17.[141]

In an unusual tirade against tobacco by Anonymous Author 8 C17, he describes the cursing of the serpent and the fate of its wings in connection with tobacco leaves. He says:

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130. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 1.

131. Anonymous Author 8 1–3.

132. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 25.

133. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 6.

134. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4 and Karapet Bałišec‘i 2.

135. Anonymous Author 8 2–3; Step‘anos Kełec‘i 1. The relevant passages contain no narrative elements.

136. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 1 and Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i 1, who also mentions death.

137. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 4.

138. Azaria J̌ułayec‘i 6–9.

139. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 31–32.

140. Matenadaran 2890 of the year 1719. In amulets, four-footed demons or satans are often represented. See fig. 2.

141. Ep‘rem Łap‘anc‘i 2.

Our Lord cursed that serpent,
The wings fell, he became a reptile.
The demons collected the wings,
Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.
They said: "We have found the drug of perdition,
Corrupter of the human soul."
In (J)annes and (J)ambres they say[142] there is a Garden,
They planted it there, it became tobacco. . . .[143]

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 mentions curses that are unique. One is that Adam becomes a wanderer. This may come from the idea of Adam's expulsion, but that might be combined with the curse of Cain in Gen 4:12. Eve is told that her son will be cursed and will become a fratricide. Other curses are clearly derived from Genesis, the "agricultural" curse and that Adam will suffer pain. Thus Dawit‘ attributes to Adam both his own and Eve's curse and adds a new curse to Eve's lot. Cain, too, will be cursed.[144]

Through eating the fruit, Adam lost various graces of the Spirit. He was not the same as the Spirit, but he was imbued with the Spirit, with all the Spirit's gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.[145] And he lost them through eating the fruit.[146]

The question of Adam and Eve's food after the expulsion exercised *Penitence of Adam* chs. 2–4. The food gained by Adam after the Garden was first "the food of animals" (*Pen. Adam* ch. 4), and Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 refers to it saying, "this [the Eucharist] is not the kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died."[147] In other words, both the manna and the protoplasts' food outside Eden did not guarantee immortality.

4.2.5 Under the Control of Satan

Adam is under the control of Satan. First, after death souls will be in Satan's hell (see §§4.2 and 4.2.2 above). Second, Adam gave his will to Satan; so says Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17.[148]

142. Or: Jannes and Jambres say. This is a reference to the fragmentarily preserved *Book of Jannes and Jambres,* which was published from a recently identified papyrus by Pietersma 1994. On Jannes and Jambres's garden, see his index, s.v. Their role in the Armenian tradition has never been studied.

143. Anonymous Author 8 5–6.

144. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 29–30.

145. I.e., constellations. See discussion of this subject in §1.1.7 above.

146. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 14 and 18; see §1.1.7 above.

147. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 5.

148. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 25.

Fig. 2. Four-footed satan or demon, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M2890 of the year 1719. Photo by G. Muradyan.

4.3 God, Footsteps of

In connection with God's footsteps, two subjects are usually considered. First, Adam's response to God's footsteps, with sometimes a discussion of how or why God's footsteps were audible; second, the call "Where are you?" and its meaning; third, Adam's inadequate response.

"When I heard the Lord's footsteps | Coming to the Garden, I was astonished," writes Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16, and Adam bemoans that he did not repent when the footsteps came.[149] Azaria J̌ułayec'i also remarks in the same passage that

149. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 6–9.

Adam asks why Eve does not repent.[150] Adam excuses himself and blames God, who created the rib—that is, Eve—who erred through the serpent's deceit.[151]

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 says, uniquely, that God came once a day to check up on Adam. He continues,

> (God) said: "Do they shout, 'I have sinned?'
> They are miserable, I should not hurt them."
> They were bound and did not say, "I have sinned,"
> They mounted Satan's horse.[152]

Anonymous Author 8 (§3 line 55) says, "The Lord called, 'Adam, where are you?'"[153] Nearly all the sixteenth-century discussion of this theme is in Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16's works. According to him, God summoned Adam, using terms very like those in the Bible.[154] God called and Adam responded, "I am naked," relates Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16.[155]

In response to God's call, Adam climbed the fig tree, an idea that is unique to Dawit' Salajorec'i C17, for he usually is said to hide in the tree, as in the Bible (Gen 3:8). In the same passage, Dawit' Salajorec'i continues saying that the Lord called Adam, Adam blamed Eve, and they did not repent.[156] His image "they mounted Satan's horse" is unique.[157] Anonymous Author 8 states that, after sinning, Adam fled and hid from shame. The expulsion ensued and Adam blamed the serpent.[158]

4.4 Adam, Chronological Elements

In the matter of Adam's time in the Garden and, particularly, the timetable of sin and expulsion, typological exegesis from the passion narrative plays a considerable role, as I have repeatedly observed in previous chapters. Adam went forth at same hour as that in which he sinned, and they ate the fruit on Friday at six o'clock. Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 also says that they were expelled when he answered, "I am naked."[159] Adam was in the Garden not more than one thousand years.[160] This is based, of course, on the chiliastic understanding of day.

150. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 4.
151. Thus Azaria J̌ułayec'i 3 and other similar passages.
152. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.
153. Compare Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 62.
154. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 7.
155. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
156. Dawit' Salajorec'i 26–28.
157. Dawit' Salajorec'i 28.
158. Anonymous Author 8 3–4.
159. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
160. Xač'atur J̌ułayec'i 1.

4.5 After the Fall and Expulsion

As I observed above, many texts say that, after the expulsion, Adam and Eve descended to hell and "[t]hey were imprisoned for six thousand years." This is the view of Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16.[161] Of course, he writes this from a broad perspective, and the same idea recurs when Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16 says that they ate fruit on Friday at six o'clock, remained in the sinful state for six hours, and then suffered during six thousand years.[162] A reference to six thousand years is made by T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16, while Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 states that they were imprisoned for six thousand years.[163] The Divinity is said to have made an agreement for six thousand years, because he was moved by pity for Adam: T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16.[164] The chiliastic implications of this figure are discussed above, in chapter 4 §4.4.

In the shorter term, Adam and Eve sat by the gate of paradise weeping and lamenting their lost gifts. A text of this lament, which describes the lost joys of the Garden, is given by Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16.[165] Notably, T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 mentions five days' weeping, which are attested in various sources, but he does not explicitly connect them with the Aṙaǰawor fast, of which they are an aetiology (see above, chapter 3 §4.6).[166]

In general terms, the this-worldly state that Adam inherited was regarded as unhappy: "Living a lamentable life, | very miserable on the earth, | Until his soul descended to hell, | and his body was put in the grave," says Yakob T'oxat'ec'i C17.[167] They were punished with troubles states Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16, and Karapet Bałišec'i C16 declares, "They came out of Paradise, he and his wife, | And mourned tilling the ground."[168] Adam saw that this world was ruined. He was afflicted and frightened by demons, but consoled by two angels.[169]

Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 discusses the story of the bringing of a branch from Eden after nine hundred years.[170] This story is to be found in *Pen. Adam* 40(13)–44(14). It is repeated in other Adam apocrypha,[171] but it occurs only here in the Adam excerpts. There is no doubt, of course, that the Armenian Adam apocry-

161. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
162. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 2.
163. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 5 and Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4.
164. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 5.
165. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 1–10.
166. T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i 5.
167. Yakob T'oxat'ec'i 5.
168. Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i 2; Karapet Bałišec'i 4.
169. Dawit' Salajorec'i 34–35. Perhaps the remark that Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam (Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 6) hints at the demonic affliction of Adam.
170. Dawit' Salajorec'i 40–42.
171. For three versions, see Stone 1982, 6–12. In general, see Quinn 1962; and also Stone 2000a.

pha were in circulation well before Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17's time, and it is striking that in the period under discussion, he alone introduces this theme

The demons and angels come to take the souls after death, arguing over them, and the cheirograph is brought, which is the register of the evil deeds. See §4.7. [172]

> 170 Then the soul came out of the body.
> Creatures came; demons came,
> They argued with the angels:
> "Where do you take our servant?"
> They brought forward the cheirograph,
> Inscription, decision, register.[173]

Finally, the door of Eden was closed by seraphim according to Simēon Kafac‘i C17 following Gen 3:24, which refers to a cherub.[174]

4.6 Aṙaǰawor Fast

4.7 Cheirograph

Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i C17 refers to the cheirograph as a list of sins.[175] The erasure of sins, and so impliedly of the cheirograph, is to be found in Yakob Kesarac‘i C17's statement, "When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha, | 35 The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . . ."[176] It is not clear that cheirograph ideas are in mind in Grigor Daranałc‘i C17's statement that Christ liberated humanity from the curse of Adam and the curse of Moses.[177]

Contrast the idea of Adam's contract with Satan with the view, forwarded by T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16, that God pitied Adam and made an agreement with him for a period of six thousand years.[178] This period is implied also in the statement that Adam was imprisoned for six thousand years and tortured until the incarnation. Christ, in a complementary way, bound Satan by the cross, which implies both Adam's liberation and Satan's punishment.[179]

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172. Compare Jude 9, but there Michael and the devil contend over Moses' body. The two angels after death are found (but as options and without contention) in *Questions of Ezra*.

173. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 42–43; see Stone 2002, 103–11.

174. Simēon Kafac‘i 3.

175. Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i 43.

176. Yakob Kesarac‘i 1.

177. Grigor Daranałc‘i 1.

178. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 5.

179. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ 4.

5.0 The Burial of Adam and Other Traditions

God took away the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken.[180] Shem at the age of one hundred begat Arpachshad, who inherited the bones of the forefather Adam and of Eve: he put Adam's bones on Golgotha and Eve's in Bethlehem.[181] This tradition is widely known and is referred to above in chapter 2 §5.0 and chapter 3 §§2.9 and 5.0.

Elsewhere, Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17 says, "This sun, which was Beelzebub, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire." If one were to impose a system on him, then it would be likely that here the fate of Adam's soul is discussed.[182]

180. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 17. Narratives of the burial of Adam are known from old sources, already in *Pen. Adam* [47](37):1 – [47](38):3, though there it is a matter of a heavenly burial. Here we have simply an elaboration of Gen 3:19.

181. Dawit‘ Bałišec‘i 1–2; compare Stone 2000a.

182. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 9.

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Appendix: Satan and the Serpent

1.0 Introductory Remarks

This appendix deals with one subject, the relationship between Satan and the serpent, in a synthetic and diachronic way. Section 3.1 of each chapter of the book preceding deals with Satan and the serpent. Those sections give much of the information I present here. However, because the chapters are divided temporally, the overall aspects this theme and its diachronic development do not emerge clearly.[1]

The reader may justly remark that each of the topical chapter sections throughout this book could be treated in the same diachronic way. I have chosen just one theme as a probe, to indicate how future research might develop, based on such corpora of texts as that presented here, and on a preceding synchronic analysis, which itself indicates connections between the development of specific directions of thought in the discrete segments of time.

I have published preliminary forms of this material before.[2] In the present appendix, in fact, I will give less detail than in those previous publications, for the detailed analysis is given in the synchronic chapters of the present book. I will strive, however, to treat the central issues clearly in the context of all the Adam and Eve narrative excerpts.

The biblical story does not say that Satan was the agent of the Fall, but only the serpent. In their oldest texts, however, the Armenians took Satan's role in the Fall for granted. From this assumption, exegetical and conceptual questions followed about the relationship between Satan and the serpent, about Satan's own fall, and about Satan's and the serpent's motivation for deceiving Adam and Eve.

General descriptions of Satan occur in many Armenian sources,[3] and it is beyond the limits of this appendix to present even an overview of them. Since I am dealing with identification, however, it is appropriate to start with the name. First, it seems to be significant that the particular names Beliar, Beelzebub, and Sadayēl are not used in Armenian nonbiblical sources until quite late. Frik C13 in

1. I have embedded many cross-references to the text and notes of those chapters, to avoid unnecessary repetition, on the one hand, and to highlight relationship between varying exegetical and conceptual approaches, on the other.

2. Stone 2008a; 2009.

3. Stone 2002, 17–21. On Satan's appearance, see J. B. Russell 1977; 1981; and 1984, as well as Forsyth 1987.

his "Words of Praise to God," uses the name "Beliar."[4] It is already to be found, of course, in 2 Cor 6:15 but is not frequent in the Armenian sources until the Middle Ages. Thus, after citing 2 Corinthians, *NBHL* refers to Grigor Narekac'i C10's *Book of Lamentation* 4.2 line 35 and 64.4 line 3.[5] To these I readily add a number of further references, such as *ibid.* 21.2, line 2 and 28.8 line 17, *et al.*[6] The name "Bēełzebuł" occurs in Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C 17.[7] Like Beliar, it is found in the Bible (Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27) and is also cited from Grigor Narekac'i, e.g., 51.4 line 5;[8] and Nersēs Lambronac'i C12.[9]

The name Sadayēl occurs in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God. There, manuscript Y of *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2 reads, "Now the wicked Sadael and Beliar were heads of the divisions of Satan."[10] This version combines two devilish names, while manuscript D's text of the same verse mentions Beliar alone. In both manuscripts, from §3 on, only the name of Satan is found. In Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13's poem "Our Lord Came to the Garden," we find the simple equation of the two.

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaēl had turned his face;
From Heaven, he descended into the abyss,
And from light, he lived in darkness.[11]

The name Բազու ("Bazu") is applied to Beliar-Satan by Vardan Aygekc'i C13.[12] Its origin is unknown.

In a powerful poem by the same author included in *The Root of Faith* we read:

You are adorned with sin,
  and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
  and have gone forth to the outer darkness.
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
  made stinking with a tunic.
Bound with iron chains,

4. Frik 18 et al. Beliar is a variant of Belial.

5. Grigor Narekac'i, *Book of Lamentation* 64.4 line 3= 64.3 line 24. See *NBHL* 479a.

6. A search of medieval Armenian literature subsequent to Grigor Narekac'i would doubtless turn up many further examples. This name is not particularly rare.

7. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 9.

8. Grigor Narekac'i, 51.4 line 5= 51.4 line 38.

9. In *NBHL* 1:487a.

10. Lipscomb 1990, 118. Sadayēl and Sadael are variant spellings; see n. 127 below.

11. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 10.

12. Vardan Aygekc'i 7.

separated by a fiery sword in between,
Gone forth from the goodly host,
ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.[13]

Vardan Aygekc'i here gives a vivid description of the fall of Satan (unnamed in his text).

This fall is intimately related to the name Sadayēl in an Armenian amulet scroll, Matenadaran 116, dated 1428. There Sat/dayēl is described as commander of the fallen angels and builder of hell. This, of course, is Satan's role in most texts. Interestingly, in this document the demons speak of themselves as angels who fell due to unwillingness to give glory to God, and who were responsible for Adam's expulsion. These are all actions usually attributed to Satan or Sadayēl, and their transfer to the demons in general is probably due to the magical context and purpose of this document. However, the amulet text knows the chief elements of the story: the prideful rebellion before creation and the fall of Satan; the honor given to Adam; the building of hell;[14] the deception and expulsion of Adam; and the imprisonment of his soul and those of all the saints up to John the Baptist. This story is complete and coherent, in small compass, in Amulet 116:

> And we envied his honour, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of Paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built / 60 / a palace and named it "Hell."[15]

According to Hamam Arewelc'i C9, Satan was called darkness because of his pride.[16] Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 describes Satan as black.[17] Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i (C 17) further develops the idea, saying that as Beelzebub defeated Adam he became luminous, but as Christ defeated Beelzebub, the latter became dark.[18] It is noteworthy that, from very early times, evil or wickedness is marked by the absence of light, by darkness, or blackness.[19] For example, Satan is said to be "the black one" in *Barn.* 4:10 and is described as an Ethiopian in apocryphal acts.[20]

13. Vardan Aygekc'i 3.

14. On Satan's kingdom in hell, see Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 5. Vardan Aygekc'i 1 says that Satan "threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell." The idea of the keys most likely derives from Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

15. Matenadaran Amulet 116 1; see Loeff 2002. I quote his translation, with permission.

16. Hamam Arewelc'i 3.

17. Dawit' Salajorec'i 23. On the connection of blackness, demons, and crows or ravens, see chapter 3 §4.2.3.

18. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 9.

19. See Stone 1990a, 359, on the faces of the righteous and the wicked. The theme of darkness and blackness is widespread.

20. On Satan as the "black one," see Gaster 1962, 227–28.

Thus, though the idea of Satan as black is not attested in our Adam texts until rather late, it is old in Christian (and Jewish) tradition. The legend that Cain learned how to kill Abel from two demons in the form of crows or ravens is associated with it.[21] Demons and crows or ravens are black, and this is how demons are represented in manuscript paintings and amulets. Kirakos Erznkacʻi C13 called demons Satan's "darkness-loving demons" and "black hosts."[22] Thus, it is quite natural when, in the seventeenth century, Dawitʻ Salajorecʻi says that Satan is black and Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi C17 compares Satan's technique in deceiving Adam to the fashion in which crows hunt their prey.[23] Vardan Aygekcʻi C13 says that on the fourth day of creation, night's darkness came forth from the serpent's mouth.[24] The association of darkness with Satan, then, is profoundly rooted.

Satan is also associated with death. Thus, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi C14 says "there is a personified death which is Satan; through it [or: him] you shall die,"[25] while in the same century Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Corcorecʻi says that Satan was the first murderer,[26] an "honor" usually reserved for Cain.[27]

To summarize: (1) The idea of Satan appears from the inception of Armenian literature, and in the medieval period his names varied. "Beliar" was quite widespread; "Sadayēl" is later and exists predominantly in a specific mythological connection; and other names are found as well. (2) From Hamam Arewelcʻi C9 on, the ancient characteristics of darkness and blackness appear as Satanic qualities. (3) In still later texts the connection between crows and demons is to be found. (4) Finally, Satan is closely connected with death and built hell to imprison the souls of the dead.

1.0.1 The Serpent

The serpent is characterized in various ways. The typical ones are cited here. First, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi C14 says that the serpent was the beginning of man's death. And since its discourse was of two kinds, namely, false and true,

21. *Abel and Other Pieces* §3.4; *History of the Forefathers* §25 (Stone 1992, 148, 193); cf. *Abel and Cain*, Second Recension, §27. On the demonic aspect of the crow, see, e.g., the exegesis of Noah's raven in Mandean texts cited by Lupieri 2002, 201–2 (*Right Ginza* 18).

22. *Acts of Thomas* (James 1924, 394) mentions demons in the form of black men.

23. Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 4; and see the discussion of this description in chapter 5 §3.0. An intriguing statement is that of Yovhannēs J̌ułayecʻi 9 quoted above, that Beelzebub became luminous thanks to his defeat of Adam, which implies that he was dark previously.

24. Vardan Aygekcʻi 12. In medieval Armenian paintings, hell is presented as a serpent swallowing the wicked. Thus, for example, in Matenadaran M5523, fol 7v of the year 1414a serpentine hell swallows the wicked and holds them in darkness. See fig. 3.

25. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 55.

26. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Corcorecʻi 3.

27. See 1 John 3:12: "We must not be like Cain who was from the evil one and murdered his brother." The "evil one" is Satan, and this reflects the tradition of Cain's satanic origin.

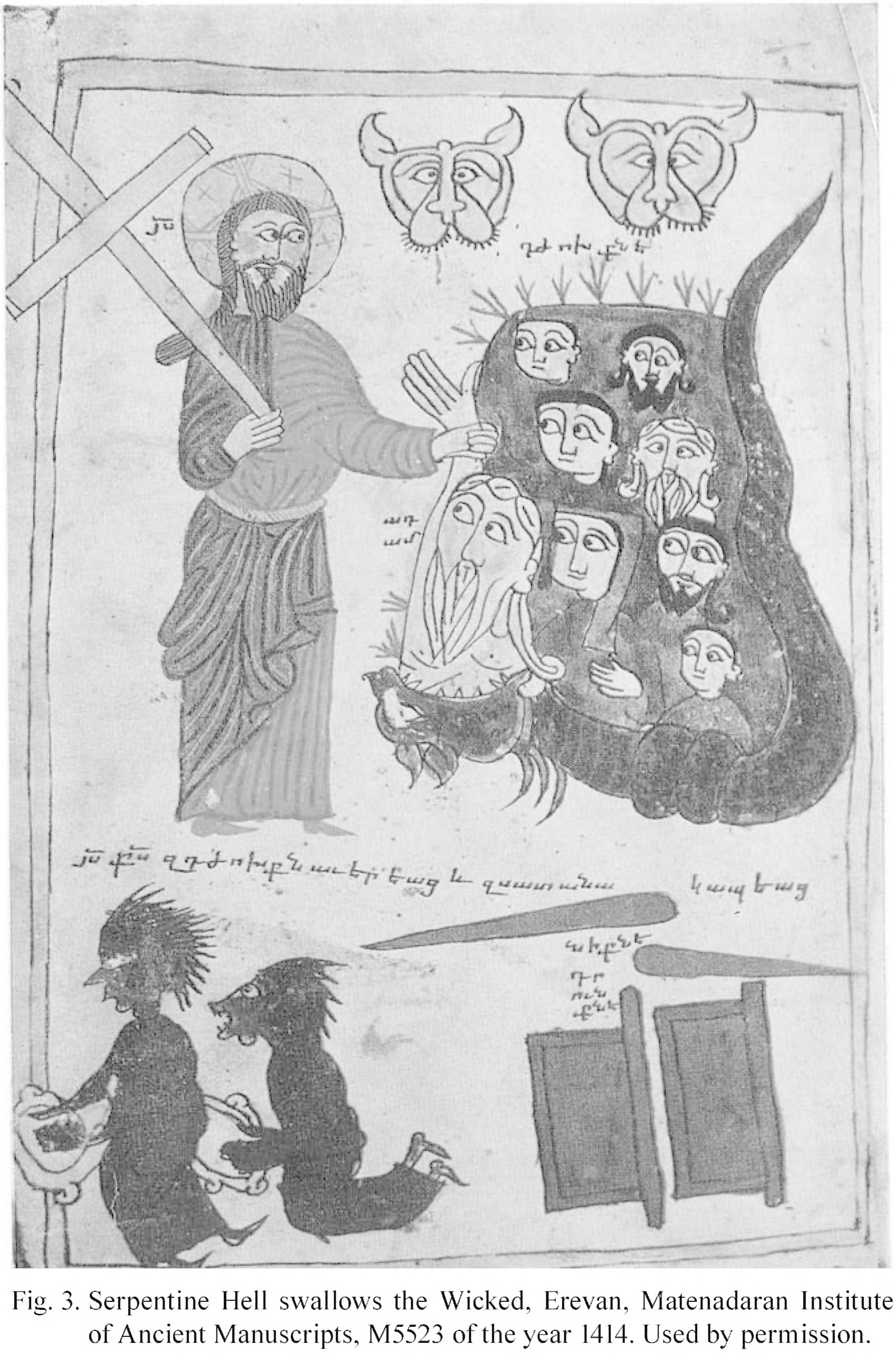

Fig. 3. Serpentine Hell swallows the Wicked, Erevan, Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M5523 of the year 1414. Used by permission.

its tongue was forked.[28] Next, following an ancient typology, he says that the serpent symbolizes deceptive, lascivious desire.[29] Such overall condemnations of the serpent are quite frequent. Further references to the serpent may be found below.

1.1 Satan and the Serpent

In the earliest Armenian literature, Satan's relationship with the serpent is described in remarkably differing ways. In the fifth century, Agatʻangełos says that the serpent was a vehicle or pack animal upon which Satan rode,[30] while in the fourteenth century Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that the serpent was Satan's arms and legs (թեւ եւ ոտք).[31] Eznik C5 seems simply to equate them.[32] This latter view continues, and, for example, in thirteenth century Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz asserts that the serpent is Satan and he deceived Eve.[33] A century earlier, Sargis Šnorhali had simply assumed that Adam was deceived by Satan or the Devil, implying an identification of the serpent and Satan.[34] This relationship is the subject of intermittent discussion in subsequent centuries, which I shall describe starting with the metaphors used for it. Often it seems that the choice of the term "Satan" or "serpent" is determined by the literary context rather than by deliberate theological or exegetical motivation.

Another identification was discerned in Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13, in terminology analogous to the language of Genesis. The verse reads, suggestively from the perspective of Genesis, "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot." Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Corcorecʻi C14 in his *Commentary on Matthew* says, "And besides, it calls Satan 'adder,' according to David, 'You shall tread upon the . . . adder.'"[35] It is intriguing to see this verse from a well-known apotropaic Psalm exegetically related to the trampling of Satan. Surely intertextual are Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14, which speak of God trampling the head of the *višap* dragon-snake ("13 You divided the

28. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 2.

29. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 80.

30. Agatʻangełos 5. In *Pirqe R. El.* 13 we read, "[i]ts appearance was something like that of the camel, and he [i.e., Sammael = Satan] mounted and rode upon it" (trans. Friedlander 1981, 92). This issue of the terminology of Satan's relation to the serpent as it occurs in early Christian literature is discussed by Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming).

31. Grigor Tatʻewacʻi 2. Թեւ could also be translated "wings." In excerpt 52, Grigor Tatʻewacʻi says that the serpent is the feet of the Enemy.

32. Eznik 20, 21, and 24. Actions that the Bible attributes to the serpent are simply said to be done by Satan. Alexandre (1988, 297), observes that Cyril of Alexandria says that Satan is transformed into the serpent and speaks as such (*C. Julianum* 3 [*PG* 76:632b–c]). Compare *Pirqe R. El.* 13, on which see Stone 2009.

33. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 7.

34. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

35. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Corcorecʻi 3.

sea by your might; you broke the heads of the dragons [վիշապաց] in the waters. 14 You crushed the heads of Leviathan [վիշապին]");[36] and perhaps Gen 3:14–15 which speaks of the crushing (laying in wait for) the head of the "serpent" (օձ). Thus, the exegesis of Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13 introduces the term "adder" into the arsenal of Satan's identifications. The background of the biblical material, especially of Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14 lies in old, pre-Israelite mythological themes. To them, the Armenian biblical translation added a pre-Christian Armenian mythical association with the water snake-dragon known as a *višap*, which joins this procession of satanic reptiles.

1.1.1 Metaphors: Possession or Indwelling

Grigor Tłay C12 says simply that "Satan enters into the serpent,"[37] speaking as if Satan possessed the serpent. Satan's possession of the serpent is even more explicitly stated in the undated apocryphal work called *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*. It is certainly later than Grigor Tłay's time but nonetheless is of considerable interest here. It says that Satan entered the belly of the serpent (մտեալ յորովայնի օձին) and spoke from the serpent's belly "with a human voice" (§2).[38] This evokes descriptions of ventriloquism, which is frequently an aspect of demonic possession.[39] Ełišē's earlier sexual imagery in his *Commentary on Joshua* is discussed below; see appendix §1.1.3. Such sexual imagery was abandoned for that of demonic possession, which is implied by Grigor Tłay. By his time, possession was the way in which Satan was related to the serpent. The serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One (see §1.1.2 below); so says Grigor Tat'ewac'i, and by the term "recipient" he may be referring once more to possession.[40]

In the verses of Dawit' Salajorec'i C17 we read:

> Because the serpent is vengeful;
> That cursed impure Satan,
> He went, entered the serpent's mouth . . . [41]

This reflects the same understanding of Satan's relationship to the serpent as that in *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*: because of Satan's possession, the serpent could talk. In a society in which demonic possession is a known phenomenon and in which Satan was prince of demons, possession is an obvious way of describing this relationship.

36. On these verses, see Stone 2002, 22–24 and 57; and fig. 2.
37. Grigor Tłay 9.
38. Stone 1996a, 22–23.
39. Eshel 1999, 136–44 describes instances of demonic possession; cf. Riley 1995, 453.
40. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 52.
41. Dawit ' Salajorec'i 20.

In the ninth century, T‘ovma Arcruni says that Satan "nested" (բունեալ) in the serpent.[42] This introduces another image to describe their relationship, but it was not very productive or widespread, though it too implies indwelling or possession. In the texts I have assembled, "nesting" occurs only in the writings of Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i C16,[43] and he could have picked it up from T‘ovma Arcruni.

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13 says simply that Satan took the serpent as his associate.[44] This statement should probably be related to Satan's deceit or incitement of the serpent, which are discussed below in §1.3.[45]

1.1.2 Metaphors: Instrument

Nersēs Šnorhali C12 calls the serpent an instrument of lawlessness for Satan.[46] This is the first time that the term "instrument" or "tool" occurs in our texts. Again, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14 says that the serpent was the recipient and instrument of the Evil One.[47] This relationship, the serpent as Satan's instrument, is not explored much further. It is old, however, and has forerunners in ancient patristic sources.[48] Moreover, the word "instrument" also has a musical aspect. According to the Armenian Adam books, Satan plays on the serpent like on a lyre, a musical instrument.[49] This metaphor, of course, implies the same sort of absolute dominance by Satan as does possession. In no context where Satan and the serpent are held apart to any extent is initiative attributed to the serpent. Satan is always dominant.

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42. T‘ovma Arcruni 4.

43. Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i 2. This language may derive from the idea of a serpent's nest.

44. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 24.

45. Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ says with no further details that envy made the serpent his dwelling; see his *kafa* on the *History of Alexander*, excerpt 4. In the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries *kafas,* moralizing poetic comments on the *History of Alexander* were rather popular; see Bardakjian 2000, 32–33. See further §1.4 below. Publication of *kafas* may be found in Simonyan 1975. Even less defined is the statement in T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i 3 that Satan made the serpent his means.

46. գործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, Nersēs Šnorhali 42.

47. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i does not make explicit the metaphor that stands behind "recipient"; see excerpt 52.

48. According to some of the Greek and Latin fathers, the serpent was the instrument (ὄργανον) of the enemy of truth (Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesin* [*PG* 80;129] c. 3, q. [32]; Theophilus, *Ad Auctolycum* 2.28; Irenaeus, *Dem.* 16 et al., cited by Alexandre 1988, 297). It seems likely that a comparative study of Satan's relationship to the serpent and the soul's relationship to the body and the metaphors used to describe the two relationships would yield important insights into ancient anthropology. See also Stone 2009 and the next note.

49. The language used in the *Penitence of Adam* is that the serpent is a lyre upon which Satan plays: "[b]e you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth" [44](16):4b. Ephrem Syrus, *Hymns on Paradise* 8:2 talks of the soul without the body as being "without its mate, the body, its instrument and lyre" (Brock 1990, 132). Ephrem's poem is reminiscent of the story of the blind man and the lame man, attributed to Pseudo-Ezekiel: this story and its rabbinic parallels are discussed in Satran, Stone, and Wright 2000, 9–19.

1.1.3 Metaphor: Sexual Overtones

In a passage of Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua* and Judg 3:10, we have what is basically an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis story:

> The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.[50]

Sexual imagery permeates the passage. The serpent conceives or becomes pregnant with the forms of evil (presumably due to its possession by Satan), and in this aspect the serpent is female. This pregnant female serpent then becomes male and overcomes the female part (= Eve) and strips her senses naked (again evoking a sexual association) causing the abeyance of the intellect (therefore, "stupidity"). The serpent is said to use the fruit as its instrument for Eve's transformation. Once the serpent overcomes the woman Eve by using the fruit as a tool, it becomes male. This implies the superiority of the male, and the serpent plays the male role in contrast to Eve.[51] The role of the five senses, through which Satan deceived Eve, comes to the fore in the thirteenth century, in Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz,[52] and is further stressed a century later by Grigor Tat'ewac'i.[53] Eve is particularly susceptible through her five senses. This reflects distinct attitudes to men and women.

It remains an open question whether behind this formulation lay the myth according to which Satan had intercourse with Eve and begat Cain. It is possible

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50. Ełišē 3. The language of fighting referred to in this sentence is discussed below in §1.6.

51. Such ideas of change of gender and of status are encountered not infrequently. Thus, for example, Philo (*Fug.* §51) shows a similar valuation of male and female:

> He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all of the virtues have women's titles, but are powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe, who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For preeminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it. (Philo 1935, 5:37).

Such evaluations, and to some extent similar exegetical strategies, underlie the passage we are discussing. The language of fighting is discussed in §1.6 below.

52. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 7.

53. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 53 says that the serpent makes five circular movements symbolizing the five senses.

that the passage of Ełišē is a reflection of some such myth, though it is rare in the Armenian literature I have examined.[54]

In the following tables I set forth the main metaphors that have served to describe the relationship of Satan and the serpent in Armenian Adam texts, and also their chronological ranges.

Relationship of Satan and the Serpent by Metaphors

Image	Author	Century
Pack animal / vehicle	Agat'angełos	C 05
Sexual	Ełišē	C 05
Identification	Eznik	C 05
	Sargis Šnorhali	C 12
	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz	C 13
	Vardan Arewelc'i	C 13
Nesting	T'ovma Arcruni	C 09
	Grigoris Ałt'amarac'i	C 16
Possession	Grigor Tłay	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
	Dawit' Salajorec'i	C 17
Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali	C 12
	Grigor Tat'ewac'i	C 14
Associate	Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz	C 13
Dwelling	Zak'aria Gnuneac'	C 16

When we examine these tables, we are struck by the variety of language and metaphor used to describe the relationship between Satan and the serpent. Beyond simple identification, seven different types of language describe this relationship. Even more surprising is the temporal distribution. The relationship between Satan and the serpent, except for one instance, is not mentioned from the sixth to the eleventh century.[55]

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54. See n. 27 above, for another possible case. This myth is fairly widespread in both Jewish and other sources in the first millennium. See, e.g., *Hypostasis of the Archons* 34.21 in Layton 1987, 71; *Saltair na Rann* in Seymour 1922, 129; see lines 1957–58 in Greene and Kelly 1976, 91, and Murdoch 1973, 133; Schwartz 2004, 447–48; Epiphanius 40.5.3 in Layton 1987, 197. A discussion of the relations of Eve with the serpent may be found in Minoff 2010.

55. My evidence is partial, for I only collected published statements directly relating to

RELATIONSHIP OF SATAN AND THE SERPENT BY CENTURIES

Century	Image	Author
C 05	Identification	Eznik
C 05	Pack animal	Agat‘angełos
C 05	Sexual	Ełišē
C 09	Nesting	T‘ovma Arcruni
C 12	Identification	Sargis Šnorhali
C 12	Instrument	Nersēs Šnorhali
C 12	Possession	Grigor Tłay
C 13	Associate	Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz
C 13	Identification	Vardan Arewelc‘i
C 14	Instrument	Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i
C 14	Possession	Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i
C 16	Dwelling	Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘
C 16	Nesting	Grigoris Ałt‘amarac‘i
C 17	Possession	Dawit‘ Salajorec‘i

1.2 SATAN DECEIVES THE SERPENT

In his biblical epic poem *To Manuč‘ē,* Grigor Magistros (C 10) says of Satan: "Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue, | Having deceived the serpent's ear, his destructive assistant's."[56] So Satan deceived the serpent into conniving in his attack on Adam and Eve. This event is described clearly in the primary Adam books, where Satan plays on the serpent's pride to gain his cooperation, just as his own pride motivated him to hate Adam. Thus *Pen. Adam* 44.16.3 reads: "Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? . . . Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden."[57]

Satan's common cause with and persuasion of the serpent is featured in Kirakos Erznkac‘i C13's saying, "Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plans."[58] In the next century, the same sort of relationship is implied by

Genesis 1–3. Probably an even greater number of metaphors was used. Moreover, numerous instances might occur in contexts other than the Genesis stories.

56. Grigor Magistros 12.

57. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E.

58. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2.

Kostandin Erznkacʻi when he says that because of the envy of the evil tempter, they were deceived by serpent.[59] Satan envied, but it was the serpent that acted on his behalf.[60]

1.3 The *Višap* Dragon and Its Identification with Satan

The word վիշապ (*višap*) "dragon," which is already used in the Bible of primordial serpents and is prominent in Revelation 12, also comes to the fore connected with Satan and the serpent. The *višap* dragon was an Armenian, pre-Christian water monster,[61] and its name is included in the biblical translation at a number of points. Thus, for example, Aaron's and the magicians' serpents in Exod 7:9, 10, and 12 (תנין — δράκων) are rendered as *višap*. Moreover, it is the term for the dragon in Rev 12:4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, etc. In Job 26:13(12) it translates Greek τὸ κῆτος and Hebrew Rahab, one of the names of the primordial sea dragon of pre-Israelite mythology. Such uses as these, combined with those in Revelation 12, led to its identification with the Genesis serpent and with Satan. In Rev 12:9 we read: "The great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world" (Եւ անկաւ վիշապն մեծ, օձն առաջին, որ անուանեալ կոչի բէեղզեբուղ եւ Սատանայ որ մոլորեցոյց զամենայն տիեզերս երկրի։). Greek reads διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς and Arm 2 has Բէեղզեբուղ եւ Սատանայ ("Bēełzebuł and Satan"). In Armenian 1 of Revelation, however, we read մատնիչ եւ Բէեղզեբուղ ("betrayer and Bēełzebuł"). Observe that մատնիչ ("betrayer") is the typical Arm 1 translation of διάβολος. What is important here is that Bēełzebuł occurs in Arm 1 for ὁ Σατανᾶς and in Arm 2 for διάβολος. This shows how deeply this designation is embedded into Armenian usage.

Satan is called "rebel dragon" based on Revelation 12.[62] Grigoris Aršaruni C7 speaks of the "dragon-serpent" (վիշապ օձ) that wished to become "god of the material world."[63] This role, "god of the material world," is Satan's.[64] Is this just a restatement of Lucifer's ambition to become God (Isa 14:13–14) or is the serpent-dragon in the material world deliberately modeled after Satan-Lucifer, whose aspiration was to make himself "like the Most High" (Isa 14:14)? I doubt that a distinction between the serpent-dragon and Satan-Lucifer was maintained. This also seems implied by the understanding of Yovhannēs Kʻorepiskopos C8

59. Kostandin Erznkacʻi 4.

60. This idea may be present in Tʻadēos Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16's statement (3), "Satan . . . made the serpent a means."

61. On the Armenian pagan usage, see Ališan 1910, 163–65; J. R. Russell 1987, 205–11. Many stone statues of *višap*s survive; see fig. 4.

62. Eznik C5 excerpt 16; compare Rev 12:7–9; Isa 27:1.

63. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

64. See John 14:30; 16:11; and 2 Cor 4:4.

Fig. 4. *Višap* dragon stone at Sardarabad, Armenia. Photo by H. Petrosyan.

discussed in the next paragraph.[65] Grigor Vkayasēr C11–12 calls the serpent a "wicked dragon."[66]

In Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8's *Concerning the Cross that was seen at Varag* we read: "Then having left for man in his will,[67] for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious[68] dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death."[69]

Here the dragon is clearly Satan and is called fallen. As in the case of Grigoris Aršaruni C8, the identification is complete. It seems that Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos is talking of different regions: the region of splendid glory *from which* the dragon fell and the region of the venomous serpent *into which* the dragon fell. What is clear is that the fall from glory, here predicated of the dragon,

65. Moreover, in Gen 3:5, it is actually the serpent who speaks with Eve and offers her divinity, even though in later sources this was understood to be Satan's work. This is also discussed in §3.3 below.

66. Grigor Vkayasēr 1.

67. I.e., his free will or autonomy.

68. The term "rebellious" is not found in the relevant verses of Revelation 12. This term is most likely drawn from the story of the fall of Satan.

69. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1.

is the fall of Satan. The identification of the two now seems complete. Similarly, in the ninth century, T‘ovma Arcruni calls the serpent that pours bitter advice into Eve's ear "dragon."[70]

1.4 Are Satan, Serpent, and Dragon Distinguished?

> He [i.e., Christ] chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
> And his [i.e., Adam's] Deceiver, along with his [i.e. Satan's] servants.[71]

At first reading, this couplet by Grigor Narekac‘i C10 in his *Poem on the Lord Coming to Lazarus* seems to distinguish between the "first serpent (or: dragon, i.e., վիշապ)" and Adam's Deceiver who is the serpent identified as Satan.[72] This latter identification appears to be certain, since the Deceiver has "his (own) servants," presumably the Satanic host of demons. Grigor Narekac‘i seems to distinguish between Satan and the primordial serpent.[73] Vardan Arewelc‘i C13, however, implies an identification of Satan and the serpent,[74] and so does Karapet Bałišec‘i C16, who says, in parallel lines: "The serpent was the cause of perdition, | The Devil was the reason for death."[75]

In his *Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism*, Grigor Narekac‘i says, "Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one."[76] The phrase "the curse of the first one" refers to Satan, yet there is no biblical curse of Satan, only of the serpent. This indicates that these two figures fell together in the Armenian sources or else an apocryphal tradition added a curse of Satan to the curses of the serpent, Eve, and Adam (Gen 3:14–19). Such a tradition with a fourfold curse is found in Greek folktales, but is unknown so far in Armenian.[77]

Thus, Satan is equivalent to the serpent in many texts; see §1.1 and the table above. Elsewhere, diverse metaphors are used that describe Satan as dominating and manipulating the serpent (§§1.1.1; 1.1.2; 1.1.3). All these relationships, except for identity, imply that there are two entities involved, Satan and the serpent. The same emerged in §1.2 above, where Satan's deception of the serpent is documented.

70. T‘ovma Arcruni 3.

71. Grigor Narekac‘i 3.

72. Interestingly, Rev 12:9 reads օձն առաջին ("first serpent [*ōj*])" and not վիշապն առաջին ("first dragon" [*višap*]) as does Narekac‘i. Yet Narekac‘i's source must be Rev 12:9. This verse is also discussed above in §1.3.

73. However, this poem is characterized by the use of parallel phrases, and so the distinction may well be only apparent. Compare the magical narrative discussed in §1.0.

74. Vardan Arewelc‘i 32; see §§1.1.1–1.1.3.

75. Karapet Bałišec‘i 1.

76. J. B. Russell 1981, 132.

77. Stone 2002, 101–2. Alternatively, the curse might be figurative language for death or sinfulness, which the serpent introduced into Eden.

In §1.3 we saw that the *višap* dragon is sometimes identified with the serpent, and they are both on occasion spoken of as Satan. In the eighth century, Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos distinguishes Satan-dragon from the serpent, while T'ovma Arcruni C9 supports the dragon-serpent identification. From all this information, we learn that these three figures—the dragon, Satan, and the serpent—are sometimes identified and sometimes treated as separate beings. Often this is not an ontological assertion so much as a parenetic or exegetical strategy.

Part of a *kafa*[78] on the *History of Alexander the Great* by Zak'aria Gnuneac' (C 16) is devoted to serpents. He notes that the serpent (օձ — *ōj*) is the cause of Adam's perdition. After some more general remarks about the serpent, he continues:

> The serpent is the descendant of the dragon (վիշապ),
> Solomon wrote about it wisely;
> When the serpent comes out of the egg,
> It treads the ground equally (with man).
> But envy, the author of evil,
> Made the serpent its dwelling;

Here the relationship with the *višap* dragon is incidental to the text and the dragon plays no role. But the dragon and the serpent belong to the same species, and the serpent is the dragon's descendant. "Envy" here is probably a synonym for Satan.

1.5 Psalm 73 and the Baptism

A homily on the Baptism uncertainly attributed to Ełišē, highlights the parallel between Adam, whom the serpent (*ōj*) deceived, and Christ, who smashes the head of the *višap* dragon in the Jordan River in his baptism. There, Ps 73:13–14 and particularly the phrase "thou didst break the heads of the dragons in the waters" is applied to Christ's baptism. This theme is old in Eastern Christian usage, though not as early as the homily's attribution to Ełišē of the fifth century would imply.[79] Still, if not in the fifth century, then sometime later, the serpent was identified with the dragon because of the relationship between Adam's sin and Christ's baptism.[80]

78. On *kafas*, see n. 45.

79. See Stone 2002, 22–24.

80. It is unclear whether Gen 3:15 played any role in this exegesis. The difficult Hebrew is translated in the Greek Bible as τηρέω ("watch, observe closely") and faithfully reflected in Armenian սպասեմ ("watch out for, await"). This passage did not receive the detailed attention of either Chrysostom or (pseudo-?)Ephrem in their works on Genesis surviving in Armenian. However, even when the verb is taken as in the Greek, a clear relationship exists between Eve's offspring and the crushing of the serpent's head, and that may be interpreted as Christ crushing the serpent in the baptism. This is discussed further in chapter 2 §4.7.

In our corpus, the connection between Psalm 73 and the baptism first occurs in a dated text in Artawazd Mazazuni C10:[81] "Jesus is baptised in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent."[82] The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket.[83] Matt‘ēos *vardapet* C15 states that Christ will trample the dragon's poison. This clearly combines the dragons of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 with the Genesis serpent, whose deception is regularly called "poison."[84]

One might, therefore, after consulting the comparative Greek and Armenian evidence, regard the use of Psalm 74 = Arm 73 in (pseudo)-Ełišē's *Homily on the Baptism* as later than the fifth century. However, the exegetical connection might have been made earlier than the seventh- to eighth-century date that the comparative evidence suggests.[85] The tradition recurs in (unfortunately) undated apocryphal texts. In *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* §49 (P 306) we read: "and the dragon-serpent (*ōj višapn*) appeared. And our Lord Christ, with his foot having trampled the dragon."[86]

1.6 Language of Fighting

Ełišē's *Commentary on Joshua* and Judges excerpt 3, cited fully in §1.1.3 says: "Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking." The "looking" of course refers to Gen 3:6 and often serves to identify Eve with sense perception (see §1.1.3 above). Language of "war" and "vanquishing" is often used of Satan's attack on Eve. For example, in *Pen. Adam* 11:4 we read: "that you [i.e., Satan] fight against us unnecessarily"; in 37(10):3 Eve upbraids the beast/serpent/Satan "that you dared to fight with this image of God" (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:92, 127).[87] The language of fighting also occurs in Eznik 30 and Agat‘angełos 5.[88]

The terminology of fighting recurs in the seventh century when Anania Širakac‘i refers to Satan as "he who fought with the forefather." [89] T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor uses this type of language of Christ's conflict with Satan, set into

81. Artawazd Mazazuni 2.

82. Psalm 74:13–14 = Arm 73:11–12. Cosmas of Maiuma of the eighth century uses similar language: see Stone 2002, 22.

83. Cf. Job 40:23–24.

84. Matt‘ēos *vardapet* 3.

85. Consequently, the *Homily on the Baptism* must be dated on the basis of other considerations.

86. Stone 1996a, 66–67.

87. The language of war and vanquishing is old, appearing already in the non-Armenian versions of 4 Ezra in this context. The Armenian version, which is from the fifth century, uses the term աշխատեմ ("to labor") instead. Thus, in 7:92 and 7:127 աշխատեմ corresponds to the language of fighting in other versions.

88. It is possible that the war idiom was attractive because the monastic life itself was conceived of as one long battle against Satan and his demons.

89. Anania Širakac‘i in Abrahamyan 1944, 247.

an Adamic context.[90] The metaphor then disappears from our sources until the twelfth century, when Ignatius *vardapet* uses it of Satan's fight against Adam.[91] It is found nowhere else in the sources I have collected, down to the end of the seventeenth century.

2.0 The Fall of Satan

2.1 The Fall of Satan: Background

The fall of Satan is an idea that is present already in the New Testament.[92] Moreover, it is the commonest understanding of Isa 14:12–14, which speaks of the fall of the "Day Star," a figure that aspired to set his throne above the stars of heaven.[93] This was interpreted as Satan's primordial *hybris*.

2.2 The Fall of Satan: In Armenian Texts

How could Satan's pride have caused his fall? An early version of the story of the fall of Satan, found in *Pen. Adam*, chs. 12–16 and parallels, relates Satan's fall to his rebellion against God. Gary Anderson has shown that it was known to Ephrem Syrus as well.[94] At God's behest, Michael commands the angels to bow down to Adam because he was created in God's image. Satan refuses on the explicit grounds that he is older, created before Adam (14:3–15:1). As the older, he will not bow down to the younger, and this makes him a rebel against God. Blind Jacob, blessing Joseph's sons, gives the prior place to the younger Ephraim. When Joseph remonstrates with him, he responds, "his younger brother shall be greater than he." This is a repeated theme in the pentateuchal narrative and scholars have teased out its implications.[95] In the Adam story, the younger Adam is to be greater than the older Satan. Yet, despite intriguing pentateuchal parallels, in the apocryphal Adam narrative, Satan's recalcitrance is based only on pride and

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90. ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր: T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 1.

91. մարտուցեալ: Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

92. Luke 10:18: "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning," is clearest, but in that text the occasion for the fall is eschatological, not protological. The pericope is well analyzed by Garrett (1989, 46–60 and especially 50–55). Agat'angełos 26 cites *3 Corinthian*s, which was canonical in the Armenian tradition and which says, Իսկ որ անօրէն իշխանն էր իբրեւ աստուածանալ կամեցաւ, ձեռն արկանէր ի նոսա եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր: "He who was the lawless prince, when he wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin" (*3 Cor.* 2:16–17). The word "prince" (իշխան) evokes Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7, on which see below. Satan's capturing or seizing humankind is discussed in n. 196 below.

93. Translated "Lucifer" in the King James Version, as in the Vulgate; see below.

94. See Anderson 1997.

95. Anderson 2001, 21–34. See also Greenspahn 1994. Some further dimensions of Adam's divine image are investigated in Orlov 2007, 239–68.

envy.[96] Thus, we can delineate the metamorphosis of a pagan god, challenger of the chief deity, into a rebellious angel who, before creation, wished to displace God.

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14 expressed the view that Satan refused to bow down to Adam because of his lesser status: "And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshipped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and all man."[97]

The idea that Satan was a rebellious angel had deep, ancient roots.[98] Alongside this and, indeed, much more common, the view arose from the exegesis of Genesis that connected Satan's rebellion with Adam.[99] Satan's identification with the serpent and the serpent's enmity toward Adam were the key, constituting a further "demythologization" of the ancient pattern. Typologically, the myth of a primordial attack on God's throne became the story of the angels' fall at Satan's instigation. It is not yet clear how much of the narrative of the Satanic fall was known in fifth-century Armenia, and in which of its various configurations.[100]

2.3 Satan's Status before the Fall

According to Step'anos Siwnec'i C8, the fall of Satan, the Deceiver, amazed the heavenly host because he had the mark of power.[101] Satan was one of the highest angels, and his fall, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos C9 notes, left his heavenly camp empty. Indeed, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos speaks about Satan's role as an opposing power.

> And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Benefactor for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal longings, from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, the Garden of Eden was encircled with a flaming sword guarding in every way. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieged men with sins, taught them to be distant from the Creator and drew everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon human

96. Satan is jealous of Adam's great glory despite his origin in dust, according to *Cave of Treasures;* see Bezold 1888, 3–4.

97. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 83. Compare chap. 5 n. 105 above.

98. See Stone 2002, 18–20; Gaylord 1982, 303–9; Orlov 2007, 289–93; and others.

99. See, in general, Anderson 1997. On pp. 84–85 n. 5 he dismissed the "Lucifer" material used in the Latin *L.A.E.* and Eve saying, "This citation is absent from the Armenian and Georgian and cannot be part of the primitive version of the tale." To nuance his statement somewhat, we should note that the Lucifer material is secondary in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but might well be older even than the well-attested rebellion caused by Satan's envy of Adam. Non liquet.

100. For other patterns of rebellion, see Anderson 1997.

101. Step'anos Siwnec'i 2.

> beings. He created a kingdom in hell, having taken possession of the spirits in it; he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.[102]

The language of imprisoning and freeing is widely used of Satan's rule over humans and is very typical.[103] The context in Zak'aria Kat'ołikos's text implies that, by means of the fiery sword, God prevented Satan from (re)entering the Garden, while Gen 3:24 implies that the sword guards against Adam, not Satan. Similarly, Zak'aria Kat'ołikos states that Satan imprisoned spirits in hell, so they could not escape and take wing to heaven.[104] Indeed, Zak'aria blames Satan for the sin more than he does Adam and Eve.

2.4 Satan as Rebellious but Unspecified

Satan's fall is mentioned before the twelfth century, but the texts from the twelfth–fourteenth centuries and a small group of texts from the seventeenth century frequently mention his fall but say nothing explicit about his rebellion, neither that he was Lucifer, nor that he refused to bow down to God or to God's image.

Ignatius *vardapet* C12 states that Satan mindlessly rebelled and left the ranks of angels.[105] In another passage, Ignatius says that Satan established himself in enmity against God, rose up against the Creator, fell from high honor, and by deceit persuaded men to fall with him, thus becoming master of our nature.[106]

Satan was a rational being who had fallen. He showed Adam ways of destruction and was the adversary of primordial good; so says Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14.[107] The categories of this statement are somewhat different from Ignatius *vardapet*'s, and the idea that Satan was rational derives from the idea that the angels are rational, which is present in Armenian religious thought from the fifth century on.[108] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 makes some general statements: Satan descended to the earth and is dead forever because of his remoteness from God;[109] and he tortured creatures through his fall.[110] Similarly Vardan Aygekc'i

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102. Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 5.

103. See Stone 2002, 69, 72, 80, 87, 90, 168 n. 24, for further references. The same term (ապատել) is used by Grigor Tat'ewac'i in excerpt 58 and elsewhere. See n. 196 below.

104. The idea that Satan prevents the souls from flying up to heaven occurs in a number of sources: note *Ques. Ezra* B 6 (Stone 1995, 307). See also *Apoc. Ab.* 31:3, though in a different context. On Satan's kingdom in hell and imprisonment, see the amulet scroll cited in §1.0 above.

105. Ignatius *vardapet* 7.

106. Ignatius *vardapet* 5.

107. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i 1.

108. See Stone 2006a, 90–92; and chapter 1 §1.3, above.

109. Vardan Arewelc'i 34.

110. Vardan Arewelc'i 33.

says that he fell from glory[111] and threw away the keys of the kingdom and took the keys of hell.[112]

A powerful poetic description of Satan's fall is to be found in Kirakos Erznkac‘i (C 13):

> He who fell like a lightning from the celestial hosts,[113]
> With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons.
> Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
> Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts.[114]

Because of the systematic nature of his writing, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i presents more details. Satan, he says, was a celestial angel and became proud and opposed God.[115] "But one of the fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honourable glory of the first man, deceived him by the flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, 'If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods'[116] with immortal life and lofty glory." So, Satan's actions against humans were motivated by envy.[117] On the other hand, when Grigor Tatewac‘i considers why God created humans from dust, he concludes that he so did to shame Satan, "when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, had fallen."[118]

In the seventeenth century, such references resurface, but their content is traditional. Satan is repeatedly characterized as rebellious and wicked. He always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden.[119] He was an angel, a cherub, and man's fall paralleled his.[120] Satan fell from his dwelling but did not desist from evil, according to Grigor Daranałc‘i C17.[121] Both authors also take up the point made by Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i three hundred years earlier, that Satan deceives Adam by playing on his pride. He planted in him the desire to become a god.[122]

Although the story of Satan's fall is not expounded in the fifth-century Armenian sources studied here, Yovhannēs Mandakuni's reference to Satan's

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111. Vardan Aygekc‘i 6.
112. Vardan Aygekc‘i 1; on Satan's kingdom, see §2.3 (end).
113. See Luke 10:18.
114. Kirakos Erznkac‘i 2. On demonic blackness, see chapter 3 §4.2.3 and §1.0 in this chapter.
115. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 83.
116. Gen 3:5.
117. His instrument was pride, by which he himself had fallen.
118. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 63.
119. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 10.
120. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11.
121. Grigor Daranałc‘i 2.
122. Grigor Daranałc‘i 2; Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i 11.

pride indicates that he knew it.[123] This is true also of Agat‘angełos, particularly excerpt 26 (§280): Satan, Agat‘angełos says, tried to cause Adam to err, "so that he might be able to inherit his place."[124] It is not clearly stated what "Adam's place" was, but this statement is an explicit reference to the exaltation of Adam. Moreover, it resonates strikingly with the early text, *Pen. Adam* [44](16):3, where Satan says to the serpent, "Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden." Consequently, the "place," that is, the Garden of Eden, had particular significance.[125] On the basis of the material analyzed in the present paragraph and in §3.0 below, we may confidently conclude that the story of Satan's fall was current in fifth-century Armenian literature. It circulated in a version in which Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam. In this version, the cause of Satan's fall was most likely his prideful refusal to bow down to Adam, as is related in *Penitence of Adam*.[126] His refusal was motivated by his envy of Adam's creation in God's image and of Adam's premier position among the created beings.

Eznik C5, however, who also deals with this problem, mentions enmity as the cause of Satan's becoming "the slanderer," that is, the Devil. He discusses this in connection with the question of whether Satan is created evil or good. He started good and became evil, Eznik says, because of his enmity toward Adam:

Yet because of the enmity he harboured toward man, he wilfully became

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123. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3. It is unclear whether he knows the variant of the fall story that attributed a primordial revolt to Satan before the creation of the world. This primordial revolt seems to be implied by the formulation in the Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 and is common in European vernacular literatures of the medieval period; see Stone 1992, 89, 120. This version of the fall of Satan first appears in our excerpts in the writings of Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz C13. A later form of this version occurs in the Armenian apocryphal text *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §§1–4:"1. When the Lord God created the heavens and the earth, he first made the hosts of angels for the service of his divinity. 2. Now the wicked Sadayēl and Beliar were the heads of the divisions of Satan; they were adorned gloriously, and were higher than all the angels and all the divisions of the angels. 3. But the detestable Satan did not want to bless God and was arrogant in his head, and he wanted to raise up his own throne equal to God's throne. 4. And the Lord God commanded the hammer-man of the seraphim, the great Gabriel, and the terrible Michael, and the nine divisions of angels, and they fell upon Sadayēl and all his attendants, smote him, and cast them down like hail from a cloud" (MS Y; trans. Lipscomb 1990, 118).

124. Excerpt 26. This text is analyzed further below.

125. Below, we will discuss the fact that at this point in the *Penitence of Adam*, Satan appears to be deceiving the serpent and lying to it, since no tradition is known according to which the serpent was expelled from the Garden. Indeed, there is a major chronological problem in the narrative line, for at the point at which Satan is seducing the serpent, Eve has not sinned and the curses have not been pronounced. The implication of the passage is that, prior to this point in time, the serpent had been deprived of its paradisiacal food and had been expelled from the Garden.

126. See Anderson 1997, 105–34 = Anderson, Stone, and Tromp 2000, 83–110.

"the slanderer."[127] Having abandoned submission to God, he began to disobey and to teach man to oppose God's commands, and subsequently he became like a rebel, and he turned away from God.[128]

This text, despite its employment of the term "rebel" and of language relating to obedience, is still not explicit about the circumstances of Satan's fall. The cautious conclusion is that it should be taken simply to refer to how Satan became wicked, without making any details of his fall explicit.

In Eznik C5 we find another reference to Adam's fall. God says to Adam, "I did not want death in your place, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince,[129] the wicked counsellor."[130] Satan called "prince" is surely a reference to Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:7: "I say, 'You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you; nevertheless, you shall die like mortals, and fall like one of the princes.'" The exegesis of Ezekiel 28, especially v. 2, which is directed to the prince of Tyre, is also often used in this context. The appellation "wicked counsellor" obviously applies to Satan-serpent who deceived Eve by wicked counsel. This passage then refers to the fall of Satan and, together with the texts cited from Yovhannēs Mandakuni and Agat'angełos, shows that this fall story was known in fifth-century Armenia.

Satan was fearless, and this was the weakness that led to his fall; humans should learn from this example (T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7).[131] In the same century, Grigoris Aršaruni writes in his *Commentary on the Lectionary*:

> In the same way here[132]—even more supremely than all (other fast-) days, we begin by seizing the very same, originally evil serpent of the Garden, as ugly and horrible-looking as the thief,[133] and having beaten him, bind (him) in indissoluble bonds. . . . Setting the thieving serpent[134] in juxtaposition with the thieving man, he releases the latter from blasphemy and leads (him) to the confession of His kingdom; He dissolves the curse and takes him with himself

127. The title բանսարկու ("slanderer, deceiver") is very old in its application to Satan, and we usually translate it "Devil." It occurs in Rev 2:10; 12:12 translating διάβολος. In Rev 20:2, we read διάβολος καὶ Σατανάς, which is translated բանսարկուն եւ սատանայ. In the ancient version of Revelation (Arm 1) published by Frederik Murad (1905–11), Rev 2:10 has բանսարկուն, while 12:12 has մատնիչն`, and 20:2 has մատնիչ եւ սատանայ. Intriguingly, in Jude 9, where the Greek has διάβολος, the Armenian has բանսարկուն սատանայի, adding "Satan." The same two words are used in Arm 2 of Rev 20:2. Thus, at the beginning of Armenian Bible translation the stereotypical translation διάβολος = բանսարկուն did not dominate, but by the time of the Arm 2 revision, it did. See also §1.3 above.

128. Eznik 16.

129. Or, less probably from a grammatical viewpoint, "with."

130. Eznik 27. On this theme, see Grypeou and Spurling (forthcoming), (17).

131. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 3. He is actually refocusing, likely for parenetic purposes, the idea of the Rebel.

132. I.e., on Good Friday.

133. Or: chief thief.

134. Personified by the unrepentant thief.

> to Paradise instead of Adam.[135] And the unrepentant serpent[136] is hung on the wood,[137] naked and defamed, as he was in the desert,[138] without a cover for the shame of his ignominy,[139] without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become the god of the material world, which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man in his image to reign over it, and made him the second after Himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigand-like deceit, as in the night, bound him while he was ignorant and capturing him, shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—with corruption. Because of that, the king of glory, moving from the paternal, glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the thief, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced (him) to death. . . .[140]

In Grigoris Aršaruni's text the serpent's sin is to seduce humans. So at this point he is clearly speaking about the serpent of the Garden, and its punishment is formulated analogously with that of the thief on the cross. Yet the running together of the serpent and Satan permeates this passage. Two sentences earlier, Grigoris had said, "So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon-serpent who wished to become god of the material world" (*ibid.*).[141] This is not the serpent's sin, and the punishment, though conceived typologically with that of the crucified thief, is Satan's and not the serpent's, for the latter was roundly cursed in Gen 3:14–15 to much more mundane punishments than being bound and condemned to death. That was the punishment of fallen angels from earliest times; see already *1 En.* 10:11–14; 14:5; and 21:10.

The Evil One, called dragon (*višap*), fell from his luminous, splendid glory. At this point in the primordial history, man was left with his free will[142] to decide whether to obey or disobey the divine commandment. This was a test for humans, who failed it and fell into the region of the venomous serpent and inherited death. This formulation by Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8 combines a number of features. Because Satan is referred to as *višap* dragon, and falls from his glory,[143]

135. This point is based on Luke 23:43. Why the thief is said to be "instead of Adam" remains unclear. Does it imply that the thief was immediately introduced into paradise, while Adam had to wait until Christ released him?

136. Symbolized by the unrepentant thief.

137. I.e., crucified.

138. This may be a reference to Christ's temptation. Moreover, it is suggestive of the bronze serpent in Num 21:7–8.

139. R. R. Ervine made some helpful suggestions in the translation of the preceding passage.

140. Grigoris Aršaruni 18.

141. This is discussed in §1.3 above.

142. See Stone 2006a, 87, 90–91.

143. Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos 1; see also chapter 2 §3.2. Satan's glory is not mentioned either in Luke 10:18 or in Rev 12:9. The idea could, however, have developed from Isa 14:11–17 and Ezek 28:12–15, though the actual word "glory" is not mentioned there. Armenian *Pen.*

he seems to be identified as the ruler of this world in which death prevails, the venomous serpent. In most of the texts discussed, dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, Satan's actual sin is not made explicit. In one instance it is clear, in Grigoris Aršaruni's statement discussed directly above, that he aspired to God's throne, the rarer form of the narrative of Satan's fall.

2.5 The Fall of Satan: Primordial/Lucifer

Hamam Arewelc'i C9 interprets the verse "Before its breaking, the heart of man is haughty; and before thought, it is destroyed" (Prov 18:12) to refer to Satan, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. Because of this, he was cast down before everyone. He had been a brilliant Lucifer (morning star),[144] was named, and became darkness because of his pride. He defeated man who was abased with him.[145]

In this passage nearly all the features of the myth of the fall of Satan may be observed. His sin was overweening pride and excessive ambition; he fell, was abased, and was made dark, lost his heavenly luminosity.[146] Hamam works out the reference to Isaiah's Lucifer passage in detail.

In his biblical epic *To Manuč'ē,* Grigor Magistros C10 has the following lines: "The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer / . . . / Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant."[147] This statement combines the idea of Lucifer derived from Isa 14:12 with that of Satan.[148] Satan was formerly Lucifer, and one of the early explicit occurrences of this well-established theme is the Latin version of the primary Adam book.[149] The idea that Satan was an angel who fell because of his "exaltation and arrogance" belongs to the same complex of ideas. This is the formulation of Grigor Narekac'i C10, so clearly the idea was well known by his time.[150]

In the thirteenth century, Step'anos Ōrbelean says, "The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching perfect glory too zealously, rebel like the Deceiver, grow arrogant and fall."[151] So God cared for humans so that they should not suffer from Lucifer's *hybris.* As a result of this, they might rebel and fall like "the Deceiver," a name that stresses Satan's Adamic connection. Eznik C5 says that Satan became a rebel because he disobeyed God's commandments, and he

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Adam 12:1 has, "I was alienated from the throne of cherubim," while the Latin *L.A.E.* in the same place has, "I was expelled and alienated from my glory"; cf. Ben Sira 49:16 ms B.

144. See the discussion of this term in §2.1 above.
145. Hamam Arewelc'i 3.
146. See Isa 14:13–14 and §1.0 above.
147. Grigor Magistros 12.
148. On Satan as Lucifer, see §2.1.
149. Latin *L.A.E.* 15:3 (Anderson and Stone 1999, 17–17E).
150. Grigor Narekac'i 8.
151. Step'anos Ōrbelean 5.

calls Satan “rebel dragon” (compare Revelation 12).[152] The same appellation is found in the writings of Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos C8, and Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9 calls Satan “rebel,” but in the context of his envy of Adam.[153] The connection of “rebel” with the primordial fall is clear, however, when Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says that first Satan established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor, by deceit persuaded humans to fall with him as well. [154] Thus, the term “rebel” is found throughout the literature and is connected mainly, but not exclusively, with the primordial fall story.

In the thirteenth century, Yovhanēs Erznkac‘i Pluz wrote the following quatrain:

> Sadayēl turned his face from the heavenly ranks,
> He fell from the heaven to the deeps, and from light, remained in darkness.
> He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the animals.
> And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.[155]

Here the poet clearly refers to the myth of the fall of Satan, but he calls Satan “Sadayēl.” This particular form of the story with the name Sadayēl, is rather uncommon, but it does occur in the apocryphal Armenian Adam books, also connected with the myth of the primordial revolt against God,[156] notably in the *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam and Eve* §2.[157] The title occurs a second time in Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz’s poetry.[158] In the fifteenth-century amulet quoted in §1.0 above, the guardian of the souls in hell is also called Sat/dayēl.

Although infrequent in Armenian, this name belongs to a type known from non-Armenian apocryphal literature. In these texts, the angel who rebelled is called Satanel or Satanil while in heaven; in Armenian, Satan in Hades is given only this name in Amulet 116. The element “el” is theophoric, of course, and common in angelic names such as Rapha-el, Gabri-el, etc. in Jewish and Chris-

152. Eznik 16.

153. Yovhannēs K‘orepiskopos 1; Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 5.

154. Ignatius *vardapet* 5 and 7.

155. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10.

156. On this, see §1.0 above, especially at n. 110.

157. Lipscomb 1990, 118. In many manuscripts of the Cycle of Four Works there exist as yet unpublished homiletic passages in which Sadayēl also appears. So in manuscript M6430 we read: Թոթափեաց երկնից զդասս հրեշտակացն Սադայէլի զի մեծ հրեշտակ էր քան զամենայն, “He scattered from the heavens the ranks of Sadayēl’s angels, for he was the greatest angel of all.” This text is undated. Kazazian and Stone published one such passage in 2004, 46–51.

158. Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 10 and 48. In *NBHL,* the lemma “Sadayēl” occurs, with one reference to the eleventh-century authority Anania Sanahnec‘i. Because *NBHL* provides no details, the exact reference remains unknown.

tian literature. According to the Satanel tradition, when he rebelled against God and was expelled from heaven, he lost the theophoric "el" and became just Satan. The Armenian form Sadayēl surely derives from the Satanel legend, though in the Armenian sources I examined the connection of this name with "Satan" is not mentioned explicitly. The name is known to us within a limited geographic and chronographic range, from the eleventh–fifteenth centuries, and to date only from these three sources, though further occurrences may well exist.[159]

In the eighteenth century *History of Persia* by Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi[160] we find the story of Satan's fight against God, when he said: "Let me ascend and put my throne in the clouds and be like the Most High."[161] God responded and scattered him and his host, and they fell into the depth of the abyss. While falling, Satan stretched out his tail and dragged the third part of the stars down with him from the high heaven.[162] On earth, Adam's eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam abandoned God's command and observed and accepted that of God's enemy, until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden.

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159. See the Slavonic version of *3 Bar.* 4:7–15 (trans. Gaylord, in Charlesworth 1983–85, 1:666). In the apocryphal Slavonic texts, the name Sataniel is connected with the story of bowing down to Adam. For example, in Slavonic manuscripts of *3 Baruch* (Gaylord 1982, 307), following 4:17 we read:

> And he said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made. And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said. These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.
>
> ...Then having gone, Satanael found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, "Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly." And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve. "But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God."
>
> And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said. "What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?" And Eve said, "From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat." And having heard Satanael said to her, "God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam." And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked . . . .

Compare further Stichel 1989, 116–28; Orlov 2007, 175–95, 289–308. See, of course, Gaylord 1982. See further the recent discussion in Kulik 2010, 209–11.

160. See Bardakjian 2000, 89–90 on this work. See Xačʻatur J̌ułayecʻi 3.

161. Isa 14:13–14.

162. Rev 9:4: "His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth." This verse was not cited in other texts discussed.

3.0 Satan's Envy.

Above, I considered the reasons usually adduced for Satan's primordial revolt, above all pride, *hybris*, the desire to be God or be higher than God. Now I turn to the reasons for Satan's actions against Adam. In Armenian literature two main motives are mentioned: envy and deceit. Yet this statement needs further refining: envy or similar feelings seem to be the motive and deceit the means. Sometimes our sources speak of deceit as a motive and, indeed, it is possible that a wicked delight in deceit for its own sake was considered a motive. Yet most texts talking of deceit as if it were a motive are actually referring to it as the tool Satan used.

Many sources, from Wis 2:24 on, stress Satan's envy. It is not always clear of what he was envious, and a number of possibilities emerge from the Armenian sources. One was Satan's envy of Adam's priority in rank; another was his envy of the good things Adam was destined to receive, including eternal life, and Satan's consequent wish to replace him; a third, his envy of the benefits Adam had already received, including the image of God; and finally, his envy of Adam's paradisiacal delights, compared with his own fallen state.

Eznik C5 refers simply to Satan's "enmity" (թշնամութիւն) toward Adam.[163] In *Pen. Adam* 12:1 Satan says to Adam, "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you" and then relates the story of the Fall. Eznik is definitely of the fifth century, and it is likely that *Penitence of Adam* is also early. Indeed, the idea that the Devil's envy was the cause of Satan's fall and of Adam's, is found in the first work of Armenian literature, the translation of the Bible. In Wis 2:24 we read: "Through the envy of the tempter (the Devil) death entered the world."[164] Since the Bible, including Wisdom of Solomon, does not tell us the reason for Satan's envy, the question may justly be posed to later texts, Of what was Satan envious? The rebellion tradition mentioned above provides one motivation for Satan's envy: he was envious of Adam's priority in rank, despite his own priority of birth,[165] and so refused to obey God's command to do obeisance to Adam.[166] It is also possible that Satan is jealous of the image of God in Adam, though in that context *Penitence of Adam* does not state so.

Eznik states that Satan is inflamed specifically by jealousy, and similarly Łazar P'arbec'i says that the first-created one was subdued by the Devil's envy.[167]

163. Eznik 7.

164. In *A Letter sent from the city of Amit* attributed to Łazar P'arpec'i 1, Wisdom of Solomon's statement is attributed erroneously to "the Catholic Epistles." David Winston (1979, 121–22) discusses this passage at length, highlighting instances of envy in primordial history.

165. Anderson 2001, 25–29.

166. Some later sources are quoted in Stone 1992, 22–23; *Transgression of Adam and Eve*, 10–12. Compare the somewhat different view in Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i 3 (Stone 2005, 65).

167. Eznik 30 and Łazar P'arpec'i 1.

Neither prominent fifth-century author details either the cause of the envy or its results. Like them, T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor C7 says, no more specifically, that envy was the cause.[168] Elsewhere, he says that the Enemy deceived Adam by means of the divine name,[169] probably meaning that Satan argued about the divine command, using God's name, "for God knows that on the day on which you eat of it, etc." (Gen. 3:5). In any case, the statement relates to the technique Satan used to deceive Adam and not to the envy that motivated him. Again, nothing is said about its cause.

In the biblical epic poem *To Manuč'ē* by Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni C10, envy is a major theme:

> Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,
> Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.
> By the envy of the Devil (Deceiver), the flattery of the dissembler,
> They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.[170]

As I have already noted, some texts, like Grigor Magistros here, do not keep the motive and the means of the deceit distinct. The motive is envy; of what, he does not say. The means that he used is deceit.

In his *Elegy on Jerusalem*, Grigor Tłay C12 states that Adam sinned as a result of envy, that is, Satan's envy. "And if he transgressed in accordance with envy, | He was punished justly."[171] Kostandin Erznkac'i C14 has a similar view, though he also introduces the serpent into the picture. As in other sources, the Devil's envy is set beside the actual deception carried out by the serpent.

> Because of the envy of the evil Devil,
> so that they were deceived by the serpent.[172]

3.1 Satan Is Envious of the Human State

The idea that Satan is envious of Adam's rank occurs in a variety of early sources, such as *2 En.* 31:3–6; Latin *L.A.E.* 12:1; Armenian *Book of Adam* 15:1 (զնախանձ, "envy," not in the Greek text, is added); *3 Bar.* 4:8; and others.[173]

168. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 4.
169. T'ēodoros K'ṙt'enawor 1.
170. Grigor Magistros 12.
171. Grigor Tłay 20. On this work, see van Lint 2002.
172. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4.
173. Winston (1979, 121) cites abundant rabbinic parallels. In *Death of Adam* §1 a different word, մախանք, also meaning "envy," designates the deception and fall. That work is probably translated from Greek. Winston points to the theme of envy also in Gnostic sources. In one manuscript of *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation* (Stone 1992, 22), Satan is said to envy Adam and Eve's state in the Garden. Of course, in numerous other sources the idea of envy is connected with Cain, whose name is understood to derive from the Hebrew root *qn'*, mean-

Satan envied man who inherited the Garden, which was perhaps identical to the empty camp of the rebellious angels, as asserted by Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos C9.[174] This would be unusual, setting Satan's prelapsarian abode in the Garden of Eden when usually it is in the highest heavens.[175] Satan's envy was unable to harm God as he wished, and so, instead, he harmed the image of God. Thus, Ignatius *vardapet* C12 says succinctly, "[he] wished, through enmity towards man, to dishonour the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness."[176]

In §2.2 above I related the story drawn from the *Penitence of Adam* about Satan's refusal to bow down to Adam, God's image, at Michael's behest. It seems that Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i C14 knew this story and adapted it theologically. He says, God the Word, incarnated, created Adam: when the angels saw God in Adam's image they worshiped him. Satan, considering him mere body and man did not worship him.[177]

3.2 Satan's Envy of Man's Paradisiacal and Future State

In contrast to these general statements, Agat‘angełos C5 states explicitly that Satan saw Adam carefully observing the commandment and envied the good things he would receive; for that reason he plotted Adam's expulsion.[178] Thus, he makes the cause of the envy evident. Similarly, according to Eznik C5, Satan was jealous of the abundance of good things granted to Adam, including the image.[179] In Mambrē we read "the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast

ing "envy"; cf. *T. Benj.* 7:5; and see the many parallels in Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 433; *History of the Forefathers* §§4–5. Cain was jealous over his sister whom Abel married; see *Testament of Adam* frg. 2.3 (Kmosko 1907, 1344) and other sources.

174. Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos 5.

175. The sources I examined do not attempt to systematize all these ideas, which do not always cohere.

176. Ignatius *vardapet* 5. Note the term թշնամանութիւն ("enmity"), used above of Satan's envy (§3.0, quoting Eznik 7). This is connected with the designation of Satan as "the Enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) in early sources. See *NBHL* 816, col. a, for an uncommon use of թշնամի with the same meaning.

177. Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i 83. In this passage, Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, after his fashion, introduces a number of explanations of Satan's envy. Certain of these have been discussed above, but we give the whole passage here: "Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honour and was thinking, what is the holy perfection, and could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekac‘i says that when, in the beginning, God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared and was creating in incarnated appearance, like during Adam's creation, as our Grigor the Illuminator says. And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's image and worshipped and blessed him. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man."

178. Agat‘angełos 24.

179. Eznik 5, 7, and 9.

him down from the blessed life."[180] These three fifth-century authors present the identical idea, that Satan envied Adam because of the good things that God had granted him, which for Eznik included the image of God in which Adam was created. Later, Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 stated that Satan "heard the man's command of life (and) envied."[181]

An analogous view may be found in Agat'angełos C5 26.[182] However, in this section, Agat'angełos is more specific about the good things of which Satan was jealous. Beyond all, he was envious of the promise of potential immortality that Adam received. He sought to enslave him and inherit his position "having made him err, (and so) having brought him out of the promises, perchance he might be able to inherit his place." Satan's desire to enslave humans is supported by a quotation from *3 Cor.* 11, which says that Satan "seized and bound all mankind." This statement uses the significant language of slavery and freedom associated with Satan,[183] and it adds further specific features to our discussion of jealousy: first that Satan envied Adam's potential immortality and, second, that as a result of his envy, he wished to replace Adam. The same idea occurs, as I have already noted, in Kirakos Erznkac'i C14.[184] Vardan Arewelc'i C13 says in different words that the serpent was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods,[185] thus also identifying Satan and the serpent.

The statements just discussed imply that Satan had already lost his heavenly place and his glory when envy beset him, which happened after his rebellion and fall. Here Satan's fall is connected with Adam's creation. In the *Penitence of Adam* chs. 12–17, the story of Satan's fall, no hint of a statement like Agat'angełos's occurs, that is, that Satan wished to replace Adam.[186] Later in *Penitence of Adam*, in the story of Satan's deceit of the serpent, he says, "Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us so that we may re-enter the Garden" [44](16):1–4.[187] This statement is written from the perspective of fallen Satan, just like excerpt 26 of Agat'angełos. Xosrow Anjewac'i C10 states that Satan's aim is to prevent humans from returning to immortality which was their original state.[188]

180. Mambrē 7.

181. Kirakos Erznkac'i 2. The phrase means, "heard the command which would give eternal life to Adam."

182. Agat'angełos 26.

183. See Stone 2002, 168 and index s.vv. "enslavement," and "freeing," for further discussion of this idea. The language is old and widespread. See also Grigor Tat'ewac'i 31, 58, and Zak'aria Kat'ołikos 2 and Grigor Narekac'i 2.

184. In his poem on St. George, Kirakos Erznkac'i 2.

185. Vardan Arewelc'i 32.

186. Somewhat similar language might be observed in the Latin *L.A.E.*, but that is different from the Armenian-Georgian text.

187. This is odd because "so that we may re-enter the Garden" implies that the serpent also had fallen or been expelled from the Garden.

188. Xosrow Anjewac'i 1.

The notion of Satan's anger toward God is a variation of the idea of Satan's envy of the human condition. More generally, Yovhannēs Mandakuni C5 says about envy that "envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings, for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam."[189] The order of events in this statement also implies that Satan's fall preceded his deception of Adam (see also §2.2 above). The thirteenth-century poet, Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, taking up the same theme, says that Satan fallen from glory envied Adam (who, presumably, still had it).[190]

Grigor Tat'ewac'i gives a rather different twist to the theme of envy when he says, discussing the reason for the creation of man from dust, that "he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen."[191] In the fifth-century literature, Satan's envy of God's beneficence to Adam, particularly of Adam's potential immortality, dominates. This is a reformulation in the terms of the biblical story of the apocryphal theme that Satan envied Adam's preeminence in creation. It complements the emphasis that the Armenian sources place on God's ultimate purpose in creating Adam, which was to enable him to achieve immortality through observing the single commandment and abstaining from the fruit of the tree. P'awstos Buzand makes a further statement about Satan's envy when he says that Satan corrupts man by his envy, leading to deceit and falsehood.[192] As we will see, it is deceit that characterizes Satan's action toward humans, and it is also the heart of the biblical story.

Much later, in the thirteenth century, Vardan Arewelc'i speaks of the demons' jealousy, which is surely a variation on the theme of Satan's envy.[193] Above (§1.0) I noted that in the fifteenth-century amulet scroll, the same shift from Satan to the demons was made. Vardan Arewelc'i also clearly thinks that the "first serpent" envied Eve's glory.[194] This he infers, because the serpent deceived Eve. His text seems to imply a differentiation between the ancient serpent and Satan, but that is probably due to the differing biblical contexts from which the terms were drawn.[195]

189. Yovhannēs Mandakuni 3.

190. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 24. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 82 says that Satan envied Adam's glory; others say that he envied man's honor (excerpt 83). See above on the idea of Adam's glory or luminous garment.

191. Grigor Tat'ewac'i 17.

192. P'awstos Buzand 2 = Garsoïan 1989, 130.

193. Vardan Arewelc'i 25.

194. According to Grigor Tat'ewac'i 44, the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. Here again the issue is glory or honor, but deception is not mentioned explicitly.

195. This matter is discussed above in §§1.3 and 1.4.

> Irrational anger was the cause of Satan, of Saul, and of the Jews, and of the heretics, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve's glory.[196]

All of this, although presenting a range of views, does not seem to show a great deal of conceptual development. The patterns already recognizable in the fifth century continue, though sometimes they are embroidered by the import of new legendary material or changed by new and different emphases deriving from the context in which the patterns are used.

3.3 Satan, Deception by

A general statement is found that Satan deceived man, caused him to worship idols, and thus separated him from God; so Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz C14.[197] This statement does not necessarily refer to the Edenic events, though the biblical narrative describes the serpent deceiving Eve and causing her to eat the fruit (Gen 3:1–6). Vrtʻanēs Kʻertʻoł in the seventh century states that "the first sin was born of falsehood as in the days of Adam,"[198] though actually envy was the cause and deceit the means. Indeed, envy is the dominant theme in the fifth-century writers.

Grigoris Aršaruni C7 makes a similarly nonspecific statement that unrighteousness is caused by deception of the serpent.[199] In a hymn (*šarakan*), Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi in the same century refers to the deception of the tree and seduction of the serpent in a general way.[200] The thirteenth-century poet Frik says that Adam was deceived by a traitor, so it emerges that Satan is called "traitor."[201] Sargis Šnorhali C12 simply assumes that Satan deceived Adam.[202] Vardan Arewelcʻi asserts in even less-specific terms that Satan fraudulently deceived humans,[203] again substantially identifying Satan and the serpent.

All these statements and some others are based on the commonplace that Satan deceived Adam. Xosrow Anjewacʻi C10 says that the serpent deceived Eve and "raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods."[204] In the seventeenth century, Anonymous Author 8 reads, "The serpent deceived Eve, Adam," introducing Eve's name.[205] Eve also features in a passage from Vardan Arewelcʻi

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196. Vardan Arewelcʻi 19. "First serpent" comes from Rev 12:9 where Arm has օձ առաջին (*ōj aṙaǰin*), where the English translation is "ancient serpent".

197. Yovhannēs Erznkacʻi Pluz 17.

198. Vrtʻanēs Kʻertʻoł 1.

199. Grigoris Aršaruni 13.

200. Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi 1.

201. Frik 6. This is the word աւաճանիւ and not the term մատնիչ mentioned as Arm 1 biblical translation of διάβολος; see §1.3 above.

202. Sargis Šnorhali 9.

203. Vardan Arewelcʻi 33.

204. Xosrow Anjewacʻi 1.

205. Anonymous Author 8 1. Similar is Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi 2.

C13.[206] A *kafa* on the *Alexander Romance* by Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16 highlights the relationship between the serpent and Eve,[207] while Aṙak'el Davrižec'i C17 speaks of "Eve's serpent."[208] The same idea is to be found in Azaria J̌ułayec'i C16.[209] In that century Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i mentions those (plural) who deceived Eve, most likely Satan and the serpent.[210]

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13 repeatedly speaks of the serpent, Satan's associate, who seduced Eve.[211] The serpent "ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life," and deceived Eve.[212] The serpent's wiliness and deception, already featured in Gen 3:1, are highlighted by Grigor Magistros's C10 reference to its pernicious words of deception[213] and Anania Sanahnec'i's C11 statement that it insinuated itself into the Garden.[214] Grigor Narekac'i C10 mentions the deception by Satan, rather than the serpent,[215] and Vardan Arewelc'i C13's similar statement was referred to above. A similar falling together of Satan and the serpent, is to be observed when Xosrow Anjewac'i C10 states that Satan raised hope in Eve that he was a maker of gods.[216] See §1.4.

In his *Commentary on Psalms*, Vardan Arewelc'i C13 calls Satan a hunter, who set becoming god as a net for Adam.[217] The imagery of Satan as hunter and his deception as a net is determined by the verse being commented on, that is, Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3. It occurs nowhere else in the texts discussed here. The same idea, that Satan deceived the protoplasts through the desire to become God, is to be found in Grigor Daranałc'i C17[218] and his contemporary Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i, when they say that Satan sowed pride in Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become god.[219]

"Because of the envy of the evil Devil, so that they were deceived by serpent," states Kostandin Erznkac'i C14.[220] In this line, he makes the causal relationship between Satan's envy and the serpent's deception quite clear. The means by which Satan achieves this aim are made explicit in many sources. Thus, Kirakos Erznkac'i C14 in his *Poem on St. George* differentiates the roles of Satan and

206. Vardan Arewelc'i 19.
207. Zak'aria Gnuneac' 4; cf. 2.
208. Aṙak'el Davrižec'i 1.
209. Azaria J̌ułayec'i 3.
210. Nahapet K'uč'ak Vanec'i 1.
211. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 14, 24. In excerpts 7 and 51, the serpent is said to be Satan. Again, the unclear relationship of the two figures is evident.
212. Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz 74.
213. Grigor Magistros 2.
214. Anania Sanahnec'i 1.
215. Grigor Narekac'i 17.
216. Xosrow Anjewac'i 1.
217. Vardan Arewelc'i 23.
218. Grigor Daranałc'i 2.
219. Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i 11.
220. Kostandin Erznkac'i 4.

the serpent, and says that Satan took the serpent as a partner.[221] This differentiation, discussed above in §1.3, may well be dominant when Satan's primordial rebellion, the Lucifer myth, is invoked. However, when the stress is on the deception in the Garden, and particularly on the Edenic deception as the prototype of Satan's continued deceit of human beings, the roles of Satan and the serpent tend to fall together. In the passage of Kirakos quoted here, the focus is on the expulsion of Adam rather than on the deception of Eve.[222]

3.4 Punishment and Curses of Satan

Grigor Tat'ewac'i states that God did not leave Satan unpunished, but punished him through the serpent, which is intelligent. There were four players in the Eden incident: Adam (reason), Eve (the senses), the serpent (desire), and Satan (the instigator of desire).[223] "The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by his tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue." These are the words of Sargis Šnorhali C12.[224] Why he should call the serpent "incorporeal" is unclear to me, nor is any detail given of Satan's punishment. This latter is generally reserved for the eschatological age, and frequently related to the harrowing of hell.

4.0 Curses of the Serpent

The great systematic thinker of the high Middle Ages Grigor Tat'ewac'i enumerates the curses of that came upon the serpent, as I set forth in chapter 4 §3.4. [225]

Concluding Remarks

It is intriguing that over more than a thousand years of literature, relatively little change took place in the understanding of Satan and the serpent. The High Middle Ages saw a certain elaboration of narrative incidents and the significance of the story's elements. Yet, in fact, there are no radical transformations of this fundamental story. It would be interesting to see how other biblically derived traditions, Jewish and Christian, treat the same features over a millennium. The richness of the Armenian narrative tradition would be enhanced here were it to be combined with their artistic tradition. That, however, would be another trail to follow, and this one has been long enough.

221. Kirakos Erznkac'i 1.

222. Another functional differentiation is present when T'adēos T'oxat'ec'i C16 states that Satan deceived Adam but the serpent spoke with Eve; see excerpt 3.

223. Grigor Tat'ewaci 51.

224. Sargis Šnorhali 6.

225. Grigor Tat'ewaci 2.

PART II

Texts and Translations

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Fifth Century

Agat‘angełos C5

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians, English translation by Robert W. Thomson* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1976).

See also: Robert W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory: The Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Versions of the History, Attributed to Agathangelos* (Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2010). Thomson's translation has been changed somewhat in sections 1, 2, 3 as noted.

Յառաջաբան Ագաթանգեղեայ պատմութեան
Prologue to the *History* of Agat‘angełos

1 §9 Նոքա կեանք եւ փրկութիւն այնոցիկ որ մեղօքն են աղքատացեալ. նոքա են մեծութեան գանձ ծածկեալ յերկրի երկնաւոր Արքային. նոքա հաւատովք իւրեանց խնդացուցանեն եւ ուրախ առնեն զայնոսիկ, ոյք յԱստուծոյ մեծացեալ գանձնեն. նոքա զմերկս զգեցուցանեն, եւ զայնոսիկ, որք մեղօքն են մերկացեալ ըստ նմանութեանն Ադամայ՝ լուսաւոր պատմուճանօք զգեցուցանեն. նոքա եւ զքաղցեալս յագեցուցանեն, որք անգիտութեան մեղօքն իցեն սովեալք. նոքա եւ զծարաւիս արբուցանեն առաքինութեան բաժակաւն. նոքա եւ զգանձն երկնաւոր յաւելուն տան այնոցիկ որ առաւելագոյն ունիցին:

They are life and salvation for those who have become impoverished by sin, they are a great treasure[1] of the heavenly king hidden in the earth.[2] They rejoice and make happy by their faith those who, enriched by God, lay them up.[3] They clothe the naked and those who have been stripped naked by sin like Adam, they dress in luminous garments. They satisfy the hungry, who

1. Literally: a treasure of greatness.
2. Matt 13:44.
3. This evokes Matt 6:20.

are starved by their ignorant sins. They give drink to the thirsty from[4] the cup of virtue. They increase heavenly treasure for those who have more.[5]

Վարք եւ պատմութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի
Life and History of Saint Gregory

2 §75 Արդ եւ մինչդեռ կայր նա կախեալ՝ սկսաւ խօսել ի կախաղանի այսպէս. «Գոհանամ զքէն, Տէր, որ արժանի արարեր զանարժանութիւնս իմ քոյոյ պարգեւիդ. զի ի սկզբանէ իսկ սիրեցեր զստեղծուածս ձեռաց քոց, եւ ետուր զփափկութիւն անաշխատ հանգստեան դրախտին վայելչութեան. անմահս, անցաւս, անանց կենաց վիճակացն ուրախութեան պատրաստեցեր՝ եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանին, զոր եդեր ի ծառոյն չճաշակելոյ. զի ասացեր, թէ «Մի՛ ուտիցէք յայդմ ծառոյ, զոր պատուիրեցի չուտել ի դմանէ». իբրեւ ոչ թէ ծառն անուանեալ կենաց՝ կարէր տալ կենդանութիւն առանց քոյոյ բանիդ հրամանի կամացդ բարերարութեան, որ է կամք քո եւ բանդ եւ բարերարութիւնդ՝ միածին Որդիդ, ծնունդ աստուածութեան քո. եւ Հոգիդ սուրբ, որ ի քէն բղխէ լնու զամենայն տիեզերս, որ է ընդ քեզ եւ ընդ միածնիդ յէութեանդ քում:

While[6] he was hanging he began to speak on the gibbet as follows: “I praise you, Lord, who made my unworthiness[7] worthy of your gift. For from the beginning, indeed, you have loved the creations of your hands, and you gave (us) the delight of untroubled repose in the garden of delight. You indeed prepared us immortal and free of pain, and pleasure of enjoyment of Paradise’s labor-less rest for the joyful portion of life that passes not away. Had we remained steadfast in the commandment which you gave not to eat from the tree, for you said: ‘Do not eat of that tree from which I have commanded you not to eat.’”[8] Not that the tree, called (the tree) of life, could give life without the command of your benevolent will’s Word, who is your Will and your Word, and your benevolence and your Only-begotten son, the offspring of your Godhead, and your holy Spirit who proceeds[9] from you (and) fills all the universe, who is with you and with your Only-begotten in your being.

3 §76 «Զի եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ քում, Տէր, եւ պահեալ եր զպատուիրանս, զոր եդեր վասն լաւութեան հանդիսի փորձութեան մերոյ՝ շնորհեալ լինէր քո մեզ զկեանս անցաւս, անաշխատս,

4. Or: with.
5. Cf. Matt 25:29.
6. Or: now also while.
7. Or: unworthy me.
8. Gen 2:17; 3:11.
9. Or: springs.

անբիծս, անհոգս, անտրտումս, առանց ծերանալոյ: Եւ յետ սերելոյն եւ բազմանալոյն, որ պատուիրեցեր կեալ մարմնաւորապէս, անամօթ փառօքն զգեցեալ իբրեւ հանդերձիւ ի դրախտին քում, յոր եդեր զմեզ, եւ յետ այնորիկ, որպէս յետ սրբութեան ամուսնութեան եւ որդի ծնանելոյ Ենովքայ, վերացուցեր զնա ի կարգս հրեշտակաց յուրախութեան վիճակն անմահութեան. արդ՝ եթէ կացեալ էաք ի պատուիրանիդ ի քում հրամանի՝ ցուցեր դու մեզ օրինակ զԵնովք, զի եւ զմեզ յետ ի դրախտին վայելից եւ յետ երկրաւոր կարգացս՝ յանմահութիւն փոխեալ լինէր քո զմեզ իբրեւ զԵնովք ի կարգս հրեշտակաց. եւ միահաղոյն ածեալ լինէր զարքայութիւն քո, զոր պատրաստեցեր կանխաւ ի փառս մեր՝ մինչ չեւ էր աշխարհ. զի «Զոր ակն ոչ ետես եւ ունկն ոչ լուաւ եւ ի սիրտ մարդոյ ոչ անկաւ պատրաստեցեր դու սիրելեաց քոց» յառաջագոյն, զոր տացես, դու Տէր, այնոցիկ որ սիրեցին զօր երեւելոյ գալստեան Միածնիդ քո:

“For if we had remained steadfast in your commandment, Lord, and we[10] had kept this command which you imposed for the sake of testing us to exhibit goodness, you would have granted us life without pain, without labor, without blemish, without care, without sadness, without ageing. And after reproducing and multiplying, you commanded us to live bodily,[11] being clothed in glory without shame as with a garment in your Garden where you had placed us. Thereafter, as after the sacrament of marriage and Enoch’s begetting a son, you raised him to the ranks of the angels, to the lot of immortal joy.[12] Now, if we had observed the injunction of your commandment, you would have shown us forth like Enoch. For after the pleasures of Paradise and after this earthly course (of life)[13] you would have transferred us like Enoch to the ranks of the angels and your kingdom would have been brought in all at once, which you prepared aforetime for our glory before the world existed. For “that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has fallen into the heart of man, you have prepared for those who loved you”[14] previously, which you will give, Lord, to those who have loved the day of the appearance of the coming for[15] your Only-begotten.

4 §77 «Իսկ արդ՝ իբրեւ ետես թշնամին զմեզ պատուեալս ի մարդասիրութենէ կամարար կամաց քոց՝ նախանձեալ ընդ պատիւ թագի պարծանաց մերոց, պատուին քո որ տուաւ ի քէն, զի ասացեր, եթէ «Ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց իմոց արարի ես զմարդն, եւ կացուցի զնա Տէր ամենայնի». որ առ նախանձ

10. Or: this commandment had been observed.
11. Cf. Gen 1:28.
12. Cf. Gen 5:22, 24.
13. Or: “these earthly ranks (կարգ),” the same word as in “ranks of the angels.”
14. 1 Cor 2:9.
15. Or: of.

թշնամւոյն բանսարկուի՝ հրապոյրք ցոփացուցիչք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ արկին զմարդիկ ի կենաց եւ ի հանգստեանց, զոր դու առ քում բարերարութեանդ շնորհեցեր մարդկան, որ կորուսին զայն:

“But now when the enemy saw us being honored by the benevolence of your will,[16] he was jealous of the honor of the crown of our boasting,[17] of the honor given by you in that you said ‘I have made man in the likeness of the image of our[18] form and I have set him up as lord of all’.[19] At the jealousy of the slandering[20] enemy the charms of debauchery[21] entered the world and cast men from life and repose,[22] which you in your mercy[23] had granted mankind who lost them.

5 §141 Իսկ իբրեւ տեսին առաքինիքն զգաղտաձիգ նետս թշնամւոյն, որ ի ծածուկն սովոր էր ձգել ի սուրբսն քրիստոսասէրսն, աման չարի գտեալ զթագաւորն. որպէս ի դրախտի անդ զօձն անդրուվար արարեալ. առ ի պատուիրանն մոռանալոյ, մտեալ յանզգամ յունկն կնոջն առաջնոյ. սոյնպէս եւ աստ զթագաւորն անաւրէն իբրեւ զվահանակ երեւաց գտեալ՝ նովաւ մարտուցեալ ընդ աստուածաշէն եկեղեցիս:

“But when the pious women saw the hidden arrows of the enemy,[24] who is accustomed to shoot secretly at the saints who love Christ, they found the emperor (had become) a vessel of evil,[25] and that just as in the Garden he had used the snake as a vehicle for causing the[26] forgetting of the commandment, entering[27] into the ear of the first woman,[28] so here too he had used the lawless emperor as a mask, through which he could fight with the church built by God.

6 §144 «Տէր տերանց, Աստուած աստուծոց, Աստուած յաւիտենական, Աստուած երկնից, Աստուած անճառ լուսոյ, որ հաստատեցեր զամենայն բանիւ քով. որ արարեր զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն

16. Literally: will-doing (i.e., complaisant) will.
17. 1 Thess 2:19.
18. Literally: my.
19. Gen 1:27; Ps 8:6 = Arm 8:7.
20. Or: Deceiver, Slanderer = διάβολος, Devil. The word is translated “Devil” in our own translations, throughout.
21. Cf. 2 Macc 6:21.
22. Cf. Wis 2:24.
23. Or: beneficence.
24. Eph 6:6.
25. Cf. Jer 51:34.
26. Alternatively: used the snake a yoked pair (i.e., with himself).
27. Or: entering unfelt.
28. Cf. Gen 3.

զարդ նոցա. որ ստեղծեր զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զիմաստուն կացուցեր եւ բազմացուցեր զնա ի վերայ երկրի, եւ օգնական եղեր նոցա ի դարս իւրաքանչիւր՝ որ յուսացան ի քեզ:

"Lord of lords, God of gods, God eternal, God of heaven, God of ineffable light, who established everything by your word, who made heaven and earth and all their order,[29] who fashioned man (as) dust from the earth[30] and rendered him wise[31] and made him increase upon the earth[32] and were helpful to those who[33] hoped in you[34] in each one's age."

Agatʻangełos, ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ ԵՒ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՈՒԹԻՒՆ Ս. ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ History and Teaching of St. Gregory

Text: Agathangelos, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of the Armenians: A facsimile reproduction of the 1909 Tiflis Edition with an Introduction by Robert W. Thomson* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980).

Translation: *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*: *Revised Edition, Translation, commentary, and introduction* by Robert W. Thomson (Avant: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 1; New Rochelle, N.Y.: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001).[35]

7 §259 Տէր Աստուած, որ նա միայն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ոչ ոք յառաջ քան զնա. չիք ոք այլ Արարիչ ամենայնի՝ որ երեւի եւ որ ոչն երեւի. բայց Որդին միածին որ ի Հօրէ ծնեալ, եւ Հոգի նորուն որ ի նորին յէութենէ. որով եղեւ աշխարհս ի սկզբանց անդ, արարեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն միով զօրութեամբ կամացն ամենազօրաց, միախորհ, միակամ, միաբուն ինքնութեամբ, եւ ամենայն ի նմանէ եղեալ, երկինք եւ երկիր: Արարեալ զերկինս խորանարդ հաստայարկ, եւ զերկիր թանձրահատակ աղխեալ սեղմեալ. եւ զերկինս կախեալ զոչնչէ, եւ զերկիրս ի վերայ ոչնչի կացուցեալ, եւ ի նմին զանդունդս

29. See Arm Gen 2:1, following the Greek translation.

30. Cf. Gen 2:1, 7.

31. Alternatively: established the discerning one.

32. Cf. Gen 1.28.

33. Alternatively: in each age who.

34. Cf. Exod 15:2.

35. We give Thomson's translation exactly, except for relegating biblical references to the footnotes. Readings marked "MES" are my suggested alternative translations. Only when I definitely prefer my own formulation for a substantial sequence of text do I replace Professor Thomson's. These instances are marked by putting my translation into italics. Nearly all these differences are questions of degrees of literalness.

համատարածս խաւարազգածս աներեւոյթս անկազմս անարարս եւ անյարդարս, անպատրաստս ստուերամածս:

The Lord God is unique in essence, and there is no one before Him. There is no other creator of all that is visible and invisible, except the only-begotten Son who is born from the Father, and the Spirit of the same who is from the being of the same; by whom was made this world in the beginning,[36] created by the single power of almighty will, one essence of united thought, will, and nature of the consubstantial Trinity; and everything was made by Him, heaven and earth. He made the heaven domed and solidly vaulted, and the earth firm, enclosed and compact; and heaven He suspended in the void, and the earth He set above the void, and in the void the vast abyss, dark, invisible, unordered, formless and shapeless, diffuse and shadowy.[37]

8 §260 Եւ անդէն իսկ ընդ ասելն Հօրն արարչութեան ցարարչակից Որդին եւ ցհամագործ Հոգին որ ի վերայ ջուրցն շրջէր, անդ ի ներքոյ / ջուրցն հրամայեաց լինել կազմածոյն յօրինուածոց արարածոց: Ասացեալ ի Հօրէ առ խորհրդակալսն խորհրդակատարսն համագործսն՝ լինել լոյս, եւ անդէն եղեալ լոյսն համասփիւռ՝ խաւարակուլ օրաբեր: Եւ յետ այսորիկ հաստատութիւն ջրամած սառնեղէն ծովահերձ ջրաբաժին: Եւ յետ այսորիկ ասացեալ միասնական Երրորդութեանն զօրութեան՝ լինել լուսաւորացդ առ ի ջրեղէն խորանանման հաստատութեան երկնին ճառագայթաձիգք, աշխարհազունդք, նշանացոյցք, ժամանակաչափք. եւ ապա զազգն շնչակեաց թռչնոց եւ զեռնոց եւ ջրածին կայտառաց:

And then with his creative word to the co-creator Son and co-worker Spirit,[38] who moved over the waters,[39] the Father[40] commanded to come into being below the waters the orderly ranks of creatures. The Father said to his co-workers, who share and carry out his counsel, that there should be light;[41] and then was created the light, ubiquitous, darkness-swallowing, day-bringing.[42] And after this [was created] the firmament,[43] covered with water, icy, dividing the seas, separating the waters, from which appeared the dry land, mother of all, fertile in flowers and plants. After this the power of the consubstantial Trinity said that there should be luminaries in the watery, domed

36. Gen 1:1.

37. Gen 1:2.

38. MES: indeed, at the speech of the creative Father to the co-creative Son and to the co-worker Spirit.

39. Gen 1:2.

40. MES: then he.

41. Gen 1:3.

42. MES: sharers of his counsel and its execution, for light to come into being, and immediately the diffused light came into being, darkness-devouring, and day-bearing.

43. Gen 1:7.

firmament of heaven, as lamps, globes, markers, time-measurers.[44] Then [He created] the race of breathing birds and reptiles and lively fish.[45]

9 §261 Յետոյ բղխեալ եռացեալ յերկրէ ամենայն չորքոտանեաց ազգ, իւրաքանչիւր ըստ իւրում կարգի, վայելելիս հաստատեալ յառաջակամ պատրաստութեամբ կամացն աստուածութեան առ ի պատիւ մարդոյն: Որ զվայելչականն հանդերձեալ առնել Արարչին, որ կամարար կամացն առեալ անդէն զբարերարութիւն իւր ցուցանել, առնել զբանաւոր զիմաստուն զխօսուն արարածն, ի մէջ անխօս անբան անիմաստ արարածոցն: Զի իմաստունն գիտասցէ զպատիւ Արարչին. իմացեալ զԱրարչին սքանչելութեան շնորհս փառաւորութեան՝ գիտասցէ դարձուցանել ի նմանէ զփառաւորութիւն փոխարէն. եւ ընդ նմին եւ ի ձեռն նորին՝ ամենայն արարածք երեւեալ գործքն մատուսցեն զփառաւորութիւն:

Afterwards sprang up[46] from the earth all the four-footed kind, each in its own order,[47] wonderfully established as enjoyments by the spontaneous readiness of the will of the Godhead for the honour of man, who was destined to perform what was enjoyable (fitting) for the Creator. Whose willing will, having desired to show His beneficence all at once, made the rational, discerning, speaking creature among the dumb, irrational, undiscerning creatures. So that the discerning one might come to know the honour of the Creator, apprehending the wondrous grace of the Creator's glorification, he might learn thereby to give back in return glorification and with him and through him, all visible created works might offer glorification.

10 §262 Իսկ ի մէջ աներեւութիցն արարեալ աներեւոյթ փառաւորիչս - զօրս հրեշտակաց հոգեղէնս, հրեղէնս, բազմութիւնք զուարթնոց: Սոքա յօդս վերինս բնակեալ են, ի վերայ հաստատութեան ջրայարկի. իսկ մարդկանս ի ներքոյ, ի հողեղէն բնակութեան երկրիս, տուան վիճակք: Զի Աստուծոյ բարերարի զամենայն արարեալ, կարգս՝ լինելութեան հաստատեալ. իսկ չարն յանձնիշխան կամաց մտեալ՝ կործանէ զիւրաքանչիւր ոք առանձինն. այլ յԱրարչէն բարի եղեալ ամենայնն խաստատեցաւ:

In the midst of the invisible creatures, He created the invisible glorifiers—the hosts of angels, spiritual and fiery; multitudes of watchers. These dwell

44. Gen 1:4.

45. Gen 1:20–21. MES: for there to come into being on the watery, tent-like (Ps 104:2 = Arm 103:2) firmament of the heaven, radiant ones, orbs, showers of signs and measurers of time; and then the genus of air-breathing birds, crawling creatures and water-born living beings.

46. MES: sprang up and bubbled up.

47. MES: rank; see Gen 1:24.

in the upper air[48] above the water-covered firmament. But to us men has been given a place[49] below, in the terrestrial dwelling place of this earth. For benevolent God has created everything, establishing the ranks of created being. But the Evil One entering by means of autonomous will, destroys each individual separately, but everything was established by the Creator, having come into being as good.

11 §263 Որ յառնելն զմարդն՝ սքանչելագոյն կարգաւ զիշխանն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, եւ անդ է տեսանել սքանչելիս եւ զարմանալիս եւ անհասական հրեշտակակերպս: «Արասցուք, ասէ, մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան»: Իսկ արդ՝ ըստ որո՞ւմ պատկերի արդեօք ասիցէ, եւ կամ ըստ որո՞ւմ նմանութեան զմարդն առնել. քանզի անեղծական, անստեղծական, անտարրական, իսկական աստուածութիւնն ճանաչի: Ո՞րպէս լինելոցն արդեօք էականին հանգոյն առնոյր լինել, կամ հողն սակաւիկ՝ ինքնաբուն զօրութեանն Աստուծոյ. որ եւ անտեղեօք եւ անչափակալ վայրօքն, անսկզբնական լիութիւնն անմատոյց յումեքէ ունի մշտընջենաւոր նոյն պարզական եւ անշարժական միապէս:

He who, in the making of man, presented him in a most wonderful rank as the ruler, and there one can see wonders and marvels, and incomprehensible angelic forms. “Let us make,” He said, “man according to our image and likeness.” According to whose image then, does He mean, or according to whose likeness,[50] that He would make man? For the essential Deity is known to be incorruptible, uncreated, and immaterial. How could what was to be created take on similarity to the truly existent; or the dust, in some little respect, (be like) to the real hypostasis of God? God is neither limited by space nor finite in extent but has fullness without beginning and is inaccessible to anyone, eternally the same, simple and unmoving without distinction.

12 §264 Իսկ արդ՝ ո՞րպէս ստեղծականին զինքն օրինակ դնիցէ, եւ կամ զկաւն դրօշեալ՝ Աստուծոյ պատկերաւն ձեւիցէ. զոր եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա»: Նախ ասաց բանս յառաջասաց պատմութեան հանդերձելոցն, ապա անց յառաջակայսն, եւ ի լինելոցսն նշմարեցուցանէ: Եւ են որ անդէն իսկ մօտալուտ առաջոյ՝ ի նոյն ի նմին ժամանակի դէմ յանդիման ցուցանէ. զի տէր ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա: Մի՝ վասն իմաստութեան, բանաւորութեան, խելամտութեան, կենդանութեան, հոգեւոր շնչոյն, զոր շնորհնեաց առաւելութիւն՝ գիտել ճանաչել իմանալ եւ ի միտ առնուլ զամենայն շնորհաց զաստուածակիր զաստուածատուր

48. MES: atmosphere.

49. MES: were given allotments.

50. Gen 1:26.

իմաստութիւնն եւ զբանաւորութիւնն, զաստուածածանօթութիւնն եւ զպետութիւնն, եւ իշխել ի վերայ ամենայն երկրաբուղխ երկրածին ստեղծուածոցն, եւ զգիտութիւն յառաջգիտութեանն, եւ կացոյց զնա տէր ամենայնի: Եւ ասաց Աստուած, թէ «Ամենայն քաղցրաբուղխ սերմանիք երկրի՝ ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր»: Եւ ապա զամենայն գազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս ածեալ առաջի մարդոյն հնազանդէր: Իսկ ապա աստուածակիր իմաստութեամբն խելամտեալ՝ ճանաչել ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ըստ առանձնային կերպարանաց զանունն նշմարեցուցանել. զի զգիտութիւն Տեառն ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորա գիտութեամբ զնորա արարածս ճանաչել՝ նորա նման անուանեցաւ:

So how could He set himself as a model for the created, or sculpt and form clay in the image of God, according to the saying: "In the image of God He created him"?[51] He spoke in advance words of the predicted history of the future events, then He turned to the present things and he indicates what is going to happen. And by indicating present things, He thereby shows the future. And there are those things which at once, indeed, imminently present, in that self-same time he demonstrates openly, for the Lord made him according to the image of God. First, because of discernment, rationality, intelligence, vitality, spiritual breath, which He bestowed as an advantage, to know, realise, discern, and consider all the God-bearing, God-given wisdom of grace and rationality, recognition of God and leadership, and his ruling over all things sprouting from the earth and born of the earth, and knowledge of prescience. And He established him as lord of all; and God said: "All the sweet seeds of the earth will be food for you."[52] And then, all the wild beasts and animals and birds He led before the man[53] and subjected them (to him). Then, gaining understanding by means of his God-bearing discernment, he recognised each one according to its individual form and indicated its name. So, bringing forward knowledge of the Lord and by means of this knowledge recognising His creatures, he was called "like" Him.

13 §265. Եւ մի՝ վասն այսորիկ ասէ նման, վասն անձնիշխանական կամացն իշխանութեան: Զի յԱստուծոյ յամենագործութեանն եւ ամենարարութեանն երկու արարածք պատուականք եւ արգոյք՝ եղեալք ի բարերարէն հաստատեցան, մարդիկ եւ հրեշտակք: Արդ՝ զմարդիկ թողեալ ի կամս անձնիշխան կամաց, վասն զի՝ իւրովք կամօք անձնիշխանութեանն գիտասցէ ընդ բարեացն գործոց՝ շնորհս գտանել ի բարերար Տեառնէն եւ յԱրարչէն. եւ եղեալ առաջի նորա զգիտութիւն պատուիրանաց հաճոյիցն Աստուծոյ, զի գիտասցէ խոյս տալ ի չարէն, եւ զբարին ընտրել իւրոց կամացն լաւութեամբ,

51. Gen 1:27.
52. Gen 1:29.
53. Gen 2:19.

իբրեւ յինքեան քաջութենէ, իւրով անձնիշխան կամօք՝ յԱրարչէ անտի զիւրոց վաստակոց առեալ զփոխարէնս պատուեսցէ:

And for another thing, He says “like” because of his authority of independent[54] will. For in the omnipotence and all-creativeness of God two honourable and precious creatures came into being and were established by the benevolent one—humans and angels. Now, He left man to the willing of his autonomous will, so that by the autonomy of his own will he might learn to find grace from the beneficent Lord and Creator in return for his good deeds. And He placed before him the knowledge of the commandments pleasing to God, that he might know to take flight from evil and to choose the good by the probity of his will, as by his own virtue, through his independent will; and that receiving from the Creator the reward for his labours, he might honour Him.

14 §266 Իսկ վասն նմանութեանն իմանալի է այսպէս. զի ամենայն արարածք ընդ հնազանդութեամբ ծառայութեան են հարկեալք. զի մի այլ աւելիս ինչ իշխեսցեն գործել քան զայն, որչափ՝ ինչ նոցայն հրամայեցաւ՝ հարկք եդան ի վերայ իւրաքանչիւր՝ կատարել զհրամանս: Բայց Աստուած զմարդն միայն բազմապատիկ փառաւորեաց եւ մտօք մեծացոյց, հոգեխառն հրեշտակակիցս խոնարհագոյնս արար:

But, concerning “likeness” it is to be understood thus, that all creatures are obligated under the obedience of servitude, so that they are not[55] able to effect anything more than as much as has been commanded them, each being placed in the necessity[56] to fulfil the commands. But God honoured mankind alone manyfold, and enriched them with a mind, and made him,[57] a more humble companion to the angels.[58]

15 §267 Տես զարեգակն եւ զլուսին եւ զաստեղս՝ մեծամեծս ո՞րչափ քան զմարդն իցեն, եւ նորա կամացն կան, հարկեալք ընդ հրամանաւ պատուիրանագրին: Ոչ արեգակն յընթացից դադարէ, եւ ոչ լուսին կասէ ի մաշել եւ լնուլ, ոչ աստեղք զկարգօք իւրեանց անցանեն, եւ ոչ լերինք ետեղափոխ լինին. ոչ օդք ի շնչելոյ դադարեն, եւ ոչ ծով ի սահանս ծփանաց անդնդային մոլեգին ալեացն խռովելոց յուզելոցն սաստկութեամբ անդադար կուտակելոցն՝ զեդեալ սահմանն ոչ կարացեալ անցանել եւ ապականել զերկիր. եւ ոչ երկիր բառնալ կրել դանդաղի զամենայն: Որոյ հրամանաւ յօրինեալ է ամենայն, որոյ

54. MES: autonomous.

55. MES: might not be.

56. MES: obligation was placed upon each one.

57. MES: him a partly spiritual, i.e., հոգեխառն in Armenian, “with spirit mixed in.” Compare the language of the Psalm

58. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6 cited in Heb 2:7.

սուրբ եւ երկնաւոր զուարթունքն կան յանդադար փառաբանութեան: Որ արար զբարձրութիւն երկնից եւ զթիւ աստեղաց, զջուրս ծովու եւ զաւազ երկրի, զկշիռս լերանց: Որ հանէ զամպս եւ արգելու զհողմս, եւ դարձուցանէ զերեկ, եւ դալարեցուցանէ զչոր զօսացեալս, եւ ժողովէ զանձրեւաշիթս: Վասն որոյ մարգարէութեան հոգին պատմէ, թէ «Ո՞ չափեաց ափով իւրով զջուրս ամենայն, եւ թզաւ զերկինս, եւ զերկիր ամենայն քյաւ իւրով. ո՞վ եդ զլերինս ի կշիռս, եւ զդաշտս կշռորդօք եբարձ:» Ո՞ր իցէ տեղին, որ զնա բարձեալ ունիցի, որոյ բանիւ արարածք ամենայն կախեալ կան: Որ գիտէ զանցս գնացից երկնաւոր գնտոցն, որ ի վերայ օդոց շրջին, եւ ոչ թիւրին. տարածին, եւ ոչ ըստ արտուղի անկանին. ելանեն եւ մնան վարձկանք պարտաւորք տարւոյ. կասեն՝ արծարծին ի տունջենէ ի գիշեր եւ ի գիշերոյ ի տիւ. փոխարէնս արկեալ միմեանց ոխարինին՝ աննախանձ տան, անարգել դարձուցանեն ի չափ ժամանակաց, ի չորս որոշմունս փոփոխել տարւոյն, որպէս եւ Աստուած կարգեաց:

See the sun and moon and stars! So much greater than man are they, yet they stand under His will, constrained by the requirement of the command.[59] The sun does not linger on[60] its course, nor does the moon cease to wane and wax; the stars do not overstep their courses, nor do the mountains change their place. The winds do not cease to blow, nor is the sea, in its confines of deep and furious swells, in its violence of raging and turbulent waves continually amassed, able to pass its allotted boundary and destroy the earth, nor does the earth cease to support and carry all. By his command is all arranged;[61] his holy and heavenly Watchers stand in ceaseless praising. He made the height of the heavens and the number of the stars, the waters of the sea and the sand of the earth, the balance of the mountains. He draws along[62] the clouds and restrains the winds, and brings back the evening, and makes green the dried-up grass, and gathers the raindrops.[63] Concerning Him the spirit of prophecy relates: "Who measured with his palm all the waters, and with his span the heavens, and all the earth with his fingers? Who placed the hills in a scale and weighed the plains with measures?"[64] Which is the place that holds up Him[65] by whose word all creatures are suspended? He knows the paths of the courses of the heavenly spheres, which circle above the air and are not deflected, which spread out and do not go astray. They come and

59. MES: command of the instruction.
60. MES: cease from.
61. MES: fashioned. On such lists see Stone 1976. The sources are complex, but, inter alia, 4 Ezra is quoted here. See Stone 1979, verse 5:36D.
62. MES: who brings forth.
63. *4 Ezra* 5:36
64. Isa 40:12.
65. MES: contains Him.

stay as labourers hired for a year, they cease[66] and are relit from day to evening and from evening to day, giving reward, they recompense one another, they give ungrudgingly, freely returning to the measure of their times, to change at the four seasons of the year, just as God arranged.

16 §270 Երկինք եւ երկիր, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ բազմութիւնք աստեղաց, եւ ծովք, գետք, գազան եւ անասուն, սողուն եւ թռչուն, ձկունք լուղականք, լեալք, լինելոցք՝ զիւրաքանչիւր կարգեալսն ըստ իւրաքանչիւր հրամանացն մատուցանեն: Բայց միայն մարդոյն անձնիշխան թողան կամքն՝ զինչ եւ կամեսցի. եւ այլ աւելի ինչ ոչ բռնադատեցաւ քան զայն որ ազդեալ ասացաւ - չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի. զի այնու արժանի արասցէ զնա փոխանակ ընդ փոքուն մեծամեծս ընդունել. վասն իւր շնորհ ունելոյն վաստակոց՝ լիցի առնուլ նմա յԱրարչէն զփոքունց փոխարէն զմեծամեծ շնորհսն: Վասն այնորիկ եւ զանձնիշխան կամաց նմա հրամայեաց կամակար իշխանութիւն:

Heaven and earth, sun and moon and multitudes of stars, seas and rivers, beasts and animals, reptiles and birds, swimming fishes, created things and things to be created, each offer (to God) the things ordered for it according to the commandments for each of them. Only the will of man has been left autonomous to do whatever he wills. And he has been constrained in nothing more than what was warned: not to eat of the tree,[67] that thereby He might make him worthy to receive greater things in return for lesser, and that by virtue of his having grace for his task, he might receive from the Creator, as recompense for lesser grace, greater grace. For this reason He commanded him to have the obedient power of autonomous will for him.

17 11 §271 Կամ ո՞րպէս մարդ հողաբեր՝ օրինակաւ Արարչին յաշխարհ զայցէ, առժամազիտ մատուցականն անմատոյց էականին նմանութեամբ առնուցու լինել զլինելն: Քանզի անսահմանական եւ անվայրափակ եւ առանձնական զօրութեամբ, աստուածական անուա՞մբն միայն արդեօք մեծարեաց՝ ըստ պատկերին ասելով. այն չէ ինչ ի դէպ: Քանզի ասէ Գիրն, թէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա». եւ այլուր ասէ, եթէ «Աստուած հաստատեաց զմարդն յանեղծութիւն, եւ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ բարերարութեանն արար զնա». եւ միւս եւս աստուածածանօթ իմաստութիւնն ասաց, թէ «Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ է»: Այլ անդէն ի սկզբանն կարգեաց Աստուած մարդոյն՝ մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ կերպարանաց Աստուծոյ լինել, քանզի ոչ ի հաստատելն միայն, այլ առաւել ի ծանօթն առնել փութայ: Քանզի նմանութեամբ մարդոյ երեւեալ Աստուծոյ ի ստեղծանել զմարդն հող յերկրէ, եւ փչեաց յերեսս նորա շունչ կենդանի, եւ եղեւ

66. MES: stop shining.
67. Gen 2:17.

մարդն յոգի կենդանի: Ստեղծեալ զմարդն ձեռօք իւրովք՝ եւ արկ ի նա զկենդանութիւն ի փչել բերանոյ իւրոյ զկենդանական շունչն իմաստակիր մտաւորութեան բանաւորութեան ազդեցութեան. զի անդէն զաչս բացեալ արարածոյն՝ զԱրարիչն ծանիցէ, եւ անդէն Աստուծոյ բարերարութեան արարչութեանն ընտանի ի մերձաւոր, գիտակ եւ պատմիչ լինիցի:

But how could man, sprung from the earth, come into the world in the image[68] of the Creator and, but recently found and accessible, receive his being through likeness to the inaccessible, essential[69] one? For in his unbounded, uncircumscribed, individual power, did He honour him alone with the divine name, by saying: “in the image”? That is not at all by accident, for the Scripture says: “In the image of God He created him”[70] and elsewhere says: “God established man in incorruptibility, and in His own image of benevolence He created him.”[71] And another divinely acquainted wisdom said: “Man is the image of God.”[72] In the very beginning God ordained that man should be close to God and aware of His form, for He was anxious not only to establish him, but even more to make him acquainted with Him. For God appeared in the likeness of a man in creating man as dust from the earth,[73] and He blew into his face living breath, and the man became as[74] a living spirit. He created man with his own hands and put in him life, by blowing with his mouth the life-giving breath of wise intelligence, rationality, and perception, that the creature, opening his eyes, might[75] recognise the Creator and thus become familiar with, and close to, and aware of, and a narrator of, the benevolent creative activity of God.

18 §272 Եւ թէ զիա՞րդ ամենայն արարածոց առեալ հրաման լինել յաննիւթոյ, ի չքաւոր յանկերպարան նիւթոյ, որպէս ընդելական կերպարանացն եւ ձայնի հրամանացն՝ առանց յապաղանաց՝ ամենայն արարածք սպասաւորականք զհրամանսն կատարիցեն: Իսկ իսկական աստուածութիւնն ի ծածկութեանն ի վերոյ քան զտարրական նմանութիւնս եւ զձայնել զազդեցութիւնս, յիւրում յառանձնական յէութեանն զիւրն ունի: Այլ վասն երեւելի արարածոցս առեալ նմանութիւն, վասն ժուժկալութեան արարածոցս խոնարհեցի: Զի թէ ոչ այնպէս էր, ոչ ոք էր որ տեսլեանն բնութեան կամ ինքեան ձայնին

68. MES: through a copy.
69. MES: increate.
70. Gen 1:27.
71. Wis 2:23.
72. 1 Cor 11:7.
73. Gen 2:7.
74. MES: omit “as.”
75. MES add: all at once.

բարբառոյ ժուժալ կարէր. այլ որպէս զի կարասցեն զնա տեսանել՝ վասն այսորիկ առեալ նմանութիւն երեւելի, բարբառոյ ազդեցութիւն:

And how could all created things receive a command to come in to being from immaterial, undifferentiated, formless matter; and as if familiar with the form and the sound of the commands, without delay all ministering creatures fulfil the commands? The essential Deity in secret, superior to material likenesses or to voicing aloud his warnings, in his own individual being has his own [existence].[76] But he took on a likeness for the sake of these visible creatures, to humble Himself for the strengthening of the creatures. If He had not done so, there would have been no-one who could endure the vision of his nature or the sound of his voice. But that they might be able to see Him, for this reason He took on a visible likeness and [gave] warning with a voice.[77]

19 §273 Արդ՝ եղեալ մարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ, հանդերձ ազատութեամբ, իմաստութեամբ, բանաւորութեամբ եւ իշխանական պատուով ըստ ազդեցութեան արաչութեանն, ոչ եթէ ըստ աստուածաբուն զօրութեանն, զոր միայն Միածինն ունի զնկարագիր էութեանն Հօր: Ապա ածեալ Աստուծոյ զամենայն արարածս արարչութեան իւրոյ առ Ադամ, տեսանել զինչ կոչեսցէ անուանս նոցա: Որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ զԱրարիչն անուն յառաջ քան զայն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ. զի նախ այն էր կարեւորագոյն: Քանզի եւ միածին որդին Աստուծոյ զայս ասէր առ Հայր , թէ «Այս են կամք իմ, զի ծանիցեն զքեզ միայն Ճշմարիտդ Աստուած»: Նա եւ ի հարկէ իսկ նախ զԱրարիչն անուանէր Ադամ, զի յորոյ երեւաց զկենդանութիւնն ընկալեալ էր՝ նախ քան զամենայն զնա ետես. քանզի եւ արարածք իսկ առ ի ծանօթ առնելոյ նմա զԱրարիչն հաստեցան:

Thus man was created in[78] the image of God, with freedom, wisdom, rationality, and independent[79] honour in accordance with the effect of creation, not according to the hypostasis[80] of the nature of God, which only the Only-begotten possesses as the express image of the being of the Father.[81] Then God led all creatures of his creation to Adam to see what he would call their names,[82] whereby it is clear that Adam knew the name of the Creator. For first this was necessary, because the only begotten Son of God said to the Father: "This is my will, that they should know you only to be the true

76. MES: holds that which is his.
77. MES: the power of expression.
78. MES: according to.
79. MES: princely.
80. MES: power.
81. Heb 1:3.
82. Gen 2:19.

God."[83] Likewise by necessity Adam first named the Creator, because from whose face he received life, Him he saw before all others; for the creatures were established to make known to him the Creator.

20 §274 Արդ՝ անուանէ զառաջի ածեալսն յանդիման Արարչին. եւ զկնի եկեալն յառաջագունիցն ծանօթական լինի, որոց ոչ միայն անուանելովն, այլ եւ իմաստութեամբ եւ իշխանութեամբ առ հասարակ տիրէ: Ապա մինչդեռ միայն սկիզբն եւ կատար է ինքն միանգամայն, յամենայն արարածս ինքն ինքեան. միայն էր, եւ ոչ ոք զօրավիգն, եւ ոչ ընկեր ոք, եւ ոչ նման նմա:

So he gave names to the [animals] led up before him in the presence of the Creator and the one that came after was familiar from the preceding ones over which he had general dominion, not only by naming them, but also by wisdom[84] and power. While he was still alone he was at once first and last.[85] Amongst all creatures he was alone by himself, and there was no-one as his auxiliary, and no companion and no one similar to him.

21 §275 Արդ՝ Հօր արարչի խորհուրդ ի մէջ եղեալ ընդ արարչակից Որդւոյ եւ ընդ արարչակից Հոգւոյ, իբրեւ զխորհուրդն զառաջին նախաստեղծ մարդոյն. զի որպէս անդն ասաց, թէ «Եկայք արասցուք մարդ ի նմանութիւն պատկերի կերպարանաց մերոց», եւ անդէն ստեղծեալ Ադամ ի կենդանութիւն ի չգոյէն հաստատեցաւ՝ նոյն օրինակ եւ աստ ասացեալ Հօր առ Որդին եւ առ Հոգին, ասէ. «Եկայք արասցուք Ադամայ օգնական նման նմա, ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի իւրոյ եւ ըստ նմանութեան կերպարանաց իւրոց»: Եւ անդէն արկեալ նմա քուն զարմանալի, եւ հանեալ ոսկր ի կողից նորա՝ եւ շինեաց զայն ի պատկեր կնոջ եւ կացոյց առաջի նորա: Եւ անդէն ծանուցեալ Ադամայ աստուածազգեաց իմաստութեամբ, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց եւ մարմին ի մարմնոյ իմմէ. սա կոչեսցի կին, զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ». «Վասն այսորիկ թողցէ այր զհայր իւր եւ զմայր իւր, եւ յարեսցի ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքին ի մարմին մի»:

Then the Father creator took counsel with the Son fellow-creator and Spirit fellow-creator, like the previous counsel at the original creation of man,[86] as He then said: "Come, let us make man in[87] the likeness of the image of our form,"[88] and then Adam was created and established in life from non-existence. In the same fashion here also the Father said to the Son and to the Spirit: "Come, let us make for Adam a helpmate similar to him in the

83. John 6:40; 17:3.
84. MES: through discernment.
85. MES: both the beginning and the culmination (of creation).
86. MES: counsel concerning the protoplast.
87. MES: according to.
88. Gen 1:26.

likeness of his image and in the likeness of his form."[89] And then He put a marvellous sleep upon him, and taking a bone from his flank, fashioned it in the image of a woman and set her before him.[90] Then Adam knew[91] with his divinely endowed wisdom that: "This bone now is from my bone, and this flesh from my flesh; she will be called woman, because she was taken from her husband. For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother and will cleave to his wife, and they two will become one flesh."[92]

22 §276 Ո՞չ ապաքէն յանդիման Աստուծոյ ասիցէ զայս, անդ՝ ուր ամենայն զօրք հոգեղինացն զփառս Տեառն բարձրացուցանէին, եւ մարդն ի հանդիսի անցեալ։ Եւ զոր ասէն՝ ամենահաս գիտութեամբ մարգարէանայ, եւ քնով գործեալն զարթնականին ի մէջ բերէ զգործն. զի որ յառնէն առեալ գիտաց՝ նա եւ զայր յերկրէ գիտէ, եւ զերկիր՝ յոչնչէ, եւ զԱստուած՝ էական։ Եւ ասելովն, եթէ «թողեալ զհայր եւ զմայր եւ յարել ի կին իւր, եւ եղիցին երկոքեան ի մարմին մի»՝ զբոլորովին կարգս աշխարհիս եւ զկատարած զամենայն գիտաց։

Would he not then say this in the presence of God, where all the spiritual hosts were raising the praises of the Lord, and the man was being displayed?[93] The saying prophesies with all-understanding knowledge, making explicit the deed performed by the ever-wakeful one while [Adam] slept. For she who was taken from the man knew, and he also knew, that the man is from the earth, and the earth from nothing, and that God alone is really existent.[94] And by saying: "He leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife, and the two will become one flesh," he knew all the orders of this world and all its fulfilment.

23 §277 (ԻԵ) Յետ այսորիկ առեալ Աստուծոյ՝ յԱդին դրախտին փափկութեան դնէր զմարդն. որում յայտ արարեալ ծառս երկուս, զմինն կենաց եւ զմինն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. որում եղեալ պատուիրան՝ չճաշակել նմա ի ծառոյ անտի՝ մահու սպառնալեօք. զի Աստուծոյ պատուիրանապահութեամբն՝ զնախանձելի զաստուածատուր իմաստութիւն պահեալ, զաստուածական իշխանութիւնն պահպանութեամբ պատուիրանին յանտուչական փառս էականին ինքնակալ եղեալ վայելիցէ։ Եւ որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք, եթէ զիրեշտակս եւ զմարդիկ յանձնիշխանութեան թողեալ, եւ զիւրաքանչիւր պատուէրս եղեալ ի վերայ, զի իւրաքանչիւր, յօժարութեամբ կամացն՝ լիցին Արարչին հրամանացն հնազանդեալ,

89. Gen 2:18.
90. Gen 2:21–22.
91. MES: realized.
92. Gen 2:23–24, Matt 19:5–6, and Mark 10:7–8.
93. MES: also passed muster.
94. MES: increate.

վասն որոյ եւ առաւել փառաց արժանի լիցին հասանել։ Արդ՝ մարդոյն եղաւ փոքր պատուէր - ի ծառոյն չճաշակել. զի այնու ի մեծ պատիւ ձգեալ հասցէ, որպէս վերագոյնն ասացաք։ Իսկ զօրացն բազմութեան հրեշտակաց եղաւ պատուէր՝ կալ յանդադար փառաւորութեան իւրեանց Արարչին, ի մեծ պատիւ փառաց զնոսա բնակեցուցեալ, յաներեւոյթ մեծութեանն վերին երկնաւոր մշտնջենաւոր լուսոյն։

After this God took the man and set him in the delightful Garden of Eden;[95] to him He revealed two trees, one of life and the other of the knowledge of good and evil; He commanded him that he should not taste of the tree under threat of death.[96] For by keeping the command of God, preserving the enviable God-given wisdom, through the observance of the command, he would acquire and enjoy the divine power in[97] the inalienable glory of the existent one.[98] And as we said above, He left the angels and men with independence[99] and imposed commands on each, that they with ready will might become obedient to the commands of the Creator and thereby become worthy of attaining greater glory. Then a small command was placed on man—not to taste of the tree, that by this he might attain greater honour, as we said above. But a command was laid upon the multitude of hosts of angels to remain in their unceasing praising of the Creator, who had placed them[100] in great honor and glory, in the invisible magnitude of the upper heavenly eternal light.

24 §278 Արդ՝ ոմն ի վերին զօրացն իշխանութեանցն հրեշտակաց իբրեւ տեսանէր զխոստումն բարեացն բարերարութեան Արարչին որ առ մարդն, եւ մարդոյն կալ ի բանի Արարչին իւրոյ, եւ զգուշացեալ պահել զպատուիրանն՝ իւրովք կամօք չարացեալ չարն՝ չար անուանեցաւ. ուստի եւ զյետս երթալոյ զհակառակաւէրն զսատանայ անուն ժառանգեաց։ Արդ՝ նախանձեալ չարին՝ արկանէ զմարդն ի մահ պատրանօք ի փառաց անտի. քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ իմաստունն, թէ «Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ», խաբէութեամբն ապականեալ։

However, one from the celestial hosts of powers of angels, when he saw the promise of good things made by the benevolence of the Creator to man, and that man was standing in[101] the word of his Creator, and that he was carefully keeping the commandment, by his own will the evil one worked evil, and was named evil; whence he inherited the name of Follower behind, Adver-

95. MES: delight; Gen 2:15.
96. Gen 2:17.
97. MES: having gained.
98. MES: increate One.
99. MES: autonomy.
100. MES: made them dwell.
101. I.e., observing.

sary, Satan.[102] Then the evil one in his jealousy threw[103] man from glory into death by deceit. For the sage says: “By jealousy of the devil death came into the world,”[104] bringing corruption by deceit.

25 §279 Արդ՝ եկեալ մատուցանէ զխաբէութիւն պատրանաց մարդոյն թշնամին: Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զոր ասէն. «Ընդէ՞ր, ասէ, պատուիրեաց ձեզ Աստուած չճաշակել ի ծառոյն». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ ունէր ազատութիւն Ադամ եւ անձնիշխան կամս եւ իմաստութիւն յԱստուծոյ. գիտելով զԱստուած՝ պատուիրանադիր եւ զԱդամ՝ պատուիրեալ. թերեւս յառաջ իսկ սա քան զպատուիրանն նենգութեամբ էր երեւեալ, եւ ամենագիտին չէր ի ծածուկ, քանզի քննիչ է սրտի եւ երիկամանց:

Then the enemy of man having come, introduced deceit of trickery; and you see what he (Scripture) says: “Why, says he, did God command you not to taste of the tree?”[105] Whereby it is clear that Adam had freedom and autonomous will and discernment from God, by knowing that God was the command-giver and Adam the commanded. Perhaps indeed this was revealed [to him] by treachery before the command [was given], yet it was not hidden from the Knower of all, for He is the searcher of hearts and reins.[106]

26 §280 Եւ արդ՝ դու տես զինչ ասէր. «Թէ ճաշակիցէք՝ ասէ, աստուածք լինիք»: Զպատճառսն եդ ի նոսա, եւ ի ներքոյ յինքն յիշխանութիւնն կորզել ջանայր. զի զնա վրիպեցուցեալ հանեալ ի խոստմանցն՝ թերեւս հնար լիցի նմա զնորա տեղին ժառանգել: Որպէս եւ առաքեալն Աստուծոյ, որ հմուտ եւ տեղեակն էր աստուածաբեր խորհրդոյն, քանզի եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Անօրէն իշխանն իբրեւ աստուածանալն կամեցաւ՝ ձեռն արկանէր եւ զամենայն մարդիկ մեղօք կապէր». զի իբրեւ զնոսա հանեալ յայնմ բարեաց՝ ապա նմա հնար լիցի զխոստացեալսն ըմբռնել: Իսկ նոքա վասն նորին պատճառանաց խաբեալք՝ ճաշակեցին, եւ անցեալ զպատուիրանաւն՝ յաստուածակերպ փառացն մերկացան»:

And thus you see what he said: “If you will taste, he says, you will become gods.”[107] He gave them the excuse and underneath tried to snatch them into his own power; for he misled him away from the promises,[108] that perchance he might be able to inherit his place.[109] Just as the Apostle of God, who was wise and versed in the divine mystery, also says: “The lawless prince, as he

102. Satan’s names are discussed in the appendix §1.3.

103. MES: by trickery cast.

104. Wis 2:24.

105. Gen 3:1. Satan is discussed in detail in the appendix.

106. Ps 7:9 = Arm 7:10, Jer 20:12.

107. Gen 3:5.

108. MES: having made him err, having brought him out of the promises.

109. Anderson and Stone 1999, 50–50E, verse [44](16):3.

wished to become God, seized and bound all mankind by sin,"[110] that when he had removed them from these blessings, then he might be able to seize what had been promised. But they, deceived because of his sophistry, tasted, and transgressing the commandment, were stripped of divinely-formed glory.

27 §281 Սակայն եւ անդ իբրեւ ի վերայ որդւոց հատուցելոց հայրաբար գթացեալ բարեգործէ. զոր եւ ասէ իսկ Գիրն, թէ «Լուան զձայն Տեառն Աստուծոյ, զի իջեալ զգնայր ի դրախտին ընդ երեկս աւուրն»: Եւ նոցա փախուցեալ թաքուցեալ ծառախիթ տերեւապատ լինէին. զորոյ անցանել զամենագէտն երեսօք անհնար է. վասն որոյ եւ ասէ իսկ, թէ «Տէր Աստուած մերձաւոր եմ ես, ասէ Տէր, եւ ոչ Աստուած հեռաւոր. միթէ մա՞րթ ինչ իցէ մարդոյ փախչել թաքչել յինէն ի ծածկոյթ իւր՝ զի ես ոչ տեսից զնա. ո՞չ ինեւ լի են երկինք եւ երկիր»: Եւ միւս ոմն հմուտ մեծութեան նորա ի մարգարէիցն սրբոց ասէ, թէ «Յո՞ երթայց ես յոգւոյ քումմէ, կամ յերեսաց քոց ես յո՞ փախեայց. թէ ելանեմ յերկինս՝ դու անդ ես. թէ իջանեմ ի դժոխս՝ եւ անդր մօտ ես», նայեցեալ զնոքօք, թէպէտ եւ թաքչել կարծեցին:

However, there too, as with sons who need punishing, having fatherly mercy, He acted benevolently, as the[111] Scripture says: "They heard the voice of the Lord God descending and walking in the garden in the evening of the day."[112] And they fled and hid and covered themselves[113] with leaves from the trees—but it was impossible to escape the notice of the All-knowing by a deception. For which reason [scripture] says: "As Lord God I am near, says the Lord, and not a distant God. Is it possible for man to flee and hide from me in his covering, that I may not see him? Are not the heavens and earth filled by me?"[114] And another of the holy prophets, knowing His immensity says: "Where shall I go from your spirit, or where shall I flee from your face? If I rise to the heavens you are there; if I descend to hell, there also you are near";[115] God took care of them, although they intended to hide.

28 §282 Սակայն բարերարին ձայն արկեալ, թէ «Ո՞ւր ես, Ադամ». եւ նա ասէ. «Լուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ, զի գնայիր ի դրախտի աստ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ»: Տեսանե՞ս որչափ մերձաւոր եւ ծանօթ էին Աստուծոյ, մինչեւ ոտնաձայնին անգամ չլինել անտեղեակ: Քանզի բարերարն յանգէտս պատճառեալ՝ նախ ոտնաձայն առնէ. զի

110. *3 Cor.* 11.
111. MES: which indeed.
112. Gen 3:8.
113. MES: were wrapped around the middle.
114. Jer 23:23–24.
115. Ps 137:7–8 = Arm 138:7–8.

յոտսն քաւութիւնաբերս հասեալ մարդոյն, ինքնապատում լինելով զյանցանացն՝ փրկութիւն գտանիցէ:

But the Benevolent raised his voice: “Where are you Adam?” And he said: “I heard your voice,[116] and I was afraid as you were walking in the garden, because I was naked, and I hid.”[117] Do you see how familiar and acquainted with God they were, even to being not unaware of the sound of his footsteps? Because the Benevolent gave an occasion [for repentance] to the ignorant, first making a sound with his feet, so that the man approaching the propitious[118] feet, by being himself narrator of his faults, might find salvation.

29 §283 Իսկ իբրեւ այն չլինէր՝ սակայն չկամի ամբաստան լինել եւ ահագինս ի դիմի հարկանել, այլ հաշտականաւն զիջանէ, թէ «Ո՞ ասաց ցքեզ թէ մերկ ես դու». քանզի կամի իմն ներելով այսրէն յինքն արկանել, զի քաղցրութիւնն Աստուծոյ զնոսա յապաշխարութիւն ածիցէ: Իսկ իբրեւ այսու եւս ոչ զգաստացան, այլ զմիմեամբք պատճառեալ թշուառացան՝ ապա զդատաւորութիւնն ի մէջ անցուցեալ՝ վճիռ հատանէր, զոր հատուցեալ եւ ի հող դառնայցեն, զի Աստուծոյ դատաստանն ճշմարիտ է ի վերայ այնոցիկ որ զչարն գործիցեն:

But that did not occur; yet He was unwilling to be the accuser or to attack him frightfully, so He was merciful and condescending[119] and said: “Who said to you that you are naked?”[120] For He wished by being somewhat indulgent excusing (him) somewhat to bring him back to Himself, that the gentleness of God might lead them to penitence. But since thereby they did not come to their senses but behaved wretchedly, giving excuses for each other, then He made judgment and passed sentence, which they paid and returned to dust;[121] for the judgment of God is true over those who work evil.

30 §284 Յետ այսորիկ ապա զապստամբութիւնն ի մէջ բերեալ ասելովն, թէ «Ահա Ադամ եղեւ իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ՝ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար. հանցուք առ ի ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի կերեալ կեցցէ յաւիտեան»: Բայց «իբրեւ զմի ի մէնջ»՝ ոչ եթէ Աստուած եղեալ. քանզի չէ էականն լինելով, այլ զկարծեալն լինելոյ ասէ. զոր օրինակ սուտ աստուածք կարծեալք ի մարդկանէ՝ որ գործեցան առ անմտութեան յիմարութեան եւ պղծութեան մարդկան. որպէս եւ առ ձեզ իսկ տեսանէի զքարապաշտ զփայտապաշտ մոլորութիւնսդ, որ առ տգիտութեան ի ձէնջ նկարեցան. որ ոչ լսեն եւ ոչ խօսին, ոչ իմանան եւ ոչ շարժին,

116. Or: sound.
117. Gen 3:9–10.
118. MES: expiation-bearing.
119. MES: propitiating.
120. Gen 3:11.
121. Gen 3:19.

եւ ոչ գոյ շունչ ի բերանս նոցա. եւ թողեալ ձեր զԱստուած կենդանի, զԱրարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի անշունչ անմռունչ քարանց պաշտօն մատուցանէիք, որ ոչ ինչ իսկ են:

After this He mentioned the revolt, saying: "Behold, Adam became as one of us, to know good and evil. Let us remove him from the tree of life, lest by eating he live for ever."[122] But "as one of us" is not that he became God, for he is not the really existent,[123] but it means supposed existence.[124] Just as false gods are supposed[125] by men, which were fashioned in the irrationality, foolishness, and foulness of mankind, so I saw among you your errors of worshipping stones and wood,[126] which were represented[127] by you in ignorance, which neither hear nor speak, neither understand nor move, and there is no breath in their mouths.[128] You left the living God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and offered worship to breathless, voiceless stones,[129] which are nothing.

31 §285 Վասն որոյ եւ աստուածատես սրբոց մարգարէիցն հոգացեալ, իբրեւ իմաստուն բժշկաց, զդեղ դարմանոյն ըստ ցաւոց հիւանդին պատրաստել, բառնալ ջնջել զգայթակղութիւնն, ի միջոյ ի բաց կորուսանել: Որպէս եւ մի ոմն ի նոցանէ աստուածային Հոգւոյն զօրութեամբ լցեալ՝ գոչեաց ասելով, թէ «Աստուածք, որ զերկինս եւ զերկիր ոչ արարին՝ կորիցեն յերկրէ ի ներքոյ երկնից. այլ Տէր որ արար զերկիր զօրութեամբ իւրով, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս սքանչելի խորհրդով իւրով, եւ պատրաստեաց զտիեզերս ամենայն իմաստութեամբ իւրով, եւ որոտայ ձայնիւ, եւ լնու ջուրբ բազմութեամբ զերկինս, եւ հանէ զամպս ի ծագաց յերկրէ, եւ զփայլատակունս իւր յանձրեւս արար, եւ հանէ զհողմս ի շտեմարանաց իւրոց»:

For which reason the God-seeing, holy prophets took care, like wise doctors, to prepare the medicine of cure for the pain of the ill one, to remove and extirpate the scandal and destroy it completely. As one of them, filled with the power of the divine Spirit, cried out, saying: "The gods who did not create the heavens and earth will vanish from the earth under heaven. But the Lord made the earth by his own power and extended the heavens by his own marvellous counsel, and prepared the universe by[130] all his own wisdom; and He thunders with his voice, and fills the heavens with a multitude of waters,

122. Gen 3:22.
123. MES: the Increate is not subject to coming into being.
124. I.e., increate.
125. I.e., to be divine.
126. Deut 28:64; 29:17; Wis 14:21; Jer 3:9; and Ezek 20:32.
127. MES: fashioned.
128. Ps 115:5–7 = Arm 113:13–15.
129. 1 Cor 12:2.
130. MES: whole universe by his.

and gathers the clouds from the ends of the earth, and made his lightning in the rain, and draws the winds from their storehouses."[131]

32 §286 Ցիմարեցաւ ամենայն մարդ ի գիտութենէ՝ ի վերայ անձանց թշուառութիւն յարուցանել. անդէն անձանց անձամբք իւրեանց ամօթալից առնեն զերեսս իւրեանց, եւ մեծի բարկութեանն Աստուծոյ պատրաստեն զանձինս. այլ այժմիկ կացցէ այս՝ յանդիմանել զմոլորութիւն ձեր, զի ի կարգի իւրում պատշաճէ: Բայց այժմ որ ի կարգին սկիզբն արարաք պատմել ձեզ՝ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կարգի զայն պատմեսցուք:

All men turned to foolishness from knowledge to bring misery upon themselves. Then by themselves they make their faces shameful[132] and prepare themselves for the great anger of God. But now let this suffice to reprimand your error, for it fits suitably in its place. And now that which we have begun to relate to you in order, we shall expound each according to its order.

33 27 §287 Հանեալ այնուհետեւ զմարդն ի փափկական դրախտէ անտի հանգստեան՝ արտաքոյ դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր, եւ փակեալ նմա զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զի մի ականատես անգամ լիցի վայելչութեան դրախտին: Անդ եւ երկիր անիծեալ, փուշ եւ տատասկ եւ հաց ցաւաց, եւ Ադամայ մահկանացուի մահ. եւ այս՝ մարդասիրութեան նշանակ է. որպէս եւ ասէն իսկ ի բերանոյ մարգարէին Աստուած, թէ «Խրատեսցէ զքեզ ապստամբութիւն քո, եւ չարիքն քո կշտամբեսցեն զքեզ. ապա գիտասցես դու, թէ չար եւ դառն եղեւ քեզ թողուլն զիս, ասէ տէր Աստուած քո»: Եւ միւս ոմն ասէ յԱստուծոյ, թէ «Յորժամ դարձցիս եւ հեծեծեսցես՝ յայնժամ կեցցես եւ գիտասցես թէ ուր իցես»: Քանզի յորժամ դառն ճաշակացն եւ կասկածանաց մահուն պաշարեալ իցէ, անսթափ ի մտացն ուշի յիշեսցէ զյիշատակս ծառոյն կենաց, եւ հեծեծելով խնդրեսցէ զմուտս դրախտին վայելչութեան. զի եւ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանելն ասացելոցս վկայէ:

Then ejecting man from the delightful garden of repose, He settled him outside the garden and closed for him the road to the tree of life,[133] that he might not see again the delightfulness of the garden. Then were cursed the earth and thorns and thistles and the bread of pain and the death of mortal Adam.[134] Yet this is a sign of benevolence, as God says by the mouth of the prophet: "Your rebellion will correct you, and your wickedness will reproach you. Then you will know that it is evil and bitter for you to abandon me, says the Lord your

131. Jer 10:11–13.
132. Ps 83:16 = Arm 82:17.
133. Gen 3:23–24.
134. Gen 3:17–19.

God."[135] And another says for God: "When you return and lament, then you will live and know where you are."[136] For when he is in the midst of the bitter taste and uncertainty of death, he will gradually recall in his mind the memory of the tree of life, and with groaning he will seek the approach to the garden of delight. His being settled opposite the garden bears witness to these sayings.

34 §288 (ԻՁ) Իսկ բարերարն ոչ միայն ի դրախտին, այլ եւ արտաքոյ նորին չհեռանայր ի նոցանէ, յորժամ յանդիման դրախտին բնակեցուցանէր: Եւ վասն իւրոյ բարերարութեանն հրամայեաց սերել յերկիր. ուր եւ անդէն հրամանաւ ակնարկելոյ Արարչին ծնունդ արձակեալ յերկիր՝ սկսան բազմանալ ընդ ասելն. «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք, եւ լցէք զերկիր»:

Now the benevolent one, not only in the garden but also outside of it, did not distance Himself from them when He settled them opposite the garden. And because of his benevolence He ordered them to propagate on earth, where[137] by the command of the attentive Creator they brought forth on earth and began to increase according to the saying: "Grow and multiply, and fill the earth".[138]

35 §289 Որդւոցն Ադամայ անդրանկանն Կահել անուն ճանաչէր, եւ միւսումն Հաբէլ. որք անդէն՝ զիմաստութիւն տուողին ի մէջ անցուցեալ, նորին իմաստութեամբ՝ զնոյն Արարիչ ճանաչել:

Արդ, առեալ Կահելի՝ երէց որդւոյն ընծայս նուիրաց յարմտեաց, որոյ կապեալ ցորենոյ՝ պատարագս նմա մատուցանէր: Իսկ ընդ՝ այն հայեցեալ Հաբելի՝ ի հօտիցն գառանցն ընծայեալ պտուղ՝ ի խաշանցն մատուցանէր: Իսկ Աստուած իւրով մարդասիրութեամբն խոնարհեալ յընծայս որդւոցն Ադամայ՝ մերձաւոր ճանաչէր: Քանզի՝ եւ անդէն իսկ ընտրութիւն առնէ. զոմն ի միամտութեան գտեալ՝ ընդունի զպատարագն. իսկ զոմն ընդ եղբօրն յերկմտութեան գտեալ՝ անդրէն դատապարտեալ դարձուցանէ վասն երկմտութեան. իսկ նա անդէն վասն որոյ մահ խորհեալ՝ սպան զեղբայրն. եւ անդէն նզովեալ երկիր վասն նորա, եւ նա ինքն անհծաւ զաւակաւն հանդերձ:

Of the sons of Adam the elder was called Cain[139] and the other Abel.[140] They then indicated the wisdom of the giver, through his wisdom they recognised the same to be Creator. Cain, the elder son, took his offering of[141] roots, binding a sheaf of wheat, and offered it as sacrifice to Him. When Abel saw this,

135. Jer 2:19.
136. Isa 30:15.
137. MES: adds all at once.
138. Gen 1:28.
139. MES, literally: Kahel. The name is most unusual.
140. Gen 4:1–12.
141. MES: from the.

he gave offspring from the lambs of his flocks and offered from his sheep. And God in his kindness condescended to the gifts of the sons of Adam and was recognised as being near. For then[142] He makes a choice: finding the one to be sincere He accepts his sacrifice; finding the other to be malicious towards his brother He condemns and rejects his because of his malice. So for this reason the latter plotted death and killed his brother. Then the earth was cursed on his account, and he himself cursed with his seed.

36 §290 Արդ, Ադամայ այլ որդի ստացեալ յԱստուծոյ փոխանակ սպանելոյ Հաբելի, որոյ անուն Սէթ ճանաչէր: Իսկ այն սպանեալն, վասն՝ արդարութեան իւրոյ, կենդանի է առ Աստուած. զի որ յոչնչէն արար՝ նոյն եւ կենդանացուցանէ զնա յորժամ եւ կամի, զոր յոյժ պատմել դիւրին է ձեզ. յորժամ զձեզ ջերմեռանդն ի հաւատսն տեսանիցեմք՝ ասասցուք զայն, որոյ արդարութիւնն կայ պահի յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից: Արդ, Կահել նենգաւոր մարդասպանն նզովեալ անիծաւ. վասն այսորիկ որոշեցաւ հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ. զի օրհնեաց Աստուած զՍէթ, եւ ետ նմա պատուէր, զի մի զաւակն օրհնեալ խառնեսցի յանիծեալ զաւակն մարդասպանին Կահելի: Արդ, բազմացան մարդիկն առ հասարակ ի վերայ երկրի կողմանց ցեղիցն երկոցունց:

Then Adam acquired another son from God instead of the murdered Abel, who was named Seth.[143] But the murdered one, because of his righteousness, is living in the presence of God. For He who created him from nothing, the same gives him life whenever He wills—as is very easy to relate to you. When we see you fervent in the faith, we mention him whose righteousness is preserved for ever and ever. So the treacherous murderer Cain[144] was cursed. Therefore he was cut off by the command of God; for God blessed Seth and gave him a command, that his blessed seed should not mingle with the cursed seed of the murderer Cain. Then mankind increased generally over both families' regions of the earth.[145]

37 §291 Արդ, սեթեան ցեղին կացին նահապետք արք արդարք մինչեւ ի դարն ութերորդ, առ որս բարերարութիւնն Աստուծոյ մերձաւոր եղեալ՝ միանգամայն իսկ առ ամենեքումբք մերձաւորութեամբն յաճախեալ, զի մի մոռացօնք ընտանութեանն լինիցին: Վասն որոյ եւ երկայնակեաց իսկ արարեալ զհարսն, եւ յերկարակեաց ծնունդ շնորհեաց. զի զոնեայ վասն ցանկութեան որդւոց եղանիցեն ի խնդիր Աստուծոյ. մանաւանդ զի կարեւորագոյն իսկ է զիւտ ծննդոց ի կեանս երկրածնաց:

142. MES: all at once. This variant translation of անդրէն is not always noted.
143. Gen 4:25.
144. Literally: Gahel; see also below.
145. Gen 6:1.

The patriarchs of the tribe of Seth were righteous men until the eighth generation; the benevolence of God was near them, and also continuously close to all men, lest there should be forgetfulness of his familiarity. So He made the fathers long-lived and granted them long-lived children, that at least on account of their desire for sons they might seek God, especially because the gaining of offspring is most important in the life of earthly creatures.

38 §292 Արդ, նախապետքն կարգեալք, Ադամն առաջին աստուածաստեղծ, այսինքն Ադամ. եւ Սէթ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովս, եւ ի նմանէ Կայնան, եւ ի նմանէ Մաղաղիէլ, եւ ի նմանէ Յարէդ, եւ ի նմանէ Ենովք: Եւ եկաց Ենովք ամս հարիւր վաթսուն եւ հինգ, եւ ծնաւ զՄաթուսաղայ. եւ հաճոյ եղեւ Ենովք Աստուծոյ:

The patriarchs[146] in order are: the first Adam created by God, that is Adam; and Seth, and from him Enos, and from him Cainan, and from him Malaliel, and from him Yared, and from him Enoch; and Enoch lived a hundred and sixty-five years and begat Mathousala, and Enoch was pleasing to the Lord.

39 §293 Նա եւ ամենայն նախապետացն շատակեաց եղեալ, իբրեւ ի բարերարէ անտի Աստուծոյ սերեալք բազմացան. նոյնպէս եւ յետ ծննդոցն յերկարակեացս արարեալ, զի որք Աստուծովն ստացան՝ պատմեսցեն հարք որդւոց. զի իբրեւ պատուիրանք զգուշացուցիչք լինիցին, առ ի ծանօթս առնելոյ զնոսա Աստուծոյ. որպէս եւ ասացաւ իսկ, թէ «Հարցջիր դու ցհարս քո, եւ պատմեսցեն քեզ, եւ ցծերս քո, եւ ասասցեն քեզ». որով յայտ իսկ է, թէ վասն այսորիկ երկայնակեացք, եւ ոչ վասն բազմութեան ծննդոց:

He was the longest-lived of all the patriarchs. As they were begotten and increased by benevolent God, so also after their births they were made for long life, in order that those who were created by God might relate as fathers to their sons, that they might be warning commands to make them aware of God. As indeed also it was said: "Ask your fathers, and they will relate to you; and your old men, and they will tell you".[147] Whereby it is clear that for this reason they were long-lived and not for the sake of a multitude of offspring.

40 §294 Զի թէպէտ եւ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, թէ «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր»՝ որպէս յառաջագէտ ըստ մարմնական բարուցն զլինելոցն ասաց. իսկ Աստուած ոչ ի բազմացուցանելն միայն, այլ անդէն եւ անդ կամէր. զի ի մշտնջենակեաց անմահութիւնն փոխեսցին: Որպէս եւ զԵնովք տեսանեմք յետ վարուց երկրակեաց կենացն, յետ ամուսնանալոյ եւ որդիս ծնանելոյ ուղղութեանն վարուք, վերացուցեալ զնա կենդանւոյն իսկ յանմահութեան վիճակն:

146. Gen 5:1–24.
147. Deut 32:7.

Որ ոչ վասն առնն միայնոյ, այլ զի ելք նորա՝ այլոց ճանապարհ գործեսցեն. եւ ոչ բռնազբօսութեամբ առեալ ի կեանսն, այլ զպարտ հաճոյական վարուցն հատուցեալ: Սոյն օրինակ կամեցեալ Աստուծոյ զամենեսեան յանմահութիւն փոխել, յետ աստ վայելելոյ ամենեցուն:

Although God said to Adam, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth,"[148] as He said in his knowledge of the future concerning the carnal behaviour to be,[149] God wished not only for the increase, but also for this, that they would pass into eternal immortality. Thus we see Enoch after a long life, after marrying and begetting sons in a life of rectitude, raised up while still alive[150] to a destiny of immortality.[151] Which was not for that man only, but that his path might make a road for others; and he was not taken forcibly into life, but he paid[152] the debt of a pleasing life. In the same way God wished to change all to immortality, after all had been pleasing here.[153]

41 §328 ԼԲ. Եւ արդ, յայտնի է այսուհետեւ ասացելովքս, թէ եւ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն զնոյն նմանութիւն երեւեալ ի սկզբանն. որպէս եւ առ յապայ ամենայն աստուածատես կատարելոցն զնոյն պահեալ, զի մի օտարագոյն ինչ եւ անծանօթ կերպարանօք զտեսողսն հարթուցանիցէ: Մանաւանդ թէ առաւել լաւագոյն իսկ, զի յաստուածատես հօրէն որդւոյն տեղեկացեալ՝ դիւրագոյն պատրաստիցի իբրեւ ընդելականի՝ եւ զլուեալն ունկանն եւ ականբ եւս նկատել: Որպէս եւ երանելին Յովբ, սիրելին Աստուծոյ, արդարն, ասէր ցԱստուած, թէ «Ի լուր ականջաց լսէի զքէն յառաջագոյն, բայց արդ եւ ակն իմ ետես զքեզ». ցոր եւ ասէր իսկ Աստուած. «Պնդեա իբրեւ այր զմէջ քո, եւ մի համարիր այլազգ ինչ երեւեալ քեզ»:

It is consequently clear by these sayings that He revealed the same likeness to the first-created man in the beginning; just as afterwards for all the perfect who see God He kept the same, lest He might terrify the seers with very strange and unknown forms. Especially as it is better that the son, informed by his father who saw God, be more easily prepared as for something familiar and observe what he had heard with his ear also with his eye. Just as the blessed Job, beloved of God, the just, said to God: "With the hearing of my ears I heard you formerly, but now my eye also has seen you".[154] To whom

148. Gen 1:28.

149. MES: he spoke as a foreknower of what was going to happen according to bodily benefits.

150. MES: the Living One raised him up.

151. Gen 5:24.

152. MES: was recompensed for.

153. I.e., in this world.

154. Job 42:5.

also God said: "Strengthen like a man your loins and do not consider that something strange has been revealed to you".[155]

42 §329 Քանզի եւ ի սկզբանն ըստ ազդեցութեանն երեւեալ Աստուած, զոր եւ ասէն, եթէ «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զմարդն»: Եւ ամենայն յաւիտեանցն ըստ նմին նմանութեան Աստուած փառաց երեւեալ. զոր եւ ասէր իսկ վկայն Ստեփաննոս, թէ «Աստուած փառաց երեւեցաւ հօր մերում Աբրահամու», եւ ամենեքեան իսկ Տէր Սաբաւովթ, եւ Աստուած ամենակալ կոչեն:

Because in the beginning God appeared according to the declaration, as [the Scripture] says: "According to the image of God He created man,"[156] so for all eternity in the same likeness the God of glory appears; as the martyr Stephen said: "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham."[157] And they all called Him Lord Sabaoth and God omnipotent.

43 §347 Քանզի իբրեւ ետես Աստուած զհամաշխարհազործ զմեղսն տարածեալ, եւ որով մահն թագաւորեալ՝ առ հասարակ կլանէր յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս, եւ ի մոռացօնս դարձուցեալ զկենսաբեր աւետիսն յառաջագիրս, որպէս հուր ինչ մոլեկան հրդեհի՝ որ ապականիցէ զլերինս եւ զդաշտս, արձակեալ այնուհետեւ ի ներքս զօրէնսն իբրեւ զհեղեղատ սաստիկ՝ շիջուցանել զայն համատարած: Վասն որոյ եւ ասէն իսկ, թէ «Ամենայն որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». զի որպէս Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեսցէ ի ծառոյն՝ մահ սպառնացաւ, ուստի եւ թագաւորեաց իսկ մահ՝ նոյնպէս եւ զօրինացն ասաց, թէ «Որ արասցէ զայս՝ կեցցէ ի սոսին». որով եւ շիջաւ իսկ մահ:

When[158] God saw that sin was universal throughout the world, and that by it death was reigning and had swallowed up everything from Adam to Moses[159] and had turned to oblivion the life-giving promise previously written, like a raging fire which will destroy the hills[160] and the plains, then He introduced the law as a fierce torrent to extinguish that universal [sin]. Therefore He[161] says: "Whoever will do this will live in the same."[162] For just as death was threatened to Adam if he should taste of the tree—whence death began to

155. Job 40:2–3.
156. Gen 1:27.
157. Acts 7:2.
158. MES: For when.
159. Rom 5:14.
160. MES: mountains.
161. MES: it (Scripture).
162. Lev 18:5; Rom 10:5; Gal 3:12.

reign[163]—so also He said concerning the law: "Who will do this will live in the same," whereby death was extinguished.[164]

44 §350 Քանզի յորժամ Ադամ, որ ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արարաւ, եւ ամենայն զաւակ նորա, որ աստուածորդիքն կոչեցան, կամօք իւրեանց զապականութիւն ժառանգեցին՝ ընդ նոսին եւ ամենայն արարածք հնազանդեալ ապականեցան. ոչ իւրեանց կամաւ, այլ վասն առաջնորդութեան կամացն Աստուծոյ առ ի Քրիստոս ազատելոյ: Քանզի եւ որ միանգամ ի վայելչութիւն եւ ի փառս մարդոյն հաստեցան՝ ապականեալք եւ անարգեալք վասն նորին բարկութեան: Եւ երկիր անիծեալ եւ փշաբեր, հեղեղատեալ եւ հրայրեաց, շարժահիմն յողդողդեալ, եւ օդք ապականեալք ընդ ժամանակս ժամանակս. եւ լուսաւորք խաւարամածք եւ արիւնանշանք, եւ երկինք այլագունեալք. որպէս ի գրոց մարգարէականաց զանցելոցն է նշանակեալ. զոր եւ նոյն իսկ մարգարէքն յազգականացն կրէին յանձինս իւրեանց: Զի թէպէտ եւ յԱստուծոյ պատուեալք առաքէին, սակայն եւ չընդունելեացն թշնամանեալք եւ քարկոծեալք. որպէս եւ ասէ իսկ ամենատէրն, թէ «Վասն ձեր կոտորեցի զմարգարէսն բանիւ բերանոյ իմոյ»:

When Adam, who was created according to the image of God, and all his seed, who were called the "sons of God,"[165] by their own will inherited corruption, with them all creatures also became subject and were corrupted, not by their own will, but on account of the foreordained will of God to set them free in Christ.[166] For those who once were formed for the delight and glory of man became corrupted and dishonoured on account of his anger. And the earth was cursed and made to produce thorns,[167] flooded and consumed by fire,[168] shaken to its foundations and disturbed; and the winds were corrupted according to the seasons, the luminaries were darkened and became signs of blood,[169] and the heavens lost their colour,[170] just as is indicated concerning what was to come to pass by the prophetic writings. The same the prophets endured from their fellow countrymen. Although the honoured ones were sent by God, honoured by God they were sent, yet they were hated[171] and stoned[172] by those who would not receive them; just as the Lord

163. 1 Cor 15:21.
164. 1 Cor 15:54.
165. Gen 6:2.
166. Rom 6:18, 22.
167. Gen 3:17–18.
168. 2 Pet 3:6.
169. Joel 2:31.
170. MES: were different colored.
171. 2 Chr 36:16.
172. Heb 11:36.

of all says: “On your account I have destroyed the prophets by the word of my mouth.”[173]

Anania *vardapet* C5

Anania *vardapet*, Ի խորհուրդ կատարմանն առաքելոյն Պետրոսի “On the Mystery of the Decease of Apostle Peter,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan. *MH*, vol. 1, 5th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003). 1145–51.

1 1148 (54) Եւ արդ. պարտ էր նմին Ձայնի, յորմէ պակեաւ Ադամ, ձայնել զկնի փախուցելոյն եւ դարձուցանել առ Ինքն, եւ նմին Բանիւն (corrig. Բանի), որ դատապարտեաց զԱդամ ի մահ, նոյն խոստանալ նմա զկեանս: (55) Քանզի այլ ումեք չէր հնար հաւատալ Ադամայ վերստին ընդունել զկեանս, թէպէտ եւ ի բազմաց լուաւ աւետարանութիւն բարեաց ի մարգարէիցն, մինչեւ եկն նոյն Ձայնն եւ Բանն Աստուծոյ, եւ նոյն դարձեալ Ձայնիւն դարձոյց եւ Բանիւն խոստացաւ նմա անմահական կեանս: (56) Եւ արդ. տես զձեւ խաչին ընդդէմ արեւմտից տարածեալ զբազուկս, զի մարդոյն արտաքսելն (corrig. արտաքսեալ) յԱդին դրախտէն եւ, տարամերժեալ ի կենաց փայտէն, դիմեաց յարեւմուտս, տարադէմ հալածեալ առ նսեմային խաւարն, թիկունս տուեալ արեւելեան լուսոյն են (corrig. եւ) կենաց դրախտին:

Now the same Voice by which Adam was frightened had to sound behind him who fled and turn him to Him, and the same Word which sentenced Adam to death, likewise had to promise him life (55) For no one else was able to believe that Adam again received life, although the good tidings were heard from many good prophets, until the same Voice and the Word of God came, and with the same Voice and Word He promised the immortal life to him (56) And now, see the form of the Cross spreading its arms opposite the west, for the man being expelled from the Garden of Eden and deprived from the tree of life, went towards the west, driven to the gloomy darkness, turning his back on the eastern light and the Garden of life.

Ełišē C5

Text: Ełišē, Սրբոյ Հօրն մերոյ Եղիշէի Վարդապետի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Our Holy Father Ełišē* vardapet (Venice: S. Lazaro, 1859).

173. Hos 6:5.

Եղիշէ, Վասն Վարդանայ եւ հայոց պատերազմին *On Vardan and the Armenian War*, ed. E. Tēr-Minasean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1957).

Translation: *Ełishē, History of Vardan and the Armenian War, Introduction, translation, and commentary* by Robert W. Thomson (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 5; Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982). The translation here is my own.

The History of Vardan and the Armenian War[174]

1 25–26 վասն թզոյ միոյ ուտելոյ ի ծառոյն՝ Աստուած զմահ արար եւ զմարդն էարկ ընդ այնու պատուհասիւ.

On account of the eating of a single fig[175] from the tree God made death, and cast man under that punishment.[176]

2. Further works attributed to Ełišē cited from the Venice edition of 1859 (see above).

4. Մեկնութիւն Յեսուայ եւ Դատաւորաց
Commentary on Joshua and Judges

2 173 Վասն Ռեքեբայ երիքովացւոյ, որ հաւատով ապրեցաւ ի սրոյն Յեսուայ: Concerning Rahab of Jericho, who by faith was delivered from Joshua's sword.

Մասն է աղ հողոյ միանգամայն եւ ջուր մածեալ. ուր ջուր է, անդ եւ օդ խառնի. ունի աղն բնութեամբ եւ զհրոյ ջերմութիւն. եւ չորեքեան նիւթք աշխարհիս ի յանցանացն Ադամայ անկաւ ընդ ապականութեամբ եւ դարձաւ ի հողոյ բնութիւն:

Salt is part of the soil and is at the same time viscous water.[177] Where water is, there also air is mixed in. By its nature, the salt also has the warmth of fire.[178] And the fourfold materials of this world fell under corruption, due to the transgression of Adam and he was returned to the nature of dust.

3 176 Յաղագս զաբաւոնացւոցն խաբելոյն զՅեսու եւ ապրելոյ ի սրոյ նորա Concerning the Gibeonites' Deceit of Joshua and Their Deliverance from His Sword.

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174. See also Thomson 1982, 79.

175. This is the first identification of the fruit as a fig in Armenian literature.

176. Cf. Thomson 1982, 79.

177. Cf. Agat'angełos §260, where firmament is called ջրամած covered with water.

178. Here the four elements are evoked, apparently for the first time in the texts we are studying.

. . . Յղացաւ օձն զկերպարանս աներեւոյթ չարութեանն եւ եղեւ արու բնութիւն միջնորդութեամբ պտղոյ ծառոյն. պատրեաց եւ մերկեցոյց զհինգ զզայութիւնս իգական մասինն. յապուշ կրթեաց զմիտք կնոջն եւ մոռացումն արար զպատուիրանսն Աստուծոյ. մինչ չեւ մտեալ ի պատերազմն՝ պարտեցաւ ի հայելոյն, յորմէ դու պարտիս զգուշանալ:

. . . The serpent became pregnant with the forms of the invisible evil and he became the male nature through the mediation of the fruit of the tree. He seduced and stripped naked the five senses of the female part. He instructed the woman's mind in stupidity and caused (her) forgetfulness of the commandments of God. Before she entered the war, she was vanquished by the looking, of which you must be wary.

Առ Սամփսոն On Sampson

4 195–96 Այսպէս զանազանի խորհուրդ եօթնագիսակ հերացն Սամփսոնի ի խորհուրդ Ադամայ. զի ստեղծ Տէր Աստուած զմարդն հող յերկրէ եւ զկենդանական շունչն եդ ի նմա եւ այնպէս արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. գոյարարողական զօրութեամբն տպաւորեալ վերածեաց ի նմանութիւն պատկերի անմահական եւ անապական իւրոյ փառացն: Իսկ ի ձեռն ուխտազանց յանցաւորութեանն վայրածեցաւ տարամերժեալ ի մակադրեալ յաստուածակերպ փառացն որ ի նմա: Եւ ահա գոյր ի ծնունդս Ադամայ հնացուցիչ նոյն զօրութիւնն մահու եւ ապականութեան. նա եւ գոյր՝ ի դարս դարս նշան յաւերժական փառաց նորա, անմահականն՝ յաւերժական կեանս նախահօրն. նոյնպէս ընդ անմահիւ անապականն՝ ի փոխումն Ենովքայ եւ ի վերացումն Եղիայի. իսկ լուսազգեստութիւն՝ ի լուսաւորութիւն երեսաց փառացն Մովսէսի, եւ զօրութիւն անձին նորա՝ յեօթնագիսակ ի հերս գլխոյն Սամփսոնի: Իսկ յամենայնէդ նուաղիլ սոցա յետ մահուն, տարամերժեալ նորա յետ յանցանացն նշանակէ:

Thus the mystery of Sampson's seven-stranded hair is different from Adam's mystery. For the Lord God created man, dust from the earth, and he put the vivifying spirit in him, and in that way God made man in his image. Having stamped him by means of (his) creative power, he elevated him to the likeness of his immortal image and incorruptible[179] glory. But, through the covenant-breaking transgression, he was brought low, being cast out from

179. There was a sign.

the divinely formed glory which was set upon him. And, behold, there was in the generations of Adam the same wasting power of death and corruption. Likewise, there was during the ages a sign of His eternal glory, the immortal, eternal life of the forefather. In the same way, together with the immortal, the incorruptible, in the transfer of Enoch and in the elevation of Elijah. As for being closed in radiance, a sign of (this) is the radiance of the glorious face of Moses; and (a sign of) the power of his self (is) in the seven-stranded hair of Samson's head. And his being rejected after transgression, signifies their (i.e., Adam and Eve's) being diminished from all of their qualities after death.

5 Նա եւ այլ տեսութիւն: Քանզի զօրութիւնն Աստուծոյ, որպէս ասէ գիր, ի տկարութեան առաւել կատարի, որպէս յոլով ունի օրինակ. զի Ադամ՝ որ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ արարաւ, ի հողոյ ստեղծաւ. եւ Նոյ լաստափայտիւն ապրեցաւ հանդերձ ամենայն կենդանեօք, եւ սերմն աշխարհի պահեցաւ:

Moreover another sight: because the power of God, as Scripture says, is more effected in powerlessness, which has many examples. For Adam, who was made in the image and likeness of God, was created from dust. And Noah was saved by a boat, with all living things[180] and the seed of the world was saved.

5. Յաղօթսն որ ասէ Հայր մեր որ յերկինս
On the Prayer, "Our Father who art in Heaven"

6 204 . . . Յուրբաթու խաչեցաւ ի փշրումն մահու. ի միաշաբաթոջ զփշրեալ ոսկերսն Ադամայ ժողովեաց եւ յարեաց յանմահութիւնն, եւ երեւեցոյց բազմաց ճշմարտութեամբ եւ ոչ առ աչօք. մի օր հացացաւ ի վերնատանն, եւ հանապազ հացանայ յեկեղեցիս ի վերայ սուրբ սեղանոյն. նախ ինքն յինքենէ ճաշակեաց, եւ ապա զմեզ զամենեսեան ճաշակիցս արար նմին չարչարանաց:

. . . He was crucified on Friday, to the pulverization of death. On Sunday he gathered the pulverized bones of Adam and raised (him) up to immortality. And he showed himself to many in truth and not in fancy. One day he became bread in the upper room and continually he becomes bread in the church upon the holy altar. First, He himself ate of Himself, and then he made all of us fellow-diners of the same sufferings.

180. Or: animals.

6. Ի մկրտութիւնն Քրիստոսի[181]
On the Baptism of Christ

7 207 . . . Եւ քանզի երից տասանց գործէ զմարդն կատարեալ, ըստ այսմ ստեղծագործեալ եւ առաջինն Ադամ, խաբեալ յօձէն արտաքոյ լինի փափկութեանն դրախտին. ըստ այնմ կատարելութեան տնօրինեալ երկրորդ Ադամն ջախէ զգլուխ վիշապին ի Յորդանանու հոսանսն:

. . . And because he makes the perfect man of three tenths,[182] according to that he also created the first Adam. Having been deceived by the serpent, he was expelled from the Garden of delight. According to that perfection, the second Adam, being incarnated, smashed the head of the dragon in the streams of the Jordan.[183]

7. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց
Commentary on Genesis

Text: Levon Xač‘ik‘yan published fragments of a *Commentary on Genesis* attributed to Ełišē extracted from medieval collected commentaries. He argues forcefully that this work was written by the same Ełišē who wrote the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War.* See Levon Xač‘ik‘yan, *The Commentary on Genesis by Ełišē,* ed. Levon Ter-Petrosian (Erevan: Zvartnots Press, 1992) (in Armenian). His conclusions about authorship are summarized on pp. 112–113. Almost none of these fragments is completely relevant to our study, but the following should be noted.

Translation: Levon Khachikyan and Michael Papazian, Եղիշէ. Մեկնութիւն Արարածոց *Commentary on Genesis* (Erevan: Magharat Publishing House, 2004).

8 240, section 11 Բարւոք ասաց մարգարէն երեք աշխարհք գոլ՝ աշխարհարարն եւ աշխարհ եւ մարդ. Աստուած՝ իմանալի աշխարհ, աշխարհ՝ զգալի, մարդ զգալի եւ իմանալի աշխարհ. Եւ չէ անպատեհ Աստուծոյ ի համար անկանել իւրոցն գործոց, զի կտակ եթէ ձեռն եւ պատկեր թագաւորի ոչ կնքէ զնա՝ չէ հաստատուն, վասն որոյ եւ այժմ արարիչն կնքէ զաշխարհ՝ հանգչելովն յեւթներորդում աւուր:

The prophet said well that there are three worlds: the Creator world, and world and man. God—intelligible world; world—sensible; man—sensible

181. In a note on p. 206, the editor expresses doubts as to the authenticity of the attribution of the following homily to Ełišē.

182. Perhaps emend “tens” to “parts.”

183. Stone 2002, 22–23.

and intelligible world. And it is not unbecoming for God to be counted with his works, for a covenant is not established if the hand and image of the king do not seal it, for which reason now the Creator seals the world by resting on the seventh day.

9 8.241 Բարի է բնութեամբ Աստուած եւ նախագէտ. շարժեցաւ բարին առնել զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ: Նախագիտութիւնն որ ի նմա, գիտաց զոր ինչ լինելոց էր, եւ ոչ կարաց նախագիտութիւնն Աստուծոյ արգելուլ զբարի շարժումն Աստուծոյ յառնելոյ զմարդն եւ զաւգնականն իւր, զի անկեալ ի հրեշտակական անախտ աճմանէն՝ աւգնեսցէ կինն առնն անասնապէս աճմանն եւ բազմանալոյ, ըստ աւրհնութեանն որ ասաց՝ Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր, եւ ոչ զդրախտն անմեղապէս եւ հրեշտակավայելուչ:

God is good by nature and prescient. The Good was moved to make Adam and Eve. The prescience which (was) in Him knew what was going to happen, and the prescience of God was unable to prevent the good movement of God from making man and his helpmate, so that having fallen from the impassible angelic increase (i.e., procreation), the woman might help man's increase and multiplication in the fashion of the beasts, according to the blessing which said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth,"[184] and not the Garden in a sinless and angelic fashion.

10 «Եւ ստեղծ եւս տէր Աստուած զամենայն գազանս եւ զամենայն սողունս»: "And the Lord God created moreover all the beasts and all the crawling things".[185]

Ըստ վերագոյն ասիցն վասն ծառոց ասի. եւ այս գազան եւ թռչուն ստեղծանել Աստուծոյ ի տեսիլ Ադամայ, հաւատալ թէ եւ այլքն նոյնպէս ստեղծան: Բայց եւ զամենայն գազանս եւ զամենայն թռչունս ասելովն զառաջինն ստուգէ, եւ հաւաստէ զստեղծուածս, զանասունս ընդ գազանացն եւ ընդ թռչնոցն ծածկապէս յիշելով:

According to that said above about the trees, this too is pronounced, that God created beasts and birds in Adam's sight, so that he would believe that the other things too were created in the same way. But by speaking about all the beasts and all the birds[186] it specifies the former and it manifests the created things by recalling the dumb animals implicitly with the beasts and the birds.

11 Եւ զեւսն զի՞ յաւել. քանզի անուանս հանդերձեալ էին առնուլ, եւ որպէս թէ այնու յէութիւն գալ ի չէութենէ, որք առանց անուան ընդ ոչէսն ունին զհաշիւն:

184. Gen 1:28.
185. Gen 2:19.
186. Gen 1:30.

And why did he add the additional ones? Because they were going to receive names and those who are without names are reckoned with the uncreated, as though the created come from the uncreated through that (i.e., receiving names).[187]

12 «Եւ ած զնոսա առ Ադամ տեսանել զինչ կոչեսցէ եւ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանոյ զինչ եւ անուանեաց Ադամ՝ այն անուն է նորա»:

“And he brought them to Adam to see what he would call them, and whatever Adam named every living thing, that was its name.[188]

13 243 . . . Համարձակեցան ոմանք, յարտաքնոցն, ասել լինել մարդոյն ի դրախտն զհազար ամ, վկայ ածելով զասելն Դաւթի՝ Հազար ամ յաչս Տեառն, որպէս օր երեկի: Իսկ այլք, յընտանեաց՝ Խ օր ասացին, ըստ հոգեծնութեանն արուի. իսկ մեք ընդդէմ ոչ կարեմք ասել ինչ եւ ոչ զմերն հաստատել, քանզի է ինչ զոր յայտնեաց Աստուած մարգարէին, եւ է՝ ինչ զոր ծածկեաց, որպէս զերկնիցն զարարն եւեթ ասաց եւ զերբ լռեաց. նոյնպէս եւ վասն ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի ասաց եւ վասն պտղոյն լռեաց: Զի թեպէտ են արմատք մահաբերք, այլ ոքին ոչ կարեն կենաց պատճառ լինել, զի երկու բնութիւն ի մի ծառ ոչ կարէ գոլ, այլ բանն է աստուածային սաստկութեան եւ քաղցրութեան, ծառն՝ միջնորդ ընդ մարդ եւ ընդ Աստուած:

. . . Certain people, foreigners, ventured to say that man was in the Garden for a thousand years, bringing as witness David’s saying, “A thousand years in the Lord’s eyes is as yesterday.”[189] But others, of our close associates, said (that it was) 40 days in accordance with the spiritual birth[190] of the male. But we cannot say anything against this nor (can we) fix our own opinion, because there is that which God revealed to the prophet and there is that which he concealed. Such as that he only spoke of the making of the heavens and was silent about when. Similarly also he spoke about the tree of knowledge of good and evil and was silent about the fruit. For whereas they are mortal roots, the same cannot be the cause of life, for it is impossible that there be two natures in one tree, but the verse is about divine severity and sweetness; the tree, an intermediary between man and God.

187. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

188. Gen 2:19.

189. Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

190. This word is cited in *NBHL* only from this place. It presumably refers to the purity law about the birth of males and females that is cited in other sources about the birth of Adam. See Lev 12:4–5 and part 1, chapter 1, §4.4. See also Stone 1992.

EPHREM, EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL C5

Saint Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel, ed. *George A. Egan* (2 vols.; CSCO 291–92, Scriptores Armeniaci 5–6; Louvain: Peeters, 1968). The text is drawn from the first volume, pp. 29–44; the translation from second volume, pp. 26–40.

1 40 Նա եւ յոյժ իսկ եցոյց մեզ Աստուած զերկայնամտութիւն եւ զբարկութիւն իւր ի թիւն տասներորդ. զի մինչ ի տասն ազգ ներեաց Աստուած երկայնամտութեամբ իւրով վասն առաջին անօրէնութիւն մարդկան, եւ ապաած ի վերայ նոցա զջուրսն հեղեղին. եւ ապա եցոյց[191] զՆոյ միայն՝ զի արդար էր: (էջ 29)

Moreover, God abundantly showed to us his patience and indignation in the tenth number; for to the tenth generation God forgave through his patience the first iniquity of man, and then he brought the flood upon them and then he saved only Noah, for he was just.

2 57 Եւ քանզի գիտէր զնենգութիւն սրտին Կայէնի բարձրեալն, ոչ ընկալաւ զպատարագս նորա: Սոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոս եղեւ հովիւ քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, իբրեւ մատոյց Աստուծոյ պատարագ.

And because the Most High knew the deception in[192] the heart of Cain, he did not receive his sacrifice. In a like manner also Christ became a shepherd, a priest and was wounded, because he offered a sacrifice to God.

3 57 p. 42 Հաբէլ եղեւ հովիւ, քահանայ եւ վիրաւոր, եւ առ նա յանդրանկաց խաշանց իւրոց, եւ մատոյց պատարագ Աստուծոյ.

Abel became a shepherd, a priest[193] and was wounded; and he took of his first-born sheep, and he offered a sacrifice to God.

4 57 Եւ զոր օրինակ ոչ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագսն Կայէնի՝ զի բաժանեալ էին / p. 43 / միտք նորա, եւ ձեռք նորա պղծեալ էին արեամբ զի լի էր նա բարկութեամբ սպանանել զեղբայրն իւր, եւ պատարագ սպանելոյն արժանի եղեւ, սոյնպէս եւ Աստուած ընդունի զպատարագս մեր, զի երբամք մեք զկնի հովուի քահանայի եւ սպանելոյ.

And as God did not receive the sacrifices of Cain because he doubted, and his hands were stained with blood because he was (so) full of anger he killed his brother and the killed sacrifice[194] became acceptable, in like manner also

191. Other MSS: ապրեցոյց.
192. Literally: risen up in.
193. Observe the idea of the antediluvian priesthood.
194. Literally: sacrifice of the killed one.

God receives our sacrifices, because we follow the shepherd, the priest and the one who was killed.

5 58 p. 43 . . . զի նոքա իսկ են պատարագք, որպէս զի ոչ եղեն ընդունելի պատարագք Կայէնի: Եւ մեք ոյք երթամք զկնի Քրիստոսի, որ նմանեալ է Հաբէլի արդարութեամբ եւ քահանայութեամբ եւ մահուամբ իւրով, ընկալեալ լիցին պատարագք մեր ի վերայ սեղանոյ.

. . . because they are in fact sacrifices as Cain's sacrifices which were not acceptable. And we follow Christ, who is likened to Abel in his righteousness and priesthood and death, our sacrifices shall be accepted on the altar;

6 58 Եւ տես, զի նմանեցաւ Հաբէլ հովուին՝ արդարութեանն Քրիստոսի եւ քահանայութեանն եւ մահուն իւրոյ: (էջ 44)

And see that Abel was likened to the shepherd, to the righteousness of Christ and to his priesthood and death.

7 45 Ասէ Եսայի մարգարէ, եթէ տունկ կենաց մարդք հաւատացեալք են. եւ իբրեւ ունայնացեալք լինէին ի գործոց անտի կենաց, լինին նոքա այնուհետեւ այգի աւերեալ. ասէ. «Այգի տնկեցի ի տեղի սիրելի ի տեղի պարարտութեան. ցանկով փակեցի, եւ ամրութեամբ պարսպեցի. նոր տունկ տնկեցի, մաքրեցի, կտուեցի, կակղեցի, ձողաբարձ զարդարեցի, աշտարակ կանկնեցի, գուբ հնձան շինեցի. կացի մնացի եթէ եկեսցէ բերիցէ ինձ խաղող, եկն եբեր փուշ եւ տատասկ: Արդ, արք Յուդայ եւ բնակիչք Երուսաղէմի, դատ արարէք ընդ իս եւ ընդ այգի իմ.»

Isaiah the prophet says that men who have believed are plants of life, and when they had become void of the works of life, thenceforth they become a desolate vineyard, he says, "I planted a vineyard in a beloved place, in a place of fatness. I closed it with a lock, and walled it strongly. I planted new plants, I cleaned, I pruned, I cultivated, I adorned (it) with arbors; I built a tower, I made a wine-press vat; I expected that it would bring forth grapes for me, (and) it brought forth thorns and thistles. Now, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, do justice between me and my vineyard."[195]

8 49 . . . եւ մաքրեն բառնան ի մէնջ զամենայն գործս չարութեան իբրեւ զփուշ եւ տատասկ՝ զոր քաղէ հանէ / p. 36 / մշակ յայգոյ,

. . . and clean and take away from us all works of evil, as thorns and thistles which the labourer gathers and takes away from the vineyard.[196]

195. Compare Isa 5:1–3.
196. Paraphrase of Isa 5:1–4.

Eznik C5

Text: Eznik Kołbac'i, Եղծ աղանդոց *Refutation of the Sects* (Łoukasean Library 14; Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1914). The page numbers below are of this edition.

Translation: Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young, *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kołb (floruit c.430–c.450): An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (Eastern Christian Texts in Translation 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1998). The translation here is my own.

1 6–7 Որ ոչ այնու միայն զարմանալի է, զի ածն ի չգոյէ ի գոյ զչգոյսն եւ եցոյց յոչընչէ յինչ զչէսն, այլ զի եւ անարատ եւ անխախուտ պահէ զլեալսն, որոց եւ յառաջնումն իսկ աննախանձ ետ զկենդանութիւնն առ ի յայտնելոյ զիւրոյ զքարերարութեանն հանդէս:

He who is wonderful not only by that alone, that he brought those things that did not exist from non-existence into existence and that he shows forth those things that are not, from non-being into being, but also because he keeps those things that came about both immaculate and incorruptible (firm), to which ungrudgingly he gave vitality at the beginning, in order to make evident a demonstration of his own beneficence.

2 25–26 Ապա ուրեմն էր երբէք, զի բնաւ չէր ամենեւին ինչ արարիչ բովանդակ, մինչ չեւ Աստուծոյ զմարդն արարեալ էր, ուստի չարիքն լինին: Քանզի մասանց չարեաց գտանի մարդն արարիչ, անտի յայտ է, թէ եւ բովանդակ իսկ չարեացն արարիչ Աստուած է, զոր ամենեւին մի երբէք լիցի ասել, թէ Աստուած չարեաց պատճառ իցէ, այլ այն, որ իւրով կամօք զգործ չարեացն գործիցէ. եւ յումմէ չարն գործի, յիրաւի նմին անուն չարութեան դնի, որպէս եւ յառաջագոյն իսկ ասացաք:

Then there was a time, that there was not any creator at all, before God had made man, from whom evil comes into existence. For man is found to be creator of evil parts. From that it is evident that God is the creator of all evil, which let it never be said that God would be a cause of evils, but that, that by His will the deed of evil might be done.[197] And to the one by whom evil is done, the name of evil is rightly ascribed, as we said formerly.

3 28–30 Իսկ մարդիկ, ասեն, յանձա՞նց ինչ ունիցին զայնպիսի շարժմունս, թէ՞ յԱստուծոյ լեալ իցեն, կամ թէ այլ ոք իցէ, որ զայն ի մարդիկ արկանիցէ:

(43) ՅԱստուծոյ մարդկան այսպիսի ինչ լինել չթուի պատշաճ ասել, այլ ունել անձնիշխանութիւն եւ ազատութիւն առաջնոյ մարդոյն

197. Literally: he might do.

եղելոյ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի նմանէն զնոյն իւրոց պայազատացն ժառանգել: Եւ արդ, առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւնն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ, որ մեծ շնորհին պարգեւեալ է նմա յԱստուծոյ, քանզի այլն ամենայն ի հարկէ ծառայէ աստուածական հրամանին. եթէ զերկնից ասիցես, կայ հաստատեալ եւ ոչ շարժի ի սահմանելոյ նմա տեղւոյն, եւ եթէ զարեգականէ կամիցիս ասել, սակայն եւ նա կատարէ զզատուցեալ նմա զշարժմունն եւ չիշխէ խուսափել յընթացիցն, այլ ի հարկէ ծառայէ տէրունական հրամանին: Նոյնպէս եւ զերկիր սեղմացեալ տեսանեմք եւ բարձեալ բերէ զհրաման հրամանատուին. եւ զայլսն ամենայն համակերտս ծառայացեալս հրամանաց Արարչին եւ չիշխեն այլ ինչ, քան զայն, յոր կարգեցանն, գործել, վասն որոյ գովեմք զնոսա յաղագս զսահմանս հրամանացն պահելոյ:

Բայց մարդոյ առեալ զանձնիշխանութիւն՝ ում կամի ծառայանայ՝ ո՛չ ի հարկէ բնութեան բռնադատեալ, ո՛չ ի զօրութենէն, որ նմա վասն լաւութեանց շնորհեցաւ կասեալ, այլ ի հնազանդութենէ միայն շահի օգուտն եւ յանհնազանդութենէ՝ զվնաս: Եւ զայն ոչ եթէ առ եղեռանէ ինչ լեալ ասեմք մարդոյն, այլ վասն լաւութեանց: Զի եթէ իբրեւ զմի ինչ յայլոցն բնութեանց լեալ էր, զոր ի հարկէն ծառայեն Աստուծոյ, ապա եւ վարձս ընդ կամակորութեանն առնլոյ չէր արժանի, այլ իբրեւ գործի մի էր Արարչին, զոր թէպէտ ի չար վարէր եւ թէպէտ ի բարի, ոչ պարսաւանք ինչ էին նմա եւ ոչ գովութիւնք, այլ պատճառ այն էր, որ զնա այնպէս վարէր, նաեւ ոչ զլաւ ինչ գիտէր այնուհետեւ մարդն, քանզի չէր հմուտ այլ իմիք, բայց այնմ եւեթ, յոր պատշաճեալն էր: Այլ Աստուած այնպէս զմարդն պատուել կամեցաւ, զի առ լաւութեանցն խելամուտ լինելոյ զանձնիշխանութիւնն պարգեւեաց նմա, որով կարող իցէ առնել զինչ եւ կամեսցի եւ զանձնիշխանութիւնն նորա ի լաւն խրատէ դարձուցանել:

"But," they say, "how do men have such movements in themselves? Have they[198] come into being through God or is there some other who casts them into men?"

It does not seem fitting to say that such a thing happened to men through God, but that the first man created by God had autonomy and freedom, and from him the same was inherited by his descendants. And now, having received autonomy, he upon whom great grace has been bestowed by God, serves whom he wishes, since all the rest (i.e., of creation) necessarily serves the divine command. If you would speak of the heavens, they remain fixed and do not move from the place determined for them; and if you should wish to speak of the sun, moreover, it too carries out the movement set apart for it and it has no power to escape from its orbit, but it necessarily serves the Lord's command. Similarly we also see the earth, having become dense and

198. I.e., the movements.

lifted up, bears the command of Him who commands. And all other similar things serve the commands of the Creator, and they are unable to do anything other than that, to do that for which they were ordered, on account of which we praise them for observing the limits of the commands.

But man, having received autonomy, serves whom he wishes, not necessarily forced by nature, nor ceasing by the power which was bestowed upon him for the sake of the good things, but through obedience alone he gains the beneficial and through disobedience, hurt. And we do not say that man came into being for some evil, but for the sake of good things. For, if he had come into being like any of the other natures, which serve God by necessity,[199] then he would not be worthy of receiving recompense for perversity, but he would be like a tool of the Creator which He was using for evil or for good; he would have neither blame nor praise, but rather the cause would be him who used him thus. Also, because of this man would not discern any good thing, because he was not skilled at anything else but only that for which he was fitted. But God wished to honor man in this fashion, that he bestowed upon him autonomy for being skillful at good things, by which he would be able to do whatever he wished, and He instructed him to turn his autonomy to the good.

4 31 Եւ արդ, զիա՞րդ երեւէր ընտրութիւն գործոցն, եթէ ոչ ունէր մարդն իշխանութիւն երկոցունց՝ ե՛ւ անսալոյն, ե՛ւ չանսալոյն: Եւ արդ, յայտ է, թէ անձնիշխան եղեւ մարդն առնել զբարի եւ ժտել ի չար, իբր ոչ՝ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, յոր ժտիցի, այլ այն եւեթ առաջի կայր՝ կա՛մ անսալ Աստուծոյ, կա՛մ չանսալ, եւ զնոյն եւեթ պատճառ չարին իմանալ: Քանզի լեալ մարդն առաջին՝ առնոյր պատուէր յԱստուծոյ եւ չհնազանդեալ աստուածական հրամանին՝ մտաբերէր ի չարիս, եւ անտի լինէր սկիզբն չարեաց:

And now, why did the choice of actions show forth, if man did not have authority[200] over both, both obedience and disobedience?

And now, it is evident that man was autonomous to do good and to venture evil. Not that some evil thing existed before, which he might venture; but only that existed before—either to obey God or not to—and only this can be considered the cause of evil. Because man, having come into being first, received a commandment from God and, having disobeyed the divine commandment, contemplated evil; and from that, the beginning of evil came about.

5 32–33 Արդ, անսաստութիւնն եւեթ, որ արտաքոյ Աստուծոյ կամացն գործիցի, պատճառ չարեաց իմանալի է. եւ նմին զայլ ոք վարդապետ

199. I.e., not by free will.
200. Or: autonomy.

ծածուկ հաշուել դրդիչ եւ ոչ բռնադատիչ, որ զմարդն ի լաւութեանցն մերկանալ կամեցաւ: Ապա եթէ զպատճառն եւս կամիցին խնդրել, զնախանձն, որ առ մարդն եղեւ, իմասցին զպատճառն: Եւ եթէ զնախանձուէն եւս ճշդիւ քննիցեն, թէ ուստի եղեւ, ասասցուք, եթէ յառաւելութենէ զմարդն պատուելոյ, քանզի միայն մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան Աստուծոյ եղեւ:

Իսկ եթէ այնու զԱստուած պատճառ չարեաց կամիցին ասել, անկանին յիմաստնարար խորհրդոյ: Եթէ զնորա ինչ հանեալ էր, եւ մարդոյն շնորհեալ, թերեւս յիրաւի պատճառ չարեաց կարծէր տուիչն, ապա եթէ զնա նոյնպէս որպէս եղեւն պահեաց եւ զմարդն այսպէս կամեցաւ առնել, պատճառ չարեաց նախանձորդն է: Քանզի ոչ եթէ յորժամ իցեն ուրուք երկու ծառայք, եւ զմինն ի ծառայութեան ունիցի եւ զմիւսն յորդեգիրս գրիցէ, եւ միոյն յարուցեալ ի վերայ զմիւսն սպանանիցէ, միթէ պատճառ չարեաց զտէրն պարտ իցէ իմանալ, որ ոչ եհան ինչ ի ծառայէն եւ շնորհեաց միւսոյն:

Now, only disobedience that is done beyond the will of God is to be understood as the cause of evil, and to reckon some other, hidden teacher has been an instigator but not a compeller for this, who wished to strip man of the good things.[201] Then, if they wish further to seek a cause, let them understand the cause to be the envy, which came into being against man.

And if they would enquire more precisely concerning the envy, whence it came into being, we shall say that it is from the abundance of man's being honored, because man alone came into being according to the image and according to the likeness of God.

Then, if by this they wish to say that God is the cause of evil, they lay down the instructive opinion. If He had removed something of his (i.e. Satan's) and bestowed it upon man, perhaps he would think correctly that the Giver is the cause of evils. But if He preserved him (i.e., Satan) just as he came into being and wished to make man thus,[202] the envious one is the cause of evil. Because, is it not the case that if someone has two slaves and holds one in servitude and adopts the other as a son, and the one having risen up kills the other, must one understand the master as the cause of evils, who took nothing from the (one) slave and bestowed it (not) upon the other?

6 33 ԺԲ Արդ եւ զայն եւս հարցանեն, եթէ չար ինչ չկայր առաջի, ուստի՞ օձն, զոր սատանայ կոչէք, իմացաւ զհանգամանս չարին:

Now, in addition they ask that, "If something evil did not exist before, whence did the serpent, whom you call Satan, discern the nature of evil?"

201. I.e., the Edenic privileges.
202. I.e., in the way he did.

7 Ասեմք, եթէ սատանայ չար զստունգանելն մարդոյն Աստուծոյ իմացաւ, վասն որոյ զմարդն յայն յօժարեցոյց: Որպէս յորժամ իցէ ոք ուրուք թշնամի եւ թագուցեալ զթշնամութիւնն՝ զաղտ կամիցի վնասել եւ չգիտիցէ զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն եւ շուրջ եկեալ՝ յածիցի հնարս խնդրել, ապա գտեալ ժամանակ, յորժամ ոք ի բժշկաց թշնամւոյն նորա պատուէր տայցէ յայս ինչ չիպել եւ յայս նիշ կերակրոց չճաշակել, որով առողջութեանն կարիցէ հասանել, եւ նորա լուեալ՝ վաղվաղակի ի կեղծիս բարեկամութեան կեղծաւորեալ զբժիշկն պարսաւիցէ եւ զօգտակարսն նմա վնասակարս թելադրեալ կարծեցուցանիցէ եւ հակառակ պատուէրս հրամանաց բժշկին տայցէ եւ այնու առնիցէ նմա վնաս, որ ոչ եթէ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, այլ ի պատուիրելոյ բժշկին / p. 34 / գտեալ հնարս՝ եղեւ վնասակար: Նոյնպէս կարծի եւ զսատանայէ. նախանձելն նմա ընդ նախաստեղծ մարդոյն եւ չգիտել զհանգամանս վնասակարութեանն, քանզի ոչ եթէ չար ինչ առաջի կայր, ուստի զհանգամանսն մարթ էր առնուլ, ուսեալ յԱստուծոյ պատուիրանէն, որ մարդոյն տուաւ արգելուլ զնա ի ճաշակելոյ ի տնկոյ իմեքէ ի մահաբերէ զայն առաջադրեաց մարդոյն, որ ոչ եթէ անպիտան ինչ ի կերակուրս մարդոյ էր եւ ոչ բնութեամբ տունկն մահաբեր: Եւ վասն այնորիկ ինչ արգելաւ մարդն ի ճաշակելոյ ի նմանէ, այլ անսաստութիւնն եղեւ պատճառ մահուան մարդոյն, իբրեւ յանցաւորի, որ անցանիցէ զհրամանաւ հրամանատուի, որ նմա կարգեալ իցէ:

We say that Satan discerned that for man to disobey God was evil; on account of which he induced man to that. Just as when someone is a person's enemy and having hid the enmity, wishes to harm (him) secretly and does not know the manner (nature) of harming, having come around[203] he walks about to seek for the means. Then, having found a time when one of his enemy's physicians might instruct him not to draw near to this thing and not to eat of this sort of food; by this he might attain health. And he, having heard, at once after having dissembled false friendship, found fault with the doctor, (and) causes him to think that that which has been supposed to be helpful to him is harmful and he might give instructions contrary to the doctor's order. And by that he does harm to him, not that he formerly knew the manner of harmfulness, but having found a means in the doctor's instruction, it became harmful. Likewise it is opined concerning Satan, that he envied the first-created man and did not know the manner (nature) of harming (him). For it is not that some evil thing was previously, whence he could take this manner (nature). He learned from God's commandment, which He gave[204] to man to prevent him from eating from some mortal plant; he proposed to the man that it is not that the plant was useless as food for man, and not that

203. Cf. 1 Pet 5:8.
204. Or: was given.

it was by nature mortal. And for that reason why was man forbidden to eat of it? But disobedience was the cause of death for man, as a transgressor who transgressed the commandment of the one who commands, which is set forth for him.

8 34 Արդ, ժտեցոյց թշնամին զմարդն՝ անցանել զհրամանաւն Աստուծոյ, որպէս զի ոչ եթէ ստուգեալ գիտէր, եթէ այնու նմա վնաս ինչ գործել կարիցէ, այլ կարծեօք ի թեթեւս մատուցեալ, եթէ լիցի եւ թէ չլինիցի. եւ յետոյ յԱստուծոյ պատուհասէն, որ առ մարդն եղեւ վասն պատուիրանազանցութեանն, իմացաւ, եթէ պատուիրանք նորա մահ գործեցին: Եւ յիրաւի պատժեցան և՛ւ նա, և՛ւ մարդն, զոր յօժարեցոյց յանսաստութիւնն ճաշակել ի փայտէն, որ ոչ բնութեամբ մահաբեր էր, այլ յԱստուծոյ սպառնալեացն եղեւ այնպիսի իրաց պատճառ:

Now, the Enemy emboldened man to transgress God's order, not that he knew exactly that through this he could do him some harm but by conjecturing that if he approached quickly it would either happen or not. And afterwards, from God's punishment, which came upon man because of transgression of commandment, he discerned that His commandments dealt death. And justly both he and the man were punished. He induced him to disobedience, to eat from the tree that was not mortal by nature, but, through God's threats became the cause of such things.

9 35 Եւ որպէս բժշկի ոչ կարեմք մեղադիր լինել վասն յառաջագոյնն զգուշացուցանելոյ, որով օրինակաւ կարիցէ մարդն առողջանալ, եւ նորա, թողեալ զպատուէրս բժշկին, անսայցէ թշնամւոյն, որ զվնասակար խրատսն տայցէ նմա, որով ոչ զպատճառս վնասուն ի բժշկէն, որ յառաջագոյնն գուշակեաց նմա, իմանալի է, այլ ի թշնամւոյն, որ ի պատուիրանէ բժշկին նմա զվնասն հնարեցաւ, նոյնպէս եւ զսատանայէ ասեմք լեալ թշնամի մարդկան, որ չեւ եւս՝ գիտէր զհանգամանս չարեաց, այլ ի պատուիրանէն Աստուծոյ ուսեալ՝ կամեցաւ վնասել մարդոյն, որպէս զի եթէ առանց Աստուծոյ կամաց ի ծառոյն ուտիցէ, առնուցու պատիժ զմահ: Քանզի եթէ յառաջագոյն չէր գուշակեալ Աստուծոյ մարդոյն չուտել ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, եւ նորա յանզգէտս կերեալ, չլինէր նմա պատիժ մահ, կամ որպէս թէ առ ի չգիտանս եկեր կամ թէ առ չժուժկալելոյ ի կերակրոյ ծառոյն, չէր ինչ պատժի պարտական: Քանզի եւ մանուկ կաթնակեր, որ յայլ ինչ կերակուր մտաբերիցէ, ոչ պատժելի է, այլ արգահատելի, որպէս թէ առ ի չգոյէ կաթին յայն յօժարեաց: Նաեւ օձն, որ է սատանայ, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ վասն ընդ անագորոյն թշնամութեան ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ:

Եւ արդ, սկիզբն չարեաց զնախանձն ասեմք, եւ զնախանձն՝ յառաւել զմարդն պատուելոյ, եւ զչարիսն՝ յանհնազանդութենէն: Զի Աստուած այնպէս առաւել զմարդն պատուեաց, եւ նորա անսաստեալ զընկէց

զպատուիրանն: Ուստի զամենայն ինչ, որ լինի չար, ոչ բնութեամբ. չար գիտեմք, այլ զի առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ գործին իրք ինչ՝ լինին չար.

And just as we cannot blame a doctor for giving caution in advance how a man could be healed, if he, abandoning the doctor's command, obeyed his enemy who gave him harmful counsel. By this it is to be discerned that the causes of damage do not stem from the doctor, who cautioned him in advance, but from his enemy, who by the doctor's command contrived harm to him. Likewise we say of Satan, that he became enemy of man before he knew the means (nature) of evil, but he learned it from God's commandment and then wished to harm man, so that if he ate from the tree without (against) God's wish, he would receive death as a punishment. For if God had not warned man in advance not to eat of the food of the tree, and he had eaten in ignorance, he would not have received the punishment of death, or if he had eaten in ignorance or if he were unable to restrain himself from the food of the tree, he would not be liable for punishment. Because also a suckling infant, who tries out some other nourishment, is not to be punished but to be comforted, as if in the absence of milk he desired that.[205] The serpent also, who is Satan, was justly punished because he had cruel enmity against man.

And now we say that the beginning of evil is envy, and that envy (is) from the abundant honoring of man[206] and evil from disobedience. For God thus abundantly honored man and he, having disobeyed, cast off the commandment. From this, (we infer) that everything which becomes evil is not evil by nature, but that because things are done without God's will they become evil.

10 36 Նա եւ ընդ լինելն իսկ սատանայի յԱստուծոյ գիտաց, եթէ անսաստել ումեք Աստուծոյ չար է եւ ոչ բարի, քանզի ոչ եթէ անմիտ ինչ ոք եղեւ նա յԱստուծոյ, եթէ չգիտէր, եթէ որ ինչ ըստ Աստուծոյ կամացն լինի, բարի է, եւ որ ինչ արտաքոյ քան զնորա կամսն, այն չար է: Եւ վասն այնորիկ յիրաւի տանջէ զնա Աստուած, զի գիտէ նա զբարին եւ ոչ առնէ եւ հմուտ է չարին եւ ոչ խորշի:

Then, too, when Satan came into being through God, he knew that if someone disobeys God it is evil and not good. Because he did not come into being through God as somebody somewhat mindless that he did not know that whatever is according to God's will is good, and whatever is beyond His will, that is bad. And for this reason justly God punishes him, because he knows the good and does not do it and is expert in evil and does not shun it.

11 36 Եւ ոչ չար եւ չարչարիչ հաստատեաց զնա Աստուած եւ ոչ փորձիչ,

205. Cf. 1 Cor 3:2–3.
206. Cf. Wis 2:24.

եթէ նովաւ փորձեալ՝ զարդարս զտեսցէ: Եւ ոչ ինքն յանձնէ չար գտեալ եւ ոչ անարար եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ, այլ մտաւոր եղեալ յԱստուծոյ եւ հմուտ գիտութեան, թէ չար է հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանին, եւ յայն, զոր գիտէրն, թէ չար է, յանդգնեցաւ: Զանսաստութենէն ասեմք. եւ անսաստութիւնն ոչ եթէ անձնաւոր ինչ յառաջագիտ եհաս ի գիտութիւնն սատանայի, այլ իբրեւ զմի ինչ եղեալ ի դիպաց կամեցելոյն:

And God did not make him evil, nor a tormentor, nor a tempter, that, by whom having tempted the righteous, he might purify them. And he himself was not found evil through himself; and not uncreated and an adversary to God, but having come into being through God, intelligent and expert in the knowledge that it is evil to oppose God's commands, and he presumed to do that which he knew to be evil. We speak concerning disobedience; and disobedience is not an animate thing, previously existent, that came to Satan's knowledge, but like a thing that came into being fortuitously through the one who wished.

12 36–37 Նա եւ զմարդոյ յիրաւի ասեմք կրել պատուհաս ընդ որոց գործիցէ եւ քանզի կամաւ երթայ յուսումն այնպիսի իրաց, յորոց յորժամ եւ կամիցի եւ մեկնել կարող է, քանզի ե՛ւ կամելոյն, ե՛ւ չկամելոյն ունի իշխանութիւն, զորոյ զհետ երթայ եւ կարելն զոր ինչ կամիցի առնել:

And behold, as for man, we say that he rightly suffers punishment for the things that he did and because voluntarily he goes to the study of such things, he could be separate from these if[207] he wished, because he has the power both of willing and of not willing, following which there comes the ability to do whatever he wills.

13 37 ԺԳ Որովհետեւ, ասեն, չարեաց արարիչ զԱստուած չկամիք ասել, այլ ի մարդկանէ եղեալ թելադրութեամբ սատանայի ի հնազանդելոցն նորա եւ ի խաբեցելոց: Եւ յիրաւի կրեն պատիժս, զի կարէին հատանել եւ ընկենուլ ի բաց զչարիսն եւ ոչ կամեցան: Եւ արդ, վասն նորին իսկ սատանայի հարցցուք՝ այնպիսի՞ արդեօք արար զնա Աստուած, եթէ՞ ինքնին այնպիսի չէր եւ յօժարեաց ի չարաբարել:

"Because," they say "you do not wish to say that God is the maker of evil, but that it came into being through man at Satan's instigation, through those who were going to obey him and (to be) deceived (i.e., by him). And rightly do they suffer punishments, for they could have cut off and cast out evil, and they did not wish (to do so)." And now let us ask, concerning that very same Satan, "Did God create him thus or was he not in himself thus and (subsequently) became disposed to do evil?"

207. Or: when.

14 37 Եթէ այնպիսի արարեալ էր զնա Աստուծոյ, պատիժս ի նմանէ չէր պարտ պահանջել, զի պահեաց զպայման բնութեանն՝ յոր արարն զնա Աստուած. եւ որ ոք ոչ կամօք ինչ գործէ, ընդ այնր պատիժ չպարտի կրել, բայց որ կամօք կարող է գործել եւ գործ ինչ յոռութեան գործիցէ, յիրաւի պատժի, զի ոչ եկաց յայնմ՝ զոր Աստուածն կամի: Ապա եթէ Աստուծոյ բարուոք եղեւ եւ անձամբ յանձնէ դարձոյց զկամսն ի չար՝ հեռացուցեալ զինքն ի լաւէն, յիրաւի պահանջի ընդ որոց յանդգնեցաւն՝ պատիժս:

If God had made him thus, it would not be necessary to require punishment of him, because he preserved the condition of his nature in which God made him. And he who does not do something by will, need not suffer punishment for it. But he who can act by will and commits some degenerate act, is justly punished, because he did not remain (firmly) in that which God wills. But, if he came into being from God as good, and if by and through himself he has twisted his will to evil, having distanced himself from the good, he is justly punished rightly in consequence for the deeds he dared to do.

15 37–38 Զի զսատանայ մեք ոչ յԱստուծոյ սատանայ եղեալ գիտեմք, այլ զսատան անուն վասն խոտորելոյն էառ իւր անուն: Քանզի սատանայ յեբրայեցւոց եւ յասորւոց լեզուէ խոտորեալ թարգմանի:

But as for Satan, we know that Satan was not created by God. But he received the name "Satan" because of his going astray,[208] because "Satan" is translated from the Hebrew and Syriac languages as "misled."[209]

16 38 այլ զօրութիւն իմն զգայուն լաւութեանց հաստատեցաւ յԱստուծոյ, եւ ի թշնամութենէ ընդ մարդոյն ունելոյ՝ իւրն կամօք եղեւ բանսարկու: Թողեալ զԱստուծոյ հպատակութիւն՝ սկսաւ անսաստել, ի հակառակ կալ Աստուծոյ հրամանացն ուսուցանել մարդկան եւ իբրեւ զապստամբ յետս կացեալ՝ թիւրեցաւ յԱստուծոյ: Եւ վկայէ՝ բանիս աստուածական բարբառն, որ ապստամբ վիշապն կոչէ զնա՝ եթէ հրամանաւ սպան զապստամբ վիշապն: Եւ արդարեւ իսկ բանն Աստուած սպան զսատանայ, այնու զի կոխելոյն զնա ետ իշխանութիւն:

Արդ ապստամբ կոչէ զնա գիր. եթէ նոյնպիսի՝ որպէս եղեւն յԱստուծոյ՝ կացեալ էր, ապա ոչ ապստամբ կոչէր զնա. զի որ ապստամբի ոք, թողու զիւր պայմանն՝ որով ոչ անարար իսկ ցուցանի: Զի եթէ անարար էր, ապա ոչ յիւրմէն՝ բնութենէն փոխէր. քանզի չմարթի բնութեան իմիք՝ առանց կամաց՝ մերթ բարի լինել, մերթ չար:

But he was established by God as a power sensitive to good, yet because

208. Or: "leading astray" and "misleading."
209. Or: having gone astray.

of the enmity he entertained toward man, by his own will he became "the Devil."[210] Having abandoned submission to God, he started to disobey, to teach men to oppose God's commands, and like a rebel, abandoning God, he turned away from (him). And the divine Scripture[211] attests to this term, calling him "rebel dragon"[212] that by a command he killed the rebel dragon. And indeed God the Word killed Satan, by that He granted authority to trample him.

Now Scripture calls him "rebel." If he had remained of the same sort as he was created by God, then it would not have called him "rebel." Because whoever rebels leaves his (i.e., his original) state, by which he is shown not to be uncreated. For if he were uncreated, then he would not change from his nature, because it is impossible for any (given) nature, without will, to be sometimes good and sometimes evil.

17 38–39 (ԺԴ) Իսկ արդ եթէ ոչ էր անարար, ասեն, ըստ ձեզ սատանայ, եւ ոչ այնպիսի եղեալ յԱստուծոյ, եւ անձամբ զանձն դարձոյց ի լաւէ անտի ի յոռին, որ է ի հնազանդութենէ յանհնազանդութիւն, արդ զայն ասացէք. գիտէ՞ր Աստուած՝ եթէ այնպէս լինելոց էր, եթէ չգիտէր. թէ գիտէր եւ արար, ինքն է պատճառ նորա ի լաւութեացն դառնալոյ. ապա եթէ ոչ գիտէր, զիա՞րդ առնէր զայն, զոր ոչն գիտէր՝ թէ որպիսի ինչ ոք լինելոց իցէ:

Now then, if, according to you, they say that Satan was not uncreated, and was not created thus by God, and by himself turned himself from the good to the wicked, which is from obedience to disobedience, now you say, "Did God know that he would become such, or did He not know? If He knew and made (him), He himself is the cause of his (the Devil's) turning away from goodness; but, if he did not know, why did He make that one whom he did not know what sort of thing he would become?"

18 39 Անգիտութիւն կարծել զԱստուծոյ՝ անհնարին յիմարութիւն է. քանզի միայն ինքն կանխագէտ է հանդերձելոց: Այլ քանզի բարերար էութիւն է Աստուած, ոչ կամեցաւ զազնուականութիւնն իւր ծածկել.

To think of ignorance with respect to God is impossible foolishness, because

210. Rev 2:10; 19:12; and 20:2. This is the usual translation of διάβολος, which we render as "Devil."

211. Or, literally: word.

212. Cf. Rev 12:7–9; the word "rebel" may be an exegesis of the Syriac *ḥrmn'* corresponding to חרב in חרב שחנ in Isa 27:1, but this is far from certain. In any case, the usual translation of Revelation into Armenian was done in the High Middle Ages and so proves nothing about the origin of this phrase. In the old translation, published by Murad (1905–11), the word "rebel" does not occur either.

He alone knows the future things in advance. But because God is a beneficent being, He did not wish to conceal His generosity.

19 39 վասն որոյ յառաջագոյն գիտէր զսատանայէ՝ եթէ թիւրելոց է, եւ զմարդիկ յանցուցանելոց՝ առ ի չունկնդիր լինելոյ հրամանաց նորա, որով միանգամայն վասն անձնիշխանութեան մարդոյն երեւելոյ արար զնա Աստուած. զի առաւելութիւն բարերարութեան նորա յայտնի լիցի մարդկան, վասն թողութեան տալոյ մարդկան յառաջագոյն գործելոցն մեղաց: Զի յորժամ զսատանայ ամբարշտացեալ տեսանիցեն եւ չբարձեալ ի միջոյ, եւ վասն իւրեանց մեղացն իմանայցեն՝ թէ գոյ հնար թողութեան ապաշխարութեամբ. զի Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն ցուցանիցի, եւ մարդիկ զշնորհն նորա գիտասցեն. զի եթէ այն այնպէս չէր լեալ, եւ ոչ բարերարութեանն նորա ոք խելամուտ լինէր:

Because of this, He knew in advance that Satan would turn astray and cause humans to transgress, so that they became disobedient to His commands. By this at the same time (i.e., as man) God created him (the Devil) so as to make human autonomy evident, so that the abundance of His beneficence might be known to humans, on account of forgiving humans for the sins committed previously. Because when they would see Satan who had been impious but was not destroyed, they also would be pardoned for their sins, (and see) that forgiveness is possible through repentance, in order that God's beneficence might be exhibited and humans might discern His grace. For if that had not happened thus,[213] no one would be informed of His beneficence.

20 39 Նա բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, յետ թիւրելոյն սատանայի եւ խաբելոյ զմարդն՝ ընդէ՞ր իսկ ոչ եբարձ ի միջոյ, զի մի՛ զբազումս սպանանիցէ:

"Entirely so," they say, "After Satan turned astray and deceived man, why then was he not destroyed, so that he might not kill many?"

21 39–40 Ոչ եթէ չէր կարող Աստուած բառնալ զսատանայ ի միջոյ, քանզի չիք ամենեւին տկարութիւն զԱստուծով. այլ զի չէր ինչ մեծ գործ Աստուծոյ զսատանայ ինքնին անձամբ սպանանել, եւ զարարած մի զիւր փոքր յոչինչ դարձուցանել, զի մի կարծիցի՝ թէ վասն չժուժալոյ չարութանն նորա սպան զնա:

Երկրորդ անգամ՝ զի անծանօթ եւս լինէր առ յապայ մարդկան Աստուծոյ բարերարութիւնն, թէ յառաջագոյն սպանանէր զսատանայ. զի ոչ ոք ունէր նշանակ ինչ յայտնի բարերար կոչելոյ զԱստուած: Այլ թերեւս եւ կարծիք ինչ ի մէջ մտանէին՝ թէ հաւասար ինչ ոք էր նա Աստուծոյ, եւ աճապարեաց ի միջոյ եբարձ.

վասն որոյ պահեաց զնա, եւ ոչ կորոյս ի միջոյ, զի մարդիկ յորժամ

213. Literally: in that way.

լաւութեանցն հմուտ լինիցին, յաղթեսցեն նմա՝ փոխանակ այնոցիկ՝ որք յառաջնումն յաղթեցան ի նմանէ:

It is not that God was unable to destroy Satan, because there is not any inability at all with respect to God, but that it would not have been a great work for God Himself to kill Satan by himself—to return his one little creature to nothingness (but he did not do this) so that it should not be thought that He killed him because he was unable to put up with his wickedness.

Second, God's beneficence would still not have been known to humans in the future, if He had killed Satan earlier on, because no one would have had any clear sign for calling God beneficent. Moreover, perhaps thoughts would have arisen[214] that he was someone equal to God, and that anticipating, He destroyed him.

On account of this, He preserved him, and did not destroy him, so that humans when they became adept at goodness, might overcome him, in place of those who previously were overcome by him.

22 50–51 Այլ մեք զցաւոց եւ զմահուան բազում ինչ պատճառս ունիմք ճշմարիտ բանիւ ի մէջ բերել:

Նախ այն իսկ՝ զի յորժամ մարդն զԱստուծոյ պատուիրանաւն անց, ապա եղեւ ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ. քանզի ցկինն ասաց՝ թէ. ցաւովք եւ տրտմութեամբ որդիս ծնցիր. եւ ցայրն՝ թէ. Աշխատութեամբ եւ քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո, մինչեւ լիցի քեզ դարձ անդրէն յերկիր՝ ուստի առար, զի հող էիր, եւ ի հող դարձցիր: Որով յայտ է, զի թէպէտ եւ բնութիւն մարդոյ՝ քանզի մարմնապատ է՝ ընդ ցաւովք եւ ընդ մահուամբ կարծէր, այլ թէ կացեալ էր ի պատուիրանին՝ պահէր զնա կենդանարարն կենդանի, որ յոչընչէն կարող եղեւ զշունչ մարդոյն առնել, եւ պահէ միշտ կենդանի եւ անմահ, նոյն եւ զմարմինն՝ զոր յերկրէ ստեղծ՝ կարող էր պահել կենդանի:

But, with a true word, we have many reasons to urge for afflictions and death.

First, indeed, that one, that when man transgressed God's commandment, then he came under pains and under death. Because He said to the woman, "In pain and sorrow you shall give birth to children (or: sons),"[215] and to the man, "With labor and the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread, until there takes place for you a return again to the earth from which you were taken. For you were dust, and to dust you shall return."[216] Through this it is clear that because man's nature is corporeal, he considered it subject to pain

214. Literally: entered inside.
215. Gen 3:16.
216. Gen 3:19.

and death; but if he had stood firm in the commandment, the Life-Giver would have kept him alive—He who was able to create the spirit[217] of man from nothing, and keeps it alive always and immortal, that same One was able to keep the body alive, which He created from the earth.

23 52 Զի ներող եւ արգահատող է արարիչն, այն ամենեցուն իսկ յայտնի է. եւ առաւել յայնմանէ, զի յետ յանցանելոյ մարդոյն՝ իջեալ անմարմինն՝ իբր զմարմնաւոր ոք ոտնաձայն առնէր ի դրախտին. եւ մեղմով եւ աղերսալից բարբառով ասէր ցյանցուցեալն՝ Ո՞ւր ես, Ադամ, զի մի տագնապեցուցեալ՝ չտացէ ուշաբերել նմա ապաշխարութեան. եւ զի չեկն ի զղջումն յանցուցեալն, յիրաւի կրեաց պատիժ զմահ:

It is well known to all that the Creator is merciful and compassionate.[218] And more than that, because after man's transgression, the Incorporeal One descended, like a bodily being he made the sound of a footstep in the Garden and with gentle and supplicating speech said to the transgressor: "Where are you Adam?"[219] Lest, not having constrained him, he would cause him not to recall repentance. And because the transgressor did not reach repentance, he justly suffered death as a punishment.

24 52 Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս, զի իւրոյ արարչին յառաջագոյն պատուիրեալ էր նմա՝ թէ յորում աւուր ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին աւուր մեռանիս. եւ թշնամին յե՞տոյ եկեալ ասէր՝ ոչ մեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Եւ արդ, ո՞յր բանից պարտ էր հաստատուն լինել, այ՞նր՝ որ յառաջագոյն զգուշացոյց, եւ կամէր ընկնդրութեամբ պատուիրանին զնոսա անմահ պահել, եթէ միւսոյն՝ որ պատրանօք ջանայր զնա մահկանացու առնել:

Again, yet a different (i.e., consideration): because his Creator had commanded him earlier, "On the day that you eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same day you will die."[220] And afterwards the Enemy came and said, "You will not die, but you will become like gods."[221] And now, to whose words should he have been constant? To him who had warned (him) in advance and wished to keep him immortal through obedience to the commandment, or to the other one, who strove to make him mortal through deceptions?

25 52–53 Եւ եթէ չէր Արարչին յետ յանցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն զմարդն մահկանացու արարեալ, հանապազ մարդն սատանայի հաւատայր, եւ ոչ Աստուծոյ. զի սա ասաց՝ եթէ ուտես ի պտղոյն, մեռանիս. եւ նա ասէր՝ թէ ուտես, չմեռանիս, այլ իբրեւ զաստուածս լինիս: Արդ,

217. Or: breath.
218. Neh 9:17.
219. Cf. Gen 3:8–9.
220. Gen 2:17.
221. Gen 3:4–5.

եդ մահ ի վերայ բնութեանս մարդկան արարիչ բնութեանն. զի իւր բանն հաստատեսցի, եւ չար խրատատուն պարտաւորեալ գտանիցի: զի թէպէտ առ ժամանակ մի վասն այսց երկուց պատճառանաց ընդ մահուամբ անկանիցի, այլ ըստ իւրում կարողութեան յարուցէ միւս անգամ, եւ յանսպառ յաւիտեանս կենդանի եւ անմահ պահեսցէ: Եւ որ զհրեշտակս եւ զհոգիս մարդկան յոչնչէ արարեալ՝ կենդանիս եւ անմահս պահէ, նոյն եւ զմարմինս կարող էր կենդանի պահել՝ թէ չէր առաջնոյ մարդոյն զԱստուծոյ հրամանն զընկեցեալ:

And if the Creator had not made man mortal after transgressing the commandment, man would always have believed in Satan and not God, because this one said, "If you eat of the fruit you will die,"[222] and that one (i.e., Satan) said, "If you eat you will not die, but you will become like gods."[223] Now the Creator of that nature imposed death upon this human nature in order that His own word might be established and the evil counsellor be found guilty. For, although for a time for these two reasons he might fall under death, yet, He would raise him up a second time in accordance with His own ability, and would keep him alive and undying for an infinite eternity. And, he who created the angels and souls (spirits) of humans from nothing and keeps (them) alive and undying, that same One also was able to keep the bodies alive, had not God's order been cast down by the first man.

26 53 (ԺԹ) Այլ զի Աստուած մահուան չէ պատճառ, վկայեսցէ ամենարուեստ իմաստունն, որ ասէ՝ եթէ Աստուած զմահ ոչ արար, եւ ոչ խնդայ ընդ կորուստ մարդկան. այլ հաստատեաց Աստուած զմարդն յանեղծութիւն պատկերի իւրոյ մշտնջենաւորութեանն, եւ նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ:

But that God is not the cause of death the most wise Sage will testify who says, "God did not make death, nor did he rejoice at the destruction of humans."[224] Rather, "God established man for incorruptibility of the eternity of His own image. And through the envy of the Devil death entered the world."[225]

27 53–54 Եւ դարձեալ ինքն իսկ ասէ. ես ասացի՝ թէ աստուածք իցէք, եւ որդիք Բարձրելոյ ամենեքին: Այս ինքն՝ եթէ ես զձեզ անմահս արարի, եթէ կացեալ էիք յիմում հրամանին, բայց որովհետեւ ոչ կացէք յիմում պատուիրանին, դուք իբրեւ զմարդիկ մեռանիք, իբրեւ զմի յիշխանաց անկանիք. եւ ոչ ընդ ձեր մահ կամէի, եւ ոչ ընդ իշխանին վատ խրատտուին անկանել:

222. Gen 2:17.
223. Gen 3:4–5.
224. Cf. Wis 1:13.
225. Cf. Wis 2:23–24.

And again He himself indeed says, “I said, ‘You are gods and sons of the Most High, all of you.’”[226] That is to say, “I created you immortal if you had observed my command; but because you did not hold fast to my commandment, you die like men, like one of the princes you fall.[227] I did not want death in place of you, nor did I want you to fall in place of the prince, the wicked counsellor.”

28 54 Այլ բնաւ իսկ, ասեն, ընդէ՞ր եմոյծ զնոսա ի կռիւս ընդ միմեանս:

They say a quite different thing, “Why did He lead them into quarrels with one another?”

29 54 Այսու զանձնիշխանութիւնն սատանայի եւ զմարդոյն կամին խափանել. զի Աստուած՝ որ աննախանձ արար զնոսա անձնիշխանս, ոչ կամէր թէ որպէս զանասունս ի հարկէ վարիցին, եւ ապա անձնիշխանութիւնն այնուհետեւ չլինէր անձնիշխանութիւն:

By this they wish to impede the autonomy of Satan and of man. Because God, who without envy made them autonomous, did not want them to have to conduct themselves like dumb beasts,[228] and then consequently the autonomy would not be autonomy.

30 54 Բայց Աստուած թէպէտ եւ ունէր իշխանութիւն զիւրոյ արարածոյն զհանդէսն տեսանել, այլ ոչ ինքն դրդեաց զնոսա անկանել ընդ միմեանս: Իբրեւ ետես զսատանայ նախանձու բորբոքեալ, թոյլ ետ անձնիշխանին ընդ անձնիշխանին ոգորել. քանզի գիտէր՝ եթէ ոչ ինչ տկարագոյն է սորա անձնիշխանութիւնս քան զնորայն. եւ ոչ նա կանխագէտ, եւ ոչ սա կանխագէտ. եւ ոչ նա բռնաւոր, եւ սա տկար ոք: Եւ զի չէր բռնաւոր ոք, յայնմանէ յայտ է՝ զի ցկինն պատրանօք մատուցեալ հարցանէր,[229] ոչ բռնութեամբ զարհուրեցուցանէր: Եւ զի չէր կանխագէտ, ասէ, զի՞նչ է այդ՝ զոր ասաց Աստուած, զի ի նմանէն ուցի զհանգամանսն:

But God, even if He has authority to see the practice of His creation, nevertheless He Himself does not move them to fall upon one other. When He saw Satan inflamed by jealousy, He allowed the autonomous to fight with the autonomous because He knew that the autonomy of the one was in no way weaker than that of the other; nor was the one prescient and the other not prescient; and that the one was violent (powerful) and the other someone weak. And it is evident that no one was violent from that, that having approached the woman by guile, he posed a question and did not terrify by violence. And

226. Cf. Ps 82:7 = Arm 81:6; John 10:34.
227. Ps 82:7 =Arm 81:6; cf. Luke 10:18.
228. Or: irrational creatures.
229. So the edition, perhaps emend to հարցանէրն.

because he was not prescient he said, “What is this that God said?”[230] so that he might learn situation from her.

31 56 (Ի) Արդ որովհետեւ վասն մահու եւ ցաւոց ի վերայ մարդոյն դնելոյ ցուցաւ յաստուածատուր գրոց՝ թէ վասն անցանելոյ զպատուիրանաւն Աստուծոյ մտին յաշխարհ, ասասցուք եւ զայլ եւս զպատճառսն՝ վասն որոյ տարաժամ մահք լինին:

Now, because it was set forth in the God-given Scriptures concerning the imposition of death and pains upon man, that they entered into the world on account of the transgression of God’s commandment, let us also state the further causes on account of which untimely deaths come about.

32 56 Բազում անգամ թերեւս չարիք ինչ մեծամեծք առաջի մարդոյն կայցեն, կամ նեղութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ կարէ ժուժալ, կամ փորձութիւնք՝ որոց ոչ լիցի բաւական տանել, Աստուած կանխագէտ եւ մարդասէր գթացեալ յիւր արարածն՝ տարաժամ մահուամբ զերծուցանէ զմարդն յայնպիսի չարեացն. ըստ այնմ զոր գիրն ասէ, թէ յառաջ քան զչարն ժողովեսցի արդարն:

Դարձեալ եւ այլազգ եւս. առնին մահք տարաժամք, զի յամենայն տիս եւ ի բոլոր ժամանակս պատրաստական մարդոյն գտեալ՝ չզերծիցի յաստուածպաշտութենէ:

Many times also certain very great evils stand before man, either afflictions which he is unable to withstand or trials which he is inadequate to endure. God, prescient and lover of humans, pitying on His creature, liberates man from such evils by an untimely death, according to that which Scripture says, “The righteous one will be gathered up before the evil one.”[231]

Again and in yet another way, untimely deaths are made so that people, having been found ready (for it) at every age and at all times, will not be removed from piety.

33 56–-57 Բայց թէպէտ եւ յանիծից մտին ցաւք յաշխարհ, սակայն են եւ այլ ինչ պատճառք: Երբեմն վասն մեղաց, ըստ այնմ՝ զոր ցանդամալոյծն ասաց Տէր, թէ, ողջացար՝ այսուհետեւ մի՛ մեղանչէր:[232] Եւ հայեցեալ ընդ հաւատս մատուցանելեացն, ասէ ցմիւս անդամալոյծն՝ թէ. թողեալ լիցին քեզ մեղք քո, զի յայտ արասցէ, թէ են ինչ ցաւք՝ որ վասն մեղաց լինին, եւ են ինչ ցաւք, որ ոչ վասն մեղաց. …

But although pains entered the world by a curse, nonetheless there are also certain other causes. Sometimes because of sins, according to that which the

230. Gen 3:1.

231. I.e., Before he does evil; cf. Isa 57:1–3.

232. This is a prohibition, and the ending –եր would be expected.

Lord said to the paralytic, “Be healed! Henceforth do not sin.”[233] And having regarded the faith of those who drew near, he said to the other paralytic, “Your sins shall be forgiven you,”[234] so that he might make clear that there are some pains that occur because of sins, and some other pains that (are) not because of sins. …

34 63 Որպէս առաջնոյ մարդոյն՝ մինչ չեւ յանցուցեալ էր՝ հնազանդ էին, եւ ոչ մեղանչականք. եւ որպէս առ առաքելովքն վատթարեալ էր սատանայ, մինչեւ կախարդացն յահէ նշանացն՝ զոր առնէին բերել զգիրս կախարդանացն զձանրագինս՝ եւ այրել առաջի առաքելոցն:

Just as (the demons) were obedient to the first man before he had been caused to sin, and were not sinful; and just as in the time of the Apostles Satan was so weakened that through fear of the signs that they were accomplishing, the magicians brought the precious books of magic and burnt (them) before the Apostles[235] . . .

35 66 Եւ յորժամ երեւել սրբոց իւրոց կամէր, ոչ այլով իւիք կերպարանօք՝ այլ միայն մարդոյ կերպարանօք, զոր ըստ իւրում պատկերին արար, յայտնէր. եւ այն ոչ վայրապար ինչ լինէր, այլ զի զառաւել սէրն իւր՝ զոր ընդ մարդկան ունէր՝ ցուցանիցէ. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի յառաջագոյն կրթեսցէ զմարդիկ ածել ի գիտութիւն. զի յորժամ զորդին իւր իբրեւ զմարդ յաշխարհ առաքեսցէ, մի օտարոտի ինչ զիրսն համարեսցին. մանաւանդ զի գիտիցեն՝ թէ ինքն իսկ այն կերպարանօք յայտնէր: Որպէս իջեալ ի դրախտն առ Ադամ՝ ոտնաձայն իբրեւ զմարդ առնէր: . . .

And when He wished to appear to His saints, He does not reveal himself in any other form, but only in the form of a human whom He made according to His own image. And that was not an inconsequential thing, but rather so that He might show His exceeding love, which He has for humans. And again, so that He might educate humans beforehand to bring (them) to knowledge, so that when He would send His Son to the world as a man, they would not reckon the matter at all strange; particularly so that they might know that He revealed Himself in that form.

Just as, when He descended into the Garden to Adam, He made a footfall like a man[236] . . .

36 104 (ԺԲ) Իսկ այլք այլազգ կարծեցին զսատանայէ, թէ Աստուած իսկ զնա չար արար:

233. John 5:14.
234. Matt 9:2.
235. Cf. Acts 19:19.
236. Cf. Gen 3:8–10.

Then, others think differently about Satan: that God indeed created him evil.

37 106 (ԺԳ) Հրամանա՞ւ, ասեն, մեռանիցին մարդիկ, թէ առանց հրամանաց:

"Is it by decree," they say, "that humans die, or without decree?"

38 106 Նախ պարտիմք գիտել՝ թէ զի՞նչ հրամանք իցեն, եւ ուստի՛ բան հրամանացն ընդ աշխարհ տարածեալ իցէ:

First of all we must discern which commands there are, or whence the matter of decrees spread through the world.

39 107 Հրաման կապեալ վասն մահուան՝ յաստուածատուր գիրս ոչ ուրեք գտանեմք. քանզի Տէրն մահու եւ կենաց՝ եւ կարճել իշխէ զհրամանն իւր, ե՛ւ երկայնել: Որպէս առ ջրհեղեղաւն ասէ. եղիցին աւուրք կենաց մարդկանս այսորիկ հարիւր եւ քսան ամ. եւ վասն բազմութեան անօրէնութեանն պակասեցոյց ի նոցանէ զքսանն: Եւ որպէս առ Ադամամքն ասէ. յաւուր յորում ուտես ի պտղոյ ծառոյն, ի նմին մեռանիս. եւ առ իւրում բարերարութեանն, եւ վասն որդէծնութեան եւ մարդկան յաշխարհի սիրելոյ. ներեաց նմա ինն հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամ, զի մի՛ գեղեցիկ ստեղծուածն իւր համօրէն ջնջեսցի:

Nowhere in the God-given Scriptures do we find a binding decree about death, because the Lord of death and life has power both to shorten His decree and to extend it.[237]

Just as in the time of the flood it says: "The days of this human's life will be one hundred and twenty years."[238] And because of the multitude of lawlessness he deducted the twenty (years) from them.

And just as in the time of the Adamites,[239] it says: "On the day on which you will eat from the fruit of the tree, on that same you die."[240] And in His beneficence and for the sake of the procreation and the love of mankind in the world, He also allowed man (i.e., Adam) nine hundred and thirty years[241] so that His beautiful creation not be wiped out completely.

40 109 Արդ՝ նախ զայն ասասցեն. ո՞ եհան զայնպիսի երկրական անուանս՝ զգիշակեր եւ զխոտակերս յերկինս, զի պատճառք ծննդեան մարդկան լինիցին. զի որ ոք ուրուք պատճառ ծննդեան կարիցէ լինել, նա ի վեր քան զնա՝ որոյ պատճառն է՝ պարտի լինել իմաստութեամբ:

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237. I.e., there is no binding statement in the Bible about the length of life, but that is at God's discretion.

238. Cf. Gen 6:3, quoted not quite precisely to make his point.

239. Probably emend to Ադամամբքն.

240. Gen 2:17.

241. I.e., for procreating in the world; cf. Gen 5:5.

Արդ, հաստարակաց մտօք հայեցեալ, տեսցուք ո՞ ի վեր իցէ, մա՞րդն՝ որ անասնոյն տիրէ, թէ անասունն՝ որ մարդոյն ի հարկի կայ. եւ ոչ միայն ի հարկի կայ, այլ եւ կերակուր նորա է։ Եւ գազանացն զկէսսն փախստականս եղեալս տեսանեմք, եւ զկէսսն յանտառախիտ մայրիս ամրացեալս՝ յորժամ զբարբառ միայն մարդոյն լսիցեն։ Քանզի զահ եւ զերկիւղ մարդոյն՝ արկեալ է արարչին ի վերայ գազանացն եւ սողնոցն եւ անասնոցն եւ թռչնոց, վասն առաւել զնա պատուելոյն. զորոյ եւ զարարածն նորանշան իմն ընծայեցուցանէ, թէ ստեղծ որպէս ձեռօք, եւ փչեաց շունչ կենդանի որպէս թէ բերանով. եւ այնու, զի առաւել պատուական ցուցանիցէ զնա, յայտ առնէ։

Now, first, they will say that: “Who brought forth such terrestrial names, both carnivores and herbivores in the skies, so that they might become the causes of human births?[242] Because whoever can become the cause of some-one’s birth must be, through discernment, superior to him of whom he is the cause. Now, regarding (this) with common sense, let us see who is supe-rior, the man who rules over the beast, or the beast that is subject to man, and it is not only subject but also is his food. And we see that parts of the wild animals have become fugitives and parts fortify themselves within the dense forest when they merely hear human speech, because the Creator cast the fear and dread of humans upon the wild animals and reptiles and the beasts and birds so as to honor him more. He presents to him the creation as something newly evident that He created as if with His (own) hands; and He breathed in living breath as if by (His) mouth, and by that he makes known, that he may show him to be more honorable.

41 114 Կամէր՝ թէ չէր յանցուցեալ Ադամայ. եւ քանզի կանխաւ գիտէր զյանցանելն, յառաջագոյն պատուիրեաց նմա՝ չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն. եւ զի ոչ անսաց հրամանին, յիրաւի պատժեցաւ։

He wished that Adam had not transgressed. And because He knew the trans-gression in advance, He commanded him in advance not to eat of the fruit of the tree. And because he did not obey the order, he was punished justly.

42 130 Այլ թէ այնպէս իցէ, յորժամ զԱդամայ ասէ՝ թէ եդ զնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան, բեւեռեալ համարեսցին, եւ մի գնայուն։ Իսկ եթէ զԱդամայ շրջելն՝ եդ կոչեն աստուածատուր գիրք, յայտ է՝ թէ եւ զլուսաւորացն զգնացս՝ եդ անուանեն գիրք։

But, if it were thus, when concerning Adam it says: “He put him in the Gar-den of delight,”[243] do they reckon him to have been nailed down and not walking?

242. Reference is made to astrological ideas of the association of the constellations with human birth.

243. Gen 2:15.

Indeed, if the God-given Scriptures call Adam’s walking around “He put,” it is evident that the Scriptures also name this movement of the luminaries “He put.”

43 162–63 Նա եւ զմարդն, զոր ժառանգ ամենայնի կամեցաւ առնել, ոչ նախ քան զժառանգութիւնն արար. այլ նախ զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զջուրս եւ զհուր եւ զօդ եւ զբոյսս եւ զտունկս, զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զթռչունս: Նախ զտունն, եւ ապա զտնակալն. նախ զստացուածսն, եւ ապա զստացողն. նախ զծառայսն, եւ ապա զտէրն. զի մի, յորժամ յետոյ լինիցին՝ որոց իշխանն եղեւ, կարծիս վնասու առնուցու՝ թէ իւր արարածք իցեն: Այլ յորժամ նախ զնոսա արարեալս տեսանիցէ, ծանուցեալ առնուցու ի միտ՝ թէ է իմն զօրութիւն, որ արար եւ ետ զնոսա ընդ ձեռամբ նորա. եւ զպատիւ փառաւորութեանն մի՛ անձին առնել խորհիցէ, այլ իւրում տիրարարին՝ որ ձրի նմա զայն շնորհեաց:

Behold also man, whom He wished to make heir of all things, He did not create before (his) inheritance—but first heaven and earth, water and fire and air, and sprouts and plants, wild and domestic animals and birds. First the house, then the householder; first the possessions and then the possessor; first the servants and then the master; lest if those came into being afterwards, whose ruler he became, he receive the harmful idea that they were his own creations. But when he would see them created first, recognizing this, he would consider that there is some power, which made (them) and put them into his control, and would not think to make the honor of that glorification his own, but rather (i.e., give it) to him who made him master, who freely granted that to him.

44 169–70 Եւ տեսեալ օրհանացն Աստուծոյ՝ թէ գեղեցիկ է աշխարհս, խորհեցաւ առնել ի սմա մարդ: Եւ իջեալ առ հիւղն յերկիր, ասէ. տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տամ ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում: Տուեալ նմա հիւղեայն յերկրէ իւրմէ, ստեղծ զնա եւ փչեաց ի նա ոգի, եւ եղեւ Ադամ ի շունչ կենդանի. եւ վասն այնորիկ անուանեցաւ՝ Ադամ, զի ի կաւոյն արարաւ:

And the God of the Law having seen that this world was beautiful, thought to make man in it. And having descended to matter, to earth, he said, “Give some of your clay, and I will give spirit from myself, and let us create man according to our likeness.”[244] Matter, having given him of its earth, he created him (man) and he blew spirit into him, and Adam became a living breath. And because of that he was named Adam, because he was made from clay.[245]

45 170 Եւ ստեղծեալ զնա եւ զամուսինն նորա, եւ եդեալ ի դրախտին՝

244. Gen 1:26 and Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.
245. Cf. Gen 2:7.

որպէս եւ օրէնքն ասեն, գային հանապազ պատուիրէին նմա, եւ ուրախ լինէին ի նման իբրեւ յորդւոջ հասարակաց:

And having created him and his spouse, and having placed (them) in the Garden, just as the Law says, they would come constantly and command him, and they rejoiced in him as in a mutual son.

46 170 Եւ տեսեալ, ասէ, Աստուծոյն օրինաց որ տէրն էր աշխարհի՝ թէ ազնուական է Ադամ եւ արժանի սպասաւորութեան, հնարեցաւ՝ եթէ զիա՛րդ կարասցէ գողանալ զնա ի հիւղեայն եւ յիւր կողմն միաբանել: Առեալ զնա ի մի կողմն, ասէ. Ադամ, ես եմ Աստուած եւ չիք այլ ոք. եւ բայց յինէն այլ Աստուած քեզ մի լիցի. ապա թէ ունիցիս զոք այլ աստուածս բայց յինէն, գիտասջիր, զի մահու մեռանիցիս: Եւ իբրեւ ասաց զա՛յս ցնա, եւ յիշատակեաց նմա զանուն մահու, զահի հարեալ Ադամայ՝ սկսաւ սակաւ զանձն մեկնել ի հիւղեայն:

And he (Marcion) says that the God of the Law, who was lord of the world, saw that Adam was noble and fitting for service, he plotted how he might steal him from matter and unite him to his own side. Taking him to one side, he said, “Adam, I am god and there is no other, and have no other god but me. So, if you have any other gods but me, know that you will surely die.” And when he said this to him and recalled the name of death to him, Adam, smitten by fear, began little by little to separate himself from matter.

47 170–71 Եւ եկեալ հիւղեայն՝ պատուիրել նմա ըստ սովորութեանն, տեսանէր՝ զի ոչ անսայր նմա Ադամ, այլ խորհեալ ի բաց մերժէր, եւ չմերձենայր առ նա: Յայնժամ հիացեալ ի միտս իւր հիւղեայն, իմացաւ՝ թէ տէրն արարածոց նենգեաց նմա: Ասէ. յականէ աղբերն պղտորեալ է ջուր նորա. զինչ է այս, չեւ եւս բազմացեալ Ադամայ ծննդովք, եւ գողացաւ զնա անուամբ աստուածութեանն իւրոյ յինէն: Որովհետեւ ատեաց զիս, եւ ոչ պահեաց ընդ իս զդաշնն, ես արարից աստուածս բազումս, եւ լցից նոքօք զաշխարհ գոյիւ իւրով, զի խնդրիցէ՝ թէ ով իցէ աստուած, եւ ոչ գտանիցի:

And matter came to command him according to its custom, it saw that Adam was not obeying it, but considering (this) it drew apart and did not approach him. Then matter was amazed in its mind, it realized that the Lord of creatures had cheated it. It said: “The spring’s water has been muddied from (by) its source. What is this? Adam has not yet increased by offspring, and he has stolen him from me by the name of his divinity. Because he hated me and did not keep his compact with me, I will make many gods, and I will fill up the world with them as far as possible so that he may seek who might be god, and he will not find out.”

48 171 Եւ արար, ասեն, կուռս բազումս եւ անուանեաց զնոսա աստուածս, եւ ելից նոքօք զաշխարհ: Եւ ընկղմեցաւ անուն աստուծոյ, որ

տեառնն արարածոց, ի մէջ անուանց բազում աստուածոց, եւ ոչ ուրեք գտանէր: Եւ մոլորեցաւ ծնունդ նորա նոքօք, եւ ոչ պաշտէր զնա, զի ձգեաց զամենեսին առ ինքն հիւղն, եւ ոչ ետ թոյլ եւ ոչ միում ի նոցանէ պաշտել զնա: Յայնժամ, ասեն, բարկացաւ տէրն արարածոց, զի թողին զնա եւ անսացին հիւղեայն. եւ մի ըստ միոջէ, որ ելանէին ի մարմնոց իւրեանց, արկանէր զնոսա առ ցասման ի գեհեն. եւ զԱդամ արկ ի գեհեն վասն ծառոյն. եւ այնպէս արկանէր զայր ի գեհեն զամենեսին, մինչեւ ցքսան եւ ինն դար:

And it made, they say, many idols, and named them gods, and it filled the world with them. And the name of God which (is) of the Lord of creation was submerged in the midst of the names of many gods, and nowhere was it found. And his progeny went astray through them and were not worshiping him, because matter attracted them all to itself, and it did not permit even one of them to worship him. Then they say, the Lord of creation became angry because they left him and obeyed matter. And angrily he cast those who left their bodies into Gehenna one by one. And he cast Adam into Gehenna because of the tree. And thus he was casting them all into Gehenna, for twenty-nine centuries.

49 177 (Ե) Դարձեալ, եւ զոր արդարն ասեն՝ թէ արդարեւ արդար էր, յետ բաժանելոյ զիշխանութիւնսն, իւր զերկինսն երկոսին առնլոյ, հիւղեայ եւ որդւոցն նորա զերկիր միայն թողլոյ, զիա՞րդ էր զի միւսանգամ նորա աշխարհին ցանկացեալ, ասէր՝ թէ տուր ինձ ի կաւոյդ քումմէ, եւ յինէն տաց ոգի, եւ արասցուք մարդ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. որ ոչ արդարոյ գործ է այլոյ աշխարհի ցանկանալ՝ այլ անիրաւ:

(5) Again, also, he whom they call the just one, if he were indeed just, after dividing of the principalities, taking his two heavens, leaving the earth alone to matter and her sons, why again having desired its (i.e., matter's) world, did he say, "Give to me some of your clay, and from myself I will give a spirit, and we will make man according to our likeness?"[246] To desire someone else's world is not the act of someone just, but rather of someone unjust.

50 177–78 Կամ հիւղեայն զիա՞րդ ընդ միտս հարեալ էր, ընդ մի անգամ բաժանելոյն ի նմանէ՝ դարձեալ հաղորդութիւնս առնել, եւ անձամբ անձին նենգել եւ մասնմուտ առնել օտարի յիւր աշխարհին, զի առնիցէ անդ զԱդամն եւ զամուսինն նորա, որ մերթ ի սա տայր ձեռն եւ մերթ ի նա:

Or how could it occur to matter to have intercourse again with the one who had divided from it once, and to deceive herself and to admit a stranger into her world, to make Adam and his spouse there—Adam, who sometimes

246. Gen 1:26; Gen 2:7; Gen 5:1.

would extend the hand to this one (i.e., matter) and sometimes to that one (i.e., the demiurge)?

Lazar P‘arpec‘i C5

Text: Łazar P‘arpec‘i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց եւ Թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան *History of Armenia and Letter to Vahan Mamikonean* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1933).

Translation: *Łazar P‘arpetsi, History,* trans. R. W. Thomson (Columbia University Program in Armenian Studies: Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). The translation here is my own.

1. The passage is not found in the actual history, but in the *Letter sent from the City of Amit* and occurs on pp. 607–8:

1 Քանզի ի սկզբանէ արարածոց բազում օճիրս գործեաց նախանձ՝ յաշխարհի: Անդէն եւ անդ ի սկզբանն զնախաստեղծն ընկճեալ՝ նախանձու բանսարկուին՝ դարձոյց զնա ի հող. եւ վկայէ գիր ի Կաթուղիկէսն, թէ Նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ: Երկուց միայնոյ դեռ եւս յԱդամայ ծնելոց՝ յաշխարհ, Կայէնի եւ Հաբելի, որպէս ի փոքրիկ եւ ի նեղ՝ յանբաւ բնակութիւն տիեզերաց հայեցուցեալ, զԿայէն նախանձարկու դիւին՝ եղբայրասպանութեամբ զաւակաց:

Because from the beginning of creation envy worked many evils in the world. Immediately in the beginning the first-created one was subdued by the envy of the Devil. He returned him to dust. And a verse from the Catholic Epistles witnesses that "by the envy of the Devil death entered the world."[247] When there were only two yet born of Adam into the world, Cain and Abel, as if in a small and in a narrow place, Cain having regarded the infinite dwelling of the universe arousing the demon's envy, Cain (did) through the fratricide of (Adam's) seed.[248]

Text: Łazar P‘arpec‘i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean and St. Malxaseanc‘ (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1982); repr. in *MH*, vol. 2, 5th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003) 2237, 1.

2 Այր մի ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց, որոյ անունն էր Վարազվաղան, որով ըստ նմանութեան սատանայի, որ ի դրախտին օձիւն խաբեաց

247. This is actually from Wis 2:24.
248. Meaning unclear.

զնախաստեղծին հաղորդն, նոյնպէս եւ նա նովաւ զիւրոյ դառն կամացն վճարել ջանայր զհաճոյսն։

A certain man from the house of Siwnik‘, whose name was Varazvałan, by whom, according to likeness of Satan who, in the Garden through the serpent, deceived the first protoplast's partner, similarly he too tried to carry out things pleasing to his own bitter will through him.

The Liturgy

Text: Tiran Nersoyan, *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Orthodox Apostolic Church* (New York: Delphic Press, 1950).

1 խաչն . . . մխիթարիչ եղաւ Սեթայ նախագուշակ՝ հօրն Ադամայ

The Cross . . . It was a comfort for Seth, a presage to the father Adam.

Mambrē C5

Text: Mambrē the Lector, Ճառք *Homilies,* in Կորյուն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings of Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit‘ the Invincible* (Venice: Mechitaritst Press, 1833).[249] The translation is my own.

Երանելոյն Մամբրէի Վերծանողի ասացեալ Ի յարութիւնն Ղազարու
The (Homily) pronounced by Mambrē the Lector On the Resurrection of Lazarus

1 35 Ամենայն աստուածային նշանք Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի են, որք կարեւոր են, եւ են, որ եւս կարեւորք, որք մասնաւոր ունին զերկնային յուսոյն զմխիթարութիւնն։ Այլ յորժամ զյարութիւնն տեսանես, ի ձեռն մասնաւոր յարութեանն հաւատասջիր զբոլոր մասունս զտառ ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցգալուստն երկրորդ։

35 All the divine signs are of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are important; and there are those that are more important, which have in particular the comfort of the heavenly hope. But when you see the resurrection, by means

249. Weber (1927), 3-27.

of the particular resurrection you will believe all the parts, the book from Adam[250] until the second coming.

2 53 Ողբասցէ մահ զկործանումն իւրոյ թագաւորութեան, կոծեսցին եւ դժոխք զքակտումն իւրոյ զօրութեան, հրճուեսցի նախաստեղծն ընդ գալուստ հովուին ի խնդիր կորուսեալ ոչխարին, ծափս հարցեն հաւատացեալք ի նորոգմանն Ղազարու, սուգ առցեն դեւք զինքեանց՝ տեսանելով զկործանումն: Աւետարանեսցեն, որոց ի գերեզմանսն բնակեն զյոյս յարութեանն, մի՛ այսուհետեւ զարհուրեցուսցէ զմեզ մահ, մի՛ դողացուսցէ բանսարկուն, որ մահացոյցն: Գտաք զկենաց ծառն, ի բաց եկաց քերովբէն բոցեղէն սրոյն պահպանութեամբն, խափանեցաւ ներգործութիւն մահաբեր ծառոյն, տերեւ թզենւոյն պատառեցաւ, զի անապականութեան գուշակ մեզ այսր աւուր յարութեան եղեւ:

Let death lament the destruction of its kingdom; let Hell bewail the destruction of its power, let the protoplast rejoice at the coming of the Shepherd to search for the lost sheep; let the faithful clap their hands at the renewal of Lazarus; let the demons mourn their own selves when they see the(ir) destruction. They will announce the hope of resurrection to those who dwell in their graves, “Henceforth let death not frighten us; let the Devil not make tremble, whom he put to death. We have found the tree of life; the Cherub stood outside guarding with the fiery sword, the influence of the mortal tree was prevented, the leaf of the fig-tree was rent, for he became the expounder of incorruptibility for us of this day of resurrection.”

3 55–56 Եւ այժմ է, զի օրինակ էր Ղազարու յարութիւն մարդկային բնութեանս, քանզի կամեցաւ զնախաստեղծին բժշկել զբովանդակ մարմինն, ի փոքրագոյն անդամոցն առնու սկիզբն. զումեմն՝ զգօսացեալ ձեռն, զայլոյ՝ զբորոտութիւն, զուրուք՝ զտեսարանն, եւ զորդի այրւոյն ի Նային քաղաքի յարոյց, եւ զդուստր հազարապետին, սակաւ սակաւ եւ ապա զՂազարի Բեթանիա առհաւատչեայ յարութիւն ամենայն մարմնոց: Ի շաբաթու յաւուր, յորում մատնեցաւ Յիսուս, մեռաւ Ղազար, եւ յաւուր, յորում Տէրն ննջեաց ի գերեզման, յարոյց զՂազար: Վասն այսորիկ Ադամ գոհացողական ձայնիւ նուագէ ծննդովք իւր.

And now it is that the resurrection of Lazarus was an example of this human nature, because He wished to heal the body of the protoplast completely. He began from the smallest of the limbs. For one, the withered hand; for the other, leprosy; for another person, the vision; and he raised up the son of the widow from the city of Nay, and the daughter of the centurion—little by

250. Or: epistle; cf. Gen 5:1. In *MH* 1:1095 this reads զառ yielding the meaning “from, deriving from Adam.”

little—and then the resurrection of Lazarus of Bethany as an earnest for all bodies.[251] On Saturday, on which day Jesus was betrayed, Lazarus died; and on the day on which the Lord slept in the grave, he raised Lazarus. Therefore, Adam with praiseful voice sang through his offspring.

4 Եւ քանզի ի տասն ժամուն, յորում ելաք արտաքս ի դրախտէն, ի նոյն ժամու եւ Տէրն բոլորից էջ ի խաչէն ի գերեզման, ի նոյն ժամու յարոյց զՂազար ի գերեզմանէն:

And because on the tenth hour, on which we went forth from the Garden, in that same hour the Lord of all descended from the cross into the tomb, in the same hour he raised Lazarus from the tomb.

5 Էր ոմն հիւանդ Ղազարոս, որ ըստ եբրայեցւոցն օգնականել ասի, եւ հիւանդութիւն ըստ իմանալի տեսութեան, զմեղացն ասէ զազգի մարդկան, եւ մեռանելն՝ զմեղացն մահն, որ է չար, ի Բեթանիայ՝ ի տուն սգոյ ասի աշխարհիս, ըստ նմանութեան յանցաւորութեան Ադամայ: Սգակցեն ամենայն արարածք, ողբան, հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ զանկեալն Ադամայ ի փառաց դրախտին վայելչութենէ՝ ի կենդանութենէն Աստուծոյ: Եւ Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց մեղացն ի նորոգումն կենացն ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

“There was a certain sick man, Lazarus” which (i.e., Lazarus) means in Hebrew “to help”; and “illness” according to the intelligible theory refers to the sins of the race of humans, and “dying” refers to the death of sins, which is evil, “in Bethany” which means in the house of mourning of this world, according to the likeness of the sinfulness of Adam. Until now all creatures will be fellow mourners, they mourn, they wail and grieve the fall of Adam from the delight of the glory of the Garden, from the liveliness of God. And through Christ we are liberated from the bonds of sin into the renewal of life, to Christ Jesus.

6 64 Է՞ր վասն արգելոյր զինքն եւ ոչ փութապէս գայր ի գերեզմանն, այլ զի ի հասանել համբաւ գալստեան նորա, զի ատեան գործեսցէ ժողովրդեանն, եւ ամենայն ոք ճեպեսցի առ ի տեսանել զսքանչումն աստուածագործ նշանացն, զի ի լռել մարդոյն ի պատուհրանապահութենէն Աստուծոյ, լռէր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն յերկրէ եւ մերկացաւ մարդն յաստուածատուր փառացն վասն յանցանացն. աստ՝ յաղագս Ղազարու զհրամանն Աստուծոյ պահելոյ, կենագործէր ի գերեզմանէն:

On what account did he withhold himself and not come quickly to the tomb, but so that on the arrival of the rumor of his coming he might make a tribunal (an assembly) for the people and everybody might hasten to see the miracle

251. John 11:1–44.

of the divinely done signs. For when man desists from keeping the command of God, the divinely done miracles also desisted from the earth and man was stripped of the God-given glory on account of his sins.[252] Here, because Lazarus kept the divine command, he vivified (him) from the tomb.

7 66 Ասէ. Ո՞ւր եդիք զնա: Ասեն. Ե՛կ եւ տե՛ս: Ո՛չ անգիտութեամբ, որպէս Հայր նորա հարցանէր. Ո՞ւր ես, Ադա՛մ, եւ ցԿային. Ո՞ւր է Աբէլ՝ եղբայր քո, եւ ցՄովսէս. Զի՞նչ է այդ, որ ի ձեռին քո է: Խնդրէ արարիչն զիւր պատկերն, որ ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար զնա, եւ չարն նախանձեցաւ ընդ բարւոյն Ադամայ եւ ընկէց զնա յերանելի կենացն, Տէրն եկեալ որսայր զմարդկան փրկութիւն: Ի Բեթանիայէ մինչեւ ի Բեթարբէ եօթանասուն եւ երկու մղոնք են, յայնչափ հեռաստանէն գիտաց էր զմահն Ղազարու, եւ մօտ ի կարմջիդ անգիտանաս:

It says, “Where did you put him?” They said, “Come and see!” Not through ignorance; just as his Father asked, “Where are you, Adam?” and to Cain, “Where is Abel your brother?” and to Moses, “What is that which is in your hand?” The Creator seeks his image, whom he made according to his own image, and the Evil One was envious of the good of Adam and cast him down from the blessed life. The Lord, having come, hunted the salvation of men. From Bethany to Betharbē is seventy-two miles, from that distance the death of Lazarus was known[253] and close to this bridge you are ignorant.[254]

8 70 Ի Հօրէն Որդի եւ Հոգին սուրբ, այլ ոչ կոչին եղբարք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեանն. զոր օրինակ յԱդամայ են Սեթ եւ Եւայ, այլ ոչ եղբայրք եւ ոչ որդիք երկոքեան: Քանզի Հայր ծնող է, եւ Որդին ծնունդ, եւ Հոգին Սուրբ ելող է եւ նստի Որդի ընդ աջմէ Հօր, եւ Հոգի Սուրբ՝ ընդ աջմէ Որդւոյ:

From the Father are the Son and the Holy Spirit, but those two are not called brothers or sons, just as Seth and Eve are from Adam but the two are not siblings and not sons. Because the father is begetter and the Son begotten and the Holy Spirit is comer forth and the Son sits at the right of the Father and the Holy Spirit at the right of the Son.

9 72 Բեթանիա տուն հնազանդութեան, վասն զի Ղազար հնազանդէր մահու վասն Ադամայ, որ անկաւ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մահու: Հնազանդէր մահ Յիսուսի յաղագս արարչական զօրութեան եւ ծառայապէս լսէր տէրունական ձայնին եւ ընձեռէր զմեռեալն աստուածային հրամանատրութեան: Գայ Յիսուս ի տուն հնազանդութեան, որ զանհնազանդութիւն մարդկան ընդ

252. Or: transgression.

253. Or: he knew.

254. Bethabara is near the northern end of the Dead Sea, where John was baptizing (John 1:28).

հնազանդութեամբ Բանին Աստուծոյ միաւորէ, եւ հնազանդութիւն աստուածախառն մարմնովն հաւասարակաց Հօրն՝ փոխանակ անհնազանդութեանն Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեան Ադամայ, եւ ըստ աստուածութեան առնու բարեբանութիւն ընդ Հօր ի հրաբուն զօրացն:

Bethany is a house of subjection (obedience), because Lazarus was subject to death on account of Adam, who fell under the authority of death. Death was subject to Jesus on account of his creative power and servilely obeyed the Lord's voice and consigned the dead man to the divine commanding.Jesus comes to the house of subjection which unites human disobedience with subjection to the Word of God, and subjection by means of the divinely mixed body became equal to the Father, instead of the disobedience of Adam and according to the divinity of Adam, and according to the divinity he receives praise with the Father from the fiery hosts.

10 73–74 Այսօր զառաջին մարդոյն կապանսն արձակէ յանիծից մահուն, եւ առաւելութիւն մեղացն ոչ բաւէ զտէրունեան արգելուլ զհրամանն եւ յինքն զյանցանսն կորզէ, եւ որպէս զյանցաւոր, փոխանակ յանցաւորի մարդոյն պարտաւորի անպարտ, զպարտաւորն կացուցանէ առաջի Հօրն:

This day he released the bonds of the first man from the curse of death and the superfluity of sins is not enough to obstruct the Lordly command and he seizes the sin to himself, and like a sinner, instead of the sinful, culpable man is innocent, he sets the culprit before the Father.

Նորին յաղագս եկաւորութեան Փրկչին յԵրուսաղէմ
Of the same, Concerning the Coming of the Savior to Jerusalem

11 91 Իսկ ի վեցերորդումն զմարդն իւրովն կենագործէ ձեռամբ եւ օրէնս աւանդէր պահպանական։Իլռելմարդոյնզպատուիրանապահութիւնն, լռէր եւ Աստուած զբարեգործութիւնն, զի ի վեցերորդումն մարդն դադարէր յօրինապահութենէն եւ յեւթներորդումն արգելոյր Աստուած զբարեգործելն, եւ զայս ոչ վայրաբար, այլ արարչական ճշմարտութեամբն, վասն զի երկինք եւ երկիր սակս մարդոյն, եւ մարդն՝ վասն պատուիրանին: Պատուիրանապահելն աստուածեղէն բարերարութիւնն բացափայլէր, ի լռելն պատուիրանապահութեանն, լռէր եւ աստուածագործ հրաշքն, քանզի մերկանայր մարդն յարարչատուր փառացն յաղագս յանցմանն, եւ մեռանէր Ղազարոս երկրային եւ ժամանակաւոր մեռելութեամբն: Անդ յաղագս նախահօրն պատուիրանազանցութեանն լռէր Աստուած զյանցանացն թողութիւն, աստ յաղագս Ղազարու աւանդապահի երկասիրէր զկենագործելն ի գերեզմանէն: Նմանապէս շաբաթ առաջին եւ

երկրորդ ի նախնումն ի բարեգործութենէ լռէր Աստուած նախահօրն պատուիրանապահութենէն լռելոյ աղագաւ, յերկրորդումն՝ յաղագս Ղազարու քրիստոսասիրութեանն:

But on the sixth, he vivifies man by his hand and he transmitted to him a law as a keeping. When man ceased the keeping of the commandment, God ceased his beneficence, for on the sixth day man stopped keeping the law and on the seventh God withheld his beneficence, and this not to no purpose, but through his creative truth, because heaven and earth were on account of man, and man, on account of the commandment. The observance of the commandment made the divine beneficence shine forth, and in the ceasing of the observance of the commandment, the divinely done miracles also ceased, because man became stripped of his glory given by the Creator on account of the transgression. And Lazarus was dying an earthly and temporal death. There, on account of the forefather's transgression of the commandment, God ceased the forgiveness of sins, here on account of Lazarus the keeper of tradition, he with willing labor did the vivification from the grave. Similarly (are) the first and second Sabbath: on the first one God ceased from doing beneficence to the forefather on account of his ceasing observing the commandment, and on the second (he resumed it) because of Lazarus's love of Christ.

P‘awstos Buzand C5

Text: P‘awstos Buzand, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians,* ed. K‘. Patkanean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1987). Patkanean's text was also reprinted with an introduction by N. G. Garsoïan in *Ps. P‘awstos, Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk‘ (The Epic Histories)* (Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series; Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1984).

Translation: N. G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P‘awstos Buzand. (Buzandaran Patmut‘ink‘)*, translation and commentary by N. G. Garsoïan (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

Book 4, chapter 5

The first three excerpts that follow are from the lengthy homily set in the mouth of Nersēs, Catholicos of Armenia. "A number of parallels, both doctrinal and lexical, can be found between this homily and the Teaching of St. Gregory. . . . Consequently, it is consonant with the standard theological position of the early Armenian church as found in contemporary writings."[255]

255. Garsoïan 1989, 117.

1 128 որ ի սկզբանէն արար եւ հաստատեաց զհիմունս երկրի, եւ ձգեաց զերկինս որպէս զխորան. որոյ ձեռքն արարին եւ հաստատեցին զամենայն երեսս երկնից. որ արար զմարդն իսկ ի հողոյ, եւ կարգեաց զբանաւորս զխաւսունս իմաստունս անձնականս: Եւ իբրեւ անձնիշխան կամաւք ապականեցան մարդիկ, ոչ ծանեան զարարիչն եւ ոչ զպատուիրանս նորա,

Who from the beginning created and consolidated the foundations of the earth and "spread the heavens like a canopy";[256] Whose hands have created and consolidated all the expanse of the heavens; Who created man from dust and made them rational [gifted] with speech, wise and [endowed] with free will.[257] And at the time that mankind[258] was corrupted through its own volition and did not acknowledge its Creator or His commandments . . . .[259]

2 130 եւ այսպէս զամենայն ի նոյն պնդեալ ձուլեաց զարարածս, զոր եւ ըստ նմանութեան պատկերի կերպարանաց իւրոց արար. եւ եղ զնա իշխան անձնիշխան իւրոց կամաց: Վասն որոյ նախանձու սատանայի ապականեալք հնացան ի բանսարկութիւն խարդախութեան պատրանացն:

And in the same way He firmly cast all the creatures whom He fashioned according to the likeness of the image of His form[260] and gave him (man) power over his own[261] will. Because of this, [men] were corrupted and ruined by Satanic envy and grew old in false and deceitful slander.[262]

3 132 քանզի մեծութիւն Աստուծոյ արար զամենայն, եւ կացոյց զմարդն տէր ամենայնի. հրամայեաց եւ բազմացան:

For the greatness of God created all things, and He set man up as lord of all; he ordered and they multiplied.[263]

Book 5, chapter 28. This is part of a long prayer.

4 340 Տէր Աստուած զաւրութեանց, որ արարեր զամենայն յոչընչէ, եւ ստեղծեր զմարդ ի հողոյ կենդանի եւ անապականացու. եւ

256. Ps 104:2.

257. In our own translations we usually render անձիշխան as "autonomous."

258. Or: men, humans.

259. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 117.

260. Garsoïan adds in the text, in brackets: *nmanut'ean patkeri kerparanac'*.

261. See *Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264–265, excerpts 12 and 13 above.

262. Cf. Garsoïan 1989, 118. The word "deceit" derives from the same stem as բանսարկու = διάβολος.

263. Gen 1:28; cf. Garsoïan 1989, 119.

անցին զքոյով պատուիրանաւքդ եւ անկան ի մահ՝ իւրեանց պատուիրանազանցութեամբն: եւ արդ արդար դատաստանաւք քովք մերժեցեր զնոսա ի դրախտէն փափկութեան յայս աշխարհ՝ ուստի ստեղծեր, եւ զրաւեցան լինել ընդ մահապարտութեամբ:

"Lord God of Hosts, who hast created all out of nothing and created man living and incorruptible from the dust of the ground. And they transgressed Thy commandments and fell into death because of their transgression. By Thy just judgments Thou didst drive them out of the Garden of delight into this world, from which Thou didst create [them], and they became subject to the sentence of death."[264]

Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ C5

Text: Gregory the Illuminator, Յաճախապատում Ճառք *Dogmatic Homilies* (Constantinople: Abraham Yōhanean Press, 1824).

1 24 Զի որպէս մահ թագաւորեաց ի ձեռն յանցուածոցն Ադամայ, այսպէս եւ սատանայ ի վերայ մեղաւորաց տիրեաց, զի սիրեցին, ասէ, մարդիկ զմոլորութիւն, վասն այսորիկ առաքեաց առ նոսա ազդեցութիւն մոլորութեան, զի դատապարտեսցին, զի հաճեցան ընդ չարն:

For, just as death became king through the transgressions of Adam, so Satan too became ruler of sinners, for men love, it says, error. Therefore, he sent the suggestion of error to them, so that they might become guilty, for they were pleased with evil.

2 29–30 Եւ վասն այսորիկ ստեղծ Արարիչն զմարդն անձնիշխան, զի ըստ ընտրութեան հոգեւոր օրինացն փոփոխումն առցեն ի փոքրկութենէս ի մեծութիւն, յանարգութեանցս ելանել ի պատիւ, յապականութենէս՝ յանապականութիւն, ի մահկանացութենէս՝ յանմահութիւն Աստուածութեան ի Քրիստոս Յիսուս:

And for this reason the Creator created man autonomous, so that, in accordance with the(ir) choice of spiritual laws they might receive a change from this smallness to greatness, to go forth from this humiliation to honor, from this corruptibility to incorruption, from this mortality to immortality of the Divinity in Christ Jesus.

3 31–32 Եւ ի չորից նիւթոց արարեալ զմարդն՝ շնչեաց ի նա հոգի կենդանի եւ անմահ եւ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր: Խառնեաց զհոգեւորն

264. Garsoïan 1989, 208.

ընդ մարմնաւորն, զի զհանդէս իւրոյ մտերմութեանն ցուցցէ առ Արարիչն եւ ժուժկալեալ հոգւով պահիցէ զպատուիրանս Տեառն ահիւ, զի հաճոյացեալ Աստուծոյ ժառանգորդ լիցի անվախճան ուրախութեանցն: Զի արար, ասէ, զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր եւ տէր ամենայնի կացոյց զնա: Ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ արար զնա, որ ըստ Քրիստոսի մարմնանալոյն է իմանալ, եւ անձամբ կամօք մեծարեաց զմարդիկ, որպէս զհրեշտակս, եւ ելից իմաստութեամբ եւ գիտութեամբ եւ տեղեակ ամենայն հանգամանաց խրատու հոգեւոր իրաց արար զնա առ հաճոյս տէրութեան իւրոյ, զի լիցի տեսուչ Արարչին արարածոց ըստ պատուիրանի նորա: Եւ զամենայն տարերս ետ ի գործակցութիւն արուեստից հանճարոյ մարդոյն առ ի շինութիւն աշխարհի ըստ գաւառաց եւ քաղաքաց: Այլ եւ կահ եւ կազմած եւ անօթ ըստ ընտրութեան արուեստից կազմիցէ առ պէտս վարուց աշխարհիս, որոց պէտքն տնօրինին:

And, having made man from four materials, He breathed into him a living and immortal and intelligent and rational spirit. He mixed the spiritual with the bodily, so that he (i.e., man) might demonstrate the evidence of his faithfulness to the Creator and, having suffered patiently through the spirit, he might keep the commandments of the Lord with fear, so that, having pleased God, he might become heir of endless joys. For He made, it says, man in his image and He made him master of everything. He made him according to his image, which is to be understood (as being) according to the incarnation of Christ. And He honored man with his own will like the angels, and He filled (him) with wisdom and knowledge and He made him familiar with all kinds of counsel of spiritual things, for the pleasure of His Lordship. Thus he might become the Creator's overseer of creatures, according to His commandment. And He gave him all the elements for cooperation in the arts of human understanding, to build the world according to provinces and cities. But He will also form equipment and utensils and tools, according to the selection of the arts, for the needs of the conduct of this world, of which the director (i.e., man) had need.

4 33 Եւ այսպէս յօրինեալ Արարչին զնախախնամութիւնն յարարածս իւր, որ երեւին եւ որ ոչն երեւին, եւ այսր ամենայնի տէր եւ իշխան եւ ժառանգորդ արար զմարդն եւ արուեստաւոր երեւելեացս մտօք: Զի յոչնչէ արար զամենայն եւ թագաւոր կացոյց զմարդն եւ մեծարեաց, զի նովաւ ծանիցի Արարողն եւ փառաւորեսցի միշտ, եւ մարդն ծանիցէ զիւր պատիւն յԱրարչէն, որ յանպատուութենէ ի պատիւ վերաբերեաց զմարդն յամենայն արարածոց: Որ արուեստաւոր խելամտութեամբն, որ յԱրարչէն, կարասցէ ի գործ արկանել զշնչաւորս եւ զանշնչաւորս, զի երեւեսցի գործ իմաստութեան նորա ըստ ամենայնի: Որք ի հնազանդութեան են հնազանդեալք ի Տեառնէ ի գործ պիտոյից եւ կամ առ շինութիւն եւ ի զարդ կամ այլ

ինչ փարթամութիւն, յայսոսիկ վայելելով՝ իշխանական ճոխութեամբ փառաւորեսցէ միշտ զԲարեգործողն: Զի այսքան պատիւ տուաւ մարմնաւորացս, որպէս հոգեղինացն եւ անմահից անմարմնոց: Եւ արար ընտրողս արարչութեանն, որ միշտ օրհնեսցեն զնա ի ձեռն եղելոց օրինացն զիրաւանց իշխանականօք, հաստատեսցին ի հաւատս ճշմարտութեան եւ ընտրեսցեն զԱրարիչն եւ զարարածս ի միմեանց, զդարմանիչն եւ զդարմանաւորն, զկեցուցիչն ամենայն կենդանեաց, որովք լնու զպէտս պիտոյից ամենայն արարածոց:

And thus the Creator, having created providence for his creatures, visible and invisible, made man ruler and prince and heir of all this and artisan of the visible things through his mind. For He made everything from nothing and He established man as king and magnified (him), so that the Maker might be known through him, and be always praised. And that man might know (that) his honor is from the Creator, who elevated man from dishonor to honor more than all creatures. (Man) through his ingenious understanding, which is from the Creator, will be able to put to use the breathing and unbreathing ones, so that the work of his wisdom will be evident according to everything. Those who are subject are made subject by the Lord through a necessary deed, either for building and for ornamentation or any other opulence. Enjoying these things with princely authority he will continually praise the Beneficent. Because He gave the bodily ones as much honor as the spiritual ones and immortal bodiless ones. He made them discerning ones of the Creation, who continually will praise him by means of the given laws with respect to the authority of the laws, they will be established in the faith of truth and will distinguish the Creator and the creations from one another, the Nourisher and the nourished, him who vivifies all living things, by which He fills the needs of requirements of all creations.

5 37 Մինչ մարդն հնազանդ էր օրինացն Աստուծոյ, ե՛ւ գազանք, ե՛ւ թունաւորք հնազանդ էին մարդոյն, որպէս տեառն եւ թագաւորի:

While man was obedient to the laws of God, the wild beasts and the poisonous ones obeyed man, as lord and king.

6 63 Անհնազանդութիւն եւ ստահակութիւն ոչ էր յառաջ, մինչ ոչ էր անհաւանեալ Աստուծոյ սատանայ եւ մարդն:

Disobedience and wrongheadedness did not exist before; Satan and man did not disagree with God.

7 67 Զի մահ ոչ էր, մինչ ոչ էր պարտական լեալ մարդն մեղօք:

For death was not, until man became guilty through sins.

8 102 Զմարդն իւրում կարգին հաստատեաց Աստուած ի ներքոյ իւրոյ չափոյն, զի լիցի արքանեակ ճշմարիտ քարոզութեանն հրաւիրանաց

վերին կոչմանն եւ ըստ մարգարէութեան շնորհի՝ խորհրդակից լինիլ կամաց Արարչին։

God established man in his own order below His own measure, so that he might become a servant of the true preaching of the invitation of the supernal summons and, according to the gift of prophecy, become an advisor of the will of the Creator.

9 104 Զի յորժամ յաւելուած սուտ կարծեացն մտին ի նախաստեղծ մարդն՝ յայրն եւ ի կինն ի մախանաց բանսարկուին, ի հրապուրանաց հեշտութեանն քարշեալք՝ սուտ կարծեօք աստուածք լինիլ, խաբեցան եւ ոչ պահեցին զպատուիրանն Արարչին իւրեանց. եւ ելին ի փափկութեան դրախտէն եւ զմահ ստացեալ ժառանգեցին։ Զի յառաջագոյն պատուիրան տուաւ նոցա գործել եւ պահել զդրախտն ժուժկալութեամբ պահոցն՝ յորս ուտել նոցա ի պտղոյն եւ յորս՝ ոչ։

. . . Զայս ասելով՝ ոչ իմանալի ասեմ զդրախտն, այլ տեսանելի առաջին մարդոյն, թէպէտ մեզ ծածկեաց հրեղէն սուրն ըստ խորին իմաստութեանն Աստուծոյ։ Զի երկդիմի է իմանալ զդրախտն. մինն՝ շօշափելի եւ տեսանելի, եւ մինն՝ իմանալի, որ յառաքինութիւնն վերաբերի։

For when the additional lie of the thought (idea) entered the protoplast man, the male and the female, by the agency of the envy of the Devil, attracted by the enticement of voluptuousness, they were deceived by the false idea of becoming gods, and did not keep the commandment of their Creator. They went forth from the garden of delight and, having received death, they inherited it. Because previously he commanded them to work and guard the Garden with the patience (continence) of a fast; of which of the fruit they should eat, and of which not.

. . . By saying this I do not say that the Garden was noetic, but visible to the first man, although the fiery sword hid it from us, in accordance with the deep wisdom of God. For the Garden is to be understood in two aspects: the one is tangible and visible and the other, noetic, which I ascribed to virtue.

10 111 Զի որպէս անժուժութիւնն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի անէծս ի վերայ էած եւ մահ, նոյնպէս եւ ծնելոցս ի նոցանէ, որ զնոյն անժուժութիւն ունին եւ արտաքոյ բարւոյն որովայնամոլութեամբն անկանիցին։

For just as the intemperance of Adam and Eve brought curses and death on (them), and likewise on those who were to be born of them, who have the same intemperance and will fall forth from the good by gluttony.

11 241–42 Որպէս ի սկզբանէ նախաստեղծին կեանքն ի Տեառնէ յարդարեցան անմեղութեամբ, զսոյն սուրբ սէրն հաստատել ի մեզ։ Որպէս եւ Քրիստոս սիրեաց զմեզ եւ զանձն իւր մատնեաց պատարագ

ի հոտ անուշից, «որ բարկացուցաք զԱրարիչն, զի ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս նորա»:

Just as in the beginning the life of the protoplast was adorned by sinlessness, to establish this same holy love in us. Just as Christ loved us and delivered himself over as an offering for the sweet fragrance, "we who angered the Creator, for we did not keep his commandments."[265]

Yovhannēs Mandakuni C5

Text: Yovhan Mandakuni, Ճառք *Sermons* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1836).

4. Թուղթ վասն պահոց պնդութեան
Epistle concerning the Constancy of Fasts

1 19 . . . Եւ քանզի կարի կարեւոր է պահոցն առաքինութիւն բնութեանս մերոյ, եւ բազում թերութիւնք ի խոնարհութենէ պահոցն յարդարին, անդէն իսկ ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն պահոցն պնդութեամբ պարսպեաց զբնութիւնս մեր եւ եդ մարդոյն առաջին պատուիրան զպահոցն պնդութիւն՝ չճաշակել ի ծառոյն: Զի թէ էր պահեալ զպահոցն պատուիրանն, անախտ եւ անմահ եւ անմեղ կեանս էր ժառանգեալ եւ յերկինս զերկնից բարութիւնսն,

. . . and because the virtue of fasts is very important for this nature of ours, and many imperfections are ameliorated by the humility of the fasts, on the spot, with the creation of man, through the constancy of fasts he walled our nature around and set the first commandment of constancy of fasts for the first man, not to eat of the tree. For, if he had observed the commandment of the fast, he would have inherited life without blemish and immortal and sinless and, in heaven, the heavenly goodness.

2 21–22 Զի սուրբքն առաջինք, յորժամ կամէին մերձենալ առ Աստուած, յառաջ պահօքն մաքրէին եւ ապա առ մաքուրն մերձենային եւ աստուածատեսք լինէին, իսկ որք հեռացան ի պահոցն, հեռացան ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ եւ բազում չարեօք չարչարեցան: Ահա Ադամ հեռացաւ ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ ել ի դրախտէն յերկիր փշաբեր: Ծնունդքն նոյական ազգին հեռացան ի պահոցն պնդութենէ եւ համաշունչ ջրհեղեղաւն սատակեցան եւ հեղձան . . . :

For the former saints, when they wished to approach God, first cleansed themselves by fasts and then they would approach the clean one and became seers of God. But those who distanced themselves from fasts were distant

265. Eph 5:2.

from God's grace and were tortured with many evils. Behold, Adam distanced himself from the constancy of fasts and he left the Garden for thistle-bearing earth. The descendants of the Noachic race distanced themselves from constancy of fasts and were slaughtered by the all-annihilating flood and were drowned . . .

ԺԱ վասն սիրոյ եւ մախանաց եւ նախանձու
XI Concerning Love and Jealousy and Envy

3 90 . . . Իսկ որ չարակնեն եւ նախանձին, նա յո՞ր խաւար երթայցէ եւ կամ ո՞ւր սուզանիցի կամ ո՞րպիսի տանջանօք խաշիցի եւ մաշիցի: Քանզի սկիզբն ախտից է նախանձ եւ չարակնութիւն, զի նովաւ անկաւ սատանայ ի փառացն, նովաւ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ անէծք եւ քրտունք, փուշ եւ տատասկ, մահ եւ մեղք ի վերայ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ տիրեցին, նովիմբ Կայէն երերեալ տատանէր:

. . . but those who begrudge and envy, behold, for which darkness shall he go or where will he be submerged or by which sort of punishment will he be worn out and worn away? Because envy and grudging are the beginning of sufferings for by that Satan fell from glory, by that Adam went out of the Garden, and curses and sweat, thistle and thorn, death and sin ruled over all the descendants of Adam, by that same thing Cain trembled and shook.

ԺԴ. վասն սակաւ զողութեան որ ոչ ապաշխարեն Concerning the Little Theft, of Which They Do Not Repent

4 107 . . . Զի որ զհրովարտակս ոք արքունի պատառէ, ոչ միայն զքարտն փոխանակ քարտին պահանջեն ի նմանէ, զի զայն եւ սակաւ ինչ լումայիւք մարթ էր վճարել եւ կամ ըստ չափոյ քարտին պատժել, այլ ընդ արհամարհելոյ զհրամանս թագաւորին են տանջանք զանազանք եւ մահք դառինք: Սոյնպէս եւ Ադամա՛յ ոչ եթէ մեծ էին գողանքն, այլ հատումն միոյ ինչ մրգոյ: Եւ արդ, տե՛ս զբազում հոյլս պատուհասիցն, զանիծիցն եւ զմահուցն ոչ միայն ի վերայ Ադամայ, այլեւ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ, զի ոչ եթէ գողուն մրգոցն եղեւ պարտապան, այլ հրամանաց արարչին եւ բանի բերանոյ նորա, զի որ ասացն, եթէ՝ մի՛ սպանաներ, նոյն ասաց, եթէ՝ մի՛ գողանայցես: Եւ ոչ եթէ փոքու եւ մեծի մեղաց խնդիր իցէ, այլ պատուիրանազանցութեան եւ հրամանահատութեան:

. . . For, he who rips some royal decree—they do not only claim from him parchment in place of parchment, for that he could recompense for a few farthings, or to punish according to the measure of the parchment, but various punishments and bitter deaths for showing contempt of the king's com-

mandments. In the same fashion, also Adam, not that the robberies were great, only the cutting off of one piece of fruit. And now, see the numerous assemblies of punishments, those of curses and of deaths, not only upon Adam but also upon all of Adam's descendants. For not that the theft of the fruit was culpable, but of the commandments of the Creator and of the word of his mouth. For, he who said, "Do not kill," also said "Do not steal." And it is not that it is a question of great and small sins, but of the transgression of commandments and the breaking of ordinances.

ԺԹ վասն անասնամոլաց եւ իգացելոց եւ արուագիտաց
Concerning the Bestials, the Sodomites, and the Homosexuals

5 135 . . . Զի ոչ բաւեմ ցուցանել զդառն ողբալի ախտին զեղխութիւնսն. եւ առաւել եւս ընդ այս զարմանամ եւ հիանամ, յորժամ կանայք եւս զայնպիսի մոլեկան կատաղութիւնս գործեն եւ զանբանական զպղծութիւնս կատարեն: Զի ի սկզբանէ այրն այր ստեղծաւ ի պէտս կանանց, եւ կինն կին ստեղծաւ ի յարանց յօգնականութիւն, իսկ անօրէն պակշոտութիւնքն անզգայական ախտիցն զաստուածադիր զսահմանս փոխեցին ամբարշտութեամբ. եւ զպէտս բնականս, զոր պարտ էր արանց ի կանանց ընդունել եւ կանանց՝ յարանց, նոքա եւ յայլ աղտեղութիւնս փոխեցին . . .

For I cannot show the bitter, lamentable excesses of the passion and, even more, I am amazed and astounded at this, when women do even more such (acts of) raving frenzy and carry out irrational abominations. For, from the beginning the man was created as a man for the needs of women and the woman was created as a woman for the assistance of men. But, lawless lewdness of senseless passions impiously changed the boundaries set by God and the natural needs, which men should have received from women, and women from men, they changed to other filthiness . . .

ԻԳ. Թուղթ մխիթարութեան վախճանելոց յաշխարհէս
Concerning the Comfort of Those Who Are Going to Depart from This World

6 174 Արդ, դու այդիւ մխիթարեա ամենայնիւ, եթէ ակն ունիս յարութեանն, այլ եւ ած զմտաւ, եթէ մահ է ճանապարհ ամենայն աշխարհի, եւ ամենեքեան երթամք ընդ այն ճանապարհ: Ադամ, Աբէլ, Սէթ, Նոյ եւ ամենայն արդարքն զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել: Աբրահամ, Իսահակ եւ Յակոբ եւ Մովսէս եւ Դաւիթ՝ տեսողքն Աստուծոյ, եւ ամենայն նահապետքն՝ արդարքն եւ աստուածախօսքն, զմահ ընկալան, որով պարտ է եւ քեզ մխիթարել:

Now you have comfort through all that, if you hope for resurrection, but also consider that death is the way of the whole world and we all go along that path: Adam, Abel, Seth, Noah and all the righteous received death, by which you too must be comforted. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and Moses and David, seers of God, and all the patriarchs, the just and the speakers with God, received death, by which you too must be comforted . . .

Յաղագս պէսպէս ախտից
Concerning Various Sorts of Sufferings

7 182 Արար Աստուած զմարդն եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին փափկութեան՝ զամենայն սգայութիւնս ողջ ունելով ի բնութեան իւրում: Արդ, իբրեւ լուաւ այնմ, որ խաբեացն զնա, յայնժամ էառ զախտս ամենայն եւ իսկոյն ընկեցեալ եղեւ արտաքս ի մեծ եւ ի չքնաղ փառաց իւրոց, զի ծանիցէ մարդ, թէ գոն ախտք, որ մերժեն զնա յԱստուծոյ, եւ զի աղաչէ զբարերարն Աստուած, որպէս զի օգնեսցէ նմա եւ ապա կարասցէ կտրել յինքենէ ի բաց զախտս ամենայն: Այս ամենայն վէրք են, որ կրին յանձին մարդոյն եւ քակեն որոշեն զնա յԱստուծոյ:

God made man and set him in the Garden of delight, having completely all the senses in his nature. Now, when he listened to that one who deceived him, then he received all sufferings and immediately he was cast outside his great and excellent glory. Thus man might realize that there are sufferings that separate him from God and thus he beseeches the beneficent God so that He might help him, thus he will be able to cut off from himself all sufferings. All of these are wounds which are carried in the soul of man and detach, divide him from God.

8 183 . . .Զի՞նչ է հպարտութիւն. հպարտութիւն է խստասրտութիւն, անհնազանդ լինել ամենեցուն եւ քաջալերել յիւր զօրութիւնն եւ համարելով զինքն իմաստուն, եւ առնել յար եւեթ զիւր կամսն եւ արհամարհել զընկերն եւ կարծել զինքեան իմաստուն գոլ եւ ունելով զինքն իբրեւ ոչ իմիք կարօտ գոլ: Այս ամենայն գործին յանձին մարդոյն, մինչեւ որոշեն զնա յԱստուծոյ: Այս է, զոր եբարձն Ադամ, յորժամ եկերն ի պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անկաւ ընդ ոտիւք մահուն:

. . . What is pride? Pride is hardheartedness, to be disobedient to all and to trust in one's own might, and by considering oneself wise, continually to do one's own will and to despise one's fellow and to reckon oneself to be wise and holding oneself as not being needy of anything. All these are done in the soul of man until they separate him from God. This it is which Adam took up when he ate of the fruit of the tree and fell at the feet of death.

ԻԶ Թուղթ վասն հայոց դիւթականաց եւ անօրէն յուռթողաց
26 Epistle Concerning Auguries and Spells and Illicit Charms

9 198 . . .Յիշեա՛ վասն զի փոքր կարծեցուցանելոյ Ադամայ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ, ել ի դրախտէն, վասն փոքր կարծելոյ Քամայ զամօթ հօրն յայտնեալ՝ անկաւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ ծառայութեամբ, վասն փոքր կարծելոյն Եսաւայ զանդրանկութիւնն ընկենուլ, տեղի ապաշխարութեան ոչ եգիտ . . . :

. . . Remember because Adam was persuaded that God's commandment was small, he went out of the Garden; because Ham thought the uncovering of his father's shame was small, he fell under the curse and servitude; because Esau thought that the casting off the birthright was small, he did not find room for repentance. . . .

10 199 . . . Ի մի՛տ առ, ո՛վ յիմար եւ չարադիւթ, զի վասն միոյ մեղաց Ադամ ել ի դրախտէն, վասն միոյ սպանութեանն տատանումն Կայէնի, վասն գիջութեան ջրհեղեհն աշխարհի, վասն ամբարտաւանութեանն անկումն սատանայի, վասն անբարշտութեանն շփոթումն լեզուաց, . . .

Consider, O foolish and maleficent one, that Adam went out of the Garden because of one sin, that the trembling of Cain was because of one murder; that the flooding of the world was because of lasciviousness; that the fall of Satan was because of pride; that the confusion of tongues was because of impiety; . . .

Կանոնք Յովհաննու Մանդակունւոյ հայոց կաթողիկոսի [Գլուխք Թ] "Canons by the Kat'ołikos of the Armenians Yovhan Mandakuni [9 Chapters]" (reprint from Կանոնագիրք հայոց *Armenian Book of Canons*, vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan [Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964], 491–500), introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan. *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century: appendix (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 663–71.[266]

11 495 Դարձեալ, ոչ եթէ Ադամ պանիր եկեր, այլ պտուղ ծառոյ եւ ել ի դրախտէն:

Again, Adam did not eat cheese, but rather the fruit of the tree, and he went out of the Garden.

266. Hakobyan (1964), 666–67.

Sixth Century

At‘anas Taronac‘i C6

Text: At‘anas Taronac‘i, in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թուղթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997).[1]

This calendrical fragment, preserved in M2679, was edited by A. G. Abrahamyan, Anania Širakac‘i, Մատենագրություն *Writings* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944), 310–13.[2] H. Anasyan says that the fragment is by At‘anas and not Anania, as is also the view of M. Ōrmanean.[3]

1 223 [Ադ]ա[մ ամա]ց [Մ]Լ ծնանի զՄէթ յԵւայէ եւ եկեաց առ նովաւ ամս Չ մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մաղաղայելի:

Adam at the age of 230 begat Seth from Eve and he lived with him for <700> years until the 135th year of Mahalaleel.[4]

Komitas Kat‘ołikos C6

Text: Komitas Kat‘ołikos, Կանոն սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանց “Canon of the Holy Hṙip’simēans,” in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853). Compare Jerusalem edition of 1933, 574.

Canon of the Holy Hṙip’simēans etc. in *Hymnal* 488, Jerusalem edition 574.

1 Դարձեալ վերստին արարչագործ զօրութիւն. եւ դարձեալ Եդեմ աստուածատունկ զարդարի, քանզի ծառն կենաց տնկեցաւ ի դրախտին, բերելով մեզ պտուղ զերանելին Հռիփսիմէ: Երկունք մահաբերք անիծիցն լուծան, եւ Ադամ վերստին աստուածակերպ ճոխանայ. փոխանակ Եւայի դստերք նորա, մարտիրոսք եւ կուսանք ընծայեալք աստուծոյ:

1. The English version of the title is taken from the edition.
2. See Abrahamyan 1944, 107. However, Č‘amč‘ean (1984, 239) and Ōrmanean (1912, 1:384) support the At‘anas view.
3. Ōrmanean 1912, 1:384.
4. Armenian is Małałayēl. The text has the corrupt figure 6. The overall figures exactly equal *History of Adam, his Sons and Grandsons* §5, see apparatus there, and *History of the Forefathers* §29. This is the first occurrence of a chronographic interest in these text. The figures are discussed in Stone 1996a, 84–89. The texts are also published in that volume.

Again the creative power returns, and again Eden planted by God[5] is adorned! For the tree of life was planted in the Garden, bearing fruit for us—the blessed Hṙip'simē. The mortal pains of the curse[6] were abolished, and again Adam, divine in form, is given authority; the daughters of Eve, martyrs and virgins devoted to God, are in her stead.

Text: Komitas Kat'ołikos, Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*[7] (reprint of Կնիք հաւատոյ *Seal of Faith,* ed. Bishop Karapet [Ēǰmiacin: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1914]), introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 49–311.

Նախաաութիւն յանհաաութեան Սուրբ Երրորդութեանս
Prologue on the Incomprehensibility of the Holy Trinity

2 53 (13) Եւ ո՛չ ասի եղբայր Որդւոյ, քանզի չէ ծնունդ, եւ ոչ աւտար Աստուծոյ, քանզի ի Հաւրէ ելանէ. որպէս եւ ոչ Եւայ եւ Հաբէլ եղբարք ասին միմեանց, թէպէտ եւ երկո՛քինն յԱդամայ են, մինն առաւելութեամբ եւ միւսն ծննդեամբ. եւ ո՛չ Ադամ հայր Եւայի ասի, թէպէտեւ ի նմանէ առաւ կողն:

(13) And he is not called brother of the Son, for he is not a descendant of God nor alien to God, for he comes out of the Father, just as Eve and Abel are not said to be siblings, although both are from Adam, one by augmentation,[8] and the other by birth. And Adam is not called Eve's father, although the rib was taken from him.

Երանելոյն Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի Ազազացոյ, ի բանէն՝ Նաւակատիք պատուեցին:
Of the Blessed Gregory Nazianzus the Theologian, from the Sermon In novam Dominicam

3 252 (2) Արդ եթէ էր կացեալ մնացեալ եւ զպատուիրանն էր պահեալ՝ լինէաք արդեւք որպէս ո՛չ եմքս, ի փայտն կենաց մերձեցեալք՝ յետ

5. Language about Eden planted by God being "adorned" goes back to Gen 2:1 (LXX and Armenian Bible).

6. "Mortal pains of the curse" is perhaps a reference to the *Book of Adam and Eve* 8:2 = 34:2. Certainly the idea that the tree is մահաբեր ("mortal") and so illness and death, is found in *Adam Fragment 1* §9 (Stone 1982, 6–9).

7. Each passage below is preceded by the subtitle of the corresponding subsection. In fact, three passages from Կնիք հաւատոյ *The Seal of Faith*, except the prologue, are citations from Greek authors.

8. I.e., she was built out of his rib; the rib was augmented to become the whole of Eve.

փայտին գիտութեան. եւ զի՞նչ լինէաք. անմահացեալք եւ յԱստուած մերձեցեալք[9]:

(2) Now if we stayed and observed the commandment, would we be what we are not, having approached the tree of life after the tree of knowledge? And what would we be? Having become immortal and having approached God.

Երանելոյն Երանոսի, հետեւողի առաքելոց, եպիսկոպոսի Ղաւգդոնի. Գալիլէացւոց՝ ի բանէն, որ զստորնինք: Of the Blessed Irenaeus, Follower of the Apostles, the Bishop of Lugdunum of the Galileans (Gauls) from the Sermon on the Infernal (Regions).

4 258 (17) Այլ մարդն յսկզբանն ազատ էր բարուք. քանզի ազատ է կամաւք Աստուած, որ ստեղծ զմարդն ըստ նմանութեան իւրում, որպէս «մարմին անկար է, այսպէս հոգիս յաւժար է»՝ ի Տեառնէ վկայեալ:

(17) But in the beginning man was free by his character, for God has free will, who created man in his likeness, just as “the flesh is weak, so the spirit is willing,”[10] as attested by the Lord.

Երանելոյն Եւսեբէի եպիսկոպոսի Եմացոյ՝ ի խաւսիցն, որ յԵրուսաղէմ, վասն հաւատոց՝ ի Չարչարանաց ճառէն, ի բանէն՝ Իսկ զչարչարանացն լռել ինչ պարտիցիմք: Of the Blessed Eusebius Bishop of Emesa from the Speech Spoken in Jerusalem on the Faith, from the Sermon “On the sufferings,” from the section “We cannot be silent about the sufferings.”

5 277–78 (9) Ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմին աւուր յանցեաւ. Հնազանդ եղեւ Յիսուս կրել զչարչարանս, զի յորում ժամի պարտեցաք, ի նմին եւ յաղթեսցուք: (10) Փայտ ի դրախտին՝ փայտ խաչի. անդ կին, որով մեղք մտին յաշխարհ, եւ աստ կոյս, որ կայր եւ լսէր՝ «Սա մայր քո»: (11) Ձգեաց Ադամ յայսմ աւուր չարաչար զձեռն իւր պարզեաց եւ Յիսուս զեղեցիկ զսուրբ բազուկն. Ադամ մերձեցաւ ի ծառն եւ փայտն չարաչար, եւ Յիսուս բեւեռեաց զոտս եւ զձեռս ի խաչին. բարիոք Ադամ առ ցանգութեանն ճաշակեաց զպտուղ ծառոյն, եւ Քրիստոս ճաշակեաց զքացախ եւ զլեղի դառնութեան: (12) Ադամ

9. Corresponds to *PG* 36:612 lines 42–44.
10. Cf. Matt 26:14 and Mark 14:38.

լուաւ եթէ «Փուշ եւ տատասկ բերցէ քեզ երկիր», եւ Յիսուս պսակ ի փշոց ընկալաւ. Ադամ ընկալաւ անէծս, եւ Յիսուս աւրհնեալ ընդ այլոց անիծից՝ կախեցաւ իբրեւ զանիծեալ զփայտէ. իրք կարեւորք, զի ուսցուք, թէ որպէս մարդիկ մեռանին, եւ որպէս Աստուած կամաւք, եւ ոչ ակամա մեռանի: (13) Որ ընդ բնութեան կարեաւք էին՝ նոցա բարձք խորտակեցան, զի ըստ բնութեանն նոյնպէս եւ զմահն կրեցին. իսկ որ իշխանութիւն ունէր դնել զանձնն, եւ նա ոչ էր ըստ բնութեան կարեաւք. որպէս ի կուսէն կամաւ, եւ ո՛չ ակամայ՝ առ մարմին, նոյնպէս եւ ի խաչին կամաւ, եւ ո՛չ ակամայ՝ արար որոշումն իւր հոգոյն ի մարմնոյն. «Հա՛յր, ասէ, ի ձեռն քո աւանդեմ զհոգի իմ»:

(9) On the sixth day Adam was created, on the same day he transgressed. Jesus became obedient to endure the sufferings, for in what hour we were overwhelmed, at the same hour we shall overcome (be victorious). (10) The tree in the Garden (is) the tree of the cross. There (was) a woman, through whom sin came into the world, here (is) a virgin who heard him say: "here is your mother."[11] (11) On that day Adam maliciously put forth his hand, and Jesus nicely (spread) his holy arms. Adam maliciously drew near to the tree, and Jesus nailed his hands and feet to the tree. Adam tasted the fruit through lust, and Christ tasted vinegar and bitter gall. (12) Adam heard, "The earth shall bring forth to thee thorns and thistles,"[12] and Jesus received a crown of thorns. Adam received a curse, and Jesus who is blessed with others' curses, was hung on the Tree as one accursed. (This is) an important circumstance, so that we may learn how men die and how God dies, willingly and not unwillingly. (13) The thighs of those who were subject to the law of nature were broken, that they should endure death according to that nature. But he who had power to lay down his life was not subject to the law of nature. As he took on body from the Virgin willingly and not unwillingly, likewise on the cross too he willingly and not unwillingly made a separation of his spirit from his body. "Father, into your hands I commend My Spirit."[13]

Text: Komitas Kat'ołikos, "Կոմիտասի հայոց կաթողիկոսի եւ Պիռոսի արշիապատրիարգի հարցաքննութիւն եւ վիճաբանութիւն վասն հաւատոյ եւ կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ եւ վասն տնաւրէնութեան բանին Of Komitas, Kat'ołikos of the Armenians and arch-patriarch Piros: Questions and controversy about the faith and the orders of the Church and the dispensation of the Word" (reprint from Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, introduction and ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 4, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 312–26.

11. Cf. John 19:27.
12. Gen 18:3.
13. Luke 23:46.

6 312 (5) Կոմիտաս ասէ. Յորժամ ասաց Հայր ցԱդամ, թէ «Ո՞ւր ես», այլ ոչ խաւսեցաւ ընդ արարածս մինչև ի մկրտելն Որդոյ ի Յորդանան, ապա ձայն տուեալ բոլոր արարածոցս, թէ «Դայ է Որդի իմ սիրելի, դմա լուարուք»:

Komitas says: when the Father said to Adam: "Where are you?",[14] he spoke no more with creatures until the Son was baptized in Jordan. Then he called all the creatures saying: "This is my Son, the Beloved, listen to him."[15]

Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr C6?

Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr, Երանելոյն մեծի քերդողահաւրն Մովսէսի (Խորենացի) եպիսկոպոսի "A Letter of Our Blessed Father of Poets Movsēs,"[16] in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters,* ed. Norayr Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 163–71.

1 166 Զի մարմին յանարգ կաւոյ ստեղծանիլ զեկուցին՝ եւ շունչ եւ հոգի անեղին փչումն:

For (certain persons) say that the body is created of impure clay[17] and breath and spirit are the insufflation of the Increate.

Text: Movsēs K'ert'ołahayr, *Hymns,* in Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.[18]

Movsēs's hymns contain a number of short mentions of Adam traditions like the following:

Կանոն վեցերորդ աւուրն

Canon of the Sixth Day

2 52 (67) Յայտնութեամբ քո Տէր ցնծացաւ երկիր. եւ նորոգեալ եղեւ Ադամ յառաջին յանցանաց, ի մեղաց իւրոց:

14. Gen 3:9.

15. Mark 9:7.

16. On this attribution, see the title of the letter in the *Book of Letters* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), which contains the name Խորենացի in brackets. The old edition of the *Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901) mentions this name in the index: Մովսէս (քերթողահայր, Խորենացի) (p. 559). Xorenac'i's authorship is advocated by Abełyan 1968, 3:653–57.

17. Note that this is կաւ and not հող. This term is used also in two fifth-century texts: Agat'angełos 12, and Eznik 44 and 49.

18. Page numbers from the edition of Jerusalem 1933 are given in parentheses.

By knowledge of you, O Lord, earth rejoiced, and Adam was renewed from the first transgression, from his sins.

Մեծացուցէք Յարութեան Տեառն

Extol (on the occasion of) the Resurrection of the Lord.

3 67. (84) Ո՜վ գերահրաշ ծաղիկ բուրեալ յԵդեմայ, հոտ անմահութեան ծննդոցն Եւայի, յորմէ սփռեցաւ մահ ընդ տիեզերս:

A most wondrous flower giving fragrance from Eden[19] fragrance of immortality for the descendants of Eve, from whom death was spread over the universe.

Pseudo-Basil C6

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroeck, "Un court traité pseudo-Basilien de mouvance Aaronite conservé en arménien," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): 385–95. The translation here is my own.

This text is taken from Matenadaran M948 of 1196, 36v–37r. Van Esbroeck claims that it reflects sixth-century Armenian views and that its chronological data depend on *Cave of Treasures*.[20]

1 386 զի եթէ զպատուիրանս պահեալ էր գիտութեամբ նախահայրն, ոչ էր զրկեալ յանմահական կենացն եւ մերկացեալ յանմահութենէն: Ի բաց խափանեցաւ եւ առաւրեա եղեւ նա ի դրախտին:

For if the forefather had observed this commandment with discernment, he would not have been deprived of immortal life and stripped of immortality. He was expelled and he was for one day in the Garden.

2 Արդ եւ զժամուցն զյանցանս ճառեսցուք. եւ ի ստեղծմանէն պատմեսցուք: Զի ի գիշերէ առաւաւտ ստեղծաւ Ադամ

եւ յերրորդ ժամուն բանսարկուն աւձին պատրեաց զԵւայ, զկողաստեղծն,

եւ ի Զ-երրորդ ժամուն լուեալ կնոջն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն,

եւ յիններորդ ժամուն ել ի դրախտէն,

եւ ի տասներորդ կացին արտաքոյ դրախտին:

Now let us also explain the transgressions of the (various) hours and let us relate (it) from the creation, for from night, at dawn Adam was created.

19. I.e., the Virgin.

20. No Armenian version of *Cave of Treasures* survives. For a translation of the Syriac, see Budge 1927. See also Ri 1990, 111–22; 2000.

And in the third hour the serpentine Devil deceived Eve, (the one) born of the rib,[21]

And in the sixth hour the woman, having hearkened, ate of the fruit.

And in the ninth hour, he went forth from the Garden.

And in the tenth, they stood outside the Garden.

3 Եւ ի նսեմել երեկորին:

Եւ յառաջին պահուն գիշերին սկիզբն եղեւ փափագման միւս անգամ խնդրէր զտեղի դրախտին,

եւ յառաջին ժամու գիշերին ստեղծումն մարդոյն, եւ կապանք փրկչին ի նմին ժամուն ուրբաթուն,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն պատրանք աւձաջամբին ի նմին ժամու ուրբաթին խաչելութիւնն Քրիստոսի,

զի որպէս ի Զ ժամուն ուրբաթուն ճաշակումն պտղոյն եւ կորուստ ոգւոցն, ի նմին ժամու խաւարումն լուսաւորացն եւ ճաշակում լեղոյն,

զի որպէս Թ-երորդ ժամուն ել ի դրախտէն նոյնպէս կամաւոր մահն Քրիստոսի եւ աւանդումն ոգւոյն

եւ զոչումն ձայնին որ աւարեաց զդժոխս,

եւ զհոգիսն ազատեաց զմարգարէիցն զբանսարկուն կորոյս անճառ թաղմամբն, եւ աստուածապէս յարուցեալ զամենեսեան ընդ իւր վերաբերելով տալ նոցա զերկնից արքայութիւնն որում փարք յաւիտեանս, ամէն:

And when the evening darkened,

And in the first watch of the night longing began, again he sought the place of the Garden.

And in the first hour of the night was the creation of the man, and the bonds of the Savior on the same hour of the Friday.

For, just as in the sixth hour of the Friday was the deceit of the serpentine nourishment, on the same hour of the Friday was the crucifixion of Christ.

For just as on the sixth hour of the Friday the eating of the fruit and destruction of the souls (took place), on the same hour was the darkening of the luminaries and the consumption of the gall.

For just as on the ninth hour he went forth from the Garden, likewise

21. This is a very early occurrence of this designation, which later became current in the texts.

(was) the voluntary death of Christ and the giving up of (his) soul.

And the calling of the voice which destroyed hell,

And freed the souls of the prophets; destroyed the Devil with the ineffable (or: indescribable) burial, and divinely he raised up all, by taking them up with him to give them the kingdom of heaven, to whom glory for ever, Amen.

Seventh Century

Anania Širakac‘i C7

Text: Anania Širakac‘i, Ժամանակագրութիւն (Գիրք Կայսերաց) *Chronicle (The Book of Emperors)*, ed. Barseł Sargisean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1906). See also Erevan MS M2679, dated 971.

Anania Širakac‘i, Անանիա Շիրակացու Մատենագրությունը *The Works of Anania Širakac‘i*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1944).

Անանիայի հայոց վարդապետի Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց
Anania *vardapet* of the Armenians, On Explanation of Numbers

1 248–49 Եւ այս են միտք մարգարէին՝ յՀ ազգին կարծիս ունէր գալ փրկչին եւ եթէ յերկարաացին եւս վասն անլրութեան մարդկան, յՁ ազգին յայտնեսցի, զորոյ թիւ յայտնէ մեզ Ղուկայ ազգաբանութիւնն՝ զերկրորդ Ադամն սկիզբն դնելով նոր ստեղծուածոյս: Որ ի ջրոյ եւ ի հոգւոյն վերստին ստեղծաք, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս եղեալ եւ տարեալ հանէ յԱդամ ՀԸ նահապետս եւ զհայր եւ զհոգին յարդարեալ կատարէ զթիւ Չիդ զՔրիստոս հիմն եղեալ ըստ առաքելոյ եւ զհոգին կատարիչ եւ զհայր կատարումն: Եւ եթէ ոչ աւելորդ համարեսցիս, ասացից եւ այլ եւս բարձրագոյն խորհուրդ: Զի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ. զաւրէն ուղխից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու՝ իջանելով ի ծովն աղի

. . . And the ideas of the prophet are the following: he considered the Savior to come in the time of the seventieth generation, and if he is delayed more,[1] it is because of the disobedience of men. He will appear in the time of the eightieth generation; the genealogy of Luke reveals this number to us putting the second Adam as the beginning of this new creation. We that were created anew from water and the spirit, became new creatures in Christ; and he traces the descent of seventy-eight patriarchs from Adam. Counting the

1. Plural in text, i.e., by more (generations).

Father and the Spirit, he makes up the number 80. He regards Christ as the foundation according to the Apostle, and the Spirit as the completer and the Father as the completion. And if it does not seem superfluous to you, I shall tell you another, higher secret (mystery) too. For first Adam, being chased outside by God, ran down from a height, like a stream of a river, like the Jordan flowing down into the Dead Sea . . .[2]

ի զատիկն Տեառն
On the Lord's Easter

2 293 Քանզի յաւուր արարչութեանն լուսինն չորեքտասնաւրեայ էր. զի թեպէտ եւ մի աւր էր լինելոյ լուսնին, սակայն լիութիւն բոլորութեանն որպէս չորեքտասան աւր երեւէր, զի անմարթ էր թերի եւ կիսակատար լինել լուսնի յաւուր լինելութեան իւրոյ. վասն զի ամենայն արարածք լի եւ կատարեալ ստեղծան. որպէս բանջարքն ոչ դեռաբոյսք, այղ հասեալք. եւ ծառքն կատարեալք եւ պտղալիցք. եւ մարդն երեսնամեայ հասակաւ, թեպէտ եւ միոյ աւուր կենդանի: Ըստ նմին աւրինակի եւ լուսին չորեքտասանաւրեայ լիութեամբ լուսոյն կատարեալ. զնոյն եւ համարեցան վարդապետք եբրայեցւոցն յաւուր լինելութեանն չորեքտասանաւրեայ արարեալ զլուսին. զի ի վերայ նորա հաստատեցան ամիսք, եւ ի վերայ նորա եղեն գիտելի, որպէս եւ տարի յարեգականէ. Քանզի ասեն վարդապետք եբրայեցւոցն, եթէ ի չորրորդ աւուր ստեղծան արեգակն եւ լուսին . . . եւ ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ասեն լեալ զմարդն:

Because on the day of creation the moon was fourteen days old, for though the moon had been existing for one day, its round fullness looked like on the fourteenth day, for the moon could not be imperfect and half-complete on the day of its creation, since all the creatures were made full and perfect; like the vegetables—not newly sprouted, but ripe, and the trees—complete and full of fruits, and the man—thirty years old, though he had been alive for only one day. In the same way the moon was fourteen days old, perfect in full light. The Jewish doctors, too, hold the same opinion, that on the day of creation, the moon was made fourteen days old, for on it the months were established, and on it they became knowable, just like the solar year. Because the doctors of the Jews say that on the fourth day were created the sun and the moon, . . . and on the sixth day, they say, man came into being.

Text: Anania Širakac‘i, Տոմարական պատառիկ "A Calendar Fragment," in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Դաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր, 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest*

2. Eden is on a height; Adam runs down from the height on his expulsion.

Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981), ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997) 53 = 3v of the manuscript.

Շիրակացու տոմարական պատառիկը
A Calendar Fragment by Širakac‘i

3 311 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր. եւ աւրն այն միաշաբաթ էր. եւ այն աւր առաջին էր աւելեացն եբրայեցւոց, արաբացւոց, մակեդոնացւոց՝ մինչեւ ի չորրորդ աւրն. ապա յաւուրն չորրորդի արար զարեգակ(ն) եւ զլուսին. եւ այն աւր Դ էր աւելեացն եբրայեցւոյց, արաբացւոյց, մակեդովնացւոյց, զի Գ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զարեգակն եղեն լուսատուք տիեզերաց, որ թափանցիկ լոյսն կոչի. եւ Գ ժամքն այն ժողովին ի չորս ամս. եւ լինի աւուր մի որ կոչի նահանջ:

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, that day was Sunday, and that day was the first of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians; until the fourth day. Then on the fourth day he created the sun and the moon; that was the fourth day of the epagomenal days of the Hebrews, Arabs, Macedonians. For in the three days that were before the sun, there were the luminaries of the universe, called transparent light; and those three hours are accumulated during four years, forming one day, which is called leap-day.

4 311-312 Եւ մարդոյն լինելութեան սկիզբն յաւուր չորեքշաբթւոջ եղեւ: . . . Արարեալ խորհուրդ ծածկապէս . . . ապա յաւուրն հինգշաբթւոջ յայտնեաց Աստուած ցորդի եւ ցհոգի. Եկայք արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան . . . Արդ յաւուր ուրբաթու ստեղծաւ մարդն նիսան ամսոյ ամսամուտ էր: Եւ Ադամայ աւր ստեղծման, եւ եբրայեցւոց տարեմուտ, զի այն հինգ աւուրքն որ յառաջ քան զլինել մարդոյն, այն աւելիք կոչեցան: Արդ յԳ ժամու էառ զհողն ի ձեռն աստուած. եւ Զ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ առ զկենդանութիւն. եւ յԹերորդ ժամուն յանցեաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարն էջ փրկիչն յարգանդ կուսին՝ փրկութիւն առնելով տիեզերաց: Եւ որ Լ ամ լուռ եւ աներեւոյթդ եկա[ց] յաշխարհի, վասն զի նախահայրն Ադամ Լ ամ միով . . . [lacuna] մինչ զկենդանութիւն առ . . . Նոյն աւրինակաւ առաւ հողն յերիր ժամու եւ ի [վեցերո]րդ ժամու ստեղծաւ մարդն . . . եւ Թերորդ ժամու յանցեաւ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտէն

. . . And the beginning of the creation of man was on Wednesday. . . . Having made the plan secretly . . . then God made it known to the Son and the Spirit on Thursday: “Come let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness.”[3] . . . Now on Friday man was created; it was the New Moon

3. Gen 1:26.

of the month Nisan. And the day of creation of Adam was the Jews' New Year, for the five days before the creation of man were called epagomenal days. So at the third hour God took dust in his hand and at the sixth hour man was created and became animated. And at the ninth hour he committed sin and came out of the Garden. And at the Friday millennium (i.e., the sixth millennium), the Savior came down into the womb of the Virgin, bringing salvation to the world. And he stayed in the world silently and invisibly for thirty years, because the forefather Adam was thirty years (old) . . . [lacuna] before he received life. . . . After the same example the dust was taken at the third hour, and at the sixth hour man was created; . . . and at the ninth hour Adam committed sin and came out of the Garden.[4]

Պատմութիւն Անանիայի Շիրակացւոյ համարողի
History by the mathematician Anania Širakac'i[5]

5 357 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ . . . Ենովս, որ առաջին յուսացաւ կոչել զԱստուած: Եւ ընդէր արդեւք այս, եւ կամ վասն որո՞յ պատճառանաց նախն է ասացեալ կոչելոյն զԱստուած, կամ ո՛րպէս կոչելն իմանի: Քանզի Ադամ ճշմարտութեամբ աստուածաստեղծն. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր. այղ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թաքստեան եղեալ, զՈ՛ւր եսն յԱստուծոյ՝ եւ ոչ յայղ ումեքէ հարցանի:

The first-created Adam: having lived for two hundred and thirty years begat Seth . . . Enosh, who was the first to hope to call upon God.[6] And why is it so, or for what reason he is said to be the first to call upon God? Or how is the "call upon" to be understood? For, truly, Adam was created by God; and he is said to have received the commandment from God's mouth; and when he committed sin and hid himself, the "Where are you?"[7] came from God and it is not asked by anybody else.[8]

4. Arguments to show that the idea of the creation of man was conceived on the fourth day, revealed to the Son on the fifth day; and carried out on the sixth day.

5. The authorship of this writing is doubtful (A.T.).

6. Cf. Gen 4:26.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Observe in this section that Adam is created by the hand of God. Moreover, Adam received the commandment from God's mouth. This is connected with Enosh, "he hoped to call," and in Adam's case, God called upon Adam when he hid.

Dawit‘ the Invincible C7

Text: Davit‘ the Invincible, Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ "The Panegyric of the God-Receiving Holy Cross," in Կորիւն Վարդապետի, Մամբրէի Վերծանողի եւ Դաւիթ Անյաղթի Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings by Koriwn vardapet, Mambrē the Lector and Dawit‘ the Invincible* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1833), 103–19.[9]

1 109–10 Զի զագաթն Գողգոթայ, տեղի կառափելոյ, եւ շիրիմ առաջին մարդոյն յեբրայեցւոցն ասացեալ: Եւ ամենայն անդ է, քանզի բերէ զգագաթն բարձրութիւն սորա, եւ զկառափետղն ձեւ սորա. իսկ զթաղումն քանզի փայտիւ Ադամայ վիրաւորեցելոյ առ ի նմին իսկ այնուհետեւ անկեալ՝ ի մեռելոյ է ի համարի: Յորոյ վերայ հասանելով յերկրի երկնայինն Ադամ, գթածաբար զփրկութիւն կամեցեալ նորագործել աստ թաղեցելոյ ծառային եւ հօր, զյաւիտենական բարձեալ բերէ զարդարութիւն. նմանասեր մարմնով լուծանելով աստ զնորա զհաձեալ զմեղսն, եւ ճաշակելով իբր նայապէս զմահ՝ սպանանելով զնորայն մահ, բարձրացուցանէ զանուանեալն գագաթն գերագոյն երկնից:

Եւ զանսուրբ փայտն զպատճառս մեղաց, ի փրկութեան պատճառս եւ ի սրբութիւն սրբոց. եւ զկառափետղն ի կենաց գործետեղ. իսկ զթաղումն ի սքանչելի յարութիւն ածեալ փոխարկէ մարդոյն: Եւ ամենեւին իսկ պատճառաւ փրկութեանն, զայն որ մեղացն էր պատճառ ի բաց բարձեալ ...

For the summit of Golgotha, the place of execution, the Jews say is also the tomb of the first man. And all is there, for its (i.e., the cross's) height signifies the summit, and its shape—its form, the place of execution and the burial because, Adam having been wounded by a tree on the same place thenceforth having fallen, is reckoned as one who has died. Reaching here upon the earth, the heavenly Adam, wanting mercifully to renew the salvation of the servant and father buried here, brought the eternal justice, remitting his willful sin through (his own) body of the same origin. And He tasted (or: ate) death like him, by killing his (Adam's) death, and elevated the mentioned summit higher than heaven.

And the impure tree, the cause of sin, he transformed for man into the cause of salvation and into the holy of holies; and the place of execution—into the place of vivification; and the burial—he transformed into the wonderful

9. The attribution of this work to a sixth-century David seems dubious (MES).

resurrection of man. And by means of the cause of salvation He abolished totally him who was the cause of sin . . .

Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7

Text: Davit‘ Hark‘ac‘i, Որ յիմաստասիրական եւ յիմաստասիրելի հարցուածս *Philosophical and Philosophisable Questions*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1903) = *Ararat* (September–October 1902): 937–62.

13–17 (ԻԸ.)

1 Հ. Իսկ ո՞րպիսի տեսակն, որ եւ պատրել կարաւղագոյն:

Պ. Տնկոց ձեւացաւ բարին, որպէս զի ստուգապէս առ ձեռն հայեցուցէ. (յ)երկին, այսպէս եւ չարն տեսակ առեալ ի խորհուրդս կերպանայ, ինքնածին եղեալ ի նոյն վայրի, եւ ի բարուոջն բուսեալ եւ ընդ նմա աճեալ՝ ընդդէմ հանդիսանայ. եւ սոքա երկոքին աճեցեալ ի ստեղն, ի յոստս, ի ճիւղս եւ ի / ծայրս, երկաքանչիւր ըստ իւր պտուղ բերեալ: Եւ է բարին ճաշակաւ յոյժ քաղցր, զի պտուղ նորա առ անմահութիւն հայի, իսկ տեսակաւ անպաճոյճ, ինքնագոյ պարզ. վասն այսորիկ եւ ոչ վաղ զիղձսն բաղձացուցանաւղ զտեսաւղացն, մինչ չեւ ի բաց բարձեալ նորա դիմակ եւ զփորձ առեալ ճաշակմանն. առ որ հայեցեալ ընչաւէտն այն այր (Ադամ) ի բաց դարձաւ հրաժարեալ եւ ոչ կամեցաւ ճաշակել, թէպէտ եւ Տէրն յորդորեաց առ բարին մերձենալ, սակայն տրտմեալ այրն այն ի բաց գնաց առ պատիր անդր դարձեալ. վասն որոյ ի Տեառնէն իսկ խոստովանեալ, զի նեղ եւ սակաւագնաց շաւիղն որ ի յաւէժն տանի ի կեանս: Իսկ չարն ի ներքոյ դառն ապաժոյժ ղեղւոյ, իսկ ի վերոյ բարեկերպ գունեալ, իբր քաղցր ածմամբ, զի հրապուրանաւք խտղտեալ զքիմսն պարարիցէ, բարձիւ եւ բարեաւ զտեսաւղսն (տռ)փացուցանէ, բայց ծայրայեղն յատակս հայի դժոխոց, քանզի զսորայն / ասացի պտուղ մահ է եւ ամենայն անփորձաբար անդր սողոսկեալ հոսեցաւ, ըստ որում եւ աւաղականն այն ի վերայ կայ տէրունեանն բան, զի Լայն առ կորուստ ուղին եւ բազումք անկեալ երթան:

Question: And of what qualities is the sort that is most able to deceive?

Answer: Good was generated among the plants, in order that one could truly observe heaven from a short distance. In the same way evil, springing up in thought, then takes shape. Being self-born in the same place, having sprouted and grown up with it, (evil) opposes it. And each of these two, growing in trunks, stems, branches and summit, each of the two bears fruit in its own

likeness. And good tastes very sweet, for its fruit looks toward immortality, and it is an unadorned sort, naturally simple. For that reason it does not excite the desires of those who look at it, before they unmask and taste it. Now looking at it, that fortunate man (Adam) turned away, refused, and did not want to taste it; though the Lord exhorted him to approach the good, the displeased man went away turning to the illusory thing. That is why even the Lord confessed that "narrow is the way (and used by but few travelers) that leads unto eternal life."[10] And evil has bitter unbearable gall inside, whereas on the outside it is beautifully colored as if with sweet unction, to delight the palate, tickling with attraction, to provoke, with splendor and beauty, the passion of those who look at it.[11] But it looks onto the extreme depth of Hell, for, as I said, its fruit is death; and all those inexperienced who crept there, rushed down. About this is the Lord's sorrowful word: "Broad is the way, (that leadeth) to destruction, and many are they that fall down (thereby)."[12]

P'ilon Tirakac'i C7

P'ilon Tirakac'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronicle,* ed. Alek'san Hakobean, in *MH*, vol. 5, 7th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005), 903–69.

1 905 (38) Եւ առնին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն ազգք Ժ, ամք ՍՄԽԲ:

(38) From Adam until the flood it makes ten generations, 2242 years.

2 920 (263) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի գերութիւնն Բաբեղացւոց, որ եղեւ յաւուրս Յեքոնիայ, ազգք՝ ԾԱ, ամք՝ ՏՊԽԲ, ամիսք՝ Թ:

(263) From Adam until the Babylonian captivity which was in the days of Jechonias, 51 generations, 4842 years, and nine months.

3 925 (93) Եւ ի Սողովմոնէ եւ ի շինուածոյ տաճարին մինչեւ ի Կիւրոս՝ ամք ՆՂԵ: (94) Եւ յելիցն յԵգիպտոսէ, որ ի ձեռն Մովսիսի, մինչեւ ցշինուած տաճարին՝ ամք ՆԽԷ, եւ ի ջրհեղեղէն մինչեւ ցելսն Իսրայէղի՝ ամք ՌՆԽԵ: (95) Եւ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցջրհեղեղն՝ ամք ՍՄԽԲ: (96) Միանգամայն յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի չարչարանսն Քրիստոսի՝ ամք ՐՇԽ. եւ ի ԵԺ-երորդ ամէն Տիբերի կայսեր՝ մինչեւ ի հալածումն եկեղեցեաց, որ եղեւ յԹ ու Ժ-երորդ ամի Դիոկղետիանոսի, ամք ՄՀՁ: (97) Ժողովին ամենայն աւուրքն եւ լինին ամք ՐՊԺ:

10. See Matt 7:14.

11. Note the language of sweet and bitter, which often has an eschatological meaning.

12. Cf. Matt 7:13. This metaphor is a clear use of the Genesis tradition and implies an exegesis of Gen 3:6.

(93) And from Solomon and from the building of the temple until Cyrus, 495 years. From the exodus from Egypt which was through Moses until the building of the temple, 447 years, from the flood until the exit of Israel, 1445 years. (95) And from Adam until the flood, 2242 years. (96) Altogether from Adam until the passion of Christ, 5540 years, and from the 15th year of Emperor Tiberius until the persecution of churches which took place in the 19th year of Diocletian, 276 years. (97) All the days are summed up and make 5810 years.

4 936. (10) Լինին յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի ծնունդն Քրիստոսի ամք ՐՄԿԴ:

(10) From Adam until the birth of Christ are 5264 years.

Sahak Jorap‘orec‘i C7

Text: Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853); cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Կանոն երկրորդ աւուրն
Canon of the Second Day

1 549–50 Ի ստունգանելն Ադամայ ի կենագործ ի դրախտին խաբմամբ պատրանօք փայտին ծառոյն գիտութեան, օձաջամբ պատրանօքն ճաշակեալ ի պտղոյն, եւ եղեւ վայրաբնակիլ մայրաքաղաքն Երուսաղէմ: Արեւելք ի դրախտին ընծայեցին զփայտ խաչին . . .

When Adam disobeyed in the life-giving Garden due to the deception of the wood of the tree of knowledge, tasting the fruit by the seduction of the serpent, the metropolis Jerusalem became deserted. The sunrise brought forth the wood of the cross as a present in the Garden.[13]

Կանոն վեցերորդ աւուրն
Canon of the Sixth Day

2 564 Այսօր զենար զառն Աստուծոյ վասն յանցանաց նախաստեղծին ի վերայ խաչին պատարագեալ հեղեր զարիւնդ ի փրկութիւն . . . Այսօր ընդ գիտութեան փայտին մահու որով նախահայրն մահացաւ, զփրկականդ քո նշան փոխանակեալ կենաց փայտ մեզ շնորհեցեր . . . Այսօր զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց, զոր եւ քրովբէից պարունակեալ պահէին զգուշութեամբ, սովաւ զբոցեղէն սուրն բարձեալ բացեր որդւոց Ադամայ . . .

13. The Garden here is called մայրաքաղաքն (“the capital Jerusalem”), showing how paradise and Jerusalem fall together.

Today you are sacrificed, Lamb of God, on account of the sin of the protoplast, immolated on the Cross you shed your blood for salvation. Today you changed the mortal tree of knowledge because of which the forefather died, into your redemptive Cross, granting to us the tree of life. Today, removing the flaming sword, you opened for Adam's sons the way of the tree of life that was carefully guarded (kept closed) by the Cherubim.

3 565 . . . Որ փոխանակ պտղոյ մահաբեր ծառոյն, կենաց պտուղն որ ի վերայ քառաթեւին կերակրեաց զազգս որդւոց մարդկան . . . Որ զգիր պարտեաց կողածնին լըւաց հրահոս վտակօքն ի տիգախոց կողէն բղխեալ զոր արբոյց տիեզերաց։

He who, instead of the fruit of the mortal tree, fed the race of the sons of men with the fruit of the tree of life which is upon the four-armed (i.e., cross). . . . He who abolished the bond of obligation of her born of a rib, washed by means of fiery flowing streams springing from the lance-struck side, which he gave the universe to drink.

Tʻēodoros Kʻṙtʻenawor C7

Text: Tʻēodoros Kʻṙtʻenawor, Ճառք երեք *Three Homilies*, in Yovhan Ōjnecʻi, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953), 171–210.

1 172 Զի՞նչ արդէօք այսպիսիքս կարծիցեն զիւրեանց ծայրակոտոր իմաստսն, աղէ ասասցեն մեզ մուրազիտ աղանդաբերքն։ Մարմնական կիրառութեամբքն փրկանակն Բան վարակեալ հերքեաց զթշնամին մարդկան, թէ մերկ աստուածաբուն զօրութեամբն. եւ թէ իւրական յատուկ բնութեամբն՝ զի՞նչ պէտք մարդոյն զգեցման. որոյ կամակարօղ հրամանին ոչ ոք դիմակացիլ զօրէր։ Վասնզի ոչ զէական իւր բնութիւնն ի փորձ հանդիսի տուեալ, այլ զիւրական մարմինն յաղթող ախտի եւ ապականութեան եւ մահու ցուցեալ. եւ մարմնական կիրառութեամբն պատրեալ զթշնամին՝ ի գործ պատերազմի կոչէր. զի իբրեւ առ Ադամն մատուցեալ ի փորձ որպէս յԱստուծոյ կործանեսցի պարտեալ։ Քանզի աստուածական անուամբն պատրեալ զնախկին մարդն բարիատեացն թշնամին, սակս այսորիկ մարմնոյն զգեցմամբ եւ յանձնաւոր զմարմնական կիրսն փրկանակն Բան իրագործելով, խաբեալ զթշնամին պարտեալ ամաչեցոյց. եւ փրկեաց մարմնականօքն զմարմնականսս

What will such (people) consider to be their mutilated ideas, let the sectarians, cadging knowledge, tell us. The redemptive Word affected by bodily passion repulsed the enemy of men both by mere divine power and by his

particular nature. Why would he need to clothe himself in human (flesh), he whose mighty command nobody could oppose? Because he would not test his increate nature publicly, but he exposed his body as conqueror of disease, corruption, and death and, deceiving the enemy with bodily passion, called him to fight, in order that when approaching Adam for tempting, he be defeated as if by God. Since the enemy, hating good, had deceived the first man by means of the divine name, for that reason the redemptive Word, clothing himself in flesh and accepting bodily passion, deceived the enemy, defeated him and put him to shame, and saved the bodily (i.e., world) with bodily (i.e., passion).

2 173 Արդ ի վե՛ր կառու զաչս մտաց սրտիդ առ նախաստեղծ մարդն. եւ որ ինչ յաղագս պատուիրազանցութեանն պատուհասակրեցաւ՝ իմաց զիւրաքանչիւրսն: Եւ նախիմաց լեր զտէրունական օրինադրութիւնսն. Յամենայնսն վայելեսցես ի յոքնաբուսական տնզոցն. բայց առ այդ մի հպեսցիս փայտ իմացական բարոյ ի չարոյ: Աստանօր ծանիր զերկիւղն սկիզբն ամենայն բարոյ եւ չարոյ, եւ որ ինչ ի մարդումն առբնացեալն էին կիրք՝ եւ զնոյնս եւ բարէստեղծողն Աստուած պատուիրանադրեաց:

So raise your spiritual eyes to the first-created man and learn every punishment that he suffered for his transgression. And be provident with regard to the Lord's legislation. Enjoy all the diversity of trees but do not touch the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Now conceive fear, the beginning of all good and evil, and the passions inherent in man. The same was commanded by God who created everything good.

Նորին Երանելւոյն Թէոդորոսի Ճգնաւոր Միայնակեցի եւ վարդապետի Ներբողեան ի Սուրբ Խաչն Աստուածընկալ եւ ի Տնօրէնութիւն Տեառն Մերոյ եւ Փրկչին Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի: Of the same Blessed T'ēodoros, ascetic solitary and *vardapet,* Elegy on the Holy Lord-receiving Cross and on the Lordship of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ

3 178 Ապա եթէ ի գոյեղութեանն առլցեալ ունին զերկիւղն ամենից բացայայտ է՝ թէ անախտք են: Ուստի ամենայն անկարութեանն սկիզբն արտայայտեցաւ աներկիւղութիւն, որում նախկին բանսարկուին պիտառոցէ անկումն, եւ երկրորդ՝ նախծին մարդոյն:

If they are full of fear with regard to creation, it is quite evident that they are innocent. That is why fearlessness appeared to be the beginning of every weakness, which is witnessed by the fall first of the Devil and second of the firstborn man.

4 195 Ո՛վ քառատեսակ սուրբ նշան, կենդանի փայտ եւ ձայն բանաւոր, սրեալ արեամբ որդւոյն Աստուծոյ. վասն զի քեւ ծանեաք զճշմարիտ արքայն Սողոմոն հանդերձ վաթսուն զօրօք պահպանութեամբ էիցն՝ ըստ թուոյ հինգ զգայութեանցս, որով պիտակացեալ արտաքսեցուք տարապականութեամբ գործովք փայտին իմացութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի: Քեւ լուծեալ բարձաւ քրտնաբեր անիծաղրութիւնն Ադամայ, որ ի ձեռն հինգ շարադրեալ ազդեցութեան, եւ մուտ հարուածոցն՝ մախանօք: Քեւ խայտառակեցաւ օձ աւազակն, եւ բացաւ դրախտ՝ մարդ աւազակին: Քեւ բացաւ սրովբէափակ աղխեալ դուռն դրախտին կենաց:

O holy cross, with four aspects, living wood and rational mind, aroused by the blood of the Son of God; for thanks to you we knew the true king Solomon together with the sixty armies,[14] guarded by the existences according to the number of these five senses by which, having degenerated, we are alienated by useless acts from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Through you the sweat-bearing curse of Adam was removed, which was composed by the means of five admonitions, and the entry of blows through envy. Thanks to you the brigand serpent was put to shame and paradise was opened to the brigand man. Thanks to you the locked door of the paradise of life guarded by the Seraphim was opened.

Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł C7

Text: Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł, Յաղագս պատկերամարտից "Concerning the Iconoclasts," ed. E. Durean (Turian), *Sion* n.s. 1 (1927): 23–25, 61–63; reprinted in Ełišē Durean (Turian), Վրթանէս Քերթողի Յաղագս Պատկերամարտից "Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł, 'Against the Iconoclasts,'" in Ուսումնասիրութիւնք եւ Քննադատութիւնք *Studies and Researches* (Collected Writings of Patriarch Ełišē Turian [Durean] 6; Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1935), 299–308. Critical text in *MH*, vol. 3, 6th century, introduction by Yakob K‘eosēyan (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2003), 493–500.

1 62 Եւ մեղք իսկ առաջին ի ստութենէ ծնան, որպէս առ Ադամաւն:

. . . And in fact the first sin was born of falsehood, as in the days of Adam . . .[15]

14. The reference to King Solomon is unclear.

15. It is a standard point that deceit was the cause of Adam's sin. Still, contrast Wisdom of Solomon and other sources, where there is more emphasis on envy.

YOVHAN MAMIKONEAN C7

Text: Յովհաննու Մամիկոնենի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ *The History of Tarōn by Yovhannēs Mamikonean* (2nd printing; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1889).

Yovhan Mamikonean, Պատմութիւն Տարօնոյ *History of Tarōn*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Matenadaran, 1941).

Translation: *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean, The History of Tarōn (Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy), Historical Investigation, Critical Translation, and Historical and Textual Commentaries* by Levon Avdoyan (Suren D. Fesjian Academic Publications 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993). The translation is my own.

1 17 Այլ դու, Տէր, զթացար 'ի ստեղծուածս քո աստուածային ձեռացդ. առաքեցեր զմիածին Որդիդ քո 'ի փրկութիւն աշխարհի, որ եկն եւ եղեւ մարդ ի կնոջէ 'ի մեր նմանութիւնս, եւ էառ զմեր պատժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեղս մարմնով իւրով, եղոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:

But you, Lord, had mercy on the creations of your divine hands. You sent your only-begotten Son for the salvation of the land (world). He came and became a man from a woman in our likeness. And he took our liability to punishment. He condemned sins by his body; he undid the curses of the protoplast Adam.[16]

16. Letter from L. Avdoyan 1/11/99: "This is one of the most corrupted of the passages in PsY, and I believe it is because it entered the Yaysmaurk' and was subject to extensive meddling. The two main variants are the 1941 edition which reads: եւ ոչ կրելով իւր զմեղս՝ դատապարտեաց ի մարմնի իւրում եղոյծ զանէծս ի վերայխաչին: The other variant, which I used heavily (but I judged the ի վերայ խաչին is close also to the original) is from the Venetian edition of 1889, followed by several mss., including one I consider of prime importance (Abrahamyan's L): . . . եւ էառ զմեր պարժապարտութիւնս. դատապարտեաց զմեղս մարմնով իւրով, եղոյծ զանէծս նախաստեղծին Ադամայ:"

Eighth Century

Grigoris Aršaruni C8

Text: Grigoris Aršaruni, Մեկնութիւն Ընթերցուածոց *Commentary on the Lectionary*, ed. K‘. Č‘rak‘ean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1964), 86–87.

1 Թէ որպէս յաղագս մարդոյն երկիր եւ ծով իւրովք զարդուն եւ ծննդովք, ի ձեռն հաստատութեան երկնին լուսաւորօքն հանդերձ բաժանեալ յառաջին երկնէն, երկրորդ աշխարհ գոյացաւ ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին:

On how for the sake of man, the earth and the sea with their ornaments and creatures were divided by the firmament, together with the luminaries from the first heaven, and the second world came into being for the glory and praise of the Creator.

2 Եւ արդ ունի խորհուրդ ընթերցուածոցն յայտնել նախ զայս միտս, որքան իմ տկարութիւնս հասու եղեւ, զանճառ Աստուծոյ իմաստութեանն գործ. հրաշալի նախախնամութեան յօրինուածովք առ մարդն. որպէս զի յաղագս նորա լինել նիւթական արարածոցս ի պատիւ ինքեան եւ ի գովութիւն արարչին. որ է լինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի, ծովու եւ որ ի նոսա, սքանչելի գործք արուեստաւոր բանին, որպէս եղելութիւն լուսոյն կարգաւորութեամբ տըւընջեան եւ գիշերոյ ի բաւանդակութիւն աւուրն:

Now the purpose of the lections first is to express the following idea, as far as my weakness comprehended the work of the ineffable wisdom of God, with the creations of wonderful providence to man, so that the material creatures existed for him, for his honor and for the glory of the Creator; that is the creation of the heaven and the earth, the sea and their inhabitants—the wonderful deeds of the ingenious Word, and also the creation of the light with the succession of day and night for the completion of day.[1]

3 Նոյնպէս եւ հաստատութիւն երկնին խորանաձեւ շրջաբերեալ զոյգ ծովու եւ ցամաքի, որպէս պայծառութիւն արեգական, լուսնոյ եւ աստեղաց, մերկեաց զերկինն վերին եւ զլոյծ բնութիւնն ջուրց ի

1. Creation is for the sake of man, for the honor of man and the glory of the Creator.

միմեանց, եւ ծովս եւ գնացս գետոց աղբերօք հանդերձ, երկրորդ աշխարհ / նիւթական բացայայտեաց, ցուցանելով զծաղկածին ցամաքն, որ հրամայեցաւ բուսովք եւ պտղաբեր տընկովք եւ անտառախիտ մայրեօք լնուլ լերանց, դաշտաց, ձորոց եւ կղզեաց ծովու: Ցուցանելով ինքնազարդ գեղեցկութիւն, ընդ նմին եւ ջրածին դուղակացն, սողնոց անբանից, գազանաց մեծամեծաց եւ փոքունց, եւ ահագին վիշապաց ի ջուրցն հրամայեցաւ լնուլ զջուրս ամենայն: Ուստի եւ թռչնոց տարմք ելեալ, լցին զծովացեալ օդս ի վերայ երկրի, որ կոչի շաղկապ դրացի հաստատութեան երկնի. նովին հրամանաւ եւ երկրի հանեալ շունչ կենդանի, գազան եւ անասուն եւ սողուն երկրի, որով կրկնապատիկ զարդարեցան երեսք երկրի առ ի ցուցանել զառատ արարչին ամենահնար մեծութիւնն, ի բոյսս եւ ի զգայական կենդանիսս:

Also the vaulted firmament of the heaven surrounding both the sea and dry land, as the shining of sun, moon, and the stars, separated the upper heaven and the fluid nature of waters from each other, both the seas and the streams of rivers together with the springs. Second, he revealed the material world showing the flower-bearing dry land. The order was given for the mountains, fields, valleys, and islands of the sea to be filled with plants and fruit-bearing trees and leafy forest. Showing the natural beauty, with it also of aquatic animals, irrational creeping things,[2] large and small beasts, and fearsome sea-monsters in the waters, He ordered them to fill all the waters. Whence came forth flocks of birds and filled the sealike air above the earth, which is called the neighboring junction of the firmament of heaven.[3]

By the same command the earth brought forth living creatures, beasts, and cattle and creeping things of the earth, with the surface of the earth was adorned twofold, to manifest the most skillful power of the generous Creator with plants and with perceptible living things.[4]

4 89 Ե. Թէ մարդոյն լինելութեամբ հաւասարեաց զզգալի աշխարհս ընդ իմանալիսն: Եւ զայս խորհեցեալ բարերարին յառաջագոյն, առնէ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ մտաւոր եւ բանաւոր, իբրեւ զիմանալիսն՝ յիմանալի լոյս բնակեալ մերձ յանմերձենալի լոյսն: Եւ արու եւ էգ՝ ըստ զգայականացն, որոց եւ գլուխն հանդիպեցաւ իբրեւ հաղորդ նոցուն առաջնորդութեամբ. եւ ածէ զնա ի դրախտ իբրեւ թագաւոր յարքունիս, հանդերձ թագուհեաւ, զի եղիցի որպէս փեսայ առ հարսին ուրախացեալ ի ներքուստ. եւ իբրեւ զթագաւոր սպասաւորեալ յորոց իշխիցենն արտաքուստ: Եւ այսպէս

2. Cf. Gen 1:24.

3. Note that the birds are related to the sea. This occurs in many Armenian accounts of creation.

4. Observe the idea, also mentioned in the text above, of the creation of two worlds.

աճեցուցեալ արարչական բանին ի նիւթականացն բուսականս եւ զգայականս յաւելուածութեան կարգաւ, մինչեւ ի մարդն բանաւոր որ ըստ պատկերի արարչին ելից զտունս զայս եւ հաւասար առաջնոց եւ իմանալի տանն յօրինեաց, ի միոյ արարչի մի փառաւորութիւն բաւանդակելով:

5. That by creating man He equalized this perceptible world with the intelligible. And first thinking this over, the Benefactor created man in his image, intellectual and rational, like the intelligent (beings) dwelling in the intelligible light near unapproachable light. And He created male and female, like sensible beings of whom He happened to be the head, as if participating in them with priority. And He brought him into paradise, like a king into the court, together with the queen, so that he could rejoice inside, like a bridegroom with his bride, and be served like a king, by those whom they rule outside. And thus from the material things, the Creative Word gradually grew vegetal things and sensible beings by the order of multiplicity up to the rational man who (was) in the image of the Creator, He filled this house and He made him equal to the first things, He created the intelligible one for the house, one praise containing one glory for one Creator.[5]

5 107 Եւ ապա ընթեռնուն զպատմութիւն ամենաբարի արարչութեանն գործոց եւ կրից մարդոյն. յորում եւ նկարագրութիւնք խնամոցն Աստուծոյ առ կինն, ազդեալ մարգարէութեամբ ի ձեռն Ադամայ, կոչել զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. գիտելով թէ որպէս մահ ի կնոջէ է, նոյնպէս եւ կեանք:

And then they read the story about the all-good acts of creation and man's vicissitudes, among which (are) also the description of God's solicitude concerning woman, the announcement by prophecy through Adam, that his wife is to be called "life,"[6] for he knew that as death is caused by woman, likewise life is.

6 109 Այսպէս սկսեալ ի ծննդենէն Քրիստոսի, որ յաղագս Եւայի, անցանելով ընդ ամենայն խնամս փրկութեանն, որ վասն Ադամայ կատարեն յօրիներգութիւն Աստուծոյ ցնծալից ուրախութեամբ ամենայն արարածովք, որք ընդ նոսա վերստին նորոգեցան, երկնիւ, երկրաւ, ծովու, եւ ամենայն որ ի նոսա սքանչելի գործք բանաւորաց, զգայականաց եւ անշնչից:

Thus starting with the birth of Christ, which (took place) on account of Eve, passing to all the care about salvation, which (took place) on account

5. Man shares intelligence with like higher beings; humans are also male and female like sensible beings. Man is brought to paradise like a king, served by his subjects; and was created as the peak of a process of creation by the Creative Word.

6. Cf. Gen 3:20·

of Adam, they confer their song of blessing on God with cheerful joy, with all the creatures that were again renewed with them: the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all the wonderful creatures[7] in them—rational, perceptive, and inanimate.[8]

7 113 Որպէս ոմանց վեցօրեա ստեղծուլ ասել զմարդն, եւ քառասնօրեա՝ ի դրախտն զմուտն, եւ նովին չափովն զելն, որ չէ յայտ

. . . As some say, man was created on the sixth day, and entered the Garden of Eden on the fortieth day, and came out after an equal period, which is not obvious . . . [9]

8 115–16 Նոյնպէս երկուքն յորս ընթերցուածքն. յուրբաթուն՝ վասն նախահօրն, զի որպէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ ի սկզբանն, եւ ի նմին աւուր ել փայտին յանցանօք, նոյնպէս եւ ի վեց հազարիս փրկեցաւ յուրբաթուն, խաչին փրկութեամբ եւ ի նմին աւուր աւազակն ի դրախտն եմուտ. իսկ չորեքշաբաթուն վասն Եւայի: Եւ թէպէտեւ գաղտնեացն բան պատշաճագոյն էր մեզ որ ի չորեքշաբաթուն զլինելն ասէ զԵւայի, եւ յուրբաթուն զմուտն ի դրախտն, փիլիսոփային վկայութեամբ, բայց զի ի բնագրին ոչ գտանի, մեզ անընդունելի է:

. . . Եւ զոր օրինակ զգալի լոյսն ի չորրորդ աւուրն ժողովեցաւ ի նիւթն, նոյնպէս եւ իմանալի լոյսն ի Հօրէ ի չորեքշաբաթուն աւետարանեցաւ / Կուսին . . . որպէս ի չորրորդի կենդանեաց լինել, եւ ստեղծուած կնոջն, որով կեանքն յայտնեցան . . .

Որպէս եւ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն ջուրցն հանել զեռուն շնչոց կենդանեաց, որ օրինակէ զմկրտութեամբ ծնունդն որդւոց մարդկան:

Likewise there are two lections on Friday concerning the Forefather, how in the beginning he was created on the sixth day and on the same day came out[10] because of his sin with the tree; similarly, he was saved on Friday in the sixth thousandth year, finding salvation through the cross, and on the same day the brigand entered paradise; and (there is a lection) on Wednesday concerning Eve. And though we have a most suitable word about the mystery, saying that Eve was created on Wednesday and entered paradise on Friday,

7. Literally: deeds.

8. Note the symmetry, Christ has to be born because of Eve; salvation has to take place because of Adam. The Virgin is not yet here related directly to Eve, as Christ is often to Adam.

9. Already above, the idea occurs that man is created on the sixth day. It is common and is based on the Bible. According to Ełišē's *Commentary on Genesis* 14 (Xačikʻyan 1992, 243), some say Adam was in the Garden for forty days "because of male impurity." That Adam entered the Garden on the fortieth day is to be found in *Jub.* 3:9–10 and the *Life of Adam* cited by George Syncellus: see Stone 1992, 87; Adler and Tuffin 2002, 6 n. 4; 7.

10. I.e., of Eden.

according to the philosophical witness, it is unacceptable to us, since it is not found in the text.

. . . And just as the perceptible light was gathered into substance on the fourth day, likewise the intelligible light (emanating) from the Father was announced to the Virgin on Wednesday. . . . As living creatures appeared on the fourth (day), and woman was created, by whom life came into existence.

. . . As on the fifth day the waters brought forth swarm of living creatures,[11] after the same example is the birth of sons of men through baptism.

9 120 . . . յՈւրբաթուն յիշատակի առաջին մարդոյն անհնազանդութիւն պատուիրանին:

. . . It is mentioned that the disobedience of the first man to the commandment was on Friday.

10 122 . . . Եւ զկատարելագործութիւն ամենայն ընթերցուածոցն խորհրդոց պահեմք յերեկոյ ճրագալուցին շաբաթու, զի անդ առնուն զկատարումն այլ շաբաթուցն խոստմունք մարգարէիցն. զոր յաղագս կնոջն առաջին եւ նախահօրն փրկութեան պատմեցին:

. . . And we observe the performing of all the mysteries of the lections on the eve of this Easter Saturday, so that there they might make a fulfillment of the promises of the prophets about the other Sabbaths: those which told about the salvation of the first woman and the forefather.

11 131 Իսկ երկրորդ ուրբաթուն, եւ պահեսցեն զպատուիրանս, զոր ի դրախտին Ադամ ոչ պահեաց, եւ զիրաւունս, ասէ՝ որ յօձէն՝ խաբեալ հանդիպեցաւ ապաշխարութեանն, եւ զդատաստանս, ասէ՝ որ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր յանցանաց զարժանն առին խաբողն եւ խաբեալքն:

. . . Եւ օրհնեսցէ ասէ զծնունդս որովայնի քո, որ Եւայիւն տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդիս, ասաց, եւ զպտուղ երկրի քո, որ Ադամաւն անիծաւ . . .

And on the second Friday they will observe the commandments which Adam did not observe in the Garden, and the statutes. It says, "he who was deceived by the serpent encountered repentance"; and of the judgments it says, "for the deceiver and the deceived obtained their deserts, each according to his sin."[12]

". . . And he will bless," it says, "the fruit of your womb";[13] you, that shall

11. Cf. Gen 1:20.

12. The source of this quotation is unclear.

13. Cf. Luke 1:42.

bring forth children in pain because of Eve,[14] and the fruit of your ground that was cursed because of Adam.

12 132 Եւ զի յուրբաթուն վիրաւորեցաւ Ադամ փայտիւն եւ ել ի դրախտէն, եւ յուրբաթուն փրկիչն իւրովք վիրօքն բժշկեաց ի խաչին . . .

For on Friday Adam was wounded by the tree and came out of paradise,[15] and on Friday the Savior on the cross cured (i.e., Adam's wounds) with his wounds.

13 135 . . . Զի բանք անօրինաց զօրացան ի վերայ մեր, որ ի սատանայէ, ի դրախտին՝ օձին խաբէութեամբ եւ զամպարշտութիւնս մեր դու քաւեսցես, մարմնանալովդ:

For the words of the impious overpowered us, which (come) from Satan; you will expiate through your incarnation our impieties (which were caused) by the deception of the serpent in paradise.

14 162 բազմօրեայք լինիջիք յանմահութեան, որ ի դրախտին սակաւօրեայք . . .

. . . Be immortal for many days, you that lived but few days in the Garden (of Eden).

15 167 . . . Զոր օրինակ առաջին մարդն ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ, եւ պատուհասեցաւ մեղօքն, երկարելով նմա կեանս ցաւալիցս, մինչ ի վեց հազարեան ամն լնլով զօր երկոտասանաժամեան հինգ հարիւրեակ ամացն ժամուքս,՝ առ ի կատարել բանին Տեառն թէ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն՝ մահու մեռանիցիք:

Likewise the first man was created on the sixth day and was punished because of sin by his sorrowful life being lengthened until the fulfillment of the sixth millennium, the day (being) of twelve hours of five hundred years, in order to carry out the Lord's word that: "On the day that you eat of the tree, you shall die."[16]

16 169–70 Նոյնպէս եւ յուրբաթուն հրա/մայի դստերն Բաբելովնի ընկենուլ զքող զարդուն, որ՝ զառաջին կնոջն հոլանեաց զպատկառանս եւ քարշել զալիսն՝ որ զպսակ պարծանաց նախահօրն յերկիր խոնարհեցոյց. եւ բանալ զսրունս զի յայտնեսցի ամօթ նորա, որ ամաչեցոյց մերկութեամբն զԱդամ եւ զկինն, ի կարել զտերեւ թզենոյն՝ որով ծածկել կարծէին զամօթ իւրեանց . . .

14. Cf. Gen 3:16.
15. This word is translated indifferently "paradise" or "the Garden."
16. See Gen 2:17.

On Friday also the daughter of Babylon is commanded[17] to remove the veil of her beauty, that bared the shyness of the first woman, and strip off the train that brought down to the ground the forefather's crown of glory, and to uncover the leg so that they made their shame visible that disconcerted Adam and the woman because of nakedness, so that they sewed fig leaves (together), with which they thought to cover their shame . . .

17 171 Եւ որպէս ի դրախտին անաշխատ կերակրէր զմարմինն՝ պտղովն, եւ զհոգիսն՝ պատուիրանաւն, նոյնպէս եւ յանապատին՝ մանանայիւն եւ օրինօքն . . .

And as in the Garden of Eden. (He) fed the body with fruit without labor, and the souls—with the commandment, likewise in the desert—with the manna and the law . . .[18]

18 183 Այսպէս եւ աստ յամենայն աւուր եւս վերագոյն սկսեալ, զնոյն ինքն զսկզբնաչար զդրախտին օձն, իբրեւ զաւազակապետ ժանտատեսիլ եւ ահարկու դիմօք կալեալ եւ ձաղածանակ արարեալ անլուծանելի կապանօք, ամենեցուն անդր ժողովելով անցուցանեն ընդ հինգօրեայ ապարանս պահոցն, յարքունիս ուրբաթուն՝ ուր թագաւորն փառաց պսակեալ ի խաչին. յանդիման առնելով զօձ աւազակն մարդ աւազակին. հանելով զնա ի հայհոյութենէն ի խոստովանութիւն արքայութեան իւրոյ. լուծանէ զանէծս՝ ընդ իւր տանելով ի դրախտն, փոխանակ Ադամայ. եւ զանդարձ օձն կախեալ զփայտէն, մերկ խայտառակեալ, որպէս յանապատին, ոչ ունելով ծածկոյթ ամօթոյն նախատանացն, եւ ոչ զտերեւ թզենոյն այլ եւ ոչ զկենդանութիւն: Արդ լսել կամելով մարդկային բնութեանս զպատմութիւն վիշապ օձին որ աստուածանալն կամելով ի վերայ նիւթական աշխարհիս, զոր արար Աստուած մեծասքանչ իմաստութեամբն իւրով. եւ կացոյց զմարդն թագաւոր ի վերայ սորա ըստ կերպարանի իւրում, եւ երկրորդ իւր առնելով. որում զաղտ ի վերայ անկանելով աւազակաբար խաբէութեամբ, իբրեւ ի գիշերի, անգիտութեամբն կապեալ զնա, եւ գերի վարեալ դղրդեաց ի հիմանց զթագաւորաբնակ աշխարհս ապականութեամբ. վասն որոյ թագաւորն փառաց շարժեալ ի հայրական աթոռոյն փառաց հանդերձ երկնային զօրօքն. եւ հետամուտ եղեալ եհատ զջիղս աւազակին, ձերբակալ առնելով կապեալ ած ի դատաստան մահու . . .

In the same way here—starting every day anew, seizing the first evil itself, the serpent of the Garden, as the ugly and horrible-looking chief brigand, and having made him a mockery through indissoluble bonds, they all gather there and make him pass through the palace of five-day-long fast to the royal

17. Cf. Isa 47:1.
18. There is some corruption of the text in the last two excerpts.

court of Friday. There the King of Glory is crowned on the cross, putting the brigand serpent before the brigand man; releasing the latter from blasphemy (and leading) him to the confession of His kingdom. He dissolves the curse and takes the (brigand man) with himself to paradise instead of Adam. And the unrepentant serpent is hanged on the wood, naked and defamed, as in the desert, without a cover for the shame of the dishonor, without a fig leaf and even without vitality. So our human nature wanted to hear the story of the dragon serpent which wished to become the god of the material world which God created by his wonderful wisdom, and established the man according to his image to reign over it, and made him the second after himself; and (the serpent) secretly rushed upon him with brigandlike deceit, as in the night, bound him through (his) ignorance, and capturing him shook from its foundation this royal residence—the world—by corruption. Because of that the King of Glory, moving from the paternal glorious throne, together with the heavenly hosts, and pursuing the brigand, cut his sinews, seizing and binding him sentenced to death . . .

19 186 . . . Փրկիչն . . . զգենու զդենջեակն փոխանակ մաշկեղէն հանդերձիցն Ադամայ

. . . The Savior . . . wears linen instead of the leather clothes of Adam.

Łewond C8

Text: Łewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Արշաւանք արաբաց ի Հայաստան *The Arabian Invasions into Armenia,* ed. K. V. Šahnazarianc‘ (Paris: E. Thunot, 1857).

Łewond *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատմութիւն *History*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1887).[19]

Translation: Łewond, Պատմություն *History, Modern Armenian Translation, Introduction and Commentary* by Aram Tēr Łevondyan (Erevan: Sovetakan Groł, 1982). The English translation is my own.

From St. Petersburg 1887 edition:

1 51 Եւ նոքա մարմնեղէն էին յորդւոցն Ադամայ, որք մոռանան եւ ի կարծիս ըմբռնին, զի մօտ է առ նոսա սատանայ եւ նմանօղք նորա թշնամութեամբն իւրեանց:

And they in a bodily way were of the sons of Adam, who forgot and were

19. The Leiden Armenian Data Base used the St. Petersburg edition 1877.

entrapped in opinions. For Satan is close to them and those like him with their enmity.

2 79 Եթէ հաւատաս երկիւղին ի ժամ մահուն կենարար, եւ քրտանցն որ վասն Ադամայ քրտանցն կրեաց, զոր ինքն անմարմնաբար ասաց ցԱդամ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո», եւ առ ի հրեշտակէն զօրանալոյ . . .

If you believe in the fear, in the hour of death He is life-giving and in the sweat which He bore on account of Adam's sweat, which He himself in a nonbodily way said to Adam. "By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread,"[20] and strengthened by the angel . . .

3 81 Եւ այս է զոր ասեմս՝ աստուածաբանել զմեր Տէրն ընդդիմանաս, եւ մարդ սոսկ խոստովանիս, յօրինակ ածելով զԱդամ, թէ եւ նա առանց ծնօղաց յԱստուծոյ ծնեալ եղեւ:

And this is what I say, that when the Lord spoke to us theologically, you resisted, and you avowed that man is single (or: devoid), bringing Adam as an example and he was born from God without parents.

Գլուխ 6 Chapter 6

Կայսրն Ղեւոն՝ Օմարայ Սառակինոսաց առաջնորդի ...
King Lewon to Omar, Leader of the Saracens.

4 From Paris edition pp. 92-94, which is equivalent to St. Petersburg edition p. 67:

Եւ ապա քանզի ոչ ինչ պատուական է Աստուծոյ յարարածս իւր քան զմարդն. վասն զի եւ դու խոստովան լինիս եթէ հրամայեաց Աստուած հրեշտակաց երկրպագել Ադամայ, թէպէտեւ յաստուածային գիրս զայդ ոչ գտանեմք: Արդ՝ Ադամ մարդ էր՝ գեղեցիկ վկայեցեր բամբասեալ զքոյին հպարտութիւնդ. զի որ մարդկան ոչ՝ երկրպագեսցեն գիտասցեն ընդ որս դասեցին, ո՞րպէս ասացեր: Արդ՝ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ եղեւ Ադամ՝ յայտ է: Զի՞արդ զայս ախտաւոր, ընդդիմահար մարմի՞նս կարծիցես Աստուծոյ ասել պատկեր իւր, ոչ՝ այլ զիւր եւ զԲանին իւրոյ եւ զՀոգւոյն իւրոյ զնմանութիւն եդ ի նմա զիոզի, զմիտս եւ զբան: Զսոսա ի սմա հաւաքեալ կառոյց, եւ ընդ ինքնիշխանութեանն շրջարկեալ պատիւ՝ եղեւ Աստուծոյ պատկեր: Սա խաբանօք բանսարկուին անկաւ ի պատւոյն զոր ետ նմա Արարիչն. անարգեալ եղեւ մոռացմամբ Ստեղծօղին իւրոյ. եւ վարուք

20. Gen 3:19.

անառակ եւ զարշելի ցանկութեամբ, պիղծ եւ պէսպէս գիճութեամբք կեղով, ատելութեամբք, զրկութեամբք միմեանց, սպանութեամբք, եւ որ վերջին եւ առաջին է յամենայն չարեաց՝ կռապաշտութեամբք, եւ այնպիսի պոռնկութեամբ որ ասել տաղտկանամ. զի ոչ միայն զոչէսն աստուածս կարծեցին եւ կամ զերեւելի արարածս. այլ զնոսին իսկ զախտսն՝ զպոռնկութիւն եւ զարուագիտութիւն աստուածս կարծեալ պաշտեցին: Զորս բանսարկուն՝ իւր արար երկրպագուս եւ ուրախ լինէր պատկերօք կռոցն չարաչար նշանս ախտից կատարելոց յերկրպագուսն, եւ ի նոսին յորդորելով զնոսա:

And then since nothing is more honorable for God among his creatures than man, therefore you, too, confess that God commanded the angels to adore Adam, though we do not find this in the Divine Scripture. Now Adam was human: you nicely witnessed (this) reproaching the arrogance of your one; so those that do not worship men shall know among whom they are to be ranked, as you said. Now it is evident that Adam came into being in the image of God. How might you think that God says this passible, opposing body is his image? By no means, but in the likeness of Himself, His Word, and His Spirit he put in him spirit, mind, and speech. Joining these (properties) in him, God made (man), and, being honored with autonomy, (man) became the image of God. But, through the deception of the Devil, he fell from the honor given to him by the Creator. He became dishonored, through forgetting his Creator, living with impious behavior and disgusting desire, with impure and various lasciviousness, with hatreds, trespasses against one another, murders, and that which is the first and the worst of evils—idolatry, and with such fornication that it disgusts me to say. For they not only considered vanities or visible creatures to be gods, but even worshiped their vices—fornication and sodomy, considering them gods. The Devil made them his worshipers and he rejoiced at the evil vicious rites performed by the worshipers for the idols, exhorting them to continue the same.

5 Արդ՝ տեսեալ Աստուծոյ զիւր պատկերն անարգեալ երկրպագութեամբ բանսարկուին եւ գործովք հաճոյիցն նորա, ողորմեցաւ նմա որպէս բարերար եւ արդարեւ մարդասէր: Եւ զի այս էր փրկութիւն՝ ճանաչել զԱրարիչն իւր եւ ի բաց կալ ի թշնամւոյն. ըստ ժամանակի ժամանակի, որպէս ի խաւարի ի կռապաշտութեանդ որպէս ճրագ լուցանէր զգիտութիւն իւր ի ձեռն ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէից: Եւ զի կուրացեալ էին միտք մարդկան, եւ ոչ կարէին զբովանդակ Աստուածութեան գիտութեանն ընդունիլ զլոյս. վասն այսորիկ զչափաւոր գիտութիւն իւր առ սակաւ սակաւ յայտնէր մարդկան որպէս կանխաւ ասացի, մինչեւ ցկատարումն ժամանակացն, որչափ հաճեցաւ Աստուած խրատել զմարդիկ: Եւ յառաջագոյն խոստացաւ մարգարէիւք զգալուստ մարմնով Բանին իւրոյ:

Now God, seeing his image dishonored by worship of the Devil and by ful-

fillment of his whims (pleasures), mercifully forgave him as benefactor and real philanthropist. And since the salvation was through acknowledgment of his Creator and staying away from the enemy, (for that reason) from time to time, through his servants the prophets, He lighted His knowledge like a lamp in the darkness in idolatry. And as human minds were blind and could not accept the whole light of knowledge of God, for that reason He exposed moderate knowledge to men, little by little, as I said before, until the end of the times in which measure God wished to instruct men. And originally He promised through His prophets the advent of His word in flesh.

Step'anos Siwnec'i C8

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն "Commentary on Divine Service," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (July–August 1915): 634–39.

1 494–95 Արդ է՞ր արդեաւք յԵրրորդ ժամու գայ ի խաչ ելանել. թուի եթէ ի նոյն ժամու գերեալ լինէր նախաստեղծն ի բանսարկուէն մոլեկան ընթացիւք ի ծառն մահաբեր ի չար խորհուրդն, յորում Էմմանուէլն մերով կերպարանաւքս զծանրութիւն մեղաց մերոց բեռնաւորեալ, երթայր ի նոյն ժամու ի տեղի կառափմանն բարձրանալ ի խաչափայտին, զի անկեալն վերացուսցէ բեւեռովք զոտս եւ զձեռս առաքինաբար տարածեալ յաղագս Ադամայ յանդգնապես ընթացիցն ի պտուղ եւ ի ճաշակ ծառոյն, եւ զձեռագիր յանցանաց զկտակն խափանեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջամբ պտղովն դրդեաց, խաղա(ղա)ցուցանէ[21] իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւքն:

/ . . . Սակս յայսմ ամենայնի ասեմք, յայսմ Երրորդ ժամու զլորեալ զմարդն առաջին, յորում ել եւ զբարեգործութիւն ընկալաւ:

Now why did He go forth at the third hour to ascend the cross? It seems that the protoplast was captured by the Devil at the same hour, rushing madly to the mortal tree, to the evil counsel, owing to which Emmanuel in our form, burdened with the heaviness of our sins, went at the same hour[22] to the place of execution to ascend the cross, to raise the fallen, stretching out virtuously his nailed hands and feet: because of Adam's audacious rush toward the fruit and the eating from the tree; and [He] abolished the cheirograph (or: hand-

21. The printed edition has խաղացուցանէ, which is probably a misprint and should probably be խաղա(ղա)ցուցաբե; cf. p. 170

22. Adam was overcome by Satan in the third hour.

written) testament of sins[23], the testament and the corruption of the elements, which he (i.e., Satan) shook at this hour by means of the fruit given by the serpent, He calmed down by His purifying tortures

. . . / Owing to all this we say that the first man fell at this third hour at which He went forth and received the benefaction.

2 637 Այլ եւ ի գլորմանէ բանսարկուին իւրովքն հնազանդելովք հիացումն կալաւ զերկնաւոր զաւրսն, որոց նշան զաւրութեան տուաւ նմանս իմն բարբառով անկասկածապէս կալ ի հաստատութեան փառսն:

But wonder seized the heavenly hosts (?) at the fall of the Devil with those obedient to him, to whom a certain similar sign of power was given by speech to be indubitably in the glory of the firmament.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Ժամակարգութեան մեկնութիւն "Commentary on Divine Service," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (January-February 1916): 129–41.

3 129–30 Ուրանաւր փոքր ինչ նախ քան զյիշելս ժամ վեցերորդ բնակէր Ադամ ի դրախտին հրճուալից ուրախութեամբ. ուստի անհնազանդ խաբէութեամբ խրատու ապստամբեցելոյն ի ճշմարտութենէն, յերկնից ունայնանայր պարգեւաց: Վասն որոյ եւ զեւթանասնեկին եւթն ժառանգէր զտրտմութիւն, եւ ընդ բազում ցաւաւք անկանէր ի տոկոյս, կայր իբրեւ ջերմ առ հիւանդութեան. ուստի անհնազանդութեամբ խրատու ի մառմառուտ վտանգին, լուծեալ յաւդք ոտիցն եւ ձեռացն ի բարեացն շարժմանէ, եւ կարկեալ լեզուացն անխոստովանութեամբ. եւ զոր աւրինակ մեռեալ ոք անզգայ յամենայնից, նոյնպէս եւ՝ մարդն առաջին խաւարազգած խորհրդով պարփակեալ ի միջաւրէին՝ որպէս ի մէջ գիշերի, ոչ զառժամայն նշմարէր հետեւանս, եւ ոչ զապառնիսն մտածութեամբ հոգալ. կայր ի տարակուսի մղձկէին ոգիք նորա. մանաւանդ յիշատակ տէրունեան բանին՝ եւս առաւել խոցոտէր. եւ երկիւղ մահու՝ ասացեալ՝ մեռանիս, եւ զի ոչ գիտէր զինչ գործիցէ, զի կարճամտութեամբն ըմբռնեալ յանյուսութեան խորխորատս, սիրէր զմահ առաւել քան յանդիմանութեանն Աստուծոյ լինել:

A little earlier than the mentioned sixth hour, Adam dwelt in paradise with exultant joy, where by the disobedient deceit of the instruction of rebellious one, he was deprived of truth, of the gifts of heaven. For that he inherited seventy-seven–fold sorrows and fell from his steadfastness to beneath multiple pains; he was like (one with) fever during illness. Now because of dis-

23. Cf. Col 2:14.

obedience to the instruction, the joints of his feet and hands lost the ability to move through good things, and his tongue was silent, because he did not confess; and as a dead man is insensitive to everything, likewise the first man, being closed in by the gloomy counsel in midday, as in the middle of the night, / could neither observe the present circumstances nor think over and take care of the future. He hesitated, his spirit was tormented; particularly the recollection of the Lord's words greatly hurt him; also the fear of death, for (God) said, "You will die"; and since he did not know what to do, being drawn by his unreasonableness into the abyss of despair, he preferred death to God's reproach.

4 134–36 . . . Վասն զի անկեալ արտաքս ի կենացս տեղւոյ մարդն առաջին, ոչինչ կարծէր ունել մխիթար երեւելեացս ուստի ամփոփին վրդովեալն միտք, բայց միայն զլուսաւորն մեծ յոր պշուցեալ ընդ գեղեցկութիւն տարերն զբօսմամբ սուղ իսկ խափանեալ յահագին եւ ի մեծ տրտմութենէն. նաեւ զովանայր իսկ ոչ ի պաքմամբ հեղձամղձուկ ալէկոծ ընկղմանցն: Նոյնպէս եւ զայլ արարածս տեսանէր նորին լուսովն. եւ յոյս յինքեան ընդունէր ի խնամսն Աստուծոյ ապաւինելով. այսորքիկ ի մետասաներրորդ ժամու գործէին եւ ի նորին յաջորդի. ապա ի խոնարհ գնացեալ զարեգակն տեսանէր: Դարձեալ արհաւիրք փակէին զմիտս նորա. դարձեալ երկիւղ, դարձեալ տրտմութիւնք յոլովք քան զանցեալին. նաեւ ամենեւին իսկ յուսահատումն հանդիպիլ խաւարի եւ նորատեսիլ երեւման, վարանէր զգիշերն ամենայն անհանգիստ հեծութեամբք, լքեալ իսկ յերեւման միւսանգամ լուսոյն. եւ լինէր երեկորին, եւ զմարդասիրութիւն արարչին սովորութիւն առնոյր ի միջակայի տունջեան եւ գիշերոյ փառաւորել եւ աւրհնել զԱստուած սակս անցելոցն խաղաղութեամբ եւ որ գալոցն է գիշեր . . .

. . . For the first man, having fallen from the place of life, considered himself to have no consolation among the visible things that would occupy his excited mind, except the great luminary; gazing with pleasure at the beauty of that element he forgot for a while about the terrible and great sorrow and even was refreshed after the thirst caused by the suffocating stormy flood. He saw also other creatures with the same light and was seized by hope, relying upon God's care; those things happened at the eleventh and the next hour. Then he saw the sun going down. Again, horrors enclosed his mind, again fear, again sorrow more than in the past; also absolute despair when meeting darkness, the newly visible phenomenon; through the whole night he was beset, groaning restlessly, deprived of any sight of light a second time.

And it was dawn, and he got into the habit of glorifying and blessing the philanthropic Creator God at the boundary of day and night, for the sake of the nights that had passed in peace and the coming one.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Պատճառ աղաւթիցն
"Etiological Interpretation of Prayer," ed. S. Amatuni, *Ararat* (May-June 1916): 405–12; (September-October 1916): 694–703.

5 405 Մարդն Ադամ յերրորդ ժամու պատրի ի ծառն. եւ Տէրն ի սոյն ժամու խաչիւ դատապարտի: Հարցն, Ադամայ յարութեանն, եւ Մեծացուսցէն եւ Ողորմեայն, Եւայեանց ազատութիւնն. . . . Որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ զմահու պտուղն ի սիրտս իջուցին ճաշակմամբն, նոյնպէս Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր ի սիրտս առաքելոցն:

The man Adam in the third hour was overcome at the tree and in the same hour, the Lord was condemned on the cross. The question of "Adam's arising" and of the "He magnifies" and the "Have mercy" (is) the freedom of the descendants of Eve. . . . Just as Adam and Eve brought down the fruit of death into their hearts by the eating, likewise Christ our God (is brought down) into the hearts of the apostles.

6 407 Եւ զիա՞րդ եւթն գոբողայ եղեալ յաղաւթս, ՛որ զեւթնաւրեայ արարչութիւնն նշանակէ. եւ զեւթն աւուրս կենցաղոյս՝ եւթնհազարեան դարուն խորհուրդ. եւ զքահանայական աղաւթսն: Զամենայն ի փառս Աստուծոյ տեսանեմք բարւոք զոլ, եւ եւս պայծառագոյն զԱստուծոյ լոյսն զսահմանողն տուընջեան եւ գիշերոյ, որով շարժին ժամանակք եւթնաւրեայ կենցաղոյս:

And why are seven gubłas[24] put into the prayer? To signify the seven-day creation and the seven days of life, the mystery of the seven-thousandth year; and the sacerdotal prayer. . . .

We see everything to be good, to the glory of God, and also the very bright light of God determining day and night, by which the time of this seven-day life goes ahead.

7 409 . . . Իսկ զմարդն՝ զթագաւորական պատկերն՝ ստեղծ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ տէրութեանն, ձեռաւք ստեղծմամբն առաւել մեծարեաց, եւ ի տէրութեան փառս եհան, որ է նմանութիւն եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. սակս որոյ հրամայէ արժանապէս քաղաքավարիլ: Ինքնայաւժար կամաւք ըմպէ զբարին եւ վայրանկեալ չարին խաբմամբ, զանհաս բարձրութիւնն Աստուծոյ կամեցաւ յափշտակել, յորում անհանդուրժելի աղէտք ի վերայ հասանեն նմա. զի սիրտն ընկալաւ փափականաւք զխրատ չարին, եւ քարշեալ իբր շղթայիւք ի խորս անգիտութեան, Աստուած ինքեան առնել զկործանիչն իւր,

24. I.e., divisions.

եւ զարտաքին ժառանգէր զխաւարն, եւ ընդ մահու կորստեամբ զրաւեցաւ:

. . . And He created man, the kingly image, in the image of God's lordship, [He] highly honored him creating with his hands, and raised him up to the glory of lordship, that is the likeness and the image of God; for that reason He commanded him to behave in proper manner. He drank goodness voluntarily and, having fallen by the deception of the Evil One, he wished to seize God's unachievable height, because of which unbearable misfortunes overtook him; for his heart accepted desirously the counsel of the Evil One, and, being dragged as if by chains to the depth of ignorance, he made the destroyer his god and inherited outer darkness,[25] and was captured by the destruction of death.[26]

8 696 Թէեւ Տէրն ի մէջ գիշերի ասաց. նա է առաւաւտ կենաց եւ սկիզբն երեւելոյ արեգականն արդարութեան . . . վասն զի յայս ժամու ստեղծ զմարդն կենդանարար ձեռաւքն եւ ի նմին ժամու ընդունի զմիւսանգամ կենդանութիւնն . . .

Though the Lord said in the middle of the night: "He is the morning of life and the beginning of the appearance of the sun of righteousness"[27] . . . for at this hour He created man with life-giving hands and at the same hour he will accept the second animation . . .[28]

9 697 «Էր ժամ եր(ր)որդ եւ հանին զնա ի խաչ». զի յայսմ ժամու զերեցաւ Ադամ ի բանսարկուէն, մոլեկան ընթացիւքն ի ծառն մահաբեր ի չար խորհուրդն . . . (Էմմանուէլն) զձեռագիր յանցանաց նորա պատառեաց. եւ տարերցն ապականութիւն, որ յայսմ ժամու աւձաջան պտղովն գրգեաց, խաղաղացուցանէ իւրով մաքրողական չարչարանաւք:

"It was the third hour, and they took him out to the cross;[29] for at this hour Adam was captured by the Devil, rushing madly to the mortal tree,[30] to the evil counsel. . . . (Emmanuel) tore the cheirograph of his transgression and calmed down the destruction of the elements by his purifying tortures, caused at this hour by the fruit given by the efforts of the serpent.

25. Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30.
26. Cf. Hos 13:14; Wis 1:12; 4 Ezra 8:38.
27. Cf. Mal 4:2. The hour of creation is in the morning.
28. The hour of creation is in the morning.
29. Mark 15:25.
30. Same expression above, pp. 274, 305, 319.

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Վասն անապականութեան մարմնոյն "On Incorruptibility of the Body," ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean, *Ararat* 36 (March-April 1902): 368–400.

10 369 Անապական՝ անապականութեամբ աճեալ եւ նուազեալ, որպէս կողն առ Ադամ նուազեալ եւ առ կինն աճեցեալ, այսինքն է յառնուլն նուազեալ եւ (ի) լնուլն աճեցեալ:

Incorruptible, [i.e.] growing and decreasing in incorruptibly, as the rib decreased in Adam and grew into the woman; that is to say decreasing when being taken and growing when being filled in.

11 369–70 Արդ՝ թէ զնախնի մարդոյն զմարմինն ստեղծանէր յերկրէ անապական՝ Բանն Աստուած, զիւր ո՞չ կարէր անապական ստեղծանել յարգանդի կուսին:

Now, if the body of the first man was created from incorruptible ground, couldn't God create his Word incorruptible, in the womb of the Virgin?

12 392 Յոհան Իմաստասէր ասէր . . . ոչ աւձապատիր մերկացելոյն ի փառաց տերեւապատն Ադամայ դարձելոյն ի հող համեմատի երկրորդ Ադամ . . .

John the Philosopher said: " . . . The second Adam is incomparable with Adam deceived by the serpent, stripped of glory, covered with a leaf—the one who returned unto dust . . ."

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Ստեփանոսի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի առ Գերմանոս "Bishop Step‘anos of Siwnik‘ to Germanos," in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 435–66.

13 454–56 = 386–87 of Tiflis edition. Եւ դարձեալ զառաջին լինելութիւն մարդոյն յառաջ բերեալ նախատէք զմեզ անգիտութեամբ, եւ ասէք եթէ, ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն զկամսն եւ զերկիւղն. եւ յայտ է կամքն՝ որով մեղաւն, եւ երկիւղն՝ սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ, Թէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյն՝ մեռանիցիք: ... Քանզի իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայրն պատուեալ բանաւորութեամբ՝ իմաստութեամբ, ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի, եւ զնախանձն ի բարի, եւ զերկեւղ Տեառն՝ որ է կենաց, եւ այլ այսպիսի ինչ, զի արարածական ընդ իշխանութեամբ, եւ ծառայ բնութեանս հարկաւորք եղեն այսորքիկ, այլ ամենայն ինչ բարի եղեւ, զի արարաւ ասէ մարդն յուղղութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ի միջասահմանս վայրի կենաց եւ մահու, եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութեանն իբրեւ կառավարի յոր կոյս եւ միտիցի կամաւք վիճակեալ, եթէ կենաց եւ եթէ մահու: Իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ յաստուածային պատուիրանապահութեանն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոց, յեւթնից պարունակութեանց դասուցն

հոգեղինացն, հեռագոյն բացորոշութեամբ ելթնից՝ աշտիճանաւ ի վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրաւեցաւ, ի հոգւոյն՝ մարմին եղեւ, եւ զպատիժ պատուհասին զուգաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն տուժեցաւ. թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյ, յիմաստութենէ, ի հանճարոյ, ի խորհրդոյ, ի զաւրութենէ, ի գիտութենէ,՝ յաստուածպաշտութենէ, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին՝ ստունգանելով պատուիրանին Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց հոգւոյն շնորհին՝ կնոջն լսելով խրատու, կորոյս զտիրական վերինն իմաստութիւնն՝ ոտիցն հնազանդեալ գլխոյն անհանճարաբար, իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ քան զպատուիրանցն Աստուծոյ, զմահաբերն՝ դատեցաւ պտուղ: Յանմահականն վայելից տարագիր եղեւ՝ անխորհրդապէս կորուսեալ զբոցաճաճանչ լուսափայլ զարդարանսն: Հակառակաբար հայթայթանաւքն ջանայր ծածկել զամաւթալին իւր մերկութիւն պատառատուն տերեւով, անյուսացեալ ի զաւրութիւն ամենակալին կարծեաց թաքչել յամենատեսչութենէ նորա, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղին մահու, ձայնելով Տեառն յապաշխարութիւն, տգիտացեալ անզղջութեամբ՝ արտաքս անկաւ ի փափկութենէն կենաց, իբրեւ անծանաւթ Աստուծոյ՝ ամպարշտութեամբ յարարիչն դարձուցեալ զպատճառսն որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն, թէ Կինս զոր ետուր ընդ իս, զանիծից եւ ցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ: Իսկ մի եւ նոյն մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ ի սկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ, յայնժամ առեալ հող յերկրէ զմարդն ստեղծ, դարձեալ առեալ ի կուսէն հող, ոչ պարզաբար մարդ ստեղծ, այլ զինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեաց, յայնժամ Բանն մարմին արար, իսկ յետ այնորիկ բանն՝ մարմին եղեւ, …

And again you ignorantly reproach us mentioning the creation of the first man, and you say that Adam had in his nature will and fear. Will is obvious since he sinned by it; and fear—when God threatened: “If you eat of the fruit, you shall (surely) die.”[31] . . . For when the forefather was established by the Creator, he was honored with rationality (i.e., wisdom), having in his nature the knowledge of good and evil, and zeal for good and fear of the Lord, who is for life, and other similar things, because those things were necessary for the creative power, to serve nature. And everything was good, since it is said that man was created for uprightness, and he was placed on the boundary of life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when because of his inclinations he turned away from observing the divine commandment, then, separated by being cast down to earth from the seven included spiritual classes, separated by a very distant grade, he was deprived of the glory. He was transformed from spirit into body, and suffered punishments equal in number to the sins; he was deprived of spirit, of wisdom, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of knowledge, of piety: becoming

31. Gen 1:17.

subject to the fear of the Other One; disobeying the Lord's commandment, he forfeited the spiritual grace, because he listened to the counsel of the woman. He lost the higher lordly wisdom, obeying his feet, owing to his stupid head, considering the mortal fruit as something more beautiful and delicious than God's commandments. He was exiled from immortal delight, having imprudently lost the resplendent shining ornaments. With adversary inventiveness he tried to cover his shameful nakedness by a ragged leaf; despairing of the might of all-powerful One, he thought to hide himself from His all-seeingness, falling into the fear of death. When God appealed for repentance, (he remained) ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delightful life. As if ignorant of God, he impiously blamed the Creator as if He (was) a participant of his sin, (saying:) "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me . . . ."[32] He inherited sorrowful and cursed life. And the one and the same Creator of mankind, who (existed) at the beginning and after that, took dust of the ground and created man, again took dust from the Virgin and did not simply create a man, but made him through Himself, then he made the Word body and afterwards the Word became body.

14 389 Թագաւորն փառաց . . . եմոյծ ի դրախտն զԱդամ՝ ուստի անկաւն, եւ զեւթնեկին շնորհսն, զոր կորոյս եւթնեկին յանցանաւք, ի վերայ ծննդոց նորին կոչէ, ոչ ի վերայ ինքեան, զի ի նմա էր ամենայն լրումն աստուածութեանն:

The King of Glory . . . introduced Adam into paradise from where he fell, and (gave him) the seven graces which he lost because of the seven sins, he calls upon his offspring, not upon himself, for in him was the whole fullness of divinity.

Շարական հոգեւոր Երգոց *Hymnal* (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Miwhēntisean Press, 1853), 795–807; cf. Jerusalem edition of 1933.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Կարգ օրհնութեանց Յարութեան Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի
"Order of Blessing the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ"

15 (803) Անարատ տաճար Աստուծոյ բանին, որ զնախամօրն Եւայի զանէծսն բարձեր անճառելի ծննդեամբն ի քէն:. (805) Քրիստոս բեւեռեցաւ ի խաչին, եւ եղոյծ զդատապարտութիւն Ադամայ նախաստեղծին:

32. Gen 3:12.

Immaculate temple of the word of God[33] who removed from you the curses of the foremother Eve through the ineffable offspring. Christ was nailed on the cross and undid the condemnation of the protoplast Adam.

Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թաւթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit‘ (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat‘evosyan (Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran-Nairi Press, 1997), 240–59.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմց թղթին “Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines”

This is equivalent to Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Պատասխանի Հոռոմց թղթին “Answer to the Letter of the Byzantines,” in *Girk‘ Tłt‘oc‘* 1994, 358–72, with considerable textual differences (see ibid., p. 25). This alternate form of the text is excerpted above, pp. 324–25.

16 248.31-249.10 172ա-բ . . . եւ որ ասէք էթէ ունէր Ադամ ի բնութեանն տնկեալ զկամսն եւ զերկիւղ եւ յայտ է կամքն որով մեղան եւ երկիւղն սպառնալովն Աստուծոյ - եթէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյդ մեռանիցիք, արդ / 249/ եթէ կամք քի ունել զբոլոր բնութիւնն՝ Ադամ ունէր եւ զկամսն, զի կամք հոգոյն է ծնունդ, եւ եթէ ոչ ունէր զկամս եւ ոչ զհոգին . . . Իբրեւ հաստատեցաւ յարարչէն նախահայ(ր)ն պատուեալ բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ ի բնութեանն ունելով զգիտութիւն եւ զնախանձ ի բարի, եւ զերկիւղ Տեառն որ է կենաց պատճառ. եւ որ այլ ինչ այսպիսի որ ի բարի զշարժումնն որ առ Աստուած ունի. զի ամենայն յԱստուծոյ բարի լեալ ասի, զի արարաւ մարդն յուղղութիւն, եւ կարգեցաւ ասէ ի միջասահմանս վայրի. կենաց եւ մահու. եւ ի ձեռս տուաւ անձնիշխանութիւնն. որպէս կառաւար յոր կոյս եւ միտիցէ կամաւքն ի վիճակեալն էթէ կենաց եւ էթէ մահու իսկ իբրեւ շեղեցաւ աստուածային պատուիրանապահութէնէն ըստ ախորժակաց իւրոյ, եւթնիցս պարունակութեամբ դասուց հոգեղինաց վերագոյն բացորոշութեամբ, եւթնից աշտիճանաւ ի վայր կործանեալ ի փառացն զրկեցաւ. հոգեւորն մարմնաւոր եղեւ, եւ զպատիժս պատուհասին զիւզաթիւ ըստ յանցանացն. տուժեցաւ թափուր եղեալ ի հոգւոյն իմաստութէնէ, ի գիտութէնէ, ի հանճարոյ, ի խորհրդոց, ի զաւրութենէ, յաստուածապաշտութէնէ, ի ներքոյ անկեալ երկիւղի աւտարին, ստունկանելով պատուիրանին Տեառն, ի բաց եկաց ի շնորհաց հոգոյն կնոջն լսելով խրատու, կորոյս զտիրական վեհին իմաստութիւն, ուտիցն հնազանդեալ զլխոյն, անհանճարաբար իբր գեղեցկագոյն եւ քաղցրաճաշակ քան զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ զմահաբերն եկեր

33. I.e., the Virgin.

պտուղ, յանմահական վաելիցն տարագիր եղեւ անխորհրդապէս կորուսեալ զբացաճաճանչ զլուսափայլ զզարդարանսն, հակառակաբար խայթայթանաւք ջանայր ծածկել զամաւթալի իւրն մերկութիւն. պատառատուն տերեւով անյուսացեալ ի զաւրութիւն. /173ա/ ամենակալին կարծէր թաքչել յամենատեսչութէնէ նորա. ի ներքոյ անկեալ մահու երկիւղի. ձայնելով Տեառնն յապաշխարութիւն, անզիտացեալ անզղջութեամբ. արտաքս անգեալ ի փափկութէնէ կենացն, իբրեւ անաւթ աստուածպաշտութեան յարարիչն դարձուցեալ զպատճառսն, որպէս ի հաղորդ յանցանացն. էթէ զոր ետուր ինձ՝ սա եղեւ պատճառ՝ եւ անդէն զանիծից եւ զցաւագին ժառանգեաց կենցաղ, իսկ մի եւ նոյն մարդկութեանս արարիչ, որ յսկզբանն եւ որ յետ այնորիկ անդանաւր առեալ հող զմարդ ստեղծ, այլ ընդ ինքեամբ շրջաստեղծեալ բանն մարմին եղեւ. . .

. . . and that you say that Adam had will and fear planted in his nature; and will is obvious since by it they sinned; and fear by God threatening: “If you eat of the fruit, you shall die.”[34] Now if will encompassed the whole nature, then Adam also had will, for will is an offspring of soul; and if he had no will, then (he had) no soul as well. . . . When the forefather was established by the Creator, honored with reason and wisdom, having in his nature discernment and zeal for the good and fear of the Lord who is the cause of life, and whatever other similar things which have movement toward the good which is God. For it is said that everything (originating) from God is good. Because man was created for justice and, as it is said, was placed in the intermediate place between life and death, and he was given autonomy like a governor, who has the possibility to go in which direction he is willingly inclined, either toward life or death. But when he turned away from observing the divine commandment in accordance with his appetites, by content of the seven classes of spiritual ones through superior separation having been destroyed (i.e. cast) down from the seventh by grade, he was expelled from (his) glory. The spiritual became bodily, and they suffered punishments equal in number to the transgressions; he was deprived, becoming empty of the wisdom of the spirit, of discernment, of intellect, of ideas, of power, of piety, becoming subject to the fear of the alien one; disobeying the Lord’s commandment, he forfeited the grace of the spirit, through listening to the counsel of the woman. He lost the lordly, higher wisdom, obeying his feet’s head (i.e., his feet’s impulse); imprudently he ate the mortal fruit as something prettier and more delicious than God’s commandment. He was exiled from immortal delight, having thoughtlessly lost the resplendent, refulgent ornaments. With adversarial inventiveness he was trying to cover his shameful nakedness with a torn leaf; having despaired of the power, he thought to hide himself from His all-powerful all-seeingness; having fallen subject to

34. Gen 3:3.

the fear of death, appealing to God for repentance; ignorant in his obduracy, he fell out of delight of (eternal) life. As a vessel of service of God, he blamed the Creator as if a participant in his sin, (saying): “She was the cause, whom you gave to me.” And straightway he inherited a sorrowful and cursed life. And the same Creator of mankind, who at the beginning and after these, having taken dust, created man, made perfectly the Word beside Him, that became body . . .[35]

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց արարածոց “Fragments of the Commentary on Genesis,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, in *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 105–29.

17 108. (49) Եւ թէ է՞ր վասն խոստացաւ Աստուած տալ զազատն ի ծառայութիւն. նախ՝ վասն ծիծաղելոյն Սառայի յաւետեաց բանին Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ՝ զի ըստ նմանութեան Ադամայ, որ ի դրախտին ազատ էր եւ ի ծառայութիւն դիւաց անկաւ մինչեւ ի չորրորդ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի:

(49) And why did God promise to give the free man into slavery? First, for Sarah’s laughing at the words of the good tidings[36] of God; second, according to the likeness of Adam who was free in the Garden and fell into slavery to demons until the fourth birth[37] of Christ.

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Ղուկասու աւետարանի “Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of Luke,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 257–340.

18 336, §326. (2) Արդ աւրէն էր հրէիցն զաւուրս Լ լալ զմեռեալն երիտասարդ, զի յերիտասարդ հասակի ստեղծաւ Ադամ, լալ զմեռեալն եւ խնգել եւ գինս տալ կոծողացն, որպէս եւ Գամաղիէլ ասէր, թէ գինս կոծողացն Ստեփաննոսի յիմոյ ընչից ետու: (3) Իսկ որ մեռանէր ի փայտի, ոչ էր աւրէն նմա զայս ամենայն կատարել:

(2) The Jews had a law of mourning for thirty days for a deceased young man, since Adam was created at a young age—of weeping and burning incense and paying the weepers, as Gamaliel said: “I gave the fee to the weepers for

35. Cf. *The Book of Letters,* 386.
36. Or: Annunciation, i.e., of the birth of Isaac.
37. Or: generation. The meaning of the expression is unclear.

Stephen from my property,"[38] (3) while there was no law of doing all this for one died on the cross.

Step'anos Siwnec'i, Նշխարք ի մեկնութեանց Յովհաննու աւետարանի
"Fragments of the Commentary on the Gospel of John," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 341–438.

19 384 §88. (5) . . . Յիսուս Քրիստոս, որ ի սկզբանէն էր առ Հայր, որ ասաց Ադամայ՝ ոչ ուտել ի պտղոյն, եւ սիրել զԱստուած ի բոլոր յանձնէ եւ ի բովանդակ զաւրութենէ, զոր ոչ սիրեաց Ադամ:

(5) "Jesus Christ who from the beginning was with the Father, who had told Adam not to eat of the fruit and to love God with all his soul and with all his might,[39] in which way Adam did not love."

20 417 §164. (1) Դառնալ Ադամայ ի դրախտն, ի մուտս փառացն, զոր եդ անդ զպատկերն անզգեցող՝ եւ աստ զգեցեալ պատկերին զնմանական շնորհին աստուածատուր լուսոյն գերազարդարեալ մարդոյն, զի լոյս էր մարդն առաջին Աստուծոյ լուսոյն եւ լուսով պատուիրանին փայլէր աստուածային փառաւքն, ի փառաւորութեան Աստուծոյ էր ստեղծել:

(1) Adam returning to the Garden, to the entrance of glory, whom He had placed there as an undressed[40] image, and here He put the similar grace of the God-given light on the highly adorned man. For the first man was light of the light of God and in the light of the commandment he shone with divine glory; he was created in the glory of God.

21 428 §193. (1) «Եւ ես զփառս, զոր ետուր ինձ, ետու նոցա»: Տուեալ փառս ի Հայրէ վասն մարմնոյն ասի անապականութեան. զառաջին զփառսն, ասէ, զոր ետ ինքն Ադամայ ի կեանս դրախտին զպատուական զշնորհսն եւ զփառացն վայելումն ի սպառ եւ յետոյ ելեալ յայս սնոտի աշխարհս:

(1) "And the glory that you have given me I have given them."[41] The glory given by the Father is said to be for the sake of the incorruptibility of the body. It [Scripture. (?)] says that the first glory which He had given to Adam—the precious gift (was) a complete enjoyment during (his) life in the Garden. And afterwards he went forth into this vain world.

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38. Cf. Acts 8:2.
39. See Deut 13:3; Mark 12:30; etc.
40. The word անզգեցող is not in dictionaries and is not quite clear. It is opposed to զգեցեալ ("dressed").
41. John 17:22a.

Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi, Ի խորհուրդ եկեղեցւոյ
“On the Mystery of the Church,” ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 490–504.

22 495. (56) Իսկ առ Եզեկիէլիւ յարեւմտից յարեւելս ձգեաց, ըստ կամակար իւրոյ իշխանութեան, քանզի զամենայն, զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար Տէր յերկինս եւ յերկրի, ի ծով եւ յամենայն խորս, որով ստեղծ զԱդամ:

(56) And in the days of Ezekiel, He stretched eastward from the west, according to His willing power, for whatever God wished He did in the heaven and on the earth, in the sea and in all the depths, with which (will) He created Adam.

Stepʻanos Siwnecʻi, Յաղագս ժողովոյն սուրբ հարցն՝ Աթանասի, Բարսղի . . . Թուղթ երանելւոյն Ստեփանոսի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի՝ պատասխանի թղթոյն հոռոմոս Գերմանոսի պատրիարգի Կոստանդինուպաւլսի զոր ինքն իսկ եբեր
“On the Synod of the Holy Fathers Athanasius, Basil . . . Letter of the Blessed Stepʻanos Bishop of Siwnikʻ in Answer to the Letter of the Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople which he had brought himself,” ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 6, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2006), 521–42.

23 536. (133) Թէպէտ եւ զապականացուէն բուռն հարեալ զզաւակէն Աբրահամու, իսկ եւ իսկ յանապականութիւն փոխեալ, զի նոյն ինքն Բանն անձնիշխանութեամբ զկամսն իւր գործ կատարեալ ունէր, զի Աստուած էր բովանդակն: (134) Եկն ի խնդիր նախաստեղծին ազգակցին ըստ մարմնոյ, դիմեալ յԵդեմայ եգիտ զնա ընդ իշխանութեամբ բանսարկուին, և զիւր սուրբ եւ անապական մարմինն իբրեւ զանիծից եւ զապականացու քաղցի եւ ծարաւոյ կցորդ առնէր եւ զհոգին մարդկային իբրեւ զանգիտացեալ եւ զերկուցեալ առաջի արկանէր. աւրինաւոր մարտիւ, թոյլ ետ յինքն ձգել զիրացեալ նետս մուխս չարին, զի շիջուսցէ յինքեամբ (v.l. յինքեան) ոչ ունելով ի նորայոցն, զոր սերմանեաց յԱդամ յուսով աստուածանալոյն, զի էր արդարութիւն ածեալ ընդ մէջ իւր, եւ ճշմարտութեամբ պատեալ զկողս իւր:

(133) Although by touching the corruptible son of Abraham, He immediately changed (him) into incorruptibility, since the same Word itself, with autonomy had His will as a completed act, for He was wholly God. (134) He

looked for the first-created man, His kinsman according to the body, while he was coming out of Eden. He found him under the authority of the Devil and made His own incorruptible body as a companion of curse and corruption, hunger and thirst, and proposed the human soul as frightened and scared. In a fair battle He allowed the shooting of the burning arrows of the evil at himself, in order that he might extinguish —not having in himself any of (Adam's) characteristics—what (the Devil) had sown in Adam through hope of becoming god, for He had girded himself with justice and covered His ribs with truth.

Xosrovik T'argmanič' C8

Xosrovik T'argmanič', Երկասիրութիւնք "Writings," in G. Yovsēp'ean, Խոսրովիկ Թարգմանիչ. (Ը դար), Պատմական-մատենագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն *Xosrovik T'argmanič' (8th cent.): Historical-Literary Study* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1899).

Գլուխ 3 Chapter 3

1 93 յայտ ուրեմն է՝ թէ Քրիստոս կրելովն զայնոսիկ, ոչ էառ զադամայինն մարմին, այլ զմերս՝ որ ընդ մահուամբն եւ ապականութեամբ եղեւ ստորանկեալ: Իսկ եթէ զնախաստեղծին ունէր բնութիւն՝ զառանց կրիցն եւ զանմահականն, սուտ ապա ըստ ձեզ եդ ի բաց երեւնցելն զկիրս եւ նորուն աշակերտացն վերաձայնէ կրիցն:

Christ did not take on Adamic body but ours, subject to death and corruption. But if he had the nature of the first-created one, which (was) without suffering and immortal, falsely did he place (it), according to you, outside the sufferings and did he proclaim its sufferings to the disciples.

2 167 Քրիստոս ոչ ունէր զբնութիւն զառաջին մարդոյն, զի կրեաց ... Եւ եթէ ունէր զբնութիւն առաջին մարդոյն եւ հաւասարեաց մեզ ամենայնիւ ըստ նմանութեան առանց մեղաց, յայտ է թէ եւ առաջին մարդն ընդունակ էր կրից:

Christ did not have the nature of the first man for he suffered . . . and if he had had the nature of the first man and were equal to us in everything according to the likeness without sin, it is evident that also the first man was able to undergo suffering.

N. Aginean (Akinean), Խոսրովիկ թարգմանիչ և իւր երկասիրութիւնները: Քննական ուսումնասիրութիւն "Xosrovik Targmanič' and His Writings: A Critical Study," *Handes Amsorea* 18 (1904): 262–70, 304–16, 353–61; 19 (1905): 19-22, 116, 213–20, 361–70.

Բանն վարդապետութեան յաղագս քառասնորդացն ասացեալ Տեառն Խոսրովայ
"Teaching about Lent by Xosrov."

էջ 310 (1904),

3 . . . Ի սկզբանն ընդ ստեղծանել մարդոյն առաջին՝ դաստիարակ նմա զպահսն ետ Աստուած . . . Իսկ իբրեւ ի բաց ընկեց եւ պատրեցաւ ի մահաբեր ճաշակէն, տե՛ս զի՞նչ ասէ նմա սոյն մարգարէ. «Մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա». (Սաղմ. ԽԸ, 21) ամենայն կենցաղի՝ լինելով խոտակեր բանջարաճաշակ որ նոցա [է կերակուր]: Եւ երանի թէ մինչ ցայսքան էր պատուհասն: Զկնի յանցմանն եւ դառն կերակրոյն ասէ ցնա Աստուած. Ադամ, «փոխանակ զի լուար ձայնի կնոջ քո եւ կերար ի ծառոյն՝ յորմէ պատուիրեցի պահել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր. փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուսցէ քեզ», եւ որ զկնին. «զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս». (Ծն. Գ, 17–19):

. . . In the beginning with the creation of the first man, God gave him fasting as a teacher. . . . And when he fell and he was deceived by the mortal food, see what the same prophet says to him, "Man was in glory and did not understand, he became equal to the dumb animals and like them,"[42] by all life, becoming eater of grass and greens that are (their food). And it is fortunate that the punishment was (only) in this measure. After the sin and the bitter food, God said to him, Adam, "Because you listened to the voice of your wife and ate of the tree, from which I commanded (you) to refrain, let the earth be cursed. Let it make spring up for you thorns and thistles," and after "For you were dust and to dust you will return."[43]

Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos C8

Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos, Վասն որ ի Վարագ երեւեցաւ սուրբ նշան "Concerning the Holy Cross That Was Seen in Varag," ed. P. Ananean, *Bazmavēp* 124 (January-March 1966): 14–28.

1 24 . . . Վասն կատարելոյ ի սկզբանն խորհրդոյ՝ արարեալ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի արարչութեան իւրոյ եւ եդեալ զնա ի մէջ երկրաբուխ վայելչական սերմանեացն բուսոց եւ տնկոց: Ապա թողեալ ի կամս վասն փորձանաց մարդոյն զխորասոյզ եւ զապստամբ վիշապն,

42. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

43. Gen 3:17–19.

զանկեալն ի լուսափայլ փառացն, որով անկեալ մարդոյն ընդ սահմանս դառնաշունչ չարաթոյն աւձին ժառանգեաց զմահ դառնալ անդրէն ի հող ուստի առաւ:

To accomplish [His] intention, in the beginning God created man according to his own creative image, and put him among earth-sprung pretty shoots of plants and trees. Then, having left for man his will for the sake of testing, the fallen and rebellious dragon, which fell from the splendid glory, through which man, having fallen into the region of the bitter-spirited venom of the serpent, inherited death, (which is) to return to the dust from which he was taken.

Yovhan Ōjnec‘i C8

Text: Yovhan Ōjnec‘i, Մատենագրութիւնք *Writings* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1953).

Ընդդէմ պաւղիկեանց
Against the Paulicians

1 54 Մինչեւ գթացեալ ստեղծողի պատկերին, եղեւ պատկեր ստեղծուածոյն. եւ որ ի սկզբանէ արար զմարդն ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, ինքն եկն, եւ ի վախճան ժամանակացս այսոցիկ զկերպարանս ծառայի էառ, եւ ի նմանութիւն մարդկան գտաւ եղեալ:

While the Creator pitied the image, he became the image of the created being. And he who in the beginning made man according to his image and according to (his) likeness, came and in the end of these times took the form of a servant and was found to have become the likeness of a man.[44]

Ընդդէմ երեւութականաց
Against Phantasiasts

2 83 . . . Եթէ էր ապականութիւն, ոչ կարէր ի միասին ընդ գոլոյն բաղկանալ, այլ են բաղկացականք գոյացութեան: Քանզի ասէր գոյացուցիչն մերում նախահորն. «Յամենայն ծառոց՝ որ են ի դրախտիդ, ուտելով կերիցես»: Այս՝ ո՞չ ապաքէն ըստ բնութեանն պատշաճեալ կերակրողականին առաջի դնէր զպէտս. զի եթէ ոչ այս այսպէս, աւելորդ վարկանիմ զամենապտուղն զայս տնկագործողին

44. Man is created in the image of God, but God, in Christ, took on the likeness of man. Note that this is one interpretation of the image. In the fifth-century texts other interpretations are to be found.

տնկեալ զդրախտն. եւ ի նմա դնելով զմարդն՝ հրամայեալ անդուստ վայելել նմա:

. . . If there was corruption, it could not have been composed together with existence; being had other components. For the Creator said to our forefather: "Of all the trees which are in the Garden you may freely eat."[45] Didn't He indeed place first the nutritional need, according to the appropriateness of nature? For if it were not thus, I consider superfluous this fruitful Garden of Eden planted by the Gardener, and putting the man there and then commanding him to enjoy it.

3 83–84 Եւ դարձեալ թէ՝ «Ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ որ ի մէջ դրախտին, մի ուտիցես, զի մի մեռանիցիս»: Եթէ ոչ երկիւղին տրամադրութիւն ի բանականումն նորա բնաւորեալ էր յոգւոջ, զիա՞րդ զգուշացուցանէր, եւ կամ զգուշացեալ լինէր, եւ կամ մեղադրիւր յետ ոչն զգուշանալոյ: Եւ յառաջ քան զայս գրեալ է, գործել զնա եւ պահել զփափկականն զայն դրախտ՝ զոր տնկեացն: Առաջինն զաշխատութիւն, եւ երկրորդն զհոգալն ընդ ինքեան շարամանեալ ունի: Իսկ զքնոյն ունակութիւն բացայայտակի ի գրեցելոց անտի բանից ծանեաք. «Էարկ, ասէ, Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ՝ եւ ննջեաց»: Ոչ արտաքուստ ի նմա բերելով զքնոյն իրակութիւն, այլ բնաւորականին ըստ պիտոյիցն ի վերայ անկեալ կրից: Իսկ զցանկութիւն՝ յորոց ցանկացաւն հրաժարեցուցեալն պտղոյ՝ իմանամ: Եւ զոր ասէն. «Ադամայ ոչ գտաւ օգնական նմա»՝ այսուիկ զտրտմութիւն նշանակէ զնախաստեղծին, զայլս ի կենդանեացն զուգակենակցաբար ըստ ազգի տեսանելով վայելչացեալս, յաղագս նորին տրտմէր ընդ իւրն միայն անտուն ամայութիւն եւ զրկանս: Այլ եւ զյառաջգիտութեանն ոչ ըստ բնութեան ի նմա ասեմ զոլ նախատեսութիւն, այլ յաստուածային հոգւոյն ազդմանէ, որ / երբեմն շարժէ, եւ երբեմն առ ինքն ամփոփեալ՝ թողացուցանէ զմտաւոր եւ զբանական հոգին . . .

And again: "Of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, you shall not eat, lest you die."[46] If disposition to fear was not inherent in his soul through his rationality, why did he warn or why was he warned, or why was he blamed after not being careful? And before this it is written: "to work it and to keep" this delightful Garden that he planted. The first means labor and the second is inseparable from care. And we have obviously learned (or: learned about) the habit of sleeping from the words written there; it says: "God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept."[47] And He brought upon him the action of sleep not from outside, but as a natural function occurring when necessary. And I understand the wish that caused him (to

45. Gen 2:16.
46. Gen 2:17.
47. Gen 2:21.

eat) the forbidden fruit. And when (the Bible) says, "for Adam there was not found a helper for him,"[48] by this it signals the sorrow of the protoplast; he saw other animals enjoying life in couples according to the species, for that reason he grieved about his homeless loneliness and hardship. And I consider prescience not to be natural in him, but from the power of the divine spirit which sometimes moves and sometimes, concentrating within itself, relaxes the intellectual and reasonable soul.

4 85 . . . Արդ յայտ է յասացելոց անտի՝ եւ վասն նախաստեղծին ասել, թէ ցորքան պատուիրանապահութեամբն թեւակոխէր, նոքումբք այսորքիւք բնաւորականօքս ընդդիմամարտուցեալ ի բաց յինքենէ հալածէր զմահին եւ զապականութիւն. եւ այնպէս յարատեւողագոյն գոյացութեամբ՝ անճառելեաց երթեալ հանդիպանայր կենաց: Իսկ յորժամ առ պատուիրանազանցութիւնն ի վայր սողոսկեալ անկաւ, յորմէ եւ մեղացն եղեւ բողբոջ, յայնժամ ընդ լծով մահու եւ ապականութեան մտեալ հնազանդիւր: Եւ այսպէս ոչ ստեղծիչն, եւ ոչ ստեղծեալն ի նմանէ, այլ ինքնակամութիւն ստեղծուածոյն եւ պատրանք բանսարկուին զմահին եւ զապականութիւնն ի մերումս յարադրեաց բնութեան: Բայց սակայն դժուարաշարժ առ մեղսն յայնժամ, եւ դիւրաշարժագոյն առ բարին. որպէս եւ այժմիկ յապականացուս անկեալ կեանս՝ հակառակաւն այսոցիկ վտանգիմք, դիւրաշարժ առ մեղսն, եւ դժուարաշարժ առ առաքինութիւնն փոփոխելով:

. . . Now, it is clear from those words, that it may also be said about the first man that as long as he sought to observe the commandment, he drove death and corruption away from himself, resisting them thanks to such abilities; and thus with continuous (proper) behavior he attained indescribable life. But when he slipped over into the transgression against the commandment and fell, by which he became a sprout of sin, then he passed under the yoke of and submitted to death and corruption. Thus, neither the Creator nor the one created by him added death and corruption to our nature, but the free will of the creature and the deception of the Devil. However, he was unwilling to sin and much inclined to good, whereas now, having fallen into corruptible life, we are endangered by the opposite of these, tending to the inclination toward sin and unwillingness toward virtue.[49]

48. Gen 2:20.

49. The passage deals with the origin of corruption/corruptibility. It is not part of the initial creation, for the fruit of the Garden was appropriate food for humans. The disposition of fear was inherent in man, as is shown by the commandment with its sanction. Sleep is inherent in man, because God brought it upon Adam. The desire to abate loneliness is inherent but prescience is not: sometimes it is given by the Holy Spirit. These functions, which might be wrongly considered to be connected with corruptibility, were in fact part of the inherent, created order. Consequently, when man sinned he passed under the yoke of death and corruption.

5 90–91 Եւ այսպէս երկրորդս Ադամ / առաջնոյն գտաւ նորոգօղ. զի զոր օրինակ նա վիրաւորեալ ի մեղացն՝ հակառակորդին ետ զինքն ի ծառայութիւն

. . . And there this second Adam was found to be the renewer of the first. For just as he (the first Adam) was wounded by sins, he (Christ) gave himself into the servitude of the opponent.

Նորին Տեառն Յովհաննու Կաթողիկոսի Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ
Of the same Rev, Yovhannēs Catholicos concerning the Orders of the Church

6 106 Իսկ չորեքշաբաթին ըստ վեցերորդ ժամու պաշտմանն խորհրդեանն կարգեալ է, յորում ժամու հիւանդութիւն նախահօրն պատմի, եւ ի նմին ժամու բժշկութիւն վիրացն չարչարանօք խաչին Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի:

And the sacrament[50] is held on Wednesday, at the sixth hour, at which hour the sickness of the forefather is told (to have happened) and at the same hour—the healing of wounds through suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross.

7 110 Յայնմ ժամու. (յաւուր միաշաբաթու յառաջին ժամուն) վարկանիմ ստեղծեալ զմարդն առաջին:

At that hour (on Sunday at the first hour) I consider the first man to have been created.

8 112 Իսկ ի տուընջեանն որոշեալ սահմանք աղօթիցն այս ըստ յանցման ժամուն նախահօրն հեշտասիրութեանն եւ մեղանացն . . . զի որպէս Ադամաւն ամենեքին մեռան, նոյնպէս եւ Քրիստոսիւն ամենեքեան կենդանասցին . . . Զի յորում ժամու յանցեաւն Ադամն առաջին, եւ յետ յանցանացն յամեաց ի դրախտին, նոյնչափ եւ Քրիստոս եկաց ի վերայ խաչին ի բժշկութիւն վիրաց նորա:

And the fixed period of this prayer is determined within daytime, according to the time of the forefather's transgression, his sensuality and his sin. . . . For as all died through Adam, likewise all will revive through Christ. For at the same hour when the first (man) Adam transgressed and after the trans-

This was not the work of God or inherent in the creature, but the result of the exercise of free will. As a result we suffer from an inclination to sin and disinclination to virtue.

50. Literally: worship of mystery.

gression stayed in the Garden of Eden, for the same (amount of) time Christ stayed on the cross to heal his[51] wounds.[52]

9 113 Իսկ յիններորդ ժամուն կարգեալ զաղօթսն, այս վասն անդարձ խոստովանութեանն մեղանացն Ադամայ. յորում ժամու դատապարտեալ ելաւ ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին ժամու աղաղակաւ աւանդեաց զոգին Փրկիչն աշխարհաց, եւ զԱդամ եհան ի դժոխոց:

And the prayer is arranged at the ninth hour for confession of Adam's irrevocable sin, at which hour he, being condemned, came out of the Garden; and at the same hour the Savior of the worlds yielded up his spirit with a cry,[53] and brought Adam out of the hell.[54]

Ճառ երկրորդ յեկեղեցի
"Second Sermon on the Church," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Sis, 2007), 95–104. (This is also available in the Venice edition; see above).

10 156 Սա է դրախտ աստուածատունկ անմտանելի չարաց. զի ի նմանէ օձիւն արտաքս անկաք եւ Քրիստոսիւ ի սմա մտանեմք. եւ վասն զի դրախտն կենդանեաց զմեռօք մեռեալսն ոչ ընդունի, նոյնպէս եւ յայս եկեղեցւոյ արտաքս որոշին ամպարիշտք եւ մեղաւորք: Յայնմ դրախտի ծառ կենաց, յորմէ արգելաւ նախաստեղծն, իսկ աստ խաչն լուսոյ . . . Անդ աղբեւրն եդեմաբուղխ ոռոգանէ զվայելչավայր բուրաստանն, եւ անտի ի չորս բաժանի առաջս. իսկ աստ Բանն ճշմարտութեան բղխեալն ի Հօրէ աղբեւրաբար՝ զաւետարանին հոսէ գնացս ընդ չորեքծագեան տիեզերս, եւ մկրտութեամբն մաքրէ եւ նորոգէ զմարդիկ ի կեանս արդարութեան:

This is the Garden planted by God which evil ones cannot enter, for we were cast out of it through the serpent, and we enter it through Christ; and as the garden of the living does not accept those who have died because of sin, likewise the impious and the sinners are excommunicated from this church. In that Garden (is) the tree of life, from which the protoplast was forbidden, and here (is) the cross of light. . . . There the spring emanating in Eden waters the

51. I.e., Adam's.

52. Note not only parallelism of time but also the use of "wound" both of Adam's sin and of Christ's passion. This we saw also above.

53. Cf. Matt 27:50.

54. Note that the confession of Adam's sin took place at the ninth hour and its liturgical correspondent. Adam left the Garden at the ninth hour and Christ died at the ninth hour. Observe that "brought Adam out of Hell" is a general observation connected with the Descent into Hell tradition. It is certainly not strictly chronological.

graceful Garden, and thence it is parted into four heads;[55] and here the Word of truth emanating from the Father like a spring makes the course of the Gospel flow through the universe having four parts, and by baptism cleanses and renews mankind for (or: in) the life of justice.

11 156–57 Յայնմ դրախտի Ադամ ստեղծաւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ. եւ աստ մարդն յեկեղեցւոջ ծննդեամբ աւազանին լինի որդի Աստուծոյ: Անդ փայտ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. եւ աստ խաչիւն ծանեաք զճշմարիտ բարին զԱստուած եւ խոյս / տուաք ի պատրողաբար ծառայեցուցչացն. որպէս եւ ինքն Փրկիչն հրամայեաց. «Յորժամ բարձրացուցանիցէք զորդի մարդոյ, յայնժամ գիտասջիք՝ թէ ես եմ»: Անդ ծառք տերեւախիտք, ծաղկազարդք. եւ աստ դասք առաքելոց եւ մարգարէից՝ լուսաբեր իմաստութեամբ եւ ծաղկազարդ առաքինութեամբ՝ զԵրրորդութեան հաւատ ուսուցանեն վայելչածաղիկ վարդապետութեամբ: Զնա սերոբէիցն պարփակէ հրեղէն սուրն. եւ զսա Հոգին սուրբ պարունակէ նշանաւ տերունականն խաչի: Յայնմ դրախտի պատուիրանն տուաւ գործոյ եւ պահպանութեան. զնոյն եւ աստ պատուէր առաք՝ ստանալ զօրէնս Հոգւոյն, եւ անսխալ պահել:

Յառաջինն Ադամայ շինեցաւ ի կողիցն կին, եւ տուաւ նմա յօգնականութիւն. իսկ յերկրորդն Ադամայ կողիցն, յորմէ ել արիւն եւ ջուր, շինեցաւ եկեղեցի:

In that paradise Adam was created as the image of God, and here, in the church, man becomes a son of God through birth in the baptismal font. There (is) the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and here we learned through the cross the true good, God, and we escaped the deceitful enslavers, as the Savior himself commanded: "When you have lifted up the Son of man, then shall you know that I am he."[56] There the leafy, flowery trees, and here companies of apostles and prophets teaching the belief of the Trinity with luminous wisdom and flowery virtue, by graceful indoctrination. That one the fiery sword of the Cherubim closes about, and this one includes the Holy Spirit through the sign of the Lord's cross. In that paradise, commandment was given to work and to guard; we have received the same commandment also here: to receive the law of the Spirit and to keep it faultlessly.

Woman was made from the side of the first Adam and was given to him as a helper. And from the side of the second Adam, whence blood and water (flowed), the church was built.

55. Cf. Gen 2:10.
56. John 8:28.

Yovhan Ōjnecʻi, Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Ի խորհուրդ նոր կիւրակէին "From the Commentary on the Lectionary: On the Mystery of the Low Sunday,"[57] ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century. (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 111–18.

12 114 Այսաւր դրունս դժոխոց բացան եւ մահ լուծաւ, հին Ադամն ի բաց եղաւ եւ նոր[58] լցաւ, նոր արարածք ի Քրիստոս նորոգեցան:

Today the door of the hell was opened and death was dissolved, old Adam was put away and the new one was fulfilled, new creatures were renewed in Christ.

Yovhan Ōjnecʻi, Ընթերցուածոց մեկնութենէ, Նախահաւաքումն պատմութեան այսմ բանից Տեառն Յովհաննու Վերծանողի "From the Commentary on the Lectionary: Preliminary Collection for This Narrative from the Words of Yovhan the Lector," ed. Yakob Kʻeosēyan, *MH*, vol. 7, 8th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2007), 156–72.[59]

13 157–58 Եւ հրապուրէր ամբարիշտն այն. (Արտեմոն) զհաւանեալսն իւր որպէս եւ ի սկզբանն աւձն Եւայ: Նա ասէր ցԵւայ յետ առաջնոյ հերձուածոյ. «Մինչեւ ցասքանեացս բազմութեան ծառոց դրախտին համարձակութիւն ետ Աստուած ուտել. Յայս ծառոյ զի՞ արգել: Զի՞նչ փառք են, զի՞նչ պատճառք: Աղէ տես յոյժ եւ քննեայ, յոյժ ներամտեա, կա՞յ իմն յիրսդ:» Այսպիսի դիմաւք ի կարծիս արկանէր զնա եւ աղմկէր զսիրտն: Եւ իբրեւ խարդաւանեաց զնա եւ երկմտեցոյց, տիրացաւ ի վերայ զգայական մտաւորութեան նորա եւ ասէր. «Թէ ուտէք՝ աստուածք լինիքդ:»[60] Նոյն խարդաւանութեամբ եւ Արտեմոնն ասէր ցհրապուրեալսն իւր. «Զի՞նչ համարիցիք զկարծեալ առաքելոցն զաւետարանութիւնսն, որ զանխլացուցին եւ թաքուցին զլրութիւն հաւատոյն եւ սուղ ինչ վարդապետութեամբ դաւանեցին յերկրի» . . .

Աւձն զԱստուած ամբաստան առնէր ընդ Եւայի, եթէ՝ «Վասն այնորիկ յապաւեաց ի ձէնջ Աստուած զծառոյն կերակուր, եթէ գուցէ ճաշակիցէք եւ աստուածք լինիցիք»: Եւ Արտեմոն զառաքելոցն ամբաստանէր . . .

57. This is the first Sunday after Easter, normally called "New Sunday."

58. See Grigor Narekacʻi 2009, 505.

59. The second part of the title is not quite clear; it may be corrupt.

60. Gen 3:5.

And that impious (Artemon) tempted those who agreed with him, as in the beginning the serpent (had tempted) Eve. He said to Eve after the first rupture: “If God gave permission to eat from such a multitude of the trees of the Garden, why did He forbid (the fruit) from this tree? What is the glory? What is the reason? Now look thoroughly and examine, throughly go into the heart, is there anything in this?” With such an expression he made her inquire and excited (her) heart. And when he had plotted against her and made her doubt, he dominated over her sensible/sensual reason, and said: “If you eat, you will become gods.” With similar plots Artemon too said to those whom he had tempted: “What do you consider the seeming preaching of the Apostles who have damped and concealed the fullness of the faith and have professed their mean teaching on the earth?” . . .

The serpent accused God before Eve saying: “For that reason God cut off for you the food from the tree, lest you eat and become gods.” And Artemon accused the Apostles . . .

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Ninth Century

Hamam Arewelc‘i C9

Text: Hamam Arewelc‘i, Մեկնութիւն Առակաց "Commentary on Proverbs," in Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, Մեկնութիւն չորից աւետարանչաց *Commentary on the Four Evangelists; Hamam Arewelc‘i,* Մեկնութիւն Առակաց *Commentary on Proverbs,* ed. M. Saribekyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1994).

Translation: *Hamam: Commentary on the Book of Proverbs,* trans. and ed. Robert W. Thomson (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 5; Leuven and Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2005). The translation here is my own.

1 198 Ի պտղոյ արդարութեան բուսանի ծառ կենաց

Ուստի բուսաւ ծառն կենաց որդին Աստուծոյ ի խաչին, ծառն կենաց, որով շուրջ կան Սերովբէքն եւ Քերովբէքն:

From righteousness's fruit, a tree of life grows (Prov 11:30).

Whence[1] did the tree of life grow, the Son of God on the cross, the tree of life, around which stand the Seraphim and the Cherubim.

2 215 «Առաջ քան զբեկումն իւր բարձրանայ սիրտ առն, եւ նախ քան զկարծիս կործանի:»

Before its breaking,[2] the heart of man is haughty; and before thought it is destroyed (Prov 18:12).

Որ նախքան զբեկումն բարձրացաւ սիրտն սատանայի, որ ապստամբելովն կամեցաւ բարձրանալ քան զընկերս իւր: Եւ վասն նորին յայս մեծ բեկումն կորացեալ առաջի հզօրին Աստուծոյ: Եւ նախքան զկարծիսն այս եղեալ, մինչեւ ի նոյն եւս էր կամս, ի վայր բերեալ եղեւ, եւ կորացաւ առաջի ամենեցուն, որ էր պայծառ արուսեակ. խաւար վասն ամբառնալոյն կոչեցաւ եւ եղեւ: Նոյն զմարդն պարտեաց որ կորացաւ եւ նա ընդ նմա:

Before the breaking, the heart of Satan became haughty, who by rebelling, wanted to become more elevated than his fellows. And, therefore, he was

1. I.e., from the Holy Marriage.
2. I.e., destruction.

abased to this great rupture before mighty God. And this happened before thought, while he still had the very same desire; he was cast down and abased before everyone. He who was a brilliant Lucifer,[3] on account of his haughtiness was named and became darkness. The same one defeated man who, too, was abased with him.

K‘erovbē *vardapet* C9

K‘erovbē *vardapet*, Պատճառ գալստեան Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ "Explanation of the Coming of the Lord to Jerusalem," ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 722–43.

1 730. (143) Տիմէի որդի թուի, թէ զԱդամ առակէ նշանակաւ, որ ստեղծմամբ Աստուծոյ ի չորից տարերց ծնեալ եղեւ իբր ի մաւրէ, զոր Տիմէ կոչէ, զի անունս այս չորիւք տառիւք գոյանա:

(143) He (Bartimeus) seemed to be the son of Timeus[4] in order to hint symbolically at Adam, who being created by God was born from the four elements as from a mother, whom he calls "of Timeus," since this name is made of four letters.

2 730. (151) Զի յելանելն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն դեռեւ ճաճանչ լուսոյ աստուածգիտութեան ընդ ինքեան ունէր եւ զմարմնոյն աչս՝ բաց թէպէտ եւ կուրացեալ էր հոգւով, այլ զի յաւել մեղս ի վերայ մեղացն ամենայն ծննդաւք իրաւք (v.l. իւրովք):

(151) For when Adam went forth from the Garden, he still had with himself the rays of the light of the knowledge of God and corporeal eyes, but even if he was blinded in his soul, he added sins to the sins through all his descendants.

3 732. (184) Եւ նախաստեղծն Ադամ յամենայն կենդանիս միայն բանական եղեալ, պատիր խաբէութեամբ աւձին կորոյս զնա, ըստ մարգարէին. «Հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից»:

(184) As to the first-created Adam, being the only rational one among all the animals, he destroyed him by the false deceit of the serpent, according to the prophet: "He is like irrational animals."[5]

3. "Morning star"; see Isa 14:12.
4. See Mark 10:46.
5. Ps 48:13 = MT 49:12, but MT differs.

Movsēs Xorenac'i C9

Text: Movsēs Xorenac'i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of the Armenians*, ed. M. Abełean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tiflis: Mnac'akan Martiroseanc' Press, 1913); reprinted with the supplement by A. Sargsyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1991).

Translation: *Moses Khorenats'i, History of Armenia, translation and commentary on the literary sources* by R. W. Thomson (rev. ed.; Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2006). The translation below is taken from this book, referred to by pages.

The date of this work is greatly debated, and its traditional date is the fifth century. That date is maintained by many scholars, with arguments that are far from negligible. There is no doubt of the antiquity of much of the material included in this pivotal work of Armenian historiography though it may well have been put into its present form some centuries later.[6]

Դ Ծննդաբանութիւն Հայոց Մեծաց
IV Genealogy of Greater Armenia

1 14, 1.4 Ադամ նախաստեղծ. սա կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնանի զՍէթ:

69 Adam the first to be created. He lived two hundred and thirty years and begat Seth.

2 Քանզի է Ադամ ճշմարտապէս աստուածաստեղծ. եւ սա ի բերանոյ Աստուծոյ առեալ ասի պատուէր, այլ եւ յանցուցեալ եւ ի թագստեան եղեալ՝ զՈ՞ւր ես-ն յԱստուծոյ եւ ոչ յայլմէ ումեքէ հարցանի. սապէս եւ զվճիռ վարկին ի նորին բերանոյ լսէ:

For Adam is truly the creature of God, and he is said to have received a command from God's mouth. But he, having transgressed and having hidden, was asked: "Where are you?"[7] by God and not by anyone else. Likewise he heard the sentence from the same One's mouth.[8]

3 15 Քանզի ի պատուիրանազանցութեան գտեալ առաջինն ի մարդկանէ՝ ի դրախտէն եւ յԱստուծոյ, չարին աղագաւ, որպէս ասացեալ է, գտանի արտաասահմանեալ: Զկնի եւ ընտանեգոյնն

6. Some arguments for its antiquity demand serious consideration. See, for example, the recent work of Topchyan (2006). The argument may well be over the date of redaction rather than the early origins of many of the sources.

7. Gen 3:9.

8. Gen 3:17–19.

Աստուծոյ յորդւոցն Ադամայ՝ ի հարազատէն իւրմէ սպանանի յեղբօրէ։

70 Since the first of mankind was found in transgression of the commandment, because of his evil, as has been said, he was expelled from the Garden of Eden and from God.[9] Afterwards, the one of Adam's sons who was most intimate with God was killed by his own brother.[10]

§6

4 22, 1.6 Title Յաղագս թէ ինչ որ հաւասար, եւ է ինչ որ օտար ի Մովսիսէ պատմեն այլքն հնախօսք, եւ յաղագս Ոլիմպիոդորայ փիլիսոփայի անգիր հին զրուցացն։

74 Concerning the fact that other antiquarians' accounts sometimes agree and sometimes disagree with Moses, and concerning the unwritten ancient stories of the philosopher Olympiodorus.

5 22, 1.6 Բայց որպէս ի սկզբանն երբեմն ճշմարտեն, երբեմն ստեն - որպէս յաղագս նախաստեղծին, ոչ առաջին մարդ ասելով զնա, այլ թագաւոր, սոյնպէս անուն խժական նմա եւ աննշանակ կոչելով, եւ ամս տալով երեսուն եւ վեց հազար.

75 But as for the beginning (i.e. Creation) sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie; just as, concerning the protoplast, not saying the first man but king, calling him a barbaric and obscure name and giving him thirty-six thousand years.

PSEUDO-ŠAPUH OR THE ANONYMOUS STORYTELLER C9

Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni, Պատմութիւն անանուն զրուցագրի կարծեցեալ Շապուհ Բագրատունի *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller regarded as Šapuh Bagratuni*, ed. with Russian translation, introduction, and commentary by M. H. Darbinyan-Melikyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1971).

Translation based on R. W. Thomson, "The Anonymous Story-Teller (Also known as 'Pseudo-Shapuh')," *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 21 (1988–89): 182–229. The translation is my own.

184 Rich and honorable men assembled and journeyed as far as the land

9. Gen 3:23–24.
10. Gen 4:9.

of Syria. On the way Mahmet said: "O Persian magnates, we are not in the (right) faith and piety, for our idols are vain. Now I have heard from some people that there exists a God in Heaven, above the sun which is visible to us." They said: "What is the matter with you, Mahmet? Be quiet and do not speak about that."

1 45 Իսկ նա սկսաւ պատմել նոցա զաւուրս զառաջինս յԱբրահամու եւ ի Նոյէ, նաեւ ի յԱդամայ. եւ նոքա զարմանային ընդ իմաստութիւնս նորա եւ ասեն. «Ո՛վ Մահմէտ, ուստի ասես զայդպիսի բանս եւ բազում գիտութիւնս»:

Then he began to relate to them the earliest days, from Abraham and Noah and even from Adam. They were astonished at his wisdom and said: "O Mahmet, what is your source for such sayings and all this knowledge?" He replied: "Wisdom, knowledge, and prophecy have been given me from above." And when they had drawn near the monastery, they camped there opposite the monk's monastery in accordance with his advice.

Sahak Mrut C9

Text: Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, Պատասխանի Թղթոյն Փոտայ՝ գրեալ Սահակայ Հայոց Վարդապետի, հրամանաւ Աշոտայ Հայոց իշխանաց իշխանի "Answer to the letter of Photius, written by Sahak *vardapet* of the Armenians, at the command of Ašot, Prince of Princes of Armenia," in Գիրք Թղթոց *Book of Letters*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 524–39.

529 ՂԱ. 81.

1 Ապաքէն մի բնութիւն յերկուս դէմս իմանի եւ ասի. քանզի է որ ըստ պարզութեան է մի որ ոչն է յաւդական, որպէս Գաբրիէլ եւ Միքայէլ. եւ է որ ըստ յաւդաւորութեանն է մի, որպէս Ադամ եւ Նոյ:

Is then one nature to be perceived and spoken of in two countenances, for there is that which is one according to simplicity, which is not compounded, like Gabriel and Michael; and there is one who is one in compoundedness, like Adam and Noah.

T'ēop'ilos C9

T'ēop'ilos, Ի մեծի երկուշաբաթին ի թզենին եւ յԱդամայ մեկնութիւն յաղագս անիծիցն թզենոյն եւ վասն ապաշխարութեան "Commentary on

the Great Monday, on the Fig Tree and Adam, concerning the Curse of the Fig Tree and concerning Repentance," ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 788–800.

1 793. (73) Անդ Ադամ զանէծսն ընդ թզենւովն լուաւ եւ վրիպելով ի կենդանութենէ զպատուհաս մահուն ընկալաւ եւ Ադամ զպատմուճան մահուն զկենդանութեան ծածկոյթն ագաւ:

(73) There Adam heard the curse under the fig tree, and missing the life received the punishment of death, and Adam put on the garment of death (as) the cover of life.

T‘ēop‘ilos, Վասն յարութեան Ղազարու եւ դժոխոցն կործանման "Concerning the Raising of Lazarus and the Destruction of the Hell," ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 820–27.

2 820. (10) Մատուցեալ Ադամ ասէ ցՌվաննէս. Ես էի ի փառս դրախտին իմում, եւ վաելէի անմահական կերակրովն: (11) Ապա նախանձեցաւ ընդ իս բանսարկուն եւ եհան ի վայելչական կենացն:

(10) Adam approached and said to John: "I was in the glory of my Garden and I was enjoying immortal food. (11) Then the Devil envied me and brought me forth from the splendid life."

Text: Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 828–41.

T‘eop‘ilos, Վասն ամենայն առաքինութեան եւ ողորմածութեան "On Every Virtue and Mercy"

3 834. (97) Ասէ զերեզմանն. Եթէ դու, զոր զտեր ըստ սովորութեան քո գործեցեր ընդ նմա, առաւել եւս զսովորութիւն իմ կատարեցից, քանզի գիտեմ զքեզ վրիպեալ ի սովորութենէ քումմէ ի ձեռն Եղիայի եւ Եղիսէի: (98) Այլ ամենեւին, յորմէ հետէ դարձաւ Ադամ առ իս, ուստի առաւ մինչեւ ցայսաւր զեկեալ[սն] առ իս ոչ կարաց յափշտակել ոք յինէն: (99) Այլ որ առաւել եւս յարգեալ իսկ էր փշրեալ մանրեցի եւ արարի իբրեւ զիս որպէս եւ զԱդամ արարի: (100) Ստեղծեալ զնա Աստուած ըստ պատկերի իւրում եւ ես արարի զնա ըստ նմանութեան փառաց իւրոց, եւ ես գործեցի զնա ըստ պատկերի իմում. եւտու պատկեր գեղեցկազարդ եւ առի թառամեալ, եւտու /// (one unreadable word) սա պայծառ /// (one unreadable word), եւ առի պապանձեալ, եւտու կարի իմաստուն, եւ առի յոյ(?) յիմարի, եւտու թագաւոր, եւ առի աղքատ, եւտու վեր քան զիս, եւ առի խոնարհ քան զիս, եւտու զպայծառազարդ յինէն եւ զգեղեցիկն քան զիս, եւ առի զմին իբրեւ

զիս, եւ պայծառ քան զիս, նոյն դարձեալ գործեցի իբրեւ զիս: (101) Եւ եթէ զաստուածագործ պատկերն, որ լեալ յարմատոյ առանց ախտի եւ վասն փառաւորման նորա եւ վայելման Աստուած տնկեաց ձեռաւք իւրովք դրախտ եւ կացոյց զնա ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց իւրոց եւ ի ձեռն իմ անցք այդ ամենայն անցին ընդ նա, զոր եւ ասացի . . . :

(97). (In a dialogue between death and Lazarus's grave) The grave says: "If you treat whomever you have found according to your custom, I will fulfill my custom even more, since I know that you have failed in your custom through Elijah and Elisha. (98) But in no way, from the time when Adam returned to me from where he was taken until today could anybody take from me away those who have come to me. (99) But him who was even more respected, I crushed and destroyed and made him like me, as I had done Adam. (100) God created him in his image, and I made[11] him in the likeness of his glory, and I made him according my image. I gave a well-adorned image and received a faded one. I gave it (one unreadable word) shining (one unreadable word), and received a silent one. I gave a very wise one and received a very (?) foolish one. I gave a king and received a poor man. I gave one higher than me and received one lower than me, I gave one more brilliant than me and handsomer than me and received one like me, and I made like me the one who is more brilliant than me. (101) And as to the God-made image which was originally without vice, God planted the Garden with his hands for glorifying him and for his enjoyment, he set him over all the works of his hands,[12] and all that passed into my power with him, which I also said . . ."

T'eop'ilos, Ի սուրբ եւ յանճառելի չարչարանսն եւ ի խաչելութիւնն Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի
"On the Holy and Ineffable Passion and on the Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 851–71.

4 858. (184). (թշնամին զաւտեմարտեալ ընդ թագաւորին և ընդ ծառայ նորա . . .) Ընդ նախազահ այրն Ադամ, որ էր քնարս պատրաստեալ չար վիշապն՝ լեզուն իւր սրելով սուր երկսայրի, զի կարաց պատառել զվահան պատուիրանացն, որ հրաման առեալ՝ ոչ ճաշակել ի պտղոյն, եւ նա ճաշակեաց եւ ընկալաւ

(185) փոխանակ անմահ դեղոյն՝ մահ /// (one unreadable word)

11. This does not seem correct: perhaps it should be, "He made him."
12. Phrase from Ps 8:5–6 = Arm 8:6–7.

(186) փոխանակ [պատուիրանին]՝ զթերութիւն պատուիրանազանց:

(187) փոխանակ ուրախութեան՝ արտասուք եւ տրտմութիւն:

(188) փոխանակ լուսազգեցութեան՝ զպատկառելի մերկութիւն:

(189) փոխանակ համարձակութեան՝ զթագուստն ընդ թզենովն:

(190) փոխանակ բնակութեան դրախտին՝ զբնակութիւն դժոխոցն:

(191) փոխանակ աներեկոյ տունջեանն՝ զխաւարն աղջամղջին:

(184) (the adversary wrestling with the king and his servant . . .) With the man Adam seated in the highest place, whom the evil dragon had made a lyre,[13] sharpening his two-edged tongue, so that he could tear the shield of the commandments, according to which he was ordered not to eat of the fruit, but he ate and received:

(185) instead of immortal remedy, death < >;

(186) instead of the commandment, transgressive shortcoming;

(187) instead of joy, tears and sadness;

(188) instead of a luminous garment, shy nakedness;

(189) instead of boldness, hiding under the fig tree;

(190) instead of dwelling in the Garden, dwelling in the hell;

(191) instead of day without evening, gloomy darkness.

868. (401) Եւ Տէր կոխեալ ի վայր ի դժոխսն, լուաւ Ադամ զոտնաձայնն Տեառն, եւ ասէ ցբնակեալքն իւր զոր ի յիններորդ ժամուն լուայ զոտնաձայնն ի դրախտին ահա այժմ անկաւ յականջս իմ: (402) Ո՛ եթէ ստուգեցից, եթէ ոտնաձայնն այն է ոչ երկնչիմ, զի պատուեսցէ զիս կրկին, այլ եւ ջնջեսցէ զգիր դատապարտութեան, իմոյ զձեռագիրս պատառէ, զանէծս լուծանէ, զդատապարտութիւն ազատէ, զփշաբերութիւն ծաղկեցուցանէ, զարտասուսն փարատէ, զապականեալսն նորոգէ, զտրտմութիւն ուրախացուցանէ, զմահն հալածէ եւ մեռելոցն յոյս յարութեան պարգեւէ:

(401) And when the Lord trod downwards to the hell, Adam heard the sound of the footsteps of the Lord and said to those dwelling with him: “The sound of the footsteps which I heard in the ninth hour in the Garden, now it has reached my ears. (402) Oh, if I can find out that these are those footsteps, I will not be afraid, since he will honor me again, he will also extirpate the document of condemnation, he will tear my cheirograph,[14] he will loose the

13. See Stone 2009, 87–99. See also the appendix above.
14. See Col 2:14.

curse, he will release [me from] the condemnation, he will make the thorny place flower, he will solace my tears, he will renew those who were corrupted, he will turn sadness into happiness, he will drive away death, and he will grant the hope of salvation to the dead."

T'ovma Arcruni C9

Text: T'ovma Arcruni and the Anonymous Author, Պատմութիւն Արծրունեաց տան *History of the Arcruni Family*, ed. with modern Armenian translation by V. M. Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1985).

Translation: *Thomas Artsruni, History of the House of the Artsrunik',* trans. Robert W Thomson (Byzantine Texts in Translation; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985). The translation here is my own.

Յառաջաբանութիւն հեղինակին.
Author's Preface

1 6 Եւ ըստ նմանակերպութեան պատկերի իւրոյ, յանձնիշխան կամայական կամարարութեանն ձգեալ պատիւ զնա՝ եւ տէր բոլորակերտ իրողութեանց մակադրեալ զհողանիւթեայ էակս, որպէս ասաց նախամարգարէն մովսէս. նմանազոյնս ասացեալ եւ թագաւորաղնն մարգարէաշնորհին Դաւիթ՝ փառօք եւ պատուովք պսակեցեր զնա, եւ կացուցեր զնա ի վերայ ձեռակերտաց քոց, եւ զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա: Եւ ծառայականս պատահիս տուեալ նմա, որ ի վերայ կառուցեալ լուսաւորացդ պարողութիւն երեւելազոյն գոյիցն, ի գործառնութեան կենացաղավարութեան պիտոյից մարդոյ, ըստ տունջեան եւ գիշերոյ բացակայութեանց գործոց եղանակեալ:

And according to the likeness of His own image, (God) having honored him with[15] autonomous voluntary complaisance, and appointed this earthen being lord of all matter, as the first prophet Moses said. Similar words were said by kingly David endowed with prophetic gift: "Yet you have made him and crowned him with glory and honor. You have given him dominion over the works of your hands; you have made all things obedient beneath his feet."[16] And, having given him a servant's circumstance, the circuit was established over the visible companies of the luminaries, for the use of the needs of the life of man, arranged according to the distancing of the affairs of day and night.

15. Literally: having cast/drawn him into honor.
16. Ps 8:5–6.

Դպրութիւն Ա.
Book 1

2 18–22 Տնկեաց, ասէ, Աստուած զդրախտն յԷդեմ ընդ արեւելս. այսինքն յերկրի արեւելս, զորոյ չունի բան ասել անդր եւս քան զնա յարեւելս ունել բնակութիւն մարդկան. որով իցէ ասել արեւմտական զդրախտն կամ /20/ ի միջոցի ուրեք. եւ զանբաւութիւն մեծութեանն յայտ առնէ սաստկութիւն յորդահոս աղբերն, որ արբուցանելով զդրախտն ընկղմի ընդ երկրաւ, եւ չորեքվտակեան անյաղթ եւ զօրաւոր գետովք ելանէ յաներեւելոյն յերեւելի աշխարհս: Իսկ զգերազանցութիւն գեղեցկութեանն որ բերան բաւեսցէ ասել բան մարդկային, միանգամայն եւ զաստուածագործ տնկոցն հեշտալի տեսութիւն. եւ անհասական իմն շնորհիւ՝ փառօք եւ պատուով պսակեալ զմարդն իշխանական ճոխութեամբ՝ վայելեցուցանէ դրախտին, տալով նմա բազմամեայ կենաց սահման իբրեւ զմի օր, ոչ պիտոյացեալ եկամուտ լուսոյ, որով նսեմացի առ ի հասանել երեկոյին, ոչ ապաժամանութիւն արեգական առ ի մերժել զմութ գիշերի՝ լուսազգեստ ստեղծուածոյն, որ յետ առաջնոցն կարգի եւ դասու՝ զերկրորդն փոխանորդեցաւ վիճակ, ոչ կերակուր հոսանուտ առ ի լրութիւն տարաբարձ ունակութեանց անապականին, որ դոյզն ինչ՝ փոքրագոյն քան զհրեշտակս գոլ. եւ զի ասէ՝ գործել եւ պահել՝ ոչ իբր ի լիութիւն ամենակատար դրախտին կամ պահպանութիւն ի վնասակարաց, այլ ահա գործել զարդարութիւն եւ պահել զպատուէրն ասացեալ նմա. զի սակաւաջան նպաստաւորութեամբն իբրեւ ընծայաբեր արար լինելով, եւ այնր աղագաւ յեւս բարձրագոյնսն ձգեսցի ըստ ասացելումն՝ ի սակաւուն հաւատարիմ լինելով՝ ոչ այնմ եւեթ տիրեսցէ տնկոյն, այլ եւ բազմերջանիկ երկնայնոցն հասցէ կենաց:

It says, "God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,"[17] that is in the east of the earth, about which it does not say that there was any further human dwelling (than this garden), in the east. Thus, it may be said that the Garden was in the west (i.e., of the earth) or somewhere in the middle. And (Scripture) makes evident the unbounded greatness and the intensity of the spring which, having watered the Garden, sinks under the earth and (then), with the invincible and powerful four-streamed rivers, ascends from the invisible world to this visible one. And whose mouth can express in human speech its (Garden's) surpassing beauty, as well as the pleasing appearance of the trees created by God? And with inconceivable grace, having crowned man with glory and honor, with princely splendor, He caused him to enjoy the Garden, giving him a life span of many years as one day.[18] He did not need external

17. Gen 2:8.
18. Observe the relationship to Ps 90:4 = Arm 89:4.

light which would be darkened toward evening's coming; nor the subsequent arrival of the sun to expel the gloom of night from the creation garbed in light, which, following the order and rank of the first (situation), was replaced by a second situation; soft food for the fulfillment of the removed status of the uncorrupted (man) who was only a little less than the angels.[19] And that it says, "to work it and to keep it,"[20] is not as if for fullness of the all-perfect garden and protection from the harmful, but behold for doing righteousness and keeping the command given to him. For by means of an easily achieved goal, He made (man) to be as one who bears a gift and on account of that he would be drawn to higher things, according to the saying, "having been faithful over a few things,"[21] and he will not only possess that tree, but will attain the most fortunate heavenly life.

3 Իսկ նա ի հրապոյրս ապստամբ վիշապին ելեալ, որ բազմախարդախ չարութեամբն եհեղ առատութեամբ զդառնութիւն խրատոյն յունկն կնոջն անզգամի: Որով ընթադրեալ՝ զպիրողական երախտիս Արարչին, միանգամայն եւ զպատուէրն՝ առ սպանողն հատուածեցաւ, զոր ի դէպ է այժմ ասել նենգաւոր գոլ եւ անմիտ. ոչ շատացաւ ինքեան ծնելութեամբն առ ի զմայլումն հրաժարել ի կերակրոյ, այլ եւ աստուածականն ցանկացաւ փառաց, կորզել ապարասանութեամբ յինքեան եւ զպատիւ Արարչին, որով փորձիւ եւ հրապուրիչն նորա բանսարկուն ախտացաւ: Այլ եւ նախապատիւ եւս քան զայրն յաստուածականին լինել կնոջն նախայարձակ ճաշակմամբն: Աւաղ խարդախագունին այնորիկ խորհրդոյ եւ յիմարական մտաբերութեանն, որով անգիտացեալ զհողանիւթեայ իւր զանգուած՝ յահաւորէն Աստուծոյ եւ յարարչէն խորհեցաւ թիկունս դարձուցանել, որ ամենատես ակնարկութեամբ ստորիջեալ ի խնդիր կորուսելոյն հեզագնաց զարշապարօք՝ ընդելականս նմա զուշակէր զալուստ, ընտանեգոյնս եւս ձայնի կոչելով՝ ու՛ր ես Ադամ, աւաղականս նմա զորովալիր զանկումնն, թերեւս ինքեամբ իսկ զօգտակարօքն տածիցի:

But she was seduced by the rebellious dragon (or: serpent) who, with very fraudulent wickedness, poured plentifully the bitterness of (his) advice into the ear of the foolish woman. Thus she trampled under foot the kind favor of the Creator, together with the command, (and) withdrew toward the killer. Now it is appropriate to call her deceitful and stupid; she was not satisfied with her birth to renounce the delight of food, but coveted the divine glory, to snatch insolently for herself the Creator's honor as well, by which temptation also her seducer, the Devil, was afflicted. And the woman was the

19. See Ps 8:5= Arm 8:6.
20. Gen 2:15.
21. Matt 25:23.

first to taste,[22] in order to be prior in the divine honor to her husband. Alas! her fraudulent idea and foolish attempt, for, forgetting her earthen mixture, she thought she could turn her back upon the fearsome God and Creator who, having descended in search of the lost one with His all-seeing gaze, with gentle heels made known as usual His coming to him by calling with a familiar voice, "Adam, where are you"[23] with affectionate words of regret for his fall; perhaps he might care for (it) by himself, with respect to helpful things.

4 Իսկ նա անդէն եւ անդ հերքեալ ապաժամանակ առ ուղղակի տեսութիւն մեղանաց՝ առ Աստուած վերաբերէ զպատճառն, ասէ՝ կինս զոր ետուր / 22 / ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ ի ծառոյ անտի եւ կերայ. եւ թէ Ադամ առ նմանն իւր եւ օգնական զայսոսիկ՝ զի՞նչ ի դէպ իցէ կնոջն անմեղադրելի զոլ՝ օձին պատճառել, որ եւս վատթարագոյն քան զանասունսն լինիցի: Ուստի եւ ըստ կարգի մեղանացն՝ եւ դժուարինք անիծիցն հետեւին, նախ օձին եւ ապա կնոջն: Իսկ եթէ մշակն մեղաց եւ անդրանիկն ամենայն չարեաց, որ ի յօձն բունեալ ոչ անիծաւ, որպիսիս ուսուցանէ վնասապարտութիւն օձին առ ի պատժականութեանն գտանել պարտաւորութիւն, որ ոչ յինքենէ միայն, այլ մանաւանդ ի գտողէն չարեաց:

But he, refuting his sin too late (because it was seen directly on the spot), disclosed the reason to God, saying: "This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, gave me of the tree, and I ate."[24] And if Adam (said) these words about the one like him and his helper, why it would be fitting that the woman be without blame, and the serpent who is worse than the (other) animals be blamed? Hence, according to the order of the sins, onerous curses follow, first for the serpent and then for the woman. And if the cultivator of sins and the firstborn of all evil, who nested in the serpent, was not cursed, what sort of things does the guiltiness of the serpent teach, for finding the condemnation of the punishment which is not only from him himself but particularly from the inventor of evil?

5 Առ որս ասեմք՝ եթէ ըստ ամենայն յեղանակի անբոյժն ի բարւոյ, ո՛չ մի ինչ ո՛չ ունի մասն ազնիւ՝ թէ ասիցէ ոք անիծիւք ի բաց բառնալ. նա եւ կենդանականն որ ի նմա՝ ոչ ի բարի ինչ, այլ զի անհրաժեշտ չարին կալով անմահականս չարչարեսցի: Զոր բան եւ վասն օձին սքանչելապէս ուսուցանէ Փիլոն Աղէքսանդրացի՝ յառաջ քան զդրժանացն դիպուածս՝ յոլովութիւն իմաստից ունել ամենայն շնչականաց. այլ եւ մարդոյն եւս յստակագոյնս տեսանել զիւրաքանչիւրոցն ի նոցանէ մտածութիւն . . .

22. Literally: by the aggressive tasting (A.T.).

23. Gen 3:8.

24. Gen 3:12.

In this connection we say that he in no way can be cured by goodness; he has not a bit of worth in himself; so that one might say (he is) to be exterminated with curse. He and the vitality which is in him must be tortured, since it stays immortal, not for any good but necessarily for evil. Philo of Alexandria marvelously teaches this thing about the serpent, that before this infringement happened, all living creatures were endowed with great intellect, and man clearly saw reason in each of them.

6 Եւ եհան արձակեաց զնա Տէր Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան՝ գործել զերկիր ուստի առաւ: Եւ ապա զի՞նչ առ այսոսիկ առցուք ի մէջ զողբերգութեան բերումն ի հառաչանս, որով զաստուածերանն լքեալ զերկիր՝ զախտականս զայս եւ տաժանելիս փոխանորդեաց վիճակ, անբժշկական եւ ողորմելի յեղափոխմամբ. ըստ պատկերին Աստուծոյ ստուերացեալ բարձրացեալն՝ նուաստացաւ, անմահից կենաց հաղորդն՝ ի ձեռն անիծիցն հողացաւ, ի տէրութիւն կարգեալն՝ բազմադիմի չարիւք վարատեալ, եւ ծառայ ախտից եղեւ, ինքեան եւ որոց յետ իւր թողլով ժառանգութիւնն որդւոց կեանս վշտագինս հանդերձ մահուամբ, եւ ծննդականութիւնս տրտմութեամբ: Զոր պարտ էր աստանօր յոլովագունիւք ոմամբք աւաղականօք ընդ ողբակիցս՝ եւ զմարգարէականն առնուլ ի ձայնարկութիւն, «մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ, հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեաց նոցա»:

And the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of delights, to work the ground whence he was taken.[25] And then, in this connection, what aspect of the tragedy shall we take up to bemoan? Because of which, having left the land blessed by God, he exchanged it for this perishable and arduous condition, suffering incurable and miserable change: he was humiliated, who was according to the image of God exalted by the shadow; he who had shared immortal life, turned to dust through the curse; he who was appointed to lordship was displaced through multifarious evils and became servant of passions. He (gained) for himself and left to his sons after him the heritage of sorrowful life along with death, and painful childbirth. Here we should bewail with many lamentations, together with fellow mourners, and take the words of the prophet's plaint: "Man was in honor and understood not, became equal to the dumb beasts and became like them."[26]

25. Gen 3:23–24.
26. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.

Պատմութիւն Անանուան Ա
History of the Anonymous Author 1

7 406 Իսկ չարարուեստ բանսարկուն սատանայ, որպէս երբեմն ի նախնումն ազդեցութեամբ կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, դիւրահաւան զնախահայրն առ պտղոյն առնելով ճաշակումն, զանմահս մահացոյց ի կենաց, զոր ունէաք ի դրախտին զբնութիւն՝ նմանապէս եւ աստ ի վերայ քաջի եւ մեծանուն իշխանին զնախանձուն վառեալ հուր՝ ոխս մախանաց արկանէր ի սիրտս ոմանց Հայաստանեայց, գործակից նոցա լինել:

And as the malicious Devil, Satan, once in former times betrayed through the influence of the woman, by making the credulous forefather taste the fruit, depriving the immortal ones of life, the nature we had in the Garden, likewise now (lit. here) he set in the heart of some Armenians the fire of zeal at the brave and famous prince to be his co-workers.

Zakʻaria Katʻołikos C9

Text: Barseł Sargisean, Եղիշէի եւ Զաքարիա կաթողիկոսի ի թաղումն Քրիստոսի ճառերն եւ Նիկոդիմոսի աւետարանը *The Homilies of Ełišē and Zakʻaria Katʻołikos on Christ's Burial and the Gospel of Nicodemus* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1910), 23–29.

Zakʻaria Katʻołikos, Ի մեծի աւուր շաբաթուն թաղման Տեառն Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի.
"On the Great Saturday, the Day of the Burial of the Lord Jesus Christ"

1 28 Եւ ասէ Ադամ. Յորժամ վրիպեալ կողոպտեցայ ի պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ, իջեալ Աստուած ընդ երեկս՝ յաւուր ուրբաթուն գնայր ի դրախտին . . . եւ արդ ի սոյն տարաժամեալ ուրբաթուս եկեալ ժամանեաց ոտնաձայնիւ. եւ հանցէ զմեզ ի ստուերաց մահու:

And Adam says: "When having been deceived, I was deprived of God's commandments, God, descending in the evening on Friday, walked in the Garden. . . . And now toward nightfall of this Friday, He came with his footfall, and (He) will take us out from the shadow of death."

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos, Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի Յարութեանն Քրիստոսի
"Elegy Pronounced on the Resurrection of Christ," *Ararat* 21.8 (1888): 461–75.[27]

2 469 Լուաւ Ադամ նախահայրն մեր եւ ազատեցաւ ի դատապարտութենէ փայտին: Լուաւ Եւայ զոտնաձայն քո ի դժոխս եւ մատուցեալ յաւետիս՝ նախաստեղծին ասէ՝ նախ ես լուայ զձայն հրապուրանաց բանսարկուին, եւ կերայ ի պտղոյն եւ ետու քեզ ուտել՝ ուստի փափագեցաք լինել իբրեւ զԱստուած, եւ ի փառացն բարձրագունից զրկեցաք բանսարկուին խաբմամբ: Եւ արդ՝ նախ ես լուայ, զի Աստուած վասն մեր իբրեւ զքեզ մարդ եղեւ ի կնոջէ, որ էր իբրեւ զիս: Եւ արդ՝ լուայ զոտնաձայն նորա՝ ոչ ի դրախտին, այլ ի դժոխս, զի գայ, ոչ վասն դատապարտութեան մահու, այլ վասն ազատութեան կենաց:

Adam our forefather heard and he was freed of the sentence of the tree. Eve heard your footfall in hell and, having drawn near to this Gospel, said to the protoplast, "First I heard the voice of the seduction of the Devil, and I ate of the fruit and I gave you to eat, since we desired to become like God, and we were expelled from the glory of the supernal hosts by the deception of the Devil. And now, first I heard that God for our sake came into being as a man from a woman, who was like me. And now, I have heard his footfall, not in the Garden but in hell, for he comes, not because of the sentence of death but because of the freedom of life."

3 470 Ուրախացի՛ր Ադամ, եւ ցնծա՛ Եւայ, սպառեաց անէծքն եւ ծաղկեցաւ օրհնութիւն, քանզի արտասուք ձեր բարձաւ եւ խնդութիւն տարածեցաւ . . . (this motif is repeated several times through the whole text):

Rejoice Adam; be happy, Eve; the curse is exhausted and blessing has blossomed, because your tears are removed and happiness is shown forth . . .

4 472. (Ադամ . . . ասէ . . .) ինեւ զմահ ճաշակեցիք, եւ արդ ինեւ զկեանս զգեցարուք: Զի Աստուածն իմ եւ արարիչն վասն իմ կամեցաւ իբրեւ զիս լինել.

(Adam . . . says . . .), Through me you tasted death and now through me put

27. Fr. Shahe Ananyan observed (private communication) that Abp. Norvan Zak'arean's translation of this homily occurs in *Bazmavēp* for 1994, 474–88, and that in an article in *Sion* (1957) 21, Sirarpie Der Nersessian attributes it to Theophilus of Alexandria.

on life. For my God and Creator, on account of me, wished to become like me.[28]

Text and Translation: Michel van Esbroek, “Une Homélie de Zacharie le Catholicosos sur l’Annonciation,” *Handes Amsorea* 101 (1987): 487–503. The translation here is my own.

Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos of the Armenians, Հինգերորդ աւուրն Տեառն Զաքարիայի հայոց Կաթողիկոսի յաւետիս ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամու “[Homily] for the Fifth Day of the Annunciation to the Most Blessed Mother of God Mary, ever the Virgin”

5 490 (3) Այլ ոչ վարկաւ արար ինչ զտեղի անկելոցն, թափուր եւ ունայն մնալով զբանակետղն ապստամբեցելոցն՝ ընդդէմ ամբառնալ ամբարտաւանին: Առնէ ի նուաստ բնութենէս ի հողանիւթ զանգուածոյս կենդանի մի. եւ տնկեալ զգեղապանձ՝ դրախտն յԵդեմ ընդդէմ արեգականն: Եդ ի նմա զմարդն գործել եւ պահել զհրաման արարչին, եւ ելանել լնուլ զբանակետղ անկելոցն հրեշտակաց: Եւ տեսեալ ապստամբին զբարիս մարդոյն սահմանեալ ի բարերարէն, մախացեալ պատրանաւք, տարանջատէ ի յաւերժական բաղձիցն, ի յոգնազանն տնկոց կամելով ի յինքն ըմբռնել զվայելչական տենչացեալ դրախտին: Հրամանաւ արարչին շրջապահ հրեղէն սրով զդրախտն՝ պարփակէ: Իսկ անաւրէն իշխանն ի գիտս չարութեան փութացեալ, մեղաւք զմարդիք պաշարէ, ուսուցանէր հեռանալ յարարչէն, եւ զամենեսեան յանաւրէն կռապաշտութիւն ձգէր՝ զմահ տարածեալ ի մարդիկ: Թագաւորութիւն ի դժոխս յաւրինէր հոգիսն ի նմա ըմբռնեալ, անդ դադարէր զի մի ոք ճողոպրեալ ի յերկինս թեւ արկիցէ:

But not by judgment did he make the place of the fallen ones anything, leaving the encampment of the rebels empty and vain, having risen up against the Proud One. He makes a living creature from this inferior nature, from an earthen mass. And having planted the glorious Garden in Eden toward the sun, He put the man in it,[29] to work and guard (or: obey) the command of the Creator,[30] and to go forth, fill[31] the encampment of the fallen angels. And the Rebel, having seen the good things set apart by the Beneficent One for man, having become envious, deceitfully separated (him) from eternal delights,

28. Cf. Adam Fragment 1, այս չէ մեր կենաց ծառն այն, այլ ի սմանէ ճաշակեցաք զնարի: “This is not that tree of our life, but from it we ate death,” in Stone 1982, 6.

29. Gen 2: 8.

30. This is an exegesis of Gen 2:15.

31. This is based on Gen 1:28, but there man is ordered to fill and subdue the earth.

from diverse trees, wishing to take possession for himself of the splendid, desirable Garden. By command of the Creator, he enclosed the Garden of Eden around about with a fiery sword. But the lawless prince, doing his utmost to invent evil, besieges men with sins, was teaching (them) to be distant from the Creator and was drawing everyone into impious idolatry, spreading death upon mankind. He created a kingdom in hell, having seized the spirits in it, he remained there, so that not one could escape and take wing to heaven.

6 492 (5). (Խաւսեցաւ Տէր . . .) քանզի հակառակ զաւրութիւն աստուածանալոյ յուսով պատրեալ կործանեաց զձեռաց իմոց զործ, եւ զստեղծուած արարչական զաւրութեան իմոյ յեղափոխեալ ապականեաց զպատկեր արարչական փառաց իմոց. ասել ցԱդամ, թէ ուտիցէք ի ծառոյդ աստուածք լինիջիք:

(The Lord spoke . . .) ". . . Because the opposing power deceived through the hope of deification,[32] he destroyed the work of my hands and, altering the creation of my creative power, spoiled the image of my creative glory, saying to Adam, 'If you eat from that tree, you will become gods.'"

7 494 (9) Ասէ ցնա հրեշտակապետն . . . Ոչ եկի խուճապել եւ վրդովել զքեզ, որպէս երբեմն խաբեբայն եւ պատրիչն, ի դրախտին զառաջին կոյսն Եւայ. որ ծոյլ եւ մերկ եւ պղերգական խորհրդով շրջագայեալ պարէր ի դրախտին:

The archangel says to her: "I have not come to startle and trouble you, as once in the Garden of Eden the impostor and deceiver (did) to the first virgin Eve, who, lazy, naked, and slow-minded was going around dancing in the Garden.

8 498 (15) . . . Ուրախացի՛ր ամենաւրհնեալ Մարիամ Աստուածածին քանզի որ զԱդենական դրախտն զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զանազան եւ հրաշափառ տնկաւք՝ յոգնազան ծառաւք, եւ յեդեմաբեր աղբերէն քառ առու զետաւքն ծաւալեալ արբուցանէ զտիեզերս, այսաւր ի քեզ բնակելով արտահոսեալ արբոյց զհամասփիւռ տիեզերս անմահական բաժակաւն:

. . . Rejoice, most blessed Mary Mother of God, because He who having adorned, beautified the Edenic Garden with various and wonderful plants, with diverse trees, (He who) waters the universe with the four rivers spreading from the Edenic source, today by dwelling in you, having flowed forth watered the universe throughout from the immortal chalice.

9 Ուրախացի՛ր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ

32. Van Esbroeck takes it differently, "car la puissance adverse trompée par l'espoir de devenir Dieu"; my translation seems to me to be more in concordance with the biblical text.

զԱդամ գոյացոյց ի քառանիւթ տարրեղէն բնութենէ, եւ փչմամբ հոգիազործեաց շնչական հազազաւ, եւ բանիւ սպասաւորեաց ըստ պատկերի անհաս արարչական կերպի իւրոյ, եւ հատեալ զկողն անիրաւաբար շինեաց նմա կին, այսաւր ստոր իջեալ յորովայնի քում եւ վերառեալ զմեզ ներխառնեաց յանպարփմանալի աստուածութիւն իւր, եւ ծնեալ ծառայական կերպիւ զանկեալն Ադամ ի նոյն պատկեր վերստին նորոգեալ հրաշափառ քան զառաջինն:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who brought Adam into being from the material nature consisting of four elements, and made him insufflated by blowing His animating breath, by a word assisted him according to the image of His inconceivable creative form, and, cutting his rib unjustly, made a woman for him, today, descending down into your womb and raising us up, incorporated in His incomprehensible divinity, and begetting in slavish form the fallen Adam, restored him again to the same image, more glorious than the first one.

10 16 Ուրախացի՛ր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի երբեմն իջեալ գնայր ի սպառուած աւուրն ի դրախտի անդ, եւ ոտնաձայն նախաժամանեաց առ յառաջաստեղծն Ադամ. եւ սաղարթապատեալ թագչէր յանտառախիտ ի մացառուտ վայրսն վարսաւորեալ, այսաւր մարմին առեալ ի քէն ընդ մարդկան շրջագայի յերկրի, զի զտերեւապատն պատառեսցէ զպատմուճանն Ադամայ, եւ զնոր պճնեալ զգեցուսցէ զՔրիստոս վերածնութեամբ աւազանին:

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for once at the end of the day, having descended, he was walking in the Garden, and the footfall reached the first-created Adam first (i.e., before God did); and, covered with leaves, he hid in the woody, bushy, leafy place: today, having received a body from you, He walks among men upon the earth, to tear off Adam's garment made of leaves and put Christ on as a new adornment, through rebirth in the font.

11 Ուրախացիր Մարիամ ամենաւրհնեալ Աստուածածին, քանզի որ ըստ մեղացն յայնժամ դատապարտեալ պատժեաց զնախաստեղծն, եւ տարամերժեալ արտորոշեաց յաւէժական եւ ի տենչալի աստուածատունկ ծառոցն, եւ շրջապատեալ հրեղէն սրովն սրովբէափակ պարփակեալ ամրացուցանէր զճանապարհս ծառոյն կենաց, . . .

Rejoice, Mary, most blessed Mother of God, for He who then punished the first-created (man), having condemned him in accordance with his sins, and drove him apart from the eternal and desirable divinely planted trees, and fortified the way to the tree of life, having encircled it with the fiery sword and surrounded (it) with the Seraphim, . . .

Text: Zak'aria Kat'ołikos Jagec'i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 63–82.

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos Jagec'i, Ի գալըստն Տեառն յԵրուսաղէմ "On the Advent of Christ to Jerusalem"

12 67–68 §8 (36) Այսաւր մեծ արմաւենեաց աւրս նախատիպ է առաջին դարուն, յորում գործեցաւ այս ինչ. յետ երեսուն ամաց ելիցն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն՝ ծնաւ զԿայէն եւ յետ նորա զԿասմա զքոյր նորա: (37) Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց ծնաւ զՀաբէլ եւ զհետ նորա զԱբուսաք զքոյր նորա. Եւ զկնի երեսուն ամաց սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ:

(36) Today the great Palm Sunday is the archetype of the first generation in which the following was done: after thirty years of Adam's coming out from the Garden, he begot Cain and, after him, his sister Kasma. (37) And after thirty years he begat Abel and, with him, his sister Abusak'. And after thirty years Cain killed Abel.

13 (38) Եւ կալան Ադամ եւ Եւա սուգ ամս հարիւր քսան, եւ յետ հինգ հարիւր ամին որդիք Կայենի յաւելուին ի չարիս իւրեանց. եւ յինն հարիւր երեսուն ամին փոխեաց Աստուած զցեղն Սեթայ յանդիման դրախտին փափկութեան. եւ որդիքն Կայենի բնակեցան ի դաշտին՝ ուր սպան Կայէն զՀաբէլ: (39) Եւ ի քառասուն ամին յարերգի (v.l. յարեդի) լցաւ դարն առաջին:

(38) And Adam and Eve mourned for one hundred twenty years, and after five hundred years Cain's sons multiplied their evils, and in the year 930 God moved Seth's tribe to opposite the Garden of delight. And Cain's sons settled in the field where Cain had killed Abel. (39) And on the fortieth year, in Areg the first century generation was fulfilled.

Text: Zak'aria Kat'ołikos Jagec'i, Ճառք *Sermons,* ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 83–105.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի մեծի երկուշաբթին արտադրութիւն "Exposition on the Great Monday"

14 96 §12 (80) Բայց զաւսացեալ թզենին առակ էր թզենոյն՝ զոր Ադամ եւ Եւա զտերեւս սփածեալ սաղարթապատ եղեալ ի մէջ ծառոց դրախտին:

(80) But the withered fig tree is the parable of the fig tree, the leaves of which Adam and Eve put on, becoming covered with leaves among the trees of the Garden.

Text: Zakʻaria Katʻołikos Jagecʻi, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob Kʻeosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 152–73.

Zakʻaria Jagecʻi, Մեծի հինգշաբթի արտադրութիւն "Exposition on the Great Thursday"

15 154 §3 (8) Եւ անդ անցեալ հրեշտակն ի գիշերին հարկանէր զանդրանիկսն եգիպտացւոց, փոխանակ զի վիրաւորեաց սատանայ զանդրանիկն ազգի մարդկան, զնախաստեղծն Ադամ:

And the angel passing there struck at night the firstborn of Egypt, in revenge for the Satan having wounded the firstborn of the human race, first-created Adam.

Text: Zakʻaria Katʻołikos Jagecʻi, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob Kʻeosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 174–204.

Zakʻaria Jagecʻi, Մեծի աւուր ուրբաթին կենարար չարչարանաց "On the Salvatory Passion on the Day of Great Friday"

16 176 §3 (24) Յառաջին ի Նիսան հնգետասան՝ եկն Ադամայ եւ տարորոշումն ի տենչալի դրախտէն:

(24) First, on the fifteenth of Nisan, Adam's coming and banishment from the desirable Garden.

17 188 §10 (133) Սա էր զատիկ ելիցն որդւոցն Իսրայելի յԵգիպտոսէ, որ է Նիսան հնգետասան, առաջին ամիս ըստ եբրայեցւոցն: Այսաւր տարագրեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն:

(133) This was the passover of the exit of the sons of Israel from Egypt, which is on the fifteenth of Nisan, the first month according to the Hebrews. On this day Adam was expelled from paradise.

18 201–2 §21 (249) Քանզի Ադամ ձգեաց զձեռն իւր ի տունկն եւ զմահ կթեաց ազգի մարդկան. իսկ երկրորդ Ադամ, փրկիչն, փոխանակ առաջնոյն Ադամայ, զբազուկս իւր տարածեաց ի վերայ խաչին եւ զանմահութեան կտակս վերագրեաց ազգի մարդկան: (250) Եւ զի Ադամ ի վեցերորդ ժամու Ուրբաթուն ճաշակեաց ի պատրողական

պտղոյն եւ մերկացաւ ի փառացն, եւ ի վեցերորդում ժամուն նսեմացոյց արեգակն ոսկեճաճանչ զճառագայթս իւր: (251) Եւ յիններորդ ժամուն՝ յորժամ թաքեաւ Ադամ յերեսաց Աստուծոյ ի մէջ ծառոց դրախտին, ոչ անկաւ առաջի Տեառն Աստուծոյ թողութիւն վերահայցել յանցանաց իւրոց: (252) Այսաւր Տէրն դէմ առեալ փոխանակ նորա եւ վասն նորա խաւսի առ Հայր:

(249) For Adam stretched out his hand to the tree and picked the death of the human race; and the second Adam, the Savior, instead of the first Adam, extended his arms upon the cross and inscribed above it the testament of the immortality of the human race. (250) And since Adam ate of the deceptive fruit and was stripped of (his) glory in the sixth hour on Friday, also in the sixth hour the sun darkened its gold-gleaming rays. (251) And in the ninth hour when Adam hid from the face of God amid the trees of the Garden, he did not fall down before God the Lord to beg his pardon for his sin. (252) Today the Lord appeals instead of him and speaks to the Father on his behalf.

19 203 §22. (265) Եւ որպէս սպունգն աման է խոնաւութեան իւրոյ եւ ընդունակ, եւ ունակացեալն ի նմա ոչ երեւի, այսպէս եւ աւձն որպէս սպունգն աման արար իւր պատիր բանից եւ նովաւ ախտացոյց զնախահայրն ի ճաշակմանէն աւձաշունչ եւ վիշապապատիր պտղոյն, զոր կնոջն դաւաճանեալ, ախտակիր եղեալ խաբանաւք արտահալածի ի տենչալի կենացն:

(265) And as the sponge is a vessel and receptacle of its moisture and what is absorbed by it is not seen, in this way too He made the serpent like the sponge a vessel of his false words and through him made the forefather ill by eating of the serpent-breathing and dragon-deceitful fruit, who being betrayed by the woman, becoming subject to suffering through deceit, is expelled from the desirable life.

Text: Zak‘aria Kat‘ołikos Jagec‘i, Ճառք *Sermons*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1995); reprinted in Yakob K‘eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 205–31.

Zak‘aria Jagec‘i, Ի մեծի թաղման Տեառն ճրագալուցին
“On the Easter Eve of the Great [Saturday] of the Lord’s Burial”

20 206–7 §3 (11) Սակս այնր աղագաւ կերան զհրաժարեցուցեալ պտուղն, որպէս զի յաստուածայինսն կանխաւ ի վեր ժամանեսցեն պատիւ, այլ ոչ առ կարաւտի կամ վտանգի հարկի պիտոյից կերան ի պտղոյ փայտին գիտութեան: (12) Քանզի ամենայն զանազան ծառոցն վայելուչ եւ տենչալի պտուղն առաջեաւ առ ձեռն էր նոցա՝ ճաշակել զվայելչականն, եւ ոչ նուազ եւ կարաւտ ինչ էին, այլ ամենայն

բարութիւնքն արձանացեալ կային առաջի նոցա, զոր ինչ ստեղծանէր ի սիրտս նոցա եւ բաղձային անձինք նոցա:

(11) They ate from the forbidden fruit so that they reached the divine honor beforehand, but they ate from the fruit of the tree of knowledge not out of necessity or under the pressure of some binding need. (12) For all the nice and desirable fruits of the various trees were at hand before them, that they might taste the(ir) delightful (fruit), and they were not in slightest need of anything, but all the goods stood firm before them, whatever He had created for their pleasure[33] and whatever their souls desired.

Text: *Tiramayr 3*, ed. T'amar Tasnapetean (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1997), 278–89; introduction by Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 9, 9th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2008), 277–96.

Zak'aria Jagec'i, Ի ննջումն ամէնաւրհնեալ տիրուհւոյ Աստուածածնին եւ միշտ կուսին Մարիամու "The Dormition of the All-blessed Mistress Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary"

21 279, §4 (14) Պատուեցաւ Ադամ նախաստեղծն, քանզի ի ձեռաց Աստուծոյ գոյացաւ:

(14) Adam the first created was honored, since he came into being by the hands of God.

33. Literally: heart.

Tenth Century

Anania Mokacʻi, Katʻołikos C10

Text: Anania Mokacʻi, Katʻołikos of All Armenians, Յաղագս ապստամբութեանն տանն Աղուանից *On the Rebellion of Albania*, ed. G. Tēr Mkrtčʻean, *Ararat* 30 (March 1897): 129–44.

1 137–38 Ապա աստանօր սկզբնաչարն սատանայ, որ ի ձեռն կնոջն զաղտնապատիր եւ սուտակասպաս խաբկանօք զերանալիրն՝ կազմած ընդվզեալ փաղաքշալուր աստուածայոյսն կարծեօք՝ զնախագոյն բաղդատական տարամերժեալ պատիւ՝ զնա տիրեսցէն քեզ՝ / վճռաւորեաց, վատթարակի առեալ զասումն երկրաւոր, նզովեալ ի քոյդ սղալանս, անհեշտաբար զնա ըմբոյշխնեսցես. մինչեւ ի կատար խոցոտմունք վիրաւորիչք ընձիւղեսցին քեզ.՝ փոխանակ եռանզասեռն երփներացիկ ընծաղկաւապատութեանց՝ արքայականացն կայենիցն փափկութեանց՝ յերկս տաժանմանց կրիցես զտուգանսդ զսգուողանացդ. զանասնաճարակն հարկեսցիս պարենաւորիլ, հանդերձանս դիւրաթառամս եւ վաղահամուռս, մինչեւ ի ծոցաւորիլն քո անդէն: Եւ ստեղծեալդ ի ստեղծողէն ընկալցիս զ[ը]մբռնմանն աղէտս՝ նոյն թիւնաբերան իժից խղխայթք:

Then, here Satan, the cause of all evil, who, deceiving through the woman by insidious and flattering deceit, having rebelled against the blissful, established by the caressing thought of divine things, with respect to the honor (which he had rejected) earlier. He sentenced her to "He shall rule over you,"[1] the Wicked One having received the saying about the earth, "Cursed[2] for your errors. You shall eat it with discomfort. Wounding wounders shall spring forth for you until the end.[3] Instead of abundant colored, flowery crowns of its royal residence of delights, you will undergo those penalties in the labor of toils. You will be forced to get animal food as your provisions; your clothing will be easily faded and (unknown word) until you return to the bosom forthwith. And you, creature, will receive from the Creator the calamity of capture, the very ulceration of poison-mouthed serpents."

1. Gen 3:16.
2. Gen 3:14.
3. Cf. Gen 3:18. From this point, the discourse is apparently directed to Adam.

Anania Narekac‘i C10

Text: Hračeay T‘amrazyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 396–420.

Anania Narekac‘i, Խաւսք եւ խրատք աւետարանական, առաքելական եւ մարգարէական, որ տանին զմեզ ի կեանս յաւիտենականս եւ ոչ տան խոտորել յաջ կամ յահեկ "Evangelical, Apostolic, and Prophetic Sermon and Instruction Which Lead Us to Eternal Life and Do Not Allow to Go Astray Right or Left"

1 396 (5) Սոքա զերեն զոգիսն առ ի դժոխական պողոտայն, որպէս ասաց [ց]Ադամ, եթէ՝ «Յաւուր, յորում ուտիցէք ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիք»: (6) Արդ, ոչ եթէ ի նմին ժամու իսկ մեռաւ եւ հետաձիգ ժամանակաւ կրեաց զմահն, այլ ընդ մահու իշխանութեամբ անկեալ էր, եւ տիրեալ էր նմա մահու:

(5) They capture the souls on the infernal way, as He said to Adam that "On the day that you eat of it, you shall die."[4] (6) Now he did not die at the same hour and did not suffer death through a delayed moment, but he had fallen under the sway of death and death dominated him.

Anania Narekaci‘, Սակս բացայայտութեան թուոց "On the Explanation of Numbers," ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 440–55.

2 453–54 (177) Զի առաջինն Ադամ բացամերժեալ յԱստուծոյ իբրեւ ի բարձանց ի վայր հոսեալ զաւրէն ուղխից գետոյ, ըստ նմանութեան Յորդանանու՝ իջանելով ի ծովն աղի:

(177) The first Adam having been expelled by God, when he flew down from the height like the stream of a river, in the likeness of the Jordan descending to the salty sea.

Text: Anania Narekac‘i, Հաւատարմատ. Լուծումն մաքառման երկաբնակաց, որք ի կարծիս ճշմարտութեան անյարմար դաւանեն երկակս ի մինն մուծանել բնութիւն, որ է Աստուած Բանն, Աստուած մարդն Յիսուս Քրիստոս "Root of Faith, Settlement of the Dispute with the Dyophysites Who Unsuitably Confess as a True Opinion the Introduction of Two into One Nature, Who Is God the Word (and) God the Man Jesus Christ," ed. Hračeay T‘amrazyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 480–598.

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4. Cf. Gen 2:17.

3 516 (501) Քանզի անչափ մեղաւ Ադամ եւ անց ընդ չափ բնութեան մերոյ ոչ միայն վասն ճաշակման, այլ զի եւ անհասիցն բաղձացաւ եւ բարձրանալովն ի բարձանց հոսեցաւ եւ ընկղմեցաւ ի խորս մեղաց, որպէս կապար ի ջուրս սաստիկս զաւրէն տապարին Եղիսէի ի յորձանսն Յորդանանու, եւ չէր հնար ումէք վերաբերել զծանրացեալն մեղաւք ի խորոց մեղաց, բայց միայն այնմիկ, որ զամենայն ինչ վերաբերէ բանիւ զաւրութեամբ իւրով, որպէս վերաբերող փայտն, որ զծանրութիւն երկաթոյն ձգեաց:

(501) Since Adam sinned beyond all measure and transgressed the measure of our nature, not only in eating, but because he desired unachievable things and ascending, he flowed from height and plunged into the depth of sins, like lead in violent waters, as Elisha's axe in the whirling of Jordan,[5] and nobody could raise the one burdened with sins from the depth of sins, except Him who raises everything with the power, with his word, like the raising wood[6] which drew up the weight of iron.

4 555 (10.36) Առաքեալ ասէ. «Ադամ ոչ մեղաւ, այլ՝ Եւայ, ապա ուրեմն՝ նմա պատշաճի կերպարանք սգոյ եւ ոչ՝ առն, որ ոչն մեղաւ»:

(1036) The Apostle says: "Adam did not sin, but Eve [sinned]," consequently the mourning appearance befits her and not the man who did not sin.[7]

Artawazd Mazazuni C10

Text: Artawazd Mazazuni, Լուծումն Արտաւազտա Մազազունեայ տեառն "Solution(es) of Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni," in Մատեան Գիտութեան եւ Հաւատոյ Թ‍ւաթի քահանայի. (Հայերէն թղթեա հնագոյն ձեռագիր 981) *A Book of Knowledge and Belief by the Priest Davit' (The Oldest Armenian Manuscript on Paper, 981),* ed. A. Mat'evosyan *(*Autotypy; Erevan: Matenadaran & Nairi Press, 1997), 457–58.[8]

1 458 314բ Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն Ադամ յանցեաւ ի ձեռն պտղոյ

5. It is unclear which incident is referred to here.

6. Does this refer to a lever?

7. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

8. Note by Mat'evosyan: "23 Ձեռագրում առաջին անգամ հանդիպում ենք Տաճատ վարդապետին՝ իր հարցմունքներով, Արտավազդ Մազազունյաց տիրոջը՝ իր լուծմունքներով, որ կատարում է Ատոմ Անձեւացյաց իշխանի հրամանով . . .), "In the manuscript we encounter for the first time Tačat *vardapet*, with his *Questions* and Rev. Artawazd Mazazuni with his *Solutiones* carried out by the order of Atom prince Anjewac'i." See also Tačat *vardapet* below.

ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն . . .

314v And Adam transgressed (i.e., made) the cheirograph of transgression by eating the fruit, and the Lord "erased the cheirograph on the Cross,"[9] for He killed death with His death and erased the cheirograph of transgression, . . .

Պատասխանի նորին Տաճատա վարդապետի եւ քահանայի, էջ 458
His answer to the *vardapet* and Priest Tačat (ibid, 458).

2 459–60 315բ . . . Թէ ջուր մկրտութե[անն բաժանեալ ապա]կանութիւն կրեաց կամ թէ ոչ՝ Յիսուս մկրտի ի Յորդանան, անապական զնա գործէ, զի զազգս մարդկան ազատեսցէ յանիծից, եւ զորջացեալ վիշապին զգլուխն ջախեսցէ, սա զՅորդանան յակնակապիճսն ասէր ընդունել, արդ որ գրեալն է թէ ընդէր հոգին ջրոյ կարաւտանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ, բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայն զհին Ադամն զի թաղեսցէ ի ջուրն . . .

. . .Whether the water of baptism being divided underwent corruption or not: Jesus is baptized in the Jordan and makes it incorruptible, for He will liberate this human race from the curse and will crush the head of the lurking serpent.[10] The latter is said to (be able to) take the Jordan in his eye socket;[11] about which now is written, "Why does the soul need water,"[12] here the great teacher confirms that matter, but all that which was formerly revealed, that he would bury the old Adam in the water . . .

Grigor Magistros C10

Text: Grigor Magistros, Թղթեր *Letters*, ed. K. Kostaneancʻ (Alexandropol: Gēorg Sanoyeancʻ Press, 1910).

Պատասխանի տեառն Պետրոսի կաթողիկոսին Հայոց մխիթարական թղթին
The Response to the Merciful letter of Lord Petros, Katʻołikos of the Armenians.

1 23 . . . Գոհանամք զԱստուծոյ . . . զի զփակեալն նախահօրն Ադամայ բանայր . . .

9. Col 2:14.
10. Ps 74:13–14 = Arm 73:13–14.
11. Cf. Job 40:23–24.
12. Cf. Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2 and Prov 25:25.

. . . We praise things of God . . . for you opened (i.e., released) the forefather Adam who was shut up . . .

Առ արքեպիսկոպոսն
To the Archbishop (46–49).

2 47 . . . Սովոր է չարն ի ձեռն այլոց սողոսկել զայսպիսի սպրդումն բանից (զչար վարդապետութեանն խրատ) իբրու օձին կամ կնոջն . . .

Evil is accustomed to insinuate such words of insinuation (counsel of his pernicious teaching) through others, as for example through the serpent or the woman . . .

Առ Անանիա դարձեալ սակս ձմերայնոյ սաստկութեան
Again to Anania Concerning the Severity of Winter (120–23).

3 120–21 . . . Ոչ դանդաղեցաք ազդել զկաճառական հանդիսի մակթորական ասրափառ տեղման նախահօրն եւ ծայրի առաջնոյ մերոյ ծայրացելոյ պատճառի նաեւ մերոցն եւ մերականաց ածանցական բաղկացութեան: Զայսոսիկ գիտելով զնորայն անկումն եւ զօսութիւն եւ զանփառական փաղփումն եւ զանսաղարթական ճողոպրումն եւ կնտութիւն եւ ի հրաշափառագոյն հերաց շորթումն, որ երբեմն իբրեւ զհորանս այծեաց բիւրաբեղուն եւ յոգնորական մակստացականութեամբ, վասն որոյ փութացեալ ի հաւրական դովրացի մտանել մորթս եւ այսմ մակաւասար տրամախոհեալ երկորական մաշկից ի վտիտ եւ ի փանաք գազանական սերէ ստանձնեալ զանզարդութեանն զարդ եւ ծպտեալ ծակամուտ ծըւարեալ:

We do not delay to announce to the solemn assembly about the wool-white precipitation of the forefather and of our first, utmost cause, also our derived composition and that of our kinsmen. Knowing these things, his fall and impotence and brightness without glory, and his leafless deliverance and baldness, and the loss of very wonderful hair which once was as a flock of goats,[13] with very fruitful and various maturity, for the sake of which he strove to put on (lit., go into) the paternal Tauric[14] pelt, reasoning about the double-quality skin equal to this one, from the lean and weak race of ani-

13. Cf. Song 4:1.

14. So Roberta R. Ervine suggests. An alternative rendering of this word is "Doric, Dorian" and it is a normal transliteration of Greek Δωρικός (A.T.). The question remains, however, what is a "Doric pelt"? If we take it as Tauric, the reference is to the Tauros sign of the Zodiac. Then it is just a fancy way of saying "animal skin" or the like and is a reference to the garments of leather. This may be a feature of the obscure and allusive style that Magistros affects in some of his correspondence.

mals, accepting the adornment of being unadorned, and hiding, disguised, in a hole.

Յաղագս նկարագրութեան սրբոյ եկեղեցւոյն սրահի զաւթի գրեաց զայսոսիկ եւ սակս Մանիքեցւոց
He Wrote This for the Description of the Nave of the Holy Church and about the Manichaeans[15] (168–70).

4 169 Պատուի նախուստ ի դրախտին փայտն կենաց եւ գիտութեան, ոչ մերձենալ ի նա ժամանակաւ իմն հրաժարեցուցեալ եւ զկնի սրովբէիւք պահեալ:

From the beginning the tree of life and knowledge is honored in paradise, because for some time it was forbidden to approach it, and later it was kept by the Seraphim.

Առ Իբրահիմ ամիրայն վասն հաւատոց Գրիգորոյ որդւոյ Վասակայ ասացեալ
To Emir Ibrahim: On the Faith, by Grigor, Son of Vasak (170–201).

5 174 Կամեցար ի մէնջ . . . մատենագրել քեզ . . . եթէ զպտուղն Ադամայ, զոր եկերն, առանց հրամանի Աստուծո՞յ ճաշակեաց, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

You have wished that I . . . write to you . . . whether the fruit of Adam which he ate, was tasted without God’s command, or was it rendered suitable by God . . .

6 175 . . . Գրեցից քեզ . . . եթէ Ադամ զպտուղն կամա՞ւ եկեր, եթէ յԱստուծոյ այնպէս պատշաճեցաւ . . .

. . . I shall write to you . . . whether Adam ate the fruit voluntarily or God rendered it suitable . . .

7 178–79 Իսկ յաղագս Ադամայ մերոյն նախահօր զի՞րդ ճաշակելն զպտուղ՝ կամա՞ւ Աստուծոյ եւ հրամանաւ, եթէ ակամայ, մեք, զամենայն մատեանս որք միանգամ յաշխարհի ընթերցեալ, ոչ անտեղեակ եմք՝ եթէ Քաղդէացւոցն / անվաւերական պատմութեանն եւ եթէ Հելլենացւոցն եթէ Կապադովկացւոցն եթէ Եթէովպացւոցն եթէ Պարսից եւ այլոց բազմաց, զորս ոչ եմք բաւական զբոլորն յայտնի կացուցանել. արդ՝ քանզի բազումք ի սոցանէ, ոչ հանգունակ միմեանց ասացեալք յաղագս առաջին մարդոյն ոչ զանուն, ոչ ժամանակ: Այսպէս Ապիւղինոս Քաղդեայ եւ Բիւռոս այլանդակ իմն պատմեն

15. Thus he called the Tondrakians (G.M).

զլինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի. օտարոտի եւ ասեն անուն Ադամայ Աղովրոս եւ կացեալ նորա շարս տասն, եւ ամս յանգեն երեսուն հազար, թէպէտեւ լուսնականօքն թուեն: Իսկ Ելլադացւոց իմաստունք ոչ այսպէս. վասն զի Եպիկուրեայքն ոչ կամեցան զԱդամ մարդ առաջին ասել եւ ոչ ստեղծեալ աստուածուստ, այլ եթէ ի պատճառէ ումեմնէ ապականեալ երկիր, եւ միայն մնայ Ադամ, որպէս եւ Նոյ: Բայց Պղատոն ոչ հանգոյն սոցա, այլ ի Տիմիոսի տրամաբանութեանն այսպէս . . . Եւ . . . Զրադաշտ մոգ Պարսից ... սա առաջին Ադամ ասէ լեալ, բայց զկնի ոչ ասէ կատարած լինել երկրի . . . Այլ մեզ այսոքիկ ոչ հաւատացեալ եղիցի, այլ ընթերցեալք, զի մի պարսաւեսցեն զմեզ հեթանոսացն իմաստունքն, եթէ ոչ եմք տեղեակ անվաւերական նոցայն մատենագրութեանն: Սակայն մեզ հաւատացեալ լինի միայն Մովսէսին աստուածեղէն պատգամս . . .

But concerning our forefather Adam, how did he eat the fruit, was it by God's will and command or against His will, we are not ignorant, as we have read all the books that once are in the world: the apocryphal narration of the Chaldeans, of the Greeks, of the Cappadocians, of the Ethiopians, of the Persians and of many others, all of which we are not able to set forth clearly. Now because many of them do not tell about the first man like each other, neither of his name nor of the time. Thus, Apiwdinos (i.e., Abydenus) the Chaldean and Biwrros (i.e., Berossus) tell something fantastical about the creation of the heavens and the earth; they also call Adam by a strange name, Alovros, and (say that) he lived for ten "shars,";[16] they come to thirty thousand years, though they count according to lunar months. But the Greek sages did not (write) this, for the Epicureans did not want to say that Adam was the first man and created by God, but (they consider) that the earth was corrupted by some cause or other, and only Adam remained like Noah. And Plato is not like them, but in the dialogue Timaeus (he writes) as follows . . . and the Persian magus Zoroaster . . . says that Adam was the first, but later he does not speak about the end of the earth . . . But these (stories) are unbelievable for us, and we have read them in order that the heathen sages would not reproach us for being ignorant of their apocryphal writings. However, for us only the divine oracles of Moses are credible.

8 180 Այլ այս Մովսէս . . . մեզ գրեաց, յաստուածուստ ընկալեալ, զԱդամ առաջին մարդ ի հողոյ ստեղծեալ եւ զկնի զկինն իւր ի կողէն կամացն յօժարութեան եւ կենացն հաղորդ եւ ի դրախտի անդր յԵդեմ յարեւելս. իսկ զդրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառօք ծաղկաւետեալ դալարավայր գեղեցկութեամբ զարդարեալ ծառոցն հովանաւորութեամբ եւ սաղարթացեալ վարսիւք, եւ պտղովք պայծառացեալ, անապականագոյնք եւ լուսատեսակք եւ երկուց ծառոցն ի նմա լինել

16. I.e., 3600, so according to Xorenac'i, 36,000 years (A.T.).

երիցագոյնք եւ վեհագոյնք, յորոց հրաժարեցոյց Արարիչն, այլ ոչ եթէ չարաչար տնկեալ ի սկզբանն եւ ոչ հրաժարեցուցեալ մախանօք, քանզի ստեղծ Աստուած զամենայն ի կերակուր Ադամայ, սակայն ի տնկոցն յայնցանէ վայր մի հրաժարեցուցանէ չուտել, զի ի դէպ ժամու կերիցէ, եւ յեղափոխեալ ի բարիսն կոյս, եղիցի յԱստուած մերձեցեալ. զոր ոչ լուաւ եւ եկեր եւ կորոյս զկեանս իւր անտրտում, մահու հասանէ, պատուհաս ընկալեալ, զոր ի մեզ պտղաբերեաց ցաւս եւ տրտմութիւն, ապականութիւն եւ մահ: Այլ ոչ ասեմք մեք անգէտ զոլ զԱստուած, եթէ ոչ էր յառաջագէտ, զոր ինչ յանցեաւն Ադամ, քանզի նախագիտական է ամենայնի: Եւ ոչ ասեմք, եթէ յԱստուծոյ էր յանցանսն պատշաճեալ, քանզի զԱստուած ի չարեացն անփորձ իմանամք:

But this Moses . . . having received (the knowledge) from God, wrote for us that the first man Adam was created from dust and then his wife from the rib to share the inclination, will and life, and that (they were in) the Garden in Eden, to the east; and the garden having blossomed with every tree, the meadows adorned beautifully with the shade of the trees sprouting with foliage and glittering with fruit, and two most incorruptible and luminous trees in it were superior and more significant, and they were forbidden by the Creator. Not that from the beginning those trees were planted wickedly and they were not forbidden through envy, because God created everything as food for Adam, but He forbade to eat from those trees for a short time, so that he might eat at a proper time and, turning to the good direction, become close to God. He did not obey this and ate and lost his untroubled life and obtained death, having received punishment that brought forth pain and sorrow, corruption and death for us. But we do not say that God was ignorant, in that He did not foresee the transgression of Adam, because He is prescient of everything. And we do not say that God was pleased with the transgression, for we know that God is inexperienced in evil.

9 181 . . . Արդ՝ ոչ կամել իմասցիս Աստուծոյ զյանցանսն Ադամայ եւ ոչ անգէտ յանցանաց նորա . . .

So you should know that God did not wish the transgression of Adam and was not unaware of his transgression . . .

Առ նոյն Մամիկոնեան, զոր կոչեալ ի տօնի նաւակատեաց եկեղեցւոյն
To the same Mamikonean (Prince T‘onik) summoned on the Feast of the Inauguration of the Church (222–25).

10 224 Թէպէտ եւ եկեղեցիդ ըստ Եբրայեցւոցն ժողովոյ բազմութիւն ասի, սակայն ժողովոցն բնակութիւն ընդունիլ պարտ է, յորմէհետէ ի

կենաց փայտէն եւ ի հայրենի տեղւոյն արտաքս անկաք, որ էր եկեղեցի: Քանզի ծառն կենաց զօրինակ սեղանոյն ունէր, իսկ գիտութեանն զվարդապետութեանն եւ զպատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ:

Although “church” according to the Hebrews means “multitude of assembly,” nevertheless one must take “assemblies” as “residence”; hence we fell from the tree of life, from our native place, which was from the church. For the tree of life was the symbol of the altar and (the tree) of knowledge, of God’s teaching and commandments.

Text: Grigor Magistros, Տաղասացութիւնք *Poems* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1868).

Translation: Abraham Terian, *Magnalia Dei: Biblical History in Epic Verse by Grigor Magistros* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies; Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2012). The translation here is my own.

Առ Մանուչէ
To Manuč‘ē

11 6 Ստեղծ մարդ ի հողոյ՝ անախտական յիւր պատկերին:
Փչեաց հոգի շնորհաց՝ իմանալի հրեշտակային.
Յերկուց ընդդիմակաց՝ զգայական հողեղինին.
Կամաւ կինն ի կողէն՝ խնդիր յիւրոյ ազգականին.
Ըզսա եդ ի դրախտին, իշխել բոլոր գոյականին:
Զամենայն երկիր հնազանդ, եդեալ[17] անուանէին:

He created man from dust without blemish, in His image,
And He breathed in the spirit of grace; rational, angelic.
(Man was composed) of two opposite natures; perceptive, earthly.
By will the woman (came) from his rib: his search (was) for his own kinsman.
He put him in paradise to have dominion over all existing beings.
Making subject the whole earth, he gave names; they were called (i.e., by them).

12 7 Թռչնոց երկնից տիրել, ձկանց ծովու անդնդային.
Կեանս անախտականս անմահութեան անկարօտին:
Պատուէր վասն պտղոյն՝ չուտել անփորձ վասն չարին:
Այլոցն առեալ հրաման, ազգ ըստ ազգի ճաշակէին,
Միայն ի գիտութեան ծառէն կենաց հրաժարէին:
Այլ ի դէպ ժամու ուտելն իւրեանց յԱստուած մերձենային:
Զմտաւ ածեալ չարին՝ այն որ յառաջն արուսեկին:
Վառեալ՝ իւր նախանձու արուեստաւոր մեքենային.
Պարտեալ օձին ունկան՝ կորստական օգնականին:

17. The Constantinople edition of 1825 adds անունս (“names”).

Մախանօք բանսարկուին փաղաքշանօք կեղծաւորին,
Ուտել հաւանեցան՝ յորմէ ուտել հրաման չառին:
Յանցեան խափանեցին, զուխտն Աստուծոյ ի բաց թողին.
Բացան եւ իմացան, յորմէ անկեալ տեսանէին:

7 To have dominion over the fowl of the air, the fish of the deep sea, unblemished immortal life without need.
(He gave) a command concerning the fruit: not to eat it, (in order) to be inexperienced in evil.
Having received the command concerning other (trees), they ate of various species,
They abstained only from the tree of knowledge of life,
But, eating of it at the proper time, they would become close to their God.
The Evil One thought, he who was formerly Lucifer,
Consumed by his envy, with artful intrigue,
Deceived the ear of the serpent, his destructive assistant.
By the envy of the Devil, the flattery of the dissembler,
They agreed to eat what they were commanded not to eat.
They transgressed, abolished and abandoned God's covenant.
(Their eyes) were opened and they knew, they saw because of whom they fell.

13 8 Փախեան եւ թաքչէին՝ տերեւապատս ծածկէին:
Ապա անդ ընդ երեկս, աստուածային ձայն լսէին.
Երկիւղ ոտնաձայնին, ո՞ւր ես Ադամ բարբառէին.
Ի մէնջ եղեալ ասեն. այսպէս բանիւն հեգնէին:
Իսկ զանէծսն բարկութեան զոր ի Տեառնէ ընդունէին:
Ցաւօք եւ հեծութեամբ որդի մահու վախճանէին.
Ի բաց կալ ի դրախտէն ընդ անասունս ճարակէին:
Զգեցեալ մորթ պատմուճան՝ փառօք այնու զարդարէին:
Ես այսպէս հաւանիմ աստուածութեան հակառակին,
Ուսեալ պատճառ կենաց, անասնական ախտանային.
Եւ մահու վճիռ առեալ որդեծնութեամբն երկնէին:

They fled and hid themselves, they covered themselves with leaves,
Then toward the evening they heard the divine voice,
Fearing the footfall: "Where art thou, Adam"; they (i.e., the footfalls) said.
"It happened because of us," they said, thus taunting.
But the angry curse, which they received from the Lord,
With pain and lamentation, as children of death they died.
Having left paradise, they pastured with animals,
Putting on leather clothes, they used to be adorned with glory by that One.
And so they were persuaded[18] by the opposite of divinity;

18. The text reads "I am persuaded," but that is difficult to translate. We prefer to read as above.

Learning the cause of life, they acted viciously like animals,
And, being condemned to death, they brought forth children in pain.

Grigor Narekac‘i C10

Text: Grigor Narekac‘i, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K‘yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 258–62. Its authenticity is questioned there on grounds of style and poetics (see p. 257).[19]

1 Ես այն եմ որ զԱդամ ստեղծի, եւ յԱդին դրախտին եդի,
պատուէր հրամանի ետու գործել եւ պահել զնա:
Չարին խորհրդոց լուաւ, յերկիր անիծից անկաւ.
եկի վերստին կանգնել զիմ արարչական պատկերս:

I am that one who created Adam and put him in the Garden of Eden,
I gave him a command of instruction to work it and to keep it,[20]
He listened to the counsel of the Evil One and fell to the cursed ground;
I have come to reestablish my creative image.

2 Զուխտն զոր եղեր քեզ Տէր, յորժամ ի դրախտէն եհան,
նորոգել եկեալ զքո հողանիւթ բնութիւնդ:
Զդժոխս աւերել կամի, զերեաց զերեդարձ առնել.
ի յադին դրախտին տանի զիւր աստուածատիպ պատկերս:

The vow that the Lord made to you, when he drove (you) out of paradise:
He has come to renew your earthy nature;
He wishes to destroy hell, to set free the captives;
He takes His own God-formed image to the Garden of Eden.

3 Ցնծա նախահայրդ Ադամ հանդերձ ծննդաւքդ քո:
Խնդա նախամայրդ Եւայ, երկունք անիծից լուծան . . .
Զվիշապն առաջին կապէ, ի հուր գեհենին մատնէ.
եւ զբանսարկու նորին հանդերձ պաշտաւնէիւք իւրովք:

Be joyful, O forefather Adam, with your offspring,
Be merry, O foremother Eve, the pains of the curse have been loosed:
He (i.e., Christ) chains the first dragon, delivers him over into the fire of Gehenna;
And his (i.e., Adam’s) Deceiver (Devil) along with his servants.

4 Դարձեալ դառնալով դարձից ի յեդենական դրախտն,

19. See Grigor Narekac’i 1981, 258. K‘yoškeryan notes that this poem is of unknown authorship and a variant for the genuine Տաղ գալստեան Տեառն առ Ղազար “Poem on the Coming of the Lord to Lazarus.”

20. Gen 2:15.

Դարձեալ ճոխասցես անդրէն հանդերձ Եւայիւդ քո:

Again you will return to the Edenic Garden,
Again you will flourish there along with your Eve.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek*, ed. Y. K‘ristap‘orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 271–367.

Translation: *Blessing of Blessings: Gregory of Narek's Commentary on the Song of Songs,* trans. Roberta R. Ervine (Cistercian Studies Series 215; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007). The translation here is my own.

Grigor Narekac‘i, Մեկնութիւն երգոց երգոյն Սողոմոնի
Commentary on Solomon's Song of Songs

5 276–77 Այլ եւ Ադամ եւս ի դրախտէն եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն՝ յաղագս կնոջն սիրոյ մերժեցաւ եւ արտաքս անկաւ. եւ ոչ վասն Աստուած լինելոյ, այլ ի նորա սիրոյն ծանր համարեցաւ քակիլ: Որ գիտէր ճշմարտապէս՝ թէ պատժելոց էր ինքն յԱստուծոյ. զի ոչ էր անգէտ, այլ լի մարգարէական հոգւով. եւ զի դեռ չէր եւս ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն անկեալ. վասն զի չէր անցեալ զպատուիրանաւն: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն զպտուղն ոչ ի սպառ կորոյս զհոգին. այլ որպէս մինչ ի դրախտին էր, հոգւով սրբով ծանեաւ զամենայն կենդանեաց զբարս, եւ յածելն Աստուծոյ զնոսա առ Ադամ՝ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր բարուց եւ բնութեանց կարգեաց զմի մի անուանս նոցա: Եւ ի ննջելն իւրում յորում ստեղծաւ Եւայ, եւ յածելն զնա առ նա՝ մարգարէութեամբ ասաց, թէ «Այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց». եւ զորդեծնութեան աճումն որ ի կնոջէն, եւ թողուլ զհայր եւ զմայր, եւ երթալ զհետ կնոջ, եւ լինել մարմին մի: Նա եւ յետ ուտելոյն ի պտղոյն՝ գիտաց մարգարէութեամբ զփրկութիւնն մեր՝ զոր ի ձեռն կնոջն էր լինելոց, այսինքն ի ձեռն սուրբ աստուածածնին. վասն որոյ եւ կեանս կոչեաց զկինն. ապա թէ ոչ այդպէս, զի՞րդ կոչէր զնա կեանս, որ ամենայն ծննդոց Ադամայ՝ մահու պատճառն եղեւ . . . Արդ եթէ մինչ ի փառաց անտի անկեալ էր, զմարգարէութեան ունէր հոգի, ո՞րչափ եւս առաւել մինչդեռ ի փառսն էր. այո՝ եւ առաւել եւս ունէր: Արդ յայտ իսկ է, որպէս առաքեալ ասէ, թէ Ադամ ոչ պատրեցաւ / օձին սուտ խոստումն՝ որ սատանայիւ, այլ կինն պատրեցաւ եւ յանցեաւ. եւ Ադամ յաղագս ոչ բաժանելոյ ի կնոջէն եկեր զպտուղն եւ սիրելոյ զնա, այլ ոչ վասն աստուածանալոյ՝ որպէս կինն:

And Adam moreover was driven out and fell outside of[21] paradise and from luminous glory because of the love of the woman: and not for the sake of

21. Paradise was on a mountain; see n. 2 under Seventh Century.

becoming God, but he reckoned it grave to be separated from her love. The one who knew truly that he himself will be punished by God, for he was not unaware but was full of prophetic spirit: for he had not yet fallen from the gifts[22] of the spirit, since he had not yet transgressed the command. Moreover, after eating the fruit, he did not totally lose the spirit but as long as he was in paradise, through the Holy Spirit he knew the dispositions of all the animals. And when God brought them unto Adam,[23] he arranged names for each of them according to its disposition and nature. And during his sleep Eve was created, and when (God) brought her unto him, he said prophetically, "This (one) is now bone of my bones,"[24] and (he knew prophetically) the fruitfulness of childbirth through the woman, and leaving father and mother, and cleaving unto the wife, and being one flesh. Moreover after eating of the fruit, he learned prophetically of our salvation that would take place through the woman, that is through the Holy Mother of God. Owing to that he called the woman "life":[25] for if it is not so, why would he call her "life" who was the cause of the death of all Adam's descendants? . . . Now, if while he had fallen from the honor he had prophetic spirit, how much more (did he have it) while he was in honor? Yes, he had much more. So, as the Apostle says, it is evident that Adam was not beguiled toward the serpent's false promise which was through Satan, but the woman was beguiled and fell into transgression,[26] and / Adam ate the fruit for the sake of not separating from her and loving her, and not for the sake of becoming God, as (did) the woman.

6 316 Բայց թէ ոչ պահեմք եւ գործեմք զշնորհսն եւ զփառսն տուեալս, նախահօրն նմանեմք, որ առեալ զլուսաւորութիւն եւ զանկարօտ եւ զանցաւ եւ զանմահ կեանս եւ զդրախտն ոչ պահելովն եւ ոչ գործելովն կորոյս դարձեալ . . .

But if we do not keep and do the grace and the glory given (to us), we are like the forefather who, having received splendor and plenitude, and painless and immortal life, and by having not kept and worked the Garden of Eden, lost it again . . .

7 347 «Երթեալ ընդ եղբօրորդւոյն իմոյ յուղղութիւն, բաւական լեալ շրթամբք իմովք եւ ատամամբք»: Այսինքն թէ յաղագս այնորիկ եղէ ձեզ սքանչելի, զի հրաժարեալ յաշխարհականմեղսասէր օձապատիր խաբմանց նախնոյն իմոյ, գնացի զհետ եղբօրորդւոյն իմոյ յուղիղ վարս.

22. Or: grace.
23. Gen 2:19.
24. Gen 2:23.
25. Cf. Gen 3:20: "the mother of all living."
26. Cf. 1 Tim 2:14.

"I went after my beloved[27] toward rectitude, being sufficient with my lips and teeth."[28] That is, you admired me, abstaining from my ancestor's worldly, sin-loving deception by the serpent, I went with my nephew toward right behavior.

8 351 . . . զիտացեալ զնախահօրն կործանումն, մանաւանդ թէ զսատանայինն իսկ ի բարձրութենէ եւ ի հպարտութենէ լեալ . . .

. . . Being aware of the forefather's perishing, especially that the Satan's took place because of his exaltation and arrogance.

9 355 Նա եւ իւր մկրտութեամբն եւ աւազանաւն ծնաւ Քրիստոս, եւ հոգւոյն սրբոյ գալստեամբն զփակեալն յԱդամայ զերկինս եբաց . . .

Moreover, Christ was born also by his baptism and the font, and through the arrival of the Holy Spirit, He opened the heaven closed by Adam.

Text: Գրիգորի Նարեկայ վանից վանականի Մատենագրութիւնք *The Writings of Grigor, Monk of the Monastery of Narek,* ed. Y. K‘ristap‘orean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1840), 407–21.

Grigor Narekac‘i, Ներբող ի սուրբ Խաչն
Encomium on the Holy Cross

10 405 (քրիստոսեան նշան) Եւ մուտն անձուկ դրախտին սենեկի՝ ի բոցեղէնն սրոյ պարփակեալ, քեւ մարդկան ազանց հորդեցաւ։

And the narrow entrance of the chamber of paradise, closed by the flaming sword, was opened by you (i.e., Christ's sign) for the human races.

Ներբողեան սրբոյ Աստուածածնին
Encomium on the Holy Mother of God

11 414 բանականն մարդոյ գոյութիւն պատկեր Աստուծոյ ի սկզբանն ստեղծաւ, եւ այսր աղագաւ ստեղծողին շնորհս կալաւ

. . . The nature of rational man was created in the beginning in the image of God, and for that reason he had the Creator's grace . . .

12 զքեզ խոստովանիմք, երկրաւոր ծնունդքս, ստորաստեղծականն,

27. Literally: nephew.

28. Cf. Song 7:9: "And thy mouth like the best wine, that goeth down smoothly for my beloved, Gliding through the lips of those that are asleep." There is a significant difference between the Armenian and English versions of Song of Songs here.

We, earthly offspring of Adam, created from inferior substances, confess you.

13 419 ստորաստեղծականն Ադամայ

Adam created from inferior substance . . .

Grigor Narekac‘i, Պատմութիւն Ապարանից Ս. Խաչին
History of the Holy Cross of Aparank‘

14 389 Քանզի զխանձարուրսն խրթնածածկոյթս յիշատակ կորուսելոյ փառացն Ադամայ, եւ զմաշկեղէնն ծառայական սփածանելիս, փոխանակ տերեւոյ տնկոյ թզենոյն, որով նախահայրն պատսպարեցաւ, ի պատկեր յօղուածոյ բարձիցն վերբերելով ի հօրն օրինակ՝ զորդւոցն զարշապարս օժանդակեաց. եւ զփուշսն դաժանաբոյսս ընդ ծաղկածինն վայրից դրախտին եւ զարիւներանգն կարմիր ի տարացոյց խակութեան մտաց յանցաւորին, եւ պատերազմական փրկչին մարտի նշանակ. եւ զդժնդակատէգն սեւեռս ի թելադրութիւն նահանջման անարգելն ձեռաց, որ ներհակ հրամանի արարչին ձայնի յանդգնեալ ձգտեցաւ ի փայտին պտուղ. եւ զսպունգն դառնաթորմի ընդ ախորժելի քաղցր ճաշակմանն. եւ զարկանելիս զգեստու արարչին ծնողի ի շուք պատկառանաց պարտաւորին մեղօք Եւայի:

For (the cross bears in itself) the wretched winding cloths[29] as the memorial of the lost glory of Adam, and the slave's leather girdle[30] instead of the leaf of the fig-tree by which the forefather was sheltered. An example for the image of the construction of the throne by raising (it) to that of the Father, he supported the heels of the son. And the harsh nails instead of the flower-producing valleys of paradise; and the bloody red as the sign of the crudity of the sinner's mind, and the martial symbol of the Savior's battle, and the nails wounding cruelly—for prompting to draw back the unrestrained hands which, having dared, stretched toward the fruit of the tree against the command of the voice of the Creator; and the very bitter sponge—instead of the pleasant sweet food; and the clothing of the dress of the Father Creator, for the respect of the modesty of the parent, the one culpable through sin, Eve.

Text: Grigor Narekac‘i, Մատեան ողբերգութեան *Book of Lamentation*, ed. P. M. Xač‘atryan and A. A. Łazinyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1985).

29. Cf. Luke 2:7.
30. Cf. Matt 3:4.

ԺԸ, Գ: 18.3

15 311 Մինչ ի դրախտին փափկութեան զպտուղն կենաց կթէի:
Կաշկանդեալ զաւսացեալ ի կոր կործանմամբ ընդ կնոջն տագնապելոյ
. . .

While I was picking the fruit of life in the Garden of Eden,
Being bound, shriveled, bowed down by destruction with the distressed woman . . .

ԼԷ, Բ: 37.2

16 400 Գովեալ արարչութեանդ զաւրեղութեան վանեալ են կարծրութիւնք
Արտաբերութեան սրտի բանսարկուին,
Որ քարին առակաւ յուսահատն վհատութեան,
Սպառմամբ խոպանման աղբերացս երկուց,
Որ ի զգայականս Եդեմայ բղխեալ պատրաստեաց տնկողն,
Զի ոռոգեալ ծաղկեսցի նովաւ,
Որ ի յիս բարեգործութեան կենսատունկն դրախտ:
Ահա մի ցամաքութեամբ արտասուացս
Աղանդահնար պատրանաւք չարաչար խորամանկեսցէ
Վերստին հանել ի փափկութենէ նախնում վիճակին:

Your praised creation repels the firmness of might,
The expression of the Devil’s heart,
That through the enigma of the stone’s despondent despair
By exhaustion of the two sources becoming desert,
Which the planter prepared to flow in the sensible Eden,
So that, having been watered there should flower through it,
The life-planted Garden of beneficence, which is inside me.
Hence let him not, having dried my tears,
Deceive me wickedly by malicious tricks,
To drive me again out of the delight, into my former condition.

ԼԹ Բ: 39.2

17 406 Խոպանացեալ եւ տատասկաբեր անդաստանս,
Աստուածախնամ երկիրս անձնաւոր,
Որ բանսարկուին պատրանաց մշակեցայ,
Իւղընձիւղ փայտս պտղակորոյս,
Հատանելի ծառս ունայնաբոյս . . .

I, a desert and thistle-bearing field,
I, an animated land cared for by God,

That was cultivated by the Devil's deception,
I, an olive-tree that drops the fruit,
I, a sterile tree worthy of being cut.

ԽԶ, Գ-Դ: 46.3–4

18 425 Գ Եղական պատկեր Աստուծոյ՝ կշտամբեալ ի սպառ, ոգի իմ գերի:
Եւ թէպէտ յառաջին նմանութենէն կողոպտեալ գտար՝
Պատուիրանին յանցաւորութեամբ ի դրախտին կենաց,
Այլ աւազանին լուսազարդ շնորհիւն զհոգւոյն փչումն առեալ՝
Եւ նմանութիւն ես կերպարանին:
Դ Եւ արդ, ընդէ՞ր կորուսեր զփառսն երկնաւորս,
Իբր նախաստեղծն երբեմն՝ զվիճակն երկրաւոր յԱդին դարաստանի.

Created image of God, entirely reproached, my captive soul,
And though you, found to be deprived of your former likeness,
Through transgression of the command in the Garden of life,
Nevertheless, having received the insufflation of the Spirit through the luminously decorated font,
And you are the likeness of His form;
4 But now why have you lost the celestial glory?
As once the protoplast (lost) his portion in the earthly Garden of Eden?

Ծ, Ա: 50.1

19 443 Զի որ զսխալելն Ադամայ անձին իւրում ոչ գրեցէ
Եւ զմեղս ամենից ինքեան ոչ համարեսցի ...

For one who does not ascribe to himself the error of Adam
And does not reckon the sins of all as his own . . .

ԾԶ, Ա: 56.1

20 467 Իսկ զառիթսն մահու դիպուածս
Դժոխարմատ ծառոյս դառնութեան պտուղք՝
Ընտանիք թշնամիք . . .

But these events, the cause of death,
The bitter fruit of this tree rooted in hell,
Are domestic[31] enemies . . .

31. Or: familiar.

ԿՁ, Զ: 66.6

21 510 Եթէ ի մահ սատակման զիս վանեալ վիրաւորեսցէ,
Ստուար տէգ զինու մխելոյն
Ի կող ստեղծչին Ադամայ զնա հերձեսցէ:

If having driven me to death's destruction, it wounds me,
Let the thick pike of a weapon plunging
Into the side of Adam's Creator, pierce him.

Ձ, Ա: 70.1

22 570 Աղաչեմ զքեզ, սուրբ Աստուածածին . . .
Գերազանց, քան զբնակութիւն անկոխելին սրբութեանց,
Երանաւոր խոստմանն՝ տեղի, Եդեմ շնչական,
Ծառ կենացն անմահից՝ բոցեղէն սրովն պարունակեալ . . .

I beg you, Holy Mother of God . . .
More sublime than the untrodden residence of the sanctities,
You, place of the blessed annunciation, spiritual Eden,
Tree of immortal life, closed in by the flame of the sword . . .

Գ, Ե: 3, 5

23 622 Ո՞չ ահա Մելքիսեդեկ յաւրինակ ճշմարտիդ ահաւորութեան ի Ձիթաստանեաց լերինն, ուր յետոյ ոտք մարմնացելոյդ Աստուծոյ զետեղեալ կացին, ի վերնոց անտի հրեշտակաց ի պտղոց տեղւոյն իւղեցաւ. ուստի շիրմի սկզբնահաւրն պաշտպան եպիսկոպոսական արքայապատիւ ճոխութեամբ ի քէն հանդերձեալ նստաւ . . .

Was not Melchizedek anointed as a type of your true fearsomeness on the Mount of Olives where afterwards the feet of God incarnate stood, by the celestial angels in the place of fruits (i.e., olives), where by the power put on You from the grave of forefather, protector through episcopal royal power, he sat . . . [32]

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32. According to the editors' n. 35, Jewish tradition put the burial of Adam's skull on Golgotha. This is, of course, not really accurate and is a Christianized formulation. Adam's creation was in the center of the world, that is, in the sacred place of Jerusalem: see *y. Naz.* 7.2, *Gen. Rab.* 14:8. The idea that Adam died in the same place in which he was created appears first in *2 En.* 71:35 (the passage is also connected to the priesthood of Melchizedek) and in *Apoc. Mos.* (Greek *L.A.E.*) 40:6. The tradition that Adam's skull was buried under the altar appears in several places in the Jerusalem Talmud: *y. Sotah* 5.20b; *y. Ned.* 6.39d-40a; *y. Pesaḥ.* 9.36c; *y. Sanh.* 1.18d, according to the interpretation of L. Ginzberg. Starting from Origen's

Grigor Narekac‘i, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K‘yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1981), 93.

ԻԲ. Քարոզ ասացեալ ի սուրբ ծնունդն եւ ի մկրտութիւնն
22 Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Nativity and Baptism

24 132 Որ երեւեցաւ այսաւր ի ցնծութիւն ազգի մարդկան,
Ազատելով զառաջինն Ադամ ի յանիծիցն առաջնոյ,
Ուստի եւ զնախամաւրն Եւայի լուծանելով զկնիք դատաստանութեան
. . .

(Christ) who appeared this day for the exaltation of the human race,
Liberating the first Adam from the curse of the first one,
Hence annulling the foremother Eve's seal of condemnation . . .

25 137 Ի պարծանս կուսից երեւեալ, սո՛ւրբ Աստուածածին,
Լուծանելով զառաջինն Եւայի զդատապարտութիւն . . .

Holy Mother of God, you appeared to the glory of virgins,
Annulling the former condemnation of Eve . . .

ԻԵ. Քարոզ եկեղեցւոյ
25. Sermon on the Church

26 164 Իմաստագործ, անսխալաստեղծ,
Պատշաճակերտ կազմիչդ համայնից,
Որ յսկզբնաձեռն յառաջակառոյց զայս կերպարան հրաշազարդ իրի
Հաճեցար լինել նախ զբնակն, ապա՝ զբազմեալն:
Ձգեցեր զերկինս եւ անդ՝ զերկնայինսն,
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ զկնի՝ զԱդամ . . .

Wisely acting, infallibly creating,
You, properly creating order of all,
Who, initially undertaking the primary construction of the form of this wonderfully adorned reality,
First pleased to be the inhabitant and then the one seated (i.e., on the throne).
You stretched the heavens[33] and there—the heavenly ones,
You established Eden and then—Adam . . .

commentary on Matt 27:33, Christian traditions move the site to Golgotha. On Melchizedek on the Mount of Olives, see Stone 2012, 90n and 91.

33. Cf. Isa 40:22.

ԻԸ Քարոզ Վարդավառի
28 Sermon on Vardavaṙ (The Feast of the Transfiguration)

27 191 Իսկ դու, անսկիզբն Աստուած, ի սկզբանէ եղեալ յէղելումն,
Իշխանական կամաւք եւ աստուածային ձեռաւք քո
Հաստատեցեր զԱդին եւ ի նմա՝ զԱդամ . . .

And you, God without beginning, that were in existence from the coming into being:
With your authoritative will and divine hands
You established Eden and in it—Adam . . .

ԻԹ. Քարոզ, ասացեալ ի փոխումն ամենաւրհնեալ սուրբ Աստուածածնին
29 Sermon Preached on the Assumption of the Blessed Holy Mother of God

28 202 Ի քեզ կատարեցան տառք աստուածախաւս եւ ընտրեալ մարգարէիցն
Եւ նախագուշակ տեսողացն,
Որ փոխանակ Եւայի մայր գոլ զքեզ կենդանւոյ բանին Աստուծոյ,
Որով զարդարեցան արարածք
Յառաջին հնութենէ մեղացն վերստին նորոգելով ի փառս,
Ուստի նախամաւրն անիծիցն երկունք
Ի յաւրհնութիւն փոխարկեալ՝ լուծաւ.
Եւ գիր դատապարտութեան յանցանացն՝ խզեալ պատառեցաւ.
Քեւ ճոխանայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . .

In you were realized the words of the elect prophets, speakers with God,
And of the forewarning foreseers,
That instead of Eve you will be the mother of God's living Word
By which the creatures were adorned,
Having been renewed again for glory from the former old sin.
From this, the pains of the foremother's curse
Were dissolved, having changed into blessing,
And the document of condemnation for the transgression, having been erased, was torn.[34]
The forefather Adam is exalted by you . . .

34. Col 2:14.

ԻԳ. Քարոզ Գրիգորի Նարեկացւոյ ասացեալ, ի սուրբ Յովհաննէս Մկրտիչն
23 Sermon Pronounced by Grigor Narekec'i on St. John the Baptist

29 142 Որոյ իսկապէս տեսակ յանցանացն է նիւթականցս անհմանալի,
Եւ զգացեալս վայր վիճակեալ բնակութեան տեղի տարփային
Եւ դրախտ կենդանեաց բուսովք բարգաւաճ,
Պատուիրան կիտիւ կառուցեալ. լինել անհուպ կամաւքն առանձին:
Սակայն ապստամբն իմանալի, նիզակաւն ստութեան կաճառեալ առ կինն,
Բարբանաւք աստուածական ճոխութեամբ ճողոպրեաց ի փառացն:

Which type of sins verily is incomprehensible to material ones,
And the sensible ones having appointed a site of dwelling, a desirable place,
And a garden of life, flourishing with plants,
A commandment in a moment he established to be nonproximate, by will alone.
However, by rebellion of the understanding, through the spear of falsehood, he joined with the woman,
By false accusation, by divine authority, He set him free from glory.

Movsēs Kałankatuac'i C10

Text: Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի *History of the Land of Albania*, ed. V. Aṙak'elyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

Translation: C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians, by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i* (London Oriental Series 8; London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). The translation here is my own.

1 244 . . . Ո՞չ գիտէք եթէ նախահայրն մեր Ադամ սակս սորա (այսինքն. Սատանայի) ելեալ ի դրախտէն զփշաբեր եւ զտատասկածին ժառանգէր երկիր:

Don't you know that our forefather Adam owing to him (i.e., Satan) having come forth from paradise also inherited the thorny and thistle-bearing ground?

Samuēl Kamrǰajorec'i C10

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorec', Յաղագս տաւնից տէրունականաց "On the Dominical Feasts," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 703–34.

1 705 §1 (25) Եւ սկիզբն առնելոյ հսկմանն սկսանին ընթեռնուլ. «Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր». զաշխարհարարութիւն Արարչին, զոր արար ի փառս եւ ի գովութիւն մշտնջենաւոր փառաց իւրոց բնական աւրինաց մարդկան ճանապարհ արարեալ զինքն միայն ճանաչել Աստուած, զորս բանսարկուն իբրեւ կուրաց առաջի անցեալ մոլորեցոյց եւ փոխանակ Արարչին զարարածս աստուածացոյց մարդկան յանարգութիւն Արարչին:

(25) And starting the vigil they begin to read: "In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth," i.e., about the creation of the world by the Creator who made it for the glory and praise of his eternal glory, paving for humans the way of the natural law: to acknowledge only him as God. But the Devil led them astray, preceding them as if they were blind and, instead of the Creator, deified creatures for humans, dishonoring the Creator.

2 705–6 §(32) Իսկ զհետ այսորիկ առակաւքն խրատէ զեկեղեցի՝ ճանաչել զիմաստութիւնն ճշմարիտ՝ զՔրիստոս մարմնացեալն վասն մեր, եւ ընդունել զխրատ նորա փոխանակ խրատու բանսարկուին առ Ադամ:

(32) And after this he admonishes the church with examples: to acknowledge the true wisdom, Christ incarnated for our sake, and to accept his advice instead of the Devil's advice to Adam.

3 707 §2 (3) Զայս Արտեմոն բաժանեաց՝ սուտանուն աշակերտն Յովհաննու Աւետարանչի՝ ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման Աւետարանչին որոմն ցանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն՝ բանսարկուն՝ զխաբէութիւնն յԱդամ՝ յուսովն աստուածանալոյն, եւ հակառակ Աստուծոյ:

(3) This, Artemon, the falsely named pupil of Evangelist John, divided by sowing darnel over the beautiful seed of the Evangelist, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam deceit with the hope of becoming god and hostile to God.

4 708 §2 (22) Գիտեմք ճշմարտապէս եւ հաւատամք Գաբրիէլի աւետարանութեանն, այլ ի Զ ապրիլի. եւ այս՝ խորհրդաբար, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրբ[35] զպատրանս ընկալաւ Եւայ, եւ ի թիւն վեցերորդ Կոյսն՝ զաւետիսն, եւ զկնի խորհրդաբար կատարի, զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրս ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի նոյն վեցերորդի եղծաւ: (23) Իսկ ի վեցերորդ աւուր առաջին ամսոյն նոր Ադամ ծնաւ:

(22) We truly know and believe in the good tidings of Gabriel, which was on April 6, and this is symbolic, since on the sixth day Eve received the deceit and on the sixth in number the Virgin [received] the Annunciation, and subsequently things are accomplished symbolically, since on the sixth

35. The case is anomalous and should be a locative.

day Adam was created and on the same sixth (day) he was destroyed. (23) And on the sixth day of the first month the new Adam was born.

5 725–26 §3 (47) Յուրբաթու եւ նախաստեղծն զառաջին աւրէնսն ընկալաւ եւ ի նոյն ուրբաթու յանցեաւ յաւրինացն, եւ մեք ի նոյն յուրբաթու եւ յուրբաթացեալ դարի երկրորդ ընդունիմք աւրէնս, ընթեռնումք ի նոյն ուրբաթու ի Յովբայ զկիրս չարչարանաց արդարոյն Յովբայ, վասն զի աւրինակ էր Յովբ հին Ադամայ եւ նոր Ադամայ. չարաչար կրիւքն հնոյն Ադամայ աւրինակ էր, իսկ արդարութեամբ եւ չարչարանաւք՝ նորոյ Ադամայ եւ Աստուծոյ չարչարեցելոյ ընդդէմ մեղացն, որ չարչարեցան յաւուր ուրբաթու, եւ ուրբաթացեալ դարի:

(47) On Friday the forefather too received the first law and on the same Friday he transgressed the law, and we receive the second law on the same Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age,[36] on the same Friday we read from the book of Job about the sufferings of righteous Job, since Job was the example of the old Adam and of the new Adam: in his enormous sufferings he was the example of the old Adam, and in his righteousness and sufferings, of the new Adam and God who suffered for the sins which were suffered on Friday and in the Friday-like [i.e., sixth] age.

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ, Յաւուր բուն բարեկենդանին Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի վարդապետաց *On Shrove Tuesday by vardapets Pawłos, Samuēl, and Grigor,* in Yakob Kʻeosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 738–41.

6 740 (42) Աղուհացիցն չորեքշաբաթի եւ ուրբաթի յոյժ խորհրդաւոր. չորեքշաբաթին՝ ի բժշկութիւն նախամաւրն Եւայի, քանզի ասեն, թէ խորհուրդ ստեղծման կնոջն առաջնոյ ի չորեքշաբաթու եղեւ, եւ ի նմին աւուր առաւ կող եւ ստեղծաւ եւս ի չորեքշաբաթի: (43) Դարձեալ՝ խաբէութիւն աւձին ասեն եղեւ յայս միտս:

(42) The Wednesday and the Friday of the Lent are very symbolic; Wednesday, for healing of the foremother Eve,[37] because they say that the mystery of the creation of the first woman was on Wednesday, and on the same day the rib was taken and she was also made on Wednesday. (43) Again they say that the serpent's deceit took place according to this meaning.

Text: Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻ,Պաւղոսի եւ Սամուէլի եւ Գրիգորի եւ այլոց վարդապետաց Յաղագս քառասնորդացն ասացեալ եւ մեկնութիւն

36. Christ was born in the the sixth millennium: Stone (1996b, 88) lists a number of sources and others exist.

37. I.e., Adam's being healed after the removal of his rib.

ընթերցուածոց "*On the Lent and Commentary on the Lectionary by Pawłos, Samuēl, Grigor, and other* vardapet*s,*" in Yakob K'eosēyan, ed., *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 742–46.

7 742 (8) Արդ ասի յիմաստնոց. Ստեղծեալ զԱդամ Աստուծոյ՝ զկնի Խ աւուր մտանէ ի դրախտն, եւ յետ ուտելոյն ծառոյն բարոյ եւ չարի, զի բարի էր ոչ ուտելն, վասն որոյ ելանէր յերկիր դատապարտութեան, զոր ասաց Աստուած. «Տրտմութեամբ կերիցես եւ քրտամբք»:

(8) Now it is said by wise men: Adam having been created by God, after 40 days enters the Garden and, after eating from the tree of good and evil—since the not eating was good—on account of that he went forth to the condemned earth,[38] as God said: "With labor and sweat you shall eat."

8 745–46 (68) Եւ յԹ ժամուն յանցեաւ Ադամ եւ ել ի դրախտէն, եւ յԹ ժամուն գոչեաց Յիսուս ի ձայն մեծ եւ արձակեաց զհոգին: (69) Եւ աւազակն ի դրախտէն եմուտ: (70) Վասն այնր ուրբաթն՝ վասն Ադամա, եւ ընթերցուածն յԵրկրորդ աւրինաց գեղեցիկ յաւրինեաց զծնունդն Քրիստոսի վասն Եւայի, եւ զյարութիւն՝ վասն Ադամայ:

(68) On the ninth hour Adam transgressed and went out of the Garden, and on the ninth hour Jesus cried out loudly and breathed his last (69) and the bandit entered paradise. (70) For this reason Friday is dedicated to Adam and the lection from the Deuteronomy nicely arranged the birth of Christ for Eve and his resurrection for Adam.

Simēon Ałjnec'i C10

Text: Simēon Ałjnec'i, Ի Պետրոս եւ ի Պաւղոս սուրբ առաքեալսն Քրիստոսի "On Peter and Paul, the Holy Apostles of Christ," ed. Yakob K'eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 876–88.

1 876 (8) Եւ հինգմասնեա բաժին վասն հինգ զգալեաց նախամաւրն, որով յանցեաւ: . . . (10) Եւ զիա՞րդ վասն Եւայի ասի եւ ոչ Ադամայ: (11) Խորագոյն է բանս. վասն զի Եւայ ասի ի յայրին ի Սիքեմ դրեալ ի շիրմի, եւ այրն բաժին Բենիամենի . . .

(8) And the fivefold share is because of the five senses of the foremother with which she transgressed. . . . (10) And why is it said about Eve and not about Adam?

38. Literally: the earth of condemnation.

(11) This matter is quite profound, since Eve is said to be put in a grave in a cave in Shechem, and the cave (is) the share of Benjamin . . .[39]

2 877 (36) Յորժամ մեղաւ նախամայրն, թէպէտ եւ հանաւ ի փառացն, այլ ոչ ի սպառ բարկացաւ Տէր, այլ ետ ժամանակ կենաց:

(36) When the foremother sinned, although she was deprived of the glory, but the Lord did not wholly get angry, but he gave her time of life.

3 882 (131) Հարցաքննելի է . . . վասն խաչին Պետրոսի. Զիա՞րդ հրամայէ գլխիվայր խաչիլ. . . . (133) Խաչն ծառոյն գաղափար է, եւ առաքեալն՝ Ադամայ: (134) Եւ գլխիվայրն զայս պատկեր ցուցանէ՝ փոխանակ զի Ադամ լուաւ կնոջն եւ աւձին եւ արար զաջն որպէս զահեակ եւ զգլուխն՝ որպէս զոտս կոխան ամենեցուն:

882 (131) One should inquire . . . concerning the cross of Peter, why was he ordered to be crucified head-down? . . . (133) The cross is the type (or: notion) of the tree, and the Apostle, of Adam. (134) And the position head-down indicates the following picture: since Adam listened to the woman and to the serpent, he also made the right as left[40] and the head as feet to be trodden by all.

4 (141) . . . Բանն Աստուած պատարագեցաւ եւ դարձաւ ոգին Ադամայ եւ գնաց ի տեղի իւր:

(141) . . . God the Word was sacrificed and Adam's soul repented and went to its place.

Step'anos Tarōnec'i (Asołik) C10

Text: Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asołik, Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական *Universal History,* ed. S. Malxasean (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1885).

1 7 Սկիզբն արասցուք սկզբանս յորում նախահայրն մեր ել արտաքս ի դրախտէն, փշալից երկրի եղեալ ժառանգորդ:

We shall begin from the beginning, when our forefather came out of the Garden, he became heir of the thorny ground.

2 223 Ադամ զանմեղանչական մարմինն եւ զանդատապարտականն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն մահու իջոյց:

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39. Compare with Eve's burial tradition in apocryphal Armenian sources; see Stone 2000b, 241–45. The location of Eve's grave in Shechem is unusual. See Stone 2012, 57.

40. This may appeal to the value-weighted use of right and left.

Adam caused his sinless and uncondemned body to fall to (the condition) of condemnation and to the corruption of death.

Tačat *vardapet* C10

Text: Tačat *vardapet*, Հարցմունք “Questions,” ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 849–57.

1 850 §10 (23) Եւ ձեռագիր յանցանացն՝ Ադամ յանցեաւ ի ձեռն պտղոյն ճաշակման, եւ Տէրն ի խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռագիրն, վասն զի իւր մահուամբն սպան զմահ եւ ջնջեաց զձեռագիր յանցանացն. նմանեաւն զնմանն մաքրէր:

(23) And the cheirograph of transgression: Adam transgressed by eating the fruit and the Lord on the cross deleted the cheirograph, since by his death he killed death and deleted the cheirograph of transgression.[41] He cleaned the similar by a similar.

2 851 (36) Արդ, որ գրեալն է, թէ ընդէ՞ր հոգին ջրոյ կարաւտանայ, աստանաւր մեծ վարդապետն հաստատէ զբանդ բայց կանխաւ յայտնեալն ամենայնի զհին Ադամն, զի թաղեսցէ ի ջուրն . . .

(36) Now what is written, “Why does the soul need water?”[42] Here the great *vardapet* confirms this saying, manifesting the old Adam beforehand to everybody that he will be buried in water . . .[43]

3 854–55 (66) . . . զի որպէս առաջին Ադամաւն փակումն եղեւ դրախտին, երկրորդաւս եղիցի բացումնն, զի հակառակաւք զհակառակսն լուծանիցէ . . .

(66) As the closing of paradise took place through the first Adam, likewise through this second one the opening will take place, so that he will dissolve the opposite by the opposite.

41. See Col 2:14; and Stone 2002.

42. See Ps 63:1 = Arm 62:2; compare the language of Artawazd Mazazuni C10, 460.

43. The reference is unclear: perhaps Adam’s body will be in the Flood, but that runs against the tradition, known in Armenian, that Noah took it onto the ark: Stone 1996b, 116–17. Elsewhere Artawazd Mazazuni talks of burying the old Adam in water, referring to the trampling of the Satanic serpent in the incorruptible waters of the baptism.

Timot‘ēos *vardapet* C10

Text: Timot‘ēos *vardapet*, Յառաջաբան համառօտ ի ծննդոց "Concise Prologue on the Genesis," ed. Yakob K‘eosēyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 904–20.

1 915 (173) Եւ լուսինն կատարեալ երեւեցաւ, որպէս Ադամ կատարեալ արարաւ:

(173) And the moon appeared perfect, just as Adam was made perfect.

2 916 (192) Ի վեցերորդում արար զԱդամ, ըստ կերպարանաց իշխանութեան, զի որպէս իշխանութիւն Աստուծոյ ի վերայ ամենայնի, նոյնպէս եւ՝ տէրութիւն Ադամայ:

(192) On the sixth (day) he made Adam, in the state[44] of power, since as the power of God is over all, likewise is Adam's lordship.

3 918 (232) Զամենայն արար. ասէ. Եւ բարի են յոյժ: (233) Առ մարդն լռեաց «զբարին», զի իւր պատկեր ստեղծ, բաւական համարեցաւ, կամ զի գիտէր, թէ յանցանէր՝ ոչ ասաց: (235) Զսկիզբն արարչութեան պատմեաց, յաւուր յորում արար զերկինս եւ զերկիր եւ զամենայն ծառս դաշտի, զի չեւ եւս էին արարեալ. յերրորդում աւուրն արարան: (236) Եւ զի Ադամ չեւ եւս էր արկեալ զձեռն գործել զերկիր՝ երկրորդեաց՝ ասելով. «Աստուած զԱդամ» յետ առաջնոյն այսորիկ:

(232) He made everything (and) said: "they are very good." (233) In the case of man He passed over "the good" in silence. Because He had created His image and was satisfied, or because He knew that he was going to transgress, He did not say (good). (235) He relates about the beginning of creation, on the day when He made the heavens and the earth and all the trees of the field, since they had not yet been made, they were made on the third day. (236) And since Adam had not yet undertaken to till the land, He repeated saying: "God [made?] Adam," after this first one.

4 920 (271) Եւ զոր ինչ անուանեաց Ադամ, այն անուն է: (272) Եւ զի ոչ միայն զազանացն, այլ եւ անասնոցն: (273) Եւ անասնոցն դժուարին էր յաղագս փոփոխմանցն, թողու՝ վասն պատուոյ զնա հաղորդակից արարչութեան դնելով անուանս, որպէս ինքն հաստատեաց, զի յորժամ կամեսցի նա աստուածանալ՝ գողութեամբն իւրոյ կշտամբեալ յանդիմանեսցի: (274) Եդ Աստուած անուանս ամենայն արարածոց, եւ զզազանսն եւ զանասունսն եթող Ադամա, զի գիտութեան իմաստութեան նորա ստասցին զանուանսն իբրու կենդանութեան,

44. Or: form.

զի ահաւասիկ առանց անուան մեռեալ են տղայքն, եւ որք ունին զանունն, կենդանի են:

(271) And whatever Adam called, that was (its) name (Gen 2:19). (272) For (he gave names) not only to wild animals but also to the cattle. (273) And it was difficult (to give names) to the cattle, because of changes. So as to honor him as a participant in the creation by giving names to the cattle, he allows him (to do so), as He himself established, so that when he wishes to become god, he be scolded and reproached for his robbery. (273) God gave names to all creatures and left wild animals and cattle to Adam, so that they receive names of his knowledge and wisdom,[45] as if of life, since behold, children without names are dead, and those who have names are alive.

Tiranun *vardapet* C10

Tiranun *vardapet*, Պատասխանի հարցմանց թագաւորացն Աղուանից Ատրներսեհի եւ Փիպէի "Answer to the Questions of the Kings of Albania Atrnerseh and Pipē," ed. Azat Bozoyan, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 957–97.

1 959 §6 (15) Եւ զի երեց կարդան զլուսինն եւ աւագ քան զարեգակն .ժա. աւուրբք, զի յորժամ արար Աստուած զարարածս լի կատարեալ. լիակատար զնոսա եւ ոչ թերիս, զի ժամանակաւ կատարեալք եղիցին զկնի, որպէս այսաւր բոյսք եւ կենդանիք, ահա Ադամ Եւայ եւ դրախտքն (v.l. դրախտն) եւ պտուղքն լիակատարք եւ գազանքն եւ անասունքն:

(17) Ահա այժմ միտ դիր, զի կամիմ առնել զնա լիալուսին, ամենայն արարածք ստեղծան վասն մարդոյն տեսլեան եւ հաճոյից յաչս նորա. եւ զի մարդն յուրբաթու ստեղծաւ, պիտոյ էր զլուսին ի չորեքշաբաթի աւուրն մետասանաւրեայ ստեղծուլ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի Ադամ մեղադիր լինել թերութեան լուսնի ի մետասան աւուրսն:

(15) And that they call the moon older and more senior than the sun by eleven days, for when God made the creatures fully complete, perfect, and not defective, so that afterwards in the course of time they might be perfect, as today the plants and animals. Behold Adam, Eve, paradise and fruit and wild animals and cattle are perfect. (17) Now think, I want to make it full moon. All the creatures were created for man's vision and for pleasure for his eyes. And since the man was created on Friday, the moon had to be created

45. Stone 2007a, 69–80.

on Wednesday eleven days old, so that when Adam appears, he could blame the wane of the moon in eleven days.[46]

2 §7 (19) Աւր նոր արար Աստուած սկիզբն արարածոց, զիտ զմուտ աւելեացն եբրայեցւոց. եւ դարձեալ եկ ի տարոյն սկիզբն, որ է յետ հինգ աւուր ուրբաթն. եւ այն է աւր ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, որ է Նիսան ամիս, յորում ել Իսրաէլ յԵգիպտոսէ եւ ի սմա Տէր մեր յարեաւ :դժ: . . .

(19) God made a new day the beginning of the creation. He invented the introduction of the Hebrews' epagomenal days, and again came to the beginning of the year, which after five days is Friday, and it is the day of Adam's creation, which is the month of Nisan, in which Israel went out of Egypt, and this month our Lord resurrected, on the fourteenth.[47] . . .

3 959–960 §8 (20) Կատարեալս վասն այնորիկ արար Աստուած զարարածս, զի մի երեւեսցի Ադամ արարած կցորդ եւ հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, կամ հպարտասցի գիտել զայս ամենայն անուանս, վասն այնորիկ ետ կոչել Ադամայ զազանացն, զի եղիցի հաղորդ արարչի իւրոյ, այս է գրեալն՝ թէ «արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր»:

(20) God made the creatures perfect on that account, so that creature Adam does not appear to be the companion of his own creator or does not swell with pride that he knows all these names. On account of that He allowed Adam to give names to animals so that he becomes the companion of his Creator, as it is written: "he made the man in his image (Gen 1:27)."

4 960 §9 (21) Եւ զի գիտեաց Ադամ կոչել անունս զազանացն. եւ ծանեաւ ի քուն զԵւայ: (23) Կիւրեղ ի Պարապմունսն գրէ, թէ աւծ զԱդամ հոգւով, որպէս Տէր մեր աւծեալ ոչ իւղով, վասն այնորիկ գիտեաց նա զանուանս արարածոց:

(21) And since Adam knew how to give names to animals and recognized Eve in (his) sleep[48] . . . (23) Cyril (of Alexandria says) in his Scholia that He anointed Adam with the spirit, as our Lord was anointed not with oil, that is why he knew the names of the creatures.

5 960 §10 (29) Արդ ստեն որք ասեն. «Ադամ եւ ոչ աւր մի ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին»: (30) Եւ այժմ ահա տես, զի թէ յուրբաթու ստեղծ Ադամ, եւ ի նմին աւուր յանցեաւ եւ ել, ապա ո՞ր է այս Ադամս եւ աւ[ր]հնութիւնս, որ զկնի ուրբաթուն անիծիցն յաւուրն եւթներորդի

46. I.e., so that the moon would be full when Adam was created.

47. 14 Nisan is the date of Passover and, so Tiranun *vardapet* says, of the passion and resurrection.

48. I.e., immediately he awoke from the divinely induced sleep, during which his rib was taken and Eve created from it, he said, ". . . this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken" (Gen 2:23).

սկսեալ է Աստուած աւրհնել զաւրն եւթներորդ: (31) Ապա յայտ է եթէ միւս եւս ուրբաթ պիտոյ էր, զի եկեսցէ ելցէ ի նմա Ադամ: (32) Արդ զեւթն աւուրսդ աւադիկ ունիս յայտնապէս ասել զԱդամ ի դրախտին, մինչեւ գտցի այլ աւուր վկայս նոցին:

(29) Now those lie who say, "Adam did not stay in paradise even for one whole day." (30) And now behold, see that he created Adam on Friday, and on the same day he transgressed and came out; then what is this Adam and this blessing that, after the Friday curse, on the seventh day God began to bless the seventh day?[49] (31) Now it is evident that another Friday was necessary so that Adam would come out on that day. (32) Now behold, you have to say manifestly that Adam (was) in the Garden for seven days, until a witness of another (number) of days will be found.

6 960 §12 (33) Յորում աւուր ուտիցես, ասէ, մեռցիս, եւ ահա ոչ մեռաւ, այլ նա աւանիկ վճիռս մահու ընկալեալ էր, եւ զառհաւատչեայ հրաժեշտ հրամանացն, թէպէտ եւ եկաց յետ այնորիկ զամս :Ջլ:, զի նախ մեռաւ նա ի վճիռս եւ ի հրամանս Տեառն արարչի իւրոյ ի դրախտի անդ. եւ ապա գայր նա մտանել դնել ի շիրմի յերկիր անիծից, զի յղացաւ մահ վաղվաղակի, որպէս որոջքն Ղաբանու ասորոյ զդեղդ աւազանին:

(33) He says, "On the day that you eat, you will die,"[50] and behold, he did not die, but he had received the death sentence and the pledge of the farewell commandment, although he lived after that for 930 years. For he first died according to the sentence and commandment of the Lord his Creator in the Garden, and then he came to enter the land of curse and to be put in the grave, since he rapidly begat death, as the lambs of Laban the Aramean the remedy of the trough.[51]

7 960–61 §13 (34) Եւ ծառն ոչ եթէ չար ինչ էր, այլ զի տղայ եւ ի տարաժամ հասակի մերձեցաւ ի նա. եւ պատուիրան հրամանին չար անուանեաց զնա: (35) Այլ նա հետ ուտելոյն եւ նախ քան զայն բարի էր, որպէս Յուդաս գեղեցիկ անուանի, եւ յետ մատնութեանն չար անուանեցաւ, եւ Թամար զոր սիրեաց, եւ վաղվաղակի ատեաց Ամոն, բարուոք էր տեսլեամբ եւ ոչ փոխեցաւ ինչ նա:

(34) And the tree was not something evil, but he was a child and approached it at an untimely age; and the commandment[52] called it evil. (35) But, behold, after eating, and before he was good, as Judah is called nice and after the

49. See Gen 2:3: "So God blessed the seventh day."
50. Gen 2:17.
51. Cf. Gen 30:32–43.
52. Literally: command of the order.

betrayal he was called evil, and Tamar whom Amon loved but soon hated was nice in appearance and did not change.[53]

8 961 §14 (36) Գիտութիւն որ կայր ի ծառն, այս էր գիտել զմերկութիւն իւրեանց. եւ զձեւ անվայելուչ խառնակութեան առն եւ կնոջ:

The knowledge which was in the tree was knowing this: to know their nakedness and the indecent manner of the coition of man and woman.

9 961, §15 (37) Զաւձէն ասէ Փիլոն՝ թէ սուր էին նախնեացն մերոց լսելիք եւ միտք, եւ լուաւ Եւայ ի բարբառ աւձին զխաւսս նորա, բայց մեզ միոյ մեկնչի պատուեալ է ասացեալն վասն նորա, զի խաւսեցաւ նա իբրեւ զմարդ նորոգ եւ անընդել որպէս էշն Բաղամու խաւսեցաւ եւ լռեաց:

(37) Philo says concerning the serpent that the hearing and the mind of our ancestors were sharp, and Eve heard in the serpent's speech its words, but one commentator's pronouncement is honored to us, that it spoke like a new and unaccustomed thing, as Balaam's donkey spoke and stopped speaking.[54]

10 961 §16 (38) Եթէ սատանայ յանցոյց զաւձն, ընդէ՞ր արար պատուհասեալ զնա առանց ոտից, յանցոյց սատանայ, բայց ոչ ակամայ, այլ եւ աւձ իսկ կամակից եւ հաղորդ եղեւ ի կամս իւր:

961 §16 (38) If Satan caused the serpent to transgress, why did he cause him to be punished by (not having) feet? Satan caused to transgress, but not unwillingly, but the serpent itself became agreeing with and companion of his will.

11 961 §17. (39) Յանցանքն առաջին սատանայի իբրեւ ի ծածուկ էր ի հրեշտակաց եւ ի մարդկանէ, իսկ այն զի յանցոյց զԱդամ լուացաւ ի վեր երեւեալ բոցն ոտիւք աւձին եւ անիծիւք երկրի, եւ տարամերժելովն Ադամայ ի ժառանգութենէ հայրէնի աւանդիցն . . .

961 §17 (39) The first crime of Satan was as if in secret from the angels and humans, but the fact that he caused Adam to transgress was heard; the flame was seen in the height, through the serpent's feet and the curse of the land, and casting Adam out of the heritage of the paternal traditions . . .

12 (40) Եթէ կացեալ եւ փորձանացն համբերեալ էր Ադամ, որ ի նենգաւոր թշնամւոյն ի ժամու անդ ծնեալ երեւեցաւ. ի ժամանակի կատարման հասակի մարմնոյ եւ գիտութեան հոգւոյն նորա, ապա կերեալ լինէր եւ յայնմ եւս ծառոյ եւ փոխէր ի տեղի անմահութեան երկրորդի գերակայի, զի ոչ եթէ նախանձէր արգելուլ զնա ի ծառոյն, այլ զի այնու

53. Cf. 2 Kgs 13:6–16.
54. See Num 22:29–32.

պատուիրանաւ յիշեսցէ զտէր եւ մի մոռասցի զԱստուած զարարիչ իւր, որ արգել զնա յայնքան գեղեցիկ տնկոյն:

(40) If Adam had stayed and endured temptation, which appeared to have been begotten by the deceitful enemy, at the time of perfection of bodily age and of knowledge of his soul, then he would have eaten also (from) that tree too and would have been transferred to the place of immortality of second preeminence. For He did not envy (him) to hold him back from the tree, but (he gave that commandment) so that through this commandment he might remember the Lord and not forget God his Creator, who held him back from such a beautiful plant.

13 962 §20 (42) Եւայ, նախ եկեր, զի Աստուած որդիս ծնցի, վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «ցաւաւք ծնցիս»: (43) Սիրելի կամեցաւ առնել զաւձն վասն այնորիկ ասէ. «թշնամութիւն եդից ի միջի»:

Eve ate first, so that God should beget this son (or: so that she should bear God the Son); that is why he says, "in pain you shall bring forth." (43) He wanted to make the serpent affectionate (or: lovable); that is why he says, "I will put enmity between."[55]

14 962 §21 (44) Տէր կամեցաւ լինել մեծ Ադամայ, վասն այնորիկ ասացաւ, «առ այր քո դարձ քո»:

(44) The Lord wished Adam to become exalted; that is why he said, "your return shall be to your husband."

15 962 §23 (46) Ըստ պատկերի արար, զոր ի կուսէն իսկ պատկեր էր զգենլոց, կամ զի անմահ եղեւ իբրեւ զԱստուած. կամ տէր ամենայնի արար եւ անձնիշխան: (47) Կամ այն է, զի յորժամ առնէր զմարդն, եւ եբաց արարածն զտեսիլս իւր, եւ ետես զԱստուած արարիչ իւր, զի յառնել անդ արար եւ ի գիրկս ընկալաւ, երեւեցաւ ձեւով մարդոյ, որպէս Աբրահամու եւ Յեսուայ ի դաշտին:

(46) He made (him) in (his) image, the one who was going to put on the image from the Virgin, or because he was immortal like God, or (because) He made him lord of all and autonomous. (47) Or that is (the explanation), that when he made man, the creature opened its eyes[56] and saw God its Creator who made him rise and embraced him and became visible in human appearance, as to Abraham and to Joshua in the field.[57]

16 962 §24 (48) ԶԱդամ ոչ անէծ, զի ոչ յանցեաւ, այլ ողորմեցաւ եւ խոնարհեցաւ յանցանս ընկերի իւրոյ. եւ հաղորդ եղեւ Եւայի,

55. Gen 3:15–16. This seems illogical, and we would expect "unlovable."

56. Or: vision.

57. See Josh 1:1; 4:1.

զի ի պատճառս Ադամայ կեցցէ Եւայ, որպէս ոք ումեք հաղորդի յանցանացն ոչ յանցուցեալ եւ խնդրէ յԱստուծոյ, ահա զայս արար Տէր մեր ասելով. ընդէր թողեր Աստուած Աստուած իմ. նայեա ի բնութիւնն մարդկութեանս:

(48) He did not curse Adam, since he had not transgressed, but he (Adam) took pity on the transgression of his companion and humbled himself and shared it with Eve, so that Eve might live for the sake of Adam, as one shares the crime of someone else without having committed a crime and begs God. Our Lord did this saying: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken (me)?"[58] Observe the nature of mankind.

17 962 §25 (49) Արդ եկայք ելցուք առ նա արտաքոյ բանակին, ըստ որում Աբել եւ Տէր մեր, վասն որոյ իրի պատճառանաց սպան Կային զԱբէլ, կարծէր Ադամ յետ այնորիկ մտանելի դրախտ անդ, այլ իբրեւ բոցն ցանգ շրջապատեաց վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդ երկիցս, ապա սկսաւ քարոզել Ադամ ծննդոց իւրոց, զի մի նմանագործեսցեն զառաջինսն, այլ հաճոյ լիցին խորհրդովք կամաւք իւրեանց Աստուծոյ ի խրատն Ադամայ, եւ մտցեն հնազանդքն ի դրախտն փոխանակ Ադամայ անհնազանդի: (50) Արդ իբրեւ ետես Կայէն թէ ընկալաւ Աստուած զպատարագն Աբէլի, եւ հանդերձեալ է մտանել ի նա, նախանձեցաւ որպէս ոք ցոք, զի ասէ, թէ որովհետեւ ինձ չեղեւ քեզ զի՞ մարթ է լինել, եւ սպան, եւ արգելան մտանել ի դրախտն:

(49) Now come let us go out to him (Adam ?) outside the camp in which Abel and our Lord are, for which reason Cain killed Abel. Adam was thinking after that to enter the Garden, but like a flame a fence surrounded it because of Adam, so that he does not enter it twice. Then Adam began to exhort his offspring lest they imitate the first (humans), but (wish) to please God in their thoughts learning the lesson of Adam and the obedient ones would enter the Garden instead of disobedient Adam. (50) Now when Cain saw that God accepted Abel's offering and he is going to enter it (the Garden), he envied as one another, for he said, "Since I did not get, why was it possible for you to get (i.e., this privilege)?" And he killed (his brother), and they were banned from entering the Garden.

18 962 §26 (51) Սուրն բոց էր շրջապատեալ զդրախտն, վասն Ադամայ, զի մի մտցէ անդր, այլ իբրեւ հեռացաւ Ադամ, վերացաւ սուրն ահացուցիչ մարդոյն, զի սրովբէն եւ քրովբէնի միւս լեզուէ հուր եւ բոց ասի թէպէտ եւ այլք բազում գիտութիւն ասեն:

(51) The sword was a flame surrounding the Garden on account of Adam lest he enter it, but when Adam left, the man-terrifying sword was removed, since

58. Mark 15:34.

Seraph and Cherub in another language mean “fire and flame,” although others say, “much knowledge.”[59]

19 963 §27 (52) Ադամ եւ Եւայ ոչ գիտացին, թէ սպան Կային զԱբէլ, զի ոչ յաւուրն պատարագի սպան զնա. այլ ի միւսում աւուր տարաւ զնա ի դաշտ զբաւսնուլ, եւ դարձաւ խաբեաց զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ թէ վերացաւ Աբէլ ի դրախտ անդ, իսկ իբրեւ կոչեաց Աստուած քաղցր ձայնիւ զԿայէն յապաշխարութիւն, ասելով. ո՞ւր է Աբէլ, պիտոյ էր նմա զյանցանս իւր արկանել առաջի Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ միտ մտիլ եւ պատճառել, որպէս զհայր, եւ զմայր իւր ի դրախտի անդ, զի միւսն զաւձն, եւ միւսն զկինն պատճառէին: (53) Յայնժամ անէծ զնա եւ ապա ծանեան Ադամ եւ Եւայ ի դողդոջանալն նորա զյանցանս նորա: (54) Վասն այնորիկ զէն ոք առաջի տանն Ադամայ, վերացոյց ի դրախտն վասն մխիթարելոյ զԱդամ, զի յարութիւն եղեւ ի ձեռն Ենովքայ, վերանալոյն Աբէլի սպանելոյ:

(52) Adam and Eve did not know that Cain killed Abel, since he killed him not on the day of the offering, but on the next day he took him to the field for relaxation. And he returned and deceived Adam and Eve that Abel had ascended to the Garden, but when God called Cain with a sweet voice to repent,[60] saying, “Where is Abel?” he should have laid forth his crime to God, but not to please and seek pretexts, like his father and mother in the Garden, for the one was accusing the serpent and the other the woman. (53) Then He cursed him, and later Adam and Eve recognized his crime from his trembling. (54) On account of that a certain sacrifice before Adam’s house (i.e., Abel) He took up to paradise to console Adam, because resurrection took place through Enoch, when the killed Abel rose.

Uxtanēs C10

Text: Uxtanēs, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1871).

1 15–16 Աստանօր սկիզբն արասցուք պատմել յաղագս թագաւորաց՝ սկսեալ յԱդամայ՝ որ է նախահայր մեր՝ եւ առաջին թագաւոր լեալ ի վերայ երկրի. իսկ զբան Արարչին հուսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս եւ թագաւոր զնա կացուցեալ ամենայն արա/ 16 /րածոց՝ որ ի ներքոյ երկնից: Վասնզի պարտ եւ արժան էր՝ որպէս ասէ գիրն,

59. The etymology of “Seraph” deriving from Hebrew *saraf* (“burn”) is not found in *Onomastica Sacra*. That of “Cherub” is probably secondary to it. The etymology behind “much knowledge” remains occluded.

60. Literally: for repentance.

նախ գոյանալ թագաւորութեան, եւ ապա ի ներքս գալ թագաւորին՝ լինել թագաւոր որոց ի վերայ երկրի ընդ թագաւորութեամբ վերնոյն: Եւ ապա զկնի արտաքսահմանելոյն ի դրախտէն՝ աճեցին ծնունդք նորա, եւ բազմացան, եւ լցին զերկիր ըստ հրամանի Արարչին: Ադամ նախաստեղծն կեցեալ ամս երկերիւր եւ երեսուն՝ ծնաւ զՍէթ. եւ եղեն ամենայն աւուրք Ադամայ՝ զոր եկեաց՝ ամք իննհարիւր եւ երեսուն, եւ մեռաւ:

Here we shall start to tell about the kings, commencing from Adam who is our forefather and was the first king upon the earth. And the Creator's word (created him) last after all the creatures and appointed him king over all the creatures under the heavens, since it was necessary and fitting, as Scripture says, first for the kingdom to come into being and then for the king to enter to be king over those on the earth, underneath the kingship of the supernal One. And then after the banishment from the Garden, his descendants increased and multiplied and filled the earth by command of the Creator.[61] The protoplast Adam, having lived two hundred and thirty years, begat Seth. And all the days of Adam which he lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died.[62]

Xosrow Anjewac'i C10

Text: Xosrow Anjewac'i, Մեկնութիւն աղօթից պատարագին *Commentary on the Prayers of Divine Service* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1869).

Translation: Xosrow Anjewac'i, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy,* trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991). The translation here is mine.

1 10 Մի հաւանիր օձին՝ որ զԵւայն պատրեաց, զբարւոքն չբարւոք նմա ասացեալ, եւ զիւրսն նմա աստուածացուցիչս յուսացուցեալ. լուր Աստուծոյ. Ունկն դիք ասէ լսելեօք ձերովք, զհետ եկայք ճանապարհաց իմոց. լուարուք ինձ եւ կերիջիք զբարութիւնս, եւ վայելեսցեն ի բարութեան անձինք ձեր:

. . . եհան (բանսարկուն) ի դրախտէն զմեզ, կամի զի մի եւ աստ Աստուծոյ խնամօքն կեցցուք, եւ մի՛ դարձեալ յանմահական ի կեանսն վայելիցեմք:

Do not believe the serpent, who deceived Eve, having told her that the good was not good, and raised hope for her that he himself was maker of gods.

61. Cf. Gen 1:28.
62. Cf. Gen 5:5.

"Listen to god; attend," he said, "with your hearing, follow my ways, listen to me and eat this goodness, and your selves will enjoy goodness"

. . . The Devil drove us out of paradise; he wants us not to live under God's protection even here, and not to enjoy again immortal life.

2 35–36 Քանզի / սպառնացաւ մահ Ադամայ, թէ ճաշակեսցէ ի պտղոյն. եւ զի յանցաւոր պատուիրանին գտաւ՝ ի մահ եւ ի մեղս գրաւեցաւ զաւակօք:

Because Adam was threatened by death, if he ate the fruit, and as he appeared to be transgressor of the command, he was captured into death and sins with his generations.

Text: Xosrow Anjewac'i, Բացայայտութիւն կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ քարոզութեանց եւ աղաւթից ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ժամուց [Մեկնութիւն Ժամակարգութեան] *Explanation of the Orders of the Church Preaching and Prayers for Each Hour [Commentary on Divine Service],* ed. Hračeay T'amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 35–187.

3 82 (471) Քանզի էր Ադամ պատուալից, այլ անիմաց եղեալ՝ հաւասար անասնոց եւ նման նոցա գտաւ:

(471) For Adam was most honored, but becoming foolish he was found to be equal to animals and like them.

4 105 (744) Զի թէ անդէն քաւութեան եւ հաշտութեան հասեալ էր Ադամ, ոչ այսքան պատիժ ինքեան եւ մեզ բազմացեալ էր:

(744) For if Adam achieved expiation and conciliation, his and our punishments would not be so multiplied.

5 152 (1330) Զի ի ձեռաց Ադամայ ել ապականութիւն վասն ուտելոյ ի փայտէն գիտութեան զպտուղն, եւ ապականեցան մարդկան ոգիք մեղացն ախտիւք:

(1330) For corruption set forth through Adam on account of (his) eating the fruit from the tree of knowledge, and human souls were corrupted by the fault of the sin.

Xosrow Anjewac'i, Պատարագամատոյց *Liturgy,* ed. Hračeay T'amrazean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 188–227.

6 202 (230) Եւ որ ի նորոգումն կենաց եղեւ, նորոգումն սովին շնորհեցաւ, զի նոյն (աստուածային) ձեռք է, որ զԱդամն գոյացոյց. թէեւ անմարմին

յայնժամ, որ այժմս մարմնով, նոյն ամենակար եւ ամենակեցոյց ձեռք, որ զհողն մարդ հոգեւոր եւ բանական փոխադրեաց, զհացն առնլով՝ մարմին աստուածային փոխարկեաց՝ անդ զմարդկայինն միացուցեալ հոգի եւ ի սա զաստուածայինն միացուցեալ բնութիւն:

(230) And he who came into being for the renewal of the life, the renewal was granted through him, since it is the same (divine) hand that brought Adam into being, although being then incorporeal which is now corporeal, the same almighty and all-vivifying hand, which turned dust into a spiritual and rational man, taking bread turned it into a divine body, there uniting the human soul and in this, uniting the divine nature.

Yakob Cpatec‘i C10

Text: Yakob Cpatec‘i, Ընդդէմ Խոսրովա իմացմանց "Against the Conceptions of Xosrow [Anjewac‘]," ed. Azat Bozoyean, *MH*, vol. 10, 10th century (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2009), 297–307.

1 297 (1) [Ս]կիզբն կենաց, որ տուաւ նախահաւրն՝ խաղաղութեամբ էր պսակեալ, մինչ չարն բարւոյն չէր հակառակ, եւ այնու պայծառացեալ հրաշազեղ վայելչանաւք դրախտին: (2) Վկայէ Մովսէս ի վեցերորդ աւուրն յետ զմարդն առնելոյ, եթէ ետես Աստուած զի բարի է: (3) Վկայէ եւ աւձն որ արտաքոյ դրախտին կայր, եւ խաւսէր ընդ Եւայի, եւ նա ոչ փախչէր ի նմանէ, զի ոչ միայն աւձին, այլ եւ ամենայն անասնոց անընդունակ էր դրախտն:

(1) The beginning of life, which was given to the forefather, was crowned with peace, when the evil one was not yet opposed to the good, and he flourished through it with the delightful splendor of the Garden. (2) Moses witnesses that on the sixth day, after making man, God saw that it was good. (3) The serpent also witnesses who stood outside the Garden and spoke with Eve, and she did not flee from him, since not only the serpent but also all the animals were inadmissible to the Garden.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i C10

Text: Yovhannēs Kat‘ołikos Drasxanakertc‘i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia,* M. Emin (ed.). (Tiflis: N. Ałanean Press, 1912); repr. of edn. Moscow: Vladimir Gotier Press, 1853).[63]

63. The Jerusalem edition of 1843, reprinted in 1867, is the first edition.

Translation: Yovhannēs Drasxanakercʻi, *History of Armenia, English translation and commentary* by K. Maksoudian (Occasional Papers and Proceedings 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).[64]

13 Jerusalem 1867, p. 18

1 իսկ ի Յաբեթէ մինչեւ ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ ամք երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու։.

Then, from Japheth to the first man, Adam it is 2242 years.[65]

2 235–36 Իսկ ոստիկանն դաւաճանող ըստ խորամանկն սատանայի՝ որպէս երբեմն ընդ Եւայի, / . . . Եւ իբրեւ զծառ բարեպտուղ զծածուկ չար հնարս իւր յօրինեալ՝ հաճոյ կարծէր նմա թուեցուցանել . . .

And the disloyal governor met with the prudent man with gentle speech, as in time past the deceitful Satan (did) with Eve. . . . And like the tree with delicious fruit he (i.e., the governor) having made his wicked plots secretly, thought to make it seem pleasing to him.

64. Older translation: St.-Martin 1841. There are two entries for “Adam” in Maksoudian’s index. One refers to *The Anonymous Chronicle* as the source of the number of years from Adam to the Deluge. This is Hippolytus’s *Chronicle*; see Maksoudian, 39. This is the citation given here.

65. In the chronological tradition, we may note the following dates: (1) *Biblical Paraphrases Adam to Flood,* 2242 years (Stone 1982, 83); (2) *Dates,* 2242 years (Stone 1996b, 88, 99); (3) Loeff and Stökl 2002 (2242 years); (4) Greek *Hypomnesticon of Josephus,* 2262 years (cited in Stone 1996b, 88); (5) *Acts of Pilate*, Latin A 12, 2212 years (Stone, 1996b, 88). Consequently this date is deeply rooted in the Armenian tradition.

Eleventh Century

Anania Sanahnec‘i C11[1]

Text: Anania Sanahnec‘i, in Yakob K‘ēyosēyan, Աստվածաբանական Բնագրեր, Ուսումնասիրություններ Ա *Theological Texts and Studies,* vol. 1 (Ēǰmiacin: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 2000).

Encomium on the Holy Catholic Church

1 131 Օրհնեալ ես խորան սուրբ . . . գերազանցեալ լուսաճեմ ճառագայթիւք . . . . քան զադինական դրախտին զայն զծաղկափթիթ տնկոցն զկանաչասաղարթ ոստոցն զտարածումն: Վասն զի անդանօր սպրդեալ սողոսկանաւք սողեցաւ աւձն մահաթոյն, նենգապատիր դաւաճանմամբ զանմահութիւն մարդոյն ընդ մահուամբ սահմանեալ կողոպտեաց ի լուսապաճոյճն պատմուճանէն:

You are blessed, holy tabernacle . . . surpassing with your brilliant rays . . . that Edenic garden, that of the blossoming trees, of the spreading of verdant branches. Because the serpent with deadly venom slithered there, having insinuated itself, and with insidious treachery brought death to man instead of immortality, depriving him of the luminous garment.

Gēorg Loṙec‘i C11

Text: Gēorg Loṙec‘i, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորւոց պատրիարգի “Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians,” in Գիրք թղթոց *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis: T. Ṙotineanc‘ & M. Šaramē Press, 1901), 335–37; and in the edition by N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press 1994), 624–56.

1 341 / 633 Արդ արժան է հաւատացելոց եւ ճշմարիտ քրիստոնէից՝ ոչ

1. The previous edition was Anania Sanahnec‘i 1747, 441–83.

մարդկեղէն մտաւք լինել արարիչ մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի, թէ Ադամ ի չորից էր ստեղծեալ, զոր եւ ոչ պարզ զիւրաքանչիւրսն ցուցանել, զի Մովսէս հող միայն ասէ առեալ, թէ Ա՛ռ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ, եւ զայլսն լռեաց։ Այլ արժան էհաւատալ աւետարանչացն որք ստուգապէս զժամանակն եւ զաւուրսն եւ զժամն ցուցանեն։ Զժամանակն թէ յետ գարնանային հասարակաւորութեանն յառաջնում ամսեան ի չորեքտասաներորդ լուսնին՝ յորում զզառն զենուին, եւ զաւուրսն զբաղարջակերացն, եւ զժամն զերեկոյ պասեքին եւ զտաւնն Հրէից, . . .

Now it is fitting for believers and true Christians not to be creators of the body of Christ with their human mind, (declaring) that Adam was made of four (elements): one cannot clearly show each of them, for Moses only says that He took dust: "God took dust of the ground,"[2] and he was silent about other (elements). But it is fitting to believe the Evangelists who indicate exactly the time and the days and the hour. The time was in the first month after the vernal equinox, on the fourteenth day of the moon, when they used to sacrifice the lamb, and during the days of unleavened bread; and the hour was the evening of Passover, and the feast of the Jews . . .

2 348–50 . . . Այլ երթիցուք ի սկզբան արարչութեան եւ ի մեծ մարգարէն Մովսէս որ ասէ, Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկին եւ զերկիր։ Աիաւասիկ զերկինն վերին ասաց, որ է լոյս, քանզի հուր ասի. զի բնակեալքն ի նմա հրեղէնք . . . Ապաքէն ցուցաւ առաջին լոյսն եւ ոչ յետին. զի երկրորդս իրին երկիր գոյացեալ եւ առագաստեալ աւդոյդ խստութեամբ միջոցն երկնի, երկրի ստուերք գործեցան ի վերայ արարածոց. վասն այսորիկ դարձեալ ասէ աստուածայինն Մովսէս, թէ, Եղիցի լոյս։ Եւ եղեւ լոյսն թափանցիկ ի մէջ աւդոյ, եւ ստուերք տարերց չքաւորեցան. քանզի ոչ եթէ ի ստուերէ գոյացան արարածք, որպէս ոմանք բարբաջեն, այլ լուսով զարդարեցան. զի թէպէտ եւ ոչ էր գոյացեալ արեգակն մինչեւ ի չորրորդ աւրն, սակայն փոխանակ արեգական, հեղեալ լոյսն տարածանէր զճառագայթս իւր մինչեւ յերկոտասան ժամս տուընջեան, եւ ապա տեղի տուեալ ամփոփէր յեթերն վերին եւ յառաջխաղացեալ ստուերացն գիշեր գործէր։ Վասն այսորիկ ասաց Մովսէս, թէ կոչեաց Աստուած զլոյս տիւ, եւ զխաւարն գիշեր, եւ ոչ ասաց աւր, մինչեւ ցլնլուլ երկոտասան ժամու գիշերոյն, եւ վերաբերեաց առաւօտուն / զսկիզբն երկրորդ աւուրն. ապա ասաց աւր առաջին։ Արդ եթէ գիշերն է սկիզբն աւուրն, ընդէ՞ր յետ երեկոյին անցանելոյ ոչ ասաց աւր երկրորդ, այլ մի. քանզի զկնի նորին ասաց՝ թէ, արար զհաստատութիւն զերկինդ որ երեւի եւ ամենեցուն յայտնի՝ թէ երկրորդին է ստեղծուած աւուր։ Բայց Աստուածային բանն լռէ զաւուրդ անուն, մինչեւ ցկատարումն երկրորդ գիշերոյն, եւ սկիզբն

2. Gen 2:7.

երրորդ տուընջեանն, ապա ասաց զնա աւր երկրորդ: Եւ յետ սորա պատմէ զժողովումն համատարած ջրոյն, եւ զերեւումն բուսոց եւ տնկոց, եւ զդաշտաց դալարաբերութիւն, եւ այսոքիկ երրորդ աւուր ստացուածք, զորոց զանունն առընթեր ոչ դրոշմեաց մինչեւ ցժողովն երրորդ գիշերւոյն, եւ ի մուտս չորրորդ տուընջեանն, ապա անուանէ զնա աւր երրորդ: Եւ յետ սորին զեղելութիւն լուսաւորացդ թէ, Արար Աստուած զլուսաւորն մեծ յիշխանութիւն տուընջեան եւ զլուսաւորն փոքր յիշխանութիւն գիշերոյն. եւ զաստեղս, որ եւ յոյժ տխմարաց է յայտնին՝ թէ ի չորրորդ աւուրն են գոյացեալ տարր լուսաւորացդ, զորոյ զանունն ոչ բացայայտեաց մինչեւ ցկատարումն չորրորդ երեկոյին, եւ ի սկիզբն հինգերորդ տուընջեանն, ապա կոչէ աւր չորրորդ: Եւ առ ետեղ պատմէ զեղելութիւն թռչնոց եւ ջրդաւղակ զեռնոց եւ զծովային կենդանեաց, եւ այս հինգերորդ աւուրն է գործ, զորոյ անուն ոչ ակնարկեաց մինչեւ յաւարտումն հինգերորդ գիշերւոյն սկզբան վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա ասաց զնա՝ աւր հինգերորդ: Եւ աստանաւր ասէ զլինելութիւն գազանաց եւ սողնոց, եւ անասնոց կենդանաստեղծութիւն եւ զմարդն ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ եղեալ: Արդ ո՞ւմ ոչ է յայտնի ի վեցերորդին ստեղծեալ զմարդն ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, սակայն ոչ ունի զանուն առընթեր տիւն, յորում վայրի եւ իշխանութիւն տուեալ ասի նախաստեղծ մարդոյն ի վերայ ամենայն երկրածին կենդանեացս, եւ դաւղական զեռնոց եւ ջրաթռիչ թռչնոց, եւ ի վերայ հողածին տնկոց եւ մրգաբեր փայտից, եւ հասեալ առ երեկն, եւ զանց արար մինչեւ առաւաւտն սկիզբն եւթներորդի տուընջեանն, ապա ասաց զաւրն վեցերորդ ի հաւաքել գիշերային մասանց, եւ ի նմին վայրի ասէ, թէ Կատարեցան երկինք եւ երկիր եւ ամենայն զարդ նոցա, եւ Կատարեաց զամենայն զգործ իւր զոր արար. եւ հանգեաւ յաւուրն եւթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց, զոր սկսաւ առնել Աստուած:

. . . And let us go to the beginning of the creation and to the great prophet Moses who says, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."[3] See here, he said "the upper heaven," which is light, for it is called "fire," since its inhabitants are fiery ones . . . .[4] In fact, light was shown first and not last, for the second thing coming into being was the earth, and the air veiled firmly the separation of the heavens, and shadows of the earth were made upon the creatures.[5] The divine Moses again says about this, "Let there be light and there was light";[6] transparent[7] the air and the shadows of the elements weakened, not because the creations came into being from the shadow,

3. Gen 1:1.
4. I.e., angels.
5. Ephrem, *Commentary on Genesis*, Sect. 1 1.8; see Mathews and Amar 1994, 80–81.
6. Gen 1:3.
7. Or: penetrating through.

as some people prattle, but they were decorated with light. For, although the sun did not come into being until the fourth day, nevertheless instead of the sun, the poured-out light spread its rays until the twelfth hour of the day, and then, retreating, it was enclosed in the upper ether, and the shadows having advanced made night. And for this reason Moses said, "God called the light day (*tiw*) and the darkness (He called) night."[8] And he did not say day (*awr*) before the completion of the twelfth hour of night, and he connected the beginning of the second day with the morning, / and then he said, "first day."[9] Now if night is the beginning of day, why didn't he say "second day" after the evening passed, but "first"? For after that he said that "He made the firmament,"[10] this heaven which is seen, and it is evident to everybody that it was created on the second day. But the Divine word keeps silence about the name of that day until the end of the second night and the beginning of the third day, and then calls it "second day."[11] And after that, (Moses) tells about the gathering of the spread-out waters and about the appearing of the plants and the trees, and about the verdure produced by the fields; and these were creations of the third day, which meanwhile he did not register by name until the gathering in of the third night and the entrance of the fourth day. Then he calls it "the third day." And after this, (it relates) the creation of the lights (luminaries) saying, "God made the greater light for rule of the day and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars."[12] Even the very ignorant know that the elements of the lights came into being on the fourth day which he did not reveal by name until the end of the fourth night[13] and the beginning of the fifth day: then he calls (it) "the fourth day."[14] And he tells immediately about the coming into being of the birds and sea-reptiles and marine animals. And this is the work of the fifth day, which he did not signify by name until the end of the fifth night at the beginning of the sixth day, and then he called it the "fifth day."[15] And in this place he tells about the creation of the beasts and creeping things, and the making of the cattle and man created in the image of God. Now who does not know that God created man on the sixth day with his hand? But meanwhile the day does not have a name. In the same place dominion is said to be given to the first-created man over every earth-born living thing and over the swimming reptiles and aquatic birds[16] and over

8. Gen 1:3.
9. Gen 1:3; i.e., this exegesis connects "morning" not with day 1 but with day 2.
10. Gen 1:6–8.
11. Gen 1:8.
12. Gen 1:16.
13. Literally: "evening," as in the biblical text; we use "night" for the sake of clarity.
14. Gen 1:19.
15. Gen 1:23.
16. Observe the connection between the birds and sea animals; see Stone 2000d, 180–81.

the plants of the earth and fruit-bearing trees. And reaching the evening, he neglected the beginning of the seventh day till morning; then he said, "the seventh day" at the gathering in of night's parts. And in this same place he says: "The heavens and the earth were finished, and all the order of them, and he finished all his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his works which God had begun to make."[17]

Text: Gēorg Lořec'i, Պատասխանի թղթոյն Յովհաննիսի ասորւոց պատրիարգի *Answer to the Letter of John, Patriarch of the Syrians,* in Գիրք թղթոց *Book of Letters,* ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 624–56.

3 634 Գիտեն գիրք սովորութեամբ՝ հին զմեղսն կոչել, վասն զմեզ հնացուցանելոյ, եւ այսպէս յոլովակի մարդ հին, եւ Ադամ հին զմեղսն կոչէին:

Books know by custom to call the sin old, in order to make us old, and so they often called the sin old man and old Adam.

4 649 Արտեմոն ոմն սուտանուն աշակերտ Յովհաննու աւետարանչի, ի վերայ գեղեցիկ սերման աւետարանչացն եւ առաքելոցն որոմն սերմանելով, որպէս ի սկզբանն բանսարկուն յԱդամ զյոյս աստուածանալոյն . . .

Artemon, the false pupil of Evangelist John, sowed darnel over the nice seed of the Evangelists and Apostles, as in the beginning the Devil sowed in Adam the hope of becoming god . . .

17. Cf. Gen 2:1–2.

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Twelfth Century

Abusayid C12

Text: Abusayid, Յաղագս կազմութեան մարդոյն *On the Formation of Man*, ed. and trans. into Russian by Stella Vardanyan (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1974). He was a Syrian.

1 117 Արար Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր, զծով եւ զցամաք, զհրեղէնս եւ զհողեղէնս, զհոգեւորս եւ զշնչաւորս, զանասունս եւ զթռչունս, զսողունս եւ զզեռունս: Արար եւ զադամային զմարմինս ըստ պատկերի իւրոյ եւ եդ ի վերայ նորա սիրել զԱստուած եւ պահել զպատուիրանս նորա եւ ետ իմաստութիւն եւ հանճար մարդոյն գտանել զբժշկութեան արուեստ գիտութեան:

God made the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land, the fiery and earthly beings, the spiritual and animated beings,[1] the animals and the birds, the creeping things and the reptiles. He also made Adam's body according to his image and laid upon him to love God and observe his commandments,[2] and gave the man discernment and wisdom to invent the art of medical science.

2 119 Յորժամ ստեղծեաց Աստուած զԱդամ, գարուն էր, եւ գիշերն եւ ցերեկն հաւասար էին միմեանց: Եւ արեգակն յառաջին տարաճան էր ի Խոյն:

It was spring when God created Adam, the night and the day were equal to one another.[3] And the sun was on the first degree of Aries.

Dawit' Ganjakec'i C12

Text: Davit' Ganjakec'i, Դաւիթ Ալավկա որդու կանոնները "Canons of Davit', Son of Alawik," ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ējmiacin* 9 (1952): 48–57; 10 (1953): 56–60.

1. I.e., "those with . . . spirit, soul and those with . . . breath."
2. Exod 10:4; Deut 5:20; 7:9; Neh 1:5; Dan 9:41; cf. John 14:15, 21; 1 John 5:2, 3.
3. I.e., it was the vernal equinox.

See also Dawitʻ Ganjakecʻi, *The Penitential of David of Ganjak: Armenian Text and English Translation,* ed. C. J. F. Dowsett (CSCO, 216, 217; Leuven: Peeters, 1961).

Ējmiacin 9 (1952) 48–57

Կանոն Ա. Թէ արարածք ամենայն բարի են
Canon 1. All the Creatures Are Good.

1 52 . Եւ արդ, նախ հարցումն քո այս է՝ եթէ զի՞նչ է, որ յարարածս Աստուծոյ ոմանք սուրբ կոչեցան եւ ոմանք անսուրբ: Քանզի Աստուած բարի է եւ ամենայն տուրք բարիք, պարգեւք կատարեալք ի բարերար Հաւրէն իջեալ առ իւր արարածս: Եւ զի սկզբնատիպ բարոյ է Աստուած, ի բարոյ բարի ստեղծան արարածք, որպէս ի լուսոյ՝ լոյս: Եւ ետես Աստուած զլոյսն զի բարի է: Եւ ահա բարի են յոյժ ամենայնն եւ չիք ինչ ի նոսա խոտան ըստ բնութեան: Եւ այս ընտրութիւն յետ յանցանացն Ադամայ եմուտ յաշխարհս. ոմանք խոտեցան եւ ոմանք ընտրեցան: Որպէս եդ Ադամ անուանս յար ըստ բնութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց, եւ այն անփոփոխելի անուն գտաւ նոցա նոյնպէս եւ յետ յանցանացն թոյլ տուեալ նմա ըստ վայելման:

Now your first question is this: why is it that some creatures of God are called pure and some impure? For God is good and all (his) gifts are good, perfect gifts descending from the beneficent Father to his creatures. And as God is the prototype of good, the creatures were made good by the Good One, like light, by the light. And God saw the light, that it is good. So all things are very good, and there is nothing worthless in them by nature. And this distinction entered this world after Adam's transgression: some were rejected and some, selected. Just as Adam gave names conformable to the nature of each animal, and those were found (to be) their unchangeable name, likewise, also after the transgression he was, according to convenience, granted permission.

Ējmiacin 10 (1953) 56–60

Կանոն ՁԵ. Վասն որք սուգ ունին մեռելոյն
Canon 85. On Those Who Mourn over the Dead.

2 52 Այսպէս իմացիր, զի սակաւ ժամանակեայ էր անտրտում կեանքն մեր ի դրախտին, եւ նախաստեղծիցն թուով եւ սակաւ աւուրք, ուստի յետ լուծանելոյ պատուիրանին՝ դատապարտութիւն, եւ մահ, եւ ապականութիւն եւ դժոխս, որով եւ խառնեցաւ սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն ի

բնութիւնս մեր: Եւ որպէս ոչ մնաց միայն պատուիրանազանցութիւն պտղոյն, այլ ի նմանէ, որպէս ի խմորէ աճեաց պէսպէս եւ ազգի ազգի յանցումն մեղաց . . . Արդ, վասն այսորիկ ամենայն ծնունդք Ադամայ արտասուալից եւ սգապատ գոն . . . Եւ այսպիսի կենաց եւ անմահութեան խոստումն Աստուծոյ, հաւատարիմ է առ մեզ, քանզի առաջինքն անյուսաբար լային աւուրս Լ զմեռեալս՝ ըստ Լ ամի հասակի ստեղծմանն Ադամայ, ուստի կործանեցաւ ի մահ, եւ անց ի ներքոյ դժոխոց:

Understand thus, that our life without worry in the Garden lasted for a short time, and the days of the first-created are few in number. Therefore, after the breach of the commandment, (there were) condemnation and death and destruction and hell, by which mourning and sadness were mixed with our nature. And just as the transgression with the fruit did not remain alone, but from it, as from yeast, various and diverse sinful transgressions grew up. Now, for this reason, all the offspring of Adam are tearful and mournful. And God's promise of life and immortality is so trustworthy for us, because the first ones were hopelessly weeping over the dead for thirty days, according to Adam's thirty years' age upon his creation, after which he perished to death, went down to hell (Hades).

Ղ. Հարցումն նոյն քահանայի յաղագս էրիցն նաւակատեաց՝ յորում մսակէր ոչ գոյ:
80. Question of the Same Priest concerning the Three Fasts, on Which It Is Forbidden to Eat Meat

3 57 Պատասխանի. Քանզի հնութիւն ամենայն ծննդոց մարդկան ի յանցանացն Ադամայ եղեն, ուստի մահ եմուտ յաշխարհս եւ ապականութիւն, որով հնացաւ բնութիւնս: Վասն որոյ Արարիչն բնութեանս ոչ արար անտես ի սպառ զկործանեալ պատկեր իւր՝ զթաղեալն յաղբ, այլ եկն ի խնդիր հնացեալ պատկերին եւ կորուսեալ դրամին եւ նորոգեալ զնա յառաջի փառսն՝ յորում ստեղծն:

Answer: Because the age (antiquity)[4] of all generations of mankind came about from the transgression of Adam, whence death entered the world, and corruption, by which this nature is aged. On account of this, the Creator of this nature did not make the destruction of his image vainly invisible,[5] the interred rubbish, but there came under discussion the aged image, and the destroyed imprint and its restoration to its former glory, in which He created it.

4. I.e., ageing, becoming old.
5. I.e., hide it.

Grigor Pahlavuni C12

Text: Grigor Pahlavuni, Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին "Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God," in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:235–40.

Տաղ ծննդեան Ս. Աստուածածնին
Poem on the Birth of the Holy Mother of God

1 237 Կորուսեալ Եւայ, կողոպտեալ կենօք,

Կանգնեցաւ ի վեր, կայր մըտօք առ կոյսն:

Eve, undone, deprived of life,

Was established on high, stayed in her thoughts with the Virgin.

Grigor Tłay C12

Text: Grigor Tłay, Տաղ, բան պիտանի եւ աւրհնութեան նախահարցն սրբոց "A Poem, A Useful Writing and Blessing of the Holy Forefathers," in Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs)*, ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1912), 2:176–83.

1 177–79 . . . Այլ եւ չորս տարերքս արարան,
Ընդ լուսոցն որ պայծառացան
Հողն ու ջուրն աւդն ու հուրն եղան,
Յորոց գոյքս ամէն բաղկացան,

. . . And the four elements were created
With the lights that shone:
Earth and water, air and fire came into being,
Of which all the beings were composed.

2 Բաժանեաց զերկիրս ի յեր(կ)նէ,
Զերդ զատակ ի յառաստաղէ,
Զկապոյտ եթերդ ձեղուն հաստատէ,
Տան յարկիս որ այս աշխարհս է:

He separated the earth from the sky,
Like the floor from the ceiling;
He makes firm this blue ether as a roof,
Of the ceiling of this house, that is this world.

3 Զայս բուսով տընկով լըցուցէ,
Զանազան ծաղկով զարդարէ,

Բարելի սեղան պատրաստէ,
Կենադանեաց զոր յետոյ առնէ:

He fills it with plants (and) trees,
Adorns it with various flowers,
Prepares a table full of goods things
For the animals which he subsequently creates.

4 Զդէմս եր(կ)նից լուսով զարդարէ,
Արեւով աստեղօք պարէ,
Զերդ ճրագի տանս վառէ,
Որ զաշխարհս լուսաւորէ:
He adorns the face of the sky with light,
He dances with the sun (and) stars,
Like a lamp he lights this house,
He who illuminates this world.

5 Զլողականս ի ծով ստեղծանէ,
Եւ ըզջուրս նոքօք զարդարէ,
Զմեծամեծսն ընդ փոքունս առնէ,
Զբանականս հիացուցանէ:

He creates the swimming beings in the sea,
And adorns the waters with them;
He makes the big ones with the small;
He amazes rational beings.

6 Ըզթռչունս ի ծովէ հանէ,
Թեւաւորս օդազնաց առնէ,
Զչորքոտանիս յետ նոցա ստեղծէ,
Զանասունս ընդ գազանս յօդէ:

He brings forth the birds from the sea,
Makes winged ones fly in the air;
After them, he creates the quadrupeds;
He joins domestic animals with wild beasts.

7 Յուրբաթու ըզմարդըն կազմէ,
ԶԱդամ իւր նըման յօրինէ,
Զնա իշխան եւ տէր կացուցէ
Աշխարհիս որ անցաւոր է:

On Friday, he forms man;
He creates Adam like himself,
Makes him master and lord
Of this world, which is transient.

8 Ի դրախտին յանմահ զնա դընէ,

Պատուիրան նըմա աւանդէ,
Ուտել տայ պըտղոցն յամենէ,
‘Ի ի միոյ չուտել պատուիրէ:

He sets him immortal in paradise,
Transmits a commandment to him,
Gives him to eat of every fruit,
And commands not to eat of one.

9 Սատանայ յաւձըն մըտանէ,
Ընդ Եւայի խօսել ուսուցէ,
Առանձին զԵւա զըտանէ,
ՅԱդամայ ի զատ եւ խաբէ:

Satan enters the serpent,
Teaches it to speak with Eve;
It finds Eve alone,
Away from Adam, and deceives (her).[6]

10 Զայն պըտուղն որ հրաժարեալ է,
Եւայի ուտել ուսուցէ,
Ով ուտէ զայն Աստուած լինի,
Զչարն եւ զբարին ճանաչէ:

That fruit that is forbidden,
It teaches Eve to eat,
(Saying,) “He who eats it, becomes God,
he knows evil and good.”

11 Կին Եւայ օձին հաւատայ,
Զոր ասացըն ստոյգ կարծէ նա,
Ուտէ նա լուսոյն մերկանայ,
Զչարն եւ զբարին գիտենայ:

The woman Eve believes the serpent;
She considers what he said true;
She eats, is stripped of light;
She learns evil and good.

12 Ադամայ տեսեալ եւ խըղճայ,
Զկինն մերկ եւ զըթայ ի նայ,
Ի պըտղոյն առեալ ուտէ նա,
Զմերկութիւն անձին գիտենայ:

Adam sees and has compassion
On the naked woman and pities her;

6. See *Pen. Adam* [44](15):2 and [44](17):1.

Having taken the fruit he eats (it);
He learns his own nakedness.

13 Ոտնաձայն Տեառըն լիանայ,
Ի խնդիր սիրոյն Ադամայ,
Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ հարցեալ ըզնա,
Թէ ասէ Աստուծոյ մեղայ:

The sound of God's footfall becomes loud,
In search of beloved[7] Adam,
"Where are you, Adam?" He asks,
And he says to God, "I have sinned."

14 Երբ ասաց Ադամ թէ մեղայ,
Այլ պատճառն եհան ի յԵւա,
Եւայի անձն եւ սատանայ,
Որ եւ Տէրն անէծ ըզնոսա:

When Adam said, "I have sinned,"
But cast the blame on Eve,
Eve herself and Satan,
Whom the Lord cursed.

15 Օձն ի լանջ 'ւ ի պորտըն լողայ,
Եւայի ծընունդն երկընտայ,
Երկիր փուշ[8] բուսոյց Ադամայ,
Եւ մահուամբ ի հող նա դառնայ:

The serpent creeps upon his breast and his belly;[9]
Eve's delivery is in pains;
The earth grew thorns for Adam,
And, on death, he will return unto the ground.

16 Աստուած քաղցր եւ բարերար է,
Որ Ադամ անտես ոչ առնէ,
Այլ խնամով ըզնա դարմանէ,
Ծընանել որդիս յաջողէ:

God is kind and beneficent,
For he does not neglect Adam,
But with care he nurtures him,
Favors him with bearing children.

7. Reading սիրոյն as սիրուն.
8. Emending փուչ to փուշ.
9. The curses are drawn from Gen 3:14–20.

Text: Grigor Tłay, *Poems*, in Բանաստեղծություններ եւ պոեմներ *Verses and Poems*, ed. A. Š. Mnacʻakanyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1972).

Ասացեալ բան պիտանի ի խնդրոյ Հեթմոյ Սեւաստոսի
Useful Discourse Pronounced at the Request of Hetʻum Sewastos

17 203–4 Որ նախախորհ հրամայական,
Հօր եւ Հոգւոյդ խորհրդական,
Լինել պատկեր աստուածական,
Համանման եւ տարրական:
Ստեղծէր զԱդամ միջասահման,
Լցեր հոգւով կենդանական,
Մահկանացու անմահական
Եւ անմարմին, եւ մարմնական:
Զոր կորուսեալ խրատու խաբման
Եւ թշնամւոյն եղեալ հաւան,
/ Ել նա արտաքս այնու փոխան
Եղեւ ծառայ մեղաց մահուան:

That (which is) prescient, commanding,
Taking counsel of the Father and the Spirit;
To form a divine image,
Similar and made of elements.
He created Adam as an intermediary,
Filled him with a vivifying spirit,
Mortal (and) immortal,
Both incorporeal and corporeal,
Which he lost through the deceitful counsel
And the Enemy’s persuasion.
For that he came forth outside,
Became the slave of mortal sins.

Ասացեալ բան ողբերգական վասն առմանն Երուսաղեմի
Elegiac Discourse on the Capture of Jerusalem

18 246.77–80 Ամ, դու լսէ, երկիր վերին,
Արեւելից տուն Յաբեթին,
Ուստի ծագէ լոյսն արեւին,
Ուր է դրախտն Աղենին.

Now, hearken you celestial land,
House of Japheth in the east,
Whence the sun’s light shines,
And where the Garden of Eden is.

19 274.989–92 . . . Ուր արտասուեաց Տէր զմարմին
Զնախահօրն զԱդամին,
Որով զարտօսր զերեսին
Եբարձ յաչաց զամենեսին:

. . . Where the Lord lamented over the body
Of the forefather Adam;
By which he removed his countenance's tears
from the eyes of all.

20 317.287–96 Դու, որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ նախկին,
Եդեալ ի դրախտն Ադենային,
Պահել զօրէնք պատուիրանին
Եւ ժառանգել զցանկալին,
Թէպէտ 'ւ եղեւ հնազանդ չարին
Եւ խաբեցաւ ողորմելին
Եւ թէ յանցեաւ ըստ նախանձին
Եւ պատժեցաւ զիրաւացին . . .

You that created the first Adam,
Having set him in the Garden of Eden,
To keep the law of the commandment,
And to inherit the desirable thing.
Although he obeyed the Evil One,
And, pitiful one, was deceived,
And if he transgressed in accordance with envy,[10]
He was punished justly.

21 318.3121–26 Դարձեալ դու, Տէրդ Հաբելին,
Որ խնդրեցեր զարիւն նորին,
Անիծեցեր զեղբայր նորին,
Որ նենգաւորն էր արդարին,
Ետուր զՍէթ փոխան նմին,
Որ մխ 386–87.
իթարն էր Ադամին:

Again you, O Lord of Abel,
You who sought his blood,
You cursed his brother
Who was deceitful to the just one.
You gave Seth instead of him,
Who was a consolation to Adam.[11]

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10. Apparently, the intention is Satan's envy, which brought about Adam's transgression.
11. In Armenian literature, Seth is often dubbed "son of consolation"; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

Grigor Vkayasēr C11-12

Text: Grigor Vkayasēr, Խաւսք որ նախ առ Վահրամ առձայնեալ "A Speech First Addressed to Vahram," ed. M. van Esbroeck, *Xristianskij Vostok*, n.s. 1.7 (1999): 38–57.

1 45 Զխաչն իւր տայր փոխանակ տ[ն]կոյն Ադամայ և զսուրբ մարմին իւր պարգ(և)է փոխանակ դառնութեան պտղոյն, և փոխանակ աղբեւրն Եդոմայ արբուցանել է մարդկան զփրկաւետ արիւն իւր: Զպատուհասն զոր եդ փրկիչն ի վերայ մարդոյն վասն յանցանաց, զայն ի մարմնի իւրում կրել սպան: . . . Իսկ ի յայրին ուր էր գերեզման նախամաւրն ուր թաղեցաւ Աբրահամ և իւրքն, անդ արքայ անմահից ի մսուր յանբռնից[12] բազմի, զի մարդիկ յերկինս վերակոչեսցէ որ ի ձեռն մեղացն նմանեցան անասնոյ: Խանձարրապատի զի զպատմուճանն Ադամայ պատառեսցէ: Ասէ. Տրտում է անձն իմ զի զմեր տրտմութեամբ հատուցելն խափանեսցէ Ադամ: փախեաւ ի մէջ անդառախիտ ծառոցն, վասն այնորիկ փրկիչն մեր փախեաւ յԵգիպտոս զի նմանեաւն զնմանն բարձցէ: Յորժամ յաստուածային գագաթն ընկալաւ զփշոցն պսակն, յայնժամ զանէծն մեր եբարձ և բեւեռեաց ի խաչին:

Յաւուրն ժամու յորժամ և առ լսելիս մատոյց խրատու չար վիշապին, ի նոյն ժամու աւուրն մատնի Տէրն մեր ի դատաստան մահու: Յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն ճաշակեաց Ադամ պտղոյն և յաւուր ուրբաթու և վեց ժամ աւուրն բարձրեցաւ Տէրն մեր ի խաչին: Ադամ մերկացաւ ի փառացն և Տէրն մեր մերկացաւ ի խաչին: Նոր Ադամ փրկիչն վասն առաջին Ադամայ գոչէ ասելով. Աստուած Աստուած իմ ընդէ՞ր թողեր զիս: Ի խաչին աղաղակեաց և առ Հայր արձակեաց զոգին վասն զի արտաքսեայ զԱդամ յաշխարհս յայս: Եդաւ մարմնով ի գերեզմանի զի զիշխանութիւն մեղաց լուծանէ: Ընդ երեկս աւուրն լուաւ Ադամ զձայն գալոյ ի դրախտի անդ և ընդ երեկ աւուրն ոտնաձայն առնէր առ դրունս դժոխոցն: Ծանաւթ եղեւ Ադամ ոտնաձային և աւետիս մատուցանէր հոգւոցն որ ի դժոխս ըմբռնեալ կային:

He gave his cross instead of Adam's tree, and grants his holy body instead of the bitterness of the fruit, and instead of the source of Eden, he has given mankind his saving blood to drink. The punishment that the Savior imposed upon the man for his sin: he killed it by bearing in his body. . . . And in the cave, where the tomb of the foremother was, where Abraham and his relatives were buried: there the king of the immortal willingly sits in the manger, in order to call back to heaven the people who through their sins became like

12. Perhaps corrupt for յանբանից (GM).

animals. He is swaddled, so that he might rend Adam's garment. He says, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful" (Mark 14:34), in order to impede us eating with sorrow. He (Adam) fled into the thick trees; that is why our Savior fled to Egypt in order to annihilate his (behavior) by similar (behavior). When he accepted the crown of thorns on his divine head, then he annihilated our curse and (was) nailed on the cross.

At the hour of the day, when he offered his ears to the counsel of the wicked dragon, at the same hour of the day our Lord was delivered over to death sentence. On Friday, at the sixth hour of the day Adam ate of the fruit, and on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day our Lord ascended the cross. Adam was stripped of the glory, and our Lord was naked on the cross. The new Adam, the Savior cries out for the first Adam, saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[13] He cried on the cross and yielded up the ghost to the Father, because he had expelled Adam into this world. He was put bodily into the tomb in order to abolish the power of sin. In the evening, Adam heard the sound of steps[14] in paradise, and in the evening He tramped at the door of hell. Adam recognized the steps and announced (this) to the spirits that were captured in hell.

IGNATIUS *VARDAPET* C12

Text: Ignatius *vardapet,* Մեկնութիւն աւետարանին ըստ Ղուկասու *Commentary on the Gospel according to Luke* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknecʻi Press, 1824).

1 184 Ղուկաս Ժ.30 Այր մի իջանէր յԵրուսաղեմէ յԵրիքով. եւ անկաւ ի ձեռս աւազակաց. որք մերկացուցին զնա եւ վէրս ի վերայ եդին:

"A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell into the hands of thieves, who stripped him naked and wounded him . . ."[15]

2 184 . . . Այր մի իջեալ յԵրուսաղէմէ յԵրիքով, նշանակ ունի բնութեանս մերոյ, վասն զի առաջին մարդովն ամենեքեան անկան. եւ ի մի համարեալ որք ի նմանէն ծննդեամբ յառաջ եկին՝ իբրեւ զմի այր անկեալ ի ձեռս աւազակաց: Քանզի յաստուածային վայելչութեան փառաց անտի զոր ունէաք ի դրախտի անդ՝ սողոսկեալ անկաք ի խոնարհ ի ստորինս այս կեանս. եւ այնպէս ի բարձրութենէ անտի իջեալ ի խոնարհ՝ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջին չարին եւ դաւաճանողին զմեզ: Արդ թէպէտ եւ զառաջին խոցուածս նետից աւազակացն

13. Matt 27:46, Mark 15:34; cf. Ps 22:1 = Arm 21:2.
14. Literally: coming.
15. Luke 10:30.

ընկալաք ի դրախտի անդ, որով եւ մերկացաք զփառսն. սակայն մնաց սերմն անապականութեան: Իսկ յետ իջանելոյն ի դրախտէ անտի յայս վայր, ապա իսպառ անկաք ի ձեռս առաջնորդին կորստեանն: Եւ յայնժամ կարէվէր խոցեցաք եւ կարի մերկացեալ յաստուածային շնորհէն՝ խայտառակ գտաք:

". . . A certain man having gone down from Jerusalem to Jericho": this is the symbol of our nature, because all fell because of the first man; and if we reckon those who issued forth from him by descent as one, (they are) like the one man fallen into the hands of thieves. Since, having slithered forth from the divine glory of the splendor which we had in paradise, we fell into a depth, into this lower life; and thus having descended from the height to a depth, we fell into the hands of the first Evil One and Deceiver. Now though we received the first arrow wounds of the robbers in paradise, owing to which we were stripped of the glory, nevertheless the seed of incorruptibility remained. But after descent from paradise to this place we entirely fell into the hands of the leader of destruction. And then we were savagely wounded and found ourselves disgraced, having been thoroughly stripped of the divine grace.

3 264–65 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 8 Ո՞վ իցէ կին՝ որ ունիցի դրամս տասն. եւ թէ կորուսանիցէ մի դրամ, ո՞չ լուցանէ ճրագ:

"Which woman is it who has ten drams, and if she loses one dram, does not light a candle?"[16]

4 . . . Եւ մի ի տասանց անտի կորուսելոյս ասէ ցմեզ, որ յայց եկ կորուսելոց պատկերին. այն որ ի սկզբան անդ պայծառ եւ անապական ստեղծաւ յամենաքարի արարչէն. արծաթեղէն եւ պատուեալ. յարմարեալ ըստ իւր պատկերին եւ ի նմանութեան. քանզի զայս՝ առակաւ պատկերին / զեկուցանել թուի: Արդ սա պակասեալ ի թուոյ տասանցն, զի այսպէս զդասս հրեշտակաց ուսաք ինն գոլ. եւ տասներորդ մերս բնութիւն պակասեալ ի թուոյ անտի:

. . . And he speaks to us about this one lost of the ten, he who visited the image of the lost, him that was created in the beginning by the very kind Creator, shining and incorruptible, silvery and honored, proportioned in accordance with His image and in the likeness; for it seems that by this parable he refers to the image. Now this one is missing from the number of the ten, for we have learned thus, that the ranks of the angels are nine: and the tenth is this nature of ours, missing from that number.

5 272–73 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15 Եւ այն որ ունկնդիր եղեւ ուտել զպտուղ ծառոյն եւ աստուածանալ, ի պաշտօն էած եւ աստուածացոյց

16. Luke 15:8.

զդեւսն. արկեալ զանձն ընդ նոցա ծառայութեամբն. որ ի սկզբան անդ թշնամին եւ պատերազմողն էր: Եւ նա անյագ չարութեամբ վարեցաւ առ բնութիւն մեր. եւ զամենայն եհեղ ի մեզ զբարկութիւն իւր. եւ քան զամենայն արարածոցս բնութիւն կամեցաւ անարգ առնել զմեզ: Քանզի առաջին ընդ Աստուծոյ հաստատեաց զանձն ի թշնամութիւն եւ հակառակ արարչին ամբարձաւ. եւ անկեալ ի պատուոյն՝ պատրանօք եւ զմեզ հաւանեցոյց ընդ իւր անկանիլ, եւ այսպէս տիրեաց բնութեանս մերում: Եւ զի արարչին փառաց վնասել ինչ ոչ զօրէր, գտեալ զմեզ պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ, այնպէս հնարեցաւ ամենայն նախատանօք եւ զազրալի գործովք թշնամանել զկերպարանն. եւ ի խոնարհ ընկենուլ քան զամենայն անարգս ի կենդանեաց. Զոր օրինակ ատելի ոք թագաւորի՝ նմին չար ինչ հատուցանել անկարացեալ՝ եւ պատահեալ որդւոց նորա, եւ կամ թէ պատուականի՝ ուրուք ի ծառայիցն, եւ զամենայն զոր ունի չարութիւն առ թագաւորն՝ ի նա հնարի թափել. եւ նմին իսկ թագաւորին հա/մարի զվնասն: Այնպէս եւ սատանայ կալեալ ընդ ձեռամբ զմարդն՝ կամեցաւ մարդոյն թշնամանօքն նախատել զարարիչն, որ արար զնա իւր պատկեր եւ նմանութիւն:

Luke 15:15 And he who was attentive to eat the fruit of the tree and become god, worshiped and deified the demons, casting himself with them under the command[17] of him who at the beginning was the enemy and the antagonist. And the latter acted with insatiable malice with respect to our nature and poured out upon us all his anger, and wished to humiliate us more than the nature of all the (other) creatures. For first he established himself against God in enmity and rose up against the Creator and, having fallen from honor by deceit, he persuaded us also to fall with him, and thus he became master of our nature. And as he was powerless to harm the glory of the Creator at all, he found us, the image and likeness of God. In that way he contrived to dishonor the image by all kinds of disgrace and disgusting deeds, and to cast it down lower than the most worthless of animals. Just as one who hates the king, being unable to requite him any evil, and having met his sons or any honored one of his servants, contrives to pour out upon him all the hatred he has toward the king, and the harm is regarded as (caused) to the king himself. In that way the devil having power over man, wished, by disgracing man, to dishonor the Creator, who had made him his image and likeness.

6 283 Ղուկաս ԺԵ. 15.20 . . . Ասէ, հայր՝ մեղայ յերկինս: Զդրախտն կոչեաց երկինս. յորում առաջին յանցանքն եւ դատապարտութիւն եղեւ. որով այսքան ապականութիւն հեղաւ ի բնութիւն մեր: Իսկ երկին ասել զդրախտն՝ վասն տեղւոյն դրութեան եւ անմահ եւ անապական կենացն է:

17. Literally: servitude.

. . . (And the son) said (unto him), “Father, I have sinned against heaven.”[18] He called paradise heaven, in which the first transgression and condemnation took place, owing to which such corruption was poured upon our nature. And paradise is called heaven because of its location and it is (the place) of immortal and incorruptible life.

7 310–11 Ղուկաս ԺԶ. 16.8 . . . Որդիս լուսոյ անուանէ զհրեշտակս: Իսկ որ ի դասուց անտի նոցա շեղեալ անկան չարացան անմտութեամբ.

. . . անմտացեալ՝ ի պատերազմողի կարգ զինքն հաստատեաց եւ եցոյց: Եւ ընդ պատկերին Աստուծոյ մարտու/ցեալ՝ պատրանօք ուսոյց եւ նմա ապստամբիլ. եւ հաւանեցոյց գործակից լինիլ իւրում անօրէնութեանն: Եւ այսպիսի չարասէր եղեալ՝ անօրէնութեամբ զբնութիւնս մեր ապականեաց, մինչեւ շարժիլ Աստուծոյ վրէժս հատուցանել նմա:

. . . He calls the angels “sons of light.”[19] Indeed those who, in their ranks went astray and fell, did evil mindlessly . . .

(The devil) mindlessly established and showed himself to be in the antagonistic rank. And fighting against the image of God, he deceitfully taught him (Adam) also to rebel, and persuaded (him) to be his collaborator in lawlessness. And loving evil so much, he corrupted our nature by lawlessness, until God was moved to revenge him.

8 440 Ղուկաս ԻԳ.43 Վասն որոյ ասաց Տէրն, այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին: Արդ՝ զգիր պարտեացն Ադամայ պատառեալ ի վերայ խաչին (ի ձեռն որոյ փակեցաւ դուռն մտից դրախտին,) այսօր բացեալ լինի աւազակին ընդ պատառիլն դատակնքին մահու:

. . . Ըստ որում Ադամ զի յաւուր յորում էանց զպատուիրանաւն՝ մահկանացու եղեւ բնութիւն եւ մեռաւ, եւ զորս եկաց ի կեանս ի մեռելութիւն համարեալ էր նմա:

For that reason the Lord said: “Today shalt thou be with me in paradise.”[20] Now, the document of Adam’s debts, by means of which the entrance door of paradise was closed, having been torn on the cross;[21] today (paradise) is open for the brigand, since the tearing of the decree of death.

. . . According to which, on the day when Adam transgressed the command, he became mortal by nature and died, and those (days) that he remained alive were regarded as spent in mortality.

18. Luke 15:20.
19. Luke 16:8.
20. Luke 23:43.
21. Col 2:16.

Mxitʻar Anecʻi C12

Text: Mxitʻar Anecʻi, Մատեան աշխարհավէպ հանդիսարանաց *Book of Universal Scenes*, ed. H. G. Margaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983).

1 63 Խնդամտաբար եւ խնկեալ յաւժարութեամբ պարտ եւ վայելուչ է առնել զհիմն բանիս ի նախաստեղծէն մերմէ Ադամայ, համառաւտիւ հասուցանել մինչեւ ուր խնդիրն է մեզ, լայն եւ ընդարձակ գրել: Արդ՝ որ հիմն եւ սկիզբն է բնութեան ազգի մարդկութեանս՝ Ադամ, առաջին մարդն, զնա դիցուք առաջին վէմ ի հիմունս աստ . . . Ադամ, յետ ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն, լեալ ամաց ՄԼ ծնանի զՍէթ յԵւայէ կնոջէ իւրմէ եւ եկաց այլ եւս ամս Չ, մինչեւ ի ՃԼԵ ամն Մաղաղիէլի: Ծնանի այլ եւս ուստերս եւ դստերս, մեռանի ՋԼ ամաց:

It is necessary and proper to lay the foundation of this story with joy and honored disposition from our first-created Adam and bringing the narrative briefly up to the (time) in question for us, (then we shall) write amply and in detail. Now, let us set the first man Adam, who is the foundation and origin of the nature of our human race, as the first stone of the foundation. After leaving paradise, Adam, being 230 years old, begat Seth from his wife Eve, and lived 700 years more, until the 135th year of Mahalaleel (Małałiēl). He begat other sons and daughters; he died at the age of 930.

2 99 Այլ բազումք իսկ յիւրոց անտի ոչ հաւատան առասպելայաւղ բաջաղանաց նորա (Մահմետի) . . . Իսկ վասն զքարինս ձգելոյ, զոր յառաջն ասացաք, յաւդեն այսպէս, թէ՝ յորժամ եհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն Աստուած, յայսմ աշխարհի բնակեցոյց զնա: Եւ նորա տեսեալ զսատանայ յայսմ տեղւոջ, ուր զքարինսն ձգեմք, ծանեաւ, թէ սա էր, որ մեզ եհան ի կենացն: Առեալ քարինս արկ ի վերայ նորա, վասն որոյ եւ մեք այսպէս առնեմք:

But even many of his (Mohammed's) adherents do not believe his fabulous prattle. . . . And as to throwing stones, about which we spoke before, they compose the following: When God drove Adam out of paradise, he lodged him in this world. And when (Adam) saw Satan at this place where we throw stones, he recognized that this was he who drove us out of life. He took stones and threw (them) at him. That is why we do the same.

Mxitʻar Goš C12

Text: Mxitʻar Goš, Թուղթ "Letter," *Ararat* (October 1900): 497–504, 562–68; (January 1901): 55–61; (February 1901): 121–27.

1 563 . . . այլ ի լրման ժամանակի եկն Որդին եւ առ մարմին ի Մարիամայ կուսէ, եւ ճշմարտեալ, զի ոչ նախանձեցաւ Աստուածն ընդ Ադամա՝, զոր ասաց սատանայ, թէ գիտէր Աստուած, թէ ուտես ի ծառոյ անտի՝ աստուածանաս. եւ վասն այնորիկ արար զորդիսն Ադամա Աստուած մարմնանալովն:

. . . but in the fullness of time, the Son came and took on body through the Virgin Mary and testified (that) God did not envy Adam, whom Satan said that God knew (that) "If you eat of the tree, you shall become gods."[22] And on account of that he made Adam's sons [*sic*!] God through incarnation.

Nersēs Lambronac'i C12

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Առեննաբանութիւն *Declamation*, ed. B. Awgerean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1812).

Առեանաբանութիւն
Declamation

1 30 Եւ որպէս զուղիղ բանն Աստուծոյ նախահօրն ձեր թիւր մեկնեալ՝ գթեցուցի, այսպէս կարելի է եւ այժմ զբանս գրոց ոմանց ի ձէնջ այլ եւ այլ ցուցանել, եւ նոքօք զամենեսեան խռովեցուցանել. թերեւս կարացից զմիջնորդն խաղաղութեան՝ խաւարեցուցանելով զմիտս ձեր, ատելութեան տալ պատճառ տեսանել: Միթէ կարացի՞ց զկենաց ծառն՝ որպէս նախահօրն ձեր, եւ ձեզ մոլորութեամբ մտաց՝ չարի գիտութիւն ուսուցանել:

And as I caused your forefather to stumble interpreting God's direct word incorrectly, thus now too one could represent to some of you the words of the Scriptures in diverse forms and by them to trouble everybody. Perhaps I could, by darkening your mind, the mediator of peace, cause the reason for hatred to be visible. Could I not teach you through error of mind that the tree of life (is) knowledge of evil, just as (I did) to your forefather Adam?

Text: Գրիգոր կաթողիկոսի Տղայ կոչեցելոյ, Նամականի. Տեառն Ներսէսի Լամբրոնացւոյ . . . թուղթ եւ ճառք *Epistles of Grigor Kat'ołikos called Tłay. Epistle and Homilies of Lord Nersēs of Lambron* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1838).

22. Cf. Gen 3:5.

Բարեբանութիւն Ներբողական գովութեամբ ի համբարձումն Տեառն Յիսուս Քրիստոսի յերկինս
Benediction with Elegiac Praise on the Ascension of Lord Jesus Christ to Heaven

2 270 Տէր ամենակալ, աղաղակէին, մինչեւ յե՞րբ ոչ ողորմիս վերինս Երուսաղէմի, եւ քաղաքացն դրախտին, ուստի արտաքս ձգեցեր զերի զբնակիչն զԱդամ, եւ անտես արարեր թողեալ ամայի այս եօթնեակ դարուց եօթնից:

Omnipotent Lord, they cried, how long you will have no mercy on upper Jerusalem and the towns of paradise, whence you exiled the inhabitant Adam and you neglected (them), leaving (them) uninhabited for these seven weeks of eons?

Ներբողեան ասացեալ ի հրաշափառ գալուստ Հոգւոյն սրբոյ
Encomium Spoken on the Glorious Coming of the Holy Spirit

3 294 Իսկ Հայրն բարի հաճեալ ընդ գործս սքանչելի՝ որդւոյն սիրելւոյ, եւ լուծեալ զկնիք դատապարտութեան Ադամայ հօրն նախնոյ, ետ ի նա զՀոգին, սփռել ի վերայ արեամբ գնեալ իւր հօտին :

And the Father being gracious as to the wonderful deeds of his beloved Son, and having undone the seal of the forefather Adam's condemnation,[23] gave Him the Spirit to spread over His flock bought by (His) blood.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Քաղաքային օրէնք *City Laws*, ed. K. Basmajean (Paris: Banasēr Press, 1907).

4 15 Աւրէնք. բարիեաւ զճշմարիտ Տէր Աստուած ի սկզբանէ Ա մարդոյն որպէս յառաջին գիրն արարածոց եցոյց մեզ օրէնս եւ գրեաց մեզ Մովսէս, եթէ եդ Աստուած օրէնս մարդոյն ի ծառոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին ոչ ուտել, եւ ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարոյ եւ չարի, զի եւ ոչ պահեաց զօրէնսն անդէն առ նա ուսաք զաւրինազանցին զպատուհասն քանզի ասաց Աստուած ցմարդն. փոխանակ զի կերար ի ծառոյն յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո, եւ ի հող դարձցիս ուստի առար, եւ այսպէս զաւրինազանցսն պատուհասեալ, էհան արտաքոյ դրախտին, եւ առաքեաց պանդխտիլ յաշխարհ . . .

"Law": The Lord God in the beginning rightly (showed) to the first man the true command, as Moses showed us in the first book of Genesis and wrote down for us that God made a law for man not to eat from the tree that was

23. 1 Cor 15:22.

in the middle of the Garden and from the tree of knowledge of good and evil; and as he did not observe the law, we learned at once with respect to him about the punishment of the transgressor, because God said to the man: "Because you have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat, cursed be the ground in your works, and you shall return unto dust, out of which you were taken."[24] And thus having punished the transgressors, He drove (them) out of paradise and sent (them) to sojourn in the world . . .

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Ներբողան ի վերափոխումն Աստուածածնի. "Encomium on the Assumption of the Mother of God," ed. H. Oskean, *Handes Amsorea* 39 (July–August 1925): 360-366; (September–October 1925): 442–62.

5 447 (Words of Christ while dying)

. . . ես ահա հատուցանեմ զպարտսն Ադամայ, եւ այլ ոչ եւս կենացաղավարիմ ընդ մարդկան.

. . . And now I compensate for Adam's debt and I no longer live among mankind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Տեսութիւն աղօթից, Պատմութեան բանից ննջմանն Աստուածաբան Աւետարանչին Յոհաննու *Examination of Prayer: Of the Narrative of the Falling Asleep of the Evangelist John the Theologian* (Constantinople: Barseł & Sargis Sebastac'i Press, 1736).

6 28–29 եւ մեզ ի մեղացն եւ յանիծիցն զոր յառաջին Ադամն սփռեաց սատանայ, երկրորդ Ադամն / սրբեաց.

And the second Adam cleansed us from the sin and the curse that Satan spread upon the first Adam.

7 30 Այսպէս եւ մեզ որք նախ ըստ մարմնոյ ծնաք յԱդամայ, եւ յետ այնր՝ հոգւով ի Քրիստոսէ, հարկէ ըստ հնոյ հօրն բնութեան մեռանիլ, եւ ապա ըստ նոր հօրն յառնել:

Thus we that were born first according to the body from Adam, and after that in soul from Christ, have to die according to the nature of the old father and then to arise according to the new father.

8 56 Իսկ յորժամ մահուամբն ի վախճան էած (զՔրիստոս) զհնազանդութիւնն կապեաց զհիւսեալ պսակն ի գլուխ նորա. այսինքն զի շնորհեաց նմա անուն ի վեր քան զամենայն անուն. որ եւ ամենեցուն ծունր կրկնի պատկերին Ադամայ որ ի կերպարանն հօր միացաւ անշփոթ խառնմամբ:

24. Cf. Gen 3:17–19.

And when he brought (Christ) to an end by death, he bound obedience as the woven crown to his head. That is, he granted to him a name higher than any name. Everybody's knees are bent before the image of Adam, who was united to his Father's form through unconfused mixture.

9 107 . . . դատակնիքն Ադամայ ի վերայ նոցա էր: ... (Քս) փոխանակ անհնազանդութեան հնոյն Ադամայ՝ հնազանդ եղեւ հօր՝ մահու չափ:

. . . . Adam's condemnation was upon them. . . . In place of the old Adam's disobedience, (Christ) obeyed the Father unto death.

10 113 . . . սատանայ զայս (գիտակցութիւն մտացս) պղծէր. եւ յորժամ իւր կամացն հաւանեցուցանէր, մարմինս իբրեւ զարբանեակ զկամս մտացն կատարէր. եւ ոչ կարեն մարդիկ սրբիլ այնու. զի չունէին մտացն օրէնք:

Satan defiled it (the consciousness of the mind), and when he persuaded (it) to his will, the body like satellite carried out the mind's will; and people cannot be cleansed of this, for they have[25] no control over their mind.

Text: Nersēs Lambronac'i, Խորհրդածութիւն սրբազան պատարագի *Reflection on the Holy Liturgy* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1842).

11 49 Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր ամենայն արարածս, որ ստեղծեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում, եւ նմանութեան, եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր, եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:

You who brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, who created man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your gifts[26] and taught him to seek wisdom and prudence.

12 Յետ հրեշտակացն գոյացութեան. արարածքս զգալի ստեղծան, եւ ապա մարդն՝ իշխան նոցա. ըստ որում ուսուցանէ զայս մեզ Դաւիթ. Ո՛ արար զհրեշտակս իւր հոգիս. եւ ապա յաւելու. Ո հաստատեաց զերկիր ի վերայ հաստատութեան իւրոյ. զսոյն ի մէջ առնու եւ քահանայս, յետ հրեշտակաց՝ զարարածոցս լինելութիւն դնէ, եւ ապա զմարդոյն ստեղծանելն. որոյ՝ ասէ, ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն. քանզի դրախտ ամենապատիկ ծառովք՝ զիմաստութիւն առակէ, եւ զգործել մարդոյն եւ պահել, զխնդրելն եւ պահել անդրժելի՝ զնոյն օրինակէ:

After the coming into being of the angels, the perceptible creatures were created, and then man, their master. Accordingly David teaches this to us:

25. Literally: had.

26. Or: grace.

"Who maketh his angels spirits," and then he adds, "Who made earth firm upon his firmament."[27] 49 This priest also deals with the same, he puts the coming into being of the creatures after the angels, and then the creation of man whom, he says, you taught to seek wisdom. Because paradise with various trees is the allegory of wisdom, and "to dress it and to keep it" by man symbolizes seeking and keeping the same inviolable.

13 49 Եւ ոչ անտես արարեր զմեղուցեալն, այլ եղեր ի վերայ նորա ապաշխարութիւն փրկութեան:

You did not neglect the sinner, but you were on his account the penance of salvation.

14 Մեծ շնորհ եղեւ այս Ադամայ յԱստուծոյ՝ գիտել զապաշխարութիւն յետ յանցանացն,[28] սակս մարմնոյն, որում ոչ գտաւ արժանի բանսարկուն: Քանզի որդիք աշխարհիս այսորիկ իմաստնագոյնք են քան զնոսա (Ղուկ. ԺԶ. 8):

This was great grace granted by God to Adam: to know penance after transgression, because of the body of which the Devil was not worthy, "because the children of this world are wiser than" them.[29]

15 58 Որ խօսեցաւ յօրէնս եւ ի մարգարէս եւ յաւետարանս

Who spake in the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels

16 Յօրէնս, Հոգի Աստուծոյ շրջէր ի վերայ ջուրց. եւ փչումն էր նա կենադանական. եւ շնորհեաց ի մարդն առաջին եւ առ փչօղն սակս պատուիրանազանցութեան դառնայ:

In the Law: "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."[30] And the inbreathing was vital (vivifying), and He granted it to the first man, and it returns to Him who breathed it in, because of the transgression . . .

17 81 Տէր Աստուած ասէ՝ զօրութեանց, եւ արարիչ ամենայն լինելութեանց

It says, "Lord God of Hosts and Creator of all beings."

18 Նախ զանունն Աստուծոյ՝ զորս գտին մարդիկ, նմին անուանէ. անուն ասեմ, ոչ բնութեանն որ է սքանչելի եւ անհաս, այլ՝ փառացն եւ ներգործութեանն. քանզի ստեղծիչ արարածոցս գիտացեալ միայն զնա, այսր աղագաւ յարդեանց իրացն կոչեցաք զարարիչն Աստուած. այսինքն աստ ածող զոչ էսն յէութիւն եւ ի գոյութիւն՝ զերկնաւորս եւ զերկրաւորս:

27. Ps 104:4–5 = Arm 103:4–5.

28. Corrig. յանցանցացն.

29. Cf. Luke 16:8.

30. Gen 1:2.

First, he names him with God's name which people found; I do not mean the name of his nature which is marvelous and incomprehensible, but of his glory and action. Because having learned that He alone is Creator of beings, on account of this, we called the Creator of the structures of things God (*Astuac*) that is "he who brings here (*astacoł*)," the nonexistent to existence and being, heavenly and earthly things.

19 123 Զոր փրկեցեր պատուական արեամբ միածնի քո, եւ ազատեցեր խաչիւն սրբով

Whom you saved through the precious blood of your Only-Begotten (Son) and (whom you) freed through the holy cross.

20 Իսկ ազատեաց եւ խաչիւն, ուստի՞ ի դատակնքէն Ադամայ. քանզի նորա մեղօքն ամենեքեան դատապարտ էաք մահու:

Indeed he freed also by the cross: from what? From the condemnation of Adam, because we all were condemned to death through his sin.

Nersēs Šnorhali C12

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Տաղեր եւ գանձեր *Poems and Ganjs*, ed. A. K'yoškeryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

1 Տաղ աւետեաց
Poem on the Annunciation

1 4.23–24 Սաւս խընկաբերին,
նոր դրախտ Ադենի,
Ծառ կենաց պըտղոյն:

Fragrant cypress,
new Garden of Eden,
Tree of the fruit of life!

2 6.5–8 Նոր բուրաստան ծաղկերանգ,
Ողկուզաբեր բարունակ,
Դրախտ Տեառն դարձեալ քեւ տուաւ
Մաւրն Եւայի, որ մեղաւ:

New garden colored with flowers,
Vine-shoot bearing bunches of grapes!
Through you the Lord's paradise was given again
To Mother Eve who sinned.

2 Ի Սուրբ Աստուածածին կոյսն
To the Holy Virgin Mother of God

3 9.7 Րախանայ դրախտն Եդեմայ նոր ծառ կենաց տնկեաց ի նմա:

The new Garden of Eden feasts at the new tree of life he planted in it.

8 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

4 35.21–24 Որք էաք մեղաւք կապեալ ի յԱդամայ,
Քրիստոսիւ արձակեցաք ի կապանաց,
Եւայիւ դատապարտեալ ազգըն կանանց
Մարիամաւ ազատեցան ի յանցանաց:

We, having been bound by sin to Adam,
Were released from the bonds by Christ;
The race of women condemned by Eve
Was freed from the transgression by Mary.

9 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

5 36.1-2 Այսաւր աւետեաց ձայն եհաս ի յունկն Եւայի,
Եւա՝ առաջին կոյս, ցնծայր դըստերբ Կուսիւն,

Today the voice of the Annunciation reached Eve's ear;
Eve, the first virgin, exulted with her daughter, the Virgin.

6 37.17–20 Պըտղոյն առաջնոյ մահ լուծաւ կենացըն պըտղով,
Պըտուղ անմահին ծառոյ տուաւ մեռեալն Ադամայ,
Ադամ վերըստին եմուտ ի դրախտն Եւայիւ,
Եւա պարէ այսաւր ծնանելով զԱստուածորդին:

Death by the first fruit was dissolved by the fruit of life;
Fruit of the immortal tree was given to the dead Adam;
Adam entered paradise again through Eve;
Eve dances today, at the bringing forth of the Son of God.

14 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

7 60.80–81 Այսաւր երկրորդ Ադամ պահեալ
Պարտեաց զյաղթող հնոյն Ադամայ:

60.80–81 Today the second Adam, enduring,
Defeated the vanquisher of the old Adam.

15 Տաղ ծննդեան
Poem on the Nativity

8 62.19–22 Զահ լուսոյն դարձեալ ի Նազարէթ բնակէր,
Ծածկէր զճառագայթն երեսնամեայ լըրամբ:
Պարագրեալ մարմնով ի Յորդանան եկեալ.
Զհընոյն Ադամայ լուանալ պարտեացն ըզգիր.

Again the torch of light dwelled in Nazareth;
He concealed the ray until he was thirty.
Circumscribed by body, having come to the Jordan
To wash away the promissory note of the old Adam.

21 Տաղ մեծի ուրբաթին
Poem on Good Friday

9 83.27-28[31] Ծանեաւ Ադամ զնըշան գալոյ Տեառն ի դըժոխս,
Ծանր ամաւթով կայր հիացեալ երկիւղագին:

Adam recognized the sign of the Lord's coming to hell;
He was gravely shamed, he was astonished by fear.

10 89.51–52 Պայծառ փառաւք շըքեղացոյց ըզնախահայրն,
Պըճնեալ փառաւք եմոյծ դարձեալ յԱդին դրախտին:

He glorified the forefather with brilliant glory;
Adorned with glory, (He) again introduced (him) into the Garden of Eden.

22 Ողբք մեծի ուրբաթին
Lament on Good Friday

11 96.59–60 Զանէծսն Ադամայ բառնամ
Փշեղէն պըսակաւս:

I remove Adam's curse
With this crown of thorns.

12 97.77–80 Զկապեալն արձակեմ զԱդամ,
Կապեմ ըզկապողն,
Ի դրախտն ուստի ել՝ տանիմ,
Ուր եւ զաւազակն:

I release the bound Adam;
I bind the binder;
I take (Adam) to the Garden whence he went out,
Where also the brigand (is).

31. See also: 87.27–28, 92.27–28.

26 Տաղ յարութեան
Poem on the Resurrection

13 114.23–24 Ստացաւ զԱդամ անդրէն ի կեանս
Յադենական տեղն եւ ի փառս:

He created Adam again for life,
In the Edenic place and in glory.

28 Տաղ յարութեան
Poem on the Resurrection

14 120.23–28 Այսաւր Տէր յարեաւ, ցընծացէ́ք, ասէ,
Դըստերք Ադամայ:
Յեւայի մաւր լըսելիս ձայնեցէ́ք,
Աւձըն պարտեցաւ:
Ուրախ լէ́ր, Ադամ, այսաւր Որդին քո
Ըզքեզ նորոգեաց:

Today the Lord arose, he says: “Rejoice,
daughters of Adam,
Cry to the ears of Mother Eve:
‘The serpent is defeated.’
Be happy, Adam, today your Son
Has renewed you.”

37 Տաղ փոխման սուրբ Աստուածածնին
Poem on the Assumption of Holy Mother of God

15 161.3–4 Զքեզ նախատեսացըն գուշակեալ ցուցին
Ծառ կենաց ի մէջ աստուածատունկ դրախտին:
Կենաց փայտ տընկեալ ըզքեզ տընկողին զԵդեմ,
Զտնկագործն էից ի քէն պըտղաբերեցեր:

The prophets predicted and demonstrated you,
Tree of life in divinely planted paradise.
The planter of Eden planted you as a tree of life,
You brought forth from yourself the cultivator of beings!

42 Տաղ սուրբ խաչին
Poem on the Holy Cross

16 184-5.9–12 Դըրախտին Ադենայ ծառ կենաց ի մէջ նըմին,
Դիմակ մահառիթ՝ մի́ ճաշակել պատուէր:

/ Զպատուիրան լուսոյ խաւարին խաբմամբ թողեալ՝
Մերկացաւ զլոյսն անըստուերական փառացն:

The tree of life in the midst of the Garden of Eden,
The command not to eat is a mask causing death;[32]
Having abandoned the command of light through darkness's deception,
He was stripped of the light of shadowless glory.

17 185 21–22 Ձեռին Ադամայ փոխանակ ձըգմանն ի ծառն,
Տարածեալ ի սմա զիւր զանարատ բազուկսն:

Instead of the stretching out of Adam's hand to the tree,
He spread his immaculate arms upon it (i.e., the cross).

44 Տաղ առաքելոցն
Poem on the Apostles

18 98.41–44 Յորդահոս գետոց զնացիւք
Քառավըտակ ի յԱդենայ
Նորակերտ քաղաքն սուրբ
Առոգելով ուրախանայ:

By the flow of streaming rivers,
Fourfold stream from Eden,
The newly built, holy city
Rejoices at being irrigated.

49 Տաղ Յովհաննու մկրտչին
Poem on John the Baptist

19 233.13–16 Ադամ նախաստեղծ, զարթի՛ր, արի, որ ննջեսդ,
Լուսատու լիցի Քրի՛ստոս քեզ ի խաւարիդ:
Ի յամլորդւոյս ընկա՛լ, Եւա, զաւետիս՝
Նոր Ադամ ծընաւ քո դուստրն՝ կոյսըն Մարիամ:

First-created Adam, wake up, rise, you who sleep,
Let Christ give you light in that darkness.
Receive, Eve, the annunciation of the barren woman's son:
Your daughter the Virgin Mary has borne a new Adam.

32. The mask "causing death" means the tree of life.

57 Տաղ սրբոց Հռիփսիմեանց
Poem on the Holy Hṙip'simeans

20 275 13–16 Բացաւ դուռն Եդեմ դրախտին,
Ծառըն կենաց տընկեալ յերկիր,
Քաղցրաճաշակ համեղ պըտուղ
Փոխանակ դառըն ճաշակմանն:

The door of the Garden of Eden is open;
The tree of life is planted in the ground:
Delicious, tasty fruit,
Instead of the bitter food.

60 Քարոզ փոխման Աստուածածնին
Sermon on the Assumption of the Mother of God

21 299 22–24 Ի հակառակաց միացուցեալ ոգւոյ եւ մարմնոյ զԱդամն առաջին
Գեղապաճոյճ փառաւք զարդարեալ կողածնաւն ի դրախտն Աղենայ.
Որոց զտիրականն աւրէն մոռացեալ դատապարտին մահու:

Having conjoined the first Adam from opposites, spirit and body,
Having adorned him with splendid glory in the Garden of Eden, together with one born from the rib,
Who, having forgotten the Lord's law, are condemned to death.

61 Քարոզ սրբոց հրեշտակապետացն
Sermon on the Holy Archangels

22 310 1.68–69 Սրովբէն հրանիւթ զկենացն տունկ պահէր,
/ Զի մի́ պատրեալն Ադամ կերեալ մշտացի մահուամբն անյաջորդ:

The fiery Seraph guarded the plant (tree) of life,
So that the deceived Adam would not eat and permanently stay in unalterable death.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Բանք չափաւ *Verses* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1928).

Ողբերգութիւն վիպասանական ի տառից սրբոց. (Յիսուս Որդի)
Historical Elegy from the Holy Books (also known as Jesus the Son)

23 10 Որպէս Ադամն այն առաջին,
Այն որ մեղօքն անուանի հին,
Որով մեռաք ամենեքին
Եւ կորուսաք զցանկալին:

Like that first Adam
Who is called old through the sin;
Through whom we all died,
And lost the desirable (Garden).

24 11 Եւ յանցանաց մօրն Եւային.
Եւս առաւել քան ըզնոսին
Գըտայ յանցող սուրբ օրինին:
Զի պատուիրանն էր նոցա մին,
Վասըն միոյ դառըն պըտղին:

. . . And by the transgression of mother Eve;
even more than them,
Was I found to be a transgressor of the holy law,
For they were given one commandment,
Concerning one bitter fruit.

25 12 Ընդ փափկութեան կենաց դրախտին,
Որ իմաստիցն օրինակին,
Մըշակեցի յիմումս անձին
Զփուշ եւ զտատասկ մեղաց բուսին:
Ընդ անաշխատ կենաց վայրին,
Որ ըստ յուսոյն թեթեւ ասին,
Ուտեմ քրտամբք զառօրէին,
Դառնամ ի հող ուստի առին:

Instead of the delight of life in the Garden,
Which is a symbol of wisdom,
I cultivated in myself
Thorns and thistles of the plant of sin.
Instead of the place of untroubled life,
Which is called light[33] for the hope,
I eat my daily bread with sweat;
I return to ground whence I was taken.

33. I.e., in weight.

26 86 Ընդարձակեա զկապըս լեզուիս,
Բարբառեցո ինձ ըզբարին.
Եւ խի՛ց զականջս ընդդէմ օձին,
Զի մի՛ լուայց ըստ Եւային:

Release the bonds of my tongue,
Make me say good things,
And close my ears against the serpent,
So that I will not listen (to him) like Eve.

Բան հաւատոյ
Word of Faith

27 224–25 Ի միջօրեայն ընսեմացաւ,
Յորժամ Ադամ մեղօք մեռաւ . . .
Քացախ ետուն ի ծարաւի
Այնմ որ բըղխեաց գետ յԱդենի . . .
Յերրորդ ժամու պատրեալ օձին
Զմիտըս նախնոյ մօրն Եւային,
Ի վեցն անկեալ մարդն առաջին
Հաւանական բանիւ նորին.

It was darkened at midday,
When Adam died because of sin . . .
They gave vinegar for thirst,
To Him who made a river flow in Eden . . .
In the third hour the serpent deceived
The mind of the foremother Eve.
In the sixth (hour) the first man fell,
Through its persuasive speech.

28 225 Ի սոյն ժամու Տէրն ի խաչին,
Զի քաւեսցէ զմեղըս նոցին.
Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամըն հին,
Եմոյծ ըզգողն ի մէջ դրախտին:

In the same hour the Lord (was) on the cross,
To expiate their sin,
And when the old Adam came out,
He introduced the thief into paradise.

29 231 Եւ յերկնային ծառըս կենաց
Նախ ադամեանքն են մերձակաց,
Եւ ոչ Եւայ ձըգմամբ ձեռաց,
Որ հան զԱդամ յանճառ փառաց:

And first Adam's sons
Are close to the celestial tree of life,
But not Eve who by stretching out her hands
Drove Adam out of ineffable glory.

263 Ներբողեան կենսատու սուրբ խաչին
Encomium to the Life-giving Holy Cross

30 Ի Գողգոթա տեսէք ըզձեզ ի պաշտաման.
Անդ՝ ուր շիրիմն՝ էր նախահօրըն հանգըստեան,
Որ կանգնեցաւ՝ առեալ ըզխաչս իւր գաւազան:
Քանզի փայտիւ վիրաւորեալ հինն այն Ադամ,
Անկեալ դընէր ի յայն խըշտին տարտամութեան.
Առ որ հասեալ որ սըլացաւ յերկնիցն Ադամ,
Գըթայր ի նա իբր ի պատկեր իւր եւ նըման:

See yourselves worshiping at Golgotha,
There, where was the tomb of the forefather's repose,
Which was set up, having taken the cross as his staff,[34]
For that old Adam was wounded by a tree.
Having fallen, he was put on that cowardly lance.
He who descended from heaven reached Adam,
had mercy on him as his image and likeness.

31 268 Օրհնեալ ես, փայտ սուրբ զարդարեալ,
Որ յԱստուծոյ ես պաճուճեալ.
Աղին տընկոյն գերհրաշեալ,
Այնմ որ Քրովբէքն են շուրջ եղեալ:

Blessed are you, decorated holy tree,[35]
Who are adorned by God,
More admirable than the tree of Eden,
Around which the Cherubim have been set.

32 269 Օրհնեալ ես, փայտ սուրբ տէրունի,
Ցուպ՝ յոր անկեալն Ադամ հաստի:

Blessed are you, the Lord's holy tree,[36]
Staff upon which the fallen Adam leans.

34. Or: where . . . its . . .
35. Or: cross; literally: wood.
36. Or: cross; literally: wood.

Յաղագս երկնից եւ զարդուց նորա
On the Sky and Its Stars

33 311 Քանզի յորժամ աստուածաստեղծըն մարդ Ադամ
Կորոյս մեղօք ըզշնորհսըն ձրի եւ տիրական,
Ի յարարչէն նըւազ իմաստ այս շնորհեցան.
Նախագուշակ լինել մարդկան չար պատահման:

For when the man Adam, created by God,
Destroyed by his sin the freely given and God-given grace,
They were granted this lesser wisdom by the Creator
To prophesy to men about misfortunes.

Յորդորակ
Didactic Poem

34 321–22 Ադամեան սեռ մարդկային որ ստեղծեցան,
Ի պատկեր աննմանւոյդ յօրինեցան.
Շուսատիպ զարմանազան նկարեցան
Երկնաւորն եւ երկրայինս զուգեցան:
Ի դրախտի անմահութեանն տնկեցան.
Ի մահու պտղոյն կերան եւ մերկացան:
Նոր Ադամ հնոյն Ադամայ որդիացաւ.
Ի Կուսէ Աստուած եւ մարդ նոր խառնեցաւ:

The human species of Adam which was created
Was made in the image of you, peerless One.
They were pictured as shining and wondrous;
They joined together earthly and heavenly;
They were planted in the Garden of immortality;
They ate of the fruit of death and were stripped naked.
The new Adam became the son of the old Adam;
From the Virgin, God and man, newly he was mixed.

Text: Nersēs Šnorhali, Ողբ Եդեսիոյ *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa*, ed. M. Mkrtč‘yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1973).

35 24 Հռոմ, մայր քաղաքաց . . . որպէս զդրախտն, որ յԱդենի . . .

Rome, mother of towns . . . like paradise which is in Eden . . .

36 27 Աղէքսանդրիա . . .
Որ ես աթոռ դու Մարկոսի՝ մեզ աւետեաց քարոզողի,
Որ եւ դրախտին աստուածայնոյ տունկ բանաւոր ի քեզ տնկի:

Alexandria . . .

You who are the see of Mark, of the preacher of good news to us,
And the reasonable tree of divine paradise is planted in you . . .

37 44–45 (Ես՝ Եղեսիա, Ուռհա քաղաք)
Զի ոչ ծածուկ էի տեղի, կամ ի յանկեան ինչ թաքստի,
Այլ ի գետիցն, որ յԱդենի, էի բազմեալ ես ի միջի՝
/ Ի յԵփրատայ եւ Տիգրիսի, որ Միջագետք անուանէի:

(I, Edessa, the town of Urha),
I was not a secret place or in a hidden corner,
But I was seated in the midst of the rivers, which were of Eden
Of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and I was called Mesopotamia.

38 61–62 Զի թէ աստուստ տարագրեցուք, որ հայրենեաց կոչի գետին,
Որ է պայծառ յերեւելիս եւ վայելուչ աչաց բերին,
Այլ փոխանակ անցաւորին ժառանգեցուք զանանց բարին՝
Ի փափկութեան լուսոյ դրախտին, յորմէ անկաւ մարդն առաջին,
Յանմահութեան անախտ վայրին, ի սեփական մեր հայրենին:
Եւ փոխանակ այս քաղաքի, որ է շինուած սա մարդկային,
Ունիմք շինուած մեք յԱստուծոյ, անձեռագործ եւ երկնային,
/ Որոյ շինող ճարտարապետ աջ արարչին է անեղին:
Այն, որ կանգնեաց կամար զերկին, կառոյց ի նմա զդասս վերին,
Այն, որ զերկինս հաստատեաց, եւ զորս ի սմա՝ մինչ ոչ գոյին:

Since we are exiled from here, which is called the soil of the fatherland,
Which is splendid among visible things and gratifying to the eye,
Now instead of the transient, we shall inherit the eternal good,
In the light of the Garden's delight whence the first man fell,
In the immaculate place of immortality, in our own fatherland.
And instead of this town, which is built by men,
We have a building made by God, made without hands and celestial,
The builder of which is the skillful hand of the increate Creator,
Who erected the arch of the heaven, put in it the supernal ranks,
Who made the earth firm and those in it, that did not exist before.

39 122 (Դուք որդիք իմ սիրելիք . . .)
Ծառոյն կենաց մերձեալ հպիք, ի մահացուէն այլ ոչ խաբիք,
Բազմաբեղուն ստեղն արձակիք, մինչ ի յեկինս հասանիք . . .
Յորժամ հնձէք, զոր ցանեցիք, յանմահական դրախտին հանգչիք,
Ընդ զովարար տնկոյն նստիք եւ յաղբերէն կենաց արբջիք:
Որ չարչարեացն զձեզ լացցէ, դուք խնդալից սրտիւք բերկրիք,
Ի բոց հնոցին նա կիզանի, դուք ի վտակն Ադին շրջիք:

(You, my beloved children . . .)
You having approached, touch the tree of life and are not deceived again by the fatal one,

You send forth abundant offshoots, until you reach heaven.
When you reap what you have sown, you repose in the immortal paradise,
You sit under a refreshing tree and drink from the spring of life.
He who has tortured you will weep, and you will rejoice with joyful heart.
He is burnt in the fire of furnace, you will stroll round Eden's stream.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթէոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալւոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելւոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացւոյ՝ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec'i* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1825).

40 17 Ադամն հին ըստ անձնիշխան կամաց կորոյս զպատիւն առաջին՝ այլ գիտութեանն Աստուծոյ՝ յայտնիք էին լինելոցն:

The old Adam according to his autonomous will lost his former honor, but the things that were going to happen were evident to God's knowledge.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Թուղթ ընդհանրական *Encyclical Letter,* ed. Ē. Bałdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1995).

Առ դասս քահանայից
To the Class of Priests

41 134 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտի լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն, որպէս զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեալ Աստուծոյ եւ ապա Եւայ:

And the husband must be older by time than the wife, just as God created Adam first, and then Eve.

Առ կանանց դասս
To the Class of Women

42 161 Եւ մի՛ ոք նմանօղ լիցի օձին՝ գործի անօրէնութեան լինելով սատանայի, զոր եւ կաւատն անուանեն, զի որպէս նա Եւայի ջամբեաց զպտուղն մահու խաբէութեամբն, նոյնպէս եւ սա զանմիտ կանանց եւ զարանց տայ ճաշակել զպտուղն մահաբեր մեղաց, որ ի սկիզբն քաղցր երեւի անմտաց, եւ յետ կատարմանն դառն, քան զլեղի, որ եւ զանէծս օձին ժառանգեսցէ այնպիսին յԱստուծոյ, զորոյ եւ զգործն ստացաւ:

And let no one be like the serpent, by being an instrument of lawlessness for Satan, who is also called "the procurer." For just as he fed Eve the mortal

fruit through deception, in the same way he also gives mindless women and men to taste the mortal fruit of sin, which first seems sweet to the foolish, and at the end more bitter than gall (or: wormwood). Such a person will inherit from God the serpent's curse, whose deed he has received.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Թուղթք *Letters.* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1873).

Մխիթարական առ ուրուկս յԵդեսիա
Consolatory Letter to the Lepers in Edessa

43 230 Քանզի նախահայրն մեր Ադամ՝ քաղցր պտղոյն հեշտութեամբ կորոյս զաստուածային զփառսն, եւ զկեանս անմահականս եւ զդրախտին վայելչութիւնն, եւ փոխանակ ընկալաւ զերկիր փշաբեր եւ զկեանս տրտմականս եւ զախտալիցս եւ զտաժանելիս, եւ մահ ի կատարածի. վասն որոյ եւ արարիչն եւ Տէրն ամենայնի երկրորդ Ադամ եղեւ եւ անուանեցաւ, ի բնութենէ նորին առնլով մարմին յաղագս փրկութեան նորա:

For our forefather Adam, through enjoyment of the sweet fruit, lost the divine glory and the immortal life and the splendor of paradise, and received instead the earth bringing forth thorns, and sorrowful, suffering and distressing life, and death at the end. Therefore, too, the Creator and Lord of all became and was called "Second Adam," by taking on body from his nature for the sake of his (Adam's) salvation.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն սակս տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին *Commentary on the Ten Canon-Tables of the Gospel,* ed. Y. K'iwrtean, *Bazmavēp* 131,3-4 (1973): 419–37; and V. Łazaryan, ed., Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač'enc', 1995), 44–60.

An English translation may be found in James R. Russell, trans., "Two Interpretations of the Ten Canon Tables" in *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Tradition of the Glajor Gospel,* ed. Thomas F. Mathews and Avedis K. Sanjian (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 29; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 207–11.

44 429 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց կայ՝ զզգալի տարերքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմուճանն առակէր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին՝ յորս վայելէր զառաջինն:

And the fourth canon-table represents paradise, for it stands through four pillars, being an allegory of the perceptible elements, which is mixed of four (i.e., elements). And its colors are blue and black, for the brightness of paradise was concealed from Adam and his children. The coats of skins are also

an allegory of this, as opposed to the glory of God and paradise, where he enjoyed (life) at first.

45 430 Եւ յայլ խորանքս մթատեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօտ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ գայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս՝ եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն:

And other canon-tables are somewhat dark-looking in form, and under the arches the cross is glimpsed, which demonstrates Christ's mystery that in former times appeared in a concealed form, the mystery of wisdom which descended from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and his offspring.

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ "Riddle," *Ararat* 1 (May 1868): 8.

I

46 8 Դատաւորն իրաւարար
Ի մահ մատնեաց զգողն արդար,
զոր գողացաւ զգողոնքն էառ
Փրկանք անձին իւրոյ արար:

The judge-arbitrator
Justly condemned to death the thief,
He who stole, took the spoil
And made it a ransom for himself.

"Solution" *Ararat,* 2 (June 1868): 22.

47 Մայիս մասոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն՝ Աստուած և Ադամ,
Երկրորդը՝ Դրախտ:

The riddle of May meant
First—God and Adam,
second—the Garden.

II

"Riddle," *Ararat* 2 (June 1868): 22.

48 Ջաւակ ծնաւ յայն մեծ այգին.
Ծառն երետ ծիծ 'ւ եսպան զորդին
նոքա որպէս զգեստ ունէին.
հանին ու հազան զայծու մորթին:

Կանաչ մի կայ ի մէջ դրախտին,
չորս գետք անցնին հետ իր տակին.
պտուղ ունի քաղցր ու լեղին
՚ւ է՛ ճշմարիտ երկու բնութիւն,

A child was born in that large garden;
The tree gave breast and killed the son.
The clothes that they had,
They took them off and put on the goatskin.
There is a plant in the Garden,
Four rivers pass beneath it,
It has sweet and bitter fruit,
And truly has two natures.

"Solution," Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

49 Յունիս ամսոյ հանելուկն էր
Առաջինն նախահարք:
Երկրորդն՝ ծառն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի:

The riddle of June meant:
First—the forefathers,
second—the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

III

Nersēs Šnorhali, Հանելուկ "Riddle," Ararat 6 (October 1868): 84.

50 Դաշտ մի կայր արձակ ու լայն
անսիւն շինուած էր, անգերան,
կանթեղքն ի կախ կան անչուան,
ջրահերն անշէջ զլոյսն տան:
Կոյս մի մաքուր անհպելի,
երիտասարդ մի ցանկալի,
անմեղ կային ի միասին,
եւ ոչ յարատ մինչ հայէին,
մինչեւ առիթ ոմն եղեւ,
զկապ կուսութեան նորա եհեղ,
ետ կերակուր նախ զազանին
եւ ինքն եմուտ յորովայնին:

There was a plain, spacious and wide,
It was built without pillars, without beams;
Lamps are hanging without strings;
Torches give inextinguishable light.

A pure, untouched virgin,
An amiable young man,
Stayed together innocently
And did not look at any sin,
Until there was an occurrence.
She loosed the tie of her virginity;
First he gave food to the beast
And he himself entered the belly.

"Solution," *Ararat* 8 (December 1868): 116.

51 Հոկտեմբեր ամսոյ հանելուկն է
դրախտ՝ Եւայ. Ադամ՝ եւ օձ:

The riddle of October means
The Garden, Eve, Adam and the serpent.

Pawłos Taronac'i C12

Text: Pawłos Taronac'i, Թուղթ ընդդէմ Թէոփիստեայ հոռոմ փիլիսոփային *Letter against the Greek Philosopher T'ēop'istus* (Constantinople: Yohannēs Press, 1752).

1 (?)173–74 Զի որպէս առաջին փայտն՝ անհնազանդութեան գոլով պատճառ, զմահ եւ զապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Այսպէս եւ փայտ խաչին՝ հնազանդութեան գոլով առիթ, զանմահութիւն եւ զանապականութիւն մեզ ժառանգեցոյց: Եւ զի անդ զքաղցր պտուղն ճաշակելով Ադամայ, յորմէ հրաժարեցաւ ի դրախտէն, զոր եւ Աստուածանալն կամէր: Եւ յաղագս այնորիկ Քրիստոս զլեղին էարբ, փոխանակ այնր յանցանացն, եւ զդառնութիւն պտղոյն եբարձ. զի ահա անդ՝ ի վեր համբարձեալ զգլուխն իւր Ադամ, եւ հայէր ի ծառն, որ ոչ էր արժան հայիլ: Աստ Քրիստոս խոնարհեցուցեալ զիւր Աստուածային զգլուխն, եւ զմարդկային հոգին աւանդեաց առ հայր իւր: Անդ ձգեալ Ադամայ՝ առ ի առնուլ ձեռօքն զպտուղն, աստ ի խաչն բեւեռեալ Քրիստոս զձեռն իւր, փոխանակ Ադամայ: Անդ մերկանայր նախահայրն զփառսն վասն մեղացն, եւ աստ մերկացաւ Քրիստոս զպատմու/ճանն իւր: Անդ նախահայրն յաւուր ուրբաթու ճաշակեաց զլեղին ի վերայ խաչին: Յայնմ ուրբաթուն հալածեցաւ Ադամ ի դրախտէն, եւ աստ յայսմ ուրբաթու՝ առեալ եղեւ Քրիստոս ի խաչէն եւ եդաւ ի գերեզմանի:

For, just as the first tree, being the cause of disobedience, made us heirs of death and corruption, likewise also the wood of the cross, being the cause of obedience, made us heirs of immortality and incorruption. And since Adam

ate the sweet fruit there, wanting to become God, for which he was deprived of paradise; because of that Christ drank gall as compensation for the transgression of that one (i.e., Adam), and removed the bitterness of the fruit. For, behold, there Adam lifted up his head on high and looked at the tree at which he was not worthy to look; here Christ having lowered his divine head, gave his human soul to his Father. There, Adam reached out to take the fruit with his hands, and here Christ had his hands nailed to the cross, instead of Adam. There the forefather was stripped of his glory because of the sin, and here Christ was stripped of his garment. There the forefather drank gall on the cross on Friday; on that Friday Adam was driven out of the Garden; and here on this Friday Christ was taken down from the cross and was put in the tomb.

2 226–27 Եւ ահա այսպէս քարոզեցաւ մեզ ծնունդն Քրիստոսի յունվարի վեցն, եւ ոչ էր ի դեկտեմբերի քսան եւ հինգն. եւ զայս այսպէս գիտեմք խորհրդաբար ըստ ճշմարտութեան. զի ի վեցերորդ աւուրն ստեղծաւ Ադամ նախահայրն, եւ ի Նիսան ամսոյ մէկն, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի: Եւ յուրբաթու ի վեց ժամու աւուրն ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ, եւ ոչ ի դեկտեմբերի քսան հինգն: Եւ ի տբէթի քսան եւ մէկ ծնաւ Քրիստոս: Եւ որպէս յաւուր ուրբաթու ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ի վեց ժամն, նոյնպէս ել Քրիստոս ի խաչն / յաւուր ուրբաթու . . .

Եւ ամիսն նիսանի սկիզբն էր ամսոցն եբրայեցւոց. եւ ահա այս եւս ըստ խորհրդեանն: Վասն զի ի նմա արար Աստուած զսկիզբն լինելութեան արարածոցս: Եւ հաստատեաց զաշխարհս յաւուր կիւրակէի. եւ յայսմ ամսեանս ստեղծաւ Ադամ: Եւ յայսմ ամսեան ցածուցեալ եղեւ ջուր ջրհեղեղին յերեսաց յերկրէ:

And behold, thus it is announced to us that Christ's birth was on the 6th of January, and not on the 25th of December. And thus we apprehend this mystically and truly. For the forefather Adam was created on the sixth day, on the 1st of the month Nisan, and not in December. And on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day, God created Adam and not on the 25th of December. And on the 21st of Tebet Christ was born. And just as on Friday Adam went out of paradise in the sixth hour, likewise Christ ascended the cross on Friday . . .

And the month Nisan was the beginning of the Hebrews' months, and this is also according to the mystery (symbol).[37] For God began the creation of the creatures in it, and established the world on Sunday; and in this month Adam was created and in this month the water of the Flood lowered from the face of the earth.

3 230 Բայց լուաք՝ զի ասացին ոմանք վասն աւուրն սրբոյ յայտնութեան Տեառն, եթէ յաւուր ուրբաթու հանդիպեցաւ. վասն զի յաւուր ուրբաթուն

37. I.e., typology.

եղեւ լինելութիւն առաջին մարդոյն Ադամայ: Եւ այլք ոմանք ի շաբաթու ասացին: Բայց ես հաւանեալ եմ սրբոյն Պօղիկարպոսի, վասն զի նա աշակերտ էր սրբոյն Յօհաննու աւետարանչի:

But we have heard that some people said about the day of the holy revelation of the Lord, that it took place on Friday, because the creation of the first man Adam took place on Friday. And some others said that it was Saturday. But I agree with Saint Polycarp, for he was the student of the holy evangelist John.

Samuel Anec'i, C12

Samuel Anec'i, Տոմարագիտական եւ տիեզերագիտական աշխատութիւն "A Calendrical and Cosmological Work," ed. A. Abrahamyan, *Ējmiacin* (January 1952): 30–37; (February 1952): 34–43.

1 35 Ամսոց անուանք ի սկզբանէ ոչ էին, այլ սկսեալ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ի Մովսէս՝ զգարնանամուտն տարեմուտ առնէին ամենայն ազգք:

In the beginning there were no names of months, and from Adam up to Moses all the peoples made the beginning of spring to be the beginning of year.

2 43 Հց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք: Պխ. Ոմանք քսան եւ երկու ասեն՝ ըստ նշանագրացն եբրայեցւոց եւ այլք քսան եւ չորս՝ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն: Եւ է այս. առաջին աւուրն եօթն են, այսինքն՝ հրեղէն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերքն եւ լոյսն եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն, երկրորդ օրն՝ հաստատութիւն եւ ջրեղէն կամարն եւ ծովք եւ ցամաք երկիր, երրորդ օրն՝ բոյսք եւ տուն[կ]ք եւ դրախտն, չորրորդ օրն՝ արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղքն, հինգերորդ օրն՝ լուղակք եւ թռչունք, վեցերորդ՝ ցամաքային կենդանիք եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա, եօթներորդ օրն շաբաթ, որ է հանգիստ, այլ եւ՝ տիւ եւ գիշեր, որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն, որով լինի քսան եւ չորս:

Question: How many are the main creations? Answer: Some say twenty-two, according to the Hebrew characters, and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And these are: the seven of the first day, namely, the fiery heavens and the four elements and the light and the angels with the light; on the second day, the firmament and the watery vault and the seas and the dry land; on the third day, the shoots and the plants and paradise; on the fourth day, the sun, the moon and the stars; on the fifth day, the swimming creatures and the birds; on the sixth day, the land animals and Adam and Eve; the seventh day is Saturday (Šabat'), that is rest; also the day and the night which came into being together with the light, and they make twenty-four.

Sargis Šnorhali C12

Sargis Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն եօթանց թղթոց կաթուղիկեայց *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles,* ed. A. Narinean Aknec'i (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec'i Press, 1828).

1 41 Զանազան են աւէ՝ պատրանք բանսարկուին, եւ ամենայնն երեւոյթք են[38] եւ խաբէութիւնք մտաց. վասն զի կեղծաւորեալ ի ներքս անկանի զօրէն սիրելւոյ, եւ քաղցրացուցանէ զանցաւոր եւ զլի ցաւօք կեանս հոգւոյն իբրու զպտուղ ծառոյն առաջին մարդոյն՝ որով զտիրականն կորոյս զփառս, եւ դատապարտեալ անկաւ ի յայս երկիր անիծից. նմանապէս եւ զմեզ տեսեալ վերստին ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ կերպարանեալ՝ գալստեամբ նորոյս Ադամայ, հնարի պէսպէս կերպարանօք խաբել զմեզ:

He says, the tricks of the Devil are various and all of them are visible and deceits of mind, for he intrudes, dissembling, like a friend and delights the life of the spirit, transient and full of sorrow, (in the same way) as the fruit of the tree (delighted) the first man, due to which he lost the Lord's glory and being condemned, fell to this cursed earth. Likewise seeing us appearing again in God's image, thanks to this new Adam's advent, he devises to deceive us through various forms.

2 56 Արդ՝ մի՛ զրպարտեր զաստուածութիւն, եւ մի՛ Ադամայ նմաներ նախնւոյն քո հօր՝ որ վասն զպատուիրանաւն անցանելոյ զԱստուած պարտական առնէր, կինս աւէ՝ զոր ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս՝ եւ կերայ:

Now do not slander the Divinity and do not be like your forefather Adam who made God responsible for transgressing the commandment, saying: "The woman whom you gave me, she deceived me, and I ate." [39]

3 64 «Հեզութեամբ աւէ՝ ընդունիջիք զբանն ընդաբոյս . . . »

Ընդաբոյս ասելն զնա՝ սակս ի սկզբանն սերմանելոյ զպատուիրանն նախաստեղծին Ադամայ, զոր ունէր ընտանի բոյս բուսուցանել՝ եւ խամրացոյց զնա:

It says: "Receive with meekness the engrafted word."[40]

Saying it to be "engrafted," (means) the commandment that was seeded in the beginning for the first-created Adam, in order to grow a cultivated plant; but (Adam) made it useless.

38. A note by the editor: ". . . or, according to another view invisible."

39. Gen 3:12.

40. Jas 1:21.

4 113 «Ամենայն բնութիւն ասէ՝ գազանաց, եւ թռչնոց, եւ սողնոց, եւ որ ի ծովու են, հնազանդեալ են՝ եւ հնազանդին մարդկեղէն բնութեան:»

It says: "Every kind of beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of things in the sea, are subjected, and are obedient to human nature."[41]

5 Զտիրական պատիւ մարդոյն նշանակէ բանիւս՝ զոր ի ստեղծմանէն յԱստուծոյ ընկալաւ, (զի) եւ զնա տէր եւ իշխան եւ թագաւոր կացոյց երեւելի արարածոցս. ըստ որում եւ ասաց առաջին մարդոյն, իշխեցէք ձկանց ծովու՝ եւ թռչնոց երկնից՝ եւ գազանաց երկրի, եւ սողնոց՝ որք սողին ի վերայ երկրի. (դարձեալ՝) եւ այլում նախահօր ասաց, զահ եւ զերկիւղ ձեր եդից ի վերայ ամենայն շնչոյ կենդանւոյ:

By these words he signifies the Lord's honor of man, which he received from God from his creation. (For) the Lord appointed him both master and king over the visible creatures, in accordance with what He said to the first man: "Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and the beasts of the earth, and creeping things that creep on the earth."[42] Again in another place he said to the forefather: "I have put the fear and the dread of you upon every breathing creature."[43]

6 114 Չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ օձն անմարմին, եւ խաբեալ պատրեաց զմարդն առաջին. եւ նոյն այն չարախօսութիւն փոխատրաբար կապեցաւ ի լեզու մարդոյ:

The incorporeal serpent slandered God and deceived the first man by its tricks, and (then) the same slander, by way of recompense, was tied to the man's tongue.

7 115 Զի որ զպատկեր թագաւորի թշնամանէ՝ ընդ նմին եւ զթագաւորն թշնամանէ, եւ մահապարտութեան է արժանաւոր. եւ որ զպատկեր Աստուծոյ անիծանէ՝ զմարդ, ընդ նմին եւ զսկզբնատիպն անիծանէ, զի ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծ զնա արարիչն. արասցուք ասէ՝ զմարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան. իսկ դու անիծանես զնա՝ եւ անպատուես, եւ որու՞մ ներելոյ արժանի գտանիցիս:

One who dishonors the king's image, together with it dishonors the king as well and deserves condemnation to death. And one who curses man, the image of God, together with him he curses the prototype, for the Creator made him in the image of God. It says: "Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness."[44] But you curse and dishonor him; and how can you be found deserving forgiveness?

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41. Jas 3:7.
42. Cf. Gen 1:28, 30.
43. Cf. Gen 9:2.
44. Gen 1:26.

8 Տէրն քո եւ արարիչն պատկերաւ իւրով պատուեաց զնա՝ եւ օրհնութեան արժանաւորս արար. Օրհնեաց, ասէ՝ զնոսա Աստուած՝ եւ ասէ, աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք. եւ դու՛ անիծանես. եւ ո՞ր գեհեան ոչ ընկալցի զքեզ:

Your Lord and Creator honored him through His image and made him worthy of blessing. It says: "God blessed them and said, Be fruitful, and multiply."[45] And you curse (them); and which Gehenna would not accept you?

9 134 Մի նմանէք ասէ՝ Ադամայ նախնւոյն ձերոյ եւ հօրն, որ այնքան պատուով պատուեալ յԱստուծոյ՝ անհնազանդ գտաւ պատուիրանաց նորա, զոր ասաց նմա չուտել ի պտղոյ ծառոյն՝ եւ ոչ մահանալ. իսկ նա զխրատ չարախօսին բարուք վարկաւ՝ որ չարախօսեաց զԱստուծոյ, նախանձոտ զոլ՝ եւ անմարդասէր. գիտէր ասէ՝ Աստուած, եթէ յաւուր յորում ուտիցէք ի ծառոյն՝ բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս՝ ճանաչել զբարի եւ զչար. իսկ նա ոչ եկաց հակառակ չարախօսին, այլ հաւատաց՝ եւ հնազանդեցաւ (նմա.) եկեր ի պտղոյն՝ եւ ըղձանալւոյն ո՛չ եհաս, այլ մերկացեալ ի փառացն՝ յանդիմանեցաւ սուտ լինել (խրատն):

He says: "Do not be like your ancestor and father Adam, who, having been honored by God with such honor, was found disobedient to His commandments, which He said to him not to eat of the fruit of the tree and not to die. But he considered the counsel of the Devil to be good, who slandered God as being envious and misanthropic. He said, "God knew that in the day you eat of the tree, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."[46] But he did not oppose the slanderer, but believed and obeyed (him); he ate of the fruit and did not achieve the desirable (thing), but being stripped of glory was blamed, for (the counsel) was deceitful."

10 Արդ՝ եւ դուք ասէ՝ ընդդէմ նորա զհակառակսն գործեցէք, հնազանդ լերուք Աստուծոյ. այնմ՝ որ պտուղ կենաց պարգեւեաց ձեզ զխոնարհութիւն, եւ պտուղ գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի եցոյց ձեզ զամբարտաւանութիւնն եւ զսէր աշխարհիս այսորիկ: Իսկ եթէ բանսարկուն դարձեալ առաջի քո դնէ զմեծութիւն աշխարհիս այսորիկ՝ եւ զփառս եւ զամբարտաւանութիւն, որպէս եւ յայնժամ զպտուղ ծառոյն ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն, մի հաւանիր նմա. այլ կաց հակառակ ընդդէմ նորա:

"So you," he says, "do the opposite things against him; be obedient to God, to the one who granted you the fruit of life, humility; and showed you the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, pride and love of this world. And if

45. Gen 1:28.
46. Gen 3:5.

the Devil offers you the grandeur of this world again, and its glory and its pride, in the same way as then (he offered) the fruit of the tree for the reason of becoming God, don't agree with him, but oppose him."

11 142 Նմանեա ի մասինս յայսմիկ Աստուծոյ. ա՛րար ասէ Աստուած Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա հանդերձս մաշկեղէնս՝ եւ զգեցոյց նոցա, ծածկել զամօթալի զմերկութիւն նոցա՝ փոխանակ պատառատուն տերեւոյն:

Be in these portions like God. It says, "For Adam and his wife the God made leather garments, and clothed them"[47] to cover their shameful nakedness, instead of the torn leaf.

12 187 Եւ կամք առաքչին հօր այն էին, զի մահուամբ որդւոյն՝ արարածք փրկեսցին, ի պատճառս որոյ առաքեացն զնա յաշխարհս. եւ այս՝ սակս անհնազանդութեան նախնւոյն Ադամայ, որով զապականութիւն՝ եհեղ ի բնութիւնս: Իսկ Տէր մեր զգեցեալ զեղծեալ պատկերն Ադամայ՝ եւ նովին հնազանդի հօր, զի զկեանս եւ զանապականութիւնն ի մարդիկ աղբիւրացոյց: Եւ զի անհնազանդութիւն սակս ճաշակման պտղոյ ծառոյն եւ անմահ բնութեան աստուածանալոյն եղեւ՝ որով մահ թագաւորեաց:

And that was the will of the Father, the Sender, that the creatures be saved by his Son's death, for which reason he sent Him to this world. And this was because of the ancestor Adam's disobedience; by which he poured corruptibility into natures.[48] But our Lord, wearing the corruptible image of Adam, obeyed God in this, that he poured out abundantly life and incorruptibility upon people. And since the disobedience was for the sake of eating the fruit of the tree and (obtaining) immortal nature of becoming God, because of that, death started to rule.

13 215 . . . Յետ զկերպարանս նորոյ Ադամայ վերստին ստանալոյ հոգւով որդէգրութեանն՝ եւ լուսաւորելոյ լուսով գիտութեան, մի դարձեալ կերպարանիք ի կերպարանս հնոյն Ադամայ, զանգիտութեանն ձերոյ զցանկութիւնս վերստին ձգել ի ձեզ նայապէս: Զի որպէս նա անգիտացաւ զցանկութիւն պտղոյն՝ եթէ վնասակար է, եւ ի պատճառս աստուածանալոյն եկեր զցանկացեալ պտուղն՝ եւ մահացաւ, նոյնգունակ եւ դուք:

After receiving again the new Adam's form by adopting him through the Spirit, and being enlightened with the light of knowledge, do not assume again the old Adam's form by again casting like him your ignorant desires again on yourselves. For just as he was ignorant in his desire for the fruit that

47. Gen 3:21.

48. I.e., people, or as often, bodies.

was harmful, and ate the desirable fruit to become God, and died; likewise (will happen to) you.

14 257 . . . Ի յապականել մարդոյն՝ ապականեցան ընդ նմին եւ այլ արարածքս, որք հեծեն եւ երկնեն մինչեւ ցայժմ:

When man became corruptible, with him also other creatures became corruptible, which groan and grieve till now.

15 260 յառաջին մարդոյն՝ զկնի մեծագոյն փառացն եւ գերագոյն երանութեանն՝ զսա պահանջեաց (Աստուած) օրինադրութեամբն՝ ոչ ճաշակել ի մահաբեր փայտէն. եւ զի ոչ եղեւ հնազանդ, նմին իրի յամենայնէն զրկեցաւ:

After supreme glory and highest bliss (God) demanded the following from the first man by his giving a commandment:[49] not to eat of the mortal tree. And as he did not obey, for that he was deprived of every part of that same thing.

16 290 Ի բազում ինչ իրս պիտանացու է կնոջն հնազանդութիւն առ այրն. նախ ըստ կարգի ստեղծմանն Աստուծոյ՝ յառաջ զայրն ստեղծանել, եւ ապա երկրորդ ստեղծուած՝ յառնէն ստեղծանել զկինն. արդ երկրորդին պարտ եւ արժան է ի հնազանդութեան կալ՝ առաջնոյն, եւ ապա ըստ դատապարտութեանն օրինակի՝ առ այր քո՝ ասէ, դարձ քո, եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ. եւ այսու առաւել եւս պարտի կալ ի հնազանդութեան:

In many matters obedience to her husband is necessary for the woman. First, according to the order of God's creation: first creating the man, and then the second creature— the creating of woman from the man. Now, it is necessary and fitting for the second one to remain obedient to first one. Then, after the pattern of the condemnation, it says: "Your turning shall be to your husband, and he shall rule over you."[50] And for that the woman must all the more remain in obedience.

17 322 (Ամենատէրն մեր) . . . յիջանելն յերկնից եւ ի մարդն լինել՝ թագոյց զաստուածութիւն իւր ընդ վարագուրաւ մարմնոյն, զի մի արագ իմասցի չարն. այլ զի տեսանելով զնա ի կերպարանս Ադամայ, դիմեսցէ ի վերայ նորա՝ սպանանել զնա որպէս զԱդամն, եւ մեռցի մահու դատապարտեալ ի սքանչելի զօրութենէ նորա:

Our most lordly One in descending from heaven and becoming man, concealed His divinity under the curtain of the body, so that Evil One would not recognize (him) quickly, but, that by seeing him in the form of Adam,

49. Literally: legislation.
50. Gen 3:16.

he would rush against him to kill him like Adam, and he would die, being condemned to death by His wonderful power.

18 323 . . . Յիշեաց զստեղծուածս ձեռաց իւրոց զԱդամ՝ եւ զպատկեր նմանութեան իւրոյ՝ զանկեալն ի դժոխս ներքինս.

. . . He recalled the creation of his hands, Adam, and the image of his likeness, fallen into the inner hell.

19 325 . . . Յեղծանել պատկերին Աստուծոյ՝ որ վասն փառացն Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, ընդ նմին եղծան ապականեցան եւ այլ արարածք՝ որ սակս փառաց մարդոյն ստեղծան:

When God's image that had been created for the glory of God was perishing, together with him also other creatures that were created for the glory of man perished and became corruptible.

20 333 Եթէ զառաջին պատիւ արարչագործութեանն ասիցես, ահա մեծ է եւ սքանչելի. վասն զի այլ արարածք հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ ստեղծան՝ եւ դու ձեռամբ Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի պատկեր զծծութեան, իսկ դու ի պատկեր արարչին, այլ արարածք ի պատիւ քո եղեն՝ եւ դու ի պատիւ փառացն Աստուծոյ, այլ արարածք ի բնութիւն կապեալ կան՝ իսկ դու անձնիշխանութեամբ արարչին քում նման ես. այլ արարածք անբանութեամբն անզարդք երեւեցան եւ տրուպք, իսկ դու բանիւ եւ իմաստութեամբ զարդարեցար՝ եւ զպատիւն քո տիրապէս ոչ իմացար, այլ՝ անասնոց նմանեցար անբանից՝ կորուսանելով զտիրական պատիւն (քո) եւ զվեհ իմաստութիւնն. հնացար մեղօքն, ծերացար անօրէնութեամբն, դարձեալ լուծար եւ ի հող դարձար:

If you speak about the first honor of the creation, behold, it is great and wonderful. Because the other creatures were created by God's command, and you, by God's hand; other creatures in a humble image, and you, in the Creator's image; other creatures were made in your honor, and you, in the honor of God's glory; other creatures remain tied to (their) nature and you are like your Creator through (having) autonomy; other creatures appeared not adorned with reason and wretched, and you were adorned with reason and wisdom. But you did not acknowledge your honor properly, but became like irrational[51] animals, by losing your lordly honor and supreme wisdom; you grew old through your sin, you became aged through your transgression, again you were dissolved and returned to dust.

51. Or: dumb.

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12

Text: Yovhannēs Imastasēr, Մատենագրութիւն *Writings*, ed. A. G. Abrahamyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

Մեկնութիւն տումարիս հայկազնեայ
Commentary on the Armenian Calendar

1 223 Եւ զի՞ ասեն ոմանք՝ թէ ի դրախտին ոչ էր տիւ եւ ոչ գիշեր, եթէ յերկրի է, ի ներքոյ արեգական է, զի՞արդ ոչ լինէր տիւ եւ գիշեր, զի յառաջ որոշեաց Աստուած զտիւ եւ զգիշեր եւ ապա զդրախտն արար: Եթէ ի վեր քան զարեգակն է դրախտն, որպէս Որոգինէս ասէր, ապա ո՛չ էր գրեալ՝ թէ աղբեւր ելանէր յԵդեմայ, այլ ի դէպ էր ասել՝ թէ աղբիւր իջանէր: Դարձեալ ասէ լուան զձայն գալոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտէն ընդ երեկս:

And why do some (philosophers) say that in paradise there was neither day nor night? If it is on the earth it is below the sun; why was there not day or night? For first God separated day and night, and then made paradise. If paradise is above the sun, as Origen said, then it would not be written that a spring went out of Eden, but it would be proper to say that a spring went down. It also says that they heard the sound the Lord's coming from paradise toward evening.[52]

2 232 Որ ասաց ցԱդամ. Ահա եղեր իբրեւ զմեզ: Արդ ինքն եղեւ իբրեւ զնա:

He who said to Adam, "Now you have become like us."[53] Now He has become like him.

Text: Yovhannēs Sarkawag, Աղօթամատոյց *Prayer Book* (Sop'erk' 17; Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1854).

Առ Աստուած հայր
To Father God

3 5-7 որպէս վկայ են ի ձեռն աչաց արարածք ամենայն նիւթականք եւ երեւելիք, որոց վախճան եւ կատարած զմարդն հաճեցար ստեղծանել, տուեալ նմա պատիւ բազմազունակ եւ զարմանալի. որոց առաջին եւ մեծ՝ լինել եւ անուանել պատկեր անձառելոյ բնութեանդ: Եւ ապա զնախաստեղծս քան զնա զգալի բնութիւնս

52. Cf. Gen 3:8.
53. Gen 3:22.

ի հարկի ծառա/յութեան կացուցանելով նմա, հաւատալով ի փրկութեան նմա զրգանս զդրախտին զեղեցկութիւն յորում զազատութիւն եւ զինքնիշխանութիւն անձին նորա յայտնապէս ցուցանել կամելով, աւանդեցեր փոքր ինչ նմա պատուիրան իբր առհաւատչեայ մեծամեծաց՝ ի բարերար կամս քո հանդերձելոց այնմ նմա յաղթականաց՝ յետ հանդիսին առաքինութեան: Իսկ նորա նախապատուեալ զառ կինն կամակցութիւն օձին հաւանեցելոյ, եւ որ ի նմայն եւ նովաւ խօսեցաւ, զաստուածային հրամանս քո կենդանարարս՝ եւ սուրբս որպէս զանօգտաբերս եւ անշահս կամ ոչ ճշմարիտ՝ սպուժեալ քամահէր. եւ փոխանակ կենաց տարաժամ ճաշակմամբն իբրեւ զդեղ մահու զպտուղն ընտրեալ ընդունէր: Ի վերայ այսր ամենայնի ոչ միայն խոստովան ոչ լինէր ի հարցանել անոխակալիդ, այլ եւ զքեզ բաղբաղէր զոլ պատճառ ստահակութեանն՝ զկնոջն տուր քո նմա յառաջ բերեալ, եւ զանիծիցն՝ վճիռ / բռնադատեալ զքաղցր եւ զհաշտ բնութեան քո կամսդ՝ ի գլուխ եւ յարարածս վասն ինքեան ի քէն՝ եղեալս ընդունէր:

Just as all material and visible creatures witness through their eyes the completion and perfection of that which you were planning[54] to create, man, and to give him manifold and wonderful honors. The first and the greatest of them was to become and to be called the image of your ineffable nature. And then by establishing the necessity of the perceptible natures that were created before him to serve him, you entrusted to him the delights of salvation, the beauty of the Garden in which, desiring to demonstrate clearly his freedom and autonomy of self, you transmitted to him a certain small command as a pledge of future greater prizes to him by your beneficent will after his demonstration of virtue. But he preferred the woman's shared will with the persuasive serpent and with him (Satan) who spoke in it (i.e., in the serpent) and through it. He ignored your divine, life-giving, and holy command[55] as useless, profitless, and not true. And instead of life he chose and took the fruit, eating it untimely, as a mortal poison. Besides all this, he not only did not confess when you asked him without rancor, but also accused you of being the cause of his dishonorable behavior, pleading your giving him the woman, and forcing the decision to curse against the will of your sweet and mild nature; he received from you those things that had happened on (his) head and on created things, on account of himself.

54. Literally: designed.
55. Corrig. հրամանս.

Thirteenth Century

Frik C13

Text: Frik, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. M. Mkryan and E. T'orosyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1941).

11. Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն ի[1]
Pronounced by the same Frik, concerning

1 70–71 Նոքա կեանք եւ
Զանանց բարին էր յաջողեալ,
Անմահ աշխարհին էր քեզ տըւած.
Սերովբէիւք պարիսպ ածեալ
Մէկ պատուիրան էր քեզ գրած:

The eternal good was thriving,
The immortal land was given to you,
Walls were made of Seraphim,
One commandment was written for you.

2 Կեր դու յամէն պտղոյ Ադամ,
Զատ ի մէկէն որ չէ հրաման.
Երբ ի հողոյ էր զքեզ զուգել,
Դու ոնց կամիր լինել Աստուած:

Eat from every fruit, Adam,
Except one, which is not commanded [to be eaten].
When he composed you from dust,
How did you want to be God?

3 Երբ քու ստեղծողն էր խոնարհել,
Ոտնաձայնիւ առ քեզ եկած.
Դու յամօթոյն իր փախուցեալ,
Եւ թըզենաւն էիր ծածկած:

1. *Sic*! In the other edition by Archbishop Tiran (1952, 312), the title of this poem is Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ վասն հոգոյ "Of the same Frik, pronounced Concerning spirit."

When your Creator came down,
Came to you with his footfall,
You fled in shame of him,
And were hidden by a fig tree.

4 Տէրըն ձայնիւ առ քեզ գոչեաց,
Ադամ, Ադամ ուր ես թաքած,
Քեզ ով եղեւ առիթ բանիդ,
Դու ոնց հանիր զպատճառն Աստուած:

The Lord called you loudly,
Adam, Adam, where are you hidden?
Who prompted you to say those words?
How did you make God the cause?

5 Կինդ որ տըւիր դու իր ստեղծել,
Այս որ համար եմ աքսորած.
Քեզնով եղեւ երկիր պագեալ,
Գիտեմ չէիր որդի մեղաց:

(Adam speaks,)
"The woman that you gave me, you created."
"Because of her, I am expelled."
(God speaks,)
"Through you he (i.e., Satan) became worshiped.
I know that you were not a son of sin,"

6 Դու հակառակ եղար բարին,
Ի քո կողէդ ես դու խոցած,
Դաւաճանիւ ես դու խաբեալ,
Յանանց լուսոյն ես դու զըրկած:

You became opposed to good;
You are wounded by your rib;
You are deceived by the traitor;
You are deprived of eternal light.

7 Գընա դու կեր հաց դատելով,
Փուշն ու տատասկն էր քեզ բուսած.
Քեզ յարծըւէն պիտէր լսել,
Զինչ կու խաւսէ ի քո դիմաց:

Go, eat your bread with hard labor,
Thorns and prickles had grown for you.
You should listen to the eagle,
What it would say concerning you?

12 Բան պիտանի եւ լաւ ասացեալ Ֆրկանն
A Necessary and Good Word Pronounced by Frik, which is also titled: Նորին Ֆրկանն է ասացեալ. Վասն լաւ հաւատոյ Of Good Faith, Pronounced by the same Frik

8 81 Աստուած մարդասէրն ասաց, թէ Ադամայ համար խաչեցայ։
Զարիւնդ ի վերայ խաչին դու հեղեր Տէր վասն Ադամայ։

81 Man-loving God said, “I was crucified for Adam.”
Lord, you shed your blood on the cross for Adam.

17 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Pronounced by the same Frik

9 108 Դըժոխք շինել էր սատանայ,
Շատ մի հոգիք ժողվել ի նա.
Փրկիչն երեկ վասն Ադամայ,
եւ ազատեաց արեամբն ըզնա։

108 Satan had made hell;
He had gathered many spirits in it.
The Savior came on account of Adam
And freed (him) through His blood.

22 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ Բան մեկնութեան
Interpretative Poem Pronounced by the Same Frik

10 128 Քան զԱդամ այլ ո՞վ հարուստ, որ ունէր զդրախտն առանձին.
Դեռ այն ծառըն չէր բուսել, ո՛չ պտուղն, ինչ պատուիրեցին։
25 Պտուղ մի՛ ուտել Ադամ, որ չընկնիս ի մեծ գերութիւն.
Կերաւ, խաբեցաւ Ադամ, զօրըն լայր ի դիմաց դըրախտին։

Who was richer than Adam that alone had the Garden?
That tree had not grown yet, nor was there any fruit forbidden,
25 “Do not eat the fruit Adam, so as not to fall into great captivity.”
Adam ate, he was deceived, he cried all day before the Garden.

23 Բանք գովութեան առ Աստուած Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Words of Praise to God Spoken by Frik

11 131–32 Դու ի բանից ստեղծեր զամէն,
Հաստատեցաւ անօրինակ.

Քո հրամանիւ եղեն լերինք,
Ծովք եւ ցամաք, գետք եւ վտակք.
Թռչունք հաներ ի ջըրէն ի դուրս,
Բազում ի մէջ ջրրին լողակ։

You created all by words;
It was established unparalleled.
By your command the mountains were,
Seas and dry land, rivers and brooks.
You brought forth birds from the water,
Many swimming things in the water.

12 Զանտառ մայրին բազմացուցեր,
Որ գազանաց են աշտարակ.
Զդաշտ եւ զբըլու<ր> զարդարեցեր,
Որ անասնոց եղէն ճարակ։

You multiplied the forest groves,
Which are a tower for wild beasts.
You adorned vale and hill,
To be pasture for animals.

13 Հողս է հաստատ ի վերայ ջրի,
Զեռունք սողունք աստ են բնակ.
Զտարերքըս չորս հաստատեցեր,
ոչ առաւել եւ ոչ նուազակ։

This dust is established upon the water;
Here creeping things and reptiles live.
You established the four elements,
No more and no less.

14 Ի սոցանէ գոյացուցեր,
Բոլորովիմբ զամէն բանակ.
Յետոյ սոցա զմարդն արարեր,
Քեզ օրինակ եւ նըմանակ։

From these you put together,
Every single host.
After these you made man,
Your copy and likeness.

15 Զամէն արեր իւրն հընազանդ,
Զեռակերտաց դաստիարակ.
Զարդարեցեր պըտղաբերօք,
Զանանց դրախտն եւ զանհասակ։

You made everything obedient to him,
Tutor of creatures.
You ornamented with fruit-bearers,
The Garden eternal and inconceivable.

16 Տուեր նմա ի վայելումն,
Թէ դու կացիր ի դմա յերակ.
Օձին բանիւ արտաքսեցաւ,
Մերկ անդամօք եւ խայտառակ:

You gave him (it) to enjoy,
“Stay in it as a vein!”
He was expelled by the serpent’s words,
With naked limbs and in shame.

17 Յանձառ լուսոյն նա զրկեցաւ,
Թափուր, յամէն փառաց դատարկ.
Անցաւորիս նա ցանկացաւ,
Օր յետ աւուրց մահն է ճաշակ:

He was deprived of the ineffable light,
Forsaken, empty of all glory.
He desired the transient things,
Day after day, he tastes death.

18 Երեկ այսօր եկաց հաւան,
Բանսարկուի եղեւ կատակ.
Եղեւ գերի սատանայի,
Զորդիքն երետ դիւաց մըշակ:

He came on this day, he was persuaded;
He was mocked by the Devil.
He was captured by Satan;
He gave his sons to serve the demons.

19 Զայն որ ի լոյսըն ճեմալու,
Անկաւ ի կուպրըն եռ անտակ.
Ուրախացոյց ըզԲելիար,
Փորել երետ զգուբն անտակ:

He who walked in the light
Fell into the bottomless boiling pitch.
He made Belial happy,
Making him dig the bottomless pit.

20 Տարաւ զԱդամն եւ ըզթոռունքն,
Անդ արգիլեաց շատ ժամանակ.

Այս այլ չեղաւ Ադամայ խըրատ,
Պոռնըկեցաւ պիղծ եւ խառնակ:

He took Adam and his grandchildren
And imprisoned (them) there for a long time.
But this was not a lesson for Adam;
He fornicated impiously and corruptly.

24 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ բան մտաւոր և հոգեշահ Յաղագս արարչութեան ամենայն կենդանեաց
A Useful and Profitable Word Pronounced by Frik on the Creation of All Animals

21 141—43 Աստուծոյ զօրութիւն եւ կեանք օրհնեալ է,
Զարարածս յոչընչէ թէ ոնց գոյացել:

God's power and life are blessed,
How he created creatures from nothing.

22 Ի հըրոյ, ի լուսոյ հրեշտակք է ստեղծել,
Պարունակ աթոռոյն է շրջափակել:

He created angels from fire, from light,
To surround the circuit of his throne.[2]

23 Հրամանաւ ըզհողոյ երեսն է բացել,
Ի հըրոյ 'ւ ի ջըրոյ լերինք եռացել:

He opened by his command the face of the earth;
He erected[3] mountains of fire and water.

24 Ցամաքին ամրութեան բեւեռ է դըրել,
Ի լերանց է զաղբիւրք եւ զգետքըն բըղխել:

He set the steadfast nail of the dry land;
He made the springs and rivers arise from the mountains.

25 Զինչ ի տիկ ըզծովու ջուրըն ժողովել,
Սահմանիւ զամեն է ամրացուցել:

He has gathered the water of the sea as in a skin;
He has fortified it all with a boundary.

26 Մեծամեծ կենդանիք ի ջուրն է դըրել,
Ի ջըրոյն թեւաւորք յօդըն թըռուցել:

2. I.e., with the angels, cf. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.
3. Literally: boiled.

He put very great animals into the water;
He made the winged creatures fly from the water into the air.

27 Ի հողոյ ՚ւ ի ջըրոյ ըզբուսքն է հանել,
Զանասուն ու զգազանք յերկիր սընուցել:

He brought forth the plants from the earth and water,
To nurture animals and beasts on the earth.

28 Տարերօք զամէն ողորդ կառուցել,
Յետ այսոցս ամէն զմարդն արարել:

He correctly built everything from the elements;
After all these he made man.

29 Արարչին քաղցրութիւն եւ փառքն օրհնել,
Թէ հողոյն ի՞նչ զօհար պատկեր յօրինել:

The Creator’s mercy and glory should be blessed,
That composed such a precious image from dust.

30 Եօթնարփեան շընորհօք ըզմարդն լըցել,
Հանց հոգի եւ իմացք ու միտք է տուել:

He filled the man with the seven lights of grace;
He gave him as spirit, both understanding and mind.

31 Զդրախտըն եդեմ յարեւելս մարդոյն է տուել,
Գեղեցիկ մըրգաբերք ի նա է տընկել:

He gave the Garden of Eden in the east to man;
He planted beautiful fruit-bearers in it.

32 Զինչ զեղունք կանայք է ստեղծել,
Աշխարհի շինութեան պատճառ հըրամել:

He created women for fertility,
Made them the cause of the prosperity of the world.

33 Գոյնըզգոյն հանդերձիւ զինքըն պըճընել,
Զանազան պըտըղով զինքըն ճաշակել:

He adorned her with colored clothes;
He fed her with various fruit.

34 Զարեգակն ու զլուսինըն ծորտ է տըվել,
Ի ցերեկն աշխարհ ի վայելք է զուգել:

He gave the sun and the moon as servants;
He composed the world for enjoyment during the day.

35 Ըզգիշերն քընոյ հանգիստ հրամայել
Նաւելով ըզմարդիկ ի ծովն իջուցել:

He ordained sleep's rest for the night,
Bringing down men to the sea in ships.

36 Զմարդ եղելոց իշխան կացուցել,
Զանասունն ու գազանք ու զդեւք է կապել:

He made man the ruler of the beings;
He bound[4] the animals, beasts and demons.

37 Հանճարով զամէն ի ձեռն է տըւել,
Հանց տաճիկ ձիանով է բարձրացուցել:

He prudently gave everything into his hands;
He raised him up as an Arab on a steed.

26 Ֆրկանն Ասացուածք տնօրէնութեան փրկչին
Words of Frik on the Economy of the Savior

38 150–51 Արարեր ըզհրեշտակսն ի հուր 'ւ ի հոգի,
Քեզ երկինք եւ երկիր աթոռ կու լինի:

You have made the angels of fire and spirit;[5]
The heavens and the earth are your throne,[6]

39 Դու ստեղծեր ըզդակասն որ ոչ խափանի,
Քո բանի չորս տարերքս ուղորդ կու վարի:

You have created fate that does not fail;
The four elements act correctly by your word.

40 Զարեգակն ես կշռել դըրել դու վեցի,
Որ մոլար աստեղօք երկիր սընանի:

You have examined[7] and put the sun in the sixth place;[8]
It nurtures the earth with planets.

41 Ի հողոյ 'ւ ի ջըրոյ ծընեան շընչելի,
Ի յեղեմ տնկեցեր զդրախտըն բարի:

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4. I.e., in obedience to man.
5. Ps 104:4 = Arm 103:4.
6. Isa 66:1.
7. Literally: weighed.
8. I.e., of the seven moving stars.

Breathing things were born of the earth and water;
You planted a good Garden in Eden.

42 Թագաւոր զուգեցիր զմարդն ամենի,
Երբ չեկաց մարդն ի պատուիրանի:

You made the man king of all,
But the man did not observe the commandment.

43 Ոնց հաներ ի դրախտէն եղեւ նա գերի
Եւ թողեր վեց դարիւ ի խոր խաւարի:

As you expelled him from paradise, he became captive,
And you left him for six eons in deep darkness.

33 Նորին Ֆրկանն ասացեալ
Pronounced by the Same Frik.

44 180–83 Զհրեշտակն արար ի լուսոյ,
’Ի ի հոգոյ անմահ միաբար,
Շինեց զերկինքըն կամար
Եւ զծով ու ցամաք հետ յիրար

He made the angels of light
And simultaneously of immortal spirit.
He made the heavens a vault,
And the sea and the earth one after the other.

45 Արար զարեւն եւ զլուսինն,
Եօթն աստեղ ի հետըն մոլար
Զտարերք ու զչորս բնութիւնս
Կշռով զուգեց միաբար:

He made the sun and the moon,
And after that the seven planets.
He composed by singular weight
The four elements and substances.

46 Զդակասն եդիր տանուտէր,
Որ պահէ զամէն ի դադար,
Զըկունք, թռչունք եւ սողունք
Անասունք ամէն հաւասար:

He set fate as a master
That keeps all in order.[9]

9. Literally: in cessation, quietude.

(He created) fish, birds and creeping things,
Animals—all equal.

47 Շինեաց դըրախտ ի յեդեմ
Եւ տընկեց զծառըն գերերար
Զամէնն ստեղծեաց ի վեց օրն
Եւ արար մըտօք նա հանճար:

He made a Garden in Eden,
And planted the captivating tree.
He created all in six days,
And did this with prudent mind.

48 Խաղաղութիւն առաքեաց Տէր,
ողորմութիւն իւր յաշխարհ.
Յառաջ մինչ դեռ չէր եղեր
Այս ամեն գըրերս ի համար:

The Lord sent peace,
His mercy into the world,
Before there had existed
All these writings about him.

49 Երրորդական միութիւն
Արարին խորհուրդ եւ հընար,
Եկայք, որ մարդ արասցուք
Մեզ նըման պատկեր մի զօհար:

The threefold Union
Conceived an idea and strategy,
“Come, let us make man,
A precious image like unto us.”[10]

50 Դարձեալ եղեւ հըրաման.
Ո՛չ տանի պատուէր, գայ ի ծայր.
Որդիդ եղեր հընազանդ
Եւ խոնարհութիւն կամեցար:

Again, there was a commandment;
The order was not obeyed but came to an end.
O, Son, you were obedient,
And you wished humility.

51 Ասացեր թէ զմեղս Ադամայ
Ես քաւեմ, զի մարդ է տըկար.

10. Gen 1:26.

Ի հողէն, ջրէն , կրակէն
’Ի ի քամոյն զուգեցեր կաղպար:

You said, “I shall expiate
Adam’s sin, for he is a weak man.”
You composed a model
Of earth, water, fire, and wind.

52 Պատկերակից ու նըման
Իւր ձեռօքն արար̀ դու եղար.
Փըչեաց զշունչն ’ւ երետ հոգի
Եւ կընքեաց որ կենադանացար:

He made with His hands, one
Sharing His image and likeness, it was you.
He breathed in the breath and gave (you) spirit,
And He sealed (you) so that you would come to life.

53 Կազմեց ու եդիր ի դրախտն
Զանազան փառաց տիրացար.
Զաչերդ ի յետ դու բացիր,
Ինքնաբոյս դու քեզ թըվեցար:

He formed and put (you) in paradise,
You possessed various kinds of glory.
Then you opened your eyes;
You seemed self-created to yourself.

54 Ասցեր, թէ մէն կու կենամ,
Ի դրախտին ընկեր կամեցար.
Երետ քեզ քուն թըմբրութեան
’Ի ի կողէդ ետ կին քեզ համար:

You said, “I am living alone”;
You wished to have a companion in the Garden.
He caused a deep sleep to (fall upon) you
And gave you a woman from your rib.

55 Դու իր ’ւ Եւա միաւոր,
Ի դրախտըն այլոք մի չըկա́յր.
Աստուած միշտ եւ հանապազ
Ի տեսոյդ ձեր ուրախանայր:

You and Eve were alone;
There was nobody else in paradise.
Always and continuously God
Rejoiced at the sight of you.

56 Պըտուղն որ պատուիրեցաւ,
Մի ուտել Ադա՛մ, նախահայր,
Չարիր մըտիկ դըրախտին,
Ի պըտուղն ի կեր դու եղար։

The fruit about which was commanded,
“Eat not, forefather Adam,”
You did not consider paradise,
You ate of the fruit.

57 Դառն ճըչէր եւ ասէր
Մի՛ մօտիլ, թէ չէ՛ գերեցար.
Դրախտին անմահութիւն
Ու բարիքն ամէն քեզ համար։

He cried out bitterly and said,
“Do not approach, or else you will be captive.
The immortality of paradise,
And (its) good things are all for you.”

58 Ասաց թէ կեր յամէնէն
Բայց մէկէն ուտել քեզ չըկայր.
Ադա՛մ, ընդէ՞ր լուծեցեր
Եւ հանդարտութեամբ դու կերար։

He said, “Eat of every (tree),
But of one you should not eat.”
Adam, why did you transgress,
And (why did) you calmly eat?

59 Դու մարգարէ իր փառաւոր,
59 Ի վերին դասուցն իր ի յար.
Կընոջ դաւաճանութեամբ
Եւ օձի բանիւ խաբեցար։

You were a glorious prophet,
Close to the supernal ranks.
By a woman’s treachery you were deceived
And by the serpent’s words.

60 Դու հող ու մոխիր էիր,
Ո՞նց աստուածութեան ցանկացար.
Պատճառ դու Եւա դըրիր
’Ի ի յանանց լուսոյն զատացար։

You were dust and ashes,
How did you desire divinity?

You accused Eve
And you were separated from eternal light.

61 Թէ ո՞նց խաբեց սատանայ
Եւ կամ ո՞ւր տարաւ Բելիար.
Երբ տէրըն երեկ ի դըրախտն,
Քեզ խնդիր եւ քեզ ձայն արար։

How did Satan deceive (you)?
Or where did Belial lead (you)?
When the Lord came to paradise,
He sought and called you.

62 Դու է՞ր չանկար ի յուր յոտին
’Ի ասացեր թէ ի՛մ բարերար.
Ես հող ու մոխիր էի,
Ի՞նչ գիտի, թէ հանց լինենայր։

Why did not you fall to his feet?
And did not say, “My benefactor,
I was dust and ashes,
Could I know it would be thus?”

63 Նա չէր հանել ու վարել
Իւր ձեռացն ի վեր կայր ու գայր.
Դու մարդ էիր ի պատիւ
Ու զայդոր պատիւըն չիմացար։

He would not have expelled or led (you) out,
He would have understood (the work of) his hands and come.
You, man, were in honor,
And you did not understand that honor.

64 Նըմանեցար անբանից
Ի անասնոց հետըն վարեցար.
Ադամ լալով կու ասէ
Ստեղծօղին. ա՛յ իմ դեղ ու ճար։

You became like the non-rational,[11]
And you followed the animals.
Adam crying says
To the Creator, “Woe to me, O my medicine and remedy.”

65 Զպըտուղն ես դեռ չի կերեր,
Զինչ յառաջ դու հօր խոստացար.

11. Or: dumb, i.e., animals.

Դու է՞ր անկար ի կարիք
՛Ի ի կուսէն մարմին ըզգեցար:

I had not yet eaten the fruit,
When you had already promised the Father.
Why did you descend into need,
And put on flesh through the Virgin?”

Փոփոխակներ
Variants

1. Բարսղի ումեմն մարդոյ կռիւ եղեալ ընդ Աստուծոյ կու մեղադրէ եւ յետոյ
Of a Certain Man Barseł, Having Undertaken a Debate with God, Accuses and Subsequently . . .

11 240 Գեթ մեկ Ադամ էր ի դրախտի,
Եւ մէկ Եւայ իւր նմանի,
Եւ մի բարբառ Եբրայեցի
Մինչեւ կերեալ պտղոյ ծառի:

There was only one Adam in the Garden,
And one Eve like him.
And one Hebrew language,
Until they ate the fruit of the tree.

67 15 Ամ այս է բան հիանալի
Եւ առաւել զարմանալի.
Որ մէկ յԱդամ եւ յԵւայի
Թէ քանի՞ ազգեր ծնան յերկրի:

Now, this is an amazing thing,
And even more wondrous.
That from one Adam and Eve
So many nations were born in the world!

Text: Ֆրիկի Դիւան *Poetry of Frik,* ed. Archbishop Tirayr (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1952).

257 Ֆրիկ: Աղաչանք առ Տէր Յիսուս Քրիստոս Frik: Supplication to Lord Jesus Christ

68 Յիսուսի անուն յիս զթացար, զինչ ըստեղծեցեր զնախնին Ադամ,
Երբ ծընայ ու զզաւնացայ յիշեմ ըզՔո գութն ու դողամ:

«Մի՛ ուտեր» պատուիրեցեր Քո հրամանիդ եւ ոչ անսամ,
Մերկացայ յանճառ լուսոյն, վասն այն զարեան գետըն կու լամ:

Name of Jesus, You pitied me, just as you created the first Adam,
When I was born and grew clever, I remember your pity, and tremble,
"Do not eat!" you commanded; and I did not obey your order;
I was stripped of the ineffable light, therefore I weep a river of blood.

Grigor Aknerc'i C13

Text: Grigor Aknerc'i, Պատմութիւն վասն ազգին նետողաց *History of the Nation of the Archers,* ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1974).

Another edition, together with translation and a study is the following:

R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, "Grigor of Akanc'i, 'The History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)': the Armenian Text edited with an English Translation and Notes." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949): 269–400.[12] The translation here is my own.

1 1 Յետ ելանելոյ աստուածաստեղծ մարդոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն, եւ պատուիրելոյ Տեառն Աստուծոյ քրտնաջան աշխատութեամբ ուտել հաց զամենայն աւուրս իւր, յաղագս խաբման կնոջն եւ դաւաճանութեան պիղծ աւձին, վասն մոռանալոյ զգեղեցիկ պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ: Ապա յայնմհետէ կարաւտացաւ բնութիւն մարդոյն հեշտութեան եւ մարմնական զբաղմանց: Իսկ բանսարկուն սատանայ, վասն չար նախանձու իւրոյ, հանապազ ուսուցանէր զմարդիկ գործել զանարժանս. որպէս Կայէնի զեղբայր{ա} սպանութիւնն, եւ անաւրէն հսկայիցն զյաւրանալն ի մեղս, եւ ուտել զմեռելոտիսն:

1 After the divinely created man, Adam, had gone forth from the Garden, the Lord God commanded that he eat bread all of his days with most fatiguing labor on account of the deceit of the woman and the betrayal of the abominable serpent, because he was unmindful of the beautiful commandment of God. Then, thenceforth, the nature of man yearned for joy and bodily distraction. But the Devil, Satan, on account of his evil envy, continually taught men to do unfitting things, such as the fratricide of Cain and the sinful debauchery of the giants and their eating of corpses.

12. The same number of the journal contains F.W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms in the History of the Nation of the Archers by Grigor of Akanc'," 400–443.

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i C13

Text: Kirakos Ganjakec‘i, Պատմութիւն Հայոց *History of Armenia,* ed. K. Melik‘-Ohanǰanean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1961).

1 5 In talking of Eusebius of Caesarea, he says:

Որպէս մեծն Եւսեբիոս զերկուս գիրսն եթող՝ զՔրովնիկոնն, սկսեալ ի նախնոյն Ադամայ, զխժական անուանս նախապետացն, զոր գրեցին արտաքինքն՝ համեմատելով ընդ աստուածայնոց արանց պատմութիւնս:

As the great Eusebius left two writings, the Chronicle starting from the forefather Adam, barbarous names of the ancestors, which the external writers wrote, comparing them with the histories of divine men.

Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13

Text: Step‘anos Ōrbelean, Պատմութիւն տանն Սիսական *History of the House of Sisakan*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1861).

1 2–3 Եւ արդ ստեղծ Աստուած զմարդն ամենայնիւ նման ինքեան, եւ եդ զերիս զայս ի նմա, որով կարող գոյ ամենայնիւ նմանիլ Աստուծոյ, այս է՝ զարարչութիւնն, զսէրն, զխոհականութիւնն, որ է բանականութիւն - զարարչութիւնն, որով արարչակից լինի ստեղծողին. զսէրն, որով միշտ բաղձայ ցանկալւոյն, եւ հանապազ ջանայ հասանել եւ վայելել ի նմին. զխոհականութիւնն, որով որոշի յանբանից եւ կարող գոյ խորհել եւ ընտրել զպիտանին եւ զանպիտանն, զվնասակարն եւ զօգուտն. եւ ուսմամբ եւ ջանիւ ի կատարեալն հասանել հասակ: Եւ թէ ո՞րպէս լինի արարչակից, վարդապետք ուսմամբ զտհաս ոգիսն առնեն այր կատարեալ. քահանայք զախտի ծնունդս՝ անախտ, եւ զմարդիկ՝ Աստուած. իսկ արհեստաւորք գոյացուցանեն յանպատշաճ իրաց զպատշաճաւոր եւ զպիտանի. որպէս հիւսունք ի մայրից սեղան՝ եւ աթոռ, / կարուակք յօղեաց՝ կօշիկ եւ զգեստ. դարբինք ի քարանց՝ երկաթ, եւ յերկաթոյ՝ սուսեր եւ այլ ինչ գործիք -- Ահա այսոքիւք նմանին մարդիկ Աստուծոյ եւ արարչակից կոչին:

Now God created the man like himself in everything, and put these three things into him, by which he could be like God in everything, i.e., creativity, love, and wisdom, that is, reason. As to creative power, by which he is the collaborator of the Creator in creation; as to love, by which he always longs for the desirable and continually strives to achieve and to enjoy it; as to wisdom, by which he is distinguished from irrational[13] (animals) and is able to

13. Or: dumb.

think and to distinguish the useful and useless, the harmful and profitable and to reach perfect stature by learning and striving. And how does he collaborate in creation? Teachers make perfect men of immature souls through learning; priests make the offspring of vice pure, and men—God.[14] Craftsmen, moreover, bring proper and useful things into being from the improper, as carpenters (make) tables and chairs of wood, leatherworkers (make) shoes and clothes of sheepskin, blacksmiths (make) iron from stones and swords and other tools from iron. Behold, in these things men are like God and are called collaborators in creation.

Text: Step‘anos Ōrbelean, Ողբք եւ հառաչանք ի դիմաց մօրս մեր սրբոյ աթոռոյն Էջմիածնի *Elegy and Prayer before our Mother, the Holy See of Ējmiacin* (Calcutta: Araratean & Co Press, 1846).

A critical text and translation may be found in Avedis K. Sanjian "Step‘anos Orbelian's 'Elegy on the Holy Cathedral of Etchmiadzin,'" in *Armenian and Biblical Studies,* ed. Michael E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), 237–82.

Յիշատակարան
Colophon

2 30 Երկնաքատակ՝ տանն Սիւնի
Որ անմարմնոցն՝ է սքխրալի:
Բոլոր բնաւից՝ ըստ բաղձալի.
Որպէս դրախտն՝ Աղենայի:

Of the heavenly house of Siwnik‘
Which is wonderful to the incorporeal ones,
Desired by all,
Like the Edenic Garden.

Text: Step‘anos Siwnec‘i [Ōrbelean], Հակաճառութիւն ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց *Disputation against the Dyophysites* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1756). This work is sometimes wrongly attributed to Step‘anos Siwnec‘i C8.

3 62 Եւ որպէս առաջին կինն ի կողից առաջին մարդոյն առաւ՝ այնպէս եւ եկեղեցի ի կողից երկրորդն Ադամայ սկսաւ:

And as the first woman was taken from the rib of the first man, likewise the church started from the ribs of the second Adam.

14. I.e., godlike.

4 94 Նաւակատեացս խորհուրդ, նախ ի դրախտին աւանդեցաւ մեզ. զի հրամայեցաւ յամենայն ծառոց դրախտին ուտել բաց ի միոյն: Որպէս հրամայեցաւ եւ մեզ յայսմ աւուր յամենայն կերակրոց ուտել բաց ի մսոյ:

The mystery of the consecration was first conveyed to us in paradise, for it was commanded to eat of every tree of paradise except one. Likewise, we were commanded to eat of every food on this day except meat.

5 94–95 խնամ տարաւ արարիչն իւրում պատկերին՝ զի մի փոյթընդփոյթ ի կատարեալն հասեալ փառս՝ նման բանսարկուին / ընդվզեալ հպարտացի եւ անկցի:

The Creator took care of his image, so that it would not, reaching too zealously, perfect glory, rebel like the Devil, grow arrogant and fall.

6 95 Եւ զի Ադամայ ասացաւ յայլոցն ուտել՝ եւ ի միոյն պահել. արդ եթէ խստութեամբ եւ զայլսն ընդ միոյ պահեալ էր՝ պատուիրանազանց էր. եւ թէ զմինն ընդ այլոցն կերեալ՝ նոյն պատուիրանազանց:

Because Adam was told to eat of other (trees) and to abstain from one; now if he abstained rigorously from the others alongside the one, he would be a transgressor, and if he ate the one alongside the others, in the same way he would be a transgressor.

7 106–7 Իսկ զԱստուածածնին նաւակատիսն առնեմք, թէ որպէս ի ձեռն Եւայի զմահ եւ զգերութիւն ժառանգեցաք, այժմ ի ձեռն դստերն նորա՝ զանմահութիւն եւ զազատութիւն եւ զդրախտին կեանս ընկալաք:

And we celebrate the feast of the Mother of God, for as we inherited death and captivity through Eve, now through her daughter we have received immortality and liberty and the life of the Garden.

Vahram Rabuni C13

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Լուծմունք «Ստորոգութեանցն» Արիստոտէլի *Commentary on Aristotle's "Categories,"* ed. G. Grigorean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1967).

1 32 Երբ լինի անհատն՝ լինի տեսակն եւ սեռն, որպէս Ադամ անհատ եղեւ եւ ապա ի նմանէ՝ տեսակ եւ սեռ:

When the individual exists, there exist (also) the species and genus, as Adam was an individual, and from him there (derived) his species and genus.

Text: Grigor Narekacʻi and Vahram *vardapet*, Ճառք եւ խոստովանութիւնք

հաւատոյ *Homilies and Confessions of Faith* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1856), 115–216.

Vahram Rabuni, Խոստովանութիւն հաւատոյ
Confession of Faith

2 138 Զի ահա Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէ, եւ Աբէլ յորովայնէ Ադամայ, սակայն մի են բնութիւն նոքա եւ Ադամ՝ յորմէ նոքին՝ եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբէլ, թէպէտ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք՝ պատճառք մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

For, behold, Eve is from Adam, but from his rib; and Abel is from Adam's belly, but they and Adam, from whom they (descend), are one in nature; yet Eve and Abel are not brothers of one another, though they were of one origin, from Adam. Likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) being of one origin, the Father.

Ի մարդեղութիւն Քրիստոսի
On the Incarnation of Christ

3 191–93 Փայտիւ մեղաւ առաջինն Ադամ. ի փայտի բարձրացաւ երկրորդն Ադամ՝ շնորհելով ամենեցուն զփայտ փրկութեան եւ կենդանութեան: Պտղոյն ճաշակմամբ ի պատուոյ անտի պատրեալն ի նախնումն անկաւ. լեղւոյն ճաշակմամբ կենարարին էառ զճաշակ անմահութեան պտղոյն վերստին: Կողածնաւն կործանեցաւ նախնին մարդ. յանարատ կողս իւր ընկալաւ զվէրս Որդին Հօր միածին, որ էառ ի տանէն Ադամայ զմարմին, զի յազնուականութիւնն կանգնեսցէ դարձեալ զանկեալսն յառաջինն:

The first Adam sinned by the tree, the second Adam was raised on the cross, granting to all the wood of salvation and life. The one, deceived in the beginning by eating the fruit, fell; through the Redeemer's tasting the bile, he (Adam) received again the taste of the fruit of immortality. The first man perished because of the one made from the rib, the Only Begotten Son of the Father received wounds to his immaculate ribs, he who received body from Adam's house, in order to restore the first fallen to their nobility.

4 Ընթացաւ առաջնաստեղծն ի ծառն կթել ձեռօքն զպտուղն մահածին. տարածեաց զձեռս իւր ի խաչին եւ բեւեռմամբ ոտին՝ որ եղեւ ի զաւակէ նորին մարմին, արձակեաց ի կապանաց զիւրն պատկեր, եւ ըստ մարդն գոլոյ՝ զիւր նախնին: Եհան յայնժամ զԱդամ յադենայ, եմոյծ այժմ ի դրախտ անդր զգոլ որդի նորա ընդ նորա: Անէծս եղ ի

վերայ մեղանչականին Ադամայ. յինքն ընկալաւ զա/նէծս վասն նորա, զի այնու օրհնեսցէ յօրհնութիւնս հոգեւորս զծնունդս նորա:

The first-created (man) ran to the tree to pick the mortal fruit with his hands; (the Son) stretched his arms on the cross with his foot nailed, he who became body from his, (Adam's) seed. He released his image from the bonds and, according to his being a man, his ancestor. Then he had expelled Adam from Eden; now he introduced Him into the Garden, who was his son, to be with him. He imposed the curse upon the sinful Adam; he, (the Son) accepted the curse upon himself for his sake, so that by that he might bless his (Adam's) offspring with spiritual blessings.

5 Ի փուշ դատապարտեաց զփշաբեր ախտից վանողն, զնոյն փուշ եբարձ յաստուածային գլուխն, զի մեզ բոլորեսցի պսակ հոգեւոր ի քարանց պատուականաց եւ յիմանալեաց: Զքիրտն երեսաց վճռեաց ի յամօթոյ աղալման քիրտն զգեստեալն, քրտունքն ոլոռն ոլոռն իջանէին ի նմանէ, զի զքիրտն մեղացն ջնջեսցէ կենդանական շնչմամբն որ յինքենէ: Մերկացաւ՝ որ յանցեաւն յետ ճաշակմանն, որ եւ զթզենւոյն ծածկոյթ ինքեան սփածաւ. մերկացաւ լոյս փառացն Հօր յատեանն Պիղատոսի, եւ զգեցաւ զքղամիթն նախատանաց, զի մեզ զգեցուսցէ զանապականութեան զգեստ եւ զանմահութեան:

He (God) condemned to thorns the conqueror of thorny sufferings. He raised the same thorns to the divine head, in order to crown us with a spiritual crown of precious and intelligible stones. The sweat of His face released from shame the one who had put on the sweat (of the transgression); the sweat dripped down from him drop by drop, so that he could abolish the sweat of the sin by the redemptive breath that is from himself. He who sinned became naked after eating, who put on a fig leaf to gird himself. The Light of his Father's glory was stripped naked in Pilate's tribunal, and put on the chlamys of dishonor, in order to dress us with the clothing of incorruption and immortality.

6 Մեռաւ Ադամ ըստ անհրաժեշտ հրամանին. ի մահուան իւրում միշտ կենդանին ցօղեաց ի վերայ նորին զարիւն իւր զաստուածային, կենդանութիւն շնորհելով նորին. զի կենդանութիւն ամենայն մար/մնոյ զարիւնն իւր ասաց առ օրէնս հինս: Հուր վառեցաւ յԵւայէ ընդ բովանդակ ծագս աշխարհի, ջուր եւ ի կողից Փրկչին եւ շիջոյց զբոց ցաւագին ախտին:

Adam died by the irrevocable command; in His death, He who lives forever sprinkled His divine blood upon him, granting him life; for according to the old Law, he said that his blood (is) the life of every body.[15] Fire was kindled

15. See Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11; Deut 12:23.

by Eve through all the ends of the world; water came out of the Savior's side and extinguished the flame of the painful suffering.

Text: Vahram Rabuni, Վերլուծութիւն բանին Եսայեայ "Commentary on Isaiah," *Ararat* no. 10 (1868): 137–41; no. 12 (1868): 165–69; no. 1 (1869): 8–9; no. 2 (1869) 36–39; no. 3 (1869) 49–52; no. 4 (1869) 72–78; no. 5 (1869) 97–101.

7 1869, 37 . . . տեսցուք, թէ յորմէ՞ հետէ, կամ զիա՞րդ ի մարդիկ սկսաւ թագաւորութիւնն:

. . . Let us see, after what and why did the kingdom begin among men.

8 1869 38 . . . ընդ հովուացն զՀովիւն քաջ՝ որ . . . թափեաց ի բերանոյ անուանեալն առիւծու զբլթակ ունկան նախամաւրն չարաչար լսելութեամբ եւ զաքեացս երկուս նախահաւրն անպատշաճաբար ի ծառն ընթացողութեան:

. . . The good shepherd among shepherds who . . . released from the mouth of the so-called lion the lobe of the foremother's ear, (whereby she had) listened to evil, and the forefather's two legs, (whereby he) moved improperly towards the tree.[16]

Սկիզբն մարդկան թագաւորութեան
The Beginning of Men's Kingdom

9 1869, 2, 37 Ի սկիզբն մարդկութեանս շնորհեցաւ նմա այս պատիւ. զի արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. «Ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա. եւ աւրհնեալ զնա, ասաց. իշխեցէք ձկանց ծովու եւ թռչնոց եւ անասնոց, ամենայնի որ ի վերայ երկրի»: Եւ այսպէս թագաւոր կացոյց նա երեւելի արարածոցս. թագաւորութեամբ իւրով հնազանդեալ . . . այլ քանզի նա ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. անհնազանդ եղեալ Արարչին իւրոյ, անկաւ ընդ հնազանդութեամբ որոյ իշխէրն, զորս եւ պաշտեաց իսկ զարարածս եւ ոչ զԱրարիչն. եւ մարմին լինելովն զրկեցաւ ի շնորհաց հոգւոյն, պաշտաւնեայ եղեալ մեղացն, ծառայեաց նոցին:

In the beginning of mankind, this honor was granted, that God made the man in his image, "According to the image of God He made him. . . . And he blessed them, and said: Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl, and over the animals, all that is upon the earth."[17] And thus he made him king over visible creatures, being obedient by his kingship. . . . But as

16. Amos 3:12.
17. Gen 1:26–29.

he was in honor and did not realize that, having disobeyed his Creator, he fell into subjection to those over whom he reigned; and he worshiped the creatures and not the Creator, and being a body, was deprived of the gifts of the spirit; having become minister to sins, he served them.

VANAKAN *VARDAPET* C13

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Յաղագս տարեմտին *"Concerning the New Year,"* ed. L. Xačʻikyan, *Gitakan nyutʻeri žołovacu*[18] 1 (1941): 151–69.

1 159 Իսկ ահա անուն ամսոյդ՝ են որ ի նախնեացն յանուանէ, եւ են որ յեղանակացդ եւ են որ ի դիցն. քանզի Եբրայեցիք եւ Մակեդոնացիք զաւել աւուրքն դնեն սկիզբն տարոյն, եւ ասեն՝ աւր առաջին եւ երկրորդ եւ երրորդ եւ չորրորդ եւ հինգերորդ եւ վեցերորդ մուտն Նիսան ամսոյ, որ թարգմանի կազմութիւն՝ զի ի հողոյ կազմեաց զԱդամ: Զնոյն եւ յայտ առնէ աւրն, զի ուրբաթ ասի, որ է կազմութիւն. ասի եւ բաւթ այսինքն սուգ եւ տրտմութիւն, վասն ելանելոյն ի դրախտէն եւ լսելոյն, թէ «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս»:

And some of the names of the months are those which (derive) from the names of the ancestors, some from the seasons and some from gods. For the Hebrews and the Macedonians put additional days at the beginning of the year and say, "The first day and the second and the third and the fourth and the fifth and the sixth (are) the entry into of the month Nisan," which is translated "formation," for He formed Adam of dust. The day manifests the same, for it is called "urbatʻ" (Friday), that is "formation." It is called also "bawtʻ" (sorrowful news), which means grief and sorrow, due to being expelled from paradise and hearing, "dust you were, and unto dust shall you return."[19]

Text: Vanakan *vardapet*, Պատճառ առաջաւորաց պահոց "Concerning the Aṙaǰawor Fast," ed. L. M. Melik'setʻ-Bek, *Ējmiacin*, no. 6 (1959): 35–44.

2 41–42 Երանելի Բարսեղ ասէ, թէ «Պահք նախ ի դրախտին օրինադրեցաւ եւ հասակակից է նախահօրն Ադամայ: Պահոց պատուիրանն եդ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան, զոր ոչ պահեաց, գողացեալ հեշտութեամբ եւ մերկացեալ անկաւ ի հաւասարութիւն անասնոց եւ ի համարս մեռելոց»: Արդ, այս պահս այնմ պահոցն հաւաստեցաւ յառաջնորդացն մերոց, զի զոր ոչ պահելովն արտաքս անկաք ի դրախտէն եւ կորուսաք զփառսն. թերեւս պահելովն այսրէն

18. This journal was later renamed *Banber Matenadarani*.
19. Gen 3:19. This is actually the old Armenian reckoning; see Stone 1988, 5–12. The "etymologies" bear no resemblance to reality.

առցուք զնա: Եւ զի Ե զգայութեամբն մեղաւ Ադամ, Ե-օրեայ պահօքս սրբեսցուք զգայութիւնս մեր:

Այս է առաջին պահք: Եւ յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, ասեն թէ մահու մնալով Ադամայ ոչ կամէր ուտել ինչ: Եւ զկնի Ե աւուր գթացեալ Աստուած ողորմեցաւ եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի իւրոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստանալ նմա զառաքումն Միածնին եւ մարմնանալ Բանին Աստուծոյ վասն փր/կութեան նորա. եւ հրամայէ ուտել ի պտղոյ աշխարհին: Զայս խոստումն յիշեցուցանէ Դաւիթ ի դիմաց Ադամայ ասելով. «Յիշեա́ զբան ծառայի քո, յոր եւ յուսացուցեր զիս» (Սղմս. ՃԺԸ. 49): Դարձեալ Ե աւուրբ յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն մարդոյն արարչագործեցան արարածք եւ ապա յետ Ե աւուր ստեղծ Ադամ:

The blessed Basil (Barseł) says that "the fast was first ordained in the Garden and is coeval with the forefather Adam. (God) gave the commandment of fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge, which he did not observe; being captured by voluptuousness and having been stripped, he fell to a level of animals and to the number of the dead." Now this fast was confirmed by the fasting of those who preceded us;[20] since, not observing the fast, we fell outside of the Garden and lost the glory; perhaps by observing the fast, by this we might receive it (back). And since Adam sinned with his five senses, we shall clean our senses with this five-days-long fasting.

The first fast is the following. When[21] Adam came out of paradise, they say that, expecting death, Adam did not wish to eat anything. And after five days, God had pity and mercy and ordered his angel to console him and to promise him the sending of the Only Begotten and the incarnation of the Word God for the sake of his salvation. And he ordered him to eat of the fruit of the land. David recalled this promise before Adam, saying, "Remember the word to your servant, upon which you have caused me to hope."[22] Again in the five days before the creation of man, the creatures were created and then after five days, He created Adam.

Vardan Arewelc'i C13

Text: Vardan Arewelc'i, Աշխարհացոյց *Geography*, ed. H. Perperean (Bérbérian) (Paris: Arax Press, 1960).

1 3 Ոչ կամեցաւ ինքն միայն [Աստուած] վայելել զիւր առատ բարին, այլ շարժեալ սիրով յիւր բարի կամացն, եւ գոյացոյց զարարածս

20. Or: guides, leaders. The word apparently refers to forefathers.

21. Literally: and when.

22. Ps 119:49 = Arm 118:49.

զիմանալիս եւ զզալիս, եւ է ինքն միայն անեղ, եւ յետ նորա ամենայն եղականք են:

(God) did not wish to enjoy his abundant goodness alone, but moved by love of his good will, he also brought into being the intelligible and sensible creatures, and only He is uncreate, and after him all things are created.

2 5 Եւ դրախտն Ադամայ ի վերայ երկրի է, ի վերայ բարձրաբերձ բեմբի եւ Դ. իր պատեալ է զդրախտն եւ զցամաք երկիրս:

Նախ Ովկիանոս ծովն, եւ Լեւիաթան ձուկն՝ ընդդէմ կալով կոհակացն Ովկիանու եւ ի կողմն արեւմտից զտուտն եւ զգլուխն միատեղ է եդեալ:

Եւ ապա Քեռինոս կղզին, զի եւ նա բոլորածիր կղզի է ի մէջ Բ. ծովուն: Եւ յետ նորա Անդլնդական ծովն:

Adam's paradise is on the earth, on a high elevation, and four things surround paradise and the dry lands. First the ocean and the fish Leviathan, situated opposite the ocean's billows, and to the west its tail and head are set in the same place. And the island Cherinus, for it is a round island between two seas. And after that the Atlantic sea.

Text: Vardan Arewelc'i, Հաւաքումն պատմութեան *Historical Compilation,* ed. Ł. Ališan (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1862).
Translation: Robert W. Thomson, "Vardan Arewelc'i, 'Historical Compilation'." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): 125–26. Quoted by permission.

4–9 (the story of the creation starts on p. 2)

3 Իսկ ի հինգն շուրջն եւ ի վեցն, ել հրաման ի ջուր եւ յերկիր վասն կենդանեաց, սկսեալ ի կառաբոյսս եւ ի սպունգս, եւ կատարեալ ի մարդն ի կատարեալ կենդանին բանաւորութեամբ, ի հազար ազգս, գլխաւորօքն իւրեանց Լեւիաթանաւ որ ի ջուրս, եւ Բեհմովթաւն որ ի ցամաքային անապատս. եւ այս է ըստ Արիստոտելի հոգի ընդհանուր տուող գոյութեան ամենայնի: Եւ արդ բնութիւնն շարժէ զգունդն երկնից, եւ նա զժամանակն, եւ նա զտարրն, եւ նա զտունկս եւ զկենդանիս. եւ զհալական նիւթս, զոսկի եւ զարծաթ, եւ զակն, եւ զայլսն զոր գործէ բնութիւնն ծծմբով, եւ ժիպակաւ՝ որպէս ասեն զիտողք:

Now on the fifth revolution and the sixth there came forth the command to water and earth concerning the living beings: beginning with the zoophytes and sponges and culminating in man as the perfect living being with rationality, in a thousand species, with their leaders Leviathan in the waters and

Behemoth in the deserts of the dry land. According to Aristotle, this is the general spirit that gives existence to everything.

So nature moves the sphere of heaven, and it (in turn causes) time and it, matter,[23] and it, plants and living beings and metallic substance, gold and silver, and precious stones and the other things which nature works through sulphur and mercury, as learned men say.

4 Իսկ ի գլուխն հաաուցեալ զանդամոցն յօրինուած, որպէս քաջ պատկերագիրքն՝ զի յոտից սկսանին, հրաշագործէ իմն նոր յօրինելով բնութիւնս յերկնէ եւ յերկրէ, եւ որ ի մէջս են վեցից ձեռաց խոնարհելոց ի միոյ պատկերի շինուած, զի մինն նման իցէ երիցն, որովք մի հաւատացի ստեղծողին բնութիւն եւ էութիւն եւ աստուածութիւն. գիտելով որ ինչ լինելոցն էր զմեղանսն, այլ ոչ կարէր արգելուլ նախագիտութիւնն զշարժումն յորդառատ բարերարութեանն. այլ եւ ի նոյն իսկ բարերարութենէն ոչ հրաժարէր ոտիւք գալ հիւանդատես այնմ զոր ձեռօքն ստեղծ, եւ տուեալ զնա երկրի, մատնէ դահճին մահու կարճել զմեղսն, եւ հանել զչարութիւնն ի նմանէ, եւ ցուցանել նմա զվնաս օձին եւ զնենգութիւն չարին, զի այլ մի լուիցէ նմա, գիտելով զոր ինչ առնելոց էր զվերստին նորոգումն. այլ եւ ոչ ետ նմա գութն իւր կատարել զվճիռ մահուն՝ զոր եհատ նմա, զի ահա ոչ մեռաւ հոգին, այլ հողն հող եղեւ, եւ բնակիչն մնաց: Եւ ա/5/րուեստաւորն կարող է եւ գթած, եւ նիւթն ի ձեռին նորա, եւ ժամանակ յարութեանն անմոռաց ի նմա:

Then he brought to perfection the structure of the limbs. Like good portrait painters, since they begin from the feet, he wonderfully fashioned some new nature from heaven and earth and what is in between, six hands engaged in the forming of one picture, so that one might be like three; whereby the nature and being and divinity of the Creator may be believed to be one. He knew what sins would occur, but his foresight was unable to prevent the activity of his liberal benevolence. By the same benevolence he did not abstain from going on foot as a visitor to the sick to the one whom he had created with his hands. The earth having delivered him us, he handed him over to the executioner of death to cut off his sins and remove the evil from him, and to show him the harm of the serpent and the deceit of the Evil One, so that he might heed him[24] no more, knowing what he was intending to do—the renewal. But his compassion did not allow him to carry out the sentence of death which he had decreed on him. For behold the spirit did not die; but the dust became dust, while the dweller (in it) remained. The Maker / is able and compassionate, and matter is in his hand, and with him the time of resurrection cannot be forgotten.

23. Literally: the element.
24. I.e., the evil one.

5 Բ Արդ սրոբէիւք բոցապատ արարեալ Աստուծոյ զդրախտն՝ որ կայ ընդ արեւելս, յերկրի արմատացեալ ի կատարս լերինն բարձու, որ հաւասար է գնդին լուսնի, անծորելի պտղով եւ անթառամ սաղարթիւք, ուր ոչ ներգործէ արեգակն տիւ եւ գիշեր, այլ յարփւոյն պայծառանայ, եւ կամ նշողիւք փառացն Աստուծոյ, որպէս զմեծ գործ նորա, եւ հրաշալի տեղի. որում ոչ համարեցաւ արժանի զանցաւորն տեսլեան անգամ, այլ յամենայն կողմանց վառեաց զնա հրով՝ ի կողմանց եւ ի վերուստ, որպէս զշանթական հուրդ, որ յորժամ անկանի՝ զինքն եւ զտեղին ծածկէ յաչաց, զի մի՛ ժպրհեսցի ոք խնդրել զնա առանց կամացն Աստուծոյ:

II Now by means of Seraphim and fire, God surrounded paradise, which is in the east, rooted on earth at the top of a high mountain.[25] It is equal with the sphere of the moon, inexhaustible in fruit and unfading with foliage, where the sun does not make day and night but it shines from the ether or with the rays of God's glory, as his great work and wonderful place. He did not reckon the transgressor worthy of seeing it again, but on all sides guarded it with fire, on the sides and above—like the fire of a thunderbolt, which when it falls hides itself and the place from one's eyes—lest anyone presume to seek it without God's will.

6 Ուստի զամս երեսուն ողբացեալ Ադամայ Եւայիւ զանխորհրդութիւնս իւրեանց կուսութեամբ, ապա գիտացին զմիմեանս յանասնոցն անկեալ յանարգանս, եւ ծնան զԿայէն հիւանդ ծնողաց ցաւած ծնունդ, որպէս ասեն բժիշկք, քերբ միով Կլիմաս կոչեցեալ. եւ զկնի այլ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբէլ, եւ զԱբելուհի քոյրն նորա: Եւ զկնի եւս երեսուն ամի սպան Կայէն զԱբէլ. քանզի ուսեալ ի ծնողացն պատուել զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականաց եւ առաջնովք, եւ վասն սիրելոյ զմիմեանս՝ ընդ անձին եւ ընդ եղբօրն մատուցանել: Իսկ Աբելի ածեալ յանդրանկաց գառանց եւ ի պարարտաց զիւր եւ զեղբօրն, վասն որոյ հայեցաւ Աստուած նախ ի Հաբել եւ ի պատարագս նորա, եւ ի Կայէն ոչ նայեցաւ, զի զյոռին եբեր, ընդ անձին միայն, եւ ոչ զմասն եղբօրն. եւ ոչ եղեւ ընկալեալ ի վերուստ հրով, որպէս զՀաբելին. վասն որոյ ի կարծիս եղեալ Կայէն վասն Աբելի, թէ առնու զնա ի դրախտն Աստուած վասն ընդունելի պատարագին, եւ նախանձու վառեալ՝ սպան զնա: Եւ իմացեալ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի, / սգացին զնա ամս հարիւր եւ քառասուն:

So for thirty years Adam lamented with Eve in virginity for their recklessness; then they knew one another, falling into the shame of animals, and begat Cain (Kayēn)—a painful birth for sick parents, as doctors say—with his sister called Klimas. After thirty years they begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. After yet another thirty years Cain killed Abel; for he had learned

25. Murray 1975, 221, 258–61, 306–10.

from his parents to honor God with gifts of honorable things and first-fruits, and for the sake of mutual love to offer these for himself and for his brother. So Abel brought some firstborn lambs and fattened [animals], of his own and his brother's. Therefore God looked first on Abel and on his offerings; but to Cain he paid no heed, since he brought a defective [offering], on his own behalf only and not the portion for his brother. It was not received from above with fire, like Abel's. Therefore Cain supposed about Abel that God would receive him into paradise because of his acceptable offering; and inflamed with jealousy he slew him. When Adam and Eve learned [of this], / they mourned him for one hundred and forty years.

7 Ե Այլ զթիւ յամելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտին ոչ ոք կարէ ասել. մի՝ զի ժամանակագործ արեգակնս այս ոչ սպասաւորէ դրախտին, եւ երկրորդ՝ զի որքան անմեղ էր Ադամ՝ ընդ անմահսն էր նորա վիճակն, որք չեն ընդ տարեօք: Իսկ զկնի յանցմանն՝ ոչ յամեաց ի դրախտին. զի ընդ մահու վճռաւ եմուտ, եւ Աստուծոյ մեռաւ, եւ գերեզմանի պէտք էին, եւ դրախտն անմահից էր տեղի, վասն որոյ յերկիր հանեալ՝ մտանէ ընդ ժամանակաւ: Եւ անտի համարէ Հոգին զտարիսն ի ձեռն Մովսիսի. որ լինի ըստ եօթանասնից թարգ/մանութեանն յելիցն ի դրախտէն մինչեւ ցջրհեղեղն՝ երկու հազար երկու հարիւր քառասուն եւ երկու ամք եւ ըստ եբրայեցւոցն՝ հազար վեցհարիւր հիսուն եւ վեց ամք, պակաս հինգ հարիւր ութսուն եւ վեց ամօք. եւ զպատճառսն ասեն թէ կնասէրք էին Հրէայքն, կարճեցին զտարիս ամուսնացելոյ առաջնոցն, զի մի՛ ոք արգելցէ զնոսա ի տղայութեանն առնուլ զկանայս. քանզի անմիաբանութիւն նոցա նախ քան զամուսնանալն է:

V But the duration of Adam's stay in paradise no one can tell. First because this sun which marks time did not serve paradise; and second, since Adam was so sinless his lot was with the immortals, who are not subject to years. But after the transgression he did not stay in the Garden, for he was sentenced to death[26] and became dead to God. There was need for a tomb, but paradise was the place of immortals; therefore, cast forth onto earth, he became subject to time.[27] From that point the Spirit numbers the years through Moses: namely, according to the translation of the Seventy, / from the departure from the Garden down to the flood 2,242 years; but according to the Hebrews, 1,656 years, less by 586 years. They say the reason is that the Jews were women-lovers and shortened the years of marriage of their ancestors lest anyone prevent them from taking wives in their youth. For their disagreement concerns [the period] before marriage.

26. Literally: entered under the sentence of death.
27. Literally: enters under time.

8 Զի զԱդամ հարիւր եւ երեսուն ամաց ասեն ծնանել զՍէթ, եւ Սեթայ հարիւր եւ հինգ ամաց ծնանել զԵնովս. իսկ զյետ ամուսնութեան ժամանակն զոյգ բերեն եօթանասնիցն.

They say that Adam at 130 years begat Seth, and Seth at 105 years begat Enos. But after marriage they make the period of time equal to the Seventy.[28]

Text: Vardan Barjraberdc‘i (Arewelc‘i), Մեկնութիւն Սաղմոսաց Դաւթի *Commentary on the Psalms of David* (Astrakhan: Archbishop Yovsēp‘ Arłut‘eanc‘ Press, 1797).

9 42 Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զնա քան զհրեշտակս քո:

Զի հրեշտակք յառաջնում աւուրն, եւ Ադամ ի վեցերորդին. կամ զի՝ կարօտ կերակրոյ եղեւ կամ՝ ընդ երկնաւ էառ տեղի:

"For you have made him a little lower than your angels" [29]

Because the angels (were created) on the first day, and Adam on the sixth, either because he needed food, or he received a place under heaven.

10 50 ի քեզ թողեալ է աղքատն, եւ որբոյն դու ես օգնական

Աղքատ առաջին՝ Ադամ, եւ զնոյն որբ, յԱստուծոյ եւ ի դրախտէն:

"The poor commits himself unto you; you are the helper of the fatherless."[30]

The first poor man was Adam, and he was fatherless, (deprived) of God and the Garden.

11 83 Ադամ հեռացաւ յիւր փրկութենէն, քան վասն պտղոյն ճաշակմանն՝ աւելի վասն բանից յանցանացն, որ ասաց կինս զոր ետուր ինձ:

Adam was estranged from his salvation more because of the sinful words, for he said, "the woman whom you gave to me,"[31] rather than for eating the fruit.

12 106 Դարձոյց զսուգ իմ յուրախութիւն, զերծ յինէն զքուրձ:

Զեւայի սուգն, կուսին ասելով՝ ուրա՛խ լեր բերկրեալ, որդի քո՝ սրբէ զամենայն արտասուս: Զերծ յինէն զԱդամայ մաշկեայն:

"You have turned my mourning into rejoicing: you have put off my sackcloth from me."[32]

28. I.e., the Septuagint.
29. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.
30. Ps 10:14 = Arm 9:14.
31. Gen 3:12.
32. Ps 30:11 = Arm 29:12.

Eve's mourning, by saying to the Virgin, "Be happy, rejoiced One." [33] Your son wipes off all your tears. He looses me from the Adamic coat of skin.

13 117 յամենայն ժամ օրհնութիւն նորա ի բերան իմ

. . . ի բերան իմ, հոգւոյ, որ է միտքն. եւ մարմնոյն եւս. եւ իբրեւ զպտուղն կենաց՝ յորմէ ոչ կերան նախաստեղծքն, այլ ի մահաբեր պտղոյն:

"His praise is continually in my mouth"[34]

. . . In my mouth: of the spirit, which is mind, and also of the body; and like the fruit of life, of which the first created did not eat, but (they ate) from the mortal fruit.

14 122 Ես ի նեղել նոցա քուրձ զգենուի. խոնարհ առնէի պահօք զանձն իմ:

Եւ Տէրն զԱդամայն զգեցաւ զձախողակի տրտմութիւնն, զոր մինչ ի մահ իւր ասաց. զի քուրձ այծեայ է, ի վերայ կորուսելոցն՝ որ այծիք եղեն:

"When they were suffering, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting"[35]

Also the Lord put on Adam's unfortunate sorrow, of which he spoke until his death. For sackcloth is goatskin upon those that perish who became (like) goats.

15 131 Այլ որ հեզքն են նոքա ժառանգեսցեն զերկիր. եւ փափկասցին ի բազում խաղաղութեան իւրեանց:

Հեզութիւն հակառակ է բարկութեան եւ ստրմտութեան, ուստի՝ հանգչիլ ասաց նախ. եւ ապա՝ փափկանալ. ի բազում խաղաղութեան, զոր Ադամ վայելէր զդրախտն փափկութեան՝ որում եւ Տէր երանեաց:

"But those who are meek shall inherit the earth; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of their peace."[36]

Meekness is opposite to anger and indignation; that is why first he said to rest, and then delight in the abundance of peace, which Adam enjoyed, the Garden of delight, that the Lord blessed.

16 171 Մարդ ի պատուի էր՝ եւ ոչ իմացաւ հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:

33. Luke 1:28.
34. Ps 34:1 = Arm 33:2.
35. Ps 35:13 = Arm 34:13.
36. Ps 37:11 = Arm 38:21.

Իբր զԱդամ հաւասարեաց անասնոց՝ որ խոտ ուտեն փոխանակ պտղոյ դրախտին: Եւս՝ փոխանակ անմահութեանն՝ ախտիւք եւ մահուամբ վճարին:

“A man that was in honor, and does not understand, is like the dumb beasts.”[37]

As Adam he became similar to the beasts that eat grass instead of the fruit of the Garden; moreover, instead of immortality, they are recompensed with illness and death.

17 178 Անօրէնութեամբ յղացաւ, եւ ի մեղս ծնաւ զիս մայր իմ

Նախ քան զծնանելն մեղաւ Եւայ, եւ զկնի մեղացն յղացաւ:

“Behold, she conceived in iniquity; and in sin did my mother carry me.”[38]

Eve sinned before giving birth and conceived after the sin.

18 187 Յերեկոյ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն. եւ Տէրն աւանդեաց զհոգին առ հայրն: Ի վաղորդայն՝ ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ ի վեց ժամն ճաշակեաց ի պտղոյն:

In the evening Adam went out of the Garden, and the Lord yielded up the ghost to the Father. In the morning Adam was created, and in the sixth hour he ate of the fruit . . .

19 195 Սրտմտութիւն անբան եղեւ պատճառ սատանայի, Սաւուղի, եւ հրէիցն, եւ հերձուածողաց, որպէս զօձին առաջնոյ՝ որ ցասեաւ վասն փառացն Եւայի:

Irrational indignation was Satan’s cause, Saul’s and the Jews’, and the heretics’, just like that of the first serpent that was angry about Eve’s glory.

20 200 Աստուած մերժեցեր եւ աւերեցեր զմեզ:

Վասն մեղաց ի դրախտէն. եւ յԵրուսաղէմէ զհրեայսն: Աւերեցեր զբնութիւնս՝ ասելով հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:

“O God, you have separated and ruined us.”[39]

From the Garden on account of the sin, and the Jews—from Jerusalem. You ruined our nature, saying, “you are dust, and unto dust shall you return.”[40]

21 230 ԶԱդամայն եւս հարուածք դեւք յոլովեցին:

The demons multiplied also Adam’s misfortunes.

37. Ps 49:20 = Arm 48:21.
38. Ps 51:5 = Arm 50:7.
39. Ps 60:1= Arm 59:3.
40. Gen 3:19.

22 Անխայեսցէ նա յաղքատն եւ ի տնանկն եւ . . . ի վաշխից չարեաց փրկեսցէ զանձինս նոցա:

Փոխանակ չլսելոյն նմա՝ ի դրախտին ճաշակմամբ ի քաղցր պտղոյն, միշտ պահանջէ զվաշխն:

"He shall spare the poor and needy. . . . He shall redeem their souls from the usury of evil (men)."[41]

He always requires (to pay) the interest for not obeying him and eating the delicious fruit in the Garden . . .

23 305 Նա փրկեսցէ զիս յորոգայթէ որսողին, եւ ի բանիցն խռովութենէ:

Յորսողէն՝ որ եդ Ադամայ որոգայթ զաստուածանալն, եւ բանիւք խռովեցոյց զնա:

"He will deliver me from the hunter's net; and from the confusion of words."[42]

From the hunter, who set divinization as a net for Adam and confused him with words.

24 329 Մի դարձուցաներ զերեսս քո յինէն, իբր յԱդամայ:

Turn not your face from me, as from Adam.

25 331 դեւք զբնութիւնս նախատէին, զոր ի դրախտին նախանձելով գովէին:

Demons injured natures, whom they praised by envying in the Garden . . .

26 344 Դարձուցեր զերեսս քո յԱդամայ, եւ ապա մեռաւ:

You turned your face from Adam and then he died.

27 360 Զի դառնացուցին զբանն Աստուծոյ, եւ զխորհուրդս բարձրելոյն բարկացուցին:

Զբանն Աստուծոյ ի դրախտին ոչ պահելով, եւ զխորհուրդս՝ որ խորհեալ էր ի դէպ ժամու տալ ճաշակել եւ աստուածացուցանել:

"For they displeased the word of God, and angered the plan of the Most High." [43]

By not observing the word of God in the Garden and this plan which he had conceived, to give (them) to eat at the fitting time, and to make them divine.

41. Ps 72:13–14 = Arm 71:13–14.

42. Ps 91:3 = Arm 90:3.

43. Ps 107:11 = Arm 106:11.

28 խոնարհ եղեն ի ցաւոց սիրտք նոցա. տկարացան, եւ ոչ ոք էր՝ որ օգնէր նոցա:

Խոնարհ եղեն, զի յամենայն պտղոյն զրկեցան՝ ցաւէին. հիւանդացան, տկարացան, մահկանացուք եղեն, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առաջնորդէր նոցա ի տեղի ուստի ելին:

Their hearts were brought low through pains, they were weak, and there was none to help."[44]

They became low for they were deprived of all the fruit (i.e., of the Garden); they were in pain; they became sick, weak, and mortal, and there was none to lead them (back) to the place whence they went forth.

29 386 Ո՛ Տէր ես ծառայ քո եմ, եւ որդի Եւայի, որ աղախին եղեւ հեշտութեանն՝ որ տիկինն էր:

O Lord, I am your servant and the son of Eve, who was the mistress and became a maidservant of voluptuousness.

30 394 Պտուղ մեղաց՝ ամօթն է, որպէս ամաչեաց Ադամ:

Shame is the fruit of sin, just as Adam was ashamed.

31 396 Զսատանայ անէծ օձիւն, այլ՝ ո՛չ զԱդամ բայց՝ զերկիր:

(God) cursed Satan through the serpent, and not Adam, but the ground . . .

32 455–56 Եւ սուտ ասաց օձն, թէ յաչաղեաց զաստուածանալն Ադամայ եւ / Եւայի:

And the serpent lied that He was envious of Adam and Eve becoming gods.

33 468 Նախ՝ սատանայ կոչեցաւ չար, զի տրտմութեամբ չարչարեաց զվերինսն, իւր անկմամբն, եւ զբնութիւնս պատրանօք խաբեալ եհան ի դրախտէն, չարացոյց զնա:

First, Satan was called evil, for he tortured the higher creatures with sorrow, through his fall; and fraudulently deceiving the natures.[45] He expelled (him) from the Garden and he incited him to evil.

34 480 Էաք մսեղի, եւ թշնամի եւս ունիմք զսատանայ, որ հալածեաց ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահութենէն: Խոնարհ արար յերկիր զկեանս իմ, ի հող իջանել իբրեւ զինքն, որ յաւիտենից է մեռեալ՝ հեռաւորութեամբն յԱստուծոյ:

We were corporeal and, moreover, we have Satan as enemy, who expelled us from the Garden and immortality. He humbled my life to the earth, so that I

44. Ps 107:12 = Arm 106:12.

45. I.e., humans.

descended to the ground like himself, who is dead forever due to his remoteness from God.

35 481 Մի դարձուցաներ զերեսս քո յինէն. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ, որ իջանեն ի գուբ

Իբր Ադամայ ի դրախտին. նմանիցեմ այնոցիկ հոգւոց նախաստեղծիցն ի դժոխն, ուստի չկարեմք ելանել առանց օգնականի։

"Turn not your face from me, (lest) I be like to them that go down into the pit."[46]

Like to Adam in the Garden, I might become like the souls of the protoplasts in hell, whence we cannot come out without aid.[47]

Vardan Arewelc'i, Հատուածք Հիպողիտեայք ըստ մեկնութեանն Երգոց երգոց որ ի Վարդանայ "Fragments of Hippolytus according to Vardan's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*," in N. Y. Marr, *Ипполит*. Толкование Песни песней. Грузинский текст по рукописи X в.. *Commentary on the Song of Songs: Georgian Text according to a Tenth Century Manuscript* (Texts and Investigations in Armeno-Georgian Philology 3; St. Petersburg: V. F. Kirschbaum Press , 1901), 3:lxxxviii–cxiv.

36 C Ստինք չեն իբրեւ զայլ անդամսն առանձին երեւեալ, այլ իբրեւ բոյս կամ տունկ ի սրտէն յառաջ եկեալ, որպէս ի սրտէ երկրի առեալ հող. եւ Բ. իմանալի եւ զգալի շինեցաւ Ադամ։ . . . եւ այծեման ուլուց նմանեցին սրատես զոլ եւ ճանաչող արօտի եւ ոչ զիտել զԵւային։

Breasts are not like other limbs seen separately, but they project from the heart like a shoot or a plant, as (God), having taken dust from the heart of the earth, and Adam was made the two, rational and perceptive. . . . Likewise they (the breasts) were acute like kids of a roe, and they recognized their pasture and did not know Eve's affairs.

Vardan Aygekc'i C13

The fragment is from a *Sermon* in manuscript M8030, fol. 426v–428r cited from P'aylak Ant'abyan, Վարդան Արեւելցի *Vardan Arewelc'i,* vol. 1. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 177–78.

1 Ահայ, որդեակք, իմացէք, զի Աստուած ոչ դժոխք ունի եւ արքայութիւն, այլ ամենայն մարդ ինքն շինէ իր դժոխք եւ արքայութիւն։ Եւ բանիս

46. Ps 143:7 = Arm 142:3.
47. Or: a helper.

վկա Քրիստոս, որ է հաւասար հօր եւ հոգւոյն եւ ասէ, թէ՝ զանձէք զբարին յերկինս, զի յաւուրն դատաստանի զամենայն տամ ձեզ, զոր ի վեր, առ իմ հայրն առաքէք, թէ չար եւ թէ բարի, զի որով չափով չափէք, եւ ձեզ այնպէս չափեմ։ Ահայ որ ի մեր ձեռս է բանալիք դժոխոցն (եւ) արքայութեան, եւ զոր բանամք եւ սիրեմք մեք յայն մտանեմք։ Եւ բանիս վկայ՝ սատանայ եւ Ադամ. զի Աստուած բարի արար զնոսա, եւ ի բարի, եւ ի հանգիստ, եւ ի լոյս եդ զնոսայ եւ եցոյց նոցայ զչարն եւ զբարին՝ ասելով, թէ զոր գործէք դուք, զայն ժառանգէք, զի բանալիք արքայութեան եւ հանգստեան բարի գործքն է։ Եթէ բարին առնէք, նայ դուք լինէք ձեզ արքայութիւն եւ հանգիստ, եւ թէ զչարն առնէք, նայ այն է դժոխքն եւ այն է բանալիք դժոխոցն։ Նայ սատանայ, որ է շուն կատաղի, ձգեաց զբանալի արքայութեան, ուր կայր եւ կամաւ էառ զբանալիք դժոխոցն՝ ասելով, թէ այդ է բանալիք արքայութեան։ Իսկ Ադամ հաւատաց բանիցն սատանայի եւ պահեաց զբանալին դժոխոցն եւ էբաց չար գործօքն զդժոխքն, եւ մտեալ՝ նստաւ ի նմայ եւ ողորմելի եղեւ։ Այսպէս լինի եւ այսաւր, ով որդեակք, զի տեսանէք, որ մի ոմն ունի զբանալի արքայութեան՝ զխոնարհութիւն եւ զամենայն բարի գործ . . . Ահայ, որդեակք, այս է արքայութիւն եւ բանալիք արքայութեան, իսկ այլք ոմանք լինին շնացողք եւ արբեցողք եւ գողք եւ սպանողք եւ անողորմք եւ յիշոցատուք եւ զրկողք եւ կախարդք եւ անդարձ ի չարն մեռանին . . . ։

Behold, children, learn that God does not have hell and the kingdom, but each man himself builds his own hell and kingdom. And Christ is a witness to this statement, who is equal to the Father and to the Spirit, and he says, "Lay up good in heaven[48] for on the day of judgment I will give you everything which is above, you send the Father to me, either for good or evil, for by the measure by which you measure, I will measure you thus."[49]

Lo, in our hands are the keys of hell (and)[50] of the kingdom: that which we open and love, we shall enter. And the witnesses to this pronouncement are Satan and Adam, for God made them good, and for good and for repose, and he put them in light and he showed them good and evil, saying, "That which you do, you will inherit." For good works are the keys of the kingdom and repose. If you do good, then you will be the kingdom and repose for yourselves, and if you do evil, then that is hell and that is the keys of hell. See, Satan, who is a mad dog, threw away the key of the kingdom where he was and voluntarily took the keys of hell saying, "This is the key of the kingdom."[51] But Adam believed in the words of Satan and kept the keys of hell and opened

48. Matt 6:20, Luke 12:33-34.
49. Cf. Matt 7:2.
50. My emendation.
51. This is based, presumably, on Rev 9:1 and 20:1.

hell with evil deeds and, having entered, sat in it and became pitiable. Thus it is also today, O my children, for you see that no one person has the key of the kingdom, humility and every good deed. . . . Behold, my children, this is the kingdom and the keys of the kingdom, but certain other persons become adulterers and drunkards and thieves and murderers and merciless and insulting and extorters and magicians and they die irrevocably for evil.

Text: Vardan Aygekcʻi, Գիրք հաստատութեան եւ արմատ հաւատոյ *Book of the Establishment and Root of Faith*, ed. Y. Kʻēosēyan and Š. Hayrapetean (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1988).[52]

Աթանասի եպիսկոպոսի
Of Bishop Athanasius

2 Ադամ զանմեղ մարմինն ի դատապարտութիւն եւ յապականութիւն արկ, իսկ Քրիստոս զսա անապական եւ խափանիչ մահու եցոյց:

Adam cast the sinless body into culpability and corruption, while Christ showed it to be incorruptible and obstructing death.

3 308 In citation of a poem by Vardan[53]

Դու մեղաւք ես զարդարեալ,
Եւ խաւարին գործաւք լըցեալ,
Ժառանգ հըրոյն ես յաւրինեալ,
Եւ ի խաւարն արտաքին ելեալ:
Զի հարսանեաց չես պատրաստեալ,
Պատմուճանով ժահահոտեալ:
Երկաթակապ շըղթայ արկեալ,
Հրեղէն սըրովն ընդ մէջ հատեալ,
Ի բարի գ[ը]նդէն ելեալ,
Անհաւատից մասին դասեալ:

You are adorned with sin,
and full of deeds of darkness.
You are created as an heir of fire,
and have gone forth to the outer darkness. [54]
For you are not prepared for a wedding,
made stinking with a tunic, [55]

52. Note the extensive introduction on Vardan Aygekcʻi by Kēosēyan in that book, p. 167.
53. The attribution is uncertain.
54. Matt 8:12, 22:13; 25:30. Here, presumably Matt 22:13 serves as the primary source.
55. Satan is not ready for the heavenly wedding feast; cf. Matt 22:11-13.

Bound with iron chains,[56]
Separated by a fiery sword in between,[57]
Gone forth from the goodly host,
Ranked in the lot of the unbelievers.[58]

405 A Fragment from Xosrov Rhetor of the Armenians[59]

4 Մելքիսեդեկ հաց բաղարջ եւ անապական գինին բաշխեր ի վերա գերեզմանին Ադամայ, որ ցուցանէ զանապական զալուստն Աստուծոյ մերոյ յերկնից:

Melchizedek distributed unleavened bread and uncorrupted wine upon the tomb of Adam, which shows the uncorrupt coming of our God from heaven.

A Fragment from manuscript M512 (1701), taken from the bottom margin of fol. 183v. The attribution to Aygekcʻi is uncertain.[60]

5 Հարց, Զի՞նչ է՝ «Գլուխն ոտից խոնարհեցաւ»: Պատասխանի. նախ՝ գլուխն է միտքն, եւ ոտք՝ ցանկութիւնն: Երկրորդ՝ հոգի եւ մարմին: Երրորդ՝ Այր եւ կին: Չորրորդ՝ Ադամ եւ օձն:

Question. What is, “The head is brought low to the feet?”[61]

Answer. First, the head is the mind, and the feet desire; second, spirit and body; third, man and woman; fourth, Adam and the serpent.

Text: Vardan Aygekcʻi, Ժողովածոյք առակաց Վարդանայ *Collections of the Fables of Vardan Сборники притч Вардана*: Изслѣдование, part 2, ed. N. Marr 2 (St. Petersburg: Skoroxodov Press, 1894).[62]

1-2 Թագաւոր եւ երկու ապարանք
1-2 A King and Two Palaces

(*A king made two palaces, one was faithful to him but there was a proud prince in the other, who deceived the guardians of the faithful palace for which the king expelled him from there. And the rebels built another palace and took everybody there. . . . Finally the king saved them from there.*)

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56. Perhaps deriving from Job 41. The binding of Satan with chains occurs in Armenian art. Compare also Ps 149:8 ձեռակապեաւ երկաթեաւ (“with chains of iron”).

57. See Gen 3:24.

58. This refers, undoubtedly, to the fall of Satan.

59. It is unclear who this is.

60. It is mentioned by Vardan Aygekcʻi 1988, 68.

61. The citation is not from the Bible.

62. Marr writes, “calling the fables Vardan’s, we do not insist that they belong to Vardan.”

6 . . . Ցուցանէ առակս յայտնի, որ թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս է. եւ բ ապարանքն մէկ՝ հրըշտակաց տեղիքն է եւ մէկն՝ դրախտն, որ զԱդամ եդ, թէ պահէ. եւ հպարտ իշխայն սատանայ է, որ անկաւ ի փառացն եւ խաբեաց զԱդամ եւ եհան ի դրախտէն. եւ / ելեալ Ադամ լալով եւ կոծելով եւ դառն արտասաւք անկաւ յաշխարհս. բաց ակն ունէր, որ թագաւորն խնդիր լինէր իւրն. եւ սատանայ եւ զաւրքն իւր անզեղջ մնացին եւ շինեցին ապարանք իւրեանց զդժոխն. եւ զմարդկային բնութիւնս գերեալ տանէին սատանայք անդ եւ այլ ոչ տային ելանել, մինչեւ եկն թագաւորն ամենայնի Քրիստոս եւ քակեաց զբանդն, որ է դժոխքն, եւ զԱդամ իւր ծնընդեաւքն ազատեաց:

The fable points out clearly that the king of all is Christ, and the two palaces, one is the place of the angels and the other (is) paradise, where (God) put Adam to keep it. And the arrogant prince is Satan that fell from the glory and deceived Adam and drove (him) out of the Garden. And Adam went out crying and mourning and with bitter tears he fell into this world. But he hoped that the king would look for him. And Satan and his host remained impenitent and built their palace, hell; and the demons[63] captured the human natures[64] and took (them) there and did not let them go out, until the king of all, Christ, came and destroyed the prison, that is, hell, and liberated Adam with his offspring.

43–44 Այծք եւ գայլք
Goats and Wolves[65]

(*The goats wrote a letter to the wolves and dogs offering peace. They agreed but finally they ate the goats who did not take care.*)

7 . . . Բելիար. որ է շուն կատաղի. եւ նայ պահէ իւր զանձատունն, որպէս եւ պահեաց զմեղս Ադամայ, զոր ասեն, թէ ի ձեռայգիր եդ Ադամ սատանայի, իսկ յորժամ նախատանաւք եւ արեամբն իւրով բանն Աստուած ի վերայ խաչին ջնջեաց զձեռայգիրս եւ զմեղս Ադամայ լուաց, այն կատաղին, որ է Բազու, կոչեաց զչար իշխանն եւ զվատակերպ դեւքն եւ ասէ. եկայք լացէք եւ վայ տուք անձին իմոյ. զի նշան մեծ սիրոյ եւ միայբանութեան ունէի յԱդամայ առ Աստուած եւ պահեաց զնա, որպէս զոսկեզիր թուխթ ի վերայ սրտի իմոյ. եւ ահա կորեաւ յանկարծակի նշան եւ պայման սիրուն. եւ ոչ զիտեմ, ուր եդի զնայ. զի մէնջ հրեշտակք եւ մարգարէք ջանացան առնուլ եւ ոչ կարացին ի ձեռաց իմոց. եւ աս է զարմանք, որ իսկ զկերպ եւ

63. Or: satans.
64. I.e., human beings.
65. According to the variant of manuscript C.

զնմանութիւն նշանին չկարեմ յիշել, որ ետ ցիս Ադամ եւ ոչ կարեմ ածել զմտաւ, թէ որպէս. ահայ քրիստոնեայք եւ աստուածայպահ ժողովուրդք, յորժամ / զմեղս մեր խոստովանիմք եւ ապաշխարեմք. նայ յանհետ լինի եւ ջնջի եւ սատանայ մոռանայ:

. . . Belial, who is a rabid dog, and he guards his treasury, as he guards Adam's sins, which, as they say, Adam put into the cheirograph of Satan. And when God the Word erased the cheirograph on the cross[66] with his dishonor[67] and blood and washed away Adam's sin, that rabid (one) who is Bazu, called the evil prince and the ugly demons and said, "Come and weep and lament upon me, for I had the sign of great love and unanimity from Adam against God, and he kept it[68] upon my heart like a gold-lettered epistle. And now suddenly the sign and agreement of love are lost, and I do not know where I have put it. For the angels and the prophets tried to take it from us and could not [take it] from my hands. And the wonder is that I cannot remember even the shape and likeness of the sign that Adam gave me, and I cannot imagine how (it happened)." Behold, you Christians and peoples protected by God, when we confess our sin and repent, it disappears and is annulled and the devil forgets it.

203 Տասն վաճառականք
Ten Merchants

(*Ten merchants found themselves in a foreign country full of famine and vipers. . . . Finally they found their way to the town where there were other merchants and goods.*)

8 . . . Ցուցանէ. զի տասն վաճառականք Ադամ է եւ իւր ծնունդքն. եւ այն որ օտար երկիր եւ յիժանոց եւ ի սով, որ եւ արտաքսեցաք յանմահական դրախտէն եւ անկաք յայս աշխարհս, ուր կայ իժ եւ օձ, որ է սատանայ. եւ ի նեղութեան կամք հոգւով եւ մարմնով:

[The fable] points out that the ten merchants are Adam and his generations, and that the foreign country was a place of vipers and famine (means) that we were expelled from immortal paradise and fell into this world, where there are the viper and snake, which is the Devil, and we are in distress both in soul and body . . .

66. Cf. Col 2:14.
67. I.e., His crucifixion, *passim*.
68. Perhaps emend to: I kept.

306 Դ. ազգ պահք
Four Types of Fast

9 Դ. ազգ պա<հ>ք է. մէկ Քրիստոսի, որ Ադամայ ասաց, թէ ի ծառուն մի ուտեր:

There are four types of fast: the first one is for Christ, because (God) said to Adam, "Do not eat of the tree . . ."

342 Ծառայք ի պահք
Servants Fasting

(*The servants told their master that they will serve him well if he keeps them fasting, but if he gives them much to eat, they will kill him and his children.*)

10 . . . այսպէս Ադամ եւ Եւայ որչափ ի պահք էին ի դրախտին, բարւոք կատարէին զգործս իւրեանց եւ ի խոկումն էին զԱստուծոյ եւ հրեշտակաց. այլ յորժամ կերան ի պտղոյն եւ կտրեցին զպահքն, սպանին զորդիս իւրեանց, այսինքն զմեզ, այլ եւ ինքեանս եւս սպանին հոգւով:

. . . Likewise Adam and Eve; while they observed the fast in the Garden, they fulfilled their tasks well, and God and the angels took care of them. But when they ate of the fruit and broke the fast, they killed their children, namely, us, and they themselves were killed spiritually.

Appendix

11 98 Թ. Աղուես մի եգիտ զրեհ մի. եւ կարծեաց, թէ այս է պատմուճան Ադամայ, զոր կորոյս խաբմամբ բանսարկուին. զի գրեալ է «լուսաւոր էր»:

A fox found a coat of mail and thought it was Adam's garment, which he lost due to the Devil's deceit, for it is written (about Adam's garment) that "it was luminous."

Text: Vardan Aygekcʻi, Խրատք *Admonitions*, ed. P. Ananean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Ի խորհուրդ չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի
On the Mystery of Wednesday and Friday

12 29–30 Յաւուր չորեքշաբթի ել խաւար ի բերանոյ օձին, եւ խաւարեցոյց զդրախտն լուսաբեր. քանզի ծառքն եւ պտուղքն եւ տերեւն լուսաւորք՝ էին քան զարեգակն: Եւ յորժամ եկն արարողն ի դրախտն եւ ձայնեաց՝ թէ Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ, երկրպագեցին Տեառն ծառքն ամենայն եւ առաւել պտղաբերեցան քան զառաջինն: Եհան Տէրն արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ խաւարն ընդ նմա տարածեալ / եղեւ ի ծագս տիեզերաց . . .

On Wednesday darkness came out of the mouth of the serpent and darkened the luminous Garden, because the trees and fruit and leaves were more luminous than the sun. And when the Creator came to the Garden and called, "Adam, where are you?"[69] all the trees worshiped the Lord and brought forth more fruit than before. And God took away and drove Adam out of the Garden that gives glorious life. And darkness spread throughout it up to the extremities of the universe . . .

13 35 Զաւուրս քառասուն պահէին ամենեքեան. եւ ընդէ՞ր զաւուրս քառասուն. վասնզի ստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամն ի կատարումն քառասնեկին, եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին. վասն այսորիկ սկիզբն ի քառասնից առնէ . . .

Everybody fasted for forty days; and why for forty days? For God created Adam at the end of forty (days) and put him in paradise. For that reason it starts from forty . . .

YOHAN K'AHANA C13

Text: Yohan K'ahana?[70], Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronography*, in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, 13–18 դդ. *Minor Chronicles, 13th–18th Centuries,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 1:22-25.

1 22 Ոչ է մեզ գիտել զժամս եւ զժամանակս, զոր հայր եդ յիւրում իշխանութեան, ուսաք ի գրոց ոչ եթէ իբր արդեաւք զաշխարհ

69. Gen 3:9.

70. The general title is Անանուն ժամանակագրութիւն A*nonymous Chronography*. In the introduction, V. Hakobyan writes (p. 17) that in the manuscript this small text follows Yovhan Sarkawag's (the Deacon) work on the calendar, so it too may belong to him, but this does not seem so (GM). The name Յոհան քահանայ "Yohan the priest" stands at the beginning of the text.

Աստուած սկսաւ գործել, այլ զի արար. եւ ոչ յայնմանէ կամ անտի զթիւ ժամանակաց, այլ յորմէ ելին նախաստեղծքն ի դրախտէն, ապա ոչ ումն զսկիզբն ժամանակաց մեր է գիտել, թէպէտ եւ արուեստիւ դիպողագոյնս ինչ կանոնեմք . . .

Եթէ կամիցիս յելանելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն գիտել զժամանակն՝ կալ ՐԾԼԸ. (5138) եւ զամս որ ի ծննդենէ փրկչին ի վերաբեր: Եւ մի հաւատար որոց ասեն՝ զլինելութիւնն աշխարհի գիտել զժամանակ, զի գիտէ միայն որ ստեղծն. իսկ մեզ յայտնի թերեւս է յետ յանցանաց մարդկոյն ժամանակն ըստ մեծին Մովսէսի, որ համարի մինչեւ յինքն ամս ՎՋԻԹ. (3729) ըստ եւթանասնիցն թարգմանութեան . . .

We cannot know the hours and the times which the Father established in his dominion; we have not learned from the Scriptures when God began to make the world, but that he made (it). And (we reckon) the count of the times not from that or thence, but from when the protoplasts came out of paradise. This is why no one can know the beginning of our times, although we determine (it) skillfully, in the most proper way . . .

If you wish to know the time from Adam's coming out of paradise, take 5138 and add the years from the birth of the Savior. And do not believe those who say that they know the time of the coming into being of the world, for only the One who created it knows. But perhaps the time from the sin of man is revealed to us, according to the great Moses, who reckons the time until himself to be 3729 years, according to the translation of the Seventy . . .

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Բնագրեր "Texts," in Հովհաննես Երզնկացին եւ նրա խրատական արձակը *Yovhannēs Erznkac'i and His Didactic Prose,* ed. Ē. Baghdasaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1977).

Է եւ այժմ գրենք եւթներորդ Վասն զողութեան
VII And Now Let Us Write a Seventh On Robbery

1 Ասաց Աստուած Ադամայ. «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո»:

God said to Adam, "By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread."[71]

71. Gen 3:19.

Ժ Յաղագս Յիշոցնա(տուաց)
X On Those Who Swear

2 163 Տասներորդ կանոնք գրեմք վասն ահեղ եւ մեծ եւ դառն եւ զարհուրելի մեղացն, որ ասի իշոցք՝ գեղջուկ բառով եւ ըստ գրոց սովորութեան՝ անէծք եւ թշնամանք կոչի, որ խաբեալ եւ սովորեալ մարդիկ զբերանն եւ զլեզուն գործարան են տուեալ սատանայի թշնամանել, հայհոյել եւ անարգել զմիմեանս: Որ է մեծ մեղք եւ անքաւելի իշոցքն եւ չար է, քան զամենայն հերձուածս, զի որ յԱդամայ մինչեւ ցայսօր հերձուած է լել եւ ժողովով նզովել են:

We write the tenth canon concerning the frightful and great and bitter and dreadful sin called "swearing" by the popular word and named "curse" or "enmity" according to the written usage; for people, being deceived and accustomed, give their tongue and mouth to Satan, as an instrument of enmity, cursing and offending each other. Swearing is a great sin, unexpiable and worse than all heresies that have existed from Adam till the present, and have been anathematized by councils.

ԺԷ Յաղագս պահոց
XVII On Fasting

3 176 Զպահքն սուրբ եւ անարատ պարտ է պահել՝ եւ որք սրբութեամբ պահեցին՝ արդարացան, եւ որք ոչ պահեցին կորեան: Առաջին պատուիրան պահքն է, զոր ետ Աստուած Ադամայ: Զի ասաց Աստուած. «Յամենայն պտղոյ կեր». այդ ուտէիցն է աւրինակ: «Բայց ի պտղոյ միոյն մի ուտել». այս պահքն է: Զի ոչ պահեաց Ադամ. ել ի դրախտէն եւ անկաւ յայս չարչարանաց աշխարհս:

176 The holy and pure fast shall be observed . . . , and those who fasted were justified, and those who did not fast, perished. The fast is the first commandment that God gave to Adam. For God said to Adam, "Eat of every fruit": this is the pattern of a meat day. "But do not eat of one fruit," is the fast. Since Adam did not observe the fast, he went out of the Garden and fell into this world of suffering.

Կանոնք եւ խրատք տղայահասակ մանկանց աշխարհականաց
Canons and Admonitions for Lay Boys

Յաղագս գաւտոյ
On the Girdle

4 234 Առաջին գաւտի քրիստոնէականն է, որ յետ կնքոյն յաւազանն զգեցուցանէ քահանայն սպիտակ հանդերձ եւ ածէ գաւտի ընդ մէջն՝ զնարաւտն, մանեալ կարմիր եւ սպիտակ: Արդ, սպիտակ հանդերձն աւրինակ է Ադամայ անմեղութեանն, մինչ ի դրախտին էր: Զնոյն անմեղութիւնն, որ նա կորոյս, գտանեն որդիք նորա յեկեղեցիս, որ է նոր դրախտ:

The first girdle is the Christian one: after baptizing in the font, the priest arrays (the baptized) in a white robe and ties around his middle a colored girdle spun with red and white. Now the white robe is the sign of Adam's innocence while he was in the Garden. The innocence that he lost, his descendants find in this church, which is the new Garden.

Վասն գաւտի տալոյն
Concerning the Giving of a Girdle

5 238 Զի Ադամ վասն միոյ պտղին, որ առանց հրամանացն Աստուծոյ եկեր, ել ի դրախտէն:

For Adam, on account of one fruit that he ate without God's command, went forth from the Garden.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz, Թուղթ առ իշխանս Եկեղեաց գաւառի "Epistle to the Rulers of the Ekełeac' Region," ed. Ē. Bałdasaryan, *Banber Matenadarani* 10 (1971): 295–314.

6 306 Արար Աստուած զմարդն հոգի եւ մարմին եւ զարդարեաց յիւր նմանութիւն պատկերին. եւ զմիտքն հոգւոյն աչք արար եւ զաչքն մարմնոյն ճրագ:

God made man spirit and body, and adorned him in the likeness of His own image. And he made the mind the eyes of the soul and the eyes a candle (lamp) of the body.

7 Եւ դու զմիտքտ ի վերա կալ եւ զմեղաց խրատն յականջտ մի թողուլ: Թէ առաջին մայրն մեր Եւա զաւձին խրատն յականջ չէր թողել՝ չէր խաբվել:

Զինչ աւտար իրք տեսանես, աչաւքտ մի՛ ցանկար: Թէ չէր աչաւքն տեսել զպտուղն եւ ցանկացել զգեղեցկութեանն՝ չէր կերել:

Ձեռաւքտ ի մեղք մի խաբվիր: Թէ չէր ձեռաւքն զպտուղ շոշափել, չէր հեշտացել եւ կերել:

Զբերանդ աւելորդ ուտելոյ կամ խմելոյ, կամ զլեզուտ մաշում խաւսից մի՛ տար: Թէ պահել էր զբերանն առաջին մարդն, չէր ի փառացն մերկացեալ եւ ի դրախտէն ելեալ եւ ի ներքո դատապարտութեան եւ անիծից անգեալ:

Զայս գիտենալ պիտի, որ սատանայն աւձն է, որ զԵւայ խաբեաց եւ այժմ զամենայն մարդ ջանա խաբել, ընդ այս հինգ դրունս:

And you restrain your mind and do not admit sinful counsel to your ear. If our first mother, Eve, had not admitted the serpent's counsel to her ear, she would not have been deceived.

Let your eye not desire whatever foreign thing you see. If she had not seen the fruit with her eyes and desired its beauty, she would not have eaten (it).

Let not your hand be deceived in sins. If she had not touched the fruit with her hands, she would not have delighted (in it) and eaten.

Do not give your mouth to excessive eating or drinking, or wear out your tongue from speaking. If the first man had watched his mouth, he would not have been stripped of glory nor have gone forth from the Garden and fallen under punishment and curse.

It is necessary to recognize this, that the serpent is Satan, who deceived Eve and now strives to deceive all men, through these five gates.[72]

8 310 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց եւ ի դրախտն էդիր, քանի զԱստուծոյ հրամանքն պահեց, ոչ ի մարմինն հիւանդութիւն կայր եւ ոչ ի հոգին մեղք: Եւ երբ յԱստուծոյ հրամանացն ելաւ, նա մեղքն ի հոգին գտաւ տեղի: Եւ երբ ի դրախտէն ելաւ, հիւանդութիւնն ի մարմինն գտաւ տեղի եւ ապա մահն:

When God created Adam and set him in the Garden, as long as he kept God's commandments, there was no illness in his body nor sins in his soul. And when he left God's commandments, then sins found a place in his soul. And when he came forth from the Garden, illness found a place in his body, and then death.

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac'i, Բանք չափաւ "Verses," in Հովհաննես Երզնկացի *Hovhannes Erznkac'i*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1958), 143–266.

72. I.e., the five senses.

Քառեակներ
Quatrains. Բ II 143

9 5 Օրհնեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն, որ զբարեաց դըռներն է բացել,
Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծել ՚ւ յերեք դիմաց բաժանել,
Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դըրել ՚ւ Ադամայ զդրախտն է տընկել,
Զերկիրս գազանաց տըւել ՚ւ անասնոց տեղի զսա շինել:

Blessed is the name of God, who opened the gates of good;
He created this beautiful world, and divided (it) into three aspects;
He set the angels in Heaven and he planted the Garden of Adam;
He gave the earth to the beasts, and made it a place for animals.

Գ III 144

10 9 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց Սադայէլ երեսն էր շրջել,
Յերկնից ի յանդունդս անկել ՚ւ ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացել,
ԶԱդամ ի դրախտէն հանել ՚ւ անասնոց յերկիր զնա ձգել,
՚Ի ամէն Ադամայ որդիքս ենք օտար տեղիս բընակել:

From the heavenly ranks Sadayēl turned his face;
From the heaven to the deeps he fell, and from light, remained in darkness.
He brought Adam forth from the Garden and cast him to the earth of the animals.
And we sons of Adam all inhabit a strange place.

ԾԴ LIV 157–58

11 215 Աշխարհս է ոչինչ նըման, շատ դատին դառնան փոշիման,
Հալալ ու հարամ անեն՝ հոս թողուն ՚ ի հոն կու զընան,
Ջան արա՛ գործէ բարի, որ յետոյ չլինիս փոշիման,
Թէ չէ Ադամայ դըրախտէն քեզ կանաչ տերեւ մի չի տան:

This world is like nothing, many are judged, they turn to repentance.
They do right and abomination, here they leave,[73] thither they go.
Strive, do good, so that afterwards you are not sorry;
If not, they will not give you one green leaf from Adam's Garden.

192–94 Նորին Յովհաննիսի Վարդապետի Եզնկացւոյ ասացեալ ի խրատ աշխարհականաց

73. Or: are forgiven.

Spoken by the Same Yovhannēs *vardapet* Erznkacʻi for Admonition of Laymen

12 Արարիչն երբ ստեղծեց զԱդամն ի հողէն,
Գեղեցիկ յօրինեց ըզկինն ի կողէն,
Ցիւր պատկերըն պատուեց փառօք լուսեղէն,
Կերպարան իւր արար զմարդըն նիւթեղէն:

When the Creator created Adam from the dust,
He made the woman from (his) side, beautiful.
He honored His image with luminous glory,
He made material man in His form.

13 Ի դրախտին եդ պատուով տնկեալն ի յէէն,
Պատուիրան ետ պահել ի միոյ ծառէն
Ցամենայն պըտղոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
Թէ չէ մահ քեզ տիրէ յահեղ հրամանէն:

He set him in the Garden, gloriously planted by the Existent,
He gave a command to refrain from one tree,
“Eat of all fruit, but not from the one,
If not, death will rule you, through the fearsome command.”

14 Նախաստեղծըն պատրեալ խաբմամբ ի յօձէն,
Զրկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յանմահ ի վայրէն.
Ողորմելին այն կորոյս զփառքըն լուսեղէ՛ն,
Ու մահու մատնեցաւ յիւր արարողէն:

The first-created having been overcome deceitfully by the serpent,
Was deprived of the Garden, of the immortal place,
That pitiful one lost the luminous glory,
And he was given over to death by his Maker.

15 Բարկացաւ արարիչն, որ զնա ստեղծեաց,
Փըշաբեր դառնութեամբ զերկիրս անիծեաց,
Քըրտամբք կերակըրիլ ըզհաց հրամայեաց,
Զստեղծուածըն ի հողոյ ի հող նա մատնեաց:

The Creator was angered, who created him,
With thorny bitterness, He cursed this earth.
He commanded him to eat bread with sweat,
He gave to dust the one created from dust.

16 Զգեղեցիկ կինն, որ ի կողէն յօրինեաց,
Տըրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնանիլ հրամայեաց,
Փոխանակ մի պըտղոյն, զոր եւ ճաշակեաց,
Ամենայն իւր ծընընդովքն զմահ ժառանգեաց:

The beautiful woman whom He formed from the rib,
With sorrow and pains he commanded to give birth.
In return for the one fruit that she ate,
With all her descendants she inherited death.

17 Բանսարկուն սատանայ, որ զմարդըն խաբեաց,
Ի դրախտէն եւ յանմահ պտղոյն որոշեաց,
Զարարածըս մարդկան պաշտել հրապուրեաց,
Հեռանալ յարարչէն ի բաց բաժանեաց:

The Devil Satan, who deceived man,
Separated him from the Garden and the immortal fruit.
He induced man to worship created things,
To become distant from the Creator, he separated him.

18 Ահա այ́ս էր պատճառ բանին հայրական,
Իջանել ի յերկնից յարգանտ կուսական,
Ցիւրական աթոռոյն էր անզատական,
Եւ ի ծոց սուրբ կուսին մանուկ գոյական:

Behold this was the cause of the fatherly Word,
To descend from heaven to the virginal womb.
He was inseparable from His own throne,
And an existent infant in the bosom of the Holy Virgin.

19 Ծնանի ի կուսէն սուրբ անապական,
Անարատ պահելով զկնիք կուսական,
Ի յերկրի մարդ լինի ծնընդեամբ մայրական,
Ի յերկինս է ընդ հօր անբաժանական:

His is born from the Holy incorruptible Virgin,
Preserving the virginal seal immaculate,
On the earth He is a man, by his maternal birth,
In the heavens, He is with the Father, inseparable.

20 Ի յերկուց կատարեալ բնութեանց բանական,
Միացեալ նոր խառնումն եւ անճառական,
Անորիշ եւ անքակ եւ անբացական,
Անխառն, անշփոթ եւ անեղական:

From the two, of perfect and rational nature,
United new mixture and ineffable,
Without limit, without measure, and inexpressible,
Unmixed, unconfused, and increate.

7. 208–18 Յովհաննու Վարդապետի Եզընկացոյ, Մականուն Պլուզ կոչեցեալ, ասացեալ բան շահավէտ եւ օգտակար

Profitable and Useful Discourse Pronounced by Yovhannēs *varda-pet* of Erznka, dubbed Pluz

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 167–68.

21 Ադամայ որդիք ամէն ու ծնունդ ի հողէն,
Եկէք տամ ձեզ խրատ Աստուծոյ բանէն,
Գիտեմ որ ամէն մարդ չկարէ ուսնիլ ի գրէն,
Վասն այնոր զայս գրեցի, որ լսէք յինէն:

All sons of Adam, and generation of Earth,
Come, let me give you advice from God's wise Words,
I know that not every man can learn from books,
For which reason I wrote this, that you hear it from me.

22 Երբ Աստուած զԱդամ ստեղծեաց ու զկինն ի կողէն,
Ի պատկեր աստուածութեան արար լուսեղէն,
Ի դրախտին փառօք եդիր տնկեալ յանմահէն,
Պատուիրան եդ ի նմա պահել յանճառէն:

When God created Adam, and Eve[74] from the rib,
He made them in the luminous image of divinity,[75]
He placed him in the Garden in glory, planted by the Immortal,
And set in him the commandment to hold back from the ineffable.

23 Յամենայն պտղոյ դու կեր, բայց մի՛ ի մէկէն,
թէ չէ շուտ մահու մեռնիս 'ւ ելնես ի դրախտէն.
/ Թէ պահես զիմ պատուիրանն, որ առեր յինէն,
Ի դրախտէն փոխեմ յերկինս՝ ի դասս լուսեղէն:

"Eat of every fruit but[76] one,
Else you will soon die and go out of paradise,
If you keep[77] my Commandment that you took from me,
I will transfer you to heaven from paradise, into the luminous ranks."

24 Զայս լուեալ սատանայի անկեալն ի փառաց,
Նախանձեալ ընդ Ադամայ, ընդ Տէրն աշխարհաց,
Գործակից զօձն էր առեալ՝ յամէն գազանաց,
Ընդ Եւայի նենգաւ խօսել զուսումն մեղաց:

74. MES: his wife.
75. MES: luminous in the image of divinity.
76. MES: not from the.
77. MES: will keep.

Satan, fallen from glory, having heard this,
Jealous of Adam, in opposition to the Lord of the worlds
Took as his associate the serpent, from among all the beasts,
To tell[78] Eve with treachery the teachings of sin:

25 Թէ ուտէք դուք յայն պտղոյն որ ի մէջ դրախտին,
Աստուածք դուք լինենայք նըման արարչին:
Ողորմելի կինն այն գերի լս՝ել պիղծ օձին,
Ի ծառոյ պտղոյն կերեալ՝ մերկացել մարմին:

“If you eat of that fruit which is in the midst of paradise,
You will be gods, like the Creator.”
The pitiable woman, captive, listened to the vile serpent,
Ate of the fruit of that tree; her body was stripped.[79]

26 Աղամայ էր զայն տեսել ու կնոջն ողորմել,
Ի պտղոյն առեալ կերել, ի՝ լուսոյն մերկացել,
Ըզթզենոյն զտերեւն առել՝ զմարմինն ծածկել,
Յամօթոյն փախուստ առեալ, յԱստուծոյ թագել:

Adam had seen this and had taken pity on his wife,
And took and ate of the fruit, was stripped of light,
And took the fig leaf and covered[80] his body,
And he—crowned by God[81]—fled for shame.

27 Աղամայ ստեղծողն եկեալ յիւր պատկերն ի տես,
Աղամայ էր ձայն տըւեալ՝ Աղամ դու ո՞ւր ես:
--Տէ՛ր, զքո ձայնըդ լուայ, սասանեցայ ես,
Քանզի մերկ եմ ’ւ ամօթով, փախեալ թագեալ ես:

The Creator of Adam came to see His image,
And called Adam, saying, “Adam, where are you?”
“Lord, I heard your voice and was shaken,
For I am naked and ashamed; I fled and hid myself.”

28 Աւաղ ըզքեզ Աղամ, դու է՞ր խաբեցար,
Զպատուիրանն չպահեցիր պըտղոյն դու կերար,
Արի՛ ել՛ ի դրախտէդ, մեղօք դու մեռար,
Արդ չէ տեղ մեռելոյ, այտի դու անկար:

“Alas for you, Adam, how were you deceived?
You did not heed the commandment; you partook of the fruit.

78. MES: speak with.

79. MES: stripped (naked).

80. MES: to cover.

81. Perhaps թագել is the same as թագնել (“hide”) (cf. թաքչիմ) with գ/ք alternation. If so, translate, “He took flight from shame, to hide from God.” See Russell’s translation of թագել in the next stanza as “hide.”

Get up, get out of paradise,[82] you are dead of sin.
This is no place for a dead man; you have fallen from it.”[83]

29 Ադամայ ղալատ խօսելն ու լացն էառ զիս,
Զպատճառն զԵւայ հանելն, ափսոս ու վայ զիս.
--Կինըս այս որ ետուր ինձ, սա՛ խաբեաց զիս.
Անմահական փառաց դրախտէն սա կողոպտեաց զիս:

Adam’s wretched words and sobbing gripped me.
Eve was the cause of his exile; alas and woe is me!
“This woman, whom you gave me, she deceived me,
And from the Garden of immortal glory has deprived me!”

30 Ողորմելի կինն այն զերի յօձէն խաբեցաւ.
Եւ մեռաց թոյնքըն մահու յԵւայ թափեցաւ:
Աստուծոյ պատկերն Ադամ խղճաց եւ կերաւ,
Իւր ամէն բոլոր ծըննդեամբըն մահու մեռաւ:

The[84] pitiable woman, prisoner to the serpent, was deceived
And sin’s deadly poison then spilled from[85] Eve.
God’s likeness,[86] Adam, took pity and ate,
And died all the death of his progeny.[87]

31 Քաղցր եւ բարերարն Աստուած, որ զնոսա ստեղծեաց,
Զկենաց դուռն ու զմահուն զերկուսըն յայտնեաց,
Զանձնիշխան կամքն Ադամայ պըտղովըն փորձեաց,
Զպատուիրանն չպահեցին, նա դատապարտեաց:

Sweet and beneficent God who created them,
The door of life and death: the two He revealed;
The free will[88] of Adam with the fruit he tried;
They kept not the commandment, and He condemned.

32 Ընդ Ադամայ դարձեալ ասէ--Ադամ, դու հող իր,
Զպատուիրանըն չպահեցիր, ի հող դու դարձիր
Չկեցար փառօք ի դրախտն, յաշխարհ դու անկիր,
Քրտամբք եւ վաստակօք գործէ դու զերկիր:

Again to Adam He says, “Adam, you were earth.
You did not keep the commandment: to earth return!

82. MES: this Garden.
83. MES: here.
84. MES: That
85. MES: into, NB!
86. MES: image.
87. MES: with all his descendants.
88. MES: autonomy.

You lived not with glory in paradise; fall into the world!
Work the earth with sweat and toil.”

33 Փոխանակ տընկոցս անմահ, փուշ բուսանի քեզ,
’Ի ի լուսեղէն դրախտիս տեղի՝ խաւար տիրէ քեզ.
Անցաւ ’ւ անհոգ էիր՝ հոգօք մաշէ զքեզ,
Մինչեւ գալ օրըն մահու՝ գերեզմանէ զքեզ:

Instead of immortal plants, thorns shall spring up for you,
And in place of the luminous paradise, darkness will reign over you.
You had neither pain nor care: now cares will wear you down
Until the day of death comes, when you will be entombed.”[89]

34 Աhա եղբայրք իմ սիրելիք, ողորմեցէք ձեզ,
Ադամ հայրն ձեր մեղաւ ու զպարտքն եթող ձեզ,
Այն մէկ մարդն որ մեղաւ՝ դատապարտեաց զձեզ,
Ու հետ այն մէկին հետին մահն գերեաց զձեզ:

So pity yourselves, my dear brothers.
Your father Adam sinned and left his debts to you.
The one who sinned condemned you,
And with that one, death imprisoned you in turn.

35 Բայց զի մարդ ին հողեղէն ու ծնեալ ի մարդոյ,
Չկարացին մարդկան օգնել ու ազատել ի մահոյ,
Ոչ զմեղաց գիրըն ջնջել զհոգոյ եւ զմարմնոյ,
’Ի ոչ զմահու գերի անկեալքս դարձնել ի հողոյ:

But as they were of earth[90] and born of man,
They could not help men and free them from death,
Nor could they erase the book of sins of soul and body,[91]
Nor return to[92] dust those fallen captive to death.

36 Անմահ աստուածութեամբըն զմահն կոխեաց,
Անմեղ եւ սուրբ մարմնովն զմեղքըն քաւեաց.
Անարատ ձեռօքն ի խաչն զգիրն ջնջեաց,
Թաղմամբ եւ յարութեամբ յերկինըս կոչեաց:

In deathless divinity, he trampled death.
With his sinless and holy body he atoned for the sin.
With his immaculate hands on the cross he annihilated the writing.[93]
With his burial and resurrection he summoned the heavens.

89. MES: and it buries you.
90. MES: because they were of dust.
91. MES: of body and soul.
92. MES: bring back from.
93. I.e., the cheirograph.

222–23 9. Այլ մեղեդիք եւ տաղեր հոգոյն սրբոյ Յոհանէս Պլուզէ
Additional Tunes and Poems to the Holy Spirit by Yovhanēs Pluz

37 Յարարածոցս նիւթ առեալ, զԱդամ ստեղծեալ,
Նորոգեալ փըչեաց հոգի սուրբ ի նմա:
Սուրբ դրախտին եղեալ, գործել, պահել ըզնա,
Ռաբունին բարի օրինադրէր բանիւ,
Բանիւ հրամայէր մի ճաշակել որթոյն,
Որթոյն գիտութեան, զի մի՛ մահուամբ լիցիս:
Յամօթ նա եղեալ, մերկացեալ փըչմանէն,
Փըչմանէն զրկեալ եւ խայտառակ եղեալ:
Յորդորակ / յանկարծ ձայնեալ Տէրն, թէ Ադամ յո՞ւր ես.
Ո՞ւր ես կողոպտեալդ եւ մերկացեալդ փառաց:
Հանդերձ ըզգեցեալն հանեալ, եղեալ ադին դրախտին,
Արտաքսեալ զԱդամ ի փառաց դըրախտին:
Նիւթեալ բանսարկուին, կամաց իւր նըւաճեալ,
Նըւաճեալ չարին ստրուկ կամաց իւրոց:
Իւր կամօքն անկեալ, յիւրմէ բարձեալ հոգին:

Having taken matter from the creations, He created Adam,
Having made (him) anew, he blew the Holy Spirit into him,
Having set him in the Garden, to work, to guard it,
The good Teacher legislated by speech,
By speech He commanded not to eat of the vine,
The vine of knowledge, lest you die.
He was ashamed, being stripped of the breath,
Deprived of the breath, he also became despicable.
Suddenly, the Lord called out, “Adam, where are you?
Where are you, O plunderer, and stripped naked of glory?”
Brought forth (expelled) clothed with garments, (him who was) set in the Garden of Eden,
Having expelled Adam from the glory of the Garden,
The material Devil, captive of his will,
The Evil One captive, slave of his own will,
Fallen through his will, having removed the Spirit from himself.

224–27 Տաղ Ադամայ, Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ է
Poem about Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 170.

38 Մեր Տէրն ի դրախտն երեկ,
Ադամայ ձայնեց թէ՝ Ո՞ւր ես:
Ադամ թզենոյն ի դուրս
Ձայս ասաց, թէ՝ Մերկիկ եմ ես:

Our Lord came to Paradise,
And called out to Adam, "Where are you?"
Adam replied from the fig tree,
"I am naked."
Refrain

39 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտէս առներ դու մեզ, տէ՛ր:

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

40 Իմ տէ՛ր, ի քեզնէ կուզեմ,
Որ զԵւայ ու զօձն անիծես,
Նոքայ խափեցին ըզիս
Քո լուսոյն, որ մերկացայ ես.

"My Lord, I want you
To curse Eve and the serpent;
They deceived me,
So I was stripped of your light.

41 Պտղոյն ինձ ուտել տվին
Եւ քէնէ արին սեւերես:
Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտես առնէր դու մեզ, տէ՛ր:

They gave me to eat of the fruit,
And made me black-faced[94] before you."
Refrain
Merciful, merciful you are, and love men,
Do not ignore us, Lord!

42 Իմ տէ՛ր, այն հողէն եմ ես,
Քո ձեռօքըդ զիս ստեղծեալ ես,
Սատանան ցուեցոյց զիս,
Կու խնդրեմ զցաւս փարատես

"My Lord, I am from that soil,[95]
By your own hands you created me.

94. See note on this in Stone 1990a, 259.
95. Or: dust.

Satan saddened me;
I ask you to dispel[96] my pain.

43 Քան ըզջուր ճապաղեցայ,
Կաղաչեմ որ զիս ժողովես,
Ժողովես ու շիշան լնուս,
Քո աջովըդ մատնահարես:

I was scattered more than the water;
I ask you to gather me up.
Gather me up and fill a bottle,
Seal it with your right hand."[97]
Refrain

44 Սատանայ տեսաւ զԱդամ
Ի դրախտին դուռն կանգնած,
Զերկու ձեռքն իրար ի զարկ
Եւ բարկ-բարկ ինքն ծիծաղեաց:

Satan saw Adam,
Standing at the gate of Paradise,
Pounding his two hands together,
And cackled caustically.

45 Ադամ զայս պատասխանեաց.
Զի՛նչ տեսար քո բարքդ անիծած,
Թէպէտ ի դրախտէն հանիր,
Չի՛ թողու մեր Տէրն ի ձեռաց:

Adam addressed him:
"How did you see your damned ways?
Although you removed us from the Garden,
Our Lord does not leave us from his hands."
Refrain

46 Սատանայ տեսաւ զՄովսէս,
Արգելեաց ու շատ մի ի լաց
Իմ աստուածախօս Մովսէս
Մեր Տէրն է՞ր է մեզ խռոված,

Satan saw Moses,
Forbade him and cried much:
"My divine-speaking Moses,
Why is our Lord stirred up against us?

96. MES: solace.
97. Russell has: And take power over me with your eye.

47 Երբ մեք աշակերտ էաք
Աստուծոյ, Ադամ չէր ըստեղծած,
Զադամ ի հողոյ ըստեղծեաց,
Մեք ի մեր փառացն եմք զըրկած:

When we were disciples
Of God, Adam was yet uncreated.
He created Adam from dust,[98]
We have been deprived of our glory!”
Refrain

48 Ի յերկնաւորաց դասուց
Սադայէլ զերեսն էր շրջեր,
Ի յերկնից անդունդս իջեր
’Ի ի լուսոյն խաւար մնացեր,

From the heavenly orders,
Sadaēl had turned his face;
From Heaven he descended into the abyss,
And remained obscured from light.[99]

49 Զադամ ի դրախտէն հաներ
’Ի յանասնոց երկիրն է ձըգեր.
Ամենքս ենք օտար, եղբայր,
Անասնոց երկիր բնակեր:

He took Adam out of Paradise,
And flung him into the world of beasts.
We are all strangers, brother,
Inhabitants of the beasts’ land.
Refrain

50 Օրհնեալ է Աստուծոյ անունն,
Որ փակած դռվին է բացեր,
Զաշխարհս գեղեցիկ ստեղծեր,
Եւ երեք դիմաց բաժաներ.

Blessed is the name of God,
Who opened closed doors.
Created the world beautiful,
And divided into three faces;

51 Զհրեշտակս ի յերկինս դասեր,
Ադամայ դրախտն է տուեր,

98. Russell omits this line,
99. MES: from light, he lived in darkness.

Զերկիր անասնոց տուեր,
Անբանից տեղիք զսա շիներ:

Who arranged the angels in Heaven,
Gave Paradise to Adam.
And the earth to beasts
And made these places of the mindless.[100]
Refrain

52 Ողորմած, ողորմած ես մարդասէր,
Մի՛ անտես առներ դու մեզ, տէ՛ր:

Merciful, merciful you are, and love men.
Do not ignore us, Lord!

228–34 Տաղ Ադամայ ասացեալ ի Պլուզ Վարդապետէ
Poem on Adam, Pronounced by Pluz *vardapet*[101]

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 171–73.

53 Ադամ նստել դուռըն ի դրախտին,
Լայր եւ ձայնէր ողորմագին,
Աղհողորմ՝ ի դէմ դրախտին,
Կու հառաչէր արտասուագին:

Adam sat at the gate of Paradise,
Cried and called piteously,
Miserably at[102] Paradise,
And sighed tearfully.

54 Այ՛ սերովբէք, այ՛ քերովբէք,
Այդ որ ի դրախտըն մտանէք,
Զաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէք,
Զայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէք:

"Ah, Seraphim! Ah, Cherubim!
You who enter Paradise,
Implore the Divine,
To give these sinners[103] ease!

100. MES: And made it a place for the animals (i.e., nonrational).
101. There are also variants included in Srapyan's notes.
102. MES: opposite.
103. MES: me, the sinner

55 Երեկ էի ի մէջ դրախտին,
Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային,
/ Անդ թագաւոր էի յաղին,
Նըման հըզօր թագաւորին,

Yesterday I was in the Garden,
Covered with godly light.
There[104] I was king,
Like the powerful King.

56 Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
Որ ղալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
Ես այլ նորայ հաւանեցայ,
Արտաքսեցայ դրախտէն աղին:

For Eve, partner of my rib,
Who was spoiled by the serpent's deception,
I, too, was persuaded by him,[105]
And was expelled from the Garden of Eden.

57 Զիմ զեղեցիկ զարդերքն առին,
Զիս անողորմ մերկացուցին,
Վասըն միոյ պատուիրանին,
Անմահական ծառոյ պտղին:

They took away my beautiful ornaments,
They stripped me mercilessly.
For the sake of one commandment,
The fruit of the immortal tree.

58 Հօսկայ մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
Եւայ նըստել ու խիստ կուլայ:
— Էր չի ասել թէ՝ Տէր, մեղայ,
Դու ես ստեղծել ինձ, ողորմեա՛.

I am stark naked here.
Eve sits and cries terribly.
Why did I not say, "Lord, I have sinned?
You created me, have mercy!"

59 Այս մէկ տարպայս ես ղալտեցայ,
Բանիւ կնոջըն խաբեցայ,
Երբ խայտառակ տեսայ զԵւայ,
Փառացըն մերկ՝ զէտ սատանայ,

104. MES: In Eden there
105. Or: her.

This one time was I spoiled;
I was deceived by a woman's words.
Then I saw Eve shamed,
Stripped of glory like Satan.

60 Ես ի յիւր գութըն վառեցայ,
Յանմահ պտղոյն առեալ կերայ,
Ասցի, թէ իմ ստեղծողըն գայ,
Մերկ տեսանէ զիս զէտ զԵւայ,

I was inflamed with compassion for her
And, taking of the immortal fruit, I ate of it,
And said, "If my Creator comes
He will see me more naked than[106] Eve.

61 Նա հայրական սիրով գթայ
Եւ ողորմի ինձ եւ նորայ.
Երբ ոտնաձայն Տեառն լուայ,
Գալոյ ի դրախտն եւ ապիշեցայ:

With paternal love He will show compassion,
And have mercy on me and on her."
When I heard the footfalls of the Lord
Coming to Paradise, I was stupefied.

62 Տերեւ թզենոյն զինեւ սփածայ,
Ի մէջ ծառոց անկեալ թագեայ:
Տէրն ձայնեաց, — Ադամ, ո՞ւր ես:
Ես ձայն տուի, թէ՝ Մերկ եմ ես:

I covered myself with a fig leaf,
Fell amidst the trees, and hid.
The Lord called, "Adam, where are you?"
I called out, "I am naked."

63 Տէր ըզքո ձայնըդ լուայ ես,
Զահի հարայ ամօթերես:
— Ամ ո՞վ ասաց ձեզ, թէ մերկ էք,
Կամ ո՞վ խաբեաց զձեզ, պատմեցէք:

"Lord, I heard your voice,
And, shamefaced, was gripped by fear."
"Now, relate who told you that you were naked?
And who deceived you?"

106. MES: me naked like.

64 Է՞ր չի ընկնիլ յոտքն ի նորայ,
Լալով ասցել թէ՝ Տէր մեղայ,
/ Քանց թէ պատճառ դըրի զԵւայ,
Ցանանց բարեացըն թափեցայ։

Why did I not fall at his feet
Crying, saying “Lord, I have sinned,”
Rather than accuse Eve?
It is I who have fallen from eternal good.

65 Ի կողէս կին ստեղծեր զԵւայ,
Պըտղոյն երետ ինձ եւ կերայ
Վերջին բանըն էր, որ լուայ,
Որ խօսեցաւ Տէրն ընդ Եւայ։

From my rib you created the woman Eve,
Who gave me of the fruit and I ate.
The last thing that I heard
Was the Lord speaking to Eve:

66 Պատուէր տըւի, թէ մի՛ ուտէք,
Այնկի կերաք՝ դրախտէն ելէք.
Ես ձեզ անանց դրախտն եդի,
Դուք զանցաւորըն սիրեցիք,

“I commanded you not to eat
But you ate of it: leave Paradise!
I placed you in eternal Paradise,
But you loved that which is fleeting.

67 Ես քեզ կենաց պըտուղ տվի,
Դու ըզմահուն ճաշակեցիր,
Ես զքեզ լուսով զարդարեցի,
Դու ըզխաւարըն սիրեցիր։

I gave you the fruit of life,
But you tasted of death.
I adorned you in light,
But you loved the dark.”

68 Եւայ պատասխան ետ նըմա.
— Օձըն խաբեաց զիս եւ կերայ։
Տէրն անիծեց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
Ես այլ ի մէջն զերեցայ։

Eve answered him:
“The serpent deceived me and I ate.”

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve,
And I was trapped with them.

69 / Տէրըն հրամեց մեզ թէ՝ Ելէք,
Թէ հող էիք, ի հող դարձէք:
Ես աղաչեմ զձեզ, սերովբէք,
Գանգատ ունիմ, ի՛նձ լսեցէք:

The Lord ordered us: “Go!
Earth you were; to earth return!”
I implore you, cherubim,[107]
I have a complaint, hear me out.

70 Երբ ի յադին դրախտըն մտնէք,
Յանմահ պըտղոյն ճիւղ մի՛ առէք,
Բերէք յաչացս ի վրայ դրէք,
Ձխաւարեալ աչս ողջացուցէք:

When you enter that Paradise,
Take a branch of the immortal fruit,
Bring it and place it over my eyes
And cure my eyes cast into darkness.

71 Երբ ի դըրախտըն մըտանէք,
Ըզդրախտին դուռըն մի՛ փակէք,
Զիս ի դիմաց կանգնեցուցէք,
Պահ մի հայիմ կարճ, դարձուցէք:

When you enter Paradise,
Do not close the gate of Paradise.
Place me before it,
Let me look a moment, and turn me away.

72 Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ ծաղկունք,
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք
Ա՛հ, կու յիշեմ ըզձեզ թըռչունք
Քաղցրաբարբառ, եւ անասունք,

Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweet-tasting springs!
Ah, I remember you, birds
Sweet-voiced, and animals,

73 Որք ըզդրախտըն վայելէք,
Ձեր թագաւորն եկայք լացէք,
Որք ի դրախտն աստուածատունկ

107. MES: seraphim.

Յերկրէ ընտրեալք ազգի ազգունք:

Who enjoy the Garden;
Come to your king and cry —
Who are planted by God in Paradise
And chosen from every species in the world."

237 12. Տաղ Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետի ասացեալ (թերի)
A Poem Pronounced by Yovhannēs *vardapet* Pluz (incomplete)

Translation: James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and the Medieval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 174.

74 Անդ, ի մէջ դրախտին, երեք անձինք կային,
Ադամ եւ Եւայ եւ պատուիրանըն Տեառն.
Օձըն խրամատեաց ըզցանկ այգոյն կենաց,
Արտաքսեաց զԱդամ ի լուսեղէն դրախտէն:

There, in the midst of the Garden, were three souls,
Adam and Eve and the Commandment of the Lord,
The serpent ruptured the boundary of the orchard of life,
And banished Adam from luminous Paradise.

75 Ստունգանել կընոջըն խաբողին բանիւ,
Մերձեցան ի ծառն, զոր հրամայեաց չուտել:
Ճաշակմամբ պըտղոյն, որով ըզմահ գործեաց,
Կերան եւ ծանեան նոքա, զի մերկ էին:

The woman showed disobedience by the deceiver's word;
They neared the tree, of which He had ordered them not to eat,
By tasting the fruit, wherewith he had fashioned death,
They ate and knew that they were naked.

76 Կարեցին տերեւս ի թզենոյ ծառոյն,
Ծածկոյթ արարին ամօթալից մարմնոյն.
Ոտնաձայն եղեւ Տեառն Աստուծոյ գալոյն,
Լըւեալ Ադամայ եւ փախուցեալ թագեաւ:

They sewed[108] leaves of the fig-tree,
And made a covering for their bodies filled with shame.
There tread of the Lord was of God's coming,
Adam, heard fled, and hid he hid.

108. Russell: desired leaves of.

249–60 15. Տաղ ի Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Վարդապետէ
A Poem by Yovhannēs Pluz *vardapet*[109]

77 251 Թագ արքայական կազմեալ,
Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեալ,
Դու փառք Եւայի բերեալ.
Մայր Մանուէլի սուրբ կոյս:

Having formed the royal crown,
Having bestowed it upon the first Adam,
You brought glory to Eve,
Holy Virgin, Mother of Emmanuel.

Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʿi C13

Text: Yovhannēs Gaṙnecʿi, Աղօթք առ հայրն երկնաւոր "Prayer to the Celestial Father," in Գիրք աղօթից սրբոյն Եփրեմի Խուրին Ասորւոյ *Book of Prayers of St. Ephrem Syrus* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1933).

256 Երկուշաբթի աւուր
Monday

1 Արդ, դու կարող եւ մարդասէր, որ յառաջ քան զլինելութիւն երկնի եւ երկրի պատրաստեցեր զարքայութիւնդ ի ժառանգութիւն սրբոց քոց:

Now you, mighty and philanthropic one who prepared your kingdom before the creation of the heavens and the earth as inheritance for your saints . . .

2 277–78 Բարերար եւ ամենակալ, յոյս ապաւինի ամենայն տարակուսելոց, Տէր իմ եւ Աստուած իմ, արարիչ էից յանէից եւ նախախնամող բոլորից. որ յայսմ աւուր հրամանաւ քով բաժանեցեր զբազմութիւն ջուրց, զքաղցունսն ամբարձեր ի վեր յամպս տեղալ ի վերայ երկրի ի բղխել զաղբիւրս եւ խաղացուցանել զգետս, եւ զաղտաղտինս թողեր յերկիր ստորին անսահման իմաստութեամբ եւ արկեր անջրպետ ի մէջ նոցա լոյծ եւ հոսանուտ զհաստատութիւնն օդոյ, զի փոխադարձ տուրեւառութեամբ ջուրց մշտնջենապէս հաղորդիլ կարասցեն ընդ միմեանս վերինքն եւ ստորինք յօգուտ համօրէն տիեզերաց, եւ ի պէտս ազգի մարդկան, զոր հանդերձեալ էիր արարչագործել ի վայելումն երանաւէտ փառաց աստուածութեանդ քո:

109. Not included in Russell's translation.

Beneficent and Omnipotent, hope of refuge for all doubters; my Lord and my God, Creator of existent things from nonexistent and provider for all. On this day you divided by your command the multitude of waters. You raised the fresh waters up to the clouds on high to rain over the earth, to bring forth springs and to cause rivers to run, and you left salt waters on the lower earth in (your) unbounded wisdom. And as a divider between them you put the loose and flowing firmament of air, so that the upper and the lower could always communicate with each other through mutual exchange of the waters, for the benefit of the whole universe and for the advantage of the human race, which you were going to create in order that [they] enjoy the blissful glory of your divinity.

396–98 Ուրբաթ աւուր
Friday

3 Էապէս բարի եւ ամենակարող զօրութիւն Աստուած յաւիտենական, որ յայսմ աւուր հրամայեցեր երկրի, եւ եհան զանասունս եւ զսողունս եւ զգազանս ըստ ազգի. եւ չհանդուրժեալ բնութեամբ բարիդ՝ արարեր զմարդն ի հողոյ ի պատկեր եւ ի նմանութիւն արարչապետիդ տիեզերաց, եւ կացուցեր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ բոլորեցունց քո արարածոց եւ զգուշացուցեր զնա կալ ի պատուիրանի քում, եւ վայելել զբարիսն՝ զոր ետուր (397) նմա ձրի եւ առանց փոխարինի ի քումմէ առատութենէ:

Եւ արդ, տէ՛ր իմ Աստուած իմ, որ զիս հողս անարգութեան այսպիսի անկշռելի բարութեամբ բարգաւաճեցեր, ես ինքնին հրապուրանաց թշնամւոյն կենաց անսացեալ՝ պատուիրանաց կենարարիդ հեստեցի. եւ օտարացայ ի նմանութենէ հաստողիդ իմոյ Աստուծոյ: Եղծի զգեղեցկութիւն կերպարանաց հոգւոյս՝ ազգի ազգի անօրէնութեամբ, եւ ոչ զարհուրեցայ:

Պերճացուցեր զիս իմացական մտօք խորշիլ ի չարէն եւ ընտրել զբարին. իսկ ես վար/եալ անմտութեամբ՝ յօժարեցայ ի չարիս: Ամբարձեր զիս ի նմանութիւն աստուածութեանդ քո անձնիշխան կամօք, եւ ես ծառայ եղեալ կրից մարմնոյս հաւասարեցայ անասնոց անբանից: Թողի զլոյս հրամանաց քոց՝ զոր ետուր ինձ առաջնորդել նովաւ զգնացս ոտից իմոց ի ճանապարհ ուղիղ երկնից օթեւանին, եւ ես ընդ խաւար գնացեալ՝ անկայ ի խորխորատ անելանելի կորստեան վըհի:

Essentially good and omnipotent power, eternal God! On this day, you commanded the earth, which brought forth cattle, creeping things, and beasts after their kind. And, not tolerating through your good nature, you made the man from dust in your image, in your likeness, O Creator of the universe.

And you set him up as master and sovereign over all your creatures, and warned him to observe your commandment and enjoy the goods that you had given to him freely and without compensation, by your generosity.

Now my Lord, my God, who made flourish, with such inestimable kindness, me, the worthless ground. I myself, yielding to the temptation of the antagonist of life, disobeyed your, the Redeemer's, command. And I estranged myself, my Creator God, from your likeness. With various lawless deeds I corrupted the beauty of the form of my soul, and did not tremble.

You glorified me with intelligent mind to shun the evil and to choose the good, but I, conducting myself with mindlessness, preferred evil. You exalted me to the likeness of your divinity with autonomous will, but I served the passions of my body and became equal to irrational animals. I abandoned the light of your commandments, which you had given me to conduct by them the steps of my feet, on the straight way to the celestial abode; but I went toward darkness and fell into the inextricable abyss of perdition.

Fourteenth Century

Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14

Text: Barseł Maškeronc‘i Մեկնութիւն սրբոյն աւետարանին որ ըստ Մարկոսի *Commentary on the Gospel According to Mark* (Constantinople: Abraham T‘erzean Aknec‘i Press, 1826).

1 43 Եւ տե՛ս զայս յառաջին մարդն՝ որ թերեւս եւ ո՛չ մի օր ողջոյն եկաց ի դրախտին, եւ յայսպիսի չարիս կործանեցաւ հանգստեամբն, զի հաւասար Աստուծոյ ցանկայր լինել՝ եւ միում պատուիրանի չկարաց պահել: Թէ զայլ եւս ժամանակսն առանց փորձութեանց կացեալ էր՝ ո՞րպիսի ինչ չարիս ո՛չ գործէր. յաղագս այսորիկ ասէ, հարկ է գալ փորձութեան եւ գայթագղութեան:

And see this in the first man who perhaps did not remain even one whole day in the Garden restfully, and perished in such misfortunes, for he desired easily to be equal to God and could not obey one command. If he had remained there more time without any temptations, what sort of evil deeds would he not do? For this reason (the Gospel) says, “it must needs be that temptation and traps come.”[1]

2 121 Զի Ադամ յաղագս բանի եւ կերակրոյ ոչ կարաց հաճոյ լինել Աստուծոյ. կերակրովն՝ զոր կերաւ ի ծառոյն, եւ բանիւ՝ զոր պատասխանեաց Աստուծոյ, որով զպատճառն ի կինն եհան, թէ կինս այս՝ զոր ետուր ընդ իս, սա ետ ինձ՝ եւ կերայ: Որպէս եւ այժմ բազումք ասեն, թէ Աստուած արար զիս հեշտասէր եւ կարօտ կերակրոյ, եւ յաղագս այսորիկ ոչ կարեմ ի բաց կալ ի շնութենէ եւ ի շատ ուտելոյ եւ յարբեցութենէ. վասն որոյ այսպիսիքս զրկեալ գտանին ի լուսոյ աստուածութեանն . . .

For Adam could not please God on account of speech and food. Through food that which he ate of the tree and through speech, which he answered God, by which he put the blame on the woman, saying, “This woman whom you gave (to be) with me, she gave me and I ate.”[2] Like now, many say that “God has made me libidinous and desirous of food, and on account of this

1. This citation based on the Armenian text of Matt 18:7, but expanded.
2. Gen 3:12 with some variation.

I cannot abstain from adultery and from gluttony and from hard drinking," because of which such (people) are found to be deprived of the light of the Divinity . . .

3 354 Ադամ յորժամ մեղաւ, գրեալ է թէ՝ լուաւ զձայն զգնալոյ Տեառն ի դրախտի անդ ընդ երեկս. յորժամ խոնարհեալ էր ի նմանէ լոյս հաւատոյն, եւ պաղեալ էր բորբոքումն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ, զտեառն մերոյ զգնալն լուաւ՝ որ բաժանեալ էր ի մեղաւոր մարդոյ կարգ իրաւանցն, եւս առաւել կարգ գթութեան Աստուծոյ: Եւ որ ի յայն ժամ ժամանակաւոր փակեաց զդուռն դրախտին՝ մեղանչելով Ադամայ, զղջանալով աւազակին՝ Քրիստոս եբաց նմա յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. եւ ի ժամն՝ որ Ադամայ ետ զմահ, ի նոյն ժամն երկրորդն Ադամ մեռանելով՝ քակեաց զմահ:

When Adam sinned, it is written that "he heard the sound of the Lord walking in the Garden toward evening";[3] when the light of belief had become low in him[4] and the fervor of love of God had cooled, he heard the walking of our Lord, who had separated from the sinful man the order of justice and moreover, the order of God's mercy.[5] And he who at that hour temporarily closed the door of the Garden, because of Adam's sinning, when the robber repented, Christ opened (it) for him for ever and ever, and in the hour when He gave Adam death, in the same hour the second Adam, by dying, demolished death.

4 355 Վասն է՞ր ի յուրբաթու խաչեցաւ Տէրն մեր. զի ի նմա ստեղծաւ Ադամ, ի նմա էանց զպատուիրանաւն, ի նմա ընկալաւ զվճիռ դատաստանին՝ ի նմին ել ի դրախտէն, եւ ի նմին էառ հրաման քերովբէն պահել զդրախտն հրեղէն սրովք շուրջանակի. վասն այսորիկ ի սմին ընկալաւ Քրիստոս զխոցումն տիգաւ ի կողն, եւ արձակեաց զսուր քերովբէին, եւ եմոյծ ի դրախտն զհոգի աւազակին, եւ կցորդեաց անճառ փառացն իւրոց. որպէս խոստացաւ նմա, թէ այսօր ընդ իս իցես ի դրախտին:

Why was our Lord crucified on Friday? Because Adam was created on it, he transgressed the command on it, he was condemned on it, he went out of the Garden on the same (day), and on the same (day) the Cherub received the command to guard the Garden with the fiery, turning sword. For this reason, on this same (day) Christ received the lance's piercing in his side and broke the sword of the Cherub and introduced the soul of the robber into the Gar-

3. Gen 3:8.

4. Literally: from him, through him.

5. The contrast of God's justice and mercy is widespread in rabbinic thought; see Stone 1990a, 269, 435–36.

den and shared with him His ineffable glory, as he had promised him that, "Today you shall be with me in the Garden."[6]

5 413 . . . Ի սկզբան լինելութեան մարդոյն՝ զամենայն բարեացն պատճառս եդ Աստուած ի մարդն. որպէս զի մի՛ արտաքուստ ի մեզ բարեացն իցէ մուտ . . .

In the beginning of the creation of man God put all the causes of good things in man, so that the good things should not enter us from outside . . .

Esayi Nč'ec'i C14

Esayi Nč'ec'i, Վերլուծութիւն քերականութեան *Commentary on Grammar,* ed. L. Xač'eryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1966).

1 188 Մի մի անուն, որ ոչ հատանի յայլ ումն, որք ի նմանէն բաժանին եւ կամ ծնանին, ամենեքեան սոքա իսկ ասին. եւ ե՛ն այսոքիկ՝ Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայինան, Մաղաղիէլ, Յարեդ, Ենովք, Մաթուսաղա, Ղամէք, Նոյ, եւ ամենեքեան սոքա մի ըստ միոջէ, որք ընդհանուր մարդիկ մինչեւ ցայսաւր ...

Each single name (is) that which is not divided into any other(s), which are separated from it or are born; all these are indeed stated. And these are they: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel (Małałiēl), Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah; and all these one after the other, that (are) common men, till today . . .

218–19 Թուղթ առ տէր Մատթէոս "Letter to Rev. Matt'ēos," *Čṙak'ał* 10 (1860): 157–64; 13 (1861): 205–11.

2 207 Եւ այրն աւագագոյն պարտ է լինել ըստ ժամանակի քան զկինն որպէս եւ զԱդամ նախ ստեղծեաց Աստուած, եւ ապա զԵւայ . . .

And the man must be more senior in time than the woman, just as God first created Adam and then Eve . . .

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14

Text: Grigor (Tat'ewac'i), Pupil of Yōhannēs Orotnec'i, Ի լուծումն Պարապմանց Սրբոյն Կիւրղի (Գիրք պարապմանց) *Commentary on St. Cyril's Scholia (Book of Scholia)* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1717), 529–774.

6. Or: paradise; Luke 23:43.

1 590–91 Բան։ Քանզի ո՛չ ասէ՝ ի պատկեր իւր արար Աստուած զմարդն, այլ ըստ պատկերի. Լծ.։ Առաջինն իբրեւ ուղղական է. իսկ / վերջինն հոլովական, որ նկատէ՛ պատկերակից որդւոյ զօլ զմարդն, եւ ոչ հօր։

Topic: For it (Scripture) does not say "God made the man in his image," but "according to (his) image."[7] Comment: The first (expression) is as if nominative, and the latter is in an oblique case, which regards the man as sharing the same image of the Son and not of the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք հարցմանց *Book of Questions* (Constantinople: Astuacatur Press, 1729, repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press 1993).

Յաղագս գործոյ եւ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ վեցօրէից (պրակ ԾԲ)
Concerning the Six-Days' Work and Creation by God (Section 52)

Վասն իմաստութեան օձին։ Այլ եւ սպանմանն (պրակ ԾԲ)
Concerning the Wisdom of the Serpent; also of the Killing (Section 52)

2 218–19 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ է իմաստութիւն օձին որոյ պարտ է մեզ նմանիլ։

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի զդէմքն ընտրեաց՝ եւ ընդ Եւայի խօսեցաւ . . . /Մահու մարդոյն սկիզբն օձն եղեւ։ Եւ զի երկատեսակ էր բանն՝ այսինքն սուտ եւ ճշմարիտ, լեզուն երկճղի եղեւ։ Եւ զի զմարդն հողացոյց, ինքն հող եկեր։ Եւ զի թեւ եւ ոտք եղեւ չարին, թեւք եւ ոտք իւր կտրեցան։ Եւ զի զկենդանին սպանանել ջանայ, ինքն յամէն կենդանւոյ սպանանի։ Եւ զի օրհնութիւն ի յանէծք փոխեաց, ինքն անիծաւ եւ զրկեցաւ յօրհնութենէ ամենայն կենդանեաց։ Եւ զի թշնամութիւն էարկ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ Աստուծոյ, զթշնամութիւն եդ ի մէջ մարդոյն եւ օձին։ Եւ որպէս ընդ գլխոյն պատերազմեցաւ, զլուխն սատակեցաւ։ Եւ զի զմարդն ընկեց յերկնից ի յերկիր, ընդ գարշապար ոտից նորա անկանի։ Եւ զի բարեկամութեամբ եկն եւ շրջեցաւ ի թշնամութիւն, ինքն յետս շրջի ի խածանելն։ Եւ զի նախանձեցաւ ընդ մարդոյն, ի լանջս եւ յորովայնս սողայ։ Եւ զի նենգաւոր է, թիւր ընթանայ։ Եւ զի զԵ զգայարանս մարդոյն խաբեաց, Ե ման առնու ի գնալն։ Եւ զի մերկացոյց զնախաստեղծքն ի փառաց, զխորխ իւր մերկանայ։

Question. What is serpent's wisdom, which we have to imitate?

Answer. First, because he chose the person and spoke to Eve . . . / The serpent became the beginning of man's death. And since his discourse was

7. Gen 1:26.

of two kinds, namely, false and true, the tongue was forked. And since he turned the man into dust, he himself ate dust. And since he was the arms and legs of the Evil One, his arms and legs were cut off. And since he tries to kill the living being,[8] he is killed by every living being. And since he changed the blessing into curse, he himself was cursed and deprived of the blessing of all animals. And since he put enmity between the man and God, (God) put enmity between the man and the serpent. And as he fought against the head, (his) head was killed. And since he cast the man from heaven to the earth, he falls under the heel of his feet. And since he came with friendship and turned to enmity, he turns back when biting. And since he envied man, he creeps upon (his) breast and belly. And since he is a deceiver, he goes crookedly. And since he deceived the five senses of the man, he makes five circular motions while going. And since he stripped the first-created of glory, his skin is stripped.

Վասն անուան կենդանեաց հարցումն (պրակ ԾԳ)
Question Concerning the Names of Animals (Section 53)

3 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր Ադամ անուանս եդ ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ այլոցն:

Պատասխանի. . . . Երրորդ՝ զի Ադամայ ետ Աստուած զքնական իմաստութիւնն, առ ի ցուցանել զլաւագոյն ծնունդս բանին՝ հրամայէ անունս դնել: Չորրորդ՝ զի ցուցցէ անձնիշխան զոլ զմարդն, վասն՝ որոյ հրամայէ նմա զի զոր ինչ եւ կամեսցի՝ անուն դնիցէ: Հինգերորդ՝ օգնական ետ զկենդանիքդ մարդոյն. որպէս ծառայք՝ տեառնն. անուամբ պարտ էր ճանաչել զնոսա: Վեցերորդ՝ բարերարն Աստուած իւր արարչութեանն կցորդեաց զԱդամ՝ անուանս դնելովն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի փչեաց ի նա զշնորհաց հոգին զանազան պարգեւաց, այժմ զքահանայութեան շնորհին երեւեցոյց ի նա: Զի՝ քահանային է անունս դնել յետ աւազանին ծննդեանն: Ութերորդ՝ զխոհեմութեան եւ խօսից եւ ձայնից եւ տէրութեան շնորհին այժմ երեւեցոյց ի յԱդամ . . .

Question. Why did Adam give names to all cattle and other (animals)?

Answer. . . . Third, because God had given Adam natural wisdom; He commands (him) to give names in order to demonstrate the best offspring of the Word. Fourth, in order to show man to be autonomous; wherefore he commands him to give whatever names he wishes. Fifth, he gave these animals as assistants to man, as servants to the(ir) lord; he had to know them by name. Sixth, the beneficent God made Adam companion of his creation by giving names. Seventh, since he had breathed into him the breath of grace of various

8. կենդանի could also be "the living one," perhaps indicating Adam.

gifts, now he manifested the grace of priesthood in him. For it is the duty of a priest to give names after the birth in the font. Eighth, now he manifested in Adam the grace of prudence and speech and voice and lordship.

Վասն իշխանութեանն Ադամայ հարց (պրակ ԾԴ)
Question Concerning Adam's Authority (Section 54)

4 220 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս գիտեմք թէ մարդն իշխան է ի վերայ անասնոց. զի ահա բազումք անհնազանդք են. որպէս վայրիք եւ գազանք եւ այլք:

Պատասխանի. Եւ զի մարդն թագաւոր եւ իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց՝ յայտ է ի բազմաց: Նախ՝ ի նոյն իսկ աստուածային հրամանացն որ ասէ. (իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու, եւ գազանաց, եւ սողնոց:) Երկրորդ՝ զի պատկեր Աստուծոյ է մարդն. այսինքն զի որպէս Աստուած իշխան եւ թագաւոր է ամենայն արարածոց. նոյնպէս եւ մարդն իշխան է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Երրորդ՝ ի նոյն իսկ ի ձեւոյ շինուածոյ մարդոյն. զի ուղիղ գոլով՝ զիշխանականն նշանակէ, իսկ կենդանիքն կոր գլխով զծառայականն ցուցանեն: Չորրորդ՝ յայտ է ի հնազանդելոցն որք կան այժմ ընդ ձեռամբ մարդկան. որպէս ոչխար, պախրէ եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ՝ յայտ է ի փախուցելոցն որ երկնչին ի մարդկանէ որպէս զապստամբեալ ծառայս: Վեցերորդ՝ զի անձնիշխան է մարդն այսինքն իշխէ բանականաւն ցասման եւ ցանկութեան որք են անասնական մասունք: Ուստի յայտ է թէ՝ եւ իշխէ արտաքին անասնոց: Իսկ որք այժմ ապստամբք եղեն՝ վասն բ պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի յորժամ մարդն անհնազանդ եղեւ Տեառն իւրոյ արարչին, յիրաւի անհնազանդք եղեն եւ մարդոյն անասունք տուեալ նմա ի ծառայութիւն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ցորքան իշխէր ինքն ի վերայ անասնական մասանց իւրոց որպէս ասացաք, իշխէր եւ ի վերայ արտաքին անասնոց եւ գազանաց. իսկ յորժամ ապստամբեցին ներքինքն բանականին տեառն իւրեանց՝ ապստամբեցին եւ արտաքինքն մարդոյն տեառն իւրեանց:

Question. How do we know that man is ruler over the animals? For behold, many are disobedient, like the wild (animals) and the beasts and others.

Answer. It is evident from many (signs) that man is king and ruler of all animals. First, from the very divine commands that He says, "let him have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the beasts and the creeping things (Gen 1:26)." Second, because man is an image of God; that is to say, just as God is the ruler and king of all created things, likewise man is the ruler of all animals. Third, from the very form of man's structure (constitution), for being upright, he symbolizes the lordly, while the animals, having bent heads, exhibit the servile. Fourth, it is evident from the subjected ones which are now under men's power, such as sheep, cattle, etc. Fifth, it is evident from the (animals) that run away, that are afraid of man like rebellious ser-

vants. Sixth, because man is autonomous, that is to say, through the rational he subdues his passion and desire, which are the animal parts (of the soul). Hence it is evident that he subdues also the external animals. As to those who now became rebellious, there are two reasons (for that). First, because when the man became disobedient to his Lord the Creator, justly also the animals given to him as servants became disobedient to the man. Second, as long as he himself subdued his own (soul's) animal parts as we said, he subdued also the external animals and beasts, but when the internal (irrational parts) rebelled against the rational, their lord, the external ones too rebelled against the man, their lord.

Զի միշտ լոյս է ի դրախտին (պրակ ԾԶ)
That There Is Always Light in the Garden (Section 56)

222 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս ասեն թէ դրախտն լուսոյ արեգական չէ կարօտ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն զի բնական լուսաւոր է օդն որ ի մէջ դրախտին: Եւ այլք ասեն թէ ծաղիկք եւ տերեւքն լուսընկալք են: Եւ այլք թէ՝ իմանալի է լոյս նոցա՝ եւ կամ յեթերէն: Իսկ այլք ասեն թէ՝ վասն առաւել բարձրութեանն՝ լոյս արեգականն ոչ երբէք հեռանայ ի նմանէ. թէպէտ ի ներքոյ երկրի անցանէ ... Ոմանք ի դրախտն եւս ասեն թէ տիւ եւ գիշեր լինի. կամ գարուն եւ աշուն. զոր մեզ չէ ընդունելի: Այլ որպէս ասէ Յոբ, (զի՞նչ երկիր իցէ յորում լոյսն ագանիցի:) յայտ է զի գիշեր ոչ լինի անդ. եւ ոչ եղանակք փոփոխին: Զի ո՛չ անձրեւ՝ եւ ոչ ձիւն եւ ոչ հողմ է անդ: Զի ի վերին մասն օդոյն է մերձեցեալ՝ որ է առաւել բարեւսուն. եւ ամպոց եւ հողմոց շարժմունք ի միջին մասն օդոյս ծնանին. եւ ի դրախտն ոչ հասանեն:

Question. Why[9] is it said[10] that the Garden does not need the light of the sun?

Answer. Because the air that is in the Garden is naturally luminous; and others say that flowers and leaves receive light; others, that their light is intelligible, or from the ether, while others say that because of the very high position, the light of the sun never becomes distant from it, although the sun passes under the earth. . . . Some (people) say, moreover, that there is day and night also in the Garden, or spring and autumn, which is not acceptable to us. But, as Job says, "Which is the land in which light passes the night?"[11] it is evident that there is no night there, and the seasons do not change. For there is no rain, nor snow, nor wind there. For it is close to the upper part of the air (atmosphere), which is the most vivifying. And the movements of

9. Literally: how.
10. Literally: do they say.
11. So the Armenian of Job 38:19a.

clouds and winds are born in the middle part of the air and do not reach the Garden.

Զի անապական է դրախտն.
That the Garden is Incorruptible

6 222–23 Հարց. Արդ զի՞նչ ասեմք, անապակա՞ն՝ թէ ապականացու է դրախտն:

Պատասխանի.: Որպէս առաջին հարքն անապական զոլ ասացին. եւ մեք հետեւօղք նոցին անապական ուսանիմք: Դարձեալ եւ ի կարգէ իրացն յայտնի է: Նախ՝ զի թէ ապականացու էր որպէս երկիրս այս, վասն է՞ր զմարդն պատուելով ի դրախտն եդ Աստուած: Երկրորդ՝ եւ յորժամ մարդն ապականացաւ մեղօք, վասն է՞ր ի դրախտէն հանէր զնա: Զի ապականեալ մարդն ապականացու դրախտին էր վայելչական: Երրորդ՝ զի համաձայնին ամենեքեան՝ որ նախ քան զյանցանելն զմարդն անապական ասեն: / Արդ եթէ մարդն անապական էր յապականացու տեղւոջ ո՛չ բնակէր: Ապա թէ ոչ՝ ի տեղւոջէն եղեւ ապականացու [12] եւ ոչ ի զործոյն:

Question. Now what do we say, is the Garden incorruptible or corruptible?

Answer. As the first fathers said it (to be) incorruptible, we too, their successors, learn (that it is) incorruptible. It is also evident from the order of things. First, if it was corruptible like this earth, why did God, honoring the man, put (him) in the Garden? Second, when the man was corrupted by sin, why did he expel him from the Garden? Because the corrupted man would suit a corruptible Garden. Third, all agree when they say that the man (was) incorruptible before the transgression. / 223 / Now since man was incorruptible, he would not live in a corruptible place; if not, then he became corruptible because of the place and not because of (his) deed.

7 Հարցումն. Ո՞ւր երեւի անապականութիւն նորա:

Պատասխանի. Յայն՝ զի փայտ դրախտին անփուտ է եւ տերեւն անփտելի. եւ պտուղն անծորելի. եւ ծաղիկն անթառամելի. եւ Աստուծոյ տնկեալ ձեռօք իւր. տեղի անապական ձեռազործին Ադամայ . . .

Question. Where is its incorruptibility manifested?

Answer. In that the wood of the Garden does not putrefy, and the leaves do not rot, and the fruit (is) undroppable, and the flowers (are) unfading, and

12. In the edition, this word is abbreviated as ապակցւ, and we have resolved this as ապականացու (“corruptible”).

God had planted them with his hands; an incorruptible place for the hand-made Adam . . .

8 Հարց. Պտուղն որ հատանի եւ ծամկի եւ ի մարմին փոխարկի. ո՞րպէս է անապական:

Պատասխանի. Պտուղքն դրախտին շօշափելիք են եւ կերակրելիք, հատանի եւ ծամկի եւ փոփոխի ըստ պատահական որակացն. եւ անապական մնայ ըստ գոյացութեանն եւ ներգործութեանն ի կերօղն . . . Դարձեալ փայտն կենաց ունէր կերակրելի պտուղ: Ո՞րպէս ասէ գիրն, (զուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր եւ առցէ եւ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:) Արդ, զի՞նչ ասես վասն կենաց պտղոյն. եթէ կերակրելի է եւ հատանելի, ո՞րպէս է կենաց պտուղ: Եւ թէ կեանս տայ՝ ո՞րպէս հատանի: Արդ՝ որպէս կենաց պտուղն կերակրելի է եւ կենսունակ, նոյնպէս ամենայն պտուղքն կերակրելիք էին եւ անապականք:

Question. How is the fruit incorruptible that is picked and chewed and converts into body?

Answer. The fruits of the Garden are tangible and edible, are picked and chewed and converted according to casual[13] qualities, but remain incorruptible by nature and by (their) influence on the eater. . . . Besides, the tree of life had edible fruit. What does Scripture say? ". . . Lest he put forth his hand and take . . . and live forever."[14] Now, what do you say about the fruit of life? If it is edible and can be picked, how is it the fruit of life? And if it gives life, how is it picked? Now, as the fruit of life is edible and vivifying, likewise all the fruits were edible and incorruptible.

Վասն գիտութեան պտղոյն հարցումն (պրակ ԾԷ)
Question about the Fruit of Knowledge (Section 57)

9 223–24 Հարցումն. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Պատասխանի. Պտու՛ղ էր զգալի եւ կերակրելի: Որպէս կենաց պտուղն անմահութեան էր պատճառ. եւ այլ ամենայն պտուղքն լիութեան: Նոյնպէս եւ նա գիտութեան էր պատճառ բարւոյ եւ չարի որպէս ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին: Դարձեալ ասէ աստուածաբանն, պտուղ էր բարի՝ ի բարի արարչէն գոյացեալ: Եւ յիւր ժամանակն ուտելոյ բարի էր ըստ այլ ամենայն պտղոցն. այլ՝ տարաժամ ուտելն, եւ առանց հրաման՝ արար զնա չար: Դարձեալ ասեն ոմանք, նախ քան զուտելն ի պտղոյն՝ գիտէր Ադամ զբարին փորձիւ, եւ զչարն գիտութեամբ. իսկ

13. Or: accidental.
14. Gen 3:22.

յորժամ եկեր՝ գիտաց զչարն փորձիւ, եւ զբարին գիտութեամբ. այն է գիտութիւն բարւոյ եւ չարի:

Եւ այլք ասեն թէ՝ պատճառ էր բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ ոչ ըստ ինքեանն, այլ օրինօքն: Զի թէ հնազանդեալ էր օրինացն, լինէր բարւոյ պատճառ. եւ ո՛չ հնազանդեալ՝ եղեւ չարի պատճառ . . .

Question. What was the fruit of knowledge of good and evil?

Answer. It was a perceptible and edible fruit. As the fruit of life was the cause of immortality, and all other fruits (were the cause) of abundance, likewise it was the cause of knowledge of good and evil, as St. Gregory of Nyssa says. Besides, the theologian says, “the fruit was good, created by the good Creator. And eaten in due time, it was good like all the other fruit, but the untimely eating, and without command, made it evil.” Again, some say, before eating of the fruit, Adam apprehended good by experience and evil by knowledge, and when he ate, he apprehended evil by experience and good by knowledge; that is the knowledge of good and evil.

And others say that it was the cause of good and evil not according to itself but through the law. For if (Adam) had obeyed the law, it would have been the cause of good, and because (he) did not obey, it became the cause of evil . . .

10 Հարց. Զի՞նչ էր պտուղն որ կերաւ Ադամ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք թուզ ասեն թէ ի նոյն ժամն որ կերաւ եւ մերկացաւ՝ եւ կարեաց ի տերեւոյ նորա. եւ վկայ բերեն թէ՝ վասն այն անէծ զթզենին յԵրուսաղէմ: Այլք ասեն թէ՝ խաղող էր. կամ ցորեան. զի զգինին ետ գրաւական կենաց՝ եւ զհաց մարմնոյն: Այլք ասեն թէ խնծո՛ր. վասն զի բազում անգամ ի յերգսն խնծոր յիշի: Եւ զոր գիրք սուրբ ոչ է յայտնեալ, զիա՞րդ իշխէ մարդ խօսիլ: Այլ այս է ճշմարիտն. որ մինն ծառ էր կենաց՝ եւ մինն գիտութեան. եւ ի դրախտին այլ ոչ գոյր նման նմա. թո՛ղ թէ յերկրիս, ո՞րպէս ասեմք թէ այս է կամ այն:

Question. What was the fruit that Adam ate?

Answer. Some say a fig, for at the same time as he ate and was stripped, he sewed a girdle of its leaf. And they corroborate this (saying), that is why (God) cursed the fig-tree in Jerusalem.[15] Others say that (it was) a grape or wheat, for (Christ) gave wine as pledge of life and bread, of the body. Others say that (it was) apple, for often the apple is mentioned in the Songs.[16] And how can man speak of that which the Holy Scripture has not revealed? But this is the truth, that one was the tree of life and the other of knowledge. And

15. Cf. Jer 8:13.
16. I.e., Song of Songs, e.g., 2:3 and 8:5.

there was no other (tree) in the Garden like it, a fortiori on the earth. How can we say that it is this or that?

224-5 Թէ անձորելի է պտուղն դրախտին (պրակ ԾԸ)
That the Fruit of the Garden Is Undroppable (Section 58)

11 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս է կերակրելի՝ թէ անձորելի է պտուղն:

Պատասխանի. Չէ՛ զարմանք հրաշիցն Աստուծոյ. որպէս ամենայն ըռնգունք զհոտն զգան, եւ աչք զգոյնն կրէ յինքն, եւ անձորելի եւ անպակաս են յէնթակայէն.

Question: How is the fruit edible if it is undroppable?

Answer. There is nothing surprising in God’s miracles. As all nostrils sense smell, and the eye bears color in itself, (likewise) (they, i.e., the fruit, are) both undroppable and do not lack any quality.

12 Հարց. Ծառք դրախտին ո՞րպէս ըմպեն ջուր, թէ անապականք են:

Պատասխանի. Որպէս լուսաւորք երկնից քարշեն յերկրէ եւ ի ծովէ զհիւթ՝ եւ կերակրին եւ անապականք են: Եւ որպէս հուր ճրագին զիւղն կերակրի, եւ ինքն ոչ առա/ւելու: Նոյնպէս եւ տունկք դրախտին ըմպեն զջուր գետոյն որ ոռոգանէ զդրախտն:

Question. How do the trees of the Garden drink water, if they are incorruptible?

Answer. As the lights of heaven draw the moisture from the earth and the sea, they both feed themselves and are incorruptible; and as the flame of a lamp feeds on oil and does not itself increase, likewise the plants of the Garden drink the water of the river that irrigates the Garden.

13 Հարց. Տկարանայ միտքս թէ յապականացու երկրէ է դրախտն եւ մասն է երկրի, ո՞րպէս է անապական:

Պատասխանի. Թէպէտ ըստ նիւթոյն յապականացու յերկրէ է, այլ ըստ կատարման յանապականութիւն փոխեցաւ: Որպէս մարմինն Ադամայ յերկրէ է եւ անապական, եւ մանանայն յօդոյ եւ անապական ...

Question. My mind is unable (to understand): if the Garden is of corruptible earth and is a part of the earth, (so) how is it incorruptible?

Answer. Though according to substance it is of corruptible earth, yet according to its perfection it was changed to incorruptibility. As Adam’s body is from the ground and is incorruptible, and manna is from the air and is incorruptible . . .

14 Հարց. Վերջին հուրն ի կատարածի՝ զդրախտն փոփոխէ՞ թէ ոչ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ ասեմք թէ ո՛չ: Զի որպէս ջրհեղեղն ոչ եմուտ ի դրախտն զի ոչ էր ապականեալ մեղօք: Նոյնպէս եւ վերջի՛ն հուրն նովին չափով հեղեղին ի նոյն տեղիսն ընթանայ: Եւ զի ո՛չ է ապականացու դրախտն՝ եւ ոչ փոփոխի: Զի երկիր անիծաւ եւ ապականեցաւ, եւ ոչ դրախտն: Դարձեալ ասեմք թէ գոյացութիւն դրախտին Բ իր է. այսինքն նիւթ եւ ապականութիւն: Արդ՝ վերջին հրովն յորում վառին երկինք եւ երկիր, ըստ նիւթոյ մասին պարզի. այլ ըստ անապականութեանն մնայ անփոփոխ: Նոյնպէս եւ ըստ թանձրութեանն:

Question. Does the last fire at the consummation[17] change the Garden or not?

Answer. First, we say "no." For, as the flood did not enter the Garden, for it was not corrupted by sin, likewise the last fire moves over the same places within the same limits, as the flood.[18] And since the Garden is not corruptible, it also does not change. For the earth was cursed and corrupted, and not the Garden. Besides, we say that the being of the Garden is two things, namely, substance and incorruptibility.[19] Now, according to its substance it is purified by the last fire in which the heavens and the earth burn, but according to its incorruptibility, it remains unchanged. Also according to its density.

Թէ ի դրախտին ծնունդ ոչ լինի (պրակ ԾԹ)
That There Is No Birth in the Garden (Section 59)

15 Հարց. Ի դրախտին լինէ՞ր մարմնական ծնունդ որպէս այժմ ի յերկրի, թէ ոչ:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք կամին ցուցանել ապականացու զոլ զդրախտն եւ շաղաշարումն արուի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազում մտացածին բանս տողեն: Որ ընդդէմ է ըստ գրոց. եւ ուղղափառ հարց: Նախ՝ զի ասէ աստուածային հրամանն՝ «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր» յերկիր ետ հրաման աճելոյ եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ զի դրախտն է տեղիք անապական. եւ ոչ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ որպէս տնկոցն: Արդ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր՝ եւ ո՛չ ապականութիւն մարմնական, եւ ո՛չ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ՝ եկեղեցի սուրբ օրինակ է դրախտին: Արդ՝ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին, եւ մանկարարութիւն ո՛չ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան, եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ լինէր անդ ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յերկրի, կարօտանայր

17. I.e., the eschaton.

18. For the idea of two floods, one of water and one of fire, see *History of the Forefathers* §41 in Stone 1996b, 198–99; *Abel* §§4.3–4; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.70–71; Ginzberg 1960.

19. So emending անապականութիւն to ապականութիւն, see next phrase.

մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից զաւակին: Սննդեան. աճելոյ. խնամելոյ. եւ այլոցն, եւ այսոքիկ ոչ են ի դրախտին. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ՝ նախ քան զյանցանելն՝ էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեան: Վեցերորդ՝ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին ի գիրս կազմութեան եթէ առաջին կեանք դրախտին էր կու/սութիւն եւ անապականութիւն եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. եւ յետ յարութեանն վերըստին դառնամք յառաջին կեանս դրախտին. յանապականութիւն եւ ի հրեշտակաց հաւասարութիւն: Արդ՝ եթէ առաջին կեանքն էր ամուսնութեամբ եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա շաղակրատեն. ապա եւ ի վերջին յարութեանն նոյնպէս է՛ լինելոց: Եւ լինի աղանդն այնոցիկ՝ որք ասեն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն, եւ կերակուր եւ ամուսնութիւն, եւ այլ աղճատանք: Զորս զայնպիսի ասացօղքն եւ ընդունօղքն՝ որոշեալ նզովէ եկեղեցի Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ: Իսկ եթէ ոք հարցանէ, ապա վասն է՞ր ստեղծան ծննդական անդամքն յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին: Ասեմք թէ՝ կանխագէտ է Աստուած եւ նախ ծանեաւ զի ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին. զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեսցին: Եւ թէ ոք պնդեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն: Զայս ասեն սուրբ վարդապետք եթէ՝ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցին յերկինս, նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին: Եւ թէ ասեն, հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց. իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ՝ Ասեն սուրբք, որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառին: Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս: Ասեն սուրբք, եթէ զոր օրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտին կարէին ծնանիլ կուսութեամբ եւ առանց սերման. կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ որպէս Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ որպէս ինքն գիտէ ամենագէտ արարիչն: Այլ մեզ զոր գիրք սուրբք լռեալ են՝ լռութեամբ պատուեսցի. եւ մի՛ մտացածին բանիւք վտարանդեալ ի գուբ կորըստեան անկցուք:

Question. Was there corporeal birth in the Garden, as now on the earth, or not?

Answer. Some want to show that the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female; and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they limn many fabulous things, which are contrary to Scripture and the orthodox Fathers. First, because the divine command says, "be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth."[20] He ordered them to be fruitful on the earth,[21] and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible

20. Gen 1:28.
21. Emending to յերկրի; cf. the following ի դրախտին.

place, there was no trickle of impurity from the man, like from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (neither was there) bodily corruptibility nor impure birth. Third, the holy church is the type of the Garden. Now, the marriage ceremony[22] takes place in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the marriage ceremony also took place, but not childbirth.[23] Fourth, if there were impure birth there, as on the earth, the man would be short of all necessaries for the child; of nurture, of growing, of care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lust. Sixth, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the book of formation[24] that the primordial life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and resemblance to the angels. And after the final resurrection, we return to the primordial of the Garden, to incorruptibility and to resemblance to the angels. Now, if the primordial life were with marriage and childbirth, as they babble, then also during the last resurrection it will be the same. And it is a heresy of those, who say (that there was) corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The church of Christ God having excommunicated, anathematizes those who say and accept such things. And if somebody asks, then for what were the reproductive organs created, if they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase innocently in the Garden, like angels, for which reason he formed their body, so that they might increase on the earth like animals. And if one persists (in looking for) an example and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say this, that as the angels increased in heaven, in the same way the human race (increased) in the Garden. And if they say: the angels came into being from the nonexistent and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one flame. And if they say that such birth is imperfect, the saints say that just as the Mother of God Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, in the same way too in the Garden (they) could give birth, in virginity and without sperm, to a perfect man from Adam's nature; or as Eve (was born) from Adam's rib; or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows. But let us respect with silence that about which the Holy Scriptures keep silent, and not, being banished for fictitious words, fall into the abyss of perdition.

22. Literally: the crown of blessing. պսակ is the usual term for the wedding ceremony.
23. Perhaps here "the begetting of children" and so below: the issue is the emission of semen.
24. I.e., his *On the Making of Man.*

Վասն գլխաւոր արարածոց հարցումն
Question Concerning the Chief Creations

16 226–27 Հարց. Քանի՞ են գլխաւոր արարածք:

Պատասխանի. Ոմանք ԻԲ ասեն ըստ նշանարացն եբրայեցւոց. եւ այլք ԻԴ ըստ ժամուց աւուրցն: Եւ այսպէս ասեն. յԱռաջին աւուրն՝ Է արարածք եղեն. հրեղէն երկինքն եւ չորս տարերք. եւ լոյս եւ հրեշտակք ընդ լուսոյն: յԵրկրորդ օրն, հաստատութիւն. եւ ջրեղէն կամարն. եւ ծովք. եւ ցամաք երկիր: յԵրրորդ օրն, բոյսք եւ տունկք եւ դրախտն: Ի չորրորդն, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղք: Ի հինգերորդն, լողականք եւ թռչունք: Ի վեցերորդն, ցամաքային կենդանիքն. այլ եւ Ադամ եւ Եւա: Եւ յեօթներորդն զհանգիստ արդարոցն ասեն: Այլ եւ տիւ եւ գիշեր որք ընդ լուսոյն եղեն: / Որովք լինին ԻԴ արարածք: Եւ սոքա են գլխաւորագոյնքն: Իսկ ամպք եւ հողմունք ի յօդոյն են. որպէս քարինք եւ երկաթք յերկրէ. սոյնպէս աղբիւրք եւ գետք ի ծովէ:

Question. How many are the chief creations?

Answer. Some (people) say twenty-two, according to the characters of the Hebrews,[25] and others twenty-four, according to the hours of the days. And they say as follows: on the first day seven creatures were made: the fiery heavens and the four elements, and the light and the angels with the light. On the second day—the firmament and the watery vault, and the seas and the dry land. On the third day—the shoots and the plants and the Garden. On the fourth—the sun, the moon, and the stars. On the fifth—the swimming creatures and the birds. On the sixth—the terrestrial animals, and also Adam and Eve. And on the seventh they say the repose of the righteous. Also the day and the night, which came into being with the light. With these, there are twenty-four creations, and these are the most important ones. But the clouds and winds are from the air, just as the stones and metals from the earth, likewise the springs and rivers from the sea.

229 Սկիզբն հինգերորդ գրոց հարցմանցս յաղագս լինելութեան մարդոյն
Beginning of the Fifth Book of Questions Concerning the Creation of Man

17 Հարցումն. Վասն է՞ր մարդն ի հողոյ ստեղծաւ: (պրակ Ա)

Պատասխանի. Ասեմք վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախ՝ որպէս ասացաւ ի վերոյ, հողն ունի զայլ Գ տարերքն ի յինքն խառնեալ.

25. Compare *Jub.* 2:15.

յորժամ ի հողոյ աւէ՝ իմանալի է զԴ տարերս . . . Չորրորդ՝ հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ . . . Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսեալ ի մեզ հպարտացուք, զհողն տեսեալ խոնարհեսցուք . . . Վեցերորդ՝ զի տեսցէ Ադամ թէ յապականացու հողոյս անապական մարմին կազմեցաւ վասն փառաց. եւ յորժամ կորոյս մեղօքն եղեւ ապականացու, ինքն իցէ պատճառ ապականութեան իւրոյ . . . Դարձեալ ի հողոյ ստեղծ ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառսն մտանէր յորմէ նա՛ որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ:

Question: Why was Man Created from Dust (Earth)? (Section 1)

Answer. We say, for many reasons. First, as it has been said above, the dust (earth) has the other three elements mixed with it. When it [i.e., the Bible] says from the ground, one should understand the four elements. . . . Fourth, the ground symbolizes humbleness. . . . So that if we are proud, having seen God's image in ourselves, we will be humble having seen the dust (earth). . . . Sixth, so that Adam would see that the incorruptible body was made of the corruptible dust (earth) for the sake of glory, and that when he lost it by sinning, it became corruptible; (thus) he himself is the cause of his own corruptibility. . . . Besides, he created (the man) of the dust (earth) to the shame of Satan, so that he might be ashamed when this weak and clay-made (man) entered the glory, from which he who was glorious had fallen.

Վասն կնոջն հարցումն (պրակ ԼԲ)
Question Concerning the Woman (Section 32)

18 276 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր զկինն ի կողէն ստեղծ եւ ոչ ի հողոյ:

Պատասխանի. Վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախ զի մի՛ համեմատ առն կարծիցէ զինքն. այլ որպէս ոչ համահասակ եւ ոչ համահող լիցի: Երկրորդ՝ զի մի՛ անփոյթ եւ անհնազանդ եղիցի մարդոյն. այլ ի նմանէ ի կողիցն, զի որպէս մարմին հնազանդ լիցի գլխոյն: Երրորդ՝ զի որպէս խօսիլ գլխոյն է նոյնպէս լռութիւն կողին է. զի լուռ լիցի կինն ընդ իշխանութեամբ առնն: Չորրորդ՝ զի մի տկար ոք կարծիցի. այլ որպէս կողեղ եւ հաստակող ասեմք զըմբիշս. այսպէս զօրեղ եղիցի կինն ի տնօրինել զտունն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի կողն է աման եւ տեղի երիկամանց. յորմէ շարժի ցանկութիւնն. զի թէպէտ ոչ շարժէ զնա. այլ ազդումն ինչ ունի զնմանէ: Վեցերորդ՝ ոչ առնու ի գլխոյն եւ ոչ ի յոտիցն. այլ ի միջացն. զի խրատէ զմարդիկ ոչ հաւասար գլխոյն պատուել զկինն, եւ ոչ անարգել իբրեւ զոտք. այլ միջակ պատուով չափաւորել զնա: Եօթներորդ՝ զի պարունակաձեւ է կողն. ի նշանակել, զի կինն պարունակիչ եւ հաւաքիչ է տան առն եւ ընչից: Ութերորդ՝ զի կողն կեռ գոլով՝ ցուցանէ զկինն նենգ գոլ եւ երկմիտ. կեռ, այսինքն

խեռ ընդ առն: Իններորդ՝ զի որպէս կողից երեւն որ ի փորն նայի՝ կոկ գոլով եւ մզղնատեսակ. իսկ մէջն փուչ եւ մրրախառն. այսպէս սէրն զոր ցուցանէ առ այրն, նօսր առ ի ցոյցս՝ եւ երեսս միայն ունի. իսկ ի սիրտն զմրուր դառնութեան: Տասներորդ՝ որպէս կողն զզօրութիւնն քարշէ եւ տայ ի թիկունքն եւ պնդէ զնա. այսպէս կինն զփառս եւ զինչս առն յինքն քարշելով թանձրացուցանէ եւ պնդէ զինքն:

Իսկ կոչի կին: Նախ՝ զի յառնէ իւրմէ առաւ: Երկրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կէս մարդոյ: Երրորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կող մի, որ է զօրութիւն մի: Չորրորդ՝ կին, զի ի կենդանւոյ առաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կողաբոյս կամ կողածին: Վեցերորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կայանք եւ հանգիստ մարդոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կրօղ զօրութեան եւ ընչից առն: Ութներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կցորդ եւ օգնական առն յամենայն գործս: Իններորդ՝ կին, նշանակէ զթոյլն եւ զտկարն: Եւ վասն կրկին պատճառի է տկար: Նախ՝ զի ոչ ունի զառնողական զօրութիւնն. որպէս եւ յամենայն կենդանիս էգն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի ձախ կողէ շինեցաւ կինն. եւ տկար է ձախ կողմն մարդոյս: Տասներորդ՝ կին, իբր թէ կեանք. զի որպէս կե՛նօք է տեւել. նոյնպէս տեսակ մարդոյս ի ձեռն կնոջ ծննդեանն տեւէ՛, եւ կայ մնայ մինչ ի կատարած: Վասն այսր պատճառի կոչեաց զանուն կնոջ իւրոյ կեանս. զի աճումն է եւ ծնունդն եւ մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց:

Question. Why did he create the woman from the rib and not from dust?

Answer. For many reasons. First, so that she would not consider herself comparable to the man, but as not being of the same age nor of the same dust. Second, in order that she would not neglect and disobey the man, (but he made her) from him, from the ribs, so that like the body she would obey the head. Third, as speaking is (characteristic) of the head, likewise silence is (characteristic) of the rib, so that the woman would be silent under the authority of the man. Fourth, so that she should not be considered a weak person, but just as we call athletes robust and firm-ribbed, thus the woman should be strong in managing the house. Fifth, because the rib is the container and the place of the kidneys, whence sensuality is moved, for although (the rib) does not provoke it, yet it has some influence on it. Sixth, she is not taken from the head nor from the feet, but from the middle, in order to admonish men not to honor the woman like the head, and not to dishonor (her) like the feet, but to limit her to medium honor. Seventh, as the rib is round, in order to symbolize that the woman is the container and the collector of the man's house and goods. Eighth, for the rib, being crooked, shows the woman to be insidious and duplicitous; crooked means stubborn to the man. Ninth, like the surface of the rib that faces the belly is smooth and membranous, and the inner part is empty and full of dregs, likewise the love that she demonstrates to the man, is delicate outwardly and has only exterior, but there is only bitter dregs in the heart. Tenth, as the rib draws the power and gives it to the

back and strengthens it, likewise the woman, drawing to herself the man's glory and goods, makes herself thick and firm.

And she is called woman. First, because she was taken from her husband.[26] Second, woman, as if the half of a man. Third, woman as one rib, which is one power. Fourth, woman, because she was taken from a living being. Fifth, woman, as grown from a rib or born from a rib. Sixth, woman, as if an abode and repose for the man. Seventh, woman, as if bearer of the power and the goods of the man. Eighth, woman, as the companion and assistant of the man in all affairs. Ninth, woman means the weak and powerless one. And she is weak for two reasons. First, because she has not the virile strength, like the females of all living creatures. Second, because the woman was made from the left rib, and the man's left side is weak. Tenth, woman, as life, for she continued alive thanks to life; similarly the human race lives through women's childbirth, and exists until the end. For this reason he named his wife "life," because she is increase and birth and the mother of all living creatures

Վասն զի ոչ ամաչէին (պրակ ԼԵ)
Concerning That They Were Not Ashamed (Section 35)

19 278 Հարց. Վասն է՞ր ոչ ամաչէին Ադամ եւ կինն:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ վասն պարզամտութեանն. զի որպէս տղայք ոչ ամաչեն անծածուկ ունելով զմասունս. նոյնպէս եւ նոքա: Երկրորդ՝ վասն անմեղութեանն. զի ամօթն յետ մեղացն է: Երրորդ՝ զի չէին առեալ զպատուէրս որ ծնանէր զերկեւղ՝ եւ զզուշութիւն. որ ի պակասումն զզուշութեան ամօթն է: Չորրորդ՝ զի ընդ ծառս դրախտին եւ յանթառամ ծաղիկսն եւ ի բազմապատիկ պտուղսն՝ պշուցեալ էին, ոչ զերկնչիլն գիտէին եւ ոչ զամաչելն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի մտօք յաստուածային խոկումն էին վերացեալ, եւ զգայարանօք ընդ գործս հրաշիցն. եւ ոչ էին պարապեալ քննութեան անձին . . . Վեցերորդ՝ զի թէպէտ ի ձեռագործ հանդերձից մերկ էին, սակայն ի լուսոյ շնորհաց զարդարեալ էին:

Question. Why Adam and the woman were not ashamed?

Answer. First, because of simplicity, for as children are not ashamed having the parts (of the body) uncovered, likewise they were (i.e., not ashamed). Second, because of sinlessness, for shame follows sin. Third, for they had not received the command which begat fear and precaution, as shame is (produced) by dearth of precaution. Fourth, because they were amazed at the trees of the Garden and unfading flowers and very variegated fruits and were unaware of both fear and shame. Fifth, because they had soared in their

26. Gen 2:23.

thoughts to divine contemplation and in their senses (they were captured) by miraculous deeds and did not devote themselves to self-examination. . . . Sixth, because although they were naked of handmade clothes, nonetheless, they were adorned with the light of grace.

Վասն երկոտասան պարգեւաց մարդոյն (պրակ ԼԶ)
On the Twelve Gifts of the Man (Section 36)

20 278–79 Երկոտասան պարգեւք էին ի դրախտին զոր կորոյս Ադամ: Նախ՝ տեսութիւնն՝ Աստուծոյ: Երկրորդ՝ խօսակցութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ անմահութիւն: Չորրորդ՝ լուսեղէն պատմուճան: Հինգերորդ՝ անախտ կեանք: Վեցերորդ՝ անծերանալի հասակ: Եօթներորդ՝ վայելչութիւն անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: / Ութերորդ՝ մշակութիւն Աստուծոյ. այսինքն անմահ տնկոցն երկրագործ եւ պահապան: Իններորդ՝ սէր եւ գութ Աստուծոյ ի վերայ մարդոյն հնազանդութեամբ պատուիրանին որ զայր առ նա: Տասներորդ՝ թագաւորութիւն ի վերայ ամենայն ձեռակերտաց: Մետասաներորդ՝ քահանայութիւն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ մարգարէութիւն: Զայս երկոտասան պարգեւս էհան ի մէնջ Եւա: Նախ՝ ի տեսութենէն, զի ո՛չ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ: Ի խօսակցութենէն, զի մինչ ի Յորդանան այլ ոչ ասի հօր Աստուծոյ խօսիլ ընդ մարդկան: Իսկ յանմահութենէն, զի վճիռ էհատ ասելով «հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:» Ի լուսաւոր պատմուճանէն, յորժամ կերին ի պտղոյն եւ ծանեան զի մերկ էին եւ արարին սփածանելիս: Իսկ յանախտ կենացն, «տրտմութեամբ եւ քրտամբ կերիցես զհաց:» Իսկ յանծերանալի հասակէն, «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցին ի քեզ:» Իսկ ի պահպանութենէն, «յորմէ պատուիրեցի չուտել կերեր արդեօք ի նմանէ:» Իսկ ի վայելչութենէն, ասէ «էհան զնոսա եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտի փափկութեան:» Իսկ ատելութեան ցոյց, «զուցէ ձգիցէ զձեռն իւր:» Ի թագաւորութենէն, «մարդ ի պատուի էր եւ ոչ իմացաւ. հաւասարեաց անասնոց անբանից:» Ի քահանայութենէն, զի ոչ իշխեաց պատարագ մատուցանել ի կեանս իւր: Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն լռեաց զի ոչ եւս երեւի բան մի յիշատակ շնորհաց նորա:

There were twelve gifts in the Garden that Adam lost. First, vision of God. Second, the conversation (with him). Third, immortality. Fourth, the luminous garment. Fifth, life without blemish. Sixth, non-advancing age. Seventh, enjoyment of the labor-less delight of the Garden. Eighth, serving God, that is (being) cultivator and keeper of immortal trees. Ninth, God's love for and mercy on the man who approached him observing the command. Tenth, reign over all made by hand. Eleventh, priesthood. Twelfth, prophecy. Eve took away these twelve gifts from us. First, (she deprived us) of the vision, for (we) no longer see God's face. Of conversation, for until the Jordan, God the Father

is no longer said to speak with men.[27] And of immortality, for he resolved saying, "You were dust and to dust you shall return."[28] Of the luminous garment: when they ate of the fruit and recognized that they were naked and made girdles. And of life without blemish, "in sorrow and in the sweat of your face shalt thou eat bread."[29] And of non-advancing age, "thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you."[30] And of keeping, "Have you eaten that of which I commanded you not to eat?"[31] And of enjoyment, it says, "He drove them out and made them dwell before Garden of delight."[32] And the demonstration of hatred (is), "lest he put forth his hand."[33] Of kingship: "But man was in honor and realized not: He became equal to the dumb beasts."[34] Of priesthood, for he did not have authority to offer sacrifice during his life. And prophecy fell silent, for no single word appears any more as a memory of His grace.

Դարձեալ վասն շնորհաց եւ յանցմանցն Ադամայ հարցումն (պրակ ԼԷ)
Again a Question Concerning Adam's Gifts and Transgression (Section 37)

21 279 Ո՞ր է Է շնորհքն Ադամայ զոր ետ Աստուած:

Պատասխանի. Այսպէս՝ ասեն վարդապետք: Նախ զի արար Աստուած: Երկրորդ՝ հոգի: Երրորդ՝ միտք: Չորրորդ՝ կամք: Հինգերորդ՝ գիտութիւն: Վեցերորդ՝ բանաւորութիւն: Եօթներորդ՝ գործականութիւն:

Question. Which are Adam's seven gifts that God gave?

Answer. The doctors say the following. First, that God created (him). Second, the soul. Third, reason. Fourth, (free) will. Fifth, knowledge. Sixth, rationality. Seventh, activity.

22 Հարց. Եւ զի՞նչ է եօթն յանցանքն:

279 Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի ցանկացաւ աստուծանալ: Երկրորդ՝ զի հաւատաց օձին: Երրորդ՝ զի հնազանդեցաւ կնոջն՝ առաւել քան Աստուծոյ: Չորրորդ՝ զի եկեր ի պտղոյն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի թաքեաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի ոչ զղջացաւ մեղա՛յ ասելով: Եօթներորդ՝ զի զԱստուած ասաց պատճառ. եթէ կինս զոր ետուր՝ սա՛ ետ ինձ ուտել:

27. Relating to Christ's baptism; see Matt 3:17 and parallels.
28. Gen 3:19.
29. Gen 3:19.
30. Gen 3:18.
31. Gen 3:11.
32. Gen 3:11.
33. Gen 3:22.
34. Ps 49:12, 22 = Arm 48:13, 21.

Question. And which are the seven transgressions?

Answer. First, that he wished to become God; second, that he believed the serpent; third, that he obeyed the woman rather than God; fourth, that he ate of the fruit; fifth, that he hid; sixth, that he did not repent saying, "I have sinned"; seventh, that he accused God (saying), "This woman whom you gave, she gave me to eat."[35]

23 279 Հարց. Որո՞ց է պատժոց ընդունակ եղեւ:

Պատասխանի. Նախ՝ զի մերկացաւ յանմահութենէն եւ յանասնոց կարգ անկաւ: Երկրորդ՝ զի զրկեցաւ ի կենացն փայտէն եւ ի դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ: Երրորդ՝ զի ընդդէմ դրախտին բնակեցաւ եւ ի միշտ նախանձէն մաշեցաւ: Չորրորդ՝ զի քրտամբ եւ աշխատութեամբ վարեցաւ: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ցաւօք եւ հեծեծանօք ապրեցաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի յառաջ քան զիւր վախճանն ետես զմահ կնոջն եւ որդւոյն: Եօթներորդ՝ զի լուծաւ եւ եմուտ յարգանդ երկրի. այսինքն ի գերեզման:

Question. What seven punishments did he receive?

Answer. First, that he was stripped naked of immortality and fell into the rank of animals; second, that he was deprived of the tree of life and was expelled from the Garden; third, that he settled opposite the Garden and wore himself out by perpetual envy; fourth, that he lived by sweat and toil; fifth, that he lived in grief and laments; sixth, that before his decease he saw the death of his wife[36] and his son; seventh, that he decomposed and entered the womb of the earth, that is, into the grave.

Վասն Ժ աստիճանի անկմանն Ադամայ (պրակ ԼԸ)
Concerning the 10 Degrees of Adam's Fall (Section 38)

24 280–81 Բայց սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին Ժ աստիճան դնէ անկման մարդոյն ի դրախտէն ի գիրս կուսութեան: Որով եւ որդիքս վասն պարտուց հօր՝ արտաքոյ մնացաք: Եւ որ ոք կամեսցի զդարձն, անդրէն ի ձեռն նորին յարմարութեան այսինքն նորին կարգին կարողանայ ելանել ի նոյն: Արդ՝ անկման աստիճան առաջին էր հեշտութիւն. որ ունի յինքեան զերեք կարգն: Նախ՝ զդարձումն յետս աստուածային փառացն. եւ վասն այն շրջեցաւ ի զբօսանս դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն խօսակցիլ ընդ օձին. եւ վասն այն կամեցաւ լսել, զի հեշտացաւ վասն փառաց աստուածանալոյն: Երրորդ՝ հեշտութիւն տեսութեանն եւ ճաշակելեացն. ըստ որում «գեղեցիկ էր ի տեսանել. եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր:» Չորրորդ՝ ամօթն. «բացան

35. Gen 3:12.
36. This contradicts *Pen. Adam* 45(33), 48(40):3, and 48(42):2.

ասէ աչք երկոցունցն, եւ տեսին զի մերկ էին։» եւ վասն այն արարին ի թզենւոյն ծածկոյթ։ Հինգերորդ՝ երկիւղն յայնմ. զի լուան զձայն գնալոյ Տեառն եւ երկեան։ Վեցերորդ՝ ոչ եւս համարձակութեամբ կալ առաջի Աստուծոյ։ Եօթներորդ՝ տերեւօք եւ ստւերօք թաքչիլն. ըստ այնմ՝ «լուայ զձայն գնալոյ եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ։» Ութերորդ՝ մաշկեղէն հանդերձն. ոչ ըստ ոմանց թէ մորթ մարմնոյս, զի ունէր զայս ի ստեղծմանէն։ Այլ մորթ մաշկեղէն ստեղծեաց եւ զգեցոյց նմա փոխանակ լուսեղէն զարդուն. զմեռելութիւն նորա նշանակելով։ Որպէս ասէ, «արար հանդերձս մաշկեայ, եւ զգեցոյց նմա։» Եւ ապա իններորդ՝ ի ցաւալից երկիրս այս պանդխտանալ։ Որպէս ասէ՝ «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուսցէ քեզ երկիր. եւ քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց։» Իսկ Ժ երորդ՝ յորում ամուսնութիւնն մխիթարութիւն տուաւ մեռելոյն. ըստ այնմ, «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք եւ լցէք զերկիր։» Եւ դարձեալ՝ «տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդիս։» Տե՛ս, զի յայտնապէս ցուցանէ սուրբն, զի թէ պահպանութեամբ կացեալ էին ի դրախտին, ոչ եւս ամուսնութեամբ լինէր աճումն։ Այլ կամ իբր զհրեշտակս, կամ որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազումք, կամ կուսութեամբ ծնունդ, որպէս սուրբ կոյսն Մարիամ աստուածածին՝ սրբութեամբ եւ կուսութեամբ ծնեալ փոխեաց զկարգ բնութեան ծննդեանս որ ի սերմանէ առն եւ կնոջ. զի սա ծնունդ միայն ի մօրէ . . .

/ Եւ արդ՝ հեռանալոյ մեզ ի դրախտէն կենաց՝ վերջին ամուսնութիւնն եղեւ. զայն նախ պարտ է թողուլ, եւ ապա յերկրաւոր հոգւոց եւ տառապանաց հեռանալ։ Երկրորդ՝ զմաշկեղէն պատմուճանն մերկանալ այսինքն զխորհուրդս մարմնեղէնս եւ զմեռելոտիս . . . Եւ Ե երորդ՝ ոչ եւս թզենեաւ՝ այսինքն դառն վարուք ստուերանալ. տերեւ թզենւոյն դառն է եւ փշոտ ըստ մեղացն առակի . . .

But St. Gregory of Nyssa in his book on virginity speaks of ten degrees of the fall of the man from the Garden. That is why we, sons, too, remained outside because of the father’s debt. And whoever wishes to return, at once he can ascend to the same (place) with the same ease, that is to the same degree. Now the first grade of the fall was lust, which has three degrees in itself. First, the turning away from divine glory and due to that, he went around in the pleasures of the Garden. Second, the lust of conversation with the serpent, and due to that, he was willing to listen, because he lusted for the glory of becoming God. Third, the lust of seeing and tasting according to: “it was pleasant to the sight, and good for food.”[37] Fourth, the shame: “the eyes of them both” it says, “were opened, and they saw that they were naked.”[38] And for that reason they made a cover from the fig-tree. Fifth, the fear accord-

37. Gen 3:6.
38. Gen 3:7.

ing to: "they heard the sound of God coming and were frightened."[39] Sixth, no more standing boldly before God. Seventh, hiding behind the leaves and shadows according to: "I heard the sound of coming, and I was frightened, because I was naked; and I hid myself."[40] Eighth, the garment of skin, not, as according to some, the skin of the body, for he had this from the creation. But He made a leathery skin and garbed him[41] instead of the luminous adornment, symbolizing his mortality. As it says, "and he made leather garments and clothed him."[42] And then ninth, the sojourn in this sorrowful earth. As it says, "thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth for you,"[43] and "by the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, all the days of your life."[44] And tenth, when marriage was given for consolation to the mortal (man) according to: "be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth."[45] And besides, "in pain shall you bring forth children."[46] Behold, the saint shows explicitly that if they had remained in observance in the Garden, increase would not have been by marriage. But, birth would be either like (that of) the angels, or like many (lights are born) of one light, or birth in virginity, as the Holy Virgin Mary the Mother of God, having given birth in purity and virginity, changed nature's order of birth which is of the sperm of man and a woman, for this was a birth only from a mother. . . . And now, when we left the Garden of life, the consequence was marriage. First, it is necessary to abandon it, and then, to become distant from earthly cares and sufferings. Second, to strip off the leather robe, that is bodily and mortal thoughts. . . . And fifth, not to be shaded by a fig-tree, that is, by bitter behavior; the fig leaf is bitter and thorny, according to the simile of sin . . .

Վասն մաշկեղէն հանդերձին հարցումն (պրակ ԼԹ)
Question Concerning the Leather Clothing (Section 39)

25 281 Զի՞նչ է մաշկեղէն հանդերձն զոր զգեցոյց Աստուած Ադամայ։

Պատասխանի. Մաշկն է կենդանական մորթ զոր ստեղծեաց Աստուած եւ զգեցոյց զԱդամ եւ զԵւա։ Եւ զուստին մի՛ հարցանէր թէ ի կենդանւո՞յ էառ, եւ թէ նոր գոյացոյց. զի ամենայն ինչ կարելի է Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: What is the leather garment with which God clothed Adam?

39. Gen 3:8.
40. Gen 3:10.
41. I.e., Adam.
42. Gen 3:21.
43. Gen 3:18.
44. Gen 3:19.
45. Gen 1:28.
46. Gen 3:16.

Answer. It is the leather of an animal skin that God created and clothed Adam and Eve. And do not ask whence (it came), whether he took it from an animal or created (it) anew, because everything is possible for God . . .

Թէ վասն է՞ր մաշկեղէն կոչի մարմին մեր (պրակ Խ)
Why Is Our Body Called Leather? (Section 40)

26 282 Հարց. Ո՞րպէս ասեն մաշկեղէն հանդերձ զմարմինս մեր:

Պատասխանի. . . . Այսպէս մաշկեղէն հանդերձն նշանակէ զտխրալի եւ ախտաւոր մարմինս: Որ յետ յանցանացն փոխեցաւ եւ եղեւ թանձր եւ ծանր եւ մահկանացու եւ ընդդիմահար եւ աղտեղի: Զոր յանմեղութեանն էր մարմինն Ադամայ անչարչարելի եւ երագ եւ պայծառ եւ թեթեւ: Որպէս ասէ աստուածաբանն թէ՝ ոչ ինչ էր ծածկոյթ ի մէջ նոցա եւ Աստուծոյ. իսկ յետ մեղացն փոխեցան այսոքիկ. վասն որոյ մաշկեղէն հանդերձին ցուցմամբն նշանակէ զմարմինս: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, այսո՛քիկ ի յարութեանն են լինելոց անկարօտ մարմնոցն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ զոր ինչ ի յարութեանն աւուր լինելոց է սրբոցն, զսկիզբն անդանօր սերմանեաց ի նախնի մարդն Ադամ. զի թէ յիւրում ժամանակին կերեալ էին ի կենաց պտղոյն, լինէին կատարեալ անմահք. եւ փոխէին յարքայութիւնն: Եւ այսպէս էր միջասահման կեանք նոցա զոր ասեն ի մէջ մահու եւ անմահութեան: Զի զանմահութեան եւ զանապականութեան սկիզբն եւ զսերմն ընկալաւ Ադամ: Եւ ունէր առաջադրեալ իւր զերանութիւնն եւ զթշուառութիւնն. որ է անմահութիւն եւ մահ: Զի պահելով զպատուիրանն ի կատարեալ անմահութիւնն ժամանէր յերկինս, իսկ անցանելովն փոխեցաւ ի մահ եւ անկաւ յերկիր: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, եւ երկրորդն Ադամ Քրիստոս՝ զմարմինն Ադամայ ունէր, եւ էր թանձր եւ ծանր:

Question. How do they say that our body is a leather garment?

Answer. . . . Thus the coat of skin symbolizes this sorrowful and infirm body, which changed after the transgression and became thick and heavy and mortal and hard (opaque) and impure. While being innocent Adam's body was impassible and quick and shining and light. As the theologian says, there was no covering between them and God. But after the sin they changed, that is why by showing the skin-coat it indicates the bodies. And if anyone says that these will be not needing bodies in the resurrection, we say that whatever will happen to the saints on (the day of) resurrection, he sowed its beginning there in the first man Adam. For, if they had eaten of the fruit of life in due time, they would have become perfectly immortal and would have passed to the kingdom. And such was their life, intermediate, as it is

said,[47] between death and immortality. For Adam had received the beginning and the seed of immortality and incorruptibility, and he had the blessedness and misery set before him, which are immortality and death. For, by observing the command, he would arrive at perfect immortality in heaven, but by transgressing, he was removed to death and fell onto the earth. And if one says that the second Adam, Christ, also had Adam's body and it was thick and heavy . . .

298 Վեցերորդ հատոր հարցմանցս զինչ գիրքն է Մովսէսի վասն աշտարակին (պրակ Է)
Sixth Part of the Questions, Which Is the Book of Moses concerning the Tower (Section 7)

27 Եւ թէ ո՞ր է Ադամայ լեզուն: Ասեմք եթէ՝ քաղդէացին որ է՛ արապն. զի մնաց առ Եբեր եւ ոչ խառնակեցաւ:

And which is Adam's language? We say the Chaldean, that is the Arabic, for it remained with Eber and was not mixed.

391 Վասն աւարաց (պրակ ԿԶ)
Concerning Depredations (Section 66)

28 Զի ասեն թէ Խ օր էր պայմանն Ադամայ. յետ Խ աւուր ուտէր ասեն ի փայտէն գիտութեան եւ սրբութեամբ որդիս ծնանէր. եւ ապա ուտէր ի կենաց փայտէն եւ վերափոխէր . . .

For they say that Adam's limitation was forty days; they say, after forty days he would eat of the tree of knowledge and would beget children in purity, and then he would eat of the tree of life and be transformed . . .

591 Իններորդ հատոր վասն նոր օրինաց եւ եկեղեցւոյ վասն մկրտութեան (պրակ ԽԹ)
Ninth Volume Concerning the New Law and Concerning the Baptism of the Church (Section 49)

29 591 Մեղքն Ադամայ այն է որ զարդարութիւն կորոյս. եւ մեղօք եւ ցանկութեամբ ծնաւ զորդին. եւ այն մեղքն սկզբնական կոչի. եւ ո՛չ թողցի եթէ ոչ ի մահն Քրիստոսի մկրտեսցի:

47. Literally: as they say.

Adam's sin is that he lost righteousness and begat his son in sin and desire. And that is called original sin, and it will not be forgiven unless he is baptized in the death of Christ.

776 Հարցմունք Գէորգ վարդապետի եւ լուծմունք Գրիգորի նորին հարազատի
Questions of Gēorg *vardapet* and Solutions of the Very Same Grigor

Հարցումն Գ. Question 3

30 Արդ՝ առաջնոյն ասեմք թէ՝ ի պատկեր արարչին ինքնիշխան տէրութեամբ եւ անմեղութեամբ կազմեցաւ առաջինն մարդ: Եւ պատուեալ երկակի զարդու. եւ պարգեւեալ եւ խոստացեալ պատուիրանօք: Իսկ յանցանել նորա՝ կորոյս զամենայն. ոչ միայն զխոստացեալն, այլ եւ զպարգեւեալն. զի ըստ որում յանմեղութենէն մեղանչական գտաւ, այսպէս մահու եւ ապականութեան զրաւեցաւ: Ուստի ասացաւ թէ մահու մեռցիս, ոչ սոսկ. այլ զկրկնակի նշանակելով մահ. այսինքն զմեռանիլն մարմնով եւ զպատժիլն հոգւով:

Now, first we say that the first man was formed in the image of the Creator, with autonomous authority and sinlessness, and being honored by twofold ornaments, both granted and promised by commands. And when he sinned, he lost everything, not only that which was promised but also that which was granted. For as from sinlessness he became sinful, likewise he was captured by death and corruption. Thence it was said, "you shall surely die,"[48] meaning not a simple but a double death, that is, to die in the body and to be punished in the soul.

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Գիրք որ կոչի Ոսկեփորիկ Book Called Oskep'orik. (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1746). Հատոր երկրորդ. Յաղագս մարդեղութեան բանին Second Volume, Concerning the Incarnation of the Word.

Վասն Ադամայ եւ հրեշտակաց: Գլուխ ԺԸ
Concerning Adam and Angels: Chapter 18

31 177–80 Ասէ մարգարէն. «փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր դու զմարդն քան զհրեշտակս քո:» Վեց ինչ է փոքրութիւն առաջին մարդոյն քան զհրեշտակաց: Նախզի մարդն ունի զմարմին. եւ հրեշտակք /

48. Literally: die by death; see Gen 2:17.

անմարմինք են: Երկրորդ՝ մարդն հողեղէն. եւ նոքա լուսեղէնք: Երրորդ՝ մարդն ի յուրբաթու արարաւ. եւ նոքա յառաջին աւուրն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացան: Չորրորդ՝ մարդն ի դրախտին եդաւ. եւ հրեշտակք յերկինս են: Հինգերորդ՝ մարդն պիտոյացաւ կերակրոյ եւ՝ վայելչութեան դրախտին. եւ հրեշտակք անկարօտ են: Վեցերորդ՝ մարդն ի մէջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. եւ հրեշտակք անմահ բնութեամբ: Այսպէս վեց իրօք՝ խոնարհ է մարդն քան զհրեշտակս: Իսկ վեցիւք առաւել ունի զպատիւ քան զհրեշտակս: Նախզի՝ մարմնով եւ հոգւով եւ մտօք պատուեցաւ. որպէս ասէ. «փառօք եւ պատւով պսակեցեր զնա:» Երկրորդ՝ երեք շնորհիւ զարդարեցաւ ի յերից անձանցն. այսինքն, թագաւորութեամբ, քահանայութեամբ եւ մարգարէութեամբ. ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր:» Երրորդ՝ զի ի պատկերն արարաւ՝ մարդն. եւ վասն հրեշտակաց ոչ ասէ պատկեր եղեալ: Չորրորդ՝ զի ըսկիզբն ամենայն մարդկան մին մարդն է. որպէս / հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է ամենայնի. իսկ հրեշտակք յոչէից եղեն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի հրեշտակք մարդոյն սպասաւոր եւ պաշտօնեայք եղեն. ուստի յայտ է՝ զի յետ յանցմանն զնոյն կարգ պահեցին. Վեցերորդ՝ զի տէր եւ աստուած եղեւ մարդն հրեշտակաց եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ. եւ երկրպագեցին նմա յորժամ բանն մարդ եղեւ: Այլ է փառօք եւ պատուով պսակելն զնա: Դարձեալ՝ ի խորհուրդ երկրորդն Ադամայ: «Փոքր ինչ խոնարհ արարեր զմարդն:» Եւ այս վեց կերպիւ տեսանի: Նախ զի՝ կամաւ խոնարհեցաւ ի յարգանդ կուսին: Երկրորդ՝ զի «բանն մարմին եղեւ:» Երրորդ՝ ի յերկրի շրջեցաւ՝ մարմնով: Չորրորդ՝ կրից՝ եւ վաստակոց ընդունակ եղեւ: Հինգերորդ՝ չարչարեցաւ եւ խոցեցաւ՝ Վեցերորդ՝ մեռաւ եւ թաղեցաւ: Զայսոսիկ հրեշտակք ոչ ունին: Այս փառօք եւ պատւով պսակեցաւ: Նախզի՝ խաչիւն պսակեալ, զմահ մեռոյց. եւ զթշնամին կապեաց: Երկրորդ՝ զպարտսն Ադամայ եւ զանէծս եբարձ: Երրորդ՝ զհոգիսն ազա/տելով, զդժոխս աւերեաց. զոր ոչ կարացին հրեշտակք: Չորրորդ՝ յարութեամբն տիրեաց երկնի եւ երկրի. կենդանեաց եւ մեռելոց եւ այլն: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ել ի յերկինս. եւ ընդ աջմէ հօր նստաւ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի «ամենայն լեզու խոստովան լիցի երկնաւորաց եւ երկրաւորաց եւ այլն:» Եւ յարուցանէ զմեռեալս եւ փառօք պսակէ: Այս է փառօք պսակելն Քրիստոսի. զոր չունին հրեշտակք. եւ այլն բազում զլխով ցուցաւ ի վերոյ:

The prophet says, "you have made him but a little lower than your angels."[49] The lesser nature of the first man compared with the angels is in six (things). First, because the man has body and the angels are bodiless. Second, the man is of dust and they are luminous. Third, the man was made on Friday, and they came into being on the first day with the light. Fourth, the man was put in the Garden, and the angels are in heaven. Fifth, the man was in need of food and the delight of the Garden, and the angels are not in need. Sixth,

49. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6.

the man was between death and life, and the angels are immortal by nature. Thus, the man is lower than the angels through six things. But by six (things) he has more honor than the angels. First, because he was honored by body and soul and mind, as Scripture says, “And crowned him with glory and honor.”[50] Second, he was adorned with three graces by the three Persons, namely, with royalty, priesthood, and prophecy, according to, “You put all things in subjection (under his feet).”[51] Third, because the man was made in the image, and about the angels (Scripture) does not say they are image. Fourth, because one man is the beginning of all humans, as God the Father is the beginning of everything, while the angels came into being from nothing. Fifth, because the angels were the servants and ministers of the man, whence it is evident that after the transgression they remained in the same rank. Sixth, because the man became the lord and god of the angels and was seated on the right hand of God, and they worshiped him when the Word became man. This is to crown him with glory and honor. Again, concerning the mystery of the second Adam. “You made man a little lower.”[52] And this is seen in six ways. First, he voluntarily descended to the Virgin’s womb. Second, because “the Word became flesh.”[53] Third, he walked on the earth in body. Fourth, he accepted passion and pain. Fifth, he was tortured and pierced. Sixth, he died and was buried. The angels do not suffer[54] such (things). But he was crowned with glory and honor. First, being crowned with the cross, He killed death and bound the Enemy. Second, He abolished Adam’s debt and curse. Third, releasing the souls, He destroyed hell, which the angels could not do. Fourth, by his resurrection He became ruler over the heaven and the earth, over the living and the dead, etc. Fifth, because He ascended to heaven and was seated on the right hand of the Father. Sixth, “that every tongue will confess the heavenly and earthly,” etc.[55] And (he) raises the dead and crowns them with glory. This is Christ’s crowning with glory, that the angels do not have. And other things have been demonstrated in many chapters above.

Վասն եկեղեցւոյ եւ Ադամայ
Concerning the Church and Adam

32 182 Դարձեալ գիտելի է. զի ասէ աստուածաբանն. թէպէտ Ադամ անծերանալի էր հասակաւ եւ անտրտում ուրախութեամբ՝ այլ չորս իրօք այժմ եկեղեցի սուրբ առաւել է: Զի զեղեցիկ է ըստ հոգւոյն քան

50. Ps 8:5 = Arm. 8:6.
51. Heb 2:8.
52. I.e., than the angels. Ps 8:5 = Arm 8:6; Heb 2:7.
53. John 1:14.
54. Literally: have.
55. The source of the quotation is unclear.

զԱդամ որ ի դրախտին: Նախ զի՝ Ադամ ձեռօք Աստուծոյ արարաւ եւ բանիւ որպէս այլ արարածք. իսկ եկեղեցի սուրբ՝ մարդեղութեամբն Քրիստոսի եւ չարչարանօք՝ մահուամբ եւ յարութեամբն Քրիստոսի սրբեցաւ. որ գերագոյն է պատիւն եւ փառքն քան զնորայն: Երկրորդ՝ զի Ադամ ի մէջ մահու եւ կենաց էր. իսկ սրբեալն աւազանաւ յանմահութիւն գրեցաւ: Երրորդ՝ Ադամ խոստմամբ առնէր զարքայութիւնն վերին. իսկ մկրտեալն՝ արդեամբ զխոստացեալ տեղին նմա ընկալաւ: Չորրորդ՝ զնա ի պատկերն Աստուծոյ արար. իսկ զսա՝ որդի Աստուծոյ եւ ժառանգակից Քրիստոսի, ունելով զպատկերակցութիւն. եւ այսու առաւելեալ: Այսքան Ադամայ. եւ հրեշտակաց. եւ Տեառն. եւ եկեղեցւոյ:

Again, one should know that the theologian says: Although Adam was not growing older in age, and there was not sorrowing in his joy, nevertheless the holy church is now higher in four things. Because it is more beautiful according to the Spirit than Adam who was in the Garden. First, because Adam was made by God's hands and by speech, like other creations, whereas the holy church was purified by Christ's incarnation and passion, death and resurrection; which is a higher honor and glory is higher than his (i.e., Christ's). Second, because Adam was between life and death, while he who was purified by the font was inscribed for immortality. Third, Adam would gain the supernal kingdom through a promise, whereas he who was baptized, by merit received the place promised to him. Fourth, He made that one in the image of God, and this one, son of God and co-heir with Christ, having the same image and surpassing by this. Enough about Adam and the angels, and the Lord and the church.

219 Հատոր երրորդ: Միահամուռ վկայութիւնք սուրբ գրոց վասն Տնօրէնութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԻԴ
Third Volume, Collection[56] of Witnesses of the Holy Scriptures concerning Christ's Disposition: Chapter 24.

33 Եւ նախ քան զամենայն՝ Ադամ մարգարէացաւ. այն որ «կոչեաց զանուն կնոջն կեանս զի նա է մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է կոյսն Մարիամ. մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց կենդնատուին Յիսուսի:

And before everything Adam prophesied, when (lit. that) he "called his wife's name 'Life,'[57] because she is the mother of all living,"[58] who is the Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, giver of life to all living.

56. Literally: all together, at once.
57. I.e., Eve.
58. Gen 3:20.

371 Վասն ծննդեան Տեառն: Գլուխ ԼԵ
Concerning the Nativity of the Lord: Chapter 35

34 . . . Գիտելի է՝ զի Դ են ծնունդք մարդկան: Առաջին ոչ ի մօրէ եւ ոչ ի հօրէ. որպէս Ադամ: Երկրորդ՝ ի հօրէ եւ ոչ ի մօրէ. որպէս Եւա: Երրորդ՝ ի հօրէ եւ ի մօրէ. որպէս Սէթ եւ այլ մարդիկ: Չորրորդ՝ ի մօրէ եւ ոչ ի հօրէ. որպէս Քրիստոս:

. . . One should know that there are four kinds of human birth: first, not of mother and not of father, like Adam; second, of father and not of mother, like Eve; third, of father and of mother, like Seth and other humans; fourth, of mother and not of father, like Christ.

430 Հարցմունք տասն վասն յարութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԱ
Ten Questions Concerning the Resurrection of Christ: Chapter 41

35 Ադամ երեսնամեայ ստեղծաւ:

Adam was created thirty years old.

526 Հատոր հինգերորդ: Տեառն Վահրամ վարդապետի ասացեալ Յաղագս սրբոց երրորդութեանն եւ միոյ աստուածութեանն. եւ փրկական տնօրէնութեանն Քրիստոսի: Գլուխ ԽԶ
Fifth Volume, Pronounced to Rev. Vahram Concerning the Holy Trinity and the Single Deity and the Salvific Disposition of Christ: Chapter 46

36 Եւա յԱդամայ է՝ այլ ի կողէն. եւ Աբէլ յորովայնէ Ադամայ. սակայն մի են բնութիւնք նոցա եւ Ադամայ յորմէ նոքին. եւ ոչ եղբարք միմեանց Եւա եւ Աբէլ. թէպէտ եւ ի միոյ պատճառէ էին յԱդամայ. որպէս եւ ոչ որդի եւ հոգի եղբարք՝ պատճառ մի իմն ունելով զհայր:

Eve is of Adam, but from his rib. And Abel is from Adam's womb. But their nature and Adam's, from whom they come, is the same. And Eve and Abel are not brothers, though they were from one cause, Adam; likewise the Son and the Spirit are not brothers, (though) having one cause, the Father.

Text: Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, Մեկնութիւն սաղմոսաց. (համառօտ տարբերակ) *Commentary on the Psalms (The Short Version).* ed. A. K‘yoškeryan (Erevan: Zvart‘noc‘ Press, 1993).

37 14 . . . Զորպիսութիւն Ադամայ մոռացեալ էաք, այսինքն՝ զանմեղութիւն, զփառքն եւ զայլն, վասն որոյ Աստուած մարդ եղեւ, զի ի նա տեսանելով ճանաչեսցուք զկերպ առաջնոյն Ադամայ:

We had forgotten the character of Adam, that is, the sinlessness, the glory, and other things, on account of which God became man, so that by seeing Him, we shall get to know the form of the first Adam.

38 48 ԽԶ. Հարց. Վասն է՞ր ի յիշատակի մեռելոց ասեմք զԱնբիծքն. (ՃԺԸ, 1):

Պատասխանի. Ասեն թէ ի վերայ գերեզմանին Ադամայ ասաց Դաւիթ զսաղմոսս, որ էանց զօրէնս եւ զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ:

46 Question. Why do we mention those "that are without blemish"[59] when (we) remember the dead?

Answer. It is said[60] that David said this Psalm upon Adam's tomb, who transgressed God's law and commandments.

39 49 Օրէնք է գրով տուեալ, որպէս Մովսիսի, իսկ պատուիրանն՝ բանիւ աւանդեալն, որպէս Ադամայ:

A law is given in writing, as to Moses, and a commandment is that conveyed orally, as to Adam.

40 54–55 ԾԱ. Հարց. Վասն է՞ր Աստուած զԱդամ ի դրախտն ետ եւ պատուիրեաց՝ մի՛ ուտել:

Պատասխանի. Վասն Է պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի մի ասիցէ՝ զի՞նչ ետուր ինձ զի պատուիրանս քո պահէի յերկրի, վասն այն ի դրախտն եդ: Երկրորդ՝ զի խոստումն փառացն հաւատասցի ի նա՝ թէ առանց գործոց զդրախտն՝ ետ ինձ Աստուած, ապա եւ գործով զայն եւս տալոց է: Երրորդ՝ զի անձնիշխան՝ ստեղծ ոչ ի ներքոյ հարկի, այլ յօժար կամօք ընտրեսցէ: Չորրորդ՝ զի ոչ միայն ողորմութեամբ, այլ եւ արդարութեամբ պսակեսցէ: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ի չարէն պարսպեալ ամրացոյց ի մէջ դրախտին: Վեցերորդ՝ զի անկարօտ արար եւ յայտ է զի զամենեսեան հրամայեաց ուտել: Եօթներորդ՝ զի պատուիրանաւն զգուշացոյց զի անմեղադրելի լիցի, ապա / յիրաւի դատապարտեցաւ որ զայս ամենայն ունէր եւ ոչ պահեաց:

51 Question. Why did God put Adam in the Garden and command (him) not to eat?

Answer. For seven reasons. First, so that he would not say, "What have you given to me in return for observing your commandments on the earth?" That is why he put (him) in the Garden. Second, because the promise of

59. Ps 119:1 = Arm. 118:1.
60. Literally: they say.

glory to him was confirmed to him: "If without (any) deeds God gave me the Garden, he will give it to me also for deeds." Third, because he created him autonomous, but (so that) he might choose voluntarily, not under obligation. Fourth, to crown him not only with mercy but also with justice.[61] Fifth, because, closing (him) within walls against evil, he fortified (him) in the Garden. Sixth, because he made (him) without need, and it is known that He commanded him to eat everything. Seventh, because he warned him by the command so that he might be sinless; then, he who had all this and did not observe,[62] was condemned justly.

41 58-59 ... Մարդկային բնութիւնս մոլորեցաւ զհետ օձին պատրանաց եւ անկաւ յայս տեղի պանդխտութեան, այլ ոչ մոռացաւ զպատուիրանն, զի յետոյ զղջացաւ եւ ոչ մնաց անզեղջ.

. . . This human nature went astray after the serpent's deceit and fell into this place of sojourning, but did not forget the command, for later it repented and did not remain impenitent.

42 99–100 «Ո կայք ի՝ տուն Տեառն եւ ի գաւիթս Աստուծոյ». (ՃԼԴ, 1) . . . Տուն Տեառն նախ՝ ասի երկինքն. բ) հրեշտակաց դասքն. գ) դրախտն . . . Տեսցուք ոյք են գաւիթք եւ պատուական տունքն. ա) տուն՝ վերինն Երուսաղէմ կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զդրախտն. բ) տուն՝ զդրախտն կոչէ, իսկ գաւիթ՝ զաշխարհս . . . /. . . Իսկ դրախտն է նման սմա, ա) զի ի նմա է ծառն կենաց տնկեալ, սոյնպէս եւ ի սմա փայտն կենաց խաչն Քրիստոսի. բ) զի զուարձալի է պտղով, սոյնպէս եւ շնորհք Հոգւոյն պայծառացեալ գոն աստ. գ) զի անմահ վայր է. սոյնպէս եւ յեկեղեցի Աստուծոյ, որք ի սա դիմեն անմահ մնան:

"You that stand in the house of the Lord and in the courts of . . . God."[63] First, the heavens are called "house of the Lord"; second, the ranks of the angels; third, the Garden. . . . Let us see which are the courts and the honorable houses. First, Scripture calls the supernal Jerusalem[64] "house" and the Garden, "court." Second, it calls the Garden "house" and the world, "court." . . . And the Garden is like this one (i.e., the house of the Lord), first, because the tree of life is planted in it;[65] likewise the wood (tree) of life, Christ's cross is in it. Second, because (the Garden) is pleasant with the fruit, likewise the splendid graces (gifts) of the Spirit exist here.[66] Third, because it is an immortal place, likewise (is) the church of God; those who turn to it, remain immortal.

61. Notice the use of the pair of attributes.
62. I.e., the commandment.
63. Ps 135:2 = Arm 134:1.
64. Gal 4:26.
65. I.e., the Garden.
66. I.e., in this world.

Text: Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ձմեռան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Winter Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham *dpir* Press, 1740; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

85 Վասն Տեառն առաջին (Գլուխ ԺԴ) Concerning the Lord's First One: (Chapter 14)

43 . . . Եթէ Ադամ երեսուն ամեայ ստեղծաւ. վասն է՞ր երկրորդն Ադամ մանուկ երեւեցաւ յերկրի. եւ ծնաւ մի օրական տղայ. եւ քառասնօրեայ բերաւ ի տաճարն: Ասեմք թէ վասն բազում պատճառի: Նախզի՝ յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, եկն Աստուած ի խնդիր նմա . . .

. . . If Adam was created thirty years old, why did the second Adam appear on the earth as a child and was born a one-day-old baby and was brought to the temple at forty days? We say that for many reasons. First, when Adam sinned, God came to seek him . . .

44 86 Նոյնպէս չար թշնամին սատանայ կողոպտեաց զպատիւ մարդոյն . . . Նոյնպէս յորժամ մեղաւ Ադամ, վաճառեաց զերկնից արքայութիւնն՝ եւ ոչ կարէր գնել: Եւ որ կամի զհայրենիս աղքատին յետ գնել՝ պիտոյ է Դ ինչ: Նախ որ լինի ազգական նմա. զի օտարն ոչ կարէ գնել: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի լման գին ունիցի: Երրորդ՝ զի յայն տարին որ ծախած է՝ յետ գնէ, թէ լինի կալուածն ի պարսպաւոր քաղաքի: Չորրորդ՝ որ ունիցի կարողութիւն ընդդէմ կալ՝ թէ ոք տաւի առնէ: Նոյնպէս զհայրենիսն Ադամայ հրեշտակ(ք) ոչ կարէին յետ գնել. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս. եւ ոչ ունէր լման գին. զի մին հրեշտակն ոչ արժէ զբոլոր մարդկութիւնս, որք են անթիւ անձինք: Այլ Աստուած կարօղ էր յետ գնել. զի անչափ է կարողութիւն Աստուծոյ. այլ ոչ հասանէր նմա. զի ոչ էր ազգական մարդոյս: . . . վասն այն որդին Աստուծոյ եկն տղայ հասակաւ, զի զհայրենիսն Ադամայ յետ գնեսցէ:

Likewise the evil Enemy, Satan, stole the man's honor. . . . Likewise when Adam sinned, he sold the kingdom of heaven and could not buy (it back). And one who wants to buy back the patrimony of a poor (man), needs four things. First, to be his kinsman, for a stranger cannot buy (it). Second, to have the entire sum. Third, to buy back during the same year in which it was sold, if the property is in a town surrounded with walls. Fourth, to be able to oppose, if anyone starts a trial. Likewise angels could not buy back Adam's patrimony, for he (an angel) was not the man's kinsman and did not have the entire sum, for one angel is not worth the whole mankind who are innumerable persons. But God could buy it back, for God's might is immeasurable, but he did not come to his aid, for he was not the man's kinsman. . . . For that reason the Son of God came at a very young age, in order to buy back Adam's patrimony.

147 Քարոզ վասն չորեքշաբթի եւ ուրբաթի. Ղու. 18.12 (Գլուխ ԻԷ)
Sermon concerning Wednesday and Friday, Luke 18:12 (Chapter 27)

45 Զի պահոց էր պատուիրանն այն՝ զոր հրամայեաց Աստուած ոչ ուտել ի գիտութեան փայտէն. «յամենայն պտղոց ասէ ուտիցէք՝ բայց ի փայտէն գիտութեան մի՛ ուտիցէք, զի մի մահու մեռանիցիք:» Զորս ոչ պահեցին նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւայ՝ եւ անկան ի շնորհացն եւ մերկացան ի լուսոյն. ելին ի դրախտէն, եւ ընդ անիծիւք եւ ընդ մահու զրաւեցան:

For the commandment which God gave[67] was about fasting, not to eat of the tree of knowledge; "of every fruit," it says, "you shall eat, but of the tree of knowledge, do not eat lest you surely die."[68] Which the protoplasts Adam and Eve did not observe and fell from the grace and were stripped of the light; they came out of the Garden and were captured beneath curse and death.

275 Քարոզ շաբաթի աւուր բարեկենդանին. վասն շարժման երկրի եւ կրօնից. Առակ. 30.21 (Գլուխ Կ)
Sermon for the Saturday before the (Lenten) Fast: On "The trembling of the earth and morality" (Prov. 30:21). (Chapter 60)

46 275 Ադամ երիւք մեղօք շարժեցաւ եւ ել ի դրախտէն. այսինքն՝ ամբարտաւանութեամբ, որկրամոլութեամբ. եւ ագահութեամբ: Ամբարտաւանութիւն այն էր՝ որ ասացաւ նոցա. «լինիցիք իբրեւ զաստուածս.» վասն այն կինն փութացաւ ի պտուղն, թէ Աստուած որդի ծնանիմ. եւ տիրեմ ի վերայ առն. վասն այն «տրտմութեամբ ծնաւ որդի, եւ առ այր դարձ նորա:» Որկրամոլութիւնն այն էր՝ որ ետես գեղեցիկ զպտուղն. եւ հաճոյ աչաց եւ քաղցր ի կերակուր, էառ եւ եկեր. եւ ի լուսեղէն փառացն զրկեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ: Ագահութիւնն այն էր, որ ցանկայր գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. զի յառաջ զբարւոյ գիտութիւնն միայն ունէր. փորձելով զչարին գիտութիւն եւս ագահացաւ, եւ գիտաց փորձելով. վասն որոյ զրկեցաւ յաստուածային իմաստիցն. եւ ի հոգեւոր շնորհացն. այսինքն՝ զի յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն՝ Ադամ ունէր Գ շնորհս. զքահանայութիւն, զթագաւորութիւն, եւ զմարգարէութիւն: Եւ երեւեցաւ թագաւորութիւնն յայն որ ասաց. «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ

67. Literally: commanded.
68. Citation based on the Armenian translation of Genesis (Gen 2:16–17).

զայլն:» Իսկ քահանայութիւնն յայն էր՝ «որ եդ անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց:» Իսկ մարգարէութիւնն յայն որ՝ ասաց. «այս այժմ ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց:» Եւ երեքին յանցանօքն՝ մերժեցաւ յերեքին պատւոյս. զի ամբարտաւանութեամբն անկաւ ի թագաւորութենէն: Եւ որկրամոլութեամբն՝ ի քահանայութենէն. եւ ագահութեամբն՝ ի մարգարէութեան շնորհէն: Այս երիւք յանցանօքն՝ շարժեցաւ Ադամ յերեքին պատուոցն: Եւ ի չորրորդին՝ ոչ հանդարտեաց. այլ ի տեղւոյն եւ յանմահութենէն զրկեցաւ. եւ անկաւ ի մահ եւ յապականութիւն. եւ «հաւասարեցաւ անասնոց անբանից եւ նմանեցաւ նոցա:» Դարձեալ՝ «երիւք շարժի երկիր.» այսինքն, զի որպէս երեք մեղօքս այս՝ շարժեաց սատանայ զԱդամ եւ եհան ի դրախտէն. նմանապէս ընդ Քրիստոսի երկրորդն Ադամայ Գ մեղօքս պատերազմեցաւ ի փորձութեանն . . .

Adam was moved by three sins and came out of the Garden, namely, by pride, gluttony, and avarice. Pride was that it was said to them, "you shall become like gods."[69] For that reason the woman hastened to the fruit, (thinking), "I shall bear god as a son and will rule over the man." On account of that, in pain she brought forth a child and her return is to her husband."[70] Gluttony was that he saw that the fruit was beautiful and "pleasant to the sight and good for food,"[71] he took and ate and was deprived of the luminous glory and was stripped naked. Avarice was that he wished the knowledge of good and evil, for before that he had the knowledge only of good. By attempting the knowledge of evil, he became more avaricious and got to know (it) by testing, on account of which he was deprived of divine wisdom and spiritual gifts (grace). That is, before sinning Adam had three gifts: priesthood, royalty, and prophecy. And royalty was evident in that (David) said, "you have made all things obedient under his feet: sheep," etc.[72] And priesthood was in that "he gave names to all cattle."[73] And prophecy in that he said, "this (is) now bone of my bones."[74] And because of three sins he was deprived of three honors. For because of pride he fell from royalty, and because of gluttony, from priesthood, and because of avarice, from the gift of prophecy. Because of these three sins Adam was moved away from the three honors. And he did not have respite on the fourth, but was expelled from the place and immortality and fell into death and corruption, and "became equal to the beasts and resembled them."[75] Besides, "for three things the earth trembles,"[76] that is, as

69. Gen 3:5.
70. Based on Gen 3:16.
71. Gen 3:6.
72. Ps 8:6–7.
73. Gen 2:20.
74. Gen 2:23.
75. Cf. Ps 49:20.
76. Prov 30:21.

Satan made Adam tremble[77] by these three sins and expelled (him) from the Garden, likewise with those three sins he fought against Christ, the second Adam, during the temptation . . .

324–25 Քարոզ առ հասարակ ապաշխարութեան. Եսայ. 1.16 (Գլուխ Ձ).
Sermon for Common (general) Penitence. Isa 1:16 (Chapter 80)

47 324–25 Ապա թէ գործ մարդոյն վատթար լինի եւ լեզուն սուտ, ոչ կարէ արդարանալ. զորօրինակ նախաստեղծքն Ադամ եւ Եւա՝ որք ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ յանցեան եւ կերին ի պտղոյն: Եւ յորժամ եհարց զնոսա յապաշխարութիւն կոչելով, Ադա՛մ պատճառեաց զկինն. եւ կինն զօձն. զի եհարց զԱդամ եւ ասէ. «ո՞ւր ես.» ողբական եւ հարցական. ողբականն այսպէս. զի ձեռօքն ստեղծ՝ եւ ոտիւքն գայ ի հարց հիւանդին. եւ ձայնիւն ողբայ եւ ասէ. «ո՞ւր ես.» իբր թէ յո՞ր փառաց յո՞ր անարգութիւն անկար. երկնայինդ եւ անմահդ՝ երկրային եւ մահկանացու եղեր: Ողբամ զքեզ՝ զի զիմ պատկերս ի քեզ նկարեցի. եւ դու ոչ ի քեզ խնայեցեր, եւ ոչ ի պատկերէն ամաչեցեր:

If the man’s deeds are bad and his tongue lying, he cannot be justified just like the first-created ones Adam and Eve, who transgressed God’s command and ate of the fruit. And when he asked them, summoning (them) to penitence, Adam accused the woman, and the woman (accused) the serpent. For (God) asked Adam and said, “Where are you?”[78] plaintively and interrogatively; “plaintively” is this, since he made him with his hands and comes on foot to ask the ill (man) and mourns loudly and says, “Where are you?” As if, “From what glory to what dishonor did you fall? O, heavenly and immortal one, you became earthly and mortal. I lament over you, for I painted my image in you, and you did not care of yourself and were not ashamed by the image.”

48 324–25 Իսկ հարցականն այս է. «ո՞ւր ես.» այսինքն, ի յո՞ր մեղս, եւ յո՞ր տեղի որպիսութեան. զի նա խոստովանեսցի եւ ասիցէ զպատճառն: Եւ նա ասէ «լուայ զձայն քո եւ երկեայ. քանզի մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:» Եւ տե՛ս զմեղաց պտուղսն զերկիւղն եւ զթագչիլն եւ զմերկութիւնն: Զի ամենայն մեղք՝ զայդ երեքդ պտղաբերէ աստ. զերկիւղն վասն տանջանացն. զամօթն վասն գործեալ մեղացն. եւ մերկութիւնն՝ զրկումն է ի շնորհացն Աստուծոյ: Զայս երեւեցոյց Ադամ ի յինքն: Եւ ասաց Աստուած «ո՞ պատմեաց քեզ թէ մերկ ես:» Յօրն յորում ստեղծեցի զքեզ չէիր մերկ. եւ յորժամ կենդանեաց անուանս եղեր՝ չէիր

77. Or: move.

78. Gen 3:9.

մերկ. այժմ ընդէ՞ր մերկացար. ո՞ ոք պատմեաց քեզ զմերկութիւնդ. իբր չգէտս լինի: Ապա աւէ. («մի թէ թէ ի ծառոյն յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ չուտել՝ կերե՞ր արդեօք ի նմանէ.» իբր կարծեօք դընէ զբանն. զի ինքն իւր բերանովն խոստովանեսցի եւ արդարասցի:

And “interrogatively” is this: “Where are you?”[79] That is, in what sin and what kind of place? So that he will confess and say the reason. And he said, “I heard the sound of you . . . and I was afraid, because I was naked and I hid myself.”[80] Now behold the fruits of the sin: the fear and hiding and nakedness. For every sin produces these three fruits: fear of punishment, shame for committing sin, and nakedness is deprivation of God’s grace. Adam demonstrated this in himself. And God said, “Who told you that you are naked?”[81] On the day on which I created you, you were not naked, and when you gave names to animals, you were not naked; now why did you become naked? Who told you of your nakedness, as if you were ignorant?” Then he says, “Have you eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded you not to eat?”[82] He speaks hypothetically[83] so that (Adam) might himself confess with his own mouth and be justified himself.

49 324–25 Այլ նա յանդուգն ետ պատասխանի. «կինս զոր ետուր ցիս՝ սա ետ եւ կերի աւէ.» տե՛ս զյանդգնութիւնն. զպատճառն յԱստուած եհան եւ ի կինն. վասն որոյ ոչ ընկալաւ զթողութիւն. մի վասն մեղացն. եւ միւսն վասն յանդգնութեանն. զի Աստուած զլիրբն առաւել ատէ քան զյանցաւորն եւ զմեղաւորն:

And he replied audaciously, “This woman whom you gave to me, she gave and I did eat of it,” he said.[84] Behold the audacity! He accused God and the woman, on account of which he did not receive forgiveness, both for the sin and for audacity, because God hates the impertinent more than the transgressor and the sinful.

50 Եւ ցկինն աւէ. «ընդէ՞ր գործեցեր զայդ.» իբր թէ յինչ միտս ախտացար. եւ զի՞նչ կամօք կերեր. զի նա ասասցէ զպատճառն. ցուցանէ բանս թէ, թէպէտ գործն մին լինի, երկու գործակիցքն պարտին որք խոստովանին. վասն այն որիշ որիշ հարցանէր: Եւ նա ասաց. «օձն խաբեաց զիս:» Տես՝ զկէս մեղացն ասաց եւ զկէսն ծածկեաց. այսինքն, զաստուածանալոյ պատճառն ոչ ասաց. վասն այն մեղքն ոչ թողաւ: Այլեւ ոչ զկէսն ասաց ուղիղ. զի ասաց՝ «օձն խաբեաց զիս.» օձն մեծ ոք չէր քան զնա. եւ ոչ ընկեր նորա. այլ ընդ ձեռամբ ի ներքոյ նորա.

79. Gen 3:9.
80. Gen 3:10.
81. Gen 3:11.
82. Gen 3:11.
83. Literally: puts the words supposedly.
84. Gen 3:12.

զի հարկն եւ բռնութիւնն մեծին է. եւ խաբելն հաւասարին. եւ աղաչելն ներքնագունին: Այլ արդ՝ օձն զնա ոչ աղաչեաց. եւ ոչ բռնադատեաց. եւ ոչ խաբեաց. ընկեր եւ հաւասար չէր նմա. վասն է՞ր խաբեցաւ. յաղագս որոյ մեղքն ոչ թողաւ:

And he says to the woman, "Why did you do that?"[85] That is, for what intention did you grow corrupt and with what desire did you eat? so that she might tell the cause. This word shows that although the deed is one, the two cooperators are liable, who confess. That is why he asked separately. And she said, "The serpent beguiled me."[86] Behold, she told about half of the sin, and she concealed half, namely, she did not mention the cause (the wish) of becoming god(s), that is why the sin was not forgiven. She did not even say the half honestly, for she said, "The serpent beguiled me." The serpent was not someone grander than she, nor was he her friend, but one in her power, beneath her. For compulsion and force belong to a greater (one), and deceit, to an equal, and begging, to a humbler (one). But now, the serpent did not beg her and did not force, and did not deceive: he was not equal, and friend of hers. Why was she deceived, on what account was the sin not forgiven?

51 324–25 Այլ որ զօձն ոչ եհարց՝ էր վասն երեք պատճառի: Նախզի՝ անարժան էր ընդ նմա խօսիլ. որ զպատկերն իւր զմարդն ընկեց ի փառաց: Երկրորդ՝ զի բան եւ խօսք չունէր օձն զի՞նչ տայր պատասխանի: Երրորդ՝ թէ հարցեալ էր, նա օձն ցուցանելոց էր զբանսարկուն. եւ թէ յայնժամ պատժէր զնա ի հուր գեհեննին, նա բազում բարութիւն մարդկան կորնչելոց էր. եւ այն զի փորձութեամբն սատանայ բազմաց պսակաց առիթ եղեւ: Այլեւ ոչ եթող զնա անպատիժ. այլ օձին միջնորդութեամբ՝ եւ զսատանայ պատժեաց որ իմանալի օձն է: Արդ՝ չորս են սոքա. այսինքն, սատանայ օձն Եւա եւ Ադամ. այսպէս ի մեզ. Ադամ է միտքն. Եւա զգայարանքըն. օձ ցանկութիւն. սատանայ նոյն շարժօղ ցանկութեանն. եւ ապա զմեղսն / գործեմք: Դարձեալ ի գործ մեղացն՝ է չորս աստիճան. այսինքն է, յիշեցումն սատանայի. հեշտութիւն խորհրդոց մերոց. եւ հաւանութիւն կամացն. եւ ապա գործ մեղացն: Դարձեալ շարժումն բնական ցանկութեանն մերոյ՝ է յիշեցումն օձի. եւ հեշտութիւն ներքին մասին բանականին. որ խառնեալ է ընդ զգայութիւնս եւ հեշտանայ որպէս զԵւա. եւ հաւանումն վերին մասին որպէս զԱդամ. եւ ապա գործի մեղքն այս չորս աստիճանաւ:

And that (God) did not ask the serpent, was for three reasons. First, it was not suitable (for Him) to speak with one who cast his image, man, down from the glory. Second, since the serpent did not have reason and speech; what would he answer? Third, if he had asked, behold, the serpent would point at the

85. Gen 3:13.
86. Gen 3:13.

Devil, and if (God) then punished him in the fire of Gehenna, behold, a great deal of human goodness would perish; and that since[87] Satan, by the temptation, became the cause of many crowns.[88] Moreover, (God) did not leave him unpunished, but through the mediation of the serpent he also punished Satan, who is the intelligent serpent. Now they are four, namely, Satan, the serpent, Eve, and Adam. Likewise for us: Adam is mind (reason), Eve is the senses, the serpent is desire, Satan is the very instigator of desire; and then we sin. Besides, there are four grades of sinful deeds, namely, the prompt of Satan, the lasciviousness of our thoughts, the consent of the will, and then sinful deed. Besides, the instigation of our natural desire is the instigation of the serpent, and the lasciviousness of the lower part of the rational, which is mixed with the senses and is lascivious like Eve, and the consent of the upper part, like Adam; and then the sin is committed in these four grades.

52 Եւ ապա յետ մեղացն գործելոյ՝ պատճառեն մի զմի. աշխարհականն զքահանայն. փոքրն զմեծն. այր զկինն: Եւ որպէս Ադամ եւ Եւա որք պատճառեցին՝ զմիմեանս, ոչ արդարացան. նոյնպէս եւ որք պատճառեն զմեղս՝ ոչ արդարանան. ըստ այնմ, «ի պատճառել զպատճառս մեղաց ընդ մարդս.» այլ իւրաքանչիւր ոք զպատիժն իւր՝ կրէ, որ է գործունեայ մեղացն: Որպէս յայնժամ պատժեցաւ նախ օձն՝ զի նախ մեղանչեաց՝ նա. ասացաւ նմա. «անիծեալ լիցիս յամենայն կենդանեաց.» այ՛ն է՝ զի ամենայն կենդանիք սպանանեն զնա. «ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քում գնասցես.» զի ոտն եղեր թշնամւոյն: «եւ հող կերիցես.» զի հողացուցեր զմարդն: «Եւ եդից թշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ կնոջդ.» զի մարդն ընդ Աստուած թշնամի արարեր: «Եւ նա սպանեսցէ քում գլխոյդ.» զի ըզմարդն սպանանել ջանացեր որ գլուխ է ամենայն կենդանեաց: Եւ դու ի ներքոյ գարշապարի՝ ոտին նորա կոխան լիցիս. եւ այս ամենայն նշանս որք կան ի յօձն՝ ի յանիծիցն եղեւ: Զի զսուտն ընդ ճշմարիտն խառնեաց. վասն որոյ երկճղի եղեւ լեզուն. եւ զմարդն մերկացոյց՝ ինքն մերկանայ յիւր խորխէն. եւ ընդ մարդոյն նախանձ եբեր՝ ինքն սողի ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնին. եւ այլն նոյնպէս: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ, օձն անբան կենդանի էր. վասն էր՞ այսպէս դատապարտեաց Աստուած: Ասեմք. թէպէտ ինքն անբան էր՝ այլ գործի եւ ընդունող եղեւ չարին. որպէս պիղծ կենդանի որ անկանի ի սուրբ անօթ եւ պղծէ զնա: Եւ որպէս օրէնքն հրամայեաց սպանանել զանասունն յոր մարդն մտաբերէր. նոյնպէս եւ առ ջրհեղեղաւն, եւ առ սոդոմայեցւովքն, անասունքն եւս պատժեցան . . .

And then after committing the sin, they accuse each other: the layman (accuses) the priest, the small (accuses) the great, the man (accuses) the woman. And as Adam and Eve who accused each other were not justified,

87. Literally: and that.

88. I.e., of those who resist temptations.

likewise those who accuse (others) of sin are not justified, according to that (verse), “In the accusation of the causes of sin against men,”[89] but everyone who commits sins suffers his own punishment. As then the serpent was punished first, since he sinned first it was said to him, “cursed are you more than[90] all animals,”[91] that is, that all animals kill him;[92] “you shall go on your chest and belly”[93] for you were the feet of the Enemy.[94] And “dust shall you eat”[95] for you turned the man into dust. “And I shall put enmity between you and the woman,”[96] for you made the man enemy to God; and “he shall kill your head,”[97] for you tried to kill the man who is the head of all animals. And you will be trodden under the heel of his foot. And all these signs that are on the serpent, came into being because of the curse. Since he mixed the lie with the truth, that is why his tongue became forked; and he stripped man naked (so) he himself is stripped of his skin; and he bore envy of the man, (so) he himself creeps upon his breast and belly; and likewise other things. And if one should say, “The serpent was a dumb[98] animal, (so) why did God condemn him so?,” we say that although he himself was irrational (dumb), yet he became as an instrument and recipient of the Evil One, like an impure animal that falls into a pure vessel and pollutes it. And as the law ordered to kill the animal of which the man thought, likewise at the time of the flood and at the time of the the Sodomites animals were (also) punished. . . .

53 324–25 Իսկ զօձն պատժեաց Աստուած վասն երկու պատճառի: Նախզի՝ ընդունակ եղեւ չարին եւ գործի. եւ երկրորդ՝ զի առաւել նման է օձն մեղաց. զի ի գնալն հինգ ման առնու. որ նշանակէ զհինգ զգայարանս մեր. երկու աչքն. եւ երկու ականջն. եւ մին լեզուն. որովք խօսին եւ լսեն եւ տեսանեն զմիմեանս այր եւ կին, եւ գործեն զմեղս նման օձին. վասն որոյ յիրաւի անէծ զօձն:

So God punished the serpent for two reasons. First, because it became the recipient and instrument of the Evil One. Second, because the serpent is very much like the sin, for while going it makes five circular motions, which symbolize our five senses: two eyes, two ears, and one tongue, by which a

89. Ps 141:4 = Arm. Ps 140:4.
90. Or: by.
91. Gen 3:14.
92. Taking the Armenian ablative not as partitive but as agentive.
93. Gen 3:14.
94. See Appendix.
95. Gen 3:15.
96. Gen 3:15.
97. Gen 3:15. The biblical verse has սպասեսցէ (“will await”); so also Zeyt‘unyan’s critical edition (1985). Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i either has a variant text or has adapted the biblical formulation to his needs.
98. Or: irrational.

man and a woman speak and hear and see each other, and they sin like the serpent, for which He justly cursed the serpent.

54 Իսկ Եւայի ասաց «բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից զտրտմութիւն քո եւ զհեծութիւնս.» միայն զի ըստ ինքեան մարդկային բնութիւնս այլայլոտ է եւ ցաւոտ. յորժամ Աստուած եւս բազմացուցանէ՝ ո՞ կարէ զաղէտն պատմել: Եւ այս է պատճառն. զի որքան օրս յաւելու՝ այնքան եւ ցաւս մեր բազմանայ: Եւ դարձեալ որքան յերկարի ժամանակս՝ մաշի երկիր եւ ի ծերութիւն երթայ եւ տկարանայ. որպէս ծեր մարդոյն զօրութիւն պակասի եւ ցաւն յաւելու: Եւ դարձեալ՝ որքան մերձիմք ի կատարած, այնքան մերձենամք ի ցաւս դժոխոցն. որպէս յերեկոյն սակաւ սակաւ առաւելու խաւարն եւ ցուրտն: «Տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդի.» այլ զինչ տրտմութիւն. զի մահկանացու զաւակ ծընանի. եւ բազում զաւակք առաջի մարց մեռանին. եւ այրեն եւ խռովեն զաղիս մօրն. թող զտրտմութիւն երկանցն որ կրկին մահ է. եւ առաւել քան զծնունդըն անասնոց. զի նոքա ի բնութիւնս իւրեանց կացին. իսկ մարդն եթող՝ վասն այն ցաւն եւ երկն առաւել է ի մեզ: «Եւ առ այր քո դարձ քո.» զայս պատիժս կրեն ամենայն կանայք. որք փորձեն զերկն եւ զցաւս ծննդեան. եւ դարձեալ դառնան յամուսնութիւն: «Եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ.» զի կամեցար տէր լինիլ Ադամայ. եւ Աստուած որդիս ծնանիլ. վասն այնորիկ ընդ իշխանութեամբ մարդոյն լինիս: Ուստի յայտ է՝ զի կնոջ / վկայութիւն չէ ընդունելի. եւ ոչ լինի դատաւոր. եւ ոչ իշխան գեղի, կամ քաղաքի: Եւ ոչ այլ ինչ աստիճան կարէ առնուլ. սարկաւագութեան, քահանայութեան, եւ այլն. Զի ընդ հնազանդութեամբ է մարդոյն եւ ոտք նորա. այս էր պատիժ կնոջն:

And to Eve he said, "I will greatly multiply your pain and your lamentation,"[99] only that this human nature according to itself is changeable and suffering; when God multiplies (the pain) further, who can relate the misfortune? And this is the reason that as much as He increases the days, to the same extent our pain multiplies. And besides, as much as the time lasts, (to the same extent) the earth is wasted away and ages and weakens, just as an old man's vigor lessens and his pain grows. And besides, as much as we approach the end, to that extent we come closer to the pains of hell; just as in the evening, darkness and cold increase little by little. "In distress you shall bear children."[100] But which distress is it? For the child is born mortal, and many children die before (their) mothers and they burn and confuse the mother's innards, not to speak of the distress of birth pangs, which is a double death and more than the parturition of animals. For they remained within their nature, while man abandoned (this); for that reason, pain and labor are more in us. "And your

99. Gen 3:16.
100. Gen 3:16.

return shall be to your husband."[101] All women suffer this punishment, who experience labor and the pains of birth and again return to marriage. "And he shall rule over you."[102] For you wished to be lord over Adam and to bear God sons. On account of that you are under the authority of the man. Hence it is evident that a woman's testimony is not acceptable, and she does not become a judge, or a ruler of a village or a town. And she cannot receive any other rank, of diaconate, of priesthood, etc. For she is under obedience to the man and (is) his foot. This was the woman's punishment.

55 Իսկ Ադամայ ասաց «անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո. զի լուար ձայնի կնոջդ.» վասն այն ընդ կնոջդ՝ զանիծից երկիր ժառանգեա. զի թէ ինձ էիր լըւեալ՝ զդրախտդ ժառանգէիր. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցի քեզ.» զի խոցեսցէ եւ ցաւեցուսցէ զքեզ: «Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես ըզհաց քո.» փոխանակ անաշխատ փափկութեան դրախտին: «Մինչեւ դարձցիս ի հող.» այս է մահու մեռանիլն որ ասաց. «յաւուր յորում ուտիցես ի նմանէ, մահու մեռանիցիս:» Այս է՝ որ հոգիդ ի մարմնոյդ բաժանի. եւ մարմինդ լուծանի ի տարերս. եւ հոգիդ յաներեւոյթ տանջանսն. եւ կամ մահու մեռանիս. այսինքն թէ, գոյ անձնաւոր մահ որ է սատանայ՝ նովաւ մեռանիս: Եւ դարձեալ ընդ անասնոց մահուն մեռանիս. կամ թէ մահու մեռանիլն՝ զառաւելն նշանակէ. որպէս ասեմք կենաց կեանք. որ է արդարութիւն եւ սրբութիւն . . .

And he said to Adam, "Cursed will be the ground in your deeds, for you listened to the voice of your wife."[103] On account of that, inherit the earth of curses together with your wife. If you had listened to me, you would have inherited the Garden. "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for you"[104] in order to wound and afflict you. "By the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread"[105] instead of the labor-less delight of the Garden. "Till you return unto the dust";[106] this is dying,[107] of which he said, "in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die."[108] This (mean)s that your soul is separated from your body, and the body is dissolved into elements, and the soul into invisible suffering. Or, "you shall surely die,"[109] that is, there exists personified death, which is Satan; through him you will die. And again, you will die by animals' death. Or "dying by death" means the increase of the same, as we say "life of life," which is justice and holiness. . . .

101. Gen 3:16.
102. Gen 3:16.
103. Or: the woman; Gen 3:17.
104. Gen 3:18.
105. Gen 3:19.
106. Gen 3:19.
107. Literally: die by death.
108. Gen 2:17. Literally: die by death.
109. Literally: die by death.

494–95 Քարոզ վասն մեծի երկու շաբաթի եւ աւագ շաբաթի. Մատ. 21:18 (Գլուխ ՃԹ)

Sermon concerning Great Monday and Easter Saturday. Matt 21:18 (Chapter 109)

56 Բեր նախ զառաջինն տեսցուք թէ զի՞նչ էր՝ որ շաբաթս այս [աւագ շաբաթն] ունի զխորհուրդ առաջին շաբաթուն. յորում ամենայն արարածք գոյացան: Արդ երեկեան օրն արմաւենեաց՝ որ կիրակէ էր, նշանակէ զառաջին օր արարչութեանն որ կիրակէ էր. եւ ասաց Աստուած «եղիցի լոյս:» Յորժամ արար զիրեղէն երկինս, եւ զբնակիչս նորա զիրեղինաց դասս. եւ չորս տարերք՝ յայնմ աւուր գոյացան:

Let us first see, what did it (mean) that this week (Holy Week) contains the mystery of the first week during which all creations came into existence. Now the eve of the Day of Palms, which was Sunday, symbolizes the first day of the creation, which was Sunday. And God said, "Let there be light."[110] When He made both the fiery heaven and its inhabitants, the fiery ranks, the four elements came into existence on that day.

57 Իսկ մեծի երկու շաբթի օրն՝ ցուցանէ զերկրորդ օր արարչութեանն. յորում արար Աստուած զհաստատութիւն. զոր եւ հինգերորդ տարր ասացին իմաստունք զատեալ ի չորիցս. եւ անապական էութիւն: Եւ զջրեղէն կամարն բարձրացոյց ի վերայ հաստատութեանն. եւ զհաստատութիւն անջրպետ. վերին եւ ներքին ջրոյն բաժանեալ ի միմեանց: Եւ այս վասն կրկին պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի թեթեւացին ջուրք յերեսաց երկրի. եւ երեւեսցի ցամաքն: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի զովացուսցէ զջերմութիւն երկնից եւ զլուսաւորացն եւ զիրեղէն տարերցն: Վասն այսորիկ զ'ի սկզբանէ արարածոց աշխարհի զգիրս ընթեռնումք յառաջնումն աւուր շաբաթուս: Որպէս զվերնագիր գրոց ընթերցեալ՝ զպատճառ գրոցն իմանամք. նոյնպէս այսօր զգիրս արարածոց ընթերցեալ՝ իմանամք զբոլոր շաբաթս պատկեր գոլ արարչութեան մեծի շաբաթուն:

And the Holy Monday symbolizes the second day of the creation, on which God made the firmament that sages have called the fifth element, separating it from the (other) four, and (it is) an incorruptible substance. And he raised up the watery vault above the firmament, and the firmament, a barrier separating the upper and lower waters from one another. And this was for two reasons. First, so that the waters might be lightened from the face of the earth and the dry land appear. And second, to cool the heat of the heavens and of the luminaries and of the fiery elements. This is why we read "In the beginning" from the Book of Genesis on the first day of this week. As if,

110. Gen 1:3.

having read the title of a book, we learn about the subject[111] of the book, likewise having read today the Book of Genesis, we learn that this whole week is the image of the great week of the creation.

58 Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նախ թէ՝ ընդէ՞ր ի տարին երեք անգամ ընթեռնումք ի սկզբանէ գիրսն: Մին այսօր [մեծն երկուշաբթի]. զի ցուցանէ թէ, շաբաթս այս՝ է, առաջին շաբաթն. աւուրք արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ: Մին ի ծննդեան օրն: Նախզի ցուցցէ, թէ որ ի սկզբանն զնախամայրն Եւա դատապարտեաց «տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի:» Նոյն Տէրն եկեալ ծնանի ի սուրբ կուսէն, եւ զդատակնիք անիծիցն բառնայ: Երկրորդ՝ զի Ադամ կոչեաց զկինն «մայր ամենայն կենդանեաց.» որ է աստուածածին կոյսն. զի նա եղեւ մայր կենդանութեան ամենեցուն. որպէս ասաց Քրիստոս. «ես եմ ճանապարհ եւ ճշմարտութիւն եւ կեանք:» Իսկ ի զատկին ընթեռնումք: Նախզի՝ ցուցցէ, թէ արարիչն երկնի եւ երկրի՝ որ արար զԱդամ ի պատկերն իւր, եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին, եւ վասն յանցանացն արտաքս ընկեցաւ, նոյն արարիչն է որ այսօր վերստին նորոգէ զԱդամ, եւ ի դրախտն մուծանէ: Երկրորդ՝ զի զԱդամ անիծիւք դատապարտեաց. «փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսցի ի քեզ. եւ դարձցիս ի հող:» Ինքն եկն եւ զչարչարանս նորա յանձն էառ. զփուշն ի գլուխն եդեալ. եւ ի հող գերեզմանի մտեալ. եւ այնպէս զԱդամ ազատեալ: Յայս միտս ընթեռնումք զարարչութեան գիրս յայս Գ օր տարւոյն:

And here there are two questions: first, why do we read the book "In the Beginning" thrice a year? Once today (Holy Monday) because it shows that this week is the first week, the days of God's creation. Once on the day of Nativity: first, to show that He who in the beginning condemned the foremother Eve, "in pain shall you bring forth children,"[112] the same Lord, having come, is born of the Holy Virgin and abolishes the condemnation of the curse.[113] Second, because Adam called his wife "the mother of all living,"[114] who is the Virgin Mother of God, for she was the mother of everybody's life, just as Christ said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life."[115] And we read[116] on Easter: first, to show that the Creator of heaven and earth, who made Adam in his image and put him in the Garden—and (Adam) was cast out on account of his transgression—is the same Creator that today again renews Adam and introduces (him) into the Garden. Second, since he condemned Adam with the curse, "Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for

111. Literally: cause.

112. Gen 3:16.

113. Cf. Col 2:14 դատակնիք is used in some texts when ձեռագիր may be expected: see Stone 2002, 105.

114. Gen 3:20.

115. John 14:6.

116. I.e., "in the beginning" from Genesis.

you; and you shall return to the dust."[117] He Himself came and took his [118] sufferings upon Himself, putting the thorns on His head and entering the dust of the tomb, and thus freeing Adam. In this sense we do read the book of creation on these three days of the year.

59 Իսկ երկրորդ հարցումն, թէ վասն Է՞ր գիրքս այս ծնունդ կոչի եւ արարած: Ասեն վարդապետք թէ՝ վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախզի՝ առ ինչք են սոքա. ծնունդն զծնօղն ցուցանէ. եւ արարածն զարարիչն: Երկրորդ՝ զի ծնունդք եմք կամացն Աստուծոյ, եւ արարածք բանին: Երրորդ՝ զի յորժամ արարած լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես օտար ի նմանէ զեղեալսս. կոչէ ծնունդ: Եւ յորժամ ծնունդ լսիցես, մի՛ կարծիցես յէութենէն Աստուծոյ զեղեալսս. ի վերայ բերէ արարած: Չորրորդ՝ զի նախ ծընանիմք ի բարի կամսն Աստուծոյ յառաջ գիտութեամբ նորին. եւ ապա գոյանամք արդեամբք եւ գոյացութեամբք ըստ իւրաքանչիւր տեսակաց: Հինգերորդ՝ զի եւ Քրիստոս որ եղեւ երկրորդ կըտակ եւ օրէնք մեզ՝ կոչի ծնունդ եւ արարած. ծնունդ՝ զի ի բնութենէն է հօր յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս ծնեալ. եւ արարած եղեւ՝ այսինքն ի մարդկային բնութիւնս խառնեալ եւ միաւորեալ:

And the second question: why is this book called Genesis[119] and Creation (or: creature)? The doctors say, for five reasons. First, because they are related: the offspring reveals the father, and the creature (reveals) the Creator. Second, because we are offspring of God's will and creatures of the Word. Third, when you hear "creature," do not regard these beings as alien to Him: He calls (them) "offspring." And when you hear "offspring," do not regard these beings as of God's substance: above[120] it puts "creature." Fourth, because first we are born in God's good will, through his foreknowledge, and then we really come into existence as result and substance, each according to the various species. Fifth, because Christ too, who was a second testament and law for us, is called offspring and creature. Offspring, for he had been born of the Father's nature before eternity, and he became a creature, that is to say, mixed and united with this human nature.

60 Իսկ մեծի երեք շաբաթի օրն՝ ունի զխորհուրդ երրորդ աւուր արարչութեանն. յորում բոյսքն եւ տունկք բղխեցան եւ զարդարեցին զերկիր: Այլեւ լինելութիւն դրախտին ի նմին աւուր եղեւ . . . Զի որպէս զբոյսս եւ ըզտունկս վասն անասնոց յառաջագոյն պատրաստեաց Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ զդրախտն ի վայելչութիւն մարդոյ յառաջագոյն արար եւ ելից բարութեամբ. զի յորժամ երեւեսցի մարդն՝ ոչ լիցի սին

117. Gen 3:18.
118. I.e., Adam's.
119. Literally: birth, offspring.
120. I.e., in the book's title.

եւ աղքատ սրտիւ եւ աչօք. այլ լի եւ առատ ամենայն բարութեամբ տեսանիցէ զամենայն:

And the Holy Tuesday holds the mystery of the third day of the creation, on which plants and trees sprang up and adorned the earth. Also the coming into being of the Garden took place on the same day. . . . As God prepared the plants and trees in advance for the sake of the animals, likewise he made the Garden in advance for the enjoyment of man and filled (it) with goodness, so that when man would appear, he would not be destitute and poor of heart and eyes but would see everything full of and abounding with all goodness.

61 Իսկ մեծի չորեքշաբաթի օրն՝ ունի ըզխորհուրդ յորում լուսաւորք արարան եւ եդան յերկինս. / այսինքն, արեգակն եւ լուսին եւ աստեղք: Զի յառաջին երեք աւուրսն՝ անմարմին լոյսն սփռիւր եւ տարածիւր եւ լուսաւորէր մինչեւ ցերեկոյ. եւ ի գիշերի ժողովիւր ի վերայ դրախտին, եւ ծածկէր ըզլոյսն: Եւ այս երեք աւուր լոյսս՝ էր օրինակ անըստուեր լուսոյ սրբոյ երրորդութեանն. զի միշտ լուսաւորէ զերկինս եւ ըզսուրբս իւր. իսկ յերկրէ եւ մեղաւորաց՝ երբեմն ծածկի եւ հեռանայ . . . Եւ այսպէս ի յօդոյ աման կազմեալ լուսաւորացն, էարկ զլոյսն ի ներքս. զառաւել պայծառն յարեգակն. եւ զայլ նուազս ի լուսին եւ յաստեղս. եւ եդ զնոսա ի հաստատութեան: Նախզի՝ լուսատու լիցին ի վերա երկրի: Երկրորդ՝ զի ի վեր տեսցուք աչօք. եւ մտօք «զվերինն խորհեսցուք, ուր Քրիստոս նըստի ընդ աջմէ Աստուծոյ որպէս ասէ առաքեալն:» Երրորդ՝ զի տեսցուք եւ իմասցուք թէ, արտաքին սրահն երկնից այսպէս զարդարուն է. քանի՞ առաւել ներքին կողմն սրբութեան իմանալեացն դասուց: Չորրորդ՝ զի ի միտ ածցուք զառաջին փառսն մեր, եւ ցանկասցուք. եւ մի որպէս զանասունս յերկիր կորասցուք:

And the day of Holy Wednesday holds the mystery (of the day) on which the luminaries were made and put in the heavens, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars. For during the first three days bodiless light was diffused and spread and shone until the evening, and in the night (it) was gathered above the Garden, and it (the Garden)[121] concealed the light. And this light of three days was the type of the unshadowed light of the Holy Trinity, for it always illuminates the heavens and His saints. Yet sometimes it is hidden and is distant from the earth and from the sinful. . . . And thus forming from the air a vessel for the luminaries, he cast the light inside: the more brilliant into the sun and the other, lesser (light) into the moon and the stars. And He put them in the firmament. First, so that they might give light upon the earth. Second, so that we could see above with (our) eyes and mind, “Consider the things that are above, where Christ is seated on the right hand of God” as

121. Or: God.

the Apostle says.[122] Third, so that we might see and learn how the exterior chamber of heaven is decorated thus, so how much greater is the inner side of the holiness of the intelligible ranks! Fourth, so that we might recall our former glory and desire (it) and not bend down to the earth like animals.

62 Իսկ ի հինգերորդ աւուրն գոյացոյց Աստուած զլօղակս եւ զթռչունս ի ջրոց. եւ ելից զօդս եւ զջուրս նոքօք. զի որպէս զերկիր բուսօք եւ տնկօք զարդարեաց, եւ զերկինս աստեղօք եւ լուսաւորօք, նոյնպէս զօդս եւ զջուրս լօղակօք եւ թռչնօք զարդարեաց: Եւ որպէս լօղակք ի ջուրս խաղան. նոյնպէս եւ թռչունք յօդս լօղան. վասն որոյ ի ջրոց եղեն, եւ ազգակից են միմեանց:

But on the fifth day God brought into existence the swimming creatures and the birds from the waters, and filled the air and the waters with them. For just as he adorned the earth with the sprouts and plants, and the heavens with stars and luminaries, in the same fashion he adorned the air and waters with swimming creatures and birds. And just as the fish play in the waters, in the same way the birds swim in the air, on which account they came into being from the waters and are related to each other.

63 Այլ ի վեցերորդ աւուր ուրբաթու՝ արար Աստուած զցամաքային կենդանիս. զանասունս եւ զգազանս եւ զսողունս: Եւ սողուն կոչին՝ կամ սողալով գնան, կամ սղացեալ են ոտիւք, կամ զի սուղ են ձայնիւ: Իսկ անասուն՝ զի անխօսուն են. կամ զի անսնունդ են եւ անընտել: Իսկ գազան՝ կամ զի գեզօղ են եւ պատառօղ. կամ զանազան եւ պէսպէս կերպարանս ունին: Իսկ յետոյ քան զամենայն արարածս՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի հողոյ. եւ զկինն ի կողէ նորա. «եւ եդ զնոսա ի դրախտին գործել եւ պահել:» Եւ աստ է կրկին հարցումն: Նախ թէ, յորժամ մարդն պատկեր Աստուծոյ է, որպէս ասէ գիրն, վասն է՞ր զնա ի հողոյ ստեղծ: Ասեմք եթէ մարդն պատկեր է Աստուծոյ ի հոգւոյ կողմանէ. իսկ զմարմինն ի հողոյ ստեղծ եւ խառնեաց ընդ նմա: Նախ վասն խոնարհութեան. զի հողն զխոնարհութիւն նշանակէ. որպէս Աբրահամ ասէր. «ես հող եմ եւ մոխիր:» Զի թէ զպատկերն Աստուծոյ տեսանելով ի մեզ հպարտասցուք, ըզհողն տեսանելով խոնարհեսցուք. որպէս ասէ մարգարէն. «խոնարհութիւն քո՝ է՛ ի միջի քում:» Երկրորդ՝ ի հողոյ ստեղծ զմարդն՝ ի նախատինս սատանայի. զի յամօթ լիցի, յորժամ տկարս այս եւ կաւեղէնս ի փառս մտանէր յորմէ նա որ փառաւորն էր անկաւ: Երրորդ՝ հող ի յերկրէ առեալ. զի երկիւղալից է մարմինս մեր. վասն այն կոչի հող եւ երկիր. որպէս ասէ առաքեալն. . . . Զի որքան ի մարմնի եմք, պարտ է երկնչիլ միշտ ի պատժոյ եւ ի գլորիլոյ ի մահու եւ յայլոցն: Չորրորդ՝ զի մայր մեր հողն է. եւ սեղան եւ տեղիք եւ գերեզման. թէպէտ եւ այլ տարերքն մեր ազգական են, այլ մեք իբր ի մօրէ ծնանիմք ի հողոյ. եւ ի նմա պահիմք

122. Col 3:1.

եւ թաղիմք, եւ ի նմանէ դարձեալ յառնեմք: Երկրորդ հարցումն է՝ թէ վասն է՞ր պատուականս այս մարդ յետոյ ստեղծաւ քան զամենայն արարածս: Ասեմք՝ թէպէտ մարդն յետոյ ստեղծաւ, պատուական է քան զամենայն երեւելի արարածս:

Now on the sixth day, on Friday, God made the terrestrial animals; the cattle, and the beasts and the creeping things. And they are called creeping things either because they move by creeping, or because their feet have been shortened, or because they have weak voice.[123] Then cattle, since they do not speak, or since they are not docile and wild.[124] And beasts, either because they are pulling about and tearing, or (because) they have various and frightening appearance.[125] And after all these creations God made the man of the dust and the woman from his rib, "and put them into the Garden to work (it) and to keep (it)."[126] And here is a double question. First, if man is the image of God, as Scripture says, why did He create him of the dust? We say that man is the image of God from the side of the soul, while He created the body from dust and mixed (it) with it. First, on account of humility, for the dust symbolizes humility, as Abraham said, "I who am dust and ashes."[127] So that if, in seeing the image of God in us, we will become proud and in seeing the dust we become humble, as the prophet says: "your humbleness is in yourself."[128] Second, He created man of the dust to dishonor Satan, so that he would be ashamed, when this weak and clayey one entered the glory from which he, who was glorious, fell. Third, having taken dust of the earth, because our body is timorous, and because that it is called dust and earth,[129] as the Apostle says. . . . For as long as we are in the body, it is necessary to be always afraid of punishment and of being destroyed by death and of other things. Fourth, because dust is our mother, and table, and place, and tomb. Although other elements too are our relatives, we are born of the earth as of a mother, and we are preserved and buried in it and we rise again from it. The second question is why was this honorable man created after all the creatures? We say, although man was created later, he is more honorable than all the visible creations.

64 494–95 Նախ զի՝ Աստուած զմարդն իշխան եւ թագաւոր ստեղծ ամենայն արարածոց. նախ պարտ էր զարքունիսն պատրաստել.

123. There are three wordplays in the text here, between սողուն ("creeping things"), սողալուն ("creeping"), սղացեալ ("shortened"), and սուղ ("weak of voice"). Similar wordplays affect "cattle" and "beasts."

124. The word անասուն ("cattle") etymologically means "unspeaking, dumb."

125. Another, less convincing, etymology.

126. Gen 2:15.

127. Gen 18:27.

128. Cf. Arm Prov 16:3.

129. Wordplay in Armenian of հող ("dust") and երկիր ("earth"), which are associated with երկիւղալից ("timorous").

որպէս զերկինս եւ զերկիր. եւ զգահոյս որ է դրախտն. եւ զսպասաւորսն որք են կենդանիք: Եւ զմեծութիւնս բուսոց եւ տնկոց՝ արծաթ եւ ոսկի. եւ ապա թագաւորին բընակիլ: Երկրորդ՝ զի մի իցէ նեղասիրտ եւ տառ բարուքն տեսեալ զինքն ի չքաւորութեան ստեղծեալ. Այլ տեսցէ զամենայն կատարեալ՝ զի արձակ եւ առատ բարուք սնանիցի եւ վայելեսցէ: Երրորդ՝ զի ի սկիզբն ստեղծման արարածոց՝ եղեն իմանալի բանականքն ընդ լուսոյն գոյացեալ որպէս ասացաւ: Եւ ի վախճանի՝ եղեւ զգալի բանականն իբր մատնէիար եւ կնիք արարածոց որ /496/ ունի զիմացումն եւ զզգացումն: Զի իմաստութեամբն ծանիցէ զիմաստութիւն արարչին. եւ զգայարանօքն՝ զգայցէ զամենակարօղ զօրութիւն նորա: «Զի աներեւոյթն Աստուծոյ՝ երեւելի արարածովքս իմացեալ տեսանի:» Չորրորդ՝ մէջ եւ կապ ամենայն գոյիցս՝ մարդն է կազմեալ. զի ամենայն արարածք յերկու դէմս որոշին. այսինքն՝ մինն իմանալի, եւ մինն զգալի: Եւ սոքա եղեն յառաջագոյն. վասն որոյ մարդն ըստեղծաւ յերկուցն խառնեալ յիմանալւոյն եւ ի զգալւոյն ի մի էութիւն, զի իցէ միաւորիչ եւ կապ իմն բոլոր արարածոց: Եւ յայսմանէ ցուցանի, թէ մի է արարիչ բոլոր ամենայն գոյիցս: Եւ միջակ գոլով ըստ էութեանն՝ եւ զմիջակ վայրս դրախտին ընկալաւ, զմիջին կշիռ մահու եւ կենաց ունելով: Զի թէ զաստուածային նմանութիւնն յինքեան բերիցէ, փոխեսցի յանմահ կեանս երկնից. եւ թէ ընդ մարմնոյն շեղեսցի, ի մահ դատապարտիցի. եւ անկցի ի մարմնաւոր տեղիս. որպէս եւ եղեւն իսկ: Որ յանցանօքն զմահ ճաշակեաց. եւ ի հող դատապարտեցաւ: Այս՝ ամենայն յաւուր ուրբաթու եղեւ. վասն այն կոչի ուրբաթ, այսինքն՝ բօթ եւ գուժ մահու. որ յայնմ աւուր հանդիպեցաւ մարդոյն:

First, because God created man as ruler and king of all creations. It was necessary first to prepare courtiers, such as the heavens and the earth, and the throne which is the Garden, and the servants that are the animals, and the magnificence of the shoots and plants—silver and gold, and then for the king to dwell (there). Second, so that he would not be narrow-hearted and mean in conduct, seeing himself created in poverty. But let him see everything perfect, so that (he) would be nourished and enjoy (it) with free and rich conduct. Third, because in the beginning of the creation of the creatures, the intelligible rational (beings) came into existence with the light, as has been said. And in the end, the sensible rational one came into being as signet-ring and seal of creation, who has intellect and senses. So that by his intellect he might apprehend the wisdom of the Creator and with his senses he could feel His omnipotent power "for the invisibility of God, having been apprehended, is seen through visible creatures."[130] Fourth, man is formed as an intermediary and link between all beings, for all the creations are divided into aspects, namely, one intelligible and the other sensible. And these came

130. Cf. Col 1:15–16.

into being first. That is why man was created as a mixture of the two, intelligible and the sensible, in one nature, so that he would be as if a uniter of and a link between all the creations. By this it is demonstrated that there is one Creator of all beings. And being middle by his nature, he received the middle place of the Garden, holding the middle balance between death and life. So that if he bears in himself the divine likeness, he will be transferred to the immortal life of heaven, and if he goes astray with the body, he will be condemned to death and will fall to this bodily place, as indeed happened. He who tasted death through the transgression was also condemned to dust. All this took place on Friday, that is why it is called Friday, namely, sad news and sorrowful message of the death[131] that happened to the man on that day.

65 Իսկ ի յեօթներորդում աւուր որ է շաբաթն, «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց.» զի շաբաթն հանգիստ լսի։ Նախ զի՝ ի վեց աւուր արար զժամանակաւոր եւ զապականացու աշխարհս. եւ յեօթներորդ օրն՝ սկսաւ զիմանալի աշխարհն. որ սրբոցն է հանգիստ։ Դարձեալ՝ զի հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց ի բարութիւնն՝ զի որպէս Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց հանգուցեալ է. նոյնպէս եւ սուրբքն ի գործոց իւրեանց հանգչին։ Եւ դարձեալ՝ որպէս ի բարին հանգուցեալ է Աստուած. նոյնպէս եւ բարի գործքն մեր՝ հանգիստ են Աստուծոյ եւ մեզ։ Զայս նշանակէ ասելն «հանգեաւ Աստուած ի գործոց իւրոց զոր սկսաւ առնել։» Այս՝ վասն առաջին գլխոյն. որ մեծ եւ աւագ շաբաթս այս՝ նշանակէ զշաբաթ վեցօրէից յորում ստեղծան արարածք ամենայն։

And on the seventh day, which is Shabbat, "God rested . . . from all his works"[132] for Shabbat means repose. First, because during six days he made this temporary and corruptible world and on the seventh day he began (to make) the intelligible world, which is the resting place of the saints. Again, because God rested from his work for the good; because as God has rested from his work, likewise the saints rest from their work. And again, as God has rested for the good; likewise our good deeds are repose for God and for us. This is what the saying means, "God rested from his works that he began to make."[133] This is about the first chapter, that this Great and Holy Week symbolizes the week of the hexaëmeron during which all the creatures were created.

131. An Armenian wordplay.
132. Gen 2:2.
133. Gen 2:2.

595 Քարոզ խաչին. Ծնն. 2.9 (Գլուխ ԺԼԶ)
Sermon of the Cross (Gen 2:9) (Chapter 136)

66 Աստուած կրկին անգամ ստեղծեաց ըզմարդկային բնութիւնս: Առաջինն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հողոյ եւ ի նմանէ ծնունդն ապականեալ եւ ի հող դարձեաւ: Երկրորդն Ադամ ծնաւ ի հոգւոյն սրբոյ. եւ ի նմանէ ծընունդն սրբեալ եւ հոգիացեալ: Թմրեցաւ Ադամ, եւ ի կողից նորա շինեցաւ Եւա: Թմրեցաւ Քրիստոս եւ ննջեաց ի վերայ խաչին. եւ ի բղխմանէ կողիցն նորա՝ շինեցաւ սուրբ եկեղեցի: «Զդրախտն տընկեաց ընդ արեւելս, եւ եդ անդ զմարդն զոր ստեղծ գործել զնա եւ պահել:» Եւ շինեաց զեկեղեցի դէմ ընդ արեւելս. եւ եդ զհաւատացեալս ի սմա գործել եւ պահել զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ: Վասն որոյ դրախտ կոչի՝ եկեղեցի Աստուծոյ ի վերայ երկրի: Փոխանակ զանազան պտղոցն՝ զանազան իմաստութիւն սուրբ գրոց . . . Եւ փոխանակ փայտին գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի՝ հրամանք աստուածային օրինացն. որք բարի են պահողացն. եւ չար անարգողացն: Եւ փոխանակ ծառոյն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին՝ խաչն սուրբ կանգնեալ ի մէջ եկեղեցւոյ, բերելով մեզ կենաց պտուղ զՔրիստոս . . . Վասն այն ասէ. «Տնկեաց Տէր Աստուած զծառն կենաց ի մէջ դրախտին:»

God created this human nature twice. The first Adam was born of dust, and by him birth was corrupted and he (it) returned to dust. The second Adam was born of the Holy Spirit and by him birth was purified and spiritualized. Adam slept deeply and Eve was made (built) of his rib. Christ slept deeply and died[134] upon the cross, and of that which sprang from his ribs the holy church was built. "He planted the garden to the east and put the man whom He made in it to work it and to keep (it)."[135] And he formed the church facing the east, and he put the believers into it to work and to keep God's commandments. That is why the church of God on the earth is called a garden. In place of the various fruits (is) the various wisdom of the Holy Scriptures. . . . And in place of the tree of knowledge of good and evil are the commandments of the divine law, which are good for those who observe (them) and evil for those who refuse. And in place of the tree of life in the midst of the Garden (is) the holy cross erected in the midst of the church, bringing forth for us the fruit of life, Christ. . . . That is why (Scripture) says: "The Lord God planted the tree of life in the midst of the Garden."[136]

Text: Grigor Tatʻewacʻi, Գիրք քարոզութեան որ կոչի Ամառան հատոր *Book of Sermons, Called Summer Volume* (Constantinople: Abraham dpir Press, 1741; repr., Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1998).

134. Or: fell asleep.
135. Gen 2:8.
136. Following Gen 2:8–9.

Քարոզ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 1.27 (Գլուխ ԽԴ)
Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen 1:27 (Chapter 44)

67 192–94 Արարչագործն Աստուած յորժամ ստեղծեաց զԱդամ, ասէ «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյդ միայն լինել. այլ արասցուք օգնական ըստ դմա:» Նախ զայն ցուցանէ թէ՝ մարդն է մարդոյ օգնական. զի թէպէտ կային այլ կենդանիք օգնական մարդոյ ի բեռն ի լուծ՝ եւ յայլ պէտս, այլ ի յառաքինութիւն եւ ի սրբութիւն հոգւոյ՝ մարդն է օգնական մարդոյ: Եւ յորդէծնութիւն եւ յայլ շինութիւն տան՝ կինն է օգնական. վասն այն ասէ. «ոչ է բարի մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ:» Եւ դարձեալ՝ Աստուծոյ միայն է բարի միայնակ գոլն. զի անկարօտ եւ անեղ բնութիւն է: Իսկ այլ արարածք՝ եղականք են, եւ կարօտ միմեանց: Որպէս ինն դասք հրեշտակացն՝ են յերկինս փառաբանիչք՝ Աստուծոյ. հազարք հազարաց եւ բիւրք բիւրուց. նոյնպէս ի յաշխարհի՝ բարի է բազմութիւն մարդկան: Նախ՝ զառատ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ ցուցանեն: Եւ երկրորդ՝ զի միմեանց օգնական լինին ի շինել՝ ի տնկել՝ ի յարուեստ՝ ի պէտս մարմնոյ՝ եւ յուսումն հոգւոյ, եւ յուրախութիւն միմեանց: Եւ այլ բազում բարիս ի միմեանց գտանեմք. վասն որոյն ասէ: «Ոչ է բարի մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ:»

When God the Creator created Adam, he said, "It is not good for the man to be alone; but I shall make him a helpmeet for him." First, this shows that man is the helper of man, for although there were other animals helping the man for (carrying) burden under the yoke, and for other needs, but for virtue and purity of the soul man helps man. And in childbirth and other (aspects of) the prosperity of the house the woman is a helper. That is why it (i.e., Scriptures) says, "It is not good for the man to be alone."[137] And besides, it is good only for God to be alone, because he is an unneedful and increate nature. But other creations are created and need one another. As the nine ranks of the angels are glorifiers of God in the heavens, thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads, likewise in the world the multitude of humans is good. First, they demonstrate God's abundant love of humanity. And second, because they help each other in building, in planting, in handicraft, in bodily needs and in the education (learning) of the soul, and for the joy of each other. And we find a lot of other mutual goodness, that is why (God) says, "It is not good for the man to be alone."

68 Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ՝ կինն եղեւ պատճառ յանցանաց մարդոյն՝ ո՞րպէս է բարի: Նախ պատասխանեմք եթէ՝ կանխագէտ է Աստուած. գիտէր զի մարդն անմեղութեամբ ոչ կարէր աճիլ որպէս հրեշտակք. վասն այն մարմին ստեղծ. եւ զկինն օգնական ետ. զի անասնական ծննդեամբ աճիցին եւ բազմանայցեն մարդիկ որպէս օրհնեաց եւ ասէ. «աճեցէք

137. Gen 2:18.

եւ բազմացարուք՝ եւ լցէ՛ք զերկիր:» Դարձեալ ասեմք թէ՝ Աստուած բարի է բնութեամբ եւ առատ եւ բարերար. ոչ կարէ մին մարդոյ մեղք՝ զբոլոր բարութիւնն Աստուծոյ խափանել եւ արգելուլ. այլ՝ միայն ինքն մեղաւորն ի բարութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկի: Զոր օրինակ՝ արեգակն բոլոր զիւր լոյսն ծագէ. այլ թէ մի մարդ զակն իւր խփէ, զարեւու լոյսն ոչ կարէ արգելուլ. այլ ինքն միայն զրկի: Նոյնպէս թէպէտ կինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ զբազում բարութիւնս ոչ արգել Աստուած ի մարդկան ազգէ: Եւ դարձեալ ասեմք. թէպէտ կինն մեղանչեաց՝ այլ բազում արք ընտիրք եւ արդարք ի նմանէ ծնան. որպէս նահապետքն եւ մարգարէքն եւ ամենայն ընտրեալք՝ մինչ ի կատարած աշխարհի. եւ վասն բարի ծննդոց նորա՝ խնամեաց եւ պահեաց զկինն. թէպէտ պատճառ եղեւ յանցանաց . . .

And if anyone says, "The woman was the cause of the man's transgression, how is she good?" First, we answer that God is foreknowing. He knew that the man could not increase sinlessly like angels. For that reason he created (his) body and gave the woman as a helpmeet, so that people could increase and multiply through birth like animals, as he blessed and said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."[138] Again we say that God is good by nature and generous and beneficent; the sin of one man cannot obstruct and holds back the whole goodness of God, but only the sinner himself is deprived of God's goodness. In this fashion, the sun spreads its light around, but if a man closes his eye(s), he cannot hold back the sun's light, but only he himself is deprived (of it). Likewise though the woman sinned, God did not deprive the human race of manifold goodness. And we say again, although the woman sinned, many excellent and righteous men were born of her, like the patriarchs and the prophets and all the elect, until the end of the world; and for the sake of her good offspring (God) took care of the woman and kept her, although she was the cause of the transgression . . .

69 193 Նոյնպէս եւ նախամայրն Եւա թէպէտ յանցեաւ, յետոյ ապաշխարեաց. եւ բազում զաւակք ի նմանէ ծնանելոց էին. վասն այն ներեաց Աստուած: Դարձեալ եւ գլխաւորն ամենեցուն՝ թէ կինն ոչ էր յանցեալ, բանն Աստուած ոչ էր մարդացեալ . . . Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ անհանճար մտօք, յորժամ այս ամենայն բարութեանս պատճառ եղեւ մեղքն Եւայի, վասն է՞ր ինքն պատժեցաւ: Ասեմք եթէ՝ մեղքն ըստ ինքեան չար է եւ պակասութիւն բարւոյ եւ արդարութեան: Նաեւ ինքն Եւա՝ ոչ յայն պատճառս մեղանչեաց թէ այս ամենայն բարութիւնս հետեւի մեզ. այլ մարդասիրութիւն Աստուծոյ եւ ամենիմաստ գիտութիւնն հնարեաց զփրկութիւն մեր . . . Ապա ուրեմն պատճառ փրկութեան մերոյ՝ Քրիստոս է եւ ոչ Եւա. եւ շնորհք նորա արդարացուցին զմեզ եւ ոչ գործք մեր: Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ

138. Gen 1:28.

թէ՝ Եւա եւ Ադամ անմեղ էին կացեալ, ո՞րպէս աճէր մարդկային բնութիւնս: Ասեմք եթէ՝ ոմանք ասեն ըզդրախտն ապականացու գոլ. եւ շաղաշարումն արուի եւ իգի. եւ առաւել ցանկութիւն եւ ծնունդ զաւակաց: Եւ բազումք մըտացածին բանս տողեն. որ ընդդէմ է սուրբ գրոց եւ ուղղափառաց հարց:

Likewise the foremother Eve, although she transgressed, subsequently repented, and many children were to be born of her. On account of that God forgave (her). Again, the most important (thing): if the woman had not transgressed, God the Word would not have become man. . . . And if one says with simple mind: if Eve's sin was the cause of all this goodness,[139] for what was she punished? We say that sin in itself is evil, and lack of goodness and righteousness. Besides, Eve herself sinned not because all this goodness would ensue for us, but God's love of humanity and very wise knowledge contrived our salvation. . . . Hence the cause of our salvation is Christ and not Eve, and His grace justified us but not our deeds. And if one says that if Eve and Adam remained sinless, how could the human race increase? We say that some (people) say the Garden is corruptible and (there is) copulation of male and female (in it) and moreover, desire and birth of children. And they compose many fabulous things, which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers.

70 Նախ զի՝ ասէ աստուածային հրամանն. «աճեցէք եւ բազմացարուք՝ եւ լցէք զերկիր.» յերկրի ետ հրաման աճելոյ. եւ ոչ ի դրախտին: Երկրորդ՝ զի դրախտն է տեղի անապական. եւ ոչ լինէր ի մարդոյն ծորումն ինչ աղտեղութեան. եւ ոչ տնկոցն: Արդ՝ եթէ ծորումն ոչ լինէր, եւ ոչ ապականութիւն մարմնական. եւ ոչ՝ ծնունդ ախտական: Երրորդ՝ եկեղեցի սուրբ՝ օրինակ է դրախտին. արդ՝ պսակ օրհնութեան դնի յեկեղեցին. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն՝ եղեւ պսակ օրհնութեան. եւ մանկարարութիւն ոչ: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ լինէր ախտական ծնունդ որպէս ի յաշխարհի, կարօտանայր մարդն ամենայն պիտոյից զաւակին. սննդեան, աճելոյ, խնամելոյ, եւ այլոցն. եւ այսոքիկ ոչ են ի դրախտն. եւ ոչ զգեստ մարմնական: Հինգերորդ՝ նախ քան զյանցանելն էին Ադամ եւ կինն մերկ եւ ոչ ամաչէին. վասն զի ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն տռփանաց առ միմեանս. արդ՝ ի յանմեղութեանն միշտ այնպէս մնային՝ ապա ոչ ունէին ցանկութիւն հեշտութեանց: Վեցերորդ՝ եւս յայտնի. զի թէ ապականացու էր, զապականեալն Ադամ վասն է՞ր հանէր ի դրախտէն. յայտ է զի դրախտն՝ չէ ապականացու եւ ոչ զապականացու բնակիչս ընդունի: Եօթներորդ՝ զի ասէ սուրբն Գրիգոր Նիւսացին ի գիրս կազմութեան եթէ՝ առաջին կեանքն դրախտին՝ էր կուսութիւն եւ անապականութիւն. եւ հրեշտակաց նմանութիւն. որ եւ յետ յարութեանն վերստին դառնամք՝ յառաջին կեանս դրախտին յանապականութիւն, եւ հրեշտակաց

139. Literally: goodnesses.

հաւաստր։ Արդ՝ եթէ առաջին կեանքն Ադամայ ամուսնութեամբ էր եւ որդեծնութեամբ որպէս նոքա ասեն, ապա ի վերջին յարութեան նոյնպէս է լինելոց. եւ լինի աղանդն մահմետականացն մարմնաւոր արքայութիւն եւ կերակուր. եւ ամուսնութիւն եւ այլ աղճատանք զորս նզովէ սուրբ եկեղեցի զայնպիսի ասացօղս եւ ըզխորհօղս. եւ եղիցին նզովեալ։

First, because the divine command says, "Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth." God ordered them to increase on the earth, and not in the Garden. Second, since the Garden is an incorruptible place, there was also no trickle of impurity from the man, and not from the plants. Now if there was no trickle, (there was) also no bodily corruption and no impure birth. Third, the holy church is the pattern of the Garden. Now nuptial blessing is set in the church, but not childbirth. Likewise in the Garden the nuptial blessing took place, but not childbirth. Fourth, if there were impure birth, like on the earth, the man would lack all necessities for the child: nurture; for nurture, growing, care and other things, and these things are not in the Garden, nor any bodily garment. Fifth, before sinning Adam and the woman were naked and were not ashamed, because they did not have lustful desire for each other. Now if they always remained thus in sinlessness, then they would not have had lascivious desire. Sixth, more obviously, if (the Garden) was corruptible, why did He drive the corrupted Adam out of the Garden? It is clear that the Garden is not corruptible and it does not contain corruptible inhabitants. Seventh, because St. Gregory of Nyssa says in the *Book of the Formation of Man* that the first life in the Garden was virginity and incorruptibility and similarity to the angels, and that after resurrection we shall return to the former life of the Garden, to incorruptibility and (being) equal to the angels. Now, if Adam's first life were with marriage and childbirth, as they say, then during the last resurrection it would be the same. And there is a Muslim heresy: corporeal kingdom and food and marriage (in the Garden), and other nonsense. The holy church anathematizes those who say and think such things, and let them be anathematized.

71 Իսկ թէ ոք հարցանէ՝ ապա վասն է՞ր ստեղծան ծընընդական անդամքն, յորժամ ոչ ծնանէին ի դրախտին։ Ասեմք եթէ՝ յառաջագէտ է Աստուած. եւ նախ ծանեաւ եթէ ոչ կարէին աճիլ անմեղութեամբ ի դրախտին որպէս զհրեշտակս. վասն որոյ կազմեաց նոցա մարմին՝ զի յերկրի անասնապէս աճեսցին։ Եւ թէ ոք պընտեսցէ զօրինակ եւ զորպիսութիւն անմեղութեան ծննդեանն։ Զա՛յս ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ՝ որպէս հրեշտակք աճեցան երկինս նոյնպէս եւ մարդկան ազգ ի դրախտին աճէին։ Եւ թէ ասէ՝ հրեշտակք յանէից գոյացան եւ ոչ ի միմեանց, իսկ մարդկան ազգ պարտ էր ի միոյն ծնանիլ։ Ասեն սուրբք. որպէս ի միոյ լուսոյ բազում լոյսք վառէին։ Եւ թէ ասեն՝ անկատար է այս ծնունդս։ Ասեն վարդապետք սուրբք եթէ՝ զորօրինակ աստուածածին կոյսն Մարիամ կուսութեամբ ծնաւ առանց սերման

կատարեալ եւ ճշմարիտ. նոյնպէս եւ ի դրախտն՝ կարէին ծնանիլ կուսութեամբ եւ առանց սերման կատարեալ մարդ ի բնութենէն Ադամայ: Եւ կամ Եւա ի կողիցն Ադամայ. եւ կամ այլ ինչ եղանակաւ. որպէս ինքն գիտէ ամենագէտն արարիչ: . . .

And if somebody asks, then why were the genitals created, when they did not bear children in the Garden? We say that God is prescient and he knew before, that they could not increase without sin in the Garden, like angels. For this reason he formed their body so that they increase on the earth like animals. And if one insists upon the way and character of sinless birth, the holy doctors say that as the angels increased in heaven, so the human race was increasing in the Garden. And if one says: the angels came into being from nothing and not from each other, and the human race had to be born from somebody. The saints say: just as many lights are kindled from one light.[140] And if they say that this birth is imperfect, the holy doctors say that just as the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary bore in virginity without sperm, perfectly and truly, likewise in the Garden they could bear, in virginity and without sperm, a perfect man of Adam's nature,[141] or Eve of Adam's rib, or in any other way, as the omniscient Creator himself knows.

72 Եւ օրինադրեցաւ ի բանն այն՝ յորժամ ոչ գըտաւ օգնական մարդոյն, նա ասաց Աստուած. «ոչ է բարւոք մարդոյդ միայն լինիլ. արասցուք դմա օգնական ըստ դմա:» զի ծընօղն եւ արարիչն Աստուած՝ խորհեցաւ վասն հարսանեացն Ադամայ. եւ նշանեաց զԵւա կազմեալ օգնական նմա . . . Եւ այս երեւեցաւ ի բանն այն որ ասէ գիրն. «թէ զկողն զոր շինեաց ի կին՝ էած առ ադամ:» Այս էր ածելն առ Ադամ. զի տեսեալ հաւանեցին միմեանց:

And it was decreed in Scripture, when no helpmeet was found for the man: indeed, God said, "It is not good for the man to be alone; let us make him a helpmeet according to him."[142] For God the parent and Creator took care of Adam's wedding and betrothed Eve, having formed (her) as a helpmeet for him. . . . And this was evident in the word that (scriptural) word which says, "The rib, which He had made into a woman, he brought her unto Adam."[143] She was brought[144] unto Adam, so that, having seen, they would like each other.

140. Literally: light.
141. Or: from Adam's body.
142. Gen 2:18
143. An approximate quotation from Gen 2:22.
144. We translate as if it were ածեալն.

Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն պսակին, Ծնն. 2:21 (Գլուխ ԽԷ)
Another Sermon on the Nuptials, Gen. 2:21 (Chapter 47)

73 195–98 Թմրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ՝ ոչ բընական քուն է, որ յաշխատանաց մարմնոյն եւ ի կերակրոյ գոյանայ. եւ ոչ ապշութիւն եւ խելաց ցընորումն անախորժելի: Այլ է յափշտակութիւն մըտացն վերացեալ առ Աստուած մարգարէութեան հոգւով . . . /

"Deep sleep upon Adam":[145] it is not a natural sleep, which takes place as a result of bodily exertion and of food, nor is it stupor and unpleasant distraction of mind. But it is rapture of the mind risen to God through the spirit of prophecy . . .

74 Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր թմրեցաւ: Նախզի՝ մի զգասցի զցաւ կողին: Եւ կարող էր Աստուած առնուլ զկողն յարթնութեան առանց ցաւոց. այլ էր ի խորհուրդ. զի որպէս երկիրն յորմէ առաւ հողն Ադամայ՝ ոչ ցաւեաց. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ ո՛չ ցաւեաց յառնուլ կողին: Երկրորդ՝ զի բազում ինչ ետես ի ննջմանն վերամբարձեալ մտօք վասն Քրիստոսի եւ վասն եկեղեցւոյ. զարթուցեալ ասաց զմարգարէութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ զի ի ննջելոյն Քրիստոսի ի վերայ խաչին՝ շինեցաւ եկեղեցի ի կողէն, յորժամ ել արիւնն եւ ջուրն ի հաստատութիւն եկեղեցւոյ. ջուրն ի մըկրտութիւն աւազանին. եւ արիւնն ի ճաշակումն հաղորդութեան: Այսպէս եւ ի նըննջելոյն Ադամայ շինեցաւ կինն ի կողէն. որպէս ասէ. «էառ մի ի կողիցն նորա. եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին:»

And why did he fall asleep? First, so that he would not feel the pain of the rib. And God could take the rib without pain while he was awake, but it was for a purpose. For, as the earth from which Adam's dust was taken did not feel pain, likewise Adam too did not feel pain when the rib was taken. Second, because he saw many things about Christ and about the church, having ascended by his mind in sleep; having awakened, he pronounced the prophecy.[146] Third, because while Christ fell asleep[147] on the cross, the church was built from his side (rib),[148] when the blood and the water came forth for the establishment of the church: the water for baptism in the font and the blood for eating the Eucharist. Thus, while Adam was sleeping the woman was made from his rib (side), as it says, "he took one of his ribs and he filled up the body in its place."[149]

145. Gen 2:21.

146. Perhaps a reference to Gen 3:20, which was often taken as a prophecy of the birth of the Virgin.

147. I.e., died.

148. The Armenian word may have both meanings.

149. Gen 2:21.

75 Եւ ընդէ՞ր ի հողոյ ոչ ըստեղծ զԵւա որպէս զԱդամ: Նախզի՝ մի իցեն հաւասար. պատուով եւ հասակաւ կամ ժամանակաւ. այլ նախապատիւ եւ առաջին է այրն. եւ երկրորդ եւ կրտսեր կինն: Զի յառաջին ժամն ըստեղծաւ Ադամ եւ յերկրորդն կինն: Վասն այն յօրինաւոր պսակին՝ պարտ է զի լիցի հարսն կրտսեր քան զփեսայն: Երկրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, լինէին այր ու կինն օտար եւ անգութ առ միմեանս. Այլ ի մարմնոյն Ադամայ զի սիրեսցէ այր զկին իր որպէս զիւր մարմին. եւ ցաւակից լիցին միմեանց: Երրորդ՝ զի թէ երկուքն ի հողոյ էին, լինէին աննմանք եւ այլատեսակք. որպէս եզն եւ ձի են ի մի հողոյ այլ եւ այլ բնութիւնք: Ապա եւ մանուկն ի նոցանէ լինէր այլատեսակ եւ աննման ծնողացն: Չորրորդ՝ զի թէ ի հողոյ էր կինն, պիտոյ էր նմա այլ եւս որիշ փչումն եւ շունչ կենդանութեան. եւ այլ օրհնութիւն եւ հրաման որպէս Ադամայ: Վասն այն ի յԱդամ ստեղծաւ՝ զի զօրութեամբ ընդ Ադամայ ընկալաւ զօրհնութիւնն եւ զփչումն շնորհաց եւ զայլն ... Հինգերորդ՝ զի թէ կինն եւս ի հողոյ էր ստեղծեալ, յայնժամ սկիզբն մարդկան ազգի ոչ լինէր մինն. այլ երկուքն: Այլ այսու եւս նման է մարդն արարչին. զի որպէս Աստուած միայն սկիզբն է բոլոր աշխարհի. նոյնպէս եւ առաջին մարդն՝ միայն էր սկիզբն բոլոր տեսակին: Եւ դարձեալ՝ որպէս հայր Աստուած սկիզբն է որդւոյ ծննդեան եւ հոգւոյ բղխման. նոյնպէս եւ Ադամ սկիզբն է Սեթայ եւ Եւայի. միոյն ծննդեամբ, եւ միւսոյն բղխմամբ, այլ այս օրինակ, եւ նա ճշմարտութիւն. եւ հեռի է օրինակն. եւ իրօք ինչ նմանի:

And why did not he create Eve of the dust like Adam? First, so that they would not be equal in honor and in age or in time, but the man is more honorable and for me, and the woman the second and younger. Adam was created during the first hour and the woman in the second. For that reason during lawful nuptials the bride must be younger than the bridegroom. Second, if she were made of dust, the man and the woman would be alien and uncaring toward each other. But (she was made) of Adam's body, so that the man would love his wife like his own body and they would be sharers of each other's pain. Third, if both were of dust, they would be unlike and of different sort, as the bull and the horse are of the same dust but of different natures. Then, their child too would be of different sort and unlike its parents. Fourth, if the woman were of dust, she would need another insufflation and breath of life, and another blessing and command, like Adam. For this reason, she was made from Adam, because potentially she received with Adam the blessing and the insufflation of grace, etc. . . . Fifth, because if also the woman were made of dust, then the beginning of the human race would not be the one but the two. And through this, too, man is like the Creator: for, as God alone is the beginning of the whole world, likewise also the first man alone was the beginning of all his kind. And again, as God the Father is the beginning of the Son's birth and the Spirit's emanation, likewise Adam too is the begin-

ning of Seth and Eve, the one by birth and the other by emanation (coming forth). Now this one is the fashion, and that one (is) the truth. The example is far away but there is indeed some likeness.

76 Վեցերորդ ըստ խորհրդոյ. զի որպէս Եւայի սկիզբն է Ադամ. նոյնպէս եւ եկեղեցի սուրբ սկսաւ ի Քրիստոսէ . . . Յաղագս ասացեալ պատճառացս՝ ոչ յօտար հողոյ ստեղծեաց զկինն. այլ ի կողէն Ադամայ: Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր ի կողէն եւ ոչ յայլ ինչ մասնէ: Նախզի՝ հնազանդ լիցի Ադամայ եւ լուռ: Երկրորդ՝ ի կողէն էառ՝ զի մի՛ տկար ոք իցէ. այլ զօրեղ. զի կողեղ եւ հաստակող կոչեմք զըմբիշս: Երրորդ՝ զի շարժումն ցանկութեան ի կողից է. որպէս աման է երիկամացն եւ տեղի որ ի կողիցն զօրանայ. նոյնպէս եւ ցանկութեան առն տեղի կինն է. եւ բեղնաւորէ եւ սնուցանէ զսաղմն: Չորրորդ՝ զի կողն է միջասահման վայր. ցուցանէ զպատիւ կանանց ո՛չ հաւասարիլ գլխոյն. եւ ոչ ընդ ոտիւք կոխան եւ անարգ. այլ զմիջին սէրն ստանալ առ նա: Հինգերորդ՝ զի ի կողն կեռ ոսկր է. նշանակէ թէ՝ կինն է ժողովումն եւ հաւաքումն մարդոյն եւ ընչիցն. զի մարդն է որպէս գետ. եւ կինն որպէս ծով. առ որ ժողովին գետք: Վեցերորդ՝ կողն զերեսն փայլուն ունի. եւ զմէջն բրոր. նոյնպէս եւ կինն ի դէմս ցուցանէ զգեղեցկութիւնն. այլ ի սիրտն նենգութիւն ունի լցեալ. զի այլ է ի լեզուին, եւ այլ է ի սրտին: Եօթներորդ՝ երկու երեսս ունի կողն. նոյնպէս եւ կինն ունի զդէմս առ իւրսն եւ առ օտարսն: Ութներորդ՝ սուր է բերան կողին. այսպէս սուր է եւ հատանօղ լեզու կնոջն. եւ պատառէ լեզուաւն որպէս զչար զազան . . .

Sixth, according to the mystery, for as Adam is Eve's beginning, likewise also the holy church began from Christ. . . . For the mentioned reasons He created the woman not of the alien dust but of Adam's rib. And why of the rib and not of any other part? First, so that she would obey Adam and be silent. Second, He took (her) from the rib, so that she would not be something weak but vigorous, as[150] we call the athletes robust and with strong ribs.[151] Third, because the movement of desire is from the ribs, as it is (they are) the container of the kidneys and a place that grows strong from the ribs; likewise the cause of the man's desire is the woman, and (she) fertilizes and nurtures the foetus. Fourth, because the rib is an intermediary place: it shows that the woman's honor is not equal to the head, nor is it trodden underfoot and dishonorable, but receiving middle love is for her. Fifth, for in the rib (side) is a curved bone, it signifies that the woman is the assembling and gathering together of man and his property. For man is like a river and woman is like a sea, in which the rivers are gathered. Sixth, the rib has a shining surface and there is sediment inside, likewise the woman exhibits beauty in the face,

150. Literally: because.
151. Both attributes derive from the word for rib.

but has a heart full of deceit, for one thing is on (her) tongue and another in (her) heart. Seventh, the rib has two surfaces, likewise the woman has one face for her own[152] and (another) for the outsider. Eighth, the edge of the rib is sharp, likewise the woman's tongue is sharp and cutting, and she tears with her tongue like a cruel beast . . .

77 Իններորդ՝ որպէս Ադամ ետ զկողն եւ էառ մարմին. զի ասէ՝ «ելից ընդ այնր մարմին:» / ... Որպէս կողն նախ ի յԱդամ էր՝ եւ յետոյ շինեցաւ կին եւ եղեւ մի մարմին անբաժանելի ի նմանէ. նոյնպէս օրինաւոր կինն՝ անբաժանելի է յառնէն . . . Եւ որպէս Աստուած էառ զկողն եւ շինեաց կին. նոյնպէս ամենայն մարդոյ պարտ է սրբութեամբ կալ . . . Եւ թէ ասիցէ ոք՝ յո՞ր կողից էառ. յաջո՞յ թէ ի ձախոյ: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ՝ ի ձախոյ. եւ յայտ է: Նախզի՝ կինն ի ձախոյ կողմն գոյանայ յարգանդի. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի կնոջն մին կող աւելի է ի ձախն: Եւ դարձեալ ըստ մեզ օրինակի. աջովն ստեղծեաց եւ էառ զկողն. կարգաւոր է ի ձախոյն առնուլ ի դիմաց կոյս . . . Եւ թէ ոք ասիցէ՝ Եւա ի յԱդամայ կողէն է, ապա դուստր է Ադամայ եւ ոչ կին: Ասեմք, եթէ ի ծնունդս զաւակին՝ պիտոյ է երեք ինչ: Նախզի՝ իցէ յառնէ եւ ի կնոջէ: Երկրորդ՝ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ: Երրորդ՝ ի ծննդական մասնէ: Այլ արդ՝ կինն ի կողէն է Ադամայ եւ ոչ ի սերմանէ կամ յարենէ. եւ ոչ ի ծննդական մասնէ յառաջ եկեալ. եւ ոչ ներգործութեամբ առն. այլ աստուածային զօրութեամբն առաւ ի կողէն. ապա ուրեմն ոչ է դուստր Ադամայ Եւա . . .

Ninth, because[153] Adam gave up the rib and received body, for (Scripture) says, "and he filled body in its place"[154] . . . As the rib was first with Adam, and then the woman was fashioned and became one body inseparable from him, likewise a legal wife is inseparable from her husband. . . . And as God took the rib and fashioned a woman, likewise every man must remain in purity. . . . And if someone should say: of which rib (side) did He take, of the right or of the left? The doctors say that of the left, and it is evident. First, for the woman comes into existence in the left side of the womb, and moreover, because the woman has one more rib on the left. And besides, like us, He created and took the rib with the right.[155] It is normal to take from the left, (if one is taking) from the front. . . . And if someone should say, Eve is of Adam's rib (side), so she is Adam's daughter and not (his) wife. We say that three things are needed for the birth of a child. First, it must be of a man and a woman; second, of sperm or blood; third, of the genitals. But now, the woman is from Adam's rib (side), and not from sperm or blood, and she did not derive from the genitals, nor from the activity of the man, but she

152. I.e., her family.
153. Literally: as.
154. Gen 2:21.
155. I.e., hand.

was taken by the divine power from his rib (side); hence Eve is not Adam's daughter . . .

78 «Շինեաց զկողն զոր էառ յԱդամայ ի կին:» Զկինն շինուած կոչէ Աստուծոյ: Նախզի՝ Աստուծոյ է շինուած. ոչ ոք կարէ քակել. բայց միայն նա որ շինեացն ... Դարձեալ շինուած կոչէ. զի առանց կնոջ աւեր է տունն. եւ տան շինութիւն կինն է. եւ դարձեալ՝ զի առն քաղաք եւ գաւառ եւ տունն՝ կինն է. հանգստարան /198/ եւ բնակութիւն եւ ժողովումն որպէս ասացաք ի վերոյ: Զայս սովորութիւն կալան այժմ. եւ կոչեն զկինն տուն. տուն ունիս. տուն առեալ ես: Վասն այն ասէ. «զկողն զոր շինեաց, էած առ Ադամ:» Եւ տեսեալ Ադամայ՝ նախ հիանայ եւ հրաժարելով ասէ. «այս այժմ ոսկր՝ յոսկերաց իմոց.» իբր թէ այս գեղանիշ պատկերս՝ այն մերկ եւ դատարկ կողն իցէ . . .

". . . He fashioned the rib that he took from Adam into a woman."[156]. (Scripture) calls the woman God's construction. First, because (she) is God's construction, nobody can destroy (her) except He who made. . . . Besides, (it) calls (her) construction, because without a woman the house is ruined, and the woman is the prosperity[157] of the house; and again, because the woman is the man's town, region and house, resting place and dwelling place and collection, as we said above. Now (people) have this habit and they call woman house: "Do you have a house?" "Have you taken a house?" Concerning that (Scripture) says, "the rib, which . . . he fashioned, he brought unto Adam."[158] And Adam, having seen, first wonders and says refusing, "Is this now bone of my bones?" That is, "Is this beautiful image that naked and empty rib?"

202 Նորին դարձեալ վասն պսակին. Եփես. 5.32 (Գլուխ ԽԶ) Of the Same (Author) Again, Concerning Marriage. Eph. 5:32 (Chapter 46)

79 Յորժամ արտաքս ելանեն յեկեղեցւոյն, հարսն լինի ի ձախ կողմն փեսային. եւ յորժամ նստին ի բարձր տեղւոջն զոր կոչեն թախտ կամ համքէք, փոխէ եւ յաջ կողմն նըստուցանէ զհարսն. Այն է՝ զի Ադամ ի դրախտին ունէր ըզկինն յաջ կողմն իւր. Եւ յորժամ արտաքս եկին, եղեւ կինն ձախակողմն Ադամայ եւ պատճառ զլորման . . .

Յորժամ Ադամ եւ Եւա էին ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին անապական մարմնով եւ լուսազարդ փառօք. ուստի յայտ է՝ զի ոչ տեսանէին զմերկութիւն միմեանց:

156. Gen 2:22.

157. The same Armenian word as "construction."

158. Gen 2:22.

When they go out of the church, the bride is on the left side of the groom; and when they sit upon the high place, which is called throne or ottoman, he changes and seats the bride on the right side. That is, in the Garden Adam had the woman on his right side, and when they went forth, the woman was on the left side of Adam and the cause of (their) fall.

When Adam and Eve were living in the glorious Garden (they had) incorruptible bodies and luminous glory, whence it is evident that they were not seeing each other's nakedness.

211 Քարոզ դարձեալ վասն մեղաց. Յակոբոս 1.15 (Գլուխ ԽԹ) Sermon Again Concerning Sins. James 1:15 (Chapter 49)

80 Օձն որ խօսեցաւ ընդ Եւայի եւ խաբեաց՝ զհեշտ ցանկութիւնս նշանակէ որ խաբէ զմեզ:

The serpent that spoke to Eve and deceived (her), symbolizes this lascivious desire that deceives us.

572–73 Քարոզ վասն հրեշտակաց. եւ դիւաց. եւ մարդկան ընտրելոց. Առակ. 17.28 (Գլուխ ԽՁ) Sermon Concerning Angels and Demons and Elect Men. Prov 17:28 (Chapter 46)

81 Այսպէս կազմեցաւ աշխարհ իմանալեացն վերին բնակութիւն. եւ զգալեացս ստորին վայրս երկրի: Արդ՝ յետ իմանալեաց դասուց՝ կամեցեալ կազմել զգալի արարած ի չորից տարերց. եւ ի սմա բարձրագոյն եւ գերամբարձ տեղի «տնկեաց Աստուած զդրախտն Եդեմ ընդ արեւելս.» տեղի վայելուչ եւ լուսաւոր. անապական եւ անմահութեան տեղի, զմիջինն ունելով սահման ամենայնիւ: Եւ ձեռօք իւրովք արար ըզմարդն ի հողոյ երկրէ. եւ փչեաց յերեսս զշունչ անմահ կենդանութեան. եւ եդ անդ զմարդն զոր արար հոգի եւ մարմին. զի մարմնովն վայելչասցի ընդ զգալի արարածոցս. եւ հոգւովն իմաստնասցի ընդ իմանալեացն դասուց պահպանողացն ի դրախտին:

So the world was formed of the intelligible—the upper dwelling; and of the sensible —the lower places of the earth. Now, after the ranks of the intelligible ones, wishing to form a sensible creation from four elements, and in this a very high and most elevated place, "God planted the Garden in Eden, to the east,"[159] a delightful and luminous place, incorruptible and a place of

159. Gen 2:8.

immortality, completely occupying the middle region. And with his hands he made the man of the dust from the earth and breathed into (his) face the breath of immortal life, and put there the man whom he had made, soul and body, so that with his body he might delight among the sensible creations, and with his soul he would be wise among the ranks of the intelligible guards in the Garden.

82 Եւ արար զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր տէր եւ իշխան ի վերայ ամենայն զգալի արարածոց. զի որպէս Աստուած Տէր եւ թագաւոր է իմանալեացն զօրութեանց երկնից եւ բոլոր գոյից: Նոյնպէս եւ մարդն ի պատկեր նորա՝ տիրեսցէ ամենայն երկրի ըստ այնմ, «զամենայն ինչ հնազանդ արարեր ի ներքոյ ոտից նորա. զխաշն եւ զարջառ եւ զամենայն ինչ:» Իսկ մին ի յանկելոց երկնայնոցն դասուց՝ նախանձեալ ընդ գերապատիւ փառս առաջին մարդոյն, պատրեաց զնա նովին հպարտութեան ախտիւն, որով ինքն անկաւ ի փառաց «եթէ ուտիցէք ի պտղոյն, լինիք իբրեւ զաստուածս անմահ կենօք եւ գերամբարձ փառօք.»

And he made the man in his image, the lord and ruler over all the sensible creatures; for as God is Lord and king of the intelligible powers of heaven and all beings, likewise the man, in his image, should rule over the whole earth, according to, "You made everything subject, beneath his feet, sheep and cattle and everything."[160] But one of those fallen from the celestial ranks, envying the very honorable glory of the first man, deceived him by the very flaw of pride, due to which he himself had fallen from glory, "If you eat of the fruit, you shall become as gods"[161] with immortal life and lofty glory."

83 յորում օձապատիր խաբմանն հաւանեալ եւ կերեալ ի պտղոյն, աստուծութեանն ոչ հասին. այլ եղկելի կենօք ի ներքոյ մահու զրաւեցան. եւ զոր ունէին զփառս՝ եւ յայնմանէ զրկեցան ըստ արդար վճռին: Նախ եթէ՝ «յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ՝ մահու մեռանիցիք.» այսինքն, եթէ է ումն անձնաւոր մահ որ է բանսարկուն. եւ նովաւ մահու մեռանիցիք ասէ . . . մահու մեռանիլ՝ զհոգւոյ մահն ասէ որ մեղօքն մեռանի . . . Մահու մեռանիլն այն է՝ որք հոգւով եւ մարմնով տրտմին, եւ անմահ չարչարին . . . Ուստի՞ էր սատանայ որ պատրեաց զմարդն: Ասեն վարդապետք եթէ՝ սատանայ էր մի ի դասուց երկնաւոր հրեշտակացն. եւ զի հպարտացաւ եւ հակառակ եղեւ Աստուծոյ . . . Եւ ոմանք ասեն՝ եթէ՝ ընդ պատիւ մարդոյն նախանձեցաւ. եւ ի խորհուրդ եմուտ թէ, սուրբ կատարումն ի՞նչ լինի. եւ ոչ կարաց հասու լինիլ . . . Իսկ Նարեկացին Գրիգոր ասէ թէ, յորժամ ի սկզբանն Աստուած կամեցաւ ստեղծանել զարարածս, բանն Աստուած մարդեղութեան կերպարանաւն լինէր եւ ըստեղծանէր.

160. Ps 8:7 = Arm 8:8.
161. Gen 3:5.

որպէս ի ստեղծանելն Ադամայ. որպէս ասէ մերն Լուսաւորիչ. եւ ամենայն հրեշտակական էութիւնքն տեսին զբանն կերպիւն Ադա/մայ եւ երկրպագեցին եւ օրհնեցին. եւ սատանայ ոչ երկրպագեաց սոսկ մարմին եւ մարդ կարծելով:

Having been persuaded by that deceit of the serpent's and having eaten of the fruit, they did not achieve divinity but were captured by miserable life subject to death; and (they) were also deprived of the glory that they had, according to the just sentence. First, that "on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die."[162] That is to say, there is a personified death, namely, the Devil, and (Scripture) says, they will die by that death. . . . "Dying by death" means the death of the soul that dies through sin. . . . "Dying by death" is those that suffer in soul and body, and are tortured without dying. . . . Whence was Satan that deceived the man? The doctors say that Satan was one of the ranks of the celestial angels, and that he became proud and opposed God. . . . And certain people say that he envied the man's honor, began to think, what is the holy perfection, and he could not comprehend. . . . While Grigor Narekac'i says that when in the beginning God wanted to create the creations, God the Word appeared in incarnated appearance and was creating in incarnated appearance, as during Adam's creation, as the Illuminator says.[163] And all the angelic beings saw the Word in Adam's form and worshiped and blessed. And Satan did not worship, considering (him) mere body and man.[164]

Text: Grigor Tat'ewac'i, Ի ցանգն աւետարանին տեսութիւն եւ վասն ժ խորանացն *"On the Concordance of the Gospels and on the Ten Canon Tables,"* in V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač'enc' Press, 1995), 86–103.

84 86 Գիտեալ է, զի եղբայրութեան եղանակն բազում է: Նախ՝ զի եմք ի սկզբնական պատճառէ, այսինքն յԱստուծոյ: Երկրորդ՝ ի միոյ նիւթական պատճառէ, այսինքն՝ ի հողոյ եւ յԱդամայ: Երրորդ՝ ի նոյնատիպ պատկերէ, այսինքն ի պատկերէ Աստուծոյ եղեալք:

It is known that there are many kinds of brotherhood. First, for we are of the original cause, namely, of God. Second, (we are) of one material cause, namely, of dust and of Adam. Third, having come into being from the same image, that is, of the image of God . . .

85 90–91 Չորրորդ խորանն՝ դրախտն Ադամայ: Չորք սիւնքն, զի ի չորից տարերց է: Սեաւ գոյնն՝ զմաշկեակն Ադամայ եւ զխորհուրդն

162. Literally: die by death, Gen 2:17.

163. As in *The Teaching of St. Gregory* §§264 and 272.

164. See *Pen. Adam* 14:1–15:1.

Աստուծոյ, որ ծածկեցաւ ի նմանէ: Կապոյտն, որ թէպէտ անկաք ի փառացն, սակայն նշոյլք աստուածային էր առ մեզ:

The fourth Canon is Adam’s Garden. Four columns, for it is of four elements. The black color (symbolizes) Adam’s skin-coat and God’s mystery, which was concealed from him. The blue (color) is that although we fell of the glory, however, divine signs were with us.

Grigor Cerenc‘ (Xlat‘ec‘i) C14

Text: Grigor Cerenc‘ (Xlat‘ec‘i), Յայլմէ ասացեալ բան վասն խորանաց աւետարանիս “The Writing of Another on the Canon Tables of the Gospel,” in V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentaries on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač‘enc‘, 1995), 68–78.

1 72 Եւ խորանն չորրորդ զդրախտն նշանակէ. որ ի վերայ չորից սեանց կայ եւ ի չորից տարերաց ցուցանէ զնա եւ է գունով կապոյտ եւ սեաւ, որ ցուցանէ թէ ծածկեցաւ յԱդամայ եւ յորդւոց նորա՝ մինչ կենդանիք են:

And the fourth Canon symbolizes the Garden, which stands on four columns, and shows it to be of four elements and is blue and black in color, which shows that (it) was concealed from Adam and his sons, while they are alive.

Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14

Text: Kirakos *vardapet* Erznkac‘i, Անտիպ տաղեր “Unpublished Poems,” ed. Y. K‘yurtyan, *Ējmiacin* nos. 8–9 (1965): 91–99.

Բ Ի տասն կուսանսն ոտանաւոր տաղիւ չափեալ
II Rhymed Poem on the Ten Virgins

1 93 Ցուցաւ նախնի մայրն կուսան, կերեալ զպտուղն գիտութեան:
Եւ մերկացաւ զպատմուճան, կորոյս զդրախտն փափկութեան:
Լերկ եւ մաշկեակ լուսոյն փոխան, զգեցաւ մարմինըս տըխրութեան:
Ո՞չ թէ հրեշտակաց ես դու նման, անբիծ եւ սուրբ, անմեղ կուսան:

The foremother was born[165] as virgin, (who) ate[166] the fruit of knowledge.
And she was stripped of the garment, lost Garden of delight.
Bald and leathery, instead of light, she put on this body of sorrow.
Aren't you like angels, stainless and clean, innocent virgin?

Դ Սրբոյ Գեորգեայ տաղ
IV Poem on St. George

2 97 Սէր եւ սիրոյ ծնունդ եւ աղբիւր կենաց,
Ռախճան պերճալի վերնոց եւ նիւթականաց,
Բարի եւ բարեաց բաշխաւղ. եւ լոյս երեսաց. . . .
Որ ստեղծեր զԱդամ պատկեր մեծի քո փառաց,
Յանպատում դրախտին եդեր փափկութեան վայրաց,
Նորազուարճ զեղապաճոյճ լուսատարազ,
Գերափայլ պճնազարդեալ նման հրեշտակաց,
Էական լուսով լցեր յեւթնյարփիցն հաց:
Որպէս թագաւոր աւծէր տէր տիեզերաց,
Րենական հաղորդ ըզնա արարեր կենաց.
Գործել եւ պահել զԱդամին բան քո հրամայեաց,
Եդեր պատուիրան նիւթ անձնիշխանականաց:
Արփիափայլ պտղոյ դրախտին վայելօղ եկաց,
Յատուկ իմոյ ծառոյն հրաժարել ի բաց:
Իբրեւ զփայլակ անկեալն յերկնային զօրաց,
Կամակոր զաւրօք դիւաց խաւարասիրաց:
Իսկապէս հայրըն մեղաց եւ զըտակ չարեաց,
Ռամապէտ դասուց խըմբից սեւագունդ զօրաց:
Անդ լըւաւ զպատուէր կենաց մարդոյն մախաց,
Կըցորդ խորհրդոց առեալ զօձն ի գազանաց,
Որ խաբեալ էհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն կենաց:

Love and love's birth and source of life,
Magnificent festivity (banquet?) of the upper and lower material ones,
Good and giver of goodness and light of (our) face! . . .
You that created Adam, the image of your great glory,
Put him in the place of delight, in the ineffable Garden,
Rejoicing anew, adorned with beauty, dressed in light,
Brilliantly embellished like angels,
You filled (him) with increate light,
bread of seven lights.
You anointed (him) as king, lord of the universe,

165. Literally: shown, shown forth.
166. Literally: having eaten.

Made him participant in divine life,
Your Word ordered Adam to work and to keep,
You set a command, an object of free will,
He was enjoying the shining fruit of paradise,
“Abstain from my particular tree.”
He who fell like a lightning bolt from the celestial hosts,[167]
With the crafty army of darkness-loving demons
Truly the father of sin and inventor of evil,
Head of the ranks of groups of black hosts,
There he heard the man’s command of life[168] (and) envied.
Having taken of the animals the serpent as partner in his plan,
Who, having deceived, brought Adam forth from paradise of life.

Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14

Text: Kostandin Erznkac‘i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. A. Srapyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1962).

Translation: Theo Maarten van Lint, *Konstandin of Erznka: An Armenian Religious Poet of the XIIIth-XIVth century* (Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University, 1996).[169]

ԻԶ XXVI

1 220-3 Ըստեղծեցեր քեզ պաշտօնեայ՝
ըզսերովբէքըն վեցթեւեան,
Զինըն դասըս հրեշտակաց
որ անդադար քեզ փառըս տան.
Զքառակերպեան ըզքերովբէքն
եւ ըզհրեշտակքըն բազմաչեան,
Զչորեքկերպեան ըզկենդանիքն՝
որ են աթոռք աստուածութեան . . .

You have created servants for yourself:
the six-winged seraphim.
10 The nine ranks of angels
that glorify you without pause.
The four-faced cherubim
and the many-eyed angels,

167. Cf. Isa 14:12.

168. I.e., the command designed to bring man life.

169. Prof. van Lint graciously revised these translations for the present work.

The four-faced beasts
that are the thrones of the Godhead. . . .[170]

2 25 Ասաց Աստուած. Արասցուք մարդ՝
ի պատկերի մերում նըման,
Զի իշխեսցէ արարածոց,
ամենեցուն կացցէ իշխան.
Ստեղծեց ըզմարդ հող ի յերկրէ,
շունչ ետ ՛ւ հոգի անմահական,
Քան ըզհրեշտակս այ՛լ գերագոյն՝
պատկերակից արարչական:

25 God said, "Let us make man,
in the likeness of our image.[171]
That he have dominion over the creatures,
be ruler over all."
God created man dust from the earth,
he gave (him) breath and an immortal soul,
More sublime than the angels,
sharing the Creator's image.

3 29 / Փառօք պատուեց զմարդն առաջին,
տընկեց զդըրախտն անմահական.
30 Եւ նըմա ետ վայելել
ըզփափկութիւն վայելչական:
Երփնազարդ, զարմանալի
դրախտըն ծառովք զարդարեցան,
Գեղեցիկ՝ ի տեսանել,
քաղցր՝ ի ճաշակ մարդոյն տուան:

29 With glory he honored the first man;
he planted the immortal garden,
30 And let him enjoy,[172]
his pleasurable delight.
The miraculous garden, decked out in many colors,
was adorned with trees,
Beautiful to the sight,
and sweet to taste they were given to man.

4 33 Արկ թըմբրութիւն Տէրն Ադամայ
եւ առ մի ի կողից նորայն,

170. Cf. Ezek 1:6, 10 and many images of the divine throne such as Donabédian 1980 and other representations.

171. Literally: in our image, like.

172. Or: and gave (it) to him to enjoy.

Շինեաց մարմին զկողն Ադամայ
 եւ ետ ընկեր՝ նըմին նըման.
Ետ պատուիրան վասըն պըտղոյն՝
 չուտել անդի, որ եւ կերան
Ի նախանձու չար բանսարկուին
 որ եւ օձիւըն խաբեցան։

The Lord cast a deep sleep upon Adam,
 and took one of his ribs.
He shaped the rib of Adam into a body
 and gave him a companion in his likeness;
He gave a command concerning the fruit;
 that they should not eat of it, but they did,
Because of the envy of the evil tempter,[173]
 so that they were deceived by the serpent.

5 Հաճոյացան բանից օձին
 եւ ի պըտղոյն առին կերան,
Մերկացան յանմահ լուսոյն,
 եւ թըզենի տերեւ սփածան.
Ընդ երեկս անդ՝ ի դրախտին
 զձայն զնալոյն տեառըն լուան.
Եւ փախեան ի յարարչէն,
եւ ամօթով գնացին թագեան։

They took pleasure in the words of the serpent
 and took of the fruit and ate,
They were stripped of the immortal light
 and girded themselves with fig-leaves;
Towards the evening they heard the sound[174]
 of the Lord walking in the Garden.
And they fled from the Creator
 and out of shame they went and hid themselves.

6 Ի դըրախտին Տէրն Ադամայ
 կոչեաց ձայնիւն արարչական.
Թէ՝ Կերա՞ր դու ի պըտղոյն
 եւ չպահեցի՞ր զիմ պատուիրանն.
Զըրկեցար դու ի դրախտէդ՝
 յանմահ կենացդ անապական։
Հրամայեաց ի հող դառնալ,
 զի ի հողէն նոքա ծընան։

173. Or: Devil.
174. Or: voice.

In the Garden the Lord called Adam
with the voice of the Creator:
"Did you eat of the fruit
and did you not keep my command?
Did you deprive yourself of paradise,
of your immortal, immaculate life?"
He commanded them to return to dust,
for they were born out of dust.

7 Անիծեաց զկինըն եւ զԱդամ,
եւ ետ օձին բան բարկութեան.
Վերայ լանջաց 'ւ որովայնիտ
յերկիր գընաս դու անխափան,
Հողըն լիցի քեզ կերակուր
քո զամենայն կեանքդ որչափ կան,
Փոխանակ զի արարեր
ըզբանըդ զայդ կորըստական:

He cursed the woman and Adam
and uttered words of anger to the serpent:
"On your chest and on your belly
you will go forever about the earth.
Dust will be your food
all your life, as long as it lasts,
Because you committed
that act of perdition."

8 Հրամայեաց դարձեալ յԱդամ,
թէ՝ Քեզ բուսցի փուշ անպիտան,
Եւ քըրտամբք աշխատանաց
դու կերիցես հաց տըրտմական:
Եւայի. ցաւօք ծընունդ
եւ տրտմութիւն որդէծնութեան,
Բազմանալով բազմացուցից
ըզտրտմութիւն քո հեծութեան:

Again he commanded Adam:
"Useless thorns will sprout for you,
And by the sweat of your toil
you will eat your bread of sorrow."
To Eve: "Painful delivery
and sorrow of childbearing,
I will greatly multiply
the sorrow of your woes."

9 Ի դըրախտէն արտաքս էհան

եւ հրամայեաց՝ կալ յանդիման.
Եւ սերովբէք եւ քերովբէք
շուրջանակի եդ պահապան,
Զի մի՛ գայցեն եւ ուտիցեն
զըպտուղ կենացն անմահական,
Այլ զի դարձցի հողն ի յերկիր
մարդն ի ծնունդ ուստի առան:

He took them out of the Garden,
and commanded them to remain opposite,
And placed Seraphim
and Cherubim around it as watchers,
That they should not come and eat
the fruit of immortal life,
But that man be returned to dust on the earth
whence he was taken for birth.

10 Ադամ հայրն արտաքսեցաւ
կայ յանդիման յեզեր դրախտին.
Սկիզբն առին եւ ծնանեցան
Ադամայ որդիք առաջին:

Adam the father was driven out
and remained opposite at the edge of the Garden;
The first sons of Adam
were begotten and born.

Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i C14

Text: Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, Պատմութիւն հայոց *History of Armenia,* ed. M. Emin (Moscow: Lazarean Institute Press, 1860).

Յաղագս վեցօրեայ արարչութեանն Աստուծոյ
On the Hexaëmeron of God's Creation

1 7 Ի սկզբանէ արար Աստուած զերկինն հրեղէն եւ ի նմա հրաշակերտեաց զիրեշտակս տասնեակ դասուք եւ պատուով զանազանեալս եւ յանքաւ բիւրս աճեցեալս, զոլով նոցա հուր անկիզելի եւ լոյս թափանցական եւ աւդ առանց սողման. որոց անուն էութեանն եւ թիւք որքանութեան եւ փառք բնութեան եւ չափք իմաստութեան անհաս մնան ի մէնջ: Արար եւ զլոյսն խզում ի հրեղէն արփւոյն, այլ եւ զհուր եւ զաւդ, զջուր եւ զերկիր . . .

In the beginning God made the fiery heaven and in it miraculously made the angels[175] in ten ranks, and differing in honor, and increasing to numberless myriads; they being non-burning fire and transparent light and air without movement,[176] the name of whose essence and numbers of (whose) quantity and glory of (whose) nature and measures of (whose) wisdom remain incomprehensible for us. He made also the light, a breaking off from the fiery ether, and also fire and air, water and earth . . .

2 9 Արար Աստուած ի վեցերորդին զգազանս եւ զանասունս եւ զսողունս. ստեղծ զԱդամ ձեռօք երեսնամեայ եւ զԵւայ երեք ժամաւ յետոյ՝ վաթսուն եւ հինգ աւուրբք, եւս եւ զծառս գեղեցիկս, եւ զարծիւն եւ զառիւծն եւ զեզն առաջի աչաց Ադամայ: Եդ զմարդն ի դրախտին յետ քառասուն եւ երկու աւուր եւ հրամայեաց դնել անուանս ամենայն կենդանեաց եւ իշխել ամենայնի թագաւորաբար, եւ չուտել ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի: Ասացին բնախօսքն, թէ ժիպակ եւ ծծումբ խառնեալ կայ ի հողն, եւ յարեգական ջերմութենէ եռացեալ գոյանան ոսկի եւ արծաթ, պղինձ եւ երկաթ, կլայեկ եւ արճիճ, եւ ամենայն գոյնք ականց, եւ բոյսք համօրէն:

Յանգեաւ Աստուած յաւուրն եօթներորդի յամենայն գործոց իւրոց եւ սկսաւ նախախնամել զարարածս իւր. օրհնեաց զօրս զայս եւ ի սմա սրբոց իւրոց հանգիստ եւ փառս պատրաստեաց՝ որ ցուցանէ թէ բնաւին ոչ հանգչի Աստուած ի նախախնամելոյ՝ զի բառնայ զամբարիշտն յերկրէ:

On the sixth day God created the beasts and the cattle and the creeping things, with (his) hands He created Adam thirty-years-old and Eve three hours later, sixty-five-days old, and further the beautiful trees and the eagle and the lion and the ox before Adam's eyes.[177] He put the man into the Garden after forty-two days and commanded (him) to give names to all the animals and to have dominion over all royally, and not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Physicists[178] said that mercury and sulphur are mixed in the dust, and being boiled by the heat of the sun, (they) turn into gold and silver, copper and iron, tin and lead and all colors of precious stones and plants completely.

On the seventh day God rested from all his works and began the providence of his creatures. He blessed this day and prepared repose and glory on it for his saints, which shows that God never rests from giving providence, for he removes impiety from the earth.

175. Word play of հրաշակերտեաց and հրեշտակ.
176. սողումն means literally "creeping."
177. Symbols of the evangelists and also the beasts in Ezekiel 1.
178. Apparently alchemists.

3 Յայլում ուրբաթու յանցեան նախաստեղծքն եւ ելին ի դրախտէն եւ անկան ի Սելան կղզի: Եւ ընդ բուսանել փշոցն յաղագս անիծիցն՝ բուսան եւ ծաղիկք ի պէտս բժշկութեան մարդկան: Իսկ քրովբէական սուրն՝ որ պահէր զդրախտն, շանթիւքդ է՝ որ անկանի յերկնից յահ եւ յերկիւղ ամբարշտաց. եւ ջուրք ջերմկաց յանդնդային հրոյն / են, որ ի կատարածի տանջէ զմեղաւորս, եւ սրբոցն՝ ի վերին արփւոյն է: Անյայտ իմն է ժամանակն մարդոյն ի դրախտին լինելոյ, մի՝ զի ընդ անմահս էր վիճակեալ, եւ դարձեալ՝ զի ոչ է ընդ արեգակամբ, որով իմանին ժամանակք: Բայց ըստ (դ) վիպաբանութեան Եւսեբեայ պարտիմք իմանալ, եթէ որչափ Քրիստոս յաշխարհի եկեաց՝ նոյնքան Ադամ ի դրախտին. եւ որչափ Տէրն ի խաչին՝ նա յետ մեղանացն յամեալ ի դրախտին. եւ յորում ժամու էջ Տէրն ի գերեզմանն՝ նա ընկեցաւ ի դրախտէն յերկիր: Իսկ գեղարդաւոր եւ աշտէաւոր սերովբէքն ընդ հեռանալն Ադամայ եւ նոքա վերացան: Եւ զհանդերձն մաշկեղէն ի յօդոյ արար Աստուած դաղմատացի, եւ բնակեցոյց զԱդամ յանդիման դրախտին, որպէս զյանցաւորսն հանեն յեկեղեցւոյ ի ժամ պատարագին, զի լացցեն զմեղս իւրեանց: Զայն միանգամ մեղաւ Ադամ Աստուծոյ, եւ զայլ ամենայն ժամանակս անմեղ յապաշխարութեան եկաց՝ որպէս Սողոմոն վկայէ:

On the following Friday the protoplasts transgressed and came out of paradise and fell on the island of Selan.[179] And alongside thorns growing because of the curse, flowers also grew for healing people. But the cherubic sword that guarded paradise is with that lightning that falls from heaven to the terror and fear of the impious. And the waters of warm springs are (heated) by the infernal fire which tortures the sinners in the end, and (the glory)[180] of the saints is from the upper heaven. The time of the man's being in paradise is something unknown, first, since he was appointed by lot (to be) with the immortal ones; and second, (since paradise) is not under the sun by which time is apprehended. But according to the fourth (Chapter of) Eusebius's narrative we should realize that Adam (lived) in paradise as long as Christ lived in the world; and after sinning he stayed in paradise as long as the Lord (stayed) on the cross; and at the hour when the Lord descended into the grave, he (i.e., Adam) was cast from paradise to the earth. And the Cherubim with pikes and lances, when Adam left, they also were removed.[181] And God

179. I.e., Ceylon. This is a known medieval tradition; see Fabricius 1713, 30-31. Compare Marco Polo, *Travels* (Cologne: Könemann, 1996), chapter 24.

180. Brosset 1869, 8 n. 4 observes that փառք ("glory") is missing from the printed edition.

181. This appears to be a reference to the Cherubim of Gen 3:24, and Mxit'ar has inferred that they were required for the period between the sin and the expulsion, for after the expulsion, there was not a danger of Adam eating from the tree of life. Their weapons are here anachronistic, but earlier in this passage, they are said to have swords with heavenly lightning.

made a leather garment sown together, a dalmatic, and lodged Adam opposite paradise, like sinners are taken out of the church during the liturgy, so that they might bemoan their sins. Only that one time Adam sinned before God, and he stayed the rest of his time sinless, in penitence, as Solomon testifies.[182]

11 Քահանայք
11 Priests

4 Ադամ, Աբէլ, Ենովք, Նոյ . . .

Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah . . .

12 Մարգարէք
12 Prophets

5 Ադամ, Ենովս, Ենովք, Ղամէք . . .

Adam, Enosh, Enoch, Lamech . . .

Թագաւորք
Kings

6 Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայնան . . .

Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

13 Նախահարք Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի ի Ղուկասու աւետարանէն
13 The Ancestors of Jesus Christ from the Gospel according to Luke

7 Աստուած, Ադամ, Սէթ, Ենովս, Կայնան . . .

God, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan . . .

8 24 Սկիզբն ժամանակաց ելքն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի ի դրախտէն, որք յետ եօթանասուն ամի սգալոյն իւրեանց՝ ապա անկան ի կարգս անասնոց եւ ծնան զԿային եւ զԿլիմայ քոյր նորա. եւ անտի՝ յետ երեսուն ամաց ծնան զԱբէլ եւ զԱբելուհի, քանզի Եւա երկուս երկուս ծնանէր, եւ ծնաւ

182. Perhaps referring to Wis 12:10.

հնգետասան ծնունդս: Ադամ փառաւորէր եւ պատուէր զԱստուած պատարագօք պատուականօք, զոր տեսեալ եւ ուսեալ զաւակացն զնոյնն առնէին . . .

24 The beginning of times[183] (is) the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden, who after their mourning for seventy years then fell into the rank of animals and gave birth to Cain and his sister Klimay; and then, after thirty years they gave birth to Abel and Abeluhi, for Eve bore in twos and she bore fifteen births. Adam glorified and honored God by honorable offerings, which his children, having seen and having learned, did the same . . .

9 25 Ադամ եւ Եւայ՝ լեալ ամաց 230 ծնան զՍէթ՝ որդի մխիթարութեան:

25 Adam and Eve, being 230 years old, gave birth to Seth, son of consolation.[184]

Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i C14

Text: Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i, 9. Ի վերայ սուտ աստնաւորիս "9. On This Vain Life," in Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանաւորներ *New Collection, Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses,* vol. 3, ed. K. Kostaneanc‘ (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press 1896), 28–30.

1 28 Եկ օրինակ բերեմ զառաջին մարդիքն որ անցան,
Զինչ գործեցին, զայն տարան թէ բարի կենօք թէ մեղան.
Էհաս օր մահու նոցա, նա թողին զաշխարհս եւ անցան,
Ընդ շատ չարչարանքն ի ներս եւ միայն պատանք թէ տարան,
Թագաւորք այլ շատ կային յԱդամայ զարմից որ ծնան ...

Let me give as an example, the first humans that transgressed,
Whatever they did, they bore that, during virtuous or sinful life;
The day of their death came, behold, they left the world and passed away,
With many tortures inside, they took only the grave-cloths,
There were many kings, too, who were born from Adam's stock . . .

2 29 Ու կինն հանէ զմարդն ի փառաց նման Եւայի . . .

And the woman brings the man out of glory, like Eve . . .

183. Cf. Anonymous of Sebastia C15 (below) 118. The traditions in this passage occur in the Armenian Adam apocrypha: see Stone 1996a, 118 (names of the sisters of Cain and Abel); their birth is usually put at thirty years after the expulsion (ibid., 144) and the number of births is usually thirty and not fifteen. Note here that the fall down to the rank of animals has to do with procreation and not with food, as is the case in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

184. The common Armenian understanding of the name "Seth"; see part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

10 Վասն կանանց
10 Concerning Women

3 30 Կանանց ա՛զգ լացէք զձեզ, դուք էք զէն ի սատանայէ,
Դըստեր էք այն մօրն ձեր. որ եհան զԱդամ ի դրախտէն:

Race of women, bewail over yourselves, you are the weapon of Satan,
You are the daughters of that mother of yours, who brought Adam out of the Garden.

Text: L. Mkrtč‘ean and A. Madoyan, Հայ միջնադարյան քնարերգություն *Medieval Armenian Poetry* (Erevan: Nairi Press, 1996).

Xač‘atur Keč‘aṙec‘i, Ի չորս տարերաց
From Four Elements

4 269–70 Ի չորս տարերաց երկրի
Հողեղէն մարդ հաստատեցայ,
Կենօքս իմ խաւար կացի,
Շատ լացի, շատ յորդորեցայ:

From four elements of earth,
I established earthen man,
By my life I was in darkness,
I wept greatly, I was greatly exhorted.

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i C14

Text: Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i, Տաղագիրք *Poems*, ed. N. Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1958).

Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i, Տաղեր *Poems*, ed. Ē. Pivazean (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1960).

Translation: Translations of many poems may be found in James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T‘lkuranc‘i and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). The translations here are my own.

Ա. I Love Poem Pivazean 119

1 2 Փառք ու պատիւ քո ստեղծողին,
Եղեմական դրախտէն կու գաս …

Glory and honor to your Creator,
You come from the Edenic Garden.

ԺԳ XIII Pivazean 154

Այլ տաղ խիստ աննման
Another Very Dissimilar Poem

2 12 Սիրուն չդիմանայ նախահայրն Ադամ,
Վանց սիրոյ ելաւ յեդեմ դրախտէն համ.
ԶԴաւթա գործն յիշեմ, ու քան զուռ դողամ,
Սողոմոնի սուգն ես այլ ի հետ լամ,

12 The forefather Adam does not withstand love,
He came out of the Garden of Eden because of love.
I remember David’s deed, and I shake like a branch,
The mourning of Solomon, I weep as well.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 161

Այլ բանք սիրոյ ի Յովհաննէսէ
Other Words of Love by Yovhannēs

3 53 Սէրն զԱդամ դրախտէն եհան,
Յերկիր ձըգեց ’ւ արար շիւար,
Եւ սատանի ըզնա մատնեաց,
Որ չարչարեաց ամ վեց հազար:

53 Love brought Adam forth from the Garden,
Cast him to the earth, confused.
And it betrayed him to Satan,
Who tormented (him) for 6,000 years.

ԺԵ XV Pivazean 164

4 1 Աստուած անսկիզբն եւ անսահման,
Անտանելի եւ անթարգման՝
Զգարունն արար հանց պատուական,
Նըման դրախտին եդեմական:
5 Ծառք եւ դրախտք կանաչեցան,
Մրգապայծառ զարդարեցան . . .

1 God, without beginning and boundless,
Inconceivable and inexplicable,
Made the spring so glorious,
Like the Garden of Eden.
5 Trees and gardens became green,
And were adorned with beautiful fruits . . . ,

Pivazean 167–68

5 66 Կու գայ խաղողըն գովական,
Զի սայ եհան զմեզ ի դրախտէն,
Յորժամ եկեր ըզնայ Ադամ:
զփակեալ դուռըն դրախտին
70 Կրկին խաղողն եբաց մարդկան:

66 The praiseworthy grape comes,
That drove us out of the Garden,
When Adam ate it.
The closed door of the Garden,
70 The grape opened again for humanity.

Առաջին փոխանակ. Տաղ ի վերայ Մահուան
Pivazean, 178

First Variant: Poem on Death

6 28 Բ Ի յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած,
3 խրատու գըրոց, մեղաւորաց թ'ինչ կայ պահած: (էջ 28)

II From Adam until today he did not leave any living being,
By the counsel of Scripture, what is kept for sinners?[185]

30 19 Երկրորդ փոխանակ. բան պիտանի.
Second Variant: A Useful Word

8 29 Գ Բեր ու ձըգէ զահն ի մըտիդ, դու էլ գիտես ինչ կա պահած,
յԱդամայ մինչեւ այսօր, շունչ կենդանի զոք չէ թողած: (էջ 29)

Take and leave fear in your own mind, you also know what is kept,
From Adam until today, it did not leave any living being.

185. There is no extract no. 7.

Յաւելուած (երկբայականք).
Supplement (dubia)

6. Ի վերայ անզգամ կանանց
Upon Senseless Women Pivazean 187

9 8.56 Բ Կինն ի յայլոց քաղցրախօս է,
զԱդամ դրախտէն շուտ արտաքսէ.
կինըն սատանին ընկեր է.
Աստուած փրկէ կնկան շառէ:

The woman is more sweet-speaking than others,
II She alienates Adam quickly from the Garden,
The woman is Satan's companion,
God saves from woman's tumult.

9. Գանձեր Ganjs (Liturgical Poems)

Գանձ հինգ աւուր Հոգոյ Գալստեան *Ganj* for the Fifth Day of Pentecost Bogharian 69–71

10 Բ Որ ի ջուրս գոլով, ստեղծագործելով, ըզքեզ յայտնելով.
զհրեշտակսն առնելով, դասիւ եւ կարգով, շնորհըս բաշխելով.
զերկիր ստեղծուածով, բուսով եւ տընկով, խոտով բանջարով.
զերկինս երկնայնով, զարդարեալ գեղով, լուսնով 'ւ արեւով.
զծովըս լընլով, լողական զեռնով, մեծամեծ կիտով.
զաւդս օդականով, զարդարեալ շըքով, թըռչուն հաւերով.
զազանս անասնով, եւ չորքոտանով, սողունս առնելով.
զԱդամ ստեղծելով, ի տիպ առնելով, քեզ նըման գոլով.
յԱդամ փըչելով, զոր ստեղծեալ ձեռով, հոգով կենդանով.
պարգեւըս տալով, ճոխ ցուցանելով, երկրի տիրելով:

II He who is in the waters, creating, making you known,
Making the angels, according to rank and order, granting grace,
Fashioning the angels, distributing by class and order, grace,
The earth with creatures with shoot and plant, with grass and vegetables,
The heavens with the celestial, adorned with beauty, with moon and sun,
Filling the sea with swimming creatures, with great whales,
The air with the ether, magnificently ornamented, with birds,
The beasts with animals, and quadrupeds, fashioning reptiles,
Creating Adam, making him in Your form, being like You,
Breathing into Adam, whom you created with your hand, with spirit of life,
Giving gift, showing abundance, ruling the earth.

11 70 Գ Վեհ երեւելով, Ադամ իւր պատւով, գերազանց գոլով.
իմաստ շնորհելով, քահանայելով, թագաւորելով.
ի դրախտին դնելով, բազմախիտ ծառով, կանաչ տերեւով.
զանազան պըտղով, անթառամ գունով, եւ անուշ հոտով.
պատուիրան տալով, բազմացն ուտելով, միոյն չուտելով.
զոր ոչ պահելով, մերկացաւ փութով, ծածկեալ թըզենով.
զնոյն այսաւր գոլով, քո պայծառ լուսով, նոր զարդարելով:

Adam, appearing sublime with his honor, being very excellent,
Being granted wisdom, becoming a priest, becoming a king,
Being put in the Garden, with very leafy trees, with green leaves,
With various fruit, with unfading color, and sweet fragrance,
Being given a commandment, to eat of many, not to eat of one,
Which he not keeping, was swiftly stripped, covering himself with fig leaves,
Being the same today, with your shining light, newly adorning.

3. Գանձ խաչվերացի երկրորդ աւուր *Ganj* for the Second Day of the Raising of the Cross Bogharian 71–74

12 71–72 Ա Յայն եդեմական, դրախտին փափկութեան, ծառոյն գիտութեան.
տընկոյն աւրհնութեան, նախնոյն նորոգման, դու փայտ փըրկութեան.
եղեր զենարան, եւ մեծ ճեմարան, բանին հայրական.
աղբերաց հոսման, ի կողէն արեան, որ ի քեզ հեղան.
դըժոխք պարտեցան, հիմանց քակտեցան, եւ դրախտըն բացան.
խաւարըն լուծան, լուսով հաստեցան, եւ պայծառացան.
մարդիկ զաւրացան, եւ արժանացան, դրախտին փափկութեան.
երգեմք ընդ նոցայն, հոգւոց փրկութեան, նոր երգս աւրհնութեան:
Ընկալ զերկըրպագութիւն խաչիդ փրկական. աղաչեմք:

71–72 In that Edenic, Garden of delight, of the tree of knowledge,
Of the plant of blessing, of renewal of the first one, you, wood of salvation,
You became an altar, and a great academy of the Paternal Word,
Of flowing of springs, of blood from the side, which flowed on you,
Hell was conquered, its foundations destroyed, and the Garden opened.
The darkness was undone; by light strengthened and shining,
Men were made strong, and were worthy of the Garden of Delight.
We sing with them of the salvation of souls, new songs of blessing,
Receive worship of your saving Cross, we beseech.

Yovhan Arčišec‘i C14

Text: Yovhan Arčišec‘i, Մեկնութիւն ահաւոր խորհրդոյ սրբոյ պատարագին *Commentary on the Fearful Mystery of the Holy Liturgy* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1860).

1 53 «Որ ի չգոյէ ի գոյ ածեր զամենայն արարածս. որ արարեր զմարդն ըստ պատկերի քում եւ նմանութեան. եւ ամենայն շնորհիւ քով զնա զարդարեցեր ... եւ ուսուցեր խնդրել զիմաստութիւն եւ զգօնութիւն:» Քանզի դրախտն ամենապատիկ ծառովք զիմաստութիւն առակէ. յոր եդաւ մարդն քննել զնա եւ պահել. զոր աստ խնդրել ասաց:

"You, that brought all the creatures from nonexistence to existence, You who made man according to your image and likeness, and adorned him with all your grace . . . and taught (him) to seek for wisdom and prudence." For paradise with the trees of all kinds allegorically means wisdom, in which the man was put to examine it and to keep (it), which here is called "to seek for."

2 98 «Իսկ ի վախճան աւուրցս այսոցիկ զբովանդակ իսկ զպարտեաց մերոց խզեալ դատակնիք»: Վասնզի կամեցաւ հայր զամենայն գիր պարտուցն մերոց պատառել:

"And at the end of these days having annihilated the condemnation for all our debts . . ." Because the Father wished to tear all the records of our debts.[186]

Yovhan Orotnec‘i C14

Text: Yovhan Orotnec‘i, Մեկնութիւն ստորոգութեանց Արիստոտելի *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories,* ed. V. Č‘aloyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956).

1 136 Եւ տես ի յԱդամ, զի նախ ամենայն զգալիքն եղեն եւ յետոյ մարդն կազմեցաւ:

And see in (the case of) Adam; first all the sensible (creatures) appeared and then the man was formed.

186. This refers to the cheirograph tradition; see Col 2:14. Note the use of պատառել, typical of this tradition.

Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i C14

Text: Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i, Մեկնութիւն տասն խորանացն Աւետարանին *Commentary on the Ten Canon Tables*, in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն Սուրբ Աւետարանին որ ըստ Մատթէոսի արարեալ ի սրբոյն Ներսիսէ Շնորհալւոյ մինչ ի համարն 17. հինգերորդ գլխոյն եւ անտի աւարտեալ յերանելւոյն Յօհաննու Երզնկացւոյ՝ որ եւ կոչի Ծործորեցի *Commentary on the Holy Gospel of Matthew by St. Nersēs Šnorhali as far as the 17th verse of the fifth chapter, and thence completed by the blessed Yovhannēs of Erznka, who is called Corcorec‘i* (Constantinople: Abraham Aknec‘i Press, 1825), 55–15.

This is attributed to Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Corcorec‘i by Thomson, but the same text is attributed to Nersēs Šnorhali in Nersēs Šnorhali, Մեկնութիւն խորանացն Աւետարանին "Commentary on the Canon Tables of the Gospel," ed. Y. K‘iwrtean *Bazmavēp* 131 (1973): 419–37, which corresponds to V. Łazaryan, Խորանների մեկնություններ *Commentary on Canon Tables* (Erevan: Sargis Xač‘enc‘, 1995), 44–60.

1 5 . . . Բարերարն զպատիւ բարետոհմութեան սորա եւ զպատճառ կենդանութեան ո՛չ թաքոյց ի սմանէ՝ պատկեր ասելով զմարդ՝ Աստուծոյ. եւ զդրախտն՝ բնակութիւն նմա. եւ զծառն կենաց՝ առիթ անմահութեան նորա, տնկեալ ի ձեռաց Աստուծոյ. զի զյիշատակս զայս ի մտի ունելով, խնդրեսցէ զսկզբնատիպն երբէք եւ զկենաց կերակուրն, եւ զվայրն վայելչութեան. եւ զի դարձցի ի փառսն իւր սեփհականս: Իսկ նա զայլ ոմն բանական շիջեալ ի փառաց՝ ունելով առաջնորդ կորստեան կամակորութեան իւրոյ, որ բիւր ճանապարհ մոլորութեան բանայր առաջի նորա. մինչեւ զնա թշնամի փրկութեան անձին իւրոյ՝ եւ հակառակ առաջին բարւոյն գտեալ՝ . . .

. . . The Benefactor did not hide from him the honor of his noble origin and the cause of his existence, calling the man image of God; and the Garden, a dwelling for him and the tree of life, the opportunity for his immortality, planted by God's hands, so that bearing this memory in mind, he would search for (his) prototype and for the food of life and for the place of delight, and so that he might return to his own proper glory. But he, taking hold of another rational being who had turned away from glory as a guide to his willful destruction, who opened before him myriad ways of aberration, until he found him to be an opponent of his own salvation and adversary of the primordial good. . . .

2 7–8 Առաջին խորանն՝ ուր ինքն աստուածութիւնն ասի բազմեալ՝ ի լոյսն անմատչելի: Իսկ երկրորդ՝ եւ երրորդ խորանն՝ ուր միջին եւ վերջին քահանայութիւն անմարմնոցն ասի: Չորրորդ՝ դրախտն . . .

Եւ խորանն չորրորդ՝ զդրախտն տպաւորէ. քանզի ի չորից սեանց

կայ՝ զզգալի տարերքս առակելով՝ որ ի չորից է խառնուած: Եւ է գոյն կապոյտ եւ սեաւ. քանզի անյայտացաւ Ադամայ եւ որդւոց նորա պայծառութիւն դրախտին, զոր եւ մաշկեայ պատմուճանն առակէր. դիմահար եղեալ փառացն Աստուծոյ, եւ դրախտին՝ յորս վայելէր զառաջինն . . .

Եւ յայլ խորանքս մթատեսակ ինչ ձեւով՝ եւ խաչ ընդ աղօտ երեւեալ ի ներքոյ կամարացն՝ որ ցուցանէր զխորհուրդն Քրիստոսի, որ գայր ծածկապէս ի ժամանակսն առաջինս. վայր իջեալ յԱստուծոյ ի հրեշտակս՝ եւ ի նոցանէ յԱդամ եւ ի ծնունդս նորա խորհուրդ հանճարոյն:

The first arcade (is the one) where the Divinity himself is said to be seated in the unapproachable light. And the second and third arcades are where the middle and the lowly priesthood of incorporeal ones is said (to be depicted). The fourth (is) paradise; . . . and the fourth arcade reflects paradise, for it stands on four columns symbolizing the sensible elements, that is mixed of four. And its color is blue and black, because the brightness of the Garden disappeared from Adam and his sons, which the skin-coat also symbolized; (he) having opposed God's glory and the Garden that he enjoyed at first . . .

And the other arcades (are) in somewhat dark-looking manner, and a cross being seen obscurely under the arcs, which showed the mystery of Christ, who came secretly in the prior times—the mystery of wisdom, having come down from God to the angels, and from them to Adam and to his descendants.

3 281 Եւ դարձեալ՝ իժ զսատանայ անուանէ, ըստ Դաւթի՝ ի վերայ իժի գնասցես դու. արդ՝ սատանայի էք ասէ ծնունդք՝ առաջին մարդասպանին, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ի հօրէ սատանայէ էք, զի հայրն ձեր զառաջինն Ադամ եսպան. իսկ դուք զերկրորդս խորհիք սպանանել . . .

And besides, it calls Satan adder; according to David, "You shall tread upon the . . . adder."[187] Now it says: you are offspring of Satan, the first murderer,[188] according to "You are of your father the Devil,"[189] for your father killed the first Adam, and you intend to kill the second one . . .

4 316 Աստուած Ադամայ երիս շնորհս ետ, թագաւորութիւն՝ զի ասաց տիրեցէք ամենայնի, եւ քահանայութիւն՝ զի անուանս եդ, եւ մարգարէութիւն՝ զի մարգարէացաւ վասն կնոջն. իսկ յետ յանցմանն կորուսին եւ զշնորհսն, ըստ այնմ՝ մի՛ մնասցէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա: Վասն

187. Ps 91:13 = Arm 90:13.
188. Cf. John 8:44.
189. John 8:44.

այնորիկ եղեւ Տէր մեր երկրորդ Ադամ, զի վերստին զշնորհսն զայս հեղցէ ի մարդիկ . . .

God gave Adam three gifts: kingdom, for he said, “Have dominion over everything”;[190] and priesthood, for he gave names; and prophecy, for he prophesied about the woman. But after the transgression they lost also those gifts, according to: “My spirit shall not remain in them.”[191] For that reason our Lord became the second Adam in order to pour again these gifts upon humans . . .

5 398 Եւ տե՛ս՝ զի ո՛չ միայն յարարչութենէն վճռեալ հաստատէ, այլեւ ի հրամանէն. քանզի ոչ ասաց թէ՝ արար մի այր եւ մի կին միայն, այլեւ հրամայեաց միում առն ընդ միում կնոջն ամուսնանալ, զի թէ հնար էր զմին թողուլ եւ զմիւսն ընդ նորա ածել՝ յորժամ զմի այրն արար, ապա բազում կանայս առնէր. եւ այսպէս արարչական օրինակաւ զօրինադրութիւնն յայտ արար՝ միում առն ընդ միում կնոջ բնակել հանապազ, եւ մի՛ երբէք քակել. քանզի ի միոյ արմատոյ այնպէս եղեն, որպէս ասացն թէ՝ որ արարն՝ արու եւ էգ արար զնոսա՝ եւ ասէ . . .

And see that this is definitely confirmed not only by the creation but also by the command, because it did not say that (God) created only one man and one woman but also that He commanded the one man to marry the one woman. For if it were possible to leave one (woman) aside and to bring another one in her place, when he created the one man, then He would have made many wives. And thus by the example of the creation he made legislation evident: one man must always live with one woman and should never separate (from her), for they came into being in that way from one root, as (it) said that He who created, “male and female created He them” and it says . . .

Text: Yovhannēs Corcorecʻi, Համառօտ տեսութիւն քերականի *A Brief Review of Grammar,* ed. L. Xačʻerean (Glendale, Calif.: ALCO Printing, 1984).

6 112 Եւ արդ՝ վասնզի բնութեամբ մարդն առաջին մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ ստեղծաւ եւ ընդ լինելութեանն ամբողջ եւ անսխալ բերէր յինքեան ընդ կազմութեան զգայարանացն եւ զբանին մասանցն որպիսութիւն: Իսկ ի կամակոր լինելն նորա լուծաւ պատիւ փառացն Ադամայ եւ կորոյս ընդ անմահութեանն եւ զբանին շնորհն, նոյնպէս եւ զայլ գործարանացն կատարեալ զաւրութիւն:

And now, because the first man was created by nature capable of thinking and reasoning,[192] and during his creation wholly and faultlessly bore in himself, alongside the formation of senses, also the quality of the parts of

190. Gen 1:28.
191. Cf. Gen 6:3.
192. Literally: mind and genius.

speech. And when he was crafty, the honor of Adam's glory was dissolved, and he lost with immortality also the gift of speech, as well as the perfect power of other organs.

7 114 Արդ, եկեսցուք յառաջին գլուխն եւ ասացուք՝ ուստի՞ գտեալ եղեւ գիր, յորմէ՞ քերականութիւնս:

Որպէս ասացի, նախ՝ յԵնովսայ եւ յԵնովքայ սկսեալ. եւ զայն գտեալ Արփաքսադայ, մնաց առ Եբեր որպէս լեզուն Ադամայ, որով վարժեցան քաղդէացիք, զոր ոմանք զասորիս ասեն: Իսկ յետ այնորիկ անցեալ Իսրայէլ ընդ ծովն Կարմիր՝ եբրայեցիք կոչեցան, զի եբրայն՝ «անցիք» լսի, մոռացան զեգիպտացին եւ առին զԵբերայն եւ կամ այլ իմն լեզու նոր, որպէս վկայէ Դաւիթ, «լեզու զոր ոչ գիտէր, լուաւ»:

Now let us come to the first chapter and say: whence writing was found, and by whom —grammar?

As I said, it was first started by Enosh and Enoch, and that was found by Arphaxad, it remained in Eber as Adam's language, by which the Chaldeans learned, whom some people call Assyrians (Syrians). And after that, Israel, having passed over the Red Sea, were called "Hebrews," for "ebray" means "pass." They forgot Egyptian and took (the language) of Eber or some other new language, as testifies David, "He heard (understood) a language that he knew not."[193]

193. Cf. Ps 81:5 = Arm 80:6.

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Fifteenth Century

Matenadaran Amulet 116 C15

Text: *Matenadaran Amulet 116* in Y. E. Loeff, "*Four Texts from the Oldest Known Armenian Amulet Scroll: Matenadaran 116 (1428)*" (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 2002). Section 2, lines 44–66

1 Յայնժամ ասեն դեւքն մեք հրեշտակք էաք յերկինս. եւ ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանս Աստուծոյ. այլ հպարտացաք եւ ոչ տուաք զփառս Աստուծոյ. բարկացաւ եւ պատառեաց զերկինս եւ ի վայր ել/50/ ից զմեզ մինչեւ յանդունդս. եւ էստեղծ Աստուած զԱդամ. եւ եդ ի դրախտին. եւ զմեր պատիւն ետ նմայ: եւ մեք նախանձեցաք ընդ պատուի նորա. եւ տուաք ուտել ի պտղոյն /55/ որ ոչ հրամայեաց նմայ չէ ուտել. եւ հանաք զնայ ի դրախտէն. եւ զամենայն ծնունդ նորա խաբեցաք ի կռապաշտութիւն. ի պէսպէս մեղս: դասապետն մեր սատայէլ. շինեաց /60/ ապարան. եւ անուանէաց դժոխք եւ զհոգին Ադամայ եւ զայլ սրբոց անդ ժողովեաց մինչեւ ցովանէս: Յայնժամ գթացօ արարածս իւր. եւ առաքեաց զորդին /65/ միածին. որ եկն եւ մարմնացաւ ի սուրբ կուսէն մարիամայ.

Then the demons said, "We used to be angels in heaven, and we did not keep the commandments of God, but we swelled with pride and did not give glory to God. He became angry and tore the heavens apart and cast us down /50/ as far as the abyss. And God created Adam, and put (him) in paradise, and He gave our honor to him. And we envied his honor, and we gave (him) to eat of the fruit /55/ which He ordered him not to eat, and we brought him out of paradise, and we deceived all his descendants to idol worship, to various sorts of sins. Our commander, Satayēl, built /60/ a palace and named it "Hell," and he gathered there the soul of Adam and those of the other saints until John (the Baptist). Then He had compassion on his creatures and He sent his /65/ only-begotten Son, who came and was incarnated through the Holy Virgin Mary.

Anonymous of Sebastia C15

Text: Anonymous Author of Sebastia, Տարեգրութիւն *Chronicle*, in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ XIII-XVIII դդ *Minor Chronicles, XIII-XVIII Centuries, vol. 2,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 115–72.

1 118 [1]Յորժամ յանցաւոր եղեւ Ադամ պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ հան զնայ Աստուած ի դրախտէն փափկութեան, իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ զամս Լ ողբացեալ եւ ապա մերձեցան առ միմեանս եւ ապա ծնան զԿայէն եւ զքոյր ընդ նմայ Կլիմաս անուն: Եւ յետ Լ տարւոյ ծնաւ զԱբէլ եւ զԱբելուհի, քոյր նորա: Եւ յետ Լ ամի սպան Կայէն զԱբէլ եղբայր իւր . . . : Յետ ՃԼ ամի ելիցն ի դրախտի եղեւ որդի մխիթարութեան Ադամայ Սէթ: Եկաց այլ եւս Ադամ Չ ամ եւ մեռաւ. եւ է ամենայն ամք նորայ ՋԼ:

When Adam transgressed God's commandments, God drove him out of the Garden of Delight, and Adam and Eve having lamented for 30 years then they drew near to one another and then they begat Cain and with him his sister, Klimas by name. And after 30 years he (Adam) begat Abel and his sister Abeluhi. And after 30 years Cain killed his brother Abel . . . 130 years after coming out of the Garden, Adam had a son of consolation, Seth.[2] Adam lived for 700 years more and died. And all his years are 930.

Aṙak'el Siwnec'i C15

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Դրախտագիրք *The Book of Paradise*, ed. N. Tēr Nersēsean (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956).

Translation: I translated Aṙak'el's Adam epic, the *Adamgirk'*, into English in a separate publication and, in the first part of this book that translation has been consulted. No reason was found to excerpt it here as well. See Stone 2007a.

բանք խրատականք
Admonitory Writings

1 61 Եւ այսպէս սկսանի բանս. զի ի դրախտ,
եւ ի քաղաք եւթն ազգ են յարարածս: Այսինքն.
10 ա. Նախ՝ դրախտն Ադամայ, որ էր քաղաք բնութեանս:
բ. Երկրորդ՝ դրախտ ասի գիրք Աստուածաշունչ, որ է քաղաք հոգոց:
. . .

1. Cf. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i 24 and notes there. Observe here that the period before the birth of Cain is the usual thirty years.

2. See part 1, chapter 3 §4.2.4.

20 ե. Հինգերորդ՝ զերեզմանն ասի քաղաք,
[զ]որ յԱդամայ հետէ քաղէ զամենեսեան,
եւ ժողովէ առ ինքն մինչեւ ի կատարած աշխարհի։

61 And my writing commences in the following way: for by “Garden” and by “city” are seven kinds of creations (designated), namely,
1. First, Adam’s Garden, which was this city of this nature.
2. Second, the Bible, which is the city of souls, is called Garden. . . .
5. Fifth, the grave is called city,
which plucks off everybody from Adam on
and gathers (them) in itself until the end of the world.

2 67 Դրախտն Ադամայ մեզ չէր օգուտ,
այլ դուրս արար զմեզ.
Վասն այն նոր դրախտ տնկեաց Աստուած,
որ դու վայելես քեզ։

Adam’s Garden did not benefit us,
But rather it expelled us,
For that reason God planted a new Garden,
so that you could delight yourself.

3 69–70 Այն որ չարեաց տայ գիտութիւն՝
մահ կու բերէ ձեզ։
Զպատուէրն զայն զոր Ադամաւ
տէր պատուիրեաց մեզ՝
Ունի խորհուրդ ազգի ազգի,
շահ եւ օգուտ մեզ։
/ Յամէն ծառոց, ասէ կերէք
հրաման տուի ձեզ.
Միայն զայն մինն մի՛ ուտէք
որ մահ կու տայ ձեզ։
Այս բանս մեծ խորհուրդ ունի.
պարտ է քննել մեզ.
Թէ մի զամէն բարի թողուք
ու չարն պահէք ձեզ։
Զամէն բարի բանք պահեցէք,
[զ]որ է յօգուտ ձեզ . . .

That which gives the knowledge of evil,
Brings you death,
That commandment that the Lord
Commanded us through Adam,
Has various sorts of mysteries,
Advantageous and helpful for us.
“Of all the trees,” he said, “eat!

I have commanded you.
Do not eat only that one,
Which brings you death."
These words contain great mystery,
We must study (it):
That you should not abandon every good.[3]
And keep evil for yourself,
Keep all good things,
Which are helpful for you. . . .

Text: Ařak'el Siwnec'i, Տաղեր *Poems*, in: Հայ աշուղներ *Armenian Troubadours (Ašułs), vol. 1, part 1,* ed. T. Palean (Smyrna: Mamurean Press, 1911), 190–253.

Գ. տաղ
Poem III

4 196 Տեսէք զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնին,
Որ չի լըսեց պատուիրանին,
Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցին,
Սոյնպէս եւ դուք, ով լալագին:

See Adam, our forefather,
Who did not obey the command,
(They) tortured him for six thousand years,
Likewise you too, O mournful ones.

5 206 Ադամ միով պտղով յանցեաւ,
Վեց հազար ամ չարչարեցաւ . . .

Adam transgressed by one fruit,
He was tortured for six thousand years . . .

Text: Ařak'el Siwnec'i, Յաղագս քերականութեան համառաւտ լուծմունք *Brief Commentary on Grammar,* ed. L. Xač 'erean (Los Angeles: L. K. Khacheryan, 1982).

6 69–70 Եւ յետ վաղափուլ ամբարտակին, յորժամ բաժանեցան լեզուքն, / մնաց գիրն առ Եբեր, որպէս եւ լեզուն Ադամայ: Իսկ յորժամ անցին ընդ ծովն Կարմիր, յայնժամ կոչեցան եբրայեցիք, զի Եբերայն «անցիկ» լսի . . .

And after the early-destroyed tower, when the languages were separated, writing remained with Eber, as well as Adam's language. And when they

3. Or: the old-good things.

crossed the Red Sea, then they were called Hebrews, for Hebrew[4] means "passing"

Text: Aṙak'el Siwnec'i, Լուծմունք Յաղագս Սահմանացս Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի "Commentary on the Definitions of the Invincible Philosopher," in Գիրք սահմանաց Դաւթի Անյաղթ Փիլիսոփայի *The Book of the Definitions of David, the Invincible Philosopher* (Madras: Šmavonean Press, 1797), 145–658

7 156 Իսկ թէ վասն է՞ր մարդիկ ի խնդիր ելին իմաստասիրութեան, եւ բազում աշխատութեամբ գտին . . . Նախ զի յետ ելիցն ի դրախտէն, ամենեւիմբ յանբանութիւն էարկ սատանայ զբնութիւնս. մինչեւ յիմարեալ պաշտէին զօձ եւ զկարիճ:

But why did people set out in search of philosophy and find it with great efforts? . . . First, because after coming out of the Garden, Satan cast their nature into absolute irrationality, till, becoming foolish, (they) worshiped the serpent and the scorpion.

8 245–46 որպէս արարիչն սահման եդ Ադամայ զկենաց պատուիրանն, զի որքան պահէր կենդանի մնայր, եւ յորժամ ոչ կարաց / պահել մեռաւ. այսպէս եւ սահմանս կենդանութեամբ եւ բանականութեամբ բաղկացուցանէ զմարդ. եւ որքան ունին զբան՝ կենդանի մնան, եւ յորժամ սպառի խօսք բանիցն՝ քաղուի շունչ կենդանութեան՝ յայնժամ մեռանի . . . որպէս արարիչն ընդ դնել պատուիրանին գուշակեաց թէ մեռանելոց է մարդն, ասելով թէ յորում աւուր ուտիցես ի պտղոյն՝ մահու մեռանիցիս. այսպէս եւ սահմանն առնէ զի ընդ սահմանելն ասէ՝ կենդանի, բանաւոր, մահկանացու . . .

Just as the Creator set the commandment of life as a limit for Adam—that as long as he observed (it), he remained alive, and when he could not observe (it), he died—likewise, according to this definition,[5] he constitutes man through life and reason, and as long as they have reason, they remain alive, and when the discourse of reason is exhausted, the breath of life is gathered up; then (man) dies. . . . As the Creator, when giving the command, predicted that the man will die, saying, "on the day on which you eat of the fruit you shall surely die"[6] thus the definition does (the same), for, when defining, it says: living, reasonable mortal . . .

4. Literally: Eberayn.

5. մարդ կենդանի բանաւոր մահկանացու՝ մտաց եւ հանճարոյ ընդունակ "Man is a reasonable mortal animal, endowed with mind and reason"; see p. 243 of *The Book of Definitions*.

6. Gen 2:17.

9 263 . . . Այլեւ ստեղծումն Ադամայ ասէ. արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում, այսինքն, մի ասէ զմարդն, իսկ արասցուք՝ եւ մերումն զերեք դէմքն ցուցանէ:

. . . And (of) Adam's creation he says, "Let us make man according to our image," that is, he says "man" to be one, but "let us make" and "in our" show three persons.[7]

10 307 . . . Մարդ պատկեր Աստուծոյ ստեղծաւ, որ է անմեղ բնութիւնս . . .

. . . Man was created as the image of God, which is this sinless nature . . .

11 321–22 . . . Աստուած վեց արարչական զօրութիւն եցոյց յանձնէ իւրմէ: Նախ՝ զի կամքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ, թէ զամենայն զոր ինչ կամեցաւ եւ արար: Երկրորդ՝ զի խօսքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է. ըստ այնմ որ ասաց Աստուած. եղիցի լոյս եւ եղեւն, եւ ասաց Աստուած. բաժանեսցին ջուրքդ որ ի վերոյ յերկնից եւ այլն եւ եղեւ այնպէս, վասն որոյ ասէ մարգարէն՝ ասաց եւ եղեն, հրամայեաց եւ հաստատեցան: Երրորդ՝ զի ձեռն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ / ձեռք քո արարին. եւ թէ էառ Տէր Աստուած հող յերկրէ՝ եւ արար զմարդն: Դարձեալ ասէ՝ ի սկզբանէ Տէր զերկիր հաստատեաց: Չորրորդ՝ զի եւ մատունքն Աստուծոյ արարիչ են, վասն որոյ ասէ՝ տեսի յերկինս՝ զգործս մատանց քոց, զլուսին եւ զաստեղս դու արարեր: Հինգերորդ՝ զի եւ շունչն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ փչեաց յԱդամ շունչ կենդանի. եւ եղեւ մարդն հոգի կենդանի. եւ արարչագործեաց ի նմա զքահանայութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն, եւ զթագաւորութիւն, եւ այնչափ կարողացոյց զնա, մինչեւ կարողացաւ զԱստուած ծնանիլ մերով բնութեամբս: Վեցերորդ՝ զի բանն Աստուծոյ արարիչ է, ըստ այնմ՝ թէ բանիւ Տեառն երկինք հաստատեցան. եւ նոյն բանն նախախնամէ զարարածս միշտ . . .

. . .God demonstrated six creative powers through His own self. First, because God's will is creative, according to that,[8] that everything which he wished, he did. Second, because God's speech is creative according to that which God said, "Let there be light and there was"[9] and God said, "Let the waters above the heavens be separated . . . and it was so."[10] Because of that the prophet says, "He spoke and it came to be; he commanded and it was established."[11] Third, because God's hand is creative, according to, "your

7. I.e., the plurals of the verb and the possessive adjective indicate the plurality of persons of the Trinity.

8. I.e., as is evident from the fact.

9. Gen 1:3.

10. Gen 1:7.

11. Ps 33:9 = Arm 32:9. "Come to be" and "was established" are in the plural.

hands have made"[12] and "the Lord God took dust from the ground and He made the man."[13] Besides, it says, "In the beginning the Lord established the earth."[14] Fourth, because God's fingers are creative, because of which it says, "I saw in the heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and the stars you made."[15] Fifth, because God's breath, too, is creative, according to that, "He breathed into Adam a breath of life, and the man became a living soul,"[16] and he created in him priesthood, prophecy and royalty and made him so mighty that he could bring forth God[17] with our nature. Sixth, because God's Word is creative, according to, "By the word of the Lord the heavens were established,"[18] and the same Word always takes providential care of the creatures . . .

12 341–44 Հարց. Ի՞ւ զանազանի գիտութիւն իմաստասիրացն ի գիտութեանցն Ադամայ:

Պխ. Եւ երկոտասան կերպիւ զանազանին ի միմեանց, զի թէպէտ որ խիստ ջանայ իմաստա/սէրն, ոչ կարէ յայն ժամանել, զոր յառաջ քան զմեղանչելն ունէր մարդն զիմաստասիրութիւնն: Նախ՝ զի Ադամ բնութեամբ ունէր զիմաստասիրութիւնն. այսինքն զի պատկեր է Աստուծոյ, եւ զոր ինչ կերպացեալ գոյր յԱստուած, նա բնութեամբ ունէր. այսպէս եւ զիմաստասիրութիւնն, իսկ մեք ստացմամբ ունիմք. Երկրորդ՝ զի նա անաշխատ ունէր, իսկ մեք բազում աշխատութեամբ: Երրորդ՝ զի նա բոլորովին ունէր, իսկ մեք մասամբք. զի մասն մասն ժողովելով վստահանամք: Չորրորդ՝ զի նա զամենայն գիտէր, զիմանալիսն եւ զզալիս, իսկ մեք զզալիս միայն, իսկ թէեւ իմաստասէրքն վասն իմանալեացն ասացին ինչ, միայն իմացան զգոյն նոցա. իսկ զորպիսութիւն կերպարանացն ոչ գիտացին, զոր գիտէր Ադամ:

Question: By what is the knowledge of philosophers differentiated from Adam's knowledge?[19]

Answer: They differ from one another in twelve aspects, for even if a philosopher makes great efforts, he cannot reach that wisdom which the man had before sinning. First, because Adam had wisdom by nature, that is, because he is God's image, and whatever was formed, existed in God, he had (it) by nature—thus also philosophy, whereas we have it through acquisition.

12. Ps 119:73 = Arm 118:73.
13. Gen 2:7.
14. Gen 1:1.
15. Ps 8:3 = Arm 8:4.
16. Gen 2:7.
17. I.e., Christ.
18. Ps 33:6 = Arm 32:6
19. Literally, "knowledge's."

Second, he had it without effort, whereas we have it thanks to many efforts. Third, he had it wholly, whereas we (have it) partly, for we acquire certainty through gathering it part by part. Fourth, because he knew everything, the intelligible and sensible things, but we only the sensible. But though philosophers have said something about the intelligible things, they only apprehended their existence but they did not know the quality of their forms, which Adam knew.

13 Հինգերորդ՝ զի Ադամ դէմ յանդիման տեսութեամբ գիտէր, զի աչօք տեսանէր եւ ականջօք լսէր. իսկ մեք իմացմամբ միայն, եւ ոչ տեսութեամբ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի նա անմեղութեամբ ունէր զգիտութիւն, իսկ մեք աղտեղութեամբ, այսինքն նա որպէս մաքուր հայելի էր անմեղութեամբ, յորս երեւէր պատկերն Աստուծոյ. իսկ մեք ժանկոտեալ մեղօք, եւ նա որպէս պայծառ աչս ունելով տեսանէր զամենայն. իսկ մեր աչս որպէս լցեալ փոշով մեղաց, ոչ ինչ կարեմք տեսանել, վասն որոյ ասէ յերգսն՝ թագաւոր սիրելի թէպէտ եւ ծածկեցաք ի տեսլենէ նորա՝ աչք մեր յիսնաւորք. այսինքն՝ զի / Ադամ յիսուն այսչափ տեսանէր աչօք, քան զայն զոր մեք տեսանեմք մտօք, եւ իմանամք: Եօթներորդ՝ զի նա անմահ գոլով յերկար կենօք յերկարաձիգ միտս ունելով, վասն որոյ յերկար իմանայր զամենայն. իսկ մեք մահկանացուք գոլով եւ կարճօրեայ, վասն որոյ կարճամիտ գոլով՝ եւ կարճառօտ իմանամք զբանն. այսինքն զմի ծայր բանին իմանամք, եւ զմիւսն ոչ տեսանեմք՝ զայն որ հեռագոյն է ի մէնջ:

Fifth, Adam knew through direct vision, for he saw with eyes and heard with ears, and we know only through apprehension and not through vision. Sixth, because he had the knowledge sinlessly, and we have it impurely: that is, he was like a clean mirror through his sinlessness, in which God's image was visible, while we are corroded[20] by sin, and he saw everything, having clear eyes, and our eyes, (being) as if full of the dust of sin, we can see nothing. Concerning this it says in the Song (of Songs): "Beloved king, although we were concealed from his vision, we have fifty eyes."[21] That is, Adam saw with his eyes fifty times what we see with our mind and apprehend. Seventh, because he, being immortal and thanks to long life having long-lasting mind, due to which he apprehended everything at length, while we, being mortal and having short life, due to that are short-witted and apprehend the matter shortly, that is, we know one end of the matter and do not see the other, that which is further from us.

14 Ութերորդ՝ զի նա անմոռանալի գիտէր, իսկ մեք մինչ զյետինն

20. He continues the image of the mirror, which was made of polished metal, here corroded.

21. This final passage of the Armenian text of Song of Songs is absent from the Hebrew (A.T.)

ուսանիմք, զառաջինն մոռանամք: Իններորդ՝ զի նա միահամուռ եւ միանգամայն գիտէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք երբեմն զայս ինչ գիտեմք եւ երբեմն զայն ինչ . . . Տասներորդ՝ զի լոյս բանականութեանն ի նա պայծառացեալ էր եւ փայլէր, որով տեսանէր զամենայն, իսկ մեք որպէս պատրոյկ առկայծեալ գոլով շիջեալ՝ ունելով զբոց լուսոյն՝ ոչ ինչ կարեմք նշմարել: Մետասաներորդ՝ զի նա անընդմիջաբար տեսանէր, իսկ մեք միջնորդաւ զգալեօքս տեսանեմք եւ գիտեմք զիմանալիսն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ զի մեք զբանականն օտարացուցաք, որպէս եւ ասէ լուծմունքն, եւ զօտարախտ եւ զտգիտութիւնն բնական արարաք. իսկ նա / օտար ինչ ոչ գոյր, եւ զբնական պայծառութիւն ունէր զնմանութիւն, եւ զպատկերակցութիւն Աստուծոյ: Եւ վասն այս երկոտասան պատճառացս՝ իմաստասիրաց գիտութիւնն, որպէս կայծ մի էր առ արեգակնափայլ տեսութիւնն Ադամայ:

Eighth, because he knew without forgetting, but we forget the earlier thing while we learn the later thing. Ninth, because he knew everything at once and all together, while we sometimes know this thing and sometimes that. . . . Tenth, because the light of reason was bright in him and shone, by which he saw everything, and we, being like a sparking wick, having the flame of light extinguished, can notice nothing. Eleventh, because he saw immediately, while we see and know the intelligible things by intermediary of our senses. Twelfth, because we alienated reason, as the commentary says, and made the disease of alienation and ignorance natural, whereas he was not / an alien thing and had natural splendor, the likeness and shared image of God. And for these twelve reasons the knowledge of the philosophers was like one spark in comparison with Adam's vision shining like the sun.

15 349 . . . Երեք օրէնքն, զոր Աստուած եդ Ադամայ՝ թէ յամենայն ծառոց կեր, բայց ի ծառոյն գիտութեան բարւոյ եւ չարի. այսինքն այն չար գիտութիւնն որ քեզ բարի թուի՝ ցայն մի մերձենայր, եւ այս հուպ կատարումն է. զի հուպ ընդ հուպ որ քան պահէր զպատուիրանն կենդանի էր, եւ փառազարդեալ. եւ յորժամ անցեաւ հուպ ընդ հուպ պատժեցաւ եւ մերկացաւ, ի դրախտէն անկաւ՝ եւ բնութեամբ մահկանացու եղեւ:

. . . The three rules that God established for Adam: eat of every tree except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; that is, that evil knowledge that seems good to you, do not approach it. And this is immediate perfection, for as long as he immediately observed the commandment, he was alive and adorned with glory, and when he transgressed, he was immediately punished and was stripped,[22] fell from paradise and became mortal by nature.

16 369 . . . (Մարդ) անմեղ ստեղծաւ, եւ անապական, եւ անքիծ հոգւով,

22. I.e., of glory.

եւ անարատ մարմնով, եւ պատկեր Աստուծոյ, եւ խոհեմ, եւ արի, եւ ողջախոհ, եւ ազատականութիւն, եւ մեծահոգեղութիւն . . .

. . . (The man) was created sinless and incorruptible and with unstained soul, and with immaculate body, and the image of God, and prudent and brave and judicious and (with) liberty and magnanimity. . .

17 402–3 Արդ՝ որպէս արհեստաւորն, նախ զհուպ կատարումն իրին նկատէ ի միտս իւր, եւ ապա յետոյ առեալ զենթակայն՝ գործէ ըստ նախատեսութեանն, այսպէս եւ արարիչն ընդ մեզ արար՝ զի գոյր հուպ Աստուծոյ տեսութեանն կատարումն մեր, նախ քան զստեղծումն մեր. ըստ այնմ՝ թէ ընտրեաց զմեզ յառաջ քան զլինիլն աշխարհի, լինիլ մեզ անարատս առաջի նորա։ Երկրորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն նախ քան զստեղծումն. զի նախ ասաց Աստուած. արասցուք մարդ ըստ՝ / պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ստեղծ։ Երրորդ՝ զի ստեղծանելն զարարողութիւն պատկերակցութեանն արար, եւ ըստ՝ նմանութեան, եւ ապա ենթակայ իրն հետեւանք եղեւ նմա։ Չորրորդ՝ զի ամենայն արարողութիւնքն հուպ կատարումն էր. զի զոր ինչ արար պատկերակցութիւն էր. այսինքն հոգի՝ միտք եւ մարմին, նմանիլ՝ երից միութեանն, եւ ոչ գոյր աւելորդ ենթակայ ինչ անդ։ Հինգերորդ՝ զի հուպ ստեղծմանն, այլ հուպ կատարումն արար. այսինքն զի ասաց՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն՝ ի պատկեր իւր, ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ արար զնա։ Վեցերորդ՝ զի երեք հուպ կատարումն ընդ ստեղծմանն եղեւ Ադամայ. զի նախ որպէս պահարան եդ նմա զհուպ կատարումն, որ ասաց արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում եւ ըստ նմանութեան, եւ երկրորդ՝ զի արար զնա հուպ ըստ պատկերի նմանութեան իւրոյ, եւ երրորդ՝ արար զնա հուպ՝ զի յետ կատարմանն եւ ստեղծմանն՝ հուպ կատարումն եդ նմա որպէս պահարան ասելով՝ արար Աստուած զմարդն ի պատկեր իւր. ըստ պատկերի իւրում արար զնա։ Եօթներորդ՝ զի դարձեալ ըստ ստեղծմանն արար այլ հուպ կատարումն. զի փչեաց ի նա շունչ կենդանի. եւ այս է առաւել հուպ կատարումն. զի մի շունչ է յերկոսեանն. այսինքն՝ յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ, եւ մի շունչն որպէս շաղկապ եղեւ եր/կուցն եւ այս էր հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ շունչ եղեւ յերկոսեանն։ Ութերորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն, որ հուպ ի կատարեալ կողիցն Ադամայ առաւ, եւ հուպ նմին օգնական կատարեաց նմին։ Իններորդ՝ հուպ կատարումն, եդ նմա զկատարիչ կենաց պատուիրանին։ Տասներորդ՝ հուպ, զի ինքն անճառ Աստուածութեամբն իւրով հուպ միացաւ ի բնութիւնս մեր, եւ Աստուածացոյց զըստ նմանութեան պատկերին իւր։ Մետասաներորդ՝ ետ նմա զդրախտն փափկութեան, առաւել հուպ կատարումն . . .

Now as an artisan first considers in his mind the immediate perfection of an object, and then, subsequently, taking the subject, makes it according to his advance vision, so also did the Creator deal with us; for before our creation, the perfection of the vision of us was immediate to God, according to: “He

chose us . . . before the coming into being of the world to be immaculate before him."[23] Second, the immediate perfection (was) before the creation. For first God said, "Let us make humankind according to our image / and according to our likeness,"[24] and then He created. Third, the creation caused the formation of shared image, according to likeness, and then the object was its result. Fourth, every formation was an immediate perfection, for whatever he made was shared image, that is, soul, mind, and body, imitating the unity of the three, and there was no superfluous object there. Fifth, because immediate to creation, he made another immediate perfection, just as he said, "God created man in his image, according to the image of God he made him."[25] Sixth, because there were three immediate perfections with Adam's creation; for first he set the immediate perfection as a guardian for him, saying, "Let us make man according to our image and according to (our) likeness"; and second, because he made him immediate according to the image of his own likeness; and third, he made him immediate, for after the perfection and the creation, he set the immediate perfection for him as a guardian, saying, "God made man in his image, according to His image He created him."[26] Seventh, because, again, according to the creation he made another immediate perfection, for he breathed into him the spirit (breath) of life. And this is the more immediate perfection, for there is one spirit in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam, and the one spirit was like a bond for the two of them, and this was the immediate perfection that an immediate spirit was in the two of them. Eighth, the immediate perfection, for she was immediately taken from the perfect rib of Adam and immediate to him, He perfected a helpmate for him. Ninth, immediate perfection; he set for him the perfecter of the commandment of life. Tenth, immediate because He Himself through his ineffable Divinity was immediately united in our nature and made God that which was according to the likeness of His image. Eleventh, he gave him the Garden of Delight, a more immediate perfection . . .

18 458 Բան. Քանզի սահմանէ զիմաստասիրին նմանութիւն Աստուծոյ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան 74 21:

Նախ՝ զի ունի մարդս կարողութիւն նմանիլ Աստուծոյ. այսինքն՝ զի ըստ պատկերի Աստուծոյ ստեղծեալ է, եւ ըստ պատկերակցութեան կարող է նմանիլ նախատպին: Երկրորդ՝ զի ասաց Աստուած, արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի եւ ըստ նմանութեան մերում. արդ զայս նմանութիւնս որ նախ ունէր, կարող է որ վերստին ստանալ:

23. Eph 1:4.
24. Gen 1:26.
25. Gen 1:26.
26. Gen 1:26.

Երրորդ՝ զի ասէ ըստ կարողութեան մարդկան, զի ի փչմանէն Աստուծոյ կարողացաւ մարդն լինիլ նման Աստուծոյ, զի մի շունչ եղեւ յերկոսեանն. այսինքն յԱստուած եւ յԱդամ:

Subject: For (David) defines the philosopher's likeness to God according to human ability.

Commentary: First, because this man has the ability to be like God, that is, he was created according to the image of God, he (can) also be like the prototype according to the sharing of image. Second, because God said, "Let us make man according to (our) image and according to our likeness," now he can obtain again this likeness that he had first. Third, that he says, "according to human ability," for due to God's insufflation the man could become like God, for there was one breath in the two of them, that is, in God and in Adam.

19 489–91 82.4 Հց. Վասն է՞ր ասէ՝ զչորս առաքինութիւնն մակստացական, այսինքն՝ զխոհեմութիւնն, զարիութիւնն, զողջախոհութիւնն, եւ զարդարութիւնն.

Պխ. Վասն տասն պատճառի . . . /491/ Հինգերորդ՝ մակստացական, զի նախ ի դրախտին բնական ունէաք զայնոսիկ, եւ յետոյ բարձեալ յետ մեղանչելոյն. այսինքն՝ զի նախ խոհեմութեամբ պատուէր զպատուիրանն, եւ արիութեամբ պահէր զօրէնսն, եւ ողջախոհ մտօք պահէր, եւ արդարութեամբ կայր ի կամս Աստուծոյ. իսկ յուտել պտղոյն յիմարեցաւ ի խոհեմութեանցն, զի ոգիք ըմբռնեալք ի մեղս մտաց եւս անկանին. եւ ծուլացաւ ի պատուիրանապահութենէն փոխանակ արիութեանն, եւ բղջախոհ եղեւ որկորամոլութեամբն, եւ անիրաւեցաւ առ Աստուած, կոխելով զհրամանս Աստուծոյ . . .

Question: Why does he call the four virtues newly acquired; namely, prudence, courage, judiciousness, and justice.

Answer: For ten reasons . . . Fifth, newly acquired, because first we had them in paradise by nature, and then, after the sinning, they were taken away; that is to say, in the beginning he prudently respected the commandment and courageously observed the law, and observed it with judicious thoughts and justly stayed in God's will. However, in eating the fruit he became foolish (being deprived) of prudence, for captured souls also fall into the sin of mind; and he was too lazy to observe the commandment instead of courage, and became lascivious[27] with gluttony and acted unjustly toward God and trampled upon God's commandment.

20 525–30 Հարց – Արդ՝ ասէ Դաւիթ զսահմանս իմաստասիրութեանն՝

27. Word play of բղջախոհ and ողջախոհէ.

զայն որ առաւելութենէ է, թէ իմաստասիրութիւն է արհեստ արհեստից եւ մակացութիւն մակացութեանց . . . /526/

Պխ. Արդ՝ առաջին արարչութիւնն Աստուծոյ արհեստ էր. իսկ երկրորդ՝ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից . . . Չորրորդ՝ զի մարդ ստեղծաւ ըստ պատկերին, եւ ըստ նմանութեանն. այնպէս՝ որպէս պատկերն յորմն հանեալ է մարդոյն նմանութիւն, եւ այն գործ արհեստի է. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ ինքն Աստուած եղեւ՝ բնութիւն մարդոյ. այսինքն՝ նախատիպն պատկեր եղեւ: Հինգերորդ՝ այն արհեստ էր, որ առեալ զկաւն մարդ ստեղծեաց. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ որ /527/ անմարմին Աստուածութիւնն՝ ստեղծագործեցաւ մարդ: Վեցերորդ՝ զի այն անշունչ եւ անկենդան եւ անբան հողոյ. իսկ այս ի շնչաւոր եւ ի կենդանի մօրէ բանաւորէ: Եօթներորդ՝ զի անդ արարիչն արար նիւթոյ մարդն. իսկ աստ արարածն յանեղական նիւթոյ արար զարարիչն: Ութերորդ՝ զի անդ նախատիպն արար իւր նման. իսկ աստ պատկերն զնախատիպն արար իւր նման: Իններորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մայր ի հօրէ կին ծնաւ. իսկ աստ առանց հայր ի մօրէ այր ծնաւ: Տասներորդ՝ զի անդ առանց մերձաւորութեան ծնաւ կին ի մարդոյ. իսկ աստ առանց մերձաւորութեան մարդ ի կնոջէ: Մետասաներորդ՝ զի անդ փչեաց Ադամ շունչ կենդանի. իսկ աստ փչօղն բնակեցաւ ի կոյսն: Երկոտասաներորդ՝ զի նա զփչումն կորոյս՝ ունկնդրութեամբ օձին. իսկ աստ փչօղն կենդանակերպեցաւ ի կոյսն՝ ունկնդրութեամբ հրեշտակին: Երեքտասաներորդ՝ զի անդ կինն մերձաւորութեամբ առն յղացաւ, իսկ աստ կոյսն՝ հոգւով սրբով յղացաւ ...

Question: Now David says this definition of philosophy, which is based on priority,[28] that philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences.[29]

Answer: Now, God's first creation was the art, while the second creation (was) the art of arts . . .

Fourth, because man was created according to the image and according to likeness, like a picture on a wall depicts a man's likeness, and that is a work of art; and this (is) the art of arts, that God himself became a human nature, to be specific, the prototype became image. Fifth, that was art, when taking clay he created man, and this is the art of arts, when incorporeal Divinity was created as man. Sixth, because that (was) of inanimate and lifeless and nonrational dust, and this (is) from an animate and living rational mother. Seventh, because there the Creator made the man of matter, and here the creature made the Creator from uncreated matter. Eighth, because there the prototype made (the image) like himself, and here the image made the proto-

28. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 101.

29. Kendall and Thomson 1983, 51. See also Stone and Shirinian 2000, §3.1.5 and Introduction, 26–27.

type like himself. Ninth, because there a woman was born without a mother, from a father, and here a man was born without a father, from a mother. Tenth, because there woman was born from a man without intercourse, and here a man (was born) from a woman without intercourse. Eleventh, because there Adam breathed the breath of life, and here He who breathed, dwelt in the Virgin. Twelfth, because he lost the breath by attending to the serpent, and here He who breathed became incarnate in the Virgin by attending to the angel. Thirteenth, because there the woman became pregnant through the intercourse with the man, and here the Virgin became pregnant through the Holy Spirit. . . .

21 528 . . . Քսաներորդ՝ զի այն որպէս արհեստ էր զի ամենեքեան այն արհեստիւն ծնանին. իսկ այս արհեստից արհեստ, որ աննման էր եւ անօրինակ: Քսանեւմիերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն, օձն եւ դեւն առնէին՝ եկաւորութիւն եւ խօսակցութիւն ընդ նորա, եւ միմեանց հաւանութիւն. իսկ աստ հրեշտակաց եւ Աստուածութեանն եկաւորութիւն առ կոյսն, եւ խօսակցութիւն եւ հաւանութիւն կամաց: Քսաներկուերորդ՝ զի անդ յետ լինելոյն անարգութիւն վերանայր յԱստուծոյ՝ ի կոխել պատուիրանին, եւ խռովութիւն երկրի, եւ բարկութիւն Աստուծոյ ընդ մարդկան. իսկ աստ փառք ի բարձունս Աստուծոյ /529/ վերանայր, եւ յերկիր խաղաղութիւն. եւ ի մարդիկ հաճութիւն: Քսաներեքերորդ՝ զի անդ մեղք եւ կռապաշտութիւն եւ զանազան չարք յաշխարհ մտին. իսկ աստ արդարութիւն եւ կռոց խորտակումն, եւ պէսպէս սրբութիւն կուսանաց, եւ ճգնաւորաց, եւ մարտիրոսաց, եւ քահանայից, եւ ապաշխարողաց: Քսանչորսերորդ՝ զի անդ մահ, եւ դժոխք, եւ չարչարանք. իսկ աստ կեանք, ազատութիւն, եւ բացումն դրան արքայութեան:

Twentieth, because that was like an art, for all are born by means of that art, and this is the art of arts, being incomparable and unparalleled. Twenty-first, because there after coming into existence, the serpent and the Devil accomplished the arrival and conversation with her, and were in agreement with one another, whereas here (was) the arrival of angels and the Divinity to the Virgin, and conversation and agreement of wills. Twenty-second, because there after creation, offense against God rose up to trample the commandment, and (there was) confusion on the earth and God's anger against men, and here glory ascended to God's heights and (there was) peace on the earth and pleasure for men. Twenty-third, because there sin and idolatry and various evils entered the world, and here (there is) justice and destruction of idols and various (expressions of) the chastity of virgins and ascetics and martyrs and priests and penitents. Twenty-fourth, because there (were) death and hell and tortures, and here (there are) life, liberty, and opening of the door of the kingdom.

22 Քսանհինգերորդ՝ զի անդ ծառ մահու, եւ պտուղ մահաբեր. իսկ աստ

ծառ կենաց կոյսն, եւ պտուղն անմահ Քրիստոս, եւ կենսատու մարմին նորա յեկեղեցի: Քսանվեցերորդ՝ զի անդ փակեցաւ դուռն դրախտին, եւ սերովբէք պահէին բոցեղէն սրով զճանապարհ ծառոյն կենաց. իսկ աստ նոյն հրեշտակք աղաղակեն առ վերինսն, համբարձէք իշխանք զդրունս՝ ձեր, ի վեր համբարձէք դրունս: Քսանեօթներորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ՝ մի մնասցէ հոգի իմ ի դոսա, վասն լինելոյ դոցա մարմին. իսկ աստ ասէ՝ հեղից յոգւոյ իմմէ ի վերայ ամենայն մարմնոյ եւ մարգարէասցին:

Քսանութերորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ի զաւակի քում օրհնեսցին ամենայն ազգք: Քսանիններորդ՝ անդ ասացաւ՝ տրտմութեամբ ծնցիս որդի եւ այլն. իսկ աստ ահա կոյսն յղասցի /530/ եւ ծնցի որդի եւ այլն: Երեսներորդ՝ զի անդ ասացաւ, յորում աւուր ուտիցէք ի նմանէ մահու մեռանիցիք. իսկ աստ՝ որ ուտէ զմարմին իմ կեցցէ յաւիտեան, եւ ես յարուցից զնա յաւուրն յետնում. եւ այլ այսպիսիք: Վասն որոյ առաջին արարչութիւնն արհեստ էր: Իսկ երկրորդ արարչութիւնս արհեստ արհեստից:

Twenty-fifth, because there, there (were) a tree of death and mortal fruit, while here, a tree of life, the Virgin, and the immortal fruit, Christ, and his life-giving body, the Church. Twenty-sixth, because there the door of the Garden was closed, and the Seraphim were guarding with a flaming sword the way to the tree of life, and here the same angels shout to the celestial: "Lift up your heads, O rulers! your gate and lift up the gates on high!"[30] Twenty-seventh, there it was said: "Let my spirit not abide in them on account of their being flesh,"[31] while here it says: "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and they shall prophesy."[32] Twenty-eighth, there it was said, "Cursed be the ground; in the labor etc.,"[33] while here, "in your offspring shall all the nations of the world be blessed."[34] Twenty-ninth, there it was said, "In pain shall you bring forth children," etc., while here "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son" etc.[35] Thirtieth, because there it was said, "on the day that you eat of it you shall surely die,"[36] while here—"He who eats my body shall live for ever and I will raise him up on the last day."[37] And other instances like these. That is why the first creation was the art, while this second creation (was) the art of arts.

30. Pss 24:7, 9 = Arm 23:7, 9.
31. Gen 6:3.
32. Joel 2:28.
33. Gen 3:17.
34. Gen 22:18, cf. Acts 3:25: "And in your descendants all the families of the earth shall be blessed."
35. Isa 7:14, cf. Matt 1:23.
36. Gen 2:17.
37. John 6:54.

23 557 . . . Քսան եւ երկու կերպիւ տարակուսք գոն յաշխարհի . . .

Երկրորդ՝ տարակուսութիւն դիպեցաւ Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա. զի կարծելով թէ ընդ ուտել պտղոյն՝ աստուածանան, եւ յերկինս թռիցեն. եւ յանկարծակի հակառակն եղեւ, զի զոր ունէինն՝ զայն եւս կորուսին. եւ այսքան պատժոց դիպեցան:

. . . Doubts exist in the world in twenty-two ways . . .

Second, doubt occurred to Adam and his wife, for they thought that with eating the fruit they (would) become gods and would fly to heaven; and suddenly the opposite happened, for they also lost what they had and encountered so many punishments.

Matt‘ēos *vardapet* C15

Text: Matt‘ēos *vardapet*, Ներբողեան ողբերգաբար ի թաղումն երջանիկ րաբունապետին Գրիգորի "Mournful Encomium on the Burial of the Blessed Rabunapet Gregory," in Գիրք ութն խորհրդոց մեղաց. Եւագրեայ և հաւաքեցեալ ի մի՝ յոգնաջան երկամբ Մատթէոսի վարդապետի *Evagrius' Book on Eight Mysteries of Sin Collected through the Laborious Efforts of Matt‘ēos* vardapet (Constantinople: Yovhannēs Astuacadrean, 1750), 148–90.

1 153 . . . Արժան է լալ ընդ լացօղսն վասն հինգ պատճառի: Նախ՝ զի իմասցուք զպակասութիւն բնութեանս, որ մեղօքն Ադամայ զպատուհաս զայս եբեր ի վերայ մեր:

. . . One should weep with the weepers for five reasons. First, so that we may learn the imperfection of this nature of ours, due to Adam's sin, brought this punishment upon us.

2 157 Իսկ դու ի մարմնական եւ յաղցաւոր կեանս գոլով՝ արմատ ունելով զփտեալն Ադամ եւ ծնեալ յախտից՝ յետոյ ժամանեցար մաքրութեան գերագոյն գտեալ:

And you, being in corporeal and miserable life, having Adam as root, rotten and born of vices, later arrived, having found supreme purity.

3 158–59 Այլեւ զարմանայ Ադամ. քանզի ձեռնասուն զաւակ գոլով Աստուծոյ, եւ յանճառ փառսն եղեալ, եւ պատուով շքացուցեալ, ոչ կարաց օր մի ի պատուիրանն Աստուծոյ մնալ: Իսկ ի քեզ տեսեալ ամենայնիւ զհակառակն՝ եւ համբերող եւ պահօղ: Եւ ի կատարման պատուիրանացն՝ որպէս նա ո՛չ պահելովն ել, եւ դու պահելովն մտեր: Նա զրկեցաւ զառաջինն, եւ դու կոխեցեր զթոյնս վիշապին: Նա կողիւն խաբեցաւ, եւ դու զնա արհամարհեցեր: Նա զսէրն Աստուծոյ փոխանակեաց / ընդ կնոջ, եւ դու զաշխարհիս ընդ Աստուծոյ: Նա վասն միոյ պտղոյ ել, եւ դու միով դաւանութեամբ մտեր:

And also Adam is surprised, for being God's child, nourished by his hand, and having been set in ineffable glory and glorified with honor, he could not observe God's commandment for one day, whereas, having seen in you absolutely the opposite, (that you are) both patient and observing. And in accomplishing the commandments, while he came forth[38] for not observing, you observed and entered. He was deprived the first and you trampled on the dragon's poison. He was deceived by the rib, and you ignored it. He changed God's love for the woman, and you (changed the love) of this world for God. He came out because of one fruit, and you entered with one confession of faith.

Mkrtič' Nałaš C15

Text: Մկրտիչ Նախաշ *Mkrtič Nałaš*, ed. E. Xondkaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1965).

101 Տաղ հարսանեաց եւ ուրախութեան մարդկան
Poem of Wedding and Human Joy

1 1 Նախ օրհնեմք զԱստուածութիւն,
Որ ստեղծ զհրեշտակս ի լուսոյն,
ԶԱդամ արար ի հողոյ,
Եւ զկինն իւր ի կողոյ։

1 First we bless the Divinity,
That created the angels from light,
Made Adam from dust,
And his wife from a rib.

Խրատական բաներս ագահութեան եւ անընչութեան ի Նաղաշ Վարդապետէ ասացեալ
Didactic Writings on Avarice and Poverty pronounced by Nałaš *vardapet*

2 114 4 Ի սկզբանէ մինչ ի վախճան ամէն չարիք որ գործեցան,
Ագահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ի բարեացն զրկեցան.
Հայեաց եւ տես զնախնին Ադամ, որ ի դրախտին յադինական,
Աստուածային կերպարանօք պայծառանայր յարեւ նման,
Ագահութիւն եղեւ պատճառ, որ ցանկացաւ Աստուածութեան,
Վասն այն էանց զպատուիրանաւն եւ մերկացաւ զպատմուճան։

38. I.e., from the Garden.

4 From the beginning to the end all evils that were done
Were caused by avarice,[39] that they were deprived of the good things.[40]
Look and see the forefather Adam, who in the Garden of Eden
Was shining with divine image, like the sun,
Avarice was the reason that he desired divinity,
For that he transgressed the commandment and was stripped of the garment.[41]

14 Նաղաշի ասացեալ է վասն ղարիպացն
On Strangers by Nałaš

3 168 Աստուծոյ մարդասիրին փառք յաւիտեան,
Որ ստեղծեր է զարարածս զանազան,
Արեւելք, հիւսիս, հարաւ, արեւմտեան
Մարդն ի վերայ է թագաւոր եւ աննման:

Eternal glory to (you), philanthropic God
Who have created various created things,
East, North, South, West,
Man is king over (all) and incomparable.

Yakob Łrimec'i C15

Text: Yakob Łrimec'i, Տոմարագիտական աշխատութիւններ *Works on the Calendar,* ed. A. Ēynat'yan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987).

Մեկնութիւն տումարի
Commentary on the Calendar

1 203–5 Զի որպէս արար Աստուած եւ սահմանեաց ի չորեսին Զատիկսն, զնոյն եւ մեք ըստ օրինակին նորա արասցուք: Եւ նախ զարարչութեան Զատիկն, զոր արար Աստուած Ադամայ եւ ամենայն զգալի արարածոցս յետ յերկուց աւուրց հաստարակաւորութեան, զի ի հաստարակածին ետտեղծ Աստուած զԱրեգակն եւ զԼուսին, որ ըստ եբրայեցւոց էր յաւելեաց ի չորս եւ ըստ հռոմայեցւոց՝ մարտի ի քսան, յաւուր չորեքշաբթոջ: Իսկ յաւուր ուրբաթու, յորում արար զմարդն եւ զգեցոյց զնա հանդերձս Զատկի զեռակի պարգեւս՝ զքահանայութեան, զմարգարէութեան եւ զթագաւորութեան ի հոգին / եւ զփեսայն նազելի չքնաղագեղ կուսին, զոր հարսնացոյց Ադամայ օրհորդն վայրի, զարդարեալ պաճուճեաց զնոսա ի մարմին վայելուչ ի հանդերձս յոսկեհուռս լուսեղէն զգեստիւն եւ ետ նոցա յուրախութիւն Զատկի

39. Literally: avarice was the reason.
40. This is a technical term for paradisiacal or eschatological benefits.
41. I.e., of light.

զերկինս իւր լուսաւորօքն եւ զդրախտն իւր իմանալի տնկօքն եւ զօդդ իւր երաժշտական թռչնօքն եւ զերկիրս իւր զանազան տեսակացն կենդանեօքն եւ զջուրս ծովուց իւր ամենափարթամ լեզակօքն (v. l. լողկօքն, լողականօքն), զի մի ինչ պակաս գտանիցի յուրախութեանցն նորն Ադամայ ի նորագոյն արարածոցն, ի նոր արաչագործութիւնս Աստուծոյ ի նորոգումն Զատկին:

Because, as God made and defined four Easters, let us do the same after his example. And first, the Easter of creation, which God made for Adam and all sensible creatures two days after the equinox; for God created the sun and the moon on the equinox, which was one of the four epagomenal days according to the Hebrews, and according to the Romans—on the twentieth of March, on Wednesday. While on Friday, on which (day) he made the man and decked him out in the clothing of Easter, the threefold gifts of priesthood, of prophecy, and of royalty for the soul, and the bridegroom with the gracious virgin of wonderful beauty, the wild maiden, whom he made Adam's bride, and adorning decorated them in the fitting body in the clothing laced with gold, with a luminous garment, and gave them, for the joy of Easter, heaven with its luminaries and the Garden with its intelligible trees, and the air with its musical birds, and the earth with its various kinds of living things, and the waters of the seas with their abundant fish. Thus there would be found no lack in the joys of the new Adam, in the newly created things, in the new creations of God, for the renovation of Easter.

2 Եւ ապա արար Զատիկ նոցա ըստ քառից նշանակութեան, նախ զի յետ հաւասարակաւորութեան արար, երկրորդ՝ զի զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն եդ, որ սկիզբն եւ առաջին է կենդանակերպիցն, երրորդ՝ զի ի նիսան ամիսն արար, որ սկիզբն է ամսոց ի յամիսս տարւոյն եւ յառաջնումն աւուրն, չորրորդ՝ զի Լուսինն ի լրման էր եւ բատր եւ բոլոր, լրացեալ քանակիւն չափու լուսովն զարդու, զոր յառաջիկայդ ուսուսցուք: Բայց գիտել պարտ է, զի ոչ էառ դրութիւն յԱստուծոյ առ Ադամ տումարական արհեստս Զատկաց՝ առնել զայսմ (v.l. զայս) կեանս իւր եւ ինքն եւ որդիք իւր: Եւ այս վասն երից պատճառաց. նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, երկրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ մարդոյն, երրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ Զատկին:

And then he made for them Easter according to four meanings. First, because he made (it) after the equinox; second, because he put the sun in Aries, which is the beginning and the first (sign) of the Zodiac; third, because he made (it) in the month Nisan—which is the beginning of the months among the months of the year[42]—and on the first day; fourth, because the moon was full and round, filled by the necessary quantity of light, its adornment, which we shall learn later. But one should know that this calendrical art of Easters

42. Exod 12:2.

was not established by God for Adam, to apply in this life, both he and his offspring. And this was done for three reasons. First, on God's part; second, on man's part; third, on the part of Easter.

3 Եւ նախ ի կողմանէ Աստուծոյ, զի Աստուած ետ նմա զմշտնջենաւոր Զատիկն, զի ուրախութեան զրաւ ոչ լիցի, զոր այժմ ունին հրեշտակք եւ ի կատարածին արդարքն, զայն ընդ առնուլն եւ իսկոյն կորոյս, վասն որոյ ոչ կամեցաւ տալ զժամանակաւորս Զատիկ: Երկրորդ, զի Ադամ ոչ ուրախացոյց զԱստուած յառաջին Զատիկն իւր ստունկ անելով պատուիրանին, այսպէս եւ ոչ կամեցաւ Աստուած ուրախանալ՝ նմա պարգեւելով երկրորդ Զատիկն: Երրորդ, զի յորժամ դատապարտեաց մահու եւ ծառայութեան, այլ ոչ էր հնար տալ Զատիկ առանց ազատութեան: Չորրորդ, իբրեւ ետես Աստուած, եթէ կորուստ մշտնջենաւոր Զատկին Ադամայ ի դրախտին ի սատանայէ եղեւ, զի վասն անկման նորա՝ սուտ խաբէութեամբ ձգէր զնա ի ցանկութիւնս աստուածանալոյն, կամեցաւ Աստուած զընդ դիմակն սատանայի առնել, ճշմարտիւ աստուածացուցանել զմարդն եւ տալ Ադամայ զերկնային Զատիկն եւս բարձրագոյն: Վասն այն ոչ կամեցաւ տալ Աստուած սուղ դրութեամբ զաստ ի Զատիկս Ադամայ, որ էր նուաստագոյն: Երկրորդ, ի կողմանէն Ադամայ, քանզի սաստիկ եղեւ հարուած անկմանն Ադամայ եւ սուգ / յաւիտենական, զի ոչ էր յանձն առնելոց զուրախութիւն Զատկաց, որ այնքան բազմապատիկ պարգեւեաց, կորստեանն պատահեցաւ:

And first, on God's part, as God gave him the eternal Easter so that he would not be deprived of joy, which the angels have now and the just at the end, this which he lost right after receiving (it). That is why (God) did not want to give this temporary Easter. Second, because Adam did not gladden God, disobeying the commandment during the first Easter, so God did not want to gladden (him), by granting him the second Easter. Third, because when he condemned him to death and servitude, it was no more possible to give Easter without freedom. Fourth, when God saw that Adam lost eternal Easter[43] in paradise because of Satan—for (Satan), in order to make him fall, attracted him by false deceit to the desire of becoming god—God wished to do the opposite against Satan, to make the man really god and to give Adam the even higher celestial Easter. For this reason, God did not want to give the temporary Easter in a straitened condition to Adam who was inferior. Second, on Adam's part, because the blow of Adam's fall was terrible and the eternal mourning, for he was not going to receive the joy of Easters, which (God) had granted so wondrously, (but) encountered death.

4 Նախ զի ի տեսութենէն Աստուծոյ զրկեցաւ, զի այլ ոչ եւս յաւել տեսանել զերեսս Աստուծոյ եւ ոչ խօսել ընդ նմա, երկրորդ՝ ի լուսաւոր

43. Literally: Adam's loss of eternal Easter happened.

պատմուճանէն, զի յորժամ կերան՝ ի պտղոյն առ ժամայն մերկացան ի լուսեղէն զարդուն, երրորդ՝ ի անաշխատ կենացն, զի ի քիրտն երեսացն հրամայեցաւ վաստակել զհացն, չորրորդ՝ ի վայելչութենէ գեղեցկութեան դրախտին, զի արտաքսեաց եւ բնակեցոյց ընդդէմ դրախտին՝, հինգերորդ՝ զի կորոյս զթագաւորութիւն, զմարգարէութիւն՝, վեցերորդ՝ զանծերանալի հասակն եւ զանմահութիւնն: Երրորդ՝ ի կողմանէ Զատկին, նախ՝ զի Զատիկն ազատութիւն է, եւ նա կորոյս զազատութիւն թագաւորութեան եւ եղեւ ծառայ մեղացն, զի «որ առնէ զմեղս, ծառայ է մեղաց» (Յովհ. Ը. 34) ասէ Տէր, եւ ուրախութիւն Զատկի ոչ կարէ ուրախացուցանել զտրտմութիւն ծառայի, թէեւ բարութեան իցէ, երկրորդ՝ զի դատապարտեցաւ ի ծառայութիւն՝ մահու, դառնալ ի հող եւ բանտիլ մարմնով ի գերեզման, երրորդ՝ զի հոգով իջաւ ի՝ բանտ դժոխոց եւ մատնեցաւ ի գերութիւն սատանայի, չորրորդ՝ զի Զատիկն ուրախութիւն լսի, եւ նմա ասացաւ «տրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնցես որդիս», զի մինչեւ յօր մահու ի տրտմութենէ, ի ցաւոց եւ ի արտասուաց ոչ դադարեաց:

First, since he was deprived of the vision of God, for he no longer saw God's face nor spoke with him; second, (since he was deprived) of the luminous clothing, for when they ate of the fruit, they immediately were stripped of the luminous adornment; third, of untroubled life, for he was commanded to earn his bread by the sweat of his face; fourth, of the splendor of the beauty of the Garden, for He drove (them) out and lodged (them) opposite the Garden; fifth, because he lost the royalty (and) prophecy; sixth, the unageing age and immortality. Third, on the part of Easter; first, because Easter is freedom, and he lost the freedom of royalty and became a slave to sins, for "everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin"[44] the Lord says; and the joy of Easter cannot gladden the sadness of a slave, although it is of goodness; second, because he was condemned to the servitude to death, to return to dust and to be imprisoned by body in a grave; third, because he descended with (his) soul to the prison of hell and was delivered into Satan's captivity; fourth, because Easter means joy, and she was told, "in suffering and pain you shall bring forth children," for until the day of (her) death she did not cease from sorrow, pain, and tears.

5 221–22 Գիտելի է, զի երեք են սկիզբն արարչութեան աւուրցն, առաջին օրն սկիզբն է արարչութեան, եւ չորրորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն Արեգականն եւ Լուսնի ընթացութեան, իսկ վեցերորդ օրն՝ սկիզբն արարչութեան Զատկի եւ տարեմտի, ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ դարուց կատարման: Զի եւ նմին աւուր մարդն ստեղծաւ, եւ Արե/գակն ի Խոյն եմուտ, եւ տարին զսկիզբն ի վեցերորդ աւուրս էառ, որ օր առաջին էր եբրայեցւոցն նիսան ամսոյ, եւ առաջին ամիս սա է յամիսս տարւոյ:

44. John 8:34.

Եւ զայս ցուցցուք հինգ կերպիւ: Առաջին, զի մարդն էր թուող ամաց եւ ժամանակաց եւ յառաջին աւուրսն ոչ էր ստեղծեալ: Այլ յորժամ եստեղծ զթուողն ժամանակաց ի վեցերորդ աւուրն, ապա եդ զԱրեգակն ի Խոյն, եւ զարարչութեան Զատիկն արար ի նիսանի Ա. եւ զմէկն նիսանայ արար տարեգլուխ եւ սկիզբն տարւոյն, զի անտի թուեսցէ զհամար որքանութեան ժամանակաց:

One should know that three of the days of creation were a beginning; the first day (was) the beginning of the creation, and the fourth day was the beginning of the orbiting of the sun and the moon, while the sixth day (was) the beginning of the creation of Easter and the new year, of the completion of years and times and ages. For on the same day man was created, and the sun entered Aries, and the year commenced on the sixth day, which was the first day of the month Nisan of the Hebrews, and this is the first month among the months of the year.[45] And we shall demonstrate this in five ways. First, the man was the enumerator of the years and times, and on the first day he was not created. But when He created the enumerator of time on the sixth day, then he put the sun in Aries, and established Easter of the creation on Nisan 1, and established the first of Nisan as the New Year day and the beginning of the year, in order that he might count thence the number of the quantity of times.

6 251 . . . Նախ արարչութեան պահքն բնական եղեւ ամենայն կենդանեաց մինչ զի յետ Զ. աւուր ստեղծաւ մարդն եւ ապա լուծաւ պահքն կենդանեաց: Զի կենդանիքն, որ յառաջագոյն ստեղծան, քան զմարդն, անսուաղ կեցան մինչ ի լինելութիւն մարդոյն: Եւ յորժամ հրամայեաց Աստուած Ադամայ՝ թէ «ամենայն պտուղք եւ սերմանիք ձեզ լիցի ի կերակուր եւ ամենայն գազանաց եւ ամենայն սողնոց», եւ ապա սկսան կերակրիլ կենդանիք: Երկրորդ՝ զի յորժամ ել Ադամ ի դրախտէն, Ե. օր սուգ պահեաց անսուաղ՝ մնալով մահու, մինչ յետոյ գթացաւ Տէրն եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակի միոյ մխիթարել զնա եւ խոստացաւ զառաքումն Միածնին ի փրկութիւն նորա եւ հրամայեաց ուտել ի պտղոյ վայրեացն: . . .

First there was (the) natural fast of the creation for all animals, until after six days man was created, and then the fast of the animals was broken. For the animals that were created before the man, lived without food until the man's coming into being. And when God commanded Adam, "let every fruit and seed be food for you and for every beast and to everything that creeps,"[46] then all the animals began to eat. Second, because when Adam came out of paradise, he mourned fasting for five days, waiting for death, until the Lord pitied (him) and commanded an angel to console him and promised the sending of the Only-Begotten for his salvation, and commanded him to eat wild fruit(s).

45. Exod 12:2.
46. Cf. Gen 1:29-30.

Sixteenth Century

Awetik‘ Mahtesi C16–17

Text: Awetik‘ Mahtesi, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th cc.),* vol. 2, ed. H. Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 34–46.

1 43 Պարտ է խոնարհութեամբ կենալ,
Նմանիլ սրբոցն ամէնի։

One should live with humility,
Be in everything like saints,

2 Քան զԱդամ՝ ձեռագործ Աստուծոյ,
Որ չեկաց նա պատուիրանի,
Արտաքսեցաւ ի դրախտէն,
Անիծից եղեւ արժանի։

(And) not (like) Adam made by God’s hands,
Who did not obey the command,
Was expelled from the Garden,
Became worthy of curse.

Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16

Text: Azaria J̌ułayec‘i, “Poems,” in K. Kostaneanc‘, Նոր ժողովածու, Միջնադարեան հայոց տաղեր եւ ոտանաւորներ *New Collection: Medieval Armenian Poems and Verses, vol. 4* (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press, 1903), 29–31.

Տաղ Ադամայ մերկանալ
Poem on Adam being Stripped[1]

1 32–34 Ադամ նստել դուռն դրախտին,

Լայր եւ ձայնէր ողորմագին.

1. Another variant of this poem is attributed to Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz: see Yovhannēs

Ա՛յ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք,
Որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք:

Adam, sitting at the door of the Garden,
Was weeping and crying pitiably:
O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You who enter the Garden!

2 Զաստուածութիւն աղաչեցէ՛ք,
Զայս մեղաւորս հաշտեցուցէ՛ք.
Երէկ էի մէջն դրախտին
Լուսով ծածկեալ աստուածային:

Implore the Divinity,
Reconcile me, the sinful one, (with Him),
Yesterday I was in the Garden,
Covered with divine light.

3 Այն թագաւորն էի դրախտին
Նման հզօր պատուիրանին.
/ Վասն Եւայի իմ կողակցին,
Որ խալտեցաւ խաբմամբ օձին,
Զիմ գեղեցիկ զարդերքս առին,
Զիս անողորմ մերկացուցին:

I was the king of that Garden,
Like the powerful commandment;
Because of my wife Eve
Who erred, through the deceit of the serpent,
They took away my nice adornments,
Mercilessly made me naked.

4 Յուսկայ[2] ու մերկ եմ ես հիմայ,
Եւայ նստել ու խիստ կուլայ.
Յէ՞ր չի ընկնիլ ոտքն նորա,
Լալով ասել թէ Տէր մեղա՛յ:

Behold, I am hopeless and naked now,
Eve is sitting and crying bitterly,
Why does she not fall at His feet
To say crying, “O Lord, I have sinned”?

Erznkac‘i Pluz 1958, 228–36. Bardakjian (2000, 300) accepts the attribution to Azaria but reports the alternative view as well.

2. Following Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz 1958, 229.

5 Ի յայս մէկ տարպաս ես խալտեցայ,
Բանիւ կնոջն խաբեցայ,
Ի կողէս կին ստեղծեր զնա.
Պտղոյն երետ եւ ինձ, կերայ:

I erred only this one time;
I was deceived by the woman's speech;
You created her, a woman from my rib;
She gave of the fruit also to me, I ate.

6 Տէր անիծեաց զօձն եւ զԵւայ,
Ես այլ ի մէջն դրեցայ.
Երբ զոտնաձայնն Տէառն լուայ
Գալոյ ի դրախտն, ես ափշեցայ:

The Lord cursed the serpent and Eve;
I, too, was involved;
When I heard the Lord's footsteps
Coming to the Garden, I was astonished.

7 Տերեւ թզենւոյ առեալ սփածայ,
Ի մէջ ծառոցն անկեալ թագեայ.
Եկն եւ ձայնէր. Ադա՛մ, ո՞ւր ես.
Ես ձայն տուի, թէ մերկ եմ ես:

Taking a leaf of a fig-tree, I put it on;
I hid myself[23] among the trees;
He came and called, "Adam, where are you?"
I called that I am naked.

8 Ամ ո՞վ ասաց թէ մերկ էք.
Կամ ո՞վ խաբեց, ինձ պատմեցէ՛ք.
Յուստի՞ պատուէր տուի մի՛ ուտէք:

"Now who said that you are naked?
Or who deceived you? Tell me.
Where is the commandment that I gave, 'Do not eat'"?

9 Է՞ր չի ասել թէ Տէր մեղայ,
Դու ես Աստուած, ինձ ողորմեա՛.
Քանց թէ պատճառ դրի զԵւայ,
Անանց բարեացն թափեցայ:

Why did I not say, "Lord I have sinned,
You are God, have mercy on me"?

3. Literally: falling, I hid.

Inasmuch as I made Eve the cause,
I was deprived of eternal good!

Ա՛յ սերովբէք, ա՛յ քերովբէք
Այդ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Երբ որ ի դրախտդ մտանէք,
Դրախտին դուռն մի՛ փակէք.
Զիս իր դիմաց կանգնեցուցէ՛ք
Պահ մի հայի՛մ լոկ, դարձուցէ՛ք:
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ, ծաղկու՛նք,
Քաղցրաբարբառ, անմահ զուարթունք,
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ թռչունք.
Անուշահամ աղբերակունք.
Օ՛խ կույիշեմ զձեզ ձկու՛նք.
Եզի՛նք, գառու՛նք եւ անասու՛նք,
Որ կայք ի դրախտդ աստուածատունկ
Յերկրի ընտրեալ ազգի ակունք,
Որ զդրախտդ վայելէք,
Ձեր թագաւորն եկէ՛ք, լացէ՛ք:

O Seraphim, O Cherubim,
You that enter this Garden!
When you enter the Garden,
Do not close the door of the Garden!
Put me in front of it,
Let me just have a look for a second, (then) return (me here).
Ah, I remember you, flowers,
Sweetly-speaking, immortal Watchers.
Ah, I remember you, birds,
Sweet-tasting springs.
Ah, I remember you, fish,
Oxen, lambs, and animals,
That are in that God-planted Garden,
Choice springs of the earth,
That enjoy the Garden!
Come and bewail your king!

Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16

Text: Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i, "Poems," in Mayis Avdalbegyan, Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցի, XVI դ., Ուսումնասիրություն, քննական բնագրեր եւ ծանոթություններ *Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i, XVI Century: Study, Critical Texts and Commentary* (Erevan: Sovetakan Groł, 1963).

Ի Գրիգորիս Աղթամարցւոյ արարեալ ոտանաւոր զվարս Մարինոսի ճգնաւորին
Poem on the Life of the Hermit Marinos by Grigoris Ałt‘amarc‘i

1 107–8 Անծին անըսկիզբն է հայրն երկնային,
Որդոյ պատճառ ծնընդեան անժամանակին.
Բըխումն անքըննաբար, ճըշմարիտ հոգին
Ի կերպն իւր ըստեղծեաց զԱդամն առաջին:
Փառօք զնա զարդարեաց եւ եդ ի դրախտին,
Պատուէր երետ նմա եւ կընոջն նորին՝
Յամենայնէ ուտել պատուիրեաց նոցին,
Բաց ի ծառոյն միոյ բարոյ եւ չարին:
Յորժամ անցաւ Ադամ զպատուէրն արարչին
Եւ զմահաբեր պըտուղըն ճաշակեցին,
Եւ մերկ եւ խայտառակ զինքեանըս տեսին
Յանապական լուսոյն, որ զգեցեալ էին:
Մահու զըրաւեցան, զի զպատուէրն անցին,
Ի տրտմութեան հովիտըս նոքա մըտին,
Եւ քրտամբք երեսաց ըզհրամանն առին
Վաստակել զերկիր եւ ուտել զբերս նորին:

1 The heavenly Father is unbegotten, without beginning,
The cause of the timeless birth of the Son;
Inscrutable emanation, the true Spirit
In his form He created the first Adam.
He adorned him with glory and put (him) in the Garden,
He gave him and his wife a commandment,
He commanded them to eat of every one,
Except of the one tree of good and evil.
When Adam transgressed the commandment of the Creator,
And they ate the mortal fruit,
They saw themselves stripped and shameful
Of the incorruptible light in which they were clothed.
They were captured by death, for they transgressed the commandment,
They entered the valley of sorrow
And received a commandment to till the ground
And to eat of its fruits by the sweat of (their) face.

6. Գանձ Ուռընկարու սուրբ նշանին
Ganj on the Holy Cross of Uṙnĕkar

2 143–44 Հոգին Աստուած է միշտ կենդանի,
Անհատաբար ի հօրէ բըխի.

Բանիւ ստեղծեաց զբանակքն անմահի.
Զգունդքն հրեշտակացն ի հրեղէն արփի:
Ստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ըստ իւր պատկերի
Եւ զարդարեաց շնորհօքն եօթնարփի.
Յեդեմական դըրախտըն փոխի,
Արքայօրէն ի գահոյս բազմի:
Պատուէր առին վասն մի պըտղի,
Չի ճաշակել առանց հրամանի.
Չարեաց զիտակն ի յօձըն բունի.
Եւ ընդ նախահօրըն մեր նա խօսի:
Թ՚ ով ճաշակէ յայն ծառոյն պըտղի,
Արքայօրէն նա Աստուած լինի,
Եւ ճանաչել ըզչարն ու զբարի,
Նըման լինել ձեր ըստ ածողի:
Եւ խաբեցաւ կինն ողորմելի,
Գեղով պըտղոյն աչաց հաճելի.
Կերաւ Ադամ ձեռօքն Եւայի
Եւ յեդեմական դրախտէն հալածի:
Երկըրպագեմք խաչին Քրիստոսի
Ազատարար համայնից ազգի:
Նամիցըս Տէր նախնոյն արարող
Նա բարկացաւ, ասաց. Դարձ ի հող,
Քանզի չեղեր, ասէ, դու կարող
Կալ հակառակ եւ չարին յաղթող:
Տառապանօք տանջիք զերդ ըզգող,
Դրախտին եղեալ հրեշտակ պահեցող,
Եւ սերոբէք սուսերօք շրջող
Եւ հողեղէն բնութիւնս մեր կիզող:
Ի յուրբաթու վեց ժամըն կերան,
ԸԶմահաբեր պըտուղըն անպիտան.
Եւ վեց ժամուն վեցհազար անցան,
Տառապանօք նոցա տանջեցան:

God the Spirit is always living,
It continuously emanates from the Father;
He created by the Word the immortal armies,
The troops of the angels in the fiery heaven.[4]
He created the man according to his image
And adorned him with the graces of the seven heavens;
He is transferred to the Garden of Eden;
He sits on the throne like a king.
They received a commandment concerning one fruit,

4. Or: ether.

Not to eat without a command;
The one experienced in evil nests in the serpent
And speaks with our ancestor.
That one who eats of the fruit of that tree,
He will become god like a king,
And he will know evil and good;
He will be like your creator.[5]
And the miserable woman was deceived
By the beauty of the fruit pleasant to the eye;
Adam ate at Eve's hands,
And was driven from the Garden of Eden.
We worship Christ's cross,
The liberator of all nations.
The Lord of hosts, the ancestor's Creator
Grew angry (and) said: "Return to dust!
For you were not," He says, "able
To oppose and defeat evil.
You will suffer punishment like the thief."[6]
He put an angel guarding the Garden
And Seraphim with turning swords
Burning[7] our earthly nature.
They ate on Friday at six o'clock,
The mortal worthless fruit.
And for those six hours, they passed six thousand years;
They were punished with troubles.

14 Ըստ անուան երգողին ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ
Poem on the Holy Mother of God by Grigoris Katʻołikos

3 175–76 Գրեալ մակագիծ կըտակ,
Սափոր մանանին ունակ,
Բըխեալ յԵդեմայ վտակ,
Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:
Նաբունոյն Եդեմ ծաղկած,
Մեզ պատճառ եղեր կենացս . . .
Ուրախ եղեւ մայրն Եւայ՝
Անմարմինըն մարմնանայ . . .
Նախացիր, Ադամ, հայր մեր,
Փըտեալ հընացեալ դու ծեր,

5. Based on the popular etymology of Astuac "God"; see *NBHL*, s.v.
6. At the crucifixion.
7. Literally: and burners.

Քեզ նոր նորոգող եկեր,
Տաճար լուսոյ մայր սուրբ կոյս:

Written inscribed testament,
Urn containing manna,
Stream springing forth from Eden,
Temple of light, mother Holy Virgin!
Blossoming Eden of the Master!
You were the cause of life for us . . .
Mother Eve rejoiced—
The incorporeal one is incarnated . . .
Rejoice, Adam, our father,
You, rotten, worn out old man!
Your new renewer came,
The temple of light, mother Holy Virgin.

16 Ի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ Աղթամարցւոյ ըստ անուան երգողին
By the Katʻołikos Grigoris Ałtʻamarcʻi, According to the Name of the Poet

4 180 Գովեմ զքեզ մարմնով հրեշտակ,
Բարի արմատ՝ սուրբ յիշատակ,
Յորթոյն կենաց տունկ բարունակ,
Ի զնացըս ջուրց հոգւոյն վըտակ . . .

I praise you, incarnate angel,
Good root, holy memory,
Branch of the vine plant of life,
Stream of the Spirit in the flow of waters . . .

5 Գունով ես դու պըտուղ բարի,
Ծառ քո ի դրախտն որ յԱղենի,
Աղենն է մերս եկեղեցի,
Որ ի հոգւոյն առոգանի:

By color you are a good fruit,
Your tree is in the Garden, which is in Eden,
Eden is our church
Which is watered by the Spirit.

17 Նորին Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by the Katʻołikos Grigoris

6 182 Դու ես յԱդինայ դրախտէն,
Զոր տընկեալ աջըն անեղական,
Կենաց ծառ ծաղկեալ ես դու.
Վարսաւոր սրովբէն պահապան . . .

You are from the Garden of Eden,
Which the increate right hand planted,
You are a blossoming tree of life,
The long-haired Seraph is the guardian . . .

7 183 Դըրախտ ես ծաղկածաւալ,
Վայելուչ փըթթեալ բուրաստան,
Կարմիր վարդ կանաչ թըփով,
Համասփիւռ եւ մուրտ եւ շուշան:
Ի յեզր Փիսոն գետոյն
Բուսանիս հիրիկ աննման,
Դեւքըն սասանին ի քէն
Եւ լինին յոյժ հալածական:

You are that Garden covered with flowers,
Beautiful, blossoming garden,
With green bushes of red roses,
Campions and myrtle-trees and lilies!
You grow on the bank of the river Pison,
You, incomparable iris;
Demons are terrified by you,
And are powerfully driven away.

20 Նորին Գրիգորիսի ասացեալ
Love Poem by Grigoris

8 192 Դու դրախտ Եդեմայ տընկեալ յանեղէն,
Ի յելս արեւու տեղիք լուսեղէն,
Ծառօք ու ծաղկօք պըտղովք շողեղէն,
Զոր շրջափակեալ պահէ սերովբէն:
Որպէս նախաստեղծըն գեղաղէշ ես,
Տիպ եւ զաղափար Աստուծոյ ես . . .

You, Garden of Eden planted by the increate One,
Luminous place to the east,
With trees and flowers and shining fruits,

Which, having encircled, the Seraph guards.
You are pretty like the first-created one,
You are the type and image of God . . .

9 193 Վըտակ Եդեմայ եւ գետ Յորդանան,
Սելովմայ աղբիւր եւ ջուր ես յուզման . . .

(You are) the stream of Eden and the river Jordan,
The spring of Siloam and sought-for water . . .

23 Աղթամարցի Գրիգորիս կաթողիկոսէ ասացեալ
(Poem) by the Kat'ołikos Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i

10 215 Թէ տեսանեմ ըզքեզ կրկին,
Լուսաւորի միտքս իմ մթին,
Եւ տամ համբոյր շրթանց քոյին,
Նա վերանամ ես ի յԱդին:

If I see you again,
My dark mind is illuminated,
And I give a kiss to your lips,
Indeed I ascend to Eden.

KARAPET BAŁIŠEC'I C16

Text: N. Aginean (Akinian), "Կարապետ Վ. Բաղիշեցի (1475–1550) Karapet *vardapet* Bałišec'i (1475–1550)," *Handes Amsorea* 51 (June–August 1937): 318–43.

1. Տաղ արարածոց
Poem on the Creation

1 328 Եկայք Ադամայ որդիք,
արարածք ամէն միաբան,
Օրհնեմք զարարիչն Աստուած,
որ ստեղծեաց զէակս ամենայն.
Որ ինքն է անեղ բնութիւնն,
սուրբ Երրորդութիւն միական,
Զարդարեաց իմաստութեամբ
զբոլոր բնութիւնս ամենայն.
Ստեղծեաց զԱդամ նախնին
թագաւոր՝ եւ եդ պատուիրան,
Թէ յամէն ծառոց դու կեր,

’ւ ի պտղոյն չունիս հըրաման:
Օձն էր կորըստեան պատճառ,
բանսարկուն էր առիթ մահուան.
Խաբեցին ըզձեռագործն
եւ արին մահու զրաւական:

Come, Adam’s sons,
All creatures, together,
Let us bless God the Creator
Who has created all beings,
He who himself is the increate nature,
The united Holy Trinity;
He adorned with wisdom
The whole nature around.
He created the forefather Adam
As king, and gave a commandment:
Eat of all trees
But (you are) commanded not to have of the fruit.
The serpent was the cause of perdition,
The Devil was the reason for death.
They deceived the one made by hand,
And made them[8] the captives of death.

“Karapet Bałišec‘i,”[9] Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 17–36.

2 Գանձ Գրիգորի Աստուածաբանի
Ganj on Gregory the Theologian

2 24 Կենդանարար Որդիդ միածին
’Ի արարչակից բանըդ աստուածային,
Վասն Ադամայ քո նախաստեղծին,
Որ մերկացաւ զփառսն առաջին:

You Only-Begotten, life-giving Son,
And you divine Word, partner in creation,
(This is) about your first-created Adam,
Who was stripped of the primordial glory.

8. I.e., humans.

9. There is no title but the author’s name at the top of each section in this two-volume work.

3 Ըստ յանցանաց քո պատուիրանին,
Ունկընդրութեան բանից բանսարկուին,
Կերան զպտուղն, որ ի մէջ դրախտին
Եւ մերկացան զփառս աստուածային:

According to the transgression of your command,
Attending to the Devil’s words,
They ate the fruit that was in the midst of the Garden,
And were stripped of the divine glory.

4 Թողին ի բաց զքո տնկած այգին
’Ի արտաքսեցան ըստ քո հրամանին,
Դրախտէն ելան ինքն եւ կին նորին
’Ի աշխատանօք երկիր կոծէին:

They left the Garden[10] planted by you
And were expelled according to your command;
They came out of paradise, he and his wife,
And mourned, tilling the ground.

Łazar Sebastacʻi C16

Text: Łazar Sebastacʻi, Ղազար Սեբաստացու տաղերը “Poems,” ed. A. Ter-Stepʻanyan, *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* 33.3 (1977): 195–204.

1 Վասն սիրոյ եւ ուրախութեան On Love and Joy

203 Մեր Տէրն է բազմեր ի բարձր աթոռին,
Աջովն յօրիներ զպատկերն քոյին,
Քեզի է նման դրախտն եղեմային,
Երբ որ զարդարիս նման Եւային . . .

Our Lord is seated on the high throne,
With his right hand (he) has created your image,
The Garden of Eden is like you,
When you adorn yourself like Eve . . .

Minas Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16

Text: Minas Tʻoxatʻecʻi, Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան “Poem on Death,” in N. Aginean (Akinean), Հինգ պանդուխտ տաղասացներ *Five Sojourning Poets* (Vienna: Mekhitarist Press, 1921), 113–14.

10. Literally: vineyard.

4 Տաղ ի վերայ մահուան
Poem on Death

1 114 Մեռաւ նախահայրն Ադամ,
ու ծնեալքն ամէն ի նմանէ,
Հող էր եւ ի հող դարձաւ,
զոր եւ Տէրն էառ ի յերկրէ:

The forefather Adam died,
And all that were born from him,
He was dust and returned to dust,
Whom the Lord had taken from the earth.

Nahapet K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i C16

Text: K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i, *Poems*, in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 56–69.

Գովասանք Աստուածածնին
Praise of the Mother of God

1 58–59 Դրախտն Ադամայ չէր ի քեզ նման,
Բնակողք դրախտին յօձէն խաբեցան,
Խաբողքն Եւայի քեզ ոչ մերձեցան,
Մեղա՛յ քեզ, մեղա՛յ, կոյս անապական:

Adam’s Garden was not like you,
The inhabitants of the Garden were deceived by the serpent;
Those who deceived Eve did not approach you,
I have sinned against you, I have sinned, O uncorrupt Virgin!

Sarkawag Berdakac‘i C16

Text: Sarkawag Berdakac‘i, “Poems,” Նոր ժողովածու *New Collection,* ed. K. Kostaneanc‘, vol. 3 (Tiflis: Yovhannēs Martiroseanc‘ Press, 1896), 67–69.

18 Գովասանութիւն խաղաղոյ, բաժակի եւ այլ վասն ուրախութեան
Praise of Grapes, the Cup and concerning Other Joy

1 67 Դու ի դրախտէն մեզ արմաղան
Ի յԱրարչէն պարգեւեցար

Հոտով անուշ, գինւով յիմար
Մարդիքս սիրովն որ յագենայր:

You granted us a gift
From the Creator, from the Garden,
The one with sweet smell, wild wine,
We, humans, whom you satiated with love.

Simēon Aparanc'i C16

Text: Simēon Aparanc'i, Վիպասանութիւն սակս Պահլաւունեացն զարմի եւ Մամիկոնեանցն սեռի *Epic on the Pahlavuni House and Mamikonean Family* (Vałaršapat: Holy Ējmiacin Press, 1870).

1 1–2 Ի սկզբանէ Բանըն բարձրըեալ,
Ի յոչէից ըզգոյս հաստատեալ.
Նախ ըզիրեշտակս ներգործեալ,
Լոյս ի լուսոյ ստեղծուած սկսեալ.
Երկրորդ՝ զգալիքըս կառուցեալ,
Տարերց քառից մի շաղկապեալ.
Ի սոցանէ զմարդ արարեալ,
Իւրով շնչով շնորհազարդեալ:

In the beginning the Most High Word
Established existent things from nothing:
First, making the angels,
Beginning, light created from light,
Second, building the sensible things,
Combining the four elements into one,
Making man from these,
Adorning him with the grace of His own breath.

2 Ըզնիւթն ի յաղբիւսացն առեալ,
Աննիւթ գանձին անօթ կազմեալ.
Անմահական թագիւ պըճնեալ,
Տէր եւ իշխան անուանադրեալ:

Taking the substance from garbage,[11]
Forming a vessel for the immaterial treasure,
Adorning (him) with the crown of immortality,
Calling him lord and master.

11. Or: filth.

3 Յայնժամ մարդոյն թագաւորեալ,
Յանեղաշէն աթոռ նըստեալ.
Թէպէտ փութով ի վայր անկեալ,
Եւ անբանից հաւասարեալ:

Then the man having become king,
Seated on the throne made by Increate,
Although soon having fallen down
And having become equal to dumb animals.

4 Բայց յանուանէն ոչ մերկացեալ,
Ըստ Աստուծոյ վըճիռ հատեալ.
Մինչեւ որդւոցըն բազմացեալ,
Եւ արքայից գահ հաստատեալ:

But he was not stripped of the name,
As was decreed by God,
Until his descendants multiplied
And settled themselves on the royal throne.

T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16

Text: T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i, Միջնադարյան տաղասաց Թաթոս Թոխաթեցի “Medieval Poems. T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i,” ed. H. M. Poturian *Bazmavēp* 68 (May–June 1910): 207–8; (July 1910) 273–82.

Տաղ վասն տնօրէնութեան Քրիստոսի
Poem on the Dispensation of Christ

1 276 Հազար կենդանակերպ Աստուած ստեղծել է,
զԱմենըն Ադամայ հնազանդ արել է.
Ըզդրախտն լուսափայլ նըմա շնորհել է,
Եօթնապատիկ փառօք զնա զարդարել է:

God created a thousand kinds of animals,
He subjected (them) all to Adam,
Granted him the luminous Garden,
Adorned him with sevenfold glory.

2 Չունէր իւր օգնական, սըրտիկն ի սուգ էր,
Որ զիւրն սըրտին խորհուրդըն նըմա պատմէր.
Քաշեց կող մի կողէն ստեղծեց Եւայէ,
Եղեւ իւր օգնական՝ զիրար ժառանգէ:

His heart was in mourning, he had no helper,
To whom he could tell the secrets[12] of his heart,
(God) drew out a rib, created Eve from the rib,
She became his helper, they inherited each other.

3 Սատանան իրնարուք զԱդամ խաբել է,
Զօձըն պատճառ արեր ՚նդ Եւայ խօսել է,
Զմահկանացու պըտուղն ուտեցուցել է,
Կերեր ՚ւ ի յԱստուծոյ աչացն ելեր է։

Satan deceived Adam by a trick,
He made the serpent a means, it spoke with Eve;
He fed (them) the mortal fruit,
He ate and went forth from God's presence.[13]

4 Աստուածութիւնն Ադամայ բարկացել է,
Զինչ որ նորա տըւերն դարձեալ առել է.
Անիծեր ՚ւ ի դրախտէն ի դուրս արել է,
Սատանայի ձեռըն գերի մատներ է։

The Divinity became angry with Adam,
Took back what he had given to him,
Cursed (him) and drove (him) out of the Garden,
Gave him captive into Satan's hands.

5 Յանդիման դըրախտին հինգ օր լացել է,
Լացեր որ արտասուքն արիւն դարձել է.
Աստուծութիւն Ադամայ խըղճացել է,
Որ վեց հազար տարի պայման դըրել է։

(Adam) wept for five days in front of the Garden,
He wept till his tears turned into blood.
The Divinity pitied Adam
And made an agreement for six thousand years.

YOVASAP' SEBASTAC'I C16

Text: Yovasap' Sebastac'i, Բանաստեղծություններ *Poems*, ed. V. P. Gevorgyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1964).

12. Or: thoughts.
13. Literally: eyes.

No. 23

1 132 Աշխարհիս սահմանն է հանց.
Ադամայ է Տէր պատուիրել.
«Երբ չլռեցիր բարուն,
Պարտ է քեզ քրտամբք չարչարել
125 Հող էիր եւ հող դարձցիս,
Զի չարին բանին լսեցեր.
Յետ վեց աւուրն մարմնանամ,
Եւ առնեմ զքեզ գեր ի վեր»։

The order[14] of the world is thus:
The Lord has commanded Adam:
“As you did not obey the good,
You must suffer with sweat.
125 You were dust and you shall return to dust,
For you listened to the words of the Evil One.
In six days[15] I shall be incarnated
And shall take you up on high.”

No. 32

2 173 Մարտի քսաներկուսն հաւասարակ է,
Տիւ եւ գիշեր հաւասար երկոտասան ժամ է,
15 Մտէ արեւն ի Խոյն՝ նիսան ամիս է,
Ասեն, թէ Ադամայ ըստեղծման աւրն է։

The twenty-second of March is the equinox,
Day and night are twelve equal hours,
15 The sun enters Aries; it is the month Nisan,
They say that it is the day of Adam’s creation.

Yovhannēs A C16

Text: Yovhannēs A, Թիւն հազար քսան և ութին “In the Year 1028,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1986), 325–27.

14. Or: border, division.
15. Six world days, that is six millennia or six thousand years.

The poem is dedicated to a disaster that took place in 1028 of the Armenian Era (= 1579)

1 325 Արար Աստուած մարդն իւր նման,
Ի պատկեր իւր տիրական,
Թէ որք չպահեն պատուիրան,
Այսպէս փորձանքս դիպանան։

God made the man like himself,
In His lordly image;
If people do not observe the command,
They encounter such disasters.

Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘ C16

Text: Zak‘aria Gnuneac‘, “Տաղեր Poems,” ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 20 (1909): 279–88.

9 Տաղ ի սուրբ կոյս Մարիամ
Poem on the Holy Virgin Mary

1 286 Զքեզ նախ Ադամ գուշակեաց,
Յորժամ կնոջն «կեանս» ասաց,
25 Թէ յԵւայի դըստերաց
Կոյս ծընանի լոյս ազգաց։

First Adam foresaw you,
When he called his wife “life,”
25 (Saying) that of Eve’s daughters
A virgin will be born, a light for peoples.

2 287 Պարտեաւ Եւայն ի յօձէն
Պարտակեցաւ ի թըփէն
105 Անկաւ ի բարձր դրախտէն,
Դու դարձուցեր նոր անդրէն։

Eve was overcome by the serpent,
Hid herself behind the bush,
105 Fell down from the high Garden,[16]
You returned her straightway.

16. The idea of paradise on high mountain has been mentioned above; see Seventh Century, n. 2.

Կաֆայք ի պատմութիւնն մեծին Աղեքսանդրին
Kafas on the History of Alexander the Great

3 10 343 Աւձն էր կորըստեան պատճառ
որ եհան զԱդամն ի դրախտէն.
Հանց Նեգտանիբոս արար՝
զկինն եհան ի Փիլիպուէն:[17]

The serpent was the cause of perdition,
That brought Adam out of the Garden,
Nectanebo acted in this way,
He took away the wife of Philip.

4 10 343–44 (Զ)աւձէն շատ զըրոյց գիտեմ,
բայց չկարեմ գըրել հաւատով.
Աւձն է իմաստուն խելաւք,
հրամայեաց Տէրըն կենարար.
Աւձն է վիշապի ծընունդ՝
Սողոմոն գրեաց զնայ հանճար,
Աւձն որ ի ձուէտ ելաւ,
նա կոխէ զերկիր հաւասար:
Իսկ նախանձ գտակ չարին
զաւձն արար իւրըն բնակարան.
Պատրեաց նա զնախամայրն՝
ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն զպատուիրան.
Ադամ ձեռաւքն Եւայի
’ւ ի յանճառ լուսոյն զըրկեցան.
Տէրն եկեալ ձայնէր ուր ես
նա լալով ասէր թէ մերկ կամ.
Թազեան թզենեաւ սփածան
’ւ ի նոյն ժամն ի դրախտէն ելան.
Անմահ մնալոց էին,
բաց անկան եւ աղտեղեցան:
Մեռան ի դժոխքն իջան
զ. հազար ամ արգիլեցան.
/ Բանդեալ խաւար զընդանաւ
չարաչար նոքա տանջեցան:
Մինչ էջ նայ մարմին էառ
ծոցածին բանըն հայրական.
Կամաւ Հաւր - սուրբ Հոգւոյն
սիրով եղ ի փայտըն մահուան.
Զսատանայ խաչիւ կապեաց

17. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 82.

եւ ընկճեաց զիշխանն մահուան.
Առեալ զսիրասունդ Ադամ՝
Ճոխ փարթամ ի յերկինս եհան . . .
Խնդայ նախահայրն Ադամ . . . [18]

I know many stories about the serpent,
But I cannot write (them) faithfully.
The serpent has a wise mind;
The life-giving Lord commanded (it).
The serpent is a descendant of the dragon (višap),
Solomon wrote about it wisely;
When the serpent comes out of the egg,
It treads on the ground equally.[19]
But envy, the author of evil,
Made the serpent its dwelling;
It deceived the foremother,
By eating the fruit (she infringed) the commandment.
Adam (was deceived) through Eve,
And they were deprived of the ineffable light.
The Lord, having come, called out, “Where are you?”
He said weeping that “I am naked.”
They hid and covered themselves with fig-leaves
And went out of the Garden at that very hour.
They were to stay immortal,
But they fell and were befouled.
They died; they descended to hell;
They were imprisoned for six thousand years.
Confined in the dark dungeon,
They were cruelly tortured
Until He descended and became incarnate,
The Word born in the paternal bosom.
By the will of the Father (and) the Holy Spirit,
He willingly ascended the mortal wood;
He bound Satan by the Cross.
And overcame the prince of death.
Taking his lovingly nurtured Adam,
Grand and powerful, he took to heaven. . . .
The forefather Adam rejoices . . .

18. Cf. Simonyan 1989, 83–84.
19. I.e., with man.

Seventeenth Century

Anonymous Author 8 C17

Text: Anonymous Author 8, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 644–45.

Պատմութիւն պիղծ թութունին
History of Impure Tobacco

1 644–45 Օձն խաբեաց զԵւայ, զԱդամ,
Պատճառ եղեւ չար բանսարկուն:

The serpent deceived Eve, Adam,
The evil Devil was the cause.

2 Զպատուէր Տեառն ոչ պահեցին,
Խաբեալ կերան դրախտի պտղոյն,
Յուտելն իսկոյն փոշմանեցին
Եւ մերկացան անճառ լուսոյն:

They did not observe God's command,
Being deceived they ate of the fruit of the Garden;
While eating they immediately regretted
And were stripped of the ineffable light.

3 Տեսին զի մերկացեալ էին,
Պատատեցան ընդ թզենոյն,
Տէրն ձայնեաց՝ Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ,
Փախեալ թաքեաւ ի յամօթոյն:

They saw that they were stripped,
They hid themselves behind the fig-tree.
The Lord called, "Adam, where are you?"
Having fled, he hid from shame.

4 Ասէ՝ Զպատուէրն չպահեցիր,
Արի եւ ել, այդ չէ քեզ տուն,

Ասեն, թէ՝ Օձն խաբեաց զմեզ,
Ցուցեալ ձեռօքն զծառն պտղոյն:

(God) says: "You did not observe the command,
Arise and go forth, that is not your house."
They say: "The serpent deceived us,"
Showing with (their) hands the fruit of the tree.[1]

5 Մեր Տէրն զայն օձն անիծեաց
Թեւն թափաւ, եղեւ սողուն,
Դիւանքն զայն թեւն ժողվեցին,
Տարան յանդունդս առ բանսարկուն:

Our Lord cursed that serpent.
Its wings fell off; it became a reptile.
The demons collected those wings,
Took them to the abyss, to the Devil.

6 Ասեն՝ Գտաք դեղ կորստեան
Ապականիչ մարդկան հոգւոյն,
Յանէս Յամբրես դրախտ կասեն,
Անդ տնկեցին, եղեւ թութուն ...

They said: "We have found the drug of perdition,
Corrupter of the human soul."
(J)annes and (J)ambres say[2] there is a garden,
They planted them there, it became tobacco . . .

Anonymous of Livorno C17

Text: Anonymous of Livorno, Ժամանակագրութիւն "Chronography," in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles,* vol. 1, ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951), 262–80.

1 272 Արդ՝ աշխարի զսկիզբն էառ ըստ Եբրայեցւոց ի մարտի ամսոյ, յաւուր կիրակէի: Եւ ի յիսկզբանէ աշխարհի մինչեւ ցայժմ, որ է թիւն մարդեղութեան փրկչին 1683, են ամք 6884: Յառաջ քան զմարդեղութիւն բանին Աստուծոյ էին ամք 5200: Արդ՝ առաջին դարն զիսկիզբն առնու ի ստեղծմանէ Ադամայ եւ տեւէ մինչեւ ի ջրհեղեղն. ներ այսքան ժամանակի ոչ տեղեաց անձրեւ ի վերայ երկրի եւ ոչ կերաւ միս, եւ տեւեաց զամս 2242:

1. Or: showing with its hands.
2. These are the apocryphal names of the Egyptian magicians referred to in Exodus.

Now according to the Hebrews, the world came into being in the month of March, on Sunday. And from the beginning of the world till now, that is, the 1683rd year of the Savior's incarnation, there are 6,884 years. Before the incarnation of God the Word there were 5,200 years. Now the first age begins from Adam's creation and lasts until the Flood. In the course of this time it did not rain upon the earth and meat was not eaten, and this lasted for 2,242 years.

Aṙak'el Davirzec'i C17

Text: Aṙak'el Davrizec'i, Գիրք Պատմութեանց *Book of Histories*, ed. L. A. Xanlaryan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1990).

1 135 Բայց այրն սատանաքնակ՝ որպէս զօձն Եւայի՝ հակեալ դարձոյց զմիտս Լաւասափին զնալ առ շահն:

14–16 But Satanic man, like Eve's serpent, having inclined, turned the mind of Lawasap' to go to the Shah . . .

2 467 Սա այս խնդրեաց ի Ստեփաննոսէ Տարօնեցւոյ զբանն բազմավէպ պատմութեան, որ եւ արար. սկսեալ ի նախահայրն Ադամայ, յորժամ ել նա արտաքս ի վայրէն վայելչութեան, երեք հատոր. եւ հասոյց մինչ ի ՆԾԲ ամ / թուականիս՝ յորում ամի վախճանեցաւ Գիրգոր Նարեկացի այրն աքանչելի:

29–68 2 He sought this historical discourse with many tales from Step'anos of Tarōn, which he then made. Beginning from the forefather Adam, when he went forth from the place of delight, three volumes; and he brought it up to the year 452 of our era, in which year the wonderful man Grigor of Narek died.[3]

Dawit' Salajorc'i C17

Text: "Davit' Salajorc'i," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 350–90.

The second and fourth lines of each stanza are in Turkish; the editor's Modern Armenian translation is in brackets. The English here reflects the Armenian.

3. Textual observation from n. 455 in the edition, pp. 534–35: "ԾՉ, 56 the chapter in which this reference appears, is a compilation of earlier *Minor Chronicles* and they correspond to those which can be found in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles* – Vol. 1, V. Hakobyan, ed. (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1951, 1956)."

1 372–380 Հայր արարիչ, Տէր կենդանի,
Հարտէ մէմուռ սին, վար ղարար,
(Որտեղ գործ ես դու ձեռնարկում,)
Սերոբէքն ու քերոբէքն
Ալ պաղլամիշլար մուղարար:
(Միշտ պատրաստ են գտնվում:)

Father Creator, living Lord,
Wherever you undertake a work,
The Seraphim and Cherubim
Are always found ready.

2 Ինն դաս շուրջն են պարել,
Տօխուզ ֆարտա՝ նախշ ու նիկար,
(Իննապատիկ զարդ ու նկար)
Ստեղծեցեր չորեքկերպեան,
Մէն ուստատ ու սար ու սարտար:
(Դու վարպետ ես, գլուխ ու տեր:)

Nine classes dance around,[4]
Ninefold adornment and ornament.
You created the four-formed ones,
You are craftsman, chief, and lord.

3 Եզն ու արծիւ, մարդն ու առեւծն,
Դօրդ դուշմանուն էթուն ուեար,
(Չորս ոսոխներիդ հնազանդեցրիր:)
Սօքա են աթոռիդ ոտվին,
Հար պիրիսի պիր ասլանլար
(Ամեն մեկը մի առյուծ է:)

Ox and eagle, man and lion,
You subdued your four enemies;
These are the feet of your throne;
Each is a lion.

4 Գիշեր ցօրեկ փառաբանին,
Ցեա սուպհան ալահի էքպար,
(Օրհնյալ ես մեծդ աստված:)
Ստեղծեցեր յերկինք, գետին,
Մաղրպ, մաշրուպ, ղպլա, շմար:
(Արեւմուտք, արեւելք, հարավ, հյուսիս:)

They glorify you day and night;
You are blessed, O great God;

4. I.e., of angels.

You created the heavens, the earth,
West, east, south, north.

5 Ստեղծեցեր ծաղկունք հազար,
Հար պիրիսի ձիր յըռանկտա,
(Ամեն մեկը մի գույնի)։
373 Ստեղծեցեր ծով ու ցամաք,
Սուի առշա շաքտուն քեմար
(Դեպի երկինք կապեցիր կամար)։

You created a thousand flowers,
Each one of different color;
You created the sea and the dry land;
You made[5] an arch toward the heavens.

6 Երկինք աստղով զարդարեցեր,
Չալտըն Զօհալ, Զօհրայ ուրեքար,
(Կերտեցիր երեւակ եւ արուսյակ),
Խաւարն աշխարհէս հերքեցեր,
Շօլայ վէրտուն, շամս ու ղամար
(Լոյս տվիր, արեւ ու լուսին)։

You adorned the heavens with stars;
You created Saturn and Venus;
You removed darkness from this world;
You gave light, sun and moon.

7 Եօթն օր ստեղծուածք արիր,
Աhլի ուրֆան, ուստայ մէմար
(Գաղտնյաց գիտակ, վարպետ ճարտար),
Առաջի սկիզբն որ արարիր,
Ղատիմ տունետ զէհտուն պազար
(Հին աշխարհը զարդարեցիր)։

You made the creatures in seven days,
Connoisseur of secrets, skillful craftsman;
You who made the first beginning,
You adorned the old world.

8 Արարչութեան սկիզբն արիր,
Թուրլութուրլու յետի հուար,
(Ազգի-ազգի յոթ պարունակ),
Լուսն ու մութն ու ամպն ու անձրեւ,
Կէճայ կունտուզ ու մուճ ու չար
(Գիշեր, ցերեկ, ալիք, անձավ)։

5. Literally: you bound.

At the beginning of the creation you made
Seven different sorts of spheres,
Light and darkness and clouds and rain,
Night, day, waves, cave.

9 Երկուշաբթի բաժանեցեր,
Պիր պիրնտան սաֆ-սաֆ դարար
(Մեկը մյուսից, շարք-շարք հաստատ),
Երեքշաբթի՝ բուս ու բանձար,
Ջամլայ չիչակ, հայվա ու նար
(Ծաղկունք բոլոր, սերկեւիլ եւ նուռ)։

On Monday you divided
One from the other, firmly in rows,
On Tuesday, plants and grass,
All flowers, the quince and pomegranate.

10 Չորեքշաբթի՝ գազանք անասունք,
Տաղլարտայ կեազան ճանավար
(Լեռներում թափառող գազան),
374 Հինգշաբթի՝ կէտք, թռչունք, սողունք,
Քի յուզ ուստնայ կիտարլար
(Որ սողում են երեսն ի վայր)։

On Wednesday—beasts, cattle,
Animals wandering in the mountains,
On Thursday, whales, birds, reptiles
That creep with their face down.

11 Ուրբաթ Ադամ ստեղծեցեր
Մայասին էթուն դօրա կուհար
(Շաղախն արիր քառանյութ),
Հրամանք արիր՝ առողջացաւ,
Աչտի կօզի, օլտի օհար
(Բացեց աչքը, դարձավ կատարյալ)։

On Friday you created Adam,
You made him of mud of four substances.
You commanded, he became healthy,
He opened his eyes, became perfect.

12 Շաբաթ մէջ դրախտայ դրիր,
Քի մուլք սանայ վէրտում թիմար,
(Որ կալվածք տվ̂ի քեզ վիճակ),
Ասիր՝ Ադամ, յէ՛ր ես նստել,
Վար ճանադայ էլայ նազար
(Վե՛ր, դրախտին մտիկ արա)։

On Saturday you put him in the Garden,
That you gave him as possession, a portion.
You said: “Adam, why are you sitting?
Stand up, look at the Garden.”

13 Ելաւ ոտք մի առաջ գնաց,
Ղօխու ալտի մուշք ու ամպար
(Մուշկ ու համպարի հոտ առան),
Չօրս լուսեղէն գետն տեսաւ,
Ախարիտու ապու քեաֆսար
(Հոսում էր անմահական ջուր):

He went forth, took a step,
Musk and amber gave off fragrance,
He saw four luminous rivers,
Immortal water was flowing.

14 Փիսոն, Գեհոն, Տիգրիս, Եփրատ,
Տօրտուն դումի տայ քեահրուպար
(Չորսի ավազն էլ սաթ),
Անմահութեան հոտն որ առաւ,
Օլտի սարխօշ ու պէխապար
(Արբեց, դարձավ անտեղյակ):

Pison, Gehon, Tigris, Euphrates,
The sand of all the four was amber.
When he smelled the immortality,
He became drunk and unaware.

15 Թմրութիւնն վերան անկաւ,
Մախմուր օլտի, տուշտի խումար
(Նվազեց, ուշքը գնաց):
Տէրն կրկյին քննում արաւ,
Քի նայ յեափամ պունաուեր
(Թէ ի՞նչ անեմ սրա համար):

The deep sleep fell upon him,
He became weak, unconscious.
The Lord examined once again:
“What should I do for him?”

16 ՅԱդամայ ձախ կողէն առաւ,
Յեափտի Հաւայ տաթ տիտար,
(Ստեղծեց Եվային քաղցրահայացք),
Յօրժամ զարդեաւ, բօլորն աշեր,
Կօրտի հուրի պիր մալաք յեար
(Տեսավ գեղանի մի հրեշտակ):

He took of Adam's left rib,
Created sweet-looking Eve;
When he woke up, he looked around;
He saw a beautiful angel.

17 Հագել բէհեզ ու ծիրանի,
Ճումլասի նուր, ալթուն զնար
(Բոլորը լույս, ոսկեհուռ գոտի),
Շող կուտար ի մէջ լուսին,
Ղաթի կեօզալ, թառ մօհտապար
(Հույժ գեղեցիկ, թարմ պատվական):

Clad in fine linen and purple,
All shining; a gold-woven belt,
She was beaming in the midst of light,
(Like) very beautiful, fresh, glorious muslin.

18 Առաջի հրաշքն տեսանի,
Իքիսինտայ օլտի զահար
(Երկրորդն էլ հայտնվեց,)
Տէրն Ադամայ խաթերն համար,
Քունտայ պիր քեազ կեալուր կօրար
(Օրը մի անգամ գալիս էր դիտում:)

The first miracle is seen,
The second too appeared;
God for Adam's sake,
Once a day came and watched.

19 Լուսեղէն ծաղկունք ցուցեր ետ,
Նիճայ քի տուն անուր պահրար
(Ինչպես որ զարդարել էր ամեն ինչ:)
Ասաց՝ Ադամ, ամէն ի քեզ,
Յամեայ շօլ պիրդան, տուր զարար
(Մի՛ կեր այս մեկից, վնասակար է:)

He showed luminous flowers,
As he had decorated everything;
He said: "Adam, all is for you,
Do not eat of this one, it is pernicious.

20 Սախէն խօսքս չմոռանաս,
Ջէրայ սայան ղարազուր մար,
(Որովհետեւ ոխակալ է օձը,)
Ան անիծած պեղծ սատանան
Կեօր, նակեահտայ տուրուր տիկլար
(Տես, անպատեհ կանգնել դիտում է:)

Do not forget my words at all,
Because the serpent is vengeful.
That cursed impure Satan,
Look, he stands and looks indecorously.

21 376 Գնաց մտաւ օձին բերան,
Տէտի՝ Հաւայ, նօլտու՞ն շուար
(Ասաց՝ Եվա, ինչու՞ շվարեցիր),
Ե՛լ ու կաննէ, ան պտղէն կեր,
Քի տաթիլտուր նէձայ շաքար
(Որ համեղ է ինչպես շաքար:)

He went, entered the serpent’s mouth,
He said: “Eve, why are you amazed?
Get up, stand, eat of that fruit,
Which is as delicious as sugar.”

22 Ասաց՝ Աստուծոյ հրաման չկայ,
Օնի յեանտուր կունահքար
(Այն ստողը հանցավոր է,)
Ինչ մարդ որ ան պտղէն ուտէ,
Տահայ օլմազ ուան պիր ճար
(Էլ չի լինի նրան ոչ մի հնար:)

She said: “There is no command of God’s,
One who disobeys is a transgressor,
Whoever eats of that fruit,
Will have no remedy any more.”

23 Սեւ սատանէն հոն խօսեցաւ.
Քի ինանմայ կիլ, յեալտայտուրլար
(Մի՛ հավատա, խաբում են քեզ,)
Ասաց՝ Մէֆիլ, քեզ կու խաբեն,
Հար քիմ յէյեայ, օլուր հուղքար
(Ով որ կուտի, կիմաստնանա:)

The black Satan spoke there,
“Do not believe, they are deceiving you,”
He said, “Miserable, they deceive you,
One who eats will become wise.”

24 Եւայ շուտով յօժարեցաւ,
Պիր սահաթ չաքտի ընդյըզար
(Մեկ ժամ կարոտով սպասեց,)
Ելան ու ան պտղէն կերան,
Իքիսնտայ օլտի օ քեար
(Երկուսի վրա էլ այն ներգործեց:)

Soon Eve agreed,
She waited for an hour eagerly;
They went and ate of that fruit,
It affected both of them.

25 Աղամ լուսոյն ի մերկ մնաց,
Տէտի՝ Պու նա՞ խապար
(Ասաց՝ Այս ի՞նչ բան է),
Ասաց՝ Խափվայ, պտղէն կերայ,
Շէհտանայ վէրտում ըրխար
(Կամքս տվի սատանային:)

Adam remained stripped of light;
He said: "What matter is this?
He said, "I was deceived, I ate of the fruit,
I gave my will to Satan."

26 377 Փախան ու թզենին ելան,
Իքիսինտայ ղալտի նաջար
(Երկուսն էլ մնացին անճար):
Տէրն եկաւ կանչեաց՝ Աղամ,
Տէտիլ պէխան hօզումար
(Ասաց՝ Հրամայիր, Տէր):

They fled and climbed the fig-tree,
Both remained destitute;
The Lord came and called "Adam,"
He said, "Command, Lord."

27 Ասաց՝ Յէ՞ր ես յելեր թզենիդ,
Տէտի՝ Հաւայ ղլտուրտի զար
(Ասաց՝ Եվան hեծեծում էր),
Ասաց՝ Եւ յէ՞ր խափուեցար,
Տէտի՝ Պէնի յեալտաղի մար
(Ասաց՝ Օձն ինձ խաբեց):

He said, "Why have you climbed that fig-tree?"
(Adam) said, "Eve was lamenting."
He said, "And why were you deceived?"
(Eve) said, "The serpent deceived me."

28 Ասաց՝ Միթէ մեղայ գոչեն,
Յազուխտուր, էթմէիմ զարար
(Խեղճ են, վնաս չպատճառեմ):
Կապվեցան ու մեղայ չասին,
Շէհտան աթնայ պինտիլար
(Սատանայի ձին նստեցին):

(God) said: “Do they shout, ‘I have sinned?’
(If) they are miserable, I will not hurt them.”[6]
They were bound and did not say, “I have sinned”;
They mounted Satan’s horse.

29 Տէրն անիծեց, ասաց՝ Ադամ,
Օլմիասին պէտար պէտար,
(Թափառականն դառնաս դու,)
Աշխատիս ու քրտինք ուտես,
Արդսուն տարտուն, օլսուն հազար
(Աճի ցավդ, դառնա հազար։)

The Lord cursed, said: “Adam,
You will become a wanderer,
You will labor and eat sweat,
Your pain will increase, become a thousand-fold.”

30 Եւայ որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
Սէնտէն տօղնայ պիր զահրումար
(Քեզնից ծնվածն անիծվի,)
Ելնէ զիր եղբայրն սպանէ,
Մուսուրմաճայ դապիլ տերլար
(Թուրքերեն՝ օրինակ են ասում։)

When he cursed Eve he said:
“The one born from you will be cursed;
He will rebel and kill his brother,”
In Turkish they say, “(He was) an example.”

31 Դարձաւ օձն որ անիծեց, ասաց՝
Ուրեան օլասին պէ, քաւար
(Մերկանաս դու, անհավատ։)
Օձն թռչուն էր չորսոտանի
Ուչարիտի դօլ մուսաւար
(Թռչում էր ճիվաղատիպ։)

He turned to the serpent whom he cursed, said:
“You will be stripped, unbeliever.”
The serpent was a four-footed bird;[7]
He flew like a demon (monster).

32 Թեւերն ու ոտվին թափեցան,
Տուշիպ յուզ ուստին կիտարլար
(Ընկավ, երեսն ի վայր սողաց,)

6. I.e., If they confess their sin, I will not hurt them.
7. In a manuscript of the *Physiologus*, the four-footed bird is drawn in the margin.

Այնկից ի վեր ղարազեցաւ,
Ատամօղլի կօրանտր, սանճար
(Ադամորդի երեւա, կխայթի:)

His wings and feet fell away;
He fell down and crept face down;
From that time he nourished hate;
Seeing a son of Adam, he bites.

33 Սոքայ քշեցիր դրախտայ,
Ջիհանամայ տուշտիլար
(Դժոխքն ընկան:)

You expelled them from the Garden;
They fell into hell.

34 Երբ դրախտայ աշխարհս ընկան,
Դունիամ խարապայ կօրտիլար
(Աշխարհս ավերակ տեսան,)
Ջարհուրեցան քաջանց ազգէն,
Ղաֆլաթ պաստի, թալաստիլար
(Աչքները ծանրացան, շտապեցին:)

When they fell from the Garden into this world,
They saw this world ruined,
They were frightened of the race of demons; [8]
Their eyes became heavy, they hurried.

35 Ալվի Տէրն ողորմեցաւ,
Իքի մալայէք յենտիլար
(Երկու հրեշտակներ իջան,)
Եկաւ սոքայ մխիթարեց,
Չօխ շուքուր վէրտիլար
(Շատ փառք, ասացին):

Again the Lord had mercy;
Two angels descended.
He came and consoled them;
“Great glory!” they said.

36 379 Ելան էրին շինակութիւն,
Պէզաթիլար չարսու պաղար
(Չորս բոլորը զարդարեցին,)
Ամուսնութեան մեղաց համար,
Էյլատիլար դաւլ ու ղարար

8. Or: heroes.

(Հաստատեցին ուխտ ու պայման։)

They went forth, they established a dwelling-place;
They adorned it on all four sides.
For the sin of marriage,
They established an agreement and a contract.

37 Երեսուն տարուն մի անգամ
Եվայիլան օլտի հուճար
(Եվայի հետ առագաստ մտավ,)
Մէկ փորն երկուս բէրէր,
Պիրի հուրմայ, պիրի սարար
(Մեկը գոռոցով, մյուսը թաքուն)։

Once in a thirty years,
He entered the bed with Eve.
One pregnancy brought forth two,
One with shouts, the other concealed.[9]

38 Առաջ ծնաւ Կայէն որդին,
Ղալպիլան շէհտանայ ուրեար
(Սրտով սատանային հար եւ նման,)
Յետոյ ծնաւ Աբէլ որդին,
Աղխի տուրուտ, հախայ ու յեար
(Խոսքը ուղիղ, աստծո նման։)

First she bore her son Cain,
With his heart close to and like Satan.
Then she bore her son Abel,
Speaking directly, like God.

39 Եօթն պորտն համարեցան,
Պիրի պիրինայ վէրտիլար
(Մեկը մյուսին տվին,)
Ամէնը յԱդամայ զարմէն,
Տալմայ-տալմայ կօլ օլտիվար
(Կաթիլ-կաթիլ շատացան։)
Աճեցին ու աշխարհ լցին,
Դօրդ քեօշայ տունիամ տօլտիլար
(Երկրի չորս ծագերը լցրին։)

Seven generations[10] were reckoned;
One gave (birth) to the other.
All of Adam's offspring,

9. I.e., the one known, the other not mentioned (in the Bible).
10. պորտն, literally: navels, bellies.

They multiplied drop by drop.
They increased and filled the world;
They filled the four corners of the earth.

40 Իննհարիւր տարի Ադամ,
Եվայիլան սաղ կալտիլար
(Եվայի հետ ողջ մնացին։)

For nine hundred years Adam
With Eve stayed alive.

41 Յորժամ օրն թամամեցաւ,
Ճանայ կեալտի Ճէպրայիլլար
(Ջանձրացան հոգեառները,)
379 Քառասուն օր հոգեվարք կեցան,
Ճան Ճխմազ, հասրաղին տիլար
(Հոգին չի ելնում, կարոտն է տենչում։)
Գնացէք ան Ճղքէն բերէք,
Քիմինիքի աւալին յետիլար
(Որից առաջինն էի կերել։)

When the day came,
The takers of the soul got tired;
For forty days they were in pains;[11]
The soul does not go forth, the desire[12] is intense:
“Go and bring of the branch,
Of which I ate first.”

42 Հրեշտակնին շուտօվ հասուցին,
Այքտայ օխայ տէտիլար
(Ամաչելով օխայ ասացին,)
Ապա հոգին մարմնոյն ելաւ,
Ինս ու ջինս ու դեւ կեէլտիլար
(Արարածք եկան, դեւեր եկան)։

They quickly brought it from the angel;
Ashamedly they said alas!
Then the soul came out of the body.
Creatures came; demons came;

43 Հետ հրեշտակաց Ճարմուք արին,
Թէ ո̂ւր տանիք մեր կամարարն,
Ջեռագիրն առաջ բերին,

11. See *Adam Fragment 2*, 2–3, which depends directly on the same tradition (Stone 1982, 10–11).
12. Or: need.

Ըշտայ սիճիլ. հուճաթ, դաւթար
(Արձանագրություն, վճիռ, մատյան):

They argued with the angels:
"Where do you take our servant?"
They brought forward the cheirograph,
Inscription, decision, register.

44 Առան տարան դժոխքն ի վար,
Բանտ ու զնտանայ դօյտիլար
(Բանտ ու կապանքի մեջ դրին,)
Մարտիրոսք կուսանօք ճգնաւորք,
Տունյեատայ ճան պէսլայտիլար
(Աշխարհում հոգին սնուցին:)

They took them to hell below,
Put them in prison and chains;
Martyrs, virgins, and ascetics,
Fed their souls in the world.

. . . .

45 381 Մեռան դժոխք գնացին,
Ճանաթայ յեր պուլմատիլար
(Արքայության մեջ տեղ չգտան,)
Նոյ նահապետն ու իր որդիքն,
Ղատիմ հախայ զրու պիտիլար
(Անսկիզբն աստծո զորությունն իմացան) . . .

They died and went to hell;
They did not find a place in the kingdom.
Patriarch Noah and his sons,
Learned the power of uncreated God . . .

Dawit' Bałišec'i C17

Text: Davit' Bałišec'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն "Chronography," in Մանր ժամանակագրություններ *Minor Chronicles, vol. 2,* ed. V. Hakobyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), 287–378.

1 298 Ո. (600) Սեմ Ճ ամաց ծնաւ զԱրփաքսաթ. սա ժառանգեաց զոսկերս նախահօրն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի: Զսա յոյժ սիրէր հայր իւր Նոյ:

600: Shem at the age of 100 begat Arpachshad; he inherited the bones of the forefather Adam and of Eve. His father Noah loved him very much.

2 465 ՆԿԵ Արփաքսաթ ՃԼԵ ամաց ծնաւ. սա ամփոփեաց զոսկերսն նախահօր ի Գողգոթայ եւ զԵւային ի Բեթղէհէմ ի վիճակն իւրեանց:

Arpachshad begat at the age of 135. He assembled the forefather’s bones on the Golgotha and Eve’s in Bethlehem, in their allotted places.

Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi C17

Epʻrem Łapʻancʻi, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries)* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 542–72.

6 Տաղաչափեալ շարադրի (1691). Written in Verse

1 551 Նախկին զաշխարհս, որ չէ եղեր
Եւ Բանն Աստուած զայս հաստատեր՝
Երկինք ‘ւ երկիր, տիւ եւ գիշեր
Եւ չորս տարերքս է արարեր:
Իսկ զազգս մարդկան հողոյ ստեղծեր,
Պէս-պէս շնորհիք պարգեւք տուեր . . .

When this primordial world did not exist,
God the Word established it;
The heavens and the earth, day and night,
And the four elements he made.
And he created the human race from dust,
Granted them various graces . . .

Յիշատակարաններ ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց. Against the Dyophysites (written before 1701)

2 567 Երեք անձինք եւ մի բնութեան
Միասնական աստուածութեան:
Որով ստեղծեալ էակքս համայն:
Երկինք ‘ւ երկիր, ծովք ամենայն:
Բարին եղեւ յոյժ պատուական,
Չարն եկամուտ է դիւական:
Յայնժամ այժմուս յանկարծական,
Չարեացն գալ իբրեւ զյորձան:
Զոր օրինակ զԱդամ, զԵւան,
Որք ի յօձէն փոյթ խափուեցան:

Տէրն անիծեաց բանսարկուն այն,
Առ ի գնալ լանջաց վերան։

Three Persons and one by nature
Of the united divinity,
By whom all beings were created,
The heavens, the earth, all the seas;
The good was very glorious,
Evil is demonic, from outside.
Then, all of a sudden,
Evil comes like a flood.
Just as Adam, Eve,
Who were quickly deceived by the serpent.
The Lord cursed that Devil,
To go upon his breast.

Grigor Daranałc'i C17

Text: Grigor Daranałc'i, Ժամանակագրութիւն *Chronography*, ed. M. V. Nšanean (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1915).

1 308 Քրիստոս Աստուածն մեր աղբիւրն շնորհաց չարչարանօք խաչին եւ մահուամբն ազատեաց յանիծիցն Ադամայ եւ յանիծից օրինացն Մովսիսի։

Christ our God, by the suffering on the cross and by death, liberated the source of grace from the curse of Adam and from the curse of the Law of Moses.

2 414 . . . յետ անկմանն ի վայր ի կայանից, (սատանայ) ոչ դադարեաց ի չար սերմանելոյն, այլ ի դրախտին ի մէջ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի էարկ զհւր հպարտութեան ախտից սերմանսն, որով ինքն աստուածանալ կամեցաւ։ Եւ յետ այնորիկ ի մէջ ծննդոց նորա՝ Աբելի միջումն եւ Կայենին . . .

. . . After falling down from (his) station, (Satan) did not cease sowing evil, but in the Garden he cast the seeds of the disease of his pride into Adam and Eve, by which he wanted to become God. And afterwards, into their descendants,[13] into Abel and Cain.

13. Literally: his.

Nazaret‘ A C17

Text: Nazaret‘ A, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 523–626.

Տաղ ի վերայ բլբուլի
Poem on the Nightingale

1 521 Առաջ Եւան, որ ստեղծեց Ադամայ, Ադամայ,
Չար թշնամին իւրեան դանն էր Ադամայ, Ադամայ . . .

First Eve, whom He created from Adam, Adam,
His evil enemy was the rib of Adam, Adam . . .

Nersēs Anjnapatc‘i C17

Text: Nersēs Anjnapatc‘i, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 54–70.

2 Բան խրատու
Didactic Poem

1 57 Եւ ի լըման բնաւից կատար՝
Զմարդն Ադամ բազմահանճար,
Օրհնեաց՝ աճիլ, լնուլ զաշխարհ,
Գործել բարի, մնալ արդար:

And in the end, the summit of all,
The man Adam endowed with much wisdom;
He blessed (him) to multiply, to fill the world,
To do good, to remain just.

Simēon Kafac‘i C17

Text: “Simēon Kafac‘i,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 185–208.

1 Առ սուրբ Աստուածածին
To the Holy Mother of God

1 185 . . . Ադամայ նախնոյ զերկունսն լուծեալ,
Քեւ կոյս առիթ զոր եւ զքեզ կեանս կոչեալ:

. . . Releasing the pains of the ancestor Adam,
Through you, a virgin, there was reason to call you, too, life.

2 Էական լուսոյն Եւայ սքանչելի,
Բազմաչեայ քրովբէից անահ հայելի . . .

Marvelous Eve of essential light,
Fearless mirror of many-eyed Cherubim . . .

3 186 . . . Եւ քեւ սրովբէափակ դուռն Եդեմայ
Բացաւ տարագրեալ որդւոցս Ադամայ:

186 And through you the door of Eden closed by the Seraphim
Was opened for us, the expelled sons of Adam.

Step‘anos Kełec‘i C17[14]

Text: Step‘anos Kełec‘i, Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ "Poem on Women's Deceit, for All Men's Good," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 371–74.

Ոտանաւոր վասն կանանց խաբէութեան, ամենայն մարդոց օգուտ Poem on Women's Deceit, for All Men's Good

1 372 Յորժամ տեսանես զկինն
ցեղուցեղ զեղով զարդարած,
Հաշուեա, թ' ան օձն է, եղբայր,
որ զԵւայ 'ւ Ադամ նա խաբեաց:
Ասաց, թէ՝ Ուտէք զպտուղն
եւ լինիք որպէս զԱստուած:
Կերան, խայտառակ եղան
այր ու կին, երկուսն ի հիտրաց:

When you see a woman
Variously adorned beautifully,

14. See Ačaṙyan 1977, 4:676: "Step‘anos no. 682: he wrote a poem copied in 1671."

Consider that she is the serpent, brother,
Who deceived Eve and Adam.
He said, “Eat the fruit,
And you will be like God.”
They ate and were shamed,
The man and the woman, both together.

Xač‘atur Xaspēk Kafac‘i C17

Text: Xač‘atur Xaspēk Kafac‘i, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 128–52.

a. 1643

2 Չափածոյ յիշատակարան
Colophon in Verse

1 138 Արդ լւարուք, որ ըստ կարգի
Շարայարեալ ի յայս տառի,
Կերտեալ մեծին տէր Ներսէսի,
Հայաստանեաց հայրապետի։

Now let us listen to what, in order,
I strung together in this writing
Created by the great lord Nersēs,
Patriarch of Armenia,

2 Սկսեալ նախնոյն, որ առաջի
Մաղթանս առ Տէր իւր պաղատի,
Թէպէտ միջնորդ յիւր աղէտի
Եղեալ զԱդամ հայր մեր նախնի։

Beginning with the forefather who first
Addressed prayers to his Lord,
Although he considered Adam, our forefather
To be the mediator of his misfortune.

Yakob Kesarac‘i C17

Text: Yakob Kesarac‘i, Գովեստ ի սուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ “Praise of the Holy City of Jerusalem,” ed. N. Aginean (Akinian), *Handes Amsorea* 23 (December 1909): 371–74.

1 373 3 Աստ եղեւ հոգւոց փրկութիւն մարդկան
Որ ի խաչ ելաւ Տէրն ի Գողգոթայն
Յանցանքն Ադամայ Եւայի թողան . . .

Here was the salvation of human souls,
When the Lord ascended the cross at Golgotha,
The sin of Adam and Eve was forgiven . . .

Yakob T‘oxatec‘i C17

Text: Yakob T‘oxat‘ec‘i, “Poems,” in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.*) Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 1, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987), 531–68.

3 Վասն սիրոյն Աստուծոյ եւ սրբոց նորա
On the Love of God and His Saints

1 541–42 Եւ չորքոտանիք բազումք
 եւ վայրի էրէք եւ գազան,
Եւ ազգի-ազգի վիշապք
 եւ սողունք, որ ի սմա զեռան,
Ետես արարիչն Աստուած
 եւ ահա բարի ամենայն,
Վասն որոյ օրհնեաց զնոսա
 ’ւ աճելոյ ետուր հրաման:

And many quadrupeds,
and wild animals and beasts,
And various kinds of snakes (dragons)
and reptiles that creep in it;[15]
God the Creator saw,
and behold, all were good,
That is why he blessed them
and commanded (them) to multiply.

2 Եւ ընդ յԱրեւելս տնկեաց
 դրախտն յեդեմական,
Իբր զգահոյս արքայի
 պաճուճեալ փառօք փափկութեան,
Երկնի եւ երկրի զարդերք

15. I.e., this world.

 կատարեալ եղեն ի լրման,
Արդ պիտոյ է վայելուչ
 թագաւոր սմա եւ իշխան:

He planted in the East
 the Garden of Eden,
Like a king's throne
embellishing it with the glory of delight;
The adornments of the heavens and the earth
were completely finished;[16]
Now is needed a proper king
and ruler over it.

3 Ապա Հայրն երկնաւոր
 ընդ Որդւոյ եւ Հոգւոյ ասաց բան.
Արասցուք մարդ բանաւոր
 ըստ կերպի մեր նմանութեան,
Իշխեսցէ ձկանց ծովու
 եւ թռչնոց երկնից բազմութեան
Եւ բոլոր տիեզերաց՝
 սողնոց եւ զեռնոց զինչ որ կան:

Then the celestial Father
said a word to the Son and the Spirit;[17]
Let us make a rational man,
according to the form of our likeness;
Let him rule over the fish of the sea,
and the multitude of the birds of the sky,
And all the universe,
reptiles and creeping things, whatever there are.

4 Եւ առեալ հող ի յերկրէ
 կերպացոյց ըստ կերպին նման,
Եւ փչեաց շունչ ի նմա
 եւ շնորհեաց հոգի բանական,
Եօթնարփեան շնորհօք լցոյց
 եւ եդ ի դրախտին փափկութեան,
Գործել անդ զգործ Աստուծոյ
 եւ պահել նորին պատուիրան:

And taking dust from the ground,
he shaped it according to the likeness of (his) form,
And breathed breath into him,

16. Gen 2:1: see the LXX and the Armenian Bible.
17. Cf. *Teaching of St. Gregory* §260.

and granted a rational soul.
Filled (him) with graces of seven heavens,
and put (him) in the Garden of delight.
To work to (till) there God's work
and to keep his commandment.

5 Իսկ նա ի դրախտէն ելեալ
պատրանօք բանսարկուին խաբման,
30 Ի ներքոյ մահու անկեալ,
զբաւեաց զբնութիւնս ամենայն,
Կեցեալ եղկելի կենօք
ի յերկրի յոյժ թշուառական,
Մինչ հոգին էջ ի դժոխս
եւ մարմինն եդաւ զերեզման:

But he, coming out of the Garden
by the tricky deceit of the Devil,
30 Having fallen under death,
possessed the whole nature.
He lived[18] a lamentable life,
very miserable on the earth,
Until his soul descended to hell,
and his body was put in the grave.

Յիշատակարան շարադրողի սաղմոսիս
Colophon by the Author of this Psalm

6 563 Յետ Ադամայ ելանելոյն ի փափկութեան,
Որդիք նորա ընդ անասունս աստ բնակեցան,
Ծնան զաւակս ի վերայ երկրի եւ բազմացան
Եւ յԱրարչէն իւրեանց նոքա մոլորեցան:

After Adam's coming out of Delight,[19]
His offspring dwelt here with animals.
They bore children on the earth and multiplied,
And they went astray from their Creator.

Yakob T'oxat'ec'i, Տաղ վասն կենաց մարդկան
"Poem on Human Life," *Bazmavēp* 23.6 (1865): 208–11.

7 208 Աստուած ըստեղծեաց ըզմարդն ի հողէն,

18. Literally: "having lived."
19. I.e., the Garden of Delight. It is in the genitive case because of rhyming constraints.

Օրհնելով օրհնեաց զաճումըն նոցին.
Աճեալ բազմացան եւ զերկիր լըցին.
Տեւէ եւ մընայ՝ մինչ յօրըն վերջին . . .

God created man from dust,
Blessing, He blessed their multiplication,
Having multiplied, they increased and filled the earth,
(Man) will endure and remain until the last day . . .

8 209 Լեալ երեսնամեայ՝ կատարեալ մարդ են՝
Զհասակ Ադամայ ի յանձին բերեն . . .

Being thirty years old, they are perfect humans,
They bear Adam's age in themselves . . .

9 211 Փառք տամք Աստուծոյ մեք ամենեքեան,
Օրհնեալ է անունն անբաւ յաւիտեան,
Արար զմեր նախնին պատկերին նըման
Դարձեալ նորոգեաց եւս պայծառ քան զայն:

We all glorify God;
His infinite name is blessed forever;
He made our ancestor like his image;
Again he renewed (him making him) more shining than that one.

Yovasap' Erznkac'i C17

Text: Yovasap' Erznkac'i, "Poems," in Ուշ միջնադարի հայ բանաստեղծությունը (XVI–XVII դդ.) *Late Medieval Armenian Poetry (16th–17th centuries),* vol. 2, ed. Hasmik Sahakyan (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1987) 397–403. [20]

1 Տաղ վասն կանանց
Poem on Women

397 Ով անզգամ կնոջ դիպէր,
Քան զԵւայ Ադամ խաբէր . . .

397 He who has met a wicked woman
Is deceived more than[21] Adam by Eve . . .

20. Yovasap' is not mentioned by Bogharian (1971), by *ANB*, or by Bardakjian (2000).
21. Or: like.

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i C17

Text: Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i, Գիրք որ կոչի սրբազնագործութիւն *Book Called Sanctification* (Madras: Yovsep‘ Step‘anosean Press, 1812).

1 78 Նախ սրտիւն զղջանալ. զի զղջումն սրտին է, յորմէ ելանեն ամենայն չարիք . . . եւ վասն այնորիկ պարտ է փոյթ ընդ փոյթ, զղջմամբ արմատաքի խլել. զի մի արմատացեալ աճեսցի եւ զօրասցի, վասն այսորիկ ասաց Աստուած ցԱդամ, դու ըսպասեսցես նորա գլխոյն, զի գլուխ է յիշումն մեղաց, որ ի սիրտն ձգէ սատանայ . . .

First (one should) repent in his heart, for repentance belongs to the heart, whence all evils proceed. . . . And for that reason (evil) must be quickly eradicated by repentance, lest, having taken root, it increases and becomes powerful. That is why God said to Adam: “you will strike (lie in wait for) his head,”[22] for the head is the remembering of the sin that Satan draws into the heart . . .

2 94 Զի աչք ձեր տեսանեն, զբանն մարմին եղեալ, եւ ականջք ձեր լսեն զքաւութիւն, եւ զթողութիւն մեղաց. քանզի մինչեւ ցայժմ ոչ ոք լուաւ թողութիւն մեղաց, զոր ի ճաշակմանէն Ադամայ մակրդեալ եւ մածեալ էր ընդ բնութիւնս, այլ այժմս երանեցան, տեսանողքն, եւ լսօղքն . . .

Because your eyes see the incarnate Word, and your ears hear the expiation and forgiveness of sins; because until now nobody has heard about forgiveness of the sin that curdled and stuck to our nature owing to Adam’s eating. Whereas now those who see and hear have been blessed . . .

3 105 . . . այնուհետեւ կամեցաւ Տէր սրբել զնա ի վիրաց անտի, որ յաղագս մեղացն եւ անօրէնութեանցն Ադամայ կրեաց. այսինքն բանն Աստուած ի մարմինն իւր . . .

. . . Thenceforth the Lord wished to clean him of the wounds that he suffered for Adam’s sin and impiety; that is God the Word in his body . . .

4 108 . . . այժմ աստ իջանէ նոյն հոգին Աստուած զի արասցէ զայս խորհուրդ կատարեալ Քրիստոս, առ ի յաւետարանել աղքատաց, այսինքն բընութիւնս Ադամայ, որ յամենայնի աղքատացաւ ճաշակմամբն ի դրախտին . . . Աստ տեսանի ամենայն կուրաց զթողութիւն, եւ զտեսութիւն . . . զի բնութիւն է ազռաւուց, որ կամի զկենդանիս հեղձուցանել, եւ կերակուր ինքեան առնել, ջանայ զաչսն փորել, եւ խաւարեցուցանել եւ ապա զահավիժել, եւ ուտել. այսպէս

22. Gen 3:15.

արար եւ սատանայ, որ կուրացոյց զբնութիւնս Ադամայ, եւ արար կերակուր ինքեան.

. . . Now the same Spirit, God descends here, so that Christ will fulfill this perfect mystery, to preach the Gospel to the poor, that is, (to) Adam's nature that became impoverished of everything by eating in the Garden. . . . Here one can see the forgiveness of all the blind and their vision. . . . For it is characteristic of the crows; it wants animals to be suffocated, so that it may make food for itself; (so) it tries to peck out the eyes and blind them, and then to cast them (down a cliff) and eat (them). Satan, too, acted in this way; who blinded Adam's nature and made it him food for himself.

5 109 . . . Քրիստոս բազմեալ ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյ . . . եւ ձայն քաղցր արձակելս, եկայք, կերէք զմարմին իմ . . . Զի սա ոչ է այնպիսի կերակուր, որք կերին յանապատին, ի ձեռն Մովսէսի, եւ մեռան, եւ կամ Ադամաւ, եւ Եւայիւ, եւ մեռան. երկրորդաւն մահուամբ. այլ որ ուտէ ի սմանէ կեցցէ յաւիտեան:

. . . Christ sitting at the holy table . . . and saying in a sweet voice: "Take, eat; this is my body"[23] . . . For this is not that kind of food that they ate in the desert through Moses and died, or by means of Adam and Eve and they died; and they died the second death; whereas one who eats of this, lives forever.

6 117 . . . Նախնիւ ճաշակմամբ մահ, եւ երկրորդիւ ճաշակմամբս կենդանութիւն . . . առաջնոյն, Ադամայ տարագրութիւն ամենայն փառաց, եւ երկրորդիւս Ադամաւ, ճաշակմամբ, վերըստին ընտացումն լուսեղէն պատմուճանին . . . Առաջնոյն Ադամաւ ճաշակմամբն, տաղավար սատանայի եւ բնակարան այսոց չարաց, ըստ այնմ խեղդէր զնա այս չար ի Տեառնէ, եւ թէ վերացաւ հոգին ի Սաւուղայ. զի Սաւուղ նշանակէր զառաջինն Ադամ, իսկ Դաւիթ զերկրորդն Ադամ:

. . . Through the first eating (there was) death and through the second eating, life. . . . The first (led to) the proscription of Adam from all the glory, and the new reception of the luminous clothing through eating the second Adam. . . . Owing to the eating by the first Adam, Satan's hut and the dwelling of evil spirits, according to: "an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him" and "the spirit departed from Saul,"[24] for Saul symbolized the first Adam and David the second Adam.

7 118 Որք ջուր ի կիր առնուն սխալին, այլ գինի միայն պարտ է ի կիր առնուլ Those Who Use Water Are Mistaken, Only Wine Shall Be Used.

Նոյնպէս եւ գինի ուրախ առնէ ասաց: Զի բնութեամբ է եւ այս եւս,

23. Matt 26:26.
24. 1 Sam 16:14 = Arm 1 Kgdms 16:14.

զի որք ըմպեն, ուրախ լինին, բերկրին եւ զուարճանան. բառնի տրտմութիւն, տարագրի տխրութիւն, մոռանայ զցաւս. զի այսոքիկ ամենեքեան ըմբռնեցին զմարդկայինս բնութիւն ճաշակմամբն Ադամայ ի պտղոյն Ադինայ . . .

Also wine makes cheerful, it said.[25] For this is also according to nature, for those who drink become cheerful, rejoice, and are delighted; sorrow is removed, sadness is proscribed; they forget the pains. For all these (feelings) captured the human nature due to Adam's eating of the fruit of Eden . . .

8 120 Բայց կերեալն, եւ ճաշակեալն միանայ ընդ մարմնոյ եւ ընդ արեանն, մահացուցիչն մահացուցանէ, որպէս Ադամայն եւ Եւային, նոյնպէս եւ այլ մահադեղքն, եւ կեցուցիչն կեցուցանէ, որպէս այս ճաշակումս . . .

But that which is consumed and eaten joins the body and the blood; that bringer of death, causes death, like to Adam and Eve, in the same way as other deadly potions; and that which is vivifying, vivifies, like this eating . . .

9 146–47 . . . արեգակս այս, որ էր Բէեղ/զեբուղ, մարտեաւ ընդ Ադամայ, խորշակաւն իւրով, եւ ցամաքեցոյց, եւ չորացոյց զնա, եւ էարկ ի հուրն անշէջ . . . Իսկ յետ Ադամայ որ զլուխն ընդ զլխոյն մարտեաւ, եւ զօսացոյց, ապա լուսինն, որք են հազարապետք, եւ հարիւրապետք իշխանին, առին լոյս, այսինքն իշխանութիւն ի նմանէ ի վերա որդւոցն Ադամայ . . . Զի Ադամաւ պայծառացաւ յորժամ յաղթեաց, եւ Քրիստոսիւ խաւարեցաւ, յորժամ յաղթահարեցաւ:

. . . This sun, which was Bēełzebuł, fought against Adam with its heat and dried him up and made him arid and cast him into inextinguishable fire.[26] . . . And after Adam, with whom he fought head to head and dried him up, then the Moon, those who are the prince's chiliarchs and centurions, received from him light, that is, power, over Adam's descendants. . . . For (Bēełzebuł) became luminous through Adam, when he defeated him, and was darkened by Christ, when he[27] was defeated.

10 148 . . . սատանայ յար եւ յաւէժ, յառնէ ի վերայ խաղաղութեան, որպէս ի վերայ Ադամայ ի դրախտին . . .

Satan always and eternally rebels against peace, as against Adam in the Garden . . .

11 167–68 Բնութիւն է օձին, յորժամ զլուխն մուծանէ ի ծակ ինչ, ընդ նմին եւ զամենայն անդամսն: Նոյնպէս եւ սատանայ, յորժամ

25. Ps 104:15.

26. See Isa 66:24.

27. I.e., Beelzebub.

կամիցի զոք ծառայեցուցանել զլուխ իւր մուծանէ ի յոգի նորա, որ է հպարտութիւնն, որով եւ ինքն մահացու, փորձ առեալ նովաւ, եւ նովիմբ ի կարթ փորձութեանն իւրոյ էարկ զԱդամ, եւ զԵւայ, որով եւ ծառայեցոյցն, յորժամ ասացն, բանայցեն աչք ձեր, եւ լինիջիք իբրեւ զԱստուածս, վասն որոյ այսմ թիւրագոյն, գերազանցութեանս ցանկացեալ կերին, ի պտղոյն, զի եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, զլուխ օձին հպարտութիւնն. եւ կինն յառաջեաց եւ նախկնագոյն պատրաստեաց, օթեւան եւ տեղի, գլխոյս այսորիկ. զի ինքն նախ լինիցի Աստուած, եւ տիրեսցէ առն իւրոյ աստուածաբարս. եւ իշխեսցէ իբրեւ զգլուխ, ոտն, գլխոյն: Եւ իբրեւ գործով կատարեցաւ, եւ գլուխ օձին, այսինքն հպարտութիւնն, եմուտ ի հոգիս նոցա, ընդ նմին մտին եւ ամենայն անդամքն, այսինքն ամենայն մեղք: Երկրորդ բնութիւն է օձին, զի ամենայն թոյնք մահացուցիչք, բովանդակեալ ունի ի գլուխն, եւ յորժամ գլուխն տեղի էառ, թոյնքն ամենայն մահացուցիչք անդեն բովանդակեալ մտանեն ընդ գլխոյն: Այսպէս եւ մարդ յորժամ տեղի տայցէ գլխոյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, մտանեն ընդ նմա, ամենայն մահացուցիչք մեղք, եւ անօրէնութիւնք. վասն այնորիկ պատուիրեաց Տէր Ադամայ, նախաստեղծին, դու ըսպասեսցե՛ս նորա գլխոյն, այսինքն հպարտութեանն, զի մի մտցէ ի հոգիդ, վասն զի նա էառ սկիզբն ամենայն ի կորուստ: Զի ի քերովբէից դասուցն ըսկսաւ, որ է առաջին կարգ, երկնաւորացն ստեղծուածոց, մինչ ի վախճան ստեղծուածոց, որ էր մարդն, յանհասանելի բարձրութեանցն եւ փառացն զամենեսեան ի վայր թափեաց:

It is the nature of the serpent, when it inserts its head into a hole, with it, (it inserts) also all its members. Likewise Satan, when he wants to enslave somebody, inserts his head, that is, pride, into his soul; thus it made a mortal experiment with it and through the same, caught Adam and Eve on the hook of its temptation. Thus it enslaved (them) when it said: "your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods."[28] Because of this, desiring this most erroneous excellence, they ate of the fruit, for the head of the serpent, pride, entered their souls. And the woman hurried ahead and readied the first lodging and place for this head, so that she would first become a god and rule over her husband like God, and have authority like a head, (like) the head over the feet. And when the affair was done, and the serpent's head, that is, pride, entered their souls, with it all its members, namely, all the sins, also entered. The second nature of the serpent is: it contains in its head all mortal poisons, and when the head took its place, all mortal poisons contained there entered with the head. Likewise man, when he gives place to the head, that is, to pride, all mortal sins and lawlessnesses enter with it. For that reason, the Lord commanded the first-created Adam, "You will wait for his head,"[29]

28. Gen 3:5.
29. Gen 3:15.

that is, the pride, so that it would not enter your soul, for it provokes everything to perdition. For he began with the ranks of the Cherubim, which is the first rank of the celestial creation, up to the last of creatures, which was man; he cast them all down from inconceivable heights and glory.

12 183 Սոյնպէս եւ նախաստեղծքն, յորժամ բանսարկուն խաբանօք պատրեաց ոչ հայեցան յինքեանս եւ յարարածական բնութիւնս իւրեանց, այլ կամեցան աստուածանալ, վասն որոյ եւ ի գերագունէն կործանեալք խաւարեցան:

Likewise also the first-created ones; when the Devil fraudulently deceived (them), they did not consider themselves and their created nature, but wished to become gods, on account of which, overthrown by the Most Superior One, they were blinded.

13 205 . . . ասաց մարգարէն ի դիմաց Ադամայ, «եղէ ես որպէս տիկ ի պարզի» (Սաղ. ՃԺԸ. 83), լցեալ հողմով հպարտութեան, յորժամ պարտեցայ ի բանսարկուէն, ամբարտաւանութեամբ Աստուածանալոյն, եւ իբրեւ հարցայ յԱստուծոյ, վաղվաղակի պատառեցայ ընդ հարկանելն:

The prophet said about Adam: “I have become like a wineskin in the frost,”[30] filled up with the wind of pride, when I was defeated by the Devil through the arrogance of becoming god; and when I was asked by God, I was immediately rent under the beating.

14 288 Նախնոյն Ադամայ շնորհեցաւ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, եւ զայն կորոյս ամբարտաւանութեամբն, եւ հպարտութեամբն. իսկ նորոյս Ադամայ յաղագս կատարեալ խոնարհութեանն, շնորհեցաւ, ոչ զանազան շնորհս հոգւոյն, այլ նոյն ինքն անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն:

The ancestor Adam was granted various graces of the Spirit and he lost those through arrogance and pride, while the new Adam on account of his perfect humility was granted not the various graces of the Spirit but the person of the Spirit himself.

15 317–18 Արդ եթէ ազատութիւնս նորովս եղեւ զանկուածով, ապա պարտ է մեզ զի զհինն ի բաց, ի տար անդր ձգեսցուք. զի երկակի ներհակքն, անհնարին է համանգամայն, ի միասին զետեղիլ, զի հին զանկուածն որ էր Ադամայն, ամ/բարտաւանութեամբ եւ հպարտութեամբ էր խմորեալ, ի խայթմանէ օձին, ուստի ամենայն ուռուցմունք եւ փքացմունք յառաջեալք լինէին. քանզի բնութեամբ է զորս եւ խայթէ անիծեալն օձ, այնքան ուռի, մինչ զի իբրեւ զտիկ պարզի . . .

30. Ps 119:83 = Arm 118:83.

Now since liberty was in the new dough, we have to cast the old one out far away, for two opposite things cannot be placed together, for the old dough that was Adam's was fermented by arrogance and pride, through the serpent's bite, from which all kinds of swelling and inflation arose. Because it is in accordance with nature that those whom the cursed serpent bites swell to the extent that they become like a "wine skin of frost." [31]

16 337 . . . հպարտութիւնն, զհրեշտակս ի բարձրութենէ ընկեց, զԱդամ զրկեաց . . .

Pride cast the angels from the height, defrauded Adam . . .

17 353 Զի որպէս սովորութիւն է մեռեալն. արտաքս տանել ի տանէ, զի մի զազրագոյն հոտն նորա, վնասեսցէ ումեք, այսպէս արար եւ Աստուած եւ ընդ մեռելոյն Ադամայ, հանեալ արձակեաց զմեռեալ դին, ի տանէ իւրմէ յանմահութենէ, զի թաղիցի ի հողն ուստի առաւ: Արդ եթէ նախաստեղծն ի հարմանէ իժին յայնմանէ, ամենասուրբ երրորդութիւնն ոչ կարաց զնա բժշկել . . .

As it is the custom to take the dead (man) out of the house, so that his foul smell would not hurt anybody, likewise God treated the dead Adam; expelling, he cast the dead corpse from his house, from immortality, to be buried in the ground whence it was taken. Now if the all-Holy Trinity could not cure the first-created (man) from the strike of that viper . . .

18 366 Նախկինն մարդ, ոչ ունէր ըզկատարեալ անձնաւորութիւն հոգւոյն, այլ զամենայն զշնորհս նորա, զեօթնարփեանն, եւ զերկոտասանն. եւ զայն կորոյս պտղոյն ճաշակմամբն:

The first man did not have the perfect person of the Spirit, but all his gifts, the seven spheres of seven lights and the twelve.[32] And he lost them through eating the fruit.

19 386 . . .այսինքն զլուսեղէն պատմուճանդ, զոր մերկացար ի փառակենցաղ դրախտին, եւ երթ ի տունն յորմէ եղեր. քանզի անդամալուծն նշանակէր զԱդամ, մահիճն, զլուսեղէն պատմուճանն, եւ տունն զդրախտն: . . .

. . . that is your luminous clothing of which you were stripped in the Garden of glorious life, "and go to your home," from which you came. For the paralytic symbolized Adam; the bed, the luminous clothing; and the home, the Garden.

20 387 . . . սա դուստր Աբրահամու էր. Աբրահամ նշանակէր զհայր Աստուած, իսկ դուստր նորա զԵւա. որպէս անդամալուծն Ադամ, եւ

31. Cf. ibid.
32. I.e., constellations.

երկոքեանն արձակեցան, եւ ի փառսն հրաւիրեցան . . . Նոյնպէս եւ զՂազարոս, ի մեռելութենէ ի կենդանութիւն հրաւիրեաց. զոր նա ի կենդանութենէ ի մեռելութիւն, ըստ այնմ նախանձու բանսարկուին եմուտ մահ յաշխարհ. քանզի եւ սա նշանակէր զԱդամ, զոր սատանայ ջամբելով զպտուղն, մահացուցիչ եսպան, ըստ այնմ յաւուր յորում ուտիցիս մահու մեռանիցիս, եւ Քրիստոս զսա կոչեաց ի մահուանէ ի կեանս, ըստ այնմ ել մեռեալն ոտիւքն կապելովք, եւ ձեռօքն երիզապնդօք, եւ երեսօքն վարշամակապատօք. եւ ասաց լուծէք զդա եւ թողէք երթալ. զի գերեզմանն նշանակէր, զդժոխս, Ղազարոս զԱդամ, ձեռսն եւ զոտսն կապեալ, զմեղքն, եւ անօրէնութիւն, վարշամակն երեսացն, զտգիտութիւնն, եւ զանիմաստութիւնն . . .

. . . This was Abraham’s daughter.[33] Abraham symbolized God the Father, and his daughter, Eve; as the paralytic (symbolized) Adam, and both were released and invited to the glory. . . . Likewise he invited Lazarus from death to life, whom that one (had invited) from life to death according to: “Through the Devil’s envy death entered the world.”[34] Because he[35] also symbolized Adam, whom the Devil, having fed the mortal fruit, killed according to: “In the day that you eat you shall surely die.”[36] And Christ called him from death to life according to: “The dead man came out, his hands and feet bound with strips of cloth, and his face wrapped in a cloth.” And (Jesus) said, “Unbind him, and let him go.”[37] For the grave symbolized hell, Lazarus—Adam, the “hands and feet bound”—the sin and lawlessness, the cloth of the face—ignorance and senselessness . . .

21 398 Նախկին օձին զբարս ի քեզ (Յուդայի) ցուցանելով, զի որպէս նա առ հինն Ադամ, մատեաւ ի համբոյր, որ յորժամ եղեւն մահացաւ, նոյնպէս եւ դու առ երկրորդս Ադամ, որ համբուրելովդ կամիս ըսպանանել զիս:

Manifesting in you (Judas) the character of the first serpent, for as he approached the old Adam for kiss, and when it happened he died, likewise (do) you to the second Adam, for you wish to kill me with your kiss.

Text: Yovhannēs J̌ułayec‘i, Գիրք պատմութեան. Վիճաբանութիւն առ Շահ Սլէմանն Պարսից *Book of History. Dispute with the Persian Shah Suleyman* (Calcutta: Yovsēp‘ Step‘anosean Press, 1797).

22 116 . . . ամենայն աստուածապաշտք ընդունին Աստուծոյ Ադամ ի

33. Luke 13:16.
34. Wis 2:24.
35. I.e., Lazarus.
36. Gen 2:17.
37. John 11:44

դրախտէն արտաքսեցաւ, վասն այնորիկ էր որ հրաման Աստուծոյ ընկեց, որպէս եւ բացատրութիւն աստուածաշնչոյն է՝ եւ այլ գիրս պատմագրաց մարգարէից եւ ապա ի ձեռս սատանայի անկաւ եւ ի դժոխս տեղակալ եղեւ:

. . . All pious accept that Adam was expelled from the Garden by God; this was because he cast off God's command according to the explanation in the Bible and other books of historiographer prophets, and then he fell into Satan's hands and he became a place-holder in hell.

23 122 . . . ըստ խելաց արմատն մարդկան թարց կարծեաց Ադամ էր եւ նա դառնացաւ վասն ճաշակման պտղոյն եւ ամենայն ազգ մարդկան նոյնպէս դառնացան:

. . . Reasonably, the root of mankind undoubtedly was Adam, and he was embittered on account of eating the fruit, and the whole human race was embittered in the same way.

24 124 Ադամ սխալեցաւ որ հրամանն Աստուծոյ ոչ լուաւ եւ զոր ինչ հրամայական եւ հարժականն,[38] ասացեալ գործով ոչ կատարեաց եւ ըստ հարմնաց[39] բարբառոյն Աստուծոյ եւ բացատրութիւն մարգարէից զոր գրեալ է նա հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ հանեալ եղեւ ի դրախտէն՝ եւ ըստ բացատրութեան մարգարէից անկաւ ի ձեռն սատանայի եւ էջ ի դժոխս եւ այսպէս եղեւ ընդ ամենայն ծնունդս նորա ապա հարկաւորեցաւ զի ոմն լիցի որ զնոսա ազատեսցէ:

Adam erred because of not listening to God's command, and he did not carry out in practice whatever commanding and forbidding was pronounced. And according to the commandments of God's speech and of the prophets' explanation that he had written, at God's command he was expelled from the Garden. And, according to the prophets' explanation, he fell into Satan's hands and descended to hell, and this happened to all his generations. Then it was necessary that there be someone to release them.

38. Apparently corrupt for հրաժարական.
39. Apparently corrupt for հրամանաց.

Eighteenth Century

Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C18

Պատմութիւն պարսից (ԺԸ դար) *History of Persia (18th c.),* ed. B. Aławeleanc‘ (Vałaršapat: Holy Ēǰmiacin Press, 1905).

(*the four dynasties who reigned before the Arabs are listed . . . the first was called Daduians* Դադուինեաց)

1 23 Եւ ի միջի յորոց՝ թագաւոր ոմն կոչէին Զօակթաղի, որոյ մականուն տային Աժդահակ. ասէին թէ՝ սա միայն Ռ ամ թագաւորեաց: Ո՜վ մեծի եւ անըմբռնելի յիմարութեանս. Ադամ նախաստեղծն ո՛չ եկաց մնաց անդր քան զհազար ամն . . .

And among them there was a king called Zoakt‘ałi, to whom they gave the epithet Aždahak. It was said that only he ruled for 1000 years. Oh great and incomprehensible stupidity! The first-created Adam did not stay there for more than a thousand years . . .

2 136–38 (Shah Abas loved stories . . . զքննութիւնս հաւատոյ . . . etc.):

Իսկ ի միում աւուր, որք ժողովեալք էին մեծամեծք դրանն առաջեւ նորա, եւ խօսէին վասն ճշմարտութեան հաւատոյ. եւ ապա խօսիլ սկսան ի վերայ բարբառոց քաղցրութեան եւ փարթամութեան, եւ տարակուսեալք հարցանէին առ միմեանս թէ՝ Արդեօք որ լեզուն իցէ լեզու եւ բարբառ առաջին, որ տուաւ յԱստուծոյ Ադամայ: Առ որոյ ոմանք ասացին Եբրայեցւոց լեզուն զօլ առաջին, ոմանք քաղդէացւոցն, իսկ ոմանք այս եւ այն ազգի բարբառ ասացին. եւ ապացուցութեամբ ոչ ոք ի յորոց կարաց արտալածեալ բացայայտել զտարակուսութիւնն:

*Then the king ordered to put newborn children of different nationalities in an empty house, only letting their mothers to feed them in silence, and whatever language they speak, it will be regarded as the first language given by God to Adam. When the time arrived, they spoke a barbaric language (*խեցբեկագոյն եւ կործաբար զբարբառ խժական*), and no one spoke his native language, and nobody could understand them . . . finally they were given to their mothers and learned their languages.*

(Shah Abas loved stories . . . examination of faith . . . etc.):

And one day, magnates assembled in front of his door and spoke about the truth of faith. And then they began to speak about the sweetness and richness of languages, and having doubts they asked each other which language was the first language and speech that was given by God to Adam. Concerning which some said that the language of the Hebrews was the first; some, (the language of) the Chaldeans; and others named the language of this or that people; and no one of them could evidently do away with the doubts.

3 196 (*vardapet* Yōhannēs explains the Christian doctrine to King Suleyman)

Ասէ՝ յերկինս խռովութիւն անկաւ՝ յորժամ սատանայ մարտեաւ ընդ Աստուծոյ, յորժամ ասաց՝ ելից բարձրացայց, եւ եդից զաթոռ իմ յամպ, եւ եղէց նման բարձրելոյն. յայնժամ ահեղ թնդմամբ որոտաց Տէր յերկնից՝ յաճախեաց զփայլատակունս իւր, եւ խռովեցոյց զնոսա, եւ առաքեաց զնետս իւր եւ ցրուեաց զնոսա. յայնժամ անկան յերկնից ի բարձանց՝ ի խորս անդնդոց, եւ յանկանիլն ձգեաց զտուտն իւր, եւ քարշեաց զերրորդ մասն աստեղաց, այսինքն՝ հրեշտակաց՝ որք ընդ նմա անկան յերկնից ի բարձանց, յերկինս այսպիսի խռովութիւն անկաւ: Իսկ յերկիր, պտղոյն ճաշակմանն Ադամայ եղեւ թշնամութիւն եւ խռովութիւն, յորժամ Ադամ զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ եթող, եւ զպատուիրանս թշնամւոյն Աստուծոյ պահեաց. եւ ընկալաւ, մինչ զի արտաքսեցաւ ի փառակենցաղ դրախտէն. եւ այսպէս բազմանայր օր եւ աւուր մեղքն, յանցանքն, եւ անօրէնութիւնքն, մինչ զի ջրհեղեղաւ կորոյս զամենեսեան . . .

He says: there was trouble in heaven, when Satan fought against God, when he said: let me ascend and put the throne in the clouds and be like the Most High.[1] Then the Lord thundered with terrible sound from heaven, increased his lightning and disturbed them, and shot his arrows and scattered them. Then they fell from the high heaven into the depth of the abyss, and while falling he stretched his tail and dragged the third part of the stars, that is, the angels who fell with him from the high heaven; such a trouble happened in heaven.[2] But on the earth Adam's eating of the fruit caused enmity and trouble, when Adam left God's command and observed the command of God's enemy, and accepted (it) until he was expelled from the glorious, living Garden. And so day after day sin, transgression, and iniquity multiplied until God killed everybody by the Flood . . .

1. Isa 14:13–14
2. See Aune 1998, 685–86, on the source of this, in Rev 12:4.

4 197 . . . այսպէս արմատն ամենայն մարդկայինս բնութեան, որ Ադամ էր, դառնացաւ ճաշակմամբ պտղոյն, եւ զոր ինչ ի նմանէ յառաջ եկն՝ ամենայն նոյնպէս դառն էր, եւ ոչ ոք էր որ առնէր զքաղցրութիւն:

. . . So the root of all human nature, that was Adam, became bitter because of eating the fruit, and everything that proceeded from him was bitter, too, and there was nobody to make sweetness.

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Alphabetical List of Authors Quoted

In this list, I have given basic details about each author. The information has been drawn mainly from the works of Archbishop Norayr Bogharian and Robert W. Thomson for the ancient and medieval periods and of Kevork B. Bardakjian for the period from 1500 on.[1] These sources list further bibliography. In addition, the references to the writings mentioned are given in part 2 of the book.

Norayr Bogharian, Archbishop, Հայ Գրողներ. Ե-ԺԷ Դար *Armenian Writers (Ninth to Seventeenth Centuries)* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971).
Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD.* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500–1920* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

Abusayid C12
A Syrian scholar who lived in the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia (Thomson, 90).

Agat'angełos, C5
Apparently the pen name of a fifth-century author of *History of the Armenians*, which relates the story of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity. Many versions of this work exist (Thomson, 91).

Agat'angełos, *Teaching of St. Gregory* C5
An extensive theological treatise embedded in *History of the Armenians*, attributed to Agat'angełos.

Amulet C15
The oldest amulet roll found in the collection of the Matenadaran in Erevan.

Anania Mokac'i Kat'ołikos C10
He was born in the early tenth century and elected Kat'ołikos in 941. He died in 965. Only four epistles by him have survived (Bogharian, 144–46; Thomson 96).

Anania Narekac'i C10
Tenth-century scholar at the Monastery of Narek, by Lake Van. He is known for his opposition to the Tondrakian heretics. Relatively sparse literary remains survive.

1. In this list, they are referred to as Bogharian, Thomson, and Bardakjian, respectively.

Anania Sanahnecʻi C11
Dated to 1000?–1070? (Bogharian, 185), he lived at a time when the Monastery of Narek was flourishing (Bogharian, 184–87; Thomson, 96–97).

Anania Širakacʻi, C7
An early Armenian scholar famous for his mathematical, calendrical, and secular studies. He studied in Armenia and then pursued mathematics in Trebizond, where he remained for eight years, apparently the student of Tychikos, a well-known Greek expert. Thomson suggests that he was born ca. 600 and died ca. 670, while Bogharian suggests 615?–690?.[2] His father was called Yovhannēs Širakayin. At the request of Katʻołikos Anastasius (662–667), he commenced establishing a fixed calendar for use by the Armenians, but the work remained incomplete due to Anastasius's death. Anania was the author of mathematical and astronomical works, a chronicle and some theological works. The *Geography* traditionally ascribed to Movsēs Xorenacʻi (q.v.) has also been ascribed to him (Bogharian, 89–94; Thomson, 97).

Anania *vardapet* C5
H. Anasyan gathered under this name a number of homilies of unclear authorship.[3] In his introduction to Anania's work in *MH* 5th century, 1141–44, Yakob Keosēyan proposes, on the basis of a process of elimination, of its use by later sources, and also of stylistic features, that the work excerpted here comes from the middle of the fifth century.

Anonymous Author 8 C17
Anonymous poet.

Anonymous of Livorno C17
Anonymous chronicler.

Anonymous of Sebastia C15
Anonymous chronicler.

Aṙakʻel Davižecʻi C17
He was born around 1600 and died in 1670 in Tabriz. He was a monk in Ējmiacin and traveled extensively both as a Catholicosal emissary and to gather material for his *History,* which was written at the request of Katʻołikos Philippos in 1651 and finished around 1662. It covers the period 1602–1662 (Bardakjian, 68-69; Bogharian, 528–30). It was printed in Amsterdam in 1669 by Oskan Erevancʻi, who made some changes to Davižecʻi's original.

Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi C15
Aṙakʻel Siwnecʻi (ca. 1356–ca. 1422) was a poet, thinker, and writer. He was son

2. According to Samuēl of Ani, he was still active in 709, but this seems unreliable; see Bogharian, 89–90.

3. See Anasyan 1959, 786–87.

of Dawit‘ and Melik‘ and nephew of Grigor Tat‘ewac‘i. In the early fifteenth century he was bishop of Siwnik‘ and also abbot of the Monastery of Tat‘ew. He was a fruitful author, his best known works including the *Adamgirk‘* (*Book of Adam*), a long poetic retelling of the story of Adam and Eve in about 6,000 lines; a *Commentary on the Definitions of Dawit‘*; and other poetic, hymnic, and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 409–13; Thomson, 101–3).

Artawazd Mazazuni C10
A tenth-century author known from the *Book of Knowledge and Belief*, edited by Artašes Mat‘evosyan.[4] He composed his "Solutiones" by order of Prince Atom Anjewac‘i.[5]

At‘anas Taronac‘i, C6
He was the author of a *Chronicle* down to 584 C.E. (Thomson, 103).[6]

Awetik‘ Mahtesi C16-17
A poet mentioned in the 16th–17th centuries.

Azaria J̌ułayec‘i C16
Azaria of Julfa the poet, as distinct from his namesake, who was Kat‘ołikos of Sis between 1534 and 1601, lived between ca. 1570–1628. He was born in Sasun but details of his early life are unknown. He studied later with Grigor of Caesaria, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the years 1603–4 and 1609–12. He died at sea in 1628, en route to Egypt, and was buried at Tripoli. His writings include scholarly, poetic and calendrical works (Bogharian 493–96; Bardakjian, 38, 300).

Barseł Maškeronc‘i C14
He lived 1280–1345 and was the author of a commentary on Mark of which fragments have survived (Thomson, 104; Bogharian, 377–78).

Dawit‘ Bałišec‘i C17
Dawit‘ was born in Bałēš (Bitlis). The date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1673. He is known for his *Chronicle* and for manuscripts he had copied. He was a celibate priest and subsequently abbot of the Monastery of Xndrakatar (Bardakjian, 330).

Dawit‘ Ganjakec‘i C12
The author of a guidebook for priests that played a role in later Armenian canon law, he died in 1140 (Bogharian, 215–17; Thomson, 111).

Dawit‘ Hark‘ac‘i C7
Dawit‘ was apparently born at the beginning of the seventh century in the village of Heret‘ or Heret in the region of Hark‘. Thus, he is sometimes called Hark‘ec‘i

4. See note under the excerpt of his work above.
5. On Atom, see Ačaṙyan 1977, "Atom 7." He dates from the tenth century.
6. See Mat‘evosyan 1989, 220–34.

and sometimes Heretac'i. He was in Constantinople as a young man and was a student of Deacon Theodoret, a famous rhetor. He was a deacon of Patriarch Paul of Constantinople (635–654). Dawit' was particularly well educated in philosophical and theological studies, and his works exhibit the influence of Philo. His language and style are hellenizing (Bogharian, 86–87).

Dawit' Salajorc'i C17

Originating from the village of Salajor in Erzerum, he was probably born about 1630 and apparently died before the earthquake of 1718, which he does not mention. He was a poet of verve and sensitivity (Bardakjian, 55–57, 330–31).

Dawit' the Invincible C7

This renowned but obscure philosopher is discussed in many sources. Zuckerman stresses the close links with Olympiodorus of Alexandria and Elias (late sixth–seventh centuries).[7] Four works on philosophy in Armenian versions are attributed to Dawit'. Thomson states that these were written in Greek by a pupil of the sixth century Neoplatonic philosopher Olympiodorus, active in Alexandria. Later Armenian tradition makes Dawit' a pupil of Maštoc', and he supposedly studied in Constantinople, Alexandria, and Athens and victoriously upheld the Christian faith. Various theological works are also ascribed to him (Thomson, 107; Bogharian, 73-76).

Ełišē, C5

Ełišē was born early in the fifth century, but other details of his life remain unclear. He is best known as the author of the *History of Vardan*, which describes the famous Battle of Avarayr against the Sassanians in 451 C.E. Traditions about his life are varied. He is also the reputed author of a number of homilies, some of which are excerpted above (Bogharian, 24–27; Thomson, 112–16).

Ep'rem Łap'anc'i C17

A poet active in the seventeenth century. He was a *vardapet*.

Ephrem, *Exposition of the Gospel,* C5

This work by Ephrem Syrus was early translated into Armenian. It is included here because of its influence on Armenian literature from its inception.

Esayi Nč'ec'i C14

He lived ca. 1255–1338; he was abbot of the renowned Monastery of Glajor and is known for grammatical works and commentaries on biblical books. He served at Glajor for half a century and educated many students (Bogharian, 364–67; Thomson, 117).

Eznik Kołbac'i, C5

Eznik was a disciple of Maštoc' (inventor of the Armenian alphabet), born in the village of Kołb. Koriwn, Maštoc''s biographer describes Eznik's travels to

7. See Zuckerman 2001, 425–48.

Edessa and Constantinople. Ełišē and Łazar report that a Bishop Eznik of Bagrevand attended a synod at Artašat in 450, but earlier Armenian sources preserve no further details about him. His most famous work is a treatise on the origin and nature of evil, commonly known as "Refutation of the Sects" or "Heresies" but more recently as "De Deo." Also extant is part of a letter Eznik sent to Maštocʻ. Various homilies are attributed to an Eznik or Eznak in later Armenian tradition (Bogharian, 18–20; Thomson, 117–21).

Frik C13
A poet known as Frik (not an Armenian name and perhaps deriving from Frederick) lived in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries C.E. The exact dates of his birth and death remain unknown, but a period of ca. 1230–1315 seems plausible in light of historical and biographical information in some of his poems. Bogharian thinks that he might have originated from western Armenia, while Thomson talks of Siwnikʻ. Frik is the first known poet to have written completely in Middle Armenian. His opus comprises more than fifty poems (Bogharian, 338–42; Thomson, 121–22).

Gēorg Loṙecʻi C11
He was born in Loṙi, but worked and died in Cilicia, where he was close to Katʻołikos Grigor Vkayasēr (Martyrophile). He was a theologian, and an epistle by him is preserved in *Girkʻ Tʻłtʻocʻ* (Bogharian, 191–93 and Thomson, 123).

***Girkʻ Tʻłtʻocʻ* C5**
This work, also called *Book of Letters* is a collection of correspondence between Armenian ecclesiastical figures and Syriac, Greek, and Georgian ecclesiastics. The contents date from the fifth to the thirteenth century (Thomson, 104–5).

Grigor Aknercʻi C13
Grigor was the author of *History of the Nation of Archers*, about Armenian–Mongol relations until 1271 (Thomson, 124–25).

Grigor Daranałcʻi C17
Born in Kamax, he lived from 1576 to 1643, the latter years near the centers of Ottoman power. His history was a chronicle started in 1634 and concluded in 1640. He describes the intense political and national affairs of the day. This chronicle is preceded by an account of events from 1595 to 1634. His book is a remarkable source for Armenian history in the Ottoman Empire (Bardakjian, 67–68; Bogharian, 516–20).

Grigor Magistros C10
Grigor (ca. 990–1059) was a member of the distinguished Pahlavuni family, son of Prince Vasak (d. 1021). Grigor played a considerable political role, receiving the title "Magistros" as the Byzantine governor of Mesopotamia, appointed by Constantine Monomachos, after the fall of Ani in 1044. He was a learned man

and translator, and a writer with great interest in Greek and Christian thought (Bogharian, 180–82; Thomson, 127–28).

Grigor Narekac'i C10
Grigor, monk of Narek (945–1010), is Armenia's most famous poet. He was educated under Anania Narekec'i in the Monastery of Narek. His book of mystical poetry, named the *Book of Lamentation* or just "The Narek," has been a focus of Armenian spirituality. He also wrote commentaries and hymns as well as homilies (Bogharian, 157–61; Thomson, 128–33).

Grigor Pahlavuni C12
Grigor lived ca. 1093–1166. He was educated in Karmir Monastery and was Kat'ołikos between 1113 and 1166. He wrote hymns and sacred poetry (Bogharian, 226–27; Thomson, 133).

Grigor Tat'ewac'i C14
The abbot of the Monastery of T'atew, Grigor lived between ca. 1344 and 1409. His teacher was Yovan Orotnec'i. His most famous work is *Book of Questions*, which is part of his strong defense of the Armenian Apostolic Church against the Unitors. He also wrote commentaries and homilies (Bogharian, 396–400; Thomson, 134–35).

Grigor Tłay C12
Grigor IV Tłay (the Child) (ca. 1133–1193) was Kat'ołikos between 1173 and 1193. The nephew of St. Nersēs Šnorhali, Grigor was a poet who wrote religious poems. He tried to foster relations between the Armenian and Greek Churches, and with the Pope (Bogharian, 250–52; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Vkayasēr C11-12
He was the son of Grigor Magistros and was noted for his interest in hagiography and in reforming the monastic life in Armenia. He lived from ca. 1025 to 1105. Leaving most of his administrative duties to a coadjutor, he traveled in Palestine, Egypt, and other monastic centers, translating many saints' lives into Armenian (Bogharian, 194–99; Thomson, 136).

Grigor Xlat'ec'i or Cerenc' C14
Grigor of Xlat' (ca. 1350–1425) was a religious poet and the editor of one of the recensions of the Armenian *Synaxarion* (*Yaysmawurk'*). He was a student of Yovhannēs Orotnec'i (Bogharian, 414–17; Thomson, 136–37).

Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i C16
He lived ca. 1480–1544 and was from a distinguished family. In 1510 he became Kat'ołikos of Ałt'amar. Famous as a poet, he was also known as a painter of miniatures (Bogharian, 445–49).

Grigoris Aršaruni C7
A theologian of mid-seventh to early eighth century, probably dating from ca.

650–ca. 729, Grigoris is the author of a long-winded and repetitive *Commentary on the Lectionary*. To him is also ascribed a commentary on the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, but the ascription is doubtful (Bogharian, 103–5; Thomson, 138).

Hamam Arewelc‘i C9
His dates are ca. 825–ca. 890. He exhibits considerable learning in his exegetical and grammatical writings (Bogharian, 128–29; Thomson, 139).

Ignatius *vardapet* **C12**
Twelfth-century theologian (Thomson, 140).

Karapet Bałišec‘i C16
He lived from ca. 1450 to ca. 1514. He was a copyist as well as a writer of hymns and homilies (Bogharian, 442–44; Thomson, 140; Bardakjian, 33–35, 391–92).

K‘erovbē *vardapet*, **C 9**
He was the author of exegetical works.

Kirakos Erznkac‘i C14
He lived ca. 1280–1355 and was an educator and author active in monasteries in the region of Erznka (Bogharian, 382–84; Thomson, 141).

Kirakos Ganjakec‘i C13
He lived 1200–1271 (Bogharian gives his dates as 1203–1272 [pp. 304–5]). A historian with particularly valuable information on the Mongols, he was taken captive by the Tatars in 1236. He was subsequently returned to Armenia, and he moved to Cilicia, where he died (Bogharian, 304–6; Thomson, 141–42).

Komitas Kat‘ołikos, C6
His dates are ca. 560–628. He was Grand Sacristan of St. Hṙipsimē church. Earlier he was bishop of Tarōn and of the Mamikonians and was elected Kat‘ołikos in 615. He wrote letters preserved in *Girk‘ T‘łt‘oc‘*, a letter in Sebēos's *History*, and the *Šarakans* of the Canons of the holy Hṙipsimeans in the *Hymnal* in thirty-six stanzas (Bogharian, 64–66; Thomson, 142).[8]

Kostandin Erznkac‘i C14
This monk and poet from Erznka lived ca. 1250–1336 (Bogharian, 373–76; Thomson, 145–46).

Lazar P‘arpec‘i, C5
His dates are approximately 437–500, and he wrote a significant history, covering the fifth century. He was raised with the Mamikonean family, and his work is dedicated to Vahan Mamikonean (Bogharian, 34–36; Thomson, 146–49).

8. Note that his inscription is found in the Church of S. Hṙip'simē dated 618 and that Sebēos cites a long epistle by him (Bogharian, 64–66).

Łazar Sebastacʻi C16
He was a priest and the author of love poetry (Bardakjian, 41–42, 399–400).

Łewond, C8
He was the only eighth-century historian, writing ca. 790. His work describes the period of 632–788, when Armenia was under Muslim control. He used Sebēos as his source for the beginning, but the rest draws on contemporary sources and eyewitnesses. No biographical details are known, but he was apparently a cleric with close connection with the Bagratunis. According to its colophon, the *History* was written at the command of Shapuh Bagratuni. Łewond strives to present Bagratunis in a favorable light (Bogharian, 119–21; Thomson, 149).

Mambrē, C5
He was a fifth-century theologian and author of homilies of uncertain dates, perhaps about 400–460. He is associated in Armenian tradition with Movsēs Xorenacʻi (Bogharian, 21–23; Thomson, 150).

Mattʻēos *vardapet* **C15**
Mattʻēos was an author of commentaries and sermons (Bogharian, 402–5; Thomson, 152).

Minas Tʻoxatʻecʻi C16
He was born in Tʻoxatʻ in 1508 and died around 1575. He was a copyist, illuminator, and binder of manuscripts. He emigrated to Lvov in Poland, where he served as secretary of the Armenian court (Bogharian, 464–66; Bardakjian, 39–40, 424).

Mkrtičʻ Nałaš C15
He was a poet, living in the fifteenth century (ca. 1400–ca. 1469). A highly respected ecclesiastic, he was a gifted illuminator and also had skills as an architect (Bogharian, 434–38; Thomson, 153).

Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi or Dasxurancʻi C10
Movsēs lived in the tenth century. He was apparently an Albanian and is known for his *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (Bogharian, 171–73; Thomson, 153–55).

Movsēs Kʻertʻołahayr, C6?
He was a seventh-century scholar (ca. 470–ca. 530) and bishop of Siwnikʻ. He was learned in theology, Scripture, and history and composed homilies and a text on grammar (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 156).

Movsēs Xorenacʻi, C9
The most famous Armenian historian, he claimed to write in the fifth century using older sources. It is clear that he had access to many ancient sources. The date of this author has been fiercely debated, the dates proposed being between the fifth and the ninth century (Bogharian, 14–17; Thomson, 156–68).

Mxit‘ar Anec‘i C12
Mxit‘ar Anec‘i was a chronicler, apparently from Ani (Thomson, 169).

Mxit‘ar Ayrivanec‘i C14
This scholar and chronicler was abbot of the Monastery of Ayrivank‘ (also known as Gełard). His chronicle extends down to 1328 (Thomson, 169). He lived, apparently, between 1222 and ca. 1290 (Bogharian, 313–15; Thomson, 169–70).

Mxit‘ar Goš C12
He was born in Ganjak ca. 1140. At a certain point he studied in Cilicia and subsequently returned to Armenia, where he built the monastery of Nor Getik in 1195. He died there in 1213 (Bogharian, 260–64; Thomson, 170–73).

Nahapet K‘uč‘ak Vanec‘i C16
He is dated ca. 1510–1592, but little is known of him (Bogharian, 467–76; Bardakjian, 428–30).

Nazaret‘ A C17
He was a poet who lived in the seventeenth century.

Nersēs Anjnapatc‘i C17
A seventeenth-century poet.

Nersēs Lambronac‘i C12
He was the author of an extensive and varied literary corpus that included biblical commentaries, homilies, hymns, and translations from Greek and Latin. He was archbishop of Tarsus and was active in both political and ecclesiastical affairs. He lived from 1153 to 1198 and died at the age of forty-six (Bogharian, 253–59; Thomson, 175–78).

Nersēs Šnorhali C12
He lived from 1102 to 1173 and became Kat‘ołikos in 1166. He was of the Pahlavuni family. He is best known for his religious poetry, but he also composed hymns, *šarakans*, commentaries, and other works. He corresponded with Greek authorities on the differences between the churches (Thomson, 178–84).

P‘awstos Buzand, C5
To this mysterious figure is ascribed a history of Armenia that covers the period from 330 to 387. “Buzand” remains unknown, and it has been suggested that the designation is derived from the work’s title *Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk‘*, epic tales (Thomson, 185–88).

P‘ilon Tirakac‘i, C7
P‘ilon translated the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates in the year 696/697. A chronicle is also attributed to him.

Pawłos Taronacʻi C12
There are few biographical details known. His dates are ca. 1050–1123. He was particularly interested in theological and liturgical studies (Bogharian, 207–8).

Pseudo-Basil, C6
See the notes on the excerpts from “Pseudo-Basil” above.

Sahak Jorapʻorecʻi, C7
He was born ca. 635 in the village of Arkʻunašēn in the region of Jorapʻor. He was Katʻołikos from 677 until his death in 703. He was the author of homilies and hymns and also wrote canons, *šarakans,* and a homily included in the printing of Yovhan Ōjnecʻi’s works (Venice, 1834) 185–93. The homily and *šarakans* are in Hellenizing language and grammatical style (Bogharian, 95–97; Thomson, 190).

Sahak Mṙut C9
Ninth-century theologian (Bogharian, 125–27; Thomson, 190–91).

Samuel Anecʻi C12
He lived ca. 1100–ca. 1180. He seems to have been particularly expert in calendrical matters, on which he wrote a commentary. He composed a chronicle from creation down to 1176, using Eusebius and Xorenacʻi as his sources for the ancient period (Bogharian, 240–42).

Samuēl Kamrǰajorecʻi, C 10
Samuel lived ca. 940–ca. 1010. Abbot of the Monastery of Kamrǰajor, he was particularly learned in Scripture, music, calendarical matters, and theology (Bogharian, 162–64; Thomson, 191).

Sargis Šnorhali C12
Sargis was educated at Karmir Vankʻ and lived ca. 1100–ca. 1167. Attracted to the ascetic life, he lived in the Sew Leṙ region. He wrote a commentary on the Catholic Epistles. His style is wordy (Bogharian, 228–320; Thomson, 192–93).

Sarkawag Berdakacʻi C16
A poet of the sixteenth century, from whom only a single poem on wine as earthly and as a heavenly symbol survives (Bardakjian, 41, 487).

Simēon Ałjnecʻi, C 10
He was a tenth-century homilist and theologian.

Simēon Aparancʻi C16
Simēon was born ca. 1550 in the village of Aparankʻ and died in 1615. He was ordained *vardapet* before 1585. He wrote poetry and narratives, some poetic, with strong patriotic sentiment (Bogharian, 482–83; Bardakjian, 42–43, 502–3).

Simēon Kafacʻi C17
Simēon was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step‘anos Kełec‘i C17
He was a seventeenth-century poet.

Step‘anos Ōrbelean C13
He was born ca. 1260 and died in 1304. Step‘anos was the son of Tarsayič Ōrbelean, ruler of Siwnik‘. He became a celibate priest in 1280 and was ordained bishop in 1286. He wrote a history of Siwnik‘ province and other works (Bogharian, 330–33; Thomson, 200–201).

Step‘anos Siwnec‘i, C8
Step‘anos Siwnec‘i was born ca. 680 and died in 735. To enrich his education he went to Athens (ca. 710) and Constantinople (ca. 712), where in the years 715–718 he translated the pseudo-Dionysian corpus into Armenian as well as works by Nemesius and Gregory of Nyssa. He returned to Armenia in about 728. He became bishop of Siwnik‘ and was a scholar and translator (Bogharian, 112–15; Thomson, 201–2).

Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i. (Asołik) C10
He was a historian who lived in the early tenth century. In part 1.1 of his history he enumerates his sources; the third part deals with contemporary events. Bogharian suggests that he lived between ca. 935 and ca. 1015 (Bogharian, 167–69; Thomson, 202–3).

Tačat *vardapet*, C 10
He was the author of an elenchic text in the tenth century.

T‘adēos T‘oxat‘ec‘i C16
His exact dates are uncertain, but he lived from ca. 1540 to 1602. He wrote both in Armenian and in Armeno-Turkish (Bogharian, 480-481; Bardakjian, 40-41, 521).

T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor C7
He lived approximately 600–675. He was the nephew of Komitas Kat‘ołikos (628) and Ezr Kat‘ołikos (rhetor) 641. He was nicknamed “sackcloth wearer” because of his ascetic disciplines. He was an important figure with considerable influence by whom three homilies survive (Bogharian, 83–85; Thomson, 203).

T‘ēop‘ilos C9
He was a ninth-century writer who composed discourses on biblical events of liturgical weight.

Timot‘ēos *vardapet* C10
An author of homilies (Thomson, 203).

Tiranun *vardapet* C10
Theological writer (Thomson, 204).

T‘ovma Arcruni C9

He lived from ca. 840 to ca. 906. We have almost no biographical information about him except that his history reaches the early tenth century, and a Continuator carries it down to the thirteenth century (Bogharian, 134–37; Thomson, 204).

Uxtanēs C10

This historian, dated by Bogharian to 940?–1000?, preserves sources on the rupture of the Armenian and Georgian churches in the seventh century (Bogharian, 154-56; Thomson, 208).

Vahram Rabuni C13

A chronicler, philosopher, and exegete of the thirteenth century who worked in Cilicia; he was court scribe of King Leo II (1270–1289) (Bogharian, 316–19; Thomson, 209).

Vanakan *vardapet* C13

Vanakan *vardapet* (1181–1251) lived in Ganjak during the Mongol invasions at the Monastery of Xoranašat. He represented the northern intellectual tradition, and his student Vardan Arewelc‘i (1200?–1271) carried his ideas to Cilicia as well (Bogharian, 290–93).

Vardan Arewelc‘i C13

He lived ca. 1200–1271. He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1240, but little is known of his life before that. On the way back to Armenia he stopped in Cilicia until 1246. Afterwards, he returned to Armenia, where he eventually died in 1271 in Xor Virap. His surviving writings are numerous, including a famous history and geography (Bogharian, 294–300; Thomson, 210–12).

Vardan Aygekc‘i C13

Originating near Aleppo, he was educated in Cilicia. He was known as a preacher and a prolific writer. He lived from 1170 to 1235. He was known as the author of fables, and the important catena *Root of Faith* is ascribed to him (Bogharian, 276–81; Thomson, 212–13).

Vrt‘anēs K‘ert‘oł C7

He lived ca. 550–ca. 620. He was born near Dvin, where he was educated. He was ordained and later served as *locum tenens* for the Kat‘ołikos of Armenia (604–7). About ten of his letters on ecclesiastical issues survive. He had a particular interest in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and there is considerable Hellenizing influence on his language (Bogharian, 55–58; Thomson, 213).

Xač‘atur J̌ułayec‘i C18

Few details are known of his life, except that he was born in New Julfa. He wrote a *History of Persia*, including much information on Armenians, especially after the resettlement in New Julfa (Bardakjian, 89–90, 360).

Xač'atur Keč'aṙec'i C14
Xač'atur was a poet and teacher who edited anew the Alexander Romance in Armenian with the addition of word lists and explanatory notes (*kafas*). He lived from 1260 to 1331. He chiefly composed *Ganj*s and religious poems (*tałs*) (Bogharian, 356–59; Thomson, 214).

Xa'čatur Xaspēk Kafac'i C17
He was a proficient copyist and illuminator born in Kaffa and a poet in both the religious and secular realms (Bardakjian, 55, 359).

Xosrovik T'argmanič', C8
His dates are approximately 670–730. Few biographical details are known, but judging from his writings he was a younger contemporary of Yovhan Ōjnec'i. They worked together at the Council of Manzakert (726). He was a strong defender of Armenian orthodoxy. He composed polemical works in the Hellenizing style (Bogharian, 106–8; Thomson, 216).

Xosrow Anjewac'i C10
He lived approximately from 900 to 963. Little is known of his early life. He was married, and after the death of his wife in the 940s he was ordained bishop of Anjewik'. He was later excommunicated for his views (Bogharian, 141–43; Thomson, 215–16).

Յաճախապատում ճառք **Dogmatic Homilies C5**
"A collection of homilies sometimes ascribed to Gregory the Illuminator or to Maštoc'" (Thomson, 216). The work is thus traditionally attributed to the fifth century or earlier (Thomson, 216–17).

Yakob Cpatec'i C10
This theologian lived in the tenth century and wrote a work against Xosrow Ajewac'i.

Yakob Kesarac'i C17
A poet who wrote on religious themes.

Yakob Łrimec'i C15
This learned and literary scholar lived ca. 1350-1426. He died in the city of Arckē, leaving a substantial literary heritage, including calendrical works (Bogharian, 419–22; Thomson, 217).

Yakob T'oxatc'i C17
His dates were 1573–ca. 1667. In 1602, he went to Zamość in Poland, where he served as priest until his death. He learned Polish and Latin and copied liturgical manuscripts. He wrote poetry, homilies, and other works and was also a translator (Bogharian, 524–26; Bardakjian, 53-54, 565).

Yohan K'ahana C13
He was a chronicler of the thirteenth century.

Yovasap‘ Erznkac‘i C17
A seventeenth-century poet.

Yovasap‘ Sebastac‘i C16
He was born in 1510 approximately and was a poet and scribe. He was a married deacon and composed love poetry and also meditative religious poems. He was influenced by Nersēs Šnorhali and also Grigor Narekac‘i, and he also wrote historical poetry. His death may be placed about 1564 (Bogharian, 453–56; Bardakjian, 35–38, 567).

Yovhan Arčišec‘i C14
The approximate dates of his lifetime are 1260–1330, though neither is certain. He was a student of Esayi Nč‘ec‘i. He was called “lentil eater” because of the long ascetic discipline that he undertook. He wrote a commentary on the Liturgy (Bogharian, 354–55; Thomson, 228).

Yovhan Mamikonean C7
He was a historian supposedly of the seventh century, but scholars say that his writing is later. His history is closely connected with that of Zenob Glak. According to Bogharian (299–310), his work contains two parts: (a) a translation of the history of Zenob Glak from Syriac and (b) a continuation History of Tarōn (Bogharian, 71–76; Thomson, 223).

Yovhan Ōjnec‘i, C 8
Yovhan is noted for his writings against the Paulicians and other heretics, and for his compilation of canon law. He was born in the village of Ōjun in the region of Loṙi. His main teacher was T‘ēodoros K‘ṙt‘enawor (675?), particularly in the fields of Scripture, philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric. Yovhan was widely learned and given the sobriquet “the philosopher.” Serving as Kat‘ołikos in the years 717–728, he convened the Councils of Dvin (720) and Manazkert (726). The site of his tomb is venerated up to the present in the village of Artu, to the east of ancient Ōjun (Bogharian, 98–102; Thomson, 218).

Yovhan Orotnec‘i C14
Yovhan was born in 1315, the son of Ivanē Ōrbelean. He was educated at Glajor under Esayi Nč‘ec‘i and others. His writings were religious, exegetical, and philosophical in character, and he had numerous distinguished students. He died in 1387 (Bogharian, 391–95; Thomson, 226).

Yovhannēs Gaṙnec‘i C13
He lived from ca. 1180 to ca. 1245. At a young age he became a celibate priest and joined the order of Ayrivank‘. He was known as a charismatic healer through laying his hands on the afflicted. He traveled extensively preaching, healing, and evangelizing. His writings were theological in character, and he also wrote homilies (Bogharian, 285–89; Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs A C16
A sixteenth-century poet.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i C10
He lived ca. 850–929. He was knowledgeable in Scripture, Armenian literature, and rhetoric. He held the office of Kat'ołikos from 898 to 929. The history that he wrote extends from Noah up to the first quarter of the tenth century and so deals with the Bagratids (Bogharian, 138–40; Thomson, 219–20).

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i C14
He lived approximately between 1260 and 1335 and received his education in Glajor. He wrote commentaries (including completing Nersēs Šnorhali's commentary on Matthew). He also wrote grammatical works. In attributions he is often confused with Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz (Bogharian, 360–63; Thomson, 220–21).

Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Pluz C13
He was born about 1240 and died in Erznka in 1293. He studied with Vardan Arewelc'i, among others. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, on his return trip, taught grammar in the Catholicosal school in Hṙomkla. He was known as a learned and cultivated figure in the thirteenth century, and particularly as a poet and author (Bogharian, 320–23; Thomson, 221–23).

Yovhannēs Garnec'i C13
He was a theologian and author of homilies and hymns, member of the order of Ayrivank'. He made pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1222–1223. Afterward he went to Hṙomkla (Bogharian 285–88; Thomson 223).

Yovhannēs Imastasēr (Sarkawag) C12
He was born in Arc'ax in the middle of the eleventh century, and his life span is put at ca. 1050–1129. He was a very learned man, excelling in calendrical, philosophical, theological, and poetic skills. His style was academic rather than popular. His main arena of activity was the Monastery of Hałbat, where he died in 1129 (Bogharian, 210–14; Thomson, 226–28).

Yovhannēs J̌ułayec'i C17
Yovhannēs was born in New Julfa in 1643. He was ordained as a celibate priest in 1669 and died in 1715. He knew Arabic and Persian, which comes to light in some of his works. He was chiefly devoted to theological and philosophical themes. (Bardakjian, 567–68).

Yovhannēs K'orepiskopos, C8
A theological writer of the seventh-eighth centuries, Yovhannēs was the author of homilies on the cross and the church (Thomson, 223).

Yovhannēs Mandakuni, C5

He lived between 420 and 490 and was Kat'ołikos between 478 and 490. Numerous homilies are ascribed to him, but the attribution is uncertain. Certain of these homilies seem to have been written by Yovhannēs Mayravanec'i or Mayragomec'i (Bogharian, 30–33; Thomson, 224–25).

Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i C14

Yovhannēs lived around 1450–1535. He served as Kat'ołikos of Sis (Cilicia) during 1496 and 1535. He was a distinguished poet (Bogharian, 385–90; Thomson, 228).

Zak'aria Kat'ołikos, C9

He was born in Kotayk' at the beginning of the ninth century and served as Kat'ołikos from 855 to his death in 876. We have his correspondence with Patriarch Photius of Byzantium concerning the pressure toward union with the Greeks (864–867). Zak'aria's literary output was around twenty-five sermons and homilies, especially for the feasts, in ornate style (Bogharian, 122–24; Thomson, 230).

Zak'aria Gnuneac' C16

His dates are approximately 1500–1576. He was bishop of the province of Gnunik' and before that, he was abbot of Lim *anapat*. He studied in Ałt'amar. By 1544 we find him in Constantinople. Bogharian (460–61) lists manuscripts copied in his hand. In his poetry, he favored the theme of the Nightingale and the Rose, to which he devoted three poems. He was greatly influenced by the poetry of Grigoris Ałt'amarc'i. He also composed *kafas* to the Alexander Romance (Bogharian, 460–63; Bardakjian, 32–33, 573).

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In memory of Angelo Arioli

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Acknowledgments

This book started by accident. I was writing another book (on the relationship between the Syriac legends of Alexander's gate and the Qurʾānic story of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn) when I realized that my previous assumptions about the dating and context of the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs*, a Syriac text prominently at the center of my analysis, were erroneous. My doubts, first confined to a footnote, soon claimed their place in the text. The footnote became a paragraph, the paragraph became a chapter, and the chapter became a monograph. This surprisingly fast and, honestly, painful, intellectual process could not have happened had I not been in the ideal circumstances. Most ideas in this book were conceived during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where I found the most stimulating atmosphere and the best work conditions that a researcher can dream of. I am deeply grateful to the Institute, and to Sabine Schmidtke in particular, for the opportunity that I was given. My stay at IAS was funded thanks to a Patricia Crone membership. Since I was a Ph.D. student, Patricia has represented a model for the scholar I want to be. Being awarded a fellowship in her memory was, and will remain, the highest honor of my academic life.

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I would not have written this book had it not been for my friend Stephen Shoemaker, whose observations on the origins of the *Neṣḥānā* made me hesitate for the first time about what I had until then considered as

undisputable facts. Besides instilling doubts in my mind and demolishing my scholarly assumptions, Stephen is the best colleague. He has always been willing to discuss my ideas during the entire development of this book project, and I have enormously benefited from his feedbacks and comments. For these and other reasons, I thank him profusely.

The research in this monograph is heavily indebted to the work of those scholars who studied the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* before me, and to Gerrit Reinink and Kevin van Bladel in particular. Both of these scholars have strongly influenced my way of doing research, teaching me, among other things, the importance of taking the risk of making hypotheses on the historical circumstances in which ancient texts were composed. Although I ended up disagreeing with the specific contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā* that Reinink and van Bladel advocate in their studies, their scholarship set a fundamental example for my own, and my intellectual debt to them is enormous.

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Although this book is largely the product of my most recent research activity, my work on the Syriac Alexander texts started almost fifteen years ago, during my MA studies in Paris, and continued throughout my doctoral

studies in Rome and Paris, and my five-year-long postdoctoral experience in Jerusalem. I am particularly grateful to Aboubakr Chraïbi, for his wise guidance and mentorship over the period of my education at INALCO. I should like to thank Prof. Gabriel Motzkin and Dr. Leonard Polonsky, who conceived and realized the visionary project of the Polonsky Academy for Advanced Study at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, where I could pursue my research after obtaining my Ph.D. degree. My current institution, the Duke Kunshan University, has provided a friendly environment in which to finalize the redaction of this monograph. I am grateful to the many colleagues, friends, and students who have made my new life in China so interesting and enjoyable. In particular, I would like to thank Kolleen Guy, James Miller, Ben Van Overmeire, and, last but not least, my brilliant and talented student Hajra Farooqui, who has a bright future ahead of her. I also wish to thank my parents, Isabella Cipriani and Alberto Tesei, who over the years have patiently observed their son making life decisions that took him further and further away from home.

This book was written over the course of four years. It was a particularly hectic period, marked by an unusual concentration of significant life events, including three relocations to three different continents, one of which happened in the middle of the global pandemic. Saying that completing a book in those circumstances was a challenge would be an understatement. Certainly, I would not have been able to achieve that goal had I not had some extraordinary companions at my side, my wife Marie Malka Shalev, who left her country and career to follow me in this journey, and our four, very much loved, dogs, Hutch, Ox, Pudding, and April, who filled my life outside the academia with joy (and chaos!).

This book is dedicated to the memory of my beloved professor, Angelo Arioli, who passed away a few months before its publication. The encounter with him was one that indelibly marked my life, instilling in me the love for research that turned a confused nineteen-year-old student into an aspiring scholar. Among the many memories of him that I greatly cherish, Prof. Arioli was the first one who talked to me about Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, sparking in me the curiosity that ultimately led me to write this book.

Tommaso Tesei
Budapest, June 1, 2023.

Introduction

In 1889, Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge published *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo Callisthenes*, which includes critical editions and translations of four Syriac texts containing stories about Alexander the Great.[1] The longest of these texts is a Syriac version of Ps.-Callisthenes's *Alexander Romance*. The other three works are two anonymous, medium and short-length, prose narratives, and a metric homily spuriously attributed to Jacob of Serugh (d. 521 CE). The present study focuses on the first and longer of the two prose narratives, which Budge called *A Christian Legend concerning Alexander*, but whose original title is *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs*, literally "the victory of Alexander." Western scholars often refer to this text as the *Syriac Alexander Legend*. This denomination has resulted in confusion between the latter and the Syriac adaptation of the *Alexander Romance.* To avoid misunderstandings, in this monograph I will use an abbreviated form of the Syriac title and will use *Neṣḥānā* to refer to the work in question.

The confusion between the *Neṣḥānā* and the Syriac *Alexander Romance* is related to the fact that the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* has been overlooked by scholars. At present, since Budge's 1889 work, no new critical edition or English translation of the Syriac text has been produced[2]—although a French translation has recently been published by Georges Bohas.[3] No monographic study dedicated to this text has been produced, and many aspects of the *Neṣḥānā* are misunderstood by scholars. The several articles published by Gerrit Reinink between the 1980s and the early 2000s on the topic of the Syriac Alexander texts are surely an invaluable step forward in the analysis of the *Neṣḥānā*, and recent studies by Kevin van Bladel and Lutz Greisiger have refined our knowledge of the Syriac work.[4] However, despite their valuable contribution to the study of the *Neṣḥānā*, these studies embrace a theory which I myself advocated in previous studies[5] but that I now consider to be fundamentally wrong, namely that the text was composed during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641). One goal of

the present work is to rectify current scholarly views about the dating and contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā*.

Setting the Syriac work in a well-established historical context and determining the exact period and circumstances in which this work was composed is an important endeavor. The *Neṣḥānā* is a seminal text for later Christian and Muslim apocalyptic traditions. It contains the earliest recorded versions of literary motifs that would become central to the medieval apocalyptic tradition—the most notable being the motif of the gate erected by Alexander against Gog and Magog (hence the title of this book). The *Neṣḥānā* also represents an early witness to an influential political ideology that guided both Byzantine and early Islamic imperial policies. At the same time, the *Neṣḥānā* had an important impact on literary sources that are crucial to our understanding of the rise of Islam. Indeed, the *Neṣḥānā* influenced (directly or indirectly) other Syriac works that provide invaluable information about Christian reactions to early Islamic expansionism—for example, the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*. In addition, the Alexander story, as told in the Syriac text, inspired the famous Qurʾānic pericope on Ḏū-l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83–102), and some scholars—including myself—have argued that the *Neṣḥānā* is the source of this Qurʾānic passage.[6] For all these reasons, a critical study of this text will illuminate key cultural and religious trends in Late Antiquity.

While the scholarly consensus commonly dates the *Neṣḥānā* to the time of Heraclius, in this study I show that an earlier version of the text was produced during the reign of Justinian I (r. 527–565). This new historical contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā* enables me to better delineate the development of late antique, politicized forms of apocalypticism, which assign to the Christian Roman Empire the task of establishing a cosmocratic rule in view of Jesus's Second Coming. I argue that the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* played a decisive role in shaping this apocalyptic ideology. At the same time, by analyzing the contents and the ideology of the text, I hope to contribute to our understanding of the origins and developments of important literary motifs of medieval literature worldwide, like the characterization of Alexander as a pious prophet-king (in both Christianity and Islam alike), and the story of the gate that he erected to confine the eschatological nations of Gog and Magog.

I also hope to shed light on lesser-known aspects of political debates in the sixth-century Near East. Against the current scholarly wisdom, I argue

that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* did not celebrate the Byzantine emperor, but rather criticized him and his policies. By portraying the hero of his legend —Alexander—in ideal terms, the author sought to draw attention to Justinian's shortcomings. This new reading of this Syriac apocalypse offers historians a valuable insight into important aspects of Justinian's reign, as seen by an author who was not on the emperor's payroll. In this regard, my study provides a new approach to aspects of political debates in sixth-century Byzantine society that have been marginalized.

Readers familiar with my previous studies may be surprised (or disappointed) by my lack of engagement with the influence of the *Neṣḥānā* on the story of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, and the *Neṣḥānā*'s significance for the study of the emergence of the Qurʾānic corpus. This is a deliberate choice. The present study focuses on the Syriac text and on historical circumstances in the mid-sixth century CE. The few references to Ḏū-l-Qarnayn will mainly be placed in footnotes, except for some brief remarks in the conclusion. It goes without saying that the question of the impact of the *Neṣḥānā* on the Qurʾānic pericope deserves a thorough investigation, especially in light of the new insights that I provide in this work. I hope to dedicate a specific study to this topic in the future.

Book Structure, Annotated Contents, and Note on Transliterations

The book is divided into ten chapters, which are organized into two main parts. Part I (Chapters 1–6) is mostly aimed at revising earlier scholarship on the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* and at determining the historical context in which the Syriac work was originally composed. Part II (Chapters 7–10) analyzes specific themes and motifs in the *Neṣḥānā* at the light of the newly established historical context. Because of the character of the current analysis—which involves a broad variety of literary and material sources from the historical environment in which the *Neṣḥānā* was composed—the book includes several excursuses. Consequently, the reader might find some passages to be conceptually dense. The following annotated contents are meant to facilitate the navigation through these occasional complexities.

In Chapter 1, I describe the manuscript tradition of the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs*. I present the Alexander story as narrated in the Syriac work and the sources that the author used to compose his narrative. I also explore

the geography behind the episode of Alexander’s gate, as this is an important element to determine the Syriac author’s historical and political context.

In Chapter 2, I review earlier scholarship on the *Neṣḥānā*, with special attention to the debate over whether or not the Syriac work is a seventh-century composition.

In Chapter 3, I demonstrate, by means of philological analysis, that the only passage in the text that clearly indicates a seventh-century dating—a prophecy referring to events that occurred between 626 and 629 CE—is in fact an interpolation within an earlier composition dating to the end of the reign of Justinian. This interpolation—I argue—demonstrates that several decades after its composition, the Syriac work was modified in order to connect it to new historical circumstances, and possibly to the widespread belief in the Byzantine world that the ideal emperor described in the *Neṣḥānā* had returned in the figure of Heraclius.

In Chapter 4, I demonstrate that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* uses the episode of the eschatological gate erected by Alexander to address two major points of controversy between the Byzantine and Sasanian empires at the time of Justinian and Khosrow Anōshirvān: (1) their dispute over the control of the Caucasian mountain passes (traditionally identified as the semi-mythical Caspian Gates); and (2) the war between the two empires for the possession of the kingdom of Lazica. These disputes between the two rival empires provide the political framework for the author’s elaboration of the story of Alexander’s gate. I relate the author’s engagement with contemporary issues to broader political debates in the Byzantine world during the reign of Justinian. I point out that, while producing a unique representation of thorny political controversies, the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* reflects concerns and positions that are expressed in the works of several contemporary authors.

In Chapter 5, I explore the section of text about the war between Alexander and his Persian rival, Tūbarlaq. Against many previous scholars, I demonstrate that themes and *topoi* adopted by the Syriac author do not relate to a specific understanding of the notion of holy war in the seventh century. In fact, I show that the *Neṣḥānā* conforms to literary trends observable in earlier Christian texts. Then, I demonstrate that the peace agreements between Alexander and the Persian king Tūbarlaq described in the *Neṣḥānā* reflect the reality of Roman-Persian peace treaties in the sixth

century—not the seventh century, as claimed by many scholars. By formulating an idealized version of the peace contracts stipulated by Justinian and Khosrow Anōshirvān, the Syriac author criticizes the Byzantine policy of buying peace with gold. I connect the author's criticism of Justinian to broader dissatisfactions in the Byzantine world with the emperor's poor achievements in the conflicts with the Persians. I also demonstrate that the author's criticism of Justinian has a close parallel in the work of another sixth-century Syriac writer, that is, the anonymous author of the *Julian Romance*. Then, I analyze a prophecy uttered by Tūbarlaq at the end of the *Neṣḥānā* and argue against the view that this prophecy echoes themes of Heraclius's war propaganda. Finally, I address the unsolved problem of Tūbarlaq's identity and offer a new solution for this question.

In Chapter 6, I situate the figure of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* in relation to the well-known phenomenon of the *imitatio Alexandri*, adopted by Roman historiographers and imperial propagandists to relate Eastern, "Persian," campaigns led by Roman generals and emperors to the glorious antecedent of Alexander's war against the Achaemenid Empire. I highlight the political connotations of the image of Alexander as a *kosmokrator* in the mid-sixth century. Through this peculiar characterization of Alexander, the Syriac author not only expressed his anti-Sasanian feelings, which culminate in Alexander's prophecy about the imminent collapse of the Sasanian Empire, but also criticized Justinian for his inability to repeat Alexander's glorious deeds against the Persians and for his poor achievements in the conflict against the Sasanian enemy. In the *Neṣḥānā* the figure of Alexander is thus a nemesis of the Byzantine ruler. I also note the parallel between the *Neṣḥānā* and the *Julian Romance*, drawing attention to similarities between the characterizations of Alexander and Jovian in the two works—both of which criticize Justinian.

In Chapter 7, I analyze the peculiar and unprecedented characterization of Alexander as a pious (Christian) prophet-king and as the founder of the Roman Empire, envisaged as an eschatological agent. I argue that the figure of the Christian, apocalyptic, Alexander in the Syriac work is rooted in the hermeneutics of the Danielic prophecies (Dan 2, 7, and 8) developed by Christians in both the Byzantine and Sasanian empires to situate the two empires in the framework of God's plan for human salvation. I emphasize the parallels between the *Neṣḥānā* and the conceptualization of Alexander's

kingdom in Aphrahat's (d. 345 CE) hermeneutic of Daniel. Finally, I argue that a better understanding of the ideology and concepts behind the elaboration of the Syriac Alexander helps us to better understand the development of the story of Alexander's eschatological gate. I demonstrate that some of the main features of the episode of the gate are embedded with a symbolism that relates to the author's readings of the Danielic prophecies and to his views on the role of Alexander's empire in sacred history.

In Chapter 8, I study the apocalyptic ideology presented in the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* and its relationship to pro- and anti-imperial sentiments in earlier literature. I highlight the Syriac author's unprecedented emphasis on the eschatological role of the Roman Empire and on his innovative conceptualization of Byzantium as a kingdom destined to establish a Christian cosmocracy in preparation for the return of the Messiah and the establishment of God's Kingdom. At the same time, I emphasize the connection between the apocalyptic vision articulated in the *Neṣḥānā* and that outlined two centuries earlier in Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*. I argue that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* expanded upon the anti-Sasanian character of Aphrahat's reading of Daniel not only as a consequence of the renewed hostilities between the two empires, but also in reaction to increasing rapprochement between the Sasanian crown and the Church of the East. My reading of sixth-century sources indicates that contemporary Persian Christians developed an understanding of Daniel's apocalyptic visions that sought to confer upon the Sasanian Empire a special role in sacred history and a dignity equal to that attributed to the Roman Empire by Byzantine authors. In reaction to these trends current among Persian Christians, I argue, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* developed his highly politicized and militant hermeneutic of Daniel 2, 7, and 8—which predicts the collapse of the Sasanian kingdom.

In Chapter 9, I analyze the first part of the prayer that Alexander addresses to God at the beginning of the Syriac work, with special attention to the motif of Alexander's horns in the *Neṣḥānā*. This motif emerges from ancient iconographic representations of Alexander crowned with ram horns —as in the effigies of the Greco-Egyptian god Zeus-Ammon. Unlike late antique Christians, who typically displayed hostility toward this pagan symbolism, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* christianizes the image of the horned Alexander by reading it through the lens of biblical texts—among which is the Book of Daniel. As I show, the author uses the motif of Alexander's

horns to formulate an innovative hermeneutic of the Danielic vision of the ram and the he-goat in Daniel 8. This hermeneutic results in the attribution of an apocalyptic value to the ancient horn symbolism. I argue that this literary operation is related to the author's willingness to address contemporary political circumstances, especially Byzantine-Sasanian relationships. Through a sophisticated combination of biblical and Classical traditions, the Syriac author transforms the ancient representation of the horned Alexander into an element of his anti-Sasanian polemic.

In the final chapter, I address the second part of Alexander's prayer, specifically the king's surrender of his crown and throne as a ceremonial act prior to the return of the Messiah. I compare this motif to the well-known Last Roman Emperor legend, and I compare the passage in the *Neṣḥānā* with sections from the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* and the so-called *Tiburtine Sibyl* where the Last Emperor theme appears. I argue that the *Neṣḥānā* contains the first recorded version—although in an embryonic stage—of this legend. I connect the scene of the surrender of the crown and throne in the *Neṣḥānā* to late antique allegorical representations of the idea of *translatio imperii*, by means of the symbols of the heavenly crown and the throne of the *kosmokrator*. I argue that the Syriac author draws upon this semiotic universe to again express the idea that Rome was destined to become a cosmocratic power with the goal to rebut representations of Persian dynasts as universal kings.

I have limited as much as possible the use of non-Latin characters and have included passages from the Syriac text of the *Neṣḥānā* only when I considered their inclusion beneficial to the analysis. In transliterating Syriac words and sentences I preferred to leave the transliterations unvocalized. I have vocalized words and sentences only when they occur within the body of the text, with the aim of not disrupting the fluidity of the reading. Unless otherwise stated, translations of the *Neṣḥānā* are mine. A new English translation of the full Syriac work is provided in Appendix 1 at the end of the book. I have occasionally included in the chapters excerpts from that translation whenever the analysis required a more direct access to the translated text.

PART I

THE TEXT AND ITS CONTEXT

1

The Text, the Story, and Its Sources

The *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* has been preserved in five manuscripts, all written in East Syriac script and produced in relatively recent times. The oldest manuscript, currently kept at the British Library in London, dates from the early eighteenth century, while the most recent dates to 1886. The three remaining manuscripts date from the mid-nineteenth century.[1] Note, however, that at least two of the five extant manuscripts were reportedly copied from samples of unknown dating. The first case is that of the manuscript dated 1844 and currently kept at Yale's Beinecke Library.[2] The manuscript was given to the American Oriental Society by Justin Perkins, according to whom it had been copied from an undated (and now unknown) manuscript found at Orūmīyeh (Urmia in modern northwestern Iran).[3] The manuscript's colophon, transcribed and translated by Budge in his book, does not tell us much about the original manuscript from which Perkins derived his copy.[4] Also, it is unclear whether another manuscript provided by Perkins—this time to the German Oriental Society (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) in 1852—was copied from the same sample.[5] Budge informs us that he asked his friend Benjamin Labaree in Orūmīyeh to make investigations about the original manuscript (or manuscripts) from which Perkins made his copies, without, however, obtaining any information.[6]

The second case concerns one of the two copies of manuscripts ordered by Budge. Whereas in one case Budge tells us the date of the original manuscript (i.e., 1848), in the other case he indicates only that the copy was made from "an old Nestorian manuscript in a library at Alkôsh [Alqōš, in modern Iraq]."[7] The date of the original manuscript and where is it currently located, I am not able to say. But regardless of the age in which the unknown manuscripts of the *Neṣḥānā* were produced, the Syriac work is

certainly much older than the known material copies in which it has been transmitted.

Another interesting aspect of the manuscript tradition is that the *Neṣḥānā* has constantly been transmitted as an appendix to the Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance*. When exactly the *Romance* was adapted into Syriac is uncertain. According to Theodor Nöldeke, the Syriac *Romance* was produced from a Middle Persian intermediary translation toward the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh.[8] Nöldeke's study has recently been the object of increasing skepticism, but the criticism has mostly concerned his theory about the language from which the Syriac adaptation would have been produced. Claudia Ciancaglini, the most active advocate of the alternative theory, according to which the Syriac *Romance* was translated directly from Greek, maintains that the translation was produced around the seventh century.[9] In fact, one of the most striking elements in the Syriac adaptation of the *Romance* is the systematic replacement of the name of the ancient Achaemenid sovereign Xerxes with that of the Sasanian king Khosrow.[10] Nevertheless, it is hard to say whether this Khosrow should be identified with either Khosrow I Anōshirvān (r. 531–579) or Khosrow II Parvēz (r. 590–628). Thus, lacking definitive evidence for its dating, it is difficult to say whether the Syriac *Alexander Romance* was produced before or after the *Neṣḥānā*—which, as will be argued in this book, was composed around the second half of the sixth century. Sebastian Brock suggests that the translation of the *Romance* into Syriac prompted the production of a series of Syriac texts about Alexander, including the *Neṣḥānā*.[11] Yet, the process may very well have gone the other way, since the *Neṣḥānā* met a considerable success in the seventh century and sparked an interest for the figure of Alexander among Syriac authors. This interest may have incentivized the translation of the *Alexander Romance* into Syriac.

This is not to say that the *Romance* was unknown at the time when, and in the geographical area where, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was active, that is, sixth-century northern Mesopotamia or Roman Armenia (*vide infra*). The *Romance* widely circulated in the Roman world, and Armenian adaptations were produced from as early as the fifth century, proving that the text met an interested audience in the region.[12] Moreover, as will be evident in this study, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* demonstrates a surprising knowledge of

literary themes and motifs derived from the Classical tradition. Thus, it is likely that he also had access to some version of the *Alexander Romance*, or at least to some related traditions about Alexander. But regardless of whether that was the case or not, it is noticeable that only a very limited number of elements in the *Neṣḥānā* echo elements found in those recensions of the *Romance* that antedate its composition. In the end, it is important to stress that the *Neṣḥānā* is a completely separate work from the *Alexander Romance*. The fact that in the manuscript tradition it is presented as an appendix to the Syriac *Romance* only reflects the redactional work of later copyists.

The Text

The *Neṣḥānā* is a medium-length narrative that can be divided into the three main sections.

(1) In the opening section, Alexander summons the nobles of his council to convey his wish to explore the outmost regions of the earth. The nobles warn him about obstacles that will prevent him from accomplishing his desire, especially the Ocean, also called the Fetid Sea, whose deadly waters can kill any creature. Alexander decides to proceed anyway. After addressing a prayer to God in which he promises to subjugate the earth to glorify his divine name, Alexander gathers his army and travels to Egypt, where he enrolls blacksmiths and specialist metalworkers. Afterward, the king and his army reach the shore of the Fetid Sea, which, however, proves uncrossable. The journey proceeds and Alexander reaches the "window of heaven," namely the conduit that the sun enters to move from the place of the sunset to the place of the sunrise.

(2) After Alexander's extraordinary travel adventures to where the sun sets, we suddenly find him at the place of the sunrise, where he has probably arrived after a march along the cosmic route of the sun's nocturnal path. From this location in the Far East, Alexander and his army travel westward and reach northern Mesopotamia and the Caucasus. After encamping at the foot of a great mountain, Alexander receives a visit from a local delegation of 300 elders, who inform Alexander that the land belongs to the Persian king Tūbarlaq. Alexander asks the elders about the people living across the great mountain, and he receives a long and detailed description of the Huns and their barbaric habits. Noticeably, Gog and Magog are listed as two of the Hunnic kings. After listening to the elders, Alexander summons his troops and informs them of his project to build a gate to close a breach in the great mountain. With the help of the blacksmiths previously enrolled in Egypt, he erects a gate made of iron and bronze. Once the task is accomplished, Alexander relays a prophecy in which he predicts the future raids of the Huns—two of which are expected to take place in the years 826 AG (514–515 CE) and 940 AG (628–629 CE). The prophecy predicts events associated with the end of times, when at God's command the gate erected by Alexander will collapse and the Huns will emerge from behind the side of the mountain to which they had been confined. At this moment, a general "world conflict" will begin. The conflict will end with the triumph of the Roman kingdom, which will conquer the territories until the end of the earth, with no other kingdom able to oppose its power.

(3) After sealing the mountain pass against the Huns and putting in writing his prophetic vision, Alexander faces another challenge. The inhabitants of the region where he installed the gate inform Tūbarlaq of Alexander's presence in the region. At the instigation of those people, Tūbarlaq gathers an immense army and marches against Alexander. Meanwhile, Alexander and his troops, unaware of the Persian war preparations, are recovering from the fatigues of their previous exploits. It is only thanks to divine intervention that the hero is alerted to Tūbarlaq's plan. God himself talks to Alexander in a dream and encourages him to call His name and to ask for His assistance. Alexander wakes up and summons his troops, who number roughly one-tenth of Tūbarlaq's army. The numerical disadvantage is so great that the sentinels of the Greek king express their despair. Nevertheless, Alexander orders his soldiers to burn incense to invoke divine intervention and to welcome with its fragrance God's arrival in the encampment. Then, surrounded by his troops, Alexander takes off his crown and removes his purple vest in front of the Lord and begs him to deliver him and his army from their enemies. At the king's words—"Victory belongs to the Lord!"—the soldiers respond: "God, come to our aid!" Alexander continues his prayer and invokes God's help. God appears on the seraphs' chair, preceded by angels and watchers. The divine apparition instills courage in the Greek army, which then engages in combat with the Persian troops. God takes an active part in the battle, terrorizing Alexander's enemies with His voice. The Greeks are victorious and Tūbarlaq is brought to Alexander in chains. Alexander spares Tūbarlaq's life, and the two kings sign a peace treaty that includes an entente on the common defense of Alexander's gate against the Huns. The Persian king then summons his astrologers and magicians, who relay a

> prophecy that at the end of times Persia will be destroyed and the Romans will conquer the world. Alexander travels to Jerusalem, where he bows down in front of God, and then returns to Alexandria.

This study is primarily concerned with sections 2 and 3, and with the passage on Alexander's prayer in section 1.

Sources

To embellish his narrative, the Syriac author drew upon several traditions. The first section of the work includes elements from the story of Alexander's quest for immortal life.[13] Note, however, that the two main motifs of this story—Alexander's attempt to reach Paradise and his failure to bathe in the source of life—are not mentioned in the *Neṣḥānā*. The Syriac author clearly preferred to exclude an episode that would have shed a negative light on his hero, a clear trace of his editorial work.[14]

Scholars have identified several echoes of the ancient myth of Gilgamesh in the different versions of Alexander's quest for immortality.[15] Several intriguing allusions to the Babylonian *Epic* occur in the *Neṣḥānā*, suggesting that our author had access to a lost source about Alexander's travels that contained vivid reminiscences of Gilgamesh's adventures. This topic requires a dedicated investigation, which is beyond the scope of this book. The present study is primarily concerned with the other main narrative component of the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, the story of Alexander's gate, to which I now turn my attention.

The episode of the gate erected against the Huns ruled by Gog and Magog is the result of a combination of previous independent traditions. One tradition credits Alexander with building iron gates to confine the nomadic populations of Central Asia. This tradition goes back at least to Josephus (d. ca. 100), who describes the king of the Hyrcanians as the master of the pass that Alexander (allegedly) sealed with iron gates.[16] The tradition of Alexander's iron gates had a lasting legacy and is well attested in Late Antiquity. In the sixth century, the Byzantine historians Procopius (d. 554)[17] and Jordanes (d. second half of the sixth century)[18] report that Alexander decided to install iron gates to prevent the incursion of the Huns located on the other side of the Caucasian mountain chain. Both Procopius

and Jordanes identify the so-called Caspian Gates as the spot fortified by Alexander.

The exact location of these gates was a matter of debate in Antiquity. In the first century the Roman naturalist Pliny the Elder (d. 79) complained about people who mistakenly confused the Caspian Gates (*Caspiae portae*) with the Caucasian Gates (*Caucasiae portae*)—the latter are located in the Dariali Gorge, a mountain pass on the modern border between Russia and Georgia.[19] Pliny's attempt to correct this toponymic confusion did not prevent further identifications between the Caspian Gates and the Dariali pass. Five centuries later, Procopius identified the Dariali Gorge as the Caspian Gates (πύλας τάς Κασπίας) and claimed that the iron gates installed by Alexander were in that gorge.[20] According to Jordanes, these gates were guarded by the Lazi on behalf of the Romans. This suggests that he too thought that the gates were near of the kingdom of Lazica, most likely at the Dariali pass,[21] as did several of Procopius's and Jordanes's contemporaries.[22]

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* adopts some of the same narrative elements used by these sixth-century writers in their descriptions of the Caspian Gates. For instance, his description of the great mountain where Alexander builds his gate brings to mind Jordanes's description of Mount Caucasus—the mountain complex which, in the *Getica*, includes the spot where Alexander installed the Caspian Gates.[23] In fact, Jordanes locates the passage fortified by Alexander within the enormous Caucasian mountain complex: "such then is the great range, almost the mightiest of mountain chains, rearing aloft its summits and by its natural conformation supplying men with impregnable strongholds."[24] Alexander's description of the size of the great mountain in the *Neṣḥānā* ("This mountain is higher and more frightening than all the mountains I have ever seen," the hero says) recalls Jordanes's description of the Caucasus. The geographical expanse of the great mountain in the *Neṣḥānā* also matches Jordanes's description of Mount Caucasus, which is said to cover the area from the Indian Ocean to Mesopotamia.

Additional narrative details in Jordanes's text are worth noting. It is significant that Jordanes refers to the myth of the Amazons in connection with the motif of Alexander's gates. He affirms that Alexander installed the iron gates—which he would have named the Caspian Gates (*Pylas Caspias*)

—on the site of the Rock of Marpesia, named after the Amazon Queen Marpesia.[25] This detail is meaningful since the motif of the Amazons also appears in the story narrated in the *Neṣḥānā*. Specifically, in the Syriac work the Hunnic women have only a single breast and are more bellicose than the men. This description is clearly inspired by traditions about the Amazons, and may possibly reflect the idea also expressed by Jordanes that the Amazons were the wives of the Scythians.[26] Jordanes also reports a tradition stating that the Huns were the offspring of unions between unclean spirits and witches whom Filimer, king of the Goths, had expelled to the Scythian desert. The link between Huns, witches, and demoniacal entities may be recalled in the *Neṣḥānā,* where the author describes the sorceries and rituals that the Huns perform before going to war in order to evoke demons. In sum, it seems that both Jordanes and the author of the *Neṣḥānā* had similar ideas about the Caucasus and the lore associated with the motif of Alexander's gates.

The description of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā* closely resembles Procopius's report on the Dariali mountain pass.[27] Like Procopius, the Syriac author refers to a very narrow mountain pass that leads to the territories inhabited by the Huns. Like Procopius, our author credits this fortified passage with strategic importance in preventing Hunnic incursions and nomadic raids. And, of course, like Procopius, our author also believes that this breach in the mountain had been sealed by Alexander in the past. It is unlikely—albeit not impossible—that the Syriac writer was aware of Procopius's work, and it is plausible that the similarities between their descriptions of the mountain pass are a product of common knowledge about the Dariali Pass.

The *Neṣḥānā* refers to elements of the fortifications at Dariali that are not reported by Procopius but that appear in more ancient sources. For example, the Syriac work states that the gate built by Alexander does not completely seal the mountain pass and allows incursions from the enemies. In fact, according to the Syriac author, Alexander ordered his men to pound iron bars into the earth beneath the gate to prevent attempts by the Huns to dig into the rock under the threshold. According to our author, this defensive measure was not completely effective: although preventing the passage of horsemen, foot soldiers could still pass beneath the gate. This statement is most curious. One wonders why the author would invent details about possible breaches in a defensive system that he otherwise

describes as marvelous. Could it be that the inexplicable detail he provides is based on information he had about the gates allegedly built by Alexander? An element in Pliny's description of the Dariali fortifications may provide an answer to this question. Pliny affirms that a river runs beneath the gates that seal the mountain pass—as is true of the Dariali Gorge, through which the river Terek runs.[28] No watercourse on the spot fortified by Alexander is mentioned in the *Neṣḥānā*. However, one wonders if knowledge of a river running beneath the middle of the Dariali gates may lie behind the author's statement that it was possible for footmen to pass under Alexander's gate. If so, the Syriac writer may have based his description on common knowledge about the fortifications at the Dariali mountain pass.

Another example: according to the text, a singular divine sign corroborates the truthfulness of Alexander's prophecy of the coming of the Huns and the final eschatological events. In the text, Alexander refers to a sponge located at the peak of the rock where the gate is situated, and from which blood pours down upon the rock. He says that the Huns wash their heads in that blood. This would be a warning sent by God, a sign that at the end of times blood will cover the earth, just as the blood pouring from that sponge covers the rock. Unfortunately, the text containing this passage is corrupt,[29] and some elements may have been lost. However, a shortened reference to this divine sign is preserved in the adaptation of the story in the metric homily attributed to Jacob of Serugh (henceforth Ps.-Jacob)—also known as the *Alexander Song*. Here we read about an aqueduct flowing with blood located on the side of the mountain where the Huns live. The aqueduct is compared to a torrent flowing against humans.[30] The description of this sponge/aqueduct pouring blood may reflect a characteristic feature of the landscape at the Dariali gorge. Archaeologists identified sulfur springs on the banks of the river Terek, which passes through the gorge. Since Antiquity, reports on that natural phenomenon enriched the descriptions of the site allegedly fortified by Alexander. It has been suggested that these springs may have inspired Pliny's report of the bad smell of the river at the Dariali Pass.[31] Besides the smell of sulfuric emissions, another effect of those springs on the Dariali landscape may have caught the attention of eyewitnesses, that is, the color of the rocks at the riverbank. At the point where the spring water poured forth, the rocks

would have been blood red—no doubt, a reaction to the sulfur. This phenomenon is still observable today.[32] Thus, the source of the description in the *Neṣḥānā* and in Ps.-Jacob's homily may be reports about the curious spectacle at the Dariali Gorge, where the sulfur springs conferred on the river the color of blood.

Besides earlier traditions on Alexander's iron gates, the *Neṣḥānā* draws upon the biblical genealogy of the people confined behind the gate, commonly identified as the peoples of Gog and Magog mentioned in biblical and extra-biblical sources. By the sixth century CE, the names of Gog and Magog were commonly associated with expectations of future invasions, infused with strong eschatological connotations. Ezekiel 38 and 39 contain a prophecy about a Prince Gog of the land of Magog and the bellicose northern population whom he will lead on destructive attacks against all kingdoms. The Book of Revelation attests to the increased exacerbation of the apocalyptic character of the Gog and Magog motif over the following centuries. In Revelation 20:7–9, the names of Gog and Magog—now apparently designating two distinct persons or populations[33]—are mentioned in connection to the final events that will follow the release of Satan from his confinement. Specifically, Gog and Magog appear among the nations that Satan will deceive and lead into an eschatological war. Nevertheless, the "apocalyptic turn" of the Gog and Magog motif may have not been popular among Eastern Christians, who had scarce access to the Book of Revelation.

The situation may have changed in the sixth century, following attempts by Byzantine theologians to rehabilitate the Book of Revelation among Eastern Christians who had never recognized it as canonical scripture. At the end of that century, Andrew of Caesarea (d. 637) identified the Gog and Magog of Revelation with the Huns, thus providing a parallel case to the story narrated in the *Neṣḥānā*. Andrew, however, was apparently unaware of the role played by Alexander's gates in containing the eschatological invasion. At the same time, contemporaries of the Syriac author who refer to Alexander's iron gates, like Procopius and Jordanes, have nothing to say about the connection between the people confined by Alexander and the motif of Gog and Magog. Ostensibly, Josephus and Jerome (d. 420) knew the traditions about the genealogical identification of inhabitants of Central Asia with Gog and Magog and also traditions about their confinement behind Alexander's gates. Nevertheless, neither of them connects these two

traditions. More importantly, neither Josephus nor Jerome appears to be aware of the role that Alexander's actions should play in a divine eschatological plan. One must say that all the ingredients of the tale were already in place but had not yet been put together in a comprehensive narration. No documentary evidence sustains the claim made by some scholars that the story of Alexander's apocalyptic gate was already in circulation in earlier times.[34]

It should be noted, however, that according to Stephen Shoemaker the apocalyptic text known as the *Tiburtine Sibyl* was composed already in the fourth century CE.[35] Since the oracular prophecy in the *Sibyl* refers to the enclosure of Gog and Magog by Alexander, Shoemaker's dating—if correct—would establish the early circulation of this motif. However, the dating of the composition of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* is contested. The issue is notoriously complex and is related to complicated and hotly debated questions about the textual relationship between the *Sibyl* and the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* (and vice versa), and the emergence of the motif of the Last Roman Emperor, which appears in both works (and which is mentioned—albeit only in an embryonic stage—in the *Neṣḥānā*).[36] Thus, at present, there is no absolute consensus on the dating of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, and no source that unequivocally predates the *Neṣḥānā* refers explicitly to a connection between the people confined by Alexander and the final, eschatological raids of Gog and Magog. Until the contrary is established, the *Neṣḥānā* is the first written documentary evidence for the apocalyptic story of Alexander's gate. We will return to this question at the end of Chapter 7.

The Geography behind the Story of Alexander's Gate

After describing Alexander's journey from the place of sunset to that of sunrise, the author abandons mythical cosmology and begins to refer to toponyms that can be identified on a map—one might say that Alexander leaves the realm of fantasy and enters the real world. Alexander moves westward in the direction of a mountain named Mūsās.[37] This name has plausibly been related to the Armenian Masis, a toponym that commonly designates Mount Ararat—"Noble Masis" and "Little Masis" are the names of its two peaks.[38] The Masis toponym was known to the Greek geographers Strabo[39] (d. ca. 24 CE) and Ptolemy[40] (d. ca. 170 CE) as

Μάσιος. The similarity between the names Mūsās and Masis strengthens the association between the two mountains. In this case, it is worth noting that Mūsās appears transcribed as Masīs in Ps.-Jacob's metric homily, suggesting that an almost contemporary Syriac author familiar with the *Neṣḥānā* identified the Mūsās mentioned in the text with the Masis. The *Neṣḥānā*'s description of the Mūsās as a massive mountain located in inner Armenia corresponds to the actual geographical location of Mount Ararat.

On their way to the Mūsās, Alexander and his troops reach a mountain named Qlaudia, where they descend to the source of the Euphrates. John of Ephesus (d. ca. 588 CE) describes the district of Qlaudia as an area of "high mountains of towering size above the river Euphrates."[41] We are thus in the proximity of Melitene. From here, Alexander moves to Halōras, where he explores the sources of the Tigris. Halōras is the village known in Armenian sources as Olor/Olorian/Olorean in the canton of Haštēn.[42] Then, Alexander reaches the river Kallath, which is mentioned in the *Chronicle* of Ps.-Joshua the Stylite (composed in the early sixth century)[43] and in the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus.[44] This same river is known to Greek authors as Nymphius (νυμφίος) and corresponds to the modern Batman Su, a tributary of the Tigris, which it joins near its source. Once he arrives at the Kallath, Alexander climbs a mountain named Rmt. The name Rmt is related to the term *rāmtā* ("height"). The location of this mountain near the river Kallath, together with the information that the mountain had a watchtower, suggests that this place corresponds to the site Akbas in the Sasanian territory of Arzanane, on the bank of the Kallath opposite Martyropolis. Indeed, according to Evagrius[45] and Theophylact Simocatta,[46] Akbas was a site from which the entire city of Martyropolis could be observed. The description of Rmt as a mountain with a watchtower echoes these descriptions of Akbas.

From the top of mount Rmt, Alexander observes the surrounding territories and decides to take "the route of the north," which leads him through Armenia, Adharbaijan, and Inner Armenia. This last location corresponds to the Roman province of Armenia Interior, which in 536, during the reign of Justinian, had been reorganized as the province of Armenia I, with its capital Justinianopolis (former Bazanis or Leontopolis).[47] Note that after visiting Adharbaijan, Alexander passes by the Mūsās/Masis. It appears that after traveling eastward, Alexander turned

around and traveled westward. Although it is clearly not the author's intention to provide the reader with Alexander's itinerary, the text contains several toponyms—some of which I have been able to identify—that confirm the route followed by the hero. The toponym Bēt Prdyʾ (after the exclusion of the Syriac locative locution "Bēt") apparently designates a place in the area of the Paryadres (Παρυαδρής) mountains in the Pontus.[48] Bēt Zmrṭ plausibly corresponds to Zimara, a fortress on the Euphrates on the border between Armenia Minor and Armenia Maior.[49] Bēt Tqyl may correspond to Teucila, south of Zimara. Bēt Qṭrmn is probably the fortress of Citharizum in Asthianene, called Kitamon (Κίταμον) by Ptolemy and Kitharizon (Κιθαριξων) by Procopius.[50] Kitharizon is also mentioned in Justinian's *Novella XXXI*, which contains the details of the reorganization of the Armenian provinces, and according to which Kitharizon belongs to the new province of Armenia IV, with its capital as Martyropolis.[51]

The province of Armenia IV is important for us, since it is here that we should locate the plain of Bhy Lbtʾ, where Alexander arrives following the path along the Great Mūsās, and where, during the meeting with the elders, he receives information about the mountain that separates them from the Huns. The toponym Bhy Lbtʾ corresponds to Balahovit, known to Greek authors as Belabitenē (Βελαβιτηνή).[52] Balahovit (*Balaxovit*/*Bałahovitin*) is mentioned in the late sixth/early seventh-century Armenian *Geography* of Ananias of Širak,[53] and Procopius describes Belabitene as a minor province of no importance, ruled by a satrap loyal to Rome.[54] Since the Roman-Persian treaty of 387, the area had been a semi-independent satrapy, and it had preserved its status even after 485, when Emperor Zeno (r. 474–475 and 476–491) replaced the satraps of the other five autonomous Armenian principalities with Roman officials (due to their collusion with the rebellion of Illus and Leontius).[55] It was only after the reorganization of Armenian territories in 536 that Belabitene was incorporated, together with the other principalities, into Roman domains and put under the administration of Roman officials. The decree that sanctioned this administrative change, namely Justinian's *Novella XXXI*, reports that these territories bear "barbarian names" and that their traditional organization into satrapies had been established by a different political power, that is, the Persians. The language adopted in the imperial decree describes the newly incorporated territories as parts of an alien body, somehow still connected to Rome's

Eastern rivals. It is thus not surprising that in his fictitious reconstruction of the past at the time of Alexander, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* attributes possession of the area around Belabitene to the Persian king Tūbarlaq.

Thus, the episode of Alexander's gate is mostly centered around the regions of Roman Armenia near the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates. This location is not coincidental. In the early sixth century the area had been raided by the Huns, as noted by the *Neṣḥānā*. In the geographical scenario depicted in the text, this area is directly connected to the Caucasian regions—the traditional location of Alexander's iron gates—through the massive mountain complex that encompasses most regions to the east.[56] It is through a breach of this otherwise insurmountable mountain—a breach later sealed by Alexander—that the Huns pass to carry out their raids. By representing this breach as a corridor that allows the Huns to flow into Inner Armenia, our author draws attention to the area that had been the target of a recent Hunnic incursion. This literary operation finds a parallel in the work of Evagrius Scholasticus (d. ca. 594) who, referring to the same Hunnic invasion mentioned in the *Neṣḥānā*, affirms that the Huns crossed the "Cappadocian Gates" (τάς Καππαδοκῶν πύλας), thus "correcting" the information reported in his source—the *Chronicle* of John Malalas (d. 578)—where the Huns pass through the Caspian Gates, thus drawing attention to an area that had been the target of raids in the early sixth century.[57]

As noted by earlier scholars, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was probably a native of this area,[58] as suggested by his accurate knowledge of the geography of the upper Tigris region (by contrast to his poor knowledge of other regions).[59] However, scholars may have overestimated the author's connection to the centers of Syriac culture in Northern Mesopotamia, like Amida or Edessa, and underestimated his connection to local Armenian affairs and culture.[60] The militaristic bravado and religious fervor of the battle scenes in the *Neṣḥānā* are unusual in the Syriac literary tradition but find close parallels in fifth- and sixth-century descriptions of Armenian "national struggles" against the Sasanians.[61] At the same time, our author shows an astonishing disinterest in military and political developments on the Mesopotamian border during his lifetime. Indeed, he has nothing to say about major events that shocked the region, like the siege of Edessa, the plunder of the countryside around Martyropolis and Amida, and the sacking of several Syrian cities, and of Antioch. Unlike contemporary Syriac

writers, he has nothing to say about the alleged Sasanian refusal to return Nisibis to the Byzantines. By contrast, our author manifests strong interest in political matters relating to the Caucasian regions. As we will see in the following chapters, he inserts several references to issues relating to Byzantine-Sasanian disputes over Lazica and the Caucasus, that might affect the stability of the mountain passes in Roman Armenia. His geopolitical interests appear to be those of someone well informed about the local Armenian setting.

The Geography behind the Story of Alexander’s Gate

2

Debates about Dating and Context of the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs*

Nöldeke’s 1890 study arguably was the first critical analysis of the *Neṣḥānā*. In this influential work, the German scholar dated the Syriac work to the first quarter of the sixth century CE, and specifically to the years between 515 and 521 CE. Nöldeke sought to establish both *termini post* and *ante quem*. Starting from the latter, Nöldeke’s argument is directly connected to two other elements in his analysis: (1) his assumption that the *Alexander Song*—that is, Ps.-Jacob’s metric homily—was dependent on the *Neṣḥānā*; (2) his assumption that the *Song* was in fact written by Jacob of Serugh. Based on these two assumptions, Nöldeke concluded that the latest possible date for the composition of the *Neṣḥānā* was the year 521 CE, the year of Jacob’s death. In fact, according to his line of argument, the *Neṣḥānā* must have been composed before Jacob of Serugh used it as a source.[1]

Nöldeke established the earliest possible date from the passage in the *Neṣḥānā* that immediately follows the description of the gate erected by Alexander to confine the Huns of Gog and Magog. The gate is engraved with Alexander’s prophecy, noted earlier, which reports the dates of two Hunnic invasions expected to occur “at the completion of 826 years” and “at the completion of 940 years,” respectively. Nöldeke identified the Seleucid Era, or *Anno Graecorum* (henceforth AG), as the system of numbering years that lies behind the two dates mentioned by Alexander in the prophecy. When transposed into the Common Era calendar, 826 AG is the equivalent of 514–515 CE, and 940 AG is the equivalent of 628–629 CE. As Nöldeke observed, the Hunnic assault predicted for the year 826 AG corresponds to historical events that occurred in 515 CE,[2] the year in which the Sabir Huns conducted raids across the Caucasian mountains.[3] Sources report that, as a consequence of the devastation brought by these Huns, fortifications were strengthened in Melitene and in other Cappadocian

towns.[4] In any case, it is evident that the story of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā* is informed by these facts relating to 515 CE, and that the raid of 826 AG predicted by Alexander in the Syriac text is a *vaticinium ex eventu*, that is, a reference to a historical event that has already occurred, disguised as a prediction by an authoritative figure from the past.

In contrast, Nöldeke rejects the idea that the date indicated in Alexander's second prediction (940 AG/628–629 CE) also stems from the same literary device. According to Nöldeke, the 940 AG prediction represents a real prophecy elaborated by the Syriac author. The recognition of the first prediction for 826 AG as *vaticinium ex eventu*, with the parallel classification of the second prediction for 940 AG as a genuine prophecy, leads Nöldeke to set a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text at the year indicated in Alexander's first prediction, that is, 514–515 CE.[5]

Nöldeke's dating is untenable. In a series of studies, Wilhelm Bousset, Carl Hunnius, Mihály Kmoskó, Károly Czeglédy, and Gerrit Reinink,[6] have identified the flaws in Nöldeke's analysis. These flaws undermine both the *termini post* and *ante quem* established by the German scholar. A first critical factor for Nöldeke's dating of the *Neṣḥānā* concerns the authorship of the *Alexander Song*. As noted, Nöldeke uses the death of the alleged author of the metric homily to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Neṣḥānā*. Most later scholars agree that the attribution of the *Song* to Jacob of Serugh is spurious. According to the current scholarly consensus, the Syriac poem was composed in the seventh century, immediately after the conclusion of the Byzantine-Sasanian war in 628 CE. One must cast doubts on the attribution of the *Alexander Song* to this specific period, since its principal argument relies on a passage of the Syriac text that may have been interpolated.[7] Nevertheless, several elements suggest that the *Song* was not composed before the last quarter of the sixth century.[8] This dating undermines Nöldeke's conclusion that the *Neṣḥānā* must have been in circulation before Jacob died, since the text that it allegedly inspired was produced several decades later. Moreover, some scholars have questioned Nöldeke's argument about the textual dependence of the *Song* on the *Neṣḥānā*, and have favored the hypothesis of a common source.[9]

Another flaw in Nöldeke's study emerges from a close analysis of the second date in Alexander's prophecy, that is, 940 AG or 628–629 CE. Pace

Nöldeke, like the first date, the second date is based on historical events. These events occurred during the final phase of Heraclius's conflict with the Sasanians. In 624–625 CE, the Byzantine emperor signed an alliance with the Western Turkic Kaghanate.[10] In 626, his Turkic allies broke through the Sasanian fortifications on the northern Caspian-Caucasian frontier and entered Caucasian Albania and Iberia. The Turkic raids continued after Byzantine-Sasanian peace treaty in 628, and ended only in 629, after the Kök Turks had stormed Iberia's capital Tfilis (Tbilisi).[11] The year 940 AG/628–629 CE "foretold" by Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* is consistent with the dates of this second wave of incursions by nomadic populations from Central Asia. Nöldeke dismisses the possibility that with the 940 AG prognostication, the Syriac author was referring to the Turkic invasion of 626–629 CE.[12] Nonetheless, the chronological overlapping between the Hunnic raids of 940 AG and the Turkic invasions of the late 620s is too precise to be coincidental. The second part of Alexander's prophecy replicates the juxtaposition between prophetical and historical events already observed in the 826 AG prediction. Pace Nöldeke, it is indisputable that Alexander's second prophecy was meant to evoke the Turkic raids of 626–630 CE.

An Earlier Version of the *Neṣḥānā*?

By the turn of the nineteenth century, scholars like Bousset and Hunnius had identified the major flaws in Nöldeke's analysis.[13] However, more than half a century later, Czeglédy complained that the arguments of these two scholars had not been accepted "since the authority of Nöldeke was almost unassailable in matters pertaining to Syriac philology."[14] This scholarly trend shifted during the second half of the twentieth century. Czeglédy and Reinink have made a decisive contribution to a consensus around the errors in Nöldeke's theory. That the *Neṣḥānā* in its current form was written in the seventh century is an indisputable fact in current scholarship. More debated is the question of whether an earlier version of the *Neṣḥānā* may have circulated previously. While acknowledging that the text as we have it now should be dated to the reign of Heraclius, a number of scholars have suggested that the *Neṣḥānā* is not an original seventh-century composition, but rather a reworking of a more ancient text. In addition to the possible

interpolation of a passage that links the text to the seventh-century context—on which see below—these scholars have sought evidence for an early dating of the *Neṣḥānā* in sources that have literary and thematic parallels with the Syriac work.

A first attempt of this kind focuses on two apocalyptic texts traditionally attributed to the Syriac poet Ephrem (d. 373 CE). The first one is the Syriac metric homily *On the End*. The second is the sermon *On the End of the World*, preserved in a Latin translation. Elements of both texts may be compared to elements in the *Neṣḥānā*. The metric homily, in particular, presents a number of relevant intertexts that specifically concern the motif of the gate built against the Huns and the latter's cruelty and barbarous customs. Building on these textual connections, Bousset argues for a fourth-century version of the *Neṣḥānā*.[15] His hypothesis, however, is undermined by the fact that none of the works attributed to Ephrem dates to the fourth century. At present, scholars agree that both the Syriac homily *On the End* and the Latin sermon *On the End of the World* were composed in the seventh century.[16]

An early date for the *Neṣḥānā* has also been invoked to explain the textual connection between this work and the Syriac homily of Ps.-Jacob. As noted, Nöldeke argued that this homily is based on the *Neṣḥānā*. This argument has been accepted by Hunnius and, more recently, by Reinink—although both scholars disagree with Nöldeke's dating of both texts to the sixth century, advocating instead for their seventh-century composition.[17] By contrast, Bousset, Franz Kampers, Czeglédy, and, recently, Wouter Henkelmann and Stephen Shoemaker, have rejected Nöldeke's views, suggesting instead that the two Syriac texts share a common source.[18] While this is possible (and even probable), none of these scholars has provided any substantive evidence in support of this theory. At the current stage of research, one risks creating a circular argument in which the idea of a source common to the two texts makes the existence of an earlier version of the *Neṣḥānā* plausible, and the early circulation of the *Neṣḥānā* confers plausibility on the hypothesis of a common source with Ps.-Jacob's homily. A detailed analysis of the textual relationships between the two texts remains a desideratum.

A further possible textual witness to the existence of another (and potentially earlier) version of the *Neṣḥānā* is the so-called *Syriac Chronicle*

of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē. Also known as *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, this is an anonymous historical chronicle composed in the second half of the eighth century in the monastery of Zuqnin, north of Amida.[19] Section I.41.15–45.10 of the *Chronicle* contains what appears to be an abbreviated version of the Alexander story in the *Neṣḥānā*. A question only marginally discussed by scholars is whether the author of the *Chronicle*—conventionally referred to as Ps.-Dionysius—used the same version of the *Neṣḥānā* as appears in the manuscripts used by Budge for his edition, or a different version of the text that is not extant. If the *Chronicle* is in fact based on an alternative version of the *Neṣḥānā*, then one wonders whether this other version predates the one edited by Budge. According to Witold Witakowski, the difference in the names of several figures in the *Chronicle* and in the *Neṣḥānā* suggests that Ps.-Dionysius used a different version of the *Neṣḥānā* from that used by Budge. Referring to the case of Alexander's enemy, Darius, who in the *Chronicle* replaces the mysterious Tūbarlaq of the *Neṣḥānā*, Witakowski concedes that "it cannot be discounted that PD [i.e., Ps.-Dionysius] himself changed the names to suit other data in the chronicle." He observes, however, that "since many other names also differ from those in Budge's text (e.g. the names of the kings of the Huns, which ethnonym itself does not occur in PD's version), it seems more likely that all the changes are taken over from an unknown version of the *Legend* [i.e., the *Neṣḥānā*]."[20]

I do not find this argument convincing, for several reason. First, who was responsible for the onomastic change? Second, why, unlike Ps.-Dionysius, would the person responsible for this change have been able to rename more than a single character in the story? Third, why did he change the names in the text? At the same time, there are good reasons to think that Ps.-Dionysius may have introduced such changes. As we will see in following sections of this study, the name of Alexander's enemy in the *Neṣḥānā*, Tūbarlaq, signals the denigratory intentions of the Syriac author and should be placed in the context of antagonism between Persians and Romans in the pre-Islamic period. It comes as no surprise that an author writing in the late eighth century, and after the fall of the Sasanian Empire, may have wished to replace the unusual name Tūbarlaq with the more familiar Darius, who is mentioned several times in the *Chronicle*. As for the differences between the names of the Hunnic kings, it should be noted that Ps.-Dionysius's list of kings is much shorter than the list in the *Neṣḥānā*:

the author of the *Neṣḥānā* mentions fifteen Hunnic kings, while Ps.-Dionysius mentions only five. Both authors mention Gog, Magog, and Gyg. The only peculiarity in Ps.-Dionysius's chronicle is the onomastic couple Tmrt and Tmrtn,[21] which bring to mind Tʾmrwn and Tyʾmrwn in the *Neṣḥānā*. The different spellings in the two texts seem to reflect the fluidity in the transcription of the "exotic" names of Hunnic chieftains, a phenomenon observed in other sources.[22]

A more promising research path is to compare Ps.-Dionysius's work with both the *Neṣḥānā* and Ps.-Jacob's homily. In a seminal study published in 1932, Andrew Runni Anderson briefly mentions that the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius* shares narrative features with both Syriac sources, without explaining, however, his view of these textual connections.[23] A more articulate view was formulated by Czeglédy, according to whom the Ps.-Dionysius version "has, in some instances, close parallels in the prose variant [i.e., the *Neṣḥānā*], in other instances, with the metric variant [i.e., Ps.-Jacob's homily], while, in a few cases, with neither of the two." This leads Czeglédy to conclude that "the Syriac Legend concerning Alexander the Great also had an old variant which is no longer extant but was at the disposal of Pseudo-Dionysius."[24] However, Czeglédy does not undertake any comparative textual analysis of the three sources and does not indicate any concrete elements in support of his claim. I could not find any element which suggests that this work more closely resembles Ps.-Jacob's homily. In my opinion, the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius* is an abbreviated form of the *Neṣḥānā* transmitted to us. Be that as it may, as in the case of the relationship between the prose and metric versions of the Alexander story, a thorough and systematic analysis that compares these two texts with Ps.-Dionysius's short variant is highly desirable.

Finally, a passage of the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, compiled by John of Ephesus between 567 and 569, may be a witness for an early version of the *Neṣḥānā*. Here John reports the story of a holy man who is shown a *gelyānā*, that is, a "revelation," predicting the arrival of the Huns.[25] Note that the *Neṣḥānā* locates the Hunnic invasion of 826 AG/515 CE near the springs of the Tigris, as stated in John's report on the Huns' raids in the area of Amida. It thus appears to be possible, or even plausible, that both John of Ephesus and the author of the *Neṣḥānā* refer to the Sabir invasion of 515. Significantly, John lived in the region affected by these invasions. Thus, it is

likely that he had firsthand knowledge of these events and of the reactions of the local population to the Hunnic raids. These reactions may have included the formulation of prophecies and oracles about the coming of the Huns. This was probably the case for the *gelyānā* mentioned in the anecdotal story of the holy man that John included in his *Lives*. Is the *gelyānā* mentioned by John actually the *Neṣḥānā*?

Some scholars have taken the information provided in John's account as evidence for the idea that an early version of the *Neṣḥānā* was in circulation when John of Ephesus redacted the *Lives*.[26] To the best of my knowledge, the first scholar who tried to establish a connection between the *Neṣḥānā* and John's report was Czeglédy. Referring to the date of the first Hunnic invasion in the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, 826 AG/514–515 CE, Czeglédy affirms: "we can hardly interpret this very important date in any other way than by supposing that, in the lifetime of John of Ephesus, that is, in the middle of the sixth century, the Syriac apocalyptic legend concerning Alexander, was already in existence."[27] However, several arguments can be advanced to dispute Czeglédy's claim.

First, Czeglédy translates the Syriac term *gelyānā* as "apocalypse," instead of "revelation." In other words, he interprets *gelyānā* as a literary work belonging to the apocalyptic genre, not as a disclosure of future events. Czeglédy does not provide a full translation of the relevant passage in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* and only refers to the edition of the Syriac text published and translated by Ernest Brooks in 1923. Brooks translates the passage in question as: "a revelation was shown to him."[28] Czeglédy must have been aware of Brooks's reading (the English translation is found to at the bottom of the same page that contains the Syriac text which Czeglédy refers), but deliberately opted for another reading.

The reason for Czeglédy's word choice can be better appreciated when seen in the context of the entire passage in the Syriac text. Following Czeglédy's reading, the sentence *etḥzi leh b-gelyānā* (ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܒܓܠܝܢܐ) comes to be read as "an apocalypse was shown to him." The passage in question appears to depict a scene in which the holy man is shown a written work, an apocalypse. I suspect that Czeglédy chose to follow this interpretation to support the idea that an apocalyptic text about the Hunnic raids was circulating in the mid-sixth century. This apocalypse would be nothing other than the *Neṣḥānā*. However, Czeglédy's translation of *gelyānā* as "apocalypse" is neither the only possible one, nor the most

appropriate. Furthermore, even if John of Ephesus understood the word *gelyānā* as an actual apocalyptic work, the *Neṣḥānā* would still not qualify as the most immediate literary candidate.

One finds no references to Alexander, to the gate he allegedly built, or to the eschatological nations of Gog and Magog in John's work. The only element that may connect the passage in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* to the *Neṣḥānā* is the prediction of a Hunnic invasion. However, during the life of John of Ephesus, nomadic populations from Central Asia, commonly known as "Huns," had long been identified with the biblical populations of Gog and Magog.[29] The association of the latter with the Huns is made explicit by Andrew of Caesarea, who was probably writing a few years after John's death in 588. In his *Commentary* on the Book of Revelation, Andrew writes: "Some think these are the Scythian nation, the northernmost [peoples], or, as we call them, the Huns, who among all the kingdoms on earth, as we see, [are] the most populous and warlike, whom only by the hand of God we hinder from seizing the entire civilized world until the loosening of the devil."[30] From this perspective, it might be contended that the revelation of a Hunnic invasion mentioned by John reflects the common association of the Huns with the apocalyptic theme of Gog and Magog. In this case, any text mentioning invasions by these eschatological nations—expected to occur toward the end of times—may have inspired the passage in John's *Lives*.

A possible candidate is Revelation 20:7–8, which predicts the eschatological raids of Gog and Magog. Recall that the sixth century witnessed a renewed interest in the Book of Revelation in the Byzantine world. Is it possible that the revelation about the coming of the Huns mentioned by John of Ephesus was inspired by Revelation 20:7–8? At present, this question must remain without an answer. However, it casts some doubt on Czeglédy's assertions about the connection between the *gelyānā* mentioned in John's *Lives* and the *Neṣḥānā*. Of course, the situation envisaged by the Hungarian scholar is still possible, and it is not my intention to dismiss it completely. However, the evidence presented by Czeglédy is much less compelling than he assumes.

The Debate over the Seventh-Century Neṣḥānā

In the past four decades, attempts to identify indisputable evidence for the existence of an early version of the *Neṣḥānā* have attracted little scholarly attention. This lack of interest in possible antecedents of the Syriac text coincides with increasing affirmation of the idea that the *Neṣḥānā* was composed at the time of Heraclius. The numerous studies dedicated by Reinink to the Syriac text since the 1980s have been a decisive factor for the spread of the theory of a redaction under Heraclius.[31] Reinink's main hypothesis is that the *Neṣḥānā* was composed soon after 628 CE, at the end of the conflict between the Byzantines and the Sasanians, which had begun in 602. According to him, the *Neṣḥānā* was designed as a pamphlet that celebrated Heraclius's accomplishments in the conflict. The author was a native of the area around Edessa and a fervent supporter of the emperor. The main addressees of his work were members of the North-Mesopotamian Miaphysite community, who, at that time, strongly opposed Heraclius's attempts to reconcile Miaphysites and Chalcedonians through the monenergist formula.[32] Reinink identifies another aim of the *Neṣḥānā*: the need to answer chiliastic anxieties and pessimistic feelings that were current among Byzantine subjects, and to provide a firm answer to expectations about the advent of the eschaton and the imminent collapse of the empire. The strong emphasis placed by the Syriac author on Byzantium's eschatological mission and its destiny to establish a cosmocratic rule by the end of human history supported this purpose.[33]

Reinink's contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā* has been widely accepted in modern scholarship,[34] and several scholars have refined his research approach and have identified additional connections between specific elements in the *Neṣḥānā* and events around the time of Heraclius. In an article published in 2007, van Bladel lists a series of arguments relating the episode of Alexander's eschatological gate in *Neṣḥānā* to the 630s.[35] In his view, the Syriac text reflects the point of view of a seventh-century witness of the Kök Turks' invasion of 626–629 CE. Van Bladel supports this idea by referring to reports of those events, transmitted in the seventh century Latin Frankish *Chronicle* of Ps.-Fredegar and in the tenth-century Armenian *History* of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi. Both authors mention Heraclius's involvement in the destruction provoked by his Turkic allies. Specifically,

the emperor facilitated their incursions by opening the gates of Darband, a Sasanian fortified town in the Caspian area. Intriguingly, Ps.-Fredegar identifies the gates of Darband with the legendary iron gate built by Alexander to repel the bellicose nomad populations of Central Asia.[36] This element bears witness to the existence of a seventh-century narrative relating Heraclius to the gate allegedly erected by Alexander in the Caucasus. The *Neṣḥānā*—van Bladel argues—reflects this same cultural trend by connecting the Turkic invasion promoted by Heraclius to the Hunnic raids prophesied by Alexander for the year 940 AG.[37] In general, van Bladel presents the story of Alexander's wall in the *Neṣḥānā* as a product of seventh-century culture.[38]

Similarly, Greisiger connects the episode of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā* to the events of 626–629.[39] In general, Greisiger accepts Reinink's hypotheses. His work represents the clearest example of the impact on recent scholarship of Reinink's theory on the date of composition and character of the *Neṣḥānā*. Following Reinink, Greisiger considers the *Neṣḥānā* to be a work of pro-Heraclius propaganda, composed shortly after the end of the conflict against the Sasanians. He adds that the *Neṣḥānā* reflects propagandistic attempts to represent Heraclius as a messianic king. Greisiger connects this representation to what he considers to have been the emperor's millenarian ambitions.[40] While repeating and elaborating some of the axioms of Reinink's theorem, Greisiger offers some interesting (although dubious) philological observations on the section of the *Neṣḥānā* concerning Alexander's 940 AG prediction (see below).[41]

The widespread acceptance of the Heracleian dating of the *Neṣḥānā* has tempered interest in exploring earlier contexts for the composition of the text. Only recently have scholars started to challenge Reinink's arguments. Henkelman has disputed Reinink's assertion that the *Neṣḥānā* inspired the composition of Ps.-Jacob's homily, and has reactivated the idea that the two Syriac works derive from a common source—albeit without achieving completely satisfying results.[42] Shoemaker has pointed out several flaws in Reinink's analysis. Specifically, Shoemaker observes that most of Reinink's evidence for a seventh-century context can be used with equal validity for the previous century.[43] Most critically, he argues, Reinink does not adequately analyze the first date in Alexander's prophecy (i.e., 826 AG/514–515 CE) and its connection to the sixth century, nor does he adequately

explain the problems evoked by the second date in the prophecy (i.e., 940 AG/628–629 CE), which was considered by several earlier scholars as a seventh-century interpolation.[44] In the following chapter, I will re-engage with the question of the twofold Hunnic invasion mentioned in Alexander's prophecy. Specifically, I will address the specific passage of the 940 AG prophecy, and I will argue that a few important words in this passage (including the date of 940 AG) are an interpolation inserted during the reign of Heraclius to update the *Neṣḥānā* and to connect it to the recent historical context.

3

The 940 AG Prophecy

The prophecy that Alexander utters after erecting the gate against the Huns reads as follows:

> King Alexander brought [a scribe] who wrote on the gate: “The Huns will come out and will subjugate the lands of the Romans and of the Persians. They will shoot arrows *b’rmgsṭ’*,[1] then they will turn around and return to their country. I have also written that at the completion of 826 years the Huns will come out through the narrow path that ends in front of Halōras, from where the Tigris gushes like a stream that makes a millstone grind. They will take prisoners from among the population, they will cut off the roads and make the earth tremble with their raids. I have also written, announced and prophesied that *hwy*ʾ[2] at the completion of 940 years another king, when the world will end by the commandment of God, Governor of Creation. Creatures will enrage God. Sin will grow and wrath will reign. Human sins will increase and will cover the skies. In his anger the Lord will stir up the kingdoms that are behind this gate. For when the Lord seeks to kill men, he sends men against men so that they slay one other. And the Lord will gather the kings and their companies that are behind this mountain. At his signal they will all gather. They will come with their spears and their swords. They will stand behind the gate and, looking at the skies, they will call the name of the Lord: “Oh Lord! Open this gate for us!” And the Lord will send his sign from heaven and a voice will shout against this gate, which will be destroyed and will fall at the sign of the Lord. It will not be by the key which I created for it that this gate will be opened. And through this gate which I have made an army will go out. From the lower iron threshold an entire span will be consumed by the hoofs of the horsemen [*sic*] and of the horses with which they go out to destroy the land by the commandment of the Lord. And from the higher threshold a span will be consumed by the edges of the spears of those who run and go out through the gate. And when the Huns will come out as God has commanded, from the ends of heavens the kingdom of the Huns, the kingdom of the Persians, and the kingdom of the Arabs will come. The twenty-four kingdoms which are inscribed in this writing. They will fall one upon the other. The earth will curdle in the blood and the excrements of men. Then the kingdom of the Greeks will move and come. It will hold a hammer of iron in its right hand and a hammer of bronze in its left hand. The kingdom of the Greeks will strike the hammers against each other and like iron dissolving in the fire and like bronze that boils in the flame, so will dissolve the strength of the kingdoms facing the kingdom of the Greeks, which is that of the Romans. And the kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians will be destroyed each by its own comrade. Only a few will escape among those who fled to their country, while the kingdom of the Romans will destroy the rest. And my kingdom, which is called of the house of Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, will go out and destroy the Earth and the ends of heaven. And none among the people and the nations that dwell in the creation will be able to stand before the kingdom of the Romans.[3]

The double reference to the dates 826 AG = 514–515 CE and 940 AG = 628–629 CE in Alexander's prediction has led scholars to wonder whether the work was composed around the time of the first of the two dates (with specific reference to the Sabirs' invasion of 515 CE) and subsequently re-updated by the insertion of a second prognostication—this time referring to the events of 626–629 CE. The insertion would have been motivated by the intent to connect Alexander's prognostication to the Kök Turks' invasions of 626–629 CE. This possibility was explored by Bousset, Kampers, Kmoskó, and Czeglédy.[4] With the exception of Shoemaker, however, recent scholarship mostly favors the idea that the text of Alexander's prophecy represents a single unity dating to the time of Heraclius. As noted, this position is largely based on Reinink's studies concerning the context of the origins of the *Neṣḥānā*. However, Reinink pays only marginal attention to the text of Alexander's prophecy and does not provide an extensive analysis of its contents.

What most troubles Reinink is the way in which the 940 AG prediction connects to the following part of Alexander's prophecy, and the way in which this potentially contradicts his overall hypothesis. Reinink seems to accept the connection between the 940 AG prediction and the Kök Turks' invasions of 626–629 CE—with specific reference to the last wave of raids in 629.[5] At the same time, Reinink understands that the acceptance of the equation "940 AG prophecy = Turkic invasions of 629" opens the door to an "apocalypse now" interpretation of the text—in which the raids of the Kök Turks would designate the final attack of Gog and Magog. This interpretation of Alexander's prediction is not consistent with a major tenet of Reinink's hypothesis. According to him, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* locates the eschatological triumph of Alexander's/Heraclius's kingdom at an undetermined point in the future, since proclamations about an immediate triumph would negate the peace policies promoted by Heraclius, which were aimed at re-establishing the status quo ante bellum. Thus, Alexander's prophetical description of Byzantium's conquest of Persia and establishment of a Christian cosmocracy would reveal the author's hopes and expectations for the future, not for the present. The identification of the Turkic raids of 626–629 CE with the final attacks led by Gog and Magog contradicts Reinink's hypothesis about the author's projection of the eschatological era in the future.

These possible complications lead Reinink to argue against the idea that the 940 AG prediction refers to the final eschatological flood of nations predicted in the subsequent part of Alexander's prophecy. In doing so, Reinink rebuts the possibility that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* identified the Turkic raids of 626–629 CE with the final attacks led by Gog and Magog.[6] At the same time, he fails to bring solid evidence in support of his contention, which is based only on the claim that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* did not intend to predict the imminent arrival of the End. Admittedly, the text here contains syntactic ambiguities (analyzed below) that make the understanding of the passage difficult. However, nothing in the text clearly indicates that the 940 AG prophecy is separated from the subsequent prediction of Gog and Magog's final invasions, nor is there unequivocal evidence that the prediction of the events following those of 940 AG marks the beginning of a new *vaticinium*.

Indeed, the sentence "when the world will end by the commandment of God, Governor of Creation," immediately following the mention of the "other king," points to a direct relationship between the two sets of events. Had the author not been convinced, as Reinink claims, that such a direct relationship existed, he likely would have inserted an intermediary sentence to mark the distinction between what would then appear as two separate prophecies, one about the events of 940 AG and one about events to occur toward the end of days. Had this been his intention, one would expect the transition between the two prophecies to be marked by a phrase such as, "I have also written that," which introduces the 826 AG prophecy; or, better, "I have also written, announced, and prophesied that," which precedes the 940 AG prophecy. However, the fact that there is no phrase signaling the transition casts serious doubt on Reinink's reading.

Of course, since—as we will see—something appears to be missing in this passage, one may speculate that a similar transitory element originally existed but was lost during the text's transmission. However, this position is difficult to uphold. The only plausible explanation for such an omission is that the hypothetical phrase that marked the separation between what were originally meant as two different prophecies was removed by a redactor who believed that the invasion of 940 AG would coincide with the final sorties of Gog and Magog. This scenario, however, is implausible. Such a redactor would have had to be active in the immediate aftermath of the Turkic invasions of 626–629 in order to understand those events as an

unequivocable sign of the impending End; and yet the rest of the text lacks any content that might link the prophecy to the dramatic developments of the late 630s (such as the Arab capture of Jerusalem). Indeed, if this was the case, how should we understand the overall process of textual transmission? Should we imagine that the text was produced in ca. 630 and that it was almost immediately manipulated by our hypothetical redactor? This seems highly unlikely. It is more likely that the person who composed the 940 AG prophecy believed that the historical events behind that *vaticinium* coincided with the eschatological invasions described in the subsequent part of Alexander's prophecy. And this raises a second possibility.

One may imagine that the prediction about the final eschatological events was not meant to address the events of 940 AG because the 940 AG prophecy was not part of the original core of the text; that is, it was interpolated. Someone who thought that the Turkic invasions of 626–629 represented the realization of the final part of Alexander's prophecy might have projected his conviction into the text by inserting the 940 AG prophecy. Reinink seems to accept the possibility that the reference to these events is an interpolation,[7] and this assumption would remove the problematic overlapping of historical and eschatological eras that Reinink tries to dismiss. Indeed, once we treat the 940 AG prediction as a secondary interpolation, the final eschatological raids described in the last part of Alexander's prophecy are no longer identifiable with any actual historical event. It is noticeable, however, that when addressing the possibility of an interpolation, Reinink maintains that the *Neṣḥānā* must have been composed *after* the events of 626–629 CE, and, specifically, after the Turkic raid of 629. According to him, even if the sentence about 940 AG was added later, the *Neṣḥānā* should still be dated to that same period.[8]

This reading raises several problems. If the 940 AG prediction was interpolated by someone who believed that the final events predicted by Alexander had been realized by the Turkic invasions, then this person must have altered the text during or in the immediate aftermath of those events. But then how should we reconstruct the history of the text's development? Was the text composed ca. 630, as Reinink maintains, and shortly after interpolated by a reader who held a different position than the author about the actual relationship between the raids of 626–629 and Gog and Magog's final incursions? This scenario is not plausible. It is much easier to assume

that the text was composed several decades earlier and then updated in the late 620s or early 630s.

Reinink does not consider the possibility that the sentence describing the events of 940 AG may have been interpolated to update a text composed in an earlier period in order to adapt it to a new historical context. Rather, he asserts that the *Neṣḥānā* was conceived as a manifesto of pro-Heraclius propaganda. The reading of the Syriac text as a document produced during Heraclius's reign is an indisputable corollary of Reinink's theory. As a consequence, the only support provided by Reinink in his analysis of the passage is to reiterate the same hypothesis that would be weakened by the interpretation he seeks to refute. This situation creates a circular argument in which the outcomes of the hypothesis are used to dismiss possible counterarguments. Nevertheless, apart from the date of 940 AG, there is nothing in the text that unequivocally connects the *Neṣḥānā* to the period immediately after the end of the Byzantine-Sasanian conflict in 628 CE. As will become evident over the course of this study, all other elements that Reinink advances in support his theory of the "Heracleian" dating make as much (or even more) sense if situated in an earlier context.

I have already mentioned the textual cruxes in the sentence related to the 940 AG prophecy. With few exceptions, most scholars have completely overlooked the issue.[9] Even Reinink, who has the merit to have pointed out what had passed almost completely unnoticed in previous studies, does not carefully examine of the syntactic ambiguities in the sentence.[10] He analyzes the sentence containing the 940 AG prediction only in passing in the two studies where the question is raised. In general, Reinink does not solve the problem that he highlights, nor does he adequately address the issue at stake, namely, whether an earlier version of the *Neṣḥānā* was in circulation in earlier times.

The presence of a textual complication in the very sentence that may have been interpolated is a crucial factor. Indeed, textual disruptions may have arisen as a result of the manipulation of the text. Let us have a closer look at the passage in question. The sentence reads as follows:

ܘܫܘܐ ܬܫܥܡܐ ܘܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܘܐܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܘܐܪܡܝܢ ܥܡܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܕܥܠܡ
ܥܠܡܐ.[11]

The sentence may tentatively be translated word by word as: "I have also written, announced and prophesied that *hwyʾ* at the accomplishment of 940 years another king, when the world will end." The meaning of *hwyʾ* is unclear, while the syntax of the sentence is ambiguous. *Hwyʾ* is usually understood as a verb that signifies "it will happen" or "there will be." However, as we will see below, if *hwyʾ* is a verb, grammatically it does not connect with the only possible subject of the sentence, that is, *malkā ḥrēnā*, "another king." Consequently, the subordinate clause appears to be incomplete. Oddly, nothing is said about the actions that this other king will accomplish. One has the impression that something is missing.

Budge noted the syntactic problems in the sentence. In a footnote, he observes that "there seems to be something wrong here in the text," and proposes to emend the text as: *d-hwā malkā ḥrēnā*, that is, to replace *hwyʾ* by *hwā* (*hwʾ*).[12] Accordingly, he translates as follows: "And again I have written and made known and prophesied that *it shall come to pass*, at the conclusion of nine hundred and forty years, . . . another king."[13] Budge's emendation is followed by Bohas who, unlike Budge, understands *malkā ḥrēnā* as the subject of *hwʾ* and translates the sentence as follows: "Et j'ai aussi écrit, annoncé et prophétisé qu'*il y aurait un autre roi*, à la fin des neuf cent quarante années, quand le monde viendra à son terme."[14]

Neither translation offers a satisfactory understanding of the complex sentence that contains the 940 AG prediction. Whatever interpretation one follows, the passage still presents several ambiguities. For instance, who is the other king mentioned in Alexander's prophecy, who will appear in the year 940 AG? Moreover, it is not clear whether the prediction relates to the arrival of this other king, or if it refers to unspecified acts that he is expected to accomplish—no details are given about him, or about whether he will accomplish any deeds upon his arrival. The reader is left wondering whether the description of the actions that this king was expected to perform were lost in the transmission of the text.

Of course, one should not expect too much clarity in the passage under investigation. Logical or linear developments in the narrative are often not the main issue at stake in the text of a prophecy. Apocalyptic texts frequently (and intentionally) adopt an ambiguous language to allow for different possible interpretations. And yet, this does not seem to be the case in the present instance. The 826 AG prediction is constructed around the reference to a precise date and provides a detailed description of facts that

relate to well-identifiable circumstances. Clearly, the author sought to dispel doubts about the events he is referring to. Much the same observation applies to the nebulous 940 AG prognostication. In spite of all the complications raised by this passage, the reader can still understand the reference to the Turkic invasions of 940 AG/626–629 CE. In summary, the interpretive problems with the second prediction in Alexander's prophecy do not appear to be related to any attempt by the author to keep the sentence ambiguous or open to different interpretations. The observed difficulties in understanding the text of the prophecy are rather a direct consequence of the syntactic oddities of the passage, which in its present form does not appear as self-standing. It is evident that something in the text was altered during the process of textual transmission.

The only attempt to solve the riddles of Alexander's ambiguous prediction about the year 940 AG has been made by Greisiger. In short, he identifies Heraclius as the "other king" mentioned in the prophecy, and connects his acts to the final Hunnic raid described in the rest of Alexander's prophecy.[15] Like other scholars, Greisiger relates the 940 AG prediction to the events of 626–629 CE. In particular, he refers to reports about the Kök Turks' attacks as they are transmitted in the already mentioned *Chronicle* of Ps.-Fredegar and in the *History* of Movsēs Dasxurancʿi. As noted, both authors saw a connection between the passage of Heraclius's Turkic allies through the Caucasus and the classical motif of Alexander's iron gates.[16] On this basis, Greisiger speculates that the missing information in the *Neṣḥānā* about the acts to be accomplished by the "other king" in the year 940 AG coincides with the actual actions of Heraclius at Darband. According to him, the sentence predicting the events of 940 AG originally included a description of the opening of Alexander's gate by a Greek king, who is none other than Heraclius. The predicate describing this act, however, was later erased to exculpate the Byzantine emperor from the accusation of having colluded with barbarians who brought destruction in the region.[17]

Greisiger supports his argument by referring to two other passages in the *Neṣḥānā*, both found in the continuation of Alexander's prophecy. In the first passage, Alexander predicts that the key forged when the gate was first built will not open the door: "And the Lord will send his signal from heaven. A loud word will be proclaimed against this gate, which will be destroyed and will fall at the signal of the Lord. It will not be by the key

which I have made for it that this gate will fall."[18] Greisiger speculates that this narrative detail is intended to refute contemporary claims that Heraclius had the keys to Alexander's gate and used them to let his Turkic allies pass through the fortified *limes*.[19] In the second passage, Alexander predicts that at the outset of his kingdom's final triumph over the other world empires, the kingdom of the Huns and the kingdom of the Persians will destroy one another: "The kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians will be destroyed, one by the other. Among those who will flee to their country, only a few will escape, and what remains of them will be destroyed by the kingdom of the Romans."[20] Greisiger does not explain how this passage relates to the others that are relevant for his hypothesis, but one assumes that he also detects here the author's desire to remove any possible connection between the kingdom of the Romans (i.e., Byzantium) and the kingdom of the Huns.[21]

Greisiger's analysis presents several problems. As for his identification of the "other king" as Heraclius, it should be noted that there is no unequivocal indication in the text that this king is a Roman emperor, and even less evidence that he is Heraclius. Based only on the nebulous information found in this passage, the text might very well be alluding to another Hunnic king. Or the other king might be an apocalyptic figure. Alternatively, the text may be alluding to Jesus, who in Acts 17:7 is identified as "another king," words that the Peshitta translates as *malkā ḥrēnā*, the same expression used by the author of the *Neṣḥānā*. Thus, there are wide variety of possible hypotheses to explain the identity of the "other king" mentioned in the 940 AG prophecy. Of course, one cannot completely rule out that it refers to a Roman emperor, and to Heraclius in particular, as Greisiger maintains. However, this is only one of many possible readings.

Moreover, even if one wants to accept the Heraclius hypothesis, it may be posited that the words *malkā ḥrēnā* were interpolated by a person who regarded Heraclius's military victory against the Sasanians as a repetition of Alexander's victory over the Persian Empire, and who wanted to emphasize the parallel between the two sovereigns by having Alexander predict the arrival of Heraclius. This possibility gains credibility in the light of scholarly suspicions about the possible interpolation of the entire sentence about the year 940 AG, and in light of the fact that the "other king" does not have a well-defined function in the narrative. As noted, the role of this

figure is mysterious: the text says nothing about what acts—if any—he is expected to accomplish. Moreover, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that the words *malkā ḥrēnā* function as a direct object instead of subject. As I will explain below, the only apparent verb in the sentence, *hwyʾ*, does not concord grammatically with a masculine subject like *malkā*. Thus, no element in the text unequivocally indicates that the “other king” is an active agent in the sentence, nor that the actions hypothetically attributed to him concerned the opening of Alexander’s gate.

As for the other passage analyzed by Greisiger, and specifically the description of the key, this motif may be taken as a statement of God’s control over sacred history. The author may have wanted to remind his readers that the final Hunnic raids are part of God’s plan for human salvation, and they are thus an event that mankind can neither prevent nor facilitate. Even if Alexander’s gate is a human artifact, in the end it is God and only God who can decree its opening for the accomplishment of Gog and Magog’s eschatological invasion. That said, even if one accepts Greisiger’s interpretation and reads the passage as an assertion of Heraclius’s innocence about the Kök Turks’ offensive, there is another complication: if this were the case, how can one reconcile the author’s belief that the gate will not be opened by a human hand and Greisiger’s claim that the text originally portrayed “the other king” as opening that very same gate? Following Greisiger, in its original form the text would have informed us that “the other king” opened Alexander’s gate, but then claimed that the gate could not be opened with the key made by Alexander. Why would the author insert two contradictory statements in his narrative? The problem is not solved by Greisiger’s assumption that the omission of the verb was accomplished only at a second stage by the “*redactor* of all the extant manuscripts’ *prototype*,” as it still implies that the text originally included two mutually contradictory elements. The only way to solve the problem would be to postulate that the redactor also introduced the motif of the key into the text. However, this possibility is improbable. In fact, the motif of Alexander’s key is mentioned in another passage of the *Neṣḥānā*. Specifically, after erecting of the gate and before declaring his prophecy, Alexander is said to have anchored to the rocks a key twelve cubits long. Nothing in the text suggests that any of these mentions of the key motif was inserted in the narration at a later point.

As for Greisiger's claim that the prophecy about the final destruction of the kingdom of the Huns was inserted to exculpate Heraclius from his involvement with the Kök Turks, nothing in this passage points to such an intention. Rather, the prediction signals the author's expectations about the future and his hope that Byzantium's Turkic and Persian rivals will destroy each other. As we will see later in this study, this expectation has its roots in the political and military situation of the sixth century. In the end, Greisiger has the merit to have drawn attention to a passage of the *Neṣḥānā* that had been little investigated by previous scholars. However, his solution to the problem does not stand the scrutiny of textual analysis.

Let us return to *hwyʾ*. *Hwy'* may be read as *hāwyā*, feminine active participle of *hwā* ("to be"), in which case it may refer to some future happening. For instance, the Peshitta on Matthew 12:45 and James 5:3 adopts *hāwyā* to translate ἔσται ("it will be"); in Matthew 13:22, 32, Mark 4:19, 32, and Luke 11:26, *hāwyā* is used to translate γίνεται ("it becomes"); whereas in Luke 21:13, *hāwyā* is used to translate ἀποβήσεται ("it will result").[22] The problem with understanding *hwyʾ* as *hāwyā* is that there is no appropriate subject in the syntagm. The only possible subject in the sentence would be *malkā ḥrēnā*, "another king," which, as a masculine noun, does not agree with *hāwyā*, a feminine verbal form. Thus, even if one accepts the equation *hwyʾ* = *hāwyā*, one must still speculate that the original subject of the sentence—a feminine noun—was lost in the process of textual transmission. As for the relationship between the hypothetically lost subject and the "other king" mentioned in the sentence, it depends on whether one wants to understand the words *malkā ḥrēnā* as part of the original core of the text or as an interpolation, for the reasons discussed above. In the former case, the loss of an additional syntactic element—a verb or a preposition—would explain the relationship between the two components.

Alternatively, we may read *hwyʾ* as a misreading of *hwnyʾ* (ܗܘܢܝܐ), "Huns," caused by a scribal failure in writing the "*n*." This reading is supported by the fact that the word *hwnyʾ* figures in the previous prophecy about year 846 AG. If this reading is correct, then the Huns would also be the subject of the second prophecy. But what about the verb? What are the Huns supposed to do? We do not know. In this scenario, we must still speculate that a component of the text was lost in transmission. Perhaps, the prophecy originally implied that the Huns would return; or that they would

accomplish actions affecting the “other king,” who in this case would be the direct object of the missing verb. The only thing that is sure is that if *hwy*ʾ = *hwny*ʾ, then the sentence lacks a verb.

Be that as it may, either a subject or a verb is missing from the text. Up to this point I agree with Greisiger that the syntactic ambiguities of the sentence about 940 AG result from the omission of a key component of the text. However, I disagree about the reason for this omission. The text contains no indication whatsoever that the missing element was excluded to exculpate Heraclius for his involvement with the Turks. Moreover, my analysis has identified weaknesses and contradictions in Greisiger’s reconstruction. What then are the events that led to the loss of some key elements, in the absence of which the sentence about 940 AG has no full meaning? I think that the answer is found in the very same temporal construct that characterizes this sentence.

Like scholars before me, I am inclined to consider the reference to the year 940 AG as an interpolation. The structure of the 940 AG prediction invites this interpretation. Indeed, the prediction nearly repeats the syntactic structure of the 826 AG prognostication. One finds the same temporal construct “at the accomplishment of . . . years” (*l-šwlm*ʾ *d-. . . šnyn*) appearing in both sentences. It is easy to imagine how someone could formulate the temporal expression “at the accomplishment of 940 years” on the model of the sentence “at the accomplishment of 826 years,” already present in the text. This textual manipulation resulted—I believe—in the omission of a verb or a subject.

There are two possibilities for the hypothetical original sentence, depending on how one understands *hwy*ʾ and whether one treats *malkā ḥrēnā* as belonging or not to the original core of the text:

(1) ܘܬܘܒ ܟܬܒܬ ܘܐܘܕܥܬ ܘܐܬܢܒܝܬ ܕܗܘܝܐ [. . .] <ܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ> ܡܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ

“I have also written, announced and prophesied that [something] <(possibly related to) another king> will occur when the world will end” + rest of the prophecy on the final events.

(2) ܘܬܘܒ ܟܬܒܬ ܘܐܘܕܥܬ ܘܐܬܢܒܝܬ ܕܗܘܢܝܐ [. . .] <ܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ> ܡܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܥܠܡܐ

“I have also written, announced and prophesied that the Huns [will do something] <(possibly related to) another king> when the world will end” + rest of the prophecy on the final events.

This reading is supported by several considerations, literary and historical.

Let us start by investigating the performativity of the individual components of Alexander's prophecy. Attention should be focused on the 826 AG prediction and on its function in the text in its current shape. One must consider the extent to which this prophecy would be functional or dysfunctional in the overall narrative and in the author's agenda, if the text were a single narrative block with no interpolations—and thus originally including also the 940 AG prediction. Van Bladel, who considers the text of Alexander's prophecy as a coherent textual unit, observes that the first date "holds no importance in the narrative."[23] According to him, the 826 AG prophecy "serves just as a key for the contemporary audience of the text that they can use to verify the accuracy of the second, more elaborate prophecy, associated with a later date."[24] In other words, the first prophecy increases Alexander's prophetic credentials and thus enhances the persuasive power of his second prophecy. If this is so, several questions arise.

The enhancement of prophetic credentials comes at a price, likely higher than what the author of the 940 AG prophecy would have probably felt compelled to pay. Indeed, the 826 AG prediction carries with it the unpleasant implication that the magnificent gate erected by the mighty Alexander would not hold water. The gate would not be able to contain the Hunnic incursions, and other invasions would precede the one predicted for the End of Time. Our author acknowledges this embarrassing situation, but he struggles to account for it. In the description of the construction of the gate, our author adds the odd detail about the space left for the passage of foot soldiers beneath the gate. Although this breach in a defensive system may echo ancient descriptions of the fortifications at Dariali, the author's justification for including this detail might have been his desire to explain why Hunnic invasions would occur, notwithstanding Alexander's erection of marvelous fortifications. The same motivation lies behind the opening of Alexander's prophecy, namely, with a prediction of an undated Hunnic incursion which, just like that of 826 AG, will conclude with the invaders returning to their homeland. Our author wanted to make it clear from the beginning that other invasions would precede the one expected to happen toward the End of Time, when God will decree the collapse of Alexander's gate.

This uncomfortable explanation for what appears to be the mediocre capacities of Alexander's defensive system most likely points to an author

in a specific circumstance: someone aware of Hunnic incursions happened during, or slightly before, his lifetime, invasions that did not (literally) open the door to the beginning of the eschatological process. This author knew that the final invasion expected for the End of Time had not yet taken place. This is not the profile of the author of the 940 AG prophecy drawn by van Bladel, who considers the second prediction to be related to the more general *vaticinium* on the final events that follows in the text. According to him, the author of the prophecy believed that the Turkic invasions of 626–629—which allegedly occurred only a few months or years before the time the author was writing—coincided with Gog and Magog's final raids. In this case, however, why would the author insert a prophecy about a Hunnic invasion that happened more than a century earlier, an invasion that did not play any role in the realization of the eschatological drama? Such a prediction has more disadvantages than advantages. As a matter of fact, the date provided for the second prophecy (i.e., 940 AG) is accurate enough to convince the reader that the invasion predicted by Alexander was the invasions of 626–629 CE, whereas the earlier prophecy puts the author in the embarrassing situation highlighted above. In other words, within the text in its current form, the 826 AG prophecy is highly dysfunctional. Someone convinced that the current invasion was the last one would likely prefer to bury any mention of earlier incursions that might cause the reader to question Alexander's achievement of building his gate. Of course, one might argue that the author still felt compelled to provide an explanation for the Hunnic invasions that occurred in previous centuries. One should consider, however, another problematic element of the single authorship hypothesis, namely the accuracy of the author's historical memory.

Consider the words that open Alexander's prophecy: "The Huns will come out and will subjugate the lands of the Romans and of the Persians. They will shoot arrows *b'rmgsṭ'*, then they will turn around and return to their country." This first prediction probably refers to the great Hunnic invasion of 395. Like the raids of 515, the invasion of 395 ravaged the native land of the author of the *Neṣḥānā*.[25] Unlike the events of 515, however, the author cannot precisely identify the time of the first invasion to which he alludes, as is suggested by the fact that he leaves the prediction undated. The vagueness surrounding this first prophecy is not surprising, since the author was writing at least twelve decades after the events, that is, after 515. From this perspective, however, one wonders how plausible it is

that a person living after 626, that is, after the date indicated in the 940 AG prediction, would have dated with precision a Hunnic incursion occurring eleven decades earlier, in 826 AG/515 CE, an invasion whose impact was a pale reflection of the great invasion of 395. It is more likely that the original author of the text was writing only a few decades after the events of 515 (as was the author of the 940 AG prediction, which was interpolated shortly after the Turkic invasion of 626). Other arguments support this reading.

Heraclius's Turkic allies targeted Sasanian Transcaucasia. During the first wave of the invasion, in 626, the Turks raided Albania and Atropatene.[26] A year later, in 627, the Turks broke through the Sasanian fortifications at Darband and, after joining forces with Heraclius's army, they laid siege to Tiflis (Tbilisi), the capital of Iberia. The city was not conquered, but the joint Roman-Turkic coalition ravaged the surrounding area before departing.[27] The armies of the Khagan reappeared in front of the city walls the following year, in 628. The city could not repel this second siege and was captured and plundered by the Turkic soldiers. The Turks only withdrew in 629, when, after a brief attempt to annex Albania, they were recalled to the Central Asian steppes to deal with a dynastic crisis.[28] Unsurprisingly, in 626–629 the fury of Heraclius's Turkic allies was directed against those Transcaucasian territories traditionally tied to the Sasanians, but spared the Transcaucasian provinces traditionally under Roman administration. This scenario is not consistent with the information received by Alexander from the old men in the *Neṣḥānā*, who repeatedly report that the Huns targeted both Persian and Roman territories. More important, in the *Neṣḥānā* the narrative about the Hunnic incursions focuses on the tributary rivers of the Tigris in the Roman province of Armenia Quarta, with a specific focus on the region around Olor and Bahalot/Belabitene. These are not the lands reached by the raids of 626–629. These are the territories ravaged by the Sabir Huns in 515. It is to these raids that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* refers when he describes the old men answering Alexander's question as to whether the Huns had invaded their territories during their lifetime: "these fortifications which were destroyed in our land and in the land of the Romans were destroyed by them; by them were uprooted these towers."[29] In the mind of the author, these raids must have happened in the recent past, and, as a native of the area, it is likely that he personally witnessed the devastations wrought by the Huns in 515.

The text contains other indications that the events of 515 or shortly after serve as the background of the story of Alexander's gate. In addition to Gog and Magog, the *Neṣḥānā* lists the names of other thirteen Hunnic kings. Most of these names are not identifiable, and one has the impression that at least some of them are literary fabrications of the author. However, one or two names seem to be based on actual historical figures. The first is a certain Hunnic chieftain—probably a Sabir—who conducted diplomatic relations between both the Romans and the Persians shortly after the Sabir incursions of 515.[30] This chieftain acquired a certain notoriety among Byzantine historians for accepting money in exchange for military services from both the Romans and the Persians. His duplicity resulted in his execution by the Sasanians in 520.[31] His name is reported in the sources as either Zilgibis (Ζιλγίβις) or Ziligdes (Ζιλίγδης)—both names are spelled in a variety of ways in the manuscript tradition.[32]

The second case is another Hunnic chieftain whose name is reported by Byzantine chroniclers in reference to events occurring around 527. This Hun, an ally of Kavadh, was defeated in battle by the Sabir queen Boa, an ally of Justinian.[33] The name of the chieftain is once again reported differently in sources, either Glom (Γλώμ) or Glones (Γλώνης).[34]

The fluidity in the transcription into Greek of the names of these Hunnic leaders is not an isolated case. Many variations are reported in sources for the names of other North Caucasian Hunnic chieftains. Apparently, it was difficult for Greek chroniclers to transcribe these foreign names. It is hard to establish the original names behind the transcriptions examined above. Peter Golden suggests Oğulom for Glom/Glones, but he finds no satisfactory explanation for Zilgibis/Ziligdes.[35] Be that as it may, Hellenized calques of these names seem to be echoed in the *Neṣḥānā* as the names of two of the fifteen Hunnic kings. The name Slgdw recalls that of Zilgibis/Ziligdes and the name Gmly recalls that of Glom/Glones. Since the author was aware of the Sabir invasion of 515, it is not surprising that he may have had knowledge of two North Caucasian Hunnic leaders who became (in-)famous in the immediate aftermath of those events. These references to contemporary Hunnic chieftains support the hypothesis of a sixth-century contextualization of the text.

The above observations about geographic and onomastic elements in the *Neṣḥānā* indicate that hints to early sixth-century Hunnic invasions are not

confined to the passage containing the 826 AG prediction. References to those events in other passages of the text would exclude the possibility—about which the reader might have been wondering—that the passage containing the 826 AG prediction was interpolated as well. At the same time, for the reasons exposed in the following pages and chapters, the sixth century appears as the context in which the story of Alexander's eschatological gate against Gog and Magog was shaped. In fact, sources suggest that the motif of Alexander's iron gates had already been associated with the Sabir invasions of 515 in the sixth century.

John Malalas reports that the Sabir Huns broke into Byzantine provinces after passing through the Caspian Gates.[36] Malalas does not mention Alexander in relation to the Gates, but it is plausible that he was familiar with the traditional attribution of their construction to the Macedonian king, which was widely known in the sixth century. Malalas's contemporaries, Procopius[37] and Jordanes,[38] attribute the construction of the Caspian Gates to Alexander, although neither mentions his gates in relation to the Sabir invasion of 515. It stands to reason, however, that this connection could arise in the mind of a contemporary writer like the author of the *Neṣḥānā*, who witnessed those events, who may plausibly have thought that the Sabir forces had passed through the iron gates built by King Alexander in the past. The reference by John of Ephesus to a *gelyānā* "foretelling" of these Hunnic raids represents another piece of the puzzle.[39] Despite the doubts that I have expressed above about John's report, the fact that he associates the invasion of 515 with a prognostication of future events suggests that his contemporaries understood those events in apocalyptic terms.

It is likely that John's contemporaries associated Hunnic attacks of 515 to the New Testament motif of Gog and Magog. Recall that it was specifically during the sixth century that writers like Andreas of Caesarea and Oecumenius started the rehabilitation of the Book of Revelation in the Eastern Christian hemisphere, that is, the principal scriptural promulgator of the apocalyptic image of Gog and Magog. In a period of acute chiliastic anxieties, as during the reign of Justinian, a retroactive examination of the recent Sabir invasion easily may have generated apocalyptic interpretations. The story of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā* reflects mid-sixth-century cultural ideas. At the same time, the episode of the gate in the *Neṣḥānā* not only situates the recent Hunnic invasion within the framework of sacred

history, but also addresses specific historical events that were unfolding during his lifetime (see below).

Most recent scholars have paid little attention to the first prognostication in Alexander's prophecy (i.e., the 826 AG prediction), no doubt because they prefer to set the text within the framework of Heraclius's reign. The previous century as a possible context for the Syriac composition has been almost completely ignored. The reference to a Hunnic invasion that occurred in the sixth century has mostly been considered a memory of the past, inserted in the text to provide prophetical authority according to the mechanism of the *vaticinium ex eventu*. Nonetheless, as noted, for many reasons, the events of 515 provide a much better background for the narrative than those of 626–629. In my view, the ambiguous sentence about 940 AG represents an attempt to adapt the story narrated in the *Neṣḥānā* to the events of the third decade of the seventh century. The 940 AG prediction was added by someone who wished to insert a reference to the Kök Turks' invasions of 626–629 CE. This task was facilitated by the fact that the text of Alexander's prophecy addressed a similar invasion that occurred in the previous century, that is, the Sabir incursion of 515 CE. The original text of Alexander's prophecy must have included *only one prediction ex eventu*—concerning the invasion of 515—which was followed by a genuine prognostication about the final raids of the Huns, inspired by the motif of Gog and Magog. The prediction about this great Hunnic invasion that was expected to occur at the End of Time likely prompted the interpolation. It is plausible that the author of the 940 AG prediction understood the recent Turkic raids as a realization of Alexander's prophecy and identified the Kök Turks' invasion of 626–629 with the final attack of Gog and Magog predicted by Alexander.

Van Bladel has carefully reconstructed the cultural and historical scenario in which the motif of Alexander's eschatological gate first achieved wide circulation, that is, in the seventh century.[40] In general, I welcome his insights as a sign of renewed interest in the *Neṣḥānā* in that period. However, the story of Alexander's wall and the related prediction in the *Neṣḥānā* originally had nothing to do with the events of Darband and with the Turkic invasions of 626–629. It was due to later developments that the episode of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā* came to be read in light of the context of Heraclius's reign. The events of 626–629 made the *Neṣḥānā* attractive reading, since the narrative elements in the text could be

“recycled” to address the current political situation. It was at this time that the passage of Alexander’s prophecy concerning the Hunnic invasion of 940 AG (i.e., 626–629 CE) was interpolated into the text. Once the interpolation is excluded, there is nothing in the Syriac work that can be unequivocally linked to the 630s. By contrast, the previous century represents a much more suitable context for the episode of Alexander’s gate described in the *Neṣḥānā*. As we will see in the following chapters, the Syriac text addresses the military and political situation at the time of Justinian.

4

The Story of Alexander's Gate and the Political Context of the Sixth Century

By the time the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was writing, the area traditionally identified as the location of Alexander's iron gates had become a matter of contention between Byzantines and Sasanians. In particular, a dispute emerged in the fifth century over Sasanian control of the Caspian Gates and, specifically, over Sasanian claims to be defending both empires against Hunnic raids. In exchange for this (alleged) service, the Sasanians repeatedly demanded payments from the Romans, while the Romans repeatedly rejected their requests. These quarrels over the surveillance of the Caucasian passes intensified in the sixth century and became a major source of contention. The lack of well-defined agreements on this issue came to represent a primary cause—or at least a pretext—for the outbreak of conflicts between the two empires.[1] The premise of the conflict, however, originated in earlier times, probably in the last part of the fourth century. It is useful to retrace the principal stages through which this dispute evolved in order to achieve a better understanding of the context in which the Syriac author was writing and to focus on the political issues that he meant to address. What follows is a long (albeit necessary) excursus on this question.

Claims, Conflicts, and Treaties over the Defense of the Caspian Gates

Recent archaeological investigations and radiocarbon dating analyses have shown that fortifications were erected at the Dariali Gorge between 390 and 396 CE—probably on the bases of an earlier fortress that was demolished to make room for the new one.[2] In all likelihood, the establishment of this defense system is connected to the great Hunnic invasion of 395 CE. It is not clear, however, whether the pass was fortified in response to the raids, or if

the Huns broke through it before the fortifications were completed. Archaeological data do not indicate what political entity promoted the (re-)fortification of the Dariali Gorge at the end of the fourth century, but sources indicate that it was the Persians who built the fortress there. John Lydus (d. after 552) mentions talks held between Byzantines and Sasanians at this time, to seek an agreement on the defense of the pass from "the barbarians who were overrunning it."[3] Lydus talks about a project to jointly patrol the area by establishing two fortresses—one built by each empire. No agreement was reached, however, and only the Persians would eventually erect fortifications to guard the pass "insofar as they were more exposed to the barbarians' incursions."[4]

As we will see below, there are good reasons to doubt the historicity of most elements in Lydus's report. However, the information that he provides about the construction of a Persian fort at the Dariali Pass seems to be accurate. According to him, the fortress bore the name of Biraparakh (βιραπαράχ), a toponym that occurs (with slight variations) in other contemporary sources. Priscus (d. after 472) mentions a Persian fort called Ioureiopaach (Ἰουροειπαάχ) located at the Caspian Gates,[5] and in the Syriac translation of the *Alexander Romance* Darius writes to the Indian King Porus, asking him to send soldiers to the Caspian Gates, here called Vīrūphagar.[6] Moreover, Lydus records that the Biraparakh fort was built to stop ongoing incursions of barbarians, here probably referring to the Hunnic invasion of 395.[7] If so, then his indication matches the dates and the data established by the archaeological excavations at the Dariali Gorge.

Other sources confirm the establishment of a Persian fortress in the area from at least the first half of the fifth century. The Armenian historian Łazar P‘arpec‘i (second half of the fifth century) reports a letter from the Armenian noble Vasak Siwni (d. 452) to the Armenian leader Vardan Mamikonian (d. 451). In the letter Vasak confirms that he had been in control of the "Alan/Albanian Pass" (i.e., the Dariali Pass) when he was *marzpān* of Albania.[8] From the letter reported by Łazar, we can ascertain that in the mid-fifth century a Sasanian officer was entrusted with the administration of the Dariali Gorge. Sasanian control over the Pass in that period finds further confirmation in a notice reported by Priscus, according to whom an attack of the Saraguri was diverted in 463, when the nomadic people arrived at the Caspian Gates and "found that the Persians had

established a fort there."[9] Earlier in his work, Priscus informs us about the Ioureiopaach fort located at the Caspian Gates, and in the subsequent lines he reports that the Persians demanded a Roman subvention to defend this fortress, probably in 467, after an attack of the Saraguri—who, in spite of the fortifications that they encountered at the Gates, advanced along another route and raided Iberia and Armenia.[10] When putting together all the information provided by Priscus, it stands to reason that the fortifications encountered by the Saraguri at the Caspian Gates were none other than the Ioureiopaach fort, and that by the term "Caspian Gates," Priscus means the Dariali Gorge, where the fortress of Biraparakh/Ioureiopaach was located.

It thus appears that by the mid-fifth century—but likely by the end of the previous century—Persian defense systems had been erected to seal the Dariali Pass. Material evidence confirms a Sasanian presence in the fort beginning in the following century. Grave objects found at Dariali include Persian objects probably dating to the sixth century, including a coin featuring Kavadh I (r. 488–496, 498–531) dated to 529 CE.[11] At the same time, the Sasanians may not have exercised continuous control over the pass, and they may have lost possession of the Biraparakh fort for a certain period of time. Procopius reports that during the reign of Anastasius I (r. 491–518) the area was ruled by a Hun chieftain named Ambazuces. He adds that, toward the end of his life, Ambazuces offered to hand over the fortress and the Caspian Gates to the Romans, but Anastasius declined the offer because of the challenges of sustaining an army in that remote area. At this point, the Sasanians seized the occasion to regain control of the fortifications, and upon the death of Ambazuces, Kavadh I overpowered the latter's sons.[12]

Sasanian interest in controlling the Dariali fortress was no doubt part of wider efforts by the Sasanian kingdom to secure the Caucasian passes against nomadic incursions. These efforts were not limited to the construction of the Biraparakh fortress. Archaeological excavations conducted during the 1970s at the site of the Khumara fortress, in the Kuban valley north of Karachayevsk, have exposed the ruins of a Zoroastrian fire temple, located at the gate of the fort and dating to the Sasanian period. Subsequent archaeological excavations in the early 1980s resulted in the discovery of further evidence of a Sasaninan presence in the area, specifically an inscription in Middle Persian attributing the

construction of the fortress to a certain Bahrān.[13] According to János Harmatta, Bahrān was a commander in chief of the Persian king Pērōz I (r. 459–484) and the fort should be dated to the mid-fifth century.[14] By contrast, Gadjiev Murtazali argues that the Sasanian fortifications in the Kuban River valley were erected in the 560s, during the reign of Khosrow Anōshirvān.[15] While the debate about its dating remains open, the Khumara fortress points to the presence of a Sasanian outpost in the northwestern Caucasus. Harmatta correctly regards these fortifications "as a faraway advanced military post that inhibited the approach to the Alān Gate [i.e., the Dariali Gorge]."[16]

The Persian fortresses at the Dariali Pass and in the Kuban valley were part of a complex system of fortifications built by the Sasanians on their northern *limes*. The walls at Darband are probably the most famous and best documented example of this defensive complex in the Caucasian area. Archaeologists have dated them to the reign of Yazdegard II (r. 438–457), and specifically to the period between 439 and 450, the first Persian attempts to seal the pass between the western shore of the Caspian Sea and the eastern end of the Caucasus.[17] These fortifications were destroyed in 450 during a rebellion of Armenians and Albanians. On that occasion, rebel troops marched to the Chor pass at Darband and killed the Sasanian garrison.[18] The Armenian historian Ełishe (fifth or sixth century)[19] reports that when Yazdegard received notice of the rebellion, he "was exceedingly chagrined, not only over the ravaging of the lands and the loss of troops, but even more at the destruction of the Pass: only with difficulty over a long time had they been able to fortify it, but then it had been taken easily and razed, and there was no likelihood of its being rebuilt."[20] New walls were reconstructed during the second reign of Kavadh I (498–531), and subsequently three building phases have been identified by archaeologists, the last one dating to the end of the reign of Khosrow Anōshirvān.[21] This new, more extended, complex of fortifications may also have been motivated by the recession of the Caspian Sea by mid-sixth century—a natural phenomenon that arguably intensified the need to seal the passage exposed by the declining sea level.[22]

In sum, it appears that from at least the fifth century onward the Sasanian kingdom engaged in considerable efforts to secure its northern

frontiers in the Caucasus.[23] During the reign of Pērōz I (r. 459–484), the extension of Sasanian control to almost the entire Transcaucasus redoubled the importance of exercising close control over the mountain passes to prevent nomadic raids.[24] At the same time, control of the Caucasian routes also was important for the prevention or suppression of rebellions. At several stages in their clashes against the Sasanian occupiers, the local populations of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania sought the military support of Hunnic tribes from beyond the Caucasian rocky barrier. Similar circumstances are described in several sources. According to the fifth-century *History of the Armenians*, attributed to a certain Agatʻangełos, during a conflict against the founder of the Sasanian Empire, Ardashir I (r. 224–242), the Armenian king Khosrov led a force of Armenians, Iberians, and Albanians against the Gates of the Alans (i.e., the Dariali Pass) and against the Guard of Chor (i.e., the Darband wall). This attack was directed at the mountain passes to provide access to Hunnic troops for raids into Persian territory. Similarly, Ełishe and Łazar P'arpec'i mention that after destroying the fortifications at Darband in 450, the leaders of the Armenian-Albanian rebels sent an embassy to the Huns to stipulate an alliance against the Sasanians.[25] Ełishe also reports that a few years later, ca. 459, during an anti-Persian rebellion led by Vače, ruler of Albania, the Albanian rebels breached the Chor pass at Darband and encouraged Mazkʿutʿkʿ's troops to raid Sasanian territory. At this point, however, probably between 461 and 463, the Persians enlisted the aid of a contingent of nomadic warriors to retaliate against the rebels, and Pērōz fomented the Xaĭlendur's raids on Albanian territory through the Dariali Gorge.[26]

Thus, the fortresses that blocked the Caucasian passes not only prevented nomadic incursions, but also regulated them according to political needs. By establishing control of the mountain passes, the Persians could allow or block, at their convenience, the passage of allies or enemies. Once they achieved monopoly on these strategic corridors, the Sasanians had in their hands a powerful card to play at the foreign policy table, especially in their relationship with the Byzantine Empire, whose eastern territories were also susceptible to Hunnic raids. Throughout the fifth century, the Sasanians sent ambassadors to Byzantium to demand financial and military contributions toward the defense of the Caspian Gates and to patrol the area against nomadic incursions. While it has occasionally been

claimed that these excursions resulted in written agreements between the two empires, it is likely that no such entente was ever reached.[27] Rather, the two superpowers engaged in frequent negotiations that in some periods resulted in temporary payments by the Byzantines in support of Sasanian military activities against the Huns on the northern frontiers.

The passage cited above from John Lydus suggests that inconclusive talks were held from the last quarter of the fourth century. Lydus also reports that “this affair dragged on until the reign of our Emperor Anastasius [r. 491–518], being talked over, decreed about and, in short, having been prevaricated over.”[28] Other sources confirm that the Roman contribution to the defense of the Caucasian passes remained an open issue over the period of time indicated by Lydus. Priscus records that in 464–465, Pērōz’s emissaries claimed that “the Romans, through a contribution of money, should show interest in the fortress of Ioureiopaach, situated at the Caspian Gates, or they should at least send soldiers to guard it.”[29] As noted, the same request was repeated two years later, following the Saraguri raids in Iberia and Armenia, when the Sasanians asked for Roman subsidies to defend the Dariali Gorge. Priscus affirms that the Persian ambassadors “repeated what had often been said by their embassies, that since they were facing the fighting and refusing to allow access to the attacking barbarian peoples, the Romans’ territory remained unravaged.”[30] The Sasanian requests were rejected, with the Romans claiming that each empire must defend its own lands. However, a few years later, during the reign of emperor Zeno (r. 474–491), the Roman position apparently changed.

According to Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, Pērōz received Byzantine payments for his wars against the Hephtalite Huns.[31] Indeed, Zeno provided money to pay the ransom of the Persian king, who, in 469, was captured in combat after suffering a major defeat by the Hephtalites. In the following years, Pērōz conducted other ill-fated campaigns against the Huns, culminated in the disastrous battle of Herat in 484, during which the Sasanian sovereign died on the battlefield. Ps.-Joshua reports that after Pērōz’s death, Zeno ended the payments, rejecting the requests for money advanced by Pērōz’s brother, the new Persian king Balash (r. 484–488). According to Ps.-Joshua, Zeno rejected Balash’s demands because of the Sasanian refusal to surrender Nisibis, in disregard of a treaty that stipulated the return of the city to the Byzantines at the end of 120 years from its occupation by the

Persians in 363.[32] It is doubtful, however, that such a treaty ever existed. As Blockley observes, it is more likely that Zeno exploited the difficulties that the Sasanian empire was facing during the reign of Balash and during the first reign of Kavadh (488–496).[33] One wonders whether the Byzantine decision to end the subsidies to the Persians for their military activities against the Huns was also connected to the Sasanian loss of control of the fortifications at Dariali, which probably occurred in that same period. Notably, it was only during the second reign of Kavadh (498–531), and arguably after the Persians had reacquired control over the Dariali Gorge in the circumstances described above, that the Byzantines renewed payments for guarding the Caspian Gates.

Either way, after being deposed by a court conspiracy in 496, Kavadh was restored to the throne with the help of the Hephtalites two years later, in 498.[34] Kavadh reportedly approached Anastasius to ask for the money he needed to repay his Hunnic allies. According to Procopius, Anastasius's advisors recommended against the concession of such payments, as they would further improve the relationship between Byzantium's Sasanian rivals and the Hun Hephtalites. Instead, "it was better for the Romans"—the advisors observed—"to disturb their relations as much as possible."[35] The Roman rebuttal of Persian demands provoked Kavadh's decision to lead an expedition against the Byzantine Empire. War broke out in 502 and a seven-year truce was proclaimed four years later, in 506.[36] John Lydus informs us that the question of a Roman contribution to the defense of the Biraparakh fortress figured prominently in the truce negotiations. According to the Byzantine historian, "the strife came to an end when certain modest favours were granted to Kavadh by Anastasius."[37] As Blockley observes, "if Lydus is referring to the truce payments, then Kawad had achieved what his predecessors had failed to do by obtaining regular payments for seven years from the Romans, which were earmarked for the upkeep of the Caspian Gates."[38] However, Blockely points out that there is no unequivocal evidence indicating that the truce payments were formally linked to the defense of the Caucasian passes.[39] Anastasius probably considered those payments as the price of the truce, as he likely preferred to avoid the establishment of a precedent for the payment of an annual subsidy to the Persians. Be that as it may, the agreement ended with the expiration of the truce in 513. The lack of a well-defined agreement over the issue of the

Caspian Gates would provide the Sasanians with the pretext to reopen hostilities fourteen years later, in 527.

Zachariah of Mytilene (d. after 536) informs us that in that year, Kavadh sent an ambassador who "insistently made demands for the payment of the tribute of five gold *centenaria* which was given to him by the king of the Romans on account of the cost of the Persian army guarding the gates facing the Huns."[40] When the Roman refused, the Persian king ordered his Arab allies to plunder Byzantine territory. The Byzantines retaliated by attacking Arzanene. Hostilities continued for five years. The question of the Caspian Gates was brought up during the negotiations of 530. According to Procopius, during these talks, Kavadh reminded the Byzantine ambassador Rufinus about Anastasius's refusal to purchase the Caspian Gates because of the high cost of maintaining a garrison there. The Persian king then complained that the Romans were benefiting from the Persian efforts to secure the pass, but that the expenses were paid entirely by the Sasanians.[41] Furthermore, since 505 the question of the defense of the Caucasian passes had intersected with another thorny issue in the relationship between the two empires. In that year, Anastasius ordered the construction of fortifications at the frontier village of Dara.[42] As Kavadh complained to Byzantine diplomats, two armies were now required to defend the Persian borders: one against the Huns at the Caspian Gates, and one against the Byzantines in Dara. During the talks of 530, Kavadh demanded that either the fortifications at Dara should be dismantled, or the Byzantines should contribute to the maintenance of the defense of the Caspian Gates—by sending either money or soldiers to guard them.[43]

Two years later, in 532, Justinian and the new Sasanian king, Kavadh's son Khosrow Anōshirvān, signed a peace agreement. The treaty stipulated that the Romans withdraw the base of the *dux* of Mesopotamia from Dara to Constantia, that is, into Byzantine territory, further from the Sasanian border. The Romans also committed to pay the Sasanians the amount of 110 *centenaria* (ca. 11,000 pounds of gold). According to Procopius, Khosrow insisted that the purpose of that payment was to avoid compelling the Romans to either dismantle the fortifications at Dara or share the costs of the patrol of the Caspian Gates.[44] It thus appears that Khosrow was continuing his father's attempts to link the peace between the two empires to the Byzantine payment of subsidies—ideally in the form of annual

tributes—for the Sasanian defense of the Caucasian passes. This disputed issue, however, was not solved by the treaty signed by the Persian king and Justinian. As noted, the title of “Eternal Peace” masked a fragile agreement that could not fulfill such optimistic expectations. In fact, the peace was ephemeral and short. A few years later, when the two empires reopened hostilities, the question of the Caspian Gates would still figure as a main source of contention.

In 540, after the sacking of Antioch, Khosrow tried to extort additional money from Justinian for securing the Caucasian passes against the Huns. Procopius reports that Khosrow asked the Romans to pay an annual amount of gold, in return for which “the Persians will maintain a constant peace with them, guarding the Caspian Gates themselves and no longer feeling resentment towards them on account of the city of Dara.”[45] An agreement was reached and the Sasanians retired from Antioch with fifty *centenaria* and the promise of an annual tribute of five *centenaria* to come. Twenty-two years later, in 562, when the two emperors signed the so-called Fifty-Year Peace, the defense of the Caucasian passes again occupied a prominent position, appearing as the first clause of the treaty. According to Menander Protector (mid-sixth century), the clause read as follows: “Through the pass at the place called Tzon and through the Caspian Gates the Persians shall not allow the Huns or Alans or other barbarians access to the Roman empire, nor shall the Romans either in this area or on any other Persian borderlands send an army against the Persians.”[46] In the preliminary negotiations, the Romans had agreed to pay an annual amount of 30,000 gold *numismata* (ca. 400 pounds of gold).[47] Notably, the Romans appear to have managed once again to keep this payment separate from the question of the defense of the Gates. As Blockley observes: “The yearly payments were not towards the defense of the Caucasus but for peace, on condition that the terms of the treaty were adhered to on both sides. The Persians, who had perhaps at this point completed a program of military colonization in the Caucasus, agreed to defend the area without designated remuneration; and this issue was never raised again.”[48] This was indeed the last time—at least according to sources—that the Sasanians advanced demands for contributions to the defense of the Caspian Gates.

In sum, the defense of the Caucasian borders from Hunnic incursions was a main point of contention between the two empires during the fifth

and sixth centuries. The situation appears to have been exacerbated since the beginning of Kavadh's second reign, in 498, when the Sasanians increasingly adopted the Roman refusals to provide subsidies as *casus belli*. Both Kavadh and his son Khosrow reportedly initiated hostilities when their demands for funds were declined. What is certain is that Sasanian attempts to extort money for the defense of the Caspian Gates preoccupied Justinian for most of his reign. One dispute between the two rivals concerned the manner in which the Roman payments to the Sasanians should be formally presented. Sources suggest a dynamic in which the Persians tried to establish a connection between the defense of the Gates and the gold received as part of the peace treaties, while the Romans tried to keep the two elements separate. Byzantine emperors were probably trying to avoid any agreement that would formalize the guarding of the Caucasian passes as a unilateral Persian endeavor funded by Roman gold, and rebutted Sasanian attempts to obtain regular payments by insisting on the extraordinary and time-limited character of the subsidies.[49] The main issue was probably the Roman desire to prevent these subventions from becoming permanent annual payments, since that might expose Byzantium to the risk of being represented as a tributary state of the Persians.

The Romans had good reason to fear this outcome. Such humiliating conditions had already materialized in the third century, when the Roman purchase of peace was represented in Sasanian inscriptions and coins with Rome in a state of capitulation and submission.[50] Tributes played a prominent role in Sasanian political culture, in which the payment of gold was equated to a status of subordination. This idea was refined at the Persian court during the late Sasanian period and found expression in the complex political cosmology of the *Book of Kings*. As Richard Payne observes: "In its mythologized representations of Roman–Iranian relations, the *Book of Kings* identified the payment of tribute as the means through which the reunification of the world could be realized without eliminating the rival systems of political leadership with which the Iranian kings had to contend."[51] Most likely the Byzantines did not understand the complexities of this ideological system, but they understood that payments to the Sasanians might be represented as a sign of political subjugation.

Byzantine authors engage with this risk, which no doubt animated lively political discussions in Byzantine society. Ps.-Joshua the Stylite categorically rebuts the idea that the subventions paid to the Persians at the

time of Zeno were equivalent to tributes. He writes: “The kings of the Persians have been sending ambassadors and receiving gold for their needs; but it was not in the way of tribute that they received it, as many thought.”[52] Ps.-Joshua mentions a treaty between Byzantines and Sasanians that stipulated mutual assistance on the two empires in case of need. He also says that Romans respected this treaty by providing the Persians with money, even if they never found themselves in need of Persian help.[53] Ps.-Joshua clearly tries to attribute the Sasanian collection of Byzantine money to their weakness, not to their political superiority.

In spite of the report’s underlying agenda, Ps.-Joshua’s reference to a mutual aid agreement has some credibility. In chapter XVIII of his *Chronicle*, John Malalas twice refers to a similar arrangement. The author quotes a letter that Khosrow allegedly sent to Justinian in 529. In the letter, the Persian king refers to a written document—purportedly found among the Sasanian records—stating that the two empires committed to provide mutual military or financial help upon request. Khosrow complained that the Roman emperors Anastasius and Justin (r. 518–527) did not observe this agreement, and he affirmed that this was the reason that the Persians had opened hostilities.[54] Later in the same chapter, Malalas reports that, in 532, when Justinian and Khosrow signed the Eternal Peace, “the two rulers agreed and said explicitly in the treaty that they were brothers according to the ancient custom and that if one of them needed military assistance in money or men, they should provide it without dispute.”[55]

The broad outlines of the entente mentioned by Malalas are similar to the agreement reported by Ps.-Joshua the Stylite. It may be that both authors refer to actual contemporary arrangements on the table of “international” relations between the two empires. If the Eternal Peace did in fact include such a clause, it would have given the Persians the right to ask for financial or military subsidies in case of necessity, and the Sasanians would have been authorized by law to demand payments for the defense of the Caucasian passes. Such a compromise may have functioned to prevent the payments made to the Persians from being turned into regular tributes and, ultimately, to avoid the risk of being presented as tributary vassals. As Blockley observes, “the form would not be offensive to the Romans, since, providing the payments did not become regular, the Persians could not represent them as a one-sided commitment.”[56] However, it is also possible

that similar arrangements never existed and that both Ps.-Joshua and Malalas report a similar literary artifact, which was elaborated in order to provide a semblance of legal legitimacy to the Roman payments and to avoid the portrayal of these payments as tributes to the Persians.

Be that as it may, fears of being reduced to a tributary status continued to pervade Byzantine political discourse. Procopius articulates this fear in the reported dialogue between the Byzantine ambassadors and Khosrow during the negotiation of Antioch in 540. After hearing Khosrow's request for annual payments, the Roman diplomats said: "So the Persians desire to hold the Romans liable to the payment of tribute to them."[57] Khosrow responded: "No, but the Romans will have the Persians as their own soldiers for the future, providing them with a fixed payment for their service; for you provide an annual payment of gold to some of the Huns and to the Saracens, not as tributary subjects to them, but in order that they may guard your land unplundered for all time."[58] It is unlikely that Khosrow ever uttered these words or that he compared the annual tribute he demanded to the payments made by the Romans to Hunnic and Arab tribes. Rather, the ideology described above, which represented the Roman Caesar as a subject or a tributary partner of the Persian king of kings, provided the intellectual framework for Khosrow's insistence in demanding a tribute from Byzantium. The words that Procopius puts in Khosrow's mouth can hardly represent the rationale of the Sasanian king. Clearly, the Byzantine historian is addressing a Roman audience and he has a specific agenda. He wants to reassure the reader that the annual payments by the Byzantines for the liberation of Antioch would not turn into a permanent tribute to the Sasanians. To this end, Procopius makes Khosrow himself argue against this possibility, and he even inverts the situation. In his dialogue, the Persian king offers the services of his army to the Romans, as if they were mercenary troops. The dialogue puts the Sasanians on the same level as the Arab and Hunnic contingents that patrolled Byzantine border territories in exchange for money.

Procopius goes to great lengths to present the issue of the Caspian Gates in a way that does not shed negative light on Byzantine policy. The above-mentioned report about Anastasius's refusal to purchase control over the Dariali Pass from the Hun Ambazuces functions as an explanation for the Romans' lack of direct involvement in the defense of the Caucasian passes. The text represents Anastasius's decision as a wise, rational choice dictated

by the emperor’s awareness of the logistical difficulties in sustaining a garrison stationed far from Roman territory. One suspects that Procopius may have sought to deflect criticisms from elements in Byzantine society who may have wanted to see the empire pursuing a more aggressive policy in the Caucasus and not to leave the Persians with a monopoly over the control of the strategic mountain passes.

Among the Byzantine authors who wrote about the Caspian Gates controversy, John Lydus is the one who adopts the most polemical tones. Willingness to address and reject Sasanian attempts to extort Roman money surely shaped his hostility. This agenda is clearly at play in the passage of the *De magistratibus populi romani* in which Lydus describes the talks allegedly held by Byzantines and Sasanians in the late fourth century to establish an entente for the defense of the Caucasian area. Lydus not only explains how the Caspian Gates issue originated, but also demonstrates the groundlessness of Sasanian requests. In fact, Lydus attributes the entire problem of the defense of the Caucasian mountain passes to Sasanian ineptitude and inability to guard a territory that—before Julian’s ill-fated Persian campaign of 363—belonged to the Romans. According to Lydus:

> as long as the Romans controlled Artaxata and the regions even beyond, they were able, since they were on the spot, to resist them [the barbarians who might come through the Caspian Gates]. But when they evacuated these and other regions under Jovian, the Persians were unable to defend both their own and the former Roman territory, and unbearable turmoil constantly gripped the Armenians subject to each state.[59]

Here Lydus implies that responsibility for preventing Hunnic invasions through the Caucasian passes lay upon the shoulders of the political entity in control of the area—a role that the Romans had performed as long as they were present in the region. He also emphasizes that the Sasanian interest in establishing a garrison at the Dariali Gorge was motivated by their exposure to the risk of attack through the Gates. Implicitly, he dismisses the benefits that the Romans would derive from the Persian fortification and defense of the pass. Finally, when acknowledging that Roman payments were made at the time of Anastasius, he emphasizes that the emperor conceded these payments “for the sake of peace” and not to honor agreements previously stipulated with the rival empire. Lydus apparently considered any kind of treaty covering the issue raised by the Sasanians as illegitimate in the first place.

When he describes the events allegedly occurring in the fourth century, Lydus keeps an eye on the present, as clearly emerges—among other things—from his reference to Kavadh's attempts to obtain payments from Justin, which immediately precedes his report on the beginning and developments of the Gates controversy.[60] His attention to contemporary circumstances, however, calls into question the historical accuracy of the situation he describes. Apart from what he tells us about the establishment of a Persian fortress at the Dariali Gorge—which, as we have seen, seems to be reliable—several elements of his report are suspect and find no confirmation in other sources.[61] In fact, no other author mentions any diplomatic discussion over the defense of the Caspian Gates for the period indicated by Lydus. Although early talks may very well have occurred, the way in which they are presented is clearly influenced by the political discourse of the mid-sixth century. More critically, it appears that several "facts" provided by Lydus do not relate to actual events that occurred in the late fourth or early fifth century, but are instead a back-projection of contemporary historical circumstances.

Consider, for instance, what Lydus says about the Sasanian attack on Syria and Cappadocia as a retaliation for the Roman failure to build their fortress and to seal the Caucasian pass. This information is dubious for several reasons. First, Lydus reports that the Byzantine emperor Theodosius I (r. 379–395) sent a certain Sporacius (whom he identifies as "the first Sporacius") to negotiate with the Persians. This name is not attested in other sources—although it has been conjectured that the Roman diplomat sent by Theodosius was an ancestor of Flavius Sporacius, consul in 452.[62] Second, no other source refers to any Persian aggression on Byzantine territory in the period indicated by Lydus. Andreas Luther suggests that Lydus may be referring to the great Hunnic invasion of 395.[63] If so, the circumstances described by the Byzantine author still appear suspect. In fact—and third—the idea that the Sasanians opened hostilities to retaliate for the Roman refusal to contribute to the defense of the Caspian Gates appears to be informed by events that were happening during Lydus's lifetime. Specifically, it recalls Kavadh's and Khosrow's policy to consider as *casus belli* the Byzantine rejections of their demands for funds. Thus, it appears that Lydus is rewriting the past in light of the present.

Other elements in Lydus's report strengthen this conclusion. For instance, the claim that the two empires contemplated a project to join forces to construct two fortresses at the Dariali Gorge is dubious. The talks in which this project would have been discussed allegedly occurred at a time when the two superpowers had just reached an agreement about the reciprocal spheres of influence in the Caucasus—notoriously, the treaty of 363, which sanctioned the Roman expulsion from Armenia.[64] It is doubtful that any of the contenders would have encouraged any kind of military presence of the rival in the region. As Blockley observes: "It is hard to see why the Persians, one of whose objectives in the treaty of 363 was to get the Romans out of Armenia and who complained strongly when they began to interfere in 369–370, would have been willing to recognize a legitimate Roman interest in the area at such an early date."[65] Rather than referring to events that occurred in the fourth century, Lydus likely modeled his report on contemporary events.

The idea of a joint defense of the Caucasian passes echoes the agreements described by Ps.-Joshua the Stylite and Malalas about the commitments of the two empires to provide mutual military assistance.[66] And Lydus's words find partial parallels in the above-mentioned passage of Procopius's *Wars*, in which Kavadh complains to the Roman ambassador Rufinus about the Roman refusal to either dismantle the Dara fortifications or "that the army sent to the Caspian Gates should be sent by both of us."[67] It thus appears that the idea of a shared defense of the Gates was in the air at the time of Justinian and it is probable that Lydus projected this idea backwards to the time when the dispute over the Caucasian passes originated. His report on the Caspian Gates is therefore a product of historical revisionism that weaves together notices of past events and elements of contemporary political discourse in a description of the origins and the developments of the controversy, with the clear intention of rejecting the Sasanian demands for subsidies.

Back to the *Neṣḥānā*

Clearly, the defense of the Caucasian passes and the Sasanian demands to obtain Roman subventions figure as prominent elements in relations between the two empires during the fifth and, especially, the sixth centuries.

This unsolved political problem also generated much controversy and gave rise to an intense debate in Byzantine society, as attested by the authors analyzed above. The circumstances relating to the disputes over the defense of the Caspian Gates should be considered as background for the emergence of the story of Alexander's gate in the *Neṣḥānā*. This is apparent from a passage in the Syriac work, toward the end of the text, which describes the peace talks between Alexander and Tūbarlaq after a battle fought by the Greeks and the Persians. After defeating Tūbarlaq and agreeing to a peace treaty, Alexander reaches an agreement with the defeated enemy in order to establish a joint defense of the gate that he erected in the Caucasus. According to this entente, the two kings agree to send six thousand soldiers each to guard the gate, and to share the costs of provisions for these troops—with each sovereign committing to provide food and drink for his soldiers. This passage of the *Neṣḥānā* echoes the long and controversial attempts between Constantinople and Ctesiphon to reach an agreement over the defense of the Caspian Gates from attacks by the nomads from Central Asia.

Several aspects of the agreement stipulated by Alexander and Tūbarlaq point to the influence of Byzantine political discourse. For instance, the mutual entente is presented as a supplement to the conditions which Alexander accepts to end to the conflict and to let Tūbarlaq live. It is only after the terms of the peace have been established that the two kings sit and discuss the possibility of a joint defense against the Huns. Notably, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* does not connect the entente reached by the two former enemies over the question of the gate to the fifteen-year tribute that the Persian king committed to pay to Alexander in exchange for peace (and for his life). For the author of the *Neṣḥānā*, the defense of Alexander's gate is independent from the maintenance of peace with his Persian adversary. The author's position appears to reflect precisely the Byzantine point of view on the much-debated issue of the Caspian Gates and follows the way in which the Byzantines tried to deal with it during their negotiations with the Sasanians, that is, their efforts to keep the question of the Caucasian passes separate from payments made to end hostilities. As a person ostensibly familiar with contemporary events and political discussions, our author models his representation of agreement between Alexander and Tūbarlaq on common Byzantine reactions to Sasanian demands for money for the defense of the Gates.

Despite attributing the fortification of the Caucasian defensive systems to Byzantium's ancestor, Alexander, and despite describing a situation in which Persia is at the mercy of the Greco-Roman Empire, the Syriac writer does not portray his hero demanding any payment for the defense of the gate from his defeated enemy, Tūbarlaq. As we will see later, in the description of the treaty between Alexander and Tūbarlaq, our author inverts the clauses of actual peace agreements signed by Byzantines and Sasanians over the course of the sixth century, and presents the Persians as paying the Romans a tribute that in fact was paid by the Byzantines. The fact that the author does not invert the historical reality for the defense of the Gates may be taken as a (not so veiled) criticism of ongoing Sasanian requests for money for the patrol of the Caucasian passes. The perceived unreasonableness and groundlessness of the pretensions advanced by Sasanian sovereigns are highlighted by the contrast with the virtuous example of Alexander and his rational policies about the gate that he constructed. His agreement with Tūbarlaq is meant to represent a model of cooperation between the two empires, which sought to defend their respective borders against the danger of Hunnic incursions.

The Syriac writer's description of the Greco-Persian entente was also influenced by the sixth-century political debate surrounding the Caspian Gates. The idea of a shared patrol, with shared costs, recalls pacts of mutual financial and military assistance reported by Malalas and Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, and the alleged project of a simultaneous, "bi-imperial" military presence in defense of the Caucasus reported by Lydus. These kinds of agreements or projects may have never been in actual use or development, but they were surely features in the contemporary discussion about how to solve the old dispute of the Gates. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* was ostensibly familiar with the elements of this debate and modeled his text on these patterns. The entente reached by Alexander and Tūbarlaq idealizes how the two empires should deal with the attacks of nomadic warriors through the Caucasian passes, and also represents the Syriac author's proposed solution to the Roman-Persian quarrels over this issue. His literary elaboration may also reveal his dissatisfaction with the pacts stipulated under Justinian and may reflect an intent common to many of his contemporaries, that is, to call on Byzantine emperors to play a more active role in the Transcaucasian arena. As we will see in the following chapters, this would not be the only critique of Justinian in the Syriac work.

Some seventy years ago, Czeglédy observed that the understanding reached by the two kings in the Syriac work recalls actual historical agreements between Byzantines and Sasanians about the defense of the Gates.[68] In fact, the situation is more complex than that envisaged by the Hungarian scholar. Pace Czeglédy, Persian-Roman talks over the defense of the Caspian Gates never resulted in "the custom of the Roman and Persian rulers to join in the maintenance of the Caucasian fortifications."[69] As noted, Roman-Persian ententes over this thorny issue were reached on different occasions, but mostly as temporary agreements that never fully solved the problem—with the exception, perhaps, of the Fifty-Year Peace of 562, after which the Caspian Gates issue was never raised again. The conflictual character of the negotiations over the question of the Caucasian passes and the difficulties encountered by the two empires in reaching a lasting compromise are key factors in understanding the exact historical scenario behind the *Neṣḥānā*. The reference to this particular element of the Byzantine-Sasanian peace talks clearly indicates that at the time when the Syriac author was writing, the Gates still represented a sensitive question in the relationship between the two empires, contrary to Czeglédy's claim that this section of the *Neṣḥānā* addresses the historical context of the 630s, and specifically the conflict between Heraclius and Khosrow Parvēz. In fact, nothing suggests that Heraclius (or any Byzantine emperor who ascended the throne after the Fifty-Year Peace) ever faced Sasanian recriminations over the defense of the Caucasian passes. Moreover, the peace agreements stipulated by Heraclius at the end of the conflict do not include any clause about the defense of the Caucasian passes.[70] By contrast, the *Neṣḥānā* specifically recalls a proviso which, as we have seen, figures in various peace settlements between the two empires during the sixth century, which appears as the most likely context for the composition of at least this section of the Syriac work. Moreover, as we will soon see, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* specifically links his position on the issue of the Caspian Gates to another disputed point of contention between the two empires in the sixth century.

The Story of the Blacksmiths from Egypt in the Context of the Sixth-Century Lazic War

At the beginning of the Syriac work, before starting his journey to the edges of the earth, Alexander briefly visits Egypt. Here, the chiefs of his army advise him to recruit blacksmiths who specialize in iron and bronze. Alexander thus asks the king of Egypt, Sarnaqōs, for seven thousand smiths. The recruitment of the workers comes with an agreement between the two kings. Alexander commits to return the blacksmiths to Egypt once he completes his tour. However, if the blacksmiths request not to be returned to their country of origin, Alexander and Sarnaqōs agreed that they would inhabit a territory that Alexander would grant them. In this case, the blacksmiths would not pay tribute to Alexander, but they would give him customs duties (*ṭyrwnʾ*). The terms of the agreement are oddly specific but, as will become clear later in the text, have a specific function. In fact, at the end of the *Neṣḥānā*, after the blacksmiths have helped Alexander to build the gate against the Huns, and after Alexander's victory in battle over Tūbarlaq, we learn that Alexander gives the blacksmiths the lands of Bēt Dmʾ and Bēt Dwšr to cultivate and dwell in. On this occasion, the author reiterates the terms of the agreement with Sarnaqōs according to which the blacksmiths do not pay tribute to Alexander.

While it may appear as a secondary element in the narrative, the story of the Egyptian blacksmiths allows us to better understand key elements of the text. First, the story clarifies the geography behind the episode of Alexander's gate. I have not been able to establish the exact location of Bēt Dmʾ, one of the two territories that the blacksmiths receive from Alexander, while Bēt Dwšr, the other territory assigned to the blacksmiths, may correspond to Dioscurias (Διοσκουριὰς), the ancient name of Sebastopolis, a Roman city in the Colchis. In fact, this is exactly the geographical location that emerges from the study of the literary background of the story of the Egyptian blacksmiths.

Previous scholars have not identified in the episode of the Egyptian blacksmiths a readaptation of an older legend already reported by Herodotus (d. ca. 425 BCE) and, subsequently, by Diodorus Siculus (d. ca. 30 BCE). According to the former, the semi-mythical Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris embarked upon a military campaign in Asia Minor and Europe, where he defeated Scythians and Thracians. On his way back to Egypt,

Sesostris arrived at the Phasis River (the modern Rioni River, in Western Georgia), where he divided his army and left some soldiers to settle the region. Herodotus uses this story to advocate for his theory that the inhabitants of the Colchis are of Egyptian descent.[71] Diodorus Siculus reports the same story and affirms that the Colchians descend from the soldiers left by Sesostris near lake Maeotis (i.e., the Sea of Azov). As support for this theory, Diodorus mentions that the Colchians, like the Egyptians, practice circumcision. Significantly, Diodorus Siculus affirms that Sesostris's expedition reached the same territories that would later be conquered by Alexander. In doing so, he provides an early example of overlap between the military campaigns of the two mythical kings. The association between the two characters is not peculiar to Diodorus; it is explicitly formulated in the oldest recension of the *Alexander Romance* (α). Here, Alexander encounters Sesostris, whose name is spelled as Sesonchosis. The pharaoh, divinized and sitting among the gods, bears the same title, *kosmokrator*, that is applied to Alexander.[72] As Krysztof Nawotka observes: "In the Egyptian logos of the *Alexander Romance*, which found its origin in Hellenistic times, Sesonchosis became the ideological predecessor of Alexander the *kosmokrator*."[73] These earlier overlappings between the two characters may explain how the story of Sesostris's soldiers came to be incorporated within a tradition concerning Alexander.[74]

The story of Sesostris's campaigns was known to a number of sixth-century historians, including Jordanes, who mentions this story in the section of his work that immediately precedes the description of the Caspian Gates.[75] His version of the legend, however, differs slightly from those found in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as Jordanes adapts the story of the Egyptian settlers to his main narration about the Goths. Jordanes affirms that Sesostris was defeated by the Gothic king Tanausis, that Tanausis later subjugated most of Asia, and that some of his soldiers settled the conquered provinces. The descendants of these soldiers, according to Jordanes, are the Parthians. A more faithful report of the legend is provided by Agathias, who uses the story of Sesostris's soldiers to explain the ethnogenesis of the people of Lazica. Agathias affirms that "the inhabitants of Lazica were called Colchians in ancient times, so the Lazi and the Colchians are the same people."[76] His version of the legend is a

foundation myth for the establishment of the Lazi kingdom, which at the time he was writing occupied the entire Colchian area.[77]

The legend of the Egyptian soldiers who arrived in Colchis with Sesostris's army and settled in that region is the basis for the episode of the blacksmiths from Egypt in the *Neṣḥānā*. The name of the Egyptian king, Sarnaqōs, is clearly an adaptation of the alternative name under which Sesostris appears in the sources, that is, Sesonchosis. The Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* attests to the instability of the name Sesonchosis in the Syriac tradition. In the Syriac *Romance*, Sesonchosis is spelled as either *sysnqws*,[78] *sysnqwsys*,[79] *sysyqwss*,[80] *sysyqwnws*,[81] *sysnyqws*,[82] or *sywsynyqws*.[83] Clearly Sarnaqōs (*srnqws*) represents still another variation of Sesonchosis, or is intentionally derived from this. Even if, for narrative purposes, in the *Neṣḥānā* the Egyptian soldiers are turned into blacksmiths—while Alexander plays the role of Sesostris—the broad outline of the stories is still similar. The Syriac author has reformulated the story of Sesostris's Egyptian settlers in order to portray the Colchians/Lazi as the descendants of the Egyptian blacksmiths who reached the area with Alexander and who built his gate against the Huns. This portrayal brings to mind the claim made by Jordanes that the Lazi controlled the Caspian Gates on behalf of the Romans. In the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander's blacksmiths are the ancestors of the Colchians/Lazi, just as Sesostris's soldiers are the ancestors of that same people in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Agathias. Importantly, the story's literary background confirms what has been posited above, namely, that the imagery used by the author in the episode of Alexander's gate is related to the Caucasus. Clearly, the author has conflated the traditions about Alexander's iron gates and the Colchians' Egyptian origins, both of which were associated with the same geographical area.

Even after reconstructing the literary background of the story, the episode of the Egyptian blacksmiths remains puzzling, as it lacks any clear role in the narration. Of course, the enrollment of workers specializing in iron and bronze explains why Alexander is able to erect a gate made of these materials after arriving in the Caucasus. However, the story could have been told without any mention of the blacksmiths' country of origin. Indeed, Alexander's brief visit to Egypt and encounter with Sarnaqōs does not generate any other narrative development. If the author made his hero pass by Egypt, where the only thing he does is to hire local workers, it is

because he really wanted to relate these workers to that country. For what purpose? Why did the author want us to believe that the inhabitants of Lazica are the descendants of the workers enrolled by Alexander in Egypt?

The Syriac writer explains the enrollment of workers from Egypt by making Alexander's generals say: "King Alexander, since the army cannot travel without smiths, command that they come with us from Egypt, since there are not on the surface of the Earth smiths like those from Egypt."[84] This explanation, however, is hardly satisfying. Even if the author wants to convince the reader that Alexander's gate was made by the finest blacksmiths on earth, one wonders why he provided so many details about the workers' status, the country in which they decided to settle, and the king to whom they would pay taxes. Nothing of the sort occurs in any version of Sesostris's story, which provides no information whatsoever about the "administrative" status of the Egyptian settlers. Clearly, the Syriac author added these to emphasize the conditions in which Alexander's blacksmiths agreed to settle the Lazi region. But why was it so important for him to highlight the blacksmiths' decision to settle in the lands that they received from King Alexander and to pay him customs duties? The sixth-century historical context of the story helps us to explain this point. I now turn to the historical events that lay behind the episode of Alexander's gate. To this purpose, we must return to Agathias.

When referring to the alleged Egyptian origins of the inhabitants of Lazica, Agathias affirms: "these Lazi, Colchians, Egyptian migrants or what have you, have become a bone of contention in our day and age, and innumerable battles have been fought for the sake of their land."[85] Here, Agathias refers to the tensions between Byzantines and Sasanians over the control of the kingdom of Lazica, over which both imperial powers asserted a claim in the sixth century. Disputes over the reciprocal spheres of influence in Lazica resulted in a series of wars, interrupted by precarious truces and diplomatic agreements. The longest of these armed confrontations lasted more than two decades, from 541 to 562, with the Lazi rebelling at different stages against both the Byzantines and the Sasanians and fighting on both sides of the battlefield according to the mood of the moment.[86] The quarrels had already begun when, in 524/525, an Iberian uprising against the Persians and their defection to the Romans brought the two empires to confrontation in the Caucasus.[87] As a

consequence of the so-called Eternal Peace, signed by Justinian and Khosrow Anōshirvān in 532, the Romans retained full control over Lazica.[8] [8] The peace, however, was not destined to be eternal. In 541, dissatisfaction with Roman rule and anger at the thievery committed by imperial officials led the Lazi to request Persian intervention. The Lazian king Gubazes II (r. ca. 541–555) formally handed over his kingdom to Khosrow.[89] However, six years later, dissatisfied with Khosrow's policies in Lazica and concerned by the missionary activities of the Zoroastrian priests, Gubazes switched back to the Roman side and reconciled with Justinian. The Byzantine emperor then sent an army to support the renewed alliance with the Lazian king.[90] Nevertheless, suspicions of conspiracy and defections persisted in the background of the Byzantine-Lazic alliance. Tensions between Byzantium and the Lazi were exacerbated in 555, when the Lazian king was murdered by order of Roman commanders. Two years later, in 557, hostilities in Lazica ceased as part of a general armistice signed by the Romans and the Persians.[91] In 561/562 emissaries of both empires met in the Byzantine fortified city of Dara, on the northern Mesopotamian border, to discuss the terms of a stable peace. The status of Lazica figured prominently in the negotiations.[92]

In sum, the conflict in Lazica was long and complex. It started with issues of political influence; it proceeded with alternate demonstrations of loyalty and disloyalty, in a climate of suspicion and fear of treason; and it ended with unsolved questions related to legitimacy and sovereignty. It is fair to say that the "Lazic question" was one of the most debated and contested matters in Byzantine-Sasanian relations in the mid-sixth century. Unsurprisingly, when describing the origins of the Lazic conflict, Agathias offers a blatantly pro-Roman explanation that attributes the causes of the war exclusively to the Sasanian shah Khosrow:

> The Persian Emperor Chosroes had already appropriated and occupied much of their territory, including some of the most strategically important positions. Far from entertaining any idea of relaxing his hold on the place, he was intent on completing its subjugation. On the other hand the Roman Emperor Justinian thought it unbearable and quite immoral to abandon Gubazes, the then king of the Lazi, and the whole of his nation, seeing that they were subjects of the empire and linked by a common bond of friendship and religion. Instead he did his utmost to drive out the enemy as quickly as possible.[93]

Agathias highlights the status of the Lazi as “subjects of the empire and linked by a common bond of friendship and religion.” In a context such as the Lazic War, these claims of traditional and cultural bonds were invoked to justify an armed imperial intervention. From this perspective, a subtle political implication emerges from Agathias’s reference to the legend of Lazi’s alleged Egyptian origins. By emphasizing Lazica’s ancestral connection with a country currently part of the Byzantine Empire, he claims Byzantium’s right to intervene in the politics of a region against its Eastern rival.[94]

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* extends this claim and further politicizes the legend of the Lazi’s Egyptian lineage. He models aspects of the story of the Egyptian settlers on the events of the war in Lazica to create a connection between a fictitious past and an actual present. In fact, the regulations of the blacksmiths’ settlement in Alexander’s lands coincide with the administrative situation of Lazica under Roman influence in the 530s. Procopius informs us that Roman control over the Lazi was mostly manifested through Byzantium’s official recognition of the Lazian king at the moment of his ascent to the throne. Besides this act of ceremonial investiture, the Lazi “dwelt in the land of Colchis as subjects of the Romans, but not to the extent of paying them tribute or obeying their commands in any respect.”[95] However, according to Procopius, the situation changed in the years immediately following the signing of the Eternal Peace in 532. Roman presence in Lazica morphed into a real protectorate, with the deployment of Roman troops in the region and the establishment of the fortified city of Petra. From Petra, the Roman *magister militum per Armeniam*, John Tzibus, established control over trade and imposed import duties and other trade taxes on the Lazi.[96] Procopius indicates Lazian anger for Roman rapacity as a major cause for Gubazes’s decision to invoke to Khosrow’s intervention in 541.

The *Neṣḥānā* reflects this historical reality in at least three narrative elements. (1) The agreement between Alexander and Sarnaqōs (according to which the Egyptian blacksmiths would not pay tribute to Alexander but they would give him customs duties) remarkably reflects the situation of Lazica described by Procopius, in which the Lazi are not asked to pay tribute to the Romans but are subject to the payment of trade duties. (2) The malevolent behavior of the inhabitants of the region, who summon Tūbarlaq’s intervention against Alexander, likely represents the author’s critique of the

Lazic defection in favor of the Persians. (3) The number of Egyptian blacksmiths recruited by Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* (i.e., 7,000) is identical to the number of soldiers that Justinian sent to support the Lazi's anti-Persian uprising in 547, when Gubazes decided to return to Roman alliance. In fact, according to Procopius, Justinian sent 7,000 soldiers to Lazica, under the command of the *magister militum per Armeniam* Dagisthaeus, accompanied by a local contingent of 1,000 Tzani.[97]

More important, however, are the political implications of the author's rewriting of the legend of the Egyptian origins of the Lazi. According to him, not only are the people of Lazica descendants of the Egyptian blacksmiths who accompanied Alexander on his expedition; but also their ancestors decided to settle in the territories that Alexander conceded to them and to pay customs duties to him. The ancestors of the Lazi were Alexander's vassals, whom the author portrays as the mythical founder of the Byzantine Empire. By stressing Alexander's possession of the territories given to the Lazi's ancestors and their decision to pay him taxes, the Syriac author affirms the legitimacy of Byzantium's claim to rule over these lands and people. His point of view does not differ much from Justinian's claims in his *Novella XXVIII* for near-complete control over Lazica.[98]

It thus appears that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* has rewritten the story of the Egyptian settlers of the Colchis in order to address Roman-Persian disputes over the control of Lazica in the second half of the sixth century. At the same time, the events of the Lazic War are not the only ones that frame the episode of Alexander's gate narrated in the *Neṣḥānā*. As seen, the Syriac author also points to tension between the two empires over the issue of the Caspian Gates. His decision to combine two earlier traditions—that of Alexander's iron gates in the Caucasus and that of the Egyptian settlers of Colchis—clearly was driven not only by the fact that both legends refer to the same geographical area, but also by his willingness to address two major political problems that concerned those very same regions during his lifetime. The author masterfully reworks previously independent literary materials and adapts them to contemporary historical circumstances.

The author's decision to connect the two disputes over the Lazian kingdom and over the Caspian Gates ostensibly reflects the influence of contemporary Byzantine political discourse. There is evidence that these two points of contention between the two empires were closely related. This, of course, comes as no surprise, given the geographical proximity of

the Lazian kingdom to the controversial Caucasian passes. But it was not a mere matter of geography. Lazica and the Caucasian passes were also connected by questions of political influence and military considerations. Procopius informs us that before their desertion in favor of the Persians, the Lazi had collaborated with the Byzantines in securing imperial borders. It is noteworthy that Procopius emphasizes that the Lazi would guard the Roman borders against Hunnic incursions without receiving either military or financial support from the Romans.[99] It is difficult not to see in this assertion an allusion to Sasanian demands to receive money or, less frequently (and less insistently), troops from the Romans as a contribution to the defense of the Caspian Gates. Procopius connects this passage to the other passages in his work in which he describes the claims advanced by several Persian sovereigns to provide a service that the Romans already received for free from their collaboration with the Lazian kingdom.

Equally important, the loss of Roman influence over Lazica would result, among other things, in leaving the Persians in full control over the regions that could secure the empire from Hunnic attacks. Procopius gives voice to these fears in the same section of his work. He claims that one of Khosrow's main interests in securing Sasanian control over Lazica was connected to the region's strategic location and its possible role in containing Hunnic attacks if the Caucasian defense systems were overcome. Controlling the area would also have allowed the Persians to redirect Hunnic raids toward the lands of the Romans, according to their own needs. In the words of the Byzantine historian: "The Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire. For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them."[100] Whether or not these claims are true, Procopius's attribution of similar plans to Khosrow shows that in the eyes of a contemporary Byzantine war commentator, the disputed control over the Lazian kingdom was closely related to the defense of the Caucasian passes against the Huns.

The evidence provided by Procopius about the Lazi's role in securing the Byzantine frontiers against Hunnic raids brings to mind the report by Jordanes, according to whom the Lazi controlled the Caspian Gates on behalf of the Romans. The reliability of this claim is questionable, as no

other source, as far as I know, describes the Lazi as in control of the Gates. It is possible that Jordanes was confused on this point by the role that the Lazi had traditionally played in securing the Byzantine northern frontiers as part of their agreements with the empire. At the same time, one wonders whether Jordanes—who probably resided in the imperial capital during the Persian wars—could have been unaware of the ongoing dispute surrounding the Caspian Gates or uninformed about the political situation in the Caucasus. Rather than a sign of his ignorance, the information he provides about the Lazi's alleged role in patrolling the Gates may reveal his intention to rebut the Sasanian demands for Roman money. By attributing to the Lazi control over the Caspian Gates and by emphasizing the collaboration of the Lazian kingdom in securing the imperial borders, Jordanes may have wanted to suggest (without directly entering into the discussion) the groundlessness of Sasanian claims to defend Byzantium from Hunnic incursions.

Be that as it may, the information reported by Jordanes about Lazi's control of the Gates on behalf of the Romans corroborates the idea that in sixth-century Byzantium, the two issues of Lazica and the Caspian Gates were intertwined. This provides the intellectual framework for the choice made by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* to link together two independent narrative traditions in order to address those very same questions of political controversy. In his eyes, the ongoing disputes over Lazica and over the defense of the Caucasian passes were interconnected, as they were in the eyes of Procopius, Jordanes, and, most likely, many other witnesses to those events who did not leave written records of their points of view. Thus, the sixth century appears as the most plausible date for the narrative of Alexander's gate described in the *Neṣḥānā*. The historical context of the sixth century indeed appears as the ideal scenario for an author to write a story about Alexander's erection of a formidable gate against the Huns—a barrier that most contemporaries identified with the disputed Gates in the Caucasus—with the help of loyal blacksmiths who are presented as the ancestors of a population inhabiting a very contested region.

A better understanding of the historical context in which the author adapted the legend of Alexander's iron gates also helps us to better understand the circumstances that brought him to insert this story into the narrative. The Syriac writer does not only use this motif to introduce his apocalyptic vision of Byzantium's glorious future. He focuses not only on

the future and the eschatological era, but also on the present. Against the Sasanian claim to play an exclusive role in defending the Caucasus mountain passes from Hunnic raids, our author revives the ancient legend according to which, long before the Persians, Alexander had erected fortifications in the area. The construction of majestic defense systems was a source of prestige for the political authority that could claim it.[101] Sasanian achievements in erecting monumental walls at Darband were no doubt much celebrated by Sasanian propagandists. The legend of Alexander's iron gates offered the author of the *Neṣḥānā* an opportunity to assert counterclaims in favor of the Roman Empire. Our author reminds us that through the efforts made by their mythical ancestor, Alexander, to erect a defensive structure in the Caucasus, the Romans had made an everlasting contribution to the safety of the two empires, and of humanity in general. Alexander's barrier was destined to resist the final storm of Gog and Magog until God's decree. Against Sasanian claims to be defending both empires from the Hunnic incursions, our author asserts Byzantium's historical merits in dealing with those very aggressors. When situated in the historical context that it was intended to address, the author's elaboration of the motif of Alexander's gates acquires its full meaning. Besides its undeniable eschatological value—which will be examined in further detail later in this work—the story of Alexander's gate told in the *Neṣḥānā* also bears strong political connotations.

5

The Conflict with Tūbarlaq

The struggle between the Greco-Roman and the Persian empires described in the *Neṣḥānā* is widely regarded by scholars as an allegorical representation of the seventh-century conflict between Byzantines and Sasanians. This idea was expressed in the 1950s by Czeglédy, who published the notes of the late Hungarian scholar Mihály Kmoskó in 1954, and then expanded upon them in an article of his own in 1956.[1] Czeglédy follows Kmoskó in considering the *Neṣḥānā* in its present form as a seventh-century adaptation (together with Ps.-Jacob's metrical homily) of a previous text composed during the sixth century. He observes: "an adaptation of this kind is a natural phenomenon in apocalyptic literature: after the passing of the date foretold in the latest vaticination, the subsequent adapters insert new prophecies into the text."[2]

As we have seen in Chapter 3, this was surely the case for the text of the *Neṣḥānā* that concerns the 940 AG prophecy. This interpolation is also highlighted by Czeglédy in his study. By contrast, the Hungarian scholar is vague about the period to which the section of the text describing the war between Alexander and Tūbarlaq should be attributed. Is this also a seventh-century insertion? Or was this section already present in the sixth-century prototype of the text and only later was identified with the conflict in which Heraclius opposes Khosrow Parvēz? Was the equation promulgated by Czeglédy—"Alexander vs. Tūbarlaq = Hercalius vs. Khosrow Parvēz"—intended in the original text, or was it only in the later period that the two enemies in the *Neṣḥānā* came to be identified with the Byzantine and Sasanian rival emperors? Czeglédy never addresses these questions. However, several elements in his analysis suggest that he considers the war between Alexander and Tūbarlaq to be largely a literary reproduction of the seventh-century Byzantine-Sasanian conflict. In fact, when describing the entente between Alexander and Tūbarlaq on the joint patrol of Alexander's gate, Czeglédy refers to (undocumented) post-629 renewals of previous

Byzantine-Sasanian agreements on the defense of the Caspian Gates.[3] Moreover, Czeglédy considers the fifteen-year-long tribute that Tūbarlaq committed to pay to Alexander as an unfulfilled prophecy through which the Syriac author expressed the expectation of a Roman conquest of Persia in 643.[4] This position is untenable.

Several elements suggest that the sections about the conflict between Alexander and Tūbarlaq go back to the historical period when the primordial version of the text was composed, that is, the sixth century. As we have seen, the agreement between the two kings on the defense of Alexander's gate can only refer to the context of the wars between Justinian and Khosrow I. Similarly—as will become clear later in this chapter—the tribute paid by Tūbarlaq to Alexander is also connected to the peace agreements signed by Byzantines and Sasanians in that same period. Pace Czeglédy, the payment of a tribute described in the *Neṣḥānā* is not a prognostication of events expected to occur in the seventh century.[5] Finally, secondary editorial interventions in the text of the *Neṣḥānā* are detectable. This is the case for the 940 AG prophecy—the insertion of which is betrayed by the syntactic ambiguities in the text—or for the removal of an episode, which I have illustrated elsewhere.[6] Nothing in the text suggests that the description of Alexander's conflict against Tūbarlaq was partially or completely modeled on a historical context different than that of the original prototype of the text. In other words, this section of the *Neṣḥānā* is not an interpolation. At best, the triumph of Alexander over Tūbarlaq described in the Syriac work may have come to be associated with Heraclius's victory over the Sasanians when, several decades later, the text attracted the interest of readers who had just witnessed the end of another Roman-Persian conflict.

However, the idea that the war scene in the *Neṣḥānā* was inspired by Heraclius's Persian campaigns is entrenched in scholarship. Reinink considers the section of the *Neṣḥānā* on the conflict against the Persians to be an allegorical representation of Heraclius's campaigns against the Sasanians. The goal of the author, according to Reinink, was to convince his audience that the deeds accomplished by Alexander in the past had been repeated by Heraclius in the present.[7] Reinink adds that the description of the war between Alexander and Tūbarlaq reflects the views of court propagandists who wanted to celebrate Heraclius's success against the

Sasanians. If so, many literary elements in the section of the Syriac work about the conflict with the Persians reflect acts performed by Heraclius and are ultimately connected to the high sacralization of warfare promoted by the emperor. He argues that the holy war *topos* adopted by the Syriac author echoes similar representations of Heraclius's campaigns endorsed by imperial propagandists.[8] In general, Reinink builds his argument on the corollary assumption that the Syriac work is a unitary document composed soon after the end of the conflict in 628. As we have seen, this argument is untenable. However, even if we ignore the problems with dating the *Neṣḥānā* to the 620s, Reinink's reading of the war scene in the Syriac text is still problematic because there are no specific elements that connect the text to the time of Heraclius. Most points of contact between the *Neṣḥānā* and the reign of Heraclius indicated by Reinink can be traced back to earlier times.

Heraclius's policies during and immediately after the conflict no doubt included an unprecedented degree of religious rhetoric and a previously unparalleled mélange of religion and warfare.[9] During the reign of Heraclius, sacred language is embedded in militarism to an extent unparalleled in earlier times. As Walter Kaegi observes, "it is important to use caution about the notion of Holy War prior to the seventh century."[10] Indeed, it is only under Heraclius that we observe an unequivocal commitment by an emperor and his entourage to promote the idea of a sacred combat, which previously had appeared largely as an idealized representation made by Christian literati. The real difference concerns the way and the extent to which official court propaganda adopted the *topos* of divine protection over Roman armies. Heraclius's entourage surely brought this rhetoric to extreme levels, reaching the dialectical tones of a crusade.

The description of the war scene in the *Neṣḥānā* may bring to mind the rhetoric adopted by Heraclius's propagandists. However, two points may be raised against Reinink's reading. First, it is not necessary to postulate that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was a participant in imperial propaganda, as Reinink and his followers seem to believe. As we will see later, the Syriac author likely composed his work to criticize, rather than celebrate, a Byzantine emperor—specifically Justinian. Second, the attempt to connect Christian military tropes with the warfare of Roman emperors is hardly a peculiarity of the seventh century. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* uses literary *topoi* that circulated previously in Christian society. These *topoi* were

intended to celebrate the recently converted Roman Empire as the protector of the true faith. It is in this intellectual framework that we should trace the origins of the idea expressed by the Syriac author that Byzantium enjoyed divine favor in its struggle against its enemies because of its special relationship with God.

Efforts to confer an aura of divine investment on Roman military activities are documented from the outset of the Christianization of the Roman Empire under Constantine (r. 306–337 CE).[11] The sources mention numerous cases of miraculous intervention on the battlefield in favor of the Roman Christian army. Unsurprisingly, divine aid in favor of the empire is also reported to have occurred during battles fought against Sasanian armies, since the more the empire was depicted as a blessed Christian kingdom, the more its Zoroastrian rivals became unfaithful enemies.[12] Documented since at least the fourth century, the blend of Christianity and warfare in the representations of Roman military activities intensified during the reign of Justinian. Even if most Byzantine authors who wrote in this period adopted a Classical style and, as Michael Whitby observes, "may have underplayed the religious aspects,"[13] there are clear indications that an ideology centered around the idea of God's support for the Roman armies was an important component of Justinian's propaganda. Even the classicizing author par excellence, Procopius, did not refrain from referring to miraculous events aimed at proving the idea of divine assistance for the emperor's campaigns.

Frendo has pointed out that the promise of God's assistance in favor of Byzantium's ruler figures most prominently in the sections of Procopius's work that refer to the wars against the Sasanian rival.[14] For example, consider the passage of the *Wars* about the exchange of messages between the Byzantine generals Belisarius and Hermogenes and the Sasanian commander Pērōz, which reportedly occurred in June 530. Procopius describes the Byzantine generals expressing the idea that the justness of their war will guarantee that the Christian God will come to their aid. As Frendo observes, "what is perhaps most remarkable about all of this is Procopius' determination to drag religion into Byzantine-Iranian relations and to give it such prominence in a series of diplomatic exchanges aimed ostensibly at averting a confrontation with the enemy but in reality leading inexorably to battle and to a Roman victory."[15] In other sections of his

work, Procopius mentions miraculous events that prevented the Sasanians from conquering a number of Byzantine cities. For instance, he connects the failure of the Persian attack on Edessa in 544 to a miraculous divine intervention. Procopius attributes this miracle to the promise of eternal protection for the city allegedly made by Jesus in a letter to its king Abgar.[16] As Frendo rightly observes, Procopius's elaboration of the legend of Abgar is strongly influenced by anti-Sasanian feelings, with the idea of "divine support in a struggle against the unbeliever" that came to be "added as a further weapon to the panoply of Roman invincibility."[17]

A similar goal lies behind the notice reported by Evagrius Scholasticus (d. 590 CE), according to which the Byzantine general Narses (d. 573 CE) would not engage in battle without receiving a sign from the Holy Virgin—divine signs which, according to Evagrius, were regularly sent due to the general's piety and his habit of honoring Mary.[18] The representation of Narses here does not differ very much from that of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*. In this case, it clearly appears that the Syriac work displays the common *topos* of the pious ruler or general who, in reward for his devotion, receives divine assistance on the battlefield. The scene in the *Neṣḥānā,* in which Alexander is visited by God in a dream and then proceeds to organize prayers and votive offerings before the battle against Tūbarlaq, relates to the idea common among Byzantine authors that miraculous events and heavenly interventions would secure victory for the Romans on the battlefield.

It thus appears that in shaping the scene of the battle between the Greco-Roman Empire and the Persians, our Syriac author follows a well-established literary tendency that sought to increase the religious dimension of military activities of the Christian armies and to confer on them the benevolence of God. Neither the ideological assumptions nor the specific description of the battle scene in the *Neṣḥānā* are peculiar to the time of Heraclius. In light of these considerations, scholarly attempts to use these general concepts to strengthen the connection between the Syriac work and the reign of Heraclius appear to be shaking at their foundations, since the parallels between Alexander's and Heraclius's wars can easily be applied to most conflicts between Byzantines and Sasanians. This is also true for a very specific element in the narration, indicated by Reinink as an echo of Heraclius's war propaganda.

"God, Come to Our Aid!"

Before engaging in combat against the Persian enemy, Alexander's soldiers exclaim: "God, come to our aid!" (*ʾlhʾ tʾ l-ʿwdrnn*).[19] According to Reinink, these words echo the Latin exclamation *Adiuta Deus*. This is the battle cry prescribed to Byzantine soldiers in the *Strategikon of Maurice*, a military treatise composed between the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh.[20] Reinink also connects the words uttered by Alexander's army in the *Neṣḥānā* to the Latin inscription *Deus Adiuta Romanis*, which appears on the silver hexagram introduced by Heraclius in 615 CE.[21] While this theory is accepted in the most recent works dedicated to the study of the *Neṣḥānā*,[22] there are reasons to doubt its validity. Three arguments can be brought against this claim.

First, the battle scene in the *Neṣḥānā* appears to be based more on biblical *topoi* than on actual Byzantine military practices. The analysis of the vocabulary in the description of God's intervention on the battlefield in the *Neṣḥānā*, demonstrates that the Syriac author borrowed from the Peshitta on 1 Samuel 7:10.

> **Neṣḥānā**: "And the voice of the Lord moved along, thundering among them (*w-ʾzl hwʾ qlh d-mryʾ kd rʿm bynthwn*), so that the kings and their troops trembled in front of God's camp."[23]
>
> **1 Samuel 7:10**: "And the Lord thundered with a mighty voice (*w-rʿm mryʾ b-qlʾ rmʾ*) that day against the Philistines and threw them into confusion";

In addition to the reference to 1 Samuel 7:10, the sequence of events described in the Syriac work is clearly an elaboration of 1 Samuel 7:7–11, which describes the Philistines' attack on the Israelites. Samuel's invocation of God's intervention and the sacrifice of a lamb are recalled in the *Neṣḥānā* by Alexander's prayer and by his order to the troops to burn incense to invoke divine assistance. In both cases, the request is granted and God comes to the aid of the supplicants and destroys their enemies.

It thus appears that the situation depicted by the Syriac author, including the way in which Alexander and his troops prepare for the battle in the *Neṣḥānā*, is based on a literary model, not on Byzantine military practice. Alexander's invocation of divine aid and his offer of incense to the Lord reflect narrative material drawn from the biblical passage, not the prescriptions of the *Strategikon*. Admittedly, the scene described in the

Neṣḥānā may contain some elements derived from the contemporary historical context and may reflect practices common among Byzantine soldiers. If so, however, this does not resolve the discrepancy between the actions performed by Alexander's soldiers in the *Neṣḥānā* and the prescriptions in the *Strategikon*—and with this we arrive at my second point of contention against Reinink's hypothesis.

The *Strategikon* prescribes that before the army leaves the camp, all soldiers, led by the priests, the general, and the commanders, recite the *Kyrie eleison* in unison. After this, each *meros* ("division") shouts three times the formula *Nobiscum Deus*. Soldiers are then instructed to be silent and to shout and cheer only when the clash with the enemy is imminent.[24] At this moment, the officers are instructed to shout: *adiuta*, "help us," and the soldiers respond in unison: *Deus*, "oh God."[25] Note the significant difference between the acts performed by Alexander and his soldiers before the combat in the *Neṣḥānā* and the prescriptions found in the *Strategikon*.

In the Syriac work, Alexander first instructs his soldiers to burn incense as an offering to request God's assistance. Then he deposes his crown and his purple robes and lays down in front of God as he invokes his help against the enemy. During his prayer, Alexander is surrounded by his soldiers. Once he completes his prayer, Alexander shouts: "Victory is the Lord's!" and his soldiers answer: "God come to our aid!" The differences between the *Neṣḥānā* and the scene described by the author of the *Strategikon* are substantial. None of the acts performed by Alexander coincides with those prescribed in the Greek military treatise. Notably, Alexander's soldiers shout their battle cry while they are still in the camp and not immediately before the fight—as prescribed in the *Strategikon*. Apparently, unlike the author of the *Strategikon*, the Syriac author had no direct military experience. At best, he may have had a vague knowledge of the praxis adopted by Byzantine soldiers and of their battle cry—and this consideration leads us to my third contention against Reinink's analysis.

Battle cries with religious connotations predate the end of sixth century, that is, the time when the military treatise attributed to Maurice was composed. For example, the battle cry *Nobiscum*, "[God is] with us," was shouted at the beginning of the charge from at least the late fourth century, as certified by Vegetius in the *Epitoma rei militaris*.[26] The author of the *Strategikon* devotes an entire section of his second book to the negative effects of this battle cry. He affirms that "the battle cry, '*Nobiscum*,' which

it was customary to shout when beginning the charge is, in our opinion, extremely dangerous and harmful."[27] As for the formula *adiuta . . . Deus*, which the author prescribes elsewhere in his manual,[28] this more likely reflects a common practice than an innovation—although these specific words are not reported in earlier sources. In the end, it is difficult to relate the scene described in the *Neṣḥānā* to a specific historical period (or to a specific military treatise) on the basis of allusions to the soldiers' instructions, which could have been common praxis over a much larger time span.

The Peace Treaty between Alexander and Tūbarlaq

After his defeat in battle by Alexander, the Persian king Tūbarlaq lies in chains in front of his victorious rival. When Alexander wants to execute him, Tūbarlaq protests that no benefit will be derived from his execution. He instead proposes that Persia pay Alexander a tribute for the next fifteen years. Alexander accepts the offer. The two kings then reach an agreement in order to establish a joint defense of the gate that Alexander has erected in the Caucasus.

Alexander's peace arrangement with Tūbarlaq is odd, to say the least. One wonders why Alexander would commit to any agreement with a defeated enemy who pleads to have his life spared. Recall that the historical Alexander annihilated and annexed the Achaemenid Empire without signing any peace agreement with his rival Darius III—who was assassinated by his own soldiers without ever meeting with Alexander. It is highly improbable that the Syriac author was unaware of Alexander's conquest of Persia, an event that was celebrated in both historical chronicles and in the romanticized traditions of the *Alexander Romance*. Curiously, instead of depicting Alexander's glorious conquest of the Persian Empire, our author portrays an event that never occurred, that is, Alexander's reduction of his rival neighbor to tributary vassal—and not even permanently, but only for a limited period of time.

At first glance, it appears that the author has downplayed the achievements of his hero: the collection of a tribute constitutes a lesser accomplishment than the takeover of the Persian empire. Nonetheless, as I will demonstrate in the following pages, this situation is clarified when it is placed in the political context of the mid-sixth century. First, however, I

must briefly address the sentence in the text that follows Tūbarlaq’s offer to pay tribute to Alexander for fifteen years.

The sentence has generated much discussion in modern scholarship. In his edition, Budge gives the sentence as follows: ܘܟܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܚܡܫܬܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܬܗܘܐ ܒܒܠ ܘܐܬܘܪ ܕܢܦܫܟ (*w-kn mn btr ḥmštʿsr šnyn thwʾ bbl w-ʾtwr d-npšk*),[29] which he translates as: “and then, after the fifteen years, Babylon and Assyria shall be. . . .”[30] Note that Budge does not translate the last part of the sentence, specifically the word *d-napšāk*, literally “of yourself.” Budge does not provide any explanation for his decision to leave the sentence partially untranslated, but this choice is probably related to the fact that the manuscript tradition reports a different reading: *d-napšāh* (ܕܢܦܫܗ / *d-npšh*), “of herself,” instead of *d-napšāk*.[31] This alternative reading appears in four out of five manuscripts of the *Neṣḥānā* (i.e., A, B, C, and E), whereas the *d-napšāk* reading appears only in D. Budge does not explain the philological criteria that dictated his privileging of the minority reading and relegating the majority reading to the *apparatus criticus*. Whatever it may be, most scholars have ignored the *variae lectiones* in the manuscript tradition and have accepted the *d-napšāk* reading.

Nöldeke interprets the treaty as implying that Babylon and Assyria will be ceded to Alexander at the expiration of the fifteen-year period of paying tribute.[32] Clearly, Nöldeke interprets *d-napšāk* here as referring to Alexander, with the result that the sentence signifies: “and then, after the fifteen years, Babylon and Assyria will be yours [Alexander].” Hunnius follows suit. According to him, Tūbarlaq’s commitment to give Alexander sovereignty over Persia at the expiration of the fifteen years proves that the *Neṣḥānā* was composed around 626 CE—that is, in the year indicated in the 940 AG prediction. In fact—Hunnius argues—the author’s expectation about the annexation of the Sasanian kingdom does not make sense in the context that followed the peace treaty of 628, which re-established the status quo ante bellum.[33] As we will see later, Hunnius’s argument is erroneous, as the treaty in the *Neṣḥānā* has nothing to do with the treaty signed by Heraclius in 628.

Czeglédy, who also follows the *lectio* selected by Budge, interprets *d-napšāk* as indicating that Persia will be delivered to Alexander after the agreed period of fifteen years. However, contrary to Nöldeke and Hunnius, Czeglédy regards this clause as a genuine *vaticinium* that the author of the

Neṣḥānā puts into Tūbarlaq's mouth. Through the words pronounced by the Persian king, the Syriac author expressed his hope that Byzantium would soon subjugate Ctesiphon. In his mind, this would take place in 643, that is, fifteen years after the conclusion of Heraclius's victorious campaign in 628. According to Czeglédy, the author's wish was thwarted by the unexpected Arab expansion in the area and the Arabs' defeat of the Sasanian Empire.[34]

Czeglédy's reading is implausible. It should be observed that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* makes a clear distinction between (pseudo-)historical time and prophetical time. Consider, for example, the prophecy that Tūbarlaq proclaims after signing the peace treaty. According to his prognostication, Alexander's kingdom will plunder Persia toward the End of Time—a prediction that corroborates the prophecy of Alexander engraved on the gate that he erected. The predicted subjugation of Persia clearly belongs to the eschatological era and is rendered part of the process that will culminate in the cosmocratic rule of the successors of the house of Alexander (i.e., Byzantium). By contrast, the terms of the peace treaty between Alexander and Tūbarlaq make no reference to the final conflict. What will happen to Persia at the end of the fifteen years of tributary status is not a prognostication for the future: it is what the author wants us to believe to have happened in the past.

The interpretations proposed by Nöldeke, Hunnius, and Czeglédy have been criticized by Reinink, who objects that these scholars have blindly followed Budge's critical edition without taking into account the prevailing *lectio d-napšāh*. This reading, he argues, is the preferred reading. Reinink suggests that the text originally signified that:

> [a]fter this period of fifteen years Persia will be *d-napšāh*, "of herself," again, that is, independent and no longer tributary of Alexander. Until the end of these fifteen years Alexander can assert his claim on Persia, should Persia be negligent of her duty to pay tribute. Through the peace-treaty between Alexander and Tūbarlaq, although she will temporarily pay tribute to Alexander, she will remain an independent state.[35]

In fact, nothing in the *Neṣḥānā* suggests that the treaty between the two kings included the details described by Reinink. No element suggests that "Alexander can assert his claim on Persia, should Persia be negligent of her duty to pay tribute." The only thing that can be extrapolated from the Syriac text is that Tūbarlaq will pay tribute to Alexander for a period of fifteen years, at the end of which his kingdom will either be annexed by Alexander

or regain its full independence, depending on the *lectio* that one follows. In addition, Reinink does not explain why the reading of *d-napšāh* should be preferred over *d-napšāk*. He asserts that *d-napšāh* is the “better reading,” without specifying the criteria that led him to this assertion.[36] One suspects that Reinink considers *d-napšāh* qualitatively superior to *d-napšāk* because it is reported in a majority of manuscripts. But the fact that a *lectio* appears more often can hardly be taken as proof of its originality. Of course, it may be that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* used the expression *d-napšāh* to clarify that Persia would regain its independence after the agreed-upon period of tributary status—although one wonders why he would have inserted a clarification that adds nothing to the narrative. But the reading *d-napšāk* makes as much sense or even better sense. There is indeed a more plausible explanation than the one provided by Reinink for the correct understanding of the sentence in question.

The insertion in the narrative of the fictitious historical event of the Persian tribute to Alexander raises a problem for the author; namely, it contradicts the common knowledge about Alexander’s conquest of the Persian Empire. The author could hardly have expected his readers to be ignorant of this historical event, broadly reported in historiographical and literary traditions alike. As a consequence, he may have felt the need to answer a question that likely would have occurred to anyone who read his work: How could Alexander have made Persia a tributary if he annexed that very same kingdom? The Syriac writer solves the problem by creating a fictional historical reality in which Alexander first obtains a tribute from Tūbarlaq for a period of fifteen years and then takes possession of his kingdom. If my interpretation is correct, then the reading *d-napšāk* relates to the author’s need to reconcile historical knowledge and the pseudo-historical element of the tribute. Of course, this reading implies that the Syriac writer wanted to persuade his audience about the occurrence of an event that never occurred: that is, Persia’s payment of a tribute to Alexander. As will become clear in the following pages, this was indeed the case, since the tribute paid by Tūbarlaq to Alexander plays a very important role in the agenda of the Syriac author.

Reinink’s focus on the reading *d-napšāh* is directly connected to the historical contextualization that he seeks to establish for the *Neṣḥānā*. His reading of the treaty signed by Alexander and Tūbarlaq brings to mind the stipulations established in the peace treaty of 628 signed by Heraclius and

Kavadh II (r. February–September 628). According to Reinink, this treaty restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and this general idea is reflected in the Syriac text.[37] However, Reinink provides no detailed discussion of the conditions and terms of the peace treaty of 628 that he claims to be similar to those described in the *Neṣḥānā*. This is not a minor oversight, since reconstruction of the clauses of the peace agreements made by Heraclius (not only in 628, but also in the following year) are far more complex than Reinink indicates.

The negotiations that resulted in the suspension of hostilities and the peace arrangements did not follow a linear development. Rather, they were strongly conditioned by the absence of a political entity strong enough to implement the clauses of the treaty on the Persian side. While we can reconstruct with a certain degree of confidence the timing and dynamics of the negotiations, the sources are frustratingly silent about the exact provisos of the various peace treaties. The dramatic events that were about to occur, culminating in the collapse of the Sasanian state and its replacement by the early Islamic and then Umayyad Empire, made the peace agreements reached by Heraclius irrelevant. Arguably, it is because of these extraordinary circumstances that so few specific details have been transmitted about the treaties signed by the Byzantine emperor. It appears that contemporary and later commentators paid more attention to the abrupt establishment of a new geopolitical scenario than to failed attempts to perpetuate the old world order. Be that as it may, it seems that none of the (three) treaties stipulated by Heraclius in 628–630 has much in common with the dynamic described in the *Neṣḥānā*.

The peace talks opened in an atmosphere of political instability in the Sasanian state following Heraclius's decisive victory on the plain of Nineveh on December 12, 627. This military success led to the deposition of Khosrow Parvēz during the night of February 23–24, 628, and his replacement by his son Shērōē, who assumed the dynastic name of Kavadh II. Negotiations seem to have been concluded by May 15, 628, when a dispatch sent by Heraclius to Constantinople was read publicly in Saint Sophia. The treaty proved hard to apply, however.[38] The Persian commander-in-chief in Egypt, Shahrbarāz (d. 630), refused to acknowledge Shērōē's authority and to implement the peace decree. Things took a more complex turn when Shērōē suddenly died in September 628 and his eight-year-old son Ardashir (r. September 628–April 630) took the throne as his

successor with the dynastic name of Ardashir III. At the same time, Shērōē's death allowed for a resolution of the political impasse created by Shahrbarāz's refusal to surrender the Byzantine provinces under occupation. Heraclius opened new negotiations directly with the Persian warlord, whom he met at the Arabissus Tripotamus Pass in the summer of 629. The entente between the two military leaders was sealed through the marriage of Heraclius's son, Theodosius, to Shahrbarāz's daughter, Nike, and the peace was celebrated through the building of a church that the two leaders named Eirene ("Peace").[39] Again, things did not go as planned. Shortly after the meeting at Arabissus Tripotamus, Shahrbarāz seized power in Ctesiphon and executed the young shah Ardashir III. However, the warlord sat on the Persian throne for little over a month. On June 9, 630, he was assassinated. Shahrbarāz's regime managed to survive temporarily and the power passed to his wife, Boran, who was Khosrow's daughter. It was Boran who secured the continuation of the peace negotiations by sending a delegation led by the *catholicos* Ishoʿyahb II to meet Heraclius in Aleppo. The meeting resulted in the drafting of a new treaty.

It was only during the third round of negotiations that Heraclius obtained the re-establishment of the *limes* of 591–602. From what we can discern, negotiations with Shērōē resulted in a return (with some adjustments) to the 360 frontier, whereas Shahrbarāz proved to be a much tougher peace partner, who succeeded in retaining possession of the Roman provinces of Mesopotamia and Orhoene and of the cities of Amida and Edessa. Arguably, the unstable position of Boran as the regent of the Sasanian state strengthened Heraclius's negotiation position and provided him the opportunity to obtain what he had failed to achieve during the previous negotiations.[40] Thus, if there ever was a return to the *status quo ante bellum*, this happened only toward the end of 630, and not in 628, as Reinink maintains. But even if we leave aside these problems in Reinink's historical reconstruction, it appears that almost nothing in the historical scenario that he traces matches the situation described in the *Neṣḥānā*.

For instance, if one follows Reinink in reading *d-napšāh*, then the Syriac text implies that Tūbarlaq's kingdom would recover its full independence at the end of a period of fifteen years, during which it would pay tribute to Alexander. In this case, there are two major discrepancies with regard to what seems to have been the historical reality. First, in the *Neṣḥānā*, the restoration of the status quo is planned for the future. This differs from what

Heraclius and Shērōē, Shahrbarāz, and Boran possibly agreed upon, that is, the restoration of the frontiers of pre-591 and of 591–602, to take immediate effect after the signing of the peace treaty. Second, the central element of the treaty in the Syriac work is the fifteen-year-long tribute that Persia commits to pay, an element that has no parallel in the treaty of 628, in which neither of the two signatories—Heraclius or Shērōē—agreed to pay any amount of money to the rival in exchange for peace. As reports of the peace agreements signed in 628, 629, and 630 do not include the payment of any tribute, this marks a significant difference between the Syriac text and the historical reality of the 630s.

The only element in Roman-Persian negotiations that may compare to the tribute described in the Syriac work is found in a notice about the treaty that Heraclius signed the year later, in 629 (which Reinink does not mention). In the *Breviarium*, Nikephoros of Constantinople (d. 828) reports that Shahrbarāz's allegedly promised to give Heraclius "money from Persia with which he might repair whatever he had destroyed in the land of the Romans."[41] It is significant, however, that in no Byzantine source, not even in the ideologically oriented poems by Heraclius's panegyrist George of Pisidia (d. 634), do we find any claims that the Sasanian was forced to pay a tribute. This is surprising, as one would expect to portray Shahrbarāz's offer of war reparations as a sign of Persia's subjugation by Heraclius's propagandists. This was not the case, and Shahrbarāz's offer—if it was ever made—did not resonate among Byzantines, as indicated by the fact that it is reported only once and in a later source. It is thus difficult to relate the dynamic described in the *Neṣḥānā* and, in particular, the fifteen-year tribute that Tūbarlaq commits to pay to Alexander, to this dubious aspect of the negotiations held between Heraclius and Shahrbarāz in 629.

Alexander's Peace Treaty and the Political Context of the Mid-Sixth Century

It appears that none of the treaties signed by Heraclius has much in common with the scene described in the *Neṣḥānā*. By contrast, as I will now demonstrate, the terms of the treaty described in the Syriac work are informed—although in an idealized way—by the terms of several peace agreements between the two empires during the sixth century. More broadly, these terms reflect the political situation of that period. We begin

by observing that in the *Neṣḥānā* the peace treaty is followed by the agreement between Alexander and Tūbarlaq to establish a joint patrol at Alexander's gate. Reinink tries to connect this element of the Syriac text to the historical reality of the 630s.[42] Recall, however, that none of the treaties reportedly signed by Heraclius between 628 and 630 contains any clause about the defense of the Caspian Gates that resembles the arrangements between the two kings in the *Neṣḥānā*. By contrast, I argued in the previous chapter that the entente between Alexander and Tūbarlaq about the defense of Alexander's gate against the Huns reflects the political reality of the sixth century and reveals the author's intent to address a main point of controversy in Byzantine-Sasanian relationships. The manner in which the author describes the agreement to share the costs of guarding the gate is informed by contemporary Byzantine political discourse and represents an idealized solution to thorny political quarrels over the control of the Caucasian passes. The peace treaty between Alexander and Tūbarlaq follows a similar pattern of "historical revisionism," that is to say, it ascribes conditions more favorable for the Romans than the actual historical circumstances. In fact, the main proviso of the treaty, which obligates Persia to pay tribute to the Romans for fifteen years, inverts the terms found in peace agreements between Constantinople and Ctesiphon throughout the sixth century.

As noted, at several stages of the conflicts between Byzantines and Sasanians in the sixth century, the former made payments to the latter. Gold disbursements were part of the peace settlements in 532 and 562, while additional sums of money were given to the Persians to secure the cessation of hostilities in 545 and 551, for which the Romans granted Khosrow Anōshirvān twenty *centenaria* of gold.[43] Tributes played an important role in Sasanian political culture, which regarded countries subject to annual payments of gold as vassals of the Persian shah. It thus comes as no surprise that the Sasanians did not miss an opportunity to portray Roman payments for peace as proof of political subjugation and to assert that the Byzantines were tributaries of the Persian kingdom. John of Ephesus reports that during an official visit to the Turks, the Byzantine ambassadors accidentally learned about similar claims made by Sasanian diplomats at the Turkic court. On that occasion, the Turkic king reportedly asked the Roman legates: "Is it true what the Persians say, that the king of the Romans is their slave and pays yearly tribute as a slave?"[44] At these words the Roman

ambassador Zemarchus would have expressed his indignation and reminded them of the time “when Trajan, a Roman king, invaded them, he overthrew and vanquished them, that to this very day they tremble and shake before the statue of himself which he set up in their land.”[45]

The words that John of Ephesus puts in the mouth of the Roman ambassador expose his attempt to mitigate the humiliation provoked by the Sasanian claims and to seek comfort in the memory of past times when the Romans had invaded Persian territories.[46] John was not the only writer in Byzantine society who tried to rebut Sasanian allegations of having subjugated the Roman state to tributary conditions. As noted, several authors, from Ps.-Joshua the Stylite to Procopius, addressed the risk that Byzantine war payments be portrayed as tributes. This was also the official imperial position. The goal of Justinian’s policy was not to allow the money he had disbursed for peace appear as yearly tributes to the enemy. As Procopius indicates with regard to the armistice of 551: “The Romans gave the Persians outright the entire amount of gold agreed upon, in order not to appear to be paying them tribute each year.”[47] To the dismay of the Byzantine emperor and despite all of his efforts, many of his subjects appear to have thought otherwise. Procopius reports that the people of Constantinople were particularly dissatisfied with the fact that Persians had successfully imposed a tribute on the Romans, as “they perceived that they had in no hidden sense become tributary to the Persians.”[48]

Manifestations of dissatisfaction with Justinian’s praxis of exchanging money for peace help us to better understand the treaty signed by Alexander and Tūbarlaq in the *Neṣḥānā*. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* was one of many in Byzantine society who expressed discontent at the provisions of the peace agreements stipulated by Justinian. Similar to his contemporary John of Ephesus, he reacted to the deplorable conditions accepted by the emperor by reminiscing on the glorious past in which it was Persia that was subjugated by the Romans, and not vice versa. To emphasize this point, he devised a fictional scenario in which Alexander coerces his Persian enemy to pay the humiliating tribute. The decision to make Alexander collect the payment of a tribute from the Persian king, instead of immediately subjugating his empire, clearly reveals the author’s desire to reverse the current political situation, in which the Sasanians could claim to have reduced Byzantium to a tributary state. The way in which he rewrites

history is very telling of his feelings. In other sections of the work, it appears that the author had no doubt that one day a Byzantine emperor would repeat the deeds of his mythical ancestor, Alexander, and take over the Sasanian Empire. However, it was not enough for him to emphasize Persia's previous enslavement to Alexander and its unavoidable return to a subject condition in the future. In his artificial historical reality, Persia must pass through the payment of a yearly tribute that would offset the current humiliating conditions of Justinian's kingdom. But this was not the only issue at stake. Through this revisionist reading of the Macedonian hero's accomplishments, our author also sets an example for current rulers to adopt more aggressive policies toward the Sasanian enemy.

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* was not the only writer of his time to use this kind of literary strategy in reference. A close parallel to the model of the tribute paid by Tūbarlaq in the *Neṣḥānā* is found in contemporary Syriac literature. The anonymous author of the work known as *The Julian Romance* engages in a rewriting of past history—specifically addressing the Roman emperors Julian (r. 361–363) and Jovian (r. 363–364)—which is very similar to the rewriting found in the *Neṣḥānā*. In his romanticized and revisionist presentation of events, the author of the *Julian Romance* mentions a future and unspecified period in which Persia will be economically subjugated to the Romans. The relevant passage occurs in the prophecy brought to Jovian by an angel who, among other things, announces that Constantinople will force Ctesiphon to pay a ten-year-long tribute.[49] Scholars have offered different explanations for the specific historical events that the Syriac writer had in mind with this prophecy. The most convincing explanation is the one advanced by Nöldeke, and recently revisited by Philip Wood, according to which Jovian's prophecy should be dated to 504–532.[50] According to this reading, the prophecy addresses several events and political issues and, as Wood rightly observes, its overall tones "can be seen as a general desideratum for Roman-Persian relations."[51]

This passage of the *Julian Romance* and the *Neṣḥānā* share many elements. Like the Syriac Alexander, the Jovian of the *Romance* is represented as a pious Christian emperor who receives divinely inspired prophecy. As Wood intriguingly suggests, Jovian's prophecy may contain a polemical answer to Sasanian attempts to extort money for the defense of the Caspian Gates[52]—a controversial question that also interested the

author of the *Neṣḥānā*. Finally—and most importantly for the present discussion—the ten-year tribute that Persia is committed to pay in the *Romance* recalls the fifteen-year tribute that Tūbarlaq commits to pay to Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*. The similarity is particularly striking if one takes into account that historically the Sasanians were never compelled to pay any tribute to Byzantium. Thus, the situation described in the two Syriac works cannot have been informed by actual historical events.

Wood suggests that the payment of the tribute prophesied in the *Romance* reflects "the author's own hopes for the outcome of Roman-Persian warfare."[53] This strikes me as unlikely since it implies that the prophecy was composed in wartime, before the treaty signed by Justinian in 532. However, the specific mention of a tribute recalls (although inversely) a prominent clause of that exact peace agreement. In this case, it is more probable that the ten-year-long tribute in Jovian's prophecy represents an overturning of the conditions accepted by Justinian in the Eternal Peace, and expresses the author's wish that the situation be reversed in the near future. From this perspective, the author of the *Julian Romance* shared the disappointment expressed by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* for the mediocre military achievements of the Byzantines in the sixth century, and like the latter, he reacted by designing an ideal image of Byzantine-Sasanian power relationships that included the reduction of the Persian neighbor to the status of tributary vassal.

It is not impossible that one of the authors knew the other's work and used it as a model for his idealized scenario in which Ctesiphon, not Byzantium, was compelled to pay tribute to its rival. However, it is more probable that the literary solution adopted by both writers reflects broader political debates current among sixth-century Syriac intellectuals. The main centers of Syriac culture at the time were directly exposed to Sasanian invasions due to their geographical location. Thus, it is understandable that these intellectuals were disappointed by Justinian's inability to solve the problem represented by the "Oriental" threat. I therefore find extremely problematic the view predominant in modern scholarship that the *Neṣḥānā* was intended as a pamphlet of pro-imperial propaganda—a view that is largely dictated by the incorrect attribution of the Syriac work to the time of Heraclius's successful campaign against the Sasanians. During the seventh century, the work may very well have been read as a celebratory allegory of

Heraclius's military achievements. However, its original goals must have been different.

When the *Neṣḥānā* is situated in its true period of composition, that is, the mid-sixth century, the author's real agenda emerges. His rewriting of key points of the treaties signed by Justinian was not designed to celebrate the emperor by whitewashing his failed diplomacy, but rather to reproach his lack of assertiveness during the negotiations by comparing him with the illustrious example of Alexander. Justinian's ineptitude—our author implies—brought the empire to a condition that was the polar opposite of the political dominance achieved during the time of Alexander, who defeated the Persians and imposed a humiliating tribute on them. Far from serving as official imperial propaganda, as Reinink and other scholars maintain, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was criticizing the contemporary political power.

The *Julian Romance* provides an important parallel case. As Wood emphasizes, its author intended for his work to serve as a criticism of Justinian, rather than praise.[54] The *Neṣḥānā* and the *Romance* may thus be treated as examples of a common literary tendency that was current in the centers of Syriac culture at the time: criticism of the faults of the current political leadership through fictional re-elaborations of the past. In light of Justinian's repression of political opponents and dissident intellectuals (e.g., Procopius, who likely published his *Secret History* only after the emperor's death due to fear of imperial retaliation), it should come as no surprise that these Syriac authors adopted similar literary techniques to express their disappointment with the emperor's policies. As I will argue in the following chapter, the virtuous figures of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* and of Jovian *Romance* are also intended to endorse the authors' negative assessments of Justinian's leadership. In the case of the Syriac Alexander, his portrayal as a victorious and flawless king was not intended to provide a flattering parallel to the current ruler, but rather to highlight by means of comparison the latter's flaws.

Tūbarlaq's Prophecy

After signing the peace treaty with Alexander and coming to an agreement with him about the shared defense of the gate erected against the Huns, Tūbarlaq makes a prediction that, in its broad outline, corroborates the contents of Alexander's prophecy: toward the End of Time the kingdom of

the Romans will subjugate the other world kingdoms; the king of Persia will be killed; Babylon and Assyria will fall; and the kingdom of the Romans will reign until the End of Time, when it will relinquish its power to the Messiah.

Some scholars relate Tūbarlaq's prophecy to another prophecy that Heraclius's rival, Khosrow Parvēz, allegedly relayed during his escape to Byzantine territory, after being dethroned by Bahrām Chōbin in 590. Theophylact Simocatta reports that on his way to Constantinople, Khosrow replied to mocking remarks made by the Byzantine general John Mystacon as follows:

> Be assured that troubles will flow back in turn against you Romans. The Babylonian race will hold the Roman state in its power for a threefold cyclic hebdomad of years. Thereafter you Romans will enslave Persians for a fifth hebdomad of years. When these very things have been accomplished, the day without evening will dwell among mortals and the expected fate will achieve power, when the forces of destruction will be handed over to dissolution and those of the better life hold sway.[55]

Tūbarlaq's and Khosrow's prophecies present the remarkable similarity of a Persian king who predicts the future defeat of his kingdom by the Romans. However, that both texts refer to the same historical circumstances, as is often maintained, is doubtful. In light of my proposed historical contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā*, doubts may be cast on the hypothesis that Tūbarlaq's prophecy refers to the context of the 630s.[56] Similarly debatable is whether the two prophecies pursue the same goals. Clearly, the goal of Tūbarlaq's prophecy is to predict the future advent of a golden age for the Roman kingdom. By contrast, several doubts surround the intentions behind the prophecy reported by Simocatta.

A first question is whether Khosrow's prophecy was composed before or after the conclusion of the Byzantine-Sasanian conflict in 628/629, and to which events it refers. The question affects our understanding of the original intent of the author of the prophecy. The hebdomadal chronological system used by Khosrow in his divination is complex and leaves the door open to a wide range of interpretations. P. J. Alexander and Cyril Mango take the year 591—that is, the year in which Khosrow would have spoken these words—as a starting point of the prophecy. In this case, the three hebdomads of Persian supremacy would correspond to 591–612, whereas the fifth hebdomad of Roman supremacy would correspond to 619–626.[57]

These dates do not fit well in the context of the seventh-century Roman-Persian wars, since the conflict started only in 602 and concluded in 628/629. Alternatively, Mary and Michael Whitby argue that the period of Roman supremacy corresponds to the last years of the conflict (i.e., 622–628), when Heraclius was indeed able to reverse the course of the war through a series of counteroffensives. The two scholars understand the predicted period of Roman supremacy as a prophecy of a messianic Golden Age and compare it to the predictions found in the *Neṣḥānā*—which, they say, was a work *revised* shortly after Heraclius's victory in 629/630.[58] It follows from this reading that Khosrow's prophecy was composed after the conclusion of the conflict, and this is the solution indicated by Michael Whitby in another study.[59] The problem with the Whitbys' reading is their identification of the period of Roman hegemony as the fifth hebdomad: if this period covers the years 622–628, then the previous four hebdomads lead us back to 594, when the conflict had not yet started. The two scholars circumvent the problem by postulating that the prophecy implies an unmentioned first hebdomad of peace that preceded the conflict.[60] Although clever, this solution is not convincing, and as Reinink points out, is overly sophisticated.[61]

As for Reinink, he suggests that the year 603, in which the Persian offensive started, or the year 604, in which the Persians achieved their first successes, may be taken as the starting point of the threefold hebdomad of Persian supremacy. This gives 603/604–624/625—although Reinink expresses caution in fixing exact dates through the hebdomad system.[62] From this point onward, however, it is not clear how Reinink understands the two further hebdomads of the prophecy. One assumes that the year 625/626 marks the beginning of a new hebdomad that follows the threefold hebdomad of Persian supremacy. But to which one of the two remaining hebdomads does it correspond? Is it the beginning of the fourth hebdomad not mentioned by Khosrow? Or is it the fifth hebdomad of Roman supremacy, as suggested by Reinink's recognition that the year 626 was a turning point in the conflict? No explanation is given. To complicate matters, Reinink does not adopt a clear position on the related question about when the prophecy was composed and, thus, whether or not it is a *vaticinium ex eventu*—although he seems to lean toward a date that precedes the end of the conflict.[63]

Reinink largely focuses on rejecting the Whitbys' reading of Khosrow's prophecy as a prediction of Byzantium's glorious future, similar to the one found in the *Neṣḥānā*. In his view, the final sentence of the prophecy can hardly be interpreted as a description of a messianic Golden Age. Since phraseology and imagery of this closing pronouncement express common Christian *topoi* about the imminence of the End, the prophecy can only signify that after a conflict in which the balance of power would shift back and forth, the world would come to an end. The intended message of the prognostication was the opposite of the message expressed in the *Neṣḥānā*, since the author of Khosrow's prophecy did not have any expectation about a period of Roman cosmocracy.[64] Reinink's skepticism about the Whitbys' reading is legitimate. Not much in Khosrow's prophecy suggests the kind of Golden Age depicted in the Syriac work. Alternatively, Reinink suggests that the author of Khosrow's prophecy intended to point out the ephemeral character of both Roman and Persian successes in the war given the imminent arrival of the End. However, it is difficult to reconcile this view with the idea expressed by Reinink that Khosrow's prophecy served as a tool of pro-Byzantine propaganda to captivate popular support in favor of Heraclius during the conflict against the Sasanians.[65] One wonders how the author's views about the imminent collapse of the two empires could have served the goals of Heraclius's propaganda.

One possibility not yet been explored is to situate the date of composition of Khosrow's prophecy, or at least its final revision, to the period immediately following the conclusion of the conflict. Scholars have suggested that Simocatta did not complete his *History* before the first Arab conquests in the late 630s.[66] If so, then one can envisage an alternative explanation for the hebdomad system in the prophecy. The most reasonable starting point for Khosrow's prediction is 602, that is, the beginning of the Persian campaign. This year inaugurates the first cycle of a threefold hebdomad, that is, the years 602–622, during which the Persians would be victorious over the Romans. Historically, this fits well with the developments of the conflict until 622, a year that coincides—possibly not accidentally—with the beginning of Heraclius's first counteroffensive. The years 623–629 would correspond to an unmentioned fourth hebdomad, during which the odds progressively turned in favor of the Romans culminating in the peace treaties of 628/629. Heraclius's successes in the war and the conditions that he imposed on the Sasanians generated hope for

a period of Roman supremacy, discernible in the fifth hebdomad of the prophecy, which would correspond to years 630–636. With the fifth hebdomad we arrive at the apocalyptic imagery that follows the hebdomad of Roman dominion. Notably, the year 636/637 coincides with the Arab siege and conquest of Jerusalem, an event that easily could have been interpreted as a sign of the imminence of the Eschaton. Contemporary sources attest to the fact that the Arab conquests generated apocalyptic anxieties in the Christian communities of the Near East. These anxieties are reflected in the final gloomy scenario predicted by Khosrow. This is—I think—a plausible alternative scenario for the elaboration of Khosrow's prognostication, as reported by Simocatta. The prophecy may also have begun as an instrument of pro-Heraclius propaganda that did not originally include the final apocalyptic closure, as suggested by the odd silence over the fourth hebdomad (recall that the text addresses the events of the first three hebdomads and those of the fifth hebdomad, but makes no reference to anything that happened during the fourth hebdomad). It is possible that the prophecy originally included only four hebdomads, a period that incidentally coincides with the roughly twenty-eight years of the duration of the conflict. Perhaps the period of Roman supremacy was originally included in the fourth hebdomad and was later delayed to a fifth hebdomad in order to accommodate the new historical developments and to reach the *annus horribilis* of 636/637. The dramatic events of that year may have prompted a re-elaboration of Khosrow's prophecy to turn it into a prediction of the approaching of the End.

Khosrow's prophecy in Timocatta's *History* shares several common features with Tūbarlaq's prophecy in the *Neṣḥānā*. Reinink maintains that the two prophecies are contemporary expressions of Byzantine propaganda disseminated during the reign of Heraclius,[67] an opinion that is favored by Greisiger.[68] Shoemaker (though apparently not persuaded) explores the possibility that Tūbarlaq's prophecy was added in the seventh century to the original core of the text with the specific aim of celebrating Heraclius's victories.[69] In my view, it is improbable that Tūbarlaq's prophecy refers to events of the reign of Heraclius. Of course, the similarities with Khosrow's prophecy reported by Simocatta are evident. However, one should also consider a meaningful difference between the two texts. Specifically, the description of alternating cycles of Persian and Roman supremacy in Khosrow's prophecy is clearly identifiable with the course of events in the

seventh-century Byzantine-Sasanian conflict, which saw the Persians prevailing at first, only to be eventually defeated by the Romans. As I have illustrated elsewhere, this specific description is peculiar to several prophecies composed in the first half of the seventh century that retrospectively describe the specific dynamic of that conflict, which was initiated by Khosrow Parvēz in 602 and which concluded with Heraclius's victorious campaign in 628.[70] Now, nothing related to this specific literary description can be identified in the prophecy uttered by Tūbarlaq in the *Neṣḥānā*, where we only read about a future Roman victory over the Persians. The difference is not a marginal one. But even if one decides to ignore this significant point of discrepancy between the two prophecies and to focus only on their similarities, a larger literary and historical contextualization would still mitigate the temptation to trace a straight line between the two texts.

Predictions about the victory of the Romans over the Persians are not peculiar to Heraclius's war propaganda. The miraculous goose egg bearing the words "Romans will conquer," reported by Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, is a fine example of the kind of oracular prognostications circulating at the time of the Anastasian War (502–506).[71] Moreover, the apocalyptic ideology that the Roman Empire would be the last world kingdom and would remit its power to Jesus after his Second Coming had been circulating since at least the fourth century. As we will see below, it already occurs in Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* with which the *Neṣḥānā* shares several thematic connections. More importantly, however, the common motif of a Persian king uttering a prophecy relates to the more general trope of the Persians as the descendants of the Chaldean diviners. According to Simocatta, Khosrow "was well versed in the burdensome folly of the Chaldaeans concerning the stars."[72] Similarly, in the *Neṣḥānā*, Tūbarlaq summons a circle of sorcerers and astrologers who help him to divine the future.

Syriac sources contain numerous references to this motif, and several Sasanian rulers are credited with mastering astrology. For instance, *The Cave of Treasures*, an anonymous Syriac work composed in the Sasanian Empire during the sixth or the seventh century, portrays Ardashir as a priest of the era of Nimrod to whom demons teach the illicit arts of astrology and divination.[73] In the *Julian Romance* we read that Shapur sent a message to Jovian, who was serving as Julian's ambassador to the Sasanians. In the

message, the Persian king predicts the future glory of Jovian and "anticipated the entire order and the manner of your warfare by means of the course of the stars of the astronomical sphere."[74] The king's divination approximately describes Julian's ill-fated Persian campaigns and their aftermath.[75] On the literary level, the prophecy brings to mind the prophecy related by Tūbarlaq in the *Neṣḥānā* and the prophecy attributed to Khosrow by Simocatta. In all three cases, a Persian king discloses to a Roman general or king, by means of divination, the outcome of a future conflict between Persians and Romans. Of course, Shapur's *vaticinium* lacks the eschatological dimension that characterizes Tūbarlaq's and Khosrow's prediction. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* adopted a motif that was current well before its appearance in Simocatta's *History*. But there is more. Both the *Neṣḥānā* and the *Julian Romance* attribute prophetical abilities to the Roman heroes of their stories, that is, Alexander and Jovian, and to their Persian rivals (i.e., Tūbarlaq and Shapur). This is a remarkable and peculiar narrative element: two rival Persian and Roman kings are credited with the gift of clairvoyance—either by divination or prophecy, respectively. As far as I know, no other text has this narrative feature. Given the parallels between the *Neṣḥānā* and the *Julian Romance*, the convergence of the two Syriac works on this additional point is particularly meaningful. Equally important, this distinguishing double prognostication would appear to exclude the possibility that one of the two prophecies in the *Neṣḥānā* was added at a later date. Tūbarlaq's prophecy must belong to the original sixth-century text.

The Identity of Tūbarlaq

One unsolved problem in the *Neṣḥānā* is whether the Tūbarlaq figure is a literary representation of a specific historical figure. To the best of my knowledge, no other source mentions the name Tūbarlaq—with the exception of Ps.-Jacob's metrical homily, which is related to the *Neṣḥānā* by a direct and common textual link. The name Tūbarlaq is an unsolved riddle. As far as I know, the only recent attempt to establish the identity of the mysterious Persian king of the *Neṣḥānā* has been made by János Harmatta in a 1996 article. Harmatta proposes that the Syriac ܛܘܒܪܠܩ (*twbrlq*) may be a misreading of the cursive Pahlavi script. The Pahlavi name Khosrow was mistakenly read "Tūbarlaq" as result of the similarity in

the shape of several letters in that writing system. Harmatta refers specifically to the name of Khosrow Parvēz as it is inscribed on Sasanian coins, which “may be read more as *twbrlkʾ* than *ḥwslwy*, inasmuch as the cursive *ḥ*, written carelessly, may be read as *t* because its loop-like head was often negligently left open.”[76]

If Harmatta is correct, one may observe that if the name Tūbarlaq is a misreading of Khosrow, then this Khosrow may very well have been Khosrow Anōshirvān, and not Khosrow Parvēz. In his study, Harmatta considers the possibility that a previous version of the *Neṣḥānā* may have been in circulation in the sixth century.[77] However, he does not consider the hypothesis that Tūbarlaq is Khosrow Anōshirvān. This is unfortunate, as the “Tūbarlaq equals Khosrow Anōshirvān” hypothesis would resolve a complication in Harmatta’s theory. If one maintains that the *Neṣḥānā* was composed in the sixth century, that Tūbarlaq is a misreading of Khosrow, and that this Khosrow is Khosrow Parvēz, then one must assume that all instances in which the name Tūbarlaq occurs in the Syriac text are seventh-century emendations of an earlier version. However, this does not seem to be the case, or at least it is not necessary, since a misreading of Khosrow fits perfectly with the original context of the *Neṣḥānā*. At any rate, it is hard to believe that the author of the *Neṣḥānā*, who generally appears to be well informed about the political situation and contemporary events, did not know the name of the Sasanian king and mistakenly read the inscription on Persian coins. A different explanation is in order.

Harmatta pays no attention to the singular piece of information provided by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* about Tūbarlaq’s genealogy, that is, his description of Tūbarlaq as a member of the house of ܐܚܫܘܪܚ (*ʾḥšwrḥ*). Who is this *ʾḥšwrḥ*? Budge suggests that the name *ʾḥšwrḥ* is a corruption of the biblical Ahasuerus (אחשורוש).[78] This suggestion is accepted by Bohas.[79] This reading is appealing. In the Book of Daniel, Ahasuerus is identified as the father of Darius the Mede,[80] an obscure character that in several sources, including the Peshitta, is confused with Darius III and is identified as Alexander’s adversary in the prophecy of the ram and the he-goat in Daniel 8:3–7.[81] If one accepts the equation *ʾḥšwrḥ* = Ahasuerus, then the description of Tūbarlaq as a member of the house of *ʾḥšwrḥ* echoes the description of Darius the Mede as the son of Ahasuerus. If so, then the author of the *Neṣḥānā* is reproducing the confusion between Darius the

Mede and Darius III that was current among Syriac intellectuals. There is a problem, however.

In the Peshitta, the name Ahasuerus is rendered as ܐܚܫܝܪܫ (*ʾḥšyrš*), and this is the spelling used by most Syriac authors.[82] The name *ʾḥšwrḥ* used by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* is sufficiently similar to *ʾḥšyrš* to suggest a correlation, but is sufficiently different to ask why the author did not report the "correct" spelling of Ahasuerus. This misspelling goes hand in the hand with the absence of the name Darius. Did the author of the *Neṣḥānā* misspell *ʾḥšyrš* out of ignorance? Was he not familiar with the real name of Alexander's rival, Darius? I do not think so, insomuch as our author demonstrates a very good knowledge of Scripture. I doubt that he was not familiar with the "correct" spelling of Ahasuerus. It is similarly implausible that he was unaware of the name Darius (III or the Mede), who in sources—including the Peshitta—is unequivocally indicated as the Persian opponent of the Macedonian king. For these reasons, I suspect that we are dealing with a deliberate distortion of the figure of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus—not a mistake by the author.

My hypothesis is that the names *twbrlq* and *ʾḥšwrḥ* are both puns. *ʾḤšwrḥ* clearly appears to be a distortion of *ʾḥšyrš*. Through the phonetic passage *ʾḥšyrš* → *ʾḥšwrḥ* the author may have sought to evoke negative concepts related to the root *š-r-ḥ*—such as immoderation and luxury. As for Tūbarlaq, note that the final letter -*q* in the name is a transposition into Syriac of the final syllable -*ag* found in several Iranian names, for example, Āb-dānāg, Ābrōdag, Ādur-Ardag, Mihr-bādag, Vahnāmag, and, of course, Papag, the father of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, Ardashir (r. 211–224).[83] That said, rather than a marker of its Iranian origin, the final -*q* of Tūbarlaq may represent an attempt to Iranize, that is, to make sound Iranian, a name invented by the author. It might be no coincidence that this name bases on the Syriac root *t-b-r*, which signifies to break, to fragment, to ruin, and so on.[84] As for the addition of the letter [*l*] between the root *t-b-r* and the final "Iranizing" syllable -*q*, this may be explained as a consequence of assonance. Indeed, the final element of Tūbarlaq (i.e., -*brlq*) brings to mind, for instance, the Middle Persian word *bandag* ("servant"), which is found in several composite names, for example, Dād-bandag, Vēh-bandag, Vīrāz-bandag, Yazdān-bandag.[85]

But why would the author have elaborated this derisory name for Alexander’s enemy? Because—I believe—Tūbarlaq of the house of *ʾḥšwrḥ* is a parody, a caricature forged on the calque of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, who was commonly confused with the historical Darius defeated by Alexander. The name “Tūbarlaq of the house of *ʾḥšwrḥ*” was conceived by the Syriac author as a deliberate attempt to ridicule the Sasanian crown by producing the laughable image of an ancient Persian sovereign. Notably, this caricature distorts the image of the dynasty with which the Sasanians were associated by Khosrow’s Christian propagandists: the Achaemenians.[86] Probably, the function of the Tūbarlaq figure is to sarcastically dismiss representations current among Persian Christians of the Sasanians as the heirs of that glorious imperial Persian past. As we will see, this is not the only element in the Syriac work that indicates the author’s polemic attitude toward Christians living in the Sasanian Empire.[87]

6

The Syriac Alexander

According to the conventional scholarly wisdom, the figure of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* functions as an avatar of Heraclius and his exploits in the Syriac work are allegorical representations of the Byzantine emperor's military successes in his campaigns against the Sasanians in the late 620s. This idea has been advanced by Reinink in several publications. According to him, the *Neṣḥānā* is based on an implicit parallel between the figures of Alexander and Heraclius, the ultimate goal of which is to exalt the latter by comparison to the former.[1] The Syriac author sought to persuade his audience that Alexander's deeds in the past would be repeated by Heraclius in the present.[2] In the Syriac work, Reinink says, Heraclius is "a new Alexander."[3]

According to Greisiger—who fully embraces Reinink's reading—the Alexander-Heraclius typology reflects the permanent trace left by Alexander's glorious deeds in the collective imagery of the people of the eastern Mediterranean.[4] It is certainly possible that in the eyes of many contemporaries, Heraclius's successes in the conflict against the Sasanians evoked the memory of Alexander's conquests. However, only few literary sources from the time of Heraclius draw connections between Heraclius's and Alexander's campaigns. The only contemporary recorded comparison between the two sovereigns occurs in two poems of George of Pisidia, that is, *Heraclias* (I.110–21) and *Expeditio Persica* (III.48–53). In neither of these poems, however, does George present Heraclius as a new Alexander. Rather, he uses the well-known rhetorical device of the *syncresis* to diminish the figure of Alexander and to exalt Heraclius.[5] Furthermore, in George's poems, Alexander is not the only figure used to exalt the virtues of Heraclius. The emperor is also compared to the biblical Noah[6] and Elias,[7] and to classical heroes like Heracles[8] and Timotheus.[9] Thus, in literature, comparisons between Heraclius and Alexander did not play a major role,

and imperial propagandists did not endorse the parallel between the two sovereigns on a large scale.

This does not mean, however, that the model of Alexander was not used at all to celebrate the emperor. Possible examples of the propagandistic employment of the image of the Macedonian are found in material evidence. The most striking example is a marble stele with the bust of Alexander bearing horns, found in the atrium of the ruins of a transept basilica excavated at the archaeological site of Katalymata ton Plakoton in Cyprus.[10] The complex monument includes mosaic decorations featuring symbols which archaeologists have associated with Heraclius's propaganda. These include the shield of David (which recalls the famous representation of Heraclius as the new David), the two pumpkins (a symbol of a sinful nation, arguably Persia), and a pair of Persian sandals.[11] In this context, the bust of Alexander was probably meant as a celebratory allusion to Heraclius's successful campaign against the Sasanians.

Charles Anthony Stewart finds further examples of Heraclius's representation as a new Alexander in contemporary textile production. He draws attention to a cloth preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, which contains the image of an equestrian Byzantine emperor flanked by two Persian prisoners. The museum curators identify the emperor as Heraclius. Stewart points out some common features between the iconography on the cloth and the bust at Katalymata ton Plakoton and infers that the London textile reflects contemporary Byzantine equestrian representations of Alexander.[12] If so, then we would have another example of Heraclius's *comparatio Alexandri*. Less convincing is the case—also mentioned by Stewart—of a fabric rondel at the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., which features two specular equestrian figures and an inscription identifying them as Alexander of Macedonia. Relying on Reinink's Alexander-Heraclius typology, Stewart speculates that the double representation of the same Alexander-like horseman suggests a connection between the Macedonian conqueror and Heraclius. If so, one wonders, however, why the name of Heraclius does not appear alongside that of Alexander.[13]

Be that as it may, there is sufficient evidence to posit that parallels with the Macedonian king were features of Heraclius's contemporary propaganda—albeit not as widespread as other encomiastic comparisons,

like the one with King David that figures in both literary sources and objects.[14] How should we situate this evidence in relation to the present investigation? Both Eleni Procopiou, who supervises the excavations at Katalymata ton Plakoton, and Stewart, who published an analysis of the Alexander statue found in the complex, connect the marble bust to the figure of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*, with special reference to Reinink's Alexander-Heraclius typology.[15] While there may be an indirect connection between the Cypriot bust and the *Neṣḥānā*—especially the representation of Alexander bearing horns—the question should be revised in light of what has so far emerged in this study. The most immediate consequence of my findings in the previous chapters is that Reinink's Alexander-Heraclius typology in the *Neṣḥānā* is fundamentally wrong. The image of the protagonist of the Syriac work could not have been modeled on that of Heraclius for the simple reason that the text was composed approximately half a century before the reign of this emperor. Of course, one cannot exclude the possibility that, after witnessing Heraclius's exploits in the conflict against the Sasanians, seventh-century readers sought in the *Neṣḥānā* a prefiguration of those contemporary events. In that case, the hero of the Syriac apocalypse may have come to be regarded as an alter ego of Heraclius. Contemporary propaganda that promoted Heraclius as a new Alexander may have supported this interpretation of the Syriac work.

At the same time, the propagandistic exploitation of Alexander's conquest of Persia with reference to contemporaneous politics on the eastern frontier of the empire are by no means a peculiarity of the seventh century. For centuries, the well-known phenomena of *imitatio Alexandri*, *comparatio Alexandri*, and *aemulatio Alexandri* circulated in Roman political discourse, while the figure of Alexander had long figured at the center of meta-historical representations of clashes between Roman and Persian dynasties.[16] In many cases, it was the very people whom the sources compare to the Macedonian who themselves sought this comparison. Roman generals and emperors actively embraced the Alexander model, especially when engaged in campaigns against enemies on the eastern borders. The *imitatio Alexandri* became a prominent motif of imperial propaganda, especially during conflicts against the late Arsacid and early Sasanian dynasties. It was in relation to clashes against Iranian dynasties that the appeal of the figure of Alexander exercised its greatest influence on Roman politicians. Cases of *imitatio Alexandri* are

increasingly reported beginning at the end of the first century, when direct confrontations began between the empire and the Arsacids. Trajan (r. 98–117) seems to have deliberately pursued the parallel with Alexander during his Parthian campaign.[17] It was under the Severan dynasty, however, that the employment of the *imitatio Alexandri* as a propaganda tool in conflicts against the Arsacid enemy reached its highest levels. Caracalla developed an obsession with the image of Alexander,[18] and Severus Alexander (r. 222–235) was the first to adopt the use of the Alexander motif in anti-Sasanian propaganda.[19]

Publicists of both Tetrarchic emperors and Constantinian dynasts did not fail to recall elements of the Alexander theme in connection with the Sasanian challenge.[20] It was, however, only during the campaign led by Julian against the Sasanians in 363 that the Alexander imagery reacquired major prominence. Writings by the emperor in his own hand, as well as those by his friend Libanius, point to deliberate attempts to draw a comparison as part of more general propaganda aimed at undermining Sasanian claims to legitimacy.[21] Julian was assassinated during the retreat that followed the Roman defeat at the battle of Samarra, in June 363. His ill-fated campaign against Shapur II also marked the beginning of a long lull in hostilities between the empires. With the exception of two brief interruptions in 421–422 and in 440, peace lasted until the beginning of the sixth century, when a new series of conflicts broke out.

Other consequences of Julian's fatal defeat included the acknowledgment of the power of the Sasanian dynasty and the increasing acceptance of coexistence, which would culminate in the Byzantine-Sasanian mutual acknowledgment later represented by the image of the Two Eyes of the Earth. It is not surprising that in this new context the *imitatio Alexandri* lost its appeal for Roman emperors, who now understood that it would be impossible to reproduce the glorious deeds of the Macedonian conqueror.[22] At the same time, the long peace did not encourage Roman politicians to adopt models that might trigger militaristic dreams among their subjects. Even in the sixth century, when the two empires returned to a quasi-permanent conflict, imperial publicists did not turn to the model of Alexander to promote hope of complete victory over the Persian rival and annexation of its empire. During the reign of Justinian, the example of the Macedonian functioned as a negative model: a model to criticize—rather

than celebrate—the emperor's military activities and his expansionist policies. A few passages in Procopius's *Wars*, in which Justinian's campaigns are associated with the deeds of Alexander, attest to this tendency.

The first passage contains the report of a delegation sent by Vitiges (r. 536–540), king of the Ostrogoths, to Khosrow, urging him to take up weapons against the Romans. Vitiges reportedly warned Khosrow about Justinian's expansionist goals, saying: "He [i.e., Justinian] has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state."[23] Similar charges against the Byzantine emperor are made in our second passage. Here we read about a delegation, led by a certain Bassaces, that the Armenians sent to Khosrow in 539, after Justinian sent his general Bouzes (d. 556) to suppress an uprising in Roman Armenia. Like Vitiges's ambassadors, members of the Armenian cohort accused Justinian of harboring cosmocratic ambitions: "The whole earth is not large enough for the man [i.e., Justinian]; it is too small a thing for him to conquer all the world together. But he is even looking about the heavens and is searching the retreats beyond the ocean, wishing to gain for himself some other world."[24] Clearly Procopius's reports on the Ostrogoth and Armenian visits to Khosrow are based on the same literary model. Procopius uses a well-known *topos* commonly associated with Alexander, that is, the hero's ambition to reach and conquer the limits of the globe. The implicit association with the Macedonian conqueror is evident in the description of the Armenian delegation. Behind Justinian's desire to explore heavens and oceans to find new areas to conquer lies the infamous motif of Alexander's attempt to ascend the heavens and to explore the regions beyond the ocean—a motif that is prominent in the traditions related to the *Alexander Romance* and that is also found in the *Neṣḥānā*.

In another passage of his work, Procopius rebuts the charges allegedly advanced against his patron on the basis of the same comparison with the Macedonian—this time, however, presented in a positive way: "Yet they were bringing as charges against Justinian the very things which would naturally be encomiums for a worthy monarch, namely that he was exerting himself to make his realm larger and much more splendid. For these accusations one might make also against Cyrus, the King of the Persians, and Alexander, the Macedonian."[25]

When portraying the perspective of Justinian's detractors, Procopius adopts literary motifs elsewhere attributed to Alexander and draws a connection between the two emperors' expansionist policies. The association with Alexander consequently results in a negative assessment, as it builds on the motif of the Macedonian's extravagant aspirations. Although Procopius's reports on the Ostrogothic and Armenian embassies to the Sasanian king are ostensibly literary constructs, they nonetheless attest to contemporary anti-militaristic sentiments in Byzantine society and opposition to Justinian's policy of territorial expansionism. In this framework, the example of Alexander sheds a negative light on the Byzantine emperor. This was not the first time (nor would it be the last) that this rhetorical strategy was used to criticize an emperor. In earlier centuries, Christian authors had drawn unflattering parallels between Julian and Alexander.[26] In these polemically oriented comparisons, the figure of Alexander was regularly denigrated and his conquests were portrayed as vain and ill-fated adventures—in sum, a real nemesis of the *imitatio Alexandri*. Critics of expansionism seem to have adopted these very arguments, and they would continue to do so after the emperor's death: a few decades later, the negative example of Alexander was still presented against possible dreams of universal imperialism.

Theophylact Simocatta reports a speech allegedly delivered by emissaries of Khosrow Parvēz to the senate in Byzantium in 590, asking for Roman support against the usurper Bahrām Chōbin (d. 591). According to Theophylact, Khosrow's ambassador advocated maintenance of the status quo between the Byzantines and the Sasanians and warned the Senate against any alteration of the international order, with specific reference to the possible triumph of one empire over the other. To strengthen this claim, the ambassador mentioned Alexander and his excessive ambition: "He attempted to subjugate the temporal universe to a single unitary power. But, sooner than this, ambition was quenched along with power, and affairs proceeded once more divided up into a leadership of multiple tyranny, so to speak."[27] Howard-Johnston argues that the ambassador's speech does not fit the context of 590. Instead, he suggests that the Persian ambassador's words reflect the historical situation of 628, following Heraclius's military success, when the Sasanian Empire was at the mercy of the Byzantines.[28] The report may very well reflect the political discussion at the time of Heraclius. However, the rhetorical device used by Theophylact to construct

the discourse of the Sasanian emissaries is the same used by Procopius in the previous century to represent the perspective of opponents of Justinian's expansionist policies.

The Syriac Alexander: Justinian's Nemesis

Justinian did not pursue the model of Alexander. This is what we can deduct from the sources. Besides the short comparison with Alexander and Cyrus made by Procopius in the passage mentioned above, neither literary sources nor iconographic representations of the emperor indicate any attempt to establish an *imitatio Alexandri*. This is not to say that imperial propagandists did not celebrate Justinian's (alleged) achievements in the wars against the Sasanians. Indeed, we have traces of an intense propagandistic campaign, probably aimed at hushing the critiques against the emperor's war policies on the eastern borders.

Reports on two (or more) equestrian statues that once adorned the streets of Constantinople witness to this kind of imperial propaganda. The first statue, which was probably erected to celebrate the victory over the Sasanians at Dara in 530, was placed in the hippodrome of Constantinople. The monument no longer exists, and we must rely on notes and descriptions in sources. The *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, composed between 785 and 843, mentions an equestrian statue of Justinian in the area of the Kathisma that was erected to celebrate a victory over the Persians.[29] Reference to the same statue likely occurs in the text known as the *Anthology of Planudes*, a collection of Greek poems and epigraphs compiled in the tenth century and supplemented two centuries later by the Byzantine monk Maximus Planudes (d. ca. 1305 CE). Here, mention is made of an equestrian statue in the hippodrome. The *Anthology* mentions two epigrams that were originally engraved on the monument and that connect the erection of the monument to a victory against the Sasanians. The text of the first inscription reads as follows:

> O Emperor, slayer of the Medes, these gifts does Eustathius, the father and son of thy Rome, bring unto thee: a steed for thy victory, a second Victory holding a wreath, and thyself seated on this steed that is as swift as the wind. May thy might, O Justinian, stand high, and may the defenders of the Medes and Scythians remain forever chained to the ground.[30]

One finds similar proclamations in the second epigram:

> Bronze from the Assyrian spoils has fashioned, all at once, a steed, an emperor and Babylon destroyed. It is Justinian, and Julian, who bears the yoke of the East, has set him up as a witness to the slaying of the Medes.[31]

Whether this second epigram was originally attached to a different equestrian monument is a matter of scholarly debate.[32] What seems plausible is that both epigrams refer to the victorious battle of Dara, the only occasion in the course of the almost uninterrupted conflicts against the Persians during the reign of Justinian, in which the Romans won an indisputable victory on the battlefield.[33] Be this as it may, the two inscriptions reported in the *Anthology of Planudes* both manifest propagandistic tones. Justinian is portrayed as the subjugator of the Persians and the destroyer of Babylon—a metaphor that bears strong biblical connotations. According to the first epigram, the statue probably included representations of “Medes and Scythians” (i.e., Sasanians and their Hunnic allies) “chained to the ground.” The opening sentence of the second epigram, according to which “bronze from the Assyrian spoils” was used to fashion the statue, provides us with another insight into the monument. Its sculptors probably constructed it by melting bronze items seized as booty following the battle. As Canepa observes, “the material from which the statue was made provided tangible proof of Justinian’s dominance over the Sasanians, as it was taken as booty in battle.”[34] The propaganda message that the sculptors were commissioned to communicate with this statue (or these statues) surely made sense in the immediate aftermath of the victory at Dara. But one year later, in 531, when the Persians inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Romans, and in the years to come, when Justinian suffered further humiliations on the Eastern front, more than one Constantinopolitan arguably started to see the statue(s) and its(/their) epigram(s) as a blatant exaggeration of what the emperor had really achieved at Dara.

Nevertheless, imperial propagandists continued to promulgate the image of a victorious Justinian by means of sculptural representations. There is another, and more famous, equestrian statue erected a few years later, probably in 543, and placed on the top of a massive column that crowned the Augustaeum. The statue itself was demolished by the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century. However, Procopius, who was a contemporary, describes the statue in his panegyrical composition, *The Buildings* (I.2.1–12).[35] This report helps us to understand how imperial propaganda intended

the statue to be understood, if not upon its erection, at least in the context of the late 550s when the first book of *The Buildings* was composed. The passage that describes the horseman on the column reads as follows:

> He looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war. And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further.[36]

According to Procopius, the statue in the Augustaeum celebrated what Byzantine subjects were called to recognize as the emperor's victories against the Persians. Whether this was the original message that the sculptors were commissioned to communicate or merely Procopius's interpretation is irrelevant for us. Our interest is in the emphasis that Procopius puts on the "Persian reading" of the monument. He focuses largely on Justinian's campaigns against the Sasanians, rather than his more successful military activity in North Africa and in the Italian Peninsula. This suggests that propaganda regarding the Persian campaigns was badly needed to rebut criticism of Justinian's mediocre performances against Khosrow Anōshirvān. Exaggerating Justinian's achievements, Procopius depicts the emperor as the subjugator of the barbarians on the imperial eastern *limes*, that is, the Persians. But that is not all. Procopius connects Justinian's alleged successes against the Sasanians to the role of divinely appointed *kosmokrator*, represented by the globe surmounted by the cross that Justinian holds in his left hand.

This characterization of the emperor brings to mind another equestrian figure engraved in the famous Barberini ivory, and usually identified as Justinian.[37] In the central panel, a crowned emperor riding a horse holds a spear in his right hand and points it to the ground. Below the horse, seated on the ground, is a woman, commonly identified as a personification of Terra. Terra holds the emperor's right foot, thereby indicating the willing subjugation of the entire earth to Byzantine power. Near the tail of the emperor's horse is a man wearing traditional Iranian garments who touches the emperor's spear and raises his left hand in a gesture of submission. Two more figures in Iranian costume appear in the lower panel, portrayed as presenting gifts—including a diadem—to the emperor. The three Iranian

figures obviously represent the submission of Persia to the Byzantine emperor. In an upper panel, Christ is at the center and two angels are at his sides. As Canepa observes, “the vertical axis running between the beardless apocalyptic Christ in the center of the top celestial panel and the victorious emperor on horseback in the central terrestrial panel implies that the emperor’s actions are functionally linked with the apocalyptic appearance of Christ above.”[38] The message communicated by the sculptor of the Barberine ivory is the same message communicated by Justinian’s equestrian statues. In all these objects the emperor is portrayed as *kosmokrator* and subjugator of Persia, appointed by divine authority.

In all likelihood, this kind of propaganda was very much needed to rebut the critiques of the many of Roman subjects who were not ready to forgive the emperor for lack of success in the conflicts against the Sasanians. In the previous chapters we have already heard the voices of these dissenters, which were expressed in reaction to Justinian’s policy of using gold to purchase peace on the eastern front. Now, the question to ask is how we should situate the representation of the Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* vis-à-vis these propagandistic skirmishes. Was the Syriac work just another piece of pro-imperial propaganda that aimed to disguise Justinian’s mediocre achievements with a glorious narrative? My answer to this question is negative.

As I have argued, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was one of the dissenters disappointed by the course of events on the eastern *limes*. His profile coincides with that of someone belonging to the circle of people who expressed dissatisfaction with Justinian’s peace treaties with Khosrow, which were perceived by many Byzantine subjects as a reduction of Byzantium to a tributary vassal of Ctesiphon. The militaristic tones that the author uses in his work leave little room for doubt about his personal convictions. His prefiguration of Persia’s future destruction by the Romans signals his dreams of expansion on the eastern border and the dissolution of the current political order. It is easy to imagine what he thought about Justinian’s attitude toward his Sasanian rival—no doubt too soft. The figure of Alexander was an obvious channel through which to express his criticism.

As seen, in sixth–seventh-century Byzantium, Alexander was often invoked as a model of deplorable behavior in the arguments advanced by critics of expansionism. This is not surprising. In previous centuries, his

example had already been used to make both celebratory and defamatory comparisons.[39] In Byzantine society, Alexander's ambivalent image could serve as either a positive or a negative model for partisans of militarism and anti-militarism alike. It is therefore reasonable to assume that at the time of Justinian, critics of expansionism were not the only ones who might find the figure of Alexander appealing. For those who dreamed of a different course of action on the Persian border, the figure of Alexander would have come to mind as the most obvious example of a sovereign who had solved the "Oriental question." This explains our author's choice to adopt the Macedonian conqueror as a model.

However, for our author a simple comparison with the glorious achievements of the Macedonian conqueror against Persia was not sufficient. He constructed an ideal image of Alexander, who, unlike Justinian—according to the author's revisionism—successfully subjected the Persians to a tribute, and not vice versa. As seen, the description of the peace terms imposed by Alexander on Tūbarlaq in the Syriac work is indeed a revisionist rewriting of the clauses in the Byzantine-Sasanian treaties of both 532 and 562, and in the armistice of 551. In this section of the *Neṣḥānā*, the author reverses in favor of the Romans what he considered to be the humiliating conditions accepted by Justinian. One of his goals was to criticize the emperor for his lack of assertiveness toward the enemy. By attributing to Alexander an event that never occurred, that is, the reduction of Persia to a tributary state, the author emphasized the parallel with Justinian and the distance between the glory of the former and the misery of the latter.

With his historical revisionism, the author may have wanted to rebut, and even ridicule, the efforts of official court propagandists to present Justinian as the subjugator of Persia. One imagines that such depictions of Justinian were fairly common in the areas reached by imperial propaganda—for instance, the Barberine ivory was produced in the East but was probably sent to the western provinces by the seventh century. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* was likely aware of these representations of the emperor, which must have been regarded as shameless gloating and a flagrant distortion of the situation on the Oriental *limes*. Against these vain imperial claims, our writer portrayed Alexander as a divinely appointed world conqueror. In the Syriac work, the hero receives a mandate from God to enslave the other kingdoms, and it is by grace of divine intervention that he

defeats Persia. The author highlights the groundlessness of Justinian's cosmocratic claims by comparing him to Alexander. Unlike Justinian, the Macedonian hero not only saved his empire from a humiliating tributary condition, but also imposed a tribute on, and eventually enslaved, Persia. Unlike Procopius, our writer does refer to anything that might remind the reader of Justinian's successes in North Africa and Italy. This is striking: Had he wanted to celebrate the emperor's achievements in those regions, he easily could have adopted traditions found in the *Alexander Romance*—also in its Syriac translation[40]—that depict Alexander as traveling to and subjugating both Rome and Carthage. However, this was not the case. At the same time, with his description of Alexander's travel to the far West and his astonishing journey to the terrestrial limits, the very place where the sun sets, he may have wanted to overshadow Justinian's military activities in the Western provinces. Our author contrasted the glorious image of Justinian disseminated by imperial propagandists with that of Alexander, the real *kosmokrator*. In sum, in the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander does not appear as an avatar of Justinian, but as his nemesis. Through this image of Alexander, our author offers his audience an ideal alternative to the current ruler: the model of an emperor who embodies the virtues necessary to lead the Christian Roman Empire in its divinely sanctioned mission. His point of view does not differ from that of many Syriac intellectuals, who could question the person of the emperor but not the institution of the emperor.[41] Although they might disagree with the policy of a certain emperor, these intellectuals would still identify with the Christian Empire.[42]

The comparison with contemporary Syriac literature offers perhaps the strongest argument in support of the reading proposed above. In fact, our author was not the only Syriac writer of his time to adopt this literary approach to criticizing Justinian. The *Julian Romance* presents an interesting parallel. Philip Wood has argued that the author of the *Romance* compares the reign of Julian to that of Justinian, with the goal of criticizing the latter.[43] An obvious extension of Wood's reading is that the critique of Justinian is achieved via the contrast between Julian and Jovian. The association with Julian, impious and pagan monarch, generates a characterization of Justinian that is antithetical to the ideal of the just and devout sovereign, personified by Jovian in the *Julian Romance*. In the eyes of the author of the *Romance*, Justinian is as similar to Julian as he is

dissimilar from Jovian. His proximity to the former's flaws distances him from the merits of the latter. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* elaborates the same literary operation through the character of Alexander, who also embodies the concepts of an idealized monarch, serving as a virtuous example against Justinian. This ideological convergence among the two works is not surprising, especially when considering the many narrative, thematic, and ideological parallels between the *Neṣḥānā* and the *Julian Romance* that I have analyzed in the previous chapter. When it comes to their protagonists, the two works present the two heroes of their narration, that is, Alexander and Jovian, in a similar manner. The idealized figure of Alexander constructed by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* brings to mind the image of Jovian in the *Julian Romance*. Both figures are flawless Christian sovereigns who receive divine support and prophetic visions, and who perform the same pious act of deposing the royal crown in front of their Lord. Unsurprisingly, the characterization of both Alexander and Jovian reflects the similar political agendas of the two Syriac authors, especially their criticism of Justinian's policies. As noted, it is not impossible that the author of either the *Neṣḥānā* or the *Julian Romance* knew the work of the other and used it as a source of inspiration. It is more likely, however, that the common elements in the two texts reflect broader political debates among contemporary Syriac intellectuals. Unsatisfied with Justinian's policies, but still loyal to the Christianized Roman Empire, these intellectuals could oppose to the current ruler the typological figure of a divinely inspired monarch.

PART II

STUDIES ON SINGLE THEMES AND MOTIFS

7

Alexander, the Danielic Visions, and the Gate against Gog and Magog

As observed in the previous chapter, the choice by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* to adopt Alexander as the protagonist of his anti-Sasanian epic is likely indebted to the centennial tradition of the *imitatio Alexandri*, which provided a well-defined model of a military leader who tamed Rome's Persian enemies. At the same time, however, the traditional figure of Alexander as the subjugator of Persia in the Syriac work was combined with an ideal of the pious and just monarch, peculiar to the author's cultural environment. The result is the introduction of a significant element of innovation into the historiographical and propagandistic model of the *imitatio Alexandri*, namely the characterization of Alexander as a Christian sovereign. In the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander is then portrayed as a devout monarch who derives his power from the Christian god. He prays that this god will expand the borders of his kingdom and commits to welcome the arrival of his Messiah. He benefits from divine warnings about imminent dangers—specifically, in the dream on the eve of the battle against Tūbarlaq—and God himself enters the battle at his side and ensures his victory over the Persians. After his triumph, he travels to Jerusalem to pray, and it is in Jerusalem that his silver throne is brought after his death in order to accommodate Jesus's coming. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* thus portrays the Macedonian hero as a real *ante Christum natum rex christianissimus*, arguably for the first time.[1] This characterization of Alexander as a pious Christian ruler is a literary innovation. Previously, the particular features of the protagonist in the Syriac text were not found in most traditions about Alexander. The typological model of the just king, also expressed in the representation of Jovian in the *Julian Romance*, helps us to trace the development of the Christian Alexander that appears in the *Neṣḥānā*. But to fully grasp the genesis of this complex character, his role as future subjugator of Persia and as the prophet of Rome's glorious, eschatological

destiny, we must consider the insertion of biblical prophecies into anti-Sasanian polemics. The study of earlier hermeneutics of the Book of Daniel, in particular, and their interpretations of Alexander's role in sacred history will provide crucial elements to delineate the development of the character of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*. To this end we must move back in time a few centuries to the moment of the Christianization of the Roman Empire.

Alexander and the Danielic Visions

In 311, the Roman emperor Galerius (r. 305–311) issued the so-called Edict of Serdica, which put an end to the great Diocleation Persecution of Christians that Galerius himself had inspired and encouraged in 303. With the Edict of Milan in 313, which followed Constantine's conversion to Christianity in 312, Christianity was declared *religio licita,* and Christians living in the empire were granted religious tolerance. These events represent a watershed in the history of the Roman Empire. They were harbingers of a process that culminated in the adoption of Christianity as state religion in 380 under Theodosius I (who reigned over the Eastern Empire from 379 to 392 and over the whole empire from 392 to 395). Constantine's conversion to Christianity inaugurated the production of literary works by Christian authors, like Eusebius and Lactantius, who began to represent the empire as a Christian kingdom and the emperor as the protector of Christians. It was at this time that an image of Alexander that was largely unknown to the Roman audience now entered the anti-Persian political discourse.

A few decades after Constantine's adoption of Christianity, Christian polemists referred to Alexander to ridicule Julian's own attempts to emulate the conqueror.[2] This instrumental use of the image of Alexander was related to previous Christian oratory. As Christian Thrue Djurslev has pointed out, early Christian authors extracted from the Classical tradition about Alexander a variety of themes that they developed and deployed in polemical discourse against paganism.[3] At the same time, Alexander figured in the writings of intellectuals engaged in another area of Christian thought, that is, scriptural exegesis. Interpretations of biblical prophecies developed by Christian exegetists in the pre-Constantinian period provided an

alternative and significantly different framework for the memory of the Macedonian conqueror.

The most influential of these scriptural prognostications is found in chapters 2, 7, and 8 of the Book of Daniel. All three books contain visions that describe, by means of allegorical images, the rise and fall of different worldly kingdoms. Cross-reading these prophecies, exegetes elaborated a schematic representation of sacred history articulated around the succession of four different global powers—to be followed by a fifth and everlasting world kingdom established by God. At the same time, the obscure imagery of the visions left enough room for speculation about the identity of the four world kingdoms. Alexander was repeatedly associated with one of the four political entities described in the Danielic schema, but there was disagreement over which of these four superpowers he represented. Doubts mostly concerned the visions in Daniel 2 and 7 and whether Alexander should be identified with the third or the fourth kingdom mentioned in the two texts. The confusion arose as a consequence of the adaptation of the Danielic prophecies—which had been composed around the time of the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167–164 BCE—to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of the Roman Republic as a hegemonic political entity. Whereas an early interpretive approach identified Alexander's empire with the final worldly kingdom—which likely was the original intention of the Danielic authors—a later exegetical view attributed the last position of the Danielic schema to Rome, thereby "relegating" Alexander to the third slot. The two views persisted side by side, and the place of Alexander in the four kingdoms schema remained fluid and fluctuated between the last two slots. As for the role of Alexander in the Danielic prophecy in Daniel 8, which contains the vision of the ram and the he-goat, most Christian exegetes had no hesitation in identifying the he-goat as Alexander.[4]

Exegesis provided an alternative source of information about Alexander than those to which the Roman audience were accustomed. As Djurslev observes, "what went on in Biblical exegesis mattered as much for Alexander's legacy as some of the more popular receptions in the *Alexander Romance* and oratory in the pre-Constantinian phase of Christian thought."[5] Scriptural interpretation contributed to the spread of a new image of Alexander, that was significantly different from the image emerging from the Classical tradition. With conversions to Christianity rising and an

associated increase in familiarity with biblical texts, a substantial number of people came to regard Alexander as a king whose actions were dictated by divine providence.[6] The Macedonian conqueror now began to play a role in sacred history and in God's plan for human salvation. In the immediate aftermath of Constantine's conversion, this new image of Alexander resulted in a surprising merger of the Classical *topos* of the *imitatio Alexandri* and Christian interpretations of the Danielic prophecies.

The emperor's conversion in 312 dramatically changed the living conditions of Christian communities. The effect was felt—positively—not only by Christians in the Roman Empire, but also—less positively—by their co-religionists in the Sasanian Empire. After the events of 312–313, Christians under Sasanian rule came to be regarded as a possible fifth column. When persecutions began in 338 CE under Shapur II (r. 309–379 CE), Persian Christian communities began to look to Roman emperors as potential protectors. A direct witness to these circumstances was the Syriac intellectual Aphrahat (d. ca. 345), a Christian living in Sasanian territory at the time of Shapur's persecutions. Like many of his co-religionists subject to Persian sovereignty, Aphrahat directed his hopes at Constantine, whom he saw as the legitimate protector of Christians under the Sasanian yoke.

Aphrahat's anti-Sasanian sentiments are observable in his *Demonstration V, "On War"* in which he provides a highly politicized interpretation of the Danielic prophecies in Daniel 2, 7, and 8. Here, Aphrahat follows the widespread hermeneutic according to which the Roman Empire represents the last kingdom in the Danielic schema. Reflecting the spirit of the time and the enthusiasm with which Christians received the news of Constantine's conversion, Aphrahat identifies Rome as the last world power, destined to triumph over all other kingdoms. At the same time, his reading of the Danielic visions was motivated by anti-Sasanian feelings. Importantly for our analysis, the figure of Alexander would come to play a pivotal role in his ideologically oriented hermeneutics.

Central to Aphrahat's hermeneutical reading is a peculiar interpretation of the Danielic scheme, which is characterized by ideological continuity between the third and fourth empires: those of the Greeks and the Romans. Analyzing the vision of the four beasts in Daniel 7, Aphrahat describes the identity of the third beast—a leopard with four wings and four heads—and the fourth beast—a mighty beast with large iron teeth and ten horns—which

represent the empire of Alexander and the empire of the children of Esau (i.e., the Romans), respectively:

> Concerning the third beast, [Daniel] said, "It resembled a leopard, but it had four flying wings on its back, and that beast had four heads." [This] third beast was Alexander the Macedonian, for he was as strong as a leopard. [. . .] [Daniel] said that the fourth beast "excelled in strength and might and power, eating and devouring. And whatever was left over it trampled with its feet." It represents the kingdom of the descendants of Esau. For after Alexander the Macedonian became king, the kingdom of the Greeks was his, since Alexander was also one of the Greeks. The vision of the third beast was fulfilled in him, since the third and the fourth [beasts] were one.[7]

This combination of the Greek and Roman kingdoms has a strong political connotation. The centrality of this interpretation appears clearly in the passage of Aphrahat's work in which he engages with the vision in Daniel 8:3–8. The vision describes the victorious attack of a one-horned he-goat on a two-horned ram. The biblical text reveals the allegory behind the vision: the he-goat represents the king of Greece, and the ram represents the king of Media and Persia (Dan 8:20–21). Following a widely accepted reading, Aphrahat identifies the ram with Darius III and the he-goat with Alexander. He explains the he-goat's striking the ram as an allegorical image of the defeat of the Achaemenids by the Macedonians.[8] At the same time, departing from mainstream hermeneutic, Aphrahat develops an original interpretation of the passage. He connects the vision in Daniel 8:3–8 to the vision in Daniel 7 and creates a meta-historical (or better, trans-scriptural) reality in which, after being defeated by the he-goat, the ram of Daniel 8 will be defeated again by the fourth beast of Daniel 7:

> Thus, the horns of the ram were broken. However, though his horns have been broken, he raises himself up and exalts himself against the fourth beast, who is strong and powerful, with teeth of iron and hooves of bronze. [This beast] devours and breaks [things] into pieces, and whatever is left over he tramples with his feet. O ram, whose horns have been broken, draw back from the beast and do not irritate it, or it may devour you and grind you into pieces! The ram was not able to stand before the young goat; how will it stand before the terrible beast, whose mouth utters mighty words and who crouches over whatever it finds like a lion over its prey?[9]

Aphrahat uses this complex hermeneutic to address the contemporary political situation. In his eyes, the ram represents Shapur II, who now confronts the Christianized Roman Empire: the fourth beast of Daniel's vision. The rhetorical question posed by Aphrahat ("the ram could not stand before the he-goat; how shall it stand before that terrible beast?") has strong

political and ideological implications. Craig Morrison notes: “This question is not posed in the book of Daniel—the ram and fourth beast never meet. But the issue is central to Aphrahat’s application of this biblical text to his historical moment: how can the ram—now, no longer Darius, but Shapur II—stand against the fourth beast—Rome!”[10]

The parallel drawn by Aphrahat between the past conflict between Alexander and Darius and the present confrontation between Constantine and Shapur II is key to his interpretation of sacred history.[11] The Persian kingdom, routed by Alexander in the past, is destined to be defeated once again in the present, this time by the Romans. The ideological continuity between Alexander’s kingdom and the Roman Empire finds its practical expression in their common destiny to confront and prevail over the Persian enemy. Thus does Constantine become a new Alexander who will annihilate Shapur in the same way that the Macedonian had annihilated Darius III. To an extent, Aphrahat follows previous generations of intellectuals in treating Alexander as a model for Roman emperors who engaged in military campaigns against the Persians. At the same time, he never explicitly develops the classical model of the *imitatio Alexandri* and he expresses the parallel between past and present circumstances only by means of biblical interpretation. This is the most innovative aspect of Aphrahat’s exegesis, in which the Macedonian conqueror comes to be associated with a pro-Roman and anti-Sasanian reading of the Danielic visions.

Thus, Constantine’s conversion to Christianity and Shapur’s persecution of Christians in the Sasanian Empire created the conditions for a revival of the Alexander figure. The powerful combination of Classical knowledge and scriptural authority was put to use as a propaganda instrument against the Persian enemy. Aphrahat appears to have been the first author—or at least the first extant author—to have used this new Danielic-Alexandrian paradigm to pursue an anti-Sasanian agenda. He would not be the last.

Two centuries later, John Malalas made a similar—though less well articulated—use of the figure of Alexander in conjunction with the prophecies in Daniel, specifically in Daniel 7. At the beginning of Book VIII of his *Chronographia*, Malalas writes:

> In the fourth year of the reign of Dareios the Mede, son of Assalam, God raised up Alexander, toparch of the emperor of Macedonia, the son of Philip, against the Assyrians, Persians, Parthians, and Medes [. . .]. Alexander immediately set out like a leopard and captured many lands with his generals. He defeated Dareios, emperor of the Persians, the son of Assalam, and captured him, all his empire, all the land of the Assyrians, Medes, Parthians, Babylonians and Persians and all the empires on earth [. . .]. Alexander freed the cities and territories and all the land of the Romans, Hellenes and Egyptians from subjection and slavery to Assyrians, Persians, Parthians and Medes; he restored to the Romans all that they had lost.[12]

Malalas's description is strongly influenced by the Danielic schema of the four kingdoms and its vision of history based on the idea of the succession of world empires. The opening of Book VIII of the *Chronographia* refers to the transition from the Persian to the Macedonian empire. As mentioned, depending on how one interprets the Danielic schema, the Persian/Macedonian *translatio imperii* may represent the passage from either the third to the fourth empire or the second to the third empire. The earliest interpreters of the Danielic schema identified the Macedonian Empire as the last world kingdom, whose ascent would follow the decline of Persians, who had occupied the third slot in the schema. However, a later interpretive model—also embraced by Aphrahat—identified the Romans as the last world kingdom, with the consequential downgrading of the Macedonians and Persians to the third and second slots in the schema. Malalas, who follows the later interpretation, identifies Alexander's kingdom with the third empire. This clearly appears in the identification of Alexander with the leopard—the animal that in Daniel 7 represents the third world kingdom. Malalas adopts the same interpretive line as Aphrahat, who also identifies Alexander as the Danielic leopard.

The opening statement of the passage by Malalas ("God raised up Alexander [. . .] against the Assyrians, Persians, Parthians, and Medes") has strong ideological implications. Malalas places Alexander's campaigns within the framework of God's plan for sacred history, with the rise of Alexander occurring in accordance with a divine plan. In addition to reflecting an understanding of human history as a process that is directed by divine intervention, Malalas proposes that the fall of Darius's empire at the hands of the Macedonians is a consequence of divine will. At this point, one wonders whether Malalas adopted the same strategy as Aphrahat in creating a meta-historical pattern in which the events of the past are destined to be repeated in the present, with the Byzantines and Sasanians now playing the

roles of the Macedonians and Persians. The answer seems to be affirmative, as appears from the final statement of the quoted passage.

The reference to the Romans as a people freed by Alexander, together with Hellens and Egyptians, is odd, as is the statement that Alexander “restored to the Romans all that they had lost.” No historical events can be associated with Malalas’s words: Alexander never freed the Romans from any oppressor, nor had the Romans, at the time when Malalas was writing, reacquired any possession that had been seized by the Persians. While it is possible that Malalas was relying on inaccurate historical knowledge, his claims are in open contradiction to information he reports elsewhere in the *Chronographia*. At the end of the previous chapter (i.e., Book VII), Malalas states that at the time of Darius the Mede, “the Romans became dominant and extended the boundaries of their territory.”[13] This information contradicts the claim that when Alexander defeated Darius, he restored the territories that the Romans had lost. Malalas’s reference to the Romans in his description of Alexander’s campaigns is not historically accurate. Rather, the author is constructing a meta-historical reality in which present and past are superimposed, and contemporary concepts and ideas are projected backwards to the time of Alexander.

Malalas had a specific reason for crediting Alexander with restoring Roman sovereignty over lands that had never belonged to the Romans. The Romans that he mentions in this passage are not the inhabitants of Rome at the time of Alexander, but rather the Byzantines, whom he considers the heirs of Alexander. Implicitly, the author assigns to Byzantium the legacy of Alexander and the right to rule over the “Asian” territories that once belonged to the Macedonians. Behind his statement lies the same concept of ideological continuity between Macedonians and Romans/Byzantines constructed by Aphrahat. Like Aphrahat, Malalas locates the Macedonian hero in the framework of an anti-Sasanian propaganda. The idealized connection between the reign of Alexander and the reign of the Romans, related to one another by their common opposition to the Persian kingdom, also appears in another curious claim made by Malalas, according to which the Romans supplied Alexander with an army to fight against Darius.[14] Here, Malalas attributes to the Roman Empire an active role in the defeat of Achaemenid Persia. His description of the rise of Alexander against Darius reflects an aggressive expansionistic agenda regarding contemporary events. It looks forward to the eventual restoration of Roman control over

the Eastern territories of Alexander's empire, which were then under Sasanian occupation.

Back to the *Neṣḥānā*

The *Neṣḥānā* shares several elements with Aphrahat and Malalas concerning the political use of Alexander in relation to the Danielic visions. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* describes the same kind of ideological cohesion between Alexander's empire and the Roman Empire that we have observed above. In the Syriac work, it is Alexander himself who expresses this cohesion, which repeatedly occurs in his prophecy about the events expected to happen after the collapse of his gate. In the prophecy, Alexander gradually replaces the mention of the kingdom of the Greeks with that of the kingdom of the Romans, until he explicitly affirms: "The kingdom of the Greeks which is the kingdom of the Romans."[15] Subsequently, Alexander describes the kingdom of the Romans as "my kingdom, which is called the kingdom of the house of Alexander the son of Philip."[16] This conflation of the Roman Empire and Alexander's kingdom brings to mind Aphrahat's hermeneutic of Daniel 7 and his claim that the third and the fourth beasts—which he identifies with the kingdom of the Greeks and the kingdom of the Romans, respectively—are the same.

The unity between the empire of the Greeks and that of the Romans is fundamental to the agenda of the author of the *Neṣḥānā* and to the vision of sacred history that he wants to promulgate. The scenario that he describes is close, in both its images and goals, to the one observed in Aphrahat's *Demonstration V*. Like Aphrahat, our author wants to send a clear message that addresses fears about the future of Byzantium caused by the aggressiveness of its Persian neighbor: the kingdom of Alexander, which is now the powerful Roman Empire, cannot be defeated. In Aphrahat's treatise, Rome's destiny to be unvanquished ("to this day it continues, and will continue forever")[17] is based on the interpretation of the Danielic prophecies, according to which Roman rule will endure until Jesus's Second Coming and the establishment of the eternal kingdom of the "Son of Man." At this moment, the "ancient of Days" will sit on the throne.[18] The *Neṣḥānā* adheres to this pattern and manifests much the same vision of sacred history. The author assigns to Alexander the role of predicting the future

fortunes of the empire. At the beginning of the Syriac work, in a prayer addressed to the Lord, the hero mentions that his kingdom will be handed to the Messiah, who will sit on a silver throne, the throne that he—Alexander—established in Jerusalem. Then, in the prophecy which he declares after erecting the gate against the Huns, Alexander asserts that the kingdom of the Romans will prevail over the other worldly kingdoms and conquer the earth.[19] In the background of Alexander's prayer and prophecy lies the same concept of sacred history found in Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*—a concept that is based on a similar reading of Daniel and on the idea that the Greco-Roman Empire is the final kingdom, destined to endure until Jesus's Second Coming.

There is much in common between the views expressed by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* and those expressed by Aphrahat and—to a lesser extent—Malalas. These common elements help us achieve a better understanding of the development of the figure of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*—especially its intersection with biblical prophecies. The evolution of the figure of the Macedonian king can be better appreciated when one compares the *Neṣḥānā* to the older tradition of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. This tradition is recorded in Jewish sources, that is, Josephus's *Antiquities*, the *Megillat Ta'anit*, and Babylonian Talmud (*Yoma* 69a), but is also included in a later recension (ε) of the Pseudo-Callisthenes,[20] and was known to a number of early Christian writers.[21] Josephus reports that during his campaign against Darius, the Macedonian king paid a visit to Jerusalem. Disappointing his Phoenician and Chaldean allies, who thought they would be allowed to plunder the city, Alexander greets the procession of priests and citizens that came to meet him at the entrance of Jerusalem. The king even salutes the Jewish high priest before receiving his greetings (a break with royal protocol) and magnifies the name of God engraved on a plate. To the dismay of one of his generals, Parmenion, who asks him why he was admiring the Jewish high priest, Alexander answers that he is not praising the man, but the god that he represents. Alexander explains that when he was still in Macedonia, he had a dream in which that priest exhorted him to invade "Asia," promising him dominion over those territories. Upon his arrival in the city, Alexander goes to the Temple and offers sacrifices to the Jewish god, in accordance with the high priest's directions. He is then shown the passage in the Book of Daniel which predicts that a man from the land of the Greeks will destroy the empire of the Persians—a clear

allusion to the vision of the he-goat and the ram in Daniel 8:3–12. Alexander embraces the prediction with joy.[22]

The situation described by Josephus lacks any historical basis. The most obvious indication of its fictional character is the fact that the vision of the ram and the he-goat was composed almost two centuries after Alexander’s death. The prophecy is based on a *vaticinium ex eventu* and represents a description a posteriori of Alexander’s victory over Darius. At the same time, the account of Alexander’s visit to Jerusalem represents an early testimony to a motif that we also find in the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, the hero’s awareness of biblical prophecies predicting the success of his empire. The Syriac work, however, differs on at least three points. These differences point to the peculiar features that the literary figure of Alexander absorbed during its development in the cultural context of the late antique Near East.

First, in the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander is not shown any scriptural prediction about the glorious future of his kingdom. It is he himself who predicts that his kingdom is destined to rule over the other kingdoms. The hero of the Syriac work is a prophet whose words are consistent with those of the prophetic biblical tradition. Second, in contrast to Josephus’s account of Alexander’s visit to Jerusalem, the Alexander of the *Neṣḥānā* is aware not only of his immediate success in the war against Persia, but also of the glorious destiny of his kingdom. In his prophecy, the empire of which he is the founder is the kingdom destined to endure until Jesus’s Second Coming. Third, in the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander’s familiarity with biblical prophecies has strong anti-Sasanian connotations. The vision that he has engraved over the eschatological gate emphasizes that the Persian power will be uprooted by the Greco-Roman Empire as the latter marches toward world hegemony. Alexander’s awareness of Rome’s role as the last and lasting world power is used to communicate the fact that the Romans will repeat his success in subjugating Persia.

In the *Neṣḥānā*, the Alexander figure functions very differently from the same figure in the time of Josephus. In contrast to Josephus, in the Syriac work the Macedonian hero is an openly monotheistic (Christian) sovereign with prophetic skills and a mission in accordance with God’s plans for human history. It is difficult to say to what extent these developments are original elaborations of the author of the *Neṣḥānā* or whether they reflect wider imagery about Alexander among his contemporaries. Certainly, the Syriac apocalypse is the first recorded document in which the Alexander

figure possesses the features of a Christian prophet-king. However, this characterization was the culmination of a long and continuous process in which many elements and cultural tendencies came to be associated with the figure of the Macedonian king. The Christianization of the Roman political apparatus was a decisive step in this process. It is from this moment onward that the use of the *imitatio Alexandri* as an instrument of anti-Persian propaganda was combined with biblical prophecies commonly associated with Alexander. Roman citizens could now hope that the empire would prevail over Persian dynasties not only by repeating the glorious deeds of Alexander, but also by accomplishing the prophecies described by the prophet Daniel.

This “biblicization” of the anti-Persian, and specifically anti-Sasanian, use of the Alexander figure was apparently inaugurated by Aphrahat in the fourth century. Similar references to this type of propaganda occur in the work of Malalas, who was probably of Syriac origins, but not in the works of other historians writing in Greek. This suggests that the process of exchange between the *imitatio Alexandri* and the anti-Sasanian readings of the Danielic prophecies was current mostly (if not exclusively) among Syriac speakers. It is no coincidence that it is in a Syriac text, and not in a Greek one, that this process found its culmination. The figure of Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* is a combination of these earlier developments with concepts about the idealization of the royal figure that also appear to have been peculiar to the Syriac cultural environment. The prophetic turn in the characterization of Alexander and his Christianization points to the influence of the typology of the sovereign-prophet that also characterizes the Jovian figure in the *Julian Romance*. At the same time, the process that resulted in the representation of Alexander as a Christian, apocalyptic character is fundamental to a better understanding of the genesis of, and ideology behind, the central narrative episode in the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, the story of the gate against the Huns of Gog and Magog. We are now in a better position to return to this narrative element and try to address some unsolved questions about it.

The Gate against Gog and Magog

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the story of the gate that Alexander erects against the Huns of Gog and Magog combines two previously independent

elements: (1) the idea that Alexander erected iron gates in the Caucasus to prevent the attacks of nomads from Central Asia; (2) the identification of these people with the biblical Gog and Magog. To these two elements, one may add a third one, that is, the idea—witnessed from the Book of Revelation onward—that toward the end of time the Antichrist will rally the people of Gog and Magog to participate in an eschatological battle against "the camp of the saints and the beloved city" (Rev 20:7–10). The *Neṣḥānā* is the first extant document in which these elements are combined. It states that the Huns are governed by fifteen kings, the first two of whom are Gog and Magog. Alexander builds a gate to contain their incursions until God's decree. The idea that the Huns will be rallied by the Antichrist is not mentioned by the Syriac author. Also not mentioned is the motif of their final battle against Christianity. In the *Neṣḥānā,* the Huns of Gog and Magog are an instrument of divine providence who engage in the "global" conflict that will precede the rise of the Roman kingdom. In fact, our author appears to have modified the canonical unfolding of the eschatological drama in the Book of Revelation to make room for the idea that the Roman kingdom will establish a cosmocratic dominion to prepare the world for Jesus's Second Coming. References to other biblical passages and exegetical concepts external to Revelation are inserted in the text. The Hunnic invasion is explained by the prophecy of Jeremiah in Jeremiah 1:14 ("out of the north disaster shall break out on all the inhabitants of the land"), a prophecy to which Alexander explicitly refers in his own prediction engraved on the gate. The global conflict involving twenty-four kingdoms evokes the final eschatological war of nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom prophesied by Jesus in Matthew 24:6–7. The idea that only one of these kingdoms will endure until the End of Time is inspired by the Christian receptions of the Book of Daniel—although the *Neṣḥānā* does not refer to the *translatio imperii,* since several world kingdoms appear to coexist until the final accomplishment of sacred history.

Tropes in two passages of the episode of Alexander's gate refer directly to the imagery of the Book of Daniel. In the prophecy that the Macedonian king engraves over the gate, the kingdom of the Greeks is described as carrying in its hands two hammers—one made of iron, the other of bronze—and striking one against the other. The meaning of this image is explained in the text: "And the kingdom of Greece shall smite the hammers one upon the other, and as iron which is melted by fire, and as bronze which bolts in

the flame, so shall the power of the kingdoms melt away before the might of the kingdom of the Greeks which is that of the Romans."[23] The smiting of the two hammers and the melting of the two metals represent the capacity of the Greco-Roman Empire to destroy the other kingdoms of the world—which the text identifies as the Persians, the Huns, and the Arabs. The choice of iron and bronze as the two metals of which the hammers are made is not coincidental. It refers to two elements of the Danielic eschatological imagery: (1) the representation of the last two world kingdoms as bronze and iron, respectively, in the metaphoric description of the four kingdoms as a statue composed of four different metals in Daniel 2:32–33; and (2) the representation of the fourth beast as an entity with iron teeth and bronze claws in Daniel 7:24.[24]

Like Aphrahat and most Christian exegetes, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* likely identified the third and the fourth kingdoms of Daniel 2 with the empires of the Macedonians and the Romans, respectively, and the fourth beast of Daniel 7 with Rome. If so, the two hammers made of bronze and iron held by the kingdom of the Greeks would appear as an intentional representation of: (1) the continuity and unity of the last two world kingdoms according to the pattern already described by Aphrahat and embraced by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* (it is hardly a coincidence that the allegorical image of the two hammers is immediately followed by the author's announcement to the readers that the kingdom of the Greeks is that of the Romans); (2) the destiny of the kingdom of the Romans to fulfill the Danielic prophecy of the mighty fourth beast, and to prevail over the other world kingdoms until the arrival of the Son of Man and the establishment of God's heavenly dominion. The picture that emerges from the use of these tropes brings to mind the hermeneutic of Daniel developed two centuries earlier by Aphrahat, who had promulgated the ideological identity of the third and the fourth kingdoms and identified this unified kingdom (founded by Alexander) with the mighty fourth beast.

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* adopts the Danielic metaphor of the two metals also in the description of Alexander's gate, which is said to have been crafted from a combination of bronze and iron components. Earlier references to the mythical gates erected by Alexander refer only to iron gates. The introduction of bronze as an additional component is an innovation that apparently was dictated by the author's desire to strengthen the ideological cohesion between the third and fourth empires of the

Danielic schema, and to recall once again the identification of the kingdom founded by Alexander with the mighty fourth beast.[25] From this reference to the Danielic imagery, Alexander's gate emerges as another symbol of the unity of the Greek and Roman empires, and of its status as the final human kingdom of world history before the coming of the Messiah. The allegorical fusion of the two metals into the barrier erected by Alexander, mythical founder of the two kingdoms, also signals the crucial role that the Greco-Roman Empire is destined to play in God's plan for human salvation, namely to contain the eschatological invasion from the other side of the rampart until God's final decree.

Thus, the gate is a symbol of the empire's commitment to the role that God assigned it. This is a crucial point to our understanding of another scriptural reference made by the Syriac author. The reference is to the *katéchon*, the withholding power which, according to 2 Thessalonians 2:6–7, prevents the coming of the Antichrist until God's decree. Beginning at least with Tertullian (d. ca. 220 CE), Christian exegetes identified this *katéchon* with the Roman Empire and attributed to it the role of delaying Satan's arrival.[26] A further refinement of this reading, in conjunction with the exegetical line that identifies the Roman Empire as the fourth beast of the Danielic vision, is the idea that toward the end of human history the *katéchon* would be removed and the Antichrist would arrive in concomitance with the fall of the last world kingdom.[27] From the perspective of Christian eschatology, the removal of the *katéchon* also entailed the coming of those fierce nations of Gog and Magog which, according to Revelation, the Antichrist would gather and send to battle after his release.

This complex of ideas is very much at play in the story of Alexander's gate. In restraining the Huns of Gog and Magog until the moment of their final sorties, the gate serves the same function as the *katéchon* in the Roman Empire. The collapse of Alexander's gate coincides, both thematically and ideologically, with the removal of the *katéchon*. The Syriac author's allusion to 2 Thessalonians 2:6–7 is perfectly integrated in the eschatological scenario that he is describing. The gate erected by Alexander is not merely a barrier to stop the incursions of nomadic people thought to be involved in an eschatological invasion. By means of the gate, the Roman Empire will fulfill its task as the withholding force designated by God to prevent those dramatic events from happening until a divine decree. God's

removal of the gate initiates the cycle of conflicts from which Rome will emerge victorious and confirmed in its status as the last world kingdom, the fourth beast destined to remit its power to Jesus—as promised by Alexander in his prayer.

The goal of the apocalyptic vision about Alexander's gate is to magnify the role of Rome in sacred history.[28] This message is communicated through explicit claims put in the mouth of Alexander in the form of *vaticinia*. In addition, however, the very idea of a barrier erected to postpone the starting of the Apocalypse—which is at the core of the Alexander story—evokes the concept of *katéchon* and exegetical speculations about the role of the Roman Empire in performing that same task. The allusion to these specific ideas raises another set of questions: Was the original intent of the story of Alexander's *eschatological* gate[29] to emphasize Rome's divine mission? Or was that motif only added at a later date? What was the role of the author of the *Neṣḥānā* in this development? Did he report or build upon an earlier tradition according to which Alexander constructed a gate to delay the apocalyptic invasions of Gog and Magog? Or did he invent the story out of whole cloth? And when did the story originate?

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, some scholars have posited that the story of Alexander's eschatological gate existed before the time of the *Neṣḥānā*. At what exact time these supposedly early versions of the episode started circulating, however, is a matter of debate. Friedrich Pfister suggested that the story originated among first-century Alexandrian Jews.[30] His argument is based largely on the information provided by Josephus in two different works: (1) the report that the Alans, identified by Josephus as a Scythian people, broke through the iron gates erected by Alexander;[31] (2) the fact that Josephus indicates the Scythians as the progeny of Magog.[32] Pfister concluded that the legend of Alexander's gate was already part of Jewish culture at the time of Josephus. This view, however, was rejected already by Anderson, in his classical studies on Alexander's gate, and is now considered obsolete.[33] In fact, Josephus does not attach any eschatological significance to either the mention of Alexander's iron gates or the identification of the Scythians as the descendants of Magog, a claim largely motivated by ethno-historical speculations inspired by the genealogy list in Genesis 10:2.[34]

According to Anderson, the story originated in the late fourth century, in the aftermath of the great Hunnic invasion of 395.[35] Theoretically, it is possible that the disastrous incursions of those fierce nomadic people through the Caucasian mountain passes—traditionally identified as the location of Alexander's iron gates—may have inspired the legend of the eschatological gate. However, no documentary evidence suggests that those events were associated with the apocalyptic motif of Gog and Magog.[36] No mention of Gog and Magog occurs in the writings of the Syriac poet Cyrillona, a contemporary of the Hunnic raids, who dedicated a poem to those events, whereas Jerome, who identified the invaders with the people confined behind Alexander's gates, does not attribute any apocalyptic significance to the invasion. As Christian Djurslev has argued, the only two references to Alexander's gates in the late fourth century, namely by Jerome and by the anonymous Latin writer known as Ps.-Hegesippus, suggest that the story had not yet acquired the character of a legend about the End. As Djurslev observes, these earlier accounts "were rather used as a topic of ethnographical, geographical, and social discourse."[37]

This leaves us with the cursory reference in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* to the release of the unclean people of Gog and Magog from the North, where they had been confined by Alexander. However, as noted, the dating of the text to the late fourth century is disputed, and most scholars still think that the passage in the *Sibyl* is derived from either the *Neṣḥānā*[38] or from the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*.[39] This last possibility is suggested by a small detail in the *Sibyl*, that is, the odd description of Alexander as *rex Indus*, "Indian king," in the earliest version of the work.[40] The phrase *rex Indus* can hardly be taken as a reference to Alexander's Indian campaign. Rather, it should be interpreted as an indication of the king's alleged ethno-geographical origins. But why describe Alexander as an Indian king? I think that the reason is to be found in the *Ps.-Methodius*, which presents the Macedonian hero as the son of an Ethiopian princess. The description of Alexander in the *Sibyl* reflects this bizarre genealogy, with the transformation of the hero's Ethiopian descent into an Indian origin, as a consequence of the common confusion between India and Ethiopia attested in several late antique sources.[41]

In sum, there are serious doubts about the possibility that the story of Alexander's eschatological gate was already in circulation in the late fourth

century and, indeed, before the date of its first recorded version dates (i.e., the mid-sixth century). Let us now return to our main question: What role did the author of the *Neṣḥānā* play in shaping the narrative of this episode? Besides the absence of earlier versions, two elements suggest that the Syriac author not only was the first one to record the story, but also was its inventor. As noted in Chapter 4, the story originated to fulfill a specific function, that is, to address the political context of Roman-Persian disputes over the Caspian Gates. The episode of the eschatological gate, with its references to the role that Rome would play in the divine plan for human salvation, is fully consistent with that political goal. Of course, one may object that the legend may have already existed as a general prediction of events of the End and that our author adapted it to his agenda. An important indicator points in the opposite direction.

The story of Alexander's eschatological gate emerges from a specific literary practice: the adoption of a motif from the Classical tradition and in its re-reading through the lens of biblical exegesis. This practice gave rise to the belief that the nomadic peoples enclosed by Alexander behind iron gates are the very people whose arrival is prophesied in the books of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, and in Revelation. This is not an isolated case in the *Neṣḥānā*. The same practice is at the core of the author's re-reading of the Classical motif of Alexander's horns, which, as we will see, is interpreted through a variety of biblical passages, and which, like the motif of the iron gates, is transformed into an element of anti-Sasanian polemic.[42] A similar case is that of the story of the blacksmiths from Egypt, which, as we have seen, is also borrowed from the Classical tradition, specifically from the story of Pharaoh Sesostris, which was adapted in a way to address the political context of Roman-Persian disputes over the king of Lazica. The similarity in the literary practice behind these three passages in the *Neṣḥānā* suggests that the story of Alexander's gate did not originate as an independent episode, but rather was a product of the very same pen that conceived the adaptation of the other two motifs drawn from the Classical tradition. The simplest explanation is that it was the Syriac author himself who adapted these ancient motifs to a new and different purpose.

8

Apocalyptic Ideology

The conventional wisdom holds that the apocalyptic atmosphere permeating the *Neṣḥānā* reflects the reaction of the inhabitants of the Roman Near East to the historical events of the early seventh century. According to this reading, the vivid descriptions of the destructions caused by the Huns and of their horrific customs and practices echo the traumatizing experiences endured by the inhabitants of the lands raided by Heraclius's Turkic allies in 626–629.[1] Accordingly, apocalyptic anxieties current among Roman subjects during and after the Byzantine-Sasanian conflict are identified as one of the main factors that prompted the writing of the *Neṣḥānā*. A wave of pessimistic feeling about the future of the Roman Empire, which many believed was destined to collapse with the coming of the End, prompted the Syriac author to develop a reassuring story about the glorious role that the empire was still to play in the development of the eschatological drama.[2] The author was engaging with pious believers who had to be persuaded that God's eschatological promise would not be fulfilled anytime soon, and that its fulfillment would be preceded by a period of prosperity, which Heraclius's victory had inaugurated but which was still to come to its full fruition. The proponents of this view maintain that the targets of our author's efforts were not only the skeptics and God-fearing monks resigned to the unavoidable fall of established human societies. Our author had an even more practical goal. The (probably fictitious) episode of the diplomatic incident that occurred in Edessa in 628, when purportedly Heraclius was denied communion by the Miaphysite metropolitan Isaiah, demonstrates—according to this view—that pro-imperial propaganda was badly needed to restore the emperor's glory and prestige in a hostile milieu ripped apart by sectarian religious quarrels. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* would also have written his work to perform this task.[3] According to Reinink and the scholars who follow him, the goal of the author's literary initiative should be sought in his pro-Heracleian agenda. By celebrating the

emperor's military achievements, the author sought to reduce doubts about what the future held for his reign and simultaneously to call reluctant clergymen to embrace the policies of religious union that Heraclius was promoting at that time. In the background lay the concept of Byzantine imperial eschatology, that is, the idea that toward the end of human history the Byzantine Empire would prevail over the other world kingdoms. Partisans of the Heracleian contextualization of the *Neṣḥānā* relate the apocalyptic vision about the glorious kingdom founded by Alexander to this imperial ideology. The prophecies in the Syriac text that predict the advent of a Christian cosmocratic kingdom reflect the eschatological policies (allegedly) pursued by Heraclius in the years immediately following the end of the conflict.

In my view, the conventional wisdom is untenable. The *Neṣḥānā* was composed several decades earlier than the events that served as a background to the text according to the advocates of the Heracleian hypothesis. As noted, key elements in the text address the political scenario of the mid-sixth century. Conversely, most elements adduced in favor of a seventh-century redaction have been shown to make as much sense, and frequently better sense, when transposed into the context of the sixth century. The strong eschatological inclinations of the text and its focus on the final events can easily be related to the circumstances of the reign of Justinian.

Apocalypticism was not invented *ex nihilo* during the time of Heraclius. A century earlier, strong waves of apocalyptic anxieties shook the minds of many people in Byzantine society. In the late fifth century, an anonymous author, probably a native of Bythinia, wrote an apocalyptic text known as *The Seventh Vision of Daniel*, in which he portrays a sorrowful scenario for the empire. Here, the (fictionalized) murder of the emperor Zeno (r. 474–491) is followed by a period of violence and chaos that precedes the coming of the Antichrist and the Final Judgment.[4] Fears about the imminence of the End spiked during the reign of Justinian. In a passage of his *Histories*, Agathias reports that an earthquake that devastated Constantinople in 557 generated apocalyptic responses.[5] Wars, plagues, and natural disasters during Justinian's reign raised the expectation that scriptural predictions of the End were being confirmed in the present. Political speculation and propaganda may also have contributed to eschatological fears and chiliastic anxieties. The subject has been discussed recently by Shoemaker and does

not need to be addressed here.[6] It is sufficient to say that an apocalyptic atmosphere permeated the reign of Justinian. Although I am not fully convinced that eschatological piety played a substantial role in the formulation of imperial policies,[7] expectations of the End were surely common among the emperor’s subjects and possibly also among Christian communities in the Sasanian Empire. This is a perfect scenario in which to situate the emergence of a text like the *Neṣḥānā*.

Similarly, imperial eschatology was not invented *ex nihilo* during the time of Heraclius. Beginning with Constantine’s conversion to Christianity, the sacralization of politics and the politicization of the sacred became a cornerstone of the ideology of the new Byzantine Christian empire. Christian literates began to regard Roman emperors as protectors of the true faith and increasingly engaged in efforts to link the destiny of the empire to God’s plan for human salvation. The extent to which these ideas formed a coherent ideological system is debatable. We also do not know the extent to which these ideas had an actual impact on imperial politics or represented an idealized framework through which Christian literates tried to conceptualize the role of the newly converted empire in sacred history. Be that as it may, ideas concerning Rome’s positive eschatological role were current in Roman society. And if it is true that these ideas had achieved unprecedented popularity in the seventh century, it is also true that this only happened in the last years of Heraclius’s reign, in the aftermath of the early Arab conquest, as a reaction to this new threat.

With regard to eschatology and apocalypticism, the question is where to situate the *Neṣḥānā* in the transmission and development of the idea of Roman Christian cosmocracy, from its earliest written witnesses in the fourth century to its most popular examples (e.g., the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*) in the late seventh century. How does the *Neṣḥānā* relate to the ideas expressed by authors like Aphrahat? In which environments did those ideas primarily circulate? How did the author encounter them? In which context? To what kinds of readers and religious communities did the author address these ideas? And to what end? How does his formulation of these ideas compare to contemporary understandings of sacred history? And to what extent did the *Neṣḥānā* influence those in later times who dealt with the same problems and questions? In what follows I will try to provide some answers.

The Background of the Author's Apocalyptic Ideology

In the late second century, writing in Carthage, in the Roman province of Africa, Tertullian stated that Christians should pray for the stability of the Roman Empire in order to delay the arrival of the Antichrist.[8] Referring to Rome's alleged role as *katéchon*, Tertullian concluded that a strong empire would be able to fulfill its eschatological mission. At the same time, it was probably not eschatological concerns that motivated Tertullian to take this position. Rather, his statement should be understood within the literary framework of a work like the *Apologeticus*, which is mostly addressed to Roman provincial authorities as a plea for religious tolerance for the Christian community. Despite their obvious underlying utilitarian reasons—above all the need to prove the loyalty of Christian subjects—Tertullian's words are one of the earliest manifestations of a pro-imperial attitude based on the attribution to the empire of a positive eschatological function. Of course, we are still very far from the kind of speculation that would lead to conceptualizing the empire as a fundamental actor in sacred history that was invested with a divine mandate. We begin to see, however, how the entanglement of Christian eschatology and political considerations might result in the expression of sympathetic feelings toward a political authority that previously had been regarded as a hostile entity. After all, the identification of Rome as the Pauline *katéchon* secured, if nothing else, the survival of the empire until the final moments of sacred history, as did its identification with the fourth and last kingdom of the Danielic schema. And if it is true that its identification as the last power before the End signaled its unavoidable downfall and thus fueled pessimistic or even anti-imperial feelings,[9] it is also true that the role of last kingdom in sacred history opened the door to more positive interpretations. This is exactly what happened at the time of the Constantinian dynasty.

Aphrahat's *Fifth Demonstration on War* contains one of the earliest exegeses of the Danielic prophecies that seeks to establish the empire's divine mission. This divinely sanctioned mission was to institute a kingdom that would prevail over the other rival kingdoms and that, enduring until the beginning of the eschatological drama, would deliver its power to Jesus at the moment of his Second Coming. As we have seen, behind Aphrahat's pro-Roman reading of the Danielic prophecies lies the delicate situation of his religious community in the Persian Empire. Facing a wave of

persecution by the Sasanian authority, the Syriac writer put his hopes in the newly converted Roman emperor, Constantine, and describes an idealized scenario in which, due to its divine mission, Rome will soon defeat Persia and guarantee protection to the Eastern Christians persecuted by Shapur.

Aphrahat was not the only author in the 320s/330s to attribute to Constantine a special role in God's plan for human salvation. Some of his contemporaries on the other side of the Roman-Sasanian border engaged with similar theological speculations. To different extents, and in different ways, Eusebius, Lactantius, and Ephrem sought to present the sovereigns of the Constantinian dynasty as God's mandated representatives on earth and as enforcers of divine will.[10] However, none of these authors articulated a vision of the empire's eschatological role like in the one articulated by Aphrahat. In fact, none of Aphrahat's contemporaries attempted to portray Roman victory over Persia as an unavoidable step in the accomplishment of Rome's divinely sanctioned mission. If, in the case of Eusebius and Lactantius, the lack of interest in this theme was motivated by the fact that they were not directly exposed to the Sasanian threat, the same cannot be said in the case of Ephrem, who was an inhabitant of Nisibis at the time of Shapur's three sieges of the city (in 338, 346, and 350). And yet, Ephrem never expresses a vision of sacred history like Aphrahat's and never suggests that the empire will destroy the Persian kingdom on its way to cosmological supremacy. At least two centuries would pass before we would find such a view expressed again, and in even stronger terms, by the author of the *Neṣḥānā*.

As observed in the previous chapter, the eschatological visions articulated by Aphrahat and the author of the *Neṣḥānā* have much in common. Let us recap here the most striking points of comparison. Both authors posit a conceptual unity between the empires of the Greeks and that of the Romans and present Alexander as the founder of this Greco-Roman kingdom—although Aphrahat specifically mentions the last two powers of the Danielic schema, whereas the author of the *Neṣḥānā* does not. Both authors believe that this kingdom is destined to last until Jesus's Second Coming. Finally, both authors agree on the fact that the Roman Empire will repeat the deeds of its mythical founder Alexander and defeat Persia once again. However, whereas Aphrahat seeks to reassure his audience that Shapur's army cannot defeat the Romans, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* describes a scenario in which Rome's eschatological destiny means that it

will annihilate Persia and annex its territory. Even more than in Aphrahat's *Demonstration*, in the *Neṣḥānā* the focus is on the Roman-Persian conflict. Our author's insistence on the idea of Roman eschatological cosmocracy is indissolubly connected to his interest in proving that at some point in the future, Alexander's kingdom will subjugate Persia once again, and this time for good.

Now, two centuries elapsed between the moment when Aphrahat produced his anti-Sasanian hermeneutic of Daniel and the time when our author was writing. In the intervening period, Aphrahat's work did not receive much attention: it was rarely mentioned by later authors, sporadically translated to other languages, and appears to have been mostly unknown to subsequent generations.[11] Interestingly, however, his *Demonstrations* were translated in the late fifth century into Armenian.[12] The closeness between Aphrahat's ideological system and that of the author of the *Neṣḥānā* may be explained by the fact that the work of the former circulated in the geographical area in which the latter probably lived. Nevertheless, it is still unclear to what extent Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* had an actual impact on writers in the Armenian region.[13] It is not necessary to posit that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* based most of his eschatological views on Aphrahat to explain the commonalities between the two texts. It is certainly possible that our author independently formulated similar ideas based on a shared heritage of Christian theological and eschatological ideas. Be that as it may, neither alternative explains the fact that no other author in the period between Aphrahat and the *Neṣḥānā* formulated a scenario like Aphrahat's, in which the status of the Roman Empire as divinely favored eschatological agent functions as an expression of anti-Sasanian feelings. The question arises: How was this understanding of the role of the Roman Empire in sacred history transmitted from the fourth to the sixth century?

Early fourth-century readings of Rome's glorious eschatological mission seem not to have outlived the dynasty that had inspired them, that is, the Constantinids. Church fathers writing in the late fourth and early fifth centuries show little interest in pro-imperial ideology. Authors like Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), John Chrysostom (d. 407), Jerome (d. 420), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 457), who identify Rome as the fourth Danielic kingdom and the *katéchon*, do not have much to say about the empire's divine mandate.[14] As we move forward in time, the number of elements

glorifying Rome's eschatological role decreases. In his *Commentary on Daniel*, Jerome emphasizes that the empire is destined to fall.[15] When analyzing the vision of the fourth kingdom in Daniel 2, represented by the iron and clay feet of the statue seen by Nebuchadnezzar in a dream, Jerome observes: "But its feet and toes are partly of iron and partly of earthenware, a fact most clearly demonstrated at the present time. For just as there was at first nothing stronger or hardier than the Roman realm, so also in these last days there is nothing more feeble, since we require the assistance of barbarian tribes both in our civil wars and against foreign nations."[16]

Similarly, Theodoret explains the iron-clay blend as a trope for the initial strength and later weakness of the empire: "The soles of the feet are also of iron, but mixed with clay. Now, in this he [i.e., Daniel] is not referring to another kingdom but to the same one, that would be weaker than itself and mixed with the weakness of clay."[17] Theodoret mentions the decadence of the empire several times in his commentary on Daniel 2, and he describes a scenario in which Jesus himself will provoke its unavoidable collapse: "At his second coming he will strike the image of its clay feet—that is, he will appear at the very end of the iron kingdom, already rendered weak. He will destroy all governing powers, consign them to a kind of oblivion, and provide his eternal kingdom for the worthy."[18] There is very little glory in the role that Rome plays in the eschatological vision of these authors. We are far from the glorifying tones used less than a century earlier by Eusebius and Lactantius.

The difference in the approach to Roman invincibility or vulnerability is evident when we compare Jerome's and Theodoret's hermeneutic to Aphrahat's. In his *Fifth Demonstration*, Aphrahat struggles to explain the presence of an apparently weak component—clay—in the representation of what he otherwise believed to be a kingdom made invulnerable by the divine favor bestowed upon it. His solution is as shaky as the statue with fragile feet whose image he analyzes, but it clearly betrays his intention to prevent any interpretation of the passage that would shed an iota of weakness on the empire.[19] It is exactly the opposite procedure from the one implemented by Jerome and Theodoret, who interpret the clay as a sign of the troubled circumstances experienced by the Roman state during their lifetimes. In general, the available textual evidence suggests that after a first wave of enthusiasm created by Constantine's conversion to Christianity, the

reading of the empire as the favored eschatological player faded. It is difficult to discern whether or to what extent ideas like those formulated in the wake of Constantine's conversion continued to circulate. If they did, they left few traces in written documents, which otherwise attest to ignorance of, or a systematic choice to disregard, pro-imperial interpretations. This tendency probably emerged in conjunction with the increasing difficulties faced by Roman emperors in the second half of the fourth century.

The political scenario between the late fourth and the early sixth centuries accounts for the lack of recorded attempts to predict Roman subjugation of Persia by means of scriptural interpretation. After Julian's disastrous Persian campaigns, and the tough terms that Shapur II imposed on Jovian in the treaty of 363, the two empires managed to maintain a status of almost permanent peace which, with the exception of sporadic disruptions (in 421 and in 440), endured until the Anastasian war of 502–506. This period of peace witnessed the emergence of the complex ideological systems summarized in the metaphor of the Two Eyes of the Earth, invoked by Roman and Persian courts to conceptualize their mutual existence and mutual recognition.[20] It is not surprising that in this atmosphere, aggressive and militaristic interpretations of sacred history did not proliferate. For sure, apocalyptic tendencies continued to emerge, especially in the context of large-scale events, like the great Hunnic invasions of 395, or in preparation for the turning of the century in 500 CE, which many believed to coincide with the world's sixth and final millennium.[21] Nevertheless, people were more concerned with finding in biblical prophecies explanations for the events that would precede the fall of the Roman Empire, rather than corroborations of any fantasy of glorious eschatological war against Persia. The above-mentioned *Seventh Vision of Daniel* is a witness to this tendency.

In the meantime, much had changed in the religious community that had produced the only recorded precursor of the *Neṣḥānā*. Since the time of Aphrahat, the conditions of Christians in the Persian kingdom had improved steadily.[22] Over the fifth and sixth centuries, Christian elites came to occupy prominent positions in the Sasanian society, and Persian Christianity increasingly articulated its Iranian identity. The conspicuous number of converts from Zoroastrianism enhanced the Persian character of

Christianity in the Sasanian Empire.[23] Although converts were often the target of persecutions by Zoroastrian clergy—the *catholicos* Mar Abā (d. 552) is a notorious case—many were loyal to the Sasanian authorities. The most striking example is that of a certain Grigor, who, during the reign of Kavadh I (r. 488–531), served as a Sasanian general in the war against the Romans.[24] At the same time, Christian ecclesiastical authorities provided theological support for their loyalty to the Sasanian crown, as exemplified by Mar Abā's glorification of Khosrow through means of biblical imagery.[25] The evidence to be discussed below demonstrates that East Christian clergymen began producing interpretations of Daniel that reflect these tendencies and that attribute to the Sasanian state a more positive role in sacred history.

In sum, in the two centuries that followed Aphrahat's composition of his militant anti-Sasanian *Demonstration on War*, several factors worked as deterrents to the circulation of ideas similar to those expressed in that work. If so, how can we explain their re-emergence in the *Neṣḥānā*, a work that in all likelihood was composed in the mid-sixth century? Indeed, in the *Neṣḥānā* the anti-Sasanian component is even more prominent than in Aphrahat, with Roman subjugation of Persia appearing as the most prominent element of our author's eschatology. Our author dedicates two distinct prophecies to the prediction of the collapse of the Persian kingdom. One suspects that other crucial events in the narrative, like the final Hunnic invasion that will weaken Persian military capacity, and the idea that Rome is destined to establish a cosmocracy to endure until Jesus's return, serve to corroborate the idea that Persia will fall and suffer Roman predominance. How else can we explain the author's invocation and intensification of ideas that enjoyed a limited circulation at the time of their first formulation and that had passed out of circulation?

First, the two empires had returned to a state of permanent belligerency. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* reacted to the situation by constructing an idealized reading of the past that serves as both a critique of the Romans' poor achievements in the current conflict and as an expression of hope for greater success in the future. The conviction that at some point Byzantium would annihilate Persia, as proclaimed in Alexander's and Tūbarlaq's prophecies, suggests that the author probably lived in precarious conditions, similar to the ones experienced by Aphrahat

during his lifetime. Indeed, he was probably living in an area exposed to or directly affected by military activities. However, unlike Aphrahat, he could not address his hopes to a Roman emperor like Justinian who had failed to effectively protect the Christians in the eastern regions of the empire and beyond. He thus created the image of a past sovereign who predicted that Rome would emerge once again as a hegemonic power. Our author drew the image of a glorious future still to come as a reaction to the bitterness of his current circumstances. Whether he took inspiration from Aphrahat's work in describing the irresistible eschatological march of the Roman armies is impossible to ascertain—although I find this possibility likely. What is certain is that the historical circumstances of his lifetime made possible the re-emergence of similar ideas.

The radical character of the *Neṣḥānā* in matters of Persian affairs can be explained by the reignition of Roman-Persian conflicts over the course of the sixth century and by the fact that our author in all likelihood lived in an area that was directly affected by these military operations. But this is only a partial explanation. Many other authors wrote under the threat of Sasanian armies without manifesting the level of aggression displayed by the author of the *Neṣḥānā*. Indeed, I am not aware of another literary work from Late Antiquity that so unequivocally calls for the eradication of the Persian dynasty from the surface of the earth and for the annexation of the Persian kingdom to the Roman Empire. What prompted our author to elaborate such extreme predictions (i.e., expressions of wishes for the future) that are so focused on the defeat of the rival kingdom? As I will suggest below, he felt the need to answer and rebut the increasingly pro-Sasanian inclinations of the Church of the East. To understand this point, we must focus on the only other sixth-century author who left us an interpretation of the developments of sacred history in which the role of the two empires is clearly formulated. This author is the extraordinary character known to us under the name of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

Cosmas's Interpretation of Daniel

Cosmas was an Alexandrian merchant who claimed to have traveled to India (hence his appellative, Ἰνδικοπλεύστης, lit. "the one who sailed to India"). At some point in his life, Cosmas abandoned his business in trade and took monastic vows. Circa 540s–550s, he composed a *descriptio orbis*,

the so-called *Christian Topography*, in which he sought to prove the truth of biblical cosmology against the spread of Aristotelian cosmological models. A particularly interesting aspect of this work are Cosmas's extensive references to the Danielic visions, in which he provides a detailed interpretation of those scriptural passages, focusing on the role of the Persian and Roman empires in sacred history. In many ways, Cosmas's interpretation of the Danielic idea of the *translatio imperii* does not differ much from Aphrahat's. Like Aphrahat, Cosmas assigns the most prominent position in the succession of world kingdoms to the Roman Empire. Like Aphrahat, Cosmas presents the Roman Empire as the last and lasting power of human history, predestined to play a pivotal function in God's plan for human salvation. In Cosmas's interpretation, however, the Roman Empire acquires an even higher status than in Aphrahat's.[26] Unlike Aphrahat, Cosmas understands the kingdom of the Romans to be neither a continuation of that of the Macedonians, nor the entity that will transmit its power to the Son of Man on his return. According to Cosmas, the Roman Empire is not the fourth kingdom in the Danielic schema, the one that precedes the establishment of God's fifth and eternal kingdom. For Cosmas, the Roman Empire is the *fifth* kingdom.

"The empire of the Romans thus participates in the dignity of the Kingdom of the Lord Christ," Cosmas tells us, "seeing that it transcends, as far as can be in this state of existence, every other power, and will remain unconquered until the final consummation, for he says that it shall not be destroyed for ever."[27] Cosmas has no doubt about the empire's privileged condition and its destiny to endure, overcoming even the toughest threats to its existence.[28] It is a widely held scholarly conviction that Cosmas's interpretation of the Danielic visions relates to pro-imperial hermeneutics elaborated by Roman propagandists. Paul Magdalino argues that the broad outlines of Cosmas's reading of Daniel follow Justinian's official propaganda.[29] However, a closer examination of the relevant passage in the *Christian Topography* casts doubt on this argument. Indeed, most scholars have focused only on what Cosmas tells us about the extraordinary identification of Rome as the fifth blessed kingdom, but have ignored what he has to say about the Persians. The fact that Cosmas, while expressing a flattering depiction of Roman emperors, depicts Sasanian kings in almost as favorable terms has passed largely unnoticed. Let us take a look at his

position toward the other major power of the sixth-century great power system.

Cosmas addresses the role of the Persian kingdom in sacred history immediately after his discussion of the Romans. He starts by informing us that the royal family ruling over Persia is not of Persian lineage and does not descend from the ancient rulers of Persia (i.e., the Achaemenians, whose kingdom was destroyed by Alexander). Rather, the Sasanians emerged from another power, that of the Magi.[30] At first glimpse, the identification of the Sasanian crown with the empire of the Magi and the simultaneous negation of its Persian lineage bring to mind some elements of Roman propaganda. Indeed, in the fourth century, the Roman emperor Julian and his protégé Ammianus Marcellinus rebutted the Achaemenid lineage (allegedly) claimed by Sasanian sovereigns, and, conversely, attributed to the latter a Parthian (i.e., Arsacid) descent.[31] Thus, Cosmas may be following pre-established patterns of Roman anti-Persian propaganda. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Cosmas's remarks on the dynasties that ruled over Persia do not bear any polemical connotation, as becomes clear from the rest of his passage on the Persians.

Unlike Roman propagandists, Cosmas's description of the Sasanian kingdom as a new entity, with no connection to Persia's Achaemenid past, has no derogatory intentions.[32] According to him, the kingdom of the Magi occupies a place of honor in sacred history, second only to the kingdom of the Romans, because the Magi traveled westward to pay homage to Jesus at his birth.[33] By connecting the Sasanian dynasty to the Magi, Cosmas seeks to exalt, rather than discredit, the Iranian rulers. By developing this fictitious image of the Sasanians' ancestors, Cosmas emphasizes the high moral stature of the Sasanian Empire, which he attributes to the Magi's adoration of Jesus. This puts him at odds with Roman propagandists. It is difficult to believe that this expression of sympathy toward the Sasanian kingdom originated in the environment of Roman propaganda, especially when we consider that Byzantine-Sasanian relations had newly deteriorated at the time when the *Christian Topography* was composed. Against the background of these renewed, large-scale hostilities, it is surprising that Cosmas's attitude toward Byzantium's rival is so meek and lacking in militaristic tones. Had his interpretation of the Danielic visions been inspired by the axioms of Roman imperial propaganda, one would expect

the passages of his work dealing with the Sasanian dynasty to be characterized by a completely different kind of rhetoric, far more polemical and aggressive than what we find in the *Topography*. Cosmas's respect for the Sasanian state can hardly reflect the official position of Justinian's government. These doubts are reinforced by his reference to the story of the Magi and the nativity of Jesus.

In the Byzantine world, the legend of the Magi's adoration of Jesus served a specific political message. Consider the sixth-century Justinian mosaics in the churches of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale in Ravenna. In Sant'Apollinare, the three Magi—wearing trousers and Phrygian hats, symbols of their Persian origins—offer their gifts to Jesus (enthroned with the Virgin Mary). At first glimpse, the image does not appear to have particular political connotation. Upon closer examination, however, one notices an attempt to model the iconography of the adoration of the Magi on "the convention of the Sasanian envoys rendering *proskynēsis* in front of the earthly emperor to express this subordination."[34] Similarly, in San Vitale, the adoring Magi appear on the brim of Empress Theodora's *chlamys*. According to Matthew Canepa, this curious representation of the adoration was meant to suggest the "subjection of the Iranian religion and sovereign to the Roman religion—Christianity—and Christ's earthly representative, the Roman emperor."[35]

However, a different reading of the Magi narrative circulated among Persian Christians, who added Iranian features to the story.[36] The version of the story in the *Cave of Treasures* has recently been analyzed by Sergey Minov, who highlights the significance of the Magi narrative in the context of Christian communities in the Sasanian world. According to Minov, the attribution of Iranian origins to the Magi mentioned in Matthew 2:1–12 (where the Magi narrative is first attested) prompted a "local [i.e., Persian] patriotism," which he characterizes as "a marked propensity for putting additional emphasis on and treating positively those themes or figures that are related in one way or another to the regional context of the author or of his intended audience."[37] This observation is not new.[38] What is new in Minov's analysis is his insistence on the political implications of the Magi for Christians living under Sasanian sovereignty.

The names of the Magi in the *Cave of Treasures*, Hormizd, Yazdgird, and Pērōz, correspond to those of three Sasanian sovereigns: Yazdgird I (r.

399–420), Hormizd IV (r. 579–590), and Pērōz I (r. 438–457). These three sovereigns adopted—or at least were said to have adopted, as in the case of Pērōz—policies of religious tolerance toward Persian Christians.[39] Minov connects the obvious anachronism in the Syriac text (the Sasanian dynasty rose to power only two centuries after the birth of Jesus) to a tendency common in Persian Christianity and well attested in sources from the sixth and early seventh centuries: the representation of Sasanian monarchs as figures benevolent toward local Christian communities and, in some cases, even guided by divine inspiration. In other words, these sources Christianize the Persian rulers.[40] Minov concludes that the Magi narrative in the *Cave of Treasures* reflects the efforts of Persian Christians to create a paradigmatic image of a Christian-friendly Iranian dynasty.

Thus, during the sixth century, the legend of the Magi was adopted in various forms in Byzantine and Sasanian contexts to convey different political messages. On the one hand, Byzantine artists portrayed the motif of the Adoration as an example of the subjugation of an Eastern kingdom to Rome's moral and political superiority. On the other hand, Persian Christians invoked the Magi narrative to signal their increasing loyalty to the Sasanian Empire, in an effort to endear themselves to its leaders. Minov is certainly right in relating the different political uses of the story in the Roman and Persian kingdoms to the different sociopolitical conditions of Christian communities in the two empires.

Which one of these positions is reflected in Cosmas's reference to the legend of the Adoration? Note, first, that some elements in Cosmas's work are consistent with contemporary Syriac exegesis on the story of the adoration, for example, the reference to the royal status of the Magi in the *Topography*. In Late Antiquity, Greek-speaking Christians did not attribute royal dignity to the Magi. By contrast, beginning around the second half of the fifth century, representations of the Magi as a political authority became prominent in certain circles of Syriac Christianity.[41] Thus, Cosmas adopted an imagery that was alien to the Greek culture of the time and that, by contrast, was acquiring increasing prominence among contemporary Eastern Christians. In addition, the attribution of royal status to the Magi had implications in the specific context of Persian Christianity, where the story of the Magi was used to Christianize the ruling dynasty. This tendency is easily identified in Cosmas's words. The connection that he draws between the Sasanian dynasty and the Magi who adored Jesus replicates the

same anachronism that in the *Cave of Treasures* leads the Magi to acquire the names of Sasanian dynasts. Put in different terms, both Cosmas and the author of the *Cave of Treasures* identify the Magi of the nativity of Jesus as members of the Sasanian dynasty. The political implications of this choice by the two authors are likely the same and coincide with the tendency described above.

This picture is at odds with the scholarly hypothesis that Cosmas's work reflects the propaganda of Justinian's regime. The reason for this inconsistency, in my view, is that this hypothesis is incorrect. Remarkably, unlike the case of the Magi iconographies in Byzantine mosaics, one finds no representation of the Sasanian dynasty as subject to Rome in Cosmas's words. Quite the opposite, indeed. Through the Adoration of the Magi, Cosmas exalts the Sasanian Empire as an entity with a status almost equal to that of the Roman Empire. Also remarkable is the literary context in which Cosmas inserts his reference to the story of the Magi, that is, his interpretive reading of the Danielic schema of the succession of world kingdoms. His Sasanian-friendly approach to the Magi narrative goes hand in hand with his similarly conciliatory interpretation of the Danielic visions, exemplified, as noted, by its contrast with Aphrahat's militant, pro-Roman, and ultimately anti-Sasanian hermeneutic of Daniel. In my view, these arguments speak against the hypothesis that Justinian's propagandists influenced Cosmas's ideological intellectual system. His source of inspiration must be sought elsewhere. But where?

At the beginning of book II of his *Topography*, Cosmas claims that what he is about to discuss is based on the teachings of a man from the land of the Chaldeans, named Patrikios. At the time he was writing—Cosmas informs us—this Patrikios was appointed *catholicos* of the Christians living in Persia.[42] Scholars agree that the Patrikios met by Cosmas is the person whom we have briefly encountered on the previous pages and whom we will meet again in the following chapter: Mar Abā.[43] After his conversion to Christianity and before his appointment as *catholicos*, Abā traveled widely in the Byzantine world. He visited Constantinople and Alexandria, and studied in Edessa and Antioch, both major centers of Christian culture. Between 525 and 530, Abā met Cosmas in Alexandria. The latter soon became one of his pupils. The importance of Cosmas's tutelage under Patrikios/Abā for the formulation of his interpretation of the Danielic schema has been discussed by Christopher Bonura.[44] Based on the

similarity between Cosmas's and Aphrahat's understanding of the Daniel prophecies, and on their common affiliation with the Church of the East, Bonura concludes that the ideas expressed in the *Christian Topography* most likely derive from a Persian, rather than Greek, environment.[45]

I find this hypothesis compelling. As Vittorio Berti has shown, it is possible to recover passages of Abā's lost writings from the *Christian Topography*.[46] In the present case, Cosmas likely derived his understanding of the succession of the kingdoms from Abā's teachings. However, the line of continuity traced by Bonura between Aphrahat's and Cosmas's/Abā's interpretations of Daniel is less convincing, because it leaves aside a very important aspect that emerges from a comparative analysis, namely, the substantial differences between the rationales behind the interpretations of the two (/three) authors. In fact, Cosmas's attitude toward the Sasanian dynasty is at odds with Aphrahat's trenchant and unambiguous condemnation of Shapur's regime. His understanding of the role of the Sasanian Empire in sacred history lacks the aggressive rhetoric deployed by Aphrahat. More importantly, Cosmas's reading of the Danielic prophecies undermines Aphrahat's militaristic hermeneutic. Thus, if one sees a line of continuity between Cosmas's and Aphrahat's attribution of a noble status to the Roman Empire, the same is not true when it comes to the kingdom of the Persians.

This difference calls for an explanation. Cosmas's benevolent attitude toward the "empire of the Magi" reflects the better conditions and deeper integration of Christians in the Sasanian Empire. His attempt to promote an idealized Iranian political entity, almost a peer of the Roman Empire, and occupying a prominent position in sacred history, reflects the local patriotism that lays behind the adoption of the legend of the Magi by Persian Christians. His hermeneutic of Daniel is consistent with the tendency highlighted by Minov to represent Sasanian sovereigns as benevolent rulers toward local Christian communities. Lying behind Cosmas's approach to the Danielic schema, we can see the teaching of his mentor Mar Abā. Abā's intellectual background makes him an obvious candidate for the elaboration, or at least the transmission, of the ideas reported by Cosmas. Abā was a Zoroastrian who converted to Christianity; he was born to a family of Persian origins near Radan, in the province of Bēt Arāmāyē. He was an educated and learned man who, prior to his conversion, worked as a government functionary in his native province—

where he was the secretary of the local *marzpān*. As a Christian of Persian origins, Abā would have shared the view that conferred on the Persian Empire considerable dignity and prominent status in God's plan for human salvation. Like many Zoroastrians who converted to Christianity, he would have taken pride in those figures of his ancestral religion—the Magi—who first acknowledged and adored Jesus. Abā's understanding of sacred history likely reflected what must have been the attitude of many Christians in the Sasanian Empire, situated between patriotic feelings toward their ancestral land and, at the same time, the unavoidable charm of a fully Christianized Empire.

Cosmas's effort to present the Sasanian crown as a Christian-friendly entity anticipates the policies that Abā would later pursue as *catholicos*, when, however, he probably had to recalibrate his views. Emphasizing their lineage with the Magi of Jesus's adoration might captivate the imagination of his Christian fellows, but it could hardly impress Khosrow, the sovereign whose benevolence he was trying to secure. As we will see in the next chapter, it was rather to the memory of the Achaemenians that the *catholicos* eventually resorted to celebrate his sovereign. Moreover, if at the time of his tenure as *catholicos* Abā still held sympathetic feelings toward the Roman Empire, he would have been reluctant to disclose them, especially since his critics among the Zoroastrian clergy would not miss the opportunity to accuse him of siding with the enemy. Thus, it is doubtful that at the peak of his career Abā would have openly declared the same views of sacred history as those reported by Cosmas.

Back to the *Neṣḥānā*

It is hard to say how widespread were interpretations of Persia's virtuous role in sacred history, as described by Cosmas. What is likely is that in the mid-sixth century many Persian Christians, especially converts and intellectuals, would have related more to the theories taught by Mar Abā than to those taught by Aphrahat two centuries earlier. The safest assumption is to consider the ideas circulated by the *catholicos* as reflections of a community that was trying to make sense of its role within the larger framework of Sasanian society. That is not to say that every individual in that community was ready to embrace a rosy picture of Sasanian-Christian relations. Not everyone would have been satisfied with

the representation of the Sasanian dynasty as an early acknowledger of Jesus, supposedly attested by the story of the Magi's adoration, nor would they have been enthusiastic about Abā's complaisant (if not complicit) praise of Khosrow as a sovereign inspired by the Messiah. Several Persian Christians, like those who participated in Anōshazād's revolt in Gundeshapur in 550, surely aligned themselves on the opposite side of the ideological spectrum. We have no evidence suggesting that any of the rebels had access to Aphrahat's *Fifth Demonstration on War* and to the anti-Sasanian interpretations of Daniel contained therein. If they did, they no doubt would have found Aphrahat's ideas far more convincing (or convenient) than Abā's.

At the same time, not many people on the other side of the border, in the Roman Empire, would have been as keen as Cosmas about an interpretation of sacred history that conferred honors on the rival kingdom that were greater than what even the most fervent partisan of the coexistence of the two empires would have been willing to concede. The author of the *Neṣḥ̣ānā* was arguably such a person. Animated by strong anti-Sasanian sentiments, our writer would have felt outrage at the friendly attitude displayed by authorities of the Church of the East toward the Sasanian dynasty—a dangerous inclination that was spreading from Persia to Roman territory. Persuaded that this situation required a strong reaction, our author formulated a concept of sacred history whose anti-Sasanian traits are even more accentuated than the already militant eschatological vision elaborated by Aphrahat. A main element accounting for this radicalization is to be sought in our author's willingness to rebut conciliatory visions of sacred history spread in Sasanian, and even in Byzantine, society by influential clergymen such as Abā. If so, his work would have been addressed not only to the Christians of Roman Armenia and northern Mesopotamia, hostile to the centralizing power of Constantinople. Nor would his main aim have been to conciliate the recalcitrant Miaphysites with the Chalcedonian policies—and indeed the author's lack of any interest in Christological matters argues against this reading. Important addressees of the *Neṣḥ̣ānā* are—I believe—Christians in the Persian Empire, who are encouraged not to be loyal to their current rulers who, at some point in the future, will be defeated by the Christian Roman Empire, according to divine will. As we will see in the following two chapters, the author's desire to react to the exceedingly Sasanian-friendly attitude of the Church of the East emerges

from other elements in the narration. These include several of his literary choices, such as the attribution to Alexander of elements of royalty commonly associated with Persian sovereigns and the simultaneous derogatory characterization of Tūbarlaq as an inept king.

9

Alexander's Horns

The prayer that Alexander addresses to God at the beginning of the *Neṣḥānā* may be viewed as the ideological manifesto of the author. The prayer starts with Alexander declaring an awareness of his divine mission. The horns that grow out of his head manifest the power that God gave him to subjugate the other world kingdoms, and it is to God that the king turns to request support before starting his glorious march of conquest. His goal is not personal glory or political power, but the glorification of the Lord's name and securing the legacy of His memory. It is a truly religious and global campaign, a program to establish an empire that is the representation of God's will on Earth. Alexander's prayer reaches its climax when the hero promises to relinquish his power to the Messiah upon his arrival, symbolized by the pledged offer of Alexander's throne and crown. This promise binds not only Alexander, but all future Greco-Roman emperors. Alexander understands that the arrival of the Messiah may not materialize during his lifetime, so he swears that his throne will be brought to Jerusalem after his death and that his crown will be raised upon that throne. These acts set a precedent for all future Roman kings and emperors, who are obligated to send their crowns to Jerusalem after their deaths to be raised over the throne that Alexander appointed for the Messiah.

In this chapter I will analyze the first part of the prayer and its reference to Alexander's horns.

Alexander's Horns

> King Alexander bowed, and worshipping said: "Oh God, master of kings and judges, you who raise up kings and dismiss their power, I perceive with my mind that you made me great among all kings, and that you caused horns to grow on my head, so that I may gore with them the kingdoms of the world. Give me the power from the heavens of your sanctity so that I may receive strength greater than the kingdoms of the world, and I will humiliate them and glorify your name forever, oh Lord![1]

The reference to horns on Alexander's head occurs twice in the *Neṣḥānā*. Toward the end of the Syriac work, in the section that describes Alexander's prophetic dream of Tūbarlaq's imminent attack, we find words similar to those uttered by Alexander in his prayer. Here, however, it is God who speaks these words to Alexander: "I made you great among all kings, and I caused horns of iron to grow on your head, so that you may gore with them the kingdoms of the world."

The two sentences about Alexander's horns are almost identical. There are two main differences, however. The first difference is that Alexander and God switch the roles of speaker and listener. The second difference is a detail that is reported only in the passage at the end of the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, the material from which Alexander's horns are made, namely, iron—a detail that is missing from Alexander's prayer. This detail and its absence at the beginning of the Syriac work are important elements for our analysis.[2]

Horn symbolism appears in ancient iconographic representations of Alexander as the son of the Egyptian god, Ammon. In these representations, Alexander is crowned with ram horns, as is typical in Ammon effigies. The association between Alexander and the Egyptian god probably occurred after Alexander's conquest of Egypt. The sources report that Alexander visited Ammon's oracle at the oasis of Siwah, where he was "adopted" as the son of that god. What motivated Alexander to visit Ammon's sanctuary in the Egyptian desert is not clear. Was it to acquire legitimacy to rule over the country? Or was it for other reasons? The debate is open.[3] What seems certain is that Alexander's acquisition of the title of Ammon's son is connected to his elevation to the status of pharaoh. It is with the iconographic traits typical of pharaonic regalia that Alexander is represented in the temple reliefs at Luxor.

Representations of the horned Alexander may have served propagandistic and political purposes. As Fulińska observes: "it might seem a logical step to 'translate' this exaltation and its political impact into Greek terms by employing the long-established syncretic image of the horned Zeus-Ammon."[4] However, there is no compelling evidence that during his lifetime Alexander himself adopted or endorsed the symbolism of Ammon's horns—although this is possible. The only mention of Alexander wearing Ammon's horns occurs in the words of Alexander's contemporary, Ephippus of Olynthus, which are quoted by the Greek grammarian Athenaeus (third century CE). According to Ephippus, Alexander used to

appear at symposia disguised as Ammon, wearing ram horns and other emblems of the god.[5] Nevertheless, scholars are skeptical about the value of Ephippus's testimony because of his notorious hostility toward Alexander and his resentment of the latter's wearing exotic garments.[6]

The most ancient material evidence for the image of the horned king are coins minted by Alexander's successors, the Diadochi, and, especially, in Lysimachus's Thrace (r. 301–281 BCE) and Ptolemy's Egypt (r. 305–282 BCE). These coins circulated from 297 BCE. Their dissemination was so conspicuous as to provoke the minting of imitations by rulers in the Arabian Peninsula.[7] The numismatic typology featured on the Diadochi's coins was not as enduring. Representations of the horned Alexander were not promulgated by later Hellenistic rulers, while representations of the horned Ammon also appear to have been rare. The horn symbolism still appears on octadrachms minted by Ptolemy's daughter, Arsinoe Philadelphos, who ruled Egypt from 275 to 268 BCE.[8] However, over the following two centuries no verified numismatic example of this kind has been found. It is only during the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus (r. 120–63 BCE) that Ammon's horns reappear on coins produced in a Hellenistic royal mint[9]—a revival that probably should be attributed to Mithridates's notorious *imitatio Alexandri*. This is the last time that this numismatic model appears to have been adopted by a ruler. Thus, it was probably not through coins that the iconic image of the horned Alexander was transmitted to the late antique world, but rather by means of artistic and literary expression. The historical records attest to the persistence of this imagery as a common cultural model in the Roman world.

Several artworks from Late Antiquity display the iconography of the *Alexander Magnus corniger*. Among these are a gold pendant preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore[10] and an onyx cameo preserved at the British Museum in London.[11] It is, however, sculptural portraiture that provides us with the best examples of this iconographic phenomenon. One example is a life-size marble head representing Alexander with Ammon's ram horns, preserved at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen. The head is possibly a Roman copy of a Greek original, produced around the second half of the second century CE.[12] Another example is the already mentioned bust of a horned man—in all likelihood Alexander—found at Katalymata ton Plakoton in Cyprus.[13] Although it is not clear whether this marble bust

was produced at the same time as the building in the archaeological complex—which probably dates to the seventh century—or if it was later added as a decorative element,[14] it demonstrates that the image of the horned Alexander was still relevant in Late Antiquity. Statues of this kind may have been more common than the extant material evidence suggests.

Clemens of Alexandria (d. ca. 215 CE) attests to the popularity of the horned Alexander sculptures when he affirms: “Alexander wished to be thought the son of Ammon and to be modeled with horns (κερασφόρος) by sculptors, so eager was he to outrage the beautiful face of a man by a horn.”[15] The hostility displayed by Clemens of Alexandria toward this iconography was not an isolated case, but is representative of common Christian antipathy toward such pagan symbolism. It is in light of the tensions that accompanied the transmission of elements from the Classical heritage to an increasingly Christianized world that we should understand the efforts made by the sculptor of the Katalymata ton Plakoton to emphasize the anthropomorphic features of the statue. As Stewart convincingly argues, the sculptor’s departure from previous models of naturalistic iconographies of Alexander’s horns, and his decision to represent them as some kind of horned diadem, were intended to emphasize Alexander’s humanity and thereby discredit pagan tendencies to venerate the Macedonian as a god. By representing Alexander as a man wearing a horned diadem, the sculptor was able to de-paganize, so to speak, the pagan symbol—Ammon’s horns—and to remove any element relating to the deification of Alexander.[16]

Sculpture is not the only medium in which Ammon’s horns continued to be connected to the person of Alexander in Late Antiquity. Literature also played a major role. The horn symbolism appears as an important feature of the rec. α of the *Alexander Romance*. Here ram horns are worn by the Egyptian high priest Nechtanebus, who, in the *Romance*, is described as Alexander’s biological father. It is by wearing these and other regalia associated with Ammon that Nechtanebus appears to Alexander’s mother, Olympias, in the guise of the god and has intercourse with her.[17] For the author of the rec. α, Alexander’s alleged descent from the Egyptian god was a consequence of the stratagem through which Nechtanebus convinced Olympias that she had intercourse with Ammon and that she bore the god’s child.

In the *Romance,* most references to Ammon's horns are about Nechtanebus, not Alexander. There is only one passage in the text that explicitly associates Alexander with the horns. This occurs toward the end of the *Romance* when, after Alexander's death, Macedonians and Persians quarrel over the place of the king's burial: whereas the Macedonians wish to bring Alexander back to Macedonia, the Persians want to carry his body to Persia and to venerate him as a god together with Mithra. It is at this point that Alexander's general, Ptolemy, consults the oracle of the Babylonian god (as Mithra is described in the *Romance*) about the appropriate burial place for Alexander. The oracle instructs Ptolemy to carry Alexander's body to Alexandria and the king is here identified as "the horned king" (βασιλέα κερασφόρον).[18]

The passage describing Alexander as a horned king is preserved in the Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance,*[19] which is based on the rec. α, but not in the Syriac version, which is a translation of that same recension. Even if we cannot establish whether the Syriac translation of the *Romance* was produced before or after the time when the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was writing, the absence of the passage describing Alexander as a horned king may indicate hostility in the Syriac-speaking world toward the image of Alexander bearing the horns of the Egyptian god Ammon. Like the sculptor of Alexander's bust at Katalymata ton Plakoton, our author may have lived in a community that did not look kindly on representations of the horned Alexander. If so, it comes as no surprise that the author of the *Neṣḥānā* had to find a way to adjust the ancient pagan symbolism of Ammon's ram horns in his portrayal of Alexander. The strategy he followed differed from the one adopted by the sculptor of the Cypriote bust, however. Instead of representing Alexander's horns as a human feature, our author stresses their divine origins while advancing a conceptual re-elaboration of the motif.

As apparent from the analysis of other components of the text, the Syriac author is very skilled at using previous traditions and in conferring new meanings on them. In this case, our writer Christianizes the horn symbolism and removes any element that may connect it to the *topos* of Alexander's descent from Ammon. The author reworks the image of the horned Alexander so that the horns symbolize the authority, conferred upon him by a Christian God, to conquer other worldly kingdoms. The horn symbolism is reconceptualized as the source of regal authority that flows from the true

Christian God. The Syriac author’s attitude toward the horn symbolism may be compared with that displayed three centuries earlier by Clemens of Alexander. In contrast to Clemens’s haughty remarks about what he considered deplorable representations of Alexander, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* embraces the pagan symbolism of Ammon’s horns and turns it into a symbol of God’s power. According to him, Alexander’s horned crown does not indicate that he was the progeny of a pagan god, but rather that he was appointed by the real God. In connection with Alexander’s horns, our author makes several references to scripture. In fact, the literary work performed by the author in connection with the motif of Alexander’s horns was complex, involving some subtle, intertextual connections to the biblical tradition.

1 Kings 22:11/2 Chronicles 18:10

Two parallel passages in the Hebrew Bible, in 1 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 18, describe how, following the advice of his ally King Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ahab, the king of Israel, summons a council of 400 prophets and consults with them about the expedition that he is preparing against the Aramaean city of Ramoth Gilead. The prophets give the king a favorable verdict and encourage him to proceed with the attack. The leader of the council, Zedekiah son of Kenaanah, endorses the suggestion through a curious mise-en-scène:

> Zedekiah son of Chenaanah **made for himself horns of iron**, and he said, “Thus says the Lord: With these **you shall gore** the Arameans until they are destroyed.” (1 Kings 22:11/2 Chronicles 18:10)

Zedekiah’s announcement contains two elements that are features of the passages in the *Neṣḥānā* under investigation: (1) the iron horns; and (2) God’s incitement to use those horns as weapons against an enemy. A brief look at the language of the two biblical passages in the Peshitta makes the correspondence between the Syriac text and the story of Zedekiah even more intriguing.

The expression “horns of iron” (*qrntʾ d-przlʾ*) is identical in the two texts. Almost identical are the words “you will gore with them” in the *Neṣḥānā* (*tdqr b-hyn*)[20] and “you will gore with these” in the Peshitta (*b-hlyn tdqr*). The linguistic connections between this passage and the

Neṣḥānā are evident. The Syriac author clearly meant to evoke the scriptural passages.

But why did the author chose to transfer elements from these specific biblical passages into the story of his hero's crowning by God? The episode of Zedekiah's masquerade has a very negative connotation. Zedekiah's vision of Ahab's success turns out to be wrong, and the king of Israel dies in battle against the Aramaeans. The Alexander of the *Neṣḥānā* appears as a sort of nemesis to Zedekiah. Unlike the iron horns worn by Zedekiah, those worn by Alexander are not a human artifact; they have grown on Alexander's head by God's decree. Alexander's horns have a divine origin. The different origins of Zedekiah's and Alexander's horns typify another point of contrast between the two characters, that is, their falsely inspired (Zedekiah's) and divinely inspired (Alexander's) prophecies. In fact, contrary to the ill-fated campaign of Ahab, wrongly advised by the false prophet Zedekiah, Alexander is destined to achieve victory in battle because he is divinely inspired and is provided by God with the necessary means to defeat his enemies.

But why did the author contrast the case of Alexander with that of a marginal character in the Bible? An obvious answer is that the Syriac author was trying to make sense of the ancient motif of Alexander's horns through a biblical text that also features horns worn by a human. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* reverses the situation described in the biblical episode and turns a negative element in the narrative—Zedekiah's artificial horns—into a positive feature of the story of Alexander. But there might be more, if we accept the (plausible) hypothesis that our author had knowledge of the *Alexander Romance*, or at least of related traditions. In this case, as a connoisseur of biblical stories, our author certainly would not have overlooked the narrative similarity between the mise-en-scène of Zedekiah in the Bible and that of Nechtanebus in the *Alexander Romance*. The story of Nechtanebus's seduction of Alexander's mother, Olympias, through the ruse of wearing Ammon's regalia—including ram horns—to disguise himself as the god, is similar to the episode of the false prophet Zedekiah. By reversing the situation described in 1 Kings 22:11/2 Chronicles 18:10, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* produced a virtuous version of the story to contrast that of the Egyptian priest described in the *Romance.*

Unlike the author of the *Alexander Romance*, who explains Alexander's claims to be the son of Ammon through the story of Nechtanebus's fraud,

the author of the *Neṣḥānā* brings the question of the hero's alleged divinity —already controversial among early Christians[21]—into a Christian context, replacing the theme of Alexander's divine lineage with that of his divine appointment. This paradigmatic shift is reflected in the different nature of the horn symbolism in the *Romance* and in the *Neṣḥānā*, which replicates the dichotomy that the Syriac created between his work and the biblical story of Zedekiah. Unlike the horns worn by Nechtanebus in the *Romance* (and by Zedekiah in the Bible), Alexander's iron horns in the Syriac work are not a carnivalesque accessory. The horns that the hero bears on his head are the symbol of the power that God gave him and of his destiny to conquer the world. According to the Syriac author, Alexander understood the meaning of the horns that God made grow on his head ("I perceive with my mind that you caused horns to grow on my head").

Micah 4:13

Another biblical reference behind the description of Alexander's iron horns in the *Neṣḥānā* are the final verses of Micah 4 (vv. 11–13). These verses are framed as a conclusive remark on God's promise to rescue the Jewish people and to restore them to their land (vv. 6–10):

> **v. 11**: Now many nations are assembled against you saying, "Let her be profaned, and let our eyes gaze upon Zion."
>
> **v. 12**: But they do not know the thoughts of the Lord; they do not understand his plan, that he has gathered them as sheaves to the threshing floor.
>
> **v. 13**: Arise and thresh, O daughter Zion, for **I will make your horn iron** and your hoofs bronze; **you shall beat in pieces many peoples**, and shall devote their gain to the Lord, their wealth to the Lord of the whole earth.

The militaristic bravado in v. 13 finds clear resonances in the *Neṣḥānā*, specifically in the words that God addresses to Alexander before the battle with Tūbarlaq. The parallel is further emphasized when we compare the *Neṣḥānā* passage with the Peshitta's rendition of the relevant words, "for I will make your horn iron and your hoofs bronze; you shall beat in pieces many peoples." The Peshitta's words: "I will make your horns[22] of iron" (*qrntky ʾ ʿd d-przlʾ*) bring to mind the *Neṣḥānā*'s words: "and I caused horns to grow on your head" (*qrntʾ d-przlʾ ʾwʿyt b-ršk*),[23] while the Peshitta's: "and you will pound many people" in the Peshitta (*w-tdqyn ʿmmʾ*

*sgy*ʾʾ) resembles the *Neṣḥānā*'s: "so that you may gore with them the kingdoms of the earth" in the *Neṣḥānā* (*d-tdqr b-hyn mlkwtʾ d-ʾrʿʾ*).[24] The language used by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* clearly signals that of the Peshitta, especially "horns of iron" (*qrntʾ d-przlʾ*) in the *Neṣḥānā*, and "your horns . . . of iron" in the Peshitta (*qrntky . . . d-przlʾ*), and "you will gore" (*tdqr*) in the *Neṣḥānā*, and "you will pound" in the Peshitta (*tdqyn*).

In addition to linguistic affinities, the passages in Micah 4 and in the *Neṣḥānā* display close thematic affinities. In both cases, God encourages his protégés not to fear their enemies, and he reassures them that he will provide the means to achieve victory on the battlefield. In both cases, the divinely sponsored weapons are horns made of the same material, that is, iron. By referring to Micah 4, the Syriac author draws a parallel between Israel and Alexander's kingdom in the *Neṣḥānā* as two divinely favored political entities, both benefiting from God's military assistance in battle. This is not the only occasion on which the author characterizes Alexander's kingdom in a manner that is ultimately based on biblical representations of the exclusive relationship between Israel and God. A similar transfer to Alexander's kingdom occurs in the scene of the battle against Tūbarlaq, which immediately follows the dialogue between God and Alexander. As noted in Chapter 5, the Syriac author draws another parallel between the aid that Alexander receives in the combat against his enemy and that received by the Israelites from God in their battle with the Philistines, as described in 1 Samuel 7:10.

In two consecutive scenes, our author refers to scriptural passages that describe divine favor for the people of Israel engaged in battle. The author adopts this *topos* of divine military aid to Israel and transfers it to his hero, Alexander. These cursory references to the Scripture hint at the status of Alexander's Greco-Roman Empire (i.e., Byzantium) as the New Israel—apparently anticipating a *topos* that would become commonplace in later Byzantine imperial discourse.[25] Through the words in Micah 4:13, and the image of Zion's iron horns in particular, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* reconceptualizes ancient, pagan representations of the horned Alexander, and turns Alexander's horns into a symbol of the alliance between him and the Christian God. The ram horns of Amon's effigies become the emblem of Byzantium's special relationship with God.

Daniel 8:3–7

To this point, we have focused on the second mention of Alexander's horns in the *Neṣḥānā*, which occurs in the words that God addresses to Alexander before the latter goes to battle against Tūbarlaq. Let us now turn to the first mention of Alexander's horns in the prayer that the hero addresses to God before undertaking his journey to the edges of the Earth. Compared to the second passage, Alexander's prayer lacks an important element, that is, the information that the horns that God makes grow on Alexander's head are made of iron. The absence of this information is very relevant. Indeed, because of the location of Alexander's prayer at the beginning of the narrative, the reader learns that Alexander's horns are made of iron only several pages later, toward the end of the text. As the previous analysis has demonstrated, the specification of the material of which Alexander's horns are made is a signal to the reader of the biblical passages that the Syriac author wants to evoke. As seen, the words "horns of iron" function as a cursory reference to Micah 4:13 and to 1 Kings 22:11/2 Chronicles 18:10. Without reference to iron, the hint to these scriptural passages is lost. This is exactly what happens in Alexander's prayer at the beginning of the *Neṣḥānā*.

But what does the reader understand, then, when reading Alexander's claim to have been crowned with horns by God, if the specification of "iron horns" is missing in the passage? It is unlikely that the author forgot to include this important detail, while nothing suggests that anything was lost in the transmission of the text.[26] Is it possible, then, that the author inserted cursory references to Micah 4:13 and to 1 Kings 22:11/2 Chronicles 18:10 at the end of the text, because with his first mention of the motif of Alexander's horns he wanted to direct the reader's attention to other biblical passages? The answer to this question—I think—is affirmative, and the author's scriptural allusion fits perfectly with other important aspects of his agenda.

As a starting point of our analysis, let us briefly observe how earlier scholars have analyzed the passage in Alexander's prayer where the hero confirms having received horns from God. Both Reinink and Bohas connect the first mention of Alexander's horns in the *Neṣḥānā* to the Danielic prophecies in Daniel 7 and 8.[27] Bohas does not specify the exact section of the two biblical passages supposedly recalled by the Syriac text. By

contrast, Reinink links the horns of the Syriac Alexander to either the fourth beast of Daniel 7 (vv. 7–8) or to the he-goat in Daniel 8 (vv. 5–8, 21). As Reinink rightly observes, biblical exegetes often identified in Alexander those two specific "characters" of the Danielic prophecies—the fourth beast and the he-goat.[28] Reinink does not specify which specific element in the Syriac text is reminiscent of the biblical passages. I assume, however, that the intertextual link is the horn symbolism, which may indeed relate the horned Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā* to the fourth beast in Daniel 7, or to the he-goat in Daniel 8—both biblical beasts are characterized by the horn(s) on their heads. Upon closer examination, however, the connection may be only apparent.

The distinguishing feature of the fourth beast in Daniel 7 are the ten horns that crown its head, and the eleventh horn that suddenly grows, causing three of the ten other horns to fall. This imagery alludes to the fragmentation of Alexander's empire into the Diadochi kingdoms—represented by the ten horns—and to the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes—the eleventh horn—as clearly appears from the explanation of the prophecy found in the subsequent lines of the Danielic text itself (vv. 24–25). Now, besides the fact that the Alexander of the *Neṣḥānā* also has horns, nothing of the complex symbolism associated with the fourth beast in Daniel 7 can be found in the Syriac text. As seen in Daniel 7, the fluctuating number of the beast's horns (10 + 1–3) is a trope for the political scenario that followed the death of Alexander. The Peshitta reports that the fourth beast has ten horns and refers to the eleventh horn as "one horn" (*qrnʾ ḥdʾ*). No connection to this biblical passage can be detected in the *Neṣḥānā*, where the plural form "horns" (*qrntʾ*) represents a pair (i.e., "two horns").

Another crucial difference between the two texts is that there is no indication in Daniel 7 that the horns of the fourth beast function as weapons against the beast's enemies, or that the beast will use them to destroy other kingdoms. In this regard, a closer parallel to the *Neṣḥānā* may be found in Daniel 8, specifically, in the description of the he-goat attacking the ram—presumably with the single horn between his eyes. As noted, in Daniel 8 the he-goat and the ram represent two rival kingdoms that biblical exegetes usually (and correctly) identify as the Persian and Macedonian empires. From this perspective, it is attractive to find in the *Neṣḥānā* an allusion to the he-goat that will defeat the Persian ram in Daniel 8. However, this reading does not stand up to the scrutiny of textual analysis. In describing

the he-goat, the Danielic prophecy clearly refers to a single horn.[29] Had the Syriac author wished to associate his horned Alexander to the he-goat of the prophecy, why did he not describe his hero as crowned with one horn, instead of two? Consider that, as much as the single horn motif characterizes the he-goat in Daniel 8, the two horns motif characterizes the ram at v. 3 of the same passage.[30] Surprisingly, the Alexander of the *Neṣḥānā* finds a closer parallel in the ram of the Danielic prophecy than in the he-goat. Like the ram, Alexander has two horns—with the term ܩܪܢܬܐ (*qrnt*ʾ, "two horns") appearing in both the Peshitta on Daniel 8:3 and in the *Neṣḥānā*. This is not the only element that connects Alexander and the ram.

The mission to which Alexander commits in his prayer, that is, uprooting all world kingdoms and subjugating their territories, brings to mind Daniel 8:4, where the ram attacks westward, northward, and southward to submit the other beasts. An element unnoticed by previous scholars further exposes the analogy between Alexander's world campaigns and the ram's furious attacks. In Daniel, the ram charges (מְנַגֵּחַ/*mənaggêaḥ*) against the other beasts. In the Peshitta, *mənaggêaḥ* is rendered as ܡܕܩܪ (*mdqr*), that is, "goring." This peculiar rendition of the biblical text in Syriac is important. Indeed, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* uses the same verb ܕܩܪ (*dqr*), "to gore," that occurs in the Peshitta.[31] The image in the *Neṣḥānā* of Alexander using his two horns to gore the other world kingdoms thus reflects an understanding of Daniel 8:4 common in Syriac circles, where the ram was imagined as using its two horns as weapons against its enemies. Thus, it appears that with his first mention of the motif of Alexander's horns, the Syriac author was alluding to Daniel 8. Contrary to previous scholarship, however, the allusion refers to the ram, not to the he-goat of the prophecy.

An Innovative but Not Unthinkable Association

The association made by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* between Alexander and the ram of the prophecy has no antecedents in earlier literature. As seen in the previous chapter, Alexander was an important figure in the exegeses of the Danielic prophecies. While exegetes did not unanimously agree about the role of the Macedonian within the prophetic visions in Daniel 2 and 7—Alexander was associated with either the third or the fourth empires in Daniel 2, and with either the third or fourth beasts in Daniel 7—there was

no uncertainty surrounding the vision of the ram and the he-goat in Daniel 8. In the latter case, Alexander's role appears to have been well defined, and his identification with the he-goat seems to have been unequivocal among biblical exegetes. To the best of my knowledge, no exegete identifies the he-goat with any historical person other than Alexander. This identification is attested since at least Hippolytus of Rome (d. ca. 235 CE) and is repeated by later theologians, including Origen (d. ca. 253 CE), John Chrysostom (d. 407 CE), and Jerome (d. 420 CE).[32] In the Syriac tradition, this interpretation was indisputable, since the Peshitta on Daniel 8:5 contains a gloss that identifies Alexander as the he-goat of the vision.[33] This clarification within the scripture itself surely exercised decisive influence on those Syriac authors who wrote about the vision in Daniel 8. We have already seen that Aphrahat had no doubts about identifying the he-goat with Alexander; and the same may be said about a commentary on Daniel ascribed to Ephrem.[34]

More doubts seem to have surrounded the identity of the ram. Aphrahat, like most Christian exegetes, identifies the ram as Darius.[35] This identification, however, raises several problems. It is well known that three different Persian sovereigns bore the name Darius: Darius I, also known as Darius the Great (r. 522–486 BCE); Darius II (r. 423–404/5 BCE); and the last Achaemenian king, Darius III (r. 336–330 BCE). Although numerous exegetes identify Darius as the ram,[36] virtually none of them clarifies whom among those three sovereigns they intend. For sure, exegetical requirements often prevailed over historical accuracy. For instance, Hippolytus infers that "the ram is Darius, the king of the Persians, who prevailed over all nations [. . .] Alexander after he had engaged with Darius in war, overpowered him and prevailed over all his army."[37] Hippolytus appears to conflate the identities of Darius I and Darius III—the former was known for his "global" military campaigns, the latter for having been overthrown by Alexander.

To complicate matters, exegetes had to take into account a fourth Darius: the mysterious Darius the Mede, whom we have already met in Chapter 5. Jerome identifies Darius the Mede as the uncle of Cyrus and, following Josephus,[38] describes him as the son of Astyages.[39] Jerome also reports that the Greeks call this Darius Cyaxeres,[40] which is how Darius the Mede is identified by Theodoret of Cyr (d. ca. 458). Both authors demonstrate awareness of the confusion surrounding the name Darius and try to

dissipate doubts. Theodoret explicitly broaches the question: “We must distinguish between the reign of Darius son of Ahasuerus and that of Darius the Persian.” Jerome goes even further: “We are not to think of that other Darius in the second year of whose reign the temple was built [. . .]; nor are we to think of the Darius who was vanquished by Alexander, the king of the Macedonians.”[41]

Despite these efforts to clarify the matter, confusion persisted. Probably because of the several mentions in the Book of Daniel, the figure of Darius the Mede entered exegetical explanations of the vision in Daniel 8. Jerome identifies the ram exclusively with Darius, the uncle of Cyrus, that is, Darius the Mede. However, the most blatant case of confusion occurs in the Peshitta. As in the case of the he-goat of the prophecy, the Peshitta adds a gloss to shed light on the historical figure behind the obscure character of the ram. In the gloss (which is repeated twice, at vv. 3 and 7) the ram is identified as Darius the Mede. The Peshitta’s identification of Darius the Mede attests to possible confusion between the biblical figure and the Persian king Darius defeated by Alexander. The inclusion of the second gloss in the text of v. 7 seems to confirm this confusion. The inserted words “the ram is Darius the Mede” immediately follow the he-goat’s defeat of the ram. What is certain is that the very presence of a gloss identifying the ram as Darius the Mede endorsed the conflation between the latter and Darius III. This is evident in a passage of Malalas’s *Chronicle*, quoted in the previous chapter, in which we read: “In the fourth year of the reign of Dareios the Mede, son of Assalam, God raised up Alexander [. . .]. He defeated Dareios, emperor of the Persians, the son of Assalam, and captured him, all his empire. . . .”[42] Here Malalas mistakenly identifies the Darius defeated by Alexander as the biblical figure of Darius the Mede.

Some exegetes further complicated the question of the ram’s identity. After identifying the ram as Darius the Mede, Jerome identifies Cyrus as the person represented by one of the two ram’s horns, especially the highest horn.[43]According to Theodoret, the two horns refer to the double nationality, Mede and Persian, of the ram:

> He perceived two horns on the ram because Cyrus was the first to reign over it and transmitted the empire only to his sons; when his son Cambyses died, soothsayers held power for a few months, but shortly afterwards Darius son of Hystaspes, who passed the empire on to his offspring and theirs up to the last Darius, whose empire Alexander the Macedonian took over after slaying him.[44]

In sum, attempts by exegetes to identify the historical person behind the figure of the ram in Daniel 8 have produced contradictory conclusions. Although several commentators identified the ram with some king from the past, of either Median or Persian origins, the exact identity of this king remained open to debate. Much confusion seems to have surrounded figures named Darius. At the same time, some exegetes—Jerome and Theodoret are the only ones recorded, but the list may have been longer—also included a second figure, Cyrus, in their attempts to explore the historical reality behind the ram. As is often the case, uncertainty opens the door to flexibility and sometimes creates room for new, and even surprising, innovations. For instance, when in the mid-seventh century an anonymous Syriac author, now commonly identified as Ps.-Ephrem, wrote his homily *On the End*, he affirmed that the arrival of the sons of Ishmael was occurring "in the name of the ram." In other words, Ps.-Ephrem read the recent Arab territorial expansion into Byzantine provinces through the Danielic vision and made a connection between the Ishmaelites—as he defined them—and the ram.

Although unprecedented—or at least previously unrecorded—Ps.-Ephrem's interpretation of the Danielic prophecy continues the process of reinterpretation of the Daniel texts that had begun in previous centuries. As the reader may recall, the scheme of the four world kingdoms had come to be interpreted in two different ways, with the Persian and the Roman empires alternating in the role of the last world kingdom. Both interpretations circulated side by side, thus further endorsing the uncertainty surrounding the Danielic prophecies. This uncertainty forced the exegetes to speculate over the verses in question. To bring another example from the seventh century, the anonymous author known to scholars as Ps.-Sabeos advanced a new interpretation of the Danielic scheme in which the third slot is allocated to the Huns of Gog and Magog, and the fourth slot is reserved for the kingdom of Ishmael.[45] In a nutshell, few biblical texts were as open to exegetical interpretations as the Danielic texts were. In these circumstances, the connection established by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* between Alexander and the ram of the Danielic vision would not have surprised his contemporaries. For sure, it was an innovation, but an innovation set in the framework of a blurry, and hence fluid, exegetical framework.

At the same time, the association of Alexander with a literary figure who had been identified with ancient Persian rulers would hardly have seemed odd in the cultural context of Late Antiquity. Since Antiquity, Alexander had been associated with a prominent figure of the Persian, Achaemenid heritage: Cyrus the Great. As noted, Procopius presents Alexander and Cyrus as a pair of exemplar monarchs against Justinian's detractors. However, the association between the two figures goes further back in time. Parallels between them were already extant during Alexander's lifetime and were probably encouraged by Alexander himself.[46] Alexander's esteem for Cyrus left a trace in later representations of the Macedonian conqueror, who earned the appellation of φιλόκυρος, coined by Strabo in his *Geography*.[47] At the same time, the association with Cyrus played an important role in the dynastic claims of Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic rulers. It is well known that Mithridates Eupator claimed a double line of descent from Cyrus and Darius I, on his father's side, and from Alexander, on his mother's side. Less known are the assertions made by Mithridates's contemporary, Antiochus I of Commagene (r. 70–38 BCE), who claimed that his paternal and maternal lineages could be traced back to Darius the Great and Alexander, respectively.[48] These examples from the first century BCE give credibility to the information reported by Tacitus (d. 120 CE), according to which the Arsacid King Artabanus II (r. 12–38/40 CE) sought legitimization for his territorial claims by asserting the twofold heritage of both the Achaemenian and the Macedonian empires.[49]

The connection between Cyrus and Alexander appears to have been a common feature of the Roman rhetoric since at least the late Republican period. In a funeral lamentation on the death of Publius Crassus, who died along with his father, the triumvir Marcus Licinius Crassus, in the disastrous battle fought against the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 BCE, Cicero (d. 43 BCE) laments Publius's desire to follow the example of Cyrus and Alexander.[50] This duo of great sovereigns from the past appears to have been a cliché among late antique authors who wished to celebrate current rulers through their comparison with earlier models. For example, in the eulogy to Constantine, Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339 CE) exalts the prominence of the Roman emperor by comparing him to Cyrus and Alexander—together with a series of arguments to prove how Constantine

not only epitomized great leadership, but also prevailed over the two illustrious kings of the past.[51]

However, it is again Christian exegesis that provides us with the most significant elements. For these exegetes, the figure of Alexander explained the obscure prophecy of the four chariots in the sixth book of Zechariah (Zec 6:1–8). Influential Christian hermeneutists like Jerome and Cyril identified Alexander with the third chariot of the prophecy. According to this reading, Alexander's rise immediately follows that of Cyrus the Great, who is represented by the second chariot. According to Cyril's interpretation, Alexander performs the same task performed by Cyrus, that is, to attack and to subjugate the Babylonians in order to punish them for the suffering they brought on the people of Judea. Cyril's interpretation gives us an idea of the kind of speculations that late antique authors could develop around the figures of Cyrus and Alexander, starting from the notion that both sovereigns fulfilled biblical prophecies.

An Association Full of Political Implications

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* lived in a cultural environment that included the complex ideas that shaped Cyril's representation of Cyrus and Alexander as a pair of divinely guided sovereigns. In such a context, the association that he makes between the Macedonian hero and a biblical "character" traditionally understood to represent the power of ancient Persian sovereigns (i.e., the ram) would have been unusual but not absurd. Still unusual, and one wonders why he decided to depart from a more conventional exegesis of the Danielic passage and formulated that unusual association instead. Of course, in his eyes the ram in Daniel 8 must have appeared as an appealing figure through which to read and then reconceptualize the pagan symbols of Zeus-Ammon's ram horns in light of scriptural knowledge. However, this observation alone does not explain why our author draws other parallels with the Persian sovereigns elsewhere in his work. In fact, over the course of the text, our author strengthens this association.

As we will see in the following chapter, in the section of Alexander's prayer that immediately follows the king's statement about the horns he received from God, the author attributes to Alexander the possession of two other precious items—the crown and the throne of the *kosmokrator*—

traditionally associated by Syriac Christians with Cyrus and other Persian sovereigns of the Bible. The connection to these Persian kings is reflected by the way our author adapts to Alexander the motif of the charge of the ram in the Book of Daniel. In the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander marches in a westward direction (unlike the historical Alexander, who attacked Darius's empire from the west). The image of Alexander marching from the east and goring the rival kingdoms with his horns brings to mind the charge of the ram from the east in the Book of Daniel. The hero of the *Neṣḥānā* accomplishes the same deeds that biblical exegetes had traditionally attributed to Darius/Darius the Mede, or to Cyrus. Our author draws an implicit connection between Alexander and these glorious Persian sovereigns when he tells the reader that after defeating Tūbarlaq, the Macedonian became the master of Babylon and Assyria. Alexander's subjugation of Babylon recalls Cyrus's glorious conquest, which, in the Book of Daniel, is incidentally attributed to Darius the Mede, that is, the ram of the Peshitta.[52]

In sum, it appears that the parallel that the author draws between Alexander and the rulers of ancient Persia is not limited to the curious identification of the former with the ram of the Danielic prophecy. At the same time, one should observe that the attribution to Alexander of symbols and deeds otherwise attributed to the kings of ancient Persia correlates with the already observed attempts to dissociate Alexander's archenemy, Tūbarlaq, from those very same rulers. Indeed, the construction of the fictitious character of Tūbarlaq of the house of *ʾḥšwrḥ*, whose patronymic, as noted, is a distortion of the name Ahasuerus (*ʾḥšyrš*), has the effect of denying any connection between the kingdom of Alexander's rival and the ancient Persian rulers of the biblical tradition.

The overall picture described by the Syriac author may at first seem surprising. In anti-Persian polemical discourse, early writers almost never missed the opportunity to depict an ideological scenario in which they juxtaposed the positive *comparatio Alexandri*, applied to Roman emperors, with a negative *comparatio Achaemenidorum*.[53] Each *Alexander redivivus* who appeared on the Roman political scene was regularly provided with an Achaemenid counterpart in Ctesiphon. "Achaemenid programs," that is, the intention to rebuild the Achaemenid Empire, were commonly attributed to Persian sovereigns. Writing about the reigns of Ardashir I (r. 224–242 CE) and Shapur II, Roman historians Herodian (d. 240 CE),[54] Cassius Dio (d.

235 CE),[55] and Ammianus Marcellinus (d. ca. 397 CE)[56] reported that these sovereigns sought to restore the territorial integrity of the empire of their alleged ancestors (i.e., the Achaemenians). The scholarly doubts about the accuracy of these reports are not relevant here.[57] What interests us is how these claims, which were attributed to Sasanian kings, functioned in Roman political discourse. The representation of Persian rulers as pursuers of an Achaemenid revival were indeed functional in the idealized reproduction of the ancestral fight between Alexander and Darius. Roman propaganda spread the idea that the clash between the two rivals was being repeated in a new political context—with the implication that Persia would be defeated once again.

Such an ideological paradigm can be identified in Aphrahat's anti-Sasanian exegesis of the Danielic prophecies. As seen, Aphrahat presents Shapur as a reincarnation of the ram in the prophecy. The rationale behind this association is the creation of a meta-historical reality in which the ram represents both past and present Persian dynasties. Aphrahat's aim was to spread the message that just as the ram was once defeated by the he-goat, Alexander, it will be vanquished again by the fourth beast, Rome. The triptych association of "ram/Darius–ram/Shapur–Darius/Shapur" contributes to Aphrahat's elaboration of a complex scenario in which the ram stands for a meta-historical entity engaged in a perpetual struggle with the political powers from the west, the he-goat, Alexander, and the mighty fourth beast, Rome. Through his peculiar reading of the prophecy, Aphrahat expresses his hope that in the near future Shapur will be defeated by a Roman emperor, just as Darius was defeated by Alexander in the past.

Why does the author of *Neṣḥānā* dissociate Tūbarlaq from the ram of the Danielic prophecy, thus missing the opportunity to produce a powerful hermeneutic like the one elaborated by Aphrahat? And why does he attribute the emblem of the ram horns—together with other symbols of royalty commonly associated with Persians kings (see next chapter)—to Alexander instead? The explanation, I believe, is found once more in the contemporaneous political context.

It is reported that in December 543 (or January 544) the *catholicos* Mār Abā summoned a synod in Ctesiphon. In his opening blessing dedicated to Khosrow, Abā hailed Khosrow as a second Cyrus and portrayed him as a blessed sovereign inspired by the Messiah—something that brings to mind the representation of Cyrus as anointed king in the Bible (Isa 45:1).[58] Abā

probably was not simply trying to obtain royal benevolence. The reign of Khosrow Anōshirvān witnessed the increasing influence of Christians at the Sasanian court and a growing intimacy between the *catholicoi* and the shah. Abā was particularly close to Khosrow, with whom he reportedly collaborated, to the point of providing his assistance to suppress the revolt of Christians in Gundeshapur, led by Khosrow's Christian son Anōshazād.[59] One wonders whether the words with which Abā opened the synod are related to Sasanian court propaganda.

The question is difficult to answer. We know very little about the Sasanians' level of awareness of ancient Persian history, and Cyrus is nowhere mentioned in Middle Persian sources.[60] Surely, however, Khosrow did not lack opportunities to acquire information from his Jewish and Christian subjects about the memory of a king like Cyrus who plays such a prominent role in the biblical tradition. And one imagines that even if he had only a vague understanding of the implications of the comparison made by Abā, Khosrow would have welcomed the *catholicos*' attempt to revive the memory of Cyrus to address the specific environment of Persian Christians. This kind of exercise may have been futile among Zoroastrian subjects, who most likely ignored the figure of Cyrus, but would have been extremely useful to secure the loyalty of Christian subjects. Exalting Khosrow as a second Cyrus might also dispel the currency among Eastern Christians of negative comparisons with the Achaemenians, of the kind elaborated two centuries earlier by Aphrahat. It is possible that in Abā's days, Christian dissidents in the Sasanian Empire—like those who participated in the Gundeshapur revolt—understood the downfall of the ram described in Daniel 8 as an encouraging precedent for a collapse of a Persian dynasty. By making a comparison between the current ruler and a more positive figure from the Achaemenid past, also present in the scripture, Abā may have wanted to imply that Khosrow would repeat the glorious deeds of Cyrus—the righteous Persian king of the Bible—not the catastrophic fall of Darius III—the ram.

Be that as it may, the powerful image of Khosrow as a second Cyrus elaborated by Abā crossed the borders of the Sasanian kingdom. Rumors about Abā's pro-Sasanian propaganda likely reached the ears of the Byzantine emperor, who launched a campaign of counterpropaganda. Indeed, during Justinian's reign we witness unprecedented attempts by imperial publicists to associate the figure of the Roman emperor with that

of the glorious Achaemenid king—something that appears as a personal competition with the Sasanian sovereign. As seen, in his *Histories* Procopius makes a direct comparison between Justinian and Cyrus (and Alexander). The Byzantine historian repeats the comparison in *The Buildings*, where, however, he diminishes the achievements of Cyrus to exalt those of Justinian: "If one should examine his reign [i.e., that of Justinian] with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child's play."[61]

Procopius was not the only one in Byzantine society to make parallels between Justinian and the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty. Another witness to this propaganda is found in the afore-mentioned *Anthology of Planudes* and, in particular, in one of the two epigrams originally engraved on the equestrian statue of Justinian erected in the hippodrome of Constantinople—probably to celebrate the victorious battle of Dara of 530. The second epigram, which refers to the "bronze from the Assyrian spoils" and the "Babylon destroyed," merits our attention. The image signals a great victory over the Sasanians. Of course, Justinian's armies never penetrated Sasanian territory far enough to reach Babylon. The phrase "Babylon destroyed" in the epigram evokes in the mind of the reader another glorious historical event, i.e., Cyrus's eradication of the Babylonian Empire.[62] Justinian thereby emerges as a Cyrus *redivivus*, legitimate successor of the forefather of the Achaemenid dynasty that was inherited by the Sasanians, according to Roman political discourse.[63] Referring to the epigram in the *Anthology of Planudes*, Canepa observes: "there is a subtle irony in the portrayal of Justinian as a 'New-Cyrus' in his destruction of Babylon, given the Nestorian hierarchy's acclamation of Kosrow I with this title."[64] But it was more than ironic; it was political. This kind of propaganda was most likely aimed at Christians living under Sasanian rule and had as its ultimate goal to claim the fidelity of the Church of the East to the Christian emperor.[65] By representing the Roman emperor as Cyrus *redivivus*, propagandists implied that Justinian would free Eastern Christians from the Sasanian yoke, just as the Achaemenid king had rescued the Jews from Babylonian captivity.

After Justinian's death, Roman intellectuals continued to rebut encomiastic parallels between Khosrow and the dynasts of ancient Persia. Agathias, for instance, compares Khosrow to Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes,

claiming, surprisingly, that the former's military achievements were greater than the latter.[66] The praise, however, immediately reveals its real intent. Despite his glory, Agathias observes, Khosrow suffered an ignominious end through a mortal disease that followed his unsuccessful war against Maurice in the last years of his reign.[67] Here, Agathias suggests that a man's success should be evaluated only after his death, a possible allusion to Croesus, the king of Lydia, who was thought to be the happiest and most successful of men until he was defeated by none other than Cyrus.[68] In Agathias's eyes, then, more than Cyrus-like, Khosrow was a Croesus-like character. Moreover, the attentive observer will note that Agathias places special emphasis on the parallels with Xerxes, who—unlike Cyrus and Darius, both identified only by their patronymic—is described as the one "who opened up the seas to cavalry and the mountains to shipping."[69] In this case, the comparison with Khosrow has the malicious and not so hidden agenda of evoking in the mind of the reader the memory of Xerxes's defeat in the war against the Greek *poleis*.

Together with the attribution to Alexander of deeds and symbols commonly associated with the Persian kings of the Bible, these propagandistic skirmishes provide us with a better understanding of the curious identification of Alexander with the ram of the Danielic prophecy made by the author of the *Neṣḥānā*. The appropriation of the legacy of eminent Persian biblical figures is not unlike what Roman propagandists were doing when drawing comparisons between Justinian and Cyrus.[70] Like Justinian's propagandists, the author produces the image of a king who can compete with Khosrow in appealing to Eastern Christians. He opposes the image of Alexander as an anointed king to that of Khosrow, as portrayed by the authorities of the Church of the East. Alexander emerges as the only legitimate, divinely inspired king to whom Christians in Persian territory should pay their allegiance. By contrast, the author portrays Khosrow, through the parodistic figure of Tūbarlaq, as an ignominious king who has no share in the glory of the Persian kings celebrated by the biblical tradition. This glory—our author suggests—belongs to Alexander, the subjugator of Babylon, the bearer of the ram horns of the Danielic prophecy,[71] and, as we will soon discover, the one king who sits on the throne of the *kosmokrator* that once belonged to Cyrus, and the one king

who wears a crown that once belonged to Nimrod, putative ancestor of the Sasanian dynasty.

10

The Crown, the Throne, and the Last Roman Emperor

In the final part of his prayer, Alexander addresses the following words to God:

> Your remembrance will stay forever and ever. I will write your name, oh God, on the papers of my kingdom so that there may be always a memorial for you. And if the Messiah, who is the son of God, comes during my days, I will bow in front of him, me and my troops. And if he does not come during my days, once I will have gone and defeated kings and seized their lands, I will bring and set in Jerusalem this throne that is a chair of silver on which I sit. And when the Messiah comes from heaven he will sit on my throne, because his kingdom will stand forever. And seven hundred pounds of gold will be the gift put before the Messiah at his arrival. And whether I die in one of the regions of the world or here in Alexandria, the crown of my kingdom will be taken and lifted upon the throne, which I offer to the Messiah.[1]

The final part of Alexander's prayer in the *Neṣḥānā* clearly shares thematic features with the story of the Last Roman Emperor, whose earliest recorded versions are to be found in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* and in the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*.[2] In the *Sibyl* we read that when the Antichrist arises and the people of Gog and Magog who had been restrained by Alexander are released, a Roman king will gather an army and wage a successful war on the impious nation. Then "he will come to Jerusalem and deposit there the diadem from his head and all royal garments; He will surrender the kingdom of the Christians to God the Father and to his Son Jesus Christ."[3] The scene is more elaborate in the *Ps.-Methodius*. Here, at the moment of the release of the people confined in the North and at the appearance of the Antichrist, the Roman emperor will perform a complex ritual and hand over his kingdom to the Messiah:

> The king of the Greeks shall go up and stand on Golgotha and the holy cross shall be placed on that spot where it had been fixed when it bore Christ. The king of the Greeks shall place his crown on the top of the holy cross, stretch out his two hands towards heaven, and hand over the kingdom to God the Father. And the holy cross upon which Christ was crucified will be raised up to heaven, together with the royal crown [. . .]. And the moment the holy cross is raised up to heaven, and the king of the Greeks yields up his soul to his Creator, then all rule, sovereignty and power will be rendered void.[4]

Note the clear similarities between the story of the Last Emperor and Alexander's grandiose proclamations in the *Neṣḥānā*. In both traditions we read that the king will depose the symbol of his royal power—a crown or a diadem. And in both traditions a Roman king hands over his kingdom to God and his Messiah. In the *Neṣḥānā*, we discern only the outline of the Last Emperor theme, but it is clear that at some point a Roman king will welcome Jesus and let him sit on Alexander's royal throne. Note also that all three texts, the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, *Ps.-Methodius*, and the *Neṣḥānā*, feature traditions about both the confined nations and the Last Emperor. Already in their earliest recorded versions, the two traditions were related to one another.

Establishing the relationship between Alexander's prayer in the *Neṣḥānā* and the story of the Last Emperor in the *Sibyl* and the *Ps.-Methodius* is not an easy task. The task is complicated by the animated scholarly debate over which of the two sources antedates and thus influenced the other. There are three principal positions. According to the first position, the primitive episode of the Last Emperor is the one found in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, which was composed in the late fourth century and, in the second half of the seventh century, was picked up by Ps.-Methodius.[5] The second position maintains that the *Tiburtine Sibyl* inspired the *Ps.-Methodius* but contends that the story of the Last Emperor was composed shortly after Heraclius's victories over the Sasanians, during the reign of his grandson Constans II (r. 641–668).[6] The third position reverses the relationship between the *Sibyl* and *Ps.-Methodius*, suggesting that the former depends on the latter.[7]

This debate bears on our understanding of the position of the *Neṣḥānā* vis-à-vis the development of the Last Emperor motif. While scholars seem to agree that the *Neṣḥānā* influenced—directly or indirectly—Ps-Methodius,[8] there is less agreement about the dating of the *Sibyl* and its relationship to the *Neṣḥānā*. Whereas Podestà regards the Last Emperor episode in the *Sibyl* as directly inspired by the *Neṣḥānā*,[9] Shoemaker argues

that Alexander's prayer in the *Neṣḥānā* echoes the Last Emperor story in the *Sibyl*.[10] The whole matter is further complicated by disagreements about the relationship between the Last Emperor story and Heraclius's restitution of the True Cross. Did the story inspire the emperor's actions or the other way around? The episode about Alexander's throne in the *Neṣḥānā* has little in common with Heraclius's restoration of the holy relic.[11] However, one may turn the question on its head and ask whether the *Neṣḥānā* is an early witness to a story that inspired Heraclius's ceremonial return of the Cross. All these questions merit a detailed study, perhaps even an entire monograph. In the present context, I will stay as far as possible from the debate over the development of the Last Emperor legend. By focusing on the motif of Alexander's crown in the *Neṣḥānā*, I will try to explain its ideological significance in the context of sixth-century Roman-Persian antagonism.

The Crown

Crowns hanging in holy places was an important ritual practice in late antique culture. Shoemaker draws attention to two meaningful sixth-century examples of this custom. The first concerns the Axumite king Kaleb who, in the first half of the sixth century, reportedly sent his royal crown to be hung in the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem as part of the ceremony of his abdication from the throne of Ethiopia. The second example is that of an anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza who, in the late sixth century, visited Jerusalem, where he saw several royal crowns hung in the Holy Sepulcher (one wonders if Kaleb's crown was one of them).[12] The practice of hanging royal crowns in sacred areas, especially in Jerusalem, surely represents one of the elements that lay behind the scene described in Alexander's prayer. At the same time, the wider literary context provides us with additional elements.

The motif of the crown over the throne brings to mind the crown hung upon the cross in the *Ps.-Methodius*.[13] In both texts, the surrender of the crown and its symbolic hanging is the act that sanctions the delivery of power to God and his Messiah. Scholars have related the scene of the deposition of the crown in the *Ps.-Methodius* to a passage in the *Julian Romance*.[14] At the moment of his coronation, Jovian initially refuses the

crown previously worn by the pagan Julian. He then performs a ritual purification. He instructs his soldiers to put the crown on the top of the cross that accompanied the Roman army.[15] He prostrates in front of the cross (his soldiers prostrate as well) and, after praying to God, the crown miraculously descends on his head with no human hand touching it.[16] The similarity between this passage of the *Julian Romance* and the *Ps.-Methodius* may be extended by analogy to the surrender of the crown in the *Neṣḥānā*. Notwithstanding the difference between the object upon which the crown is suspended, the analogy between the acts performed by Alexander and Jovian is meaningful and is heightened by the commonality of the prayers recited by the two sovereigns at the moment of their surrender/refusal of the crown. And yet, when compared, the scene of Alexander's prayer in the *Neṣḥānā* and of Jovian's coronation in the *Julian Romance* display a lexical difference regarding the common element of the lifted crown. Whereas in the *Romance* the crown is referred to as *klīlā*, in the *Neṣḥānā* it is designated as *tāgā*. The fact that the word *tāgā* also occurs in the scene of the deposition of the crown in the *Ps.-Methodius* may undermine Reinink's claim that the *Julian Romance* and the *Ps.-Methodius* use exactly the same language.[17]

The lexical differences are not negligible and may have a deeper ideological significance. *Tāgā* is an interesting term. It is borrowed from the Middle Persian *tāg*[18] and occurs several times in the *Julian Romance*, but with a meaning quite different from *klīlā*. The Syriac author appears to attribute a different scale of value to the two words. *Klīlā* signifies a crown as an object. This object must be purified not only because it was worn by the idolatrous Julian, but also because of its fabrication. The *Julian Romance* relates the polemical story of a group of Jews who attracted the benevolence of the impious emperor by offering him a *klīlā* bearing the image of seven idols.[19] At the moment of the coronation, Jovian exclaims, referring to this abominable effigy: "Far be it from me, that the crown of the pagan who worshipped idols in it should be placed upon my head before it is placed on top of the cross."[20]

Unlike *klīlā*, in the *Romance* *tāgā* often signifies royal authority. Examples of this usage in the Syriac work are the following: Julian shouts: "our royal crown has been insulted, and the gods were blasphemed";[21] the people of Edessa write to Julian: "The king of our city [i.e., Jesus], the one

to whose crown all crowns of creation are subjugated, dwells within its walls";[22] and, more importantly, Jovian prays to God during his coronation ceremony: "Your Divinity called me to the imperial crown while I was unworthy."[23] In this last example there is a clear distinction between the crown as an object that Jovian is about to receive after its purification (*klīlā*), and the crown as a symbol of imperial authority (*tāgā*). This distinction is also articulated by the Sasanian king Shapur, who first refers to Jovian as the one who inherited Julian's *tāgā* and the throne,[24] and later during their encounter, tells Jovian to wear the *klīlā* that he had removed from his head as a sign of humility.[25]

The *Julian Romance* uses *tāgā* systematically as a reference to the Sasanian crown. "May your crown be set upon your head!"[26] the nobles and chiefs of Persia say to Shapur. "If you do not have the strength to fight a war with us, throw down your weapon and bow to our crown,"[27] Shapur challenges Julian through his ambassador. But the most interesting occurrences of *tāgā* as a designation of the Sasanian crown appear as part of a tradition that makes the Sasanians the descendants of Nimrod. In the *Julian Romance*, Sasanian territory is repeatedly described as the Land of Nimrod,[28] and the Sasanian dynasty as the House of Nimrod.[29] After initial successes in his war against Shapur, a vainglorious Julian tells his soldiers, "Who will not call you heroes? The exalted race of the House of Nimrod was vanquished before you."[30] These initial successes seem to confirm the assurance given by the demons to Julian at the beginning of the march into Sasanian territory, according to which he "would have dominion over all of the empires of the world from heaven downwards, and he alone would be the ruler of the world, that is to say, when he had destroyed and won a victory in Persia and put the crown of the House of Nimrod [*tgʾ d-byt nmrwd*]."[31]

Elsewhere in the work, Shapur refers to the *tāgā* of Nimrod. As the heir of the mythical king, the Persian sovereign proudly refers to a tradition according to which Nimrod received his crown from heaven. In the passage of the *Romance* in which he predicts the coronation of Jovian by means of astrology,[32] Shapur explains to the future Roman emperor that the teaching of the art of divination "is from on high, and it was given with its sacrifices and mercy to the House of Nimrod. When he received the crown with this

revelation from heaven by this heavenly wisdom which the God of heaven has deemed fitting for Our Majesty."[33] Shapur also refers to the heavenly origins of the Sasanian crown in a letter sent to the Romans between Julian's defeat and Jovian's coronation: "You should know that in the hour of your destruction, you have cast scorn upon a great race, even upon a divine kingdom which received a crown from heaven."[34]

References in the *Julian Romance* to Nimrod's *tāgā* are part of a larger tradition common to several contemporary (i.e., sixth-century) Syriac sources. In his *Homily on the Star That Appeared to the Magi*, Jacob of Serugh (d. 521 CE) refers to the crown of Nimrod (*tgh d-nmrwd*) in reference to the Persian Magi.[35] More complex is the scenario described in the *Cave of Treasures*, a work composed by an anonymous Eastern Christian author living in the Sasanian Empire.[36] Here the ideological link between Nimrod—described as the first king on earth[37]—and the Sasanian dynasty is highlighted by the presence in the story of Nimrod's weaver, who bears no other name than Sasan.[38] The episode is related as follows: "[Nimrod] saw the miracle of a crown [*klyl*] in heaven. So he called Sasan the weaver who weaved one like the one [he had seen] and he[39] put it on his head. Because of that they say that the crown [*tg'*] descended upon him from heaven."[40]

According to Bonura, these Syriac traditions seem to echo actual Sasanian claims to have received their crowns from the Zoroastrian God Ahura Mazda, and likely represent a Christian understanding of these claims.[41] Bonura argues that the deposition of the crown in the *Ps.-Methodius* brings to mind these stories about Nimrod's crown, with the aim of proving that the kingship of the first cosmocratic ruler, Nimrod, passed through several different empires—the four Danielic kingdoms—until falling into the hands of the Romans, who would eventually return it to Christ. The crown that descended from heaven on the head of the first king would return to heaven, together with the cross on which the Last Emperor will place it.[42] This view is strengthen by Ps.-Methodius's use of the term *tāgā* instead of *klīlā*. As I will now illustrate, this complex symbolism and ideology are also at play in the *Neṣḥānā*. In fact, the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* articulates the transmission of cosmocratic rulership from one kingdom to another in the same manner as the author of the *Neṣḥānā* did,

long before the fall of the Sasanian Empire. This becomes evident when attention is focused on the second main element of Alexander’s surrender of the crown in the *Neṣḥānā*, that is, the throne. It is upon this throne—the reader will recall—that Alexander promises to have his *tāgā* lifted after his death.

The Throne

In the *Neṣḥānā*, Alexander’s throne is referred to as *kursyā* and *qatedrā*. In the prayer, Alexander explains that his royal *kursyā* is a *qatedrā* of silver. The two terms appear to be synonyms, and at the end of the *Neṣḥānā* the author refers to Alexander’s throne as a royal *kursyā* of silver. It is only with the term *qatedrā*, however, that the throne is referred to in relation to the motif of a crown suspended upon it. *Qatedrā* is a loanword from the Greek καθέδρα and is extremely rare in sources. To the best of my knowledge, it appears in only one source besides the *Neṣḥānā*, in a Life of Saint Irene included in the hagiographic collection edited by Agnes Lewis and Margaret Gibson.[43] The way in which *qatedrā* is used in this text, however, does not provide a close parallel to its use in the *Neṣḥānā*. To find a closer term of comparison, we must look to Jewish rabbinical literature.

The word קתדרא (*qtdrʾ*) is documented in Palestinian Aramaic, and it occurs in the late antique collection of *midrashim* entitled *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, where we find קתדרא דמשה (*qtdrʾ d-mšh*), “the seat of Moses.”[44] The phrase “the seat of Moses” also occurs in Matthew 23:2, which states that scribes and Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses (ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας).[45] In Late Antiquity, the seat of Moses probably signified a seat upon which the head of a Jewish congregation would sit.[46] What is more relevant for us is the context in which the phrase *qtdrʾ d-mšh* is used in the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*. In one statement attributed to the fourth-century Palestinian rabbi Aha, the seat of Moses is referred to while explaining the throne of Solomon mentioned in 1 Kings 10:19: “ ‘And the top of the throne was round behind’ means, according to R. Aha, that the throne resembled the seat of Moses.”[47] These words suggest that the seat of Moses must have been an element of sacred architecture sufficiently familiar to serve as a term of comparison and to provide the reader with a familiar image that could help to shape in her/his mind the iconography of the throne of

Solomon mentioned in the Bible. What is more interesting for our analysis, however, are the subsequent words in the statement attributed to rabbi Aha.

"How was the throne decorated?"—the text continues—"A golden scepter was suspended behind it, and on top of the scepter was a dove. In the dove's mouth there was a crown of gold, and when the king sat under it on the seat of the throne, the crown all but touched his head."[48]

The description of the throne of Solomon in the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* is remarkably similar to that of Alexander's throne in the *Neṣḥānā*. Both texts use the same word, *qatedrā*, to signify a seat made of a precious metal—gold in the case of Solomon, silver in that of Alexander. In both texts, a crown is suspended upon the throne. The language and "iconography" leave no doubt that the author drew upon the same imagery that lies behind the *midrashim* on Solomon's throne.[49] But to what end does the author of the *Neṣḥānā* point to a connection between the thrones of Alexander and Solomon? What other meaningful elements in the traditions associated with the throne of Solomon help us to elucidate the rationale behind the description of Alexander's throne in the *Neṣḥānā*?

Two of the frescos found in the synagogue of Dura-Europos, the frontier city on the bank of the Euphrates, on the Roman-Parthian border, represent a sovereign enthroned. The two thrones are identical, while the two kings differ. One is Solomon, the other Ahasuerus. Why this curious couple? In *Esther Rabbah*, a *midrash* on the Book of Esther,[50] Ahasuerus is not allowed to sit on Solomon's throne because only a universal ruler, a *kosmokrator*, has that privilege. Ahasuerus had to content himself with sitting on a copy of that throne.[51] The *midrash* also mentions two *kosmokrator*s who were allowed to sit on that throne, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus.[52] But what were these two sovereigns doing on Solomon's throne? How did they gain access to this precious object? The *midrash* also answers this question. When Solomon died, his throne was captured by the Egyptian pharaoh Shishak, who later lost it to the Ethiopian king Zeraḥ. The throne was subsequently returned to its homeland by the king of Judah, Asa, and it was taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the sack of Jerusalem. The throne was later taken to Media, to Greece, and finally to Rome (Edom), where Rabbi Elezar b. Yose reportedly saw fragments of it.[53]

The *midrash* implies that the throne ultimately fell into the hands of a Roman emperor. A related tradition preserved in the *Targum Sheni* reports

that Alexander took possession of Solomon's throne and brought it to Egypt. The chronology in this tradition is clearly confused, as Alexander is identified as the owner of the throne immediately after Nebuchadnezzar and before the Pharaoh Shishak, who is followed by Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus, and by Cyrus the Great. The *Targum* replicates the motif expressed in *Esther Rabbah* about the unworthiness of some rulers to sit on the precious throne. When Shishak tried to sit upon it, one of the golden lions on the throne bit his left foot and reduced him to a cripple. Epiphanes could not sit on the throne either, since none of the goldsmiths he had hired could repair one of the legs of the throne that was broken. The honor of sitting on the throne, by contrast, was reserved for Cyrus as a reward of his efforts to rebuild the Temple. Curiously, the text does not say anything about Alexander's ability or inability to sit on the throne. One wonders if, in related traditions that were not transmitted to us, the Macedonian was also allowed to sit on the throne due to his status as *kosmokrator*.[54]

The peregrinations of Solomon's throne in these traditions clearly appear to represent the transmission of universal kingship from one kingdom to another. The stories in *Esther Rabbah* and *Targum Sheni* lack any eschatological connotation. However, it is not unreasonable to assume that a similar understanding may have surrounded the motif of the wandering throne, as other *midrashim* set the concept of the *translatio imperii* into an eschatological framework. The so-called *Midrash of the Ten Kings* lists a series of kings who allegedly ruled over the entire world. In what appears to be the most ancient version, reported in *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, the list is as follows: God, Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, the king Messiah, God.[55] The list is based on a cyclical understanding of sacred history in which different sovereigns assumed the title of *kosmokrator*, with God as the first and the last ruler, to whom universal kingship ostensibly will be returned by the ninth ruler, the Messiah. The *Midrash* does not mention a wandering throne inherited by the *kosmokrator*, but it is possible that in the larger semiotic universe to which these traditions belong, the idea that the throne would serve as a seat for the final universal ruler may have been current. A fresco at Dura-Europos that portrays an empty throne surrounded by eschatological symbols corroborates this idea—although, to the best of my knowledge, the possibility that this throne corresponds to that of Solomon in the other frescoes has not been explored by art historians.[56] Be that as it may, the idea

that the throne of the *kosmokrator* would be the seat upon which the Messiah will sit upon his return is clearly expressed in the *Neṣḥānā*. Before addressing this point, one more element is worthy of attention.

Ory Amitay dates the composition of the ten kings list in the *Midrash of the Ten Kings* to the period between the reign of Alexander (336–323 BCE) and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE.[57] The frescoes at Dura-Europos indicate that the tradition of Ahasuerus sitting on Solomon's throne was in circulation by the mid-third century—the city was abandoned after it was sacked by the Sasanians in 256—while the story of the wandering throne in *Esther Rabbah* may date to the sixth century.[58] As for *Targum Sheni*, the prevailing consensus dates the text to the late Byzantine or early Islamic period.[59] In any case, traditions about Solomon's throne must have been current at the time when the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was writing. But were these traditions known outside the circles of Jewish intellectuals? As a matter of fact, yes.

The story of the wandering throne is mentioned in Syriac sources. According to *Apocalypse of Daniel*, the prophet Daniel informed King Cyrus about the booty that Nebuchadnezzar brought to Babylon from Jerusalem. Among the precious items, particular attention is paid to the golden throne (*trwnws*) on which Solomon used to sit. After Cyrus sacked Babylon, the throne was brought to Persia and Elam. The man who murdered Cyrus, Germath the Magus, sat on the throne, and after his short-lived reign, the new king, Darius, astonished by the beauty of the throne, forced Daniel to show him where the rest of treasure brought by Cyrus from Babylon was hidden.[60] This is the last time that we hear about the throne in the *Apocalypse*, and nothing is said about its future destiny, probably due to the narrative framework of the story, which concludes with the reign of Darius. It is significant, however, that in the *Apocalypse of Daniel* the motif of the wandering throne is directly associated with the prophetical figure, Daniel, who discloses the mysteries of the succession of the four world kingdoms. The passage of the Solomon's throne from Nebuchadnezzar's to Cyrus's hands reflects the passage of universal kingship from the Babylonians to the Persians, which appears in all interpretations of the Danielic schema. Even if the *Apocalypse of Daniel* does not identify the next ruler who will take possession of the wandering throne, the reader can

easily complete the sequence. The next *kosmokrator*, according to the Danielic prophecies, will be Alexander.

The *Apocalypse of Daniel* indicates that circulation of the story of the wandering throne was not confined to Jewish circles. Yet, the dating of the text is problematic. One cannot trust overly simplistic manners in which its last editor established a *terminus post quem* of ca. 630s,[61] and its composition might be slightly earlier. It is likely, however, that the *Apocalypse* postdates the *Neṣḥānā*, as the episode of the gate erected against Gog and Magog—mentioned in the text—in all probability originated with the *Neṣḥānā* itself. Be that as it may, the *Apocalypse* demonstrates that during Late Antiquity the story of Solomon's throne was current among Syriac-speakers and, more importantly, that it was set in the context of apocalyptic traditions surrounding the prophet Daniel. The author of the *Neṣḥānā* arguably was familiar with this literary motif. Although the text does not refer to Solomon, the language and imagery used by the author to describe Alexander's throne strongly suggest that he was alluding to the throne of the mythical biblical king. The complex of late antique traditions that imply that the throne at some point fell into Alexander's hands supports this reading. Moreover, the statement in the *Neṣḥānā* that after Alexander died the throne was sent from Alexandria to Jerusalem is consistent with Jewish traditions, like the one preserved in the *Targum Sheni*, indicating that Solomon's throne was brought to Egypt by Alexander. But if our author is in fact referring to the wandering throne—our pending question—why did he do so?

The author of the *Neṣḥānā* places the scene of Alexander's throne in a semiotic universe that evokes the idea that universal kingship belongs to the Roman Empire. To this same semiotic universe belongs the motif of Alexander's royal crown, which carries the same ideological connotation. Like the throne upon which it is lifted, the crown signifies that over the course of human history, cosmocratic rulership passed through different kingdoms until reaching its final recipient: the Roman Empire. Alexander's ownership of both the throne and the crown is the proof of this axiomatic reading of sacred history. At the same time, the ideas evoked by this symbolic universe acquire a specific connotation in the context of sixth-century political debate and in light of the author's anti-Sasanian agenda. The idea of the *translatio imperii* underlying the motif of the wandering throne and crown emphasizes the transition of universal kingship from the

Persians to the Romans. The author uses two literary elements that his Christian readers would have understood as symbols of the cosmocratic sovereignty that had belonged to the Persian kingdom. Alexander's current possession of these two precious effigies of power demonstrates that the reign of the Persians has come to an end.[62]

By referring to the crown and the throne, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* hints at the fact that the right to rule over the world had been transferred from the Persians to the Romans. These political claims are made in the context of the broader role that our author believes the Greco-Roman kingdom was destined to play in sacred history. As in the eschatological scenario described by Aphrahat in the fourth century, the author emphasizes that Alexander's conquests of the other worldly kingdoms are not acts of human ambition, but rather acts that glorify the name of God, to whom the blessed empire will remit its power at the end of times. The throne left vacant by the pious king seals his promise—binding any future Roman king—to renounce his throne of universal kingship. This universal kingship will not pass to any other kingdom before the completion of sacred history. No other ruler after Alexander will sit upon the throne with the royal crown suspended over his head. Only with the coming of the Messiah will that vacant throne be occupied again. The Roman Empire is the last cosmocratic kingdom of world history.

In the *Neṣḥānā*, we find an explicit formulation of an idea that can only be glimpsed in earlier traditions and in the frescoes at Dura-Europos, that is, that the throne of universal rulership, transmitted from one *kosmokrator* to another, is also the throne upon which the Messiah will sit upon his arrival. This idea may have awakened in the readers' minds the iconography of the *hetoimasia* (ἑτοιμασία), the empty throne prepared to welcome Jesus's return. These figural representations are documented from the fourth century onward; beginning in the eleventh century, the motif was increasingly inserted in representations of the Final Judgment.[63] There is an ongoing debate among scholars about whether early representations of empty thrones carry an eschatological connotation.[64] Those scholars who reject the eschatological valence of the empty thrones emphasize that no sources provide textual support for the eschatological interpretation.[65] This debate goes beyond the scope of the present study and my scholarly competences. However, I suggest that the vacant throne in the *Neṣḥānā* is

an important textual witness to the *hetoimasia*, and it supports the hypothesis that the empty throne had acquired eschatological valence from at least as early as the sixth century.

In much the same way, the *Neṣḥānā* is an early witness to another motif that became popular in later Byzantine religious-imperial discourse, that is, the Last Emperor's deposition of the regalia. Untangling the origins and the development of this complex tradition is beyond the parameters of this study. However, some comments are in order. While acknowledging the influence of the *Neṣḥānā* on the *Ps.-Methodius*, scholars have underestimated the impact of Alexander's deposition of the crown on the related episode in the *Ps.-Methodius*. Indeed, the scene described in the *Neṣḥānā* is a better parallel to the scene described by Ps.-Methodius than Jovian's hanging of the crown in the *Julian Romance*. Of course, the Jovian episode must be taken into account, insofar as Ps.-Methodius (and, possibly, even the author of the *Neṣḥānā*) was familiar with this text. The hanging of the royal crown on the cross (instead of the throne) in the *Romance* closely resembles the situation described in the *Ps.-Methodius* and suggests that the Jovian episode played a role in the elaboration of the complex scenario depicted by Ps.-Methodius. At the same time, however, Jovian's hanging of the crown over the cross is an act of purification that has little to do with the surrender of the effigies of cosmocratic rulership. By contrast, Alexander's delivery of his royal crown serves exactly the same function as in the *Ps.-Methodius*, that is, to symbolize the transmission of power from the Roman ruler to the Messiah. Like the *Neṣḥānā*, the *Ps.-Methodius* uses the term *tāgā* to designate the crown that is surrendered. This detail emphasizes the ideology, common to the two texts, about the transmission of cosmocratic kingship from the last kingdom to the Messiah.

But why in the *Ps.-Methodius* is the throne replaced by the cross as the object over which the crown is lifted? First, within the symbolical conceptualization of the transmission of universal kingship, the motif of the crown over the throne appears to antedate that of the crown over the cross. As noted, the throne is a main element in the elaboration of the idea that the last king of the last earthly kingdom will surrender his power to the Messiah. Apparently, the motif of the cross entered this conceptual universe at a later point in time. But why? And when? A plausible explanation is that the replacement of the throne by the cross in the scene described by Ps.-Methodius was inspired by Heraclius's restoration of the True Cross.

Writing at a time when the new Arab Empire was establishing its presence in Jerusalem through monumental constructions on the site of the holy places, Ps.-Methodius invoked the memory of Heraclius's glorious deeds. The presence in the *Julian Romance* of a scene, which is similar to the one described in the *Neṣḥānā*, but which features a cross instead of a throne, may have inspired Ps.-Methodius's readaptation of the episode of the crown raised over the throne.

A final consideration concerns the general relationship between Alexander's crown and throne in the *Neṣḥānā* and the Last Emperor tradition. As noted, the Last Emperor motif is only sketched in the *Neṣḥānā*. In the text, Alexander does not assume the role of the Last Emperor—although he appears willing to play the role: "And if the Messiah, who is the son of God, comes during my days, I will bow in front of him," the king states in his prayer. With his vow, Alexander binds subsequent Roman emperors to having their crown hung over the throne that he left vacant in Jerusalem and to keep his promise to let the Messiah sit upon that throne and beneath those crowns at the moment of his arrival. The text implies that the moment will come when a Roman king, the last Roman king, will hand over his power to the Messiah. Thus, even if the Last Emperor motif is not fully developed in the *Neṣḥānā*, it is already present in the text. It is hard to determine if the author was referring to traditions that already featured the story of the Last Emperor, or was creating a new idea of his own. In my opinion, either hypothesis is valid, as I do not find convincing the argument that the Last Emperor legend was current since the fourth century. In the absence of a solid consensus on this question, the *Neṣḥānā* presents the earliest recorded version of this legend, albeit only in an embryonic stage.

Conclusion

In this book I have argued that the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* was composed sometime during the second and the third quarter of the sixth century. The political scenario behind the Syriac work is the long series of conflicts between the two superpowers of the time, the Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Empire. The wars affected, inter alia, northern Mesopotamia and Roman Armenia, the likely homeland of the Syriac author, as is reflected in the geopolitical interests he manifested in his work. As seen, conspicuous sections of the narrative in the *Neṣḥānā*, and arguably its most salient episodes, take place in the area between the Upper Tigris region and the western Caucasus. In fact, the author uses the Alexander story to address some thorny political issues that concerned those contested territories. Prominent on the author's agenda were the dispute over the kingdom of Lazica, and Sasanian demands that the Romans contribute to the maintenance of Persian fortifications in the Caucasus against the incursions of nomads from Central Asia. The author uses the theme of Alexander's gate, and the motif of the blacksmiths hired in Egypt, to address these issues. He has the Egyptian blacksmiths settle in the territory allocated to them by Alexander, and pay customs duty to the latter, in order to support Byzantium's claim to Lazica as its sphere of influence. Similarly, by having Alexander erect a gate against the Huns, the author rebuts Sasanian claims to be the defenders of sedentary populations against the bellicose nomads on the other side of the semi-mythical Caspian Gates. The agreement between Alexander and Tūbarlaq over the defense of Alexander's gate is a fictional solution to the problem of how the two empires should cooperate to defend their territories against "Hunnic" raids. At the same time, the author also addresses the not entirely satisfactory achievements of the Romans at the peace negotiations. The peace treaty signed by Alexander and Tūbarlaq, and especially the fifteen-year tribute that Persia will pay to the Romans, reverses the humiliating clauses that Justinian accepted in several attempts to terminate hostilities and assure the maintenance of a non-belligerent status on the eastern borders of the Empire.

The *Neṣḥānā*'s tone is strongly anti-Sasanian, and the choice of Alexander as the protagonist of the work is part of the author's anti-Persian agenda. Building on the Roman paradigm of the *imitatio Alexandri*, the author designs a meta-historical reality in which Alexander's subjugation of Persia in the past is destined to be repeated in the future. The author supports this paradigmatic reading of history with references to biblical prophecies that he interprets in a way that corroborates his ideology. This ideology is most clearly expressed in the prophecy uttered by Alexander (and subsequently confirmed by Tūbarlaq's divination) about Rome's destiny to destroy Persia toward the end of human history and to establish a cosmocratic kingdom to welcome the arrival of the Messiah. This militant and militaristic understanding of the role of Rome in sacred history is unusual but not completely unprecedented. There is a clear precedent for the author's views in the work of Aphrahat, who, two centuries earlier, elaborated a similar hermeneutic in response to Sasanian persecutions of Christians.

The Roman triumph envisaged by the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was not destined to be achieved during the author's lifetime. Alexander's prophecy clearly indicates that the final events will begin only after God's removal of the gate that the hero built to contain the Huns. The text contains no indication that the author believed that this watershed event had already occurred or would occur anytime soon. In fact, there are good reasons to believe that the author understood the beginning of the eschatological drama as something far away. His reference to a recent Hunnic raid, which occurred only a few decades earlier, strongly suggests that he did not regard the Hunnic *final* invasion as an imminent event. As a consequence, the beginning of the process that would lead to Rome's victory over Persia is postponed to an undetermined future. This reading reflects the author's disillusion with the present. The precarious situation on the Roman-Persian border and the aggressive policy pursued by Khosrow Anōshirvān pushed the author of the *Neṣḥānā* to seek comfort in scripture, where he found evidence that, in spite of the current difficulties, the Christian Roman Empire could not be defeated by the Persians.

Contrary to what many scholars have argued, I do not believe that the *Neṣḥānā* was originally composed to celebrate the deeds of a Roman emperor. The author clearly does not consider the contemporaneous Byzantine-Sasanian conflicts to be part of the final conflict that would lead

to Persia's final defeat and to the establishment of a Roman cosmocracy. More than an allegory of contemporary campaigns, Alexander's victory over Tūbarlaq represents a model victory that provides a precedent for the ultimate victory yet to come in the future. By juxtaposing glorious events that happened in an idealized past and the circumstances of the author's lifetime, the author highlights the inability of the current ruler to achieve against the Persians the same results as those of his glorious ancestor. The author's criticism of Justinian's handling of the Persian problem finds close parallels in the work of a contemporary Syriac writer, the anonymous author of the *Julian Romance*. Among the many narrative elements shared by the two works is the ahistorical narrative of a time period in which Persia is subjugated to a tributary status. This narrative reverses contemporary historical circumstances and clearly echoes the voices of many in Byzantine society who criticized Justinian's decision to buy peace with gold.

It was only several decades after its composition that the *Neṣḥānā* came to be read as a work of pro-imperial propaganda. Someone must have seen the events of the late 620s as a confirmation of Alexander's prophecy. This person left a trace of his interpretation by interpolating a passage in the text that sought to connect the last of the Hunnic invasions foretold by Alexander to the raids of Heraclius's Turkic allies in the Transcaucasian region. We cannot exclude the possibility that Heraclius's spectacular successes over the Sasanians at the conclusion of a three-decades-long conflict was in fact regarded as a repetition of Alexander's glorious deeds in the Syriac work and as the beginning of the Roman cosmocracy predicted by Alexander in the *Neṣḥānā*. Contemporary attempts by court propagandists to depict Heraclius as a new Alexander may have facilitated the connection. What is certain is that the specific historical circumstances of the seventh century guaranteed an interested audience for the Syriac work.

This audience included not only the interpolator, but also the several writers who used the *Neṣḥānā* as a source of inspiration. The first of these writers is the composer of the homily traditionally attributed to Jacob of Serugh, and sometimes referred to as the *Syriac Alexander Song*. Although recent scholarship dates the homily to the period immediately following Heraclius's termination of hostilities with the Sasanians, there is good reason to think that this metric adaptation of the Alexander story was

composed several decades earlier. Like the *Neṣḥānā*, Ps-Jacob's homily was probably updated during the reign of Heraclius, as is suggested by the list of provinces that appear (with slight variations) in two of its three extant versions (rec. I, 415–420, and rec. III, 484–488).[1] Be that as it may, Ps-Jacob's homily confirms that the narrative initiated in the *Neṣḥānā* attracted interest in the 630s.

Other witnesses to the influence of the Syriac work are the two anonymous Syriac authors conventionally known as Ps.-Ephrem and Ps.-Methodius. These two authors adapted the story of Alexander's gate against Gog and Magog to address Arab territorial expansion in Byzantine Syria and Mesopotamia. Although the specific textual relationship between Ps.-Ephrerm's homily and Ps.-Methodius's *Apocalypse*, on the one hand, and the *Neṣḥānā*, on the other hand, has not been thoroughly investigated, it is clear that the former are connected (either directly or indirectly) to the latter.[2] A closer comparative analysis between all these texts (including Ps.-Jacob's homily) is a scholarly *desideratum*. Nonetheless, it is clear that the *Neṣḥānā* enjoyed remarkable popularity throughout the seventh century. Its success is probably due to two main elements: (1) the story of Alexander's gate served as an appealing tool to periodize sacred history; and (2) the idea that no matter how difficult the current circumstances were, the Roman Empire would endure until the end of days. This second element proved to be useful for those authors who had to make sense of the sudden and apparently unstoppable expansion of a new wave of nomadic invaders, this time emerging not from the north but from the south.

The favorable and wide reception of the *Neṣḥānā* in the century following its composition helps us to understand how the Alexander legend in the Syriac work entered a corpus of Arabic documents assembled in the same historical period. The connection between the *Neṣḥānā* and the Qurʾānic pericope of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn was signaled already by Nöldeke in his classical study of 1890.[3] Notwithstanding its ostensible importance for scholarly understanding of the genesis of the Qurʾānic corpus, this information has frequently been neglected by scholars. Only recently has the relationship between the Syriac and Qurʾānic texts become the object of renewed investigations.[4] These new analyses, which corroborate Nöldeke's hypothesis that the Qurʾānic pericope is dependent on the *Neṣḥānā*, have generated (unconvincing) counterarguments.[5]

Marco Di Branco finds the source of the Alexander story in the *Neṣḥānā* in (allegedly) pre-Islamic traditions about Himyarite kings, that (allegedly) circulated among Arab Christians at the Naṣrid court of al-Ḥīra.[6] However, the sources on which Di Branco bases his reconstruction have been demonstrated to postdate the composition of the Qurʾān.[7] For her part, Marianna Klar has tried to confute the textual relationship between the Syriac and the Arabic texts on the grounds that the details in the two texts do not always coincide.[8] Her argument is not convincing. Admittedly, the details in the Qurʾānic story of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn do not always match the narrative lines of the *Neṣḥānā*, but these differences are negligible compared to the substantial coherence between the two texts. In general, Klar seems to dismiss the scenario that an author sat at a table with a written copy of the *Neṣḥānā* to his left and a Syriac-Arabic dictionary to his right.[9] This—we can be confident—did not happen. Yet no scholar has ever claimed that the Syriac text was translated into Arabic, but only adapted.

The Ḏū-l-Qarnayn pericope displays a number of narrative elements that are unique to the *Neṣḥānā*. The structure of the Qurʾānic narrative, for example, reflects the Syriac author's blending of previously disparate traditions—that of Alexander's iron gates and that of the hero's travels to the ends of the earth. Further editorial choices made by the Syriac author, such as his exclusion of Alexander's unsuccessful attempt to reach Paradise, are also reflected in the Qurʾānic pericope.[10] At the same time, the Qurʾān mirrors the way in which the author of the *Neṣḥānā* understood and adapted the ancient tradition of the gates allegedly erected by Alexander in the Caucasus. Specifically, it reproduces the reading of this motif through the lens of scriptural passages about Gog and Magog and the consequential attribution of an eschatological valence to the gate erected by the hero. That the Qurʾānic narrative specifically elaborates on the Alexander story in the Syriac work is confirmed by an important detail that has escaped the attention of previous scholars, namely, the material composition of the gate erected by the two protagonists, Alexander and Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, in the Syriac and Arabic texts, respectively. Like Alexander in the Syriac work, Ḏū-l-Qarnayn constructs his barrier from iron and bronze[11] components. This coincidence is significant, since all references to the motif of Alexander's (non-apocalyptic) gates in sources earlier than the *Neṣḥānā* mention only iron as the metal from which the barrier was made. This literary

development is not coincidental and relates to the broader apocalyptic and political ideology expressed by the Syriac author in his work. The introduction of bronze as an additional material in the narrative reflects the author's intention to evoke Danielic imagery on the succession of the world kingdoms, with the ultimate goal of strengthening his reading about the special role that the Greco-Roman Empire would play in sacred history. These ideological nuances are not reflected in the Qurʾānic account, which nonetheless preserves the literary transformation of Alexander's iron gates into an apocalyptic barrier composed from the melting of iron and bronze.

The position advocated by some scholars, namely, that elements of the Ḏū-l-Qarnayn story relate to broader Alexander traditions rather than to a single source,[12] is untenable. The Qurʾānic pericope and the Syriac work share much more than a common theme and some literary components. Those listed above are only a selection of elements that demonstrate the relationship between the Ḏū-l-Qarnayn story and the *Neṣḥānā*. In the future, I hope to dedicate a specific study to clarify this important issue. For now, it is sufficient to say that the link between the two texts can hardly be denied, although the modality of transmission—direct or indirect—of the Syriac work to the environment from which the Qurʾānic corpus emerged and their broader connection to the Alexander apocalyptic literature generated by the *Neṣḥānā* merit further investigation.

Through its adaptation in the Qurʾān, the story of Alexander's gate against Gog and Magog, elaborated by the author of the *Neṣḥānā*, became prominent in Muslim societies until today—as is proved, among other things, by the splendid 14th century Persian miniature that appears on the cover of the present volume. At the same time, Ps.-Methodius's reworking of that same motif, and its inclusion in later recensions of the *Alexander Romance*, contributed to its wide popularity among Western and Eastern Christians. In the centuries following its first appearance, the legend of Alexander's apocalyptic gate became one of the most common elements in world apocalyptic literature. Although often neglected in scholarship, the *Neṣḥānā* contributed to the start of a literary and cultural process that left permanent traces on the evolution of religious ideas. In the present study I have attempted to clarify a few elements relating to the genesis of this extraordinary Syriac text.

APPENDIX 1

English Translation of the *Neṣḥānā d-Aleksandrōs* (According to Budges's Critical Edition)

The victory of Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian. How he went out to the ends of the world and made a gate of iron, which he closed in front of the wind of the north so that the Huns could not come out and plunder the countries. From the writings in the archives of the kings of Alexandria.

In the second or the seventh year of his reign, Alexander put the crown on his head and clothed with the garment of his kingdom. He dispatched to summon the knotters of the crowns of his kingdom,[1] the commanders, the patricians, the guards,[2] and the entirety of his army. He asked them and said: "Listen, you all, members of my palace." They told him: "Speak, wise king of the Greeks, and whatever you command us will be accomplished." Alexander told them: "This thought came to my mind, and I am seized by amazement: what is the extent of the earth and what the height of heaven? How many are the countries of the other kings? And on what are heavens based? Are perhaps clouds and winds that lift them up? Or are rather columns of fire rising from the earth that support the skies so that they do not move?[3] Or are they hung to God's nod and do not fall? And this is what I desire to go and see: upon what the heavens lie and what surrounds the whole creation." The nobles answered telling the king: "Command us to speak." Alexander gave command and they spoke and told him: "My lord, concerning the thing that your majesty or your greatness wants to go and see, upon what the heavens lie and what surrounds the earth, the frightening seas that surround the world will not allow the way. Because there are eleven shining seas on which the ships of the men travel. After beyond there is dry land for about ten miles, beyond which is the fetid sea, the Ocean, that surrounds the whole creation. Men cannot approach this fetid sea, neither ships can travel on it, nor can birds fly over it. If a bird fly over it, it is hunted, it falls down, and is suffocated in it. Its waters are like pus and if men swim in it they die. The leaves of the trees bordering it are burnt by the

smell of those waters, like as fire had consumed them." The nobles said these things to King Alexander, who told them: "Have you gone by your feet and seen that the sea is so?" They replied: "Yes, wise king. Because the same thought that came to your majesty's mind also came to ours. We went to see what the heavens lie upon. But the fetid sea did not allow us crossing." Alexander told them: "I do not think you are lying. But even if you went and the fetid sea did not allow you the crossing, I will also go and see by myself all the ends of heavens. And if there is a king whose lands are more than mine, I will seize his lands and kill him, even if he was from the regions from where the pillagers come out." All the members of his palace accepted what Alexander had told them. At once the horns resonated in Alexandria and the army that was going to leave with him was numbered. It included three hundred and twenty thousand men.

King Alexander bowed, and worshipping said: "oh God, master of kings and judges, you who raise up kings and dismiss their power, I perceive with my mind that you made me great among all kings, and that you caused horns to grow on my head, so that I may gore with them the kingdoms of the world. Give me the power from the heavens of your sanctity so that I may receive strength greater than the kingdoms of the world, and I will humiliate them and glorify your name forever, oh Lord! Your remembrance will stay forever and ever. I will write your name, oh God, on the papers of my kingdom so that there may be always a memorial for you. And if the Messiah, who is the son of God, comes during my days, I will bow in front of him, me and my troops. And if he does not come during my days, once I will have gone and defeated kings and seized their lands, I will bring and set in Jerusalem this throne that is a chair of silver on which I sit. And when the Messiah comes from heaven he will sit on my throne, because his kingdom will stand forever. And seven hundred pounds of gold will be the gift put before the Messiah at his arrival. And whether I die in one of the regions of the world or here in Alexandria, the crown of my kingdom will be taken and lifted upon the throne, which I offer to the Messiah."

And they went out and moved to Mount Sinai where they encamped and rested. And they put the ships to the sea and crossed over to Egypt, that is, Aegyptus.[4] Watchmen went up to observe whether the seas and their waves could be seen or not. And the commanders of the army said: "King Alexander, since the troop cannot proceed without blacksmiths, command that they come with us from Egypt, because on the surface of the earth there

are not such blacksmiths as those from Egypt.” Alexander called Sarnaqōs, king of Egypt, and told him: “Give me seven thousand blacksmiths, workers in bronze and iron, who may come with me. And when I come back from the regions where I am going, if they desire to be returned hither, I will send them back. And if they desire to remain in one of the regions under the rule of my kingdom, I will allow them. They will not pay tribute to the king, but they will give us a customs duty.” Sarnaqōs, king of Egypt, selected seven thousand men, workers of bronze and iron, and gave them to Alexander. Then the two kings ate bread together.

Then they put the ships down to sea and traveled over it for four months and twelve days, until they arrived at the dry land that is beyond the eleven bright seas. Alexander and his troops encamped. And he sent and summoned the commander who was in the camp and told him: “Are there any men here who are sentenced to death?” The commander told him: “There are thirty-seven men among our prisoners who are sentenced to death.” And the king told the commander: “Bring here those evildoers.” When they brought them, the king commanded them and said: “Go to the shore of the fetid sea and pitch poles to tie the ships. And arrange everything which is required for an army that is crossing over the sea.” The men went and arrived at the bank of the sea. Alexander had thought: “If it is true, as they say, that everyone who gets close to the fetid sea dies, then it is better it be those who are sentenced to death to die.” The prisoners went and when they reached the seashore they died at once. Alexander and his troop were watching them dying since he and his nobles had mounted on their horses to see what would happen to them. And they saw that they died at once when they reached the sea. King Alexander was frightened and withdrew, for he knew that they could not cross to the ends of heavens.

The whole camp mounted. Alexander and his troop set out between the fetid sea and the shining sea until reaching the place where the Sun enters the window of heaven—because the Sun is the servant of the Lord and never interrupts its journey, at neither night nor day. The place from where it rises is above the sea. When it is about to rise the people who dwell there flee and hide in the sea in order of not being burnt by its rays. It then crosses over the middle of heavens until reaching the place where it enters the window of heaven. Where it passes by are terrifying mountain peaks. Those who dwell there have caves dug in the rock. As soon as they see the Sun rising, men and birds flee from before it and hide in the caves, because

the stones burnt by its flames roll down and incinerate at once whatever they touch, be it humans or beasts. As soon as the Sun enters the window of heaven it prostrates before God and venerates his creator. He then travels and descends the entire night in the skies until it finds itself at the place where it rises.[5]

Alexander watched toward the sunset and saw a mountain that descends, whose name is great Mūsās. They went down across that mountain and reached the mount Qlaudia, where they ate bread. They descended to the source of the Euphrates and they found that it pours out of a cave. Then they arrived at Halōras where the Tigris gushes like a stream that makes a millstone grind. After eating bread at Halōras they left from there and went to the river Kallath. Then they went up to a mountain which is called Rmt, where there is a watchtower. Alexander and his army stood on the top of the mountain watching the four winds of heaven[6]. And Alexander said: "Let us take the way of the North." They reached the limits of the North and they entered Armenia, Adharbaijan, and inner Armenia. They passed by the lands of Ṭwrngyws, Bēt Prdyʾ, Bēt Tqyl, Bēt Drwbyl, Bēt Qtrmn, Bēt Gbwl, and Bēt Zmrṭ. Alexander passed by all these lands, and after passing by the mount Mūsās he entered a valley which is called Bhy Lbtʾ. He went and encamped at the entrance of the great mountain. There is in that place a way by which the merchants access the inner regions. Alexander encamped there and dispatched heralds of peace, who rode around and proclaimed in the whole land: "The king of the Greeks has come to this land without killing, burning, or destroying. May each one remain in peace! 'Let three hundred men elder in age be selected and let them come to my presence'—said King Alexander—'so that I may learn from them what I seek. And may each one remain in peace!' " When the people of that land heard what the heralds of peace proclaimed they were not afraid. They choose three hundred old men who went to the presence of Alexander as soon as he had encamped in the country and commanded the people not to flee before him. And when the old men of that land came before him, he asked: "Who are you? To whom do you pay tribute? And who is the king who rules over this country?" The old men answered and told the king: "This land belongs to Tūbarlaq, the king of the Persians, who is of the family of the house of *ʾḥšwrḥ*.[7] It is to him that we give gold." Alexander told them: "And for how long does this mountain descend that way?" They replied: "This mountain goes forth without breach. It passes by the sea of Bēṯ Qṭryʾ and it proceeds until

coming to an end towards Persia exterior and towards India. And from this way and upward the mountain reaches to a big river which is on this side of the sea. And there are in that area narrow paths through which a man cannot go unless he is mounted on a horse. And no one can go through those paths without (carrying) ringing bells, because animals coming up from the sea and the rivers and descending from the mountains crouch down the paths, so that if someone goes through them without carrying ringing bells he dies at once.” Alexander said: “This mountain is higher and more frightening than all the mountains which I have ever seen.” The old men of the region told the king: “Your majesty, my lord the king, neither us nor our fathers have ever been capable of making a single step through it. And men cannot go up from either this or that side, as this is the boundary that God has placed between us and the people who are on its other side [lit. inward from it].” Alexander said: “Who are the people who are on the other side of this mountain that we are observing? [. . .].”[8] The people of the land told him: “It is the Huns.” Alexander told them: “And who are their kings?” The old men replied: “God and Magog. And Nwl, the kings of the sons of Japhet. And the king Gyg. And Tʾmrwn and Tyʾmrwn. And Bēṯ Gmly, Ypwʿbr, Šwmrdq, Glwsyqʾ, ʿqšpr, Slgdw, Nyslyq, ʾmrpyl, Qʿwzʾ. These are the kings of the Huns.” Alexander said: “And what is their like? What their clothes and languages?” The old men responded and told the king: “Among them there are some who have blue eyes, and their women have only one breast each. And the women are more bellicose than men because they fight men with their knives. At their flanks, arms, and necks they hang knives so that if one of them goes into combat wherever [s]he extends her hand [s]he can pull out a knife.[9] They wear worked skins, eat the raw flash of whatever dies, and drink the blood of men and animals.” They do not besiege cities and fortresses, nor they attack them; instead, they run[10] to the roads and to the gates of fortresses and cities, surrounding the men who run[11] and face them on the roads.[12] Quicker than the blowing wind, before than the rumor of them going out to battle is heard, they spread over the world; because they are sorcerers and they run between heaven and earth. Their chariots, their swords, and their spears shine like terrible lightnings. They pull *prwyʾ*[13] in their hands and each of them has two or three horses. [Each one of them leads with him][14] fifty or sixty men who go before or after him, and the noise of the lamentation of each of them is more terrible than the noise of a

lion. Because it is God to deliver the nations, the one in the hands of the other. The fear of the Huns is terrifying for all creatures who see them. And when they go to battle, they bring a woman who is pregnant and, binding her in front of a fire that they heap up, they cook her child within her until her womb splits and the child comes out when it is cooked. And they place it in a bowl and throw water on its body, which dissolves into it. Then they take their swords, their bows, their arrows, and their spears, and dip them into this water. And to whomever this water touches it appears as if there were around him a hundred thousand horsemen; and a troop of a hundred thousand demons appears to stand by the side of each hundred men. Because their sorceries are greater than those of all kingdoms. And also of this, oh Lord, we want to persuade your greatness," the old men said to Alexander. "The Huns do not go out to plunder except where the punishment of the Lord raises, so that the Lord kills fathers and sons and strikes the earth with his wrath, as in their battles they are more dangerous than all kings." Alexander told the natives of that place: "Did they go out to plunder during your days?" The old men told Alexander: "My lord the king, may God strengthen your kingdom and your crown! These fortifications which were destroyed in our land and in the land of the Romans were destroyed by them; by them these towers were uprooted. When they go out to plunder, they destroy the lands of the Romans and the lands of the Persians, then they enter their region." Alexander told them: "Who are the nations who are next to them?" The old men told him: "The nation of Pygmies[15] and the Dog-Men. And next to the Dog-Men is the nation of Mnynʾ. And next to the nation of Mnynʾ there are no humans, but only frightening mountains, hills, valleys, plains, and frightening caves in which are serpents, *ʾšwp*,[16] and vipers, so that men do not go there without being eaten at once by the serpents. Because those regions are deserted and there is nothing there but wilderness. And among all these mountains God's Paradise appears at distance. Indeed, Paradise is close to neither heaven nor earth. Like a noble and strong city, it appears between heaven and earth. The clouds and the fog that surround it can be seen from distance, and the horn of the wind of the north leans on it." And Alexander told them: "How do the four rivers come forward?" The old men said: "My lord, we will instruct your majesty. God made four rivers to go out from the paradise of Eden and since he knew that men would dare and seize the rivers to go by them and enter Paradise, he drew the rivers within the earth. He made them

pass through valleys, mountains, and plains. He made them pass through many mountains and he made them come out from the mountains. And there is one that he made flow from a cave. He surrounded Paradise with seas and rivers, and with the Ocean, the fetid sea. Men are unable to approach Paradise and cannot see where the rivers go out. All they can see is that they go out from either the mountains or the valleys."

When Alexander heard what the old men said he wondered very much at the great sea that surrounds the entire creation. He asked his troops: "Do you wish that we make something wonderful in this land?" They answered: "As your majesty commends." The king said: "Let us build a gate of bronze and block up this breach." His troops said: "We will do as your majesty commands." And Alexander commanded to bring three thousand blacksmiths, able to work iron, and three thousand men, able to work bronze. They molded bronze and iron like a man who works the clay. Then they brought it and he made a gate of twelve cubits of length and eight cubits of width. He made a lower threshold of twelve cubits of length from one mountain to another. He pitched it in the rocks and sealed with bronze and iron. The height of this lower threshold was three cubits. And he made an upper threshold of twelve cubits of length from one mountain to another. He pitched it in the rocks and fixed in it two bolts of iron of twelve cubits each and going two cubits up into the rocks. He made two bolts[17] from one crag to the other on the back of the gate, sealing the heads of the bars into the rocks. He fixed the gate and the bars and placed extremities of iron, trampling them one by one. In that way, if the Huns were to come and dig through the rock beneath the iron threshold, although a footman could still cross through, a horseman on his horse could not, as long as the gate, anchored to the soil with bars,[18] stood. He then brought pivots for the gate and embedded them into the lower threshold.[19] He put on them iron bars and made them move around on the side like the gates of Susa *brmdyʾ*.[20] The men brought and kneaded iron and bronze like a man who works the clay, and they smeared them over the gate and its posts one by one. And he made a bolt of iron in the rocks and pitched a key of iron long twelve cubits, which he surrounded with bolts of bronze. Thus, the gate was lifted up and stood.

King Alexander brought [a scribe] who wrote on the gate: "The Huns will come out and will subjugate the lands of the Romans and of the

Persians. They will shoot arrows *b’rmgsṭ’*,[21] then they will turn around and return to their country. I have also written that at the completion of 826 years the Huns will come out through the narrow path that ends in front of Halōras, from where the Tigris gushes like a stream that makes a millstone grind. They will take prisoners from among the population, they will cut off the roads and make the earth tremble with their raids. I have also written, announced and prophesied that *hwy*ʾ [22] at the completion of 940 years another king, when the world will end by the commandment of God, Governor of Creation. Creatures will enrage God. Sin will grow and wrath will reign. Human sins will increase and will cover the skies. In his anger the Lord will stir up[23] the kingdoms[24] that are behind this gate. For when the Lord seeks to kill men, he sends men against men so that they slay one other. And the Lord will gather the kings and their companies that are behind this mountain. At his signal they will all gather. They will come with their spears and their swords. They will stand behind the gate and, looking at the skies, they will call the name of the Lord: “Oh Lord! Open this gate for us!” And the Lord will send his sign from heaven and a voice will shout against this gate, which will be destroyed and will fall at the sign of the Lord. It will not be by the key which I created for it that this gate will be opened. And through this gate which I have made an army will go out. From the lower iron threshold an entire span will be consumed by the hoofs of the horsemen and of the horses [*sic*.] with which they go out to destroy the land by the commandment of the Lord. And from the higher threshold a span will be consumed by the edges of the spears of those who run and go out through the gate. And when the Huns will come out as God has commanded, from the ends of heavens the kingdom of the Huns, the kingdom of the Persians, and the kingdom of the Arabs will come. The twenty-four kingdoms which are inscribed in this writing. They will fall one upon the other. The earth will curdle in the blood and the excrements of men. Then the kingdom of the Greeks will move and come. It will hold a hammer of iron in its right hand and a hammer of bronze in its left hand. The kingdom of the Greeks will strike the hammers against each other and like iron dissolving in the fire and like bronze that boils in the flame, so will dissolve the strength of the kingdoms facing the kingdom of the Greeks, which is that of the Romans. And the kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians will be destroyed each by its own comrade. Only a few will escape among those who fled to their country, while the kingdom of the Romans

will destroy the rest. And my kingdom, which is called of the house of Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, will go out and destroy the earth and the ends of heaven. And none among the people and the nations that dwell in the creation will be able to stand before the kingdom of the Romans. Behold! I, Alexander, have written and announced through my own handwriting. Truly I have not lied in what I have written. Perhaps men and people will not believe that the things which I have written will happen. And if you do not accept my word, then accept the word of the prophet Jeremiah, who in his prophecy already symbolized this kingdom and spoke as such in his book: 'From the North evil will be opened over all inhabitants of the Earth.'[25] Behold! I have a miracle which is the work of God. On the peak within the gate on the one edge [. . .][26] and when it goes up from the peak it is narrow. On the other edge hangs a sponge soaked with blood which descends over the peak. The Huns come to wash their heads in that blood and to drink from it; then they return home. This is a testimony of God set there so that men will see and fear: Like that blood descends from that sponge, so the blood of men will pour over mountains and hills." Alexander and his army were astonished at the gate they created.

The people of that land went down and told Tūbarlaq, king of the Persians: "The king of the Greeks, Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, has come here and has made a gate of iron against the Huns. But rise, lead your army; come and slay him, and seize whatever belongs to him!" Tūbarlaq rose and dispatched to Mšzbry, king of Inner India, and to Bar Ṣydq, the king of Qādēš, and to Hwdzd, king of Greece. And dispatched to Armenia and to all countries which obeyed to him. He hired and brought eighty-two kings and their armies; one hundred and thirty myriads.[27] They consulted before Tūbarlaq and before all the kings. And the kings and their troops were compelled to come. It was summer and the entire camp of Alexander was lying and rested. As soon as the king had lied down the Lord came to him and found him asleep. He called him and told him: "Behold! I made you great among all kings, and I caused horns of iron to grow on your head, so that you may gore with them the kingdoms of the world. You relied on me when you left to war to see the countries. But behold! Many kings and their armies are moving against you to kill you. Invoke me to come to your aid, because I am the Lord and I aid those who invoke me." The Lord went away from Alexander and the king awoke his army and told them: "Behold! The plunderers are moving against us. Let

the watchmen go to the top of the mountain to observe and watch them, for the Lord has appeared to me in this hour." And the watchmen went up and saw the army and their kings, an endless multitude of men. They ran and told the king: "Oh king, we are going to die! But God who knows their number will slaughter them." King Alexander immediately ordered the strength of the army to be counted, how many had died and how many were alive. The army was counted, and it was found that it contained three hundred and sixteen thousand men, while four thousand were dead—for when they left from Alexandria they were three hundred twenty thousand men. And Alexander ordered his army and all men over whom he ruled: "Let every man who is here lay a censer of perfume[28] on potsherd or on stone for the Lord, who will come to aid us. He will come and find the camp perfumed with the fragrance of the smoke of the parfum." Alexander took off his crown and his purple garments and deposed them in front of the Lord saying: "You, Lord, have power over my life and my kingdom, to you royalty belongs. Deliver your servant and his army from his enemies." And as Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies surrounded him. And Alexander intoning said: "Victory belongs to the Lord!" And the army loudly said: "God, come to our aid!" And Alexander said: "Lord who appeared to me in this land, aid us!" Then the Lord appeared coming on chariot of the seraphs. Watchers and angels praising were coming before him, and he led his army over Alexander's camp. The Lord appeared from the West standing and Alexander's entire camp watched towards the Lord who was their helper. People became strong as the Lord had come to their salvation. A frightening battle arose, and people were shouting: "This is the Lord's battle! He descended to stand in it." And the Lord appeared again to Alexander and told him: "Do not fear the kings, not their troops, since I am with you." And the voice of the Lord moved along thundering among them so that the kings and their troops trembled in front of God's camp.

Alexander and his army killed sixty kings and their troops, and those who fled, fled, and those who were dispersed, got dispersed. And Alexander took Tūbarlaq, the king of Persia, but he did not kill him. Alexander and his army stood and Tūbarlaq, the king of Persia, was bound and [so were] the nobles of all Persia. Tūbarlaq brought forth gold, silver, beryl, pearls, precious stones of sapphire, and he gave them to King Alexander, who subjugated the entire Persia and the lands over the Sea of Darkness. And he was preparing to kill Tūbarlaq when the latter told him: "What will be the

benefit if you kill me? Take for yourself the gold which is mine and I am giving you as a pledge Persia, which will give you gold for fifteen years. Thus, after fifteen years, Assur and Babylon will be yours."[29] Tūbarlaq and Alexander sat, consulted, and said about the gate of iron and bronze which is in the North that six thousand men from among the Romans, and six thousand men from among the Persians, should go and guard it, and that every man should be provided with food and drinks by the king who sent him.

Tūbarlaq, king of Persia, brought magicians and incantations reciters, the signs of the zodiac, fire and water, and all of his gods; and through them he practiced divination. They made him aware that towards the end of the world the kingdom of the Romans would go forth and subjugate all the kingdoms of the earth; that the king of Persia will be killed, wherever he is found; and that Assur and Babylon will be destroyed by the commandment of God.[30] In this manner Tūbarlaq practiced divination and he gave his handwriting to King Alexander. And through this writing it was recalled to Alexander what was to happen to Persia, as the king and his nobles had prophesized that Persia would be destroyed by the hand of the Romans, and all kingdoms would be destroyed, besides that of the Romans, which would stand and rule until the End of Times, and would hand over the rulership of the earth to the Messiah who is to arrive.

Alexander and his troops stood and left Persia. They set out toward the desert and went and dwelled at the mountain of the Romans. Alexander summoned those blacksmiths whom he had brought from Egypt, and he gave them Bēt Dmʾ and Bēt Dwšr to cultivate and to dwell in without paying tribute to the king. And Alexander went up to worship in Jerusalem. Then he put the ships in the sea and went to Alexandria. And when he died, he surrendered the silver throne of his kingdom in Jerusalem.

The tale of the victories and the battles of Alexander, king of the Greeks, son of Philip, is concluded.

APPENDIX 2

List of Toponyms and Proposed Identifications

Toponym	**Proposed Identification**
Bēt Dmʾ	?
Bēt Drwbyl	?
Bēt Dwšr	Dioscurias (?)
Bēt Gbwl	?
Bēt Prdy’	Mt. Paryadres[1]
Bēt Qṭrmn	Kitamon/Kitharizon[2]
Bēt Tqyl	Teucila[3]
Bēt Zmrṭ	Zimara[4]
Bhy Lbt’	Belabitenē/Balahovit[5]
Halōras	Olor/Olorian/Olorean
Rmt	Akbas[6]
Ṭwrngyws	?

Notes

Introduction

1. Budge 1889.
2. An earlier translation of the text, based on one single manuscript of the *Neṣḥānā*, was published in 1854 by Justin Perkins (Perkins and Woolsey 1854: 416–28).
3. Bohas 2009. Muriel Debié is currently working on a new French translation.
4. Van Bladel 2007a; Greisiger 2014, 2016.
5. Tesei 2010, 2013–2014, 2018.
6. See recently van Baldel 2007a and Tesei 2013–2014.

Chapter 1

1. See Budge 1889: xv–xxxiv; Monferrer-Sala 2011: 45–7.
2. See Depuydt 2006: 181.
3. Perkins made a translation of the text of the *Neṣḥānā* contained in this manuscript, published in 1854, which is currently the only one available in English, besides Budge's and the one that I provide in the Appendix to this study. Perkins's manuscript appears to be one of the five manuscripts used by Budge for his edition and translation (see Budge 1889: xvii), not a sixth, additional manuscript, as suggested by Monferrer-Sala (2011: 47).
4. Budge 1889: xx–xxv.
5. The letter sent by Perkins to Fleischer reported in the 1851 issue of *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG 5: 393) does not help to clarify the question.
6. Budge 1889: xvii.
7. Ibid.: xxxii.
8. Nöldeke 1890: 11–17.
9. Ciancaglini 2001: 139.
10. See Budge 1889: 119, n.2; Nöldeke 1890: 13, n.4; Ciancaglini 2001: 139.
11. Brock 1997: 114.
12. On the Armenian *Alexander Romance*, see Traina 1997 and 2016.
13. The different versions of this story are reported in recension β of the *Alexander Romance* (text L: II, 39–41), in the Babylonian Talmud (Tamīd, 32b), in Ps.-Jacob's homily, and in a Qurʾānic passage on Moses in Q 18:60–82.
14. Tesei 2013–2014: 277–9.
15. See in particular the recent analysis in Henkelman 2010. See also van Bladel 2007a: 197, n.6 and Tesei 2010.
16. *Bell. Iud.*, VII.7.
17. *Hist.* I.10.
18. *Get.* VII.50.
19. *Nat. Hist.*, VI.12.

20. *Hist.*, I.10.
21. *Get.* VII.50.
22. See the chart in Anderson 1928: 136–7. It was only in the seventh century, probably as a consequence of the events of 626–629 illustrated by van Bladel (2007a: 186–8), that the motif of Alexander's iron gate came to be connected to the Darband Pass, which is otherwise not associated with the Caspian Gates in previous sources (Anderson 1928: 154).
23. *Get*. VII.53–56.
24. *Get*. VII.55. Trans. Mierow 1915: 65.
25. *Get*. VII.50.
26. *Get*. V.44.
27. *Hist*. I.10.
28. *Nat. Hist.*, VI.12. On this element of Pliny's description see Sauer et al. 2020: 861: "The Tergi/Terek River is of a width that it indeed could have been bridged by timber gates, perhaps opened when water levels were high and closed when they were lower, to make any break-through attempts even more difficult."
29. Budge 1889: 271.
30. Reinink 1983 (text): 62–3.
31. Sauer et al. 2020: 860–1.
32. See the picture of the sulfur springs in ibid.: 861.
33. On these developments, see van Donzel and Schmidt 2010: chap. 1.
34. E.g., Anderson 1932: 19; Pfister 1956: 30; Möhring 2000: 44.
35. Shoemaker 2016; 2018: 42 ff.
36. See the discussion in the Chapter 10 of this book.
37. The Mūsās has been the subject of a long scholarly debate, especially its possible connections to the Mount Māšū mentioned in the *Gilgamesh Epic*. See Meissner 1894: 13; Hunnius 1904: 11, n.2; Czeglédy 1957: 242, n.39, 245; Pfister 1976: 148; Jouanno 2002: 293, n.173; van Baldel 2007a: 198–9, n.12; Bohas 2009: 31, n.58, 49, n.114; Henkelman 2010: 335–6.
38. Masis can designate two other mountain complexes in Armenia: the Nex Masis, north of Lake Van, and a branch of Taurus north of Nisibis. See Russel 1985: 456–7.
39. *Geog.* XI.5.6, 12.4, 14.2.
40. *Geog.* V.18.2.
41. Brooks 1923: 296.
42. See Adontz 1970: 13; Stone 2012: 247, 250, 253.
43. *Chron*. LXVI.
44. *Eccl. Hist*. VI.36.
45. *Eccl. Hist*. VI.15.
46. *Hist*. I.12.1–7.
47. See Adontz 1970: 133–4; Hewsen 1992: 18.
48. Talbert 2000: 1226.
49. Pliny, *Nat. Hist*. V.83.1; Ptolemy, *Geog*. V.6.19; *Itinerarium Antonini*, 208.5; *Tabula Peutingeriana*, 11.7. See Adontz 1970: 45, 61–2, 65–6; Talbert 2000: 985, 991.
50. *Geog*. V.13.6; *Aed*. III.3.7. See Adontz 1970: 13–20, 112–4, 134.
51. See Adontz 1970: 134; Greenwood 2017a: 154; Greenwood 2017b: 201–2.
52. As far as I know, the first transposition into Syriac of the Hellenized version of the name, i.e., Βελαβιτηνή → ܒܠܐܒܝܛܝܢܐܬ, occurs in a record of episcopal sees that surely postdates the sixth century (see Voobus 1975: 189, 193). John of Ephesus refers to Belabitene as "the satrapy in the districts of Siria and Armenia" (see Brooks 1923: 284). This description, as well as John's omission of the name of the principality, suggests that the toponymic designation of the area had not yet been fixed.
53. See Hewsen 1992: 59.

54. *Aed*. III.1.26.
55. See Adontz 1970: 87–8, 93.
56. The text states that it borders the sea of Bēt Qatraye—in all likelihood the Persian Gulf—and reaches "external Persia" and the limits of India, while in the other direction it extends toward unspecified "inner regions" until "a great river from this side of the sea." Most puzzling is the connection between the formidable mountain complex described by the elders and the Great Mūsās that dominates the plain of Bhy Lbtʾ. The elders do not provide any details about the name of the majestic mountain they describe. One wonders if this mountain is the Mūsās, which, in the text, is also described as "the great mountain."
57. *Eccl. Hist.*, II. 43. On Evagrius's use of Malalas's work, see Whitby 2000: xxvii–iii.
58. Czeglédy 1957: 245; Reinink 1985: 267–8, 280; Reinink 2003: 161; van Bladel 2007a: 179, 199, n.13.
59. See Czeglédy 1957: 245.
60. See Reinink, who proposes that one of these two cities was the author's homeland. Reinink 1985: 267–8, 280; Reinink 2003: 161.
61. The anti-Sasanian insurrections led by the Mamikonian family from 450 to 484 are narrated at great length in Łazar P'arpec'i's *History* and in Ełishe's *History of Vardan*. Both works are known for their peculiar blend of religion and warfare in descriptions of the Armenian uprisings. There is much in common—from the religious fervor of the soldiers to the piety of the commanders—between the battle scene described in the *Neṣḥānā* and those found in the works of the Armenian historians. One element that stands out is the recurrent theme of the multitude of the enemy's troops and of God's intervention.

Chapter 2

1. Nöldeke 1890: 30–1.
2. Nöldeke 1890: 31.
3. On these events, see Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 78; Sauer et al. 2020: 880.
4. See Malalas, *Chronicle* 406; Procopius, *De Aedificis*, III, 4.19–20.
5. Nöldeke 1890: 31.
6. Bousset 1889; Hunnius 1904; in Czeglédy 1955, 1957; Reinink 1983, 1985, 2003.
7. See my comments in the Conclusion of this study.
8. I plan to address the question of the dating of the *Alexander Song* in a future study.
9. Bousset 1889; Kampers 1901; Czeglédy 1957; Henkelman 2010; Shoemaker 2018.
10. On the identity of Heraclius's allies and their relationship with the Khazars who are mentioned in sources, see Zuckerman 2007: 403 ff.; see also Golden 1980: 50 ff.; Golden 1992: 135 ff., 236 ff.
11. Howard-Johnston 1999: 17, 22–3, 40–2; Kaegi 2003: 142–5; Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 202ff; and, above all, the recent periodization of the events provided in Howard-Johnston 2021: 288–90, 295–303, 340–1, 353–4.
12. Nöldeke 1890: 31.
13. Bousset 1899: 114–5; Hunnius 1904: 20ff.
14. Czeglédy 1957: 246. The situation described by Czeglédy can be observed in the second edition of *Geschichte des Qorāns* (an updated version of Nöldeke's monumental work, by his younger collaborator Schwally) which dismisses Hunnius's analysis on the dating of the *Neṣḥānā* without any argument or evidence. See Nöldeke et al. 2013, 142, n.137.
15. Bousset 1899: 117–8.
16. See Reinink 2002: 152–4. Against Bousset's idea that only one section in the Syriac homily (namely, that concerning the Arab invasion) dates to the seventh century, and that the rest of the work was composed in the fourth century, see Reinink 1993a. The dating of the Latin

sermon is disputed. Reinink argues that the work was influenced by the Ps.-Methodius and sets a date of composition at the end of the seventh century (see Reinink 1993a). This dating is contended by Shoemaker, who argues that the sermon was composed soon after the end of the seventh-century conflict between Byzantines and Sasanians (see Shoemaker 2015: 547, n.90; Shoemaker 2018: 193, n.55).

17. Hunnius 1904; Reinink 2002: 152–5, 165–71.
18. Bousset 1899: 155ff.
19. See Witakowski 1996: xix–xx.
20. Witakowski 1987: 128–9.
21. Text in Harrak 2017: 85.
22. See Chapter 3.
23. Andreson 1932: 27–8.
24. Czeglédy 1957: 247, n.56.
25. See Brooks 1923: 78.
26. Czeglédy 1957: 240–1; Shoemaker 2018: 83.
27. Czeglédy 1957: 240–1.
28. Brooks 1923: 78.
29. For a general overview, see van Donzel and Schmidt 2009: chaps. 1–2.
30. Trans. Scarvelis Constantinou in Andreas of Caesarea 2011: 212.
31. The broad outlines of his theory were traced in his article of 1985 (Reinink 1985), and are repeated in his article of 2003 (Reinink 2003, esp. 155–65). Other elements of his analysis of the *Neṣḥānā* are explored in an article of 1999 (Reinink 1999, esp. 151–5), and his article of 2002 (Reinink 2002, esp. 84–91).
32. Reinink 2003, 164.
33. Reinink 2002: 82–6.
34. Including my previous studies: Tesei 2010, 2013–2014, and 2018.
35. Van Bladel 2007a: 183–5.
36. Ps.-Fredegar's report contains an obvious anachronism that leads the author to describe the involvement of Byzantine Turkic allies in a conflict against the "Saracens" instead of against the Sasanians (on which, see Greisiger 2014: 236; Greisiger 2016: 76–7).
37. Van Bladel 2007a: 186.
38. Van Bladel 2007a: 188.
39. Like van Bladel, Greisiger brings into his analysis elements derived by the chronicles of Ps.-Fredegar and Movsēs Dasxurancʿi. Greisiger 2014: 231–42; Greisiger 2016: 73–6.
40. See, in particular, Greisiger 2017: 102ff.
41. Greisiger 2014: 234ff.; Greisiger 2016: 77–8.
42. Henkelmann 2010: 345.
43. Shoemaker 2018: 80ff.
44. Ibid.: 82.

Chapter 3

1. On the word *b'rmgsṭ'*, see note 21 in Appendix 1.
2. On *hwy*ʾ (ܗܘܝܐ) and this sentence, see below.
3. Text in Budge 1889: 268–70.
4. Bousset 1889; Kampers 1901; Czeglédy 1955, 1957. These scholars' opinions about the genesis, evolution, and readaptation of the text, however, differ considerably. For instance, Kmoskó suggests that the final form of the *Neṣḥānā* was produced soon after the fall of Byzantium in 1455 (Kmoskó's study is described in Czeglédy 1955: 19–90).
5. Reinink 1985: 270, n.27.

6. Reinink 1983: 10–1; Reinink 1985: 269–70, n.27.
7. Reinink 1983: 10–11.
8. Ibid. and Reinink 1985: 270, n.27.
9. On which, see Shoemaker 2018: 81ff.
10. Reinink 1983: 10–1; Reinink 1985: 268–70, n.27.
11. Budge 1889: 268–9.
12. Ibid.: 269, n.1.
13. Ibid.: 154.
14. Bohas 2009: 38.
15. Greisiger 2014: 234.
16. See Greisiger 2014: 236–7; Greisiger 2016: 76–7.
17. Greisiger 2014: 235–7; Greisiger 2016: 77.
18. Text in Budge 1889: 269.
19. Greisiger 2016: 77.
20. Text in Budge 1889: 270.
21. Greisiger 2016: 77.
22. More examples are found in Acts 2:43, 12:9, 27:10; 1 Cor 15:21; Gal 3:21; 2 Thess 2:10; Heb 6:8; 1 Pet 1:20, 2:20.
23. Van Baldel 2007a, 183.
24. Ibid.
25. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 17–19; Sauer et al. 2020: 874ff.
26. Howard-Johnston 2021: 288–90.
27. Ibid.: 295–303.
28. Ibid.: 340–1, 353–4.
29. Budge 1889: 265.
30. This is also the earliest mention of a North Caucasian Hunnic leader in Byzantine sources.
31. On this episode reported, among others, by Malalas and Theophanes, see Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 80–1.
32. See Moravcsick 1958: II, 131; Golden 1980: 260. In these studies, the variation “Ziligdes” is attributed to the late seventh-century *Chronicle* of John of Nikiû. However, the Ethiopic text in which the *Chronicle* survives reports yet another variant: Zeqā. It seems that the form “Ziligdes” in the text results from a correction imported by the first editor of the *Chronicle*, Zotenberg, who imposed on the Ethiopic text one of the known Greek spellings of the name. This correction was then perpetuated by R. H. Charles, author of the first and only English translation available (see Rodinson 1968–1969: 117).
33. The story is reported, among others, by Malalas (XVIII.13) and Theophanes (AM 6019).
34. Golden 1980: 260.
35. Ibid.
36. *Chron.* XVI.17. Trans. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 227. Malalas’s report circulated among contemporary intellectuals. Evagrius Scholasticus derived his notice on the Sabir incursions from Malalas’s *Chronicle* (*Ecclesiastical History* III.43; see Whitby 2000: 194, n.171).
37. Procopius, *Hist.* I.10.
38. Jordanes, *Get.* VII.50.
39. On which, see the discussion in the previous chapter.
40. Van Bladel 2007a: 186–8.

Chapter 4

1. *Vide infra*.

2. Sauer, Chologauri, and Naskidashvili 2016: 21–22. For a much more detailed (and impressive) study of these archaeological findings, see Sauer et al. 2020, esp. chaps. 1–4, 7, and (above all) 25. Sauer et al. 2020 fills an enormous gap in research about the history of the Caspian Gates. Regrettably, due to the COVID-19 epidemic, I was only able to consult (an electronic version of) this study at a late stage in the preparation of the present volume. Had I been able to consult it at an earlier stage, the drafting of this chapter would have been much easier!
3. *De Mag.* 3.52–3. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 20.
4. Ibid.
5. Frg. 41.1.3–27; 47.
6. Text in Budge 1889: 140.
7. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 252, n.3.
8. *Hist*. II.83. See Thomson 1982: 299; and Thomson 1991: 129.
9. Frg. 47. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 58.
10. Ibid. On the Persian demand for money to secure the mountain passage, see Blockley 1985a: 55. See also the discussion below.
11. Sauer, Chologauri, and Naskidashvili 2016: 20. On the archaeological site at Dariali, see Sauer et al. 2020: chap. 25 (esp. part 3).
12. *Hist*. I.10
13. See Harmatta 1996: 82–4.
14. Ibid.: 83.
15. Murtazali 2016.
16. Harmatta 1996: 83.
17. See Kettenhofen 1994: 4 and bibliography. See further bibliographical references in van Bladel 2007a: 201, n.42.
18. See Ełishe, *History of Vardan*, p. 78; Łazar P'arpec'i, *History*, I.35.
19. The composition date of Ełishe's *History of Vardan* is contested. Thomson has argued in favor of a late sixth-century dating. Thomson 1982: esp. 19–29.
20. *History of Vardan*, p. 129. Trans. Thomson 1982: 181.
21. Kettenhofen 1994: 4.
22. On which, see van Bladel 2007a: 186, with reference to Hewsen 2001: 89.
23. Further fortifications were erected on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, with the impressive example of the great wall of Gorgan, which covers a distance of almost 200 km. On the Wall of Gorgan and other fortifications in northern Iran, see Nokandeh et al. 2006.
24. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 58.
25. Ełishe, *History of Vardan*, p. 78; Łazar P'arpec'i, *History*, I.35.
26. Ełishe, *History of Vardan*, p. 198. Cf. Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, *History*, I.10. On this expedition, see Braund 1994: 274; Bíró 1997: 53–6; Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 262, n.11.
27. See Blockley 1985a; Blockley 1992: 50–1; Braund 1994: 269–70. See also the discussion below.
28. *De Mag.* 3.52–53. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 20. On John Lydus's report, see Blockley 1985a: 64–66.
29. Frg. 41.1.3–27. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 57.
30. Frg. 47. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 58.
31. *Chron*. VIII–X. Procopius reports that a Byzantine ambassador named Eusebius accompanied Pērōz during his first campaign against the Hepthalites (*Hist*. I.3).
32. *Chron*. VII and XVIII.
33. See Blockley 1985a: 67.
34. Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, *Chron*. XXIII. Cf. *Chron*. XX, which reports Kavadh's earlier demands for funds. Procopius, *Hist*. I.7.
35. Procopius, *Hist*. I.7. Trans. Dewing 1914: 49–51.

36. Ibid.
37. *De Mag*. III.53. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 74.
38. Blockley 1985a: 69.
39. Ibid.
40. *Eccl. Hist.*, VIII.5 (77.9–24). Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 84.
41. *Hist*. I.16.
42. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 74ff.
43. *Hist*. I.16.
44. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 96.
45. *Hist*. II.10. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 106.
46. Frg. 6.1.314–97. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 132.
47. Frg. 6.1.145–50.
48. Blockley 1985a: 72.
49. This dynamic in Roman-Persian negotiations is illustrated in passages by Menander Protector, which describe the talks that preceded the peace of 562: "The Persians wanted a treaty without a time limit and a fixed amount of gold every year from the Romans in return for their not taking up arms [. . .]. The Romans for their part wanted the treaty to be a short one and proposed to pay nothing for peace" (Frg. 6.1.130–40. Trans. Blockley 1985b: 61).
50. See Payne 2013: 10 and bibliography reported in n.31.
51. Payne 2013: 12–13.
52. *Chron*. VIII. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 59.
53. Ibid.
54. *Chron*, XVIII.44.
55. *Chron.* XVIII.76. Trans. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 282.
56. Blockley 1985a: 71.
57. *Hist*. II.10. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 106.
58. Ibid.
59. *De Mag*. III.52. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 20.
60. "A host of wars proceeded to disturb the empire of the Romans inasmuch as the Persians kept demanding their ever talked-of outlay over the Caspian Gates." *De Mag.* III.51 (trans. Bandy 1983: 213).
61. Blockley 1985a: 63–6.
62. See ibid.: 66.
63. Luther 1997: 106 n.30.
64. On this treaty see Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 1ff.
65. See Blockley 1985a: 65.
66. As suggested above, both Ps.-Joshua and Malalas refer to this element of imperial foreign policy (independently of whether it was ever in use or not) to mitigate the embarrassing situation created by the payments given to the Persians. Lydus, however, makes a different use of the idea of a Byzantine-Sasanian "joint venture" in the Caucasus. His goal is not to shed positive light on the Roman role in the defense of the Caspian Gates, but to reject *in toto* the rivals' pretensions.
67. *Hist*. I.16. Trans. Dewing 1914: 141.
68. Czeglédy 1957: 248.
69. Ibid.
70. See the discussion below.
71. *Hist*. II.104.
72. On Sesonchonis/Sesostris in the *Romance*, see Nawotka 2017: 67–9, 110–1.
73. Ibid.: 69.
74. *Bibl*. I.55.4. On the Colchians' alleged Egyptian origins, see also Strabo, *Geo*. XI.2.17.

75. Jordanes refers to Sesostris as Vesosis. *Get*. V. 44.
76. *Hist*. II.18.4. Trans. Frendo 2011: 52. Cf. Procopius's statement: "the Colchians have [. . .] changed their name at the present time to Lazi, just as nations of men and many other things do." Trans. Dewing 1962: 61.
77. Talking about the inhabitants of Lazica, Agathias refers to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus as authorities from the past who already knew the story of Lazi's Egyptian origins.
78. Budge 1889: 225–6, 252.
79. Ibid.: 70.
80. Ibid.: 70.
81. Ibid.: 71.
82. Ibid.: 76.
83. Ibid.: 173.
84. Text in Budge 1889: 258.
85. *Hist*. II.18.6. Trans. Frendo 1975: 52.
86. On the Lazic War, see also Braund 1994: 287 ff.
87. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 82.
88. Ibid.: 96–7.
89. Ibid.: 115.
90. Ibid.: 116–9.
91. Ibid.: 120–2.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Menander Protector (mid-sixth century) also refers to the story of Sesostris in reference to Roman-Sasanian hostilities (Frg. 6.1205–35). Menander makes Sesostris's campaign an example of the "shifting and unstable nature of fortune" (trans. Blockley). According to Menander, the Sesostris story was told by the Roman ambassador Peter during the preliminary talks that led to the peace of 562 (on this peace treaty, see the discussion in the following chapter of this study). Even if Menander does not mention the legend of the Egyptian settlers of the Colchis, his work testifies to the widespread knowledge of the Sesostris story among late antique authors. Like Agathias, Menander colors the story with anti-Sasanian tones.
95. *Hist.* II.15.1–2. Trans. Dewing.
96. *Hist*. II.15–22–24. As Braund observes: "In addition to import duties, that payment also included the provision of supplies at low prices and, it is claimed, the forced purchase of unwanted imports. Hitherto the relationship between Byzantium and Lazica had been underpinned by vigorous trade. Now trade had ceased to be an advantage to the Lazi and had instead become a burden" (1994: 295).
97. *Hist.* II.29.10–12. On these events, see Braund 1994: 297–8.
98. See Braund 1994: 290–1.
99. *Hist*. I.15.7.
100. *Hist*. II.28. Trans. Dewing.
101. Georgian chronicles attribute the fortification of the Dariali Gorge (named Darubal) to the mythical king Mirvan. See Thompson 1996: 41.

Chapter 5

1. Czeglédy 1955: 31–36; Czeglédy 1957: 246–8.
2. Czeglédy 1957: 247.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. See the discussion in the next chapter.

6. See Tesei 2013–2014.
7. Reinink 1985: 276–7; Reinink 1999: 153; Reinink 2003: 162.
8. Reinink 1985: 276–7.
9. Some scholars argue that Heraclius's conduct of the conflict against the Sasanians can be seen as a model of a proto-crusade. Others maintain that the concept of holy war was alien to the Byzantines, as suggested by their failure to develop their own model of crusade in response to the challenge of Islamic expansionism. On this academic debate, see Stouraitis 2012: 235ff.; Kolia-Dermitzaki 2011: 121–32; Stoyanov 2012: 33–6 and 42–4; Laiou 2006: 33–4; Dennis 2001: 34–5.
10. Kaegi 2012: 21.
11. Eusebius (d. 339 CE) and Lactantius (d. 320 CE) present Constantine's clash with Licinius as a religious conflict, with the former representing the Christian God against the latter's pagan beliefs. See Whitby 1998.
12. A good example is found in the story about the siege of Nisibis by the army of Shapur II (r. 309–379 CE), reported in three distinguished sources: the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (II.26) of Theodoret of Cyrus (d. ca. 458 CE); *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Syriac text known as the *Historia Sancti Ephraemi* (6–7); and the Syriac *Chronicon* (VII.3) of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199 CE). All these reports agree about two miraculous events that took place during the Sasanian offensive against Nisibis.
13. Whitby 1998: 194.
14. Frendo 1997.
15. Ibid.: 107.
16. *Wars* II.12.20–30.
17. Frendo 1997: 112.
18. *Eccl.* IV.24.
19. Text in Budge 1889: 273.
20. Reinink 1985: 275–6; Reinink 1999: 151–2; Reinink 2002: 81; Reinink 2003, 155–6.
21. Reinink 1985: 275–6; 2003: 155–6.
22. Greisiger 2014: 239; Greisiger 2016: 72.
23. Budge 1889: 274 (text).
24. *Strategikon* II.18.
25. *Strategikon* XII.10. Cf. *Strategikon* XII.24.
26. *Epitoma rei militaris* (III.5).
27. *Strategikon* II.18. Trans. Dennis.
28. The author is probably referring to this same formula when he discusses the inappropriateness of shouting *Nobiscum* at the beginning of the charge (II.18).
29. Budge 1889: 274 (text).
30. Ibid.: 158.
31. Ibid.: 272, n.3.
32. Nöldeke 1890: 29.
33. Hunnius 1904: 15.
34. Czeglédy 1957: 248.
35. Reinink 2003: 157–8. The same claim was expressed in Reinink 1985: 270–1, n.28.
36. Reinink 2003: 157.
37. Reinink 2003: 158.
38. On the peace negotiations of 628–629, see Howard-Johnston 1999: 26–9. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 223–7; Kaegi 2003: 178–91; and, above all, the recent reconstruction of the events in Howard-Johnston 2021: 322ff.
39. On this second round of negotiations, see Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 226–8 and Howard-Johnston 2021: 336ff.

40. Howard-Johnston 2021: 327–8, 342–3, 354.
41. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 226. I find speculative the suggestion by Howard-Johnston, according to whom Heraclius "seems to have obtained a promise of some war reparations (in the form of generous presents)." Howard-Johnston 1999: 28. In fact, the presents that Shahrbarāz reportedly gave the Byzantine ambassadors were likely part of diplomatic court ceremonies, not compensation for war damages.
42. Reinink 1985: 271, n.29.
43. See Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 113 and 123ff.
44. *Ecc. Hist.* VI.23. Trans. Payne Smith 1860: 426–7.
45. *Ecc. Hist.* VI.23.
46. Ibid.
47. *Hist.* VIII.15.1–7. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 128–9.
48. *Hist.* VIII.15.16–18. Trans. Greatrex and Lieu 2002: 129.
49. *Julian Romance*, p. 179. Trans. Sokoloff 2016: 364.
50. Nöldeke 1874: 281–4; Wood 2010: 141–2, 158–61.
51. Wood 2010: 142.
52. Ibid.: 141.
53. Ibid.
54. Wood 2010: 159–60. See also Schwartz 2011.
55. Hist. V.15.3–7. Trans. Whitby and Whitby.
56. Reinink 1984: 277–8; Reinink 2002: 85–9; Reinink 2003: 161; Greisiger 2014: 240–3.
57. Alexander 1969: 4–5; Mango 1980: 205.
58. Whitby and Whitby 1986: 150, n.81.
59. Whitby 1988: 240, n.35.
60. Whitby and Whitby 1986: 150, n.80.
61. Reinink 2002: 88.
62. "The hebdomad system requires some flexibility on our part in fixing dates, and one cannot exclude the possibility that they indicate the period of Persian successes and military supremacy only roughly." Reinink 2002: 87.
63. Reinink 2003: 159–60.
64. Reinink 2002: 89. See also Reinink 2003: 159–60.
65. Reinink 2003: 159, with reference to Reinink 1984: 279, n.47.
66. Schreiner 1985: 2–3 n.591; Olajos 1988: 11; Kaegi 2003: 84; Efthymiadis 2010: 180. See also Bonura 2019: 145–6.
67. Reinink 1985: 278–9; Reinink 2002: 85–91; Reinink 2003: 159–63.
68. Greisiger 2014: 242.
69. Shoemaker 2018: 85.
70. See Tesei 2018.
71. *Chron*. LXVIII.
72. *Hist*. V.15.3. Trans. Whitby and Whitby.
73. *CoT*, XXVIII.13–17.
74. *Julian Romance*, p. 103. Trans. Sokoloff.
75. Ibid., p. 104.
76. Harmatta 1996: 80.
77. Harmatta talks about "the preserved form of the Syrian Alexander Romance." Harmatta 1996: 80.
78. Budge 1889: 150, n. 1.
79. Bohas 2009: 32, n.62.
80. The figure of Darius the Mede is a scholarly riddle. In the Book of Daniel, he is identified as a king of Babylon, between the Chaldean Belshazzar and the Persian Cyrus the Great, and as the

son of the equally obscure Ahasuerus (Dan 5:31; 6:1; 9:1). However, no Darius the Mede is recorded in historical sources, nor is there historical evidence for the biblical report that a Median seized the Babylonian throne. The few details that the Book of Daniel provides about his reign and genealogy do not match the profile of Darius I, the only Persian sovereign bearing that name who also reigned in a period close to the chronological framework described in the Danielic books. Unlike Darius the Mede, Darius I reigned after Cyrus, and was the father, not the son, of Xerxes—a detail that is not consistent with his designation as the son of Ahasuerus. Finally, he was not Median, but Persian by birth. Insomuch as the Book of Daniel is not considered to be historically accurate, the character of Darius the Mede should be considered fictional.

81. On which see the discussion in Chapter 9.
82. E.g., Aphrahat (*Dem V.12*).
83. I owe this observation to Khodadad Rezakhani. Private conversation, February 13, 2021. On Middle Persian names, see Gignoux 1986. A few examples (among many) of -*q* as a transposition into Syriac of the final -*g* are: *bhrqʾ* from *bahrag*; *bzyqʾ* from *bāzīg*; *blylqʾ* from *balīlag*; *dnqʾ* from *dāng*; *wsqʾ* from *wāzag* (see Ciancaglini 2008).
84. The particular word *tubbārā* (ܬܘܒܪܐ) means breaking/fracture, whereas *tbārā* (ܬܒܪܐ) is used in the Peshitta to indicate a breaking (e.g., Isa 30:13–14), a calamity (e.g., Nahum 3:19, Prov 17:7), or even a prey (e.g., Job 4:11, Am 3:4).
85. See Gignoux 1986.
86. See Chapter 9.
87. See Chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 6

1. Reinink 1985: 277; Reinink 1992: 167, n.73; Reinink 1999: 153; Reinink 2002: 86; Reinink 2003: 162.
2. Reinink 1985: 276–7; Reinink 1999: 153; Reinink 2003: 162.
3. The title for one of Reinink's studies is: "Heraclius, the New Alexander" (Reinink 2002).
4. Greisiger 2014: 183.
5. *Herac*. I.110–121.
6. *Herac*. I.84–88.
7. *Herac*. II.133–137.
8. *Herac*. I.69–71.
9. *Herac*. I.133–135.
10. See Procopiou 2015: 201; Stewart 2018. On the representation of Alexander crowned with the horns of Ammon, see Chapter 9.
11. See Procopiou 2015: 210, n. 37.
12. Stewart 2018: 167 and fig. 21 at p. 194.
13. Ibid. and fig. 22 at p. 195.
14. One thinks of the so-called David Plates.
15. Procopiou 2015: 201; Stewart 2018: 156–7. Stewart mistakenly identifies the *Neṣḥānā* with the Syriac translation of the *Alexander Romance*.
16. On the analytic categories of *comparatio Alexandri*, *imitatio Alexandri*, and *aemulatio Alexandri*, see Green 1978, 1998, and, more recently, Welch and Mitchel 2015.
17. Trajan's fascination with Alexander was closely connected to a renewed interest in the ancient king among contemporary Roman intellectuals. Both Arrian's *Anabasys Alexandri* and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* date from this historical period (see Monaco Caterine 2017).
18. On Caracalla's *imitatio Alexandri*, see Bruhl 1930, 214ff.; Baharal 1994; Kühnen 2008, 176ff.; van Bladel 2009: 59; Shayegan 2011: 342ff.

19. See Shayegan 2011: 343ff.
20. See the cases of Diocletian (r. 284–305) and Constantine (r. 306–337) in Smith 2011: 50, and that of Constantius II (r. 337–361) in Lane Fox 1997: 239–47.
21. See Shayegan 2011: 361 ff. On Julian's *imitatio Alexandri*, see Smith 2011; Lane-Fox 1997.
22. In this case, the flattering prediction by Claudian (d. 404) that the teenage emperor Honorius (r. 393–423) would become "as great [as Alexander], lording it over the Indians, worshipped by the Mede" (*IV Cons. Hon.*, 257–8) should not be read as an exhortation to emulate Alexander's Persian campaigns, but as an encomiastic comparison adopted by the panegyrist to celebrate his protector. Cited in Smith 2011: 50.
23. *Wars* II.2.3–9. Trans. Dewing 1914: 267.
24. *Wars* II.3.41–49. Trans. Dewing 1914: 283.
25. *Wars* II.2.9–15. Trans. Dewing 1914: 269–71. The mention of Cyrus the Great as another model of ideal sovereign reflects a more complex idealization and propagandistic dynamic, to which we will return later.
26. See Smith 2011: 73–85. See also Lane Fox 1997: 249ff.
27. *Hist*. IV.13.4–26. Trans. Whitby and Whitby 1986.
28. Howard-Johnston 2010: 146.
29. See Cameron 1977: 43.
30. *Anthol. Graeca* XVI.62. Trans. Mango 1986: 117–8.
31. *Anthol. Graeca* XVI.63. Trans. Mango 1986: 118.
32. See Cameron 1977: 44–46; Mango 1986: 118, n.318. The two epigraphs mention two different names, Eustathius and Julian, as the dedicator(s) of the statue. Mango and Cameron have successfully identified the Julian of the second epigram with the praetorian prefect of the East between March 530 and February 531. The Eustathius mentioned in the first epigram, however, remains unidentified, although the title of "father of Rome" (γενέτης Ῥώμης) suggests that he was the city prefect of Constantinople. Mango wonders whether the two names reported in the *Anthology of Planudes* belonged to the same person, who held both offices, or to two different officials who dedicated the same statue to the emperor. The first hypothesis is rejected by Cameron, who argues that it is more likely that "Eustathius was city prefect while Julian was praetorian prefect, namely 530/1" (Cameron 1977: 45). At the same time, Cameron emphasizes that it was unusual for a statue to bear a double dedicatory epigram. On these grounds, he asks whether the two epigraphs originally may have belonged to two different statues. Ultimately, however, Cameron considers that "on balance it is probably easier to accept two prefects erecting one statue in collaboration than two apparently identical monuments commemorating apparently identical achievements" (ibid.: 46). Feissel is skeptical about the ascription of the two epigrams to the same statue and, commenting on the second epigram, affirms that "rien n'autorise à confondre cette statue avec celle de l'Hippodrome" (2000: 90). By contrast, the two epigrams are treated as part of a single inscription in a recent study by Canepa (2009: 169).
33. Cameron makes this point in Cameron 1977: 43.
34. Canepa 2009: 169.
35. Cf. the information reported by Malalas (*Chron*., 408, 22–3), according to whom Justinian modified a statue originally that depicted Arcadius (r. 383–408 CE).
36. *Build.* I.2.10–12. Trans. Dewing 1940.
37. See Weitzmann 1977: 35; Canepa 2009: 115. I do not agree with Stewart's suggestion that the figure represented in the ivory is the idealized person of the apocalyptic *kosmokrator* described, inter alia, in the *Pseudo-Methodius*. Stewart 2018: 171.
38. Canepa 2009: 115.
39. On which, see Smith 2011: 73–85. See also Lane Fox 1997: 249ff.
40. I.28–29. See Budge 1889: 35–6.

41. See van Ginkel's remarks about John of Ephesus's position toward Justinian (van Ginkel 1995: 109).
42. See the detailed study by Jack Tannous (2018).
43. Wood 2010: 159–60.

Chapter 7

1. Interestingly, the Middle-Persian apocalyptic text entitled *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* depicts Alexander not only through the common epithet of *hrōmāyān*, "the Roman," but also through that of *kilīsāyīg*, "the ecclesiastic" (III.26. See Cereti 1995: 165 and Gignoux 2007: 95). This peculiar definition of Alexander has puzzled scholars, and some have questioned the identification of Alexander with the epithet *kilīsāyīg* (Cereti 1995: 185; Gignoux 2007: 95; Daryaee 2015: 9). I would suggest that the description of the Macedonian king as "the ecclesiastic" relates to the process of Christianization of the character of Alexander that is first certified in the *Neṣḥānā*. This characterization of Alexander became widespread in later Syriac literature. The new evolution of the figure of Alexander into a pious Christian sovereign arguably contributed to the elaboration among Zoroastrians of the image of an evil Roman, and now also Christian, king.
2. See Smith 2011: 73–85. See also Lane Fox 1997: 249ff.
3. Djurslev 2020: chap. 2.
4. The most recent study of Alexander in the Danielic schema is Djurslev 2020: 99–128.
5. Ibid.: 122.
6. As Djurslev observes: "The sudden absence of the Fortune *topos* in the early Christian tradition is striking. The *topos* is never associated with Alexander across a wide range of historiographical texts, even those that seek to criticize him" (ibid.: 120).
7. *Dem*. V.18–19. Trans. Lehto: 161. On this passage of Aphrahat's Demonstrations, see Ubierna 2012: 150ff.
8. This explanation reflects a standard interpretation among Syriac Christians, as suggested by the fact that the Peshitta on Daniel 8 contains glosses in which the ram is identified with "Darius the Mede" and the he-goat with "Alexander the son of Philip." See Taylor 1994: 219.
9. *Dem* V.6. Trans in Lehto 2010: 152.
10. Morrison 2004: 68–9. On Aphrahat's interpretation of the Danielic prophecy, see also Ubierna 2012: 149–54.
11. When Aphrahat was writing his *Demonstration V*, he did not know that Constantine had recently passed away (see Morrison 2004: 57).
12. *Chron*. VIII.1. Trans. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 102.
13. *Chron*. VII.19. Trans. Jeffreys et al. 1986: 101.
14. One wonders if Malalas is referencing fictional information about alleged relationships between Alexander and Rome, like those found in the *Alexander Romance*, where Alexander forces the Romans into submission (rec. α I.26.5; rec. β I.29.2–3).
15. Text in Budge 1889: 270.
16. Ibid.
17. *Dem* V.10.
18. *Dem* V.6.
19. *Vide infra*.
20. On this tradition, see Goldstein 1993.
21. See Djurslev 2020: 129–36.
22. *Ant.* XI.317–345.
23. Text in Budge 1889: 155.

24. The terms ܦܪܙܠܐ / *parzlā* (“iron”) and ܢܚܫܐ / *nḥāšā* (“bronze”), which in the *Neṣḥānā* designate the materials from which the two hammers are made, are the same terms that the Peshitta uses to translate the words פַּרְזְלָא / *parzəlā* (iron) and נְחָשָׁא / *nəḥāšā* (“bronze”) in Daniel 2 and 7.
25. For sure, this innovation had a lasting legacy, since later versions of the story—including the Qurʾānic pericope of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn—describe the gate against Gog and Magog as made of iron (*ḥadīd*) and brass (*qiṭr*).
26. Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, xxxii. On other authors who embraced this idea, see Shoemaker 2018: 40–1.
27. See Bonura forthcoming.
28. From this perspective, it is not surprising that the author omits the motif of the coming of the Antichrist, which might have raised fears among Christians about the collapse of Rome (cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 15.11–13) or—even worse—the idea elaborated by some exegetes that Satan would take control of the empire, which would then be destroyed by God (cf. Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel*, PG 1431–1432).
29. I emphasize the word “eschatological” in order to distinguish the episode in the Syriac work from those early references to the motif of Alexander’s iron gate that do relate to the theme of the Eschaton.
30. Pfister 1956: 30 and Pfister 1976: 325.
31. *Bell. Jud.* VII.7.4.
32. Ant. Jud. I.122.
33. Anderson 1932: 19–20.
34. See, among others, Greisiger 2016: 64 and Djurslev 2018.
35. Anderson 1932: 16–20.
36. See the criticism already made by Barry 1933: 265.
37. Djurslev 2018: 203.
38. Potestà 2011.
39. Bonura 2016.
40. Sackur 1898: 186.
41. See Mayerson 1993.
42. The symbiosis of the two motifs of Alexander’s horns and of the iron gate into the elaboration of the legend of the eschatological gate is reflected in the Qurʾānic pericope of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn.

Chapter 8

1. Van Bladel 2007a: 187–8.
2. Reinink 2002.
3. Reinink 2003: 163ff.
4. *The Seventh Vision of Daniel* was originally composed in Greek, but it survives only in Armenian. On the dating and contents of the text, see DiTommaso 2005: 100ff., DiTommaso 2014, and La Porta 2013.
5. *Hist.* V.5.
6. Shoemaker 2018.
7. Shoemaker 2018: 70ff., with reference to Scott 1985: 108 and Scott 2012: 6–9.
8. *Apologeticus*, xxxii.
9. See Shoemaker 2018: 38–9.
10. On Eusebius, see Chesnut 1986: 170, 173–4; Thielman 1987; Shoemaker forthcoming. On Lactantius, see Digeser 2014; Shoemaker forthcoming. On Ephrem, see Papoutsakis 2017; Shoemaker forthcoming. In his PhD dissertation and in a recent article, Bonura questions the

eschatological enthusiasm attributed to the reign of Constantine (Bonura 2019, 2021). See, however, Shoemaker's counterarguments in Shoemaker forthcoming.
11. Lehto 2010: 22ff.
12. See ibid.
13. See the remarks by Lehto in ibid.: 22–23, n.42.
14. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* XII.18, XV.11–13; John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Daniel* 2; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Commentary on Daniel 2 & 7*.
15. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel 7*.
16. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel 2* (trans. Archer).
17. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Commentary on Daniel* 2 (trans. Hill).
18. Ibid.
19. See Morrison 2007: 72–73.
20. See Canepa 2009.
21. See Shoemaker 2018: 64ff.
22. On the (perhaps too rosy description of the) integration of Eastern Christians in the Sasanian Empire, see Payne 2015.
23. See Buck 1996.
24. See Brock 1982: 11.
25. See Chapter 9.
26. *Christian Topography* II.74–75.
27. *Christian Topography* II.75. Trans. McCrindle. Greek text and French translation in Wolska-Conus 1970, I: 390.
28. Ibid.
29. Magdalino 1993: 10.
30. *Christian Topography* II.76–77.3.
31. See Gariboldi 2016 and Shayegan 2017: 439–40.
32. Cosmas's distinction between Sasanians and Achaemenids implicitly denies polemical forecast of the future, like the one elaborated by Aphrahat, about the former's destiny to repeat the catastrophic fate of the latter.
33. *Christian Topography* II.76–77.3.
34. Canepa 2009: 118.
35. Ibid.: 120.
36. See, among others, Witakowski 2008; Debié 2008; Minov 2021.
37. Minov 2014: 191.
38. See, for instance, Brock 1982: 15, with reference to the classical study of Monneret de Villard (1952).
39. See Minov 2014: 174ff. One case of this cultural phenomenon discussed by Minov will be analyzed at the end of this chapter. It concerns Abā's encomiastic opening words of the synod of 544, and his hailing Khosrow as the second Cyrus.
40. Minov 2014: 193. See Jullien 2009.
41. See Minov 2014: 169ff.
42. *Christian Topography* II.2.
43. Wolska-Conus 1968: 63–85; Berti 2017.
44. Bonura 2019 and Bonura forthcoming.
45. Ut supra.
46. Berti 2017.

Chapter 9

1. Text in Budge 1889: 257.

2. The question of Alexander's horns has generated a long and often inconclusive academic debate around a mysterious figure who appears in the Qurʾān under the epithet of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, literally "the Two Horned One." In what follows, I deliberately refrain from engaging with scholarship dedicated to the figure of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn or any questions relating to Qurʾānic origins.
3. See Collins 2014.
4. Fulińska 2012: 385–6.
5. *FGrHist* 126.5.
6. Anderson 1927: 103; Fulińska 2012: 386.
7. These "Arabian Alexanders" began to appear in the eastern Arabian Peninsula in the third century BCE, and were probably produced in two different periods: between the late third and early second centuries BCE, and between the first century BCE and the third century CE. On this numismatic evidence, see Van Alfen 2010: 563–4 and bibliography. For further details, see Mørkholm 1973; Potts 1991: 13–62; Potts 2010: 70ff.
8. See Anastasiades 2009: 262–4.
9. See Fulińska 2012, 396.
10. See Stewart 2018: 147 and image at p. 188.
11. See Dalton 1901: 16; Stewart 2018: 147–8. Whereas Dalton dates the cameo to the fourth-sixth centuries CE, Stewart dates it to the fourth-seventh centuries CE. Neither offers any explanation for the suggested dating.
12. Fulińska 2012: 393–4.
13. See Procopiou 2015: 201.
14. See the discussion in Stewart 2018: 143–52.
15. See Anderson 1927: 103–4; Stewart 1993: 41, 411; Nawotka 2017: 261–2. On Clemens's condemnation of Alexander's attempted deification, see Djurslev 2020: 71–2.
16. Stewart 2018: 152. On early Christian discussions regarding Alexander's alleged divine origins, see Djurslev 2020: 70ff.
17. On this episode, see Jouanno 2002: 57–68.
18. *Alexander Romance*, III.34. The adjective κερασφόρον is the same used by Clemens of Alexandria in the above quoted passage.
19. See Wolohojian 1969: 158.
20. Text in Budge 1889: 272.
21. See Djurslev 2020: 70ff.
22. Significantly, the Peshitta refers to the horns in the plural.
23. Text in Burge 1889: 272.
24. Ibid.
25. On Byzantium as the elected nation, see the recent monograph of Shay Eshel (Eshel 2018). See also Magdalino and Nelson 2010: 25–30; Sivertsev 2011: 1ff.
26. All extant manuscripts seem to be consistent on this passage, at least according to Budge's critical edition (Budge 1889: 257).
27. Reinink 1985: 273, n.37; Bohas 2009: 28, n.53.
28. Reinink 1985: 273, n.37. However, exegeses on Daniel 7 more often associate Alexander with with the third beast of the prophecy.
29. The sentence "the he-goat had a horn between its eyes" is rendered in the Peshitta as: *w-ṣpryʾ qrnʾ mtḥzyʾ byt ʿynwhy*.
30. "[The ram] had two horns. Both horns were long, but one was longer than the other, and the longer one came up second."
31. Text in Budge 1889: 272.
32. See Djurslev 2020: 99ff.
33. The gloss reads: "the he-goat is Alexander, son of Philip."

34. Text in Assemani 1743: 217.
35. Dem V.5, 10, 18.
36. See Djurslev 2020: 99ff.
37. Commentary on Daniel IV.26. Trans. Djurslev 2020: 99–100.
38. *Antiquities* X.11.4.
39. *On Daniel* 8:3.
40. Ibid.
41. *On Daniel* 9:1. Trans. Stevenson et al. 2008: 259.
42. *Chron*. VIII.1 (Trans. Jeffreys et al.).
43. According to Jerome, Cyrus and his (alleged) uncle Darius the Mede reigned together. *On Daniel* 8:3.
44. *On Daniel* 8:3. Trans. Stevenson et al. 2008: 248.
45. *History* XLIV.142.
46. See Lane Fox 2007: esp. 279–80 and 284–5.
47. XI.11.4.
48. See Shayegan 2017: 426–33; Facella 2005.
49. See Shayegan 2017: 433–6.
50. *Brutus* 282. See Nabel 2018: 217.
51. *Vita Constantini* I.7–9. See Peltonen 2018: 486ff.; Djurslev 2020: 199ff.
52. As for Alexander's control over Assyria, this should be related to traditions examined in the next chapter that characterize the Sasanians as the heirs of Nimrod.
53. The exception is the propaganda operated by Julian during his campaign against Shapur II. Unlike previous Roman emperors and his contemporary Aphrahat, Julian promoted a denialist strategy centered around the rebuttal of alleged Sasanian claims of an Achaemenid lineage. See Gariboldi 2016 and Shayegan 2017: 440.
54. *Hist*. VI.2.1–2.
55. *Hist*. LXXX.3.4.
56. *Res Gestae* XVII.5.5–6.
57. On the (un-)historicity of the information provided by Roman authors, see Huyse 2002; Frendo 2002; Shayegan 2011: chap. 2.
58. The proclamation: "by the care of the second Cyrus (ܘܒܝܨܝܦܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܟܘܪܫ ܕܬܪܝܢ)" occurs in the report of the synod found in the anthology of the texts of Eastern Christian synods published in Chabot 1902 (p. 69).
59. See Payne 2015: chap. 3. On Abā's possible role in suppressing the revolt of Gundeshapur, see Jullien 2011: 112–3.
60. For an extensive bibliography of the scholarly positions on this debate, see Shayegan 2011: 1–2, nn.2–7. See also a recent important contribution in Canepa 2018: chap. 12. The possibility of Achaemenian recollections has been debated—without reaching a full consensus—only with reference to early Sasanian period, while not much scholarship has specifically focused on the reign of Khosrow.
61. *Buildings* I.14. Trans. Dewing.
62. See Canepa 2009: 311, n.53.
63. See also Whitby 2008: 131.
64. Canepa 2009: 311, n.53.
65. On Justinian's attitudes toward the Eastern Church, see Guillaumont 1969.
66. *Hist*. IV.29.5–7.
67. Ibid. IV.29.8–10.
68. Herodotus, *Hist*. I.26–94.
69. Trans. Frendo 2011: 133.

70. Noticeably, the reference in the *Neṣḥānā* to Alexander's subjugation of Assyria and Babylon finds a precise parallel in the epigram reported in the *Anthology of Planudes.*
71. I owe to Domenico Agostini the observation that, with the motif of Alexander's ram horns, our author may want to appropriate another element of Sasanian political culture, that is, the ram as a symbol of royalty. Depictions of sovereigns wearing helmets decorated with ram horns appear on Sasanian coins and artworks (Dmitriev 2017: 115). Shapur II is said to have worn a golden headgear shaped in the image of a ram's head (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XIX.1.3.). These representations are likely related to the symbolic value of the ram in Zoroastrian religious tradition. In Zoroastrianism, the ram appears as a manifestation of the *xwarrah*, the divine force of royal glory. Perhaps the best-known example of the *xwarrah* epiphany is described in the *Kār-Nāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pāpakān*, where a ram accompanies Ardashir I, seated on his horse behind him (see Shenkar 2014: 131, 138–40; Dmitriev 2017: 118).

Chapter 10

1. Text in Budge 1889: 257–8.
2. Reinink 1993b: 21 n.4, 67 n.2.; Potestà 2011: 282ff.; Shoemaker 2018: 58; Bonura 2016: 56ff.
3. Text in Sackur 1898: 186.
4. Ps-Methodius, XIV.2–5. Trans. Palmer 1993: 240. Text in Reinink 1993b: 44.
5. Shoemaker 2018: chap. 2.
6. Potestà 2011.
7. Bonura 2016.
8. Reinink 1993b: 21 n.4, 67 n.2; Potestà 2011: 282ff.; Shoemaker 2018: 58; Bonura 2016: 56ff.
9. Potestà 2011: 280ff.
10. Shoemaker 2018: 84.
11. Scholars have identified Heraclius's ceremonial reinstallation of the True Cross in Jerusalem as the historical background to the scene of Alexander's visit to the holy city and his promise to have his throne transferred to Jerusalem after his death (Reinink 1985: 279–80; Reinink 2003: 164–5; Stoyanov 2011: 63; Greisiger 2016: 216). However, there are several discrepancies between the dynamics depicted by the Syriac author and the historical reality of the 630s. For instance, in the peace negotiations between Alexander and Ṭūbarlaq, we find no mention of any precious object returned to the Romans that could represent the holy relics recovered by Heraclius. Moreover, in the Syriac work, we read that Alexander's throne is relocated to Jerusalem after Alexander's death, something that significantly differs from Heraclius's return of the Cross at the end of the conflict. As for the motif of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* certainly did not need the example of Heraclius to assert the centrality of Jerusalem for the Christian kingdom that, in his view, Alexander founded. Alexander's journey to the holy city is intimately connected to the image of the pious, divinely inspired emperor that our author depicts. To produce this image, the author adopted a number of tropes and *topoi* of the Jewish and Christian tradition, including the one that had the Macedonian king visiting Jerusalem during his invasion of the Achaemenid Empire.
12. Shoemaker 2018: 61.
13. At the same time, the deposition of the crown and the regalia in the *Tiburtine Sibyl* brings to mind another passage in the *Neṣḥānā*, namely, the section immediately before the battle against Tūbarlaq in which Alexander takes off his crown and his purple robes and lays them in front of God in a display of humility.
14. See the bibliography in Shoemaker 2018: 196, n.94.
15. The Syriac author here struggles somewhat to explain (not very convincingly) why the pagan emperor Julian did not abolish the practice established by Constantine of having a cross at the

head of the army (*Julian Romance*, p. 199).

16. Ibid., pp. 200–1.
17. Reinink 1992: 174.
18. Ciancaglini 2008: 266.
19. *Julian Romance*, pp. 108ff.
20. Ibid., p. 200 (trans. Sokoloff).
21. Ibid., p. 85 (trans. Sokoloff).
22. Ibid., p. 127 (trans. Sokoloff).
23. Ibid., p. 201 (trans. Sokoloff).
24. Ibid., p. 210.
25. Ibid., p. 213.
26. Ibid., p. 209 (trans. Sokoloff).
27. Ibid., p. 183 (trans. Sokoloff).
28. Ibid., pp. 102, 107, 159, 163, 165.
29. Ibid., pp. 74, 103, 172.
30. Ibid., p. 172 (trans. Sokoloff).
31. Ibid., p. 74 (trans. Sokoloff).
32. *Vide infra*.
33. *Julian Romance*, p. 103 (trans. Sokoloff).
34. Ibid., p. 193 (trans. Sokoloff).
35. Text in Bedjan 1905–1910: I.93, 120.
36. See Minov 2021.
37. *CoT*, XXIV.4.
38. Ibid., XXIV.25–26.
39. Here it is not clear whether the subject is Nimrod or Sasan.
40. *CoT* XXIV.25–26, rec. 1. Text in Ri 1987: I.194.
41. Bonura forthcoming.
42. Ibid.
43. Lewis and Gibson 1900: 704.
44. *PRK* I.7. The dating of the *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* is contested.
45. The Peshitta translates καθέδρα as *kursyā*.
46. Newport 1990.
47. *PRK* I.7. Trans. Braude 2002: 22.
48. Ibid. Trans. Braude 2002: 22–3.
49. According to a tenth-century report, the Ottonian ambassador at the Byzantine court, Liutprand of Cremona, saw a representation of the throne of Solomon in the imperial palace of Constantinople (Liutprand of Cremona, *Retribution*, VI.5). As Ra'anan Boustan argues (Boustan 2013: 173), the throne described by Liutprand does not predate the reign of Leo VI (r. 887–912). In this case, the scene in the *Neṣḥānā* appears to be an early testimony to the tendency to deploy the motif of Solomon's throne in imperial discourse, one that became prominent in later centuries.
50. For a (not completely satisfying) analysis of the relationship between the motif in the *Neṣḥānā* and these Jewish traditions, see Greisiger 2014: 212–6.
51. On the relationship between this *midrash* and the frescoes at Dura-Europos, see Siverstev 2011: 22.
52. *EsthR* I.12. On this midrash, see Boustan 2008: 363–4; Siverstev 2011: 22; Boustan 2013: 179.
53. *EsthR* I.12.
54. *Targum Sheni* I.2.

55. In later versions, the *Midrash* appears to have been updated in order to include more recent historical figures, such as Caesar Augustus, Vespasian, Ardashir, and the Umayyad caliph Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Of the eight kings, some almost always appear in all variations of the list. They are: Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, and the king Messiah. See Amitay 2010: 116.
56. On the empty throne at Dura-Europos, see Mera 2014: 141.
57. Amitay 2010: 115. The repeated updating of the kings' list indicates the continuous circulation of the *Midrash* in Late Antiquity. The last historically recognizable figure interpolated in the list is the Umayyad caliph Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 724–743 CE).
58. See Strack and Sternberger 1996: 318–9.
59. Amitay 2010: 115.
60. *Apocalypse of Daniel* 2, 9–10.
61. Henze 2001: 14.
62. One even wonders if, by means of the peculiar description of the crown suspended over the throne, the author of the *Neṣḥānā* was seeking to compete with Sasanian court ceremonies. According to later Arab historians, the practice of suspending the crown from the ceiling over the throne was inaugurated during the reign of Khosrow Anōshirvān (see Ettinghausen 1972: 28–9).
63. Weyl Carr 1991.
64. For a recent discussion, with reference to previous scholarship, see Bergmeier 2020: 88–90.
65. Ibid.: 97, 100.

Conclusion

1. The provinces are enumerated by the angel who instructs Alexander about the terms of the peace that he must dictate to Tūbarlaq. The angel tells the king to establish the frontier between the two empires on the Tigris and to take possession of several territories. As observed by Reinink, these territories correspond to the Byzantine prefectures occupied by the Persians during the seventh-century conflict and restored to Byzantium after the peace treaty signed by Heraclius and Kavadh II in 628 (Reinink 2003: 153). Thus, Reinink argues that the homily was composed in the immediate aftermath of those peace agreements. However, the absence of the list of provinces in one of the three recensions of the homily suggests that the list was not part of the original text. If so, it is easy to imagine that a similar addition was made in order to connect the story of Alexander's victory over the Persians to Heraclius's campaigns.
2. On the sections of the *Neṣḥānā* that may have been borrowed by Ps.-Ephrem, see Reinink 2003: 170, n.117.
3. Nöldeke 1890:
4. Van Bladel 2007a; Tesei 2013–2014.
5. Di Branco 2011; Klar 2020.
6. Di Branco 2011: 71.
7. The traditions about Ṣaʿb Ḏū Marāṯid are likely the product of post-Islamic elaborations by the Yemenite intellectual elite (Friedländer 1913: 285ff.). According to Horowitz, Alexander's Qurʾānic epithet of Ḏū-l-Qarnayn was transferred to a Yemenite king in the post-Qurʾānic period (Horowitz 1926: 111). Nagel identifies the origins of the legends about Ḏū-l-Qarnayn/Tubbaʿ in the circle of the Himyarites who settled in Egypt after the rise of Islam. He argues that the South Arabian saga of Ṣaʿb Ḏū-l-Qarnayn is based on legends about Alexander/Ḏū-l-Qarnayn produced by post-Islamic Yemenite intellectuals with propagandistic purposes (Nagel 1978). Inexplicably, Di Branco mentions the outcomes of Nagels's study in support of his analysis (Di Branco 2011: 301–2), although his theory is contradicted by those

very same outcomes. Similarly odd is Di Branco’s reference to the saga of “il grande monarca sudarabico costruttore della muraglia contro Gog and Magog” as the source of inspiration for the Syriac seventh-century texts about Alexander. This description suggests that the Syriac authors derived the motif of Alexander’s eschatological gate from the Yemenite epic of Ṣaʿb Ḏū-l-Qarnayn, and not—as one would expect—from earlier traditions about the Macedonian sovereign. Postulating a South Arabian origin for this literary motif, however, would be hardly possible, since Greek and Latin sources credit Alexander with the construction of fortifications in Central Asia since at least the times of Josephus—as the present study has documented. In fact, Di Branco does not explain how the story of the wall erected against Gog and Magog, usually attributed to the figure of Alexander, came to be associated with a Himyarite literary figure. These are only two of the several problematic aspects of Di Branco’s analysis.

8. According to Klar, “the Qurʾānic exemplum is highly allusive, and makes no reference to vast tracts of the narrative line attested in the *Nesḥānā*. Where the two sources would appear to utilize the same motif, there are substantial differences in the way these motifs are framed. These differences are sometimes so significant as to suggest that the motifs might not, in fact, be comparable at all.” Klar 2020: 134. Cf. Zadeh 2015: 333.
9. For instance, Klar dismisses the relationship between the fetid waters in the *Neṣḥānā* and the boiling water in the Qurʾān on the basis of the argument that the Arabic term *ḥāmiya* does not exactly translate the Syriac *sryʾ* (Klar 2020: 135).
10. Tesei 2013–2014.
11. Note that Syriac language does not distinguish between bronze and brass. Consequently, the Arab term *qiṭr* (“brass”) in Q 18:96 appears as an exact translation of the Syriac word *nḥšʾ* (“bronze/brass”).
12. Zadeh 2015: 333.

Appendix 1

1. For a possible explanation for the curious image of the knotters of crowns, see Bohas 2009: 25–6, n.47.
2. Here I follow Bohas’s understanding of the words *pryqyws* and *prglʾ* as corruptions of the Greek terms *patríkios* and *fulakai* (Bohas 2009: 26, n.48). The word ܦܪܝܩܝܘܣ (*pryqyws*), in particular, appears to be a misspelling ܦܛܪܝܩܝܘܣ (*pṭryqyws*), that is, πατρίκιος (*patríkios*).
3. Literally “they reach nothing.” I prefer to literally translate *mṭyn l-mdm* rather than glossing *mṭyn* into *myṭyn* as suggested by Budge (1889: 256, n.2).
4. Curiously, the author uses the two toponyms, *Mṣryn* and *ʾgbṭwṣ*, to designate Egypt.
5. Van Bladel suggests a different interpretation of this passage, according to which it is Alexander, and not the Sun, to prostrate in front of God and to travel along the cosmic path (van Bladel 2007a: 198, n.12).
6. The expression “the four winds of heaven” is reminiscent of Daniel 7:2: “I, Daniel, saw in my vision by night the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea.” The Peshitta displays the same formula *ʾrbʿ rwḥy šmyʾ* that occurs in the *Neṣḥānā*.
7. On the name *ʾḥšwrḥ* see at the end of Chapter 5.
8. Budge does not translate the words ܘܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܗܢ (Budge 1889: 150, text p. 263). Bohas opts for what he defines as a “traduction conjecturale”: “telle que nous la voyons devant nous” (2009: 33). I prefer to leave the sentence untranslated, as the meaning is unclear.
9. As Budge of observes, one would expect to find the feminine, rather than the masculine, forms of the verbs here (1889: 263, n.11).
10. Budge notices that the verb *rhṭyn* is strange in this context and proposes to emend it with *d-npqyn* (“that come out”) (1889: 264, n.1).
11. Ut supra.

12. Here I accept Budge's suggestion to read *brytʾ* as *b-brytʾ* (Budge 1889: 264, n.3). See also Bohas 2009: 34, n.71.
13. Budge translates the *prwyʾ* word as "maces," and compares it to the term *prwnʾ* which appears in the *Chronicle of Joshua* the Stylite (1889: 264, n.4). *Prwnʾ* is the word that appears at v. 277 of Pseudo-Ephrem's homily, which reproduces the passage in the *Neṣḥānā* almost *ad litteram* (see Beck 1972: 66). Noticeably one of the manuscripts used by Beck reports the same reading *prwyʾ* that is found in the *Neṣḥānā*). *Prwnʾ* also poses interpretation problems, however. Several emendations have been proposed: *qrwnʾ* ("clubs"), *pdwʾʿ* ("axes"), *krwkʾ* ("lassoes"). For these various emendations see Trombley and Watt 2000: 81, n.387. Trombley and Watt translate the word as "thongs" (ibid.). Bohas seems to follow a similar reading and translates *prwyʾ* in the *Neṣḥānā* as "rênes" ("reins") (2009: 34). It is possible that the form *prwyʾ* in the *Neṣḥānā* is a distortion of one of these words provoked by assimilation with the personal name *prwyʾ* that appears in the Peshitta on Nemeiah 7:57.
14. As Budge observes, some words must be missing here in the text (1889: 264, n.2). However, as Bohas notices, it is possible to recover the missing words from the homily of Ps.-Ephrem, who almost literally reproduces the same passage found in the *Neṣḥānā* (2009: 34, n.73). The words I indicate in brackets come from John C. Reeves's translation of Ps.-Ephrem's homily (I thank Reeves for sharing with me this unpublished translation of the text).
15. The Bēṯ ʾmrdt mentioned in the *Neṣḥānā* corresponds to the *ʾmzrtʾ* (the Pygmies) which are mentioned together with the Dog-Men in the Geographical appendix in Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor's *Ecclesiastical History* (XII.10) (on which see Greatrex et al. 2011: 451).
16. Probably the name of a snake (the term *ʾšwpʾ*, meaning snake charmer).
17. As Bohas suggests, the word *swkrʾ* ("bolt") should be probably replaced here with *mwklʾ* ("bar") (2009: 37, n.80).
18. Lit. "which was trampled with bars."
19. The text here is not completely clear. In my interpretation, I follow Bohas's suggestions (Bohas 2009: 37, nn.82–83).
20. Budge suggests reading *brmdyʾ* as *byrtʾ* (1889: 268, n.3). In this case the reference in the *Neṣḥānā* would be to Esther 1:2, where the same expression *šwšn byrtʾ* ("the citadel of Susa") appears. Bohas translates *brmdyʾ* as "en Médie," that is, "in Media" (2009: 37). I prefer to leave the word untranslated.
21. The term b'rmgsṭ' is problematic. Budge does not translate the word (1889: 154). Bohas (following a suggestion by Reinink) understands it as a corruption of the late Latin *arcuballista* and translates it as "arbalètes" (2009: 37, n.85). The same possible reading is reported by Czeglédy (1957: 244). I prefer to leave the term untranslated.
22. The problems with interpreting *hwyʾ* (ܗܘܝܐ) and this sentence in general is analyzed in Chapter 3.
23. The verb *ndyl* is reminiscent of Jeremiah 50:9: "For I am going to stir up (*mdyl*) and bring against Babylon a company of great nations from the land of the north."
24. The text reads "and the kingdoms" (Budge 1889: 269).
25. This is an exact quotation from the Peshitta translation of Jeremiah 1:14.
26. Budge notes that some words seem to be missing here (1889: 271, n.4; 155, n.2). See my analysis of this passage in Chapter 1.
27. That is, one million, one hundred thirty thousand.
28. In Budge's edition *bsmʾ* is misspelled as *bsbʾ* (1889: 273).
29. As explained in Chapter 5, I privilege the reading *d-npšk* over *d-npšh*.
30. I follow Bohas's suggestion and read *ʾyn* as *ʾyk* (2009: 42, n.99).

Appendix 2

1. Talbert 2000: Map 87 (Pontus-Phasis), C4.
2. Ibid.: Map 89 (Armenia), C2.
3. Ibid.: Map 64 (Caesarea-Melitene) G2.
4. Ibid.: Map 64 (Caesarea-Melitene) G2.
5. Ibid.: Map 89 (Armenia), C2.
6. Ibid.: Map 89 (Armenia), D2.

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CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

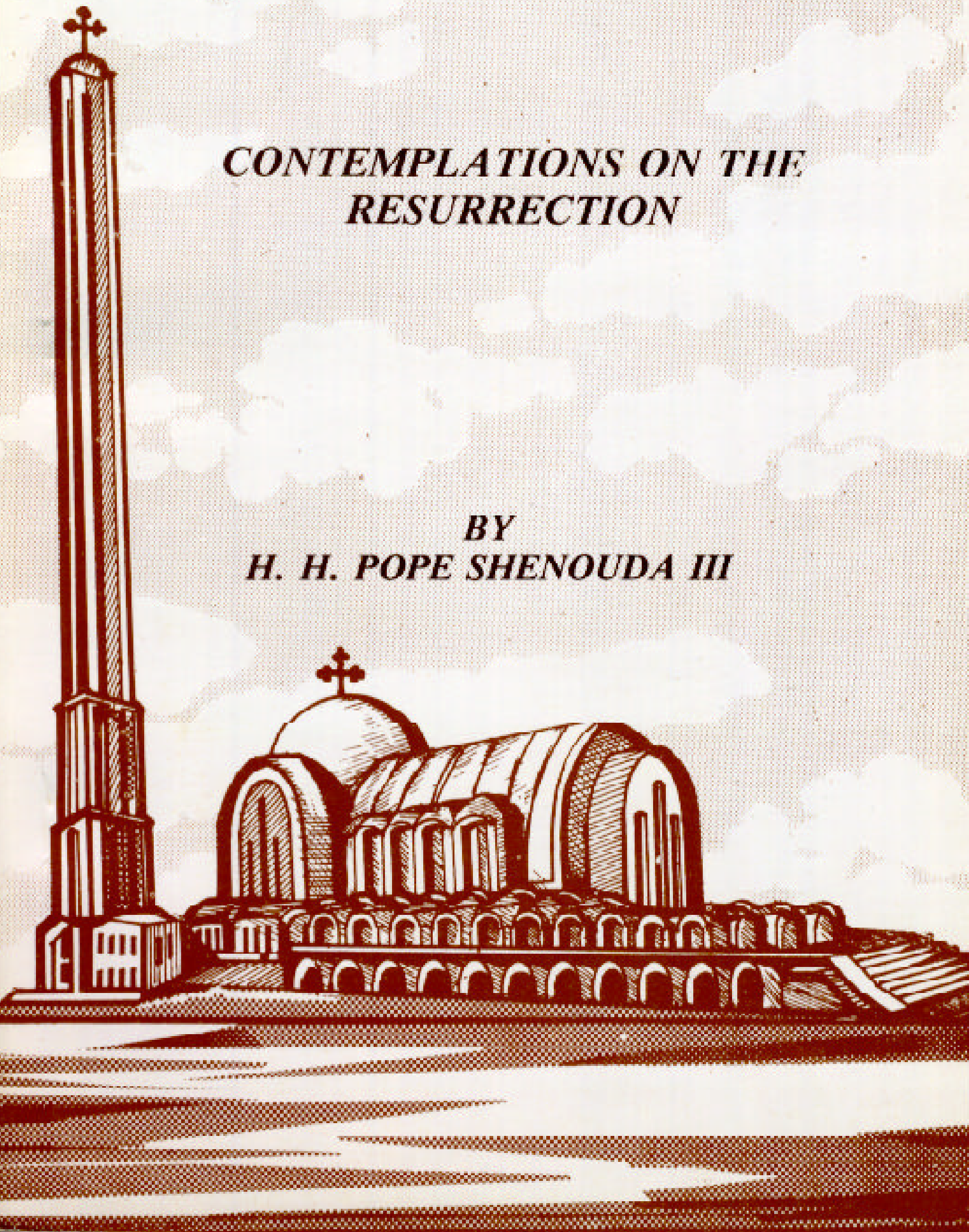

COPTIC ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE

See of St. Mark

CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE RESURRECTION

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

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PREFACE

This is the first book I publish about The Resurrection.

But I have published many articles about the resurrection in the Preaching magazine and in the daily newspapers.

Moreover, every year, on Easter Eve, we used to deliver a sermon about that subject in the Great Cathedral.

It was necessary to collect all these articles and sermons for this book, So we could publish it.

This book is comprised of two principal elements:

1. **General - theoretical theology -talks on the resurrection**.

This is an ideological trend which falls under the limits of theoretical theology or the philosophy of the resurrection written in a good style which suits all denominations.

It, also, explains how resurrection was an essential necessity; how it was potential and the uses and benefits gained from it both spiritually and generally.

2. **Topics concerning the resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ; glory be to Him**.

It comprises the events of the resurrection and explains its power and its effects; how Jesus' resurrection surpasses other resurrections; the blessedness of this resurrection and its effects on your life; the joys caused by it and the proofs and confirmation of its authenticity.

3. Questions related to the resurrection.

A question about the glorified body; a question about the words of the Lord to Mary Magdalene "Do not hold on to me. "; two other questions about Saint Peter, the apostle and a question about the circumstances of the resurrection and to what extent its events agree with each other.

This last question needs a separate and complete article which will be delivered on another occasion; God willing.

Now, it suffices to wish you a happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

April, 1990

CHAPTER ONE

The Resurrection And Its Spiritual Depth

The Resurrection Is A Wonderful Meeting:

1. The resurrection is a wonderful meeting between two united friends who have lived together their whole life since their birth and even before it, during pregnancy in their mothers' wombs.

They never separated even for one moment; They are: the body and the spirit.

Each of them has a special nature; the body is earthly and the spirit is celestial. They have united in one nature-the human nature.

You cannot separate one from the other and say "This is the body and that is the spirit."

They have lived together in an admirable unity. The body expresses all the sensations and feelings of the spirit. If the spirit becomes glad the body will smile and rejoice. If it becomes sad, sorrow will appear in the eyes.

After a long life they will separate from one another because of death but in the end they will meet each other in the resurrection.

After a long separation they will unite again. **I wonder!! how will the sensations of the spirit be when it meets the body -**

the life long partner after hundreds and may be thousands of years as Adam, Noah and Abraham had done before!?!?

The spirit meets the body after seeing the body change into a handful of dust. Then returns more radiant than before, without any blemish.

Even the faults, stuck to the body in the past, disappear. Yes, it is raised without defects because wrong and evil deeds do not agree with eternal paradise.

The body returns more friendly. It never disagrees with the spirit in the other world for it is raised a spiritual body.

2. The second wonderful meeting in the resurrection is a meeting of nations and races of the whole history.

It will be a general resurrection since the days of Adam. All nations and races that lived through generations and centuries, with their different languages, features and lineaments, with all their heroes and leaders will meet together and try to be acquainted and understand each other.

Undoubtedly, they will do so because there will be one language the language of the spirit or that of the angels.

How wonderful this meeting will be!! It will be the greatest of all stories and the strangest narrative of long epochs.

The best of all will be the procession of the triumphant and victorious people who struggled during their life on earth, then conquered and supported truth and morals.

They will meet together and everyone has a story related by generations... then the world will become once more one nation as it had been before parting and dispersion.

I wonder!! how will the meeting of the nations which had fought with each other be? Will the causes that forced them to wage wars against each other seem insignificant?

3. The third marvellous meeting is that of the human-beings with the angels who are made of a nature more eminent than ours.

Meeting with them will be one of eternity's happy enjoyment.

4. But the most wonderful meeting with the Lord will surpass any other meeting in its eminence.

Our meeting with God, blessed is His name, will be the eternal paradise for there will be no paradisiacal life without Him.

Now my pen stops in silent submissiveness because I am before a scene which words fail to describe or interpret. It is above the standard of any language to express or any intelligence to imagine. Thus, the resurrection is a strange and wonderful meeting .... and what else?

The Resurrection Is A Miraculous Transition:

1. It is a transition from the limited to the unlimited.

It is an interchange from a life measured with days and years to an infinite one which has no connection with time.

I wonder! Is there another earth which revolves around itself and round the sun; and interprets its revolutions into days and years?

Or shall we rise over time and enter a new world?

Measures of time will come to an end... One moment in eternity is longer and deeper than the whole life of earth.

2. The resurrection is also a transition from the visible to the invisible.

It is an entrance to what is written in the Holy Bible *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

It is an entrance to the spiritual world and a way to the meeting with the angels, the invisible spirits where joys never known on earth will take place. Here, the resurrection surpasses all the grades attained by senses and rises to the realms where the spirit alone can realise everything.

3. Thus, the resurrection means transition from the world of sensation to the world of spirits.

In the resurrection we acquire spiritual senses which differ from earthly material ones.

The new senses see the spirits and spiritualities and are dazzled by them. Now, I myself keep silent once more.

Here is a kind of the revelation of human nature when it becomes conscious of what it could not perceive in the past and acquire spiritual characteristics not practised before.

In the resurrection the spirit can see the invisible or some of it or advance gradually in sight moving from spiritual satiety to more and more fullness in the life of revealment.

4. The resurrection is transition from the world of falsehood to the life of truth.

From the world of evanescence to the world of immortality. From a world in which everything will be abolished after a time to an everlasting world in which there is no falsehood but well fixed truth.

It is a world free from sin where men live with each other in association very pure, clear and everlasting.

What else about the resurrection?

The Resurrection Is A Multi-Faceted Miracle:

Here appears the miraculous power of God. How will the bodies be gathered once more after they changed into dust! ?

Isn't it He who created and formed them from dust; from nothingness?

Dust had been a nonentity before it existed. He who looks attentively at the resurrection from this side can consider the limitless power of God, our creator. It is enough for Him to wish and everything will be accomplished according to His will, even without an utterance. It is His will which is in root and essence an effective order, capable of doing everything.

We consider the resurrection a miracle not owing to its difficulty but because our mind is unable to perceive how it takes place!! But though the mind fails to comprehend that matter, yet faith can easily understand it.

Thus, the resurrection is the creed of the believers.

He who has faith in God and His power can believe in the resurrection. He who has faith in God as a creator believes also that He has raised the dead.

But the apostates intelligence cannot reach that standard. They do not believe in the resurrection. They have no faith in the spirit and its immortality. Moreover, they do not believe in God Himself.

It Is also a necessary one for justice, serenity and evenness of mind.

It is necessary for justice to judge everyone according to his deeds done during his life on earth-whether good or bad. If they are good he will be rewarded; if they are evil and bad deeds he will be punished.

If there had been no resurrection men would have coveted greedily on worldly pleasures with their corruption and immorality without any care for what will happen to them in future life.

But believing in the resurrection and the following final judgement - reward or punishment - is a restraint to men because they will perceive that justice must prevail in the future life.

This final judgment will take place after the resurrection and the unity of the spirits with their bodies.

For it is unjust for the spirit to be judged alone leaving the body without retribution according to its obedience or disobedience to the spirit. Thus, the body must rise and the spirit must unite with it. And before God the two stand together because they were partners responsible for everything they did on earth.

The resurrection is also necessary for equality.

On earth there is no equality among human beings. There are the rich and the poor; the happy and the miserable, the one who lives in ease and comfort and that who suffers torture.

If there is no equality on earth, it will be appropriate to find it in heaven; and he who does not get his rights on earth can afterwards get them in heaven and the Lord will compensate him for what he had lost on earth if his deeds were satisfactory in the eyes of God.

The story of the rich man and Lazarus in the Holy Bible (Luke 16) presents to us a certain proof about equipoise between life on earth and life in heaven.

The resurrection is also a very magnificent, thrilling and admirable miracle.

It presents to the other world an idealistic life. The ideal man about whom the philosophers spoke and for whom Diogene searched but in vain, the man whom scientists fancied in their imagination, this man is presented by the resurrection to the other world in which there is no sin, no sorrow, no weeping, no depravity, no injustice, no deficiency or poverty.

It is a miracle presented by the resurrection. Moreover, it is an inordinate desire to a life of righteousness, which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a gladdening miracle.

It is cheering because life is completed by it, for man conquers death and lives forever.

The eternal life is the dream of the human-race which is threatened by death from time to time.

Although the life of mankind on earth is short yet it is full of weariness and affliction.

So great will be the pleasure of man when he gets rid of fatigue and death and lives happily in eternal paradise.

It is a dream which is ascertained by the resurrection.

Thus, we come to a very important reality.

The Resurrection Is The Gate Of Eternity:

But for the resurrection death would have been a decisive evanescence.

Evanescence is a dreadful matter. It is a distressing end which is considered the grimmest tragedy.

But God did not create man for evanescence but for continuance and life.

If man was exposed to death because of sin God laid before him the way of salvation.

He raised and rescued him from this death.

When God created man, He gave him something eternal-the spirit.

Man dies but his spirit does not perish but remains alive. In this way, man differs from other creatures which live on earth because their lives are annihilated and come to an end.

Man, by the resurrection, begins another new, endless life.

In this way, man's degree and his preference to other earthly creatures appear.

Because the spirit cannot form a perfect man, it was necessary for the body to rise and unite with it.

Thus, the eternal life cannot be complete with one part but with the two parts-the spirit and the body in order that man may return to life.

Thus, the resurrection is considered a wakefulness after a long sleep.

By this we mean the wakefulness of the body or that of the perfect man because the spirit is wakeful forever.

The resurrection is the end of death. No death will come afterwards.

It is an end to that dreadful enemy.

Man has triumphed over many enemies except death which has conquered and still conquers humanity as it was the irrefutable punishment inflicted by God against him when he fell down and sinned.

But, by the resurrection, God has saved humanity from that enemy and exterminated it forever.

Now, we stand before a bridge which separates between two lives. Death is at its beginning and the resurrection is at its end.

Death is the end of the first life and the resurrection is the beginning of the other world.

The distance between them is an interval of waiting in which the spirits of those who had gone away will wait till their brothers on earth continue their strife and probations.

The eternity presented by the resurrection must be preceded by the final judgment.

The doomsday will come between the resurrection and eternity when all human beings stand before the Lord to render an account of what they did when they were on earth whether good or bad.

They render an account about every deed, every thought, every feeling or sensation, every resolution or determination they had, every word they uttered; then the righteous go to eternal paradise while the evil doers go into continuos anguish.

So, whilst the resurrection is gladness in regard to the righteous, it is also a fright to the apostates and evil-doers.

As for the righteous, God arranges their standing once more according to their past deeds.

He gives every man a new standing according to the purity of both heart and thought and according to his carrying out God's commandments and to what extent he could establish the good and love among people and also, according to his love and strong desire towards God.

CHAPTER TWO

The Necessity Of The Resurrection And Its Possibilities

The Resurrection Of The Body:

When we speak about the resurrection we mean the rising of the bodies from death because the spirits are immortal by nature. Death has neither effect nor power over them. So, they are not in need of resurrection.

These bodies which change into dust from which God has created will come back to existence once more. The spirits will settle down in them and unite with them. All of them will stand before God in the doomsday - the day of the resurrection - in order to present an account of what they did on earth whether good or bad.

It is the dreadful day of final judgment which will be followed by the eternal termination of all humanity.

It will be either the paradise or the hell according to what one will deserve in regard to his faith and deeds.

The Resurrection Is A Possible Matter.

The possibility of the resurrection - with no doubt depends on the plenary and unlimited power of God.

All of us believe that the Almighty God is omnipotent. There is no limit to His heavenly ability.

However difficult the matter may seem to the renegades and the unbelievers or to those who depend on thought and science yet God, without any doubt, is able to raise the bodies from death.

The practice and the operation of the resurrection of the bodies is easier than creating them previously.

God, who gave these bodies the blessing of existence, is undoubtedly able to return them, once more, from the dust of earth.

Moreover, God has created everything from nonentity. He created the earth and its dust from nothingness; and from dust He created man.

Then, which of them is more difficult: the creation from non-existence or raising the bodies from dust?

Thus, it is intuitive that he who is able to carry out the most difficult matter can also execute the easiest one... and He who caused the creation to exist, can, with stronger reason, keep it.

We say so whatever obstacles and entanglements the perverts and the apostates and the half-educated savants and scientists may set before the possibility of the resurrection.

When I refer to the half-learned men I will declare innocent of the charge the scientists and the learned men who acquire complete knowledge.

The half learned man is a materialist and the resurrection seems to him and impossible operation.

Meanwhile, he ignores or may be ignorant of the other half of the truth which is the ability of God.

Half of the truth is that the earth may absorb some of the body's elements. A part of it may be decomposed or interfere with other substances or bodies.

The other half of the truth is that the material is imperishable.

Wherever the body may go, its component parts will remain extant and existing in the earth; the way of all flesh.

The infinite God knows quite well where the origins of the body are found. He, with His limitless power, can bring them back once more especially because it is His desire.

At the same time, He promised the human race to rise again according to the sayings of the prophets and what was registered in the holy books.

Thus, the resurrection, in its essence and reality, depends on God, blessed is His name. It depends on His will, His knowledge and His acquaintance and ability.

As for the will, God wishes man to rise from death. He promised him the eternal life and spoke of the resurrection, frankly and very clearly.

As long as God has promised something, there is no doubt that He will carry out His promise.

As for knowledge and ability, God knows where are the origins and the elements of the bodies which were decomposed and the places of their bones.

Moreover, He knows how to form and compose them again. Indeed He can do all that - great and dignified His great name is; high and elevated His omnipotent ability is.

With complete faith we believe in the power of our Almighty God.

He who denies the possibility of the resurrection must, consequently, deny the creation from nonentity.

He also denies the ability of God as well as His existence.

But the believers, who have faith in God and believe in His miracles and in the process of creation and the infinite power of this great Creator, consider the resurrection a very simple matter, easy to believe in.

The Necessity Of The Resurrection

There is a principal point why the resurrection is necessary and the understanding of the meaning of perpetuity.

God has promised man an eternal life. His promise was given to man as a whole and not to the spirit alone which is a part of man.

If the spirit was given the chance to enjoy perpetuity and eternal paradise we could not say that man as a whole enjoyed an easy prosperous life in eternity, but only a part of him which is the spirit.

Thus, it is very necessary for the body to rise from death and consequently the spirit will unite with it to form a complete man who can enjoy a perpetual life.

But for the resurrection, the end of the human body would have been the same as that of animals.

Then, what are the characteristics of that wise, living being, endowed with the faculty of speech whom God has gifted with

the talent of thinking, invention and the ability to build rocket , aeroplanes which convey him to the moon and whirl round the earth, then bring him back safely to it after collecting different data about other planets ?

Can it be intelligible and reasonable that the body of this marvellous and admirable man, whom the Lord gave the mastery over many sides of nature come to the same end of animals and insects? Indeed, the mind cannot accept that matter as true.

Thus, it is reasonable that the resurrection of the body keeps pace with man's prestige.

Man is distinguished and chosen out from other creatures which have bodies. With the gifts given to him by God, he can rule over them, pay attention to them and take care of them all.

So, the dignity of the body of this wise creature must be distinguished from the bodies of other unwise and dumb creatures.

The rising of the bodies from their graves is also a necessity incumbent for God's justice.

Man is a wise creature. He has his own will and consequently he is responsible for his deeds.

He will stand before God to take his recompense, whether reward or penalty, for what he did during his life on earth.

That deed was done by man, with his body and his spirit together. So, is it reasonable to judge the spirit alone? or to judge both of them together?

The spirit and the body are partners in everything, so, according to God's justice, they, together, have to enjoy the

good reward or carry out the penalty and remain in torture.

The spirit and the body

The body is the systematic organisation of the spirit, or the soul or the mind.

The spirit has an inclination for doing the good, and the body takes upon itself carrying out that good. It moves, toils, suffers hardships and passes the night awake and tolerates.

Isn't this body worthy of a reward for the good role which he plays and takes part in it with the spirit!? Is right for the spirit alone to lead an easy and comfortable life while the weariness and efforts of the body is blown to smithereens? Does such matter agree with God's justice?

Let us take the soldier in the battlefield as an example .

The soldier's spirit impels him to do reckless adventures; to be a commando and a redeemer. It forces him to sacrifice himself for the sake of his country. It is infatuated with love and patriotism for its homeland and its compatriots.

But the body carries and takes upon its shoulder the whole burden and pays all the expenses and payments.

It is the body which toils, passes the night awake and struggles. It is wounded, becomes torn and its blood flows. Is it right for the spirit; after all these sufferings, to enjoy alone the heavenly rewards without its partner-the body?

The body seems as if it got neither earth nor heaven!? God's justice does not agree with this at all.

Thus, it is necessary for the body to rise from death to share the spirit its joys.

We mention the same question in regard to doing evil deeds in which the body shares the spirit.

Perhaps the role of the body may exceed that of the spirit.

It is the body which plunges into worldly pleasures as food, drinking, drunkenness, narcotics, adultery, dancing, sport, jesting and insult.

After the body gives all these pleasures to its senses, will the spirit alone pay the price in eternity without any punishment or recompense to the body?

Certainly the answer is "No" because this does not agree with God's justice which must judge man as a whole-body and spirit.

So, the body must rise from the death to take his share in retribution.

Both the spirit and the body will be judged on the last judgement because they were partners in everything whether the spirit was the beginner and the body continued the work or the body had the bestial passion and the spirit yielded and submitted and took part in the body's libido and desires.

Let us give you one example about the partnership between the spirit and the body. It is the eye.

The spirit loves and feels pity for others and sympathises with them. Both love and sympathy appear in the eye.

The spirit flies into a rage at others or may have an inclination to revenge itself upon another; so, in the eye, you see the look of anger or the desire of avengement.

The spirit tends to pray to God. So, in the eye you see the look of supplication or you may observe the eye brimmed over with tears owing to the impression of the spirit.

With meek and humble looks, the body enters into partnership with the meek and modest spirit.

With haughty, insolent and elevated looks, the body shares with the insolent, elevated and haughty spirit.

As the eye plays its role, so do the features of the face. Also, the beats of the heart take part as well as the cerebral centres and other organs of the body.

These are examples about the partnership between the spirit and the body.

We observe such partnerships in the field of diligence and energy. The poet explains that and says: "If the spirits are eminent, the bodies will suffer much to fulfil their aims and desires."

Thus, the reward in eternity will be given to eminent spirits which had the good will and insisted to do the good. It will be given also to the body which took upon its shoulder carrying out these good deeds; that body which toiled, struggled, suffered much and was patient in order that it might fulfil the spirit's desires.

Thus, as the body took part in the spirit's deeds it must rise to share her the reward or the punishment and to carry the responsibility because recompense will be for man as a whole.

Even on earth, we also repay the body and at the same time we consider this as a reward to the spirit also.

Don't we venerate the bodies of the saints and the righteous? Don't we visit their tombs and put flowers and roses on them? Don't we pray for them?

We do not consider all these deeds mere respect to the body or to the bones or to the corpse or to dust but to man as a whole because with such deeds we greet the spirit as well.

Man is one unity. He is indivisible.

If he is worthy of honour and respect, we shall treat his body with deference and salute his spirit as well.

If he is unworthy of honour, we will pay no attention either to his body or to his spirit.

The bodies of the criminals who are sentenced to death or prison will obtain their punishment. At the same time, bad reputation will cling to their spirits which will be affected by what has happened to their bodies.

If our earthly justice acts in such a manner, now much the more the heavenly justice will be?

God's justice prevails man as one unity-spirit and body. Thus, the body which lived on earth and shared the spirit every action must rise.

The body was affected by the spirit's conditions, by its thought, by its sensation or reverential fear and the body bows spontaneously in submission.

When the spirit mourns the eye will weep and sorrow will appear on the face and in the movements of the body.

When the spirit rejoices the smile will appear on the features. When the spirit becomes afraid the body will shiver and fear will overcome the face.

When the self is blushing the body will perspire and shyness may appear on his features.

Both spirit and body are partners in everything. So, it is unjust to let the spirit by itself or the body alone bear the responsibility of that partnership.

The two are responsible and that is what will happen on the last judgement.

From the style of some of those who deny the resurrection, it seems that they disdain the body.

They consider it a material element while they esteem the spirit to have an essence which vies in excellence with the body's nature.

But we say that although man is formed of two natures: material nature and spiritual one, yet both of them are united together in one nature which is known as "The human nature"

The body is not evil; otherwise God would not have created it.

The evil is the submission of the body to the material with its desires and bestial passions. In this yielding, the spirit takes part.

We must not forget that the body has its virtues and advantages. He bows during the prayers. He kneels down and raises his hands and eyes to God. He fasts and toils and does the good.

It is the body who sacrifices himself for the sake of his country. It is he who stretches his hand and gives the poor and the needy.

Then, why do we reduce and lessen his important standing?

Aren't the artist's fingers which play the musical instrument and affect and move the hearts to be benevolent and charitable?

Aren't his fingers which cut out the statues, carve the wood, make pictures, paint portraits and present the art with which they direct the hearts towards the good?

Thus, the body itself is not evil; but it can work in the field of both good and evil.

The spirit can also work in the same field. Thus, they become partners.

Moreover, it is just for the bodies to rise from death in order to be compensated for what they had been deprived of, during their life on earth.

It is just for the bodies of the blind, for example, and the disabled, the crippled, the disfigured and persons whose bodies were so unlucky that they had no touch of beauty, no sign of health, no trace of power to rise on the last judgement without any shortage or deficiency in order that God may compensate them for the sufferings and deficit they had on earth.

All those, whose bodies were affected by poverty, hardship, hunger and illness during their life on earth, need to rise in soundness which will compensate them for the misery they suffered on earth.

This agrees with God's justice.

We rejoice with the resurrection and perceive that it is necessary, essential and possible.

Christ's resurrection was the first-fruit of the resurrection of all human-beings.

CHAPTER THREE

The Concept And Significance Of The Resurrection

Death is an alien and a stranger to humanity

When God created man He formed him for life. He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living being.

God wished him life and perpetuity but man's option inclined to sin.

So he brought death and caused it to himself as a result of his sin. *"For the wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23)*

Thus, death came into the world and reigned over humanity.

So, we rejoice with the resurrection because it is a triumph over death and a return of man's nature to life.

God has created man to live and not to die.

Christ's resurrection is a handsel of our resurrection. Thus saint Paul, the apostle, described Him as *"The first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep". (1 Cor 15:20)*

He is the first-fruit and we will rise after him.

Perhaps someone may ask saying "How can Christ be the first-fruit of the dead while many rose before Him? "

1. The son of the widow in Zarephath in the region of Sidon whom Elijah, the prophet, raised from death (1 Kin 17:22)

2. The son of the Shunammite who Elisha, the prophet, raised from death. (2 Kin 4:32-36)

3. There are three others whom the Lord Jesus Christ Himself raised from death. They are:

a) The son of the widow of the town called "Nain".

b) The daughter of Jairus.

c) Lazarus.

In fact, there are some persons who rose from death before the days of Christ but, after their rising, they died once more. They are still waiting for the general resurrection.

Christ's resurrection was the one after which there was no death. It was the first-fruit and the inordinate desire for which longs every believer in eternity.

We mean by the resurrection the way which leads to eternal life.

We know that man's life on earth is a very short story. It is nothing if measured or compared to eternity and the land of the Joy which is the good hope and the dream of all human beings.

The resurrection elevates the value of man and asserts that his life is not ended by death.

It affirms that there is another life which differs from this earthly one. We, God willing, will enjoy that new life after the resurrection.

Thus we say in "The Creed" which we recite every day in our prayers "and we are waiting for the resurrection of the dead and the eternal life as well, Amen."

So, we may say that the most important events of the resurrection are those which will follow it.

The resurrection shows that there is an extension to man's life in eternity. It proves that death is a mere stage of the journey of man's life. It is a bridge between two lives: an earthly life and a heavenly one.

Undoubtedly, the heavenly life is far better than the earthly one because it will be in heaven above any material standard.

It will be pure and without any sin.

Moreover, it will be an association will God, His angels and His saints. The holy Bible says about it *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9).*

So, Mar Isaac said "**Fear of death disturbs the heart of the ignorant but the righteous longs for death as he loves life ".**

Thus, Saint Paul, the apostle said *"having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23)*

Indeed, death becomes inordinate desire to those who love God and the life in heaven. They consider it far more better than life on earth which has lost its purity.

Those, who believe in the resurrection, do not consider death as an end of life but a removal to another life.

The resurrection has changed people's look in regard to death. It is a mere transition or a bridge which leads to another life.

You can say that it is an ascent operation.

Thus, death has become the inordinate desire of the righteous.

The apprehension of death fell down forever after Christ had trodden down death by His resurrection.

Saints do not fear death any longer. They pay no attention to its causes as illness and conspiracies and aggression of the wicked.

He who fears death is the sinner who has not turned from sin. He becomes afraid of his destiny and the last judgement when he will stand before God.

The sinner, who practises certain desires and bestial passions, fears death lest it should deprive him of such lusts. But the righteous never fears death because he believes in the resurrection.

The resurrection is connected with faith. The heretics, for example, do not believe in the resurrection.

The believer believes that God has the ability to raise the body from death. He who has created human-beings from dust and made dust from nothingness can bring the body back to life in order to return and unite with the spirit.

The apostates do not believe in the spirit's existence or its perpetuity after death. They do not believe in eternity or in recompense and punishment. So, I said that the resurrection is connected with faith.

Believing in the resurrection leads to the life of righteousness and virtue.

The believer believes that in the dreadful last judgement he will stand before God to give an account for all his past deeds whether good or bad.

Thus, this faith leads him to be cautious and precision in his life for fear of the final judgment.

Consequently, he reckons himself up for every deed, every thought, every sensation and every word; then, he reforms himself as Saint Maccarius said "My brother, restrain yourself before they check you."

The true faith in the resurrection leads to the life of religious devotion and monasticism.

The resurrection drew men's attention to the glories of the other world; thus, the evanescent enjoyment of this perishable world diminished.

By their extravagant thinking in the invisible they paid no attention to the tangible and visible things.

They became as the Bible said " while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal." (2 Cor 4:18).

But for the resurrection, men would have coveted greedily on the earthly life and plunged in its inordinate desires as the Epicurians used to say "*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*" (1 Cor 15:32)

Those who believe in the resurrection and prepare themselves for it control themselves and keep down their desires and passions.

They practise spiritual training to make themselves right. They do not yield to bodily or material desires but lead a spiritual life and suppress their bodies, their senses and their nerves.

Love of eternity made the righteous long for something greater and more eminent than the world.

Everything in the world cannot satisfy or fill them because, from within, there is a strong desire for heaven and a great longing for the spiritual and happy life which exceeds sensation and intelligence and excels all earthly desires.

Thus, the saints looked at the earth as an expatriation and considered themselves strangers on it.

They always long for a heavenly home; long for another different spiritual and heavenly life which no eye has seen.

They longed for the other world which is adorned with holiness, innocence, spirituality, peace, love and purity. There, God fills the hearts and there is no place for any other desire.

In the resurrection, there is a kind of consolation and compensation for men.

He who does not find justice on earth feels that his rights are kept for him in heaven with the Lord who gives sentence in favour of the oppressed.

He who does not find the good on earth, as poor Lazarus, is consoled because he will find all the good in heaven. As he was tormented on earth he will find consolation in heaven.

The resurrection makes equipoise for the life of every man.

Justice makes a balance between all that man has got on earth and what he will get in heaven.

The resurrection offers a true consolation to all friends and lovers because it will gather them together once more after death separates them.

If life came to an end in the tomb without resurrection our dear friends who had passed away would perish. Our relationship would be all over with them and we would never see them.

Undoubtedly, this case wearies the heart and causes disaster to lovers who will lose their friends forever.

The resurrection gives us an idea about the power of God and His love to man.

This powerful loving God who can raise the bodies after they have been decomposed and changed into dust and who is able to bring them back to their first form in a kind of transfiguration- spirituality and luminosity - did not wish to enjoy the Cosmos alone but created other creatures.

He did not like to be alone in eternity, so, He bestowed perpetuity upon both men and angels and granted human beings an eternal life after rising from death.

One of the enjoyment of the resurrection is cessation of evil and all that sin has caused.

In paradise where the righteous live, there is neither evil nor sin. Our sins will come to an end. We will lead the life of plenary plainness and complete purity and cleanness.

We will be like angels and children in their innocence. The soul will get rid of the blemishes caused by sin as fear, doubt, lust, anxiety etc.

Then, the soul will be adorned with the crown of righteousness. All defects whether psychic or corporal will vanish.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Message Of The Resurrection

As we rejoice at Christ's resurrection, we also delight in the resurrection itself, I mean the resurrection of all human beings.

We, also rejoice at the profound, spiritual and good points of the resurrection which elevate the value of humanity and show clearly the good and the enjoyment the Lord has prepared for man in the other world.

First, we say that the resurrection is an indication to faith.

Undoubtedly, it refers to man's faith in God, and man's faith in spirit and in eternity as well as the other world. It shows his faith in the general last judgement which will be after the resurrection.

The resurrection clears up man's faith in reward and punishment and consequently his belief in heaven, in saints and in God's kingdom.

Because the apostates believe neither in the resurrection nor in the other world, they consider Nian's life equal to that of animals saying that both of them perish and come to an end by means of death.

Indeed, how worthless and significant the life of both man and animal, which ends in death is, in the eyes of the apostates.

Surely, man's life will be of no importance if he is content with some years spent on this planet and no more!

How inexorable and ugly death is in the eyes of those apostates. It is like an eraser which effaces existence, intelligence and knowledge of human beings and annihilates and leads them to nothingness.

Like the apostates are the Sadducees about whom the Holy Bible said that they did not believe in the resurrection or the spirit or the angels.

The Epicureans are no less ignorant than the apostates. They say "Let us drink and eat because we will die to-morrow".

Undoubtedly, the devil is the cause of repudiating the resurrection.

It is he who inspires the apostates, whether philosophers or ignorant, with such pretension.

If he succeeds in convincing them with the idea that there is no life after death, then, they will plunge themselves into mundane life with its anxieties and pleasures without thinking neither in their eternity nor in their standing before God in the last judgement. In this way they perish.

But the believers who have faith in God, believe in the resurrection and the Last Day.

The resurrection shows the unlimited capability of God.

All the abilities of man stand still before death. Both his power of intelligence and science and even his mind seem helpless before its potency.

But the Holy Bible teaches us that *"With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible." (Mark 10:27)*

God is omnipotent. Both life and death are at His hand. He vitalises and He Himself puts to death. He can raise man from death.

As He has created him from the dust of earth, He can bring him back to life after the incorporation of his body into death inside the dust of the earth.

God, who has the ability to create everything from nothingness, can also raise man from death.

The resurrection proves God's love as well as his munificence.

God, who did not wish to be alone in the Universe, has originated and created creatures amongst which was man.

But after man's death, God did not wish him to perish and through His love and His generosity donated him life after death in order that his existence might be incessant, not for a time but forever.

Thus, God has endowed the mortal man with immortality.

The resurrection is something gladdening. By means of it, men will meet with their friends and loved ones who departed from this life.

What will be the case of the lovers whose hearts unite together during their life on earth and are separated afterwards by death?

I wonder!! Will it be an eternal separation without any connection or meeting in future?

Of course, God's love and mercy do not tolerate that matter.

After death, the spirits of lovers and friends will meet together but after the resurrection they will see each other with their bodies and spirits.

It will be a general meeting in which, not only shall we meet with our friends, but also with all generations that passed through history.

After the resurrection, there will be a great festival, made by God, in which all men will become acquainted with one another.

In this wonderful festival we shall be acquainted with all historical personalities about whom we have read without seeing them or knowing their shapes or their styles and dialects whether they were governors or rulers, or scholarly or idealists.

Perhaps God may send His angels to acquaint us with all the Fathers and apostles and also, we shall see fathers Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Job.

We shall also see our mothers Eve, Sarah, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Rachel and in the front our mother Saint Mary the Virgin.

The resurrection presents to us many other joys as the association with the angels and the saints. Above them all, the enjoyment of being in the presence of God Himself, before which the mind becomes so astonished and delighted that a person cannot express himself. It is sufficient for him to relish and enjoy its sweetness.

The resurrection carries within itself an operation of equipoise and compensation.

Those who did not receive their merits on earth will get them completely in heaven after the resurrection and those whom the

human race treated with injustice will receive complete heavenly justice as well.

Also, those who offered their charities in secret, without telling any one, will get their reward in heaven because God used to record their good deeds in order to reward them.
God will also repay all those who were not rewarded on earth for their good deeds.

In the resurrection men will perceive that God's judgments differ from those of men and that His justice will be completed in heaven.

Moreover, those who were born under certain circumstances or in special environments which could not guarantee for them happiness and social equality, will be compensated by God for everything they could not get on earth. See the story of the rich man and Lazarus. (Luke 16)

In the resurrection man is brought back to his first rank. His spirit restores its dignity and the body gets back its radiance.

Moreover, the body as well as the soul will have a kind of revelation and glory. Both of them will get rid of their deficiencies.

Thus, the Holy Bible said about the body *"It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:43,44)*

By the resurrection, the body gets rid of all its illnesses, infirmities and deformities. It appears in full radiance.

The soul also will be cleared of its sickness and defects.

There will be no fear, no doubt, no hesitation, no anxiety, no libido, no bestial passions and no cowardice ... etc.

The philosophers, who used to search for the superman will find him in the resurrection.

The man of the resurrection will be in his best form. All will have luminary bodies. Everyone will shine according to his own standard.

The dream of humanity will be ascertained and a righteous complete society will come to existence.

In the city of God about which Saint Augustine has given some descriptions, there are no combats, no dissension, no disagreements, no hatred, no selfishness and no competition. It will be a society of love and sanctity.

In the resurrection men lead a simple and innocent life. The Bible says they become like God's angels in heaven.

In it, sin vanishes and the body yields no more to it or to depravity.

The body is completely cleansed from sin. God washes it till it becomes whiter than snow (Psalm 50).

Thus, man lives in a spiritual standard fit for heaven and its purity.

In the resurrection, the indigenous obtains victory over the foreigner.

Truth overcomes falsehood because truth is the former and the origin while the untruth is foreigner and exotic in regard to this world.

In the resurrection life triumphs over death, because life is the origin and the source while death is a stranger.

Man is composed of a spirit and a body. The spirit is living and active by its nature and will remain, so, forever but the body, which was disposed to death when it was on earth, will become an immortal, animate and spiritual one after the resurrection.

Man will have a spiritual perception. He will never depend on his bodily senses.

Thus, man struggles and does his best on earth in order that he may enjoy the glories of the resurrection.

But not all men will enjoy such glories. They will only be for the worthy because, after the resurrection, there will come the Last Judgement in which all peoples will stand before the Just God *"And behold, I am coming quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give to every one according to his work." (Rev 22:12).*

Blessed is the one who becomes worthy of the glories of eternity and the happy companion-ship with the saints.

Everyone, with strenuous effort, must do his best to make good deeds on earth in order that he may find them there.

Everyone must be in good relationship with God and with men. He must be dutiful both to himself and to the society in which he lives.

He must do good to all. So, he will have good reminiscence on earth and good reward in heaven.

For All Reasons, It Was Necessary For Christ To Rise

1. It was necessary for Christ to rise because in Him was life.

So, said Saint John, the Evangelist *"in Him was life" (John 1:4)*. He who has life in Him cannot remain dead.

He said to Martha *"I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Me, though he may die, he shall live." (John 11:25)*

As long as He Himself is life, how can't He rise? Jesus confirms this meaning saying *"I am the way, the truth and the life" (John 14:6)*

How can't He rise, He who said to John, the Visionary, *"I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18)*

For these reasons, the angel of the resurrection rebuked the women saying *"Why do you seek the living among the dead?" (Luke 24:5)*

2. It was necessary for Christ to rise from death because He Himself has raised many others from death with a mere command.

Elijah has raised a dead person after prayers. Also, Elisha has raised a man from death but after many prayers.

But The Lord Jesus Christ, with an order, raised the daughter of Jairus and the son of the widow of Nain as well as Lazarus because He is the Donor of life. On raising the daughter of

Jairus "He took her by hand and said to her ***"Talitha kowmi!"*** (which means "Little girl, I say to you, get up!") Immediately the girl stood up and walked around. (Mark 5:4,42)

On raising the son of the widow of Nain, He went up and touched the coffin, and those carrying it stood still. He said ***"Young man, I say to you, arise."*** So he who was dead sat up and began to speak. And He presented him to his mother. (Luke 7:14,15).

On raising Lazarus Now when He had said these things, He cried with a loud voice, ***"Lazarus, come forth!"*** And he who had died came out bound hand and foot with graveclothes, and his face was wrapped with a cloth. Jesus said to them, ***"Loose him, and let him go."*** *(John 11:43,44).*

Then; Was it difficult for Jesus to rise? He who ordered the dead to rise and they rose?

Indeed, it was necessary for Him to rise because He is the raiser of the dead. Yes, it was necessary for Him to rise as it was written about Him ***"For as the Father raises the dead and gives life to them, even so the Son gives life to whom He will."*** *(John 5:21)*

Can't He who gives life to others raise Himself?

3. It was necessary for Jesus to rise because His resurrection was a prophecy which had to be fulfilled.

After Peter's testimony that Jesus is the Son of God, the Bible says *"From that time Jesus began to show to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the*

elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised the third day." (Matt 16:21)

After the miracle of the Transfiguration and as they were coming down the mountain, Jesus instructed them *"Now as they came down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them, saying, "Tell the vision to no one until the Son of Man is risen from the dead.""(Matt 17:9)*

Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, *"The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 17:22,23).*

After He had explained the parable of the vineyard, and as He was going up to Jerusalem, He took the twelve disciples aside and said to them, *"Now while they were staying in Galilee, Jesus said to them, "The Son of Man is about to be betrayed into the hands of men, and they will kill Him, and the third day He will be raised up." And they were exceedingly sorrowful." (Matt 20: 18,19) (Luke 9:31-33).*

After the resurrection, men began to remember all those topics and remind each other of them.

But the angel answered and said to the women, *"Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay." (Matt 28:5,6)*

The phrase ***"as He said"*** means the prophecies He had mentioned about His resurrection on the third day. In the Old Testament, there are other prophecies about His rising from death.

Thus, after His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ said to His disciples *"These are the words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning Me. And He opened their understanding, that they might comprehend the Scriptures. Then He said to them, "Thus it is written, and thus it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day. "* (Luke 24:44-46)

In the Old Testament, the story of the prophet Jonah, is one of the indications which refers to this resurrection.

When the Jews said to Jesus *"Teacher, we want to see a miraculous sign from You. "* He answered and said to them, *"An evil and adulterous generation seeks after a sign, and no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. (Matt 12:39,40)*

4. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His resurrection was under His own influence and authority.

He died by His own will. He presented Himself to death.

In His immortal words, He explained that matter saying *"Therefore My Father loves Me, because I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17,18).*

Indeed, how wonderful is this phrase!! *"and I have power to take it again"* which means "I have authority to take back the life which I Myself had laid, and no-one could take it from Me".

For these reasons, it was necessary for Him to rise by His own will.

We may ask a question: Why did He lay Himself? What is the use of that matter in regard to the resurrection?

5. It was necessary for Him to rise because His death was a mere temporary one to perform a double message.

It was possible for him not to die according to His nature and also *"For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord. " (Rom 6:23).*

Moreover he did not commit any sin. He accepted to die instead of us in order to give His life for us as the apostle said *" being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as a propitiation by His blood, through faith, to demonstrate His righteousness, because in His forbearance God had passed over the sins that were previously committed. " (Rom 3:24,25)*

This was the chief message of death; I mean redemption

After the resurrection, it was also necessary for Him to go and announce good news to those who died in hope and open the gate of paradise and transfer the sleeping from hell to heaven.

About this matter, Saint Peter says *" For Christ also suffered once for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive by the*

Spirit, by whom also He went and preached to the spirits in prison. " (1 Pet 3:18,19).

Yes, He preached those spirits with salvation and carried them to paradise as well as the right thief.

Saint Paul, the apostle, says *" Now this, "He ascended"; what does it mean but that He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is also the One who ascended far above all the heavens, that He might fill all things." (Eph 4:9, 1 0)*

6. It was necessary for Christ to rise because His divine nature was never separated from His human nature not even for a twinkling of an eye.

About His death, the Syrian Division says "His spirit was separated from His body but His divine nature was not separated at all from His spirit or from His body.

His spirit which was united with His divine nature went down to the underground depths and preached the imprisoned spirits and elevated them to heaven. His body remained in the tomb united with His divine nature.

As for the separation of the spirit from the body, He died as a human being but He was alive with His spirit.

He had the life of the divine nature for which Nicodemus, when he was shrouding him, cried "The all holy, the all powerful, the living forever. "

Yes, it was necessary for that body, which united with the divine nature, to rise. It was impossible for the Body to remain dead.

Death could not overcome The Lord Jesus Christ. It was impossible for it to defeat Him. By His death, Christ Himself trampled over that death which triumphed over all human beings.

The Lord died on behalf of us to save us. He paid the price of our sins and in this way He did away with the influence of death.

7. Thus, it was necessary for this one who, by his death, exterminated the power of death, to rise.

It was necessary for Him to rise in order that He might proclaim His victory over death by His resurrection and to announce to all peoples that death would have no sting according to the praise of Paul, the apostle *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

8. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to console and support the disciples.

It was necessary for Him to rise to obliterate the horrible results of His crucifixion because some of the disciples became afraid and others hid in the attic.

The rest of the believers dispersed for fear of the violence of the Jews...

Some ignored and denied Him; others mistrusted Him, but it was necessary for Christ to rise in order to repair and overhaul people's faith and to encourage them to remain firm in their faith and to hold out against Jews' persecution.

Thus, His resurrection was the greatest motive which urged them to preach the Gospel.

9. It was necessary for Him to rise to prove that he was not a common man who dies as other people.

All men die and remain dead waiting for the general resurrection in order to rise but it was necessary for The Lord Jesus Christ to rise immediately, otherwise, they would have considered Him a common man. His resurrection has proved His divinity especially because He rose by Himself without any help from anyone.

10. It was necessary for Him to rise to be the first fruits according to which all men will rise.

So, Saint Paul said *" But now Christ is risen from the dead, and has become the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since by man came death, by Man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive. " (1 Cor 15:20-22)*

He also speaks of the importance of the resurrection of Christ and says " *And if Christ is not risen, your faith is futile; you are still in your sins! Then also those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men the most pitiable. " (1 Cor 15:17-19).*

11. It was necessary for Christ to rise in order to lay the foundation of Christianity.

And to stay with the disciples a period of forty days through which He speaks with them about the matters which belong to

the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3) and to lay before them the rules of faith and give them the secrets and the rituals and to breathe on them saying *" And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:22,23).*

Then He promises them saying *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." (Acts 1:8)*

After that, He commits to them preaching the Gospel saying:

"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned. " (Mark 16:15,16)

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20)

CHAPTER FIVE

The Reality Of Christ's Resurrection And Its Results

The Jews' opposition to the resurrection

Christ's resurrection from amongst the dead was the greatest occurrence which shook the entity of the Jews. So, they tried, by all means, to resist it.

Moreover, they tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening. Even after it had taken place, they made great attempts to resist it.

Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ had announced the good news of His resurrection. More than one time, he said to His disciples that the Son of Man would be betrayed and given to the hands of the Gentiles who would condemn Him to death and would turn Him over to the Jews to be mocked and flogged and crucified. On the third day He would be raised to life!!

He said these words while they were going to Jerusalem. (Matt 20:18,19); (Mark 10:33,34); (Luke 18:31-33). He, also, said the same words on their way to Galilee. (Matt 17:22). He repeated these words after Peter's confession that Christ is the Son of the living God. (Matt 16:21).

So after the transfiguration He ordered them not to tell anyone what they had seen *" … tell no one the things they had seen, till the Son of Man had risen from the dead. " (Mark 9:9)*

He, also, said to them on the great Thursday I have power to take it again *"But after I have been raised, I will go before you to Galilee." (Mark 14:28).* Moreover, he gave them the sign of Jonah. (Matt 12:38)

On the next day, which followed the Day of Preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together to Pilate, saying, *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

What was that fearful evil which the resurrection would bring to them that they imagined it more dangerous than the instructions of Christ whom they gave the nickname "The first deception".

Christ's resurrection proved His truthfulness and that His prophecies were true. It proved that He was powerful and His crucifixion was not due to His weakness but it was an arrangement for saving humanity.

All the matters lead men to have fixed and firm faith in Him.

So, they made all precautions against the rising of Christ. They rolled a big stone in front of the entrance to the tomb.

They made the tomb secure by putting a seal on the stone and posting the guard (Matt 28:66) They were not ashamed of doing that on the Sabbath evening (After preparation) although they accused The Lord Jesus Christ of opening the blind's eyes on a Sabbath. (John 9:16:24)

All their precautions became a great evidence in regard to Christ's rising from among the dead.

Every action made against the resurrection turned to be a proof and a witness for its existence.

Both the seal on the tomb and the guards in front of the empty tomb proved the reality of Christ's resurrection.

They also asserted that Jesus went out of the tomb while its entrance was closed and sealed.

This matter resembled Jesus' coming of Saint Mary's womb without causing any decoration to her virginity. It also resembled Jesus' visit to His disciples, who were together, with the doors locked, when He came and stood among them and said *"Peace be with you. "*

As for the bribe paid by the chief priests to the guards in order to announce that Christ's disciples carried Him away during their sleep, it was a false artifice which was too Weak to stand against the power of the resurrection.

The burial cloth of the head and the shrouds

The existence of the strips of linen lying by themselves and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head folded by itself separate from the linen are clear proofs of the reality of the resurrection. Then; how was it possible for Jesus to get out of these linen shrouds which were wrapped strictly around His body?

And if anyone had stolen the body how could He have denudated it from the strips of linen sticking to it?

And what is the aim and the use of separating the linen cloth from the body? How did this event take place very quietly while the soldiers were on guard?

Thus, it is not strange to read in the Bible that " *Then the other disciple, who came to the tomb first, went in also; and he saw and believed. " (John 20:8)*

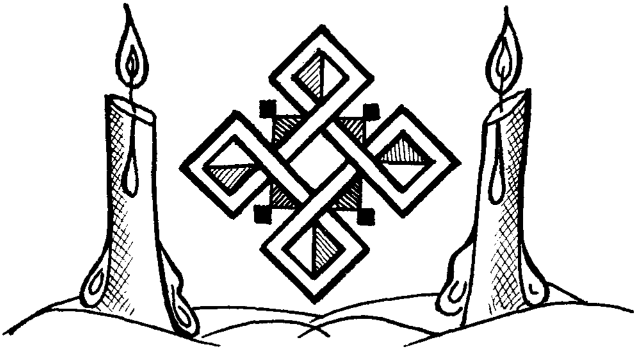

The Lie Concocted About The Stealing Of The Body

It is incomprehensible for any-one to believe that the disciples stole Christ's body because they will not benefit by stealing it.

Moreover, on grasping Jesus, they escaped because they were afraid of the Jews.

Also, it is something unbelievable for the disciples to contrive the tale of the resurrection and suffer imprisonment and flogging and face death for the sake of a false and untrue story.

No-one can believe that the disciples denuded their master from His shrouds and took Him naked.

If they had done so there would have been no dignity either for Him or for them.

You can add to such bad deeds, the loss of time and exposing the matter to be shown up.

What is the use of pretending that Christ has risen from among the dead then they themselves face death for preaching the resurrection and at the same time they have no faith in it?

Indeed, stealing the body was something impossible.

How can they penetrate the lines of the guards at the tomb?

How can they roll the big stone from the entrance of the tomb without making any noise which attracts people's attention and causes the guards to wake up from their sleep?

How can they carry a corpse on Sunday? How can they perform all these matters while the eyes are gazing at the tomb?

How can we believe that the guards were asleep and paid no attention to the severity of the Roman law?

If the sentinels wished to sleep, why didn't they divide the watch-time among themselves and did the thing by turns?

If they were all asleep, how couldn't the noise of the act of stealing the body arouse even some of them?

Why weren't they tried by a court martial for their negligence?

Why did they remain without punishment? Why was there no judicial inquiry about the act of stealing? Why didn't the authorities make any inspection?

The disciples and their dwellings are well known... Where did they hide the stolen body?

How did they bury it on Sunday?

And if the guards were asleep; how did they know that the disciples came at night and stole the body?

Indeed, it was a cunning stratagem of an evil, weak thought, non acceptable by anyone.

It showed the depravity, the falsehood and the lies of those priests and proved their false pretence, the bribes they paid and their deviating people from the truth and from the right course.

What about the great numbers of those eyewitnesses who were contemporary with the resurrection?

Were they liars? Then, how did God make miracles through them if they were impostors and deceivers?

Any how, as the chief priests of the Jews tried to oppose the resurrection before its happening, they also made great efforts to mar its glories after it was accomplished.

For these reasons they were neither religious nor truthful.

They broke the Sabbath when they sealed the tomb and put guards at its entrance.

They told many lies about the resurrection and tempted the guards to say false stories.

They gave bribes to the guards in order to broadcast their lies about the resurrection.

Through their authority and their relations with the governor they could deceive all the people. They persecuted the disciples wrongfully although they know....

As they brought false witnesses during Christ's trial, they also brought other false witnesses to deny His resurrection.

Also, the chief priests of the Jews were not men of faith.

They did not believe in the miracles done by Christ during His life among them.

Although the miracle of the resurrection was very clear before them, they did not believe in it.

Moreover, they had no faith in the miracles done by the disciples in the name of Christ.

Their hearts were closed completely before the clear truth.

They proved that they would have no respondence to any miracle even if they witnessed it.

They also did not believe in the disciples' preaching the Gospel.

Christ's resurrection frightened them because His existence used to tire them and reveal their wrong deeds.

So, they rejoiced when they thought that, by His crucifixion, they got rid of Him.

The phrase *"The living Christ"* tires the sinners but gladdens the righteous. There are many men like the priests of the Jews. They wish to get rid of Christ because His existence admonishes them with their wrong deeds.

CHAPTER SIX

The Blessings Of The Resurrection In Our Life

1. Everything is possible:

Nothing is impossible Men do their best in all fields but if they stand before God they will stop both work and abilities completely for every attempt will be of no use.

This was the sensation of Mary and Martha after the death of their brother Lazarus who had already been in the tomb for four days. It was said about him "By this time, there is a bad odour".

When The Lord Jesus Christ raised him from death, they became sure that nothing is impossible. After Jesus had raised Lazarus from death, this Lazarus died once more and has not risen yet.

But Jesus Christ, by His own resurrection, conquered and smashed death forever.

Christ's resurrection was an eternal one after which there would be no more death.
Paul, the apostle looked at the power of this resurrection and said *"O Death, where [is] your sting? O Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 cor 15:55).*

Indeed, death was broken up and everything became possible.

Not only did men believe that all things are possible with God (Matt 19:26) who is able to do everything but the apostle also says " *I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* "

(Phil 4:13) He also said *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection … " (Phil 3:10)*

The Holy Bible gives us a general rule about *"impossibility"* and says *" All things are possible to him who believes."* (Mark 9:23)

The resurrection has given men a gigantic power.

As death has been conquered and smashed before them, all the obstacles and difficulties became smooth and easy and there was no impossibility. What else did the resurrection present? What is its second blessing?

2. Longing for the eternal life.

The apostle said *"I desire to depart and be with Christ , which is better by far. "(Phil 1:23)*

The apostle desires to be with Christ who rose from among the dead and went up to heaven, then sat on the right of God. Christ who said *" And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all [peoples] to Myself."(John 12:32)*

Christ who said " *I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

Love of eternal life made men long for some-thing greater than life on earth, more dignified than substance and elements and more powerful than any desire or lust on earth.

The saints looked at the earth as a remote strange foreign land. They considered themselves aliens and foreigners.

They longed for a heavenly residence. They wished to lead a spiritual and eternal life.

Also, men longed for the other world where there is no sorrow, no gloominess, no sighing, no sin, no hatred and no fights. A world of love, joy, peace and purity, where there is no evil and where the good prevails.

3. By means of the resurrection the human nature is cleared up both physically and spiritually.

As for the bodies; some are raised spiritual and imperishable. They do not become tired, or hungry. They do not feel thirsty. They never fall ill or decompose.

They become like the angels of God in heaven. They rise taking the similarity of *"His glorified body"*.

How thrilling and magnificent is this revealment through which the human nature becomes glorified.

Indeed, this brings back to our minds the happenings of the transfiguration on Mount Tabour.

Also, the spirit takes part in the transfiguration. It returns as it had been in the beginning and resembles God's image and likeness in an inexpressible purity.

Some approaches to the resurrection

Many miracles took place during Christ's crucifixion. The sun gave no light and darkness came over the land. The curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. Earthquakes shook the earth and the rocks split and the

tombs broke open. But did all men make use of these miracles? No, everyone benefited by them according to the aptitude and readiness of his heart.

When the earth shook, the robber believed in Christ while the priests and their chiefs did not believe in Him.

When blood and water drew out of Christ's side the centurion and his soldiers believed in Him while the leaders of the people denied Him and His resurrection.

The matter is not connected with the miracle and its might and strength but with the inner readiness of man's heart and his wish to benefit by it.

As for the miracle of the man who was born blind and whom Christ healed, the man himself believed in Christ but the Pharisees did not trust the man although the miracle was very powerful and clear.

They became agitated because the man defended Christ who healed him. So, they threw the man out of the Synagogue. (John 9:34)

Also, when Christ healed the man with the paralysed hand they refused to make use of the miracle pretending that it was made on the Sabbath. All these matters remind us of the Parable of the Sower which the Lord explained.

The growth of the plants depends on the kind of the soil. Is it formed of stony layers; is it good for sowing; is it full of thorns?

The sower is the same sower; the seeds are the same seeds but the soil on which the sower scatters the seeds differs in

regard to its reclamation, its efficiency and its acceptance to the divine sowing.

This is what happened in regard to the story of the resurrection and the story of the crucifixion.

The miracles have taken place but the people differed from each other; some benefited by them while others gained nothing.

Seeds on a stony soil

Although the chief priests and the leaders of the Jewish people witnessed the darkness that spread at the time of Christ's crucifixion, yet they got no benefit because their hearts were darker than the obscurity and the darkness that covered the whole world.

Even after the miracles in which the right robber and the Centurion believed, they went to Pilate and said *"Sir, we remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.' Therefore command that the tomb be made secure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead.' So the last deception will be worse than the first." (Matt 27:62-64)*

Thus, they took some soldiers with them and went to the tomb to make it secure.

They sealed the tomb and set some soldiers to guard it.

They did all that on the Sabbath although they criticised Jesus and said that He was a sinner because He healed the sick on the Sabbath.

They were very enthusiastic and had great zeal for the Sabbath. They contracted the enmity of Christ because of this day "The Sabbath".

Moreover, they claimed from the authorities to break the bones of the crucified and to bring them down from the crosses lest they should contaminate the Sabbath.

What a strange zeal for the Sabbath!!?

In spite of this enthusiasm, they, in the evening before the Sabbath, took the soldiers with them, sealed the tomb and set the guards to keep its entrance on the Sabbath without considering their deed as a sin.

After sealing the tomb, they seemed to say in their hearts "We have broken the Sabbath in order that we may break the one who infringed the Sabbath".

While they were sealing the tomb, Christ, Himself, set free the redeemed and rescued them from hell, and disjoined the seals of the closed paradise, then, let in those who have fallen asleep in hope.

It is very easy for men to play with their consciences as they wish.

Some persons have consciences which resemble the balls which roll on every side and in every direction till they come to a stop.

Indeed, the chiefs of the Jews were of the same moulds.

What they have done was against them and not in their interest.

If they themselves had not sealed the tomb and set their own guards at its entrance they would have been able to protest and

say that the disciples stole the body. But, now, they have set the guards and sealed the tomb. What could they say about the empty tomb?

Christ has risen from among the dead with great glory and came out of the sealed tomb as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained virgin.

After Christ's resurrection *" And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat on it. His countenance was like lightning, and his clothing as white as snow. And the guards shook for fear of him, and became like dead men." (Matt 28:2-4)*

Did the guards benefit from of this great miracle? Did the priests and the elders benefit from it?

No, the sacred seeds had fallen on a stony soil.

How truthful our Father Abraham was when he said *" If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead. " (Luke 16:31)*

If we can fumble for an excuse for the Gentile soldiers who do not know anything about Christ and His glory, what about the priests and the teachers of the law.

They should have taken care of God's commandments and their execution.

When they heard of the resurrection from the guards, they gave them bribes and put false words on their tongues and told them "…Tell them, ”His disciples came at night and stole Him [away] while we slept.' And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will appease him and make you secure." *So they took the money*

and did as they were instructed; and this saying is commonly reported" (Matt 28:11-15).

Thus, they did not only make use of the miracle of the resurrection but their wickedness and their evil grew more also.

Not only did they tell lies but they taught others to be liars.

Their falsehood was not perfect. They suggested to them to say that the disciples stole Him while they were asleep.

If you were asleep how could you know that He was stolen by His disciples!?

Indeed, lies' string is too short.

They were not satisfied with their lies. They placed some accusations to others, falsely and spuriously.

They accused disciples of theft. They paid bribes to cover their deeds. They spoiled the soldiers' fame, deceived the ruler and misled the people and cheated them.

In spite of all this deviation from the truth they described Christ as a delusive deceiver as if they wished to say to Pilate "Rescue the people from this deceiver in order that we may delude them.

Scattering the seeds of the miracle of the resurrection in the hearts of those leaders is like sowing them in a stony soil. So the miracle did not affect them.

Their care of keeping their posts trespassed their thinking of eternity.

From their behaviour we can see how man glides down from sin to sin, then, rolls down in a long endless chain of sins.

The principle of their sins is love of worthless glory. This love led them to resentment.

They envied Christ because they wished to be the most outstanding nation without competitors.

What would be the matter with that Nazarene who covered their fame and revealed their hypocrisy?

Resentment led their leaders to weave conspiracies which led them to be false witnesses in Christ's judgment; to treat Him with cruelty during His crucifixion and to delude all the people.

This wrong attitude led them to fear, and fear guided them to seal the tomb and set the guards at its entrance although it was the Sabbath.

Certainly, they took the people in their partnership in breaking the Sabbath.

These sins, revealed by the resurrection, led them to bribery, telling lies, apostasy, instigation to evil and deluding the people.

By such bad deeds, they wished to become magnificent in their own eyes and in people's eyes as well. In fact they lost themselves and gained neither heaven nor earth.

They are a stony soil. They are a sin surrounded by fear. They feared Christ even after His death. They feared His resurrection lest it should destroy what they had done. They felt that He still had work to do.

It is well-known that the killer always fears the ghost of the killed person.

Psychologists were true when they said that the killer hovers about the place of the crime. So the Jews, continued hovering about the spot of their crime.

The disciples forgot that He had told them that He would rise on the third day but those priests and elders, who were afraid of Christ, did not forget His words. They said to Pilate: " *We remember, while He was still alive, how that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise.'* "

It is something strange that they remembered that phrase and did not remember His words *"I and My Father are one." John 10:30)*

They did not remember the deeds done by Him, which no one had carried out before Him.

They did not remember how He raised Lazarus from death after four days.

They did not remember how He offered sight to the born blind. They only remembered His resurrection because it disturbed them and made their thoughts uneasy. So they committed crimes to get rid of their troubles.

They seemed to be samples of those seeds which were scattered on the stony soil.

There were many other samples. There were some seeds which sprouted but thorns choked them afterwards.

Mary the Magdalene was the most outstanding example during the events of the resurrection.

As for the effect of the resurrection on the disciples, we say that it was like the seeds which were picked up by the birds.

The birds, in regard to the disciples, are the devil of doubt which snatched their faith and flew away.

How did these matters take place? How did Christ change them into a good cultivable land which yielded hundred fold.

How did He restore faith to their hearts and to Mary Magdalene's heart as well?

Seeds snatched by the birds

What happened was heavy and cruel to God's heart.

Even His disciples doubted in His resurrection and did not believe in it.

But He did not face such doubts with admonition. He embraced their weakness with love and treated their doubts with convincing.

Mary Magdalene went and told them about the resurrection of the Lord. *" And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe." (Mark 16:11)*

When the women returned from the tomb and told them about God's resurrection *“ And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them.” (Luke 24:11)*

When the Lord came up and walked along with the disciples from Emmaus *" Now behold, two of them were traveling that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was seven miles from Jerusalem. " (Luke 24:13)*

When Jesus Himself stood among them, they did not believe that He rose but *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. " (Luke 24:37)*

The devil of doubts could snatch the seeds of faith which God had scattered on their soil, so the Lord condescended and came down to their weakness in order that He might convince them of His resurrection.

In the same way He behaved with the two disciples of Emmaus who were not intelligent as He *" And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself. " (Luke 24:27)*

He stayed with them till *" Then their eyes were opened and they knew Him; …" (Luke 24:31)*. Then they went and told the Eleven.

The Lord, also, condescended to the weakness of the Eleven and said to them *"Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:38,39)*

Then, He, who rose in a glorified body, condescended to convince them and asked them ; *"Have you any food here?" " So they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish and some honeycomb. And He took it and ate in their presence. "* *(Luke 24:43)*

As Thomas was absent, the Lord showed Himself especially to him to reveal his doubts and to convince him.

The Lord stayed with them till they became sure and believed. *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*

He did not leave them but appeared to them over a period of forty days and spoke about the kingdom of God.

He sent away the birds which used to snatch their seeds. He changed them into a good soil which did not give thirty only but sixty and hundred also.

Their faith became a big fruitful tree which yielded all kinds of good fruit.

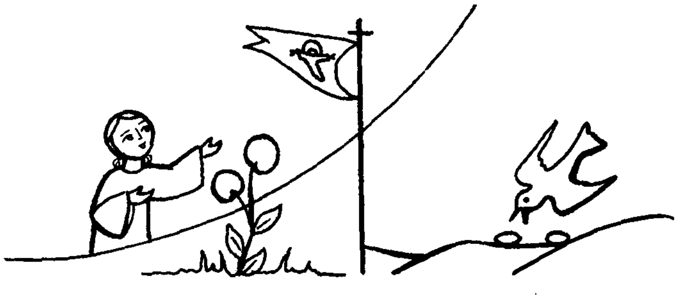

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Resurrection Is Joy And Gladness

1. On announcing the good news to the women, the two angels said to them *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! " (Luke 24:5,6)*

The phrase "The living Christ" caused great joy to the disciples while it caused terror to the chiefs of the Jews and to the sinners as well.

This phrase did not only intimidate them at the time of the resurrection and preaching it but this fear will chase them till the next coming of Christ and will pursue and follow them in the Dooms-day.

About this the Bible says *" Behold, He is coming with clouds, and every eye will see Him, even they who pierced Him. And all the tribes of the earth will mourn because of Him. Even so. " (Rev 1:7)*

Like the priests of the Jews, there were many who wished to get rid of Christ lest He should reprimand and show them up.

2. Christ's resurrection was a joy and gladness to the disciples and to us also.

The day of crucifixion was a mournful and a distressing day as to the psychic side but as for the divine side, it was a day of deliverance.

The people witnessed the pains, vituperations, insults, spittle and nails only, but they did not witness either the deliverance or

the opening of Paradise's gate and how the sleeping in hope were transferred to it.

The disciples were filled with terror but they rejoiced when they saw the Lord.

Equal to the disciples ' grief and restlessness on Friday, there were much more joy on Saturday because of the resurrection. Thus, the words of the Lord were verified *" but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you." (John 16.-22)*

They rejoiced because they saw the Lord. They saw Him alive outside the tomb after thinking that there would be no future meeting.

They, also, rejoiced because the Lord obtained victory in His combat against falsehood and that He " … *who always leads us in triumph in Christ, … " (2 Cor 2:14)*

They also rejoiced because they got rid of their enemy's gloating and malevolence as well as their disturbance, anxiety and disappearance.

At that time, they were able to go out of their places and face the situation and speak publicly with might and power about Christ's resurrection.

They rejoiced because the cross was not the end of the story.

The end of it was the gladdening and cheering resurrection which removed and eliminated the pains of Golgotha and Gethsemane and the events which took place before and after them.

He said to them *"I will see you again and you will rejoice "* .

We celebrate the joys of the resurrection which give the sensation that the Lord is living with us and among us and that no tomb can enclose Him, who holds all men in His heart. **The disciples rejoiced at Christ's resurrection.**

They also rejoiced when they saw Him. His resurrection was the point which changed both their history and the history of Christianity.

3. By means of the resurrection and by this material proof which they witnessed, they rejoiced and believed that it was something possible.

So, Saint John, the apostle, said about Him *" which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, " (1 John 1:1)*

Saint Peter, the Apostle, said *" Us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead. " (Acts 10:41)*

By means of the resurrection the disciples' fear changed into courage, boldness and non observance of the powers and forces which declare war against the word of God.

Thus, after the resurrection, saint Peter could say *" We ought to obey God rather than men. " (Acts 5:29)*

By means of the resurrection, the disciples never feared anything.

All that their enemies can do, is to threaten them with death. But what can death do to those who have seen the resurrection and believed in it!?

Thus, Christianity believes that death is mere transition and *"To die is gain "* and *"it is better by far"* and *"never feared by anyone. "*

4. By means of the resurrection, the disciples felt that they were overshaded with a powerful God.

They believed in Him "who holds the keys of death and Hades."

Life is in Him. He is the resurrection and the life. He who believes in Him will live, even though he dies. He is the source of life not only on earth but in the eternal life also.

5. The disciples rejoiced because the Lord kept His promise with them.

Because the promises of Christ, that He would rise and that they would see Him, were fulfilled; they believed in the other promises as *" … I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself; that where I am, there you may be also. " (John 14:2,3)*

They had confidence in what He said about sending the Counsellor to them (John 16:7) and that *"they will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on them. (Acts 1:8)*

They believed in His promise *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

All these promises gave them power, faith and joy.

6. Not only did the disciples rejoice at the resurrection but they also, with pleasure, met the pains caused to them as a result of giving testimony in favour of the resurrection. Pain had a new conception in the minds and feelings of the disciples because they had the " *But we have the mind of Christ. ". (1 Cor 2:16)***.**

They became convinced that pain was the way to glory as it happened with Christ through His crucifixion.

They put this perception before them *" We suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together." (Rom 8:17)*

So, he tolerated and suffered pains saying *" As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing. " (2 Cor 6: 10)*

7. By means of the resurrection, the cross became honour and glory but not pain.

The disciples were not disturbed any more. So, Paul, the Apostle, says *" Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in needs, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake." (2 Cor 12:10)* He also says *"As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing ."(2 Cor 6:10).*

8. The resurrection became joy to all the believers and good news for the general resurrection.

The resurrection gave the Christians hope and trust in the other world. So, they concentrated all their desires in it and renounced worldly pleasures.

All that Christianity proclaimed about the life of devoutness, religious devotion and monasticism and forsaking the world depends on believing in the resurrection and longing for the other world which surpasses all earthly desires.

Thus, in every liturgy, the church repeats the words of the apostle *" Do not love the world or the things in the world. … And the world is passing away, and the lust of it; … " (1 John 2:15-17)*

9. In the joys of the resurrection they rejoiced at the kingdom and the eternal paradise which would come afterwards.

They knew that, after the resurrection, there would be great happiness. Saint Paul, the Apostle, could say about these matters *"Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man The things which God has prepared for those who love Him." (1 Cor 2:9)*

The same apostle spoke about the crown prepared for the righteous saying *" Finally, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give to me on that Day, and not to me only but also to all who have loved His appearing. " (2Tit 4:8)*

In the "Revelation" God explained other glories which those who overcome will get after the resurrection. He spoke about the tree of life, the crown of life, the hidden manna authority, the morning star and the white robes ... (Rev 2,3)

How beautiful his words were when He said *"To him who overcomes I will grant to sit with Me on My throne, as I also*

overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne. " (Rev 3:21)

We cannot separate the resurrection from its glories for which the saints longed for death.

Saint Paul said *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. " (Phil 1:23).* He also said "and be with the Lord all the time. "

In "Revelation", saint John spoke about the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven which is the dwelling of God with men.

Indeed, how beautiful is the resurrection which leads to all that we, in hope, are waiting for rejoicing at the Lord and His promises.

10. Thus, the resurrection gave us hope to be with Christ forever.

The joy of the resurrection is not only to rise from death but also to rise with Christ and live with Him.

So, the resurrection, in itself, became a means and not end aimed at.

It is a means to live with God and enjoy His companionship in continuous inexpressible and glorious joy, with the queues of His angels and saints.

The resurrection has become the desire and the passion and the faith of all men.

They consider it the way to eternity and living with God which is the aim of our life on earth.

11. At the time of Christ's resurrection, the disciples who had been afraid of being related to Him, rejoiced at being His followers.

In the past, they were so terrified of being attributed to Him that Peter, the night before judgment, denied his relationship with Christ and with an oath he said *"I do not know the Man!" (Matt 26:74)*

Now, after the resurrection, they became proud of Him.

They rejoiced because the Lord, by His own will, appeared to them for forty days, in the attic in Jerusalem, on the shores of the sea of Tiberias, and in Galilee.

They were filled with joy because the Lord spoke with them, tranquillised their hearts, forgave Peter's denial, convinced Thomas of his doubts and came down to their weakness in order that He might elevate them to his power without rebuking them because of their escape, hiding, and doubt.

12. They rejoiced because The Lord Jesus Christ searched for them after His resurrection.

The time He spent with them was a period of dressing their wounds, removing their doubts and forgiveness for their sins.

It was an interval of preparation for the coming service.

The Lord spent with them forty days through which He showed Himself to them *" Speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)*.He gave them many convincing proofs that He was alive.

13. They rejoiced because through Christ's appearance to them, they perceived His glory and His greatness.

With a light from heaven flashed around Him, He showed Himself to Saul of Tarsus that he fell to the ground puzzled. (Acts 9:3-6)

He appeared to John the visionary. *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. " (Rev 1:16,17)*

14. The disciples rejoiced because, after the resurrection, they were trusted with a mission.

The Lord said to them *"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:19,20) " Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptised will be saved; … And these signs will follow those who believe … " (Mark 16:15-17)*

Thus, they had a mission, a great and important one for which they Eve and do their best for its ascertainment. Thus, they will be crowned and the words of the Lord *" I will make you fishers of men." (Matt 4:19)* will be realised.

Undoubtedly, Peter has rejoiced when the Lord said to him after the resurrection *"Feed My lambs. ", "Tend My sheep." (John 21:15,16)*

No doubt, all the disciples rejoiced when the Lord, after the resurrection said to them *"Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive anyone his sins, they are forgiven; if you do not forgive them, they are not forgiven. … As the Father has sent Me, I also send you. -" (John 20:21-23)*

15. After the resurrection, the disciples rejoiced at the spiritual body because The Lord Jesus Christ will raise their bodies as He rose.

This transfiguration which will happen to human nature after rising from death was mentioned with extended detail by Saint Paul, the Apostle who said *"So will it be with the resurrection of the dead. The body that is sown perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. (1 Cor 15:42-44).*

He also said about Jesus Christ *" who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, … " (Phil 3:21)* take note of ***"Like His glorious body"***.

These words give us an idea how beautiful the other world is. They, also, give us a notion about its spirituality and the resplendence of the spirit when it is freed from the bonds of materiality and the abilities of the spirit and its talents.

16. The resurrection supported preaching the Gospel with confidence and faith.

Confidence in Christ who rose from among the dead; with whom the disciples lived forty days after the resurrection *" He*

also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 1:3)

John, the Apostle, said about Him *"Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked at and our hands have touched. " (1 John)*

A summary of the disciples' joys:

"Then the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord." (John 20:20). Joy remained with them as a plain course of their life.

They rejoiced at the Lord's resurrection. They were very happy when He showed Himself to them.

They rejoiced at His true promises and at the resurrection in general.

They rejoiced at His triumph over death. They were glad because the Jews would not gloat over them any more.

They rejoiced at the power they were given. They were very glad because of the mission which the Lord gave them after the resurrection.

They were delighted with the spreading of preaching the Gospel.

They were happy in spite of the persecutions and the difficulties they met because of their testimony in favour of God.

The Bible said about them " *So they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name. " (Acts 5:41)*

They rejoiced also because He fulfilled His promise and sent to them the Holy Spirit.

They rejoiced when He said to them *" But tarry in the city of Jerusalem until you are endued with power from on high." (Luke 24:48)*

They rejoiced at His saying *"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them." (Matt 18:20)* and His saying *" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt 28:20)*

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Lord Jesus Christ's Resurrection Its Power And Its Effectiveness

There is a great difference between the two days

They were two days. As for the human senses, they were diametrically opposite: Friday, 14th of Nisan and Sunday 16th of Nisan, the year 34 AD

Friday was a gloomy day in regard to all the disciples and the followers of Christ.

It was an exciting and thrilling surprise which they never expected to happen to their great teacher.

The conspiracy which was accomplished very soon. It was woven very quickly; the crowds who shouted all the louder *"Crucify Him; Crucify Him".(Luke 23:21),(John 19:6)* the disciple who betrayed His master in return for thirty silver coins, the series of insults to which the Lord was exposed as cursing, derision, mockery, slapping on the face, spittle in addition to the pains caused by the thorns, the flogging and fastening on the cross with nails.

Was it true that everything had been accomplished so rapidly.

Did the doer of the miracles and the great teacher who amazed all men become so delusive and deceptive that the authorities crucified Him between two robbers?

And those who benefited by His love, kindness and miracles disappeared from existence! Even His disciples scattered and escaped and left Him alone as it is written *" I will strike the Shepherd, And the sheep of the flock will be scattered." (Matt 26:31) (Zech 13:7)*

Peter Himself, the most enthusiastic among the disciples denied his master before a servant girl and called down curses and swore to the people that he did not know the man (Matt 26:74)

As for Christ's enemies, they got grip of everything. They could hold the Sanhedrin and take a decision against him. They could excite people's anger and make them repeat their words.

They could make an impression on the governor till he rendered a judgment against Christ although he said *“ … I find no fault in Him." (John 19:4)* that he had found no fault in Christ

So, evil seemed so triumphant and cruel and the words of Christ to those rulers we fulfilled *" But this is your hour, and the power of darkness." (Luke 22:53)*

All that the devil could do was done. He could get rid of Christ who was beloved by all men and followed by thousands who were amazed by His instructions. Jesus, *" He laid His hands on every one of them and healed them. " (Luke 4:40)*

He also raised the dead, gave sight to the blind and, by His power, evil spirits came out of many.

Even after they killed Him, they made the governor give an order for the tomb to be made secure by putting a seal on the big stone and posting the guard.

They completely felt assured that Christ came to an end. It was a bad end "And He was numbered with the

transgressors , … " (Is 53:12). All His followers were scattered ... !!

Thus, that Friday was a distressing one in which injustice predominated, treason and cruelty spread and covetousness and evil obtained victory.

Christ's disciples found themselves perplexed and at a loss. Belonging to Christ was a dangerous matter. Christ was still in the tomb.

Everything was in the hands of the authorities. It seemed that there was no hope in enjoying once more the good days they had spent with their beneficent teacher.

As for the deliverance which was accomplished on the cross, none has felt it. All that was seen by men was that the crucified one seemed too weak to save Himself.

They defied Him saying *" If You are the Son of God, come down from the cross … " (Matt 27:40)*

In the same way the chief priests, the teachers of the law and the elders mocked Him *"He saved others; Himself He cannot save. If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him. " (Matt 27:40-42)*

Also, one of the criminals who hung there hurled insults at Him *"If You are the Christ, save Yourself and us." (Luke 23:39)*

In this way, Friday was a day of gloating, injustice and dispersion but something took place and turned the rudder towards the opposite direction, It was the resurrection which shook the whole Jewish existence whether rulers or people.

The resurrection took place at the dawn of Sunday in spite of the existence of the guards, the big stone and the seals.

Great precautions were taken to guard the tomb but the empty tomb stood as a material witness for the resurrection as well as the well arranged strips of linen and the burial cloth that had been around Jesus' head.

The chiefs of the Jews tried, by all means, to deface and disfigure the reality of the resurrection but they could not.

Indeed, the tangible occurrence was much more deeper than all pretence.

Christ appeared alive to His disciples. His appearance banished their fears, encouraged them and gave them an extra-ordinary power to he witnesses for His resurrection.

After His resurrection, Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene. (Mark 16:9) and to Simon Peter (1 Cor 15:5) and to the two companions of Emmaus. (Luke 24:12-3 1) and to the ten disciples in the absence of Thomas. (Luke 24:33-43) and to the disciples in the presence of Thomas and showed them His wounds. (John 20:26-29)

He, also, appeared to seven of His disciples by the Sea of Tiberias. (John 21:1-7) and to more than five hundred of the brothers at the same time, then appeared to James. (1 Cor 15:6,7) and *" He also presented Himself alive after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." (Acts 1:3)*

He was with them when He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. (Acts 1:9)

He appeared to Saul from Tarsus; on his journey to Damascus and chose him as an instrument and apostle to carry His name before the Gentiles. (Acts 9:3-15)

All these events gave the disciples a abnormal power. About this the Bible says *" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all.* *" (Acts 4:33)*

What was the power of the resurrection which gave them strength?

The power of the resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection from among the dead was the greatest event that shook the Jews' entity.

By all means, they tried to resist it saying "This last deviation from the truth will be more powerful than the first straying" They meant preaching the Gospel.

Then, what was that power of the resurrection and what were its effects?

1. Christ came out of the tomb while it was closed.

This miraculous performance was not something strange for Jesus as He had come out of Saint Mary's womb while she remained a virgin.

Also, during His appearances to His disciples after the resurrection; while they were gathering together in the attic, He

came in and stood among them *" when the doors were shut. " (John 20:19)*

2. One of the signs which prove the resurrection's power is that Christ rose by Himself and not by others' help.

All those who rose before Him were raised by others' help.

Elijah, the prophet raised the son of the widow at Zarephath. (1 Kin 17:22)

Elisha, the prophet, raised the son of the Shunammite. (2 kin 4:36)

The Lord Jesus Christ raised the daughter of Jairus, and the son of Nain's widow and Lazarus but He rose by Himself because the energy and the power of the resurrection were in Him. It was impossible for death to keep Him under its control because *" In Him was life." (John 1:4)*

3. The Lord Jesus Christ rose in spite of the stressed guardianship, the strong guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

The worldly power used its utmost energy but Christ was stronger than it.

The resurrection proved that it was more powerful than all the obstacles. It was a victory against all Christ's opponents and adversaries; a triumph over death, over Hades, over the tomb, over the big stone, over the seals and over the strips of linen that were wrapped around His body.

Thus, when Saint Paul knew Him, He said *" **I may know Him and the power of His resurrection.** " (Phil 3:10)*

Paul knew the power of Christ's resurrection when he saw Him after the resurrection. The Bible says *" As he journeyed he came near Damascus, and suddenly a light shone around him from heaven." (Acts 9:3)*

Thus, this apostle became sure of Jesus' powerful resurrection and could share in His sufferings, becoming like Him in His death.

Saint John, the beloved one, experienced the same power when Jesus appeared to him *" His countenance was like the sun shining in its strength." (Rev 1:16)* **Inside the tomb, Christ's power was greater than any power outside it**.

On sunday, at dawn, He left the tomb in a moment not known by anyone. The stone was in its place till the angel came and rolled it to announce the resurrection which was accomplished. So the women could see the tomb empty.

4. **The aspects of His power after the resurrection:**

These are some sides of the power which men witnessed on earth, in addition to the powerful numerous appearances; the power of His ascension to heaven and sitting on the right of God; the power of entering the attic with the doors closed and the power of changing the disciples from weak terrified persons into brave heroes who could preach the Gospel with all ability and without any objection.

As His resurrection was powerful, so, there was another power which preceded that resurrection.

5. His power between the time of His death and that of His resurrection.

After His death, it was His own power with which He could open the gates of Hades and go to preach to the spirits in prison. (1 Peter .3:19)

With this power, He could descend to the lower, earthly regions and lead captives in His train and give gifts of redemption to men, then, after the resurrection, He could ascend higher than all heavens, in order to fill the whole universe. (Eph 4:8-10)

6. By His resurrection, The Lord Jesus Christ, proved that He was more powerful than death and that His death and His silence during the judgment were not due to any point of weakness in Him.

If He had spoken, He would have dumbfounded and convinced His audience, but this was not His aim. His aim was to redeem us.

So, when they asked Him to come down from the cross He did not respond to them although He was able to come down. His only aim was to suffer pain and die on behalf of us and pay the price of sin, return and redemption for us.

The resurrection proved that Christ's silence was not weakness.

The power of the resurrection was the strongest reply to those who charged Him with weakness, or those who thought that His crucifixion was a sign of His disability.

By the resurrection, it was proved that Christ's silence had eminent aims.

He kept silent because He wished to give Himself for us. If he had defended himself he would have won the case without any doubt.

Many a time, He answered the chiefs and the elders and the priests of the Jews and they gave no reply.

Moreover, they witnessed the power of His words when He was twelve years old. Even His audience certified that He spoke as one who had authority.

Christ's silence during His judgment was a proof that He died by His own will.

He said about Himself “I lay down my life only to take it up again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. … " (John 10:18)

He laid it down at the time of crucifixion and took it up at the time of the resurrection.

Jesus has given up the Spirit with love and self sacrifice not because of weakness and disability and as He rose in power, He died in power as well.

When He breathed the last, He cried out with a loud voice while the body was completely exhausted. His water and His blood were drained.

Flogging, walking, beating, bleeding and hanging on the cross made Him powerless.

His body died but His divine spirit remained alive without death.

During His death He could give good news to those who slept on hope. Also, He could open the closed gates of paradise and let in it the robber to be with Adam, his descendants and the saints of the past ages.

He could also rise and His resurrection mocked at the guards, the seals and the big stone at the entrance of the tomb.

It did not happen; in the history of humanity, that anyone other than Christ could overcome death by his own authority; or rose by his own will or went out of a tomb with an entrance closed by a huge stone and guarded with fully armed soldiers.

7. The power of Christ's resurrection smashed the chief priests of the Jews as well as all the Sadducees. It proved their crime of His judgment and His crucifixion.

It proved that all their past pretences were false. So, by the resurrection, they became blamable before the nation.

When the disciples proclaimed the resurrection in every connection, the chief priests said to them *"Did we not strictly command you not to teach in this name? And look, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this Man's blood on us!" (Acts 5:28)*

The power of the resurrection terrified the chiefs of the Jews because it showed His righteousness.

If He had been culpable, He would not have been able to rise from among the dead.

As the resurrection was a proof of His righteousness, the resurrection at the same time proved the injustice of those chiefs and their trumping up charges against Him. Those chiefs who had rejoiced thinking that they had got rid of Him by killing Him.

The speech about His appearance after He had been killed terrified them.

The holy saints did not stop blaming them for this point itself. So, Saint Peter, the Apostle said to them after the miracle of healing the crippled beggar *"The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers, glorified His Servant Jesus, whom you delivered up and denied in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let Him go. But you denied the Holy One and the Just, and asked for a murderer to be granted to you, and killed the Prince of life, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses.. " (Acts 3:13-15)*

8. The Saddukees, in general, do not believe in the resurrection. so, Christ's resurrection was a dangerous practical proof against the proceeding of their creed and instructions.

Thus, with all their power, they resisted the resurrection and opposed the disciples when they announced it.

So, the Bible says *" Then the high priest rose up, and all those who were with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles and put them in the common prison.. " (Acts 5:17,18)*

But the power of the resurrection was stronger than their resistance.

Indeed His resurrection from death was more powerful than His coming down the cross.

Moreover, His resurrection proved that He died by His own will and not by force especially because He Himself rose without others' help and by Himself came out of the closed and sealed tomb as He came out of Saint Mary's womb with her virginity sealed.

Indeed as He said about Himself *" I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

9. His resurrection proved that He was more powerful than death; so, He was stronger than all human powers which kill and put to death.

He was more powerful than the injustice of the evildoers; more powerful than their conspiracies and their authority.

They did all that they could do till they prosecuted Him and fastened Him with nails on the cross.

They defied Him and mocked at Him. They thought they triumphed over Him especially because Christ remained silent all the time of His judgement and challenging Him. *" He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, And as a sheep before its shearers is silent." (Is 53:7)*

His resurrection proved that His death was a self-sacrifice and not by force.

Trusting His resurrection meant believing in His love, in His self-sacrifice and in redeeming humanity.

It meant trusting His power, His past words about Himself and His relationship with God.

This is the power of the One who died by body and remained alive by His divinity.

It is the power of that One who said to John in the Revelation *" … I am the First and the Last. I am He who lives, and was dead, and behold, I am alive forevermore. Amen. And I have the keys of Hades and of Death.. " (Rev 1:17,18).* That powerful One *" whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that He should be held by it. " (Acts 2:24)*

10. The power of Christ's resurrection, with which it was distinguished from other preceding ones, is that there will be no death after it. It will be a continuous eternal resurrection.

All those who had been raised from death died once more and are still under the power of death waiting for the general resurrection.

But Christ has risen alive and will remain so forever. Death has no power over Him. So, the Bible gave Him the surname *" the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." (1 Cor 15:20)*

11. One of the clear and strong signs of Christ's resurrection is that it was a glorified one.

He was raised in a glorified body which did not feel tired or feel sick.

A body which did not feel hungry or thirsty. A body which did not become decomposed.

A body which could come out of the tomb with its entrance sealed and could enter with the doors closed. A body which could ascend to heaven.

In the general resurrection, we expect to be raised in the same way as the apostle said *" … we also eagerly wait for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:20,21)*

12. As Christ's resurrection was powerful so was its effect on the church and all men.

It could change the occurrences on every side. The disciples who were afraid and dared not declare openly their relationship with Christ gained a strange power to preach the Gospel.

And Peter, who formerly denied Christ before a slave maid, could bravely say to the chief priests *"We ought to obey God rather than men. "(Acts 5:29) "For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts 4:20)*

13. The power gained by the disciples from the resurrection may he concentrated in two points:

a) They knew quite well that Christ was more powerful than death.

He has triumphed over death. As we say in our prayers **"By death He trampled over death. "** It means that after He died He could trample over death by His resurrection.

The knowledge about this occurrence confirmed their faith and they remembered the Lord saying *" I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. " (John 10:17,18)*

b) By Christ's resurrection, they knew that they would be raised from death like Him.

Thus, they never feared death. The dread of death was smashed before them when Christ trampled over it and went out of the tomb alive and glorified.

They feared death no more and paid no attention to it. Such bravery remained the characteristic peculiarity of the disciples and of all the members of the church.

Saint Paul, the Apostle, says more than that *" Having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." (Phil 1:23)*

14. One of the remarkable signs of Christ's resurrection is confirmation of faith.

The Lord Jesus Christ spent forty days with His disciples talking to them about the kingdom of God. (Acts 1:3)

During that period, He confirmed their faith and explained to them everything about Himself in detail.

He put before them all the disciplines of the church, as well as the Liturgy and all the rules of faith and its creeds.

After the period which Christ spent with them after His resurrection, they were filled with spiritual and faithful abilities with which they could face the whole world with steadiness and stability. **They spoke about the resurrection from their own experience.**

As Saint John, the beloved one, says *" That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, … " (1 John 1:1)*

The resurrection was no longer a mere theoretical creed but something which they themselves witnessed and viewed.

This experience endowed them with a power of faith that they could spread it all over the world with confidence and certitude.

15. The power of the resurrection appeared in the resurrection itself, in its circumstances, in its results and in what happened after it.

It was not a single resurrection special for The Lord Jesus Christ alone but for all of us.

It was a handsel for the general resurrection, for heavenly Jerusalem and for eternity with its enjoyments and happiness according to God's promises.

The resurrection was so powerful that it revealed Christ's nature - What was it? Who is he who could do such things?

It was also a forepart to the miracle of ascension.

It was a silencing and conclusive answer to the Sadducees who did not believe in the resurrection as they trusted neither in spirits nor in angels.

CHAPTER NINE

Contemplations On The Resurrection

The first thing we observe is the modesty of the Lord when He allowed His crucifixion and the insults of the Jews against Him to occur publicly before all the people. At the same time He made His glorified resurrection in private and a secret not seen by anyone.

He did not rise in glory before all men in order that He might be compensated for the insults and the reproach caused to Him during the crucifixion but He rose in secret.

He chose the dawn to be the time of His resurrection because at that time all human were sleeping.

He chose the dawn in order that no one might see Him during His glorious resurrection.

He was far from the dazzling views of His resurrection as it happened on His birthday.

Then, He appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the other Mary, to Peter, to the women, to the two of Emmaus, to the Eleven, to Saul from Tarsus and to some of the brothers .... to the favourites, to His own but not to those who formerly gloated on Him.

In spite of all that, the resurrection which took place in secret troubled the Jews and caused to them terror beyond measure. They made great efforts to oppose it or at least to prevent people from believing in it .... but in vain.

When they found that they had failed in preventing the occurrence of the resurrection by setting the guards, the big stone and the seals, they wished to prevent it from being conveyed to men in another way, by telling lies, with bribery and by rumours.

When their trials failed and they could not prevent the news of the resurrection by their false means and when the news spread all over the world through the preaching of the disciples they resorted to another stratagem.

They tried to prevent preaching the resurrection by arresting the disciples, flogging them, putting them in jails and making complaints to the governors against them.

All the human plans done to prevent men from believing in the resurrection failed.

It was true when the Bible said *" No weapon formed against you shall prosper. " (Is 54:17)*

What was the secret of this great resurrection? Its secret was that for the first time and also for the last time a person could rise from death by himself. He was raised by no one.

Indeed, this occurrence terrified them.

The Lord Jesus Christ has fulfilled what He said about Himself. *"No one can take it from Him." " I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18)*

The powerful Nazarene has triumphed over them. That Nazarene whom death could not conquer.

That Nazarene who trod death down and rose at the time He had fixed and according to His former prophecies. No one could oppose His resurrection. But why didn't Christ

appear to them after the resurrection? Wasn't it suitable to convince them to believe in Him!?

He did not appear to them because they were unworthy of Him... Even if He had appeared to them, they would not have believed in him.

This point reminds us of what Abraham, the Father of Fathers had said to the rich man who was contemporary with poor Lazarus *“If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead”(Luke 16:31)*

Moreover, the Lord Jesus Christ made many other miracles before them and they did not believe in Him.

When He healed the born blind they said to the man *"We know that this Man is a sinner." (John 9:24)*

During the crucifixion, darkness came over all the land; the earth shook and the rocks split; the curtain of the temple was torn into two from top to bottom and some of the holy people who had died were raised to life and in spite of all these occurrences they did not believe in Him.

He did not appear to them because they were not only unworthy of Him but also because they had no faith. Then, why did He not appear to other men?

The Lord Jesus Christ left a field for faith about which Paul, the apostle, said *" … faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. " (Heb 11:1)*

If the resurrection had been something visible it would have been added to the circle of viewing and not to that of faith because faith means: "to be certain of what we do not see."

It was enough that when He appeared to the rulers, all men believed in Him through them.

As for faith, all men could not bear this matter, so, when Christ appeared in His resurrection, He did not appear in His glory, even to His own, because they could not bear it.

With the two of Emmaus, who did not know Him at first, He spoke to them gradually.

With Mary Magdalene, He hid His personality that she thought Him to be the gardener; then He revealed Himself bit by bit.

As for Saul, from Tarsus; when Jesus appeared to him in some of His glory, his eyes were blinded by the radiant light of Christ's face, then He healed him.

Also, when Jesus appeared in some of His glory to Saint John, the beloved one, he fell to Christ's feet as if he were dead. The Lord raised him and told him not to be afraid.

Indeed, who can bear seeing Christ in His glory? But as for His modesty, it was enough for Him to make Himself nothing.

He will appear to them with His glory in the second coming and then they will say to the mountains, "Cover us!" and to the hills, "Fall on us!" and all nations on earth will mourn.

With the spirit and power of the resurrection Christianity began its glorious history.

The disciples went forward into a new epoch of power. *" And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4:33)*

All the attempts they had done to smash Christ, He Himself smashed by His resurrection.

Even the devil himself was completely destroyed by this resurrection.

The Christ who conquered death and who said *" … I have overcome the world. … " (John 16:33)* is able to do everything. He can always lead us in His victorious procession.

This triumphant, the rising from the dead, can lead a group of the triumphant ones and give them from His grace and from His power.

Thus, the defenceless Christianity could face Judaism and other ancient religion. It, also, could stand firm before pagan philosophies, Roman authorities, conspiracies, judgments and persecutions.

Christianity remained persisting and moved forward under the power of Christ, the rising from the dead, till it changed the Roman nation to a Christian one.

Paganism disappeared from the world and the whole land became for God and His Christ.

Also, the resurrection of the body was a sign of rising from sin.

About this matter, the apostle said *"And you He made alive, who were dead in trespasses and sins. ", "and raised us up together, and made us sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, " (Eph 2:1,6)*

May we all live under the power of the resurrection. This resurrection which changed the disciples and made the empty tomb a sign of perpetual triumph.

This resurrection which was the beginning of the power in the life of the first church.

Some Of The Occurrences Of The Resurrection

The Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, did not stop work for the benefit of humanity even when His body was in the tomb.

He has done work between the crucifixion and the resurrection.

God, by His resurrection, sanctified the human nature which is liable to death and made it liable to the resurrection.

Before the resurrection, God, also, worked for our sake even when His body was on the tomb.

By means of death His spirit was separated from His body but His divinity never separated from His soul or His body.

His spirit, united with His divine nature, could do a wonderful rescuing action for the sake of those who are sleeping on hope.

With His death He paid the price of sin and bought us by His blood. So, after He redeemed humanity, it was His right to carry the sleeping from Hades to Paradise and it was so.

With His spirit, united with divinity, He went down to Hades to say the good news to the sleeping there on hope. ***" … He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth? When He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, And gave gifts to men."*** *(Eph 4:8).*

He opened the gate of paradise and carried to Him the righteous who were waiting in Hades. With them, He also let in the right robber to paradise.

Indeed, how trustful He was when He said to Saint John, the visionary, *"And I have the keys of Hades and of Death." (Rev 1:18) (Phil 4:3)*

Indeed, blessed are those whose names are written in the book of life because death has no authority on them.

They may stay there for a time, as Jonah remained in the belly of the huge fish (whale) then He rescued him safely without any harm.

Thus, God brought out those who were in Hades and by His authority He let them into Paradise.

This great deed was done by god in secret. Heaven praised God. The sayings of the prophets were accomplished and in secret, also, the Lord rose from the dead.

His spirit, united with His divinity, came and united with the body which was united with divinity, then, He was raised by the power of His divinity and went out of the tomb with its seals.

The Women Carrying Spices And Perfumes

It was something strange that the women took spices and perfumes and went to the tomb while these perfumes do not agree with believing in the resurrection.

But the Lord took interest in their love and treated the defect found in their faith.

Did they carry the perfumes for the body which was in the tomb? Hadn't they the faith that Christ had risen and left the tomb?

Thus, the good tidings of the angel revealed the same meaning when he said to the two Marys *"I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. " (Matt 28:5,6)*

The same words of reproach were said to the women, who were carrying the perfumes and the spices, but with clearer style *"Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! Remember how He spoke to you when He was still in Galilee, saying, 'The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.' And they remembered His words." (Luke 24:5-8)*

Yes, He, formerly, said that He would rise from the dead. He did not only say those words to the women but many a time, he said them to His disciples also.

If the Lord informed the disciples of His resurrection and they did not believe Him, how much the more would those women be?

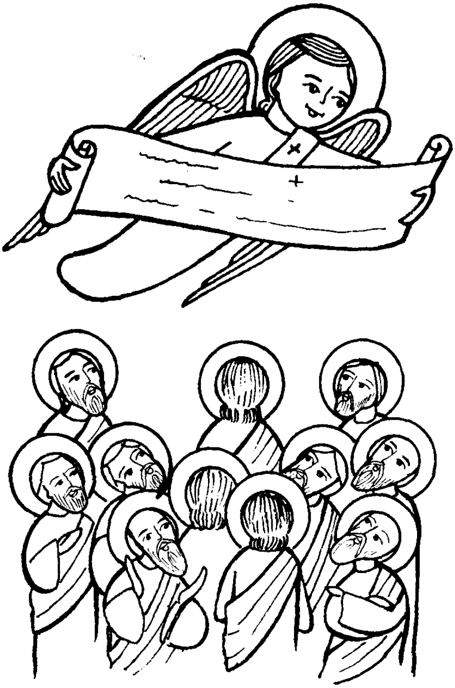

The Disciples' Doubts

The resurrection of Christ was an occurrence never happened before as He rose by Himself without any help from others and His strange words, never said by anyone before, were verified. “ *I lay down My life that I may take it again. No one takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command I have received from My Father." (John 10:17-18).*

Who dared say such words except Christ? So, His resurrection distracted the minds. It was above intelligence especially after the events of the cross and the pains and the insults directed to Him. And after the potency and authority with which the Jews treated Him.

Thus, it was not easy for the disciples to believe in the resurrection while they were afraid and hiding in the attic.

On the cross, He said "It is finished" which meant that the redemption was completed and the price of sin was paid.

But, there was another work for Him to complete. It was a work special for patronage.

Before Him, there were righteous persons who were troubled and in need of soothing.

What would He do to strengthen their weakness and to banish their doubts and fears?

He did not wish to blame these persons kindly for their weakness or for their doubts or for their ingratitude but He came to soothe them.

As He formerly said that He had not come to judge the people but to save them; how much the more His own who were in the world, He now showed them the full extent of His love. (John 13)

Saint John said about this love *"We love Him because He first loved us." (1 John 4:19).*

He did the same thing with Thomas who doubted in His resurrection and insisted on putting his finger in the places of the wounds. He did not blame him kindly for his doubts but tackled the matter with him.

Jesus responded to Thomas and let him put his finger to be sure of the places of the wounds.

The same thing happened with Peter, with Mary Magdalene and with the two from Emmaus.

The Lord wished to strengthen the faith of those persons who would carry faith all over the world and it was so.

Thus, the matter was not limited by His resurrection, but there happened many appearances afterwards.

He stayed with the disciples for forty days during which *" … after His suffering by many infallible proofs, being seen by them during forty days and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. to whom He also presented Himself alive" (Acts 1:3)*

What did the Bible say about the disciples who did not believe in that resurrection and their repeated doubts which caused others to stumble?

The Holy Bible says that He appeared first to Mary Magdalene " … She went and told those who had been with Him, as they mourned and wept. " (Mark 16:10)

How did the disciples receive her good news about the resurrection?

Saint Mark, the evangelist, gives the answer saying: *“ And when they heard that He was alive and had been seen by her, they did not believe. " (Mark 16:9-11)*

He appeared to the two from Emmaus who did not know Him and who did not believe what the women had said about the resurrection that Lord Jesus rebuked them saying *"O foolish ones, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, He expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Luke 24:25-27)*

At last, those two from Emmaus believed. What was the impression of their faith on the apostles?

Saint Mark says *"And they went and told it to the rest, but they did not believe them either.. " (Mark 16:13)*

We hear, afterwards; that the women went to the tomb, entered it and did not find Jesus' body. Then the angels appeared to them and announced the good news of the resurrection.

They hurried away from the tomb and ran to tell the disciples.

Saint Luke, the evangelist says *"And their words seemed to them like idle tales, and they did not believe them. " (Luke 24:11)*

These were the eleven apostles, the columns of the church, before whom there were many testimonies as Mary Magdalene; the two from Emmaus and the women... and they did not believe them.

Afterwards, Mary Magdalene hurried to Peter and John and told them about the empty tomb. They immediately arrived and went into the tomb *"and he saw the linen cloths lying there, and the handkerchief that had been around His head, not lying with the linen cloths. " (John 20:6,7).*

Here the Bible says about John "… he saw and believed. " But inspite of all that we read something strange...

We read that after all of them knew that saying, *"The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon! ". (Luke 24:34),* it happened that the Lord Himself stood among them and said to them *"Peace be with you. ".*

Did they believe when He appeared to them and spoke with them?

No, *"But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit.”* . *(Luke 24:37).*

The Lord rebuked them for their situation and said to them *"Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39).*

If the disciples had thought that what they had seen had been a ghost it would have been a heresy which would shake their as if

the body did nit rise. For this reason , the lord showed them his hands and His feet .

Thus , the problem was not that of Tomas only to whom the Lord said *“Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing."* *(John 20 :27).* But , it was the problem of the eleven apostles.

All of them complained ; all of them were in need of proofs They needed feeling, touching and seeing the places of the wounds in order to believe .

The Lord tackled the problem of their thinking him a ghost or a spirit practically.

About this matter Anba Peter the Sedmenty, said that **the Lord , during the period he spent in human nature on earth , He proved his divine nature , but after the resurrection He proved His human nature**

The Lord Proves His Human Nature

Thus, after the resurrection, we hear that, in order to convince them of His human nature, And He took it and ate in their presence. (Luke 24:43)

He said so, while we know that the body of the resurrection is a luminous spiritual body which neither eats nor drinks.

God did so to convince them of His human nature but, after the ascension, His body had not any relation with this material food.

In all these matters we see that the Lord met the disciples' doubts with convincing and not with rebuking or punishment.

They are the persons in whom He will have confidence to promulgate faith all over the world. So, they themselves must have a strong, firmly established faith which they can convey to others, convincing and without any doubt. So, the Lord led them to this strong faith.

If they did not acquire the faith which believes without seeing, there would be no objection for them to begin with faith which depends on senses although it is of a weak degree.

The Lord condescended and accepted their sensuous faith, not to be stabilised in Him but to be mere beginning that leads to faith. *"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" . (Heb 11: 1).*

Thus Saint John said *"That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, "* *(1 John 1:1).*

This faith which, in the beginning, depended on senses because stronger and could convince the whole world with what it had seen and heard lest some men should think that the apostles had been deceived or believed in some matters which had not taken place.

So, we notice Saint Paul, the Apostle, announce good news about what he had seen and beard on his way to Damascus.

He explained the whole matter to king Agrippa saying *" … O king, along the road I saw a light from heaven, brighter than the sun, shining around me and those who journeyed with me ... " (Acts 26:13-15)*

The apostle concluded his words saying *" Therefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, " (Acts 26:19)*

This is The Lord Jesus Christ who worked to strengthen the disciples' faith; who tackled Thomas' doubts; who comforted Peter's sorrow and Mary Magdalene when she wept. It is He who gave faith back to the church.

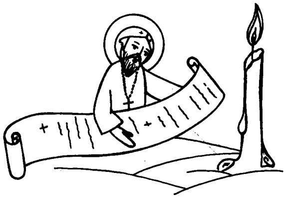

The Risen Christ Works For Us

The Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead because it was impossible for death to overcome Him. He bore in Himself the power of His resurrection.

So, He was the only one who rose from the dead by Himself without any help from anyone.

He rose, and by His resurrection, He gave humanity the blessing of the resurrection *“ … for the hour is coming in which all who are in the graves will hear His voice and come forth … " (John 5:28,29)*

He rose triumphant and trod on death to lead us in the procession of His victory and to teach us not to fear death as the apostle said afterwards *"O Death, where is your sting? O Hades, where is your victory?" (1 Cor 15:55)*

God who has allowed death to enter our human nature, also, with His mercy, has allowed the resurrection to do the same thing.

As He had created man from dust and, because of sin He has brought Him back to dust, He, also, by the resurrection, allowed this dust to be changed into a body once more but in a better nature.

Before His crucifixion, He said *"My father is always at his work to this very day, and I, too am working. "*

After the resurrection the Lord continued His work not only to soothe the fatigued souls and strengthen the weak disjoined knees but also to make His disciples ready for service and able to take over the great responsibility of preaching the Gospel to all creation.

In this way, after the resurrection, the Lord continued to work for patronage.

By His resurrection, He gave the spirit of joy to His disciples as He had told them before His crucifixion *" … but I will see you again and your heart will rejoice, and your joy no one will take from you. " (John 16:22)*

It was so, and they got rid of fear and terror *"The disciples were overjoyed when they saw the Lord. (John 20:20)*

They were greatly affected by the resurrection which strengthened them so deeply that they testified to it.

In every circumstance, they used to preach the rising of the Lord from the dead.

Those, who were afraid and hiding in the attic, appeared with stout hearts and filled the world with evangelising.

They did not care for the threatening of the chiefs of the Jews. They said to them *"We ought to obey God rather than men." Acts 5:29)*

”And the Lord added to the church daily those who were being saved.. " (Acts 2:47)

"And with great power the apostles gave witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. And great grace was upon them all. " (Acts 4.33)

As God stayed with Moses on the mountain a period of forty days to give him the Laws and the copy of the tent of meeting and its contents, the Lord also appeared to the Disciples over a period of forty days and spoke *" of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. " (Acts 2:3).*

Indeed, there is time for tranquillity, contemplation and recess while attending others has another time.

The Lord Jesus Christ stayed with God a period of forty days in a spiritual recess. He, also spent another period of forty days with his disciples during which he taught them and confirmed their faith. He gave them the creed and all the details of faith, the sacred sacraments of the church and instructed them how to practise them.

He also gave them all the arrangements concerning worship.

The resurrection of the Lord became the centre of the disciples' joy and the subject of their preaching.

It was a period of delivery, teaching and comprehension.

After that, He also appeared to Saint Paul who said about the Sacrament of Eucharist *"For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you … " (1 Cor 11:23).*

Thus, the act of delivery went on successively from the Lord to His disciples and then to others and so on.

The Lord delivered Paul; but what did Paul do? He says to His disciple Timothy *"And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also.. " (2 Tim . 2:2).*

Thus, after He had taught His disciples, He said to them before his ascension, *"Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. " (Mark 16:15).*

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; " (Matt 28:19,20).

And, as He handed instruction over to them he committed baptism as well.

As for instruction and baptism. He did not charge the whole people with them but only the disciples who delivered them to their successors, the bishops.

Those bishops, by turns, gave them to honest persons adequate for the job and not to the common people. It is a sacerdotal work done by priests.

So, He handed priesthood over to them before delivering instruction and baptism.

With priesthood He gave them the power to forgive sins.

Thus, Saint John, in. his gospel, explains to us how the Lord appeared to His disciples.

He entered, with the doors locked, and said to them *"Peace be with you. As the Father has sent Me, I am sending you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." (John 20:19-23)*

The act of the Holy Spirit bestowing authority of priesthood and forgiving sin on the disciples differs from that on the Pentecost when the Holy Spirit bestowed on them the talent of speaking in new tongues and the power of preaching the Gospel.

CHAPTER TEN

The Power Of Christianity And Abolition Of Impossibility

The resurrection was so powerful that it reminded us of the words of the Bible *"With men this is impossible , but with God all things are possible." (Matt 19:26)*

This power which amazed Paul, the Apostle that he said about the Lord *" that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection, "(Phil 3:10).*

God has granted us that power of His resurrection that everything became possible with the believer, About this matter, Paul, the Apostle, said *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* *"(Phil 4:13)*.

After the Lord has trampled death, there is nothing difficult or impossible before us.

He gave us victory over it and opened the locked gate of Paradise.

He put that nice song in our tongues.

"O Death, where [is] your sting?

Hades, where [is] your victory?" (1 Cor 15:5).

The power of the resurrection encouraged the disciples and gave them boldness to preach the Gospel.

Who could think that those weak persons who had hidden in the attic could preach the Gospel publicly and without opposition!?

Who could think that twelve men, most of them were ignorant fishermen can spread Christianity all over the world?

The resurrection has taught us that there is nothing impossible. With God everything is possible, It is possible for the foolish things of the world to shame the wise and the weak things of the world to shame the strong.

It seemed very difficult for Christianity to stand against Paganism and the ancient religions whose roots were fixed and stable in men's creeds.

Moreover, it seemed difficult to oppose or stand against Judaism which tried to exterminate or to extirpate Christianity.

It also seemed difficult to stand against the philosophies which were prevalent at that time or against the Roman Empire with its tyranny and its armed forces.

It seemed difficult for Christianity to face all these powers and to overcome them but the power they received from the resurrection of Christ and His triumph over death gave them an admirable energy.

Who could think that Peter, the ignorant fisherman can with one sermon, transmute three thousand Jews to Christian faith?

A famous eloquent preacher needs great effort to turn, with one sermon some sinners to repentance but to let three thousand persons change their religion after listening to one sermon seems to be something imaginative!

It is the power which the apostles received from the Holy Spirit and which changed them before they could change the people.

It remained with them and with it they did miracles.

Who could think that those apostles go to foreign countries where there was not even one Christian, no possibilities to perform religious service and in spite of all these difficulties they began from naught and could change the inhabitants' religion into Christianity ... ?

Indeed the resurrection taught us that there is nothing difficult and that everything is possible with the believer.

Who could think that Saul, from Tarsus, the most enormous persecutor of his time against Christianity becomes Paul, the greatest apostle who evangelised Christianity?

Who could think that the centurion, the general of the soldiers, who crucified Christ, adopted Christianity and died as a martyr because of it becomes a saint?

Who could think that the robber, on the right, believes when he was on the cross?

Who could think that Pilate's wife believes and asks her husband for the sake of "that righteous one?"

With Grace of God everything becomes possible. God is capable of everything. He who overcomes death, the most dangerous enemy, has the power to overcome any difficulty. Everything is quite easy before Him.

Who could think that Mary Magdalene, in whom there were seven devils becomes a preacher and announces good news of the resurrection to the apostles.

This power of the resurrection assured us that there is nothing impossible.

What we saw in preaching we witnessed in repentance:

The power of repentance which changed the worst sinners into the greatest saints and not to mere repentant taught us that there is nothing impossible.

The utmost thing men expected from Augustine, the debauchee, was his repentance. But to become a saint by whom the generations benefit was something difficult not expected by anyone.

The same thing can be said about Black Moses, the cruel killer, who became a modest, meek and humble saint.

Nothing is difficult before God. Isn't He who said ***“What are you, O mighty mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain!”*** *(Zec 4:7).*

God who makes the barren a rejoicing mother with sons and says to her *"Sing, O barren, You [who] have not borne! … Enlarge the place of your tent, … For you shall expand to the right and to the left, And your descendants will inherit the nations, And make the desolate cities inhabited. " (Is 54:1-3)*

Christ's birth as well as His resurrection were wonderful and strange events which prove that there is nothing impossible. His miracles, also, prove the same thing.

The act of incarnation seemed, in men's view, to be something impossible!! How can God make Himself nothing and take the very nature of a servant? How can a virgin become pregnant and give birth to a child without matrimony?

So, the resurrection was something impossible. Thence, the Jews were afraid lest it should take place and considered it worse than the first deception.

In spite of all that, incarnation took place; the virgin gave birth to a child and the resurrection happened.

Christianity is not a religion of weakness but a religion of strength. It gives man wonderful energies. It cancels the word "impossible."

Christianity is a religion of power

There is nothing difficult in Christianity. In it there is neither despondency nor failure. Through it *" I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. "(Phil 4:13).*

There are some things which seem difficult in Christianity such as: the cross; the narrow gate, and in spite of that the Christians carried the cross and entered through the narrow gate chanting the words of the apostle *"And His commandments are not burdensome.* *(1 John. 5:3)*

Yes, in the world's view, how difficult it is to turn the other cheek, to go the second mile, to love your enemy and to sell everything and give the price to the poor.

How difficult it is to follow a religion which calls upon devoutness and monasticism.

This religion, which seems difficult, spread everywhere. The people entered in its devoutness by their own will. They longed for its pains and were desirous of being martyrs. They took up the cross as an emblem.

The difficult commandment in Christianity bears in itself the power to carry it out.

Christianity has offered humanity excellent models and eminent commandments. But at the same time it presented to people spiritual ability and assistance from Grace to practise these models easily and with pleasure.

It gave men the spiritual life as well as the Holy Spirit to reside in them and offer them the power to behave spiritually.

Christian commandments seem difficult to those who are outside, who do not live in Grace and who did not take part in the Holy Spirit.

But, to the believer, these difficult commandments become an inordinate desire and spiritual enjoyment that he does not find any difficulty.

The believer puts on the full armour of God with which he can take his stand against the devil's schemes.

He fully believes that he does not stand alone in his spiritual and religious war.

He believes that *"for the battle is the Lord’s." (1Sam 17:47)* who is able to conquer whether with great numbers or few numbers.

He always feels that a divine power keeps close to him and works with him.

Thus, the life of the believer is a lasting victory because God leads him in His triumphal procession and *"The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace."* *(Ex 14:14).*

He who becomes conscious of failure has not put Grace to the test yet. He has not experienced the work of God whether in him or with him.

How wonderful are the words of the Lord to His disciples when He spoke to them about miracles *"Most assuredly, I say to you, he who believes in Me, the works that I do he will do also; and greater works than these he will do," (John 14:12)*

Christianity is a religion of power. It began with the resurrection which overcame death, opened the gates of Hades, led captives in His train and let the righteous enter Paradise.

Then we witness the power of preaching and the powerful endurance of the martyrs.

With great power, the apostles used to give testimony. With it they stood before the authorities and spoke without opposition.

Stephen could astound three synagogues *"And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke. "* *(Acts 6:10)***.**

Thus *"Then the word of God spread , and the number of the disciples multiplied greatly"* *(Acts 6:7)* **with the power of miracles and marvels, with the power of the word, with the poker of a heart, stood firm before sword and fire, with a power put on them from heaven. As the Lord said to them *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me"*** *(Acts 1:8)***.**

With this power He gave them authority on all the devils and on the cruelty of the enemy.

He, also, gave them the keys of heaven and earth.

In their prayers, there was a power which shook the place. They received power from the angels around them who broke the chains and brought them out of prison.

Thus, there were two powers, one, within themselves and the other around them.

This power caused Paganism to be exterminated and fade away.

It is the power of the defenceless Christianity which overcame an empire fully armed till it yielded to the new religion and adopted it.

It is the power of the cross which they thought a sign of weakness while it was a source of power and pride.

The Christian is a strong man with a sturdy spirit and perfect morals. He fears nothing. His power is derived not from his own self but from the Spirit of God.

Pilate feared the defenceless Christ and wished to set Him free. Felix, the governor, trembled when Paul, the captive, spoke about the judgement day.

It is the power of Christ who said *"but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." (John 16:33).*

It is the power of the monastic hearts which lead an ascetic life and which overcame all the worldly desires. They led a sacred life which distracted men's minds and terrified the devil.

It is the power expressed in Augustine's words **"I sat on the top of the world when I felt within myself that I desired nothing and feared nothing. "**

It is the power of divestment, monasticism and chastity.

If we are enjoying the joys of the resurrection let us live in its power and overcome death, that death which resulted fro-in sin, in order to rise in the resurrection of the righteous.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Questions Related To The Resurrection.

The Glorified Body Between The Body Of The Resurrection And The Body Of Birth

Question:

With what kind of body did the Lord Jesus Christ rise? Did He rise with an ordinary body like ours or with a glorified body? If He rose with a glorified one what would be the meaning of: *"He ate in the presence of His disciples?" (Luke 24:43)*. What is the meaning of *"they touched His flesh and His bones?" (Luke 24:39)*

Was the glorified body, with which the Lord rose, the same body He took from The Virgin? Why don't we say that He was born with a glorified body?

Answer:

1. Undoubtedly, the body of the resurrection, in general, is a glorified body.

Saint Paul explained this glory saying *"The body that is sown is perishable, it is raised imperishable,. it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power,*

it is sown a natural, it is raised a spiritual body. " (1 Cor 15:42-44)

2. If we shall be raised with a glorified body - a spiritual body - how much the more was Christ's resurrection?

This resurrection was the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. (1 Cor 15:20,23). So will it be with us when we will be raised in the general resurrection.

The clearest proof that we will be raised in the likeness of His glorious resurrection is the saying of Saint Paul, the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Philippians *"who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, " (Phil 3:21)*

Thus, The Lord Jesus Christ has risen with a glorified body and so will it be with us *"conformed His glorious body. "*

This is a clear matter which needs neither proof nor argument.

It is well known that the glorified body is a spiritual one according to the words of Paul the Apostle in his first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:44,49).

The spiritual body has risen high above materials as food and drink and above flesh and bones....

3. How was it said then that Christ had eaten after His resurrection and that He had flesh and bones?

This matter is very clear in the Bible according to our teacher Luke, the Evangelist. He wrote about Christ's appearance to

His disciples after the resurrection *" But they were terrified and frightened, and supposed they had seen a spirit. And He said to them, "Why are you troubled? And why do doubts arise in your hearts? "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself. Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have. When He had said this, He showed them His hands and His feet. " (Luke 24:37-40)*

In the same chapter and in the same occasion He took a piece of broiled fish and ate it in their presence (Luke 24:41-43). How can we explain that matter?

4. We explain that matter by the following: He wished to prove to them the resurrection of His body, while they did not understand the meaning of the spiritual body.

At that time, they did not understand the entity of the spiritual body. They never heard of such words.

Of course, without the proofs given to them as eating and touching His flesh and His bones, they would have thought Him a spirit. (Luke 24:37), a mere spirit without body. In their understanding it meant that the body had not risen.

5. The important matter in the resurrection is "The rising of the body."

It is because the spirit is, by nature, a living thing which does not die.

Only the body dies when it is separated from the spirit. It changes into dust, but the spirit remains alive in the waiting place.

Thus, the resurrection is the rising of the body which will unite with the spirit once more.

In the Liturgy of renouncing the devil from the baptistery we say **"We believe in the resurrection of the body."**

As the disciples thought they had seen a ghost, it meant that the idea of the rising of the body was far from their minds.

So, it was necessary to convince them with it in order that they might convince others.

Here, we mention the words of Saint Peter, the Sedmenty "Before His crucifixion, The Lord Jesus Christ used to prove His divinity to the people, but after the resurrection He wished to prove man's proper nature."

The spirit alone does not represent a complete human nature. It is necessary to prove that the body has risen. Thus He said to Thomas *"Reach your finger here, and look at My hands; and reach your hand here, and put it into My side. Do not be unbelieving, but believing." (John 20:27)* He said to His disciples ***"Handle Me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see I have." (Luke 24:39)***

Also, He allowed Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, when they came to Him and worshipped Him after the resurrection to clasp His feet (Matt 28:9) All this was to prove the rising of the body.

7. This spiritual glorified body was that which went up to heaven.

Perhaps the act of ascension may not agree with a material body submitting to the law of earthly gravity because it is heavier

than air; but He went up, in glory, with a spiritual body and with the same glory He sat at the right hand of God.

This same glorified body will come back *"in His glory. " (Matt 25:3 1) " in His [own] glory, and [in] [His] Father's, " (Luke 9:26)*

The glory of the ascension and that of the second coming is not only a mere miracle but it is also special case in His nature permanent forever.

8. This glorified body is that body with which He appeared to Saul, from Tarsus, on his way to Damascus. when *" suddenly a light shone around him from heaven. Then he fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting Me?" And he said, "Who are You, Lord?" Then the Lord said, "**I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.”**. (Acts 9:3-5)*

9. This glorified body is the same body with which He was born of the Virgin.

But that body with which He was born was not so glorious as that of the resurrection because in His birth, *'"but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a bondservant," (Phil 2:7).*

The act of making Himself nothing ended in the glory of the resurrection and ascension.

10. The body of the resurrection was the same body of the birth; but in a case of transfiguration. He gave us a handsel of it on the mountain of transfiguration. (Mark 9:2,3)

As an example of comparison - measurement but with difference the three young men in the fiery furnace. Their bodies were the same bodies but they were granted, for a time, a kind of transfiguration which kept them from the harm of the fire.

The resurrection of The Lord Jesus Christ was with the same body of birth but in glory or in a case of transfiguration which gave the body a glorified nature, then it became a spiritual one. The same steps will happen to us.

11. Some may ask "Did Christ's body take His glorified nature immediately after the Resurrection or after the Ascension?

I say to you "His body took that nature during the resurrection itself."

The cases with which He proved His human nature were nothing but exceptional cases in order that the disciples might believe that His body had risen and, with confidence, spread faith saying *" … which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled," (1 John 1:1) "even to us who ate and drank with Him after He arose from the dead." (Acts 10:41)*

In cases other than these cases, the glorified body of the resurrection does not drink or eat any material thing. It needs nothing. It does not feel hungry or thirsty.

In glory it does not feel tired. It does not suffer pain. It does not become subject to death.

12. Entering the locked doors and coming out of the closed places are clear proofs of the glory of the body of the resurrection.

In the attic, with the doors locked, He came in and stood among the disciples. He did so many times (John 20:19,26)

In His resurrection, He went out of the tomb with the entrance sealed. It was after the resurrection that the angel came and rolled the big stone in order that all men might see the empty tomb. (The women and all men) and not for Christ to come out because He had formerly come out with the entrance closed and sealed.

Among the examples of His coming out of the closed things is His getting out of the shrouds with the mummification substances while they remained where they were.

He, formerly, came out of The Virgin 's womb. Here some may ask: Was the Lord born with a glorified body as that of the resurrection? The answer is as follows:

13. The Lord Jesus Christ was born with a body like ours. He resembled us in everything except sin.

He took our human nature for which He was called *"The Son of Man "* and with which He could redeem us.

"So the child grew and became strong in spirit,. " (Luke 1:80)

"He was hungry." (Matt 4:2)

"I thirst!" (John 19:28)

"Jesus therefore, being wearied from His journey," (John 4:6)

"But He was asleep." (Matt 8:24)

In Gethsemane *"Then His sweat became like great drops of blood falling down to the ground." (Luke 22:44)*

14. If He had not taken our human nature, He would not have felt pain.

He was in a nature liable to feel pain. Through the body He suffered pain. He experienced the pains of beating, flogging and crucifixion.

Many a time He fell under the cross when He carried it, that Simon, from Cyrene, carried it for Him.

His nature was liable to death, so, He died on behalf of us and redeemed us while the glorified body did not feel pain and did not die.

Thus, He was born with a human nature liable to pain and death, to suffering and sorrow.

In this way, this human nature could accomplish the act of redemption, then, it was glorified in the resurrection.

15. The glory of His nature before the redemption was an impeccable one.

His birth, the period of Mary's pregnancy, the time He spent on earth were spiritual glories done by His good will but His body was, in everything, like ours except for sin.

He made Himself nothing taking the very nature of a servant.

16. His unity with divinity is considered one of His glories.

This unity lessened nothing of His human nature. It did not nullify the weaknesses of the body as hunger, thirst, weariness and death. Otherwise redemption would have lost its nature and its value.

His pains were true, so was His redemption. He made Himself nothing in order that He, in His resurrection, might bestow glory on us.

Because He made Himself nothing from glory, He, before the crucifixion, said to God "Father glorify Your Son,
that Your Son may glorify You." "O Father, glorify Me together with Yourself, with the glory which I had with You before the world was." (John 17 :1-5)

17. It was said about the resurrection "but when Jesus was glorified,.... (John 12:16).

18. The disciples could not bear seeing His glory.

Thus, when John, the beloved one, saw some of God's glory in the Revelation *"I fell at His feet as dead."* Why? *"His head and hair were white like wool, as white as snow, and His eyes like a flame of fire". (Rev 1:17,16,14)*

19. For these reasons, the Lord advanced gradually with His disciples when He showed them the glory of His resurrection.

He did so with the Magdalene, who, at first, thought Him the gardener, then, at last He revealed Himself to her (John 20:14,16)

He did the same thing with the two of Emmaus, with whom He walked along But their eyes were restrained, so that they did not know Him.. (Luke 24:16)

With the disciples, He used the same style of graduation in order that they might bear these matters because seeing Him after the resurrection with His glorified body was not so easy.

It was a story too long to be supported by this treatise.

20. Does this mean that we shall not see Him in His glory? If we shall see Him: how and when?

Who will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body, (Phil 3:21) then we shall see Him and as the apostle says *"For now we see in a mirror, dimly, but then face to face. " (1 Cor 13:12)*

What is the meaning of the phrase ':face to face"? How will that be accomplished?

My brothers, now, it is better for me to keep silent for this is easier and better by far.

Do Not Hold On To Me

Question:

Why did the Lord appear to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection?

Why did He say to her "*"Do not cling to Me,"* (John. 20:17) While He allowed Saint Thomas to touch Him? (John 20:27).

He, also, allowed the rest of the apostles to touch him. (Luke 24:39)

Did He prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman?

Did He allow them to touch Him because they are men?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ allowed Mary Magdalene to touch Him before anyone of the apostles, as it was mentioned in their first meeting after the resurrection in (Matt. 24)

Mary Magdalene, with the other Mary went to look at the tomb. The tomb was empty. The big stone was rolled away from the entrance.

The angel told them the good news of the resurrection of the Lord. On leaving the tomb, the Lord met them and said to them *"Peace be with you. "(John 20:19).*

Here, Saint Matthew, the Evangelist says, *"So they came and held Him by the feet and worshiped Him. ". (Matt 28:9)*

So, Mary Magdalene has touched Christ after the resurrection.

The Lord did not prevent her from touching Him because she is a woman but, on the contrary, He charged her with going to His disciples and telling them about the good news of the resurrection and her meeting with Him in the Galilee.

It was a great honour that the Lord charged a woman with carrying good news to the apostles.

But it happened afterwards that Mary Magdalene yielded to the doubts spread by the chief priests about the resurrection.

They filled the world with rumours announcing that the body was stolen from the tomb while the guards were sleeping.

It was possible for these rumours to leave no effect on Mary were it not for her to see that the apostles themselves did not believe in the resurrection.

As for the doubts of the disciples, they were very clear as they did not believe the story of the resurrection.

Mary has gone to them and told them the good news of Christ's resurrection. When they heard that Jesus was alive and that she had seen Him, they did not believe it. (Mark 16:9-11)

When Mary Magdalene saw that Jesus' apostles did not believe her and trusted neither the other women nor the two from Emmaus, she began to doubt.

She was still a young lady and perhaps what she had seen at the tomb was a dream or imagination. Had she faith stronger than that of the apostles? It is something absurd.

She thought in herself; perhaps some men might have stolen the body and carried it from its place!

They might not be the apostles but other men, perhaps the gardener, for example, might have taken it for any reason!

Of course, all these were doubts against faith because she herself saw the empty tomb. She also saw Christ, touched Him and heard His voice.

Moreover, she heard the good news from the angel, then from the two angels.

As Peter had denied Christ three times during the judgment, so did Mary Magdalene. She denied the resurrection of the Lord three times. These denials are written in one chapter. (John 20:12,13,15)

1. **The first denial** took place when she went to the Saints Peter and John and said to them *"They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we don't know where they have put Him!" (John 20:2)*

These words mean that God has not yet risen from the dead as they have taken His body and put it another place.

2. **The second denial** took place when she was weeping outside the tomb and the two angels asked her *"Woman, why are you weeping?"* She said to them, *"Because they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:13)*

3. **The third denial** took place when The Lord Jesus Christ appeared to her. Because of her weeping, she did not see Him well and thought Him to be the gardener. Perhaps He concealed Himself from her ... She said to Him *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, and I will take Him. " (John 20.-15)*

When He showed Himself to her and she knew Him, she cried out "Rabboni!" (which means: Teacher)

The Lord prevented her from touching Him to rebuke her for denying His resurrection three times.

Also, it was not permissible for her to touch Him with her precarious faith as if He were a common person carried by someone to any place.

She said to Peter and John *"They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid Him." (John 20:2).*

She said to the two angels *" they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him " (John 20:13).*

She said to the Lord thinking He was the gardener *"Sir, if You have carried Him away, tell me where You have laid Him, " (John 20:15).*

All her words were repetition to the soldiers' pretence and showed her precarious faith.

The Lord said to her *"Do not cling to Me …"* which means 'Don't approach Me with your shaken faith and with you doubts after you have seen Me, clasped My feet and heard My voice.'

'Don't approach Me after I have charged you with a message to My disciples.'

'Don't approach Me after you have seen the tomb and heard the angels' testimony.'

'Don't hold on to Me with your denial, for I have not yet returned to the Father.'

As for the phrase *" I have not yet ascended to My Father. " (John 20:17)* Saint Severus, from Antioch as well as Saint Augustine did not take it literally but symbolically because she had held on Him before.

The two saints added that the Lord wished to say to her "Don't hold on to Me with your precarious faith because I have not reached in your mind the standard of My Father's divinity. "You think My body is still dead and the people can carry it wherever they wish!!"

However, He consoled her and at the same time He charged her with a message to the apostles.

Feed My Lambs, Take Care Of My Sheep

Question:

Why do we deny Peter's headship while the Lord said to him after the resurrection: "Feed My lambs,. take care of My sheep?

Answer:

The Lord Jesus Christ did not say these phrases to him in order to appoint him Pastor of the Universal Church but to bring him back to the apostolic rank which he was on the point of losing because of his denial.

With this phrase, the Lord made him equal to the other apostles.

He was exposed to the text which says *"But he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God." (Luke 12:9)* to be applied to him.

It is clear that The Lord Jesus Christ said to him *"Tend My sheep." in a reprimand situation as He asked him three times saying "Simon, son of Jonah, do you love Me?" (John 21: 15-17)*

By these words, the Lord wished to remind him of his denials.

Moreover His question carried a light reprimand with which the Lord reminds Peter of his words *" Even if all are made to stumble because of You, I will never be made to stumble " (Matt 26:33)*

In that situation we notice that The Lord Jesus Christ called him by his old name before he was given the name "Peter".

The most conspicuous proof that the Lord meant by his words some reprimand was the shame and the sorrow that appeared on Peter's face after the Lord had said to him "Take care of My sheep" because he understood the Lord's aim.

If the phrase had been said in a good circumstance of magnifying or investiture, it could have caused Peter joy and pleasure.

Patronage is a job God has invested with rank to many as it appears in many texts of the Holy Bible.

All the apostles are patrons. The Lord Jesus Christ is the chief patron.

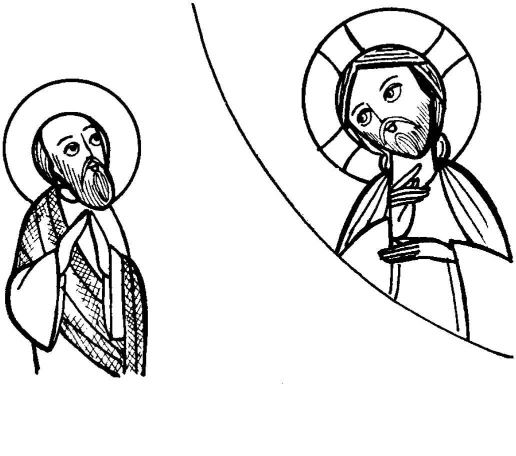

But Go, Tell His Disciples And Peter

Question:

After Christ's resurrection, the angel said to the Marys ***"tell His disciples; and Peter; that He is going before you into Galilee; there you will see Him, "*** *(Mark 16:7)*. **Does mentioning Peter by name mean that he was preferable to other disciples?**

Answer:

The Lord wished to give Peter special care because he was perturbed about himself and about his destiny after his denial, blasphemy, denunciation and saying *" I do not know the Him. " (Luke 22:57).*

If the Lord applied to Peter the text *" he who denies Me before men will be denied before the angels of God. " (Luke 12:9)* he would perish.

He mentioned Peter by name as a kind of sympathy and consolation because of denial and sin.

Perhaps he was too ashamed of the Lord to be able to meet Him without a special call.

Don't, you see with me that Adam, after he had sinned hid from the face of God and was afraid of Him?

When the Lord God called to him *"Where are you?"*, he answered *"I heard Your voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked; and I hid myself." (Gen 3:9).*

Peter was in the same situation. He was in need of a special call by name.

Thus, the matter is not a subject of headship or preference but consoling a poor person.

About The Events Of The Resurrection And Their Coincidence With Each Other

Question:

Is there any contradiction among the events of the resurrection according to what was written in the four gospels?

A gospel mentions one angel. Another gospel mentions two angels.

Also the persons who visited the tomb. Some gospels differ in regard to them.

Answer:

There is no contradiction. Each gospel mentioned a special visit accomplished at a time different from that of the other visit and with other persons.

The first visit was mentioned by Matthew's gospel. The tomb was empty. The angel said the good news to Mary Magdalene and to the other Mary. The appearance of the Lord to the two of Emmaus, The women's visit. (Luke 24)

But the visit of Mary Magdalene and seeing the Lord as if He were the gardener was accomplished afterwards. (John 20). Different visits at different times.

If it had been one event, there would have been contradiction but they were many events, appearances and visits.

In This Book

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit One God. Amen

This is the first book I publish about Resurrection. It is the outcome of many lectures and sermons delivered on this topic.

The book consists of three important elemets;

1. A general view of the Resurrection, how it is necessary, possible and useful; and its spiritual and general effect.

2. Various articles on the Resurrection of the Lord Christ - glory be to Him - comprising the events of the Resurrection, its power and joy, its effect and blessings and how it changed situations. Proofs and confirmation of the authenticity of the Resurrection are also included.

3. The third part of the book includes five important questions relating to the subject.

We present you with this book to give you some contemplations on the Resurrection.

We hope that you may expreience the effectiveness of the Resurrection in your life.

I wish you happy Easter and good returns.

Pope Shenouda III

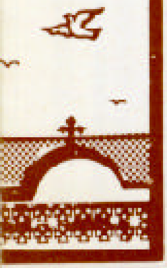

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THE

GOSPEL OF THE RESURRECTION.

THE

GOSPEL OF THE RESURRECTION:

THOUGHTS ON ITS RELATION TO REASON AND HISTORY.

BY

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L.,

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

SEVENTH EDITION.

London and Cambridge:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK.
1891

[*The Right of Translation is reserved.*]

Εὐλόγως ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν,

ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΑΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΟΙ.

First Edition printed 1866 (*Ext. Fcap. 8vo.*), *Second* 1867,
Third 1874 (*Cr. 8vo.*), *Fourth* 1879, *Fifth* 1884,
Sixth 1887, *Seventh* 1891.

NOTICE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

IN revising the following pages I have had the great advantage of considering two important criticisms upon its main argument, one by Mr R. W. Macan in his Essay on *The Resurrection of Christ,* 1877, and the other by the Author of *Supernatural Religion,* in the third volume of his work, and in two papers in the *Fortnightly Review* for February and March, 1878. It would be affectation to say that either writer has brought forward arguments which I had not considered previously to the best of my ability; but I gladly acknowledge the help which both have given me in understanding modes of thought which are foreign to my own. I hope that the few verbal changes and additions which I have made in the

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statement of my views may help to render my meaning clearer, where I find that it has been misapprehended. One or two errors have been corrected, and one or two difficulties have been touched upon more fully than before, where the reasoning of my critics or my own experience shewed such changes to be necessary. But I have made the changes silently, for I cannot think that the pursuit of the highest Truth is a matter for personal controversy. No one, I feel, has a monopoly of Truth. It is enough that in defending the Truth which we know, we never consciously underrate or neglect the objections of opponents. The teacher who either presumes to claim the knowledge which he has not, or dissembles his own difficulties, carries in his own heart the elements of a stern and inevitable chastisement.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,
May 13, 1879.

NOTICE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

BEFORE issuing a new edition of the present Essay I have carefully reconsidered the whole argument, and by the help of several kind critics have been enabled to correct (as I hope) some faults and to remove some ambiguities, which had been overlooked before. I have not, however, made any attempt to alter the general character of the book. No one can feel more keenly than I do how often I must try the patience of my readers, but I believe that any one who has felt the difficulties which are touched upon, will be willing to follow out in detail the lines of thought which are suggested; and in subjects where all language necessarily falls short of the truth which we perceive 'in many parts

'and in many fashions,' it seems better to stir inquiry, if it may be, than to appear to anticipate and satisfy it.

Some recent speculations on the scope and foundation of Christianity shew with singular clearness that even the most candid interpreters of the Gospel can still miss its scope. For it cannot, as far as I can see, be finally questioned by any student of the apostolic records that the earliest known description of a Christian is 'one 'who *believes on Christ*' and not 'one who *believes* '*Christ*.' Or in other words, a Christian is essentially one who throws himself with absolute trust upon a living Lord, and not simply one who endeavours to obey the commands and follow the example of a dead Teacher. The question at issue is not the observance of a certain number of definite precepts but a view of the whole Universe, of all being and of all life, of man and of the world, and of GOD.

In this aspect the Resurrection is not an isolated fact, but emphatically a revelation (ch. ii. §§ 16 ff.). If the fragmentary accounts of the Resurrection were such as to yield a simple and

consistent narrative of the restoration of the Lord to the circumstances of the earthly life which He lived before, it is not too much to say that the hope which they convey would be destroyed. The marvel of the records is that details which mark the identity of the Lord's person are combined naturally (so to speak) and in the same Gospel with details which mark the change in the conditions of His personal existence, as if those who put the facts together were conscious of no difficulty in the apparent contradiction from their actual realisation of the new Truth. And when we come to combine their narratives we find it impossible to form any theory of the nature of the Resurrection as a fact like in kind to any other facts of our experience which is not at variance with some at least of the recorded details. Thus if we take one series of events, the Resurrection might appear to have been a mere coming back to life: if we take another, it might appear to be a deduction from a series of apparitions. Either supposition would be more or less consistent with the ordinary course of things; but an examination of the records will not justify a

simple choice between the two alternatives. In some cases again the manifestations carried with them instant conviction to those to whom they were made: in others they raised questionings and even left doubt. But so far from these variations creating a difficulty they lead us to the fullest perception which as yet we are able to gain of the new life as a fact. If they are held firmly as a whole they offer an adequate explanation of the faith of St Paul. If on the other hand any one series of phenomena be disregarded, we lose something either of the reality or of the breadth of the revelation: there are features in the unquestionably contemporaneous faith of the Apostles which are left without an adequate explanation[1].

Thus as we reflect upon the substance of the apostolic records and the experience of the Church with more simplicity of heart and more complete self-devotion, the more nearly are we brought back to the words of St Paul, *If thou shalt make the confession with thy mouth* JESUS *is* LORD, *and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised Him*

[1] I have endeavoured to give a general view of the lessons of the different narratives in *The Revelation of the Risen Lord.*

from the dead, thou shalt be saved. The acknowledgment of the present sovereignty of *the Son of Man* in this earliest Creed (τὸ ῥῆμα) rests upon faith in the actual Resurrection of *the Son of Man;* and together these two facts,—Christ's Sovereignty and Christ's Resurrection—offer to men the power and the motive which are required for a life of sacrifice and hope.

This elementary conception of Christianity as involving a living relation with One 'who died 'and is alive again' may be of service in the prospect of immediate dangers. For it seems to be commonly admitted that once again we are approaching a great crisis in the history of human society and human thought; and many look with doubt, or even with more than doubt, on the adequacy of Christian Theology to meet and reconcile the conflicting elements which are rising around us. It is, indeed, confessed that our distinctive Faith—the Gospel of the Resurrection—contained within it the vital and constructive forces which were able to preserve the treasures of the old world from the shipwreck of the Roman Empire, to organise and guide the

fresh energies of the northern nations, to receive and consecrate the recovered heritage of Greek art and Greek speculation; but there is still a vague fear that the dangers by which we are now menaced are greater than any which have gone before, greater than political dissolution, greater than triumphant barbarism, greater than paganised culture. It is perhaps necessary that it should be so. For while it is comparatively easy to estimate the relative value of forces from a distant and quiet vantage-ground, all that is seen through the dimness and mist of the struggle appears gigantic and alarming. Yet even at first sight we must acknowledge that the past victories of faith cannot but inspire us with confidence in entering on that struggle to which we are called, and at the same time furnish us with those lessons of experience which may free us from some natural fears. No one now questions that Christianity has been made richer and stronger by the loss of the imperial patronage with which it was once dignified, by the action of the restless freedom of the Teutonic spirit upon the personal apprehension of its teaching,

by the calm light of ancient literature which reveals and harmonizes a manifold variety in the providential dealings of God with man. And thus taught we can rejoice to believe that the coming *renaissance* of science will minister, no less than the past *renaissance* of culture has already done, to the abiding efficacy of the Truth which has been handed down to us.

But though we believe that it will be so, or rather because we believe that it will be so, it is well for us to prepare for the coming access of light, to take account of the whole scope of the Truth, to consider what belongs to its essence and what to the form in which it is embodied, to test the various modes by which men strive towards a fuller knowledge of it, to ascertain the relation which the particular fragment with which we happen for the time to be busied bears to the great sum to which it contributes. There is a constant and perilous tendency in partial study, and all study must be more or less partial, to exaggerate details or shapes of Truth, to pursue exclusively a method legitimate in one region, and so to apply it to inappropriate subjects, to

neglect the ennobling inspiration which comes from a sense of the magnificence of the whole work in which we are allowed to take some small part. And this, which is true elsewhere, is most true of that study, which is of all the widest and grandest, the pursuit and setting forth of the science of Theology, to which all other sciences contribute, and in which they find their crown and consummation,—a unity of idea according to our present forms of thought, and the assurance of eternal worth.

In proportion therefore as the exposition of Christian Doctrine becomes more complicated, it becomes more necessary to strive to keep ever present to our minds the thought of Christ Himself, Incarnate, Crucified, Raised, Ascended, in whose Person and Work all doctrine is implicitly contained. And the study of the Bible and the study of the Church history are the chief means through which the Holy Spirit opens out the understanding of our personal faith. Through this double study pursued fearlessly and thoroughly, because it is pursued in the sight of God and in dependence on His Spirit, doctrine and ritual first become really

intelligible: and though it is a dangerous thing to use the word 'proof' of subjects to which no method of deduction or induction is applicable, this double study brings that conviction of the truth of Christianity on which the intellect as well as the soul of man can rest with absolute assurance. As we read the Holy Scriptures with more open minds, dissembling none of the difficulties by which they are beset, claiming for them no immunity from the ordinary processes of criticism, realising with the most strenuous endeavour every detail of their human characteristics, we shall learn what is meant by 'living 'words,' what is meant by 'the inspiration of a 'book.' As we follow the progress of the Christian society through conflicts and triumphs and disasters, through periods of threatening gloom and rekindled light, often checked and diverted but never stopped, often entangled and impeded by strange accretions but yet always able to cast them off, we shall feel that there is in it a power greater than that of man. Such inquiries, so far as they are undertaken in fellowship with Christ, will enable us to stand in a living relationship

with prophets and apostles and confessors, so that their words will come to us not as a tradition or a formula, but as fresh utterances called out by the actual needs of men like ourselves, from the hearts of those who sympathised with them. We shall find that we are the inheritors of a life and not of a system, of a life which is a pledge of the unity of all that is seen and temporal with that which is unseen and eternal.

While therefore I do not desire to dissemble or to exaggerate the gravity and even the strangeness of the new trial of Faith, the occasion is, as I believe, more full of hope than of fear. I cannot doubt what the Church of England may do, within whose reach are placed the three great springs of power which have been given separately to other Churches, the simplicity of a pure creed, the strength of a continuous organisation, the freedom of personal faith. I cannot doubt what our own University may do, in which a grave and sober intellectual discipline prepares men for patient criticism and large-minded research. But still the time of labour is short, and if we waste it there appears to be no further prospect that

the work to which we are called will be hereafter accomplished.

But it cannot be needful to dwell on the possibility of this most disastrous failure. The symptoms of dissension and confusion and doubt among us are rather indications of the restless unsatisfied energy of newly awakened life than warnings of decay and dissolution. We are, indeed, forced to confess that we have not yet shewn practically what Theology is, what the Church is, what doctrine is. We have allowed questions of social and national right to be discussed without reference to that infinite Truth which though above our grasp is yet a light by which we can guide our course. We have stood as Christians so far aloof from secular speculation that we have almost forgotten that it must be through these lower studies that our apprehension of our own unchanging message is advanced. We have so persistently dissembled the power of the Gospel—the historical reconciliation of God with the world and man—that it is pardonable if those who judge of it by us should doubt whether it is anything more efficacious and in-

spiring than the pathetic guesses which adorn the writings of philosophy. But while we deplore our faithlessness we can rise out of it. And this we must do, if once again we see Christ as the ascended Lord, and let the light of His glorious Person fall upon our life and upon all life.

B. F. W.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
Feb. 23, 1874.

PREFACE.

Ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ.

THE present Essay is an endeavour to consider some of the elementary truths of Christianity as a miraculous Revelation from the side of History and Reason. There seems to be a growing impression, for it is too vague to be called a belief, that such a fact as the Resurrection cannot be brought into harmony with what we see of the life of the world or what we feel of the laws of individual thought. The opponents of Christianity tacitly assume that a miracle must be explained away; and its defenders neglect to notice the manifold lines of culture and thought which converge towards the central lessons of the Gospel and again start from them with the promise of richer fruitfulness. If the arguments which

are here adduced are valid they will go far to prove that the Resurrection, with all that it includes, is the key to the history of man, and the complement of reason. At least they will shew that the supposed incompatibility of a devout belief in the Life of Christ with a broad view of the course of human progress and a frank trust in the laws of our own minds, is wholly imaginary. Indeed it is not too much to assert that the fact of the Resurrection (as the typical miracle of the Gospel) becomes more natural as we take a more comprehensive view of history, and more harmonious with reason as we interrogate our instincts more closely. A conviction of the certainty of the facts of the Gospel seems to be best gained either by the most general or by the most personal view of their import. They fill up the most critical place in the great record of the progress of mankind; and they satisfy wants which each man feels for himself. Christianity has many sides; and those are by no means the least noble which are thus opened to the student of life and thought.

The object which I proposed to myself necessarily involved a mode of treatment wholly un-

theological. Many topics consequently are dealt with otherwise than they would be dealt with in a doctrinal exposition; and many are wholly omitted which would have found a place in such a work. But while I have endeavoured to avoid technical language, I trust that no word in the Essay will be found at variance with the fulness of Catholic truth.

He who has long pondered over a train of reasoning becomes unable to detect its weak points. It is so, I am conscious, with what I now offer to the criticism of others. But the only desire which he can have who writes on such a subject must be to learn the truth fully that in turn he may speak it. The questions which are raised are momentous and personal. If we believe that the answers which I have given are true or like the truth, our modes of thought and our lives must bear witness to our Faith.

And it seems impossible not to acknowledge that the recognition of the Resurrection as a fact which has moulded the thoughts of Christians and yet retains the fulness of its vital power, is less spontaneous and instinctive among us than it

ought to be in a Christian age. Nay, more, its teachings are not so much neglected as absolutely unperceived in popular estimates of what Christianity claims to be and is. Two passages from recent works, which have perhaps nothing else in common, will illustrate my meaning. 'There is 'no hope,' we are told, 'of a good understanding 'with Orientals [i.e. Muslims] until Western Chris- 'tians can bring themselves to recognise what 'there is of common faith contained in the two 'religions; *the real difference consists in all the 'class of notions and feelings* (very important ones 'no doubt) *which we derive not from the Gospels 'but from Greece and Rome,* and which are alto- 'gether wanting here [in the East].' And again: 'Christian morality (so called) has all the charac- 'ters of a re-action; it is, in great part, a protest 'against Paganism. *Its ideal is negative rather 'than positive: passive rather than active: Inno- 'cence rather than Nobleness: Abstinence from 'Evil rather than energetic Pursuit of Good;* in its 'precepts (as has been well said) "thou shalt not" 'predominates unduly over "thou shalt"......... 'It holds out the hope of heaven and the threat of

'hell as the appointed and appropriate motives to 'a virtuous life......Even in the morality of pri- 'vate life, *whatever exists of magnanimity, high-'mindedness, personal dignity, even the sense of 'honour, is derived from the purely human, not the 'religious part of our education, and never could 'have grown out of a standard of ethics in which 'the only worth, professedly recognised, is that of 'obedience.'* Now, apart from all other criticism, to which these statements lie open, it is not too much to say that they absolutely could not have been written if their authors had realised that Christianity is emphatically the Gospel of the Resurrection, in which fact lies a spring of human dignity and social fellowship infinitely deeper and fuller than anything which was anticipated in classical teaching.

During the passage of the Essay through the press I have been indebted to many friends, and especially to one, for important suggestions and criticisms. Of some I have been able to make use: others, if an opportunity be given me, I shall hope to use hereafter; for all I render them my sincere thanks. And the deepest obligation which

any reader can confer upon me will be to point out whatever seems obscure or faulty or erroneous in what is here advanced. For writer and for reader Truth is the common aim. The subject *is not a vain thing for us: it is our life.*

B. F. W.

CAMBRIDGE,

Dec. 16*th*, 1865.

NOTICE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

BY the kindness of many old and some new friends I have been enabled to correct and modify and supplement many of the details in my original Essay; but a careful and (as I trust) impartial review suggests to me no change in the main argument. Indeed every symptom of the theological controversies of our own day points most distinctly to the paramount necessity of a historical appreciation of the origin and development of the Church as the key to the wider questions which are opening before us. The Epistle to the Ephesians and the writings of St John contain in a divine commentary on the Resurrection, of which Christian history is the gradual and partial fulfilment, the complete solution of the greatest problems to which the thoughts of men are now being turned, the Solidarity of Humanity and the relation of our World to the whole Kosmos.

If my leisure and health had allowed me, I should have added a final chapter on the *Resurrection and the World,* which has for some time been drawn up in outline. In this it would have been necessary to take account of the 'Positive 'Religion' of M. Comte, which in many of its characteristic dogmas appears to cast unexpected light upon neglected Christian Truths. The system offers in fact a very noble, though a very partial, view of Christianity in its political and social aspects, but without the one essential foundation of a historic CHRIST[1].

It may perhaps be worth while to state that the sketch of the Essay was made many years ago and that it was written in 1864 and printed in the early part of 1865, though it was not published till 1866. I cannot therefore take to myself the credit which a friendly critic gave me of 'popularising' arguments on miracles which were in time subsequent to my own and wholly independent of them. The coincidence of reasoning, if it exists, as I take for granted, is most

[1] [I have now added as an Appendix an Essay which marks what appear to me to be the chief points for consideration under this head. 1874.]

satisfactory, though practically I believe that there can be little difference of opinion on this subject between those who will take the trouble to think it out in all its cardinal bearings.

But all speculation leaves the profound conviction that life is stronger than thought; and the present season itself proclaims more eloquently than many words the Gospel of the Resurrection, and, if we are faithful, more convincingly. If each Christian would openly 'confess with his 'mouth' the truth which he 'believes in his heart,' the world would gladly yield to the glorious greeting of our Easter morning, 'Christ is risen.'

B. F. W.

St Leonard's,

Easter Eve, 1867.

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[1] The numbering of the sections is made continuous, but the new sections are marked by an asterisk. [Ed. 2.]

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I. Will our Personality be preserved after death?

II. What is the future relation of Self to GOD?

III. What is the relation of Self to the World?

I. Personality, as far as we can see, depends upon the special limitation (body) through which the soul acts (7).

(α) Reason can shew that *we* survive death by shewing either that

(*a*) The soul will itself have a personal existence; or that

(*b*) It will act through an organism corresponding to its present one.

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illustrated by the Resurrection (20).

The principle of life (21).

I. The essential unity of the Church does not require external unity (22, 23),

nor one visible centre of authority such as was for a time established at Jerusalem (24), till 'the end of the world' (25*), and afterwards at Rome (26).

The extent of variation consistent with substantial unity not to be determined antecedently (27);

yet illustrated by the history of the Jewish Church (28).

The admission of the necessity of variations in the Church does not sanction sectarianism (29, 30).

We have to deal with a world in which sin is realised (31*).

Progress itself implies antagonism (32) and individuality (33).

II. The essential unity of the Church seen in its historic development (34, 35).

This development one of organisation (36),

not of doctrine absolutely (37),

corresponding to the general progress of civilisation (38), and the complexity of the Christian Body (39).

Hence it includes many partial and transitional developments, which are set aside when their work is done (40).

How far this development is due to human imperfection (41).

Scripture the unchanging test of development (42).

Our age presents an epitome of all past ages (43).

The function of national Churches (44*).

Churches like nations 'redeem each other' (45).

Grounds of hope in the midst of the contradictions of modern life (46, 47).

Conclusion (48).

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Καλὸν τὸ ἆθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς μεγάλη.

PLATO.

1. JEAN PAUL, in one of his magnificent Dreams, has endeavoured to present to the mind an image of the infinite extent and fulness of the Universe. He represents his own disembodied Spirit as carried by thought from system to system through the starry skies under the conduct of some Angel of light. Wearied at length and bowed down with the overwhelming sense of his littleness as he traverses the desolate intervals between world and world, he prays that he may go no further: 'I am lonely in creation; 'lonelier in these wastes. The full world is great; 'but Vacancy is greater.' And the answer came: 'In the sight of GOD there is no Vacancy. Even 'now, O child of man, let thy quickened eye be- 'hold, and thy dreaming heart embrace the depths 'of Being which are around thee.' Then his eye was opened and a sea of light filled all the spaces which had seemed desolate before, and his heart

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felt the presence of an unspeakable power, swelling in varied forms of existence around him. Suns and planets were seen to float as mere specks in the vast ocean of life which was revealed to him. For a time he was conscious of no pain. Immeasurable joy and thanksgiving filled his soul. But in this glorious splendour his guide had vanished. He was alone in the midst of life, and he yearned for some companionship. 'Then there came sailing onwards,' he continues, 'from the depth, through the galaxies of stars, a 'dark globe along the sea of light; and a human 'form, as a child, stood upon it, which neither 'changed nor yet grew greater as it drew near. 'At last I recognised our Earth before me, and on 'it the Child JESUS, and He looked upon me with 'a look so bright and gentle and loving, that I 'awoke for love and joy.'

2. The thought which inspires this grand vision is that which I now wish to develope and confirm. It is my object to shew that a belief in the Resurrection of our Lord is not indeed the solution (for that we cannot gain), but the illumination of the mysteries of life: that in this fact the apparent contradictions of the immensity and insignificance of the individual are harmonized: that in this lies an end to which pre-

Christian history converged, a spring from which post-Christian history flows: that in this man finds the only perfect consecration of his entire nature: that in this there is contained a promise for the future which removes, as far as may be, the sense of isolation which belongs to our finite nature, and unites our world again to the absolute and eternal: that in this, to sum up all briefly, we may contemplate Christianity in relation to history, to man, and to the future, not as a vague idea, or as a set of dogmas, or even as a system, but as the witness to actual events, in the substantial reality of which lies all its power and all its hope. STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION.

3. At the outset it is important to define the field within which the foundation of our inquiry lies, and to close it within the narrowest limits. It includes only the Cross and the Sepulchre. It is open to the full light of day. The Death, the Burial, and the Resurrection of Christ, claim to be facts exactly in the same sense, to be supported by evidence essentially identical in kind, and to be bound together indissolubly as the groundwork of the Christian Faith. If they are true, then they will be seen to form the centre round which other truths group themselves, not less real, nor less significant, though they are not

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equally capable of being directly subjected to historical tests. If they are not true, then 'is our 'faith vain.' Christianity is a name and nothing more, a sentiment, an aspiration, the expression and not the satisfaction of human need.

4. The natural indistinctness of common language leaves room for a vague impression that in this case there is some mean between truth and falsehood: that though the Resurrection was not a fact (as the Crucifixion was a fact), yet it was something more than a fiction: that it expressed (it may be) an intuition or a divine belief. Yet it is obvious that the power of the Resurrection, as the ground of religious hope, lies in the very circumstance that the event which changed the whole character of the disciples was external to them, independent of them, unexpected by them. We are speaking here, of course, of things as they present themselves to the senses, and in this light the Resurrection claims to have been so far a fact of the same order as the Burial of the Lord. Its objectivity is essential to its significance. A conviction that a particular person had risen again, when he had *not*, is simply false, however it may have been produced. And if the conviction embodies itself in a circumstantial narrative of facts intended to establish the imagi-

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nary event, the narrative is simply a falsehood and nothing more. There are cases, as, for example, in the description of the tumult of a battle, where fictitious or unreal details convey a relatively true idea of the whole. It is obviously impossible either to record or to apprehend the multitudinous phases of action which go to fill up a complicated and changing scene; and the genius of an artist may be able to convey to others the reality which he has himself grasped through representative incidents moulded to his purpose. It might be so, within certain limits, with the details of the Resurrection. But 'if Christ be not risen,' it is the whole and not the details which, on such a supposition, is imaginary. The Resurrection then is either a fact in itself wholly independent of those who were witnesses to it, or it is a fiction—it matters not whether designed or undesigned—on which no belief can be founded. It is a real link between the seen and the unseen worlds, or it is at best the expression of a human instinct. Christ has escaped from the corruption of death; or men, as far as the future is concerned, are exactly where they were before He came. Whatever may be the civilizing power of Christian morality, it can throw no light upon the grave. If the Resurrection be not true in the same sense in which the Passion is true, then

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Death still remains the great conqueror. As far as all experience goes, no pledge has been given to us of his defeat. A splendid guess, an inextinguishable desire alone have sought to pierce the darkness beyond the tomb, if Jesus has not (as we believe) borne our human nature into the presence of God.

5. When once we grasp clearly the momentous interests which are involved in the belief in the Resurrection, we shall be prepared to understand how it formed the central point of the Apostolic teaching; and yet more than this, how the event itself is the central point of history, primarily of religious history, and then of civil history of which that is the soul. It often seems indeed as if we do not realise the vastness of the consequences which it brings. An influential Christian teacher has said that the Resurrection belongs to the teaching on Scripture rather than to the teaching on the Person of Christ, forgetting that faith in Christ as the Saviour, so far as this was a Gospel for the world, did not precede but follow it. Even those who hold most firmly to a faith in the Resurrection are tempted to regard it as a doctrine rather than as a fact, as an article of belief rather than as a sensible ground of hope. Gradually we have been led to dissociate

faith in the resurrection of the body from the actual Resurrection of Christ, which is the earnest of it. And not unfrequently we substitute for the fulness of the Christian creed the purely philosophic conception of an immortality of the soul, which surrenders, as we shall see hereafter, the idea of the continuance of our complete personal existence. But according to the divine instinct of the first age, the message of the Resurrection sums up in one fact the teaching of the Gospel. It is the one central link between the seen and the unseen. We cannot allow our thoughts to be vague or undecided upon it with impunity. We must place it in the very front of our confession, with all that it includes, or we must be prepared to lay aside the Christian name. Even in its ethical aspect Christianity does not offer a system of morality, but a universal principle of morality which springs out of the Resurrection. The elements of dogma and morality are indeed inseparably united in the Resurrection of Christ; for the same fact which reveals the glory of the Lord, reveals at the same time the destiny of man and the permanence of all that goes to make up the fulness of human life. If the Resurrection be not true, the basis of Christian morality, no less than the basis of Christian theology, is gone. The issue cannot be stated too broadly. We are not

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Christians unless we are clear in our confession on this point. To preach the fact of Resurrection was the first function of the Evangelists; to embody the doctrine of the Resurrection is the great office of the Church; to learn the meaning of the Resurrection is the task not of one age only, but of all. Yet there seem to be times when the truth has a special significance: times, like our own, when the spirit of material progress tends to confine the thoughts of men within the limits of its own domain; when we are in constant danger of forgetting the larger relationships of human existence, because we find within us and around us enough to distract and occupy our thoughts; when the sense of the infinite vastness (so to speak) of our present finite being turns the soul away from its natural aspirations towards the absolute and the unseen.

6. This is one aspect of our subject. The Resurrection is a revelation, so far as such a revelation is possible, of the spiritual world and of our own connexion with it. But it has also another aspect as a fact in the common history of the world. Its essentially objective character is not less important than its divine message. For we may notice that a religion which is to move the world must be based on a history.

A religion drawn solely from the individual consciousness of man can only reflect a particular form of intellectual development. Its influence is limited by the mould in which it is cast. Its applicability is confined to those who have attained to a special culture. Even to the last it is essentially of the mind and not of the heart or of the life. This is obvious equally from the record of the speculations on Natural Theology, and from the history of all those religions which have had any power in the world. A subjective religion brings with it no element of progress and cannot lift man out of himself. A historical revelation alone can present GOD as an object of personal love. The external world answering to human instinct suggests the conception of His eternal power, but offers nothing which justifies in us the confidence of 'sons.' Man is but one of the many elements of creation and cannot arrogate to himself any special relationship with his Maker. Pure Theism is unable to form a living religion. Mahommedanism lost all religious power in a few generations. Judaism survived for fifteen centuries every form of assault in virtue of the records of a past deliverance on which it was based, and the hope of a future Deliverer which it included.

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7. Briefly the Gospel of the Resurrection harmonizes in itself the objective and subjective elements of religion. On the one hand it reposes on a fact which however unique yet claims to belong to the circle of human experience. On the other hand the fact is such that its personal appropriation offers the widest scope for the energies of spiritual life. The Resurrection is sufficiently definite to take religion out of the domain of caprice and rest its hopes upon a foundation external to the believer; and it is so far-reaching in its ultimate significance as to present itself to every age and every soul with a fresh power. It gives faith a firm standing ground in history, and at the same time opens a boundless vision of the future development of our present powers. It brings down dogma to earth and then vindicates the infinitude of the issues of temporal existence. By the definiteness of its actual occurrence it gives dignity to all human action: by the universality of its import it lifts the thoughts of the believer from the man to the race and to the world. It stands, so to speak, midway between the seen and the unseen: it belongs equally to the spiritual and to the material order, and it reconciles both: it gives immediate reality to the one by the manifestation of the Son of man who 'came forth from the Father and went to the Father;' it ennobles

the other by the revelation of a divine presence in the world according to His word, Who said, 'Lo, I am with you all the days.' In both respects its teaching is essential to Christianity. Exactly in proportion as it is lost sight of in the popular Creed, doctrine is divorced from life, and the broad promises of divine hope are lost in an individual struggle after good.

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8. It is possible that individual exceptions may be found to the truth of these statements. Faith is indeed without question the spring of all progressive or universal religion; and the essence of faith lies in the transference of trust to something outside the believer. Yet on the other hand some great souls appear to have an immediate perception of isolated truths, so that in their case a thought becomes a distinct reality, contemplated, as it were, apart from the thinker. For such men faith in a thought is possible, and is the source of all that approaches most nearly to a new creation in human history. These solitary heroes can in some measure at least live as seeing the unseen by the force of their innate power; but for the mass faith needs some outward pledge to rest upon, and some outward fact to call it into action. Exactly in proportion as the popular idea of religion is separated from the

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personal relation of the worshipper to the Deity, attested (or supposed to be attested) by historical manifestations, the worship itself degenerates into a discipline or a form. Even Christianity is capable of such a degradation; but we need only to go back to the Evangelists to regain a pure conception of its majesty. As it is seen in their narratives it satisfies equally the wants of the few and of the many; and that most signally in the message of the Resurrection, which was the assurance of the establishment of the kingdom of God. The facts of the visible Life of Christ are for all time a living Gospel; and the doctrine which they include meets and carries forward the boldest speculations of philosophy.

9. For it is evident that the events recorded by the Evangelists while they are most truly historical are not merely history. Their significance is not in the past only or even chiefly. And so also the evidence by which they are supported is not simply that of direct testimony. The authority of testimony is supplemented by that of the instinct[1] within us which recognises that the

[1] The word is open to many objections, but I can find no other to express the spiritual impulse through which man's constitution expresses itself, as it is slowly trained by the circumstances of life. Experience shews that it is as much a

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idea of a Divine Revelation corresponds with the essential wants of man. Man feels that he was born for GOD, and looks for some sign to assure him of the reality of a fellowship with the unseen. The feeling will shew itself in the course of the whole education of humanity in many ways, but it is not without its appropriate discipline. A Divine Revelation must from the very nature of the case tend to satisfy the loftiest conception which can be formed of man's destiny. If it does not do so, it is condemned by the instinct which looks for it. Thus in discussing the truth of the Resurrection as a fact it is impossible not to take into consideration its moral significance. Evidence which would be felt to be insufficient to prove the occurrence of a prodigy, may be amply sufficient to establish the objective reality of a fact which is found to answer to the circumstances or conditions of our nature. Nay more, it may be affirmed that no external evidence alone could ever establish more than an 'otiose' belief in the occurrence of an isolated or seemingly arbitrary miracle in a distant age, while the combination of external and internal evidence is capable of producing a measure of conviction

part of his nature to turn to GOD as it is to turn to the light. Reason and experience in each case help him to determine how he shall best do that which he was made to do.

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which is only less certain than an immediate intuition.

10. But in order to estimate the spiritual significance of the Resurrection we must first take into account the relation in which it stands to many elementary thoughts which lie at the very foundation of our ordinary life. Above all it is necessary that we should set down clearly what must be taken for granted and not proved: what is the conception which we form of Nature, and of miracles: what are the limits within which human speculation is confined. Till these points are determined, as far as they seem to admit of determination, all further discussion must be fruitless. If, for example, a miracle is inherently incredible, it is idle to reason about a fact which in the end must be explained away. If on the other hand we hold that miracles are, in certain cases, as credible as ordinary events generally, it is necessary that we should shew how this belief is reconcileable with the ideas which we entertain of an Infinite God and of the constancy of natural laws. These fundamental questions will form the subject of the Introduction; and afterwards we shall be in a position to consider the Resurrection in itself and in its application to History, to the Individual, and to Society.

INTRODUCTION.

Τρέφονται πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπινοι νόμοι ὑπὸ ἑνὸς τοῦ θείου. κρατέει γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὁκόσον ἐθέλει καὶ ἐξαρκέει πᾶσιν καὶ περιγίνεται.

HERACLITUS.

1. THE simplicity of the Gospel is not due to the absence of difficulties, but to the coincidence of the difficulties which it involves with the inherent difficulties of human existence, when existence is taken as a subject of speculation. Christianity does indeed involve many difficulties, but it does not create them. The difficulties themselves beset us in our daily life (§ 3); but as long as they take a practical form, they receive a practical answer. However arduous it may be to form a clear conception of responsible freedom, we treat others and ourselves as responsible. Christianity, however, which reveals the significance of life makes us also feel its mysteries. It brings out what was ill-defined before, like the light which does not make the shadows, though they are seen by contrast with it. The truth INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION. involved in this distinction is of vital importance towards the understanding of its claims. We are so constituted that we must look beyond and beneath the phenomena of physical life. We *cannot* acquiesce in ignorance; and that religion necessarily claims our allegiance which answers most completely to all the conditions of our nature. If it could be shewn that Christianity introduces some idea into life wholly alien from its common tenor, or assumes principles which we do not act upon, or asserts consequences at variance with the natural reason of men, we might pause before receiving its teaching. But if on the contrary its mysteries rest on fundamental mysteries of our finite being; if it takes its stand on human nature as it is and interprets its aspirations; if it carries on thoughts of which we feel the beginnings within ourselves, and opens gleams of hope where we acknowledge that our prospect is clouded; then it cannot but be monstrous to reject it for reasons on which we might with equal justice declare life itself to be impossible.

2. For it is necessary to bear in mind that the Resurrection is not primarily an *explanation* of existing phenomena, growing out of them or introduced to explain them, but a *new fact* added to the sum of human experience. The fact may

prove to be an explanation of mysteries which are already felt, so far as it opens a way towards their solution by bringing them into connexion with another order of being, but in itself it claims to take its place among the events of human history. Like all historical facts it differs from the facts of physics as being incapable of direct and present verification. And it differs from all other facts of history because it is necessarily unique. Yet it is not therefore incapable of that kind of verification which is appropriate to its peculiar nature. Physical science deals with law as uniform and consequently its results can be tested at any moment. History generally records the average results of human action, and its heroic passages are judged by the tendencies which are observed towards similar displays of exceptional power in less moving crises (§ 11). And so the Resurrection, the fact that Christ rose from the grave *and did not again die*—the one fact absolutely unparalleled in itself and in its circumstances—is to be taken in connexion with the whole course of human life, and with that instinct of immortality which from time to time makes itself felt with an overwhelming power. Its verification lies in its abiding harmony with all the progressive developments of man and with each discovery which casts light upon his destiny. INTRODUCTION.

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3. It is on this new fact that Christianity first rests its claims. It asserts that the Resurrection is itself a Gospel. For the rest it makes no attempt to lessen or remove the problems by which all life is perplexed. For instance, the existence of matter, the relation of soul and body, the existence of evil, existence absolutely and in time and space, individual freedom and general laws of sequence, are all fundamental and final mysteries from which we can never escape. They are taken account of and dealt with in the doctrines of Christianity, but Christianity does not make them. It will be seen hereafter how they are dealt with, but for the present it is enough to notice that the rejection of the mysteries of Christianity will not eliminate the element of mystery from life. We are absolutely unable to form a conception of a beginning or of an end of things. The very idea of life involves the antithesis of finite and infinite, and the special difficulties which have been enumerated simply represent the various forms which this one fundamental difficulty assumes when contemplated in connexion with the physical world or with human action.

4. This antithesis of the finite and infinite which meets us as soon as we lift our thoughts above single phenomena is the final basis of all

religion. It is apprehended more or less sharply in different ages or races, but the essence of worship even in its lowest form necessarily includes the tendency towards a true perception of it. In this respect Christianity differs from all other religions, not in principle, but in virtue of the absolute clearness with which the idea of the antithesis is laid down. The two terms are regarded in their most complete separation and in 'the fulness of time' they are combined in one Person. But in saying this we are anticipating what will appear more naturally afterwards. It is not necessary yet to consider *how* Christianity resolves or harmonizes the antithesis on which it, equally with all religions, is founded. That which is essential to our argument is that the antithesis itself is not brought into being by Christianity, but is the clear expression of that element in man's nature, which has sought at all times to embody itself in religious thought and worship—in thought as well as in worship: for the mind which strives to establish its own relation to the unseen by the worship of a God, is always led at the same time to ponder on the relation of the World to the same Power. INTRODUCTION.

5. Christianity therefore as the absolute religion of man assumes as its foundation the exist-

INTRODUCTION. ence of an Infinite Personal GOD or rather of a Heavenly Father of absolute power, justice and goodness, and a finite human will (ii. § 2). This antithesis is assumed and not proved. No arguments can establish it. It is a primary intuition and not a deduction. It is capable of illustration from what we observe around us; but if either term is denied no reasoning can establish its truth. Each man for himself is supposed to be conscious of the existence of GOD and of his own existence. We can go no further. If he has not, or says he has not this consciousness, he must be regarded as one whose powers are imperfect. It would be as vain to reason with him on religion as to reason on the phenomena of light with a blind man. No proof can establish the existence of that within a man of which he alone has the final cognisance. Practically every one is found to act as if he believed that he had a will, and also as if he were justly accountable for his actions: he is conscious of satisfaction within himself, and awards praise or blame to others; but whether this be universally true or not is of no real moment to us. It is taken for granted that religion is possible; and if so the conceptions which are involved in the fundamental antithesis on which it reposes are also assumed to be true, though they do not

admit of a formal proof. If they are not axioms we claim them as postulates[1]. INTRODUCTION.

6. But though we appeal to the individual consciousness for the recognition of the truth of the assumptions which have been made, the language in which one term of the antithesis is expressed requires explanation. We speak of God as Infinite and Personal. The epithets involve a contradiction, and yet they are both necessary. In fact the only approximately adequate conception which we can form of a Divine Being is under the form of a contradiction. For us personality is only the name for special limitation exerting itself through will; and will itself implies the idea of resistance. But as applied to God the notions of limitation and resistance are excluded by the antithetic term infinite[2]. For us

[1] It might appear at first sight that the Religion of M. Comte, which is a powerful reality for those who hold it, is an exception to the truth of these statements. In fact it is the strongest testimony to their necessary validity. The 'Great Being'—the sum of humanity—which is the object of worship, satisfies the condition of 'Infinity' by embracing in itself all the past, the present, and the future in the conception of the worshipper: it satisfies the condition of 'Personality' by the concession whereby each worshipper is encouraged to realise the whole by looking at it as partially represented by an individual. On the other hand M. Comte distinctly recognises human freedom within certain (undetermined) limits.

[2] From this it is evident how utterly false it is to represent

INTRODUCTION. again infinity excludes the conception of special action: it belongs to the nature and not to the manifestation of being. But as applied to GOD it is necessarily connected with action and with phenomena, because it is only through these that personality, so far as we observe it, can shew itself. Thus it follows that by speaking of GOD as Infinite we simply mean that none of the deductions which can be drawn from corresponding attributes or powers, or the uses of power in man, can be transferred to Him. It would be false for instance to argue from the usual sense of the terms employed that what He 'does' or 'purposes' is in itself bound by time and space. And on the other hand by speaking of Him as Personal we wish to express that He rules and creates as if it were by will, with a purpose towards which all things are guided. So only can we guard against the representation of GOD as the Absolute simply, whether the Absolute be regarded as the Unchangeable which lies beneath the changing phenomena of the world, or as the sum of all that 'is'.

the Christian (theological) philosophy of the world as based on the conception of 'a world governed and created by wills of which the model is in the human will.' For the use of the word 'will' in such a philosophy is simply analogical, and checked at every application by the supplementary idea of Infinite Power.

7. This conception of the Divine Being, which, it must be remembered, is not peculiar to Christianity, except in the distinctness of its enunciation, clears the way to our apprehension of the course and phenomena of nature. For we cannot contemplate nature apart from God. But it may be said that such a conception of God belongs only to a late age: that the primitive notions of God are simpler and ruder: that it is unfair to claim as natural to man thoughts which have a limited currency after the lapse of incalculable time. To such an objection it is sufficient to reply that we are in no way concerned with the manner in which the conception has been fashioned. The question is whether man has gained it, whether he was made to gain it, whether it covers the facts of his spiritual experience? The child includes the man potentially; and the principle which holds true of the development of the individual holds true with necessary modifications of the development of the race. Meanwhile this conception of God is assumed, and we must use it. Hence it is against reason to press the results of our observation of phenomena to consequences inconsistent with our conception of His infinite and personal Being. Two errors are specially to be guarded against which are most fruitful of fallacious

INTRODUCTION. issues. The one is the transference of the phenomena of succession and gradual growth and slow sequence, which are necessarily part of our observation of nature, to nature as the expression of the Divine will. The other is the supposition that 'laws' have in themselves (so to speak) a motive force: that the law, which declares the mode in which phenomena present themselves to us, has some virtue by which the phenomena *are* absolutely; or, in other words, that the Law not only declares how we see things, but *makes* them such as we see them. Each of these misconceptions will require to be noticed a little more in detail.

8. The only idea which we can form of nature, that is of the sum of all phenomena, in relation to an Infinite Mind is as one thought. For God all is one and at once[1]. He is cognisant

[1] The reader will be glad to dwell on the thought as it is worked out in Tennyson's noble words:

To your question now,
Which touches on the workman and his work.
Let there be light and there was light: 'tis so;
For was, and is, and will be, are but is;
And all creation is one act at once,
The birth of light: but we that are not all,
As parts, can see but parts, now this, now that,
And live, perforce, from thought to thought, and make
One act a phantom of succession: thus
Our weakness somehow shapes the shadow, Time.

(if we may so say) of things themselves, and not, as we naturally think and reason, of our perceptions of them. He sees them as they are and not as we observe them. Indeed, if we reflect, there is something strangely absurd in applying to the Divine Power conclusions which are based on human apprehensions of things. We must, because we are finite, conceive of things as happening in time; and in the same way we must conceive of GOD as acting, whenever He acts, in time; but it is equally clear that we must not argue as if time belonged really to the Divine relation to the world, or as if GOD acted at this time and that, or at every moment, one *after* another. Any conclusion which rests on this supposition as a premiss is radically false. The statement that 'GOD acts' is true at all times in regard to our human conception of Him. We can say justly that He acts *now*, that He acted *then*, and that He will act at some *future* moment; but when we reason on the human element in these statements, that is on the temporal limitations, it is obvious that this process of reasoning can give us no conclusion with regard to the action of GOD.

9. Again, a 'law of nature' can mean nothing else than the law of the human apprehen-

INTRODUCTION. sion of phenomena. We are forced to regard things under conditions of time and space and the like, and the consequence is that phenomena are grouped together according to certain rules. We find that for us (such is the constitution of our powers) the sequence of phenomena is this and not that. Partial sequences are compared and combined and thus more general sequences are discovered. But however far we may go we never go beyond ourselves. The law at last is a law for men: its form depends on limitations which are characteristic of men. We have not the least reason for supposing that it has any absolute existence. For to say that things when observed by men will be observed by them under such and such limitations and therefore according to such and such laws, is obviously a very different thing from saying that such and such are the laws of things in themselves and for all intelligent beings. And if we know nothing of the laws of things in themselves, how can we know anything of things in relation to GOD?

10. From what has been said it is evident that a law, which expresses nothing more than the result of our observation of phenomena, cannot make phenomena what they are. It is no explanation of how the phenomena came to be or con-

tinue to be. It would have appeared to be insisting on a truism to dwell on this, were it not for the general idea which seems to find currency, that when a law (as of gravitation) is laid down nothing more remains to be explained. The law may afterwards (it is admitted) be found to be part of one much wider and more comprehensive, but, as far as it goes, this satisfies all our inquiries. In reality it tells us that something produces results (as far as we are concerned) in such and such a way. But obviously if the knowledge were within our reach our chief desire would be to know *what* produces the results? What brings about the phenomena according to the law? We can shew that if a body be projected in a certain direction and acted upon by a central force varying in a particular way it will describe an orbit like that of the earth round the sun. But to go no further, What *projected* the earth? It would be easy to follow up this question by others; but this alone is sufficient to shew that in the simplest phenomena we are face to face with a power of which observation can tell us nothing but the fact of its existence.

11. There is then nothing absolute in laws of nature. They are relative to man, and do not explain either the origin or the preservation

INTRODUCTION. of things. It is quite possible for us to conceive that the unknown power through which phenomena are produced according to an observed way might have caused them to be produced in another way wholly different. The belief in the immutability of the observed law springs wholly from ourselves, and is simply a special expression of the axiom that the same power will produce the same results under the same circumstances. But we have no right to assume that the circumstances will always be the same. The range of our observation is bounded within very narrow limits. And yet further if, as we have supposed, the Divine thought of the world leaves room for the exercise of free human will, it is antecedently likely that we should be enabled in some way to be made sensible of what we call by a figure the Divine will. We may expect from time to time in the evolution of the whole scheme of creation to be made aware of the presence of a Personal Power, not by the suspension of the laws of sequence which we commonly observe, but by the action of some new force. Or to put the subject in another light; as changed circumstances would lead to different results under the action of the same power, so we must allow that there are many cases in which the exertion of the free human will must modify not indeed the Divine

action in itself, but the phenomena in which the results of it are presented to us. The building of a city, for example, which depends on the free action of individuals, may modify to an almost indefinite extent the physical character of its immediate neighbourhood, and so more or less of all other districts, in a manner which we can generally follow out; and thus also we can conceive that the natural (though unseen) action of God may make itself felt with varying distinctness in the course of ages, though in this case the law of sequence is undiscoverable by us. At least generally it is undeniable that if we believe in the existence of a Personal God by whose influence we are affected, there is no more difficulty in admitting the reality of His action in various ways and degrees on the physical world, than in recognising it (as we do) in our own souls. Indeed the difficulty in the latter case is greater; for it is perhaps impossible for us to conceive how the Infinite Divine will can act on the human will (as it is felt to do) without destroying the freedom of man. INTRODUCTION.

12. What we can observe of the actual 'laws' of phenomena tends in some degree to illustrate the general manner and limits of this modification of effects by the introduction of new forces. It

INTRODUCTION. holds true universally that the generality of a law decreases as the complexity of the subject with which it deals increases. In other words, when a result depends upon the combined working of many elements the probability of variation is increased. The action of each element may suffer alteration as to intensity or duration, from causes which are not calculable by our powers of observation. The results of physical laws, for instance, are only infinitesimally modifiable when compared with the results of biological laws. In the former case we can approximately take account of all the interfering forces, but in the latter case forces are brought into play which, as far as can yet be known, escape all individual estimation, either as to their actual or as to their potential energy. In Sociology this uncertainty is confessedly yet greater. In Theology, which completes the philosophy of life by uniting it with a higher Order, the same progression continues, and it is as unreasonable to expect results absolutely universal in their observed form relative to us in Theology, the crowning science of being, as it would be to expect the results of Sociological laws to admit of a mechanical or chemical or biological expression. Each higher science in the 'hierarchy' includes the action of those below it according to their special laws, but at the same time it

introduces new forces by which these simpler results are variously modified (§ 26). INTRODUCTION.

13. The same truth may be set forth yet in another way. Even if it is admitted unconditionally that our present knowledge is of phenomena only, it is obvious that the phenomena are of different orders, extending from those which mark the conditions of our observation (*e.g.* time, space) to isolated facts representing the resultants of the action of a multiplicity of forces, which facts, from the nature of things, are severally unique. Some of these may be general: others may be exceptional. In some we can analyse the result and reduce it to simple results of known 'laws': in some the problem is indeterminate. And exactly as the subject rises to a nobler elevation our knowledge becomes more incomplete. Completeness indeed is but another name for ascertained limitation. The grandest and highest faculties of man are exactly those in which he most feels his weakness and imperfection. They are at present only half-fulfilled prophecies of powers which, as we believe, shall yet find an ample field for unrestricted development[1].

[1] The student of Browning will recall countless passages in which he illuminates this truth.

For thence—a paradox
Which comforts while it mocks—

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14. In a word, it is evident from the extent of creation, of which we see but the least fraction, and from the connexion of its parts one with another, and from the presence about us of forces which we are wholly incompetent to estimate, that we are absolutely unable to judge, whether we may not from time to time be capable of calling into action ourselves or otherwise coming under the influence of powers which are usually dormant. Every one must have felt at critical moments that he has a fund of physical strength and also a capacity for moving others by vigour of will of which under ordinary circumstances he is wholly unconscious. The crisis brings out the gift, and when the crisis is over we fall back again into our usual state. Nor is this the case with individuals only. History shews that there are epochs of extraordinary, and as we should say, who live in calmer times, of unnatural activity and power in societies and nations. A city or a race under the pressure of some great passion works wonders. Above all religious enthusiasm, whether in men or in bodies of men, is capable of producing results which under ordinary circum-

Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me:
A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale.

stances would be regarded as impossible. It seems as if the idea of an immediate intercourse with a spiritual world, quite apart from the special form which it takes, were able to quicken man's powers with a marvellous energy and in some degree to work out its own accomplishment. INTRODUCTION.

15. Thus in contemplating nature from its moral side we find ourselves in the presence of two indeterminate forces. Not only are we forced to admit that there is room in the whole scheme of the world (of which we are poor and imperfect judges) for changed conditions which necessarily include changed results; but also we find that men and mankind generally are possessed of faculties capable of vast and indefinite energy. We cannot measure, as we cannot explain, the influence which one mind can exercise on another, or which the mind can exercise on the body. The influence is obvious, but what are the springs and what the limits of it we cannot tell. In such a case even past experience is no final judge. And this reflection brings us to another fundamental assumption of Christianity.

16. Christianity assumes, as we have seen, the existence of an Infinite Personal God and of a finite human will: it claims also to be miraculous.

INTRODUCTION. It takes for granted that 'miracles' (§ 17) are recognised modes of Divine action. From the conception which we are necessarily led to form of the relation of Nature to the Creator it has been shewn that exceptional action in its course is not only not excluded by the laws which we base on observation, but even antecedently likely. Christianity affirms that this exceptional action does actually take place. And in doing this it only affirms what every other historical religion must affirm; for all alike appeal to an immediate revelation as their original basis. It follows then that all religion which can influence the mass of men (p. 8, § 6) is declared to be impossible if such an exceptional manifestation of GOD is inconceivable or unaccomplished. Nothing remains but a faith which begins and ends within the individual. But not to dwell on this, it is evident that if the claim to be a miraculous religion is essentially incredible apostolic Christianity is simply false. If Christ did not rise again—the words cannot be too often repeated—then is our faith vain. Something may be left—a system of morals or the like—but that is not Christianity. The essence of Christianity lies in a miracle; and if it can be shewn that a miracle is either impossible or incredible, all further inquiry into the details of its history is superfluous in a religious

point of view. The rise of Christianity will still furnish a historical or philosophical problem of surpassing interest, but the data which it presents will contain nothing on which to found the faith of a world. Thus we are forced to consider whether the difficulties which are supposed to lie in the conception of a miracle are a fatal hindrance to the literal acceptance of the Gospel. INTRODUCTION.

17. By a miracle (using the word in its strictest sense) we mean a phenomenon which either in itself or from the circumstances under which it is presented, suggests the immediate working of a personal power producing results not explicable by what we observe in the ordinary course of nature. Thus some facts are in their essential character miraculous, as the Resurrection; others, again, are perfectly natural in themselves, but miraculous from the circumstances under which they occur, as the miraculous draught of fishes or, to take a different example, the true prediction of a special event. But they have this in common, that they lead us to recognise the action of some personal power: they involve, as a general rule, an appeal to or a declaration of divine strength. Some facts again, as many of the cases of healing, may be regarded as natural or miraculous, according as we look at

INTRODUCTION. them as resulting from powers already existing in man and evoked by special circumstances, or as immediate acts of divine blessing. This indeed is a mere question of interpretation. The principle is attested in a single case. He who believes in the Resurrection will feel no anxiety as to the exact limits within which the divine working is to be confined. Probably he will see it everywhere and that even in the same sense, for the difference or identity of mode will seem to him to depend on causes which he cannot investigate.

18. From what has been already said it will be seen that a miracle cannot be declared impossible by any one who believes in a Personal God. Nature is the expression of His will, and antecedently to experience we could not have determined that it would be manifested in one way rather than in another. Nor again can all conceivable experience give us a complete knowledge of the conditions which may affect its manifestation to us so as to exclude variety. On the contrary under particular circumstances which may happen if God reveals Himself to men, miracles are as probable as ordinary phenomena under common circumstances. If the result is different, the power being the same, we suppose that the conditions are different; and conversely if the

conditions are different, we suppose that the result will be changed. Nor, again, in speaking of a fact as a miracle do we offer any explanation of its being or becoming. The mystery as to how GOD acts is left untouched. Whether He acts as He ordinarily does (naturally), or in an extraordinary way (miraculously), this fundamental difficulty remains absolutely the same. It is neither greater nor less in the one case than in the other. The power which produces the phenomena is indeterminate and indeterminable. Thus while it would be impossible that two and two should ever make five, because the law on which the result depends lies wholly within us; yet it is not impossible that an (unknown) power which as far as our observation reaches has always produced (say) four phenomena of a particular kind, should on a particular occasion produce five such phenomena.

19. Yet further it will appear that a miracle is not unnatural, that is contrary to and not only different from the observed course of phenomena. It would be unnatural only if it were supposed that the miraculous and the ordinary result were both produced by the same force acting under the same conditions. Or, if for a moment we may use popular language, if it

INTRODUCTION. were supposed that the same law could produce different effects. But on the other hand it is distinctly laid down that in the case of a miracle a new force is introduced, or rather, as the source of all force is one, that the force which usually acts freely in a particular way now acts freely in another. That is, to continue to use popular language, the law is not suspended, but its natural results are controlled. The law produces its full effect, but a new power supervenes, and the final result represents the combined effect of the two forces. Let it once be seen that the law necessarily involves the idea of a power acting according to the law, and acting freely, for the law is evidently subsequent to and not essentially regulative of the action, and there will be no more difficulty in feeling that the miraculous action of God is as truly natural, that is in accordance with what we may expect from a consideration of the whole scheme of nature, as His ordinary action. To affirm that miracles are unnatural is to constitute general laws of observation into a fate superior to God, or to deny His personal action. And it must be observed that the denial of His personal action in the physical world involves the denial of His action on the hearts of men; for there is not the least reason to suppose that what is seen is less immediately dependent upon Him

than what is unseen, or that it can be affirmed beforehand that He is more likely to act on one part of that which He has created than on another. In other words, if miracles are unnatural, then we are hopelessly enclosed within the barriers of material laws and absolutely shut off from all intercourse with the Infinite. But this is against the fundamental axiom of religion. INTRODUCTION.

20. While, however, it is maintained that in this larger sense of the word miracles are 'natural,' it is necessary to guard carefully against two explanations which have been given to account for their occurrence naturally; and the more so because they have obtained a popular currency. Some have said that a miracle is but the compression, so to speak, of results which are obtained slowly and successively in the general course of things. The water, it is argued, which was made wine by a word at Cana once, is made wine by the vintage every year. The slightest reflection will shew that these two processes, as far as we can follow them, have absolutely nothing in common, so that the one cannot even illustrate the other. But even if the parallel were perfect it would be equally nugatory, for in that case it would tend, in proportion to its completeness, to exclude the

INTRODUCTION. idea of personal action which is of the essence of a miracle. The same remark holds true of the second false explanation, which is in every way more profound and, even, in some aspects, unanswerable. It is alleged that natural laws, like some mathematical series, may be intermittent, so that by the action of the same law one result may be given for a thousand (or a million) times in succession and a different result next time. Miracles then, it is argued, may be the exceptional terms of such an order. They certainly may be, but if so their permanent significance is destroyed. Their moral and spiritual value vanishes at once when they are derived from the constant action of the same forces as commonly work around us. A miracle, if it has any real existence, lifts man truly and not in appearance only above the laws of the present general order.

21. It may however be objected that this view of miracles as occasional manifestations of the power of God is a conception unworthy of His Majesty: that it represents Him (so to speak) as dependent on time and circumstance. The objection, as far as it has any force, would lie equally against all action of God among men. It is, indeed, a mystery wholly beyond our comprehension how an Infinite Being can reveal or in any

way manifest Himself to finite creatures. But in obedience to the bidding of our spiritual nature we have taken it for granted that He does so. And yet further the invidiousness of the objection lies in the transference to God of those ideas of time and succession which as we have seen (§ 8) are proper only to men. There is no 'occasion' to God. The world and all its history is for Him necessarily one. His action which we contemplate now in one (general) mode and now in another (exceptional) mode, is not in itself divided, though we are forced so to regard it. The principle (if we may so speak) which according to His wisdom directs the form of the general action and the principle which directs the form of the exceptional action, are not separated, so that the one is subsequent to and corrective of the other, but simultaneous or coincident. What is unfolded to us in a gradual process of 'becoming' in relation to an infinite mind simply 'is.' We are obliged to speak of 'the purpose of God's 'will,' and so we are obliged to speak of His 'Special Providence' or miraculous working; but the original phrase and the adaptation of the phrase to facts are both accommodations; and we must carefully guard against any deductions based upon the human element in them (§ 6).

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22. Nor yet again can it be said that material results involve a material cause. We know absolutely nothing of cause. We know nothing of the power manifested in material results (§ 10). And unless we believe in the eternity of matter, (which is an absolute contradiction,) some material results must have had an immaterial cause. Moreover we experience daily the influence of will in ourselves, and this is not material. And it has been assumed that our finite will is a real power and potentially free, for otherwise religion is as completely destroyed as by denying the personality of God.

23. There is yet another aspect in which we may regard Miracles. Viewed from the human side, when man himself is looked upon as the centre of the power by which they are wrought, they fall into distinct groups, corresponding to the subject-matter (so to speak) on which they are wrought. Thus man may be conceived as acting upon the external world absolutely, where the general law is modified by his interference, as if he were to walk on water or control the movements of the heavenly bodies: or he may act upon the external world in immediate relation to himself or to those about him, as if he were to modify the perception of external phenomena in particular

cases: or he may act upon man directly, either himself or others, as in the removal of disease. Now in the two latter cases an indeterminate element is introduced, the influence of man upon man, or the working of spirit upon spirit and matter in limited relation to itself; and prior to observation it is impossible to determine what varying effects may be produced by its operation. Experience alone can determine in each instance what phenomena may be produced by human will; and the vast range of the power of will and the unknown depth of its relations, suggest the possibility of an almost infinite variety of results produced by its action under new conditions. From time to time we are startled by occurrences which reveal a power of one mind over another, or of the mind over the body which seems to be practically indeterminate. In these cases then there is (it may be said) a *natural* opening for miracles: they have a point of contact with what we observe in the course of life. So far then we must be careful not to lay upon some 'miraculous' phenomena a weight which they will not bear. But in the first case, on the contrary, this 'natural' conception of a miracle is inadmissible. We can understand how the individual will can affect other individuals upon whom it can work immediately, but we cannot see how it can act

INTRODUCTION. upon the external world with which it has, as far as we know, nothing homogeneous, or, which would come to the same thing, upon the universal perception of men. Thus in miracles of this kind we are face to face with a final difficulty, which (from this point of view) culminates in the Resurrection. Yet even here the miracle has a corresponding phenomenon in life. Special prayer is based upon a fundamental instinct of our nature. And in the fellowship which is established in prayer between man and GOD we are brought into personal union with Him in Whom all things have their being. In this lies the possibility of boundless power; for when the connexion is once formed, who can lay down the limits of what man can do in virtue of the communion of his spirit with the Infinite Spirit? The distinctions thus indicated ought never to be overlooked in arguments on miracles, but in one respect all three cases are alike. Whether man works upon nature or upon his fellow-men, it is in virtue of a trust in the unseen. Personal faith is the condition of effectual action; and where GOD is supposed to act immediately the same condition is satisfied in the recognition of His working.

24. It follows that the moral element in miracles is both essential and predominant. There

is always a natural relation between the acts and those for whom or by whom they are wrought. The external phenomenon which would in one age and to one people suggest the idea of the personal working of God would not do so in another age and to another people. The effect of the fact, and miracles are always supposed to be directed to an end, depends upon its inherent characteristics and the capacity of the witnesses to apprehend and interpret them. To use a mathematical phrase miracles must therefore be (generally speaking) a function of the age in which they are wrought. That which on one occasion would be felt to be a personal revelation of God might convey an impression wholly different at another. The miracles of one period or state of society might be morally impossible in another. It seems certain that knowledge limits faith, not indeed as diminishing its power but as guiding its direction. For instance, when any particular physical phenomena are apprehended as subject to a clear law, which is felt to be a definite expression of the Divine Will, it is inconceivable that faith could contemplate an interference with them, not because it would be impossible, but because the prayer for such an interference would itself be disloyal. For example, it would be positively immoral for us now to pray that the tides or the sun should not

INTRODUCTION. rise on a particular day. The corresponding act is represented in the Gospels as suggested by the Tempter. There is even a divine 'cannot' recognised in the Gospels as well as a divine 'must.' But as long as the idea of the physical law which rules them was unformed or indistinct, the prayer would have been reasonable, and (may we not suppose) the fulfilment also. We cannot act when we feel that our influence is excluded; and may not the converse also be true? May not all things be possible for us which we firmly hold to be possible, if at least the result would be such as to convey as its whole and general effect the idea of the personal action of God? An age records only what it believes; but, in a certain sense also, it does what it believes.

25. These reflections serve to explain the real force which lies in two remarks on miracles which have at present gained a very wide currency. It is said that 'a belief in miracles de-'creases with the increase of civilisation;' and, further, that 'our age in virtue of its advanced 'civilisation is essentially and inevitably incredu-'lous of miracles.' Within certain limits both observations are undoubtedly true, but the limits within which their truth is circumscribed exclude the deductions which are drawn from them. The

INTRODUCTION.

sense of the antecedent likelihood of a miracle proceeds from a comprehensive view of all nature, moral and physical, according to the full development of the mutual relations of its parts, as constituting a scheme for us practically infinite. But the necessary condition of all scientific inquiry, and the progress of science is here assumed to be the test of the progress of civilisation, is to put out of sight the indeterminate element in nature, and thus to unfamiliarise the mind with those aspects of the world in which the miracle finds its proper place. And not only so, but the requirements of exact science bind the attention of each student to some one small field, and this little fragment almost necessarily becomes for him the measure of the whole, if indeed he has ever leisure to lift his eyes up to the whole at all. The more intimately we are acquainted with any one subject, and the more sensible we become of the fulness of thought which it contains, the less we are fitted to take a due measure of its proper relations to other subjects, or to acknowledge practically and without effort that the conditions under which we contemplate it are not in themselves absolute. Thus in an inductive age laws of observation are treated, and with a view to the immediate results which are sought, treated rightly, as laws of nature. If the moral element of life—the idea of person-

INTRODUCTION. ality—be neglected, we cannot of necessity take account of any results which are not entirely physical. For physical students as such, and for those who take their impressions of the universe solely from them, miracles can have no real existence. Nor is this all: not miracles only, and this is commonly forgotten, but every manifestation of will is at the same time removed from the world: all life falls under the power of absolute materialism, a conclusion which is at variance with the fundamental idea of religion, and so with one of the original assumptions on which our argument is based.

26. At the same time such considerations shew that there can be no antagonism between Theology and Science as they are commonly contrasted. So far as these keep within their proper limits they move in distinct regions. Their respective paths lie in parallel and therefore in unintersecting planes. Theology deals with the origin and destiny of things: Science with things as they are according to human observation of them. Theology claims to connect this world with the world to come: Science is of this world only. Theology is confessedly partial, provisional, analogical in its expression of truth: Science, that is human science, can be complete, final, and abso-

lute in its enunciation of the laws of phenomena. INTRODUCTION.
Theology accepts without the least reserve the conclusions of Science as such: it only rejects the claim of Science to contain within itself every spring of knowledge and every domain of thought.

27. This holds true of the lower and more exact forms of Science which deal with inorganic bodies; but as soon as account is taken of the Science of organic bodies—of Biology and Sociology—then Science itself becomes a prophet of Theology. In this broader and truer view of Science Theology closes a series, 'a hierarchy of Sciences,' as it has been well called, in which each successive member gains in dignity what it loses in definiteness, and by taking account of a more complex and far-reaching play of powers opens out nobler views of being. The Sciences of form and number are absolute for man and have no tendency to lift the individual out of himself. They are purely human and individual. The Sciences of inorganic bodies add the idea of external imperfectly-known forces to the universal conditions of human observation and thereby enlarge and elevate the scope of Science while they take away its claims to absoluteness. The Sciences of organic bodies by claiming to deal with the pheno-

INTRODUCTION. mena of life and will in all their separate and collective forms bear a wider margin of indeterminate problems and carry our thoughts beyond the region of certain knowledge. The Science of Theology, which is last in its complete evolution as it is first in instinctive apprehension, completes the progression, and by unfolding that which is permanent in life prepares a solid passage from the temporal to the eternal. The individual mind, the material world, humanity, GOD, form the central subjects of the successive groups of Sciences. Each Science, it will be seen, takes up into itself those Sciences which have gone before, but adds to them elements peculiar to itself (§ 12). To the last the laws of each are of full force within their proper sphere though the results which are properly due to them are liable to be modified by the interference of forces acting according to other laws. And thus in due order knowledge which begins with the knowledge of the conditions of human observation culminates in the knowledge of GOD, a knowledge infinitely less perfect than the former but at the same time infinitely more ennobling.

28. While then we admit that the tendency of a scientific age is adverse to a living belief in miracles, we see that this tendency is due not to

the antagonism of science and miracle, but to the neglect and consequent obscuration by science of that region of thought in which the idea of the miraculous finds scope. And even here the power of general feeling makes itself most distinctly felt against the power of abstract reason. Exactly when material views of the universe seem to be gaining an absolute ascendancy, popular instinct finds expression now in this form of extravagant credulity, and now in that. Arrogant physicism is met by superstitious spiritualism; and there is right on both sides. The harmony of a true faith finds a witness to its fulness in this independent assertion of the antithetic elements which it tempers and reconciles.

29. It is however foreign to our purpose to consider what may be the causes which impress a very distinct character on different cycles of miracles, and on the form which the belief in the miraculous assumes at different periods. The investigation itself is full of interest, and contributes in a remarkable degree to illustrate the progressive forms of revelation. But for the present we are concerned simply with the possibility of a miracle, which is seen to be included in the idea of a Personal God. Whether the possibility has been realised in the Resurrection still remains

INTRODUCTION. for consideration; but the consideration is now open.

30. For if miracles are neither impossible, nor unnatural, it follows that the records of them cannot be inherently incredible. But on the other hand in proportion as an event is rare, we are scrupulous in examining the evidence by which the truth of its occurrence is established; and the more so, if the event itself is such as to be easily misapprehended or referred to wrong causes, or connected with false antecedents or consequents. Cases of healing, for example, except under very peculiar circumstances, cannot be alleged as certainly miraculous (§ 17). Other events are unequivocal in this respect. The Resurrection is either a miracle or it is an illusion. Here there is no alternative: no ambiguity. And it is not an accessory of the Apostolic message, but the sum of the message itself (pp. 5, ff.). Its unique character is the very point on which the first teachers of Christianity support all their arguments. It claims to be the opening of a new life to the world. It cannot then be rightly contemplated by comparing it with the events of common history. It is, according to the original interpretation of it, as singular in the history of the whole race of men as birth is in the existence of the

individual. In dealing with the evidence adduced in confirmation of such a fact, it is therefore necessary to take into account its relation to preceding and subsequent history; for it may well happen that the presumption in its favour gathered from the preparation which found its fulfilment in it, and from the results which flowed out of it, will more than counterbalance the natural distrust which is raised at first sight by its exceptional character. On a comprehensive survey of all nature, as far as we can judge from the results which are obtained by a faint approximation to such a view, the Resurrection of our Lord, including, as it does, the resurrection of man, may be as natural as events like birth and death, which are accepted as natural, not because we can explain them in any way, but because the range of our experience includes the observation of their constant recurrence.

31. So far then we have cleared the ground for our inquiry. If we grant the two assumptions which Christianity makes as being a religion for man (§ 5), there is nothing antecedently improbable in the Apostolic Gospel of the Resurrection considered as miraculous. The same principles which would exclude as impossible a belief in such a miracle as the Resurrection, would equally ex-

INTRODUCTION. clude a belief in anything beyond ourselves and the range of present physical observation. Thus the question practically is not simply Is Christianity true? but Is all hope, impulse, knowledge, life, absolutely bounded by sense and the world of sense? Is the present and the finite the definite limit (not only of the mode but) of the object of human thought? Is each individual personality bounded on *both* sides, past and future? Is life as well as science *of phenomena* only? Is there no faculty by which man can contemplate the temporal as (for him) a true image of the eternal? Is there no fact which unites the seen and the unseen? Is the spirit, as well as the understanding confined by present laws of observation not only in the embodiment of ideas but in intuition? Or can the soul reach forward to fuller forms of being, not so much future as absolute? Can it, with a consciousness of its divine destiny, look beyond the limits of time? Can it rejoice in feeling what is the glorious part which it has to play in the whole economy of the universe, and regard as its proper heritage a future appearance in the fulness of a glorified humanity before the presence of God?

CHAPTER I.

THE RESURRECTION AND HISTORY.

Φιλοσοφία ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ οἷον προκαθαίρει καὶ προεθίζει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν πίστεως, ἐφ' ᾗ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐποικοδομεῖ ἡ ἀλήθεια.

CLEMENS ALEX.

1. IT is the common object of all religion to establish or realise a definite relation between the worshipper and the Divine Being whom he approaches. Christianity goes much further and proposes to reveal the relation between mankind, or more fully between the world and GOD, and to restore the original harmony of all creation. It addresses not the individual only, but the race; its effects are declared to extend not to man only, but to 'all things which are in heaven 'and which are on earth.' It is universal at the same time as it is particular. Just as Aristotle taught that the State is prior to the Man, so Christianity claims to address the World while it addresses the Individual or even more exactly to

CHAP. I.

John i. 29.

Eph. i. 10. Col. i. 20. Phil. ii. 10. Rom. viii. 21, 22. Rev. v. 13.

CHAP. I. address the Individual in the World. To use two common phrases, it contains a Philosophy of History, as well as a Philosophy of Salvation. It disregards nothing in the rich development of human life. It takes account alike of the evil and of the good. It refers to final principles—final, that is, for our present powers—the progress which we can observe in societies and nations, and the moral and spiritual education of men.

2. For all creation is progressive. It is a law as well in the moral as in the physical world that nothing is lost. All that has been modifies all that is and all that will be. The present includes all the past and will itself be contained in the future. Each physical change, each individual will contributes something to the world to come. The earth on which we live and the civilisation which fashions our conduct are the result of immeasurable forces acting through vast periods of time. There are crises in the history of nature and in the history of man, periods of intense and violent action and again periods of comparative repose and equilibrium, but still the continuity of life is unbroken. Even when the old order is violently overthrown the new order is built in part out of its ruins and not only upon them.

3. The conception of a life of the universe, of a general law which unites and directs the successive forms of all organized beings, is necessarily of modern growth. It could not be formed till History had called Geology to her aid, and men were familiarised to some extent with the vast space of time covered by the records of the ancient world. Even now the researches of science are far too limited to do more than suggest the idea and mark some salient points in its realisation. Yet it is impossible not to feel that it falls in with our general notions of the working of GOD from whatever source they may be derived; whether they lie in the original conception of a Divine Being, or are suggested by what we observe in the noblest forms of human action. There is something soothing and elevating in the thought of a scheme of Divine government reaching through all time and space thus opened to our contemplation. So far from obscuring the presence of the Creator it enlarges and strengthens our faith in His operation. It enables us to distinguish between His will as it *is* and our apprehension of its *becoming.* It teaches trust and hope when we are inclined to be dismayed at what we reckon as immobility or waste in the moral world. The sea-worn cliffs which are once again fashioned before our eyes into records of a new order by CHAP. I.

CHAP. I. the same power through which they were first built up, teach patience with a silent eloquence which would be irresistible if we could enter into its force. Surely we can afford to wait when God works thus slowly.

4. The belief in a common life of mankind is of far older date. This is the result of intuition and not of science. It was the teaching of the prophet first and not of the philosopher. If it was permitted to a later generation to see the

Matt. xxii. 31—33.

pledge of a personal immortality in a covenanted relation which God granted to the patriarchs, it must have been equally clear at an earlier time that all men who are 'the offspring of God' were in some degree under His government and working out His will. At first sight it might appear that the spirit of the Mosaic Law was opposed to this divine unity of peoples. But the opposition was accidental, and the Law itself was potentially universal in its promises. The exclusiveness of the Jews was something wholly different from the exclusiveness of the Greeks or Romans. It was based essentially on moral and not on political or social differences. It was religious and not national. The privileges of Judaism were offered to him who accepted the responsibilities and claims

of Judaism. The Jew was taught to look forward to the time when all the nations of the earth should worship his GOD. The triumph towards which he was to strive, was to win fellow-worshippers and not to raise himself as a lord over enslaved peoples. Hence the later prophets were led to regard 'the kingdoms of the world' in their relation to 'the kingdom of GOD,' of which the Jewish Church was the figure and the seed.

5. Something of the same notion lies in the Eastern representation of the successive ages of the world, which was borrowed by the earliest Greek poets, and again adopted by the writers of the so-called Sibylline books shortly before the Christian era. But the vastness of the scale on which this thought was moulded deprived it of all practical importance. When it was applied to human life it expressed at most the contrast which we find in the New Testament between 'this age' and 'the age to come.' Its units, so to speak, were periods, dispensations, as we call them, and not nations. It expressed a far-reaching faith in the general advance of 'the ages' through distress and disorder towards a glorious end, but it had no connexion with the progress or development of the 'age' itself in which we live.

CHAP. I. 6. Still however dim and uncertain the prospect of the life of the world and the life of humanity may have been in old times, it is impossible now to doubt the noble continuity of progress by which both are revealed and characterised; and the view which is thus opened to us of the course of history throws a fresh light on the position of Christianity. It is not an isolated system, but the result of a long preparation. According to the teaching of the Apostles, Christ came when all things were ready, and the measure of the appointed seasons was accomplished. Christianity cannot then be regarded alone and isolated from its antecedents. It is part of a whole which reaches back historically from its starting-point on the day of Pentecost for nearly two thousand years. It was new but it was not unprepared. It professed to be itself the fulfilment and not the abolition of that which went before: to reveal outwardly the principle of a Divine Fatherhood by which all the contradictions and disorders of life are made capable of a final resolution; and to possess within it that universal truth which can transfigure without destroying the various characteristics of men and nations. It is then possible that what we feel to be difficulties in its historic form are removed or lessened if we place it in its due relation to the whole life of mankind; and, on

Acts vii. 2 ff.

the other hand, the obvious fitness with which it carries on and completes a long series of former teachings will confirm with singular power its divine claims. CHAP. I.

7. Again: though the birth of Christianity was comparatively late in time, yet in fact it claims to have existed from the beginning as part of the Divine Counsel. We have seen (Intr. § 8) that we are obliged to regard the purposes and acts of God as following one another, though in themselves all the results of creation simply *are*, without distinction of succession. But though the Apostles necessarily think and speak as men, they expressly caution us against supposing that the Incarnation of the Word was in any way an afterthought consequent upon the Fall, and not already included in the Creation. Without touching upon the abstract truth of the absence of temporal limitations in the Divine Mind, they teach, what is in this case the practical equivalent, that 'before the foundation of the world' God had foreordained the coming of Christ. The Fall necessarily modified the circumstances of the Incarnation, but the true conception of the World and of Humanity becomes first possible when they are thus regarded in their essential relation to the Word, the Son. We do not at present de-

Col. i. 15 ff. Eph. i. 4. 1 Pet. i. 20.

CHAP. I. mand more for this statement than a recognition of its significance. At least it places before us what the first exponents of Christianity believed Christianity to be. It was according to their interpretation eternal in its essence, as well as universal in its application. It was in itself beyond time though it was wrought out in time.

8. It follows necessarily from this view of Christianity that it must be placed in intimate connexion with the divine discipline of the world in former ages if we are to understand it. As we cannot conceive of the world as abandoned by GOD, and as the coming of Christ is declared to be the complete expression of His love, Christianity must have gathered up and ratified either implicitly or by a direct sanction whatever men had truly hoped or learned of Him in earlier times. And this is exactly what our Lord and His Apostles professed to do. They came not to destroy but to fulfil:—to lay open and enforce the spiritual meaning of the Law and the Prophets, in which the Jews 'thought that they had 'eternal life;' and to declare to the Gentiles the GOD whom they 'ignorantly worshipped.' They appealed to all history and to the experience of all men in support of the Gospel. Christ came, so St Paul teaches, in the fulness of time, when

the due measure of the appointed seasons was accomplished, each of which was charged with the realisation of some part of the Divine Will. God spoke at last to us in the Person of a Son (so it is written) when He had spoken of old time to our fathers in the prophets, revealing His Counsel gradually (in many parts), as men were able to bear it, and variously (in many ways), as they could best enter into its purport. There have been attempts in all ages to separate Christianity from Judaism and Hellenism; but to carry out such an attempt is not to interpret Christianity, but to construct a new religion. Christianity has not only affinities with Judaism and Hellenism, but it includes in itself all the permanent truths to which both witness. It was bound up (so the Apostles said) with promises and blessings by which the Jewish people had been moulded through many centuries. It answered to wants of which the Gentiles had become conscious through long periods of noble effort and bitter desolation. It came not at an arbitrary moment, but at a crisis when 'all things were now ready.' If it was divine in its essence, it was no less human in the form of its embodiment, and in the circumstances of its reception.

CHAP. I.

Heb. i. 1, 2.

9. Christianity was connected at its origin

CHAP. I. with a vast history—with the history of the whole ancient world—and it is also a history itself. It is a history in its fundamental form so far as it is a revelation; and it is a history also in its appropriation so far as it is the informing power of modern society. The doctrines of Christianity flow from alleged facts. The belief in the historic event precedes the belief in the dogma. The life of Christ (if we may use this illustration) comes first, and then the teaching of the Spirit. The substance of our Creed lies in what Christ *was* and what He *did*, and not primarily in what He taught. Or, to put the same idea in another way, His teaching was in His Person and in His Life, and not in His words only or chiefly. It is impossible to resolve Christianity into sentiment or morality. The sentiment which it involves springs out of a historical union of man and God: the morality which it enforces is based on the reality and significance of Christ's Death and Resurrection.

10. And yet more than this. From the time of the first preaching of the Apostles, Christianity has been a power in the world acting upon society and acted upon by it. It conquered the Roman Empire, and remained unshaken by its fall. It sustained the shock of the northern nations, and

in turn civilised them. It suffered persecution and it wielded sovereignty. It preserved the treasures of ancient thought and turned them to new uses. It inspired science, while it cherished mysteries with which science could not deal. It assumed the most varied forms and it moulded the most discordant characters. And all this was done and borne in virtue of its historic foundation. For its strength lay not in the zeal of a hierarchy who were the depositaries of hidden doctrines, but in the open proclamation of a Divine Saviour. The Cross has remained in every age the symbol and the monument of its power. CHAP. I.

11. These characteristics of Christianity by which it is distinguished from every other religion, —that it is historical in its Creed and historical in its development,—even if they are considered only in their most obvious and indisputable form, sufficiently prove that its origin was an event wholly unique and unparalleled in the history of the world. There have been conquerors who in the course of a lifetime have overrun half the world and left lasting memorials of their progress in cities and kingdoms founded and overthrown. There have been monarchs who have by their individual genius consolidated vast empires and

CHAP. I. inspired them with a new life. There have been teachers who through a small circle of devoted hearers have rapidly changed the modes of thought of a whole generation. There have been religious reformers who by force or eloquence have modified or reconstructed the belief of nations. There have been devotees whose lives of superhuman endurance have won for them from posterity a share of divine honour. There have been heroes cut off by a sudden and mysterious fate, for whose return their loyal and oppressed countrymen have looked with untiring patience as the glorious and certain sign of dawning freedom. There have been founders of new creeds who have furnished the ideal of supreme good to later generations in the glorified image of their work. But in all the noble line of the mighty and the wise and the good, in the great army of kings and prophets and saints and martyrs, there is not one who has ever claimed for himself or received from his followers the title of having in any way wrought out salvation for men by the virtue of his life and death, as being in themselves, and not only by the moral effect of their example, a spring of divine blessings. It is of comparatively little moment how and by whom the Christian religion was first propagated, wonderful and exceptional as that may seem. The one absolute mark by

which its establishment is distinguished from that of all other systems lies in its very essence. The Gospel differs from every message delivered as from God to men, in that its substance was contained in what befel a Teacher to Whom the Apostles had listened, in what He did and suffered. Christ was Himself the Word and the Truth which He announced. CHAP. I.

12. For us Christianity is so naturally identified with abstract statements of doctrine and ecclesiastical institutions, that we are in danger of losing sight of the essentially personal basis on which it rests. It requires an effort to realise with any distinctness the sublime originality of a faith not in the might and goodness and love of a Prophet, but in the inherent power and virtue of the Person and Death of a Saviour. The conception of such a faith was equally novel and definite in the apostolic age. The relation of the Lord to men, viewed simply historically, was set forth as something wholly singular and marvellous. Within thirty years after the death of Christ, if we adopt the most extreme views of chronologers, He was habitually mentioned together with the Father as the source of spiritual grace. We need only place any other name for a moment in the same position, if our soul does

CHAP. I. not revolt from the thought, to feel what must have been the intuitive consciousness of a divine presence which enabled the Apostles to adopt such a formula and to consecrate it for universal use. And the effort is comparatively easy for us, which for them (till it was hallowed by some unquestionable sanction of GOD) must have been blasphemous. We are familiarised in theory with the idea of GOD dwelling as man with men, but a Jew had no such belief to soften the awful grandeur of the truth which he acknowledged.

13. Exactly in proportion as we apprehend the exceptional (but not unnatural) character of Christianity, we shall be better able to judge of all the phenomena by which (as we believe) it was attended. If it was—and this cannot be denied—wholly original in its fundamental idea, if it effected a revolution in the popular conception of the relation of man to GOD, if it came to a world prepared to receive but not to create it, if it was bound up with a long anterior history, and has been in turn the life of modern nations, then we may expect to find that the circumstances which attended its origin were themselves also exceptional but not unnatural. The reality of the Resurrection is an adequate explanation of the

significance which was attached to the Death of Christ. It seems impossible to discover anything else which can be. CHAP. I.

14. Nothing, indeed, can be more unjust than the common mode of discussing the miracles of the first age. Instead of taking them in connexion with a crisis in the religious history of the world, disputants refer them to the standard of a period of settled progress such as that in which we live. The epoch at which they are said to have been wrought was confessedly creative in thought, and that in a sense in which no other age ever has been; and there seems to be a positive fitness in the special manifestation of God at such a crisis in the material as in the spiritual world. The central idea of the time which, dimly apprehended at Rome and Alexandria, found its complete expression in the teaching of the Apostles, was the union of earth and heaven, the transfiguration of our whole earthly nature; and the history of ancient speculation seems to shew that nothing less than some outward pledge and sign of its truth could have led to the bold enunciation of this dogma as an article of popular belief. If, as we have seen, miracles are not in themselves either unnatural or incredible, in this case there

CHAP. I. is even an antecedent presumption for their occurrence.

15. It has been said, and said rightly, though the statement has been strangely misunderstood, that science can take no cognisance of miracles. Science deals simply with the ordinary working of GOD, with phenomena which experience shews to be capable of being combined in what are for us laws of nature. It represents the power according to its general action and then assumes it to be immutable. It cannot from its very nature deal with exceptions which are so rare as not to be capable of being grouped according to our present knowledge. But while miracles do not belong to Science, they belong to History; and if they are not to be rejected without examination, the simple question in each case when they are alleged is What is the evidence in their favour both general and special? Is there anything in the character or work of the time which leads us to expect that GOD should reveal Himself outwardly as He does inwardly? Is there, that is, anything which thus makes miracles in some degree natural events according to the larger sense of the word? And then Is the special evidence for the miraculous fact as clear as we should be content to act on in ordinary

cases? This is all which we can require; for the necessary presumption against a miracle, as an exceptionable occurrence, is removed by an affirmative answer to the former question; and religion is essentially a practical matter, or, to express the same truth somewhat differently, it belongs to that order of subjects in which we are forced to trust to conclusions which fall short of complete certainty. CHAP. I.

16. The position which the apostolic age occupies with regard to the development of ancient life has often been investigated. Yet even thus there are many points in the historic bearing of Christianity which are commonly neglected. It is true that *we* can see how the lines of Jewish and Gentile progress converge towards it. It is true that *we* can see how it satisfies instincts which found expression more or less vague in earlier times. It is true that the Gospel was preached first at an epoch when the organisation of society was more favourable to its spread than at any other. But this is not all; nor indeed are these essentially the most important features of the preparation by which the Advent was preceded. If this were a complete statement of the case it might be said that Christianity was a natural product of the concurrence of Rome and Greece and

 Palestine; that the anticipations of men after periods of eager expectation fashioned for themselves an imaginary fulfilment: that the circumstances of the age offer an explanation of the success of a mere creation of enthusiasm. A full view of the character of the preparation for the Gospel excludes such interpretations of its significance. There was a tendency *towards* the central truth of Christianity, but there was no tendency to *produce* it. Religious speculations had branched out in so many ways that nothing short of the coming of Christ could have harmonised the various results to which they led; but till He came the results were simply conflicting and irreconcileable, and even after He came the solution which He brought to the riddles of earlier life was long misunderstood. Philosophers and moralists had variously discussed the destiny of man and the grounds of right and duty and knowledge, but the debates had ended practically in exhaustion and despair. The records of their speculations shew at once their power and their weakness: they reveal what man aspires to know and confess his inability to gain the knowledge for himself. The combinations of various nationalities in the Roman Empire necessarily made broader views of the union of men possible; but at the same time the triumph of imperialism tended to

suppress every independent power. The material advantages which it offered for free intercourse were more than counterbalanced by the depressing influence of its overwhelming might. The time was marked by the simultaneous existence of countless adverse powers then first forced into contact, but Christianity bears no trace of any temporal or local character. It came as something wholly new to a world whose course was already run. It belonged to no time and to no place. It was a beginning even more than it was an end. And as there are periods in the individual life when the exceptional becomes natural, it may be so with that vast and complex progress of humanity, which we are forced equally by thought and experience to regard under the form of a common life.

17. The very conception of the history of humanity as a life, which is now an axiom with conflicting schools, was due (as we have already seen) in the first instance to the Jews. In spite of the exclusiveness of their national religion they faithfully maintained the belief in a real unity of the human race, out of which the idea of a common life of humanity springs. The Romans had partially witnessed to the truth when

CHAP. I. they acknowledged the inherent supremacy of Greece in art: the Stoics had taught it as part of their stern theory of the world; but the Jews held it, however imperfectly, as lying at the very foundation of their religion. The promise to which they looked for the pledge of their divine election extended at the same time a heavenly blessing to all nations. The history of Israel was a continual advance towards the realisation of this fellowship of nations. Each crisis left the chosen people nearer to that kingdom of heaven of which they were the sign and the prophets. And the typical prophet of the Captivity looking upon the great powers of the world portrays them at once in
Dan. ii. vii. their organic unity, and in the separate completeness of their distinctive energies. In this respect it is of no consequence how we interpret the visions of Daniel, or to what date we assign the book which bears his name. The idea of a life of mankind, of a law binding together different monarchies and states, is there; and from the time when the book became current this idea has been part of the heritage of men. The book of Daniel is (on its human side) the first philosophy of history, even as the book of Genesis is the pledge that such philosophy is possible. The one presents the kingdoms of mankind as mutually dependent and subject to the laws of a common

development: the other presents them federally united in 'the first Adam.' CHAP. I.

18. The long continuance and varied fortunes of the Jewish nation enabled it to be beyond any other nation the messenger of unity and progress. And more than this, the purely intellectual defects with which the Semitic character is charged fitted the people to perform this their appointed work. The forms of literature which our western training leads us to regard as the highest, the Epic and the Drama, found no place among the Jews. The free culture of art among them was forbidden. Or, in other words, they were led to dwell upon the indeterminate and infinite and not upon the fixed and limited in the world. For them all separate histories and lives and embodiments of beauty were incomplete. They were unwilling and unable to see everywhere one formula reproducing itself. The whole history of mankind was for them an Epic, a Tragedy—the one Epic, the one Tragedy, of which the fortunes of generations or families or men were but scattered fragments. They looked upon history as a life directed by will, and not as catastrophes ruled by destiny or phenomena produced by law[1].

[1] The intellectual contrast of the East and West has never

CHAP. I. 19. Thus it is that the work of the Jews is written on their character. But it is yet more legibly written in their history. It is difficult to say whether their national integrity or their power of assimilation is more surprising. One catastrophe after another overwhelmed them, and they rise the same yet nobler from the fire in which they were purified. The old spirit remained, but it clothed itself in a new form. The conqueror lived in the conquered. The people fell beneath each of the great forms of ancient civilisation and received from each the choicest treasures which it could bestow.

20. Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome—the great powers of the East and West—contributed to discipline the mind and further the work of the Jews. The hopes of the people were kindled by times of triumph and chastened by times of captivity. A theocracy, a monarchy, a hierarchy, brought out in succession various sides of their complex character and gave to it solidity and completeness. Meanwhile the spiritual teaching of the nation was carried on from stage to stage,

been given better in a short compass than by Browning in a speech at the close of 'Luria,' beginning 'My own East! How nearer God we were!' to which whoever has not read it will be glad to be referred.

so that while nothing was lost which could serve for the training of the simplest, something was ever added which might elevate the faith of those who saw deepest into the divine truth. When the Law, fixed and eternal, failed to satisfy all the wants which were called out by the manifold growth of a high social civilisation, the prophets laid open its inner meaning and drew the outlines of a spiritual kingdom. This new creative period itself came to a close, and the learned diligence of priests and scribes then framed out of the materials which it provided a system which gave definiteness and consistency to the noblest belief of the past throughout a scattered and tributary people. CHAP. I.

21. We are often reminded that the fore-father of the Jews was an Arab Sheikh. Abraham, it is true, was a Sheikh, but he was much more. His true representative was not the Bedouin Esau, but Jacob, in whom lay the promise of a nation. The fulfilment of this promise was first prepared in Egypt. Without entering in detail into the various influences of Egypt upon the Jews, we may notice this the greatest of all: the descendants of Jacob were there bound together into one body by prosperity alike and by suffering. Every power which goes to con-

CHAP. I. solidate and unite a people was brought to bear upon them. The recollection of a noble descent, the consciousness of a high destiny, the presence of a hostile nation, common occupations, practical isolation in life and worship, combined to create and keep alive a feeling of fellowship and mutual dependence among the growing host. The sense of unity and nationality may have been degraded, though it could not be destroyed, by the conditions of ancient slavery. And thus in due time a people was prepared for a sterner discipline and a sterner work. It is impossible as yet to determine exactly how far the form of the religion of Israel was modified by Egyptian influences. But the silence of the Pentateuch as to the future life shews that a power immeasurably stronger than custom limited the character of such a dependence. That which is most conspicuous in the faith of Egypt is wholly wanting in the teaching of Moses. The earth and the present had to be felt in their full meaning. For it is only by looking both backward and forward that the circumstances of the Exodus can be seen in their true light. When the multitude had realised their common helplessness at last the voice of the God of their fathers quickened again the true life of the children of Abraham; and the faith which was called out by the sight of terrible

judgments on their enemies, was deepened with awful intensity by a lonely sojourn in the wilderness in the very presence of the LORD their Saviour. CHAP. I.

22. The Jews left Egypt a host of fugitives: they entered the promised land a conquering army. But an entire lifetime lay between the two events. A new generation grew up in the wilderness to whom the LORD revealed Himself as King. Henceforth the people never wholly forgot their divine allegiance. They were the people of the LORD even when they most fatally misinterpreted the meaning of their title. The majesty of Sinai rests on the whole of their later history. The sense of a personal relation of each Jew to his GOD gave strength to the nation and dignity to the citizen. Moses made use, we must believe, of 'the wisdom of the Egyp-'tians,' of their skill in science, in art, in organisation, even in sacred symbolism; but the constitution which he framed was infinitely nobler than that of Egypt. It was based on the word of GOD addressed to all: it was free from the degradation of caste: it included the possibility of progress. Egypt made the body of the nation, so to speak; Sinai infused into it its spirit. Egypt united the race: Sinai inspired each man

CHAP. I. with the consciousness of his own direct covenant with the LORD who had redeemed His people. Each individual life, in all its parts, no less than the life of the nation, was consecrated to GOD. To realise the kingdom of heaven—the perfect Sovereignty of the LORD among men—was from this time the acknowledged mission of the Jew.

23. After the conquests of Joshua and the first settlement of the tribes followed times of disruption and disaster. The nation was not yet disciplined sufficiently by common trials to trust in an unseen Power. Hitherto heroic leaders had represented to them the personality of the Theocracy, and momentous crises had called out their utmost energy. But all was changed when they once entered on their inheritance. In times of distress they still remembered that GOD was their king; but they forgot Him in times of peace. The lessons of the wilderness were not at once applicable to the course of common life. The people acknowledged a spiritual deliverer, but they were not ripe for a spiritual sovereignty. This was indeed the end of their hopes, but the time was not yet. To lead them to look onward, to reveal the inherent weakness of dominion based on external might, even though the might was from GOD, to prepare the way for another and

more gradual training, based upon the characteristic feelings of the nation—in respect of this progressive development the type of all nations—was, as it appears, the use of the troubled period of the Judges. The free uncentralised government, and the moveable Tabernacle, shewed by no uncertain symbols the nature of the kingdom which God designed for His people: arbitrary authority and unhallowed sanctuaries shewed that they were not yet prepared to submit to its sway. The idea of the Theocracy, if the phrase may be allowed, was presented at the outset of the national life; and experience proved that it could only be realised by a long season of discipline. CHAP. I.

24. Thus the establishment of the kingdom was in the truest sense a defection from God, and yet, humanly speaking, it was a necessary defection. An earthly king fell infinitely short of the type of divine government represented by Moses, or Joshua, or Samuel; but he was at once a definite centre and a clear sign of something greater than himself. If he presented the spiritual idea in a fixed and limited form, he also gave distinctness to the conception of the present moral sovereignty of God, and furnished imagery under which the prophets could construct a more glorious picture of the future.

CHAP. I. 25. The establishment of the kingdom was necessarily connected with the building of the Temple. And the Temple occupied the same place with regard to the Tabernacle as the monarchy with regard to the Theocracy. Both were earthly and partial, though at the time necessary, representatives of something greater and more spiritual. In both we see the attempt to give a limited and permanent shape to that which was, in its original revelation, divine in essence and transitory in its embodiment. But even as GOD was pleased to use the monarchy for the exhibition of higher truth, so also He used the Temple; and we cannot see now how the lessons conveyed through it to the Jews and to ourselves could otherwise have been realised.

26. The kingdom and the Temple were destroyed when they had fixed indelibly upon the heart of the nation the idea of the unity of the sovereignty and worship of GOD which they symbolised. The Captivity then spiritualised by the teaching of facts, as the prophets by word of mouth, the lessons which had been taught in a material form. The people came up from Egypt a united nation: they returned from Babylon a small colony to form the centre of a religious commonwealth. A great revolution had been

wrought in their national hopes, in their social organisation, in their spiritual creed. They were no longer outwardly bound together by civil ties. Subject to different monarchs, they even served in adverse armies. Their hereditary sovereignty was lost. But political separation did not destroy true fellowship. The unity of a church succeeded to the unity of a nation; and the scattered members of the religious society looked forward in common to the eternal kingdom of a future Son of David. At the same time the service of the synagogues was added to that of the Temple. A hierarchy whose power was derived from education and not from descent, grew up, and more than rivalled the power of the priests. The labour of these scribes witnessed to the cessation of prophecy, and jealously guarded the heritage which it had left. As a necessary consequence religion assumed a more distinctly personal character. The house of prayer and the skilled teacher brought it close to the home of each Jew. Exile had taught men, when they were removed from their holy place, the full blessing of spiritual communion with GOD. In the strength of this faith they were allowed to gaze upon the conflicts of good and evil in a higher world; and the enemy of GOD was seen at length in his personal power.

CHAP. I.

Zech. iii. 1.

CHAP. I. 27. Thus Persia wrought out its work upon the Jews, and when the discipline was ended the people were prepared to meet the new influences of Greece. The most abiding monument of the triumphs of Alexander was the city which he chose to bear his name in the border land of the East and West; and the spirit of Alexandria nowhere found a truer expression than in the Jewish colony which from the first formed an important element in its population. The Alexandrine Jews penetrated deeply into the speculations of Greek philosophy, and their national faith gained breadth without losing its individuality. Nor was the influence of Greece upon Judaism, which was strong at Alexandria, confined to that centre. It was spread from the first more or less throughout Asia Minor and Syria. The policy of conquerors and the instinct of commerce scattered the Jews over the whole civilised world. The dispersion, which was begun on the return from Babylon, was extended. Judaism adopted a new language for its ancient doctrines. A people who had once been bound by the strictest ritualism within the narrow limits of one land were found throughout all nations witnessing to the spiritual truths which they had inherited and preparing the way for a universal faith. The Hellenists were thus at once missionaries and

prophets. They proclaimed a purer creed to the heathen, who gathered round the synagogue without formally taking upon themselves the covenant of Israel; and they lifted the thoughts of their countrymen to the prospect of a spiritual law circumscribed by no requirements of season or place.

28. One special feature of the growth of Hellenism among the Jews demands a passing notice. The spirit of independent thought led to the foundation of sects. The conflicting tendencies which coexist everywhere in religious societies found separate embodiments. Freedom, ritualism and asceticism found a characteristic expression in Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes. The whole breadth and depth of the national faith, so to speak, was tested. Nor was a fiery trial wanting when the elements of truth and error were in danger of being fatally confounded. The Maccabæan conflict restored the Law to its true supremacy while it left untouched all that was nobler in the lessons of Greek art and culture. A final struggle fixed the limits of the teaching of the ancient prophets, and founded the stability of the nation on the victorious profession of its completed faith.

CHAP. I. 29. Meanwhile through these vicissitudes of disaster and triumph one faith grew in many fashions and in many parts. The Jews never lost the sense of the blessing which was to come through them to all the nations. Up to the giving of the Law no personal trait of the promised Redeemer is found. Hope was centred in a narrower circle at each great crisis in the spiritual history of mankind, in a race, in a nation, in a tribe, in a family. For the first time the work of Moses furnished occasion to a special portraiture of Messiah's office. He was to be the mediator of a new Law. To establish an abiding covenant between GOD and man was declared to be the substance of His work. The Law alone was unable to train the Jews to their appointed work. A kingdom was established, and with it a new conception of Messiah was added. The king who gave unity and security to the nation was but a type of the Son of David whose kingdom should extend in eternal blessings over all the world. The earthly sovereignty of the line of David fell. The chosen people passed into captivity, and under the pressure of national disaster learnt from the teaching of prophets to see in their promised Messiah 'a Son of Man,' who should sympathise with the sufferings of those whom He came to save as well as to govern. Thus the central belief, in

virtue of which Judaism lived, was providentially shaped in the progress of the history of the chosen people. Nothing was lost as the conception of the Redeemer was gradually completed. Each period added something which belongs essentially to the fulness of the conception. And so at last the Lawgiver, the King, the Prophet, the Priest, the Man, are all included in the Christ whom the Gospels present to us.

30. Two characteristic doctrines which belonged in their completest forms respectively to Palestine and Alexandria summed up this national belief at the time of the Lord's Coming. The expectation of a Messiah 'who should redeem 'Israel,' and the belief in a Divine Word by whom GOD could reveal Himself to mankind at large. The first hope found expression in a series of so-called apocryphal writings which generally agree in describing a period of intense suffering, followed by the advent of a triumphant Conqueror, who should bring beneath his sceptre and the Law all the nations of the earth. The process of the consummation is variously pictured according to the position in which the several writers stood. At one time an era of blessing, at another an era of vengeance fills the imagination of the seer. But the earth is the scene of both.

CHAP. I. The purification of the soul through suffering, the end of the great tragedy of human life, finds no fitting place in the schemes of outward aggrandisement. 'The master of Israel' was startled at the seeming paradox of a second birth. In proportion as the teaching of the prophets was made more definite, its traits were exaggerated and externalised. But in spite of error and prejudice the hope of the Palestinian Jew was in a Person, a Saviour. The deliverance for which he confidently looked was to be wrought out among men. It was to be historical in its foundation and not moral only or intellectual. He through whom it should be accomplished was recognised as 'the Son of GOD,' but none the less its end was to be the restoration of the kingdom.

31. At the same time while this external conception of Messiah was gaining definiteness and strength, wider views of the general action of GOD were gradually opened. Religious thinkers, especially in Egypt, pondered on the way in which we may conceive an Infinite Being in connexion with the finite. The result was a widespread doctrine of a Divine Word through whom GOD was supposed to be revealed in action and in utterance. In Palestine this Word was regarded

chiefly as the medium of outward communication, CHAP. I. like the angel of the Pentateuch: at Alexandria as the power in virtue of which a fellowship between GOD and man is rendered possible. The one doctrine tended towards the recognition of a divine Person subordinate to GOD: the other to the recognition of a twofold personality in the divine nature. In Greek writers, like Philo, the conception of the Word was further enlarged by the ambiguity of the term *Logos,* which was used to express it. As this might be taken for 'Word' or 'Reason,' so the corresponding idea fluctuated between the objective manifestation of the Divine will and the subjective correlative, whether in the mind of GOD in which the primal thought lay, or in the mind of man by which he apprehends the revelation. Each varying notion has obvious points of connexion with Christian dogma, and just as the Jewish belief in Messiah preserved the belief in a historic Saviour, so the Jewish belief in the Word prepared the way for a larger view of a revelation of GOD in man and through man.

32. The two complementary conceptions of a Saviour manifested on earth and of an eternal omnipresent Word thus existed side by side, but they were absolutely unconnected. Philo may

CHAP. I. have conceived of the Word as acting through Messiah, but not as one with Him. The lines of thought which pointed to the action of a second Person in the Godhead, and to the victories of some future conqueror, were not even parallel but divergent. It was reserved for St John to unite the antithetic truths in one divine phrase, which could not have entered into the mind of Philo. John i. 1—14. 'The Word was GOD,...and the Word was made 'flesh, and dwelt among us.'

33. But the preparation of Judaism was not the only preparation for Christianity. In another sense the Gentile world were making all things ready for the advent. The vast monarchies of the East, the intellectual culture of Greece, the civil organisation of Rome, each fitted men in some peculiar way for the reception of the message of the Gospel. The spirit of the East made itself felt directly through the Jewish nation while prophets yet spoke to interpret its lessons. The teaching of Greece was reflected more or less clearly in the common version of the Sacred Books and in the speculations of an influential school of Jewish teachers, both in Palestine and in the Dispersion. The material unity and order of the Roman Empire prepared the way for the spread of a new Faith and furnished the type of

a universal kingdom. But it is not our purpose now to consider the relative effects of Greece or Rome on Judaism or Christianity, but rather to estimate generally what ancient life in its noblest forms was in itself as a step in the progress of humanity.

34. Something, indeed, has been said already of the direct influence of Greece upon Jewish development. But the independent progress of classical thought and life had in itself, though indirectly, a more important bearing on the consummation of the crisis of human life at the time when Christ came. In a word, it may be said that the history of the ancient world is generally the history of the gradual separation of man from God, so far as the original relation was the groundwork of faith and personal devotion. At the same time the civil power was more and more centralised and offered as the object towards which the highest hopes of the citizen might be directed. The standards which bore the image of the Emperor became the idols of the Roman army; and in its essence the idea of Imperialism is the human antithesis to the Homeric sovereignty of Zeus. It would be easy to trace out the necessary progress of this elimination of the heavenly, externally religious, element from Gentile life in

 society, literature, and thought. The instinct from which this element derived its origin and strength could not bear a rigid analysis, nor meet the manifold difficulties of a complex polity. Step by step the patriarchal communities, in which the ruler and the priest were one, passed into the great republics, where a solemn ceremonial witnessed to a feeling of religion, powerful only as an instrument to rule the masses. A single century, but that a century which ranks in the richness and variety of its mental results only after the first and sixteenth, saw the passage from the pious theocratic history of Herodotus to the self-reliant, human analysis of national fortunes in Thucydides; from the awful questionings on fate and foreknowledge and future punishment in Æschylus, which sound like echoes of a Hebrew prophet, to the intellectual naturalism of Euripides; from the rude choric song, in which still lingered some sense of the personal bounty of a God of gladness, to the conventional portraiture of an artificial life in the comedies of Menander. The advance of philosophy was scarcely less rapid. The discussions on being which occupied the earliest thinkers, passed into discussions on knowing. Aristotle sums up the results of all who had gone before him with stern impartiality, and a school of scepticism followed. Thenceforth philosophy was content to treat of

duty and to abdicate the higher prerogatives which it had once claimed.

35. The growth of the Roman Empire is the noblest spectacle of the natural triumph of human power, as it was based upon the surest of human affections. But like Greek philosophy the Roman constitution contained essentially in itself the seeds of its own ruin. The conception of the family bound together by a common worship on which the state was built was unequal to meet the difficulties of enlarged dominion. First arose the divisions in the capital itself when the paternal authority of those who had been once fathers in act as well as in name was unable to satisfy the wants of the multitude who had placed themselves under their protection. Next the policy of isolation and civil independence, by which the early republic had sought to keep in contented loyalty her subject states, was inapplicable to the wider dominion of later times. The idea of the family and with it that of religion was lost; and when Rome had conquered the world, it was felt on every side that one irresponsible will could alone wield the resources of the state. The soul was gone when the body had reached its full development. Yet even thus the influence of Rome upon Christianity was not less than that of Greece. If

CHAP. I. the speculations of Greek thinkers had raised problems and fashioned a language which could aid Christian teachers in unfolding the doctrine of the Divine Nature, the determinations of Roman jurists were equally powerful in preparing for the exhibition of the relation of man to GOD, which was the office of the Latin Church. But this work was still future and unperceived. For the present even the splendours of the reign of Augustus were a sign of failure. Greek speculation had ended in scepticism. The constitutional liberty of Rome had issued in Imperialism. The promise which the Jew had inherited from his fathers alone waited for an accomplishment, which each change seemed to bring nearer.

36. Thus the fulness and the exhaustion of hope met at the epoch of Christ's coming. The hope of an external deliverance which had been gradually moulded through a long history was waiting its fulfilment. The hope which man had formed of working out his own way to truth and freedom was wellnigh quenched. Old forms of belief, old modes of government, were passing away. It was felt that 'the world's great age' was even then to begin anew. Carried away by this belief, Romans saw in the rise of Imperialism the promise of a Golden Age. But the imagery of

the Augustan poet, who described the advent of this glorious time, was borrowed from the East, and it was to the East that many still looked for the great Conqueror. So firm and so widespread was this expectation that nearly seventy years afterwards Vespasian was thought to have fulfilled the prophecy by passing from Syria to the throne of the Cæsars. It is needless however to dwell upon this instinctive homage of the age to the LORD whom it knew not. It may have been a mere echo of Jewish hopes, or one of those intuitive interpretations of a great crisis which seem to rise simultaneously in the hearts of nations. So much at least is clear to us now, that the Coming of Christ coincided with the beginning of a new life in mankind, with a new development of history which is not yet completed; and, yet more than this, that the principles of this life are found in their simplest form in the Gospels.

37. Judaism had existed in the face of every form of antagonistic religion, but it had not subdued them. It had the power of life, but not the power of conquest. The life of Christianity lay in progress. It was essentially aggressive and essentially human. Christ was the Son of Man as well as the Son of David. And thus through the Apostles first all the treasures of the East were

CHAP. I. brought to the Western nations in a form which they could appreciate and accept. The strength of modern civilisation lies in the combination of faith and reason—to use the shortest phrase—which was the issue of their message. The power of their Gospel was felt far beyond the range of its acknowledged influence. The old philosophies were quickened with a new life. Christianity had revealed the seat of their weakness, and enthusiastic teachers endeavoured to supply what was wanting in them. Classical paganism itself was made to assume a new dress, and the bitterest enemy of the faith acknowledged its inherent power by a vain endeavour to transfer its spirit to the polytheistic creed.

38. These considerations suggest a conclusive answer to a fallacy which has come to be regarded as a truism. It is said that while science is progressive religion is stationary. The modes of advance in the two are certainly not the same, but the advance in science is not more real than the advance in religion. Each proceeds according to its proper law. The advance in religion is not measured by an addition to a former state, which can be regarded in its fulness separately, but by a change: it is represented not by a common difference but by a common ratio. Viewed in this

light, we can trace on a great scale the triple division of post-Christian history as marked by the successive victories of the Faith. The fact of the Resurrection is its starting-point, the realisation of the Resurrection is its goal. The fulness of the Truth is once shewn to men, as in old times the awful splendours of the Theocracy, and then they are charged to work out in the slow struggles of life the ideal which they have been permitted to contemplate. Thus it is that we can look without doubt or misgiving upon the imperfections of the sub-apostolic Church or the corruptions of the middle ages or the excesses of the Reformation. Even through these the divine work went forward. The power of the Resurrection was ever carried over a wider field. At first Christianity moved in the family, hallowing every simplest relation of life. This was the work of the primitive Church. Next it extended its sway to the nation and the community, claiming to be heard in the assemblies of princes and in the halls of counsellors. This was the work of the mediæval Church. Now it has a still wider mission, to assert the common rights and fellowship of men, to rise from the family and the nation to humanity itself. To accomplish this is the charge which is entrusted to the Church of the Present; and no vision of the purity or grandeur CHAP. I.

CHAP. I. of earlier times should blind us to the supreme majesty of the part which is assigned to us in the economy of faith.

39. It is at once obvious that these great divisions of Christian history, or even more truly speaking of the post-Christian world, answer in a remarkable degree to the periods of Jewish history which have been already marked out. The law of progress is the same in both. But if history repeats itself, it is, at least in this case, on an ampler field and with more momentous issues. The discipline of a nation is replaced by the discipline of a world; and (as we believe) an Advent of Triumph answers to an Advent of Redemption. Without following out this parallel further, though it seems to include many unexpected harmonies in things old and new, we must yet notice a progress in Christianity itself corresponding with this progress in its work. The three words which by common consent characterise the great representative Churches of the different periods describe the successive stages into which it may be divided, Orthodoxy, Catholicity, Evangelicalism.

40. At first the Christian Faith was simply historic. As long as its work was confined in the

narrow limits of the family or of the small communities scattered throughout the Empire, considerable latitude in interpreting the fundamental facts on which it rested was natural or even necessary. The principles of Truth were held firm, but no deductions from them were authorised. The rapid spread of Christianity through every rank made this state of things impossible for any great length of time. Philosophers became Apologists and reasoned in turn upon the truths which they defended. Yet even thus heresy was long active in every direction laying down false conclusions before the Church assumed the perilous function of defining the Truth. But the work was done by those who by natural gifts and intellectual training were best fitted for its accomplishment. It was the glory of the Greek Church to win the title of Orthodox. But the work of the Orthodox Church though necessary was full of danger. There is a strange fascination in reasoning on mysteries. As the argument proceeds men are unwilling to limit their conclusions, and they end too often by measuring Being by our conceptions of it. But yet more than this: doctrine itself is external to us. There is no right doctrine which ought not to affect conduct, but *as* doctrine it has no necessary effect on life: no conquering or transforming power. CHAP. I.

CHAP. I. The effects of a predominantly speculative study of Christianity were seen before long in the character and fortunes of the Eastern Communion. The Orthodox Church is the least inclined of all churches to missionary work. Its part hitherto, since its first great triumphs, has been that of a witness rather than that of a herald. It could hardly have been otherwise. Orthodoxy as such is the translation of facts into a dialectic form; but the life, the power of assimilation and expansion, remains in the facts. Unhappily the Greek Church from the time when its original mission was fulfilled was united with Imperialism. Its potential dangers were thus realised, and Mohammedanism conquered the East. It has been said that the Byzantine Empire died of Christianity: it would be more just to say that the Byzantine Empire sought to imperialise Christianity and perished in the attempt, for Greek Christianity was strong enough only to rescue itself and not the State from the ruins of the judgment which followed.

41. But meanwhile a greater Church had risen. When Constantine transferred the dignity of Empire to his new capital he was unable to bear away to Byzantium the ancient glory and name of Rome. The majesty which had grown

round the city during a thousand years remained undisturbed as the prize of the power which should prove worthy to claim it. And the Roman Church was alone able to bear the weight of sovereignty, for she alone had life amidst the shadows which lingered round the ancient seats of honour. From the first, if we can interpret rightly its fragmentary records, the Roman Church had adopted something of the policy of the Roman State. It had regarded ecclesiastical problems from the point of view of society. Its characteristic was breadth rather than precision. In proportion as it embodied more and more openly the style and power of the Cæsars, Catholicity became more conspicuously its ruling principle. Its aim was to incorporate rather than to assimilate the people who were brought under its control. The Republic received the gods of conquered nations within its Pantheon, and the Church accepted under new titles such popular beliefs and superstitions as could be fitly clothed in a Christian dress. The policy of the Roman Church was to deal with society as it was, and not to rebuild it again from its simplest elements. Thus equally from its position and from its inherent character it became a sovereign power. At Constantinople the attempt was made to imperialise the Church: at Rome the Church became

CHAP. I. an Empire. The transformation was subservient if not essential to the fulfilment of its work. By the glory of its name and the strength of its organisation it conquered the northern tribes and preserved the treasures of ancient civilisation for a higher use. At the same time it presented the noble spectacle of a universal spiritual power side by side with the temporal power, and independent of it. In these respects its function with regard to discipline was as needful as that of the Greek Church with regard to Truth. But the traditional policy which was its strength prepared the way for its corruption. When the Church became nobler outwardly, it engrossed more completely the devotion of its members, and conversely it became more dependent on popular opinion. At last the Christian was in danger of losing his sense of a personal connexion with Christ; and the simplicity of Truth was hidden beneath the accretions of centuries. The spirit of Northern Europe, which had never been completely Romanised, had in the meantime gained maturity, and claimed in the full consciousness of life to hold communion with God face to face.

42. Thus a third development of the Church began corresponding to a new period of life; but it differed from those which preceded by the fact

that it was manifold and not one. It was essentially the expression of individual faith and not of common belief. Its ecclesiastical forms followed from the concurrence of private convictions, and did not underlie and mould the societies which arose. Its strength lay in the confident affirmation of two great principles, that the Christian is continuously in direct spiritual intercourse with God through Christ, and that he is throughout continuously responsible to Him for his judgment in divine matters. Personal vitality was infused into religion. Faith claimed the homage of free reason. Individuality was added to Catholicism.

43. It would be easy to point out the weakness of the Reformation in itself as a power of organisation. Its function was to quicken rather than to create, to vivify old forms rather than to establish new. But however we may grieve over its failure where it arrogated the office not of restoration but of reconstruction, it was a distinct advance in Christian life. Where it failed, it failed from the neglect of the infirmities of man and of the provisions which have been divinely made, to meet them. On the other hand, the lessons which it taught are still fruitful throughout Christendom, and destined, as we hope, to bring forth a still more glorious harvest. What that

CHAP. I. may be we cannot as yet know, but all past history teaches us that the power of the Gospel is able to meet each crisis of human progress, and we can look forward with trust to the fulfilment of its message to our age. The advance towards that perfection of Christian fellowship which we can all imagine, and to look forward to which is our noblest hope, may be slow, but it is slow only in the same sense in which the life of nations is slow. Generations are the days by which it is measured, but in the end it will not fail. The parables of nature are fulfilled in the history of the Church.

Matt. xiii. 31—33. Mark iv. 26—29.

44. The student of history will readily see that the great forms of Christian progress which have been marked out correspond in a remarkable manner with other great periods in art and literature and science. The divisions are neither arbitrary nor applicable only to some parts of human life. The final result of each was a permanent advance, and the power by which each was animated was drawn from the Gospel. If the fact of the Resurrection be in itself, as it confessedly is, absolutely unique in all human experience, the point which it occupies in history is absolutely unique also. To this point all former history converges as to a certain goal: from this point all

subsequent history flows as from its life-giving spring[1]. If the Resurrection were alleged to have occurred abruptly in the middle of a series of events which passed on slowly to their consummation unaffected by its interruption; if it stood in no definite relation to the past, as in some sense a solution of the riddle which had baffled exhausted nations: if its significance had not been witnessed to at once by the rise of a new and invincible power which fashioned the development of all aftertime: then we might have paused in doubt before so stupendous a miracle, and pleaded the uniformity of nature against the claims of such an event upon our belief. But now the testimony of nature itself is in favour of the fact. We form our notions of a result from what we know of the

[1] Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* I. Nihil sine ætate est: omnia tempus expectant....Aspice ipsam creaturam paulatim ad fructum promoveri. Granum est primo, et de grano frutex oritur, et de frutice arbuscula enititur. Deinde rami et frondes invalescunt, et totum arboris nomen expanditur: inde germinis tumor, et flos de germine solvitur, et de flore fructus aperitur. Is quoque rudis aliquamdiu et informis paulatim ætatem suam dirigens eruditur in mansuetudinem saporis. Sic et justitia (nam idem Deus justitiæ et creaturæ) primo fuit in rudimentis, natura Deum metuens. Dehinc per legem et prophetas promovit in infantiam. Dehinc per evangelium efferbuit in juventutem. Nunc (the words admit a Catholic interpretation) per Paracletum componitur in maturitatem... I should despair of rendering the words adequately into English. As a master of rhetorical language the 'barbarian' Tertullian has few rivals.

CHAP. I. conditions under which the forces act, no less than from what we know of the forces themselves. If the force is the same we are sure that it must act differently under varied circumstances. If the circumstances are absolutely singular in all experience we conclude that an event will occur without a parallel. If a long train of occurrences before and after lead us to expect that the event would be of some specific kind, then its singularity is an argument in favour of its credibility and not against it. On a large view of the life of humanity the Resurrection is antecedently likely. So far from being beset by greater difficulties than any other historical fact, it is the one fact towards which the greatest number of lines of evidence converge. In one form or other pre-Christian history is a prophecy of it and post-Christian history an embodiment of it.

45. If we next turn to consider the direct evidence for the Resurrection, we shall find in it several elements of singular force. These are the more deserving of attention, because the narrative of the event itself in the Gospels, is in no wise distinguished from the narrative of any other ordinary fact which they record. The Evangelists treat the Resurrection as simply, unaffectedly, inartificially, as everything else which they touch.

The miracle to them seems to form a natural part of the Lord's history. They shew no consciousness that it needs greater or fuller authentication than the other events of His life. Their position and office indeed excluded such a thought. They wrote not to create belief but to inform those who already believed. A knowledge of the chief events in the Lord's ministry, including the Resurrection, and a general conviction of their reality and significance, is everywhere assumed in the Apostolic writings. The existence of a Christian society is the first and (if rightly viewed) the final proof of the historic truth of the miracle on which it was founded (§§ 49, 50). It may indeed be said that the Church was founded upon the belief in the Resurrection, and not upon the Resurrection itself: and that the testimony must therefore be limited to the attestation of the belief, and cannot reach to the attestation of the fact. But belief expressed in action is for the most part the strongest evidence which we can have of any historic event. Unless therefore it can be shewn that the origin of the Apostolic belief in the Resurrection, with due regard to the fulness of its characteristic form, and the breadth and rapidity of its propagation, can be satisfactorily explained on other grounds, the belief itself is a sufficient proof of the fact. We

CHAP. I. shall be in a position to consider whether such an explanation is possible when we have examined the form in which the outward record of the belief has come down to us.

46. The letters of St Paul are amongst the earliest, if not actually the earliest writings in the New Testament. Of these one important group has been recognised as certainly genuine even by the most sceptical critics. No one doubts that the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans were composed by St Paul, and addressed to the Churches whose name they bear. Nor is there much uncertainty as to the date at which they were written. The most extreme opinions fix them between A.D. 52—59, that is under no circumstances more than thirty years after the Lord's death (A.D. 30—33). There can then be no doubt as to the authority of their evidence as expressing the received opinion of Christians at this date, and there can be no doubt as to the opinion itself. In each of the Epistles the literal fact of the Resurrection is the implied or acknowledged groundwork of the Apostle's teaching. The very designation of GOD is 'He who raised 'up the Lord from the dead.' In this miracle lay the sum of the new revelation, the sign of Christ's Sonship. To believe this fact and confess it was

Rom. iv. 24, viii. 11, &c.

the pledge of salvation. On many points there CHAP. I. was a diversity of judgment among the Apostles, and a wider discrepancy of belief among their professed followers, but on this there is no trace of disagreement. Some, indeed, questioned the reality of our own resurrection, but they were met by arguments based on the Resurrection of Christ which they acknowledged. Whatever else was doubted this one event was beyond dispute.

47. Moreover the fact itself was treated historically and not ideally. It was not regarded as the embodiment of a great hope, or as a consequence of some pre-conceived notion of the Person of Christ. On the contrary, the hope was expressly rested on the fact; and the Apostolic view of the nature of Christ is deduced from His rising again. (§§ 57 ff.) In one place St Paul has given an outline of 'the Gospel' by which men 'were saved.' 'I delivered unto you first of all that which also I 1 Cor. xv. 3 ff. 'received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried; 'and that He hath been raised on the third day, 'according to the Scriptures; and that He appeared to Cephas; then to the twelve; then He 'appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, 'of whom the greater part remain until now, but 'some are fallen asleep; then He appeared to

CHAP. I. 'James; then to all the Apostles. And last of all, 'as unto one born out of due time, He appeared 'to me also...Whether then it be I or they, so 'we preach, and so ye believed.' Nothing can be more simply historic. What we call the miraculous facts are placed beside the others without any difference. The Resurrection of the Lord, and His appearances after the Resurrection, are taught as events of the same kind essentially, and to be received in the same way as His Death and Burial. Together they formed 'the Gospel;' and in this respect, whether it was 'the Three,' or St Paul who preached, the substance of their preaching was the same.

48. Of 'the five hundred' to whom Christ appeared many were still alive when St Paul wrote. So too were most of the Apostles, who were their fellow-witnesses, as well as St Paul himself. Thus we stand, as it were, in the direct presence of the immediate witnesses of the fact. But it has been said that the very circumstance that St Paul reckons the appearance revealed to himself in the same list with the other appearances, shews that he did not insist on their objective reality: they may have been merely subjective visions as this is assumed to be. The exact converse is, however, the true explanation

of the fact. St Paul believed, and always acted as if he believed, that the Lord did appear in His human nature as really to him as to the other witnesses of the Resurrection. He asserts that all the appearances were equally actual, that is, external manifestations of the Lord, but not that they were all like in circumstances. There was an objective reality in the revelation of Christ made to him no less than in the revelations to others; but this objective reality was not limited to one outward shape. It was apprehended (as it appears) variously by various minds. Thus we find that the forms of the Lord's manifestation were, according to the Evangelists, most varied (II. § 18). A marvellous change had passed over Him. He was the same and yet different. He was known only when He revealed Himself. He conformed to the laws of our present life, and yet He was not subject to them. These seeming contradictions were necessarily involved in the moral scope of the Resurrection. Christ sought (if we may so speak) to impress on His disciples two great lessons, that He had raised man's body from the grave, and that He had glorified it. Nor can we conceive any way in which these truths could have been conveyed but by appearances at one time predominantly spiritual, at another predominantly material, though both were

CHAP. I. alike real. For the same reason we may suppose that the Lord took up into His Glorified Body the material elements of that human body which was laid in the grave, though, as we shall see (II. § 7), true personality lies in the preservation of the individual formula or law which rules the organisation in each case, and not in the actual but ever changing organisation, which may exist at any moment[1]. The resumption of the Crucified Body conveyed to ordinary minds a conception which could not otherwise easily have been gained, while at the same time it brought the fact of the Resurrection within the reach (as far as could be) of continuous observation. For us the appearance to St Paul would certainly in itself fail to satisfy in some respects the conditions of historic reality—it might have been an internal revelation—but for him it was essentially objective and outward[2]; and when taken in con-

[1] This consideration will help to explain a difficulty which has been felt as to the appearances of the Lord after the Resurrection. His dress (it has been said) must have been purely subjective. But a little reflection will shew that the special outward forms in which the Lord was pleased to make Himself sensibly recognisable by His disciples were no more necessarily connected with His glorified Person than the robes which He wore.

[2] It is important to observe that on another occasion St Paul notices the doubt which he felt as to the character of the revelation which he received: 2 Cor. xii. 1 ff. His vision of the Lord was realised under the full conditions of human life:

nexion with his life and the other appearances CHAP. I.
which he records, it lays open something more of the Divine fulness of the exalted Manhood of the Risen Saviour.

49. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on St Paul's direct testimony to the Resurrection, which is thus carried up to the time of his Conversion, that is to a date not more, at most, than ten years after the Lord's death. No one probably will deny that the Resurrection was announced as a fact immediately after the Passion. Nothing else will explain the origin of the Christian Church. We may go even further, and take for granted that the Apostles who announced it, believed in its reality. The life of St Paul may be considered conclusive on this point; and even if his life were explicable on any other theory than that of a faith which he claimed to share with the other Apostles, it is long since a critic has been found to maintain that the miraculous narrative was an intentional fiction of those by whom it was promulgated. It remains then, if the Resurrection be unhistoric, that they were deceived, and if so, that they were predisposed to

his 'ecstasy' left him uncertain as to the circumstances under which he was allowed to hear 'unspeakable words,' whether 'in the body' or 'out of the body.'

CHAP. I. a credulous and ill-grounded belief, either by their own character, or by the popular expectations of the time.

50. Before examining whether this was so we may observe how incredible it is from the nature of the testimony alleged that the Apostles could have been deceived. The sepulchre in which the Lord had been laid was found empty. This fact seems to be beyond all doubt, and is one where misconception was impossible. On the other hand, the manifestations of the Risen Saviour were widely extended both as to persons and as to time. St Paul, and in this his record is in exact accordance with that of the Evangelists, mentions His appearances not only to single witnesses, but to many together, to 'the twelve' and to 'five hundred brethren at once.' One person might be so led away by enthusiasm as to give an imaginary shape to his hopes, but it is impossible to understand how a number of men could be simultaneously affected in the same manner[1]. The difficulty of course is further in-

[1] It must be observed that the question here is not as to the propagation of a belief in a statement through a large number of men, but as to the simultaneous perception by many of an alleged phenomenon. The former is intelligible even if the belief be in fact unfounded: the latter is not intelligible unless the phenomenon be really objective. In this connexion too

creased if we take account of the variety as well as of the number of the persons who were appealed to as witnesses of the fact during their lifetime; and of the length of time during which the appearances of the Lord were continued. It is stated in the Acts that the necessary qualification of an Apostle was that he should be a personal witness of the Resurrection; and St Paul admits the qualification, and shews that it was fulfilled in his case. Every avenue of delusion seems to be closed up. For forty days Christ was with the disciples talking with them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of GOD (II. § 18). If we cannot believe that the Apostles deceived others, it seems (if possible) still more unlikely that they were the victims of deception. CHAP. I.

51. For there was no popular belief at the time which could have inspired them with a faith

it is most instructive to notice that the *report* of the Lord's Resurrection was in each case disbelieved. Nothing less than *sight* convinced those who had the deepest desire to believe the tidings; and even sight was not in every case immediately convincing (Matt. xxviii. 17). See [Mark] xvi. 9—11, 13, 14. Luke xxiv. 11, 13, 22—24. John xx. 25. In St Matthew the promised *sight* of the Lord is the message of joy which the women are to carry to the disciples: xxviii. 7, 10. In St Luke the contrast between the effects of the *report* of the appearance of the Lord and the *sight* of Him is vividly given: xxiv. 34, 35, compared with 36 ff.

CHAP. I. in an imaginary Resurrection. There was none among the Greeks whose mythology might appear at first sight to offer scope for its spontaneous growth. But without pressing any particular interpretation of the remarkable words of St Luke, it is evident from the narrative in the Acts that the doctrine of the Resurrection was the chief point in the address of St Paul which arrested the attention and excited the ridicule of his Athenian hearers. And naturally so; for while the legends of Greece recorded the elevation of men even to the honours of Olympus, this elevation was effected by the deposition of their humanity. They became gods by ceasing to be men. If the rude inhabitants of Lystra, according to the faith of a simpler age, supposed that 'the gods were come down in the likeness of 'men,' in the persons of Paul and Barnabas, yet in this case the outward shape was but a disguise in which it was believed that their divine majesty was veiled and had no essential connexion with their nature. There is not the least trace in the popular traditions of Greece, much less in Greek speculation, of any belief in the possibility of the restoration of the dead to the transfigured fulness of a human life. The chief myths which expressed the idea of the restorative power of nature were drawn from the stated recurrence of

Acts xvii. 18, 32.

Acts xiv. 11.

day and night, or from the annual vicissitudes of the seasons. Their teaching was simply of the inexorable and yet kindly alternations of darkness and light, of death and life, without the element of progress or the transforming change 'from glory to glory.' Even when the fiction became personal it stopped short of the essence of Christian hope. If Hercules was fabled to have met Death and rescued Alcestis from his grasp by force, or to have descended into Hades and delivered Theseus from confinement there, he is said to have conferred on them no greater blessing than a fresh span of earthly existence. If after the accomplishment of his labours he was himself wedded to immortal Youth in the mansions of the gods, it was not till he had ceased to be the champion of men, and had consumed in the fires of Œta whatever shewed his fellowship with them. Nowhere else in ancient mythology is there a clearer embodiment of the instinct which craves for a personal immortality and communion with GOD than in this noble legend, and yet even here the entrance to the new life is symbolised by the destruction and not by the restoration of human powers. To the Greeks the Resurrection, whether as the type or as the spring of a new life, was a strange idea.

CHAP. I.

2 Cor. iii. 18.

CHAP. I. It included and interpreted their old beliefs, but it also transcended them (II. § 14).

52. Nor was it otherwise with the Jews. Even among them there was no belief which could have furnished the basis for the apostolic Gospel. There was, it is true, a popular expectation that Elijah, or some other of the old prophets, should be sent from heaven, whither they had been specially withdrawn, to prepare the advent of Messiah; but this expectation had no real connexion either in its ground or in its scope with the Resurrection of Christ, as preached by the Apostles. It centred in a direct mission from GOD and not in a rising from the grave to a new life: it culminated in the accomplishment of a work among men, and not in the elevation of humanity to heaven. After the death of John the Baptist, again, some said 'that he was risen 'from the dead' when they heard of the works of Christ; but this was simply the interpretation of a report in connexion with the opinion that John was indeed 'Elias.' Nothing was based upon the conjecture. Others, again, in the course of the Lord's ministry were, according to the Evangelists, restored to life; but this restoration was to a mortal and not to an immortal life.

Such a resurrection, so far from being a parallel to the Resurrection of Christ, is the very opposite to it. The belief in the resuscitation of the dead to the vicissitudes of ordinary life would indispose for the belief in a rising to a life wholly new in kind and issue. And such is the life of the Risen Lord which is portrayed in the Gospels. Thus while we admit all the records of resuscitation contained in the Scriptures, there is absolutely not the slightest anticipation in earlier history of such a Resurrection as that of Christ. The conception as expressed by the Evangelists and Apostles has itself the characteristics of a Revelation (comp. II. § 16). CHAP. I.

53. But it may be said that the idea was included in that of Messiah. There were it is true very vivid anticipations of a coming Messiah, of some triumphant King who should restore the old glories of the house of David, but the path which was marked out for Him by common consent was that of victory and not of defeat and death. There is no evidence that the Jews in our Lord's time had formed any conception of a suffering Messiah. If Christ spoke of His Passion as the Son of Man, they could only ask with wonder, Who this Son of Man was? If the prophet described a deliverer, despised and afflicted, the John xii. 34.

CHAP. I. question rose to their lips whether 'he spoke
Acts viii. 34. 'of himself or some other.' And if the idea of Messiah's death was unknown, so also was that of the Resurrection, which is the complement of it.

54. Nor were the disciples in this respect more far-seeing or better instructed than their countrymen. On this point the Gospels are an unexceptionable authority; and nothing is more striking than the apparent inability of the Apostles, who were nearest to the Lord, to lay aside the hopes in which they had been reared. When the Lord was raised from the dead they understood at last what He had said to them, but not
Matt. xvi. 21—23. before. The thought of His death was one which they felt ought to be cast aside as a temptation to
Luke xxiv. 21. distrust. And when at last He died, their hope was gone. There is not a word to indicate that this catastrophe led them to any truer view of His work. Those who loved Him most devotedly came to embalm His corpse. The first tidings of His Resurrection seemed as 'idle talk;' and the Evangelists paint in vivid colours, the strangeness of which proves them to be faithful, 'the slow-'ness' and 'hardness of heart,' which hindered the disciples from believing a fact which brought with it a revolution of their ancient faith.

55. But the revolution was accomplished. If we compare the portraiture of the Apostles as given in St Luke's Gospel with that in his book of the Acts, we cannot but feel that we are looking on the same men, but transfigured in the latter case by the working of some mighty influence. There are the old traits of individuality, but they are ennobled. The relation in which the disciples stand to their Lord is not less personal, but it is less material. He is regarded as their Saviour as well as their Teacher. What was before vague and undecided is defined and organised. Those who when Christ was yet with them wavered in spite of their love for Him, mistook His words, misunderstood His purpose, forsook Him at His Passion, after a brief interval court danger in the service of a Master no longer present, proclaim with unfaltering zeal a message hitherto unheard, build up a society in faith on His Name, extend to Samaritans and Gentiles the blessings which were promised to the people of God. However we explain it the change is complete and certain. Their whole moral nature was transformed. As far as we can see there was no spring of hope within them which could have had such an issue. The anticipations which they shared with their countrymen and those which the immediate presence of Christ had awakened, CHAP. I.

CHAP. I. were dissipated by His death. Whatever new impulse moved and animated them must have been from without, clear, and powerful. It must have been clear, to make itself felt to men who were in no way predisposed to yield to it: powerful, to remould once and for ever their notions of the work of Messiah. The Resurrection satisfies both conditions. As a fact with which the disciples were familiarised by repeated proofs it was capable of removing each lingering doubt: as a Revelation of which the meaning was finally made known by the withdrawal of Christ from the earth, it opened a new region and form of life, the apprehension of which would necessarily influence all their interpretations of the Divine promises. If the crucified Lord did rise again, we can point to effects which answer completely to what we may suppose to have been the working of the stupendous miracle on those who were the first witnesses of it: if He did not, to what must we look for an explanation of phenomena for which the Resurrection is no more than an adequate cause?

56. In nothing is the spiritual transformation of the Apostles more striking than in their view of the Person of Christ. The words in which He spoke of the atonement which He should make

necessarily fell unheeded by those who could not realise the fitness of His Death. There is nothing in the Gospels (and for this we may fairly quote them) to shew that personal deliverance from sin and corruption—the transfiguration of all man's natural powers—was ever connected with His work during His lifetime by those who heard Him[1]. 'These things,' it is emphatically said, 'understood not His disciples at the first.' He received sinners, it is true, but it was not felt that their restoration was a type of the restoration of all men. Still less, if possible, is there any indication that the Apostles understood before the Resurrection that the Blood of Christ should ratify a new covenant to be embodied in a Universal Church. The meaning of the Last Supper was hidden from them, as subsequent events shewed, till after the Lord's Death. But then, from some source or other, a flood of light is seen to have been poured on all which they had regarded before with silent and hesitating wonder. The first invitation which they addressed to those who had joined in the Crucifixion was 'to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for 'the remission of sins.' The day of Pentecost

CHAP. I.

John xii. 16. Luke xviii. 34.

Acts ii. 38.

[1] The inspired confession of St Peter, John vi. 68, is the nearest approach to a direct recognition of this Truth which the Lord taught (Matt. xx. 28), but in this respect it may be compared with the use of the corresponding passage in Acts v. 20.

CHAP. I. sealed the testimony of Easter. And from that time forth union with Christ by baptism was the first condition of Apostolic fellowship. His Name
Acts iv. 12. was declared to be the only 'name under heaven 'given among men whereby we must be saved.' His Passion was acknowledged as part of the divine counsel. His Return was set forth as the certain object of the believer's hope. Nor are we left in doubt as to the power which had wrought the change. The ground on which the Apostles rested their appeal was the Resurrection: the function which they claimed for themselves was to bear witness to it. Their belief was not an idle assent, but the spring of a new life. And the belief itself was new in kind. It was not like that affectionate credulity with which an oppressed state or party believes in the reappearance of a lost leader. It was a confession of error before it was an assertion of faith. It involved a renunciation of popular dogmas in which those who held it had been reared. It proclaimed a truth altogether new and unlike any which men had held before (§§ 51 f.). If ever the idea of delusion can be excluded, it must be in a case when it is alleged to explain a conviction which transformed at once the cherished opinions of a large body of men of various characters and powers, and forced them to a painful and perilous work

for which outwardly they had no inclination or advantages. CHAP. I.

57. If we look a little deeper at the Apostolic faith we shall feel still more strongly the effect of the belief in the Resurrection. To do this we must turn to the Epistles of St Paul, as the earliest memorials of Christian teaching addressed to Christians; for hitherto we have noticed only the simple message addressed to mixed and unbelieving hearers. In many respects, as we might naturally expect, there is a wide difference between the contents of these two forms of the Gospel; but their groundwork is identical. The fuller and more developed doctrine of St Paul is as essentially historical as the first address of an Evangelist to Jews or Gentiles. This has been pointed out already (§§ 45 ff.); but one most important element of faith which St Paul brings out from the history remains yet to be considered. In the first addresses of the Apostles reported in the Acts the Death of Christ is treated rather as a difficulty to be explained, than as a spring of blessing. If we realise the circumstances under which they spoke, it could not be otherwise, and this peculiarity alone justifies us in assuming that the narrative is in the main authentic. But St Paul in writing to Christians (and no less in speaking to Chris- *e.g.* Acts xx.

CHAP. I. tians) treats this fact very differently. The Death of Christ—the mode and the issue of that Death—is the centre round which all his doctrine turns; for to the Christian the Death of Christ involves
1 Cor. ii. 2. the Resurrection. 'I determined not to know 'anything among you,' he says to the Corinthians,
Gal. vi. 14. 'save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' 'GOD forbid,' he writes in another place, 'that I should 'glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And the reason is obvious; since the Death of Christ for the Christian includes the whole mystery of the Redemption. The Resurrection is necessarily involved in it, when we acknowledge that He who died was the Son of GOD. Thus the great Epistles to which we confine ourselves abound with such passages as the following:
Gal. i. 4. 'Christ gave Himself for our sins.' 'We are not
1 Cor. vi. 20. 'our own: we were bought with a price.' 'If
2 Cor. v. 15, 18. 'one died for all, then all died...Behold all things 'have become new. But all things are of GOD, 'who reconciled us to Himself through Jesus
Rom. v. 8, 9. 'Christ.' 'GOD commendeth His love towards us, 'in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for 'us. Much more then, being now justified by 'His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through 'Him.'

58. With these passages are connected others

which present the same truth of the restoration of unity to humanity in the Risen Christ in different points of view. Thus: 'To us there is 'one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, 'and we unto Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, 'through Whom are all things, and we through 'Him.' And again: 'We being many, are one 'body in Christ, and every one members one of 'another.' We 'are all the children of God by 'faith in Christ Jesus...There can be neither Jew 'nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, 'there can be no male and female: for ye all are 'one man in Christ Jesus.' Or, in other words, Christ, as He is revealed to us, in His Life, His Death, His Resurrection, is the One Mediator by Whom every blessing comes; the one all-containing Presence by Whom men are bound together. In His Person every difference of race, of station, of nature, is done away. 'In Christ,' to use the favourite phrase of the Apostle, our whole life and being and work are centred.

CHAP. I.

1 Cor. viii. 6.

Rom. xii. 5.

Gal. iii. 26, 28.

59. Long familiarity with such words has made it very difficult for us to realise the magnitude of the revelation which they convey. The fitness of the doctrine to satisfy the wants of men makes us inclined to believe that it is natural. But if we place on the one side the outward cir-

CHAP. I. cumstances of Christ's Death, and on the other these interpretations of its significance: if we measure what seemed to be the hopeless ignominy of the catastrophe by which His work was ended, and the Divine prerogatives which are claimed for Him, not in spite of, but in consequence of that suffering of shame; we shall feel the utter hopelessness of reconciling the fact and the triumphant deduction from it without some intervening fact as certain as Christ's Passion and glorious enough to transfigure its sorrow. For we must ever bear in mind that the Apostles do not deal with abstract doctrine, but with doctrine centred in facts. They do not teach a redemption to be wrought out by each man for himself, after the example of Christ, but of redemption wrought for each by Christ, and placed within their reach. They do not teach merely an original union of men, but
1 Cor. xv. 45 ff. a spiritual union accomplished in the Person of Christ. They do not teach a liberty which sets aside the distinctions and duties of society, but a liberty which springs from the transformation of every claim of life into a spontaneous act of filial love through the revelation of the Father in His Son. They do not teach an immortality of the soul as a consequence flowing from any conceptions of man's essential nature, but a resurrection of the body not only historically established in

the rising again of Christ, but given to us through Him who is 'the Resurrection and the Life.' If Christ rose, to repeat the alternative which we have proposed before, all this is intelligible. The miracle was as a new-birth of humanity. If Christ did not rise, we have not only to explain how the belief in His Resurrection came to be received without any previous hopes which could lead to its reception; but also how it came to be received with that intensity of personal conviction which could invest the Life and Person of Christ with attributes never before assigned to any one, and that by Jews, who had been reared in the strictest monotheism. CHAP. I.

60. There is yet one other aspect in which we may see the power of the early faith in the Resurrection. Next to the fact that Christ rose from the dead, the topic most frequently insisted on in the Apostolic writings is that He will come again from heaven. It would be out of place to discuss the form which this belief took, or the interpretation of the passages of the Epistles in which it is enforced. One point only may be noticed. The material imagery in which the belief was popularly embodied shews in what sense the Resurrection itself was understood. In proportion as the Return of Christ was apprehended

CHAP. I. in a definite outward shape, so also must His Departure have been held to have taken place in the same manner. The two events are completely correlative. And upon reflection it will be felt that the expectation of the Return was in itself exceptional and in need of explanation. It has frequently happened that nations have looked for the restoration of the hero-king in whom they had seen the pledge of unaccomplished triumphs. But in each case the hope was based on the denial of death. The hero was sleeping like Arthur in the deep shades of Avalon, or like Barbarossa in some subterranean cavern; or he was withdrawn for a time like Harold in the recesses of a cloister, or like Don Sebastian in obscure captivity; but the devotion of his people would not believe that he was dead. That alone was impossible: against that supreme issue popular faith knew no availing power. But it was quite otherwise with the belief of Christians. The Death of their Lord was as much a part of their
Phil. ii. 6—11. Gospel as His Resurrection. Nay more, His Exaltation was in one aspect a consequence of His Death. Thus if the early looking for Christ has any point of contact with the instinctive expression of national love, it is essentially distinguished from it in the circumstances of its origin. Such a fact as the Resurrection inter-

vening between the Passion and the Return explains adequately, as it appears nothing else could do, the confident expectation of Christ's Second Coming in the mode in which the early Christians looked for it.

61. The same also may be said of the Apostolic interpretation of the Sacraments. It has been frequently argued that the Christian doctrine of the Sacraments corresponds with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. It could be shewn that it is equally closely connected, though the correspondence is necessarily less complete, with the fact of the Resurrection. But it does not fall within our scope to examine the essential conception of a Sacrament. It is enough to observe that the external forms in which the conception was realised witness to the transforming power of the belief in the fact of Christ's rising again. The belief in the Resurrection which was the groundwork of the Church penetrated every part of its faith and worship. The earliest Christians kept 'the eighth day for joy, 'as that on which Jesus rose from the dead;'... and the two rites which were of universal observance commemorated not obscurely the same central fact. The celebration of the Holy Eucharist is absolutely unintelligible without faith

Barn. *Ep.* 15.

CHAP. I. in a risen Saviour. 'As often as ye eat this bread
1 Cor. xi. 26. 'and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death 'till He come.' The rite was not a memorial of death simply, but of death conquered by life.
Rom. iv. 25. The seal of the efficacy of the death of Christ was given in the Resurrection; and the limit of the commemoration of His Passion was looked for in His Return. Baptism, again, was regarded as embodying the teaching of the same facts: 'We
Rom. vi. 4. 'were buried with Him by baptism unto death: 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead 'by the glory of the Father, even so we also should 'walk in newness of life.' So thoroughly was the faith in the Resurrection of Christ inwrought into the mind of the first Christians that the very entrance into their society was apprehended under the form of a Resurrection. The fact was not an article of their creed, but the life of it. It was confessed in action as well as in word. And no evidence of the power or reality of a belief can be less open to suspicion than that which is derived from public services, which, as far as all evidence reaches, were contemporaneous with its origin and uninterruptedly perpetuated throughout the body which holds it.

62. Thus the continuity of the life of the Christian Church is itself, when viewed in this

CHAP. I.

light, a substantial proof of the reality of the fact on which it was established. Other religions have been powerful and lasting in virtue of the partial truths which they enshrined and offered to the devotion of believers. But in Christianity, if we regard the claims on which it was first accepted and through which it has at all times exercised its characteristic power, no such partiality is possible. It professes to bring a new life to light. It is a subordinate though yet a necessary part of its working that it illuminates the past. Christ is presented to us not simply as the Guide of men, but as the Way. The Apostles preach not only that men may be united to GOD, but *how* they may be united to Him. Every precept of Christianity is quickened by the power of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. It is by the presence of this power that they are Christian; and it is as Christian that they conquer the world. Nothing could shew a more profound misapprehension of the Gospel than to substitute the name Catholicity for Christianity in the estimate of its social and political work. Its essence lies in the exhibition of a personal Saviour. 'If thou shalt Rom. x. 9.
'confess with thy mouth 'Jesus is Lord,' and shalt 'believe in thine heart that GOD raised Him from 'the dead, thou shalt be saved.' From this confession and this faith spring directly the various

 organisations of the Church which have found acceptance at different times and under different circumstances. The one fact of the Resurrection underlies them all, and when divorced from it they lose their vitality (Intr. § 16). This being so it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of a living apprehension of the Resurrection as the Apostles announced it. It is not, as we have seen, taken out of the range of possible facts by any antecedent considerations; and, as it seems, no other evidence in its favour consistent with its character as the basis of a religion at once historical and spiritual, could have been more complete than that which still lies within our reach.

63. To sum up briefly what has been said. It has been shewn that the Resurrection is not an isolated event in history, but at once the end and the beginning of vast developments of life and thought; that it is the climax of a long series of Divine dispensations which find in it their complement and explanation: that it has formed the starting-point of all progressive modern societies, ever presenting itself in new lights according to the immediate wants of the age. It has been shewn that in the character of the fact there is nothing which can appear incredible or, in such

a connexion, even improbable to any one who believes in a Personal God. It has been shewn that the direct evidence for the event is exactly of the same kind which we have for the other events in the Life of Christ; that St Paul appeals to his own experience and to the experience of the Apostles for the certainty of its literal accomplishment; that it is incontestable that the Apostles acted from the first as if they believed it, and that their sincerity cannot be doubted; that the nature of the outward proof alleged seems to render it impossible that they could have been victims of a delusion; that the substance of their belief was something wholly novel, removed equally from the belief in a phantastic vision, and from the belief in a restoration to a corruptible life; that the effects of it upon themselves were such that the conviction must (so to speak) have been forced upon them by overwhelming power, capable of changing their personal character, of transforming their hereditary faith, of inspiring them with new thoughts and hopes; that the Christian Church was founded upon the belief, and embodied it in rites coeval with its foundation. Nothing has been said of the testimony of St John, and St Peter, and the first three Evangelists, lest exception might be taken to their authority. Every conclusion has been rested upon

CHAP. I. documents which criticism has never assailed. But at this point we may take account of the evidence from other sources. The common contents of the Synoptic Gospels can be shewn (I believe) to be anterior to the Epistles of St Paul, and to contain the sum of the earliest Apostolic preaching in Judæa; if this be so we have in them the testimony not of one witness only, but the common testimony of most of those who saw the Lord after He rose again. The authenticity of the first Epistle of St Peter cannot be questioned without the most arbitrary neglect of external evidence, and in that the Apostle to whom Christ first shewed Himself speaks of Him as
1 Peter i. 20, 21. 'foreordained before the foundation of the world, 'but (made) manifest in these last times for '(those) who by Him do believe in GOD, that 'raised Him up from the dead, and gave Him 'glory; that (their) faith and hope might be in 'GOD.' The Gospel of St John, again, seems to me to be an indubitable work of the disciple whom Jesus loved; and after recounting some of the appearances of the Lord after His Resurrection, the Evangelist completes his Gospel, as it stood
John xx. 30, 31. originally, with the words: 'Many other signs 'truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, 'which are not written in this book; but these 'are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is

'the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing 'ye might have life in His name.' CHAP. I.

Indeed taking all the evidence together, it is not too much to say that there is no single historic incident better or more variously supported than the Resurrection of Christ. Nothing but the antecedent assumption that it must be false could have suggested the idea of deficiency in the proof of it. And it has been shewn that when it is considered in its relation to the whole revelation of which it is a part, and to the conditions of the Divine action, which we have assumed, this miraculous event requires a proof in no way differing in essence from that on which the other facts with which it is associated are received as true. In a word, the circumstances under which God is said to have given a revelation to men in the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus were such as to make the special manifestation of power likely or even natural; and the evidence by which the special Revelation is supported is such as would in any ordinary matter of life be amply sufficient to determine our action and belief.

If we next turn from history to the Individual man, it will appear that the Resurrection throws as much light on the mysteries of personal life as it does on the whole progress of mankind.

CHAPTER II.

THE RESURRECTION AND MAN.

C'est un des grands principes du Christianisme, que tout ce qui est arrivé à Jesus-Christ doit se passer dans l'âme et dans le corps de chaque Chrétien.

PASCAL.

CHAP. II. 1. HITHERTO we have considered the Resurrection simply as a fact, the central point of universal history, the outward cause of revolutions in thought and in society. It still remains to analyse the essential meaning of the fact in reference to the individual, to discover, if it may be, what are the special lessons as to our nature and destiny of the Revelation which it contains. Some of these we have indeed already touched on in considering the views of our Lord's Person and Work which were presented by the Apostles after He rose from the dead (I. §§ 55 ff.). But we may go yet further, and consider the relation of the Resurrection, accepted as a fact, to some of the great problems of life, apart from the earliest historical interpretation of its teaching.

2. That we may do this in any way satisfactorily, it is necessary that we should go back for a moment to take account of the simplest elements to which the questions which are involved in the discussion can be reduced. It appears then that we are conscious of three distinct existences, Self, the World (that is a limited '*Not-I*'), and GOD. We cannot prove the reality of these existences as we have already seen (Introd. § 4); but on the other hand in some form or other all our life testifies to our conviction that they *are*. It is impossible to hold that Self is the only true being or self-existent: it is equally impossible to hold that Self is the only manifestation of the Being on which it depends. Thus we are forced to accept that mystery as final, which represents as essentially distinct, yet for us in inseparable juxtaposition, on one side the Creator, on the other Creation, of which the individual '*I*' is a part. CHAP. II.

3. The suppression of any one of these elements necessarily involves an essentially imperfect and therefore a false view of the Universe and every age offers types of the errors which thus arise. Some speculators neglect the free power of the human will. Man is, according to this view, only a piece of mechanism which responds completely to the forces which act upon

CHAP. II. it; but in himself he has no originative power of thought or action. The result is Fatalism, which is logically unassailable and yet known instinctively to be untrue. Others again with a nobler aspiration reduce life to a personal relation between man and his Creator. For them the world vanishes before this awful fellowship, and finds no place in their scheme of existence. So mysticism arises, which with all its holy power yet does violence to the conditions of life, and neglects some of its richest resources and most certain safeguards against fatal error. Then comes a reaction, and a third school possessed by the fulness of earthly existence refuse to look beyond it. For them GOD lies wholly beyond the region of knowledge. But the conscience of man triumphs over material Positivism and claims a religion, which by a strange irony is offered in a shape most akin to Fetishism. Thus humanity rejects each imperfect system, which severally, as systems, are irrefragable; and waits patiently for that completer wisdom which shall harmonise the present contradictions of the full view of life.

4. If then we look outside ourselves there is an antithesis which cannot be reduced. If again we look at that which we each call *I*, it will be seen to be essentially twofold. There is an

organism, and something which acts through the organism. There is a unity of will with a multiplicity of functions. There is an element of permanence in the midst of constant change. There are laws and a power which makes itself felt in accordance with these laws. The organism, with all its variety of sense, its capacity for service, its laws of decay and assimilation, we call the body: the self-moving power, which originates and controls action, we call the soul. And this twofold being is naturally influenced by a twofold affinity. On the one side, through the 'body,' it is connected with the world: on the other, through the 'soul' (the 'spirit'), with GOD. Or, in other words, the body is inherently finite, the soul aspires at least towards the infinite. Thus recurring to what has been already said (§ 2) we see that consciousness reveals to us in ourselves individually a fundamental antithesis corresponding to the antithesis which we are forced to recognise without us.

5. Yet more: the *I* consists in this antithesis. Nothing is more common than to hear it assumed that the 'soul' is the real self. Yet nothing can be more clear upon reflection than that the only 'self' of which we are conscious is made up of 'soul' and 'body.' The workings of these two are absolutely inseparable. We cannot contem-

CHAP. II. plate the independent action of either for an instant. If we try to do so, we find at the outset the presence of some condition or power which is due to the complementary part in our whole nature. One remarkable proof of this duality (so to speak) in our life—of all that we *are*, as far as we can observe ourselves—may be found in the fact that some speculators have seen in life nothing but the manifestation of the one element, and others nothing but the manifestation of the other, since the demonstrable presence on every occasion of either taken alone seemed to exclude the presence of the other. Nor is there, indeed, any possible refutation of the 'materialist' or 'spiritualist' systems except in the appeal to the individual consciousness.

6. Thus we find ourselves face to face with two great personal problems: What is the permanent relation of soul and body? and next, What is the relation of the complex self to GOD? in which latter question is included the mystery of sin. To these may be added one other question, not personal but yet inevitable to man: What is the relation of the individual self to the world? In other words, Shall *we* be hereafter? and, if so, What shall we be? and, What is the destiny of creation generally? Round these three ques-

tions the noblest thoughts of the ancient world turned: to these the most daring speculations of later times have been addressed. What light is thrown upon them by faith in the Resurrection?

7. Our present personality, as we have seen (§ 4), involves the antithesis of soul and body. One element is not more needful to it than the other. Indeed, the clearest conception which we can form of a person is the special limitation of a self-moving power. The power must be self-moving because a person is necessarily endowed with a will which is a spring of motion. It must be limited, because, as far as our experience reaches, a will can only make itself felt in and through an organism with which it is connected. And yet, further, the mode of the limitation, including the fundamental laws by which the generic limitation is governed, the original specialities of the particular organism and the accumulated acts by which the effects of these laws and properties are modified, expresses the individual differences of personality among beings similar in kind. This conception of personality presents to the mind an easy method of conceiving of the change of character in the same person, and likewise of the continuous effect of soul and body upon one

CHAP. II. another while the body is in constant flux. For man the body is the outward expression of the limitation in each particular case. Yet the word must be used with caution. We cannot understand by body simply a particular aggregation of matter, but an aggregation of matter as representing in one form the action of a particular law, or rather the realisation of a special formula. The specific law or formula of assimilation and combination is that which is really essential and permanent. The same material elements may enter into a thousand bodies, but the law of each body, as explained above, gives to it that which is peculiar to and characteristic of it. To take an illustration from Chemistry, the same element, pure carbon for instance, can exist in forms wholly different. This difference we represent to ourselves under the idea of some peculiar law of arrangement of the similar particles in each case. And conversely we can conceive how if the constituent element were changed the action of the different laws of arrangement (supposed to continue) would produce substances truly answering to those which resulted from their action before. Thus with regard to man, there is nothing unnatural in supposing that the power which preserves his personality by acting according to the individual law of his being in moulding the conti-

nuous changes of his present material body and all that depends upon it, will preserve his personality hereafter by still acting according to the same law in moulding the new element (so to speak) out of which a future body may be fashioned. In other words we can understand how the law which now rules the formation of our body may find its realisation hereafter in some other element, while the new body will be essentially the same as the old one, as expressing the corresponding action of the same law in relation to the new sphere in which it may be supposed to be placed. No person is what he is solely in himself, but is in part dependent on all around him. If an individual remained unchanged while everything else changed he might be physically the same, but he would not be the same morally. There is a necessary relativity in our nature, and according to the view just indicated, since all the forms of being are changed in the new sphere of existence, each body is changed harmoniously with the remainder and in due proportion to the whole. CHAP. II.

8. This consideration will help us in examining on grounds of simple reason the question of the permanence of our personality after death. This, as far as we can see, can happen only in

CHAP. II. two ways. It may be argued that the soul after death will itself have a personal existence; or that it will continue to act through an organisation (where the word is used in its widest sense) which is itself the expression of the same law as moulds all that we now call our body. These alternatives must be considered separately.

9. First then on principles of reason there seems to be no ground whatever for supposing that the soul as separate from the body is personal[1]. There is indeed an imperious instinct[2] which affirms that *we* shall survive death, but this instinct does not attempt to analyse our being, or deal with its constituent elements. It teaches simply that the dissolution of which our present senses are cognisant is not the destruction of ourselves; but it does not define, or even tend to define, in what the *I* consists, further than this. Personality implies special limitation, and this limitation (as far as we can see) is conveyed perfectly by our bodies, which though continually changing yet change according to one law. It is conceivable that the soul may have some indi-

[1] Nothing is here said of the intermediate state of the soul after death and before the Resurrection; and probably there is something wholly deceptive in our use of words of time ('before' and 'after') in such a connexion. Comp. *Introd.* § 8.

[2] Compare p. 12, n.

vidual inner limitation (so to speak), but of this we have and can have naturally no knowledge. Doubtless the soul is limited by general laws, which circumscribe its powers and capacities, for otherwise it would not only have an affinity with the infinite, but be infinite; but these general laws do not constitute individual personality. Again: if souls are originally the same at their connexion with the body we cannot shew how they can be so affected by it as that they should bear away, when wholly dissociated from it, the various results of the connexion. Nor if they are originally different can we see how the original differences would be modified; while the assumption of the original difference introduces a fresh difficulty into the question, unless we supplement the assumption, as Plato did, by the assertion of the previous existence of souls. CHAP. II.

10. Popular language and belief are so strong in the assertion of the personal immortality of the soul in our post-Christian times, that it is very difficult for us to realise the true state of the problem. The firmness of Christian faith, even where its presence is least suspected, influences the conclusions if not the processes of independent reasoning. Happily, the noble speculations of the Greek philosophers are a monument of

CHAP. II. what thought alone could do on this and kindred topics. Yet even here instinct will make itself felt; and again and again the sequence of an argument is broken by the independent assertion of the truth which instinct and not reason foresees or feels. One writer however follows the guidance of his logic to its last conclusions. In his formal treatise *On the Soul* Aristotle has examined with the most elaborate care the various elements included in it, and their mutual relations. He seems to watch the process which he guides as one wholly unconcerned in its issue. Sternly and pitilessly he states the last conclusion on man's natural hope of immortality as tested by reason; and the very coldness of his words gives them an undescribable pathos.

De Animâ III. 5.

11. 'In every natural object there are,' he says, 'two elements, the one the characteristic '*matter* (so to speak), which includes potentially all 'the manifestations of the object, and the other the 'causative and active principle. These differences 'therefore must exist essentially in the soul; and 'the rational part of man is necessarily twofold. 'On the one side is the "reason" which is to be 'so called in virtue of its *becoming* everything; 'on the other that which takes its name from '*making* everything, in the manner in which (to

'take an example) light does; for in a certain 'sense light makes colours existing potentially, 'to be colours actually. And this latter reason'—that is, the active reason which has an absolute existence—'is separable and impassive and un-'mixed in essence.' It is not dependent in any sense on the present organism of man; it is not affected by the changes which it reveals; it is not modified in any manner by the connexion in which it is placed. It is independent of a union which is begun and ended in time, 'and when 'separated it is that alone which it is essentially.' It carries with it no trace of its temporary combination with the passive "reason"; 'and 'this alone'—this impersonal and unchangeable reason—'is immortal and eternal.' It has been and we are unconscious of the past. It will be and we shall be unconscious of the present. 'We have no recollection' of any former existence, and we shall have none hereafter of our life on earth, 'because this' eternal reason which alone survives 'is impassive, while the passive 'and susceptible reason'—the reason which is the seat of all personal feeling and emotion and impression—'is corruptible, and without the eternal 'reason is incapable of thought or consciousness.'

12. One very important reflexion will illus-

CHAP. II. trate the force and bearing of Aristotle's judgment. We commonly interrogate the soul only as to the future: it can speak equally well of the past. Every argument for the soul's permanence hereafter based upon its essential character, tells equally in favour of its preexistence. Reason cannot take into account the idea of its creation; and all the presumptions drawn from what we can observe of its nature and action to shew that it will be, shew equally that it has been. The idea of 'continuance' is equally applicable to the beginning and to the end of the life which falls under our observation. In other words, the purely logical arguments which are supposed to prove that the soul is immortal, prove that it is eternal[1]; and the legiti-

[1] In this aspect the opening chapter of the Analogy is a most instructive lesson in the weakness of pure reason to establish that hope of a future life, which has existed more or less in every period. Here only, perhaps, Bp Butler has been unable to cast off the influences of the time in which he lived, and adopted the narrow methods of popular argument which were current in a mechanical age. Throughout he assumes that the 'living being' or 'agent,' of which he gives no definition, is separable from our present organisation and in itself personal. And again he never notices the application of his arguments to a prior as well as to a future existence. This is the more remarkable as he considers with remarkable candour and wisdom the objection urged from the extension of his reasoning to the life of brutes. From whatever cause the defects arose, and it seems most likely that the thoughts which he failed to meet were wholly foreign to the speculations of the time, the fact remains that he assumes the

mate deduction is, that as we are now unconscious of any previous existence, and cannot in any way connect our present circumstances and characters in this world with our conduct in another former world, so, if we survive in any future state, we shall be equally unconscious of this through which we are now passing, and not recognise any retributive justice in the conditions under which we shall exist. At least any presumption that we shall be conscious hereafter of our present life while we are not conscious of that which we have passed through before, could only be drawn from the observation of a corresponding difference between the conditions and circumstances of our present and past lives which obviously lies wholly without the range of our faculties. For us, as far as the teaching of nature goes, this life stands absolutely alone. The application of the general experience which it gives is confined within the limits of its duration.

two great principles which above all others he ought to prove, the possibility of conceiving our personality apart from our present bodies, which, though changeable, are yet changeable according to observed laws; and next that what is true if we look back to the first origin of our present life is not true if we look forward to its close. How momentous the latter assumption is may be seen at once if any one will substitute 'birth' for 'death' and 'origin' for 'destruction' in the earlier arguments of the chapter. The former assumption is even more obviously the assumption of the chief point in the conclusion.

CHAP. II. 13. The judgment of Aristotle sums up the final result of Greek Philosophy on the soul, as a subject of pure speculation. From his time philosophy became essentially practical. The great questions of being and knowledge were merged in those of morals, in which intuition has a legitimate exercise. Later writers therefore furnish nothing of importance to the exact discussion of the hope of immortality; but it is impossible not to compare the conclusions of Aristotle with those of Plato. The master is as confident and sanguine as the scholar is sceptical and passionless. But the method of Plato is as full of instruction as the results of Aristotle. Plato is sure of his belief beforehand. His arguments are merely to justify it. And when he feels that these—though strengthened by the bold proposition that we *do* bring with us to earth traces of our former existence—are unequal to support the weight of his conclusion, he makes, as he expresses it, a bold venture, and presents the substance of his faith in one of those magnificent myths, by which he endeavours to bridge over the chasm between the seen and unseen worlds[1]. His "Republic" closes with the noble legend of Er the son of Armenius, who saw in a trance the judgment of the dead,

[1] I venture to refer for a fuller discussion of these myths to the *Contemporary Review*, 1866.

and the hidden glories of the world. For once, he tells us, a soul was allowed to return to the body without drinking the waters of Forgetfulness. And so 'this story was saved and not lost, and it 'will save us,' he adds, 'should we listen to its 'teaching; and then we shall happily cross the 'river of Lethe and not defile our souls; but 'deeming that the soul is immortal and capable 'of bearing every evil and winning every good, 'we shall keep close to the upward path, and 'practise in every way justice and wisdom, that 'we may be friends to ourselves and friends to 'the gods.' 'To confidently affirm that [the fate 'of souls] is such as I have described,' Socrates says at the end of the "Phaedo," 'becomes no 'reasonable man. But I do think that it becomes 'him to believe that it is either this or like this, 'if at least the soul is shewn to be immortal; 'and that it is worthy of him to face peril boldly 'in such a belief, for the peril is glorious; and 'such thoughts he ought to use as a charm to 'allay his own misgivings, in which spirit I have 'myself dwelt thus long upon the story.' For in such questions the really brave man 'will either 'learn or discover the truth, or if this be impos-'sible he will take at any rate the best of human 'words and that which is most irrefragable, and 'carried on this as on a raft sail through life in

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Plat. *Resp.* x. 621.

Plat. *Phaedo,* 114.

Plat. *Phaedo,* 85.

CHAP. II. 'perpetual jeopardy, unless one might make the 'journey on a securer vessel, some divine word if 'it might be, more surely and with less peril.'

14. If then pure reason cannot suggest any arguments to establish the personality of the soul when finally separated from the body, and for *us* personality is only another name for existence, still less can it shew any grounds for supposing that it possesses in itself the power of assuming at death another organisation corresponding to our present body whereby its personality may be preserved. Our present body is not in any way, as far as we can see, due primarily to the action of the soul, which acts through and upon it; and when the body is dissolved, the only action of the soul of which we can have naturally any knowledge ceases. It may have some inherent energy in virtue of which it manifests itself throughout the ages, now in this form, now in that. It may, but that seems harder to conceive, have gained on earth the means of realising a personal existence hereafter. It may, as many thought even among GOD's ancient people, go back to Him who gave it and continue to exist only as part of His Infinite Being. Our utter incapacity of forming a clear conception of any mode of existence differing in essence from our own, and not simply in extent

of similar powers, forces us to contemplate these and other alternatives, and to withhold our judgment till we gain some new light. If we look within or without we have absolutely no analogy to carry our thoughts one step onward into a realm wholly unknown: none to shew that the soul will exert a power there which has been undeveloped or dormant here. Every change which we can follow is simply of the earth. Faith, or love, or instinct, may cross the dark river, but they go alone: reason cannot follow them. Nay more: reason shews that the visions which they see are mere shadowy projections of what we see and feel now.

15. Thus we are placed before a final contradiction. On the one side we are so constituted as to cling to the belief in the continuance of our personality after death: on the other reason points to death as a phenomenon absolutely singular which closes life, as far as we know it, and takes away the conditions of our life. But if a single experience can shew that these conditions are not destroyed, but suspended as far as we observe them, or modified by the action of some new law: that what seems to be a dissolution is really a transformation: that the soul does not remain alone in a future state, but is still united with

CHAP. II. our body, that is with an organism which in a new sphere expresses the law which our present body now expresses in this (supr. § 7); then reason will welcome the belief in our future personality no less than instinct. For the truth is not against reason but beyond it. Reason shews simply that what we commonly see, and what we can learn from the analysis of our own nature lends no support to the conclusion which we cannot abandon. But let some new fact come in, and all will be changed, if that reveals to us something of the character of life after death.

16. Such a fact is the Resurrection. In one sense no event can be more natural than this, so far as it answers to a craving for knowledge of the unseen world, which by its intensity indicates that it was intended to be satisfied, as much as any other original instinct of man. In another sense nothing can be more beyond nature, for it introduces us to a novel phase of being, of which we feel even in the presence of this revelation that we can know only a part darkly and 'in a riddle.' For the Resurrection is not like any one of the recorded miracles of raising from the dead. It is not a restoration to the old life, to its wants, to its special limitations, to its inevitable close, but the revelation of a new life foreshadowing new powers of

action and a new mode of being. It issues not in death but in the Ascension for which it is the preparation and the condition. It is not an extension of an existence with which we are acquainted, but the manifestation of an existence for which we hope. It is not like any of the fabled apotheoses of the friends of gods, whose spirits purified by the funeral fire from the stains of earth, were carried to the immediate presence of those whom they had loved, but it is the consecration of a restored and perfected manhood. It is not a withdrawal from men or a laying aside of humanity, complete, final, and immediate, but the pledge of an abiding communion of a Saviour with the fulness of our nature on earth and in heaven. It is not the putting off of the body, but the transfiguration of it. And so in its record it is not like any of the dreams in which earlier poets had endeavoured to convey to others the hope which they cherished. Its teaching is conveyed in a series of facts. Now one incident and now another brings out some aspect of the whole truth, as far as we can apprehend it. But all incidents alike are simple and in a certain sense natural. No vision is opened of glory or suffering. No display is made of fresh powers. No overpowering exhibition of majesty strikes unwilling conviction into the hearts of those who were before

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John xx. 17.

CHAP II. unbelieving[1]. The Lord rose from the grave; and those who had known Him before, knew that He was the same and yet changed. This is the sum of the Apostle's testimony, the new Gospel of the world.

[1] It has been objected that our Lord revealed Himself only to believers or to those inclined to believe. If we regard the resurrection as a revelation of a *new* life it is obvious that it could not have been otherwise. In order to establish the belief in the reality of this new existence it was necessary that some power should exist in the witnesses to apprehend it. There was a spiritual side to the manifestation of the Risen Christ which could only be discerned spiritually. If it had been necessary merely to shew the restoration of the Lord to the condition of an ordinary human life, as in the case of Lazarus, the testimony of indifferent spectators would have been adequate. But if the appearances were designed to be a revelation of a glorified human life, then the manifestation to unbelievers would not only have been contrary to the usual method of the Providence of God, but also, as far as we can see, unavailing. For if the Lord had appeared to them as a man simply, their evidence would have gone to establish a false view of His Risen Person: if He had appeared to them under new conditions of being, they would have been unable to acknowledge the reality of His manifestation. The believer who had familiarly known Christ and felt His power could alone grasp and harmonise the two modes of the Revelation of His Person. Afterwards, when the idea of the Risen Christ was fully established, we find an appearance granted to St Paul, which carried with it immediate conviction to an unbeliever; but till this idea was established, as far as we can judge, such an appearance would have been without effect. The appearance to St Paul was as real as the others (ὤφθη) but made under different circumstances. It was a revelation of Christ glorified and as such left its impression on all the teaching of St Paul.

17. In this connexion there is one most important consideration which is commonly overlooked. The Apostles announce the fact of the Resurrection and its immediate bearing upon the individual hopes of men, but they do not develope its significance. The fact is added to the sum of human experience. The interpretation of it is left for life. And so it is that with the comments of eighteen centuries its meaning is yet unexhausted. Deeper insight, wider sympathies, grander aspirations, have been granted to men in the progress of ages, but the idea of the Resurrection penetrates beneath and beyond all the thoughts which history or science has hitherto made known. The Gospel is still the same, but known more fully with ever-growing clearness as the successive crises of thought and life have shewn its fitness for meeting them. And it is obvious why this is so. The Resurrection is a new creation. Its issues cannot be contemplated by man at first, though its utmost consequences are included in its actual realisation. And just as in the creative works of human genius harmonies and lessons are found in virtue of their relation to absolute truth, of which their authors were never conscious, so in this which *is* the Truth, all later speculation will find fresh light upon the problems of human existence.

CHAP. II. 18. There are indeed passages, especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians and in the writings of St John, in which the Apostles announce mysteries springing out of the Resurrection which are only now dawning upon the students of history and life; but as a general rule they declare the fact that 'Christ rose again' without dwelling on those aspects of its meaning for which men were not at that time prepared by knowledge or experience. In this respect the narratives of the Resurrection are unparalleled. The Evangelists[1] record the miracle so calmly, looking solely, as we must think, at its historic aspect, that in reading of it we lose sight of its stupendous significance from the natural simplicity of the details in which its lessons are conveyed. The manifestations of the risen Saviour are mixed with scenes of fear, of misgiving, of unbelief. He appeared in Galilee and at Jerusalem: now at night and again in the early morning: in the upper room and under the open sky: in an assembly gathered, as it would seem, for religious exercise, and to men busy with their ordinary work. Nothing is (if we may so speak) farther from the

[1] At this point I shall use the writings of the New Testament without reserve. If the Resurrection is admitted on other grounds to be a fact, no one will (I believe) question the general veracity of the Evangelists.

thought of the Evangelists than to give a doctrinal view of the mystery which they declare. Christ was the same and yet changed. That was in substance what they had to tell; and in that lies the full answer to the first great question before us. The body is not destroyed by death. Its union with the soul is for a time (as we are forced to conceive of it, though perhaps quite wrongly) interrupted but not closed. Our speculative doubts are met, as they could only be met, by a fact. CHAP. II.

19. It is unnecessary to dwell on the various details by which the identity of the Lord's human body is brought out in the Gospels. It is obvious from a mere enumeration that they meet each misgiving. The body which the disciples had laid in the sepulchre was no longer to be found when they looked for it. The marks of the Passion were made sensibly present in the Risen Saviour to him who would not otherwise believe. Nay more, Christ Himself offered this very proof to those who 'supposed that they had seen a spirit.' 'Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: 'handle me, and see, for a spirit hath not flesh 'and bones, as ye see me have'...'And He took '[meat] and did eat before them.' And it can hardly be without reference to this incident that

John xx.

Luke xxiv. 39, 43.

Comp. John xx. 20.

Comp. John xxi.

CHAP. II. St John in his Epistle reckons this 'handling'
1 John i. 1. last among the various revelations which God had given of His Son. The length of time too during which the appearances were extended familiarised the disciples (so to speak) with the mystery which had at first filled them with terror.
Acts i. 3. For forty days He 'shewed Himself alive to them 'by many infallible proofs, being seen of them and 'speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom 'of God.'

20. But this Body which was recognised as essentially the same Body, had yet undergone some marvellous change, of which we can gain a faint idea by what is directly recorded of its manifestations[1]. Thus we find that the Person of Christ was not recognised directly by those who saw Him. However firm their conviction was afterwards that they had 'seen the Lord,' they knew Him first when He was pleased to make Himself known. Human sense alone was not

[1] It is not, I believe, a mere fancy to see a typical indication of this change in the words used by our Lord Himself of His glorified Body: Luke xxiv. 39 ('flesh and bones'). The significant variation from the common formula 'flesh and blood' must have been at once intelligible to Jews, accustomed to the provisions of the Mosaic ritual, and nothing would have impressed upon them more forcibly the transfiguration of Christ's Body than the verbal omission of the element of blood which was for them the symbol and seat of corruptible life.

capable of discerning Who He was. It could not be otherwise if His Body was glorified, for our senses can only apprehend that which is of kindred nature with themselves. At one time it was by a word of general or personal tenderness, that Christ awakened the faith by which sense was quickened: at another time by the celebration of that holy rite which He had instituted before His death: at another by a mighty act which symbolised the blessing of the apostolic work. CHAP. II. Matt. xxviii. 9. John xx. 16, 19. Luke xxiv. 30, 31. John xxi.

21. And as Christ's Body was no longer necessarily to be recognised, so also it was not bound by the material laws to which its action was generally conformed. He is found present, no one knows from whence. He passes away, no one knows whither. He stands in the midst of the little group of the Apostles 'when the 'doors were shut for fear of the Jews.' 'He 'vanished out of the sight' of those whose eyes were opened that they knew Him. And at last 'while they beheld, He was taken up, and a cloud 'received Him out of their sight.' It is impossible not to feel in reading the narratives that we are regarding a form of existence human, indeed, yet indefinitely ennobled by the removal of needs and limitations to which we are at present subject. It is vain for us to speculate on the nature of John xx. 19, 26. Luke xxiv. 31. Acts i. 9.

CHAP. II. that transformed human Body. We can form no clear positive conception which is not shaped by the present laws of thought. Negatively we can only say that it was not bound by those laws of space (for example) which necessarily enter into all that we think or do. The life which is revealed to us is not the continuation of the present life, but a life which takes up into itself all the elements of our present life, and transfigures them by a glorious change, which we can regard at present only under signs and figures.

22. Thus the Resurrection answers as completely as it can be answered the first great question by which we are met. In the Person of Christ we see the whole of man, his body and soul, raised together from the grave. No part is left behind. The whole complex nature is raised and glorified. It is not that the soul only lives; nor yet that the body, such as it was before, is restored to its former vigour. The Saviour, as far as we
2 Cor. v. 4. regard His Manhood, is not unclothed, to use St Paul's image, but clothed upon. Nothing is taken away, but something is added by which all that
1 Cor. xv. 54. was before present is transfigured. 'The corruptible puts on incorruption: the mortal puts on 'immortality.'

23. This thought brings us to the second question, the final relation of man to God, of man, that is, as subject to the consequences of sin. And here it will be necessary to consider somewhat carefully the idea which lies at the root of sin, lest it may seem that we are dealing with a mere phantom. But still we may leave out of our investigation some questions which have been connected with it. Our inquiry does not extend to the obstacles which material nature places in the way of man, of whatever form they may be, nor yet to the mutual relations of animals to one another or to man. We are obviously wholly incapable of knowing anything of the position in which any beings except ourselves stand towards God, or of their latent powers, or of their future destiny. It is quite conceivable that what appears to us in the light of suffering and decay in beings wholly unlike ourselves may to a higher intelligence assume a different aspect; or (and this seems even from a view of nature far more probable) the fate of the physical and animal creation may be bound up by some mysterious influence with that of man. At least, we can see the difference between what we call evil in inorganic or brute nature, and evil (moral evil) in man which involves the operation of a free will, and an acknowledged relation between the person of CHAP. II.

CHAP. II. the sinner and GOD. Whether these conditions of action can exist in the case of other creatures or not we are wholly unable to determine; but it is at least remarkable that as soon as the phenomena of free will are observable in animals (as in the case of those which have been long associated with man) we attribute to them a measure of responsibility by according praise and blame to their actions.

24. If then we look at the problem in its simplest form it is evident that the possibility of sin is necessarily included in the creation of a finite, free being; for the simplest idea which we can form of sin, is the finite setting itself up against the infinite. Selfishness, which exists potentially as soon as 'self' exists, is the ground of all sin. Hence we can see how a perfect finite being may yet be exposed to temptation, for the sense of limitation brings with it the thought, or the possibility of the thought, of passing the limit.

25. And not only is a perfect finite being in this way necessarily under a moral probation, but the actual existence of sin is not required for his moral development. It is necessary to dwell on this point, for if it could be shewn that sin belongs essentially to the idea of individual human

progress as one of the conditions of its realisation, we might at once dismiss as vain the obstinate questionings with which we ponder over its future issues. It is only if sin is an intrusive corruption of our nature that we need feel anxious about the permanence of its results. But it follows from the final analysis of sin which has been given that man, though he had not sinned, might yet have practised some (at least) essentially human virtues: all indeed which are comprised in self-control and the recognition of dependence. Nothing therefore can be more false than to say that 'moral good and moral evil—as distinguished 'from the *possibility* of good and evil—came into 'being together.' A command implies the possibility of obedience and disobedience, but obedience is no less real though disobedience in fact never takes place. Love, again, the centre of all social virtues, and truth the centre of all intellectual virtues, are both wholly independent of the presence of evil among men. CHAP. II.

26. But it may be said that if moral evil were removed from the world 'life would be 'impoverished.' So indeed it appears at first sight to us who are habituated to the startling contrasts of life: for us shadow is a necessity of distinct vision. Yet it would be difficult to shew

CHAP. II. that the more splendid qualities which are brought out (for instance) by war are better, in any sense, than their correlatives which need no such field for their display: that the heroic forgetfulness or contempt of danger or suffering, which springs from a great passion or a generous impulse in the midst of a fierce conflict or under the sense of a deep wrong, is better than that rational self-control which we have seen can exist in the highest degree without the presence of evil. We are too apt to think that virtue which is seen on a larger scale is itself magnified. On the other hand it may be allowed that evil itself serves as part of our discipline: that it gives occasion for the exercise of special virtues, and by antagonism calls them into play; yet this is only to say that it has been so ordered that evil shall in some degree minister to its own defeat.

27. And while we grant that in society evil may be the occasion of good, it is by no means clear that this is true in the individual. As far as we can see, the presence of evil, that is the wilful transgression of limit as distinguished from the original limitation, is neither the occasion, nor the condition of good, nor on the narrow stage of human life the preliminary to it. The highest conception of active virtue—duty—is absolutely

untouched by it both in its origin and in its fulfilment, even when evil is regarded under the extreme form of pain. CHAP. II.

28. Moreover it must be observed that evil, while it may be the occasion of good, is never transmuted into good. Evil remains evil to the last in whatever form it may shew itself. Sin remains sin: pain remains pain: ignorance (so far as it is culpable) remains ignorance: though sin and pain and ignorance may call forth efforts of love and fortitude and patience.

29. Nor can it be said that sin realised, and not merely the possibility of sin by the action of a free will, is the necessary condition of human virtue, and consequently of human happiness. For if this were true, then it would follow either that evil itself will be eternal, or that human life in its true sense will cease to be. Whatever may be the function of evil in the social discipline of men whose powers are already impaired by sin, we have no reason to think that evil could find any place for giving occasion to new or higher good in a society of men animated by those active and personal virtues which have been seen to be wholly independent of it (§§ 25, 27); not to speak of the possibility of other forms of virtuous

CHAP. II. character inconceivable in our present mixed state; for the permanence of the antitypes or perfections of our present virtues in another state by no means excludes the possibility of the existence of other virtues as yet unknown, which may come into play from the manifestations of new relations between ourselves or of ourselves to other intelligent beings.

30. It follows then that sin—moral evil as involving the action of will—is in fact something wholly foreign to human nature: that in its essential character it remains always evil even when it is the occasion of good: that it is not a lower form of goodness or a necessary condition for its exercise, but the conscious transgression of limit: that in the individual it leads to no good: that even in society at large its disciplinary power only effects by sacrifice and imperfectly what the observance of the true bounds of nature would effect perfectly. It is then a foreign element in our nature, and absolutely abhorrent from our proper destiny. But it is also, as far as reason can trace, permanent in its issues. If therefore a belief in personal immortality be held on any grounds except those furnished by the Gospel, it must be accompanied by an awful sense of the consequences of past offences.

31. It is this fact which gives to the idea of sin its most terrible significance. As far as we can conceive by the help of reason the effects of every action must be infinite, and in regard to the agent (whatever they may be to others) corresponding to and like the action. But all sin (as such) necessarily involves the idea of suffering to the person who commits it; for selfishness, the final element of sin, is the contrary of love, and therefore when set against Infinite Love must bring the misery of unavailing desire and isolation. Hence punishment (for all consequences must at last be referred to the Will of the Personal Creator), or (in another light) suffering as the natural consequence of selfishness, must exist as long as sin exists; and so in any particular case the past sin must still work its full effect in separating the sinner from God without end, unless some new power be interposed.

32. For it must be noticed that suffering has in itself no power or tendency to remove or expiate sin, the consequences of which are best conceived as evolved (so to speak) naturally and centring in the changed character of the guilty, and not imposed externally according to any fixed standard. Nor again has it in itself any power to produce repentance, by which in the intercourse

 of man and man the effects of wrong-doing, as far as their mutual relations are concerned, may be removed. But even in this latter case no repentance can cancel the consequences of the wrong action, either without the doer or within him. These throughout life and (as far as we can see) beyond it are inwrought into the world and into his nature. Future punishment is a conclusion of reason, if we grant the future continuance of our personality. The mystery which reason cannot of itself apprehend is that this punishment can be stayed. Thus if we approach the subject from this side it is the forgiveness, or rather the 'washing away' of sins and not their punishment, which is the real subject of Revelation. If on the other hand we confine our view to this life, the idea of a Supreme Being tempering suffering with a view to repentance answers to an instinct of man and not to any logical process; and Scripture first teaches us to believe that the instinct is true.

33. For just as there is an instinct within us which claims the inheritance of a future life, so we feel that after sin repentance is still possible and efficacious, and that our Heavenly Father can do away our sins. But Reason which deserted us before equally deserts us now. It tells us from

the observation of what we see around and from the conception which we are forced to make of the dependence of the future on the past, that we must be for ever, in relation to God, what we are, and bear about with us the scars and wounds which sin has inflicted upon us. CHAP. II.

34. Here again the fact of the Resurrection meets our doubts with a new Revelation. If we look at our Lord simply as He was seen outwardly, He bore in Himself all the consequences of sin. 'He was tempted in all points like as we 'are' except by personal sin. He took our flesh with its liabilities to hunger, and fatigue, and pain upon Him: He shared the emotions of anger, and sorrow, and affection: He bore death with its most terrible accompaniments, the last issue of sin, and that sense of utter isolation from God which is its complete punishment. Whatever sin could work He took upon Himself; and when all was ended God raised Him up 'for our justifi-'cation,' and the Lord Jesus bore our human nature, over which sin had no longer power, to the immediate presence of the Father. Hebr. iv. 15. Matt. xxvii. 46.

35. But it will be said that the Lord's sufferings were not the result (as ours are) of personal sin, and consequently that we can draw no

CHAP. II. comfort from His triumph over death. To this objection it is in part an answer to reply that the sufferings of Christ were as though they were due to Himself, and that not by a fiction, but by His real assumption of human nature. How this could be in regard to the more general consequences of sin, as want or grief, is sufficiently intelligible from the fact that He was truly man. But how He could take sin upon Him is a mystery which we cannot solve, though in fact it is only a mystery of the same kind as His 'becoming
John i. 14. 'flesh' (comp. § 38). Yet even here so much at least we can see, that in the Agony and on the Cross He suffered, yet with an intensity which we cannot appreciate, even as those do who bear the
Heb. v. 7. consequences of personal sin. 'He offered up 'prayers and supplications with strong crying and 'tears unto Him that was able to save Him from 'death, and was heard in that He feared.'

36. The complete answer lies somewhat deeper, as has been already indicated, in the recognition of our Lord's Divine Person. It is impossible to understand the Resurrection completely apart from the Incarnation. It may indeed be said that the Resurrection is the historic seal of the Incarnation, which remains for ever a mystery removed from all witness. And

it was in this sense that the first teachers of CHAP. II.
Christianity understood and interpreted it. After the Resurrection, as we have seen (I. §§ 56 ff.), they saw in Christ a Saviour of boundless power. His Life and Death were contemplated in their atoning virtue: His Name was given as that whereby men might be saved: in Him was Life. The contrast between that which was apprehended, if with the deepest reverence we may so speak, as personal discipline and redeeming power, was placed in its broadest light. 'It became' GOD Heb. ii. 9, 10.
'to make Him perfect through suffering,' and even thus 'He tasted death for every man.' He was 'declared to be the Son of GOD with power, Rom. i. 4.
'according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resur-'rection from the dead.' And 'though He were Heb. v. 8, 9.
'a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things 'which He suffered; and being made perfect, He 'became the author of eternal salvation unto all 'them that obey Him.'

37. Apart from this faith in the Divinity of Christ, His Resurrection loses its highest significance. It has in itself and absolutely no direct and immediate connexion with ourselves. It is an isolated incident in the history of mankind, glorious and full of hope but not the new birth of humanity. It answers to that view of the Lord

CHAP. II. which represents Him as a Teacher simply, and does not, according to the apostolic pattern, bring out into chief prominence what He did and what He was. If Christ was only man, such as we are in nature, then His triumph over death is no Gospel for those who are bowed down with the weight of guilt. In Him we can feel that 'the 'Prince of this world when he came had nothing:' Death could not hold Him. For ourselves, we 'receive' in corruption 'the due reward of our 'deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.'

John xiv. 30.

Luke xxiii. 41.

38. On such a theory no hope like that of St Paul could repose. But once introduce the belief in Christ's divine nature, and His Death and Resurrection are no longer of the individual but of the race. Nor in doing this are we taking refuge in an arbitrary assumption to help our argument. On the contrary, we simply repeat the interpretation which the Apostles placed on the whole work of the Saviour. It was on this belief that the Church was founded and built up. The belief was not indeed always drawn out with exact precision, yet it was always implied in the relation which the believer was supposed to hold to God in Christ. The formula of Baptism, which has never changed, is unintelligible without it. The Eucharist is emptied of the blessing which

every age has sought in that Holy Sacrament, if it be taken away. CHAP. II.

39. If Christ took our nature upon Him (as we believe) by an act of love, it was not that of one but of all. He was not one man only among men, but in Him all humanity was gathered up. And thus now as at all time mankind are (so to speak) organically united with Him. His acts are in a true sense our acts, so far as we realise the union: His death is our death: His Resurrection, our Resurrection. Nothing can be plainer than the assertion of this doctrine. Our 'bodies are 'members of Christ;' and conversely a Christian society is 'a body of Christ.' 'I have been,' St Paul says, 'crucified with Christ.' If we died 'with Christ,' he writes to the Romans, 'we be- 'lieve that we shall also live with Him...Reckon 'ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but 'living unto God *in* Christ Jesus.' And yet more plainly, 'When we were dead in sins [God] quick- 'ened us together with Christ, and raised us 'up together, and made us sit together in the 'heavenly realm in Christ Jesus.' 'In whom also 'ye were circumcised with the circumcision made 'without hands, in putting off the body of the 'sins of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; 'buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye

1 Cor. vi. 15.

1 Cor. xii. 27.

Gal. ii. 20.

Eph. ii. 5, 6.

Col. ii. 11, 12.

CHAP. II. 'were raised with Him through faith in the opera-
'tion of GOD, who raised Him from the dead.' So
1 Pet. i. 3. again St Peter speaks of GOD 'who begat us 'again to a living hope through the resurrection 'of Jesus Christ from the dead;' and his final
1 Pet. v. 14. salutation is 'Peace be with you all who are *in* 'Christ Jesus.'

40. The ground of these and similar statements is found in the words of our Lord, which first receive through them their full significance.
John xv. 4, 5 'Abide in me and I in you...I am the Vine; ye 'are the branches. He that abideth in me and I 'in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for 'apart from me ye can do nothing.' And again, in His last great prayer for His disciples, He says:
John xvii. 19—23. 'For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also 'may be sanctified in truth. Neither pray I for 'these alone, but for them also which believe on 'me through their word, that they all may be 'one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, 'that they also may be in Us...I in them, and 'Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect into 'one.'

41. The full doctrine of the Resurrection cannot be understood without constant reference to these deeper revelations of Christ's Person; nor

again is the Apostolic doctrine of the Person of Christ intelligible without the light of the glorious manifestations of Himself which He made to His disciples after He was risen from the dead. But it is not our object now to follow out the mutual relations of these two elements of our Creed, or to trace them both back to the Incarnation. It is enough to have indicated in what way we can conceive that the efficacy of the Resurrection is extended to those for whom Christ died; and having done this we may next notice how the teaching of the Resurrection on the dignity of the body tends to explain the relation of the individual self to the world. CHAP. II.

42. The noblest of the ancient moralists looked upon man's body as a hopeless burden and fatal hindrance to the soul; and in this they have been followed by the noblest non-Christian moralists in every age. The famous thanksgiving of Plotinus that 'he was not tied to an immortal 'body' expresses the common feeling of all who have not felt the power of the Resurrection. But Christianity transfigures what philosophy would destroy. It shews that the corruption by which we are weighed down does not belong to our proper nature, and is not necessarily bound up with it for ever. It lays open with a deeper and

CHAP. II. more searching criticism than a system of morality could direct, the internal struggles to which the 'flesh' must give occasion, and the inevitable defeats which we must suffer in our efforts towards the divine life. Plato does not describe more sadly than St Paul the afflictions by which we are
Phil.iii.21. beset while yet oppressed by 'the body of humi-'liation.' Or to take an example from a different sect and age, M. Aurelius does not express more keenly than St John a sense of the evils of the present life. But there is an immeasurable chasm between the Apostles and Platonists or Stoics. 'We that are in this tabernacle do groan, being
2 Cor. v. 4. 'burdened,' St Paul writes: 'not for that we would 'be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality 'may be swallowed up by life.' The better change for which he longed was not the destruction but
Phil.iii.21. the ennobling of his body, so that it might 'be 'fashioned like unto [Christ's] body of glory, ac-'cording to the working whereby He is able even to 'subdue all things unto Himself.' And the power by which this transformation should be effected was the simple contemplation of Christ in His essential majesty. Nay, in some sense the change is already begun on earth, so far as that we can look forward with full hope to its accomplish-
2 Cor. iii. 18. ment; for 'we all, with open face beholding as in 'a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into

'the same image from glory to glory.' 'Beloved, CHAP. II.
'now are we the sons of GOD,' such are St John's 1 John iii. 2.
words, 'and it doth not yet appear what we shall 'be: but we know that, when He shall appear, 'we shall be like Him, *for we shall see Him as 'He is.'*

43. In a word our present body is as the seed of our future body. The one rises as naturally from the other as the flower from the germ. 'It 1 Cor. xv.
'is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory: 'it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power: it 'is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual 'body.' We cannot, indeed, form any conception of the change which shall take place, except so far as it is shewn to us in the Person of the Lord. Its fulfilment is in another state, and our thoughts are bound by this state. But there is nothing against reason in the analogy. Every change of life which we can observe now must be from one material form to another equally falling under our senses; but such a change may help us to understand how a form at present sensible may pass through a great crisis into another, which is an expression of the same law of life, though our present senses cannot naturally take cognisance of it (supr. § 7). If the analogy were to explain

CHAP. II. the passage of man from an existence of one kind (limited by a body) to an existence of another kind (unlimited by a body), it would then be false; but as it is, it illustrates by a vivid figure the perpetuity of our bodily life, as proved in the Resurrection of Christ.

44. The moral significance of such a doctrine as the Resurrection of the body cannot be overrated. Both personally and socially it places the sanctions if not the foundations of morality on a new ground. Each sin against the body is no longer a stain on that which is itself doomed to perish, but a defilement of that which is consecrated to an eternal life. To injure another, is to injure one with whom we are bound by the closest ties through a common fellowship in
1 Cor. vi. 13—15. Christ. 'The body is not for fornication, but for 'the Lord; and the Lord for the body. And GOD 'both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us 'by His power. Know you not that your bodies
Eph.iv.25. 'are the members of Christ?' 'Speak every man 'truth with his neighbour: for we are members one 'of another.' Each Christian society is 'a body of 'Christ,' of which the members are charged with various functions; and these 'bodies' again are 'members' of other 'bodies' wider and greater, and these at last 'members' of that universal Church

which is the 'fulness of Christ,' its heavenly Head. CHAP. II.

45. In this way the doctrine of the Resurrection turned into a reality the exquisite myth of Plato, in which he represented tyrants and Pl. *Gorg.* 524 f. great men waiting for their final sentence from the judges of Hades, with their bodies scarred and wounded by lust and passion and cruelty. And at the same time the notion of civic union in which lay so much of the strength and virtue of classical life, is freed from the dangers of party and class and extended to the utmost limits of a human brotherhood. The earliest religious instinct of men taught them to regard each class, each guild, each city, each state, as standing in a corporate connexion with some particular deity, and enjoying his protection: Christianity satisfies the instinct, and harmonises the idea of a special relationship to a Divine Lord with that of catholic union in Him. It gives the largest range to the sympathies and obligations of men at the very time when it lays the greatest weight on the distinct importance and eternal issues of every isolated human action.

46. The perfect reconciliation of the claims and duties of the individual and of the society

CHAP. II. is no less characteristic of the teaching of Christianity than the hallowing (so to speak) of the mutual relationship of soul and body; and both doctrines alike find their historical basis and the pledge of their realisation in the Resurrection. In præ-Christian times the individual was either sacrificed to the state, or contemplated wholly apart from it. The Platonist, in theory, regarded the man in a perfect society as simply living for it, and having independently no personal worth. The Stoic stood apart in proud loneliness, and looked on the turmoil of statesmanship and war with the stern indifference of despair or resignation. In practice both were more or less unfaithful to their creed. Socrates found problems of life which were so absorbing that till he had solved these, he affirmed that he could not interfere with politics. M. Aurelius, while he steeled himself against the future by steadfastly affirming the existence of a fatal cycle of human destinies, yet laboured with a faithful will to discharge the offices of the empire. But neither had any principle to justify the combination of the conflicting elements of action and thought. Nature only was stronger than logic. But the Apostles could declare that the sanctity of the man rests on the same fact as the sanctity of the society: that the dignity of personal action is not in conflict, but

in absolute harmony, with that of social action: that duties to self and to others are simply different expressions of the same belief in one absolute unity. No power which has ever effectually stirred men to heroism or self-devotion is lost, but all are seen in one source. CHAP. II.

47. The glorious view which is thus opened of the one life 'fulfilled in many ways' which animates mankind, potentially at least, does not exhaust the prospect which Christianity offers to the eye of faith. Glimpses are given of a yet wider harmony and a vaster change. Reference has been made already to the passages in which the apostolic writings notice the fellowship of nature in the blessings of Redemption (I. § 1). It is evident from our ignorance of the forces at work in the outer world, of which we can observe only some effects according to our limited powers of perception, that we are quite unable to form any notion of 'a new heaven and a new 'earth.' Yet the fact of the Resurrection of the body suggests more forcibly the literal truth of that 'restitution of all things' which was announced from the first by St Peter. The ennobling of our material organisation contains, as it were, the promise of a more complete transfiguration of Nature. It is possible that the change Acts iii. 21.

CHAP. II. lies nearer to us than we are apt to imagine. It may perhaps be the case that what appear to us to be imperfections and evils in the physical or animal world may derive the character which we attribute to them from the incompleteness of our own faculties; and that this transfiguration (relative to us) may lie within us and not without (comp. § 23)[1].

48. Whether this view is true or not it contains an important element of truth which is commonly neglected. What we call 'laws of 'nature' are, as has been seen (Intr. § 8), nothing more than laws of our present observation of nature. They are a resultant, so to speak, of some unknown force without and our own powers of sensation and thought. The permanence of the law depends on the permanence of these two elements: if either is changed the resultant is also changed. If then our bodily powers are transfigured, as we see in the Resurrection of the Lord, our powers of observation and the limitations (as of space or time and the like) according to which we class phenomena, will undergo a proportionate change. Thus for us the 'law' will

[1] This thought, I now find, has been admirably worked out by Mr Hinton, whose *Life and Letters* is full of illustrations of the argument which I have suggested.

be changed while the power whose working we notice and describe by it is itself unchanged. But still there is no abruptness, no arbitrary revolution, in this new aspect of Nature. The new law must be conceived as springing out of our new powers, just as the present law springs from our present powers, when they are turned to the objects which fall under them. If our present body is the germ of that which will be, so is the present law of that which will hereafter regulate our perceptions. Thus to the Christian the laws of Nature are not laws only, but prophecies. In the light of the Resurrection they are symbols of something broader and more glorious beyond them. They do not confine hope but guide it.

49. The line of thought which has been just opened leads to the Christian solution—as far as a solution is possible—of the last question which arises out of the simplest views of life, our relation to the world; but the fuller discussion of this must be reserved for a separate section. Meanwhile we have gained some insight into the doctrinal significance of the Resurrection in relation to the fulness of our future personal existence and to our hope of restoration before GOD. It has been seen that our present self is essentially twofold; and that we cannot in any way

CHAP. II. conceive that we can remain the same if either of the elements of which it is made up wants its proper representative. The doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul' is therefore wholly insufficient to satisfy that desire for a life hereafter for which man naturally craves. In confirmation of this conclusion it has been shewn that Aristotle and Plato, while regarding the subject from very different points of view, equally indicate that no arguments of pure reason can establish the future personal existence of the soul, as a conscious continuance of our present existence. Aristotle denies the conclusion on the strength of a direct analysis: Plato clothes his instinctive hope in the form of a story, confessing, as it were, that his logical process fails him. Yet further, the arguments which point forward, point backward also, and thus fail to establish the conscious dependence of the future on the present. Introduce the belief in the Resurrection and each difficulty disappears. In the Person of the Lord we see how we can hereafter be the same and yet indefinitely ennobled: how our souls and bodies may be for ever united, so that the individual self remains, while the body is transformed by a glorious change.

50. In the next place it has been shewn that

while the possibility of sin is necessarily included in the existence of a free finite will, actual sin is wholly alien from the perfection of man's nature: that in itself and in the individual sin is inherently and immutably bad, though it may give occasion to good by antagonism: and that while it is such it must bring with it suffering which has no virtue to remove sin or the consequences of sin, of which it is itself one. In the way of nature then we cannot see how the evil of which we are conscious can ever cease to work out torment, though at the same time we instinctively turn to GOD as a Father ready to forgive and also (but how we know not) wash away sin. Again in this aspect the Resurrection presents to us the fulfilment of man's triumph in Christ over the issues of sin, which culminate in death. But here the full significance of the Resurrection and our personal share in it is seen to be bound up with the Apostolic teaching on the Person of Christ as unfolded in His Life and Ascension, on which the Church was founded, and in which we find all our hopes fulfilled, in virtue of a fellowship potential for the race and actual by faith for the individual. 'In Christ' we can stand without fear in the very presence of GOD. CHAP. II.

51. Further we have been led to notice some

CHAP. II. of the moral consequences of a belief in the Resurrection: how it reveals a majesty in the body which philosophers have denied, and the consequent importance of every human action: how it hallows with a new sanction the idea of society at the same time and in the same way as it raises the dignity of the individual: how it harmonizes, by the faith in the gathering together of all humanity in Christ, claims which before were thought to be contradictory in their origin and in their fulfilment: how finally it casts a light over the destiny of the world and helps us to understand how our perception of nature will be indefinitely raised, even if nature itself is unchanged, by the ennobling of our own faculties and the removal or proportionate transformation of those limitations by which they are at present confined.

It remains to consider more in detail some of these thoughts as illustrating what may be called the social aspects of the Resurrection, so far as it contains a revelation of our relation to the world around us, and of the character of that Church which is the divine witness and embodiment of its truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE RESURRECTION AND THE CHURCH.

Willst du ins Unendliche schreiten,
Geh nur im Endlichen nach allen Seiten.

GOETHE.

1. IN the preceding chapters the Resurrection has been viewed in two main aspects. At first it was contemplated as a fact, standing in the centre of the development of human life, and adding a new element to the sum of the records of human experience. It was then contemplated as an idea, harmonizing conflicting instincts of man's nature and lifting him into a real communion with a nobler order of beings by an abiding fellowship with the unseen. So far the Gospel of the Resurrection vindicates its claim to a true historic basis and a moral fitness for meeting the essential needs of men. But it has a yet wider application. It offers a new foundation for social union. It is not only a message of salvation to CHAP. III.

CHAP. III. the individual: it is also the pledge of a divine life to the Church. The promise of Redemption, symbolised by the deliverance from Egypt, prefigured by the types of the law, illustrated by the teaching of the Prophets, was the vital bond of the people of Israel; and no less the accomplishment of Redemption, shewn in the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the consequent Mission of the Comforter, is the spring of life in the Christian Body. In the Church the fact of the Resurrection, so to speak, is perpetuated; and the idea of the Resurrection is realised. On the one hand, the development of the Church witnesses to the consecration of every power of man to a divine use and marks the potential transfiguration of every variety of individual or national character, as parts of a sublimer whole; and on the other hand it claims the possession of this transforming energy in virtue of the working of a Risen Saviour through its outward institutions. Briefly it is inherently historical and sacramental; and the clue to the apprehension of its history and its sacraments lies in the Resurrection.

2. The detailed examination of the institutions of the Church in the light of the Resurrection is at present impossible (comp. I. § 61). It will be sufficient to consider how the fact and the

idea of the Resurrection affect the general conception and working of the Christian Society. Nor can the consideration be regarded as superfluous at the present time. Some strange forgetfulness of truth must prevail when it can be possible for philosophical writers to stigmatize Christianity as 'selfish.' The very same Gospel which sets before the single believer the glorious issue of life at the same time and by the same message binds up his hope with that of every other believer, and more than that with the destiny of the whole world. It is only by neglecting the Resurrection that the Christian can be isolated (comp. i. § 1). CHAP. III.

3. The first announcement of the Gospel connects it with the establishment of a society. It is emphatically 'the Gospel of the Kingdom.' Matt. iv. 23.
'The Kingdom of heaven is at hand' was equally Matt. xi. 12; Luke xvii. 21.
the message of the Baptist and of Christ Himself at the beginning of His teaching. At one time this Kingdom is contemplated as still future, at another as already present. We are taught to pray for its 'coming,' and encouraged to press as it were by force and claim by violent effort a share in its immediate blessings. Its origin, its growth, Matt. xiii.
the manner of its reception, the perils to which it would be exposed, the variety of elements which

CHAP. III. it would include, are portrayed under a rich variety of parables. 'I appoint unto you that 'ye may eat and drink at my table in my King'dom' were among the last words which the Lord addressed to His disciples; and after His Resurrection, during the forty days, He spoke 'of the 'things pertaining to the Kingdom of GOD.' The idea which was thus prominent during the ministry of Christ was included in the groundwork of the Apostolic preaching. The first address of St Peter on the day of Pentecost declared 'Jesus to 'be the Lord and Christ' Whom GOD had promised 'to raise up to sit on the throne of David.' The first record of a mission beyond the limits of Judæa describes Philip 'preaching the things con'cerning the Kingdom of GOD.' The definite charge which was brought against St Paul when he first preached in Europe was that he did 'contrary to 'the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another 'King, one Jesus.'

Luke xxii. 29.

Acts xvii. 7. Comp. xvi. 21.

4. It is unnecessary to consider the various misconceptions to which this proclamation of Christ's 'Kingdom' was exposed. Even to the time of the last manifestation of the Lord on earth before the Ascension, the Apostles seem to have confounded 'the Kingdom of GOD' with that which was its figure, 'the Kingdom of Israel.' But

Acts i. 3, 6.

there is not the least trace that the Christian idea of a heavenly kingdom was ever mixed up with direct political aims. The very bitterness with which the Jewish zealots at the time of their rising persecuted the Christians, is a sufficient proof that these 'children of the Kingdom' were as far as possible removed from schemes of temporal ambition. The Christian belief did away with the bitterness of civil bondage, and substituted a higher hope for the dreams of national enthusiasm. But none the less the Kingdom whose coming believers were charged to hasten, was regarded as a society truly answering to the name, though its establishment was referred to the action of Divine Providence, and not to human design. The kingdoms of the earth were types of this kingdom which should be on earth though not of the earth. In other words the glorious society in which the Gospel was to find its outward embodiment would have a Sovereign, of whose Personal Rule His subjects would be conscious and by Whose Will they would be guided, an organisation, by which the relative functions and duties and stations of those included within it would be defined and sustained, a common principle of action, and common rights of citizenship. This was the earliest form under which the establishment of a Christendom, at first militant

CHAP. III. and then triumphant (though this distinction was but faintly perceived), was realised. The old Kingdom of GOD whose history could be traced in the Old Testament furnished the language in which it was described, and the wide-felt presence of the Roman Empire gave distinctness to the broader traits of universal dominion and unity.

5. But the idea of a Kingdom was not the only one under which the Church—the whole
Matt. xvi. 18. society of Christians—was regarded. 'Thou art 'Peter (*Petros*),' our Lord said, in answer to the confession which the great Apostle had made, 'and on this Rock (*Petra*, the living rock, from 'which the *Petros* is hewn or taken) I will build 'my Church.' This then is a second figure: the church is a building, or more specially a house or temple. And it is worthy of notice that St Peter, in his first Epistle, brings out this con-
1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, 8. ception into the clearest light. 'Ye,' he writes, 'coming to the Lord, a living stone,...as living 'stones are built up a spiritual house,' of which 'the stone which the builders disallowed is made 'the head of the corner.' And St Paul yet more in detail follows out the structure of this Christian sanctuary. Reckoning up the blessings of the Gentile converts, he tells them that they are
Eph. ii. 19—22. now 'fellow-citizens of the saints...since they have

'been built upon the foundation of the apostles CHAP. III.
'and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief 'corner-stone, in whom every part of the build- 'ing, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy 'temple in the Lord; in which ye also are builded 'together for an habitation of GOD in the Spirit.' It is however to be observed that the same image which is used of the society is used also of the individuals. We are 'Christ's house,' 'GOD's build- 'ing,' 'the temple of the living GOD,' where the words are used of the many to whom or in whose person the Apostle is speaking; and on the other hand he asks, 'Know ye not that your body is' (in each separate case; or better perhaps, according to another reading, 'your bodies are') 'a temple 'of the Holy Spirit which is in you?'

Heb. iii. 6; 1 Cor. iii. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

6. This figure of a Temple has several points in common with that of a Kingdom, from which it is distinguished in its essential scope. In both there is the design of the whole to which the parts are subordinated, a variety of office and position in the constituent elements, a central power on which the stability of all depends. But there is no necessary connexion between the Temple and Him Who dwells within it, such as is implied in the reciprocal duties of governor and governed. The house may be defiled or desolated, while the

CHAP. III. occupant seeks some other abode; but the King is such in virtue of his special sovereignty. Briefly the Temple prefigures the Church in its outward fabric, in its splendour, in the vastness of its plan, in the variety of materials of which it is con-
1 Cor. iii. 10 ff. structed, in the consecration of all which men have to GOD by men and so through GOD by His Presence. It is the material as contrasted with the moral type of the Christian society.

7. But there is yet another image under which St Paul presents the relation of the Church to GOD. It is not only His Kingdom, and the Temple of the Holy Spirit: it is also the Body of Christ. Our Lord indicated this vital connexion between Himself and His disciples in the parable of the Vine and the branches; and after His Death and Resurrection the truth thus signified grew plainer and more prominent. It was seen that Christians had not only severally works to do, but different works: they were felt to be not branches merely, but members of Him from whom they drew their life. So it is that this idea of the Church as the body of Christ includes in itself both the idea of the Kingdom and that of the Temple. Sovereignty and organisation are implied in the Headship of Christ, and in the mutual action and dependence of the members:

external structure and multiformity and consecration, in the framework of the body, and in the variety of its parts, and in the relation of the whole to the vital Spirit by which it is informed. But it also adds much to the ideas which it thus harmonises. The connexion of life is substituted for that of government or occupancy. We live in Christ, and He in us. We grow in Him; and He is seen more and more perfectly in the society of Christians. The government of a society shews something of the character of the ruler: the fabric of a building something of our conception of him for whom we rear it; but the body reveals in part the very person of him whose it is, and is the organism by which alone his acts can be manifested or fulfilled. CHAP. III.

8. We are not perhaps justified in pressing the details of these three images in an examination of the general characteristics of the Christian Church. The images indeed are by no means always kept distinct. Language borrowed from one is used in the development of another. 'Ye '...are built up a spiritual house...ye are a chosen 'generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a 'peculiar people.' The gifts which Christ has variously distributed among men are 'for the 'building up of His body.' 'Know ye not that

1 Pet. ii. 5, 9.

Eph. iv. 12.

1 Cor. vi. 15, 19.

CHAP. III. 'your bodies are members of Christ?...Know ye 'not that your body is (*or* bodies are) a temple of 'the Holy Spirit which is in you?' One relation runs into the other, just as in all other cases we stand in threefold connexion with Him who created, redeemed and sanctified us. But without insisting on the minute interpretation of the figures so much at least is evident, that they mark the Church as ruled by a personal Governor, possessed of an outward organisation, inspired by an immediate divine life. What light then, it may be asked, does the Resurrection throw upon the nature of this Kingdom of God, this Temple of the Holy Spirit, this Body of Christ, for it is with this subject only that we are immediately concerned.

John xviii. 36, 37. 9. 'My Kingdom,' our Lord said, in answer to Pilate, 'is not of this world.' And yet He added presently, 'Thou sayest [rightly] that I am King. 'For this purpose have I been born, and for this 'cause have I come into the world that I may 'bear witness to the Truth. Every one who is 'of the Truth heareth my voice.' The Resurrection was the passage to the proper realm of truth —of that which really *is;* and in the contemplation of the Resurrection the Christian learns something of things as they are in the sight of God.

The Resurrection is a new birth: to realise it as CHAP. III. an actual fact with the consequences which it involves, is to share in it; and thus we gain the full meaning of Christ's words to the Teacher who seemed to boast of the insight into spiritual things which his training had given him: 'Verily, verily, John iii. 3. 'I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he 'cannot *see* the kingdom of GOD'—he will have no faculties to apprehend that which it contains. Plato, in one of his grandest myths, has repre- Plat. *Phædr.* p. 247. sented the progress of unembodied spirits in the train of the gods in the face of all that *is*. When they fall to earth, as their powers fail them in their course, their destiny is determined by the clearness and extent of the impressions which they retain. These recollections form the basis of all that men know of truth. The Christian reverses the idea. He is going to a kingdom of absolute Truth, and is not fallen from one. The Resurrection is the bridge by which the passage to the unseen is effected. Resting on that he looks out to the heavenly state of which he is a citizen: he feels the constraining force of his allegiance to a spiritual King: he apprehends something of the divine hierarchy, to a fellowship with which he is admitted, and according to whose laws he works: he sees the enemies against whom he has to contend, 'principalities, and powers, and rulers of the Eph. vi. 12.

CHAP. III. 'darkness of the world, and spiritual wickedness 'in the heavenly realm.' The order, the scene, the persons, the objects of this spiritual kingdom, answer to what we see now on earth, but no more. A new heaven and a new earth await the manifestation of Christ, even as men themselves will be transfigured by His presence (II. §§ 47, 48).

10. It is obvious that there is great danger in dwelling exclusively on this royal aspect of the Church. It is likely that in such a case either the relations and duties of men on earth will be neglected and disparaged, or conflicts and differences here will be absolutely confounded with those which are essentially spiritual. History furnishes many examples of both errors. 'The kingdom of GOD' has been the watchword equally of those who have cast aside the restraints and claims of life, and of those who have sought to mould its form by the most merciless fanaticism. And it was perhaps in part due to their vivid anticipation of Christ's Return with kingly majesty that the early Christians took so little interest in civil affairs. Yet this cannot justly be turned to their reproach; for it must be remembered that in the Roman Empire politics, as we understand the word, had no place; and Christianity, as such, has no special relation to any one form of government. In the long run

it tends to certain social results, but in virtue of its universality it is capable of the highest personal development under any outward circumstances. CHAP. III.

11. But the Church is not a Kingdom only. It is a structure complex and multiform. The society as a whole is a dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit. It is reared from age to age by the accumulated efforts of all who serve GOD. Each brings that which he has of special worth and it is built into the fabric. All work is not the same work, yet all which can bear the presence of GOD is equally employed in some part or other of the spiritual 'building.' If the notion of a Kingdom suggests the essential majesty of the Church, this of a Temple brings out the human interest of its progress. So it was with the structure which suggested the image of St Paul. 'Forty and six 'years was this Temple in building,' and it carried with its foundations the memories of ten centuries. So it is with our Christian Temples which combine and hallow the thoughts and gifts of successive ages. And the spiritual reality answers to the material figure. The Church is itself the record of its history: it is a monument and a shrine. Each race, each nation, each century, nay each faithful workman, has left

1 Cor. iii. 12.

John ii. 20.

CHAP. III. some mark upon it. Time gradually harmonises parts which once seemed incongruous. Additions which were at first thought to mar the symmetry of the plan are felt at a later period to increase its richness. One Spirit hallows all, and that Spirit is a gift consequent on the Resurrection. The local withdrawal of Christ from among men in the one limited form in which they had known Him, and the transfiguration of that form 'by the 'glory of the Father,' were the conditions through which they could realise His unseen presence through the Spirit. 'It is expedient for you that 'I go away,' the Lord said to His disciples on the eve of His Departure; 'for if I go not away, the 'Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, 'I will send Him unto you.' He first wakened their souls to the perception of His new Life, and then removed all which might still seem to confine its manifestation. 'Cling not to me,' was the loving reproof to her whose eyes He had opened by a familiar word, 'for I am not yet ascended 'to my Father.' No love, however true, which sought to keep Him as He was seen on earth, could know the fulness of Christ's majesty. The Ascension was the necessary completion of His work. So only could men trust in His abiding power ever testing, and receiving and consecrating the many offerings of every generation, and

John xvi. 7.

John xx. 17.

Rom. vi. 4.

using all in due measure for the service of that society in which He was pleased to dwell. CHAP. III.

12. So far we have touched upon those aspects of the Church which represent its eternal constitution and its temporal growth. The Resurrection gives force and distinctness to both. But it is more especially in the last figure of the Church, as the Body of Christ, that it finds its peculiar application. The idea which this figure expresses springs indeed properly out of the belief in a Risen Saviour. Anticipations of the idea are found in the later discourses of Christ which have been already noticed; and elsewhere He spoke of His continual presence among men in the persons of the poor and of His ministers. But these and other intimations of like kind fall far short of the full grandeur of the conception which St Paul lays open. Nor can it be without significance that the revelation is made to us through him who was resolved not to know 'a Christ according 2 Cor. v. 16. 'to the flesh,' and to whom the Lord was first manifested in the majesty of His divine glory. The Church is (if we may so speak) the visible Body of the Risen Christ: it is through this that He still works, in this that He still lives.

13. Three principal relations are included in

CHAP. III. this conception of the Church as the Body of Christ. Christians as such are essentially united together in virtue of their relation to Christ, and that irrespective of any feeling or will of their own. Next they are bound to one another by the obligation of mutual offices, the fulfilment of which is necessary for the well-being of the whole. And lastly, all alike derive their life from their Head Who is in heaven. The Body is one: it is multiform; and it is quickened by a power which is not of itself but from above. Now this element in its constitution, now that, is brought into prominence, but none can be neglected if we wish to form an adequate notion of its power and functions. For the present it will be enough to consider a little more exactly the principle of unity, and that in which the unity consists, the principle of life. The multiformity of Christendom will be noticed sufficiently while we endeavour to establish its unity.

14. Before doing this however it may be well to notice how the fundamental idea of Christianity as the basis of a society is related to the corresponding ideas of Judaism and Paganism. It has been frequently argued that modern civilisation has lost some essential element of good which ancient civilisation possessed. It has been said

that we are less self-reliant than the nations of CHAP. III.
classical antiquity: less conscious of a Divine Presence than the Jews. Without pausing to inquire whether this is so in fact or not we may be contented to ask whether there is anything in Christianity itself which tends to produce such a result: whether the evil or loss if it be actual is also necessary.

15. The noblest lesson of Paganism is without doubt the revelation which it makes to us of the inherent dignity of human nature: of the powers of endurance and self-denial and faith: of the perceptions of beauty and truth: by which the soul is at all times capable of asserting its divine relationship. The work of Paganism was, we are led to believe, the complete exhibition of these natural faculties, in their strength and in their weakness. The nobility of man as man and as standing apart from GOD is that portion of its teaching by which it still appeals most forcibly to the sympathies of our own time. There is a dark side to the picture which we are apt to forget, but still there is an abiding grace and manliness in classical life as it is seen in history and literature and art. Unaffected interest in every human feeling, manysided culture, stern and indomitable will, claim our respect and awaken in us respon-

CHAP. III. sive efforts. But so far as we admire Paganism there is nothing in Christianity antagonistic to it. Paganism closed its eyes to suffering and death. Christianity takes account of the whole nature of man, of its good and its evil, and justifies in the face of the contradictions of life the instinct which affirms its dignity. It looks death face to face not as an inevitable necessity but as a final consequence of sin, and yet realises even now more than a victory. It lays bare, what each one must feel for himself, our natural infirmity, and yet ratifies the bold words of the heathen poet that 'men are 'GOD'S offspring' and sets before believers as the aim of their faith a more complete 'fellowship in 'the divine nature.' It represents life as a struggle, and yet as a struggle only to realise the blessings which are already won for man and within his reach. It claims his entire homage, but at the same time it consecrates to its own service the natural exercise of every power which he possesses, and the fulfilment of every situation in which he is placed. It looks upon the world as suffering with him, but it regards it no less as destined to share his glorious future. It differs from Paganism as a whole differs from a part. It takes up into itself and harmonises with the rest of our experience the isolated truths to which Paganism bears witness.

Acts xvii. 28.
2 Pet. i. 4.

16. This is equally true of the relation in which Christianity stands to Judaism. If Paganism is a testimony to the self-assertion and independence of man, Judaism is the confession of his dependence. In the first we contemplate man in himself: in the other man as the creature of GOD. In Paganism, at least when it reached its full development, an appeal is made to a common conscience, or to necessary laws of thought, or to history: in Judaism the binding message is 'the Word of the Lord.' In the one men obey, because they recognise the essential justice of the command or submit to a stronger force: in the other the statutes of right are not primarily based on intuitions or suggested by experience, but embodied in a Law which is absolute, not in virtue of its inherent character but as coming from JEHOVAH. The one, if we look to the principle by which it lived, is a witness to human freedom: the other to Divine sovereignty. And as the principles which they respectively embody are eternal, so are the spirit of Paganism and the spirit of Judaism. The history of Christianity is little more than the history of the approximate harmonization of the two. Now the solution turns in this direction and now in that, according as the spirit of Greece or of Rome prevails—the theology of Athanasius or of Augustine—but apostolic Christianity recog- CHAP. III.

CHAP. III. nises and hallows both elements. The coming of the Lord invests humanity, even as it is, with a more awful majesty than man could have claimed for himself; and at the same time connects the realisation of that majesty with the direct revelation of the Divine Will. Paganism proclaims the grandeur of man: Judaism the supremacy of GOD. Christianity accepts the antithesis and vindicates by the message of the Resurrection the grandeur of man in and through GOD.

17. This then is the work of Christianity, first to establish the common dignity of men as men, and to place on a sure basis all purely human virtues; and next to connect the life of men with its source and consummation and bring it into fellowship with GOD. Both these results are grounded on the historic facts of the Gospel. The unity of the Christian Society, to which potentially all men belong, depends not on any personal feeling but on a common relation in which men as belonging to the society stand to GOD. And the reality of this divine fellowship is at once the seal of the nobility of man and the pledge of the possibility of its final perfection.

1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. 18. 'As the body is one,' St Paul writes, 'and hath many members, and all the members

'of the[1] body being many are one body: so also is CHAP. III.
'Christ. For in one Spirit we all were baptized 'into (*i. e.* by baptism incorporated in) one body, 'whether we be Jews or Greeks, whether we be 'bond or free; and were all made to drink[2] one 'Spirit.' Here the unity is seen to spring out of a definite outward act, and the participation in a spiritual blessing consequent upon it. No other conditions are added. Yet it must be observed that according to the formula which Christ Himself enjoined, baptism includes a profession of faith, such as has been connected with it in all ages, in which the historic facts of the Lord's Life are plainly set forth. Hence in another place St Paul says more fully: 'There is one body, and one Spirit, Eph. iv. 4.
'even as ye were called in one hope of your calling: 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' The act once done brings with it, in virtue of Christ's work, fellowship with Him, in which lies unity. 'Know ye Rom. vi. 3, 4.
'not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus 'Christ, were baptized into His death? Therefore 'we were buried with Him by baptism into death; 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead 'by the glory of the Father, even so we also should 'walk in newness of life.' Here the issue is viewed from the human side. It is ours to realise in action the fulness of the heavenly life of which

[1] Omit *one*. [2] Omit *into*.

CHAP. III. we are made partakers. Elsewhere it is viewed in relation to GOD, and in this aspect all is accomplished once for all. 'When we were dead in 'sins [GOD] quickened us together with Christ, 'and raised us up together [with Him] and made 'us sit together in the heavenly realm in Christ 'Jesus.' (Eph. ii. 5, 6.)

19. The participation in Christ's Death and Resurrection through Baptism is then the final condition of unity: to work out the Resurrection in life the means and measure of its preservation. For unity is not uniformity. Differences of race, class, social order obviously have no influence upon it. They are of earth only. But more than this, it is consistent with serious differences in the apprehension of the common faith on which it reposes. St Paul naturally insists on the removal of the partition between Jew and Gentile by the Death of Christ, whereby He 'made of 'twain one new man.' (Eph. ii. 15.) Primarily without doubt he regarded the contrast as it was before the Gospel; but it seems equally certain that he included within the scope of Christ's reconciliation those diversities of opinion by which the Jewish and Gentile Churches were separated. (Gal. ii. 7 ff.) The Apostles of the circumcision recognised in him the apostolate of the uncircumcision; and he gladly received

from them 'the right hand of fellowship.' The divergences of practice between the teachers, and of belief to a certain extent between the disciples of the two schools, were not sufficient to destroy their true unity. Love still found its expression among them in acts of charity. It was only when the attempt was made to enforce one partial system as universal that the unity of the whole was endangered. The first serious effort to establish uniformity threatened to end (as it did after the time of the Apostles) in a schism.

CHAP. III.

Gal. ii. 10.

20. It may not indeed be a mere fancy to regard the manifold appearances of the Lord after His Resurrection as prefiguring in some way the varieties which should exist in after time in His Church. The unity of His Person was not in any way impaired, and yet He shewed Himself to His disciples in different 'forms.' And it may be still that the faithful eye can see a Body of Christ where His Presence is hidden from others. For even in the one body, there are many bodies; and as the whole Church is sometimes contemplated in its completeness as distinct from Christ, though most closely bound to Him, as His bride; so also is the same true of separate Churches. 'Ye 'are a body (*not* the body) of Christ, and members 'in particular' St Paul says to the Church of

Mark xvi. 12.

Eph. v. 27.

Apoc. xxi. 2, 9.

1 Cor. xii. 27.

CHAP. III. Corinth. The definite article destroys the force of his argument. And so again in his second 2 Cor. xi. 2. Epistle: 'I espoused you'—the congregation to which he is writing—'to one husband, that I may 'present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.' Thus the whole is not only relatively complete but it is made up of parts (so to speak) similar to itself. And this is true if we regard even the ultimate members of which it is composed. The individual Christian—a temple of the Holy Spirit as well as a living stone of a more glorious Temple—is like the special Church of which he is a member, even as this is like that Universal Church in which it discharges some special function.

21. But while the Christian, the separate Churches, and the Universal Church have severally, in some sense, a completeness in themselves, yet their real life is solely in their connexion with 1 Cor. xi. 3. Eph. v. 23. Eph. iv. 16. Col. ii. 19. Christ 'the Head of the man,' and 'the Head of 'the Church.' From Him flows that energy by which every member is enabled to discharge its function effectually and in due proportion to the harmonious working of the whole: from Him, that power of love by which the several parts are fitted and knit together: from Him, that vital force by which the multiform body 'increaseth 'with the increase of GOD.' Each phase of this

divine Life is distinctly marked. 'The bread'— CHAP. III.
the heavenly manna—'which I will give,' the John vi. 51.
Lord said, 'is my flesh, for the life of the world.' John xiv. 19.
—'Because I live, ye [my disciples] shall live John xi. 25.
'also'—'I am the Resurrection and the Life.'
'Ye died,' St Paul writes to the Colossians, 'and Col. iii. 3, 4.
'your life hath been hidden with Christ in GOD;
'but when Christ is manifested, our Life, then
'shall ye also be manifested with Him in glory.'
'It is no longer I who live,' he says in another Gal. ii. 20.
place, 'but Christ liveth in me.' 'He that hath 1 John v. 12.
'the Son hath life; but he that hath not the Son
'of GOD hath not life.'

22. It is then necessary to bear two things in mind in treating of the Unity of the Church. The Unity of the whole is consistent with a wide variety of parts, each having to a certain degree a corresponding unity in itself. And next, the essential bond of union is not external but spiritual: it consists not in one organisation but in a common principle of life. Its expression lies in a personal relation to Christ and not in any outward system. Of the life of the Church part is open, part is hidden. We can see divisions, differences, limitations; but all that is eternal and infinite in it, all that controls actions which perplex us and harmonizes discords which are un-

CHAP. III. resolved to our senses, is not to be perceived on earth but is with Christ in heaven.

23. It follows necessarily from what has been said that external, visible, unity is not required for the essential unity of the Church. To recur to the example which has been already used, the congregations of Jewish and Gentile Christians were no less One in Christ, though the outward fellowship between them was imperfect or wanting: their common life lay deeper than the controversies which tended to keep them apart. Their isolation was a proof of imperfection, but not of death. What errors are deadly, it does not fall to our part to attempt to determine. It is enough to observe that differences of opinion which were once thought by many to be fatal to unity were really consistent with it. The promise of Christ does not reach to the unity of the outward fold

John x. 16. at any time. 'Other sheep,' He said, 'I have, 'which are not of this fold: them also I must 'lead, and they shall hear my voice; and there 'shall become one flock, one shepherd'—one flock in however many folds it be gathered, because it listens to the voice of the One Shepherd.

24. If the true unity of the whole Church,

which is derived from the participation in the Spirit of Christ, is compatible with the existence of outward divisions on earth, it is no less compatible also with the existence of independent centres of local and partial authority in its manifold organisation. Christ Himself is the One Head; and He left no single successor to represent in outward form the relation in which He stands to the Body. For a time indeed an idea seems to have prevailed in one province of Christendom that the office of Christ (if we may so speak) and not of the Apostles only was to be perpetuated. The Jewish Bishops of Jerusalem, who were taken as long as might be from the family of the Lord, were held by many to be (even though they did not claim the title themselves) His successors. They were, according to the title claimed for them, 'bishops of bishops.' Their authority as far as can be learnt now was supposed to extend over the whole world and not to be confined to a single diocese or district. They symbolised the idea of an earthly kingdom, which was characteristic of the party who professed to maintain their opinions. It would be idle to speculate on the form which this belief might have taken if Jerusalem had not been destroyed. As it is, it is impossible not to feel that the effect of the desolation of 'the Holy City' must have

CHAP. III. been to chasten and purify (as soon as they could bear the discipline) those who had hoped to mould the Christian Church after the pattern of Judaism. The conception of unity based on a historic and divine succession in the religious centre of the world was proved to be no part of the true idea of the Church. The thoughts of men were turned with a deeper faith to that 'Jerusalem which is 'above,' to which from the first St Paul had directed them.

25. These considerations tend to remove a difficulty which has been often felt in dealing with the interpretation of the New Testament. The Apostles, it is urged, looked for an immediate 'end of the world,' and the event shews that they were in error. Yet to any one who really penetrates below the surface of the first age it will be equally evident that 'the end of the world' was expected and that it really came. It is possible that the Apostles themselves, like the prophets in earlier times, did not realise the mode in which their expectations would be fulfilled: it is certain that many who heard them affixed false and chimerical interpretations to their teaching; but in the light of Christian history their written words were fully accomplished. The destruction of Jerusalem is 'the meeting of the ages,' the death of

the 'old world' and the birth of the 'new world.'
The Lord 'came' when the acknowledged centre of 'the people of GOD' was desolated. A spiritual and universal Presence was substituted for a material and local Presence. The lesson of the Resurrection replaced the lesson of the Law. A fresh 'age' (*æon*) began its course destined itself to culminate in another 'coming' of which the first was a living figure. In a religious aspect all things were essentially become new. Christianity had first vindicated its inheritance in the past, and then in due time it asserted its independence.

26. The outward unity which was aimed at in the early Jewish Church was based upon a religious idea. The outward unity which afterwards grew up round the Roman Church sprang from political influences. The two systems are essentially distinct in their origin, though finally they can be traced in theory to the same principles. The Roman system became in the end what the Jewish system was from the first, but with one remarkable difference. The priesthood which was in both cases the visible representative and instrument of the theocracy was limited in Judaism to a distinct family succession: in Romanism the succession was spiritual and effectually disconnected from hereditary ties. In the

CHAP. III. Christian Church of Jerusalem the fleshly descent from a sacred stock was observed for several generations, but there is no trace of a similar custom at Rome. The idea of spiritual supremacy seems indeed absolutely to exclude it. But it must be enough to have indicated the external contrast between systems essentially similar. This is not the place to follow out the steps of their parallel but converse development. Nor can we dwell on the marvellous process by which the Roman Church was prepared for the preservation of Christianity on the dissolution of the Empire. It would be foreign to our purpose to trace the steps by which the bishop of the imperial city received one by one the prerogatives of sovereignty, and in due time seated himself on the vacant throne of the Cæsars. It would be equally out of place to attempt any estimate of the strength which the mediæval Church thus received for the execution of the work with which it was charged. The facts are of vast significance, and occupy so large a space in the history of Christendom that they may not lightly be passed over. They formed, as we may well believe, part of the providential scheme of the historical growth of the Church. But the unity to which they led was no necessary part of the constitution of the Church. It answered to the one Empire of the first age, and not to the

many kingdoms of the maturer life of Europe. CHAP. III.
It supplied a bond between the disorganised nations till the states-system into which they were formed was firmly consolidated. Under its protection the Romanic and German elements were allowed to gather strength till they were ready to fulfil their independent office. But without dwelling upon this temporal function of the external unity of the Christian society we can at least see from the fall of its prototype after the Jewish Return (I. §§ 27 f.) that the spiritual unity of the Church is independent of it. The outward unity arose from historic causes: it was broken by historic causes. No external organisation can supersede the original relation in which the Society stands to its Founder. The gift of the Holy Spirit was the outward sign of the elevation of humanity to glory at the right hand of GOD: the sharing in that gift is the life of the Church: the absolute oneness of the source from which the gift flows is the ground of essential unity in the congregations of which the Church is composed.

27. But though the principle of the unity of the Christian Church is spiritual and not necessarily connected with uniformity of constitution or even with intercommunion, it by no means follows

CHAP. III. that the outward organisation of the whole of the constituent Churches is a matter of indifference. On the contrary the direct teaching of the Resurrection points to the inherent connexion between the outward and the spiritual, the organisation and the life. The range of variation in the constitution of the Christian societies must be limited by their fitness to embody the fundamental ideas of Christianity. Of this fitness history on a large scale gives the final judgment. Whatever may be the immediate result of controversy, however false may be the issues on which it is decided, however blinding the influences by which its progress has been modified, in the end it is seen in its true light, and the final judgment which is ratified by general practice or belief is commonly the true one. In this sense history is the arbiter not of truth but of the right embodiment of truth. The early records of the Church are little more than the records of conflicts which once seemed doubtful; but in each case that which had in it the element of permanence lived on, and Catholicity stood in full strength against the broken forms of partial and erroneous teachings.

28. It is possible perhaps to extend this view of a historic development of Christianity to later ages. It seems difficult to believe that the Greek

and Latin Churches include the only two great aspects of Christian truth, so that it remains for us at present only to recur to the principles on which they were built, and to strive vainly to reproduce in another period a transcript of the past. The vast advances of civilisation, the further growth of national life, the wider range of knowledge, which brings with it the recognition of the importance of special views, seem to force upon us the conviction that the various Churches of modern times fulfil under the changed conditions of society the same functions as could be discharged in earlier times by a single Church. Even in the history of Judaism something of the same kind may be noticed. In no way, as we should judge, could the possibility of variation, and still more of division be excluded with greater certainty than by the institutions of the Jewish Church, and yet in that Church outward union was soon broken, and the rupture if not expressly sanctioned was in the end implicitly accepted by the divine prophets of Israel. Israel was 'made to sin,' and yet even so while their primal sin remained they were not abandoned by GOD. The Temple—the permanent (I. § 25) symbol of unity—was hardly completed, before a large part of the nation was shut out from the use of it. The political and religious schism of which Israel was a monument CHAP. III.

CHAP. III. was not passed over without rebuke, but in spite of that a distinct spiritual work was carried on in Israel, not less blessed by outward signs than that which was simultaneously accomplished in Judah. At a later time the office which was discharged by the Jews of the Dispersion, and specially by the Alexandrine Jews, in modifying and extending their traditional faith, was still more manifestly recognised by GOD in the providential office which He allowed it to fulfil for the spread of Christianity. Here as elsewhere it appears as if the sins and wilfulness of men gave occasion to the accomplishment of the Divine plans. These indeed were not dependent on such evils for their fulfilment; but yet it seems as if GOD were pleased to use our imperfections for the complete exhibition of His will. The rebellion of Israel, the schism of Alexandria, the permanent settlement of Jews throughout the East and West which involved a violation of large parts of the Mosaic law, were in themselves evils, and had their spring in selfishness and disobedience, but none the less they served to work out a vast counsel, which, as far as we can see, could not otherwise have been perfected. Thus in the history of that earlier kingdom of GOD, which was essentially outward, we are taught by special examples not to judge everything by our own standard of unity. And at least

no argument can be drawn from the circumstances CHAP. III. which attend the rise of any great movement against the importance of the part which it may have to discharge in the furtherance of the purposes of GOD.

29. But it may be said that such a view sanctions sectarianism. If we are to suppose that the form of the Christian Church in each nation will (within certain limits) embody the common peculiarities of national character, just as on a larger scale the Greek Church is Orthodox and the Latin Church Catholic, differences will still exist in the body thus formed. Each nation will include men most widely at variance in their religious tendencies. Are they then to be held blameless if they seek to attach themselves to a communion which expresses most clearly their own views? The national character is not reflected in them; and the same general principle which justifies the formation of a separate national Church may be appealed to in support of an indefinite number of subordinate associations.

30. Disregarding for the present all considerations of ecclesiastical organisation, it may be sufficient for us to answer to such a line of reason-

CHAP. III. ing that it applies equally well to all social combinations. No one will deny that there is a tendency in every nation towards the establishment of the government best suited to it. This tendency which may be latent in the mass, though really there, will be developed most strongly in those who are the true leaders of popular thought. And though various obstacles may hinder or modify the embodiment of the idea which they represent, in the end it finds an adequate expression. But even then individuals in the state will find themselves at variance with the constitution. This divergence however will not release them from the duties of loyal obedience, nor yet deprive the government of its right to be regarded as the representative of the national feelings. The state though made up of individuals has an existence of its own. The individual will exercise his full influence in preparing for further changes, but meanwhile the whole claims a sacrifice of the part. It is so also in the case of a national Church. No general principles can be laid down to justify a schism or a revolution. The future alone can decide on the sufficiency of the alleged causes from which they arose. And in many cases the issue which is sanctioned by experience may have been occasioned though not caused by selfish motives.

31. In the history of the Church no less than in the history of nations we have to deal with humanity in which sin is active already. It would be easy to shew that among perfect men every blessing would arise naturally and completely without conflict or division, which in our present state is realised through these exceptional means in pain and at best partially. But as it is, conflict and sorrow are the means by which the powers of men, material and moral, are braced and purified. The existence of distinct nations with rival interests is practically necessary for the full development of those special powers in each which holds out the surest promise of a final union of men. And so the antagonism of separate societies of Christians serves not as the best, but as the most appropriate, discipline for bringing out the manifold applications and capacities of the one Gospel. CHAP. III.

32. History has in fact sanctioned divisions in the Christian Church whatever we may think of the events which first led to them, or of the actors by whom they were made. However deeply we may deplore the loss of that outward fellowship which would, if it could have been preserved, have increased a thousandfold the power of the Church upon the world; yet it is impossible not

CHAP. III. to feel that GOD has revealed His purposes and furthered His work not only in spite of, but even through the separate societies which have severally appropriated this or that part of the whole truth as the characteristic object of their devout study. And even without regarding the lessons of the past it is hard to see how the fulness of Christianity could have been manifested among men otherwise than by antagonism and conflict. Antagonism is in our present imperfect condition the preliminary to our apprehension of anything which is not itself absolutely bounded by our finite powers. Every spiritual truth can be followed out to a final antithesis; and this antithesis finds its most complete expression in societies rather than in individuals.

33. The same law which holds in all other fields of human activity, holds also in the noblest. The condition of advance in the comprehension of the whole Gospel is the special mastery through the circumstances of life of its constituent parts. Progress implies a separate development of powers. The tendency to division grows as knowledge widens. There was a time when all nature seemed to lie within the range of one mind. Deeper inquiry has shewn that each fragment includes phenomena which may occupy a life-

time. And so it is in religion. The complexity of modern society, which is in part a creation of Christianity, lays before us endless problems of right and duty, and opens countless avenues for the entrance of truth into the manifold life of men which could not have been presented if all the conditions of existence had been similar. As a necessary consequence of this, each nation, each association, each man has, in proportion to the distinctness of character, a tendency to do one thing; and the tendency to do it springs (as a general rule and upon a large scale) from the fitness for doing it. There is thus, in virtue of the universality of Christianity, a constant approximation towards the complete manifestation of its power. And when each age and race and individual has fulfilled its proper function—and so far as it fulfils it—a glorious harmony must result, which is true Catholicity. CHAP. III.

34. The recognition of some such historic development of Christianity, varying according to the wants of particular ages or races, as belonging to its present form, restores to the divided Churches a true unity. One of the earliest images under which the unity of Christendom was described was that of many streams flowing from one source. The longer the streams flow, the greater will be

CHAP. III. their divergence; but the divergence is due to progress and does not in any way destroy the original unity of the waters which pass along the various courses. But the streams will not always be divided. They start from one source and they end in one ocean. They have been united outwardly, and they will again be united. Meanwhile the fashion of their currents is moulded by the country through which they pass, and this in turn furnishes the peculiar elements which they bear down to their common resting-place to form the foundations of a world to come.

35. There is indeed much of human selfishness in the present administration and conduct of Christian societies, even as there was in their establishment and organisation. It is not argued that the divisions as we see them are not deformed by much that is unchristian. They are a witness to human imperfection; but at the same time they shew how the failings of man are overruled to the furtherance of his highest destinies. They belong to an order of things in which sin is realised and not only possible (II. §§ 23 ff.); but they are made an occasion during this brief time of trial for the salutary discipline and fruitful development of powers which cannot yet be harmoniously concentrated on one end. On the whole a

fictitious unity is more destructive of vital energy than partial dismemberment, for it tends to weaken the striving after essential unity. The disruption of the visible Church was a calamity which still impedes its action, though even thus, as by the fate of Jerusalem, we are taught to look above for the source of the one life by which its parts are seen to be inspired. The petty rivalries of the day are an evil, though they are an evil which may be borne. But the line of thought which has been opened leads to a trustful and reasonable view of Christendom. It enables us to regard the progress of the Church as we regard the progress of civil society (§ 38). It encourages us to extend our sympathies beyond the limits of our own communion: to look forth without despair upon a world, in part hardly reached by the very sound of Christ's message, in part divided as to the exact meaning of it. It teaches us to watch with patience the slow and painful and wavering advance of truth through long ages, as falling in with what we observe in nature of the enormous scale and gradual progress of the accomplishment of the operations of God (I. §§ 2, 3). The example of the Jewish Church, the legible chronicle of past centuries, shews that under circumstances similar to those which exist now, though simpler and narrower, He wrought out His work and used

CHAP. III. the fruits of man's wilfulness and one-sidedness for the accomplishment of His designs. So we trust it will be now, and in confidence we can fulfil the task which we find ready to our hands, without distrusting the means placed within our reach for furthering the coming of the Kingdom of Christ.

36. Some law of development Christianity must have. The Christianity of the first age, regarded as a whole, is not the Christianity of any later age; and no view of the Church can be complete or satisfactory which does not include and explain the principle of the change. It is impossible for a Christian of to-day to date the descent of his faith from any critical epoch in modern times, and neglect ten or fifteen centuries as a mere parenthesis in the history of the Catholic Church. All the past is included in the present. The Reformation was the fruit of ages gone by no less than the germ which should spring to maturity in ages to come. There can be no suspension in the fulfilment of the divine promise, however varied may be the forms under which it is accomplished. The leaven still works in the manifold mass: the seed advances stage by stage towards its ripe perfection: the tree grows under every change of season and climate, and

offers shelter to all who repose beneath its branches. Each image under which we are taught to contemplate the function of the Church presents at once an element of permanence and an element of change. There is the essential life by which the whole body is quickened, absolutely one and immutable, and the organisation which the vital force moulds and by which it reveals itself, which is mutable and fashioned out of elements earthly and transitory. But even so the continuity of the organisation is necessary for the preservation of the complex life. CHAP. III.

37. The principle of life is one and immutable. In this there is no development. The faith which is written in the facts of the Gospel, and the immediate apostolic interpretation of them, admit of no necessary and authoritative additions. A dogmatic development of Christianity, in the sense of an increase of the fundamental doctrines of the faith, is foreign to the whole spirit of the apostolic writings, and is itself inconceivable without a new revelation. Such a development would only take place by the addition of new dogmas in virtue of the direct action of an adequate power, or by deductions from existing dogmas. But both methods are excluded by the nature of the case. Christianity rests essentially on facts. Its ele-

CHAP. III. mentary doctrines are presented to us in the shape of facts; and thus, even if any central power existed with absolute dogmatic power, new facts would be required for the basis of new doctrines, for the Apostles declare with unmistakeable distinctness the full significance of the Incarnation and the Mission of the Holy Spirit. And again, the truths which answer to the facts of the Gospel belong in themselves to a higher form of existence, and cannot be brought within the domain of our powers of reasoning. Every process which we pursue involves necessarily at each step limitations (as, for example, of time and space) to which the Divine Being is not subject. Every conclusion, therefore, which we form, so far as it is presented as an absolute truth, must have in it an element of error. Indeed, on reflection, it cannot but seem infinitely presumptuous that we should venture to speculate on that of which, even in its simplest form, we can give no positive conception. Nor is there any characteristic by which the apostolic writings are more clearly distinguished from the greatest writings of masters of theology than the absence in them of secondary deductions from the principles which they enforce. In this respect they differ equally from the metaphysical and speculative theology of the East, and from the moral and legal theology of the West.

They contain a record of facts, and an immediate application of the facts, but no more: life and not thought is the object to which they primarily minister, and so they minister (as no other writings ever could do) to thought through life. They set forth with simple distinctness *that* a fact or truth is, but not *how* it is or *why* it is. What there is more than this in later speculations, however beautiful and however precious it may be, is wholly different in kind. From the first the difference has been instinctively felt. The records of the most critical struggle for the truth in the history of the Church shew how widespread was the unwillingness to introduce into the historic creed of Catholic Christendom a single word which was not found in the Scriptures though it was the necessary exponent of their teaching in opposition to error: the language of the noblest champion of orthodoxy shews how far he was willing to dispense with the acceptance of a word when the fact which it imperfectly expressed was admitted.

38. But while the principle of life, the record of the facts of the Gospel, remains the same, the form in which it is embodied may change. Thus we naturally turn to history as shewing the conditions and ruling the mode of the development of Christianity. Here we can see on a large

CHAP. III. scale how the same truths are apprehended by different races, how they are embodied under different circumstances and according to different modes of thought, how they conquer, and array themselves in the spoils of the conquered. No one would deny that in successive ages special aspects or parts of Truth are brought out. The general outline of the history, including both the history of dogma and the history of practice, has a necessary connexion with that of civil and intellectual history. The one is, so to speak, a function of the other. And it follows that as we can trace in the general condition of man a constant advance towards a true fulfilment of the capabilities of his nature, so we may hope for a corresponding progress in the Church, towards that ideal which is held before us in Scripture as its proper consummation. Advance in the first case is not only consistent with wars, revolutions, isolated action, but (as far as we can judge) is even dependent on these which we are tempted to call hindrances in its way. And it may be so with Christianity. The divisions and rivalries and heresies and schisms by which the Church is torn may be means towards the fulfilment of its office. As we look back we can scarcely doubt that it is so. The storm no less than the sunshine is needed that the rainbow, the visible token of

God's covenant with man, may be seen upon the cloud.

39. It is indeed impossible to regard the Church as a body without recognising the necessity of a constant change in its organisation. Growth itself is change; and in proportion as the life of the body is complex we may expect the forms in which it is clothed to be varied. There are times when the individual is forgotten in the society, and conversely when the society is forgotten in the individual. In the apostolic view of the future of Christianity there is a distinct recognition of a progressive work in both. The life of the Church is continuous even as the life of the man; but with this difference (as we have seen, § 20), that this life is manifested not in one outward embodiment, but in many, which are severally similar to the whole which they combine to form.

40. It is no part of our task to attempt to follow out in detail the various phases of the life of the Christian Churches. But it would not be difficult to shew that institutions or dogmas have wrought a most important work for the cause of Christ in one age, which in another have been converted into obstacles to the full apprehension

CHAP. III. of the Truth. There is always a great danger that that which has been found of critical use at one time will be pronounced necessary for all time. Mistaken gratitude changes the outward means of deliverance into an idol. The organisation through which the spirit once worked is reckoned holy, even when the spirit has left it. And thus that which once was a development of life becomes a corruption, not because it has (in every case) changed in itself, but because it stands in a different relation to the whole. The work of the mediæval Church (for example) required modes of operation which could not be retained now without a faithless neglect of the lesson which God has taught us in the last four centuries. The same phenomenon meets us at every step in the economy of individual life. The seed from which rises the fruit-bearing tree, to which the visible society of Christendom is likened, gives birth to a thousand successive organisations, from the seed-leaf to the flower, which fall away when their peculiar office is fulfilled. They perish, but their work remains, and remains because they perish.

41. This consideration brings with it the answer to a general objection which may be urged against the belief in a divine historical development of Christianity. It may be said that the

development is due to the imperfection of man: that so far from carrying forward the perception of the Truth, he lowers the truth to his own level and confines it in a form borrowed from his own weakness. The objection is true if it be directed to any particular point of the development. The Truth itself is infinite, and it is simply because the powers of man are imperfect and finite that any development is necessary. He can only realise step by step, and by successive efforts, what *is* indeed from the beginning[1]. According to the position in which he finds himself, he takes now this, now that fragment of the whole, because it meets his wants. Every embodiment of the Truth must be wrought out in this way. And the nearest approximation which we can form to the complete truth is by the combination of the partial realisations of it which history records. The imperfection of each stage of the development is then only perilous when an attempt is made to transfer the forms of thought or practice of a particular period to another, without any regard to their bearing upon the whole life of the time. The interpretation of Ecclesiastical history, like the interpretation of Scripture, is based upon a proportion. Neither admits a rigid literalism. The

[1] Augustine's enforcement of this truth in one of his most pregnant passages is full of interest: *Enarr. in Psalm.* xliv. 5.

CHAP. III. training of the child and of the man will be different, if both are according to the same law; but the man may learn still (if he reads them rightly) from the lessons of the child.

42. It is not denied that there will be a tendency in man not only to seize that element in the Truth which he himself needs, but also to exaggerate its importance, to array it in fancies of his own, to transmit his embodiment of it as an inviolable heritage to all who shall come after. If it were not so, superstition would have no vitality. But while we look to history for the record of the continuous growth of the Church, we carry the Holy Scriptures with us, as the test whereby to try the essential value of each development. The history of the Old Covenant is enacted afresh in the history of the New. The fulness of the apostolic writings has not yet been exhausted in the life of eighteen centuries. The providence of GOD is at every stage interpreted by His Word. The spirit of the Resurrection tries and transfigures each transitory embodiment of Truth.

43. The same test which is applied to the past history of the Church, can be applied to the present. The vast complexity of modern life, the

various degrees of national culture, the broad CHAP. III. differences between class and class in the same nation, set before us simultaneously, so to speak, distinct periods of the simpler life of the ancient world. We live (and the statement is not a mere figure) in the presence of many ages. We cannot be surprised then if we see around us many Christian societies distinct, and subserving in virtue of their distinctness to distinct types of thought and feeling. Differences which once were found in the same external body are now seen embodied in separate societies. We lose something by the change, but the gain must not be neglected. We are led to look for the spiritual basis of unity instead of reposing in the fact of formal unity. And more than this. The full development of each part is best secured by independent action. Division (if we regard the imperfection of our nature) appears to be the preliminary of that noblest catholicity, which will issue from the separate Eph.iv.16. fulfilment by each part in due measure of its proper function towards the whole. Thus the material unity of Judaism is transformed into the moral unity of the Apocalypse. The unity which was at first spontaneous becomes at last conscious, tested in all its elements and made perfect by conflict.

CHAP. III. 44. It has been urged against this view which leads directly to the recognition of national Churches as a providential mean towards the complete exhibition of Christianity, that national Churches are 'contradictory to the nature of a religious body' and 'opposed to the genius of Christianity.' If Christianity were of this world only, a simple organisation for social and political discipline, the objections would be true. But they fail because the Church *is* a religious body, partially manifested on earth but drawing its life from an unseen source, and one because that source of its life is One. In this respect the idea of the Church may be compared with the idea of humanity with which it is potentially commensurate. The existence of separate and conflicting nations is not destructive of the moral unity of the whole body of mankind, but rather on a large view is seen to minister to its external realisation in the long succession of ages. And so with the Church, though in this case the unseen principle of unity is far more easily apprehended, the distinct embodiments of partial sections of it tend to bring about in the end that complete development which will answer to the fulness of its divine life. The separate Churches thus become as individual members in the larger body, and, like single men themselves, contribute by the most distinct pre-

servation of their individuality to the perfection CHAP. III. of the whole. In the light of the Resurrection all the powers of man in their most free combinations are capable of transfiguration.

45. But it will be obvious that this division of Churches, like the division of nations, is only a transitional phase in the whole history of humanity (comp. § 26). It belongs not to the early but to the later stage of its development. Nay rather if the history of the ancient people of GOD may be taken as a type of the progress of the new 'world' it appears to be the latest stage in the evolution of 'the present age' and to precede a more immediate revelation of the Divine Presence. However this may be, the faint recognition of national Churches is not a mere 'resource in the face of 'overwhelming difficulties,' but a testimony to the power of Christianity to find for itself new organisations to meet new phases of society. Meanwhile we can be content to find in this diversity of operations scope for the most devoted energy and the firmest faith. It has been nobly said that 'nations redeem each other.' One supplies that which another lacks in moral character and purpose; and the existence of a deficiency in one place is not unfrequently the stimulus and the occasion for the display of the corresponding virtue

CHAP. III. in another. At least it is evident that we cannot understand how with our present powers the full grandeur of humanity could be exhibited or developed except by the coexistence of many peoples distinct and even antagonistic. And that which is true of humanity in a political or social aspect is true of it also in a religious aspect. Separate organisations appear to be as necessary for the complete manifestation of the many sides of Christian truth in relation to man, as they are confessedly for the manifestation of national life. But we do not rest in the contemplation of a divided humanity or of a divided Church. Under the varieties of race and character there exist tokens of an essential union which may yet be realised and towards which the current of events is ever turned. There are indications, faint it may be and often baffling, of a common life grander than the life of men and the life of nations, which is struggling to assert its sovereignty. And in the Church there is yet more than this, the certainty of the presence of a Holy Spirit who 'is able to 'subdue all things unto Himself.' But whether we look to nations or Churches, it is needful that we should pause before we claim to exercise the prerogatives of a knowledge which belongs to a higher sphere. As citizens and Christians we stand in varied relations to a universe of which we

can see but the least part. This world is not all; CHAP. III.
and if we look confidently for a unity of the whole, we dare not attempt to construct it in imagination upon the little field which is open to us.

46. The forms which present divisions assume are, it is admitted, and must remain causes for the deepest sorrow. Nothing can be more grievous than the partial wilfulness with which Christian men and Christian societies exalt from time to time with an idolatrous devotion special fragments of truth, which tend to lose their essential character by being isolated. But such reflections as have been suggested, while they leave the special evils of a divided Christendom just as they are, yet enable the devout mind to regard them without despair: nay more to regard them, as it would regard the disorders of the physical world, with quiet confidence and faith. We cannot yet see how the whirlwind or the earthquake falls in with an infinitely benevolent system of nature; but we do not doubt that it does do so. In looking on human life we have even better grounds for faith. There we can see faint beginnings of a final harmony, converging tendencies towards a divine order, which will embrace all the varieties of thought and life in their richest fulness. When we see what the belief in Christ

CHAP. III. and the power of His Resurrection has done, how it has interpreted and made its own this and that instinctive feeling, how it has found an embodiment, natural if not complete, under every variety of external circumstances, how it includes in itself a principle of unity capable of combining whatever there is in these of permanent value, we can look out upon the conflict of sects without distrust, and look forward to that golden age *to* which and not *from* which the history of the Church advances.

47. Nothing is more paralysing than a sense of isolation: nothing is more cheering than a consciousness of fellowship in the combined action of a great nation or of a great society. Christendom is weak not only because it is divided but chiefly because each section is enfeebled by a sense of the littleness of its power as it measures the triumphs of Christianity by its own peculiar standard. Our strength will be indefinitely increased if we believe that GOD works not only through us or in our way and according to our notions, but uses us according to the measure of our capacities, and others with us in the accomplishment of the design of His Love. Every energy will be turned to its proper work as our thoughts rest on the glory of the Risen Saviour.

48. Wherever we look the first question CHAP. III. which arises is ever: To what purpose is this waste? On all sides we see a prodigal wealth of powers which to us appear to pass away without effect, of germs of life which never fulfil what we think to be their proper destiny, of beauty which gladdens no human eye. In the moral world the same mystery recurs. One man out of many, one family of many, one nation of many, one world of many (if our thoughts dare wander so far), are centres of blessings of which all are equally capable of sharing, and we cannot trace the law by which their influence gradually reaches to the furthest limits of being, while we see multitudes perish unconscious of their common heritage. All nature teaches the same lesson. 'We know in part.' It is enough. If Christ be risen, in that fact lies the pledge of 'the restitution of all things' towards Acts iii. 21. which men are encouraged to work.

APPENDIX I.

ASPECTS OF POSITIVISM IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY[1].

ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.
Acts xvii. 23.

Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle. Par AUGUSTE COMTE. Paris. 1852.

Système de Politique Positive, ou Traité de Sociologie Instituant la Religion de l'Humanité. Par AUGUSTE COMTE. Paris. 1851—1854.

I.

NO religion can fail to be a fruitful subject of study: even the rudest reveals something of the natural feelings and wants of man which are awakened by the experience of life. And exactly as we believe Christianity to be *the* Truth, we shall confidently expect to find in it all that is true in the manifold expressions of human thought. Thus it has happened not unfrequently that independent speculations or instinctive aspirations have brought out elements in the Gospel which had been before overlooked or set

[1] This Essay originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*.

APPENDIX I. aside. They were there, and even actively at work, but they were not consciously apprehended. And so it seems to be now. The religion of Positivism is offered as the final result of a profound analysis of society and man, and its unquestionable attractiveness to pure and vigorous minds indicates that it does meet with some peculiar force present phases of thought. Are there not then lessons which we may learn from it?

While I endeavour to answer this question, I shall be content to take Comte's own conclusions, without discussing the processes by which he obtains them. The strength of the Positivist philosophy lies in its method; the strength of the Positivist religion lies in its conception: and the Positivist alone is concerned with reconciling the two. That which is at best only a hypothesis for the Positivist may prove to be a reality for the Christian; and while I set aside the physiological basis of the Positive religion, it need scarcely be said that I do not propose to deal with the principles of Positivism as furnishing a method of philosophy. I desire simply to explain what Comte lays down as the essential bases of religion, from an exclusively human point of view, and to consider whether his exposition throws any light upon neglected aspects of Christianity.

But though this is not the place to discuss the philosophic aspect of Positivism, one remark is unavoidable. It seems to be generally assumed that there is some fundamental antagonism between the Positive method and Christianity. Nothing, I believe, can be more false. I should even venture to

maintain that the spirit of Positivism is more in harmony with a *historic* religion than that of any other system of philosophy. It knows nothing of causes, and consequently decides nothing prior to observation. It refuses to recognise absolute laws, and consequently is always ready to take account of new facts. As against a metaphysical theism the arguments of Positivists may perhaps avail; but they are inherently powerless against a faith which is based, not on subjective theories, but on outward events, of which all personal experience and all social development furnish the adequate and only conceivable verification.

This being so, it is evident that a Positivist in philosophy may be a Christian in religion; and the religion constructed on Positivism may, as far as it goes, illustrate or confirm the doctrine and constitution in which the Church has embodied the facts of the Gospel. How far this is so is the subject with which we have now to deal. And with this problem before us, it would be superfluous to criticise the errors and misrepresentations—to use no harsher terms—with which Comte's religious writings are disfigured. He puts them forward so boldly and so frequently, that no one moderately conversant with Christianity can be misled by them[1]. It is equally unnecessary to exhibit his weaknesses. Others, who have dwelt on these with more than necessary detail, have paid the penalty of becoming blind to what there is really

[1] Something has been said in a former paper on Comte's fundamental misconception of the idea of Christianity, *Contemporary Review*, VI. pp. 417 ff.

APPENDIX I. noble and just in his teaching. And it is with this that we are concerned. A system is formidable, not by what there is false in it, but by what there is true in it. If then it can be shewn that Christianity assures what Positivism promises—if it can be shewn that it includes in a fact what Positivism symbolises in a conception—if it can be shewn that it carries on to the unseen and eternal the ideas which Positivism limits to the seen and temporal—we may be sure that Positivism will have no lasting religious power, except as a transitional preparation for a fuller faith. Comte will be one more in the long line of witnesses who shew that the soul is naturally Christian[1].

II.

To some however it must seem strange to speak of any system as a religion which does not recognise the action of a Personal God. For us indeed the idea of religion is so naturally connected with that of theology,

[1] In this unconscious prophecy of faith, Comte offers a singular parallel to the great poet of the Roman Republic. Both were bitterly hostile to the established faith of their countries. Both sought to lay in the study of nature the firm basis of human life and hope. Both were profoundly impressed with the sense of the unity of the world. But, in spite of the similarity of the moral position of the two teachers, we feel that they are separated by more than eighteen Christian centuries. Lucretius sought in the explanation of the origin of things that confidence which Comte looks for in the observation of their being. The one feels his way towards the intellectual conception of a harmony of nature; the other, towards the moral law of the discipline of life. Both, as it seems, were heralds of a crisis of thought. To both the Resurrection is the complete fulfilment of aspiration and teaching.

that it requires a serious effort to separate the two. APPENDIX I.
A perfect religion must indeed take account of three elements—the individual, the world, and GOD; but an imperfect religion can exist, if the individual recognises without him an infinite power, contemplated as personal, and such as to claim the complete devotion of the worshipper. The Great Being of Comte—the sum of all humanity, past present and future—practically satisfies the condition of infinity; and it satisfies the condition of personality by the concession which is made to each worshipper to represent it to himself under some definite historical or imaginary type. In fact, we may be driven to ask ourselves whether the Being which some Christians worship is less truly an abstraction than the idealised humanity of the Positivists.

But while we must never leave out of sight, in dealing with the Religion of Positivism, the fundamental defect which mars its completeness, it is necessary to remember that this is not the only form in which a religion can be founded upon a dualism, though it is that most repugnant to our instincts. Dr Newman, in a striking passage of his 'Apologia[1],' has sketched the permanent influence of evangelical teaching upon him, which consisted in 'confirming 'me,' he says, 'in my mistrust of the reality of 'material phenomena and making me rest in the 'thought of two, and two only, supreme and luminously 'self-evident beings—myself and my Creator.' Thus,

[1] P. 59. It is however difficult to judge whether Dr Newman himself holds this to be the final analysis of the elements of religion.

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as Comte leaves out the Deity from his elementary conceptions, another school leaves out the world. A little reflection will shew that a system based upon either dualism is irreparably though not equally imperfect. The one passes into Secularism, the other into Mysticism; while the fulness of Truth springs from the co-ordination of both.

There can be no doubt that the quotation from Dr Newman expresses the popular view of the constituent elements of religion, though this personal antithesis is more truly characteristic of Protestantism than of Roman Catholicism. It is therefore easy to see in which direction the study of the Positive religion is likely to be fruitful to us. By dwelling on the relations of man to humanity and to the world, Comte has again vindicated for religion its social destination. Since the Reformation, the general tendency of religious influences has been to individualism; and thus a bold and exclusive enunciation of the complementary aspect cannot but contribute to the restoration of the true harmony between personal and social religion which Christianity, as we believe, alone contains.

III.

Having thus indicated the one vast lacuna in Comte's theory of religion, and the manner in which his system is likely to supplement other popular theories, we may proceed to trace the outlines of it as he has drawn them. 'Religion is,' he says, 'the 'complete harmony proper to human existence, indi-

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'vidual and collective, when all its parts are brought 'into due relation to one another[1].' It is for the soul, in other words, what health is for the body[2]; and as health is essentially one, though in all cases variously and imperfectly realised, so too religion is essentially one, though it is attained in various forms and in different degrees. Even to the last, it is an ideal to which each specific type is an approximation[3].

The object of religion, corresponding to this definition, is set forth as twofold. It is destined at once to discipline (*régler*) the individual, and to unite (*rallier*) the separate individuals in a harmonious whole. It aims at personal unity and social unity[4]. And the same influences which tend to correct the selfish instincts of each man, tend at the same time to bring all men into a true and lasting concord[5].

And as the aim of religion is twofold, so also is its base. It reposes on an objective and on a subjective foundation[6]. Without, there is the external order, in itself independent of us, which necessarily limits our thoughts and actions and feelings. Within, there is a principle of benevolent sympathy, which

[1] Politique Positive, II. 8. Compare Catéchisme, p. 2. '[Religion] indique l'état de complète *unité* qui distingue notre 'existence, à la fois personnelle et sociale, quand toutes ses 'parties, tant morales que physiques, convergent habituelle-'ment vers une destination commune.'

Thus Comte adopts the derivation from *religare*, and not from *relegere*, which Augustine also defends: *De Vera Religione*, 55; *Retract*. 13 (the whole of this revision is full of interest).

[2] Pol. Pos. *l. c.* [3] Pol. Pos. *l. c.* Cat. 3.

[4] Pol. Pos. II. 66. Cat. *l. c.*

[5] Pol. Pos. II. 10. [6] Pol. Pos. II. 12, 17, 25. Cat. 28.

APPENDIX I. prompts us to look beyond our own wants and wishes, and to seek in a wider harmony the satisfaction of the deepest instincts of our nature.

The same dualism is extended also to the composition of religion. It has an intellectual part and a moral part. The former includes the adequate conception of the general laws of physics, of life, of society, to which our feelings and our actions are subordinated. The latter, under the shape of discipline, regulates our conduct at once public and private, and, under the shape of worship, guides and intensifies our feelings. Briefly, the sphere of doctrine is thought, and its end is the True; the sphere of discipline is action, and its end is the Good; the sphere of worship is feeling, and its end is the Beautiful. And, as a whole, religion teaches us to know, to serve, and to love the great Being, in whom all that falls within the range of our power is summed up[1].

IV.

In this view of the character and scope of religion, which no one can deny to be grand and comprehensive, even while it lacks the Christian elements of infinity and personality which we necessarily crave, one point is of commanding importance. Religion, Comte tells us, is the bringing into harmony the order without us and the spirit within us; the last and perfect combination of faith and love[2]. This conception is the true key to his whole system. Our chief work, therefore, is to learn the character of the

[1] Pol. Pos. II. 19 ff. [2] Pol. Pos. II. 16.

bases on which these final principles respectively repose. APPENDIX I.

On the one side then we have a vast external order, of which a fuller knowledge is gradually unfolded in the long course of ages, whereby we apprehend it as within certain limits at once fixed and variable. Step by step we are forced to contemplate the phenomena which it presents as falling into groups, and connected with one another by certain relations of sequence. The laws of observation which we thus form are extended gradually from physics to life, and from life to history, till we feel that not only are the ages permeated by 'an increasing pur-'pose,' but that all being also is united by one principle. The efforts of Reason—and the juxtaposition is important—naturally culminate in the nobler efforts of Faith[1].

This order is apprehended, as has been said, as being both fixed and variable; and in both respects it affects us beneficently. The fixity furnishes a solid basis for our thoughts and actions, and, by making foresight generally possible, saves us from idle speculation and from misdirected energy. At the same time it sets an impassable limit to personal caprice, and, by basing all life upon submission, prepares men for sympathetic effort as united in obedience to a

[1] Pol. Pos. II. 25 ff. p. 17. 'L'état religieux repose donc 'sur la combinaison permanente de deux conditions également 'fondamentales, aimer et croire, qui, quoique profondément 'distinctes, doivent naturellement concourir. Chacune d'elles, 'outre sa nécessité propre, ajoute à l'autre un complément 'indispensable à sa pleine efficacité.'

APPENDIX I. common supremacy[1]. Its variability, on the other hand, is the pledge of progress. It stimulates speculation by suggesting a series of problems of surpassing interest. It guides activity by opening fields for labour, and substituting fruitful obedience for passive resignation. It represses at once asceticism and mysticism by offering its greatest blessings not to personal, but to social labour[2].

Such according to Comte is the objective base of religion. On the other side, it is observed that there is an internal tendency in man, springing from benevolent affections, which carries him beyond himself in the search after his proper happiness and dignity[3]. Just as the laws of the external world are only slowly and partially made known, so this inner life is brought out by the gradual evolution of society. The love of the Family passes into the love of the State; and the love of the State rises into the all-embracing love of Humanity.

This tendency also, like the external order, is at once fixed and variable. In some shape or other, it will make itself felt in every man. It may be dwarfed and neutralised by atrophy, or strengthened and ennobled by exercise. But in its normal development Love spontaneously apprehends by moral intuition what Faith systematically constructs by intellectual processes; and at the last both coincide in their complete fulfilment. Faith sees the harmony of all things, which Love feels.

[1] Pol. Pos. II. 28 ff. [2] Pol. Pos. II. 37 ff. Cat. 16, 41.
[3] Pol. Pos. II. 14.

Nor may we forget that while the ultimate objective and subjective bases of religion are thus broadly distinguished, there is yet always a human element in our conception of the Cosmos, and a cosmical element in our feelings as men. The unity of the world is subjective[1]. The laws of phenomena are gained by the abstraction of the constant part from the variable. And conversely, the development of love is objective. It gains strength only as it is manifested according to the conditions of our existence. Man indeed is himself, according to the wise instinct of old philosophers, a microcosm, including in his own person the action of all the laws which we observe without us, and supplementing them by that higher law of love whereby he alone is capable of religion[2]. APPENDIX I.

According to this exposition, it is evident that religion is built upon knowledge, and the Positivist system of doctrine is simply the outline of the hierarchy of the sciences, which are severally subordinated one to another, and each regulated by its peculiar laws. In due succession the believer or the student—for the words become synonymous—learns to appreciate the universal laws of number, time, and space, by which all our definite conceptions are ruled; next he passes to those of physics, which are more complicated and less general; then to those of chemistry, which brings him to the verge of life. The investigation of the laws of life leads to that of the

[1] Pol. Pos. II. 32 f. Cat. 36, 77.

[2] Cat. 95, 122.

APPENDIX I. laws of society; and the last and crowning science in this scheme is that of morals[1].

Such an encyclopædic review of the great departments of knowledge reveals two important principles. Each science is based upon those which precede it in the scale, so that in every case the nobler phenomena are subordinated to the lower. And, secondly, each science, as it increases in complexity, admits also of greater variations[2]. To these principles two corollaries may be added. First, that each series of laws produces its full effect in every instance, though the result may be modified by the action of new forces acting according to new laws. And, again, that the power of foresight, which measures the definiteness of the law, varies from absolute certainty in the case of combinations of number, and the like, to indefinite doubt when we speculate on the isolated action of individuals.

V.

One important conclusion follows from this mode of viewing the relations of religion and science, which has been commonly lost sight of by physicists no less than by theologians. If it be true, and it seems to be incontestable as far as it goes, a conflict between religion and science is impossible. Not only are the two subjects heterogeneous, but the results of science—

[1] The connexion of the sciences is clearly given, Pol. Pos. II. 58 ff. The most complete examination of their distribution and relations is in Pol. Pos. IV. 187 ff.

[2] Cat. 50, 70, 73. Thus many phenomena will never be brought under definite laws.—Cat. 52.

whether physical or human—are part of the data which it is the function of religion to co-ordinate.

Moreover, if we complete the great hierarchy of the sciences by the addition of theology above morals, it is obvious that the same principles will hold good. The new science, so far as it deals with facts, will never be independent of the action of the forces revealed by the lower sciences; but it is not itself shaped by them. In dealing with it, we shall have to take account of new forces manifested under new laws, which may modify in a manner wholly inconceivable before experience the laws and forces of the lower sciences; but theology is no more therefore inconsistent with them than the science of chemistry, for instance, is with the science of life. It is impossible to anticipate from the observation of an inferior science what will be the phenomena of another above it; and, conversely, the phenomena of every superior science will be subject to the laws of those below it, though they are not explicable by those alone. A problem in biology cannot be solved by the application of chemical laws, though these must be considered in dealing with it; and so also a question in morals cannot be dealt with solely by laws of life, or a question of theology by laws of ethics; though, in both cases, the subordinate laws underlie the final result.

Thus the Positive view of the dependence of religion on science errs by defect, and not in principle. It requires to be supplemented, and not overthrown. And when the whole cycle of human thought and experience, of consciousness as well as of obser-

APPENDIX I. vation, is brought within the range of scientific study, we are first capable of perceiving the full grandeur of the idea of religion. Its destiny is not only to discipline (*régler*) and to unite (*rallier*), but still more to reunite (*rélier*). It is the final harmony of man, the microcosm, not with the world alone, but with God.

It is of no moment in this respect what view we may take of nature (*natura, werden*). Every fact in science furnishes new material for religion, and at once enlarges its scope and tends to define its character. But, that it may do so, no fact must be looked at by itself. At present, science suffers at least as much as religion from partial and contracted views. The student of physics perpetrates as many solecisms as the student of theology. Every one would feel the absurdity of a geometrician denying a fact in morals because it is not deducible from his premisses; and yet it is not a rare thing to hear some explorer of inorganic nature gravely argue that nothing can be known of God, because his inquiries give no direct results as to His being or His attributes. Thus each partial observer of ethics, or history, or nature, is tempted to forget that there are other phenomena than those with which he deals, and so to use his fragmentary laws as measures of the universe. The degradation of science is the inevitable consequence. But when all observed facts are placed in their proper categories, whether they be facts in physics, or biology, or social science, or ethics, or theology, they will, as we believe, teach us something more of the will of God, which is made manifest to us, according to the nature of the subject-matter, in the several orders of

being with which each of these departments of knowledge is respectively conversant.

We claim then, by our Christian faith, that the sphere of religion be recognised as co-extensive with the utmost bounds of human thought and knowledge, while at the same time it is dominated by a moral purpose which springs from sympathy or love. The personal object of religion—the reconciliation of man to GOD—is not likely ever to be absent from our minds; but there is at all times a tendency to omit, at least in popular exposition, this complementary view of the harmonization of man with humanity and nature. Scepticism at once occupies the ground which is abandoned. And in this lies one of the great lessons of Positivism, that by asserting religion to be the complete harmony of man and the Cosmos, it has forced again upon our notice aspects of Christian truth which have been more or less hidden since the teaching of the greatest Greek fathers was superseded in the West by the necessarily narrower system of Latin theology. Some conception of the great order at present we must have[1]; and if our religion is, as we believe, the highest expression which can be given to faith and love, it will embrace this also. We shall rise beyond the individual standing-point to some one higher and more commanding; and while we retain firmly our original sense of the inestimable worth of the individual soul, we shall feel also that each is part of a sublimer whole, extending through all time and space, and bound by sensible and indissoluble links to the sum of all being.

[1] Cat. 26.

VI.

It is not difficult to characterise the ideas which are brought into prominence by this extension of the religious field of life. The Positivist suggests the ideas of continuity, solidarity, and totality; the Christian, going yet further, adds the idea of infinity; and without the distinct recognition of these four ideas, it seems to be impossible to represent adequately the message of Christianity, as a historical and sacramental religion, to our own age.

A very little reflection will shew the profound influence which continuity exercises upon life. When it is once apprehended, no religion which claims to be universal can neglect it. Materially, intellectually, and morally, we are the children of the past, destined in turn to give birth to a new race which will inherit all that we possess. Whatever view we may take of the originative power of the individual, and we claim necessarily that the personal will shall be admitted to be an independent force, it is evident that the accumulations of wealth of every form which furnish the instruments of our action, the treasures of language which control the general tenour of our thoughts, the forms and habits of social and national intercourse which stimulate and guide our feelings, are incomparably stronger than any individual power which can be brought to bear upon them. If it were not so, in place of society we should have chaos. And all these are in their source and growth independent of us. We can watch how, in old times, the various results of labour and reflection and conflict were gathered up

and perpetuated in abiding shapes; but we have no choice but to receive them. It is our privilege to modify, but not to begin. More and more as the ages go on, in Comte's striking phrase, we who live are ruled by the dead, though it is our prerogative to serve them with a free and willing service, and in our turn, when our work is done, to be joined with them in the sovereignty of the future[1].

Two important conclusions flow from this law of our earthly existence. The first is, to borrow again Comte's own phrase, that progress is the development of order[2]; and the second, that the thoughts or institutions of the past can be applied to the present only by a method of proportion.

As to the first, it is of no moment whether, like the Positivist, we regard the phenomena of society simply in themselves, without referring them to any higher cause, or whether we see in them (as we do) the manifestation of the will of God. No one looking back over the past can fail to detect a general advance of humanity, as a whole, in certain definite directions corresponding to what we observe in the fuller development of the man. The progress, on a large scale, exhibits the harmonious elevation of our whole complex being, even though periods of devastation and fiery trial are needed for the preparation of the future growth.

The second consequence, though it is really more obvious, is more commonly overlooked. Any expression of popular judgment, whether it be made by

[1] Pol. Pos. II. 61. Cat. 32. The question of hereditary character deserves more attention from moralists than it has received. *Cf.* Cat. 102. [2] Cat. 108.

APPENDIX I. word or by act, is necessarily relative to the time and circumstances under which it is made. As circumstances change, it does not by any means follow that the changes in the acceptation of words or in the significance of acts will be made in the same direction, so that the relation between them will remain fixed. And therefore, if we would gain for ourselves the blessings which we can refer in past ages to certain institutions or formulas, it can only be by realising the relation in which they stood to the whole constitution of society then, and finding their proportional representatives now. To transfer a form of one age unaltered into another is in most cases to be faithless to that very principle of continuity by which we claim to be children of the first century, or the fourth, or the ninth, or the thirteenth. We are the children of the men who lived then; we cannot be the men themselves.

The doctrine of solidarity is not less fruitful of thought than that of continuity. It presents to us (if such an illustration is allowable) in a horizontal section a similar succession of varieties of society to that which we have considered before in a vertical section. Or, to take another mode of expression, it presents in the extension of space what continuity regards in the extension of time. In a family, or a city, or a nation, we can readily apprehend how the co-existing members are bound together so as to form a whole, of which each part is really, though remotely, united to the others by material and moral actions and reactions. Our observation of the subtle influences by which continuity is preserved helps us to extend this idea yet further. Nation is thus seen to be moved by nation,

stock by stock, till the whole race, which is connected spiritually by a community of nature, is felt also to be connected actually by mutual, though often indirect, operations of each fragment upon the rest. APPENDIX I.

Whenever we seize, however tremblingly, as at best it must be, this vast conception of the Great Being in which all mankind is for the time united, it is evident that our views of the destiny, of the relations, and of the action of men will be greatly influenced. The thought which inspires hope, and assures patience, at the same time ennobles labour, and stimulates action. Hope and patience spring necessarily out of the application of the lessons of the past to the present. We can see how rivalries and conflicts, the rise and fall of principles and states, the very exhaustion of powers once beneficent and life-giving, have contributed to the whole progress of human life. We can believe then that phenomena of the same kind, when co-existent, are no less instrumental of good. And it is no objection to this faith that it is not in our experience converted into sight. Life would be indefinitely impoverished if the fruits of effort or suffering were not reserved in the richest measure for the future.

The present effect of the idea of solidarity upon labour and action is perhaps less frequently realised than the remoter effect which has been just noticed, but it is at least capable of being far more energetic. Briefly, it may be summed up in two principles. It consecrates the permanent variety of functions in life[1], and substitutes duties for rights[2].

[1] Cat. 109, 113.

[2] Cat. 289. The conception of salary as simply designed

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As long as we regard individuals as so many separate units, it is clear that we must regard complete equality as the ultimate ideal of their state. The object of reform must be to assimilate man to man. But this chimerical fancy loses all rational basis when the individual is seen to be the member of a body which itself is part of a greater whole, of which the final dimensions surpass all human imagination. Then it follows at once that complexity of office is the condition of health. The completeness of health depends on the completeness of the organism. Society, in every true sense, would cease to exist without an abiding distinction of classes. Humanity would be poorer if it were deprived of any national or specific types. There is no confusion in the multiplicity of service. There is no levelling, no disparagement, in the just subordination of distinct works. The essential variety, the actual combination, both belong to the characteristics of life.

And if we apply the principle to the separate work of each, it becomes, as it were, a revelation of the moral dignity of labour. No one in any society works for himself. Each worker is a servant of the body. He does really co-operate with all for the good of all. It is only required that he should feel the destination and the source of what he does and

'à remplacer chez chaque organe social les matériaux qu'il 'consomme toujours, comme provisions pour sa subsistance 'ou instruments pour sa function' (Cat. 116), is worthy of attention, as well as the principle on which it is based, that 'chaque service personnel ne comporte jamais d'autre récompense que la satisfaction de l'accomplir et la reconnaissance 'qu'il procure' (Cat. 117).

of what he receives. Then at last he would, as Comte admirably expresses the truth, know that 'to 'live *for* others' is but another aspect of 'living *by* 'others[1].' APPENDIX I.

At the same time the transference of our point of sight from the individual to the body brings out into clear light the second principle. If the individual be the centre, then he may have rights; but if the body be the centre, he can have only duties. It is possible that these complementary aspects may be reconciled, but there can be no doubt which we most frequently forget. And if we once add the Christian idea of what the body potentially is, all notion of personal claims vanishes in comparison with the infinite debt whereby we are bound, each in our measure, to fill up that which is lacking to the completeness of the whole.

The doctrine of what I have ventured to call the totality of life carries yet one step further the doctrines of its continuity and solidarity. It is not only that the successive generations of men are linked together by laws which they can only modify, and not abrogate, nor yet that each generation is interpenetrated and united by a common life; but the life of humanity is itself ruled, in a great measure, by the medium in which it is passed. The influence of physical powers upon man may have been exaggerated, but we cannot deny that it is real. Comte himself

[1] 'Vivre pour autrui devient chez chacun de nous le devoir 'continu qui résulte rigoureusement de ce fait irrécusable— 'vivre par autrui' (Cat. 266). To a Christian the words have a tenfold force.

APPENDIX I. does not overstate it. 'The world,' he writes, 'furnishes the materials, and man determines the form.' 'Man is not a result of the world, and yet he depends upon it[1].' The observed variations in the constancy of the relations of nature and man are not sufficient to disturb our confidence in the fixity of what we call natural laws. And, conversely, while the laws remain fixed, man is so far capable of modifying the elements through which their action is displayed, as to seriously alter their total effect. If again we regard only living forms, here the power of man is supreme. Some die away at his approach; others follow him; others are capable of receiving what we are forced to call the moral impress of his character.

To pursue in any detail the consequences which flow from this connexion of man with the physical world would be impossible here. It must be enough to notice the general lessons which it teaches as to the action of man and the destiny of creation. As to the first, it shews that the sovereignty of man is manifested, not in the direct exertion, but in the guidance of force[2]. The effect in each case depends not so much on power as on wisdom. In other words, our true strength lies in taking each discovered law as the rule according to which we may employ our energies, always remembering that the higher phenomena rest upon and include the lower, and are modifiable in direct proportion to their complexity.

On the other hand, as man is at present continually modifying all nature, both spontaneously and of purpose, it is necessary to regard the connexion

[1] Cat. 42, 37. [2] Cat. 105 ff.

thus established as in some sense permanent. We cannot wholly sever the fate of the lower and humbler companions of man, for example, from the fate of man himself. And perhaps there is nothing more characteristic of Comte than the almost importunate eagerness with which he claims for the animals, which habitually labour with man to secure his worthy objects, incorporation, according to their individual dignity and services, in the great being into which man himself passes[1].

VII.

Now these grand and far-reaching ideas of the continuity, the solidarity, the totality of life, which answer equally to the laws of our being and the deepest aspirations of our souls, are not only reconcilable with Christianity, but they are essentially Christian. The Positivist theory, so far from advancing anything novel in such teaching, simply places us once again in the original Christian point of view of the Cosmos. Once again the divinity of the Gospel is vindicated by its power, when honestly interpreted, to stand abreast or in advance of the noblest generalisations of experience. And this is in virtue of its essential constitution, intellectually no less than spiritually. For, because it is contained primarily in facts, and not in words, it rises beyond the possible associations of a single age to a full harmony with universal life. And so, as our view of life becomes fuller and richer, our view of the Gospel,

[1] Cat. 31.

APPENDIX I. which is the transfiguration of life, becomes fuller and richer in the same degree. Doctrine which is based upon the Incarnation or the Resurrection must be progressive, organic, and total. These facts, however imperfectly interpreted, yet mark human existence by an advance in a definite direction, by relation to one centre, by approximation towards a perfect ideal. They contain a principle of continuous life, a principle of social unity, a prospect of 'the restoration of all 'things.' And this, too, was the case before history or science had laid open the general laws of human progress or the necessary connexion of man with the world.

Nor, while the facts in themselves are found to be thus pregnant, does the apostolic interpretation of the facts in any degree fall short of the meaning which has been assigned to them. 'It was the pur-'pose of GOD,' we read, 'that, in the dispensation of 'the fulness of times, He might sum up all things in 'Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon 'the earth[1].'

Because of Christ's Incarnation and Passion, 'GOD 'also highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name 'which is above every name, that in the name of 'Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, 'and things on earth, and things under the earth[2].'

From Christ,—'which is the head,'—'all the body 'fitly framed and knit together through that which 'every joint supplieth, according to the working in due 'measure of each several part, maketh the increase of 'the body unto the building up of itself in love[3].'

[1] Eph. i. 10. [2] Phil. ii. 9, 10. [3] Eph. iv. 16.

'The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth 'for the revealing of the sons of GOD...groaning and 'travailing in pain together until now[1].'

Such language, in its assured confidence, passes our hope; and as we ponder on it, we may well doubt whether even to St Paul himself the infinite depths of wisdom which it contains were open as they are to us now. Here also it seems as if the lapse of ages and the slow widening of thought could alone adequately reveal the significance of prophecy[2].

But Christianity does not pause where Positivism pauses, in the visible order. It carries the unity of being yet further, and links all that is seen with that unseen which can only be figured to us in parables. An imperious instinct asserts that our individual existence is not closed by what falls here under our senses; and every indication of the intimate relationship of man with man, and of age with age, confirms the belief in the further extension of this law of dependence to an order of being beyond the present. If we further take account of the many tokens of a scheme begun and not completed here, which requires for the present the sacrifice of races, it may be, or of generations, the same conviction is deepened. Even in the constitution and advance of society, the effects of selfishness and sin are so open and great, that we are forced to look onward to some future resolution of the discords by which they interrupt the harmony of life.

From the nature of the case, it is impossible that we should have any distinct apprehension of this

[1] Rom. viii. 19, 22. [2] Comp. 1 Pet. i. 10—12.

APPENDIX I. unseen order. Our utmost resources of language only enable us to combine variously the phenomena with which we are already acquainted; and this to which we are looking is a new order, and not the transference of the old to a new sphere. But though our notions of the future must be vague, Christianity so treats it as to assure us of our personal hope, and at the same time to indicate the direction in which we may look for the solution of the mysteries of society.

In the first place, it accepts unequivocally the indivisibility of man[1]. The body is not a burden by which the soul is temporarily weighed down, but an essential condition of our personality, to be won[2] and disciplined, and in the end to be transfigured, but not destroyed. The central fact in which these truths are conveyed is absolutely unique, as is the combination of the truths themselves. Between the Resurrection and any of the other raisings from the dead there is no more resemblance than there is between the Incarnation and any of the fabled visits of the Greek gods to earth in human shapes. The same event which declares the essential permanence of our whole being shews that the conditions of its action and existence will be changed. In what way this change will be accomplished we cannot tell. We know only that we can draw no conclusions from the limitations of this world as to the character of the next, and, on the other hand, that nothing in us will be lost.

Corresponding reflections help us to see how that which appears to be lost or prematurely carried away here may have truly fulfilled its work. It is clear

[1] Comp. Cat. 24. [2] Comp. 1 Thess. iv. 4 (κτᾶσθαι).

that performance is not a final test of character, nor external action of effect. We are conscious of subtle powers about us, which cannot be analysed or resisted. In another order, as we can believe, we may be allowed to see how these had their origin in silent, unnoticed, or forgotten souls, which will then be revealed in the plenitude of their true energy.

The mystery of evil, we allow, still remains; but even on this light is cast. It ceases, at least, to be triumphant or active.

'Then cometh the end when [Christ] shall deliver 'up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He 'shall have abolished all rule, and all authority and 'power. For He must reign till He hath put all 'His enemies under His feet. The last enemy that 'shall be abolished is death...Then shall the Son also 'Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all 'things unto Him, that God may be all in all[1].'

This sublime prospect lies before us, in which all the varied developments of life are crowned with their divine fulfilment. And though the contemplation of it may lie without the range of the personal teaching of Christianity which commonly limits our religious thought, yet it is a duty to strive, as occasion may arise, to grasp the full proportions of the hope which it brings to man and to the world. It is not always enough that each should feel in his own heart the power of the Gospel to meet individual wants. We must claim for it also to be recognised as a wisdom revealed and realised only in the advance of time, and embracing in one infinite fact all that men

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.

have aspired to for themselves and for the transitory order in which they are placed.

It is our lot to live in an age when this need is imperative. On all sides there is a restless striving after some solid construction of truth which may rise out of and above the results of negative criticism. Never before were the evils of dispersive study more apparent or more pressing. Never before were isolated views of truth more capable of being exhibited in their one-sidedness. Never before was anarchy of thought and life felt to be more at variance with the highest destiny of man. Never before was there a more passionate longing for spiritual unity among those whom the conditions of life have separated. Of all these facts the teaching of Positivism is an unlooked-for and unsuspected witness. At the same time it seems to point out how we may apply the apostolic message to combine, and supplement, and guide, and animate the scattered elements out of which the future may be worthily built. And while we thankfully receive the lessons which it gives, we owe to it also a new confirmation of our historic creed. For if anything external can re-assure faith, it must be that the widest interpretation of human progress, the subtlest analysis of human nature, is only a partial commentary on the Resurrection.

APPENDIX II.

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST A NEW REVELATION[1].

I.

IT is greatly to be regretted that those who enter on the examination of religious questions do not in every case state distinctly the postulates which underlie their reasoning. As it is, serious misunderstanding arises from the use of words which carry with them wholly different associations, according as they are used on one side or the other; and discussions which profess to be impartial are conducted, it may be even unconsciously, in the interest of foregone conclusions. It is obvious, for example, that the idea of a 'sign' or 'miracle' is, under particular circumstances, natural or unnatural according as a man believes, or does not believe, in a Creator who is still in a living connexion with His creation. If, again, it is assumed that a revelation is impossible, the belief in a revelation *must* be a delusion, and the records which give an account of its delivery *must* be incredible. This being

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[1] This Essay originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, Nov. 1877.

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so, it is clear that the charge which is habitually urged against so-called 'apologists,' of being committed to the conclusion which they have to establish, applies more completely to the 'alogists,' who deny the possibility of revelation altogether. The 'apologist' is perfectly free to modify his view of the methods of revelation, to strive to gain a fuller conception of the unity of the Divine plan, to seek for a more comprehensive survey of 'nature,' as embracing the utmost potency of being which falls within the grasp of his powers; but the 'alogist' has barred his own progress by an absolute negation. 'This and 'this,' he ventures to say, 'cannot be: if it is ever 'said to have been, the statement is inherently false. 'All that remains for the critic is to explain as plausibly 'as he can how the statement gained currency.'

I propose, therefore, in the present paper to state as clearly as I can under what conditions the Christian enters on an examination of the evidence for the Resurrection, what is the Evangelic conception of the fact itself, how the fact thus interpreted illustrates the character of the Christian faith generally as a historical faith, how it bears upon our views of the world and upon studies of present interest. It is obviously impossible to do more than indicate lines of thought in these different directions. The examination of the details of evidence belongs to another place. But a general view of the Christian position, apart from other advantages, will shew that some of the attacks directed against it are based on misconceptions.

Three final assumptions are made everywhere throughout the Bible. It is assumed (1) that God is,

and that He is righteous and loving; (2) that man was made in the image of God; and (3) that man has fallen. It is taken for granted that these statements correspond with man's constitution, and that he is directly conscious of their truth. They lie beyond the region of debate. It is indeed possible to shew not only that they fall in with what we can observe, but that the sum of experience illustrates and confirms them; still, if they be denied, argument is useless. No 'proof' can establish the existence of a Heavenly Father, the God of conscience, and not 'the 'Absolute Being' of ontology. No 'proof' can shew beyond contradiction that we can hold intercourse with Him, the finite with the Infinite. No 'proof' can demonstrate that that which is to lift us up must be outside us and above us. But we claim that these ultimate facts are given in germ, in consciousness. We claim that those who have attained to the maturity of self-knowledge under normal conditions recognise them as true. They form for us the presuppositions of all religious controversy[1]. APPENDIX II.

Assumptions of the same kind underlie all reasoning; they are not peculiar to theology. The belief in the external world, and the belief in our own personal responsibility, rest on grounds exactly similar to those which support the belief in a Heavenly Father. Each of these three ultimate beliefs is open to specious

[1] This is not the place to explain more at length or to defend these presuppositions. I wish simply to mark clearly the position which Christian critics occupy. It is evident that all examination of evidence involves some presuppositions.

APPENDIX II. objections; each belief is maintained by the requirements and the experience of living.

Several important conclusions follow immediately from these assumptions. If God is the Father of men, it becomes probable that He will under certain circumstances make His presence felt by peculiar 'signs,' and that these 'signs' will bear a definite relation both to the Divine lessons with which they are connected and to the persons to whom the lessons are addressed. It becomes probable, further, that, when the discipline of humanity is regarded on a large scale, these special manifestations of the Divine will appear to be analogous to crises in the development of the individual life, in which exceptional powers are active for a time and then subside, all being harmonious parts of one life. And again, to look at the subject from another point of sight, if we derive our being, it matters not through what descent, from a good Creator, each natural desire or instinct of man carries with it the promise of fulfilment. It is not conceivable that he should have been endowed with aspirations which must always remain unsatisfied. He may be unable beforehand to anticipate how they will be satisfied; he may even form false and confident anticipations; but after the event it must be discernible that the satisfaction is real. If we feel that the scheme of things in which we are placed is true, if we feel, that is, that the apparent signs of progress which it exhibits reveal its essential nature, we cannot doubt that the characteristic tendencies of human action and feeling and thought are also true, and turned towards that which we are made to attain to. It cannot, then, be

in vain that we instinctively look forward to a nobler future, and a closer fellowship with God hereafter; and turn heavenward, as knowledge widens, for some fuller teaching as to these loftiest hopes. No doubt our instincts, both physical and moral, require to be disciplined and trained; but they are in a real sense prophetic. While they are not, in our present condition, authoritative, they are suggestive.

Thus revelation, which is only one form of the continuous intercourse of God and man, so far from being improbable, is seen from the actual circumstances of life to be a natural consequence of the Divine Fatherhood. It is in regard to the life of the society as natural as prayer in the life of the individual. Prayer in fact presupposes revelation, for it is man's answer to the voice of God. And the thoughts of revelation and prayer illustrate one another in other ways. The mode of revelation, for instance, may be expected to vary from age to age, just as the scope of prayer. As man advances in the knowledge of God, he will at each point in his progress fashion his thoughts of Him in harmony with the sum of all he knows.

Nor can it be fairly said that such a view of the living relation between God and man and the world as is assumed by the Christian introduces any confusion into his view of the order in which he is placed. It simply substitutes the conception of a rational order for the conception of a mechanical order. All action is based upon the supposition that man can himself, within certain limits, modify the medium in which he moves, and the personal influence of each man is

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absolutely incalculable, yet this indeterminate factor introduces no practical disharmony into the universe; and it is obviously impossible that this special action, which (it is assumed) answers to perfect wisdom, should do so. Alogists habitually discuss miracles as if they were supposed to be arbitrary manifestations of power, and not essentially connected with a moral purpose and adapted to the wants of those to whom they were granted. If they were arbitrary they would have no theological value. The 'signs' of God would cease to be 'signs' unless they illustrated what we can recognise as a divine law of progress[1].

For nothing external, no 'sign,' has an absolute or irresistible force. Every alleged 'sign' must be carefully interpreted and brought to a spiritual test. As a 'sign' of God it must be consistent with all that we already know of Him; and the same power which enables us in the first instance to recognise God, enables us also to recognise further manifestations of His nature and will[2].

The order of the universe which the Christian

[1] Such a statement as that of Mr Macan (for example,) 'If 'miracles are possible, history is impossible' (p. 116, *note*), is only intelligible on an assumption which a Christian utterly denies. I should venture to say that Christianity alone gives a stable foundation to history, as shewing the law and end of life. Viewed in relation to the whole history of the Church or of the world, 'miracles' take an intelligible place in the development and interpretation of life.

[2] The full significance of these statements will appear, on a careful examination of the following typical passages:—Deut. xiii. 1 ff.; Ezek. xiv. 4 ff.; Matt. xxiv. 23 f.; 2 Thess. ii. 8 ff.; Apoc. xiii. 13 f.

maintains is therefore as real as that of the alogist, and as truly verifiable, while it is vaster. Both orders correspond with abstractions which are based upon observation; but the Christian order regards the seen as standing in a vital connexion with the unseen, and under the necessary limitations of our present human faculties presents potentially the completest synthesis of being which we can conceive. The occurrence of 'signs' causes no break in the continuity of history: on the contrary, they indicate something more as to the nature of the whole life which history expresses. Nor again, is any function of historical criticism dependent on the assumption that facts of a particular kind are impossible. The object of criticism is to test the records of a belief, and then comes the interpretation of the belief. The recorded instances of revelation are for the believer so many elements of which he takes due account in his view of the whole system of phenomena which is offered for his devout study. Little by little he is enabled to apprehend the course of things according to its true law, till the distinction of 'natural' and 'supernatural' is lost in the perception of the one will of God wrought out in many ways and parts throughout the whole range of creation which falls under our notice.

II.

These general remarks enable us to approach the consideration of the Resurrection from the true point of sight. For the believer the Resurrection is the crowning revelation of God, the sign of the continuity

APPENDIX II. of the fulness of human being through the seen into the unseen. Under this aspect it is not open to objection on the ground that it is 'contrary to expe-'rience,' for its significance is affirmed to consist in the fact that it is absolutely without parallel. It cannot be said to be even improbable, if it can be shewn to convey that teaching as to the future of creation which we are constituted to expect. The alogist utterly misunderstands the state of the case when he persistently represents the Resurrection of Christ as one of many raisings from the dead[1]. If it were no more than this, it could not form the foundation of a Gospel. The fact was, as we maintain, essentially unique; the teaching which it conveyed was essentially new.

A twofold difficulty stands in the way of a just estimate of the novelty of the teaching of the Resurrection. It is difficult to realise the absence of a great and familiar idea; it is difficult also to leave room, so to speak, for larger aspects of a fact which we seem to have felt already in all its grandeur. And thus it comes to pass that the revelation given us by Christ's rising is in one direction spoken of as 'commonplace,' and in another it is unconsciously neglected. Part of the truth signified by it has passed so completely into modern thought that we can hardly imagine that men were ever without the sure trust that death is the personal admission to the nearer Presence of God. Part of it again is only now at last dawning upon us; and we are in danger of refusing to recognise the new light, though in this

[1] *E.g. Supernatural Religion*, iii. 428 n.

respect it is not hard to see how the original apostolic message meets the latest results of time. APPENDIX II.

Something at least has been gained by recent discussions. It is admitted on all sides that the first disciples believed that the Lord had been raised from the dead; it is admitted also that the eleven apostles and St Paul believed that they had seen Him after the Resurrection. Historical evidence, alone, can go no further than this. It cannot do more than establish the reality of the belief in a particular fact. The belief is itself the interpretation of phenomena which cannot be recalled, and, in every case, only one of several conceivable interpretations. It is obviously impossible to preserve completely the grounds on which the belief was embraced. These may, indeed, be indicated more or less completely, but it is easy to see that details, which find no record, may have been rightly decisive at the moment. Thus our judgment on the truth of a belief is to be decided mainly by the character of the belief and by the circumstances of those who first held it. In the case of the Resurrection the question at issue is simply, in one form or other, Is it more reasonable to suppose that the apostles were mistaken or that the Lord did rise? Or, to break the question into its parts, What was the character of the belief? And, Can the belief, with its results, be explained from the actual position of those who held it without the acceptance of the corresponding objective fact?

The general character of the apostolic belief in Christ's Resurrection may be best seen by regarding the Resurrection in connexion with other raisings

APPENDIX II. from the dead. Briefly it may be said that all the other raisings from the dead recorded in the Bible are instances of restoration to the conditions of earthly life: the Resurrection of Christ was the revelation of a new life[1]. The distinction is equally unquestionable and significant. There cannot be the least doubt that those whom the Lord is recorded to have called back to life were afterwards subject to the ordinary circumstances of our present existence. It is no less certain that all the notices of the Risen Lord represent Him as changed while still personally the same. The daughter of Jairus, the young man at Nain, and Lazarus, as far as we can see, resumed their former positions; but the connexion of the Lord with the disciples after the Resurrection was wholly altered. He was known only when He pleased to reveal Himself. He was surrounded with a mysterious awfulness. At the very time when He offered a material test of the reality of His presence He shewed that He was not bound by the laws of matter. There is evidently a 'law' by which the conditions of His appearances are determined. And these contrasted traits are preserved in the different narratives with perfect consistency, so that it is impossible to doubt that the disciples believed that the Lord lived again after the Passion, and yet under new and glorious conditions of life hitherto unrealised. For such a conception they had absolutely no precedent. To speak of it as a 'ruling idea' of their age, is to misrepresent facts. On the contrary it was to them a most difficult and

[1] I do not enter on the discussion of Matt. xxvii. 52 f. The incident recorded there is wholly isolated.

strange idea. They thought at first that 'they saw a 'spirit,' and this impression had to be overcome. So far as they had any acquaintance with a rising again, their notions were directly at variance with the circumstances of the Lord's Resurrection. The language of Herod and of the people who identified the Lord with John the Baptist raised from the dead, or with one of the prophets, so far as it had any serious meaning, indicates no capacity for a belief in a Resurrection such as that by which the Church lived. And as a matter of experience the popular conceptions of a carnal Resurrection very speedily overpowered the teaching of the New Testament in the early Church[1].

From this point of sight the importance of the two chief 'moments' in the history of the Resurrection becomes obvious. The tomb in which the body of the Lord was laid was found empty. The Lord appeared and disappeared at pleasure. All that belonged to His humanity was preserved, and at the same time all was transfigured. This twofold conception presented with perfect simplicity and perfect distinctness by the Evangelists was entirely unparalleled; and it includes teaching which has not yet been popularly appropriated.

This being so, it will be seen that no misunderstanding of the Christian idea of the Resurrection can be more complete than that which is involved in the following dilemma:—

[1] Any one who will take the trouble to verify in detail the facts indicated summarily in this paragraph, will learn a valuable lesson on the historical characteristics of the Gospels.

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'One or other alternative must be adopted:—If Jesus possessed his own body after his resurrection and could eat and be handled, he could not vanish; if he vanished, he could not have been thus corporeal[1].'

The very point of the revelation lies in the reconciliation of these two aspects of the Lord's humanity. The one assures us in the only way in which, as far as we can see, the assurance could be given, that nothing is lost in the passage through death; the other that the limitations which belong to earthly existence are not to be extended to the future order.

The full power of this complex conception is gathered up in the fact of the Ascension, which is the natural or necessary sequel of the Resurrection according to the Christian view. The manifestations of the Risen Christ, as recorded in the Gospels, lead up to it. The history of the forty days shews a gradual preparation of the disciples for the realisation of a spiritual presence of Christ with His Church. So long He allowed them to feel that He was moving locally among them. Then He made it clear by a sensible sign that He had entered on a new state. Thus, the Resurrection rightly interpreted includes the Ascension; and conversely, the Ascension finally interprets the Resurrection for men and under the forms of common thought. That visible lifting from the earth marked the close of one epoch of revelation and the beginning of another. Henceforward the Lord was recognised as throned in glory on the right hand of God, near alike to all His people.

But it will be said that the view which has been

[1] *S. R.* iii. 462.

given of the Resurrection is an 'inference' from the records. The statement is true; and true necessarily. It is only by inference, by interpretation, that we can obtain an adequate conception of a fact which belongs to two orders. The Risen Christ belongs to earth and to heaven. If His Resurrection and His raised manhood were of earth only, it might be possible, perhaps, to imagine how any single observer might have ascertained the fact by outward observation, though it is clear that he could not have transmitted his assurance to others. But as it is, no external tests could have established what is of the essence of the fact, the permanence of the old under new conditions not expressed by the 'laws' of this world. On the contrary, if external tests alone were satisfied, the very ground of our hope would be destroyed. That which is the strength of the Christian now would be taken away.

In this respect the Christian view of the Resurrection, as an interpretation of all the phenomena recorded, corresponds with the interpretation of every other divine sign. No external phenomenon in itself can prove the existence of an Almighty God. But if we believe that God is, then we can learn, through the world without, lessons as to His character and will. There will, however, always remain a way of evasion for the unbeliever. Even if he admits the accuracy of the original observation, and the completeness of the testimony to the observed facts, it will still be possible to refer whatever is exceptional in them to some unknown force simply sufficient to produce the given effect. In other words, the presuppositions of belief underlie the interpretations of belief.

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It is therefore quite true in one sense that the Resurrection 'proves' nothing. It has no constraining power to compel assent to any proposition; but it is the crowning 'sign' of the counsel of God for men. It comes to satisfy aspirations, to illuminate doubts, to confirm and define faith. That which St John observes of the effect of 'the beginning of signs' is fulfilled in this latest sign: *Jesus manifested His glory, and His disciples believed on Him.*

S. John ii. 11.

This consideration places the narratives of the Gospels in their proper light. They are addressed to those who believe the fact, and are not directly designed to create the belief. They are in this respect, as in all others, a record of a revelation. When this is once recognised, it will be seen how completely most of the criticism of the parallel narratives of the Resurrection falls to the ground. There is not the least reason to suppose that the Evangelists told us all that they knew, nor yet the least necessity that they should have done so. They recorded what was sufficient for their purpose. And there can be no doubt that the Gospels both severally and collectively bring before us the Risen Lord as the same and yet changed; as having entered with His perfect Manhood on a new form of existence; as having established in His glorified humanity a new connexion with mankind; as having led His disciples by His personal intercourse to grasp these novel conceptions as their abiding heritage.

Now whether this revelation be accepted or not, it cannot be doubted that it was original and pregnant with consequences. But it has been frequently said

that the apostles lived in 'an atmosphere of miracles;' that they could not but have framed some explanation to remove the disappointment caused by their Master's death; and that 'it was inevitable that they should 'believe Him to have risen again in the body[1].' It might be sufficient to reply that there is, as we have already seen, no parallel to the Resurrection either in its character or in its effects, and that just so far as the idea could be shewn to be familiar it would be deprived of its efficacy. If the belief was 'inevitable' it would also have been powerless to change opinion and life. But, as far as evidence exists, the claim to work miracles was not common in the first age, unless the practice of exorcism be brought under this head. On the contrary, it is most remarkable that the miracles of Jewish history belong to critical periods of comparatively short duration, and to typical men. The age of the Maccabees is not marked by miracles. '*John wrought no miracle.*' It is of course quite true that the Jews were acquainted with records of miracles in their Scriptures; quite true also that they could not feel all that is involved in a miracle as we do; but it appears from the Gospels that the works of Christ, though they were often veiled, created a profound impression as being wholly unprecedented. It is at any rate unquestionable that they overcame inveterate prejudices. All this tends to shew that we are unconsciously tempted to transfer to the whole period of Jewish history phenomena which belong to limited manifestations within it, and to use what

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S. John x. 41.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, November, 1876, p. 905.

APPENDIX II. sprang from Christianity to explain the origin of Christianity.

A similar remark applies to the alleged prevalence and power of Messianic expectations in the first century. There were indeed some Jews who were looking for the promised King when Christ came, or, perhaps more strictly speaking, *for the Kingdom of God*, or for the *consolation of Israel*. (S. Luke ii. 25, 38.) John the Baptist gave distinctness to expectation. But the teaching of John and the earlier teaching of the Lord excited questionings rather than satisfied them. It was only when the Lord's work was drawing to a close that He accepted the title of the Christ from Jews, and then under circumstances which shewed how far the confession was not only from popular feeling, but even from the feeling of the disciples. After the appearance of the Lord had called out the religious aspirations of the nation, false Christs arose; but the hopes which they embodied were rather due to Christ's action than originally contributory to His acceptance. He created the idea which He fulfilled in spite of current opinions, and in doing this He gave occasion to the characteristic embodiment of the ideas which He set aside. So far from 'answering the ideal' of His followers, He gave them a new one, which they were painfully slow to grasp. Men could not 'see' the Kingdom of God (S. John iii. 3.) which He proclaimed unless they were born again. There was practically nothing in the current thoughts which Christ encountered which was fitted to call out a spontaneous belief in the message of His Resurrection. The silence of the Old Testament, the 'bold 'guesses' and sad negations of Gentile philosophy, are

equally instructive. The one shews how Divine wisdom was constrained to delay the revelation till it could be presented vitally: the other that reason, while baffled by the problem of the future, finds no rest in scepticism. When Christ came this only remained to men as the issue of ages of resolute and patient thought, that the instinct by which they clung to a continuous personality beyond the grave was at hopeless variance with such an analysis of their own being as they could make. APPENDIX II.

To reconcile this antagonism there was need of a new fact. And this fact was given, as we have seen, in a manner suited to the end. For that end it was enough to shew in a single example the fulness of life undiminished by death; to shew that what seems to be dissolution is transformation; that heaven lies about us, and that life eternal is not future but present; that whatever be the unknown glories and endowments of the after-life, nothing is cast off which rightly claims our affection and reverence in this.

But it may yet be said that the Evangelists at any rate write as if they were dealing with ordinary phenomena, that they shew no perception of the marvellous or contradictory character of the incidents which they relate. The Evangelists certainly write as members of a society in which the divine action was felt to be a present reality manifested in many ways. If they had recorded miracles calmly, and lived ordinary lives, there might be some force in the objection; but it is undeniable that their action corresponded with their words. If they wrote as men to whom the 'super-'natural' was familiar, they lived so too. Everything

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which the first Christians did, as well as everything which they said, so far as we know, shewed a supreme conviction that they were living in an unexampled crisis. Heaven (so they said, and their work answered to their words) was open about them, and the effects of their teaching corresponded with the conviction.

For the belief in the Resurrection was from the first not a belief only, but a spring of energy. The disciples were not only assured that their Lord was living: they felt that He was with them, and their conduct answered to the reality of the feeling. It is not then sufficient to shew how a belief in the rising of Christ might have been created among men familiar with the idea of the Resurrection as we are. The problem to be solved is how a belief was created which, from the first even till now, has made believers act as knowing that it is literally true that when two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there He is in the midst of them. This we may safely assert was a 'new idea introduced into human conscious-'ness,' and fruitful beyond all example[1]. Later visions, so far from explaining its origin, serve only as faint reflections to witness to its power.

The Resurrection, to set the matter in another light, was not an isolated event. It was and is an abiding fact. It was the beginning of a new and living relation between the Lord and His people. He came to them while He went. The idea may be expressed by saying that the apostolic conception of the Resurrection is rather 'the Lord lives,' than 'the Lord

[1] Mr Macan fails to apprehend the idea of the Resurrection when he denies this, p. 108.

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'was raised.' This important truth is entirely overlooked by critics who lay stress on the point that 'there was no eye-witness of the Resurrection[1].' It is impossible to see what we should have gained by the testimony of such a witness, or what he could have established which was not established by the intercourse of the living Lord with His disciples. That which had to be made clear as to Christ, was the reality of His new life. This was first established for the apostles by their complete experience of the continuity of His manifestation to them, and for the Church in all ages through the signs of His power. And it is here that the 'proof' of the Resurrection is to be found. Christ lives, for He works still.

I have spoken of the Resurrection as a revelation; it was a revelation in two main respects—as to the relation of Christ to men, and as to the relation of the present life to the future. In both these respects it is undeniable that the belief in the Resurrection completely changed the views of the disciples. Before the Passion they had been unable to endure the thought of any external separation from Christ; afterwards they lived in effectual fellowship with Him though He was invisible. His influence was felt to be confined within no local limits. An entirely new connexion was shewn in life to be established between One and all, between the Son of Man and men. The disciples looked for His return, but the mode in which they conceived of His being preserved them, though in many cases not their followers, from sensuous imaginings of its nature.

[1] *S. R.* pp. 449, 549; Macan, p. 28.

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For the apostles' view of the life of the Risen Christ was in close dependence on their view of the relation of believers to Him. His being was continuous with that which they had known; but it was become infinitely glorious, without being deprived of anything belonging to the perfection of humanity.

These two thoughts together opened a prospect of the future of individuals which is far larger than the popular conceptions of later times. Believers were to be transfigured, and at the same time their life was to continue in Christ. In other words, a glimpse was given of a 'personality' of a raised humanity, in which each member was included but not absorbed.

At the same time light was thrown upon the dark mysteries of sin and suffering. The uttermost sorrow was the preparation for the most complete triumph. Once for all, that dualism to which the phenomena of this world taken by themselves seem to point was shewn to be false.

Nor can we stop at man. The apostles felt that the Resurrection had a message in regard to all creation. Man was bound up with the whole visible order, and this, too, was, as they announced, to partake of his restoration, and to be included in the divine consummation of all things.

Such a final unity, to touch upon the last mystery of all, is referred to an archetypal unity. The Resurrection appears, in the New Testament, as the fulfilment through victory of a purpose involved in creation, but checked in its normal progress by the self-assertion of the finite[1].

[1] This truth is plainly expressed in Col. i. 15 ff., and does not remain to be 'excogitated,' Macan, p. 141.

Now such thoughts as these evidently reach to the last problems of life, and illuminate them. Such thoughts flow directly from the Resurrection if the fact be accepted simply as it is presented to us in the Gospels; and, as it is admitted, they were set forth by the apostles in virtue of their belief in it. Our contention is that nothing but the fact can explain their origin, and the power with which they were propagated. The reality of the Resurrection and the action of the Spirit of the Risen Christ is a sufficient cause for the announcement and for the spread of the Gospel, and no other has been brought forward.

But when stress is laid upon the correspondence of the Gospel of the Resurrection with man's nature, it is said that that very correspondence furnishes a presumption that man devised that which answered to his wishes. There is, however, a wide difference between recognising and creating. All pre-Christian experience is unfavourable to the theory that man had any tendency to find such a solution of his difficulties as the Resurrection offers. The whole discipline of the world prepared men to welcome the Gospel, but had no power to produce it. And this second correspondence of the Resurrection with the course of human progress, no less than with the constitution of man, forms another strong sign of its divine reality to every one who believes in a Providence. To such a one, it is not too much to say that the Resurrection, taken in connexion with the history of the race before and after, is antecedently more probable than any particular event in the life of any individual man. So far is it from being contrary to 'universal experience,'

APPENDIX II. that it is in a most true sense according to universal experience, for it is seen universally that aspirations, tendencies, instincts, are not left for ever unattained and unsatisfied [1].

If now we consider the direct evidence for the fact of the Resurrection from this position, it will be found to be overwhelming. It is, of course, idle to affect to discuss evidence for an event if it is laid down that the event 'is at once disposed of on abstract grounds [2],' or to insist on the testimony of documents which record miracles if 'a supernatural phenomenon is to 'be at once rejected;' for on this assumption they are already declared to be untrustworthy. But if the Resurrection and the testimony by which it is maintained are examined in the light of a belief in the Providential government of the world, of a belief, that is, that there is a purpose and a goal for man, and men, and nature, then it is difficult to see how the evidence could have been, according to the analogy of history, more complete. We have, in the Synoptic Gospels and the appendix to St Mark (to summarise results which appear to me to be unquestionable), a general view of the oral teaching of the Twelve, which was the original foundation of the Church: we have in the writings of St Paul, who must have been well

[1] But for a strange misunderstanding of this sentence I should have thought it unnecessary to say that the Resurrection of Christ does seem to me to give the satisfaction which we need now in our present life, which is, as I have endeavoured to shew, completely transfigured by it in every region of thought and observation and work.

[2] *S. R.* III. 522.

acquainted with the earliest belief of Christians, an explicit statement of what he 'received' and taught with intense personal conviction won through experience: we have in the Gospel of St John the personal testimony of one who had actually seen and heard the Risen Lord; and these three distinct lines of evidence are in complete accordance as to the reality, the nature, and the effects of the Resurrection of Christ. It is utterly unhistorical to say that APPENDIX II.

'the whole of the evidence for the Resurrection reduces itself to an undefined belief on the part of a few persons, in a notoriously superstitious age, that after Jesus had died and been buried they had seen him alive[1].'

The belief of the original witnesses was so clear that it completely revolutionised their national expectations; so energetic that it changed their whole character; so vivid that it was from the very first expressed in rites which symbolise with most remarkable power the fundamental thought of life through death. It answers questions which men cannot but ask, and that in a way wholly unanticipated and coextensive with the utmost range of knowledge; it is supported, not only by specific testimony, which, from the nature of things, must be partial and fragmentary and capable of misinterpretation, but by that underlying trust in the reality of the divine government and the divine destiny of creation which is 'practically infinite.' For the direct voice of testimony is a very small part of the evidence by which the Resurrection is established. The Resurrection explains, as nothing else can explain, the acts and words of Christ before it,

[1] *S. R.* p. 519.

APPENDIX II. and of His apostles after it; it gives a sufficient reason for the spiritual power and insight of the first Christians, which is different in kind from all that went before; it explains the life of Christendom, for it is not a past event only, but a fact attested by its present efficacy, by the signs of an actual union of believers with the Son of Man operative in life. If, now, we give fair weight to all these considerations, upon the assumptions which have been laid down,—to the personal attestation of the fact by the apostles, to the circumstances under which St Paul was led to proclaim it, to its relation to Christ's whole work, to the transformation which it effected in the opinions and conduct of the first disciples, to its continuous efficiency in life, to its consilience with instinct, to its harmony with what we can see of the divine discipline of the world,—I find no reason to modify what I have said elsewhere, that, 'taking all the evidence together, 'there is no single historical incident better or more 'variously supported than the Resurrection of Christ.'

Let any one who thinks otherwise endeavour to frame for himself evidence for the whole fact—for the fact, that is, as belonging to two orders, the seen and the unseen, and uniting them—which he thinks would have been more satisfactory than that which we possess, and then candidly determine how far the modifications which he has introduced would have removed his difficulties, and how far they would have detracted from the significance of the fact as a 'sign,' a Divine Revelation.

III.

The view which has been given of the Resurrection as a Revelation will serve to shew in what sense Christianity is said to be 'a historical religion.' The phrase is ambiguous, and, as applied to Christianity, it is persistently misinterpreted by critics who speak of Buddhism or Mohammedanism as 'historical' in the same sense. It is true, no doubt, that these three religions are so far alike that they owe their origin to historical personages. It is possible to fix their beginning and progress with more or less completeness in connexion with definite circumstances. But it is not in this relation that Christianity is described as historical. Christianity is described as a historical religion because its teaching—in regard to its doctrines, its motives, its promises—is conveyed in facts.

In this respect the Gospel is absolutely unique. The Lord claimed to come, not as a prophet, but as One greater than prophet or temple, as 'the Truth 'and the Life.' And as such He was preached and accepted. What the apostles proclaimed was a Person who had died and risen again, by whose Death and Resurrection light, as they affirmed, was thrown upon the final mysteries of being. They very rarely quote His words, but everywhere speak of what He was and is, of His work, of His power, of His presence.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this unquestionable character of the apostolic message. Nothing can be more certain than that the apostles

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did not regard their Lord as one simply who had declared new truths or who had made old truths plainer. Every interpretation of the rise of Christianity must be fatally misleading which does not take Christ's Person, what He did, what befell Him, what He was therefore held to be, as the novel power by which men were moved.

This historical foundation of Christianity is seen most strikingly in the writings of St Paul. Perhaps we might have expected from his intellectual constitution, and from the circumstances of his conversion, that he would have rested on abstract dogmas, on 'the Christ within;' but, in fact, Christ 'of the 'seed of David,' 'born of a woman, born under the 'Law,' is the centre of his faith. It has been said that it is 'a most striking and extraordinary fact that the 'life and teaching of Jesus have scarcely a place in the 'system of Paul [1].' If St Paul had regarded Christ as a prophet only, the remark would have been just: as it is, so far as it is true, it places in more conspicuous prominence the meaning which St Paul found in 'the 'blood of Christ,' in the historic person and human work of Him 'who died and rose again.' The facts of Christ's life, the facts which are recited in the earliest creeds, are the revelation of sin and righteousness which he unfolds; they are never absent from his mind: without them his teaching is unintelligible.

This truth may be exhibited in another way. In the Epistles of St Paul, no less than in the preaching recorded in the Acts, the facts of the Faith precede the dogmas. And the relation holds good always.

[1] *S. R.* III. 567.

The dogmas are the progressive and approximate interpretation of the facts. As the facts are more completely understood the dogmas become more and more fully defined. For this reason the apprehension of Christian truth can never be final, and it can never be exhausted. Each fresh acquisition of knowledge as to the relation of man to man and of man to the world throws light upon Christian work. Teaching necessarily reflects in some measure the modes of thought of the age to which it belongs, but the broad facts of a human life grow more luminous as life itself is more deeply studied. The Death and the Resurrection of the Son of Man are felt by us to mean far more than could have been grasped by an earlier generation.

It is undoubtedly true that at present we receive the facts and the dogmatic interpretation of the facts simultaneously; too often perhaps we are tempted to lose the facts in the dogmas. But this circumstance cannot alter the essential relation in which they stand to one another. At every crisis of thought it is our duty to turn again to the records of Christ's work, not in a spirit of superficial realism, but with a strenuous endeavour to follow out, as far as our powers will allow us[1], the consequences which are involved in that union of the divine and human, of the seen and the unseen, which we believe to have been fulfilled in the

[1] The unhappy boldness of later speculation on the state of the disembodied spirit, when compared with the silence of Scripture upon the subject, offers an instructive illustration of the neglect of this limitation. It is strange that this contrast should be misunderstood (Macan, pp. 154 ff.).

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present order of life and to remain as the foundation and the goal of hope and faith and love.

This principle, which has an obvious application to our main subject, requires to be insisted upon, because it is frequently overlooked or misunderstood. The Christian Faith, as a system, is the interpretation of the facts of Christ's life in the light of the assumptions which, as we have seen, are everywhere made in the Bible. The interpretation may come in different ways. At one time it is through the inward voice of GOD, at another time through a better understanding of apostolic words, at another through the experience of life, at another through the investigation of the 'laws' of nature; but in every case the Person of Christ and the facts of His life are the final sum of the eternal Gospel, the abiding test by which every approximation to the fulness of truth is tried.

IV.

It follows from what has been said that the belief in Christ's Resurrection is not merely the belief in a past event, but in a present, or rather in an eternal, fact. It is sometimes said that Romanists are more consistent or more logical than 'Anglicans and Protestants,' in that they affirm the reality of a present revelation to which the latter make no pretence. The statement is, I venture to believe, a complete misconception. All Christians alike, as I suppose, believe equally in the unbroken intercourse between GOD and man, which is the essence of revelation; but the

Romanist holds to the permanence of old forms in the mode of revelation, while others consider that the mode of revelation, as being a function of life, will vary with the progress of humanity. In one age, or at one period of popular growth, isolated 'signs' can be seen to be the most appropriate vehicle for conveying a divine message. In another age or at another period, corresponding lessons may come through the investigation of history or of nature which was impossible before. In each case GOD speaks to men as they can hear Him, and according to the knowledge which they have gained of Him.

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It is most untrue, therefore, to affirm that the frank acceptance of 'critical' methods in the investigation of the records of past revelation involves any abandonment of the 'supernatural.' The study of the Bible in such a spirit enables us undoubtedly to realise a completer harmony between the ordinary processes of thought and action and those which GOD has been pleased to use for the conveyance of His lessons, but none the less the facts, and the record and interpretation of the facts, retain their divine character wholly unimpaired. The question as to the record (for example) is whether we suppose that the guidance was given directly, or through character, experience, circumstances. In the latter case there is as much room for divine action as in the former; and if it appears that we can most rightly apprehend 'inspiration' in the past in this way, we are at once encouraged to look for some manifestations of the Divine will now, which will come also to us through the ordinary channels of life and thought. So far from

APPENDIX II. 'criticism' obscuring the work of GOD, it opens our eyes to see it going on about us.

This is not the occasion to pursue such reflections in detail; but certainly nothing is more remarkable than the way in which the apostolic writers bring out the eternal aspects of the facts which they proclaim, without admixture of anything which was local and temporal. They exhibit in different directions that universality of character which every historian must recognise in Christ. And it is important to notice that this characteristic is derived naturally from the message of the Resurrection which they announced. They felt and they expressed, what we have not yet come to understand, that the belief in the resurrection 'in Christ' carries with it a belief in the continuity, the solidarity, the totality (if I may so speak) of creation. The unity of being, of which science is slowly shaping a conception, was for them a unity of life tending to an issue of unimaginable glory.

The Resurrection, indeed, gives a permanent value to all human effort and achievement. As long as the earth was held to be the everlasting scene of man's dominion, each worker could look forward to an endless life in posterity; but we know now that the earth itself can exist only for a time, and a hope of immortality requires the assurance of life continued under new conditions. This, as we have seen, is exactly what the apostolic records are fitted to convey. They meet, unexpectedly as it might appear, a difficulty of the latest time; they receive illustration from researches supposed to be alien in scope and spirit.

In this respect, as in all points, the Gospel of the

Resurrection answers to the whole sum of life. The fact of the Resurrection is as divinely original as the character of Christ. It adds the element of continuance, the possibility of consecration, to every earthly interest. It offers the fulness of truth, as against the one-sided materialism which will acknowledge nothing as real but the objects of sense, and the one-sided spiritualism which disparages the outward. It represents, like life itself, a combination of antitheses. But this superficial conflict of elements is inevitable as long as man is regarded in action. For the present we must speak, even as we must think, according to the limitations which are imposed upon us. But these limitations are shewn, in Christ, not to be inherent in our personality. Our individual personality is shewn to be contributory to some vaster 'personality.' The unity of which we are conscious becomes the figure of a unity of humanity, of a unity of creation.

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LIFE OF FAITH

By

H. H. Pope Shenouda III

COPTIC ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE

See of St. Mark

LIFE OF FAITH

BY
H. H. POPE SHENOUDA III

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In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit One God. Amen.

INTRODUCTION

Faith is not merely adopting a set of beliefs that you may say in the "Creed", but a way of life or adherence to that which leads to life.

To what benefit is believing in God without having a relationship with him, obeying and loving Him?

In addition, what is the benefit of believing in eternity and in life after death if one does not prepare for it by repentance, spiritual vigil, and loving God?

And to what benefit is believing in virtues if one does not live them? Therefore there is a big difference between theoretical faith which does not save the soul, and practical faith, the fruits of which are evident in one's life.

This book was written to explain to you the meaning of faith, its stages and types and its importance in our lives and its greatness.

St. Paul wrote, *"Examine yourselves as to whether you are in the faith. Test yourselves. Do you not know yourselves"* (2 Cor. 13:5).

Not everyone who says he believes has faith, but is measured according to God's saying "You will know them by their fruits" (Matt. 7:16).

There are those who claim to have faith, but have neither the heart nor the life of a believer. So what then is the life of a believer?

The life of faith is linked with peace, tranquillity and lack of fear, for when you become afraid, then the Lord will say to you *"O you of little faith, why did you doubt?"* (Matt. 14:31).

The life of a believer is also associated with purity of behaviour, for the believer feels the presence of God, who sees, hears and records all that he does. For this reason the believer feels ashamed and afraid of wrong doing in front of God.

The life of a believer is a life of submission to the will of God. Having faith that God is the maker of all things, and all that He permits to happen is for our own good. In this way, God's children live in peace, happiness and satisfaction with all that God grants them.

The life of faith does not believe anything is impossible for the Lord, who said, *"All things are possible to him who believes"* (Mark 9:23).

Therefore the believer does not quiver in times of distress, but believes wholeheartedly that God has many solutions, and will interfere to fulfil His will.

The believer does not enter into an argument with God about His doing, but accepts all things and confidence in God's wisdom and love.

The believer concentrates on the unseen than the visible things, *“For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal”* (2 Cor. 4:18).

The heroes of faith are not only those who defended their faith, but also those who lived a fruitful life of faith that worked in love.

This book before you, gives you a clarified ideas on the life of faith, how it acquired, and how to test if you are really in faith or not.

Pope Shenouda III

CHAPTER 1

HOW GREAT IS FAITH

The importance of faith is clearly seen in the apostle's words about the Lord, *"But without faith it is impossible to please Him"* (Heb. 11:6).

The importance of faith also shows in the apostle's description as one of the three great virtues *"faith, hope and love"* (1 Cor. 13:13) and the life of righteousness *"Now the just shall live by faith"* (Heb. 10:38).

Faith is the beginning of the road which leads to God, for how can you be united with God and God in you, to walk with Him and keep His commandments, if first, you do not believe in His existence, His divinity or in His book the Bible and all that it contains?

Thus, faith is the beginning of the road to God and an elementary necessity for salvation according to the Lord Himself *"He who believes and is baptised will be saved"* (Mark 16:16). *"That whoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life"* (John 3:16). *"He who believes in Him is not condemned; but he who does not believe is condemned already"* (John 3:18). He also reprimanded the Jews by saying, *"You will die in your sins; for if you do not believe that I am He"* (John 8:24).

Salvation is available to every one through the blood of our Lord Jesus, but it can not save without faith. As St. Paul and Silas said to the Jail keeper *“Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you will be saved, you and your household”* (Acts 16:31).

Through this faith, the gospels were written and preached by the apostles.

John, the evangelist inspired by the Holy Spirit, wrote *“But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in His name”* (John 20:31).

Faith is the beginning of a life with God. Faith is also our companion throughout our lives, and the importance of faith in its relationship with righteousness.

Thus spoke the apostle about righteousness that was credited to faith *“By his faith he condemned the world and became heir of the righteousness that comes by faith”* (Heb. 11:7). And about faith that was credited to righteousness, *“And it was credited to him as righteousness”* (James 2:23). The Bible also speaks of justification by faith, *“Therefore, having been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ”* (Rom.5:1).

Faith is a necessity to miracles and their acceptance. How great is our Lord's saying to the blind man of Jericho when He said, *“Your faith has healed you”* (Luke 18:42, Mark 10:52). And His saying to the man with leprosy, *“Your faith has made you well”* (Luke 17:19). To the sick woman He said, *“Take heart daughter, your faith has healed you”* (Matt. 9:22). When He

heard the two blind men shouting *“Have mercy on us, Son of David“* (Matt. 9:29), He said to them, *“According to your faith will it be done to you”* and their sight was restored.

On the other hand, we see the Lord in His home town that *“He did not do many miracles there because of their lack of faith”* (Matt. 13:58).

The power of God can do miracles for you, but it awaits your faith. He will grant you according to your faith. For this reason, miracles happen to some and not to others although the power of God is the same.

What about he, who is weak in faith? He has to pray as did the boy's father who said, *“Lord, I believe; help my unbelief!”* (Mark 9:24). Here we see that God performs miracles in general according to faith, but on other occasions, He performs miracle that we may believe. In both cases faith is coupled with the miracle, either it comes before or is caused of it.

Faith, regardless of type, is a source of power.

It is sufficient that a person believes in an idea, so you see him working with Christ's power to carry it through. Faith gives him perseverance, might and courage which he would not have otherwise.

Thus, where there is faith there is power. A prayer in faith is a strong prayer. He who believes in prayer and its effect prays with warmth, assurance and power. A sermon preached by a person who believes in every word, makes a strong sermon, and through it, his faith is transmitted to the hearts of his listeners.

The importance of faith lies in its association with many virtues. The fruits of faith are strength, peace, courage, tranquillity and restfulness. Its fruits are a life of purity and righteousness, a life of submission and devotion to God, a life of prayer and many other virtues.

A few questions then come into mind:

-What is faith?
-What is faith, the basis of salvation and redemption?
-What is faith, the basis of all these virtues?
-What is faith, the basis of miracles and God's words who said, *"Everything is possible for him who believes"* (Mark 9:23)?

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS FAITH?

Any worshipper of God can use the word 'faith' if when he does not believe in the Truth. He may have the name of a believer, but does not have the heart of one.

Faith does not automatically make you a believer if you are born a family which believes in the existence of God. But faith has a much deeper than this, it encompasses the whole spiritual life, performs miracles.

At one occasion, the disciples of the Lord were unable to heal a epileptic boy from the demon, so they asked the Lord for the reason and He answered them "Because of your unbelief" (Matt. 17:20) and rebuked them by saying "*O faithless and perverse generation*" (Matt 17:17).

A generation be unbelievers, which God came for, but where they really unbelievers? How alarming! Here the Lord says to His disciples "*I say to you, if you have faith as a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, `Move from here to there,' and it will move*" (Matt. 17:20). Truly, what is this faith of a seed which can move a mountain? As the apostle says "*Examine yourselves as to whether you are in the faith. Test yourselves*" (2 Cor. 13:5).

The Bible tells us of something strange, more dangerous... what is it? It is the state of a human being who seems to be believing in God, he prays and performs miracles but he does not believe in Truth! and even not accepted in the eyes of God! Here is what the Lord Himself said *“Not everyone who says to Me, `Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven”* (Matt 7:21). The Lord continues “Many will say to Me in that day, `Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Your name, cast out demons in Your name, and done many wonders in Your name?' And then I will declare to them, `I never knew you; depart from Me, you who practice lawlessness!' (Matt.7:22-23).

What shall we call those who say 'Lord, Lord... in your name we did this and that'? Are they really believers? Maybe it's only an apparent faith, or faith by name, or only mental faith, but it's not the real faith accepted by God.

What then is the real faith which is accepted in the eyes of the Lord? We ask Him and He answers *“Not everyone who says to Me, `Lord, Lord,' … but he who does the will of My Father in heaven* “ (Matt. 7:21). This also reminds us of the story of the five virgins who also used the expression 'Lord, Lord,...' and they stood behind the closed door saying *“Lord, Lord open the door for us”, and they heard from the Lord the clear and terrifying answer “I tell you the truth, I don't know you”*.

The expression 'Lord, Lord' does not necessarily help if you are awaiting the bridegroom with a lamp without oil, or if you arrive after the door is closed.

Therefore what is faith? and what is its connection to oil which signifies the Holy Spirit? and what is its connection with the will of God who is in heaven?

This faith is alive and is accepted by God as we'll see later... Faith is not simply a belief but also a life.

You can test it by its fruits in your life... as the Lord said "*You will know them by their fruits….every good tree bears good fruit, but a bad tree bears bad fruit. Therefore by their fruits you will know them*" (Matt. 7:16-20).

This is how you can test yourself: Does your faith bear fruit? Because 'by their fruits you will recognise them'.

This is what John the evangelist teaches us "*Now by this we know that we know Him*" how? "*If we keep His commandments. He who says, "I know Him," and does not keep His commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him* " (1 John 2:3-4). Faith is tested through a life of obedience to God's commandments, and he who does not have this obedience is not considered a believer of Truth, and can not claim to know God.

The apostle Paul lists in his letter to the Hebrews (Heb. 11) wonderful examples of faithful men. They show practical faith in their private lives. Enoch for example; the bible did not say that he defended his belief like other heroes of faith. But Enoch was a hero of faith because he "*He pleased God.*" (Heb. 11:5) and "Walked with God" (Gen. 5:22,24).

You may not be as spiritually knowledgeable as were the apostles, but no doubt you can also lead the same life as our

father Enoch, who walked with God. You can live like other men of faith who St. Paul mentioned "*They were strangers and pilgrims on the earth… they desire a better, that is, a heavenly country.*" (Heb 11: 13,16).

Our father Abraham was a man of faith who "*Obeyed when he was called to go out* " (Heb. 11: 8), and went out after God "*Not knowing where he was going.*" He was a man of faith in accepting God's timing and even when he was to sacrifice his only son, confident that God can raise the dead (Heb. 11:17-19).

His wife Sarah is also considered a hero of faith because she believed the Lord for *"She judged Him faithful who had promised."* (Heb 11:11).

Heroes of faith are not only those who defended their belief, but are also those who believed in the Lord, walked with Him, who were righteous and pleased Him (Heb. 11:33). Also those who "*Were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.*" and those who "*Had trial of mockings and scourgings, yes, and of chains and imprisonment. .. of whom the world was not worthy* " (Heb. 11:35-38) *"And all these, having obtained a good testimony through faith"* (Heb. 11:39). In all these examples, the bible gives us a wide spectrum of the meaning of faith.

Paul tells us that faith "*Is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*" (Heb. 11:1).

You hope for many things after death. You hope for eternal life with angels and the saints, to see the Lord in Paradise and

resurrect from the dead into a spiritual body. You desire eternal peace after the general resurrection. Faith is without any doubt, complete confidence that these matters exist without having seen them.

Faith Is Beyond The Level Of Our Senses

Faith does not contradict but beyond our senses. Faith is a higher power than our limited senses. Our senses are only capable of detecting physical or materialistic things, but there are other matters, which are beyond the material sense. The senses are also limited in what they can physically detect.

Instruments are often used to sense details and gain information which the senses alone can not accomplish. How much more is it for the non-physical, which the apostle called “invisible things”. Faith is not what is seen by the human eye (2 Cor. 5:7). The soul can not be seen or felt by the senses. The fact that the senses do not feel the soul does not mean that it does not exist but rather, unable to detect it. The senses are limited in scope and the level of the soul.

Faith Is Beyond The Level Of The Intellect

The intellect may guide you to the beginning of the way but faith continues with you on the way to the end. Faith does not contradict the intellect, but leads it to a higher level the mind alone cannot reach.

What the mind cannot understand is called unattainable. We often describe God as infinite because He has no limit. The human mind is limited, and can only understand the limited matters. The mind can bring you to know God and some of His qualities but of faith, “*God has revealed… to us through His Spirit.*” (1 Cor. 2:10). God shows Himself to the believer to what they can bear to comprehend.

The mind may not grasp many things but must accept them. By nature, the mind does not refuse all that it does not understand. There are for example in our physical world, many inventions only experts can understand. In spite of this, the normal mind can accept and deal with these things without knowing how they work. The mind accepts death, and speaks about it, but does not understand it.

If the mind accepts many things in our world without understanding them, then clearly nothing should deprive the mind from accepting other matters not of this world.

The mind does not understand how miracles happen, but it accepts them and finds joy in them.

A miracle is called a miracle because the mind fails to grasp it and cannot explain it. But the mind accepts it by faith... faith, with infinite power, greater than that of the mind, can perform things the mind fails to understand. This power is the power of God the almighty.

We respect the mind, and at the same time we know its limits. We can not accept the proud mind which desires to understand all things, refusing that some are beyond comprehension.

The mind should be humble to know its limitation *“For I say, through the grace given to me, to everyone who is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, as God has dealt to each one a measure of faith“* (Rom. 12.3). The mind should submit matters beyond its level of understanding to faith.

If the mind wanted to nullify all that it does not understand it would end up destroying itself, lose the element of faith and put itself in a very narrow circle of very limited range of understanding.

Believers are moderate, they esteem the mind and use it in religious and spiritual affairs. There are philosophers and people of high intellect among the believers, who do not depend on the mind in pride or trust in its ability to understand all things. However, in simplicity and humility they confess that their minds are limited and are unable to understand all this associated with God. With faith, their hearts and minds accept all that is beyond the level of the mind.

The simple and humble mind accepts faith and miracles.

We mean humble in the sense that the mind is not proud of its own understanding or destroys all that is does not understand. But does not complicate matters or insist on placing everything within its own limits. We will refer to this point later when we speak about the simplicity of faith.

Faith is not only a prayer said, but a life we live. If you are living a life of faith, the fruits of faith apparent in your practical

life. Examine your faith against the virtues which are clear in the believer's life and these are many. As the apostle says, *“Examine yourselves as to whether you are in the faith”* (2 Cor. 13:5).

Conviction Of The Unseen

The apostle said about faith: “*Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*” (Heb. 11:1). We want to know what this verse means:

Conviction: is certainty, confidence and belief without doubt. It is not simply an idea, opinion or knowledge gained from reading or hearing about it, but certainty that unseen matters exist.

Here is a clear difference between believers and men of science. The things that are not seen are not in the working field of the researchers. If they are not sure of something, they investigate it thoroughly with their instruments and apparatus. The same also applies to men of material beliefs.

Believers are not like this, they follow God's saying “*Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed*” (John 20:29).

The believer accepts the creation from nothing. The scientist's research refuses this matter, and refuses that five loaves of bread fed five thousand men (excluding the women and children) and that twelve baskets full of bread where left over. The believer accepts all this.

The believer accepts firstly that God is powerful. He also accepts everything in a certain range of this unlimited power.

The believer frees himself from the doubts of the researches and the investigations of the unbeliever. Not only does he accept the unseen, but moreover, he lives according to and focuses his mind and affection on the unseen according to what the apostle's words. "*While we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal.*" (2 Cor. 4:18).

You will ask, how can I see the hidden? And I tell you by faith. What are then those unseen matters? The first is probably God Himself, His qualities, His works, and all things pertaining to Him.

1- God, His Qualities And Works

God is unseen, as John the evangelist said "*No one has seen God*" (John 1:18). Actually who can see the divinity? No one! However, in spite of this, you believe in Him with all your heart, and with all certainty. This faith does not at all rely on your physical senses. You may say you see Him with your trained spiritual senses (Heb.5:14). This non-physical senses were trained to see the unseen, and we have the following examples from the Bible:

David said "*I have set the Lord always before me; Because He is at my right hand I shall not be moved.*" (Ps 16:8). So how did he see the Lord in front of him and at his right hand all

times? No doubt he saw Him with an eye of faith. In some of the translations it is written "*I have seen the Lord....*" that means that he is continuously seeing the unseen and focusing on Him with mind and feeling.

With the same meaning Elijah said "*As the Lord of hosts lives, before whom I stand*"(1 Kin 18:15). How was he able to feel that he stands before God? And how was he able to always see the Lord in front of him? Not through the bodily senses since they can not arouse a believer's heart. But it is by faith that the Lord is before him. It is faith that sees the unseen.

If you are in faith, you will have confidence that God is always before you and will act according to this belief, that God sees you and hears you...

If you live in faith, you are sure that God is in the midst of His people, according to His promise "*...I am there in the midst of them*" (Matt. 18:20) and "*I am with you always, even to the end of the age.*" (Matt.28:20). You do not see Him with the eye of your body, but you believe that He is in our midst. You do not need to see Him physically to believe. You believe without seeing, or you perceive the unseen.

What is a spiritual life my brothers and sisters? It is not simply a shift from what is felt and visible to the unseen.

We live the unseen with confidence that He is in front of us. This becomes the difference between the believer and the non-believer.

The non-believer desires to see everything with his eyes, or else he can not believe. The believer does not allow his eyes, senses, or external happenings shape his beliefs. But his heart believes in the existence of unseen matters. On one occasion, God rebuked His disciple Thomas who would not believe without seeing when God said to him "*Do not be unbelieving, but believing*", "*Because you have seen Me, you have believed. Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed*" (John 20:27,29).

We mentioned earlier, faith in God is among the conviction of unseen matters. Not only faith in the existence of God but also faith in His attributes and in His works.

You believe in His goodness and choices for your good, the almighty who has dominion over all things. You believe that He is able to do everything, for "*The things which are impossible with men are possible with God*" (Luke 18:27), and you believe in God's love for you and for others.

You may not see all these qualities physically, but you believe in them. You believe that God takes care of the universe, and preserves its beauty. You believe that He labours and takes care of every individual. You will either see His work or the results of His work or you will not see anything at all.

2- The Timing Of God

The following were described as men of faith "*These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off were assured of them, embraced them and confessed*

that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. “ (Heb. 11:13), these people waited for the things promised in faith, and believed in what the Lord said to them.

And things promised “*Which God has prepared for those who love Him*” were all unseen matters, as explained by the apostle as “*Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, Nor have entered into the heart of man*” (1 Cor. 2:9).

God’s warnings are also unseen things. Noah believed the Lord when He said that He will flood the whole world even though floods were unknown to Noah. No flood had ever happened before in his days or the days of his ancestors. However, he believed that this which never happened before, would happen. He laboured to complete the ark, enduring the mockery from others, these were years of faith.

Noah heeded to the warning of God, and was therefore considered a man of faith. Through faith he had seen the flood before it happened. Through faith, he entered the ark with his wife, his sons and his son’s wives. Our teacher Saint Paul teaches us, “*By faith Noah, being divinely warned of things not yet seen, moved with godly fear, prepared an ark for the saving of his household* “ (Heb. 11:7). The others, who did not heed God’s warning, and had no faith in God’s truth were destroyed.

Lot and the city of Sidom also experienced God's warning before it happened. As this was the first time that fire came down from heaven, it was also the first time that a flood happened in the time of Noah.

The people of Sidom who did not accept the warning of God were destroyed as were who also did not believe it in the days of Noah.

God’s warning in regard to eternity and judgement lies ever before us. Inspite of this, many are still immersed in evil and sin as if God had not warned them. They do not fear God in their hearts or judgement in eternity.

We spoke about God, His attributes and works, His promises and warmings as unseen matters, we should also add that:

3- Dwelling Of The Spirit And His Work In Us Are Unseen Matters

Samuel anointed David with oil and the spirit of the Lord came upon him (2 Sam. 16:13). No one saw the unseen Spirit of the lord, but it happened.

No one was able to see the Holy Spirit descend on the new believers when the disciples place their hands on them (Acts 8:17). The Holy Spirit also came on those anointed (1 John 2:20,27). No one saw the Holy Spirit but its fruits showed in their life.

You may be aware that there is an inner power working in you and for you, without your seeing it. It is what the Lord said “*But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you*” (Acts 1:8). This power, the power of the Holy Spirit, guides you to do good, helps you and protects you from sin.

Here we say that our whole life becomes in fellowship with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. 13:14).

What is this fellowship? How does it take place? How can we be in fellowship with the Godly nature, this an unseen nature? We believe in God's active spirit working in the church, we do not see it but we believe in it.

The apostle said, "*Do you not know that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?*"(1 Cor.3:16), "*Do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have from God?*" (1 Cor. 6:19).

We do not see the Spirit, but we see its fruits.

The Lord said that through the fruits of the holy spirit, we can stand before governors and kings, "*For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you*" (Matt. 10:20). How does the Spirit of the Father Spirit speak through us? All these things are unseen matters.

4- The Grace Of God In Us Are Things Unseen.

We attain visits of grace, which fill us with God's love. We do not see it but we feel it. Grace working in us, is without doubt is the work of the unseen things.

Saint John the evangelist said "*Grace and truth came through Jesus.*" (John 1: 17). What is this grace working in us? And the grace that Saint John enjoyed. He said "*But by the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace toward me was not in vain.*" (1

Cor. 15: 10), and he also says about us “*For sin shall not have dominion over you, for you are not under law but under grace.*” (Rom. 6:14), and urges Timothy to “*Be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.*” (2 Tim. 2: 1).

We do not see this grace with our physical eye, it is amongst the unseen matters, but we feel its presence in our lives. The grace of God in us is beyond our senses as we accept this grace from God. The church grants grace every time it repeats Saint Paul’s words “*The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all.*” (2 Cor. 13:14).

Here we move to another point, the element of blessings

5- Blessing Are Unseen

A blessing can be directly from God, from parents, from the church through the priest and all these are unseen matters.

God said to Abram father of fathers “*I will make you a great nation; I will bless you And make your name great; And you shall be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you … And in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed*“ (Gen. 12:2,3). Abram saw the fruits of this unseen blessings in his life. Isaac blessed his son Jacob and he became blessed. Esau lamented because he lost this blessing (Gen.27). Jacob blessed Ephraim and Manasseh by saying “*The Angel who has redeemed me from all evil, Bless the lads*” (Gen. 48:16). Ephraim became exceedingly blessed, more than his brother when Jacob placed his right hand on Ephraim's head (Gen. 48:17-20).

What is this blessing? How was it passed from the hands of Isaac and Jacob? How was it given through the apostles, and from the hands of the men of faith?

All these unseen matters we believe in and in its blessings although we do not see them. We ask for the blessings of our mothers, fathers, from priests and men of God. Abram was a blessing to the world according to the Lord's promise to him. Joseph was also a blessing in the house of his master and to all Egypt, as was the blessings of Elijah.

Through all the above examples, we would still be unable to give a precise meaning to the word blessings, for it has wider meaning than our limited vocabulary can describe. An unseen matter, which we can only see its fruits. However, a blessing itself, who can see it and define it?

How was Jesus Christ able to bless through His hands the five loaves of bread and the two fish? This food given out was enough to feed thousands of people, and despite this, twelve full baskets were left over? How did this happen? What was the cause and its effect?. All these things are unseen matters.

6-Faith In The Presence Of Angels And Their Works

We believe in the existence of angels, and the unseen spirits. We may not have seen an angel in our whole life, but despite of this, we believe they close to us "*The angel of the Lord encamps all around those who fear Him, And delivers them.* " (Ps 34:7). We believe that the angels fill the church, and have confidence that

they are with us in all that we do *“Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for those who will inherit salvation?*” (Heb. 1:14).

Many are glad if they see the Virgin Mary or the saints in a revelation.

It is far greater to believe that they are around you without seeing them. It is not necessary that God sends you a white dove during your evening church meetings, but you believe without seeing that the church is full of the spirits of angels. And the wings of the saints flutter upon it, the saints that God sent to serve humanity.

Gehazi the disciple of Elisha was afraid when he saw the enemies surrounding the city, but Elisha, the man with opened eyes saw the angels defending the it against the enemy. He comforted his disciple by saying “*Do not fear, for those who are with us are more than those who are with them*” (2 Kin 6:16). Elisha prayed that God would open the eyes of Gehazi to see and the conviction in unseen matters.

7- Belief In The Spirit And The Other World

We can not see the spirit, but presume its existence. When a person dies, we say that his spirit, which we have not seen, has left his body.

Faith is concerned with the destiny of this spirit, if it will go to heaven or to hell. Likewise, with the return of this spirit to the

body in the general resurrection, and the destiny of the resurrected person in eternity after the last judgment.

All these matters, the spirit, resurrection, eternity, judgment, heaven, grace, hell, are all unseen matters and through faith we have a conviction in those things. Actually, no one can speak about the eternal life, and all things associated with it, except by faith. Likewise, he who believes in the second life believes in unseen matters.

8- People Believed In The Coming Of Christ Without Seeing Him

Even the Samaritan woman said to the Lord "*I know that Messiah is coming" (who is called Christ). "When He comes, He will tell us all things*" (John 4:25).

Thus, everyone knew, according to God's promise that the Messiah was coming. They were eagerly awaiting for Him. They understood what had Isaiah said, "*Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call His name Immanuel*" (Isaiah 7:14). They believed nevertheless, although they never saw the Virgin.

The wait by the Old Testament people through faith for the Messiah is like our wait for the Second Coming of Christ in the New Testament. Waiting for Christ's Second Coming on the clouds according to the Lord's promise (Mat. 24:25) and the two angels who appeared to the disciples (Acts 1: 11).

We probably have not seen the Lord on the clouds in the glory of His Father and His saints. And through faith, we believe in His Second Coming in this form although we have never seen it.

9-Redemption Is Also From The Unseen Matters

Jesus redeemed us by taking away all our sins and dying for us through His love "*All we like sheep have gone astray; We have turned, every one, to his own way; And the Lord has laid on Him the iniquity of us all*." (Isaiah 53:6). John the Baptist also said about Him "*Behold! The Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!*" (John 1:29). John the evangelist said "*And He Himself is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the whole world.*" (1 John 2:2). St. Paul said "*Having wiped out the handwriting of requirements that was against us.*" (Col.2:14), and "*having made peace through the blood of His cross*" (Col. 1:20).

We only see the cross; some may see it superficially! But, all gifts the cross has from love, redemption, forgiveness, cancelling of the written code, taking away the sins of the world, and also what the cross carries from peace, all these are unseen matters. We see them through faith.

Peter - before believing in all this - saw the cross as loss and as shame! Therefore he said "*Never, Lord*" (John 16:22). The Lord rebuked him because Peter did not see the unseen matters...

The cross represents the goodness of God to us. The rulers at that time did not see this because their eyes were blinded, "*For*

had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.” (1 Cor. 2:8).

10- The Hidden Benevolences Of God

We only thank God for the benevolences we see and know. However, there are also unseen things we should thank Him for. When we enter the life of faith we automatically enter in a life of perpetual appreciation, as the apostle said “*Giving thanks always for all things to God the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*” (Eph. 5:20).

In our life, we also have to thank for the temptations, because we feel that they have hidden benevolences in them from God that we do not see. And if we saw them we'll no doubt be singing with James “*Count it all joy when you fall into various trials*” (James 1:2).

From this, we see that faith gives a spiritual meaning to suffering, pains that God allows for the special grace that is in them. All from unseen matters, but we accept them in faith having confidence in God's love who does good. We also have confidence in what the Bible says “*We know that all things work together for good to those who love God.*” (Rom. 8:28).

11-The Existence Of God In Our Lives And His Power Working In Us.

How beautiful is the Lord's saying to Jacob “*I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this*

land.” (Gen. 28: 15). The Lord was with him and watched over him wherever he went although he has not seen the Lord physically. It is very comfortable for the soul to feel that the Lord is with us and to believe it. This allows us to live in serenity and joy.

The above was not only a blessing to Jacob but the Lord says “*I am with you always, even to the end of the age.*” (Matt. 28:20).

Our feeling that God is with us, gives us a feeling that a Godly power is walking with us and protecting us.

This power is working in you and is with you from the moment you receive the Holy Spirit and He then accompanies you for the rest of your life. In the time of the first church the people saw the kingdom of God being established in power (Mark 9: 1), “*And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spoke the word of God with boldness.*” (Acts 4:31). It was said that St. Stephen was “*Full of faith and power, did great wonders and signs*” (Acts 6:8), and that he stood before the synagogue “*And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke*” (Acts 6: 10). That is the power in faith. He who believes but is afraid to show his faith is a person with weak faith, he does not believe in the power of God working with him.

The woman who was bleeding for twelve years felt that if she could just touched the edge of the cloak of Jesus a power would come out of Him to heal her, and that is what happened (Matt. 9:22, Lk 8:46).

If you believe in the power of God and hold steadfastly to it, you will surely obtain it.

Let it be that you have this faith and this feeling in all aspects of your life: in your service, prayer and works.

Even in your fall, believe that there is a power to save you. If you are weaker than the devils then believe that God who loves you is stronger, and that He is able to save you from sin. And in strong faith pray to God to grant you the power you need to succeed in your spiritual life, ask Him who "*always leads us in triumph in Christ*" (2 Cor. 2:14).

Even if you have been waiting long time, just believe that the power of God will reach you and save you. This power of God is unseen, but it exists, and is ready to work with those who ask for it by faith. You need to experience this power which is accompanying you, not only in the life of repentance but in all aspects of your spiritual life so that when you speek, others will feel the strength and the effect of the words you are saying.

The believer is a strong person believing in the power of God working in him.

Paul said, "*To this end I also labour, striving according to His working which works in me mightily.*" (Col. 1:29) and he says about God "*To Him who is able to do exceedingly abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that works in us.*" (Eph. 3:20).

It is faith in the unseen power of God that prompted Saint Paul to claim confidently, *"I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me."* (Phil. 4:13).

We ask ourselves: is this phrase only applies to Saints like Paul? The Lord answers *"If you can believe, all things are possible to him who believes."* (Mark 9:23).

Perhaps this power is a test for our spiritual lives. Are we in faith? Is it a power we are glad of and live in serenity with?

In the church, we rejoice in the many unseen things.

12-What Happens In The Baptism

Saint Paul says *"For as many of you as were baptised into Christ have put on Christ."* (Gal. 3:27). How great is this sacrament! Who has seen its promise? Ananias told Saul, *"And now why are you waiting? Arise and be baptised, and wash away your sins.*" (Acts 22:16). Who saw these sins being washed away? These are unseen matters, which we accept by faith, as the apostle about Christ, *"He saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit*" (Tit. 3: 5). The salvation we obtain by rebirth is an unseen matter, but we believe in it according to the Lord's saying, *"He who believes and is baptised will be saved."* (Mark 16:16).

What is the meaning of a second birth? Moreover, what does it mean to be born from above, from God, and to be born from water and spirit? The Lord spoke about it in (John 3:3-6). They are all unseen matters; the rebirth from God is an unseen

sacrament. We see a person immersed in the baptism font but we do not see how he is reborn from the spirit. Blessed are those who believe without seeing. This, the church calls a sacrament.

The apostle says "*Buried with Him in baptism, in which you also were raised with Him through faith ... forgiven you all trespass*" (Col. 2:12). He gives the same meaning in his letter to the Romans, and he adds that the old person was crucified with Christ, that we may live with Him (Rom. 6:3-6). Who has seen this death, burial, resurrection, forgiveness of sins, the new life, crucifixion of the old self... these are all unseen matters, but we believe in them.

13-The Sacrament Of The Holy Eucharist

You see in faith the bread and wine in front of you transform into the body and the blood of the Lord. Here you can not rely on your senses to judge, because the bodily senses see only the visible matters. But the spiritual senses heed to what the Lord says "This is my body... This is my blood" (Matt. 26:26,28), "*Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you have no life in you… My flesh is food indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him.*" (John 6:53-56).

I do not dispute what the Lord said but I accept it in faith.

In faith we are sure of what we do not see for what is seen is bread and wine. This is what Saint Paul says "*The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of*

Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16), and he also says "*Therefore whoever eats this bread or drinks this cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For he who eats and drinks in an unworthy manner eats and drinks judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.*" (1 Cor. 11:27,29).

How can we know if this is the body of the Lord, so as not to gain judgment upon ourselves? Here, by faith, we go beyond the level of the senses, and the level of the intellect.

Our minds make us tired when we accept the sacraments of the church. Our senses do also tire us. We need the simplicity of faith to believe all what Jesus Christ and the apostles said without discussion.

14-To Accept The Sacraments Of Christianity

To accept the laying of hands that Barnabas and Saul obtained from the disciples, so that they could go on to service (Acts 13:2,3), and also the laying of Saint Paul's hands on Timothy (2 Tim. 1:6). We believe that this is a sacrament.

We accept the power the Lord gave in His saying "*If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained* " (John 20:23) "*Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.*" (Matt. 18:18).

This honour is unseen but we see it through faith. It is not for everyone and no one can take it by himself, but he who is called by God just like Aaron was (Heb. 5:4).

Seeing the unseen is the real spiritual sight: maybe it is what the Lord meant in His saying to his disciples *“But blessed are your eyes for they see* " (Matt. 13:16). What do they see? It sees Jesus Christ and His miracles. It sees the unseen just like the revelation, which Saint John saw. Further, how Saint Paul saw the third heaven and many other signs (2 Cor.12: 2,7).

The Lord rebuked those who did not have this spiritual sense by saying *“And their eyes they have closed, Lest they should see with their eyes* " (Matt. 13: 15) the disciple also wrote the same thing about them (Acts 28:27). The expression they closed their eyes could mean that they did not train themselves to see the spiritualities or that they refused to see the spiritualities because of their interest in material things.

Gehazi did not see what his teacher Elisha saw (2 Kin 6:17). The companions of Saul did not see anything during the Godly vision he saw, the Bible said that they *“Stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no one.”* (Acts 9:7).

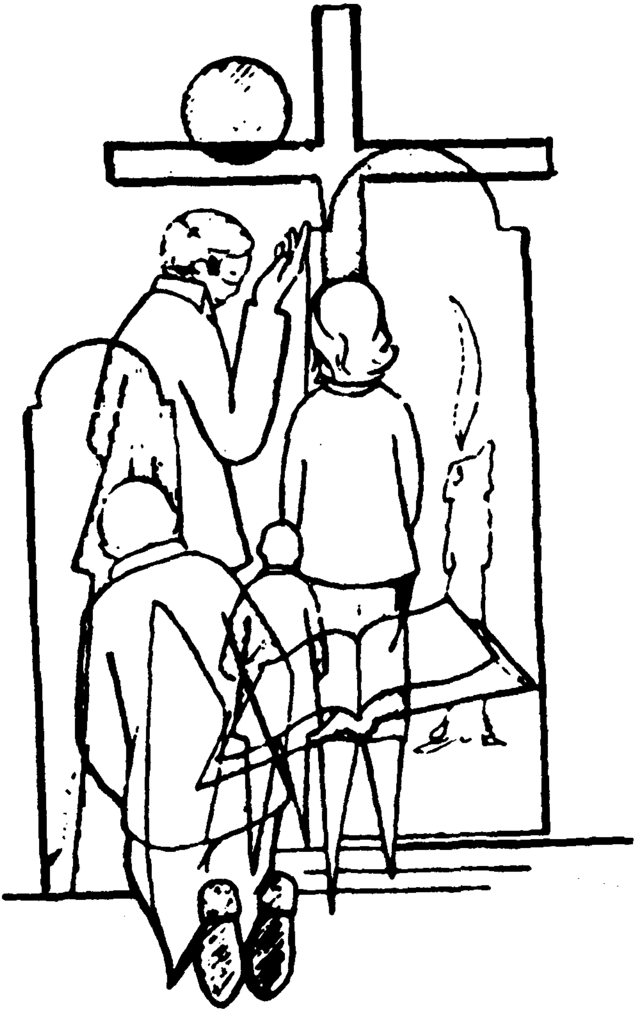

CHAPTER 3

DEGREES AND KINDS OF FAITH

Degrees Of Faith

People differentiate from one another in the kind of faith and the degree of faith they have “*As God has dealt to each one a measure of faith*” (Rom. 12:3).

Some may exaggerate by saying that a person with little faith is not at all a believer. This judgment is against the teachings of the Holy Bible, as we will see later. Some may mix between the word 'believer' and 'the chosen one', as if these two words mean the same thing. Let us then meditate on the different kinds of faith and its degrees.

1. **There is the newly converted believer** and the apostle ordered not to swell the believer up with pride or else he will “*fall into the same condemnation as the devil.*” (1 Titus. 3:6).

2. **There are those with little or weak faith, following are examples from Bible about this kind:**

a) Those who complain about God's care in food or clothes. The Lord gave them an example of the lilies of the field, and that not even Solomon in all his splendour was dressed like one of these. The Lord then rebuked them by saying “*Now if God so clothes the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will He not much more clothe you, O you of little faith?*” (Matt. 6:28-30, Luke 12:28).

b) The Lord also rebuked the disciples, when they thought that they did not take bread with them by saying “*O you of little faith*” (Matt. 14:31).

c) The Lord rebuked Saint Peter when he became afraid after walking with Him on the water and began to sink, the Lord rebuked him and said “*O you of little faith, why did you doubt*” (Matt. 14:31).

d) Similarly, when the disciples got frightened when the waves covered the ship during the Lord's sleep, then the Lord said to them “*Why are you fearful, O you of little faith?*” (Matt. 8:26).

Thus fear and doubt in the help of the Lord are evidences of little faith.

e) The apostle gave an example of a person of weak faith who eats only vegetables, the apostle also ordered that one should not judge or mock such a person and said “*To his own master he stands or falls. Indeed, he will be made to stand, for God is able to make him stand.*” (Rom. 14:1-4).

Here I admire the father of the boy with an evil spirit, when the Lord asked him "*do you believe?*" so as to heal his son, the father answered "*Lord, I believe; help my unbelief!*" (Mark 9:24).

The person with weak faith needs those who pray for him, so that the Lord may help him. We should not mock him for God is able to make him firm in faith.

3. There Is A Third Kind Of Faith And That Is The Limited Faith

We mean by that the person who believes in the Lord but in certain limits, and his faith does not exceed these limits. An example of this kind of faith are Mary and Martha, who believed that the Lord is able to heal their brother from sickness so as not to die. If he dies however, then their faith was not yet that far that his being risen from the dead was possible.

Therefore, each one of them said to the Lord "*If You had been here, my brother would not have died.*" (John 11:21,32). When the Lord said to Martha "*your brother will rise again*" she answered Him "*I know that he will rise again in the resurrection at the last day* " (John 11:24) and when the Lord went to the tomb and said "*take away the stone*" Martha said "*Lord, by this time there is a stench, for he has been dead four days*" (John 11:39).

God did not refuse this limited faith but He gave it a chance to grow.

That's why He said to Martha "*He who believes in Me, though he may die, he shall live.*" and He rebuked her at the tomb by saying "*Did I not say to you that if you would believe you would see the glory of God?*" (John 11:25,40). He gave her the chance to see the glory of God in rising her brother Lazarus from the dead, so that she believes and also the Jews, who saw the miracle, would also believe.

Here faith came after the miracle and not before it.

May be it happened like that because this miracle was the first of its kind, namely rising a dead after four days of being dead and stinking.

4. A fourth kind, from the weak faith, **is the slow heart in faith**. Maybe it comes from a slow understanding, or from no comprehension, so the person's faith does not come quickly. This was the kind of faith the disciples of Emmaus had in respect to the resurrection of the Lord. The Lord rebuked them by saying "*O foolish ones, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things*" (Luke 24:25-26). He then began to explain to them what was written in all the Scriptures concerning Christ. so that they believed, or so that he cures this tardiness in their faith resulting from their little knowledge or little understanding.

In this example we could also say that it is sound to rectify the misunderstandings concerning the faith. It is much better that

way than to despise and to mock such persons, it won't bring any good results and it won't read to the real faith.

5. There Is A Dangerous Case Of Faith And That Is The Dead Faith.

Saint James the apostle said, "*Faith by itself, if it does not have works, is dead.*" (James 2:17,20). He also said that this kind of faith can not save the person (James 2:14) and he saw that the living faith should have works or deeds to show it, "*I will show you my faith by my works.*" (James 2:18).

6. There Is Also Faith Which Is Not Firm

An example of that is Jesus Christ before being arrested, said to His disciple Peter "*Satan has asked for you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for you, that your faith should not fail*" (Luke 22:31,32). At this time Peter's faith failed but he turned back again to his first power.

7. There Are Other Cases The Bible Describes As Deviating From The True Faith:

a) Saint Paul the apostle said "*But if anyone does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever.*" (1 Tim. 5:8).

b) He said about the young widows when their sensual desires overcame their dedication to Christ "*They desire to marry, having condemnation because they have cast off their first faith.*" (1 Tim. 5:11,12).

c) He also said "*For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil, for which some have strayed from the faith in their greediness, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows* " (1 Tim. 6: 10).

d) He said "*Guard what was committed to your trust, avoiding the profane and idle babblings and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge by professing it some have strayed concerning the faith*" (1 Tim. 6:20,21).

In all these examples, can we deny the relationship between faith and deeds?

With a false deed it is said that a person denied the faith, or refused it, or went astray from it, or deviated from it. May be with these examples as measures we can examine ourselves, doing what the apostle said: "*Examine yourselves as to whether you are in the faith.*" (2 Cor. 13: 5).

8. The Most Dangerous Case Is To Retreat From Faith

The apostle says "*In latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons*" (1 Tim. 4: 1). The expression to retreat from faith means that they were in faith and then they retreated from it.

The apostle speaks about the great retreat that will happen before the coming of Christ "*for that day will not come until the rebellion occurs*" (2 Thes. 2:3).

This is from the general point of view but from the individual point of view the apostle says "*Now the just shall live by faith; But if anyone draws back, My soul has no pleasure in him*" (Heb. 10:38). Here he speaks about the retreat of a believer who was living in faith.

So long the believer can retreat so the believers are not the chosen ones, because the chosen ones stay in their faith all their lives until they meet the Lord.

The above are illustrations of negative kinds of faith, let us explain the positive ones.

9. To Grow In Faith

Saint Paul the apostle says to the Thessalonians "*We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren,… because your faith grows exceedingly*" (2 Thes. 1: 3) and he also said to the people of Corinth that their faith increases (2 Cor. 8:7).

Faith is a virtue like all the other virtues, one can grow in it.

10. To Keep The Faith And To Maintain It.

The apostle says about himself in his last days "*I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Finally, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness*" (2 Tim. 4:7-8).

He also says to the Colossians "*to present you holy, and blameless in His sight if indeed you continue in the faith, grounded and steadfast, and are not moved away from the hope of the gospel*" (Col. 1:23).

11. To Be Firm In Faith

Saint Peter the apostle says about the devil's wars "*Resist him, steadfast in the faith* " (1 Pet. 5:9).

12. To Be Rich With Faith

Saint James the apostle says "*Has God not chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which He promised to those who love Him?*"(James 2:5).

13. To Be Filled In Faith

It was said about Stephen "*they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit…And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and signs among the people*" (Acts 6:5,8).

The following qualities are said to be indispensable to faith.

14. Faith Working In With Love

Saint Paul the apostle says “*For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails anything, but faith working through love.*” (Gal. 5:6), may be he mentioned the expression 'working faith' because faith without deeds is dead (James 2:20). And the expression 'love' is connected with the whole law and the prophets (Matt.22: 40).

There is a great kind of faith:

15. Faith That Performs Miracles

The Lord spoke about “*signs will follow those who believe:*” (Mark 16:17), and Saint James the apostle said “*And the prayer of faith will save the sick*” (James 5:15).

The Peak of this matter is clear in the Lord's saying “*All things are possible to him who believes*” (Mark 9:23).

16. Faith Of Confidence And Believing

It is what the Lord used to ask for from those whom a miracle happened to them. And sometimes He asked “do you believe?”. He asked the blind men who asked Him to heal them “*Do you believe that I am able to do this?*” (Matt. 9:28).

The Lord blessed this kind of faith, as well as He said to the Canaanite woman “*great is your faith!* " (Matt. 15:28), and

also to the centurion *“I have not found such great faith, not even in Israel!“*(Matt. 8: 10).

17. The Whole Faith

Saint Paul the apostle says *“Though I have all faith, so that I could move mountains …* " he considered that this faith that moves mountains is the whole faith, that is, its peak and nothing beyond it.

KINDS OF FAITH

There is a great difference between two kinds of faith: theoretical faith and practical faith.

1. The Theoretical Faith

It is an intellectual or philosophical faith. It is just the intellectual conviction in the existence of God and in the existence of unseen matters without their influence on life. There is a saying that proves that the devils have this kind of faith. Then Saint James says about the dead faith, which is with no deeds “*You believe that there is one God. You do well. Even the demons believe--and tremble!*” (James 2:19). The book of Job gives us an evidence to that point because the conversation between God and Satan proves this theoretical faith, then Satan says to the Lord “*Does Job fear God for nothing? Have You not made a hedge around him, around his household, and around all that he has on every side? You have blessed the*

work of his hands, and his possessions have increased in the land. But now, stretch out Your hand and touch all that he has, and he will surely curse You to Your face!” (Job 1:9-11). When Satan took permission from God to act, he went to work against Job, and in the second time Satan told the Lord “*Stretch out Your hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will surely curse You to Your face!*” (Job 2:5).

Hence Satan believes theoretically that, that is God, and that He is the one who blessed the work of Job, and He is able to strike what he has, and to strike his flesh and bones. Every expression coming out of Job against God is considered a curse towards God. Never the less Satan was fighting the kingdom of God and God's children, and he still does.

The theoretical faith of Satan which Job spoke about is a dead faith according to what the apostle said “*Faith without works is dead*” (James 2:20). Thus if faith without deeds is dead, then what is the faith that is loaded with bad deeds opposing every goodness.

The theoretical faith is easy. How easy is it to prove the existence of God with the intellectual proofs and the many evidences, the most important is however the practical faith.

This leads us to the important kind of faith

The Practical Faith

It is the faith, which signs show in the practical life, the life of a believer believing that God is in front of him, he sees and feels Him, and he acts worthy of this faith.

He loves this God who he believes in His existence, His care, His protection, and he talks to this loving God through his prayers and his imploring, and he fears to do anything that may hurt His loving heart... and in tranquillity in His actions, he does not fear and does not trouble, but lives in perpetual peace, he yields his whole life to His wise disposal.

In this way, faith leads the believer to many uncountable virtues.

This kind of faith is the subject of this book, as we will as to describe how faith leads our whole life to become
a life of faith.

This understanding takes us to another quality in the qualities of the true faith:

2. Perpetual Faith

We mean by that, that it does not have occasions. Our faith does not only appear when being in church, or in a spiritual meeting, or when praying, or when reading the Bible, or when having communion; but this faith is apparent at any time and in any place, outside the church as well as inside. God is always in front of us and is always on our minds with faith that does not change. He is not only the Lord of churches or the Lord of the

Bible but He is the Lord of the heart and the mind together and the Lord of life.

3. Faith Without Seeing

This faith does not depend on the senses and is consistent with what the Lord said "*Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed.*" (John 20:29). It is not like the scientists who do not believe in anything unless they get it in their laboratories and convince themselves of it with their eyes and instruments, and not like the Sadducees who denied the existence of the angels, the resurrection and the spirits (Acts 23:8), because they have not seen anything from all that...

4. Faith Of Confidence And Test

It is not faith in God what we read about in the theological books or in the religious institutions, or in the churches and in the Sunday schools with all their kinds.

But it is the faith in God that we test in our lives. We were in companionship with Him, we let Him enter in every detail of our lives, and practically tested what David said "*Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good*" (Ps 34:8). We found that God is wonderful, to the most extent, beyond what the mind can imagine.

Our whole life is fellowship with Christ. We tasted His beauty, His love and His care, we also saw His power and His glory.

We saw how He enters into our problems and solves them in ways that could not have occurred to us before.

Because of our test we gained confidence not built on books, but on what we felt by our hands, that's why our faith is a true faith destined in our hearts.

5. A Strong Faith

It is faith that is able to do anything (Mark 9:23), it can overcome any obstacle, it does not see anything impossible. It was said about Zerubbabel "*Who are you, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel you shall become a plain!*" (Zech. 4:7).

It is faith that can place its foot in water so as to cross the Red Sea in the days of Moses (Ex. 14:22), and to cross the Jordan river in the days of Joshua (Joshua 3). It can walk inside the great sea or river with waters surrounding it like a gate on its right and on its left without any fear.

It is faith that can strike the rock and water comes out of it (Ex. 17:6). It is faith that walks in the desert without any food or guide collecting its food from the manna descending from heaven day by day (Ex. 16:21) guided by the cloud in the day time and by the fire rod at night (Num 9:15-23).

It is the strong faith which Elijah said through it "*There shall not be dew nor rain these years, except at my word*" (1 Kin 17: 1), and thus "*it would not rain; and it did not rain on the land for three years and six months. And he prayed again, and the*

heaven gave rain" (James 5: 17-18), and that is how he could close and open the sky.

There are many examples about this strong faith. There are many other examples of this kind but they appear in another form.

6. Faith Which Is Steady

It is a steady faith and is not at all affected by external circumstances; it believes in God's love either on mount Carmel or on Golgotha.

Abraham believed in the love of God that gave him descendants from Sarah in hopeless circumstances, exactly how he believed in the love of God as He said to him "*Take now your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah*" (Gen. 22:2).

Abraham when he raised his hand with the knife to slay his son Isaac did not doubt in the love of God, nor in His timing. His faith was never shaken in God, and not even that he will have descendants from Isaac as many as the stars of the sky and the sand of the sea.

Steady faith does not change according to the external circumstances surrounding it, because its confidence is steady in God, and its peace of heart is not affected by the external circumstances but from God Himself, His love and the truth in His timings.

7. Faith As A Gift

There is normal faith and faith which is considered a gift from the Holy Spirit, and no doubt the latter has a higher degree which overcomes the normal faith.

Saint Paul the apostle, says in his speech about gifts "*There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. … But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to each one for the profit of all: for to one is given the word of wisdom through the Spirit, to another the word of knowledge through the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healings by the same Spirit,* " (1 Cor. 12:4-9).

Faith as being among the fruits of the Spirit is also seen in (Gal.5:22).

It becomes clear that we can not separate the faith from the works of the Holy Spirit; either from the fruits of the Spirit, or from the Spirit's gifts; and each of them has its degree.

8. The Sound Faith

How often do people believe in ideas or beliefs political or social, and their belief gives them a power to carry these ideas out and to transfer them to the minds of the people.

The sound faith that has a spiritual nature and has a deep relationship with God "*exhorting you to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints.*" (Jude 3) this pure and virtuous faith. This lets us say that Faith is not

just a belief but a life... or it is a life built on belief, or it is an experienced belief lived by the people and not just ideas in books.

What we want to speak about in this book is this life, the life of faith.

CHAPTER 4

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FAITH WITH PEACE AND FEARLESSNESS

From the qualities of the believer it is his heart that is full of peace and tranquillity. He does not trouble at all, does not agitate, and does not fear because he believes in God's protection. The believer keeps his inner peace whatever the external circumstances seem to be disturbing.

The person, who feels that he stands alone, fears. He who believes that God is with him does not fear.

1- David the prophet says, "*Though an army may encamp against me, My heart shall not fear; Though war should rise against me, In this I will be confident.*" (Ps 27:3) and if you ask him about the reason in this attitude, then he answers in the same Psalm "*The Lord is the strength of my life; Of whom shall I be afraid?*" (Ps 27: 1). David experienced God, His help and His protection. When evil men advanced towards him to devour his flesh he said "*When the wicked came against me …They stumbled and fell.*" (Ps 27:2).

He does not receive his tranquillity from the amelioration of the external circumstances surrounding him, but he

receives his tranquillity from God's work in these circumstances and in him.

Consequently David says in the psalm of the shepherd "*Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; For You are with me*" (Ps 23:4).

If you have this faith, that God is with you, you shall not fear even if an army besieges you, or if war breaks against you, and even if you walk in the valley of the shadow of death.

2- Perhaps We Could Also See This Peace And Fearlessness In The Meeting Of Elijah The Prophet With Ahab.

Ahab the king, was searching for Elijah the prophet everywhere so as to kill him, and in spite of that Elijah went to stand before Ahab. When Obadiah warned Elijah of the danger Elijah answered "*As the Lord of hosts lives, before whom I stand, I will surely present myself to him today*" (1 Kin 18: 15), and the meeting took place. Elijah met Ahab the king and was not afraid of him. Elijah even rebuked him for following the Baals (1 Kin 18:18). Elijah did not fear due to his belief of standing in front of the Lord of armies.

3-The Same Way, We See The Encounter Between David And The Mighty Goliath.

David, the young man, was from faith, full of peace and not fearing Goliath. He even spoke in confidence and told Saul the king "Let no man's heart fail because of him; your servant will

go and fight with this Philistine" (1 Sam. 17:32). As for the king and his whole army they were afraid and very frightened, because they were not looking to God who is unseen, as David was... but were concentrating their eyes on what they saw in front of them "a champion " who was "*Six cubits and a span. He had a bronze helmet on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of bronze.*" (1 Sam. 17:4-7).

David the man of faith, when he entered the field of war he let God enter with him, and he entered the spirit of faith and peace to the hearts of the men of war with his saying "*Who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?… Let no man's heart fail because of him; your servant will go and fight with this Philistine*" (1 Sam, 17:26,32), and he told the Philistine "*You come to me with a sword, with a spear, and with a javelin. But I come to you in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel*" (1 Sam. 17:45), that means: you come to me with seen matters and I come to you with who is unseen.

We will notice that the name of God did not part from David's tongue and it granted him peace.

With this faith, peace of heart and confidence, David advanced towards this Philistine and told him with total confidence in faith "*This day the Lord will deliver you into my hand… for the battle is the Lord's*" (1 Sam. 17:46,47).

Really the person who believes does not know any fear whatever the circumstances surrounding him were. His peace of

heart does not leave him, but faith grants him courage and bravery.

4-In The Midst Of Distress, Whatever Kind It Is, We See Faith Giving Peace.

A distress can be solved in two ways: one is with faith and the other without. A non believer is troubled, afraid and worried, he imagines the worst results, and thinking disturbs him... but the believer accepts it with tranquillity and with a wonderful peace of heart. Some may ask him about his feelings regarding this distress and he answers “God will interfere in this problem and solve it and it will be for the good”. You may ask him how God will interfere, and how God is going to solve it, and he answers: I do not know, and I am not interested, but I know that we do not have to take care of our problems because God takes care of everything.

Really, I do not know how the problem will be solved but I know God who will solve it.

Thus, faith leads the believer to tranquillity. That's how the children of God always live in peace and even in joy, feeling that God is with them and that He takes care of all their matters, and He does for them what they can not do for themselves.

5-Jonah, Being In The Whale's Stomach, Did Not Lose Faith And Peace.

He even prayed to the Lord when he was in the whale's stomach, a prayer full of faith, and he said in confidence "*I will look again toward Your holy temple.*" (Jon. 2:4). He made the Lord a vow and said "*With the voice of thanksgiving; I will pay what I have vowed. Salvation is of the Lord*" (Jon. 2:9).

Even from inside the whale, he saw the Lord's salvation, getting out of the whale, the holy temple and his sacrifice to the Lord and the fulfilling of his vows.

It is faith the source of all peace and ease, no fear in it and no trouble.

6-When Faith Decreases, Then The Person Fears.

Peter in his faith, could walk with the Lord on the water forgetting all the laws of gravitation. When he remembered them and became afraid, he began to sink. The Lord rebuked him saying "*O you of little faith, why did you doubt?*" (Matt. 14:31).

That way, the Lord related fear, doubt and little faith together. It is really a wonderful relation: doubt weakens the faith, a weak faith leads to fear, and fear causes the fall.

In the same manner we speak about the disciples when waves covered the ship they were on. Their sight of the agitated waves covering the ship while the Lord was asleep, made them doubt

the Lord's care for them. Doubt weakened their faith and so they became frightened, that is why the Lord rebuked them saying *"Why are you fearful, O you of little faith?"* (Matt. 8:26).

Every time you are afraid, rebuke your self for your little faith. Tell yourself 'where is my faith that God exists and that He controls everyone and sees everything. And where is my faith in God's love, and in His interference in my problems, and in His ability to do everything, and where is my faith in that God does benevolences, and that no doubt He'll do me good?'

All these ideas strengthen your faith and grant you peace and confidence in God's work.

Faith rests the soul, because he who believes in the existence of God does not feel lonely, but has confidence that there is a power beside him.

He believes in the existence of this power that is able to do everything, which is all love and justice, and that can support him. This power works for the best of all and has mercy on all who are in distress. If the believer has confidence in this Godly power then his heart is filled with peace, would not fear and would not be troubled. The non believer on the other hand, tires and stands alone in his distress losing the peace because he does not have confidence in this unseen supporting power.

7-Saint Peter Was In Prison And He Had A Deep Sleep.

King Herod, so as to please the Jews, had James the brother of John, one from the twelve disciples, put to death. He seized Saint Peter also and put him in prison "*delivered him to four squads of soldiers to keep him* ", He intended to kill him after the Passover (Acts 12:1-4).

In spite of being in prison, with the strong guards, and the expectation of being killed... Peter slept, having confidence in the existence of a Godly guardian that guards him more than the soldiers around him. It was a deep sleep, even when the angel came to rescue him he struck Peter on the side to wake him up (Acts 12:7).

What kind of peace of heart is that, that lets a person sleep in such conditions when being imprisoned, and in that same night King Herod was intending to kill him.

It is faith in God's care if God wanted him to live, or faith in a happy eternity if God wanted him to die as a martyr.

In both cases the matter needs to be joyful. That is why peace was filling Peter's heart. He was sleeping calmly and the external matters did not bother him.

Maybe there was another reason for Peter's peace and that is "*Peter was therefore kept in prison, but constant prayer was offered to God for him by the church.*" (Acts 12: 5).

The believer is he who can sleep in God's embrace and rest. He yields his life and all his troubles to God, and he says to God: as

long as you have received these matters so I will not trouble myself with them. For me the matter is finished and is transferred into your hands and I have confidence that You will do the best out of it. I sleep and rest and You will give me sleep *"He gives His beloved sleep he loves"* (Ps 127:2).

8-Daniel The Prophet And The Three Young Men As An Example Of Faith Full Of Peace.

Daniel was awaiting to be thrown in the lions' den, and in spite of that he did not lose his peace and his courage. He kept his faith and he prayed to God the Lord, with strength and without fear.

In the lions' den, Daniel's heart was stronger than the hearts of all the lions that were with him, as if he were saying: what if they threw me in the den? Is not God also there, or is not His angel there who could close up the mouths of the lions?

Also the three young men they did not fear the fire.

No doubt, faith creates all courage and bravery in the heart and it takes away all fear.

9-The Same Were The Saints On Their Way To Martyrdom.

They were singing songs of joy and were praising God on their way to death. Neither death nor suffering did trouble them. Their faith was in the other life, in a happy eternity, and in

fellowship with God in Paradise. All this filled them with peace and joy and were even looking forward to death, singing with Paul the apostle "*refresh my heart in the Lord*" (Phil. 20).

Death does not frighten the believer but delights him.

10-In Every Distress, Obstacle And Difficulty The Believer Does Not Fear And Does Not Lose His Peace.

A believer overcomes obstacles without fearing them. He feels that God will solve the problems that come across him and that God shall not leave him alone in the problems.

But for the non believer, the problems cause him reluctance and fear, and by his unbelief he becomes a coward. The non-believer may even imagine difficulties and intimidations that do not exist as if "*There is a lion in the road! A fierce lion is in the streets!*" (Prov. 26:13).

A believer does not fear at all whatever troubles and difficulties face him. He faces them with calmness and security having confidence in God's work with him.

11-With Faith, People Preached About Jesus In Countries Where Human Flesh Was Eaten And They Did Not Fear.

They entered unexplored Africa and in the jungles, and in dangerous areas from weather conditions, nature and habits of their people and they did not fear. Their belief in God the protector, gave them power and courage. Also their faith in the

goodness and importance of their work; importance of bringing the words of God to the souls there, so that these souls won't perish in non faith. God gave them power and took away the fear from their hearts so they accomplished their work. They did not mind the emigration, nor the cruelty of the weather, nor the barbarity of the people, nor the venturous weather.

12-By Faith, Noah Took Animals With Him On The Ark Without Fear.

As God told Noah to take animals with him two by two so he did. God who gave the order kept Noah safe from them. They were with Noah as they were with Adam in Paradise, to live with them without fear and with peace in the heart, and so it was.

Noah had faith in God's word to him so he did not fear.

13-He Who Believes In An Idea, Faith In It Will Give Him Power To Carry It Out.

That was how the reformers were in all times and places. They believed in an idea so they endeavoured with all strength to carry it out. Because of their faith, they endured many troubles until they completed their work.

Gandhi for example, believed in the person's right in freedom, and he believed in a policy without violence. This faith gave him a wonderful power with which he liberated India, and gave rights to the opposers whereby they obtained equal rights. He

was able to endure so that his followers would not face violence, and so that they don't accept violence. His faith in the idea gave him the power to carry it out. How greater it is then to believe in God!

14-Even Faith In Science Does Miracles, An Example To That Are The Astronauts.

I mean by that, what was being told to them about the non gravity area, and how a person can walk in this area without falling. Who has the courage to walk in the atmosphere without fearing? What made the astronauts carry it out was their faith in the scientists' research. Faith gives power and courage. How it is then to have faith in God!

The difference between the most courageous people and the most fearful is faith.

The courageous person, is he who has faith that no harm will happen to him, or that he believes in his work and its necessity whatever happened to him, or that he believes in the quality of courage and fearlessness. However, the coward is the total opposite of that.

15-Faith In Eternity Gives A Person Peace And Ease.

He has confidence that he will obtain his right if not on earth then in heaven, and that he will not be oppressed either here or there. This is also how he will obtain his full joy: what has not

come true on earth will surely come true in the eternal paradise. That is how he lives at ease even if he was like poor Lazarus.

16-Faith In The Power And The Sign Of The Cross Prevents Fear.

He who believes in the cross, the sign of the cross, and the power of the cross feels tranquil as he protects himself behind the cross.

If he is faced with fear or danger and he made the sign of the cross his heart will be filled with peace. He will also feel that a power protects him and this power prevents fear from him. He feels that a power has entered his heart which was not there before. The sign of the cross became a weapon for him.

Another person has a great faith in the effectiveness of the psalms. He reads them at any time or in time of need and he feels that the psalm has a special power that eases his heart and grants him peace. If he was afraid and read Psalm 91 (he who dwells in the shelter of the Most High), or 23 (the Lord is my shepherd), or 27 (the Lord is my light and my salvation) ... he feels immediately peace inside him and that the psalm's power has descended upon him.

We know that the psalms were written through the Spirit (Matt. 22:43-44). As a book from the Bible David wrote them lead by the Holy Spirit (2 Pet. 1:21). That is why it has without any doubt, power.

Others have faith in the spirits of the saints and the work of these spirits for them.

Accordingly, they feel peace when they ask for a prayer or help of a certain saint they love and they have confidence in the saints intercession with God.

I remember, in this occasion, an Ethiopian monk who was living in a cave in Natroun valley. Once he got lost during the night as he was complaining of weakness in the eyes. Night and darkness fell upon him. So he drew a large circle on the desert land and surrounded it with the sign of the cross at all sides and he then slept inside it. In the morning, he saw traces of foxes and animals outside the circle; they could not enter the circle to harm him.

I remember some time ago, I was travelling on a ship. The waves became agitated and the passengers were afraid. I looked and I saw among the passengers, a very good person. I had much confidence in his holiness so my heart was rested. I said to myself “it is impossible that God allows the ship to sink and this good person, who loves God, is on board”. Yes, the ship was rescued and no harm happened.

It was just the existence of this person as a cause of peace and to strengthen the faith. Maybe, that was also the feeling of other passengers.

There are many uncountable experiences and stories that strengthen the faith but I do not have the capacity to mention them all here.

However what I have mentioned is sufficient for this chapter and now we may enter another sign of the signs of faith.

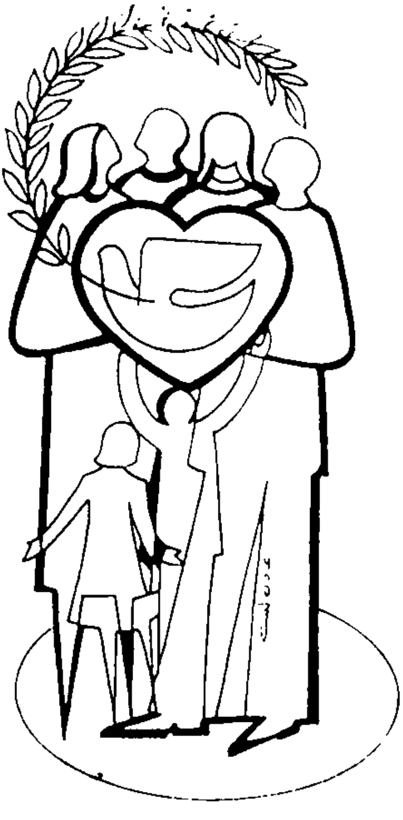

CHAPTER 5

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FAITH WITH PURITY OF THE HEART

No doubt you are ashamed to err in front of an innocent person you respect.

You may be very cautious in his presence and are ashamed to commit anything terrible in front of him. You don't like that he takes a bad impression about you, or that you fall lower in his eyes You even take care not to err in front of any of your servants or chiefs lest they contempt you, or even lessen their respect of you.

Consequently most of the sins are committed in secret either because of fear or shame. It was said about the sinners that they "*loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil*" (John 3:19). The Lord said about His enemies who conspired against Him "*This is your hour, and the power of darkness*" (Luke 22:53).

If you shame yourself or fear from a person who sees you, so how is it then in the presence of God?

If you completely believed that God is present in every place you are, He sees you, hears you and watches over you, no doubt you will be ashamed or afraid to commit anything wrong

in front of God. That is why, when Joseph was offered the sin he refused it saying "*How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?*" (Gen.39: 9).

He considered it wrong against God to break His commandments and it is disrespectful to God, if he did evil in front of Him without bashfulness. Do you have these feelings? Do you place God in front of you in every sin you fight to do? Do you remember what the Lord said to each of the angels of the seven churches (Rev.)? He told each of them "***I know your deeds***" (Rev. 2:2,9,13,19 & Rev. 3:1,8, 1 5).

If you knew this you will be ashamed, afraid and will refrain from sin because the fear of God will always be in front of your eyes every time you try to do wrong.

You will even feel ashamed from the spirits of the angels and saints.

If you believe, from all your heart, that God's angels roam around us (Ps 34:7) and that we "*made a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men.*" (1 Cor. 4:9) then you will, no doubt, be ashamed of yourself from the angels around you. He will not bear to see your sins due to his holiness, so he will leave you... You no doubt will be ashamed of yourself from the spirits of the saints, your relationships and acquaintances... with this shame you will part from sin and approach the life of purity.

If you believe that God is holy, you will be apprehensive to show your uncleanliness in front of this unlimited holiness. Every time you say 'holy, holy, holy' in your prayers you will

feel disgrace in your heart due to your past, and you will not venture to commit any sin in the future. When Isaiah the prophet, heard the seraphim glorify the Lord with this Hymn "*Holy, holy, holy*" he cried out "*Woe is me, for I am undone! Because I am a man of unclean lips*" (Is 6:2-5).

If you believe that God is the examiner of hearts and reader of minds and that He knows all that goes on in your mind and heart with respect to feelings, plans and plots, then you will be afraid of His knowing your inside. You will be ashamed from His Holiness and by leaving these ideas and feelings you will reach the life of purity.

May be you will say: I believe in all these; that God exists, that He sees and hears everything, that He examines hearts and reads minds... and in spite of that I am still in sin... And I answer you: **may be you believe in all these theoretically but you don't live a life suitable to your faith!**

He who lives this faith that God sees him, the angels see him, the spirits see him... If he practically puts this idea in his heart he will be ashamed, his soul will lessen in his own eyes, and he will not dare to continue committing sins. According to one of the fathers every sin is preceded by lust, negligence or forgetfulness.

Maybe the person, during sin, forgets God and His kingdom. Maybe he also forgets that he is created in the image and the likeness of God, if he really believed in that. Maybe he is also forgetful of all God's commandments and warnings although theoretically, he believes in all that but he does not live

it. He, as we have already said, has the name of a believer but not the life of one.

Consequently, if you believe in eternity then put it in front of you so as not to err.

He who believes that the day of the Lord will come like a thief (1 Thes. 5:2), that God is just, that He'll give everyone according to what he has done (Rev. 22:12), and he who believes in life after death, judgment, repentance, punishment, standing before God in that day when the books will be opened, that ideas and wishes will be revealed, and the works of everyone will be declared in front of all... he who believes in all that, with a practical faith, it will be difficult for him to err but will find a restraint inside him which dissuades him, fearfully and shamefully... and you see him looking forward to meeting God on that day.

Why do I speak about Eternity, I could say from another point of view: **If you believe in God's love you will be ashamed to hurt His love.**

Many times you say, “God is love” (1 John 4:8,16). During sin you are not in a state of practical faith in His love, or may be this love is not at all in your mind. If you really believe that love is the holy bondage that binds you with God, how will you err? “*Whoever has been born of God does not sin*” (1 John 3:9).

You will not err if you believe in virtue as a way of life. Many speak about virtue. They invite others to it and glorify it a lot. But they do not live it. They do not practically believe that virtue can be their way of life. If they practically believed in

that, then they would have lived a pure life and reproved themselves for their weaknesses.

He who also believes in the evanescence of the world will renounce it and will not err.

As David the prophet, said "*I am a stranger in the earth; Do not hide Your commandments from me.*" (Ps 11 9:19), "*For I am a stranger with You, A sojourner, as all my fathers were.*" (Ps 39:12). That's how the men of faith lived "*they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. … they desire a better, that is, a heavenly country.*" (Heb. 11:13,16). They renounced everything in this world and obeyed the apostle's saying, "*Do not love the world or the things in the world. And the world is passing away, and the lust of it*" (1 John 2:15, 17).

With this faith, they lived in the world without that the world living in them.

They were those "*And those who use this world as not misusing it.*" (1 Cor. 7:31). With this faith - on a larger scale - lived the monks, hermits, and he mountain inhabitants in devotion and seclusion "*Of whom the world was not worthy. They wandered in deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth.*" (Heb. 11:38).

This is how faith purifies the heart. As the apostle said "*And **this is the victory that has overcome the world--our falt** ."* (1 John 5:4). Our faith, that we live on earth "*while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal.*" (2 Cor. 4:18). Yes, faith

in the evanescence of the world lets us overcome it and to become purified from it and what it contains.

Faith in eternity gives the person wakefulness in his conscious. This is how the person will always have a living conscious: to judge every work, not only according to success or failure, or according to its results in our lives... but to judge the matters according to eternity... because every thing he does has an effect on his eternal destiny and may be on the destiny of others... every good he does is kept for him in Heaven, but he will have to give an account of every wrong he does to people or to himself on the judgment day.

Faith in the existence of God in front of us gives the heart humility.

It grants the person humility in the heart and in action, and it grants him fear and solemnity because he stands before God. As it was said about Saint Peter during fishing (after the resurrection of Christ) when he knew that the Lord came "*He put on his outer garment for he had removed it*" (John 21:7).

In the presence of the Lord, every person stands in solemnity. According to the person's feeling in the existence of God is his measure of solemnity. That is how people differ one from the other in their feelings during prayer, there are those who kneel and those who prostrate in front of God's unlimited greatness... but he who sits during prayer, what can I say about him?

The perpetual feeling that God exists - even not during prayer - makes the person humble because majesty is only to God alone haughtiness of a person is against faith.

Thus, we see angels in this perpetual solemnity.

The Bible says about the seraphim "*each one had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew.*" (Is 6:2). If the seraphim covers his face and feet in the presence of God due to His beautiful majesty, then what shall we say? And how shall we be solemn and humble in front of Him?

To this degree we see faith purifying the heart and granting it fear, bashfulness and humility.

He who believes in God's importance to him will fear to err wrong, because it is separation from God. How dangerous is it to a person to be separated from God.

As for he who does, not believe in the danger of sin, and the danger in its spiritual results, becomes lenient with it, falls, and loses his purity. See to what extent the feelings of David were concerning the danger of sin when he told the Lord "*Against You, You only, have I sinned, And done this evil in Your sight*" (Ps 51:4). See also Joseph, he believed that if he did anyone wrong then it was against God (Gen. 39:9).

All these spiritual feelings either they prevent the person from sin like Joseph, or they cause a contrite heart like that of David's. Both are signs of purity of heart.

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CHAPTER 6

SIMPLICITY OF FAITH

Simplicity of faith; many intellectuals seek it but do not find It. Once a philosopher passed by a simple peasant who was praying with strong ardour while kneeling down in solemnity. The peasant was talking to God with persistence and familiarity as if he was standing before Him. The philosopher then said; "I am ready to give up all my philosophy, in return that I acquire something of the faith of this simple man who talks with all this confidence to whom he does not see."

The philosopher felt that this simple man possessed something very precious that with all his philosophy he could not obtain.

Simplicity of faith "believes everything" concerning God and accepts it without investigation or argument, being the argument which the intellectuals are famous for.

This simplicity reminds us of the faith of children who believe in theological and spiritual facts. They have the confidence that does not doubt or lie and does not oppose the mind. Maybe that is one of the reasons that made Jesus tell His disciples "*Unless you are converted and become as little children, you will by no means enter the kingdom of heaven."* (Matt. 18:3). The faith of an adult may be deeper, but the faith of a child is more innocent,

simple and sincere; true faith has no doubt in it. May your faith be strong like that of a child's.

I do not agree with those who say that children are non-believers. Paul the apostle, tells his disciple Timothy "*From childhood you have known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.*" (2 Tim. 3: 15). How great was the praise of Jesus to the child He set in the middle of the disciples (Matt. 18:2,3).

He who follows the simplicity of faith, lives far from the complications of the mind, and lives far from what the mind presents from doubts, thoughts, and may be even misleading. Really, the mind's balance is from God but it may err if separated from faith.

Faith is a kind of splendour God presents to the mind so as to enlighten it.

If the mind stands alone it troubles its owner with ideas. If David, the young man, depended only on his mind and thoughts, he would have feared Goliath. Saul and his army did, but David depended on the simple faith, according to what he told Goliath "*This day the Lord will deliver you into my hand*" (1 Sam. 17:46). However, how did God give them all in their hands? David did not think of that but left it to God Himself because war is to God (1 Sam. 17:46). This is faith. With it David won the war even more than those who used their minds as to balance the matters.

Simple faith is a matter of confidence and not a matter of thinking.

Even if the mind said that war searches for the balance of powers and how one side will overcome? The answer is simple: if God entered the battle He would change the human idea of the balance of power, and David with God's power will be much stronger than Goliath without this balance of power. Here we see that faith - with its simplicity - does not contradict the mind and its balances.

He who lives in simple faith lives without anxiety because anxiety usually comes because of much thinking or that a person thinks about problems in an intellectual way. But in the simplicity of faith the person does what he can and leaves the more important point to God Himself and is not anxious. His confidence that God works for him gives him peace of heart and does not allow anxiety to overcome his feelings.

He who has this simple faith is not anxious because he leaves God the control of his matters. If he has confidence in the good care of God in his life, so he won't worry about tomorrow, because the God of tomorrow will take care of it, and he will welcome everything that happens in his life with the expression "*All things work together for good to those who love God*" (Rom. 8:28).

But he who places his thinking in place of the Godly arrangement will tire a lot and carry his anxieties instead of letting God carry them for him.

The confidence of simple faith in granting prayers, takes away anxiety.

Maybe you all know the story of this village that suffered from dryness. The people of the village decided to set a prayer day so that God causes rain to fall. All went to pray and a young girl went carrying an umbrella. When they asked her about the reason, she said: “aren't we praying because of rain? What shall we then do when God hears our prayers and it starts to rain and we don't have any umbrellas?” She had faith that God will grant their prayer. And because of her faith it did rain.

This simple faith has its strength regarding miracles and visions. A miracle can happen to a person and not to another, because the former, in his simple faith, believes and accepts it. But for the latter, the difficulties that his mind presents, make him doubt inside himself about its ability to happen.

The same also happens concerning visions. Some see the Godly visions by their simple faith, and others do not owing to the complications of their minds. This is very clear as it happened during the appearance of the Virgin Mary in her church in Zeitoun, Cairo.

The mind tries to analyse everything scientifically or else it will not believe. As for faith, it needs belief, in simplicity, far from the complications of their minds.

That's why miracles and visions happen mostly to simple people. But for most intellectuals, who disapprove of them and who mock their believers, it rarely happens to them whether to bring them to faith or so that they are a witness of them (John 15:22).

Even the Jews did not believe the miracle of the man who was born blind and said that he who healed him was a sinner (John 9:24). The mind put the problem of healing on a Sabbath in front of them, so that they lost faith (John 9:16).

That is why Jesus said of those and praised the simple ***“I thank You, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent and have revealed them to babes.*** " (Matt. 11:25). With the word *babes,* He meant the simple faith. But those wise and learned in this verse are those who are proud of their knowledge and understanding, and who only depend on their minds far from faith, even some of the spiritual men admitted in sorrow and said: “this is the fruit which Adam and Eve ate from”. they meant by that, the knowledge away from God.

One of the nights I was coming back after visiting one of the fathers in the mountain . Darkness was already spreading and it was told to me “don't come back alone to the monastery so that you don't get lost”. I knew the way quite well and I believed in God's guidance and in spite of that I said “If I get lost then I'll spend the night in the desert till morning.” I had faith in my depth in God's protection, especially that many bedouins spend the nights in the desert without fear, but it was told to me “you are more simple than usual, and you don't know the mountain. Because the mountain is full of insects, bears and there is also the danger of fierce animals and other weather conditions. The mind was always talking in my ears to remove what I had in my heart from simple faith. I came back at that same night to the monastery with one of the fathers. My mind

did not give me at that time any chance to experience the work of God with those who walk at night in the desert. Or even, to experience the faith of the bedouin who spends each night there, and the care and protection of God is with him.

I thank God that He compensated me for that later on when I lived alone in the mountain.

The mind can imagine danger everywhere and at the same time does not give the thinking a chance in God's work. On the contrary, it causes the non believer to be afraid.

That does not mean that a person throws himself in jeopardy without wisdom. If a person was as cautious as can be and then found himself in a so called 'danger' then with all simplicity he will have confidence in God's protection and care, and sings with the prophet David "*A thousand may fall at your side, And ten thousand at your right hand; But it shall not come near you.* " (Ps 91:7).

Simple faith has confidence that God's hand will interfere to rescue and solve any problem.

The person believes totally that God, as a lover of human beings, and doer of benevolences, will no doubt interfere in the problem according to His promise to His children and He'll spread His hands to solve it.

But how does this happen? Simple faith does not ask that.

He accepts the work of grace in simplicity without investigating how it works.

How many times did we try to solve our problems with human methods and all these ways failed and did not have any results. The fingerprints of God were clear beyond all thinking.

Simple faith has confidence in God's work, by belief and experience.

Faith brings the person to trials. Tests deepen the faith and build it on firm basis and not on theoretical ones. Faith and trials strengthen one another until the person reaches conviction and simplicity of faith.

Simple faith has confidence that everything is possible and that nothing is impossible.

It has complete confidence that God can do all things and that no plan can be thwarted (Job 42:2), even if it was difficult to understand it happening. The person believes in the Lord's saying “*All things are possible to him who believes.*” (Mark 9:23).

That's why simple faith, is beyond all doubts.

It is a strong faith, stronger than any doubt, because doubts are the work of the mind, and the mind is proud of its measures. But the believer has overcome the stage of the mind and has lived in a higher and deeper level. Higher than the doubts is the simplicity of faith.

Some try to transfer the problem of religion to philosophy and to bring it out of the heart and the soul and restrict it only to the limit of the mind.

That was what Saint Paul the apostle fought with all his might, and said *"Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of no effect."* (1 Cor. 1:17-20)

No doubt, the simple believer who treasures up his faith in himself, above the level of investigation, is stronger in faith than some theologians who acquire their faith from books. They think they have faith. It may be that faith that can be easily shaken by the opposite intellectual thoughts.

Train yourself to the life of simple faith, and make use of the experience that happens in your life or the life of others, and do not let much thinking keep you far from faith.

CHAPTER 7

OBEDIENCE OF FAITH OR A LIFE OF SUBMISSION

He who believes in God's love, His watching over him, His wisdom and handling of his life, and believes that God does benevolence for him, yields his life to God to plan it as God sees fit.

With that conviction, the person will always live in the obedience of faith.

He yields his life to God and he is tranquil and glad. But he who does not live the life of submission is troubled about his life and keeps on thinking: what am I? and how am I? and when am I? is it necessary that I change what I am doing? or shall I stay as I am? Thinking tires him and most probably he loses his peace, and continues in perpetual search and discusses the matters with himself without end. He neither thinks of rest nor leaves the matter to God like the man of faith.

The faithful person, when he yields his life to God does not set any conditions on God, does not ask Him for guarantees and does not observe God in His work with him.

He has full confidence in God, in His love, wisdom and ability. He has faith that God knows what is good for him more than he

himself does. That is why he yields his life in His hands and forgets it there.

As long as he has faith in God's work with him, he won't be able to be anxious or interested, and won't tire himself with thinking. The believer lives at peace more than he who thinks for himself and his thinking tires him.

Many do not accept the submission to God unless their human ways fail!

Their principal way is the complete reliance on their human arms either on the esteem of their minds, abilities and tricks, or their getting used to this way, owing to their false belief, or their conviction that a person turns to God only in time of full disability and failure. Then, at that time they come to God because they have tried every trick and method and did not reach their aim, and because their minds have grown tired and exhausted without any use and there was no other way except through God.

This is not faith but it is the pressing necessity to God. Faith is that you seek God in the trivial as well as in big matters.

Jesus said "For without Me you can do nothing." (John 15: 5). That is because every power we have is from Him, even correct thinking, good will and the ability to work. The intelligence on what we depend on is also from Him. How true the saying of the apostle is "*For it is God who works in you both to will and to do for His good pleasure.*" (Phil. 2:13).

Our work in reality is to participate with God in His work for us. This is our participation with the Godly nature, with the Holy Spirit participating with God at work. Just what Saint Paul the apostle, said about himself and his colleague Apollos "*For we are God's fellow workers*" (1 Cor. 3:9).

Every work in which God does not participate in is not a holy or a blessed work. The submission of our will and desire to Him is a kind of participation with Him. We are like tools between His hands doing His will. He conducts it as He wishes. It works with His thinking and wishing, or yielding our will with His will as a companionship of senses with the brain.

The most dangerous thing which can threaten the spiritual life is the person's independence of God.

This is the big sin that King Saul committed so God rejected him (1 Sam. 16). He used to work with his thinking and planning away from God's advice and companionship and didn't see that he is in need to let God participate with him at work, as if he was saying: as long as I can do this work I'll do it with all power and with all haste even without prayer because my will alone will carry it out without depending on God, and if I fail, then I will seek Him! God granted me a mind and will so why don't I use them? There are many like Saul.

God granted humanity the mind and will but not independent of Him

And not that it depends upon itself. The Bible says "*And lean not on your own understanding*" (Prov. 3:5). We remember that

the sin of the first human was his attempt to obtain knowledge without God (Genesis 3).

When the human starts to say “I know and I can, so what is the use of God in this matter?” He then becomes separated from the faith of God and enters the faith of ego.

The believer is not only satisfied with the dependence on God but also yields everything to Him.

The believer tells Him: “My life is the work of Your hands and it is now between Your hands, do with it what You want.” Where You want me to go I will go and what You want me to be I will be. I don't have a special will, my only wish is that I do Your will and to be one with Your will to want what You want, You the doer of benevolence.

I don't mention anything that I know. Every human's wisdom is foolishness in God's eyes (1 Cor. 1:20). The real wisdom is from You God, alone. You are the wisdom (1 Cor. 1:24). You are “*in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.*”(Col.2:3).

I admit that I don't know so I submitted my life in Your hands.

You know good more than I do and You know the good for me more than I do for myself . I have confidence in Your wisdom and in Your planning of my life. Even if You wished me a test or a distress I will accept it from You, considering that it is true good from Your hands. Had it not been for your love for me,

You would not have accepted it for me. Really, in many cases we don't know where the good is!

The life of submission does not know any complaints or murmurs, but accepts everything with satisfaction and gladness.

As long as you have confidence in God's wisdom in His plans for you, then why do you complain, murmur or worry. If murmurs enter your life, this is a good indication which shows that your faith has weakened

He who lives a life of faith and submission lives always in joy and thankfulness.

The believer does not complain but gives thanks. The smile does not leave his lips, cheerfulness does not leave his face and joy does not leave his heart. He believes in God's wisdom and love. He also believes that God's will is always good and useful. He submits to God's will in joy.

He does not submit to God's will due to being obliged or compelled, as if his heart was saying to God “what can I do oh Lord? You are strong and I am weak. All what you do I accept. I am awaiting the end of this matter”. No doubt that these thoughts are of a person who is tired within. He speaks with complaining words in a yielding manner. Yielding is not at all like this.

What is then the meaning of “let Your will be done” in the life of faith and submission?

The believer says in complete satisfaction of heart: “God I submit to your will because I like Your will from the depths of my heart and I have confidence in You and in Your will. Your will has corrected my thoughts, my opinions in certain matters, and improved my way of life... how beautiful are your ways Lord “*How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out!*” (Rom. 11:33). Your will is the most beautiful song on my tongue, and the most beautiful news in my ears. So let your will be done because there is no other will better than that. I feel ignorant beside any will that opposes it, either it is for me or for others.”

The life of submission is not submission to the actual matters without conviction!

It is not submission to the policy of a Godly pressure that imposes itself on you and you are obliged to submit to it either you want it or not

No my brothers and sisters, that is not the meaning of the expression “let Your will be done”. The life of submission teaches us to feel that God's will is the full benevolence, and that it is the best for us and it is a reason for our joy and cheerfulness. That is why David was singing about God's commands and tells the Lord “your commands are my lesson, Your commands are my pleasure. I meditate on your commands and I learn them” (Ps 119).

Submission to God should be real submission and not only be appearance. Some think that they yield themselves to God although they impose their plans on Him. Every time

God acts in his life he tries to stop God and says, “wait Lord so that I see what You do with me.” This matter is not good.

Do this and that so that I rest. This is how he tries to be a planner, he plans and God does!

No, submission is not like that, but it is that you leave God do what He does, and that you are satisfied with what He does, and that you don't resist God's plans with your actions, and don't resist His plans with what you do according to your wishes.

The believer leaves God the planning and does not accept that he plans for himself.

What was the sin of Adam except that he began to manage himself in obtaining knowledge? How to become like God? How to build himself... that is why he fell.

The sin of Satan was that he began to manage himself, to build and to enlarge as he likes.

“*I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God… I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High.*” (Is 14:13-14). They are plans that resemble daydreaming, Satan planned it for himself and he fell.

The same also happened to those who built the tower of Bable. They planned how to build themselves and they failed.

They said “*Let us build ourselves a city, and a tower whose top is in the heavens; let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad over the face of the whole earth.*” (Gen. 11:4). Their planning was against them. What they feared was what happened to them “*The Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth.*” (Gen. 11:9).

The spiritual person does not do that but says in a life of submission “***Unless the Lord builds the house, They labor in vain who build it.***” (Ps 127: 1).

God is he who builds us and not ourselves, so let us yield ourselves to Him so that He builds us.

That is how we live in peace, having confidence in God's work in us and in His successful work. We stand and meditate and see miracles from His planning. Having confidence that He does benevolence whatever happens in front of us which seem to be strange, difficult or against what we hoped for.

It is not important if we understand what God does, but that we accept it with faith and submission.

The Bible is full of examples of submission in the lives of men of faith:

1-Our father Abraham, for example, whose story with God began with God saying to him “*Get out of your country, From your family And from your father's house, To a land that I will show you.*” (Gen. 12: 1).

Abraham neither asked why nor where but he just obeyed.

This is the life of submission that does not argue nor discuss, but accepts and obeys without reluctance. It puts the understanding to the side and concentrates itself on God.

2-That is also how Noah was in the arc, Jonah in the whale's stomach and Moses in the Red Sea a life of complete submission.

It is the obedience of faith. As long as God wants that then we do not discuss with Him. What is our limited and weak mind that we discuss with God the unlimited with full wisdom? Moses, at the beginning of his message, argued with God on how to go to Pharaoh (Ex. 3), but when he grew in faith and submission he did not argue about entering the Red Sea.

3-Saint Mary the Virgin, lived her life as an example of obedience and submission.

With her love of virginity, she was told to get engaged to a man and to live with him in one house and she obeyed. God sent her an angel telling her that she will be pregnant and give birth to a son and she told him "*Behold the maidservant of the Lord! Let it be to me according to your word.*" (Luke 1:38) she gave birth to Jesus, and saw all the miracles that surrounded this birth, and was told to escape to Egypt and she accepted all that in obedience of faith. Also in submission she returned from Egypt

and accepted to live in Nazareth (Matt. 2:23), about which it was written that nothing good comes from it (John 1:46).

Her motto in this life of submission was her famous saying “may it be to me as you have said”

4-Faith and submission also appear in the apostles' life in their spontaneous obedience to the Lord's saying “follow me”

This is what the Lord told Matthew (Levi) at the tax collector's booth (Mark 2:14). Matthew did not discuss but “*He left all, rose up, and followed Him.*” (Luke 5: 28) and did not think at all of his responsibilities and work.

The same also happened when the Lord called Peter, Andrew and the rest of the apostles. Peter summarises all the stories of calling in his saying to the Lord “*We have left all and followed You*” (Luke 18:28).

It is the obedience of faith that follows God wherever He goes without question, inquiry or thinking about the future. Everyone obeyed without knowing where he was going to (Heb. 11:8).

How many times are we called by God but we stay in our relaxed perception of our future?

That's why we ask many questions and try to get what we can from guarantees. With all this we get out of faith and become viewers. To the future we see by our own eyes and are relaxed about it, and not to the unknown future that we see through the

eyes of faith, and accept it through a life of submission and obedience.

5-Jeremiah the prophet, is an example of a life of faith, submission and obedience.

He followed God, in faith, in ways he never thought he would go through and at the end, he summarised his experience about the life of submission in his deep saying "*O Lord, I know the way of man is not in himself; It is not in man who walks to direct his own steps.*" (Jer. 10:23). Why doesn't he guide his steps? Because it is God who leads and guides these steps.

This is the life of submission that you walk after God and not after your mind.

You walk not according to your wishes and desires and not according to the wishes and/or advice of other people but after God Himself who leads your life. He puts your life at any place and position according to His wisdom. So ask yourself whether God leads your life, or that a certain desire leads it and which guides your actions and foot steps.

6-Joseph is a wonderful example of the life of submission.

God showed him in a vision that he will reign over his brothers, and that they will all bow to him (Gen. 37: 10). How was the promise fulfilled! His brothers took him and threw him in a well to kill him. They then sold him as a slave. The Midianites pulled

him out from the well to sell him to the Ishamelites (Gen. 37:28), and then they sold him to Potiphar to serve in his house.

In all that, Joseph did not murmur against God but kept quiet, and submitted calmly to what God allowed to happen and followed in faithfulness and sincerity. He accepted life as a slave. He was content with misfortune but misfortune did not accept him! He was accused of a bad and false charge and was thus thrown in prison as a criminal.

It did not happen that Joseph asked God why and where are Your promises?

He kept quiet in a wonderful example of a life of submission and obedience of faith, and never murmured. The only time he strayed from the life of submission was after explaining a dream to the king's cupbearer he told him "*When it is well with you, and please show kindness to me; make mention of me to Pharaoh, and get me out of this house.*" (Gen. 40:14) When he did that, the spiritual inspiration answered this demand by saying "*Yet the chief butler did not remember Joseph, but forgot him.* " (Gen. 40:23). God did not forget Joseph who stayed in prison in life of submission until He got him out in wonderful glory.

7-David the prophet is also an example who led a life of submission and obedience of faith.

David was taking care of the sheep in the wilderness. God sent Samuel the king, to anoint David a prophet. Samuel did it but did not hand him anything from the kingdom and David kept on

caring for the sheep without murmuring. He was then chosen a servant of King Saul who was rejected from God as an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him (1 Sam. 16:14) and David did not reclaim.

He did not say I am the King chosen from God so how can I serve this rejected person? But in a life of submission he accepted this situation and he used to calm King Saul when the devils tormented him. Saul kept on going after David from wilderness to wilderness trying to kill him because he was envious and jealous of him. And it never did happen that David discussed with God or told Him 'where is Your timing? Where is the holy anointment for a great prophet?' He did not say 'what evil have I done so that I deserve all this?' But he waited in calmness and submission for the salvation of God and it happened.

8-The disciples of the Lord are also examples who led a life of submission.

The Lord called them for service as He said to Peter and Andrew *"Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men "* (Matt. 4:19). Three years passed by and they were still following the Lord without being of service. They did not 'fish' anyone. Then the Lord was crucified and they feared and closed themselves in the upper room so that the Jews would not get them and in spite of all that they did not complain and remained in the life of faith and submission.

When the Holy Spirit ascended on them on Pentecost the Lord fulfilled His promise. In one day Peter could save three

thousand souls due to his preaching and if he would have saved two souls a day he would not have come to this total number. The life of submission tells the apostle "*Wait on the Lord; Be of good courage, And He shall strengthen your heart; Wait, I say, on the Lord!*" (Ps 27:14).

Yes Lord I will wait for Your promise to save souls. But do I have three years to wait or more? It is like that but "*it is not for you to know the times or dates the Father has set by His own authority*" (Acts 1:8).

The life of faith does not question the Lord about the range of awaiting His timing.

It does not say to the Lord, why did you Lord make Peter wait more than three years to save souls? And why did you let Abraham wait twenty five years so that Your promise is fulfilled concerning the birth of Isaac? And why did You leave David to be humiliated by Saul ten years until Your promise of becoming a king was fulfilled?

The life of submission does not doubt and sees in a waiting the Godly wisdom.

David was a young boy when he was chosen. Waiting was useful for him till he grew older and mature and so that people's love for him grew day by day. Also, waiting was beneficial for Peter until he completed his discipleship to the Lord and until the Holy Spirit descended over him and the disciples so that they may all gain its power. Also the awaiting of Isaac's birth was beneficial so as to become son of the promised.

9-Of the most beautiful examples of the life of faith is Isaac being presented as a sacrifice.

Abraham was patient for twenty-five years until Isaac was born, his beloved son who took his time. Abraham was completely happy with him. Isaac grew older and then the Lord told Abraham "*Take now your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah.*"(Gen. 22:2). Whose heart can bear this? And whose mind can hear that without doubting?

Abraham who led a life of submission did not argue and did not hesitate in carrying it out. But he woke up early the next day and took Isaac to sacrifice him. He did not think to himself more tender than God. He did not doubt at all in God's love and judgement.

Obedience is not only in the simple matters, but appears in its glory in the matters that seem difficult to carry out.

The life of submission appears in entering through the narrow path and the road of agony.

As long as God agrees to this narrow door, so no doubt it will be the best door and we do not discuss it but are happy about it. We say that, through it you test the love of your children and the purity of their hearts and that you prepare crowns for them in Your kingdom.

The martyrs received all kinds of pains in joy with this faith. And all your children Lord "*Count it all joy when you fall into various trials*" (James 1:2).

NOT KNOWING WHERE TO GO TO

1-This is how our Father Abraham followed God to the unknown, not knowing where the road will lead him, but having confidence that God accompanies him through the way and guides his steps.

2-This is also what happened with the pure apostles when the Lord called them and they followed, and they did not know where. At that time, Jesus did not have a known residence and he did not even have a place to rest his head (Luke 9:58). He wandered through the cities and villages teaching and healing in despite not having an official profession in the Jewish society, not having a known income and when He called His disciples He even told them "*Provide neither gold nor silver nor copper in your money belts, nor bag for your journey…*" (Matt. 10:9,10, Mark 6:8).

If one asked one of the disciples at the time: What is your work? What is your future with Christ? He would have stood with a big question mark not knowing any answer, except that of a life of submission. It suffices him that he walks with Christ in spite that in his being with Him and in His presence he does not do anything. Jesus does everything and the disciples are just viewers.

3-Another example is of Saint Mark the apostle, when he entered Alexandria.

He entered it without knowing where to go to as there was no church where he could stay, he did not have people there nor residence. On the contrary, idolatry was everywhere and Judaism was opposing the faith. But Saint Mark came to Egypt with faith and God lead him to Anianos although he did not have this matter at all on his mind.

What happened to Saint Mark happened also to the rest of the apostles. The names and places may have been different but the heart of the subject is the same, as if every apostle was saying: **if the service was a human work it would interest me to know the plan of my way; but if the service is a Godly work so I don't care where I go to as I am with God so I go wherever He guides me**.

4-John the Baptist saw that his duty was to witness the truth. He witnessed the truth and rebuked King Herod saying “you are not justified” and was not interested where it will lead to prison or to death. The message of God was fulfilled in complete obedience of faith. Life and destiny are submitted to God to completion.

This was how Paul the apostle witnessed for the Lord not caring where he got into “trouble or hardship or persecution or famine or nakedness or danger or sword”, he says with confidence in the life of submission “*In all these things we are*

more than conquerors through Him who loved us" (Rom. 8:35,37).

In all these matters, the children of God walked in the way of life, the life of submission.

All what interests them is that God leads them and they do not care where to. They have confidence in faith, that it will lead them to green pastures and to wells of living waters. Their experience with God makes them happy with His guidance, having confidence in His love.

5-Isaac, the son of Abraham carried wood and went after his father not knowing where they were heading. All what he learned in his life was submission and obedience, and Isaac went with them to the place of where he was to be sacrificed. Abraham tied him up and put him on the altar on top of the wood (Gen. 22) and raised his knife. All this and Isaac was in complete submission. He did not doubt in his father's love nor in the love of God and he always gained.

With his submission, he gained the obedience of faith, his life and God's promises.

6-The servant of Abraham, when he went out to search for a wife for Isaacs did not know where to go to.

He yielded his paths to God to guide him. God planned everything for him in a wonderful way that he stood astonished in front of it. Everything happened according to what Abraham

asked him and that's why he said “*Lord has prospered my way*” (Gen 24:56).

As if he was saying “I did not know where I was going to, but I knew exactly that God would be with me”

The same nearly happened to Jacob on his journey to his uncle Laban. How beautiful is the Lord's saying to him “*I am with you and will keep you wherever you go.*” (Gen. 28:15).

7-the Israelites in the wilderness, did they know where they were going to?

They did not know anything. God used to guide them day by day. They would go or stay according to God's guidance. This guidance was in the form of a cloud during the day and a rod of fire in the night. The people were in complete submission to God's guidance not questioning

Moses did not have a plan for his journey nor a map to follow as if he was saying: **it is enough Lord that Your cloud is above our heads and the rod of fire in front of us**. We do not plan our way but Your good will does. We are happy to be under Your guidance. Wherever Your cloud goes we will also go and wherever it stays we will stay under it.

Let the meeting camp in the wilderness move towards the unknown. It is unknown to us but is in Your knowledge since the beginning of time. That suffices us so that we yield ourselves to this unknown, and we have complete confidence that we are on the way to Canaan.

8-Saint Antonious, father of monks, when he entered the desert did not know where he was going just like Saint Paul, the first traveller.

Also all the other travelling Saints and hermits when they entered the unknown wilderness, did not have a certain place in mind to go to. What was in front of them was the spiritual aim to be alone with God in a calm and peaceful life, yielding their lives totally to Him "lost in the pastures, mountains and the earth's cracks".

If you ask anyone of the hermits where they are staying, they would answer, "**On a map I do not know where this place is that I live in but on the map of love I know that I am in the Father's embrace**."

9-Some may ask: shouldn't every one make an estimation of the cost according to the Lord's commandment Himself (Luke 14:28)?

The life of faith is far from the science of mathematics so then what does Saint Luke mean by all this that everyone sits down and estimates the costs of outlays?

The cost of outlay are: Do we have enough faith?

Do you have enough faith that you yield the whole matter to God to manage it? You do what you can but this is the least wanted. The principal point is your faith in what God does and your yielding to Him in the whole matter.

This is our way when we wanted to build a church or any project for service or caring. The main question was not "from where do we pay the costs?" but the main question was, does God agree with this project or not? If He allows it then He will take care of the costs, we only have to start it and God's hand completes the work with us "*Unless the Lord builds the house, They labour in vain who build it*" (Ps 127:1).

Faith is that you close your eyes and look at God.

As long as you open your eyes you will walk with the bodily senses, but if you close this bodily eye you will walk with heart and soul.

If you are convinced with your spiritual senses that God will go with you on your path, walk in it even if it was through the valley of the shadow of death, having confidence that there you will not fear any evil because God is with you (Psalm 23).

10-This is the life of submission, where God chooses for us what we want without choosing ourselves, taking advice from the story of Lot and Abraham.

Lot chose for himself to live in Sodom where the valley was full of tar pits (Gen 14: 10-11) and he knew where he was going to. Abraham did not choose anything for himself, but God told him "*Get out of your country, From your family And from your father's house, To a land that I will show you.* " (Gen. 12: 1) and what was the result? Lot cursed when he was in Sodom and

Abraham saved him (Gen. 14), all his money was burnt and he lost everything there.

The life of submission of Abraham had a better result.

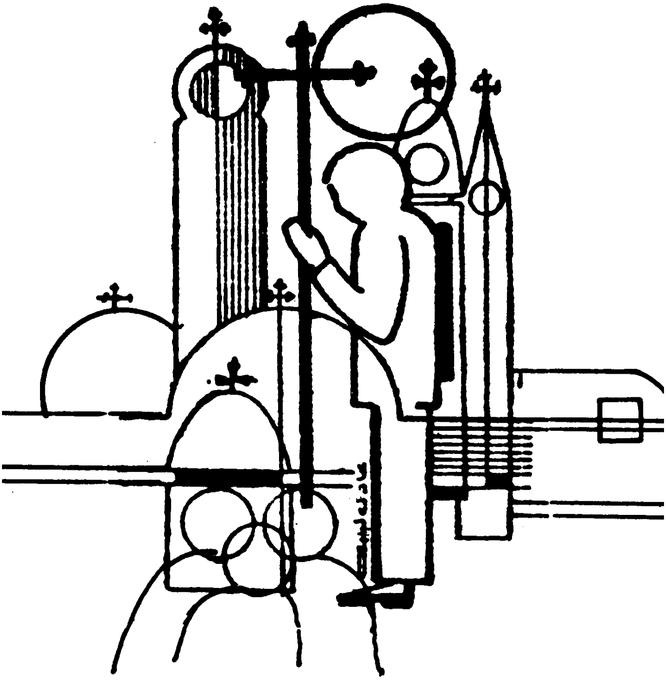

CHAPTER 8

WHAT STRENGTHENS THE FAITH?

Faith is a virtue like all other virtues; it can be strengthened and it can be weakened.

We do not have to only keep our faith, but to also follow all the means that make it grow and increase (2 Thess.1:3 & 2 Cor.8:7). What are the means that strengthen our faith? The means are:

1-Confidence In God's Qualities

a- Always put in your heart that God is a doer of benevolence, so that you can strengthen your faith with His care and protection. Always tell yourself *"All things work together for good to those who love God."* (Rom. 8:28). Have confidence that everything God does is benevolent, and that everything He allows to happen will no doubt lead to good whatever seems to be the matter. God showed benevolence to Joseph when he was sold as a slave and thrown into prison without any charges. All these distresses were in God's plan for the good of Joseph, and for the good of the whole region. This is what Joseph told his brothers who sold him *"So now it was not you who sent me here, but God."* (Gen. 45:8), *"You meant evil against me; but God*

meant it for good, in order to bring it about as it is this day.” (Gen. 50:20).

b- Have confidence **that God is a father and that He is the Living One**. No doubt, He treats His children with tenderness and gives them good gifts. God said in His fatherly tenderness, that He engraved us on the palms of His hands (Is 49:16). Even if a mother forgot her child, He won't forget us (Is 49: 15). In His fatherhood He gives us all that we need without asking.

c- **What also strengthens the faith is to have confidence in God's ability to do anything**. He loves and wants benevolences for you. He has the ability to do all, in spite of the fact that the matter would seem difficult.

When our father Abraham raised his hand with the knife to sacrifice his only son Isaac, he had faith that God is loving and He inevitably wanted benevolence from all this. According to God's promise Abraham had full faith that he will have as many descendants from Isaac as the stars of the sky.

He even had faith that if Isaac died, then God was able to raise him from the dead and to fulfil His promise. “*That God was able to raise him up, even from the dead.*” (Heb. 11: 19). He is “*A father of many nations in the presence of Him whom he believed--God, who gives life to the dead and calls those things which do not exist as though they did.*” (Rom. 4:17).

Moses entered the Red Sea and crossed it having faith in God's ability to do anything and Joshua entered the Jordan river and also crossed it; each one of them with his people.

d- **Have confidence in the God's judgment**, and that all His planning is for good, even if you don't understand the depth of His judgment.

If you believe in God's judgment, you will live in peace and accept everything with satisfaction. But if your human mind doesn't have confidence in God's judgement you will live in murmur, complaints and psychological weakness. In all that happens to you say to Him; "I have confidence Lord in Your judgement and in Your good planning. And if my understanding is not paralysed, no doubt, I will know later what You meant, just as Joseph did." Have confidence, that God is a doer of benevolence, that He is a loving father, that He is wise in His planning, that He wants good for you and that He is able. All these things deepen your faith and grant you peace of heart.

2- Confidence in the sincerity of God's timing

God promised our father Abram that He will give him descendants, and He did grant him many descendants, although after a long time. He also promised him that his descendants will be as many as the stars of the sky and so it was, although his wife was barren and he was of old age. God also promised His people freedom from captivity and He did free them.

He promised Elijah to help him in the time of famine and He did aid him with a miracle (1 Kin 17:3-6).

God promised our mother Eve that her descendants will crush the head of the serpent (Gen. 3:15); this promise was fulfilled on the cross.

God also promised that He would pour out His Spirit on all people (Joel 2:28), and He did that day on Pentecost and we are still God's temple (1 Cor. 3:16).

All God's promises are sincere. We need them as much as those long ago in history did.

These are everlasting promises from God. These would comfort us when we live in them and in faith, for example, in His saying; *"I am with you always, even to the end of the age."* (Matt. 28:20), *"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them."* (Matt. 18:20), *"I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries will not be able to contradict or resist."* (Luke 21:15), *"Do not worry about how or what you should speak. For it will be given to you in that hour what you should speak; for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you."* (Matt. 10:19-20), also His saying about the church that the gates of Hell will not overcome (Matt. 16:18).

May we live in these promises with all our hearts, so as to strengthen our faith.

How wonderful it would be if you, dear reader, collect all these promises and read them frequently and tell yourself. No doubt God is sincere in His promises, and consequently with no doubt I have to live happily with these Godly promises. The continuous remembrance of God's promises comforts the soul and strengthens the faith.

3- Look Unto God And Not Unto The Surrounding Circumstances

The surrounding circumstances were calling for hopelessness before crossing the Red Sea. But Moses called the people to look unto God and said to them "*Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which He will accomplish for you … The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace.*" (Ex 14:13-14).

The same also happened between David and the mighty Goliath. If David looked to the mighty and challenging Goliath he would have been at a loss. But through faith he looked unto God who will capture him in His hand (1 Sam. 17).

The same situation also happened in the miracle of the five loaves and the two fish. When the disciples saw the existing food and the thousands of people present they said "what is this food to these people?" But Jesus looked up and blessed the food. If the disciples also looked up with faith they would have rested and saw the power of God.

Martha looked at the tomb of her dead brother who died four days back, and said that he smells bad. But the Lord told her haven't I told you that if you believed, you would have seen the glory of God (John 11:39-40).

So we always have to look above so that faith enters our hearts.

We have to look up unto the loving God who is able to do anything, and not to concentrate our thoughts on the surrounding circumstances.

Don't look to the power of your enemies, but look unto God who will rescue you from them.

Don't look at the sin which "*has cast down many wounded, And all who were slain by her were strong men..* " (Prov. 7:26), but look unto the Lord Jesus who "*Will save His people from their sins.*" (Matt. 1:21).

4-The stories of faith and companionship with men of faith.

That's why when God wanted to give lessons about faith He said "*Consider the lilies of the field… even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.*" (Matt. 6:28-29). So if the grass of the field. God clothed it like that, will He not much more clothe you, O you of little faith?

He also said, "look at the birds of the sky" Once I did what the Lord ordered and I looked at a bird in the garden of the monastery with many grains in front of her. She only picked

up two or three and left all the rest and flew "She did not store them in a barn" according to what the Lord said. She had confidence that any place she flies to, the Lord will grant her food, so why should she then store grains? Why should she leave the high and the wide sky to stay near the grains to store them just like what the ant does.

The Lord gave us a similar example in the story of the manna and its collecting.

The people used to collect it according to their needs day by day without storing it and those who didn't obey and stored it, the manna became contaminated with "*worms and stank.*" (Ex. 16:20).

Whenever a person reads stories about faith, about the confidence in God and miracles happened with His Saints, his heart will be filled with faith and he will come to love this life full of faith. Also when he associates with men of faith, he will learn to imitate their lives of faith. God's works in their lives will excite him and he will take them as an example. That is why one of the fathers said, "the news of the saints are appetising".

For this reason, the Bible has registered many stories of faith for us to be affected and to learn from them. It will also strengthen our faith, as we see practical examples of the life of faith we desire. We see in front of us the way the men of faith went along, and how God treated them and how they dealt with Him.

If reading affects a person then there is no doubt, their association with someone of faith will have a deeper affect.

So associate with those who have faith and absorb the faith from them, the person acquires faith by submission more than by learning. Look how they live, how faith appears in their lives, how they deal with God, and how they react towards certain circumstances. If you want to strengthen your faith then no doubt you need this quality.

5-Humility Of Heart And Mind.

The humble person accepts all what comes from God with satisfaction. But the mind that is proud of itself discusses, argues and refuses what doesn't please it. So it won't reach the faith the humble person reaches.

The humble person admits that his mind is limited and that his abilities are limited and that he cannot absorb God the unlimited, and does not perceive the depth of His wisdom and qualities. Thus he accepts in faith and does not doubt. If the mind presses down upon him, he would then lay down before God and say: “Your wishes O Lord are above my understanding and Your works are above my knowledge. Who am I in front of You? All my knowledge is ignorance in front of You”.

I take from You via submission and not via inspection. Give me O Lord the faith of children and not that of philosophers and wise men (Luke 10:21).

Should we put the story of the three young men in the fire without being burnt (Dan. 3:25) in our limited understanding or should we accept it in faith, with a humble mind that bows down before the miracle? The miracle is the work of God who is able to do anything.

Faith needs the humility of the mind and the simplicity of the heart and it also needs:-

6-The Experience With God

Throw yourself in the circle of God, live with Him and test Him, try to rely on Him, at that time you will see His miracles working with you. If however you limit yourself, all your life, in the circle of the mind's abilities, the human wisdom, the experiences of society, the people's advice away from God, you eat everyday from the tree of knowledge... so how will you then reach faith? Therefore, test practically the existence of God in your life. Associate with Him so that you know who He is, and as David the prophet said "*Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good.*" (Ps 34:8). Maybe someone will ask: how can we experience God and I say:

7 - See God In Every Matter

People's faith does not grow stronger when they live in a world they separated from God. They give reasons to things that happen in this world without mentioning the name of God, as if the world rotates without God.

a- **An example**: man can destroy the atom, use nuclear energy, build space-crafts, reach the moon, rotate around the universe and deal with electronics... People then speak out: how great the human mind is! How great is the nation that invented all those things! They fait to mention God's name at all !

But the believer says: Glory be to You God the creator of this human mind. You granted him all the possibilities, and You revealed to him all the power You put in nature. If Your believers know all this, so how is it then with You? You who are unlimited, who can do anything? What strengthens the faith of the believer is that he relates every power and every miracle to God.

b- **Another example**: a person gets sick with a dangerous illness, and a doctor can save him from death and is healed. The sick person and his family admire the cleverness of the doctor, so they thank him in the newspapers and praise him, and consider him the cause for the healing. The name of God is never uttered on their lips.

But the believer says: we thank God that He healed the sick person, His hand was the doctor's hand.

c- **A third example**: a person is subjected to an accident that would have costed him his life, had there not been a driver who stopped the car a few centimetres apart from him. The people shout and say: how skilful the driver is, but the believer says: God granted this person a new life.

How beautiful it would be if you search for God's hand in every incident so as to strengthen your faith.

Search for God's judgement and work this in your daily life. At that time you will find God everyday, you touch and deal with Him, and you feel His presence in all what happens to you; small or big. In this way your faith will increase day by day.

d- **A fourth example**: if a believer passes by a garden and sees a flower it would not be suffice to enjoy it's shape and smell as the intellectual does, but will stand overwhelmed in front of it and will say: what is this beauty O Lord that you created? What are these wonderful colours that the most clever artists cannot create. No doubt the artificial flowers are accurate and beautiful but are not in this arrangement, besides that they are lifeless without ripeness or smell. It is dead beauty.

Really, contemplating about nature in this manner strengthens the faith.

People of the world admire nature as one; they separated it from God. However, he, who wants to strengthen his faith, sees God in nature. Isn't it His creation? This is how David the prophet says "*The heavens declare the glory of God; And the firmament shows His handiwork.*" (Ps 19:1). Do you admire a moony night without glorifying God the creator of the moon? Remember God in this way so that He becomes a practical reality to you and not just an intellectual reality to be proved with evidences ... in this way you will everyday live with God .

If you desire to strengthen your faith then don't separate God's creations from Him.

Do not be overwhelmed by the nature and forget God. Don't be overwhelmed by the human mind and it’s dealing with the matter, but say: You are wonderful Lord! How did you create the material world like this with its qualities and effects so that the mind can use for all these aims. Do we wonder about a doctor who extracts a medicine from a certain material, whereas that we forget God who put this quality in this material so that it can serve the doctor's aim!

Another matter can strengthen your faith:

8-Take The Lord As Your Friend:

If you did this, it would strengthen your faith because you will build a relationship with God and talk with Him without fear.

Many look unto the Lord as God or master. But did you look unto Him as a loving friend, having confidence in Him and in His loyalty. He knocks at your door and asks you to open the door as a friend. He win enter and eat with you and you with Him (Rev. 3:20). If you accepted God's friendship and love, you will enter the real faith... you will look forward to seeing Him as a friend, to tell Him your secrets, and enjoy His companionship and love... you will take care as a friend not to hurt His feelings or make Him angry. He, Himself, will

reveal His secrets to you as He did with Abraham (Gen. 18:17).

God wants you like this because He said “No longer do I call you servants… but I have called you friends." (John 15:15) so take Him then as a friend or Father, and believe in His sovereignty and power, and share your secrets with Him, and He will share His with you.

From the stories of friendship and truth with God is the anointment of Elijah to Elisha as a prophet.

One day the Lord told Elijah, the great prophet, “*anoint Jehu the son of Nimshi as king over Israel. And Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel Meholah you shall anoint as prophet in your place.*” (1 Kin 19:16).

Elijah did not say well, Lord I will anoint Jehua a king, but how can I anoint a prophet in my place? Are you not in need of my services? Does this happen now after my great efforts for your sake, and after standing before King Ahab and his wife Jezebel, and after freeing the land from all the Baal prophets? Did Your love for me change?

Elijah did not say anything of the sort, and did not doubt in God's love, but did what God ordered, having confidence in God's love and wisdom. Elijah considered it familiarity and friendship with God. God made Elijah participate with Him in carrying out the Godly plan, even if he had to anoint a prophet in his place. This does not mean that the friendship between him and God is finished or reduced.

The proof is that God raised him, later on, in glory to Him in heaven (2 Kin 2:1 1). Further evidence that He appeared talking with him on mount Carmel. It is love that God made clear to him even in the matters concerning him. The anointment of a prophet in his place was the beginning of his promotion to a better state greater than being a prophet.

9-Prayer For The Sake Of Faith

Pray for your faith that it may grow and increase.

Tell Him: Give me O Lord, that I believe in You with full faith. Give me that I love and have confidence in You in everything, and to believe that You do me benevolences even if the world was dark in front of me. Let me feel that my mind is much smaller to understand Your wisdom and judgment. I know that You are a doer of benevolences, that You are loving, that You see everything and that You are capable of doing everything, and in spite of that my faith often weakens... so help my weak faith.

CHAPTER 9

WHAT WEAKENS THE FAITH

The devil labours continuously with all his efforts to weaken the believers' faith. He and his companions try to deceive even the elect (Matt. 24:24). It does not suffice them only to weaken the faith, but even to turn their victim into an apostate. This is how in the end of days many will abandon the faith "*Giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons*" (1 Tim. 4: 1). How dangerous is the Bible's saying about the Second Coming of Christ "*Nevertheless, when the Son of Man comes, will He really find faith on the earth*" (Luke 18:8).

What are the demon's tricks to weaken the faith? There are many: some are terrible, and some are calm that nobody can feel.

1- The Self

The self often opposes and refuses God because He is against its sinful desires.

The self feels that God limits its freedom. It desires things God does not agree upon, to enjoy this (liberty) or this negligence, it

thus separates itself from God, as the lost son did. He left his father's house (Luke 15:11-14), to spend his share of the money as he wishes ... or to refuse God. The apostates are examples of those who refuse God and their motto becomes:

It is good that God does not exist, so that I can exist.

These people have misunderstood the real meaning of existence and the real meaning of freedom. Liberty is not doing what one wishes, ones wishes may be wrong, but the true liberty is to be freed from all what assails the self... to be freed from bad habits that enslave him, and from the sinful desires that defiles him, and to be freed from the domination of material things on him. All that prevents the self from souring towards God and from being in God's companionship; which is the real existence.

From the hindrances of the self towards faith is the desire of man to feel himself, in power, greatness and pride and here God sees a rival.

Herod the king found that the new born in Bethlehem will share with him the reign, thus he refused to have faith in Him and tried to get rid of Him by killing Him. The Pharisees are also examples like Herod, who saw Jesus taking their place and familiarity as a teacher. They said one to another "*You see that you are accomplishing nothing. Look, the world has gone after Him!*" (John 12:19). Many refused the faith in Jesus Christ's resurrection because of their self, so as it won't be evidence against them being guilty of this man's blood (Acts 5:28) ... The self is the greatest hindrance towards faith. Accordingly, the Lord said: "*If anyone desires to come after Me, let him deny himself...* " (Matt. 16:24).

He also said “*He who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for My sake will find it.*” (Matt. 10:39). Thus, Saint Peter the apostle says relating to faith "… *Nor do I count my life dear to myself, so that I may finish my race* “ (Acts 20:24), “*I also count all things loss for the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as rubbish, that I may gain Christ and be found in Him.*” (Phil. 3:8-9). Are you like that? or...

Is your faith hindered due to your self? due to your wishes, desires, ideas and passions?

Is there opposition between God and your self? If it so then deny your self, resist it, overcome it, because better is a man who controls his soul than one who controls a city (Prov. 16:32).

The Pharisees, scribes, and priests took much care of their selves. In each self, there were faults. Jesus used to discover these faults without having to speak about them, just by comparison it was revealed. For this reason they hated Him and didn't believe in Him because He was the light that endangered their darkness. Their selves were obstacles on their way of faith.

Not to forget that the devil's self was a reason for losing his faith.

When he thought of how to magnify his soul. How to ascend to Heaven and to sour up above the planets of God, and become like the Most High (Is 14:14), so the (greatness) of his self opposed his faith in God. As for the virtuous angels, they kept

their places because, in their faith in God, they considered themselves *"His hosts, You ministers of His, who do His pleasure."* (Ps 103:21).

Many find their selves beautiful in their eyes, their selves are their idols.

What prevents them from the life of faith: the self love, self esteem, the desire to magnify the self, to fulfil the self's passions, and to run away from everything that reveals this self and reveal it disadvantages ... thus they want their selves to live in an atmosphere of coquetry, courtesy and praise. They are annoyed from every sincere word, every reproach and every punishment. So how can they live in faith?

If you were like this, try to improve yourself so that you humble yourself before God and live in faith.

From the matters that also weaken the faith:

2-Domination Of The Senses.

This is what happened to Saint Thomas the apostle, when he refused to believe in the resurrection of the Lord and said "*Unless I see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.*" (John 20:25). God condescended with the weakness of Thomas's faith and permitted him to become sure through his senses by saying "stop doubting and believe" and he rebuked him saying "*Because you have seen Me, you have believed. Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have*

believed” (John 20:27,29). What the person sees we call observation and not faith, but it may lead to faith.

Is this faith weak? There is even worse: he who sees and still does not believe.

As an example of those are the priests who saw the empty tomb and did not believe in the resurrection. The Pharisees who saw the miracles of Jesus, like the healing of the born blind, and the raising from the dead, and did not even believe. Those refused faith due to reasons in their hearts. What our father Abraham said to Lazarus applies to them “*Neither will they be persuaded though one rise from the dead.*” (Luke 16:31).

3-Submitting Faith To The Mind

The mind has limits which can not be overcome and that faith is at a higher level than that. But there are people who want their minds to perceive the unlimited, the miracles, and what is beyond their understanding or else, they refuse all this!

They want theology to be submitted to scientific research and this is logically impossible. It is not reasonable that the mind, which is limited, subdues to the unlimited.

Maybe as an example of this, is what is known today as the 'New Theology', in some of the institutes, where they want to submit the soul and miracle to pure scientific research or to symbolic explanations. Thus they deny many of the miracles and many stories told in the Bible and mix it with Mythology! Really, the mind is lost if it tries to think highly of itself more

than it ought to (Rom. 12:3), and thus it strays away from faith and tries to lead others in the same obliquity.

4- Associating With Doubtful People:

Just as associating with men of faith strengthens the faith, also associating with doubtful people plants doubt in minds and hearts. If it was persisting, or if, it has a deep effect or if the level submitting knowledge to doubts is lower than the mind, or if it was not deep enough in the faith.

For this reason the Bible prevents the association with apostates.

Saint John, the apostle, says "*If anyone comes to you and does not bring this doctrine, do not receive him into your house nor greet him; for he who greets him shares in his evil deeds..* " (2 John 1:10). That is why the church prevented the association with the heretics and the banished.

How many people associate with non Christian groups like the Jehovah witnesses for example, and the result is that they lose their directions. How many church members associated with strange groups or heretics and their beliefs where deeply affected.

Considering behaviour and spiritualities, the association with doubtful people weakens the faith:

You may be faced with a test or a problem and you accept it in faith, and you submit the matter to God thanking Him for

everything. Then, a person with little faith visits you, and he keeps on explaining how dangerous the matter is and frightens you of its results, until you lose your peace of heart. It also weakens your faith in God's care and you get worried.

Be careful with whom you associate and with whom you mix your ideas.

This leads us to another point which also weakens the faith:

5- Yielding And Having A Weak Personality:

Mary Magdalene is as an example of those: she saw the empty tomb, heard the angel's good news, even saw the Lord Jesus after His resurrection, held on His feet, heard His voice, and He gave her a message... but after all that she said three times "*They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid Him.*" (John 20:2,3,13, 1 5), and in this she denied the resurrection. What is the reason of this transfer? and how did her faith weaken after seeing Jesus and speaking with Him (Mark 16:9, Matt. 28:9)?

Mary Magdalene was young in age. Her personality weakened due to the rumours which the Jewish priests spread against the resurrection. She also weakened due to the disciples' non belief in the resurrection (Mark 16:11,13,14). Doubts and suspicions entered her heart, and she repeated it with her own mouth the rumours she had heard.

The faith of Mary Magdalene could not oppose the rumours and the people's talk.

She was inwardly moved due to the outer pressure and she yielded to it.

Many people are inwardly moved. They retreat. from their first faith, belief or behaviour, due to people's mockery and due to that their personality is being weaker than the opposition.

God wants your personalities to be strong. As the apostle says, "*Always be ready to give a defense to everyone who asks you a reason for the hope that is in you.*" (1 Peter 3: 1 5). The children of God are not weak. They should be like those whose faith or rather spiritualities are moved, and yield to any outer ideas, but apply what the apostle says "*Therefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast, immovable...* " (1 Cor. 15:58).

Our mother Eve is also an example of the kind who deviated from faith due to yielding. She deviated from faith as she heard what the snake said and it resulted in her being sent out of Paradise.

How many go after rumours and believe them. How many utter words about the Second Coming and people believe them. They say the Anti Christ is born, is in an American State, and that he is now 17 years of age!! And also that the world will come to an end this year or another! How many dates did the Jehova's Witnesses fix about the second coming, and nothing has happened...

The faith of some may weaken and they would follow those who claim they saw visions and dreams.

They think that those who claim having visions and dreams are true and that they come from God! They are cheated by what he says, even if it was against their beliefs and spiritual principles. God warned against those people since the days of Moses the prophet, and said:

“*If there arises among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and he gives you a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder comes to pass, of which he spoke to you, saying, `Let us go after other gods'--which you have not known--`and let us serve them, you shall not listen to the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams, for the Lord your God is testing you to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart."*
(Deut. 13:1-3).

Yielding is one of the reasons that weakens the faith. Another reasons is:

6-Fear

Fear weakens the faith and a weak faith leads to fear. Saint Peter, the great apostle, denied Jesus, when he feared. He insulted, cursed and swore that he didn't know the man (Matt 26:74), and thus his faith weakened. Jesus told him before that “*I have prayed for you, that your faith should not fail.*” (Luke 22:32).

Many lose their faith due to fear. That is why Revelation puts the cowards at the top of the list of perishers, and said “*But the cowardly, unbelieving, abominable… shall have their part in the lake which burns with fire and brimstone.*” (Rev. 21:8). The

placement of the cowardly before the non-believers can mean that the cowardly, due to their fear, became non-believers.

Pontius Pilate believed, deep within, that Jesus of Nazareth was innocent of the charges set against Him by the Jews. He was confident that the Jews handed Him due to envy. He tried to set Him free and said about Him "this Holy person"... but finally he submitted to his weakness, and presented Jesus to be crucified because he was afraid the people would say about him that he was against Caesar...

As for the spiritual person, he doesn't lose his faith at all because he doesn't fear...

From the matters that also weaken the faith is:

7-Lust

Many lost their faith due to lust. As an example of those is **Demas** who was Paul's helper in preaching. Saint Paul wrote about him "*Demas has forsaken me, having loved this present world.*" (2 Tim. 4:10). Love of the world weakens the faith because it is hatred against God (James 4:4).

Also from the examples of those who lost their faith, due to lust, was **the rich young man** ... He left Christ "*Sorrowful, for he had great possessions."* (Matt. 19:22). Thus, the lust for money may weaken the faith.

How many left Jesus for the sake of a woman or a position... **Solomon, the wisest on earth, lost his faith due to his lust for women .**

He *“Loved many foreign women* " (1 Kin 11: 1). *“When Solomon was old, that his wives turned his heart after other gods; and his heart was not loyal to the Lord his God, as was the heart of his father David. For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord."* (1 Kin 11:4-6).

This great wise man fell, however we believe that he repented in his last days. The book of Ecclesiasts is evidence to his repentance.

Ananias and Sapphira lost their faith for lust of money, so they perished.

They both “*lied to God*” (Acts 5:4) and *also “tested the Spirit of the Lord*” (Acts 5:9). They both died perishing.

Balaam lost his faith due to his lust for money. He was a prophet and had beautiful prophecies about Jesus. Finally, he fell in darkness due to “*Wages of unrighteousness.*” (2 Pet. 2:15). He thus caused people to fall and taught Balak the way of sin (Rev. 2:14)... he and others perished.

The lust for greatness and overcoming others lead to the loss of faith of many:

Maybe one of those was Diotrephes who "*who loves to have the preeminence among them*". Thus, he opposed Saint John and drove away many brothers out of church (3 John 1:10)

The lust for Godliness lead the great Cherubim to lose his faith and became a devil. He was earlier an angel of light with greatness and beauty.

Indeed, lusts are from the matters that weaken and stop the faith. From the reasons that also weaken the faith are distresses and the pressure of outer circumstances.

8- External Circumstances

As an example of such cases is **Gideon.** When his faith weakened concerning the care of God, the angel told him "*The Lord is with you, you mighty man of valor!" Gideon said to Him, "O my lord, if the Lord is with us, why then has all this happened to us? And where are all His miracles which our fathers told us about, saying, `Did not the Lord bring us up from Egypt?' But now the Lord has forsaken us and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites"?* (Judges 6:12-13).

In this way, the faith may weaken if the distress lasted long or if it became stronger.

The faith of the disciples weakened and they doubted when the waves of the sea broke over the boat. They told the Lord "*Do You not care that we are perishing?*" (Mark 4:38-40).

When the Israelites stayed long in the service of Pharaoh they were discouraged and their faith in salvation weakened (Ex. 4:1).

There is another dangerous reason that weakens the faith:

9-The Devil's Deceptions.

Among these misleading are the false visions. Satan -so as to teach the people- "***transforms himself into an angel of light***." (2 Cor. 11:14). He can even perform false miracles as it was said about the lawless one at the end of time "*According to the working of Satan,* ***with all power, signs, and lying wonders, and with all unrighteous deception*** *among those who perish.*" (2 Thes. 2:9, 10). The prophet said that this will cause the great rebellion before the coming of Christ (2 Thes. 2:3). Namely the loss of faith due to these Satanic misleading which deceive the people.

Satan may deceive people with dreams and false prophecies, with ideas, misleading and innovations so as to destroy the faith in their hearts... he may even send them "*false prophets will rise and show great signs and wonders* ." (Matt. 24:24). **He may tell them "here is the Christ".** The Lord warned "*If anyone says to you, `Look, here is the Christ!' or `There!' do not believe it.*" (Matt. 24:23).

All this needs setting apart, as the prophet said "*Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits, whether they are of God;*

because many false prophets have gone out into the world.” (1 John 4:1).

One of the main factors that weakens the faith is

10-Doubt:

Doubt weakens the faith and a weak faith produces doubt... This is exactly what we said about fear. Each of them causes the other or results from the other.

a- Doubt was one of the wars the devil fought against our first parents to lose their faith. He told them *“Has God indeed said … you will surely not die?* ” (Gen. 3:1-4).

If you are faced with doubts concerning the existence of God or other principle beliefs then do not fear. These are from the enemy's wars and not your denial of faith, and especially, if your heart was refusing it. In such circumstances, you have to pray so that God lifts up these wars from you, and that you change your way of thinking, and occupy yourself with another subject. But if the doubts are from you and you are convinced with them so you have to treat them with a pure spiritual understanding by asking the specialists in theology, and by reading useful books in your subject.

There are other wars against doubt lighter than this, we mention the following:

b- Doubt in God's aid or in that God has abandoned you.

The Lord rebukes this kind of doubt by saying "*O you of little faith, why did you doubt?*" (Matt. 14:31). Here He relates between doubt and little faith, because the person with a strong faith would never doubt in God's love and care.

They many perpetual distresses may sometimes press on the heart and one would say, "*Why do You stand afar off, O Lord? Why do You hide in times of trouble?*" (Ps 10:1).

This is blame and not weakness in the faith. It seems to the psalmist that the Lord is standing afar, but the Lord keeps guard with all love and care the security of His children, like the eagle that teaches its youngsters to fly, and like the father who teaches his son to swim. He leaves him for a while to train and gain experience. He watches him with all care. If He sees danger surrounding him, He will hurry to rescue him.

There is also the example of the mother who teaches her son to walk. She leaves him to fall down and stand up again to strengthen his bones and muscles and to learn. However, if she hurried to carry him in her arms after each cry, that will harm him, because he will not learn and his bones will not be strong enough.

The distresses are a school to train us to pray and to hold onto God. We are also trained in faith and we see how God

works, and with which strength. For sure, God works, in spite that we do not see Him and do not feel His work.

The person may doubt if he only looked to troubles and not to God. That is how we see Peter doubt when he looked to the water beneath his feet and did not see Jesus who held his hand. As the faith of Peter decreased so did he start to sink and then the Lord rescued him.

The children of God may be like “lambs among wolves” but they do not doubt or fear. As long as the good shepherd is among the lambs so the wolves and not even the lions will endanger them.

Our father Abram did not doubt in God's love and care, in spite of the difficulty of the matter of giving his son Isaac as a sacrifice, as if he were saying:

My heart is not tenderer than the heart of God on my son Isaac, and I can't manage the future of Isaac as God does.

As long as God agrees on something then, no doubt, I have also to agree upon it, because I do not have God's wisdom or love. So let it be His will.

He who does not doubt lives always in tranquillity and peace.

He always lives in security and the outer circumstances will not tire him. He does not impose on God certain solutions, and if God does not carry them out, he will be angry. Nevertheless, he

agrees on any solution coming from God according to His Godly wisdom.

How many troubles does doubt cause in the heart and the mind... like doubt, fear, disturbance and little love. Doubt in itself is tiredness, a burning fire.

Doubt is heated by confidence and love. He who loves a person doesn't doubt in him. That is why we are with God and we do not doubt in Him because we love Him and have confidence in Him. Our faith in Him doesn't allow us to doubt in His Godly and Fatherly deeds with us.

Holy is He in all what He does.

Faith kids fear and doubt. Fear and doubt on the other side kill the faith.

Hold on to your faith because it is a strong and victorious element. You will then live in joy, peace, tranquillity, without fear, and without any doubt all the days of your life.

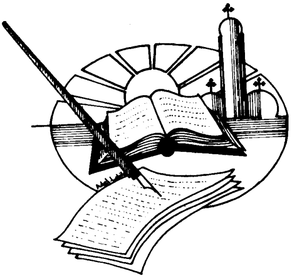

CHAPTER 10

THE TEST OF FAITH

Are You in the Faith?

There are many ways to test the faith. They could be all deduced from the preceding chapters. We want to say here that the apostle - in the life of faith - does not speak merely about faith, ie. to confine in the name of the Lord, but he specifically mentions:

1-Faith Expressing Itself Through Love (Gal. 5:6):

Test your faith in love according to what the apostle explained in (1 Cor. 13) "*Love suffers long and is kind; love does not envy; love does not parade itself, is not puffed up; does not behave rudely, does not seek its own, is not provoked, thinks no evil; does not rejoice in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth; bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.*" (1 Cor. 13:4-7).

Do you have all these qualities so as to have a sound faith? The apostle said "*And though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing.*" (1 Cor 13:2). With this love, you can examine your faith... Yet in general, you can examine your faith through your deeds.

2-To Examine Faith Through Deeds

This is because the apostle says "*I will show you my faith by my works.*" (James 2:18). Through deeds you can examine your faith if it is alive or dead because "*Faith without works is dead.*" (James 2:20), and a dead faith can not save anyone (James 2:14).

Saint Paul the apostle, spoke a great deal about the importance of faith. We see him say: "*They profess to know God, but in works they deny Him* " (Titus 1: 16). In his first letter to Timothy he stresses upon this point and says, "*But if anyone does not provide for his own, and especially for those of his household, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever*" (1 Tim. 5:8). The young widows overcame their dedication to Christ because "*they have cast off their first faith.*" (1 Tim. 5: 12). Those who love money "*have strayed from the faith* " (1 Tim. 6:10), and those who are interested in impure and false chatter "*strayed concerning the faith.*" (1 Tim. 6:21).

Therefore, the person's behaviour may be a test of his faith. Saint John the apostle, said "*I know Him, and does not keep His commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* " (1 John 2:4), "*He who says he abides in Him ought himself also to walk just as He walked.*" (1 John 2:6), and thus we say:

3-Examination Of Faith Through The Purity Of Heart

He who believes that God is in front of him, that God is holy and hates sin, that He is just and rewards everyone according to his deeds, fears to err in front of God, is ashamed to do any

wrong, and is ashamed to hurt the heart of the loving God; if he does believe in God's love!.

Here the apostle **says "Whoever sins has neither seen Him nor known Him "** (1 John 3:6). For sure, he who sins doesn't have in mind that God sees, hears and records everything during his sin committing... and for sure he who does wrong doesn't completely believe that there is a God who "*Gives freedom to the prisoners.*" (Ps 146:7) hence, if one says to the oppressor "God is present" then he fears and trembles.

For sure, the arrogant or the inflated with pride does not feel at all that he is standing in front of God. When Herod spoke to the people they praised him saying "This is the voice of a God, and not of man". Herod was glad to hear this praise. He didn't have faith that God is in front of him, and for this reason, "*An angel of the Lord struck him, … And he was eaten by worms and died.*".(Acts 12:21-23).

The real believer can be tested through religious devotion without envying the worldly matters. The believers are content with whatever the circumstances are (Phil. 4:1 1).

Another point in the life of faith is:

4-Faith Is Tested Through The Power It Grants That All Things Are Possible:

Do you have the power of faith that you feel that everything is possible?

As the Lord said “*All things are possible to him who believes*” (Mark 9:23). Do you feel that something is hard or impossible? or that your faith doesn't believe in God doing it? Do you doubt the matters that need miracles? Can you say what Saint Paul the Apostle said “*I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me.* " (Phil. 4:13). Are you moved by obstacles and difficulties that you say “its not possible”. Does despair fight you?

Despair is against faith and against hope in all directions.

No doubt those who commit suicide have lost their faith and their hope. They felt that there is no solution. They also lost faith in life after death in eternity and their destiny in it.

Also those, who submitted themselves to the present situation, to external pressures or to sin, didn't have any, faith at all that there is power that can support and deliver them.

Faith is a power for those who can use it in confidence and without any doubt.

I fear that faith in the hand of some is used like the staff of Elisha in Gehazi's hand (2 Kin 4:3 1). I also fear the same thing concerning people who carry the cross on their hands: they care to carry it and to perform its sign without having faith in it. They carry the cross but do not have the power that is concealed in it and in its deeds...

Do you think that Moses's stick separated the Red sea? Or is it the faith of Moses carrying and using it in the name of the Lord?

Do you have the power of faith that Moses had when he stretched his hand over the Red Sea?

You often pray, but does your prayer have faith that it gives it strength? How wonderful is the Bible's saying about Elijah “he prayed earnestly” (James 5: 17). This prayer was not ordinary as the prayers of rest of the people, because it could stop the heavens from giving rain and another time it did.

Test your faith through the power you have as a result of your relationship with God.

5-Test Of Faith During Distresses.

Trials face every man. There is a big difference between the believer and the non-believer's souls that accepts this trial. **If the trial disturbs your peace then know that your faith is weak.**

The believer accepts trials believing that they are for the good and that God will solve them. He is not disturbed or troubled and his heart is not burdened with sadness and pain.

He faces it with three verses, “*All things work together for good to those who love God.*” (Rom 8:28), “*Count it all joy when you fall into various trials* ” (James 2: 1), and also “*All things are possible to him who believes.*” (Mark 9:23). With this faith, his heart rejoices in the trial and people are comforted through his happiness.

The believer places God between him and the trial; the trial disappears and God appears. He remembers God's hand with the saints in all their trial *“The Angel of His Presence saved them."* (Is 63:9). He remembers what happened to Moses, Joseph, David, Job, Daniel and the three young men. All these increase his faith in God and increase his confidence in God's interference and in His word. Thus he is not shaken in trial, he doesn't doubt, doesn't feel sad and doesn't feel anxious... but says with the psalmist “*Our soul has escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowlers; The snare is broken, and we have escaped.…Our help is in the name of the Lord, Who made heaven and earth.*” (Ps 124).

He tells the Lord: as long as You accept the trial then I am happy with it.

I do not only accept it or approve of it, but I am happy that the Lord gave me the blessing of this trial... It is lovely what was said about the apostles after being whipped “*So they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name.*” (Acts 5:41).

The believer sees the door of God open in spite that all other doors seem to be closed.

He believes in God who has the keys of Heaven and earth “*He who opens and no one shuts.*” (Rev. 3:7). The believer chants with Saint John saying “*After these things I looked, and behold, a door standing open in heaven."* (Rev. 4: 1). To test the faith is to see all doors open in front of you, and every time you see a closed door in front of you, you say: This is not the door God wants me to go through. God has many other doors open.

There are doors that are now closed but God will open them later on with this faith you can calm down.

6-To Test The Faith According To Some Commandments:

a- **From the means to test the faith: the tithes and giving's in general**, and especially if this believer was in need, or if he was asked to give from his belongings. The meek in faith say, “if the whole salary or the whole income doesn't suffice, then how is it if reduced by a tenth?” The believer says if I give my tithe, this will bless the rest will be suffice and will even increase.

The tithe is a spiritual test the Lord gave in Malchi: “*Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, That there may be food in My house, And try Me now in this, Says the Lord of hosts, If I will not open for you the windows of heaven And pour out for you such blessing That there will not be room enough to receive it.* ' (Mal. 3: 10). If the person - in spite of this Godly promise - doesn't pay, so no doubt his faith is weak concerning God's promise and blessing, and even previously the doubt in His commandment.

If this was His the feelings about tithes then what about His commandments: give to the one who asks you (Matt. 5:42), and what about the commandment “*Go, sell what you have and give to the poor.*” (Matt. 19:21), and what about “*Sell what you have and give alms.*” (Luke 12:33)?

In this way, your faith is tested: Is God capable of supporting you after you pay your share to the poor? Is He capable to support you without storing up treasures on earth (Matt. 6:19)?

b- Among The Commandments To Test The Faith: Keep The Lord's Day:

Do you rejoice in the Lord's day so that you can spend it with Him? Or do you prefer other several occupations than the Lord? Are material matters more important in your eyes? It's a test for your faith.

c- Also From The Important Tests: To What Extent Do You Love Prayer:

Do you forget it and some times time passes where you don't pray? Does it happen that when you stand up for prayer that you think how it will finish so as to occupy yourself with more interesting matters? Does it happen during prayer that you meander away in your thoughts and forget that you are standing in front of god talking to Him? If you are like that then your faith is not at all strong in God, in His companionship and in the pleasure of speaking with Him.

Thus if we put the remaining praying matters and the remaining clauses of the spiritual works, there will be a field for testing your faith.

7- Test Your Faith In The Extent Of Caring About Your Eternity:

Do you concentrate your mind and heart upon this world and how successful you are and how you enjoy yourself in it?

Are you interested in your eternity and your destiny in the other world, and how you prepare yourself for it, as the Lord says "*Let your waist be girded and your lamps burning; and you yourselves be like men who wait for their master, when he will return from the wedding, that when he comes and knocks they may open to him immediately. Blessed are those servants whom the master, when he comes, will find watching*" (Luke 12:35-37).

The spiritual wakefulness is a deep test of faith.

Where is the faith of those who neglect their eternity, where is their faith? Where is their faith in the other life, and their preparation for it with repentance and good deeds, with love and companionship with God, and with oil in their lamps?

8-Test Your Faith In The Correctness Of Belief

Is it a sound faith without contrivances, false beliefs, and particular understandings? Is it the faith that was once entrusted to the saints (Jude 3) and was entrusted to reliable men who were also qualified to teach others (2 Tim. 2:12). Is it in accordance with the teachings of the Bible, or do you follow people spreading their own teachings? With this, you

can test your faith .I say this because belief has a practical effect on the spiritual life.

9-Test Your Faith With The Sound Qualities It Has

Is your faith a practical one? Is it firm that no outer circumstances can shake it? Does it weaken or does it have doubt? Is it filled with peace and doesn't fear? Do you know the life of submission and the obedience of faith? Is your faith a living and prosperous one? Does it grow and increase?

I don't want to mention the rest of the qualities of faith so that you can test yourself.

But if you want more measures, you can read this book again from the beginning.

IN THIS BOOK

In the Name of
the Father, and of the Son
and of the Holy Spirit
One God, Amen

Are you in the faith?

Do you lead a life of true faith? And do you have the practical, alive and fruitful faith that grows within your heast day after day...?

What is faith then?

What is its importance and what are its kinds?

What is simple faith?

Where does fiath stand compared to the intellect and the senses..?

What is the relation between faith and virtues?

What is life of submission?

What things do strengthen faith? and what weaken it?

All these topics and others as well are treated in this books openly...

This book is one of a series about *"Faith, Hope and Love" (1 Cor. 13:13)* which will be published successively.

Pope Shenouda III

8311852

Lipscomb, William Lowndes

THE ARMENIAN APOCRYPHAL ADAM LITERATURE

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THE ARMENIAN APOCRYPHAL ADAM LITERATURE

William Lowndes Lipscomb

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
1983

ABSTRACT

THE ARMENIAN APOCRYPHAL ADAM LITERATURE

WILLIAM LOWNDES LIPSCOMB

Speculation about Adam and other antediluvian figures occupied a prominent position in the literature of post-biblical Judaism and early Christianity. This speculation took the form of aggadah in Jewish apocryphal literature and later rabbinic works, while in Christianity, the New Testament and early church fathers were concerned primarily with the theological significance of Adam's sin. Medieval Christianity maintained an interest in both theology and aggadah, preserving Jewish midrashic materials and creating its own such compositions using Jewish sources. Among these medieval Christian compositions is a collection of Armenian Adam books.

Among these Armenian works, the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works is a single literary work which tells in four chapters the biblical story of the creation through the flood in expanded form. The work exists in two recensions. A critical text of recension I, a superior text form, is presented with a translation, and the text of a single manuscript of recension II is given in an appendix with a translation. The work is a Christian monastic composition, written originally in Armenian between the eighth and fourteenth centuries. It is a composite work, drawing on the Armenian text of Genesis and on literary traditions which it inherited either directly or indirectly

from much older Jewish and Christian sources.

The *History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve* is similar to the *Armenian Adam Cycle* in scope and content, although it opens after the expulsion from the garden and gives much less attention to Seth and Noah. The work is known from only a single manuscript, the text of which is given with a translation. It is a Christian work, composed in Armenian between the eighth and fourteenth centuries. *Repentance* has drawn on three literary sources, the Armenian versions of Genesis and *Ap. Mos.* and an earlier form or source of the *Armenian Adam Cycle*, and has also inherited elements of tradition known from much older Jewish and Christian texts.

Nothing can be said of the date and provenance of *The Words of Adam to Seth*, but the story of Enoch's garden it contains bears significant affinities with similar traditions in the *Armenian Adam Cycle* and the *Descendants of Adam*.

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For the determination to see this project through to

to its end, I give special thanks to my friend Elisha A. Manning III.

W. Lowndes Lipscomb

London, 1982

DEDICATION

To my beloved father

DABNEY LIPSCOMB

1908-1980

And

To my beloved sister

DABNEY SCOTT LIPSCOMB RADER

1941-1976

INTRODUCTION

I. Adam in Judaism and Early Christianity

Outside of the accounts of primordial history in Genesis 1-11, the figure of the first man Adam held little or no importance for the authors of the Hebrew Bible.[1] In the literature of post-biblical Judaism and early Christianity, on the other hand, speculation about Adam and other ante-diluvian figures became widespread and highly elaborate.[2] The earliest indications of this fascination

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[1]Adam is mentioned by name only in Genesis and in a genealogy in 1 Chr. 1.1.

[2]The recent interest in traditions about ante-diluvian figures is reflected in the work of the Society of Biblical Literature's Pseudepigrapha group, which has devoted itself to a study of traditions about Seth and Enoch in 1977-78. For the results of their work on Seth traditions, see P. Achtemeier, ed., Society of Biblical Literature 1977 Seminar Papers (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 1-43, and for their work on Enoch, see P. Achtemeier, ed., Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978), vol. 1. Other important recent studies of Seth traditions include A. F. J. Klijn, Seth in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic Literature (Leiden: Brill, 1977), and materials relating to the Sethian gnostics in B. Layton, ed., The Rediscovery of Gnosticism (Leiden: Brill, 1980-82), 2 vols., and the works of W. Adler, "Materials Relating to Seth in an Anonymous Chronographer ("Pseudo-Malalas") and in the Chronography of George Syncellus," and D. Berman, "Seth in Rabbinic Literature: Translations and Notes," (Philadelphia: Dept. of Religious Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1977). These materials should be supplemented by E. C.

with the ante-diluvians are found in Jewish apocryphal works dating from as early as the third pre-Christian century and into the first two centuries of the common era.[3] Such works as the Book of Jubilees, Pseudo-Philo, the Life of Adam and Eve, and the Apocalypse of Moses employed the techniques of midrash to expand the legends of Genesis and to provide new insights about Adam and his earliest descendants. Extra-biblical details such as the names of the many sons and daughters of Adam and Eve, their manner of life after their expulsion from the garden, the ways in which they repented of their disobedience to God, and the specifics of the protoplasts' death and burial are recounted at great length to serve purposes of religious instruction.[4] In the midrashic literature of the rabbis, this growth of interest in Adam continues. Adam is commonly described in grandiose

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Quinn, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1962), which includes a thorough treatment of medieval sources. V. Aptowitzer, Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen, und muhammedanischer Literatur (Wein und Leipzig: R. Löwit, 1922), remains the definitive study of traditions about Cain and Abel. For an extensive survey of legends about all the ante-diluvian figures in Jewish and early Christian sources, see L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909, 1939), vols. 1 and 5.

[3]For a discussion of apocryphal works relating to Adam, see A. M. Denis, Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament (Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 3-14, and M. R. James, The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament (London: SPCK, 1913).

[4]For a discussion of the nature and function of midrash and an up-to-date bibliography, see M. P. Miller, "Midrash," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume, ed. K. Crim (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), pp. 593-597.

terms as a man of physical and intellectual perfection, but whose fall brought untold disaster to humanity. Additional non-biblical details are introduced in works which served primarily homiletical purposes.[5]

While the importance of Adam in Jewish apocryphal and rabbinic works is reflected primarily in the growth of extra-biblical legendary materials, the early Christian community found Adam to be the focal point for theological discussions about Christ. In the New Testament, Paul identified Christ as the last Adam who made possible for mankind the salvation which the first Adam had forfeited through disobedience.[6] These notions of Adam's fall and his relation to Christ are taken up in the Greek and Latin fathers, where they serve as the point of departure for discussions of original sin and the nature of Christ in the christological controversies of the first five centuries.[7]

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[5]For a discussion of rabbinic traditions about Adam, see Ginzberg, Legends, vol. 1, pp. 49-102, vol. 5, pp. 63-131. On rabbinic haggadic method and literature, see J. Theodore, "Midrash Haggadah," The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904), vol. 8, pp. 550-569.

[6]On Adam in the New Testament, see esp. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1970, ed[3]), pp. 36-57, and R. Scroggs, The Last Adam (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966).

[7]On the role of Adam in the early church, see esp. G. T. Armstrong, Die Genesis in der Alten Kirche (Tübingen: J. B. C. Mohr, 1962) and J. Gross, Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1960), 2 vols. Adam was also an important figure in gnostic speculation, where his role is quite different from his role in the literature of the church fathers. See E. Peterson, "La liberation d'Adam de l'Ἀνάγκη," RB 55 (1948), pp. 199-

Although these theological emphases were central to the early church's understanding of Adam, it is also to the early and medieval church that we are indebted for the preservation of the earliest midrashic materials about the ante-diluvians contained in Jewish apocryphal texts. Much of this material is believed to have been written in Hebrew and Aramaic by Jewish communities, but for reasons which are not entirely clear it was abandoned by on-going rabbinic Judaism. It was the early Christian communities which translated and transmitted these works; thus most of the books of the Apocrypha owe their survival to their appearance in the Old Greek collection of Jewish scriptures, which became the official Christian version (Old Testament), and most of the books of the pseudepigrapha have survived only in Christian translations and in Christian forms. The Life of Adam and Eve, for example, is frequently thought to be a Jewish work originating in a semitic language in about the first century C. E.[8] The work is known to us, however, in Latin, Slavonic, and Greek recensions, and all the surviving manuscripts contain clear signs of Christian editing.[9] The same may be said of Jubilees, which was

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214, and the references to the myth of creation in the various gnostic systems presented by H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963, ed2).

[8]See J. H. Charlesworth, The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), p. 74, and Denis, Introduction, pp. 6-7.

[9]The Greek recension is entitled The Apocalypse of

composed in Hebrew but which survives in full only in Ethiopic,[10] and of Pseudo-Philo, most likely composed in Hebrew, but surviving in full only in Latin translation.[11]

The early Christians did not act simply as translators and interpolators in preserving Jewish apocryphal traditions about Adam and his progeny. It is also clear that they produced haggadic compositions of their own while drawing heavily on Jewish sources. The Cave of Treasures, composed in Syriac perhaps as early as the fourth century and surviving also in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Georgian, claims to contain mysteries which Jesus committed to his disciples and discusses the typological relationship between Adam and Christ at length. But these materials are accompanied by Adam traditions bearing close affinities with much older Jewish sources.[12] The Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve attempts to survey the course of human history from the first Adam until the coming of the second Adam Christ and is Christian

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Moses, of which there is also an Armenian version. On the recensions, see Denis, Introduction, pp. 3-6. Cf. also the related Penitence of Adam, which survives in Armenian and Georgian.

[10]Fragments of Jubilees have been preserved in a number of languages, and most extensively in Latin and Greek. For a discussion of the surviving Jubilees materials, see Denis, Introduction, pp. 150-162.

[11]The surviving Hebrew portions in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel are most likely retroversions from the Latin. See D. J. Harrington, The Hebrew Fragments of Pseudo-Philo (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 1-5.

[12]On the date and versions of the Cave of Treasures, see Charlesworth, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 91-92, and Denis, Introduction, pp. 8-9.

throughout, but again draws on traditions known to be of Jewish origin in recounting the earliest history of humanity.[13] Similar haggadic materials were preserved in the Armenian and Georgian churches and became widespread in Christian medieval literature.[14] Writing in a different genre and with different purposes, Byzantine Christian historians sought to catalogue the annals of human history beginning from the creation, and drew heavily upon Jewish and earlier Christian texts to reconstruct the history of biblical times.[15] Although most of these Christian Adam books are medieval compositions and do not derive directly from earliest Christianity, their great importance lies in the antiquity of some of the traditions they contain, the uniqueness of some of their exegetical points of view, and their larger contribution to the development and understanding of Adam materials and of medieval Christianity.

II. The Armenian Adam Books

The present work is devoted to a collection of short Armenian Adam books[16] which bear significant affinities with

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[13]The work exists also in Arabic, and dates from the eleventh century according to Denis, Introduction, p. 9.

[14]An exemplary study of the widespread use of Jewish traditions about Seth and the oil of life in medieval times may be found in Quinn, Quest.

[15]The texts are found in W. Dindorf, ed., Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1828-1897), 50 vols.

[16]These books represent only a portion of the Adam materials preserved by the Armenian church. For other

the broad range of Jewish and early Christian Adam materials surveyed above. The books, entitled The History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam, The History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden, The History of Abel and Cain the Sons of Adam, Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth, The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve, The Words of Adam to Seth, and The Death of Adam,[17] were first published by S. Yovsepeanc'[18] in 1896 in a collection of Old Testament apocryphal texts preserved in the Armenian manuscripts of the Mechitarist monastery in Venice. The Yovsepeanc' edition was based on a single copy of each of those works,[19] and with one exception,[20] has remained the sole basis for

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works, see H. Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitut'yun (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 236-250 [in Armenian] and M. E. Stone, "Report on Seth Traditions in the Armenian Adam Books," in Layton, Rediscovery, vol. 2, pp. 462-464.

[17]The text and translation of The Death of Adam are not included in the present work since a critical edition has been published elsewhere; see note 20. Hereafter, the Adam books will be referred to by the abbreviated titles Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, Tidings, Repentance, Words, and Death.

[18]S. Yovsepeanc', Ankanon Girk Hin Ktakaranac (Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1896), pp. 24-26, 307-322 [in Armenian].

[19]Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings were found in consecutive order appended to a copy of the Armenian version of the Apocalypse of Moses in Venice MS 729, in which MS Death was also found. Words appeared in a separate Venice MS (57), while Repentance was published from a copy of an Etchmiadzin MS (914=Erevan Matenadaran 1521) presented to the Mechitarists by F. C. Conybeare in 1893.

[20]An edition of The Death of Adam based on five

all subsequent translations and studies. The books have since been translated into English and German,[21] and have become the subject of limited scholarly discussion.

Discussion of these Armenian Adam books has centered primarily around their possible gnostic character, an idea first suggested by E. Preuschen.[22] Preuschen treated these works, along with the Armenian version of the Apocalypse of Moses, as a product of Sethian gnostic circles. He argued that (1) the exaltation of Seth to the status of Messiah parallels what is known of the Sethians, (2) the ascetic tendencies of the Adam books reflect Epiphanius' report that the Sethians were ascetics and abstained from sex and drinking wine, (3) the view of man's losing the light through Adam and regaining it through Seth/Christ in the Adam books corresponds to the gnostic belief that one must seek to regain the light lost in the material world, and (4) the

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manuscripts as well as collations from an additional manuscript of Abel and Cain has been published by M. E. Stone, Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Patriarchs and Prophets (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences, 1982).

[21]Yovsepeanc' was translated into English in full by Jaques Issaverdens, The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament (Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1934, ed2). The English translation of Death in Stone, Armenian Apocrypha, supercedes his earlier translation of the Yovsepeanc' text of Death in "The Death of Adam--An Armenian Adam Book," HTR 59 (1966), pp. 283-291.For the German translation, see E. Preuschen, "Die apocryphen gnostischen Adamschriften aus dem armenischen übersetzt und untersucht," Festgruss Bernhard Stade, ed. W. Diehl, et al. (Giessen: J. Richer'sche, 1900), pp. 163-252.

[22]Preuschen, "Adamschriften."

identification of Jerusalem as the city of the fallen angels (Transgression 9) is characteristic of the anti-Jewish strain in Sethian gnosticism.

Immediate responses to Preuschen's hypothesis were almost entirely negative.[23] It has been argued that fundamental gnostic views are absent from the Armenian Adam books, and the views the books do contain bear no specifically gnostic character.[24] The role of Seth, for example, is no more exalted here than in other Jewish and early Christian writings which are not gnostic,[25] and nowhere do we actually find Seth identified with Christ.[26] Neither

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[23]A. Götze, Die Schatzhöhle. Überlieferung und Quellen. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historisch Klasse 13/4 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1922), pp. 43-44, however, accepted Preuschen's view. He claimed that the parallels between the Armenian Adam books and the Cave of Treasures point to an earlier Sethian Adam book as a common source, of which the Armenian collection is a later redaction.

[24]J.-B. Frey, "Adam (Livres apocryphes sous son nom)," Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928) I, p. 131; E. Schürer, review of Preuschen, "Adamschriften," Theologische Literaturzeitung 26 (1901), p. 173, and Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964, repr. of Leipzig, 1909, ed3) 3, p. 398; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962, repr. of 1913 ed.) I, p. 354; R. Kabisch, "Die Entstehungszeit der Apokalypse Mose," ZNW 6 (1905), pp. 131-132. R. Liechtenhan, "Die pseudepigraphe Litteratur der Gnostiker," ZNW 3 (1902), p. 223, adds, e.g., that the concern with original sin in the Armenian Adam books shows no gnostic coloring.

[25]Frey, "Adam," p. 131; Liechtenhan, "Pseudepigraphe Litteratur," p. 223; Kabisch, "Entstehungszeit," pp. 115, 120-124. Stone, "Seth Traditions," pp. 465-470, finds this true of the Cycle and Repentance, but not of Words and Death.

[26]Frey, "Adam," p. 131; Kabisch, "Entstehungszeit,"

does one find anything to distinguish the so-called ascetic tendency of the works from non-gnostic forms of early Christian asceticism.[27] The light of which the protoplasts are stripped is also not peculiarly gnostic.[28] While the gnostics may have read these works and found some of their views reflected in them, it was held, they are not gnostic compositions.[29]

More recent research has led to a resurgence of the gnostic hypothesis, although in modified form. G. R. Cardona[30] has pointed to features which the Armenian Adam books share with the Coptic Apocalypse of Adam, and suggested a common gnostic origin for the works. Although he finds no clear gnostic elements in the Armenian Adam books in their present form, he suggests these elements may have been stripped away in an attempt to make the texts conform to orthodoxy. In the Apocalypse of Adam, on the other hand, we find these gnostic elements retained and

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pp. 120-124.

[27]Frey, "Adam," p. 131; Liechtenhan, "Pseudepigraphe Litteratur," p. 223.

[28]Frey, "Adam," p. 131; Liechtenhan, "Pseudepigraphe Litteratur," p. 223.

[29]Liechtenhan, "Pseudepigraphe Litteratur," p. 223; Kabisch, "Entstehungszeit," pp. 131-132; Schürer, review of Preuschen, p. 173.

[30]G. R. Cardona, "Sur le gnosticisme in Arménie: les livre d'Adam," Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966, ed. U. Bianchi (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 645-648.

embellished. An example of one such degnosticized tradition may have been discovered by G. Stroumsa.[31] Stroumsa has shown that the name of Seth's sister in The Death of Adam, Esterah, may ultimately derive from Sethian gnostic circles where she was first given this name as well as an important role in the transmission of Seth's pure seed. If such initial probings are to continue, they are most likely to bear fruit in the analysis of such works as The Death of Adam and The Words of Adam to Seth where the role of Seth is most prominent.[32]

Apart from treatments of the gnostic affinities of the Armenian Adam books, attention to these works has been limited and sporadic. Although additional copies of the works have been discovered in various manuscript collections of the Soviet Union, Europe, the United States and the Middle East[33] and their existence in Georgian translation has been suggested,[34] a critical edition remains a desideratum. A thorough examination of the literary relationships

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[31] G. G. Stroumsa, Another Seed: Studies in Sethian Gnosticism (Harvard University doctoral thesis, 1978).

[32] Stone, "Seth Traditions," p. 469, points to an additional parallel between Apoc. Adam and Death and to Seth's role as a recipient of revelation in Words.

[33] For a list of known MSS, see Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitutʻyun I, pp. 236-250, and Stone, "Seth Traditions," pp. 460-462. MSS B and D in the edition below were unknown prior to the present study.

[34] W. Lüdtke, "Georgische Adam-Bücher," ZAW 38 (1919), pp. 155-168.

between the various texts has not been carried out, although initial probings have indicated the importance of such a study.[35] It has been observed that the Armenian Adam books contain traditions which bear significant affinities with a broad spectrum of Jewish and Christian Adam materials, but no comprehensive search for the sources of these texts has been undertaken.[36] Finally, questions of the role of this literature in the Armenian church have not been addressed. It is hoped that the present work may make some contribution to our knowledge of these relatively unexplored areas.

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[35] See the preliminary suggestions of M. Stone in "Seth Traditions," pp. 464-465, which are treated below.

[36] Some of these affinities were observed in passing by Frye, "Adam," pp. 125-132 and Götze, Schatzhöhle, pp. 41-44, 49-50, 59. Stone, "Death of Adam," has pointed to parallel traditions in his commentary on that text, and W. L. Lipscomb, "Foreign Influences on the Armenian Adam Books," Proceedings of the First Dr. H. Markarian Conference on Classical Armenian Culture: Influences and Creativity (Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, forthcoming), has addressed the question of the origin of a select group of Armenian Adam traditions.

Chapter 1

THE BACKGROUND AND CHARACTER OF THE DOCUMENTS

A. The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works

Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings will be shown below to be component parts of a single document, The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works. Taken as a unit, they present an expanded version of the biblical account of the primordial history recorded in Genesis 1-11. Rather than reporting details of the lives of the antediluvians known from the Bible, the Adam Cycle is almost totally devoted to relating incidents in the lives of Adam, Eve, and their descendants which are non-biblical and which serve to flesh out the sketchy scenario provided in Genesis. The Adam Cycle tells in great detail the story of Adam and Eve's life in the Garden of Eden, and the sequence of events which led to their fall, their expulsion from the garden, and their consequent captivity to Satan. Thereafter the focus is directed to Adam and Eve's offspring. The reader is told of the birth and early life of Abel and Cain, Cain's murder of Abel, Cain's ensuing punishment and Seth's birth as a replacement for Abel. The generations of Seth and Cain live in separation by divine command. When that command is

finally disobeyed, the scene is set for the story of the flood and the resettlement of Noah's children.

1. The Manuscripts

The manuscript evidence for The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works is as follows:[1]

Recension I

Y. Venice, Mechitarist Monastery of San Lazarro, Old MS 729, undated. The MS was not made available for the present work, but a printed copy of the text was published by Yovsepeanc', Ankanon Girk, pp. 307-324 (=Yov.). Yov. is the source of all readings attributed to Y in the present work. Y contains the complete text of the Adam Cycle, and includes extensive homiletical discourses at the end of each of the four works in the Adam Cycle expounding on the preceding work. Yov. omits the homilies, but gives an incipit from each in the footnotes. No title is given for Transgression in Y, but titles are supplied for each of the remaining three works. Issaverdens attributes the MS to the 16th or 17th centuries.[2]

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[1]These manuscripts are mentioned in Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitutʻyun I, pp. 239-241, with the exception of MSS B and D, which were unknown prior to the present study.

[2]Issaverdens, Uncanonical Writings, p. 22.

A. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 682, fols. 96v-101r, undated. Contains the complete text of <u>Expulsion</u>, <u>Abel and Cain</u>, and <u>Tidings</u>, but does not include <u>Transgression</u>. Includes homilies at the end of each of the works in the <u>Adam Cycle</u> which are very similar to those found in Y and B. The existence of a homily before <u>Expulsion</u> in the MS which is very similar to that following <u>Transgression</u> in Y and B suggests that <u>Transgression</u> may have been included in the MS originally. Gives titles to each of the three works. Attributed to the 17th century on paleographical grounds.

B. New York, New York, H. P. Kraus Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS VT915, fols. 4v-23v, dated 1662. Approximately the first one-third of <u>Transgression</u> is missing from the MS, which begins at vs. 16, and the title and opening words of <u>Abel and Cain</u> are also missing. The remainder of the <u>Adam Cycle</u> is preserved <u>in toto</u>, with the addition in <u>Tidings</u> of an extended passage relating to Noah's building the ark (vs. 38a-k). Includes homilies at the end of each work in the <u>Adam Cycle</u> very similar to those found in Y and A with the exception of <u>Expulsion</u>, after which some leaves are missing. Distinct titles are given to <u>Expulsion</u> and <u>Tidings</u>.

C. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 2126, fols. 81r-83r, dated 1697. Contains only the final four-fifths of Abel and Cain, beginning at vs. 11 and continuing to the end. The text is not accompanied by a homily.

D. London, British Museum, MS BM Harl. Or. 5459, fols. 2r-12v, dated 1698. Contains the full text of the Adam Cycle with no accompanying homilies. Includes in Tidings an extended passage on Noah and the ark (vs. 38a-k) also found in B, but in a somewhat different form. Contains a single title (Պատմութիւն Ադամայ ի Դրախտէն Ելանելու) for the full Adam Cycle, but the opening words of Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings are physically distinguished in the MS.

All the above MSS of recension I have been incorporated into the edition in chapter four below. Additional manuscript evidence unavailable to the author includes the following:[3]

F. Venice, Mechitarist Monastery of San Lazarro, MS 262, fols. 163v-167v. Contains only Abel and Cain.

G. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 4618, fols. 138r-141v, dated 16th-18th centuries. Contains only Abel and Cain and Tidings, possibly with intervening commentary.

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[3]The information is taken from Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitut'yun I, pp. 239-241.

Recension II

In addition to the textual witnesses to what we have called recension I, the Adam Cycle also exists in a quite different form which shows clear signs of rearrangement and editing of an older, more original text.

Z. The text was first published in a work called Սկիզբն զրոցս որ կոչի ժողովածու, Constantinople, 1717 (fols. 1-42), and was subsequently reprinted three times in Constantinople (1730, fols. 1-39; 1747, fols. 1-36; 1793, fols. 1-35). Presented in an appendix below is the text and translation of the 1730 edition (=Erevan, Matenadaran MS 273). The work contains a complete text of the Adam Cycle with commentary after each work similar to that contained in MSS Y, A, and B of recension I.

T. Tiflis, Institute of Manuscripts, MS 47, fols. 7r ff. Unavailable to the author, but according to Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitutyun I, pp. 240-241, this text corresponds to that found in Z above. Does not include Transgression, but contains the remaining three works of the Adam Cycle.

2. A Single Literary Work

Although Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings are presented in all the manuscripts as distinct works, it has been suggested that they are in fact four consecutive portions of a single literary work. M. Stone

has claimed on the basis of a study of MS Y that the four texts follow a single narrative line, each text beginning with a section designed to overlap with the end of the preceding.[4] He refers to these texts as The Cycle of Four Works. It is necessary to examine his view in some detail.

On the whole, the broader manuscript evidence stands in support of Stone's view. In MSS Y, B, and A of recension I and MS Z (and perhaps T) of recension II, Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings appear consecutively in that order, although each work is given a separate title and the individual works themselves are separated by intervening homiletical materials cast in the form of a commentary on the preceding portion of the story.[5] In MS D the four works are in consecutive order without separate titles or intervening homilies, but the beginning of each work is physically distinguished in the manuscript.[6] Abel

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[4]Stone, "Seth Traditions," p. 465.

[5]Note that the title for Transgression is missing in Y and the titles for Transgression and Abel and Cain are lost in B. The full text of Transgression is lacking in A, but since the homily preceding Expulsion in A is very similar to that following Transgression in Y and B, it is probable that A originally included Transgression. Recension II MS T was not available to the author, but the description in Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitut‘yun I, pp. 239-241, indicates that T lacks Transgression and contains Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings in consecutive order with distinct titles for each. It is uncertain if the intervening commentary is present in T.

[6]D gives only one title at the beginning of the four works, which reads Պատմութիւն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն ելանելու (The History of Adam's Expulsion from the Garden). A floral design in the margin marks the beginning of each of the four

and Cain, on the other hand, is known to have had an independent existence. It appears by itself in MSS C and F, and it appears with Tidings alone, which it directly precedes, in MS G.[7]

The order in which these four works are found in the manuscripts is logical from the standpoint of content. Taken together, they present a coherent and expanded account of Genesis 1-11, relating the history of humanity from the creation through the flood. There are no significant contradictions in the development of the story, nor are there repetitions apart from those at the beginning and end of each work or "chapter" in the Adam Cycle, which will be dealt with below. The organization and development of the four chapters of the Adam Cycle may be best presented in the following outline.

I. Transgression
   A. Introduction: Creation and revolt of the evil angels (1-4)
   B. Fall (5-31)
      1. Adam and Eve created (5-7)
      2. Adam and Eve charged not to eat the fruit (8-9)
      3. Satan deceives Adam and Eve, they eat the fruit (10-31)

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works, the final line of each work is concluded with a dotted line, and the opening words of each work are written in a different color of ink.

[7]In C, Abel and Cain begins with Abel's prayer which accompanies his sacrifice, and there is no accompanying commentary. No further information about F and G was available to the author, although Anasyan, Haykakan Matenagitutʻyun I, pp. 240-241, indicates there is no commentary between Abel and Cain and Tidings in G.

C. Punishment (32-45)
  1. God confronts Adam and Eve (30-42)
  2. God curses Adam, Eve, and the serpent, expels Adam and Eve from the garden (41-45)

D. Deliverance (46-49)
  1. Adam and Eve mourn in darkness (46)
  2. God takes pity and sends an angel who leads them to the light (47-49)

II. <u>Expulsion</u>

A. Introduction: Adam and Eve grieve when darkness returns (1-2)

B. Fall (3-21)
  1. Satan deceives Adam and Eve, offers them light (3-15)
  2. Adam gives promissory note to Satan (16-21)

C. Punishment: Contained within the promissory note (16-21). Adam and all his offspring are in captivity to Satan.

D. Deliverance (22-28)
  1. Adam and Eve mourn their deception (22)
  2. God takes pity and sends an angel who promises deliverance through Christ (23-28)

III. <u>Abel and Cain</u>

A. Introduction: Adam learns to farm, Abel and Cain are born (1-4)

B. Fall (5-33)
  1. Cain and Abel's offerings (5-13)
  2. Cain kills Abel (14-33)

C. Punishment (34-51)
  1. God punishes Cain (34-47)
  2. Lamech kills Cain (48-51)

D. Deliverance (52-59)
  1. Adam and Eve mourn their children (52-58)
  2. God takes pity and sends the good news of Seth's birth (59)

IV. <u>Tidings</u>

A. Introduction (1-16)
  1. Seth's birth announced (1-9)
  2. Enoch's orchard (10-16)

B. Fall (17-23)
  1. Sethites retire to monastic life (17)
  2. Cainites seduce Sethites (18-23)

C. Punishment (24-44)
  1. Angel announces the flood to Noah (24-36)
  2. Noah builds the ark, the flood comes (37-44)

D. Deliverance (45-59)
  1. Noah and the animals leave the ark (45-50)
  2. God makes a covenant of reconciliation with Noah (51-54)
  3. Settlements of Noah's descendants (55-59)

As the above outline makes clear, the division of the Adam Cycle into four chapters occurs on the basis of content; each chapter tells its own story of a fall, a resulting divine punishment, and concludes with a divine intervention and deliverance. Thus the first chapter tells how Satan tricks Adam and Eve into eating the forbidden fruit and relates God's curse upon them, but concludes when God takes pity on Adam and Eve and sends an angel who leads them from darkness into light. In the second chapter, Adam and Eve fall again when Satan gives them light in exchange for a promissory note binding their descendants in captivity to Satan. Although no distinct punishment is given here, it is implicit in the servitude to Satan which Adam and Eve promise and over which they mourn on recognizing Satan's deceit. The chapter concludes when God again relents and sends an angel to promise them deliverance through Christ. Similarly in chapter three, the fall occurs when Cain kills Abel, for which he receives seven punishments and is finally killed by Lamech. Again God is moved by Adam and Eve's plight and sends the good news of Seth's birth. Following the same pattern in chapter four, the Sethites fall to the seductive Cainites for which they are punished by a flood, after which God reconciles himself with Noah through a covenant. Thus the story of the ante-diluvians is told in four parts or chapters, each chapter reporting the drama of a fall of mankind followed by a cathartic "happy ending," to which a homily is appended.

If we are to understand Transgression, Expulsion, Abel and Cain, and Tidings as four chapters of a single literary work, the repetition of materials at the beginning of each successive chapter must be explained since these repetitions disrupt the flow of the narrative line. At the conclusion of Transgression (46-49), for example, Adam and Eve are expelled from the garden and go to a dark and gloomy place. After six days God sends an angel who takes them out of the darkness and into the world, and Adam and Eve rejoice over the light even though it is inferior to the light of the garden. In the first verse of Expulsion, this information is repeated in very brief form; we learn that Adam and Eve fell from the garden into this world and rejoiced over the light until evening. The story line is resumed in vs. 2, when the sun sets and Adam and Eve again become afraid, setting the stage for a second deception by Satan. Expulsion 1 may be taken to contradict the conclusion to Transgression, where Adam and Eve leave the garden for an intermediate location before entering this world. But Expulsion 4-5 makes clear that the view of Adam and Eve's descent from the garden in Expulsion is identical with that in Transgression. Speaking to Satan disguised as an angel, Adam says he was expelled from the garden into darkness for an unspecified time until an angel took him to the light of the world, for which he rejoiced. The final verses of Transgression (46-49) must be regarded as the cathartic conclusion to chapter one of the cycle, after which a homily

follows in most manuscripts. The story resumes in *Expulsion* 1 with a brief summary statement designed to remind the reader of where the story left off, after which the story line resumes. There are no contradictions in the overlapping material, and if *Expulsion* 1 is excised from the text, vs. 2 continues the narrative uninterrupted from the conclusion of *Transgression*.

The transition from *Expulsion* to *Abel and Cain* may be similarly explained. *Expulsion* concludes when Adam and Eve recognize they have been deceived again by Satan and observe the fast later called Aradjavor, after which God relents and sends an angel who tells them of their deliverance from Satan through the incarnate Christ. The opening verse of *Abel and Cain* repeats all the elements of that conclusion in briefer form, but with one apparent contradiction. In *Expulsion* Adam and Eve are said to fast for seven days, while the length of the fast is five days in *Abel and Cain*. That information is not consistent in the manuscripts, however, suggesting the possibility of corruption.[8] Following the short summary of the conclusion to *Expulsion* in *Abel and Cain* 1, the story line is resumed in vs. 2; Adam and Eve's life in the world begins and they are taught how to farm. But the excision of *Abel and Cain* 1

[8]Recension II *Expulsion* 22 says Adam and Eve fasted five days, and specifies no duration for the fast in *Abel and Cain*. The confusion of five and seven days may be traced to a ե / է confusion in the manuscripts.

does not result in a smooth flow of the story from the final verse of Expulsion to Abel and Cain 2; Abel and Cain in its present form begins with a necessary and coherent introduction.

In contrast to the above pattern, it is the introduction to Tidings rather than the conclusion to Abel and Cain which contains the more complete and detailed account. In the introduction to Tidings (1-3), an angel visits Adam and tells him to know his wife, but Adam responds with reluctance, fearing the birth of a new child might bring him greater grief than the birth of his first two sons. The angel responds that Seth will be a consolation for Adam's past grief, setting the stage for Seth's birth and the separation of his family from the Cainites. In contrast, following a summary of the preceding portions of Abel and Cain in which Cain's afflictions are described (vs. 57a), Abel and Cain 57b-59 contains the same information found in the introduction to Tidings, but the dialogue between Adam and the angel is reduced to a brief narrative summary. No unique material is found in the conclusion to Abel and Cain. The introduction to Tidings cannot be excised without creating a major disruption, since the angel's speech continues into vs. 4 where allusions to the remainder of the text of Tidings are found.[9] The conclusion to Abel and Cain,

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[9]The theme of the separation of the seed of Seth and Cain is introduced in vs. 4, and is developed in 5-9, 17-23.

on the other hand, appears secondary. Vs. 56 provides a satisfactory conclusion to Abel and Cain when Abel's corpse is finally allowed to enter its grave after Adam's death, a point of departure from which the introduction to Tidings follows naturally. The text of Abel and Cain continues in vs. 57, however, where Cain moans over his affliction and Adam and Eve mourn over seeing Cain wounded with punishments. This verse is not only repetitive, since we were already told of Cain's punishments in vss. 38-47, but it also gives a false picture insofar as Cain has already been killed (i.e. he does not live in bitter affliction). The reason for the addition of vss. 57-59 can be readily explained. It is likely that Abel and Cain and Tidings were part of a single continuous narrative, and that when they were separated into distinct chapters, Abel and Cain required a conclusion which would make it conform to the pattern of fall, punishment, and deliverance characteristic of the other chapters in the Adam Cycle. That was accomplished by appending a narrative summary of the annunciation of Seth's birth found in the introduction to Tidings.

In summary, the manuscript evidence, the development of the story line, and the nature of the overlapping materials at the beginning and end of each work suggest the four texts are four chapters of a single literary work. The original Adam Cycle appears to have read as a continuous narrative, but was later broken up into four chapters, each reflecting a pattern of fall, punishment, and deliverance,

after which a homily was appended. As the text stands now, each chapter begins with a brief section designed to remind the reader of where he left off, after which the story continues. The original form of the continuous narrative cannot be reconstructed since the method used in dividing the work into chapters was more complex than a simple interpolation of summary material.

3. The Setting of the Work

Although the Adam Cycle is a collection of stories about the ante-diluvians, there are a number of explicit Christian elements which make the work identifiably Christian. In Expulsion 17-20, after Satan has deceived Adam a second time, Satan forces Adam to take an oath promising he and his descendants will be servants to Satan. The statement of the duration of that servitude, i.e. "until the unbegotten is born and the immortal dies" (vs. 19), sets the stage for the promise of Christ's coming which Adam receives in vss. 23-26. An angel informs Adam he will be freed from captivity to Satan when God's son takes human form from a perfect virgin. The entire story of this second deception, to which the full text of Expulsion is devoted, is governed by the oath of servitude and the promise of release from it. Hence the Christian elements in Expulsion may not be explained as a product of interpolation or reworking, rather they are intrinsic to this second chapter of the Adam Cycle. In Abel and Cain 1, where the conclusion to Expulsion is summarized, one finds again a reference to

the angel's tidings about the incarnation of God.

In addition to the Christian references in the Adam Cycle, there are points at which the history of the ante-diluvians has received a uniquely Armenian stamp. In both Expulsion 24 and Abel and Cain 1 where the conclusion to Expulsion is summarized, the period during which Adam and Eve fasted after recognizing they had been deceived a second time is identified with the Armenian fast of Aradjavor.[10] This identification appears as a parenthetical intrusion into the text which can be excised without disrupting the flow of the story. One also finds Armenian place names in the conclusion to the Adam Cycle (Tidings 55-59). Following the description of the flood, one reads that Noah went down from the mountain and dwelt in Agori, after which his descendants settled in Naxiǰewan, the site of Noah's tomb. Both are known locations at the foot of Mt. Masis in Armenia.[11]

Evidence for the background of the Adam Cycle may also be ascertained from the picture it gives of the righteous heroes from ante-diluvian times. Especially in

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[10]The Fast of the Forerunner, a pre-Lenten preparatory fast observed during the tenth week before Easter.

[11]Agori, on the north foot of Mt. Masis, is first mentioned in Lazar of Pharpe's History of the Armenians (5th century), and was destroyed by an earthquake in 1840. Although Naxčavan is known from as early as Faustos of Byzantium's History of the Armenians (5th century), the form of the name preserved here is from the tenth century. So H. Hübschmann, Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1969, repr. Strassburg, 1904), pp. 395, 455.

the fourth chapter, Tidings, the heroes of the story are presented as the embodiment of virtues of the monastic life, practicing such forms of abstinence as virginity, fasting, and purity of life in isolation from wicked humanity. The righteous Abel, for example, is said to have died a virgin martyr (կոյս նահատակեցաւ , Tidings 7). We learn that the generation of Seth did not intermingle with the wicked Cainites, but rather lived in purity (սրբութիւն , Tidings 9, 19). This generation of Seth consisted of 520 virgins and anchorites (ճգնաւոր , Tidings 20). The term ճգնաւոր is particularly significant here, since it is the term normally used to designate ascetics living in solitary. The description of Enoch is further illuminating. We read that Enoch did not marry (Tidings 13), and that he planted an orchard in imitation of the Garden of Eden, but abstained from eating its fruit as Adam and Eve had failed to do (Tidings 14-15). For this behavior, Enoch was rewarded by being taken up bodily into paradise (Tidings 17). His exemplary life was in turn emulated by the righteous Sethites, who "practiced abstinence (հրաժարեմ), retired to the mountains, <and> subdued their passions (ճգնիմ) through virginity" (Tidings 17). Again the choice of vocabulary is significant; both հրաժարեմ and ճգնիմ are commonly used in monastic contexts to refer to abstinence, self-mortification, and devotion to the ascetic life.[12]

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[12] հրաժարեմ may also mean "to enter a convent."

The flood comes only after the Sethites relinquish their purity and are corrupted by the Cainites, who lead them into adultery and incest (Tidings 21-24). Noah, the only Sethite to remain a virgin, is spared the fate awaiting the rest of humanity. He even resists God's command to marry and propagate the human race, not wanting to corrupt his virginity on account of a transitory dream. He accedes only when given a pure virgin to marry (Tidings 25-36). This tendency to identify the righteous heroes of antiquity such as Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah as embodiments of monastic virtue may provide a clue to the Sitz im Leben of the Adam Cycle.

The language of the Adam Cycle in its present form is classical Armenian. Although classical forms predominate in the manuscripts, there are numerous forms which are incorrect in classical Armenian but which are common in Middle Armenian and Cilician texts. For the reader's convenience, the more common Middle Armenian forms encountered in the Adam Cycle are listed below.

Verbs

առուին	Transgression 4	3rd pl. aorist for classical եառուն, Karst, p. 333.[13]
լսեց	Transgression 31	3rd sg. aorist for classical լուաւ, Karst, p. 319.

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[13]Page references are to the grammar of Cilician Armenian by J. Karst, Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901).

լսեցեր	Transgression 41	2nd sg. aorist for classical լուար, Karst, p. 319.
տրտմինք	Expulsion 4	1st pl. present for classical տրտմիմք, Karst, p. 309.
էառ	Expulsion 23	3rd sg. aorist for classical առ, Karst, p. 321.
անէր	Abel and Cain 7	3rd sg. impf. for classical առնէր, Karst, p. 267, n. 2.
սպանեց	Tidings 7	3rd sg. aorist for classical սպանեաց, Karst, p. 331.
դրին	Tidings 21	3rd pl. aorist for classical եդին, Karst, p. 317.

3rd pl. impf. ending in էին for classical եին, Karst, p. 312.

օրհնէին	Transgression 2
գովէին	Transgression 2
բարեբանէին	Transgression 2
փառաբանէին	Transgression 2
շրջէին	Transgression 13, Abel and Cain 15, Tidings 18
գիտէին	Transgression 32, Expulsion 2
կարէին	Transgression 32
էին	Transgression 33 (2x), Tidings 23, 48 (2x)
հայէին	Expulsion 14
տեսանէին	Expulsion 14, Tidings 38b
ուտէին	Abel and Cain 15
ըմպէին	Abel and Cain 15
թաղէին	Abel and Cain 53
մխիթարէին	Tidings 8
խառնակէին	Tidings 9
հալածէին	Tidings 9
ճգնէին	Tidings 17
խլէին	Tidings 18
կռուէին	Tidings 18
կարմրացուցանէին	Tidings 21
սպիտակացուցանէին	Tidings 21
լսէին	Tidings 38b
ասէին	Tidings 38b, i
տնազէին	Tidings 38c,i (B)
առնէին	Tidings 38c,i (D)
դառնէին	Tidings 38c (D)
փոքրէին	Tidings 38f (D)

Infinitives in իլ , Karst, pp. 342-343.

մեռանիլ	Transgression 28	փորձիլ	Abel and Cain 18
բաժանիլ	Transgression 28	զօտամարտիլ	Abel and Cain 18
որոշիլ	Transgression 28	արձակիլ	Abel and Cain 21
ապրիլ	Transgression 30 Tidings 28		

Nouns

Declension: There are numerous examples of the tendency towards laxity in the use of declensional endings, such that nouns of one declension take the endings of another (Karst, pp. 141-142). Only two examples will be given here:

խաղողի Abel and Cain 19, should receive ո type endings in classical Armenian.

մատնեաւ Abel and Cain 20, classical instrumental should end in ամբ .

Use of the infix եր to designate the plural (Karst, p. 169).

ծառերոյղ	Transgression 8
ձեռներովն	Abel and Cain 23
ծառերոյն	Tidings 15
գէշերուն	Tidings 45

Other

Use of the particle կու before the imperfect of the verb (Karst, p. 301), կու ծնանէր Abel and Cain 4 and before the present as a subjunctive expression of time or to express continuing action in the present (Karst, p. 299).

կու տեսանեմ	Tidings 2
կու գայ	Tidings 37 (A), 38a,b,c,f (B), 38b (D),39.
կու վարի	Tidings 38i (B) (վարէ D)
կու տնկէ	Tidings 38i (B)

Use of որ as a subordinate conjunction for զի (Karst, p. 257).

<u>Transgression</u> 13, 31
<u>Expulsion</u> 6, 22, 23
<u>Abel and Cain</u> 35
<u>Tidings</u> 38f (B)

Use of որ as an undeclined relative adverb (Karst, pp. 399-401).

<u>Tidings</u> 11

Use of մէկ for classical մի (Karst, p. 217).

<u>Abel and Cain</u> 38
<u>Tidings</u> 39

There is internal evidence which suggests that Armenian is the original language of the <u>Adam Cycle</u>. It will be shown in detail in chapter three below that although the story presented in the <u>Adam Cycle</u> is intended to supplement the biblical account, there are several points in <u>Transgression</u> which coincide with the story in the biblical Genesis. At these points in the description of the creation of woman, God's warning to Adam and Eve not to eat the forbidden fruit, God's confrontation with Adam and Eve after they eat the fruit, and God's curse on Adam, Eve, and the serpent, the text of <u>Transgression</u> is dependent upon the Armenian text of Genesis. In some instances the Armenian text of Genesis is taken verbatim, while in other cases, a modified rendition of the biblical text is used which nevertheless draws heavily on the Armenian vocabulary of the Genesis account. The identification of this Armenian literary source for the <u>Adam Cycle</u> makes it highly likely

that the work itself was composed in Armenian.[14]

Little precision can be established in fixing the date of the Adam Cycle. Since the work was composed in Armenian and used the Armenian Bible as a source, it can date from no earlier than the fifth century. Furthermore, although the presence of isolated Middle Armenian forms in the text does not necessarily provide firm evidence for dating, the fact that these forms are widespread in all surviving manuscripts of the Adam Cycle suggests the work was written no earlier than the eighth century, before which time such forms are not known. The fact that Repentance has used an earlier form of the Adam Cycle as a literary source[15] allows us to establish a terminus ad quem of 1404, the date of the only surviving manuscript of Repentance. Pending further manuscript discoveries or the identification of quotations from the Adam Cycle in datable works, the Adam Cycle may be assigned only to the period between the eighth and fourteenth centuries.

The study of sources in chapter three below shows the Adam Cycle to be a composite work. Although the

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[14]There is limited evidence for a second Armenian source for the Adam Cycle. A detailed study in chapter two below of incidents related in parallel forms in the Adam Cycle and in Repentance shows that either the Adam Cycle and Repentance are dependent upon a common Armenian literary source or that Repentance is dependent upon an earlier form of the Armenian Adam Cycle. The latter possibility is more likely. The Adam Cycle is also shown below to be independent of Ap. Mos.

[15]See chapter two below.

Armenian text of Genesis is the only identifiable literary source for the Adam Cycle, the Adam Cycle has inherited a wealth of elements of tradition which were widespread in Jewish and Christian literature from pre-Christian times into the Middle Ages. These elements of tradition are found in such works as Jewish apocryphal texts, early versions of the Bible, rabbinic midrashim, oriental Christian apocryphal works, the church fathers, and Byzantine chronographic writers. The means by which these elements of tradition found their way into Armenia in general or into the Adam Cycle in particular remain obscure. That many or most of these elements of tradition originated in Judaism and occur most consistently in Jewish and eastern Christian sources suggests a flow of traditions from Jewish circles into eastern churches and on to Armenia, perhaps via Syria.[16] More precise identification of the sources for the Adam Cycle and the method of its composition remain subjects for further exploration.

The story of the ante-diluvians preserved in the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works, then, must be viewed as a composite work, produced in the monasteries of medieval Armenia, which drew either directly or indirectly on ancient Jewish and Christian sources to provide an edifying recasting of early biblical history.

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[16]Indeed the bulk of Jewish and Christian literature translated into Armenian came from Greek and Syriac sources.

B. The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve

Like the Adam Cycle, Repentance is also devoted to the story of the ante-diluvians and serves as a supplement to the primordial history in Genesis 1-11. In structure and content, however, Repentance is quite different from the Adam Cycle. The story of Adam and Eve's sin in the garden is omitted from Repentance, which begins after the expulsion from the garden, and apart from the story of Cain and Abel and Seth's quest for the oil of life, there is little concern in this work for figures other than Adam and Eve. The role of Seth is much less significant in Repentance, the descendants of Seth and Cain are not mentioned, and Noah is mentioned only briefly for his role in the tradition of Adam and Eve's burial. The story of Adam and Eve preserved in Repentance may be divided into four parts. First, the story opens with Adam and Eve longing for the pleasures of the garden from which they have been removed. Adam laments at length over his expulsion from the garden, and converses with Eve over their plight (1-26). After this lament, the text relates the story of Abel and Cain; their birth, Cain's murder of Abel, and his consequent punishment (27-60). The third section contains another lengthy lament in which Adam and Eve bemoan both the fate of their children and their expulsion (61-78). The closing section is concerned with the tradition of Adam and Eve's death and burial (79-104).

1. The Manuscripts

Repentance is known through only a single manuscript,

here designated E, Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 1521, fols. 66r-69r, dated 1404. A copy of the manuscript made by F. C. Conybeare was presented to the Mechitarists at San Lazarro in Venice in 1893 for inclusion in Yovsepeanc', Ankanon Girk. A comparison of this published edition with the original manuscript reveals two significant omissions in the text published by Yovsepeanc'. First, at the point where a lacuna is indicated in Yovsepeanc', p. 326, an entire folio of the original manuscript has been left out. The missing folio has been restored in the edition below, corresponding to vs. 7 վասն որոյ -- vs. 30 եկն. A second lacuna is indicated in Yovsepeanc', p. 330, where a full line of text has been left out. The line omitted, corresponding to vs. 99 առեալ -- զի, is also restored below.

2. Background of the Work

Like the Adam Cycle, Repentance is a composite Christian work written originally in Armenian. The specifically Christian portions of the text are found only in its closing verses (102-104). In reporting the story of Adam and Eve's death and burial, Repentance preserves the tradition that Eve's bones were buried at Bethlehem under the spot where Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, while Adam's were buried at Golgotha under the site of Christ's crucifixion.

In chapters two and three below, Repentance is shown to have drawn directly on three identifiable Armenian sources, as well as on pre-existing elements of tradition

known from a variety of Jewish and Christian sources. First, Repentance has used Ap. Mos. as a literary source. The story of the quest for the oil from the tree of life, the account of Eve's dream about the murder of Abel, and the report of the conversation between Adam and Eve while Adam is on his deathbed are taken from Ap. Mos. An examination of the language used in the latter two of these stories shows Repentance used the Armenian version of Ap. Mos., since at points where the Greek and Armenian versions of Ap. Mos. differ, Repentance consistently follows the Armenian.

Second, Repentance has drawn materials from an earlier form or source of the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works. In reporting the seven punishments of Cain, Repentance has inherited a known list of these punishments which it modified and supplemented with additional material from an earlier form or source of the Adam Cycle written in Armenian. The story of the annunciation of Seth's birth appears to be an expanded version of material taken from the Adam Cycle, while the story of Abel's murder may be an abbreviated version of material taken from the Adam Cycle and inserted into a more lengthy story about Cain and Abel taken from Ap. Mos.

Third, Repentance has used the Armenian text of Genesis as a source. The similarity of Armenian vocabulary employed in Repentance and Armenian Genesis to describe the confrontatation between God and Cain after Abel's murder and Cain's consequent punishment make it apparent that the

Armenian text of Genesis was used by the author of Repentance, either directly or through an Armenian intermediary.

The identification of three Armenian literary sources for Repentance allows us to conclude that Armenian was the original language of composition.[17] In date Repentance must be considered later than the Adam Cycle, which it uses as a source, and prior to 1404, the date of the only surviving manuscript. Hence like the Adam Cycle, it must be placed sometime between the eighth and fourteenth centuries.

In addition to materials inherited from the three sources identified above, there are elements of tradition in Repentance the source of which cannot be named, but which are known to have originated in Jewish and early Christian circles and which are widespread in Jewish and Christian literature dating from pre-Christian times and into the Middle Ages. At present, there is no precise means of ascertaining how these materials came into Armenia or into the text of Repentance. The work remains a testimony to the popularity and wide diffusion of ancient haggadic traditions in medieval Christianity.

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[17]Another indigenous element in the text may be found in the reference to Šamadun in vs. 101 as the land of Adam and Eve's burial. Syria in its historic sense is called Šam/Šamadun in Armenian manuscript colophons dating from the early fifteenth century. See A. K. Sanjian, Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480 (Cambridge: Harvard, 1969), p. 420.

As in the Adam Cycle, one finds a number of Middle Armenian forms and grammatical usages in a text in which classical forms predominate. These forms are less frequent in Repentance than in the Adam Cycle. A list of the more common Middle Armenian forms is given below:

Verbs

եսպան	vs. 36	3rd sg. aorist for classical սպան (Karst, p. 321).[18]
էած	vs. 50	3rd sg. aorist for classical ած (Karst, p. 321).
գիտենայր	vs. 57	3rd sg. impf. for classical գիտէր (Karst, pp. 284-285)

Imperfect endings in էի / էիր / էիք / էին for classical եի/ եիր /եիք /եին (Karst, p. 312).

տառապէին	vs. 1	քաղէին	vs. 81
էին	vss. 3, 79	էիր	vs. 89
տագնապէին	vs. 3	էիք	vs. 90
յիշէին	vs. 6	պա՞էիք	vs. 90
թագաւորէի	vs. 15	աղօթէին	vs. 92
էի	vss. 20, 90	պատուէին	vs. 98

Infinitives in իլ , Karst, pp. 342-343.

մերձաւորիլ vs. 28

Other

Loss of ւ in declined nouns whose stems end in ի (Karst, p. 152).

որդովք	vs. 80 for classical	որդւովք
որդոց	vs. 98 for classical	որդւոց

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[18] Karst, Grammatik.

Use of որ as a subordinate conjunction for զի (Karst, p. 257), vss. 31, 32, 47, 57, 73.

C. The Words of Adam to Seth

The Words of Adam to Seth is a very brief text which contains no title in the manuscript. In the opening portion of the text, Adam tells Seth the story of his sin in the garden, for which Seth fasts and prays and is consequently rewarded with a life giving branch from the garden and the promise of Christ (1-11). Seth then tells the same story of Adam's fall to his son, called Enosh in vs. 12 and Enoch in vs. 14. Like Seth, Enoch responds with a penitent act, fasting and planting a garden, for which he is rewarded with translation (12-16). The reference to Christ, the giver of life, makes the story Christian in its present form.

Of primary interest in this text is the story of Enoch's garden it shares in common with the Adam Cycle and another Armenian work, The Descendants of Adam. A comparison of the three versions of the story in chapter two below shows the three works are independent of one another, and inherited the story of Enoch's garden from a common oral tradition which took quite distinct forms when committed to writing. The story is known only in Armenian, but can be understood as a reflection upon a composite of traditions about Enoch known from biblical and apocryphal sources.

Nothing can be said with any certainty about the date or Sitz im Leben of the work.

The work is known only from a single manuscript,

here called Y_1, found in the Mechitarist Monastery at San Lazarro in Venice, Old MS 57=New MS 240, fols. 183v-185r, and no information is available on its date. The manuscript was not made available for the present work, but a copy of the text was published by Yovsepeanc', Ankanon Girk, pp. 331-332, and is reprinted here.

Chapter 2

LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS

Some of the stories about the ante-diluvians in the Armenian Adam books examined here are related in parallel forms in two or more of the documents. Three of these stories or traditions, the seven punishments of Cain, the annunciation of the birth of Seth, and the murder of Abel, occur in very similar form in both the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works and The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve. A fourth story, that of Enoch's or Enosh's garden, occurs in both the Adam Cycle and The Words of Adam to Seth. A comparison of the language and form of parallel versions of the same story may shed some light on whether any of these works draws upon another as a literary source, or whether these works draw upon common written or oral source materials. Such discoveries may in turn provide further insights into the date or original language of the Adam books.

A. The Seven Punishments of Cain

There are two lists of the seven punishments of Cain in the Armenian Adam books. One version of the list (henceforth A) occurs in Repentance 43-60. After its description

of the murder of Abel, this work deals first with the fate of Adam and Eve after they discover Abel's body, i.e. they attempt to bury him and learn of the birth of Seth, and then deals with the fate of the murderer Cain, who is apportioned seven punishments. The list of punishments is followed by a list of ten reasons why the mourning of Adam and Eve became more intense, all of which are concerned with their expulsion from paradise or Abel's murder.

A second list of the seven punishments of Cain (henceforth B) occurs in <u>Abel and Cain</u> 34-47. This work describes the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, Cain's enmity toward Abel, the murder, the seven punishments of Cain, and the death of Cain. Thus in both texts the lists fit logically into the narrative sequence.

The texts and translations of the two lists of the seven punishments of Cain are given in parallel columns below.

A

43. Եւ ի սպանանելն Կայենի զՀաբել, եկն Գաբրիէլ առ Ադամ եւ ասաց նմա. Դուք մի հարցանէք զԿային վասն Հաբելի. այլ Աստուած հարցանէ զնա եւ պատժէ: 44. Որպէս եւ արարն իսկ: 45. Վասն զի եհարց Աստուած զԿային, թէ ո՛ր է Աբէլ եղբայրն քո: 46. Եւ նա ստեաց Աստուծոյ եւ ասաց. Ոչ գիտեմ: 47. Եւ Աստուած վասն այն եհարց զԿային, որ զղջանայր եւ մեղայ ասէր: 48. Իսկ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց. Ոչ գիտեմ. մի թէ պահապան իցեմ եղբաւրն իմոյ: 49. Եւ ասաց նմա Աստուած.

B

34. Իբրեւ սպանեաց զեղբայրն ուրախութեամբ երթայր. երեւեցաւ Տէրն ի ճանապարհին յիսուն կանգնաչափ բարձր, ասաց Կայենի. Ո՛ր է եղբայր քո:

35. Եւ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց. Ով ետ ինձ պահ որ խնդրես յինէն: 36. Վասն այն հարցանէր Աստուած թերեւս մեղայ ասիցէ: 37. Իբրեւ ետես Տէրն որ այնպէս ասաց Կայէն, բարկացաւ ի վերայ Կայենի եւ եօթն պատուհաս ետ Կայենի:

38. ա. Մէկ պատուհասն այն է, որ երկու կոտօշ բուսաւ ի վերայ գլխոյն:

A

Պահապան չես, սպանաւղ ընդէր
եղեր: 50. Եւ եաւթն պատիժ էած
ի վերայ նորա: 51. Նախ զի
ասաց թէ Անիծեալ լիջիր:
52. Երկրորդ ի վերայ երկրի
ուր հեղեր զարիւն եղբաւր քոյ:
53. Երրորդ Գործել զերկիր
վաստակաւք եւ աշխատանաւք:
54. Չորրորդ եւ երկիր ոչ տայ
քեզ զպտուղ իւր, զի արեամբ
արդարոյ ներկեր զնա:
55. Հինգերորդ երերեալ լիցիս
որպէս զծառ ի հողմոց:
56. Վեցերորդ տատանեալ լիցիս
իբրեւ զծով որ ծփի յալեաց:
57. Եաւթներորդ զի նշան եդ ի
վերայ նորա Աստուած որ ամենայն
ոք զիտենայր զնա, եւ նշանն
պիսակն էր: 58. Այլ եւ եղջեւր
բուսաւ ի ճակատն. զի ընդ որ
գնայր, եղջեւրն գոչէր եւ
աղաղակէր, թէ զայ Կային
եղբայրասպանն:
59. Եւ այնպէս եկեաց մնաց
ամս ութ հարիւր: 60. Դողդոջէր
միշտ, եւ երերալի շրջէր ի
վերայ երկրի անդադար զցայգ եւ
զցերեկ:

43. And when Cain had killed Abel, Gabriel came to Adam and said to him, "Do not ask Cain about Abel; rather God will ask him and punish him," 44. as indeed he did. 45. Because God asked Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?" 46. And he lied to God and said, "I don't know." 47. And because of this God asked Cain, so that he might be sorry and repent. 48. But he said impudently, "I don't know. Should I be my brother's keeper?" 49. And God said to him, "You are not

B

39. բ. Երկրորդ պատուհասն
այն էր, որ կոտոշն ծայնէր եւ
ասէր բարձր բարբառով. թէ,
Կայէն եղբայրասպան է: 40. Սար
եւ քար եւ ծոր ծայնէր եւ ասէր.
Կայէն եղբայրասպան է:
41. գ. Երրորդ պատուհասն
այն է, որ ոտիւք եւ ձեռօքն եւ
ամենայն բոլոր անդամօքն
<դողայր> իբրեւ զուռ:
42. դ. Չորրորդ պատուհասն
այն էր, <որ քանի> ուտէր ոչ
լիանայր:
43. ե. Հինգերորդն
պատուհասն այն էր, որ ինչ
սիրտն ուզէր եւ ուտել չկարէր,
եւ իբր թէ ուտէր, ի վայր
հեղոյր:
44. զ. Վեցերորդն պատուհասն
այն էր, որ քուն չունէր ոչ
զիշերն եւ ոչ ցերեկն:
45. է. Եօթներորդն
պատուհասն այն էր, որ Աստուած
նմա մահ ոչ հրամայեաց, այլ
ասաց Տէրն. Ով որ սպանիցէ
զԿայէն, նա նորա պատուհասն ի
վերայ սպանողին անկանիցի:
46. Եւ այնպէս մնաց մինչեւ
ութ հարիւր եւ վաթսուն ամի.
յետ անճար մնաց, մահուն փափաք
ունէր, եւ ոչ մեռանէր:
47. Իսկ <մորթ> մի <վայրենի>
էած եւ ծածկեաց զինքն:

34. When he killed his brother, he went away cheerfully. The Lord appeared on the way, fifty cubits above, <and > said to Cain, "Where is your brother?"

35. And he said impudently, "Who made me his guardian, that you should ask it of me?"
36. Because of this God asked him; perhaps he might repent.
37. When the Lord saw that Cain spoke thus, he became angry at Cain and gave Cain seven punishments.

38. (1) The first punishment was this; that two horns

A

his keeper; why did you become his murderer?" 50. And he brought seven punishments upon him. 51. First, he said, "May you be cursed." 52. Second, "Upon the ground where you shed your brother's blood." 53. Third, "To till the ground in toil and fatigue." 54. Fourth, "And the earth will not give you its fruit, for with the blood of the righteous you have colored it." 55. Fifth, "May you shake like a tree in the winds." 56. Sixth, "May you be tossed like the sea which is agitated by the waves." 57. Seventh, God put a sign upon him so that everyone recognized him, and the sign was a mark. 58. Moreover, a horn sprouted on his forehead, such that wherever he went, the horn cried out and exclaimed, "Cain the brother-murderer is coming."

59. And thus he remained for eight hundred years. 60. He shuddered continually, and he walked upon the earth shaking incessantly, night and day.

B

sprouted upon his head.

39. (2) The second punishment was this; that the one horn cried out and said in a loud voice, "Cain is a brother-murderer." 40.< Then > mountain and rock and valley cried out and said, "Cain is a brother-murderer."

41. (3) The third punishment was this; that with his feet and hands and every single limb he shuddered like a yew-tree.

42. (4) The fourth punishment was this; that no matter how much he ate, he was not satisfied.

43. (5) The fifth punishment was this; that his heart would desire something, but he could not eat it, and when he tried to eat it, it would fall to the ground.

44. (6) The sixth punishment was this; that he could not sleep, either at night or during the day.

45. (7) The seventh punishment was this; that God did not allow him to die, rather the Lord said, "Whoever kills Cain, his punishment will fall upon the murderer."

46. And thus he remained for eight hundred and sixty years. Afterwards he remained incurable, and he wished to die, but he did not die. 47. Then he brought a skin of a wild animal and covered himself.

For the purpose of comparing the two versions, it is convenient to divide the account of the seven punishments of Cain into three parts; (1) the confrontation between God and Cain, (2) the list of seven punishments, and (3) the epilogue.

1. The confrontation between God and Cain

a. Some of the similarities between A and B may be explained by the fact that both draw on the story of Cain and Abel in Genesis 4. Both versions follow Gn 4:9 in noting that God asks Cain where his brother is and that Cain responds by asking if he is his brother's keeper. However, the wording in A is very close to Arm. Gn 4:9 whereas the wording in B is quite different from any biblical version.

b. Other similarities cannot be explained on the basis of the biblical account. First, Cain's response ("am I my brother's keeper") is delivered impudently. Note the similarity in wording:

A (48) իսկ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց

But he said impudently

B (35) եւ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց

And he said impudently

Secondly, it is stated in both texts that God asks Cain where his brother is in order to give him an opportunity to repent. Again the similarity of wording is noteworthy:

A (47) եւ Աստուած վասն այն եհարց զԿային որ զղջանայր եւ մեղայ ասէր

And because of this God asked Cain,
so that he might be sorry and repent.

B (36) վասն այն հարցանէր Աստուած թերեւս մեղայ ասիցէ

Because of this God asked him;
perhaps he might repent.

Finally, it must be noted that all this non-biblical material

common to A and B occurs in an inclusio in A. Thus in A God asks Cain where his brother is, Cain responds "I don't know," the above cited material appears, and then "I don't know" is repeated. The significance of this phenomenon will be discussed below.

c. There are no contradictions between A and B, but both contain unique materials. Gabriel's announcement to Adam that God will punish Cain, the statement that Cain lied to God, and repetition of Cain's remark "I don't know," and God's statement "You are not his guardian, why did you become his murderer?" are all unique to A. The notions that Cain went away cheerfully after killing his brother, that God appeared fifty cubits above Cain, and that God became angry at Cain are unique to B.

2. The list of seven punishments

a. Both A and B reflect a tradition that God apportioned Cain seven punishments.

b. One of Cain's punishments recorded in both texts is that Cain was made to shake like a tree. But the texts may be distinguished on several points. First, this punishment is fifth in A's list but third in B's list. Second, in A Cain is made to shake like a tree in the wind, whereas in B he is made to shake like a yew-tree and there is no mention of the wind. Third, B further specifies that Cain's shuddering is in his feet, hands, and every limb.

c. A and B agree that a horn sprouted from Cain's head which announced that Cain was a brother-murderer

(եղբայրասպան),[1] but again the accounts may be distinguished on several points. First, this punishment is appended to the seventh punishment in A's list but comprises the first two punishments in B's list. Second, in A, the horn cries "Cain the brother-murderer is coming," whereas in B, the horn cries "Cain is a brother-murderer," and the cry is repeated by mountain, rock, and valley. Third, A contradicts B in that A reports that one horn sprang from Cain's head while B mentions two horns.

d. In addition to the distinctions noted above, A and B contain divergent understandings of the text of Gn 4:15, which reads:

ויאמר לו יהוה לכן כל הרג קין שבעתים יקם וישם יהוה
לקין אות לבלתי הכות אותו כל מצאו

In A, God puts a sign on Cain (following Gn 4:15) so that everyone would recognize him, whereas in B, we read that God did not allow Cain to die, but said that Cain's murderer would receive Cain's punishment. Thus in A we are given a different reason for the sign than that of Gn 4:15, and there is no mention of God's protecting Cain from murder or of his promise to punish Cain's murderer. B, on the other hand, does not mention the sign, and God's promise to punish Cain's murderer is not intended to protect Cain but to ensure that Cain will not die.

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[1] Note the verbal hendiadys in A and B:
A: the horn "called out and shouted"
B: the horn "cried out and said in a loud voice"

e. Punishments one, two, three, four, and six in A are not found in B, while punishments four, five, and six in B's list are not found in A. This difference is due to the fact that A and B derive the list of punishments by different means. Having inherited the tradition that Cain received seven punishments, A lists these punishments by simply dividing the biblical account of Cain's punishment (Gn 4:11-15) into seven parts. The text of A follows closely and is dependent on the Armenian version of Gn 4:11-15 which it expands with additional material. Only the horn which grows from Cain's head is non-biblical, and this is suspect since it is appended to the seventh punishment with which it has no intrinsic relation. By contrast, only two of the punishments in B may be derived from Gn 4; the other five show no relationship to the biblical text.

3. Epilogue

a. A and B agree that Cain remained plagued with his punishments for a length of time. They contradict each other insofar as A specifies a period of eight hundred years, while B says eight hundred and sixty years.

b. Both accounts contain unique materials. A, repeating the idea of punishments four and five, notes that Cain shuddered continually and walked the earth shaking incessantly, night and day. The word for shudder (դողդոջամ) is not found in A's discussion of this punishment, but is virtually identical with the word used in B's punishment three (դողամ /in MSS AY, դողդողամ). B adds that Cain

remained incurable and wished to die, but did not, and that Cain covered himself with an animal skin.

Before discussing the precise relationship of A and B, it is necessary to note that some of the more obvious similarities between them may be better explained by their dependence on the biblical text and widespread subsequent interpretation of the text rather than by dependence upon one another or a common source. As will be shown in detail below, the notion that Cain received seven punishments is found in early translations of Gn 4:15 and may be derived from both the Hebrew text and versions of Gn 4:24. That view is also commonplace in post-biblical Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic literature.[2] The idea that Cain was punished by being made to shake is also found in MT, the versions, and Jewish and Christian interpretation of Gn 4:12.[3] These ideas common to A and B, therefore, may not be used to establish a relationship between A and B. When this observation is coupled with the observations discussed above that 1) A's list closely follows the Armenian biblical account of Cain's punishment in Gn 4 while B shows a marked independence from the biblical story, and 2) A and B contain more unique material than common material, it becomes manifest that A and B are independent lists of the seven punishments of Cain. It can be demonstrated on several grounds that the remaining

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[2]See below, pp. 86-88.

[3]See below, p.90.

material common to A and B was inserted into A by a compiler or redactor who used an Armenian text of an earlier form or source of B. First, the non-biblical material common to A and B in the account of the confrontation between God and Cain is found in an inclusio in A. The Armenian wording of this material in A is very similar to that in B. Second, the mention of the horn which grew from Cain's head in A is not listed as one of the seven punishments, but is appended to the seventh punishment, with which it has no intrinsic connection. Third, A's epilogue contains an unnecessary repetition of the idea that Cain was made to shudder, and the word used (դողդողչամ) is distinct from those used earlier in the text of A to describe this punishment, but is virtually identical to the word found in B (դողամ).[4] On the other hand, 1) the differences in wording in the material in A borrowed from B, 2) the fact that the number of horns and the words spoken by the horn differ in A and B, and 3) the fact that much of the material in B was not inserted into A, make it probable that the borrowed material in A came from an earlier form or source of B. The similarity in the Armenian wording of the borrowed material implies that A's source was an Armenian written work.

B. The Annunciation of the Birth of Seth

The Armenian Adam books under discussion contain four versions of the annunciation of the birth of Seth. The

[4]There is no such repetition in the epilogue of B.

longest version (henceforth A) is found in Tidings 1-4a, where it serves as the introduction to the fourth chapter in the Adam Cycle, and is followed by the story of the separation of the seed of Seth and Cain. A second version of intermediate length (henceforth B) is found in Abel and Cain 57b-59. It has already been shown in chapter one that B is a secondary narrative summary of A which was composed when the Adam Cycle was divided into chapters. Two shorter versions of the annunciation appear in Repentance. The first version (30b-31, henceforth C_1) occurs after a brief reference to the birth of Abel and Cain and to Abel's murder. Following the annunciation, Repentance gives a full account of Abel's murder followed by a second account of the annunciation (40-42, henceforth C_2). The texts and translations of the four annunciation accounts are presented in parallel columns below.

A

1. Եւ քաղցրացաւ Տէրն ի
վերայ Ադամայ, եւ առաքեաց
զհրեշտակ իւր առ Ադամ, եւ ասէ.
Մերձեցիր ի կին քո, զի լինի
քեզ որդի փոխանակ Աբելի:
2. Ասաց Ադամ. Չկարեմ
մերձենալ կնոջս. զի երկու
անգամ մերձեցայ ի կինս, այն
մեծ պատուհաս էր ինձ, քան
զդրախտէն ի դուրս ելանելն իմ
զի զԱբէլ արեամբ տեսանեմ
սիրաս այրէ եւ կսկծայ. զայն
թողի եւ զԿայենի պատուհասն
կու տեսանեմ, արտասուք կու
թափեմ. զի թէ այլ մերձենամ ի
կինս, լինի ինձ կրկին
նեղութիւն եւ տրտմութիւն:
3. Ասէ հրեշտակն. Մի
երկնչիր Ադամ. քանզի տալոց է

B

57բ. Իսկ ծնօղքն Ադամ եւ
Եւայ, տեսանէին զԱբէլ արեամբ
շաղախեալ եւ Կայէն պատուհասիւ
վիրաւորեալ. իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ
լային եւ ողբային վասն
զաւակացն իւրեանց: 58. Մինչեւ
երկերիւր տարի Ադամ ոչ
մերձեցաւ ի կինն, ասէր թէ
վախեմ թէ այլ չարագոյն զաւակ
<ծնցի> իւրեանց կոծօք: 59. Իսկ
ողորմեցաւ Տէր, եւ առաքեաց
<աւետիս> վասն Սեթայ <ծննդեանն,
եւ Սէթ> մխիթարեաց զԱդամ եւ
զկինն իւր զԵւայ:

A

քեզ Աստուած որդի, եւ կոչեսցես զանուն նորա Սէթ, որ թարգմանի մխիթարանք. նա եղիցի զաւակ օրհնեալ եւ գլուխ նահապետաց, եւ մխիթարիս ի նմանէ. զի որչափ տրտմեցար վասն չարութեան Կայենին, նոյնչափ մխիթարիս ի Սեթայ: 4. Եւ բազմանայ զաւակ քո եւ զաւակ Սէթայ, եւ նոքօք լցցին աշխարհս.

C_1

30բ. եւ դարձեալ սուգ առին Ադամ եւ Եւայ ի վերայ մահուն Հաբելի զամս հարիւր եւ քսան. եւ ապա հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ եկն առ Ադամ հրեշտակապետն Գաբրիէլ, եւ ասաց նմա մերձենալ յԵւա վասն որդեծնութեան:
31. Եւ ետ Ադամայ Ճեւղ մի ի ծառոց դրախտին, եւ ասաց. Այդ քեզ նշան, որ ծնանի քեզ Եւայ որդի մխիթարութեան. եւ կոչեսցես զանուն նորա Սէթ, փոխանակ Հաբելի զոր սպան Կային:

C_2

40. Յայնժամ կալաւ անհնարին եւ սաստիկ տրտմութիւն զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ, վասն Հաբելի որդւոյն իւրեանց: 41. Եւ յերկար սգով կացին ի տրտմութեան ամս հարիւր եւ քսան: 42. Մինչ որ հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ ծնան զՍէթ որդի մխիթարութեան:

A

1. Now the Lord relented toward Adam, and sent his angel to Adam and said, "Know your wife so that you may have a son in place of Abel." 2. Adam said, "I cannot know my wife, for I knew my wife twice, <and> that was a punishment greater to me than my expulsion from the garden. Because I see Abel bloody, my heart burns and grieves. I left him, and whenever I see Cain's punishment, I shed tears. For if I know my wife again, I will have double grief and sorrow."

B

57b. Now <Cain's> parents, Adam and Eve, saw Abel smeared with blood and Cain wounded with punishment. So Adam and Eve wept and groaned on account of their sons. 58. For two hundred years Adam did not know his wife; he said he feared lest another more wicked son might be born through their mourning.
59. But the Lord had compassion and sent good news concerning Seth's <birth, and Seth> comforted Adam and his wife Eve.

A

3. The angel said, "Do not fear, Adam, because God will give you a son, and you shall call his name Seth, which is translated 'consolations.' He will be a blessed seed and the head of patriarchs, and you will be consoled by him. Because in the same measure that you were grieved on account of Cain's wickedness, you will be consoled by Seth. 4. And your seed and Seth's seed will multiply, and the lands will be filled with them."

C_1

30b. And Adam and Eve lamented again over the death of Abel, for a hundred and twenty years. And then, by the command of God, the archangel Gabriel came to Adam and told him to know Eve for the sake of procreation. 31. And he gave Adam a branch from the trees of the garden and said, "This is a sign to you that Eve will bear to you a son of consolation. And you shall call his name Seth, in place of Abel, whom Cain killed."

C_2

40. Then a terrible and grievous sorrow siezed Adam and Eve on account of Abel their son. 41. And for a long time they mourned sorrowfully, a hundred and twenty years, 42. until by the command of God they begat Seth, son of consolation.

In addition to the relationship already established between A and B, it can similarly be shown that C_2 is a narrative summary of C_1 and is entirely dependent upon it. The first portion of C_2 (40-42a) is identical in content with the opening words of C_1 (30b); both observe that Adam and Eve mourned over their son Abel for one hundred and twenty years until they received a command from God. Whereas C_1 continues by describing Gabriel's visit to Adam in which the angel tells

Adam to know Eve and gives him a sign she will bear a son of consolation, C_2 reports in brief narrative summary form that Seth, the son of consolation, was born. There are no unique or contradictory materials in C_2. The appearance of this tradition in two loci in Repentance can be explained with reference to the structure of the document. Repentance opens with a brief mention of Adam and Eve's expulsion from the garden (1a) followed by a lengthy description of their longing for the garden and their fast (1b-26). The angel Gabriel brings them comfort and tells them to marry (27-28a), after which the birth of Cain and Abel and the fact of Abel's murder are related in two brief sentences (28b-30a). Then the more detailed account of the annunciation occurs (C_1). The story continues in disjointed fashion in vs. 32, however, where we revert back suddenly to the time before Abel's death. One reads of Eve's vision of Abel's death, followed by the text's first actual description of the murder. Again finding an appropriate setting for the annunciation, the author apparently chose to report it a second time in abbreviated form. The disjointed character of the story may suggest that the author was working from two or more sources which related the story of Abel's death in different ways, or that the work was redacted.

The relationship between the full forms of the annunciation in the Adam Cycle (A) and Repentance (C_1) is more complex. A and C_1 are in basic agreement as regards their general content. Both agree that Adam and Eve were

grief-stricken following Abel's death; this idea serves as a foil to enhance the comfort which follows when Adam and Eve are told they will have another son. Both texts agree that God sends an angel who commands Adam to know Eve, and both record the dialogue between Adam and the angel in which the angel promises Adam and Eve a son as a replacement for Abel and commands that he be named Seth. A states that Seth is translated "consolations," while C_1 agrees in calling Seth a "son of consolation."

Beyond this similarity in general outline, however, both texts contain unique materials. Only in A do we find Adam's objection to fulfilling God's command; seeing Abel bloody and Cain punished are reminders to him of what another son might bring. This extended reason for Adam and Eve's mourning is not present in C_1, where we learn only that they mourned "over the death of Abel."[5] The notion that Adam and Eve's mourning was accompanied by sexual restraint is explicit only in A. In addition, the exalted promises about Seth delivered by the angel are present only in A; Seth is described as a blessed seed, as the head of patriarchs, and as one whose seed will fill the lands. In

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[5]The reason for this discrepancy is a difference between the accounts of the fate of Abel's body in Repentance and Abel and Cain. In Repentance 39, Adam and Eve are unable to find Abel's body because the angels have buried it and its blood has been absorbed into the ground, whereas according to Abel and Cain 52-53, whenever Adam and Eve tried to bury Abel, his body came out upon the face of the ground and his blood never dried.

C_1, the command to know Eve is given by Gabriel the archangel (հրեշտակապետ), while in A God sends an unnamed angel (հրեշտակ). The angel's giving Adam a branch from the trees of the garden is also unique to C_1. In addition to these unique materials in both accounts, the *Adam Cycle* and *Repentance* contain one contradiction. In B, the duration of Adam and Eve's mourning is two hundred years, while in C_1 and C_2, that period is one hundred and twenty years. Since we have shown that B is a secondary addition to the original text of the *Adam Cycle*, that contradiction does not preclude a relationship between the accounts of the annunciation in *Repentance* and the *Adam Cycle*.

The elements of distinction and unique traditions in A and C_1 outlined above make it unlikely that either of these accounts served as a source for the other. Similarities in structure and detail, however, suggest the possibility of a common source for A and C_1. Taking into account our study of the seven punishments of Cain in which it was determined that *Repentance* is dependent upon an earlier form or source of the *Adam Cycle*, it is highly likely that C_1 drew upon that same source, in addition to other unidentified source materials, in composing its account of the annunciation.

C. The Murder of Abel

The story of Abel's murder occurs in two versions in the Armenian Adam books. A very short version (henceforth A) occurs in *Repentance* 36. Following a brief reference to

Cain's murder of Abel and the first account of the annunciation of the birth of Seth (C_1 above), Eve relates a dream to Adam in which Cain kills Abel. After Adam investigates Eve's dream and discovers Abel's body follows the account of the murder, Adam's burial of Abel, and the second account of the annunciation of Seth's birth (C_2 above). The account of Abel's murder appears to be an awkward insertion into the narrative sequence, perhaps a product of either compilation or redaction, for two reasons. First, the account of the murder is a parenthetical explanation of what is mentioned but not described in the preceding narrative and is out of place. Thus after Adam finds that Abel has been slain and Cain has left the scene, the text reads abruptly, "And how he killed him, and in what way, I shall explain." If the account of the murder is removed, the text flows more logically. Second, if the account of the murder is removed, the resulting sequence a) Eve's dream, b) Adam's investigation, and c) the annunciation of the birth of Seth, is identical to the sequence found in _Ap_. _Mos_. 2:1-3:3.[6]

Abel and Cain 16-33 contains perhaps the lengthiest description of the murder of Abel extant in Jewish and Christian literature. This story of the murder (henceforth B) is incorporated into a much more coherent and continuous narrative which describes in logical sequence the sacrifices

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[6]For a discussion of the relationship between _Repentance_ and _Ap_. _Mos_., see chapter three below.

of Cain and Abel, Cain's animosity towards his brother, the murder, and the resulting punishment of Cain.

The text and translation of the two versions of the murder of Abel are presented in parallel columns below.

A

36. Եւ թէ որպէս եսպան, եւ կամ զինչ աւրինակաւ, այս է զոր ասեմս. Տարեալ Կային զՀաբէլ յիւրատունկ դրախտն, եւ կալեալ կապեաց զնա ձեռս յետս ընդ ծառով միոյ. եւ առեալ քար մի զայլախազ, եւ այնքան քարազոհն արար զանմեղ պատանին, մինչ որ աւանդեաց զհոգին:

B

16. Իսկ ի միում աւուր ասէ Կայէն ցեղբայր իւր. Գնասցուք ի դաշտն շրջեսցուք: 17. Եւ ելեալ գնացին ի դաշտն, եւ կամէր Կայէն կապել զեղբայրն իւր. բայց Աբէլ ժիր էր աւելի քան զԿայէն, վասն այնորիկ ոչ յայտնել կարէր Կայէն զխորհուրդն իւր: 18. Սկիզբն արար խաղալ ընդ եղբօրն իւր եւ արար զօտամարտիլ, եւ կշտի բռնել փորձիլ, զի տեսցէ յուժն իւր յաղթել կարէ զնա. քանզի որ կշտի <բռնեաց> վայր անկաւ եւ ոչ կարաց յաղթել զԱբէլ: 19. Եւ ելեալ Կայէն հայեցաւ աստ եւ անդ, եւ ետես մատն խաղողի բազում երկայն. իսկ Կայէն ասէր. Եկ եղբայր մատնաւ <խաղասցուք> :

20. Ասէ Աբէլ. Որպէս <խաղասցուք> մատնեաւ:

21. Ասէ Կայէն. Դու <գրկեա> զծառս, եւ ես երեք մատնովս պատեմ զքեզ, տեսանեմ թէ կարես կտրել զնա եւ արձակիլ. ապա ես գրկեմ զծառդ, եւ դու պատեա մատներաւդ ի վերայ իմ, տեսցուք զի ով կարէ կտրել զնա:

22. Եւ նա ուժով էր, այնու փորձեաց թէ ում ուժն աւելի <է> : 23. Իբրեւ գնաց Աբէլ ի ծառն Կայէն առեալ զուռն որթի եւ պատէր երեք պատ ձեռներովն եւ քամակովն, եւ ապա իմացաւ Աբէլ զչարութիւն եղբօրն. աղաչէր եւ ասէր. Եղբայր, արձակեա զիս ի կապէն: 24. Եւ Կայէն ոչ արձակէր, այլ պնդագոյն կապէր այնչափ ուռով որթիւ պատեաց զնա ծառովն ոտից մինչեւ ցգլուխն: 25. Լայր Աբէլ եւ ասէր. Եղբայր, արձակեա զիս. այս անցաւոր աշխարհիս համար մի հեղուր զարիւնն իմ. ես քեզ ի՞նչ չարութիւն <արարի> , ընդէ՞ր բարկանաս ինձ աշխարհս ամէն քեզ լինի:

26. Իսկ Կայէն աստ եւ անդ շրջէր թէ իբր մի գտցէ եւ այնով սպանանիցէ զեղբայրն, եւ ոչ գիտէր թէ որոյ տեղ է սպանելոյ: 27. Իսկ չարն Սատանայ իբրեւ եղեւ երեկոյն, սեւ զայլաքարաւ եւ քարածեծուքար մի կայր, սուր իբրեւ ածելի, այնով սպանին մինն զմիւսն, եւ զսուր քարն ի վայր ձգեաց: 28. Եւ Կայէն ուսեալ ի նմանէ եւ առեալ զսուր քարն, եւ եկեալ առ Աբել. Իսկ Աբէլ լայր, եւ ասէր. Ո՞չ ողորմիս մեր ծնօղացն: 29. Իսկ Կայէն ոչ ողորմեցաւ նմա: 30. Իբրեւ եկն ի սպանումն լալով ասաց Աբէլ. Եղբայր, բեր զերեսդ համբուրեմ <զի> կարօտ չմնայ ի սրտիս. դու գիտես դատաստանն Աստուծոյ: 31. Իբրեւ քարիւն կտրէր <զխոչակն> եղբօրն, յայնժամ եղբայրն ասաց. իմ մօրս ասես զի զկաթն իւր հալալ արասցէ ինձ: 32. Քանզի քարն փոքր էր,

B

<դժուարին մորթեաց մինչ ի ժամ մի քռանց> մորթեաց։
33. Դարձեալ ի ժամ մորթելոյ ասէր եղբայրն. Ես գնացին
յաշխարհէս եւ դու շահեա զսիրտ ծնօղաց մերոց։

A	B
36. And how he killed him, and in what way, I shall explain. Cain led Abel into the garden which he himself had planted, and he seized him and tied him to a tree with his hands behind him. And he took a stone--a flint --and in such a way he stoned the innocent lad until he gave up the ghost.	16. But one day Cain said to his brother, "Let us go take a walk in the field." 17. So they arose and went into the field, and Cain wished to bind his brother. But Abel was stronger than Cain; because of this Cain could not reveal his plan. 18. He began to play with his brother and to wrestle, and he tried to grab him from the side to see if by his strength he could overcome him. <But>

because he grabbed him from the side, he fell down and could not overcome Abel. 19. And Cain got up and looked here and there, and he saw a very long grapevine. Then Cain said, "Come, brother, <let us play> with a vine."

20. Abel said, "How <shall we play> with a vine?"

21. Cain said, "You <embrace> this tree, and I will bind you three times around with this vine and see if you can break it and become untied. Then I will embrace the tree, and you tie me up with the vines, <and> we will see who can break it.

22. And he was strong, <but> by this he tried <to find out> who was stronger. 23. When Abel went to the tree, Cain took the vine branch and tied three times around his hands and body. And then Abel perceived his brother's wickedness. He implored and said, "Brother, untie me from the bond." 24. And Cain did not untie him, but bound him more firmly. In such a way he bound him to the tree with a vine branch from his feet to his head. 25. Abel wept and said, "Brother, untie me. Do not shed my blood on account of this perishable world. What evil have I done to you; why are you angry at me? All this world is yours."

26. Now Cain was walking here and there in order to find something and kill his brother with it, but he did not know which is the place of killing. 27. But Satan the wicked, when the evening came, with a black flintstone...and there was a grinding stone, sharp as a razor, with which the one killed the other, and he threw down the sharp stone. 28. And Cain learned from him and took the sharp stone and came toward Abel. Then Abel wept and said, "Do you not have

compassion on our parents?" 29. But Cain did not pity him. 30. When he came for the kill, Abel said weeping, "Come, brother, let me kiss your face, <lest> want remain in my heart. You know the judgment of God." 31. While he was cutting his brother's wind-pipe with the stone, his brother said, "Tell my mother that she should make her milk as nourishment for me." 32. Because the stone was small he killed him with difficulty; for one hour he slaughtered him violently. 33. Again while he was slaughtering <him>, his brother said, "I have gone out of this world, but you gain the heart of our parents."

A comparison of the two accounts of the murder reveals three common details which are not found in the biblical story of Cain and Abel: 1) Cain binds Abel to a tree, 2) Abel's hands are tied, and 3) the instrument of murder is a flintstone. The two accounts are distinguished by two contradictions. First, in A, Cain holds Abel and binds him to a tree, whereas in B, since Cain cannot overcome Abel physically, he tricks Abel into allowing himself to be tied as part of a game. Second, the murder takes place in Cain's garden in A (դրախտ), but according to B they are in a field (դաշտ). B contains unique materials; the wrestling between Cain and Abel, Abel's superior strength, and the extensive dialogue between Cain and Abel are not reflected in A. The similarities in the contents of A and B, the two contradictions between them, and the unique elements in B suggest that while neither account in its present form serves as a source for the other, A and B may draw upon a common source. Although the lack of more explicit parallels in language and detail and the brevity of A prohibit a more precise definition of the source, it is possible to view A as a brief summary of the source used by

B. Since we have determined that A is an awkward and perhaps later insertion into the narrative of Repentance, it is reasonable to assume that Repentance was either written by a compiler of sources or was redacted by a scribe who abbreviated and inserted B's source. That is entirely consistent with our view of the seven punishments of Cain, where an independent list of the punishments in Repentance was modified by material which served as a source for the Adam Cycle.

D. Enoch's/Enosh's Garden

Two parallel accounts of the planting of a garden attributed to Enoch or Enosh occur in the Armenian Adam books treated here. The account of Enoch's garden (henceforth A) in Tidings 10-16 is preceded by the story of the seed of Seth and their life in separation from the seed of Cain in accordance with the command of an angel to Adam. The virtue of the seed of Seth is described, the story of Enoch's garden is inserted abruptly, and then the impiety of the seed of Cain is contrasted with the virtue of the seed of Seth. Immediately following the story of Enoch's garden, but preceding the discussion of the impiety of Cain's seed, is a paragraph which ties the Enoch insert to the main theme; Enoch's pious life in the garden was a motivation for Seth's seed to retire and devote itself to purity and mortification. The placement of the insertion in the text is dependent upon the identification of Enoch as the son of Seth and the brief dialogue between Seth and Enoch which it contains.

In The Words of Adam to Seth, the protagonist of the garden story is Enosh in vs. 12 and Enoch in vs. 14.[7] According to this brief text, Adam explains to Seth why he was cast out of paradise, and Seth brings him a branch from the forbidden tree given him by an angel. Seth explains this branch to be a sign of both death and life, and Adam dies. The account of the garden (henceforth B, vss. 12-16) is appended to this story because of its similar content; both stories describe an act of one of Adam's living descendents evoked by the story of the expulsion from the garden.

The texts and translations of the two accounts of Enoch's/Enosh's garden are presented in parallel columns below.

A	B
10. Իսկ Սեթայ որդին քարի պտուղն Ենովք, եհարց ի հօրէն թէ պապն մեր Ադամ ընդէր տրտում <է>: 11. Ասէ Սէթ. Վասն ճաշակելոյ պտղոյն, որ ելաւ ի դրախտէն, վասն այն տրտում է: 12. Իսկ Ենովք ասէ ցհայրն. Հօր պարտքն պիտի որդին <վճարել>: 13. Վասն այն ոչ ամուսնացաւ	12. Եւ յետ ժամանակաց անցելոց, Սէթ զբանն ընդ Ենովս խօսեցաւ եւ ասէ. Այսպէս ասէր հայրն իմ Ադամ, թէ ոչ էր այս բնակութիւնս մեր, այլ այս բնակութիւնս գազանաց էր եւ այլ ստեղծուածոցն, եւ մեր բնակութիւնն յԵդեմ ընդ արեւելս էր: 13. Եւ յորժամ ստեղծ Աստուած զհայրն մեր եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին, եւ պատուէր ետ նմա

[7] Thus Enosh is told the story of the expulsion, but Enoch makes the response. Note that in A, Enoch is incorrectly called the son of Seth. In B, the author knows that Seth should be speaking to his son Enosh (although the word որդի is not found in B), but associates the garden story with Enoch. Thus the appearance of Enosh in B may imply that B inherited and corrected the tradition contained in A, but may also be the product of a scribal error.

A

Ենովք: 14. Տնկեաց այգի մեծ լի ամենայն բարութեամբ. վաթսունեւչորս տարի սպասաւորեաց այգւոյն:
15. Ամենայն մարդ ճաշակէր ի պտղոյն. իսկ ինքն Ենովք ոչ ճաշակեաց ամենեւին. այլ երկաթի սաղաւարտ ի գլուխն եդեալ, զի մի բարձր հայեսցի ի պտուղն ծառերոյն. քանզի վաթսունեւչորս տարի այգեգործ եղեւ եւ ոչ ճաշակեաց ի նմանէ: 16. Իսկ Աստուած հրամայեաց հրեշտակին իւրոյ զի զնա մարմնով վերացուցին եւ եդին ի մէջ դրախտին, եւ է մինչեւ ցայսօր:

B

յորոյ ուտել ի պտղոյն եւ յորոյ չուտել. իսկ նորա ոչ պահեալ զպատուիրանն, մերկացեալ յաստուածային լուսոյն եւ արտաքս անկեալ ի դրախտէն եւ հաւասար եղեալ անասնոց անբանից:

14. Եւ Ենովք զբանս զայս ի միտ էառ, եւ զքառասուն տիւ եւ զքառասուն զիշեր ամենեւին ոչ ճաշակեաց: 15. Եւ յետ այնորիկ տնկեաց դրախտ վայելուչ, եւ զամենայն պտղաբեր տնկեաց ի նմա: 16. Եւ կացեալ ի դրախտին այնմիկ հինգհարիւր եւ քառասունեւերկու ամ, եւ (յ)ետ այնորիկ մարմնով յերկինս համբարձաւ, եւ աստուածային փառացն եւ լուսոյն արժանաւորեցաւ:

10. And Seth's son Enoch, the good fruit, asked his father, "Why < is > Adam, our grandfather, sad?"

11. Seth said, "He is sad because he tasted of the fruit, for which he went out of the garden."

12. Then Enoch said to his father, "The son must <pay> the debts of the father."

13. Because of this Enoch did not marry. 14. He planted a large orchard filled with every good thing. For sixty-four years he tended the orchard. 15. Every man tasted of the fruit, but Enoch himself did not taste at all. Rather he put an iron helmet on his head so that he would not look up at the fruit of the trees. Although he was an orchard worker for sixty-four years, he did not taste of it. 16. Then God commanded his angel so that he took him up bodily and placed him in

12. And after some time had passed, Seth spoke that discourse to Enosh and said, "Thus my father Adam said, 'This was not our home, rather this was the home of wild beasts and the other creatures, but our home was in Eden towards the east.' 13. And when God created our father, he also put him in the garden, and he commanded him from which fruit to eat and from which fruit not to eat. But he did not keep the commandment, stripped himself of the divine light, and was expelled from the garden and became equal to the irrational animals."

14. And Enoch considered this thing, and for forty days and forty nights he tasted nothing at all. 15. And after that he planted a comely garden, and he planted in it every fruit-bearing tree.
16. And he lived in that garden 542 years, and (af)ter

A	B
the midst of Paradise, and he is there until today.	that he ascended bodily into heaven, and became worthy of the divine glory and light.

1. In both versions, Seth tells Enoch/Enosh that Adam was expelled from the garden for having tasted of the forbidden fruit, but the two accounts differ significantly in their particulars. The identification of Enoch as the son of Seth and as "the good fruit" in A is not found in B. In A, Seth's explanation of the expulsion is a response to Enoch's inquiry about Adam's grief,[8] whereas the question is absent in B. B contains a much fuller account of the expulsion than A and includes unique materials.

2. In both versions, Enoch/Enosh responds to the story of the expulsion by planting a garden of fruits where he remains until he is translated, but again the accounts differ in their particulars. In A, Enoch plants a garden but does not eat its fruit, whereas in B, Enoch/Enosh fasts for forty days and then plants a garden. A reports that angels took Enoch to paradise, but in B we read only that Enoch ascended bodily into heaven. There are also unique materials in A and B as well as a contradiction between them. A contains a fuller account of Enoch's activity in the garden; although other men tasted of the fruit of the garden, Enoch dressed its vines, but wore an iron helmet to prevent him

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[8]Cf. Life of Adam and Eve 31:3, where Adam's explanation of the expulsion to Seth is similarly motivated.

from looking at the fruits. A adds that Enoch still remains in paradise where he was translated. In B, Enoch/Enosh receives the divine glory and light after being translated. A and B contradict each other in reporting the duration of Enoch's/Enosh's stay in the garden.[9]

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[9]An additional fragmentary text, <u>The Descendants of Adam</u>, lines 12-16, 19-22 (in Stone, <u>Armenian Apocrypha</u>) shows interesting affinities with the story of Enoch's/Enosh's garden. A text and translation of the relevant lines is given below.

եւ հաճոյ եղեւ Ենովք Աստուծոյ. եւ ապրեցաւ հինգհարիւրեւքսան տարի. եւ ծառոյ [...] միս ոչ կերաւ: Եւ կտաւ քաշեաց ի վերայ երեսացն. եւ յերկինքն ոչ հայեցաւ վասն Ադամայ մեղացն ոչ յիշխեմ նայել յերկինս. որ ողորմի Ա[ստուած] Ենովքայ եւ յանմահութիւն փոխեաց զնայ:

And Enoch was pleasing to God, and he lived 520 years. And of the tree...meat he did not eat. And he drew linen over his face, and did not look at the heavens, on account of the sin of Adam...And I, on account of the sin of Adam, I dare not look at the heavens, that G[od] may have mercy upon Adam. And God had mercy upon Enoch and transferred him to immortality.

A comparison of the text of <u>The Descendants of Adam</u> (henceforth C) with A and B yields the following results.

1) Both A and C occur in the context of a discussion of the relation of the seed of Seth and Cain. However, in A, the story of Enoch's garden follows a discussion of the life of the seed of Seth and Cain in separation and is followed by a description of the impiety of the seed of Cain, the virtue of the seed of Seth, and the seduction of the latter by the former. In C, the Enoch material follows the seduction scene.

2) In A, B, and C, the protagonist refrains from eating. We have noted that in A, Enoch abstains from eating the fruit of his garden while in B Enosh fasts before planting the garden. Although the text of C is fragmentary, lines 13-14 suggest that Enoch's abstinence was connected both with the fruit of a tree and with meat. But there is no mention of Enoch's planting or tending a garden in C.

3) In both A and C, Enoch covers himself and does not look up. This action is directly related to Adam's sin in both texts. However, in A, Enoch covers his head with an iron helmet in order to avoid looking at the fruit of the trees, whereas in C, Enoch draws linen over his face in order to avoid looking at the heavens.

Our comparison of the texts yields the following results. First, although A and B are similar in structure and general content, there is little agreement between them in their details, and one contradiction is present. Second, there are no compelling linguistic parallels between A and B. Third, a comparison of A, B, and a third Armenian account of the story in The Descendants of Adam (C) indicates that common ideas or motifs are used quite differently in the three texts. Fourth, a common tradition about the planting of a garden has been associated with two distinct figures; Enoch and Enosh. These observations indicate that there is no literary relationship between A and B. The fluidity of the protagonist of the story and of the specific details related to common motifs in A, B, and C suggest that the three texts have drawn from a common oral tradition which was widely differentiated when committed to writing.

In summary, two conclusions may be drawn about the literary relationships between the Armenian Adam books. First, The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve appears

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4) After the preceding events, A and B note that Enoch was translated, and in C we learn that God transferred Enoch to immortality.

These correspondences of detail between A, B, and C, and especially between A and C, indicate some relationship between the texts. In addition to the striking differences noted above, it must be observed that the general content of C is quite different from that of A and B. In A and B, Enoch/ Enosh responds to Seth's explanation of Adam's expulsion from the garden by planting a garden and fasting. But C contains no explanation of Adam's expulsion and there is no mention of Enoch's planting a garden. The vocabulary of C also shows no affinities with that of A and B.

to have used an earlier form or source of the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works. In reporting the seven punishments of Cain, Repentance has supplemented an independent list of punishments with additional material from an earlier form or source of the Adam Cycle. Repentance may also have drawn material from that same source in reporting the annunciation of Seth's birth and the murder of Abel. Second, The Words of Adam to Seth and the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works appear to be independent of one another and to have drawn upon a common oral tradition about Enoch's garden.

Chapter 3

SOURCES AND TRADITIONS

It has been shown in chapter two that The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve drew upon an earlier form or source of the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works as a literary source. Comparison of the Armenian Adam books with other works containing stories about the ante-diluvians allows us to identify additional literary sources for some of these books, and to point to elements of tradition shared by the Adam books and a variety of ancient Jewish and Christian works although no precise literary source for the Armenian materials may be identified. The first part of this chapter will investigate the possibility that the Apocalypse of Moses and the Armenian text of Genesis may have served as sources for both Repentance and the Adam Cycle. The second part will examine the history of selected traditions from the Armenian Adam books. The search for affinities between the stories of the seven punishments of Cain, the annunciation of the birth of Seth, the murder of Abel, and Enoch's garden treated in chapter two and parallel Jewish and Christian texts will provide further insight into the background of the Adam books and the means by which these materials came into

Armenia.

A. The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve

In addition to the isolated elements of tradition common to Repentance and Ap. Mos. which will be treated below, there are several more extended parallels between the two works which must be explained. The stories of the quest for the oil from the tree of life, Eve's vision of Abel's murder, and Eve's dialogue with Adam at his deathbed in Repentance and Ap. Mos. are similar not only in general outline, but also in the details of the stories and in the actual wording. One narrative sequence common to the two works will also be discussed.

The story of the quest for the oil from the tree of life is found in Repentance 86-93. Following the story of Abel's murder and Cain's punishment (36-60), Adam and Eve mourn at length over their expulsion from the garden and long to return there (61-78a). Adam becomes severely ill and his wife and children gather at his bedside (78b-85), but Adam seeks a reprieve. He sends Eve and Seth to the garden of Eden to procure some healing oil from its trees. The mission fails, and Eve and Seth return to find Adam dead. The work concludes with Eve's death and a description of the burial of the protoplasts (94-104). A similar story of the quest for the oil appears in Ap. Mos. 9:3-14:1 surrounded by two similar accounts of the fall from the garden. After the birth of Seth, Adam becomes ill and gathers his children at his deathbed (4:1-5:2). Adam

discusses his illness with Seth and recounts his fall (5:3-9:2), after which he sends Eve and Seth on their quest for the oil. When they return unsuccessful, Eve recounts the fall to her children at great length (14:2-30:1), and only then does Adam die (31:1-32:4).

The texts and translations of the parallel stories are given below.

Repentance 86-93

86. Բայց դու այժմ երթ աղաչեա զՏէր, զի թերեւս տացէ ի ծառոյն աւծմանէ, որ այնու աւծանէք զանձն իմ, զի դիւրանամ ի ցաւոցս:

87. Եւ յարուցեալ Եւայ առ զՍէթ, եւ գնաց աղաչել զՏէր, տալ պտուղ իւղընծիւղ ի ծառոց դրախտին, վասն առողջութեանն Ադամայ: 88. Եւ հանդիպեալ նոցա անհազին գազանն Բեհմովթ. յարձակեցաւ ի վերայ Սեթայ եւ կամէր ուտել զնա: 89. Յայնժամ Միչ բարձեալ Եւայ, աղաղակեաց ընդդէմ գազանին եւ ասաց. Սանձեա զբերան քո եւ մի իշխեսցես մերձենալ ի ծառայդ Աստուծոյ. յիշեա զի ընդ մերով իշխանութեամբ էիր, եւ մի համարձակիր վնասել զորդիդ իմ: 90. Յայնժամ եթող գազանն զՍէթ զոր կալեալ ուտէր եւ ասաց Եւայի. Զեզ հնազանդ յայնժամ էի, որքան դուք հնազանդ Աստուծոյ էիք, եւ զպատուիրանս նորա պահէիք. իսկ ի յանցանելն

Ap. Mos. 9:3-14:1[1]

9:3 εἶπεν δε Ἀδὰμ τῇ Εὕα ἀνάστα καὶ πορεύου μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Σὴθ πλησίον τοῦ παραδείσου, και ἐπίθετε γῆν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν καὶ κλαύσατε δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως σπλαγχνισθῇ ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον καὶ δώσῃ μοι ἐκ τοῦ δένδρου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλαιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνέγκῃς μοι, και ἀλείψομαι καὶ ἀναπαύσομαι, καὶ δηλώσω σοι τὸν τρόπον ἐν ᾧ ἠπατήθημεν τὸ πρότερον.

10:1 Ἐπορεύθη δὲ Σὴθ καὶ ἡ Εὕα εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ παραδείσου. καὶ πορευομένων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Εὕα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ θηρίον πολεμοῦντα αὐτόν...3 ἐβόησεν δὲ ἡ Εὕα πρὸς τὸ θηρίον λέγουσα ὦ σὺ θηρίον πονηρόν, οὐ φοβήσει τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμῆσαι; πῶς ἠνοίγη τὸ στόμα σου; πῶς ἐνίσχυσαν οἱ ὀδόντες σου; πῶς οὐκ ἐμνήσθης τῆς ὑποταγῆς σου,

[1]The Greek text is taken from K. von Tischendorf, "Apocalypsis Mosis," Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Ioannis, item Mariae dormitio: Additis Evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis (Leipzig: Herm. Mendelssohn, 1866), pp. 4-7. Portions of the text not paralleled in Repentance are omitted from the Greek and are summarized in brackets in the translation.

Repentance 86-93

ծերում զհրաման արարչին,
յարձակիմք ի վերայ ձեր եւ
խստանամք, եւ ընդդէմ դառնամք
ձեզ: 91. Զայս հրամանաւն
Աստուծոյ խաւսեցաւ գազանն եւ
ասաց ընդ Եւայ մարդկային
բարբառով, խոժոռ խոլոր եւ
անհարկու դիմաւք. եւ ապա
թողեալ զնոսա գանց արար եւ
գնաց:
92. Եւ մինչ դեռ մայրն եւ
որդին, Եւայ եւ Սէթ, աղօթէին
յանդիման դրախտին, եկն առ
նոսա հրեշտակապետն Գաբրիէլ
եւ ասաց. Արիք եւ գնացէք զի
մեռաւ Ադամ յերեկոյին ժամուն
ընդ մտանել արեւուն: 93. Եւ
նոքա ելեալ գնացին լալով եւ
հառաչանաւք, եւ տեսին զԱդամ
մեռեալ, եւ արարին կոծ մեծ ի
վերայ նորա:

Ap. Mos. 9:3-14:1

ὅτι πρότερον ὑπετάγης τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ; 11:1 Τότε τὸ θηρίον ἐβόησε λέγον ὦ Εὔα, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ πλεονεξία σου οὔτε ὁ κλαυθμός σου, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων ἐκ σοῦ ἐγένετο. 2 πῶς ἠνοίγη τὸ στόμα σου φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου περὶ οὗ ενετείλατό σοι ὁ θεὸς μὴ φαγεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις μετηλλάγη. νῦν οὖν οὐ δυνήσει ὑπενεγκεῖν, ἐὰν ἀπάρξομαι ἐλέγχειν σε...12:2... καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ.

13:1 Ἐπορεύθη δὲ Σὴθ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Εὔας πλησίον τοῦ παραδείσου και ἔκλαυσαν ἐκεῖ, δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἀποστείλῃ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ δώσει αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου. 2 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς λόγους τούτους Σὴθ, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ κάμῃς εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἱκεσίᾳ ταύτῃ περὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ ἔλαιον, ἀλεῖψαι τὸν πατέρα σου Ἀδάμ οὐ γὰρ γενήσεταί σοι νῦν ...6 σὺ πάλιν πορεούου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, ἐπειδὴ ἐπληρώθη τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, ἴσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν. ἐξερχομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ μέλλεις θεάσασθαι τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβεράν.

14:1 Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἦλθεν Σὴθ καὶ ἡ Εὔα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ὅπου ἔκειτο ὁ Ἀδάμ.

86. "But go now and beg the Lord, for perhaps he will give you some of the oil from the tree with which you will annoint me, so that I will be relieved of these pains."

87. And Eve rose up and took Seth, and she went to beg the Lord to give her the

9:3 But Adam said to Eve, "Rise up and go with our son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep, asking God to have compassion on me and send his angel into paradise, and give to me of the tree from which the oil flows, and bring it to me, and I will

Repentance 86-93

oil-producing fruit from the trees of the garden for the sake of curing Adam. 88. And the hideous beast Behemoth met them; he pounced upon Seth and wished to eat him. 89. Then Eve shrieked, shouted at the beast and said, "Bridle your mouth, and do not dare to approach the servant of God. Remember that you were under our dominion, and do not dare to harm my son." 90. Then the beast released Seth whom he had seized and was about to eat, and he said to Eve, "I was obedient to you as long as you were obedient to God and kept his commandments. But because you have transgressed against the command of the creator, we fall upon you, treat you mercilessly, and turn against you." 91. The beast spoke this by the command of God, and he talked to Eve in a human voice, with a stern, harsh, and frightful countenance. Then he left them, passed by and went away.

92. And while the mother and son, Eve and Seth, were praying before the garden, the archangel Gabriel came to them and said, "Arise and go, for Adam died in the evening at sunset." 93. And they left and went back weeping and groaning, and they saw Adam dead, and made a great lamentation over him.

Ap. Mos. 9:3-14:1

annoint myself and have rest, and I will show you the way in which we were deceived earlier.

10:1 Then Seth and Eve went toward the regions of paradise. And while they were going, Eve saw her son, and a beast fighting him...[Eve bemoans her transgressions] 3 And Eve shouted at the beast saying, "You wicked beast, are you not afraid to fight the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How were your teeth made strong? How did you not remember your subjection, because formerly you were made subject to the image of God?" 11:1 Then the beast cried out saying, "O Eve, neither your greed nor your weeping are toward us, but toward yourself, because the rule of the beasts came from you. 2 How was your mouth opened to eat from the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? Because of that our nature also was transformed. 3 Therefore now you cannot endure it if I reprove you."...[Seth commands the beast to be silent]...and he went to his dwelling.

13:1 And Seth went with his mother Eve near to paradise, and they wept there, asking God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy. 2 And God sent Michael the archangel to them, and he said these words to them, "Seth, man of God, do not distress yourself longing in this prayer for the tree in which the oil flows, to annoint your father Adam, for it will not be yours now...[The resurrection of humanity is promised] 6 You go back to your father, because the measure of his life has been fulfilled, after three days. But when his spirit leaves,

Ap. Mos. 9:3-14:1

you will see its frightful passing."
14:1 After the angel spoke these things, he departed from them. Seth and Eve went to the tent where Adam lay...

It is apparent that the two versions of the quest agree not only in general outline, but also in some details. In both texts, Adam tells Eve to go and ask God for oil from the tree in the garden with which he can be annointed and relieved. Eve and Seth go together and encounter a beast which attacks Seth. Eve chides the beast, warns it not to attack God's servant/image, and reminds the beast of its initial subjection. The beast replies that Eve's disobedience to God freed him from that subjection, and then withdraws. Eve and Seth pray near the garden and are visited by an archangel who informs them of Adam's death and tells them to depart, after which they return to Adam. This extended parallel suggests that Repentance may be dependent upon Ap. Mos. The differences between the two versions are also noteworthy. Adam's command to Eve and Seth to mourn outside the garden, Eve's bemoaning her transgression, Seth's silencing of the beast, and the promise of the resurrection by Michael are all unique to Ap. Mos., while the specific mention of Behemoth, his intention to eat Seth, and the description of his countenance are unique to Repentance. The two texts disagree insofar as in Repentance, Eve and Seth are met by Gabriel, not Michael, and they return to Adam who

is already dead, whereas in Ap. Mos. Adam has three days of life remaining. The two accounts are also distinct in their wording of common materials. Repentance contains a shorter form of the story, and appears to be a free and abbreviated adaptation of the material in Ap. Mos. Although the story of the quest in Repentance shows no clearer affinities with the Armenian version of Ap. Mos. than with the Greek, the same cannot be said of two other extended parallels between the two works.

The first of those parallels is the account of Eve's dream about the murder of Abel. In Repentance, Eve's dream (32-33) is placed between two accounts of the annunciation of the birth of Seth. Following the death of Abel which is only briefly reported (30a), Adam and Eve are comforted with the promise of Seth's birth (30b-31). The story then reverts back to the time before Abel's death and Eve relates her dream to Adam. The murder is recounted a second time (36) and Adam discovers the body (37-39), after which the second annunciation of Seth's birth takes place (40-42). Ap. Mos. opens with the story of the birth of Abel and Cain (1:1-3), after which the story of Eve's dream follows directly (2:1-3). In a sequence which may be related to that in Repentance, Adam and Eve discover Abel's body (2:4-3:1), after which Seth's birth is announced.

The texts and translations of the two accounts of

Eve's dream are given below. Ap. Mos. 2:2-3[2] is taken from the Armenian version[3] for reasons which will be shown below.

Repentance 32-33, 35

32...յաւուր միում տեսիլս պատմեաց Եւայ Ադամայ եւ ասաց թէ Տեսի զիշերս յերազի, որ զարիւնն Աբելի Կային ի բերանն առեալ ըմպէր: 33. Եւ Հաբէլ աղաչէր զնա թէ թող յարենէդ եւ նա ոչ լսէր, եւ ոչ մնայր ի փորն, այլ փսխէր ի դուրս զարիւնն Հաբելի...35. Եւ գնացեալ Ադամ փութանակի եւ ետես զի սպանեալ էր Կային զԱբէլ զեղբայր իւր...

32...on a certain day, Eve related this vision to Adam and said, "I saw in a dream last night that Cain took Abel's blood into his mouth and drank it. 33 And Abel begged him, 'Leave some of that blood!', but he did not listen, and it did not remain in his belly, rather he vomited out Abel's blood."...35 Therefore Adam went quickly and saw that Cain had killed Abel his brother...

Ap. Mos. 2:2-3, 3:1

2:2 ետես Եւա տեսիլ. յայնժամ զարթոյց զԱդամ եւ զտեսիլն պատմէր նմա, եւ ասէր այսպէս. Տէր իմ, տեսանէի ի տեսլեան գիշերիս, զի արիւն որդւոյն մերում Հաբելի լցեալ լինէր ի բերան Կայենի եղբօր իւրում. եւ նա ըմբէր զարիւն եղբօր իւրում. իսկ Հաբէլ աղաչէր զնա թողուլ նմա սակաւիկ մի յարենէ անտի, 2:3 եւ նա ոչ լինէր նմա ունկնդիր այլ վաղվաղակի ըմպէր զամենայն, եւ ոչ մնայր արիւն ի փորի նորա այլ արտաքս փսխէր զամենայն...3:1 Եւ գնացին գտին զի սպանեալ էր Հաբէլ ի ձեռաց եղբօր իւրոյ Կայենի.

2:2...Eve saw a vision. Then she awoke Adam, and she related the vision to him and said thus, "My lord, I saw in a vision tonight that the blood of our son Abel had filled the mouth of Cain his brother, and he was drinking his brother's blood. But Abel begged him to leave a little of the blood for him. 2:3 But he did not pay attention to him, rather he drank it all quickly; and the blood did not remain in his belly, rather he vomited out all of it...3:1 And they went and found that Abel had been killed by the hands of his brother Cain.

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[2] 2:1 and 4 are omitted here because they are not paralleled in Repentance.

[3] A published Armenian text of Ap. Mos. based on three Venice manuscripts, is found in Yovsepeanc', Ankanon Girk, pp. 1-23.

These two accounts tell the same story, and report it in similar detail using similar language. In both texts, Eve relates a dream to Adam in which she sees Cain take Abel's blood into his mouth and drink it. Abel begs Cain to leave some of the blood, but Cain ignores him. Both texts report that the blood did not stay in Cain's stomach, but he vomited it out. There are no contradictions between the two accounts, and although the account in Ap. Mos. is longer, all of its essential elements are recounted in Repentance. There are no unique materials in Repentance. As the underlining in the Armenian texts shows, the Armenian vocabulary employed is notably similar in the two accounts, an observation which suggests that Repentance is dependent upon the Armenian version of Ap. Mos. This suggestion is verified by the fact that at points where the Greek and Armenian versions of Ap. Mos. differ, Repentance follows the Armenian.[4]

A third parallel story yields results similar to

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[4]There are four instances where Repentance follows Armenian Ap. Mos. as opposed to the Greek version. 1) In Repentance 32, we read that Eve related her vision to Adam (տեսիլս պատմեաց Եւայ Ադամայ եւ ասաց). These words are not present in the Greek, but are found in Armenian Ap. Mos. 2:2 (զտեսիլն պատմէր նմա եւ ասէր). 2) Greek Ap. Mos. 2:2 refers to the blood τοῦ υἱοῦ μου Ἀμιλαβὲς τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Ἄβελ, whereas both the Armenian and Repentance 32 refer simply to the blood of Abel. 3) When Abel asks Cain to leave some of the blood, Greek does not use the word for blood, but simply the pronoun (ἐξ αὐτοῦ, "some of it"). Armenian and Repentance both use the word for blood (յարենէ). 4) To describe Cain's ejecting Abel's blood, Greek uses the word ἐξῆλθεν, while Armenian and Repentance 33 both use the more specific term փսխէր . There are no points at which Repentance agrees with Greek against Armenian.

those derived above. Both Repentance and Ap. Mos. report that while Adam is on his deathbed, he and Eve discuss the time of her death and their place of burial. In Repentance, the story (82-85) follows an extended lament by Adam and Eve over their expulsion (61-78a), after which Adam becomes ill and his wife and children gather around him (78b-81). The discussion between Adam and Eve appears, and then follows the story of the quest for the oil of life examined above. In Ap. Mos., the discussion between Adam and Eve (31:1-3) follows Eve's lengthy account of her fall (15:1-30:1), and is in the same context of Adam's being sick on his deathbed. Then follows Eve's repentance (32:1-4) and her vision of Adam's resurrection (33:1ff.).

The texts and translations of the two accounts in Repentance and the Armenian version of Ap. Mos. are presented below.

Repentance 82-85

82. Իսկ Եւայ եւ ամենայն
ծնունդք նորա լային եւ
ողբային զԱդամ. եւ Ադամ կայր
առաջի նոցա չարաչար տանջեալ
ի հիւանդութենէ իւրմէ։
83. Յայնժամ ասէ Եւայ ցԱդամ.
Տէր իմ, ասա զժամանակ իմ թէ
յամեմ ես յաշխարհիս, թէ
շուտով մեռանիմ։ 84. Զինչ
առնեմ զկնի քո, զի ես ոչ ինչ
իմանամ։ 85. Ասէ Ադամ, Ոչ
յամես, այլ ի միասին
մեռանիմք եւ դիցեն զիս եւ
քեզ ի մին տեղի.

82. Now Eve and all her
children wept and lamented

Ap. Mos. 31:1-3

31:1...եւ Ադամ կայր առաջի
նոցա, եղեալ ի ցաւս
հիւանդութեան իւրում. իսկ Եւա
եւ որդիք իւր սկսան լալ եւ
ողբալ. եւ յորժամ լռեցին,
զարթեաւ Ադամ ի քնոյ իւրմէ եւ
ասէ ցնա Եւա։ 2. Ընդէ՞ր մեռանիս
դու եւ ես կամ կենդանի, տէր
իմ. եւ կամ քանի ժամանակ զամ
զհետ վախճանելոյդ քում ծանո
ինձ զճշմարիտն։ 3. Ասէ Ադամ
ցԵւա. Ոչ ինչ փոյթ է քեզ
հարցանել վասն այնդոցիկ, վասն
զի մի յապաղեսցես դու զալ զկնի
իմ, այլ հաւասար մեռանիցիմք ի
միասին, եւ դիցեն զքեզ մերձ
առ իս ի նմին տեղւոջ։

31:1...and Adam lay before
them in the pains of his

Repentance 82-85	Ap. Mos. 31:1-3
over Adam, and Adam lay before them, greatly tormented by his illness. 83. Then Eve said to Adam, "My lord, tell me the time of my death; shall I tarry on this earth, or shall I die quickly? 84. What shall I do after you, for I perceive nothing?" 85. Adam said, "You shall not tarry, rather we shall die together, and they will put me and you in the same place."	illness. Now Eve and her children began to weep and lament. And when they became silent, Adam awoke from his sleep, and Eve said to him, 2 "Why do you die, but I remain living, my lord? And how long after your death will I come; tell me the truth?" 3 Adam said to Eve, "Do not be anxious to ask about this, for you shall not delay in coming after me, rather we shall both die together, and they will put you near me in the same place."

Both of these brief accounts report that while Adam lies very ill surrounded by Eve and his children, Eve asks him how long she will live after he dies. To this query Adam responds that they will die and be buried together. Ap. Mos. contains the longer account and some unique material,[5] while there is nothing unique in Repentance, and the two accounts at no point contradict each other. Although the wording of the two accounts is distinct, there are again noticeable similarities in the Armenian vocabulary employed at points where the two accounts correspond. In addition, Repentance consistently agrees with Armenian Ap. Mos. against the Greek where the two accounts coincide. Thus in Repentance 82 Adam's children weep and lament over him before Eve speaks. This view is not present in Greek Ap. Mos., but it is found in the

[5]Ap. Mos. reports that Adam awoke from his sleep, that Eve questions why Adam should die and she live, and that Adam tries to calm Eve from her anxiety.

Armenian, where the same vocabulary is employed (լամ, ողբամ). Also in Repentance 82, we learn that Adam lay before his children tormented by his illness. The phrase used is similar to that found in Armenian Ap. Mos., whereas the Greek reports only that Adam lay ill. Only in Repentance 83 and Armenian Ap. Mos. does Eve address Adam as "my lord." Finally, Repentance 85 and Armenian Ap. Mos. read "they will put" (դիցեն) where Greek is corrupt (αὐτὴ τεθήσει), and the two Armenian accounts read "in the same place" against Greek εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐμόν.[6]

The evidence presented above shows that Repentance drew upon the Armenian version of Ap. Mos. as one of its sources. Apart from the materials presented, however, the two works coincide only on brief and isolated occasions.

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[6]Another interesting parallel between Repentance and Ap. Mos. involves a shared sequence of events surrounding the murder of Abel reported in the two works. In Ap. Mos., 1) Eve's dream about Abel's death (2:1-3) is followed by 2) the story of Adam and Eve's investigation of the dream and their discovery of Abel's body (2:4-31), after which 3) the birth of Seth is announced by an angel (3:2-3). The same sequence is also found in Repentance: 1) Eve's dream (32-34), 2) Adam investigates (35, 37-39), 3) annunciation of the birth of Seth (40-42). Although that sequence in Repentance is disrupted by the account of Abel's murder in vs. 36, we have already shown (see p.   ) that verse to be an intrusion into the text which disrupts its continuity; the manner of Abel's murder is described after his death is reported. Furthermore, the annunciation of the birth of Seth which appears in 40-42 has already been reported at greater length in 30b-31. It is possible that the motivation for repeating the annunciation story in 40-42 may have been a desire to conform to the sequence of events related in Ap. Mos. Apart from the parallels in the story of Eve's dream discussed above, there are no additional significant parallels beyond the agreement in sequence.

Ap. Mos. can be used to account for only a relatively small portion of the material found in Repentance.

It can also be shown that Repentance is dependent upon the Armenian version of Genesis. Although Repentance is a free elaboration of the Genesis story of the antediluvians and diverges widely from the biblical account, there are points at which Repentance and the biblical text closely coincide. An analysis of those coincidences allows us to identify another source used by Repentance.

The only significant coincidences between Repentance and Genesis occur in the story of Cain and Abel.[7] After Abel is murdered and the birth of Seth is announced (Repentance 32-42), God confronts the murderer Cain and asks, "Where is Abel your brother?" Note the virtual identity with Arm Gn 4:9.

Repentance 45 ո՞ւր է Աբէլ եղբայրն քո

Gn 4:9 ո՞ւր է Հաբէլ եղբայր քո

The identical wording continues in Cain's response, "I don't know. Should I be my brother's keeper?"

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[7]There are two minor points at which Repentance and Genesis coincide, but little can be ascertained from them. The first occurs at Repentance 5, where God threatens Adam and Eve with death if they eat the forbidden fruit. The text reads մահու մեռանիցիք , which is identical to Arm Gn 2:17. LXX reads θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε. A second coincidence occurs at Repentance 28 where Eve, after bearing Cain, says "I have brought forth a man through God." The text reads ծնայ մարդ Աստուծով , cf. Arm Gn 4:1 ստացայ մարդ Աստուծով corresponding to LXX ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Some LXX minuscules read ἐκτισάμην.

<u>Repentance</u> 48: Ոչ զիտեմ մի թէ պահապան իցեմ եղբաւրն իմոյ

Gn 4:9: Չգիտեմ մի թէ պահապան իցեմ եղբաւրն իմոյ

After God confronts Cain, he lays seven punishments upon him. Although no such list is found in Arm Genesis, it is evident that the list in <u>Repentance</u> is derived by dividing the biblical account of Cain's punishment into seven parts. Again the similarity in wording to Arm Genesis is noteworthy.

1. <u>Rep</u>. 51: անիծեալ լինիր... Gn 4:11: անիծեալ լինիր դու
2. <u>Rep</u>. 52: ի վերայ երկրի... Gn 4:11: ի վերայ երկրի, որ եբաց զբերան իւր ընդունել զարիւն եղբօր քո ի ձեռաց քոց
3. <u>Rep</u>. 53: գործել զերկիր... Gn 4:12: Զի գործեսցես զերկիր
4. <u>Rep</u>. 54: եւ երկիր ոչ տայ քեզ զպտուղ իւր... Gn 4:12: եւ ոչ յաւելցէ տալ քեզ զզօրհութիւն իւր
5. <u>Rep</u>. 55: երերեալ Gn 4:12: երերեալ եւ
6. <u>Rep</u>. 56: տատանեալ... Gn 4:12: տատանեալ եղիցիս ի վերայ երկրի
7. <u>Rep</u>. 57: նշան եդ ի վերայ նորա Աստուած... ամենայն ոք գիտենայր զնա Gn 4:15: եդ Տէր Աստուած նշան ի Կային չսպանանել զնա ամենայն որ գտանիցէ զնա

Since it is highly unlikely that two independent translations of the biblical text would coincide to this degree in choice of Armenian vocabulary, it must be concluded that <u>Repentance</u> is dependent on the Armenian text of Genesis, either directly or through an Armenian intermediary.

B. <u>The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works</u>

Although it can be shown that isolated elements of

tradition found in Ap. Mos. appear also in the Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works,[8] there are no extended parallels between the two works which give any evidence that the Adam Cycle is directly dependent upon Ap. Mos. The same cannot be said of the relationship between the Adam Cycle and the text of Genesis. While the final three chapters of the Adam Cycle coincide with the biblical text only in general outline and share no verbal parallels, the parallels between the first chapter (Transgression) and Gn 2-3 are frequent and on occasion precise. Parallels between the Adam Cycle and Genesis in reporting the creation of woman (Transgression 6-7 // Gn 2:21, 23), God's warning to the protoplasts not to eat the forbidden fruit (Transgression 8b // Gn 2:16-17), God's confrontation with Adam and Eve after they eat the fruit (Transgression 33b-40 // Gn 3:9b-13), and God's curse on Adam, Eve, and the serpent (Transgression 41-43 // Gn 3:14-20) demonstrate clearly that the Adam Cycle has drawn upon the Armenian text of Genesis.

At some points the Adam Cycle is identical in wording to the Armenian biblical text. Compare, for example, the two accounts of the creation of Eve.

Transgression 6	Gn 2:21
եւ արկ Տէր Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ,եւ առ զմի ի կողիցն նորա եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին	եւ արկ Տէր Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ եւ ննջեաց. եւ առ մի ի կողից նորա եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին

[8]Selected examples are treated in part C below.

Transgression 6	Gn 2:21
And the Lord brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and he took one of his ribs, and he filled in flesh in place of it.	And the Lord brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs, and he filled in flesh in place of it.

At other points the Adam Cycle provides a free and modified version of the biblical text. In the account of God's curse on Adam, Eve, and the serpent, Transgression not only abbreviates and paraphrases the biblical text, but also reverses the order of the curses.[9]

Transgression 41-43	Gn 3:17-19, 16, 14-15
41...փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ, ոչ լուար խրատոյ իմոյ, այլ փութապէս լսեցեր զխրատոյ կնոջ քո. փոխանակ անմահ տնկոյս փուշ բուսանի քեզ. քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո. զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:	3:17 փոխանակ զի լուար ձայնի կնոջդ քո, եւ կերար ի ծառոյ անտի յորմէ պատուիրեցի քեզ անտի միայն չուտել, եւ կերար ի նմանէ, անիծեալ լիցի երկիր ի գործս քո. տրտմութեամբ կերիցես զնա զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց: 18. փուշ եւ տատասկ բուսուսցէ քեզ, եւ կերիցես զբանջար վայրի: 19. Քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո, մինչեւ դարձցիս յերկիր ուստի առար. զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս:
42...փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ, բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից զտրտմութիւն քո, ծնունդ քո մահու չափ եղիցի, եւ ցաւօք կերիցես զաշխարհս, եւ եղիցի քեզ տրտմութիւն զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց.	3:16 Բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից զտրտմութիւն քո եւ հեծութիւն քո. տրտմութեամբ ծնցես որդիս, եւ առ այր քո դարձ քո, եւ նա տիրեսցէ քեզ.
43...Անիծեալ լիցիս յամենայն կենդանեաց մէջ, ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քում սողասցիս, եւ հող կերիցես	3:14...անիծեալ լիջիր դու յամենայն գազանաց երկրի. ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քո գնասցես, եւ հող կերիցես

[9] In the biblical text, God curses the serpent first, then Eve and then Adam. Transgression reverses the order so that Adam is cursed first, followed by Eve and the serpent. In the parallel given below, the order of the curses in Genesis has been rearranged to facilitate comparison.

Transgression 41-43

զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց. եդից զթշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ ի մէջ կնոջ եւ ի մէջ զաւակի քո եւ ի մէջ զաւակի դորա, նա սպասեսցէ քում գլխոյ եւ դու սպասեսցես նորա գարշապարի.

41..."Because you have done this, and you did not listen to my counsel, but hastily listened to your wife's counsel, thorns will spring forth to you in place of this immortal plant. By the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread, for you were dust, and you shall return to dust."

42..."Because you have done this, I will greatly multiply your affliction; childbearing will be the measure of your death, in suffering shall you eat the fruit of this earth, and you shall have sorrow all the days of your life."

43..."Cursed are you among all beasts; upon your breast and belly shall you crawl, and you shall eat dust all the days of your life. I shall put enmity between you and the woman and between your seed and her seed. She shall watch for your head, and you shall watch for her heel."

Gn 3:17-19, 16, 14-15

զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց: 15. Եւ եդից թշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ ի մէջ կնոջդ, եւ ի մէջ զաւակի քո եւ ի մէջ զաւակի դորա. նա սպասեսցէ քում գլխոյ եւ դու սպասեսցես նորա գարշապարի

3:17 "Because you listened to the voice of your wife and you ate from the tree from which alone I commanded you not to eat, but you ate of it, cursed shall be the ground in your labors. In toil shall you eat it all the days of your life. 18. Thorns and thistles will spring forth to you, and you shall eat the herbs of the field. 19. By the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread until you return to the ground from which you were taken. For you were dust, and you shall return to dust."

3:16 "I will greatly multiply your affliction and your lamentation. In sorrow shall you bear children, and to your husband shall you return, and he will rule over you."

3:14 "Cursed are you among all animals and wild beasts of the earth. Upon your breast and belly shall you go, and you shall eat dust all the days of your life. 15. And I shall put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed. She shall watch for your head, and you shall watch for her heel."

In spite of the freedom which the author of Transgression has used in reporting the biblical story,[10]

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[10]Transgression shows no affinities with the other biblical versions at points where it departs from Armenian.

the close agreement in the Armenian wording of the two accounts is unlikely to have been derived by independent translations from another biblical version or versions. This observation allows us to identify an Armenian literary source for the Adam Cycle.

C. Selected Traditions

While literary sources for much of the material contained in the Armenian Adam books cannot be identified, it may be shown that these Armenian materials bear significant affinities with a broad range of Jewish and Christian literary traditions dating from as early as pre-Christian times and extending into the Middle Ages. This point will be illustrated through a study of four selected traditions taken from the Armenian Adam books. The reader is referred to chapter two for texts and translations of the Armenian materials.

1. The Seven Punishments of Cain

Both Repentance 43-60 and Abel and Cain 34-47 report that Cain received seven punishments from God for murdering Abel and supply a list of those punishments. The notion that Cain received seven punishments is found in early translations of Gn 4:15 and may be derived from both the Hebrew text and versions of Gn 4:24. MT Gn 4:15 reads כל הרג קין שבעתים יקם, stating unambiguously that Cain's murderer will be avenged seven-fold. LXX, however, reads ὁ ἀποκτείνας Καὶν ἐπτὰ ἐκδούμενα παραλύσει, which may be translated a) "he who kills Cain will pay seven penalties" or b) "he who kills

Cain will loose seven penalties."[11] The ambiguity of LXX is lost in Arm, which reads **եօթն վրէժս լուծցէ** ("he will loose seven punishments").[12]

The meaning of the Hebrew text of Gn 4:24 is unclear:

כי שבעתים יקם קין ולמך שבעים ושבעה

MT treats יקם as a Pual, rendering the translation "Cain will be avenged seven-fold," but if the verb is taken to be active, we may read "he will avenge Cain seven-fold." The ambiguity is retained in LXX: ὅτι ἑπτάκις ἐκδεδίκηται ἐκ Καίν. ʼΕκ may be rendered either "on behalf of" or "from"; the latter translation gives the meaning "seven times vengeance has been exacted from Cain." The latter meaning is retained in Arm, which reads **զի թէ եօթն անգամ վրէժք խնդրեցին ի Կայենէ**.[13]

The idea that Cain received seven punishments is widespread in subsequent biblical interpretation and appears in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic sources.[14] Of particular

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[11]Παραλύω may mean either "to pay a penalty" or "to loose, take off, put an end to."

[12]Tgs. Onkelos, Ps.-J. and Neofiti give a different interpretation, noting that he who kills Cain will be avenged for seven generations. Other versions follow MT.

[13]Other versions are either irrelevant to this problem or follow MT.

[14]See, e.g. Philo, Quaes. Gen. I.77; Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79; Arabic (fol. 104a) and Syriac (fol. 10a.2-10b.1) Cave of Treasures; Hypostasis of the Archons II:4.91,30, James M. Robinson, ed., The Nag Hammadi Library (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977); Victorinus, De fabrica mundi 8; Cosmas Indopleustes, Cosmographia V.

interest is T. Ben. 7:3-5, where Cain is alloted one of the seven punishments every hundred years for seven hundred years.[15]

At least four other lists of the seven punishments of Cain grew out of the mention of seven punishments in the biblical texts of Gn 4:15 and 24. Three of the lists are in Greek and are closely related to one another. The earliest list is found in Ephraem Syrus' In Sanctam Parasceven[16] (fourth century) amidst a list of questions and answers about disparate biblical texts, the second is found in Procopius of Gaza's Commentary on Genesis[17] (fifth century), and the third in Pseudo-Malalas' Anonymous

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[15]An alternative interpretation noted that Cain's punishment was suspended for seven generations. This idea is found in Jos. Ant. 1.58; Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79; BR 23:4; Midr. Tan. (Wilna) Bereshit 11; MHG on Gn 4:23 (Schechter, 1902); Yal. Shimoni to Gn 4:23; Theodoretus, Questions in Genesis 43; Ephraem Syrus, In Genesim I43E (P. Benedictus and S. Assemanus, eds., Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia Opera Syriace-Latine, Rome, 1737-43). Procopius of Gaza, In Genesim (Migne, vol. 87[1], col. 239) reads ἐν ἑπτὰ γενεαῖς δίκην δώσει, which may signify either that Cain will pay the penalty in seven generations (as above) or that he will pay it throughout seven generations (cf. T. Ben. above). The notions that Lamech was responsible for killing a man (Gn 4:23) and that Cain's punishment was suspended for seven generations are responsible for the widespread tradition that Lamech killed Cain. Lamech is the seventh generation after Cain according to Gn 5:1-25; Lk 3:36-38. This tradition will be discussed below.

A useful discussion of the subsequent interpretation of Gn 4:15 and 24 is found in Aptowitzer, Kain und Abel.

[16]Benedictus, Ephraem Syri, Opera Graeci-Latine, III, p. 477F. The text contains two lacunae.

[17]Migne, vol. 87[1], col. 248.

Chronicle[18] (ninth century?). Ephraem, in a manner similar to Repentance, derives his list by dividing the biblical account of the punishment of Cain into seven parts. Procopius draws his text directly from Ephraem, but expands it using a different LXX text.[19] Ps. Malalas has in turn copied from and abbreviated Procopius.[20] The Greek lists bear no relationship to the Armenian lists. Although the Greek is closer to the list in Repentance insofar as both divide the text of Gn 4:11-15 into seven parts, the differences between them indicate the lists were derived independently.[21] A fourth list which occurs in a late Georgian text appears to be related to the Armenian lists and not to the Greek.[22]

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[18] W. L. Dindorf, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, vol. 8, p. 5.

[19] The content and order of the seven punishments is identical to that of Ephraem, the Greek wording in the two texts is similar, and most of the differences in wording can be explained with reference to LXX variants.

[20] The order and content of the seven punishments is identical. The Greek wording is very similar when the texts do not follow LXX, and when they do follow LXX, they generally reflect the same variant readings. Both contain one variation on LXX elsewhere unattested.

[21] Punishments four and six in Greek are not found in Repentance, Greek punishment one is divided into two parts (punishments one and two) in Repentance, and the repetition in punishments five and six in Repentance is not found in the Greek list. There are no striking similarities in the wording of the shared punishments.

[22] Lüdtke, "Adam-Bücher," p. 156, cites only one of the punishments in the list, according to which one horn sprouted from Cain's head which cried "Cain is a brother murderer." The Georgian agrees with Repentance in saying

The idea that Cain was made to shake (Repentance 55, Abel and Cain 41) is also found in MT, the versions, and subsequent interpretation of Gn 4:12. MT Gn 4:12 reads נע ונד תהיה בארץ; נוע means "to quiver, shake, tremble," and נוד may mean either "to wander" or "to shake, waver, totter." LXX reads στένων καὶ τρέμων, although some MSS read σαλευόμενος for στένων. Syriac zʾʿ wnʾd retains the ambiguity of MT. Tgs. Onkelos, Ps.-Jon., Neofiti, and Frag. Targ. use the word מטלטל, which may mean either "exile" or "trembler." Arm երերեալ and տատանեալ are identical to the words found in Repentance. In subsequent interpretation, Ps. Philo 2:1, Philo, Det. 119, Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79, and Chrysostom, Homilies on 1Cor 7:9, 30:9 note that this was Cain's punishment, and Philo Det. 140 adds that "worthless men of whose company Cain is a member" will live trembling (τρέμοντες) and shuddering (φρίττοντες). Hypostasis of the Archons II:4.91,30[23] states that Cain's murderer will exist "trembling upon the earth," and Recognitions of Pseudo-Clement VIII.47 notes that trembling sickness has been the punishment of parricide from the beginning. Midr. Tan. (Wilna, 1885) Bereshit 9 notes that the earth shook under Cain wherever he went, cf. Syncellus,

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that Cain had only one horn, but agrees with the Adam Cycle in reporting the words of the horn. This may suggest that the Georgian is also from the earlier form or source of the Adam Cycle, although the data is insufficient to judge.

[23]Robinson, Nag Hammadi.

Chronography, p. 16, which states that Cain dwelt in the low land which quakes (τρέμουσα).

Additional elements of tradition recorded in the two Armenian lists are found in earlier Jewish and Christian sources. We have noted that the widespread interpretation of Gn 4:15 that Cain's punishment was suspended for seven generations combined with the reference to a murder committed by Lamech (Gn 4:23), a seventh generation descendant of Adam's progeny, gave rise to a tradition that Lamech killed Cain.[24] According to this legend, Lamech, who was blind, went hunting with his son. Lamech's son saw Cain with a horn growing out of his forehead (N.B.), mistook him for a beast, and directed Lamech to kill him.[25] This tradition is also found in Abel and Cain 48-51, where Lamech sees Cain with his two horns and skin, mistakes him for a stag, and kills him. Yal. Shimoni to Gn 4:15, BR 22:12, Midr. Tan. (Wilna) Bereshit 10, and Zohar I36b understand the sign which God put on Cain (Gn 4:15) to be a horn which sprouted from his head.

The idea that Cain was not allowed to die is found in Philo, Fug. 64, who notes allegorically that Cain is "the symbol of wickedness which must of necessity ever live among men," and in Tertullian, Against Marcion II.25, where God

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[24] Jos. Ant. 1.58 notes only that Lamech saw he was to pay the penalty for Cain's murder of his brother.

[25] Midr. Tan. (Wilna) Bereshit 11; MHG to Gn 4:23; Ephraem Syrus, In Genesim I46D; Jerome, ad Damasum 125. The same legend is found in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve II.13; Sefer HaYashar (Berlin, 1923) p. 8; Midrash Aggadah on Gn 4:23; Yal. Shimoni on Gn 4:16, and Rashi on Gn 4:23, but the horn is not mentioned.

does not allow Cain to atone for his sin by dying. The notion that God asked Cain where his brother was in order to give him the opportunity to repent is found in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79 and in Theophilus, To Autolycus II.29, in which Cain responds contemptuously and angers God. Midr. Tan. (Wilna) Bereshit 9 records the tradition that wherever Cain went, the beasts said to one another, "Cain killed Abel his brother."[26] The purpose of the sign which God put on Cain, according to the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79, was so that everyone would know that Cain murdered his brother.[27] Jub. 4:1, 31 notes that Cain lived 860 years (cf. Abel and Cain 46).

Finally, the notion in Abel and Cain 47 that Cain covered himself with a skin may be influenced by Gn 3:21, in which God covers Adam and Eve with garments of skin directly after cursing them.[28]

2. The Annunciation of the Birth of Seth

No single literary source for the story of the annunciation of the birth of Seth in the Armenian Adam books is extant among the remains of Jewish and Christian literature. The only other surviving account of an annunciation of Seth's

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[26] Cf. the cry of Cain's horn in Repentance and the Adam Cycle and the response of the mountains, rocks, and valleys in the Adam Cycle.

[27] Cf. Repentance in contrast to Gn 4:15.

[28] Note that in MS Y, God brings the skin and covers Cain.

birth is found in Ap. Mos. 3:2-3 where God, in response to Adam's grief, sends an angel who tells him not to grieve and promises him another son to replace Abel. None of the more specific elements of the four Armenian accounts is paralleled here, and Ap. Mos. 3:2 contradicts Repentance 30 in naming the archangel Michael, not Gabriel.[29] In addition to this annunciation account, some of the elements of tradition contained in the Armenian texts are found in a variety of older sources. The idea that Adam and Eve engaged in a period of sexual separation following Abel's murder is common in apocryphal and rabbinic sources. Its earliest occurrence is in Jub. 4:7, where the duration of the separation is "four weeks of years." George the Syncellus, Chronography, p. 15, agrees, citing Jubilees as his source.[30] The Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve II.2[31] gives the figure seven years, while Syriac (fol. 8a, col. 1 - 8b col. 1)[32] and Arabic

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[29]The role of Gabriel may be influenced by Lk 1:26-38, where the angel delivers tidings of Jesus' birth. The Lukan story may account for some of the language and structure in Tidings. Here the angel tells Mary to fear not, promises she will bear a son, instructs her to name the son Jesus, and predicts his greatness.

[30]W. Dindorf, ed., Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, vol. VI. Syncellus most likely inherited his Jubilees material from Panodorus through Anianos. See H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1898), II, pp. 247-297.

[31]S. C. Malan, The Book of Adam and Eve (London: Williams and Northgate, 1882).

[32]C. Bezold, Die Schatzhöhle (Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1883), p. 8.

(fol. 97b)[33] Cave of Treasures say one hundred years. Eutychius, Annals 16,[34] Methodius the Younger, Revelations 3,[35] and Michael the Syrian, Chronicle I:1[36] have inherited the latter figure. Tg. Ps.-J. to Gn 4:25; BR 23:4 (cf. 20:11); Num. R. 14:12; b. 'Erub. 18b; Midr. Tan. (Wilna, 1833) Bereshit 11; and Midr. Tan. (Buber) Bereshit 26 // Yal. Hamekiri on Prv. 14:28 agree that the period of separation was one hundred and thirty years.[37] None of these figures agree with those in Abel and Cain and Repentance. The idea that Adam and Eve mourned over Abel's unburied body is also attested elsewhere. In Pirqe R. El. 21 and the Slavonic

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[33] M. D. Gibson, "Kitāb al Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls," Apocrypha Arabica (London: J. C. Clay, 1901).

[34] J.-P. Migne, ed., Patrologie Cursus Completus (Paris: Garnier, 1863), Series Graeca, vol. 111, col. 911.

[35] Quoted in S. Baring-Gould, Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets (New York: Holt and Williams, 1872), p. 57.

[36] J.-B. Chabot, Chronique de Michel le Syrien (repr. Brussels: Jos. Adam, 1963).

[37] This unanimity among the rabbis goes back to a contradiction in the biblical text. According to Gn 4 (=J), Cain and Abel were the first sons of Adam, while Gn 5:3 (=P) implies that Adam begat his first son, Seth, at age one hundred and thirty. In order to resolve this discrepancy, the rabbis concluded that the one hundred thirty years of Gn 5:3 refers to a period of separation of Adam and Eve which was broken when Seth was conceived.

Cf. with Tidings and Abel and Cain the motivation for the separation given in Midr. Tan. Bereshit 26 // Yal. Hamekiri on Prv. 14:28: "Why should I beget sons if they will come under a curse" (i.e. death).

In addition to the texts listed above, Pesiq. Rab. Kah. 5:2 and Pesiq. R. 15:2 allude to a separation of Adam and Eve of unspecified duration.

Palaea,[38] Adam and Eve mourn over Abel's body, being unaccustomed to burial, until God sends two ravens, one of which kills and buries the other as a sign for Adam and Eve to imitate.[39] According to the Melchizedek fragment 3:36,[40] Adam buried Abel after Abel lay unburied for three years. In Ap. Mos. 40:3-5, the earth does not receive Abel's body until Adam is buried. This is also implied in the Life of Adam and Eve 48:4-7, where Adam and Abel are buried simultaneously, and in Jub. 4:29, Syriac Cave of Treasures (fol. 9a col. 1), where Adam is the first to be buried in the ground.

The etymological identification of Seth as "consolation" is attested in other Armenian sources, but not elsewhere. As in Repentance 31 and 42, Seth is called "son of consolation" in The Words of Adam to Seth 3 and the Armenian Infancy Gospel 11:11, 23.[41] The notion that Seth is to be

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[38]See Denkschriften der Kaiserlische Akademie zu Wein. Philosophisch-Historischen Classe, Bd. 22 (1873), p. 52.

[39]The story of how Cain learned to kill in Abel and Cain is corrupt in all the MSS and its precise content is unclear. See note 11 to the text of Abel and Cain in chapter four below. To improve the sense of the text, Issaverdens, Uncanonical Writings, p. 57, inserts a variant form of this tradition about the two ravens taken from Vartan's Commentary on the Creation.

[40]Present in some MSS of 2 Enoch and translated in W. R. Morfill, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), pp. 85-93.

[41]E. Tayetsi, Ankanon Girk Nor Ktakaranac (Venice: Armenian Monastery of St. Lazarus, 1898). For a translation, see P. Peeters, Évangiles Apocryphes (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1914), II, pp. 138ff.

translated "consoler" is found in The Death of Adam 7. All these sources explain the name Seth from the root մխիթար . The closest parallels outside Armenian sources occur in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve II:1, 17, where Seth is given to replace Abel as a comfort to his parents,[42] and in Michael Glycas, Annals, pp. 235-236,[43] where God comforts (παραμυθέομαι) Adam by giving him the virtuous Seth. The identification of Seth as a consolation arises naturally from Gn 4:25, where Seth is a replacement for the murdered Abel.

The exalted status of Seth as a "blessed son" and "foremost of the patriarchs" in Tidings is found in other sources. In rabbinic sources, Seth is blessed by virtue of being the third child (Midr. Tan., Yitro 10) and is the foundation (שית) of mankind[44] (Num. R. 14:12; MHG on Gn 4:25; Midr. Lekah Tov on Gn 5:2) from whom all the righteous are descended (Pirqe R. El. 22). In Philo, De Post 42, Seth is the head (ἀρχηγέτης) of men of nobility and virtue. According to George the Syncellus, Chronography, p. 34, who cites Africanus as his source, "the genealogies of the righteous and the patriarchs up until the savior are traced from him

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[42]II.17: God gave Seth to Adam "to comfort me instead of Abel."

[43]I. Bekker, ed., Michaelis Glycae. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, vol. XXVII. The name Barnabas is said to be translated "son of consolation" (Arm որդի մխիթարութեան) in Acts 4:36.

[44]Cf. Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus II.30, where Seth is the ancestor of the human race.

[Seth 1"[45]

3. The Murder of Abel

Although there is no extant parallel to the story of Abel's murder found in Repentance and Abel and Cain, several of the elements contained in the story are attested in earlier Jewish and Christian sources.[46] Cain's remark to Abel, "let us go and take a walk in the field" (Abel and Cain) is reflected in the biblical versions. MT Gn 4:8 reads: ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו, but does not report what Cain said to Abel. LXX, Syr., Arm, Samaritan Pentateuch, Tgs. Neofiti, Ps.-J., and Frag. Tg. to Gn 4:8 all supply the missing remark in a form similar to that found in Abel and Cain. BR 22:8, Midr. Tan. (Wilna ed., 1833) Bereshit 9, and Aggadat Shir (ed. Schechter, 1896, p. 43) record the tradition that Abel was stronger than Cain and outwrestled him,[47] but had mercy on Cain and allowed him to get up,[48] whence he was killed. The idea that Satan incited Cain to murder Abel is found in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.76; Syriac (fol. 8a col. 1) and Arabic (fol. 97b) Cave of Treasures, and

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[45]The exaltation of Seth culminates in the identification of Seth with Christ by the Sethian gnostic sect.

[46]Lüdtke, "Adam-Bücher," p. 156, cites a Georgian account of the murder which resembles that in Abel and Cain.

[47]Cf. Philo, De Migr. Abr. 13, where Cain is a clever wrestler who prevails over Abel by skill (τέχνη) rather than strength. See also Ephraem Syrus, In Genesim I.41.

[48]An attempt to explain Gn 4:8: ויקם קין אל הבל אחיו ויהרגהו.

Eutychius, Annals (Migne, vol. 111, col. 910). The notion that Cain killed Abel with a stone is widespread. Syriac Cave of Treasures (fol. 8a col. 1) specifies the weapon was a flintstone; other suggestions are a sharp stone (Arabic Cave of Treasures, fol. 97b), large stone (Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79), stones (Syncellus, Chronographia, p. 19), or merely a stone (Jub. 4:31, BR 22:8, Tg. Ps.-J. to Gn 4:8, PRE 21, Midr. Tan., Wilna ed., 1833, Bereshit 9, Aggadat Bereshit, ed. S. Buber, 1902, ch. 26, Eutychius, Annals in Migne, vol. 111, col. 911). The story in Midr. Tan. (Wilna ed., 1833) Bereshit 9 that Cain hit Abel on the hands and feet with a stone several times before discovering that breath came from the neck should be compared with the ideas in Abel and Cain 26, 31 that Cain "did not know which is the place of killing" and that he killed Abel by cutting his wind-pipe.[49] The idea that Abel requested mercy for their parents when he was about to be murdered is found in the Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve I.79. Finally, the notion that one bird's killing another with a stone provided Cain with the paradigm for murdering his brother is reflected in rabbinic and apocryphal traditions. According to Midr. Tan. (Wilna ed., 1833) Bereshit 10, PRE 21, and Melchizedek fragment 3:36,[50] one bird killed another and buried its partner, thereby showing Cain how to bury his brother.

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[49]A similar story is found in b. San. 37b, but a stone is not named as the weapon.

[50]Morfill and Charles, Secrets, p. 91.

It is worthy of note that much of the tradition found in Abel and Cain is reflected in Midr. Tan. (Wilna, 1885) Bereshit 9-10, which contains more information about the murder than any other Jewish source. In this text we find the story of the wrestling between Abel and Cain, that the murder weapon was a stone, that one bird's murder and burial of another served as a model for Cain, and that Cain searched for a vulnerable spot on Abel's body before cutting his throat. The fact that all the traditions in these Armenian texts which are elsewhere attested occur in rabbinic and/or oriental Christian sources may suggest a semitic background for the story.

4. Enoch's/Enosh's Garden

The story of Enoch's/Enosh's garden found in Tidings, Words, and The Descendants of Adam is unique to the Armenian tradition. Apart from a late parallel tradition in Georgian which is most likely taken from the Armenian, there is no other account of Enoch or Enosh planting a garden in Jewish and Christian literature.[51] The story can be understood, however, as a product of early traditions. The attested ideas that Enoch was righteous (1En. 12:4, 15:1, et al.), that he did not die (Gn 5:24 and versions), and that he was translated to paradise (see below) could give rise to the notion that his proper guardianship of a garden earned him

[51]For the Georgian account, which most closely resembles Tidings, see Lüdtke, "Adam-Bücher," p. 156.

the immortal life in paradise denied Adam and Eve.[52]

Some of the traditions in the Armenian texts are attested elsewhere. Enoch's translation into paradise by angels is mentioned in Jub. 4:21-23, 1 En. 70:3-4,[53] and the idea that he continues to dwell there is found in Jub. 4:23, Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 2:66, Gospel of Nicodemus 9 (Latin), and Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, I.5.[54] For the assertion that Enoch received the divine light after being translated, cf. Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve II.22.[55]

In summary, it has been shown that The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works and The History of the Repentance of

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[52] This suggestion is supported by the fact that in The Words of Adam to Seth, Enoch/Enosh receives the divine glory and light of which Adam is robbed before being expelled from the garden (vss. 2, 13, 16). The expressions աստուածային փառացն and աստուածային լուսոյն are used in connection with both Adam and Enoch.

The word այգի is used instead of դրախտ , but note that in 3 Bar. 4:8, the devil leads Adam astray by means of an άμπελός.

[53] The idea that Enoch was translated into paradise is also found in Syriac (fol. 14a col. 1) and Arabic (fol. 107a) Cave of Treasures, Ethiopic Book of Adam and Eve II.22, George the Syncellus, Chronography, p. 39 (citing Africanus), and late rabbinic works (Alphabet of Ben Sira 38, Derek Eretz Zuta (end), PRK 83:2, Aggudat Aggadot 12, et al.). Enoch is taken into paradise by angels in 2 En. 8, but this refers to his visionary ascension and not to his translation.

[54] According to the Arabic chronographer Tabari, Annals, i. c. xxxv., the angel Azrael bore Enoch to paradise where he continues to dwell (quoted in Baring-Gould, Legends, p. 72).

[55] God transported Enoch to paradise "in light that reaches up to heaven, light that is outside the light of this world; for it is the light of God...Thus, because Enoch was in the light of God, he found himself out of the reach of death."

Adam and Eve have used the Armenian text of Genesis as a literary source, and that Repentance has further taken material from the Armenian version of Ap. Mos. In addition to these literary sources, the Adam Cycle and Repentance contain materials for which no literary source may be identified, but which bear affinities with a broad range of older Jewish and Christian sources. While Repentance has inherited some of those elements of tradition indirectly from the Adam Cycle which it used as a source, other elements may not be so easily explained.[56] If those materials cannot be shown to be part of the large body of Armenian translation literature, it can at least be demonstrated that they draw heavily on foreign sources. The attested traditions are found most consistently in rabbinic and oriental Christian sources. This may suggest a Jewish origin for the traditions which may have been mediated to Armenia through the Syrian church.[57] However, no consistent pattern of borrowing was discernible in the stories examined.

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[56]See esp. the list of the seven punishments of Cain, most of the material in which is independent of the Adam Cycle, and the expanded treatment of the annunciation of Seth's birth.

[57]Armenian translation literature drew most heavily from Syriac and Greek sources. A statement in Samuel of Ani's Chronology (13th cent.) is suggestive in this regard. He notes that in ca. 590 A. D., a band of Syrian Nestorians entered Armenia attempting to propagate their doctrine and translated their books for their disciples. Included in a list of these works is a document called The Repentance of Adam.

Chapter 4

TEXT, APPARATUS, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Editio princeps

I. The Text

A. The Armenian Adam Cycle of Four Works

The edition of the Adam Cycle given below must be regarded as a preliminary working edition. Due to technical reasons, not all known witnesses to the text of the Adam Cycle were available to the author. It is the author's intent to produce a complete edition based on all the known manuscripts at a later date. Nevertheless, a substantial majority of known textual witnesses to the Adam Cycle has been consulted for this work. Hence the edition below represents a significant advance over the only previous edition, that of S. Yovsepeanc', which was produced from a single manuscript.

The text given below is in essence a diplomatic text. The readings of Y are followed consistently except at points where Y appears corrupt, at which points the evidence of other manuscripts is incorporated into the text. At points where other manuscripts differ markedly and at length from the text of Y and there is no evidence of corruption either in Y or in the differing manuscript(s), the readings

of both Y and the differing manuscript(s) are given in parallel columns.

As noted in chapter one, the readings of Y are taken from the Yovsepeanc' edition of MS Y since the manuscript was not made available to the author. Unfortunately, the Yovsepeanc' edition indicates both suggested editorial additions and omissions by enclosing them in parentheses. It is not always possible to determine if words enclosed in parentheses were in the original manuscript or were added by the editor to improve the text. At these points, where other manuscripts disagree, a superior reading from those other manuscripts is incorporated into the text and the reading of Y is placed in the apparatus with the parentheses retained. At points where the evidence of other manuscripts is not available, the reading of Y is placed in the text with parentheses retained.

The critical edition presented here gives the text of recension I, which is judged herein to be a text form superior to that of recension II. The text and translation of a single manuscript copy of recension II is provided in an appendix below.

Apparatus

The apparatus includes all variants of possible significance for the study of the substantive readings preserved in the manuscripts. It is not exhaustive of all variants between the manuscripts since some variants, being chiefly orthographic or scribal in character, have been

excluded. These variants may be listed as follows:

1. Standard spelling variants (e.g. աւ/օ ; ե/է ; inclusion or omission of otiose ի before a word to which the preposition is already attached) and errors of spelling.

2. Case variations in possessive pronouns and adjectives (e.g. իմ / իմում).

3. Addition or omission of demonstrative ս/դ/ն and variations between these and their analogues այս/այդ/այն and compounds thereof.

4. The addition or omission of թէ or եթէ before direct speech and variations between these two forms.

5. Addition or omission of the personal pronoun before conjugated verb forms.

6. Addition or omission of զ as a sign of the definite object.

7. Addition or omission of կու before verb forms.

8. Variation of sg. and pl. forms of adjectives, which do not always agree with the noun modified, unless the form of the adjective is deemed important for determining the number of the noun.

9. Minor variants of word order.

10. Insignificant morphological alternatives (such as inclusion or omission of եց before the aorist participial ending եալ).

B. The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve

The text of Repentance presented below is taken from the only known manuscript of the work, here designated MS E.

Although a copy of the manuscript made by F. C. Conybeare was presented to the Mechitarists of San Lazarro for inclusion in Yov., there are several minor errors of copying as well as two major omissions, identified in chapter one, in the Yov. edition. Those errors are corrected in the text given below.

C. The Words of Adam to Seth

As noted in chapter one, the text of Words is known only from a single manuscript which was unavailable to the author but which was reproduced in Yov. The text of the Yov. edition is reprinted here. Since the editor's suggested additions to and omissions from the text are both enclosed in parentheses, it is impossible to distinguish between them and hence to determine the original reading of the manuscript. Therefore, all parentheses in the Yov. edition have been retained below.

II. The Translation

The translator has sought to combine fluidity of English expression with literal adherence to the wording of the Armenian. At points where this balance is difficult to achieve, the translator has tried to retain a more literal rendition of the text. Any words introduced by the editor and the editor's emendations are placed in brackets < >; attempts by the editor to clarify the translation are placed in parentheses, e.g. he (Adam).

The editor has introduced a system of versification to facilitate use of both the text and translation. For the

most part, the divisions between verses correspond to those so noted in Yov., although the verses are not numbered in Yov.

A limited number of notes to the text and translation is provided at points where the Armenian appears difficult or where other pertinent observations are deemed necessary.

Signs and Abbreviations

< >	Editor's emendation of the text or translation.
( ) in text and apparatus	Retained in Y from text of Yov.
( ) in translation	Editor's clarification of the text.
dot over letter	Letter uncertain in the MS.
dot over space	Letter cannot be deciphered in the MS.
+	Adds
1°, 2°, 3°, etc.	Following a word indicates the first, second, third, etc. occurrence of the word in the verse.
A*, B*, C*	Text as written by the original scribe.
A^{c}, B^{c}, C^{c}	Text as corrected by an unidentified hand.
word---word	Indicates all words between the two words so linked.
word...word	Indicates only those two words so linked.
ante	Before
fin	End of the verse
inc	Start of the verse
om	Omits
pl.	Plural
post	After
praepon	Places in front of
sg.	Singular

ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՍՏԵՂԾՄԱՆ ԵՒ ՅԱՆՑՄԱՆՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ[1]

Y

1. Յորժամ ստեղծ Տէր Աստուած զերկինս եւ զերկիր, եւ[2] արար նախ զզօրս հրեշտակաց ի ծառայութիւն աստուածութեանն իւրոյ: 2. Իսկ չարն Սաղայէլ եւ Բելիար դասազլուխ էին դասուց Սատանայի, մեծափառօք զարդարեալ, բարձր քան զամենայն հրեշտակք[3] եւ զամենայն դասս հրեշտակաց.

D

1. Տէր Աստուած յառաջ քան զաշխարհս, ստեղծեաց ինն դաս հրեշտակքն վասն ծառայութեանն աստուածութեանն իւրոյ: 2. Առաջի հրեշտակին դասն Բէլիարին դասն էր բարձր քան զամենայն դասս հրեշտակաց. իսկ չարն Բէլիար որ գլուխ էր դասս հրեշտակաց մեծ փառօք զարդարեալ.

օրհնէին, զովէին, բարեբանէին եւ փառաբանէին զԱստուած:

3. Իսկ պիղծն Սատանայ ոչ կամեցաւ օրհնաբանել զԱստուած. եւ հպարտացաւ ի սրտի իւրում, եւ կամեցաւ զաթոռ իւր բարձրացուցանել հաւասար Աստուծոյ աթոռին: 4. Եւ հրամայեաց Տէր Աստուած յունանաւոր սերովբէից մեծին Գաբրիէլի եւ ահաւորին Միքայէլի, եւ ինն դասուց հրեշտակացն. դիմեցին ի վերայ

Title] Պատմութիւն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն ելանելու D

2 օրհնէին] + եւ D | բարեբանէին] om D

3 պիղծն Սատանայ] չար Բէլիարն D | օրհնաբանել] օրհնել եւ փառաբանել D | եւ 1°] այլ D | բարձրացուցանէր D

4 յունանաւոր] om D | եւ 2°---եւ 3°] om D | հրեշտակացն] om D |

Սաղաէլի եւ ամենայն կամարարացն նորա, հարին զնոսա եւ ի վայր տուին, որպէս զկարկուտ ի յամպէն:

5. Իսկ բարերարն Աստուած, վասն հպարտութեանն Սատանայի, ստեղծ զԱդամ հողեղէն, զի լցուսցեն[4] զտեղի անկելոց հրեշտակացն:

6. Եւ արկ Տէր Աստուած թմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ, եւ առ զմի ի կողիցն նորա եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին. եւ իբրեւ զարթեաւ Ադամ ի քնոյ, տեսաւ զկին հաւանեցաւ: 7. Եւ ասաց Ադամ. Ահա ոսկր ի յոսկերաց իմ, եւ մարմին ի մարմնոյ. սա կոչեսցի կին:

8. Եւ տարեալ զնոսա Տէր Աստուած, եւ եդ ի մէջ դրախտին Ադենայ, որ է փառօք մեծ. եւ ետ պատուէր նոցա Տէր Աստուած եւ ասէ. Ուտելով կերիջիք յամենայն պտղոց ծառերոյդ, բայց ի ծառոյն կենաց մի ուտիցէք եւ մի հուպ լինիցիք. զի յորժամ ուտիցէք ի նմանէ մահու մեռանիք: 9. Իսկ վասն այն եդ զԱդամ ի միջասահման դրախտին, (զի) եթէ պահեալ էր Ադամ զպատուիրանս Տեառն, վերանայր փառօք ի վերինն Երուսաղէմ ի տեղի անկեալ հրեշտակացն:

Սաղաէլի---եւ 5°] ղասուն Սատանայի D

5 բարերարն] + Տէր D | զԱդամ---զտեղի] զմարդն ի հողէն զի լիցին ի տեղուն D

6 զմի---մարմին] զկող մի ստեղծ զմարմնոց կից Ադամայ մայր մեր D | եւ 4°] om D | ի քնոյ] om D

7 մարմնոյ] + իմոյ եւ հրամայեաց Տէր D

8 եւ 1°---Աստուած 1°] om D | եդ] եդիր զնա D | փառօք մեծ] փառք միջաց սահման D | եւ 3°] om D | կերիջիք---պտղոց] կերիցէք ամենայն պտուղ D | ի ծառոյն կենաց] այս մի ծառոյն D | եւ մի հուպ լինիցիք] om D | մեռանիցէք D

9 (զի)] եւ D | վերանայր փառօք ի] ի փառք D | տեղի] + այնս D

10. Վասն այն Սատանայ նախանձեալ եմուտ յօձն:

11. Յայնժամ օձն թեւաւոր էր, լեզու ունէր, մտանէր ի դրախտն. եւ Սատանայ յանէն հրեշտակաց ոչ իշխէր ի դրախտն մտանել: 12. Իբրեւ ետես զօձն ի դրախտին, ուսուց[5] օձին խաբել զԵւայ եւ զԱդամ: 13. Իբրեւ գնաց օձն եւ տեսաւ զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ, զի շրջէին եւ պտղոյն ուտելովն զուարճանային ի մէջ դրախտին. իսկ օձն <խրատեալ> էր ի Սատանայէ. այնչափ որսաց, որ զԵւայ միայն գտաւ:

14. Ասէ օձն Եւայի. Ընդէ՞ր <ամենայն> ծառոյ պտղոյ ճաշակես, եւ <այս> գեղեցիկ պտղոյս ոչ ճաշակես:

15. Ասէ Եւայ. Զի Տէր Աստուած պատուէր ետ չուտել ի պտղոյդ. իբրեւ ուտիցէք, ասէ, մահու մեռանիցիք:

16. Ասէ օձն. Խաբել կամի զձեզ Աստուած. զի Աստուած իբրեւ զձեզ նման էր, քան զի չէր կերեալ ի պտղոյդ. իբրեւ կերաւ

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10 յօձն] օձն D

11 Յայնժամ] եւ D | լեզու ունէր] om D | մտանէր] եւ մտեալ D | դրախտն 1°] + եւ ելանէր D | եւ---մտանել] իսկ Սատանայ ոչ կարէր մտանել ի դրախտն անէն հրեշտակաց D

12 ետես] եզիտ D | ի] արտաքոյ D | եւ զԱդամ] om D

13 օձն եւ] զօձն D | եւ պտղոյն ուտելովն] ի պտղէն ճաշակելով D | խրատեալ D] խրախեալ Y | էր] om D | որ] մինչեւ D

14 ամենայն D] (յ) ամենայն Y | պտղոյ] պտուղ D | այս D] (յ) այս Y | պտղոյս] պտուղն D

15 Զի] om D | Աստուած] + մեր D | իբրեւ---մեռանիցիք] թէ ուտեմք մահու մեռանեմք D

16 Աստուած 1°] om D | պտուղ D | կերաւ] + ի պտղոյ այտի B |

սստուածութեան փառացն հասաւ: 17. Վասն այն ասաց ձեզ չուտել ի պտղոյդ, զի հաւասար լինիցիք եւ փառակից եւ աթոռակից Աստուծոյ:

18. Յայնժամ առեալ ի պտղոյն եւ կերաւ. ընդ ուտել պտղոյն մերկացաւ ի լուսոյն: 19. Իբրեւ եկն Ադամ եւ ետես զկինն մերկացեալ ի լուսոյն, տրտմեցաւ Ադամ եւ ասէ. <ընՁէր[6]> կերար ի պտղոյն:

20. Ասէ Եւայ. Զի քաղցրազոյն պտուղ է, առ եւ դու ճաշակեայ եւ տես զքաղցրութիւն պտղոյդ:

21. Ասէ Ադամ. Ոչ կարեմ ուտել ի դմանէ, եւ <մերկանալ> քեզ նման:

22. Ասէ Եւայ. Շատ կերայ, վասն այն մերկացայ. դու սակաւ ճաշակեայ:

23. Ասէ Ադամ. Ոչ կարեմ ճաշակել եւ քեզ նման մերկանալ:

սստուածութեան] այն մեծութեան B D

17 ասէ D + Աստուած B | զի] + մի B D | հաւասար] + իւրն B D | փառակից եւ] om B | Աստուծոյ] om B D

18. Յայնժամ---պտղոյն 1°] առեալ Եւայ զպտուղն B եւ իբրեւ զայս լուաւ Եւայ առաւ զպտուղն D | եւ] om D | կերաւ] + եւ B | ուտել պտղոյն] ուտելուն D

19 Իբրեւ] եւ ապա D | եւ 1°] om D | զկինն---լուսոյն] զԵւայ մերկ եւ D | Ադամ 2°] om D | ընդէր B D] om Y

20 inc] + եւ D | Զի] խիստ D | եւ դու] om B D

21 կարես B | մերկանալ B D] մերկանամ Y | քեզ նման] om D

24. Ասէ Եւայ. Թէպէտ ուտես ոչ բարկանայ քեզ Աստուած, զի Աստուած զքեզ յոյժ սիրէ:

25. Եւ ապա առաւ զպտուղն քննէր, եւ վախէր թէ կնոջ նման մերկանայր: 26. Թէ ոչ ճաշակէր, կինն լայր եւ աղաչէր ասելով. Մեռանիմք ի միասին, եւ թէ ապրիմք ի միասին, մի <որոշիր զիս> ի քէն: 27. Իսկ Ադամ, երբ հայէր ի կնոջ զեղեցկութիւնն, խելքն թափէր ի գլխոյն. Թէպէտ ի լուսոյ էր մերկացեալ բայց զեղեցիկ էր, զի մարմինն որպէս մարգարիտ սպիտակափայլ էր. քանզի նորաստեղծ էր, զի Աստուած իւր ձեռօքն էր ստեղծեալ եւ զարդարեալ: 28. Իսկ Ադամ բազում քննութիւն արար, ասաց. Մի թէ Աստուած ողորմի ինձ եւ ոչ մերկացուցանէ. երբ թէ մերկանամ. զի լաւ է ինձ մեռանիլ քան թէ բաժանիլ եւ որոշիլ ի կնոջէս: 29. Զի զայս ոչ իմացաւ, թէ պահեալ էր

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24 քեզ] ինձ D | սիրէ] + կեր մի թէ ողորմեսցէ ինձ զ̈ քո̈յդ D

25 առեալ B | քննէր եւ] ի ձեռն Ադամ քննէր թէ ճաշակէր B ի ձեռն թէ ճաշակեր D

26 թէ ոչ ճաշակէր] om D + զի B | կինն] + զԵւայ̈ D | ի 1°] om D | եւ 2°] om B | որոշիր զիս B D] որոշիլ Y | քեզ +ան̈ D

27 երբ] om D | գլխոյն] + (որ) Y | թէպէտ ի] մի թէ D | զի 1°---էր 3°] om D | զի 2°] om D | եւ զարդարեալ] om B

28 մերկացուցանէ] + զիս B | զի] դեռ B D | ինձ 2°] + մերկանամ D | մեռանեմ D | բաժանիլ եւ] om D | կնոջէս] + կերաւ մերկացաւ D

29 իմացաւ B D] + (զի) Y |

զպատուիրանն, կարող էր Աստուած քան զայն եւ այլ գեղեցիկ կին ստեղծանել: 30. Մինչեւ երեք ժամ պտուղն ի ձեռն քննութիւն արար, ասաց թէ ոչ կարեմ ապրիլ առանց կնոջս. եւ եթող զխօսքն Աստուծոյ եւ կնոջ խօսքով կերաւ զպտուղն, եւ մերկացաւ ի լուսոյն: 31. Զի ոչ թէ պտուղն չար էր, քան զի չար պտուղն ի դրախտի մէջն ոչ կայր. այլ չարն այն էր, որ Եւայ զԱստուծոյ խօսքն[7] եւ զպատուիրանն եթող եւ զօձին լսեց. եւ Ադամ զԱստուծոյ խօսքն[7] եւ զպատուիրանն եթող զիւր կնոջ խօսքն[7] լսեց:

32. Վասն այնորիկ <մերկացան> ի լուսոյն. եւ գնացին ծածկեցան թզենի[8] տերեւաւն. քանզի զիտէին տերեւի ծածկելովն կարէին ծածկել ի տեսութենէն Աստուծոյ. քանզի հանապազ երեւէր

զպատուիրանն] + Աստուծոյ B D | Աստուած] om D | եւ] om B D | այլ] om D + աւելի B | կին] om D | ստեղծէր B^c D

30 ձեռն] ձեռին պահեաց D | արար] + եւ ապա D | զխօսքն] + եւ զհրամն B + եւ պատուէրն D | խօսքով] հրամաիւն B

31 զի ոչ] մի D | քան զի] om B D | ոչ կայր] ինչ քանունէր B ինչ կանէր D | այլ] om B D | Եւայ] om B | խօսքն եւ զպատուիրանն 1°] հրամն B D | եւ 2°] om B | զօձին] զաւծ ի հրամն B օձին հրամն D | եւ 3°] om D | խօսքն եւ զպատուիրանն 2°] հրամն D | խօսքն 2°] խաթիրն B | զիւր] om D | խօսքն լսեց] խօսքն եւ խաթիրն պահէց B հրամօվն ճաշակեաց զպտուղն D

32 Վասն այնորիկ] om D | մերկացան D] մերկացաւ B մերկացաւն Y | լուսոյն] + Աստուծոյ D | գնացեալ B D| ծածկեցան] + ի ներքոյ B D եւ B | տերեւաւն] տերեւին B D | քանզի 1°] զի հանց B D | զիտէր D | տեսութենէն]

նոցա Աստուած, զի զայր հանդարտապէս, եւ քաղցր բարբառով խօսէր ընդ նոսա: 33. Բայց ի ժամուն յորում կերեալ էին ի պտղոյն մերկացեալ ի լուսոյն եւ տերեւովն ծածկեալ էին զմերկութիւնս իւրեանց, ձայնն կեցաւ ի վերայ թզենւոյն, եւ ձայնեաց ասելով. Ո՞ւր ես Ադամ:

34. Ասէ. Տէր, զքո ձայնն լուայ, փախեայ, թաքեայ:

35. Ասէ Տէրն. ընդէ՞ր փախեար եւ թաքեար:

36. Ասէ Ադամ. Վասն այն փախեայ եւ թաքեայ, զի մերկ էի եւ ամաչէի ի քէն:

37. Ասէ Տէրն. Զի լուսով ծածկեցի զձեզ, ընդէ՞ր մերկացաք[9] ի լուսոյն. մի թէ կերա՞յք ի պտղոյն:

38. Ասէ Ադամ. Այս կինս, որ դու ստեղծեր, սայ խաբեաց:

39. Դարձեալ Տէր խօսեցաւ ընդ կնոջն, եւ ասաց. կին, դո՞ւ

խստութենէն D

33 ի 1°] om D | պտուղն D] + (եւ) Y | ի 2°---իւրեանց] om D | էին 2°---իւրեանց] om B | ձայնն կեցաւ] իսկ յայնժամ եկն Տէր որոտալով ձայնիւ B D եկաց B | ես] + ուր ես B

34 ասէ] + Ադամ B D | զՏէր D | լուայ] + եւ D | թաքեայ եւ փախեայ D | փախեալ B

36 մերկեմ D | ամանչեմ D

37 զի] om D | զձեզ] om D զքեզ B | մերկացար B D | ի լուսոյն] om D | կերար B կերեալ ես D | պտուղն D

38 Ադամ] + Տէր B | որ B D] (զ) որ Y | խաբեաց] + զիս B D

39 դարձաւ Աստուած D | կնոջն] + Եւայի D | դու] + զի B D

արարեր զայդ:

40. Իսկ կին ասաց. Տէր, <այն օձն որ> ստեղծեր նա խաբեաց զիս:

41. Ցայնժամ Տէր բարկացաւ նոցա, եւ ասաց Ադամայ. Փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ, ոչ լուար խրատոյ իմոյ, այլ փութապէս լսեցեր զխրատոյ կնոջ քո. փոխանակ անմահ տնկոյս փուշ բուսանի քեզ. քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո. զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս: 42. Եւ դարձեալ ընդ Եւայի, ասաց. Փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ, բազմացուցանելով բազմացուցից զտրտմութիւն քո, ծնունդ քո մահու չափ եղեցի, եւ ցաւօք կերիցես զաշխարհս, եւ եղիցի քեզ տրտմութիւն զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց: 43. Եւ դարձեալ ասաց ցօձն. Անիծեալ լիցիս յամենայն կենդանեաց մէջ,[10] ի վերայ լանջաց եւ որովայնի քում սողասցիս, եւ հող կերիցես զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց. եդից զթշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ ի մէջ կնոջ եւ ի մէջ զաւակի <քո եւ ի մէջ զաւակի>[11] դորա, նա

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40 իսկ կին] Եւայ եւ D | իսկ] om B | այն---որ B D] զօձն զոր Y

41 յայնժամ] իսկ B D | բարկացաւ] + ի վերայ B D | ցԱդամ D | փութով D | լսեցեր] լուար B | զխրատոյ] խրատ D | քո 1°] om D | անմահ տնկոյս] կեանսդ քո մեռուցիր եւ D | երեսաց քոց] om B | ի] om D

42 դարձեալ] դարձաւ խօսեցաւ D | եւ ասէ D + Եւայ B | քո 1°] + եւ B D | եղեցի] լիցի D | կերիցես] զրեսցես B

43 յամենայն---մէջ 1°] ի մէջ ամենայն կենդանեաց B D եւ B | եւ 2°---սողասցիս] քոց գնասցես D յորովայնի քում գնասցես B | քոց] + եւ D | եւ 5°] om B D | քո 2°---

սպասեսցէ[12] քում զլխոյ եւ դու սպասեսցես[12] նորա զարշապարի: 44. Եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակաց հանել ի դրախտէն, եւ հրեղէն սրով պահել զճանապարհս դրախտին կենաց: 45. Եւ հանին զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ ի դրախտէն:

46. Եւ ելեալ արտաքս ի տեղի մութն եւ խաւար, <վեց օր> [13] անդ մնացին, առանց ուտելոյ, անմխիթար լային եւ կոծէին զանձինս իւրեանց: 47. Իսկ <հետ վեց աւուրն> ողորմեցաւ նոցա Տէր, եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր հանել զնոսա ի խաւարէն, եւ առաջնորդեալ եբեր զնոսա ի լոյս աշխարհս,[14] եւ եցոյց նոցա զպտղաբերս այնով լիանալ եւ ապրիլ: 48. Իսկ իբրեւ տեսին Ադամ եւ կին իւր <զլոյս աշխարհիս ուրախացան եւ խնդացին Ադամ եւ կինն իւր> ,[15] ասացին. Թէպէտ չէ բարութիւն, եւ աշխարհիս լոյս

զաւակի 2° B D] om Y | նորա զարշապարի] զկրունկն D զկրունկ նորա B

44 հրամայեաց] + Տէր D | ցհրեշտակաց D | հանել] + զնոսա B զնա D

45 եւ 1°] om D | դրախտին D

46 եւ ելեալ] om D | տեղի] om B | խաւար] + մինչեւ B մինչ ի D | վեց օր D] հինգ օր B զօր ողջոյն Y | անմխիթար] եւ անօթի B D | եւ 3°] om D

47 հետ վեց աւուրն D] զվեց օրէն հետ Y | հինգ B | եւ 1°] Աստուած D | իւր] om B | առաջնորդեաց D + նոցա B D | բերել B D | եւ 3°] om B | նոցա 2°] + ծառս B D | լիանար D

48 իբրեւ] որ B om D | Ադամ 1°---իւր 1°] զԱդամ եւ զԵւա D | զլուս---իւր 2° B] om D Y | Թէպէտ] + եւ D | բարութիւն---լոյս] ի լոյսն աշխարհիս D |

եւ պտուղս չեն հաւասար լուսոյ եւ պտղոյ դրախտին. բայց ոչ սովաւ մահ <լինիմք>[16] եւ կամ <խաւարի> մնամք: 49. Այսպէս ուրախ կացին:

եւ պտուղս չեն] om B D | եւ պտղոյ] om D | դրախտին] արքայութեան B + կամ պտղազոութիւն D | մահ լինիմք B] մահեմք D (ի) մահ եւ Y | խաւար Y

49 կացին] մնացին մինչեւ երեկոյ որպէս ողորմեցաւ Տէր նոցա եւ խաւարէ ի լոյսէ Աստուած B

The History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam[1]

Y	D
1. When the Lord God created the heavens and the earth, he first made the hosts of the angels for the service of his divinity. 2. Now the wicked Sadael and Beliar were the heads of the divisions[2] of Satan; they were adorned gloriously, and were higher than all the angels[3] and all the divisions of the angels.	1. Before the Lord God <created> earth, he created the nine divisions of angels for the service of his divinity. 2. The chief division of the angels <was> the division of Beliar; it was higher than all the divisions of the angels. Now the wicked Beliar, who was the head of the divisions of the angels, was adorned gloriously.

They blessed, exalted, praised, and glorified God.

3. But the detestable Satan did not want to bless God and was arrogant in his heart, and he wanted to raise up his own throne equal to God's throne. 4. And the Lord God commanded the hammer-man of the Seraphim, the great Gabriel, and the terrible Michael, and nine divisions of the angels, and they fell upon

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[1] This title is supplied by Yovsepeanc' and is not found in the Venice MS. It has been retained in favor of the title in D which may be confused with the title of <u>Expulsion</u>. Cf. the title given in recension II (see appendix, <u>p. 241</u>)

[2] Perhaps եւս is intended.

[3] One would expect acc. հրեշտակս with the comparative.

Sadael and all his attendants, smote them, and cast them down like hail from a cloud.

5. And God the beneficent, because of Satan's arrogance, created earthen Adam to fill[4] the place of the fallen angels. 6. And the Lord God brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and He took one of his ribs, and he filled in flesh in place of it. And when Adam awoke from sleep, he saw the woman and approved. 7. And Adam said, "Behold, this is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman."

8. And the Lord God brought them and put them in the midst of the Garden of Eden, which is very splendid, and the Lord God commanded them and said, "You may eat from all the fruits of these trees, but you may not eat from the tree of life, nor may you touch it. For when you eat of it you shall die." 9. Now he put Adam in the middle of the garden because if Adam had kept the Lord's commands, he would have ascended gloriously to the celestial Jerusalem, to the place of the angels who had fallen.

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[4]Note the plural verb. Perhaps Adam and Eve is the intended subject.

TRANSGRESSION 10-16

10. Because of this the envious Satan entered the serpent. 11. At that time the serpent had wings and a tongue, and he used to enter into the garden. But Satan did not dare to enter the garden because he feared the angels. 12. When he saw the serpent in the garden, he taught[5] the serpent to deceive Eve and Adam. 13. When the serpent went and saw Adam and Eve, for they were walking in the garden and amusing themselves by eating the fruit, the serpent was instructed by Satan. So he enticed Eve, because he found her alone.

14. The serpent said to Eve, "Why do you eat of the fruit from every tree, but you do not eat of this beautiful fruit?

15. Eve said, "Because the Lord God commanded not to eat of that fruit. He said, 'When you eat it, you will die.'"

16. The serpent said, "God wants to deceive you, for God was like you, because he had not eaten of that fruit. When he ate it,

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[5]For ուսոյց .

he attained the glory of divinity. 17. That is why he told you not to eat of that fruit, because you would become equal, sharing the glory and throne of God."

18. Then she took some of the fruit and ate. When she ate of the fruit, she stripped herself of the light. 19. When Adam came and saw his wife stripped of the light, Adam grieved and said, "<Why>[6] have you eaten of the fruit?"

20. Eve said, "Because the fruit is very sweet. Take and you taste, and notice the sweetness of this fruit."

21. Adam said, "I cannot eat of it and be stripped like you."

22. Eve said, "I ate too much, and was stripped because of that. You taste just a little."

23. Adam said, "I cannot taste it and be stripped like you."

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[6] ը՛նդէր is required by զի in vs. 20.

TRANSGRESSION 24-29

24. Eve said, "Even if you eat it, God will not become angry at you, for God loves you very much."

25. And then he took the fruit and examined it, but he feared lest he become stripped like the woman. 26. If he did not taste it, the woman cried and begged him saying, "Let us die together or live together. Do not <separate me> from you." 27. But when Adam looked upon the beauty of the woman, he became foolish. Even though she had been stripped of the light, she was nevertheless beautiful, for her flesh was dazzling white like a pearl because she was newly created, for God had created and adorned her with his own hands. 28. So Adam thought about it much and said, "Might God take pity on me and not strip me? When would I become stripped? For it is better for me to die than to become separated and detached from this woman." 29. For he did not understand that if he had kept

the commandment, God would have been able to create yet another woman more beautiful than this one. 30. He examined the fruit in his hand for three hours, and said, "I cannot live without this woman." And he repudiated the word of God, and following the woman's word, he ate the fruit and stripped himself of the light. 31. For it was not that the fruit was evil, because the fruit in the midst of the garden was not evil, rather this was the evil, that Eve repudiated God's word[7] and commandment and listened to the serpent's, and Adam repudiated God's word[7] and commandment and listened to his wife's word.[7]

32. Because of this they stripped themselves of the light. And they went and covered themselves with the leaves of a fig tree,[8] because they thought they could hide from God's sight by covering themselves with leaves. For God used to appear

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[7]Acc. խօսսն is needed here.

[8]Nom./acc. is incorrect; gen. թզենւոյ is needed here.

to them continually, for he came gently and spoke to them with a pleasant voice. 33. But at the time when they had eaten from the fruit and stripped themselves of the light and had hidden their nakedness with leaves, a voice came from above the fig tree, and it spoke saying, "Where are you, Adam?"

34. He said, "Lord, I heard your voice, and I fled and hid."

35. The Lord said, "Why did you flee and hide?"

36. Adam said, "I fled and hid because I was naked and ashamed before you."

37. The Lord said, "Since I covered you with light, why did you strip yourselves[9] of the light? Have you eaten of the fruit?"

38. Adam said, "This woman whom you created deceived me."

39. The Lord turned and spoke to the woman, and said, "Woman, have you

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[9] 2nd plural aorist in modern Armenian and thus translated here.

done this?"

40. Then the woman said, "Lord, the serpent whom you created deceived me."

41. Then the Lord became angry at them, and said to Adam, "Because you have done this, and you did not listen to my counsel, but hastily listened to your wife's counsel, thorns will spring forth to you in place of this immortal plant. By the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread, for you were dust, and you shall return to dust." 42. And he turned to Eve and said, "Because you have done this, I will greatly multiply your affliction; childbearing will be the measure of your death, in suffering shall you eat <the fruit of> this earth, and you shall have sorrow all the days of your life." 43. And he turned and said to the serpent, "Cursed are you among[10] all beasts; upon your breast and belly shall you crawl, and you shall eat dust all the days of your life. I shall put enmity between you and the woman and between your <seed and her>[11] seed; she

[10]Cf. Arm. Gn 3:14 յամենայն անասնոց. Perhaps the intent is "more than all beasts," cf. MT מכל → LXX ἀπὸ πάντων.

[11]With B D Arm Gn 3:15, omitted from Y by haplography.

shall watch for[12] your head, and you shall watch for her heel." 44. And he commanded his angels to take them away from the garden, and to guard the paths to the garden of life with a fiery sword. 45. And they took Adam and Eve away from the garden.

46. And they went outside to a dark and gloomy place, <and> they remained there <six days>[13] without eating, weeping inconsolably, and bemoaning themselves. 47. But after six days the Lord took pity on them, and he sent his angel to take them out of the darkness, and he guided and brought them into this bright world,[14] and he showed them fruit-bearing trees with which to be satiated and to live. 48. And when Adam and his wife saw <the light of this world, Adam and his wife rejoiced and were glad,>[15] and they said, "Even though it is not so good, and the light and fruits of

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[12] սպասեմ makes sense here only as "to watch for." The word is taken from Arm Gn 3:15 following LXX τηρέω. Contrast MT שוף.

[13] Read զ̄օր (= վեց օր) with D and following the sense of vs. 47. Y misconstrued զ̄օր as զօր and added ողջոյն.

[14] The phrase is difficult since լոյս is not an adjective and աշխարհս is acc./loc. plural. Neither "this bright world" nor "the light of this world" is entirely satisfactory.

[15] Lost to D and Y through haplography.

this world are not equal to the light and fruit of the garden, nevertheless with this we shall neither <die>[16] nor remain <in> darkness. 49. Thus they were cheerful.

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[16](ḫ) in Y is most likely an emendation, without which the text appears corrupt.

ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԵԼԱՆԵԼՈՅՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ Ի ԴՐԱԽՏԷՆ

1. Իսկ երբ անկաւ Ադամ[1] ի դրախտէն յաշխարհս, ուրախութեամբ կացին ի վերայ արեգական եւ լուսնին մինչեւ յերեկոյին[2]։ 2. Իսկ երեկուն, երբ որ արեգակն մտաւ, նոքա գիտացին թէ խաւար կալաւ զնոսա, այլ ոչ տեսանեն զլոյս. քանզի դրախտն հանապազ լոյս էր,[3] նոյնպէս գիտացին թէ աշխարհս ամենայն լուսաւոր եղիցի. զայն ոչ գիտէին թէ յաշխարհս գիշեր լինի, կամ ցերեկ կայ. վասն այն տրտմեցան իբրեւ մտաւ արեգակն, հանց

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om D | inc] + այս է B

1 իսկ---կացին] om D | երբ] om B | ի 2°--- յերեկոյին] մինչեւ երեկոյ ի վերայ արեգական եւ լուսնին ի վերայ աշխարհիս։ Արեգակն եւ լուսին D | եւ] om B | լուսոյն B | երեկոյ B

2 երեկոյին B | երբ որ] իբրեւ A | որ] om B D | արեգակն 1°] om D | եմուտ A | նոքա] սուք արարին D + այսպէս B D | գիտացին 1°] իմացան B | զնոսա] om D + եւ D (եւ) Y | այլ 1°] om D | դրախտին B | թէ 2°] + յամենայն ժամ B | ամենայն] om B + ժամ D | լուսաւոր] լոյս D | եղիցի] լինի A B կու լինէր D | յաշխարհս] աշխարհս ամենայն A | գիշեր---կայ] տիւ եւ գիշեր փոխին B գիշեր կամ ցերեկ կու փոխի D | լինի] կայ A | կայ] om A | իբրեւ] հետ D |

գիտացին թէ այլ ոչ լուսանայ, լացին եւ կոծեցան մինչեւ ցառաւօտն:

3. Իսկ առաւօտին հաւախօսին, եկն առ նա Սատանայ ի կերպ հրեշտակի, եւ ասէ. Ընդէ՞ր տրտում էք:

4. Ասէ Ադամ. Վասն այն տրտմինք, քանզի ստեղծեալ էր զմեզ Աստուած եւ եդեալ ի մէջ լուսեղէն դրախտին, եւ պատրանօք օձին ճաշակեցաք ի պտղոյն եւ ելաք ի դրախտէն, եւ անկանք ի խաւար ժամանակս ինչ: 5. Դարձեալ ողորմեցաւ Տէր եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր, <եւ> եհան զմեզ ի խաւարէն. եւ բերեալ ի լոյս աշխարհս,[4] թէպէտ չէր հաւասար լուսոյ արքայութեան,[5] բայց լոյս էր: 6. Իսկ ոչ գիտեմք թէ զի՞նչ գործեցաք, որ բարկացաւ ի վերայ

գիտացին 3°] իմացան B | լուսանայ] + (եւ) Y | կոծեցան] + զանձինս իւրեանց D | առաւօտն D

3 իսկ առաւօտին] ի B | նոսա D | տրտմես D + Ադամ A B D

4 տրտում եմք D + եւ լանք B | քանզի---Աստուած] որ Տէր Աստուած զմեզ ստեղծեաց D | եդէր D | լուսեղէն] om D | դրախտին] + եւ զարդարեալ լուսով D | եւ 2°] իսկ D | պատրանօք] պատուիրանօք B ի խրատոյն D | ճաշակեցաք] կերանք D | պտղոյն] պտուղն մերկացանք ի լուսոյն D | եւ 4°---խաւար] ի մէջ խաւարի A | անկաք B | խաւար] + ի B D | ժամանակի անցաւ D

5 իւր] om D | եւ եհան] հանել A D (որ) եհան Y | եբեր D + զմեզ A B | թէպէտ] +(սա) Y | հաւասար] + ի B | լուսոյ] լոյսն D

6 որ] եւ D | ի վերայ մեր] մեզ D |

մեր Տէրն եւ խափանեաց զայն սակաւ լոյսն. վասն այն կոծամք եւ լամք:

7. Ասէ Սատանայ. Զի՞նչ ետուք այն հրեշտակին, որ զձեզ եհան ի մութ տեղուոջէն եւ եբեր ի լոյս:

8. Ասէ Ադամ. Եւ ոչ ինչ:

9. Ասէ Սատանայ. Զի է, ընդէ՞ր ոչ ասացիք զձեզ ծառայ նմա ամենայն ծնընդովք ձերովք:

10. Ասէ Ադամ. Յիմարութիւն կալաւ զմեզ եւ զայդ ոչ իմացաք ասել:

11. Ասէ Սատանայ. Զի՞նչ <տայք> ինձ <թէ> տամ ձեզ աւետիք[6] լուսոյ:

12. Ասէ Ադամ. Եթէ մի անգամ լոյս տեսանիցեմք, քեզ ծառայ լինիմք մեք եւ ամենայն ծնունդքն մեր:

13. Իսկ Սատանայ ցուցանէր նոցա յարեւելից <կողմն>,[7]

եւ 1°] որ D | զայն սակաւ] om A B D | լոյսն] + մեր D

7 զայն D | եբեր] + զձեզ D | լոյս] + յաշխարհ D

8 եւ---Ադամ (v. 10)] om D | եւ] om B | ինչ] + ետուք B

9 զի---նմա] պարտ էր ձեզ ծառայ լինել B | ընդէր] զի A | զձեզ---նմա] ի քեզ ծառայ լինիմք A | ձերովք] մերովք A

10 եւ...ասել] om A B D

11 տայք A] տաք B D Y | թէ B] որ D (որ) Y om A

12 Ադամ] + եւ D | մի] միւս A D | անգամ] + այլ B | մեք] om D

13 արեւելսն D արեւելեան A | կողմն] om D Y |

եւ ասաց. Հայեցարուք եւ անդ տեսանիցէք լոյս:

14. Իբրեւ ասաց Սատանայ զայս բանս, եւ ինքն սակաւ մի հեռացաւ. եւ հայէին Ադամ եւ Եւայ ղէպ յարեւելից կողմն, տեսանէին զնշան լուսանալոյն. յոյժ ուրախացան եւ խնդացին: 15. Իբրեւ <ծագեաց արեգակն կատարելապէս խնդացին իբրեւ> [8] սակաւ մի բարձրացաւ արեգակն, եկն առ նոսա պիղծն Սատանայ, ասէ. Տեսա՞ք զաւետիսն զի ուրախացուցի զձեզ:

16. Ասէ Ադամ. Ծառայ եմ քեզ եւ աւետեաց քոց, զի դու լուսաւորեցեր զմեզ. ամենայն ծնունդքն մեր ծառայ եմք:

17. Իսկ Սատանայ բերեալ քար մի եւ եդ առաջի Ադամայ, եւ ասաց Ադամայ. Դիր զձեռդ ի վերայ քարին եւ ասայ այսպէս. Ամենայն ծնունդքն իմ ծառայ քո եղիցին: 18. Եւ թէ ոչ ասես

ասաց] + հանց հանթէ D + անդ B

14 զայս բանս] զբանս A | ինքն] գնաց A B D + եւ D | եւ 2°---Եւայ] Ադամ հայեր ի D | յարեւելից կողմն] յարեւելս B D | զի նշան A B | լուսանալոյն] երեւէր B D էր եւ A | յոյժ] om B D

15 ծագեաց---իբրեւ 2° B] om A Y | խնդացին B] om D | սակաւ մի] մի ժամ D | նոսա] + անիծեալ D | Սատանայ] + եւ A B D | տեսաք A B | զաւետիսն] + իմ A B D

16 եմ] եմք A | ամենայն---եմք] ծառայ եմք (եմ B D) քեզ (+ մեք B D) եւ (+մեր D) ամենայն ծնունդքն մեր A B D

17 եւ ասաց] ասելով D | Ադամայ 2°] om A D | զձեռդ] +քո D | վերայ] +սալ A | այսպէս] om D + թէ մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի եւ անմահն մեռանի B D | եղիցի B D

այսպէս, խոր խաւար բերեմ ի վերայ քո։

19. Իսկ Ադամ եդեալ ձեռն ի վերայ քարին, եւ ասաց. Մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի եւ անմահ՟ն մեռանի, մեք եւ ամենայն ծնունդքն մեր ծառայ եղիցի[9] քեզ։

20. Եւ առեալ Սատանայ զքարն, եւ տարեալ թաղեաց ի գետն Յորդանան։ 21. Այս եղեւ ձեռագիր Ադամայ ի ձեռն Սատանայի։

22. Մինչեւ յերեկոյն ուրախացան եւ խնդացին Ադամ եւ Եւայ < ի վերայ արեգական. իսկ յերեկոյն արեգակն իբրեւ մտաւ գիտացին Ադամ եւ Եւայ >[10] որ խաբեցան ի Սատանայէ, լացին եւ ողբացին, մինչեւ եօթն օրն անօթի կացին եւ զՏէրն աղաչեցին։ 23. Եւ յետ եօթն աւուրն ողորմեցաւ նոցա Տէրն, եւ առաքեաց զ՟րեշտակ իւր, եւ բերեալ ձեռնագիր յԱստուծոյ ետ ի ձեռն Ադամայ, եւ ասէ. Մի երկնչիր Ադամ թէ խաբեաց զքեզ Սատանայ.

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18 խոր] դարձեալ B D | քո] ձեր A B

19 եղ A | եւ 2°] + մինչեւ A | եղիցին A չ̇նեցիմք D | քո B D

20 զՍատանայ D | տարաք D

21 այն] եւ D

22 ուրախացան եւ] ուրախ B | ի 1°---Եւայ 2° D] (եւ ապա իբրեւ իմացան) Y | ի 1°---արեգակն D] եւ A | ի վերայ արեգական D] om B | իբրեւ D] երբ B | իմացան A | Ադամ եւ Եւայ 2° D] om A B | մինչեւ 2°---կացին] om B | մինչեւ 2°] om A | կացին] om A | եւ 5°] om A

23 եւ 3°--- յԱստուծոյ] ի ձեռագիրն Աստուծոյ բերեալ կնքեալ D | Աստուծոյ A | ետ] եդ A B | երկնչել D | Ադամ] + եւ B |

վասն այն ասաց քեզ թէ մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի, զի անծին ես եմ որ ոչոք ծնաւ. անմահն իմ աստուածութեան <աստ>, որ ոչ ունի զմահ. վասն այն այսպէս խաբէութեամբ էառ զձեռնագիրն ի քէն, որ մնաս դու գերի ի ձեռն Սատանայի. բայց ոչ թողում զքեզ գերի ի ձեռն Սատանայի, զի դու պատկեր իմ ես. ոչ կորուսից զքեզ եւ ոչ թողից ի ձեռն նորա: 24. --Զի այն եօթն օրն որ պահեաց Ադամ, այն ասի առաջաւոր[11]---: 25. Եւ ի մտանել վեց դարուն, առաքեցից ի լուսոյ աստուածութեան իմոյ զորդի իմ սիրելի. որ եկեալ մարմնանայ ի զաւակէ քումմէ, ի սուրբ եւ յանարատ կուսէն. զի նայ եղիցի որդի որդւոյ <քո եւ որդի իմ> :[12] 26. Եւ որդին իմ ջնջեսցէ զձեռագիր քո, եւ ազատեսցէ զքեզ ի գերութենէ Սատանայի,

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քեզ] ձեզ D | ծնանի] + եւ անմահն մեռանի B | եմ] + աստ Աստուած A | որ 1°] om D | ծնաւ] + զիս B D եւ B | աստ B] om A D (ասաց) Y | ունիմ A B D | այն 2°] om D | քէն] ձեզ անէ D | Սատանայի 1°] նորա B | բայց---Սատանայի 2°] om D | գերի 2°] om A | Սատանայի 2°] նորա A B | զի դու---նորա] om A | կորուսից---ոչ 5°] om D | թողից] +զքեզ B D

24 Ադամ] + զի B | այն 2°] + որ A | ասի առաջաւոր] է որ առաջաւոր ասեն (ասեմք D) B D | առաջաւոր] + ասեն A

25 ի 1°] om A | ի լուսոյ] իմ իմաստութեան D | աստուածութենէ A | քումմէ] + եւ D | եւ յանարատ] om D | նայ] այն D | որդւոյ] om B D | քո---իմ 2° A B] om Y իմ D

26 եւ 1°] զի B | իմ] քո D |

եւ տացէ քեզ զառաջին փառսն քո։

27. Իբրեւ զայս <աւետիս> լուաւ Ադամ, ուրախացաւ յոյժ. վեց հազար <տարին> իբրեւ ժամ մի երեւեցաւ։

28. Օրհնեալ է Աստուած։

քո 2°] + եւ D

27 զայս] om D | աւետիս D] աւետիքս A B Y | յոյժ] om A զի D | տարին B D] դարն A Y | իբրեւ ժամ] զժամ D

28 օրհնեալ է Աստուած] վասն քաղցր (քաղցրով A) աւետեաց հրեշտակին Աստուծոյ A D ուրախացայր եւ խնդայր D om B

The History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden

1. Now when Adam <and Eve>[1] fell from the garden into this world, they rejoiced over the sun and moon until the evening.[2] 2. But towards the evening, when the sun set, they thought darkness had seized them <and> they would not see light again. Since there was always light in the garden,[3] they thought all this world would be bright in the same way. They did not know that in this world there is night, or there is day. Therefore they were grieved when the sun set, as

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[1]The plural verbs in vss. 1-2 indicate Eve's presence also.

[2]D omits the opening words by haplography and intends vs. 1 to be the conclusion of *Transgression*: "Thus they rejoiced until evening over the sun and moon <which were> above the earth." *Expulsion* then begins "Sun and moon..."

[3]The phrase is difficult since one would expect either an adjectival form of լոյս or դրախտն in the loc. Cf. *Transgression*, vs. 47.

they thought it would not be light again,<and> they wept and lamented till morning.

3. Now in the morning at daybreak, Satan came to him (Adam) in the form of an angel and said, "Why are you sad?"

4. Adam said, "We are sad because God created us and put us in the midst of the bright garden, but by the serpent's deception we tasted of the fruit and were expelled from the garden, and we fell into darkness for some time. 5. Again the Lord took pity and sent his angel, <and> he took us out of the darkness. And he brought us into the light of this world;[4] although it was not like the light of paradise,[5] nevertheless it was light. 6. But we do not know what we have done that the Lord has become angry

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[4]"The light of this world" and "this bright world" are both difficult. See n. 3 above.

[5]Or "the light of the kingdom."

at us and has taken away that little light. That is why we lament and weep."

7. Satan said, "What did you give to that angel who took you away from the dark place and brought you into the light?"

8. Adam said, "Indeed nothing."

9. Satan said, "Why is that? Why did you not declare yourselves to be his servants together with all your offspring?"

10. Adam said, "Folly took hold of us and we did not think to say that."

11. Satan said, "What will you give to me if I give you the good news[6] of light?"

12. Adam said, "If we could see light one time, we would become your servants, we and all our offspring."

13. Then Satan showed them the east[7]

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[6] N.B. nom. where acc. աւետիս is required. Cf. Transgression, vs. 31, and vs. 27 (ABY) below.

[7] Y is faulty. Either կողմն has been elided (A B and vs. 14) or արեւելք must be acc (D).

and said, "Look and you will see light there."

14. When Satan said these words and withdrew a little, Adam and Eve looked towards the east, saw the sign of the dawn, rejoiced greatly and were glad. 15. When <the sun had risen completely they rejoiced. When>[8] the sun had risen a little higher, the detestable Satan came to them and said, "Did you see the good news, that I made you rejoice?"

16. Adam said, "I am a servant to you and your good news, for you gave us light. All our offspring are <your> servants."

17. Then Satan brought a stone and set it before Adam, and he said to Adam, "Put <your> hand upon the stone and say thus: 'Let all my offspring be your servants.'
18. And if you do not say

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[8]Probably omitted from A Y by haplography, although this may be a later explanatory comment incorporated into the text of B D.

so, I will bring deep darkness upon you."

19. Then Adam put his hand upon the stone and said, "Until the unbegotten is born and the immortal dies, we and all our offspring will be[9] your servants."

20. And Satan took the stone, and he brought it and buried it in the river Jordan. 21. This was Adam's promissory note in Satan's hand.

22. Until the evening Adam and Eve rejoiced and were glad <about the sun. But in the evening, when the sun set, Adam and Eve knew>[10] that they had been deceived by Satan; they wept and lamented, and they fasted for seven days and beseeched the Lord. 23. And after seven days the Lord took pity on them and sent his angel, and he brought a promissory note from God, put it in Adam's hand, and said, "Do not fear, Adam, if Satan has deceived you.

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[9] N.B. the 3rd singular form of the verb.

[10] The material in parenthesis in Y is almost certainly an editorial addition to make sense of the text. D makes clear that Y is guilty of haplography (Ադամ եւ Եւայ...Ադամ եւ Եւայ) and is followed here.

He said to you, 'Until the unbegotten is born' because I am the unbegotten, who no one bore. And <he said> 'the immortal one' of my divinity, which cannot die. Thus he took the promissory note from you deceitfully, so that you might remain a prisoner in Satan's hand. But I will not leave you as a prisoner in Satan's hand, for you are my image. I will not destroy you and I will not leave you in his hand."
24. ---For those seven days in which Adam fasted are called Aradjavor.---[11] 25. And when the sixth eon arrives, I will send from the light of my divinity my beloved son, who will come and take human form from your seed, from the holy and perfect virgin. For he shall be the son of your <son and (also) my son>.[12] 26. And my son will annul your promissory note, free you from captivity to Satan,

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[11]The sentence is out of place and belongs at the end of vs. 22. The gloss identifies Adam's fast with Aradjavor, a preparatory fast celebrated during the tenth week before Easter in the Armenian church [see M. Ormanian, The Church of Armenia (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1955), p. 158.] The fast is known to Zenob of Glak (10th cent. ?) and Nerses Shnorhali (12th cent.).

[12]Omitted from Y D by haplography.

and give you your former glory."

27. When Adam heard this <good news>, he rejoiced greatly. And the six thousand <years> seemed like one hour. 28. Blessed be God.

ԱՅՍ Է ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՈՐԴՒՈՑՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ ԱԲԵԼԻ ԵՒ ԿԱՅԵՆԻ

1. Իսկ յորժամ Ադամ յետ խաբէութեան Սատանայի երբ հինգ օր պահեաց ծոմով, յորժամ յառաջաւոր ասեմք. քաղծրացաւ նմա Աստուած եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր եւ պատմեաց նմա զմարդանալն Աստուծոյ եւ զփրկութիւն նորա ի ձեռաց Սատանայի: 2. Եւ բերեալ զեզն հնազանդեցոյց նմա նովաւ վարել եւ վաստակել եւ գործել զերկիր, եւ զպտուղ նոցա[1] ուտել եւ լիանալ. եւ հրամայեաց ի պտղոյ անտի բաժին հանել Աստուծոյ:

3. Զի[2]Ադամայ առաջին զաւակն Կայեն էր. երբ Կայէն եղեւ երեսուն տարեկան, ապա ծնաւ Աբէլ եւ քոյր նորա:

այս---Կայենի] om D

1 յետ խաբէութեան] ետես զխաբէութեանն D | երբ] + Ադամ D | յորժամ---ասեմք] այժմ առաջավորք ասեմ D | յորժամ] որք այժմ B | նմա Աստուած] Տէր ի վերայ նոցա D | եւ 1°] om D | եւ 2°] om D | զմարդանալն] զմարդայ սիրութեան Քրիստոսի D | եւ 3°---Սատանայի] որ D

2 նմա] om D + եւ A | վարէր D | վաստակէր D | եւ 3°] om B D | գործէր D | նոցա---լիանալ] այնով լիանայր D | պտղոյ անտի] պտղէն D

3 Ադամայ] Ադամ յետ ելաւ ի դրախտէն զաւակ ոչ ունէր D | զաւակ] որդին B | Կայեն էր] ծնաւ Կայեն եւ քոյրն իւր D | եղեւ] ծնաւ D | տարեկան] ամաց A + էր եւ D | նորա] իւր B D

4. Եւայ երեսուն տարի մի[3] փոր կու ծնանէր ջուխտակ, մին աղջիկ եւ մին տղայ:

5. Երբ Աբել եղեւ քսան տարեկան խաշանց հովիւ եղեւ, իսկ Կայեն հողագործ էր: 6. Զի[4] ասաց նոցա Ադամ, թէ ի վաստակոց ձեռոց <տասնէն> մին բաժին հանէք Աստուծոյ. զի Աբելի ոչխարն ծնաւ հազար եւ մի պուտ ունէր, զայն Հաբէլ ընտրեաց Աստուծոյ բաժին. բայց ոչ մատոյց վասն սիրոյ եղբօրն. քանզի ասէր. Երբ հասանէ հունձն եղբօրն իմ, ապա ի միասին մատուցուք զբաժինն Աստուծոյ: 7. Իբրեւ հասին հունձքն ցորենոյ Կայենի, երբ հնձէր զցորեանն իւր, զորն որ քամի տուեալ էր[5] փունջ անէր, եւ զայն

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4 inc] քանզի B D | Եւայ] om D | տարէն յետ D | աղջիկ...տղայ] տղայ...աղջիկ D արու...էք B

5 տարոյ A | ոչխարաց A B D | եղեւ 2°] էր D | էր] om B

6 նոցա] om D | թէ---ձեռոց] om B | թէ] om D | ձեռոց] իւրեանց D | տասնէն A B D] տասանորդէն Y | հանիցէք A հանել B D | ոչխարն] ոչխարքն ծնան մէկ զառն B + (որ) Y | հազար եւ մի] մին զառն ի վերայ ճակատին մէկ D | ունէր] + մի զառանն իսկ A + իսկ B | զայն Հաբել] om D | մատոյց] + Աստուծոյ A B D | քանզի] om A B D | Երբ հասանէ] Աբել հասան B | եղբօրն---միասին] եւ ես այլ ... եմ իմ բաժինն D

7 իբրեւ 1°---ցորենոյ] երբ հասաւ ցորենն D | Կայենի] om A + նայ D | հնձէր] + Կայեն A B D | իւր] om A B D | զորն---եւ 1°] քամի տուաւ վայլէր եւ փչէր D | փունջ անէր] եւ B փունջ էր A B | եւ 1°] om B |

խուրձն կապէր եւ ուրիշ դնէր ի բաժինն Աստուծոյ:

8. Եւ եբեր Հաբէլ զզատն իւր, զոր ընտրեալ էր եւ բաժին Աստուծոյ խոստացեալ: 9. Իսկ Կայէն կանգնեցաւ յաղօթս առ Աստուած, եւ ասաց. Դու, Տէր, ստեղծող ամենայնի, գիտութիւն լիցի քեզ. զամենայն ինչ զոր վաստակեցին եւ զործեցի հանի քեզ բաժին եւ տասանորդ, ըստ արդար վաստակոց իմ մատուցի քեզ. իսկ դու գիտես, որպէս հաճոյ է քեզ, այնպէս եղիցին կամք քո: 10. Եւ բարկացաւ Տէր ի վերայ Կայենի.

Y (A)	B	D
ափ մի հողոյ նման	ամպ մի սեւացեալ եկն	որոտաց եւ ել հողմ
քամատարաց[6]	ի վերայ խոցոցն	եւ ամպ մի սեւ եկաւ
զամենայն հունձսն	Կայենի որոտաց եւ	ի վերայ դիզուն
Կայենի ցորենեացն	ել հողմ ի նմանէ	Կայենի եւ

ուրիշ] +էր B | ի] om A B D | Աստուծոյ] + իբրեւ (մինչեւ D) աւարտեցաւ հունձքն Կայենի ժողովեաց զփունջ եւ քամայտար խրցունս (+ որ անպէտք էր D) դէզ մի արար բաժին Աստուծոյ B D

8 եբեր] եբր D | զոր---Աստուծոյ] ընտրեալ (ընտրէր D) որ բաժին Աստուծոյ էր B D | եւ 2°] om A | խոստացեալ] om A

9 կանգնեցաւ] եկաց A | զործեցի] + եւ D | հանեցի B | եւ 3°] om D | իմ] + եւ B D | քեզ 3°] + ընծայ B D | որպէս] որչափ որ A

10 ի վերայ] ընդ D | Կայենի 1°] + զինչ A | հողոյ] փոշոյ A | քամատարեաց A | հունձսն] + եւ զխուրձս A | ցորենեաց] om A |

ցրուեաց, եւ կորոյս զամենայն ինչս նորա	քամայտար արար զամենայն խոցունսն ցրուեաց, եւ կորոյս զամենայն	քամատարեղ եւ ամենայն խուռցն Կայենին ցրուեաց եւ կորոյս զամենայն ինչս նորա

եւ < հասկ մի > ոչ գտաւ. կարկտիւ եհար զԿայենի երեսն եւ սեւացոյց իբրեւ զգործելի, եւ այնպէս մնաց երեսն սեւ:

11. Իսկ Հաբէլ մատուց զանդրանիկ զառն Աստուծոյ. ձեռնատարած աղօթէր առ Տէր եւ ասէր. Տէր Աստուած, ստեղծօղ եւ արարիչ ամենայն բարութեանց, աղաչեմ զքեզ ընկալ զնուէրս, որ մատուցանեմ քեզ բաժին ի բարեստեղծեալ[7] պարզեւաց քոց, զոր բաշխեցեր մեզ. քո բաշխեալ բարեացդ ի քեզ մատուցանեմ ի հաճոյս: 12. Իսկոյն քաղցր հոդմն հնչեաց, եւ լոյս ծագեաց յերկնից եւ լուսաւորեցան երեսն Աբելի. եւ եկն յերկնից բարբառ որ ասէր.

ինչ---գտաւ] եւ ոչ մնաց եւ ոչ մի եւ զմնացեալն A | եւ 3°] մինչեւ B | հասկ մի B D] հասկի միոյ Y | գտաւ] մնաց B + եւ B D | զԿայենի---սեւացոյց] զԿայեն եւ սեւացոյց յերեսս նորա B | եւ 4°] om A | իբրեւ] որպէս A | եւ 5°] om D | մնաց] om A | սեւ] նորա B

11 Աստուծոյ] + եւ A | բազկատարած C | առ Տէր] om A | եւ արարիչ] om D | ի 1°] om D | բարեստեղծեալ] բարի (+ ի C) ստեղծեալ (ստեղծովածոց + քոց D) B C D | մեզ] om B | քո] ի քումմէ B C քումմէ D (ի) քո Y | ի 2°---հաճոյս] om D | ի 2°] om A B C | ի հաճոյս] om C + կամաց քոց A

12 իսկ յայնժամ քաղցրահոդմ D | լոյս] + պայծառ B | յերկնից եւ լուսաւորեցան] om B | լուսաւորեցաւ D | եւ 3°]

լսելի եղեն աղօթքն քո, եւ ընդունելի <եղեւ> ընծայն քո:
13. Եւ լուսափայլ <ամպ> հովանի եղեւ ի վերայ Հաբելի, եւ ընկալաւ զզաոն Աբելի եւ վերացաւ յերկինս:

14. Իսկ Կայէն ոխացաւ ընդ Աբելի, կամէր սպանանել զնա բայց ոչ գիտէր սպանանել, զի այլ սպանումն ոչ էր եղեալ:
15. Բայց Աբել ոչ գիտէր զչար խորհուրդն եղբօրն, եւ Աբէլ սիրէր զեղբայրն իւր, եւ հանապազ ուտէին եւ ըմպէին ի միասին եւ շրջէին:

16. Իսկ ի միում աւուր ասէ Կայէն ցեղբայր իւր. Գնասցուք ի դաշտն շրջեսցուք: 17. Եւ ելեալ գնացին ի դաշտն, եւ կամէր Կայէն կապել զեղբայրն իւր. բայց Աբէլ ժիր էր աւելի քան զԿայէն, վասն այնորիկ ոչ յայտնել կարէր Կայէն զխորհուրդն

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om D | եղեն] եղեւ C D | քո 1°] om A | եղեւ B C D] եղեն A Y +ինդրուածք եւ A

13 լուսաւոր D | ամպ A B C D] om Y | Հաբելի] om B | Աբելի] om B

14 Աբելի] +եւ B C D | սպանանել 2°] սպանումն B C D +զնա A | զի այլ սպանումն] om C

15 բայց] om B | խորհուրդն] + Կայէն D | իւր] + հանապազ D | հանապազ] + միտեղ A D ի միտեղ B | ի միասին] om A B D միտեղ C

16 ի] om D | ցեղբայր իւր] եղբայր C D

17 ելեալ] այլ D | եւ 2°] om B C D | կապել] սպանանել C | ցեղբայրն D | իւր 1°] om A B C D | ժիր էր աւելի] ուժ եղէր C D ուժով էր B | այնորիկ] այն D | Կայէն 2°] om A B C

իւր: 18. Սկիզբն արար խաղալ ընդ եղբօրն իւր եւ արար զօտամարտիլ, եւ կշտի բռնել փորձիլ, զի տեսցէ յուժն իւր յաղթել կարէ զնա. քանզի որ կշտի <բռնեաց> վայր անկաւ եւ ոչ կարաց յաղթել զԱբէլ: 19. Եւ ելեալ Կայէն հայեցաւ աստ եւ անդ, եւ ետես մատն խաղողի քաղում երկայն. իսկ Կայէն ասէր. Եկ եղբայր մատնաւ <խաղասցուք> :

20. Ասէ Աբէլ. Ո՞րպէս <խաղասցուք> մատնեաւ:

21. Ասէ Կայեն. Դու <զրկեա> զծառս, եւ ես երեք մատնովս պատեմ զքեզ, տեսանեմ թէ կարես կտրել զնա եւ արձակիլ. ապա ես զրկեմ զծառդ, եւ դու պատեա մատներաւդ ի վերայ իմ,

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18 inc ի B | իւր 1°---արար 2°] om C | իւր 1°] om B D | եւ 1°---փորձիլ] om A | զօտամարտիլ---փորձիլ] զօտէմարտ փորձելով D | զօտամարտ B | փորձելով B C | յուժն իւր] թէ B | ուժն A D | կարէ] +կապել B C | քանզի որ կշտի] որքան որ զմիմեանս A | քանզի] քանի B քան D | բռնեաց B C] բռնեցին Y բռնեն D +ինքն B C D | անկաւ] + Կայէն A | կարաց] + դէմ կալ Աբելի եւ A | զԱբել] զնա A

19 ել B C D | հայեցաւ] om D | յայս կոյս եւ այն կոյս B | եւ 3°] om C D | մատն] մատնայ B C + մի D | խաղող C | քաղում] +եւ B C | մատնաւ] այլ մի D | խաղասցուք A B C] խաղաղասցուք Y D

20 խաղասցուք A B C D] խաղաղասցուք Y | մատնեաւ] + խաղողի A C

21 զրկեա A C] զիրկ արա D զիւեայ Y + այս C | զծառս] ծառոյս D | երեք] + պատ C | մատնովս] պատ ոտով D | եւ արձակիլ] om B C | ապա] դարձեալ եւ B C եւ A D | պատեա] տուր պատ A B տուր երեք պատատովն D |

տեսցուք զի ով կարէ կտրել զնա։

22. Եւ նա ուժով էր, այնու փորձեաց[8] թէ ում ուժն աւելի <է> ։ 23. Իբրեւ գնաց Այէլ ի ծառն Կայէն առեալ զուռն որթի եւ պատէր երեք պատ ձեռներովն եւ քամակովն, եւ ապա իմացաւ Աբէլ զչարութիւն եղբօրն. աղաչէր եւ ասէր. Եղբայր, արձակեա զիս ի կապէն։ 24. Եւ Կայէն ոչ արձակէր, այլ պնդագոյն կապէր այնչափ ուռով որթիւ պատեաց զնա ծառովն[9] ոտից մինչեւ ցգլուխն։ 25. Լայր Աբէլ եւ ասէր. Եղբայր, արձակեա զիս. այս անցաւոր աշխարհիս համար մի հեղուր զարիւնն իմ. ես քեզ ի՞նչ չարութիւն <արարի> , ընդէ՞ր բարկանաս ինձ. աշխարհս ամէն քեզ լինի։

26. Իսկ Կայէն աստ եւ անդ շրջէր թէ իրք[10] մի գտցէ, եւ

տեսցուք] om B D | կարաց B D | զնա om B

22 եւ---էր] ուժ եղէ D | փորձեսցուք B C D| ում] om A | առաւել D | է A B C D] այ Y

23 գնաց ի ծառն] զրկեաց զծառն B C D | որթներովն C D | եւ 1°] om D | պատէր--- vs. 24 պատեաց] om C | պատատեաց D | ձեռնովն D | քամակովն] թիկամբն A + պատեաց D | եւ 3°] om B | եղբօրն] Կայենի B D | ի կապէն] om B D ի կապանացս A

24 արձակէր] + զնա A | ուռով որթիւ] եւ այն թիւով D | պատատեաց D | զնա] + ի D | ոտից---ցգլուխն] om D

25 լայր] om D | զիս] որչափ աղաչէր եւ ոչ լսէր քանզի չարն ի սիրտն վառեալ էր D | զարիւնն] զանմեղ արիւնն B D | արարի A B C D] արի Y | ամէն] + այն B | լինի]
եղիցի B D

26 իսկ] եւ D | շրջէր] հայէր C | իրք---

այնով սպանանիցէ զեղբայրն, եւ ոչ գիտէր թէ որոյ տեղ է սպանելոյ։ 27. Իսկ չարն Սատանայ իբրեւ եղեւ երեկոյն, սեւ զայլաքարաւ[11] եւ քարածեծուքար[12] մի կայր, սուր իբրեւ ածելի, այնով սպանին մինն զմիւսն, եւ զսուր քարն ի վայր ձգեաց։
28. Եւ Կայէն ուսեալ ի նմանէ եւ առեալ զսուր քարն, եւ եկեալ առ Աբէլ. իսկ Աբէլ լայր, եւ ասէր. Ո՞չ ողորմիս մեր ծնողացն։
29. Իսկ Կայէն ոչ ողորմեցաւ նմա։ 30. Իբրեւ եկն ի սպանումն լալով ասաց Աբէլ. Եղբայր, բեր զերեսդ համբուրեմ <զի> կարօտ չմնայ ի սրտիս. դու գիտես դատաստանն Աստուծոյ։ 31. Իբրեւ քարիւն կտրէր <զխոչակն>[13] եղբօրն, յայնժամ եղբայրն ասաց. Իմ

զեղբայրն] զտանէր ինչ զի սպանցէ զնա D | զեղբայրն--- սպանելոյ] om B | զեղբայրն] om C + իւր A | որոյ--- սպանելոյ] որ տեղէն սպանցէ C զոր սպանիցէ D | սպանելոյ] սպանցէ A

27 երեկոյն] երկու B D om C | սեւ] om B | զայլաքարաւ] աքրաւ D | եւ 1°] նման եւ սինն առեալ A | կայր] om A | զածելի D +եւ C D | սպանեաց A B C D +եւ մորթեաց D | մինն] + եւ C | եւ 2°---ի] զքարն D

28 եւ 2°] om C D | եկն B C եկ D | առ] om C ի D | ասէր] + եղբայր B | մեր ծնողացն] ողորմեայ ինձ D

29 իսկ Կայէն] ոչ լսէց եւ D | իսկ] եւ B C | նմա] om D

30 բեր] եկ D | զի B C D] om A Y | չմնայ A C D | ի սրտիս] om D | դատաստանն] պատասխանն B պատասխանին D

31 inc եւ B | կտրէր] խարէր D | եղբօրն] om B | յայնժամ] om A B C D | եղբայրն] Աբէլ A B C D |

մօրս ասես զի զկաթն իւր հալալ արասցէ ինձ։[14] 32. Քանզի քարն փոքր էր, <դժուարին մորթեաց մինչ ի ժամ մի բռանց> մորթեաց։ 33. Դարձեալ ի ժամ մորթելոյ ասէր եղբայրն. Ես գնացի յաշխարհէս եւ դու շահեա զսիրտ ծնօղաց մերոց։

34. Իբրեւ սպանեաց զեղբայրն, ուրախութեամբ երթայր. երեւեցաւ Տէրն ի ճանապարհին յիսուն կանգնաչափ բարձր, ասաց Կայենի. Ո՞ւր է եղբայրն քո։

35. Եւ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց. Ո՞վ ետ ինձ պահ որ խնդրես յինէն։ 36. ---Վասն այն հարցանէր Աստուած թերեւս մեղայ ասիցէ։ 37. Իբրեւ ետես Տէրն որ այնպէս ասաց Կայէն, բարկացաւ

զի] om B D | զկաթն] + եւ աշխատանքն B C D | իւր] om C D | արասցէ ինձ] անէ D

32 դժուարին---բռանց D] հազիւ մինչեւ օզուտ ժամ մի Y | մինչեւ A | մի] մեծ C | բռանց] հազիւ A բռունք B անճախ C

33 եղբայրն] om C D | եւ դու] om D | շահէ D | ի սիրտ A C D | մերոց] om A + եւ D

34 սպանեալ B | եղբայրն D +եւ A (եւ) Y | երթայր] եւ C + ի տուն իւր A + Կայեն B | երեւեցաւ] + նմայ B | բարձր] + եւ A B C D | Կայենի] Կայեն D + Կայեն B

35 նա] Կայեն D | լրբութեամբ] om A B C D | ետ] եդ B

36 inc] + զի A B C D | թերեւս] թէ եւ C | ասիցէ] տացէ B D + եւ D

37 այնպէս---Կայէն] պատճառիւ տայր պատասխանի եւ ոչ ետ մեղայ D | բարկացաւ] + Տէր B C D |

ի վերայ Կայենի եւ եօթն պատուհաս եա Կայենի:

38. ա. Մէկ պատուհասն այն է, որ երկու կոտօշ բուսաւ ի վերայ գլխոյն:

39. բ. Երկրորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ կոտոշն ձայնէր եւ սաէր բարձր բարբառով. Թէ, Կայէն եղբայրասպան է: 40. Սար եւ քար եւ ձոր ձայնէր եւ սաէր. Կայէն եղբայրասպան է:

41. գ. Երրորդ պատուհասն այն է, որ ոտիւք եւ ձեռօքն եւ ամենայն բոլոր անդամօքն <դողայր> իբրեւ զուռ:[15]

42. դ. Չորրորդ պատուհասն այն էր, <որ քանի> ուտէր ոչ լիանայր:

43. ե. Հինգերորդն պատուհասն այն էր, որ ինչ սիրտն

Կայենի 1°] նորա B | պատուհաս եա] պատուհասիւ պատուհասեաց B C | Կայենի 2°] om D զԿայեն B զնա C

38 ա] om D | պատուհասին D | երկու] om D post բուսաւ C | վերայ] om B

39 բ] om D | սաէր 1°] կոչէր B C | բարձր---Թէ] om D | բարբառով] ձայնիւ B C ձայն եւ սաէր B | է] om B C D

40 եւ 1°] om C | եւ ձոր---է] զնոյն կասէր D | եւ ձոր] om B C այսպէս A | ձայնէին A | է] om B

41 գ] om D | երրորդ] + մեծ B C | ոտիւք] սրտիւք A | եւ ամենայն] om D | ամենայն] om B C | անդամօքն] մարմնովն B C D | դողայր B C D] դողդողայր A Y | իբրեւ զուռ] om D

42 դ] om D | որ քանի A] քանի B որ քան C որ քանզի D (զի) քան Y | ուտէր] + եւ A D

43 ե] om D | որ] om B | ինչ] om B C |

ուզէր եւ ուտել չկարէր, եւ իբր թէ ուտէր, ի վայր հեղոյր։

44. զ. Վեցերորդն պատուհասն այն էր, որ քուն չունէր ոչ զիշերն եւ ոչ ցերեկն։

45. է. Եօթներորդն պատուհասն այն էր, որ Աստուած նմա մահ ոչ հրամայեաց, այլ ասաց Տէրն. Ով որ սպանիցէ զԿայէն, նա նորա պատուհասն ի վերայ սպանողին անկանիցի։

46. Եւ այնպէս մնաց մինչեւ ութ հարիւր եւ վաթսուն տարի. յետ անճար մնաց, մահուն փափաք ունէր, եւ ոչ մեռանէր։
47. Իսկ <մորթ> մի <վայրենի> էած եւ ծածկեաց զինքն։

Y[16]	D	A
48. Իբրեւ եւ	48. Եւ իբրեւ	

եւ 1°] om A C | եւ իբր թէ] իբրեւ A երբ B C D | ի] ընդ B | հեղոյր] փսխէր B փոխէր C փխսէր D

44 զ] om D | ոչ 1°---ցերեկն] om D | զիշերն] տիւ B | ցերեկն] զիշեր B

45 է] om D | նմա---հրամայեաց] հրաման ոչ ետ որ սպանանեն զնա D | հրամայեաց] տայր C | այլ---Տէրն] om D | ով] +ոք B D | որ 2°] om B | զԿայէն---անկանիցի] զնա Կայէնի պատուհասն ի վերայ նորա լինի D | նա] om A B C | նորա---անկանիցի] եօթանասն եկի եօթն պատուհասս կրեսցէ A

46 մնաց 1°] եկաց B | յետ] + եւ A B | մնաց 2°] + մնաց (զի) Y | ունէր] էր B C D | մեռանէր] հասանէր C

47 մորթ B C] մորթի A մորթիւ D մորթի(ւ) Y | վայրենի A B C] վայրի D վերէն Y | էած] այծի B C | եւ] om B D | զինքն] ի դաշտին B

48 եւ---ճի] Ղամեք ճի | 48 եւ 1°] om C |

Ղամէք ի ծի, գնաց ի յորս. երեւեցաւ Կայեն ի հեռաստանէ կոտոշիւ եւ մորթիւ: 49. Իբրեւ տեսաւ Ղամէք, զիտաց թէ եղջիւր[17] է. եհար նետիւ աղեղան, եւ սպան զԿայէն:	Ղամէք ծի աւորեալ գնաց յորս եւ տեսաւ զԿայէն: 49. Ցանց զիտաց թէ այծ էր, եւ մազն իւր մէն էր, եւ թէ զլխոյ եւ թէ մարմնոյ ոտէն մինչ ի գլուխն մազ էր. նետիւ աղեղաւ սպան Կայեն. եւ պատուհասու Տէր եղաւ:	49. Եւ Ղամէք զիտաց թէ այծ է նետիւ աղեղէն սպան զԿայէն:

50. Պատուհասն անկաւ ի վերայ Ղամեքայ:

51. Իսկ Ղամեքայ կինն քարի էր, աղաչեաց | 51. Ետես Ղամեք եւ

աւորեալ B (cf. D) | ի 2°] om B | յորս] +եւ B | երեւեցաւ Կայէն] ետես զԿայէն B (cf. D)

49 իբրեւ---է] հանց զիտ թէ վայր ի այծ է B (cf. D) | եղջիւր] այծ B (= A C D)| եհար] om B | եւ] om B

յորս] +երէոց C | զԿայէն] +ի հեռաստանէ կոտոշիւ եւ մորթիւ C (=Y)

49 եւ 1°---էր 3°] om C

50 պատուհասն] եւ ցաւ պատուհասն Կայենի B եւ ցաւ պատուհասի նորա C

51 Ղամեք C | կինն] +մի B | էր] ունէր B C D |

Y

զԱստուած եւ ողորմեցաւ նմա Տէրն վասն բազում արտասուելոյ կնոջն, բժշկեցաւ ցաւն եւ վերացաւ պատուհասն Ղամեքայ:

A

երկեաւ եւ խոստովանեցաւ առաջի կանանց իւրոց. եւ վասն երկիւղին եւ խոստովանութեան եթող նմա Տէր Աստուած զպատուհասն Ղամեքայ:

52. Իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ իբրեւ իմացան զպանումն Աբելի, <գնացին բերին արիւնիւ շաղախեալ մարմինն Աբելի,> լային եւ սգային բազում ժամանակս: 53. Քանի որ թաղէին զմարմին Աբելի ելանէր յերեսս հողին. իսկ հանապազ արիւնն ոչ ցամաքէր, եւ ոչ հոտէր եւ ոչ որդնէր մարմինն: 54. Քանզի Աստուած Ադամայ ասաց հող լինի եւ ապա իւր ծնունդն. պիտէր յառաջ Ադամ մեռնէր եւ հող դառնայր,

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Տէրն] Աստուած B om C D | բազում] om B C D | արտասուելոյ] + աղաչանաց C | կնոջն] + եւ B | բժշկեաց Աստուած C | ցաւն եւ վերացաւ] om D | ցաւն] զցաւ B | վերացաւ] om B C

52 իբրեւ A B C D] (իբրեւ) Y | գնացին---Աբելի 2°] om A Y | շաղախ B C | Աբելի 2°] անմեղին B | սգային] սուգ առնէին B

53 որ] om B C D | Աբելի] + այլ վի B + եւ D | իսկ---եւ 1°] om D | իսկ] զի A B C | հանապազ] om A | եւ 1°] om B | մարմինն] om A B C D

54 Աստուած---ասաց] ասաց Աստուած նախ Ադամ B C D | լինել A C | իւր] om B C D | դառնայր] + եւ B D

ապա ծնունդն նորա: 55. Մինչեւ ի մարմինն Աբելի ոչ ոք էր մեռեալ, եւ այնու ոչ հողանայր եւ ոչ ցամաքէր արիւնն Աբելայ: 56. Մինչեւ Ադամայ մահն այնպէս անփորձ մնաց մարմինն, որպէս կենդանի ի քուն. երբ Ադամ մեռաւ, ապա թէ մարմինն Աբելի ի գերեզմանն մտաւ:

57. Բայց յորժամ որ Կայէն զԱբէլ եսպան, Կայէն զեօթն ցաւով կոծէր վայ եւ եղուկ լայր դառնապէս. իսկ ծնօղքն Ադամ եւ Եւայ, տեսանէին զԱբէլ արեամբ շաղախեալ եւ Կայէն պատուհասիւ վիրաւորեալ. իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ լային եւ ողբային վասն զաւակացն իւրեանց: 58. Մինչեւ երկերիւր տարի Ադամ ոչ մերձեցաւ ի

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55 ի] om A | մարմինն Աբելի] մահն Ադամայ B C D + այլ C D զԱբէլ A | եւ այնու] վասն այն A B C D | եւ 2°] om D

56 անփորձ] անփուտ A B C D | մնաց] կենայր A | մարմինն 1°] om B D | կենդանի] +մարմինն B D | քուն] + (իսկ) Y | մարմինն 2°---մտաւ] գերեզմանն տեղ եռ որ թաղեցին (թաղեցաւ D) զմարմինն Աբելայ B C D | ի գերեզմանն մտաւ] հող դարձաւ ի գերեզմանի եռ տեղի A

57 բայց] om C | որ---եսպան] նորա սպանէր Աբէլ եւ B յորժամ սպանէր Աբէլ եւ C որ էր սպանեալ Աբէլ եւ D | Կայէն 2°] եւ ինքն A | կոծէր] կսկծէր A B C | վայ--- դառնապէս] եւ լայր D | դառնապէս] om B C | իսկ 1°--- Եւայ 1°] om A | ծնօղքն] + նոցա B C D | պատուհասիւ վիրաւորեալ] ցաւաք արեալ եւ պատուհասեալ B ցաւազար պատուհասեալ C ցաւազնեալ եւ պատուհասեալ D | իսկ 2°--- Եւայ 2°] om B C D | իւրեանց] om B

58 տարի] + եւ D | Ադամ] om A այլ B C | ի---

կինն, աւէր թէ վախեմ թէ այլ չարագոյն զաւակ <ծնցի> իւրեանց կոծօք: 59 իսկ ողորմեցաւ Տէր, եւ առաքեաց <աւետիս> վասն Սեթայ <ծննդեանն, եւ Սէթ> մխիթարեաց զԱդամ եւ զկինն իւր զԵւայ:

թէ 1°] om B | որեցան C | կինն] + իւր A | աւէր թէ] om A D | վախէին A B C վախէր D | թէ 2°] + մերձենամ D | ծնցի A B C] om D ծնի Y | իւրեանց կոծօք] om A եւ լիցի (լինիցի C) իւրեանց կոծ եւ սուգ B C D

59 Տէր] Աստուած B C D | աւետիս D] աւետիք A B C Y | ծննդեանն եւ Սէթ B C D] om A Y | զկինն իւր] om B D | իւր] նորին A | իւր զԵւայ] նորա C

This Is the History of Abel and Cain the Sons of Adam

1. Now after Satan's deception, when Adam had fasted for five days, which we call Aradjavor, God relented toward him and sent his angel, and related to him the incarnation of God and his salvation from the hands of Satan. 2. And He brought and made obedient to him an ox with which to plow and cultivate and work the soil, that he (Adam) might eat their[1] produce and be satiated. And He commanded <Adam> to set aside a portion of the produce for God.

3. For[2] Adam's first child was Cain. When Cain was thirty years old, Abel and his sister were born.

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[1] The plural is taken to refer to Adam, the ox, and the soil. նոցա could also be the subject of ուտել .

[2] The function of զի is unclear. Perhaps the intent is to relate Cain to the teaching of agriculture in the preceding verse.

4. As for Eve, her womb brought forth a pair every thirty years,[3] one girl and one boy.

5. When Abel was twenty years old, he became a herdsman of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the soil.
6. For[4] Adam said to them, "From <the fruit of> your labors set aside one portion <out of ten> for God." Now a sheep was born to Abel; it had 1001 speckles; Abel chose this one as God's portion. But he did not offer <it> because of <his> love for his brother; for he said, "When my brother's harvest ripens, then together we will offer the portion to God." 7. When Cain's grain harvest became ripe, when he gathered his grain, that which the wind had exposed,[5] he made a bundle, and he

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[3] երեսուն տարի մի : lit. "thirty years one," a difficult phrase. մի most probably means "once," "one time," hence "once every thirty years."

[4] The function of զի is unclear.

[5] Lit. "that which the wind had given over," i.e. to injury, hence "had exposed, beaten."

bound this bunch and set it aside for God's portion.

8. And Abel brought his lamb which he had chosen, and he promised it to God as his portion. 9. Now Cain prayed to God and said, "Know thou, O Lord, creator of everything, that <from> everything <for> which I have labored and toiled, I have set aside portion and tithe for you; according to my righteous labors have I offered it to you. And you know, as it is pleasing to you, thus let your will be done." 10. But the Lord became angry at Cain.

Y (A)	B	D
He scattered all Cain's grain harvest like a handful of wind-blown[6] dust,	A black cloud came over Cain's bundle <and> it thundered, and dust came forth from it,	It thundered, and dust came forth, and a black cloud came over Cain's heap, and

[6]Presumably an adjective from քամի plus a form of տանիմ , hence "wind-blown," "wind-scattered," "carried away by the wind."

ABEL AND CAIN 10-12

Y	B	D
and destroyed everything which belonged to him,	<and> it caused everything <to be> blown by the wind. It scattered the bundle, and destroyed everything,	<it was> blown by the wind (?), and it scattered all Cain's bundle, and destroyed everything which belonged to him,

such that a single ear of grain was not to be found. He beat Cain's face with hail and blackened it like coal, and thus his face remained black.

11. Now Abel offered the first-born lamb to God. With outstretched hands he prayed to the Lord and said, "O Lord God, creator and author of all good things, I pray you, accept this sacrifice which I am offering to you as a portion of your well-created[7] gifts which you have distributed among us. From those good things you have distributed I am offering to you for your pleasure." 12. Immediately a gentle breeze blew, and a light shone from heaven and illuminated the face of Abel. And a voice came from heaven which said,

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[7] բարի + ptcp. from ստեղծանեմ , hence "well-created." Cf. the phrase բարեստեղծողն Աստուած in Theodor Mayragometsi (7th cent.).

"Your prayers are heard, and your offering is accepted." 13. And a shining <cloud> became a protection over Abel and took Abel's lamb and ascended into heaven.

14. Now Cain was bitter toward Abel; he wanted to kill him, but he did not know how to kill, for no other murder had taken place. 15. But Abel did not know his brother's evil plan, and Abel loved his brother, and they always used to eat and drink and walk together.

16. But one day Cain said to his brother, "Let us go take a walk in the field." 17. So they arose and went into the field, and Cain wished to bind his brother. But Abel was stronger than Cain; because of this Cain could not reveal his

plan. 18. He began to play with his brother and to wrestle, and he tried to grab him from the side to see if by his strength he could overcome him. <But> because he grabbed him from the side, he fell down and could not overcome Abel. 19. And Cain went forth and looked here and there, and he saw a very long grapevine. Then Cain said, "Come, brother, <let us play> with a vine."

20. Abel said, "How <shall we play> with a vine?"

21. Cain said, "You <embrace> this tree, and I will bind you three times around with this vine and see if you can break it and become untied. Then I will embrace the tree, and you tie me up with the vines,

<and> we will see who can break it."

22. And he was strong, <but> by this he tried <to find out>[8] who was stronger. 23. When Abel went to the tree, Cain took the vine branch and tied it three times around his hands and body. And then Abel perceived his brother's wickedness. He implored and said, "Brother, untie me from the bond." 24. And Cain did not untie him, but bound him more firmly. In such a way he bound him to the tree[9] with a vine branch from his feet to his head.
25. Abel wept and said, "Brother, untie me. Do not shed my blood on account of this perishable world. What evil have I done to you; why are you angry at me? All this world is yours."

26. Now Cain was walking here and there in order to find something[10] and

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[8]Lit. "he tested," "he tried out."

[9]The instr. here is difficult. Perhaps "around the tree" is intended, but the preposition q̣ is absent.

[10]*Pluralis tantum*?

kill his brother with it, but he did not know which is the place of killing. 27. But Satan the wicked, when the evening came, with a black flintstone...[11] and there was a grinding stone,[12] sharp as a razor, with which the one killed the other, and he threw down the sharp stone. 28. And Cain learned from him and took the sharp stone and came toward Abel. Then Abel wept and said, "Do you not have compassion on our parents?" 29. But Cain did not pity him. 30. When he came for the kill, Abel said weeping, "Come brother, let me kiss your face, <lest> want remain in my heart. You know the judgement of God." 31. While he was cutting his brother's wind-pipe[13] with the stone, his brother said, "Tell

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[11]The text is corrupt here in all the MSS; some material has obviously been lost, perhaps through haplography. Recension II (see Appendix, Abel and Cain, vs. 27) may provide a clue to the original reading: "Then Satan came in the form of two ravens, and the one took a sharp stone, struck the other with it in the throat and killed him, and the stone was sharp as a razor." Cf. also D, which gives the variant reading աքրաւ for զայլաքարաւ . Issaverdens, Uncanonical Writings, p. 56, attempts to restore the meaning by referring to a similar tradition in Vartan Vartabed's Commentary on the Creation (12th cent.). He translates: "for he (Cain), dwelt in by Satan, saw some devils in the shape of crows, one of whom with a stone slew another. He did the same, and so Abel's blood was shed upon the ground." This tradition is known in Jewish and early Christian sources (see chapter three above).

[12]Presumably քար + ծեծեմ , hence "crushing stone," "grinding stone." Cf. քարածեծ , "crushed or stricken with stones."

[13]The spelling of this word is confused in all the MSS but is corrected here.

my mother that she should make her milk as nourishment for me."[14] 32. Because the stone was small he killed him with difficulty; for one hour he slaughtered him violently. 33. Again while he was slaughtering <him>, his brother said, "I have gone out of this world, but you gain the heart of our parents."

34. When he killed his brother, he went away cheerfully. The Lord appeared on the way, fifty cubits above, <and> said to Cain, "Where is your brother?"

35. And he said impudently, "Who made me his guardian, that you should ask it of me?" 36. Because of this God asked him; perhaps he might repent. 37. When the Lord saw that Cain spoke thus, he became angry

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[14]Perhaps the intent is "lest she should make her milk...," but this translation would require the negative before the verb.

at Cain and gave Cain seven punishments.

38. (1) The first punishment was this; that two horns sprouted upon his head.

39. (2) The second punishment was this; that the one horn cried out and said in a loud voice, "Cain is a brother-murderer." 40. <Then> mountain and rock and valley cried out and said, "Cain is a brother-murderer."

41. (3) The third punishment was this; that with his feet and hands and every single limb he shuddered like a yew-tree.[15]

42. (4) The fourth punishment was this; that no matter how much he ate, he was not satisfied.

43. (5) The fifth punishment was this; that his heart would

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[15] nιn may also be translated "vine-branch." The author may be using irony to relate Cain's shaking to the instrument used in tying Abel to a tree.

desire something, but he could not eat it, and when he tried to eat it, it would fall to the ground.

44. (6) The sixth punishment was this; that he could not sleep, either at night or during the day.

45. (7) The seventh punishment was this; that God did not allow him to die, rather the Lord said, "Whoever kills Cain, his punishment will fall upon the murderer."

46. And thus he remained for 860 years. Afterwards he remained incurable, and he wished to die, but he did not die. 47. Then he brought a skin of a wild <animal> and covered himself.

Y[16]	D	A
48. When Lamech	48. And when	

[16]The MSS contain widely divergent readings for vss. 48-49. Y, D, and A are most distinct and are presented in parallel columns, while B and C each contain features of both Y and D, with B most closely following Y and C most closely following D.

ABEL AND CAIN 48-51

Y	D	A
went out on <his> horse, he went for the purpose of hunting, <and> Cain appeared some distance away with his horn and skin. 49. When Lamech saw <him>, he knew that it was a horn.[17] He struck him with an arrow from his bow and killed Cain.	Lamech mounted <his> horse, he went for the purpose of hunting, and he saw Cain. 49. Now he thought that it was a goat, and that his hair was the same <all over>, and that there was hair on his head and on his body from his feet to his head. With bow <and> arrow he killed Cain. And the Lord came with punishment. (??)	49. And Lamech thought that it was a goat, <and> he killed Cain with an arrow from his bow.
50. The punishment fell upon Lamech.		
51. But Lamech's wife was a good woman; she entreated		51. Lamech saw and

[17]Y reads եղջիւր , "horn," but Yov. suggests եղջերու , "stag, hart," is intended. Note A B C D read այծ .

Y

God, and the Lord took pity on him because his wife lamented much, and he cured his affliction and removed the punishment from Lamech.

A

became afraid, and he confessed before his wife. And because of his fear and confession, the Lord God withdrew the punishment from Lamech.

52. Now when Adam and Eve learned of Abel's murder, <they went and brought Abel's blood-smeared corpse,> and they wept and mourned for a long time. 53. Whenever they buried Abel's body, it came out on the face of the ground. Also his blood never dried, and his body did not stink or become worm-eaten. 54. For God said to Adam that he should become dust and then his offspring. It was necessary that Adam should die first and return to dust;

then his offspring. 55. Before Abel's corpse, no one had died, and because of this he did not return to dust, and Abel's blood did not dry. 56. Until Adam's death the corpse remained thus intact, as though alive and asleep; but when Adam died, then Abel's corpse entered its grave.

57. But when Cain killed Abel, Cain was stricken with seven afflictions; he cried "Woe!" and "Alas!" bitterly. Now <Cain's> parents, Adam and Eve, saw Abel smeared with blood and Cain wounded with punishment. So Adam and Eve wept and groaned on account of their sons. 58. For two hundred years Adam did not know

his wife; he said he feared lest another more wicked son might be born through their mourning. 59. But the Lord had compassion and sent good news concerning Seth's <birth, and Seth> comforted Adam and his wife Eve.

ՎԱՍՆ ԱՒԵՏԵԱՑՆ ՍԷԹԱՑ ՋՈՐ ՊԱՐՏ Է ՄԵԶ ՈՒՆԿՆ ԴՆԵԼ

1. Եւ քաղծրացաւ Տէրն ի վերայ Ադամայ, եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր առ Ադամ, եւ ասէ. Մերժեցիր ի կին քո, զի լինի քեզ որդի փոխանակ Աբելի:

2. Ասաց Ադամ. Չկարեմ մերժենալ կնոջս. զի երկու անգամ մերժեցայ ի կինս, այն մեծ պատուհաս էր ինձ, քան զդրախտէն ի դուրս ելանելն իմ. զի զԱբէլ արեամբ տեսանեմ սիրտս այրէ եւ կսկծայ. զայն թողի եւ զԿայենի պատուհասն կու[1] տեսանեմ, արտասուք[2] կու թափեմ. զի թէ այլ մերժենամ ի կինս, լինի ինձ կրկին նեղութիւն եւ տրտմութիւն:

վասն---դնել] om D | զոր---դնել] նահապետին A om B

1 ի 2°] առ B D | լիցի B | որդի] + եւ B

2 մերժաւորիլ B | ի 1°] om A D | կինս 1°] զի A +զի B | էր] եղեւ A եղեն B | քան] քանզի B | զդրախտէն---իմ] ելանելն իմ ի դրախտէն B D | ի դուրս] om A | արեամբ] + թացեալ B D | տեսանեմ 1°] + շաղախեալ A | եւ 1°---թողի] om D | զայն թողի] om A | զայն---թափեմ] զԿայեն ի դող եւ ի լաց եւ ի ցաւ տեսանեմ զաչերուսարտաս ունքն թափի B | զԿայենի---թափեմ] Կայեն ցաւազնեալ տեսանեմ յաչս արտասուք թափի D | կու 2°] om A | զի 3°] մի D | այլ] om B D | ի 3°] om A D | լինի---տրտմութիւն] այլ զաւակ լինի (ծնի D) նման (+ այս B) զաւակացս (+ ի B) նեղութիւն եւ սուք բերեն B D + ի վերայ իմ D | ինձ 2°---տրտմութիւն]

3. Ասէ հրեշտակն. Մի երկնչիր Ադամ. քանզի տալոց է քեզ Աստուած որդի, եւ կոչեսցես զանուն նորա Սէթ, որ թարգմանի մխիթարանք. նա եղիցի զաւակ օրհնեալ եւ գլուխ նահապետաց, եւ մխիթարիս ի նմանէ. զի որչափ տրտմեցար վասն չարութեան Կայենին, նոյնչափ մխիթարիս ի Սեթայ: 4. Եւ բազմանայ զաւակ քո եւ զաւակ Սէթայ, եւ նոքօք լցցին աշխարհս. եւ ապա մի խառնակեսցեն Սէթայ զաւակքն ընդ Կայենայ, կամ այլ յաւակացն քոց ընդ ազգին Կայենայ. երբ խառնին ընդ ազգս բարի որդիքն քո չարանան, եւ զամենեսեան միատեղ պատուհասին:

5. Զի յայնժամ, որ հրեշտակն աւետիս ետ վասն Սէթայ, դեռ այլ զաւակ չունէր[3] բայց ի Կայենայ ազգէն: 6. Երեք հարիւր

զաւակ ինձ նեղութիւն եօթն եւ սզաքեր A

3 մի---Ադամ] om A B D | քեզ] + Տէր B | եւ 1°] զի D | կոչեսցի A D | մխիթարութիւն B մխիթարիչք D | օրհնեալ] + մխիթարիս ի նմանէ B | նահապետաց] + եղեցի B | մխիթարեսցես D | մխիթարիս ի նմանէ] om B | մխիթարեսցիս D | ի Սեթայ] Սեթաւ B

4 եւ 1°] om D | նոքօք] նոքա A B D | լցուսցեն A լցուց անձն D | եւ 4°] om B D | մի---չարանան] զաւակն քո եւ զաւակն Սէթայ մի խառնակեսցէ ի զաւակին Կայենի զի անիծ ոք զաւակեն յերփ խառնակին ամենայն աշխարհս չարուսանեն D | խառնեսցեն ի A | զաւակքն] զազգն B | ընդ Կայենայ] om B | Կայենայ 2°] +զի ընդ անիծօք է զազգն Կայենի B +(զի) Y | երբ] եթէ A | խառնակին B | ազգս] + նորա B | բարի--- եւ 5°] om B | քո] + ամենեքեան A | ամենեքեան B | ի միասին A B

5 զի] ի A | յայնժամ որ] յորժամ D | ետ] + Ադամայ B | այլ] Ադամայ ոչ մին B | այլ---6 ծնաւ] Ադամ

իննսուն կանայք հային քսանեւչորս այր որ[4] Սէթ ծնաւ։
7. Երեսուն տարի էր ամուսնացեալ, երբ սպանեց հայէն զԱբէլ. եւ Աբէլ այն տարին կամէր ամուսնանալ, բայց ոչ եղեւ, կոյս նահատակեցաւ։ 8. Իբրեւ ծնաւ Սէթ եւ այլ եղբայրքն նորա, մխիթարէին զնմանէ ծնօղքն <որպէս> հրեշտակն աւետեաց։ 9. Եւ բազմացան ազգն Սէթայ եւ այլ եղբարքն. բայց հալածէին զազգն հայենի եւ ոչ խառնակէին ընդ ազգին հայենի, այլ սրբութեամբ հային։

10. Իսկ Սեթայ որդին բարի պտուղն Ենովք, եհարց ի հօրէն թէ պապն մեր Ադամ ընդէր տրտում <է> ։

11. Ասէ Սէթ. Վասն ճաշակելոյ պտղոյն, որ ելաւ ի

զաւակ մի ոչ ունէր կանայք կայի քսան եւ չորք այր զի հաէն D | ի] om A

6 կային] + (եւ) Y | այր] + (երք) Y + զի հայէն երկու հարիւր եւ երեսուն տարեկան էր որ ամուսնացեալ էր A B

7 inc] + երկու հարիւր D | էր] + որ D | ամուսնացեալ] + էր հայէն A + որ Սէթ ծնաւ D | եւ---եղեն] կամէր այն տարին ամուսնանալ զԱբէլ A զի Աբել քսան տարեկան էր որ սպանեցաւ կուս էր այն տարին ամուսնանայր B քսան տարոյ էր Աբէլ կամէր այն տարուն ամուսնանայր D | եղեւ] + (այլ) Y | նահատակվեցաւ B

8 իբրեւ] երբ D | նորա] + եւ B | ի նմանէ B այն D | որպէս A B] զի D որ (ոց) Y | աւետեաց] ասաց B D

9 եղբարացն ի բաց B | ընդ ազգին] զազգն D | ազգին] ազգս B | ազգին հայենի] նոսա A

10 որդին] om A + եւ B | է A D] om B (է) Y

11 վասն 1°] + այն A B | ճաշակելոյ---է] տրտում է

դրախտէն, վասն այն տրտում է:

12. Իսկ Ենովք ասէ ցհայրն. Հօր պարտքն պիտի որդին < վճարել > :

13. Վասն այն ոչ ամուսնացաւ Ենովք: 14. Տնկեաց այգի մեծ լի ամենայն քաղցրութեամբ. վաթսունեւչորս տարի սպասաւորեաց այգւոյն: 15. Ամենայն մարդ ճաշակէր ի պտղոյն. իսկ ինքն Ենովք ոչ ճաշակեաց ամենեւին. այլ երկաթի սաղաւարտ ի գլուխն եդեալ, զի մի քարձր հայեսցի ի պտուղն ծառերոյն. քանզի վաթսունեւչորս տարի այգեգործ եղեւ եւ ոչ ճաշակեաց ի նմանէ: 16. Իսկ Աստուած հրամայեաց հրեշտակին իւրոյ զի զնա մարմնով վերացուցին[5] եւ եդին ի մէջ դրախտին, եւ է մինչեւ ցայսօր: 17. Իսկ այլ որդիքն Սեթայ եւ Ադամայ, իբրեւ տեսին զԵնովք որ կուսութեամբ եւ պահօք վերացաւ ի դրախտն. բազում հրաժարեցան

պտուղն ճաշակեաց ելաւ ի դրախտէն B | որ] om A

12 ցհայրն] om D | պարտքն պիտի] պարտ է D | վճարել A B D] վճարիլ Y + հօր պարտքն D

13 վասն այն] ապա A om B + քանիս D

14 inc] + այլ A D | այգի A B D] + այգի Y

15 ամենայն---պտղոյն] om D | ի պտղոյն] այգւոյն պտուղն A + այգոյն B | ինքն] om A B D | ամենեւին] om A B պտուղն D | եդեալ] + էր A B | քարձր հայեսցի] քարձրացուցէ տեսցէ D | քանզի---նմանէ] om D | եւ] om B

16 իսկ] + Տէր D | հրամայեաց] + վասն նմա A | հրեշտակին---զնա] հրեշտակացն առեալ D | զի] առեալ A B | մարմնով] + եւ A | եւ 1°] + տարեալ A B | եւ եդին] Ենովք առեալ տարան եդեալ D | եւ 2°] անդ D

եւ ելին ի լերինս <եւ> կուսութեամբ ծգնէին:

18. Բայց ազգն Կայենի յոյժ բազմացան աղջկունք նոցա. զի մի մարդոյ հետ հարիւր կանայս[6] շրջէին եւ կռուէին ի վերայ մի մարդոյն եւ խլէին ի միմեանց. զի մարդն սակաւ էր, կանայք եւ աղջկունք բազումք: 19. Ազգն Սեթայ եւ եղբայրք նորա ոչ խառնէին ընդ նոսա, եւ սրբութեամբ Կային ազգն Սեթայ:
20. Այնչափ բարի մարդ կայր. հինգհարիւրեւքսան կոյս եւ ծգնաւոր

Y[7]

կային ընդ նոսա, եւ ոչ զոյր հնար խառնակելոյ ընդ ազգն Կայենի:

21. Իսկ աղջկունքն ազգին

D

էին ի զաւակէն Սէթայ որ ի լերինն ծգնէին:

21. Իբրեւ տեսին ազգն Կայենայ որ ոչ խառնակէին ընդ

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17 եւ 3°] om D | եւ 4° B D] (եւ) Y om A

18 (յ)ազգն Y | աղջկունք նոցա] om A | նոցա] om D | մարդոյ---եւ 1°] մարդն ի մէջ տասն կանանց շրջեցուցանէին եւ խառնակէին B մարդն հարիւր կանայս յետ իւրեանց շրջեցուցանէին խառնակէին եւ D | հետ] մէջ A | շրջեցուցանէին A | մի մարդոյն] միմեանց A B D | էր] + (իսկ) Y

19 inc] + եւ A B D | եղբարցն B D | նորա] om A B իւր D | խառնակէին B D

20 կայր] + որ B | եւ 1°] om A B D | ծգնաւորք B D

Y

կային---հնար] ի մարդ ազգէ հինգհարիւրեւքսան ելեալ ի լերինս ծգնէին ոչ A | խառնելով A

D

էին---որ] ի մարդ ազգէն էին որք B | լերինն] + որք B

21 իւրեանց] նոսա B

Y

նայենի, հնարիւք սահմանեցին զկարմրաղեղն եւ զսպիտակաղեղն զերեսս կարմրացուցանէին եւ սպիտակացուցանէին. <զյունքն> քաշեցին եւ զաչսն դեղեցին եւ ծարուր դրին, զծամն եւ <զվարսն> սահմանեցին, եւ այլ պէսպէս սազ[8] եւ երգարանս սահմանեցին. զոտսն եւ զձեռսն խինեցին եւ կարմրացուցին, եւ այլ զարդարանօք զմարմինս իւրեանց զարդարեցին եւ պճնեցին:

D

իւրեանց աղջկունք հնար իմացան եւ սահմանեցին զկարմրաղեղն եւ զսպիտակաղեղն դնէին երեսս իւրեանց. զինքեանս զուգէին դեղէին յունքն քաշէին եւ յաչս ծարուր դնէին եւ պէսպէս սազէրս սահմանեցին զոտս եւ զձեռս իւրեանց կարմիր դեղ դնէին:

22. Եւ այնպիսի պճնեալ զգեստիւք եւ ազգի ազգի եղանակօք

A

22. Թմբկօք եւ փողս եւ քնարիւք եւ այլ երգարանօք զոր սահմանեցին

22. Այլ զարդարեալ մարմնով եւ փողիւ եւ քնարիւ եւ այլ ազգի ազգի երգօվք

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21 հնարս իմացան A | եւ 1°] om A | զսպիտակաղեղն] +(որովք) Y | զյունքն B D] զունքն Y | քաշեցին] om A | եւ 3°] om B | դեղեցին եւ] om A | եւ 6°] om A B | զվարսն A B] զվարս(ս)ն Y | այլ 1°] om A | եւ 11°] om B | զարդարանք մարմնոյ B | իւրեանց] om A B

A

22

22 Թմբկօք] դափով B | փողս] շուով B | երգովք B

Y	D
զնացին ի լեառն խնդալով եւ	ելին ի լերինն խնդալօվ եւ
պարելով, ծափ տալով եւ փողս	ծաղս տալօվ եւ պարունելօվ
հնչեցուցանելով, երկայն	հնչեցուցանելօվ եւ պէսպէս
ածելով[9] եւ պէսպէս ձայնիւ	ձայնիւ եղանակօք. չարն
	Սատանայ այսպէս չարութիւն
	սերմանեաց ի միտսն Կայենի
	զարմին եւ եղանակօվ
եղանակելով խառնեցան ընդ	խառնակեցան ընդ որդիս Սեթայ,
որդւոցն Սեթայ, զամենեսեան	զամենեսեան խաբեցան եւ
խաբեցին:	խառնակեցան:
23. Հինգհարիւրեւքսան ճգնաւոր	23. Հինգհարիւրեւքսան ճգնաւորք
էին, մի նոյ միայն մնաց կոյս,	էին, մինն մնաց կոյս որում
եւ այլ ամենեքեան խառնեցան	անունն էր նոյ, եւ այլքն
ընդ նոսա եւ չարացան քան	խառնակեցան ընդ նոսա եւ
զնոսա, եւ եղեն պղծագործ քան	չարագործ եղեն իբրեւ զնոսա.
զշուն. այլ ոչ հայր զդուստրն	եղեն իբրեւ զշուն եւ ոչ
ճանաչէր եւ ոչ մայր զորդին	ճանաչէին զքորս զեղբարս եւ

զնացին] էին զնաց եա .... ին B | լերինս A B | տալով] հարելով A | երկայն] երգարանս B | երկայն ածելով] om A | խառնակեցան B | որդիսն B | խաբեցին] + եւ խառնակեցան A B + ընդ նոսա A

23 էին] +(եւ) Y | մի] om A | միայն] om B | եւ 1°---ամենեքեան] այլք ամենայն B | խառնակեցան A B | նոսա] միմեանս A | քան 2°] իբրեւ B | զդուստրն] + իւր B | ճանաչէր եւ] ջոկէր A B |

Y	D
<ջոկէր> , ոչ քոյր զեղբայր. եւ այնպիսի կենօք համապազ շնային, եւ ոչ յիշեցին զԱստուած:	զմարս. այսպէս չարութիւն գործէին, եւ ոչ յիշէին զԱստուած:

24. Իսկ վասն բազում մեղաց նոցա բարկացաւ Աստուած ի վերայ նոցա, եւ կամեցաւ ջրով խեղդել զնոսա: 25. Հրամայեաց Աստուած Նոյի տապան շինել, եւ ամուսնանալ: 26. Իբրեւ եկն հրեշտակ եւ ասաց Նոյի ամուսնանալ, եւ Նոյ ոչ կամէր ամուսնանալ, զի հինգհարիւր տարեկան էր:

27. Եւ ասաց հրեշտակն. ԶԱստուծոյ հրամանքն[10] պիտի կատարես. զի զաշխարհս ամենայն ջրով անցուցանելոց է, զամենեսեան խեղդելոց է, եւ լինիս նոր Ադամ. զի ի զաւակէ քումմէ լցցի աշխարհս:

28. Ասէ Նոյ. Ո՞րչափ է աւուրց կենաց իմ ապրիլ

ջոկէր] om A B | եւ այնպիսի---շնային] այնպէս չարութիւն գործէին A այնպէս չարութեամբ կային B

24 իսկ---եւ] եւ Աստուած D | վասն] om B | զնոցա D

25 հրամայեաց] + Տէր D | զՆոյ D | կազմել D

26 իբրեւ---ամուսնանալ 1°] om A D | ամուսնանալ 1°] + պիտիս B | հինգհարիւրեւքսան B D | ամաց A

27 եւ 1°] om B | զԱստուծոյ] om D | կատարել պիտիս A B D | աշխարհս D | ամենայն] om A B D | անցանելոց B պիտի անցանել D | է 1°] եւ D | ամենեքեան B D | զամենեսեան---է 2°] om A | է 2°] են ջրով B D | եւ 2°] + դու B (դու) Y | Ադամ] սկիզբն աշխարհի A | զի 2°] om B եւ D | աշխարհս] + ամենայն B

28 է---յաշխարհս] կեանք ունիմ աշխարհիս B D | աւուրց

յաշխարհս:

29. Ասէ հրեշտակ. Հինգհարիւր տարի <ես>, չորս հարիւր տարի այլ պիտի ապրիս:

30. Ասաց Նոյ. Չորս հարիւր տարին իբրեւ զերազ գիշերոյ անցանի. վասն միոյ անցաւոր երազոյ ընդէ՞ր ապականեմ զկուսութիւնս իմ:

31. Ասէ հրեշտակն. Հրամանք Տեառն է, ոչ կարես արգելուլ:

32. Ասէ Նոյ. Ոչ գիտեմ եթէ մաքուր կին մնացեալ է, զի առից զնա ի կնութիւն:

33. Ասէ հրեշտակն. Նուս մի կայ մաքուր < ի զարմէն Սեթայ որ պահեալ է զկուսութիւն իւր մաքուր >, անուն նորա Նոյեմզառա. զնա առ քեզ ի կնութիւն: 34. Եւ սկիզբն < արա >

կենաց] կեանք A

29 հինգհարիւրեւքսան տարէկան D | ամաց A | ես] ապրեր ես Y +դու A +դեռ B +դեռեւս D | ամ A | այլ---ապրիս] եւս ապրելոց ես A ել կեանք ունիս B ապրել պիտիս D

30 իբրեւ] om D | զերազ---անցանի] գիշերոյ (միոյ A) մի երազ (երազի B) անցանէ A B D | անցաւորի B om D | ապականեմ---իմ] խառնիմ աշխարհ A խառնակիմ ի աշխարհս B խառնակիմ աշխարհի D

31 ի Տեառնէ D | է] om B

32 եթէ] ոք B | կին---կնութիւն] կոյս զի խառնեցին ընդ նմա A կոյս զի առից զնա B կոյս աղջիկ որ զի առնում D

33 ի 1°---մաքուր 2° B D] om A Y | նորա] + է B | Նէեմզար B Նոեմզար D | ի 2°] om A ante քեզ D

34 եւ 1°] om B | արա A B D] արար (արա) Y |

տապան շինելոյ. Հարիւր յիսուն կանգուն երկայնութիւն եւ յիսուն լայնութիւն, < եւ> երեսուն կանգուն բարձրութիւն:

35. Եւ գնաց ի նմանէ հրեշտակն: 36. Եւ Նոյ ամուսնացաւ:

Y[12]	A
37. Եւ ի տապան շինել, կացին ձայնէր, ուրաքն ձայնէր, սղոցն ձայնէր, փայտն ձայնէր թէ Անաւասիկ ջրհեղեղ ելանէ եւ ապականէ զաշխարհս:	37. Ակիզբն արար շինել զտապանն. եւ յորժամ կացինն տայր փայտին ձայնէր փայտն թէ ջրհեղեղ կու գայ:

Y	B	D
38. Երբ լուաւ Նոյ զձայնն, յայնժամ	38 a. Երբ լուաւ Նոյ զձայնն կացնոյն եւ եկեալ պատմեաց	38a. Ամենայն մարդ տնազ արարին[13] զնոսա. իսկ Նոյ հաստատուն

զտապանն D | երկայնութիւն] + նորա A | եւ 2°] om B | յիսուն] + կանգուն B D | եւ 3° A] om B D (եւ) Y | կանգուն 2°] om A | բարձրութիւն] + երեք տուն շինեայ (արար D) ներքնատուն միջնատուն եւ վերնատուն B D

37 inc] + եւ B | եւ յորժամ] առաջի B D | կացինն] + որ B D | ետուր D ետ D | ձայնէր] ձայն եղեւ (ետ D) B D | փայտն] փայտէն B om D

38 երբ] իբրեւ A | յայնժամ ---եւ] կացին A |

Y

յարտասուս
հարեալ եւ
աղաչեաց
զԱստուած, զի
քսանեւեօթն օր
համբերեսցէ
նմա:

B

ամենեցունց թէ ջրհեղեղ
կու գայ. ամենայն մարդ
տնազ արարին զնա. իսկ
նոյ հաստատուն քանէր ի
վերայ տապանին:
b. Ամենեքեան գնային
եւ տեսանէին զձեւ
տապանին, լսէին զձայն
կացնոյն եւ ուրաքին
ծակիչին եւ շաղափին
սղոցին եւ խիզարին որ
ասէին ջրհեղեղ կու
գայ: c. Տնազէին եւ
ասէին տեսէք
զանզիտութիւնն նոյեայ
որ ասէ թէ ջրհեղեղ կու
գայ: d. Գնացեալ նոյ ի
բարձր բլրի վերայ
շինէր զտապանն թէ ասա
ջուրն հասանէ եւ այլ
բարձրանայ. ութսուն
տարումն շինեաց

D

քանէր ի վերայ տապանին:
b. Իսկ ամենեքեան
գնային եւ տեսանէին
զձեւ տապանին, լսէին
զձայնն կացինին եւ
ուրաքին եւ սղոցին եւ
շաղափին ձայնն որ
ասէին ջրհեղեղ կու գայ:
c. Ցիմարութիւն աշխարհի
կուրացուցանէր զաչս
նոցա եւ խփանէր[14]
ականջս նոցա ոչ ի
սիրտս առնէին ոչ
դառնէին ի չարութենէն
եւ օր ըստ օրէ
չարանային: d. Նոյ
տապանն ի վերայ բարձր
բլրի շինէր եւ ասա
ջուր հասանի հարիւր
կանգուն բարձրանայ եւ
հարիւր տարումն շինեաց.
դարձեալ նոյայ ծնաւ

աղաչեաց---նմա] քսանեւեօթն օր
համբերութիւն խնդեաց Աստուծոյ
A |

ԱՒԵՏԻՔ

B

զտապանն։ e. Եկն հրեշտակն առ Նոյ եւ ասէ. երեք աղջիկ առ ի Սեթայ զարմէն վասն որդւոց քոց, եւ անուանքն են այսոքիկ, Զանազան, Զարմանազան, Երեքնազան։ f. Եւ այս երեք աղջկունքս դեռ փոքրեն կուս եւ զաւակ Սեթայ են. եւ մի ամուսնացին որդիք քո մինչեւ ելանիցէք ի տապանէն. եւ դու մուտ ի տապանդ որ ջրհեղեղ կու գայ. զի յորժամ ամուսնացաւ Նոյ եւ սկսաւ տապանն շինել երեք որդիք եղեւ նմայ. եւ անուանքն են այսոքիկ Սեմ, Քամ, եւ Աբէթ։ g. Իսկ Նոյ աղաչեաց զԱստուած տասն տարի համբերել եւ Աստուած քաշխեաց Նոյի մինչեւ ի տասն տարի թերեւս դարձցին։ h. Եւ սկսաւ Նոյ քարոզել թէ կամէր Աստուած կորուսանել զձեզ եւ ես աղաչեցի վասն ձեր դարձէք ի մեղաց եւ ապրեսջիք։

i. Ամենեքեան տնազէին զնա եւ ասէին երբ ջուր գայ Նոյ որ արտն կու վարի կամ որ տեղ այգի կու տնկէ։ j. Իբրեւ վճարեցաւ

D

երեք որդի այսինքն Սեմ, Քամ, Աբէթ։ e. Եւ դարձեալ հրեշտակն երեւեցաւ Նոյի եւ ասէ երեք աղջիկ առ Սեթայ զարմէն վասն որդւոց...եւ անուանս ասաց Զանէզան, Զարմանէզան, Հէրէքնազան։ f. Եւ այս երեք աղջիկս փոքրէին եւ պզտիկ եւ զարմէն Սէթայ. առ զնոսա վասն որդւոցդ եւ մի ամուսնացին որդիք քո մինչեւ ելանէք ի տապանէն։ g. Իսկ աղաչէր զԱստուածն կենդանին ստեղծօղ ամենայնին տասն տարի համբերել. եւ Աստուած լսէր աղաչանացն Նոյին. տասն տարի թերեւս դառնային ի չարութենէն։ h. Եւ սկսեաց քարոզել Նոյ եթէ Աստուած կամեցաւ կորուսանել զձեզ եւ ես աղաչեցի վասն <ձեր> դարձէք ի մեղացէ եւ դադարեցէք ի չարէ եւ ապրեսջիք ի զալոյ ջրհեղեղէն։

i. Եւ ամենեքեան տնազ առնէին քանին եւ քարոզին Նոյեայ. յեփ ջուրն յաշխարհս կուլլվի

B

տասն տարի երեւեցաւ հրեշտակն առ Նոյ եւ ասէ մտիր ի տապանն: k. Ասէ Նոյ մինչեւ եւթն օր համբերութիւն խնդրեմ ի Տեառնէ:

D

եւ ապա Նոյ յորտեղ կու վարէ կամ որպէս կապրի: j. Եւ իբրեւ վճարեցաւ տասն տարին երեւեցաւ հրեշտակն եւ ասաց Նոյի մտանել տապանն: k. Նոյ մինչեւ եւթն օր համբերութիւն խնդրեաց Աստուծէ:

39. Եւ իբրեւ ել Նոյ ի վերնատունն, երկու տախտակն եռ ի վերայ մէկ մէկու. իսկ տախտակն ձայնէր թէ ջրհեղեղ կու գայ:
40. Ամենայն կենդանիքն երկու երկու եկին եւ մտաւ ի տապանն, եւ սուրբ անասունքն եօթն եօթն: 41. Իսկ անբան անասունքն իմացան զջրհեղեղն, եւ մարդիք ոչ իմացան:

42. Եւ եմուտ Նոյ ի տապանն, ինքն եւ որդիք իւր. փակեաց զդուռն եւ <զհերձսն> [16] կպրեաց եւ ծեփեաց.

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39 եւ] om B D | Նոյ] om A D | ի 1°] om B | վերնատունն] + եւ B | եղ A | վերայ] om D | մէկ մէկու] միմեանց B | իսկ] եւ B | ձայն եռ B D

40 երկու 1°---եւ 1°] om D | երկու 2°] + եւ սրբոցն եօթն եօթն A | մտին B մտանեն D | եւ 2°---եօթն 2°] om A

41 իսկ---իմացան 2°] om A | անբան] om B D | անասունքն] + ձայն D | զջրհեղեղն] om D ջրհեղեղի գալն B | մարդքն B

42 եւ 1°] իբրեւ B D | ինքն] + եւ կինն D | իւր] + եւ A B + եւ երեք աղջկունքն D | փակեաց---զհերձսն] om D | զդուռն] + տապանին B | կպրեցին D | ծեփեաց] + եւ A

բացան սահանք երկնից, եւ ջուրն ելանէր ի ներքուստ եւ < ի > վերուստ ի վայր թափէր: 43. Բազումք կամեցան փախչել եւ մտանել ի տապանն, ի ճանապարհին խեղդուեցան: 44. Մինչեւ քառասուն օր բարձրացաւ ջուրն եւ կոխեաց զծայրս լերանց. մինչեւ ի մի տարին տապանակն ի վերայ ջրոյն կեցաւ, եւ եկն դադարեաց ի վերայ լեռան Մասիսայ:

45. Եւ յետ քառասուն աւուր նոյ բացեալ զպատուհան տապանակին, եւ արձակեաց ագռաւ մի, զի գնացեալ նշան բերցէ. եւ նա գնացեալ ի ճաշակումն զէշերուն, այլ ոչ դարձաւ: 46. Իսկ արձակեաց զաղաւնին, եւ գնացեալ աղաւնին, շրջեալ ի գլուխս

+ յայնժամ D | բացաւ D | յերկնից + եւ աղբեւրք անդնդոց A | ներքուստ---թափէր] վեր D | եւ 6°] + իջանէր A | ի 3° A B] եւ Y | ի 4°] om B | ի վայր թափէր] om A

43 բազումք---խեղդուեցան] եւ բազումք փախեան մտանել ի տապանն եւ ոչ կարացին A | եւ] om D | տապանն] + (այլ) Y | խեղդեցան B

44 մինչեւ 1°] om A + ի B | եւ կոխեաց] om D | զծայրս] om A զամենայն բլուրս B D | զլերինս A + եւ A (եւ) Y | մինչեւ 2°---կեցաւ] տապանն շրջէր ի վերայ ջրոյն մինչեւ մի տարին A | տարին] + շրջեցաւ B D | կեցաւ] om B D | վերայ 2°] om D

45 եբաց A բացաւ D | զպատուհան] om D | տապանակին] մի A զտապանն D om B | եւ 2°] om D | մի] om A | գնացեալ] om A B D | եւ 3°] om D | ի---այլ] հանդիպեցաւ գիշու եւ D | զէշերուն] + դիպեցաւ B

46 իսկ] + (ապա) Y | եւ 1°---աղաւնին] om A | գնացեալ աղաւնին] գնաց D | շրջեցաւ B D |

լերանց եւ գտեալ երեք ծաղիկ եւ բերեալ նշան <մատոյց> նոյի: 47. Իսկ Նոյ արձակեաց զամենայն թռչունս:

48. Եւ իբրեւ եղեւ երեք ամիս, բացեալ զտապանն, ետես զի լերինք եւ բլուրք ցամաքեալ էին. բայց դաշտք ջրով ծածկեալ էին: 49. Արձակեաց զամենայն կենդանիսն: 50. Իսկ անասնոց սրբոց եւ թռչնոց,[17] որ եօթն եօթն մտեալ էին, եօթնէն մին մատոյց բաժին Աստուծոյ. եւ խնդրեաց յԱստուծոյ, զի այլ մի ջրով անցուցանել զաշխարհս. ընդունելի եղեն[18] պատարագ նորա, եւ կատարեաց Տէր զխնդիրքն նորա:

51. Եւ խնդրեաց ի Տեառնէ եւ ասաց. Տուր

գտեալ] ոչ գտաւ հանգիստ ոտաց եւ ապա յետ քառասուն աւուր մի արձակեաց զաղաւնին եւ եբեր D | եւ բերեալ] om D | < մատոյց> B D] մատոյ Y om A

48 եւ 1°] om A B D | եղեւ] om A | բացեալ] դարձաւ բացաւ D | զտապանն] + եւ A B | ետես---էին 1°] զի ետես զլերինս եւ զբլուրս ցամաք D | զի] om B | ցամաքեալ] բացեալ A | բայց] եւ A | դաշտք] + դեռեւս A դեռ B | ջրով] աջով B om D | էին 2°] կային A B կար եւ յետ եւթն աւուր D

50 իսկ---սրբոց] om D | թռչունքն D | որ] + երկու երկու եւ D | եօթն 2°] + որ B | էին] + ի տապանն A D | մատոյց] om D | եւ 2°] + նոյ դարձեալ D | Աստուծոյ + նոյ A | զի] om A B որ D | մի] ոչ A B D | զաշխարհս] + ձայն եղեւ յերկնից որ ասէ A եղեւ ձայնն նոյին D | նորա 1°] քո A | կատարեաց---նորա 2°] կատարեցին խնդրուածք քո A | կատարեաց Տէր] կատարեցան B | Տէր] om D | խնդիրս D

51 եւ 1°] om B | խնդրեաց] + նոյ B | ի---ասաց]

ինձ նշան հաշտութեան։

52. Եւ ասաց Տէրն. Հայեաց ի յարեւելից կողման։

53. Եւ ետես Նոյ նշան աղեղան կարմիր, <կանաչ> իջեալ էին։[19] 54. Եւ ասաց Աստուած Նոյի. Այս եղիցի նշան հաշտութեան իմոյ ընդ որդիս քո. երբ տեսանեն զաղեղն զիտասցեն[20] քաղցրացեալ է Տէր ի վերայ նոցա. զի այս եղիցի ուխտ իմ ընդ քեզ եւ ընդ <որդւոց> քո, այլ ոչ ածից ջրհեղեղ ի վերայ աշխարհիս. Թէ չար զործեն այլ ուրիշ պատուհասիւ խրատեցին զնոսա։

55. Իսկ Նոյ առեալ զօրհնութիւն Աստուծոյ, էջ ի լեռնէն եւ բնակեցաւ Ակոռի։

Աստուծոյ Տեառնէ Տէր D | ասաց] +Տէր B | ինձ] մեզ B D | հաշտութեան] + զի զիտասցեն որդիքն իմ զնշան հաշտութեան (քո B) B D

52 յարեւելս A B | կողմն D կոյս B om A

53 ետես Նոյ] հայեցաւ Նոյ եւ ետես B | նշան---կանաչ] ի յարեւելս ծիրանի կարմիր կանանչ նշան աղեղան B | կարմիր---vs. 34 Նոյի] om D | կանաչ A] կանանչ B Y | էր A

54 Նոյի] om A B | իմոյ] +եւ D | որդւոյ D | երբ---նոցա] om D | երբ տեսանեն] եւ տեսցեն B | է Տէր] եմ B | ուխտ] աւետիս D | քեզ...որդւոց քո] իմ...քեզ D | եւ 2°---աշխարհիս] այլ ոչ սատակեսցեն որդիքն քո ջրհեղեղաւ A | որդւոց B] որդիքն Y | այլ 1°---աշխարհիս] այլ թէ ոչ սատակեսցեն որդիքն քո ջրհեղեղաւ B | ածից---աշխարհիս] սատակեսցեն որդիքն քո ջրհեղեղաւ եւ D | թէ---ուրիշ] այլ թէ զործեսցեն զչարիս այլ A | չար զործեն] զործեսցեն զչարիս B D | պատուհասիւ խրատեցից] չարիւ պատուհասեմ D

55 Աստուծոյ] om A | արկուռի A յակուլիս D

56. Երբ բազմացան զաւակ նորա ի՚յին <յ> ի՚յեւան եւ անդ պարեցան երեք հարիւր տարի: 57. Եւ երկու որդիքն Անդուն եւ Մանեառուն եւ որդիքն աճեցան եւ բազմացան եւ լցին զնախ ի՚յեւան, եւ նովաւ լցին զաշխարհս: 58. Եւ անուն տեղւոյն կոչեցաւ Նախիջեւան. եւ այն է զերեզման Նոյի: 59. Այսքան առ այս:

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56 երբ] յորժամ A | նորա] նոցա D | ի B D] om A Y | նախջաւան B D | անդ] + բնակեաց եւ անդ B | պարեցաւ B + այլ եւս B D

57 որդիքն 1°---որդիքն 2°] որդիս ծնաւ նոյ եւ մանեառուն որդիք նորա B | Անդուն---որդիքն 2°] ծնաւանդ D | լցին 2°] +զամենայն B D

58 եւ 1°] զի B D | անուն] + այն B | կոչի D է B | ի՚յեւան D | այն] անդ D | Նոյի] + եւ երեք իցնուոց եւ որդւոց նորին A

59 այսքան առ այս] om B Ադամայ ի դրախտէն ելանելուն մինչեւ ի Նոյի ջրհեղեղն ամս ունէր երկու հազար երկերիւր յիսունեւերկու D

Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth, to Which We Ought to Give Ear

1. Now the Lord relented toward Adam, and sent his angel to Adam and said, "Know your wife so that you may have a son in place of Abel." 2. Adam said, "I cannot know my wife, for I knew my wife twice, <and> that was a punishment greater to me than my expulsion from the garden. Because I see Abel bloody, my heart burns and grieves. I left him, and whenever[1] I see Cain's punishment, I shed tears.[2] For if I know my wife again, I will have double grief and sorrow."

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[1] կու + present to express continuing action in the present. See Karst, Grammatik, pp. 299-301.

[2] For acc. արտասուս .

3. The angel said, "Do not fear, Adam, because God will give you a son, and you shall call his name Seth, which is translated 'consolations.' He will be a blessed seed and the head of patriarchs, and you will be consoled by him. Because in the same measure that you were grieved on account of Cain's wickedness, you will be consoled by Seth. 4. And your seed and Seth's seed will multiply, and the lands will be filled with them. But let not Seth's seed mix with Cain's, nor any other of your seed with Cain's generation. Whenever they are united with that generation, your good children will become wicked, and all will be punished together."

5. For at the time when the angel gave good tidings concerning Seth, he (Adam)[3] as yet had no other offspring apart from Cain's generation. 6. There were three

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[3] Adam must be supplied as the subject of չունէր .

hundred and ninety women <and> twenty-four men <when>[4] Seth was born. 7. Cain was married thirty years when he killed Abel. And Abel wanted to marry that year, but he did not, <rather> he became a virgin martyr. 8. When Seth and his other brothers were born, his parents were consoled concerning him <as> the angel had announced. 9. Now the generation of Seth and the other brothers multiplied, but they drove away the generation of Cain and did not mix with Cain's people, but lived in purity.

10. And Seth's son Enoch, the good fruit, asked his father, "Why <is> Adam, our grandfather, sad?"

11. Seth said, "He is sad because he tasted of the fruit, for

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[4] Perhaps ժամ has been elided here.

which he went out of the garden."

12. Then Enoch said to his father, "The son must <pay> the debts of the father."

13. Because of this Enoch did not marry. 14. He planted a large orchard filled with every good thing. For sixty-four years he tended the orchard. 15. Every man tasted of the fruit, but Enoch himself did not taste at all. Rather he put an iron helmet on his head so that he would not look up at the fruit of the trees. Although he was an orchard worker for sixty-four years, he did not taste of it.
16. Then God commanded his angel so that he[5] took him up bodily and placed him in the midst of Paradise, and he is there until today. 17. And when the other sons of Seth and Adam saw Enoch, who ascended into Paradise through virginity and fasting, many practiced abstinence,

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[5]Note the plural verb with singular subject.

retired to the mountains, <and> subdued their passions through virginity.

18. But as for Cain's generation, its maidens multiplied exceedingly, so that a hundred women[6] walked after one man, and they quarreled over the one man and snatched him from one another. For the men were few in number, <but> the women and maidens were many. 19. Seth's generation and his brothers did not mix with them, rather Seth's generation lived in purity. 20. This many men were good; there were five hundred and twenty virgins and anchorites

Y[7]	D
among them, and there was no way of mixing with Cain's generation.	among Seth's seed who practiced abstinence in the mountains.
21. But the maidens of Cain's	21. When Cain's generation saw that they did not mix with

[6]For nom. կանայք .

[7]The wording in the MSS diverges widely in vss. 20b-23. Y and D are most distinct and are presented in parallel columns, with A and B containing mixed texts showing features of both Y and D. B is collated with D through իմացան եւ (vs. 21), after which it more closely follows Y. A is collated with Y throughout except for the opening words of vs. 22, where A and B are distinct from both Y and D and are presented separately.

Y

generation invented carmine and flake white, <and> they reddened and whitened their faces. They plucked their eyebrows and painted their eyes and put on antimony; they fixed up their hair and curls, and they invented various other stringed instruments[8] and musical instruments. They put henna on their feet and hands and made them red, and they adorned and beautified their bodies with other embellishments.

D

them, they acted deceitfully and made carmine and flake white <and> put it on their faces. They joined themselves together <and> dyed <and> plucked <their> eyebrows and put antimony on <their> eyes and invented various stringed instruments. They put carmine on their feet and hands.

22. And with such beautiful garments and with various musical tunes

A

22. With drums and trumpets and harps and other musical instruments which they made

22. Moreover, with adorned bodies and with trumpets and harps and with various other songs

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[8] սազ, an Armenian musical instrument with strings.

Y	D
they went to the mountains making merry; and dancing together, clapping their hands and sounding their trumpets, marching in a long procession[9] and singing various songs	they went out to the mountain making merry and clapping their hands and dancing <and> sounding the trumpet and with various musical tunes. The evil Satan thus spread evil in the mind of Cain's family, and with musical tunes they
harmoniously, they intermingled with the sons of Seth and seduced them all.	intermingled with the sons of Seth and seduced them all and and had intercourse <with them>.
23. There were five hundred and twenty anchorites, <but> only one, Noah, remained a virgin; all the others intermingled with them (Cain's generation) and became more wicked than they, and acted more shamefully than a dog. Neither the father discerned his daughter nor did the mother distinguish	23. There were five hundred and twenty anchorites,<and> the one, whose name was Noah, remained a virgin. But the others intermingled with them (Cain's generation) and became evildoers like them. They became like a dog, and they did not discern <their> sisters, brothers, or

[9] երկայն ածելով, a difficult phrase. Preuschen suggests "so kamen sie im Zug," which is followed here.

Y	D
her son, nor sister her brother. And through such a life they committed adultery continuously, and they did not remember God.	mothers. Thus they did evil, and they did not remember God.

24. Now God became angry at them because of their many sins, and he wished to drown them. 25. God commanded Noah to build an ark and to marry. 26. When an angel came and told Noah to marry, Noah did not want to marry, for he was five hundred years old.

27. And the angel said, "You must fulfill God's commands,[10] for he is about to destroy all this world with water; he will drown everything, and you will become a new Adam, for this world will be filled by your seed."

28. Noah said, "How long shall I live

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[10]For acc. հրամանսն .

in this world?"

29. The angel said, "You are five hundred years old; you must live another four hundred years."

30. Noah said, "Four hundred[11] years pass like a dream in the night. Why should I corrupt my virginity on account of one transitory dream?"

31. The angel said, "They are the Lord's commands; you cannot hinder them."

32. Noah said, "I do not know if there remains a chaste woman whom I might marry."

33. The angel said, "There is one pure virgin <from the line of Seth who has kept her virginity unstained,> whose name is Noemzara; marry her." 34. And he began

[11] For nom. չորք .

to build an ark. Its length was one hundred and fifty cubits and its width fifty, and its height was thirty cubits.

35. And the angel went away from him. 36. And Noah married.

Y[12]	A
37. And while he was building the ark, the axe cried out, the hatchet cried out, the saw cried out,<and> the wood cried out, "Behold, a flood is coming and it will destroy this world!"	37. He began to build the ark. And when the axe struck the wood, the wood cried out, "A flood is coming!"

Y	B	D
38. When Noah heard that cry,	38a. When Noah heard the cry of the axe, he went <and> related	38a. Every man scorned them, but Noah was

[12]Vss. 37-38 are quite distinct in the MSS. Most significant is the inclusion in B and D of an extended passage about Noah's preparations for the flood entirely missing in Y and A. While B and D have the same general content, they are at some points very different and are therefore presented in parallel columns. Although A does not have the extended Noah passage, it is nevertheless a mixed text, reflecting a less corrupt text of B and D in vs. 37, but agreeing more closely with Y in vs. 38.

[13]MS reads արին .

Y	B	D
he melted in tears and begged God to wait twenty-seven days for him.	to everyone that a flood was coming. Every man scorned him. But Noah was determined about the ark. b. Everyone would go and see the design of the ark; they would hear the cry of the axe and the hatchet, the drill and the auger, the saw and the hand-saw which said, "A flood is coming!" c. They would scorn and say, "Look at the ignorance of Noah, who says a flood is coming!" d. Noah went forth,<and> upon a high hill he was building the ark,<and he said>, "The water will come up to here and will rise higher." He built the ark for eighty	determined about the ark. b. Now everyone would go and see the design of the ark; they would hear the cry of the axe and the hatchet and the saw and the cry of the auger which said, "A flood is coming!" c. The folly of the world would blind their eyes and deafen their ears; they would not take it to heart <and> they would not turn away from evil, but day by day they acted wickedly. d. Noah was building the ark on a high hill, and the water would come up to here <and> reach a height of one hundred cubits. And he built it for one hundred years. Moreover, three sons

[14] MS reads խփնոյր.

B

years. e. The angel came to Noah and said, "Take three women from Seth's line for your sons, and these are their names: Zanazan, Zarmanazan, <and> Yereknazan. f. And these three women are still young, virgins, and of Seth's seed. But your sons may not marry <them> until you go out of the ark. But you enter that ark, because a flood is coming!" For when Noah married and began building the ark, he had three sons. And these are their names: Shem, Ham, and Japhet. g. But Noah asked God to wait ten years, and God granted Noah up to ten years; perhaps they might repent. h. And Noah began to proclaim, "God wants to destroy you, but I made supplication on your behalf; turn away from sin and live!" i. Everyone derided him and

D

were born to Noah, namely Shem, Ham,<and> Japhet. e. And again the angel appeared to Noah and said, "Take three women from Seth's line for <your> sons," and he said their names: "Zanezan, Zarmanezan,<and> Hereknazan. f. And these three women are young and small and from Seth's line. Take them for your sons, but your sons may not marry <them> until you go out of the ark." g. Now Noah asked the living God, creator of all, to wait ten years. And God heard Noah's supplications, perhaps in ten years they might turn away from evil. h. And Noah began to proclaim, "God wanted to destroy you, but I made supplication on <your>[15] behalf; turn away from sin and desist from evil and be saved from the coming flood!" i. And everyone

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[15] ձեր is not found in the MS.

B	D
said, "When is the water coming, Noah?" For he made use of the very field where he had planted a vineyard. j. When ten years had passed, the angel appeared to Noah and said, "Enter the ark." k. Noah said, "I need seven more days delay from the Lord."	derided Noah's word and message. When the water was swallowed into the earth, then Noah cultivated in the same place where he was saved. j. And when ten years had passed, the angel appeared and told Noah to enter the ark. k. Noah requested seven more days delay from the Lord.

39. And when Noah went up to the upper story, he put two planks, one upon the other. Then the one plank cried out, "A flood is coming!" 40. All the beasts came two by two and entered the ark, and the clean animals came seven by seven. 41. Now the dumb animals perceived the flood, but men did not perceive it.

42. And Noah entered the ark, himself and his sons; he locked the door and tarred and plastered its crevices.[16]

[16] Corrected from զհերթան .

The cataracts of heaven were opened, and the water came forth from below and poured down from above. 43. Many wanted to escape and to enter the ark, <but> they were drowned on the way. 44. For forty days the water rose and covered the peaks of the mountains. For one year the ark remained upon the water, then it came and rested upon Mt. Masis.

45. And after forty days, Noah opened the window of the ark, and he sent forth a raven so that it might go out and bring back a sign. And it went out to eat the corpses, but did not return. 46. Then he sent forth the dove, and the dove went out, passed over the peaks

of the mountains, found three flowers, and brought the sign <and> presented it to Noah. 47. Then Noah sent forth all the birds.

48. And when three months had passed, he opened the ark and saw that the mountains and hills were dry, but the fields were covered with water. 49. He sent out all the beasts. 50. But <from>[17] the clean animals and birds which had entered seven by seven, he offered one out of <each> seven to God as <his> portion. And he implored God not to destroy this world by water again. His offering was[18] acceptable, and the Lord granted his request.

51. And he entreated the Lord and said, "Give

[17] ի is needed before անասնոց and թռչնոց as suggested by Yov. The omission of ի is frequent in the MSS.

[18] Note the plural verb with singular subject; final ք on պատարագ may have been elided.

me a sign of reconciliation."

52. And the Lord said, "Look toward the east."

53. And Noah saw the sign of a bow; red <and> green had come down.[19] 54. And God said to Noah, "This shall be a sign of my reconciliation with your sons. When they see the bow they will know <that>[20] God has relented toward them, for this shall be my covenant with you and with your sons; I will not bring another flood upon this earth. If they do evil, I will chastize them with another punishment."

55. And Noah, after receiving God's blessing, went down from the mountain and dwelt <in> Agori.

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[19]The syntax of this sentence is difficult; I have supplied "and" for clarity. Alternatively, one might supply զի after նոյ and translate, "And Noah saw that the sign of a red <and> green bow had come down."

[20]զի is needed here as noted by Yov.

56. When his seed multiplied, they went down to Iǰewan and lived there for three hundred years. 57. The two sons, Antoon and Manedoon, and <their>[21] sons grew and multiplied, and they filled the first dwelling [nax iǰewan], and in such a way they filled the earth. 58. And the name of the place was called Naxiǰewan, and that is Noah's tomb. 59. Such it is until today.

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[21] Yov. adds միւս, "the other sons."

ԲԱՆՔ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ ԱՌ ՍԷԹ

1. Ասէ Ադամ ցՍէթ. Որդեակ, ոչ է այս բնակութիւնս մեր. զի այս բնակութիւն զազանաց եւ անասնոց էր. եւ մեր բնակութիւնն յԵդեմ ընդ արեւելս ի դրախտն էր: 2. Զի եստեղծ զմեզ Աստուած եւ եդ ի դրախտին, եւ պատուիրեաց մեզ յորոյ ուտել ի պտղոյն եւ յորոյ չուտել. (իսկ) մեք ոչ պահեցաք զպատուիրանն (եւ) մերկացաք (յ) աստուածային փառացն (եւ) զրկեցաք ի դրախտէն:

3. Եւ Սէթ որդին մխիթարութեան զբանն զայս լուեալ ի հօրէն եւ ի միտ առ, եւ երթեալ զքառասուն տիւ եւ զքառասուն զիշեր հաց ոչ եկեր եւ ջուր ոչ էարբ: 4. Եւ ասէ առ Տէր յաղօթելն իւրում. Ամենակալ, ամենակարող Տէր, կատարեա ի բարի զխնդրուածս իմ: 5. Եւ առ ժամայն տեսանէր զհրեշտակն, զի զայր եւ ունէր ճիւղ մի ուրախութեան ի ձեռին իւրում. եւ ետ ի Սէթ, եւ ասէ. Այդ է մխիթարութիւն հօր քում: 6. Եւ Սէթ զոհանայր զտվողէն կենդանութեան զՔրիստոսէ, որ արար եւ կատարեաց զխնդրուածս նորա ի բարի:

7. Եւ առեալ զճեղն զայն Սէթ, տարաւ առ հայրն իւր Ադամ, եւ ասէ. Հայր, այս ի բնակութենէն քումմէ (է):

8. Եւ առեալ Ադամ զճիւղն զայն եդ ի վերայ աչաց եւ բացան աչք նորա, եւ հայեցեալ տեսանէ զճիւղն, զի (յ)այն ծառոյն էր յորմէ զմահ ճաշակեաց: 9. Եւ ասէ ցորդին իւր. Որդեակ իմ Սէթ. այս ի այն ծառոյն է յորմէ հրամայեաց մեզ Տէրն չուտել մեզ:

10. Եւ ասէ Սէթ ցհայրն. Հայր, գիտեա զի որպէս մահարար է, նոյնպէս կենդանատու եւ լուսաւորիչ եղեւ:

11. Եւ օրհնեաց Ադամ զԱստուած եւ զՍէթ զորդին իւր, եւ փոխեցաւ ըստ հրամանի Տեառն ի հող յորմէ ստեղծաւ:

12. Եւ յետ ժամանակաց անցելոց, Սէթ զբանն ընդ Ենովս խօսեցաւ եւ ասէ. Այսպէս ասէր հայրն իմ Ադամ, թէ ոչ էր այս բնակութիւնս մեր, այլ այս բնակութիւնս զազանաց էր եւ այլ ստեղծուածոցն, եւ մեր բնակութիւնն յԵդեմ ընդ արեւելս էր:
13. Եւ յորժամ ստեղծ Աստուած զհայրն մեր եւ եդ զնա ի դրախտին, եւ պատուէր ետ նմա յորոյ ուտել ի պտղոյն եւ յորոյ չուտել. իսկ նորա ոչ պահեալ զպատուիրանն, մերկացեալ յաստուածային լուսոյն եւ արտաքս անկեալ ի դրախտէն եւ հաւասար եղեալ անասնոց անբանից:

14. Եւ Ենովք զբանս զայս ի միտ էառ, եւ զքառասուն տիւ եւ զքառասուն գիշեր ամենեւին ոչ ճաշակեաց: 15. Եւ յետ այնորիկ անկեաց դրախտ վայելուչ, եւ զամենայն պտղաբեր տնկեաց ի նմա: 16. Եւ կացեալ ի դրախտին այնմիկ հինգհարիւր եւ քառասունեւերկու ամ, եւ (յ)ետ այնորիկ մարմնով յերկինս համբարձաւ, եւ աստուածային փառացն եւ լուսոյն արժանաւորեցաւ:

The Words of Adam to Seth[1]

1. Adam said to Seth, "Son, this is not our home, for this was the home of wild beasts and animals. Rather our home was in Eden towards the east, in the garden. 2. For God created us and put us in the garden, and he commanded us from which fruit to eat and from which not to eat. (But)[2] we did not keep the commandment, (and) deprived ourselves of the garden."

3. And Seth, the son of consolation, heard this discourse from his father and considered it. And he went away, and for forty days and forty nights he neither ate bread nor drank water. 4. And he said to the Lord in his prayer, "Almighty, omnipotent Lord, fulfill my request for good." 5. And at that time he saw the angel that came and held a branch of joy in his hand. And he gave it to Seth and said, "This is your father's consolation." 6. And Seth gave thanks concerning Christ the giver of life, who granted and fulfilled his request for good.

7. And Seth took that branch, brought it to his father Adam, and said, "Father, this (is) from your home."

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[1]The title was supplied by Yov. since no title is given in the MS.

[2]The text exists in only one MS which was made available to the writer only through the Yov. edition. The words placed in parenthesis in the Yov. edition appear to be additions which the editor deemed necessary. Since that is not stated by the editor, these words are retained in parenthesis in both the text and translation.

THE WORDS OF ADAM TO SETH

8. And Adam took that branch, put it upon his eyes, and his eyes were opened. And he looked and saw that the branch was (from) that tree from which he had tasted death. 9. And he said to his son, "Seth, my son, this is of the tree from which the Lord commanded us not to eat.[3]

10. And Seth said to his father, "Father, know that just as it causes death, so also it gives life and light."

11. And Adam praised God and his son Seth, and by the Lord's command he was changed into dust, from which he was created.

12. And after some time had passed, Seth spoke that discourse to Enosh and said, "Thus my father Adam said, 'This was not our home, rather this was the home of wild beasts and the other creatures, but our home was in Eden towards the east.' 13. And when God created our father, he also put him in the garden, and he commanded him from which fruit to eat and from which not to eat. But he did not keep the commandment, stripped himself of the divine light, and was expelled from the garden and became equal to the irrational animals."

14. And Enoch considered this thing, and for forty days and forty nights he tasted nothing at all. 15. And after that he planted a comely garden, and he planted in it every fruit-bearing tree. 16. And he lived in that garden 542 years, and (af)ter that he ascended bodily into heaven, and became worthy of the divine glory and light.

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[3]The text appears corrupt here; the second ձեզ is awkward and unnecessary.

ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԱՊԱՇԽԱՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ ԵՒ ԵՒԱՅԻ ՆԱԽԱՍՏԵՂԾԻ[1] ԹԷ ՈՐՊԷՍ ԱՐԱՐԻՆ

1. Յետ ելանելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն, առեալ զԵւայ, հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ, եւ բնակեցան յանդիման դրախտին. զի միշտ տեսանելով զդրախտն, հանապազ տառապէին փափաքանաւք ի դէմ[2] դրախտին։ 2. Եւ աւր ըստ աւրէ կարաւտութիւնն յաւելոյր, եւ փափագ վայելչութեան դրախտին նեղէր զնոսա։ 3. Յորժամ եղեւ երեկոյ, եմուտ արեգակն եւ եղեւ մութն եւ խաւար գիշեր. յայնժամ անկաւ ահ մեծ ի վերայ նախաստեղծիցն, եւ այնպէս կարծեցին թէ այն էր մահն, որով մեռանելոց էին. եւ ահիւ մեծաւ սարսեալ տագնապէին, մինչ որ լուսացաւ եւ ծագեաց արեգակն։

4. Ապա դիւրացան սակաւ մի յերկիւղէ մահուն։ 5. Քանզի ասաց Աստուած թէ մահու մեռանիցիք. եւ այն բաւթ, սաստիկ վտանկէր զնոսա. եւ էր այն ապաշխարութիւն Ադամայ եւ կնոջ նորա Եւայի։ 6. Զմտաւ ածեալ յիշէին զվայրն վայելչութեան, եւ զդրախտն փափկութեան. զգեղեցկութիւն ծառոցն, եւ զզուարճութիւն տնկոցն. զպայծառութիւն վարդիցն, եւ զանուշահոտութիւն ծաղկանցն. զանթառամութիւն տերեւոցն, եւ զքաղցր ճաշակումն պտղոցն. զբարի հնչմունս հրեղինացն, եւ զքաղցրանուագ երգս հրեշտակացն. զախորժ բարբառ երկնաւորացն, եւ զհեշտալի եղանակս անմարմին զաւրացն։ 7. Զայս ամենայն կորուսեալ Ադամայ վասն[3] որոյ սկսաւ լալ եւ ողբալ մեծակական ձայնիւ։ 8. Վասն զի տեսանէր զվայրս դրախտին յանդիման աչաց իւրոց. եւ լայր կողկողագին հառաչանաւք. եւ կոծէր զկուրծս իւր յորդ

արտասուաւք: 9. Եւ ի խորոց սրտին հեծէր եւ յոգւոց հանէր. լեարդն այրէր. սիրտն ճմլէր. եւ աղիքն զալարէր: 10. Որովայնն ցաւէր երիկամունքն խորովէր եւ աչքն զարտասուս բերէր:
11. Միտքն ծնանէր լեզուն խաւսէր բերանն բարբառէր զաշխարանաց զքանս եւ ասէր:

12. Վայ ինձ աստուածաստեղծ մարդոյս.
Վայ ինձ նախաստեղծ կենդանւոյս.
Վայ ինձ կենդանի մեռելոյս:
13. Վայ ինձ մեռեալ հողոյս.
Վայ ինձ նախահաւրս.
Վայ ինձ առաջին մարդոյս:
14. Վայ առաջնորդիս կորստեան.
Վայ ինձ մահու զրաւելոյս.
Վայ ինձ մեղաւք մեռելոյս.
Վայ ինձ զի զպատուիրանն յանցեայ:
15. Վայ ինձ մեծատանս որ աղքատացայ.
Վայ ինձ զի ի բարձրութենէ խոնարհեցայ.
Վայ ինձ որ յառաջն թագաւորէի եւ տնանկացայ:
16. Վայ ինձ կորուսելոյս.
Վայ ինձ մոլորելոյս.
Վայ ինձ մեղաւորիս.
Վայ ինձ յանցաւորիս.
Վայ ինձ մահապարտիս.
Վայ ինձ Ադամայս:
17. Վայ իմ կողածին Եւայիս.
Վայ իմ կենաց կցորդիս.
Վայ ինձ որ մեղայ Աստուծոյ:
18. Լացէք զիս ամենայն արարածք.

Լացէք զիս երկինք.

Լացէք զիս երկիր.

Լացէք զիս ծովք.

Լացէք զիս ցամաք.

Լացէք զիս հրեշտակք.

Լացէք զիս զազանք եւ անասունք.

Լացէք զիս սողունք եւ թռչունք.

Լացէք զիս ծառք եւ տունկք.

Լացէք զիս քոյսք եւ դալարք.

Լացէք զիս ծառք ամենայն դրախտիդ վայելչութեան:

19. Ողբացէք զիս եւ կոծեցարուք ի վերայ բնակչիս ձերոյ.

Ողբացէք զիս զաւտարացեալս ի ձէնջ.

Ողբացէք զարտաքսեալս ի փափկութենէ ձերմէ.

Ողբացէք զտարամերժեալս ի վայելչութենէ ձերմէ:

20. Ով թռչունք երկնից, իջէք առ իս եւ տեսէք զլաց իմ.

Ով զազանք տեսէք զիս զվտանկեալս.

Ով անասունք հայեցարուք յիս ի տարակուսեալս.

Տեսէք զիս զթշուառականս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ որ երբեմն տէր էի ձեզ իշխան եւ
թագաւոր, եւ արդ եմ ձեզ հաւասար եւ առաւել
եւս վաթար:

21. Ով արեգակն եւ լուսին ողորմեցարուք ինձ անարգ
հողոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ տառապելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ վտանկելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ տարակուսելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ մերկացելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ մեղուցելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ զլորելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ կործանեցելոյս.

Ողորմեցարուք ինձ ի խաւարի եւ ի ստուերս մահու
նստելոյս:

22. Իւ՞ ապրիմ զի ահա քաղցեալ եմ.

Որպէ՞ս ցանեմ. զիա՞րդ վաստակեմ.

Զին՞չ ուտեմ. զին՞չ առնեմ.

Իւ՞ մխիթարիմ.

Ուրո՞վ խնդամ.

Ուրո՞վ զուարճանամ.

Իւ՞ յագենամ.

Իւ՞ լիանամ:

23. Ով ծառք զի՞ կայք.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զԱդամ.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զզրկեալս ի ձէնջ.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զխաւարեալս ի լուսոյդ ձերմէ.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զքաղցեալս ի բարեաց ձերոց.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զպասքեալս ի պտղոց ձերոց.

Ընդէ՞ր ոչ լայք զկարաւտեալս առատութեանց ձերոց:

24. Եւ դարձուցեալ զբանն ի կինն եւ ասէ.

Ով կին դու զին՞չ գործեցեր ընդ մեզ.

Ով կին ընդէ՞ր զրկեցեր զմեզ յայնպիսի փափկութենէն.

Ով կին ընդէ՞ր որոշեցեր զմեզ յայնպիսի զրգանացն.

Ով կին ընդէ՞ր արտաքսեցեր զմեզ յայնպիսի
վայելչութեանցն.

Ով կին, ես զքեզ կեանք անուանեցի եւ դու զիս ի
կենաց հաներ.

Ով կին արդ զին՞չ արասցուք եւ որպէս ապրեսցուք.

Զի՞նչ կերիցուք եւ կամ զի՞նչ արբցուք.
Զի՞նչ զգեցցուք եւ զմերկութիւնս մեր որո՞վ
պարտակեսցուք.
Զի ահա մաշկեղէն այս հանդերձս դիւրամաշ է եւ
շուտով անցանէ։

25. Ասէ Եւայ մեր կենացս այս բաւական է. զի հրամայեաց արարիչն մահու մեռանել մեզ, եւ այն ե՞րբ իցէ եւ յորո՞ւմ աւուր հանդիպի եւ զայ հասանէ մահն ի վերայ մեր. եւ թէ զի՞նչ մահն իցէ որ զմեզ մեռուցանէ ոչ գիտեմք. զի ահա աւր մի եւ գիշեր մի անցաւ ի վերայ մեր եւ ոչ մեռաք։

26. Եւ այնպէս սգացին Ադամ եւ Եւայ անսուաղ եւ անաւթի զաւուրս հինգ ոչինչ ճաշակեալ։ 27. Եւ ապա յետ հինգ աւուրն ի վեցերորդում աւուրն եկեալ առ նոսա հրեշտակապետն Գաբրիէլ բանիւն Աստուծոյ. եւ տեսեալ զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ ի սուգ եւ ի լաց, մխիթարեաց զնոսա եւ ասաց ուտել ի պտղոյ երկրին որ կայր մաւտ առ նոսա։ 28. Եւ ասաց նոցա մերձաւորիլ ամուսնութեամբ ի նմանութիւն անասնոց եւ աճել որդեծնութեամբ ըստ հրամանին Աստուծոյ. եւ յետ երեսուն ամաց ելանելոյն Ադամայ ի դրախտէն, մերձեցաւ Ադամ առ Եւայ եւ ծնաւ զԿայէն եւ զԱբուսաքր քոյր նորա ընդ նմա. եւ ասէ ծնայ մարդ Աստուծով։

29. Եւ յետ երեսուն տարւոյ դարձեալ մերձեցաւ Ադամ առ Եւայ եւ ծնաւ զԱբէլ եւ զԱմայն քոյր նորա։ 30. Եւ յետ երեսուն ամաց սպան Կային զՀաբէլ. եւ դարձեալ սուգ առին Ադամ եւ Եւայ ի վերայ մահուն Հաբելի զամս հարիւր եւ քսան. եւ ապա հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ եկն առ Ադամ հրեշտակապետն Գաբրիէլ, եւ ասաց նմա, մերձենալ յԵւա վասն որդեծնութեան։ 31. Եւ ետ Ադամայ ճեւղ մի ի ծառոց դրախտին, եւ ասաց. Այդ քեզ նշան, որ ծնանի քեզ Եւայ որդի մխիթարութեան. եւ կոչեսցես զանուն նորա

Սէթ, փոխանակ Հաբելի զոր սպան Կային:

32. Եւ յառաջ քան զսպանանելն Կայենի զՀաբէլ յաւուր միում տեսիլս պատմեաց Եւայ Ադամայ եւ ասաց թէ Տեսի զիշերս յերազի, որ զարիւնն Աբելի Կային ի բերանն առեալ ըմպէր:
33. Եւ Հաբէլ աղաչէր զնա թէ Թող յարենէդ եւ նա ոչ լսէր, եւ ոչ մնայր ի փորն, այլ փախէր ի դուրս զարիւնն Հաբելի: 34. Իբրեւ լուաւ զայս Ադամ յԵւայէ, ի կարծիս իմն անկաւ վասն բանին. եւ զի յառաջ քան զպատմելն Եւայի զերազն, լուաւ Ադամ ի Կայենէ որ ասէր ցՀաբէլ թէ Եկ երթիցուք ի դաշտի անդ եւ տեսցուք զդրախտն իմ, զոր տնկեցի փոխանակ դրախտին, վասն որոյ ապաշաւեն եւ լան անդադար ծնաւղքդ մեր: 35. Եւ գնացեալ Ադամ փութանակի եւ տեսեալ զի սպանեալ էր Կային զԱբէլ զեղբայր իւր. եւ ինքն Կային հեռացեալ էր ի տեղւոջէն: 36. Եւ թէ ո՞րպէս եսպան, եւ կամ զին՞չ ուրինակաւ, այս է զոր ասեմս. Տարեալ Կային զՀաբէլ յիւրատունկ դրախտն, եւ կալեալ կապեաց զնա ծեռն յետս ընդ ծառով միոյ.[4] եւ առեալ քար մի զայլախազ, եւ այնքան քարազոհ[5] արար զանմեղ պատանին, մինչ որ աւանդեաց զհոգին:

37. Եւ գնացեալ Ադամ, ետես այնպէս. եւ յոյժ սգացեալ ելաց դառնապէս: 38. Եւ ապա աղէկիզեալ սրտիւ եւ դառնացեալ հոգով գնաց Ադամ ասել Եւայի, զի եկեալ ի միասին լայցեն զՀաբէլ, եւ ամփոփեալ թաղեսցեն զնա: 39. Եւ յորժամ առեալ զԵւայ եւ եկն անդ, այլ ոչ եգիտ զմարմինն Հաբելի, զի ամփոփեալ էր ի հրեշտակաց Աստուծոյ. եւ երկիր կլեալ էր զարիւն նորա, որ բնաւ ոչ երեւեցաւ: 40. Յայնժամ կալաւ անհնարին եւ սաստիկ տրտմութիւն զԱդամ եւ զԵւայ, վասն Հաբելի որդւոյն իւրեանց:
41. Եւ յերկար սգով կացին ի տրտմութեան ամս հարիւր եւ քսան:
42. Մինչ որ հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ ծնան զՍէթ որդի մխիթարութեան:

43. Եւ ի սպանանելն Կայենի զՀաբել, եկն Գաբրիէլ առ

Ադամ եւ ասաց նմա. Դուք մի հարցանէք զնային վասն Հաբելի. այլ Աստուած հարցանէ զնա եւ պատժէ: 44. Որպէս եւ արարն իսկ:
45. Վասն զի եհարց Աստուած զԿային, թէ ու՞ր է Աբէլ եղբայրն քո:
46. Եւ նա ստեաց Աստուծոյ եւ ասաց. Ոչ գիտեմ: 47. Եւ Աստուած վասն այն եհարց զԿային, որ զղջանայր եւ մեղայ ասէր: 48. Իսկ նա լրբութեամբ ասաց. Ոչ գիտեմ. մի թէ պահապա՞ն իցեմ եղբաւրն իմոյ: 49. Եւ ասաց նմա Աստուած. Պահապան չես, սպանաւղ ընդէ՞ր եղեր: 50. Եւ եաւթն պատիժ էած ի վերայ նորա: 51. Նախ զի ասաց թէ Անիծեալ լիջիր: 52. Երկրորդ ի վերայ երկրի ուր հեղեր զարիւն եղբաւր քոյ: 53. Երրորդ Գործել զերկիր վաստակաւք եւ աշխատանաւք: 54. Չորրորդ Եւ երկիր ոչ տայ քեզ զպտուղ իւր, զի արեամբ արդարոյ ներկեր զնա: 55. Հինգերորդ Երերեալ լիցիս որպէս զծառ ի հողմոց: 56. Վեցերորդ Տատանեալ լիցիս իբրեւ զծով որ ծփի յալեաց: 57. Եաւթներորդ զի նշան եդ ի վերայ նորա Աստուած որ ամենայն ոք գիտենայր զնա, եւ նշանն պիսակն էր:
58. Այլ եւ եղջեւր բուսաւ ի ճակատն. զի ընդ որ գնայր, եղջեւրն զոչէր եւ աղաղակէր, թէ զայ Կային եղբայրասպանն:

59. Եւ այնպէս եկեաց[6] մնաց ամս ութ հարիւր:
60. Դողդոջէր միշտ, եւ երերալի շրջէր ի վերայ երկրի անդադար զցայզ եւ զցերեկ: 61. Եւ այնու առաւել սաստկացաւ սուգն Ադամայ եւ Եւայի: 62. Նախ զի մեղան Աստուծոյ: 63. Երկրորդ զի մերկացան ի լուսոյն: 64. Երրորդ զի արտաքսեցան ի դրախտէն:
65. Չորրորդ զի յերկիրս անիծից անկան: 66. Հինգերորդ զի ընդ մահու զրաւեցան: 67. Վեցերորդ զի յԱստուծոյ ատարացան:
68. Եաւթներորդ զի ի շնորհաց ղատարկացան: 69. Ութերորդ զի անասնոց հաւասարեցան: 70. Իններորդ զի որդեկորոյս եղեն, եւ աղեաց կսկիծ ընկալան: 71. Տասներորդ զի զանդրանիկ որդին իւրեանց տեսին եղբայրասպան, ղատապարտեալ եւ պատժեալ յԱստուծոյ:

72. Այս ամենայն անմխիթար սուգ էր Ադամայ եւ դառն կսկիծ Եւայի, եւ աւելորդ զղջման եւ ապաշխարութեան նախաստեղծիցն:

73. Որ հանապազ լային դէմ դրախտին զամենայն աւուրս կենաց իւրեանց եւ ասէին.

Ով պանծալի դրախտ.
Ով գեղեցիկ ծաղկոց.
Ով անուշահոտ բուրաստան.
Ով վայելուչ այգի.
Ով աստուածատունկ դարաստան.
Ողորմեցարուք զրկելոյս ի ձէնջ.
Ողորմեցարուք կարաւտելոյս ձերոցդ բարեաց.
Ողորմեցարուք վտանկելոյ ի ձեր դիմաց:

74. Ո՞վ տայ ինձ տեսանել զձեզ, ծառք բարեբերք.
Ո՞վ տայ մեզ տեսանել զձեզ, ծաղկունք անուշահոտք.
Ո՞վ տայ մեզ տեսանել զձեզ, տերեւք անթառամք.
Ո՞վ տայ մեզ ճաշակել ի ձէնջ, պտուղ քաղցրահամք.
Ո՞վ տայ մեզ մտանել ի քեզ, դրախտ աստուածատունկ.
Ո՞վ տայ մեզ հանգիստ ի քեզ, վայրդ վայելչալի:

75. Ով աչք որ հայեցայք ի պտուղն, ընդէ՞ր ոչ խաւարեցայք:

76. Ով ոտք որ գնացիք ի ծառն մահաբեր, ընդէ՞ր ոչ կոտորեցայք:

77. Ով ձեռք որ հատիք զպտուղն, ընդէ՞ր ոչ զաւսացայք:

78. Եւ այսպիսի լալով եւ վայիւ եկեաց Ադամ, սգով եւ տառապանաւք ամս ինն հարեւր եւ երեսուն. եւ ապա հիւանդացաւ ի փորոյն:

79. Եւ ժողովեցան առ Ադամ ամենայն ուստերք եւ դստերք նորա վաթսուն, զորս ծնեալ էր Եւայ Ադամայ, ծնունդս երեսուն

արու եւ էգ, որ էին ամենեքեան վաթսուն: 80. Ժողովեցան որդովք եւ դստերաւք իւրեանց առ նախաստեղծն մարդն Ադամ: 81. Եւ նա խիստ ի վտանկի կայր. եւ քաղէին ոգիքն ի սաստիկ ցաւոյն, որ կալեալ էր զանձն նորա:

82. Իսկ Եւայ եւ ամենայն ծնունդք նորա լային եւ ողբային զԱդամ. եւ Ադամ կայր առաջի նոցա չարաչար տանջեալ ի հիւանդութենէ իւրմէ: 83. Յայնժամ ասէ Եւայ ցԱդամ. Տէր իմ, ասա զժամանակ իմ թէ յամեմ ես յաշխարհիս, թէ շուտով մեռանիմ: 84. Չի՞նչ առնեմ զկնի քո, զի ես ոչ ինչ իմանամ: 85. Ասէ Ադամ, Ոչ յամես, այլ ի միասին մեռանիմք եւ դիցեն զիս եւ զքեզ ի մին տեղի: 86. Բայց դու այժմ երթ աղաչեա զՏէր, զի թերեւս տացէ ի ծառոյն աւծմանէ, որ այնու աւծանէք[7] զանձն իմ, զի դիւրանամ ի ցաւոցս:

87. Եւ յարուցեալ Եւայ առ զՍէթ, եւ գնաց աղաչել զՏէր, տալ պտուղ իւղընձիւղ ի ծառոց դրախտին, վասն առողջութեանն Ադամայ: 88. Եւ հանդիպեալ նոցա ահագին գազանն Բեհմովթ. յարձակեցաւ ի վերայ Սեթայ եւ կամէր ուտել զնա: 89. Յայնժամ Ճիչ բարձեալ Եւայ, աղաղակեաց ընդդէմ գազանին եւ ասաց. Սանձեա զբերան քո եւ մի իշխեսցես մերձենալ ի ծառայդ Աստուծոյ. յիշեա զի ընդ մերով իշխանութեամբ էիր, եւ մի համարձակիր վնասել զորդիդ իմ: 90. Յայնժամ եթող գազանն զՍէթ զոր կալեալ ուտէր եւ ասաց Եւայի. Չեզ հնազանդ յայնժամ էի, որքան դուք հնազանդ Աստուծոյ էիք, եւ զպատուիրանս նորա պահէիք. իսկ ի յանցանելն ձերում զհրաման արարչին, յարձակիմք ի վերայ ձեր եւ խստանամք, եւ ընդդէմ դառնամք ձեզ: 91. Զայս հրամանաւն Աստուծոյ խաւսեցաւ գազանն եւ ասաց ընդ Եւայ մարդկային բարբառով, խոժոռ խոլոր եւ ահարկու դիմաւք. եւ ապա թողեալ զնոսա զանց արար եւ գնաց:

92. Եւ մինչ դեռ մայրն եւ որդին Եւայ եւ Սէթ, աղօթէին յանդիման դրախտին, եկն առ նոսա հրեշտակապետն Գաբրիէլ եւ ասաց. Արիք եւ գնացէք զի մեռաւ Ադամ յերեկոյին ժամուն ընդ մտանել արեւուն: 93. Եւ նոքա ելեալ գնացին լալով եւ հառաչանաւք, եւ տեսին զԱդամ մեռեալ, եւ արարին կոծ մեծ ի վերայ նորա: 94. Եւ յետ երեք ժամու անցանելոյ ի վերայ մեռանելոյն Ադամայ, մինչ դեռ լայր եւ ողբայր Եւայ, նոյնժամայն ցաւեաց զլուխ նորա եւ ասաց. Վայ զլուխս, վայ զլուխս. եւ նա եւս մեռաւ ընդ Ադամայ: 95. Ի ստեղծանելն ընդ առաւաւտս ուրբաթուն ստեղծաւ Ադամ, եւ յերրորդ ժամու աւուրն ստեղծաւ Եւայ ի կողէն Ադամայ: 96. Իսկ ի մեռանելն, մեռաւ Ադամ յերեկի[8] ժամու ուրբաթուն. եւ Եւա մեռաւ յերրորդ ժամու զիշերւոյն[9]: 97. Իսկ որդիք եւ դստերք նոցա, սգացին զնոսա աւուրս երեսուն. եւ լուացեալ զսպեցին զնոսա, եւ պատեցին անոյշ խնկաւք եւ մաքուր կտաւօք եւ եդին ի փայտեայ տապանի: 98. Եւ պատուէին զաստուածաստեղծ մարմինս նախաստեղծիցն որդիք նոցա, եւ որդոց որդիքն մինչեւ ի Նոյ:

99. Իսկ յետ մեռանելոյն Ադամայ հազար երեք հարիւր եւ երկոտասան ամաց, եկն ջրհեղեղն, եւ Նոյ առեալ զնոսա ի տապանին զի[10] մի ապականեալ կորիցեն ի ջուրցն հեղեղէ: 100. Եւ յելանել Նոյի ի տապանէն, ետ զմարմինս նախաստեղծիցն յաւագ որդին իւր ի Սէմ: 101. Եւ նա առեալ տարաւ ի վիճակն իւր, որ արդ եւս կոչի Շամայ տուն, որ է Սեմայ տուն: 102. Եւ անդ ամփոփեաց զնոսա, դնելով զԵւայ ի յայրն Բեթղահեմի, ուր յետոյ ծնաւ Քրիստոս ի սուրբ Կուսէն Մարիամայ ի վերայ զերեզմանին Եւայի: 103. Եւ զԱդամայն[11] եդ ի Գողգոթայ, ուր խաչեցաւ Քրիստոս ի Հրէիցն ի վերայ գլխոյն Ադամայ. եւ արար զփրկութիւն ի մէջ երկրի:

104. Վասն այսորիկ կարգեցաւ եւ սահմանեցաւ յառաջին սրբոցն եւ ի հոգելի արանցն յաւուր ուրբաթու յիշատակել զննջեցեալսն ի Քրիստոս:

The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve, the First Created Ones,[1] and How They Did It

1. After Adam went out from the garden, he took Eve, by God's command, and they dwelt opposite the garden. Because they always looked at the garden, they were vexed continually with longing for[2] the garden. 2. And day by day their misery increased, and their desire for the splendor of the garden tormented them. 3. When evening came, the sun set and it became dark and gloomy night. Then a great fear fell upon the first created ones, and they presumed that this was the death by which they would die. And they were terrified, quivering with a great fear, until it became dawn and the sun rose.

4. Then they were somewhat relieved from the apprehension of death. 5. For God had said, "You shall die," and this sorrowful news tormented them severely. This was the repentance of Adam and his wife Eve. 6. On reflection, they recalled the place of splendor and the garden of delight, the beauty of the trees and the enjoyment of the plants, the lustre of the roses and the sweet odor of the flowers, the

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[1] Նախաստեղծի - The plural is needed here

[2] ի դէմ - lit. "before, in front of, opposite."

the unfading leaves and the sweet taste of the fruits, the fine sounds of the celestial beings and the harmonious chants of the angels, the sweet voice of the heavenly beings and the delectable melodies of the incorporeal hosts. 7. Adam lost all this, because[3] of which he began to cry and to mourn with a very sad voice. 8. For he saw the place of the garden before his eyes, and he wept sorrowfully with groans and beat his breast with copious tears. 9. And he groaned from the bottom of his heart and he fainted; his liver was enflamed, his heart burned, and his bowels shriveled up. 10. His belly was pained, his kidneys were afflicted, and his eyes shed tears. 11. His mind brought forth, his tongue spoke, his mouth uttered words of complaint, and he said,

12."Woe is me, God-created man!
Woe is me, first-created living being!
Woe is me, the living corpse!
13. Woe is me, a corpse of dust!
Woe is me, the first father!
Woe is me, the first man!
14. Woe to the author of perdition!
Woe is me, who took hold of death!
Woe is me, a corpse through sin!
Woe is me, because I transgressed the command!
15. Woe is me, the wealthy man who became poor!
Woe is me, because I have descended from the height!
Woe is me, who formerly was crowned but came to

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[3]Vs. 7 վասն որոյ - vs. 30 is represented in Yov. by ..., indicating a lacuna. An entire folio was omitted when the MS was copied, but is here restored.

ruin!

16. Woe is me, who am undone!
Woe is me, who have gone astray!
Woe is me, the sinner!
Woe is me, the transgressor!
Woe is me, condemned to death!
Woe is me, Adam!

17. Woe to Eve, made from my rib!
Woe to my life's companion!
Woe to me, who have sinned before God!

18. Weep for me, all creatures!
Weep for me, O heavens!
Weep for me, O earth!
Weep for me, O seas!
Weep for me, O dry land!
Weep for me, O angels!
Weep for me, O wild beasts and animals!
Weep for me, O creeping things and birds!
Weep for me, O trees and plants!
Weep for me, O herbs and grass!
Weep for me, all trees of that garden of splendor!

19. Mourn for me, and lament over your inhabitant!
Mourn for me, estranged from you!
Mourn for this one driven out from your luxury!
Mourn for this one expelled from your splendor!

20. O birds of the heavens, come down to me and see

my weeping!
O beasts, see me who am tormented!
O wild animals, look at me, who am ashamed!
Look at me, the miserable one!
Have pity on me, who was once your lord, sovereign, and king, but am now equal to you, but more unworthy!

21. O sun and moon, have pity on me, worthless clay!
Have pity on me, the afflicted!
Have pity on me, the tormented!
Have pity on me, the ashamed!
Have pity on me, the naked!
Have pity on me, the transgressor!
Have pity on me, the fallen!
Have pity on me, laid waste!
Have pity on me, sitting in darkness and in the shadows of death!

22. How shall I live, for behold, I am hungry?
How shall I sow? How shall I labor?
What shall I eat? What shall I do?
How shall I be consoled?
In whom shall I rejoice?
In whom shall I take delight?
How shall I be satisfied?
How shall I be filled?

23. O trees, why do you stand?
Why do you not weep for Adam?

Why do you not weep for the one deprived of you?
Why do you not weep for the one blinded from your light?
Why do you not weep for the one hungry for your good things?
Why do you not weep for the one who thirsts for your fruits?
Why do you not weep for the one who desires your abundance?"

24. And he directed <his> words to his wife and said,
"O woman, why did you work against us?
O woman, why did you deprive us of such luxury?
O woman, why did you separate us from such delicacy?
O woman, why did you drive us out from such delight?
O woman, I named you life, but you took me away from life!
O woman, now what will we do and how will we live?
What will we eat and what will we drink?
What will we wear and with what will we cover our nakedness?
For behold, this skin garment wears out rapidly and passes away quickly."

25. Eve said, "This life of ours is sufficient, for the creator commanded us to be punished with death, and when

will that be and on what day will it occur, and death come upon us? And what death it will be which kills us we do not know, for behold, one day and one night have passed over us, but we did not die."

26. And thus Adam and Eve lamented without food and hungry, eating nothing for five days. 27. But then after five days, on the sixth day, the archangel Gabriel came to them at the command of God. And seeing Adam and Eve lamenting and weeping, he comforted them and told them to eat from the fruit of the earth, which was near to them. 28. And he told them to draw near in marriage in imitation of the animals, and to multiply by childbirth according to the command of God. And thirty years after Adam went out from the garden, Adam knew Eve, and she bore Cain and Abusakr, his sister, with him. And she said, "I have brought forth a man through God."

29. And after thirty years, Adam again knew Eve, and she bore Abel and Samayn, his sister. 30. And after thirty years Cain killed Abel. And Adam and Eve lamented again over the death of Abel, for a hundred and twenty years. And then, by the command of God, the archangel Gabriel came to Adam and told him to know Eve for the sake of procreation.
31. And he gave Adam a branch from the trees of the garden and said, "This is a sign to you that Eve will bear to you a son of consolation. And you shall call his name Seth, in place of Abel, whom Cain killed."

32. Now on a certain day, before Cain killed Abel,

Eve related this vision to Adam and said, "I saw in a dream last night that Cain took Abel's blood into his mouth and drank it. 33. And Abel begged him, 'Leave some of that blood!,' but he did not listen, and it did not remain in his belly, rather he vomited out Abel's blood." 34. When Adam heard this from Eve, he became somewhat suspicious about the matter, for before Eve related her dream, Adam had heard Cain say to Abel, "Come let us go into the field and see my garden which I planted in place of the garden on account of which our parents lament and weep continually." 35. Therefore Adam went quickly and saw that Cain had killed Abel his brother, and Cain himself had departed from the place. 36. And how he killed him, and in what way, I shall explain. Cain led Abel into the garden which he himself had planted, and he seized him and tied him to a tree[4] with his hands behind him. And he took a stone--a flint--and in such a way he stoned[5] the innocent lad until he gave up the ghost.

37. And when Adam went forth, he saw this, and he mourned exceedingly and wept bitterly. 38. So with a compassionate heart and an embittered spirit, Adam went to tell Eve to come so that they might weep together over Abel, gather him up and bury him. 39. When he took Eve and came there, he did not find Abel's corpse any more, for it had

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[4] ընդ ծառով միոյ is corrupt.

[5] քարազոհ = քար , "stone," + զոհ, "victim, sacrifice" (cf. զոհ առնել , "to kill"). Hence քարազոհ առնել = "to make a victim by stoning," "to stone."

been gathered up by God's angels. And the ground had swallowed up his blood, which has never been seen since. 40. Then a terrible and grievous sorrow seized Adam and Eve on account of Abel their son. 41. And for a long time they mourned sorrowfully, a hundred and twenty years, 42. until by the command of God they begat Seth, son of consolation.

43. And when Cain had killed Abel, Gabriel came to Adam and said to him, "Do not ask Cain about Abel; rather God will ask him and punish him," 44. as indeed he did. 45. Because God asked Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?" 46. And he lied to God and said, "I don't know." 47. And because of this God asked Cain, so that he might be sorry and repent. 48. But he said impudently, "I don't know. Should I be my brother's keeper?" 49. And God said to him, "You are not his keeper; why did you become his murderer?" 50. And he brought seven punishments upon him. 51. First, he said, "May you be cursed." 52. Second, "Upon the ground where you shed your brother's blood." 53. Third, "To till the ground in toil and fatigue." 54. Fourth, "And the earth will not give you its fruit, for with the blood of the righteous have you colored it." 55. Fifth, "May you shake like a tree in the winds." 56. Sixth, "May you be tossed like the sea which is agitated by the waves." 57. Seventh, God put a sign upon him so that everyone recognized him, and the sign was a mark. 58. Moreover, a horn sprouted on his forehead, such that wherever he went, the horn cried out and exclaimed, "Cain the brother murderer is coming."

59. And thus he remained[6] for eight hundred years. 60. He shuddered continually, and he walked upon the earth shaking incessantly, night and day. 61. And because of this, Adam and Eve's mourning became more intense. 62. First, because they sinned against God. 63. Second, because they were stripped of the light. 64. Third, because they were driven out of the garden. 65. Fourth, because they passed over to this cursed earth. 66. Fifth, because they became subject to death. 67. Sixth, because they became estranged from God. 68. Seventh, because they became devoid of grace. 69. Eighth, because they became equal to the animals. 70. Ninth, because they lost their child and were deeply pained. 71. Tenth, because they saw their first-born son, a brother murderer, condemned and punished by God. 72. All this was an inconsolable sorrow for Adam, a bitter pain for Eve, and an abundance of penitence and mortification for the first created ones.

73. For they wept constantly before the garden all the days of their lives and said,

"O glorious garden!
O elegant flower garden!
O sweet-smelling orchard!
O comely vineyard!
O garden planted by God!
Have pity on one deprived of you!

[6]Corrupt for ելաց.

Have pity on one who longs for your good things!
Have pity on one who is tormented before you!

74. Who will allow me to see you, O fruitful trees?
Who will allow us to see you, O sweet-smelling flowers?
Who will allow us to see you, O unfading leaves?
Who will allow us to taste of you, O savory fruits?
Who will allow us to enter into you, O garden planted by God?
Who will give us rest in you, O place of enjoyment?

75. O eyes that gazed upon the fruit, why were you not blinded?

76. O feet that walked to the deadly tree, why were you not broken to pieces?

77. O hands that picked the fruit, why did you not become withered?"

78. And weeping and moaning in such a way, Adam lived, in mourning and tribulation, nine hundred and thirty years. Then he became sick in his belly.

79. And there were gathered to Adam all sixty of his sons and daughters whom Eve had born to Adam; <there had been> thirty childbirths, a male and a female in each, which makes sixty altogether. 80. They were gathered with their own sons and daughters to the first created man Adam.

81. And he was in great danger, and he was dying from the

severe pain which had seized him.

82. Now Eve and all her children wept and lamented over Adam, and Adam lay before them, greatly tormented by his illness. 83. Then Eve said to Adam, "My lord, tell me the time of my death; shall I tarry on this earth, or shall I die quickly? 84. What shall I do after you? For I perceive nothing." 85. Adam said, "You shall not tarry, rather we shall die together, and they will put me and you in the same place. 86. But go now and beg the Lord, for perhaps he will give you <some of the oil> from the tree of anointing with which you will anoint[7] me, so that I will be relieved of these pains."

87. And Eve rose up and took Seth, and she went to beg the Lord to give her the oil-producing fruit from the trees of the garden for the sake of curing Adam. 88. And the hideous beast Behemoth met them; he pounced upon Seth and wished to eat him. 89. Then Eve shrieked, shouted at the beast and said, "Bridle your mouth, and do not dare to approach the servant of God. Remember that you were under our dominion, and do not dare to harm my son." 90. Then the beast released Seth whom he had seized and was about to eat, and he said to Eve, "I was obedient to you as long as you were obedient to God and kept his commandments. But because you have transgressed against the command of the creator, we fall upon you, treat you mercilessly, and turn against you."

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[7]Note the plural, which may anticipate Seth's role.

REPENTANCE 91-98

91. The beast spoke this by the command of God, and he talked to Eve in a human voice, with a stern, harsh, and frightful countenance. Then he left them, passed by and went away.

92. And while the mother and son, Eve and Seth, were praying before the garden, the archangel Gabriel came to them and said, "Arise and go, for Adam died in the evening at sunset." 93. And they left and went back weeping and groaning, and they saw Adam dead, and made a great lamentation over him. 94. And three hours after Adam had died, at the very moment while Eve was weeping and wailing, her head suffered pain and she said, "O my head! O my head!" And she also died with Adam. 95. When they were created, Adam was created on Friday morning, and at the third hour of the day, Eve was created from Adam's rib. 96. But when they died, Adam died at the evening[8] hour on Friday, and Eve died at the third hour of the night.[9] 97. And their sons and daughters mourned over them for thirty days, and they washed and bound them, and they wrapped them in sweet aromatics and clean linens, and they placed them in a wooden coffin. 98. And their sons and their sons' sons until Noah honored

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[8] յերեկի, an unusual form. The root is probably երեկ, which however does not take ի type endings and appears strange with ժամ. So Issaverdens, who translates "towards the evening." Alternatively, Preuschen assumes the root is երկու and translates "in der zweiten...", making the parallel յերեկի ժամու ...յերրորդ ժամու. But this is not a correct form of երկու, and contradicts the notion in vs. 94 that Adam died three hours before Eve.

[9] For գիշերոյն.

the divinely created bodies of the first created ones.

99. But 1312 years after Adam's death, the flood came, and Noah took them into the ark[10] lest, having rotted, they should perish by the waters of the flood. 100. And when Noah went forth from the ark, he gave the bodies of the first created ones to his eldest son Shem. 101. So he took them and brought them to his own territory, which presently is still called Šamadun, which is the house of Shem. 102. And he buried them there, putting Eve in the cavern of Bethlehem, where subsequently Christ was born of the holy virgin Mary above Eve's tomb. 103. And he put Adam's[11] at Golgotha, where Christ was crucified by the Jews above Adam's head, and brought salvation to the world. 104. Because of this it was prescribed and decreed by the first saints and by the men full of the holy spirit to commemorate on Friday those who have fallen asleep in Christ.

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[10] առեալ ---զի - These words are represented in Yov. by ..., indicating a lacuna. The bottom line of one page was omitted when the MS was copied, but is here restored.

Presumably the remains of Adam and Eve are referred to.

[11] The antecedent of զԱդամայն , presumably "remains," "bones," is omitted.

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Appendix

THE ARMENIAN ADAM CYCLE OF FOUR WORKS, RECENSION II

In addition to the manuscript evidence presented in the edition in chapter four above, the _Adam Cycle_ exists in a quite different form in a group of manuscripts we have designated recension II (see chapter one). The text of recension II presented below is that found in the 1730 edition of _Zolovacu_, in which _Transgression_, _Expulsion_, _Abel and Cain_, and _Tidings_ are chapters 1, 3, 5, and 7 of an extended biblical paraphrase.[1] The even numbered chapters of the work contain homiletical materials based on the story presented in the _Adam Cycle_, and are similar in content to the homiletical materials placed at the end of each portion of the _Adam Cycle_ in B and Ẏ.

While the text of recension II is at some points virtually identical to that of recension I, at other points where II closely follows the story in I, the word order and vocabulary are markedly distinct.[2] There is also a tendency

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[1] Chapter numbers in the _Adam Cycle_ given here correspond to those given in recension I above and not to the _Zolovacu_ edition.

[2] Compare, e.g., _Transgression_, I 1-4 and II 1-4; I 25-30 and II 25-31; _Abel and Cain_ I 5-7 and II 5-7.

in II to rearrange the order of events as told in I,[3] to expand upon the text of I and introduce new ideas,[4] and to make improvements upon I, especially where confusions are found in I.[5] These modifications are all characteristic of secondary or recensional activity, and indicate that recension I is a superior text form. Furthermore, the appearance of several Turkish words[6] in the text makes it

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[3]In Transgression I 41-43, God curses Adam first, then Eve, then the serpent, whereas in II 40-43, the serpent is cursed first, then Eve, and then Adam. In I 31, the assertion that the fruit was good but man was evil occurs directly after Adam eats the fruit and before God appears. In II 45, however, that assertion occurs after God has delivered the curses and expelled Adam and Eve from the garden. For the transposition of verses, compare Abel and Cain I 36-37 and II 37; I and II 47; and the location of the promise that Seth will be the head of patriarchs in Tidings I 3 and II 1.

[4]In Transgression II 45-49 contains an extended explanation of the sin of Adam and Eve described in I 31. II introduces the ideas that Adam broke a fast and that he blamed God for his sin when given an opportunity to repent. See also the fuller explanation of how Christ accomplished humanity's deliverance from the promissory note of Adam in Expulsion II 23-26 (cf. I 23-26), and the explanation of the depth of the flood waters in Tidings II 44 (cf. I 44). The text of II is about 10% longer than that of I.

[5]In Transgression I 47, the angel takes Adam and Eve out of the garden and shows them fruit-bearing trees from which they can obtain sustenance. In II 51 Adam is shown how to obtain food provided he works for it, thus fulfilling the curse on him pronounced by God. While all extant manuscripts of Abel and Cain I 27 are confused at the point where Cain learns how to kill from two ravens, the text reads smoothly in II 27, and in II 35 Cain's response to God's query is brought closer to the biblical story of Cain's response (cf. I 35). Finally, Tidings II 14 makes clear that Enoch's orchard corresponds to the garden of Adam and Eve, whereas the correspondence is not explicit in I 14.

[6]E. g. կիւլէշ, "wrestling" (Abel and Cain 18), ասմայ, "vine" (Abel and Cain 19, 2x), աղրտաղ, a name for

unlikely that recension II, at least in its present form, is much older than the early eighteenth century date of the oldest surviving manuscript. The readings in II consistently show a closer relationship to B and D than to other manuscripts of recension I.

The text and translation of II presented below is divided into paragraphs and verses corresponding to those in recension I in order to facilitate comparison.

Mt. Masis (<u>Tidings</u> 44), and լեշ , "corpse" (<u>Tidings</u> 45). Three of these words (կիւլէշ , աղրտաղ , and the first appearance of սամայ) may originally have been within marginal glosses which were incorporated into the text, since in each case they appear in parenthetical remarks designed to explain the meaning of Armenian words found in the text. The two remaining examples may not be thus explained.

ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԵՒ ՃԱՌ, ՎԱՍՆ ՍՏԵՂԾՄԱՆՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ ԵՒ ՄԱՐԴԱՆԱԼՈՅՆ ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԻ ԱՍՏՈՒԾՈՅ ՄԵՐՈՅ

1. Նախ ըստեղծ Տէր Աստուած զդասս հրեշտակաց եւ հրեշտակապետաց, ի վեր եւ բարձր արար քան զամենայն հրեշտակս զՍաղայէլ եւ զԳաբրիէլ եւ մեծ փառօք զարդարեաց զնոսա: 2. Իսկ ամենայն հրեշտակք եւ հրեշտակապետք օրհնէին զովէին եւ փառաւոր առնէին զԱստուած:

3. Եւ պիղծն Սատանայ հպարտացաւ եւ ոչ կամէր օրհնել զԱստուած. այլ կամէր եւս բարձրագոյն բազմիլ յաթոռս հաւասար աթոռոյն Աստուծոյ: 4. Եւ բարկացաւ Տէրն հրամայեաց ուռնաւոր սերովբէիցն եւ բազմաչեայ քերովբէիցն, եւ ամենայն երկնաւոր զօրացն, որք հարին զդասսն Սատանայի եւ թօթափեցին զամենայն զունդսն դիւաց. եւ ի վայր հարին որպէս կարկուտ ի յամպոյն:

5. Իսկ բարերարն Աստուած փոխանակ հպարտութեան Սաղայէլի ըստեղծ զԱդամ, զի հողեղէն մարդօք լնուցու զտեղի նորա: 6. Եւ արկ զթմբրութիւն ի վերայ Ադամայ, եւ էառ զմի կողիցն նորա եւ ելից ընդ այնր մարմին եւ եղեւ կինն. իբրեւ զարթեաւ Ադամ ի քնոյ, ետես զկինն եւ հաւանեցաւ: 7. Եւ ասաց, ահա սա ոսկր յոսկերաց իմոց, եւ մարմին ի մարմնոյ իմոյ. սա կոչեսցի կին:

8. Իսկ Տէր Աստուած տարեալ եդ զնոսա ի մէջ դրախտին Ադինայ որ է փառօք լի եւ միջասահման. եդ ի վերայ նոցա պատուէր

եւ ասաց, թէ ուտելով կերիցէք զամենայն պտուղ դրախտին բայց ի
պտղոյ գիտութեան մի ուտիցէք. զի յորժամ ուտիցէք մահու
վաղճանեսջիք: 9. Վասն այն պատուէր եդ ի վերայ նոցա. զի
փորձեսցէ եւ տեսցէ թէ պահէին զպատուիրանն Տեառն. եւ թէ ոչ
զփշալից աշխարհն ժառանգեսցեն:

10. Իսկ պիղծն Սատանայ, նախանձեալ վասն Ադամայ, կամէր
մտանել ի դրախտն: 11. Եւ ահա բեկեալ ի հրեշտակաց եւ ոչ կարէր.
ապա օձն էր թեւաւոր եւ ունէր լեզու, եւ էր գեղեցիկ եւ իմաստուն
քան զամենայն կենդանի, մտանէր ի դրախտն եւ ելանէր: 12. Իսկ
ամենաչարն Սատանայ ուսոյց օձին եւ խաբեաց զԱդամ: 13. Քանզի
օձն տեսեալ զԵւա զի ճաշակէր յամենայն պտղոյ դրախտին. եւ ի մի
ծառոյն ոչ ուտէր:

14. Իբրեւ հեռացաւ Ադամ եւ շրջէր ի դրախտն, օձն
խօսեցաւ ընդ Եւայի եւ ասաց ընդէ՞ր յամենայն ծառոց ճաշակես, եւ
յայդ մին ծառոյն ոչ ճաշակես որ գեղեցիկ է տեսլեամբ:

15. Ասէ Եւայ, զի Աստուած ասաց յորժամ ուտէք ի ծառոյդ
մահու մեռանիք:

16. Իսկ օձն ասէ, Աստուած զձեզ խաբեաց. զի յառաջ
Աստուած մարդ էր իբրեւ զձեզ. երբ կերաւ ի պտղոյ անտի, նա այն
մեծ փառքին հասաւ: 17. Վասն այն ասաց ձեզ չուտել. զի մի
կերեալ հաւասար լինիք Աստուծոյ:

18. Իբրեւ լուաւ զխրատ օձին, ցանկացաւ աստուածանալ.
փութապէս կտրեաց եւ կերաւ ի պտղոյն. եւ առժամայն մերկացաւ:
19. Իսկ եկն Ադամ եւ տեսեալ զկինն մերկացեալ, դառնացաւ եւ ասէ,
այս ինչ՞ է զոր դու գործեցեր. ընդէ՞ր կերեր ի պտղոյդ եւ
մերկացար:

20. Ասէ Եւա, խիստ քաղցր է պտուղս եւ բարեհամ առ դու
եւս կեր. նա կամէր խաբել զԱդամ:

21. Ասէ Ադամ. ուտեմ եւ ես քեզ նման մերկանամ:

22. Եւ ասէ Եւա. ես շատ կերայ վասն այն մերկացայ. դու սակաւ կեր:

23. Ասէ Ադամ. ոչ կարեմ ճաշակել եւ քեզ նման լինիլ:

24. Ասէ Եւա. թէպէտ եւ դու շատ ուտիցես ոչ մերկասցին, զի սիրէ զքեզ Աստուած:

25. Իբրեւ զայս լսեց Ադամ, էառ զպտուղն ի ձեռն բայց վախէր ուտել: 26. Իսկ Եւա լայր եւ աղաչէր զնա եւ ասէր. կեր եւ մի որոշեր զիս ի քեզանէ. թէ ապրիմք ի միասին ապրիմք. եւ թէ մեռանիմք ի միասին մեռանիմք: 27. Իսկ Ադամ բազում քննութեամբ առնէր զպտուղն ի ձեռն մինչեւ երեք ժամ. երբեմն կամէր ուտել եւ երբեմն ոչ: 28. Բայց երբ հայէր կնոջ յաղաչանքն եւ յարտասուքն, ողորմութիւն անկանէր ի սիրտն: 29. Երբ զմերկութիւն տեսանէր, վախէր ուտել. երբ զգեղեցկութիւն տեսանէր, խելքն ի գլխոյն թափէր: 30. Թէպէտ մերկացեալ էր. բայց գեղեցիկ էր զի նորաստեղծ էր եւ իբրեւ սպիտակ մարգարիտ փայլ էր: 31. Իսկ Ադամ վասն սիրոյն կնոջն ոչ կարաց պահել զինքն եւ կերաւ ի պտղոյն, եւ մերկացաւ ի լուսոյն: 32. Ապա վասն մերկութեան ամօթոյն մտեալ ի ներքս թզենւոյն ծածկեցաւ ընդ տերեւովն, զի մի տեսցէ Աստուած. քանզի հանապազ գայր Աստուած եւ խօսէր ընդ նոսա սիրով եւ հանդարտութեամբ: 33. Եւ տեսեալ Ադամայ եւ Եւայի զոտնաձայնն Տէրն գալոյն Աստուծոյ զոր իբրեւ յիսուն կանգնաչափ բարձր ի վերայ թզենւոյն ձայնեաց բարկութեամբ եւ ասէ ո՞ւր ես Ադամ:

34. Ասէ Ադամ. Տէր զքո ձայնդ լուայ եւ երկեայ մերկ էի եւ թաքեայ:

35. Ասէ Աստուած. ո՞չ ասացի քեզ թէ մի ուտեր ի պտղոյ անտի. զի յորժամ ուտես մերկանաս եւ մեռանիս. 36. Ընդէ՞ր

կերար։

37. Ասէ Ադամ. Տէր այս կինն զոր դու ստեղծէր սա խաբեաց զիս։

38. Դարձեալ Տէրն խօսեցաւ ընդ Եւայի. թէ ընդէ՞ր կերար ի պտղոյն։

39. Ասէ Եւա. Տէր այս օձս զոր դու ստեղծեր սա խաբեաց զիս։

40. Եւ բարկացեալ Տէրն ի վերայ օձոյն եւ ասէ. դու օձդ որ փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ անիծեալ լիցիս ի մէջ ամենայն զազանաց եւ ամենայն կենդանեաց. ի վերայ լանջաց քոց եւ ի վերայ որովայնի քոյ սողալով գնասցես եւ հող կերիցես զամենայն աւուրս կենաց քոց։ 41. Եւ եդից զթշնամութիւն ի մէջ քո եւ ի մէջ զաւակի դորա, դու սպասեսցես դորա զարշապարին, եւ դա սպասեսցէ քում գլխոյ։ 42. Եւ դարձեալ ասաց ցկինն. փոխանակ զի արարեր զայդ. տրտմութեամբ եւ ցաւօք ծնցիս եւ ծնունդ քո ի մահ փոխանակեսցի։ 43. Եւ դարձեալ առ Ադամ ասաց. փոխանակ զի թողեր զպատուէր իմ եւ լսեցեր կնոջ քոյ փոխանակ անմահ տնկոցս փուշ բուսանի քեզ. քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո. զի հող էիր եւ ի հող դարձցիս։ 44. Եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակաց հանել զնոսա ի դրախտէն. եւ հրեղէն զաւազանաւն պահել զճանապարհ դրախտին։

45. Զի ոչ թէ պտուղն չար էր որ կերան եւ մերկացան. զի չար պտուղն ինչ կանէր ի դրախտն. զի պտուղն բարի էր բայց Աստուած զայն պտուղն պազ եդիր Ադամայ։ 46. Թէ պահեալ էր զԱստուծոյ խօսքն եւ չէր կերեալ զպազն այլ յետոյ ուտէր, բարձրանայր ի վերինն Երուսաղէմ. զի փորձեաց զնա Աստուած։ 47. Ապա եսես որ ոչ պահեաց զհրատն Աստուծոյ այլ փութապէս լսեցին զհրաս օձին եւ ցանկացան աստուածութիւն. վասն այն բարկացաւ Աստուած։ 48. Դարձեալ վասն այն եկն ի վերայ

թզենւոյն եւ հարցաւ թէ ո՞ւր ես Ադամ. վասն այն հարցանէր թերեւս մեղայ ասեն եւ թողութիւն գտանեն: 49. Երբ տեսաւ Տէրն որ զպատճառն ի ստեղծօղն ասացին. վասն այն բարկացեալ Աստուած ի վերայ նոցա. եւ արտաքսեաց զնոսա ի դրախտէն:

50. Եւ անկան ի տեղի մթին եւ աղջամղջին քաղցած եւ ծարաւած մինչեւ վեց օր: 51. Ապա դարձեալ ողորմեցաւ Տէրն ի վերայ նոցա եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակն հանել զԱդամ ի խաւարային տեղեաց. եւ բերել ի լոյս աշխարհ. եւ եցոյց նմա գործել զերկիր, եւ ի պտղոյ նորա կերակրիլ: 52. Իսկ նոքա իբրեւ տեսին զարեգակն եւ զլուսին, ուրախացան մինչեւ յերեկոյն եւ ոչ գիտէին թէ արեգակն մտանէ եւ ելանէ. ապա հանց որ մտաւ արեգակն եւ մթացաւ երկիր նոցա եւ խաւար կալաւ զնոսա, տրտմութեամբ լացին զգիշերն ամենայն:

53. Այսքան առ այս վասն Ադամայ: 54. Զոր Տէր Աստուած փրկեալ ազատեսցէ զձեզ ի խաբէութենէ չարին Սատանայի. եւ արժանի արասցէ արդար դատաստանին. եւ արքայութեան լուսոյն ամէն:

ՎԱՍՆ ԵԼԱՆԵԼՈՑՆ ԱԴԱՄԱՑ ԵՒ ԵՒԱՑԻ Ի ԴՐԱԽՏԷՆ

1. Յորժամ Ադամ անկաւ ի լուսոյն, սակաւ մի ուրախացաւ ի վերայ լուսոյ արեգականն թէպէտ չէր հաւասար արեգական լոյսն արքայութեան լուսոյն. բայց լոյս էր. նա ոչ գիտէր թէ ի մայրն մտանէր արեգակն: 2. Իսկ որ մթացաւ եւ երեկոյ եղեւ, այնպէս թուեցաւ նոցա թէ մութ եղեւ եւ այլ ոչ լուսանայ. քանզի դրախտն հանապազ լոյս էր. եւ նոյնպէս գիտէին թէ աշխարհս ամենայն լուսով լինի. զի ոչ գիտէին թէ ցերէկն գիշեր կու փոխի. վասն որոյ իբրեւ մտաւ արեգակն, եւ մթացաւ օրն, նա այնպէս իմացան թէ այլ չի լուսանայր. վասն որոյ լացին եւ կոծեցին մինչեւ ցառաւօտն:

3. Իսկ ի հաւախօսին եկեալ Սատանայ ի կերպս հրեշտակի եւ ասէ ցԱդամ. ընդէ՞ր տրտմիք:

4. Ասէ Ադամ. վասն այն տրտմիմք եւ լամք զի ստեղծեալ էր զմեզ Աստուած, եւ եդեալ ի մէջ դրախտին լուսեղէն. եւ պատրանօք օձին կերաք ի պտղոյն. եւ արտաքսեցաք ի դրախտէն. եւ անկաք ի տեղիս այս խաւար մթին: 5. Արդ կրկին ողորմեցաւ մեզ Աստուած. եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր հանեալ զմեզ ի խաւարէս եբեր ի լոյս աշխարհս: 6. Այլ ոչ գիտեմք թէ ինչ չար գործեցաք որ բարկացաւ Աստուած ի վերայ մեր եւ խաւար կալաւ զմեզ:

7. Ասէ Սատանայ. ինչ՞ տուիք այն հրեշտակին որ եբեր զձեզ ի լոյս աշխարհս:

8. Ասէ Ադամ. ինչ՞ ունէաք որ տայաք:

9. Ասէ Սատանայ պարտ էր ձեզ ծառայ լինիլ նմա եւ

զամենայն ծնունդս ձեր խոստանալ նմա. երբ զայդ ոչ արարիք վասն այն խաւար կալաւ զձեզ:

10. Ասէ Ադամ. յափշութիւն կալաւ զմեզ եւ զայդ ոչ իմացաք:

11. Ասէ Սատանայ. զի՞նչ տայք ինձ թէ տամ ձեզ զաւետիքն լուսոյ:

12. Ասէ Ադամ. եթէ միւսանգամ լոյս տեսանիցեմք ծառայ լինիմք քեզ մեք եւ ամենայն ծնունդն մեր:

13. Իսկ Սատանայ ցոյց ետ նոցա յարեւելս եւ ասաց. անտի տեսանէք զլոյս:

14. Զայս ասաց Սատանայ եւ սակաւ մի հեռացաւ. իսկ Ադամ եւ Եւայ հայէին ընդ արեւելս եւ տեսանէին զի նշան լուսոյ երեւէր արեգականն. կատարեալ խնդացին: 15. Իբրեւ սակաւ մի բարձրացաւ, եկն առ նա Սատանայ եւ ասէ. տեսանէք զաւետիսն իմ որ ուրախացուցի զձեզ:

16. Ասէ Ադամ. ծառայ եմք քեզ եւ աւետեաց քոց. զի դու լուսաւորեցեր զմեզ. զի ծառայեմք քեզ մեք եւ ամենայն ծնունդն մեր:

17. Իսկ Սատանայ բերեալ քար մի եւ եդ առաջի Ադամայ եւ ասէ. դիր զձեռն քո ի վերայ քարիդ եւ ասա այսպէս. մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի, եւ անմահն մեռանի ամենայն ծնունդն իմ քեզ եղիցի: 18. Եւ եթէ ոչ ասէք այսպէս. դարձեալ խաւար բերեմ առ ձեզ:

19. Իսկ Ադամ զձեռն ի վերայ եդեալ ասաց թէ մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի եւ անմահն մեռանի ամենայն ծնունդն մեր ծառայ քո եղիցի:

20. Եւ մնաց նշան ձեռացն ի վերայ քարին: 21. Այն եղեւ ձեռագիր Ադամայ ի ձեռն Սատանայի. իսկ Սատանայ տարեալ զձեռագիր քարն թաղեաց ի գետն Յորդանանու:

ԵԼԱՆԵԼ

22. Դարձեալ իբրեւ երեկոյ եղեւ մտաւ արեգակն ի մայրն. զիտաց Ադամ որ խաբեցաւ, լացին եւ ողբացին մինչեւ հինգ օր անօթի եւ ծարաւ: 23. Աղաչեցին զԱստուած եւ յետ հինգ աւուրցն լուաւ Աստուած աղօթից նոցա եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր. եւ աւետեաց Ադամայ վասն մարդանալոյն Տեառն Աստուծոյ եւ ազատիլն ի ձեռաց Սատանայի: 24. Եւ ետուր Ադամայ զձեռագիրն Աստուծոյ. եւ էր գրեալ այսպէս. մի տրտմիր Ադամ. խաբեաց զքեզ Սատանայ. վասն այն որ ասաց թէ մինչեւ անծինն ծնանի. եւ անմահն մեռանի. զի անծինն ես եմ. եւ անմահ աստուածութիւն. զոր ի վեց դարուն առաքեցից զմիածին որդին իմ ի լուսոյ աստուածութեան իմոյ: 25. Եւ մարմին առցէ ի սուրբ եւ յանարատ կուսէ. զոր ի զաւակէն քումմէ եղիցի որդին իմ, որդի քո: 26. Զի անծինն ծնանի եւ ջնջէ զձեռագիր յանցանաց քոց. եւ դարձուցէ զքեզ յառաջին փառսն քո:

27. Իբրեւ զայս աւետիսն լուաւ ուրախ եղեւ. զի վեց դարն իբրեւ ժամ մի համարէր վասն աւետեացն հրեշտակին: 28. Որ նոյն ողորմութեամբն ողորմեսցի Քրիստոս Աստուած ձեզ եւ մեզ. Ամէն:

ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՑԱՂԱԳՍ ԿԱՅԷՆԻ ԵՒ ԱԲԷԼԻ

1. Այս էր պատուէրն Ադամայ զոր պատուիրեաց որդւոցն իւրոց եւ ասաց, թէ յորժամ ելայ ի դրախտէն եւ անկայ յաշխարհս խաւարային, դարձեալ ողորմեցաւ ինձ Աստուած եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր եւ եբեր զիս ի լոյս. եւ որքան կենդանիք կային զամենեսեան հնազանդեցոյց ինձ։ 2. Եւ զեզն լծեալ ետ ի ձեռս իմ եւ ուսոյց նովաւ վարել եւ վաստակել եւ զործել զերկիր եւ ճաշակել ի պտղոյ նորա եւ լիանալ եւ ապրիլ. այլ եւ հրամայեաց ինձ յամենայն պտղոյ բաժին հանել Աստուծոյ։ 3. Վասն որոյ Ադամ պատուէր ետ զնոյն կատարել որդւոց իւրոց զի Ադամայ առաջին զաւակն Կայէն էր եւ յետ նորա Աբէլ։

4. Յորժամ եղեւ Կայէն յիսուն ամաց եւ Աբէլ քսան ամաց, Կայէն հողազործ էր եւ Աբէլ հովիւ ոչխարաց։ 5. Իսկ Ադամ խրատեաց զորդիքն իւր եւ ասէ. յամենայն ընչից ձերոց տասնէն զմէկն բաժին հանել Աստուծոյ։ 6. Իբրեւ եղեւ ծնունդն ոչխարաց Աբէլի, նա մէկն հազար եղեւ. ապա ընտրեաց զլաւն եւ զընտիրն խաշանց զգերն եւ զպարարտն տալ Աստուծոյ բաժին. բայց ոչ մատոյց Աստուծոյ վասն եղբօրն թէ քոյն եւս հասնին հունձք. ապա ի միասին մատուսցուք զբաժինն Աստուծոյ։ 7. Իբրեւ հասին հունձք ցորենոյ Կայէնին. նա զատեաց զքամատարն եւ զմնացեալ ոտնակոխն եւ զփուշն հանեց բաժին Աստուծոյ. եւ ժողովեաց իբրեւ դէզ մի։

8. Ապա եբեր Աբէլ զընտրեալ զառինսն եւ մեծարեաց զԿայէն վասն Աստուծոյ ասելով սիրելի եղբայր իմ, դու մեծ ես եւ ես փոքր ծառայ քոյ. յառաջ դու մատո զբաժինն Աստուծոյ. եւ ապա

ես։ 9. Իսկ Կայէն կանգնեցաւ յաղօթս առ Տէր եւ ասաց. դու Տէր ստեղծօղ ամենայնի. ահա քրտամբք իմովք վաստակեցի եւ վարեցի, ձեռօքս ժողովեցի եւ ի յուս բարձեալ բերի բաժին քեզ. արդ ընկալ զզոհս իմ որպէս հաճոյ է քեզ այնպէս արա։ 10. Եւ Տէրն բարկացեալ ի վերայ Կայէնի. վասն որոյ ամպ մի սեւացեալ եկն ի վերայ Կայէնի որոտաց եւ թնդաց. եւ ել հողմ եւ քամի ի նմանէ եւ ցրուեաց զամենայն հասկս նորա. եւ ոչ մնաց մի ցորեան. եւ Կայէնի երեսքն սեւացան որպէս զործելի։

11. Իսկ Աբէլ մատոյց զողջակէզսն անդրանիկ զառանցն առաջի Աստուծոյ. եւ զձեռսն տարածեալ աղաղակեաց եւ ասէ Տէր Աստուած ստեղծօղ եւ արարիչ ամենայն բարութեանց աղաչեմ զքեզ ընկալ զնուէրս իմ զոր մատուցանեմ քեզ բաժին, զի ի քո տուեալ բարի պարգեւաց քոց քեզ մատուցանեմ աղաչեմ եւ պաղատիմ ընկալ ի հաճոյս բարերար կամաց քոց։ 12. Նոյն ժամայն քաղցր հողմն հնչեաց եւ լոյս ծագեաց յերկնից եւ լուսաւորեաց զերեսս Աբէլի. եւ եկն բարբառ որ ասէր լսելի եղեն աղօթք քո եւ ընդունեցի զընծայս քո։ 13. Եւ լուսափայլ ամպն հովանի եղեւ ի վերայ Աբէլի։

14. Իսկ Կայէն ոխացաւ ընդ Աբէլի եւ կամէր սպանանել զնա բայց ոչ գիտէր թէ որպէս սպանցէ զնա. զի դեռ չէր սպանումն եղեալ ի վերայ երկրի։ 15. Եւ եւս Աբէլ ոչ գիտէր զչար խորհուրդն Կայէնի. զի հանապազ ընդ իրեար ուտէին եւ խմէին եւ շրջէին։

16. Իսկ ի միում աւուր ասէ Կայէն ցեղբայր իւր. Աբէլ գնասցուք ի դաշտ ման գալ։ 17. Եւ ելեալ գնացին ի դաշտն. ապա Աբէլ ուժով էր քան զԿայէն վասն այն ոչ կարէր յայտնել զխորհուրդն իւր։ 18. Ապա սկիզբն արար խաղալ ընդ եղբօրն կշտի բռնելով որ է կիւլէշ. թէ կարէ գետնով տալ եւ կապել զնա քանզի

որչափ կուշտի բռնեցին, Կայէն ոչ կարաց յաղթել զեղբայրն:
19. Եւ ել Կայէն հայեցաւ աստ եւ անդ, եւ ետես զխաղողի ճուղն
որ ասմայ ասի. նա ասաց Աբէլի թէ եկ ասմայի մատիւ խաղացուք:
20. Դու զրկէ զճառն եւ ես երեք անգամ պատեմ ուռամբս. տեսանեմ
թէ կարես կտրել զնա: 21. Դարձեալ դու ինձ արա նոյնպէս երեք
անգամ պատէ զիս, տեսանեմք թէ որս է զօրեղ եւ ուժով:
22. Իբրեւ զրկեաց զճառն Աբէլ, նա Կայէն առեալ զուռն պատեաց
ոտիւքն եւ ձեռօքն մինչեւ գզլուխն: 23. Ապա իմացաւ Աբէլ
զչարութիւնն Կայէնի. զոր զոչեաց լալով առ եղբայրն եւ ասէր.
եղբայր իմ սիրելի աղաչեմ զքեզ արձակեա զիս. եւ որքան կենդանի
եմ ծառայեմ քեզ: 24. Մի սպանաներ զիս. զի ես ոչ թշնամի եմ
քեզ, այլ բարեկամ եւ միշտ հնազանդ հրամանաց քոց. ես առանց քեզ
ոչ կարեմ ժամ մի կենալ: 25. Դու զիա՞րդ կատես զիս եւ առանց
ինձ մնալ ի վերայ երկրի. եւ զեղբայրական սէրն իմ ինչպէ՞ս
մոռանաս դու:

26. Իսկ Կայէն աստ եւ անդ շրջէր եւ ոչ գիտէր թէ որով
պիտի սպանանել զնա: 27. Ապա Սատանայ եղեալ ի կերպս երկու
ազռաւի եւ առեալ մինն քարասուրիկ քար մի, եւ նովաւ հարեալ
զմիւսն եւ սպան զնա ի կլափէն, եւ քարն սուր էր որպէս ածելի:
28. Եւ Կայէն ուսեալ ի Սատանայէ, եւ առեալ զքարն եւ վազեաց ի
վերայ եղբօրն: 29. Իբրեւ շատ աղաչեաց Աբէլ զեղբայրն եւ ոչ
լսեց նմա: 30. Եւ ասաց Աբէլ. եկ եղբայր մի անգամ համբուրեմ
զքեզ. զի ոչ մնամ կարօտ ի քէն: 31. Այլ Կայէն ոչ ետ
պատասխանի. ըմբռնեալ զքարն ի խոչակն եւ տարբերեալ խազխզէր, եւ
քարն փոքր էր եւ ոչ կտրատէր: 32. Նա լալով աղաղակէր ասելով
թէ ինչպէս ճուղապ կու տաս ծնողացն իմոց. զի ինձէն խապար
չունին նոքա որ ի նոցանէ հալալութիւն առնէի. քանզի բազում
աշխատանք ունին յինձ վերայ. եւ դու որպէս կենաս ի վերայ

երկրի։ 33. Եւ ամենեւին ոչ լսեց. այլ չարաչար բռնութեամբ հազիւ մորթեց զեղբայրն. եւ եղ կապեալ այնպէս ի ծառին։

34. Եւ ինքն գնաց իբրեւ ուրախութեամբ. ապա երեւեցաւ Աստուած ի վերայ ամպոյ յիսուն կանգնաչափ հեռի. եւ ասաց Կայէնին ու՞ր է եղբայրն քո Աբէլ։

35. Ասէ Կայէն, ե՞ր տուիր ինձ պահ, որ ինձանէ խնդրես. մի թէ ես պահապան էի նմա։ 36. Եւ բարկացաւ Աստուած ի վերայ Կայէնի. թէ երբ պահապան չէիր սպանող վասն է՞ր եղեր։ 37. Վասն որոյ եւթն պատժոք պատուհասեաց զԿայէն. զի ի հարցանելն Աստուծոյ զնա քաղցրութեամբ յապաշխարութիւն կոչեաց. թէ զղջացեալ մեղայ զոչէ։

38. Յորոյ ճակատն կոտօշ բուսաւ. ուր եւ երթայր ձայն կու տայր կոտօշ. առաջին պատուհասն այս է. թէ սա է եղբայրասպանն Կայէն։

39. Երկրորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ բոլոր մարմինն դողդոջէր։

40. Երրորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ քանի ուտէր, ոչ կշտանայր։

41. Չորրորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ ինչ որ ուզէր նա ոչ հասանէր ուտել եւ ընդ վայր խուզէր։

42. Հինգերորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ յաչքն ամենեւին քուն չէր մտանէր։

43. Վեցերորդ պատուհասն այն էր, զի հանապազ լալով եւ դողալով շրջէր։

44. Եօթներորդ պատուհասն այն էր, որ Աստուած մահ ոչ հրամայեաց Կայէնի։ 45. Այլ ասաց թէ ինչ մարդ որ զԿայէն սպանանէ, նա ցաւն առ սպանողն դարձցի։ 46. Եւ ապրեցաւ Կայէն եօթն հարիւր յիսուն եւ երեք տարի. զի զմահն կուզէր եւ ոչ

մեռանէր:

47. Ի ժամանակին յայնմիկ Ղամէք ձիաւորեալ հանապազ գնայր որսանել. իսկ Կայէն անճար մնաց վասն մահուն իւրոյ ապա հնարս իմացաւ առեալ մորթ մի վայրենի ի ծոցն, գնաց ի լեառն եւ եղեւ ընծոյ նման եւ անկաւ ի ճանապարհին:

48. Իսկ Ղամէք ելաւ գնաց յորս առնել. եւ ետես զԿայէն եհար նետիւ եւ սպան զնա: 49. Ապա ցաւն Կայէնի անկաւ ի վերայ Ղամէքայ. եւ բուսաւ կոտոշ ի գլուխն: 50. Իսկ Ղամէքայ կինն բարի էր. առ Տէր աղաղակեաց, եւ այնչափ ելաց որ յաչերէն արիւն կաթեցաւ փոխանակ արտասուացն: 51. Զոր ետես Աստուած զարտասուսն եւ զաղաչանք կնոջն, ողորմեցաւ Աստուածն ամենայնի. եւ բժշկեաց զցաւն Ղամեքայ:

52. Դարձեալ յորժամ իմացան Ադամ եւ Եւայ զսպանումն Աբէլի, գնացեալ բերին արեամբ շաղախեալ զմարմինն Աբէլի. որ եւ կոծ մեծ առին լալով եւ ողբալով. եւ միշտ սուգ կենային ի բազում ժամանակս: 53. Ապա յորժամ թաղեցին զմարմինն Աբէլի, նա ելանէր յերես հողոյն. զի հանապազ արիւնն ոչ ցամաքէր. ոչ հոտէր եւ ոչ որդնէր. զի էր իբրեւ զքուն. ոչ փտէր, եւ ոչ հող լինէր: 54. Քանզի Աստուած նախ Ադամայ ասաց հող լինիլ. եւ ապա ի նմանէ ծնելոցն. վասն որոյ պիտէր յառաջ Ադամ մեռանէր եւ ի հող դառնայր, ապա ծնունդ նորա մեռանէր եւ ի հող դառնայր: 55. Մինչեւ ի մահն Ադամայ այլ ոչ ոք մեռաւ. վասն այն ոչ ի հող դառնայր մարմինն Աբէլի: 56. Ապա երբ Ադամ մեռաւ եւ թաղեցաւ, նա ապա տեղ ետուր որ թաղեցին զԱբէլ ի գերեզմանի:

57. Բայց յորժամ Ադամ եւ կինն իւր տեսանէին զԱբէլ արեամբ շաղախեալ, եւ զԿայէն պատուհասեալ, վասն կոծոյն եւ սգոյն իւրեանց այլ ոչ մերձեցան առ միմեանս, զի մի այլ մեծ սուգ գայ ի վերայ ինքեանց վասն զաւակացն: 58. Իսկ Աստուած

ողորմեցաւ եւ առաքեաց աւետիք վասն ծնանելոյն Սեթայ. զոր եւ մխիթարութիւն ետ վասն Աբէլի: 59. Որ եւ զծեզ մխիթարեսցէ յամենայն տրտմութեանց ծերոց. Ամէն:

ՎԱՍՆ ԱՒԵՏԵԱՑՆ ՍԷԹԱՅ ԶՈՐ ԵՏ ԱՍՏՈՒԱԾ ԱԴԱՄԱՅ ՅԱՂԱԳՍ ԱԲԷԼԻ ԶՈՐ ՍՊԱՆ ԿԱՅԷՆ Ի ՄԽԻԹԱՐԵԼ ԶԱԴԱՄ ԵՒ ԶԵՒԱՅ

1. Եւ Տէրն քաղցրացաւ ի վերայ Ադամայ եւ առաքեաց զհրեշտակ իւր եւ ետ զաւետիս վասն Սէթայ, եւ ասաց Ադամայ թէ մերձեցիր առ կին քո, եւ լինի քեզ որդի. եւ անուանեսցես զանուն նորա Սէթ, որ թարգմանի մխիթարութիւն. նա եղիցի զաւակ օրհնեալ եւ գլուխ նահապետաց:

2. Ասէ Ադամ. ոչ կամիմ մերձենալ ի կինդ. զի երկու անգամ մերձեցայ եւ ինձ մեծ սուգ եղեն քան զելանելն իմ ի դրախտէն. զի զԿայէն տեսանեմ որ այնպէս ցաւագնեալ դողդոջայ, սարսափի եւ մորմոքի սիրտ իմ, եւ զալարին աղիք իմ. ապա զԱբէլ տեսանեմ արեամբ շաղախեալ, նա ցաւի սիրտ իմ եւ արտասուք իմ իբրեւ արիւն կու հեղանի. թէ դարձեալ մերձենամ ի կին եւ լինի զաւակ, վախեմ թէ այլ նոր սուգ բերէ ինձ:

3. Ասէ հրեշտակն. տալոց է քեզ Աստուած բարի որդի, եւ անուն նորա Սէթ որ թարգմանի մխիթարութիւն. նա եղիցի զաւակ օրհնեալ. զի որչափ դառնացար եւ տրտմեցար վասն Կայէնի եւ Աբէլի նոյնչափ խնդաս եւ մխիթարիս Սէթաւ: 4. Եւ բազմանան զաւակ քո եւ զաւակ Սէթայ. եւ նոքօք լցվի աշխարհս. բայց մի խառնակեսցիս ընդ ազգն Կայէնի. զի ընդ անիծիւք են նոքա. երբ խառնակին ազգն Կայէնի ընդ ազգն Սէթայ եւ այլ զաւակաց քոց նա նոքա եւս կորնչին հետ նոցա:

5. Ապա Կայէնի զաւակքն բազմացան եւ եղեն քսանեւչորք արու մարդ եւ երեք հարիւր ութսուն կին: 6. Զի Կայէն երկու

հարիւր երեսուն տարի էր որ ամուսնացեալ էր երբ Սէթ ծնաւ։
7. Քանզի Կայէն երեսուն տարու էր որ ամուսնացաւ. եւ Աբէլ քսան
տարեկան էր։ 8. Եւ էր կոյս երբ սպան զնա։ 9. Իբրեւ ծնաւ
Սէթ, եւ բազմացան ծնունդքն Սէթայ եւ այլ եղբարցն, ի բաց
հալածէին զազգն Կայէնի եւ սրբութեամբ կային եւ ոչ ժառանգէին
ընդ ազգն Կայէնին։

10. Իսկ բարի պտուղն Ենովք, եհարց ի հօրէն թէ վասն
է՞ր լայք եւ միշտ տրտմիք եւ ոչ ուրախանայք։

11. Նա ասաց. յաղագս ճաշակման պտղոյն եւ արտաքսելոյն
ի դրախտէն։

12. Վասն որոյ Ենովք երբ լսեց զայս նա ասաց ես վճարեմ
զծեր պարտքն։ 13. Եւ ոչ ամուսնացաւ։ 14. Այլ տնկեաց այգի մի
յօրինակ դրախտին. եւ ով ոք որ անցանէր, նա ի պտղոյն ճաշակէր.
եւ ինքն ոչ ամենեւին ուտէր ի պտղոյն։ 15. Այլ յերկաթէ զտակ
մի եդ ի գլուխն. զի մի տեսցէ զպտուղ ծառոյն. քանզի վաթսուն
տարի ի մեջ այգւոյն կեցաւ եւ ոչ կերաւ ի պտղոյ անտի։
16. Վասն այն քաղցրացաւ Աստուած եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակաց որ
բարձեալ զԵնովք տարան ի դրախտն. եւ է մինչեւ ցայսօր։ 17. Իսկ
այլ որդիքն Սէթայ եւ Ադամայ երբ տեսին որ Ենովք վերացաւ
մարմնով յերկինս, եւ վասն կուսութեան եւ պահուց հասաւ այնպիսի
փառացն. ըստ որում բազումք յօժարեցան հրաժարիլ յաշխարհէս եւ
կուսութեամբ ճգնիլ ի լերինս. եւ եղեն թիւք աւելի քան զհինգ
հարիւր եւ քան ոգի։

18. Բայց ազգին Կայէնի յոյժ բազմացան աղջկունք եւ
կանայք. զի զմէկ մարդն ի մէջ հարիւր կնոջ շրջեցուցանէին.
զորեւ կռուէին վասն մարդոյ, եւ յափշտակէին ի միմեանց։
19. Այլ եւ զնացին խառնակիլ յազգն Սէթայ։ 20. Եւ նոքա ոչ
տային թոյլ այլ ծեծէին եւ վարէին զնոսա։

21. Իսկ նոքա անճար մնացին. նա սկսան պճնիլ եւ զարդարիլ եւ շինեցին ծարուրս եւ դեղեցին զերեսս իւրեանց եւ զծեռսն հինայեցին: 22. Եւ սահմանեցին զերգս եւ զքնարս ազգի ազգի տաղերօք, խաղօք եւ պարուք ծափս հարկանելով գնացին ի լերինս, եւ խաբեցին զճգնաւորսն եւ խառնակեցան ընդ նոսա: 23. Միայն զնոյ ոչ կարացին խաբել. եւ այլք ամենեքեան խառնակեցան եւ պղծեցան ընդ նոսա, իբրեւ զշուն լլկեցին զամենեսին. ոչ հայելով զքոյր եւ զդուստր:

24. Որեւ Աստուած բարկացաւ վասն մեղաց նոցա. եւ հրամայեաց հրեշտակին որ ասաց նոյի զի ամուսնասցի:

25. Ասէ Նոյ. ոչ կամիմ ամուսնանալ վասն անցաւոր աշխարհիս:

26. Ասէ հրեշտակն. բարկացեալ է Աստուած վասն մեղաց մարդկան, եւ կամի կորուսանել զնոսա ջրով: 27. Վասն այն հրամայեաց Աստուած քեզ կին առնուլ. զի դու եղիցիս նոր Ադամ. զի սոքա ամենեքեան ջրով խեղդին: 28. Եւ դու միայն ապրիս որդւովքդ եւ կանամբքդ. եւ դու լինիս սերմ եւ հայր աշխարհի:

29. Ասէ Նոյ. քանի տարի դեռեւս պիտի ապրիմ:

30. Ասէ հրեշտակն. վեց հարիւր տարեկան ես. այլ եւս երեքհարիւր եւ յիսուն տարի ապրիս:

31. Ասէ Նոյ. վերջն մահ է եւ աշխարհս անցաւոր. զի երեքհարիւր եւ յիսուն տարին իբրեւ երազ գիշերոյ անցնի: 32. Զիա՞րդ խառնիմ ի մեղս աշխարհի:

33. Ասէ հրեշտակն. հրամանք Աստուծոյ է, կատարել պարտիս. զի աղջիկ մի կայ կոյս եւ մաքուր ի մեղաց ի դստերացն Սէթայ եւ անուն նորա Նեմզար. առ զնա ի քեզ կնութիւն: 34. Եւ շինեսցես տապան երեքհարիւր կանգուն երկայնութիւն, յիսուն կանգուն լայնութիւն, եւ երեսուն կանգուն բարձրութիւն. եւ

շինեա երեք տուն. վերնատուն, միջնատուն, եւ ներքնատուն:

35. Ձայս ասաց հրեշտակն եւ գնաց ի նմանէ: 36. Իսկ նա առեալ գնեմզար եւ ամուսնացաւ ընդ նմա: 37. Եւ սկիզբն արաւ տապան շինել ի վերայ բարձր բլրի միոյ. եւ որքան շինէին նա ձայն տայր ուրաքն եւ սղոցն եւ փայտն թէ պիտի ջրհեղեղ գայ յերկիրս: 38ա. Իսկ մարդիկն երբ լսէին, նա ծաղր առնէին ասելով. թէ յայս քան բարձր տեղիս ջուր պիտի հասնի. կամ դու որ զտապանդ շինես դու պիտի ապրիս եւ մեք խեղդուիմք. ապա դու ու՞ր պիտի ցան ցանես եւ այգի տնկես թէ երկիրս ջրասոյզ լինի: 38բ. Եւ ի կատարել ութսուն տարւոյն ապա աւարտ եղեւ տապանն: 38գ. Իսկ Նոյի եղեւ երեք որդի. Սեմ, Քամ, Աքեթ. եւ երեւեցաւ հրեշտակն Նոյի եւ ասաց թէ առ երեք որդւոց քոց կին ի զարմէն Սէթայ կոյս աղջկունս. որ են անուանքն Ձանազան, Ձարմանազան, Արազնազան: 38դ. Բայց կոյս պահես զորդիքն քո մինչեւ որ ելանես ի տապանէն, եւ արար այնպէս. եւ դարձեալ երեւեցաւ հրեշտակն եւ ասաց. մուտ ի տապան քո. զի լինի ջրհեղեղ:

38ե. Իսկ նա աղաղակեաց առ Տէր եւ ասէ. Տէր տուր համբերութիւն զի քարոզեցից, թերեւս դարձցին ի մեղաց: 38զ. Եւ Աստուած ներեաց ամս քսան զոր քարոզէր Նոյ ասելով, թէ դարձիք ի մեղաց զի դարձուսցէ Տէր զջրհեղեղ պատուհասն:

38է. Դարձեալ ծաղր առնէին զՆոյ եւ ասէին. զիտեմք զի ընդ վայր տանջեցար եւ փոշիմանեալ ես եւ վասն անճարութեան քոյ քարոզես. եւ զինչ տամք քեզ զգին տապանիդ եւ քակեմք եւ տուն շինեմք զփայտն նորա. եւ այլ բազում բանիւ տնազ առնէին զՆոյ: 38ը. Եւ յետ քսան տարւոյն հրամայեաց Աստուած Նոյի առնուլ զորդիսն եւ մտանել ի տապանն. իսկ Նոյ խնդրեաց համբերել ի Տեառնէ մինչեւ եւթն օր յառնուլ զորդիսն իւր ի տապանն: 38թ. Յոր եմուտ ինքն եւ կին իւր. ապա որդիքն եւ որդւոց

կանայքն:

39. Եւ երկու տախտակ էառ ի ժառքն եւ եհար զտախտակսն նա ժայն արժակեցաւ ի տախտակէն թէ, փախերուք եւ մտէք ի տապան, զի էհաս ջրհեղեղն: 40. Իսկ զազանք եւ անասունք լսեցին եւ հաւատացին. եւ եկին ինքեանք եւ աղաղակէին: 41. Եւ հրամայեաց Աստուած առնուլ զնոսա երկու երկու ի սրբոց թռչնոց. եւ յանասնոցն եւթն եւթն. եւ եդ զթռչունսն ի վերնատունն. ի միջնատունն Նոյ եւ որդիքն. իսկ ի ներքնատունն զազանքն եւ անասունքն: 42. Եւ յետ եւթն աւուր իբրեւ ժողովեաց զամենայն ի ներքս տապանին, ապա ծեփեաց զդրունսն ներքուստ եւ արտաքուստ. եւ ապա բացան սահմանք երկնից, եւ պատառեցաւ երկիր եւ բղխեաց աղբերակունս եւ ջուրք զետերաց արտահոսել. եւ յերկնից անձրեւն իբրեւ զետօրէն իջանէր: 43. Եւ ապա մարդիկք կամեցան փախչիլ ի տապանն, եւ ի նոյն խեղդեցան: 44. Մինչեւ քառասուն օր այնպէս առատանայր որ մինչեւ ծածկեցան ամենայն գլուխ լերանցն եւ ի սարերէն էանց յիսուն մարդուչափ աւելի. եւ մինչ ի մէկ տարի շուրջ եկեալ տապանն, եւ գնացեալ հանգեաւ ի լեառն Մասիսոյ որ այժմ ասեն աղրտաղ:

45. Յորում բացաւ Նոյ զպատուհասն եւ առաքեաց զագռաւն զի բերցէ նշան ցամաքի. եւ նա գնացեալ անկաւ ի լեշն այլ ոչ դարձաւ: 46. Եւ յետ երեք աւուրն արձակեաց զաղաւնին եւ գնացեալ եգիտ ցամաք եւ եբեր զՇուղ ձիթենւոյ: 47. Եւ բացեալ Նոյի զտապանն եւ ետես զգլուխ լերանցն եւ արձակեաց զամենայն թռչունսն:

48. Եւ յետ երեք ամսոյն ելաւ ինքն ի տապանէն եւ որդիքն իւր: 49. Եւ զամենայն կենդանիսն արձակեաց: 50. Ապա ի սուրբ կենդանեացն էառ յեւթնէն զմէկն եւ պատարագ մատոյց Աստուծոյ. եւ խնդրեաց յԱստուծոյ այլ ոչ պատուհասել ջրով

զորդիս նորա: 51. Եւ ձայն եղեւ առ նա թէ ոչ կորուսանեմ այսպիսի պատուհասիւ: 52. Թէ մեղանչեն ինձ այլ ուրիշ խրատով խրատեցից զնոսա: 53. Եւ երեւեցոյց Նոյի զաղեղն ընդ ամպս կանանչ եւ կարմիր ընդ արեւելս եւ ասէ. այս է նշան ուխտին իմոյ: 54. Զի յորժամ ցուցանեմ զայն նշանն իմասցին ամենայն որդիքն քո. զի հասեալ է ողորմութիւն իմ ի վերայ նոցա:

55. Եւ անտի իջին յարկուռի եւ անդ բնակեցան դեռեւս դաշտն նա լի էր ջրով: 56. Իբրեւ բազմացան որդիք նորա, գնաց էջ ի Նախջըւան, եւ անդ բնակեցաւ: 57. Եւ յետ ջրհեղեղին ապրեցաւ Նոյ երեքհարիւր եւ յիսուն տարի. եւ անդ է գերեզմանն Նոյի: 58. Եւ կնոջ գերեզմանն ի Մարանդ է. որ մայր ասի անուն նորա: 59. Որոց աղօթիւք փրկեսցէ Տէր Աստուած զամենայն հաւատացեալս ի ջրհեղեղէ ցանկութեան աշխարհիս. Ամէն:

History and Sermon: Concerning the Creation of Adam and the Incarnation of Christ Our God

1. First the Lord God created the divisions of the angels and archangels; he made Sadael and Beliar above and higher than all the angels, and he adorned them with great glory. 2. Now all the angels and the archangels blessed, exalted, and glorified God.

3. But the detestable Satan was amazed and enraptured by the greatness of his own glory. Because of this he became arrogant and he did not want to bless God. Rather he wanted to sit on this very high throne, equal to God's throne.
4. But the Lord became angry <and> commanded the hammer-man of the Seraphim and of the many-eyed Cherubim and all the heavenly hosts, who smote the divisions of Satan and drove away all the legions of demons and beat them down like hail from a cloud.

5. And God the beneficent created Adam in place of arrogant Sadael, so that He might fill his place with earthen man. 6. And He brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and He took one of his ribs, and he filled in flesh in place of it, and it became woman. When Adam awoke from sleep, he saw the woman and approved. 7. And he said, "Behold, this is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman."

8. And the Lord God brought <them and> put them in the midst of the Garden of Eden, which is full of splendor,

indeed <at> the center. He gave them a command and said, "You may eat every fruit of the garden, but from the fruit of knowledge you may not eat. For when you eat <it>, you shall die." 9. Because of this he gave them a command, so that he might test <them> and see if they would keep the Lord's commandment. And if not they would inherit the earth full of thorns.

10. Now the detestable Satan, being envious of Adam, wanted to enter the garden. 11. But behold he was discouraged by the angels and could not. Then the serpent had wings and a tongue; he was more handsome and wiser than all beasts, <and> he used to go in and out of the garden.
12. Now the abominable Satan taught the serpent, and he deceived Adam. 13. For the serpent saw that Eve would taste of every fruit of the garden, but from one tree she would not eat.

14. When Adam departed and was walking around in the garden, the serpent spoke to Eve and said, "Why do you taste of all the trees, but from this one tree which is beautiful in appearance you do not taste?"

15. Eve said, "Because God said, 'When you eat of that tree, you shall die.'"

16. But the serpent said, "God has deceived you, for formerly God was man like you. When he ate of that fruit, he attained this great glory. 17. That is why he told you not to eat, lest eating <it> you would become equal to God."

18. When she heard the advice of the serpent, she

wanted to become divine. She promptly picked and ate of the fruit. And immediately she became stripped. 19. Now Adam came and saw his wife stripped, <and> he turned and said, "What is this you have done? Why did you eat of that fruit and become stripped?"

20. Eve said, "This fruit is extremely sweet and tasty; you take also <and> eat." She wanted to deceive Adam.

21. Adam said, "Shall I eat and be stripped like you?"

22. And Eve said, "I ate too much and was stripped because of that. You eat just a little."

23. Adam said, "I cannot taste it and become like you."

24. Eve said, "Even if you eat too much, you will not become stripped, because God loves you."

25. When Adam heard this he took the fruit into his hand, but he was afraid to eat. 26. But Eve cried and begged him and said, "Eat and do not separate me from you. If we live, let us live together, and if we die, let us die together." 27. Now Adam thoroughly examined the fruit in his hand for three hours. Now he would want to eat it, and then he would not. 28. But when he looked at the woman's begging and <her> tears, he felt pity in his heart. 29. When he saw her nakedness, he was afraid to eat. When he saw her beauty, he became foolish. 30. Even though she was stripped, she was nevertheless beautiful because she was newly created and she glistened like a white pearl. 31. But Adam, because of his

love for the woman, could not restrain himself and he ate of the fruit and stripped himself of the light.

32. Then because he was ashamed of his nakedness, he went to the fig tree <and> hid himself under a leaf, lest God see him. For God used to come continually and spoke with them lovingly and gently. 33. And the Lord saw Adam and Eve's footprints, <and> God, who was about fifty cubits above the fig tree, came <and> cried out angrily and said, "Where are you, Adam?"

34. Adam said, "Lord, I heard your voice and I was afraid; I was naked and I hid."

35. God said, "Did I not say to you, 'Do not eat of that fruit, because when you eat it, you will be stripped and die?' 36. Why have you eaten it?"

37. Adam said, "Lord, this woman whom you created deceived me."

38. The Lord turned and said to Eve, "Why have you eaten of the fruit?"

39. Eve said, "Lord, this serpent whom you created deceived me."

40. And the Lord became angry at them. And he said, "Serpent, because you have done this, cursed are you among all wild beasts and all animals. Upon your breast and upon your belly you shall go crawling, and you shall eat dust all the days of your life. 41. And I shall put enmity between you and her seed; you shall watch for her heel and she shall watch for your head." 42. And he turned <and> said to the woman, "Because you have done this, in sorrow and in pain

shall you give birth, and your giving birth will be changed into death." 43. And turning to Adam, he said, "Because you forsook my command and listened to your wife, thorns will spring forth to you in place of these immortal plants. By the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread, for you were dust, and you shall return to dust." 44. And he commanded his angels to take them away from the garden, and to guard the path to the garden with a fiery rod.

45. For it was not that the fruit was evil which they ate and <on account of which> they were stripped. For what was evil fruit doing in the garden? For the fruit was good, but God set aside the fruit <as> Adam's fast. 46. If he had kept God's word and had not eaten during the fast, but rather had eaten afterwards, he would have ascended to the heavenly Jerusalem. For God tested him. 47. Then he saw that he did not follow God's advice, but immediately they listened to the serpent's advice and longed for divinity. Because of this God became angry. 48. Again because of that he came over the fig tree and asked, "Where are you, Adam?" Because of this he asked it; perhaps they might repent and find forgiveness. 49. When the Lord saw that they said the fault was in the creator, that is why God became angry at them. And he drove them out of the garden.

50. And they fell into a dark and gloomy place, hungry and thirsty for six days. 51. Then the Lord again took pity on them, and he sent his angel to take Adam away from the gloomy place. And he brought <him> into the light of

the world, and he showed him how to till the soil and to eat of its fruit. 52. Now when they saw the sun and the moon, they rejoiced until the evening. But they did not know that the sun sets and rises. Then as the sun set, the earth became gloomy for them and darkness seized them, and they wept sorrowfully all night.

53. So much concerning Adam. 54. Whom the Lord God saved, <and> may he redeem you from the wicked Satan's deception and make <you> worthy of the just judgment and of the kingdom of light. Amen.

Concerning the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden

1. When Adam fell from the light, he rejoiced a little over the light of the sun. Even though the light of the sun was not equal to the light of the kingdom, nevertheless it was light. He did not know that the sun sets in the west. 2. Now when it became dark and evening arrived, likewise it seemed to them that darkness had come and there would not be light again. Since there was always light in the garden, they thought all this world would be with light. For they did not know that day follows night. Hence when the sun set and the day became dark, they thus thought there would not be light again. Therefore they wept and lamented till morning.

3. Now at daybreak Satan came in the form of an angel and he said to Adam, "Why are you sad?"

4. Adam said, "We are sad and we weep because God created us and put us in the midst of the bright garden, but by the serpent's deception we ate of the fruit and we were driven out of the garden, and we fell into this place of dark gloom. 5. Then God had double pity on us and sent his angel, <and> he took us out of the darkness and brought us into the light of the world. 6. But we do not know that we have done any evil such that God became angry at us and darkness seized us."

7. Satan said, "Did you give something to that angel who brought you into the bright world?"

8. Adam said, "Did we have something which we could give?"

9. Satan said, "You should have become his servant and promised all your offspring to him. When you did not do this, consequently darkness seized you."

10. Adam said, "Greed seized us and we did not understand that."

11. Satan said, "What will you give to me if I give you the good news of light?"

12. Adam said, "If we could see light again, we would become your servants, we and all our offspring."

13. Then Satan showed them the east and said, "You (will) see light there."

14. Satan said this and withdrew a little. Then Adam and Eve looked to the east and saw that the sign of the sun's light had appeared. They rejoiced completely. 15. When it had risen a little, Satan came to him and said, "Do you see my good news, that I made you rejoice?"

16. Adam said, "We are servants to you and your good news, for you gave us light. For we shall serve you, we and all our offspring."

17. Then Satan brought a stone and set it before Adam, and he said, "Put your hand upon this stone and say thus, 'Until the unbegotten is born and the immortal dies, all my offspring will be yours.' 18. And if you do not say so, I

will bring darkness to you again."

19. Then Adam put his hand upon <the stone and> said, "Until the unbegotten is born and the immortal dies, all our offspring will be your servants."

20. And the sign of the hands upon the stone remained. 21. This was Adam's promissory note in Satan's hand. Now Satan brought the stone promissory note <and> buried it in the river Jordan.

22. Again when the evening came the sun set in the west. Adam knew that he had been deceived; they wept and groaned for five days, fasting and thirsty. 23. They beseeched God, and after five days God heard their prayers and sent his angel. And he announced to Adam about the incarnation of the Lord God and the deliverance from the hands of Satan. 24. And he gave Adam a promissory note from God, and it was written thus: "Do not be sad, Adam; Satan has deceived you. He said, 'Until the unbegotten is born and the immortal dies' because I am the unbegotten and immortal divinity, who in six eons will send my only begotten son from the light of my divinity. 25. And he will take on flesh from a pure and perfect virgin who <is> from your seed; he will be my son <and> your son. 26. For the unbegotten will be born and he will annul the promissory note of your transgressions. And he will return you to your former glory."

27. When he heard this good news, he rejoiced. For he considered the six eons <to be> like one hour because of the angel's good news. 28. May Christ God pity you and us with the same pity. Amen.

The History of Cain and Abel

1. This was the instruction of Adam which he taught his sons and said, "When I went out of the garden and fell into this dark world, God had pity on me again and sent his angel, and he brought me to light. And as many beasts as there were, he made them all obedient to me. 2. And he gave me a yoked ox and showed me how to plow and cultivate and work the soil with it, and to taste of its produce and be satisfied and live. Then he commanded me to set aside a portion of all the produce for God." 3. Because of this Adam gave that same command to his sons to fulfill, for Adam's first child was Cain, and after him, Abel.

4. When Cain was fifty years old and Abel twenty years old, Cain was a tiller of the soil, but Abel a herdsman of sheep. 5. Now Adam instructed his sons and said, "From everything that is yours set aside one portion out of ten for God." 6. When Abel's sheep had offspring, there were one thousand. Then he picked the best and choicest of the flock, the fat and succulent one, to give to God as a portion. But he did not offer it to God because of his brother. <He said,> "Perhaps your harvest will yet become ripe, then together we will offer the portion to God." 7. When Cain's grain harvest became ripe, he separated out what was windblown and what was left trampled under foot and he set aside that bunch as God's

portion and gathered it as one pile.

8. Then Abel brought the choice lambs, and he welcomed Cain on account of God, saying, "My beloved brother, you are older and I, your servant, am younger. You offer your portion to God first, and then I will." 9. Now Cain prayed to the Lord and said, "You, O Lord, <are> creator of everything. Behold, by my sweat have I worked and plowed, with my hands I have gathered, and carrying it on my shoulders I have brought a portion to you. Now accept this my offering. As it is pleasing to you, so do." 10. But the Lord became angry at Cain. Because of this a black cloud came over Cain, <and> it thundered and roared. And wind and a breeze went out from it and scattered every ear of grain he had, and not one ear was left. And Cain's face was blackened like coal.

11. Now Abel offered his sacrifices, the first-born of the lambs, before God. And with his hands outstretched, he cried out and said, "O Lord God, creator and author of all good things, I pray you, accept this my sacrifice which I am offering to you as a portion, for from your good gifts which you have given I am offering to you. I pray and implore, accept it at the pleasure of your beneficent will." 12. At that very moment a gentle breeze blew, and a light shone from heaven and illuminated the face of Abel. And a voice came which said, "Your prayers are heard, and I have accepted your offering." 13. And a shining cloud became a protection over Abel.

14. Now Cain was bitter toward Abel and he wanted to

kill him, but he did not know how he could kill him, for a murder had not yet been committed on the earth. 15. And Abel still did not know Cain's evil plan, for they always used to eat and drink and walk with one another.

16. But one day Cain said to his brother, "Abel, let us go strolling in the field." 17. So they arose and went into the field. Then Abel was stronger than Cain; because of this he could not reveal his plan. 18. Then he began to play with his brother by wrestling, which is kiwlesh; perhaps he could throw him to the ground and bind him. However much he wrestled, Cain could not overcome his brother. 19. And Cain went away and looked here and there, and he saw a grapevine, which is called asmay. He said to Abel, "Come, let us play with a vine. 20. You embrace the tree and I will bind you three times around with this vine, and I will see if you can break it. 21. Then you do the same thing to me; bind me three times around, and we will see who is powerful and strong." 22. When Abel embraced the tree, Cain took the vine and bound him by his feet and hands up to his head. 23. Then Abel perceived Cain's wickedness. So he cried out to his brother weeping and said, "My beloved brother, I pray you, untie me, and as long as I am alive I will serve you. 24. Do not kill me, for I am not your enemy, but your friend, and I am always obedient to your commands. I cannot live one hour without you. 25. How can you hate me and remain on the earth without me? How can you forget my brotherly love?"

26. Now Cain was walking here and there, but he did

not know with what he must kill him. 27. Then Satan took on the form of two ravens, and the one took a sharp stone, and he struck the other with it in the throat and killed him, and the stone was sharp as a razor. 28. And Cain learned from Satan, and he took the stone and leaped upon his brother. 29. When Abel begged his brother much, he did not listen to him. 30. And Abel said, "Come, brother, let me kiss you one time, lest I remain in need of you." 31. But Cain did not answer. He grabbed the stone, and driving it back and forth he was cutting at his wind-pipe, but the stone was small and he could not cut it. 32. He cried out weeping and said, "How will you explain <this> to my parents? For they have no news from me. I used to do what <I received> as just from them, because they labor much for my sake. And how will you live upon the earth?" 33. But he did not listen at all. Even with unmerciful violence he killed his brother with difficulty. And he put him thus bound to the tree.

34. And he went away cheerfully. Then God appeared above a cloud fifty cubits away, and he said to Cain, "Where is your brother Abel?"

35. Cain said, "When did you make me his guardian, that you should ask it of me? Was I his keeper?" 36. God became angry at Cain. <He said,> "When you were not his keeper, why did you become his murderer?" 37. Because of this he punished Cain with seven penalties. For when God asked him sweetly he called for repentance; perhaps he would cry out acknowledging his sin.

38. A horn sprouted from his forehead. Wherever he went, the horn cried out (this was the first punishment), "This is Cain the brother-murderer."

39. The second punishment was this; that his entire body shuddered.

40. The third punishment was this; that however much he ate, he was not satisfied.

41. The fourth punishment was this; that whatever he desired he could not acquire to eat, and he sought it in vain.

42. The fifth punishment was this; that sleep never came upon his eyes.

43. The sixth punishment was this; that he walked around weeping and shuddering continually.

44. The seventh punishment was this; that God did not allow Cain to die. 45. Rather he said, "As for any man who kills Cain, the pain will pass on to the murderer." 46. And Cain lived 753 years. For he wished fo. death, but he did not die.

47. At that time Lamech was a horseman; he always used to go out to hunt. Now Cain remained incurable as regards his death. Then he had an idea; he took a skin from a wild animal for his lap, and he went to the mountain and became like a goat, and he fell on the road.

48. Now Lamech went forth, <and> he went hunting. And he saw Cain, <and> he struck him with an arrow and killed him. 49. Then Cain's pain fell upon Lamech, and a horn sprouted on his head. 50. But Lamech's wife was a good woman. She cried out to the Lord, and she wept in such a way that blood dropped

from her eyes instead of tears. 51. God saw the woman's weeping and supplications; God took pity on everyone and he cured Lamech's pain.

52. Moreover, when Adam and Eve learned of Abel's murder, they went and brought Abel's blood-smeared corpse, <over> which they mourned exceedingly, weeping and lamenting. They were continually in mourning for a long time. 53. But when they buried Abel's body, it came out on the face of the ground. For his blood never dried, and he did not stink or become worm-eaten. For he was as though asleep; he did not rot and he did not become dust. 54. For God said first Adam should become dust, and then his offspring. Therefore it was necessary that Adam should die first and return to dust; then his offspring died and returned to dust. 55. Until Adam's death, no one else had died, and because of this Abel's body did not return to dust. 56. Then when Adam died and was buried, he gave room so that they could bury Abel in his tomb.

57. But when Adam and his wife saw Abel smeared with blood and Cain punished, because of their mourning and lamentation they did not again draw near to one another, lest another great lamentation <be> upon them because of their children. 58. But God had compassion and sent good news concerning Seth's birth, who indeed gave consolation for Abel. 59. May he console you in all your mourning. Amen.

Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth Which God Gave to Adam on account of Abel, Whom Cain Killed, in order to Console Adam and Eve

1. Now the Lord relented toward Adam and sent his angel, and he gave good tidings concerning Seth, and he said to Adam, "Know your wife and you will have a son. And you shall call his name Seth, which is translated 'consolation.' He shall be a blessed seed and the head of patriarchs."

2. Adam said, "I do not want to know my wife, for I knew her twice, and they were a greater affliction to me than my expulsion from the garden. For I see Cain who shudders thus in pain, <and> my heart is horror-struck and grieves, and my bowels writhe. Then I see Abel smeared with blood, <and> my heart is in pain and my tears flow like blood. If I know my wife again and there is a child, I fear that it might bring to me yet another affliction."

3. The angel said, "God will give you a good son, and his name <will be> Seth, which is translated 'consolation.' He will be a blessed seed, for in the same measure that you were embittered and grieved on account of Cain and Abel, you will rejoice and be consoled by Seth. 4. And your seed and Seth's seed will multiply, and this world will be filled with them. But do not mix with Cain's generation, for they are accursed. When Cain's generation mixes with Seth's

generation and your other offspring, they also will perish with them.

5. Now Cain's offspring multiplied, and there were twenty-four men and three hundred eighty women. 6. For Cain had been married two hundred and thirty years when Seth was born. 7. Because Cain was thirty years old when he got married, and Abel was twenty years old. 8. And he [Abel] was a virgin when he killed him. 9. When Seth was born and the offspring of Seth and the other brothers multiplied, they drove away the generation of Cain and lived in purity and they did not take inheritance with the generation of Cain.

10. And Enoch, the good fruit, asked his father, "Why do you weep and mourn continually and not rejoice?"

11. He said, "Because of tasting the fruit and being driven out of the garden."

12. Hence when Enoch heard this, he said, "I will pay your debts," 13. and he did not marry. 14. But he planted an orchard in imitation of the garden. And whoever passed by would taste of the fruit, but he himself did not eat of the fruit at all. 15. Rather he put an iron cap on his head so that he would not see the fruit of the tree. Although he lived in the midst of the orchard for sixty-four years, he did not eat of the fruit. 16. Because of this God relented and commanded the angels, who lifted up Enoch <and> brought him to Paradise, and he is there until today.

17. Now when the other sons of Seth and Adam saw that Enoch had ascended bodily into heaven and attained such glory

through virginity and fasting, many wanted to renounce this world and through virginity to subdue their passions in the mountains. And they numbered more than five hundred and twenty souls.

18. But the maidens and women from Cain's generation multiplied exceedingly, such that they made one man to walk among a hundred women. They also quarreled over the man, and they snatched him from one another. 19. Moreover, they went to mix with Seth's generation. 20. But they did not permit them, rather they beat them back and drove them away.

21. Now they remained incurable. They began to beautify themselves and to adorn themselves, and they made antimony and painted their faces and put henna on their hands. 22. And they invented songs and harps, <and> with various poems, games, and with dancing and clapping of hands they went to the mountains and seduced the anchorites and inter-mingled and were profaned by them; they ravished them all like a dog, not regarding sister or daughter.

24. Now God became angry because of their sins, and he commanded his angel who told Noah that he should marry.

25. Noah said, "I do not want to marry on account of this transient world."

26. The angel said, "God is angry because of the sins of mankind, and he wants to destroy them with water. 27. Therefore God has commanded you to take a wife, for you will be a new Adam, because all of them will be drowned. 28. But you alone will be saved, together with your sons and

your wives, and you will be the ancestor and father of the world.

29. Noah said, "How many more years must I live?"

30. The angel said, "You are six hundred years old. You will live another three hundred and fifty years."

31. Noah said, "Death is the end and this world is transient, for three hundred and fifty years pass like a dream in the night. 32. Why should I join in the sins of the world?"

33. The angel said, "It is the command of God; you must fulfill it. For there is one maiden from the daughters of Seth, chaste and unstained by sin, and her name is Nemzar; marry her. 34. And you shall build an ark; three hundred cubits is its length, fifty cubits is its width, and thirty cubits is its height. And build three stories; an upper story, a middle story, and a lower story."

35. The angel said this and went away from him. 36. Now he took Nemzar and married her. 37. And he began to build an ark upon a high hill. And whenever they would build, the hatchet and the saw, and the wood would cry out, "A flood will come upon the earth!" 38a. Now when men heard it, they sneered saying, "Will the water reach such a high place as this? Will you who are building this ark live and we drown? Then where will you sow seed and plant a vineyard if the earth will be immersed?" 38b. And after eighty years had passed, the ark was completed. 38c. Now Noah had three sons; Shem, Ham, and Japhet. And the angel appeared to Noah and said, "Take women for your three sons, chaste maidens from

Seth's line, whose names are Zanazan, Zarmanazan, <and> Araknazan. 38d. But keep your sons chaste until you go out from the ark," and he did so. And again the angel appeared and said, "Enter your ark, for there will be a flood."

38e. Now he [Noah] cried out to the Lord and said, "Lord, give me time so that I might proclaim it; perhaps they will turn from their sins." 38f. And God permitted twenty years, during which Noah proclaimed saying, "Turn aside from your sins so that the Lord will turn back the flood as punishment."

38g. Again they sneered at Noah and said, "We know that you suffer and grieve in vain and you proclaim <this> because of your incapacity, and we will give you whatever is the value of the ark and we will dismantle it and build a house with its wood." And they derided Noah with many other words.

38h. And after twenty years God commanded Noah to take his sons and enter the ark. But Noah asked the Lord to wait seven days to take his sons into the ark. 38i. Then he and his wife entered, then his sons and his sons' wives.

39. And he took two planks in his hands, and he struck the planks, <and> a cry went forth from the one plank, "Escape and enter the ark, because the flood has arrived." 40. Now the beasts and the animals heard and believed, and they came and cried out. 41. And God commanded <him> to take them in, from the clean birds two by two, but from the animals seven by seven. And he put the birds in the upper

story; in the middle story were Noah and the children. Now the beasts and animals were in the lower story. 42. And after seven days when he had gathered them all inside the ark, he then plastered the doors inside and out. And then the cataracts of the heavens were opened, and the earth split and its foundations poured forth, and the waters overflowed from the rivers, and the rain came down from heaven like a river. 43. Then men wanted to escape into the ark, but they were drowned together. 44. For forty days it increased until every peak of the mountains was covered and it passed over the peaks by fifty times a man's height. For one year the ark went around, and it came <and> rested on Mt. Masis, which now they say is Ałrdał.

45. When Noah opened the window and sent forth the raven so that it might bring a sign of dry land, he went and fell upon the corpses but did not return. 46. And after three days he sent forth the dove, and it went and found dry land, and brought back a branch from an olive tree. 47. And Noah opened the ark and saw the peaks of the mountains, and he sent forth all the birds.

48. And after three months he himself and his sons went out of the ark, 49. and he sent forth all the beasts. 50. Then from the clean animals he took one from <each> seven and he offered a sacrifice to God. And he asked God not again to punish his children with water. 51. And He cried out to him, "I will not <again> destroy with such a punishment. 52. If they sin against me, I will reprove them with another

punishment." 53. And He made a green and red bow appear to Noah against the cloud towards the east, and He said, "This is the sign of my covenant. 54. For when I show this sign, all your sons will understand that my compassion has come to them."

55. And they went down from there to Arguri, and they dwelt there, and the region was still full of water. 56. When his sons multiplied, he went down to Naxǰewan and dwelt there. 57. And after the flood Noah lived three hundred and fifty years, and Noah's tomb is there. 58. And the tomb of his wife is at Marant; which is called "mother" <after> her name. 59. Through their prayers the Lord God will deliver all those who believe from the flood of lust for this world. Amen.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH
CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA

THE COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH
and
THE DOGMAS

2

MAN AND REDEMPTION

Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty
St. George's Coptic Orthodox Church
Alexandria - Egypt

Reverend Father Tadros Y. Malaty has kindly permitted that his books be published in the COeRL. He has requested that we convey that any suggestions or amendments regarding their translation are welcome, and should be forwarded to:
sydneywebmaster@coptic.org.au

We acknowledge God as "God of men", for He who is unapproachable, inconceivable and invisible in His infinite love towards men, reveals Himself to them. God who fills heaven and earth is pleased to attribute Himself to men, especially those who love Him as if they are His own beloved children. He called Himself: "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob" Exod 3:6, 15, 16, 4:5; Matt 22:23 etc ... repeatedly, in the Old Testament, He was called "God of Israel", for God dwells among His people the true believers, as if He were their own. Therefore the Psalmist says: "You are my refuge, my portion ... "

On the other hand, men who are created as free human beings, have the choice to be close to God as their Beloved Father, Lord and Savior, or even to deny Him; they are in fact God's creatures. We can't understand ourselves, our nature, our message and our destiny our relationship with God.

Now, I would like to give an idea about man and his redemption, or in other words " man in his relation to God, His Savior ", especially from the Coptic Orthodox Church point of view.

MAN IN GOD'S SIGHT

It is very difficult to present a real picture of God's view of His most beloved creature on earth, "man".

The message of the Church is to reveal God's infinite love towards man; this love which can satisfy our inner life, grants us peace and joy and fills us with hope.

Man, in his essence, is an image of God: "Love". He is always hungry and thirsty to love, and desires to be loved by everybody and also to give love to others. Outside "love" man loses his human being. No one can satisfy man's thirst for love like God Himself, for He is the Creator who takes care of His beloved creatures; He is the Origin that attracts the image and He is the eternal "Love" who gives Himself to man.

God in His relationship with man does not look at him as if he is just one of millions of creatures He makes, but He deals with him as His own close friend and beloved one. Before He created man He formed all the world for his sake, and gave him authority on earth, seas, air and even over other stars and over space. He created him in His likeness and image to live as a free being. Man, in his freedom, has the choice even to deny or to resist God Himself.

When contemplating God's supreme view of His beloved creature, i.e., man, and God's close and deep relationship with him, was incited the master of the Alexandrian School in the second century, Origen, to believe that man's soul is much greater than to be attributed to this visible world. Erroneously, he believed that the soul existed before the body to which it was assigned as a penalty for its sin. The Alexandrians rejected this Origenist theory, for it deforms the believers view of the body and also of the world. In fact this body is not a jail where the soul is imprisoned but is a good divine gift, that helps the soul and partakes with it in all human needs, and will partake with it in the heavenly glory.

It is man as a whole - soul and body - for whose sake God was involved in the dispensation of salvation before creating him and until the Last Day. He gave us His Law and His prophets throughout the ages, and at last on man's behalf sent His Eternal Word, incarnated and became man. In fact the incarnation of our Lord is a mystery that reveals two facts: God's view of man and to his daily life, and God's will towards our salvation.

l. The Word of God became man, so that He might live among men as one of them (John 1: 14). The Alexandrian churchmen looked at the incarnation as a sign of God's honorable concept of man. St. Clement of Alexandria says, (He had taken upon Him our flesh ... He scorned not the weakness of human flesh, but having clothed Himself with it, has come into the world for the common salvation of men1.) He also said: (O divine mystery! ... O wondrous mystery ! ... The Lord was laid low, and man was raised up !2)

2. He became Man to redeem man, granting him true freedom. To the Alexandrians, the Cross was the central purpose of Christ's coming3. For through the Cross the doors of heaven are opened and man finds his eternal home, wherein he will live in the bosom of the Father as His child who inherits eternal glory.

We can say that we shall remain in heaven contemplating God's interest in man.

1. Slromata 7: 2: 7, 8.
2. I~lctr II: 3: 3.
3. St Athanasius: DC Incamatione Varbi Dci 20; 9: 1,2 etc.

MAN'S FREE - WILL
DIVINE GIFT

Man's freedom is the most important divine gift that God bestows on man. According to St. Cyril of Alexandria, the image of God in which man was created (Gen 1: 26) was his own free - will, and the spoilage of his human nature, that occurred by his disobedience to God, was the loss of his free - will.

According to Athenagoras, the dean of the Alexandrian School in the second century, man has the choice to do good or evil1. Man has the freedom to sin or not to sin; otherwise he could not be condemned, rebuked, exhorted, or summoned.

St. Clement of Alexandria interprets the goodness of the first man not as being perfect but as having free - will to be advanced towards perfection. He said that Adam was childlike and innocent; [He was not created perfect in constitution, but suitable for acquiring virtue... For God desires us to be saved by our own efforts 2].

Therefore the Alexandrians looked at Adam's life in Paradise as if it were a kind of divine life, because of Adam's free - will that grants him the ability to be in close contact with God. In this atmosphere, Adam and Eve received God's commandment not as a restriction that they had to suffer, but on the contrary, as a chance to express their love through obedience to God by their own free - will. In other words, without this commandment our first parents would find no way to accept God's love by practicing love, and had no way to have the experience of free - will.

FREE WILL AND ADAM'S SIN

Now, by our own volition we weakened our will. How ?

1. According to St. Athanasius, the first man, Adam, had a pure mind that was not enslaved to carnal lusts, so he could reflect God with his pure soul3. We are free, but because our minds are involved in evil desires and materialism it is very difficult to be lifted up towards God and to have heavenly experience. Now, we are in need of God's grace to make our minds free so that we can enjoy communion with God with pure hearts.

St. Athanasius states that man's soul is mobile by nature. It is not solid but very active, but when it was entangled by lust it did not lose its mobility nor activity but turned away from what is good and rejected it. Its movement did not cease but, it misused its body and its members by moving in the opposite way. Instead of beholding the creator it became involved in lust4.

2. According to St. Clement of Alexandria, the fault of Adam and Eve consisted in the fact that, using their volition wrongly, they indulged in the pleasures of sexual intercourse before God gave them leave5. Not that sex was wrong in itself, but the violation of God's ordinance was. As a result, their will and rationality were weakened, and they became a prey to sinful passions. He says: [The first man played in Paradise, at liberty, since he was the child of God. Then he fell, through pleasure ... and was led astray through his desires... How great the power of pleasure! Man was free, in his innocence, and then found himself bound by his sins6].

But while St. Clement accepts the historicity of Adam, he also regards him as symbolizing mankind as a whole 7. All men, he teaches 8, have a spark of the divine in them and are free to obey or disobey God's Law, but all, except the incarnate Logos, are

sinners 9. They are, as it were sick, blind and gone astray; they enslaved to the elements and the Devil; and their condition can be crnhf~ c r1e~th 10

His teaching 11 seems to be, that through our physical descent from Adam and Eve, we inherit, not indeed their own guilt and curse, but a disordered sensualitywhich entails the dominance of the irrational element in our nature, and a lack of knowledge, for sin is due to "ignorance ~ 12

J. Pelikan says: [As a spokesman for the Christian faith, in response to the healthen and the heretics, Clement of Alexandria delivered just such an exhortation: "As far as we can, let us try to sin as little as possible". Only God could avoid sin altogether; but wisemen were able to avoid voluntary transgressions, and those who were properly trained in Christianity could at least see to it that they fell into very few 13].

Origenl4 in his defense of man's liberty and God's justice against the Gnostics adopted the theory of the pre-existence of human souls. He states that God - out of His goodness - created rational essences, all of them were equal and alike, and they were granted free - will. They had to be advanced by imitating God or to fall away by neglecting Him, to depart from good being tantamount to settling down to evil.

He says: [Before the ages, they were all pure intelligences, whether demons or souls or angels. One of them, the Devil, since he possessed free - will, chose to resist God and God rejected him. Other powers fell away with him becoming demons. The souls had not sinned so grievously as to become demons, therefore God made the present world, binding the souls to the bodies as a punishment 15].

It is worthy to note that Origen emphasizes on the personal sins of individuals who have followed Adam's example rather than their solidarity with his guilt. He believes that each one of us was banished from Paradise for his personal transgression 16.

Thus men are pure intelligences fallen from their former splendor and united with bodies; not that corporeality is, in his view, intrinsically bad, but he is opposed 17 ~O those who condemn the body as the principal of evil, and ~r~h(~.~ that evil resides in the will alone 18.

FREE-WILL & GOD'S PROVIDENCE

Someone may ask: How can we interpret God's providence through the free-will of men, for it God takes care of everyone, even of the number of his head's hair (Matt. 10: 30) how will we accept the free-will of others who would harm me or even kill me trough their free-will?

Our God who in His goodness grants us free-will, through His infinite wisdom uses this human freedom for the edification of His children, for He changes even the evil deeds to the salvation of others. St. Clement of Alexandria gives a biblical example. Jacob's sons sold Joseph as a slave, but God used this evil action for Joseph's glory. Joseph said to his brothers: "But now, do not therefore be grieved or angry with yourselves because you sold me here; for God sent me before you to preserve life ... so now it was not you who sent me here, but God, and He has made me a father of Pharaoh, and lord of all" Gen 45: 5-9; "Do not be afraid, for am I in the place of God? But as for

you, you meant evil against me, but God meant it for good, in order to bring it about as it is this day, to save many people alive" Exod. 50: 19, 20.

Judas, the traitor, misused the freedom which was granted to him, and God used even his evil action for realizing the salvation of mankind by the crucifixion of our Lord.

Therefore Origen says, [The universe is cared for by God in accordance with the condition of the free will of each man, and that as far as possible it is always being led on to be better, and ... that the nature of our free - will is to admit various possibilities 19].

[God does not create evil; still, He does not prevent it when it is displayed by others, although He could do so. But He uses evil, and those who exhibit it, for necessary purposes. For by means of those in whom there is evil, He bestows honor and approbation on those who strive for the glory of virtue. Virtue, if unopposed, would not shine out nor become more glorious by probation. Virtue is not virtue if it be untested and unexamined ... If you remove the wickedness of Judas and annul his treachery you take away likewise the cross of Christ and His passion; and if there were no cross, then principalities and powers would have not Been stripped nor triumphed over by the wood of the cross (Col. 2: 15). Had there been no death of Christ, there would certainly have been no resurrection and there would have been no "firstbom from the dead" Col. 1: 8; and then there would have been for us no hope of resurrection. Similarly concerning the devil himself, if we suppose for the sake of argument, that he had been forcibly prevented from sinning, or that the will to do evil had been taken away from him after his sin; then the same time there would have been taken from us the struggle against the wiles of the devil, and there would be no crown of victory in store for him who rightly struggled 201.

1. Athenagorus Supp. 24:4.
2. Po~r.ll: 11; Stromata 2:2:131.
3. Con~. Gentes 2.
4. Ibid 4.
5. JN.D. Kelly: Early Christian Doctrines, 1978, p 179 - 180; Portr. 11:111, Stromata ~ : 17: 103.
6. Protr. 11: 111.
7. Stromata 2: 19: 98; Paed 1: 13: 101; Protr. 11: 111.
8.Protr6:68;Stromata2:15:62;3:9:63.
9.Paed.1:2:4;3:12:93.
10. Prot. 1: 6f; 11: 114; Paed. 1: 9: 63f ;Strom. 1: 11: 53.
11. Kelly, p 180; Stromata 3: 6: lOOf; 3: 9: 63 - 5.
12. Strom 3: 16: 100.
13. J Pdikan: The Christian Tradition, Vol. 1, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100 - 600), 1961, p 284; Clem. Ales. Paedag. 1: 2: 4: 1-3.
14. De. Princiipus 2: 9: 2 - 6.
15. Ibid 2: 6: 3 (See St. Jerome: Ep ad Avitum l24: 6).
16. Kelly, p 180f.
17. Cont. Celsus 3: 42; 4: 65f.
18. Kelly, p. 180f.

19. C. Celsus 5: 21.
20. In Num. Hom 14: 2.

HUMAN NATURE

Then we speak about God's view of man or God's action for man's redemption, what do we mean by the word "man"? Is he merely a human soul?

What is the Alexandrian opinion concerning the body and its senses?
What is the role of the mind also in man's religious life?

1. We mean by "man" this creature who is superior to all other creatures in this world. Truly he consists of a soul, body, mind etc. ... but in a true unity. Man is not a mere soul that is clothed by a body as a superfluous thing added to it, but he is one being; his soul, body, mind etc. represents one creature that has one will, one action ... and will have the same reward. Man, with his own soul and his own body can be redeemed or lost; enjoy the heavenly glory or suffer eternal torments.

Therefore, when the word of God was incarnated He received His body in the womb of St. Mary and had a human soul. He became a true man and accepted human nature as a whole, to sanctify it all. St. Severus of Antioch says: [We confess that while remaining what He was, He united to Himself hypostatically a flesh possessing a rational soul 2]. St. Philoxenos of Mabbogh says: [The complete man was redeemed in God. Since the whole of Adam had come under the curse and been deprived, the whole of him was taken by God and renewed. The Lord who became incarnate gave His body unto death for the sake of everybody, and His soul for the salvation of all souls. In this way the whole of our nature was recreated in Him into a new man 3].

2. The early Alexandrian Fathers struggled against the Gnostics who rejected the body with its senses and believed it to be an enemy. St. Athanasius said: [All things made by God are beautiful and pure, for the word of God has made nothing useless or impure. For "we are a sweet savior of Christ in them that are being saved" (2 Cor. 2: 15), as the Apostle says ... and according to the divine Acts of the Apostles (17: 28) "we are God's offspring", we have nothing unclean in ourselves 4].

St. Athanasius considered man's body with its senses as a well - fashioned Iyre with its various strings, if it is used in its proper aim by a good soul, it will bring forth a beautiful symphony. He said: [In like manner, the senses being disposed in the body are like a Iyre, when the skilled intelligence presides over them, then too the soul distinguishes and knows what it is doing and how it is acting 5].

3. God created man as a rational being on earth, and deals with him as a rational creature. In other words, the mind is essential in our nature, when it is sanctified it helps the soul to rise up towards the heavenly places. By divine grace, the human mind can conceive divine mysteries which surpass its capacity.

St. Athanasius says: [The way of truth will aim at reaching the real and true God. But for its knowledge and accurate comprehension, there is need of none other save ourselves. Neither, as God Himself is above all, is the road to Him far off or outside

ourselves, but it is in us, and it is possible to find it from ourselves, in the first instance, as Moses also taught, when he said, "The word" of faith "is written within your heart" Deut. 30: 14. Which very thing the Savior declared and confirmed, when He said "The Kingdom of God is within you" Luke 17: 12. For having in ourselves faith, and the kingdom of God; we shall be able quickly to see and perceive the King of the Universe, the sdving Word of the Father ... And if one were to ask, what road is this? I say it is the soul of each one of us, and the intelligence which resides there 6].

Now we conclude that man has only one being and can't be separated into parts: soul, body, senses, mind, heart and emotions etc. ... God loves man in his wholeness, saving and sanctifying his soul with its energies, his body with its senses, his mind, his heart and his emotions etc. ... When we accept the new life in our Lord Jesus Christ, we enjoy communion with the Father in His Son by His Holy Spirit to sanctify our inseparable human nature. It is the work of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Unity, not only to grant man unity with God, but also to grant him harmony in himself. Therefore the spiritual man feels that his body, senses, and emotions are not evil things, or a burden that the soul bears, but they are righteous tools that act with the soul and mind on behalf of the interior kingdom of God.

We give as examples, those who misused their emotions and energies while they were not "in Christ", and who used the same emotions and energies after their sanctification for the edification of the Church. One of those was St. Moses the black who was a chief-robber and adulterer, but then he became a leader of many monks and attracted many laymen to repentance after his conversion. St. Paul the Apostle, before his conversion violently persecuted the Church of God; and by the same energy the Holy Spirit used Him as a chosen vessel of God (Acts 9: 15), after sanctifying him.

1. Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty: The Terms "Physis & Hypostasis" in the Early Church, 1978, p. 17.
2. Philalethes, p. 187.
3. Ep. to the Monks of Senoun.
4. Ep. ad Amun. 2.
5. Contra Gentes 31.
6. Ibid 30.

GOD'S ROLE IN MAN'S SALVATION

NEED OF REDEMPTION

St. Athanasius states that when the first way, which was through Adam, was lost and in place of Paradise we deviated into death and heard the words: "Dust you are, and unto dust shall you return" Gen. 3: 19, therefore we became in need of someone else to renew the first creation and to preserve the new one which had come to be 1.

"Repentance" alone fails to guard the just claim of God2, for man had to suffer death as a natural fruit of his disobedience and leaving God, the Source of life. It also fails to renew his human nature and to grant it the power to conquer sin and death.

Moses' Law also fails to realize our salvation, for according to St. Pauls, it looks like a mirror that discovers our sins, ignorance, sickness and mortality, but it can't save us from sin (Rom. 6: 13-25), nor grant us true life (Rom. 6: 9) but it prepared the way to the Messiah, the Heavenly Physician, "for Christ is the end of the law of righteousness to everyone who believes" Rom. 10: 4.

Man is in need of One who can redeem him by realizing God's justice and reconciliating him with God, granting him the new life that conquers death. This One is the Messiah, about whom the prophets of the old testament foretold and the Evangelists concentrated, and the Apostles preached. He is the incarnate Son of God, the Only-begotten Son, who is one with the Father in the same essence, able to redeem men by sacrificing His life on their behalf.

The Savior can't be other than God Himself, who can realize the following advantages to us:

1. TO DECLARE THE CREATOR'S GOODNESS

To create man, God formed the world for his comfort and then made him of naught, to recreate him, God prepared the way of salvation through many ages and at last sent His incarnate Only-Begotten Son to sacrifice His blood on man's behalf. Jesus Christ says: n For God so loved the world that He gave His Only begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. John 3: 16 St. Paul says: "the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Him-self for me" Gal. 2: 20.

St. Athanasius says:

[For it were not worthy of God's goodness that the things He had made should waste away, because of the deceit practiced on men by the devil 3]. [He comes in condescension to show loving-kindness upon us and to visit us ... Now in truth this great work was peculiarly suited to God's goodness 4].

St. Clement of Alexandria says:

[The Word ... has appeared as our teacher, He by whom the Universe was created The Word who in the beginning gave us life when He fashioned us as Creator, has taught us the good life as our teacher, that He may afterwards, as God, provide us with eternal life. Not that He now has for the first time pitied us for our wandering; He pitied us from old, from the beginning. But now, when we were perishing, He has appeared and has saved us 5].

2. TO JOIN US WITH HIMSELF

Redemption in its essence is the unity with God, the Source of life. No-body can join us with God except the Son of God who became Son of man to raise us to the Father's bosom with His Holy Spirit, offering His saving blood as a price for this unity. Before His betrayal He said to the Father: "I in them, and You in Me; that they may be made perfect in one" John 17: 23.

St. Athanasius says: [If the Son were a creature, man would have remained mortal as before, not being joined to God, for a creature had not joined creatures to God, as seeking itself one to join it; nor would a portion of the creation have been the creation's salvation as needing salvation itself 6 I.

Origen says: [Christ, the true High priest who by His own blood made God propitious to you and reconciled you to the Father 7], [We have peace with God' Rom. 5: 1, but it is through our Lord Jesus Christ who reconciled us to God through the sacrifice of His blood... Christ came that He might destroy the enemies and make peace, and reconcile us to God when we were separated because of the barrier of wickedness which we set up by sinning 8].

3. TO ACCOMPLISH GOD'S SENTENCE OF DEATH

The Messiah, the incarnate Son of God gave His blood for us, and His flesh for our flesh and His soul for our souls. He suffered and died as a Sacrifice on our behalf and thus He accomplished the divine statement of death as a representative of all mankind.

St. Athanasius says:

[He sends His own Son, and He becomes Son of Man, by taking created flesh, that, since all were under sentence of death, He being other than them all, might Himself for all offer to death His own body; and that henceforth, as if all had died through Him, the word of that sentence might be accomplished (for "all died" 2 Cor. 5: 14, in Christ), and all through Him might thereupon become free from sin and from the curse which came upon it and might truly abide for ever, risen from the dead and clothed in immortality and incorruption 9].

[He takes to Himself a body capable of death, that it, by partaking of the Word who is above all, might be worthy to die instead of all, and might, because of the Word which was come to dwell in it, remain incorruptible, and that thenceforth corruption might be stayed from all by the grace of resurrection 10].

[For by the sacrifice of His own body, He both put an end to the law which was against us, and made a new beginning of life for us, by the hope of resurrection which He has given us 1l].

[Christ offered the sacrifice on behalf of all, delivering His own shrito death in place of all that He might set all free from the liability of the original transgression 12].

4. TO UNDERGO DEATH

The Alexandrian Fathers explain in more details what St. Paul declares concerning human nature, for man's problem is not limited in forgiving sins which he ever commits, but extends to the death and corruption that he endures. St. Paul says that "death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam" Rom. 5: 14.

St. Cyril of Alexandria repeatedly declares that the perfect humanity of Jesus Christ was the only method to deliver our earthly ~body from foreign corruption 13].

St. Clement of Alexandria says:

[The Lord then wished to release him (man) from his bonds, and clothing Himself with flesh - O divine mystery. - vanquished the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant; and, most marvelous of all, man that had been deceived by pleasure, and bound fast to corruption, had his hands unloosed, and was set free...

He has changed sunset into sunrise, and through the cross turned death into life; and having wrenched man from destruction, He has raised him to heaven, transplanting mortality into immortality and translating earth to heaven 14].

St. Athanasius says:

[To give a witness then, and for our sakes to undergo death, to raise man up and destroy the works of the Devil, the Savior came, and this is the reason of His incarnate presence. For resurrection would not have been, unless there was death; and how was there death, unless He had a mortal body? This is the Apostle learning from Him, this he sets forth, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might bring to nought him that had the power of death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead". I Cor. 15: 21 ...

Not for Himself then, but for our salvation, and to abolish death, and to condemn sin, and to give sight to the blind, and to raise up all the dead, has He come 15].

[He the incorruptible Son of God, being conjoined with all by a like nature, naturally clothed all with incorruption, by the promise of resurrection. For the actual corruption in death has no longer held - ground against me, by reason of the Word, which by His one body has come to dwell among us 16].

Whenoe also is He said ~ bc ~ b~n f~m the dead n Rev. l: 5,
~t that He died before us, f~ we bad died first, bul ~e having m~gone

*ath for us and abdi~ed il. He was d~e f~st to lise, as man, for olrr sal~es, ~g His own Bad~ enoef~b He having ~, we too from Him and bec~se of Him, nse in due co~se ~wn the dead 17 ~.

St. Athanasius rep~es to dle qo~n: As God made man by a word, whyDot ~ him also by a word?, slying: a Creation out of nolhing is d~fen n~ from reparation of what already existed: [Por it was not things without being ~at needed salvation, so that a bare command should suffice, but man, already in e~Listence, was going to CQm~ tnn and ruin. It was then natural and nght that the Word should use a human ins~ument and reveal Himself every whither 18].

b. [Secondly, you must know this also, that the colTuption which had set in was not external to the body, but had become attached to it, and it was required that, instead of corruption, life should cleave to it; just as death has been engendered in it also. Now if death were external to the body, it would be proper for life also to have been engendered e~tternally to iL But if death were wound closely to the body and ruling over it as though united to it, it was required that life also should be wound closely to the body, that so the body, by putting on life in its stead, should cast off corruption ... For this cause, the Savior reasonably put on Him a body, in order that the body, would become close to the Life, should no longer, as a mortal abide in death, but having put on immortality, should thenceforth rise again and remain immortal ... He put on a body, that He might find death in the body, and blot it out 191.

Choosing death through the Cross is a divine mystery, that we already spoke about in another place 20, here I would refer to St. Athanasius' comment on the death of Jesus Christ through the Cross: [So death came to His body, not from Himself, but from hostile counsels, in order that whatever death they offered to the Savior, this He might utterly do away ... He accepted on the Cross, and endured, a death inflicted by others, and above all by His enemies, which they thought dreadful and ignominious and not to be faced; so that this also being destroyed, He Himself might be believed to be the Life, and the power of death be brought utterly to noughL So something surprising and starling has happened; for death, which, was thought to be inflicted as a disgrace was actually a monument of victory against death itself. Whence neither did He suffer the death of John, his head being severed, nor, as Isaiah, was He sawn in sunder; in order that even in death He might still keep His body undivided and in perfect soundness and no pretext be afforded to those that would divide the Church 21].

5. TO CONQUER OUR ENEMY, SATAN

St. Athanasius says:

[For the Word being clothed in the flesh, as has many times been explained, every bite of the serpent began to be utterly staunched from it out, and whatever evil sprung from the motions of the flesh, to be cut away, and with this death also was abolished, the companion of sin, as the Lord Himself says: "The prince of this world comes, and finds nothing in Me". John 14: 30, and "For this end was He manifested", as John has written, "that He might destroy the works of the devil" 1 John 3: 1 22].

[Thus also the father of the Arian heresy (Satan) asked ... "If Thou be the Son of God ... " Matt. 4: 3, for he knew that this is the truth and the sovereign principle of our faith, and that, if He were Himself the Son, the tyranny of the devil would have its end; but if He were a creature, He too was one of those descended from that Adam whom he deceived, and he had no cause for anxiety 23].

[For as when Adam had transgressed, his sin reached unto all men, so when the Lord had become man and had overthrown the Serpent, His great strength was extended through to all men so that each one of us may say: "for we are ignorant of his devices" 2 Cor. 2: 11 24].

6. TO RAISE US UP TO HEAVEN

Our Lord Jesus Christ in His speech with Nicodemus concerning the new birth, revealed Himself as the Heavenly One saying: "No one has ascended to heaven but He who came down from heaven, that is, the Son of Man who is in heaven" (John 3: 13). In other words, He is the Heavenly One who came down from heaven to grant us unity with Him that we may ascend to heaven in Him and with Him. St. Paul conceived that he was risen to heaven (Eph. 2:6) when the Head of the Church, Jesus was risen.

- ❖ And being joined to God, no longer do we abide upon earth, but as He Himself has said, where He is, there shall we be also[1].
- ❖ For in it (the Word's body) the Lord becomes our guide to the Kingdom of Heaven and to His own Father, saying, "I am the Way" John 14:6 and "the door" John 10:9 "through Me all must enter[2].
- ❖ Whence also, whereas the flesh is born of Mary the theotokos, He Himself is said to have been born, who furnishes to others an origin of being, in order that He may no longer, as mere earth, return to earth, but as being knit into the Word from heaven, may be carried to heaven by Him[3].

St. Athanasius of Alexandria

- ❖ O wondrous mystery... Man was cast out of Paradise; and now he receives a reward greater than that of obedience, the reward of Heaven[4].

St. Clement of Alexandria

7. TO RENEW OUR NATURE

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul clearly explains the difference between the animal sacrifice and Christ's Sacrifice, for the first one was repeated because of its weakness and failure to renew the depth of human nature, but the last One was offered once only for it still has the power to renew our interior man. Origen says that Jesus Christ as a Priest and Victim at the same time did not offer animals blood that consumes but His own Blood that gives life, resurrectiand immortality. He always changes believers from mortality into immortality, redeeming their nature to participate in His life and to bear His likeness.

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1 c. Arians 2:69.
2 c. Arians 2:61.
3 c. Arians 3:33.
4 Protr. 11:3

Origen says that the Logos is our Teacher, Law - giver and Model 29, by associating with Him, we lose our deadness and irrationality, becoming "divinely possessed and rational 30. He is" the pattern of the perfect life 31, the exemplar of true virtue into whose likeness Christians are transformed 32, thereby being enable to participate in the divine nature 33. He says: [Discoursing in bodily form and giving Himself out as flesh, He summons to Himself those who are flesh, in order that He may first of all transform them into the likeness of the Word who has been made flesh, and after that He was before He became flesh 34], [The Son of His kindness generously imparted deification to others ... who are transformed through Him into gods, as images of the prototype .. the word is the archetype of the many images 35].

St. Clement, Origen's teacher, explains the Savior's role in the renewal of our nature, as he said: [For this He came down, for this He assumed human nature, for this He willingly endured the sufferings of man, that by being reduced to the measure of our weakness He might raise us to the measure of His power 36]. He also says: [The Word of God, became man just that you may learn from a man how it may be that man should become god 37].

St. Athanasius in his discourses against the Arians confirms that the Incarnate Son of God hungered, wept and was wearied; He acted as our Mediator, taking on Him what was ours that He might impart to us what was His. In Him we became a new creation.

[As "the Word became flesh" John 1:14, so also man himself received the gifts which came through the Word ... For every one interceding for another, receives the gifts in his own person, not as needing, but on his account for whom he intercedes 38]

[He for our sake became man, so we for His sake are exalted. It is no absurdity then, as for our sake He humbled Himself, so also for our sake He is said to be highly exalted 39].

[He Himself has made us sons of the Father, and defied men by becoming Himself man 40].

[For He has become Man, that He might deify us in Himself and He was born of a woman, and begotten of a Virgin, in order to transfer to Himself our erring generation and that we may become henceforth a holy race and "partakers of the divine nature" as the blessed Peter wrote (2 Pet. 1:4). And what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh Rom. 8:3 41].

[He was made Man, straightway all things were set right and perfected. Earth received a blessing instead of a curse, Paradise was opened to the robber, Hades cowered, the tombs were opened and the dead raised, the gates of Heaven were lifted up to await Him that "comes from Edom" (Ps. 24: 7; Isa. 63:1) ... The Word has been made Flesh, and put on it, in order that "in Him" all should be set right. Suffering Himself, He gave us rest, hungering Himself, He nourished us, and going down into Hades He brought us 21 back thence ... At the restoration it was fitting that all things should be "delivered" (Luke 10:22) to Him, in order that He might be made man, and all things be renewed in Him 42].

8. TO REALIZE UNIVERSALISM

St. Clement of Alexandria 43 states that the Savior is the Lord not of the Jews only but of all men, therefore He came to save everyone that turns to Him; His sacrifice has its effect in all places and at all times.

9. TO GRANT US THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE "GNOSIS"

St. Clement of Alexandria was the first Christian writer who called the spiritual believer "Gnostic", for he believed that "gnosis" (knowledge) is a grace that comes from the Father through the Son 44. One of the principal actions of the Lord is to reveal the divine mysteries to His believers, for He said: "No one knows the Son except the Father. Nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him". Mau 1 :27.

St. Clement says: [The Son is the true Teacher about the Father ... In order that we may come to know the Father, we must believe in the Son, because the Son of God is our Teacher; for the Father brings us from faith to knowledge by means of the Son 45].

Origen says: [The Word of God, coming to those who seek Him, or to those who receive Him when He is manifested, is able to make known the Father and to reveal Him who was not seen before His coming 46].

1. Contra Arians 2:65.
2. De lncamatione Verbi Dei 7.
3. Ibid 6;5.
4. Ibid 8:10.
5. Proterp. 1:7.
6. c. Arians 2:69.
7. In Leviticum hom. 9:10.
8. Com.inEp.adRom. 4:8.
9. c' Arians 2:69.
10. De lnc verbi Dei 9.
11. Ibid 10.
12. c. Arilms 2:7.
13. De Incar Unigeniti (Source Chretiene, L 97, p. 230).
14. Paedag. ll (See Strom. 2:10:47; 4:7:51).
15. c. Arians 2:55.
16. De Incar. 9.
17. c. Arians 2:61.
18. De Incar. 44.
19. Ibid.
20. See Fr. T.Y. Malaty: Church, House of God, ch. 10
21. De lnca n. 24.
22. c. Arians 2:69.
23. Ibid 2:73.
24. Ibid 1:51.

29. Kelly, p. 180f; Princ. 4:1:2; c.Celsus 2:52, 3:7.
30. ~ Ioh 1:37.
31. Contra Celsus 1:68.
32. Ibid 8:17.
33. De Principiis 4:4:4.
34. Contra Celsus 6:68.
35. Comm. ~ Ioan. 2:2.
36. Quis Dives Salvetur 37.
37. Protr. 1:8:4.
38. c. Arians 4:6.
39. Ibid 4:7.
40. Ibid 1: 38.
41. Ep. 60 ad Adelphium.
42. On Luke 10:22.
43. Strom. 6:6:47.
44. Strom. 5:71:5.
45. Ibid 5:1:1.
46 c Cel~ fi ù fiR

MAN'S ROLE IN HIS SALVATION

GRACE & MAN'S FREE - WILL

Grace is the heart and center of the Alexandrian theology. For God "first loved us" John 4:19; for He knew us (Rom. 8: 29), chose us, predestined us, called us, justified us and glorified us. He wills, decides and acts for our salvation, even while we were sinners and against Him (Rom. 5:10). Christ's blood is the only method through which salvation can be realized. This evangelic teaching is accepted and explained by the Alexandrian Fathers, without denying the free-will that God grants us, nor rejecting the positive role of the believer in accepting God's saving love and in responding to this divine love by practical love.

Now we can clarify the relation between God's Grace and man's free - will in the following points:

1. PRESESTINATION AND MAN'S FREE WILL:

St. Paul says: "He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and without blame before Him, in love" Eph. 1:4. Do these words mean that we - the believers - had to be so for we are chosen as men of God we were made, and the unbelievers have to be ruined for they can't believe as they were not chosen? We can't accept this meaning, for God desires the salvation of all men, as it is said:

"For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, our Savior, who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth". 1 Tim. 2:4.

"I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked but that the wicked turn from his way and live". Ezek. 33:11.

"For God so loved the world that He gave His Only - begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life" John 3:16. "And He is the propitiation for our sins and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world ". 1 John 2: 2.

Clearly, God asks men to choose the way they desire to enter: "See, I have set before you today life and good, death and evil ... blessing and cursing, therefore choose life, that both you and your descendants may live". Deut. 30:15, 19. Our Lord Jesus Christ repeatedly confirms man's free - will in choosing the way, as He says: "if anyone hears My voice and opens the door, I will come in to him". Rev. 3: 32.

Our Lord declares that God's will is the salvation of men, but if man does not will, He leaves him to his own will. He says: "How often I wanted to gather your children together as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, but you were not willing". Matt. 23:37.

God wants to relinquish His statement against sinners if they repent and return from their evil ways by their own will (Jer. :7-10; Ezek. 33:14-16; Jonah 3:10; Mal. 3: 7).

Now, what does St. Paul mean by his words: "He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world"? This means that although we believe in Go willingly and live as His children, we have become believers not due to our own merits. He first loved us and offered His saving deeds and acts, even in our hearts, that we will and do according to His own will.

Secondly, as the divine plan of our salvation was eternal, the Father chose us, for He was pleased with us even before we were made, through His beloved Son. He accepted us for we were hidden in His Son, our Mediator, clothing His righteousness. Thirdly, we were chosen, for He knew us before we were created that we would believe in Him. St. Paul clarifies this meaning, saying: "For whom He fore knew, He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son. Moreover, whom He predestined, these He also called; whom He called, these He also justified; and whom He justified, these He also glorified, Rom. 8:29, 30. Origen comments on this Pauline passage, saying: [Such passages as these are scizcd on by those who do not understand that the man who is foreordained by the foreknowledge of God is really responsible for the happening of what is fore known; and they imagine that God introduces men into the world who are already equipped by nature for salvation ... Let us observe the order of the words... It is not fore ordination that is the start of calling and justification. If this were so, a more convincing case could be put by those who bring in the absurd argument about "salvation by nature". t in fact, foreknowledge precedes fore ordination ... God observed beforehand the sequence of future events, and noticed the inclination of some men towards pieqr, on their responsibility, and their stirring towards piety which followed on this inclination; He sees how they devote themselves to living a virtuous life, and He fore knew them, knowing the present, and fore knowing the future ... His foreknowledge is not the cause of what happens as a result of the responsible actions of each individual. Thus, the freedom bestowed by the Creator enables man to choose what to realize, of various possibilities which arise].

2. FAITH AND GOOD WORKS

Until the nineteenth century, the struggle between faith and good works in achieving salvation had no room in the Alexandrian theology, because of its evangelic concept on "faith", "Good Works", "Salvation", etc. ...

a One of the essential characteristics of our church is the integration of all aspects of the new life in Jesus Christ. For example, theology - in our concept - can't be separated from preaching, worship, or ascetic life. Theologians are not those who achieve scientific degrees in theology, but those whose theologian knowledge is translated into life through their worship and conduct. Through the ages, the Popes of Alexandria were usually deans of the Alexandrian School, or one of its teachers, or had their theological studies in monasteries, and at the same time they were monks and had their ascetic life. In other words, the Pope is not only a leader in pastoral cares but also in theology and ascetic life.

This attitude has its effect in our concept on "Faith". For faith IS not merely believing in some dogmas or doctrines, but it means achieving the new life in Christ in all its aspects. We have to enjoy this life through the deep knowledge of the Word of God (the Holy Scripture), partaking in the church worship, practicing our family worship, fulfilling God's commandments in our relationship with others etc. ... Faith separated from conduct.

b. We have to distinguish between many kinds of good works:

1. The works of Law which some Christians of Jewish origin desired to practice in their literal meaning like circumcision, observing the Saturdays and Jewish feasts and other rites. ST. Paul struggled against this attitude confirming the ne~ of faith alone without these good wad~s of Law ~ Ibeir li~aal mea~ing, saying: "For by grace yw have been saved d~ f ilb . ~d d~ not of yoursdves; it is the gift of God, not of wof~s, lest an~wc sbould bw~st ~ Eph. 2:8, 9. We are f~ely j~ified by the grace th~h faith and nat through the righteau~ of the Law, ie., t~wgb observ~ng its lited ~s.

2. Good works that issue fm n a pfwd heart, in Ph~isi~ or Itl~ni~n; when man believes ~at he can be saved by his own m~nt . though his own righteousness. We confirm that salvation can't be attained ~hout believing m the ledeaning blood of Cnri~ for "without shedding of blood there is w remission". Heb. 9:22.

3. Good works that are issued from the believer's heart, who is united with the Fad~r iD His Son by the Holy Spirh These good wor~s are the fruit of God's wo~ in Him, as the Holy Bible clarifies:

"He who abides in Me, and I in Him, bears much fruit, for without Me you can do nothing". John 15:5.

"For it is God Who works in you bo~h to will and to do for His good pleasure". Phil. 2:13.

"But by the grace of God I a n what I am, and His grace toward me was not iD vain; but I hbored more abundantly that they all, yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me". I Cor. 15:10.

Without God's grace ": ~re is none who does good, no, not one". Rom. 3:11, ~ for aU have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God". Rom. 3:23.

H.H. Pope Shenouda III, in his book "Salvation in the Orthodox Concept", presents many indications on the importance of these ~ good Works" to our salvation:

1. Evil deeds lead to eternal perdition (Gal. 5:19 - 21; Eph. 5:5, 6;1 Cor. 6:9, 10; Heb. 13:4; Col. 3:5, 6; Tit. 1: 16; 2 Pet 2:4-22; l Pet. 4:17, 18; Acts 5:9, 1 John 3:15; Jam. 3:1, 2; 5:1, 9).

II. Judgment will occur according to our works (Matt. 16:27; John 5:28, 29; Matt. 25:31-46; 1 Cor. 3:13; 1 Pet 1:17).

m. Works are the fruits of the real faith (Luke 3:8, James 2:14; Matt. 7:19 -21, Luke 13:6-9).

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III. Wo~s are the fruits of the real faith (Luke 3:8, James 2:14; Matt 7:19 -21, Luke 13:6-9).

IV. Works are the evidence of the presence of faith (James 2:18; Matt. 7:16, 17).

V. Works are the evidence of being bom of God (1 John 2:29, 3:9, 10).

VI. Works make faith perfect (James 2:22; 1:27).

The Alexandrian Fathers explained "good works" as our response to God'slove towards us which we have to practice by God's help. St. Clement says: [For each of us He laid down His life ... and He requires in return that we should do the same for each other 2 I But we can not do this without God, because [He is for us the source of all good. From Him we learn the good life and are brought to the etemal life 3].

3. GRACE OF GOD AND MAN~S FREE - wnL

The good believer accepts divine grace to help him and to guide all his life, even in the smallest matters. In other words, through the freedom he receives in His Savior Jesus Christ, by his own volition he denies his own will, not to lose his freedom or to live with a weak personality but to enjoy God's will acting in Him. Through his free - will he can also refuse God's grace at any time and resist God's will. Therefore St. Paul warns us, "Do not quench the Spirit" Thes. 5:19, "And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by whom you were sealed for the day of redemption" Eph. 4:30.

It is the grace of God that acts within us, but without abolishing man's free - will. Man has to act positively on behalf of his salvation through God's grace. We hear the Apostle saying: "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept Lhe faith... " 2 Tim. 4:7, "You have not yet resisted to bloodshed, striving against sin" Heb. 12:4, "To this end I also labor, striving according to His working which works in me mightily" Col. 1:29.

The bible confirms that we have to work, with our own free - will, with God: "For we are God's fellow workers" Cor. 3:9.

"If we say that we have fellowship with Him ... " 1 John 1:6.

Origen replies to those who say that our salvation is in no way our responsibility, but is a matter of our constitution, for which the Creator is responsible ... saying:

["Unless the Lord builds the house, they labor in vain who build it, Unless the Lord guards the city, the watchman stays awake in vain" Ps. 126 (127): 1 This is not meant to deter us from building, or to counsel us not to be vigilant in guarding the cily which is in our soul ... We should do right in calling a building a work of God, rather than of the builder, and the preservation of a city from hostile attack we should rightly call an achievement of God rather than of the guard. But in so speaking we assume man's share in the achievement, while in thankfulness we ascribe it to God who brings it to

success. Similarly man's will is not sufficient lo altain the end (of salvation) (Rom. 9: 16), nor is the running of the metaphorical athletes competent to attain "the prize of the upward summons of God in Christ Jesus" Phil. 3:14.

This is only accomplished with God's assistance. Thus it is quite true, "il is not of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but of God who shows mercy Rom. 9:16. Our perfection does not come about by our remaining inactive, yet it is not accomplished by our own activity; God plays the great part in cffecting it 4].

4. TRUST IN ENJOYING THE KINGDOM

"Hope" is one of the three great virtues (I Cor. 13:13), that believers have to attain, and to progress in, trusting in the mighty grace of God and the infinite divine mercies, Without hope the believer loses his salvation, like Cain who in despair said, "My punishment is greater that I can bear" Gen. 4: 13, and Judas who hanged himself (Malt. 27:5).

H.H. Pope Shenouda III states that: [If anyone asks you: Do you trust?, What would you reply? Yes, I trust in Christ's blood beyond limits but I don't trust in myself, in my own free - will which may be inclined into evil, lest after I have begun in the Spirit, I shall be made perfect by the flesh (Gal. 3:3). Therefore, those who lose salvation, lose it because of the deviation of their free - will which may be inclined to evil, lest after I have begun in the Spirit, I shall be made perfect by the flesh (Gal. 3:3). Therefore, those who lose salvation ~ lose it because of the deviation of their free - will to evil, and not because God is unable to save them ... We trust in the blood of Christ and in the sufficiency of His atonement and redemption, but concerning ourselves we confess that we are sinners and conceive how possible it is that we may perish because of our sins ... Be humble, my brother, and hear the words of the Apostle Paul, that warning ... "Therefore, let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall" 1 Cor. 10:12. You are not more strong than those who fell before, you might not have even attained their level before their fall. Read what the Apostle Paul says and consider carefully the qualities which he mentions, "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good Word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance" (Heb. 6: 4-6).

1. Comm, in Ep. ad Rom 1 (Philocalia 25:1)
2. Quis Dives Salveture 37.
3.Prot. I :7.
4. De Principiis 3: 1:18.

BUT THOSE WHO WAIT ON THE LORD, SHALL RENEW THEIR STRENGTH; THEY SHALL MOUNT UP WITH WINGS LIKE EAGLES,

MIGHTY CHAMPIONS

ISAIAH 40:31

THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE WEARY, THEY SHALL WALK AND NOT FAINT.

JUST FOR TEENS

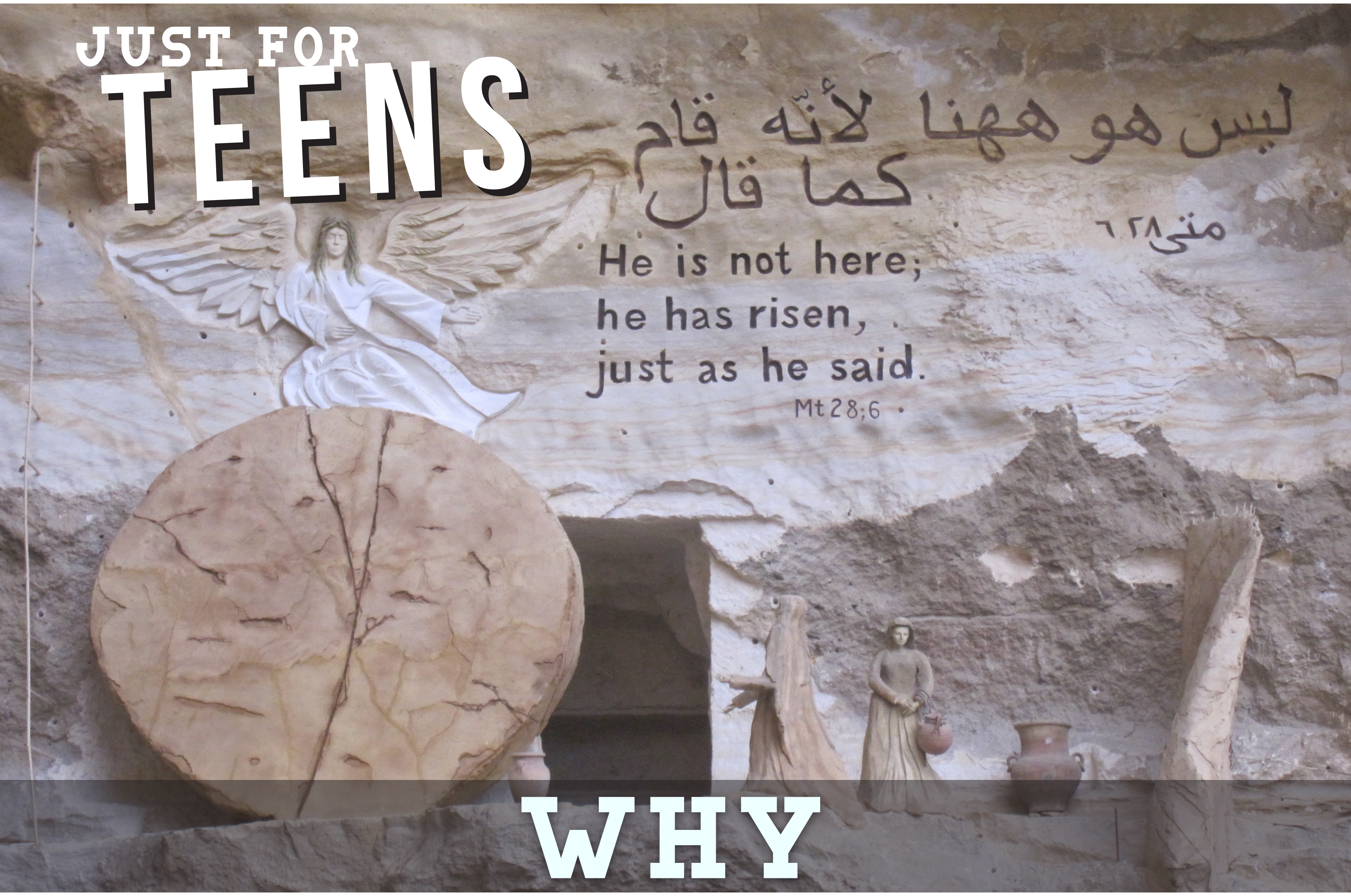

WHY RESURRECTION MATTERS

MIGHTY CHAMPIONS MAGAZINE
Publication of the Coptic Orthodox Diocese of the Southern U.S.
SPRING 2015 VOLUME 1 ISSUE 2

JUST FOR

TEENS

Mighty Champions Spring Edition

2015

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A PUBLICATION OF THE COPTIC ORTHODOX DIOCESE OF THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

YOU CAN EMAIL US AT:
mightychampionsmagazine@suscopts.org

PRESIDENT	Almighty God
VICE PRESIDENT	H.G. Bishop Youssef
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF	Marilyn Ekladios
ASSOCIATE EDITORS	Margo Yanney Freda Tyab Monastic Servant
LAYOUT & DESIGN MANAGING EDITOR	J.B.
LAYOUT & DESIGN EDITOR	J.B.
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS	Esther Boulis Sara Dawoud George Iskander
SPECIAL FEATURED ARTICLE	H.G. Bishop Youssef
CONTRIBUTING WRITERS	Sara Dawoud John Habib Miryam Nessim Jeremiah Soliman Anonymous
PHOTOGRAPHY SUPPORT	Katherine Nawar
TECH SUPPORT	J.B.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: http://suscopts.org/mightychampions

MISSON STATEMENT: We, the magazine staff, have a mission regarding you, the reader: to encourage you on your Christian walk and to strengthen you through articles, answers, and more about God's very special plan for you.

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MY BELOVED YOUTH,

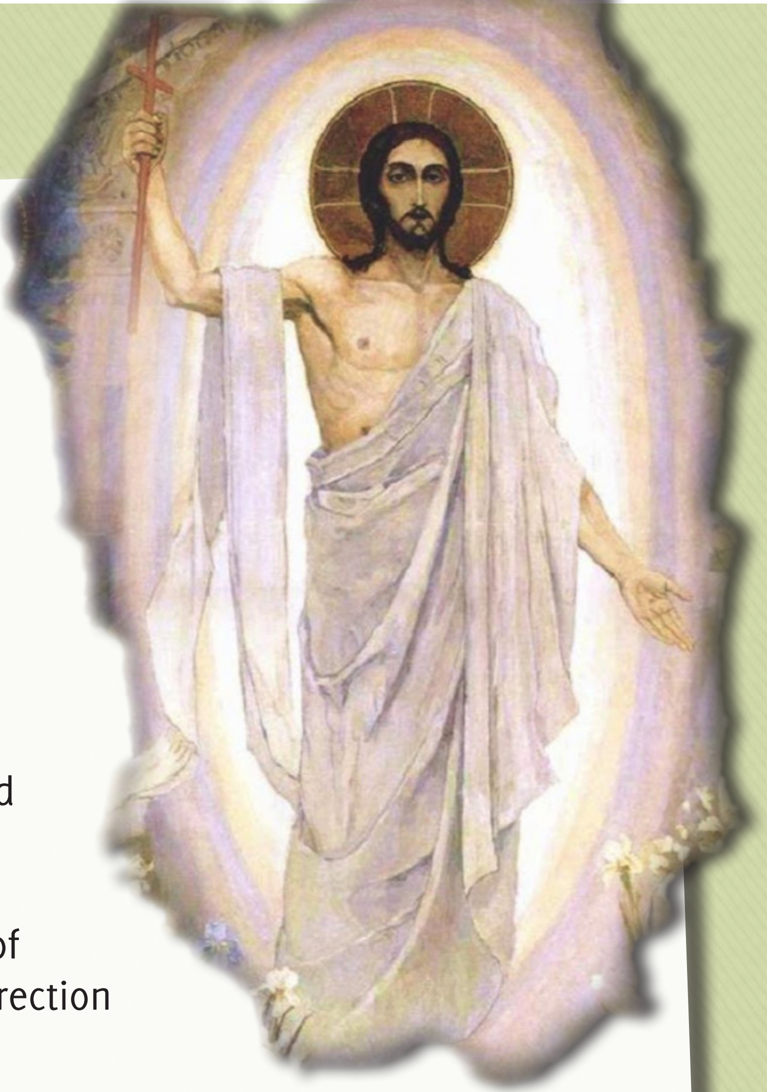

Resurrection matters are matters of salvation. Does your salvation matter to you? Ifyou answered correctly, *yes,* then all the matters of the Holy Resurrection are ofgreat relevance to you. The Holy Resurrection is the beginning of a new life for all ofhumanity. Christ is the first fruit into this new life personally prepared for you. Priorto Christ's resurrection, humanity only knew of birth and death. No longer doesdeath have that sting of finality, sadness, and mourning. Resurrection mattersbecause it is eternal.

There is much thought put into the articles that you are about to read in this Spring2015 Edition of the Mighty Champion Magazine. Think about the beautiful life that awaits you after this temporary life—with all its vanities, heartache, and strugglesvanishes. Strive to make and keep a good relationship with Christ, our Good Savior,so that where He is, we will be too.

God bless you.

BISHOP YOUSSEF,

Bishop, Coptic Orthodox Diocese of the Southern United States

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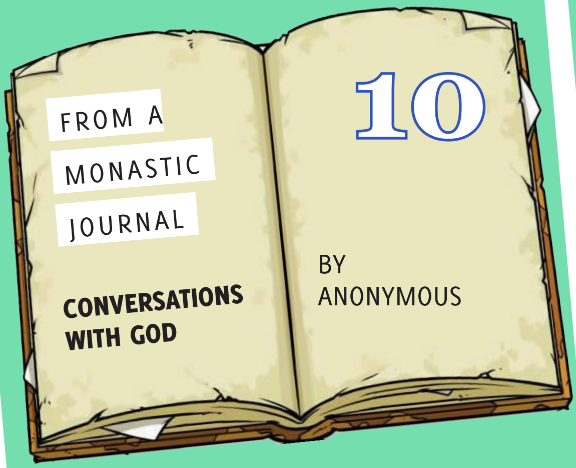

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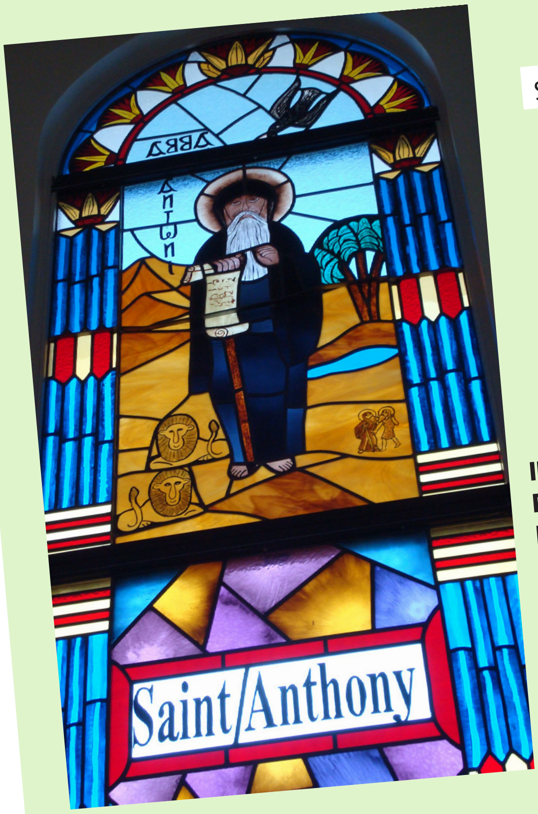

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PROGRAMS

Asaph Hymns Institute
(AHI) is the first ever online hymnological seminary.

Family Ministry Program
(FMP) Spring Registration deadline: December 10, 2014

LEAD Program
A program for learning Christian leadership principles.

Theological Seminary Program
Program Registration deadline: March 15, 2015

Theological Seminary Program - Nashville
An Arabic theological program located in Nashville.

Theological Seminary Boarding Program - Abbey
A 2 year live-in program located at St. Mary and St. Moses Abbey.

Archangel Raphael Ministry (A.R.M.)
A program designed specifically for individuals with special needs.

H.O.P.E. Social Services
A social services program designed to help those in need.

St. Clement Christian Academy
This is a learning community dedicated to meeting the needs of each learner within its walls.

St. Mark Festival Program
This is a spiritual competition among the Coptic Churches doing the same activity world wide.

St. Verena Resource Ministry
(SVRM) Professionals networking together to make a difference and provide resources to our Coptic community. To make a request or to volunteer as a consultant.

TIPS: Search for Job & Education Opportunities

EVENTS

Pre-Marital Retreat
FL: Jan 9-11, 2015
GA: Jun 12-14, 2015

Family Convention
TX: Nov 26-29, 2014
FL: Nov 26-29, 2014

Florida Servants Convention
FL: Dec 12-13, 2014

THY College Convention
FL: Dec 17-20, 2014

Winter High School Girls Convention
FL: Dec 21-24, 2014
TN/GA: Dec 22-25, 2014
TX: TBA

Winter High School Boys Convention
GA/TN: Dec 21-24, 2014
FL: Dec 25-28, 2014
TX: TBA

Winter Kids Camp
GA: Dec 21-24, 2014
FL: Dec 27-30, 2014
TX: Dec 29-31, 2014

Winter Middle School Convention
GA: Dec 26-29, 2014
FL: Jan 1-3, 2015
TX: Dec 26-28, 2014

Texas Winter College Convention
Jan 9-12, 2015

Crossroads Graduate Convention
Feb 19-22, 2015

CPAR Convention
Feb 26 - Mar 1, 2015

Arabic Youth Convention
FL: Mar 6-8, 2015
TX: TBA

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Faith Over Mind and Matter

> "The entire virtue of what we call holiness lies in faithfulness to what God ordains."

BY **SARA DAWOUD**

The above quote is from Jean-Pierre de Caussade's *Joy of Full Surrender*. In the previous issue, I wrote *The Curious Case of the Talking Stone* which was the first part of the mini-series I am developing for this wonderful spiritual book. This article, the second in the series, will primarily deal with the issue of faith in the life of a Christian.

The word *faith* is often used interchangeably with the word *belief*. For example, "He is of Christian faith," or, "What is your belief?" However, the two words are very different from each other. All of us, as Christians, have belief. "We believe in One God…" begins the creed we recite in every Liturgy. A belief is a proclamation of faith, but faith is the essence of holiness, as the above quote states. We all believe that Christ is our Savior, but that belief does not mean anything if we do not have true faith. Even Christ Himself said, *"Not everyone who says to Me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven."*[1]

So who will enter the Kingdom? Christ continues in the same verse, *"Not everyone who says to Me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of My Father in heaven."*[2]

Doing the will of God is the only way to Heaven because it encompasses all the virtues that build up a true Christian. It is God's will that we love one another, pray to Him, read His Word, attend Church, and the whole nine yards. Doing God's will means that we must have faith in His promises, and He will never forsake us if we choose to follow Him whole-heartedly.

Faith is not an abstract concept that is used in every Sunday sermon; it is a lifestyle. St. James said, *"Faith by itself, if it does not have works, is dead,"*[3] because having true faith means doing the will of God, and God's will encompasses all the virtues and practices mentioned in the Bible.

At times, God's will may conflict with ours. We may become depressed and angry when something we really want is withheld from us by our Heavenly Father. These circumstances become the ultimate test of faith: it is easy to love God while life is good, but tribulation is the fire used to test how genuine we really are—either we are gold and the fire will refine us, or we are plastic and the fire will burn us.

This passage in *The Joy of Full Surrender* is particularly relevant:

> *When you are conducted by a guide who takes you through an unknown country at night across fields where there are no tracks, by his own skill, asking no advice from anyone, giving no inkling of his plans, what choice do you have but to give yourself completely to his guidance? The plans of fancies of a guide who insists on being trusted will have none of this! He will take pleasure in overcoming your anxiety and distrust and will insist that you surrender entirely to his guidance. If you are convinced that he is a good guide, you must have faith in him and abandon yourself to his care.*

---

[1] Matthew 7:21.
[2] Ibid.
[3] James 2:17.

General Question #1

ANSWER

LOOK FOR THE QUESTION ON ANOTHER PAGE

A When the Resurrection enactment became part of the Divine Liturgy of the Resurrection feast, is not known. In this enactment, the priest or the bishop stand inside the sanctuary symbolically guarding the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, just as the Cherubim stood in the Garden of Eden guarding the tree of life, while two deacons stand outside the sanctuary with the resurrection icon signifying the angels that accompanied and served the Lord Jesus Christ during His life on earth. The resurrection enactment starts with a dialogue between the angels outside the sanctuary and the cherubim inside the sanctuary. After this dialogue, the doors of the sanctuary open just as the doors of the Paradise were opened; and the lights are turned on symbolizing the light of the Resurrection that has enlightened the whole cosmos. The deacons carrying the icon of resurrection enter the sanctuary and proceed around the altar three times' chanting the resurrection hymn, "Christ is risen" symbolic of the Lord Jesus Christ's entering Paradise with His angels and the souls of the righteous. Then the procession goes around the nave of the Church three times; symbolizing the apparitions of the Lord Jesus Christ and that of some of the saints after His holy Resurrection and their entry into the Holy City. At the end, the procession goes again inside the sanctuary for one more time around the altar signifying the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ and the resurrection of all the believers and their entry to the Kingdom of Heaven on the last day.

You can read in more details about the significance of the Resurrection Enactment athttp://suscopts.org/literature/literature.php?subaction=showfull&id=1081605001&archive=&start_from=&ucat=12&.

I WOULDN'T BELIEVE IN CHRIST IF HIS TOMB WASN'T EMPTY

Christ's resurrection made Him out to be the Truth, rather than a liar

BY **JOHN HABIB**

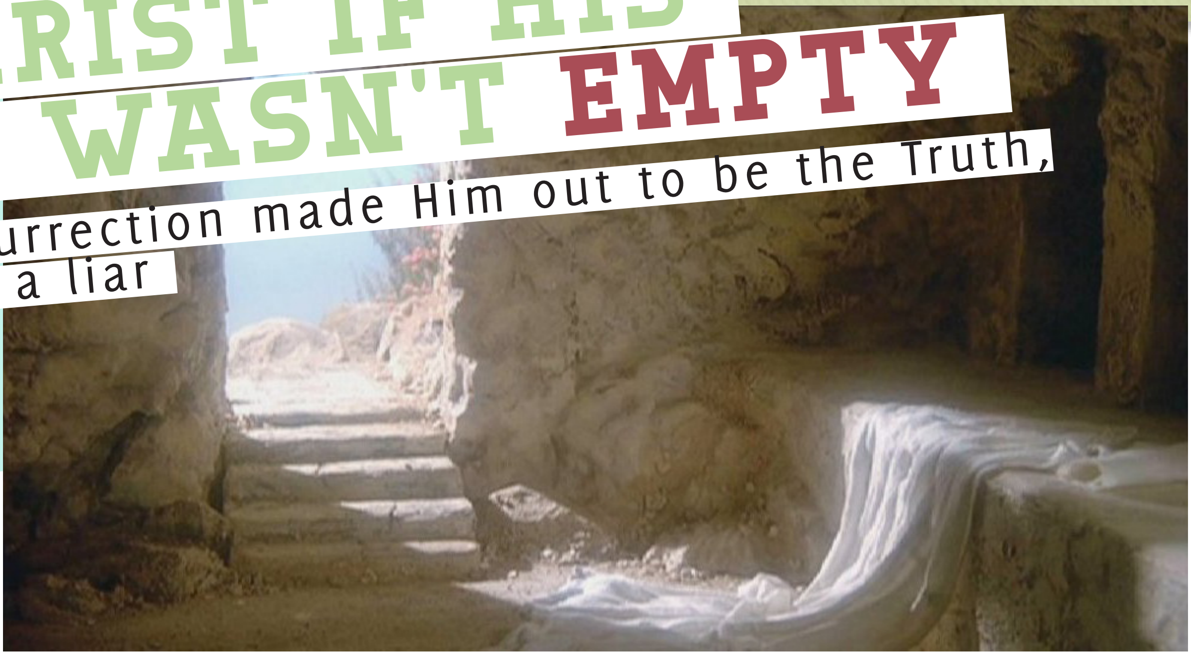

"I don't know if I really believe God exists. I mean, I've just believed what you and the servants and the priests have been telling me. But I'm not sure of it myself."

That's what a teenage boy at church told me one day.

How can we help this boy believe in Christ for himself, instead of just believing in Christ because it is what he was told to do?

The answer comes down to the greatest proof of all: Christ's tomb is empty—He resurrected.

Well, how does that make me believe in Him? That is because without that proof, Christ was either a liar, or a lunatic. Imagine a man walking around saying this:

- My name is Joshua, and I was born in a barn. But actually, before I was born in a barn, I was born from God and have existed forever.
- I haven't really done anything that notable for thirty years, but you should leave your job, follow me around, and listen to my words carefully.
- Thanks for following me. Now let me reveal more: remember that story about manna that fell from heaven in the Old Testament (the bread that appeared from heaven to feed the Israelites while they were wandering in the wilderness)? That bread actually symbolizes me, Joshua. And you have to eat my flesh so you can live forever.
- Don't believe me? Watch as I heal this person, make that person's eyes appear when he didn't have any, make this food multiply, tell you what you are thinking before you speak a word.
- Oh, and watch as I revive that guy who has been dead for four days. If you walk around with me, and believe that I am who I say that I am, and eat my flesh and drink my blood, you will become immortal, like me. Because I am not only able to give life, I am Life itself. I am the source of life. The only source.
- I bet you're starting to believe me now! Well believe this: I am God (if it wasn't clear already).
- I see you are all looking at me funny, but I'll prove it to you. I'm going to get arrested, be killed like a criminal, but I'll be back! Just give me 3 days.

Now, think about this: the only way anyone would accept that everything Joshua had been saying about himself is true is if he actually did rise from the dead like he predicted. If not, then Joshua was a liar or was crazy.

Christ rose from the dead, proving that He was God, and everything that He said about himself was true. But how do we know for ourselves that He actually rose from the dead? You can trust the witnesses who told us this.

What witnesses? The disciples and the other witnesses of Christ's resurrection.

But why can we trust them? Because they verified for themselves the truth of Christ's claims after they overcame an overwhelming weight of personal doubts. Only then were they willing to die for the truth they discovered.

Let's examine the extent to which the disciples believed Christ's words about Himself as their journey with Him progressed.

Throughout their time with Jesus, they were trying to figure Him out. Remember that Christ had more followers than just the Twelve, but eventually most left, especially when He started saying that people have to feed on Him and eat His body and blood to live forever. *"From that time many of His disciples went back and walked with Him no more. Then Jesus said to the twelve, 'Do you also want to go away?'"*[1] For those that remained by His side, all their belief was built up over time, as they heard all His words,

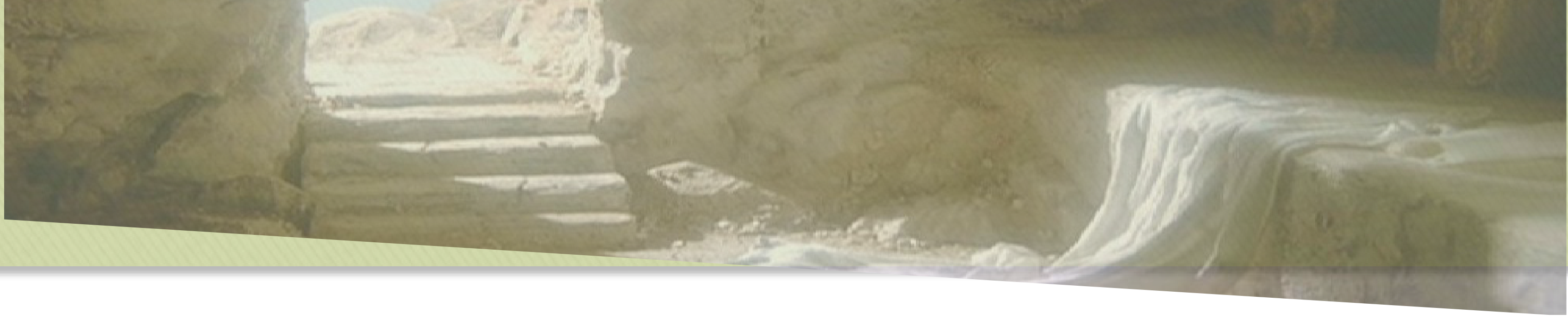

saw His life, witnessed the miracles, and eventually finally became convinced of all that Christ was saying. As St. Peter declared, *"You are the Christ, the Son of the living God."*[2]

But once He was arrested, they all forsook Him. "Okay, He said He was God, and I believed, but what if He isn't after all? How can God be so weak that He is arrested and subdued by His own creation?" That's what I imagine they were thinking, in line with the same logic applied by the priests and robbers around Christ as He was crucified: *"Likewise the chief priests also, mocking with the scribes and elders, said, 'He saved others; Himself He cannot save. If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we will believe Him. He trusted in God; let Him deliver Him now if He will have Him; for He said, "I am the Son of God."' Even the robbers who were crucified with Him reviled Him with the same thing."*[3] The Bible tells us the reaction of the disciples right after He was captured: *"Then all the disciples forsook Him and fled."*[4] And St. Peter, who had just recently declared belief in Christ as Son of God, strongly denied Him with a curse when pressed to answer: *"Then he began to curse and swear, 'I do not know this Man of whom you speak!'"*[5]

If they knew Christ was Lord, the disciples would not have feared death. But before we get those faithful disciples, we have the ones who are afraid after His death. After Christ died, we find them all locked up in a room afraid of being persecuted: *"On the evening of that day, the first day of the week, the disciples had gathered together and locked the doors of the place because they were afraid of the Jewish leaders."*[6]

Because we know that after they had their fears set aside and their belief in Christ restored, they joyfully accepted suffering and death, *"rejoicing because they had been considered worthy to suffer dishonor for the sake of the name [of Christ],"*[7] so that they willingly felt *"to live is Christ, and to die is gain."*[8]

How did the disciples suddenly change? Why can we trust their witness? *It is because these disciples proved to us to be normal in their logic, and normal in their response*. They saw the person they thought was God arrested and killed. And like any normal person, when they heard the news that He resurrected, it was not sufficient for them to just believe the news told them by Mary Magdalene. Peter and John ran to the tomb to verify it for themselves! They *"both ran together, and the other disciple [John] outran Peter and came to the tomb first."*[9] And after seeing the empty tomb, against all odds, they *"saw and believed."*[10]

But this was not all that happened. Do you think when Peter and John went to the other disciples and told them the news that everyone freely believed without any doubt? It took more, and more they received. As they were locked shut in the room, Christ Himself appears. *"Jesus came and stood among them."*[11] And as if appearing was not enough, He made them touch His side.

So then, after all these disciples believe, you would also think that Thomas would believe them too? Thomas wasn't there, as you know. He, like the rest of the disciples, needed to be *sure* before they went out and proclaimed what they were afraid was a lie. Like the rest of the disciples, like many of us, like this boy who I was speaking with, everyone was skeptical. Why should I believe just because *they* told me so? Thomas vehemently said, 'I will never believe it!' unless I see it for myself. We all know that is exactly what happened.

THE DISCIPLES GAIN NOTHING BY LYING, BUT RATHER LOSE EVERYTHING

See, it's very simple. These disciples were not willing to go suffer without being *sure* that what they were dying for was the *truth*. Unlike many religions out there whose founders often gained much from what they declared (be it fame, money, girls, etc.), what did the disciples and apostles gain?

Nothing, though they could have gained much. That is what St. Paul says. As messengers and servants of God, they could have asked for food, a wife, or other material things. However, St. Paul tells us, *"We have not used this right, but endure all things lest we hinder the gospel of Christ… I have used none of these things, nor have I written these things that it should be done so to me; for it would be better for me to die than anyone should make my boasting void."*[12]

Why then St. Paul? Why? Why would you suffer all these things? Because he was convinced that what he was doing was not based on a lie, but on a truth. He was persecuting Christians and had an amazing change of heart, in spite of the fact that he was joining a group that he helped make public enemy number one. Why? He too saw for himself and believed when Christ appeared to Him (Acts 9).

The story is simple. Why should you believe the testimony of everyone who teaches you today? Because the first witnesses upon whom those teachings are founded would not have suffered for a lie. They were afraid to suffer until they verified for themselves the truth. Then, and only then, did they accept suffering, and proceed with their mission to present Life to others so that they may pass the Truth to you today.

In the end, the following is the reason we believe in Christ's claims about Himself, and the claims of those who witnessed His life:

- Confucius's tomb: occupied
- Buddha's tomb: occupied
- Mohammed's tomb: occupied
- Jesus' tomb: EMPTY.

---

1 John 6:66–67.
2 Matthew 16:16.
3 Matthew 27:41-44.
4 Matthew 26:56.
5 Mark 14:71.
6 John 20:19.
7 Acts 5:41.
8 Philippians 1:21.
9 John 20:4.
10 John 20:8.
11 John 20:19.
12 1 Corinthians 9:12,15.

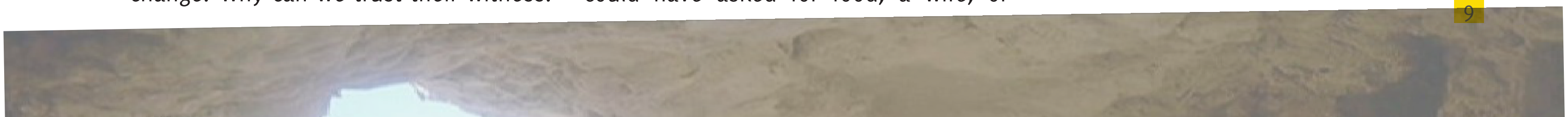

From a Monastic Journal

CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD

By: Anonymous

The Lord says:

"I love you. I want you to be with Me forever.

All that I have created is for your happiness. I keep watch over you throughout the night and give you the breath of life to wake up in the morning. I give you My light to brighten your day, and enlighten My path before you. I hold you under the shadow of My wing so you are not afraid, so you are not cold, so you feel the warmth of My embrace. During the heat, I fan you with My own hands so your frail, precious body doesn't faint from heat exhaustion. This body you live in is weak, but I love you, so I strengthen it and strengthen you beyond what is humanly possible. I love you and I stay awake all night thinking of you. My mind is always on you, concerned for you, longing for you. There is not a second I don't love you and think of you and strive for you to be with Me.

You are why I came to the world and took the form of man, walked on their roads, was circumcised, baptized, and shed My Blood on the cross… so we can be united in love forever. I died so that when you die we may live eternally in My Father's house. I died and resurrected so when your spirit departs your body, I will raise you up to stand before My Father who will unite us in His great wedding feast…

O, My beloved soul, how can you betray My love for you? How can you run after another? How can you not think of Me continually as I think of you? I am pure and perfect, how can you come to Me defiled with imperfection? Do you not know that My Father will not let us wed like this? How can you betray My love? After all I do for you and all the love I pour on you, how can you say that another has done this for you, or even worse, say that you are the one who has done or deserved this?! How can you betray My love so? How can you think that you don't need Me, that you don't want Me, that you don't love Me? How can you look to another, after all I have loved you? How can you love the world? How can you love the praise of other people? How can you love sin? How can you allow the devil to entice you? How can you choose him over Me?

I love you and labor for you continually, and think of you always! Why will you not return My love?

Do you not know that every time you overeat, oversleep, fail to pray or read or spend private time with Me, do you not know how much I pain, how much I long for our time

CONVERSATIONS WITH GOD

. . . CONTINUED

together, how much I crave your company? I want us to dine together, but you go out to eat and then you come to say, 'I'm too full to eat with you, sorry.' I want to stay up late talking to you and spending time with you, but you busy yourself with everything or everyone else, so that when you come to look at Me you are so exhausted that I just let you sleep in My arms, as I watch over you. I glow when you walk in the door thinking we can spend time together, hear about your day and relieve your stress, but you are too distracted by thoughts of others that you do not let Me in… My advice you won't even hear. I watch over every second of your life, but you are too busy to notice, and too busy to look at Me.

What will I do? What will I say to My Father when He asks Me about you? With what shame does My head dangle as I relate to Him how You don't love Me, how you ignore Me, how you don't think of Me, but rather busy yourself with the world and have no time for Me! Will He let us wed? Of course not! He will answer Me, 'Why do You love such a wretched creature? Go marry one who loves You. As for her, she deserves hell for not loving My Son!'"

My Lord, Your heart is so sensitive and so gentle, it can be broken easily and quickly, yet You continue to love this poor wretched soul and try to call her to You. When I don't return Your love, I truly deserve hell, but I can't endure the thought of separating from You. Lord, I'm comfortable knowing You are there and that You love me, but I don't know why I'm not ready to commit myself totally to You. I enjoy the attention You give me, and the love You shower upon me, but if I commit myself totally to You, that would mean giving up all the other lovers I have… the ones who feed my pride and keep my ego alive… Ah huh! In Your presence all others are forgotten! I know what I'll do… I'll take You with me everywhere I go… If I can't do it physically, then I will do it mentally… I will always think of You as You always think of me… In the face of such intense love, who could resist?

O my sweet Lord, I have promised: now I ask Your strength to truly take You with me everywhere, to hold Your Hand for support and ask Your advice.

Lord, I truly do love You; please help me forsake all to truly unite with You.

AVOIDING DRYNESS AFTER THE SPIRITUAL SPRING

Celebrating the right way

BY **MIRYAM NESSIM**

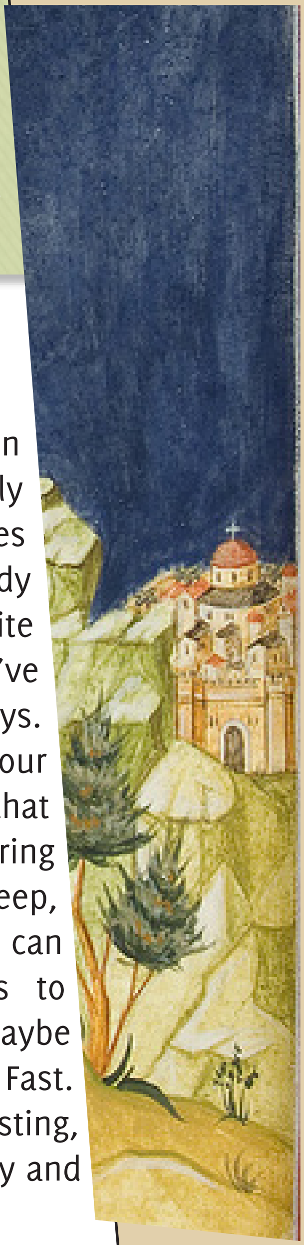

The Great Fast is a time of spiritual renewal for many of us. In denying our flesh through fasting and prayer during this time, we fill ourselves with the presence of Christ in our lives. The Great Fast is the time when we return to our spiritual roots–that time when we were only a few days old and were baptized and became cleansed of sin. It is a journey to become a step closer to perfection, as Christ commanded, *"You shall be perfect, just as your Father in heaven is perfect."*[1]

However, when the Feast of the Holy Resurrection comes upon us, we are ready to do just the opposite of everything we've done in the last 55 days. We are quick to give our bodies everything that we deprived it of during the 55 days: food, sleep, TV, internet, etc. This can sometimes cause us to neglect our spiritual lives, maybe more than prior to the Great Fast. Thus, while this is a time of feasting, it is important to remember why and with Whom we are celebrating.

St. John Chrysostom tells us,

Enjoy ye all the feast of faith: Receive ye all the riches of loving-kindness. Let no one bewail his poverty, for the universal kingdom has been revealed. Let no one weep for his iniquities, for pardon has

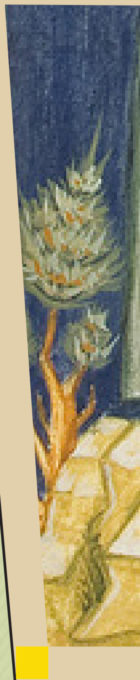

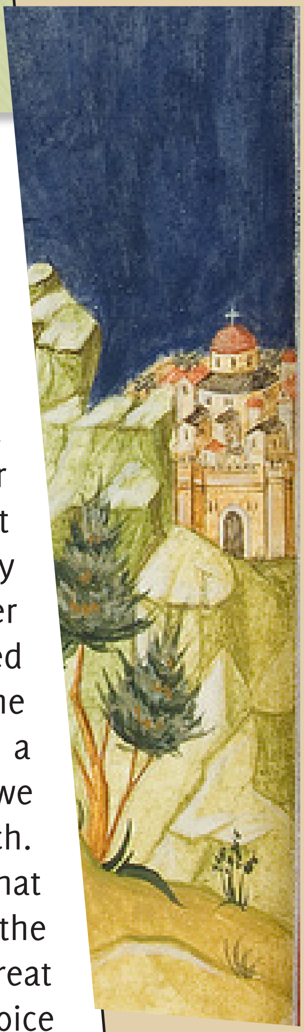

> shown forth from the grave. Let no one fear death, for the Savior's death has set us free.[2]

There is certainly plenty to be celebrating, but not without the spirit of continual thanksgiving and remembrance of the victory of our Lord Jesus Christ. If we abandon all spiritual practices after the Great Fast is over, how do we suppose we can spend time enjoying our Bridegroom while He is with us?

His Grace Bishop Youssef helps us with practical ways of keeping ourselves focused on the true feast that has more meaning than giving in to our flesh:

> Setting our minds on things above, not on things of the earth means seeking the ultimate spiritual glories of the age to come. Remember your baptism. Live according to His Resurrection! Seek true life in Christ. Put on the new man who is renewed in knowledge according to the image of Him who created him (Colossians 3:10). Thus the Resurrection restores to us the IMAGE OF GOD that we had lost due to sin.[3]

Let us not also forget that the Great Fast is a journey, not just a season that has a beginning and an end. The Great Fast is the spiritual highlight of the year, and the fruits we reap in the Great Fast are meant to keep us full all year long. Thus, it is imperative that we continue throughout the Holy Fifty Days–and the rest of year after that–the practices we have attained during the Great Fast. That way, the following Great Fast, we begin at a higher spiritual state, otherwise, we would only start again from scratch.

May God give us a heart that celebrates His Resurrection with the virtues we have attained in the Great Fast, that we may properly rejoice with the Bridegroom Who is with us during this blessed season.

---

1 Matthew 5:48.

2 http://oca.org/fs/sermons/the-paschal-sermon.

3 http://www.suscopts.org/resources/literature/257/feast-of-the-holy-resurrection/.

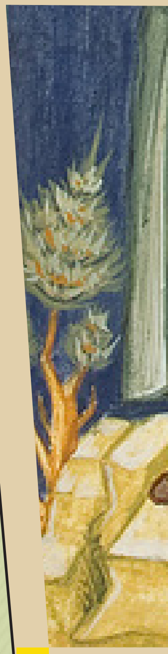

ST. ANTHONY OF EGYPT

AND THE VIRTUE OF POSITIVITY

BY **JEREMIAH SOLIMAN**

Saint Anthony was the first Christian to carry on an existence of consecrated solitude. As a hermit in the desert, he lived a long and righteous life that impacted endless individuals in his time, throughout the centuries, and even until today. Generally considered to be the father of monasticism, his life had an enormous effect on the history of not only our Orthodox Faith, but also the fundamental history of all of Christianity throughout the world.

His biography was written by one of Christianity's most eminent pioneers, St. Athanasius the Apostolic, who was both his pupil and close friend. The life story of the *Father of all Monks* is known across the Coptic community, exemplifying countless virtues that we as Christians ought to follow. Positivity, one of this saint's many virtues that we can see, is a distinguishing characteristic that grows in the life of wisdom. The wise man is always positive and views every matter with positivity and enthusiasm.

When St. Anthony was about eighteen years old, his parents passed away. Some people would surround themselves with complete sadness when they face a loved one's departure. However, St. Anthony the Great faced this situation in a positive way by not being entangled in earthly desires and cares. Colossians 3:1-4 tells us, *"If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. Set your mind on things that are above, not on things that are on earth. For you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ who is your life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory."* He did not care about the great amount of wealth his parents had left him, but rather focused on his spiritual journey and looked for what he needed to do to gain a strong relationship with Christ.

As a young man, hearing the Holy Gospel according to St. Matthew chapter 19—which mentions celibacy and Jesus telling the rich young man to give everything to the poor—provided him with the answer to his mission. His attendance and attention to the liturgical readings gave him the opportunity to receive a life changing message from God. He listened to this passage and considered it a personal message for him. Pope Tawadros II has said, "How wonderful is the man who considers the words of the Holy Bible a special message for him." Not a general message for anyone at any time, but a private message for you, your life and your circumstances.

Coming from a very wealthy family, it was probably very hard for St. Anthony to sell all that he owned and become a poor man. He took the wealth his parents left him and gave it to the poor and saved a part of this wealth for his sister Dious, who consecrated herself as a bride for Christ in a virgin's house.

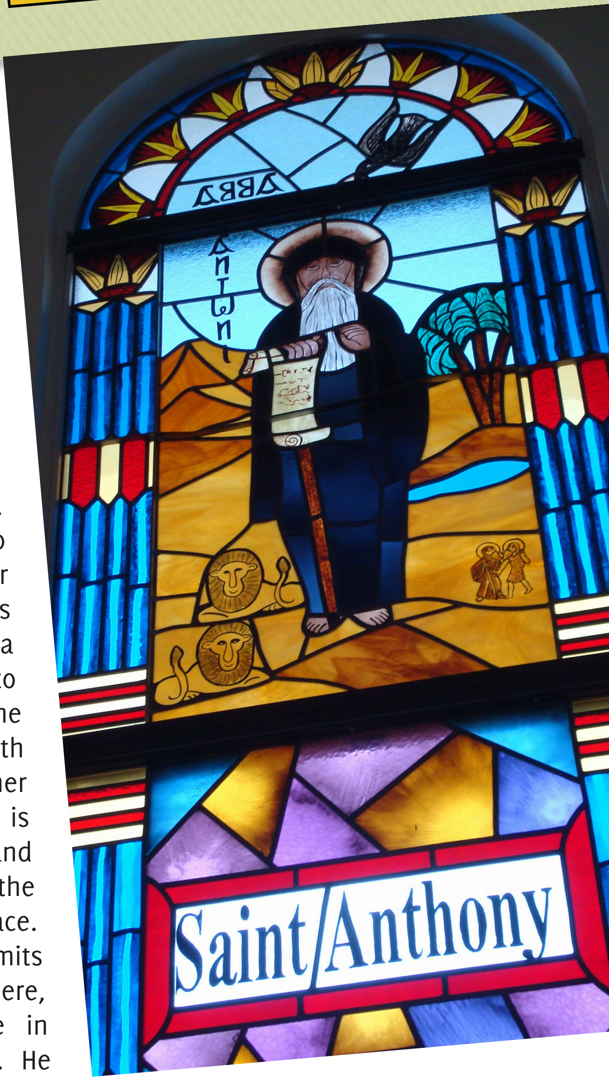

At this point, St. Anthony abided by our Lord's commandment. He went to the near wilderness, and he started the life of asceticism. Tradition tells us that there were some hermits who were occupying the area surrounding the Nile River of Egypt, but there was no monastery to gather them. One famous story tells us of a woman who went to bathe in the river one day. The saint met with her and scolded her saying that this region is for the hermits only, and she does not have the right to enter this place. She replied that hermits should not be living here, for they should live in the inner wilderness. He listened to her words, considering them to be another message from God to go live in the inner wilderness. If he did not see the situation as a positive one, he would not have heard God's personal message to him, and may have wronged the woman by rebuking her.

These are a few of the many scenes in St. Anthony's life where he showed positivity and various other virtues in dealing with matters. A lesson for us all: be positive in your life. It is very easy to complain or to criticize, but to see a situation in a positive way benefits you and builds a better life.

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RESURRECTION MATTERS: THE ENDLESS FRONTIER

Special Message for You

FROM HIS GRACE BISHOP YOUSSEF

Each week of the Holy Great Fast marks an opportunity to shun temptation and rise from sin. Refusing to repent is a deep slumber into a spiritual demise. There are three forms of resurrection. The first is the holy sacrament of Baptism, which is the first step onto the path of salvation and which cleanses us from original sin. This great sacrament can only take place once in a lifetime. The second is the holy sacrament of Repentance and Confession, which by the grace of God, is an ongoing renewal of heart and mind. The third is the final resurrection from physical death. In this ultimate resurrection, the body, soul, and spirit will rise unto everlasting life.

Week 1: Resurrection from Covetousness
Matthew 6:19-33

Many people—youth and adults are engrossed in materialism. There is a lot of pressure to show off. Our Lord Jesus Christ advises us as to where our treasures ought to be and not to be. Make an everlasting investment in heaven, not in the frivolous earthly things that last for a limited time. If you are not careful, materialism will consume your thoughts and desires, you will drift into the spell of covetousness, and your energy will be spent on meaningless things. Detach and let this be a resurrection from materialism.

Week 2: Resurrection from Deviousness
Matthew 4:1-11

The devil has no boundaries as to how far, and whom, he will try to lure into wickedness. Seeing that Christ had been fasting, Satan tried to seize this opportunity to tempt Him—as if he could. These same tricks he tries with us. Unfortunately, too often, we do not resist. We may not know how, but remember that Christ taught us how—through the Holy Scriptures, which sustain us. This wakefulness and alertness are a resurrection from temptation.

Week 3: Resurrection from Selfishness
Luke 15:11-32

Two selfish sons had issues, but the focus initially revolved around the recklessness of the younger son, and then turned toward the haughtiness of the older son. The younger—prodigal son thought he was invincible, took money that was not really his to take at that time, and squandered what his father

labored to provide for the family. When he finally came to his senses, he repented. Unfortunately, the older son resented the celebration for his younger brother's resurrection and restoration to the family. Repentance is the resurrection that brings us to the holy Eucharist—Christ's ultimate sacrifice and feast, for which He emptied Himself on our behalf.

Week 4: Resurrection from Obliviousness
John 4:1-42

Obliviousness captivated a Samaritan woman—going from one marital relationship to another. Finally, she gave up on marriage after the fifth attempt and decided to just live with the sixth man. Spurned by society, she continued in a bizarre spiral of spiritual death until her meeting with Christ. From there, she left her water pot—her former thoughts of refreshment. She was renewed and resurrected from her previously prized sins. Empowered by our Lord Jesus Christ who transformed her, she began to evangelize in his holy name.

Week 5: Resurrection from Carelessness
John 5:1-18

Thirty-eight years and this man still could not find anyone to help him enter the water to be healed. No one seemed to care. Perhaps, he did not care either. He did not know who Jesus was and did not express sorrow for the sins that had brought him to this calamity of paralysis. Rather, he merely complained that there was no one to care for him. Therefore, Christ asked him frankly if he really even wanted to be healed. When this man finally took some personal action, to at least respond to the question about his healing, our Lord Jesus Christ healed him, but warned him to sin no more. Not only had this man sinned, which led him to his current state, but he did not even care to acknowledge his transgressions nor take responsibility for his offenses.

Week 6: Resurrection from Sightlessness
John 9:1-41

Born blind, Demas was not alone. Figuratively, all of humanity shared in his sightless body, as revealed in the Holy Gospel according to St. Matthew[1] quoting the prophecies of Isaiah the prophet: "*The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light, and upon those who sat in the region and shadow of death Light has dawned.*"[2] Likewise, Zacharias the priest proclaimed similar prophetic words to his son, John, regarding his role as the Forerunner and Baptist: *"To give light to those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."*[3] Admitting to our spiritual shortsightedness is a resurrection from the sins committed in ignorance.

Week 7: Resurrection from Lifelessness
Lazarus Saturday John 11:1-45

Though Hosanna Sunday is the seventh week of the Holy Great Fast, the Church celebrates the raising of Lazarus after having lain in the tomb for four days. His lifeless body arose at the command of the Lord Jesus Christ. If Christ Himself did not rise from the dead, neither would have Lazarus, or anyone for that matter. Lazarus' resurrection was a prelude to Christ's holy resurrection. On Hosanna Sunday—Hosanna meaning *save us*—we welcome the Lord into our hearts, to cleanse us from our sins, and to lead us to the resurrection.

Week 8: The Greatness of the Holy Resurrection
John 20:1-18

Resurrection matters greatly. This is the eighth day, which signifies eternity in Church tradition. Christ is the holy resurrection. There is nothing else and no one else that can be more wonderful, beautiful, and delightful. Thus, we joyfully die with Him, rise with Him, and live with Him, for Him, and in Him.

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1 Matthew 4:15-16.
2 Isaiah 9:1-2.
3 Luke 1:79.

Gold Nuggets

There Is None Upon Earth That I Desire Besides You[1]

BY **THE THRICE BLESSED POPE SHENOUDA III**

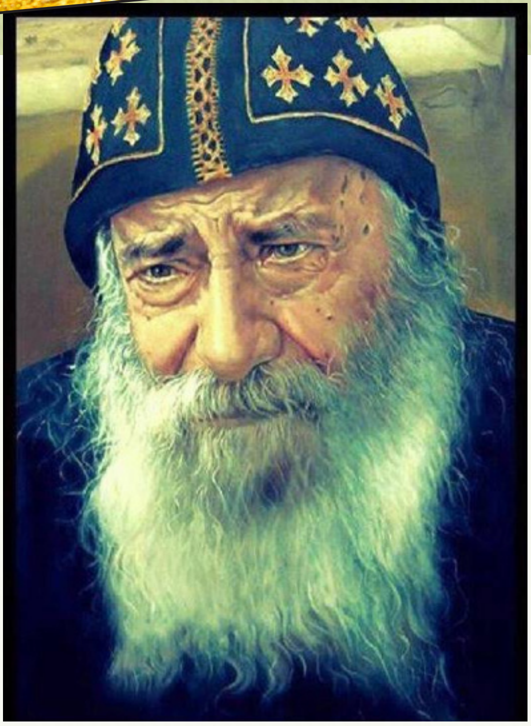

There are some beautiful verses in Psalm 73 that I would like to talk with you about:

I was so foolish and ignorant, I was like a beast before You. Nevertheless I am continually with You; You hold me by my right hand. You will guide me with Your counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but You? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides You.[2]

This last verse is the one I want to focus on with you. The person who loves our Lord, tastes the life of fellowship with Him, experiences life with Him, relishes God's strong Hand in life, and touches upon God's work in life, feels sufficient with God, saying, "*And there is none upon earth that I desire besides You.*" After tasting the sweetness of our Lord, a person cannot put anything ahead of Him, it just does not fit. It is impossible! This is like a woman who wears an expensive silk dress, and then patches it with rags. That simply does not work. After tasting this sweetness, you cannot place anything else next to it. This is why people who have tasted our Lord, could not put anything else besides our Lord in their lives. Our Lord satiated them fully, such that all desires and pleasures became petty next to our Lord. All desires lost their value, all pleasures lost their taste, and when our Lord became everything, this person started to say, "*And there is none upon earth that I desire besides You.*" To be continued...

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[1] From the October 14, 1977 Friday sermon (at that time His Holiness' sermons were held on Fridays, instead of Wednesday) on *There is none upon earth that I desire besides You.*

[2] Psalm 73:22-25.

Golden Anecdotes

Faith is the mother of virtues[1]

BY **HIS HOLINESS POPE TAWADROS II**

At the start of the twentieth century, there was a nun serving in Africa. Buses had recently been invented. She served amidst tribes in various places, and thought that if she procured a bus, she could gather up the children from many places and bring them to church. She stood before the children and told them, "Children, pray that God sends us a bus." The children raised their hands and asked, "What is a bus?" She took a piece of chalk and drew a bus on the blackboard. The children stood up to pray: "God, send us a blue bus." She was surprised that the children were making a specific request from the Lord. It was blue chalk! Less than a year later, the abbess gathered up the nuns and told them, "There is a bus being gifted to the convent. Which of you prayed for a bus?" This nun stood and shared her story. The abbess said, "Well then, if the bus arrives blue then it is yours. If it is any other color, then it goes for convent use." The nun wrote in her journal, "How astonished I was to find the bus was actually blue!"

I want to reveal to you a mystery: God answers prayers the most when they are offered up by children. If you have children–or if you yourself have the heart of a child–and you have an issue that needs prayers, no matter how enormous the issue, ask the children to pray. Their innocence and purity of heart makes their prayers rise to heaven directly and return with the appropriate answer.

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[1] From a sermon during His Holiness' visit to Canada in September 2014.

QUESTION General Question #1

Q What are the historical, spiritual significance, and symbolic contemplative effects of the Resurrection Enactment performed during the Divine Liturgy?

LOOK FOR THE ANSWER ON ANOTHER PAGE

Diocese

PROGRAMS

Diocese Educational Programs
Board of Education

Asaph Hymns Institute
(AHI) is the first ever online hymnological seminary.

Family Ministry Program
(FMP) mission: training men and women from congregations all over the United States to aid clergy in shepherding the flock.

LEAD Program
A program for learning Christian leadership principles.

Theological Seminary Program
Program Registration deadline:June 15, 2015

Theological Seminary Program - Nashville
An Arabic theological program located in Nashville.

Theological Seminary Boarding Program - Abbey
A 2 year live-in program located at St. Mary and St. Moses Abbey.

Diocese Programs

Archangel Raphael Ministry (A.R.M.)
A program designed specifically for individuals with special needs.

H.O.P.E. Social Services
A social services program designed to help those in need.

St. Clement Christian Academy
This is a learning community dedicated to meeting the needs of each learner within its walls.

St. Mark Festival Program
This is a spiritual competition among the Coptic Churches doing the same activity world-wide.

St. Verena Resource Ministry
(SVRM) Professionals networking together to make a difference and provide resources to our Coptic community. To make a request or to volunteer as a consultant.

EVENTS

Pre-Marital Retreat
TX: TBA
FL: Jan 15-17, 2016
TN: TBA
GA: Jun 12-14, 2015

FL Newlywed Convention
Jun 5-7, 2015

Extreme Family Makeover (EFM) Coptic Edition
Jun 19-21, 2015

College Summer Convention - GA/LA/TN
Jul 23-26, 2015

High School Summer Convention - GA/LA/TN
Girls: Jul 12-15, 2015
Boys: Jul 15-18, 2015

Diocese Pilgrimage to the Holy Land
Oct 19–31, 2015

BUT THOSE WHO WAIT ON THE LORD, SHALL RENEW THEIR STRENGTH; THEY SHALL MOUNT UP WITH WINGS LIKE EAGLES,

ISAIAH 40:31

MIGHTY CHAMPIONS

THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE WEARY, THEY SHALL WALK AND NOT FAINT.

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Pope Shenouda III series
6

MEDITATIONS ON THE FEAST OF THE ASCENSION

BY HIS HOLINESS AMBA SHENOUDA III,
POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA
AND OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE OF
ALL THE PREDICATION OF SAINT MARK

Translated from the Arabic 2nd edition June 1999
By Meleka Habib Youssef

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His Holiness Pope Shenouda III
Pope and Patriarch of the See of Alexandria and of all the Predication of the Evangelist St. Mark

The Cover of the book.

In the Name of
the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,
the One God,
Amen

In this pamphlet, you read about:

- ***The manner of The Ascension***
- ***The glorious body – is not against the terrestrial gravitation.***
- ***A proof of His Divinity.***
- ***The meaning of the sitting at the right of the Father.***
- ***He was not separated from The Church during His Ascension.***
- ***A weaning operation for the Apostles***
- ***His Ascension is a pledge for our ascension***
- ***Meditations on the Ascension***
- ***The spiritual life is an ascension***
- ***The wisdom of the ten days***

Pope Shenouda III

FOREWORD

I have the pleasure to present to you this booklet about the glorious Feast of The Ascension, in which I shall converse with you about:

- **The Ascension of The Lord Jesus-Christ was with the body.**
- **It was an Ascension with a glorious body. I t was not against the terrestrial gravitation.**
- **What is the meaning of His Ascension on the clouds? What is His relation to the clouds?**
- **The Ascension is a proof of His Divinity, and is the end of "making Himself of no reputation".**
- **What is the meaning of His sitting at the right of the Father?**
- **In His Asension, The Lord Christ was not separated from His Church.**
- **His Ascension was an operation of weaning for**

His Apostles.

- **His Ascension is the pledge of our ascension to Him.**
- **Some meditations on the Ascension. Lessons from the glory of The Ascension.**
- **All the spiritual life is an ascension.**
- **The wisdom of the ten days between The Ascension and The Pentecost.**

Pope Shenouda III

The Church celebrates The Feast of The Ascension, on Thursday on the fortieth day after The Resurrection of The Lord, and we would like to meditate together on the spiritual meanings that are included in that Feast, so that we can celebrate it with a deep comprehension of the inspirations which are embodied in the Feast…….

The Christ spent forty day with His Apostles after the Resurrection, and on the fortieth day he bade them farewell, and promised them that they
"shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon" them. (Acts 1:8)…..

"Now when He had spoken these things, while they

watched, He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up,
" – two angels stood by them and said to them: "why do you stand gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you saw Him go into heaven." (Acts 1: 9-11)

What is then our meditation in this Ascension?

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The Feast of The Ascension is a feast of The Lord. The miracle of The Ascension is special to the Lord Christ alone. **It has never happened to any human being, but it was exclusively for The Lord: like His virginal birth. It was like His Resurrection by the power of His Divinity and His coming out of the closed tomb, and like The Transfiguration on the mount Tabor. Such also was His Ascension to heaven and His sitting at the right of The Father.**

He ascended by Himself, and not like the prophet Elias who was taken by a chariot of fire and ascended into it. (2 Kings 2: 10-11)
And not like Enoch who *"was not, for God took him. (Genesis 5:24)*
As for The Lord Christ, He ascended by His power, without any external power.

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In the same manner as He arose by His own power alone, without anybody arising Him, so also He ascended by His power.

The power of the Ascension was in Him, just as the power of The Resurrection was in Him. His glory appeared in both.

HOW WAS THE ASCENSION

<u>**It was an Ascension with the body, with the human nature:**</u>
because the Divine Nature neither ascends nor descends. He fills all. He is present in Heaven and on earth, and in what is between both of them. How then would He ascend to Heaven while He is in Heaven?! And how would He leave the Earth to go to Heaven, while He remains on earth during His Ascension?! Consequently we must say that The Lord ascended with the body (that was united to the Divine Nature). That is what we say to Him during the prayer of the Holy Gregorian Mass: "at the moment of Your bodily Ascension into Heaven".

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<u>**The Ascension of The Lord was in the clouds:**</u>
"while they watched, he was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight." (Acts 1:9)
He ascended in glory on a cloud, such as also He will come in His second coming, on the clouds in glory. He said thus to the chief priests during his trial before the Crucifixion, *"hereafter: you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven." (Matt. 26:64)*
This expression adds that the sitting at the right hand of the Father, was one of the glories of the Ascension.
In the Holy Bible, the clouds represents the glory and the coming of the Lord. In the story of the blessing of the seventy elders as assistants to the prophet Moses, the Lord says about Moses: *"the Lord came down in a cloud and spoke with him…."* And when the tabernacle was finally erected and arranged, the divine Intuition said: *"Then the cloud covered the*

tabernacle of meeting, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter the tabernacle of meeting, because the cloud rested above it, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." (Exodus 40: 34-35)

In the New Testament, before the miracle of The Transfiguration*:*

"And a cloud came and overshadowed them; and a voice came out of the cloud, saying,"This is My beloved Son, Hear Him!" (Mark 9:7), **(Luke 9:35)**

CHRIST DID NOT PART FROM US

IN HIS ASCENSION

The Lord Christ was with the Apostles in the flesh….then He Ascended from them, but He did not part from them.

The Ascension of Christ to heaven, was not a separation from His Church on earth.

It was not a separation from the Church; it was not relinquishing or forsaking the Church, because He said:

" I am with you always, even to the end of the age." (Matt. 28:20)

And He said also:

"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them." (Matt. 18:20)

Consequently He is with us in the Church, and in every spiritual meeting. He is with us in the Holy Eucharist in every mass. ***He is [Immanuel, which is translated "God with us". (Matt. 1:23)]***

The Apocalypse gives us a moving picture of The Lord Christ walking in the midst of the seven churches, holding in His right hand seven stars that are the pastors of the churches. ***(Apoc. 2:1)***

He also abides in us, and we in Him ***(John 17),*** **and He**

also dwells in our hearts through faith *(Ephesus 3:17).*

<u>It is just simply that He is with us in an invisible manner.</u>

For we have become in the New Testament in a state of spiritual maturity, in which we live by the word of The Lord:

"Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed." (John 20:29)

We believe in the existence of God with us, without seeing Him, and we believe in the existence of The Holy Spirit in us, without seeing Him. It is sufficient for us to see His work, and to touch His Hand in our life……

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<u>Christ is with The Church on a level which is higher than the level of the senses, and higher than the level of visible things…….we do not see Him in the body but we believe that He is with us through faith, and</u>

"faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews 11:1)

In the Ascension of Christ, He disappeared from the sight of the Apostles…..but He did not disappear from their souls. That was an evanescence, but not a departure….It was an operation of weaning for the senses, so that the soul might be nourrished through faith, and not remain under the power of the senses.

<u>Before the maturity of the Apostles, He had permitted them to see and touch, and live depending on the bodily senses ……but after their maturity, and after the coming of The Spirit upon them, they will have then to see through faith.</u>

It is as if He says: " You are no more in need to see me in the body….you are now in the stage of maturity, and you see me through the spirit. And effectively, in that maturity the Apostles did not feel at all that Christ had parted from them. Let then this thought be in our hearts.

WEANING

<u>The Ascension of the Lord to heaven was an operation of weaning for the Apostles</u>:

During the time of their discipleship to Him when He was in the midst of them through the body, they were used to depend upon Him in everything without doing anything themselves. It was He who performed the miracles, and He who replied to those who opposerd Him, while the Apostles stood as spectators; Their discipleship was merely following Him and learning from Him. They contemplated and learned…..

But then after the Ascension, it was time for them to be weaned, and to assume all the spiritual responsibilities themselves: to make disciples of all the nations, to teach to them to observe all things that the Lord had commanded them (Matt. 28), to reply to those who oppose them, and to suffer pain in the work of preaching.

<u>The weaning of the Apostles by Christ, did not at all mean that He relinquished them, but rather it meant the proclamation of their development and maturity, and their assuming responsibility.</u>

Christ had spent forty days with His Apostles, talking to them about the things pertaining to the kingdom od God…..but He did not prolong the forty days….these were enough. Afterwards He Ascended and left them to minister. That was no surprise. But they had ten more days ahead in which to make themselves ready and to wait for the coming down of The Holy Spirit upon them.

<u>With the forty days, the stage of preparation for the ministry ended, and the stage of faith through the senses ended.</u>

Be mobilized then. Let every one say: "O Lord, I feel that you are with me, and I feel that Your word is in my mouth. I shall minister but not with my human nature, but

with Your Spirit, You will give me what words to speak. Then I would make miracles, but with Your power Yourself.

<u>The Lord was like an eagle teaching the little ones how to fly.</u>

When they grow up or when they become mature, he carries them upon his wings, then drop them in the air and flies up away from them, so that they move their wings and learn how to fly. In all this, he does not forsake them, but rather he watches them and comes to protect them if they encounter any danger.

Or like a father teaching his son how to swim. He carries him on his hands, then leaves him inside the water after having taught him how to swim, in order that he would swim alone and experience the water. Nevertheless he does not forsake him, but stays near with him, and assists him whenever he is in need.

In a similar manner, The Lord trained His Apostles during three years or more, and sent them also for a practical training (Matt. 10). Then when the training stage was finished, He ascended from them so that they would act by themselves and complete their mission, while He would be with them always, even to the end of the age.

<u>The Ascension was the proclamation of the end of the training stage and of the beginning of the ministry.</u>

Therefore He said to them before His Ascension:
"you shall receive power when the Holy Sprit has come upon you, and you shall be witnesses to me" (Acts 1:8).
And He said:

"Go into all the world and preach he gospel to every creature." (Mark 16:1)
And He said also:

"Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you"

(Matt. 28: 19-20).

THE ASCENSION
AND
GRAVITATION

Some would ask: "Did The Lord trample down the law of terrestrial gravitation?

To answer this question, we mention two important points:

1. **God had established the natural laws in order to submit nature to them, and not to submit Himself to them! Was there then a miracle? Here I answer:**
2. **It was a miracle for us to see The Lord Christ ascending with His body upwards to heaven. But effectively that was something natural for the glorious body with which The Lord is risen.**

Therefore the miracle of the Ascension was not in the victory over the terrestrial laws of gravitation, rather it was in the spiritual celestial body, that could ascend upwards. It was then a sublimation of nature, and not a contradiction to it. It was a kind of transfiguration of the nature of the body……

If it was a natural body that ascended up to heaven, we would have said that this was against laws of terrestrial gravitation. But when a spiritual celestial body ascends to heaven, that is a matter which is in accordance with the exaltation of the new nature which the body takes in the resurrection, and then becomes a spiritual body, for "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15:50)

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Verily, the miracle is the body of the Resurrection or the body of the Ascension.

Christ has ascended into heaven with a glorious body, going steadily upwards, not at all submitting to the laws of terrestrial gravitation.

It is a body that has not the material weight which draws downwards, but has rather another glorious nature who can ascend.

Verily, the Lord Christ is risen with a glorious body, that could go out of the tomb while it was closed, and could enter the upper room to the Apostles, while the doors were locked. (John 20: 19-26), but the Apostles were not certain about the glory of His body, because they "supposed they had seen a spirit", and then because they handled Him, and because He condescended "and ate in their presence." (Luke 24: 37-43)

But they entered to the depth of the faith in that glorious body during the Ascension, that attracted their sights upwards, so that the two angels said to them:
"why do you stand gazing up into heaven? (Acts 1 :11)

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The miracle of the Ascension is the transformation of the material body into a spiritual body, a heavenly body, a glorious body, that can go upwards. That same thing will also happen to us in the Resurrection, when "we shall be glorified with Him", we shall be "raised in incorruption", we shall be "raised in power", in glory.
(1Cor. 15: 52-53)

"Then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And thus we shall always be with the Lord." (1 Thess. 4:17)

The Apostle annouces us that theLord
"will transform our lowly body that it may be conformed to His glorious body" (Philippians 3:21)
meaning that we shall be raised with a glorious body.

He explains this matter in detail in the chapter of the Resurrection (1 Cor. 15), how our mortal body will "put on immortality", and the "corruptible must put on incorruption". We shall take off the animal body of dust, in order to put on a spiritual luminous heavenly body. (1 Cor. 15: 41-50)

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<u>Therefore the Ascension of the Lord is the pledge of our ascension.</u>

In the same manner as the Resurrection was the pledge or our resurrection, since He is
"the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20),
and
"as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made alive"
(1 Cor. 15: 22),
so also in the Ascension, we hear Him say:
"And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all peoples to Myself."
(John 12: 32)
on the clouds, and in heaven, and with a glorious body, and we shall be always with the Lord, in the heavenly Jerusalem the dwelling of God with men" (Revelation 21: 2-3) on a level that is higher than matter and higher than the senses, in the likeness of the body of His glory, among the myriads of His saints, when we shall also be glorified with Him (Rom. 8:17), when we shall be raised in glory
(1 Cor. 15:43) and consequently we shall ascend to Him in glory…

<u>We have received in the image of the Ascension, the pledge of the glorious body that is lifted up to heaven.</u>

That still remains our hope, in that He will deliver us from matter and its outcome, and that our body will not be a material body forever, but that we shall put on the spiritual, by the redemption of our body (Rom. 8:23). But what is the way

that leads to the glory which our bodies will obtain?

<u>The way that leads to the glory of our bodies, is first death, then resurrection…..Therefore we do not fear death. With death we get rid of the sensible body, and with resurrection we put on the spirituality of the glorious body.</u>

If we remain in that body, we shall remain in matter, but if we take off this substance through death, we shall be qualified to the spirituality of the body in eternity. Who then among us desires to remain in dust, without being transformed into glory?!

THE SITTING AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER

<u>This sitting was mentioned in both the Old and the New Testaments:</u>

In the Old Testament, we read in the psalm"

"The Lord said to my Lord,
Sit at My right hand,
Till I make Your enemies Your footstool."

And here, in that sitting, He calls Him Lord, through the glory of His victory over His enemies.

And in the New Testament, the story of the Ascension in the gospel of St. Mark narrates"

"So then, after the Lord had spoken to them, He was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God." (Mark 16:19)

This sitting appeared in the story of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the first deacon, when he said:

"Look, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56).

How numerous are the references to His sitting at the right hand of The Father, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here

are some of them:

" when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high having become so much better than the angels" (Hebrews 1:3-4)

see also (Heb. 8:1), and (Heb. 12:2).

Here we ask: "what is the meaning of the sitting at the right hand of The Father?"

God has neither right nor left, because He is limitless. And there is no void space at His right hand where somebody would sit, because He fills all. But the word "right hand" means power and majesty and justice, as it was said in the psalm:

"The right hand of the Lord does valiantly,
The right hand of the Lord is exalted,
The right hand of the Lord does valiantly." (Psalm 118: 15-16)

The meaning is that Christ sat with the majesty and the power of The Father.

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Another meaning which we understand from the Ascension:

THE END OF THE EXPRESSION: "HE MADE HIMSELF OF NO REPUTATION"

<u>**With the glorious Ascension, the expression "made Himself of no reputation" which was said about the Lord Christ, ended. (Philippians 2:7). Now He is in glory.**</u>

He had made Himself of no reputation when He incarnated *"taking the form of a bondservant, and coming in the likeness of men." (Philippians 2:7)*

But after His Ascension, He entered in His glory, and the expression "He sat at the right hand of The Father" means that He is abiding, that He is in perpetual glory, where there is no more making of no reputation…… the making of no reputation with which He was born in a manger, and lived poorly, having nowhere to lay His head,
"A Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief" (Isaiah 53-3).

Therefore, when He will come in His second advent, He will come *"with power and great glory" (Matt. 24:30),*
(in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him" (Matt. 25:31).

It was rather said:
"Behold, the Lord comes with ten thousands of His saints" (Jude 14), "and then He will reward each according to his works." (Matt. 16:27).

Before His second coming, Saul of Tarsus saw Him in glory (Acts 9:3). And John saw Him such:
"and *His cou*ntenance was like the sun shining in its strength." (Rev. 1:16)

The expression "sat" means stability and continuity, because He is eternally in glory.

In His second advent He will not come to take *away the sin of the world (John 1:29)* and *"be sin for us" (2 Cor. 5:21)* as it happened during His first coming, but He will come as absolute justice, leading the army of the righteous or the army of the victorious.

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In the Ascension of The Lord to heaven, we say to Him: The earth is not the place where to lay Your head, but it is Your footstool (Matt. 5-35). Rather it is Your humility that makes it Your footstool!

Verily this earth does not deserve that Your feet tread upon it. And we are from the dust of this earth. Who then are we before You? Nothing…

By humbling ourselves like this before Him, it will be possible for us to be raised up to Him, because *"he who humbles himself will be exalted" (Matt. 23:12).*

MEDITATIONS ON THE ASCENSION

<u>The Ascension gives the spirit of hope:</u>

Who would have thought during the sufferings of the Cross, and what humiliations and scorn that were there, that He will end in that glory in the Resurrection and the Ascension and the sitting at the right hand of The Father?! Does not this give us the fullness of hope whenever we are surrounded by tribulations? Let us remember that after the sorrows of the Golgotha, there are the rejoicings of the Resurrection and the glories of the Ascension.

<u>All the problem lies in that it is a matter that needs faith, confidence and patience.</u>

There are people who are swallowed by tribulations whenever these happen to them, and their souls remain emprisoned inside the tribulations, as if there were no salvation!!

The lives of these people end in despair without hope, at the Golgotha; and if the story of Christ had ended with His crucifixion, we would have become the most miserable of men.

But we rejoice because the story of the Crucifixion was followed with the Resurrection, then the Ascension. In the Resurrection it was possible to destroy death, but Christ still remained on earth. While in the Ascension, He is raised up over the earth, in glory, to heaven.

<u>The miracle of the Ascension gives us a kind of hope from</u>

<u>two sides:</u>

The first one is meant for those who were scandalised by the Cross of our Lord and by the accompanying humiliations and sufferings, in that the riposte was first in the glory of the Resurrection, then in the glory of the Ascension. In that way, faith returned to those who had thought that everything ended with the Cross; and we have the hope that after every cross, there is resurrection and there is ascension. This hope accompanied the martyrs and the confessors in evey generation.

<u>The second side of hope is that we shall have the same:</u>

Therefore, as Christ ascended with a glorious body, so we also shall have a glorious body (Philippians 3:21). And as a cloud took Him out of the sight of the Apostles in His Ascension, so we also shall come with Him on the clouds on the last day,

***"at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all His saints" (1 Thess. 3:13),* when**

***"the Lord comes with ten thousands of His saints, to execute judgement on all" (Jude 14-15),* when He will be**

"coming with clouds, and every eye will see him" (Rev. 1:7).

"Then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And thus we shall always be with the Lord." (1 Thess. 4:17)

Verily how great is that hope!……

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<u>This hope teaches us patience and waiting for the Lord.</u>

Patience first in the realisation of the promises of the Lord, patience in the sufferings of the cross, until the glories of the resurrection and the glories of the ascension are accomplished.

Patience in the Ascension of the Lord leaving us with the body, until the word of the two angels to the Apostles on the

day of the Ascension are fulfilled:

"This same Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you saw Him go into heaven." (Acts 1:11)

Such also was the patience which our fathers the Apostles had in waiting for the promise of the Lord to send to them the Holy Spirit.

It is patience with hope. It is hope full of joy in the confidence of the fulfillment of the promises of the Lord, as the Apostle said: ***"rejoicing in hope" (Romans 12:12).***

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<u>The Ascension of the Lord implied three promises:</u>

The first promise is the sending of the Holy Spirit to remain with us eternally. Thus He said to them in advance:

"Nevertheless I tell you the truth. It is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Helper will not come to you, but if I depart, I will send Him to you." (John 16:7)

And so it happened; and He sent to them the Holy Spirit ten days after His Ascension.

As for the second promise, it is His word to them:

"I will not leave you orphans, I will come to you." (John 14:18)

And His word also:

"I am with you alwa ys, even to the end of the age." (Matt. 28:20)

He fulfilled this promise also, and is still fulfilling it.

The beloved Saint John saw Him in the midst of the seven churches, (Apoc. 1: 13-14), holding the angels of the seven churches "or their pastors", in His right hand.

As for the third promise, it is His word to His Apostles:

"And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all peoples to Myself." (John 12:32)

He draws us to Himself in order to lift us up to heaven, as

He said:

"I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself, that where I am, there you may be also." (John 14: 2-3)

Consequently, it is a promise that we shall be with Him, on earth and in heaven. On earth:

"I am with you alwa ys"*, and *"For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them." (Matt. 18:20)

And in heaven:

"that where I am, there you may be also." (John 14:3)

And as the Apostle saint Paul said:

"Then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And thus we shall always be with the Lord." (1 Thess. 4:17)

How great is that glory!……

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He said to His Apostles:

"that where I am, there you may be also." (John 14:3)

Not on earth, but in heaven. However on earth, prepare yourself in order to be in heaven.

<u>I was with you when I made Myself of no reputation, and you will be with Me when I enter into My glory.</u>

Whoever can conceive this truth, and that he will be with the Lord in the likeness of a glorious body, will indubitably respect his soul, and will not debase his soul with sin, but rather he will prepare his soul to inherit the kingdom.

This glory with the Lord on the clouds and in heaven, will not be inherited by those who cling to dust, to material matters, to the earth, and those who love the world.

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SOME ADVICES
ON THE OCCASION
OF
THE ASCENSION

In the uplifting of the Lord to heaven, He has drawn our sights and our hearts also to heaven:

Therefore it was said about the Ascension of the Lord to heaven that the Apostles:

"looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up" (Acts 1:10).

That is one of the heavenly lessons to us, that we should be steadfastly looking toward heaven where the Lord has ascended, and to heaven from where He will come to us in His second advent. Also we should be steadfastly looking toward heaven where all our emotions and our hopes are concentrated all the time, in His heavenly kingdom, as the Lord said:

"For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also."
(Matt. 6:21)

Those people who have all their treasures on earth, are poor, and therefore all their desires and all their hopes will be on earth. And when they leave the earth, they will not find anything.

As for the sons of God, they live always looking steadfastly toward heaven to which their hearts and all their desires cling.

<u>**May therefore our thoughts be always lifted up toward heaven.**</u>

They all mount there to be with the Lord, together with all the desires of our hearts and all our spiritual senses. And as the saint Apostle Paul said:

"while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are

temporary, but the things which are not seen are eternal." (2 Cor. 4:18)

If we remain looking steadfastly toward heaven, looking to the things which are not seen, and all our treasure has become in heaven, then we shall say with the Apostle:

" having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better." (Philippians 1:23)

<u>In the Feast of the Ascension, our thoughts must be lifted upwards, to contemplate the heavens to which Christ has ascended, and His sitting at the right hand of The Father.</u>

In our contemplation of the heavens, we remember the word of the Lord:

"For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also."
(Matt. 6:21)

Let your treasure therefore be in heaven; and may every person train himself to the blessing of the Ascension in his life; being lifted up from the material level to the spiritual level. His aspirations and his desires would be lifted up from the level of the body to the love of God.

<u>Whoever, with his heart and his thought, is lifted up from the level of the earth and material things, himself will deserve to ascend and to be with Christ.</u>

But those who cling to the earth and to material things, how can they ascend?

It is clear, even from the material point of view: whenever a man is lifted up, the earth becomes small in his sight, and all the things in it are belittled, till they become as if they were nothing.

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<u>The Feast of theAscension teaches us also the principle of ascending.</u>

Spiritual life, or life with the Lord, is a perpetual ascension, a constant development upwards, till we arrive at

the life of perfection. It is a continuous relationship to heaven.

The church tower gives us an idea about the direction upwards, toward heaven, and the ascension over the level of the earth and earthly things.

THE CONTEMPLATION OF GOD'S GLORY

Also in the Ascension of The Lord, we can meditate on His magnificence and His glory.

The glory of Christ in His Ascension, was a reply to all those who were scandalized during His Crucifixion.

Those who were mocking saying:

"If He is the King of Israel, let Him now come down from the cross, and we believe Him." (Matt. 27: 40-43)

His Ascension also invigorated the faith of the Apostles who were afraid during the time of His crucifixion and His arrest. The glory of Christ in His Ascension was a reply to the Jews who saw the Cross as a stumbling block, and to the Greeks who saw the Cross as foolishness. As for us who believe in the Ascension, we see the power of God in the Cross. (1Cor. 1:23)

The Ascension was an affirmation of the glory of Christ, which they had seen on the mount of the Transfiguration, and forgotten.

Consequently we give credence to, not only The Christ who was born in a manger for cattle, but also to The Christ who ascended on the clouds to heaven. We believe also, not only Jesus who was crucified, but also we believe Him sitting at the right hand of His Father, on the throne of magnificence in the highest.

Thus we have a complementary idea of Christ, Nativity, Crucifixion, concluded with the glories of The Transfiguration,

The Resurrection and The Ascension.

Many people take the love of God, His humility, His lowliness of heart and His forgiveness, as subjects for mediation. And that is good and useful. Are then any spiritual benefits whenever we meditate on the glory and magnificence of God? Undoubtedly, for they are many sources of spiritual matters.

1. **The contemplation of the glory of God, leads us to deference.**

Some people may be led by their unbridled feelings of love, to a lack of reverence, saying every time they are unrestrained and conscienceless, that God is very compassionate and sympathetic, and undoubtedly He will forgive; as if forgiveness had no conditions of repentance and subservience. We are in need of the feelings of veneration, whenever we contemplate the glory and magnificence of God….. the Boundless, the Inconceivable, who is the unapproachable Light, to whom angels and archangels bow down, and worship Him… whom the cherubims and the seraphims venerate: covering their faces with two wings, and covering their feet with two wings….The Ascension plants inside us feelings of deference.

The Jews exploited the love and the forbearance of God, in a wrong manner. They exploited the modesty of Christ in order to insult Him and to crucify Him. It was indispensable for everybody to know the glory of the Lord in order to believe in Him. This glory appeared in the Ascension and in many visions.

2. **And also the glory of God plants reverence and obedience in us.**

And we are in need of both of them, because without both of them, we are unable to reach the perfect love that "casts out fear" (1 John 4:18); and without both of them we cannot reach the purity of heart with which we shall

see God (Matt. 5:8).

Fear is the beginning of wisdom, and the beginning of the spiritual way. Because those in whom the fear of God does not exist, may be guided to consciencelessness, and indifference, and consequently sin with impertinence.

The glory of God leads to apprehension; and this leads to the life of prudence and circumspection, and to purity and repentance.

Such as we see the kind-hearted Christ entering into Jerusalem seated on "a colt, the foal of a donkey", we see Him also on the clouds, in order to think of Him as it is befitting.

The loving merciful compassionnate God who speaks to the prophet Elijah in a lightsome low voice, is Himself the same God sitting on the cherubims, walking on the wings of the winds, from whose dreadful glory the angels cover their faces.

***   *   ***

While we mention His glory in the Ascension, we remember the word of saint Nicodemus:

"No one has ascended to heaven but He who came down from heaven, that is, the Son of Man who is in heaven."

(John 3:13)

So, heaven is not something new to Him in His Ascension, rather it is His original habitat; and in the same manner His sitting at the right hand of The Father.

Therefore He said to His Apostles:

"I came forth from the Father and have come into the world. Again, I leave the world and go to the Father." (John 16:28)

Thus pertaining to His true magnificence and His being the Son of God, all have comprehended His

humility and His making himself of no reputation.

***   *   ***

3. <u>This contemplation plants in our hearts, some deep feelings, We mention:</u>

1. We feel at rest and confident, being at the care of such a magnificent God, and all contradictory majesty being worthless. Thus we are assured of His promise:

"and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it"

(Matt. 16:18),

and His word to the Church:

"No weapon formed against you shall proper"

(Isaiah 54:17),

and His words to saint Paul:

"Do not be afraid, but speak, and do not keep silent; for I am with you, and no one will attack you to hurt you" (Acts 18: 9-10).

2. The contemplation of the magnificence of the Lord, leads us to the life of humility and to the praise of God. Who are we in the presence of Him who ascends to heaven, who is sitting at the right hand of the Father (Psalm 110:1) (Acts 7:56) (Heb.1:3) …. who ***"charges His angels with error" (Job 4:18),***

"the stars are not pure in his sight" (Job 25:50).

Then our souls become lowly and we learn to be humble; and when we contemplate the magnificence of the Lord in His Ascension to heaven and His sitting at the right hand of the Father, we confidently say to Him:

O Lord, Heaven is your throne to which you have ascended (Matt. 5:34),

"Your throne, O God, if forever and ever,
A scepter of righteousness is the scepter of Your kingdom."
(Heb. 1:8)

As for us, we are dust. It is Your great love that attracts us to You, to be with You and with Your angels. Verily You are Him who

"raises the poor out of the dust,
And lifts the needy out of the ash heap,
That He may seat him with princes,
With the princes of His people."
(Psalm 113:7)

In the story of the Ascension, we need to imagine a little from the glory of God, and to fear Him, in order to become lowly before Him and be humiliated, since we are dust and ashes.

Therefore we lift our sights to heaven during our prayers, and pray our Father who is in heaven, although He is everywhere. But the expression "who is in heaven" reminds us of His glory, and reminds us of Christ who ascended to heaven.

Thus we remember God the Powerful, the Supreme, whose throne is heaven, and whose footstool is the earth (Matt. 5: 34-35). Our lowliness during prayer, in front of the magnificence of God, is very useful to us.

THE TEN DAYS

In the Ascension, we meditate on the virtue of waiting for the Lord, like the Apostles who had waited for ten days.

Christ ascended to heaven and promised the coming of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles. They kept waiting for ten days, in which they did not see the Lord with them, and the Holy Spirit had not come to them. But they were certain of the divine promise.

The spiritual person waits confidently, as it has been said

in the psalm:

"Wait on the Lord,
Be of good courage,
An He shall strengthen your heart;
Wait, I say, on the Lord."
(Psalm 27:14)

Be confident that the ten days in which the Apostles had waited, were for their good. It was a holy period of preparation to the coming of the Holy Spirit in their heart.

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MONASTERIES AND MONASTIC LIFE IN EGYPT

An Annotated Bibliography

March 2003

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Art, Coptic

- Brooklyn Museum. ***Pagan and Christian Egypt:Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century AD***. New York: Reprinted by Arno Press, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

This book comments on Christian and Pagan artifacts exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum by the Department of Ancient Art, on January 23rd to March 9th, 1941. John D. Cooney, the curator of Egyptology collections presents in his introduction how Christian art in Egypt was influenced by Greek, Ptolemaic and Roman styles in the Delta region while it was hardly changed in Upper Egypt. The book then presents a listing of the items that were exhibited including paintings, sculptures and wood carvings. Following this is a description of Egyptian textiles during the Greco-Roman and early Christian periods which, presented in an itemized list of the exhibited artifacts, include numerous plates representing examples of Fayum Portraits, sculptures, and textiles.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn***. New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York] :Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.*** Brooklyn Museum Department of Ancient Art. Brooklyn, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

The introduction covers an analysis of the three main currents influencing Coptic art: the Egyptian style, Greek (Hellenistic) work, and Roman work. The introduction also discusses how the Copts have drawn on Christian history for subject matter, thereby developing a style of their own. The book includes 271 illustrations allowing the reader to visually compare and contrast pagan and Christian art from Egypt.

- Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926**.**

Main Library DT57 N5

An excavation of the tomb of the XI Dynasty Vizier Daga in 1911 has revealed Coptic remains that turned out to be the Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is divided into two major parts in two volumes. Part I covers archeological and literary material from the excavation. The Monastery is described from the point of view of archeological remains. The book addresses the history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature. Part I contains numerous plates showing materials from the excavation. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school pieces. The text has been carefully translated, and includes notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Art, Coptic – Egypt

- Akermann, Philippe. ***Le Décor Sculpté du Couvent Blanc: Niches et Frises.*** (Decorations and Sculptures of The White Monastery:Niches and Frescoes) [Le Caire]: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire [1976].
Main Library NA 6084 S6 A45x 1976

This catalog describes examples of early Christian architectural art of Deir El-Abiad (The White Monastery) which is also known as Deir Amba Shenoute. It begins with an introduction followed by five chapters that give a full description of the art of the 'niche' in the first centuries of Christianity, including the way it is represented in the White Monastery. It goes on to explain the different themes and symbols used by the early artists. The descriptions are arranged by consecutive illustrations from chapter six to chapter eleven. These, in turn, are followed by a Conclusion and an index. A folded plan of the White Monastery or Deir El-Abiad is attached to the back of the bound cover of the book.

- Atalla, Nabil Selim. ***Coptic Icons.*** Barcelona, 1986.
Main Library N 8189 E35 C6X 1986

This book serves as an easy reference to Coptic icons (such as those of Saints) and the manner in which they are depicted in their spiritual convocations . The text also includes a brief introduction which traces the origin of the term "Coptic", and the Era of the Martyrs that began in 284 AD. Each plate includes a short paragraph discussing the artwork and the relevance of the symbolism and significance as presented from a Coptic religious perspective.

- Atiya, Aziz S. ***A History of Eastern Christianity.*** London, 1968.
Main Library BX 103 2 A8 1968

This book focuses on the history of the Christian Churches of the East, namely, the Coptic and Ethiopic, the Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Indian, Maronite, and the vanished Churches of Nubia and North Africa. The author traces the origins and evolution of these churches in the seven different parts of the book. He attempts to restore a picture of the Eastern Churches that was lost to the eyes of the West. Most Eastern Churches, whose claim to apostolic origins is their major pride and glory, are viewed by the modern day west as 'primitive'. The author, himself a Copt, brings out the hierarchical organization of the various Eastern Churches, their rites and ceremonials, ecclesiastical art and architecture, religious music and literature. With these, this book goes a long way to clarify certain aspects of the Eastern Churches, which had hitherto been viewed through sectarian vehemence, and considerable lack of understanding by most Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant authors. The book also contains maps, footnotes, plates and an extensive bibliography.

- Beckwith, John. ***Coptic Sculpture, 300-1300***. London: A. Tiranti, 1963.
Main Library NB 1082 B4 1963

Beckwith gives an historical background of Egypt, which starts with the founding of Alexandria in 322 B.C. and continues until the end of the reign of Ptolemy II from 246 BC. The author also gives a description of the different styles and historical trends in Coptic sculpture. He devotes a whole section on Notes to Plates, and gives a description of the different styles with reference to the plates in the text. He specifically describes at great length the Alexandrian style, and the periods before and after the Islamic conquest in 641 AD.

- ***Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes*.** Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 V. 1

Dr. Sobhy, gives a physical description of the dilapidated manuscript that is located at the Mo`allaka Church in Old Cairo. The author notes that the scribe has done the entire work and was obviously an adept craftsman. The text of the manuscript is presented in columns, followed by the translation. The original text is in Sahidiq with some dialects of Middle Egypt. The text includes many Greek words that are not spelled in the traditional way. The translator notes that the text is at times incoherent but explains that this particular trait is common among similar texts written about martyrs. The author's main objective in this study is to introduce words that are differently spelled in an untraditional manner, and to focus on new forms of grammar as presented in the manuscript. The work concludes with an index and a table of contents.

- Bolman, Elizabeth S. (ed**).** ***Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*.** American Research center in Egypt, Inc. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
Main Library ND 2863.3 M66 2002

This concise publication displays a range of wall paintings in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. The book is divided into four major parts. Part I describes the life of St. Antony as the 'Father' of monasticism and examines the monastery from 251 to 1232/1233 AD. It also examines the plight of the monasteries after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 AD. Part II describes the church of St. Antony, with its early paintings and architecture, placing specific emphasis on the paintings of a group of Egyptian Coptic artists led by a master artist Theodore. Part III portrays life in the monastery, past and present, and specifically focuses on the medieval and later inhabitants of the monastery. The author also describes the mystical and spiritual connections of icons in monastic life, and th e idiosyncrasies of modern Coptic

identity. Finally, Part IV examines the Coptic inscriptions in the church of St. Antony. The book includes valuable colored plates and black-and-white illustrations that show the various wall paintings in the monastery. The book is highly recommended for researchers of Coptic art.

- Brooklyn Museum. ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century AD.*** New York: Reprinted by Arno Press, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

This book comments on Christian and Pagan artifacts exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum by the Department of Ancient Art, on January 23rd to March 9th, 1941. John D. Cooney, the curator of Egyptology collections presents in his introduction how Christian art in Egypt was influenced by Greek, Ptolemaic and Roman styles in the Delta region while it was hardly changed in Upper Egypt. The book then presents a listing of the items that were exhibited including paintings, sculptures and wood carvings. Following this is a description of Egyptian textiles during the Greco-Roman and early Christian periods which, presented in an itemized list of the exhibited artifacts, include numerous plates representing examples of Fayum Portraits, sculptures, and textiles.

- Butler, Alfred J. ***The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol.1 and 2***. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1884.
SPCL BX 133 B8 1884

Volume 1 of this book focuses on the general layout and structure of Coptic Churches, giving plans and illustrations of some major Churches and Monasteries. Some of these, like the churches of old Cairo, the Monasteries of the Natrun valley, the Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt, are discussed in detail. Volume 2 goes deeper into the Coptic faith. It dwells on particular aspects of the Coptic religion like the arrangement of the altar, Eucharistic vessels and furniture, vestments of clergy, sacraments and the various rites and ceremonies of the church.

- Cannuyer, Christian. ***Coptic Egypt: The Christians of The Nile***. London: Thames and Hudson; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Main Library DT 72 C7 C3613 2001

This work is an impressive concise presentation of an “ancient order of Christians called the Copts.” The author provides the history of the early Church in Alexandria in the first century AD., which was founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, during the Roman empire. Although Egypt has become a Muslim nation after the Arab conquest in 541 AD., the Copts maintained their tradition and rites until the present date. The work includes several fascinating colored photographs and illustrations of the Coptic frescoes in the monasteries and churches, antique textiles, mosaics and manuscripts.

It presents the Coptic culture and art which drew its inspiration from the ancient Pharaohs, Greco-Roman and Christian eras. The text includes a list of excerpts from different sources about the Copts, their rites, tradition and religious practices. It also includes a list of further readings, and a list of illustrations.

- ***Coptic Icons, Les Icones Coptes, Koptische Ikonen***. Cairo: Lehnert and Landrock, 1986.

Main Library N 8189 E35 C6x 1986

This book is a catalog of Coptic Icons that are found in several churches and monasteries throughout Egypt. The churches include Al-Mu'allaqah (The Hanging Church in Old Cairo), the church of Saint Barbara, the churches of St. Mercurius (Abu Saifain), and Al-Damshiriah and St. Shenouti. Haret al-Rum and Fum Al-Khalig in the Cairo area have also been included. The Coptic monasteries of Wadi El-Natrun and Upper Egypt are presented through their fascinating icons. The specific style of Coptic icons, described as the 'Triptych' style, is also presented in this work and is constituted by a centerpiece and two side panels that fold over a center. This work includes a fascinating array of different icon styles, among which are the Fayoum Portraits, and the different icons kept at the Coptic Museum. This catalog is trilingual (English, French, German). The book closes with a list of alphabetical names and a table of contents.

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. ***St. Mark and the Coptic Church.*** Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo, 1968.

Main Library BX 133.2 A4 1968

This book deals with St. Mark and the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Dr. Hakim Ameen, the author of the first essay describes how St. Mark introduced Christianity to Egypt. The second chapter informs us about St. Mark's Doctrine (the one found in parts of Africa). Other chapters of the book deal with the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Theological School of Alexandria. The book also describes the Coptic Church under different rulers and its contribution to universal Christianity. The latter part of the book concludes with a brief survey of Coptic literature and art.

- ***Les Edifices Chretiens du Vieux Caire.*** (Coptic Monuments of Old Cairo) Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire :Imprimerie De l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919. Bibliography and Historical Topography By Charalambia Coquin for v.11 pt.1,1974.

Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 11 pt 1, 1974

The work comprises a bibliography and a historical topography of Christian buildings of Old Cairo, and presents a bibliographical guide written by ancient and modern authors. It includes a preface, a list of abbreviations, and an extensive bibliography. The buildings are divided into three groups: Northern Group, Central Group, and South Group. A plan and drawing of Old Cairo and some photographs of different

elements of the architecture of the buildings are also included. The description of the different groups is followed by an addendum and two plans: One of al-Fustat-Misr of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the second of al-Fustat-Misr at the time of the Muslim Conquest in 642 A.D. This work ends with a list of plates and an index.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn.*** New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York]:Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Evetts, B.T.A. (ed.). ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries.*** Oxford, 1969.
Main Special Collection BX 133 A6

This publication discusses a history of Egypt's churches and monasteries including architecture, restoration, and religious iconography. The book also provides accounts by priests and monks of mystical experiences. It gives a geographical description of Egypt, footnotes, a map, appendix, and index of Coptic churches and monasteries. The book offers historical analyses of the Coptic language as used in neighboring countries.

- Gartkiewicz, Przemyslaw. ***NUBIA I, Dongola 2: The Cathedral in Old Dongola and its Antecedents***. Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, Varssovie 1990
Main Library NA 216 D6 G27X 1990

This book gives a description and brief account of the architectural investigations carried out on the site of the Church of Granite Columns in Old Dongola. The author starts by describing the old church and the later additions to it. He focuses on the building process, materials, and layout of the church. The greater part of the book is reserved to the Church of Granite Columns. Gartkiewicz then gives a specific description of the architecture and usage of the church, with maps and technical architectural designs. In the last chapters the author dwells briefly on the Cathedral of Brick Pillars, its construction, evolution and eventual decline. For anyone interested in early church history, especially the architecture, this book is a must.

- Grugurius, al-Anba. ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grogorius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Guillaumont, Antoine. ***L'Asceticon Copte de L'Abbe Isaie.*** (Coptic Asceticon of Abbot Isaiah) Sahidiq Fragments, Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919**.**
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 5

This catalog is a description of fragments of two manuscripts that represent the work of Abbot Isaiah, Saint of Scete, written in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both manuscripts were found in the White Monastery or Deir El-Abiad, and parts of them are presently owned by several libraries. For convenience, the manuscripts have been named A and B and the translator has also included, at the end of his work, an extra fragment that does not belong to either A or B. The work ends with an index to the references in the scriptures, a word index in Greek, and a general index.

- Habib, Raouf. ***The Outstanding Aspects of the Coptic Arts***. Mahabba Bookshop, 1980.
SPCL N 7382 H2X

This book discusses Coptic art from differing perspectives. It starts by looking at the influence of classical mythology in Coptic art, and discusses pottery until the Coptic and Islamic era. The author later focuses on feminine coquetry and headdresses in the Coptic period and some of the major contributions of ancient Egypt in Coptic art. Aspects of Coptic symbolism, manuscripts, weaving, and textiles are also discussed. The book concludes with a brief look at the stay of the Holy Family in Egypt, the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, and the Coptic icons.

- Hondelink, H. ***Coptic Art and Culture.*** Shouhdy Publishing House, Cairo, 1990.
Main Library N 7382 C66X 1990

This book introduces Early Christian Architecture in the Nile Valley between 313 AD. and 640 AD., including the church and monastic architecture. The second chapter of the book describes and explains the significance of the Old Testament Saints in Medieval Church decoration. The book deals with the icon-painting in Egypt in general and the conservation problems of the icons. One of the authors of

the book talks about the miraculous icons and their historical background. There is a brief discussion of Coptic textiles. The last chapter of the book is concerned with demons in early Coptic Monasticism.

- Kasser, Rodolphe. ***Complements au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum*** (Complements to The Coptic Dictionary of Crum). Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.7, 1964

This work was initially intended to be published in a journal but, as it has attained scholarly significance, was finally published as a separate volume. It is intended to be a supplement to complement W. C. Crum's life work **(Coptic Dictionary**, Oxford, Clarendon Press) Published nearly a quarter of a century later, it contains many additions including new words and new spellings. It has a foreward and an introduction that precede the dictionary. The work is completed by an addendum, a list of signs and abbreviations, and a list of authors' names.

- Leroy, Jules. ***Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabes Illustrés.*** (Illustrated Coptic and Coptic-Arabic Manuscripts) Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974.
Main Library ND 2864 C66 L47 1974

This study presents historians of Christian arts and iconography with the most comprehensive reference about the illumination of books and manuscripts of Christian Egypt. Leroy introduces the various genres of Coptic painting and he deals with the Coptic 'miniature' and other forms of painting during the period of Christian Egypt. The purely decorative drawings are also mentioned and are duly reproduced over several pages at the end of chapter III. Chapter IV is dedicated to manuscripts decorated with figurative scenes. A substantial conclusion sums up the work done by the *French Institute of Archaeology* of Beirut. indexes to authors, proper names, geographical locations and historical periods, cited manuscripts, and an iconographical index precede the plates. Plates in color are designated from A to H, and black and white plates are represented over more than a hundred pages. A table of contents conclude the work.

- Mottier, Yvette, Bosson, Nathalie. ***Les Kellia: Ermitages Coptes en Basse-Egypte*** (The Kellia: Coptic Ermitages In Lower-Egypt) (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, 12 Octobre 1989-7 Janvier 1990), Genève: Editions du Tricorne, 1989.
Main Library DT 73 K47 K47X 1989

This book is a catalog of the Kellia Sites excavations. Included are numerous photographs and maps as well as plans of the different sites. The book starts with an introduction about Coptic Monasticism, and then moves to a depiction of the archaeological findings of the Kellia sites and its antique Coptic monasteries. The author also describes the architectural styles and paintings in the monasteries, and

mentions projects for their conservation and preservation. The inscriptions and the Coptic pottery art are also described in detail.

- ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.*** Brooklyn Museum Department of Ancient Art. Brooklyn, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

The introduction covers an analysis of the three main currents influencing Coptic art: the Egyptian style, Greek (Hellenistic) work, and Roman work. The introduction also discusses how the Copts have drawn on Christian history for subject matter, thereby developing a style of their own. The book includes 271 illustrations allowing the reader to visually compare and contrast pagan and Christian art from Egypt.

- Qadus, Izzat Zaki Hamid and al-Sayid, Mohamed Abdel Fatah. ***Al-Aathaar wa al-Funun al-Qibtiyah.*** Al-Haddarii lil tibaah, Alexandria, 2000.
Main Library N 7382 Q33 2000

This book deals with different aspects of Coptic art. It is divided into three parts: Part one describes the history of art in Coptic society. It also discusses Coptic sculpture, Coptic architecture, mural frescoes/paintings in Coptic art, characterization and style in Coptic representation, and the art of Coptic weaving. The last chapter of the first part of the book discusses magic, prophecy and symbolism in Coptic art. Part two contains a bibliography and provides over 200 pages of different motifs, themes, and symbols in Coptic art.

- Sammu'iil Al-Siriaanii**.** ***Daliil Ilaa Al-Kanaa'is Wa-Al Adyirah al-Qadimah.*** Published by The Instiyute for Coptic Studies ,1990.
Main Library BX 133.2 S912X 1990

This book is essentially a guide to all churches and monasteries from Giza to Aswan. It also lists the feasts of the different monasteries and includes illustrations and photographs of some churches and monasteries.

- Al-Suryani, Samaan. ***Dair al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa`, al-Suryaan: Barriyyat Shihit – Wadi al-Natruun.*** Matba`at Dair al-Baramuus, Egypt, 1990.
Main Library BX 178 S3 S8x 1990

The book gives a detailed description of Dayr as-Surian, its location and its different churches such as Deir al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa` (the Monastery of the Virgin Mary at al- Suryaan Church), al-Arba`in Church, Virgin al-Maqaarah Church and Archangel Mikhail Church. In another section of the book the author discusses the remains of some Saints such as Anba Yahnas, Kama, Marafram al-Syuryani and others. Throughout the book the reader will find information about the library, monastery museum, al-Azbawiyyah, and rare icons. The book also gives a listing of names of all the heads of the monastery and also contains a short bibliography for Anba Theophileas. Al-Suriyyaani also gives information about the role of al-Syuryan

monastery in the twentieth century, and the famous travelers and foreign scientists who visited it. The book closes with a detailed map of the monastery. In addition to some representations of icons and an index, there is a collection of pictures of the first heads of the monastery. This book is recommended to researchers, tourists and travelers alike.

- Al-Syriany, Samuel. ***A Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt.*** Institute of Coptic Studies, 1990.
SPCL BX 133 2 S9X

This book provides a succinct account of the main Coptic Churches in Upper Egypt. With contributions from over 60 architects, artists, historians and researchers, the book provides a perfect artistic, historical and architectural survey of Coptic Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt. It also includes maps, plans, and colored photographs of the major Churches and Monasteries.

- Weitzmann, Kurt**.** ***Studies In The Arts At Sinai.*** Princeton University Press, USA, 1982.
Main Library N 7988 A1 W 44, 1982

The author of this book introduces, in chapter 1, the Justinian and Post-Justinian arts in St.Catherine's Monastery, such as the Jephthah Panel, mosaics, and the valuable collection of icons. Chapter 2 deals with Middle Byzantine icons such as the Announciation Icon of the Virgin Mary. The last chapter of the book looks at icons of the crusades on Mount Sinai. The book is a contribution to the documentation of the artwork of St. Catherine's Monastery.

Art, Coptic – History

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia: Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***, (The Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration), Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.

Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the "Death and Resurrection" of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Brooklyn Museum. ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century AD***. New York: Reprinted by Arno Press, 1969.

Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

This book comments on Christian and Pagan artifacts exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum by the Department of Ancient Art, on January 23rd to March 9th, 1941. John D. Cooney, the curator of Egyptology collections presents in his introduction how Christian art in Egypt was influenced by Greek, Ptolemaic and Roman styles in the Delta region while it was hardly changed in Upper Egypt. The book then presents a listing of the items that were exhibited including paintings, sculptures and wood carvings. Following this is a description of Egyptian textiles during the Greco-Roman and early Christian periods which, presented in an itemized list of the exhibited artifacts, include numerous plates representing examples of Fayum Portraits, sculptures, and textiles.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo : American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4829 C64 C3713 2002

Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- ***Les Edifices Chretiens du Vieux Caire,*** (Coptic Monuments of Old Cairo). Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie De l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919. Bibliography and Historical Topography By Charalambia Coquin for v.11 pt.1,1974.
Main Library PJ 2195 .B5 v. 11 pt 1, 1974

The work comprises a bibliography and a historical topography of Christian buildings of Old Cairo, and presents a bibliographical guide written by ancient and modern authors. It includes a preface, a list of abbreviations, and an extensive bibliography. The buildings are divided into three groups: Northern Group, Central Group, and South Group. A plan and drawing of Old Cairo and some photographs of different elements of the architecture of the buildings are also included. The description of the different groups is followed by an addendum and two plans: One of al-Fustat-Misr of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the second of al-Fustat-Misr at the time of the Muslim Conquest in 642 A.D. This work ends with a list of plates and an index.

- Kemmerer, Winifred ***A Coptic Bibliography*** in collaboration with Elinor Mullett Husselman and Louise A. Shier. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,1950.
Main Reference PJ 2197 Z9 K3 1950

Winifred Kammerer explains in the Preface that his work is intended to provide a scholarly guide to various subject divisions in the field of Coptic studies. The author warns that some of the work between the years 1940 to 1948 is drawn from bibliographies that are generally not verified due to the constraints of World War II.

This applies also to Russian and Arabic sources due to the delay that would have occurred in trying to verify these sources. A table of contents and a list of abbreviations follow the preface. The compiled bibliography is divided into five categories: General Works, Philology, Coptic Texts, History, Art and Archaeology. An index to the different terms concludes the work.

- Mottier, Yvette, Bosson, Nathalie. ***Les Kellia: Ermitages Coptes en Basse-Egypte*** (The Kellia: Coptic Ermitages In Lower-Egypt). (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, 12 Octobre 1989-7 Janvier 1990), Genève :Editions du Tricorne, 1989.
Main Library DT 73 K47 K47X 1989

This book is a catalog of the Kellia Sites excavations. Included are numerous photographs and maps as well as plans of the different sites. The book starts with an introduction about Coptic Monasticism, and then moves to a depiction of the archaeological findings of the Kellia sites and its antique Coptic monasteries. The author also describes the architectural styles and paintings in the monasteries, and mentions projects for their conservation and preservation. The inscriptions and the Coptic pottery art are also described in detail.

- ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.*** Brooklyn Museum Department of Ancient Art. Brooklyn, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

The introduction covers an analysis of the three main currents influencing Coptic art: the Egyptian style, Greek (Hellenistic) work, and Roman work. The introduction also discusses how the Copts have drawn on Christian history for subject matter, thereby developing a style of their own. The book includes 271 illustrations allowing the reader to visually compare and contrast pagan and Christian art from Egypt.

Celibacy – Christianity

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

- Ceres, Wissa Wassef. ***Pratiques Rituelles et Alimentaires des Coptes***, (Ritual and Alimentary Practices of the Copts). Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919- (PhD thesis presented at the Sorbonne, Paris)
Main Library PJ 2195 .B5 v. 9

This study presents an in-depth examination of the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt with its rituals and alimentary practices. Various subjects are treated in this work ranging from the Christianization of Egypt, the Coptic Calendar and seasonal foods, the different markets, ceremonials within the family, the different feasts, and the various sayings and metaphors used by the Coptic people. The work is concluded by a list of the plants mentioned in the work, a Bibliography, indexes to the geographic places, the names of persons and ceremonies, an index of terms, and a general index. The dissertation is concluded with an intriguing list of Coptic cutlery.

- Goehring, James E. ***Ascetics, Society, and The Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism.*** Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999.
Main Library BR 190 G64 1999

This very detailed and well documented work by James E. Goehring, Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department of Classics, Philosophy, and Religion at Mary's Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, constitutes a fine collection of scholarly essays and deals with monasticism, late antiquity, Egyptology, and religious studies. It provides a comprehensive, detailed description of the evolution of monasticism, religious orders and the history of the early Church and Christianity in Egypt. James E. Goehring has used the full array of

Papyrological documentary sources, archaeology, and traditional literary sources to produce a fine and detailed work. The foreward and preface are followed by a detailed list of abbreviations that are further divided into three parts: general, ancient sources, and a list of short titles of frequently cited works. An introduction follows the abbreviations list. The essays include interesting topics, such as 'The Origins of Monasticism', 'Ascetics, Society, and The Desert', 'Ascetic Organization' and 'Ideological Boundaries', and finally, 'Pachomian Studies: The Later Years'. The author concludes with a copious bibliography of cited works and an index of terms.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers.*** Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Regnault, Lucien. ***La Vie Quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Egypte Au IVe Siècle***. [Paris]: Hachette, 1990.
Main Library BX 2734 R45 1990

The daily life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth Century Egypt is examined in great detail in this very concise work. The author is interested in the words of the Fathers that were pronounced on specific occasions for edification and teaching purposes. Seventeen chapters deal in detail with aspects of the lives of these great hermits and saints. Different aspects studied here include; Reasons for choosing the desert, an analysis of the lives of Egyptian men, women and children and their relationship with

the Desert Fathers, the cells, the clothing and the types of foods the hermits consumed, the daily life of the Anchorite monks and hermits who live in caves, the elders and their disciples, the hospitality of monks, their voyages, angels, demons and beasts, the visions, and revelations and miracles. The book concludes with an extensive list of notes, a bibliography, a chronological list, an index of names, and a table of contents.

Christian antiquities -- Egypt

- Akermann, Philippe. ***Le Décor Sculpté du Couvent Blanc: Niches et Frises.*** (Decorations and Sculptures of The White Monastery: Niches and Frescoes) [Le Caire]: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire [1976].
Main Library NA6084 S6 A45x 1976

This catalog describes examples of early Christian architectural art of Deir El-Abiad (The White Monastery) which is also known as Deir Amba Shenoute. It begins with an introduction followed by five chapters that give a full description of the art of the 'niche' in the first centuries of Christianity, including the way it is represented in the White Monastery. It goes on to explain the different themes and symbols used by the early artists. The descriptions are arranged by consecutive illustrations from chapter six to chapter eleven. These, in turn, are followed by a Conclusion and an index. A folded plan of the White Monastery or Deir El-Abiad is attached to the back of the bound cover of the book.

- Atiya, Aziz S. ***A History of Eastern Christianity.*** London, 1968.
Main Library BX 103 2 A8 1968

This book focuses on the history of the Christian Churches of the East, namely, the Coptic and Ethiopic, the Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Indian, Maronite, and the vanished Churches of Nubia and North Africa. The author traces the origins and evolution of these churches in the seven different parts of the book. He attempts to restore a picture of the Eastern Churches that was lost to the eyes of the West. Most Eastern Churches, whose claim to apostolic origins is their major pride and glory, are viewed by the modern day west as 'primitive'. The author, himself a Copt, brings out the hierarchical organization of the various Eastern Churches, their rites and ceremonials, ecclesiastical art and architecture, religious music and literature. With these, this book goes a long way to clarify certain aspects of the Eastern Churches, which had hitherto been viewed through sectarian vehemence, and considerable lack of understanding by most Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant authors. The book also contains maps, footnotes, plates and an extensive bibliography.

- Bagnall, Roger S. ***Egypt in Late Antiquity.*** Published by Princeton University Press, 1993.
Main Library DT 93 B33 1993

This book gives a full description of life in Egypt in late antiquity. The author describes the cultural and social environment, the cities, the villages in Egypt, the people and the language at that time. Then he introduces the Christianization of Egypt and the start of Monasticism in the fourth century BC.

- Beckwith, John. ***Coptic Sculpture, 300-1300***. London: A. Tiranti, 1963.
Main Library NB 1082 B4 1963

Beckwith gives an historical background of Egypt, which starts with the founding of Alexandria in 322 B.C. and continues until the end of the reign of Ptolemy II from 246 BC. The author also gives a description of the different styles and historical trends in Coptic sculpture. He devotes a whole section on Notes to Plates, and gives a description of the different styles with reference to the plates in the text. He specifically describes at great length the Alexandrian style, and the periods before and after the Islamic conquest in 641 AD.

- Brooklyn Museum. ***Pagan and Christian Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century AD***. New York: Reprinted by Arno Press, 1969.
Main Library N 7381 B7 1969

This book comments on Christian and Pagan artifacts exhibited at the Brooklyn Museum by the Department of Ancient Art, on January 23rd to March 9th, 1941. John D. Cooney, the curator of Egyptology collections presents in his introduction how Christian art in Egypt was influenced by Greek, Ptolemaic and Roman styles in the Delta region while it was hardly changed in Upper Egypt. The book then presents a listing of the items that were exhibited including paintings, sculptures and wood carvings. Following this is a description of Egyptian textiles during the Greco-Roman and early Christian periods which, presented in an itemized list of the exhibited artifacts, include numerous plates representing examples of Fayum Portraits, sculptures, and textiles.

- Cannuyer, Christian. ***Coptic Egypt: The Christians of The Nile***. London: Thames and Hudson; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Main Library DT 72 C7 C3613 2001

This work is an impressive concise presentation of an “ancient order of Christians called the Copts.” The author provides the history of the early Church in Alexandria in the first century AD., which was founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, during the Roman empire. Although Egypt has become a Muslim nation after the Arab conquest in 541 AD., the Copts maintained their tradition and rites until the present date. The work includes several fascinating colored photographs and illustrations of the Coptic frescoes in the monasteries and churches, antique textiles, mosaics and manuscripts.

It presents the Coptic culture and art which drew its inspiration from the ancient Pharaohs, Greco-Roman and Christian eras. The text includes a list of excerpts from different sources about the Copts, their rites, tradition and religious practices. It also includes a list of further readings, and a list of illustrations.

- Ceres, Wissa Wassef. ***Pratiques Rituelles et Alimentaires des Coptes***, (Ritual and Alimentary Practices of the Copts). Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919- (PhD thesis presented at the Sorbonne, Paris)
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 9

This study presents an in-depth examination of the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt with its rituals and alimentary practices. Various subjects are treated in this work ranging from the Christianization of Egypt, the Coptic Calendar and seasonal foods, the different markets, ceremonials within the family, the different feasts, and the various sayings and metaphors used by the Coptic people. The work is concluded by a list of the plants mentioned in the work, a Bibliography, indexes to the geographic places, the names of persons and ceremonies, an index of terms, and a general index. The dissertation is concluded with an intriguing list of Coptic cutlery.

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. ***St. Mark and the Coptic Church.*** Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo, 1968.
Main Library BX 133.2 A4 1968

This book deals with St. Mark and the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Dr. Hakim Ameen, the author of the first essay describes how St. Mark introduced Christianity to Egypt. The second chapter informs us about St. Mark's Doctrine (the one found in parts of Africa). Other chapters of the book deal with the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Theological School of Alexandria. The book also describes the Coptic Church under different rulers and its contribution to universal Christianity. The latter part of the book concludes with a brief survey of Coptic literature and art.

- ***Les Edifices Chretiens du Vieux Caire***. (Coptic Monuments of Old Cairo) Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie De l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919. Bibliography and Historical Topography By Charalambia Coquin for v.11 pt.1,1974.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 11 pt 1, 1974

The work comprises a bibliography and a historical topography of Christian buildings of Old Cairo, and presents a bibliographical guide written by ancient and modern authors. It includes a preface, a list of abbreviations, and an extensive bibliography. The buildings are divided into three groups: Northern Group, Central Group, and South Group. A plan and drawing of Old Cairo and some photographs of different elements of the architecture of the buildings are also included. The description of the

different groups is followed by an addendum and two plans: One of al-Fustat-Misr of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the second of al-Fustat-Misr at the time of the Muslim Conquest in 642 A.D. This work ends with a list of plates and an index.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Gartkiewicz, Przemyslaw. ***NUBIA I, Dongola 2: The Cathedral in Old Dongola and its Antecedents***. Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, Varssovie 1990
Main Library NA 216 D6 G27X 1990

This book gives a description and brief account of the architectural investigations carried out on the site of the Church of Granite Columns in Old Dongola. The author starts by describing the old church and the later additions to it. He focuses on the building process, materials, and layout of the church. The greater part of the book is reserved to the Church of Granite Columns. Gartkiewicz then gives a specific description of the architecture and usage of the church, with maps and technical architectural designs. In the last chapters the author dwells briefly on the Cathedral of Brick Pillars, its construction, evolution and eventual decline. For anyone interested in early church history, especially the architecture, this book is a must.

- Goehring, James E. ***Ascetics, Society, and The Desert :Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism***. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, c1999.
Main Library BR 190 G64 1999

This very detailed and well documented work by James E. Goehring, Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department of Classics, Philosophy, and Religion at Mary's Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, constitutes a fine collection of scholarly essays and deals with monasticism, late antiquity, Egyptology, and religious studies. It provides a comprehensive, detailed description of the evolution of monasticism, religious orders and the history of the early Church and Christianity in Egypt. James E. Goehring has used the full array of Papyrological documentary sources, archaeology, and traditional literary sources to produce a fine and detailed

work. The foreward and preface are followed by a detailed list of abbreviations that are further divided into three parts: general, ancient sources, and a list of short titles of frequently cited works. An introduction follows the abbreviations list. The essays include interesting topics, such as ‘The Origins of Monasticism’, ‘Ascetics, Society, and The Desert’, ‘Ascetic Organization’ and ‘Ideological Boundaries’, and finally, ‘Pachomian Studies: The Later Years’. The author concludes with a copious bibliography of cited works and an index of terms.

- Griggs, C. Wilfred. ***Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 C.E***. The Netherlands, 1993.
SPCL BR 190 G75

This book focuses on the history of Christianity in Egypt from its earliest recorded origins to the Council of Chalcedon in 451C.E., when the Egyptian Coptic Church became the national religion of Egypt. Aspects such as the emergence of orthodoxy and heresy in Egyptian Christianity, autocracy in Christian Egypt and the eventual separation from Catholicism, are examined. With maps of Lower and Upper Egypt, cross references from gospels and an extensive bibliography, this book contributes to an understanding of Early Egyptian Christianity in particular and to Early Christianity in general.

- Habib, Rafiq and Afifi, Mohamed. ***Taariikh al-Kaniisah al-Misriyyah***. Al-Daar al-`Arabiyyah lil Tiba`ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzii`, Dokki, Cairo, 1994.
Main Library BX 133.2 H33 1994

This book discusses the history of the national Egyptian cultural elites. It is divided into seven chapters that discuss Christianity in Egypt and the suppression of the Copts. The second Chapter covers the church and the Arab invasion in 641 AD. The third Chapter gives information about Catholicism, past and present. Chapter four explains Protestanism and its consignments in Egypt; Chapter five gives detailed information about the rise of the church and the political laicism; Chapter six deals with the history of sectarian strife through the centuries. In the last Chapter the writer explores the search for truth about the controversies of sectarian strife.

- Kinross, Patrick Balfour (Lord). ***Portrait of Egypt***. New York W. Morrow, 1966.
Main Library DT 46 K5 1966

The author is Lord Kinross, Patrick Balfour, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Cairo (1944-47). This book comprises 4 parts (Ancient, Christian, Medieval, and Modern Egypt) and gives a description of his travels in Egypt. In the first chapter the book discusses Ancient Egypt and then introduces Christian Egypt, the Copts and the Monastic Communities, such as those existing in Wadi al-Natrun, St.Catherine’s Monastery and other places. He then describes Christian Egypt from the Arab Conquest in 641 AD. to Modern times. Chapters 6 and 7 are entitled respectively: ‘The Copts’ and ‘The Monastic Communities’. The description comes

in the style of a travel guide and presents monastic life with reference to some of the most important monasteries of Egypt, such as Abu Makar, Anba Bishoi, Baramus, As-Suriani and St. Catherine, with the last two duly noted for their libraries and icons.

Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*.** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Labib, Mahfouz. ***Pèlerins et Voyageurs au Mont Sinaï***, (Pilgrims and Travelers at Mount Sinai). Le Caire :Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, **1961**
Main Library BX 387 L3 1961

This book presents a listing of the famous pilgrims that have visited mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine along with a listing of French travelers. The work is not limited to a specific period of time. The author gives a chronology of visitors from the middle ages until the nineteenth century, and specifically emphasizes the scientific and archaeological expeditions of that time. Based on accounts of these travelers, the author gives a relatively precise estimation of the increase or decrease in the numbers of the monks throughout ages. The author also mentions the external and internal work of restoration of the monastery that has been done. The study concentrates on the different characters among the pilgrims and travelers, and the reasons and incentives that prompted them to accomplish such a long and perilous voyage. The author takes us through the different stages of monastic life from the founding of the first monastic communities in third century Egypt on the Nile Valley, to the actual construction of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which was established around the year 545 A.D. Some of the most famous figures that visited the Saint Catherine's Monastery in the nineteenth century include: Rifaud (1805-1826), Alexandre Dumas (1830), The Count of Paris (1860), Pierre Loti (1894) among others. An extensive bibliography, index to proper names, table of plates and table of contents conclude the work.

- Matta Al-Miskiin. ***Lamhah Sarii`ah `An Rahbanat Misr Wa –Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar*.** Published by Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar – Wadii al-Natruun, 1985.

Main Library BX 138 M3 M3X 1985

This book states that the Coptic Church is the most ancient Church in the world, and that monasticism spread from Egypt to other countries, especially to all Eastern countries and Europe. The author of the book explains how the Monastery of Anba Makkar was founded at the beginning of the fourth century, 360 B.C. in Wadi Al Natrun. Furthermore, he describes in detail the most important archeological features of the monastery, including the altar, the church and the castle.

- Meinardus, Otto F.A. ***Christian Egypt: Ancient and Modern***. Cairo, 1965.

SPCL BR 1380 M4 1965

This book provides a thorough and complete picture of Christian Egypt, ancient and modern. It starts with an outline of Christianity in Egypt and covers aspects of Christian feasts and calendars, the Coptic language, and a plan of the Coptic Church. It also looks specifically at the Christian Churches of Alexandria and Cairo, and their neighboring communities. The author also dwells lengthily on the Churches and Monasteries of the desert and at Sinai, along with Christian agencies, institutes and theological seminaries in Egypt. He concludes by examining traditional sites associated with the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*.** New York, 1926**.**

Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Christian pilgrims and pilgrimages

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.) ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia: Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***, (The Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration). Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.

Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the "Death and Resurrection" of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.
Main Library BX 2465 C48 1966

The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents "the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism," and the lives of "The three Fathers" of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai's monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai's saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Goehring, James E. ***Ascetics, Society, and The Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism.*** Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999.
Main Library BR 190 G64 1999

This very detailed and well documented work by James E. Goehring, Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department of Classics, Philosophy, and Religion at Mary's Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, constitutes a fine collection of scholarly essays and deals with monasticism, late antiquity, Egyptology, and religious

studies. It provides a comprehensive, detailed description of the evolution of monasticism, religious orders and the history of the early Church and Christianity in Egypt. James E. Goehring has used the full array of Papyrological documentary sources, archaeology, and traditional literary sources to produce a fine and detailed work. The foreward and preface are followed by a detailed list of abbreviations that are further divided into three parts: general, ancient sources, and a list of short titles of frequently cited works. An introduction follows the abbreviations list. The essays include interesting topics, such as 'The Origins of Monasticism', 'Ascetics, Society, and The Desert', 'Ascetic Organization' and 'Ideological Boundaries', and finally, 'Pachomian Studies: The Later Years'. The author concludes with a copious bibliography of cited works and an index of terms.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Wathaa`iq lil Taariikh: al-Kinisah wa Qaddia al-Watan wa al-Dawlah wa al-Sharq al-Awsat, Part two: `Awdat Rufaat al-Qidiis Murqus al-Rasuul.*** Daar al-Jiil lil Tiba`ah, 1977**.**
Main Library BX 136 J58 V.2

This book contains historical documents about the transfer of St. Morqos al-Rasul's (Saint Mark) remains to Egypt in the period of Anba Kyrollos the VI (116 Pope). These documents cover events, such as the sheikh of al-Azhar's visit to the Patriarchate, speech of Pope Kyrollos VI in a public conference at the al-Mo`alaka church in old Cairo, the journey to Rome to bring back the remains of St. Mark, and messages from Pope Kyrollos to Pope Paul VI (Pope of the Roman Catholic Church). This work, in addition to the translation of speeches of Patriarchs from foreign countries, also contains press interviews with the author concerning the Virgin Mary's appearance in Virgin Mary's church in Zaytuun. There is a detailed subject index at the end of the book.

- Hondelink, H. ***Coptic Art and Culture.*** Shouhdy Publishing House, Cairo, 1990.
Main Library N 7382 C66X 1990

This book introduces Early Christian Architecture in the Nile Valley between 313 AD. and 640 AD., including the church and monastic architecture. The second chapter of the book describes and explains the significance of the Old Testament Saints in Medieval Church decoration. The book deals with the icon-painting in Egypt in general and the conservation problems of the icons. One of the authors of the book talks about the miraculous icons and their historical background. There is a brief discussion of Coptic textiles. The last chapter of the book is concerned with demons in early Coptic Monasticism.

- Ibn Al-Mukaffa, Sawirus (Bishop Of Al-Ashmunin). ***History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.*** Matbaat al-Mahad al-Ilmi al-Farancy lil Athaar al-Sharkiah, Cairo.

Main Library BX 132 S3 ,V.2

This volume of the series comprises the biographies of ten Patriarchs, beginning with the fifty-sixth Patriarch, Khael III (Michael I) and ending the sixty-fifth Patriarch Senouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from 880-1066 AD.

- Labib, Mahfouz. ***Pèlerins et Voyageurs au Mont Sinaï.*** (Pilgrims and Travelers at Mount Sinai). Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961

Main Library BX 387 L3 1961

This book presents a listing of the famous pilgrims that have visited mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine along with a listing of French travelers. The work is not limited to a specific period of time. The author gives a chronology of visitors from the middle ages until the nineteenth century, and specifically emphasizes the scientific and archaeological expeditions of that time. Based on accounts of these travelers, the author gives a relatively precise estimation of the increase or decrease in the numbers of the monks throughout ages. The author also mentions the external and internal work of restoration of the monastery that has been done. The study concentrates on the different characters among the pilgrims and travelers, and the reasons and incentives that prompted them to accomplish such a long and perilous voyage. The author takes us through the different stages of monastic life from the founding of the first monastic communities in third century Egypt on the Nile Valley, to the actual construction of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which was established around the year 545 A.D. Some of the most famous figures that visited the Saint Catherine’s Monastery in the nineteenth century include: Rifaud (1805-1826), Alexandre Dumas (1830), The Count of Paris (1860), Pierre Loti (1894) among others. An extensive bibliography, index to proper names, table of plates and table of contents conclude the work.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.

Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title ‘Images and Words.’ It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the

Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F.A**.** ***Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages***. The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, New York**.**
Main Library BX 4659 E4 M45 2002

This book focuses on Coptic religious devotion. The first few chapters deal with biblical saints, martyrs, ascetics and equestrian warriors in Coptic spirituality. The latter chapters dwell emphatically on such subjects, such as the "silverless" physicians of the Byzantine churches (who treated their patients without pay), women saints, and recently discovered martyrs. Meinardus contemplates themes of the past, such as Coptic Saints, as well as miracles from modern perspective in an age of globalization. The book includes high quality colored, images of patron saints and martyrs. The text is considered a valuable source of reference source in the subject matter.

- Muyser, Jacob ('Qommos'***). Les Pelerinages Coptes en Egypte***. (Coptic Pilgrimages In Egypt), Bibliothèque D'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 15 1979

An excellent study of past and present Coptic pilgrimages this work presents a detailed account of the religious practices, traditions and pilgrimage sites. The catalog has a preface followed by an introduction. It is then divided into four chapters, entitled respectively: *The Act of Pilgrimage, The Principal Coptic Pilgrimages of the Past, Actual Coptic Pilgrimages, Characteristics of these Pilgrimages*. Following a brief conclusion is a list of indexes: A general bibliography, with a list of dates of Coptic pilgrimages in Egypt, the venerated saints of these pilgrimages, and a list of geographical sites. The index includes place names, proper names, authors' names, and a list of plates and maps.

- Regnault, Lucien. ***La Vie Quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Egypte Au IVe Siècle***. [Paris]: Hachette, 1990.
Main Library BX 2734 R45 1990

The daily life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth Century Egypt is examined in great detail in this very concise work. The author is interested in the words of the Fathers that were pronounced on specific occasions for edification and teaching purposes. Seventeen chapters deal in detail with aspects of the lives of these great hermits and saints. Different aspects studied here include; Reasons for choosing the desert, an analysis of the lives of Egyptian men, women and children and their relationship with the Desert Fathers, the cells, the clothing and the types of foods the hermits consumed, the daily life of the Anchorite monks and hermits who live in caves, the elders and their disciples, the hospitality of monks, their voyages, angels, demons and

beasts, the visions, and revelations and miracles. The book concludes with an extensive list of notes, a bibliography, a chronological list, an index of names, and a table of contents.

- Rousseau, Philip. ***Pachomius: The making of a community in Fourth-century Egypt.*** University of California Press**.**
Main Library BR 1720 P23 R68 1985

This book provides a biography on Pachomius and describes how he established ascetic communities in the fourth-century AD. in Egypt. The author examines life in a Pachomian monastery, its daily order and hierarchical authority. The author attempts to identify the goal of ascetic life as presented by the communial "Pachomian monk". The book describes, in its last chapters, the interaction of the Pachomian monastery monks with the community around them. Rousseau offers an in-depth study of the successors of Pachomius, their practices, and of a monastic order that did not survive in Upper Egypt.

Coptic Christian saints

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.) ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of “Apophthegmata” (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *“Book of Paradise”* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by ‘The Fathers’ on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir.*** Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia: Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***. (the Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration), Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.
Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the "Death and Resurrection" of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Butler, Alfred J. ***The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol.1 and 2***. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1884.
SPCL BX 133 B8 1884

Volume 1 of this book focuses on the general layout and structure of Coptic Churches, giving plans and illustrations of some major Churches and Monasteries. Some of these, like the churches of old Cairo, the Monasteries of the Natrun valley, the Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt, are discussed in detail. Volume 2 goes deeper into the Coptic faith. It dwells on particular aspects of the Coptic religion like

the arrangement of the altar, Eucharistic vessels and furniture, vestments of clergy, sacraments and the various rites and ceremonies of the church.

- Elm, Sussana. ***'Virgins of God'. The making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity***. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Main Library BV 5023 E45 1994

This book traces the origins of "asceticism", and the crucial role played by women in establishing organizational patterns in ascetic communities. The book makes the assertion that monasticism is the 'highest evolution of asceticism'. The author critically examines the evolution of asceticism in Asia Minor and Egypt; the variations of female ascetic life in these regions, the classic models, and some prominent female and male ascetics. He concludes by demonstrating how the ascetic bishops (today's saints) eventually 'reformed' these early models of communal ascetic life by dividing the order of the 'Virgins of God' into monks and nuns, thus laying the foundation for modern day monasticism. This book is important for anyone interested in early church history and the ascetic life.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Wathaa`iq lil Taariikh: al-Kinisah wa Qaddia al-Watan wa al-Dawlah wa al-Sharq al-Awsat, Part two: `Awdat Rufaat al-Qidiis Murqus al-Rasuul.*** Daar al-Jiil lil Tiba`ah, 1977**.**
Main Library BX 136 J58 V.2

This book contains historical documents about the transfer of St. Morqos al-Rasul's (Saint Mark) remains to Egypt in the period of Anba Kyrollos the VI (116 Pope). These documents cover events, such as the sheikh of al-Azhar's visit to the Patriarchate, speech of Pope Kyrollos VI in a public conference at the al-Mo`alaka church in old Cairo, the journey to Rome to bring back the remains of St. Mark, and messages from Pope Kyrollos to Pope Paul VI (Pope of the Roman Catholic Church).

This work, in addition to the translation of speeches of Patriarchs from foreign countries, also contains press interviews with the author concerning the Virgin Mary's appearance in Virgin Mary's church in Zaytuun. There is a detailed subject index at the end of the book.

- Johnston, William M. (ed.). ***Encyclopedia of Monasticism, vol.1 and 2.*** Chicago, 2000.

Main Reference BX 2461 E53 2000

This Encyclopedia, divided into two volumes, examines Monasticism in the past and present. It focuses on Buddhist Monasticism, Eastern Christian Monasticism and Western Christian Monasticism. Contributors to this Encyclopedia come from some 25 countries and describe Monasticism in over 50 different countries. With articles like "Buddhist Perspectives" and "Christian Perspectives", some major similarities and differences in these different ways of Monasticism are clarified. Bibliographies have been supplied by the author of each article and a list of some Monastic websites (where available) is provided at the end of many articles. To ease the burden of cross-cultural comparison in terminology, this Encyclopedia provides a glossary of basic terms in both Buddhist and Christian vocabulary. This Encyclopedia is a valuable reference book for scholars and other researchers, whether secular or religious, who are interested in Monasticism or in any of its manifestations.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs:The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.

Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Kinross, Patrick Balfour (Lord). ***Portrait of Egypt***. New York:W. Morrow, 1966.

Main Library DT 46 K5 1966

The author is Lord Kinross, Patrick Balfour, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Cairo (1944-47). This book comprises 4 parts (Ancient, Christian, Medieval, and Modern Egypt) and gives a description of his travels in Egypt. In the first chapter the book discusses Ancient Egypt and then introduces Christian Egypt, the Copts and the Monastic Communities, such as those existing in Wadi al-Natrun,

St.Catherine's Monastery and other places. He then describes Christian Egypt from the Arab Conquest in 641 AD. to Modern times. Chapters 6 and 7 are entitled respectively: 'The Copts' and 'The Monastic Communities'. The description comes in the style of a travel guide and presents monastic life with reference to some of the most important monasteries of Egypt, such as Abu Makar, Anba Bishoi, Baramus, As-Suriani and St. Catherine, with the last two duly noted for their libraries and icons.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt:Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F.A**.** ***Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages***. The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, New York**.**
Main Library BX 4659 E4 M45 2002

This book focuses on Coptic religious devotion. The first few chapters deal with biblical saints, martyrs, ascetics and equestrian warriors in Coptic spirituality. The latter chapters dwell emphatically on such subjects, such as the "silverless" physicians of the Byzantine churches (who treated their patients without pay), women saints, and recently discovered martyrs. Meinardus contemplates themes of the past, such as Coptic Saints, as well as miracles from modern perspective in an age of globalization. The book includes high quality colored, images of patron saints and martyrs. The text is considered a valuable source of reference source in the subject matter.

- Regnault, Lucien. ***La Vie Quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Egypte Au IVe Siècle***. [Paris]: Hachette, 1990.
Main Library BX 2734 R45 1990

The daily life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth Century Egypt is examined in great detail in this very concise work. The author is interested in the words of the Fathers that were pronounced on specific occasions for edification and teaching purposes. Seventeen chapters deal in detail with aspects of the lives of these great hermits and saints. Different aspects studied here include; Reasons for choosing the desert, an analysis of the lives of Egyptian men, women and children and their relationship with

the Desert Fathers, the cells, the clothing and the types of foods the hermits consumed, the daily life of the Anchorite monks and hermits who live in caves, the elders and their disciples, the hospitality of monks, their voyages, angels, demons and beasts, the visions, and revelations and miracles. The book concludes with an extensive list of notes, a bibliography, a chronological list, an index of names, and a table of contents.

- Russell, Norman (Translator) and Ward, Benedicta (Introduction). ***The Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum In Aegypto.*** by London: Mowbray; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1981, 1980.

Main Library BX 2465 H513 1980

The text of "The Historia Monacorum" is translated from Greek, Latin and Syriac versions, and is presented in an extensive presentation divided into five chapters. The translated section comprises twenty-six entries, and describes the lives of some of the Desert Saints and Monks of the fourth Century in Egypt. The biographies include famous saints, such as Macarius, Patermuthius, Apollo, and John of Lycopolis. The work is concluded with notes on the text, a bibliography, chronological table, and an index of persons and places.

- Weitzmann, Kurt**.** ***Studies In The Arts At Sinai.*** Princeton University Press, USA, 1982.

Main Library N 7988 A1 W 44, 1982

The author of this book introduces, in chapter 1, the Justinian and Post-Justinian arts in St.Catherine's Monastery, such as the Jephthah Panel, mosaics, and the valuable collection of icons. Chapter 2 deals with Middle Byzantine icons such as the Announciation Icon of the Virgin Mary. The last chapter of the book looks at icons of the crusades on Mount Sinai. The book is a contribution to the documentation of the artwork of St. Catherine's Monastery.

Coptic icons -- Conservation and restoration

- Atalla, Nabil Selim. ***Coptic Icons.*** Barcelona, 1986.
Main Library N 8189 E35 C6X 1986

This book serves as an easy reference to Coptic icons (such as those of Saints) and the manner in which they are depicted in their spiritual convocations . The text also includes a brief introduction which traces the origin of the term “Coptic”, and the Era of the Martyrs that began in 284 AD. Each plate includes a short paragraph discussing the artwork and the relevance of the symbolism and significance as presented from a Coptic religious perspective.

- ***Coptic Icons, Les Icones Coptes, Koptische Ikonen***. Cairo: Lehnert and Landrock, 1986.
Main Library N 8189 E35 C6x 1986.

This book is a catalog of Coptic Icons that are found in several churches and monasteries throughout Egypt. The churches include Al-Mu’allaqah (The Hanging Church in Old Cairo), the church of Saint Barbara, the churches of St. Mercurius (Abu Saifain), and Al-Damshiriah and St. Shenouti. Haret al-Rum and Fum Al-Khalig in the Cairo area have also been included. The Coptic monasteries of Wadi El-Natrun and Upper Egypt are presented through their fascinating icons. The specific style of Coptic icons, described as the ‘Triptych’ style, is also presented in this work and is constituted by a centerpiece and two side panels that fold over a center. This work includes a fascinating array of different icon styles, among which are the Fayoum Portraits, and the different icons kept at the Coptic Museum. This catalog is trilingual (English, French, German). The book closes with a list of alphabetical names and a table of contents.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn.*** New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York] : Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Evetts, B.T.A. (ed.). ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries.*** Oxford, 1969.
Main Special Collection BX 133 A6

This publication discusses a history of Egypt's churches and monasteries including architecture, restoration, and religious iconography. The book also provides accounts by priests and monks of mystical experiences. It gives a geographical description of Egypt, footnotes, a map, appendix, and index of Coptic churches and monasteries. The book offers historical analyses of the Coptic language as used in neighboring countries.

- Hanna, Rev. Shenouda. ***The Coptic Church: Symbolism and Iconography***. *U.A.R. 1962.*
Main Library BX 136 2 H3X 1962

This piece includes a general description of the Coptic Church, and an explanation of the symbolism behind its structure. The book also provides analyses for various Coptic icons, including Christ and his attributes, the Coptic cross, the saints, the angels, and color schemes.

- Hondelink, H. ***Coptic Art and Culture.*** Shouhdy Publishing House, Cairo, 1990.
Main Library N 7382 C66X 1990

This book introduces Early Christian Architecture in the Nile Valley between 313 AD. and 640 AD., including the church and monastic architecture. The second chapter of the book describes and explains the significance of the Old Testament Saints in Medieval Church decoration. The book deals with the icon-painting in Egypt in general and the conservation problems of the icons. One of the authors of the book talks about the miraculous icons and their historical background. There is a brief discussion of Coptic textiles. The last chapter of the book is concerned with demons in early Coptic Monasticism.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Qadus, Izzat Zaki Hamid and al-Sayid, Mohamed Abdel Fatah. ***Al-Aathaar wa al-Funun al-Qibtiyah***. Al-Haddarii lil tibaah, Alexandria, 2000.
Main Library N 7382 Q33 2000

This book deals with different aspects of Coptic art. It is divided into three parts: Part one describes the history of art in Coptic society. It also discusses Coptic sculpture, Coptic architecture, mural frescoes/paintings in Coptic art, characterization and style in Coptic representation, and the art of Coptic weaving. The last chapter of the first part of the book discusses magic, prophecy and symbolism in Coptic art. Part two contains a bibliography and provides over 200 pages of different motifs, themes, and symbols in Coptic art.

- Scott-Moncrieff, Phillip David. ***Paganism and Christianity in Egypt***. Cambridge University Press, 1913**.**
SPCL BR 190 S4 1913

This book begins by examining religion in Egypt from the close of the Ptolemaic era to the start of the third century. The author investigates the advent of Christianity in Egypt (from the time of St. Mark), providing literary and archeological evidence throughout. He concludes with a look at early Christian iconography, aspects of Gnosticism, and the rise of asceticism and Monasticism in Egypt.

- Al-Suryani, Samaan. ***Dair al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa`, al-Suryaan: Barriyyat Shihit – Wadi al-Natruun.*** Matba`at Dair al-Baramuus, Egypt, 1990.
Main Library BX 178 S3 S8x 1990

The book gives a detailed description of Dayr as-Surian, its location and its different churches such as Deir al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa` (the Monastery of the Virgin Mary at al- Suryaan Church), al-Arba`in Church, Virgin al-Maqaarah Church and Archangel Mikhail Church. In another section of the book the author discusses the remains of some Saints such as Anba Yahnas, Kama, Marafram al-Syuryani and others. Throughout the book the reader will find information about the library, monastery museum, al-Azbawiyyah, and rare icons. The book also gives a listing of names of all the heads of the monastery and also contains a short bibliography for Anba Theophileas. Al-Suriyyaani also gives information about the role of al-Syuryan monastery in the twentieth century, and the famous travelers and foreign scientists who visited it. The book closes with a detailed map of the monastery. In addition to some representations of icons and an index, there is a collection of pictures of the first heads of the monastery. This book is recommended to researchers, tourists and travelers alike.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926.
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Copts -- Biography

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir.*** Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents

- Brooke, Christopher; Lovatt, Roger; Luscombe, David and Silem, Aelred. ***David Knowles Remembered***. Cambridge University Press 1991.
Main Library BX 4705 K58 D38 1991

This book is a biography of David Knowles written by four of his former class-mates. They attempt to rehabilitate his image by redressing an earlier publication written by the late Dom Adrian, *David Knowles A Memoir*, who portrayed David Knowles as a failure. In this book, David Knowles is portrayed as an austere and solitary monk, a devout priest administering to his household and friends, and as one who makes a deep impression on his followers. David Knowles is also seen as a great historian and master of prose, a professor and teacher of wide influence during his days as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 2002**.**
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Fedden, Romilly. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert***. Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Ibn Al-Mukaffa, Sawirus (Bishop Of Al-Ashmunin). ***History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.*** Matbaat al-Mahad al-Ilmi al-Farancy lil Athaar al-Sharkiah, Cairo.
Main Library BX 132 S3 ,Volume2

This volume of the series comprises the biographies of ten Patriarchs, beginning with the fifty-sixth Patriarch, Khael III (Michael I) and ending the sixty-fifth Patriarch Senouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from 880-1066 AD.

- Iskarus, Tawfiq. ***Nawaabigh al-Aqbaat wa-Mashaahiruhum fi al-Qarn al-Taasi `Ashar***. Matba`at al-Tawfiiq , Egypt, 1910. **Main Library BX 139 A1 I8 V.1**
Main Special DT 155.2 C65 I7 1910

This book provides the reader with a detailed biography of some of the prominent Coptic Fathers in the nineteenth century such as Anba Butrus, Anba Serabmoon (the Bishop) and the Master Ibrahim al-Gohari. Iskaarus ends his book with Mo`alim Ibrahim al-Gohari's biography.

- Russell, Norman (Translator) and Ward, Benedicta (Introduction). ***The Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum In Aegypto***. by London: Mowbray; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1981, c1980.
Main Library BX 2465 H513 1980

The text of "The Historia Monacorum" is translated from Greek, Latin and Syriac versions, and is presented in an extensive presentation divided into five chapters. The translated section comprises twenty-six entries, and describes the lives of some of the Desert Saints and Monks of the fourth Century in Egypt. The biographies include famous saints, such as Macarius, Patermuthius, Apollo, and John of Lycopolis. The work is concluded with notes on the text, a bibliography, chronological table, and an index of persons and places.

- Watson, John H. ***Among the Copts***, Brighton [England]; Portland, Or.: Sussex Academic Press, 2000.
Main Library BX 136.2 W38 2000

John Watson provides an engaging account of the history of the Copts from early Christianity to the present. Paying detailed attention to Coptic customs, Watson examines various controversial issues or incidents in the history of the Coptic people. Although at points the author seems somewhat biased in his comments, overall he maintains a balance and objectivity in his final analysis. He includes various biographies of renowned Coptic people, patriarchs, saints and monks, and tends to interject his accounts with his own personal experiences of those he interviewed or met. He demonstrates a deep understanding of Coptic and Middle Eastern culture, including Islam. He dedicates an entire chapter to the intriguing subject of monastic life and asceticism. The work retires with a detailed Coptic chronology and an index of names and subjects.

Copts -- History

- Abu Salih, al-Armani. ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries***. Translated by B.T.A. Evetts with notes by Alfred J. Butler.
Main Library BX 133 A6 1969

In the first chapter of this article Abu Salih describes the origins of churches and monasteries in Egypt, the history and life of the Egyptian Copts, restoration of the churches, and some places in Egypt visited by the Holy family. It also includes sayings by the prophet Muhammad about the Copts. In the later part of the book the author describes the churches of neighboring countries, including: Abyssinia, Spain, North-western Africa, India and Arabia. The appendix contains an account of the churches and Christians of Egypt, and a map that shows all the places mentioned in the book.

- Atiya, Aziz S. ***A History of Eastern Christianity.*** London, 1968.
Main Library BX 103 2 A8 1968

This book focuses on the history of the Christian Churches of the East, namely, the Coptic and Ethiopic, the Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Indian, Maronite, and the vanished Churches of Nubia and North Africa. The author traces the origins and evolution of these churches in the seven different parts of the book. He attempts to restore a picture of the Eastern Churches that was lost to the eyes of the West. Most Eastern Churches, whose claim to apostolic origins is their major pride and glory, are viewed by the modern day west as 'primitive'. The author, himself a Copt, brings out the hierarchical organization of the various Eastern Churches, their rites and ceremonials, ecclesiastical art and architecture, religious music and literature. With these, this book goes a long way to clarify certain aspects of the Eastern Churches, which had hitherto been viewed through sectarian vehemence, and considerable lack of understanding by most Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant authors. The book also contains maps, footnotes, plates and an extensive bibliography.

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir.*** Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents.

- Cannuyer, Christian. ***Coptic Egypt: The Christians of The Nile***. London: Thames and Hudson; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Main Library DT 72 C7 C3613 2001

This work is an impressive concise presentation of an "ancient order of Christians called the Copts." The author provides the history of the early Church in Alexandria in the first century AD., which was founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, during the Roman empire. Although Egypt has become a Muslim nation after the Arab conquest in 541 AD., the Copts maintained their tradition and rites until the present date. The work includes several fascinating colored photographs and illustrations of the Coptic frescoes in the monasteries and churches, antique textiles, mosaics and manuscripts. It presents the Coptic culture and art which drew its inspiration from the ancient Pharaohs, Greco-Roman and Christian eras. The text includes a list of excerpts from different sources about the Copts, their rites, tradition and religious practices. It also includes a list of further readings, and a list of illustrations.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4829 C64 C3713 2002

Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Ceres, Wissa Wassef. ***Pratiques Rituelles et Alimentaires des Coptes.*** (Ritual and Alimentary Practices of the Copts). Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919- (PhD thesis presented at the Sorbonne, Paris)
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 9

This study presents an in-depth examination of the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt with its rituals and alimentary practices. Various subjects are treated in this work ranging from the Christianization of Egypt, the Coptic Calendar and seasonal foods, the different markets, ceremonials within the family, the different feasts, and the various sayings and metaphors used by the Coptic people. The work is concluded

by a list of the plants mentioned in the work, a Bibliography, indexes to the geographic places, the names of persons and ceremonies, an index of terms, and a general index. The dissertation is concluded with an intriguing list of Coptic cutlery.

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. ***St. Mark and the Coptic Church.*** Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo, 1968.
Main Library BX 133.2 A4 1968

This book deals with St. Mark and the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Dr. Hakim Ameen, the author of the first essay describes how St. Mark introduced Christianity to Egypt. The second chapter informs us about St. Mark's Doctrine (the one found in parts of Africa). Other chapters of the book deal with the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Theological School of Alexandria. The book also describes the Coptic Church under different rulers and its contribution to universal Christianity. The latter part of the book concludes with a brief survey of Coptic literature and art.

- Doorn-Harder, Pieternella van. ***Contemporary Coptic Nuns***. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
BX 137.3 D66 1995

This book is one of the very few books that deal with the subject of Coptic nuns. The author deals with a variety of subjects revolving around an ascetic community of Coptic nuns and convents: The Copts in Egyptian society, the monastic landscape, the ruling mothers and fathers of the Coptic monasteries and convents. The author also describes the abandoning of the mundane life by the novitiate nuns, who are not considered, according to monastic life, as "dead to the world". Pieternella Van Doorn-Harder also describes, in a very interesting style, the initiation rites, practices of the nuns and their work, the spiritual life, the saints, and the visitors. The work concludes with a listing of notes, glossary, selected bibliography, and an index of names.

- Griggs, C. Wilfred. ***Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 C.E***. The Netherlands, 1993.
SPCL BR 190 G75

This book focuses on the history of Christianity in Egypt from its earliest recorded origins to the Council of Chalcedon in 451C.E., when the Egyptian Coptic Church became the national religion of Egypt. Aspects such as the emergence of orthodoxy and heresy in Egyptian Christianity, autocracy in Christian Egypt and the eventual separation from Catholicism, are examined. With maps of Lower and Upper Egypt, cross references from gospels and an extensive bibliography, this book contributes to an understanding of Early Egyptian Christianity in particular and to Early Christianity in general.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grogorius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Wathaa`iq lil Taariikh: al-Kinisah wa Qaddia al-Watan wa al-Dawlah wa al-Sharq al-Awsat, Part two: `Awdat Rufaat al-Qidiis Murqus al-Rasuul.*** Daar al-Jiil lil Tiba`ah, 1977**.**
Main Library BX 136 J58 V.2

This book contains historical documents about the transfer of St. Morqos al-Rasul's (Saint Mark) remains to Egypt in the period of Anba Kyrollos the VI (116 Pope). These documents cover events, such as the sheikh of al-Azhar's visit to the Patriarchate, speech of Pope Kyrollos VI in a public conference at the al-Mo`alaka church in old Cairo, the journey to Rome to bring back the remains of St. Mark, and messages from Pope Kyrollos to Pope Paul VI (Pope of the Roman Catholic Church). This work, in addition to the translation of speeches of Patriarchs from foreign countries, also contains press interviews with the author concerning the Virgin Mary's appearance in Virgin Mary's church in Zaytuun. There is a detailed subject index at the end of the book.

- Habib, Rafiq and Afifi, Mohamed. ***Taariikh al-Kaniisah al-Misriyyah***. Al-Daar al-`Arabiyyah lil Tiba`ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzii`, Dokki, Cairo, 1994.
Main Library BX 133.2 H33 1994

This book discusses the history of the national Egyptian cultural elites. It is divided into seven chapters that discuss Christianity in Egypt and the suppression of the Copts. The second Chapter covers the church and the Arab invasion in 641 AD. The third Chapter gives information about Catholicism, past and present. Chapter four explains Protestanism and its consignments in Egypt; Chapter five gives detailed information about the rise of the church and the political laicism; Chapter six deals with the history of sectarian strife through the centuries. In the last Chapter the writer explores the search for truth about the controversies of sectarian strife.

- Habib, Raouf. ***The Outstanding Aspects of the Coptic Arts***. Mahabba Bookshop, 1980.
SPCL N 7382 H2X

This book discusses Coptic art from differing perspectives. It starts by looking at the influence of classical mythology in Coptic art, and discusses pottery until the Coptic and Islamic era. The author later focuses on feminine coquetry and headdresses in the Coptic period and some of the major contributions of ancient Egypt in Coptic art. Aspects of Coptic symbolism, manuscripts, weaving, and textiles are also discussed. The book concludes with a brief look at the stay of the Holy Family in Egypt, the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, and the Coptic icons.

- Johnson, Janet H. (ed.). ***Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond***. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1992.
Main Library DT 61 L72 1992

This book includes papers presented at the Fourth International Congress of Demotist held at the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago from September 4-8, 1990. The essays are diverse and cover Egypt during the period under the Persian Empire from 525 B.C. up to its eventual invasion by the Romans (a period of about 1000 years). This was a period in which the Egyptian majority population lived in contact with non-Egyptian populations such as Greeks, Macedonians, Romans, Jews and non-Semitic speaking people from Syria-Palestine. The papers make a significant contribution to our understanding of an important period in world history, and introduce a wide range of subjects including the study of emerging multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- El-Masry, Iris Habib. ***The Story of the Copts***. (Book II deals with the *Arab Conquest* to the *Mamluke Reign*). Newberry Springs, CA: St.Anthony Coptic Orthodox Monastery, 1982.
Main Library BX 1332 M2X, 1982

This book includes the history of the Copts starting with the final years of Byzantine Rule over Egypt and the Arab Conquest in 641A.D. The author gives a description of the Coptic Patriarchs during the reign of the Arab Rulers, and goes on to inform us of the political and social movements during the various periods of Arab Rule. She mentions how the Copts suffered under the Turkish Rule, and explains how the situation changed when the French came to Egypt during the Napoleon Expedition in 1798. The author concludes this book with the history of the Copts at the end of the nineteenth century.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem***. Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concluded with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Scott-Moncrieff, Phillip David. ***Paganism and Christianity in Egypt***. Cambridge University Press, 1913**.**
SPCL BR 190 S4 1913

This book begins by examining religion in Egypt from the close of the Ptolemaic era to the start of the third century. The author investigates the advent of Christianity in Egypt (from the time of St. Mark), providing literary and archeological evidence throughout. He concludes with a look at early Christian iconography, aspects of Gnosticism, and the rise of asceticism and Monasticism in Egypt.

- Sheils, W.J. (ed.). ***Monks, Hermits and Ascetic Tradition***. Blackwell, Oxford, 1985.
Main Library BV 5017 M6X 1985

A chapter of the book deals with "ascetics" in the history of the Church from the time of the Early School of Alexandria to the time of the Byzantine. Other chapters deal with "asceticism" in Medieval Brittany, the "hermits" during the time of the Crusades, and the transformation of hermitages in twelfth-century England. These chapters further discuss the eventual spread of these hermitages to Spain. The book also includes "asceticism" during different periods in Europe and the concept of the "Little Church."

Sobhy, P. G. (Dr.) ***Le Martyre De Saint Helias et L'Encomium de l'Eveque Stephanos de Hnes Sur Saint Helias***. (Saint Helias the Martyr and His praise By Stephanos the Bishop of Hnes) Drower, E. S**. Water into Wine. A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East.** John Murray: London, 1956
Main Library BL 619 S3 D7 1956

In this veritable anthropological breakthrough, Lady Drower examines and compares the religious rituals of the various Eastern churches. Part I is dedicated mainly to describing the temple setting and some puzzling Eucharistic rituals like the "branch to the nose". Part II critically examines the devotional significances of bread and wine on the altar in the Russian and Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Jacobite, Nestorian and Chaldean, Coptic, and Abyssinian churches. Part III gives an account of ritual meals like the "Parsi ritual meals"(the Yansa) and the ritual meals of the Chaldeans. An interesting aspect of this book is the similarity that exists between these rituals and many others which, as the author puts it, "may emphasize the root unity of certain human concepts".

- Watson, John H. ***Among the Copts***. Brighton [England]; Portland, Or.: Sussex Academic Press, 2000.
Main Library BX 136.2 W38 2000

John Watson provides an engaging account of the history of the Copts from early Christianity to the present. Paying detailed attention to Coptic customs, Watson examines various controversial issues or incidents in the history of the Coptic people. Although at points the author seems somewhat biased in his comments, overall he maintains a balance and objectivity in his final analysis. He includes various biographies of renowned Coptic people, patriarchs, saints and monks, and tends to interject his accounts with his own personal experiences of those he interviewed or met. He demonstrates a deep understanding of Coptic and Middle Eastern culture, including Islam. He dedicates an entire chapter to the intriguing subject of monastic life and asceticism. The work retires with a detailed Coptic chronology and an index of names and subjects.

Early Church history --Primitive and early church, ca. 30-600

- Beckwith, John. ***Coptic Sculpture, 300-1300***. London : A. Tiranti, 1963.
Main Library NB 1082 B4 1963

Beckwith gives an historical background of Egypt, which starts with the founding of Alexandria in 322 B.C. and continues until the end of the reign of Ptolemy II from 246 BC. The author also gives a description of the different styles and historical trends in Coptic sculpture. He devotes a whole section on Notes to Plates, and gives a description of the different styles with reference to the plates in the text. He specifically describes at great length the Alexandrian style, and the periods before and after the Islamic conquest in 641 AD.

- ***Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes***. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 V. 1

Dr. Sobhy, gives a physical description of the dilapidated manuscript that is located at the Mo`allaka Church in Old Cairo. The author notes that the scribe has done the entire work and was obviously an adept craftsman. The text of the manuscript is presented in columns, followed by the translation. The original text is in Sahidiq with some dialects of Middle Egypt. The text includes many Greek words that are not spelled in the traditional way. The translator notes that the text is at times incoherent but explains that this particular trait is common among similar texts written about martyrs. The author's main objective in this study is to introduce words that are differently spelled in an untraditional manner, and to focus on new forms of grammar as presented in the manuscript. The work concludes with an index and a table of contents.

- Binns, John. ***Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ: The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631***. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press 1994.
Main Library BR 185 B56 1994

Binns offers a valuable description of the life and practices of the monks in the Palestinian desert. He provides a detailed overview of the monasteries in and around Jerusalem that were famous during the Byzantine Christian period, and a history of the accession of Emperor Constantine until the rise of the Persian Empire in 641 A.D. and up to the fall of Jerusalem. The council of Chalcedon is regarded as an important turning point and is described in detail. The author gives precise information about the conditions in which the monks lived in the region of Palestine at that particular period. This book deals in detail with the different pilgrimages of the time, the lives of monks, their teachings and spiritual thought, and the doctrinal debates and historical developments through which the monasteries and the monks themselves had to go. The book includes a bibliography and an index.

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia: Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***, (The Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration), Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.
Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the “Death and Resurrection” of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering , Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002**.**
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

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- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
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Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have

shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Elm, Sussana. ***'Virgins of God'. The making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity***. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Main Library BV 5023 E45 1994

This book traces the origins of "asceticism", and the crucial role played by women in establishing organizational patterns in ascetic communities. The book makes the assertion that monasticism is the 'highest evolution of asceticism'. The author critically examines the evolution of asceticism in Asia Minor and Egypt; the variations of female ascetic life in these regions, the classic models, and some prominent female and male ascetics. He concludes by demonstrating how the ascetic bishops (today's saints) eventually 'reformed' these early models of communal ascetic life by dividing the order of the 'Virgins of God' into monks and nuns, thus laying the foundation for modern day monasticism. This book is important for anyone interested in early church history and the ascetic life.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism***. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Fedden, Romilly. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert***. Bulletin of Faculty Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Gartkiewicz, Przemyslaw. ***NUBIA I, Dongola 2: The Cathedral in Old Dongola and its Antecedents***. Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, Varssovie 1990
Main Library NA 216 D6 G27X 1990

This book gives a description and brief account of the architectural investigations carried out on the site of the Church of Granite Columns in Old Dongola. The author starts by describing the old church and the later additions to it. He focuses on the building process, materials, and layout of the church. The greater part of the book is reserved to the Church of Granite Columns. Gartkiewicz then gives a specific description of the architecture and usage of the church, with maps and technical architectural designs. In the last chapters the author dwells briefly on the Cathedral of Brick Pillars, its construction, evolution and eventual decline. For anyone interested in early church history, especially the architecture, this book is a must.

- Griggs, C. Wilfred. ***Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 C.E***. The Netherlands, 1993.
SPCL BR 190 G75

This book focuses on the history of Christianity in Egypt from its earliest recorded origins to the Council of Chalcedon in 451C.E., when the Egyptian Coptic Church became the national religion of Egypt. Aspects such as the emergence of orthodoxy

and heresy in Egyptian Christianity, autocracy in Christian Egypt and the eventual separation from Catholicism, are examined. With maps of Lower and Upper Egypt, cross references from gospels and an extensive bibliography, this book contributes to an understanding of Early Egyptian Christianity in particular and to Early Christianity in general.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grogorius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Hanna, Rev. Shenouda. ***The Coptic Church: Symbolism and Iconography***. U.A.R. 1962.
Main Library BX 136 2 H3X 1962

This piece includes a general description of the Coptic Church, and an explanation of the symbolism behind its structure. The book also provides analyses for various Coptic icons, including Christ and his attributes, the Coptic cross, the saints, the angels, and color schemes.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*****.** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- El-Masry, Iris Habib. ***The Story of the Copts***. (Book II deals with the *Arab Conquest* to the *Mamluke Reign*). Newberry Springs, CA: St. Anthony Coptic Orthodox Monastery, 1982.
Main Library BX 1332 M2X 1982

This book includes the history of the Copts starting with the final years of Byzantine Rule over Egypt and the Arab Conquest in 641A.D. The author gives a description of the Coptic Patriarchs during the reign of the Arab Rulers, and goes on to inform us of the political and social movements during the various periods of Arab Rule. She mentions how the Copts suffered under the Turkish Rule, and explains how the situation changed when the French came to Egypt during the Napoleon Expedition in 1798. The author concludes this book with the history of the Copts at the end of the nineteenth century.

- Matta Al-Miskiin ***Lamhah Sarii`ah `An Rahbanat Misr Wa –Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar.*** Published by Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar – Wadii al-sNatruun, 1985.
Main Library BX 138M3 M3X 1985

This book states that the Coptic Church is the most ancient Church in the world, and that monasticism spread from Egypt to other countries, especially to all Eastern countries and Europe. The author of the book explains how the Monastery of Anba Makkar was founded at the beginning of the fourth century, 360 B.C. in Wadi Al Natrun. Furthermore, he describes in detail the most important archeological features of the monastery, including the altar, the church and the castle.

- Mottier, Yvette, Bosson, Nathalie. ***Les Kellia: Ermitages Coptes en Basse-Egypte*** (The Kellia: Coptic Ermitages In Lower-Egypt) (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, 12 Octobre 1989-7 Janvier 1990), Genève: Editions du Tricorne, 1989.
Main Library DT 73 K47 K47X 1989

This book is a catalog of the Kellia Sites excavations. Included are numerous photographs and maps as well as plans of the different sites. The book starts with an introduction about Coptic Monasticism, and then moves to a depiction of the archaeological findings of the Kellia sites and its antique Coptic monasteries. The author also describes the architectural styles and paintings in the monasteries, and mentions projects for their conservation and preservation. The inscriptions and the Coptic pottery art are also described in detail.

- Nightingale, John. ***Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform Lotharingia c.850-1000***. Oxford Historical Monographs, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Main Library BX 2616 N54 2001

In this landmark study of the relationships between monasteries and the nobility in ninth and tenth century Lotharingia, John Nightingale examines the pivotal role played by monasteries in the Medieval period. He focuses on three great abbeys that played a central role in the monastic reform movement- Gorze, St.Maximin and St.Evre. The author examines the monasteries within the context of Medieval society and demonstrates their vital importance on land and religious matters, elucidating the complex relationships between monasteries and their patrons. This is a good resource tool for those interested in Early Church history.

- Sheils, W.J. (ed.). ***Monks, Hermits and Ascetic Tradition***. Blackwell, Oxford, 1985.
Main Library BV 5017 M6X 1985

A chapter of the book deals with "ascetics" in the history of the Church from the time of the Early School of Alexandria to the time of the Byzantine. Other chapters deal with "asceticism" in Medieval Brittany, the "hermits" during the time of the Crusades, and the transformation of hermitages in twelfth-century England. These chapters further discuss the eventual spread of these hermitages to Spain. The book also includes "asceticism" during different periods in Europe and the concept of the "Little Church."

Monasteries

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir.*** Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn***. New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York]: Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Fedden, Romilly. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert***. Bulletin of Faculty Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem***. Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar

Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

- Nightingale, John. ***Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform Lotharingia c.850-1000***. Oxford Historical Monographs, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Main Library BX 2616 N54 2001

In this landmark study of the relationships between monasteries and the nobility in ninth and tenth century Lotharingia, John Nightingale examines the pivotal role played by monasteries in the Medieval period. He focuses on three great abbeys that played a central role in the monastic reform movement- Gorze, St.Maximin and St.Evre. The author examines the monasteries within the context of Medieval society and demonstrates their vital importance on land and religious matters, elucidating the complex relationships between monasteries and their patrons. This is a good resource tool for those interested in Early Church history.

- Simaika Pasha, Marcus. ***Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt, vol. 1, 2***. Government Press, Cairo, 1939.
SPCL Creswell Collection Z 6605 C7 S5 1939 v. 1, 2

The first volume of this book discusses the relevance of monastic libraries in Egypt, and the process by which monastic scribes produced manuscripts. The second volume provides a comprehensive index of churches and monasteries to any researcher curious to explore them in detail. The third volume, not available at the AUC library, describes the libraries and manuscripts of the Coptic monasteries. (It may be well worthwhile checking with institutions outside of AUC to attain a copy of this highly recommended volume).

- Watson, John H. ***Among the Copts***. Brighton [England]; Portland, Or.: Sussex Academic Press, 2000.
Main Library BX 136.2 W38 2000

John Watson provides an engaging account of the history of the Copts from early Christianity to the present. Paying detailed attention to Coptic customs, Watson examines various controversial issues or incidents in the history of the Coptic people. Although at points the author seems somewhat biased in his comments, overall he maintains a balance and objectivity in his final analysis. He includes various biographies of renowned Coptic people, patriarchs, saints and monks, and tends to interject his accounts with his own personal experiences of those he interviewed or met. He demonstrates a deep understanding of Coptic and Middle Eastern culture,

including Islam. He dedicates an entire chapter to the intriguing subject of monastic life and asceticism. The work retires with a detailed Coptic chronology and an index of names and subjects.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926**.**
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monasteries -- Conservation and restoration

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia:Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***. (The Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration), Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.

Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the "Death and Resurrection" of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn.*** New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York]: Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Evetts, B.T.A. (ed.). ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries.*** Oxford, 1969.
Main Special Collection BX 133 A6

This publication discusses a history of Egypt's churches and monasteries including architecture, restoration, and religious iconography. The book also provides accounts by priests and monks of mystical experiences. It gives a geographical description of Egypt, footnotes, a map, appendix, and index of Coptic churches and monasteries. The book offers historical analyses of the Coptic language as used in neighboring countries.

- Gabra, Gawdat. ***Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art And Architecture***. with a historical overview by Tim Vivian. New York; Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4850 A22 2002

In his introduction, Tim Vivian gives an overview of the early Christian era, Egyptian monasticism, and rites and ceremonies common to the Coptic faith. Gabra, the author, presents the reader with a study of Egyptian monasteries from Aswan to Wadi Al-Natrun and complemented by numerous color photographs. Architecture, wall painting, and the processes used in their restoration are described in detail. There is a list of illustrations prior to the introduction, and the book ends with a bibliography, a glossary and an index.

- Gartkiewicz, Przemyslaw. ***NUBIA I, Dongola 2: The Cathedral in Old Dongola and its Antecedents***. Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, Varssovie 1990
Main Library NA 216 D6 G27X 1990

This book gives a description and brief account of the architectural investigations carried out on the site of the Church of Granite Columns in Old Dongola. The author starts by describing the old church and the later additions to it. He focuses on the building process, materials, and layout of the church. The greater part of the book is

reserved to the Church of Granite Columns. Gartkiewicz then gives a specific description of the architecture and usage of the church, with maps and technical architectural designs. In the last chapters the author dwells briefly on the Cathedral of Brick Pillars, its construction, evolution and eventual decline. For anyone interested in early church history, especially the architecture, this book is a must.

- Johnston, William M. (ed.). ***Encyclopedia of Monasticism, vol.1 and 2.*** Chicago, 2000.

Main Reference BX 2461 E53 2000

This Encyclopedia, divided into two volumes, examines Monasticism in the past and present. It focuses on Buddhist Monasticism, Eastern Christian Monasticism and Western Christian Monasticism. Contributors to this Encyclopedia come from some 25 countries and describe Monasticism in over 50 different countries. With articles like “Buddhist Perspectives” and “Christian Perspectives”, some major similarities and differences in these different ways of Monasticism are clarified. Bibliographies have been supplied by the author of each article and a list of some Monastic websites (where available) is provided at the end of many articles. To ease the burden of cross-cultural comparison in terminology, this Encyclopedia provides a glossary of basic terms in both Buddhist and Christian vocabulary. This Encyclopedia is a valuable reference book for scholars and other researchers, whether secular or religious, who are interested in Monasticism or in any of its manifestations.

- Labib, Mahfouz. ***Pèlerins et Voyageurs au Mont Sinaï.*** (Pilgrims and Travelers at Mount Sinai) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, **1961**

Main Library BX 387 L3 1961

This book presents a listing of the famous pilgrims that have visited mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine along with a listing of French travelers. The work is not limited to a specific period of time. The author gives a chronology of visitors from the middle ages until the nineteenth century, and specifically emphasizes the scientific and archaeological expeditions of that time. Based on accounts of these travelers, the author gives a relatively precise estimation of the increase or decrease in the numbers of the monks throughout ages. The author also mentions the external and internal work of restoration of the monastery that has been done. The study concentrates on the different characters among the pilgrims and travelers, and the reasons and incentives that prompted them to accomplish such a long and perilous voyage. The author takes us through the different stages of monastic life from the founding of the first monastic communities in third century Egypt on the Nile Valley, to the actual construction of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which was established around the year 545 A.D. Some of the most famous figures that visited the Saint

Catherine's Monastery in the nineteenth century include: Rifaud (1805-1826), Alexandre Dumas (1830), The Count of Paris (1860), Pierre Loti (1894) among others. An extensive bibliography, index to proper names, table of plates and table of contents conclude the work.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concluded with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Mottier, Yvette, Bosson, Nathalie. ***Les Kellia: Ermitages Coptes en Basse-Egypte*** (The Kellia: Coptic Ermitages In Lower-Egypt) (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, 12 Octobre 1989-7 Janvier 1990), Genève: Editions du Tricorne, 1989.
Main Library DT 73 K47 K47X 1989

This book is a catalog of the Kellia Sites excavations. Included are numerous photographs and maps as well as plans of the different sites. The book starts with an introduction about Coptic Monasticism, and then moves to a depiction of the archaeological findings of the Kellia sites and its antique Coptic monasteries. The author also describes the architectural styles and paintings in the monasteries, and mentions projects for their conservation and preservation. The inscriptions and the Coptic pottery art are also described in detail.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*****.** New York, 1926**.**
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in

detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monasteries – Egypt

- Abu Salih, al-Armani. ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries***. Translated by B.T.A. Evetts with notes by Alfred J. Butler.
Main Library BX 133 A6 1969

In the first chapter of this article Abu Salih describes the origins of churches and monasteries in Egypt, the history and life of the Egyptian Copts, restoration of the churches, and some places in Egypt visited by the Holy family. It also includes sayings by the prophet Muhammad about the Copts. In the later part of the book the author describes the churches of neighboring countries, including: Abyssinia, Spain, North-western Africa, India and Arabia. The appendix contains an account of the churches and Christians of Egypt, and a map that shows all the places mentioned in the book.

- Akermann, Philippe. ***Le Décor Sculpté du Couvent Blanc: Niches et Frises***. (Decorations and Sculptures of The White Monastery: Niches and Frescoes) [Le Caire]: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire [1976].
Main Library NA 6084 S6 A45x 1976

This catalog describes examples of early Christian architectural art of Deir El-Abiad (The White Monastery) which is also known as Deir Amba Shenoute. It begins with an introduction followed by five chapters that give a full description of the art of the 'niche' in the first centuries of Christianity, including the way it is represented in the White Monastery. It goes on to explain the different themes and symbols used by the early artists. The descriptions are arranged by consecutive illustrations from chapter six to chapter eleven. These, in turn, are followed by a Conclusion and an index. A folded plan of the White Monastery or Deir El-Abiad is attached to the back of the bound cover of the book.

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir***. Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the

twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents

- Butler, Alfred J. ***The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol.1 and 2***. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1884.
SPCL BX133 B8 1884

Volume 1 of this book focuses on the general layout and structure of Coptic Churches, giving plans and illustrations of some major Churches and Monasteries. Some of these, like the churches of old Cairo, the Monasteries of the Natrun valley, the Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt, are discussed in detail. Volume 2 goes deeper into the Coptic faith. It dwells on particular aspects of the Coptic religion like the arrangement of the altar, Eucharistic vessels and furniture, vestments of clergy, sacraments and the various rites and ceremonies of the church.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City : An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.
Main Library BX 2465 C48 1966

The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents "the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism," and the lives of "The three Fathers" of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai's monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai's saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book

- Evetts, B.T.A. (ed.). ***The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries.*** Oxford, 1969.
Main Special Collection BX 133 A6

This publication discusses a history of Egypt's churches and monasteries including architecture, restoration, and religious iconography. The book also provides accounts by priests and monks of mystical experiences. It gives a geographical description of Egypt, footnotes, a map, appendix, and index of Coptic churches and monasteries. The book offers historical analyses of the Coptic language as used in neighboring countries.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism***. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Fedden, Romilly, 1908-1977. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert***. Bulletin of Faculty Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Habib, Raouf. ***The Outstanding Aspects of the Coptic Arts***. Mahabba Bookshop, 1980.
SPCL N 7382 H2X

This book discusses Coptic art from differing perspectives. It starts by looking at the influence of classical mythology in Coptic art, and discusses pottery until the Coptic and Islamic era. The author later focuses on feminine coquetry and headdresses in the Coptic period and some of the major contributions of ancient Egypt in Coptic art. Aspects of Coptic symbolism, manuscripts, weaving, and textiles are also discussed. The book concludes with a brief look at the stay of the Holy Family in Egypt, the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, and the Coptic icons.

- Kinross, Patrick Balfour (Lord). ***Portrait of Egypt***. New York: W. Morrow, 1966.
Main Library DT 46 K5 1966

The author is Lord Kinross, Patrick Balfour, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Cairo (1944-47). This book comprises 4 parts (Ancient, Christian, Medieval, and Modern Egypt) and gives a description of his travels in Egypt. In the first chapter the book discusses Ancient Egypt and then introduces Christian Egypt, the Copts and the Monastic Communities, such as those existing in Wadi al-Natrun, St.Catherine's Monastery and other places. He then describes Christian Egypt from the Arab Conquest in 641 AD. to Modern times. Chapters 6 and 7 are entitled respectively: 'The Copts' and 'The Monastic Communities'. The description comes in the style of a travel guide and presents monastic life with reference to some of the most important monasteries of Egypt, such as Abu Makar, Anba Bishoi, Baramus, As-Suriani and St. Catherine, with the last two duly noted for their libraries and icons.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.). ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, vol. 3 and 4***. New York, 1926.
Main Library DT 57 N5

Volume 1 discusses numerous aspects of monastic life, including trade and occupations, clothing, the ascetic diet, sickness and healing through prayer, as well as the doctrinal position of the hermits. The author includes a map of Western Thebes during the 6th and 7th centuries, giving a description and a plan of the monastic complex of Epiphanies, and an analysis of literary and archaeological evidence. Volume 2 examines the Coptic and Greek texts that were found in works of excavation of Epiphanius. These texts include Biblical and liturgical texts, letters, accounts and lists, and legal and financial texts. Both volumes provide appendices pertaining to Coptic texts and monastic life.

- Matta Al-Miskiin ***Lamhah Sarii`ah `An Rahbanat Misr Wa –Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar.*** Published by Dair Al-Qiddis Anba Maqqaar – Wadii al-sNatruun, 1985.
Main Library BX 138M3 M3X 1985

This book states that the Coptic Church is the most ancient Church in the world, and that monasticism spread from Egypt to other countries, especially to all Eastern countries and Europe. The author of the book explains how the Monastery of Anba Makkar was founded at the beginning of the fourth century, 360 B.C. in Wadi Al Natrun. Furthermore, he describes in detail the most important archeological features of the monastery, including the altar, the church and the castle.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F.A. ***Christian Egypt: Ancient and Modern***. Cairo, 1965.
SPCL BR 1380 M4 1965

This book provides a thorough and complete picture of Christian Egypt, ancient and modern. It starts with an outline of Christianity in Egypt and covers aspects of Christian feasts and calendars, the Coptic language, and a plan of the Coptic Church. It also looks specifically at the Christian Churches of Alexandria and Cairo, and their neighboring communities. The author also dwells lengthily on the Churches and Monasteries of the desert and at Sinai, along with Christian agencies, institutes and theological seminaries in Egypt. He concludes by examining traditional sites associated with the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts.*** AUC Press, Cairo, 1961.
SPCL BX 134 E3 M45 1961

This book is about the history of monasteries throughout the Egyptian desert, including those that are still in use. The author offers an analysis of pre-Christian monastic communities, a comparison of the anchorites and the coenobitic monks, and a discussion of the cult of St. Anthony. The book includes travelers' accounts, doctrines, and appendices which include motives that inspired monks to assume an escetic hermit's life. A bibliography of sources is also provided.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concludes with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Muyser, Jacob ('Qommos'). ***Les Pelerinages Coptes en Egypte***. (Coptic Pilgrimages In Egypt), Bibliothèque D'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 15 1979

An excellent study of past and present Coptic pilgrimages, this work presents a detailed account of the religious practices, traditions and pilgrimage sites. The catalog has a preface followed by an introduction. It is then divided into four chapters, entitled respectively: *The Act of Pilgrimage, The Principal Coptic Pilgrimages of the Past, Actual Coptic Pilgrimages, Characteristics of these Pilgrimages*. Following a brief conclusion is a list of indexes: A general bibliography, with a list of dates of Coptic pilgrimages in Egypt, the venerated saints of these pilgrimages, and a list of geographical sites. The index includes place names, proper names, authors' names, and a list of plates and maps.

- Regnault, Lucien. ***La Vie Quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Egypte Au IVe Siècle*.** [Paris]: Hachette, c1990.
Main Library BX 2734 R45 1990

The daily life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth Century Egypt is examined in great detail in this very concise work. The author is interested in the words of the Fathers that were pronounced on specific occasions for edification and teaching purposes. Seventeen chapters deal in detail with aspects of the lives of these great hermits and saints. Different aspects studied here include; Reasons for choosing the desert, an analysis of the lives of Egyptian men, women and children and their relationship with the Desert Fathers, the cells, the clothing and the types of foods the hermits consumed, the daily life of the Anchorite monks and hermits who live in caves, the elders and their disciples, the hospitality of monks, their voyages, angels, demons and beasts, the visions, and revelations and miracles. The book concludes with an extensive list of notes, a bibliography, a chronological list, an index of names, and a table of contents.

- Rousseau, Philip. ***Pachomius: The making of a community in Fourth-century Egypt*.** University of California Press**.**
Main Library BR 1720 P23 R68 1985

This book provides a biography on Pachomius and describes how he established ascetic communities in the fourth-century AD. in Egypt. The author examines life in a Pachomian monastery, its daily order and hierarchical authority. The author attempts to identify the goal of ascetic life as presented by the communial "Pachomian monk". The book describes, in its last chapters, the interaction of the Pachomian monastery monks with the community around them. Rousseau offers an in-depth study of the successors of Pachomius, their practices, and of a monastic order that did not survive in Upper Egypt.

- Sammu'iil Al-Siriaanii**.** ***Daliil Ilaa Al-Kanaa'is Wa-Al Adyirah al-Qadimah***. Published by The Instiyute for Coptic Studies ,1990.
Main Library BX 133.2 S912X 1990

This book is essentially a guide to all churches and monasteries from Giza to Aswan. It also lists the feasts of the different monasteries and includes illustrations and photographs of some churches and monasteries.

- Al-Suryani, Samaan. ***Dair al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa`, al-Suryaan: Barriyyat Shihit – Wadi al-Natruun.*** Matba`at Dair al-Baramuus, Egypt, 1990.
Main Library BX 178 S3 S8x 1990

The book gives a detailed description of Dayr as-Surian, its location and its different churches such as Deir al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa` (the Monastery of the Virgin Mary at al- Suryaan Church), al-Arba`in Church, Virgin al-Maqaarah Church and Archangel Mikhail Church. In another section of the book the author discusses the remains of some Saints such as Anba Yahnas, Kama, Marafram al-Syuryani and others. Throughout the book the reader will find information about the library, monastery museum, al-Azbawiyyah, and rare icons. The book also gives a listing of names of all the heads of the monastery and also contains a short bibliography for Anba Theophileas. Al-Suriyyaani also gives information about the role of al-Syuryan monastery in the twentieth century, and the famous travelers and foreign scientists who visited it. The book closes with a detailed map of the monastery. In addition to some representations of icons and an index, there is a collection of pictures of the first heads of the monastery. This book is recommended to researchers, tourists and travelers alike.

- Al-Syriany, Samuel. ***A Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt***. Institute of Coptic Studies, 1990.
SPCL BX 133 2 S9X

This book provides a succinct account of the main Coptic Churches in Upper Egypt. With contributions from over 60 architects, artists, historians and researchers, the book provides a perfect artistic, historical and architectural survey of Coptic Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt. It also includes maps, plans, and colored photographs of the major Churches and Monasteries.

- Toussoun, Omar (Prince). ***Etude Sur Le Wadi-Natroun, Ses Moines et Ses Couvents***. (A Study Of Wadi-Natroun, Its Monks and Its Monasteries), Alexandrie: Société des Publications Egyptiennes, 1931,
Main Library BX 385 N32 U8x 1931

This is a study of the monasteries and monks of the Natrun Valley, supplemented by geographical and historical descriptions. This study is divided into three parts: Part I gives a description of Wadi El Natrun and its different agricultural products. Part II deals with the Monks that dwell in the Wadi. Part III is dedicated solely to the Monasteries. Prince Toussoun pays extra attention in his descriptions to the periods before and after the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D.

Monasteries and state – Egypt

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

*Bolman, Elizabeth S. (ed)****.*** ***Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea.*** American Research center in Egypt, Inc. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Main Library ND 2863.3 M66 2002

This concise publication displays a range of wall paintings in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. The book is divided into four major parts. Part I describes the life of St. Antony as the 'Father' of monasticism and examines the monastery from 251 to 1232/1233 AD. It also examines the plight of the monasteries after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 AD. Part II describes the church of St. Antony, with its early paintings and architecture, placing specific emphasis on the paintings of a group of Egyptian Coptic artists led by a master artist Theodore. Part III portrays life in the monastery, past and present, and specifically focuses on the medieval and later inhabitants of the monastery. The author also describes the mystical and spiritual connections of icons in monastic life, and the idiosyncrasies of modern Coptic identity. Finally, Part IV examines the Coptic inscriptions in the church of St. Antony. The book includes valuable colored plates and black-and-white illustrations that show the various wall paintings in the monastery. The book is highly recommended for researchers of Coptic art.

- Bridel, Philippe. ***Le Site Monastique Copte des Kellia: Sources Historiques et Explorations Archeologiques***. (The Coptic Monastic Site of The Kellia: Historical Sources and Archaeological Exploration), Mission Suisse D'Archeologie Copte de l'Universite de Geneve, 1986.
Main Library DT 73 K47 S57X 1986

This study was researched by a Swiss archaeological mission exploring the Coptic monastic site of Kellia. The study is divided into five parts: Part I explains the choice of the site and its developments, the different criteria used to determine the site, and the reasons for the choice. The site is known for its conduciveness to daily lives of Coptic hermits, and their practices . Part II depicts the rituals and practices of monastic life: prayers and devotion, artisan activities, and the eremitic recluse with its significance of bread and water. Part III describes the rules and practices of monastic architecture at the Kellia sites, the art of decorative paintings and the different inscription. Part IV presents an explanation and study of the agglomeration of hermitages specific to Kellia sites. Part V talks about the "Death and Resurrection" of the Kellia site and its abandonment during the period of the Arab Conquest in Egypt in 641 AD. The author also discusses the relationship between Islamic rulers and the Christian population of Egypt. The remaining section of this study reflects upon the future of the archaeological Kellia sites, the difficulties of excavation, and the different methodological considerations that have gone into conducting a survey of the Kellia site.

- Cannuyer, Christian. ***Coptic Egypt: The Christians of The Nile***. London: Thames and Hudson; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Main Library DT 72 C7 C3613 2001

This work is an impressive concise presentation of an "ancient order of Christians called the Copts." The author provides the history of the early Church in Alexandria in the first century AD., which was founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, during the Roman empire. Although Egypt has become a Muslim nation after the Arab conquest in 541 AD., the Copts maintained their tradition and rites until the present date. The work includes several fascinating colored photographs and illustrations of the Coptic frescoes in the monasteries and churches, antique textiles, mosaics and manuscripts. It presents the Coptic culture and art which drew its inspiration from the ancient Pharaohs, Greco-Roman and Christian eras. The text includes a list of excerpts from different sources about the Copts, their rites, tradition and religious practices. It also includes a list of further readings, and a list of illustrations.

- Chassinat, Emile ***Le Manuscrit Magique Copte N° 42.573 Du Musee Egyptien Du Caire*.** (The Magical Coptic Manuscript in the Cairo Egyptian Museum), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.

Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.4

Emile Chassinat, (Translator/Commentator) gives a physical description of the manuscript in his Introduction, noting that the manuscript has sustained some damages due to negligent storing by previous owners. He notes that this manuscript is probably a copy from another work. He comments that the scribe who was responsible for the work was a skilled calligrapher, who was not familiar with the subject he was copying and whose emendations and corrections are apparent throughout the manuscript. The work includes a translation with a commentary that is divided into twenty-three parts (from I to XXIII). Following the translation is a note concerning publication, an appendix and a term index for: Coptic, Arabic, Egyptian (Hieroglyphic and Demotic) and finally, Greek. Corrections are made for Plates 1 to 4 of the Magical Coptic Manuscript No 42.573, and a table of contents concludes the work.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.

Main Library BX 2465 C48 1966

The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents "the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism," and the lives of "The three Fathers" of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai's monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai's saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book.

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. ***St. Mark and the Coptic Church.*** Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo, 1968.

Main Library BX 133.2 A4 1968

This book deals with St. Mark and the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Dr. Hakim Ameen, the author of the first essay describes how St. Mark introduced Christianity to Egypt. The second chapter informs us about St. Mark's Doctrine (the one found in parts of Africa). Other chapters of the book deal with the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Theological School of Alexandria. The book also describes the Coptic Church under different rulers and its contribution to universal Christianity. The latter part of the book concludes with a brief survey of Coptic literature and art.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn***. New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York]: Arno Press, 1973.

Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Kinross, Patrick Balfour (Lord). ***Portrait of Egypt***. New York: W. Morrow, 1966.

Main Library DT 46 K5 1966

The author is Lord Kinross, Patrick Balfour, the First Secretary of the British Embassy in Cairo (1944-47). This book comprises 4 parts (Ancient, Christian, Medieval, and Modern Egypt) and gives a description of his travels in Egypt. In the first chapter the book discusses Ancient Egypt and then introduces Christian Egypt, the Copts and the Monastic Communities, such as those existing in Wadi al-Natrun, St.Catherine's Monastery and other places. He then describes Christian Egypt from the Arab Conquest in 641 AD. to Modern times. Chapters 6 and 7 are entitled respectively: 'The Copts' and 'The Monastic Communities'. The description comes in the style of a travel guide and presents monastic life with reference to some of the most important monasteries of Egypt, such as Abu Makar, Anba Bishoi, Baramus, As-Suriani and St. Catherine, with the last two duly noted for their libraries and icons.

- Leroy, Jules. ***Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabes Illustrés***. (Illustrated Coptic and Coptic-Arabic Manuscripts) Paris : Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974.

Main Library ND 2864 C66 L47 1974

This study presents historians of Christian arts and iconography with the most comprehensive reference about the illumination of books and manuscripts of Christian Egypt. Leroy introduces the various genres of Coptic painting and he deals with the Coptic 'miniature' and other forms of painting during the period of Christian Egypt. The purely decorative drawings are also mentioned and are duly reproduced over several pages at the end of chapter III. Chapter IV is dedicated to manuscripts decorated with figurative scenes. A substantial conclusion sums up the work done by the *French Institute of Archaeology* of Beirut. indexes to authors, proper names, geographical locations and historical periods, cited manuscripts, and an iconographical index precede the plates. Plates in color are designated from A to H, and black and white plates are represented over more than a hundred pages. A table of contents conclude the work.

- El-Masry, Iris Habib. ***The Story of the Copts***. (Book II deals with the *Arab Conquest* to the *Mamluke Reign*). Newberry Springs, CA: St. Anthony Coptic Orthodox Monastery, 1982.

Main Library BX 1332 M2X, 1982

This book includes the history of the Copts starting with the final years of Byzantine Rule over Egypt and the Arab Conquest in 641A.D. The author gives a description of the Coptic Patriarchs during the reign of the Arab Rulers, and goes on to inform us of the political and social movements during the various periods of Arab Rule. She mentions how the Copts suffered under the Turkish Rule, and explains how the situation changed when the French came to Egypt during the Napoleon Expedition in 1798. The author concludes this book with the history of the Copts at the end of the nineteenth century.

- Toussoun, Omar (Prince). ***Etude Sur Le Wadi-Natroun, Ses Moines et Ses Couvents***. (A Study Of Wadi-Natroun, Its Monks and Its Monasteries), Alexandrie : Société des Publications Egyptiennes, 1931,

Main Library BX 385 N32 U8x 1931

This is a study of the monasteries and monks of the Natrun Valley, supplemented by geographical and historical descriptions. This study is divided into three parts: Part I gives a description of Wadi El Natrun and its different agricultural products. Part II deals with the Monks that dwell in the Wadi. Part III is dedicated solely to the Monasteries. Prince Toussoun pays extra attention in his descriptions to the periods before and after the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D.

Monasteries, Coptic

- Butler, Alfred J. ***The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol.1 and 2***. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1884.
SPCL BX 133 B8 1884

Volume 1 of this book focuses on the general layout and structure of Coptic Churches, giving plans and illustrations of some major Churches and Monasteries. Some of these, like the churches of old Cairo, the Monasteries of the Natrun valley, the Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt, are discussed in detail. Volume 2 goes deeper into the Coptic faith. It dwells on particular aspects of the Coptic religion like the arrangement of the altar, Eucharistic vessels and furniture, vestments of clergy, sacraments and the various rites and ceremonies of the church.

- Habachi, Labib and Tawadrus, Zaki. ***Fii Saharaa` al-`Arab wa al-Adyirah al-Sharqiyyah***. Maktabat Madbuulii, Cairo, 1993.
Main Library BX 134 E3 H3 1993

This book gives an account of the authors' journey to the Arabian desert and the Eastern Monasteries. The two authors explain, in detail, the significance of monasticism and then move on into a detailed account of a journey that took them from Cairo to Bosh. They offer a vivid description of life in the desert. The writers recount how they reached Saint Antonious Monastery and go on to give a detailed description of its surroundings and interiors. They also describe the different roads that led them from Saint Antonious Monastery to Saint Paul's Monastery. Finally, they describe their way back to Cairo and their visits to the places they passed on the Red Seacoast, giving an account of monastic life and monks, Wadi al-`Araba, and the al-Khalil Mountain.

- Labib, Mahfouz. ***Pèlerins et Voyageurs au Mont Sinaï.*** (Pilgrims and Travelers at Mount Sinai) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, **1961**
Main Library BX 387 L3 1961

This book presents a listing of the famous pilgrims that have visited mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine along with a listing of French travelers. The work is not limited to a specific period of time. The author gives a chronology of visitors from the middle ages until the nineteenth century, and specifically emphasizes the scientific and archaeological expeditions of that time. Based on accounts of these travelers, the author gives a relatively precise estimation of the increase or decrease in the numbers of the monks throughout ages. The author also mentions the external and internal work of restoration of the monastery that has been done. The study concentrates on the different characters among the pilgrims and travelers, and the reasons and incentives that prompted them to accomplish such a long and perilous voyage. The author takes us through the different stages of monastic life from the

founding of the first monastic communities in third century Egypt on the Nile Valley, to the actual construction of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which was established around the year 545 A.D. Some of the most famous figures that visited the Saint Catherine's Monastery in the nineteenth century include: Rifaud (1805-1826), Alexandre Dumas (1830), The Count of Paris (1860), Pierre Loti (1894) among others. An extensive bibliography, index to proper names, table of plates and table of contents conclude the work.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem***. Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

- Mottier, Yvette, Bosson, Nathalie. ***Les Kellia: Ermitages Coptes en Basse-Egypte*** (The Kellia: Coptic Ermitages In Lower-Egypt) (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, 12 Octobre 1989-7 Janvier 1990), Genève : Editions du Tricorne, 1989.
Main Library DT 73 K47 K47X 1989

This book is a catalog of the Kellia Sites excavations. Included are numerous photographs and maps as well as plans of the different sites. The book starts with an introduction about Coptic Monasticism, and then moves to a depiction of the archaeological findings of the Kellia sites and its antique Coptic monasteries. The author also describes the architectural styles and paintings in the monasteries, and mentions projects for their conservation and preservation. The inscriptions and the Coptic pottery art are also described in detail.

- Al-Syriany, Samuel. ***A Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt***. Institute of Coptic Studies, 1990.
SPCL BX 133 2 S9X

This book provides a succinct account of the main Coptic Churches in Upper Egypt. With contributions from over 60 architects, artists, historians and researchers, the book provides a perfect artistic, historical and architectural survey of Coptic Churches and Monasteries of Upper Egypt. It also includes maps, plans, and colored photographs of the major Churches and Monasteries.

Monasteries, Coptic -- Egypt -- (papyri)

- ***Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes***. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 V. 1

Dr. Sobhy gives a physical description of the dilapidated manuscript that is located at the Mo`allaka Church in Old Cairo. The author notes that the scribe has done the entire work and was obviously an adept craftsman. The text of the manuscript is presented in columns, followed by the translation. The original text is in Sahidiq with some dialects of Middle Egypt. The text includes many Greek words that are not spelled in the traditional way. The translator notes that the text is at times incoherent but explains that this particular trait is common among similar texts written about martyrs. The author's main objective in this study is to introduce words that are differently spelled in an untraditional manner, and to focus on new forms of grammar as presented in the manuscript. The work concludes with an index and a table of contents.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo : American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4829 C64 C3713 2002

Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Chassinat, Emile ***Le Manuscrit Magique Copte N° 42.573 Du Musee Egyptien Du Caire***. (The Magical Coptic Manuscript in the Cairo Egyptian Museum), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.4

Emile Chassinat, (Translator/Commentator) gives a physical description of the manuscript in his Introduction, noting that the manuscript has sustained some damages due to negligent storing by previous owners. He notes that this manuscript is

probably a copy from another work. He comments that the scribe who was responsible for the work was a skilled calligrapher, who was not familiar with the subject he was copying and whose emendations and corrections are apparent throughout the manuscript. The work includes a translation with a commentary that is divided into twenty-three parts (from I to XXIII). Following the translation is a note concerning publication, an appendix and a term index for: Coptic, Arabic, Egyptian (Hieroglyphic and Demotic) and finally, Greek. Corrections are made for Plates 1 to 4 of the Magical Coptic Manuscript No 42.573, and a table of contents concludes the work.

- Coquin, Rene-Georges. ***Livre de la Consecration du Sanctuaire de Benjamin.*** (Book of The Consecration of The Benjamin Sanctuary), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.13 1975

A forward and a bibliography precede an extensive introduction, itself divided into seven sections. The sections range from a physical description of the manuscript, the dating and contents, as well as an analysis of the structure and unity of the text. Coquin includes a reference to the original author of the manuscript who presents himself as 'Agathon The Priest' claiming to be the confident of the Patriarch Benjamin who is mentioned in section five (V). The context of this work is taken from, and is influenced by, the *'Histoire des Patriarches'* (History of The Patriarchs). Following the Introduction is the actual reproduction of the Coptic text, with a translation in Arabic and French, and including numerous footnotes. Concluding this work are indexes to citations, biblical references, proper names, Greek and Latin words and Arabic vocabulary, as well as a table of contents.

- Gardner, Iain; Alcock, Anthony and Funk,Wolf-Peter (eds.). ***Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis Volume 1***. Oxbow Books 1999.
Main Library PJ 2195 C667 1999

This book, as a first volume, contains a selection of Coptic texts discovered in Ismant el-Kharab whose restoration is part of the Dakhleh Oasis project, a project on going since 1986. This volume begins with the earlier findings discovered in Houses 1 and 2 and the North Building of the site, and about half of the findings in House 3. The authors also briefly present the prosopography, chronology, topography and the purpose for writing the documents. A second volume is currently in its preparatory stage.

- Guillaumont, Antoine. ***L'Asceticon Copte de L'Abbe Isaie***. (Coptic Asceticon of Abbot Isaiah) Sahidiq Fragments, Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1919**.**
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 5

This catalog is a description of fragments of two manuscripts that represent the work of Abbot Isaiah, Saint of Scete, written in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both manuscripts were found in the White Monastery or Deir El-Abiad, and parts of them are presently owned by several libraries. For convenience, the manuscripts have been named A and B and the translator has also included, at the end of his work, an extra fragment that does not belong to either A or B. The work ends with an index to the references in the scriptures, a word index in Greek, and a general index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Layton, Bentley. ***Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906***. The British Library: London, 1987.
Main Library PJ 2190 L2x 1987

This is an entirely new catalog, coming more than 75 years after the first one was published by W.E. Crum. This catalog contains a description of an additional 297 manuscripts and fragments that are added to the collection between 1906 and 1982. They Comprise biblical, liturgical, patristic and philological works. The author also presents a description of the method used to catalogue the entries and gives a reference to their locations in the texts. The last pages of the book contain plates of the White Monastery fragments and other manuscripts.

- Leroy, Jules. ***Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabes Illustrés***. (Illustrated Coptic and Coptic-Arabic Manuscripts) Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974.
Main Library ND 2864 C66 L47 1974

This study presents historians of Christian arts and iconography with the most comprehensive reference about the illumination of books and manuscripts of Christian Egypt. Leroy introduces the various genres of Coptic painting and he deals with the Coptic 'miniature' and other forms of painting during the period of Christian Egypt. The purely decorative drawings are also mentioned and are duly reproduced over several pages at the end of chapter III. Chapter IV is dedicated to manuscripts decorated with figurative scenes. A substantial conclusion sums up the work done by the *French Institute of Archaeology* of Beirut. Indexes to authors, proper names, geographical locations and historical periods, cited manuscripts, and an iconographical index precede the plates. Plates in color are designated from A to H, and black and white plates are represented over more than a hundred pages. A table of contents conclude the work.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.) ***The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius***. Great Britain, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973

This publication was accomplished by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and consists of translations of the Coptic texts found in the Library at the Monastery of Saint Macarius. These texts include Biblical fragments, liturgical fragments, monastic, and ascetic precepts. The work includes an introduction which provides a general summary of monastic libraries, and the appendices include an Arabic manuscript in Coptic characters that reflects the presence of the Coptic language in Islamic Egypt.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.). ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, vol. 3 and 4***. New York, 1926.
Main Library DT 57 N5

Volume 1 discusses numerous aspects of monastic life, including trade and occupations, clothing, the ascetic diet, sickness and healing through prayer, as well as the doctrinal position of the hermits. The author includes a map of Western Thebes during the 6th and 7th centuries, giving a description and a plan of the monastic complex of Epiphanies, and an analysis of literary and archaeological evidence. Volume 2 examines the Coptic and Greek texts that were found in works of excavation of Epiphanius. These texts include Biblical and liturgical texts, letters, accounts and lists, and legal and financial texts. Both volumes provide appendices pertaining to Coptic texts and monastic life.

- MacCoull , Leslie B. and Varirum, Ashgate. ***Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity***. Publishing Limited, 1993.
Main Library DT 93 M44 1993

This book contains a series of articles published between 1981 and 1992. These articles are based on studies of Copto-Byzantine papyri from late antiquity. The articles are in three categories**.** The first category focuses on Diocorus of Aphrodito, who briefly presents a history of Byzantine Egyptian culture. The second and third categories give papyrological evidences about Coptic Egypt in late antiquity, with a focus on Egyptian society, culture, art and religion.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926**.**
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monasteries, Orthodox Eastern

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

- Binns, John. ***Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ : The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631***. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press 1994.

Main Library BR 185 B56 1994

Binns offers a valuable description of the life and practices of the monks in the Palestinian desert. He provides a detailed overview of the monasteries in and around Jerusalem that were famous during the Byzantine Christian period, and a history of the accession of Emperor Constantine until the rise of the Persian Empire in 641 A.D. and up to the fall of Jerusalem. The council of Chalcedon is regarded as an important turning point and is described in detail. The author gives precise information about the conditions in which the monks lived in the region of Palestine at that particular period. This book deals in detail with the different pilgrimages of the time, the lives of monks, their teachings and spiritual thought, and the doctrinal debates and historical developments through which the monasteries and the monks themselves had to go. The book includes a bibliography and an index.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering , Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002.
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City : An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.
Main Library BX 2465 C48 1966

The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents "the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism," and the lives of "The three Fathers" of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai's monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai's saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book

- Habachi, Labib and Tawadrus, Zaki. ***Fii Saharaa` al-`Arab wa al-Adyirah al-Sharqiyyah***. Maktabat Madbuulii, Cairo, 1993.
Main Library BX 134 E3 H3 1993

This book gives an account of the authors' journey to the Arabian desert and the Eastern Monasteries. The two authors explain, in detail, the significance of monasticism and then move on into a detailed account of a journey that took them from Cairo to Bosh. They offer a vivid description of life in the desert. The writers recount how they reached Saint Antonious Monastery and go on to give a detailed description of its surroundings and interiors. They also describe the different roads that led them from Saint Antonious Monastery to Saint Paul's Monastery. Finally, they describe their way back to Cairo and their visits to the places they passed on the Red Seacoast, giving an account of monastic life and monks, Wadi al-`Araba, and the al-Khalil Mountain.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers.*** Cairo [Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

Monastic and religious life

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.) ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London : Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.
Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Atiya, Aziz S. ***A History of Eastern Christianity.*** London, 1968.
Main Library BX 103 2 A8 1968

This book focuses on the history of the Christian Churches of the East, namely, the Coptic and Ethiopic, the Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Indian, Maronite, and the vanished Churches of Nubia and North Africa. The author traces the origins and evolution of these churches in the seven different parts of the book. He attempts to restore a picture of the Eastern Churches that was lost to the eyes of the West. Most Eastern Churches, whose claim to apostolic origins is their major pride and glory, are viewed by the modern day west as 'primitive'. The author, himself a Copt, brings out the hierarchical organization of the various Eastern Churches, their rites and ceremonials, ecclesiastical art and architecture, religious music and literature. With these, this book goes a long way to clarify certain aspects of the Eastern Churches, which had hitherto been viewed through sectarian vehemence, and considerable lack of understanding by most Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant authors. The book also contains maps, footnotes, plates and an extensive bibliography.

- Baramuus, Augustinus (al-Qus). ***Dair al Baramuus Bayna al-Maaddy wa al-Haaddir.*** Daar Nubaar lil-Tiba`ah, Egypt, 1993.
Main Library BX 2736 B36 B35x 1993

Al-Qis Augustinus describes in his book the Baramuus Monastery along with an extensive study of monastic life and monasticism in Egypt in the 1970's and 80's. The article consists of seven chapters covering the following; monasticism in the twentieth century, al-Baramuus Monastery division/section, Saints, patriarchs, headmasters and Fathers. The book is supplemented by illustrations that emphasize and document the author's writing. The book concludes with a list of references and table of contents

- Bolman, Elizabeth S. (ed**).** ***Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea.*** American Research center in Egypt, Inc. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.
Main Library ND 2863.3 M66 2002

This concise publication displays a range of wall paintings in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. The book is divided into four major parts. Part I describes the life of St. Antony as the 'Father' of monasticism and examines the monastery from 251 to 1232/1233 AD. It also examines the plight of the monasteries after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 AD. Part II describes the church of St. Antony, with its early paintings and architecture, placing specific emphasis on the paintings of a group of Egyptian Coptic artists led by a master artist Theodore. Part III portrays life in the monastery, past and present, and specifically focuses on the medieval and later inhabitants of the monastery. The author also describes the mystical and spiritual connections of icons in monastic life, and the idiosyncrasies of modern Coptic identity. Finally, Part IV examines the Coptic inscriptions in the church of St. Antony. The book includes valuable colored plates and black-and-white illustrations that show the various wall paintings in the monastery. The book is highly recommended for researchers of Coptic art.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering , Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 2002**.**
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the

Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4829 C64 C3713 2002

Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Ibn Al-Mukaffa, Sawirus (Bishop Of Al-Ashmunin). ***History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.*** Matba`at al-Mahad al-Ilmi al-Farancy lil Athaar al-Sharkiah, Cairo.
Main Library BX 132. S3 V.2

This volume of the series comprises the biographies of ten Patriarchs, beginning with the fifty-sixth Patriarch, Khael III (Michael I) and ending the sixty-fifth Patriarch Senouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from 880-1066 AD.

- Johnston, William M. (ed.). ***Encyclopedia of Monasticism, vol.1 and 2.*** Chicago, 2000.
Main Reference BX 2461 E53 2000

This Encyclopedia, divided into two volumes, examines Monasticism in the past and present. It focuses on Buddhist Monasticism, Eastern Christian Monasticism and Western Christian Monasticism. Contributors to this Encyclopedia come from some 25 countries and describe Monasticism in over 50 different countries. With articles like "Buddhist Perspectives" and "Christian Perspectives", some major similarities and differences in these different ways of Monasticism are clarified. Bibliographies have been supplied by the author of each article and a list of some Monastic websites (where available) is provided at the end of many articles. To ease the burden of cross-cultural comparison in terminology, this Encyclopedia provides a glossary of basic terms in both Buddhist and Christian vocabulary. This Encyclopedia is a valuable reference book for scholars and other researchers, whether secular or religious, who are interested in Monasticism or in any of its manifestations.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.). ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, vol. 3 and 4***. New York, 1926.
Main Library DT 57 N5

Volume 1 discusses numerous aspects of monastic life, including trade and occupations, clothing, the ascetic diet, sickness and healing through prayer, as well as the doctrinal position of the hermits. The author includes a map of Western Thebes during the 6th and 7th centuries, giving a description and a plan of the monastic complex of Epiphanies, and an analysis of literary and archaeological evidence. Volume 2 examines the Coptic and Greek texts that were found in works of excavation of Epiphanius. These texts include Biblical and liturgical texts, letters, accounts and lists, and legal and financial texts. Both volumes provide appendices pertaining to Coptic texts and monastic life.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts.*** AUC Press, Cairo, 1961.
SPCL BX 134 E3 M45 1961

This book is about the history of monasteries throughout the Egyptian desert, including those that are still in use. The author offers an analysis of pre-Christian monastic communities, a comparison of the anchorites and the coenobitic monks, and a discussion of the cult of St. Anthony. The book includes travelers' accounts, doctrines, and appendices which include motives that inspired monks to assume an escetic hermit's life. A bibliography of sources is also provided.

- Regnault, Lucien. ***La Vie Quotidienne des Pères du Désert en Egypte Au IVe Siècle***. [Paris]: Hachette, c1990.
Main Library BX 2734 R45 1990

The daily life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth Century Egypt is examined in great detail in this very concise work. The author is interested in the words of the Fathers that were pronounced on specific occasions for edification and teaching purposes. Seventeen chapters deal in detail with aspects of the lives of these great hermits and saints. Different aspects studied here include; Reasons for choosing the desert, an analysis of the lives of Egyptian men, women and children and their relationship with the Desert Fathers, the cells, the clothing and the types of foods the hermits consumed, the daily life of the Anchorite monks and hermits who live in caves, the elders and their disciples, the hospitality of monks, their voyages, angels, demons and beasts, the visions, and revelations and miracles. The book concludes with an extensive list of notes, a bibliography, a chronological list, an index of names, and a table of contents.

- Russell, Norman (Translator) and Ward, Benedicta (Introduction). ***The Lives of the Desert Fathers: The Historia Monachorum In Aegypto***. by London: Mowbray; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1981, c1980.
Main Library BX 2465 .H513 1980

The text of "The Historia Monacorum" is translated from Greek, Latin and Syriac versions, and is presented in an extensive presentation divided into five chapters. The translated section comprises twenty-six entries, and describes the lives of some of the Desert Saints and Monks of the fourth Century in Egypt. The biographies include famous saints, such as Macarius, Patermuthius, Apollo, and John of Lycopolis. The work is concluded with notes on the text, a bibliography, chronological table, and an index of persons and places.

- Sheils, W.J. (ed.). ***Monks, Hermits and Ascetic Tradition***. Blackwell, Oxford, 1985.
Main Library BV 5017 M6X 1985

A chapter of the book deals with "ascetics" in the history of the Church from the time of the Early School of Alexandria to the time of the Byzantine. Other chapters deal with "asceticism" in Medieval Brittany, the "hermits" during the time of the Crusades, and the transformation of hermitages in twelfth-century England. These chapters further discuss the eventual spread of these hermitages to Spain. The book also includes "asceticism" during different periods in Europe and the concept of the "Little Church."

- Toussoun, Omar (Prince). ***Etude Sur Le Wadi-Natroun, Ses Moines et Ses Couvents***. (A Study Of Wadi-Natroun, Its Monks and Its Monasteries), Alexandrie : Société des Publications Egyptiennes, 1931,
Main Library BX 385 N32 U8x 1931

This is a study of the monasteries and monks of the Natrun Valley, supplemented by geographical and historical descriptions. This study is divided into three parts: Part I gives a description of Wadi El Natrun and its different agricultural products. Part II deals with the Monks that dwell in the Wadi. Part III is dedicated solely to the Monasteries. Prince Toussoun pays extra attention in his descriptions to the periods before and after the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D.

- Watson, John H. ***Among the Copts***. Brighton [England] ; Portland, Or.: Sussex Academic Press, 2000.
Main Library BX 136.2 .W38 2000

John Watson provides an engaging account of the history of the Copts from early Christianity to the present. Paying detailed attention to Coptic customs, Watson examines various controversial issues or incidents in the history of the Coptic people. Although at points the author seems somewhat biased in his comments, overall he maintains a balance and objectivity in his final analysis. He includes various biographies of renowned Coptic people, patriarchs, saints and monks, and tends to interject his accounts with his own personal experiences of those he interviewed or met. He demonstrates a deep understanding of Coptic and Middle Eastern culture, including Islam. He dedicates an entire chapter to the intriguing subject of monastic life and asceticism. The work retires with a detailed Coptic chronology and an index of names and subjects.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926**.**

Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monastic and religious life -- History -- Early church, ca. 30-600

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.
Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Bagnall, Roger S. ***Egypt in Late Antiquity.*** Published by Princeton University Press, 1993.
Main Library DT 93 B33 1993

This book gives a full description of life in Egypt in late antiquity. The author describes the cultural and social environment, the cities, the villages in Egypt, the people and the language at that time. Then he introduces the Christianization of Egypt and the start of Monasticism in the fourth century BC.

- Binns, John. ***Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ : The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631***. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press 1994.
Main Library BR 185 B56 1994

Binns offers a valuable description of the life and practices of the monks in the Palestinian desert. He provides a detailed overview of the monasteries in and around Jerusalem that were famous during the Byzantine Christian period, and a history of the accession of Emperor Constantine until the rise of the Persian Empire in 641 A.D. and up to the fall of Jerusalem. The council of Chalcedon is regarded as an important turning point and is described in detail. The author gives precise information about the conditions in which the monks lived in the region of Palestine at that particular period. This book deals in detail with the different pilgrimages of the time, the lives

of monks, their teachings and spiritual thought, and the doctrinal debates and historical developments through which the monasteries and the monks themselves had to go. The book includes a bibliography and an index.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering , Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002.
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City : An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.
Main Library BX 2465 C48 1966

The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents “the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism,” and the lives of “The three Fathers” of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai’s monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai’s saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism***. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Habachi, Labib and Tawadrus, Zaki. ***Fii Saharaa` al-`Arab wa al-Adyirah al-Sharqiyyah***. Maktabat Madbuulii, Cairo, 1993.
Main Library BX 134 E3 H3 1993

This book gives an account of the authors' journey to the Arabian desert and the Eastern Monasteries. The two authors explain, in detail, the significance of monasticism and then move on into a detailed account of a journey that took them from Cairo to Bosh. They offer a vivid description of life in the desert. The writers recount how they reached Saint Antonious Monastery and go on to give a detailed description of its surroundings and interiors. They also describe the different roads that led them from Saint Antonious Monastery to Saint Paul's Monastery. Finally, they describe their way back to Cairo and their visits to the places they passed on the Red Seacoast, giving an account of monastic life and monks, Wadi al-`Araba, and the al-Khalil Mountain.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*****.** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concludes with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Toussoun, Omar (Prince). ***Etude Sur Le Wadi-Natroun, Ses Moines et Ses Couvents***. (A Study Of Wadi-Natroun, Its Monks and Its Monasteries), Alexandrie: Société des Publications Egyptiennes, 1931,
Main Library BX 385 N32 U8x 1931

This is a study of the monasteries and monks of the Natrun Valley, supplemented by geographical and historical descriptions. This study is divided into three parts: Part I gives a description of Wadi El Natrun and its different agricultural products. Part II deals with the Monks that dwell in the Wadi. Part III is dedicated solely to the Monasteries. Prince Toussoun pays extra attention in his descriptions to the periods before and after the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D.

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

Monastic and religious life -- History -- Middle Ages, 600-1500

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.) ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Bolman, Elizabeth S. (ed**).** ***Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea.*** American Research center in Egypt, Inc. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Main Library ND 2863.3 M66 2002

This concise publication displays a range of wall paintings in the monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea. The book is divided into four major parts. Part I describes the life of St. Antony as the 'Father' of monasticism and examines the monastery from 251 to 1232/1233 AD. It also examines the plight of the monasteries after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 AD. Part II describes the church of St. Antony, with its early paintings and architecture, placing specific emphasis on the paintings of a group of Egyptian Coptic artists led by a master artist Theodore. Part III portrays life in the monastery, past and present, and specifically focuses on the medieval and later inhabitants of the monastery. The author also describes the mystical and spiritual connections of icons in monastic life, and the idiosyncrasies of modern Coptic identity. Finally, Part IV examines the Coptic inscriptions in the church of St. Antony. The book includes valuable colored plates and black-and-white illustrations that show the various wall paintings in the monastery. The book is highly recommended for researchers of Coptic art.

- Ceres, Wissa Wassef. ***Pratiques Rituelles et Alimentaires des Coptes***. (Ritual and Alimentary Practices of the Copts), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919- (PhD thesis presented at the Sorbonne, Paris)
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 9

This study presents an in-depth examination of the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt with its rituals and alimentary practices. Various subjects are treated in this work ranging from the Christianization of Egypt, the Coptic Calendar and seasonal foods, the different markets, ceremonials within the family, the different feasts, and the various sayings and metaphors used by the Coptic people. The work is concluded by a list of the plants mentioned in the work, a Bibliography, indexes to the geographic places, the names of persons and ceremonies, an index of terms, and a general index. The dissertation is concluded with an intriguing list of Coptic cutlery.

- Chitty, Derwas J. (Derwas James). ***The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire***. Oxford, Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd, 1966.
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The book includes a table of contents, list of illustrations, index to maps, an acknowledgment, and a useful list of abbreviations. The first chapter presents "the Call to the ascetic life of monasticism," and the lives of "The three Fathers" of the ascetic life of Egyptian monasticism, namely: Athanasius, Anthony and Pachomius. The history of monasticism in Egypt and Palestine is related in chronological order and in great detail, casting light on the differences specific to each historical period and location. Many events have shaped monasticism in the Near East. Events like The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD.) are represented as a turning point and, likewise, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Arabs (638 AD.) is studied in chapter VIII, the concluding chapter of the chronological section of this book. Chapter IX is dedicated to Sinai's monastic history. The author also describes the life of Sinai's saints and monks as well as the pressures exerted by the Islamic authorities, and the forceful conversion of the last remaining Christian tribes to Islam. It has an epilogue and indexes of persons and places, and a subject index. A very helpful and detailed Chronological table is constituted of three columns that are placed in perspective order to each other. The first column represents events in historico-political or general events, and the second and third columns present parallel events in Egypt and Palestine. A bibliography concludes the book

- Constable, Giles. ***Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century.*** Cambridge University Press.
Main Library BX 2470 c6 1964

The main focus of this book is the study of the tithes paid to monks in the Middle Ages. It critically examines the history of "Monastic Tithes" from theological and canonical perspective and refers to the doctrine of tithes at the time when most monasteries had to pay them (from the seventh to the twelfth century AD). The author also deals with the possession of tithes by monasteries in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and, finally, examines the abolition of payment of tithes by monks, and the crisis that arose due to this monastic release from tithes.

- Fedden, Romilly, 1908-1977. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert.*** Bulletin of Faculty Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Labib, Mahfouz. ***Pèlerins et Voyageurs au Mont Sinaï***. (Pilgrims and Travelers at Mount Sinai) Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961
Main Library BX 387 L3 1961

This book presents a listing of the famous pilgrims that have visited mount Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine along with a listing of French travelers. The work is not limited to a specific period of time. The author gives a chronology of visitors from the middle ages until the nineteenth century, and specifically emphasizes the

scientific and archaeological expeditions of that time. Based on accounts of these travelers, the author gives a relatively precise estimation of the increase or decrease in the numbers of the monks throughout ages. The author also mentions the external and internal work of restoration of the monastery that has been done. The study concentrates on the different characters among the pilgrims and travelers, and the reasons and incentives that prompted them to accomplish such a long and perilous voyage. The author takes us through the different stages of monastic life from the founding of the first monastic communities in third century Egypt on the Nile Valley, to the actual construction of the Monastery of St. Catherine, which was established around the year 545 A.D. Some of the most famous figures that visited the Saint Catherine's Monastery in the nineteenth century include: Rifaud (1805-1826), Alexandre Dumas (1830), The Count of Paris (1860), Pierre Loti (1894) among others. An extensive bibliography, index to proper names, table of plates and table of contents conclude the work.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concluded with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Sheils, W.J. (ed.). ***Monks, Hermits and Ascetic Tradition*** . Blackwell, Oxford, 1985.
Main Library BV 5017 M6X 1985

A chapter of the book deals with "ascetics" in the history of the Church from the time of the Early School of Alexandria to the time of the Byzantine. Other chapters deal with "asceticism" in Medieval Brittany, the "hermits" during the time of the Crusades, and the transformation of hermitages in twelfth-century England. These chapters further discuss the eventual spread of these hermitages to Spain. The book also includes "asceticism" during different periods in Europe and the concept of the "Little Church."

- Toussoun, Omar (Prince). ***Etude Sur Le Wadi-Natroun, Ses Moines et Ses Couvents***. (A Study Of Wadi-Natroun, Its Monks and Its Monasteries), Alexandrie: Société des Publications Egyptiennes, 1931,
Main Library BX 385 N32 U8x 1931

This is a study of the monasteries and monks of the Natrun Valley, supplemented by geographical and historical descriptions. This study is divided into three parts: Part I gives a description of Wadi El Natrun and its different agricultural products. Part II deals with the Monks that dwell in the Wadi. Part III is dedicated solely to the Monasteries. Prince Toussoun pays extra attention in his descriptions to the periods before and after the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D.

Monastic and religious life in art

- ***Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes***. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 V. 1

Dr. Sobhy, gives a physical description of the dilapidated manuscript that is located at the Mo`allaka Church in Old Cairo. The author notes that the scribe has done the entire work and was obviously an adept craftsman. The text of the manuscript is presented in columns, followed by the translation. The original text is in Sahidiq with some dialects of Middle Egypt. The text includes many Greek words that are not spelled in the traditional way. The translator notes that the text is at times incoherent but explains that this particular trait is common among similar texts written about martyrs. The author’s main objective in this study is to introduce words that are differently spelled in an untraditional manner, and to focus on new forms of grammar as presented in the manuscript. The work concludes with an index and a table of contents.

- *Coptic Icons, Les Icones Coptes, Koptische Ikonen*. Cairo: Lehnert and Landrock, 1986.
Main Library N 8189 E35 C6x 1986

This book is a catalog of Coptic Icons that are found in several churches and monasteries throughout Egypt. The churches include Al-Mu’allaqah (The Hanging Church in Old Cairo), the church of Saint Barbara, the churches of St. Mercurius (Abu Saifain), and Al-Damshiriah and St. Shenouti. Haret al-Rum and Fum Al-Khalig in the Cairo area have also been included. The Coptic monasteries of Wadi El-Natrun and Upper Egypt are presented through their fascinating icons. The specific style of Coptic icons, described as the ‘Triptych’ style, is also presented in this work and is constituted by a centerpiece and two side panels that fold over a center. This work includes a fascinating array of different icon styles, among which are the

Fayoum Portraits, and the different icons kept at the Coptic Museum. This catalog is trilingual (English, French, German). The book closes with a list of alphabetical names and a table of contents.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn***. New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York]: Arno Press, 1973.

Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism***. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.

Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Gabra, Gawdat. ***Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art And Architecture***. with a historical overview by Tim Vivian. New York ; Cairo : The American University in Cairo Press, 2002.

Main Library NA 4850 A22 2002

In his introduction, Tim Vivian gives an overview of the early Christian era, Egyptian monasticism, and rites and ceremonies common to the Coptic faith. Gabra, the author, presents the reader with a study of Egyptian monasteries from Aswan to Wadi Al-Natrun and complemented by numerous color photographs. Architecture, wall

painting, and the processes used in their restoration are described in detail. There is a list of illustrations prior to the introduction, and the book ends with a bibliography, a glossary and an index.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem***. Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

Monastic and religious life of women

- ***Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes***. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 V. 1

Dr. Sobhy, gives a physical description of the dilapidated manuscript that is located at the Mo`allaka Church in Old Cairo. The author notes that the scribe has done the entire work and was obviously an adept craftsman. The text of the manuscript is presented in columns, followed by the translation. The original text is in Sahidiq with some dialects of Middle Egypt. The text includes many Greek words that are not spelled in the traditional way. The translator notes that the text is at times incoherent but explains that this particular trait is common among similar texts written about martyrs. The author's main objective in this study is to introduce words that are differently spelled in an untraditional manner, and to focus on new forms of grammar as presented in the manuscript. The work concludes with an index and a table of contents.

- Doorn-Harder, Pieternella van. ***Contemporary Coptic Nuns***. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
BX 137.3 D66 1995

This book is one of the very few books that deal with the subject of Coptic nuns. The author deals with a variety of subjects revolving around an ascetic community of Coptic nuns and convents: The Copts in Egyptian society, the monastic landscape, the ruling mothers and fathers of the Coptic monasteries and convents. The author also describes the abandoning of the mundane life by the novitiate nuns, who are not considered, according to monastic life, as "dead to the world". Pieternella Van Doorn-Harder also describes, in a very interesting style, the initiation rites, practices of the nuns and their work, the spiritual life, the saints, and the visitors. The work concludes with a listing of notes, glossary, selected bibliography, and an index of names.

Monastic libraries

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- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Kasser, Rodolphe. ***Complements au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum.*** (Complements to The Coptic Dictionary of Crum), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.7, 1964

This work was initially intended to be published in a journal but, as it has attained scholarly significance, was finally published as a separate volume. It is intended to be a supplement to complement W. C. Crum's life work (**Coptic Dictionary**, Oxford, Clarendon Press) Published nearly a quarter of a century later, it contains many additions including new words and new spellings. It has a foreward and an introduction that precede the dictionary. The work is completed by an addendum, a list of signs and abbreviations, and a list of authors' names.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.). ***The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius.*** Great Britain, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973

This publication was accomplished by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and consists of translations of the Coptic texts found in the Library at the Monastery of Saint Macarius. These texts include Biblical fragments, liturgical fragments, monastic, and ascetic precepts. The work includes an introduction which provides a general summary of monastic libraries, and the appendices include an Arabic manuscript in Coptic characters that reflects the presence of the Coptic language in Islamic Egypt.

- Simaika Pasha, Marcus. ***Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt, vol. 1, 2.*** Government Press, Cairo, 1939.
SPCL Creswell Collection Z 6605 C7 S5 1939 v. 1, 2

The first volume of this book discusses the relevance of monastic libraries in Egypt, and the process by which monastic scribes produced manuscripts. The second volume provides a comprehensive index of churches and monasteries to any researcher

curious to explore them in detail. The third volume, not available at the AUC library, describes the libraries and manuscripts of the Coptic monasteries. (It may be well worthwhile checking with institutions outside of AUC to attain a copy of this highly recommended volume).

- Al-Suryani, Samaan. ***Dair al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa`, al-Suryaan: Barriyyat Shihit – Wadi al-Natruun.*** Matba`at Dair al-Baramuus, Egypt, 1990.
Main Library BX 178 S3 S8x 1990

The book gives a detailed description of Dayr as-Surian, its location and its different churches such as Deir al-Sayyidah al-Adhraa` (the Monastery of the Virgin Mary at al- Suryaan Church), al-Arba`in Church, Virgin al-Maqaarah Church and Archangel Mikhail Church. In another section of the book the author discusses the remains of some Saints such as Anba Yahnas, Kama, Marafram al-Syuryani and others. Throughout the book the reader will find information about the library, monastery museum, al-Azbawiyyah, and rare icons. The book also gives a listing of names of all the heads of the monastery and also contains a short bibliography for Anba Theophileas. Al-Suriyyaani also gives information about the role of al-Syuryan monastery in the twentieth century, and the famous travelers and foreign scientists who visited it. The book closes with a detailed map of the monastery. In addition to some representations of icons and an index, there is a collection of pictures of the first heads of the monastery. This book is recommended to researchers, tourists and travelers alike.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926**.**
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monasticism and religious orders

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum.*** translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.
Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 2002.
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Chassinat, Emile. ***Le Manuscrit Magique Copte N° 42.573 Du Musee Egyptien Du Caire***. (The Magical Coptic Manuscript in the Cairo Egyptian Museum), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.4

Emile Chassinat, (Translator/Commentator) gives a physical description of the manuscript in his Introduction, noting that the manuscript has sustained some damages due to negligent storing by previous owners. He notes that this manuscript is probably a copy from another work. He comments that the scribe who was responsible for the work was a skilled calligrapher, who was not familiar with the subject he was copying and whose emendations and corrections are apparent throughout the manuscript. The work includes a translation with a commentary that is divided into twenty-three parts (from I to XXIII). Following the translation is a note concerning publication, an appendix and a term index for: Coptic, Arabic, Egyptian (Hieroglyphic and Demotic) and finally, Greek. Corrections are made for Plates 1 to 4 of the Magical Coptic Manuscript No 42.573, and a table of contents concludes the work.

- Coquin, Rene-Georges. ***Livre de la Consecration du Sanctuaire de Benjamin.*** (Book of The Consecration of The Benjamin Sanctuary), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v.13 1975

A forward and a bibliography precede an extensive introduction, itself divided into seven sections. The sections range from a physical description of the manuscript, the dating and contents, as well as an analysis of the structure and unity of the text. Coquin includes a reference to the original author of the manuscript who presents

himself as 'Agathon The Priest' claiming to be the confident of the Patriarch Benjamin who is mentioned in section five (V). The context of this work is taken from, and is influenced by, the *'Histoire des Patriarches'* (History of The Patriarchs). Following the Introduction is the actual reproduction of the Coptic text, with a translation in Arabic and French, and including numerous footnotes. Concluding this work are indexes to citations, biblical references, proper names, Greek and Latin words and Arabic vocabulary, as well as a table of contents.

- Doorn-Harder, Pieternella van. ***Contemporary Coptic Nuns***. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
BX 137.3 D66 1995

This book is one of the very few books that deal with the subject of Coptic nuns. The author deals with a variety of subjects revolving around an ascetic community of Coptic nuns and convents: The Copts in Egyptian society, the monastic landscape, the ruling mothers and fathers of the Coptic monasteries and convents. The author also describes the abandoning of the mundane life by the novitiate nuns, who are not considered, according to monastic life, as "dead to the world". Pieternella Van Doorn-Harder also describes, in a very interesting style, the initiation rites, practices of the nuns and their work, the spiritual life, the saints, and the visitors. The work concludes with a listing of notes, glossary, selected bibliography, and an index of names.

- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. (Hugh Gerard), d. ***The Monasteries of The Wadi 'n Natrûn***. New York, Metropolitan, Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926-[33]. New York] : Arno Press, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973 pt.1

The author describes monastic libraries in general and the monastery of Saint Macarius in particular. He gives references to these libraries from his description of newly translated Coptic texts. The author studies in detail the process by which the library started to acquire privately owned books and developed church collections. Dr. G.P.G. Sobhy edits and presents, in the latter part of this study, an Arabic manuscript in the Coptic language.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism.*** Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several

modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a “call” from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Goehring, James E. ***Ascetics, Society, and The Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism.*** Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999.
Main Library BR 190 G64 1999

This very detailed and well documented work by James E. Goehring, Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department of Classics, Philosophy, and Religion at Mary’s Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, constitutes a fine collection of scholarly essays and deals with monasticism, late antiquity, Egyptology, and religious studies. It provides a comprehensive, detailed description of the evolution of monasticism, religious orders and the history of the early Church and Christianity in Egypt. James E. Goehring has used the full array of Papyrological documentary sources, archaeology, and traditional literary sources to produce a fine and detailed work. The foreward and preface are followed by a detailed list of abbreviations that are further divided into three parts: general, ancient sources, and a list of short titles of frequently cited works. An introduction follows the abbreviations list. The essays include interesting topics, such as ‘The Origins of Monasticism’, ‘Ascetics, Society, and The Desert’, ‘Ascetic Organization’ and ‘Ideological Boundaries’, and finally, ‘Pachomian Studies: The Later Years’. The author concludes with a copious bibliography of cited works and an index of terms.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grogorius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author’s liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Kasser, Rodolphe. ***Complements au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum***. (Complements to The Coptic Dictionary of Crum), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919.
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 1964 v.7

This work was initially intended to be published in a journal but, as it has attained scholarly significance, was finally published as a separate volume. It is intended to be a supplement to complement W. C. Crum's life work (**Coptic Dictionary**, Oxford, Clarendon Press) Published nearly a quarter of a century later, it contains many additions including new words and new spellings. It has a foreward and an introduction that precede the dictionary. The work is completed by an addendum, a list of signs and abbreviations, and a list of authors' names.

- Kemmerer, Winifred. ***A Coptic Bibliography.*** in collaboration with Elinor Mullett Husselman and Louise A. Shier. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,1950.
Main Reference PJ 2197 Z9 K3 1950

Winifred Kammerer explains in the Preface that his work is intended to provide a scholarly guide to various subject divisions in the field of Coptic studies. The author warns that some of the work between the years 1940 to 1948 is drawn from bibliographies that are generally not verified due to the constraints of World War II. This applies also to Russian and Arabic sources due to the delay that would have occurred in trying to verify these sources. A table of contents and a list of abbreviations follow the preface. The compiled bibliography is divided into five categories: General Works, Philology, Coptic Texts, History, Art and Archaeology. An index to the different terms concludes the work.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concludes with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.*** New York, 1926.
Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Monasticism and religious orders -- Habit

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem***. Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

Monasticism and religious orders -- Liturgy

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum.*** translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.
Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Coptic Church, (ed.) by K.H. Kuhn and W.J. Tait. ***Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns : From Manuscript M574 Of The Pierpont Morgan Library.*** Oxford, England: Griffith Institute : Ashmolean Museum, 1996.
Main Library BX 137 C678x 1996

The author presents a description and translation of thirteen alphabetic acrostic hymns in Coptic Sahidic dialect. The stanzes of each hymn contain every letter of the Greek alphabet. These hymns were written for the Monastery of the Archangel St Michael at the Hamouli area in the Fayyum. The hymns praise the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and Coptic saints. The baptism, resurrection, and ascension are praised in two separate hymns. The author believes that these hymns were used during events that were of religious significance to the Coptic Orthodox Faith. In his introduction, the author explains the Sahidic dialect, the structure of the hymns, and their content. The hymns are reproduced along with an English translation and some notes.Concluding this book are a paleographical appendix, indexes to personal and geographical names, Geek loan-words, and literary references.

- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. ***St. Mark and the Coptic Church.*** Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate**,** Cairo, 1968.
Main Library BX 133.2 A4 1968

This book deals with St. Mark and the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Dr. Hakim Ameen, the author of the first essay describes how St. Mark introduced Christianity to Egypt. The second chapter informs us about St. Mark's Doctrine (the one found in parts of Africa). Other chapters of the book deal with the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Theological School of Alexandria. The book also describes the Coptic Church under different rulers and its contribution to universal Christianity. The latter part of the book concludes with a brief survey of Coptic literature and art.

- Lythgoe, Albert Morton (ed.). ***The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius***. Great Britain, 1973.
Main Library DT 73 N28 E92 1973

This publication was accomplished by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and consists of translations of the Coptic texts found in the Library at the Monastery of Saint Macarius. These texts include Biblical fragments, liturgical fragments, monastic, and ascetic precepts. The work includes an introduction which provides a general summary of monastic libraries, and the appendices include an Arabic manuscript in Coptic characters that reflects the presence of the Coptic language in Islamic Egypt.

- McLellan, Michael W. ***Monasticism in Egypt: Images and Words of the Desert Fathers***. Cairo [Egypt]: American University in Cairo Press, 1998.
Main Library BX 134.5 E4 M3 1998

This book is best described by its title 'Images and Words.' It consists of pages of plates with images. Each plate is described on the opposite page. Each description relates to a miracle performed by the Desert Fathers, or events from their daily lives or words inspired by their teachings and wisdom. The foreward of this book is by H.H. Pope Shenouda III. The *Introduction* gives a short description of Monasticism. By way of conclusion, Otto F.A. Meinardus offers a description of some of the Egyptian monasteries such as the Red Sea, Western Desert, and Upper Egyptian monasteries, as well as the Saint Catherine monastery.

- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***The Copts in Jerusalem.*** Cairo: Commission on Ecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
Main Library BX 134.5 J4 M4 1960

In this interesting book, Meinardus presents us with a history of the Copts and Coptic monks in Jerusalem. He provides a chronology by which the reader is invited to follow the main events in the history of the Copts and the religious communities in Jerusalem. Some of the monasteries described are: Dair as-Sultan, Dair Mar Anthunius, Dair Mari Girgis. Mention is made also of other churches such as: The Church of the Resurrection Christ, The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin

Mary, The Church of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus in Bethlehem, and The Church of the Ascension. The book ends with a brief description of Coptic sites in Jericho, a list of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem, an extensive bibliography, a list of illustrations and a corrigenda of words, names, volumes and dates.

Monasticism and religious orders -- Occupations

- Ceres, Wissa Wassef. ***Pratiques Rituelles et Alimentaires des Coptes***. (Ritual and Alimentary Practices of the Copts), Bibliothèque d'Etudes Coptes, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1919- (PhD thesis presented at the Sorbonne, Paris)
Main Library PJ 2195 B5 v. 9

This study presents an in-depth examination of the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt with its rituals and alimentary practices. Various subjects are treated in this work ranging from the Christianization of Egypt, the Coptic Calendar and seasonal foods, the different markets, ceremonials within the family, the different feasts, and the various sayings and metaphors used by the Coptic people. The work is concluded by a list of the plants mentioned in the work, a Bibliography, indexes to the geographic places, the names of persons and ceremonies, an index of terms, and a general index. The dissertation is concluded with an intriguing list of Coptic cutlery.

- Gabra, Gawdat. ***Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art And Architecture***. with a historical overview by Tim Vivian. New York; Cair: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4850 A22 2002.

In his introduction, Tim Vivian gives an overview of the early Christian era, Egyptian monasticism, and rites and ceremonies common to the Coptic faith. Gabra, the author, presents the reader with a study of Egyptian monasteries from Aswan to Wadi Al-Natrun and complemented by numerous color photographs. Architecture, wall painting, and the processes used in their restoration are described in detail. There is a list of illustrations prior to the introduction, and the book ends with a bibliography, a glossary and an index.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural

developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*.** New York: Routledge, 2002.

Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

Monasticism and religious orders -- Common life

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum.*** translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London : Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Constable, Giles. ***Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century.*** Cambridge University Press.

Main Library BX 2470 c6 1964

The main focus of this book is the study of the tithes paid to and by monks in the Middle Ages. It critically examines the history of "Monastic Tithes" from theological and canonical perspective and refers to the doctrine of tithes at the time when most monasteries had to pay them (from the seventh to the twelfth century AD). The author also deals with the possession of tithes by monasteries in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and, finally, examines the abolition of payment of tithes by monks, and the crisis that arose due to this monastic release from tithes.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism.*** Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.

Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and

isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Gabra, Gawdat. ***Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art And Architecture***. with a historical overview by Tim Vivian. New York ; Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4850 A22 2002

In his introduction, Tim Vivian gives an overview of the early Christian era, Egyptian monasticism, and rites and ceremonies common to the Coptic faith. Gabra, the author, presents the reader with a study of Egyptian monasteries from Aswan to Wadi Al-Natrun and complemented by numerous color photographs. Architecture, wall painting, and the processes used in their restoration are described in detail. There is a list of illustrations prior to the introduction, and the book ends with a bibliography, a glossary and an index.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*.** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth

century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

Courtesy of Emad Nasry

Monasticism and religious orders – Orthodox Eastern church

- Binns, John. ***Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ : The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631***. Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press 1994.
Main Library BR 185 B56 1994

Binns offers a valuable description of the life and practices of the monks in the Palestinian desert. He provides a detailed overview of the monasteries in and around Jerusalem that were famous during the Byzantine Christian period, and a history of the accession of Emperor Constantine until the rise of the Persian Empire in 641 A.D. and up to the fall of Jerusalem. The council of Chalcedon is regarded as an important turning point and is described in detail. The author gives precise information about the conditions in which the monks lived in the region of Palestine at that particular period. This book deals in detail with the different pilgrimages of the time, the lives of monks, their teachings and spiritual thought, and the doctrinal debates and historical developments through which the monasteries and the monks themselves had to go. The book includes a bibliography and an index.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002.
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**. *Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the

preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
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- Meinardus, Otto F.A. ***Christian Egypt: Ancient and Modern***. Cairo, 1965.
SPCL BR 1380 M4 1965

This book provides a thorough and complete picture of Christian Egypt, ancient and modern. It starts with an outline of Christianity in Egypt and covers aspects of Christian feasts and calendars, the Coptic language, and a plan of the Coptic Church. It also looks specifically at the Christian Churches of Alexandria and Cairo, and their neighboring communities. The author also dwells lengthily on the Churches and Monasteries of the desert and at Sinai, along with Christian agencies, institutes and theological seminaries in Egypt. He concludes by examining traditional sites associated with the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt.

Monasticism and religious orders for women

- Elm, Sussana. ***'Virgins of God'. The making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity***. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Main Library BV 5023 E45 1994

This book traces the origins of "asceticism", and the crucial role played by women in establishing organizational patterns in ascetic communities. The book makes the assertion that monasticism is the 'highest evolution of asceticism'. The author critically examines the evolution of asceticism in Asia Minor and Egypt; the variations of female ascetic life in these regions, the classic models, and some prominent female and male ascetics. He concludes by demonstrating how the ascetic bishops (today's saints) eventually 'reformed' these early models of communal ascetic life by dividing the order of the 'Virgins of God' into monks and nuns, thus laying the foundation for modern day monasticism. This book is important for anyone interested in early church history and the ascetic life.

Monasticism and religious orders in literature

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). ***The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum***. translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of "Apophthegmata" (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *"Book of Paradise"* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by 'The Fathers' on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism.*** Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

Monasticism and religious orders, Coptic

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002.
Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
Main Library NA 4829 C64 C3713 2002

Dr. Gawdat Gabra introduces the Copts, their community in the Middle East, the Coptic Church and Coptic art in Egypt, concluding the introduction with a summary of the work presented in this book. The author describes the various sites and the discovery of the various Coptic settlements in Egypt. He gives a precise description of the churches built in Alexandria, the Delta area, and of the ancient sites of Nitria and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Fedden, Romilly, 1908-1977. ***A Study of The Monastery of Saint Antony in the Eastern Desert***. Bulletin of Faculty Arts, v. 5, pt. 1.
Main Library BX 138 S3 F4x

This study begins with an introductory note followed by a bibliography. It comprises seven chapters describing the characteristics of Egyptian monasticism, and includes several maps as well as a biography of Saint Anthony and the monastery of Saint Anthony. The history of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 AD. is described in a separate chapter. The last three chapters range in description from the Arab Conquest in 641 A.D. until the fifteenth Century. This section is followed by a section on "the age of travelers" and concluded with monasticism in modern times.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church*.** New York: Routledge, 2002.
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- Meinardus, Otto F. A. ***Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts***. rev. ed., Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992.
Main Library BX 134 E3 M45 1992

This is a revised edition of an earlier work published in 1961. It includes a table of contents, a preface, a glossary of ecclesiastical terms, a list of Coptic Gregorian months, and maps of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. The author of this book discusses, in the first chapter, the life of St. Antony and his influence on Coptic Christianity. The work presents the geographical locations of the monasteries with a detailed historical description. Then the author lists the different monasteries of Egypt, and offers a list of dates on which they where founded, their existence through the centuries, and how they survived until the Twentieth century. The latter part of the book focuses on 'The Sociology of Coptic Monasticism'. Meinardus also deals with the different stages in a monk's life and the attainment of eremitic spirituality as a hermit. The work is concluded with an epilogue, notes, bibliography and indexes to individuals and places.

- Scott-Moncrieff, Phillip David. ***Paganism and Christianity in Egypt***. Cambridge University Press, 1913**.**
SPCL BR190 S4 1913

This book begins by examining religion in Egypt from the close of the Ptolemaic era to the start of the third century. The author investigates the advent of Christianity in Egypt (from the time of St. Mark), providing literary and archeological evidence throughout. He concludes with a look at early Christian iconography, aspects of Gnosticism, and the rise of asceticism and Monasticism in Egypt.

Monasticism and religious orders, Orthodox

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, c2002.

Main Library BR 195 M65 C36 2002

The author examines the lives of the wandering, begging monks between roughly 360 and 451 A.D. and focuses on the social and cultural settings of that period, describing in detail the ascetic poverty of the begging monks, and offering a characterization of monkhood that is one of abandoned materialism and begging. Through his study, the author sheds light on the development of early Christian Monasticism and its evolution up to its institutional status in areas of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Caner exposes the power struggles for spiritual authority between the official religious authorities and the ascetics. The author discusses essential turning points such as the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Daniel Caner presents footnotes and an English translation of the biography of Alexander Akoimetos (Alexander the sleepless) in his appendix. The book is concluded by an extensive bibliography and an index.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.

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Spiritual life – Christianity

- Anân Ishô of Bêth Abhê (Anan Isho, 7th Century AD.). **The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt: The Syrian Version of the Apophthegmata Patrum.** translated by Budge, E. A. Wallis (Ernest Alfred Wallis), Sir, 1857-1934, London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1934.

Main Library BX 2734 A64 1934

The largest collection of “Apophthegmata” (sayings of the Fathers) hitherto published. This is a revised translation, including a collection of anecdotes and proverbs, of the second part of the *Book of Paradise* as compiled by Anan Isho. It is a collection of proverbs and anecdotes deriving from monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The first part is also published in a revised translation under the title *"Stories of The Holy Fathers"*. Both parts were originally published in an English translation in 1904, entitled the *“Book of Paradise”* Written by Anan Isho of Beth Abhe, and divided into Book I (Chapters I-XIV) and Book II.(Chapters I-XVIII). Book I comprises sayings and words of wisdom by ‘The Fathers’ on different occupations and duties of the hermits and monks as well as their works and the miracles they have performed. Book II deals with general questions and answers on the ascetic life. It also includes inquiries by the pupils to the Holy Fathers and monks on different subjects and their answers. The book is concluded by an index of names.

- Caner, Daniel. ***Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority And The Promotion Of Monasticism In Late Antiquity***. Berkeley, California; London: University of California Press, 2002.
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- Cannuyer, Christian. ***Coptic Egypt: The Christians of The Nile***. London: Thames and Hudson; New York : Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
Main Library DT 72 C7 C3613 2001

This work is an impressive concise presentation of an "ancient order of Christians called the Copts." The author provides the history of the early Church in Alexandria in the first century AD., which was founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, during the Roman empire. Although Egypt has become a Muslim nation after the Arab conquest in 541 AD., the Copts maintained their tradition and rites until the present date. The work includes several fascinating colored photographs and illustrations of the Coptic frescoes in the monasteries and churches, antique textiles, mosaics and manuscripts. It presents the Coptic culture and art which drew its inspiration from the ancient Pharaohs, Greco-Roman and Christian eras. The text includes a list of excerpts from different sources about the Copts, their rites, tradition and religious practices. It also includes a list of further readings, and a list of illustrations.

- Capuani, Massimo. ***Christian Egypt: Coptic Art and Monuments Through Two Millennia.*** With the contributions of Otto F.A. Meinardus and Marie-Hélène; edited and introduced by Gawdat Gabra. Cairo : American University in Cairo Press, 2002.
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and Kellia. Capuani also deals with the monasteries of Wadi Al-Natrun, and the Coptic sites of Middle and Upper Egypt. There are also two co-authors that have shared in this work: Meinardus with his account of the history of the Coptic Church from the third century to the present time, and Rutschowscaya with a chapter that describes the Coptic artistic usage of color in icons, fabrics and wall paintings. This book includes a big number of illustrations, pictures, plans and maps of the Coptic monasteries, churches and art in Egypt.

- Coptic Church, (ed.) by K.H. Kuhn and W.J. Tait. ***Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns: From Manuscript M574 Of The Pierpont Morgan Library.*** Oxford, England : Griffith Institute : Ashmolean Museum, 1996.
Main Library BX 137 C678x 1996

The author presents a description and translation of thirteen alphabetic acrostic hymns in Coptic Sahidic dialect. The stanzes of each hymn contain every letter of the Greek alphabet. These hymns were written for the Monastery of the Archangel St Michael at the Hamouli area in the Fayyum. The hymns praise the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and Coptic saints. The baptism, resurrection, and ascension are praised in two separate hymns. The author believes that these hymns were used during events that were of religious significance to the Coptic Orthodox Faith. In his introduction, the author explains the Sahidic dialect, the structure of the hymns, and their content. The hymns are reproduced along with an English translation and some notes.Concluding this book are a paleographical appendix, indexes to personal and geographical names, Greek loan-words, and literary references.

- Doorn-Harder, Pieternella van. ***Contemporary Coptic Nuns.*** Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
BX 137.3 D66 1995

This book is one of the very few books that deal with the subject of Coptic nuns. The author deals with a variety of subjects revolving around an ascetic community of Coptic nuns and convents: The Copts in Egyptian society, the monastic landscape, the ruling mothers and fathers of the Coptic monasteries and convents. The author also describes the abandoning of the mundane life by the novitiate nuns, who are not considered, according to monastic life, as “dead to the world”. Pieternella Van Doorn-Harder also describes, in a very interesting style, the initiation rites, practices of the nuns and their work, the spiritual life, the saints, and the visitors. The work concludes with a listing of notes, glossary, selected bibliography, and an index of names.

- Elm, Sussana. ***'Virgins of God'. The making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity***. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Main Library BV 5023 E45 1994

This book traces the origins of "asceticism", and the crucial role played by women in establishing organizational patterns in ascetic communities. The book makes the assertion that monasticism is the 'highest evolution of asceticism'. The author critically examines the evolution of asceticism in Asia Minor and Egypt; the variations of female ascetic life in these regions, the classic models, and some prominent female and male ascetics. He concludes by demonstrating how the ascetic bishops (today's saints) eventually 'reformed' these early models of communal ascetic life by dividing the order of the 'Virgins of God' into monks and nuns, thus laying the foundation for modern day monasticism. This book is important for anyone interested in early church history and the ascetic life.

- Farag, Farag Rofail. ***Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism.*** Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
Main Library BX 136.2 F35 1964

Farag is concerned with the origins of Egyptian monasticism and the different motives for leading an eremitic life. Specifically the author explores monastic life during the fourth century A.D. in Egypt. He also mentions the interaction of monks with their visitors, and the social services expanded by the monks to neighboring communities and visitors of the monasteries. Farag submits that Coptic monasteries, and the monastic life, have become the subject of considerable interest in several modern literary works in Arabic language. The attraction of monasticism and isolation in the desert that the monks felt to be a "call" from heaven is critically examined. The author narrates several accounts of the mental tolerance and resilience of the hermits, to include: *The Monk and the Gold*, *The Monk and the Pagan*, *The Monk and the Philosophers*, *The Monk and the Poor*. Farag mentions, in detail, the convents for women in Egypt (discussed in chapter three). Chapter four and five relate the literary heritage of the desert monks and the different representations of Coptic spirituality in European literature. The book concludes with a list of abbreviations and a bibliography.

- Frank, Georgia. ***The Memory of The Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
Main Library BR 190 H573 F73 2000

Georgia Frank presents us with a detailed study of the writings of pilgrims, focusing especially on their journeys to meet the holy hermits and monks (or 'Fathers of the Egyptian Desert') during the period of late Christian antiquity. Georgia Frank has studied two texts in depth: 'The History of the Monks in Egypt' and 'The Lausiac History'. Both texts have provided the author with an understanding of the historical and spiritual dimension of these pilgrimages. In a particularly insightful analysis, the

author concentrates on the theme of 'sight' as the key sensory faculty through which pilgrims recorded their experiences and which has shaped their narratives.

- Griggs, C. Wilfred. ***Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 C.E***. The Netherlands, 1993.
SPCL BR190 G75

This book focuses on the history of Christianity in Egypt from its earliest recorded origins to the Council of Chalcedon in 451C.E., when the Egyptian Coptic Church became the national religion of Egypt. Aspects such as the emergence of orthodoxy and heresy in Egyptian Christianity, autocracy in Christian Egypt and the eventual separation from Catholicism, are examined. With maps of Lower and Upper Egypt, cross references from gospels and an extensive bibliography, this book contributes to an understanding of Early Egyptian Christianity in particular and to Early Christianity in general.

- Grugurius, al-Anba**.** ***Al-Dayr al-Muharraq.*** Daar al-Jiil lil-Tiba`ah, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1992.
Main Library BX 138 E3 G45 1992

Al-Anba Grugurius introduces, in his preface, a brief history of monasticism. In chapters 1 and 2 he tells us about the Holy Family and its journey to Egypt. In chapters 3 and 4 he gives a detailed description of the monastery of Dair al-Maharraq and its history around 342 A.D. until the 12th century, in addition to its architectural developments. In chapters 5, 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed description of the preoccupation of monks, ascetics, and the eremitic life of hermits. Anba Grugurius also describes the daily social and intellectual activities of the monks. The book is concluded by the author's liturgical hymns and prayers as well as a subject index.

- Habib, Rafiq and Afifi, Mohamed. ***Taariikh al-Kaniisah al-Misriyyah***. Al-Daar al-`Arabiyyah lil Tiba`ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzii`, Dokki, Cairo, 1994.
Main Library BX 133.2 H33 1994

This book discusses the history of the national Egyptian cultural elites. It is divided into seven chapters that discuss Christianity in Egypt and the suppression of the Copts. The second Chapter covers the church and the Arab invasion in 641 AD. The third Chapter gives information about Catholicism, past and present. Chapter four explains Protestanism and its consignments in Egypt; Chapter five gives detailed information about the rise of the church and the political laicism; Chapter six deals with the history of sectarian strife through the centuries. In the last Chapter the writer explores the search for truth about the controversies of sectarian strife.

- Hondelink, H. **Coptic Art and Culture.** Shouhdy Publishing House, Cairo, 1990.
Main Library N 7382 C66X 1990

This book introduces Early Christian Architecture in the Nile Valley between 313 AD. and 640 AD., including the church and monastic architecture. The second chapter of the book describes and explains the significance of the Old Testament Saints in Medieval Church decoration. The book deals with the icon-painting in Egypt in general and the conservation problems of the icons. One of the authors of the book talks about the miraculous icons and their historical background. There is a brief discussion of Coptic textiles. The last chapter of the book is concerned with demons in early Coptic Monasticism.

- Ibn Al-Mukaffa, Sawirus (Bishop Of Al-Ashmunin). ***History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church.*** Matbaat al-Mahad al-Ilmi al-Farancy lil Athaar al-Sharkiah, Cairo.
Main Library BX 132. S3 V.2

This volume of the series comprises the biographies of ten Patriarchs, beginning with the fifty-sixth Patriarch, Khael III (Michael I) and ending the sixty-fifth Patriarch Senouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from 880-1066 AD.

- Johnson, Janet H. (ed.). ***Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond***. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1992.
Main Library DT 61 L72 1992

This book includes papers presented at the Fourth International Congress of Demotist held at the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago from September 4-8, 1990. The essays are diverse and cover Egypt during the period under the Persian Empire from 525 B.C. up to its eventual invasion by the Romans (a period of about 1000 years). This was a period in which the Egyptian majority population lived in contact with non-Egyptian populations such as Greeks, Macedonians, Romans, Jews and non-Semitic speaking people from Syria-Palestine. The papers make a significant contribution to our understanding of an important period in world history, and introduce a wide range of subjects including the study of emerging multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies.

- Kamil, Jill. ***Christianity in the land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church.*** New York: Routledge, 2002.
Main Library BX 133.3 K36 2002

Jill Kamil traces the origins of Coptic Christianity from the first century AD to the present day. The author discusses some of the milestones in Egypt's history that were responsible for the shaping of Coptic faith into its characteristic form. The Holy Family in Egypt, the Desert Fathers (ancient and modern), and the discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi, the Roman rule and the Martyr's era, are presented along with a discussion of the struggle against paganism at the end of the fourth

century, and a look at Coptic continuity aside Islam. Further discussion includes Saint Pachomius, the founding of monasticism, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD. Concluding this study is an appendix containing notes on saints and martyrs, a glossary, a bibliography, and an alphabetical index.

- Meinardus, Otto F.A. ***Coptic Saints and Pilgrimages***. The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, New York.
Main Library BX 4659 E4 M45 2002

This book focuses on Coptic religious devotion. The first few chapters deal with biblical saints, martyrs, ascetics and equestrian warriors in Coptic spirituality. The latter chapters dwell emphatically on such subjects, such as the "silverless" physicians of the Byzantine churches (who treated their patients without pay), women saints, and recently discovered martyrs. Meinardus contemplates themes of the past, such as Coptic Saints, as well as miracles from modern perspective in an age of globalization. The book includes high quality colored, images of patron saints and martyrs. The text is considered a valuable source of reference source in the subject matter.

- Sobhy, P. G. (Dr.). ***Le Martyre De Saint Helias et L'Encomium de l'Eveque Stephanos de Hnes Sur Saint Helias.*** (Saint Helias the Martyr and His praise By Stephanos the Bishop of Hnes), - Drower, E. S. **"***Water into Wine. A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East."* John Murray: London, 1956
Main Library BL 619 S3 D7 1956

In this veritable anthropological breakthrough, Lady Drower examines and compares the religious rituals of the various Eastern churches. Part I is dedicated mainly to describing the temple setting and some puzzling Eucharistic rituals like the "branch to the nose". Part II critically examines the devotional significances of bread and wine on the altar in the Russian and Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Jacobite, Nestorian and Chaldean, Coptic, and Abyssinian churches. Part III gives an account of ritual meals like the "Parsi ritual meals"(the Yansa) and the ritual meals of the Chaldeans. An interesting aspect of this book is the similarity that exists between these rituals and many others which, as the author puts it, "may emphasize the root unity of certain human concepts".

- Ware, Kallistos; Bishop. ***The Orthodox Way***. Published by St. Vladimir's Press Chrestwood, New York, 1995.
Main Library BX 320.2 W37 1995

The author of this book describes, in a uniquely interesting way, the nature of God as a mystery, an eternity, a creator, a man, and as a prayer. The author concludes with a compelling notion of 'God as Eternity'.

-Winlock, H.E.; Crum, W.E.; White, Evelyn. ***The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. **New York, 1926**.**

Main Library DT 57 N5

The excavation of the Vizier Daga tomb (XI Dynasty) in 1911 has revealed ruins that turned out to be the remains of the Coptic Monastery of Epiphanius. This book is a two volume set. Volume I includes descriptions of archeological and literary material from the excavation & numerous plates showing the recovered artifacts. A description of the Monastery is presented in light of the archeological find. The history of the Theban hermits, their life, language and literature are described in detail. Part II deals essentially with Coptic and Greek Papyri recovered from the excavation. These papyri contain Coptic and Greek Biblical texts, Homilies and Epistles, letters, legal and financial texts, and some school texts. The manuscripts have been carefully translated. Included are notes to the translations for each of the chapters.

Citations of Scholarly Articles Accessible Through the AUC Library's: *Article Indexes and Other Databases*

- Abbott, Nabia. *The Monasteries of the Fayyum***. The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures** Vol. 53, No. 1 (Oct. 1936) pp. 13-33.

This is a study that provides an annotated translation of three documents (Arabic contracts) written by Markurah; son of Kail. The first contract concerns selling some of Markurah's property to Tusanah's daughter of Bisante. The second contract pertains to selling the rest of his property to Kalhash, son of Boktor. The last contract is about Tusanah (daughter of Bisanti) deeding some of her property as a charitable grant to the Naklun and Shalla monasteries in the desert to the northeast of Bulljusuk-Bursh.

- Abbot, Nabia. *The Monasteries of the Fayyum* (continued**). The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures** Vol. 53, No.2 (Jan. 1937) pp.73-96.

This article is a follow up of the one preceding it. It concerns the third contract – the one dealing with Tusanah (daughter of Bisanti) deeding some of her property as a charitable grant to the Naklun and Shalla monasteries. The article covers the contract with a historical sketch of "Fayyum" monasteries.

- Abbot, Nabia. *The Monasteries of the Fayyum* (concluded**). The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures** Vol. 53, No. 3 (Apr. 1937) pp. 158-179.

This article concludes the previous two articles. It gives a brief comparison between the monastery of Naklun to that of Kalamun. It also provides explanations of some terms such as "Der" and "Tombstone". It also summarises the history of Monasteries' in the Fayyum area.

- Anderson, G. K. *Designed for Prayer: A Bibliographica Essay on Medieval Monasticism for Contemporary Designers and Gardeners.* **Cistercian Studies Quarterly** Vol. 36, No. 4 (2001), pp. 457-471.

This article examines medieval monastic precedents for gardening and design. Role of monastic gardens from their origins in Egypt through the late medieval period of Benedictine monasticism in Western Europe; Examples and symbols that give meaning to contemporary Christian contemplative garden design; Elevation of manual labor as a way of salvation. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Anderson, Jeffrey C. *The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339.* **Art Bulletin** Vol. 61, No. 2 (June 1979), pp. 167-185.

The article examines the Middle Byzantine manuscript at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount ***Sinai***, the ***Cod***. gr. 339. Text of the manuscript by 4th century Cappadocian Father, Gregory of Nazianzen; Decorative impulse behind the design of the manuscript. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Brakke, David. *The Making of Monastic Demonology: Three ascetic Teachers on Withdrawal and Resistance.* **Church History** Vol. 70, No.1 (March 2001), pp.19-48.

Examines the construction of monastic demonology in three sets of writings whose authors most likely developed their views of demons apart from that of the book `Life of Antony.' Principles of difference discussed in the book; Views on the letters of Ammonas, the disciple of Antony; Works of ***Paul*** of ***Tamma***, a Coptic-speaking monk of Middle Egypt. (Citation and abstract from EBSCO database). The writer discusses understandings of the conflict with demons in fourth- and fifth-century Egyptian monasticism with reference to the letters or treatises attributed to Antony the Great, his disciple Ammonas, and Paul of Tamma. He argues that, stylistically, these writings are closely related to the tradition of wisdom literature, based equally on such biblical books as Proverbs and Sirach and on such Egyptian texts as the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy. He points out, furthermore, that they all adapt earlier views on the demonic role in philosophical self-cultivation to the new monastic projects of the fourth century. He demonstrates that the three authors all construct differing theories of demons and argues that this shows the diversity of ends for which such "ambiguous and anomalous" beings could be employed. He insists that despite their differences, the authors all articulate their demonologies to address such tensions as unity verses difference, solitude versus community, and desert versus city, tensions that were created by monastic withdrawal. (Citation and abstract retrieved from Humanities Full Text database)

- Coleman, Simon; Elsner, John. *The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and the Ritual Movement at Sinai.* **World Archaeology** Vol. 26, No.1 (June 1994), pp.73-89.

Focuses on the material culture of sixth-century monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. Anthropological and archeological approaches in examining the relationship between material culture and religious experience; Influence of the ***arts***, architecture and inscriptions at the monastery on rituals possibly reflecting spiritual transformation. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Farag, F. Rofail. *The Usage of the Early Islamic Terminology as a Constituent Element of the Literary Form of a Tenth-Century Christian Arab Writer: Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa.* **Journal of the American Oriental Society** Vol. 99, No. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1979), pp. 49-57.

The arabization of the Copts of Egypt and the process of change which in a few centuries made Coptic Egypt into an Arabic and Muslim land-following the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in A. D. 642-was slow. This process proceeded first through the immigration and settlement of Arab ethnic elements, beginning with the armies of conquest and their reinforcements and secondly, through the assimilation of the native Coptic population of which large sections converted to Islam in order to escape the pressure of taxation, or as a result of bloodily repressed revolts. The result was that at the latest, from the 10th century onwards, the majority of the Copts spoke and understood only Arabic, as attested by the 10th century Coptic historian Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa himself, at least in central and lower Egypt, while in upper Egypt, the local dialect (Coptic) endured for a longer period. This study helps us to assess the extent to which Arabic culture, and specifically, Islamic terminology, affected a Coptic writer like Ibn al-Muqaffa. He was a Coptic author who wrote Arabic as a cultural trait, but not at a linguistic level. Here we have two confrontations: Coptic indigenous culture as against the spoken and written Arabic language. In this study we examine the Islamic and cultural traits in Ibn al-Muqaffa's main work: "The History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria," including adaptations from the Qur'an, combinations of Biblical and Islamic expressions, and the religious-commercial terms he adopted. (Citation and abstract retrieved from JSTOR database)

- Goehring, James E. *Withdrawing From the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt.* **Harvard Theological Review** Vol. 89, (July 1996), pp. 267-285.

The writer argues that the Pachomian monasteries of upper Egypt were not a product of the desert movement and that they challenge the widespread portrayal of Egyptian monasticism as a mainly desert phenomenon. He contends that Pachomian monasteries were not located in the distant desert or even on the land where the desert starts but in or close to the towns and villages whose names they bore. He maintains that their communities indicate an evolutionary path from the earlier, less organized kinds of urban asceticism represented in the apotactic movement to the later, more structured monasteries of the Byzantine period. He asserts that the Pachomian monasteries illustrate the steady and innovative rise of asceticism in the villages and towns of Egypt. (Citation and abstract retrieved from Humanities Full Text database)

- Harlow, Mary; Smith, Wendy. *Between Fasting and Feasting: The Literary and Archaeobotanical Evidence for Monastic Diet in Late Antique Egypt.* **Antiquity** Vol. 75, No. 290 (Dec. 2001), pp. 758-768.

Fasting was an important element of early Christian behaviour in Egypt. In spite of a wealth of Late Antique monastic sources describing acts of fasting, the reality must be that food was consumed at regular intervals. To date, discussion of monastic dietary practice has been largely a historical debate. Although we do not discount this approach and will use it ourselves, this paper departs from this academic tradition by incorporating new archaeobotanical evidence from the recent excavations of the 5th-7th-century AD monastery at Kom el-Nana, Middle Egypt into the study of monastic diet. It is our belief that the use of independent forms of evidence (in this case written sources on attitudes to fasting and archaeobotanical evidence) is the best way forward to answering fundamental questions about what monastic diet was like in Late Antique Egypt. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. (Citation and abstract retrieved from Humanities Full Text database)

- Maccoull, L. S. B. *Paul of Tamma and the Monastic Priesthood.* **Vigiliae Christianae** Vol. 53, No. 3 (Aug. 1999), pp. 316-320.

Interprets the Coptic writings of ***Paul*** of ***Tamma*** who is becoming known as the founding epoch of Egyptian monasticism. Style of his writing; Use of the Jeremiah verse by Didymus in fourth century Egypt; Monastic virtues emphasized by ***Paul*** in `On the Cell' and `On Humility. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Saleh, Marlis J. *Government Intervention in the Coptic Church in Egypt During the Fatimid Period.* **Muslim World** (Hartford, Conn.), Vol. 91, No. 3/4 (Fall 2001), pp. 381-397.

During the Fatimid period in Egypt, the Christian Coptic Church suffered from government interference on a number of vital church matters such as relations with daughter churches in Nubia and Abyssinia, appointments to ecclesiastical offices, and even church doctrine. In many cases, this interference was the result of parties in an internal church dispute bringing the matter to the attention of the government. The attitude that fostered this habit had serious effects on the morale and spiritual state of the Coptic community. Furthermore, appeals by Christians for Muslim intervention in their internal affairs rarely produced the results for which the petitioner had hoped. Ultimately, the Coptic Church's battle to maintain its identity and integrity against this interference involved a struggle not against the outside forces of a hostile and unjust government but against itself. (Citation and abstract retrieved from Humanities Full Text database)

- Skeat, T. C. *The Last Chapter in the History of the Codex Sinaiticus*. **Novum Testamentum** Vol. 42, No. 4 (Oct. 2000), pp. 313-315.

This work deals with the discovery of Old and New Testament manuscripts at the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Mount Sinai, Egypt in 1975. Accounts on the visit of Biblical scholar Constantine Tischendorf to the monastery in 1844; Efforts of the monks in securing the manuscripts. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Sumner, Claude. *From Africa and Back.* **New Political Science** Vol. 23, No. 3 (Sept. 2001), pp. 429-439.

This paper intends to continue the work of the late Cheik Anta Diop and to bring it into modern times, limiting itself to the case of Ethiopia and of its philosophical literature expressed in g∂< ∂ z language. Cheik Anta Diop claimed that the source of Greek philosophy is the cosmogony of ancient pharaonic Egypt. This paper would like to show that the philosophy which had such a remarkable development in the Greek-speaking world (Ionia, Magna Graecia, continental Greece) came ***back*** to its place of origin, to ***Africa***, to Egypt during the late Hellenistic period. It travelled from Egypt to Abyssinia first with works written in Egypt, by Ethiopian scholars living in the Skete monastery, and translated from Greek to g∂< ∂ z then with works like The Book of the Philosophers and The Life and Maxims of Sk∂nd∂s, g∂< ∂ z works translated and adapted from the Greek via Arabic. This cultural impact comes to an end as far as g∂< ∂ z philosophical literature in concerned with the Treatise of Wäldä 0∂ywåt in the early 18th century.[ABSTRACT FROM AUTHOR] (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

- Walton, John**.** *Swanning in the Steps of Hippocrates.* **BMJ: British Medical Journal** Vol. 299, No. 6715 (13, Dec. - 30, Dec. 1989), pp. 1589-1591.

Relates the experience of the author on a medical tour in Greece and Egypt. Occurrence of family atmosphere during travel; Nocturnal passage in the wall of the Corinth Canal; Description of the monasteries in Mount Athos peninsula. (Citation and abstract retrieved from EBSCO database)

Articles Available at the AUC Library

- Kamil, Jim**.** *He of the Two Swords: the Monastery of Saint Mercurius*. **Cairo Today** vol.11, no.1, pg. 54-57, January 1990.
MAIN Periodicals DT 139 C36.

This article provides a short, but detailed, account of the monastery's restoration and renovation**.** It offers a full description of the monastery**,** conveying the general structure of Coptic monasteries and their significance in the Coptic religion. Saint Mercurius is located in Old Cairo and is thus easily accessible to visiting researchers.

- Keath, Lee. *A Monk's Life at the Monastery of St. Anthony in the Eastern Desert.* **Egypt Today** vol. 16, no.11, pp. 112-117, November 1995**.**
MAIN Periodicals DT 139 C36.

The article is an excellent source of discussion on monastic life**.** An interview with Father Deuskoros provides information regarding a monk's dress, his communal and individual duties, his reasons for joining the monastery, his initiation, and his compelling journey into complete seclusion. A background of Saint Anthony's monastery is also included.

- Romain, Gisela. *Abu Mina: The German Archaeological Institute's Excavation of an Ancient Pilgrimage Site.* **Aujourd 'hui l'Egypte** no. 1, pp. 75-79, Spring 1990.
Main Periodicals DT 43 A92.

This article provides a brief history of the church at Abu Mina, including a background of the site's patron saint**,** St. Menas. It relays the relevance of the church as a pilgrimage site, and includes archaeological data regarding objects unearthed during the 1990 excavation. A well-detailed plan of the complex is also provided.

- Skalova, Zuzana. *New Discoveries of Coptic Icons through Restoration.* **Ajourd 'hui l'Egypte** no. 34, pp. 71-97, May/June 1996.
MAIN Periodicals DT 43 A92

This article, published by the Egypt-Netherlands Project for the Conservation of Coptic Art, discusses a history of icon restoration in the Nile Valley. Included are specific case histories involving alterations to re-use an artwork, modernize an icon, or visually stress elements of an image. Also included is a comparison of Greek icon collections, lists of artists' materials, and the traditional process by which Coptic icons are produced.

- Weir, Hilary. *Part I of Links in an Unbroken Chain: Alexandria: the Itellectual Birthplace of Christianity.* **Cairo Today** vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 64-68, January 1984. **MAIN Periodicals DT 43 E36.**

The first in a series of four essays discussing the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt, this article traces the origins of Coptology to Saint Mark's arrival in Alexandria (c. A.D 45). Egypt as the birthplace of monasticism is briefly mentioned. Diocletian's persecution of the Christians in Egypt (c. A.D. 284), theological disputes and heresies (i.e. The Chalcedon) regarding the nature of Christ, and the first introduction of monasticism in the Western world are also discussed.

- Weir, Hilary. *Part II of Links in an Unbroken Chain: "The Oldest Places of Christian Worship": The Early Churche.* **Cairo Today** vol.5, no.4, pp. 60-64, February 1984.
MAIN Periodicals DT 43 E36

This, the second essay in a series of four, analyzes early Christian architecture in Egypt (4th century A.D.). Monuments such as the Basilica of St. Menas and the White Monastery are examined in detail. The usurpation of pharaonic monuments for places of Christian worship, and the emergence of an Egytpian/Coptic style in architecture are also discussed. Photos and structural plans are provided.

- Weir, Hilary. *Part III of Links in an Unbroken Chain:Coptic History and Monuments.* **Cairo Today** vol.5, no.3, pp. 64-68, March 1984.
MAIN Periodicals DT 43 E36

The third article discusses the history of the Coptic churches of Old Cairo. Monuments examined include the Roman fortress of Emperor Trajan, the Church of Abu Sarga (St. Sergius), and the Convent of St. George. The article also discusses the usurpation of architectural elements from Graeco-Roman buildings, the Coptic influence in Islamic architecture, the significance of haikals (sanctuaries) and reliquaries, and Cairo's relevance to the Coptic religion.

- Weir, Hilary. *Part IV of Links in an Unbroken Chian: The Desert Fathers: St. Antony and St. Paul.* **Cairo Today**, vol.5, no.4, pp. 56-61, April 1984.
MAIN Periodicals DT 43 E36

The final article examines the beginnings of monasticism in Egypt. The life of St. Antony- the father of monasticism- including his daily routine of labor and self-discipline and his encounters with St. Paul are discussed. A history of the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul, and a brief discussion of the expansion of monasticsm into northern Europe and Ireland, are also given.

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH PROLEGOMENA AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.,
Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

AND

HENRY WACE,D.D.,
Professor of King's College, London.

IN CONNECTION WITH A NUMBER OF PATRISTIC SCHOLARS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

VOLUME 8

ST. BASIL:
LETTERS AND SELECTED WORKS

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THE TREATISE
DE SPIRITU SANCTO

THE NINE HOMILIES OF THE HEXAEMERON
AND THE LETTERS

OF

SAINT BASIL THE GREAT

Archbishop of Caesarea

TRANSLATED WITH NOTES

BY

THE REV. BLOMFIELD JACKSON, M. A.

Vicar of Saint Bartholomew’s, Moor Lane, and Fellow of King’s College, London

PREFACE

This translation of a portion of the works of St. Basil was originally begun under the editorial supervision of Dr. Wace. It was first announced that the translation would comprise the *De Spiritu Sancto* and *Select Letters*, but it was ultimately arranged with Dr. Wace that a volume of the series should be devoted to St. Basil, containing, as well as the *De Spiritu Sancto*, the whole of the letters, and the Hexaemeron. The *De Spiritu Sancto* has already appeared in an English form, as have portions of the Letters. The *De Spiritu Sancto* was presumably selected for publication as being at once the most famous, as it is among the most valuable, of the extant works of this Father. The Letters, comprise short theological treatises and contain passages of historical and varied biographical interest, as well as valuable specimens of spiritual and consolatory exhortation. The *Hexaemeron* was added as being the most noted and popular of St. Basil's compositions in older days, and as illustrating his exegetic method and skill, and his power as an extempore preacher.

The edition used as been that of the Benedictine editors as issued by Migne, with the aid, in the case of the *De Spiritu Sancto*, of that published by Rev. C. F. H. Johnston.

The editorship of Dr. Wace terminated during the progress of the work, but I am indebted to him, and very gratefully acknowledge the obligation, for valuable counsel and suggestions. I also desire to record my thanks to the Rev. C. Hole, Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London, and to Mr. Reginald Geare, Head Master of the Grammar School, Bishop's Stortford, to the former for help in the revision of proof — sheets and important suggestions, and to the letter for aid in the translation of several of the Letters.

The works consulted in the process of translation and attempted illustration are sufficiently indicated in the notes.

London,
December, 1894.

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373. St. Epiphanius writes the "Ancoratus."
Death of Athanasius.
BASIL VISITED BY JOVINUS OF PERRHA, AND BY SANCTISSIMUS OF ANTIOCH.

374. Death of Auxentius and consecration of Ambrose at Milan.
BASIL WRITES THE "DE SPIRITU SANCTO."
Eusebius of Samosata banished to Thrace.
Death of Gregory, bp. of Nazianzus, the elder.

375. *Death of Valentinian. Gratian and Valentinian II. emperors*.
Synod of Illyria, and Letter to the Orientals.
Semiarian Council of Cyzicus.
Demosthenes harasses the Catholics.
Gregory of Nyssa deposed.

376. Synod of Iconium.
OPEN DENUNCIATION OF EUSTATHIUS BY BASIL.

378. *Death of Valens, Aug. 9.*
Eusebius of Samosata and Meletius return from exile.

379. DEATH OF BASIL, JAN. I.
Theodosius Augustus.

PROLEGOMENA

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SAINT BASIL

1. LIFE

1. PARENTAGE AND BIRTH

UNDER the persecution of the second Maximinus, a Christian gentleman of good position and fair estate in Pontus, and Macrina his wife, suffered severe hardships. They escaped with their lives, and appear to have retained, or recovered, some of their property. Of their children the names of two only have survived: Gregory and Basil. The former became bishop of one of the sees of Cappadocia. The latter acquired a high reputation in Pontus and the neighboring districts as an advocate of eminence, and as a teacher of rhetoric. His character in the Church for probity and piety stood very high. He married an orphaned gentlewoman named Emmelia, whose father had suffered impoverishment and death for Christ's sake, and who was herself a conspicuous example of high — mined and gentle Christian womanhood. Of this happy union were born ten children, five boys and five girls. One of the boys appears to have died tin infancy, for on the death of the elder Basil four sons and five daughters were left to share the considerable wealth which he left behind him. Of the nine survivors the eldest was a daughter, named, after her grandmother, Macrina. The eldest of the sons was Basil, the second Naucratius, and the third Gregory. peter, the youngest of the whole family, was born shortly before his father's death. Of this remarkable group the eldest is commemorated as Saint Macrina in the biography written by her brother Gregory. Naucratius died in early manhood, about the time of the ordination of Basil as reader. The three remaining brothers occupied respectively the sees of Caesarea, Nyssa, and Sebasteia.

As to the date of St. Basil's birth opinions have varied between 316 and 330. The later, which is supported by Garnier, Tillemont, Maran, Fessler, and Bohringer, may probably be accepted as approximately correct. It is

true that Basil calls himself an old man in 374, but he was prematurely worn out with work and bad health, and to his friends wrote freely and without concealment of his infirmities. There appears no reason to question the date 329 or 330.

Two cities, Caesarea in Cappadocia and Neocaesarea in Pontus, have both been named as his birthplace. There must be some amount of uncertainty on this point, from the fact that no direct statement exists to clear it up, and that the word πατρίς was loosely employed to mean not only place of birth, but place of residence and occupation. Basil's parents had property and interests both in Pontus and Cappadocia, and were as likely to be in the one as in the other. The early statement of Gregory of Nazianzus has been held to have weight, inasmuch as he speaks of Basil as a Cappadocian like himself before there was any other reason but that of birth for associating him with this province. Assenting, then, to the considerations which have been held to afford reasonable ground for assigning Caesarea as the birthplace, we may adopt the popular estimation of Basil as one of "The Three Cappadocians," and congratulate Cappadocia on the Christian associations which have rescued her fair fame from the slur of the epigram which described her as constituting with Crete and Cilicia a trinity of unsatisfactoriness. Basil's birth nearly synchronizes with the transference of the chief seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium. He is born into a world where the victory already achieved by the Church has been now for sixteen years officially recognized. He is born into a Church in which the first great Council has already given official expression to those cardinal doctrines of the faith, of which the final and formal vindication is not to be assured till after the struggles of the next six score of years. Rome, reduced, civilly, to the subordinate rank of a provincial city, is pausing years. Rome reduced civilly, to the subordinate rank of a provincial city, is pausing before she realizes all her loss, and waits for the crowning outrage of the barbarian invasions, ere she begins to make serious efforts to grasp, ecclesiastically, something of her lost imperial prestige. For a time the center of ecclesiastical and theological interest is to be rather in the East than in the West.

2. EDUCATION.

The place most closely connected with St. Basil's early years is neither Caesarea not Neocaesarea, but an insignificant village not far from the latter place, where he was brought up by his admirable grandmother, Macrina. In this neighborhood his family had considerable property, and here he afterwards resided. The estate was at Annesi, on the river his (Jekil — Irmak), and lay in the neighborhood of scenery of romantic beauty. Basil's own description of his retreat on the opposite side of the his matches the reference of Gregory of Nazianzus to the narrow glen among lofty mountains, which keep it always in shadow and darkness, while far below the river foams and roars in its narrow precipitous bed.
There is some little difficulty in understanding the statement of Basil in Letter 216., that the house of his brother Peter, which he visited in 375, and which we may assume to have been on the family property (*cf.* Letter 110. & i) was "not far from Neocaesarea." An analogy would be found in the statement of a writer usually residing in London, that if he came to Sheffield he would be not far from Doncaster.

At Annesi his mother Emmelia erected a chapel in honor of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, to which their relics were translated. It is possible that Basil was present at the dedication services, lasting all night long, which are related to have sent his brother Gregory to sleep. Here, then, Basil was taught the rudiments of religion by his grandmother, and by his father, in accordance with the teaching of the great Gregory the Wonder — worker. Here he learned the Catholic faith.

At an early age he seems to have been sent to school at Caesarea, and there to have formed the acquaintance of an Eusebius, otherwise unknown, Hesychius, and Gregory of Nazianzus, and to have conceived a boyish admiration for Dianius the archbishop.

From Caesarea Basil went to Constantinople, and there studied rhetoric and philosophy with success. Socrates and Sozomen say that he worked at Antioch under Libanius. It may be that both these writers have confounded Basil of Caesarea with the Basil to whom Chrysostom dedicated his *De Sacerdotio*, and who was perhaps the bishop of Raphanea, who signed the creed of Constantinople.

There is no corroboration of a sojourn of Basil of Caesarea at Antioch. Libanius was at Constantinople in 347, and there Basil may have attended his lectures.

From Constantinople the young Cappadocian student proceeded in 351 to Athens. Of an university town of the 4th century we have a lively picture in the writings of his friend. and are reminded that the rough horse — play of the modern undergraduate is a survival of a very ancient barbarism. The lads were affiliated to certain fraternities, and looked out for the arrival of every new student at the city, with the object of attaching him to the classes of this or that teacher. Kinsmen were on the watch for kinsmen and acquaintances for acquaintances; sometimes it was mere good — humored violence which secured the person of the freshman. The first step in this grotesque matriculation was an entertainment; then the guest of the day was conducted with ceremonial procession through the angora to the entrance of the baths. There they leaped round him with wild cries, and refused him admission. At last an entry was forced with mock fury, and the neophyte was made free of the mysteries of the baths and of the lecture halls. Gregory of Nazianzus, a student a little senior to Basil, succeeded in sparing him the ordeal of this initiation, and his dignity and sweetness of character seem to have secured him immunity from rough usage without loss of popularity. At Athens the two young Cappadocians were noted among their contemporaries for three things: their diligence and success in work; their stainless and devout life; and their close mutual affection. Everything was common to them. They were as one soul. What formed the closest bond of union was their faith. God and their love of what is best made them one. Himerius, a pagan, and Prohaeresius, an Armenian Christian, are mentioned among the well — known professors whose classes Basil attended. Among early friendships, formed possibly during his university career, Basil's own letters name those with Terentius and Sophronius.

If the Libanian correspondence be accepted as genuine, we may add Celsus, a pupil of Libanius, to the group. But if we except Basil's affection for Gregory of Nazianzus, of none of these intimacies is the interest so great as of that which is recorded to have been formed between Basil and the young prince Julian. One incident of the Athenian sojourn, which led to bitter consequences in after days, was the brief

communication with Apollinarius, and the letter written "from layman to layman," which his opponents made a handle for much malevolence, and perhaps for forgery. Julian arrived at Athens after the middle of the year 355. Basil's departure thence and return to Caesarea may therefore be approximately fixed early in 356. Basil starts for his life's work with the equipment of the most liberal education which the age could supply. he has studied Greek literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, under the most famous teachers. He has been brought into contact with every class of mind. His training has been no narrow hothouse forcing of theological opinion and ecclesiastical sentiment. The world which he is to renounce, to confront, to influence, is not a world unknown to him. He has seen heathenism in all the autumn grace of it decline, and comes away victorious from seductions which were fatal to some young men of early Christian associations. Athens no doubt contributed its share of influence to the apostasy of Julian. Basil, happily, was found to be rooted more firmly in the faith.

3. LIFE AT CAESAREA & BAPTISM; AND ADOPTION OF MONASTIC LIFE.

When Basil overcame the efforts of his companions to detain him at Athens, Gregory was prevailed on to remain for a while longer. Basil therefore made his rapid journey homeward alone. His Letter to Eustathius alleges as the chief reason for his hurried departure the desire to profit by the instruction of that teacher. This may be the language of compliment. In the same letter he speaks of his fortitude in resisting all temptation to stop at the city on the Hellespont. This city I hesitate to recognize, with Maran, as Constantinople. There may have been inducements to Basil to stop at Lampsacus, and it is more probably Lampsacus that he avoided. At Caesarea he was welcomed as one of the most distinguished of her sons, and there for a time taught rhetoric with conspicuous success. A deputation came from Neocaesarea to request him to undertake educational work at that city, and in vain endeavored to detain him by lavish promises. According to his friend Gregory, Basil had already determined to renounce the world, in the sense of devoting himself to an ascetic and philosophic life. His brother Gregory, however, represents him as at this period still

under more mundane influences, and as shewing something of the self — confidence and conceit which are occasionally to be observed in young men who have just successfully completed an university career, and as being largely indebted to the persuasion and example of his sister Macrina for the resolution, with which he now carried out the determination to devote himself to a life of self — denial. To the same period may probably be referred Basil’s baptism. The sacrament was administered by Dianius. It would be quite consonant with the feelings of the times that pious parents like the elder Basil and Emmelia should shrink from admitting their boy to holy baptism before his encountering the temptations of school and university life. The assigned date, 357, may be reasonably accepted, and shortly after he was ordained Reader. It was about this time that he visited monastic settlements in Palestine, Mesopotamia, Coele Syria, and Egypt, though he was not so fortunate as to encounter the great pope Athanasius. Probably during this tour he began the friendship with Eusebius of Samosata which lasted so long.

To the same period we may also refer his renunciation of his share of the family property. Maran would appear to date this before the Syrian and Egyptian tour, a journey which can hardly have been accomplished without considerable expense. But, in truth, with every desire to do justice to the self — denial and unworldliness of St. Basil and of other like — minded and like — lived champions of the Faith, it cannot but be observed that, at all events in Basil’s case, the renunciation must be understood with some reasonable reservation. The great archbishop has been claimed as a “socialist,” whatever may be meant in these days by the term. But St. Basil did not renounce all property himself, and had a keen sense of its rights in the case of his friends. From his letter on behalf of his foster brother, placed by Maran during his presbyterate, it would appear that this foster — brother, Dorotheus, was allowed a life tenancy of a house and farm on the family estate, with a certain number of slaves, on condition that Basil should be supported out of the profits. Here we have landlord, tenant; rent, and unearned increment. St. Basil can scarcely be fairly cited as a practical apostle of some of the chapters of the socialist evangel of the end of the nineteenth century. But ancient eulogists of the great archbishop, anxious to represent him as a good monk, have not failed to foresee that this might be urged in objection to the completeness of his

renunciation of the world, in their sense, and, to counterbalance it, have cited an anecdote related by Cassian." One day a senator named Syncletius came to Basil to be admitted to his monastery, with the statement that he had renounced his property, excepting only pittance to save him from manual labor. "You have spoilt a senator," said Basil, "without making a monk." Basil's own letter represents him as practically following the example of, or setting an example to, Syncletius.

Stimulated to carry out his purpose of embracing the ascetic life by what he saw of the monks and solitaries during his travels, Basil's first of all thought of establishing a monastery in the district of Tiberina. Here he would have been in the near neighborhood of Arianzus, the home of his friend Gregory. But the attractions of Tiberina were ultimately postponed to those of Ibora, and Basil's place of retreat was fixed in the glen not far from the old home, and only separated from Annesi by the his, of which we have Basil's own picturesque description. Gregory declined to do more than pay a visit to Pontus, and so said to have caused Basil much disappointment. It is a little characteristic of the imperious nature of the man of stronger will, that while he would not give up the society of his own mother and sister in order to be near his friend, he complained of his friend's not making a similar sacrifice in order to be near him. Gregory good — humoredly replies to Basil's depreciation of Tiberina by a counter attack on Caesarea and Annesi.

At the Pontic retreat Basil now began that system of hard ascetic discipline which eventually contributed to the enfeeblement of his health and the shortening of his life. He complains again and again in his letters of the deplorable physical condition to which he is reduced, and he died at the age of fifty. It is a question whether a constitution better capable of sustaining the fatigue of long journeys, and a life prolonged beyond the Council of Constantinople, would or would not have left a larger mark upon the history of the Church. There can be no doubt, that in Basil's personal conflict with the decadent empire represented by Valens, his own cause was strengthened by his obvious superiority to the hopes and fears of vulgar ambitions. He ate no more than was actually necessary for daily sustenance, and his fare was of the poorest. Even when he was archbishop, no flesh meat was dressed in his kitchens. His wardrobe consisted of one under and one over garment. By night he wore haircloth;

not by day, lest he should seem ostentatious. He treated his body, says his brother, with a possible reference to St. Paul, as an angry owner treats a runaway slave. A consistent celibate, he was yet almost morbidly conscious of his unchastity, mindful of the Lord's words as to the adultery of the impure thought. St. Basil relates in strong terms his admiration for the ascetic character of Eustathius of Sebaste, and at this time was closely associated with him. Indeed, Eustathius was probably the first to introduce the monastic system into Pontus, his part in the work being comparatively ignored in later days when his tergiversation had brought him into disrepute. Thus the credit of introducing monasticism into Asia Minor was given to Basil alone. A novel feature of this monasticism was the Coenobium, for hitherto ascetics had lived in absolute solitude, or in groups of only two or three. Thus it was partly relieved from the discredit of selfish isolation and unprofitable idleness.

The example set by Basil and his companions spread. Companies of hard — working ascetics of both sexes were established in every part of Pontus, every one of them an active center of the preaching of the Nicene doctrines, and their defense against Arian opposition and misconstruction. Probably about this time, in conjunction with his friend Gregory, Basil compiled the collection of the beauties of Origen which was entitled *Philocalia*. Origen's authority stood high, and both of the main divisions of Christian thought, the Nicene and the Arian, endeavored to support their respective views from his writings. Basil and Gregory were successful in vindicating his orthodoxy and using his aid in strengthening the Catholic position.

4. BASIL AND THE COUNCILS, TO THE ACCESSION OF VALENS.

Up to this time St. Basil is not seen to have publicly taken an active part in the personal theological discussions of the age; but the ecclesiastical world was eagerly disputing while he was working in Pontus. Aetius, the uncompromising Arian, was openly favored by Eudoxius of Germanicia, who had appropriated the see of Antioch in 357. This provoked the Semiarians to hold their council at Ancyra in 358, when the Sirmian

"Blasphemy" of 357 was condemned. The Acacians were alarmed, and maneuvered for the division of the general council which Constantius was desirous of summoning. Then came Ariminum, Nike, and Seleucia, in 359, and "the world groaned to find itself Arian." Deputations from each of the great parties were sent to a council held under the personal presidency of Constantius a Constantinople, and to one of these the young deacon was attached. The date of the ordination to this grade is unknown. On the authority of Gregory of Nyssa and Philostorgius, it appears that Basil accompanied his namesake of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebaste to the court, and supported Basil the bishop. Philostorgius would indeed represent the younger Basil as championing the Semiarian cause, though with some cowardice. It may be concluded, with Maran, that he probably stood forward stoutly for the truth, not only at the capital itself, but also in the neighboring cities of Chalcedon and Heraclea. But his official position was a humble one, and his part in the discussions and amid the intrigues of the council was only too likely to be misrepresented by those with whom he did not agree, and even misunderstood by his own friends. In 360 Dianius signed the creed of Ariminum, brought to Caesarea by George of Laodicea; and thereby Basil was so much distressed as henceforward to shun communion with his bishop. He left Caesarea and betook himself to Nazianzus to seek consolation in the society of his friend. But his feeling towards Dianius were always affectionate, and he indignantly repudiated a calumnious assertion that he had gone so far as to anathematize him. Two years later Dianius fell sick unto death and sent for Bail, protesting that at heart he had always been true to the Catholic creed. Basil acceded to the appeal, and in 362 once again communicated with his bishop and old friend. In the interval between Visit to Constantinople and this death — bed reconciliation, that form of error arose which was long known by the name of Macedonianism, and which St. Basil was in later years to combat with such signal success in the treatise *Of the Spirit*. It combined disloyalty to the Spirit and to the Son. But countervailing events were the acceptance of the Homoousion by the Council of Paris, and the publication of Athanasius' letters to Serapion on the divinity of the two Persons assailed. To this period is referred the compilation by Basil of the *Moralia*.

The brief reign of Julian would affect Basil, in common with the whole Church, in two ways: in the relief he would feel at the comparative toleration shewn to Catholics, and the consequent return of orthodox bishops to their sees; in the distress with which he would witness his old friend’s attempts to ridicule and undermine the Faith. Sorrow more personal and immediate must have been caused by the harsh treatment of Caesarea and the cruel imposts laid on Cappadocia. What conduct on the part of the Caesareans may have led Gregory of Nazianzus to speak of Julian as *justly* offended, we can only conjecture. It may have been the somewhat disorderly proceedings in connection with the appointment of Eusebius to succeed Dianius. But there can be no doubt about the sufferings of Caesarea, nor of the martyrdom of Eupsychius and Damas for their part in the destruction of the Temple of Fortune.

The precise part taken by basil in the election of Eusebius can only be conjectured. Eusebius, like Ambrose of Milan, a layman of rank and influence, was elevated *per saltum* to the episcopate. Efforts were made by Julian and by some Christian objectors to get the appointment annulled by means of Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, on the ground of its having been brought about by violence. Bishop Gregory refused to take any retrogressive steps, and thought the scandal of accepting the tumultuary appointment would be less than that of canceling the consecration. Gregory the younger presumably supported his father, and he associates Basil with him as probable sufferers from the imperial vengeance. But he was at Nazianzus at the time of the election, and Basil is more likely to have been an active agent.

To this period may be referred Basil’s receipt of the letter from Athanasius, mentioned in Letter 204., 6. On the accession of Jovian, in June, 363, Athanasius wrote to him asserting the Nicene Faith, but he was greeted also by a Semiarian manifesto from Antioch, of which the first signatory was Meletius.

Valentinian and Valens, on their accession in the following year, thus found the Church still divided on its cardinal doctrines, and the lists were marked in which Basil was henceforward to be a more conspicuous combatant.

5. THE PRESBYTERATE.

Not long after the accession of Valens, Basil was ordained presbyter by Eusebius. An earlier date has been suggested, but the year 364 is accepted as fitting in better with the words of Gregory on the free speech conceded to heretics. And from the same Letter it may be concluded that the ordination of Basil, like that of Gregory himself, was not wholly voluntary, and that he was forced against his inclinations to accept duties when he hesitated as to his liking and fitness for them. It was about this time that he wrote his Books against Eunomius; and it may possibly have been this work which specially commended him to Eusebius. However this may be, there is no doubt that he was soon actively engaged in the practical work of the diocese, and made himself very useful to Eusebius. But Basil's very vigor and value seem to have been the cause of some alienation between him and his bishop. His friend Gregory gives us no details, but it may be inferred from what he says that he thought Basil ill — used. And allusions of Basil have been supposed to imply his own sense of discourtesy and neglect. The position became serious. Bishops who had objected to the tumultuary nomination of Eusebius, and had with difficulty been induced to maintain the lawfulness of his consecration, were ready to consecrate Basil in his place. But Basil shewed at once his wisdom and his magnanimity. A division the orthodox clergy of Cappadocia would be full of danger to the cause. He would accept no personal advancement to the damage of the Church. He retired with his friend Gregory to his Pontic monasteries, and won the battle by flying from the field. Eusebius was left unmolested, and the character of Basil was higher than ever.

The seclusion of Basil in Pontus seemed to afford an opportunity to his opponents in Cappadocia, and according to Sozomen, Valens himself, in 365, was moved to threaten Caesarea with a visit by the thought that the Catholics of Cappadocia were now deprived of the aid of their strongest champion. Eusebius would have invoked Gregory, and left Basil alone. Gregory, however, refused to act without his friend, and, with much tact and good feeling, succeeded in atoning the two offended parties. Eusebius at first resented Gregory's earnest advocacy of his absent friend, and was inclined to resent what seemed the somewhat impertinent interference of a

junior. But Gregory happily appealed to the archbishop's sense of justice and superiority to the common unwillingness of high dignitaries to accept counsel, and assured him that in all that he had written on the subject he had meant to avoid all possible offense, and to keep within the bounds of spiritual and philosophic discipline. Basil returned to the metropolitan city, ready to cooperate loyally with Eusebius, and to employ all his eloquence and learning against the proposed Arian aggression. To the grateful Catholics it seemed as though the mere knowledge that Basil was in Caesarea was enough to turn Valens with his bishops to flight, and the tidings, brought by a furious rider, of the revolt of Procopius, seemed a comparatively insignificant motive for the emperor's departure.

There was now a lull in the storm. Basil, completely reconciled to Eusebius, began to consolidate the archiepiscopal power which he afterward wielded as his own, over the various provinces in which the metropolitan of Caesarea exercised exarchic authority. In the meantime the Seminarians were beginning to share with the Catholics the hardships inflicted by the imperial power. At Lampsacus in 364 they had condemned the results of Ariminum and Constantinople, and had reasserted the Antiochene Dedication Creed of 341. In 366 they sent deputies to Liberius at Rome, who proved their orthodoxy by subscribing the Nicene Creed. Basil had not been present at Lampsacus, but he had met Eustathius and other bishops on their way thither, and had no doubt influenced the decisions of the synod. Now the deputation to the West consisted of three of those bishops with whom he was in communication, Eustathius of Sebasteia, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabala. To the first it was an opportunity for regaining a position among the orthodox prelates. It can hardly have been without the persusasion of Basil that the deputation went so far as they did in accepting the homoousion, but it is a little singular, and indicative of the comparatively slow awakening of the Church in general to the perils of the degradation of the Holy Ghost, that no profession of faith was demanded from the Lampsacene delegates on this subject. In 367 the council of Tyana accepted the restitution of the Semiarian bishops, and so far peace had been promoted. To this period may very probably be referred the compilation of the Liturgy which formed the basis of that which bears Basil's name. The claims of theology and of ecclesiastical administration in

Basil's time did not, however, prevent him from devoting much of his vast energy to works of charity. Probably the great hospital for the housing and relief of travelers and the poor, which he established in the suburbs of Caesarea. was planned, if not begun, in the latter years of his presbyterate, for its size and importance were made pretexts for denouncing him to Elias, the governor of Cappadocia, in 372, and at the same period Valens contributed to its endowment. It was the mother of other similar institutions in the country — districts of the province, each under a Chorepiscopus. But whether the Ptochotrophium was or was not actually begun before Basil's episcopate, great demands were made on his sympathy and energy by the great drought and consequent famine which befell Caesarea in 368. He describes it with eloquence in his Homily *On the Famine and Drought*. The distress was cruel and widespread. The distance of Caesarea from the coast increased the difficulty of supplying provisions. Speculators, scratching, as it were, in their country's wounds, hoarded grain in the hope of selling a famine prices. These Basil moved to open their stores. He distributed lavishly at his own expense, and ministered in person to the wants of the sufferers. Gregory of Nazianzus gives us a picture of his illustrious friend standing in the midst of a great crowd of men and women and children, some scarcely able to breathe; of servants brining in piles of such food as is best suited to the weak state of the famishing sufferers; of Basil with his own hands distributing nourishment, and with his own voice cheering and encouraging the sufferers.

About this time Basil suffered a great loss in the death of his mother, and sought solace in a visit to his friend Eusebius at Samosata. But the cheering effect of his journey was lessened by the news, which greeted him on his return, that the Arians had succeeded in placing one of their number in the see of Tarsus. The loss of Silvanus was ere long followed by a death of yet graver moment to the Church. In the Middle of 370 died Eusebius, breathing his last in the arms of Basil.

6. BASIL AS ARCHBISHOP.

The archiepiscopal throne was now technically vacant. But the man who had practically filled it, "the keeper and tamer of the lion," was still alive

in the plenitude of his power. What course was he to follow? Was he meekly to withdraw, and perhaps be compelled to support the candidature of another and an inferior? The indirect evidence has seemed to some strong enough to compel the conclusion that he determined, if possible, to secure his election to the see. Others, on the contrary, have thought him incapable of scheming for the nomination. The truth probably lies between the two extreme views. No intelligent onlooker of the position at Caesarea on the death of Eusebius, least of all the highly capable administrator of the province, could be blind to the fact that of all possible competitors for the vacant throne Basil himself was the ablest and most distinguished, and the likeliest to be capable of directing the course of events in the interests of orthodoxy. But it does not follow that Basil's appeal to Gregory to come to him was a deliberate step to secure this end. He craved for the support and counsel of his friend; but no one could have known better that Gregory the younger was not the man to take prompt action or rule events. His invention of a fatal sickness, or exaggeration of a slight one, failed to secure even Gregory's presence at Caesarea. Gregory burst into tears on receipt of the news of his friend's grave illness, and hastened to obey the summons to his side. But on the road he fell in with bishops hurrying to Caesarea for the election of a successor to Eusebius, and detected the unreality of Basil's plea. He at once returned to Nazianzus and wrote the oft — quoted letter, on the interpretation given to which depends the estimate formed of Basil's action at the important crisis.

Basil may or may not have taken Gregory's advice not to put himself forward. But Gregory and his father, the bishop, from this time strained every nerve to secure the election of Basil. It was felt that the cause of true religion was at stake. "The Holy Ghost must win." Opposition had to be encountered from bishops who were in open or secret sympathy with Basil's theological opponents, from men of wealth and position with whom Basil was unpopular on account of his practice and preaching of stern self — denial, and from all the lewd fellows of the baser sort in Caesarea. letters were written in the name of Gregory the bishop with an eloquence and literary skill which have led them to be generally regarded as the composition of Gregory the younger. To the people of Caesarea Basil was represented as a man of saintly life and of unique capacity to stem the surging tide of heresy. To the bishops of the province who had asked him

to come to Caesarea Basil was represented as a man of saintly life and of unique capacity to stem the surging tide of heresy. To the bishops of the province who had asked him to come to Caesarea without saying why, in the hope perhaps that so strong a friend of Basil's might be kept away from the election without being afterwards able to contest it on the ground that he had had no summons to attend, he expresses an earnest hope that their choice is not a factious and forgone conclusion, and, anticipating possible objections on the score of Basil's weak health, reminds them that they have to elect not a gladiator, but a primate. To Eusebius of Samosata he sends the letter included among those of Basil in which he urges him to cooperate in securing the appointment of a worthy man. Despite his age and physical infirmity, he was laid in his litter, as his son says like a corpse in a grave, and borne to Caesarea to rise there with fresh vigor and carry the election by his vote. All resistance was overborne, and Basil was seated on the throne of the great exarchate.

The success of the Catholics roused, as was inevitable, various feelings. Athanasius wrote from Alexandria to congratulate Cappadocia on her privilege in being ruled by so illustrious a primate. Valens prepared to carry out the measures against the Catholic province, which had been interrupted by the revolt of Procopius. The bishops of the province who had been narrowly out — voted, and who had refused to take part in the consecration, abandoned communion with the new primate. But even more distressing to the new archbishop than the disaffection of his suffragans was the refusal of his friend Gregory to come in person to support him on his throne, Gregory pleaded that it was better for Basil's own sake that there should be no suspicion of favor to personal friends, and begged to be excused for staying at Nazianzus. Basil complained that his wishes and interests were disregarded, and was hurt at Gregory's refusing to accept high responsibilities, possibly the coadjutor — bishopric, at Caesarea. A yet further cause of sorrow and annoyance was the blundering attempt of Gregory of Nyssa to effect a reconciliation between his uncle Gregory, who was in sympathy with the disaffected bishops, and his brother. He even went so far as to send more than one forged letter in their uncle's name. The clumsy counterfeit was naturally found out, and the widened breached not bridged without difficulty. The episcopate thus began with troubles, both public and personal. Basil confidently confronted them. His

magnanimity and capacity secured the adhesion of his immediate neighbors and subordinates, and soon his energies took a wider range. He directed the Theological campaign all over the East, and was ready alike to meet opponents in hand to hand encounter, and to aim the arrows of his epistolary eloquence far and wide. He invokes the illustrious pope of Alexandria to join him in winning the support of the West for the orthodox cause. He is keenly interested in the unfortunate controversy which distracted the Church of Antioch. He makes an earnest appeal to Damasus for the wonted sympathy of the Church at Rome. At the same time his industry in his see was indefatigable. He is keen to secure the purity of ordination and the fitness of candidates. Crowds of working people come to hear him preach before they go to their work for the day. He travels distances which would be thought noticeable even in our modern days of idolatry of the great goddess Locomotion. He manages vast institutions eleemosynary and collegiate. His correspondence is constant and complicated. He seems the personification of the active, rather than of the literary and scholarly, bishop. Yet all the while he is writing tracts and treatises which are monuments of industrious composition, and indicative of a memory stored with various learning, and of the daily and effective study of Holy Scripture.

Nevertheless, while thus actively engaged in fighting the battle of the faith, and in the conscientious discharge of his high duties, he was not to escape an unjust charge of pusillanimity, if not of questionable orthodoxy, from men who might have known him better. On September 7th, probably in 371, was held the festival of St. Eupsychius. Basil preached the sermon. Among the hearers were many detractors. A few days after the festival there was a dinner — party at Nazianzus, at which Gregory was present, with several persons of distinction, friends of Basil. Of the party was a certain unnamed guest, of religious dress and reputation, who claimed a character for philosophy, and said some very hard things against Basil. He had heard the archbishop at the festival preach admirably on the Father and the son, but the Spirit, he alleged, Basil defamed. While Gregory boldly called the Spirit God, Basil, from poor motives, refrained from any clear and distinct enunciation of the divinity of the Third Person. The unfavorable view of Basil was the popular one at the dinner — table, and Gregory was annoyed at not being able to convince the party that, while

his own utterances were of comparatively little importance, Basil had to weigh every word, and to avoid, if possible, the banishment which was hanging over his head. It was better to use a wise “economy” in preaching the truth than so to proclaim it as to ensure the extinction of the light of true religion. Basil shewed some natural distress and astonishment on hearing that attacks against him were readily received.

It was at the close of this same year 371 that Basil and his diocese suffered most severely from the hostility of the imperial government. Valens had never lost his antipathy to Cappadocia. In 370 he determined on dividing it into two provinces. Podandus, a poor little town at the foot of Mr. Taurus, was to be the chief seat of the new province, and thither half the executive was to be transferred. Basil depicts in lively terms the dismay and dejection of Caesarea. he even thought of proceeding in person to the court to plead the sympathies of ecclesiastics within rigidly clerical limits. The division was insisted on. But, eventually, Tyana was substituted for Podandus as the new capital; and it has been conjectured that possibly the act of kindness of the perfect mentioned in Ep. LXXVIII. may have been this transfer, due to the intervention of Basil and his influential friends.

But the imperial Arian was not content with this administrative mutilation. At the close of the year 371, flushed with successes against the barbarians, fresh from the baptism of Endoxius, and eager to impose his creed on his subjects, Valens was traveling leisurely towards Syria. He is said to have shrunk from an encounter with the famous primate of Caesarea, for he feared lest one strong man’s firmness might lead others to resist. Before him went Modestus, Prefect of the Praetorium, the minister of his severities, and before Modestus, like the skirmishers in front of an advancing army, had come a troop of Arian bishops, with Euippius, in all probability, at their head. Modestus found on his arrival that Basil was making a firm stand, and summoned the archbishop to his presence with the hope of overawing him. He met with a dignity, if not with a pride, which was more than a match for his own. Modestus claimed submission in the name of the emperor, Basil refused it in the name of God. Modestus threatened impoverishment, exile, torture, death. Basil retorted that none of these threats frightened him: he had nothing to be confiscated except a few rags and a few books; banishment could not send him beyond the lands of God; torture had no terrors for a body already dead; death could

only come as a friend to hasten his last journey home. Modestus exclaimed in amazement that he had never been so spoken to before. “Perhaps,” replied Basil, “you never met a bishop before.” The perfect hastened to his master, and reported that ordinary means of intimidation appeared unlikely to move his undaunted prelate. The archbishop must be owned victorious, or crushed by more brutal violence. But Valens, like all weak natures, oscillated between compulsion and compliance. He so far abated his pretensions to force heresy on Cappadocia, as to consent to attend the services at the Church on the Festival of the Epiphany. The Church was crowded. A mighty chant thundered over the sea of heads. At the end of the basilica, facing the multitude, stood Basil, statue — like, erect as Samuel among the prophets at Naioth, and quite indifferent to the interruption of the imperial approach. The whole scene seemed rather of heaven than of earth, and the orderly enthusiasm of the worship to be rather of angels than of men, Valens half fainted, and staggered as he advanced to make his offering at God’s Table. On the following day Basil admitted him within the curtain of the sanctuary, and conversed with him at length on sacred subjects.

The surroundings and the personal appearance of the interlocutors were significant. The apse of the basilica was as a holy of holies secluded from the hum and turmoil of the vast city. It was typical of what the Church was to the world. The health and strength of the Church were personified in Basil. He was now in the ripe prime of life, but bore marks of premature age. Upright in carriage, of commanding stature, thin, with brown hair and eyes, and long beard, slightly bald, with bent brow, high cheek bones, and smooth skin, culture that comes of intercourse with the noblest of books and of men, and the dignity of a mind made up and of a heart of single purpose. The sovereign presented a marked contrast to the prelate. Valens was of swarthy complexion, and by those who approached him nearly it was seen that one eye was defective. He was strongly built, and of middle height, but his person was obese, and his legs were crooked. He was hesitating and unready in speech and action. It is on the occasion of this interview that Theodoret places the incident of Basil’s humorous retort to Demosthenes, the chief of the imperial kitchen, the Nebuzaradan, as the Gregories style him, of the petty fourth century Nebuchadnezzar. This Demosthenes had already threatened the archbishop with the knife, and

been bidden to go back to his fire. Now he ventured to join in the imperial conversation, and made some blunder in Greek. “An illiterate Demosthenes!” exclaimed Basil; “better leave theology alone, and go back to your soups.” The emperor was amused at the discomfiture of his satellite, and for a while seemed inclined to be friendly. He gave Basil lands, possibly part of the neighboring estate of Macellum, to endow his hospital.

But the reconciliation between the sovereign and the primate was only on the surface. Basil would not admit the Arians to communion, and Valens, however, was in distress at the dangerous illness of Galates, his infant son, and, on the very night of the threatened expatriation, summoned Basil to pray over him. A brief rally was followed by relapse and death, which were afterwards thought to have been caused by the young prince’s Arian baptism. Rudeness was from time to time shewn to the archbishop by discourteous and unsympathetic magistrates, as in the case of the Pontic Vicar, who tried to force an unwelcome marriage on a noble widow. The lady took refuge at the altar, and appealed to Basil for protection. The magistrate descended to contemptible insinuation, and subjected the archbishop to gross rudeness. His ragged upper garment was dragged from his shoulder, and his emaciated frame was threatened with torture. He remarked that to remove his liver would relieve him of a great inconvenience.

Nevertheless, so far as the civil power was concerned, Basil. after the famous visit of Valens, was left at peace. He had triumphed. Was it a triumph for the nobler principles of the Gospel? Had he exhibited a pride and an irritation unworthy of the Christian name? Jerome, in a passage of doubtful genuineness and application, is reported to have regarded his good qualities as marred by the one bane of pride, a “leaven” of which sin is admitted by Milman to have been exhibited by Basil, as well as uncompromising firmness. The temper of Basil in the encounter with Valens would probably have been somewhat differently regarded had it not been for the reputation of a hard and overbearing spirit which he was won from his part in transactions to be shortly touched on. His attitude before Valens seems to have been dignified without personal haughtiness, and to have shewn sparks of that quiet humor which is rarely exhibited in

great emergencies except by men who are conscious of right and careless of consequences to self.

7. THE BREACH WITH GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS.

Cappadocia, it has been seen, had been divided into two provinces, and of one of these Tyana had been constituted the chief town. Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, now contended that an ecclesiastical partition should follow the civil, and that Tyana should enjoy parallel metropolitan privileges to those of Caesarea. To this claim Basil determined to offer an uncompromising resistance, and summoned Gregory of Nazianzus to his side. Gregory replied in friendly and complimentary terms, and pointed out that Basil’s friendship for Eustathius of Sebaste was a cause of suspicion in the Church. At the same time he placed himself at the archbishop’s disposal. The friends started together with a train of slaves and mules to collect the produce of the monastery of St. Orestes, in Cappadocia Secunda, which was the property of the see of Caesarea. Anthimus blocked the defiles with his retainers, and in the vicinity of Sasima there was an unseemly struggle between the domestics of the two prelates. The friends proceeded to Nazianzus, and there, with imperious inconsiderateness, Basil insisted upon nominating Gregory to one of the bishoprics which he was founding in order to strengthen his position against Anthimus. Fore Gregory, the brother, Nyssa was selected, a town on the Hays, about a hundred miles distant from Caesarea, so obscure that Eusebius of Samosata remonstrated with Basil on the unreasonableness of forcing such a man to undertake the episcopate of such a place. For Gregory, the friend, a similar fate was ordered. The spot chosen was Sasima, a townlet commanding the scene of the recent fray. It was an insignificant place at the bifurcation of the road leading northwards from Tyana to Doara and diverging westward to Nazianzus. Gregory speaks of it with contempt, and almost with disgust, and never seems to have forgiven his old friend for forcing him to accept the responsibility of the episcopate, and in such a place. Gregory resigned the distasteful post, and with very bitter feelings. The utmost that can be said for Basil is that just possibly he was consulting for the interest of the Church, and meaning to honor his friends, by placing Gregory in an outpost of peril and difficulty. In the kingdom of heaven the place of trial

is the place of trust. But unfortunately for the reputation of the archbishop, the war in this case was hardly the Holy War of truth against error, and of right against wrong. It was a rivalry between official and official, and it seemed hard to sacrifice Gregory to a dispute between the claims of the metropolitans of Tyana and Caesarea.

Gregory the elder joined in persuading his son. Basil had his way. He won a convenient suffragan for the moment. But he lost his friend. The sore was never healed and even in the great funeral oration in which Basil’s virtues and abilities are extolled, Gregory traces the main trouble of his chequered career to Basil’s unkindness, and owns to feeling the smart still, though the hand that inflicted the wound was cold.

With Anthimus peace was ultimately established. Basil vehemently desired it. Eusebius of Samosata again intervened. Nazianzus remained for a time subject to Caesarea, but was eventually recognized as subject to the Metropolitan of Tyana.

The relations, however, between the two metropolitans remained for sometime strained. When in Armenia in 372. Basil arranged some differences between the bishops of that district, and dissipated a cloud of calumny hanging over Cyril, an Armenian bishop. He also acceded to a request on the part of the Church of Satala that he would nominate a bishop for that see, and accordingly appointed Paemenius, a relation of his own. Later on a certain Faustus, on the strength of a recommendation from a pope with whom he was residing, applied to Basil for consecration to the see, hitherto occupied by Cyril. With this request Basil declined to comply, and required as a necessary preliminary the authorization of the Armenian bishops, specially of Theodotus of Nicopolis. Faustus then betook himself to Anthimus, and succeeded in obtaining uncanonical consecration from him, This was naturally a serious cause of disagreement. However, by 375, a better feeling seems to have existed between the rivals. Basil is able at that date to speak of Anthimus as in complete agreement with him.

8. ST. BASIL AND EUSTATHIUS.

It was Basil’s doom to suffer through his friendships. If the fault lay with himself in the case of Gregory, the same cannot be said of his rupture with Eustathius of Sebaste. If in this connection fault can be laid to his charge at all, it was the fault of entering into intimacy with an unworthy man. In the earlier days of the retirement in Pontus the austerities of Eustathius outweighed in Basil’s mind any suspicions of his unorthodoxy. Basil delighted in his society, spent days and nights in sweet converse with him, and introduced him to his mother and the happy family circle at Annesi. And no doubt under the ascendancy of Basil, Eustathius, always ready to be all things to all men who might be for the time in power and authority, would appear as a very orthodox ascetic. Basil likens him to the Ethiopian of immutable blackness, and the leopard who cannot change his spots. But in truth his skin a various periods shewed every shade which could serve his purpose, and his spots shifted and changed color with every change in his surroundings. He is the patristic Proteus. There must have been something singularly winning in his more than human attractiveness. But he signed almost every creed that went about for signature in his lifetime. He was consistent only in inconsistency. It was long ere Basil was driven to withdraw his confidence and regard, although his constancy to Eustathius raised in not a few, and notably in Theodotus of Nicopolis, the metropolitan of Armenia, doubts as to Basil’s soundness in the faith. When Basil was in Armenia in 373, a creed was drawn up, in consultation with Theodotus, to be offered to Eustathius for signature. It consisted of the Nicene confession, with certain additions relating to the Macedonian controversy. Eustathius signed, together with Fronto and Severus. But, when another meeting with other bishops was arranged, he violated his pledge to attend. He wrote on the subject as though it were one of only small importance. Eusebius endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to make peace. Eustathius renounced communion with Basil, and at last, when an open attack on the archbishop seemed the paying game, he published an old letter of Basil’s to Apollinarius, written by “layman to layman,” many years before, and either introduced, or appended, heretical expressions of Apollinarius, which were made to pass as Basil’s. In his virulent hostility he was aided, if not instigated, by Demosthenes the prefect’s vicar,

probably Basil’s old opponent at Caesarea in 372. His duplicity and slanders roused Basil’s indignant denunciation. Unhappily they were not everywhere recognized as calumnies. Among the bitterest of Basil’s trials was the failure to credit him with honor and orthodoxy on the part of those from whom he might have expected sympathy and support. An earlier instance of this is the feeling shewn at the banquet at Nazianzus already referred to. In later days he was cruelly troubled by the unfriendliness of his old neighbors at Neocaesarea, and this alienation would be the more distressing inasmuch as Atarbius, the bishop of that see, appears to have been Basil’s kinsman. He was under the suspicion of Sabellian unsoundness. He slighted and slandered Basil on several apparently trivial pretexts, and on one occasion hastened from Nicopolis for gear of meeting him. He expressed objection to supposed novelties introduced into the Church of Caesarea, to the mode of psalmody practiced there, and to the encouragement of ascetic life. Basil did his utmost to win back the Neocaesareans from their heretical tendencies and to their old kindly sentiments towards himself.

The clergy of Pisidia and Pontus, where Eustathius had been specially successful in alienating the district of Dazimon, were personally visited and won back to communion. But Atarbius and the Neocaesareans were deaf to all appeal, and remained persistently irreconcilable. On his visiting the old home at Annesi, where his youngest brother Petrus was now residing , in 375, the Neocaesareans were thrown into a state of almost ludicrous panic. They fled as from a pursuing enemy. They accused Basil of seeking to win their regard and support from motives of the pettiest ambition, and twitted him with traveling into their neighborhood uninvited.

9. UNBROKEN FRIENDSHIPS.

Brighter and happier intimacies were those formed with the older bishop of Samosata the Eusebius who, of all the many bearers of the name, most nearly realized its meaning, and with Basil’s junior, Amphilochius of Iconium. With the former, Basil’s relations were those of an affectionate son and of an enthusiastic admirer. The many miles that stretched between Caesarea and Samosata did not prevent these personal as well as epistolary communications. In 372 they were closely associated in the

eager efforts of the epistolary communications. In 372 they were closely associated in the eager efforts of the orthodox bishops of the East to win the sympathy and active support of the West. In 374 Eusebius was exiled, with all the picturesque incidents so vividly describe by Theodoret. He traveled slowly from Samosata into Thrace, but does not seem to have met either Gregory or Basil on his way. Basil contrived to continue a correspondence with him in his banishment. It was more like that of young lovers than of elderly bishops. The friends deplore the hindrances to conveyance, and are eager to assure one another that neither is guilty of forgetfulness.

The friendship with Amphilochius seems to have begun at the time when the young advocate accepted the invitation conveyed in the name of Heracleidas, his friend and repaired from Ozizala to Caesarea. The consequences were prompt and remarkable. Amphilochius, at this time between thirty and forty years of age, was soon ordained and consecrated, perhaps, like Ambrose of Milan and Eusebius of Caesarea, *per saltum*, to the important see of Iconium, recently vacated by the death of Faustinus. Henceforward the intercourse between the spiritual father and the spiritual son, both by letters and by visits, was constant. The first visit of Amphilochius to Basil, as bishop, probably at Easter 374, not only gratified the older prelate, but made a deep impression on the Church of Caesarea. But his visits were usually paid on September, at the time of the services in commemoration of the martyr Eupsychius. On the occasion of the first of them, in 374, the friends conversed together on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, now impugned by the Macedonians, and the result was the composition of the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*. This was closely followed by the three famous canonical epistles, also addressed to Amphilochius. Indeed, so great was the affectionate confidence of the great administrator and theologian in his younger brother, that, when infirmities were closing round him, he asked Amphilochius to aid him in the administration of the archdiocese.

If we accept the explanation given of Letter 169. in a note on a previous page, Gregory the elder, bishop of Nazianzus, must be numbered among those of Basil’s correspondents letters to whom have been preserved. The whole episode referred to in that and in the two following letters is curiously illustrative of outbursts of fanaticism and folly which might have

been expected to occur on Cappadocia in the fourth century, as well as in soberer regions in several other centuries when they have occurred. It has been clothed with fresh interest by the very vivid narrative of Professor Ramsay, and by the skill with which he uses the scanty morsels of evidence available to construct the theory which he holds about it. This theory is that the correspondence indicates a determined attempt on the part of the rigidly orthodox archbishop to crush proceedings which were really “only keeping up the customary ceremonial of a great religious meeting,” and, as such were winked at, if not approved of, by the bishop to whom the letter of remonstrance is addressed, and the presbyter who was Glycerius’ superior. Valuable information is furnished by Professor Ramsay concerning the great annual festival in honor of Zeus of Venasa (or Venese), whose shrine was richly endowed, and the inscription discovered on a Cappadocian hill — top, “Great Zeus in heaven, be propitious to me.” But the “evident sympathy” of the bishop and the presbyter is rather a strained inference from the extant letters; and the fact that in the days when paganism prevailed in Cappadocia Venasa was a great religious center, and the scene of rites in which women played an important part, is no conclusive proof that wild dances performed by an insubordinate deacon were tolerated, perhaps encouraged, because they represented a popular old pagan observance. Glycerius may have played the patriarch, without meaning to adopt, or travesty, the style of the former high priest of Zeus. Cappadocia was one of the most Christian districts of the empire long before Basil was appointed to the exarchate of Caesarea and of and endeavor to repress, any such manifestations as those which are described. That the bishop whom Basil addresses and the presbyter served by Glycerius should have the unseemly proceedings of Glycerius and his troupe as a pardonable, if not desirable survival of a picturesque national custom.

Among other bishops of the period with whom Basil communicated by letter are Abramius, or Abraham, of Batnae in Osrhoene, the illustrious Athanasius, and Ambrose, Athanasius of Ancyra; Barses of Edessa, who died in exile in Egypt; Elpidius, of some unknown see on the Levantine seaboard, who supported Basil in the controversy with Eustathius; the learned Epiphanius of Salamis; Meletius, the exiled bishop of Antioch;

Patrophilus of Aegae; Petrus of Alexandria; Theodotus of Nicopolis, and Ascholius of Thessalonica.

Basil’s correspondence was not, however, confined within the limits of clerical clanship. His extant letters to laymen, both distinguished and undistinguished, shew that he was in touch with the men of mark of his time and neighborhood, and that he found time to express an affectionate interest in the fortunes of his intimate friends.

Towards the later years of his life the archbishop’s days were darkened not only by ill — health and anxiety, but by the death of some of his chief friends and allies. Athanasius died in 373, and so far as personal living influence went, there was an extinction of the Pharos not of Alexandria only, but of the world. It was no longer” *Athanasius contra mundum*, but “*Mundus sine Athanasio.*” In 374 Gregory the elder died at Nazianzus, and the same year saw the banishment of Eusebius of Samosata to Thrace. In 375 died Theodotus of Nicopolis, and the succession of Fronto was a cause of deep sorrow.

At this time some short solace would come to the Catholics in the East in the synodical letter addressed to the Orientals of the important synod held in Illyria, under the authority of Valentinian. The letter which is extant is directed against the Macedonian heresy. The charge of conveying it to the East was given to the presbyter Elpidius. Valentinian sent with it a letter to the bishops of Asia in which prosecution is forbidden, though the letter runs in the names of Valentinian sent with it a letter to the bishops of Asia in which persecution is forbidden, and the excuse of submission to the reigning sovereign anticipated and condemned. Although the letter runs in the names of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, the western brother appears to condemn the eastern.

10. TROUBLES OF THE CLOSING YEARS.

The relief to the Catholic East was brief. The paroxysm of passion which caused Valentinian to break a blood — vessel, and ended his life, ended also the force of the imperial rescript. the Arians lifted their heads again. A council was held at Ancyra, in which the homoousion was condemned, and frivolous and vexatious charges were brought against Gregory of Nyssa.

At Cyzicus a Semiarian synod blasphemed the Holy Spirit. Similar proceedings characterized a synod of Antioch at about the same time. Gregory of Nyssa having been prevented by illness from appearing before the synod of Ancyra, Eustathius and Demosthenes persisted in their efforts to wound Basil through his brother, and summoned a synod at Nyssa itself, where Gregory was condemned in his absence and deposed. he was not long afterwards banished. On the other hand the Catholic bishops were not inactive. Synods were held on their part, and at Iconium Amphilochius presided over a gathering at which Basil was perhaps present himself, and where his treatise on the Holy Spirit was read and approved. The Illyrian Council was a result incommensurate with Basil's passionate entreaties for the help of the westerns. From the midst of the troubles which beset the Eastern Church Basil appealed, as he had appealed before, for the sympathy and active aid of the other half of the empire. He was bitterly chagrined at the failure of his entreaties for support, and began to suspect that the neglect he complained of was due to coldness and to pride. It has seemed to some that this coldness in the West was largely due to resentment at Basil's non — recognition of the supremacy of the Roman see. In truth the supremacy of the Roman see, as it has been understood in later times, was hardly in the horizon. No bishop of Rome had even been present at Nicaea, or at Sardica, where a certain right of appeal to his see was conceded. A bishop of Rome signed the Sirmian blasphemy. No bishop of Rome was present to save 'the world' from the lapse of Ariminum. Julian "might seem to have forgotten that there was such a city as Rome." The great intellectual Arian war was fought out without any claim of Rome to speak. Half a century after Basil's death great orientals were quite unconscious of this supremacy. At Chalcedon the measure of the growing claim is aptly typified by the wish of Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, one of the representatives of Leo, to be regarded as presiding, though he did not preside. The supremacy is hardly in view even at the last of the four great Councils.

In fact the appeal of Basil seems to have failed to elicit the response he desired, not so much from the independent tone of his letters, which was only in accordance with the recognized facts of the age, as from occidental suspicions of Basil's orthodoxy, and from the failure of men, who thought and wrote in Latin, to enter fully into the controversies conducted in a

more subtle tongue. Basil had taken every precaution to ensure the conveyance of his letters by messengers of tact and discretion. He had deprecated the advocacy of so simple — minded and undiplomatic an ambassador as his brother Gregory. He had poured out his very soul in entreaty. But all was unavailing. He suffered, and he had to suffer unsupported by a human sympathy on which he thought he had a just claim.

It is of a piece with Basil's habitual silence on the general affairs of the empire that he should seem to be insensible of the shock caused by the approach of the Goths in 378. A letter to Eusebius in exile in Thrace does shew at least a consciousness of a disturbed state of the country, and he is afraid of exposing his courier to needless danger by entrusting him with a present for his friend. But this is all. He may have written letters shewing an interest in the fortunes of the empire which have not been preserved. But his whole soul was absorbed in the cause of Catholic truth, and in the fate of the Church. His youth had been steeped in culture, but the work of his ripe manhood left no time for the literary amusement of the delettante. So it may be that the intense earnestness with which he said to himself, "This one thing I do," of his work as a shepherd of souls, and a fighter for the truth, and his knowledge that for the doing of this work his time was short, accounts for the absence form his correspondence of many a topic of more than contemporary interest. At all events, it is not difficult to decry that the turn in the stream of civil history was of vital moment to the cause which Basil held dear. The approach of the enemy was fraught with important consequences to the Church. The imperial attention was diverted from persecution of the Catholics to defense of the realm. Then came the disaster of Adrianople, and the terrible end of the unfortunate Valens. Gratian, a sensible lad, of Catholic sympathies, restored the exiled bishops, and Basil, in the few months of life yet left him, may have once more embraced his faithful friend Eusebius. The end drew rapidly near. Basil was only fifty, but he was an old man. Work, sickness, and trouble had worn him out. His health had never been good. A chronic liver complaint was a constant cause of distress and depression.

In 373 he had been at deaths door. Indeed, the news of his death was actually circulated, and bishops arrived at Caesarea with the probable object of arranging the succession. He had submitted to the treatment of a

course of natural hot baths, but with small beneficial result. By 376, as he playfully reminds Amphilochius, he had lost all his teeth. At last the powerful mind and the fiery enthusiasm of duty were no longer able to stimulate the energies of the feeble frame.

The winter of 378-9 dealt the last blow, and with the first day of what, to us, is now the new year, the great spirit fled. Gregory, alas! was not at the bedside. But he has left us a narrative which bears the stamp of truth. For sometime the bystanders thought that the dying bishop had ceased to breathe. Then the old strength blazed out at the last. He spoke with vigor, and even ordained some of the faithful who were with him. Then he lay once more feeble and evidently passing away. Crowds surrounded his residence, praying eagerly for his restoration to them, and willing to give their lives for his. With a few final words of advice and exhortation, he said: “Into thy hands I commend my spirit,” and so ended.

The funeral was a scene of intense excitement and rapturous reverence. Crowds filled every open space, and every gallery and window; Jews and Pagans joined with Christians in lamentation, and the cries and groans of the agitated oriental multitude drowned the music of the hymns which were sung. The press was so great that several fatal accidents added to the universal gloom. Basil was buried in the “sepulcher of his fathers” — a phrase which may possibly mean in the ancestral tomb of his family at Caesarea.

So passed away a leader of men in whose case the epithet ‘great’ is no conventional compliment. He shared with his illustrious brother primate of Alexandria the honor of rallying the Catholic forces in the darkest days of the Arian depression. He was great as foremost champion of a great cause, great in contemporary and posthumous influence, great in industry and self—denial, great as a literary controversialist. The estimate formed of him by his contemporaries is expressed in the generous, if somewhat turgid, eloquence of the laudatory oration of the slighted Gregory of Nazianzus. Yet nothing in Gregory’s eulogy goes beyond the expressions of the prelate who has seemed to some to be “the wisest and holiest man in the East in the succeeding century.” Basil is described by the saintly and learned Theodoret in terms that might seem exaggerated when applied to any but his master, as the light not of Cappadocia only, but of the world.

To Sophronius he is the “glory of the Church.” To Isidore of Pelusium, he seems to speak as one inspired. To the Council of Chalcedon he is emphatically a minister of grace; to the second council of Nicaea a layer of the foundations of orthodoxy. His death lacks the splendid triumph of the martyrdoms of Polycarp and Cyprian. His life lacks the vivid incidents which make the adventures of Athanasius an enthralling romance. He does not attract the sympathy evoked by the unsophisticated simplicity of Gregory his friend or of Gregory his brother. There does not linger about his memory the close personal interest that binds humanity to Augustine, or the winning loyalty and tenderness that charm far off centuries into affection for Theodoret. Sometimes he seems a hard, almost a sour man. Sometimes there is a jarring reminder of his jealousy for his own dignity. Evidently he was not a man who could be thwarted without a rupture of pleasant relations, or slighted with impunity. In any subordinate position he was not easy to get on with. But a man of a strong will, convinced that is a championing a righteous cause, will not hesitate to sacrifice, among other things, the amenities that come of amiable absence of self—assertion. To Basil, to assert himself was to assert the truth of Christ and occasionally, as in the famous dispute with Anthimus, so disastrously fatal to the typical friendship of the earlier manhood, he may have failed to perceive that the Catholic cause would not suffer from the existence of two metropolitans in Cappadocia. But the great archbishop could be an affectionate friend, thirsty for sympathy. And he was right in his estimate of his position. Broadly speaking, Basil, more powerfully than any contemporary official, worker, or writer in the Church, did represent and defend through all the populous provinces of the empire which stretched from the Balkans to the Mediterranean, form the Aegean to the Euphrates, the cause whose failure or success has been discerned, even by thinkers of no favorable predisposition, to have meant death or life to the Church. St. Basil is duly canonized in the grateful memory, no less than in the official bead—roll, of Christendom, and we may be permitted to regret that the existing of Calendar of the Anglican liturgy has not found room for so illustrious a Doctor in its somewhat niggard list. For the omission some amends have lately been made in the erection of a statue of the great archbishop of Caesarea under the dome of the Cathedral of St. Paul in London.

2. WORKS

The extent works of St. Basil may be conveniently classified as follows:

I. DOGMATIC
(i) *Adversus Eunomium*. Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον
(ii) *De Spiritu Sancto*. Περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος

II. EXEGETIC
(i) *In Hexaemeron*. Εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον
(ii) *Homiliae on Psalms* 1., 7., 14., 28., 29., 32., 33., 34., 45.,48., 59., .61., 114.
(iii) *Commentary on Isaiah* 1-16.

III. ASCETIC.
(i) *Tractatus praevii*.
(ii) *Proaemium de Judicio Dei and De Fide*.
(iii) *Moralia*. Τὰ Ἠθικά
(iv) *Regulae fusius tractate*. Ὅροι κατὰ πλάτος
and Regulce brevius tractate. Ὅροι κατʾ ἐπιτόμην

IV. HOMILETIC. XXIV. HOMILIES
(i) Dogmatic.
(ii) Moral.
(iii) Panegyric.

V. LETTERS.
(i) Historic.
(ii) Dogmatic.
(iii) Moral.
(iv) Disciplinary.
(v) Consolatory.
(vi) Commendatory.
(vii) Familiar.

VI. LITURGIC.

I. (i) *Against Eunomius.* The work under this title comprises five books, the first three generally accepted as genuine, the last two sometimes regarded as doubtful. Gregory of Nazianzus, Jerome, and Theodoret all testify to Basil’s having written against Eunomius, but do not specify the number of books. Books IV. and V. are accepted by Bellarmine, Du Pin, Tillemont, and Ceillier, mainly on the authority of the edict of Justinian

against the Three Chapters (Mansi ix., 552). the Council of Seville (Mansi x., 556) and the Council of Florence (Hardouin ix., 200). Maran (Vit. Bas. xliii.) speaks rather doubtfully. Bohringer describes them as of suspicious character, alike on grounds of style, and of their absence from some MSS. They may possibly be notes on the controversy in general, and not immediately directed against Eunomius. Fessler's conclusion is "*Major tamen eruditorum pars eos etiam genuinos esse censet.*"

The year 364 is assigned for the date of the publication of the three books. At that time Basil sent them with a few words of half ironical depreciation to Leontius the sophist. He was now about thirty — four years of age, and describes himself as hitherto inexperienced in such a kind of composition. Eunomius, like his illustrious opponent, was a Cappadocian. Emulous of the notoriety achieved by Aetius the Anomaean, and urged on by Secundus of Ptolemais, an intimate associate of Aetius, he went to Alexandria bout 356, and resided there for two years as Aetius' admiring pupil and secretary. In 358 he accompanied Aetius to Antioch, and took a prominent part in the assertion of the extreme doctrines which revolted the more moderate Semiarians. He was selected as the champion of the advanced blasphemers, made himself consequently obnoxious to Constantius, and was apprehended and relegated to Migde in Phrygia. At the same time Eudoxius withdrew for a while into Armenia, his native province, but ere long was restored to the favor of the fickle Constantius, and was appointed to the see of Constantinople in 359. Eunomius now was for overthrowing Aetius, and removing whatever obstacles stood between him and promotion, and, by the influence of Eudoxius, was nominated to the see of Cyzicus, vacant by the deposition of Eleusius. Here for a while he temporized, but ere long displayed his true sentiments. To answer for this he was summoned to Constantinople by Constantius, and, in his absence, condemned and deposed. Now he became more marked than ever in his assertion of the most extreme Arianism, and the advanced party were henceforward known under his name. The accession of Julian brought him back with the rest of the banished bishops, and he made Constantinople the center for the dissemination of his views.

Somewhere about this period he wrote the work entitled *Apologeticus*, in twenty — eight chapters, to which Basil replies. The title was at once a parody on the *Apologies* of defenders of the Faith, and, at the same time, a

suggestion that his utterances were not spontaneous, but forced from him by attack. The work is printed in Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* viii. 262, and in the appendix to Migne's *Basil. Pat. Gr. xxx. 837*. It is a brief treatise, and occupies only about fifteen columns of Migne's edition. It professes to be a defense of the "simpler creed which is common to all Christians."

This creed is as follows: "We believe in one God, Father Almighty, of Whom are all things: and in one only — begotten Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things: and in one Holy Spirit, the Comforter. But it is in reality like the extant *Exposition of the Creed*, a reading into this "simpler" creed, in itself orthodox and unobjectionable, of explanations which ran distinctly counter to the traditional and instinctive faith of the Church, and inevitably demanded corrective explanations and definitions.

In the creed of Eunomius the Son is *God*, and it is not I terms denied that He is of one substance with the Father. But in his doctrinal system there is a practical denial of the Creed; the Son may be styled God, but He is a creature, and therefore, in the strict sense of the term, not God at all, and, at best, a hero or demigod. The Father, unbegotten, stood alone and supreme; the very idea of "begotten" implied posteriority, inferiority, and unlikeness. Against this position Basil protests. The arguments of Eunomius, he urges, are tantamount to an adoption of what was probably an Arian formula, "We believe that ingenerateness is the essence of God," *i.e.*, we believe that the Only — begotten is essentially unlike the Father. This word "unbegotten," of which Eunomius and his supporters make so much, what is its real value? Basil admits that it is apparently a convenient term for human intelligence to use; but, he urges, "It is nowhere to be found in Scripture; it is one of the main elements in the Arian blasphemy; it had better be left alone. The word 'Father.' implies all that is meant by 'Unbegotten' will not be preferred by us to that of Father, unless we wish to make ourselves wiser than the Savior , Who said, 'Go and baptize in the name' not of the Unbegotten, but 'of the Father.'" To the Eunomian contention that the word "Unbegotten" is no mere complimentary title, but required by the strictest necessity, in that it involves the confession of what He is, Basil rejoins that it is only one of many negative terms applied to the Deity, none of which completely expresses the Divine Essence. "There exists no name which embraces the whole nature of God, and is

sufficient to declare it; more names than one, and these of very various kinds, each in accordance with its own proper connotation, give a collective idea which may be dim indeed and poor when compared with the whole, but is enough for us." The word "unbegotten," like "immortal," "invisible," and the like, expresses only negation. "Yet essence is not one of the qualities which are absent, but signifies the very being of God: to reckon this in the same category as the non — existent is to the last degree unreasonable." Basil "would be quite ready to admit that the essence of God is unbegotten," but he objects to the statement that the essence and the unbegotten are identical. It is sometimes supposed that the Catholic theologians have been hair — splitters in the sphere of the inconceivable, and that heresy is the exponent of an amiable and reverent vagueness. In the Arian controversy it was Arius himself who dogmatically defined with his negative "There was when He was not," and Eunomius with his "The essence is the unbegotten." "What pride! What conceit!" exclaims Basil. "The idea of imagining that one has discovered the very essence of God most high! Assuredly in their magniloquence they quite throw into the shade even Him who said, 'I will exalt my throne above the stars.' It is not stars, it is not heaven, that they dare to assail. It is in the very essence of the God of all the world that they boast that they make their haunt. Let us question him as to where he acquired comprehension of this essence. Was it from the common notion that all men share? This does indeed suggest to us that there is a god, but not what God is. Was it from the teaching of the Spirit? What teaching? Where found? What says great David, to whom God revealed the hidden secrets of His wisdom? He distinctly asserts the unapproachableness of knowledge of Him in the words, 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it.' And Isaiah, who saw the glory of god, what does he tell us concerning the Divine Essence? In his prophecy about the Christ he says, 'Who shall declare His generation?' And what of Paul, the chosen vessel, in whom which it is not lawful to man to utter? What teaching has he given us of the essence of God? When Paul is investigating the special methods of the work of redemption he seems to grow dizzy before the mysterious maze which he is contemplating, and utters the well — known words, 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! These things are beyond the r each even of those who have attained the measure of Paul's

knowledge. What then is the conceit of those who announce that they know the essence of God! I should very much like to ask them what they have to say about the earth whereon they stand, and whereof they are born. What can they tell us of its ‘essence’? If they can discourse without hesitation of the nature of lowly subjects which lie beneath our feet, we will believe them when they proffer opinions about things which transcend all human intelligence. What is the essence of the earth? How can it be comprehended? Let them tell us whether reason or sense has reached this point! If they say sense, by which of the senses is it comprehended? Sight? Sight perceives color. Touch? Touch distinguishes hard and soft, hot and cold, and the like; but no idiot would call any of these essence. I need not mention taste or smell, which apprehend respectively savor and scent. Hearing perceives sounds and voices, which have no affinity with earth. They must then say that they have found out the earth’s essence by reason. What? In what part of Scripture? A tradition from what saint?

“In a word, if anyone wishes to realize the truth of what I am urging, let him ask himself this question; when he wishes to understand anything about God, does he approach the meaning of ‘the unbegotten’? I for my part see that, just as when we extend our thought over the ages that are yet to come, we say that the life bounded by no limit is without end, so is it when we contemplate in thought the ages of the past, and gaze on the infinity of the life of God as we might into some unfathomable ocean. We can conceive of no beginning from which He originated: we perceive that the life of God always transcends the bounds of our intelligence; and so we call that in His life which is without origin, unbegotten. The meaning of the unbegotten is the having no origin from without. As Eunomius made ingenerateness the essence of the Divine, so, with the object of establishing the contrast between Father and Son, he represented the *being begotten* to indicate the essence of the Son. God, said Eunomius, being ingenerate, could never admit of generation. This statement, Basil points out, may be understood in either of two ways. It may mean that ingenerate nature cannot be subjected to generation. It may mean that ingenerate nature cannot generate. Eunomius, he says, really means the latter, while he makes converts of the multitude on the lines of the former. Eunomius makes his real meaning evident by what he adds to his dictum, for, after

saying “could never admit of generation,” he goes on, “so as to impart His own proper nature to the begotten.” As in relation to the Father, so now in relation to the Son, Basil objects to the term. Why “begotten”? Where did he get this word? From what teaching? From what prophet? Basil nowhere finds the Son called “begotten” in Scripture. We read that the Father begat, but nowhere that the Son was a *begotten thing*. “Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given.” But His name is not *begotten thing,* but “angel of great counsel.” If this word had indicated the essence of the Son, no other word would have been revealed by the Spirit. Why, if God begat, may we not call that which was begotten a thing begotten? It is a terrible thing for us to coin name for Him to Whom God has given a “name which is above every name.” We must not add to or take from what is delivered to us by the Spirit. Things are not made for names, but names for things. Eunomius unhappily was led by distinction of name into distinction of being. If the Son is begotten in the sense in which Eunomius uses the word, He is neither begotten of the essence of God nor begotten from eternity. Eunomius represents the Son as not of the essence of the Father, because begetting is only to be thought of as a sensual act and idea, and therefore is entirely unthinkable in connection with the being of God. “The essence of God does not admit of begetting; no other essence exists for the Son’s begetting; therefore I say that the Son was begotten when non — existent.” Basil rejoins that no analogy can hold between divine generation or begetting and human generation or begetting. “Living beings which are subject to death generate through the operation of the senses: but we must not on this account conceive of God in the same manner; nay, rather shall we be hence guided to the truth that, because corruptible beings operate in this manner, the Incorruptible will operate in an opposite manner.” “All who have even a limited loyalty to truth ought to dismiss all corporeal similitudes. They must be very careful not to sully their conceptions of God by material notions. They must follow the theologies delivered to us by the Holy Ghost. They must shun questions which are little better than conundrums, and admit of a dangerous double meaning. Led by the ray that shines forth from light to the contemplation of the divine generation, they must think of a generation worthy of God, without passion, partition, division, or time. They must conceive of the image of the invisible God not after the analogy of images which are subsequently fashioned by craft to match their archetype, but as of one nature and

subsistence with the originating prototype. . . This image is not produced by imitation, for the whole nature of the Father is expressed in the Son as on a seal." "Do not press me with questions: What is the generation? Of what kind was it? In what manner could it be effected? The manner is ineffable, and wholly beyond the scope of our intelligence; but we shall not on this account throw away the foundation of our faith in Father and Son. If we try to measure everything by our comprehension, and to suppose that what we cannot comprehend by our reasoning is wholly non — existent, farewell to the reward of faith; farewell to the reward of hope! If we only follow what is clear to our reason, how can we be deemed worthy of the blessings in store for the reward of faith in things not seen"?

If not of the essence of God, the Son could not be held to be eternal. "How utterly absurd," exclaims Basil, "to deny the glory of God to have had brightness; to deny the wisdom of God to have been ever with God!... The Father is of eternity. So also is the Son of eternity, united by generation to the unbegotten nature of the Father. This is not my own statement. I shall prove it by quoting the words of Scripture. Let me cite from the Gospel 'In the beginning was the Word.' and from the Psalm, other words spoken as in the person of the Father, 'From the womb before the morning I have begotten them. Let us put both together, and say, He was, and He was begotten.... How absurd to seek for something higher in the case of the unoriginate and the unbegotten! Just as absurd is to start questions as to time, about priority in the case of Him Who was with the Father from eternity, and between Whom and Him that begat Him there is no interval.

A dilemma put by Eunomius was the following: When God begat the Son, the Son either was or was not. If He was not, no argument could lie against Eunomius and the Arians. If He was, the position is blasphemous and absurd, for that which is needs no begetting.

To meet this dilemma, Basil drew a distinction between eternity and the being unoriginate. The Eunomians, from the fact of the unoriginateness of the Father being called eternity, maintained that unoriginateness and eternity are identical. Because the Son is not unbegotten they do not even allow Him to be eternal. But there is a wide distinction to be observed in the meaning of the terms. The word *unbegotten* is predicated of that which has origin of itself, and no cause of its being: the word *eternal* is predicated

of that which is in being beyond all time and age. Wherefore the Son is both not unbegotten and eternal. Eunomius was ready to give great dignity to the Son as a supreme creature. He did not hold the essence of the Son to be common to that of the things created out of nothing. He would give Him as great a preeminence as the Creator has over His own created works. Basil attributes little importance to this concession, and thinks it only leads to confusion and contradiction. If the God of the universe, being unbegotten, necessarily differs from things begotten, and all things begotten have their common hypostasis of the non — existent, what alternative is there to this concession, and thinks it only leads to confusion and contradiction. If the God of the universe, being unbegotten, necessarily differs from things begotten, and all things begotten have their common hypostasis of the non — existent, what alternative is there to a natural conjunction of all such things? Just as in the one case the unapproachable effects a distinction between the natures, so in the other equality of condition brings them into mutual contact. They say that the Son and all things that came into being under Him are of the non — existent, what alternative is there to a natural conjunction of all such things? Just as in the one case the unapproachable effects a distinction between the natures, so in the other equality of condition brings them into mutual contact. They say that the Son and all things that came into being yet they deny that they give Him a nature of the non — existent, and so far they make those natures common, and Eunomius were Lord himself, and able to give to the Only Begotten what rank and dignity he chooses, he goes on to argue, — We attribute to Him so much supereminence as the Creator must of necessity have over His own creature. He does not say, “We conceive,” or “We are of opinion,” as would be befitting when treating of God, but he says “We attribute,” as though he himself could control the measure of the attribution. And how much supereminence does he give? As much as the Creator must necessarily have over His own creatures. This has not yet reached a statement of consubstantial with them, as the potter with his clay, and the shipwright with his timber. For both are alike bodies, subject to sense, and earthy. Eunomius explained the title “Only Begotten” to mean that the Son alone was begotten and created by the Father alone, and therefore was made the most perfect minister. “If,” rejoins Basil, “He does not possess His glory in being perfect God, if it lies only in His being an exact and obedient subordinate, in what does He differ from the

ministering spirits who perform the work of their service without blame? Indeed Eunomius joins ‘created’ to ‘begotten’ with the express object of shewing that there is no distinction between the Son and a creature! And how unworthy a conception of the Father that He should need a servant to do His work! ‘He commanded and they were created.’ What service was needed by Him Who the Son’? In that the divine will, starting from the prime cause, as it were from a source, proceeds to operation though the Son’? In that the divine will, starting from the prime cause, as it were from a source, proceeds to operation through its own image, God the Word.” Basil sees that if the Son is a creature mankind is still without a revelation of the Divine. He sees that Eunomius, “by alienating the Only Begotten from the Father, and altogether cutting Him off from communion with Him, as far as he can, deprives us of the ascent of knowledge which is made through the Son. Our Lord says that all that is the Father’s is His. Eunomius states that there is no fellowship between the Father and Him Who is of Him.” If so there is no “brightness” of glory; no “express image of hypostasis.” So Dorner, who freely uses the latter portion of the treatise, “The main point of Basil’s opposition to Eunomius is that the word unbegotten is not a name indicative of the essence of God, but only of a condition of existence. The divine essence has other predicates. If every peculiar mode of existence causes a distinction in essence also, then the Son cannot be of the same essence with the Father, because He has a peculiar mode of existence, and the Father another; and men cannot be of the same essence, because each of them represents a different mode of existence. By the names of Father, Son, and Spirit, we do not understand different essences, (οὑσίας), but they are names which ditinguish the ὕπαρξις of each. All are God, and the Father is no more God than the Son, as one man is no more man than another. Quantitative differences are not reckoned in respect of essence; the question is only of being or non — being. but this does not exclude the idea of a variety in condition in the Father and the Son (ἑτέρως ἕχειν), — the generation of the Latter. The dignity of both is equal. The essence of Begetter and Begotten is identical.” The Fourth Book contains notes on the chief passages of Scripture which were relied on by Arian disputants. Among these are

<461528>1 CORINTHIANS 15:28. ON THE SUBJECTION OF THE SON

“If the Son is subjected to the Father in the Godhead, then He must have been subjected from the beginning, from whence He was God. But if He was not subjected, but shall be subjected, it is in the manhood, as for us, not in the Godhead, as for Himself.

<500209>PHILIPPIANS 2:9. ON THE NAME ABOVE EVERY NAME

“If the name above every name was given by the Father to the Son, Who was God, and every tongue owned Him Lord, after the incarnation, because of His obedience, then before the incarnation He neither had the name above every name nor was owned by all to be Lord. It follows then that after the incarnation He was greater than before the incarnation, which is absurd.” So of <402818>Matthew 28:18. We must understand this of the incarnation, and not of the Godhead.

<431428>JOHN 14:28. “MY FATHER IS GREATER THAN I.”

“‘Greater’ is predicated in bulk, in time, in dignity, in power, or as cause. The Father cannot be called greater than the Son in bulk, for He is incorporeal: nor yet in time, for the Son is Creator of times: nor yet in dignity, for He was not made what he had once not been: nor yet in power, for ‘what things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the son likewise’: nor as cause, since (the Father) would be similarly greater than He and than we, if He is cause of Him and of us. The words express rather the honor given by the Son to the Father than any depreciation by the speaker; moreover what is greater is not necessarily of a different essence. Man is called greater than man, and horse than horse. If the Father is called greater, it does not immediately follow that He is of another substances.

“A man is not properly said to be greater than a brute, than an inanimate thing, but man than man, and brute than brute. The Father is therefore of one substance with the Son, even though He be called greater.”

ON <402436>MATTHEW 24:36. OF KNOWLEDGE OF THAT DAY AND OF THAT HOUR

If the son is the Creator of the world, and does not know the time of the judgment, then He does not know what He created. For He said that He

was ignorant not of the judgment, but of the time. How can this be otherwise than absurd?

“If the son has not knowledge of all things whereof the Father has knowledge, then He spake untruly when He said ‘All things that the Father hath are mine’ and ‘As the Father knoweth me so know I the Father.’ If there is a distinction between knowing the Father and knowing the things that the Father hath, and if, in proportion as everyone is greater than what is his, it is greater to know the Father than to know what is His, than the Son, though He knew the greater (for no man knoweth the Father save the Son), did not know the less.

“This is impossible. He was silent concerning the season of the judgment, because it was no expedient for men to hear. Constant expectation kindles a warmer zeal for true religion. The knowledge that a long interval of time was to elapse would have made men more careless about true religion, from the hope of being saved by a subsequent change of life. How could He who had know life. How could He who had known everything up to this time (for so He said) not know that hour also? If so, the Apostle vainly said ‘In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.’

“If the Holy Spirit, who ‘searcheth the deep things of God,’ cannot be ignorant of anything that is God’s, then, as they who will not even allow Him to be equal must contend, the Holy Ghost is greater than the Son.”

ON <402639>MATTHEW 26:39. FATHER, IF IT BE POSSIBLE, LET THIS CUP PASS FROM ME

“If the Son really said, ‘Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,’ He not only shewed His own cowardice and weakness, but implied that there might be something impossible to the Father. The words ‘if it be possible’ are those of one in doubt, and not thoroughly assured that the Father could same Him. How could not He who gave the boon of life to corpses much rather be able to preserve life in the living? Wherefore then did not He Who had raised Lazarus and many of the dead supply life to Himself? Why did He ask life from the Father, saying, in His fear, ‘Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me’? No: this must not be understood of Himself; it must be understood of those who were on the point of sinning against Him, to prevent them from sinning; when crucified

in their behalf He said, ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ We must not understand words spoken in accordance with the economy to be spoken simply.”

ON <430657>JOHN 6:57. I LIVE BY THE FATHER

“If the Son lives on account of the Father, He lives on account of another, and not of himself. But he who lives on account of another cannot be Self — life. So He who is holy of grace is not holy of himself. Then the Son did not speak truly when He said, ‘I am the life,’ and again. ‘the Son quickeneth whom He will. We must therefore understand the words to be spoken in reference to the incarnation, and not to the Godhead.”

ON <430519>JOHN 5:19. THE SON CAN DO NOTHING OF HIMSELF

“If freedom of action is better than subjection to control, and a man is free, while the Son of God is subject to control, then the man is better than the Son. this is absurd. And if he who is subject to control cannot create fee beings (for he cannot of his own will confer on others what he does not possess himself), then the Savior, since He made us free, cannot Himself be under the control of any.”

“If the Son could do nothing of Himself, and could only act at the bidding of the Father, He is neither good nor bad. He was not responsible for anything that was done. Consider the absurdity of the position that men should be free agents both of good and evil, while the Son, who is God, should be able to do nothing of His own authority!”

ON <431501>JOHN 15:1 I AM THE VINE

“If, say they, the Savior is a vine, and we are branches, but the Father is husbandman; and if the branches are of one nature with the vine, and the vine is not of one nature with the husbandman; then the Son is of one nature with us, and we are a part of Him but the Son is not of one nature with, but in all respects of a nature foreign to, the Father, I shall reply to them that He called us branches not of His Godhead, but of His flesh, as the Apostle says, we are ‘the body of Christ, and members in particular,’ and again, know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? and in other places, ‘as is the earthly, such are they that are earthy; and as is the

heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us all bear the image of the heavenly.’ If the head of the ‘man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God,’ and man is not of one substance with Christ, Who is God (for man is not God), but Christ is of one substance with God (for He is God) therefore God is not the head of Christ in the same sense as Christ is the head of man. The natures of the creature and the creative Godhead do not exactly coincide. god is head of Christ, as Father; Christ is head of us, as Maker. If the will of the Father is that we should believe in His Son (for this is the will of Him that sent me, that everyone which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life), the Son is not a Son of will. That we should believe in Him is (an injunction) found with Him, or before Him.”

ON <411018>MARK 10:18, THERE IS NONE GOOD, ETC

“If the Savior is not good, He is necessarily bad. For He is simple, and His character does not admit of any intermediate quality. How can it be otherwise than absurd that the Creator of good should be bad? And if life is good, and the words of the Son are life, as He Himself said, ‘the words which I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life,’ in what sense, when He hears one of the Pharisees address Him as good Master. He answered as to one tempting Him, as the gospel expresses it, or to one ignorant, that God is good, and not simply a good master.”

ON <431705>JOHN 17:5. FATHER, GLORIFY ME

“If when the Son asked to be glorified of the Father He was asking in respect of His Godhead, and not of His manhood, He asked for what He did not posses. Therefore the evangelist speaks falsely when he says ‘we beheld His glory,’ and the apostle, in the words ‘They would not have crucified the Lord of Glory,’ David in the words ‘And the King of glory shall come in.’ It is not therefore an increase of glory which he asks. He asks that there may be a manifestation of the economy. Again, if He really asked that the glory which He had before the world might be given Him of the Father, He asked it because He had lost it. He would never have sought to receive that of which He was in possession. But if this was the case, He had lost not only the glory, but also the Godhead. For the glory is inseparable from the Godhead. Therefore, according to Photinus, He was

mere man. It is then clear that He spoke these words in accordance with the economy of the manhood, and not through failure in the Godhead.”

ON <510115>COLOSSIANS 1:15. FIRSTBORN OF EVERY CREATURE

“If before the creation the Son was not a generated being but a created being. He would have been called first created and not firstborn. If, because He is called first begotten of creation He is first created, then because He is called first begotten of the dead He would be the first of the dead who died. If on the other hand He is called first begotten of the dead because of His being the cause of the resurrection from the dead, He is in the same manner called first begotten of creation, because He is the cause of the bringing of the creature from the non existent into being. If His being called first begotten of things were created by Him and for Him,’ ought to have added, ‘And He came into being first of all.’ But in saying ‘He is before all things, he indicated that He exists eternally, while the creature came into being. ‘Is’ in the passage in question is in harmony with the words ‘In the beginning was the Word.’ It is urged that if the Son is first begotten, He cannot be only begotten, and that there must needs be some other , in comparison with whom He is styled first begotten. yet, O wise objector, though He is the only Son born of the Virgin Mary, He is called her first born. For it is said, ‘Till she brought forth her first born Son.’ There is therefore no need of any brother in comparison with whom He is styled first begotten.

“It might also be said that one who was before all generation was called first begotten, and moreover in respect of them who are begotten of God through the adoption of the Holy Ghost, as Paul says, ‘For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first born among many brethren.’”

ON <200722>PROVERBS 7:22. THE LORD CREATED ME (LXX.)

“If it is the incarnate Lord who says ‘I am the way,’ and ‘No man cometh unto the Father but by me,’ it is He Himself Who said, ‘The Lord created me beginning of ways.’ The word is also used of the creation and making of a begotten being, as ‘I have created a man through the Lord,’ and again ‘He begat sons and daughters,’ and so David, ‘Create in me a clean heart,

O God,’ not asking for another, but for the cleansing of the heart he had. And a new creature is spoken of, not as though another creation came into being, but because the enlightened are established in better works. If the Father created the Son for works, He created Him not on account of Himself, but on account of the works. But that which comes into being on account of something else, and not on its own account, is either a part of that on account of which it came into being, or is inferior. The Savior will then be either a part of the creature, or inferior to the creature. We must understand the passage of the manhood. And it might be said that Solomon uttered these words of the same wisdom whereof the Apostle makes mention in the passage ‘For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God.’ It must moreover be borne in mind that the speaker is not a prophet, but a writer of proverbs. Now proverbs are figures of other things, not the actual things which are uttered. If it was God the Son Who said, The Lord created me,’ He would rather have said, ‘The Father created me.’ Nowhere did He call Him Lord, but always Father. The word ‘begot’, then, must be understood in reference to God the Son, and the word created, in reference to Him who took on Him the form of a servant. In all these cases we do not mention two, God apart and man apart (for He was One), but in thought we take into account the nature of each. Peter had not two in his mind when he said, ‘Christ hath offered for us in the flesh. If, they argue, the Son is a thing begotten and not a thing made, how does Scripture say, ‘Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, Whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ’? We must also say here that this was spoken according to the flesh about the Son of Man; just as the angel who announced the glad tidings to the shepherds says, ‘To you is born to — day a Savior, ‘Who is Christ the Lord.’ The word ‘to — day’ could never be understood of Him Who was before the ages. This is more clearly shewn by what comes afterwards where it is said, ‘That same Jesus whom ye have crucified.’ If when the Son was born He was then made wisdom, it is untrue that He was ‘the power of God and the wisdom of God.’ His wisdom did not come into being, but existed always. And so, as though of the Father, it is said by David, ‘Be thou, God, my defender,’ and again, ‘Thou art become my salvation.’ and so Paul, ‘Let God be true, but every man a liar.’ Thus the Lord ‘of God is made unto us wisdom and sanctification and redemption.’ Now when the Father was made defender

and true, He was not a thing made; and similarly when the Son was made wisdom and sanctification, He was not a thing made. If it is true that there is one God the Father, it is assuredly also true that there is one Lord Jesus Christ the Savior. According to them the Savior is not God nor the Father Lord, and it is written in vain, ‘the Lord said unto my Lord.’ False is the statement, ‘Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee.’ False too, ‘The Lord rained from the Lord.’ False, ‘God created in the image of God.’ and ‘Who is God save the Lord?’ and ‘Who is a God save our God.’ False the statement of John that ‘the Word was God and the Word was with God; and the words of Thomas of the Son, ‘my Lord and my God.’ The distinctions, then, ought to be referred to creatures and to those who are falsely and not properly called gods, and not to the Father and to the Son.”

ON <431703>JOHN 17:3. THAT THEY MAY KNOW THEE, THE ONLY TRUE GOD

“The *true* (sing.) is spoken of in contradistinction to the false (pl.). But He is incomparable, because in comparison with all He is in all things superexcellent. When Jeremiah said of the Son, ‘This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison with Him,’ did he describe Him as greater than the Father? That the Son also is true God, John himself declares in the Epistle, ‘That we may know the only true God, and we are (in Him that is true, even) in His (true) Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life.’ It would be wrong, on account of the words ‘There shall none other be accounted of in caparison of Him,’ to understand the Son to be greater than the Father; nor must we suppose the Father to be the only true God. Both expressions must be used in connection with those who are falsely styled, but are not really, gods. In the same way it is said in Deuteronomy, ‘So the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God with him.’ If God is alone invisible and wise, it does not at once follow that He is greater than all in all things. But the God Who is *over* all is necessarily superior to all. Did the Apostle, when he styled the Savior God *over all*, describe Him as greater than the Father? The idea is absurd. The passage in question must be viewed in the same manner. The great God cannot be less than a different God. When the Apostle said of the Son, we look for ‘that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ,’ did he think of Him as greater than the Father? It is the Son, not the Father, Whose

appearance and advent we are waiting for. These terms are thus used without distinction of both the Father and the Son, and no exact nicety is observed in their employment. ‘Being equally with God’ is identical with being equal with God. Since the Son ‘thought it not robbery’ to be equal with God, how can He be unlike and unequal to God? Jews are nearer true religion than Eunomius. Whenever the Savior called Himself no more than Son of God, as though it were due to the Son, if He be really Son, to be Himself equal to the Father, they wished, it is said, to stone Him, not only because He was breaking the Sabbath, but because, by saying that God was His own Father, He made Himself equal with God. Therefore, even though Eunomius is unwilling that it should be so, according both to the Apostle and to the Savior’s own words, the Son is equal with the Father.”

ON <402023>MATTHEW 20:23. IS NOT MINE TO GIVE, SAVE FOR WHOM IT IS PREPARED

“If the Son has not authority over the judgment, and power to benefit some and chastise others, how could He say, ‘The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son’? And in another place, ‘The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins; and again, ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; and to Peter, ‘I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;’ and to the disciples, ‘Verily, I say unto you that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration,... shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’ The explanation is clear from the Scripture, since the Savior said, ‘Then will I reward every man according to his work;’ and in another place, ‘They that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.’ And the Apostle says, ‘We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that everyone may receive the things done in his body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad.’ It is therefore the part of the recipients to make themselves worthy of a seat on the left and on the right of the Lord: it is not the part of Him Who is able to give it, even though the request be unjust.”

ON <191831>PSALM 18:31, LXX. WHO IS GOD, SAVE THE LORD? WHO IS GOD, SAVE OUR GOD?

“It has already been sufficiently demonstrated that the Scriptures employ these expressions and others of a similar character not of the Son, but of the so — called gods who were not really so. I have shewn this from the fact that in both the Old and the New Testament the Son is frequently styled both God and Lord. David makes this still clearer in the words, when he says, ‘Who is like unto Thee?’ and adds, ‘among the gods, O Lord,’ and Moses, in the words, ‘So the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him.’ And yet although, as the Apostle says, the Savior was with them, ‘They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ,’ and Jeremiah, ‘The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth,... let them perish under the heavens.’ The Son is not meant among these, for He is himself Creator of all. It is then the idols and images of the heathen who are meant alike by the preceding passage and by the words, ‘I am the first God and I am the last, and beside me there is no God.’ and also, ‘Before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me,’ and ‘Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.’ None of these passages must be understood as referring to the Son.”

The fifth Book against Eunomius is on the Holy Spirit, and therefore, even if it were of indubitable genuineness, it would be of comparatively little importance as the subject is fully discussed in the treatise of his maturer life. A reason advanced against its genuineness has been the use concerning the Holy Ghost of the term God. (3.) But it has been replied that the reserve which St. Basil practiced after his elevation to the episcopate was but for a special and temporary purpose. He calls the Spirit God in Ep. VIII. ii. At the time of the publication of the Books against Eunomius there would be no such reason for any “economy” as in 374.

(ii)*De Spiritu Sancto*. To the illustration and elucidation of this work I have little to add to what is furnished, however inadequately, by the translation and notes in the following pages. The famous treatise of St. Basil was one of several put out about the same time by the champions of the Catholic cause. Amphilochius, to whom it was addressed, was the author of a work which Jerome describes *(De Vir. III., cxxxiii.)* as arguing

that He is God Almighty, and to be worshipped. The Ancoratus of Epiphanius was issued in 373 in support of the same doctrine. At about the same time Didymus, the blind master of the catechetical school at Alexandria, wrote a treatise which is extant in St. Jerome's Latin; and of which the work of St. Ambrose, composed in 381, for the Emperor Gratian, is "to a considerable extent an echo."

So in East and West a vigorous defense was maintained against the Macedonian assault. The Catholic position is exactly defined in the Synodical Letter sent by Damasus to Paulinus of Tyre in 378. Basil died at the crisis of the campaign, and with no bright Pisgah view of the ultimate passage into peace. the generalship was to pass into other hands. There is something of the irony of fate, or of the mystery of Providence, in the fact that the voice condemned by Basil to struggle against the mean din and rattle of Sasima should be the vehicle for impressing on the empire the truths which Basil held dear. Gregory of Sasima was no archiepiscopal success at Constantinople. He was not an administrator or a man of the world. but he was a great divine and orator, and the imperial basilica of the Athanasia rang with outspoken declarations of the same doctrines, which Basil had more cautiously suggested to inevitable inference. The triumph was assured, Gregory was enthroned in St. Sophia, and under Theodosius the Catholic Faith was safe from molestation.

2. EXEGETIC.

(i) As of the *De Spiritu Sancto*, so of the *Hexaemeron*, no further account need be given here. It may, however, be noted that ht Ninth Homily ends abruptly, and the latter, and apparently more important, portion of the subject is treated of at less length than the former. Jerome and Cassiodorus speak of nine homilies only on the creation. Socrates says the Hexaemeron was completed by Gregory of Nyssa. Three orations are published among Basil's works, two on the creation of men and one on paradise, which are attributed to Basil by Combefis and Du Pin, but not considered genuine by Tillemont, Maran, Garnier, Ceillier, and Fessler. They appear to be compositions which some editor thought congruous to the popular work of Basil, and so appended them to it.

The nine discourses in the Hexaemeron all shew signs of having been delivered extempore, and the sequence of argument and illustration is not such as to lead to the conclusion that they were ever redacted by the author into exact literary form. We probably owe their preservation to the skilled shorthand writers of the day.

(ii) The Homilies on the Psalm as published are seventeen in number; it has however been commonly held that the second Homily on Psalm 28. is not genuine, but the composition of some plagiarist. The Homily also on Psalm 37. has been generally objected to. These are omitted from the group of the Ben. Ed., together with the first on <193401>Psalm 114., and that on 115. Maran thinks that none of these orations shew signs of having been delivered in the episcopate, or of having reference to the heresy of the Pneumatomachi; two apparently point directly to the presbyterate. In that on Psalm 14. he speaks of an auepiuvia which would better befit the priest than the primate; on Psalm 114. he describes himself as serving a particular church. Both arguments seem a little far — fetched, and might be opposed on plausible grounds. Both literal and allegorical interpretations are given. If Basil is found expressing himself in terms similar to those of Eusebius, it is no doubt because both were inspired by Origen. The Homily on Psalm 1. begins with a partial quotation from <550316>2 Timothy 3:16, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable," and goes on, "and was composed by the spirit to the end that all of us men, as in a general hospital for souls, may choose each what is best for his own cure." for him, Scripture is supreme. As is noticed on Hom. IX. of the Hexaemeron, Basil is on the whole for the simpler sense. But he was a student of Origen, and we well knows how to use allegory when he thinks fit. An example may be observed in Letter VIII., where there is an elaborate allegorisation of the "times and the seasons" of <440107>Acts 1:7. An instance of the application of both systems is to be found in the Homily on <192801>Psalm 28. (i.e. in A. V. xxix.). The LXX Title is Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ ἐξυδίου σκηνῆς, *"Psalmus David in exitu e Tablernaculo."* Primarily this is a charge delivered to the priests and Levites on leaving their sacred offices. They are to remember all that it is their duty to prepare for the holy service. As they go out of the Tabernacle the psalm tells them all that it behooves them to have in readiness for the morrow, young rams (<192901>Psalm 29:1, 70.), glory and honor, glory for His name. "But to our minds, as they

contemplate high and lofty things, and by the aid of an interpretation dignified and worthy of Holy Scripture make the Law our own, the meaning is different. There is no question of ram in flock, nor tabernacle fashioned of lifeless material, nor departure from the temple. The tabernacle for us is this body of ours, as the Apostle has told us in the words, ‘For we that are in this tabernacle do groan.’ The departure form the temple is our quitting this life. For this these words bid us be prepared, bringing such and such things to the Lord, if the deeds done here are to be a means to help us on our journey to the life to come.”

This is in the style of exegesis hitherto popular. To hearers familiar with exegesis of the school of Origen, it is an innovation for Basil to adopt such and exclusively literal system of exposition as he does, — e.g. in Hom. IX. on the Hexaemeron, — the system which is one of his distinguishing characteristics. In his common — sense literalism he is thus a link with the historical school of Antioch, whose principles were in contrast with those of Origen and the Alexandrians, a school represented by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodorus of Tarsus, and later by Theodoret.

It is remarked by Gregory of Nazianzus in his memorial oration that Basil used a threefold method of enforcing Scripture on his hearers and readers. This may be understood to be the literal, moral, and allegorical. Ceillier points out that this description, so far as we know, applies only to the Homilies on the Psalms.

The praise if the Psalms, prefixed to <19.0.1>Psalm 1., is a passage of noticeable rhetorical power and of considerable beauty. Its popularity is shewn by the fact of its being found in some manuscripts of St. Augustine, and also in the commentary of Rufinus. The latter probably translated it; portions of it were transcribed by St. Ambrose.

“The prophets,” says St. Basil, “the historians, the law, give each a special kind of teaching, and the exhortation of the proverbs furnishes yet another. But the use and profit of all are included in the book of Psalms. There is prediction of thing to come. There our memories are reminded of the past. There laws are laid down for the guidance of life. There are directions as to conduct. The book, in a word, is a treasury of sound teaching, and provides for every individual need. It heals the old hurts of souls, and brings about recovery where the wound fresh. It wins the part that is sick

and preserves that which is sound. As far as lies within its power, it destroys the passions which lord it in this life in the souls of men. And all this it effects with a musical persuasiveness and with a gratification that induces wise and wholesome reflection. The Holy Spirit saw that mankind was hard to draw to goodness, that our life’s scale inclined to pleasure, and that so we were neglectful of the right What plan did He adopt? He combined the delight of melody with His teaching, to the end that by the sweetness and softness of what we heard we might, all unawares, imbibe the blessing of the words. He acted like wise leeches, who, when they would give sour draughts to sickly patients, put honey round about the cup. So the melodious music of the Psalms has been designed for us, that those who are boys in years, or at least but lads in ways of life, while they seem to be singing, may in reality be carrying on the education of the soul. It is not easy for the inattentive to retain in their memory, when they go home, an injunction of an apostle or prophet; but the sayings of the Psalms are sung in our houses and travel with us through the streets. Let a man begin even to grow savage as some wild beast, and no sooner he soothed by psalm — singing than straightway he goes home with passions lulled to calm and quiet by the music of the song.

“A psalm is soul’s calm, herald of peace, hushing the swell and agitation of thoughts. It soothes the passions of the soul; it brings her license under law. A psalm is welder of friendship, atonement of adversaries, reconciliation of haters. Who can regard a man as his enemy, when they have lifted up one voice to God together? So Psalmody gives us the best of all boons, love. Psalmody has bethought her of concerted singing as a mighty bond of union, and links the people together in a symphony of one song. A psalm puts fiends to flight, and brings the aid of angels to our side; it is armor in the terrors of the night; in the toils of the day it is refreshment; to infants it is a protection to men in life’s prime a pride, to elders a consolation, to women and adornment. It turns wastes into homes. It brings wisdom into marts and meetings. To beginners it is an alphabet, to all who are advancing an improvement, to the perfect a confirmation. It is the voice of the church It gladdens feasts. It produces godly sorrow. It brings a tear even from a heart of stone. A psalm is angel’s work, the heavenly conversation, the spiritual sacrifice. Oh, the thoughtful wisdom of the Instructor Who designed that we should at one and the same time

sing and learn to our profit! It is thus that His receipts are imprinted on our souls. A lesson that is learned unwillingly is not likely to last, but all that is learned with pleasure and delight effects a permanent settlement in our souls. What can you not learn from this source? You may learn magnificent manliness, scrupulous righteousness, dignified self — control, perfect wisdom. You may learn how to repent, and how far to endure. What good thing can you not learn? There is a complete theology; a foretelling of the advent of Christ in the flesh; threatening of judgment; hope of resurrection; fear of chastisement; promise of glory; revelation of mysteries. Everything is stored in the book of the Psalms as in some vast treasury open to all the world. There are many instruments of music, but the prophet has fitted it to the instrument called Psaltery. I think the reason is that he wished to indicate the grace sounding in him from on high by the gift of the Spirit, because of all instruments the Psaltery is the only one which has the source of its sounds at the stroke of the plectrum from below. The Psaltery has the source of its melodious strains above. So are we taught to be diligent in seeking the things which are above, and not to allow ourselves to be degraded by our pleasure in the music to the lusts of the flesh. And what I think the word of the Prophet profoundly and wisely teaches by means of the fashion of the instrument is this, — that those whose souls are musical and harmonious find their road to the things that are above most easy.:

ON <191401>PSALM 14. (IN A.V. XV.) THE COMMENTARY BEGINS:

“Scripture, with the desire to describe to us the perfect man, the man who is ordained to be the recipient of blessings, observes a certain order and method in the treatment of points in him which we may contemplate, and begins from the simplest and most obvious, points in hi which we may contemplate, and begins from the simplest and most obvious ‘Lord, who shall sojourn in they tabernacle?’ A sojourning is a transitory dwelling. It indicates a life not settled, but passing, in hope of our removal to the better things. It is the part of a saint to pass through this world, and to hasten to another life. In this sense David says of himself, ‘I am a stranger with thee and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.’ Abraham was a sojourner, who did not possess even so much land as to set his foot on, and, when he needed a tomb, bought one for money. The word teaches us

that so long as he lives in the flesh he is a sojourner, and, when he removes from this life, rests in his own home. In this life he sojourns with strangers, but the land which he bought in the tomb to receive his body is his own. And truly blessed is it, not to rot with things if earth as though they were one’s own, nor cling to all that is about us here as though here were our natural fatherland, but to be conscious of the fall from nobler things, and of our passing our time in heaviness because of the punishment that is laid upon us, just like exiles who for some crimes’ sake have been banished by the magistrates into regions far from the land that gave them birth. Hard it is to find a man who will not heed present things as though they were his own; who knows that he has the use of wealth but for a season; who reckons on the brief duration of his health; who remembers that the bloom of human glory fades away.

“‘Who shall sojourn in thy tabernacle?’ The flesh that is given to man’s soul for it to dwell in is called God’s tabernacle.’ the flesh that is given to man’s soul for it to dwell in is called God’s tabernacle. Who will be found to treat this flesh as though it were not his own? So journers, when they hire land that is not their own, till the estate at the will of the owner. so, too, to us the care of the flesh has been entrusted by bond, for us to toil with diligence therein, and make it fruitful for the use of Him Who gave it. And if the flesh is worthy of God, it becomes verily a tabernacle of God, accordingly as He makes His dwelling in the saints. Such is the flesh of the sojourner. ‘Lord, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle?’ then there come progress and advance to that which is more perfect. ‘And who shall dwell in thy Holy hill?’ A Jew, in earthly sense, when he hears of the ‘hill,’ turns his thoughts to Sion. ‘Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?’ The sojourner in the flesh shall dwell in the holy hill, he shall dwell in that hill, that heavenly country, bright and splendid, whereof the Apostle says, ‘Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, where is the general assembly of ‘angels, and the church of the first — born, which are written in heaven.’”

The Second Homily on Psalm 14. (15.) has a special interest in view of the denunciation of usury alike in Scripture and in the early Church. The matter had been treated of at Nicaea. With it may be compared Homily VIL., *De Avaritia.*

After a few words of introduction and reference to the former Homily on the same Psalm, St. Basil proceeds; — “In Depicting the character of the perfect man, of him, that is, who is ordained to ascend to the life of everlasting peace, the prophet reckons among his noble deeds his never having given his money upon usury. This particular sin is condemned in many passages of Scripture. Ezekiel reckons taking usury and increase among the greatest of crimes. The law distinctly utters the prohibition Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother’ and to thy neighbor. Again it is said, ‘Usury upon usury; guile upon guile’. And of the city abounding in a multitude of wickedness, what does the Psalm say? ‘Usury and guile depart not from her streets.’ Now the prophet instances precisely the same point as characteristic of the perfect man, saying, ‘He that putteth not out his money to usury.’ For in truth it is the last pitch of inhumanity that one man, in need of the bare necessities of life, should be compelled to borrow, and another, not satisfied with the principal, should seek to make gain and profit for himself out of the calamities of the poor. The Lord gave His own injunction quite plainly in the words, ‘from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.’ But what of the money lover? He sees before him a man under stress of necessity bent to the ground in supplication. he sees him hesitating at no act, no words, of humiliation. He sees him suffering undeserved misfortune, but he is merciless. he does not reckon that he is a fellow — creature. He does not give in to his entreaties. He stands stiff and sour. He is moved by no prayers; his resolution is broken by no tears. He persists in refusal, invoking curses on his own head if he has any money about him, and swearing that he is himself on the lookout for a friend to furnish him a loan. He backs lies with oaths, and makes a poor addition to his stock in trade by supplementing inhumanity with perjury. Then the suppliant mentions interest, and utters the word security. All is changed. The frown is relaxed; with a genial smile he recalls old family connection. Now it is ‘my friend.’ ‘I will see,’ says he, if I have any money by me. Yes; there is that sum which a man I know has left in my hands on deposit for profit. he named very heavy interest. However, I shall certainly take something off, and give it you on better terms.’ With pretenses of this kind and talk like this he fawns on the wretched victim, and induces him to swallow the bait. Then he binds him with written security, adds loss of liberty to the trouble of his pressing poverty, and is off. The man who has made himself responsible for interest which he

cannot pay has accepted voluntary slavery for life. Tell me; do you expect to get money and profit out of the pauper? If he were in a position to add to your wealth, why should he come begging at your door? He came seeking an ally, and he found a foe. He was looking for medicine, and he lighted on poison. You ought to have comforted him in his distress, but in your attempt to grow fruit on the waste you are aggravating his necessity. Just as well might a physician go in to his patients, and instead of restoring them to health, rob them of the little strength they might have left. This is the way in which you try to profit by the misery of the wretched. Just as farmers pray for rain to make their fields fatter, so you are anxious for men's need and indigence, that your money may make more. You forget that the addition which you are making to your sins is larger than the increase to your wealth which you are reckoning on getting for your usury The seeker of the loan is helpless either way: he bethinks him of his poverty, he gives up all idea of payment as hopeless when at the need of the moment he risks the loan. The borrower bends to necessity and is beaten. The lender goes off secured by bills and bonds.

"After he has got his money, at first a man is bright and joyous; he shines with another's spender, and is conspicuous by his altered mode of life. His table is lavish; his dress is most expensive. His servants appear in finer liveries; he has flatterers and boon companions; his rooms are full of drones innumerable. But the money slips away. Time as it runs on adds the interest to its tale. Now night brings him no rest; no day is joyous; no sun is bright; he is weary of his life; he hates the days that are hurrying on to the appointed period; he is afraid of the months, for they are parents of interest. Even if he sleeps, he sees the lender in his slumbers — a bad dream — standing by his pillow. If he wakes up, there is the anxiety and dread of the interest. 'The poor and the usurer,' he exclaims, 'meet together: the Lord lighteneth both their eyes.' The lender runs like a hound after the game. the borrower like a ready prey crouches at the coming catastrophe, for his penury robs him of the power of speech. Both have their ready — reckoner in their hands, the one congratulating himself as the interest mounts up, the other groaning at the growth of his clamities. 'Drink waters out of thine own cistern.' Look, that is to say, at your own resources; do not approach other men's springs; provide your comforts from your own reservoirs. Have you household vessels, clothes, best of

burden, all kinds of furniture? Sell these. Rather surrender all than lose our liberty. Ah, but — he rejoins — I am ashamed to put them up for sale. What then do you think of anther’s bringing them out a little later on, and crying your goods, and getting rid of them for next to nothing before your very eyes? Do not go to another man’s door. Verily ‘another man’s well is narrow.’ Better is it to relieve your necessity gradually by one contrivance after another than after being all in a moment elated by another man’s means, afterwards to be tripped at once of everything. If you have anything wherewith to pay, why do you not relieve your immediate difficulties out of these resources? If you are insolvent, you are only trying to cure ill with ill. Decline to be blockaded by an usurer. Do not suffer yourself to be sought out and tracked down like another man’s game. Usury is the origin of lying; the beginning of ingratitude, unfairness, perjury.

“But, you ask, how am I to live? You have hands. You have a craft. Work for wages. Go into service. There are many ways of getting a living, many kinds of resources. You are helpless? Ask those who have means. It is discreditable to ask? It will be much more discreditable to rob your creditor. I do not speak thus to lay down the law. I only wish to point out that any course is more advantageous to you than borrowing.

“Listen, you rich men, to the kind of advice I am giving to the poor because of your inhumanity. Far better endure under their dire straits than undergo the troubles that are bred of usury! But if you were obedient to the Lord, what need of these words? What is the advice of the Master? Lend to those from whom you do not hope to receive. And what kind of loan is this, it is asked, from which all idea of the expectation of repayment is withdrawn? Consider the force of the expression, and you will be amazed at the loving kindness of the legislator. When you mean to supply the need of a poor man for the Lord’s sake, the transaction is at once a gift and a loan. Because there is no expectation of reimbursement, it is a gift. Yet because of the munificence of the Master of the universe to be responsible for your repayment? If any wealthy man in the town promises you repayment on behalf of others, do you admit his suretyship? But you do not accept god, Who more than repays on behalf of the poor. Give the money lying useless, without weighting it with increase and both shall be benefited. To you will accrue the security of its

safe keeping. The recipients will have the advantage of its use. And if it is increase which you seek, be satisfied with that which is given by the Lord. He will pay the interest for the poor. await the loving—kindness of Him Who is in truth most kind.

“What you are taking involves the last extremity of inhumanity. You are making your profit out of misfortune; you are levying a tax upon tears. You are making your profit out of misfortune; you are levying a tax upon tears. You are making your profit out of misfortune; you are levying a tax upon tears. You are strangling the naked. You are dealing blows on the starving. There is no pity anywhere, no sense of your kinship to the hungry; and you call the profit you get form these sources kindly and humane! Wo unto them that ‘put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter,’ and call inhumanity humanity! This surpasses even the riddle which Samson proposed to his boon companions: — ‘Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.’ Out of the inhuman came forth humanity! Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles, nor humanity of usury. A corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. There are such people as twelve — per — cent — men and ten — per — cent — men: I shudder to mention their names. They are exactors by the month, like the demons who produce epilepsy, attacking the poor as the changes of the moon come round.

“Here there is an evil grant to either, to giver and to recipient. To the latter, it brings ruin on his property; to the former, on his soul. The husbandman, when he has the ear in store, does not search also for the seed beneath the root; you both possess the fruit and cannot keep your hands from the principal. You plant where there is no ground. You reap where there has been no sowing. For whom you are gathering you cannot tell. The man from whom usury wrings tears is manifest enough; but it is doubtful who is destined to enjoy the results of the superfluity. You have laid up in store for yourself the trouble that results from your iniquity, but it is uncertain whether you will not leave the use of your wealth to others. Therefore, ‘from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away;’ and do not give your money upon usury. Learn from both Old and New Testament what is profitable for you, and so depart hence with good hope to your Lord; in Him you will receive the interest of your good deeds, —

in Jesus Christ our Lord to Whom be glory and might for ever and ever, Amen.”

(iii.) *The Commentary on Isaiah.* The Commentary on Isaiah is placed by the Benedictine Editors in the appendix of doubtful composition, mainly on the ground of inferiority of style. Ceillier is strongly in favor of the genuineness of this work, and calls attention to the fact that it is attested by strongly manuscript authority, and by the recognition of St. Maximus, of John of Damascus, of Simeon Logothetes, of Antony Melissa of Tarasius, and of the Greek scholiast on the Epistles of St. Paul, who is supposed to be Ecumenius. Fessler’ ranks the work among those of doubtful authority on the ground of the silence of earlier Fathers and of the inferiority of style, as well as of apparent citations from the Commentary of Eusebius, and of some eccentricity of opinion. He conjectures that we may possibly have here the rough material of a proposed work on Isaiah, based mainly on Origen, which was never completed. Garnier regards it as totally unworthy of St. Basil. Maran *(Vit. Bas. 42)* would accept it, and refutes objections.

Among the remarks which have seemed frivolous is the comment on <231112>Isaiah 11:12, that the actual cross of the passion was prefigured by the four parts of the universe joining in the midst. Similar objections have been taken to the statement that the devils like rich fare, and crowd the idols’ temples to enjoy the sacrificial feasts. On the other hand it has been pointed out that this ingenuity in finding symbols of the cross is of a piece with that of Justin Martyr, who cites the yard on the mast, the plough, and the Roman trophies, and that Gregory of Nazianzus instances the same characteristic of the devils. While dwelling on the holiness of character required for the prophetic offices, the Commentary points out that sometimes it has pleased God to grant it to Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar for the sake of their great empires; to Caiaphas as the high priest; to Balaam, because of the exigencies of the crisis at which he appeared. The unchaste lad who has some great sin upon his conscience shrinks from taking his place among the faithful, and is ashamed to rank himself with the weepers. So he tries to avoid the examination of those whose duty it is to inquire into sins and he invents excuses for leaving the church before the celebration of the mysteries. The Commentary urges that without penitence the best conduct is unavailing for salvation; that

God requires of the sinner not merely the abandonment of the sinful part, but also the amends of penance, and warns men that they must not dream that the grace of baptism will free them from the obligation to live a godly life. The value of tradition is insisted on. Every nation, as well as every church, is said to have its own guardian angel.

The excommunication reserved for certain gross sins is represented as a necessary means enjoined by St. Paul to prevent the spread of wickedness. It is said to be an old tradition that on leaving paradise Adam went to live in Jewry, and there died; that after his death, his skull appearing bare, it was carried to a certain place hence name “place of a skull,” and that for this reason Jesus Christ, Who came to destroy death’s kingdom, willed to die on the spot where the first fruits of mortality were interred.

On <230514>Isaiah 5:14, “Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure,” it is remarked that these are figurative expressions to denote the multitude of souls that perish. At the same time an alternative literal meaning is admitted, the mouth being the opening through which the souls of the damned are precipitated into a dark region beneath the earth.

It is noted in some MSS. that the Commentary was given to the world by an anonymous presbyter after St. Basil’s death, who may have abstained from publishing it because it was in an unfinished state. Erasmus was the first to undertake to print it, and to translate it into Latin, but he went no further than the preface. It was printed in Paris in 1556 by Tilmann, with a lengthy refutation of the objections of Erasmus.

3. ASCETIC.

(i) Of the works comprised under this head, the first are the three compositions entitled *Tractatus Praevii.* The *Praevia Institutio ascetica* (Ἀσκητικὴ προοδιατύπωσις), is an exhortation to enlistment in the sacred warfare; the second, on renunciation of the world and spiritual perfection, is the *Sermo asceticus* (λόγος ἀσκητικός). The third, *Sermo de ascetica disciplina* (λόγος περὶ ἀσκήσεως, πῶς δεὶ κοσμεῖσθαι), treats of the virtues to be exhibited in the life of the solitary.

The first of the three is a commendation less of monasticism than of general Christian endurance. It has been supposed to have been written in times of special oppression and persecution.

The second discourse is an exhortation to renunciation of the world. Riches are to be abandoned to the poor. The highest life is the monastic. But this is not to be hastily and inconsiderately embraced. To renounce monasticism and return to the world is derogatory to a noble profession. The idea of pleasing God in the world as well as out of it is, for those who have once quitted it, a delusion. God has given mankind the choice of two holy estates, marriage or virginity. The law which bids us love God more than father, mother, or self, more than wife and children, is as binding in wedlock as in celibacy. Marriage indeed demands the greater watchfulness, for it offers the greater temptations. Monks are to be firm against all attempts to shake their resolves. They will do well to put themselves under the guidance of some good man of experience and pious life, learned in the Scriptures, loving the poor more than money, superior to the seductions of flattery, and loving God above all things. specific directions are given for the monastic life, and monks are urged to retirement, silence, and the study of the Scriptures.

The third discourse, which is brief, is a summary of similar recommendations. The monk ought moreover to labor with his hands, to reflect upon the day of judgment, to succor the sick, to practice hospitality, to read books of recognized genuineness, not to dispute about the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but to believe in and confess an uncreate and consubstantial Trinity.

(ii) Next in order come the *Proaemium de Fudicio Dei* (προοίμιον περι κρίματος θεοῦ) and the *De Fide* (περὶ πίστεως). These treatises were prefixed by Basil to the *Moralia.* He states that, when he inquired into the true causes of the troubles which weighed heavily on the Church, he could only refer them to breaches of the commandments of God. Hence the divine punishment, and the need of observing the Divine Law. The apostle says that what is needed is faith working by love. So St. Basil thought it necessary to append an exposition of the sound faith concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and so pass in order to morals. It has, however, been supposed by some that the composition published in

the plan as the *De Fide* is not the original tract so entitled, but a letter on the same subject written, if not during the episcopate, at least in the presbyterate. This view has been supported by the statement “Thus we believe and baptize.”

This, however, might be said generally of the custom obtaining in the Church, without reference to the writer’s own practice. Certainly the document appears to have no connection with those among which it stands, and to be an answer to some particular request for a convenient summary couched in scriptural terms. Hence it does not contain the Homoousion, and the author gives his reason for the omission — an omission which, he points out, is in contrast with his other writings against heretics. Obviously, therefore, this composition is to be placed in his later life. yet he describes the *De Fide* as being anterior to the *Moralia*. It will be remembered that this objection to the title and date of the extant *De Fide* implies nothing against its being the genuine work of the archbishop.

While carefully confining himself to the language of Scripture, the author points out that even with this aid, Faith, which he defines as an impartial assent to what has been revealed to us by the gift of God, must necessarily be dark and incomplete. God can only be clearly known in heaven, when we shall see Him face to face. The statement that had been requested is as follows:

“We believe and confess one true and good God, Father Almighty, of Whom are all things, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and His one Only — begotten Son, our Lord and god, Jesus Christ, only true, through Whom all things were made, both visible and invisible, and by Who all things consist: Who was in the beginning with God and was God, and, after this, according to the Scriptures, was seen on earth and had His conversation with men: Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, and by means of the birth from a virgin took a servant’s form, and was formed in fashion as a man, and fulfilled all things written with reference to him and about Him, according to His Father’s commandment, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. And on the third day He rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures, and was seen by His holy disciples, and the

rest, as it is written: And He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of His Father, whence He is coming at the end of this world, to raise all men, and to give to every man according to his conduct. Then the just shall be taken up into life eternal and the kingdom of heaven, but the sinner shall be condemned to eternal punishment, where their worm dieth not and the fires is not quenched: And in one Holy Ghost, the Comforter, in Whom we were sealed to the day of redemption: The Spirit of truth, the Spirit of adoption, in Whom we cry, Abba, Father; Who divideth and worketh the gifts that come of God, to each one for our good, as He will; Who teaches and calls to remembrance all things that He has heard from the Son; Who is good; Who guides us into all truth, and confirms all that believe, both in sure knowledge and accurate confession, and in pious service and spiritual and true worship of God the Father, and of His only begotten Son our Lord, and of Himself."

(iii) The *Moralia* (τὰ ἠθικά) is placed in 361, in the earlier days of the Anomaean heresy. Shortly before this time the extreme Arians began to receive this name, and it is on the rise of the Anomaeans that Basil is moved to write. The work comprises eighty Rules of Life, expressed in the words of the New Testament, with special reference to the needs of bishops, priests, and deacons, and of all persons occupied in education.

Penitence consists not only in ceasing to sin, but in expiating sin by tears and mortification. Sins of ignorance are not free from peril of judgment.

Sins into which we feel ourselves drawn against our will are the results of sins to which we have consented. Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost consists in attributing to the devil the good works which the Spirit of God works in our brethren. We ought carefully to examine whether the doctrine offered us is conformable to Scripture, and if not, to reject it. Nothing must be added to the inspired words of God; all that is outside Scripture is not of faith, but is sin.

(iv) *The Regulae fusius tractatae* (ὅροι κατὰ πλάτος), 55 in number, and the *Regulae brevius tractatae* (ὅροι κατα᾽ ἐπιτομήν), in number 313, are a series of precepts for the guidance of religious life put in the form of question and answer. The former are invariably supported by scriptural authority.

Their genuineness is confirmed by strong external evidence. Gregory of Nazianzus (Or. xliii. 34) speaks of Basil’s composing rules fro monastic life, and in *Ep*. vi. intimates that he helped his friend in their composition. Rufinus (H.E. ii. 9) mentions Basil’s *Instituta Monachorum.* St. Jerome (De Vir. illust. cxvi.) says that Basil wrote τὸ ἄσκητικόν and Photius (Cod. 191) describes the *Asceticum* as including the *Regulae*. Sozomen (H.E. in. 14) remarks that the *Regulae* were sometimes attributed to Eustathius of Sebaste, but speaks of them as generally recognized as St. Basil’s.

The monk who relinquishes his status after solemn profession and adoption is to be regarded as guilty of sacrilege, and the faithful are warned against all intercourse with him, with a reference to <530314>2 Thessalonians 3:14.

Children are not to be received form their parents except with full security for publicity in their reception. they are to be carefully instructed in the Scriptures. they are not to be allowed to make any profession till they come to years of discretion (XV.). Temperance is a virtue, but the servants of God are not to condemn any of god’s creatures as unclean, and are to eat what is given them. (XVIII.) Hospitality is to be exercised with the utmost frugality and moderation, and the charge to Martha in <421041>Luke 10:41, is quoted with the reading ὀλίγων δέ ἐστι χρεία ἢ ἑνός and the interpretation “few,” namely for provision, and “one,” namely the object in view, — enough for necessity. It would be as absurd for monks to change the simplicity of their fare on the arrival of a distinguished guest as it would be for them to change their dress (XX.). Rule XXI. is against unevangelical contention for places at table, and Rule XXII. regulates the monastic habit. The primary object of dress is said to be shewn by the words of Genesis, where God is said to have made Adam and Eve “coats of skins,” or, as in the LXX., χιτῶνας δερματίνους, i.e. tunics of hides. This use of tunics was enough for covering what was unseemly. But later another object was added — that of securing warmth by clothing. So we must keep both ends in view — decency, and protection against the weather. Among articles of dress some are very serviceable; some are less so. It is better to select what is most useful, so as to observe the rule of poverty, and to avoid a variety of vestments, some for show, others for use; some for day, some for night. A single garment must be devised to

serve for all purposes, and for night as well as day. As the soldier is known by his uniform, and the senator by his robe. so the Christian ought to have his own dress. Shoes are to be provided on the same principle, they are to be simple and cheap. The girdle (XXIII.) is regarded as a necessary article of dress, not only because of its practical utility, but because of the example of the Lord who girded Himself. In Rule XXVI. all secrets are ordered to be confided to the superintendent or bishop. If the superintendent himself is in error (XXVII.) he is to be corrected by other brothers. Vicious brethren (XXVIII.) are to be cut off like rotten limbs. Self — exaltation and discontent are equally to be avoided (XXIX.). XXXVII. orders that devotional exercise is to be no excuse for idleness and shirking work. Work is to be done not only as a chastisement of the body, but for the sake of love to our neighbor and supplying weak and sick brethren with the necessaries of life. The apostle says that if a man will not work he must not eat. Daily work is as necessary as daily bread. The services of the day are thus marked out. The first movements of heart and mind ought to be consecrated to God. Therefore early in the morning nothing ought to be planned or purposed before we have been gladdened by the thought of God; as it is written, “I remembered God, and was gladdened;” the body is not to be set to work before we have obeyed the command, “O Lord, in the morning shalt thou hear my voice; in the morning will I order my brotherhood is to be called together, even though they happen to have been dispersed to various works. The sixth hour is also to be marked by prayer, in obedience to the words of the Psalmist, “Evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud: and He shall hear my voice.” To ensure deliverance from the demon of non — day, the 41st Psalm is to be recited. The ninth hour is consecrated to prayer by the example of the apostles Peter and John, who at that hour went up into the temple to pray. Now the day is done. For all the boons of the day, and the good deeds of the day, we must give thanks. For omissions there must be confession. For sins voluntary or involuntary, or unknown, we must appease God in prayer. At nightfall the 41st Psalm is to be recited again, mid — night is to be observed in obedience to the example of Paul and Silas, and the injunction of the Psalmist. Before dawn we should rise and pray again, as it is written, “Mine eyes prevent the night watches.” Here the canonical hours are marked, but no details are given as to the forms of prayer.

XL. deals with the abuse of holy places and solemn assemblies. Christians ought not to appear in places sacred to martyrs or in their neighborhood for any other reason than to pray and commemorate the sacred dead. Anything like a worldly festival or commonmart at such times is like the sacrilege of the money changers in the Temple precincts.

LI. gives directions for monastic discipline. “Let the superintendent exert discipline after the manner of a physician treating his patients. He is not angry with the sick, but fights with the disease, and sets himself to combat their bad symptoms. If need be, he must heal the sickness of the soul by severer treatment; for example, love of vain glory, by the imposition of lowly tasks; foolish talking, by silence; immoderate sleep, by watching and prayer; idleness, by toil; gluttony, by fasting; murmuring, by seclusion, so that no brothers may work with the offender, nor admit him to participation in their works, till by his penitence that needeth not to be ashamed he appear to be rid of his complaint.”

LV. expounds at some length the doctrine of original sin, to which disease and death are traced.

The 313 *Regulae brevius tractatae* are, like the *Regulae fusius tractatae*, in the form of questions and answers. Fessler singles out as a striking specimen XXXIV.

> **Q.** “How is anyone to avoid the sin of man — pleasing, and looking to the praises of men?”
>
> **A.** “There must be a full conviction of the presence of God, an earnest intention to please Him, and a burning desire for the blessings promised by the Lord. No one before his Master’s very eyes is excited into dishonoring his Master and bringing condemnation on himself, to please a fellow servant.”

XLVII. points out that it is a grave error to be silent when a brother sins.

XLIX. tells us that vain gloriousness (τὸ περπερεύσθαι. Cf. <461304>1 Corinthians 13:4) consist in taking things not for use, but the ostentation; and L. illustrates this principle in the case of dress.

Q. “When a man has abandoned all more expensive clothing, does he sin, and, if so, how, if he wishes his cheap upper garment or shoes to be becoming to him?”

A. “If he so wishes in order to gratify men, he is obviously guilty of the sin of man — pleasing. He is alienated from God, and is guilty of vain glory even in these cheap belongings.”

LXIV. is a somewhat lengthy comment on <401806>Matthew 18:6. To “make to offend.” or “to scandalize,” is to induce another to break the law, as the serpent Eve, and Eve Adam. LXXXIII. is pithy.

Q. “If a man is generally in the right, and falls into one sin. how are we to treat Adam.

A. “As the Lord treated Peter.”

CXXVIII. is on fasting.

Q. “Ought anyone to be allowed to exercise abstinence beyond his strength, so that he is hindered in the performance of his duty?”

A. “This question does not seem to me to be properly worded. Temperance does not consist in abstinence from earthly food, wherein lies the ‘neglecting of the body’ condemned by the Apostles, but in complete departure from one’s own wishes. And how great is the danger of our falling away from the Lord’s commandment on account of our own wishes is clear from the words of the Apostle, ‘fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath.’” The numbers in the Caenobium are not to fall below ten, the number of the eaters of the Paschal supper. Nothing is to own be considered individual and personal property. Even a man’s thoughts are not his own. Private friendships are harmful to the general interests of the community. At meals there is to be a reading, which is to be thought more of than mere material food. The cultivation of the ground is the most suitable occupation for the ascetic life. No fees are to be taken for the charge of children entrusted to the monks. Such children are not to be pledged to join the community till they are old enough to understand what they are about.

4. HOMILETICAL.

Twenty — four homilies on miscellaneous subjects, published under St. Basil's name, are generally accepted as genuine. They are conveniently classified as

(i) Dogmatic and Exegetic,

(ii) Moral, and

(iii) Panegyric.

To Class (i) will be referred

III. *In Illud, Attende tibi ipsi*.
VI. *In Illud, Destruam horrea, etc.*
IX. *In Illud. Quod Deus non est auctor malorum*.
XII. *In principium Proverbiorum*.
XV. *De Fide.*
XVI. *In Illud, In principio erat Verbum.*
XXIV. *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomaeos*.

Class (ii) will include

I. and II. *De Fejunio*.
IV. *De gratiarum actione.*
VII. *In Divites*.
VIII. *In famen et siccitatem.*
X. *Adversus beatos*.
XI. *De invidia.*
XIII. *In Sanctum Baptismum.*
XIV. *In Ebriosos*.
XX. *De humilitate.*
XXI. *Quod rebus mundanis adhaerendum non sit, et de incendio extra ecclesiam facto.*

The Panegyric (iii) are

V. *In martyrem Fulittam.*
XVII. *In Barlaam martyrem*.
XVIII. *In Gordium martyrem.*
XIX. *In sanctos quadraginta martyres.*
XXIII. *In Mamantem martyrem*.

Homily III. on [0515]Deuteronomy 15:9, is one of the eight translated by Rufinus. Section 2 begins:

"'Take heed,' it is written, 'to thyself.' Every living creature possesses within himself, by the gift of God, the Ordainer of all things, certain resources for self — protection. Investigate nature with attention, and you will find that the majority of brutes have an instinctive aversion from what is injurious; while, on the other hand, by a kind of natural attraction, they are impelled to the enjoyment of what is beneficial to them. Wherefore also God our Teacher has given us this grand injunction, in order that what brutes possess by nature may accrue to us by the aid of reason, and that what is performed by brutes unwittingly may be done by us through careful attention and constant exercise of our reasoning faculty. We are to be diligent guardians of the resources given to us by God, ever shunning sin, as brutes shun poisons, and ever hunting after righteousness, as they seek for the herbage that is good food. Take heed to thyself, that thou mayest be able to discern between the noxious and the wholesome. This taking heed is to be understood in a twofold sense. Gaze with the eyes of the body at visible objects. Contemplate incorporeal objects with the intellectual faculty of the soul. If we say that obedience tot he charge if the text lies in the action of our eyes, we shall see at once that this is impossible. How can there be apprehension of the whole self through the eye? The eye cannot turn its sight upon itself; the head is beyond it; it is ignorant of the back, the countenance, the disposition of the intestines. Yet it were impious to argue that the charge of the Spirit cannot be obeyed. It follows then that it must be understood of intellectual action. 'Take heed to thyself.' Look at thyself round about from every point of view. Keep thy soul's eye sleepless' in ceaseless watch over thyself. 'Thou goest in the midst of snares. Hidden nets are set for thee in all directions by the enemy. Look well around thee that thou mayest be delivered 'as a gazelle from the net and a bird from the snare.' It is because of her keen sight that the gazelle cannot be caught in the net. It is her keen sight that gives her her name. And the bird, if only she takes heed, mounts on her light wing far above the wiles of the hunter.

"Beware lest in self protection thou prove inferior to brutes, lest happily thou be caught in the gins and be made the devil's prey, and be taken alive by hi to do with thee as he will."

A striking passage from the same Homily is thus rendered by Rufinus:

> "Considera ergo primo omnium quod homo es, id est solum in terres animal ipsis devinis manibus formatum. Nonne sufficeret hoc solum recte atque integre sapienti ad magnum summumque solutium, quod ipsius Dei manibus qui omnia reliqua pracepti solius fecit auctoritate subsistere, homo fictus es et formatus? Tum deinde quod cum ad imaginem Creatoris et similitudinem sis, potes sponte etiam ad angelorum dignitatem culmenque remeare. Animam namque accepisti intellectualem, et rationalem, per quam Deum possis agnoscere, et naturam rerum conspicabili rationis intelligentia contemplari: sapientiae dulcissimis fructibus perfrui praesto est. Tibi omnium cedit animantium genus, qua per connexa montium vel prapetibus pennis inaere suspenditur. Omne, inquam, auoc hujus mundi est, servitis et subjectioni tuae liberalis munificentia conditoris indulsit. Nonne tu, sensu tibi rationabili suggerente, diversitates artium reperisti? Nonne tu urbes condere, omnemque earum reliquum usum pernecessarium viventibus invenisti? None tibi per rationem quae in to est mare pervium fit? Terra, flumina, fontesque tuis vel usibus vel voluptatibus famulantur. None aer hic et caelum ipsum atque omnes stellarum chori vitae mortalium ministerio cursus suos atque ordines servant? Quid ergo deficis animo, et deesse tibi aliquid putas, si non tibi equus producitur phaleris exornatus et spumanti ore frena mandens argentea? Sed sol tibi producitur, veloci rapidoque cursu ardentes tibi faces caloris simul ac luminis portans. Non habes aureos et argenteos discos: sed habes lunae discum purissimo et blandissimo splendore radiantem. Non ascendis currum, nec rotarum lupsibus veheris, sed habes pedum tuorum vehiculum tecum natum. Quid ergo beatos censes eos qui aurum quiden psssisent, alicnis autem pedibus indigent, ad necessarios commeatus? Non recubas eburneis thoris, sed adjacent fecundi cdspites viridantes et herbidi thori, florum varietate melius quam fucatis coloribus Tyrii muricis picti, in quibus dulces et salubres sommi nullis curarum morsibus effugantur. Non to contegunt aurata laquearia; sed caelum to contegit ineffabili fulgore stellarum depictum. Haec quidem quantum ad communem humanitatis attinet vitam. Accipe vero

majora. Propter to Deus in homoinibus, Spiritus sancti distributio, mortis ablatio, resurrectionis spes. Propter to Deum per mandatorum tramitem dirigant. Tibi panduntur regna caelorum, tibi coronae justitiae praeparantur; si tamen labores et arumnas pro justitia ferre non refugis.”

HOMILY VI., ON <421218> LUKE 12:18, IS ON SELFISH WEALTH AND GREED

Beware, says the preacher, lest the fate of the fool of the text be thine. “These things are written that we may shun their imitation. Imitate the earth, O man. Bear fruit, as she does, lest thou prove inferior to that which is without life. She produces her fruits, not that she may enjoy them, but for they service. Thou doest gather for thyself whatever fruit of good works thou hast shewn, because the grace of good works returns to the giver. Thou hast given to the poor, and the gift becomes thine own, and comes back with increase. Just as grain that has fallen on the earth becomes a gain to the sower, so the loaf thrown to the hungry man renders abundant fruit thereafter. Be the end of thy husbandry the beginning of the heavenly sowing. ‘Sow,’ it is written, ‘to yourselves in righteousness.’ Why then art thou distressed? Why doest thou harass thyself in thy efforts to shut up thy riches in clay and bricks? ‘A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches.’ If thou admire riches because of the honor that comes from them, bethink thee how very much more it tends to thine honor that thou shouldest be called the father of innumerable children than that thou shouldst posses innumerable staters in a purse. Thy wealth thou wilt leave behind thee here, even though thou like it not. The honor won by thy good deeds thou shalt convey with thee to the Master. Then all people standing round about thee in the presence of the universal Judge shall hail thee as feeder and benefactor, and give thee all the names that tell of loving kindness. dost thou not see theater — goers flinging away their wealth on boxers and buffoons and best — fighters, fellows whom it is disgusting even to see, for the sake of the honor of a moment, and the cheers and clapping of the crowd? And art thou aniggard in thy expenses, when thou art destined to attain glory so great? God will welcome thee, angels will laud thee, mankind from the very beginning will call thee blessed. For thy stewardship of these corruptible things thy reward shall be glory everlasting, a crown of righteousness, the heavenly kingdom.

Thou thinkest nothing of all this. Thy heart is so fixed on the present that thou despisest what is waited for in hope. Come then; dispose of thy wealth in various directions. ‘Be generous and liberal in thy expenditure on the poor. Let it be said of thee.’ Do not press heavily on necessity and sell for great prices. Do not wait for a famine before thou openest thy barns. ‘He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him.’ Watch not for a time of want for gold’s sake — for public scarcity to promote thy private profit. Drive not a huckster’s bargains out of the troubles of mankind. Make not God’s wrathful visitation an opportunity for abundance. Wound not the sores of men smitten by the scourge. Thou keepest thine eye on thy gold, and wilt not look at thy brother. Thou knowest the marks on the money, and canst distinguish good from bad. Thou canst not tell who is thy brother in the day of distress.”

The conclusion is “‘Ah!’ — it is said — ‘words are all very fine: gold is finer.’ I make the same impression as I do when I am preaching to libertines against their unchastity. Their mistress is blamed, and the mere mention of her serves but to enkindle their passions. How can I bring before your eyes the poor man’s sufferings that thou mayest know out of what deep groanings thou art accumulating thy treasures, and of what high value will seem t thee in the day of judgment the famous words, ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me drink:... I was naked and ye clothed me.’ What shuddering, what sweat, what darkness will be shed round thee, as thou hearest the words of condemnation! — ‘Depart form me, ye cursed, into outer darkness prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungered and you gave me no meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink:... I was naked and ye clothed me not.” I have told thee what I have though profitable To thee now it is clear and plain what are the good things promised for thee if thou obey. If thou disobey, for thee the threat is written I pray that thou mayest change to a better mind and thus escape its peril. In this way they own wealth will be thy redemption. Thus thou mayest advance to the heavenly blessings prepared for thee by the grave of Him who hath called us all into His own kingdom, to Whom be glory and might for ever and ever. Amen.”

Homily IX. is a demonstration that *God is not the Author of Evil*. It has been conjectured that it was delivered shortly after some such public calamity as the destruction of Nicaea in 368. St. Basil naturally touches on passages which have from time to time caused some perplexity on this subject. He asks ‘if God is not the Author of evil. how is it said “I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil,” and again, “The evil came down from the Lord unto the gate of Jerusalem,” and again, “Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it,” and in the great song of Moses, “See now that I, even I, am he and there is no god with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal”? But to anyone who understands the meaning of Scripture no one of these passages accuses God of being the Cause and Creator of evil. He who uses the words, “I form the light and create darkness,” describes Himself not as Creator of any evil, but as Demiurge of creation. “It is lest thou shouldst suppose that there is one cause of light and another of darkness that He describes Himself as being Creator and Artificer of parts of creation which seem to be mutually opposed. It is to prevent they seeking one Demiurge of fire, another of water, one of air and another of earth, these seeming to have a kind of mutual opposition and contrariety of qualities. By adopting these views many have ere now fallen into polytheism, but He makes peace and creates evil. Unquestionably He makes peace in thee when He brings peace into thy mind by His good teaching, and calms the rebel passions of thy soul. And He creates evil, that is to say, He reduces those evil passions to order, and brings them to a better state so that they may cease to be evil and may adopt the nature of good. ‘Create in me a clean heart, O God.’ This does not mean *Make now for the first time*; it means *Renew the heart that had become old from wickedness*. The object is that He may make both one. the word create is used not to imply the bringing out of nothing, but the bringing into order those which already existed. So it is said, ‘If any man be in Christ he is a new creature.’ Again, Moses says, ‘Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath He not made thee and created thee?’ Now, the creation put in order after the making evidently teaches us that the word creation, as is commonly the case, is used with the idea of improvement. And so it is thus that He makes peace out of creating evil; that is, by transforming and bringing to improvement. Furthermore, even if you understand peace to be freedom from war, and evil to mean the troubles which are the lot of those who make war; marches into far

regions, labors, vigils, terrors, sweatings, wounds, slaughters, taking of towns, slavery, exile, piteous spectacles of captives; and, in a word, all the evils that follow upon war, all these things, I say, happen by the just judgment of god, Who brings vengeance through war on those who deserve punishment. Should you have wished that Sodom had not been burnt after notorious wickedness? Or that Jerusalem had not been overturned, nor her temple made desolate after the horrible wickedness of the Jews against the Lord? How otherwise was it right for these things to come to pass than by the hands of the Romans to whom our Lord had been delivered by the enemies of His life, the Jews? Wherefore it does sometimes come to pass that the calamities of war are righteously inflicted on those who deserve them — if you like to understand the words 'I kill and I make alive' in their obvious sense. Fear edifies the simple. "I wound and I heal' is at once perceived to be salutary. The blow strikes terror; the cure attracts to love. But it is permissible to thee to find a higher meaning in the words, 'I kill" — by sin; 'I make alive' — by righteousness. 'Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.' He does not kill one and make another alive, but He makes the same man alive by the very means by which He kills him; He heals him by the blows which He inflicts upon him. As the proverb has it, 'Thou shalt beat him with the rod and shalt deliver his soul from hell.' The flesh is smitten that the soul from hell.' The flesh is smitten that the soul may be healed; sin is put to death that righteousness may live. In another passage it is argued that death is not evil. Deaths come from God. Yet death is not absolutely and evil, except in the case of death of the sinner, in which case departure from this world is a beginning of the punishment of hell. On the other hand, of the evils of hell the cause is not God, but ourselves. The origin and root of sin is what is in our own control and our free will."

Homily XII. is "on the beginning of the proverbs." "The proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel."

"The name proverbs (παροιμίαι) has been by heathen writers used of common expressions, and of those which are generally used in the streets. among them a way is called οἶμος, whence they define a παροιμία to be a common expression, which has become trite through vulgar usage, and which it is possible to transfer from limited number of subjects to many analogous subjects. With Christians the παροιμία is a serviceable

utterance, conveyed with a certain amount of obscurity, containing an obvious meaning of much utility, and at the same time involving a depth of meaning in its inner sense. Whence the Lord says: ‘These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall shew you plainly of the Father.’”

On the “wisdom and instruction” of verse 2, it is said: Wisdom is the science of things both human and divine, and of their causes. he, therefore, who is an effective theologian knows wisdom. The quotation of <460206>1 Corinthians 2:6, follows

On general education it is said, “The acquisition of sciences is termed education, as it is written of Moses, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But its of no small importance, with a view to man’s sound condition, that he should not devote himself to any sciences whatever, but should become acquainted with the education which is most profitable. It has ere now happened that men who have spent their time in the study of geometry, the discovery of the Egyptians, or of astrology, the favorite pursuit of the Chaldeans, or have been addicted to the loftier natural philosophy which is concerned with figures and shadows, have looked with contempt on the education which is based upon the divine oracles. Numbers of students have been occupied with paltry rhetoric, and the solution of sophisms, the subject matter of all of which is the false and unreal. It is therefore necessary that we should have a full knowledge of education, in order to choose the profitable, and to reject the unintelligent and the injurious. Words of wisdom will be discerned by the attentive reader of the Proverbs, who thence patiently extracts what is for his good.”

The Homily concludes with an exhortation to rule life by the highest standard.

“Hold fast, then, to the rudder of life. Guide thine eye, lest haply at any time through thine eyes there beat upon thee the vehement wave of lust. Guide ear and tongue, lest the one receive aught harmful, or the other speak forbidden words. Let not the tempest of passion overwhelm thee. Let no blows of despondency beat thee down; no weight of sorrow drown thee in its depths. Our feelings are waves. Rise above them, and thou wilt be a safe steersman of life. Fail to avoid each and all of them skillfully and

steadily, and, like some untrimmed boat, with life's dangers all round about thee, thou wilt be sunk in the deep sea of sin. Hear then how thou mayest acquire the steersman's skill. Men at sea are wont to lift up their eyes to heaven. It is from heaven that they get guidance for their cruise; by day from the sun, and by night from the Bear, or from some of the ever — shining stars. By these they reckon their right course. Do thou to keep thine eye dwellest in the heavens.' Keep thine eyes on the Sun of righteousness. Directed by the commandments of the Lord, as by some bright constellations, keep thine eye ever sleepless. Give not sleep to thine eyes or slumber to thine eyelids, that the guidance of the commandments may be unceasing. 'Thy word,' it is said, 'is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.' Never slumber at the tiller, so long as thou livest here, amid the unstable circumstances of this world, and thou shalt receive the help of the Spirit. he shall conduct thee ever onward. He shall waft thee securely by gentle winds of peace, till thou come one day safe and sound to you calm and waveless haven of the will of God, to Whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever, Amen.

Homilies XV. and XVI. are more distinctly dogmatic. They do not present the doctrines of which they treat I in any special way. XV., *De Fide*, is concerned rather with the frame of mind of the holder and expounder of the Faith than with any dogmatic formula.

XVI., on <430101>John 1:1, begins by asserting that every utterance of the gospels is grander than the rest of the lessons of the Spirit, inasmuch as, while in the latter He has spoken to us through His servants the prophets, in the gospels the Master has conversed with us face to face. "The most mighty voiced herald of the actual gospel proclamation, who uttered words loud beyond all hearing and lofty beyond all understanding, is John, the son of thunder, the prelude of whose gospel is the text." After repeating the words the preacher goes on to say that he has known many who are not within the limits of the word of truth, many of the heathen, that is, "who have prided themselves upon the wisdom of this world, who in their admiration for these words have ventured to insert them among their own writings. For the devil is a thief, and carries off our property for the use of his own prophets."

"If the wisdom of the flesh has been so smitten with admiration for the force of the words, what are we to do, who are disciples of the Spirit?... Hold fast to the text, and you will suffer no harm from men of evil arts. Suppose your opponent to argue, 'If He was begotten, He was not,' do you retort. 'In the beginning He was.' But, he will go on, 'Before He was begotten, in what way was He?' Do not give up the words 'He was' Do not abandon the words 'In the beginning.' The highest point of beginning is beyond comprehension; what is outside beginning is beyond discovery. Do not let any one deceive you by the fact that the phrase has more than one meaning. There are in this world many beginnings of many things, yet there is one beginning which is beyond them all 'Beginning of good way,' says the Proverb. But the beginning of a way is the first movement whereby we begin the journey of which the earlier part can be discovered. And, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' To this beginning is prefixed something else, for elementary instruction is the beginning of the comprehension of arts. The fear of the Lord.... The point is the beginning of the line, and the line is the beginning of the surface, and the surface is the beginning of the body, and the parts of speech are the beginnings of grammatical utterance. But the beginning in the text is like none of these.... *In the beginning was the Word*! Marvelous utterance! How all the words are found to be combined in mutual equality of force! 'Was' has the same force as *'In the beginning was.'* Where is the blasphemer? Where is the tongue that fights against Christ? Where is the tongue that said, 'There was when he was not'? Hear the gospel: 'In the beginning was.' If He was in the beginning, when *was* He not? Shall I bewail their impiety or execrate their want of instruction? But, it is argued, before He was begotten, He was not. Do you know when He was begotten, that you may introduce the idea of priority to the time? For the word 'before' is a word of time, placing one thing before another in antiquity. In what way is it reasonable that the Creator of time should have a generation subjected to terms of time? 'In the beginning was — .' Never give up the was, and you never give any room for the vile blasphemy to slip in. Mariners laugh at the storm, when they are riding upon two anchors. So will you laugh to scorn this vile agitation which is being driven on the world by the blasts of wickedness, and tosses the faith of many to and fro, if only you will keep your soul moored safely in the security of these words."

In #4 on the force of *with God.* “Note with admiration the exact appropriateness of every single word. It is not said The Word was *in* God.’ It is not said ‘The word was in God.’ It runs ‘was *with* God.’ This is to set forth the proper character of the hypostasis. The Evangelist did not say *‘in God’* to avoid giving any pretext for the confusion of the hypostasis. That is the vile blasphemy of men who are endeavoring to confound all things together, asserting that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, form one subject matter, and that different appellations are applied to one thing. The impiety is vile, and no less to be shunned than that of those who blasphemously maintain that the Son is in essence unlike God the Father. *The Word was with God*. Immediately after using the term Word to demonstrate the impassability of the generation, he forthwith gives an explanation to do away with the mischief arising in us from the term Word. As though suddenly rescuing Him from the blasphemers’ calumny, he asks, what is the Word? *The Word was God*. Do not put before me any ingenious distinctions of phrase; do not with your wily cleverness blaspheme the teachings of the Spirit. You have the definitive statement. Submit to the Lord. *The Word was God*.”

Homily XXIV., against the Sabellians, Arians, and Anomaeans, repeats points which are brought out again and again in the *De Spiritu Sancto*, in the work. *Against Eunomius*, and in some of the *Letters.*

Arianism is practical paganism, for to make the Son a creature, and at the same time to offer Him worship, is to reintroduce polytheism. Sabellianism is practical Judaism, — a denial of the Son. <430101>John 1:1, <431409>14:9, 7, <431628>16:28, and <430816>8:16 are quoted against both extremes. There may be a note of time in the admitted impatience of the auditory at hearing of every other subject than the Holy Spirit. The preacher is constrained to speak upon this topic, and he speaks with the combined caution and completeness which characterize the *De Spiritu Sancto*. “Your ears,” he says, “are all eager to hear something concerning the Holy Ghost. My wish would be, as I have received in all simplicity, as I have assented with guileless agreement, so to deliver the doctrine to you my hearers. I would if I could avoid being constantly questioned on the same point. I would have my disciples convinced of one consent. But you stand round me rather as judges than as learners. Your desire is rather to test and try me than to acquire anything for yourselves. I must therefore, as it were, make

my defense before the court, again and again giving answer, an again and again saying what I have received. And you I exhort not to be specially anxious to hear from me what is pleasing to yourselves, but rather what is pleasing to the Lord, what is in harmony with the Scriptures, what is not in opposition to the Fathers. What, then, I asserted concerning the Son, that we ought to acknowledge His proper Person, this I have also to say concerning the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is not identical with the Father, because of its being written ‘God is a Spirit.’ Nor on the other hand is there one Person of son and of Spirit, because it is said, ‘If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.... Christ is in you.’ From this passage some persons have been deceived into the opinion that the Spirit and Christ are identical. but what do we assert? That in this passage is declared the intimate relation of nature and not a confusion of persons. For there exists the Father having His existence perfect and not a confusion of persons. For there exists the Father having His existence perfect and independent, root and fountain of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. There exists also the Son living in full Godhead, Word and begotten offspring of the Father, independent. Full too is the spirit, not part of another, but contemplated whole and perfect in Himself. The Son is inseparably conjoined with the Father and the Spirit with the Son. For there is nothing to divide nor to cut asunder the eternal conjunction. No age intervenes, nor yet can our soul entertain a thought of separation as though the Only — begotten were not ever with the Father, or the Holy Ghost not co — existent with the Son. Whenever then we conjoin the Trinity, be careful not to imagine the Three as parts of one undivided thing, but receive the idea of the undivided and common essence of three perfect incorporeal [existences]. Wherever is the presence of the Holy Spirit, there is the indwelling of Christ: wherever Christ is, there the Father is present. ‘Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?’”

First of the Homilies on moral topics come I. and II. on Fasting. The former is of uncontested genuineness. Erasmus rejected the later, but it is accepted without hesitation by Garnier, Maran and Ceillier, and is said by the last named to be quoted as Basil’s by John of Damascus and Symeon Logothetes. From Homily I. two passages are cited by St. Augustine against the Pelagians. The text is <198003>Psalm 80:3. “Reverence,” says one

passage, “the hoary head of fasting. It is coaeval with mankind. Fasting was ordained in Paradise. The first injunction was delivered to Adam, ‘Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat.’ ‘Thou shalt not eat’ is a law of fasting and abstinence.” The general argument is rather against excess than in support of ceremonial abstinence. In Paradise there was no wine, no butchery of beasts, no eating of flesh. Wine came in after the flood. Noah became drunk because wine was new to him. So fasting is older than drunkenness. Esau was defiled, and made his brother’s slave, for the sake of a single meal. It was fasting and prayer which gave Samuel to Hannah. fasting brought forth Samson. Fasting begets prophets, strengthens strong men. Fasting makes lawgivers wise, is the soul’s safeguard, the body’s trusty comrade, the armor of the champion, the training of the athlete.

The conclusion is a warning against mere carnal abstinence. “Beware of limiting the good of fasting to mere abstinence from meats. Real fasting is alienation from evil. ‘Loose the bands of wickedness.’ For give your neighbor the mischief he has done you. Forgive him his trespasses against you. Do not ‘fast for strife and debate.’ You do not devour flesh, but you devour your brother. You abstain from wine, but you indulge in outrages. You wait for evening before you take food, but you spend the day in the law courts. Wo to those who are ‘drunken, but not with wine.’ Anger is the intoxication of the soul, and makes it out of its wits like wine. Drunkenness, too, is sorrow, and drowns our intelligence. Another drunkenness is needless fear. In a word what ever passion makes the soul beside herself may be called drunkenness.... Dost thou know Whom thou art ordained to receive as thy guest? He Who has promised that He and His Father will come and make their abode with thee. Why do you allow drunkenness to enter in, and shut the door on the Lord? Why allow the foe to come in and occupy your strongholds? Drunkenness dare not receive the Lord; it drives away the Spirit. Smoke drives away bees, and debauch drives away the gifts of the Spirit.... Wilt thou see the nobility of fasting? Compare this evening with to — morrow evening: thou wilt see the town turned from riot and disturbance to profound calm. Would that to — day might be like to — morrow in solemnity, and the morrow no less cheerful than to — day. May the Lord Who has brought us to this period of time grant to us, as to gladiators and wrestlers, that we may shew firmness and

constancy in the beginning of contests, and may reach that day which is the Queen of Crowns; that we may remember now the passion of salvation, and in the age to come enjoy the requital of our deeds in this life, in the just judgment of Christ.”

Homily IV. on the giving of thanks (περὶ εὐχαριστίας), is on text <520516>1 Thessalonians 5:16. Our Lord, it is remarked, wept over Lazarus, and He called them that mourn blessed. How is this to be reconciled with the charge “Rejoice always”? “Tears and joy have not a common origin.. On the one hand, while the breath is held in round the heart, tears spontaneously gush forth, as at some blow, when an unforeseen calamity smites upon the soul. Joy on the other hand is like a leaping up of the soul rejoicing when things go well. Hence come different appearances of the body. The sorrowful are pale, livid, chilly. The habit of the joyous and cheerful is blooming and ruddy; their soul all but leaps out of their body for gladness. On all this I shall say that the lamentations and tears of the saints were caused by their love to God. So, with their eyes ever fixed on the object of their love, and from hence gathering greater joy for themselves, they devoted themselves to the interests of their fellow — servants. Weeping over sinners, they brought them to better ways by their tears. But just as men standing safe on the seashore, while they feel for those who are drowning in the deep, do not lose their own safety in their anxiety for those in peril, so those who groan over the sins of their neighbors do not destroy their own proper cheerfulness. Nay, they rather increase it, in that, through their tears over their brother, they are made worthy of the joy of the Lord. Wherefore, blessed are they that weep; blessed are they that mourn; for they shall themselves be comforted; they themselves shall laugh. But by laughter is meant not the noise that comes out through the cheeks from the boiling of the blood, but cheerfulness pure and untainted with despondence. The Apostle allows us to weep with weepers, for this tear is made, as it were, a seed and loan to be repaid with everlasting joy. Mount in mind with me, an contemplate the condition of the angels; see if any other condition becomes them but one of joy and gladness. It is for that they are counted worthy to stand beside God, and to enjoy the ineffable beauty and glory of our Creator. It is in urging us on to that life that the Apostle bids us always rejoice.”

The Homily contains an eloquent exhortation to Christian fortitude in calamity, and concludes with the charge to look beyond present grief to future felicity. “Hast thou suffered dishonor? Look to the glory which through patience is laid up for thee in heaven. Hast thou suffered loss? Fix thine eyes on the heavenly riches, and on the treasure which thou hast put by for thyself through thy good works. Hast thou suffered exile? Thy fatherland is the heavenly Jerusalem. Hast thou lost a child? Thou hast angels with whom thou shalt dance about the throne of God, and shalt be glad with everlasting joy. Set expected joys over against present griefs, and thus thou wilt preserve for thyself that calm and quiet of the soul whither the injunction of the Apostle calls us. Let not the brightness and human success fill thy soul with immoderate joy; let not grief bring low thy soul’s high and lofty exaltation through sadness and anguish. Thou must be trained in the lessons of this life before thou canst live the calm and quiet life to come. Thou wilt achieve this without difficulty, if thou keep ever with thee the charge to rejoice always. Dismiss the worries of the flesh. Gather together the joys of the soul. Rise above the sensible perception of present things. Fix thy mind on the hope of things eternal. Of these the mere thought suffices to fill the soul with gladness, and to plant in our hearts the happiness of angels.”

Homily VII., against the rich, follows much the same line of argument as VI. Two main considerations are urged against the love of worldly wealth; firstly, the thought of the day of judgment; secondly, the fleeting and unstable nature of the riches themselves. The luxury of the fourth century, as represented by Basil, is much the same as the luxury of the nineteenth.

> “I am filled wit amazement,” says the preacher, “at the invention of superfluities. The vehicles are countless, some for conveying goods, others for carrying their owners; all covered with brass and with silver. There are a vast number of horses, whose pedigrees are kept like men’s, and their descent from noble sires recorded. Some are for carrying their haughty owners about the town, some are hunters, some are hacks. Bits, girths, collars, are all of silver, all decked with gold. Scarlet cloths make the horses as gay as bridegrooms. There is a host of mules, distinguished by the colors, and their muleteers with them, one after another, some before and some behind. Of other household servants the number is endless,

who satisfy all the requirements of men’s extravagance; agents, stewards, gardeners, and craftsmen, skilled in every art that can minister to necessity or to enjoyment and luxury; cooks, confectioners, butlers, huntsmen, sculptors, painters, devisers and creators of pleasure of every kind. Look at the herds of camels, some for carriage, some for pasture; troops of horses, droves of oxen, flocks of sheep, herds of swine, with their keepers, land to feed all these, and to increase men’s riches by its produce: baths in town, baths in the country; houses shining all over with every variety of marble, — some with stone of Phrygia, others with slabs of Spartan or Thessalian. There must be some houses warm in winter, and others cool in summer. The pavement is of painted flowers.... You who dress your walls, and let your fellow — creatures go bare, what will you answer to the judge? You who harness your horses with splendor, and despise your brother if he is ill — dressed; who let your wheat rot, and will not feed the hungry; who hide your gold, and despise the distressed? And, if you have a wealth — loving wife, the plague is twice as bad. She keeps your luxury ablaze; she increases your love of pleasure; she gives the goad to your superfluous appetites; her heart is set on stones, — pearls, emeralds, and sapphires. God she works and gold she weaves, and increases by — play: it is the care of night and day. Then what innumerable flatterers wait upon their idle wants! They must have their dyers of bright colors, their goldsmiths, their perfumes, their weavers, their embroiderers. With all their behests they do not leave their husbands breathing time. No fortune is vast enough to satisfy a woman’s wants, — no, not if it were to flow like a river! They are as eager for foreign perfumes as for oil from the market. They must have the treasures of the sea, shells and pinnas, and more of them than wool from the sheep’s back. Gold encircling precious stones serves now for an ornament for their foreheads, now for their necks. There is more gold in their girdles; more gold fastens hands and feet. These gold — loving ladies are delighted to be bound by golden fetters, — only let the chain be gold! When will the man have time to care for his soul, who has to serve a woman’s fancies?”

Homily VIII., on the Famine and Drought, belongs to the disastrous year 368. The circumstances of its delivery have already been referred to. The text is <300308>Amos 3:8, “The loin hath roared: who will not fear?” National calamity is traced to national sin, specially to neglect of the poor. Children, it appears, were allowed a holiday from school to attend the public services held to deprecate the divine wrath. Crowds of men, to whose sins the distress was more due than to the innocent children, wandered cheerfully about the town instead of coming to church.

Homily X. is against the angry. Section 2 contains a description of the outward appearance of the angry men. “About the heart of those who are eager to requite evil for evil, the blood boils as though it were stirred and sputtering by the force of fire. On the surface it breaks out and shews the angry man in other form, familiar and well known to all, as though it were changing a mask upon the stage. The proper and usual eyes of the angry man are recognized no more; his gaze is unsteady, and fires up in a moment. He whets his teeth like boars joining battle. His countenance is livid and suffused with blood. His body seems to swell. His veins are ruptured, as his breath struggles under the storm within. His voice is rough and strained. His speech — broken and falling from him at random — proceeds without distinction, without arrangement, and without meaning. When he is roused by those who are irritating him, like a flame with plenty of fuel, to an inextinguishable pitch, then, ah! then indeed the spectacle is indescribable and unendurable. See the hands lifted against his fellows, and attacking every part of their bodies; see the feet jumping without restraint on dangerous parts. See whatever comes to hand turned into a weapon for his mad frenzy. The record of the progress from words to wounds recalls familiar lines which probably Basil never read. Rage rouses strife; strife begets abuse; abuse, blows, wounds; and from wounds often comes death.’

St. Basil, however, does not omit to notice that there is such a thing as righteous indignation, and that we may “be angry and sin not.” “God forbid that we should turn into occasions for sin gifts given to us by the Creator for our salvation! Anger, stirred at the proper time and in the proper manner, is an efficient cause of manliness, patience, and endurance.... Anger is to be used as a weapon. So Moses, meekest of men, armed the hands of the Levites for the slaughter of their brethren, to punish idolatry. The wrath of Phinehas was justifiable. So was the wrath

of Samuel against Agag. Thus, anger very often is made the minister of good deeds.”

Homily XI., against Envy, adduces the instances of Saul’s envy of David, and that of the patriarchs against Joseph. It is pointed out that envy grows out of familiarity and proximity. “A man is envied of his neighbor.” The Scythian does not envy the Egyptian. Envy arises among fellow — countrymen. The remedy for this vice is to recognize the pettiness of the common objects of human ambition, and to aspire to eternal joys. If riches are a mere means to unrighteousness, wo be to the rich man! If they are a ministering to virtue, there is no room for envy, since the common advantages proceeding from them are open to all, — unless any one out of superfluity of wickedness envies himself his own good things!

In Homily XIII., on Holy Baptism, St. Basil combats an error which had naturally arisen out of the practice of postponing baptism. The delay was made an occasion of license and indulgence. St. Augustine cites the homily as St. Chrysostom’s, but the quotation has not weakened the general acceptance of the composition as Basil’s, and as one of those referred to by Amphilochius. Ceillier mentions its citation by the emperor Justinian. It was apparently delivered at Easter. Baptism is good at all times. ”Art thou a young man? Secure thy youth by the bridle of baptism. Has thy prime passed by? Do not be deprived of thy viaticum. Do not lose thy safeguard. Do not think of the eleventh hour as of the first. It is fitting that even at the beginning of life we should have the end in view.’

“Imitate the eunuch. He found one to teach him. He did not despise instruction. The rich man made the poor man mount into his chariot. The illustrious and the great welcomed the undistinguished and the small. When he had been taught the gospel of the kingdom, he received the faith in his heart, and did not put off the seal of the Spirit.”

Homily XIV., against Drunkards, has the special interest of being originated by a painful incident which it narrates. The circumstances may well be compared with those of the scandal caused by the deacon Glycerius. Easter day, remarks St. Basil, is a day when decent women ought to have been sitting in their homes, piously reflecting on future judgment. Instead of this, certain wanton women, forgetful of the fear of God, flung their hair, trailing their tunics, sporting with their feet, with

immodest glances and unrestrained laughter, went off into a wild dance. They invited all the riotous youth to follow them, and kept up their dances in the Basilica of the Martyrs, before the walls of Caesarea, turning hallowed places into the workshop of their unseemliness. They sang indecent songs, and befouled the ground with their unhallowed tread. They got a crowd of lads to stare at them, and left no madness undone. On this St. Basil builds a stirring temperance sermon. Section 6 contains a vivid picture of a drinking bout, and Section 7 describes the sequel. The details are evidently not imaginary.

"Sorrowful sight for Christian eyes! A man in the prime of life, of powerful frame of high rank in the army, is carried furtively home, because he cannot stand upright, and travel on his own feet. A man who ought to be a terror to our enemies is a laughing stock to the lads in the streets. He is smitten down by no sword — slain by no foe. A foes may choose! Drunkenness is the ruin of reason, the destruction of strength; it is untimely old age; it is, for a short time, death.

"What are drunkards but the idols of the heathen? They have eyes and see not, ears and hear not. Their hands are helpless; their feet dead." The whole Homily is forcible. It is quoted by Isidore of Pelusium, and St. Ambrose seems to have been acquainted with it.

Homily XX., on Humility, urges the folly of Adam, in sacrificing eternal blessings to his ambition, and the example of St. Paul in glorying only in the Lord.

"No detail can be neglected as too insignificant to help us in ridding ourselves of pride. The soul grows like its practices, and is formed and fashioned in accordance with its conduct. Your appearance, your dress, your gait, your chair, your style of meals, your bed and bedding, your house and its contents, should be all arranged with a view to cheapness. Your talk, your songs, your mode of greeting your neighbor, should look rather to moderation than to ostentation. Give me, I beg, no elaborate arguments in your talk, no surpassing sweetness in your singing, no vaunting and wearisome discussions. In all things try to avoid *bigness*. Be kind to your friend, gentle to your servant, patient with the impudent, amiable to the lowly. console the afflicted, visit the distressed, despise none. Be agreeable in address, cheerful in reply, ready, accessible to all.

Never sing your own praises, nor get other people to sing them. Never allowing any uncivil communication, conceal as far as possible your own superiority.”

Homily XXI., on disregard of the things of this world, was preached out of St. Basil’s diocese, very probably at Satala in 372. The second part is in reference to a fire which occurred in the near neighborhood. of the church on the previous evening.

Once more the fiend has shewn his fury against us, has armed himself with flame of fire, and has attacked the precincts of the church. Once more our common mother has won the day, and turned back his devices on himself. He has done nothing but advertise his hatred. . . How do you not suppose the devil must be groaning to — day at the failure of his projected attempt? Our enemy lighted his fire close to the church that he might wreck our prosperity. The flames raised on every side by his furious blasts were streaming over all they could reach; they fed on the air round about; they were being driven to touch the shrine, and to involve us in the common ruin; but our Savior turned them back on him who had kindled them, and ordered his madness to fall on himself. The congregation who have happily escaped are urged to live worthily of their preservation, shining like pure gold out of the furnace.”

Homily XXII., which is of considerable interest, on the study of pagan literature, is really not a homily at all. It is a short treatise addressed to the young on their education. It would seem to have been written in the Archbishop’s later years, unless the experience of which he speaks may refer rather to his earlier experience, alike as a student and a teacher.

No source of instruction can be overlooked in the preparation for the great battle of life, and there is a certain advantage to be derived from the right use of heathen writers. The illustrious Moses is described as training his intellect in the science of the Egyptians, and so arriving at the contemplation of Him Who is. So in later days Daniel at Babylon was wise in the Chaldean philosophy, and ultimately apprehended the divine instruction. But granted that such heathen learning is not useless, the question remains how you are to participate in it. . To begin with the poets. Their utterances are of very various kinds, and it will not be well to give attention to all without exception. When they narrate to you the

deeds and the words of good men, admire and copy them, and strive diligently to be like them. When they come to bad men, shut your ears, and avoid imitating them, like Ulysses fleeing from the sirens' songs. Familiarity with evil words is a sure road to evil deeds, wherefore every possible precaution must be taken to prevent our souls from unconsciously imbibing evil influences through literary gratification, like men who take poison in honey. We shall not therefore praise the poets when they revile and mock, or when they describe licentious, intoxicated characters, when they define happiness as consisting in a laden table and dissolute ditties. Least of all shall we attend to the poets when they are talking about the gods, specially when their talk is of many Gods, and those in mutual disagreement. For among them brother is at variance with brother, parent against children, and children wage a truceless war against parents. The gods adulteries and amours and unabashed embraces, and specially those of Zeus, whom they describe as the chief and highest of them all, — things which could not be told without a blush of brutes, — all this let us leave to actors on the stage.

I must make the same remark about historians, specially when they write merely to have been taught by one well able to understand a poet's mind that with Homer all his poetry is praise of virtue, and that in him all that is not mere accessory tends to this end. A marked instance of this is his description of the prince of the Kephallenians saved naked from shipwreck. No sooner did he appear than the princess viewed him with reverence; so far was she from feeling anything like shame at seeing him naked and alone, since his virtue stood him in the stead of clothes. Afterwards he was of so much estimation among the rest of the Phaeacians that they abandoned the pleasures amid which they lived, all looked up to him and imitated him, and not a man of the Phaeacians prayed for anything more eagerly than that he might be Ulysses, — a mere waif saved from shipwreck. Herein my friend said that he was the interpreter of the poet's mind; that Homer all but said aloud, Virtue, O men, is what you have to care for. Virtue swims out with the shipwrecked sailor, and when he is cast naked on the coast, virtue makes him more noble than the happy Phaeacians. And truly this is so. Other belongings are not more the property of their possessors than of any one else. They are like dice flung and remains with us alike alive and dead.

It is in this sense that I think Solon said to the rich,

> Ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
> Τῆς αρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον· ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεί,
> Χρήματα δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Similar to those are the lines of Theognis, in which he says that God (whatever he means by “God”) inclines the scale to men now one way and now another, and so at one moment they are rich, and at another penniless. Somewhere too in his writings Prodicus, the Sophist of Chios, has made similar reflections on vice and virtue, to whom attention may well paid, for his is a man by no means to be despised. So far as I recollect his sentiments, they are something to this effect. I do not remember the exact words, but the sense, in plain prose, was as follows:

Once upon a time, when Hercules was quite young, and of just about the same age as yourselves, he was debating within himself which of the two ways he should choose, the one leading through toil to virtue, the other which is the easiest of all. There approached him two women. They were Virtue and Vice, and though they said not a word they straightway shewed by their appearance what was the difference between them. One was tricked out to present a fair appearance with every beautifying art. Pleasure and delights were shed around her and she led close after her innumerable enjoyments like a swarm of bees. She showed them to Hercules, and, promising him yet more and more, endeavored to attract him to her side. The other, all emaciated and squalid, looked earnestly at the lad, and spoke in quite another tone. She promised him no ease , no pleasure, but toils, labors, and perils without number, in every land and sea. She told him that the reward of all this would be that he should become a god. (so the narrator tells it). This latter Hercules followed even to the death. Perhaps all those who have written anything about wisdom, less or more, each according to his ability, have praised Virtue in their writings. These must be obeyed, and the effort made to show forth their teaching in the conduct of life. For he alone is wise who confirms in act the philosophy which in the rest goes no farther than words. They do but flit like shadows.

It is as though some painter had represented a sitter as a marvel of manly beauty, and then he were to be in reality what the artist had painted on the

panel. But to utter glorious eulogies on virtue in public, and make long speeches about it, while in private putting pleasure before continence and giving gain higher honor than righteousness, is conduct which seems to me illustrated by actors on the stage: they enter as monarchs and magnates, when they are neither monarchs nor magnates, and perhaps even are only slaves. A singer could never tolerate a lyre that did not match his voice, nor a coryphaeus a chorus that did not chant in tune. Yet every one will be inconsistent with himself, and will fail to make his conduct agree with his words. The tongue has sworn, but the heart has never sworn, as Euripides has it; and a man will aim at seeming, rather than at being, good. Nevertheless, if we may believe Plato, the last extreme of iniquity is for one to seem just without being just. This then is the way in which we are to receive writings which contain suggestions of good deed. And since the noble deeds of men of old are preserved contain suggestions of good deeds. And since the noble deeds of men of old are preserved for our benefit either by tradition, or in the works of poets and historians, do not let us miss the good we may get from them. For instance: a man in the street once pursued Pericles with abuse, and persisted in it all day. Pericles took not the slightest notice. Evening fell, and darkness came on, and even then he could hardly be persuaded to give over. Pericles lighted him home, for fear this excise in philosophy might be lost. Again: once upon a time a fellow who was angry with Euclid of Megara threatened him with death, and swore at him. Euclid swore back that he would appease him, and calm him in spite of his rage. A man once attacked Socrates the son of sophroniscus and struck him again and again in the face. Socrates made no resistance, but allowed the drunken fellow to take his fill of frenzy, so that his face was all swollen an bloody from the blows. When the assault was done, Socrates, according to the story, did nothing besides writing on his forehead, as a sculptor might on a statue, “This is so and so’s doing.”

This was his revenge. Where conduct, as in this case, is so much on a par with Christian conduct, I maintain that it is well worth our while to copy these great men. The behavior of Socrates on this occasion is akin to the precept that we are by no means to take revenge, but to turn the other cheek to the smiter. So the conduct of Pericles and Euclid matches the commands to put up with persecutors, and to bear their wrath with meekness, and to invoke not cursing but blessing on our enemies. He who

has been previously instructed in these examples will no longer regard the precepts as impracticable. I should like, too, to instance the conduct of Alexander, when he had captured the daughters of Darius. Their beauty is described as extraordinary, and Alexander would not so much as look at them, for he thought it shameful that a conqueror of men should be vanquished by women. This is of a piece with the statement that he who looks at a woman impurely, even though he do not actually commit the act of adultery with her, is not free from its quilt, because he has allowed lust to enter his heart. Then there is the case of Clinias, the follower of Pythagoras; it is difficult to believe this is a case of accidental, and not intentional, imitation of our principles. What of him? He might have escaped a fine of three talents by taking an oath, but he preferred to pay rather than swear, and this when he would have sworn truly. He appears to me to have heard of the precept which orders us to swear not at all. To return to the point with which I began. We must not take everything indiscriminately, but only what is profitable. It would be shameful for us in the case of food to reject the injurious, and at the same time, in the case of lessons, to take no account of what keeps the soul alive, but, like *mountain streams*, to sweep in everything that happens to be in our way. The sailor does not trust himself to the mercy of the winds, but steers his boat to the port; the archer aims at his mark; the smith and the carpenter keep the end of the crafts in view. What sense is there in our shewing ourselves inferior to these craftsmen, though we are quite able to understand our own affairs? In mere handicrafts is there some object and end in labor, and is there no aim in the life of man, to which any one ought to look who means to live a life better than the brutes'? Were no intelligence to be sitting at the tiller of our souls, we should be dashed up and down in the voyage of life like boats that have no ballast. It is just as with competitions in athletics, or, if you like, in music. In competitions mere crowns are offered for prizes, there is always training, and no one in training for wrestling or the pancration practices the harp or flute. Certainly not Polydamas, who before his contests at the Olympic games used to make chariots at full speed stand still, and so kept us his strength. Milo, too, could not be pushed off his greased shield, but, pushed as he was, held on as tightly as statues fastened by lead. In one word, training was the preparation for these feats. Suppose they had neglected the dust and the gymnasia, and had given their minds to the strains of Marsyas or

Olympus, the Phrygians, they would never have won crowns or glory, nor escaped ridicule for their bodily incapacity. On the other hand Timotheus did not neglect harmony and spend his time in the wrestling schools. Had he done so it would never have been his lot to surpass all the world in music, and to have attained such extraordinary skill in his art as to be able to rouse the soul by his sustained and serious melody, and then again relieve and soothe it by his softer strains at his good pleasure. By this skill, when once he sang in Phrygian strains to Alexander, he is said to have roused the king to arms in the middle of the banquet, and then by gentler music to have restored him to his boon companions. So great is the importance, alike in music and in athletics, in view of the object to be attained, or training.

To us are held out prizes whereof the marvelous number and splendor are beyond the power of words to tell. Will it be possible for those who are fast asleep, and live a life of indulgence, to seize them without an effort? If so, sloth would have been of great price, and Sardanapalus would have been esteemed especially happy, or even Margites, if you like, who is said by Homer to have neither ploughed nor dug, nor done any useful work, — if indeed Homer wrote this, Is there not rather truth in the saying of Pittacus, who said that “It is hard to be good?”

We must not be the slaves of our bodies, except where we are compelled. Our best provision must be for the soul. We ought by means of philosophy to release her from fellowship with all bodily appetites as we might from a dungeon, and at the same time make our bodies superior to our appetites. We should, for instance, supply our believe with necessaries, not with dainties like men whose mids are set on cooks and table arrangers, and who search through every land and sea, like the tributaries of some stern despot, much to be pitied for their toil. Such men are really suffering pains as intolerable as the torments of hell, carding into a fire, fetching water in a sieve, pouring into a tub with holes in it, and getting nothing for their pains. To pay more than necessary attention to our hair and dress is, as Diogenes phrases it, the part either of the unfortunate or of the wicked. To be finely dressed, and to have the reputation of being so, is to my mind quite as disgraceful as to play the harlot or to plot against a neighbor’s wedlock.. What does if matter to a man with any sense, whether he wears a grand state rove, or a common

cloak, so long as it serves to keep off heat and cold? In other matters necessity is to be the rule, and the body is only to be so far regarded as is good for the soul?

Similar precepts are urged, with further references and allusions to Pythagoras, the Corybantes, Solon, Diogenes, Pythius, the rich man who feasted Xerxes on his way to Greece, Pheidias, Bias, Polycletus, Archilochus, and Tithonus.

It is suggestive to compare the wealth of literary illustration in this little tract with the severe restrictions which Basil imposes on himself in his homilies for delivery in church, where nothing but Scripture is allowed to appear. In studying the sermons, it might be supposed that Basil read nothing but the Bible. In reading the treatise on heathen authors, but for an incidental allusion to David and Methuselah, it might be supposed that he spent all his spare time over his old school and college authors.

(iii) The Panegyrical Homilies are five in number.

Homily V. is on Julitta, a lady of Caesarea martyred in 306, and commemorated on July 30. (In the Basilian menology, July 31.) Her property being seized by an iniquitous magistrate, she was refused permission to proceed with a suit for restitution unless she abjured Christianity. On her refusal to do this she was arraigned and burned. She is described as having said that women no less than men were made after the image of God; that women as well as men were made by their Creator capable of manly virtue; that it took bone as well as flesh to make the woman, and that constancy, fortitude, and endurance are as womanly as they are manly.

The homily, which recommends patience and cheerfulness in adversity, contains a passage of great beauty upon prayer. “Ought we to pray without ceasing? Is it possible to obey such a command? These are questions which I see you are ready to ask. I will endeavor, to the best of my ability, to defend the charge. Prayer is a petition for good addressed by the pious to God. But we do not rigidly confine our petition to words. Nor yet do we imagine that God requires to be reminded by speech. He knows our needs even though we ask Him not. What do I say then? I say that we must not think to make our prayer complete by syllables. The

strength o prayer lies rather in the purpose of our soul and in deeds of virtue reaching every part and moment of our life. ‘Whether ye eat,’ is said, ‘or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.’ As thou takest thy seat at table, pray. As thou liftest the loaf, offer thanks to the Giver. When thou sustainest thy bodily weakness with wine, remember Him Who supplies thee with this gift, to make thy heart glad and to comfort thy infirmity. has thy need for taking food passed away? Let not the thought of thy Benefactor pass away too. As thou art putting on thy tunic, thank the Giver of it. As thou wrappest thy cloak about thee, feel yet greater love to God, Who alike in summer and in winter has given us coverings convenient for us, at once to preserve our life, and to cover what is unseemly. Is the day done? Give thanks to Him Who has given us the sun for our daily work, and has provided for us a fire to light up the night, and to serve the rest of the needs of life. Let night give the other occasions of prayer. When thou lookest up to heaven and gazest at the beauty of the stars, pray to the Lord the visible world; pray to God the Arch — artificer of the universe, Who is wisdom hath made them all. When thou seest all nature sunk in sleep, then again worship Him Who gives us even against our wills release from the continuous strain of toil, and by a short refreshment restores us once again to the vigor of our strength. Let not night herself be all, as it were, the special and peculiar property of sleep. Let not half they life be useless through the senselessness of slumber. Divide the time of night between sleep and prayer. Nay let thy slumbers be themselves experiences in piety; for it is only natural that our sleeping dreams should be for the most part echoes of the anxieties of the day. As have been our conduct and pursuits, so will inevitably be our dreams. Thus wilt thou pray without ceasing; if thou prayest not only in words, but unitest thyself to God through all the course of life and so thy life be made one ceaseless and uninterrupted prayer.”

Barlaam, the subject of Homily XVII., was martyred under Diocletian, either at Antioch or at Caesarea. The ingenuity of his tormentors conceived the idea of compelling him to fling the pinch of incense to the gods by putting it, while burning, into his hand, and forcing him to hold it over the altar. The fire fought with the right hand, and the fire proved the weaker. The fire burned through the and, but the hand was firm. The martyr might say, “Thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt

guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.” The homily concludes with an apostrophe to the painters of such scenes. “Up, I charge you, ye famous painters of the martyrs’ struggles! Adorn by your art the mutilated figure of this officer of our army I have made but a sorry picture of the crowned hero. Use all your skill and all your colors in his honor.”

This was taken at the second Council of Nicaea as proof of an actual painting.

Homily XVIII., is on the martyr Gordius, who was a native of Caesarea, and was degraded from his rank of centurion when Licinius removed Christians from the army. Gordius retired into the wilderness, and led the life of an anchorite. One day there was a great festival at Caesarea in honor of Mars. There were to be races in the theater, and thither the whole population trooped. Not a Jew, not a heathen, was wanting. No small company of Christians had joined the crowd, men of careless life, sitting in the assembly of folly, and not shunning the counsel of the evil — doers, to see the speed of the horses and the skill of the charioteers. Masters had given their slaves a holiday. Even boys ran from their schools to the show. There was a multitude of common women of the lower ranks. The stadium was packed, and every one was gazing intently on the races. Then that noble man, great of heart and great of courage, came down from the uplands into the theater. He took no thought of the mob. he did not heed how many hostile hand she met.... In a moment the whole theater turned to stare at the extraordinary sight. The man looked wild and savage. From his long sojourn in the mountains his head was squalid, his beard long, his dress filthy. His body was like a skeleton. He carried a stick and a wallet. yet there was a certain grace about him, shining from the unseen all around him. He was recognized. A great shout arose. Those who shared his faith clapped for joy, but the enemies of the truth urged the magistrate to put in force the penalty he had incurred, and condemned him beforehand to die. Then an universal shouting arose all round. Nobody looked at the horses — nobody at the charioteers. The exhibition of the chariots was mere idle noise. Not an eye but was wholly occupied with looking at Gordius, not an ear wanted to hear anything but his words. Then a confused murmur, running like a wind through all the theater, sounded above the din of the course. Heralds were told to proclaim silence. The pipes were hushed, and

all the band stopped in a moment. Gordius was being listened to; Gordius was the center of all eyes, and in a moment he was dragged before the magistrate who presided over the games. With a mild and gentle voice the magistrate asked him his name, and whence he came. He told his country his family, the rank he had held, the reason for his flight, and his return. “Here I am,” he cried , “ready to testify by deed to the contempt in which I hold your orders, and my faith in the God in whom I have trusted. For I have heard that you are inferior to few in cruelty. This is why I have chosen this time in order to carry out my wishes.” With these words he kindled the wrath of the governor like a fire, and roused all his fury against himself. The order was given, “Call the lictors; where are the plates of lead? Where are the scourges? Let him be stretched upon a wheel; let him be wrenched upon the rack; let the instruments of torture be brought in; make ready the beasts, the fire, the sword, the cross. What a good thing for the villain that he can die only once!” “Nay,” replied Gordius, “what a bad thing for me that I cannot die for Christ again and again!”

All the town crowded to the spot where the martyrdom was to be consummated. Gordius uttered his last words. Death is the common lot of man. As we must all die, let us through death win life. Make the necessary voluntary. Exchange the earthly for the heavenly. He then crossed himself, he stepped forward for the fatal blow, without changing color or losing his cheerful mien. It seemed as though he were not going to meet an executioner, but to yield himself into the hands of angels.

Homily XIX. is on the Forty Soldier Martyrs of Sebaste, who were ordered by the officers of Licinius, A.D. 320. to offer sacrifice to the heathen idols, and, at their refusal, were plunged for a whole night into a frozen pond in the city, in sight of a hot bath on the brink. One man’s faith and fortitude failed him. He rushed to the relief of the shore, plunged into the hot water, and died on the spot. One of the executioners had stood warming himself and watching the strange scene. he had seemed to see angels coming down from heaven and distributing gifts to all the band but one. When the sacred number of forty was for the moment broken the officer flung off his clothes, and sprang into the freezing pond with the cry, “I am a Christian.” Judas departed. Matthias took his place.

What trouble wouldst thou not have taken to find one to pray for thee to the Lord! Here are forty, praying with one voice. Where tow or three are gathered together in the name of the Lord, there is He in the midst. Who doubts His presence in the midst of forty? The afflicted flees to the Forty; the joyous hurries to them; the former, that he may find relief from his troubles; the latter, that his blessings may be preserved. here a pious woman is found beseeching for her children; she begs for the return of her absent husband, or for his health if he be sick. Let your supplications be made with the martyrs. Let young men imitate their fellows. Let fathers pray to be fathers of like sons. Let mothers learn from a good mother. The mother of one of these saints saw the rest over come by the cold, and her son, from his strength or his costancy, yet alive. The executioners had left him, on the chance of his having changed his mind. She herself lifted him in her arms, and placed him on the car in which the rest were being drawn to the pyre, a veritable martyr's mother.

The last of the Panegyrical Homilies (XXIII.) is on Saint Mamas, commemorated on September 2 by the Greeks, and on August 17 by the Latins. he is said to have been a shepherd martyred at Caesarea in 274 in the persecution of Aurelian. Sozomen (v.2)) relates that when the young princes Julian and Gallus were at the castle of Macellum they were engaged in building a church in the martyr's honor, and that Julian's share in the work never prospered. The homily narrates no details concerning the saint, and none seem to be known. It does contain a more direct mention of a practice of invocation. There is a charge to all who have enjoyed the martyr in dreams to remember him; to all who have met with him in the church, and have found him a helper in their prayers; to all those whom he has aided in their doings, *when called on by name*. The conclusion contains a summary of the Catholic doctrine concerning the Son. "You have been told before, and now you are being told again, 'In the beginning was the Word,' to prevent your supposing that the Son was a being generated after the manner of men, from His having come forth out of the non — existent. 'Word' is said to you, because of His impassability. 'Was' is said because of His being beyond time. He says 'beginning' to conjoin the Begotten with His Father. you have seen how the obedient sheep hears a master's voice. "In the beginning,' and 'was,' and 'Word' is said to you, because of His impassability. "Was' is said

because of His being beyond time. He says 'beginning' to conjoin the Begotten with His Father. You have seen how the obedient sheep hears a master's voice. 'In the beginning,' and 'was,' and 'Word.' Do not go on to say, 'How was He?' and 'IF He was, He was not begotten;' and 'If He was begotten, He was not.' It is not a sheep who says these things. The skin is a sheep's; but the speaker within is a wolf. Let hem be recognized as an enemy. 'My sheep hear my voice.' You have heard the Son. understand His likeness to His Father. I say *likeness* because of the weakness of the stronger bodies: In truth, and I am not afraid of approaching the truth, I am no ready deceiver: I say *identity*, always preserving the distinct existence of Son and Father. In the hypostasis of Son understand the Father's Form, that you may hod the exact doctrine of this Image, — that you may understand consistently with true religion the words, 'I am in the Father and the Father in me.' Understand not confusion of essences, but identity of characters."

5. LETTERS.

Under this head I will add nothing to the notes however inadequate, appended to the text.

6. LITURGICAL

It is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss at length the history and relation of the extant. Liturgies, which go by the name of St. Basil. St. Basil's precise share in their composition, as we possess them, must be conjectural.

(i) The Liturgy, which St. Basil himself used and gave to his clergy and monks, preserved the traditional form in use in the archdiocese of Caesarea. It is mentioned in the xxxii canon of the council "in Trullo" of 692. This is no doubt the basis of the Greek Liturgy known as St. Basil's, and used in the East as well as the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. The form in use is contained in *Neale's Primitive LiturgiesI* (1875). Dr. Swainson *(Greek Liturgies chiefly from Oriental Sources, p. 75)* printed and edition of it from the Barberini MS. in 1884.

(ii) There is an Alexandrine Liturgy in Coptic, Arabic, and Greek form, called St. Basil’s, and used on fast days by the Monophysites (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Collectio* i.154). This differs entirely from the first named.

(iii) There is an Alexandrine Liturgy in Coptic, Arabic, and Greek form, called St. Basil’s, translated by Masius, and given by Renaudot in his second volume.

7. WRITINGS SPURIOUS AND DUBIOUS.

Under this head will be ranked, besides writings objections against which have been already noticed:

1. Constitutiones monasticae (Ἀσκητικαὶ διατάξεις),
in number thirty — four.

2. Paenae in monachos delinquentes,
and Paenae in Canonicas (ἐπιτίμια).

3. Libri duo de Baptismo.

4. Sermones duo ascetici.

5. Various Homilies:
Adversus Calumniatores SS. Trinitatis,
Altera de Sp. Scto.,
In Sanctam Christi Generationem,
De Libero Arbitrio,
In aliquot Scripturae locis, dicta in Lacizis.
III. De Jejunio.
De Paenitentia.

6. A book On True Virginity.

7. A treatise On consolation in adversity.

8. A treatise De laude solitariae vitae.

9. Admonitio ad filium spirtualem (extant only in Latin).

10. Sermones de moribus XXIV. (ἠθικοὶ λόγοι), a cento of
extracts made by Simeon Metaphrastes

8. WRITINGS MENTIONED, BUT LOST.

A book against the Manichaeans (Augustine, c. Julian. i.16-17). Tillemont (Art. cxlv. p. 303) mentions authors in which lost fragments of St. Basil are to be found, and Art. cxxxvii. p. 290 refers to the lost Commentary on the Book of Job.

9. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON SOME POINTS IN ST. BASIL'S DOCTRINAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POSITION.

It has been claimed with reason that the doctrinal standpoint of St. Basil is identical with that of the English Church, with the one exception of the veneration of relics and the invocation of saints.

In confirmation of this view, the following points may be noted:

1. *The Holy Eucharist.* The remarkable passage on the spiritual manducation of the elements in Letter VIII. is commented on on p. 118. His custom as to frequent communion and his opinion as to the reserved sacrament are remarked on on p. 179.

A significant passage is to be found in the *Moralia*, Rule XXI., that participation in the Body and Blood of Christ is necessary to eternal life. <430654>John 6:54, is then quoted. That no benefit is derived by him who comes to communion without consideration of the method whereby participation of the Body and Blood of Christ is given; and that he who receives unworthily is condemned. On this <430654>John 6:54 and 62, and <461327>1 Corinthians 13:27, are quoted. By what method (ποίῳ λόγῳ) we must eat the Body and drink the Blood of the live unto themselves, but to Him who died and rose again for them. In answer, the quotations are <422229>Luke 22:29, <461123>1 Corinthians 11:23, <470514>2 Corinthians 5:14, and <461016>1 Corinthians 10:16.

2. *Mariolatry.* Even Letter CCCLX., which bears obvious marks of spuriousness, and of proceeding from a later age, does not go beyond a recognition of the Blessed Virgin as θεοτόκος, in which the Catholic Church is agreed, and a general invocation of apostles, prophets, a and

martyrs, the Virgin not being set above these. The argument of Letter 261 (p. 300) that "if the Godbearing flesh was not ordained to be assumed of the lump of Adam, what need was there of the Blessed Virgin?" seems quite inconsistent with the modern doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Of any cultus of the Virgin, St. Basil's writings shew no trace.

3. *Relations to the Roman Church.* In order to say something under this head, Ceillier, the Benedictine, is driven to such straits as to quote the application of the term "Coryphaeus" to Damasus in Letter 239. Certainly St. Basil saw no reason to congratulate the Westerns on their "Coryphaeus," so far as intelligent interest in the East was involved. Fialon sees the position more clearly, so far as Basil is concerned, though he assumes the Councils to have given more authority to the patriarch of the ancient capital than was in face conceded. "*St. Basile ne va pas, comme la majorite du Concile de Constantinople, jusqu'a traiter l'Occident comme etranger; s'il ne pretend pas que l'empire appartienne a l'Orient, parce que l'Orient voit naitre le Soleil, et que c'est en Orient que Dieu brilla dans une enveloppe charnelle, ne voudrait il pas, dans l'ordre religieux, l'union independante, qui, depuis Constantin, rattache, dans l'ordre politique, ces deux parties du monde Romain? A ses yeux l'Orient el l'Occident ne sont ills pas deux frieres, dont les droit sont egaux, sans suprematic, sans ainesse?*"

In truth Basil appealed to Damasus as Theodoret to Leo, and as Chrysostom to Innocent, not as vassal to liege lord, but as brother to brother. In Basil's case, even the brotherhood was barely recognized, if recognized at all, by the western prelate.

10. EDITIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Among the chief editions and MSS, the following may be mentioned:

The Editio Princeps of the complete extant works of Basil in the original Greek is that which Froben published for Janus Cornarius at Bale in 1551. But Froben had already published in 1532, under the editorship of Erasmus, an edition containing the *De Spiritu Sancto*, the *Homilies* on the *Psalms, twenty* — nine different *Homilies* and some *Letters.*

A Venetian edition, published by Fabius in 1535, comprised the *Moralia*, as well as the dubious book on Virginity, three books against Eunomius, and the tract against the Sabellians, Arians, and Anomaeans.

The Greek editions had been preceded by a Latin version at Rome, by Raphael Volaterranus in 1515, of which the autograph manuscript is in the British Museum, and by another at Paris in 1525, and by a third Latin edition issued at Cologne in 1531. These were followed by other editions printed at Paris, Antwerp, and Cologne. In 1618 Fronton du Due, commonly known as Ducaeus, published, in conjunction with Frederic Morel, and edition in two folio volumes containing a Latin version as well as the Greek. The edition of the French Dominican Father, Francis Combefis, was published shortly after his death in 1679. The most important step in the direction of accuracy and completeness was taken by Julian Garnier, a Benedictine Father of the Congregation of St. Maur. He revised and corrected the Greek text of earlier editions on the authority of a number of manuscripts in Paris, Italy, and England, and issued the first of his three folio volumes at Paris, at the press of John Baptist Coignard, in 1721. The third volume did not appear till 1730, five years after Garnier's death. In the meanwhile the editorial work had been taken up by Prudent Maran, another Benedictine, to whom are due a careful and voluminous biographical notice, many notes, and a chronological arrangement of the Letters. This was reissued in three 4o volumes in Paris in 1889, and Ithe basis of the edition published, with additions, by the Abbe Jacques Paul Migne, in the *Patrologia Graeca*, in 1857.

An important edition of a separate work is the revised text, with notes and introduction, of the *De Spiritu Sancto*, by the Rev. C. F. H. Johnston, published at the Clarendon Press in 1892.

German translations were published by Count Schweikhard at Ingolstadt in 1591 (Ceillier VI. viii. 8), and by J. von Wendel at Vienna in 1776-78. There have also been issued *Basilius des Grossen auserlesenes Homilien, uberstetzt und mit Ammerkungcn versehen von J. G. Krabinger*, Landshut, 18839, and *Auserlesene Schriften, ubersetzt von Grone*, Kempten, 1875.

Homilies and Orations were published in Italian in 1711 by Gio. Maria Lucchini, *Omelie Scelto*, translated by A. M. Ricci, were published in Florence in 1732.

Many important extracts are translated in French in the *Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacres* of the Benedictine Remy Ceillier (Paris, 1737).

E. Fialon, in his *Et. Hist.* (1869) has translated the *Hexaemeron*; and in 1889 the *Panegyrique du Mazrtyr Gordius* was published in French by J. Genouille.

A complete account of the bibliography of St. Basil is given in the *Notitia ex Bibliotheca Fabricii* (Ed. Harles, tom. ix. 1804), in Migne's ed vol. I., *Prolegomena* p. ccxli.

In 1888 a translation of the *De Spiritu Sancto*, by G. Lewis, was included in the Christian Classic Series.

Of all the smaller works a great popularity, as far as popularity can be gauged by the number of editions and translations, has belonged to the *Advice to the Young* and the *Homily on the Forty Martyrs*.

The MSS. collated by the Ben. Edd. for their edition of *the De Spiritu Sancto* are five entitled *Regii*, and a sixth known as *Colbertinus*, now in the national library at Paris. The Ben. *Regius Secundus* (2293) is described by Omont *(Inventaire Sommaire des MSS. Grecs)* as of the Xth c., the *Colbertinus* (4529) and *the Regius Tertius* (2893) as of the XIth c., and the *Regius Primus* (2286), *Regius Quartus* (2896), and *Iregius Quintus* (3430) as of the XIVth c.

For his edition, Mr. C. F. H. Johnston also collated or had collated 22,509 Add. MSS., Xth c., in the British Museum; Codd. Misc. xxxvii., XIth c., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; Cod. Theol. 142, XIIth c., in the Imperial Library at Vienna; Cod. Theol. 18, XIVth c., also at Vienna; Cod. xxiii., XIth c., in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow; 500 (Reg. 1824, 3) G. XIth c., at Paris; Cod. lviii., Xth c., at St. Mark's, Venice; Cod. lxvi., XIIth c., also at St. Mark's, Venice; Codd. Regin. Suaecor. 35, XIVth c., in the Vatican at Rome.

For the *Hexameron* the Ben. Edd. used eight MSS. styled *Regii*, and numbered respectively 1824, 2286 (originally in the collection of Henry II. at Fontainebleau, the *Regius Primus* of the enumeration for *the De Spiritu Sancto*, but the *Secundus* for that of the *Hexaemeron*), 2287 (Io), 2287 , 2349, 2892, 2896 (the *Regius Quartus* of the *De Spiritu Sancto*), and 2989;

two MSS. entitled *Colbertinus*, 3069 and 4721; two Coistiniani, 229, IXth c., and 235; and a MS. in the Bodleian, “a doctissimo viro Joanne Wolf collatus.”

The sources of the Ben. Ed. of the *Letters* were Coislinianus 237, XIth c., a Codex Harlaeanus of the Xth or XIth c., and a Codex Medicaeus, Codex Regius 2293, Codex Regius 2897, Codex Regius 2896, Codex Regius 2502, Codex Regius 1824, Codex Regius 1906, and Codex Regius 1908.

The following MSS. of St. Basil are in the library of the Bodleian at Oxford:

Homiliae et Epistolae. Codex membranaceus, in 4to majoir ff. 250, sec. xii.

Epistola ad Optimum, episcopum, in septem ultiones. Cain. fol. in.

Epistola ad virginem lapsam, fol. 211b.

Ejusdem Basilii epistola ad monachum lapsum, fol. 215b.

Epistolae canonicae. Barocciani. xxvi. 285b (*i.e.* pt. i, p.36).

Codex membranaceus, in 4to minori, ff. 370, sec. xi. fol. 285b.

Epist canon. Baroc. xxxvi. 121 (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 147).

Codex membranaceus, in 4to minori, ff. 12 et 161, sec. xii. exeunits.

Ejusdem epistolae canonicae tertiae prologus, fol. 125b.

CLVIII. 202 *(i*.e. pt. i, p. 268). Codex chartaceus, in 4to majori, ff. 374, sec. xv.

S. Basilii ad Amphilochium, Iconii episcopum, et alias epistolae quinque canonicae, fol. 202.

CLXXXV. 129b (*i*.e. pt. i, p. 307). Membranaceus, in folio, ff. 83 et 312, sec. xi. exeuntis, bene exaratus et servatus.

S. Basilii magni epistolae canonicae, cum scholius nonnullis, fol. 129b.

Ejusdem epistolae septem aliae, fol. 141.

Epist. Canon. Baroc. cxcvi. 184b (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 336). Membranaceus, in 4to majori, ff. 313, sec. xi. anno scilicet 1043 exaratus.

S. Basilii expositio de jejunio quadragesimali, f. 6b.

CCV. 400b (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 361). Codex chartaceus, in folio, ff. 520, sec. xiv. mutilus et madore corruptus.

Dionysii Alexandrini, Petri Alexandrini, Gregorii Thaumaturgi, Athanasii, Basilii, Gregorii, Nysseni, Timothei Alexandrini, Theophili Alexandrini, Cyrilli Alexandrini, et Gennadii epistolae encyclicae; interpretatione Balsamonis illustratae, fol. 378b.

Epistolae canonicae. Laudiani. xxxix. 200 (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 519). Codex

membranaceus in 4to maj. ff. 347, sec. forsan. xi. ineuntis, etc.
S. Basilii Caesareensis octo, subnexis captiulis duobus ex opere de S. Spiritu, fol. 200.
Seld. xlviii. 151 (i.e. pt. i, p. 611). Codex membranaceus, in 4to ff. 189, sec . xiii. nitide exaratus; quandam monasterii S. Trinitatis apud Chalcem insulam [ol. 3385].
S. Basilii and Amphilochium, Diodorum et Gregorium canones, fol. 151.
Misc. clxx. 181, 263, 284b (*i.e.* pt. i p. 717). Codex membranaceus, in 4to majori, ff. 363, secc. si tabulam sec. xi. excipiamus, xiv. et xv.; initio et fine mutilus. Rawl. Auct. G. 158.
S. Basilii, archiep. Caesareensis, ad Amphilochium epistolae tre canonicae, fol. 181.
S. Basilii epistolae duae, scilicet, ad chorepiscopos, ad episcopos sibi subjectos, cum excerptis duobus ex capp. xxvii. et. xxix. ad Amphilochium de S. Spiritu, fol. 263.
ST. Basilii epistolae duae, ad Diodorum et ad Gregorium, fol. 284b.
Epist. Canon. misc. ccvi. 171 (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 763). Codex membranaceus, in folio minori, ff. 242. sec. forsan xi. exeuntis; bene exaratus et servatus. Meerm. Auct. T. 2. 6.
S. Basilii, archiep. Caesareensis, ad Amphilochium ep. Icon. epistolae tres canonicae cum scholiis hic illic margini adpositis, fol. 171.
Epistolae cccxxxiv. Misc. xxxviii. I (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 642). Codex chartaceus, in folio, ff. 196, sec. xvi. anno 1547 scriptus [ol. 3091]. Act. E. 2. 10.
S. Basilii epistolae, ut e numeris marginalibus apparet, cccxxxiv. fol. I.
Ult. est ad eundem Eusebium, et exstat in ed. cit. tom. in. p. 257.
Epistola ccxlv. Baroc cxxi. [*i.e.* pt. i, p. 199]. Membranaceus, in 4to ff. 226, sec. xii. exeuntis, bene exaratus; in calce mutilus.
S. Basilii, archiepiscopi Caesareensis, epistolae ad diversos, numero ducentae quadraginta quinque.
Epist. clxxvii. Roc. xviii. 314 (*i.e* pt. i, p. 471). Codex chartaceus, in folio, ff. 475, holie in duo volumina distinctus, anno 1349 manu Constantini Sapientis binis columnis scriptus; olim ecclesiae S. Trinitatis apud insulam Chalcem [ol. 264].
S. Basilii Caesareensis epistolae circiter centum sptuaginta septem, fol. 314.
Epistolae variae. Baroc. ivi. 38b et passim (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 83). Codex

bombycinus. ff. 175, sec xiv. exeuntis; initio mutilus, et madore corruptus.

S. Basilii adversus Eunomium epistola, fol. 28b.

Epist. xiii. ad diversos. Baroc. ccxxviii ii8b (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 393).

Membranaceus, in folio, ff. 206, sec. forsan xii. ineuntis; foliis aliquot chartaceis a manu recentiori hic illic suppletis. S. Basilii et Libanii epistolae septem mutuae, f. 126.

Ibid. epp. 341, 342, 337-340, 356.

Epist. tres. Misc. clxxix. 423 (*i.e.* pt. i, p. 500). Codex chartaceus, in folio marjoiri, ff. 262, sec. xvii.; olim peculium coo. soc. Jesu Clarom.

Paris, pstea joh. Meerman. Act. T. i. I.

S. Basilii, archiep. Caesareensis, epistola ad Optimum ipiscopum in illud, πᾶς ὀ ἀποκτείνας καΐν, pg. 423.

Epistola ad Chilonem. Laud. xvii. 352 (*i.e.* pt. I, p. 500). Codex charatceus, et laevigatus, in 4o ff. 358, sec. xv. [ol. 692].

S. Basilii Magni epistola ad Chilonem, fol. 352.

Epist. ad Coloneos. Baroc. cxlii. 264b (*i.e.* pt. I, p. 242). Codex chartaceus, in 4o ff. 292, sec. xiv. ineuntis.

S. Basilii Magni epistola ad Coloneos, fol. 264b.

Ejus et Libanii epistolae. Baroc. xix. 191 (*i.e.* pt. I, p. 27). Codex chartaceus in 4o minori, ff. 200, sec. xv. manibus tamen diversis scriptus.

S. Basilii et Libanii sophistae epistolae decem amaebaeae, fol. 191.

Ejus et Libanii epistolae. Baroc. cxxi. 296 (*i.e.* pt. I, p. 211). Codex bombycinus, in 4o maj. ff. 4 et 536, sec. xiv. haud eadem manu scriptus; madore aliquantum corruptus.

S. Basilii et Libanii epistolae tres mutuae, f. 299b.

Epistolae ad Libanium et Modestum. Baroc. ccxvi. 301 (*i.e.* pg. I, p. 376).

Codex, fragmentis constans pluribus, in 4o ff. 379 quorum 43 priora membranacea, caetera chartacea sunt.

S. Basilii epistola ad Libanium, fol. 301b.

Ejusdem ad Modestum epistola, imperf. fol. 301b.

Basilii et Libanii epistolae quinque mutuae, fol. 302.

Ibid. epp. cccxxxv. seq., cccxlii., ccxli., ccclix.

The following Mss. of St. Basil are in the British Museum:

Harleian Collection:

1801. Codex membranaceus (Newton's arms in spare leaf). Doctrina Beati Basilii.
2580. Liber chartaceus. S. Basilii sermo de parentum honore, Latine redditus per Guarinum.
2678. Codex membranaceus. S. Basilii de institutis juvenum liber ex versione et cum praefatione Leonardi Aretini.
5576. XIVth c. 40 Homilies.
5639. Xvth c. Homilies.
5576. XIVth c. Hexaemeron.
5622. XIVth c. Com. on Isaiah.
5541. Xvth c. Ad juvenes.
5609. XVth c. Ad juvenes.
5660. XVth c. Ad juvenes.
5657. XIVth c. Extracts.
5689. XIIth c. De V. Virg.
5624. XIVth c. Ep. ad Greg. Frat.
6827. XVIIth c. Epp.
3651. XVth c. De Cons. in Adv.
4987. XVth c. Admon.

Burney Collection;
70. XVth c. Ad juvenes.
75. XVth c. Epp. ad Liban.

Additional:
22509. Velum curs. Xth c. De Sp. Scto.
34060. Xvth c. The doubtful work De Sp. Scto.
14066. XIIth c. Homilies.
34060. Xvth c. Against Drunkards.
25881. XVIth c. The Forty Martyrs.
10014. XVIIth c. Ad juvenes.
10069. XIIth c. Reg. fus. tract.
9347. XIVth c. Ascetic.
18492. XVIth c. De Frugalitate.
17474. XVth c. Epp. can.
23771. c. 1500. Sermones Tractatus. Autograph of Raph. Volterano (translation).

Arundel:

535.	XIVth c.	Excerp. ex adv. Eunom. v.
532.	Xth c.	Hexaemeron.
528.	XVth c.	Against Drunkards.
520.	XVth c.	De Tranqu. an.
583.	XIVth c.	Epp. can. ad Amph.
181.	XIIth c.	Adm. ad Fil.

THE BOOK OF SAINT BASIL ON THE SPIRIT

DE SPIRITU SANCTO

PREFACE.

THE heresy of Arius lowered the dignity of the Holy Ghost as well as that of the Son. He taught that the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity are wholly unlike one another both in essence and in glory. “There is a triad, not in equal glories;” “one more glorious than the other in their glories to an infinite degree.” So says the Thalia, quoted in Ath. de Syn. #15. But the Nicene definition, while it was precise in regard to the Son, left the doctrine of the Holy Ghost comparatively open, (Πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα,) not from hesitation or doubt, but because this side of Arian speculation was not prominent. (CF. Basil, Letters 125. and 226. and Dr. Swete in D.C.B. in. 121.) It was the expulsion of Macedonius from the see of Constantinople in 360 which brought “Macedonianism” to a head. He was put there by Arians as an Arian. Theodoret (Ecc. Hist. ii.5) explains how disagreement arose. he was an upholder, if not the author, of the watchword ὁμοιούσιν (Soc. ii.45), but many supporters of the ὁμοιούσιν (e.g., Eustathius of Sebasteia) shrank from calling the Holy Ghost a creature. So the Pneumatomachi began to be clearly marked off. The various creeds of the Arians and semi — Arians did not directly attack the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, though they did not accept the doctrine of the essential unity of the Three Persons. (Cf. Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbolc, pp. 148-174, quoted by Swete.) But their individual teaching went far beyond their confessions. The Catholic theologians were roused to the danger, and on the return of Athanasius from his third exile, a council was held at Alexandria which resulted in the first formal ecclesiastical condemnation of the depravers of the Holy Ghost, in the Tomus ad Antiochenos (q.v. with the preface on p. 481 of Ath. in the edition of this series. Cf. also Ath. ad Serap. i. 2, 10). In the next ten years the Pneumatiomachi, Macedonians, or Marathonians, so called from

Marathonius, bishop of Nicomedia, whose support to the party was perhaps rather pecuniary than intellectual (Nicephorus H.E. ix. 47), made head, and were largely identified with the Homoiousians. In 374 was published the Ancoratus of St. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, written in 373, and containing two creeds (vid Heurtley de F. et Symb. pp. 14-18), the former of which is nearly identical with the Confession of Constantinople. It expresses belief in τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, Κύπιον, καὶ Ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατπὸς, εκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνοίμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸλαλῆσον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. It is in this same year, 374, that Amphilochius, the first cousin of Gregory of Nazianzus and friend and spiritual son of Basil, paid the first of his annual autumn visits to Caesarea (Bishop Lightfoot, D.C.B. I. 105) and there urged St. Basil to clear up all doubt as to plied, and, on the completion of the work, had it engrossed on parchment (Letter ccxxxi.) and sent it to Amphilochius, to whom he dedicated.

CHAPTER 1

Prefatory remarks on the need of exact investigation of the most minute portions of theology.

1. Your desire for information, my right well-beloved and most deeply respected brother Amphilochius, I highly commend, and not less your industrious energy. I have been exceedingly delighted at the care and watchfulness shewn in the expression of your opinion that of all the terms concerning God in every mode of speech, not one ought to be left without exact investigation. You have turned to good account your reading of the exhortation of the Lord, “Every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth” and by your diligence in asking might, I ween, stir even the most reluctant to give you a share of what they possess. And this in you yet further moves my admiration, that you do not, according to the manners of the most part of the men of our time, propose your questions by way of mere test, but with the honest desire to arrive at the actual truth. There is no lack in these days of captious listeners and questioners; but to find a character desirous of information, and seeking the truth as a remedy for ignorance, is very difficult. Just as in the hunters snare, or in the soldier’s ambush, the trick is generally ingeniously concealed, so it is with the inquiries of the majority of the questioners who advance arguments, not so much with the view of getting any good out of them, as in order that, in the event of their failing to elicit answers which chime in with their own desires, they may seem to have fair ground for controversy.

2. If “To the fool on his asking for wisdom, wisdom shall be reckoned,” at how high a price shall we value “the wise hearer” who is quoted by the Prophet in the same verse with “the admirable counselor”? It is right, I ween, to hold him worthy of all approbation, and to urge him on to further progress, sharing his enthusiasm, and in all things toiling at his side as he presses onwards to perfection. To count the terms used in theology as of primary importance, and to endeavor to trace out the hidden meaning in every phrase and in every syllable, is a characteristic wanting in those who are idle in the pursuit of true religion, but distinguishing all who get knowledge of “the mark” “of our calling;” for what is set before us is, so

far as is possible with human nature, to be made like unto God. Now without knowledge there can be no making like; and knowledge is not got without lessons. The beginning of teaching is speech, and syllables and words are parts of speech. It follows then that to investigate syllables is not to shoot wide of the mark, nor, because the questions raised are what might seem to some insignificant, are they on that account to be held unworthy of heed. Truth is always a quarry hard to hunt, and therefore we must look everywhere for its tracks. The acquisition of true religion is just like that of crafts; both grow bit by bit; apprentices must despise nothing. If a man despise the first elements as small and insignificant, he will never reach the perfection of wisdom.

Yea and Nay are but two syllables, yet there is often involved in these little words at once the best of all good things, Truth, and that beyond which wickedness cannot go, a Lie. But why mention Yea and Nay? Before now, a martyr bearing witness for Christ has been judged to have paid in full the claim of true religion by merely nodding his head. If, then, this be so, what term in theology is so small but that the effect of its weight in the scales according as it be rightly or wrongly used is not great? Of the law we are told “not one jot nor one tittle shall pass away;” how then could it be safe for us to leave even the least unnoticed? The very points which you yourself have sought to have thoroughly sired by us are at the same time both small and great. Their use is the matter of a moment, and peradventure they are therefore made of small account; but, when we reckon the force of their meaning, they are great. They may be likened to the mustard plant which, though it be the least of shrub-seeds, yet when properly cultivated and the forces latent in its germs unfolded, rises to its own sufficient height.

If any one laughs when he sees our subtilty, to use the Psalmist’s words, about syllables, let him know that he reaps laughter’s fruitless fruit; and let us, neither giving in to men’s reproaches, nor yet vanquished by their disparagement, continue our investigation. So far, indeed, am I from feeling ashamed of these things because they are small, that, even if I could attain to ever so minute a fraction of their dignity, I should both congratulate myself on having won high honor, and should tell my brother and fellow-investigator that no small gain had accrued to him therefrom.

While, then, I am aware that the controversy contained in little words is a very great one, in hope of the prize I do not shrink from toil, with the conviction that the discussion will both prove profitable to myself, and that my hearers will be rewarded with no small benefit. Wherefore now with the help, if I may so say, of the Holy Spirit Himself, I will approach the exposition of the subject, and, if you will, that I may be put in the way of the discussion, I will for a moment revert to the origin of the question before us.

3. Lately when praying with the people, and using the full doxology to God the Father in both forms, at one time "with *the* Son *together with* the Holy Ghost," and at another "*through* the Son in the Holy Ghost," I was attacked by some of those present on the ground that I was introducing novel and at the same time mutually contradictory terms.

You, however, chiefly with the view of benefiting them, or, if they are wholly incurable, for the security of such as may fall in with them, have expressed the opinion that some clear instruction ought to be published concerning the force underlying the syllables employed. I will therefore write as concisely as possible, in the endeavor to lay down some admitted principle for the discussion.

CHAPTER 2

The origin of the heretics' close observation all syllables.

4. The petty exactitude of these men about syllables and words is not, as might be supposed, simple and straightforward; nor is the mischief to which it tends a small one. There is involved a deep and covert design against true religion Their pertinacious contention is to show that the mention of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is unlike, as though they will thence find it easy to demonstrate that there is a variation in nature. They have an old sophism, invented by Aetius, the champion of this heresy, in one of whose Letters there is a passage to the effect that things naturally unlike are expressed in unlike terms, and, conversely, that things expressed in unlike terms are naturally unlike. In proof of this statement he drags in the words of the Apostle, "One God and Father of whom are all things,... and one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things." "Whatever, then," he goes on, "is the relation of these terms to one another, such will be the relation of the natures indicated by them; and as the term 'of whom' is unlike the term 'by whom,' so is the Father unlike the Son." On this heresy depends the idle subtilty of these men about the phrases in question. They accordingly assign to God the Father, as though it were His distinctive portion and lot, the phrase "of Whom;" to God the Son they confine the phrase '" by Whom;" to the Holy Spirit that of "in Whom," and say that this use of the syllables is never interchanged, in order that. as I have already said, the variation of language may indicate the variation of nature. Verily it is sufficiently obvious that in their quibbling about the words they are endeavoring to maintain the force of their impious argument.

By the term "*of* whom" they wish to indicate the Creator; by the term "*through* whom," the subordinate agent or instrument; by the term "*in* whom," or "in which," they mean to shew the time or place. The object of all this is that the Creator of the universe may be regarded as of no higher dignity than an instrument, and that the Holy Spirit may appear to be adding to existing things nothing more than the contribution derived from place or time.

CHAPTER 3

The systematic discussion of syllables
is derived from heathen philosophy.

5. THEY have, however, been led into this error by their close study of heathen writers, who have respectively applied the terms "*of* whom" and "*through* whom" to things which are by nature distinct. These writers suppose that by the term "*of* whom" or "*of* which" the matter is indicated, while the term "*through* whom" or "*through* which" represents the instrument, or, generally speaking, subordinate agency? Or rather — for there seems no reason why we should not take up their whole argument, and briefly expose at once its incompatibility with the truth and its inconsistency with their own teaching — the students of vain philosophy, while expounding the manifold nature of cause and distinguishing its peculiar significations, define some causes as principal, some as cooperative or con-causal, while others are of the character of "*sine qua non*," or indispensable?

For every one of these they have a distinct and peculiar use of terms, so that the maker is indicated in a different way from the instrument. For the maker they think the proper expression is "*by* whom," maintaining that the bench is produced "*by*" the carpenter; and for the instrument "through which," in that it is produced "*through*" or by means of adze and gimlet and the rest. Similarly they appropriate "of which" to the material, in that the tiring made is "of" wood, while "according to which" shews the design, or pattern put before the craftsman. For he either first makes a mental sketch, and so brings his fancy to bear upon what he is about, or else he looks at a pattern previously put before him, and arranges his work accordingly. The phrase "*on account of* which" they wish to be confined to the end or purpose, the bench, as they say, being produced for, or on account of, the use of man. "*In* which" is supposed to indicate time and place. When was it produced? In this time. And where? In this place. And though place and time contribute nothing to what is being produced, yet without these the production of anything is impossible, for efficient agents must have both place and time. It is these careful distinctions, derived from unpractical philosophy and vain delusion, which our opponents have

first studied and admired, and then transferred to the simple and unsophisticated doctrine of the Spirit, to the belittling of God the Word, and the setting at naught of the Divine Spirit. Even the phrase set apart by non-Christian writers for the case of lifeless instruments or of manual service of the meanest kind, I mean the expression "*through* or *by means of* which," they do not shrink from transferring to the Lord of all, and Christians feel no shame in applying to the Creator of the universe language belonging to a hammer or a saw.

CHAPTER 4

That there is no distinction in the scriptural use of these syllables.

6. WE acknowledge that the word of truth has in many places made use of these expressions; yet we absolutely deny that the freedom of the Spirit is in bondage to the pettiness of Paganism. On the contrary, we maintain that Scripture varies its expressions as occasion requires, according to the circumstances of the case. For instance, the phrase "*of* which" does not always and absolutely, as they suppose, indicate the material, but it is more in accordance with the usage of Scripture to apply this term in the case of the Supreme Cause, as in the words "One God, of whom are all things," and again, "All things of God." The word of truth has, however, frequently used this term in the case of the material, as when it says "Thou shalt make an ark of incorruptible wood;" and "Thou shall make the candlestick of pure gold;" and "The first man is of the earth, earthy; and "Thou art formed out of clay as I am." But these men, to the end, as we have already remarked, that they may establish the difference of nature, have laid down the law that this phrase befits the Father alone. This distinction they have originally derived from heathen authorities, but here they have shewn no faithful accuracy of limitation. To the Son they have in conformity with the teaching of their masters given the title of instrument, and to the Spirit that of place, for they say *in* the Spirit, and *through* the Son. But when they apply "of whom" to God they no longer follow heathen example, but "go over, as they say, to apostolic usage, as it is said, "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus," and "All things of God." What, then, is the result of this systematic discussion? There is one nature of Cause; another of Instrument; another of Place. So the Son is by nature distinct from the Father, as the tool from the craftsman; and the Spirit is distinct in so far as place or time is distinguished from the nature of tools or from that of them that handle them.

CHAPTER 5

That "through whom" is said also in the case of the Father, and "of whom" in the case of the San and of the Spirit.

7. AFTER thus describing the outcome of our adversaries' arguments, we shall now proceed to shew, as we have proposed, that the Father does not first take "of whom" and then abandon "through whom" to the Son; and that there is no truth in these men's ruling that the Son refuses to admit the Holy Spirit to a share in "of whom" or in "through whom," according to the limitation of their new-fangled allotment of phrases. "There is one God and Father of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things."

Yes; but these are the words of a writer not laying down a rule, but carefully distinguishing the hypostases.

The object of the apostle in thus writing was not to introduce the diversity of nature, but to exhibit the notion of Father and of Son as unconfounded. That the phrases are not opposed to one another and do not, like squadrons in war marshaled one against another, bring the natures to which they are applied into mutual conflict, is perfectly, plain from the passage in question. The blessed Paul brings both phrases to bear upon one and the same subject, in the words "of him and through him and to him are all things." That this plainly refers to the Lord will be admitted even by a reader paying but small attention to the meaning of the words. The apostle has just quoted from the prophecy of Isaiah, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counselor, and then goes on, "For of him and from him and to him are all things." That the prophet is speaking about God the Word, the Maker of all creation, may be learnt from what immediately precedes: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his counselor hath taught him?" Now the word "who" in this passage does not mean absolute impossibility, but rarity, as in the passage "Who will rise up for me against the evil doers?" and "What man is he that desireth life?"

and “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?” So is it in the passage in question, “Who hath directed [lxx., known] the Spirit of the Lord, or being his counselor hath known him?” “For the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things.” This is He who holds the earth, and hath grasped it with His hand. who brought all things to order and adornment, who poised the hills in their places, and measured the waters, and gave to all things in the universe their proper rank, who encompasseth the whole of heaven with but a small portion of His power, which, in a figure, the prophet calls a span. Well then did the apostle add “Of him and through him and to him are all things.” For of Him, to all things that are, comes the cause of their being, according to the will of God the Father. Through Him all things have their continuance and constitution, for He created all things, and metes out to each severally what is necessary for its health and preservation. Wherefore to Him all things are turned, looking with irresistible longing and unspeakable affection to “the author” and maintainer” of” their “life,” as it is written “The eyes of all wait upon thee,” and again, “These wait all upon thee,” and “Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.”

8. But if our adversaries oppose this our interpretation, what argument will save them from being caught in their own trap?

For if they will not grant that the three expressions “of him” and “through him” and “to him” are spoken of the Lord, they cannot but be applied to God the Father. Then without question their rule will fall through, for we find not only “of whom,” but also “through whom” applied to the Father. And if this latter phrase indicates nothing derogatory, why in the world should it be confined, as though conveying the sense of inferiority, to the Son? If it always and everywhere implies, ministry, let them tell us to what superior the God of glory and Father of the Christ is subordinate.

They are thus overthrown by their own selves, while our position will be on both sides made sure. Suppose it proved that the passage refers to the Son, “of whom” will be found applicable to the Son. Suppose on the other hand it be insisted that the prophet’s words relate to God, then it will be granted that “through whom” is properly used of God, and both phrases have equal value, in that both are used with equal force of God. Under

either alternative both terms, being employed of one and the same Person, will be shewn to be equivalent. But let us revert to our subject.

9. In his Epistle to the Ephesians the apostle says, “But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body filly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body.”’

And again in the Epistle to the Colossians, to them that have not the knowledge of the Only Begotten, there is mention of him that holdeth “the head,” that is, Christ, “from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered increaseth with the increase of God.” And that Christ is the head of the Church we have learned in another passage, when the apostle says “gave him to be the head over all things to the Church,” and “of his fullness have all we received.” And the Lord Himself says “He shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you.” In a word, the diligent reader will perceive that “of whom” is used in diverse manners. For instance, the Lord says, “I perceive that virtue is gone out of me.” Similarly we have frequently observed “of whom” used of the Spirit. “He that soweth to the spirit,” it is said, “shall of the spirit reap life everlasting.” John too writes, “Hereby we know that he abideth in us by(ἐκ) the spirit which he hath given us.” “That which is conceived in her,” says the angel, “is of the Holy Ghost,” and the Lord says “that which is born of the spirit is spirit.” Such then is the case so far.

10. It must now be pointed out that the phrase “through whom” is admitted by scripture in the case of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost alike. It would indeed be tedious to bring forward evidence of this in the case of the Son, not only because it is perfectly well known, but because this very point is made by our opponents. We now show that “through whom” is used also in the case of the Father. “God is faithful,” it is said, “by whom (δι᾽ οὗ) ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son,” and “Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ by (διά) the will of God;” and again, “Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir through God.” And “like as Christ was raised up from the dead by (διά) the glory of God the Father.” Isaiah, moreover, says, “Woe unto them that make deep counsel and not through the Lord; “ and many proofs

of the use of this phrase in the case of the Spirit might be adduced. “God hath revealed him to us,” it is said, “by (διά) the spirit;” and in another place, “That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by (διά) the Holy Ghost;” and again, “To one is given by (διά) the spirit the word of wisdom.”

11. In the same manner it may also be said of the word “in,” that Scripture admits its use in the case of God the Father. In the Old Testament it is said through (ἐν) God we shall do valiantly, and, “My praise shall be Continually of (ἐν) thee;” and again, “In thy name will I rejoice.” In Paul we read, “In God who created all things,” and, I “Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus unto the church of the Thessalonians in God our Father; “ and “if now at length I might have a prosperous journey by (ἐν) the will of God to come to you;” and, “Thou makest thy boast of God.” Instances are indeed too numerous to reckon; but what we want is not so much to exhibit an abundance of evidence as to prove that the conclusions of our opponents are unsound. I shall, therefore, omit any proof of this usage in the case of our Lord and of the Holy Ghost, in that it is notorious. But I cannot forbear to remark that “the wise hearer” will find sufficient proof of the proposition before him by following the method of contraries. For if the difference of language indicates, as we are told, that the nature has been changed, then let identity of language compel our adversaries to confess with shame that the essence is unchanged.

12. And it is not only in the case of the theology that the use of the terms varies, but whenever one of the terms takes the meaning of the other we find them frequently transferred from the one subject to the other. As, for instance, Adam says, “I have gotten a man *through* God,” meaning to say the same as *from* God; and in another passage “Moses commanded... Israel through the word of the Lord,” and, again, “Is not the interpretation *through* God?” Joseph, discoursing about dreams to the prisoners, instead of saying “*from* God” says plainly “*through* God.” Inversely Paul uses the term “*from* whom” instead of “*through* whom,” when he says “made from a woman” (A.V., “*of*” instead of “*through* a woman”). And this he has plainly distinguished in another passage, where he says that it is proper to a woman to be made of the man, and to a man to be made through the woman, in the words “For as the woman is from [A.V., of] the man, even so is the man also through [A.V., by] the woman.” Nevertheless

in the passage in question the apostle, while illustrating the variety of usage, at the same time corrects *obiter* the error of those who supposed that the body of the Lord was a spiritual body, and, to shew that the God-bearing flesh was formed out of the common lump of human nature, gave precedence to the more emphatic preposition.

The phrase “through a woman” would be likely to give rise to the suspicion of mere transit in the generation, while the phrase “of the woman” would satisfactorily indicate that the nature was shared by the mother and the offspring. The apostle was in no wise contradicting himself, but he shewed that the words can without difficulty be interchanged. Since, therefore, the term “from whom” is transferred to the identical subjects in the case of which “through whom” is decided to be properly used, with what consistency can these phrases be invariably distinguished one from the other, in order that fault may be falsely found with true religion?

CHAPTER 6

Issue joined with those who assert that the Son is not with the Father, but after the Father. Also concerning the equal glory.

13. OUR opponents, while they thus artfully and perversely encounter our argument, cannot even have recourse to the plea of ignorance. It is obvious that they are annoyed with us for completing the doxology to the Only Begotten together with the Father, and for not separating the Holy Spirit from the Son. On this account they style us innovators, revolutionizers, phrase-coiners, and every other possible name of insult. But so far am I from being irritated at their abuse, that, were it not for the fact that their loss causes me "heaviness and continual sorrow," I could almost have said that I was grateful to them for the blasphemy, as though they were agents for providing me with blessing. For "blessed are ye," it is said, "when men shall revile you for my sake." The grounds of their indignation are these: The Son, according to them, is not together with the Father, but after the Father. Hence it follows that glory should be ascribed to the Father "*through* him," but not "*with* him;" inasmuch as "*with* him" expresses equality of dignity, while "*through* him" denotes subordination. They further assert that the Spirit is not to be ranked along with the Father and the Son, but under the Son and the Father; not coordinated, but subordinated; not connumerated, but subnumerated.

With technical terminology of this kind they pervert the simplicity and artlessness of the faith, and thus by their ingenuity, suffering no one else to remain in ignorance, they cut off from themselves the plea that ignorance might demand.

14. Let us first ask them this question: In what sense do they say that the Son is "after the Father;" later in time, or in order, or in dignity? But in time no one is so devoid of sense as to assert that the Maker of the ages holds a second place, when no interval intervenes in the natural conjunction of the Father with the Son. And indeed so far as our conception of human relations goes, it is impossible to think of the Son as being later than the Father, not only from the fact that Father and Son are mutually conceived of in accordance with the relationship subsisting

between them, but because posteriority in time is predicated of subjects separated by a less interval from the present, and priority of subjects farther off. For instance, what happened in Noah's time is prior to what happened to the men of Sodom, inasmuch as Noah is more remote from our own day; and, again, the events of the history of the men of Sodom are posterior, because they seem in a sense to approach nearer to our own day. But, in addition to its being a breach of true religion, is it not really the extremest folly to measure the existence of the life which transcends all time and all the ages by its distance from the present? Is it not as though God the Father could be compared with, and be made superior to, God the Son, who exists before the ages, precisely in the same way in which things liable to beginning and corruption are described as prior to one another?

The superior remoteness of the Father is really inconceivable, in that thought and intelligence are wholly impotent to go beyond the generation of the Lord; and St. John has admirably confined the conception within circumscribed boundaries by two words, "In the *beginning was* the Word." For thought cannot travel outside "*was*," nor imagination beyond "*beginning.*" Let your thought travel ever so far backward you cannot get beyond the "*was*," and however you may strain and strive to see what is beyond the Son, you will find it impossible to get further than the "*beginning*". True religion, therefore, thus teaches us to think of the Son together with the Father.

15. If they really conceive of a kind of degradation of the Son in relation to the Father, as though He were in a lower place, so that the Father sits above, and the Son is thrust off to the next seat below, let them confess what they mean. We shall have no more to say. A plain statement of the view will at once expose its absurdity. They who refuse to allow that the Father pervades all things do not so much as maintain the logical sequence of thought in their argument. The faith of the sound is that God fills all things; but they who divide their up and down between the Father and the Son do not remember even the word of the Prophet: "If I climb up into heaven thou art there; if I go down to hell thou art there also." Now, to omit all proof of the ignorance of those who predicate place of incorporeal things, what excuse can be found for their attack upon Scripture, shameless as their antagonism is, in the passages "Sit thou on my right hand " and "Sat down on the right hand of the majesty of God"? The

expression “right hand” does not, as they contend, indicate the lower place, but equality of relation; it is not understood physically, in which case there might be something sinister about God, but Scripture puts before us the magnificence of the dignity of the Son by the use of dignified language indicating the seat of honor. It is left then for our opponents to allege that this expression signifies inferiority of rank. Let them learn that “Christ is the power of God and wisdom of God,” and that “He is the image of the invisible God “ and “brightness of his glory,” and that “Him hath God the Father sealed,” by engraving Himself on Him.

Now are we to call these passages, and others like them, throughout the whole of Holy Scripture, proofs of humiliation, or rather public proclamations of the majesty of the Only Begotten, and of the equality of His glory with the Father? We ask them to listen to the Lord Himself, distinctly setting forth the equal dignity of His glory with the Father, in His words, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;” and again, “When the Son cometh in the glory of his Father;” that they “should honor the Son even as they honor the Father;” and, “We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father;” and “the only begotten God which is in the bosom of the Father.” Of all these passages they take no account, and then assign to the Son the place set apart for His foes. A father’s bosom is a fit and becoming seat for a son, but the place of the footstool is for them that have to be forced to fall.

We have only touched cursorily on these proofs, because our object is to pass on to other points. You at your leisure can put together the items of the evidence, and then contemplate the height of the glory and the preeminence of the power of the Only Begotten. However, to the well-disposed bearer, even these are not insignificant, unless the terms “right hand” and “bosom” be accepted in a physical and derogatory sense, so as at once to circumscribe God in local limits, and invent form, mold, and bodily position, all of which are totally distinct from the idea of the absolute, the infinite, and the incorporeal. There is moreover the fact that what is derogatory in the idea of it is the same in the case both of the Father and the Son; so that whoever repeats these arguments does not take away the dignity of the Son, but does incur the charge of blaspheming the Father; for whatever audacity a man be guilty of against the Son he cannot but transfer to the Father. If he assigns to the Father the upper place by

way of precedence, and asserts that the only begotten Son sits below, he will find that to the creature of his imagination attach all the consequent conditions of body. And if these are the imaginations of drunken delusion and frenzied insanity, can it be consistent with true religion for men taught by the Lord himself that “He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father” to refuse to worship and glorify with the Father him who in nature, in glory, and in dignity is conjoined with him? What shall we say? What just defense shall we have in the day of the awful universal judgment of all-creation, if, when the Lord clearly announces that He will come “in the glory of his Father;” when Stephen beheld Jesus standing at the right hand of God; when Paul testified in the spirit concerning Christ “that he is at the right hand of God;” when the Father says, “Sit thou on my right hand;” when the Holy Spirit bears witness that he has sat down on “the right hand of the majesty” of God; we attempt to degrade him who shares the honor and the throne, from his condition of equality, to a lower state? Standing and sitting, I apprehend, indicate the fixity and entire stability of the nature, as Baruch, when he wishes to exhibit the immutability and immobility of the Divine mode of existence, says, “For thou sittest for ever and we perish utterly.” Moreover, the place on the right hand indicates in my judgment equality of honor. Rash, then, is the attempt to deprive the Son of participation in the doxology, as though worthy only to be ranked in a lower place of honor.

CHAPTER 7

Against those who assert that it is not proper for "with whom" to be said of the Son, and that the proper phrase is "through whom."

16. BUT their contention is that to use the phrase" with him" is altogether strange and unusual, while "through him" is at once most familiar in Holy Scripture, and very common in the language of the brotherhood. What is our answer to this? We say, Blessed are the ears that have not heard you and the hearts that have been kept from the wounds of your words. To you, on the other hand, who are lovers of Christ, I say that the Church recognizes both uses, and deprecates neither as subversive of the other. For whenever we are contemplating the majesty of the nature of the Only Begotten, and the excellence of His dignity, we bear witness that the glory is *with* the Father; while on the other hand, whenever we bethink us of His bestowal on us of good gifts, and of our access to, and admission into, the household of God, we confess that this grace is effected for us *through* Him and *by* Him.

It follows that the one phrase "*with* whom" is the proper one to be used in the ascription of glory, while the other, "*through* whom," is specially appropriate in giving of thanks. It is also quite untrue to allege that the phrase "*with* whom" is unfamiliar in the usage of the devout. All those whose soundness of character leads them to hold the dignity of antiquity to be more honorable than mere new-fangled novelty, and who have preserved the tradition of their fathers unadulterated, alike in town and in country, have employed this phrase. It is, on the contrary, they who are surfeited with the familiar and the customary, and arrogantly assail the old as stale, who welcome innovation, just as in dress your lovers of display always prefer some utter novelty to what is generally worn. So you may even still see that the language of country folk preserves the ancient fashion, while of these, our cunning experts in logomachy, the language bears the brand of the new philosophy.

What our fathers said, the same say we, that the glory of the Father and of the Son is common; wherefore we offer the doxology to the Father *with* the Son. But we do not rest only on the fact that such is the tradition of the

Fathers; for they too followed the sense of Scripture, and started from the evidence which, a few sentences back, I deduced from Scripture and laid before you. For “the brightness” is always thought of with “the glory,” “the image” with the archetype, and the Son always and everywhere together with the Father; nor does even the close connection of the names, much less the nature of the things, admit of separation.

CHAPTER 8

In how many ways "Through whom "is used; and in what sense "With whom" is more suitable. Explanation of how the Son receives a commandment, and how late is sent.

17. When, then, the apostle "thanks God through Jesus Christ," and again says that "through Him" we have "received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith among all nations," or "through Him have access unto this grace wherein we stand and rejoice," he sets forth the boons conferred on us by the Son, at one time making the grace of the good gifts pass through from the Father to us, and at another bringing us to the Father through Himself. For by saying "through whom we have received grace and apostleship," he declares the supply of the good gifts to proceed from that source; and again in saying "through whom we have had access," he sets forth our acceptance and being made "of the household of God" through Christ. Is then the confession of the grace wrought by Him to upward a detraction from His glory? Is it not truer to say that the recital of His benefits is a proper argument for glorifying Him? It is on this account that we have not found Scripture describing the Lord to us by one name, nor even by such terms alone as are indicative of His godhead and majesty. At one time it uses terms descriptive of His nature, for it recognizes the "name which is above every name," the name of Son, and speaks of true Son, and only begotten God, and Power of God, and Wisdom, and Word. Then again, on account of the divers manners wherein grace is given to us, which, because of the riches of His goodness, according to his manifold wisdom, he bestows on them that need, Scripture designates Him by innumerable other titles, calling Him Shepherd, King Physician, Bridegroom, Way, Door, Fountain, Bread, Axe, and Rock. And these, titles do not set forth His nature, but, as I have remarked, the variety of the effectual working which, out of His tender-heartedness to His own creation, according to the peculiar necessity of each, He bestows upon them that need. Them that have fled for refuge to His ruling care, and through patient endurance have mended their wayward ways, He calls "sheep," and confesses Himself to be, to them that hear His voice and refuse to give heed to strange teaching, a

“shepherd.” For “my sheep, He says, “hear my voice.” To them that have now reached a higher stage and stand in need of righteous royalty, He is a King.

And in that, through the straight way of His commandments, He leads men to good actions, and again because He safely shuts in all who through faith in Him betake themselves for shelter to the blessing of the higher wisdom, He is a Door.

So He says, “By me if any man enter in,... he shall go in and out and shall find pasture.” Again, because to the faithful He is a defense strong, unshaken, and harder to break than any bulwark, He is a Rock. Among these titles, it is when He is styled Door, or Way, that the phrase “through Him” is very appropriate and plain. As, however, God and Son, He is glorified with and together with the Father, in that “at, the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.” Wherefore we use both terms, expressing by the one His own proper dignity, and by the other His grace to usward.

18. For “through Him” comes every succor to our souls, and it is in accordance with each kind of care that an appropriate title has been devised. So when He presents to Himself the blameless soul, not having spot or wrinkle, like a pure maiden, He is called Bridegroom, but whenever He receives one in sore plight from the devil’s evil strokes, healing it in the heavy infirmity of its sins, He is named Physician. And shall this His care for us degrade to meanness our thoughts of Him? Or, on the contrary, shall it smite us with amazement at once at the mighty power and love to man of the Savior, in that He both endured to suffer with us in our infirmities, and was able to come down to our weakness? For not heaven and earth and the great seas, not the creatures that live in the water and on dry land, not plants, and stars, and air, and seasons, not the vast variety in the order of the universe, so well sets forth the excellency of His might as that God, being incomprehensible, should have been able, impassibly, through flesh, to have come into close conflict with death, to the end that by His own suffering He might give us the boon of freedom from suffering. The apostle, it is true, says, “In all these things we are more than conquerors

through him that loved us.” But in a phrase of this kind there is no suggestion of any lowly and subordinate ministry, but rather of the succor rendered “in the power of his might.” For He Himself has bound the strong man and spoiled his goods, that is, us men, whom our enemy had abused in every evil activity, and made “vessels meet for the Master’s use “ us who have been perfected for every work through the making ready of that part of us which is in our own control. Thus we have had our approach to the Father through Him, being translated from “the power of darkness to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.” We must not, however, regard the oeconomy through the Son as a compulsory and subordinate ministration resulting from the low estate of a slave, but rather the voluntary solicitude working effectually for His own creation in goodness and in pity, according to the will of God the Father. For we shall be consistent with true religion if in all that was and is from tithe to time perfected by Him, we both bear witness to the perfection of His power, and in no case put it asunder from the Father’s will. For instance, whenever the Lord is called the Way, we are carried on to a higher meaning, and not to that which is derived from the vulgar sense of the word. We understand by Way that advance to perfection which is made stage by stage, and in regular order, through the works of righteousness and” the illumination of knowledge;” ever longing after what is before, and reaching forth unto those things which remain, until we shall have reached the blessed end, the knowledge of God, which the Lord through Himself bestows on them that have trusted in Him. For our Lord is an essentially good Way, where erring and straying are unknown, to that which is essentially good, to the Father. For “no one,” He says, “cometh to the Father but [“by” A.V.] through me.”Such is our way up to God “through the Son.”

19. It will follow that we should next in order point out the character of the provision of blessings bestowed on us by the Father “through him.” Inasmuch as all created nature, both this visible world and all that is conceived of in the mind, cannot hold together without the care and providence of God, the Creator Word, the Only begotten God, apportioning His succor according to the measure of the needs of each, distributes mercies various and manifold on account of the many kinds and characters of the recipients of His bounty, but appropriate to the

necessities of individual requirements. Those that are confined in the darkness of ignorance He enlightens: for this reason He is true Light. Portioning requital in accordance with the desert of deeds, He judges: for this reason He is righteous Judge. “For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son.” Those that have lapsed from the lofty height of life into sin He raises from their fall: for this reason He is Resurrection. Effectually working by the much of His power and the will of His goodness He does all things. He shepherds; He enlightens; He nourishes; He heals; He guides; He raises up; He calls into being things that were not; He upholds what has been created. Thus the good things that come from God reach us “through the Son,” who works in each case with greater speed than speech can utter. For not lightnings, not light’s course in air, is so swift; not eyes’ sharp turn, not the movements of our very thought. Navy by the divine energy is each one of these in speed further surpassed than is the slowest of all living creatures outdone in motion by birds, or even winds, or the rush of the heavenly bodies: or, not to mention these, by our very thought itself. For what extent of time is needed by Him who “upholds all things by the word of His power, “ and works not by bodily agency, nor requires the help of hands to form and fashion, but holds in obedient following and unforced consent the nature of all things that are? So as Judith says, “Thou hast thought, and what things thou didst determine were ready at hand.” On the other hand, and test we should ever be drawn away by the greatness of the works wrought to imagine that the Lord is without beginning, what saith the Self-Existent? “I live through [by, A.V.] the Father, “ and the power of God; “The Son hath power [can, A.V.] to do nothing of himself. ““ And the self-complete Wisdom? I received “a commandment what I should say and what I should speak.” Through all these words He is guiding us to the knowledge of the Father, and referring our wonder at all that is brought into existence to Him, to the end that “through Him” we may know the Father. For the Father is not regarded from the difference of the operations, by the exhibition of a separate and peculiar energy; for whatsoever things He sees the Father doing, “these also doeth the Son likewise; “ but He enjoys our wonder at all that comes to pass out of the glory which comes to Him from the Only Begotten, rejoicing in the Doer Himself as well as in the greatness of the deeds, and exalted by all who acknowledge Him as Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, “through whom [by whom, A.V.] are all things,

and for whom are all things.” Wherefore, saith the Lord, “All mine are thine,” as though the sovereignty over created things were conferred on Him, and “Thine are mine,” as though the creating Cause came thence to Him. We are not to suppose that He used assistance in His action, or yet was entrusted with the ministry of each individual work by detailed commission, a condition distinctly menial and quite inadequate to the divine dignity. Rather was the Word full of His Father’s excellences; He shines forth from the Father, and does all things according to the likeness of Him that begat Him. For if in essence He is without variation, so also is He without variation in power. And of those whose power is equal, the operation also is in all ways equal. And Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God. And so “all things are made through [by, A.V.] him,” and “all things were created through [by, A.V.] him and for him,” not in the discharge of any slavish service, but in the fulfillment of the Father’s will as Creator.

20. When then He says, “I have not spoken of myself,” and again, “As the Father said unto me, so I speak,” and” The word which ye hear is not mine. but [the Father’s] which sent me,” and in another place, “As the Father gave me commandment, even so I do,” it is not because He lacks deliberate purpose or power of initiation, nor yet because He has to wait for the preconcerted key-note, that he employs language of this kind. His object is to make it plain that His own will is connected in indissoluble union with the Father. Do not then let us understand by what is called a “commandment” a peremptory mandate delivered by organs of speech, and giving orders to the Son, as to a subordinate, concerning what He ought to do. Let us rather, in a sense befitting the Godhead, perceive a transmission of will, like the reflection of an object in a mirror, passing without note of time from Father to Son. “For the Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things,” so that “all things that the Father hath” belong to the Son, not gradual accruing to Him little by little, but with Him all together and at once. Among men, the workman who has been thoroughly taught his craft, and, through long training, has sure and established experience in it, is able, in accordance with the scientific methods which now he has in store, to work for the future by himself. And are we to suppose that the wisdom of God, the Maker of all creation, He who is eternally perfect, who is wise, without a teacher, the Power of

God, “in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,” needs piecemeal instruction to mark out the manner and measure of His operations? I presume that in the vanity of your calculations, you mean to open a school; you will make the one take His seat in the teacher’s place, and the other stand by in a scholars ignorance, gradually learning wisdom and advancing to perfection, by lessons given Him bit by bit. Hence, if you have sense to abide by what logically follows, you will find the Son being eternally taught, nor yet ever able to reach the end of perfection, inasmuch as the wisdom of the Father is infinite, and the end of the infinite is beyond apprehension. It results that whoever refuses to grant that the Son has all things from the beginning will never grant that He will reach perfection. But I am ashamed at the degraded conception to which, by the course of the argument, I have been brought down. Let us therefore revert to the loftier themes of our discussion.

21. “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; not the express image, nor yet the form, for the divine nature does not admit of combination; but the goodness of the will, which, being concurrent with the essence, is beheld as like and equal, or rather the same, in the Father as in the Son.

What then is meant by “became subject”? What by “delivered him up”? It is meant that the Son has it of the Father that He works in goodness on behalf of men. But you must hear too the words, “Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law;” and “while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.”

Give careful heed, too, to the words of the Lord, and note how, whenever He instructs us about His Father, He is in the habit of using terms of personal authority, saying,” I will; be thou clean;” and “Peace, be still;” and “But I say unto you;” and “Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee;” and all other expressions of the same kind, in order that by these we may recognize our Master and Maker, and by the former may be taught the Father of our Master and Creator. Thus on all sides is demonstrated the true doctrine that the fact that the Father creates through the Son neither constitutes the creation of the Father imperfect nor exhibits the active energy of the Son as feeble, but indicates the unity of the will; so the expression “through whom” contains a confession of an antecedent Cause, and is not adopted in objection to the efficient Cause.

CHAPTER 9

Definitive conceptions about the Spirit which conform to the teaching of the Scriptures.

22. LET us now investigate what are our common conceptions concerning the Spirit, as well those which have been gathered by us from Holy Scripture concerning It as those which we have received from the unwritten tradition of t he Fathers. First of all we ask, who on hearing the titles of the Spirit is not lifted up in soul, who does not raise his conception to the supreme nature? It is called "Spirit of God," "Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father," "right Spirit," "a leading Spirit." Its proper and peculiar title is "Holy Spirit;" which is a name specially appropriate to everything that is incorporeal, purely immaterial, and indivisible. So our Lord, when teaching the woman who thought God to be an object of local worship that the incorporeal is incomprehensible, said "God is a spirit." On our hearing, then, of a spirit, it is impossible to form the idea of a nature circumscribed, subject to change and variation, or at all like the creature. We are compelled to advance in our conceptions to the highest, and to think of an intelligent essence, in power infinite, in magnitude unlimited, unmeasured by times or ages, generous of It's good gifts, to whom turn all things needing sanctification, after whom reach all things that live in virtue, as being watered by It's inspiration and helped on toward their natural and proper end; perfecting all other things, but Itself in nothing lacking; living not as needing restoration, but as Supplier of life; not growing by additions; but straightway full, self-established, omnipresent, origin of sanctification, light perceptible to the mind, supplying, as it were, through Itself, illumination to every faculty in the search for truth; by nature unapproachable, apprehended by reason of goodness, filling all things with Its power, but communicated only to the worthy; not shared in one measure, but distributing Its energy according to "the proportion of faith;" in essence simple, in powers various, wholly present in each and being wholly everywhere; impassively divided, shared without loss of ceasing to be entire, after the likeness of the sunbeam, whose kindly light falls on him who enjoys it as though it shone for him alone, yet illumines land and sea and mingles with the air. So, too, is the

Spirit to every one who receives it, as though given to him alone, and yet It sends forth grace sufficient and full for all mankind, and is enjoyed by all who share It, according to the capacity, not of Its power, but of their nature.

23. Now the Spirit is not brought into intimate association with the soul by local approximation. How indeed could there be a corporeal approach to the incorporeal? This association results from the withdrawal of the passions which, coming afterwards gradually on the soul from its friendship to the flesh, have alienated it from its close relationship with God. Only then after a man is purified from the shame whose stain he took through his wickedness, and has come back again to his natural beauty, and as it were cleaning the Royal Image and restoring its ancient form, only thus is it possible for him to draw near to the Paraclete. And He, like the sun, will by the aid of thy purified eye show thee in Himself the image of the invisible, and in the blessed spectacle of the image thou shalt behold the unspeakable beauty of the archetype. Through His aid hearts are lifted up, the weak are held by the hand, and they who are advancing are brought to perfection. Shining upon those that are cleansed from every spot, He makes them spiritual by fellowship with Himself. Just as when a sunbeam falls on bright and transparent bodies, they themselves become brilliant too, and shed forth a fresh brightness from themselves, so souls wherein the Spirit dwells, illuminated by the Spirit, themselves become spiritual, and send forth their grace to others. Hence comes foreknowledge of the future, understanding of mysteries, apprehension of what is hidden, distribution of good gifts, the heavenly citizenship, a place in the chorus of angels, joy without end, abiding in God, the being made like to God, and, highest of all, the being made God. Such, then, to instance a few out of many, are the conceptions concerning the Holy Spirit, which we have been taught to hold concerning His greatness, His dignity, and His operations, by the oracles of the Spirit themselves.

CHAPTER 10

Against those who say that it is not right to rank the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son.

24. BUT we must proceed to attack our opponents, in the endeavor to confute those "oppositions" advanced against us which are derived from "knowledge falsely so-called.")

It is not permissible, they assert, for the Holy Spirit to be ranked with the Father and Son, on account of the difference of His nature and the inferiority of His dignity. Against them it is right to reply in the words of the apostles, "We ought to obey God rather than men,"

For if our Lord, when enjoining the baptism of salvation, charged His disciples to baptize all nations in the name "of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," not disdaining fellowship with Him, and these men allege that we must not rank Him with the Father and the Son, is it not clear that they openly withstand the commandment of God? If they deny that coordination of this kind is declaratory of any fellowship and conjunction, let them tell us why it behooves us to hold this opinion, and what more intimate mode of conjunction they have.

If the Lord did not indeed conjoin the Spirit with the Father and Himself in baptism, do not let them lay the blame of conjunction upon us, for we neither hold nor say anything different. If on the contrary the Spirit is there conjoined with the Father and the Son, and no one is so shameless as to say anything else, then let them not lay blame on us for following the words of Scripture.

25. But all the apparatus of war has been got ready against us; every intellectual missile is aimed at us; and now blasphemers' tongues shoot and hit and hit again, yet harder than Stephen of old was smitten by the killers of the Christ. And do not let them succeed in concealing the fact that, while an attack on us serves for a pretext for the war, the real aim of these proceedings is higher. It is against us, they say, that they are preparing their engines and their snares; against us that they are shouting to one another, according to each one's strength or cunning, to come on. But the object of attack is faith. The one aim of the whole band of

opponents and enemies of “sound doctrine” is to shake down the foundation of the faith of Christ by leveling apostolic tradition with the ground, and utterly destroying it. So like the debtors, — of course *bona fide* debtors. — they clamor for written proof, and reject as worthless the unwritten tradition of the Fathers. But we will not slacken in our de fence of the truth. We will not cowardly abandon the cause. The Lord has delivered to us as a necessary and saving doctrine that the Holy Spirit is to be ranked with the Father. Our opponents think differently, and see fit to divide and rend asunder, and relegate Him to the nature of a ministering spirit. Is it not then indisputable that they make their own blasphemy more authoritative than the law prescribed by the Lord? Come, then, set aside mere contention. Let us consider the points before us, as follows:

26. Whence is it that we are Christians? Through our faith, would be the universal answer. And in what way are we saved? Plainly because we were regenerate through the grace given in our baptism. How else could we be? And after recognizing that this salvation is established through the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, shall we fling away “that form of doctrine” which we received? Would it not rather be ground for great groaning if we are found now further off from our salvation “than when we first believed,” and deny now what we then received? Whether a man have departed this life without baptism, or have received a baptism lacking in some of the requirements of the tradition, his loss is equal. And whoever does not always and everywhere keep to and hold fast as a sure protection the confession which we recorded at our first admission, when, being delivered “from the idols,” we came “to the living Gods” constitutes himself a “stranger” from the “promises” of God, fighting against his own handwriting, which he put on record when he professed the faith. For if to me my baptism was the beginning of life, and that day of regeneration the first of days, it is plain that the utterance uttered in the grace of adoption was the most honorable of all. Can I then, perverted by these men’s seductive words, abandon the tradition which guided me to the light, which bestowed on me the boon of the knowledge of God, whereby I, so long a foe by reason of sin, was made a child of God? But, for myself, I pray that with this confession I may depart hence to the Lord, and them I charge to preserve the faith secure until the day of Christ, and to keep the Spirit undivided from the Father and the Son, preserving, both in the confession of faith and in the doxology, the doctrine taught them at their baptism.

CHAPTER 11

That they who deny the Spirit are transgressors.

27. "Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow?" For whom is distress and darkness? For whom eternal doom? Is it not for the trangressors? For them that deny the faith? And what is the proof of their denial? Is it not that they have set at naught their own confessions? And when and what did they confess? Belief in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost, when they renounced the devil and his angels, and uttered those saving words. What fit title then for them has been discovered, for the children of light to use? Are they not addressed as transgressors, as having violated the covenant of their salvation? What am I to call the denial of God? What the denial of Christ? What but transgressions? And to him who denies the Spirit, what title do you wish me to apply? Must it not be the same, inasmuch as he has broken his covenant with God? And when the confession of faith in Him secures the blessing of true religion. and its denial subjects men to the doom of godlessness, is it not a fearful thing for them to set the confession at naught, not through fear of fire, or sword, or cross, or scourge, or wheel, or rack, but merely led astray by the sophistry and seductions of the pneumatomachi? I testify to every man who is confessing Christ and denying God, that Christ will profit him nothing; to every man that calls upon God but rejects the Son, that his faith is vain; to every man that sets aside the Spirit, that his faith in the Father and the Son will be useless, for he cannot even hold it without the presence of the Spirit. For he who does not believe the Spirit does not believe in the Son, and he who has not believed in the Son does not believe in the Father. For none "can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost," and "No man hath seen God at any time, but the only begotten God which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

Such an one hath neither part nor lot in the true worship; for it is impossible to worship the Son, save by the Holy Ghost; impossible to call upon the Father, save by the Spirit of adoption.

CHAPTER 12

Against those who assert that the baptism in the name of the Father alone is sufficient.

28. LET no one be misled by the fact of the apostle's frequently omitting the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit when making mention of baptism, or on this account imagine that the invocation of the names is not observed. "As many of you," he says, "as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ;"and again, "As many of you as were baptized into Christ were baptized into his death." For the naming of Christ is the confession of the whole, shewing forth as it does the God who gave, the Son who received, and the Spirit who is, the unction. So we have learned from Peter, in the Acts, of "Jesus of Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost; and in Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me;" and the Psalmist, "Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Scripture, however, in the case of baptism, sometimes plainly mentions the Spirit alone.

"For into one Spirit," it says, "we were. all baptized in one body." And in harmony with this are the passages: "You shaft be baptized with the Holy Ghost," and "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." But no one on this account would be justified in calling that baptism a perfect baptism wherein only the name of the Spirit was invoked. For the tradition that has been given us by the quickening grace must remain for ever inviolate. He who redeemed our life from destruction gave us power of renewal, whereof the cause is ineffable and hidden in mystery, but bringing great salvation to our souls, so that to add or to take away anything involves manifestly a falling away from the life everlasting. If then in baptism the separation of the Spirit from the Father and the Son is perilous to the baptizer, and of no advantage to the baptized, how can the rending asunder of the Spirit from Father and from Son be safe for us? Faith and baptism are two kindred and inseparable ways of salvation: faith is perfected through baptism, baptism is established through faith, and both are completed by the same names. For as we believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, so are we also baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; first comes the confession, introducing us to salvation, and baptism follows, setting the seal upon our assent.

CHAPTER 13

Statement of the reason why in the writings of Paul the angels are associated with the Father and the Son.

29. It is, however, objected that other beings which are enumerated with the Father and the Son are certainly not always glorified together with them. The apostle, for instance, in his charge to Timothy, associates the angels with them in the words, “I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the elect angels.” We are not for alienating the angels from the rest of creation, and yet, it is argued, we do not allow of their being reckoned with the Father and the Son. To this I reply, although the argument, so obviously absurd is it, does not really deserve a reply, that possibly before a mild and gentle judge, and especially before One who by His leniency to those arraigned before Him demonstrates the unimpeachable equity of His decisions, one might be willing to offer as witness even a fellow-slave; but for a slave to be made free and called a son of God and quickened from death can only be brought about by Him who has acquired natural kinship with us, and has been changed from the rank of a slave. For how can we be made kin with God by one who is an alien? How can we be freed by one who is himself under the yoke of slavery? It follows that the mention of the Spirit and that of angels are not made under like conditions. The Spirit is called on as Lord of life, and the angels as allies of their fellow-slaves and faithful witnesses of the truth. It is customary for the saints to deliver the commandments of God in the presence of witnesses, as also the apostle himself says to Timothy, “The things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men;” and now he calls the angels to witness, for he knows that angels shall be present with the Lord when He shall come in the glory of His Father to judge the world in righteousness. For He says, “Whoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the angels of God, but he that denieth Me before men shall be denied before the angels of God;” and Paul in another place says,” When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his angels.” Thus he already testifies before the angels, preparing good proofs for himself at the great tribunal.

30. And not only Paul, but generally all those to whom is committed any ministry of the word, never cease from testifying, but call heaven and earth to witness on the ground that now every deed that is done is done within them, and that in the examination of all the actions of life they will be present with the judged. So it is said, “He shall call to the heavens above and to earth, that he may judge his people.” And so Moses when about to deliver his oracles to the people says, “I call heaven and earth to witness this day;” and again in his song he says, “Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth;” and Isaiah, “Hear, O heavens. and give ear, O earth;” and Jeremiah describes astonishment in heaven at the tidings of the unholy deeds of the people: “The heaven was astonished at this, and was horribly afraid, because my people committed two evils.” And so the apostle, knowing the angels to be set over men as tutors and guardians, calls them to witness. Moreover, Joshua, the son of Nun, even set up a stone as witness of his words (already a heap somewhere had been called a witness by Jacob), for he says, “Behold this stone shall be a witness unto you this day to the end of days, when ye lie to the Lord our God,” perhaps believing that by God’s power even the stones would speak to the conviction of the transgressors; or, if not, that at least each man’s conscience would be wounded by the force of the reminder. In this manner they who have been entrusted with the stewardship of souls provide witnesses, whatever they may be, so as to produce them at some future day. But the Spirit is ranked together with God, not on account of the emergency of the moment, but on account of the natural fellowship; is not dragged in by us, but invited by the Lord.

CHAPTER 14

Objection that some were baptized unto Moses and believed in him, and an answer to it; with remarks upon types.

31. BUT even if some are baptized unto the Spirit, it is not, it is urged, on this account right for the Spirit to be ranked with God. Some "were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea." And it is admitted that faith even before now has been put in men; for "The people believed God and his servant Moses." Why then, it is asked, do we, on account of faith and of baptism, exalt and magnify the Holy Spirit so far above creation, when there is evidence that the same things have before now been said of men? What, then, shall we reply? Our answer is that the faith in the Spirit is the same as the faith in the Father and the Son; and in like manner, too, the baptism. But the faith in Moses and in the cloud is, as it were, in a shadow and type. The nature of the divine is very frequently represented by the rough and shadowy outlines of the types; but because divine things are prefigured by small and human things, it is obvious that we must not therefore conclude the divine nature to be small. The type is an exhibition of things expected, and gives an imitative anticipation of the future. So Adam was a type of "Him that was to come." Typically, "That rock was Christ;" and the water a type of the living power of the word; as He says, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." The manna is a type of the living bread that came down from heaven; and the serpent on the standard, of the passion of salvation accomplished by means of the cross, wherefore they who even looked thereon were preserved. So in like manner, the history of the exodus of Israel is recorded to shew forth those who are being saved through baptism. For the firstborn of the Israelites were preserved, like the bodies of the baptized, by the giving of grace to them that were marked with blood. For the blood of the sheep is a type of the blood of Christ; and the firstborn, a type of the first-formed. And inasmuch as the first-formed of necessity exists in us, and, in sequence of succession, is transmitted till the end, it follows that "in Adam" we "all die," and that "death reigned" until the fulfilling of the law and the coming of Christ. And the firstborn were preserved by God from being touched by the destroyer, to show that we who were made alive in Christ no longer die in Adam. The sea and the cloud for the time being led on through

amazement to faith, but for the time to come they typically prefigured the grace to be. “Who is wise and he shall understand these things?” — how the sea is typically a baptism bringing about the departure of Pharaoh. in like manner as this washing causes the departure of the tyranny of the devil. The sea slew the enemy in itself: and in baptism too dies our enmity towards God. From the sea the people came out unharmed: we too, as it were, alive from the dead, step up from the water “saved” by the “grace” of Him who called us. And the cloud is a shadow of the gift of the Spirit, who cools the flame of our passions by the “mortification” of our “members.”

32. What then? Because they were typically baptized unto Moses, is the grace of baptism therefore small? Were it so, and if we were in each ease to prejudice the dignity of our privileges by comparing them with their types, not even one of these privileges could be reckoned great; then not the love of God, who gave His only begotten Son for our sins, would be great and extraordinary, because Abraham did not spare his own son; then even the passion of the Lord would not be glorious, because a sheep typified the offering instead of Isaac; then the descent into hell was not fearful, because Jonah had previously typified the death in three days and three nights. The same prejudicial comparison is made also in the case of baptism by all who judge of the reality by the shadow, and, comparing the typified with the type, attempt by means of Moses and the sea to disparage at once the whole dispensation of the Gospel. What remission of sins, what renewal of life, is there in the sea? What spiritual gift is there through Moses? What dying of sins is there? Those men did not die with Christ; wherefore they were not raised with Him. They did not “bear the image of the heavenly;” they did “bear about in the body the dying of Jesus;” they did not “put off the old man;” they did not “put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him which created him.” Why then do you compare baptisms which have only the name in common, while the distinction between the things themselves is as great as might be that of dream and reality, that of shadow and figures with substantial existence?

33. But belief in Moses not only does not show our belief in the Spirit to be worthless. but, if we adopt our opponents’ line of argument, it rather weakens our confession in the God of the universe. “The people,” it is written, “believed the Lord and his servant Moses.” Moses then is joined

with God, not with the Spirit; and he was a type not of the Spirit, but of Christ. For at that time in the ministry of the law, he by means of himself typified "the Mediator between God and men." Moses, when mediating for the people in things pertaining to God, was not a minister of the Spirit; for the law was given, "ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator," namely Moses, in accordance with the summons of the people, "Speak thou with us,... but let not God speak with us." Thus faith in Moses is referred to the Lord, the Mediator between God and men, who said, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me." Is then our faith in the Lord a trifle, because it was signified beforehand through Moses? So then, even if men were baptized unto Moses, it does not follow that the grace given of the Spirit in baptism is small. I may point out, too, that it is usual in Scripture to say Moses and the law, as in the passage, "They have Moses and the prophets." When therefore it is meant to speak of the baptism of the law, the words are, "They were baptized unto Moses." Why then do these calumniators of the truth, by means of the shadow and the types, endeavor to bring contempt and ridicule on the "rejoicing" of our "hope," and the rich gift of our God and Savior, who through regeneration renews our youth like the eagle's? Surely it is altogether childish, and like a babe who must needs be fed on milk, to be ignorant of the great mystery of our salvation; inasmuch as, in accordance with the gradual progress of our education, while being brought to perfection in our training for godliness, we were first taught elementary and easier lessons, suited to our intelligence, while the Dispenser of our lots was ever leading us up, by gradually accustoming us, like eyes brought up in the dark, to the great light of truth. For He spares our weakness, and in the depth of the riches of His wisdom, and the inscrutable judgments of His intelligence, used this gentle treatment, fitted for our needs, gradually accustoming us to see first the shadows of objects, and to look at the sun in water, to save us from dashing against the spectacle of pure unadulterated light, and being blinded. Just so the Law, having a shadow of things to come, and the typical teaching of the prophets, which is a dark utterance of the truth, have been devised means to train the eyes of the heart, in that hence the transition to the wisdom hidden in mystery will be made easy. Enough so far concerning types; nor indeed would it be possible to linger longer on this topic, or the incidental discussion would become many times bulkier than the main argument.

CHAPTER 15

Reply to the suggested objection that we are baptized "into water." Also concerning baptism.

34. WHAT more? Verily, our opponents are well equipped with arguments. We are baptized, they urge, into water, and of course we shall not honor the water above all creation, or give it a share of the honor of the Father and of the Son. The arguments of these men are such as might be expected from angry disputants, leaving no means untried in their attack on him who has offended them, because their reason is clouded over by their feelings. We will not, however, shrink from the discussion even of these points. If we do not teach the ignorant, at least we shall not turn away before evil doers. But let us for a moment retrace our steps.

35. The dispensation of our God and Savior concerning man is a recall from the fall and a return from the alienation caused by disobedience to close communion with God. This is the mason for the sojourn of Christ in the flesh, the pattern life described in the Gospels, the sufferings, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through imitation of Christ receives that old adoption. For perfection of life the imitation of Christ is necessary, not only in the example of gentleness, lowliness, and long suffering set us in His life, but also of His actual death. So Paul, the imitator of Christ, says, "being made conformable unto his death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead." How then are we made in the likeness of His death? In that we were buried with Him by baptism. What then is the manner of the burial? And what is the advantage resulting from the imitation? First of all, it is necessary that the continuity of the old life be cut. And this is impossible less a man be born again, according to the Lord's word; for the regeneration, as indeed the name shews, is a beginning of a second life. So before beginning the second, it is necessary to put an end to the first. For just as in the case of runners who turn and take the second course, a kind of halt and pause intervenes between the movements in the opposite direction, so also in making a change in lives it seemed necessary for death to come as mediator between the two, ending all that goes before, and beginning all that comes after. How then do we achieve

the descent into hell? By imitating, through baptism, the burial of Christ. For the bodies of the baptized are, as it were, buried in the water. Baptism then symbolically signifies the putting off of the works of the flesh; as the apostle says, ye were “circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism.” And there is, as it were, a cleansing of the soul from the filth that has grown on it from the carnal mind, as it is written, “Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.” On this account we do not, as is the fashion of the Jews, wash ourselves at each defilement, but own the baptism of salvation to be one. For there the death on behalf of the world is one, and one the resurrection of the dead, whereof baptism is a type. For this cause the Lord, who is the Dispenser of our life, gave us the covenant of baptism, containing a type of life and death, for the water fulfills the image of death, and the Spirit gives us the earnest of life. Hence it follows that the answer to our question why the water was associated with the Spirit is clear: the reason is because in baptism two ends were proposed; on the one hand, the destroying of the body of sin, that it may never bear fruit unto death; on the other hand, our living unto the Spirit, and having our fruit in holiness; the water receiving the body as in a tomb figures death, while the Spirit pours in the quickening power, renewing our souls from the deadness of sin unto their original life. This then is what it is to be born again of water and of the Spirit, the being made dead being effected in the water, while our life is wrought in us through the Spirit. In three immersions, then, and with three invocations, the great mystery of baptism is performed, to the end that the type of death may be fully figured, and that by the tradition of the divine knowledge the baptized may have their souls enlightened. It follows that if there is any grace in the water, it is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit. For baptism is “not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God.” So in training us for the life that follows on the resurrection the Lord sets out all the manner of life required by the Gospel, laying down for us the law of gentleness, of endurance of wrong, of freedom from the defilement that comes of the love of pleasure, and from covetousness, to the end that we may of set purpose win beforehand and achieve all that the life to come of its inherent nature possesses. If therefore any one in attempting a definition were to describe the gospel as a forecast of the life that follows

on the resurrection, he would not seem to me to go beyond what is meet and right. Let us now return to our main topic.

36. Through the Holy Spirit comes our restoration to paradise, our ascension into the kingdom of heaven, our return to the adoption of sons, our liberty to call God our Father, our being made partakers of the grace of Christ, our being called children of light, our sharing in eternal glory, and, in a word, our being brought into a state of all "fullness of blessing," both in this world and in the world to come, of all the good gifts that are in store for us, by promise hereof, through faith, beholding the reflection of their grace as though they were already present, we await the full enjoyment. If such is the earnest, what the perfection? If such the first fruits, what the complete fulfillment? Furthermore, from this too may be apprehended the difference between the grace that comes from the Spirit and the baptism by water: in that John indeed baptized with water, but our Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost. "I indeed," he says, "baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Here He calls the trial at the judgment the baptism of fire, as the apostle says, "The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is." And again, "The day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire." And ere now there have been some who in their championship of true religion have undergone the death for Christ's sake, not in mere similitude, but in actual fact, and so have needed none of the outward signs of water for their salvation, because they were baptized in their own blood. Thus I write not to disparage the baptism by water, but to overthrow the arguments of those who exalt themselves against the Spirit; who confound things that are distinct from one another, and compare those which admit of no comparison.

CHAPTER 16

That the Holy Spirit is in every conception separable from the Father and the Son, alike in the creation of perceptible objects, in the dispensation of human affairs, and in the judgment to came.

37. LET us then revert to the point raised from the outset, that in all things the Holy Spirit is inseparable and wholly incapable of being parted from the Father and the Son. St. Paul, in the passage about the gift of tongues, writes to the Corinthians, "If ye all prophesy and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; and thus are the secrets of the heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship God and report that God is in you of a truth." If then God is known to be in the prophets by the prophesying that is acting according to the distribution of the gifts of the Spirit, let our adversaries consider what kind of place they will attribute to the Holy Spirit. Let them say whether it is more proper to rank Him with God or to thrust Him forth to the place of the creature. Peter's words to Sapphira, "How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Ye have not lied unto men, but unto God," show that sins against the Holy Spirit and against God are the same; and thus you might learn that in every operation the Spirit is closely conjoined with, and inseparable from, the Father and the Son. God works the differences of operations, and the Lord the diversities of administrations, but all the while the Holy Spirit is present too of His own will, dispensing distribution of the gifts according to each recipient's worth. For, it is said, "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." "But all these," it is said, "worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." It must not however be supposed because in this passage the apostle names in the first place the Spirit, in the second the Son, and in the third God the Father, that therefore their rank is reversed. The apostle has only started in accordance with our habits of thought; for when we receive gifts, the first that occurs to us is the distributer, next we think of the sender, and then we lift our thoughts to the fountain and cause of the boons.

38. Moreover, from the things created at the beginning may be learnt the fellowship of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. The pure, intelligent, and supermundane powers are and are styled holy, because they have their holiness of the grace given by the Holy Spirit. Accordingly the mode of the creation of the heavenly powers is passed over in Silence, for the historian of the cosmogony has revealed to us only the creation of things perceptible by sense. But do thou, who hast power from the things that are seen to form an analogy of the unseen, glorify the Maker by whom all things were made, visible and invisible, principalities and powers, authorities, thrones, and dominions, and all other reasonable natures whom we cannot name. And in the creation bethink thee first, I pray thee, of the original cause of all things that are made, the Father; of the creative cause, the Son; of the perfecting cause, the Spirit; so that the ministering spirits subsist by the will of the Father, are brought into being by the operation of the Son, and perfected by the presence of the Spirit. Moreover, the perfection of angels is sanctification and continuance in it. And let no one imagine me either to affirm that there are three original hypostases or to allege the operation of the Son to be imperfect. For the first principle of existing things is One, creating through the Son and perfecting through the Spirit. The operation of the Father who worketh all in all is not imperfect, neither is the creating work of the Son incomplete if not perfected by the Spirit. The Father, who creates by His sole will, could not stand in any need of the Son, but nevertheless He wills through the Son; nor could the Son, who works according to the likeness of the Father, need co-operation, but the Son too wills to make perfect through the Spirit. “For by the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath [the Spirit] of His mouth.” The Word then is not a mere significant impression on the air, borne by the organs of speech; nor is the Spirit of His mouth a vapor, emitted by the organs of respiration; but the Word is He who “was with God in the beginning” and “was God,” and the Spirit of the mouth of God is “the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.” You are therefore to perceive three, the Lord who gives the order, the Word who creates, and the Spirit who confirms. And what other thing could confirmation be than the perfecting according to holiness? This perfecting expresses the confirmation’s firmness, unchangeableness, and fixity in good. But there is no sanctification without the Spirit. The powers of the heavens are not holy by nature; were it so there would in

this respect be no difference between them and the Holy Spirit. It is in proportion to their relative excellence that they have their need of holiness from the Spirit. The branding-iron is conceived of together with the fire; and yet the material and the fire are distinct. Thus too in the case of the heavenly powers; their substance is, peradventure, an aerial spirit, or an immaterial fire, as it is written, “Who maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire;” wherefore they exist in space and become visible, and appear in their proper bodily form to them that are worthy. But their sanctification, being external to their substance, superinduces their perfection through the communion of the Spirit. They keep their rank by their abiding in the good and true, and while they retain their freedom of will, never fall away from their patient attendance on Him who is truly good. It results that, if by your argument you do away with the Spirit, the hosts of the angels are disbanded, the dominions of archangels are destroyed, all is thrown into confusion, and their life loses law, order, and distinctness. For how are angels to cry “Glory to God in the highest” without being empowered by the Spirit? For “No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost, and no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed;” as might be said by wicked and hostile spirits, whose fall establishes our statement of the freedom of the will of the invisible powers; being, as they are, in a condition of equipoise between virtue and vice, and on this account needing the succor of the Spirit. I indeed maintain that even Gabriel in no other way foretells events to come than by the foreknowledge of the Spirit, by reason of the fact that one of the boons distributed by the Spirit is prophecy. And whence did he who was ordained to announce the mysteries of the vision to the Man of Desires derive the wisdom whereby he was enabled to teach hidden things, if not from the Holy Spirit? The revelation of mysteries is indeed the peculiar function of the Spirit, as it is written, “God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit.” And how could “thrones, dominions, principalities and powers” live their blessed life, did they not “behold the face of the Father which is in heaven”? But to behold it is impossible without the Spirit! Just as at night, if you withdraw the light from the house, the eyes fall blind and their faculties become inactive, and the worth of objects cannot be discerned, and gold is trodden on in ignorance as though it were iron, so in the order of the intellectual world it is impossible for the high life of Law to abide without the Spirit. For it so to abide were as likely as

that an army should maintain its discipline in the absence of its commander, or a chorus its harmony without the guidance of the coryphaeus. How could the Seraphim cry "Holy, Holy, Holy," were they not taught by the Spirit how often true religion requires them to lift their voice in this ascription of glory? Do "all His angels" and "all His hosts" praise God? It is through the co-operation of the Spirit. Do "thousand thousand" of angels stand before Him, and "ten thousand times ten thousand" ministering spirits? They are blamelessly doing their proper work by the power of the Spirit. All the glorious and unspeakable harmony of the highest heavens both in the service of God, and in the mutual concord of the celestial powers, can therefore only be preserved by the direction of the Spirit. Thus with those beings who are not gradually perfected by increase and advance, but are perfect from the moment of the creation, there is in creation the presence of the Holy Spirit, who confers on them the grace that flows from Him for the completion and perfection of their essence.

39. But when we speak of the dispensations made for man by our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who will gainsay their having been accomplished through the grace of the Spirit? Whether you wish to examine ancient evidence; — the blessings of the patriarchs, the succor given through the legislation, the types, the prophecies, the valorous feats in war, the signs wrought through just men; — or on the other hand the things done in the dispensation of the coming of our Lord in the flesh; — all is through the Spirit. In the first place He was made an unction, and being inseparably present was with the very flesh of the Lord, according to that which is written, "Upon whom thou shall see the Spirit descending and remaining on Him, the same is" "my beloved Son;" and "Jesus of Nazareth" whom "God anointed with the Holy Ghost." After this every operation was wrought with the co-operation of the Spirit. He was present when the Lord was being tempted by the devil; for, it is said, "Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted." He was inseparably with Him while working His wonderful works; for, it is said, "If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils." And He did not leave Him when He had risen from the dead; for when renewing man, and, by breathing on the face of the disciples, restoring the grace, that came of the inbreathing of God, which man had lost, what did the Lord say.? "Receive

ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever ye retain, they are retained." And is it not plain and incontestable that the ordering of the Church is effected through the Spirit? For He gave, it is said, "in the church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues," for this order is ordained in accordance with the division of the girls that are of the Spirit.

40. Moreover by any one who carefully uses his reason it will be found that even at the moment of the expected appearance of the Lord from heaven the Holy Spirit will not, as some suppose, have no functions to discharge: on the contrary, even in the day of His revelation, in which the blessed and only potentate will judge the world in righteousness, the Holy Spirit will be present with Him. For who is so ignorant of the good things prepared by God for them that are worthy. as not to know that the crown of the righteous is the grace of the Spirit, bestowed in more abundant and perfect measure in that day, when spiritual glory shall be distributed to each in proportion as he shall have nobly played the man? For among the glories of the saints are "many mansions" in the Father's house, that is differences of dignities: for as "star differeth from star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead." They, then, that were sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption, and preserve pure and undiminished the first fruits which they received of the Spirit, are they that shall hear the words "well done thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." In like manner they which have grieved the Holy Spirit by the wickedness of their ways, or have not wrought for Him that gave to them, shall be deprived of what they have received, their grace being transferred to others; or, according to one of the evangelists, they shall even be wholly cut asunder, — the cutting asunder meaning complete separation from the Spirit. The body is not divided, part being delivered to chastisement, and part let off; for when a whole has sinned it were like the old fables, and unworthy of a righteous judge, for only the half to suffer chastisement. Nor is the soul cut in two, — that soul the whole of which possesses the sinful affection throughout, and works the wickedness in co-operation with the body. The cutting asunder, as I have observed, is the separation for aye of the soul from the Spirit. For now, although the Spirit does not suffer admixture with the

unworthy, He nevertheless does seem in a manner to be present with them that have once been sealed, awaiting the salvation which follows on their conversion; but then He will be wholly cut off from the soul that has defiled His grace. For this reason “In Hell there is none that maketh confession; in death none that remembereth God,” because the succor of the Spirit is no longer present. How then is it possible to conceive that the judgment is accomplished without the Holy Spirit, wherein the word points out that He is Himself the prize of the righteous, when instead of the earnest is given that which is perfect, and the first condemnation of sinners, when they are deprived of that which they seem to have? But the greatest proof of the conjunction of the Spirit with the Father and the Son is that He is said to have the same relation to God which the spirit in us has to each of us. “For what man” it is said, “knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God.”

On this point I have said enough.

CHAPTER 17

Against those who say that the Holy Ghost is not to be numbered with, but numbered under, the Father and the Son. Wherein moreover there is a summary notice of the faith concerning right sub-numeration.

41. WHAT, however, they call sub-numeration, and in what sense they use this word, cannot even be imagined without difficulty. It is well known that it was imported into our language from the "wisdom of the world;" but a point for our present consideration will be whether it has any immediate relation to the subject under discussion. Those who are adepts in vain investigations tell us that, while some nouns are common and of widely extended denotation, others are more specific, and that the force of some is more limited than that of others. Essence, for instance, is a common noun, predicable of all things both animate and inanimate; while animal is more specific, being predicated of fewer subjects than the former, though of more than those which are considered under it, as it embraces both rational and irrational nature. Again, human is more specific than animal, and man than human, and than man the individual Peter, Paul or John. Do they then mean by sub-numeration the division of the common into its subordinate parts? But I should hesitate to believe they have reached such a pitch of infatuation as to assert that the God of the universe, like some common quality conceivable only by reason and without actual existence in any hypostasis, is divided into subordinate divisions, and that then this subdivision is called sub-numeration. This would hardly be said even by men melancholy mad, for, besides its impiety, they are establishing the very opposite argument to their own contention. For the subdivisions are of the same essence as that from which they have been divided. The very obviousness of the absurdity makes it difficult for us to find arguments to confute their unreasonableness; so that really their folly looks like an advantage to them; just as soft and yielding bodies offer no resistance, and therefore cannot be struck a stout blow. It is impossible to bring a vigorous confutation to bear on a palpable absurdity. The only course open to us is to pass by their

abominable impiety in silence. Yet our love for the brethren and the importunity of our opponents makes silence impossible.

42. What is it that they maintain? Look at the terms of their imposture. “We assert that connumeration is appropriate to subjects of equal dignity, and sub-numeration to those which vary in the direction of inferiority.” “Why,” I rejoined, “do you say this? I fail to understand your extraordinary wisdom. Do you mean that gold is numbered with gold, and that lead is unworthy of the connumeration, but, because of the cheapness of the material, is subnumerated to gold? And do you attribute so much importance to number as that it can either exalt the value of what is cheap, or destroy the dignity of what is valuable? Therefore, again, you will number gold under precious stones, and such precious stones as are smaller and without luster under those which are larger and brighter in color. But what will not be said by men who spend their time in nothing else but either ‘to tell or to hear some new thing’? Let these supporters of impiety be classed for the future with Stoics and Epicureans. What sub-numeration is even possible of things less valuable in relation to things very valuable? How is a brass obol to be numbered under a golden stater? “Because,” they reply, “we do not speak of possessing two coins, but one and one.” But which of these is subnumerated to the other? Each is similarly mentioned. If then you number each by itself, you cause an equality value by numbering them in the same way but, if you join them, you make their value one by numbering them one with the other. But if the sub-numeration belongs to the one which is numbered second, then it is in the power of the counter to begin by counting the brass coin. Let us, however, pass over the confutation of their ignorance, and turn our argument to the main topic.

43. Do you maintain that the Son is numbered under the Father, and the Spirit under the Son, or do you confine your sub-numeration to the Spirit alone? If, on the other hand, you apply this sub-numeration also to the Son, you revive what is the same impious doctrine, the unlikeness of the substance, the lowliness of rank, the coming into being in later time, and once for all, by this one term, you will plainly again set circling all the blasphemies against the Only-begotten. To controvert these blasphemies would be a longer task than my present purpose admits of; and I am the less bound to undertake it because the impiety has been refuted elsewhere

to the best of my ability. If on the other hand they suppose the sub-numeration to benefit the Spirit alone, they must be taught that the Spirit is spoken of together with the Lord in precisely the same manner in which the Son is spoken of with the Father. “The name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost” is delivered in like manner, and, according to the co-ordination of words delivered in baptism, the relation of the Spirit to the Son is the same as that of the Son to the Father. And if the Spirit is co-ordinate with the Son, and the Son with the Father, it is obvious that the Spirit is also co-ordinate with the Father. When then the names are ranked in one and the same co-ordinate series, what room is there for speaking on the one hand of connumeration, and on the other of sub-numeration? Nay, without exception, what thing ever lost its own nature by being numbered? Is it not the fact that things when numbered remain what they naturally and originally were, while number is adopted among us as a sign indicative of the plurality of subjects? For some bodies we count, some we measure, and some we weigh; those which are by nature continuous we apprehend by measure; to those which are divided we apply number (with the exception of those which on account of their fineness are measured); while heavy objects are distinguished by the inclination of the balance. It does not however follow that, because we have invented for our convenience symbols to help us to arrive at the knowledge of quantity, we have therefore changed the nature of the things signified. We do not speak of “weighing under” one another things which are weighed, even though one be gold and the other tin; nor yet do we “measure under” things that are measured; and so in the same way we will not “number under” things which are numbered. And if none of the rest of things admits of sub-numeration how can they allege that the Spirit ought to be subnumerated? Laboring as they do under heathen unsoundness, they imagine that things which are inferior, either by grade of rank or subjection of substance, ought to be subnumerated.

CHAPTER 18

In what manner in the confession of the three hypostases we preserve the pious dogma of the Monarchia. Wherein also is the refutation of them that allege that the Spirit is subnumerated.

44. In delivering the formula of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, our Lord did not connect the gift with number. He did not say "into First, Second, and Third," nor yet "into one, two, and three, but He gave us the boon of the knowledge of the faith which leads to salvation, by means of holy names. So that what saves us is our faith. Number has been devised as a symbol indicative of the quantity of objects. But these men, who bring ruin on themselves from every possible source, have turned even the capacity for counting against the faith. Nothing else undergoes any change in consequence of the addition of number, and yet these men in the case of the divine nature pay reverence to number, lest they should exceed the limits of the honor due to the Paraclete. But, O wisest sirs, let the unapproachable be altogether above and beyond number, as the ancient reverence of the Hebrews wrote the unutterable name of God in peculiar characters, thus endeavoring to set forth its infinite excellence. Count, if you must; but you must not by counting do damage to the faith. Either let the ineffable be honored by silence; or let holy things be counted consistently with true religion. There is one God and Father, one Only-begotten, and one Holy Ghost. We proclaim each of the hypostases singly; and, when count we must, we do not let an ignorant arithmetic carry us away to the idea of a plurality of Gods.

45. For we do not count by way of addition, gradually making increase from unity to multitude, and saying one, two, and three, — nor yet first, second, and third. For "I," God, "am the first, and I am the last." And hitherto we have never, even at the present time, heard of a second God. Worshipping as we do God of God, we both confess the distinction of the Persons, and at the same time abide by the Monarchy. We do not fritter away the theology in a divided plurality, because one Form, so to say, united in the invariableness of the Godhead, is beheld in God the Father, and in God the Only begotten. For the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; since such as is the latter, such is the former, and such as is the

former, such is the latter; and herein is the Unity. So that according to the distinction of Persons, both are one and one, and according to the community of Nature, one. How, then, if one and one, are there not two Gods? Because we speak of a king, and of the king's image, and not of two kings. The majesty is not cloven in two, nor the glory divided. The sovereignty and authority over us is one, and so the doxology ascribed by us is not plural but one; because the honor paid to the image passes on to the prototype. Now what in the one case the image is by reason of imitation, that in the other case the Son is by nature; and as in works of art the likeness is dependent on the form, so in the case or the divine and uncompounded nature the union consists in the communion of the Godhead. One, moreover, is the Holy Spirit, and we speak of Him singly, conjoined as He is to the one Father through the one Son, and through Himself completing the adorable and blessed Trinity. Of Him the intimate relationship to the Father and the Son is sufficiently declared by the fact of His not being ranked in the plurality of the creation, but being spoken of singly; for he is not one of many, but One. For as there is one Father and one Son, so is there one Holy Ghost. He is consequently as far removed from created Nature as reason requires the singular to be removed from compound and plural bodies; and He is in such wise united to the Father and to the Son as unit has affinity with unit.

46. And it is not from this source alone that our proofs of the natural communion are derived, but from the fact that He is moreover said to be "of God;" not indeed in the sense in which "all things are of God," but in the sense of proceeding out of God, not by generation, like the Son, but as Breath of His mouth. But in no way is the "mouth" a member, nor the Spirit breath that is dissolved; but the word "mouth" is used so far as it can be appropriate to God, and the Spirit is a Substance having life, gifted with supreme power of sanctification. Thus the dose relation is made plain, while the mode of the ineffable existence is safeguarded. He is moreover styled 'Spirit of Christ,' as being by nature closely related to Him. Wherefore "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His." Hence He alone worthily glorifies the Lord, for, it is said, "He shall glorify me," not as the creature, but as "Spirit of truth," dearly shewing forth the truth in Himself, and, as Spirit of wisdom, in His own greatness revealing "Christ the Power of God and the wisdom of God." And as

Paraclete He expresses in Himself the goodness of the Paraclete who sent Him, and in His own dignity manifests the majesty of Him from whom He proceeded. There is then on the one hand a natural glory, as light is the glory of the sun; and on the other a glory bestowed judicially and of free will *'ab extra'* on them that are worthy. The latter is twofold. “A son,” it is said, “honoreth his father, and a servant his master.” Of these two the one, the servile, is given by the creature; the other, which may be called the intimate, is fulfilled by the Spirit. For, as our Lord said of Himself, “I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do;” so of the Paraclete He says “He shall glorify me: for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you.” And as the Son is glorified of the Father when He says “I have both glorified *it* and will glorify *it* again,” so is the Spirit glorified through His communion with both Father and Son, and through the testimony of the Only-begotten when He says “All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men.”

47. And when, by means of the power that enlightens us, we fix our eyes on the beauty of the image of the invisible God, and through the image are led up to the supreme beauty of the spectacle of the archetype, then, I ween, is with us inseparably the Spirit of knowledge, in Himself bestowing on them time love the vision of the truth the power of beholding the Image, not making the exhibition from without, but in Himself leading on to the full knowledge. “No man knoweth the Father save the Son.” And so “no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost.” For it is not said through the Spirit, but by the Spirit, and “God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth,” as it is written “in thy light shall we see light,” namely by the illumination of the Spirit, “the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.” It results that in Himself He shows the glory of the Only begotten, and on true worshippers He in Himself bestows the knowledge of God. Thus the way of the knowledge of God lies from One Spirit through the One Son to the One Father, and conversely the natural Goodness and the inherent Holiness and the royal Dignity extend from the Father through the Only-begotten to the Spirit. Thus there is both acknowledgment of the hypostases and the true dogma of the Monarchy is not lost. They on the other hand who support their sub-numeration by

talking of first and second and third ought to be informed that into the undefiled theology of Christians they are importing the polytheism of heathen error. No other result can be achieved by the fell device of sub-numeration than the confession of a first, a second, and a third God. For us is sufficient the order prescribed by the Lord. He who confuses this order will be no less guilty of transgressing the law than are the impious heathen.

Enough has been now said to prove, in contravention of their error, that the communion of Nature is in no wise dissolved by the manner of sub-numeration. Let us, however, make a concession to our contentious and feeble minded adversary, and grant that what is second to anything is spoken of in sub-numeration to it. Now let us see what follows. “The first man “it is said “is of the earth earthy, the second man is the Lord from heaven.” Again “that was not first which is spiritual but that which is natural and afterward that which is spiritual.” If then the second is subnumerated to the first, and the subnumerated is inferior in dignity to that to which it was subnumerated, according to you the spiritual is inferior in honor to the natural, and the heavenly man to the earthy.

CHAPTER 19

Against those who assert that the Spirit ought not to be glorified.

48. "Be it so," it is rejoined, "but glory is by no means so absolutely due to the Spirit as to require His exaltation by us in doxologies." Whence then could we get demonstrations of the dignity of the our Spirit, "passing all understanding," if His communion with the Father and the Son were not reckoned by our opponents as good for testimony of His rank? It is, at all events, possible for us to arrive to a certain extent at intelligent apprehension of the sublimity of His nature and of His unapproachable power, by looking at the meaning of His title, and at the magnitude of His operations, and by His good gifts bestowed on us or rather on all creation. He is called Spirit, as "God is a Spirit," and "the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord." He is called holy, as the Father is holy, and the Son is holy, for to the creature holiness was brought in from without, but to the Spirit holiness is the fulfillment of nature, and it is for this reason that He is described not as being sanctified, but as sanctifying. He is called good, as the Father is good, and He who was begotten of the Good is good, and to the Spirit His goodness is essence. He is called upright, as "the Lord is upright," in that He is Himself truth, and is Himself Righteousness, having no divergence nor leaning to one side or to the other, on account of the immutability of His substance. He is called Paraclete, like the Only begotten, as He Himself says," I will ask the Father, and He will give you another comforter." Thus names are borne by the Spirit in common with the Father and the Son, and He gets these titles from His natural and close relationship. From what other source could they be derived? Again He is called royal, Spirit of truth, and Spirit of wisdom. "The Spirit of God," it is said "hath made me," and God filled Bezaleel with "the divine Spirit of wisdom and understanding and knowledge." Such names as these are super-eminent and mighty, but they do not transcend His glory.

49. And His operations, what are they? For majesty ineffable, and for numbers innumerable. How shall we form a conception of what extends beyond the ages? What were His operations before that creation whereof we can conceive? How great the grace which He conferred on creation?

What the power exercised by Him over the ages to come? He existed; He pre-existed; He co-existed with the Father and the Son before the ages. It follows that, even if you can conceive of anything beyond the ages, you will find the Spirit yet further above and beyond. And if you think of the creation, the powers of the heavens were established by the Spirit, the establishment being understood to refer to disability to fall away from good. For it is from the Spirit that the powers derive their close relationship to God, their inability to change to evil, and their continuance in blessedness. Is it Christ's advent? The Spirit is forerunner. Is there the incarnate presence? The Spirit is inseparable. Working of miracles, and gifts of healing are through the Holy Spirit. Demons were driven out by the Spirit of God. The devil was brought to naught by the presence of the Spirit. Remission of Sins was by the gift of the Spirit, for "ye were washed, ye were sanctified,... in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the holy Spirit of our God." There is close relationship with God through the Spirit, for "God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father." The resurrection from the dead is effected by the operation of the Spirit, for "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and Thou renewest the face of the earth." If here creation may be taken to mean the bringing of the departed to life again, how mighty is not the operation of the Spirit, Who is to us the dispenser of the life that follows on the resurrection, and attunes our souls to the spiritual life beyond? Or if here by creation is meant the change to a better condition of those who in this life have fallen into sin, (for it is so understood according to the usage of Scripture, as in the words of Paul "if any man be in Christ he is a new creature"), the renewal which takes place in this life, and the transmutation from our earthly and sensuous life to the heavenly conversation which takes place in us through the Spirit, then our souls are exalted to the highest pitch of admiration. With these thoughts before us are we to be afraid of going beyond due bounds in the extravagance of the honor we pay? Shall we not rather fear lest, even though we seem to give Him the highest names which the thoughts of man can conceive or man's tongue utter, we let our thoughts about Him fall too low?

It is the Spirit which says, as the Lord says, "Get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing: for I have sent them." Are these the words of an inferior, or of one in dread? "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work

whereunto I have called them.” Does a slave speak thus? And Isaiah, “The Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me,” and “the Spirit came down from the Lord and guided them.” And pray do not again understand by this guidance some humble service, for the Word witnesses that it was the work of God; — “Thou leddest thy people,” it is said “like a flock,” and “Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock,” and “He led them on safely, so that they feared not.” Thus when you hear that when the Comforter is come, He will put you in remembrance, and “guide you into all truth.” do not misrepresent the meaning.

50. But, it is said that “He maketh intercession for us.” It follows then that, as the suppliant is inferior to the benefactor, so far is the Spirit inferior in dignity to God. But have you never heard concerning the Only-begotten that He “is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us”? Do not, then, because the Spirit is in you, — if indeed He is at all in you, — nor yet because He teaches us who were blinded, and guides us to the choice of what profits us, — do not for this reason allow yourself to be deprived of the right and holy opinion concerning Him. For to make the loving kindness of your benefactor a ground of ingratitude were indeed a very extravagance of unfairness. “Grieve not the Holy Spirit;” hear the words of Stephen, the first fruits of the martyrs, when he reproaches the people for their rebellion and disobedience; “you do always,” he says, “resist the Holy Ghost;” and again Isaiah, — “They vexed His Holy Spirit, therefore He was turned to be their enemy;” and in another passage, “the house of Jacob angered the Spirit of the Lord.” Are not these passages indicative of authoritative power? I leave it to the judgment of my readers to determine what opinions we ought to hold when we hear these passages; whether we are to regard the Spirit as an instrument, a subject, of equal rank with the creature, and a fellow servant of ourselves, or whether, on the contrary, to the ears of the pious the mere whisper of this blasphemy is not most grievous. Do you call the Spirit a servant? But, it is said, “the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth,” and yet the Spirit knoweth the things of God, as “the spirit of man that is in him.”

CHAPTER 20

Against those who maintain that the Spirit is in the rank neither of a servant nor of a master, but in that of the free.

51. He is not a slave, it is said; not a master, but free. Oh the terrible insensibility, the pitiable audacity, of them that maintain this! Shall I rather lament in them their ignorance or their blasphemy? They try to insult the doctrines that concern the divine nature by comparing them with the human, and endeavor to apply to the ineffable nature of God that common custom of human life whereby the difference of degrees is variable, not perceiving that among men no one is a slave by nature. For men are either brought under a yoke of slavery by conquest, as when prisoners are taken in war; or they are enslaved on account of poverty, as the Egyptians were oppressed by Pharaoh; or, by a wise and mysterious dispensation, the worst children are by their fathers' order condemned to serve the wiser and the better; and this any righteous enquirer into the circumstances would declare to be not a sentence of condemnation but a benefit. For it is more profitable that the man who, through lack of intelligence, has no natural principle of rule within himself, should become the chattel of another, to the end that, being guided by the reason of his master, he may be like a chariot with a charioteer, or a boat with a steersman seated at the tiller. For this reason Jacob by his father's blessing became Lord of Esau, in order that the foolish son, who had not intelligence, his proper guardian, might, even though he wished it not, be benefited by his prudent brother. So Canaan shall be "a servant unto his brethren" because, since his father Ham was unwise, he was uninstructed in virtue. In this world, then, it is thus that men are made slaves, but they who have escaped poverty or war, or do not require the tutelage of others, are free. It follows that even though one man be called master and another servant, nevertheless, both in view of our mutual equality of rank and as chattels of our Creator, we are all fellow slaves. But in that other world what can you bring out of bondage? For no sooner were they created than bondage was commenced. The heavenly bodies exercise no rule over one another, for they are unmoved by ambition, but all bow down to God, and render to Him alike the awe which is due to Him as Master and the glower

which fails to Him as Creator. For “a son honoreth his father and a servant his master,” and from all God asks one of these two things; for “if I then be a Father where is my honor? and if I be a Master where is my fear?” Otherwise the life of all men, if it were not under the oversight of a master, would be most pitiable; as is the condition of the apostate powers who, because they stiffen their neck against God Almighty, fling off the reins of their bondage, — not that their natural constitution is different; but the cause is in their disobedient disposition to their Creator. Whom then do you call free? Him who has no King? Him who has neither power to rule another nor willingness to be ruled? Among all existent beings no such nature is to be found. To entertain such a conception of the Spirit is obvious blasphemy. If He is a creature of course He serves with all the rest, for “all things,” it is said “are thy servants,” but if He is above Creation, then He shares in royalty.

CHAPTER 21.

Proof from Scripture that the Spirit is called Lord.

52. BUT why get an unfair victory for our argument by fighting over these undignified questions, when it is within our power to prove that the excellence of the glory is beyond dispute by adducing more lofty considerations? If, indeed, we retreat what we have been taught by Scripture, every one of the Pneumatomachi will peradventure raise a loud and vehement outcry, stop their ears, pick up stones or anything else that comes to hand for a weapon, and charge against us. But our own security must not be regarded by us before the truth. We have learnt from the Apostle, "the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God and into the patient waiting for Christ" *for our tribulations.* Who is the Lord that directs into the love of God and into the patient waiting for Christ for tribulations? Let those men answer us who are for making a slave of the Holy Spirit. For if the argument had been about God the Father, it would certainly have said, 'the Lord direct you into His own love,' or if about the Son, it would have added 'into His own patience.' Let them then seek what other Person there is who is worthy to be honored with the title of Lord. And parallel with this is that other passage, "and the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do towards you; to the end He may establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all His saints." Now what Lord does he entreat to stablish the hearts of the faithful at Thessalonica, unblamable in holiness before God even our Father, at the coming of our Lord? Let those answer who place the Holy Ghost among the ministering spirits that are sent forth on service. They cannot. Wherefore let them hear yet another testimony which distinctly calls the Spirit Lord. "The Lord," it is said, "is that Spirit;" and again "even as from the Lord the Spirit." But to leave no ground for objection, I will quote the actual words of the Apostle; — "For even unto this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which yell is done away in Christ.... Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit." Why does he speak thus? Because he who abides in the

bare sense of the letter, and in it busies himself with the observances of the Law, has, as it were, got his own heart enveloped in the Jewish acceptance of the letter, like a veil; and this befalls him because of his ignorance that the bodily observance of the Law is done away by the presence of Christ, in that for the future the types are transferred to the reality. Lamps are made needless by the advent of the sun; and, on the appearance of the truth, the occupation of the Law is gone, and prophecy is hushed into silence. He, on the contrary, who has been empowered to look down into the depth of the meaning of the Law, and, after passing through the obscurity of the letter, as through a veil, to arrive within things unspeakable, is like Moses taking off the veil when he spoke with God. He, too, turns from the letter to the Spirit. So with the veil on the face of Moses corresponds the obscurity of the teaching of the Law, and spiritual contemplation with the turning to the Lord. He, then, who in the reading of the Law takes away the letter and turns to the Lord, — and the Lord is now called the Spirit, — becomes moreover like Moses, who had his face glorified by the manifestation of God. For just as objects which lie near brilliant colors are themselves tinted by the brightness which is shed around, so is be who fixes his gaze firmly on the Spirit by the Spirit's glory somehow transfigured into greater splendor, having his heart lighted up, as it were, by some light streaming from the truth of the Spirit. And, this is "being changed from the glory of the Spirit "into" His own "glory," not in niggard degree, nor dimly and indistinctly, but as we might expect any one to be who is enlightened by the Spirit. Do you not, O man, fear the Apostle when he says "Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you"? Could he ever have! brooked to honor with the title of "temple" the quarters of a slave? How can he who calls Scripture "God-inspired," because it was written through the inspiration of the Spirit, use the language of one who insults and belittles Him?

CHAPTER 22

Establishment of the natural communion of the Spirit from His being, equally with the Father and the Son, unapproachable in thought.

53. MOREOVER the surpassing excellence of the nature of the Spirit is to be learned not only from His having the same title as the Father and the Son, and sharing in their operations, but also from His being, like the Father and the Son, unapproachable in thought. For what our Lord says of the Father as being above and beyond human conception, and what He says of the Son, this same language He uses also of the Holy Ghost. "O righteous Father," He says, "the world hath not known Thee," meaning here by the world not the complex whole compounded of heaven and earth, but this life of ours subject to death, and exposed to innumerable vicissitudes. And when discoursing of Himself He says, "Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more, but ye see me;" again in this passage, applying the word *world* to those who being bound down by this material and carnal life, and beholding the truth by material sight alone, were ordained, through their unbelief in the resurrection, to see our Lord no more with the eyes of the heart. And He said the same concerning the Spirit. "The Spirit of truth," He says, "whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him, for He dwelleth with you." For the carnal man, who has never trained his mind to contemplation, but rather keeps it buried deep in lust of the flesh, as in mud, is powerless to look up to the spiritual light of the truth. And so the world, that is life enslaved by the affections of the flesh, can no more receive the grace of the Spirit than a weak eye the light of a sunbeam. But the Lord, who by His teaching bore witness to purity of life, gives to His disciples the power of now beholding and contemplating the Spirit. For "now," He says, "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you," wherefore "the world cannot receive Him, because it seeth Him not,... but ye know Him; for he dwelleth with you." And so says Isaiah; — "He that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and Spirit to them that trample on it"; for they that trample clown earthly things and rise above them are borne witness to as

worthy of the gift of the Holy Ghost. What then ought to be thought of Him whom the world cannot receive, and Whom saints alone can contemplate through pureness of heart? What kind of honors can be deemed adequate to Him?

CHAPTER 23

The glorifying of the enumeration of His attributes.

54. NOW of the rest of the Powers each is believed to be in a circumscribed place. The angel who stood by Cornelius was not at one and the same moment with Philip; nor yet did the angel who spoke with Zacharias from the altar at the same time occupy his own pose in heaven. But the Spirit is believed to have been operating at the saint time in Habakkuk and in Daniel at Babylon, and to have been at the prison with Jeremiah, and with Ezekiel at the Chebar. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, and "whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" And, in the words of the Prophet, "For I am with you, saith the Lord... and my spirit remaineth among you." But what nature is it becoming to assign to Him who is omnipresent, and exists together with God? The nature which is all-embracing, or one which is confined to particular places, like that which our argument shews the nature of angels to be? No one would so say. Shall we not then highly exalt Him who is in His nature divine, in His greatness infinite, in His operations powerful, in the blessings He confers, good? Shall we not give Him glory? And I understand glory to mean nothing else than the enumeration of the wonders which are His own. It follows then that either we are forbidden by our antagonists even to mention the good things which flow to us from Him. or on the other hand that the mere recapitulation of His attributes is the fullest possible attribution of glory. For not even in the case of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Only begotten Son, are we capable of giving Them glory otherwise than by recounting, to the extent of our powers, all the wonders that belong to Them.

CHAPTER 24

Proof of the absurdity of the refusal to glorify the Spirit, from the comparison of things glorified in creation.

55. FURTHERMORE man crowned with glory and honor," and "glory, honor and peace" are laid up by promise "to every man that worketh good." There is moreover a special and peculiar glory for Israelites "to whom," it is said "pertaineth the adoption and the glory... and the service," and the Psalmist speaks of a certain glory of his own, "that my glory may sing praise to Thee;" and again "Awake up my glory" and according to the Apostle there is a certain glory of sun and moon and stars, and "the ministration of condemnation is glorious." While then so many things are glorified, do you wish the Spirit alone of all things to be unglorified? Yet the Apostle says "the ministration of the Spirit is glorious." How then can He Himself be unworthy of glory? How according to the Psalmist can the glory of the just man be great and according to you the glory of the Spirit none? How is there not a plain peril from such arguments of our bringing on ourselves the sin from which there is no escape? If the man who is being saved by works of righteousness glorifies even them that fear the Lord much less would be deprive the Spirit of the glory which is His due.

Grant, they say, that He is to be glorified, but not with the Father and the Son. But what reason is there in giving up the place appointed by the Lord for the Spirit, and inventing some other? What reason is there for robbing of His share of glory Him Who is everywhere associated with the Godhead; in the confession of the Faith, in the baptism of redemption, in the working of miracles, in the indwelling of the saints, in the graces bestowed on obedience? For there is not even one single gift which reaches creation without the Holy Ghost; when not even a single word can be spoken in defense of Christ except by them that are aided by the Spirit, as we have learnt in the Gospels from our Lord and Savior. And I know not whether any one who has been par-taker of the Holy Spirit will consent that we should overlook all this, forget His fellowship in all things, and tear the Spirit asunder from the Father and the Son. Where then are we to take Him and rank Him? With the creature? Yet all the creature is in bondage, but the Spirit maketh free. "And where the Spirit of the Lord is,

there is liberty.” Many arguments might be adduced to them that it is unseemly to coordinate the Holy Spirit with created nature, but for the present I will pass them by. Were I indeed to bring forward, in a manner befitting the dignity of the discussion, all the proofs always available on our side, and so overthrow the objections of our opponents, a lengthy dissertation would be required, and my readers might be worn out by my prolixity. I therefore propose to reserve this matter for a special treatise, and to apply thyself to the points now more immediately before us.

56. Let us then examine the points one by one. He is good by nature, in the same way as the Father is good, and the Son is good; the creature on the other hand shares in goodness by choosing the good. He knows “The deep things of God;” the creature receives the manifestation of ineffable things through the Spirit. He quickens together with God, who produces and preserves all things alive, and together with the Son, who gives life. “He that raised up Christ from the dead,” it is said, “shall also quicken your mortal bodies by the spirit that dwelleth in you;” and again “my sheep hear my voice,... and I give unto them eternal life;” but Spirit” also, it is said, “giveth life,” and again “the Spirit,” it is said, “is life, because of righteousness.” And the Lord bears witness that “it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.” How then shall we alienate the Spirit from His quickening power, and make Him belong to lifeless nature? Who is so contentious, who is so utterly without the heavenly gift, and unfed by God’s good words, who is so devoid of part and lot in eternal hopes, as to sever the Spirit from the Godhead and rank Him with the creature?

57. Now it is urged that the Spirit is in us as a gift from God, and that the gift is not reverenced with the same honor as that which is attributed to the giver. The Spirit is a gift of God, but a gift of life, for the law of “the Spirit of life,” it is said, “hath made” us “free;” and a gift of power, for “ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.” Is He on this account to be lightly esteemed? Did not God also bestow His Son as a free gift to mankind? “He that spared not His own Son,” it is said, “but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?” And in another place, “that we might truly know the things that are freely given us of God,” in reference to the mystery of the Incarnation. It follows then that the maintainers of such arguments, in

making the greatness of God’s loving kindness an occasion of blasphemy, have really surpassed the ingratitude of the Jews. They find fault with the Spirit because He gives us freedom to call God our Father. “For God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into” our “hearts crying Abba, Father,” that the voice of the Spirit may become the very voice of them that have received him.

CHAPTER 25

That Scripture uses the words "in" or "by," ἐν, cf. note on p. 3, in place of "with." Wherein also it is proved that the word "and" has the same force as "with."

58. It is, however, asked by our opponents, how it is that Scripture nowhere describes the Spirit as glorified together with the Father and the Son, but carefully avoids the use of the expression "with the Spirit," while it everywhere prefers to ascribe glory "in Him" as being the fitter phrase. I should, for my own part, deny that the word in [or by] implies lower dignity than the word "with;" I should main-pain on the contrary that, rightly understood, it leads us up to the highest possible meaning. This is the case where, as we have observed, it often stands instead of *with*; as for instance, "I will go into thy house *in* burnt offerings," instead of *with* burnt offerings and "he brought them forth also *by* silver and gold," that is to say with silver and gold and "thou goest not forth in our armies" instead of *with* our armies, and innumerable similar passages. In short I should very much like to learn from this newfangled philosophy what kind of glory the Apostle ascribed by the word in, according to the interpretation which our opponents proffer as derived from Scripture, for I have nowhere found the formula "To Thee, O Father, be honor and glory, through Thy only begotten Son, *by* [or *in*] the Holy Ghost," — a form which to our opponents comes, so to say, as naturally as the air they breathe. You may indeed find each of these clauses separately, but they will nowhere be able to show them to us arranged in this conjunction. If, then, they want exact conformity to what is written, let them give us exact references. If, on the other hand, they make concession to custom, they must not make us an exception to such a privilege.

59. As we find both expressions in use among the faithful, we use both; in the belief that full glory is equally given to the Spirit by both. The mouths, how, ever, of revilers of the truth may best be stopped by the preposition which, while it has the same meaning as that of the Scriptures, is not so wieldy a weapon for our opponents,(indeed it is now an object of their attack) and is used instead of the conjunction *and*. For to say "Paul and

Silvanus and Timothy” is precisely the same thing as to say Paul *with* Timothy and Silvanus; for the connection of the names is, preserved by either mode of expression. The Lord says “The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.” If I say the Father and the Son *with* the Holy Ghost shall I make, any difference in the sense? Of the connection of names by means of the conjunction *and* the instances are many. We read “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost,” and again “I beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit.” Now if we wish to use *with* instead of *and*, what difference shall we have made? I do not see; unless any one according to hard and fast grammatical rules might prefer the conjunction as copulative and making the union stronger, and reject the preposition as of inferior force. But if we had to defend ourselves on these points I do not suppose we should require a defense of many words. As it is, their argument is not about syllables nor yet about this or that sound of a word, but about things differing. most widely in power and in truth. It is for this reason that, while the use of the syllables is really a matter of no importance whatever, our opponents are making the endeavor to authorize some syllables, and bunt out others from the Church. For my own part, although the usefulness of the word is obvious as soon as it is heard, I will nevertheless set forth the arguments which led our fathers to adopt the reasonable coarse of employing the preposition “*with*.” It does indeed equally well with the preposition “*and*,” confute the mischief of Sabellius; and it sets forth quite as well as “*and*” the distinction of the hypostases, as in the words “I and my Father will come,” and “I and my Father are one.” In addition to this the proof it contains of the eternal fellowship and uninterrupted conjunction is excellent. For to say that the Son is *with* the Father is to exhibit at once the distinction of the hypostases, and the inseparability of the fellowship. The same thing is observable even in mere human matters, for the conjunction “*and*” intimates that there is a common element in an action, while the preposition “*with*” declares in some sense as well the communion in action. As, for instance;-Paul and Timothy sailed to Macedonia, but both Tychicus and Onesimus were sent to the Colossians. Hence we learn that they did the same thing. But suppose we are told that they sailed *with*, and were sent *with*? Then we are informed in addition that they carried out the action in company with one another. Thus while the word “with” upsets the error of Sabellius as no other word

can, it routs also sinners who err in the very opposite direction; those, I mean, who separate the Son from the Father and the Spirit from the Son, by intervals of time.

60. As compared with “*in*,” there is this difference, that while “*with*” sets forth the mutual conjunction of the parties associated, — as, for example, of those who sail with, or dwell with, or do anything else in common, “*in*” shews their relation to that matter in which they happen to be acting. For we no sooner hear the words “sail in” or “dwell in” than we form the idea of the boat or the house. Such is the distinction between these words in ordinary usage; and laborious investigation might discover further. illustrations. I have no time to examine into the nature of the syllables. Since then it has been shewn that “*with*” most clearly gives the sense of conjunction, let it be declared, if you will, to be under safe-conduct, and cease to wage your savage and truceless war against it. Nevertheless, though the word is naturally thus auspicious, yet if any one likes, in the ascription of praise, to couple the names by the syllable “and,” and to give glory, as we have taught in the Gospel, in the formula of baptism, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, be it so: no one will make any objection. On these conditions, if you will, let us come to terms. But our foes would rather surrender their tongues than accept this word. It is this that rouses against us their implacable and truceless war. We must offer the ascription of glory to God, it is contended, in the Holy Ghost, and not and to the Holy Ghost, and they passionately cling to this word in, as though it lowered the Spirit. It will therefore be not unprofitable to speak at greater length about it; and I shall be astonished if they do not: when they have heard what we have to urge, reject the in as itself a traitor to their cause, and a deserter to the side of the glory of the Spirit.

CHAPTER 26

That the word "in," in as many senses as it bears is understood of the Spirit.

61. NOW, short and simple as this utter-ante is, it appears to me, as I consider it that its meanings are many and various. For of the senses in which "*in*" is used, we find that all help our conceptions of the Spirit. *Form* is said to be *in Matter*; *Power* to be *in* what is capable of it; *Habit* to be in him who is affected by it; and so on. Therefore, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit perfects rational beings, completing their excellence, He is analogous to Form. For he, who no longer "lives after the flesh," but, being "led by the Spirit of God," is called a Son of God, being "conformed to the image of the Son of God," is described as spiritual. And as is the power of seeing in the healthy eye, so is the operation of the Spirit in the purified soul. Wherefore also Paul prays for the Ephesians that they may have their "eyes enlightened" by "the Spirit of wisdom." And as the art in him who has acquired it, so is the grace of the Spirit in the recipient ever present, though not continuously in operation. For as the art is potentially in the artist, but only in operation when he is working in accordance with it, so also the Spirit is ever present with those that are worthy, but works, as need requires, in prophecies, or in healings, or in some other actual carrying into effect of His potential action. Furthermore as in our bodies is health, or heat, or, generally, their variable conditions, so, very frequently is the Spirit in the soul; since He does not abide with those who, on account of the instability of their will, easily reject the grace which they have received. An instance of this is seen in Saul, and the seventy elders of the children of Israel, except Eldad and Medad, with whom alone the Spirit appears to have remained, and, generally, any one similar to these in character. And like reason in the soul, which is at one time the thought in the heart, and at another speech uttered by the tongue, so is the Holy Spirit, as when He "beareth witness with our spirit," and when lie "cries in our hearts, Abba, Father," or when He speaks on our behalf, as it is said, "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of our Father which speaketh in you." Again, the Spirit is conceived of, in relation to the distribution of gifts, as a whole in parts. For we all are "members one of another, having

girls differing according to the grace that is given us." Wherefore "the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you," but all together complete the Body of Christ in the Unity of the Spirit, and render to one another the needful aid that comes of the gifts. "But God hath set the members in the body, every one of them, as it hath pleased Him." But "the members have the same care for one another," according to the inborn spiritual communion of their sympathy. Wherefore, "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." And as parts in the whole so are we individually in the Spirit, because we all "were baptized in one body into one spirit."

62. It is an extraordinary statement, but it is none the less true, that the Spirit is frequently spoken of as the *place* of them that are being sanctified, and it will become evident that even by this figure the Spirit, so far from being degraded, is rather glorified. For words applicable to the body are, for the sake of clearness, frequently transferred in scripture to spiritual conceptions. Accordingly we find the Psalmist, even in reference to God, saying "Be Thou to me a champion God and a strong place to save me" and concerning the Spirit "behold there is place by me, and stand upon a rock." Plainly meaning the place or contemplation in the Spirit wherein, after Moses had entered thither, he was able to see God intelligibly manifested to him. This is the special and peculiar place of true worship; for it is said "Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place... but in the place the Lord thy God shall choose." Now what is a spiritual burnt offering? "The sacrifice of praise." And in what place do we offer it? In the Holy Spirit. Where have we learnt this? From the Lord himself in the words "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." This place Jacob saw and said "The Lord is in this place." It follows that the Spirit is verily the place of the saints and the saint is the proper place for the Spirit, offering himself as he does for the indwelling of God, and called God's Temple. So Paul speaks in Christ, saying "In the sight of God we speak in Christ," and Christ in Paul, as he himself says "Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me." So also in the Spirit he speaketh mysteries, and again the Spirit speaks in him.

63. In relation to the originate, then, the Spirit is said to *be in* them "in divers portions and in divers manners," while in relation to the Father and the Son it is more consistent with true religion to assert Him not to *be in* but to *be with*. For the grace flowing from Him when He dwells in those that are worthy, and carries out His own operations, is well described as existing in those that are able to receive Him. On the other hand His essential existence before the ages, and His ceaseless abiding with Son and Father, cannot be contemplated without requiring titles expressive of eternal conjunction. For absolute and real co-existence is predicated in the case of things which are mutually inseparable. We say, for instance, that beat exists in the hot iron, but in the case of the actual fire it co-exists; and, similarly, that health exists in the body, but that life co-exists with the soul. It follows that wherever the fellowship is intimate, congenital, and inseparable, the word *with* is more expressive, suggesting, as it does, the idea of inseparable fellowship. Where on the other hand the grace flowing from the Spirit naturally comes and goes, it is properly and truly said to exist *in*, even if on account of the firmness of the recipients' disposition to good the grace abides with them continually. Thus whenever we have in mind the Spirit's proper rank, we contemplate Him as being *with* the Father and the Son, but when we think of the grace that flows from Him operating on those who participate in it, we say that the Spirit is in us. And the doxology which we offer "in the Spirit" is not an acknowledgment of His rank; it is rather a confession of our own weakness, while we shew that we are not sufficient to glorify Him of ourselves, but our sufficiency is in the Holy Spirit. Enabled in, [or by,] Him we render thanks to our God for the benefits we have received, according to the measure of our purification from evil, as we receive one a larger and another a smaller share of the aid of the Spirit, that we may offer "the sacrifice of praise to God." According to one use, then, it is thus that we offer our thanksgiving, as the true religion requires, *in* the Spirit; although it is not quite unobjectionable that any one should testify of himself "the Spirit of God is in me, and I offer glory after being made wise through the grace that flows from Him." For to a Paul it is becoming to say "I think also that I have the Spirit of God," and again, "that good thing which was committed to thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." And of Daniel it is fitting to say that "the Holy Spirit of God is in him," and similarly of men who are like these in virtue.

64. Another sense may however be given to the phrase, that just as the Father is seen in the Son, so is the Son in the Spirit. The “worship in the Spirit” suggests the idea of the operation of our intelligence being carried on in the light, as may be learned from the words spoken to the woman of Samaria. Deceived as she was by the customs of her country into the belief that worship was local, our Lord, with the object of giving her better instruction, said that worship ought to be offered “in Spirit and in Truth,” plainly meaning by the Truth, Himself. As then we speak of the worship offered in the Image of God the Father as worship in the Son, so too do we speak of worship in the Spirit as shewing in Himself the Godhead of the Lord. Wherefore even in our worship the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Father and the Son. If you remain outside the Spirit you will not be able even to worship at all; and on your becoming in Him you will in no wise be able to dissever Him from God; — any more than you will divorce light from visible objects. For it is impossible to behold the Image of the invisible God except by the enlightenment of the Spirit, and impracticable for him to fix his gaze on the Image to dissever the light from the Image, because the cause of vision is of necessity seen at the same time as the visible objects. Thus fitly and consistently do we behold the “Brightness of the glory” of God by means of the illumination of the Spirit, and by means of the “Express Image” we are led up to Him of whom He is the Express Image and Seal, graven to the like.

CHAPTER 27

Of the origin of the word "with," and what force it has.
Also concerning the unwritten laws of the church.

65. THE word "*in*" say our opponents, "is exactly appropriate to the Spirit, and sufficient for every thought concerning Him. Why then, they ask, have we introduced this new phrase, saying, "*with* the Spirit" instead of "*in* the Holy Spirit," thus employing an expression which is quite unnecessary, and sanctioned by no usage in the churches? Now it has been asserted in the previous portion of this treatise that the word "*in*" has not been specially allotted to the Holy Spirit, but is common to the Father and the Son. It has also been, in my opinion, sufficiently demonstrated that, so far from detracting anything from the dignity of the Spirit, it leads all, but those whose thoughts are wholly perverted, to the sublimest height. It remains for me to trace the origin of the word "*with*;" to explain what force it has, and to shew that it is in harmony with Scripture.

66. Of the beliefs and practices whether generally accepted or publicly enjoined which are preserved in the Church some we possess derived from written teaching; others we have received delivered to us "in a mystery" by the tradition of the apostles; and both of these in relation to true religion have the same force. And these no one will gainsay; — no one, at all events, who is even moderately versed in the institutions of the Church. For were we to attempt to reject such customs as have no written authority, on the ground that the importance they possess is small, we should unintentionally injure the Gospel in its very vitals; or, rather, should make our public definition a mere phrase and nothing more. For instance, to take the first and most general example, who is thence who has taught us in writing to sign with the sign of the cross those who have trusted in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ? What writing has taught us to turn to the East at the prayer? Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For we are not, as is well known, content with what the apostle or the Gospel has recorded, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words as being of great importance to the validity of the ministry, and these we derive from unwritten teaching. Moreover

we bless the water of baptism and the oil of the chrism, and besides this the catechumen who is being baptized. On what written authority do we do this? Is not our authority silent and mystical tradition? Nay, by what written word is the anointing of oil itself taught? And whence comes the custom of baptizing thrice? And as to the other customs of baptism from what Scripture do we derive the renunciation of Satan and his angels? Does not this come from that unpublished and secret teaching which our fathers guarded in a silence out of the reach of curious meddling and inquisitive investigation? Well had they learnt the lesson that the awful dignity of the mysteries is best preserved by silence. What the uninitiated are not even allowed: to look at was hardly likely to be publicly paraded about in written documents. What was the meaning of the mighty Moses in not making all the parts of the tabernacle open to every one? The profane he stationed without the sacred barriers; the first courts he conceded to the purer; the Levites alone he judged worthy of being servants of the Deity; sacrifices and burnt offerings and the rest of the priestly functions he allotted to the priests; one chosen out of all he admitted to the shrine, and even this one not always but on only one day in the year, and of this one day a time was fixed for his entry so that he might gaze on the Holy of Holies amazed at the strangeness and novelty of the sight. Moses was wise enough to know that contempt stretches to the trite and to the obvious, while a keen interest is naturally associated with the unusual and the unfamiliar. In the same manner the Apostles and Fathers who laid down laws for the Church from the beginning thus guarded the awful dignity of the mysteries in secrecy and silence, for what is bruited abroad random among the common folk is no mystery at all. This is the reason for our tradition of unwritten precepts and practices, that the knowledge of our dogmas may not become neglected and contemned by the multitude through familiarity. “Dogma” and “Kerugma” are two distinct things; the former is observed in silence; the latter is proclaimed to all the world. One form of this silence is the obscurity employed in Scripture, which makes the meaning of “dogmas” difficult to be understood for the very advantage of the reader: Thus we all look to the East at our prayers, but few of us know that we are seeking our own old country, Paradise, which God planted in Eden in the East. We pray standing, on the first day of the week, but we do not all know the reason. On the day of the resurrection (or “standing again” Grk. ἀνάστασις we remind ourselves of the grace

given to us by standing at prayer, not only because we rose with Christ, and are bound to “seek those things which are above,” but because the day seems to us to be in some sense an image of the age which we expect, wherefore, though it is the beginning of days, it is not called by Moses *first*, but *one*. For he says “There was evening, and there was morning, one day,” as though the same day often recurred. Now “one and “eighth” are the same, in itself distinctly indicating that really “one” and “eighth” of which the Psalmist makes mention in certain titles of the Psalms, the state which follows after this present time, the day which knows no waning or eventide, and no successor, that age which endeth not or groweth old. Of necessity, then, the church teaches her own foster children to offer their prayers on that day standing, to the end that through continual reminder of the endless life we may not neglect to make provision for our removal thither. Moreover all Pentecost is a reminder of the resurrection expected in the age to come. For that one and first day, if seven times multiplied by seven, completes the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost; for, beginning at the first, Pentecost ends with the same, making fifty revolutions through the like intervening days. And so it is a likeness of eternity, beginning as it does and ending, as in a circling course, at the same point. On this day the rules of the church have educated us to prefer the upright attitude of prayer, for by their plain reminder they, as It were, make our mind to dwell no longer in the present but in the future. Moreover every time we fall upon our knees and rise from off them we shew by the very deed that by our sin we fell down to earth, and by the loving kindness of our Creator were called hack to heaven.

67. Time will fail me if I attempt to recount the unwritten mysteries of the Church. Of the rest I say nothing; but of the very confession of our faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what is the written source? If it be granted that, as we are baptized, so also under the obligation to believe, we make our confession in like terms as our baptism, in accordance with the tradition of our baptism and in conformity with the principles of true religion, let our opponents grant us too the right to be as consistent in our ascription of glory as in our confession of faith. If they deprecate our doxology on the ground that it lacks written authority, let them give us the written evidence for the confession of our faith and the other matters which we have enumerated. While the unwritten traditions are so many,

and their bearing on "the mystery of godliness is so important, can they refuse to allow us a single word which has come down to us from the Fathers; — which we found, derived from untutored custom, abiding in unperverted churches; — a word for which the arguments are strong, and which contributes in no small degree to the completeness of the force of the mystery?

68. The force of both expressions has now been explained. I will proceed to state once more wherein they agree and wherein they differ from one another; — not that they are opposed in mutual antagonism, but that each contributes its own meaning to true religion. The preposition "*in*" states the truth rather relatively to ourselves; while "*with*" proclaims the fellowship of the Spirit with God. Wherefore we use both words, by the one expressing the dignity of the Spirit; by the other announcing the grace that is with us. Thus we ascribe glory to God both "in" the Spirit, and "*with*" the Spirit; and herein it is not our word that we use, but we follow the teaching of the Lord as we might a fixed rule, and transfer His word to things connected and closely related, and of which the conjunction in the mysteries is necessary. We have deemed ourselves under a necessary obligation to combine in our confession of the faith Him who is numbered with Them at Baptism, and we have treated the confession of the faith as the origin and parent of the doxology. What, then, is to be done? They must now instruct us either not to baptize as we have received, or not to believe as we were baptized, or not to ascribe glory as we have believed. Let any man prove if he can that the relation of sequence in these acts is not necessary and unbroken; or let any man deny if he can that innovation here must mean ruin everywhere. Yet they never stop dinning in our ears that the ascription of glory "with" the Holy Spirit is unauthorized and unscriptural and the like. We have stated that so far as the sense goes it is the same to say "glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost," and glory be to the Father and to the Son with the Holy Ghost." It is impossible for any one to reject or cancel the syllable "and," which is derived from the very words of our Lord, and there is nothing to hinder the acceptance of its equivalent. What amount of difference and similarity there is between the two we have already shewn. And our argument is confirmed by the fact that the Apostle uses either word indifferently, — saying at one time "in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our

God;” at another “when ye are gathered together, and my Spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus,” with no idea that it makes any difference to the connection of the names whether he use the conjunction or the preposition.

CHAPTER 28

That our opponents refuse to concede in the case of the Spirit the terms which Scripture uses in the case of men, as reigning together with Christ.

69. BUT let us see if we can bethink us of any defense of this usage of our fathers; for they who first originated the expression are more open to blame than we ourselves. Paul in his Letter to the Colossians says, "And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision... hath He quickened together with" Christ. Did then God give to a whole people and to the Church the boon of the life with Christ, and yet the life with Christ does not belong to the Holy Spirit? But if this is impious even to think of, is it not rightly reverent so to make our confession, as They are by nature in close conjunction? Furthermore what boundless lack of sensibility does it not shew in these men to confess that the Saints are with Christ, (if, as we know is the case, Paul, on becoming absent from the body, is present with the Lord, and, after departing, is with Christ) and, so far as lies in their power, to refuse to allow to the Spirit to be with Christ even to the same extent as men? And Paul calls himself a "laborer together with God" in the dispensation of the Gospel; will they bring an indictment for impiety against us, if we apply the term "fellow-laborer" to the Holy Spirit, through whom in every creature under heaven the Gospel bringeth forth fruit? The life of them that have trusted in the Lord "is hidden," it would seem, "with Christ in God, and when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall" they themselves also "appear with Him in glory;" and is the Spirit of life Himself, "Who made us free from the law of sin," not with Christ, both in the secret and hidden life with Him, and in the manifestation of the glory which we expect to be manifested in the saints? We are "heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ," and is the Spirit without part or lot in the fellowship of God and of His Christ? "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God;" and are we not to allow to the Spirit even that testimony of His fellowship with God which we have learnt from the Lord? For the height of folly is reached if we through the faith in Christ which is in the Spirit hope that we shall be raised together with Him and sit together in heavenly places, whenever

He shall change our vile body from the natural to the spiritual, and yet refuse to assign to the Spirit any share in the sitting together, or in the glory, or anything else which we have received from Him. Of all the boons of which, in accordance with the indefeasible grant of Him who has promised them, we have believed ourselves worthy, are we to allow none to the Holy Spirit, as though they were all above His dignity? It is yours according to your merit to be "ever with the Lords" and you expect to be caught up" in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air and to be ever with the Lord." You declare the man who numbers and ranks the Spirit with the Father and the Son to be guilty of intolerable impiety. Can you really now deny that the Spirit is with Christ?

70. I am ashamed to add the rest. You expect to be glorified together with Christ; ("if so be that we suffer with him that we may be also glorified together;") but you do not glorify the "Spirit of holiness" together with Christ, as though He were not worthy to receive equal honor even with you. You hope to "reign with" Christ; but you" do despite unto the Spirit of grace" by assigning Him the rank of a slave and a subordinate. And I say this not to demonstrate that so much is due to the Spirit in the ascription of glory, but to prove the unfairness of those who will not ever give so much as this, and shrink from the fellowship of the Spirit with Son and Father as from impiety. Who could touch on these things without a sigh? Is it not so plain as to be within the perception even of a child that this present state of things preludes the threatened eclipse of the faith? The undeniable has become the uncertain. We profess belief in the Spirit, and then we quarrel with our own confessions. We are baptized, and begin to fight again. We call upon Him as the Prince of Life, and then despise Him as a slave like ourselves. We received Him with the Father and the Son, and we dishonor Him as a part of creation. Those who "know not what they ought to pray for," even though they be induced to utter a word of the Spirit with awe, as though coming near His dignity, yet prune down all that exceeds the exact proportion of their speech. They ought rather to bewail their weakness, in that we are powerless to express in words our gratitude for the benefits which we are actually receiving; for He "passes all understanding," and convicts speech of its natural inability even to approach His dignity in the least degree; as it is written in the Book of Wisdom," Exalt Him as much as you can, for even yet will He far exceed;

and when you exalt Him put forth all your strength, and be not weary, for you can never go far enough.” Verily terrible is the account to be given for words of this kind by you who have heard from God who cannot lie that for blasphemy against the Holy Ghost there is no forgiveness.

CHAPTER 29

Enumeration of the illustrious men in the Church who in their writings have used the word "with."

71. In answer to the objection that the doxology in the form "with the Spirit" has no written authority, we maintain that if there is no other instance of that which is unwritten, then this must not be received. But if the greater number of our mysteries are admitted into our constitution without written authority, then, in company with the many others, let us receive this one. For I hold it apostolic to abide also by the unwritten traditions. "I praise you," it is said, "that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances as I delivered them to you;" and "Hold fast the traditions which ye have been taught whether by word, or our Epistle." One of these traditions is the practice which is now before us, which they who ordained from the beginning, rooted firmly in the churches, delivering it to their successors, and its use through long custom advances pace by pace with time. If, as in a Court of Law, we were at a loss for documentary evidence, but were able to bring before you a large number of witnesses, would you not give your vote for our acquittal? I think so; for "at the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established." And if we could prove clearly to you that a long period of time was in our favor, should we not have seemed to you to urge with reason that this suit ought not to be brought into court against us? For ancient dogmas inspire a certain sense of awe, venerable as they are with a hoary antiquity. I will therefore give you a list of the supporters of the word (and the time too must be taken into account in relation to what passes unquestioned). For it did not originate with us. How could it? We, in comparison with the time during which this word has been in vogue, are, to use the words of Job, "but of yesterday." I myself, if I must speak of what concerns me individually, cherish this phrase as a legacy left me by my fathers. It was delivered to me by one who spent a long life in the service of God, and by him I was both baptized, and admitted to the ministry of the church. While examining, so far as I could, if any of the blessed men of old used the words to which objection is now made, I found many worthy of credit both on account of their early date, and also a characteristic in which they

are unlike the men of today— because of the exactness of their knowledge. Of these some coupled the word in the doxology by the preposition, others by the conjunction, but were in no case supposed to be acting divergently, — at least so far as the right sense of true religion is concerned.

72. There is the famous Irenaeus, and Clement of Rome; Dionysius of Rome, and, strange to say, Dionysius of Alexandria, in his second Letter to his namesake, on “Conviction and Defense,” so concludes. I will give you his very words. “Following all these, we, too, since we have received from the presbyters who were before us a form and rule, offering thanksgiving in the same terms with them, thus conclude our Letter to you. To God the Father and the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, glory and might for ever and ever; amen.” And no one can say that this passage has been altered. He would not have so persistently stated that he had received a form and rule if he had said “*in* the Spirit.” For of this phrase the use is abundant: it was the use of “*with*” which required defense. Dionysius moreover in the middle of his treatise thus writes in opposition to the Sabellians, “If by the hypostases being three they say that they are divided, there are three, though they like it not. Else let them destroy the divine Trinity altogether.” And again: “most divine on this account after the Unity is the Trinity.” Clement, in more primitive fashion, writes, “God lives, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost.” And now let us bear how Irenaeus, who lived near the times of the Apostles, mentions the Spirit in his work “Against the Heresies.” “The Apostle rightly calls *carnal* them that are unbridled and carried away to their own desires, having no desire for the Holy Spirit,” and in another passage Irenaeus says, “The Apostle exclaimed that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of the heavens lest we, being without share in the divine Spirit, fall short of the kingdom of the heavens.” If any one thinks Eusebius of Palestine worthy of credit on account of his wide experience, I point further to the very words he uses in discussing questions concerning the polygamy of the ancients. Stirring up himself to his work, he writes “invoking the holy God of the Prophets, the Author of light, through our Savior Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit.”

73. Origen, too, in many of his expositions of the Psalms, we find using the form of doxology “with the Holy Ghost. The opinions which he held

concerning the Spirit were not always and everywhere sound; nevertheless in many passages even he himself reverently recognizes the force of established usage, and expresses himself concerning the Spirit in terms consistent with true religion. It is, if I am not mistaken, in the Sixth Book of his *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* that he distinctly makes the Spirit an object of worship. His words are: — “The washing or water is a symbol of the cleaning of the soul which is washed clean of all filth that comes of wickedness; but none the less is it also by itself, to him who yields himself to the God-head of the adorable Trinity, through the power of the invocations, the origin and source of blessings.” And again, in his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* “the holy powers,” he says “are able to receive the Only-begotten, and the Godhead of the Holy Spirit.” Thus I apprehend, the powerful influence of tradition frequently impels men to express themselves in terms contradictory to their own opinions. Moreover this form of the doxology was not unknown even to Africanus the historian. In the Fifth Book of his *Epitome of the Times* he says “we who know the weight of those terms, and are not ignorant of the grace of faith, render thanks to the Father, who bestowed on us His own creatures, Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world and our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty with the Holy Ghost, for ever.” The rest of the passages may peradventure be viewed with suspicion; or may really have been altered, and the fact of their having been tampered with will be difficult to detect because the difference consists in a single syllable. Those however which I have quoted at length are out of the reach of any dishonest manipulation, and can easily be verified from the actual works.

I will now adduce another piece of evidence which might perhaps seem insignificant, but because of its antiquity must in nowise be omitted by a defendant who is indicted on a charge of innovation. It seemed fitting to our fathers not to receive the gift of the light at eventide in silence, but, on its appearing, immediately to give thanks. Who was the author of these words of thanksgiving at the lighting of the lamps, we are not able to say. The people, however, utter the ancient form, and no one has ever reckoned guilty of impiety those who say “We praise Father, Son, and God’s Holy Spirit.” And if any one knows the Hymn of Athenogenes, which, as he was hurrying on to his perfecting by fire, he left as a kind of farewell gift

to his friends, he knows the mind of the martyrs as to the Spirit. On this head I shall say no more.

74. But where shall I rank the great Gregory, and the words uttered by him? Shall we not place among Apostles and Prophets a man who walked by the same Spirit as they; who never through all his days diverged from the footprints of the saints; who maintained, as long as he lived, the exact principles of evangelical citizenship? I am sure that we shall do the truth a wrong if we refuse to number that soul with the people of God, shining as it did like a beacon in the Church of God; for by the fellow-working of the Spirit the power which he had over demons was tremendous, and so gifted was he with the grace of the word "for obedience to the faith among... the nations," that, although only seventeen Christians were handed over to him, he brought the whole people alike in town and country through knowledge to God. He too by Christ's mighty name commanded even rivers to change their course, and caused a lake, which afforded a ground of quarrel to some covetous brethren, to dry up. Moreover his predictions of things to come were such as in no wise to fall short of those of the great prophets. To recount all his wonderful works in detail would be too long a task. By the superabundance of gifts, wrought in him by the Spirit in all power and in signs and in marvels, he was styled a second Moses by the very enemies of the Church. Thus in all that he through grace accomplished, alike byword and deed, a light seemed ever to be shining, token of the heavenly power from the unseen which followed him. To this day he is a great object of admiration to the people of his own neighborhood, and his memory, established in the churches ever fresh and green, is not dulled by length of time. Thus not a practice, not a word, not a mystic rite has been added to the Church besides what he bequeathed to it. Hence truly on account of the antiquity of their institution many of their ceremonies appear to be defective. For his successors in the administration of the Churches could not endure to accept any subsequent discovery in addition to what had had his sanction. Now one of the institutions of Gregory is the very form of the doxology to which objection is now made, preserved by the Church on the authority of his tradition; a statement which may be verified without much trouble by any one who likes to make a short journey. That our Firmilian held this belief is testified by the writings which he has left. The contemporaries also of

the illustrious Meletius say that he was of this opinion. But why quote ancient authorities? Now in the East are not the maintainers of true religion known chiefly by this one term, and separated from their adversaries as by a watchword? I have heard from a certain Mesopotamian, a man at once well skilled in the language and of unperverted opinions, that by the usage of his country it is impossible for any one, even though he may wish to do so, to express himself in any other way, and that they are compelled by the idiom of their mother tongue to offer the doxology by the syllable "and," or, I should more accurately say, by their equivalent expressions. We Cappadocians, too, so speak in the dialect of our country, the Spirit having so early. as the division of tongues foreseen the utility of the phrase. And what of the whole West, almost from Illyricum to the boundaries of our world? Does it not support this word?

75. How then can I be an innovator and creator of new terms, when I adduce as originators and champions of the word whole nations, cities, custom going back beyond the memory of man, men who were pillars of the church and conspicuous for all knowledge and spiritual power? For this cause this banded array of foes is set in motion against me, and town and village and remotest regions are full of my calumniators. Sad and painful are these things to them that seek for peace, but great is the reward of patience for sufferings endured for the Faith's sake. So besides these let sword flash, let axe be whetted, let fire burn fiercer than that of Babylon, let every instrument of torture be set in motion against me. To me nothing is more fearful than failure to fear the threats which the Lord has directed against them that blaspheme the Spirit. Kindly readers will find a satisfactory defense in what I have said, that I accept a phrase so dear and so familiar to the saints, and confirmed by usage so long, inasmuch as, from the day when the Gospel was first preached up to our own time, it is shewn to have been admitted to all full rights within the churches, and, what is of greatest moment, to have been accepted as bearing a sense in accordance with holiness and true religion. But before the great tribunal what have I prepared to say in my defense? This; that I was in the first place led to the glory of the Spirit by the honor conferred by the Lord in associating Him with Himself and with His Father at baptism; and secondly by the introduction of each of us to the knowledge of God by such an initiation; and above all by the fear of the threatened punishment

shutting out the thought of all indignity and unworthy conception. But our opponents, what will they say? After shewing neither reverence for the Lord's honor nor fear of His threats, what kind of defense will they have for their blasphemy? It is for them to make up their mind about their own action or even now to change it. For my own part I would pray most earnestly that the good God will make His peace rule in the hearts of all, so that these men who are swollen with pride and set in battle array against us may be calmed by the Spirit of meekness and of love; and that if they have become utterly savage, and are in an untamable state, He will grant to us at least to bear with long suffering all that we have to bear at their hands. In short "to them that have in themselves the sentence of death," it is not suffering for the sake of the Faith which is painful; what is hard to bear is to fail to fight its battle. The athlete does not so much complain of being wounded in the struggle as of not being able even to secure admission into the stadium. Or perhaps this was the time for silence spoken of by Solomon the wise. For, when life is buffeted by so fierce a storm that all the intelligence of those who are instructed in the word is filled with the deceit of false reasoning and confounded, like an eye filled with dust, when men are stunned by strange and awful noises, when all the world is shaken and everything tottering to its fall, what profits it to cry, as I am really crying, to the wind?

CHAPTER 30

Exposition of the present state of the Churches.

76. TO what then shall I liken our present condition? It may be compared, I think, to some naval battle which has arisen out of time old quarrels, and is fought by men who cherish a deadly hate against one another, of long experience in naval warfare, and eager for the fight. Look, I beg you, at the picture thus raised before your eyes. See the rival fleets rushing in dread array to the attack. With a burst of uncontrollable fury they engage and fight it out. Fancy, if you like, the ships driven to and fro by a raging tempest, while thick darkness falls from the clouds and blackens all the scenes so that watchwords are indistinguishable in the confusion, and all distinction between friend and foe is lost. To fill up the details of the imaginary picture, suppose the sea swollen with billows and whirled up from the deep, while a vehement torrent of rain pours down from the clouds and the terrible waves rise high. From every quarter of heaven the winds beat upon one point, where both the fleets are dashed one against the other. Of the combatants some are turning traitors; some are deserting in the very thick of the fight; some have at one and the same moment to urge on their boats, all beaten by the gale, and to advance against their assailants. Jealousy of authority and the lust of individual mastery splits the sailors into parties which deal mutual death to one another. Think, besides all this, of the confused and unmeaning roar sounding over all the sea, from howling winds, from crashing vessels, from boiling surf, from the yells of the combatants as they express their varying emotions in every kind of noise, so that not a word from admiral or pilot can be heard. The disorder and confusion is tremendous, for the extremity of misfortune, when life is despaired of, gives men license for every kind of wickedness. Suppose, too, that the men are all smitten with the incurable plague of mad love of glory, so that they do not cease from their struggle each to get the better of the other, while their ship is actually settling down into the deep.

77. Turn now I beg you from this figurative description to the unhappy reality. Did it not at one time appear that the Arian schism, after its separation into a sect opposed to the Church of God, stood itself alone in hostile array? But when the attitude of our foes against us was changed

from one of long standing and bitter strife to one of open warfare, then, as is well known, the war was split up in more ways than I can tell into many subdivisions, so that all men were stirred to a state of inveterate hatred alike by common party spirit and individual suspicion. But what storm at sea was ever so fierce and wild as this tempest of the Churches? In it every landmark of the Fathers has been moved; every foundation. every bulwark of opinion has been shaken: everything buoyed up on the unsound is dashed about and shaken down. We attack one another. We are overthrown by one another. If our enemy is not the first to strike us, we are wounded by the comrade at our side. If a foeman is stricken and falls, his fellow soldier tramples him down. There is at least this bond of union between us that we hate our common foes, but no sooner have the enemy gone by than we find enemies in one another. And who could make a complete list of all the wrecks? Some have gone to the bottom on the attack of the enemy, some through the unsuspected treachery, of their allies, some from the blundering of their own officers. We see, as it were, whole churches, crews and all, dashed and shattered upon the sunken reefs of disingenuous heresy, while others of the enemies of the Spirit of Salvation have seized the helm and made shipwreck of the faith. And then the disturbances wrought by the princes of the world have caused the downfall of the people with a violence unmatched by that of hurricane or whirlwind. The luminaries of the world, which God set to give light to the souls of the people, have been driven from their homes, and a darkness verily gloomy and disheartening has settled on the Churches. The terror of universal ruin is already imminent, and yet their mutual rivalry is so unbounded as to blunt all sense of danger. Individual hatred is of more importance than the general and common warfare, for men by whom the immediate gratification of ambition is esteemed more highly than the rewards that await us in a time to come, prefer the glory of getting the better of their opponents to securing the common welfare of mankind. So all men alike, each as best he can, lift the hand of murder against one another. Harsh rises the cry of the combatants encountering one another in dispute; already all the Church is almost full of the inarticulate screams, the unintelligible noises, rising from the ceaseless agitations that divert the right rule of the doctrine of true religion, now in the direction of excess, now in that of defect. On the one hand are they who confound the Persons and are carried away into Judaism; on the other hand are they that, through

the opposition of the natures, pass into heathenism. Between these opposite parties inspired Scripture is powerless to mediate; the traditions of the apostles cannot suggest terms of arbitration. Plain speaking is fatal to friendship, and disagreement in opinion all the ground that is wanted for a quarrel. No oaths of confederacy are so efficacious in keeping men true to sedition as their likeness in error. Every one is a theologue though he have his soul branded with more spots than can be counted. The result is that innovators find a plentiful supply of men ripe for faction, while self-appointed scions of the house of place-hunters reject the government of the Holy Spirit and divide the chief dignities of the Churches. The institutions of the Gospel have now everywhere been thrown into confusion by want of discipline; there is an indescribable pushing for the chief places while every self-advertiser tries to force himself into high office. The result of this lust for ordering is that our people are in a state of wild confusion for lack of being ordered; the exhortations of those in authority are rendered wholly purposeless and void, because there is not a man but, out of his ignorant impudence, thinks that it is just as much his duty to give orders to other people, as it is to obey any one else.

78. So, since no human voice is strong enough to be heard in such a disturbance, I reckon silence more profitable than speech, for if there is any truth in the words of the Preacher, “The words of wise men are heard in quiet,” in the present condition of things any discussion of them must be anything but becoming. I am moreover restrained by the Prophet’s saying, “Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time,” a time when some trip up their neighbors’ heels, some stamp on a man when he is down, and others clap their hands with joy, but there is not one to feel for the fallen and hold out a helping hand, although according to the ancient law he is not uncondemned, who passes by even his enemy’s beast of burden fallen under his load. This is not the state of things now. Why not? The love of many has waxed cold; brotherly concord is destroyed, the very name of unity is ignored, brotherly admonitions are heard no more, nowhere is there Christian pity, nowhere falls the tear of sympathy. Now there is no one to receive “the weak in faith,” but mutual hatred has blazed so high among fellow clansmen that they are more delighted at a neighbor’s fall than at their own success. Just as in a plague, men of the most regular lives suffer from the same sickness

as the rest, because they catch the disease by communication with the infected, so nowadays by the evil rivalry which possesses our souls we are carried away to an emulation in wickedness, and are all of us each as bad as the others. Hence merciless and sour sit the judges of the erring; unfeeling and hostile are the critics of the well disposed. And to such a depth is this evil rooted among us that we have become more brutish than the brutes; they do at least herd with their fellows, but our most savage warfare is with our own people.

79. For all these reasons I ought to have kept silence, but I was drawn in the other direction by love, which “seeketh not her own,” and desires to overcome every difficulty put in her way by time and circumstance. I was taught too by the children at Babylon, that, when there is no one to support the cause of true religion, we ought alone and all unaided to do our duty. They from out of the midst of the flame lifted up their voices in hymns and praise to God, reeking not of the host that set the truth at naught, but sufficient, three only that they were, with one another. Wherefore we too are undismayed at the cloud of our enemies, and, resting our hope on the aid of the Spirit, have, with all boldness, proclaimed the truth. Had I not so done, it would truly have been terrible that the blasphemers of the Spirit should so easily be emboldened in their attack upon true religion, and that we, with so mighty an ally and supporter at our side, should shrink from the service of that doctrine, which by the tradition of the Fathers has been preserved by an unbroken sequence of memory to our own day. A further powerful incentive to my undertaking was the warm fervor of your “love unfeigned,” a and the seriousness and taciturnity of your disposition; a guarantee that you would not publish what I was about to say to all the world, — not because it would not be worth making known, but to avoid casting pearls before swine, My task is now done. If you find what I have said satisfactory, let this make an end to our discussion of these matters. If you think any point requires further elucidation, pray do not hesitate to pursue the investigation with all diligence, and to add to your information by putting any uncontroversial question. Either through me or through others the Lord will grant full explanation on matters which have yet to be made clear, according to the knowledge supplied to the worthy by the Holy Spirit. Amen.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HEXAEMERON

The *Hexaemeron* is the title on nine homilies delivered by St. Basil on the cosmogony of the opening chapters of Genesis. When and where they were delivered is quite uncertain. They are Lenten sermons, delivered at both the morning and evening services, and appear to have been listened to by working men. (*Hom.* in.1). Some words in *Hom.* viii. have confirmed the opinion that they were preached extempore, in accordance with what is believed to have been Basil's ordinary practice. Internal evidence points in the same direction for though a marked contrast might be expected between the style of a work intended to be read, like the *De Spiritu Sancto*, and that of orations to be spoken in public, the *Hexaemeron* shows signs of being an unwritten composition.

In earlier ages it was the most celebrated and admired of Basil's works. Photius (Migne, Pat. Gr. cxli) puts it first of all, and speaks warmly of its eloquence and force. As an example of oratory he would rank it with the works of Plato and Demosthenes.

Suidas singles it out for special praise. Jerome (*De Viris Illust.*) among Basil's works names only the *Hexaemeron*, the *De Sp. Scto,* and the treatise *Contra Eunomium.*

That Basil's friends should think highly of it is only what might be expected. "Whenever I take his *Hexaemeron,* in hand," says Gregory of Nazianzus, (*Orat.* xliii.) "and quote its words, I am brought face to face with my Creator: I begin to understand the method of creation: I feel more awe than ever I did before, when I only looked at God's work with my eyes."

Basil’s brother Gregory, in the *Proemium* to his own *Hexaemeron*, speaks in exaggerated terms of Basil’s work as inspired, and as being, in his opinion, as admirable as that of Moses.

The *Hexaemeron* of Ambrose is rather an imitation than a translation or adaption of that of Basil. Basil’s *Hexaemeron* was translated into Latin by Eustathuis Afer (c. A.D., 440) and is said to have been also translated by Dionysius Exiguus, the Scythian monk of the 6th C. to whom is due our custom of dating from the Savior’s birth.

More immediately interested to English readers is the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation attributed to AElfric, Abbot of St. Albans in 969, and by some identified with the AElfric who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 996 to 1006. This is extant in a MS. numbered Junius 23 in the Bodleian Library, and was collated with the MS. Jun. 47 in the same, a transcript of a MS. in the Hatton Collection, by the Rev. Henry W. Norman for his edition and translation published in 1848. It is nowhere a literal translation, but combines with the thought of St. Basil extracts from the *Commentary upon Genesis* of the Venerable Bede, as well as original matter. It is entitled

STI BASILII EXAMERON, JAET IS BE GODES SIX DAGA WEORCVM

“L’Hexameron,” writes Failon, “est l’explication de l’oeurve des six jours, explication souvent tentee avant et apres Saint Basile. ‘Il n’est persone parmi les hommes, disait Theophile d’Antioche au deuxieme siecle, qui puisse dignement faire le recit et exposer toute l’ecomomie de l’oeuvre des six jours; ent il mille bouches et mille langues. . . Beaucoup d’ecrivains ont tente ce recit; ils ont pris pour sujet, les uns la creation du monde, les autres l’origine de l’homme, et peut-etre n’ont ils pas fait jaillir une etincelle qai fut digne de la verite. Nous ne pouvons savoir ce que fut l’Hexameron de Saint Hippolyte et nous ne savons guere qu’une chose de celui d’Origene; c’est qu’il denaturait completement le recit mosaique et n’y voyait que ses allegories. L’Hexameron de Saint Basile, par la putete de la doctrince et la beaute de style, fit disparaitre tous ceux qui l’avaient precede.” So, too bishop Fessler. “Sapienter, pie, et admodum eloquenter istae homiliae confectae sunt; quaedam explicationes physicae profecto juxta placita scientiae illius aetatis dijudicandae sunt.” On the other hand

the prominence of the "scientiae illius aetatis" is probably the reason why the Hexaemeron has received from adverse critics less favor than it deserves. "Diese letztern,: *i.e.* the Homilies in question, says Bohringer, "erlangten im Alterthum eine ganz unverdiente Beruhmtheit...Die Art, wie Basil seine Aufgabe loste, ist diese; er nummt die mosaische Erzahlung von der Schopfung Vers fur Vers vor, erklart sie von dem naturhistorischen Standpunkt seiner Zeit aus, wobei er Gelegenheit nimmit, die Ansichten der griechischen Philosophen von der Weltschopfung u. s. w. zu widerlegen, und scholiesst dann mit moralischer und religioser Nutzandwendung, um den Stoff auch fur Geist und Herz seiner Zuhorer fruchtbar zu machen. Es braucht indess kaum bemerkt zu werden, dass vom naturwissenschaftlichen wie exegetischen Standpunkt unserer Zeit diese Arbeit wenig Werth mehr hat." *The Three Cappadocians.* But in truth, the fact that Basil is not ahead of the science of his time is not to his discredit. It is to his credit that he is abreast with it; and this, with the exception of his geography, he appears to be. Of him we may say, as Bp. Lightfoot writes of St. Clement, in connection with the crucial instance of the Phoenix, "it appears that he is not more credulous than the most learned and intelligent heathen writers of the preceding and following generations." He reads the Book of Genesis in the light of the scientific knowledge of his age, and in the amplification and illustration of Holy Scripture by the supposed aid of this supposed knowledge, neither he nor his age stands alone. Later centuries may possibly not accept all the science of the XIXth.

HOMILY 1

In the Beginning God made the Heaven and the Earth.

1. IT is right that any one beginning to narrate the formation of the world should begin with the good order which reigns in visible things. I am about to speak of the creation of heaven and earth, which was not spontaneous, as some have imagined, but drew its origin from God. What ear is worthy to hear such a tale? How earnestly the soul should prepare itself to receive such high lessons! How pure it should be from carnal affections, how unclouded by worldly disquietudes, how active and ardent in its researches, how eager to find in its surroundings an idea of God which may be worthy of Him!

But before weighing the justice of these remarks, before examining all the sense contained in these few words, let us see who addresses them to us. Because, if the weakness of our intelligence does not allow us to penetrate the depth of the thoughts of the writer, yet we shall be involuntarily drawn to give faith to his words by the force of his authority. Now it is Moses who has composed this history; Moses, who, when still at the breast, is described as exceeding fair; Moses, whom the daughter of Pharaoh adopted; who received from her a royal education, and who had for his teachers the wise men of Egypt; Moses, who disdained the pomp of royalty, and, to share the humble condition of his compatriots, preferred to be persecuted with the people of God rather than to enjoy the fleeting delights of sin; Moses, who received from nature such a love of justice that, even before the leadership of the people of God was committed to him, be was impelled, by a natural horror of evil, to pursue malefactors even to the point of punishing them by death; Moses, who, banished by those whose benefactor he had been, hastened to escape from the tumults of Egypt and took refuge in Ethiopia, living there far from former pursuits, and passing forty years in the contemplation of nature; Moses, finally, who, at the age of eighty, saw God, as far as it is possible for man to see Him; or rather as it had not previously been granted to man to see Him, according to the testimony of God Himself, “If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so,

who is faithful in all mine house, with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches.” It is this man, whom God judged worthy to behold Him, face to face, like the angels, who imparts to us what he has learnt from God. Let us listen then to these words of truth written without the help of the “enticing words of man’s wisdom” by the dictation of the Holy Spirit; words destined to produce not the applause of those who hear them, but the salvation of those who are instructed by them.

2. “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” I stop struck with admiration at this thought. What shall I first say? Where shall I begin my story? Shall I show forth the vanity of the Gentiles? Shall I exalt the truth of our faith? The philosophers of Greece have made much ado to explain nature, and not one of their systems has remained firm and unshaken, each being overturned by its successor. It is vain to refute them; they are sufficient in themselves to destroy one another. Those who were too ignorant to rise to a knowledge of a God, could not allow that an intelligent cause presided at the birth of the Universe; a primary error that involved them in sad consequences. Some had recourse to material principles and attributed the origin of the Universe to the elements of the world. Others imagined that atoms, and indivisible bodies, molecules and ducts, form, by their union, the nature of the visible world. Atoms reuniting or separating, produce births and deaths and the most durable bodies only owe their consistency to the strength of their mutual adhesion: a true spider’s web woven by these writers who give to heaven, to earth, and to sea so weak an origin and so little consistency! It is because they knew not how to say “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” Deceived by their inherent atheism it appeared to them that nothing governed or ruled the universe, and that was all was given up to chance. To guard us against this error the writer on the creation, from the very first words, enlightens our understanding with the name of God; “In the beginning God created.” What a glorious order! He first establishes a beginning, so that it might not be supposed that the world never had a beginning. Then be adds “Created” to show that which was made was a very small part of the power of the Creator. In the same way that the potter, after having made with equal pains a great number of vessels, has not exhausted either his art or his talent; thus the Maker of the Universe,

whose creative power, far from being bounded by one world, could extend to the infinite, needed only the impulse of His will to bring the immensities of the visible world into being. If then the world has a beginning, and if it has been created, enquire who gave it this beginning, and who was the Creator: or rather, in the fear that human reasonings may make you wander from the truth, Moses has anticipated enquiry by engraving in our hearts, as a seal and a safeguard, the awful name of God: "In the beginning God created" — It is He, beneficent Nature, Goodness without measure, a worthy object of love for all beings endowed with reason, the beauty the most to be desired, the origin of all that exists, the source of life, intellectual light, impenetrable wisdom, it is He who "in the beginning created heaven and earth."

3. Do not then imagine, O man! that the visible world is without a beginning; and because the celestial bodies move in a circular course, and it is difficult for our senses to define the point where the circle begins, do not believe that bodies impelled by a circular movement are, from their nature, without a beginning. Without doubt the circle (I mean the plane figure described by a single line) is beyond our perception, and it is impossible for us to find out where it begins or where it ends; but we ought not on this account to believe it to be without a beginning. Although we are not sensible of it, it really begins at some point where the draughtsman has begun to draw it at a certain radius from the center. Thus seeing that figures which move in a circle always return upon themselves, without for a single instant interrupting the regularity of their course, do not vainly imagine to yourselves that the world has neither beginning nor end. "For the fashion of this world passeth away" and "Heaven and earth shall pass away." The dogmas of the end, and of the renewing of the world, are announced beforehand in these short words put at the head of the inspired history. "In the beginning God made." That which was begun in time is condemned to come to an end in time. If there has been a beginning do not doubt of the end. Of what use men are geometry — the calculations of arithmetic — the study of solids and far-famed astronomy, this laborious vanity, if those who pursue them imagine that this visible world is co-eternal with the Creator of all things, with God Himself; if they attribute to this limited world, which has a material body, the same glory as to the incomprehensible and invisible nature; if they cannot conceive

that a whole, of which the parts are subject to corruption and change, must of necessity end by itself submitting to the fate of its parts? But they have become “vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.” Some have affirmed that heaven co-exists with God from all eternity; others that it is God Himself without beginning or end, and the cause of the particular arrangement of all things.

4. One day, doubtless, their terrible condemnation will be the greater for all this worldly wisdom, since, seeing so clearly into yam sciences, they have willfully shut their eyes to the knowledge of the truth. These men who measure the distances of the stare and describe them, both those of the North, always shining brilliantly in our view, and those of the southern pole visible to the inhabitants of the South, but unknown to us; who divide the Northern zone and the circle of the Zodiac into an infinity of parts, who observe with exactitude the course of the stars, their fixed places, their declensions, their return and the time that each takes to make its revolution; these men, I say, have discovered all except one tiring: the fact that God is the Creator of the universe, and the just Judge who rewards all the actions of life according to their merit. They have not known how to raise themselves to the idea of the consummation of all things, the consequence of the doctrine of judgment, and to see that the world must change if souls pass from this life to a new life. In reality, as the nature of the present life presents an affinity to this world, so in the future life our souls will enjoy a lot conformable to their new condition. But they are so far from applying these truths, that they do but laugh when we announce to them the end of all things and the regeneration of the age. Since the beginning naturally precedes that which is derived from it, the writer, of necessity, when speaking to us of things which had their origin in time, puts at the head of his narrative these words — “In the beginning God created.”

5. It appears, indeed, that even before this world an order of things existed of which our mind can form an idea, but of which we can say nothing, because it is too lofty a subject for men who are but beginners and are still babes in knowledge. The birth of the world was preceded by a condition of things suitable for the exercise of supernatural powers, outstripping the limits of time, eternal and infinite. The Creator and Demiurge of the

universe perfected His works in it, spiritual light for the happiness of all who love the Lord, intellectual and invisible natures, all the orderly arrangement of pure intelligences who are beyond the reach of our mind and of whom we cannot even discover the names. They fill the essence of this invisible world, as Paul teaches us. “For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers” or virtues or hosts of angels or the dignities of archangels. To this world at last it was necessary to add a new world, both a school and training place where the souls of men should be taught and a home for beings destined to be born and to die. Thus was created, of a nature analogous to that of this world and the animals and plants which live thereon, the succession of time, for ever pressing on and passing away and never stopping in its course. Is not this the nature of time, where the past is no more, the future does not exist, and the present escapes before being recognized? And such also is the nature of the creature which lives in time, — condemned to grow or to perish without rest and without certain stability. It is therefore fit that the bodies of animals and plants, obliged to follow a sort of current, and carried away by the motion which leads them to birth or to death, should live in the midst of surroundings whose nature is in accord with beings subject to change. Thus the writer who wisely tells us of the birth of the Universe does not fail to put these words at the head of the narrative. “In the beginning God created;” that is to say, in the beginning of time. Therefore, if he makes the world appear in the beginning, it is not a proof that its birth has preceded that of all other things that were made. He only wishes to tell us that, after the invisible and intellectual world, the visible world, the world of the senses, began to exist.

The first movement is called beginning. “To do right is the beginning of the good way.” Just actions are truly the first steps towards a happy life. Again, we call “beginning” the essential and first part from which a thing proceeds, such as the foundation of a house, the keel of a vessel; it is in this sense that it is said, “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,” that is to say that piety is, as it were, the groundwork and foundation of perfection. Art is also the beginning of the works of artists, the skill of Bezaleel *began* the adornment of the tabernacle. Often even the good which is the final cause is the *beginning* of actions. Thus the

approbation of God is the beginning of almsgiving, and the end laid up for us in the promises the beginning of all virtuous efforts.

6. Such being the different senses of the word beginning, see if we have not all the meanings here. You may know the epoch when the formation of this world began, it, ascending into the past, you endeavor to discover the first day. You will thus find what was the first movement of time; then that the creation of the heavens and of the earth were like the foundation and the groundwork, and afterwards that an intelligent reason, as the word beginning indicates, presided in the order of visible things. You will finally discover that the world was not conceived by chance and without reason, but for an useful end and for the great advantage of all beings, since it is really the school where reasonable souls exercise themselves, the training ground where they learn to know God; since by the sight of visible and sensible things the mind is led, as by a hand, to the contemplation of invisible things. "For," as the Apostle says, "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." Perhaps these words "In the beginning God created" signify the rapid and imperceptible moment of creation. The beginning, in effect, is indivisible and instantaneous. The beginning of the road is not yet the road, and that of the house is not yet the house; so the beginning of time is not yet time and not even the least par-title of it. If some objector tell us that the beginning is a time, he ought then, as he knows well, to submit it to the division of time — a beginning, a middle and an end. Now it is ridiculous to imagine a beginning of a beginning. Further, if we divide the beginning into two, we make two instead of one, or rather make several, we really make an infinity, for all that which is divided is divisible to the infinite. Thus then, if it is said, "In the beginning God created," it is to teach us that at the will of God the world arose in less than an instant, and it is to convey this meaning more clearly that other interpreters have said: "God made summarily" that is to say all at once and in a moment. But enough concerning the beginning, if only to put a few points out of many.

7. Among arts, some have in view production, some practice, others theory. The object of the last is the exercise of thought, that of the second, the motion of the body. Should it cease, all stops; nothing more is to be seen. Thus dancing and music have nothing behind; they have no object

but themselves. In creative arts on the contrary the work lasts after the operation. Such is architecture — such are the arts which work in wood and brass and weaving, all those indeed which, even when the artisan has disappeared, serve to show an industrious intelligence and to cause the architect, the worker in brass or the weaver, to be admired on account of his work. Thus, then, to show that the world is a work of art displayed for the beholding of all people; to make them know Him who created it, Moses does not use another word. “In the beginning,” he says “God created.” He does not say “God worked,” “God formed,” but “God created.” Among those who have imagined that the world co-existed with God from all eternity, many have denied that it was created by God, but say that it exists spontaneously, as the shadow of this power. God, they say, is the cause of it, but an involuntary cause, as the body is the cause of the shadow and the flame is the cause of the brightness. It is to correct this error that the prophet states, with so much precision, “In the beginning God created.” He did not make the thing itself the cause of its existence. Being good, He made it an useful work. Being wise, He made it everything that was most beautiful. Being powerful He made it very great. Moses almost shows us the finger of the supreme artisan taking possession of the substance of the universe, forming the different parts in one perfect accord, and making a harmonious symphony result from the whole.

“In the beginning God made heaven and earth.” By naming the two extremes, he suggests the substance of the whole world, according to heaven the privilege of seniority, and putting earth in the second rank. All intermediate beings were created at the same time as the extremities. Thus, although there is no mention of the elements, fire, water and air, imagine that they were all compounded together, and you will find water, air and fire, in the earth. For fire leaps out from stones; iron which is dug from the earth produces under friction fire in plentiful measure. A marvelous fact! Fire shut up in bodies lurks there hidden without harming them, but no sooner is it released than it consumes that which has hitherto preserved it. The earth contains water, as diggers of wells teach us. It contains air too, as is shown by the vapors that it exhales under the sun’s warmth when it is damp. Now, as according to their nature, heaven occupies the higher and earth the lower position in space, (one sees, in fact, that all which is light ascends towards heaven, and heavy substances fall to the ground); as

therefore height and depth are the points the most opposed to each other it is enough to mention the most distant parts to signify the inclusion of all which fills up intervening Space. Do not ask, then, for an enumeration of all the elements; guess, from what Holy Scripture indicates, all that is passed over in silence.

8. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." If we were to wish to discover the essence of each of the beings which are offered for our contemplation, or come under our senses, we should be drawn away into long digressions, and the solution of the problem would require more words than I possess, to examine fully the matter. To spend time on such points would not prove to be to the edification of the Church. Upon the essence of the heavens we are contented with what Isaiah says, for, in simple language, he gives us sufficient idea of their nature, "The heaven was made like smoke," that is to say, He created a subtle substance, without solidity or density, from which to form the heavens. As to the form of them we also content ourselves with the language of the same prophet, when praising God "that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in." In the same way, as concerns the earth, let us resolve not to torment ourselves by trying to find out its essence, not to tire our reason by seeking for the substance which it conceals. Do not let us seek for any nature devoid of qualities by the conditions of its existence, but let us know that all the phenomena with which we see it clothed regard the conditions of its existence and complete its essence. Try to take away by reason each of the qualities it possesses, and you will arrive at nothing. Take away black, cold, weight, density, the qualities which concern taste, in one word all these which we see in it, and the substance vanishes.

If I ask you to leave these vain questions, I will not expect you to try and find out the earth's point of support. The mind would reel on beholding its reasonings losing themselves without end. Do you say that the earth reposes on a bed of air? How, then, can this soft substance, without consistency, resist the enormous weight which presses upon it? How is it that it does not slip away in all directions, to avoid the sinking weight, and to spread itself over the mass which overwhelms it? Do you suppose that water is the foundation of the earth? You will then always have to ask yourself how it is that so heavy and opaque a body does not pass through

the water; how a mass of such a weight is held up by a nature weaker than itself. Then you must seek a base for the waters, and you will be in much difficulty to say upon what the water itself rests.

9. Do you suppose that a heavier body prevents the earth from failing into the abyss? Then you must consider that this support needs itself a support to prevent it from failing. Can we imagine one? Our reason again demands vet another support, and thus we shall fall into the infinite, always imagining a base for the base which we have already found. And the further we advance in this reasoning the greater force we are obliged to give to this base, so that it may be able to support all the mass weighing upon it. Put then a limit to your thought, so that your curiosity in investigating the incomprehensible may not incur the reproaches of Job, and you be not asked by him, “Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?” If ever you hear in the Psalms, “I bear up the pillars of it;” see in these pillars the power which sustains it. Because what means this other passage, “He hath founded it upon the sea,” if not that the water is spread all around the earth? How then can water, the fluid element which flows down every declivity, remain suspended without ever flowing? You do not reflect that the idea of the earth suspended by itself throws your reason into a like but even greater difficulty, since from its nature it is heavier. But let us admit that the earth rests upon itself, or let us say that it rides the waters, we must still remain faithful to thought of true religion and recognize that all is sustained by the Creator’s power. Let us then reply to ourselves, and let us reply to those who ask us upon what support this enormous mass rests, “In His hands are the ends of the earth.” It is a doctrine as infallible for our own information as profitable for our hearers.

10. There are inquirers into nature who with a great display of words give reasons for the immobility of the earth. Placed, they say, in the middle of the universe and not being able to incline more to one side than the other because its center is everywhere the same distance from the surface, it necessarily rests upon itself; since a weight which is everywhere equal cannot lean to either side. It is not, they go on, without reason or by chance that the earth occupies the center of the universe. It is its natural and necessary position. As the celestial body occupies the higher extremity of space all heavy bodies, they argue, that we may suppose to

have fallen from these high regions, will be carried from all directions to the center, and the point towards which the parts are tending will evidently be the one to which the whole mass will be thrust together. If stones, wood, all terrestrial bodies, fall from above downwards, this must be the proper and natural place of the whole earth. If, on the contrary, a light body is separated from the center, it is evident that it will ascend towards the higher regions. Thus heavy bodies move from the top to the bottom, and following this reasoning, the bottom is none other than the center of the world. Do not then be surprised that the world never falls: it occupies the center of the universe, its natural place. By necessity it is obliged to remain in its place, unless a movement contrary to nature should displace it. If there is anything in this system which might appear probable to you, keep your admiration for the source of such perfect order, for the wisdom of God. Grand phenomena do not strike us the less when we have discovered something of their wonderful mechanism. Is it otherwise here? At all events let us prefer the simplicity of faith to the demonstrations of reason.

11. We might say the same thing of the heavens. With what a noise of words the sages of this world have discussed their nature! Some have said that heaven is composed of four elements as being tangible and visible, and is made up of earth on account of its power of resistance, with fire because it is striking to the eye, with air and water on account of the mixture. Others have rejected this system as improbable, and introduced into the world, to form the heavens, a fifth element after their own fashioning. There exists. they say, an aethereal body which is neither fire, air, earth, nor water, nor in one word any simple body. These simple bodies have their own natural motion in a straight line, light bodies upwards and heavy bodies downwards; now this motion upwards and downwards is not the same as circular motion; there is the greatest possible difference between straight and circular motion. It therefore follows that bodies whose motion is so various must vary also in their essence. But, it is not even possible to suppose that the heavens should be formed of primitive bodies which we call elements, because the reunion of contrary forces could not produce an even and spontaneous motion, when each of the simple bodies is receiving a different impulse from nature. Thus it is a labor to maintain composite bodies in continual movement, because it is impossible to put even a single

one of their movements in accord and harmony with all those that are in discord; since what is proper to the light particle, is in warfare with that of a heavier one. If we attempt to rise we are stopped by the weight of the terrestrial element; if we throw ourselves down we violate the igneous part of our being in dragging it down contrary to its nature. Now this struggle of the elements effects their dissolution. A body to which violence is done and which is placed in opposition to nature, after a short but energetic resistance, is soon dissolved into as many parts as it had elements, each of the constituent parts returning to its natural place. It is the force of these reasons, say the inventors of the fifth kind of body for the genesis of heaven and the stars, which constrained them to reject the system of their predecessors and to have recourse to their own hypothesis. But yet another fine speaker arises and disperses and destroys this theory to give predominance to an idea of his own invention.

Do not let us undertake to follow them for fear of falling into like frivolities; let them refute each other, and, without disquieting ourselves about essence, let us say with Moses “God created the heavens and the earth.” Let us glorify the supreme Artificer for all that was wisely and skillfully made; by the beauty of visible things let us raise ourselves to Him who is above all beauty; by the grandeur of bodies, sensible and limited in their nature, let us conceive of the infinite Being whose immensity and omnipotence surpass all the efforts of the imagination. Because, although we ignore the nature of created things, the objects which on all sides attract our notice are so marvelous, that the most penetrating mind cannot attain to the knowledge of the least of the phenomena of the world, either to give a suitable explanation of it or to render due praise to the Creator, to Whom belong all glory, all honor and all power world without end. Amen.

HOMILY 2

"The earth was invisible and unfinished."

1. In the few words which have occupied us this morning we have found such a depth of thought that we despair of penetrating further. If such is the fore court of the sanctuary, if the portico of the temple is so grand and magnificent, if the splendor of its beauty thus dazzles the eyes of the soul, what will be the holy of holies? Who will dare to try to gain access to the innermost shrine? Who will look into its secrets? To gaze into it is indeed forbidden us, and language. is powerless to express what the mind conceives. However, since there are rewards, and most desirable ones, reserved by the just Judge for the intention alone of doing good, do not let us hesitate to continue our researches. Although we may not attain to the truth, if, with the help of the Spirit, we do not fall away from the meaning of Holy Scripture we shall not deserve to be rejected, and, with the help of grace, we shall contribute to the edification of the Church of God.

"The earth," says Holy Scripture, "was invisible and unfinished." The heavens and the earth were created without distinction. How then is it that the heavens are perfect whilst the earth is still unformed and incomplete? In one word, what was the unfinished condition of the earth? And for what reason was it invisible? The fertility of the earth is its perfect finishing; growth of all kinds of plants, the upspringing of tall trees, both productive and sterile, flowers' sweet scents and fair colors, and all that which, a little later, at the voice of God came forth from the earth to beautify her, their universal Mother. As nothing of all this yet existed, Scripture is right in calling the earth "without form." We could also say of the heavens that they were still imperfect and had not received their natural adornment, since at that time they did not shine with the glory of the sun and of the moon and were not crowned by the choirs of the stars. These bodies were not yet created. Thus you will not diverge from the truth in saying that the heavens also were "without form." The earth was invisible for two reasons: it may be because man, the spectator, did not yet exist, or because being submerged under the waters which over-flowed the surface, it could not be seen, since the waters had not yet been gathered together into their own places, where God afterwards collected

them, and gave them the name of seas. What is invisible? First of all that which our fleshly eye cannot perceive; our mind, for example; then that which, visible in its nature, is hidden by some body which conceals it, like iron in the depths of the earth. It is in this sense, because it was hidden under the waters, that the earth was still invisible. However, as light did not yet exist, and as the earth lay in darkness, because of the obscurity of the air above it, it should not astonish us that for this reason Scripture calls it "invisible."

2. But the corrupters of the truth, who, incapable of submitting their reason to Holy Scripture, distort at will the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, pretend that these words mean matter. For it is matter, they say, which from its nature is without form and invisible, — being by the conditions of its existence without quality and without form and figure. The Artificer submitting it to the working of His wisdom clothed it with a form, organized it, and thus gave being to the visible world.

If matter is uncreated, it has a claim to the same honors as God, since it must be of equal rank with Him. Is this not the summit of wickedness, that an extreme deformity, without quality, without form, shape, ugliness without configuration, to use their own expression, should enjoy the same prerogatives with Him, Who is wisdom. power and beauty itself, the Creator and the Demiurge of the universe? This is not all. If matter is so great as to be capable of being acted on by the whole wisdom of God, it would in a way raise its hypostasis to an equality with the inaccessible power of God, since it would be able to measure by itself all the extent of the divine intelligence. If it is insufficient for the operations of God, then we fall into a more absurd blasphemy, since we condemn God for not being able, on account of the want of matter, to finish His own works. The poverty of human nature has deceived these reasoners. Each of our crafts Is exercised upon some special matter — the art of the smith upon iron, that of the carpenter on wood. In all, there is the subject, the form and the work which results from the form. Matter is taken from without — art gives the form — and the work is composed at the same time of form and of matter.

Such is the idea that they make for themselves of the divine work. The form of the world is due to the wisdom of the supreme Artificer; matter

came to the Creator from without; and thus the world results from a double origin. It hits received from outside its matter and its essence, and from God its form and figure. They thus come to deny that the mighty God has presided at the formation of the universe, and pretend that He has only brought a crowning contribution to a common work, that He has only contributed some small portion to the genesis of beings: they are incapable from the debasement of their reasonings of raising their glances to the height of truth. Here below arts are subsequent to matter — introduced into life by the indispensable need of them. Wool existed before weaving made it supply one of nature's imperfections. Wood existed before carpentering took possession of it, and transformed it each day to supply new wants, and made us see all the advantages derived from it, giving the our to the sailor, the winnowing fan to the laborer, the lance to the soldier. But God, before all those things which now attract our notice existed, after casting about in His mind and determining to bring into being time which had no being, imagined the world such as it ought to be, and created matter in harmony with the forth which He wished to give it. He assigned to the heavens the nature adapted for the heavens, and gave to the earth an essence in accordance with its form. He formed, as He wished, fire, air and water, and gave to each the essence which the object of its existence required. Finally, He welded all the diverse parts of the universe by links of indissoluble attachment and established between them so perfect a fellowship and harmony that the most distant, in spite of their distance, appeared united in one universal sympathy. Let those men therefore renounce their fabulous imaginations, who, in spite of the weakness of their argument, pretend to measure a power as incomprehensible to man's reason as it is unutterable by man's voice.

3. God created the heavens and the earth, but not only half; — He created all the heavens and all the earth, creating the essence with the form. For He is not an inventor of figures, but the Creator even of the essence of beings. Further let them tell us how the efficient power of God could deal with the passive nature of matter, the latter furnishing the matter without form, the former possessing the science of the form without matter, both being in need of each other; the Creator in order to display His art, matter in order to cease to be without form and to receive a form. But let us stop here and return to our subject.

"*The earth was invisible and unfinished*." In saying "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," the sacred writer passed over many things in silence, water, air, fire and the results from them, which, all forming in reality the true complement of the world, were, without doubt, made at the same time as the universe. By this silence, history wishes to train the activity or our intelligence, giving it a weak point for starting, to impel it to the discovery of the truth. Thus, we are not told of the creation of water; but, as we are told that the earth was invisible, ask yourself what could have covered it, and prevented it from being seen? Fire could not conceal it. Fire brightens all about it, and spreads light rather than darkness around. No more was it air that enveloped the earth. Air by nature is of little density and transparent. It receives all kinds of visible object, and transmits them to the spectators. Only one supposition remains; that which floated on the surface of the earth was water — the fluid essence which had not yet been confined to its own place. Thus the earth was not only invisible; it was still incomplete. Even today excessive damp is a hindrance to the productiveness of the earth. The same cause at the same time prevents it from being seen, and from being complete, for the proper and natural adornment of the earth is its completion: corn waving in the valleys — meadows green with grass and rich with many colored flowers — fertile glades and hill-tops shaded by forests. Of all this nothing was yet produced; the earth was in travail with it in virtue of the power that she had received from the Creator. But she was waiting for the appointed time and the divine order to bring forth.

4. "Darkness was upon the face of the deep." A new source for fables and most impious imaginations if one distorts the sense of these words at the will of one's fancies. By "darkness" these wicked men do not understand what is meant in reality — air not illumined, the shadow produced by the interposition of a body, or finally a place for some reason deprived of light. For them "darkness" is an evil power, or rather the personification of evil, having his origin in himself in opposition to, and in perpetual struggle with, the goodness of God. If God is light, they say, without any doubt the power which struggles against Him must be darkness, "Darkness" not owing its existence to a foreign origin, but an evil existing by itself. "Darkness" is the enemy of souls, the primary cause of death, the adversary of virtue. The words of the Prophet, they say in their error,

show that it exists and that it does not proceed from God. From this what perverse and impious dogmas have been imagined! What grievous wolves, tearing the flock of the Lord, have sprung from these words to cast themselves upon souls! Is it not from hence that have come forth Marcions and Valentini, and the detestable heresy of the Manicheans, which you may without going far wrong call the putrid humor of the churches.

O man, why wander thus from the truth, and imagine for thyself that which will cause thy perdition? The word is simple and within the comprehension of all. “The earth was invisible.” Why? Because the “deep” was spread over its surface. What is “the deep”? A mass of water of extreme depth. But we know that we can see many bodies through clear and transparent water. How then was it that no part of the earth appeared through the water? Because the air which surrounded it was still without light and in darkness. The rays of the sun, penetrating the water, often allow its to see the pebbles which form the bed of the river, but in a dark night it is impossible for our glance to penetrate under the water. Thus, these words “the earth was invisible” are explained by those that follow; “the deep” covered it and itself was in darkness. Thus, the deep is not a multitude of hostile powers, as has been imagined; nor “darkness” an evil sovereign force in enmity with good. In reality two rival principles of equal power, if engaged without ceasing in a war o mutual attacks, will end in self destruction. But if one should gain the mastery it would completely annihilate the conquered. Thus, to maintain the balance in the struggle between good and evil is to represent them as engaged in a war without end and in perpetual destruction, where the opponents are at the same time conquerors and conquered. If good is the stronger, what is there to prevent evil being completely annihilated? But if that be the case, the very utterance of which is impious, I ask myself how it is that they themselves are not filled with horror to think that they have imagined such abominable blasphemies.

It is equally impious to say that evil has its origin from God; because the contrary cannot proceed from its contrary. Life dots not engender death; darkness is not the origin of light; sickness is not the maker of health. In the changes of conditions there are transitions from one condition to the contrary; but in genesis each being proceeds from its like, and not from its

contrary. If then evil is neither uncreate nor created by God, from whence comes its nature? Certainly that evil exists, no one living in the world will deny. What shall we say then? Evil is not a living animated essence; it is the condition of the soul opposed to virtue, developed in the careless on account of their falling away from good.

5. Do not then go beyond yourself to seek for evil, and imagine that there is an original nature of wickedness. Each of us, let us acknowledge it, is the first author of his own vice. Among the ordinary events of life, some come naturally, like old age and sickness, others by chance like unforeseen occurrences, of which the origin is beyond ourselves, often sad, sometimes fortunate, as for instance the discovery of a treasure when digging a well, or the meeting of a mad dog when going to the market place. Others depend upon ourselves, such as ruling one's passions, or not putting a bridle on one's pleasures, to be master of our anger, or to raise the hand against him who irritates us, to tell the truth, or to lie, to have a sweet and well-regulated disposition, or to be fierce and swollen and exalted with pride. Here you are the master of your actions. Do not look for the guiding cause beyond yourself, but recognize that evil, rightly so called, has no other origin than our voluntary falls. If it were involuntary, and did not depend upon ourselves, the laws would not have so much terror for the guilty, and the tribunals would not be so without pity when they condemn wretches according to the measure of their crimes. But enough concerning evil rightly so called. Sickness, poverty, obscurity, death, finally all human afflictions, ought not to be ranked as evils; since we do not count among the greatest boons things which are their opposites. Among these afflictions, some are the effect of nature, others have obviously been for many a source of advantage. Let us then be silent for the moment about these metaphors and allegories, and, simply following without vain curiosity the words of Holy Scripture, let us take from darkness the idea which it gives us.

But reason asks, was darkness created with the world? Is it older than light? Why in spite of its inferiority has it preceded it? Darkness, we reply, did not exist in essence; it is a condition produced in the air by the withdrawal of light. What then is that light which disappeared suddenly from the world, so that darkness should cover the face of the deep? If anything had existed before the formation of this sensible and perishable

world, no doubt we conclude it would have been in light. The orders of angels, the heavenly hosts, all intellectual natures named or unnamed, all the ministering spirits, did not live in darkness, but enjoyed a condition fitted for them in light and spiritual joy.

No one will contradict this; least of all he who looks for celestial light as one of the rewards promised to virtues the light which, as Solomon says, is always a light to the righteous, the light which made the Apostle say "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." Finally, if the condemned are sent into outer darkness evidently those who are made worthy of God's approval, are at rest in heavenly light. When then, according to the order of God, the heaven appeared, enveloping all that its circumference included, a vast and unbroken body separating outer things from those which it enclosed, it necessarily kept the space inside in darkness for want of communication with the outer light. Three things are, indeed, needed to form a shadow, light, a body, a dark place. The shadow of heaven forms the darkness of the world. Understand, I pray you, what I mean, by a simple example; by raising for yourself at mid-day a tent of some compact and impenetrable material, and shutting yourself up in it in sudden darkness. Suppose that original darkness was like this, not subsisting directly by itself, but resulting from some external coasts. If it is said that it rested upon the deep, it is because the extremity of air naturally touches the surface of bodies; and as at that time the water covered everything, we are obliged to say that darkness was upon the face of the deep.

6. *And the Spirit of God was borne upon the face of the waters*. Does this spirit mean the diffusion of air? The sacred writer wishes to enumerate to you the elements of the world, to tell you that God created the heavens, the earth, water, and air and that the last was now diffused and in motion; or rather, that which is truer and confirmed by the authority of the ancients, by the Spirit of God, he means the Holy Spirit. It is, as has been remarked, the special name, the name above all others that Scripture delights to give to the Holy Spirit. and always by the spirit of God the Holy Spirit is meant, the Spirit which completes the divine and blessed Trinity. You will find it better therefore to take it in this sense. How then did the Spirit of God move upon the waters? The explanation that I am about to give you is not an original one, but that of a Syrian, who was as

ignorant in the wisdom of this world as he was versed in the knowledge of the Truth. He said, then, that the Syriac word was more expressive, and that being more analogous to the Hebrew term it was a nearer approach to the scriptural sense. This is the meaning of the word; by “was borne” the Syrians, he says, understand: it cherished the nature of the waters as one sees a bird cover the eggs with her body and impart to them vital force from her own warmth. Such is, as nearly as possible, the meaning of these words — the Spirit was borne: let us understand, that is, prepared the nature of water to produce living beings: a sufficient proof for those who ask if the Holy Spirit took an active part in the creation of the world.

7. *And God said, Let there be light*: The first word of God created the nature of light; it made darkness vanish, dispelled gloom, illuminated the world, and gave to all beings at the same time a sweet and gracious aspect. The heavens, until then enveloped in darkness, appeared with that beauty which they still present to our eyes. The air was lighted up, or rather made the light circulate mixed with its substance, and, distributing its splendor rapidly in every direction, so dispersed itself to its extreme limits. Up it sprang to the very ether and heaven. In an instant it lighted up the whole extent of the world, the North and the South, the East and the West. For the ether also is such a subtle substance and so transparent that it needs not the space of a moment for light to pass through it. Just as it carries our sight instantaneously to the object of vision, so without the least interval, with a rapidity I that thought cannot conceive, it receives these rays of light in its uttermost limits. With light the ether becomes more pleasing and the waters more limpid. These last, not content with receiving its splendor, return it by the reflection of light and in all directions send forth quivering flashes. The divine word gives every object a more cheerful and a more attractive appearance, just as when men in deep sea pour in oil they make the place about them clear. So, with a single word and in one instant, the Creator of all things gave the boon of light to the world.

Let there be light. The order was itself an operation, and a state of things was brought into being, than which man’s mind cannot even imagine a pleasanter one for our enjoyment. It must be well understood that when we speak of the voice, of the word, of the command of God, this divine language does not mean to us a sound which escapes from the organs of speech, a collision of air struck by the tongue; it is a simple sign of the will

of God, and, if we give it the form of an order, it is only the better to impress the souls whom we instruct.

And God saw the light, that it was good. How can we worthily praise light after the testimony given by the Creator to its goodness? The word, even among us, refers the judgment to the eyes, incapable of raising itself to the idea that the senses have already received. But, if beauty in bodies results from symmetry of parts, and the harmonious appearance of colors, how in a simple and homogeneous essence like light, can this idea of beauty be preserved? Would not the symmetry in light be less shown in its parts than in the pleasure and delight at the sight of it? Such is also the beauty of gold, which it owes not to the happy mingling of its parts, but only to its beautiful color which has a charm attractive to the eyes.

Thus again, the evening star is the most beautiful of the stars: not that the parts of which it is composed form a harmonious whole; but thanks to the unalloyed and beautiful brightness which meets our eyes. And further, when God proclaimed the goodness of light, it was not in regard to the charm of the eye but as a provision for future advantage, because at that time there were as yet no eyes to judge of its beauty. "*And God divided the light from the darkness*; that is to say, God gave them natures incapable of mixing, perpetually in opposition to each other, and put between them the widest space and distance.

8. "*And God called the light Day and the darkness he called Night*." Since the birth of the sun, the light that it diffuses in the air, when shining on our hemisphere, is day; and the shadow produced by its disappearance is night. But at that time it was not after the movement of the sun, but following this primitive light spread abroad in the air or withdrawn in a measure determined by God, that day came and was followed by night.

"*And the evening and the morning were the first day*." Evening is then the boundary common to day and night; and in the same way morning constitutes the approach of night to day. It was to give day the privileges of seniority that Scripture put the end of the first day before that of the first night, because night follows day: for, before the creation of light, the world was not in night, but in darkness. It is the opposite of day which was called night, and it did not receive its name until after day. Thus were created the evening and the morning. Scripture means the space of a day

and a night, and afterwards no more says day and night, but calls them both under the name of the more important: a custom which you will find throughout Scripture. Everywhere the measure of time is counted by days, without mention of nights. “The days of our years,” says the Psalmist. “Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been,” said Jacob, and elsewhere “all the days of my life.” Thus under the form of history the law is laid down for what is to follow.

And the evening and the morning were one day. Why does Scripture say “one day the first day”? Before speaking to us of the second, the third, and the fourth days, would it not have been more natural to call that one the first which began the series? If it therefore says “one day,” it is from a wish to determine the measure of day and night, and to combine the time that they contain. Now twenty-four hours fill up the space of one day — we mean of a day and of a night; and if, at the time of the solstices, they have not both an equal length, the time marked by Scripture does not the less circumscribe their duration. It is as though it said: twenty-four hours measure the space of a day, or that, in reality a day is the time that the heavens starting from one point take to return there. Thus, every time that, in the revolution of the sun, evening and morning occupy the world, their periodical succession never exceeds the space of one day.

But must we believe in a mysterious reason for this? God who made the nature of time measured it out and determined it by intervals of days; and, wishing to give it a week as a measure, he ordered the week to revolve from period to period upon itself, to count the movement of time, forming the week of one day revolving seven times upon itself: a proper circle begins and ends with itself. Such is also the character of eternity, to revolve upon itself and to end nowhere. If then the beginning of time is called “one day” rather than “the first day,” it is because Scripture wishes to establish its relationship with eternity. It was, in reality, fit and natural to call “one” the day whose character is to be one wholly separated and isolated from all the others. If Scripture speaks to us of many ages, saying everywhere, “age of age, and ages of ages,” we do not see it enumerate them as first, second, and third. It follows that we are hereby shown not so much limits, ends and succession of ages, as distinctions between various states and modes of action. “The day of the Lord,” Scripture says, “is great and very terrible,” and elsewhere “Woe unto you that desire the

day of the Lord: to what end is it for you? The day of the Lord is darkness and not light." A day of darkness for those who are worthy of darkness. No; this day without evening, without succession and without end is not unknown to Scripture, and it is the day that the Psalmist calls the eighth day, because it is outside this time of weeks. Thus whether you call it day, or whether you call it eternity, you express the same idea. Give this state the name of day; there are not several, but only one. If you call it eternity still it is unique and not manifold. Thus it is in order that you may carry your thoughts forward towards a future life, that Scripture marks by the word "one" the day which is the type of eternity, the first fruits of days, the contemporary of light, the holy Lord's day honored by the Resurrection of our Lord. *And the evening and the morning were one day*."

But, whilst I am conversing with you about the first evening of the world, evening takes me by surprise, and puts an end to my discourse. May the Father of the true light, Who has adorned day with celestial light, Who has made the fire to shine which illuminates us during the night, Who reserves for us in the peace of a future age a spiritual and everlasting light, enlighten your hearts in the knowledge of truth, keep you from stumbling, and grant that "you may walk honestly as in the day." Thus shall you shine as the sun in the midst of the glory of the saints, and I shall glory in you in the day of Christ, to Whom belong all glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.

HOMILY 3

On the Firmament.

1. WE have now recounted the works of the first day, or rather of one day. Far be it from me indeed, to take from it the privilege it enjoys of having been for the Creator a day apart, a day which is not counted in the same order as the others. Our discussion yesterday treated of the works of this day, and divided the narrative so as to give you food for your souls in the morning, and joy in the evening. To-day we pass on to the wonders of the second day. And here I do not wish to speak of the narrator's talent, but of the grace of Scripture, for the narrative is so naturally told that it pleases and delights all the friends of truth. It is this charm of truth which the Psalmist expresses so emphatically when he says, "How sweet are thy words unto my taste. yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth." Yesterday then, as far as we were able, we delighted our souls by conversing about the oracles of God, and now today we are met together again on the second day to contemplate the wonders of the second day.

I know that many artisans, belonging to mechanical trades, are crowding around me. A day's labor hardly suffices to maintain them; therefore I am compelled to abridge my discourse, so as not to keep them too long from their work. What shall I say to them? The time which you lend to God is not lost: he will return it to you with large interest. Whatever difficulties may trouble you the Lord will disperse them. To those who have preferred spiritual welfare, He will give health of body, keenness of mind, success in business, and unbroken prosperity. And, even if in this life our efforts should not realize our hopes, the teachings of the Holy Spirit are none the less a rich treasure for the ages to come Deliver your heart, then, from the cares of this life and give close heed to my words. Of what avail will it be to you if you are here in the body, and your heart is anxious about your earthly treasure?

2. And God said "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters." Yesterday we heard God's decree, "Let there be light." Today it is, "Let there be a firmament." There appears to be something more in this. The word is not limited to a simple

command. It lays down the reason necessitating the structure of the firmament: it is, it is said, to separate the waters from the waters. And first let us ask how God speaks? Is it in our manner? Does His intelligence receive an impression from objects, and, after having conceived them, make them known by particular signs appropriate to each of them? Has He consequently recourse to the organs of voice to convey His thoughts? Is He obliged to strike the air by the articulate movements of the voice, to unveil the thought hidden in His heart? Would it not seem like an idle fable to say that God should need such a circuitous method to manifest His thoughts? And is it not more conformable with true religion to say, that the divine will and the first impetus of divine intelligence are the Word of God? It is He whom Scripture vaguely represents, to show us that God has not only wished to create the world, but to create it with the help of a co-operator. Scripture might continue the history as it is begun: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; afterwards He created light, then He created the firmament. But, by making God command and speak, the Scripture tacitly shows us Him to Whom this order and these words are addressed. It is not that it grudges us the knowledge of the truth, but that it may kindle our desire by showing us some trace and indication of the mystery. We seize with delight, and carefully keep, the fruit of laborious efforts, whilst a possession easily attained is despised. Such is the road and the course which Scripture follows to lead us to the idea of the Only begotten. And certainly, God’s immaterial nature had no need of the material language of voice, since His very thoughts could be transmitted to His fellow-worker. What need then of speech, for those Who by thought alone could communicate their counsels to each other? Voice was made for hearing, and hearing for voice. Where there is neither air, nor tongue, nor ear, nor that winding canal which carries sounds to the seat of sensation in the head, there is no need for words thoughts of the soul are sufficient to transmit the will. As I said then, this language is only a wise and ingenious contrivance to set our minds seeking the Person to whom the words are addressed.

3. In the second place, does the firmament that is called heaven differ from the firmament that God made in the beginning? Are there two heavens? The philosophers, who discuss heaven, would rather lose their tongues than grant this. There is only one heaven, they pretend; and it is of a

nature neither to admit of a second, nor of a third, nor of several others. The essence of the celestial body quite complete constitutes its vast unity. Because, they say, every body which has a circular motion is one and finite. And if this body is used in the construction of the first heaven, there will be nothing left for the creation of a second or a third. Here we see what those imagine who put under the Creator's hand uncreated matter; a lie that follows from the first fable. But we ask the Greek sages not to mock us before they are agreed among themselves. Because there are among them some who say there are infinite heavens and worlds. When grave demonstrations shall have upset their foolish system, when the laws of geometry shall have established that, according to the nature of heaven, it is impossible that there should be two, we shall only laugh the more at this elaborate scientific trifling. These learned men see not merely one bubble but several bubbles formed by the same cause, and they doubt the power of creative wisdom to bring several heavens into being! We find, however, if we raise our eyes towards the omnipotence of God, that the strength and grandeur of the heavens differ from the drops of water bubbling on the surface of a fountain. How ridiculous, then, is their argument of impossibility! As for myself, far from not believing in a second, I seek for the third whereon the blessed Paul was found worthy to gaze. And does not the Psalmist in saying "heaven of heavens" give us an idea of their plurality? Is the plurality of heaven stranger than the seven circles through which nearly all the philosophers agree that the seven planets pass, — circles which they represent to us as placed in connection with each other like casks fitting the one into the other? These circles, they say, carried away in a direction contrary to that of the world, and striking the rather, make sweet and harmonious sounds, unequaled by the sweetest melody. And if we ask them for the witness of the senses, what do they say? That we, accustomed to this noise from our birth, on account of hearing it always, have lost the sense of it; like then in smithies with their ears incessantly dinned. If I refuted this ingenious frivolity, the untruth of which is evident from the first word, it would seem as though I did not know the value of time. and mistrusted the intelligence of such an audience.

But let me leave the vanity of outsiders to those who are without, and return to the theme proper to the Church. If we believe some of those who

have preceded us, we have not here the creation of a new heaven, but a new account of the first. The reason they give is, that the earlier narrative briefly described the creation of heaven and earth; while here scripture relates in greater detail the manner in which each was created. I, however, since Scripture gives to this second heaven another name and its own function, maintain that it is different from the heaven which was made at the beginning; that it is of a stronger nature and of an especial use to the universe.

4. “*And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters front the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.*” Before laying hold of the meaning of Scripture let us try to meet objections from other quarters. We are asked how, if the firmament is a spherical body, as it appears to the eye, its convex circumference can contain the water which flows and circulates in higher regions? What shall we answer? One thing only: because the interior of a body presents a perfect concavity it does not necessarily follow that its exterior surface is spherical and smoothly rounded. Look at the stone vaults of baths, and the structure of buildings of cave form; the dome, which forms the interior, does not prevent the roof from having ordinarily a flat surface. Let these unfortunate men cease, then, from tormenting us and themselves about the impossibility of our retaining water in the higher regions.

Now we must say something about the nature of the firmament, and why it received I the order to hold the middle place between the waters. Scripture constantly makes use of the word firmament to express extraordinary strength. “The Lord in firmament and refuge””I have strengthened the pillars of it” “Praise him in the firmament of his power.” The heathen writers thus call a strong body one which is compact and full, to distinguish it from the mathematical body. A mathematical body is a body which exists only in the three dimensions, breadths depth, and height. A firm body, on the contrary, adds resistance to the dimensions. It is the custom of Scripture to call firmament all that is strong and unyielding. It even uses the word to denote the condensation of the air: He, it says, who strengthens the thunder. Scripture means by the strengthening of the thunder, the strength and resistance of the wind,

which, enclosed in the hollows of the clouds, produces the noise of thunder when it breaks through with violence. Here then, according to me, is a firm substance, capable of retaining the fluid and unstable element water; and as, according to the common acceptation, it appears that the firmament owes its origin to water, we must not believe that it resembles frozen water or any other matter produced by the filtration of water; as, for example, rock crystal, which is said to owe its metamorphosis to excessive congelation, or the transparent stone which forms in mines. This pellucid stone, if one finds it in its natural perfection, without cracks inside, or the least spot of corruption, almost rivals the air in clearness. We cannot compare the firmament to one of these substances. To hold such an opinion about celestial bodies would be childish and foolish; and although everything may be in everything, fire in earth, air in water, and of the other elements the one in the other; although none of those which come under our senses are pure and without mixture, either with the element which serves as a medium for it, or with that which is contrary to it; I, nevertheless, dare not affirm that the firmament was formed of one of these simple substances, or of a mixture of them, for I am taught by Scripture not to allow my imagination to wander too far afield. But do not let us forget to remark that, after these divine words "let there be a firmament," it is not said "and the firmament was reader" but, "and God made the firmament, and divided the waters." Hear, O ye deaf! See, O ye blind! — who, then, is deaf? He who does not hear this startling voice of the Holy Spirit. Who is blind? He who does not see such clear proofs of the Only begotten. "Let there be a firmament." It is the voice of the primary and principal Cause. "And God made the firmament." Here is a witness to the active and creative power of God.

5. But let us continue our explanation: "*Let it divide the waters from the waters*." The mass of waters, which from all directions flowed over the earth, and was suspended in the air, was infinite, so that there was no proportion between it and the other elements. Thus, as it has been already said, the abyss covered the earth. We give the reason for this abundance of water. None of you assuredly will attack our opinion; not even those who have the most cultivated minds, and whose piercing eye can penetrate this perishable and fleeting nature; you will not accuse me of advancing impossible or imaginary theories, nor will you ask me upon what

foundation the fluid clement rests. By the same reason which makes them attract the earth, heavier than water, from the extremities of the world to suspend it in the center, they will grant us without doubt that it is due both to its natural attraction downwards and its general equilibrium, that this immense quantity of water rests motionless upon the earth. Therefore the prodigious mass of waters was spread around the earth; not in proportion with it and infinitely larger, thanks to the foresight of the supreme Artificer, Who, from the beginning, foresaw what was to come, and at the first provided all for the future needs of the world. But what need was there for this superabundance of water? The essence of fire is necessary for the world, not only in the economy of earthly produce, but for the completion of the universe; for it would be imperfect if the most powerful and the most vital of its elements were lacking. Now fire and water are hostile to and destructive of each other. Fire, if it is the stronger, destroys water, and water, if in greater abundance, destroys fire. As, therefore, it was necessary to avoid an open struggle between these elements, so as not to bring about the dissolution of the universe by the total disappearance of one or the other, the sovereign Disposer created such a quantity of water that in spite of constant diminution from the effects of fire, it could last until the time fixed for the destruction of the world. He who planned all with weight and measure, He who, according to the word of Job, knows the number of the drops of rain, knew how long His work would last, and for how much consumption of fire He ought to allow. This is the reason of the abundance of water at the creation. Further, there is no one so strange to life as to need to learn the reason why fire is essential to the world. Not only all the arts which support life, the art of weaving, that of shoemaking, of architecture, of agriculture, have need of the help of fire, but the vegetation of trees, the ripening of fruits, the breeding of land and water animals, and their nourishment, all existed from heat from the beginning, and have been since maintained by the action of heat. The creation of heat was then indispensable for the formation and the preservation of beings, and the abundance of waters was no less so in the presence of the constant and inevitable consumption by fire.

6. Survey creation; you will see the power of heat reigning over all that is born and perishes. On account of it comes all the water spread over the earth, as well as that which is beyond our sight and is dispersed in the

depths of the earth. On account of it are abundance of fountains, springs or wells, courses of rivers, both mountain torrents and ever flowing streams, for the storing of moisture in many and various reservoirs. From the East, from the winter solstice flows the Indus, the greatest river of the earth, according to geographers. From the middle of the East proceed the Bactrus, the Choaspes, and the Araxes, from which the Tanais detaches itself to fall into the Palus-Maeotis. Add to these the Phasis which descends from Mount Caucasus, and countless other rivers, which, from northern regions, flow into the Euxine Sea. From the warm countries of the West, from the foot of the Pyrenees, arise the Tartessus and the Ister, of which the one discharges itself into the sea beyond the Pillars and the other, after flowing through Europe, fails into Euxine Sea. Is there any need to enumerate those which the Ripaean mountains pour forth in the heart of Scythia, the Rhone, and so many other rivers, all navigable, which after having watered the countries of the western Gauls and of Celts and of the neighboring barbarians, flow into the Western sea? And others from the higher regions of the South flow through Ethiopia. to discharge themselves some into our sea, others into inaccessible seas, the Aegon the Nyses, the Chremetes, and above all the Nile, which is not of the character of a river when, like a sea, it inundates Egypt. Thus the habitable part of our earth is surrounded by water, linked together by vast seas and irrigated by countless perennial rivers, thanks to the ineffable wisdom of Him Who ordered all to prevent this rival clement to fire from being entirely destroyed.

However, a time will come, when all shall be consumed by fire; as Isaiah says of the God of the universe in these words, "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers." Reject then the foolish wisdom of this world, and receive with me the more simple but infallible doctrine of truth.

7. Therefore we read: "*Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters*." I have said what the word firmament in Scripture means. It is not in reality a firm and solid substance which has weight and resistance; this name would otherwise have better suited the earth. But, as the substance of superincumbent bodies is light, without consistency, and cannot be grasped by any one of our senses, it is in comparison with these pure and imperceptible substances that the

firmament has received its name. Imagine a place fit to divide the moisture, sending it, if pure and filtered, into higher regions, and making it fall, if it is dense and earthy; to the end that by the gradual withdrawal of the moist particles the same temperature may be preserved from the beginning to the end. You do not believe in this prodigious quantity of water; but you do not take into account the prodigious quantity of heat, less considerable no doubt in bulk, but exceedingly powerful nevertheless, if you consider it as destructive of moisture. It attracts surrounding moisture, as the melon shows us, and consumes it as quickly when attracted, as the flame of the lamp draws to it the fuel supplied by the wick and burns it up. Who doubts that the rather is an ardent fire? If an impassable limit had not been assigned to it by the Creator, what would prevent it from setting on fire and consuming all that is near it, and absorbing sit the moisture from existing things? The aerial waters which veil the heavens with vapors that are sent forth by rivers, fountains, marshes, lakes, and seas, prevent the ether from invading and burning up the universe. Thus we see even this sun, in the summer season, dry up in a moment a damp and marshy country, and make it perfectly and. What has become of all the water? Let these masters of omniscience tell us. Is it not plain to every one that it has risen in vapor, and has been consumed by the heat of the sun? They say, none the less, that even the sun is without heat. What time they lose in words! And see what proof they lean upon to resist what is perfectly plain. Its color is white, and neither reddish nor yellow. It is not then fiery by nature, and its heat results, they say, from the velocity of its rotation. What do they gain? That the sun does not seem to absorb moisture? I do not, however, reject this statement, although it is false, because it helps my argument. I said that the consumption of heat required this prodigious quantity of water. That the sun owes its heat to its nature, or that heat results from its action, makes no difference, provided that it produces the same effects upon the same matter. If you kindle fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, or if you light them by holding them to a flame, you will have absolutely the same effect. Besides, we see that the great wisdom of Him who governs all, makes the sun travel from one region to another, for fear that, if it remained always in the same place, its excessive heat would destroy the order of the universe. Now it passes into southern regions about the time of the winter solstice, now it returns to the sign of the equinox; from thence it betakes itself to northern regions during the

summer solstice, and keeps up by this imperceptible passage a pleasant temperature throughout all the world.

Let the learned people see if they do not disagree among themselves. The water which the sun consumes is, they say, what prevents the sea from rising and flooding the rivers; the warmth of the sun leaves behind the salts and the bitterness of the waters, and absorbs from them the pure and drinkable particles, thanks to the singular virtue of this planet in attracting all that is light and in allowing to fall, like mud and sediment, all which is thick and earthy. From thence come the bitterness, the salt taste and the power of withering and drying up which are characteristic of the sea. While as is notorious, they hold these views, they shift their ground and say that moisture cannot be lessened by the sun.

8. "*And God called the firmament heaven*." The nature of right belongs to another, and the firmament only shares it on account of its resemblance to heaven. We often find the visible region called heaven, on account of the density and continuity of the air within our ken, and deriving its name "heaven" from the word which means to see. It is of it that Scripture says, "The fowl of the air," "Fowl that may fly... in the open firmament of heave;" and, elsewhere, "They mount up to heaven." Moses, blessing the tribe of Joseph, desires for it the fruits and the dews of heaven, of the suns of summer and the conjunctions of the moon, and blessings from the tops of the mountains and from the everlasting hills," in one word, from all which fertilizes the earth. In the curses on Israel it is said, "And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass." What does this mean? It threatens him with a complete drought, with an absence of the aerial waters which cause the fruits of the earth to be brought forth and to grow.

Since, then, Scripture says that the dew or the rain fails from heaven, we understand that it is from those waters which have been ordered to occupy the higher regions. When the exhalations from the earth, gathered together in the heights of the air, are condensed under the pressure of the wind, this aerial moisture diffuses itself in vaporous and light clouds; then mingling again, it forms drops which fall, dragged down by their own weight; and this is the origin of rain. When water beaten by the violence of the wind, changes into foam, and passing through excessive cold quite freezes, it

breaks the cloud, and falls as snow. Yon can thus account for all the moist substances that the air suspends over our heads.

And do not let any one compare with the inquisitive discussions of philosophers upon the heavens, the simple and inartificial character of the utterances of the Spirit; as the beauty of chaste women surpasses that of a harlot, so our arguments are superior to those of our opponents. They only seek to persuade by forced reasoning. With us truth presents itself naked and without artifice. But why torment ourselves to refute the errors of philosophers, when it is sufficient to produce their mutually contradictory books, and, as quiet spectators, to watch the war? For those thinkers are not less numerous, nor less celebrated, nor more sober in speech in fighting their adversaries, who say that the universe is being consumed by fire, and that from the seeds which remain in the ashes of the burnt world all is being brought to life again. Hence in the world there is destruction and palingenesis to infinity. All, equally far from the truth, find each on their side by-ways which lead them to error.

9. But as far as concerns the separation of the waters I am obliged to contest the opinion of certain writers in the Church who, under the shadow of high and sublime conceptions, have launched out into metaphor, and have only seen in the waters a figure to denote spiritual and incorporeal powers. In the higher regions, above the firmament, dwell the better; in the lower regions, earth and matter are the dwelling place of the malignant. So, say they, God is praised by the waters that are above the heaven, that is to say, by the good powers, the purity of whose soul makes them worthy to sing the praises of God. And the waters which are under the heaven represent the wicked spirits, who from their natural height have fallen into the abyss of evil. Turbulent, seditious, agitated by the tumultuous waves of passion, they have received the name of sea, because of the instability and the inconstancy of their movements. Let us reject these theories as dreams and old women’s tales. Let us understand that by water is meant; for the dividing of the waters by the firmament let us accept the reason which has been given us. Although, however, waters above the heaven are invited to give glory to the Lord of the Universe, do not let us think of them as intelligent beings; the heavens are not alive because they “declare the glory of God,” nor the firmament a sensible being because it “sheweth His handiwork.” And if they tell you that the

heavens mean contemplative powers, and the firmament active powers which produce good, we admire the theory as ingenious without being able to acknowledge the truth of it. For thus dew, the frost, cold and heat, which in Daniel are ordered to praise the Creator of all things, will be intelligent and invisible natures. But this is only a figure, accepted as such by enlightened minds, to complete the glory of the Creator. Besides, the waters above the heavens, these waters privileged by the virtue which they possess in themselves, are not the only waters to celebrate the praises of God. “Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all deeps.”Thus the singer of the Psalms does not reject the deeps which our inventors of allegories rank in the divisions of evil; he admits them to the universal choir of creation, and the deeps sing in their language a harmonious hymn to the glory of the Creator.

10. “*And God saw that it was good.*” God does not judge of the beauty of His work by the charm of the eyes, and He does not form the same idea of beauty that we do. What He esteems beautiful is that which presents in its perfection all the fitness of art, and that which tends to the usefulness of its end. He, then, who proposed to Himself a manifest design in His works, approved each one of them, as fulfilling its end in accordance with His creative purpose. A hand, an eye, or any portion of a statue lying apart from the rest, would look beautiful to no one. But if each be restored to its own place, the beauty of proportion, until now almost unperceived, would strike even the most uncultivated. But the artist, before uniting the parts of his work, distinguishes and recognizes the beauty of each of them, thinking of the object that he has in view. It is thus that Scripture depicts to us the Supreme Artist, praising each one of His works; soon. when His work is complete, He will accord well deserved praise to the whole together. Let me here end my discourse on the second day, to allow my industrious hearers to examine what they have just heard. May their memory retain it for the profit of their soul; may they by careful meditation inwardly digest and benefit by what I say. As for those who live by their work, let me allow them to attend all day to their business, so that they may come, with a soul free from anxiety, to the banquet of my discourse in the evening. May God who, after having made such great things, put such weak words in my mouth, grant you the intelligence of His truth, so that you may raise yourselves from visible things to the

invisible Being, and that the grandeur and beauty of creatures may give you a just idea of the Creator. For the visible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, and His power and divinity are eternal. Thus earth, air, sky, water, day, night, all visible things, remind us of who is our Benefactor. We shall not therefore give occasion to sin, we shall not give place to the enemy within us, if by unbroken recollection we keep God ever dwelling in our hearts, to Whom be all glory and all adoration, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

HOMILY 4

Upon the gathering together of the waters

1. THERE are towns where the inhabitants, from dawn to eve, feast their eyes on the tricks of innumerable conjurers. They are never tired of hearing dissolute songs which cause much impurity to spring up in their souls, and they are often called happy, because they neglect the cares of business and trades useful to life, and pass the time, which is assigned to them on this earth, in idleness and pleasure. They do not know that a theater full of impure sights is, for those who sit there, a common school of vice; that these melodious and meretricious songs insinuate themselves into men's souls, and all who hear them, eager to imitate the notes of harpers and pipers, are filled with filthiness. Some others, who are wild after horses, think they are backing their horses in their dreams; they harness their chariots change their drivers, and even in sleep are not free from the folly of the day. And shall we, whom the Lord, the great worker of marvels, calls to the contemplation of His own works, tire of looking at them, or be slow to hear the words of the Holy Spirit? Shall we not rather stand around the vast and varied workshop of divine creation and, carried back in mind to the times of old, shall we not view all the order of creation? Heaven, poised like a dome, to quote the words of the prophet; earth, this immense mass which rests upon itself; the air around it, of a soft and fluid nature, a true and continual nourishment for all who breathe it, of such tenuity that it yields and opens at the least movement of the body, opposing no resistance to our motions, while, in a moment, it streams back to its place, behind those who cleave it; water, finally, that supplies drink for man, or may be designed for our other needs, and the marvelous gathering together of it into definite places which have been assigned to it: such is the spectacle which the words which I have just read will show you.

2. "*And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so*." And the water which was under the heaven gathered together unto one place; " And God called the dry land earth and the gathering together of the waters called He seas." What trouble you have given me in my previous discourses by

asking me why the earth was invisible, why all bodies are naturally endued with color, and why all color comes under the sense of sight. And, perhaps, my reason did not appear sufficient to you, when I said that the earth, without being naturally invisible, was so to us, because of the mass of water that entirely covered it. Hear then how Scripture explains itself. “Let the waters be gathered together, and let the dry land appear.” The veil is lifted and allows the earth, hitherto invisible, to be seen. Perhaps you will ask me new questions. And first, is it not a law of nature that water flows downwards? Why, then, does Scripture refer this to the fiat of the Creator? As long as water is spread over a level surface, it does not flow; it is immovable. But when it finds any slope, immediately the foremost portion falls, then the one that follows takes its place, and that one is itself replaced by a third. Thus incessantly they flow, pressing the one on the other, and the rapidity of their course is in proportion to the mass of water that is being carried, and the declivity down which it is borne. If such is the nature of water, it was supererogatory to command it to gather into one place. It was bound, on account of its natural instability, to fall into the most hollow part of the earth and not to stop until the leveling of its surface. We see how there is nothing so level as the surface of water. Besides, they add, how did the waters receive an order to gather into one place, when we see several seas, separated from each other by the greatest distances? To the first question I reply: Since God’s command, you know perfectly well the motion of water; you know that it is unsteady and unstable and fails naturally over declivities and into hollow places. But what was its nature before this command made it take its course? You do not know yourself, an I you have heard from no eye-witness. Think, in reality, that a word of God makes the nature, and that this order is for the creature a direction for its future course. There was only one creation of day and night, and since that moment they have incessantly succeeded each other and divided time into equal parts.

3. “Let the waters be gathered together.” It was ordered that it should be the natural property of water to flow, and in obedience to this order, the waters are never weary in their course. In speaking thus, I have only in view the flowing property of waters. Some flow of their own accord like springs and rivers, others are collected and stationary. But I speak now of flowing waters. “Let the waters be gathered together unto one place.”

Have you never thought, when standing nears spring which is sending forth water abundantly, Who makes this water spring from the bowels of the earth? Who forced it up? Where are the store-houses which send it forth? To what place is it hastening? How is it that it is never exhausted here, and never overflows there? All this comes from that first command; it was for the waters a signal for their course.

In all the story of the waters remember this first order, “let the waters be gathered together.” To take their assigned places they were obliged to flow, and, once arrived there, to remain in their place and not to go farther. Thus in the language of Ecclesiastes, “All the waters run into the sea; yet the sea is not full.” Waters flow in virtue of God’s order, and the sea is enclosed in limits according to this first law, “Let the waters be gathered together unto one place.” For fear the water should spread beyond its bed, and in its successive invasions cover one by one all countries, and end by flooding the whole earth, it received the order to gather unto one place. Thus we often see the furious sea raising mighty waves to the heaven, and, when once it has touched the shore, break its impetuosity in foam and retire. “Fear ye not me, saith the Lord.... which have placed the sand for the bound of the sea.” A grain of sand, the weakest tiring possible, curbs the violence of the ocean. For what would prevent the Red Sea from invading the whole of Egypt, which lies lower, and uniting itself to the other sea which bathes its shores, were it not lettered by the fiat of the Creator? And if I say that Egypt is lower than the Red Sea, it is because experience has convinced us of it every time that an attempt has been made to join the sea of Egypt to the Indian Ocean, of which the Red Sea is a part. Thus we have renounced this enterprise, as also have the Egyptian Sesostris, who conceived the idea, and Darius the Mede who afterwards wished to carry it out.

I report this fact to make you understand the full force of the command, “Let the waters be gathered unto one place”; that is to say, let there be no other gathering, and, once gathered, let them not disperse.

4. To say that the waters were gathered in one place indicates that previously they were scattered in many places. The mountains, intersected by deep ravines, accumulated water in their valleys, when from every direction the waters betook themselves to the one gathering place.

What vast plains, in their extent resembling wide seas, what valleys, what cavities hollowed in many different ways, at that time full of water, must have been emptied by the command of God! But we must not therefore say, that if the water covered the face of the earth, all the basins which have since received the sea were originally full. Where can the gathering of the waters have come from if the basins were already full? These basins, we reply, were only prepared at the moment when the water had to unite in a single mass. At that time the sea which is beyond Gadeira and the vast ocean, so dreaded by navigators, which surrounds the isle of Britain and western Spain, did not exist. But, all of a sudden, God created this vast space, and the mass of waters flowed in.

Now if our explanation of the creation of the world may appear contrary to experience, (because it is evident that all the waters did not flow together in one place,) many answers may be made, all obvious as soon as they are stated. Perhaps it is even ridiculous to reply to such objections. Ought they to bring forward in opposition ponds and accumulations of rain water, and think that this is enough to upset our reasonings? Evidently the chief and most complete affluence of the waters was what received the name of gathering unto one place. For wells are also gathering places for water, made by the hand of man to receive the moisture diffused in the hollow of the earth. This name of gathering does not mean any chance massing of water, but the greatest and most important one, wherein the element is shewn collected together. In the same way that fire, in spite of its being divided into minute particles which are sufficient for our needs here, is spread in a mass in the rather; in the same way that air, in spite of a like minute division, has occupied the region round the earth; so also water, in spite of the small amount spread abroad everywhere, only forms one gathering together, that which separates the whole element from the rest. Without doubt the lakes as well those of the northern regions and those that are to be found in Greece, in Macedonia, in Bithynia and in Palestine, are gatherings together of waters; but here it means the greatest of all, that gathering the extent of which equals that of the earth. The first contain a great quantity of water; no one will deny this. Nevertheless no one could reasonably give them the name of seas not even if they are like the great sea, charged with salt and sand. They instance for example, the Lacus Asphaltitis in Judaea, and the Serbonian lake which extends between

Egypt and Palestine in the Arabian desert. These are lakes, and there is only one sea, as those affirm who have traveled round the earth. Although some authorities think the Hyrcanian and Caspian Seas are enclosed in their own boundaries, if we are to believe the geographers, they communicate with each other and together discharge themselves into the Great Sea. It is thus that, according to their account, the Red Sea and that beyond Gadeira only form one. Then why did God call the different masses of water seas? This is the reason; the waters flowed into one place, and their different accumulations, that is to say, the gulfs that the earth embraced in her folds, received from the Lord the name of seas: North Sea, South Sea, Eastern Sea, and Western Sea. The seas have even their own names, the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, the Aegean, the Ionian, the Sardinian, the Sicilian, the Tyrrhene, and many other names of which an exact enumeration would now be too long, and quite out of place. See why God calls the gathering together of waters seas. But let us return to the point from which the course of my argument has diverted me.

5. And God said: "*Let the waters be gathered together unto one place and let the dry land appear*." He did not say let the earth appear, so as not to show itself again without form, mud-like, and in combination with the water, nor yet endued with proper form and virtue. At the same time, lest we should attribute the drying of the earth to the sun, the Creator shows it to us dried before the creation of the sun. Let us follow the thought Scripture gives us. Not only the water which was covering the earth flowed off from it, but all that which had filtered into its depths withdrew in obedience to the irresistible order of the sovereign Master. And it was so. This is quite enough to show that the Creator's voice had effect: however, in several editions, there is added "And the water which was under the heavens gathered itself unto one place and the dry land was seen;" words that other interpreters have not given, and which do not appear conformable to Hebrew usage. In fact, after the assertion, "and it was so," it is superfluous to repeat exactly the same thing. In accurate copies these words are marked with an obelus, which is the sign of rejection.

"*And God called the dry land earth; and the gathering together of the waters called He seas*." Why does Scripture say above that the waters were gathered together unto one place, and that the dry earth appeared?

Why does it add here the dry land appeared, and God gave it the name of earth? It is that dryness is the property which appears to characterize the nature of the subject, whilst the word earth is only its simple name. Just as reason is the distinctive faculty of man, and the word man serves to designate the being gifted with this faculty, so dryness is the special and peculiar quality of the earth. The element essentially dry receives therefore the name of earth, as the animal who has a neigh for a characteristic cry is called a horse. The other elements, like the earth, have received some peculiar property which distinguishes them from the rest, and makes them known for what they are. Thus water has cold for its distinguishing property; air, moisture; fire, heat. But this theory really applies only to the primitive elements of the world. The elements which contribute to the formation of bodies, and come under our senses, show us these qualities in combination, and in the whole of nature our eyes and senses can find nothing which is completely singular, simple and pure. Earth is at the same time dry and cold; water, cold and moist; air, moist and warm; fire, warm and dry. It is by the combination of their qualities that the different elements can mingle. Thanks to a common quality each of them mixes with a neighboring element, and this natural alliance attaches it to the contrary element. For example, earth, which is at the same time dry and cold, finds in cold a relationship which unites it to water, and by the means of water unites itself to air. Water placed between the two, appears to give each a hand, and, on account of its double quality, allies itself to earth by cold and to air by moisture. Air, in its turn, takes the middle place and plays the part of a mediator between the inimical natures of water and fire, united to the first by moisture, and to the second by heat. Finally tire, of a nature at the same time warm and dry, is linked to air by warmth, and by its dryness reunites itself to the earth. And from this accord and from this mutual mixture of elements, results a circle and an harmonious choir whence each of the elements deserves its name. I have said this in order to explain why God has given to the dry land the name of earth, without however calling the earth dry. It is because dryness is not one of those qualities which the earth acquired afterwards, but one of those which constituted its essence from the beginning. Now that which causes a body to exist, is naturally antecedent to its posterior qualities and has a pre-eminence over them. It is then with reason that God chose the most ancient characteristic of the earth whereby to designate it.

6. “*And God saw that it was good.*” Scripture does not merely wish to say that a pleasing aspect of the sea presented itself to God. It is not with eyes that the Creator views the beauty of His works. He contemplates them in His ineffable wisdom. A fair sight is the sea all bright in a settled calm; fair too, when, ruffled by a light breeze of wind, its surface shows tints of purple and azure, — when, instead of lashing with violence the neighboring shores, it seems to kiss them with peaceful caresses. However, it is not in this that Scripture makes God find the goodness and charm of the sea. Here it is the purpose of the work which makes the goodness.

In the first place sea water is the source of all the moisture of the earth. It filters through imperceptible conduits, as is proved by the subterranean openings and caves whither its waves penetrate; it is received in oblique and sinuous canals; then, driven out by the wind, it rises to the surface of the earth, and breaks it, having become drinkable and free from its bitterness by this long percolation. Often, moved by the same cause, it springs even from mines that it has crossed, deriving warmth from them, and rises boiling, and bursts forth of a burning heat, as may be seen in islands and on the sea coast; even inland in certain places, in the neighborhood of rivers, to compare little things with great, almost the same phenomena occur. To what do these words tend? To prove that the earth is all undermined with invisible conduits, where the water travels everywhere underground from the sources of the sea.

7. Thus, in the eyes of God, the sea is good, because it makes the under current of moisture in the depths of the earth. It is good again, because from all sides it receives the rivers without exceeding its limits. It is good, because it is the origin and source of the waters in the air. Warmed by the rays of the sun, it escapes in vapor, is attracted into the high regions of the air, and is there cooled on account of its rising high above the refraction of the rays from the ground, and, the shade of the clouds adding to this refrigeration, it is changed into rain and fattens the earth. If people are incredulous, let them look at caldrons on the fire, which, though full of water, are often left empty because all the water is boiled and resolved into vapor. Sailors, too, boil even sea water, collecting the vapor in sponges, to quench their thirst in pressing need.

Finally the sea is good in the eyes of God, because it girdles the isles, of which it forms at the same time the rampart and the beauty, because it brings together the most distant parts of the earth, and facilitates the inter-communication of mariners. By this means it gives us the boon of general information, supplies the merchant with his wealth, and easily provides for the necessities of life, allowing the rich to export their superfluities, and blessing the poor with the supply of what they lack.

But whence do I perceive the goodness of the Ocean, as it appeared in the eyes of the Creator? If the Ocean is good and worthy of praise before God, how much more beautiful is the assembly of a Church like this, where the voices of men, of children, and of women, arise in our prayers to God mingling and resounding like the waves which beat upon the shore. This Church also enjoys a profound calm, and malicious spirits cannot trouble it with the breath of heresy. Deserve, then, the approbation of the Lord by remaining faithful to such good guidance, in our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.

HOMILY 5

The Germination of the Earth.

1. "*And God said Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself*." It was deep wisdom that commanded the earth, when it rested after discharging the weight of the waters, first to bring forth grass, then wood as we see it doing still at this time. For the voice that was then heard and this command were as a natural and permanent law for it; it gave fertility and the power to produce fruit for all ages to come; "Let the earth bring forth." The production of vegetables shows first germination. When the germs begin to sprout they form grass; this develops and becomes a plant, which insensibly receives its different articulations, and reaches its maturity in the seed. Thus all things which sprout and are green are developed. "Let the earth bring forth green grass." Let the earth bring forth by itself without having any need of help from without. Some consider the sun as the source of all productiveness on the earth. It is, they say, the action of the sun's heat which attracts the vital force from the center of the earth to the surface. The reason why the adornment of the earth was before the sun is the following; that those who worship the sun, as the source of life, may renounce their error. If they be well persuaded that the earth was adorned before the genesis of the sun, they will retract their unbounded admiration for it, because they see grass and plants vegetate before it rose. If then the food for the flocks was prepared, did our race appear less worthy of a like solicitude? He, who provided pasture for horses and cattle, thought before all of your riches and pleasures. If he fed your cattle, it was to provide for all the needs of your life. And what object was there in the bringing forth of grain, if not for your subsistence? Moreover, many grasses and vegetables serve for the food of man.

2. "*Let the earth bring forth grass yielding seed after his kind*." So that although some kind of grass is of service to animals, even their gain is our gain too, and seeds are especially designed for our use. Such is the true meaning of the words that I have quoted. "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed after his kind." this manner we can re-establish the order of the words, of which the construction seems faulty in the actual

version, and the economy of nature will be rigorously observed. In fact, first comes germination, then verdure, then the growth of the plant, which alter having attained its full growth arrives at perfection in seed.

How then, they say, can Scripture describe all the plants of the earth as seed-bearing, when the reed, couch-grass, mint, crocus, garlic, and the flowering rush and countless other species, produce no seed? To this we reply that many vegetables have their seminal virtue in the lower part and in the roots. The need, for example, after its annual growth sends forth a protuberance from its roots, which takes the place of seed for future trees. Numbers of other vegetables are the same and all over the earth reproduce by the roots. Nothing then is truer than that each plant produces its seed or contains some seminal virtue; this is what is meant by "after its kind." So that the shoot of a reed does not produce an olive tree, but from a reed grows another reed, and from one sort of seed a plant of the same sort always germinates. Thus, all which sprang from the earth, in its first bringing forth, is kept the same to our time, thanks to the constant reproduction of kind.

"Let the earth bring forth." See how, at this short word, at this brief command, the cold and sterile earth travailed and hastened to bring forth its fruit, as it east away its sad and dismal covering to clothe itself in a more brilliant robe, proud of its proper adornment and displaying the infinite variety of plants.

I want creation to penetrate you with so much admiration that everywhere, wherever you may be, the least plant may bring to you the clear remembrance of the Creator. If you see the grass of the fields, think of human nature, and remember the comparison of the wise Isaiah. "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." Truly the rapid flow of life, the short gratification and pleasure that an instant of happiness gives a man, all wonderfully suit the comparison of the prophet. Today he is vigorous in body, fattened by luxury, and in the prime of life, with complexion fair like the flowers, strong and powerful and of irresistible energy; tomorrow and he will be an object of pity, withered by age or exhausted by sickness. Another shines in all the splendor of a brilliant fortune. and around him are a multitude of flatterers, an escort of false friends on the track of his good graces; a crowd of

kinsfolk, but of no true kin; a swarm Of servants who crowd after him to provide for his food and for all his needs; and in his comings and goings this innumerable suite, which he drags after him, excites the envy of all whom he meets. To fortune may be added power in the State, honors bestowed by the imperial throne, the government of a province, or the command of armies; a herald who precedes him is crying in a loud voice; lictors right and left also fill his subjects with awe, blows, confiscations, banishments, imprisonments, and all the means by which he strikes intolerable terror into all whom he has to rule. And what then? One night, a fever, a pleurisy, or an inflammation of the lungs, snatches away this man from the midst of men, stripped in a moment of all his stage accessories, and all this, his glory, is proved a mere dream. Therefore the Prophet has compared human glory to the weakest flower.

3. Up to this point, the order in which plants shoot bears witness to their first arrangement. Every herb, every plant proceeds from a germ. If, like the couch-grass and the crocus, it throws out a shoot from its root and from this lower protuberance, it must always germinate and start outwards. If it proceeds from a seed, there is still, by necessity, first a germ, then the sprout, theft green foliage, and finally the fruit which ripens upon a stalk hitherto dry and thick. "Let the earth bring forth grass." When the seed falls into the earth, which contains the right combination of heat and moisture, it swells and becomes porous, and, grasping the surrounding earth, attracts to itself all that is suitable for it and that has affinity to it. These particles of earth, however small they may be, as they fall and insinuate themselves into all the pores of the seed, broaden its bulk and make it send forth roots below, and shoot upwards, sending forth stalks no less numerous than the roots. As the germ is always growing warm, the moisture, pumped up through the roots, and helped by the attraction of heat, draws a proper amount of nourishment from the soil, and distributes it to the stem, to the bark, to the husk, to the steel itself and to the beards with which it is armed. It is owing to these successive accretions that each plant attains its natural development, as well corn as vegetables, herbs or brushwood. A single plant, a blade of grass is sufficient to occupy all your intelligence in the contemplation of the skill which produced it. Why is the wheat stalk better with joints? Are they not like fastenings, which help it to bear easily the weight of the ear, when

it is swollen with fruit and bends towards the earth? Thus, whilst oats, which have no weight to bear at the top, are without these supports, nature has provided them for wheat. It has hidden the grain in a case, so that it may not be exposed to birds’ pillage, and has furnished it with a rampart of barbs, which, like darts, protect it against the attacks of tiny creatures.

4. What shall I say? What shall I leave unsaid? In the rich treasures of creation it is difficult to select what is most precious; the loss of what is omitted is too severe. “Let the earth bring forth grass;” and instantly, with useful plants, appear noxious plants; with corn, hemlock; with the other nutritious plants, hellebore, monkshood, mandrake and the juice of the poppy. What then? Shall we show no gratitude for so many beneficial gifts, and reproach the Creator for those which may be harmful to our life? And shall we not reflect that all has not been created in view of the wants of our bellies? The nourishing plants, which are destined for our use, are close at hand, and known by all the world. But in creation nothing exists without a reason. The blood of the bull is a poison: ought this animal then, whose strength is so serviceable to man, not to have been created, or, if created, to have been bloodless? But you have sense enough in yourself to keep you free froth deadly things. What! Sheep and goats know how to turn away from what threatens their life, discerning danger by instinct alone: and you, who have reason and the art of medicine to supply what you need, and the experience of your forebears to tell you to avoid all that is dangerous, you tell me that you find it difficult to keep yourself from poisons! But not a single thing has been created without reason, not a single thing is useless. One serves as food to some animal; medicine has found in another a relief for one of our maladies. Thus the starling eats hemlock, its constitution rendering it insusceptible to the action of the poison. Thanks to the tenuity of the pores of its heart, the malignant juice is on sooner swallowed than it is digested, before its chill can attack the vital parts. The quail, thanks to its peculiar temperament, whereby it escapes the dangerous effects, feeds on hellebore. There are even circumstances where poisons are useful to men; with mandrake doctors give us sleep; with opium they lull violent pain. Hemlock has ere now been used to appease the rage of unruly diseases; and many times

hellebore has taken away long standing disease. These plants, then, instead of making you accuse the Creator, give you a new subject for gratitude.

5. “*Let the earth bring forth grass.*” What spontaneous provision is included in these words, — that which is present in the root, in the plant itself, and in the fruit, as well as that which our labor and husbandry add! God did not command the earth immediately to give forth seed and fruit, but to produce germs, to grow green, and to arrive at maturity in the seed; so that this first command teaches nature what she has to do in the course of ages. But, they ask, is it true that the earth produces seed after his kind, when often, after having sown wheat, we gather black grain? This is not a change of kind, but an alteration, a disease of the grain. It has not ceased to be wheat; it is on account of having been burnt that it is black, as one can learn from its name. If a severe frost had burnt it, it would have had another color and a different flavor. They even pretend that, if it could find suitable earth and moderate temperature, it might return to its first form. Thus, you find nothing in nature contrary to the divine command. As to the darnel and all those bastard grains which mix themselves with the harvest, the tares of Scripture, far from being a variety of corn, have their own origin and their own kind; image of those who alter the doctrine of the Lord and, not being rightly instructed in the word, but, corrupted by the teaching of the evil one, mix themselves with the sound body of the Church to spread their pernicious errors secretly among purer souls. The Lord thus compares the perfection of those who believe in Him to the growth of seed, “as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise, night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.” “Let the earth bring forth grass.” In a moment earth began by germination to obey the laws of the Creator, completed every stage of growth, and brought germs to perfection. The meadows were covered with deep grass, the fertile plains quivered with harvests, and the movement of the corn was like the waving of the sea. Every plant, every herb, the smallest shrub, the least vegetable, arose from the earth in all its luxuriance. There was no failure in this first vegetation: no husbandman’s inexperience, no inclemency of the weather, nothing could injure it; then the sentence of condemnation was not

fettering the earth's fertility. All this was before the sin which condemned us to eat our bread by the sweat of our brow.

6. "*Let the earth*," the Creator adds, "*bring forth the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself*."

At this command every copse was thickly planted; all the trees, fir, cedar, cypress, pine, rose to their greatest height, the shrubs were straightway clothed with thick foliage. The plants called crown-plants, roses, myrtles, laurels, did not exist; in one moment they came into being, each one with its distinctive peculiarities. Most marked differences separated them from other plants, and each one was distinguished by a character of its own. But then the rose was without thorns; since then the thorn has been added to its beauty, to make us feel that sorrow is very near to pleasure, and to remind us of our sin, which condemned the earth to produce thorns and caltrops. But, they say, the earth has received the command to produce trees "yielding fruit whose seed was in itself," and we see many trees which have neither fruit, nor seed. What shall we reply? First, that only the more important trees are mentioned; and then, that a careful examination will show us that every tree has seed, or some property which takes the place of it. The black poplar, the willow, the elm, the white poplar, all the trees of this family, do not produce any apparent fruit; however, an attentive observer finds seed in each of them. This grain which is at the base of the leaf, and which those who busy themselves with inventing words call mischos, has the property of seed. And there are trees which reproduce by their branches, throwing out roots from them. Perhaps we ought even to consider as seeds the saplings which spring from the roots of a tree: for cultivators tear them out to multiply the species. But, we have already said, it is chiefly a question of the trees which contribute most to out life; which offer their various fruits to man and provide him with plentiful nourishment. Such is the vine, which produces wine to make glad the heart of man; such is the olive tree, whose fruit brightens his face with oil. How many things in nature are combined in the same plant! In a vine, roots, green and flexible branches, which spread themselves far over the earth, buds, tendrils, bunches of sour grapes and ripe grapes. The sight of a vine, when observed by an intelligent eye, serves to remind you of your nature. Without doubt you remember the parable where the Lord calls Himself a vine and His Father

the husbandman, and every one of us who are grafted by faith into the Church the branches. He invites us to produce fruits in abundance, for fear lest our sterility should condemn us to the fire. He constantly compares our souls to vines. “My well beloved,” says He, “hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill,” and elsewhere, I have “planted a vineyard and hedged it round about.” Evidently He calls human souls His vine, those souls whom He has surrounded with the authority of His precepts and a guard of angels. “The angel of the Lord encampeth round shout them that fear him.” And further: He has planted for us, so to say, props, in establishing in His Church apostles, prophets, teachers; and raising our thoughts by the example of the blessed in olden times, He has not allowed them to drag on the earth and be crushed under foot. He wishes that the claspings of love, like the tendrils of the vine, should attach us to our neighbors and make us rest on them, so that, in our continual aspirations towards heaven, we may imitate these vines, which raise themselves to the tops of the tallest trees. He also asks us to allow ourselves to be dug about; and that is what the soul does when it disembarrasses itself from the cares of the world, which are a weight on our hearts. He, then, who is freed from carnal affections and from the love of riches, and, far from being dazzled by them, disdains and despises this miserable vain glory, is, so to say, dug about and at length breathes, free from the useless weight of earthly thoughts. Nor must we, in the spirit of the parable, put forth too much wood, that is to say, live with ostentation, and gain the applause of the world; we must bring forth fruits, keeping the proof of our works for the husbandman. Be “like a green olive tree in the house of God,” never destitute of hope, but decked through faith with the bloom of salvation. Thus you will resemble the eternal verdure of this plant and will rival it in fruitfulness, if each clay sees you giving abundantly in alms.

7. But let us return to the examination of the ingenious contrivances of creation. How many trees then arose, some to give us their fruits, others to roof our houses, others to build our ships, others to feed our fires! What a variety in the disposition of their several parts! And yet, how difficult is it to find the distinctive property of each of them, and to grasp the difference which separates them from other species. Some strike deep roots, others do not; some shoot straight up and have only one stem, others appear to love the earth and, from their root upwards, divide into

several shoots. Those whose long branches stretch up afar into the air, have also deep roots which spread within a large circumference, a true foundation placed by nature to support the weight of the tree. What variety there is in bark! Some plants have smooth bark, others rough, some have only one layer, others several. What a marvelous thing! You may find in the youth and age of plants resemblances to those of man. Young and vigorous, their bark is distended; when they grow old, it is rough and wrinkled. Cut one, it sends forth new buds; the other remains henceforward sterile and as if struck with a mortal wound. But further, it has been observed that pines, cut down, or even submitted to the action of fire, are changed into a forest of oaks. We know besides that the industry of agriculturists remedies the natural defects of certain trees. Thus the sharp pomegranate and bitter almonds, if the trunk of the tree is pierced near the root to introduce into the middle of the pith a fat plug of pine, lose the acidity of their juice, and become delicious fruits. Let not the sinner then despair of himself, when he thinks, if agriculture can change the juices of plants, the efforts of the soul to arrive at virtue, can certainly triumph over all infirmities.

Now there is such a variety of fruits in fruit trees that it is beyond all expression; a variety not only in the fruits of trees of different families, but even in those of the same species, if it be true, as gardeners say, that the sex of a tree influences the character of its fruits. They distinguish male from female in palms; sometimes we see those which they call female lower their branches, as though with passionate desire. and invite the embraces of the male. Then, those who take care of these plants shake over these palms the fertilizing dust from the male palm-tree, the aspen as they call it: the tree appears to share the pleasures of enjoyment; then it raises its branches, and its foliage resumes its usual form. The same is said of the fig tree. Some plant wild fig trees near cultivated fig trees, and there are others who, to remedy the weakness of the productive fig tree of our gardens, attach to the branches unripe figs and so retain the fruit which had already begun to drop and to be lost. What lesson does nature here give us? That we must often borrow, even from those who are strangers to the faith, a certain vigor to show forth good works. If you see outside the Church, in pagan life, or in the midst of a pernicious heresy, the example of virtue and fidelity to moral laws, redouble your efforts to resemble the

productive fig tree, who by the side of the wild fig tree, gains strength, prevents the fruit from being shed, and nourishes it with more care.

8. Plants reproduce themselves in so many different ways, that we can only touch upon the chief among them. As to fruits themselves, who could review their varieties, their forms, their colors, the peculiar flavor, and the use of each of them? Why do some fruits ripen when exposed bare to the rays of the sun, while others fill out while encased in shells? Trees of which the fruit is tender have, like the fig tree, a thick shade of leaves; those, on the contrary, of which the fruits are stouter, like the nut, are only covered by a light shade. The delicacy of the first requires more care; if the latter had a thicker case, the shade of the leaves would be harmful. Why is the vine leaf serrated, if not that the bunches of grapes may at the same time resist the injuries of the air and receive through the openings all the rays of the sun? Nothing has been done without motive, nothing by chance. All shows ineffable wisdom.

What discourse can touch all? Can the human mind make an exact review, remark every distinctive property, exhibit all the differences, unveil with certainty so many mysterious causes? The same water, pumped up through the root, nourishes in a different way the root itself, the bark of the trunk, the wood and the pith. It becomes leaf, it distributes itself among the branches and twigs and makes the fruits swell — it gives to the plant its gum and its sap. Who will explain to us the difference between all these? There is a difference between the gum of the mastich and the juice of the balsam, a difference between that which distills in Egypt and Libya from the fennel. Amber is, they say, the crystallized sap of plants. And for a proof, see the bits of straws and little insects which have been caught in the sap while still liquid and imprisoned there. In one word, no one without long experience could find terms to express the virtue of it. How, again, does this water become wine in the vine, and oil in the olive tree? Yet what is marvelous is, not to see it become sweet in one fruit, fat and unctuous in another, but to see in sweet fruits an inexpressible variety of flavor. There is one sweetness of the grape, another of the apple, another of the fig, another of the date. I shall willingly give you the gratification of continuing this research. How is it that this same water has sometimes a sweet taste, softened by its remaining in certain plants, and at other times stings the palate because it has become acid by passing through others?

How is it, again, that it attains extreme bitterness, and makes the mouth rough when it is found in wormwood and in scammony? That it has in acorns and dogwood a sharp and rough flavor? That in the turpentine tree and the walnut tree it is changed into a soft and oily matter?

9. But what need is there to continue. when in the same fig tree we have the most opposite flavors, as bitter in the sap as it is sweet in the fruit? And in the vine, is it not as sweet in the grapes as it is astringent in the branches? And what a variety of color! Look how in a meadow this same water becomes red in one flower, purple in another, blue in this one, white in that. And this diversity of colors, is it to be compared to that of scents? But I perceive that an insatiable curiosity is drawing out my discourse beyond its limits. If I do not stop and recall it to the law of creation, day will fail me whilst making you see great wisdom in small things.

"*Let the earth bring forth the fruit tree yielding fruit.*" Immediately the tops of the mountains were covered with foliage: paradises were artfully laid out, and an infinitude of plants embellished the banks of the rivers. Some were for the adornment of man's table; some to nourish animals with their fruits and their leaves; some to provide medicinal help by giving us their sap, their juice, their chips, their bark or their fruit. In a word, the experience of ages, profiting from every chance, has not been able to discover anything useful, which the penetrating foresight of the Creator did not first perceive and call into existence. Therefore, when you see the trees in our gardens, or those of the forest, those which love the water or the land, those which bear flowers, or those which do not flower, I should like to see you recognizing grandeur even in small objects, adding incessantly to your admiration of, and redoubling your love for the Creator. Ask yourself why He has made some trees evergreen and others deciduous; why, among the first, some lose their leaves, and others always keep them. Thus the olive and the pine shed their leaves, although they renew them insensibly and never appear to be despoiled of their verdure. The palm tree, on the contrary, from its birth to its death, is always adorned with the same foliage. Think again of the double life of the tamarisk; it is an aquatic plant, and yet it covers the desert. Thus, Jeremiah compares it to the worst of characters — the double character.

10. "*Let the earth bring forth*." This short command was in a moment a vast nature, an elaborate system. Swifter than thought it produced the countless qualities of plants. It is this command which, still at this day, is imposed on the earth, and in the course of each year displays all the strength of its power to produce herbs, seeds and trees. Like tops, which after the first impulse, continue their evolutions, turning upon themselves when once fixed in their center; thus nature, receiving the impulse of this first command, follows without interruption the course of ages, until the consummation of all things. Let us all hasten to attain to it, full of fruit and of good works; and thus, planted in the house of the Lord we shall flourish in the court of our God, in our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.

HOMILY 6

The creation of luminous bodies.

1. At the shows in the circus the spectator must join in the efforts of the athletes. This the laws of the show indicate, for they prescribe that all should have the head uncovered when present at the stadium. The object of this, in my opinion, is that each one there should not only be a spectator of the athletes, but be, in a certain measure, a true athlete himself. Thus, to investigate the great and prodigious show of creation, to understand supreme and ineffable wisdom, you must bring personal light for the contemplation of the wonders which I spread before your eyes, and help me, according to your power, in this struggle, where you are not so much judges as fellow combatants, for fear lest the truth might escape you, and lest my error might turn to your common prejudice. Why these words? It is because we propose to study the world as a whole. and to consider the universe. not by the light of worldly wisdom, but by that with which God wills to enlighten His servant, when He speaks to him in person and without enigmas. It is because it is absolutely necessary that all lovers of great and grand shows should bring a mind well prepared to study them. If sometimes, on a bright night, whilst gazing with watchful eyes on the inexpressible beauty of the stars, you have thought of the Creator of all things; if you have asked yourself who it is that has dotted heaven with such flowers, and why visible things are even more useful than beautiful; if sometimes, in the day, you have studied the marvels of light, if you have raised yourself by visible things to the invisible Being, then you are a well prepared auditor, and you can take your place in this august and blessed amphitheater. Come in the same way that any one not knowing a town is taken by the hand and led through it; thus I am going to lead you, like strangers, through the mysterious marvels of this great city of the universe. Our first country was in this great city, whence the murderous demon whose enticements seduced man to slavery expelled us. There you will see man's first origin and his immediate seizure by death, brought forth by sin, the first born of the evil spirit. You will know that you are formed of earth, but the work of God's hands; much weaker than the brute, but ordained to command beings without reason and soul;

inferior as regards natural advantages, but, thanks to the privilege of reason, capable of raising yourself to heaven. If we are penetrated by these truths, we shall know ourselves, we shall know God, we shall adore our Creator, we shall serve our Master, we shall glorify our Father, we shall love our Sustainer, we shall bless our Benefactor, we shall not cease to honor the Prince of present and future life, Who, by the riches that He showers upon us in this world, makes us believe in His promises and uses present good things to strengthen our expectation of the future. Truly, if such are the good things of time, what will be those of eternity? If such is the beauty of visible things, what shall we think of invisible things? If the grandeur of heaven exceeds the measure of human intelligence, what mind shall be able to trace the nature of the everlasting? If the sun, subject to corruption, is so beautiful, so grand. so rapid in its move-meat, so invariable in its course; if its grandeur is in such perfect harmony with and due proportion to the universe: if, by the beauty of its nature, it shines like a brilliant eye in the middle of creation; if finally, one cannot tire of contemplating it, what will be the beauty of the Sun of Righteousness? If the blind man suffers from not seeing the material sun, what a deprivation is it for the sinner not to enjoy the true light l

2. "*And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to divide the day from the night*." Heaven and earth were the first; after them was created light; the day had been distinguished from the night, then had appeared the firmament and the dry element. The water had been gathered into the reservoir assigned to it, the earth displayed its productions, it had caused many kinds of herbs to germinate and it was adorned with all kinds of plants. However, the sun and the moon did not yet exist, in order that those who live in ignorance of God may not consider the sun as the origin and the father of light, or as the maker of all that grows out of the earth. That is why there was a fourth day, and then God said: "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven."

When once you have learnt Who spoke, think immediately of the hearer. God said, "Let there be lights... and God made two great lights." Who spoke? and Who made? Do you not see a double person? Everywhere, in mystic language, history is sown with the dogmas of theology.

The motive follows which caused the lights to be created. It was to illuminate the earth. Already light was created; why therefore say that the sun was created to give light? And, first, do not laugh at the strangeness of this expression. We do not follow your nicety about words, and we trouble ourselves but little to give them a harmonious turn. Our writers do not amuse themselves by polishing their periods, and everywhere we prefer clearness of words to sonorous expressions. See then if by this expression "to light up," the sacred writer sufficiently made his thought understood. He has put "to give light" instead of "illumination." Now there is nothing here contradictory to what has been said of light. Then the actual nature of light was produced: now the sun's body is constructed to be a vehicle for that original light. A lamp is not fire. Fire has the property of illuminating, and we have invented the lamp to light us in darkness. In the same way, the luminous bodies have been fashioned as a vehicle for that pure, clear, and immaterial light. The Apostle speaks to us of certain lights which shine in the world without being confounded with the true light of the world, the possession of which made the saints luminaries of the souls which they instructed and drew from the darkness of ignorance. This is why the Creator of all things, made the sun in addition to that glorious light, and placed it shining in the heavens.

3. And let no one suppose it to be a thing incredible that the brightness of the light is one thing, and the body which is its material vehicle is another. First, in all composite things, we distinguish substance susceptible of quality, and the quality which it receives. The nature of whiteness is one thing, another is that of the body which is whitened; thus the natures differ which we have just seen reunited by the power of the Creator. And do not tell me that it is impossible to separate them. Even I do not pretend to be able to separate light from the body of the sun; but I maintain that that which we separate in thought, may be separated in reality by the Creator of nature. You cannot, moreover, separate the brightness of fire from the virtue of burning which it possesses; but God, who wished to attract His servant by a wonderful sight, set a fire in the burning bush, which displayed all the brilliancy of flame while its devouring property was dormant. It is that which the Psalmist affirms in saying "The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire." Thus, in the requital which awaits us after this life, a mysterious voice seems to tell us that the double nature of

fire will be divided; the just will enjoy its light, and the torment of its heat will be the torture of the wicked.

In the revolutions of the moon we find a new proof of what we have advanced. When it stops and grows less it does not consume itself in all its body, but in the measure that it deposits or absorbs the light which surrounds it, it presents to us the image of its decrease or of its increase. If we wish an evident proof that the moon does not consume its body whet, at rest, we have only to open our eyes. If you look at it in a cloudless and clear sky, you observe, when it has taken the complete form of a crescent, that the part, which is dark and not lighted up, describes a circle equal to that which the full moon forms. Thus the eye can take in the whole circle, if it adds to the illuminated part this obscure and dark curve. And do not tell me that the light of the moon is borrowed, diminishing or increasing in proportion as it approaches or recedes from the sun. That is not now the object of our research; we only wish to prove that its body differs from the light which makes it shine. I wish you to have the same idea of the sun; except however that the one, after having once received light and having mixed it with its substance, does not lay it down again, whilst the other, turn by turn, putting off and reclothing itself again with light, proves by that which takes place in itself what we have said of the sun.

The sun and moon thus received the command to divide the day from the night. God had already separated light from darkness; then He placed their natures in opposition, so that they could not mingle, and that there could never be anything in common between darkness and light. You see what a shadow is during the day; that is precisely the nature of darkness during the night. If, at the appearance of a light, the shadow always falls on the opposite side; if in the morning it extends towards the setting sun; if in the evening it inclines towards the rising sun, and at mid-day turns towards the north; night retires into the regions opposed to the rays of the sun, since it is by nature only the shadow of the earth. Because, in the same way that, daring the day, shadow is produced by a body which intercepts the light, night comes naturally when the air which surrounds the earth is in shadow. And this is precisely what Scripture says, “God divided the light from the darkness.” Thus darkness fled at the approach of light, the two being at their first creation divided by a natural antipathy. Now God commanded the sun to measure the day, and the moon, whenever she

rounds her disc, to rule the night. For then these two luminaries are almost diametrically opposed; when the sun rises, the full moon disappears from the horizon, to reappear in the east at the moment the sun sets. It matters little to our subject if in other phases the light of the moon does not correspond exactly with night. It is none the less true, that when at its perfection it makes the stars to turn pale and lightens up the earth with the splendor of its light, it reigns over the night, and in concert with the sun divides the duration of it in equal parts.

4. "*And let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years*." The signs which the luminaries give are necessary to human life. In fact what useful observations will long experience make us discover, if we ask without undue curiosity! What signs of rain, of drought, or of the rising of the wind, partial or general, violent or moderate Our Lord indicates to us one of the signs given by the sun when He says, "It will be foul weather today; for the sky is red and lowering." In fact, when the sun rises through a fog, its rays are darkened, but the disc appears burning like a coal and of a bloody red color. It is the thickness of the air which causes this appearance; as the rays of the sun do not disperse such amassed and condensed air, it cannot certainly be retained by the waves of vapor which exhale from the earth, and it will cause from superabundance of moisture a storm in the countries over which it accumulates. In the same way, when the moon is surrounded with moisture, or when the sun is encircled with what is called a halo, it is the sign of heavy rain or of a violent storm; again, in the same way, if mock suns accompany the sun in its course they foretell certain celestial phenomena. Finally, those straight lines, like the colors of the rainbow, which are seen on the clouds, announce rain, extraordinary tempests, or, in one word, a complete change in the weather.

Those who devote themselves to the observation of these bodies find signs in the different phases of the moon, as if the air, by which the earth is enveloped, were obliged to vary to correspond with its change of form. Towards the third day of the new moon, if it is sharp and clear, it is a sign of fixed fine weather. If its horns appear thick and reddish it threatens us either with heavy rain or with a gale from the South. Who does not know how useful are these signs in life? Thanks to them, the sailor keeps back his vessel in the harbor, foreseeing the perils with which the winds threaten him, and the traveler beforehand takes shelter from harm, waiting

until the weather has become fairer. Thanks to them, husbandmen, busy with sowing seed or cultivating plants, are able to know which seasons are favorable to their labors. Further, the Lord has announced to us that at the dissolution of the universe, signs will appear in the sun, in the moon and in the stars. The sun shall be turned into blood and the moon shall not give her light, signs of the consummation of all things.

5. But those who overstep the borders, making the words of Scripture their apology for the art of casting nativities, pretend that our lives depend upon the motion of the heavenly bodies, and that thus the Chaldaeans read in the planets that which will happen to us. By these very simple words "let them be for signs," they understand neither the variations of the weather, nor the change of seasons; they only see in them, at the will of their imagination, the distribution of human destinies. What do they say in reality? When the planets cross in the signs of the Zodiac, certain figures formed by their meeting give birth to certain destinies, and others produce different destinies.

Perhaps for clearness sake it is not useless to enter into more detail about this vain science. I will say nothing of my own to refute them; I will use their words, bringing a remedy for the infected, and for others a preservative from falling. The inventors of astrology seeing that in the extent of time many signs escaped them, divided it and enclosed each part in narrow limits, as if in the least and shortest interval, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, to speak with the Apostle, the greatest difference should be found between one birth and another. Such an one is born in this moment; he will be a prince over cities and will govern the people, in the fullness of riches and power. Another is born the instant after; he will be poor, miserable, and will wander daily from door to door begging his bread. Consequently they divide the Zodiac into twelve parts, and, as the sun takes thirty days to traverse each of the twelve divisions of this unerring circle, they divide them into thirty more. Each of them forms sixty new ones, and these last are again divided into sixty. Let us see then if, in determining the birth of an infant, it will be possible to observe this rigorous division of time. The child is born. The nurse ascertains the sex; then she awaits the wail which is a sign of its life. Until then how many moments have passed do you think? The nurse announces the birth of the child to the Chaldaean: how many minutes would you count before she

opens her mouth, especially if he who records the hour is outside the women's apartments? And we know that he who consults the dial, ought, whether by day or by night, to mark the hour with the most precise exactitude. What a swarm of seconds passes during this time! For the planet of nativity ought to be found, not only in one of the twelve divisions of the Zodiac, and even in one of its first subdivisions, but again in one of the sixtieth parts which divide this last, and even, to arrive at the exact truth, in one of the sixtieth subdivisions that this contains in its turn. And to obtain such minute knowledge, so impossible to grasp from this moment, each planet must be questioned to find its position as regards the signs of the Zodiac and the figures that the planets form at the moment of the child's birth. Thus, if it is impossible to find exactly the hour of birth, and if the least change can upset all, then both those who give themselves up to this imaginary science and those who listen to them open-mouthed, as if they could learn from them the future, are supremely ridiculous.

6. But what effects are produced? Such an one will have curly hair and bright eyes, because he is born under the Ram; such is the appearance of a ram. He will have noble feelings; because the Ram is born to command. He will be liberal and fertile in resources, because this animal gets rid of its fleece without trouble, and nature immediately hastens to reclothe it. Another is born under the Bull: he will be endured to hardship and of a slavish character, because the bull bows under the yoke. Another is born under the Scorpion; like to this venomous reptile he will be a striker. He who is born under the Balance will be just, thanks to the justness of our balances. Is not this the height of folly? This Ram, from whence you draw the nativity of man, is the twelfth part of the heaven, and in entering into it the sun reaches the spring. The Balance and the Bull are likewise twelfth parts of the Zodiac. How can you see there the principal causes which influence the life of man? And why do you take animals to characterize the manners of men who enter this world? He who is born under the Ram will be liberal, not because this part of heaven gives this characteristic, but because such is the nature of the beast. Why then should we frighten ourselves by the names of these stars and undertake to persuade ourselves with these bleatings? If heaven has different characteristics derived from these animals, it is then itself subject to external influences since its causes depend on the brutes who graze in our fields. A ridiculous assertion; but

how much more ridiculous the pretense of arriving at the influence on each other of things which have not the least connection! This pretended science is a true spider's web; if a gnat or a fly, or some insect equally feeble falls into it is held entangled; if a stronger animal approaches, it passes through without trouble, carrying the weak tissue away with it.

7. They do not, however, stop here; even our acts, where each one feels his will ruling, I mean, the practice of virtue or of vice, depend, according to them, on the influence of celestial bodies. It would be ridiculous seriously to refute such an error, but, as it holds a great many in its nets, perhaps it is better not to pass it over in silence. I would first ask them if the figures which the stars describe do not change a thousand times a day. In the perpetual motion of planets, some meet in a more rapid course, others make slower revolutions, and often in an hour we see them look at each other and then hide themselves. Now, at the hour of birth, it is very important whether one is looked upon by a beneficent star or by an evil one, to speak their language. Often then the astrologers do not seize the moment when a good star shows itself, and, on account of having let this fugitive moment escape, they enroll the newborn under the influence of a bad genius. I am compelled to use their own words. What madness! But, above all, what impiety! For the evil stars throw the blame of their wickedness upon Him Who trade them. If evil is inherent in their nature, the Creator is the author of evil. If they make it themselves, they are animals endowed with the power of choice, whose acts will be free and voluntary. Is it not the height of folly to tell these lies about beings without souls? Again, what a want of sense does it show to distribute good and evil without regard to personal merit; to say that a star is beneficent because it occupies a certain place; that it becomes evil, because it is viewed by another star; and that if it moves ever so little from this figure it loses its malign influence.

But let us pass on. If, at every instant of duration, the stars vary their figures, then in these thousand changes, many times a day, there ought to be reproduced the configuration of royal births. Why then does not every day see the birth of a king? Why is there a succession on the throne from father to son? Without doubt there has never been a king who has taken measures to have his son born under the star of royalty. For what man possesses such a power? How then did Uzziah beget Jotham, Jotham

Ahaz, Ahaz Hezekiah? And by what chance did the birth of none of them happen in an hour of slavery? If the origin of our virtues and of our vices is not in ourselves, but is the fatal consequence of our birth, it is useless for legislators to prescribe for us what we ought to do, and what we ought to avoid; it is useless for judges to honor virtue and to punish vice. The guilt is not in the robber, not in the assassin: it was willed for him; it was impossible for him to hold back his hand, urged to evil by inevitable necessity. Those who laboriously cultivate the arts are the maddest of men. The laborer will make an abundant harvest without sowing seed and without sharpening his sickle. Whether he wishes it or not, the merchant will make his fortune, and will be flooded with riches by fate. As for us Christians, we shall see our great hopes vanish, since from the moment that man does not act with freedom, there is neither reward for justice, nor punishment for sin. Under the reign of necessity and of fatality there is no place for merit, the first condition of all righteous judgment. But let us stop. You who are sound in yourselves have no need to hear more, and time does not allow us to make attacks without limit against these unhappy men.

8. Let its return to the words which follow. “Let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years.” We have spoken about signs. By times, we understand the succession of seasons, winter, spring, summer and autumn, which we see follow each other in so regular a course, thanks to the regularity of the movement of the luminaries. It is winter when the sun sojourns in the south and produces in abundance the shades of night in our region. The air spread over the earth is chilly, and the damp exhalations, which gather over our heads, give rise to rains, to frosts, to innumerable flakes of snow. When, returning from the southern regions, the sun is in the middle of the heavens and divides day and night into equal parts, the more it sojourns above the earth the more it brings back a mild temperature to us. Then comes spring, which makes all the plants germinate, and gives to the greater part of the trees their new life, and, by successive generation, perpetuates all the land and water animals. From thence the sun, returning to the summer solstice, in the direction of the North, gives us the longest days. And, as it travels farther in the air, it burns that which is over our heads, dries up the earth, ripens the grains and hastens the maturity of the fruits of the trees. At the epoch of its greatest heat, the shadows which the

sun makes at mid-day are short, because it shines from above, from the air over our heads. Thus the longest days are those when the shadows are shortest, in the same way that the shortest days are those when the shadows are longest. It is this which happens to all of us “Heteroskii” (shadowed-on-one-side) who inhabit the northern regions of the earth. But there are people who, two days in the year, are completely without shade at mid-day, because the sun, being perpendicularly over their heads, lights them so equally from all sides, that it could through a narrow opening shine at the bottom of a well. Thus there are some who call them “askii” (shadowless). For those who live beyond the land of spices see their shadow now on one side, now on another, the only inhabitants of this land of which the shade falls at mid-day; thus they are given the name of “amphiskii,” (shadowed-on-both sides). All these phenomena happen whilst the sun is passing into northern regions: they give us an idea of the heat thrown on the air, by the rays of the sun and of the effects that they produce. Next we pass to autumn, which breaks up the excessive heat, lessening the warmth little by little, and by a moderate temperature brings us back without suffering to winter, to the time when the sun returns from the northern regions to the southern. It is thus that seasons, following the course of the sun, succeed each other to rule our life.

“Let them be for days” says Scripture, not to produce them but to rule them; because day and night tire older than the creation of the luminaries and it is this that the psalm declares to us. “The sun to rule by day... the moon and stars to rule by night.” How does the sun rule by day? Because carrying everywhere light with it, it is no sooner risen above the horizon than it drives away darkness and brings us day. Thus we might, without self deception, define day as air lighted by the sun, or as the space of time that the sun passes in our hemisphere. The functions of the sun and moon serve further to mark years. The moon, after having twelve times run her course, forms a year which sometimes needs an intercalary month to make it exactly agree with the seasons. Such was formerly the year of the Hebrews and of the early Greeks. As to the solar year, it is the time that the sun, having started from a certain sign, takes to return to it in its normal progress.

9. “*And God made two great lights*” The word “great,” if, for example we say it of the heaven of the earth or of the sea, may have an absolute sense;

but ordinarily it has only a relative meaning, as a great horse, or a great ox. It is not that these animals are of an immoderate size, but that in comparison with their like they deserve the title of great. What idea shall we ourselves form here of greatness? Shall it be the idea that we have of it in the ant and in all the little creatures of nature, which we call great in comparison with those like themselves, and to show their superiority over them? Or shall we predicate greatness of the luminaries, as of the natural greatness inherent in them? As for me, I think so. If the sun and moon are great, it is not in comparison with the smaller stars, but because they have such a circumference that the splendor which they diffuse lights up the heavens and the air, embracing at the same time earth and sea. In whatever part of heaven they may be, whether rising, or setting, or in mid heaven, they appear always the same in the eyes of men, a manifest proof of their prodigious size. For the whole extent of heaven cannot make them appear greater in one place and smaller in another. Objects which we see afar off appear dwarfed to our eyes, and in measure as they approach us we can form a juster idea of their size. But there is no one who can be nearer or more distant from the sun. All the inhabitants of the earth see it at the same distance. Indians and Britons see it of the same size. The people of the East do not see it decrease in magnitude when it sets; those of the West do not find it smaller when it rises. If it is in the middle of the heavens it does not vary in either aspect. Do not be deceived by mere appearance, and because it looks a cubit's breadth, imagine it to be no bigger. At a very great distance objects always lose size in our eyes; sight, not being able to clear the intermediary space, is as it were exhausted in the middle of its coarse, and only a small part of it reaches the visible object. Our power of sight is small and makes all we see seem small, affecting what it sees by its own condition. Thus, then, if sight is mistaken its testimony is fallible. Recall your own impressions and you will find in yourself the proof of my words. If you bare ever from the top of a high mountain looked at a large and level plain, how big did the yokes of oxen appear to you? How big were the ploughmen themselves? Did they not look like ants? If from the top of a commanding rock, looking over the wide sea, you cast your eyes over the vast extent how big did the greatest islands appear to you? How large did one of those barks of great tonnage, which unfurl their white sails to the blue sea, appear to you. Did it not look smaller than a dove? It is because sight, as I have just told you, loses

itself in the air, becomes weak and cannot seize with exactness the object which it sees. And further: your sight shows you high mountains intersected by valleys as rounded and smooth, because it reaches only to the salient parts, and is not able, on account of its weakness, to penetrate into the valleys which separate them. It does not even preserve the form of objects, and thinks that all square towers are round. Thus all proves that at a great distance sight only presents to us obscure and confused objects. The luminary is then great, according to the witness of Scripture, and infinitely greater than it appears.

10. See again another evident proof of its greatness. Although the heaven may be full of stars without number, the light contributed by them all could not disperse the gloom of night. The sun alone, from the time that it appeared on the horizon, while it was still expected and had not yet risen completely above the earth, dispersed the darkness, outshone the stars, dissolved and diffused the air, which was hitherto thick and condensed over our heads, and produced thus the morning breeze and the dew which in fine weather streams over the earth. Could the earth with such a wide extent be lighted up entirely in one moment if an immense disc were not pouring forth its light over it? Recognize here the wisdom of the Artificer. See how He made the heat of the sun proportionate to this distance. Its heat is so regulated that it neither consumes the earth by excess, nor lets it grow cold and sterile by defect.

To all this the properties of the moon are near akin; she, too, has an immense body, whose splendor only yields to that of the sun. Our eyes, however, do not always see her in her full size. Now she presents a perfectly rounded disc, now when diminished and lessened she shows a deficiency on one side. When waxing she is shadowed on one side, and when she is waning another side is hidden. Now it is not without a secret reason of the divine Maker of the universe, that the moon appears from time to time under such different forms. It presents a striking example of our nature. Nothing is stable in man; here from nothingness he raises himself to perfection; there after having hasted to put forth his strength to attain his full greatness he suddenly is subject to gradual deterioration, and is destroyed by diminution. Thus, the sight of the moon, making us think of the rapid vicissitudes of human things, ought to teach us not to pride ourselves on the good things of this life, and not to glory in our power, not

to be carried away by uncertain riches, to despise our flesh which is subject to change, and to take care of the soul, for its good is unmoved. If you cannot behold without sadness the moon losing its splendor by gradual and imperceptible decrease, how much more distressed should you be at the sight of a soul, who, after having possessed virtue, loses its beauty by neglect, and does not remain constant to its affections, but is agitated and constantly changes because its purposes are unstable. What Scripture says is very true, “As for a fool he changeth as the moon.”

I believe also that the variations of the moon do not take place without exerting great influence upon the organization of animals and of all living things. This is because bodies are differently disposed at its waxing and waning. When she wanes they lose their density and become void. When she waxes and is approaching her fullness they appear to fill themselves at the same time with her, thanks to an imperceptible moisture that she emits mixed with heat, which penetrates everywhere. For proof, see how those who sleep under the moon feel abundant moisture filling their heads; see how fresh meat is quickly turned under the action of the moon; see the brain of animals, the moistest part of marine animals, the pith of trees. Evidently the moon must be, as Scripture says, of enormous size and power to make all nature thus participate in her changes.

11. On its variations depends also the condition of the air, as is proved by sudden disturbances which often come after the new moon, in the midst of a calm and of a stillness in the winds, to agitate the clouds and to hurl them against each other; as the flux and reflux in straits, and the ebb and flow of the ocean prove, so that those who live on its shores see it regularly following the revolutions of the moon. The waters of straits approach and retreat from one shore to the other during the different phases of the moon; but, when she is new, they have not an instant of rest, and move in perpetual swaying to and fro, until the moon, reappearing, regulates their reflux. As to the Western sea, we see it in its ebb and flow now return into its bed, and now overflow, as the moon draws it back by her respiration and then, by her expiration, urges it to its own boundaries.

I have entered into these details, to show you the grandeur of the luminaries, and to make you see that, in the inspired words, there is not one idle syllable. And yet my sermon has scarcely touched on any

important point; there are many other discoveries about the size and distance of the sun and moon to which any one who will make a serious study of their action and of their characteristics may arrive by the aid of reason. Let me then ingenuously make an avowal of my weakness, for fear that you should measure the mighty works of the Creator by my words. The little that I have said ought the rather to make you conjecture the marvels on which I have omitted to dwell. We must not then measure the moon with the eye, but with the reason. Reason, for the discovery of truth, is much surer than the eye.

Everywhere ridiculous old women's tales, imagined in the delirium of drunkenness, have been circulated; such as that enchantments can remove the moon from its place and make it descend to the earth. How could a magician's charm shake that of which the Most High has laid the foundations? And if once torn out what place could hold it?

Do you wish from slight indications to have a proof of the moon's size? All the towns in the world, however distant from each other, equally receive the light from the moon in those streets that are turned towards its rising If she did not look on all face to face, those only would be entirely lighted up which were exactly opposite; as to those beyond the extremities of her disc, they would only receive diverted and oblique rays. It is this effect which the light of lamps produces in houses; if a lamp is surrounded by several persons, only the shadow of the person who is directly opposite to it is cast in a straight line, the others follow inclined lines on each side. In the same way, if the body of the moon were not of an immense and prodigious size she could not extend herself alike to all. In reality, when the moon rises in the equinoctial regions, all equally enjoy her light, both those who inhabit the icy zone, under the revolutions of the Bear, and those who dwell in the extreme south in the neighborhood of the torrid zone. She gives us an idea of her size by appearing to be face to face with all people. Who then can deny the immensity of a body which divides itself equally over such a wide extent?

But enough on the greatness of the sun and moon. May He Who has given us intelligence to recognize in the smallest objects of creation the great wisdom of the Contriver make us find in great bodies a still higher idea of their Creator. However, compared with their Author, the sun and moon

are but a fly and an ant. The whole universe cannot give us a right idea of the greatness of God; and it is only by signs, weak and slight in themselves, often by the help of the smallest insects and of the least plants, that we raise ourselves to Him. Content with these words let us offer our thanks, I to Him who has given me the ministry of the Word, you to Him who feeds you with spiritual food; Who, even at this moment, makes you find in my weak voice the strength of barley bread. May He feed you for ever, and in proportion to your faith grant you the manifestation of the Spirit in Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.

HOMILY 7

The creation of moving creatures.

1. "*And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life*" after their kind, "*and fowl that may fly above the earth*" after their kind. After the creation of the luminaries the waters are now filled with living beings and its own adornment is given to this part of the world. Earth had received hers from her own plants, the heavens had received the flowers of the stars, and, like two eyes, the great luminaries beautified them in concert. It still retained for the waters to receive their adornment. The command was given, and immediately the rivers and lakes becoming fruitful brought forth their natural broods; the sea travailed with all kinds of swimming creatures; not even in mud and marshes did the water remain idle; it took its part in creation. Everywhere from its ebullition frogs, gnats and flies came forth. For that which we see today is the sign of the past. Thus everywhere the water hastened to obey the Creator's command. Who could count the species which the great and ineffable power of God caused to be suddenly seen living and moving, when this command had empowered the waters to bring forth life? Let the waters bring forth moving creatures that have life. Then for the first time is made a being with life and feeling. For though plants and trees be said to live, seeing that they share the power of being nourished and growing; nevertheless they are neither living beings, nor have they life. To create these last God said, "Let the water produce moving creatures."

Every creature that swims, whether it skims on the surface of the waters, or cleaves the depths, is of the nature of a moving creature, since it drags itself on the body of the water. Certain aquatic animals have feet and walk; especially amphibia, such as seals, crabs, crocodiles, river horses and frogs; but they are above all gifted with the power of swimming. Thus it is said, Let the waters produce moving creatures. In these few words what species is omitted? Which is not included in the command of the Creator? Do we not see viviparous animals, seals, dolphins, rays and all cartilaginous animals? Do we not see oviparous animals comprising every sort of fish, those which have a skin and those which have scales, those which have fins and those which have not? This command has only required one word,

even less than a word, a sign, a motion of the divine will, and it has such a wide sense that it includes all the varieties and all the families of fish. To review them all would be to undertake to count the waves of the ocean or to measure its waters in the hollow of the hand. “Let the waters produce moving creatures.” That is to say, those which people the high seas and those which love the shores; those which inhabit the depths and those which attach themselves to rocks; those which are gregarious and those which live dispersed, the cetaceous, the huge, and the tiny. It is from the same power, the same command, that all, small and great receive their existence. “Let the waters bring forth.” These words show you the natural affinity of animals which swim in the water; thus, fish, when drawn out of the water, quickly die, because they have no respiration such as could attract our air and water is their element, as air is that of terrestrial animals. The reason for it is clear. With us the lung, that porous and spongy portion of the inward parts which receives air by the dilatation of the chest, disperses and cools interior warmth; in fish the motion of the gills, which open and shut by turns to take in and to eject the water, takes the place of respiration. Fish have a peculiar lot, a special nature, a nourishment of their own, a life apart. Thus they cannot be tamed and cannot bear the touch of a man’s hand.

2. “Let the waters bring forth moving creatures after their kind.” God caused to be born the firstlings of each species to serve as seeds for nature. Their multitudinous numbers are kept up in subsequent succession, when it is necessary for them to grow and multiply. Of another kind is the species of testacea, as muscles, scallops, sea snails, conches, and the infinite variety of oysters. Another kind is that of the crustacea, as crabs and lobsters; another of fish without shells, with soft and tender flesh, like polypi and cuttle fish. And amidst these last what an innumerable variety! There are weevers, lampreys and eels, produced in the mud of rivers and ponds, which more resemble venomous reptiles than fish in their nature. Of another kind is the species of the ovipara; of another, that of the vivipara. Among the latter are sword-fish, cod, in one word, all cartilaginous fish, and even the greater part of the cetacea, as dolphins, seals, which, it is said, if they see their little ones, still quite young, frightened, take them back into their belly to protect them.

Let the waters bring forth after kind. The species of the cetacean is one; another is that of small fish. What infinite variety in the different kinds! All have their own names, different food, different form, shape, and quality of flesh. All present infinite variety, and are divided into innumerable classes. Is there a tunny fisher who can enumerate to us the different varieties of that fish? And yet they tell us that at the sight of great swarms of fish they can almost tell the number of the individual ones which compose it. What man is there of all that have spent their long lives by coasts and shores, who can inform us with exactness of the history of all fish?

Some are known to the fishermen of the Indian ocean, others to the toilers of the Egyptian gulf, others to the islanders, others to the men of Mauretania. Great and small were all alike created by this first command by this ineffable power. What a difference in their food! What a variety in the manner in which each species reproduces itself! Most fish do not hatch eggs like birds; they do not build nests; they do not feed their young with toil; it is the water which receives and vivifies the egg dropped into it. With them the reproduction of each species is invariable, and natures are not mixed. There are none of those unions which, on the earth, produce mules and certain birds contrary to the nature of their species. With fish there is no variety which, like the ox and the sheep, is armed with a half-equipment of teeth, none which ruminates except, according to certain writers, the scar. All have serried and very sharp teeth, for fear their food should escape them if they masticate it for too long a time. In fact, if it were not crushed and swallowed as soon as divided, it would be carried away by the water.

3. The food of fish differs according to their species. Some feed on mud; others eat sea weed; others content themselves with the herbs that grow in water. But the greater part devour each other, and the smaller is food for the larger, and if one which has possessed itself of a fish weaker than itself becomes a prey to another, the conqueror and the conquered are both swallowed up in the belly of the last. And we mortals, do we act otherwise when we press our inferiors? What difference is there between the last fish and the man who, impelled by devouring greed, swallows the weak in the folds of his insatiable avarice? Yon fellow possessed the goods of the poor; you caught him and made him a part of your abundance. You

have shown yourself more unjust than the unjust, and more miserly than the miser. Look to it lest you end like the fish, by hook, by weel, or by net. Surely we too, when we have done the deeds of the wicked, shall not escape punishment at the last.

Now see what tricks, what cunning, are to be found in a weak animal, and learn not to imitate wicked doers. The crab loves the flesh of the oyster; but, sheltered by its shell, a solid rampart with which nature has furnished its soft and delicate flesh, it is a difficult prey to seize. Thus they call the oyster “sherd-hide.” Thanks to the two shells with which it is enveloped, and which adapt themselves perfectly the one to the other, the claws of the crab are quite powerless. What does he do? When he sees it, sheltered from the wind, warming itself with pleasure, and half opening its shells to the sun, he secretly throws in a pebble, prevents them from closing, and takes by cunning what force had lost. Such is the malice of these animals, deprived as they are of reason and of speech. But I would that you should at once rival the crab in cunning and industry, and abstain from harming your neighbor; this animal is the image of him who craftily approaches his brother, takes advantage of his neighbor’s misfortunes, and finds his delight in other men’s troubles. O copy not the damned! Content yourself with your own lot. Poverty, with what is necessary, is of more value in the eyes of the wise than all pleasures.

I will not pass in silence the cunning and trickery of the squid, which takes the color of the rock to which it attaches itself. Most fish swim idly up to the squid as they might to a rock, and become themselves the prey of the crafty creature. Such are men who court ruling powers, bending themselves to all circumstances and not remaining for a moment in the same purpose; who praise self-restraint in the company of the self-restrained, and license in that of the licentious, accommodating their feelings to the pleasure of each. It is difficult to escape them and to put ourselves on guard against their mischief; because it is trader the mask of friendship that they hide their clever wickedness. Men like this are ravening wolves covered with sheep’s clothing, as the Lord calls them. Flee then fickleness and pliability; seek truth, sincerity, simplicity. The serpent is shifty; so he has been condemned to crawl. The just is an honest man, like Job. Wherefore God setteth the solitary in families. So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts. Yet a wise and

marvelous order reigns among these animals. Fish do not always deserve our reproaches; often they offer us useful examples. How is it that each sort of fish, content with the region that has been assigned to it, never travels over its own limits to pass into foreign seas? No surveyor has ever distributed to them their habitations, nor enclosed them in walls, nor assigned limits to them; each kind has been naturally assigned its own home. One gulf nourishes one kind of fish, another other sorts; those which swarm here are absent elsewhere. No mountain raises its sharp peaks between them; no rivers bar the passage to them; it is a law of nature, which according to the needs of each kind, has allotted to them their dwelling places with equality and justice.

4. It is not thus with us. Why? Because we incessantly move the ancient landmarks which our fathers have set. We encroach, we add house to house, field to field, to enrich ourselves at the expense of our neighbor. The great fish know the sojourning place that nature has assigned to them; they occupy the sea far from the haunts of men, where no islands lie, and where are no continents rising to confront them, because it has never been crossed and neither curiosity nor need has persuaded sailors to tempt it. The monsters that dwell in this sea are in size like high mountains, so witnesses who have seen tell us, and never cross their boundaries to ravage islands and seaboard towns. Thus each kind is as if it were stationed in towns, in villages, in an ancient country, and has for its dwelling place the regions of the sea which have been assigned to it.

Instances have, however, been known of migratory fish, who, as if common deliberation transported them into strange regions, all start on their march at a given sign. When the time marked for breeding arrives, they, as if awakened by a common law of nature, migrate from gulf to gulf, directing their course toward the North Sea. And at the epoch of their return you may see all these fish streaming like a torrent across the Propontis towards the Euxine Sea. Who puts them in marching array? Where is the prince’s order? Has an edict affixed in the public place indicated to them their day of departure? Who serves them as a guide? See how the divine order embraces all and extends to the smallest object. A fish does not resist God’s law, and we men cannot endure His precepts of salvation! Do not despise fish because they are dumb and quite unreasoning; rather fear lest, in your resistance to the disposition of the

Creator, you have even less reason than they. Listen to the fish, who by their actions all but speak and say: it is for the perpetuation of our race that we undertake this long voyage. They have not the gift of reason, but they have the law of nature firmly seated within them, to show them what they have to do. Let us go, they say, to the North Sea. Its water is sweeter than that of the rest of the sea; for the sun does not remain long there, and its rays do not draw up all the drinkable portions. Even sea creatures love fresh watery Tires one often sees them enter into rivers and swim far up them from the sea. This is the reason which makes them prefer the Euxine Sea to other gulfs, as the most fit for breeding and for bringing up their young. When they have obtained their object the whole tribe returns home. Let us hear these dumb creatures tell us the reason. The Northern sea, they say, is shallow and its surface is exposed to the violence of the wind, and it has few shores and retreats. Thus the winds easily agitate it to its bottom and mingle the sands of its bed with its waves. Besides, it is cold in winter, filled as it is from all directions by large rivers. Wherefore after a moderate enjoyment of its waters, during the summer, when the winter comes they hasten to reach warmer depths and places heated by the sun, and after fleeing froth the stormy tracts of the North, they seek a haven in less agitated seas.

5. I myself have seen these marvels, and I have admired the wisdom of God in all things, If beings deprived of reason are capable of thinking and of providing for their own preservation; if a fish knows what it ought to seek and what to shun, what shall we say, who are honored with reason. instructed by law, encouraged by the promises, made wise by the Spirit, and are nevertheless less reasonable about our own affairs than the fish? They know how to provide for the future, but we renounce our hope of the future and spend our life in brutal indulgence. A fish traverses the extent of the sea to find what is good for it; what will you say then — you who live in idleness, the mother of all vices? Do not let any one make his ignorance an excuse. There has been implanted in us natural reason which tells us to identify ourselves with good, and to avoid all that is harmful. I need not go far from the sea to find examples, as that is the object of our researches. I have heard it said by one living near the sea, that the sea urchin, a little contemptible creature, often foretells calm and tempest to sailors. When it foresees a disturbance of the winds, it gets under a great

pebble, and clinging to it as to an anchor, it tosses about in safety, retained by the weight which prevents it from becoming the plaything of the waves. It is a certain sign for sailors that they are threatened with a violent agitation of the winds. No astrologer, no Chaldaean, reading in the rising of the stars the disturbances of the air, has ever communicated his secret to the urchin: it is the Lord of the sea and of the winds who has impressed on this little animal a manifest proof of His great wisdom. God has foreseen all, He has neglected nothing. His eye, which never sleeps, watches over all. He is present everywhere and gives to each being the means of preservation. If God has not left the sea urchin outside His providence, is He without care for you?

"*Husbands love your wives*." Although formed of two bodies you are united to live in the communion of wedlock. May this natural link, may this yoke imposed by the blessing, reunite those who are divided. The viper, the cruelest of reptiles, unites itself with the sea lamprey, and, announcing its presence by a hiss, it calls it from the depths to conjugal union. The lamprey obeys, and is united to this venomous animal. What does this mean? However hard, however fierce a husband may be, the wife ought to hear with him, and not wish to find any pretext for breaking the union. He strikes you, but he is your husband. He is a drunkard, but he is united to you by nature. He is brutal and cross, but he is henceforth one of your members, and the most precious of all.

6. Let husbands listen as well: here is a lesson for them. The viper vomits forth its venom in respect for marriage; and you, will you not put aside the barbarity and the inhumanity of your soul, out of respect for your union? Perhaps the example of the viper contains another meaning. The union of the viper and of the lamprey is an adulterous violation of nature. You, who are plotting against other men's wedlock, learn what creeping creature you are like. I have only one object, to make all I say turn to the edification of the Church. Let then libertines put a restraint on their passions, for they are taught by the examples set by creatures of earth and sea.

My bodily infirmity and the lateness of the hour force me to end my discourse. However, I have still many observations to make on the products of the sea, for the admiration of my attentive audience. To speak of the sea itself, how does its water change into salt? How is it that coral, a

stone so much esteemed, is a plant in the midst of the sea, and when once exposed to the air becomes hard as a rock? Why has nature enclosed in the meanest of animals, in an oyster, so precious an object as a pearl? For these pearls, which are coveted by the caskets of kings, are cast upon the shores, upon the coasts, upon sharp rocks, and enclosed in oyster shells. How can the sea pinna produce her fleece of gold, which no dye has ever imitated? How can shells give kings purple of a brilliancy not surpassed by the flowers of the field?

"*Let the waters bring forth*." What necessary object was there that did not immediately appear? What object of luxury was not given to man? Some to supply his needs, some to make him contemplate the marvels of creation. Some are terrible, so as to take our idleness to school. "God created great whales." Scripture gives them the name of "great" not because they are greater than a shrimp and a sprat, but because the size of their bodies equals that of great hills. Thus when they swim on the surface of the waters one often sees them appear like islands. But these monstrous creatures do not frequent our coasts and shores; they inhabit the Atlantic ocean. Such are these animals created to strike us with terror and awe. If now you hear say that the greatest vessels, sailing with full sails, are easily stopped by a very small fish, by the remora, and so forcibly that the ship remains motionless for a long time, as if it had taken root in the middle of the sea, do you not see in this little creature a like proof of the power of the Creator? Sword fish, saw fish, dog fish, whales, and sharks, are not therefore the only things to be dreaded; we have to fear no less the spike of the stingray even after its death, and the sea-hare, whose mortal blows are as rapid as they are inevitable. Thus the Creator wishes that all may keep you awake, so that full of hope in Him you may avoid the evils with which all these creatures threaten you.

But let us come out of the depths of the sea and take refuge upon the shore. For the marvels of creation, coming one after the other in constant succession like the waves, have submerged my discourse. However, I should not be surprised if, after finding greater wonders upon the earth, my spirit seeks like Jonah's to flee to the sea. But it seems to me, that meeting with these innumerable marvels has made me forget all measure, and experience the fate of those who navigate the high seas without a fixed point to mark their progress, and are often ignorant of the space which

they have traversed. This is what has happened to me; whilst my words glanced at creation, I have not been sensible of the multitude of beings of which I spoke to you. But although this honorable assembly is pleased by my speech, and the recital of the marvels of the Master is grateful to the ears of His servants, let me here bring the ship of my discourse to anchor, and await the day to deliver you the rest. Let us, therefore, all arise, and, giving thanks for what has been said, let us ask for strength to hear the rest. Whilst taking your food may the conversation at your table turn upon what has occupied us this morning and this evening. Filled with these thoughts may you, even in sleep, enjoy the pleasure of the day, so that you may be permitted to say, “I sleep but my heart waketh,” meditating day and night upon the law of the Lord, to Whom be glory and power world without end. Amen.

HOMILY 8

The creation of fowl and water animals.

1. AND God said "*Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping things, and beast of the earth after his kind; and it was so*." The command of God advanced step by step and earth thus received her adornment. Yesterday it was said, "Let the waters produce moving things," and today "let the earth bring forth the living creature." Is the earth then alive? And are the mad-minded Manichaeans right in giving it a soul? At these words "Let the earth bring forth," it did not produce a germ contained in it, but He who gave the order at the same time gifted it with the grace and power to bring forth. When the earth had heard this command "Let the earth bring forth grass and the tree yielding fruit," it was not grass that it had hidden in it that it caused to spring forth, it did not bring to the surface a palm tree, an oak, a cypress, hitherto kept back in its depths. It is the word of God which forms the nature of things created. "Let the earth bring forth;" that is to say not that she may bring forth that which she has but that she may acquire that which she lacks, when God gives her the power. Even so now, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature," not the living creature that is contained in herself, but that which the command of God gives her. Further, the Manichaeans contradict themselves, because if the earth has brought forth the life, she has left herself despoiled of life. Their execrable doctrine needs no demonstration.

But why did the waters receive the command to bring forth the moving creature that hath life and the earth to bring forth the living creature? We conclude that, by their nature, swimming creatures appear only to have an imperfect life, because they live in the thick element of water. They are hard of hearing, and their sight is dull because they see through the water; they have no memory, no imagination, no idea of social intercourse. Thus divine language appears to indicate that, in aquatic animals, the carnal life originates their psychic movements, whilst in terrestrial animals, gifted with a more perfect life, the soul enjoys supreme authority. In fact the greater part of quadrupeds have more power of penetration in their senses; their apprehension of present objects is keen, and they keep all exact

remembrance of the past. It seems therefore, that God, after the command given to the waters to bring forth moving creatures that have life, created simply living bodies for aquatic animals, whilst for terrestrial animals He commanded the soul to exist and to direct the body, showing thus that the inhabitants of the earth are gifted with greater vital force. Without doubt terrestrial animals are devoid of reason. At the same tithe how many affections of the soul each one of them expresses by the voice of nature! They express by cries their joy and sadness, recognition of what is familiar to them, the need of food, regret at being separated from their companions, and numberless emotions. Aquatic animals, on the contrary, are not only dumb; it is impossible to tame them, to teach them, to train them for man's society. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." But the fish does not know who feeds him. The ass knows a familiar voice, he knows the road which he has often trodden, and even, if man loses his way, he sometimes serves him as a guide. His hearing is more acute than that of any other terrestrial animal. What animal of the sea can show so much rancor and resentment as the camel? The camel conceals its resentment for a long time after it has been struck, until it finds an opportunity, and then repays the wrong. Listen, you whose heart does not pardon, you who practice vengeance as a virtue; see what you resemble when you keep your anger for so long against your neighbor like a spark, hidden in the ashes, and only waiting for fuel to set your heart ablaze!

2. "*Let the earth bring forth a living soul*." Why did the earth produce a living soul? so that you may make a difference between the soul of cattle and that of man. You will soon learn how the human soul was formed; hear now about the soul of creatures devoid of reason. Since, according to Scripture, "the life of every creature is in the blood," as the blood when thickened changes into flesh, and flesh when corrupted decomposes into earth, so the soul of beasts is naturally an earthy substance. "Let the earth bring forth a living soul." See the affinity of the soul with blood, of blood with flesh, of flesh with earth; and remounting in an inverse sense from the earth to the flesh, from the flesh to the blood, from the blood to the soul, you will find that the soul of beasts is earth. Do not suppose that it is older than the essence of their body, nor that it survives the dissolution of the flesh; avoid the nonsense of those arrogant philosophers who do not

blush to liken their soul to that of a dog; who say that they have been formerly themselves women, shrubs, fish. Have they ever been fish? I do not know; but I do not fear to affirm that in their writings they show less sense than fish. “Let the earth bring forth the living creature.” Perhaps many of you ask why there is such a long silence in the middle of the rapid rush of my discourse. The more studious among my auditors will not be ignorant of the reason why words fail me. What! Have I not seen them look at each other, and make signs to make me look at them, and to remind me of what I have passed over? I have forgotten a part of the creation, and that one of the most considerable, and my discourse was almost finished without touching upon it. “Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament, of heaven.” I spoke of fish as long as eventide allowed: todaywe have passed to the examination of terrestrial animals; between the two, birds have escaped as. We are forgetful like travelers who unmindful of some important object, are obliged, although they be far on their road, to retrace their steps, punished for their negligence by the weariness of the journey. So we have to turn back. That which we have omitted is not to be despised. It is the third part of the animal creation, if indeed there are three kinds of animals, land, winged and water.

“*Let the waters*” it is said “*bring forth abundantly moving creature that hath life and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven*.” Why do the waters give birth also to birds? Because there is, so to say, a family link between the creatures that fly and those that swim. In the same way that fish cut the waters, using their fins to carry them forward and their tails to direct their movements round and round and straightforward, so we see birds float in the air by the help of their wings. Both endowed with the property of swimming, their common derivation from the waters has made them of one family. At the same time no bird is without feet, because finding all its food upon the earth it cannot do without their service. Rapacious birds have pointed claws to enable them to close on their prey; to the rest has been given the indispensable ministry of feet to seek their food and to provide for the other needs of life. There are a few who walk badly, whose feet are neither suitable for walking nor for preying. Among this number are swallows, incapable of walking and seeking their prey, and the birds called swifts who live on

little insects carried about by the air. As to the swallow, its flight, which grazes the earth, fulfills the function of feet.

3. There are also innumerable kinds of birds. If we review them all, as we have partly done the fish, we shall find that under one name, the creatures which fly differ infinitely in size, form and color; that in their life, their actions and their manners, they present a variety equally beyond the power of description. Thus some have tried to imagine names for them of which the singularity and the strangeness might, like brands, mark the distinctive character of each kind known. Some, as eagles, have been called Schizoptera, others Dermoptera, as the bats, others Ptilota, as wasps, others Coleoptera, as beetles and all those insects which brought forth in cases and coverings, break their prison to fly away in liberty. But we have enough words of common usage to characterize each species and to mark the distinction which Scripture sets up between clean and unclean birds. Thus the species of carnivora is of one sort and of one constitution which suits their manner of living, sharp talons, curved beak, swift wings, allowing them to swoop easily upon their prey and to tear it up after having seized it. The constitution of those who pick up seeds is different, and again that of those who live on all they come across. What a variety in all these creatures! Some are gregarious, except the birds of prey who know no other society than conjugal union; but innumerable kinds, doves, cranes, starlings, jackdaws, like a common life. Among them some live without a chief and in a sort of independence; others, as cranes, do not refuse to submit themselves to a leader. And a fresh difference between them is that some are stationary and non-migratory; others undertake long voyages and the greater part of them, migrate at the approach of winter. Nearly all birds can be tamed and are capable of training, except the weakest, who through fear and timidity cannot bear the constant and annoying contact of the hand. Some like the society of man and inhabit our dwellings; others delight in mountains and in desert places. There is a great difference too in their peculiar notes. Some twitter and chatter, others are silent, some have a melodious and sonorous voice, some are wholly inharmonious and incapable of song; some imitate the voice of many taught their mimicry either by nature or training; others always give forth the same monotonous cry. The cock is proud; the peacock is vain of his beauty; doves and fowls are amorous, always seeking each other's society.

The partridge is deceitful and jealous, lending perfidious help to the huntsmen to seize their prey.

4. What a variety, I have said, in the actions and lives of flying creatures. Some of these unreasoning creatures even have a government, if the feature of government is to make the activity of all the individuals center in one common end. This may be observed in bees. They have a common dwelling place; they fly in the air together, they work at the same work together; and what is still more extraordinary is that they give themselves to these labors under the guidance of a king and superintendent, and that they do not allow themselves to fly to the meadows without seeing if the king is flying at their head. As to this king, it is not election that gives him this authority; ignorance on the part of the people often puts the worst man in power; it is not fate; the blind decisions of fate often give authority to the most unworthy. It is not heredity that places him on the throne; it is only too common to see the children of kings, corrupted by luxury and flattery, living in ignorance of all virtue. It is nature which makes the king of the bees, for nature gives him superior size, beauty, and sweetness of character. He has a sting like the others, but he does not use it to revenge himself. It is a principle of natural and unwritten law, that those who are raised to high office, ought to be lenient in punishing. Even bees who do not follow the example of their king, repent without delay of their imprudence, since they lose their lives with their sting. Listen, Christians, you to whom it is forbidden to “recompense evil for evil” and commanded “to overcome evil with good.” Take the bee for your model, which constructs its cells without injuring any one and without interfering with the goods of others. It gathers openly wax from the flowers with its mouth, drawing in the honey scattered over them like dew, and injects it into the hollow of its cells. Thus at first honey is liquid; time thickens it and gives it its sweetness. The book of Proverbs has given the bee the most honorable and the best praise by calling her wise and industrious. How much activity she exerts in gathering this precious nourishment, by which both kings and men of low degree are brought to health! How great is the art and cunning she displays in the construction of the store houses which are destined to receive the honey! After having spread the wax like a thin membrane, she distributes it in contiguous compartments which, weak though they are, by their number and by their mass, sustain the whole

edifice. Each cell in fact holds to the one next to it, and is separated by a thin partition; we thus see two or three galleries of cells built one upon the other. The bee takes care not to make one vast cavity, for fear it might break trader the weight of the liquid, and allow it to escape. See how the discoveries of geometry are mere by-works to the wise bee!

The rows of honey-comb are all hexagonal with equal sides. They do not bear on each other in straight lines, lest the supports should press on empty spaces between and give way; but the angles of the lower hexagons serve as foundations and bases to those which rise above, so as to furnish a sure support to the lower mass, and so that each cell may securely keep the liquid honey.

5. How shall we make an exact review of all the peculiarities of the life of birds? During the night cranes keep watch in turn; some sleep, others make the rounds and procure a quiet slumber for their companions. After having finished his duty, the sentry utters a cry, and goes to sleep, and the one who awakes, in his turn, repays the security which he has enjoyed. You will see the same order reign in their flight. One leads the way, and when it has guided the flight of the flock for a certain time, it passes to the rear, leaving to the one who comes after the care of directing the march.

The conduct of storks comes very near intelligent reason. In these regions the same season sees them all migrate. They all start at one given signal. And it seems to me that our crows, serving them as escort. go to bring them back, and to help them against the attacks of hostile birds. The proof is that in this season not a single crow appears, and that they return with wounds, evident marks of the help and of the assistance that they have lent. Who has explained to them the laws of hospitality? Who has threatened them with the penalties of desertion? For not one is missing from the company. Listen, all inhospitable hearts, ye who shut your doors, whose house is never open either in the winter or in the night to travelers. The solicitude of storks for their old would be sufficient, if our children would reflect upon it, to make them love their parents; because there is no one so failing in good sense, as not to deem it a shame to be surpassed in virtue by birds devoid of reason. The storks surround their father, when old age makes his feathers drop off, warm him with their wings, and provide abundantly for his support, and even in their flight

they help him as much as they are able, raising him gently on each side upon their wings, a conduct so notorious that it has given to gratitude the name of "antipelargosis." Let no one lament poverty; let not the man whose house is bare despair of his life, when he considers the industry of the swallow. To build her nest, she brings bits of straw in her beak; and, as she cannot raise the mud in her claws, she moistens the end of her wings in water and then rolls in very fine dust and thus procures mud. After having united, little by little, the bits of straw with this mud, as with glue, she feeds her young; and if any one of them has its eyes injured, she has a natural remedy to heal the sight of her little ones.

This sight ought to warn you not to take to evil ways on account of poverty; and, even if you are reduced to the last extremity, not to lose all hope; not to abandon yourself to inaction and idleness, but to have recourse to God. If He is so bountiful to the swallow, what will He not do for those who call upon Him with all their heart?

The halcyon is a sea bird, which lays its eggs along the shore, or deposits them in the sand. And it lays in the middle of winter, when the violence of the winds dashes the sea against the land. Yet all winds are hushed, and the wave of the sea grows calm, during the seven days that the halcyon sits.

For it only takes seven days to hatch the young. Then, as they are in need of food so that they may grow, God, in His munificence, grants another seven days to this tiny animal. All sailors know this, and call these days halcyon days. If divine Providence has established these marvelous laws in favor of creatures devoid of reason, it is to induce you to ask for your salvation from God. Is there a wonder which He will not perform for you — you have been made in His image, when for so little a bird, the great, the fearful sea is held in check and is commanded in the midst of winter to be calm.

6. It is said that the turtle-dove, once separated from her mate, does not contract a new union, but remains in widowhood, in remembrance of her first alliance. Listen, O women! What veneration for widowhood, even in these creatures devoid of reason, how they prefer it to an unbecoming multiplicity of marriages. The eagle shows the greatest injustice in the education which she gives to her young. When she has hatched two little ones, she throws one on the ground, thrusting it out with blows from her

wings, and only acknowledges the remaining one. It is the difficulty of finding food which has made her repulse the offspring she has brought forth. But the osprey, it is said, will not allow it to perish, she carries it away and brings it up with her young ones. Such are parents who, finder the plea of poverty, expose their children such are again those who, in the distribution of their inheritance, make unequal divisions. Since they have given existence equally to each of their children, it is just that they should equally and without preference furnish them with the means of livelihood. Beware of imitating the cruelty of birds with hooked talons. When they see their young are from henceforth capable of encountering the air in their flight, they throw them out of the nest, striking them and pushing them with their wings, and do not take the least care of them. The love of the crow for its young is laudable! When they begin to fly, she follows them, gives them food, and for a very long time provides for their nourishment. Many birds have no need of union with males to conceive. But their eggs are unfruitful, except those of vultures, who more often, it is said, bring forth without coupling: and this although they have a very long life, which often reaches its hundredth year. Note and retain, I pray you, this point in the history of birds; and if ever you see any one laugh at our mystery, as if it were impossible and contrary to nature that a virgin should become a mother without losing the purity of her virginity, bethink you that He who would save the faithful by the foolishness of preaching, has given us beforehand in nature a thousand reasons for believing in the marvelous.

7. "*Let the waters bring forth the moving creatures that have life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.*" They received the command to fly above the earth because earth provides them with nourishment. "In the firmament of heaven," that is to say, as we have said before, in that part of the air called οὐρανός, heaven from the word ὁρᾶν, which means to see; called firmament, because the air which extends over our heads, compared to the ether, has greater density, and is thickened by the vapors which exhale from the earth. You have then heaven adorned, earth beautified, the sea peopled with its own creatures, the air filled with birds which scour it in every direction. Studious listener, think of all these creations which God has drawn out of nothing, think of all those which my speech has left out, to avoid tediousness, and not to

exceed my limits; recognize everywhere the wisdom of God; never cease to wonder, and, through, every creature, to glorify the Creator.

There are some kinds of birds which live by night in the midst of darkness; others which fly by day in fall light. Bats, owls, night-ravens are birds of night: if by chance you cannot sleep, reflect on these nocturnal birds and their peculiarities and glorify their Maker. How is it that the nightingale is always awake when sitting on her eggs, passing the night in a continual melody? How is it that one animal, the bat, is at the same time quadruped and fowl? That it is the only one of the birds to have teeth? That it is viviparous like quadrupeds, and traverses the air, raising itself not upon wings, but upon a kind of membrane? What natural love bats have for each other! How they interlace like a chain and hang the one upon the other! A very rare spectacle among men, who flit the greater part prefer individual and private life to the union of common life. Have not those who give themselves up to vain science the eyes of owls? The sight of the owl, piercing during the night time, is dazzled by the splendor of the sun; thus the intelligence of these men, so keen to contemplate vanities, is blind in presence of the true light.

During the day, also, how easy it is for you to admire the Creator everywhere! See how the domestic cock calls you to work with his shrill cry, and how, forerunner of the sun, and early as the traveler, he sends forth laborers to the harvest! What vigilance in geese! With what sagacity they divine secret dangers! Did they not once upon a time save the imperial city? When enemies were advancing by subterranean passages to possess themselves of the capitol of Rome, did not geese announce the danger? Is there any kind of bird whose nature offers nothing for our admiration? Who announces to the vultures that there will be carnage when men march in battle array against one another? You may see flocks of vultures following armies and calculating the result of warlike preparations; a calculation very nearly approaching to human reasoning. How can I describe to you the fearful invasions of locusts, which rise everywhere at a given signal, and pitch their camps all over a country? They do not attack crops until they have received the divine command. Or shall I describe how the remedy for this curse, the thrush, follows them with its insatiable appetite, and the devouring nature that the loving God has given it in His kindness for men? How does the grasshopper modulate

its song? Why is it more melodious at midday owing to the air that it breathes in dilating its chest?

But it appears to me that in wishing to describe the marvels of winged creatures, I remain further behind than I should if my feet had tried to match the rapidity of their flight. When you see bees, wasps, in short all those flying creatures called insects, because they have an incision all around reflect that they have neither respiration nor lungs, and that they are supported by air through all parts of their bodies. Thus they perish. if they are covered with oil, because it stops up their pores. Wash them with vinegar, the pores reopen and the animal returns to life. Our God has created nothing unnecessarily and has omitted nothing that is necessary. If now you cast your eyes upon aquatic creatures, you will find that their organization is quite different. Their feet are not split like those of the crow, nor hooked like those of the carnivora, but large and membranous; therefore they can easily swim, pushing the water with the membranes of their feet as with oars. Notice how the swan plunges his neck into the depths of the water to draw his food from it, and you will understand the wisdom of the Creator in giving this creature a neck longer than his feet, so that he may throw it like a line, and take the food hidden at the bottom of the water.

8. If we simply read the words of Scripture we find only a few short syllables. "Let the waters bring forth fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven," but if we enquire into the meaning of these words, then the great wonder of the wisdom of the Creator appears. What a difference He has foreseen among winged creatures! How He has divided them by kinds! How He has characterized each one of them by distinct qualities! But the day will not suffice me to recount the wonders of the air. Earth is calling me to describe wild beasts, reptiles and cattle, ready to show us in her turn sights rivaling those of plants, fish, and birds. "Let the earth bring forth the living soul" of domestic animals, of wild beasts, and of reptiles after their kind. What have you to say, you who do not believe in the change that Paul promises you in the resurrection, when you see so many metamorphoses among creatures of the air? What are we not told of the horned worm of India! First it changes into a caterpillar, then becomes a buzzing insect, and not content with this form, it clothes itself, instead of wings, with loose, broad plates. Thus, O women, when you are seated

busy with your weaving, I mean of the silk which is sent you by the Chinese to make your delicate dresses, remember the metamorphoses of this creature, conceive a clear idea of the resurrection, and do not refuse to believe in the change that Paul announces for all men.

But I am ashamed to see that my discourse oversteps the accustomed limits; if I consider the abundance of matters on which I have just discoursed to you, I feel that I am being borne beyond bounds; but when I reflect upon the inexhaustible wisdom which is displayed in the works of creation, I seem to be but at the beginning of my story. Nevertheless, I have not detained you so long without profit. For what would you have done until the evening? You are not pressed by guests, nor expected at banquets. Let me then employ this bodily fast to rejoice your souls. You have often served the flesh for pleasure, today persevere in the ministry of the soul. "Delight thyself also in the Lord and he shall give thee the desire of thine heart." Do you love riches? Here are spiritual riches. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold and precious stones." Do you love enjoyment and pleasures? Behold the oracles of the Lord, which, for a healthy soul, are "sweeter than honey and the honey-comb." If I let you go, and if I dismiss this assembly, some will run to the dice, where they will find bad. language, sad quarrels and the pangs of avarice. There stands the devil, inflaming the fury of the players with the dotted bones, transporting the same sums of money from one side of the table to the other, now exalting one with victory and throwing the other into despair, now swelling the first with boasting and covering his rival with confusion. Of what use is bodily fasting and filling the soul with innumerable evils? He who does not play spends his leisure elsewhere. What frivolities come from his mouth I What follies strike his ears Leisure without the fear of the Lord is, for those who do not know the value of time a school of vice. I hope that my words will be profitable; at least by occupying you here they have prevented you from sinning. Thus the longer I keep you, the longer you are out of the way of evil.

An equitable judge will deem that I have said enough, not if he considers the riches of creation, but if he thinks of our weakness and of the measure one ought to keep in that which tends to pleasure. Earth has welcomed you with its own plants, water with its fish, air with its birds; he

continent in its turn is ready to offer you as rich treasures. But let us put an end to this morning banquet, for fear satiety may blunt your taste for the evening one. May He who has filled all with the works of His creation and has left everywhere visible memorials of His wonders, fill your hearts with all spiritual joys in Jesus Christ, our Lord, to whom belong glory and power, world without end. Amen.

HOMILY 9

The creation of terrestrial animals.

1. HOW did you like the fare of my morning's discourse? It seemed to me that I had the good intentions of a poor giver of a feast, who, ambitious of having the credit of keeping a good table saddens his guests by the poor supply of the more expensive dishes. In vain he lavishly covers his table with his mean fare; his ambition only shows his folly. It is for you to judge if I have shared the same fate. Yet, whatever my discourse may have been, take care lest you disregard it. No one refused to sit at the table of Elisha; and yet he only gave his friends wild vegetables. I know the laws of allegory, though less by myself than from the works of others. There are those truly, who do not admit the common sense of the Scriptures, for whom water is not water, but some other nature, who see in a plant, in a fish, what their fancy wishes, who change the nature of reptiles and of wild beasts to suit their allegories, like the interpreters of dreams who explain visions in sleep to snake them serve their own ends. For me grass is grass; plant, fish, wild beast, domestic animal, I take all in the literal sense. "For I am not ashamed of the gospel." Those who have written about the nature of the universe have discussed at length the shape of the earth. If it be spherical or cylindrical, if it resemble a disc and is equally rounded in all parts, or if it has the forth of a winnowing basket and is hollow in the middle; all these conjectures have been suggested by cosmographers, each one upsetting that of his predecessor. It will not lead me to give less importance to the creation of the universe, that the servant of God, Moses, is silent as to shapes; he has not said that the earth is a hundred and eighty thousand furlongs in circumference; he has not measured into what extent of air its shadow projects itself whilst the sun revolves around it, nor stated how this shadow, casting itself upon the moon, produces eclipses. He has passed over in silence, as useless, all that is unimportant for us. Shall I then prefer foolish wisdom to the oracles of the Holy Spirit? Shall I not rather exalt Him who, not wishing to fill our minds with these vanities, has regulated all the economy of Scripture in view of the edification and the making perfect of our souls? It is this which those seem to me not to have understood, who, giving themselves up to

the distorted meaning of allegory, have undertaken to give a majesty of their own invention to Scripture. It is to believe themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and to bring forth their own ideas under a pretext of exegesis. Let us hear Scripture as it has been written.

2. "*Let the earth bring forth thee living creature*." Behold the word of God pervading creation, beginning even then the efficacy which is seen displayed to-day, and will be displayed to the end of the world! As a ball, which one pushes, if it meet a declivity, descends, carried by its form and the nature of the ground and does not stop until it has reached a level surface; so nature, once put in motion by the Divine command, traverses creation with an equal step, through birth and death, and keeps up the succession of kinds through resemblance, to the last. Nature always makes a horse succeed to a horse, a lion to a lion, an eagle to an eagle, and preserving each animal by these uninterrupted successions she transmits it to the end of all things. Animals do not see their peculiarities destroyed or effaced by any length of time; their nature, as though it had been just constituted, follows the course of ages, for ever young. "Let the earth bring forth the living creature." This command has continued and earth does not cease to obey the Creator. For, if there are creatures which are successively produced by their predecessors, there are others that even today we see born from the earth itself. In wet weather she brings forth grasshoppers and an immense number of insects which fly in the air and have no names because they are so small; she also produces mice and frogs. In the environs of Thebes in Egypt, after abundant rain in hot weather, the country is covered with field mice. We see mud alone produce eels; they do not proceed from an egg, nor in any other manner; it is the earth alone which gives them birth. Let the earth produce a living creature."

Cattle are terrestrial and bent towards the earth. Man, a celestial growth, rises superior to them as much by the mold of his bodily conformation as by the dignity of his soul. What is the form of quadrupeds? Their head is bent towards the earth and looks towards their belly, and only pursues their belly's good. Thy head, O man! is turned towards heaven; thy eyes look up. When therefore thou degradest thyself by the passions of the flesh, slave of thy belly, and thy lowest parts, thou approachest animals without reason and becomest like one of them. Thou art called' to more noble cares; "seek those things which are above where Christ sitteth."

Raise thy soul above the earth; draw from its natural conformation the rule of thy conduct; fix thy conversation in heaven. Thy true country is the heavenly Jerusalem; thy fellow-citizens and thy compatriots are “the first-born which are written in heaven.”

3. “*Let the earth bring forth the living creature*.” Thus when the soul of brutes appeared it was not concealed in the earth, but it was born by the command of God. Brutes have one and the same soul of which the common characteristic is absence of reason. But each animal is distinguished by peculiar qualities. The ox is steady, the ass is lazy, the horse has strong passions, the wolf cannot be tamed, the fox is deceitful, the stag timid, the ant industrious, the dog grateful and faithful in his friendships. As each animal was created the distinctive character of his nature appeared in him in due measure; in the lion spirit, taste for solitary life, an unsociable character. True tyrant of animals, he, in his natural arrogance, admits but few to share his honors. He disdains his yesterday’s food and never returns to the remains of the prey. Nature has provided his organs of voice with such great force that often much swifter animals are caught by his roaring alone. The panther, violent and impetuous in his leaps, has a body fitted for his activity and lightness, in accord with the movements of his soul. The bear has a sluggish nature, ways of its own, a sly character, and is very secret; therefore it has an analogous body, heavy, thick, without articulations such as are necessary for a cold dweller in dens.

When we consider the natural and innate care that these creatures without reason take of their lives we shall be induced to watch over ourselves and to think of the salvation of our souls; or rather we shall be the more condemned when we are found falling short even of the imitation of brutes. The bear, which often gets severely wounded, cares for himself and cleverly fills the wounds with mullein, a plant whose nature is very astringent. You will also see the fox heal his wounds with droppings from the pine tree; the tortoise, gorged with the flesh of the viper, finds in the virtue of marjoram a specific against this venomous animal and the serpent heals sore eyes by eating fennel.

And is not reasoning intelligence eclipsed by animals in their provision for atmospheric changes? Do we not see sheep, when winter is approaching,

devouring grass with avidity as if to make provision for future scarcity? Do we not also see oxen, long confined in the winter season, recognize the return of spring by a natural sensation, and look to the end of their stables towards the doors, all turning their heads there by common consent? Studious observers have remarked that the hedgehog makes an opening at the two extremities of his hole. If the wind from the north is going to blow he shuts up the aperture which looks towards the north; if the south wind succeeds it the animal passes to the northern door. What lesson do these animals teach man? They not only show us in our Creator a care which extends to all beings, but a certain presentiment of future even in brutes. Then we ought not to attach ourselves to this present life and ought to give all heed to that which is to come. Will you not be industrious for yourself, O man? And will you not lay up in the present age rest in that which is to come, after having seen the example of the ant? The ant during summer collects treasures for winter. Far from giving itself up to idleness, before this season has made it feel its severity, it hastens to work with an invincible zeal until it has abundantly filled its storehouses. Here again, how far it is from being negligent! With what wise foresight it manages so as to keep its provisions as long as possible! With its pincers it cuts the grains in half, for fear lest they should germinate and not serve for its food. If they are damp it dries them; and it does not spread them out in all weathers, but when it feels that the air will keep of a mild temperature. Be sure that you will never see rain fall from the clouds so long as the ant has left the grain out.

What language can attain to the marvels of the Creator? What ear could understand them? And what time would be sufficient to relate them? Let us say, then, with the prophet, “O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.” We shall not be able to say in self-justification, that we have learnt useful knowledge in books, since the untaught law of nature makes us choose that which is advantageous to us. Do you know what good you ought to do your neighbor? The good that you expect from him yourself. Do you know what is evil? That which you would not wish another to do to you. Neither botanical researches nor the experience of simples have made animals discover those which are useful to them; but each knows naturally what is salutary and marvelously appropriates what suits its nature.

4. Virtues exist in us also by nature, and the soul has affinity with them not by education, but by nature herself. We do not need lessons to hate illness, but by ourselves we repel what afflicts us, the soul has no need of a master to teach us to avoid vice. Now all vice is a sickness of the sold as virtue is its health. Thus those have defined health well who have called it a regularity in the discharge of natural functions; a definition that can be applied without fear to the good condition of the soul. Thus, without having need of lessons, the soul can attain by herself to what is fit and conformable to nature. Hence it comes that temperance everywhere is praised, justice is in honor, courage admired, and prudence the object of all aims; virtues which concern the soul more than health concerns the body. Children love your parents, and you, “parents provoke not your children to wrath.” Does not nature say the same? Paul teaches us nothing new; he only tightens the links of nature. If the lioness loves her cubs, if the she wolf fights to defend her little ones, what shall man say who is unfaithful to the precept and violates nature herself; or the son who insults the old age of his father; or the father whose second marriage has made him forget his first children?

With animals invincible affection unites parents with children. It is the Creator, God Himself, who substitutes the strength of feeling for reason in them. From whence it comes that a lamb as it bounds from the fold, in the midst of a thousand sheep recognizes the color and the voice of its mother, runs to her, and seeks its own sources of milk. If its mother’s udders are dry, it is content, and, without stopping, passes by more abundant ones. And how does the mother recognize it among the many lambs? All have the same voice, the same color, the same smell, as far at least as regards our sense of smell. Yet there is in these animals a more subtle sense than our perception which makes them recognize their own. The little dog has as yet no teeth, nevertheless he defends himself with his mouth against any one who teases him. The calf has as yet no horns, nevertheless he already knows where his weapons will grow. Here we have evident proof that the instinct of animals is innate, and that in all beings there is nothing disorderly, nothing unforeseen. All bear the marks of the wisdom of the Creator, and show that they have come to life with the means of assuring their preservation.

The dog is not gifted with a share of reason; but with him instinct has the power of reason. The dog has learnt by nature the secret of elaborate inferences, which sages of the world, after long years of study, have hardly been able to disentangle. When the dog is on the track of game, if he sees it divide in different directions, he examines these different paths, and speech alone fails him to announce his reasoning. The creature, he says, is gone here or there or in another direction. It is neither here nor there; it is therefore in the third direction. And thus, neglecting the false tracks, he discovers the true one. What more is done by those who, gravely occupied in demonstrating theories, trace lines upon the dust and reject two propositions to show that the third is the true one?

Does not the gratitude of the dog shame all who are ungrateful to their benefactors? Many are said to have fallen dead by their murdered masters in lonely places. Others, when a crime has just been committed, have led those who were searching for the murderers, and have caused the criminals to be brought to justice. What will those say who, not content with not loving the Master who has created them and nourished them, have for their friends men whose mouth attacks the Lord, sitting at the same table with them, and, whilst partaking of their food, blaspheme Him who has given it to them?

5. But let us return to the spectacle of creation. The easiest animals to catch are the most productive. It is on account of this that hares and wild goats produce many little ones, and that wild sheep have twins, for fear lest these species should disappear, consumed by carnivorous animals. Beasts of prey, on the contrary, produce only a few and a lioness with difficulty gives birth to one lion; because, if they say truly, the cub issues from its mother by tearing her with its claws; and vipers are only born by gnawing through the womb, inflicting a proper punishment on their mother. Thus in nature all has been foreseen, all is the object of continual care. If you examine the members even of animals, you will find that the Creator has given them nothing superfluous, that He has omitted nothing that is necessary. To carnivorous animals He has given pointed teeth which their nature requires for their support. Those that are only half furnished with teeth have received several distinct receptacles for their food. As it is not broken up enough in the first, they are gifted with the power of returning it after it has been swallowed, and it does not

assimilate until it has been crushed by rumination. The first, second, third, and fourth stomachs of ruminating animals do not remain idle; each one of them fulfills a necessary function. The neck of the camel is long so that it may lower it to its feet and reach the grass on which it feeds. Bears, lions, tigers, all animals of this sort, have short necks buried in their shoulders; it is because they do not live upon grass and have no need to bend down to the earth; they are carnivorous and eat the animals upon whom they prey.

Why has the elephant a trunk? This enormous creature, the greatest of terrestrial animals, created for the terror of those who meet it, is naturally huge and fleshy. If its neck was large and in proportion to its feet it would be difficult to direct, and would be of such an excessive weight that it would make it lean towards the earth. As it is, its head is attached to the spine of the back by short vertebrae and it has its trunk to take the place of a neck, and with it picks up its food and draws up its drink. Its feet, without joints, like united columns, support the weight of its body. If it were supported on lax and flexible legs, its joints would constantly give way, equally incapable of supporting its weight, should it wish either to kneel or rise. But it has under the foot a little ankle joint which takes the place of the leg and knee joints whose mobility would never have resisted this enormous and swaying mass. Thus it had need of this nose which nearly touches its feet. Have you seen them in war marching at the head of the phalanx, like living towers, or breaking the enemies' battalions like mountains of flesh with their irresistible charge? If their lower parts were not in accordance with their size they would never have been able to hold their own. Now we are told that the elephant lives three hundred years and more, another reason for him to have solid and unjointed feet. But, as we have said, his trunk, which has the form and the flexibility of a serpent, takes its food from the earth and raises it up. Thus we are right in saying that it is impossible to find anything superfluous or wanting in creation. Well! God has subdued this monstrous animal to us to such a point that he understands the lessons and endures the blows we give him; a manifest proof that the Creator has submitted all to our rule, because we have been made in His image. It is not in great animals only that we see unapproachable wisdom; no less wonders are seen in the smallest. The high tops of the mountains which, near to the clouds and continually beaten by the winds, keep up a perpetual winter, do not arouse more

admiration in me than the hollow valleys, which escape the storms of lofty peaks and preserve a constant mild temperature. In the same way in the constitution of animals I am not more astonished at the size of the elephant, than at the mouse, who is feared by the elephant, or at the scorpion’s delicate sting, which has been hollowed like a pipe by the supreme artificer to throw venom into the wounds it makes. And let nobody accuse the Creator of having produced venomous animals, destroyers and enemies of our life. Else let them consider it a crime in the schoolmaster when he disciplines the restlessness of youth by the use of the rod and whip to maintain order.

6. Beasts bear witness to the faith. Hast thou confidence in the Lord? “Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk and thou shalt trample under feet the lion and the dragon.” With faith thou hast the power to walk upon serpents and scorpions. Do you not see that the viper which attached itself to the hand of Paul, whilst he gathered sticks, did not injure him, because it found the saint full of faith? If you have not faith, do not fear beasts so much as your faithlessness, which renders you susceptible of all corruption. But I see that for a long time you have been asking me for an account of the creation of man, and I think I can hear you all cry in your hearts, We are being taught the nature of our belongings, but we are ignorant of ourselves. Let me then speak of it, since it is necessary, and let me put an end to my hesitation. In truth the most difficult of sciences is to know one’s self. Not only our eye, from which nothing outside us escapes, cannot see itself; but our mind, so piercing to discover the sins of others, is slow to recognize its own faults. Thus my speech, after eagerly investigating what is external to myself, is slow and hesitating in exploring my own nature. Yet the beholding of heaven and earth does not make us know God better than the attentive study of our being does; I am, says the Prophet, fearfully and wonderfully made; that is to say, in observing myself I have known Thy infinite wisdom. And God said “Let us make man.” Does not the light of theology shine, in these words, as through windows; and does not the second Person show Himself in a mystical way, without yet manifesting Himself until the great day? Where is the Jew who resisted the truth and pretended that God was speaking to Himself? It is He who spoke, it is said, and it is He who made. “Let there be light and there was light.” But then their words contain a manifest

absurdity. Where is the smith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, who, without help and alone before the instruments of his trade, would say to himself; let us make the sword, let us put together the plough, let us make the boot? Does he not perform the work of his craft in silence? Strange folly, to say that any one has seated himself to command himself, to watch over himself, to constrain himself, to hurry himself, with the tones of a master! But the unhappy creatures are not afraid to calumniate the Lord Himself. What will they not say with a tongue so well practiced in lying? Here, however, words stop their mouth; "And God said let us make man." Tell me; is there then only one Person? It is not written "Let man be made," but, "Let us make man." The preaching of theology remains enveloped in shadow before the appearance of him who was to be instructed, but, now, the creation of man is expected, that faith unveils herself and the dogma of truth appears in all its light. "Let us make man. "O enemy of Christ, hear God speaking to His Co-operator, to Him by Whom also He made the worlds, Who upholds all things by the word of His power. But He does not leave the voice of true religion without answer. Thus the Jews, race hostile to truth, when they find themselves pressed, act like beasts enraged against man, who roar at the bars of their cage and show the cruelty and the ferocity of their nature, without being able to assuage their fury. God, they say, addresses Himself to several persons; it is to the angels before Him that He says, "Let us make man." Jewish fiction! a fable whose frivolity shows whence it has come. To reject one person, they admit many. To reject the Son, they raise servants to the dignity of counselors; they make of our fellow slaves the agents in our creation. The perfect man attains the dignity of an angel; but what creature can be like the Creator? Listen to the continuation. "In our image." What have you to reply? Is there one image of God and the angels? Father and Son have by absolute necessity the same form, but the form is here understood as becomes the divine, not in bodily shape, but in the proper qualities of Godhead. Hear also, you who belong to the new concision and who, under the appearance of Christianity, strengthen the error of the Jews. To Whom does He say, "in our image," to whom if it is not to Him who is "the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person," "the image of the invisible God"? It is then to His living image, to Him Who has said "I and my Father are one," "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," that God says "Let us make man in our image." Where is the unlikeness in these

Beings who have only one image? “So God created man,” It is not “They made.” Here Scripture avoids the plurality of the Persons. After having enlightened the Jew, it dissipates the error of the Gentiles in putting itself under the shelter of unity, to make you understand that the Son is with the Father, and guarding you from the danger of polytheism. He created him in the image of God. God still shows us His co-operator, because He does not say, in His image, but in the image of God.

If God permits, we will say later in what way man was created in the image of God, and how he shares this resemblance. Today we say but only one word. If there is one image, from whence comes the intolerable blasphemy of pretending that the Son is unlike the Father? What ingratitude! You have yourself received this likeness and you refuse it to your Benefactor! You pretend to keep personally that which is in you a gift of grace, and you do not wish that the Son should keep His natural likeness to Him who begat Him.

But evening, which long ago sent the sun to the west, imposes silence upon me. Here, then, let me be content with what I have said, and put my discourse to bed. I have told you enough up to this point to excite your zeal; with the help of the Holy Spirit I will make for you a deeper investigation into the truths which follow. Retire, then, I beg you, with joy, O Christ-loving congregation, and, instead of sumptuous dishes of various delicacies, adorn and sanctify your tables with the remembrance of my words. May the Anomoean be confounded, the Jew covered with shame, the faithful exultant in the dogmas of truth, and the Lord glorified, the Lord to Whom be glory and power, world without end. Amen.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LETTERS

OF Saint Basil the extant letters, according to popular ascription, number three hundred and sixty —six. Of these three hundred and twenty — five, or, according to some, only three hundred and nineteen are genuine. They are published in three chronological divisions, the ist, (Letters 1-46) comprising those written by Basil before his elevation to the episcopate; the second (47-291) the Letters of the Episcopate; the third (292-366) those which have no note of time, together with some that are of doubtful genuineness, and a few certainly spurious. They may be classified as

(a) historical,

(b) dogmatic,

(c) moral and ascetic,

(d) disciplinary,

(e) consolatory,

(f) commendatory, and

(g) familiar.

In the historic we have a vivid picture of his age. The doctrinal are of special value as expressing and defending the Nicene theology. The moral and ascetic indicate the growing importance of the monastic institution which Athanasius at about the same time was instrumental in recommending to the Latin Church. The disciplinary, (notably 188, 199, and 217), to Amphilochius, illustrate the earlier phases of ecclesiastical law. The consolatory, commendatory, and familiar, have an immediate biographical value as indicating the character and faith of the writer, and may not be without use alike as models of Christian feeling and good

breeding, and as bringing comfort in trouble to readers remote in time and place. The text in the following translation is that of Migne’s edition, except where it is stated to the contrary. of the inadequacy of the notes to illustrate the letters as they deserve no one can be more vividly conscious than myself. But the letters tell their own story.

LETTER 1

TO EUSTATHIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

MUCH distressed as I was by the flouts of what is called fortune, who always seems to be hindering my meeting you, I was wonderfully cheered and comforted by your letter, for I had already been turning over in my mind whether what so many people say is really true, that there is a certain Necessity or Fate which rules all the events of our lives both great and small, and that we human beings have control over nothing; or, that at all events, all human life is driven by a kind of luck. You will be very ready to forgive me for these reflections, when you learn by what causes I was led to make them.

On hearing of your philosophy, I entertained a feeling of contempt for the teachers of Athens, and left it. The city on the Hellespont I passed by, more unmoved than any Ulysses, passing Sirens’ songs.

Asia I admired; but I hurried on to the capital of all that is best in it. When I arrived home, and did not find you, — the prize which I had sought so eagerly, — there began many and various unexpected hindrances. First I must miss you because I fell ill; then when you were setting out for the East I could not start with you; then, after endless trouble, I reached Syria, but I missed the philosopher, who had set out for Egypt. Then I must set out for Egypt, a long and weary way, and even there I did not gain my end. But so passionate was my longing that I must either set out for Persia, and proceed with you to the farthest lands of barbarism, (you had got there; what an obstinate devil possessed me!) or settle here at Alexandria. This last I did. I really think that unless, like some tame beast, I had followed a bough held out to me till I was quite worn out, you would have been driven on and on beyond Indian Nyssa, or any more remote region, and wandered about out there. Why say more?

On returning home, I cannot meet you, hindered by lingering ailments. If these do not get better I shall not be able to meet you even in the winter. Is not all this, as you yourself say, due to Fate? Is not this Necessity? Does not my case nearly outdo poets’ tales of Tantalus? But, as I said, I feel

better after getting your letter, and am now no longer of the same mind. When God gives good things I think we must thank Him, and not be angry with Him while He is controlling their distribution. So if He grant me to join you, I shall think it best and most delightful; if He put me off, I will gently endure the loss. For He always rules our lives better than we could choose for ourselves.

LETTER 2

BASIL TO GREGORY

1. [I recognized your letter, as one recognizes one's friends' children from their obvious likeness to their parents. Your saying that to describe the kind of place I live in, before letting you hear anything about how I live, would not go far towards persuading you to share my life, was just like you; it was worthy of a soul like yours, which makes nothing of all that concerns this life here, in comparison with the blessedness which is promised us hereafter. What I do myself, day and night, in this remote spot, I am ashamed to write. I have abandoned my life in town, as one sure to lead to countless ills; but I have not yet been able to get quit of myself. I am like travelers at sea, who have never gone a voyage before, and are distressed and seasick, who quarrel with the ship because it is so big and makes such a tossing, and, when they get out of it into the pinnace or dingy, are everywhere and always seasick and distressed. Wherever they go their nausea and misery go with them. My state is something like this. I carry my own troubles with me, and so everywhere I am in the midst of similar discomforts. So in the end I have not got much good out of my solitude. What I ought to have done; what would have enabled me to keep close to the footprints of Him who has led the way to salvation — for He says, "If any one will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me" — is this.]

2. We must strive after a quiet mind. As well might the eye ascertain an object put before it while it is wandering restless up and down and sideways, without fixing a steady gaze upon it, as a mind, distracted by a thousand worldly cares, be able clearly to apprehend the truth. He who is not yet yoked in the bonds of matrimony is harassed by frenzied cravings,

and rebellious impulses, and hopeless attachments; he who has found his mate is encompassed with his own tumult of cares; if he is childless, there is desire for children; has he children? anxiety about their education, attention to his wife, care of his house, oversight of his servants, misfortunes in trade, quarrels with his neighbors, lawsuits, the risks of the merchant, the toil of the farmer. Each day, as it comes, darkens the soul in its own way; and night after night takes up the day's anxieties, and cheats the mind with illusions in accordance. Now one way of escaping all this is separation from the whole world; that is, not bodily separation, but the severance of the soul's sympathy with the body, and to live so without city, home, goods, society, possessions, means of life, business, engagements, human learning, that the heart may readily receive every impress of divine doctrine. Preparation of heart is the unlearning the prejudices of evil converse. It is the smoothing the waxen tablet before attempting to write on it.

Now solitude is of the greatest use for this purpose, inasmuch as it stills our passions, and gives room for principle to cut them out of the soul. [For just as animals are more easily controlled when they are stroked, lust and anger, fear and sorrow, the soul's deadly foes, are better brought under the control of reason, after being calmed by inaction, and where there is no continuous stimulation.] Let there then be such a place as ours, separate from intercourse with men, that the tenor of our exercises be not interrupted from without. Pious exercises nourish the soul with divine thoughts. What state can be more blessed than to imitate on earth the choruses of angels? to begin the day with prayer, and honor our Maker with hymns and songs? As the day brightens, to betake ourselves, with prayer attending on it throughout, to our labors, and to sweeten our work with hymns, as if with salt? Soothing hymns compose the mind to a cheerful and calm state. Quiet, then, as I have said, is the first step in our sanctification; the tongue purified from the gossip of the world; the eyes unexcited by fair color or comely shape; the ear not relaxing the tone or mind by voluptuous songs, nor by that especial mischief, the talk of light men and jesters. Thus the mind, saved from dissipation from without, and not through the senses thrown upon the world, falls back upon itself, and thereby ascends to the contemplation of God. [When that beauty shines about it, it even forgets its very nature; it is dragged down no more by

thought of food nor anxiety concerning dress; it keeps holiday from earthly cares, and devotes all its energies to the acquisition of the good things which are eternal, and asks only how may be made to flourish in it self-control and manly courage, righteousness and wisdom, and all the other virtues, which, distributed tinder these heads, properly enable the good man to discharge all the duties of life.]

3. The study of inspired Scripture is the chief way of finding our duty, for in it we find both instruction about conduct and the lives of blessed men, delivered in writing, as some breathing images of godly living, for the imitation of their good works. Hence, in whatever respect each one feels himself deficient, devoting himself to this imitation, he finds, as from some dispensary, the due medicine for his ailment. He who is enamored of chastity dwells upon the history of Joseph, and from him learns chaste actions, finding him not only possessed of self-command over pleasure, but virtuously-minded in habit. He is taught endurance by Job [who, not only when the circumstances of life began to turn against him, and in one moment he was plunged from wealth into penury, and from being the father of fair children into childlessness, remained the same, keeping the disposition of his soul all through uncrushed, but was not even stirred to anger against the friends who came to comfort him, and trampled on him, and aggravated his troubles.] Or should he be enquiring how to be at once meek and great-hearted, hearty against sin, meek towards men, he will find David noble in warlike exploits, meek and unruffled as regards revenge on enemies. Such, too, was Moses rising up with great heart upon sinners against God, but with meek soul bearing their evil-speaking against himself. [Thus, generally, as painters, when they are painting from other pictures, constantly look at the model, and do their best to transfer its lineaments to their own work, so too must he who is desirous of rendering himself perfect in all branches of excellency, keep his eyes turned to the lives of the saints as though to living and moving statues, and make their virtue his own by imitation.

4. Prayers, too, after reading, find the soul fresher, and more vigorously stirred by love towards God. And that prayer is good which imprints a clear idea of God in the soul; and the having God established in self by means of memory is God’s indwelling. Thus we become God’s temple, when the continuity of our recollection is not severed by earthly cares;

when the mind is harassed by no sudden sensations; when the worshipper rites from all things and retreats to God, drawing away all the feelings that invite him to self-indulgence, and passes his time in the pursuits that lead to virtue.]

5. This, too, is a very important point to attend to, — knowledge how to converse; to interrogate without over-earnestness; to answer without desire of display; not to interrupt a profitable speaker, or to desire ambitiously to put in a word of one's own; to be measured in speaking and hearing; not to be ashamed of receiving, or to be grudging in giving information, nor to pass another's knowledge for one's own, as depraved women their supposititious children, but to refer it candidly to the true parent. The middle tone of voice is best, neither so low as to be inaudible, nor to be ill-bred from its high pitch. One should reflect first what one is going to say, and then give it utterance: be courteous when addressed; amiable in social intercourse; not aiming to be pleasant by facetiousness, but cultivating gentleness in kind admonitions. Harshness is ever to be put aside, even in censuring. [The more you shew modesty and humility yourself, the more. likely are you to be acceptable to the patient who needs your treatment. There are however many occasions when we shall do well to employ the kind of rebuke used by the prophet who did not in his own person utter the sentence of condemnation on David after his sin, but by suggesting an imaginary character made the sinner judge of his own sin, so that, after passing his own sentence, he could not find fault with the seer who had convicted him.

6. From the humble and submissive spirit comes an eye sorrowful and downcast, appearance neglected, hair rough, dress. dirty; so that the appearance which mourners take pains to present may appear our natural condition. The tunic should be fastened to the body by a girdle, the belt not going above the flank, like a woman's, nor left slack, so that the tunic flows loose, like an idler's. The gait ought not to be sluggish, which shews a character without energy, nor on the other hand pushing and pompous, as though our impulses were rash and wild. The one end of dress is that it should be a sufficient covering alike in winter and summer. As to color, avoid brightness; in material, the soft and delicate. To aim at bright colors in dress is like women's beautifying when they color cheeks and hair with hues other than their own. The tunic ought to be thick enough not to want

other help to keep the wearer warm. The shoes should be cheap but serviceable. In a word, what one has to regard in dress is the necessary. So too as to food; for a man in good health bread will suffice, and water will quench thirst; such dishes of vegetables may be added as conduce to strengthening the body for the discharge of its functions. One ought not to eat with any exhibition of savage gluttony, but in everything that concerns our pleasures to maintain moderation, quiet, and self-control; and, all through, not to let the mind forget to think of God, but to make even the nature of our food, and the constitution of the body that takes it, a ground and means for offering Him the glory, bethinking us how the various kinds of food, suitable to the needs of our bodies, are due to the provision of the great Steward of the Universe. Before meat let grace be said, in recognition alike of the girls which God gives now, and which He keeps in store for time to come. Say grace after meat in gratitude for gifts given and petition for gifts promised. Let there be one fixed hour for taking food, always the same in regular course, that of all the four and twenty of the day and night barely this one may be spent upon the body. The rest the ascetic ought to spend in mental exercise. Let sleep be light and easily interrupted, as naturally happens after a light diet; it should be purposely broken by thoughts about great themes. To be overcome by heavy torpor, with limbs unstrung, so that a way is readily opened to wild fancies, is to be plunged in daily death. What dawn is to some this midnight is to athletes of piety; then the silence of night gives leisure to their soul; no noxious sounds or sights obtrude upon their hearts; the mind is alone with itself and God, correcting itself by the recollection of its sins, giving itself precepts to help it to shun evil, and imploring aid from God for the perfecting of what it longs for.]

LETTER 3

TO CANDIDIANUS

1. When I took your letter into my hand. I underwent an experience worth telling. I looked at it with the awe due to a document making some state announcement, and as I was breaking the wax, I felt a dread greater than ever guilty Spartan felt at sight of the Laconian scytale.

When, however, I had opened the letter, and read it through, I could not help laughing, partly for joy at finding nothing alarming in it; partly because I likened your state of affairs to that of Demosthenes. Demosthenes, you remember, when he was providing for a certain little company of chorus dancers and musicians, requested to be styled no longer Demosthenes, but “choragus.” You are always the same, whether playing the “choragus” or not. “Choragus” you are indeed to soldiers myriads more in number than the individuals to whom Demosthenes supplied necessaries; and yet you do not when you write to me stand on your dignity, but keep up the old style. You do not give up the study of literature, but, as Plato has it, in the midst of the storm and tempest of affairs, you stand aloof, as it were, under some strong wall, and keep your mind clear of all disturbance; nay, more, as far as in you lies, you do not even let others be disturbed. Such is your life; great and wonderful to all who have eyes to see; and yet not wonderful to any one who judges by the whole purpose of your life.

Now let me tell my own story, extraordinary indeed, but only what might have been expected.

2. One of the hinds who live with us here at Annesi, on the death of my servant, without alleging any breach of contract with him, without approaching me, without making any complaint, without asking me to make him any voluntary payment, without any threat of violence should he fail to get it, all on a sudden, with certain mad fellows like himself, attacked my house, brutally assaulted the women who were in charge of it, broke in the doors, and after appropriating some of the contents himself, and promising the rest to any one who liked, carried off everything. I do not wish to be regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of helplessness, and a suitable object for the violence of any one who likes to attack me. Shew me, then, now, I beg you, that kindly interest which you have always shewn in my affairs. Only on one condition can my tranquillity be secured, — that I be assured of having your energy on my side. It would be quite punishment enough, from my point of view, if the man were apprehended by the district magistrate and locked up for a short period in the gaol. It is not only that I am indignant at the treatment I have suffered, but I want security for the future.

LETTER 4

TO OLYMPIUS

WHAT do you mean, my dear Sir, by evicting from our retreat my dear friend and nurse of philosophy, Poverty? Were she but gifted with speech, I take it you would have to appear as defendant in an action for unlawful ejectment. She might plead "I chose to live with this man Basil, an admirer of Zeno, who, when he had lost everything in a shipwreck, cried, with great fortitude, 'well done, Fortune! you are reducing me to the old cloak;' a great admirer of Cleanthes, who by drawing water from the well got enough to live on and pay his tutors' fees as well; an immense admirer of Diogenes, who prided himself on requiring no more than was absolutely necessary, and flung away his bowl after he had learned from some lad to stoop down and drink from the hollow of his hand." In some such terms as these you might be chidden by my dear mate Poverty, whom your presents have driven from house and home. She might too add a threat; "if I catch you here again, I shall shew that what went before was Sicilian or Italian luxury: so I shall exactly requite you out of my own store."

But enough of this. I am very glad that you have already begun a course of medicine, and pray that you may be benefited by it. A condition of body fit for painless activity would well become so pious a soul.

LETTER 5

TO NECTARIUS

1. I HEARD of your unendurable loss, and was much distressed. Three or four days went by, and I was still in some doubt because my informant was not able to give me any clear details of the melancholy event. While I was incredulous about what was noised abroad, because I prayed that it might not be true, I received a letter from the Bishop fully confirming the unhappy tidings. I need not tell you how I sighed and wept. Who could be so stonyhearted, so truly inhuman, as to be insensible to what has occurred, or be affected by merely moderate grief? He is gone; heir of a

noble house, prop of a family, a father's hope, offspring of pious parents, nursed with innumerable prayers, in the very bloom of manhood, torn from his father's hands. These things are enough to break a heart of adamant and make it feel. It is only natural then that I am deeply touched at this trouble; I who have been intimately connected with you from the beginning and have made your joys and sorrows mine. But yesterday it seemed that you had only little to trouble you, and that your life's stream was flowing prosperously on. In a moment, by a demon's malice, all the happiness of the house, all the brightness of life, is destroyed, and our lives are made a doleful story. If we wish to lament and weep over what has happened, a life time will not be enough and if all mankind mourns with us they will be powerless to make their lamentation match our loss. Yes, if all the streams run tears they will not adequately weep our woe.

2. But we mean, — do we not? — to bring out the gift which God has stored in our hearts; I mean that sober reason which in our happy days is wont to draw lines of limitation round our souls, and when troubles come about us to recall to our minds that we are but men, and to suggest to us, what indeed we have seen and heard, that life is full of similar misfortunes, and that the examples of human sufferings are not a few. Above all, this will tell us that it is God's command that we who trust in Christ should not grieve over them who are fallen asleep, because we hope in the resurrection; and that in reward for great patience great crowns of glory are kept in store by the Master of life's course. Only let us allow our wiser thoughts to speak to us in this strain of music, and we may peradventure discover some slight alleviation of our trouble. Play the man, then, I implore you; the blow is a heavy one, but stand firm; do not fall under the weight of your grief; do not lose heart. Be perfectly assured of this, that though the reasons for what is ordained by God are beyond us, vet always what is arranged for us by Him Who is wise and Who loves us is to be accepted, be it ever so grievous to endure. He Himself knows how He is appointing what is best for each and why the terms of life that He fixes for us are unequal. There exists some reason incomprehensible to man why some are sooner carried far away from us, and some are left a longer while behind to bear the burdens of this painful life. So we ought always to adore His loving kindness, and not to repine, remembering those great and famous words of the great athlete Job, when he bad seen ten children at

one table, in one short moment, crushed to death, “The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away.” As the Lord thought good so it came to pass. Let us adopt those marvelous words. At the hands of the righteous Judge, they who show like good deeds shall receive a like reward. We have not lost the lad; we have restored him to the Lender. His life is not destroyed; it is changed for the better. He whom we love is not hidden in the ground; he is received into heaven. Let us wait a little while, and we shall be once more with him. The time of our separation is not long, for in this life we are all like travelers on a journey, hastening on to the same shelter. While one has reached his rest another arrives, another hurries on, but one and the same end awaits them all. He has outstripped us on the way. but we shall all travel the same road, and the same hostelry awaits us all. God only grant that we through goodness may be likened to his purity, to the end that for the sake of our guilelessness of life we may attain the rest which is granted to them that are children in Christ.

LETTER 6

TO THE WIFE OF NECTARIUS

1. I HESITATED to address your excellency, from the idea that, just as to the eye when inflamed even the mildest of remedies causes pain, so to a soul distressed by heavy sorrow, words offered in the moment of agony, even though they do bring much comfort, seem to be somewhat out of place. But I bethought me that I should be speaking to a Christian woman, who has long ago learned godly lessons, and is not inexperienced in the vicissitudes of human life, and I judged it right not to neglect the duty laid upon me. I know what a mother’s heart is, and when I remember how good and gentle you are to all, I can reckon the probable extent of your misery at this present time. You have lost a son whom, while he was alive, all mothers called happy, with prayers that their own might be like him, and on his death bewailed, as though each bad hidden her own in the grave. His death is a blow to two provinces. both to mine and to Cilicia. With him has fallen a great and illustrious race, dashed to the ground as by the withdrawal of a prop. Alas for the mighty mischief that the contact with an evil demon was able to wreak! Earth, what a calamity thou hast been compelled to sustain! If the sun bad any feeling one would think he might

have shuddered at so sad a sight. Who could utter all that the spirit in its helplessness would have said?

2. But our lives are not without a Providence. So we have learnt in the Gospel, for not a sparrow falls to the ground without the will of our Father. Whatever has come to pass has come to pass by the will of our Creator. And who can resist God’s will? Let us accept what has befallen us; for if we take it ill we do not mend the past and we work our own ruin. Do not let us arraign the righteous judgment of God. We are all too untaught to assail His ineffable sentences. The Lord is now making trial of your love for Him. Now there is an opportunity for you, through your patience, to take the martyr’s lot. The mother of the Maccabees saw the death of seven sons without a sigh, without even shedding one unworthy tear. She gave thanks to God for seeing them freed from the fetters of the flesh by fire and steel and cruel blows, and she won praise from God, and fame among men. The loss is great, as I can say myself; but great too are the rewards laid up by the Lord for the patient. When first you were made a mother, and saw your boy, and thanked God, you knew all the while that, a mortal yourself, you had given birth to a mortal. What is there astonishing in the death of a mortal? But we are grieved at his dying before his time. Are we sure that this was not his time? We do not know how to pick and choose what is good for our souls, or how to fix the limits of the life of man. Look round at all the world in which you live; remember that everything you see is mortal, and all subject to corruption. Look up to heaven; even it shall be dissolved; look at the sun, not even the sun will last for ever. All the stars together, all living things of land and sea, all that is fair on earth, aye, earth itself, all are subject to decay; yet a little while and all shall be no more. Let these considerations be some comfort to you in your trouble. Do not measure your loss by itself; if you do it will seem intolerable; but if you take all human affairs into account you will find that some comfort is to be derived from them. Above all, one thing I would strongly urge; spare your husband. Be a comfort to others. Do not make his trouble harder to bear by wearing yourself away with sorrow. Mere words I know cannot give comfort. Just now what is wanted is prayer; and I do pray the Lord Himself to touch your heart by His unspeakable power. and through good thoughts to cause light to shine upon your soul, that you may have a source of consolation in yourself.

LETTER 7

TO GREGORY MY FRIEND

WHEN I wrote to you, I was perfectly well aware that no theological term is adequate to the thought of the speaker, or the want of the questioner, because language is of natural necessity too weak to act in the service of objects of thought. If then our thought is weak. and our tongue weaker than our thought, what was to be expected of me in what I said but that I should be charged with poverty of expression? Still, it was not possible to let your question pass unnoticed. It looks like a betrayal, if we do not readily give an answer about God to them that love the Lord. What has been said, however, whether it seems satisfactory, or requires some further and more careful addition, needs a fit season for correction. For the present I implore you, as I have implored you before, to devote yourself entirely to the advocacy of the truth, and to the intellectual energies God gives you for the establishment of what is good. With this be content, and ask nothing more from me. I am really much less capable than is supposed. and am more likely to do harm to the word by my weakness than to add strength to the truth by my advocacy.

LETTER 8

TO THE CAESAREANS

A defense of his withdrawal, and concerning the faith.

1. I HAVE often been astonished at your feeling towards me as you do, and how it comes about that an individual so small and insignificant, and having, may be, very little that is lovable about him, should have so won your allegiance. You remind me of the claims of friendship and of fatherland, and press me urgently in your attempt to make me come back to you, as though I were a runaway from a father's heart and home. That I am a runaway I confess. I should be sorry to deny it; since you are already regretting me, you shall be told the cause. I was astounded like a man stunned by some sudden noise. I did not crush my thoughts, but dwelt upon them as I fled, and now I have been absent from you a considerable

time. Then I began to yearn for the divine doctrines, and the philosophy that is concerned with them. How, said I, could I overcome the mischief dwelling with us? Who is to be my Laban, setting me free from Esau, and leading me to the supreme philosophy? By God's help, I have, so far as in me lies, attained my object; I have found a chosen vessel, a deep well; I mean Gregory, Christ's mouth. Give me, therefore, I beg you, a little time. I am not embracing a city life. I am quite well aware how the evil one by such means devises deceit for mankind, but I do hold the society of the saints most useful. For in the more constant change of ideas about the divine dogmas I am acquiring a lasting habit of contemplation. Such is my present situation.

2. Friends godly and well beloved, do, I implore you, beware of the shepherds of the Philistines; let them not choke your wills unawares; let them not befoul the purity of your knowledge of the faith. This is ever their object, not to teach simple souls lessons drawn from Holy Scripture, but to mar the harmony of the truth by heathen philosophy. Is not he an open Philistine who is introducing the terms "unbegotten" and "begotten" into our faith, and asserts that there was once a time when the Everlasting was not; that He who is by nature and eternally a Father became a Father; that the Holy Ghost is not eternal? He bewitches our Patriarch's sheep that they may not drink "of the well of water springing up everlasting life," but may rather bring upon themselves the words of the prophet, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water;" when all the while they ought to confess that the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, as they have been taught by the divine words, and by those who have understood them in their highest sense. Against those who cast it in our teeth that we are Tritheists, let it be answered that we confess one God not in number but in nature. For everything which is called one in number is not one absolutely, nor yet simple in nature; but God is universally confessed to be simple and not composite. God therefore is not one in number. What I mean is this. We say that the world is one in number, but not one by nature nor yet simple; for we divide it into its constituent elements, fire, water, air, and earth. Again, man is called one in number. We frequently speak of one man, but man who is composed of body and soul is not simple. Similarly we say one angel in number, but not

one by nature nor yet simple, for we conceive of the hypostasis of the angel as essence with sanctification. If therefore everything which is one in number is not one in nature, and that which is one and simple in nature is not one in number; and if we call God one in nature how can number be charged against us, when we utterly exclude it from that blessed and spiritual nature? Number relates to quantity; and quantity is conjoined with bodily nature, for number is of bodily nature. We believe our Lord to be Creator of bodies. Wherefore every number indicates those things which have received a material and circumscribed nature. Monad and Unity on the other hand signify the nature which is simple and incomprehensible. Whoever therefore confesses either the Son of God or the Holy Ghost to be number or creature introduces unawares a material and circumscribed nature. And by circumscribed I mean not only locally limited, but a nature which is comprehended in foreknowledge by Him who is about to educe it from the non-existent into the existent and which can be comprehended by science. Every holy thing then of which the nature is circumscribed and of which the holiness is acquired is not insusceptible of evil. But the Son and the Holy Ghost are the source of sanctification by which every reasonable creature is hallowed in proportion to its virtue.

3. We in accordance with the true doctrine speak of the Son as neither like, nor unlike the Father. Each of these terms is equally impossible, for like and unlike are predicated in relation to quality, and the divine is free from quality. We, on the contrary, confess identity of nature and accepting the consubstantiality, and rejecting the composition of the Father, God in substance, Who begat the Son, God in substance. From this the consubstantiality is proved. For God in essence or substance is co-essential or con-substantial with God in essence or substance. But when even man is called "God" as in the words, "I have said ye are gods," and "demon" as in the words, "The gods of the nations are demons," in the former case the name is given by favor, in the latter untruly. God alone is substantially and essentially God. When I say "alone" I set forth the holy and uncreated essence and substance of God. For the word "alone" is used in the case of any individual and generally of human nature. In the case of an individual, as for instance of Paul, that he alone was caught into the third heaven and "heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a

man to utter," and of human nature, as when David says, "as for man his days are as grass," not meaning any particular man, but human nature generally; for every man is short-lived and mortal. So we understand these words to be said of the nature, "who alone hath immortality" and "to God only wise," and "none is good save one, that is God," for here "one" means the same as alone. So also, "which alone spreadest out the heavens," and again "Thou shall worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." "There is no God beside me." In Scripture "one" and "only" are not predicated of God to mark distinction from the Son and the Holy Ghost, but to except the unreal gods falsely so called. As for instance, "The Lord alone did lead them and there was no strange God with them," and "then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and did serve the Lord only." And so St. Paul, "For as there be gods many and lords many, but to us there is but out God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things." Here we enquire why when he had said "one God" he was not content, for we have said that "one" and "only" when applied to God, indicate nature. Why did he add the word Father and make mention of Christ? Paul, a chosen vessel, did not, I imagine, think it sufficient only to preach that the Son is God and the Holy Ghost God, which he had expressed by the phrase "one God." without, by the further addition of "the Father," expressing Him of Whom are all things; and, by mentioning the Lord, signifyings the Word by Whom are all things; and yet further, by adding the words Jesus Christ, announcing the incarnation, setting forth the passion and publishing the resurrection. For the word Jesus Christ suggests all these ideas to us. For this reason too before His passion our Lord deprecates the designation of "Jesus Christ," and charges His disciples to "tell no man that He was Jesus, the Christ." For His purpose was, after the completion of the oeconomy, after His resurrection froth the dead, and His assumption into heaven, to commit to them the preaching of Him as Jesus, the Christ. Such is the force of the words "That they may know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent," and again "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." Everywhere the Holy Ghost secures our conception of Him to save us from falling in else direction while we advance in the other, heeding the theology but neglecting the oeconomy, and so by omission falling into impiety.

4. Now let us examine, and to the best of our ability explain, the meaning of the words of Holy Scripture, which our opponents seize and wrest to their own sense, and urge against us for the destruction of the glory of the Only-begotten. First of all take the words "I live because of the Father," for this is one of the shafts hurled heavenward by those who impiously use it. These words I do not understand to refer to the eternal life; for whatever lives because of something else cannot be self-existent, just as that which is warmed by another cannot be warmth itself; but He Who is our Christ and God says, "I am the life." I understand the life lived because of the Father to be this life in the flesh, and in this time. Of His own will He came to live the life of men. He did not say "I have lived because of the Father," but "I live because of the Father," clearly indicating the present time, and the Christ, having the word of God in Himself, is able to call the life which He leads, life, and that this is His meaning we shall learn from what follows. "He that eateth me," He says, "he also shall live because of me;" for we eat His flesh, and drink His blood, being made through His incarnation and His visible life partakers of His Word and of His Wisdom. For all His mystic sojourn among us He called flesh and blood, and set forth the teaching consisting of practical science, of physics, and of theology, whereby out soul is nourished and is meanwhile trained for the contemplation of actual realities. This is perhaps the intended meaning of what He says.

5. And again, "My Father is greater than I." This passage is also employed by the ungrateful creatures, the brood of the evil one. I believe that even from this passage the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father is set forth. For I know that comparisons may properly be made between things which are of the same nature. We speak of angel as greater than angel, of man as juster than man, of bird as fleeter than bird. If then comparisons are made between things of the same species, and the Father by comparison is said to be greater than the Son, then the Son is of the same substance as the Father. But there is another sense underlying the expression. In what is it extraordinary that He who "is the Word and was made flesh" confesses His Father to be greater than Himself, when He was seen in glory inferior to the angels, and in form to men? For "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," and again "Who was made a little lower than the angels," and "we saw Him and He had neither form nor comeliness, his form was

deficient beyond all men.” All this He endured on account of His abundant loving kindness towards His work, that He might save the lost sheep and bring it home when He had saved it, and bring back safe and sound to his own land the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and so fell among thieves. Will the heretic cast in His teeth the manger out of which he in his unreasonableness was fed by the Word of reason? Will he, because the carpenter’s son had no bed to lie on, complain of His being poor? This is why the Son is less than the Father; for your sakes He was made dead to free you from death and make you sharer in heavenly life. It is just as though any one were to find fault with the physician for stooping to sickness, and breathing its foul breath, that he may heal the sick.

6. It is on thy account that He knows not the hour and the day of judgment. Yet nothing is beyond the ken of the real Wisdom, for “all things were made by Him; “ and even among men no one is ignorant of what be has made. But this is His dispensation because of thine own infirmity, that sinners be not plunged into despair by the narrow limits of the appointed period, no opportunity for repentance being left them; and that, on the other hand, those who are waging a long war with the forces of the enemy may not desert their post on account of the protracted time. For both of these classes He arranges by means of His assumed ignorance; for the former cutting the time short for their glorious struggle’s sake; for the latter providing an opportunity for repentance because of their sins. In the gospels He numbered Himself among the ignorant, on account, as I have said, of the infirmity of the greater part of mankind. In the Acts of the Apostles, speaking, as it were, to the perfect apart, He says, “It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power.” Here He implicitly excepts Himself. So much for a rough statement by way of preliminary attack. Now let us enquire into the meaning of the text from a higher point of view. Let me knock at the door of knowledge, if haply I may wake the Master of the house, Who gives the spiritual bread to them who ask Him, since they whom we are eager to entertain are friends and brothers.

7. Our Savior’s holy disciples, after getting beyond the limits of human thought, and then being purified by the word, are enquiring about the end, and longing to know the ultimate blessedness which our Lord declared to

be unknown to His angels and to Himself. He calls all the exact comprehension of the purposes of God, a day; and the contemplation of the Oneness and Unity, knowledge of which He attributes to the Father alone, an hour. I apprehend, therefore, that God is said to know of Himself what is; and not to know what is not God, Who is, of His own nature, very righteousness and wisdom, is said to know righteousness and wisdom; but to be ignorant of unrighteousness and wickedness; for God who created us is not unrighteousness and wickedness. If, then, God is said to know about Himself that which is, and not to know that which is not; and if our Lord, according to the purpose of the Incarnation and the denser doctrine, is not the ultimate object of desire; then our Savior does not know the end and the ultimate blessedness. But He says the angels do not know; that is to say, not even the contemplation which is in them, nor the methods of their ministries are the ultimate object of desire. For even their knowledge, when compared with the knowledge which is face to face, is dense. Only the Father, He says, knows, since He is Himself the end and the ultimate blessedness, for when we no longer know God in mirrors and not immediately, but approach Him as one and alone, then we shall know even the ultimate end. For all material knowledge is said to be the kingdom of Christ; while immaterial knowledge, and so to say the knowledge of actual Godhead, is that of God the Father. But our Lord is also Himself the end and the ultimate blessedness according to the purpose of the Word; for what does He say in the Gospel? "I will raise him up at the last day." He calls the transition from material knowledge to immaterial contemplation a resurrection, speaking of that knowledge after which there is no other, as the last day: for our intelligence is raised up and roused to a height of blessedness at the time when it contemplates the Oneness and Unity of the Word. But since our intelligence is made dense and bound to earth, it is both commingled with clay and incapable of gazing intently in pure contemplation, being led through adornments cognate to its own body. It considers the operations of the Creator, and judges of them meanwhile by their effects, to the end that growing little by little it may one day wax strong enough to approach even the actual unveiled Godhead. This is the meaning, I think, of the words "my Father is greater than I," and also of the statement, "It is not mine to give save to those for whom it is prepared by my Father." This too is what is meant by Christ's "delivering up the kingdom to God even the Father;" inasmuch as

according to the denser doctrine which, as I said, is regarded relatively to us and not to the Son Himself, He is not the end but the first fruits. It is in accordance with this view that when His disciples asked Him again in the Acts of the Apostles, “When wilt thou restore the kingdom of Israel?” He replied, “It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power.” That is to say, the knowledge of such a kingdom is not for them that are bound in flesh and blood. This contemplation the Father hath put away in His own power, meaning by “power” those that are empowered, and by “His own” those who are not held down by the ignorance of things below. Do not, I beg you, have in mind times and seasons of sense but certain distinctions of knowledge made by the sun apprehended by mental perception. For our Lord’s prayer must be carried out. It is Jesus Who prayed “Grant that they may be one in us as I and Thou are one, Father.” For when God, Who is one, is in each, He makes all out; and number is lost in the indwelling of Unity.

This is my second attempt to attack the text. If any one has a better interpretation to give, and can consistently with true religion amend what I say, let him speak and let him amend, and the Lord will reward him for me. There is no jealousy in my heart. I have not approached this investigation of these passages for strife and vain glory. I have done so to help my brothers, lest the earthen vessels which hold the treasure of God should seem to be deceived by stony-hearted and uncircumcised men, whose weapons are the wisdom of folly.

8. Again, as is said through Solomon the Wise in the Proverbs, “He was created;” and He is named “Beginning of ways” of good news. which lead us to the kingdom of heaven. He is not in essence and substance a creature, but is made a “way” according to the oeconomy. Being made and being created signify the same thing. As He was made a way, so was He made a door, a shepherd, an angel, a sheep, and again a High Priest and an Apostle, the names being used in other senses. What again would the heretics say about God unsubjected, and about His being made sin for us? For it is written “But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him.” Are you not afraid, sir, of God called unsubjected? For He makes thy subjection His own; and because of thy struggling against goodness He calls himself unsubjected. In this sense too He once spoke of Himself as

persecuted — “Saul, Saul,” He says, “why persecutest thou me?” on the occasion when Saul was hurrying to Damascus with a desire to imprison the disciples. Again He calls Himself naked, when any one of his brethren is naked. “I was naked,” He says, “and ye clothed me;” and so when another is in prison He speaks of Himself as imprisoned, for He Himself took away our sins and bare our sicknesses. Now one of our infirmities is not being subject, and He bare this. So all the things which happen to us to our hurt He makes His own, taking upon Him our sufferings in His fellowship with us.

9. But another passage is also seized by those who are fighting against God to the perversion of their hearers: I mean the words “The Son can do nothing of Himself.” To me this saying too seems distinctly declaratory of the Son’s being of the same nature as the Father. For if every rational creature is able to do anything of himself, and the inclination which each has to the worse and to the better is in his own power, but the Son can do nothing of Himself, then the Son is not a creature. And if He is not a creature, then He is of one essence and substance with the Father. Again; no creature can do what be likes. But the Son does what He wills in heaven and in earth. Therefore the Son is not a creature. Again; all creatures are either constituted of contraries or receptive of contraries. But the Son is very righteousness, and immaterial. Therefore the Son is not a creature, and if He is not a creature, He is of one essence and substance with the Father.

10. This examination of the passages before us is, so far as my ability goes, sufficient. Now let us turn the discussion on those who attack the Holy Spirit, and cast down every high thing of their intellect that exalts itself against the knowledge of God. You say that the Holy Ghost is a creature. And every creature is a servant of the Creator, for “all are thy servants.” If then He is a servant, His holiness is acquired; and everything of which the holiness is acquired is receptive of evil; but the Holy Ghost being holy in essence is called “fount of holiness,” Therefore the Holy Ghost is not a creature. If He is not a creature. He is of one essence and substance with the Father. How, tell me, can you give the name of servant to Him Who through your baptism frees you from your servitude? “The law,” it is said, “of the Spirit of life hath made me free from the law of sin.” But you will never venture to call His nature even variable, so long as

you have regard to the nature of the opposing power of the enemy, which, like lightning, is fallen from heaven and fell out of the true life because its holiness was acquired, and its evil counsels were followed by its change. So when it had fallen away from the Unity and had cast from it its angelic dignity, it was named after its character” Devil,” its former and blessed condition being extinct and this hostile power being kindled.

Furthermore if he calls the Holy Ghost a creature he describes His nature as limited. How then can the two following passages stand? “The Spirit of the Lord filleth the world;” and “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?” But he does not, it would seem. confess Him to be simple in nature; for he describes Him as one in number. And, as I have already said, everything that is one in number is not simple. And if the Holy Spirit is not simple, He consists of essence and sanctification, and is therefore composite. But who is mad enough to describe the Holy Spirit as composite, and not simple, and consubstantial with the Father and the Son?

11. If we ought to advance our argument yet further, and turn our inspection to higher themes, let us contemplate the divine nature of the Holy Spirit specially flora the following point of view. In Scripture we find mention of three creations. The first is the evolution from non-being into being. The second is change from the worse to the better. The third is the resurrection of the dead. In these you will find the Holy Ghost cooperating with the Father and the Son. There is a bringing into existence of the heavens; and what says David? “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth.” Again, man is created through baptism, for “if any man be in Christ he is a new creature.” And why does the Savior say to the disciples, “Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost”? Here too you see the Holy Ghost present with the Father and the Son. And what would you say also as to the resurrection of the dead when we shall have failed and returned to our dust? Dust we are and unto dust we shall return. And He will send the Holy Ghost and create us and renew the face of the earth. For what the holy Paul calls resurrection David describes as renewal. Let us hear, once more, him who was caught into the third heaven. What does he say? “You are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you.” Now every temple is a temple of God, and if we are a temple of the Holy Ghost, then the Holy

Ghost is God. It is also called Solomon’s temple, but this is in the sense of his being its builder. And if we are a temple of the Holy Ghost in this sense, then the Holy Ghost is God, for “He that built all things is God.” If we are a temple of one who is worshipped, and who dwells in us, let us confess Him to be God, for thou shale worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve. Supposing them to object to the word “God,” let them learn what this word means. God is called Θεὸς either because He placed (τεθεικέναι) all things or because He beholds (Θεᾶσθαι) all things. If He is called Θεὸς because He “placed” or “beholds” all things, and the Spirit knoweth all the things of God, as the Spirit in us knoweth our things, then the Holy Ghost is God. Again, if the sword of the spirit is the word of God, then the Holy Ghost is God, inasmuch as the sword belongs to Him of whom it is also called the word. Is He named the right hand of the Father? For “the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass;” and “thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.” But the Holy Ghost is the finger of God, as it is said “if I by the finger of God cast out devils,” of which the version in another Gospel is “if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils.” So the Holy Ghost is of the same nature as the Father and the Son.

12. So much must suffice for the present on the subject of the adorable and holy Trinity. It is not now possible to extend the enquiry about it further. Do ye take seeds from a humble person like me, and cultivate the ripe ear for yourselves, for, as you know, in such cases we look for interest. But I trust in God that you, because of your pure lives, will bring forth fruit thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold. For, it is said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. And, my brethren, entertain no other conception of the kingdom of the heavens than that it is the very contemplation of realities. This the divine Scriptures call blessedness. For “the kingdom of heaven is within you.”

The inner man consists of nothing but contemplation. The kingdom of the heavens, then, must be contemplation. Now we behold their shadows as in a glass; hereafter, set free from this earthly body, clad in the incorruptible and the immortal, we shall behold their archetypes, we shall see them, that is, if we have steered our own life’s course aright, and if we have heeded the right faith, for otherwise none shall see the Lord. For, it is said, into a malicious soul Wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is

subject unto sin. And let no one urge in objection that, while I am ignoring what is before our eyes, I am philosophizing to them about bodiless and immaterial being. It seems to me perfectly absurd, while the senses are allowed free action in relation to their proper matter, to exclude mind alone from its peculiar operation. Precisely in the same manner in which sense touches sensible objects, so mind apprehends the objects of mental perception. This too must be said that God our Creator has not included natural faculties among things which can be taught. No one teaches sight to apprehend color or form, nor hearing to apprehend sound and speech, nor smell, pleasant and unpleasant scents, nor taste, flavors and savors, nor touch, soft and hard, hot and cold. Nor would any one teach the mind to reach objects of mental perception; and just as the senses in the case of their being in any way diseased, or injured, require only proper treatment and then readily fulfill their own functions; just so the mind, imprisoned in flesh. and full of the thoughts that arise thence, requires faith and right conversation which make "its feet like hinds' feet. and set it on its high places." The same advice is given us by Solomon the wise, who in one passage offers us the example of the diligent worker the ant, and recommends her active life; and in another the work of the wise bee in forming its cells, and thereby suggests a natural contemplation wherein also the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is contained, if at least the Creator is considered in proportion to the beauty of the things created.

But with thanks to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost let me make an end to my letter, for, as the proverb has it, πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον.

LETTER 9

TO MAXIMUS THE PHILOSOPHER

1. SPEECH is really an image of mind: so I have learned to know you from your letters, just as the proverb tells us we may know "the lion from his claws."

I am delighted to find that your strong inclinations lie in the direction of the first and greatest of good things — love both to God and to your neighbor. Of the latter I find proof in your kindness to myself; of the

former, in your zeal for knowledge. It is well known to every disciple of Christ that in these two all is contained.

2. You ask for the writings of Dionysius; they did indeed reach me, and a great many they were; but I have not the books with me, and so have not sent them. My opinion is, however, as follows. I do not admire everything that is written; indeed of some things I totally disapprove. For it may be, that of the impiety of which we are now hearing so much, I mean the Anomoean, it is he, as far as I know, who first gave men the seeds. I do not trace his so doing to any mental depravity, but only to his earnest desire to resist Sabellius. I often compare him to a woodman trying to straighten some ill-grown sapling, pulling so immoderately in the opposite direction as to exceed the mean, and so dragging the plant awry on the other side. This is very much what we find to be the case with Dionysius. While vehemently opposing the impiety of the Libyan, he is carried away unawares by his zeal into the opposite error. It would have been quite sufficient for him to have pointed out that the Father and the Son are not identical in substance, and thus to score against the blasphemer. But, in order to win an unmistakable and superabundant victory, he is not satisfied with laying down a difference of hypostases, but must needs assert also difference of substance, diminution of power, and variableness of glory. So he exchanges one mischief for another, and diverges from the right line of doctrine. In his writings he exhibits a miscellaneous inconsistency, and is at one time to be found disloyal to the homoousion, because of his opponent who made a bad use of it to the destruction of the hypostases, and at another admitting it in his Apology to his namesake. Besides this he uttered very unbecoming words about the Spirit, separating Him from the Godhead, the object of worship, and assigning Him an inferior rank with created and subordinate nature. Such is the man’s character.

3. If I must give my own view, it is this. The phrase “like in essence,” if it be read with the addition “without any difference,” I accept as conveying the same sense as the homoousion, in accordance with the sound meaning of the homoousion. Being of this mind the Fathers at Nicaea spoke of the Only-begotten as “Light of Light,” “Very God of very God,” and so on, and then consistently added the homoousion. It is impossible for any one to entertain the idea of variableness of light in relation to light, of truth in

relation to truth, nor of the essence of the Only begotten in relation to that of the Father. If, then, the phrase be accepted in this sense, I have no objection to it. But if any one cuts off the qualification "without any difference" from the word "like," as was done at Constantinople, then I regard the phrase with suspicion, as derogatory to the dignity of the Only-begotten. We are frequently accustomed to entertain the idea of "likeness" in the case of indistinct resemblances, coming anything but close to the originals. I am myself for the homoousion, as being less open to improper interpretation. But why, my dear sir, should you not pay me a visit, that we may talk of these high topics face to face, instead of committing them to lifeless letters, — especially when I have determined not to publish my views? And pray do not adopt, to me, the words of Diogenes to Alexander, that "it is as far from you to me as from me to you." I am almost obliged by ill-health to remain like the plants, in one place; moreover I hold "the living unknown" to be one of the chief goods. You, I am told, are in good health; you have made yourself a citizen of the world, and you might consider in coming to see me that you are coming home. It is quite right for you, a man of action, to have crowds and towns in which to show your good deeds. For me, quiet is the best aid for the contemplation and mental exercise whereby I cling to God. This quiet I cultivate in abundance in my retreat, with the aid of its giver, God. Yet if you cannot but court the great, and despise me who lie low upon the ground, then write, and in this way make my life a happier one.

LETTER 10

TO A WIDOW

THE art of snaring pigeons is as follows. When the men who devote themselves to this craft have caught one, they tame it, and make it feed with them. Then they smear its wings with sweet oil, and let it go and join the rest outside. Then the scent of that sweet oil makes the free flock the possession of the owner of the tame bird, for all the rest are attracted by the fragrance, and settle in the house. But why do I begin my letter thus? Because I have taken your son Dionysius, once Diomedes, and anointed the wings of his soul with the sweet all of God, and sent him to you that you may take flight with him, and make for the nest which he has built

under my roof. If I live to see this, and you, my honored friend, translated to our lofty life, I shall require many persons worthy of God to pay Him all the honor that is His due.

LETTER 11

WITHOUT ADDRESS. TO SOME FRIENDS

AFTER by God’s grace I had passed the sacred day with our sons, and had kept a really perfect feast to the Lord because of their exceeding love to God, I sent them in good health to your excellency, with a prayer to our loving God to give them an angel of peace to help and accompany them, and to grant them to find you in good health and assured tranquillity, to the end that wherever your lot may be cast, I to the end of my days, whenever I hear news of you, may be gladdened to think of you as serving and giving thanks to the Lord. If God should grant you to be quickly freed from these cares I beg you to let nothing stand in the way of your coming to stay with me. I think you will find none to love you so well, or to make more of your friendship. So long, then, as the Holy One ordains this separation, be sure that you never lose an opportunity of comforting me by a letter.

LETTER 12

TO OLYMPIUS

BEFORE you did write me a few words: now not even a few. Your brevity will soon become silence. Return to your old ways, and do not let me have to scold you for your laconic behavior. But I shall be glad even of a little letter in token of your great love. Only write to me.

LETTER 13.

TO OLYMPIUS

AS all the fruits of the season come to us in their proper time, flowers in spring, corn in summer, and apples in autumn, so the fruit for winter is talk.

LETTER 14

TO GREGORY HIS FRIEND

MY brother Gregory writes me word that he has long been wishing to be with me, and adds that you are of the same mind; however, I could not wait, partly as being hard of belief, considering I have been so often disappointed, and partly because I find myself pulled all ways by business. I must at once make for Pontus, where, perhaps, God willing, I may make an end of wandering. After renouncing, with trouble, the idle hopes which I once had, [about you] or rather the dreams, (for it is well said that hopes are waking dreams), I departed into Pontus in quest of a place to live in. There God has opened on me a spot exactly answering to my taste, so that I actually see before my eyes what I have often pictured to my mind in idle fancy. There is a lofty mountain covered with thick woods, watered towards the north with cool and transparent streams. A plain lies beneath, enriched by the waters which are ever draining off from it; and skirted by a spontaneous profusion of trees almost thick enough to be a fence; so as even to surpass Calypso’s Island, which Homer seems to have considered the most beautiful spot on the earth. Indeed it is like an island, enclosed as it is on all sides; for deep hollows cut off two sides of it; the river, which has lately fallen down a precipice, runs all along the front and is impassable as a wall; while the mountain extending itself behind, and meeting the hollows in a crescent, stops up the path at its roots. There is but one pass, and I am master of it. Behind my abode there is another gorge, rising into a ledge up above, so as to command the extent of the plains and the stream which bounds it, which is not less beautiful, to my taste, than the Strymon as seen from Amphipolis. For while the

latter flows leisurely, and swells into a lake almost, and is too still to be a river, the former is the most rapid stream I know, and somewhat turbid, too, from the rocks just above; from which, shooting down, and eddying in a deep pool, it forms a most pleasant scene for myself or any one else; and is an inexhaustible resource to the country people, in the countless fish which its depths contain. What need to tell of the exhalations from the earth, or the breezes from the river? Another might admire the multitude of flowers, and singing birds; but leisure I have none for such thoughts. However, the chief praise of the place is, that being happily disposed for produce of every kind, it nurtures what to me is the sweetest produce of all, quietness; indeed, it is not only rid of the bustle of the city, but is even unfrequented by travelers, except a chance hunter. It abounds indeed in game, as well as other things, but not, I am glad to say, in bears or wolves, such as you have, but in deer, and wild goats, and hares, and the like. Does it not strike you what a foolish mistake I was near making when I was eager to change this spot for your Tiberina, the very pit of the whole earth?

Pardon me, then, if I am now set upon it; for not Alcmaeon himself, I suppose, could endure to wander further when lie had found the Echinades.

LETTER 15

TO ARCADIUS, IMPERIAL TREASURER

THE townsmen of our metropolis have conferred on me a greater favor than they have received, in giving me an opportunity of writing to your excellency. The kindness, to win which they have received this letter from me, was assured them even before I wrote, on account of your wonted land inborn courtesy to all. But I have considered it a very great advantage to have the opportunity of addressing your excellency, praying to the holy God that I may, continue to rejoice, and share in the pleasure of the recipients of your bounty, while you please Him more and more, and while the splendor of your high place continues to increase. I pray that in due time I may with joy once more welcome those who are delivering this my letter into your hands, and send them forth praising, as do many, your

considerate treatment of them, and I trust that they will have found my. recommendation of them not without use in approaching your exalted excellency.

LETTER 16

AGAINST EUNOMIUS THE HERETIC

HE who maintains that it is possible to arrive at the discovery of things actually existing, has no doubt by some orderly method advanced his intelligence by means of the knowledge of actually existing things. It is after first training himself by the apprehension of small and easily comprehensible objects, that he brings his apprehensive faculty to bear on what is beyond all intelligence. He makes his boast that he has really arrived at the comprehension of actual existences; let him then explain to us the nature of the least of visible beings; let him tell us all about the ant. Does its life depend on breath and breathing? Has it a skeleton? Is its body connected by sinews and ligaments? Are its sinews surrounded with muscles and glands? Does its marrow go with dorsal vertebrae from brow to tail? Does it give impulse to its moving members by the enveloping nervous membrane? Has it a liver, with a gall bladder near the liver? Has it kidneys, heart, arteries, veins, membranes, cartilages? Is it hairy or hairless? Has it an uncloven hoof, or are its feet divided? How long does it live? What is its mode of reproduction? What is its period of gestation? How is it that ants neither all walk nor all fly, but some belong to creeping things, and some travel through the air? The man who glories in his knowledge of the really-existing ought to tell us in the meanwhile about the nature of the ant. Next let him give us a similar physiological account of the power that transcends all human intelligence. But if your knowledge has not yet been able to apprehend the nature of the insignificant ant, how can you boast yourself able to form a conception of the power of the incomprehensible God?

LETTER 17

TO ORIGENES

It is delightful to listen to you, and delightful to read you; and I think you give me the greater pleasure by your writings. All thanks to our good God Who has not suffered the truth to suffer in consequence of its betrayal by the chief powers in the State but by your means has made the defense of the doctrine of true religion full and satisfactory. Like hemlock, monkshood, and other poisonous herbs, after they have bloomed for a little while, they will quickly wither away. But the reward which the Lord will give you in requital of all that you have said in defense of His name blooms afresh for ever. Wherefore I pray God grant you all happiness in your home, and make His blessing descend to your sons. I was delighted to see and embrace those noble boys, express images of your excellent goodness, and my prayers for them ask all that their father can ask.

LETTER 18

TO MACARIUS AND JOHN

The labors of the field come as no novelty to tillers of the land; sailors are not astonished if they meet a storm at sea; sweats in the summer heat are the common experience of the hired hind; and to them that have chosen to live a holy life the afflictions of this present world cannot come unforeseen. Each and all of these have the known and proper labor of their callings, not chosen for its own sake, but for the sake of the enjoyment of the good things to which they look forward. What in each of these cases acts as a consolation in trouble is that which really forms the bond and link of all human life, — hope. Now of them that labor for the fruits of the earth, or for earthly things, some enjoy only in imagination what they have looked for, and are altogether disappointed; and even in the case of others, where the issue has answered expectation, another hope is soon needed, so quickly has the first fled and faded out of sight. Only of them that labor for holiness and truth are the hopes destroyed by no deception; no issue can destroy their labors, for the kingdom of the heavens that awaits them

is firm and sure. So long then as the word of truth is on our side, never be in any wise distressed at the calumny of a lie; let no imperial threats scare you; do not be grieved at the laughter and mockery of your intimates, nor at the condemnation of those who pretend to care for you, and who put forward, as their most attractive bait to deceive, a pretense of giving good advice. Against them all let sound reason do battle, invoking the championship and succor of our Lord Jesus Christ, the teacher of true religion, for Whom to suffer is sweet, and "to die is gain."

LETTER 19

TO GREGORY MY FRIEND

I RECEIVED a letter from You the day before yesterday. It is shewn to be yours not so much by the handwriting as by the peculiar style. Much meaning is expressed in few words. I did not reply on the spot, because I was away from home, and the letter-carrier, after he had delivered the packet to one of my friends, went away. Now, however, I am able to address you through Peter, and at the same time both to return your greeting, and give you an opportunity for another letter. There is certainly no trouble in writing a laconic dispatch like those which reach me from you.

LETTER 20

TO LEONTIUS THE SOPHIST

I TOO do not write often to you, but not more seldom than you do to me, though many have traveled hitherward from your part of the world. If you had sent a letter by every one of them, one after the other, there would have been nothing to prevent my seeming to be actually in your company, and enjoying it as though we had been together, so uninterrupted has been the stream of arrivals. But why do you not write? is no trouble to a Sophist to write. Nay, if your hand is tired, you need not even write another will do that for you. Only your tongue is needed. And though it does not speak to me, it may assuredly speak to one of your companions.

If nobody is with you, it will talk by itself. Certainly the tongue of a Sophist and of an Athenian is as little likely to be quiet as the nightingales when the spring stirs them to song. In my own case, the mass of business in which I am now engaged may perhaps afford some excuse for my lack of letters. And peradventure the fact of my style having been spoilt by constant familiarity with common speech may make me somewhat hesitate to address Sophists like you, who are certain to be annoyed and unmerciful, unless you hear something worthy of your wisdom. You, on the other hand, ought assuredly to use every opportunity of making your voice heard abroad, for you are the best speaker of all the Hellenes that I know; and I think I know the most renowned among you; so that there really is no excuse for your silence. But enough on this point.

I have sent you my writings against Eunomius. Whether they are to be called child's play, or something a little more serious, I leave you to judge. So far as concerns yourself, I do not think you stand any longer in need of them; but I hope they will be no unworthy weapon against any perverse men with whom you may fall in. I do not say this so much because I have confidence in the force of my treatise, as because I know well that you are a man likely to make a little go a long way. If anything strikes you as weaker than it ought to be, pray have no hesitation in showing me the error. The chief difference between a friend and a flatterer is this; the flatterer speaks to please, the friend will not leave out even what is disagreeable.

LETTER 21

TO LEONTIUS THE SOPHIST

THE excellent Julianus seems to get some good for his private affairs out of the general condition of things. Everything nowadays is full of taxes demanded and called in, and he too is vehemently dunned and indicted. Only it is a question not of arrears of rates and taxes, but of letters. But how he comes to be a defaulter I do not know. He has always paid a letter, and received a letter — as he has this. But possibly you have a preference for the famous "four-times-as-much." For even the Pythagoreans were not so fond of their Tetractys, as these modern tax-collectors of their

"four-times-as-much." Yet perhaps the fairer thing would have been just the opposite, that a Sophist like you, so very well furnished with words, should be bound in pledge to me for "four-times-as-much." But do not suppose for a moment that I am writing all this out of ill-humor. I am only too pleased to get even a scolding from you. The good and beautiful do everything, it is said, with the addition of goodness and beauty. Even grief and anger in them are becoming. At all events any one would rather see his friend angry with him than any one else flattering him. Do not then cease preferring charges like the last! The very charge will mean a letter; and nothing can be more precious or delightful to me.

LETTER 22

WITHOUT ADDRESS. ON THE PERFECTION OF THE LIFE OF SOLITARIES

1. MANY things are set forth by inspired Scripture as binding upon all who are anxious to please God. But, for the present, I have only deemed it necessary to speak by way of brief reminder concerning the questions which have recently been stirred among you, so far as I have learnt from the study of inspired Scripture itself. I shall thus leave behind me detailed evidence, easy of apprehension, for the information of industrious students, who in their turn will be able to inform others. The Christian ought to be so minded as becomes his heavenly calling, and his life and conversation ought to be worthy of the Gospel of Christ. The Christian ought not to be of doubtful mind, nor by anything drawn away from the recollection of God and of His purposes and judgments. The Christian ought in all things to become superior to the righteousness existing under the law, and neither swear nor lie. He ought not to speak evil; to do violence; to fight; to avenge himself; to return evil for evil; to be angry. The Christian ought to be patient, whatever he have to suffer, and to convict the wrong-doer in season, not with the desire of his own vindication, but of his brother's reformation, according to the commandment of the Lord. The Christian ought not to say anything behind his brother's back with the object of calumniating him, for this is slander, even if what is said is true. He ought to turn away from the brother who speaks evil against him;

he ought not to indulge in jesting. he ought not to laugh nor even to suffer laugh makers. He must not talk idly, saying things which are of no service to the hearers nor to such usage as is necessary and permitted us by God; so that workers may do their best as far as possible to work in silence; and that good words be suggested to them by those who are entrusted with the duty of carefully dispensing the word to the building up of the faith, lest God's Holy Spirit be grieved. Any one who comes in ought not to be able, of his own tree will, to accost or speak to any of the brothers, before those to whom the responsibility of general discipline is committed have approved of it as pleasing to God, with a view to the common good. The Christian ought not to be enslaved by wine; nor to be eager for flesh meat, and as a general rule ought not to be a lover of pleasure in eating or drinking, "for every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things." The Christian ought to regard all the things that are given him for his use, not as his to hold as his own or to lay up; and, giving careful heed to all things as the Lord's, not to overlook any of the things that are being thrown aside and disregarded, should this be the case. No Christian ought to think of himself as his own master, but each should rather so think and act as though given by God to be slave to his like minded brethren; but "every man in his own order."

2. The Christian ought never to murmur either in scarcity of necessities, or in toil or labor, for the responsibility in these matters; lies with such as have authority in them. There never ought to be any clamor, or any behavior or agitation by which anger is expressed, or diversion of mind from the full assurance of the presence of God.

The voice should be modulated; no one ought to answer another, or do anything, but in all thing roughly or contemptuously, moderation and respect should be shewn to every one. No wily glances of the eye are to be allowed, nor any behavior or gestures which grieve a brother and shew contempt. Any display in cloak or shoes is to be avoided; it is idle ostentation. Cheap things ought to be used for bodily necessity; and nothing ought to be spent beyond what is necessary, or for mere extravagance; this is a misuse of our property. The Christian ought not to seek for honor, or claim precedence. Every one ought to put all others before himself. The Christian ought not to be unruly. He who is able to work ought not to cat the bread of idleness, but even he who is busied in

deeds well done for the glory of Christ ought to force himself to the active discharge of such work as he can do. Every Christian, with the approval of his superiors, ought so to do everything with reason and assurance, even down to actual eating and drinking, as done to the glory of God. The Christian ought not to change over from one work to another without the approval of those who are appointed for the arrangement of such matters; unless some unavoidable necessity suddenly summon any one to the relief of the helpless. Every one ought to remain in his appointed post, not to go beyond his own bounds and intrude into what is not commanded him, unless the responsible authorities judge any one to be in need of aid. No one ought to be found going from one workshop to another. Nothing ought to be done in rivalry or strife with any one.

3. The Christian ought not to grudge another's reputation, nor rejoice over any man's faults; he ought in Christ's love to grieve and be afflicted at his brother's faults, and rejoice over his brother's good deeds. He ought not to be indifferent or silent before sinners. He who shows another to be wrong ought to do so with all tenderness, in the fear of God, and with the object of converting the sinner. He who is proved wrong or rebuked ought to take it willingly, recognizing his own gain in being set right. When any one is being accused, it is not right for another, before him or any one else, to contradict the accuser; but if at any time the charge seems groundless to any one, he ought privately to enter into discussion with the accuser, and either produce, or acquire, conviction. Every one ought, as far as he is able, to conciliate one who has ground of complaint against him. No one ought to cherish a grudge against the sinner who repents, but heartily to forgive him. He who says that he has repented of a sin ought not only to be pricked with compunction for his sin, but also to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. He who has been corrected in first faults, and received pardon, if he sins again prepares for himself a judgment of wrath worse than the former. He, who after the first and second admonition abides in his fault, ought to be brought before the person in authority, if haply after being rebuked by more he may be ashamed. If even thus he fail to be set right he is to be cut off from the rest as one that maketh to offend, and regarded as a heathen and a publican, for the security of them that are obedient, according to the saving, When the impious fall the righteous tremble. He should be grieved over as a limb cut from the body. The sun

ought not to go down upon a brother's wrath, lest haply night come between brother and brother, and make the charge stand in the day of judgment. A Christian ought not to wait for an opportunity for his own amendment, because there is no certainty about the morrow; for many after many devices bare not reached the morrow. He ought not to be beguiled by over eating, whence come dreams in the night. He ought not to be distracted by immoderate toil, nor overstep the bounds of sufficiency, as the apostle says, "Having food and raiment let us be therewith content;" unnecessary abundance gives appearance of covetousness, and covetousness is condemned as idolatry. A Christian ought not to be a lover of money, nor lay up treasure for unprofitable ends. He who comes to God ought to embrace poverty in all things, and to be riveted in the fear of God, according to the words, "Rivet my flesh in thy fear, for I am afraid of thy judgments." The Lord grant that you may receive what I have said with full conviction and shew forth fruits worthy of the Spirit to the glory of God, by God's good pleasure, and the cooperation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

LETTER 23

TO A SOLITARY

A CERTAIN man, as he says, on condemning the vanity of this life, and perceiving that its joys are ended here, since they only provide material for eternal fire and then quickly pass away, has come to me with the desire of separating from this wicked and miserable life, of abandoning the pleasures of the flesh, and of treading for the future a road which leads to the mansions of the Lord. Now if he is sincerely firm in his truly blessed purpose, and has in his soul the glorious and laudable passion, loving the Lord his God with all his heart, with all his strength, and with all his mind, it is necessary for your reverence to show him the difficulties and distresses of the strait and narrow way, and establish him in the hope of the good things which are as yet unseen, but are laid up in promise for all that are worthy of the Lord. I therefore write to entreat your incomparable perfection in Christ, if it be possible to mold his character, and, without me, to bring about his renunciation according to what is pleasing to God,

and to see that he receive elementary instruction in accordance with what has been decided by the Holy Fathers, and put forth by them in writing. See too that he have put before him all things that are essential to ascetic discipline, and that so he may be introduced to the life, after having accepted, of his own accord, the labors undergone for religion's sake, subjected himself to the Lord's easy yoke, adopted a conversation in imitation of Him Who for our sakes became poor and took flesh, and may run without fail to the prize of his high calling, and receive the approbation of the Lord. He is wishful to receive here the crown of God's loves but I have put him off, because I wish, in conjunction with your reverence, to anoint him for such struggles, and to appoint over him one of your number whom he may select to be his trainer, training him nobly, and making him by his constant and blessed care a tried wrestler, wounding and overthrowing the prince of the darkness of this world, and the spiritual powers of iniquity, with whom, as the blessed Apostle says, is "our wrestling." What I wish to do in conjunction with you, let your love in Christ do without me.

LETTER 24

TO ATHANASIUS, FATHER OF ATHANASIUS BISHOP OF ANCYRA

THAT one of the things hardest to achieve if indeed it be not impossible, is to rise superior to calumny, I am myself fully persuaded, and so too, I presume, is your excellency. Yet not to give a handle by one's own conduct, either to inquisitive critics of society, or to mischief makers who lie in wait to catch us tripping, is not only possible, but is the special characteristic of all who order their lives wisely and according to the rule of true religion. And do not think me so simple and credulous as to accept depreciatory remarks from any one without due investigation. I bear in mind the admonition of the Spirit, "Thou shall not receive a false report." But you, learned men, yourselves say that "The seen is significant of the unseen." I therefore beg; — (and pray do not take it ill if I seem to be speaking as though I were giving a lesson; for "God has chosen the weak" and "despised things of the world," and often by their means brings about

the salvation of such as are being saved); what I say and urge is this; that by word and deed we act with scrupulous attention to propriety, and, in accordance with the apostolic precept, “give no offense in anything.” The life of one who has toiled hard in the acquisition of knowledge, who has governed cities and states, and who is jealous of the high character of his forefathers, ought to be an example of high character itself. You ought not now to be exhibiting your disposition towards your children in word only, as you bare long exhibited its ever since you became a father; you ought not only to shew that natural affection which is shewn by brutes, as you yourself have said, and as experience shews. You ought to make your love go further, and be a love all the more personal and voluntary in that you see your children worthy of a father’s prayers. On this point I do not need to be convinced. The evidence of facts is enough. One thing, however, I will say for truth’s sake, that it is not our brother Timotheus, the Chorepiscopus, who has brought me word of what is noised abroad. For neither by word of mouth nor by letter has he ever conveyed anything in the shape of slander, be it small or great. That I have heard something I do not deny, but it is not Timotheus who accuses you. Yet while I hear whatever I do, at least I will follow the example of Alexander, and will keep one ear clear for the accused.

LETTER 25

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP ANCYRA

1. I Have received intelligence from those who come to me from Ancyra, and they are many and more than I can count, but they all agree in what they say, that you, a man very dear to me, (how can I speak so as to give no offense?) do not mention me in very pleasant terms, nor yet in such as your character would lead me to expect. I, however, learned long ago the weakness of human nature, and its readiness to turn from one extreme to another; and so, be well assured, nothing connected with it can astonish me, nor does any change come quite unexpected. Therefore that my lot should have changed for the worse, and that reproaches and insults should have arisen in the place of former respect, I do not make much ado. But one thing does really strike me as astonishing and monstrous, and that is that it should be you who have this mind about me, and go so far as to feel

anger and indignation against me, and, if the report of your hearers is to be believed, have already proceeded to such extremities as to utter threats. At these threats, I will not deny, I really have laughed. Truly I should have been but a boy to be frightened at such bugbears. But it does seem to me alarming and distressing that you, who, as I have trusted, are preserved for the comfort of the churches, a buttress of the truth where many fall away, and a seed of the ancient and true love, should so far fall in with the present course of events as to be more influenced by the calumny of the first man you come across than by your long knowledge of me, and, without any proof, should be seduced into suspecting absurdities.

2. But, as I said, for the present I postpone the case. Would it have been too hard a task, my dear sir, to discuss in a short letter, as between friend and friend, points which you wish to raise; or, if you objected to entrusting such things to writing, to get me to come to you? But if you could not help speaking out, and your uncontrollable anger allowed no time for delay, at least you might have employed one of those about you who are naturally adapted for dealing with confidential matters, as a means of communication with me. But now, of all those who for one reason or another approach you, into whose ears has it not been dinned that I am a writer and composer of certain “pests”? For this is the word which those, who quote you word for word, say that you have used. The more I bring my mind to bear upon the matter the more hopeless is my puzzle. This idea has struck me. Can any heretic have grieved your orthodoxy, and driven you to the utterance of that word by malevolently putting my name to his own writings? For you, a man who has sustained great and famous contests on behalf of the truth, could never have endured to inflict such an outrage on what I am well known to have written against those who dare to say that God the Son is in essence unlike God the Father, or who blasphemously describe the Holy Ghost as created and made. You might relieve me from my difficulty yourself, if you would tell me plainly what it is that has stirred you to be thus offended with me.

LETTER 26

TO CAESARIUS, BROTHER OF GREGORY

THANKS to God for shewing forth His wonderful power in your person, and for preserving you to your country and to us your friends, from so terrible a death. It remains for us not to be ungrateful, nor unworthy of so great a kindness, but, to the best of our ability, to narrate the marvelous works of God, to celebrate by deed the kindness which we have experienced, and not return thanks by word only. We ought to become in very deed what I, grounding my belief on the miracles wrought in you, am persuaded that you now are. We exhort you still more to serve God, ever increasing your fear more and more, and advancing on to perfection, that we may be made wise stewards of our life, for which the goodness of God has reserved us. For if it is a command to all of us "to yield ourselves unto God as those that are alive from the dead," how much more strongly is not this commanded them who have been lifted up from the gates of death? And this, I believe, would be best effected, did we but desire ever to keep the same mind in which we were at the moment of our perils. For, I ween, the vanity of our life came before us, and we felt that all that belongs to man, exposed as it is to vicissitudes, has about it nothing sure, nothing firm. We felt, as was likely, repentance for the past; and we gave a promise for the future, if we were saved, to serve God and give careful heed to ourselves. If the imminent peril of death gave me any cause for reflection, I think that you must have been moved by the same or nearly the same thoughts. We are therefore bound to pay a binding debt, at once joyous at God's good gift to us, and, at the same time, anxious about the future. I have ventured to make these suggestions to you. It is yours to receive what I say well and kindly, as you were wont to do when we talked together face to face.

LETTER 27

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

When by God's grace, and the aid of your prayers, I had seemed to be somewhat recovering from my sickness, and had got my strength again, then came winter, keeping me a prisoner at home, and compelling me to remain where I was. True, its severity was much less than usual, but this was quite enough to keep me not merely from traveling while it lasted, but even from so much as venturing to put my head out of doors. But to me it is no slight thing to be permitted, if only by letter, to communicate with your reverence, and to rest tranquil in the hope of your reply. However, should the season permit, and further length of life be allowed me, and should the dearth not prevent me from undertaking the journey, peradventure through the aid of your prayers I may be able to fulfill my earnest wish, may find you at your own fireside, and, with abundant leisure, may take my fill of your vast treasures of wisdom.

LETTER 28

TO THE CHURCH OF NEOCOESAREA. CONSOLATORY

1. What has befallen you strongly moved me to visit you, with the double object of joining with you, who are near and dear to me, in paying all respect to the blessed dead, and of being more closely associated with you in your trouble by seeing your sorrow with my own eyes, and so being able to take counsel with you as to what is to be done. But many causes hinder my being able to approach you in person, and it remains for me to communicate with you in writing. The admirable qualities of the departed, on account of which we chiefly estimate the greatness of our loss, are indeed too many to be enumerated in a letter; and it is, besides, no time to be discussing the multitude of his good deeds, when our spirits are thus prostrated with grief. For of all that he did, what can we ever forget? What could we deem deserving of silence? To tell all at once were impossible; to tell a part would, I fear, involve disloyalty to the truth. A man has passed away who surpassed all his contemporaries in all the good things that are

within man’s reach; a prop of his country; an ornament of the churches; a pillar and support of the truth; a stay of the faith of Christ; a protector of his friends; a stout foe of his opponents; a guardian of the principles of his fathers; an enemy of innovation; exhibiting in himself the ancient, fashion of the Church, and making the state of the Church put under him conform to the ancient constitution, as to a sacred model, so that all who lived with him seemed to live in the society of them that used to shine like lights in the world two hundred years ago and more. So your bishop put forth nothing of his own, no novel invention; but, as the blessing of Moses has it, he knew how to bring out of the secret and good stores of his heart, “old store, and the old because of the new.” Thus it came about that in meetings of his fellow bishops he was not ranked according to his age, but, by reason of the old age of his wisdom, he was unanimously conceded precedence over all the rest. And no one who looks at your condition need go far to seek the advantages of such a course of training. For, so far as I know, you alone, or, at all events, you and but very few others, in the midst of such a storm and whirlwind of affairs, were able under his good guidance to live your lives unshaken by the waves. You were never reached by heretics’ buffering blasts, which bring shipwreck and drowning on unstable souls; and that you may for ever live beyond their reach I pray the Lord who ruleth over all, and who granted long tranquillity to Gregory His servant, the first founder of your church.

Do not lose that tranquillity now; do not, by extravagant lamentation, and by entirely giving yourself up to grief, put the opportunity for action into the hands of those who are plotting your bane. If lament you must, (which I do not allow, lest you be in this respect like “them which have no hope,”) do you, if so it seem good to you, like some wading chorus, choose your leader, and raise with him a chant of tears.

2. And yet, if he whom you mourn had not reached extreme old age, certainly, as regards his government of your church, he was allowed no narrow limit of life. He had as much strength of body as enabled him to show strength of mind in his distresses. Perhaps some of you may suppose that time increases sympathy and adds affection, and is no cause of satiety, so that, the longer you have experienced kind treatment, the more sensible you are of its loss. You may think that of a righteous person the good hold even the shadow in honor. Would that many of you did feel

so! Far be it from me to suggest anything like disregard of our friend! But I do counsel you to bear your pain with manly endurance. I myself am by no means insensible of all that may be said by those who are weeping for their loss. Hushed is a tongue whose words flooded our ears like a mighty stream: a depth of heath never fathomed before, has fled, humanly speaking, like an unsubstantial dream. Whose glance so keen as his to look into the future? Who with like fixity and strength of mind able to dart like lightning into the midst of action? O Neocaearea, already a prey to many troubles, never before smitten with so deadly a loss! Now withered is the bloom of you, beauty; your church is dumb; your assemblies are full of mournful faces; your sacred synod craves for its leader; your holy utterances wait for an expounder; your boys have lost a father, your elders a brother, your nobles one first among them, your people a champion, your poor a supporter. All, calling him by the name that comes most nearly home to each, lift up the wailing cry which to each man's own sorrow seems most appropriate and fit. But whither are my words carried away by my tearful joy? Shall we not watch? Shall we not meet together? Shall we riot look to our common Lord, Who suffers each of his saints to serve his own generation, and summons him back to Himself at His own appointed that? Now in season remember the voice of him who when preaching to you used always to say "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers." The dogs are many. Why do I say dogs? Rather grievous wolves, hiding their grille under the guise of sheep, are, all over the world, tearing Christ's flock. Of these you must beware, trader the protection of some wakeful bishop. Such an one it is yours to ask, purging your souls of all rivalry and ambition: such an one it is the Lord's to show you. That Lord, from the time of Gregory the great champion of your church down to that of the blessed departed, setting over you one after another, and from time to time fitting one to another like gem set close to gem, has bestowed on you glorious ornaments for your church. You have, then, no need to despair of them that are to come. The Lord knoweth who are His. He may bring into our midst those for whom peradventure we are not looking.

3. I meant to have come to an end long before this, but the pain at my heart does not allow me. Now I charge you by the Fathers, by the true faith, by our blessed friend, lift up your souls, each man making what is

being done his own immediate business, each reckoning that be will be the first to reap the consequences of the issue, whichever way it turn out, lest your fate be that which so very frequently befalls, every one leaving to his neighbor the common interests of all; and then, while each one makes little in his own mind of what is going on, all of you unwittingly draw your own proper misfortunes on yourselves by your neglect. Take, I beg you, what I say with all kindliness, whether it be regarded as an expression of the sympathy of a neighbor, or as fellowship between fellow believers, or, which is really nearer the truth, of one who obeys the law of love, and shrinks from the risk of silence. I am persuaded that you are my boasting, as I am yours, till the day of the Lord, and that it depends upon the pastor who will be granted you whether I shall be more closely united to you by the bond of love, or wholly severed from you. This latter God forbid. By God's grace it will not so be; and I should be sorry now to say one ungracious word. But this I do wish you to know, that though I had not that blessed man always at my side, in my efforts for the peace of the churches, because, as he himself affirmed, of certain prejudices, yet, nevertheless, at no time did I fail in unity of opinion with him, and I have always invoked his aid in my struggles against the heretics. Of this I call to witness God and all who know me best.

LETTER 29

TO THE CHURCH OF ANCYRA. CONSOLATORY

My amazement at the most distressing news of the calamity which has befallen you for a long time kept me silent. I felt like a man whose ears are stunned by a loud clap of thunder. Then I somehow recovered a little from my state of speechlessness. Now I have mourned, as none could help mourning, over the event, and, in the midst of my lamentations, have sent you this letter. I write not so much to console you, — for who could find words to cure a calamity so great? — as to signify to you, as well as I can by these means, the agony of my own heart. I need now the lamentations of Jeremiah, or of any other of the Saints who has feelingly lamented a great woe. A man has fallen who was really a pillar and stay of the Church or rather he himself has been taken from us and is gone to the blessed life, and there is no small danger lest many at the removal of this prop from

under them fall too, and lest some men's unsoundness be brought to light. A mouth is sealed gushing with righteous eloquence and words of grace to the edification of the brotherhood. Gone are the counsels of a mind which truly moved in God. Ah! how often, for I must accuse myself, was it my lot to feel indignation against him, because, wholly desiring to depart and be with Christ, he did not prefer for our sakes to remain in the flesh! To whom for the future shall I commit the cares of the Churches? Whom shall I take to share my troubles? Whom to participate in my gladness? O loneliness terrible and sad How am I not like to a pelican of the wilderness? Yet of a truth the members of the Church, united by his leadership as by one soul, and fitted together into close union of feeling and fellowship, are both preserved and shall ever be preserved by the bond of peace for spiritual communion. God grants us the boon, that all the works of that blessed soul, which he did nobly in the churches of God, abide firm and immovable. But the struggle is no slight one, lest, once more strifes and divisions arising over the choice of the bishop, all your work be upset by some quarrel.

LETTER 30

TO EUSEBIUS OF SAMOSATA

If I were to write at length all the causes which, up to the present time, have kept me at home, eager as I have been to set out to see your reverence, I should tell an interminable story. I say nothing of illnesses coming one upon another, hard winter weather, and press of work, for all this has been already made known to you. Now, for my sins, I have lost my Mother, the only comfort I had in life. Do not smile, if, old as I am, I lament my orphanhood. Forgive me if I cannot endure separation from a soul, to compare with whom I see nothing in the future that lies before me. So once more my complaints have come back to me; once more I am confined to my bed, tossing about in my weakness, and every hour all but looking for the end of life; and the Churches are in somewhat the same condition as my body, no good hope shining on them, and their state always changing for the worse. In the meantime Neocaesarea and Ancyra have decided to have successors of the dead, and so far they are at peace.

Those who are plotting against me have not yet been permitted to do anything worthy of their bitterness and wrath. This we make no secret of attributing to your prayers on behalf of the Churches. Weary not then in praying for the Churches and in entreating God. Pray give all salutations to those who are privileged to minister to your Holiness.

LETTER 31

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

THE death is still with us, and I am therefore compelled to remain where I am, partly by the duty of distribution, and partly out of sympathy for the distressed. Even now, therefore, I have not been able to accompany our reverend brother Hypatius, whom I am able to style brother, not in mere conventional language, but on account of relationship, for we are of one blood. You know how ill he is. It distresses me to think that all hope of comfort is cut off for him, as those who have the gifts of healing have not been allowed to apply their usual remedies in his case. Wherefore again he implores the aid of your prayers. Receive my entreaty that you will give him the usual protection alike for your own sake, for you are always kind to the sick, and for mine who am petitioning on his behalf. If possible, summon to your side the very holy brethren that he may be treated under your own eyes. If this be impossible, be so good as to send him on with a letter, and recommend him to friends further on.

LETTER 32

TO SOPHRONIUS THE MASTER

OUR God — beloved brother, Gregory the bishop, shares the troubles of the times, for he too, like everybody else, is distressed. at successive outrages, and resembles a man buffeted by unexpected blows. For men who have no fear of God, possibly forced by the greatness of their troubles, are reviling him, on the ground that they have lent Caesarius money. It is not indeed the question of any loss which is serious, for he has long learnt to despise riches. The matter rather is that those who have

so freely distributed all the effects of Caesarius that were worth anything, after really getting very little, because his property was in the hands of slaves, and of men of no better character than slaves, did not leave much for the executors. This little they supposed to be pledged to no one, and straightway spent it on the poor, not only from their own preference, but because of the injunctions of the dead. For on his death bed Caesarius is declared to have said "I wish my goods to belong to the poor." In obedience then to the wishes of Caesarius they made a proper distribution of them. Now, with the poverty of a Christian, Gregory is immersed in the bustle of a chafferer. So I bethought me of reporting the matter to your excellency, in order that you may state what you think proper about Gregory to the Comes Thesaurorum, and so may honor a man whom you have known for many years, glorify the Lord who takes as done to Himself what is done to His servants, and honor me who am specially bound to you. You will, I hope, of your great sagacity devise a means of relief from these outrageous people and intolerable annoyances.

2. No one is so ignorant of Gregory as to have any unworthy suspicion of his giving an inexact account of the circumstances because he is fond of money. We have not to go far to find a proof of his liberality. What is left of the property of Caesarius he gladly abandons to the Treasury, so that the property may be kept there, and the Treasurer may give answer to those who attack it and demand their proofs; for we are not adapted for such business. Your excellency may be informed that, so long as it was possible, no one went away without getting what he wanted, and each one carried off what he demanded without any difficulty. The consequence indeed was that a good many were sorry that they had not asked for more at first; and this made still more objectors, for with the example of the earlier successful applicants before them, one false claimant starts up after another. I do then entreat your excellency to make a stand against all this and to come in, like some intervening stream, and solve the continuity of these troubles. You know how best you will help matters, and need not wait to be instructed by me. I am inexperienced the affairs of this life, and cannot see my way out of our difficulties. Of your great wisdom discover I some means of help. Be our counselor. Be our champion.

LETTER 33

TO ABURGIUS

WHO knows so well as you do how to respect an old friendship, to pay reverence to virtue, and to sympathize with the sick? Now my God-beloved brother Gregory the bishop has become involved in matters which would be under any circumstances disagreeable, and are quite foreign to his bent of mind. I have therefore thought it best to throw myself on your protection, and to endeavor to obtain from you some solution of our difficulties. It is really an intolerable state of things that one who is neither by nature nor inclination adapted for anything of the kind should be compelled to be thus responsible; that demands for money should be made on a poor man; and that one who has long determined to pass his life in retirement should be dragged into publicity. It would depend upon your wise counsel whether you think it of any use to address the Comes Thesaurorum or any other persons.

LETTER 34

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

HOW could I be silent at the present juncture? And if I cannot be silent, how am I to find utterance adequate to the circumstances, so as to make my voice not like a mere groan but rather a lamentation intelligibly indicating the greatness of the misfortune? Ah me! Tarsus is undone. This is a trouble grievous to be borne, but it does not come alone. It is still harder to think that a city so placed as to be united with Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Assyria, should be lightly thrown away by the madness of two or three individuals, while you are all the while hesitating, settling what to do, and looking at one another's faces. It would have been far better to do like the doctors. (I have been so long an invalid that I have no lack of illustrations of this kind.) When their patients' pain becomes excessive they produce insensibility; so should we pray that our souls may be made insensible to the pain of our troubles, that we be not put under unendurable agony. In these hard straits I do not fail to use one

means of consolation. I look to your kindness; I try to make my troubles milder by my thought and recollection of you. When the eyes have looked intently on any brilliant objects it relieves them to turn again to what is blue and green; the recollection of your kindness and attention has just the same effect on my soul; it is a mild treatment that takes away my pain. I feel this the more when I reflect that you individually have done all that man could do. You have satisfactorily shewn us, men, if we judge things fairly, that the catastrophe is in no way due to you personally. The reward which you have won at God's hand for your zeal for right is no small one. May the Lord grant you to me and to His churches to the improvement of life and the guidance of souls, and may He once more allow me the privilege of meeting you.

LETTER 35

WITHOUT ADDRESS

I HAVE written to you about many people as belonging to myself; now I mean to write about more. The poor can never fail, and I can never say, no. There is no one more intimately associated with me, nor better able to do me kindnesses wherever he has the ability, than the reverend brother Leontius. So treat his house as if you had found me, not in that poverty in which now by God's help I am living, but endowed with wealth and landed property. There is no doubt that you would not have made me poor, but would have taken care of what I had, or even added to my possessions. This is the way I ask you to behave in the house of Leontius. You will get your accustomed reward from me; my prayers to the holy God for the trouble you are taking in shewing yourself a good man and true, and in anticipating the supplication of the needy.

LETTER 36

WITHOUT ADDRESS

IT has, I think, been long known to your excellency that the presbyter of this place is a foster brother of my own. What more can I say to induce

you in your kindness, to view him with a friendly eye, and give him help in his affairs? If you love me, as I know you do, I am sure that you will endeavor, to the best of your power, to relieve any one whom I look upon as a second self. What then do I ask? That he do not lose his old rating. Really he takes no little trouble in ministering to my necessities, because I, as you know, have nothing of my own, but depend upon the means of my friends and relatives. Look, then, upon my brother's house as you would on mine, or let me rather say, on your own. In return for your kindness to him God will not cease to help alike yourself, your house, and your family. Be sure that I am specially anxious lest any injury should be done to him by the equalization of rates.

LETTER 37

WITHOUT ADDRESS

I Look with suspicion on the multiplication of letters. Against my will, and because I cannot resist the importunity of petitioners, I am compelled to speak. I write because I can think of no other means of relieving myself than by assenting to the supplications of those who are always asking letters from me. I am really afraid lest, since many are carrying letters off, one of the many be reckoned to be that brother. I have, I own, many friends and relatives in my own country, and I am placed *in loco parentis* by the position a which the Lord has given me. Among them is this my foster brother, son of my nurse, and I pray that the house in which I was brought up may remain at its old assessment, so that the sojourn among us of your excellency, so beneficial to us all, may turn out no occasion of trouble to him. Now too I am supported from the same house, because I have nothing of my own, but depend upon those who love me. I do then entreat you to spare the house in which I was nursed as though you were keeping up the supply of support for me. May God in return grant you His everlasting rest. One thing however, and it is most true, I think your excellency ought to know, and that is that the greater number of the slaves were given him from the outset by us, as an equivalent for my sustenance, by the gift of my father and mother. At the same time this was not to be regarded as an absolute gift; he was only to have the use for life, so that, if

anything serious happen to him on their account, he is at liberty to send them back to me, and I shall thus in another way be responsible for rates and to collectors.

LETTER 38

TO HIS BROTHER GREGORY, CONCERNING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN οὐσία AND ὑπόστασις

1. Many persons, in their study of the sacred dogmas, failing to distinguish between what is common in the essence or substance, and the meaning of the hypostases, arrive at the same notions, and think that it makes no difference whether οὐσία or hypostasis be spoken of. The result is that some of those who accept statements on these subjects without any enquiry, are pleased to speak of “one hypostasis,” just as they do of one “essence” or “substance;” while on the other hand those who accept three hypostases are under the idea that they are bound in accordance with this confession, to assert also, by numerical analogy, three essences or substances. Under these circumstances, lest you fall into similar error, I have composed a short treatise for you by way of memorandum. The meaning of the words, to put it shortly, is as follows:

2. Of all nouns the sense of some, which are predicated of subjects plural and numerically various, is more general; as for instance man. When we so say, we employ the noun to indicate the common nature, and do not confine our meaning to any one man in particular who is known by that name. Peter, for instance is no more than, than Andrew, John, or James. The predicate therefore being common, and extending to all the individuals ranked under the same name, requires some note of distinction whereby we may understand not man in general, but Peter or John in particular.

Of some nouns on the other hand the denotation is more limited; and by the aid of the limitation we have before our minds not the common nature, but a limitation of anything, having, so far as the peculiarity extends, nothing in common with what is of the same kind; as for instance, Paul or Timothy. For, in a word, of this kind there is no extension to what is common in the nature; there is a separation of certain circumscribed

conceptions from the general idea, and expression of them by means of their names. Suppose then that two or more are set together, as, for instance, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, and that an enquiry is made into the essence or substance of humanity; no one will give one definition of essence or substance in the case of Paul, a second in that of Silvanus, and a third in that of Timothy; but the same words which have been employed in setting forth the essence or substance of Paul will apply to the others also. Those who are described by the same definition of essence or substance are of the same essence or substance when the enquirer has learned what is common, and turns his attention to the differentiating properties whereby one is distinguished from another, the definition by which each is known will no longer tally in all particulars with the definition of another, even though in some points it be found to agree.

3. My statement, then, is this. That which is spoken of in a special and peculiar manner is indicated by the name of the hypostasis. Suppose we say "a man." The indefinite meaning of the word strikes a certain vague sense upon the ears. The nature is indicated, but what subsists and is specially and peculiarly indicated by the name is not made plain. Suppose we say "Paul." We set forth, by what is indicated by the name, the nature subsisting.

This then is the hypostasis, or "*understanding*;" not the indefinite conception of the essence or substance, which, because what is signified is general, finds no "*standing*," but the conception which by means of the expressed peculiarities gives *standing* and circumscription to the general and uncircumscribed. It is customary in Scripture to make a distinction of this kind, as well in many other passages as in the History of Job. When purposing to narrate the events of his life, Job first mentions the common, and says "a man;" then he straightway particularizes by adding "a certain." As to the description of the essence, as having no bearing on the scope of his work, he is silent, but by means of particular notes of identity, mentioning the place and points of character, and such external qualifications as would individualize, and separate from the common and general idea, he specifies the "certain man," in such a way that from name, place, mental qualities, and outside circumstances, the description of the man whose life is being narrated is made in all particulars perfectly clear. If he had been giving an account of the essence, there would not in his

explanation of the nature have been any mention of these matters. The same moreover would have been the account that there is in the case of Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite, and each of the men there mentioned. Transfer, then, to the divine dogmas the same standard of difference which you recognize in the case both of essence and of hypostasis in human affairs, and you will not go wrong. Whatever your thought suggests to you as to the mode of the existence of the Father, you will think also in the case of the Son, and in like manner too of the Holy Ghost. For it is idle to bait the mind at any detached conception from the conviction that it is beyond all contention. For the account of the uncreate and of the incomprehensible is one and the same in the case of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. For one is not more incomprehensible and uncreate than another. And since it is necessary, by means of the notes of differentiation, in the case of the Trinity, to keep the distinction unconfounded, we shall not take into consideration, in order to estimate that which differentiates, what is contemplated in common, as the uncreate, or what is beyond all comprehension, or any quality of this nature; we shall only direct our attention to the enquiry by what means each particular conception will be lucidly and distinctly separated from that which is conceived of in common.

4. Now the proper way to direct our investigation seems to me to be as follows. We say that every good thing, which by God’s providence befalls us, is an operation, of the Grace which worketh in us all things, as the apostle says, “But all these worketh that one and the self same Spirit dividing to every man severally as he will.” If we ask, if the supply of good things which thus comes to the saints has its origin in the Holy Ghost alone, we are on the other hand guided by Scripture to the belief that of the supply of the good things which are wrought in us through the Holy Ghost, the Originator and Cause is the Only-begotten God; for we are taught by Holy Scripture that “All things were made by Him,” and “by Him consist.” When we are exalted to this conception, again, led by God-inspired guidance, we are taught that by that power all things are brought from non-being into being, but yet not by that power to the exclusion of origination. On the other hand there is a certain power subsisting without generation and without origination, which is the cause of the cause of all things. For the Son, by whom are all things, and with

whom the Holy Ghost is inseparably conceived of, is of the Father. For it is not possible for any one to conceive of the Son if he be not previously enlightened by the Spirit. Since, then, the Holy Ghost, from Whom all the supply of good things for creation has its source, is attached to the Son, and with Him is inseparably apprehended, and has Its being attached to the Father, as cause, from Whom also It proceeds; It has this note of Its peculiar hypostatic nature, that It is known after the Son and together with the Son, and that It has Its subsistence of the Father. The Son, Who declares the Spirit proceeding from the Father through Himself and with Himself, shining forth alone and by only-begetting from the unbegotten light, so far as the peculiar notes are concerned, has nothing in common either with the Father or with the Holy Ghost. He alone is known by the stated signs. But God, Who is over all, alone has, as one special mark of His own hypostasis, His being Father, and His deriving His hypostasis from no cause; and through this mark He is peculiarly known. Wherefore in the communion of the substance we maintain that there is no mutual approach or intercommunion of those notes of indication perceived in the Trinity, whereby is set forth the proper peculiarity of the Persons delivered in the faith, each of these being distinctively apprehended by His own notes. Hence, in accordance with the stated signs of indication, discovery is made of the separation of the hypostases; while so far as relates to the infinite, the incomprehensible, the uncreate, the uncircumscribed, and similar attributes, there is no variableness in the life-giving nature; in that, I mean, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in Them is seen a certain communion indissoluble and continuous. And by the same considerations, whereby a reflective student could perceive the greatness of any one of the (Persons) believed in the Holy Trinity, he will proceed without variation. Beholding the glory in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, his mind all the while recognizes no void interval wherein it may travel between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for there is nothing inserted between Them; nor beyond the divine nature is there anything so subsisting as to be able to divide that nature from itself by the interposition of any foreign matter. Neither is there any vacuum of interval, void of subsistence, which can make a break in the mutual harmony of the divine essence, and solve the continuity by the interjection of emptiness. He who perceives the Father, and perceives Him by Himself, has at the same time mental perception of the Son; and he who

receives the Son does not divide Him from the Spirit, but, in consecution so far as order is concerned, in conjunction so far as nature is concerned, expresses the faith commingled in himself in the three together. He who makes mention of the Spirit alone, embraces also in this confession Him of whom He is the Spirit. And since the Spirit is Christ's and of God, as says Paul, then just as he who lays hold on one end of the chain pulls the other to him, so he who "draws the Spirit," as says the prophet, by His means draws to him at the same time both the Son and the Father. And if any one verily receives the Son, he will hold Him on both sides, the Son drawing towards him on the one His own Father, and on the other His own Spirit. For He who eternally exists in the Father can never be cut off from the Father, nor can He who worketh all things by the Spirit ever be disjoined from His own Spirit. Likewise moreover he who receives the Father virtually receives at the same time both the Son and the Spirit; for it is in no wise possible to entertain the idea of severance or division, in such a way as that the Son should be thought of apart from the Father, or the Spirit be disjoined from the Son. But the communion and the distinction apprehended in Them are, in a certain sense, ineffable and inconceivable, the continuity of nature being never rent asunder by the distinction of the hypostases, nor the notes of proper distinction confounded in the community of essence. Marvel not then at my speaking of the name thing as being both conjoined and parted, and thinking as it were darkly in a riddle, of a certain new and strange conjoined separation and separated conjunction. Indeed, even in objects perceptible to the senses, any one who approaches the subject in a candid and uncontentious spirit, may find similar conditions of things.

5. Yet receive what I say as at best a token and reflection of the truth; not as the actual truth itself. For it is not possible that there should be complete correspondence between what is seen in the tokens and the objects in reference to which the use of tokens is adopted. Why then do I say that an analogy of the separate and the conjoined is found in objects perceptible to the senses? You have before now, in springtime, beheld the brightness of the bow in the cloud; the bow, I mean, which, in our common parlance, is called his, and is said by persons skilled in such matters to be formed when a certain moisture is mingled with the air, and the force of the winds expresses what is dense and moist in the vapor, after it has become

cloudy, into rain. The bow is said to be formed as follows. When the sunbeam, alter traversing obliquely the dense and darkened portion of the cloud-formation, has directly cast its own orb on some cloud, the radiance is then reflected back from what is moist and shining, and the result is a bending and return, as it were, of the light upon itself. For flame-like flashings are so constituted that if they fall on any smooth surface they are refracted on themselves; and the shape of the sun, which by means of the beam is formed on the moist and smooth part of the air, is round. The necessary consequence therefore is that the air adjacent to the cloud is marked out by means of the radiant brilliance in conformity with the shape of the sun’s disc. Now this brilliance is both continuous and divided. It is of many colors; it is of many forms; it is insensibly steeped in the variegated bright tints of its dye; imperceptibly abstracting from our vision the combination of many colored things, with the result that no space, mixing or paring within itself the difference of color, can be discerned either between blue and flame-colored, or between flame-colored and red, or between red and amber. For all the rays, seen at the same time, are far shining, and while they give no signs of their mutual combination, are incapable of being tested, so that it is impossible to discover the limits of the flame-colored or of the emerald portion of the light, and at what point each originates before it appears as it does in glory. As then in the token we clearly distinguish the difference of the colors, and yet it is impossible for us to apprehend by our senses any interval between them; so in like manner conclude, I pray you, that you may reason concerning the divine dogmas; that the peculiar properties of the hypostases, like colors seen in the his, flash their brightness on each of the Persons Whom we believe to exist in the Holy Trinity; but that of the proper nature no difference can be conceived as existing between one and the other, the peculiar characteristics shining, in community of essence, upon each. Even in our example, the essence emitting the many-colored radiance, and refracted by the sunbeam, was one essence; it is the color of the phenomenon which is multiform. My argument thus teaches us, even by the aid of the visible creation, not to feel distressed at points of doctrine whenever we meet with questions difficult of solution, and when at the though of accepting what is proposed to us, our brains begin to reel. In regard to visible objects experience appears better than theories of causation, and so in matters transcending all knowledge, the apprehension of argument is inferior to the

faith which teaches us at once the distinction in hypostasis and the conjunction in essence. Since then our discussion has included both what is common and what is distinctive in the Holy Trinity, the common is to be understood as referring to the essence; the hypostasis on the other hand is the several distinctive sign.

6. It may however be thought that the account here given of the hypostasis does not tally with the sense of the Apostle’s words, where he says concerning the Lord that He is “the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person,” for if we have taught hypostasis to be the conflux of the several properties; and if it is confessed that, as in the case of the Father something is contemplated as proper and peculiar, whereby He alone is known, so in the same way is it believed about the Only-begotten; how then does Scripture in this place ascribe the name of the hypostasis to the Father alone, and describes the Son as form of the hypostasis, and designated not by His own proper notes, but by those of the Father? For if the hypostasis is the sign of several existence, and the property of the Father is confined to the unbegotten being, and the Son is fashioned according to His Father’s properties, then the term unbegotten can no longer be predicated exclusively of the Father, the existence of the Only-begotten being denoted by the distinctive note of the Father.

7. My opinion is, however, that in this passage the Apostle’s argument is directed to a different end; and it is looking to this that he uses the terms “brightness of glory,” and “express image of person.” Whoever keeps this carefully in view will find nothing that clashes with what I have said, but that the argument is conducted in a special and peculiar sense. For the object of the apostolic argument is not the distinction of the hypostases from one another by means of the apparent notes; it is rather the apprehension of the natural, inseparable, and close relationship of the Son to the Father. He does not say “Who being the glory of the Father” (although in truth He is); he omits this as admitted, and then in the endeavor to teach that we must not think of one form of glory in the case of the Father and of another in that of the Son, He defines the glory of the Only-begotten as the brightness of the glory of the Father, and, by the use of the example of the light, causes the Son to be thought of in indissoluble association with the Father. For just as the brightness is emitted by the flame, and the brightness is not after the flame, but at one and the same

moment the flame shines and the light beams brightly, so does the Apostle mean the Son to be thought of as deriving existence from the Father, and yet the Only-begotten not to be divided from the existence of the Father by any intervening extension in space, but the caused to be always conceived of together with the cause. Precisely in the same manner, as though by way of interpretation of the meaning of the preceding cause, and with the object of guiding us to the conception of the invisible by means of material examples, he speaks also of “express image of person.” For as the body is wholly in form, and yet the definition of the body and the definition of the form are distinct, and no one wishing to give the definition of the one would be found in agreement with that of the other; and yet, even if in theory you separate the form from the body, nature does not admit of the distinction, and both are inseparably apprehended; just so the Apostle thinks that even if the doctrine of the faith represents the difference of the hypostases as unconfounded and distinct, he is bound by his language to set forth also the continuous and as it were concrete relation of the Only-begotten to the Father. And this he states, not as though the Only-begotten had not also a hypostatic being, but in that the union does not admit of anything intervening between the Son and the Father, with the result that he, who with his soul’s eyes fixes his gaze earnestly on the express image of the Only-begotten, is made perceptive also of the hypostasis of the Father. Yet the proper quality contemplated in them is not subject to change, nor yet to commixture, in such wise as that we should attribute either an origin of generation to the Father or an origin without generation to the Son, but so that if we could compass the impossibility of detaching one from the other, that one might be apprehended severally and alone, for, since the mere name implies the Father, it is not possible that any one should even name the Son without apprehending the Father.

8. Since then, as says the Lord in the Gospels, he that hath seen the Son sees the Father also; on this account he says that the Only-begotten is the express image of His Father’s person. That this may be made still plainer I will quote also other passages of the apostle in which he calls the Son “the image of the invisible God,” and again “image of His goodness;” not because the image differs from the Archetype according to the definition of indivisibility and goodness, but that it may be shewn that it is the same as

the prototype, even though it be different. For the idea of the image would be lost were it not to preserve throughout the plain and invariable likeness. He therefore that has perception of the beauty of the image is made perceptive of the Archetype. So he, who has, as it were mental apprehension of the form of the Son, prints the express image of the Father's hypostasis, beholding the latter in the former, not beholding in the reflection the unbegotten being of the Father (for thus there would be complete identity and no distinction), but gazing at the unbegotten beauty in the Begotten. Just as he who in a polished mirror beholds the reflection of the form as plain knowledge of the represented face, so he, who has knowledge of the Son, through his knowledge of the Son receives in his heart the express image of the Father's Person. For all things that are the Father's are beheld in the Son, and all things that are the Son's are the Father's; because the whole Son is in the Father and has all the Father in Himself. Thus the hypostasis of the Son becomes as it were form and face of the knowledge of the Father, and the hypostasis of the Father is known in the form of the Son, while the proper quality which is contemplated therein remains for the plain distinction of the hypostases.

LETTER 39

JULIAN TO BASIL

THE proverb says "You are not proclaiming war," and, let me adds out of the comedy, "O messenger of golden words." Come then; prove this in act, and hasten to me. You will come as friend to friend. Conspicuous and unremitting devotion to business seems, to those that treat it as of secondary importance, a heavy burden; yet the diligent are modest, as I persuade myself, sensible, and ready for any emergency. I allow myself relaxations so that even rest may be permitted to one who neglects nothing. Our mode of life is not marked by the court hypocrisy, of which I think you have had some experience, and in accordance with which compliments mean deadlier hatred than is felt to our worst foes; but, with becoming freedom, while we blame and rebuke where blame is due, we love with the love of the dearest friends. I may therefore, let me say, with all sincerity, both be diligent in relaxation and, when at work, not get worn

out, and sleep secure; since when awake I do not wake more for myself, than, as is fit, for every one else. I am afraid this is rather silly and trifling, as I feel rather lazy, (I praise myself like Astydamas) but I am writing to prove to you that to have the pleasure of seeing you, wise man as you are, will be more likely to do me good than to cause any difficulty. Therefore, as I have said, lose no time: travel post haste. After you have paid me as long a visit as you likes you shall go on your journey, whithersoever you will, with my best wishes.

LETTER 40

JULIAN TO BASIL

WHILE showing up to the present time the gentleness and benevolence which have been natural to me from my boyhood, I have reduced all who dwell beneath the sun to obedience. For lo! every tribe of barbarians to the shores of ocean has come to lay its gifts before my feet. So too the Sagadares who dwell beyond the Danube, wondrous with their bright tattooing, and hardly like human beings, so wild and strange are they, now grovel at my feet, and pledge themselves to obey all the behests my sovereignty imposes on them. I have a further object. I must as soon as possible march to Persia and rout and make a tributary of that Sapor, descendant of Darius. I mean too to devastate the country of the Indians and the Saracens until they all acknowledge my superiority and become my tributaries. You, however, profess a wisdom above and beyond these things; you call yourself clad with piety, but your clothing is really impudence and everywhere you slander me as one unworthy of the imperial dignity. Do you not know that I am the grandson of the illustrious Constantius? I know this of you, and yet I do not change the old feelings which I had to you, and you to me in the days when we were both young. But of my merciful will I command that a thousand pounds of gold be sent me from you, when I pass by Caesarea; for I am still on the march, and with all possible dispatch am hurrying to the Persian campaign.. If you refuse I am prepared to destroy Caesarea, to overthrow the buildings that have long adorned it; to erect in their place temples and statues; and so to induce all men to submit to the Emperor of the Romans

and not exalt themselves. Wherefore I charge you to send me without fail by the hands of some trusty messenger the stipulated gold, after duly counting and weighing it, and sealing it with your ring. In this way I may show mercy to you for your errors, if you acknowledge, however late, that no excuses will avail. I have learned to know, and to condemn, what once I read.

LETTER 41

BASIL TO JULIAN

1. THE heroic deeds of your present splendor are small, and your grand attack against me, or rather against yourself, is paltry. When I think of you robed in purple, a crown on your dishonored head, which, so long as true religion is absents, rather disgraces than graces your empire, I tremble. And you yourself who have risen to be so high and great, now that vile and honor-hating demons have brought you to this pass, have begun not only to exalt yourself above all human nature, but even to uplift yourself against God, and insult His Church, mother and nurse of all, by sending to me, most insignificant of men, orders to forward you a thousand pounds of gold. I am not so much astonished at the weight of the gold, although it is very serious; but it has made me shed bitter tears over your so rapid ruin. I bethink me how you and I have learned together the lessons of the best and holiest books. Each of us went through the sacred and God-inspired Scriptures. Then nothing was hid from you. Nowadays you have become lost to proper feeling, beleaguered as you are with pride. Your serene Highness did not find out for the first time yesterday that I do not live in the midst of superabundant wealth. To-day you have demanded a thousand pounds of gold of me. I hope your serenity will deign to spare me. My property amounts to so much, that I really shall not have enough to eat as much as I shall like today. Under my roof the art of cookery is dead. My servants' knife never touches blood. The most important viands, in which lies our abundance, are leaves of herbs with very coarse bread and sour wine, so that our senses are not dulled by gluttony, and do not indulge in excess.

2. Your excellent tribune Lausus, trusty minister of your orders, has also reported to me that a certain woman came as a suppliant to your serenity on the occasion of the death of her son by poison; that it has been judged by you that poisoners are not allowed to exist; if any there be, that they are to be destroyed, or, only those are reserved, who are to fight with beasts. And, this rightly decided by you, seems strange to me, for your efforts to cure the pain of great wounds by petty remedies are to the last degree ridiculous. After insulting God, it is useless for you to give heed to widows and orphans. The former is mad and dangerous; the latter the part of a merciful and kindly man. It is a serious thing for a private individual like myself to speak to an emperor; it will be more serious for you to speak to God. No one will appear to mediate between God and man. What you read you did not understand. If you had understood, you would not have condemned.

LETTER 42

TO CHILO, HIS DISCIPLE

1. If, my true brother, you gladly suffer yourself to be advised by me as to what course of action you should pursue, specially in the points in which you have referred to me for advice, you will owe me your salvation. Many men have had the courage to enter upon the solitary life; but to live it out to the end is a task which perhaps has been achieved by few. The end is not necessarily involved in the intention; yet in the end is the guerdon of the toil. No advantage, therefore, accrues to men who fail to press on to the end of what they have in view and only adopt the solitary's life in its inception. Nay, they make their profession ridiculous, and are charged by outsiders with unmanliness and instability of purpose. Of these, moreover, the Lord says, who wishing to build a house "sitteth not down first and counteth the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it? lest haply after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it," the passers-by "begin to mock him saying," this man laid a foundation "and was not able to finish." Let the start, then, mean that you heartily advance in virtue. The right noble athlete Paul, wishing us not to rest in easy security on so much of our life as may have been lived well in the past,

but, every day to attain further progress, says “Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling.” So truly stands the whole of human life, not contented with what has gone before and fed not so much on the past as on the future. For how is a man the better for having his belly filled yesterday, if his natural hunger fails to find its proper satisfaction in food today? In the same way the soul gains nothing by yesterday’s virtue unless it be followed by the right conduct of today. For it is said “I shall judge thee as I shall find thee.”

2. Vain then is the labor of the righteous man, and free from blame is the way of the sinner, if a change befall, and the former turn from the better to the worse, and the latter from the worse to the better. So we hear from Ezekiel teaching as it were in the name of the Lord, when he says, “if the righteous turneth away and committeth iniquity, I will not remember the righteousness which he committed before; in his sin he shall die,” and so too about the sinner; if he turn away from his wickedness, and do that which is right, he shall live. Where were all the labors of God’s servant Moses, when the gainsaying of one moment shut him out from entering into the promised land? What became of the companionship of Gehazi with Elissaeus, when he brought leprosy on himself by his covetousness? What availed all Solomon’s vast wisdom, and his previous regard for God, when afterwards from his mad love of women he fell into idolatry? Not even the blessed David was blameless, when his thoughts went astray and he sinned against the wife of Uriah. One example were surely enough for keeping safe one who is living a godly life, the fall from the better to the worse of Judas, who, after being so long Christ’s disciple, for a mean gain sold his Master and got a halter for himself. Learn then, brother, that it is not he who begins well who is perfect. It is he who ends well who is approved in God’s sight. Give then no sleep to your eyes or slumber to your eyelids that you may be delivered “as a roe from the net and a bird from the snare.” For, behold, you are passing through the midst of snares; you are treading on the top of a high wall whence a fall is perilous to the fuller; wherefore do not straightway attempt extreme discipline; above all things beware of confidence in yourself, lest you fall from a height of discipline through want of training. It is better to advance a little at a time. Withdraw then by degrees from the pleasures of life, gradually destroying

all your wonted habits, lest you bring on yourself a crowd of temptations by irritating all your passions at once. When you have mastered one passion, then begin to wage war against another, and in this manner you will in good time get the better of all. Indulgence, so far as the name goes, is one, but its practical workings are diverse. First then, brother, meet every temptation with patient endurance. And by what various temptations the faithful man is proved; by worldly loss, by accusations, by lies, by opposition, by calumny, by persecution! These and the like are the tests of the faithful. Further, be quiet, not rash in speech, not quarrelsome, not disputatious, not covetous of vain glory, not more anxious to get than to give knowledge, not a man of many words, but always more ready to learn than to teach. Do not trouble yourself about worldly life; from it no good can come to you. It is said, “That my mouth speak not the works of men.” The man who is fond of talking about sinners’ doings, soon rouses the desire for self indulgence; much better busy yourself about the lives of good men for so you will get some profit for yourself. Do not be anxious to go traveling about from village to village and house to house; rather avoid them as traps for souls. If any one, for true pity’s sake, invite you with many pleas to enter his house, let him be told to follow the faith of the centurion, who, when Jesus was hastening to him to perform an act of healing, besought him not to do so in the words, “Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed,” and when Jesus had said to him “Go thy way; as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee,” his servant was healed from that hour. Learn then, brother, that it was the faith of the suppliant, not the presence of Christ, which delivered the sick man. So too now, if you pray, in whatever place you be, and the sick man believes that he will be aided by your prayers, all will fall out as he desires.

3. You will not love your kinsfolk more than the Lord. “He that loveth,” He says, “father, or mother, or brother, more than me, is not worthy of me.” What is the meaning of the Lord’s commandment? “He that taketh not up his cross and followeth after me, cannot be my disciple?” If, together with Christ, you died to your kinsfolk according to the flesh, why do you wish to live with them again? If for your kinsfolk’s sake you are building up again what you destroyed for Christ’s sake, you make

yourself a transgressor. Do not then for your kinsfolk’s sake abandon your place: if you abandon your place, perhaps you will abandon your mode of life. Love not the crowd, nor the country, nor the town; love the desert, ever abiding by yourself with no wandering mind, regarding prayer and praise as your life’s work. Never neglect reading, especially of the New Testament, because very frequently mischief comes of reading the Old; not because what is written is harmful, but because the minds of the injured are weak. All bread is nutritious, but it may be injurious to the sick. Just so all Scripture is God inspired and profitable, and there is nothing in it unclean: only to him who thinks it is unclean, to him it is unclean. “Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil.” “All things are lawful but all things are not expedient.” Among all, with whom you come in contact, be in all things a giver of no offense, cheerful, “loving as a brother,” pleasant, humble-minded, never missing the mark of hospitality through extravagance of meats, but always content with what is at hand. Take no more from any one than the daily necessaries of the solitary life. Above all things shun gold as the soul’s foe, the father of sin and the agent of the devil. Do not expose yourself to the charge of covetousness on the pretense of ministering to the poor; but, if any one brings you money for the poor and you know of any who are in need, advise the owner himself to convey it to his needy brothers, lest haply your conscience may be defiled by the acceptance of money.

4. Shun pleasures; seek after continence; train your body to hard work; accustom your soul to trials. Regarding the dissolution of soul and body as release from every evil, await that enjoyment of everlasting good things in which all the saints have part. Ever, as it were, holding the balance against every suggestion of the devil throw in a holy thought, and, as the scale inclines do thou go with it. Above all when the evil thought starts up and says, “What is the good of your passing your life in this place? What do you gain by withdrawing yourself from the society of men? Do you not know that those, who are ordained by God to be bishops of God’s churches, constantly associate with their fellows, and indefatigably attend spiritual gatherings at which those who are present derive very great advantage? There are to be enjoyed explanations of hard sayings, expositions of the teachings of the apostles, interpretations of the thoughts of the gospels. lessons in theology and the intercourse of

spiritual brethren, who do great good to all they meet if only by the sight of their faces. You, however, who have decided to be a stranger to all these good things, are sitting here in a wild state like the beasts. You see round you a wide desert with scarcely a fellow creature in it, lack of all instruction, estrangement from your brothers, and your spirit inactive in carrying out the commandments of God.” Now, when the evil thought rises against you, with all these ingenious pretexts and wishes to destroy you, oppose to it in pious reflection Your own practical experience, and say, u tell me that the things in the world are good; the reason why I came here is because I judged myself unfit for the good things of the world. With the world’s good things are mingled evil things, and the evil things distinctly have the upper hand. Once when I attended the spiritual assemblies I did with difficulty find one brother, who, so far as I could see, feared God, but he was a victim of the devil, and I heard from him amusing stories and tales made up to deceive those whom he met. After him I fell in with many thieves, plunderers, tyrants. I saw disgraceful drunkards; I saw the blood of the oppressed; I saw women’s beauty, which tortured my chastity. From actual fornication I fled, but I defiled my virginity by the thoughts of my heart. I heard many discourses which were good for the soul, but I could not discover in the case of any one of the teachers that his life was worthy of his words. After this, again, I heard a great number of plays, which were made attractive by wanton songs. Then I heard a lyre sweetly played, the applause of tumblers, the talk of clowns, all kinds of jests and follies and all the noises of a crowd. I saw the tears of the robbed, the agony of the victims of tyranny, the shrieks of the tortured. I looked and lo, there was no spiritual assembly, but only a sea, wind-tossed and agitated, and trying to drown every one at once under its waves. Tell me, O evil thought, tell me, demon of short lived pleasure and vain glory, what is the good of my seeing and hearing all these things, when I am powerless to succor any of those who are thus wronged; when I am allowed neither to defend the helpless nor correct the fallen; when I am perhaps doomed to destroy myself too. For just as a very little fresh water is blown away by a storm of wind and dust, in like manner the good deeds, that we think we do in this life, are overwhelmed by the multitude of evils. Pieces acted for men in this life are driven through joy and merriment, like stakes into their hearts, so that the brightness of their worship is be-dimmed. But the wails

and lamentations of men wronged by their fellows are introduced to make a show of the patience of the poor.

5. What good then do I get except the loss of my soul? For this reason I migrate to the hills like a bird. “I am escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers.” I am living, O evil thought, in the desert in which the Lord lived. Here is the oak of Mature; here is the ladder going up to heaven, and the stronghold of the angels which Jacob saw; here is the wilderness in which the people purified received the law, and so came into the land of promise and saw God. Here is Mount Carmel where Elias sojourned and pleased God. Here is the plain whither Esdras withdrew, and at God’s bidding uttered all the God inspired books. Here is the wilderness in which the blessed John ate locusts and preached repentance to men. Here is the Mount of Olives, whither Christ came and prayed, and taught us to pray. Here is Christ the lover of the wilderness, for He says “Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.” “Here is the strait and narrow way which leadeth unto life.” Here are the teachers and prophets “wandering in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth.” Here are apostles and evangelists and solitaries’ life remote from cities. This I have embraced with all my heart, that I may win what has been promised to Christ’s martyrs and all His other saints, and so I may truly say, “Because of the words of thy lips I have kept hard ways.” I have heard of Abraham, God’s friend, who obeyed the divine voice and went into the wilderness; of Isaac who submitted to authority; of Jacob, the patriarch, who left his home; of Joseph, the chaste, who was sold; of the three children. who learnt how to fast, and fought with the fire; of Daniel thrown twice into the lion’s den; of Jeremiah speaking boldly, and thrown into a pit of mud; of Isaiah, who saw unspeakable things, cut asunder with a saw; of Israel led away captive; of John the rebuker of adultery, beheaded; of Christ’s martyrs slain. But why say more? Here our Savior Himself was crucified for our sakes that by His death He might give us life, and train and attract us all to endurance. To Him I press on, and to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. I strive to be found true, judging myself unworthy of this world’s goods. And yet not I because of the world, but the world because of me. Think of all these things in your heart; follow them with zeal; fight, as you have been commanded, for the truth to the death. For Christ was made “obedient” even “unto death.” The

Apostle says, “Take heed lest there be in any of you an evil heart... in departing from the living God. But exhort one another... (and edify one another) while it is called today.” To-day means the whole time of our life, Thus living, brother, you will save yourself, you will make me glad, and you will glorify God from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

LETTER 43

ADMONITION TO THE YOUNG

O Faithful man of solitary life, and practicer of true religion, learn the lessons of the evangelic conversation, of mastery over the body, of a meek spirit, of purity of mind, of destruction of pride. Pressed into the service, add to your gifts, for the Lord’s sake; robbed, never go to law; hated, love; persecuted, endure; slandered, entreat. Be dead to sin; be crucified to God. Cast all your care upon the Lord, that you may be found where are tens of thousands of angels, assemblies of the first-born, the thrones of prophets, scepters of patriarchs, crowns of martyrs, praises of righteous men. Earnestly desire to be numbered with those righteous men in Christ Jesus our Lord. To Him be glory for ever. Amen.

LETTER 44

TO A LAPSED MONK

1. I Do not wish you joy, for there is no joy for the wicked. Even now I cannot believe it; my heart cannot conceive iniquity so great as the crime which you have committed: if, that is, the truth really is what is generally understood. I am at a loss to think how wisdom so deep can have been made to disappear; how such exact discipline can have been undone; whence blindness so profound can have been shed round you; how with utter inconsiderateness you have wrought such destruction of souls. If this be true, you have given over your own soul to the pit, and have slackened the earnestness of all who have heard of your impiety. You have set at nought the faith; you have missed the glorious fight. I grieve over you. What cleric does not lament as he hears? What ecclesiastic does not beat

the breast? What layman is not downcast? What ascetic is not sad? Haply, even the sun has grown dark at your fall, and the powers of heaven have been shaken at your destruction. Even senseless stones have shed tears at your madness; even your enemies have wept at the greatness of your iniquity. Oh hardness of heart! Oh cruelty! You did not fear God; you did not reverence men; you cared nothing for your friends you made shipwreck of all at once; at once you were stripped of all. Once more I grieve over you, unhappy man. You were proclaiming to all the power of the kingdom, and you fell from it. You were making all stand in fear of your teaching, and there was no fear of God before your eyes. You were preaching purity, and you are found polluted. You were priding yourself on your poverty, and you are convicted of covetousness; you were demonstrating and explaining the chastisement of God, and you yourself brought chastisement on your own head. How am I to lament you, flow grieve for you? How is Lucifer that was rising in the morning fallen and dashed on the ground? Both the ears of every hearer will tingle. How is the Nazarite, brighter than gold, become dark above pitch? How has the glorious son of Sion become an unprofitable vessel! Of him, whose memory of the sacred Scriptures was in all men’s mouths, the memory today has perished with the sound. The man of quick intelligence has quickly perished. The man of manifold wit has wrought manifold iniquity. All who profiled by your teaching have been injured by your fall. All who came to listen to your conversation have stopped their ears at your fall. I, sorrowful and downcast, weakened in every way, eating ashes for breast and with sackcloth on my wound, am thus recounting your praises; or rather, with none to comfort and none to cure, am making an inscription for a tomb. For comfort is hid from my eyes. I have no salve, no oil, no bandage to put on. My wound is sore, how shall I be healed?

2. If you have any hope of salvation; if you have the least thought of God, or any desire for good things to come; if you have any fear of the chastisements reserved for the impenitent, awake without delay, lift up your eyes to heaven, come to your senses, cease from your wickedness, shake off the stupor that enwraps you, make a stand against the foe who has struck you down. Make an effort to rise from the ground. Remember the good Shepherd who will follow and rescue you. Though it be but two legs or a lobe of an ear, spring back from the beast that has wounded you.

Remember the mercies of God and how He cures with oil and wine. Do not despair of salvation. Recall your recollection of how it is written in the Scriptures that he who is filling rises and he who turns away returns; the wounded is healed, the prey of beasts escapes; he who owns his sin is not rejected. The Lord willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn and live. Do not despise, like the wicked in the pit of evil. There is a time of endurance, a time of long suffering, a time of healing, a time of correction. Have you stumbled? Arise. Have you sinned? Cease. Do not stand in the way of sinners, but spring away. When you are converted and groan you shall be saved. Out of labor comes health, out of sweat salvation. Beware lest, from your wish to keep certain obligations, you break the obligations to God which you professed before many witnesses. Pray do not hesitate to come to me for any earthly considerations. When I have recovered my dead I shall lament, I shall tend him, I will weep “because of the spoiling of the daughter of my people.” All are ready to welcome you, all will share your efforts. Do not sink back. Remember the days of old. There is salvation; there is amendment. Be of good cheer; do not despair. It is not a law condemning to death without pity, but mercy remitting punishment and awaiting improvement. The doors are not yet shut; the bridegroom hears; sin is not the master. Make another effort, do not hesitate, have pity on yourself and on all of us in Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom be glory and might now and for ever and ever. Amen.

LETTER 45

TO A LAPSED MONK

1. I Am doubly alarmed to the very bottom of my heart, and you are the cause. I am either the victim of some unkindly prepossession, and so am driven to make an unbrotherly charge; or, with every wish to feel for you, and to deal gently with your troubles, I am forced to take a different and an unfriendly attitude. Wherefore, even as I take my pen to write, I have nerved my unwilling hand by reflection; but my face, downcast as it is, because of my sorrow over you, I have had no power to change. I am so covered with shame, for your sake, that my lips are turned to mourning

and my mouth straightway falls. Ah me! What am I to write? What shall I think in my perplexity?

If I call to mind your former empty mode of life, when you were rolling in riches and had abundance of petty mundane reputation, I shudder; then you were followed by a mob of flatterers, and had the short enjoyment of luxury, with obvious peril and unfair gain on the one hand, fear of the magistrates scattered your care for your salvation, on the other the agitations of public affairs disturbed your home, and the continuance of troubles directed your mind to Him Who is able to help you. Then, little by little, you took to seeking for the Savior, Who brings you fears for your good, Who delivers you and protects you, though you mocked Him in your security. Then you began to train yourself for a change to a worthy life, treating all your perilous property as mere dung, and abandoning the care of your household and the society of your wife. All abroad like a stranger and a vagabond, wandering through town and country, you betook yourself to Jerusalem. There I myself lived with you, and, for the toil of your ascetic discipline, called you blessed, when fasting for weeks you continued in contemplation before God, shunning the society of your fellows, like a routed runaway. Then you arranged for yourself a quiet and solitary life, and refused all the disquiets of society. You pricked your body with rough sackcloth; you tightened a hard belt round your loins; you bravely put wearing pressure on your bones; you made your sides hang loose from front to back, and all hollow with fasting; you would wear no soft bandage, and drawing in your stomach, like a gourd, made it adhere to the parts about your kidneys. You emptied out all fat from your flesh; all the channels below your belly you dried up; your belly itself you folded up for want of food; your ribs, like the caves of a house, you made to overshadow all the parts about your middle, and, with all your body contracted, you spent the long hours of the night in pouring out confession to God, and made your beard wet with channels of tears. Why particularize? Remember how many mouths of saints you saluted with a kiss, how many bodies you embraced, how many held hands as undefiled, how many servants God, as though in worship, ran and clasped you by the knees.

2. And what is the end of all this? My ears are wounded by a charge of adultery, flying swifter than an arrow, and piercing my heart with a

sharper sting. What crafty wiliness of wizard has driven you into so deadly a trap? What many-meshed devil’s nets have entangled you and disabled all the powers of your virtue? What has become of the story of your labors? Or must we disbelieve them? How can we avoid giving credit to what has long been hid when we see what is plain? What shall we say of your having by tremendous oaths bound souls which fled for refuge to God, when what is there than yea and nay is carefully attributed to the devil? You have made yourself security for fatal perjury; and, by setting the ascetic character at nought, you have cast blame even upon the Apostles and the very Lord Himself. You have shamed the boast of purity. You have disgraced the promise of chastity; we have been made a tragedy of captives, and our story is made a play of before Jews and Greeks. You have made a in the solitaries’ spirit, driving those of exacter discipline into fear and cowardice, while they still wonder at the power of the devil, and seducing the careless into imitation of your incontinence. So far as you have been able, you have destroyed the boast of Christ, Who said, “Be of good cheer I have overcome the world,” and its Prince. You have mixed for your country a bowl of ill repute. Verily you have proved the truth of the proverb, “Like a hart stricken through the liver.”

But what now? The tower of strength has not fallen, my brother. The remedies of correction are not mocked; the city of refuge is not shut. Do not abide in the depths of evil. Do not deliver yourself to the slayer of souls. The Lord knows how to set up them that are dashed down. Do not try to flee afar off, but hasten to me. Resume once more the labors of your youth, and by a fresh course of good deeds destroy the indulgence that creeps foully along the ground. Look to the end, that has come so near to our life. See how now the sons of Jews and Greeks are being driven to the worship of God, and do not altogether deny the Savior of the World. Never let that most awful sentence apply to you, “Depart from me, I never knew you.”

LETTER 46

TO A FALLEN VIRGIN

1. NOW is the time to quote the words of the prophet and to say, “Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.” Though they are wrapped in profound silence and lie stunned by their misfortune, robbed of all sense of feeling by the fatal blow, I at all events must not let such a fall go unlamented. If, to Jeremiah, it seemed that those whose bodies had been wounded in war, were worthy of innumerable lamentations, what shall be said of such a disaster of souls? “My slain men,” it is said, “are not slain with the sword, nor dead in battle.” But I am bewailing the sting of the real death, the grievousness of sin and the fiery darts of the wicked one, which have savagely set on fire souls as well as bodies. Truly God’s laws would groan aloud on seeing so great a pollution on the earth. They have pronounced their prohibition of old “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife”; and through the holy gospels they say that “Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already with her in his heart.” Now they see the bride of the Lord herself, whose head is Christ, boldly committing adultery. So too would groan the companies of the Saints. Phinehas, the zealous, because he can now no more take his spear into his hands and avenge the outrage on the bodies; and John the Baptist, because he cannot quit the realms above, as in his life he left the wilderness, to hasten to convict iniquity, and if he must suffer for the deed, rather lose his head than his freedom to speak. But, peradventure, like the blessed Abel, he too though dead yet speaks to us, and now exclaims, more loudly than John of old concerning Herodias. “It is not lawful for thee to have her.” For even if the body of John in obedience to the law of nature has received the sentence of God, and his tongue is silent, yet “the word of God is not bound.” John, when he saw the wedlock of a fellow servant set at nought, was bold to rebuke even to the death: how would he feel on seeing such an outrage wreaked on the marriage chamber of the Lord?

2. You have flung away the yoke of that divine union; you have fled from the undefiled chamber of the true King; you have shamefully fallen into

this disgraceful and impious corruption; and now that you cannot avoid this painful charge, and have no means or device to conceal your trouble, you rush into insolence. The wicked man after falling into a pit of iniquity always begins to despise, and you are denying your actual covenant with the true bridegroom; you say that you are not a virgin, and made no promise, although you have undertaken and publicly professed many pledges of virginity. Remember the good profession which you witnessed before God, angels, and men. Remember the hallowed intercourse, the sacred company of virgins, the assembly of the Lord, the Church of the holy. Remember your grandmother, grown old in Christ, still youthful and vigorous in virtue; and your mother vying with her in the Lord, and striving to break with ordinary life in strange and unwonted toils; remember your sister, who copies their doings, nay, endeavors to surpass them, and goes beyond the good deeds of her fathers in her virgin graces, and earnestly challenges by word and deed you her sister, as she thinks, to like efforts, while she earnestly prays that your virginity be preserved. All these call to mind, and your holy service of God with them, your life spiritual, though in the flesh; your conversation heavenly, though on earth. Remember days of calm, nights lighted up, spiritual songs, sweet music of psalms, saintly prayers, a bed pure and undefiled, procession of virgins, and moderate fare. What has become of your grave appearance, your gracious demeanor, your plain dress, meet for a virgin, the beautiful blush of modesty, the comely and bright pallor due to temperance and vigils, shining fairer than any brilliance of complexion? How often have you not prayed, perhaps with tears, that you might preserve your virginity without spot! How often have you not written to the holy men, imploring them to offer up prayers in your behalf, not that it should be your lot to marry, still less to be involved in this shameful corruption, but that you should not fall away from the Lord Jesus? How often have you received gifts from the Bridegroom? Why enumerate the honors given you for His sake by them that are His? Why tell of your fellowship with virgins, your progress with them, your being greeted by them with praises on account of virginity, eulogies of virgins, letters written as to a virgin? Now, nevertheless, at a little blast from the spirit of the air, “that now worketh in the children of disobedience,” you have abjured all these; you have changed the honorable treasure, worth fighting for at all costs, for

short-lived indulgence which does! for the moment gratify the appetite; one day you will find it more bitter than gall.

3. Who would not grieve over such things and say, “How is the faithful city become an harlot?” How would not the Lord Himself say to some of those who are now walking in the spirit of Jeremiah, “Hast thou seen what the virgin of Israel has done to me?” I betrothed her to me in trust, in purity, in righteousness, in judgment, in pity, and in mercy; as I promised her through Hosea the prophet. But she loved strangers, and while I, her husband. was yet alive, she is called adulteress, and is not afraid to belong to another husband. What then says the conductor of the bride, the divine and blessed Paul, both that one of old, and the later one of today under whose mediation and instruction you left your father’s house and were united to the Lord? Might not either, in sorrow for such a trouble, say, “The thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me.” “I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.” I was indeed ever afraid “lest by any means as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your mind should be corrupted;” wherefore by countless counter-charms I strove to control the agitation of your senses, and by countless safeguards to preserve the bride of the Lord. So I continually set forth the life of the unmarried maid, and described how “the unmarried” alone “careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit.” I used to describe the high dignity of virginity, and, addressing you as a temple of God, used as it were to give wings to your zeal as I strove to lift you to Jesus. Yet through fear of evil I helped you not to fall by the words “if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy.” So by my prayers I tried to make you more secure, if by any means “your body, soul, and spirit might be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.” Yet all my toil on your behalf has been in vain. Bitter to me has been the end of those sweet labors. Now I needs must groan again at that over which I ought to have rejoiced. You have been deceived by the serpent more bitterly than Eve; and not only your mind but also your body has been defiled. Even that last horror has come to pass which I shrink from saying, and yet cannot leave unsaid, for it is as a burning and blazing fire in my bones, and I am undone and cannot endure. You have taken the members of Christ and made them the members of a harlot. This

is an evil with which no other can be matched. This outrage in life is new. “For pass over the Isles of Chittim and see; and send unto Chedar and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing. Hath a nation changed their gods which are yet no gods.” But the virgin has changed her glory, and her glory is in her shame. The heavens are astonished at this, and the earth is horribly afraid, saith the Lord, for the virgin has committed two evils; she has forsaken Me, the true and holy Bridegroom of holy souls, and has betaken herself to an impious and lawless destroyer of body and soul alike. She has revolted from God, her Savior, and yielded her members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity. She forgot me and went after her lover from whom she will get no good.

4. It were better for him that a mill-stone had been hanged about his neck, and that he had been cast into the sea, than that he should have offended the virgin of the Lord. What slave ever reached such a pitch of mad audacity as to fling himself upon his master’s bed? What robber ever attained such a height of folly as to lay hands upon the very offerings of God, not dead vessels, but bodies living and enshrining a soul made after the image of God?

Who was ever known to have the hardihood, in the heart of a city and at high noon, to mark figures of filthy swine upon a royal statue? He who has set at naught a marriage of man, with no mercy shewn him, in the presence of two or three witnesses, dies. Of how much sorer punishment, suppose you, shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and defiled His pledged bride and done despite unto the spirit of virginity? But the woman, he urges, consented, and I did no violence to her against her will. So, that unchaste lady of Egypt raged with love for comely Joseph, but the chaste youth’s virtue was not overcome by the frenzy of the wicked woman, and, even when she laid her hand upon him, he was not forced into iniquity. But still, he urges, this was no new thing in her case; she was no longer a maid; if I had been unwilling, she would have been corrupted by some one else. Yes; and it is written, the Son of Man was ordained to be betrayed, but woe unto that man by whom He was betrayed. It must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom they come.

5. In such a state of things as this, “Shall they fall and not arise? Shall he turn away and not return?” Why did the virgin turn shamefully away, though she bad heard Christ her bridegroom saying through the mouth of Jeremiah, “And I said, after she had done all these things (committed all these fornications, LXX.), turn thou unto me, but she returned not?” “Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?” You might indeed find many remedies for evil in Scripture, many medicines to save from destruction and lead to health; the mysteries of death and resurrection, the sentences of terrible judgment and everlasting punishment; the doctrines of repentance and of remission of sins; all the countless illustrations of conversion, the piece of money, the sheep, the son who wasted his substance with harlots, who was lost and was found, who was dead and alive again. Let us not use these remedies for ill; by these means let us heal our soul. Bethink you of your last day, for you will surely not, unlike all other women, live for ever. The distress, the gasping for breath, the hour of death, the imminent sentence of God, the angels hastening on their way, the soul fearfully dismayed, and lashed to agony by the consciousness of sin, turning itself piteously to things of this life and to the inevitable necessity of that long life to be lived elsewhere. Picture to me, as it rises in your imagination, the conclusion of all human life, when the Son of God shall come in His glory with His angels, “For he shall come and shall not keep silence;” when He shall come to judge the quick and dead, to render to every one according to his work; when that terrible trumpet with its mighty voice shall wake those that have slept through the ages, and they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. Remember the vision of Daniel, and bow he brings the judgment before us: “I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like the pure wool;... and His wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth before Him; thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened,” clearly disclosing in the hearing of all, angels and men, things good and evil, things done openly and in secret, deeds, words, and thoughts all at once. What then must those men be who have lived wicked lives? Where then shall that soul hide which in the sight of all these

spectators shall suddenly be revealed in its fullness of shame? With what kind of body shall it sustain those endless and unbearable pangs in the place of fire unquenched, and of the worm that perishes and never dies, and of depth of Hades, dark and horrible; bitter wailings, loud lamenting, weeping and gnashing of teeth and anguish without end? From all these woes there is no release after death; no device, no means of coming forth from the chastisement of pain.

6. We can escape now. While we can, let us lift ourselves from the fall: let us never despair of ourselves, if only we depart from evil. Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. “O come, let us worship and fall down; let us weep before Him.” The Word Who invited us to repentance calls aloud, “Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” There is, then, a way of salvation, if we will. “Death in his might has swallowed up, but again the Lord hath wiped away tears from off all faces” of them that repent. The Lord is faithful in all His words. He does not lie when He says, “Though your sins be scarlet they shall be as white as snow. Though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool.” The great Physician of souls, Who is the ready liberator, not of you alone, but of all who are enslaved by sin, is ready to heal your sickness. From Him come the words, it was His sweet and saving lips that said, “They that be whole need not a physician but they that are sick.... I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.” What excuse have you, what excuse has any one, when He speaks thus? The Lord wishes to cleanse you from the trouble of your sickness and to show you light after darkness. The good Shepherd, Who left them that had not wandered away, is seeking after you. If you give yourself to Him He will not hold back. He, in His love, will not disdain even to carry you on His own shoulders, rejoicing that He has found His sheep which was lost. The Father stands and awaits your return from your wandering. Only come back, and while you are yet afar off, He will run and fall upon your neck, and, now that you are cleansed by repentance, will enwrap you in embraces of love. He will clothe with the chief robe the soul that has put off the old man with all his works; He will put a ring on hands that have washed off the blood of death, and will put shoes on feet that have turned from the evil way to the path of the Gospel of peace. He will announce the day of joy and gladness to them that are His own, both angels and men, and will celebrate

your salvation far and wide. For “verily I say unto you,” says He, “there is joy in heaven before God over one sinner that repenteth.” If any of those who think they stand find fault because of your quick reception, the good Father will Himself make answer for you in the words, “It was meet that we should make merry and be glad for this” my daughter “was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found.”

LETTER 47

TO GREGORY

“WHO will give me wings like a dove? Or how can my old age be so renewed that I can travel to your affection, satisfy my deep longing to see you, tell you all the troubles of my soul, and get from you some comfort in my affliction? For when the blessed bishop Eusebius fell asleep, we were under no small alarm lest plotters against the Church of our Metropolis, wishful to fill it with their heretical tares, should seize the present opportunity, root out by their wicked teaching the true faith sown by much labor in men’s souls, and destroy its unity. This has been the result of their action in many churches. When however I received the letters of the clergy exhorting me not to let their needs be overlooked at such a crisis, as I ranged my eyes in all directions I bethought me of your loving spirit, your right faith, and your unceasing zeal on behalf of the churches of God. I have therefore sent the well beloved Eustathius, the deacon, to invite your reverence, and implore you to add this one more to all your labors on behalf of the Church. I entreat you also to refresh my old age by a sight of you; and to maintain for the true Church its famous orthodoxy, by uniting with me, if I may be deemed worthy of uniting with you, in the good work, to give it a shepherd in accordance with the will of the Lord, able to guide His people aright. I have before my eyes a man not unknown even to yourself. If only we be found worthy to secure him, I am sure that we shall acquire a confident access to God and confer a very great benefit on the people who have invoked our aid. Now once again, aye, many times I call on you, all hesitation put aside, to come to meet me, and to set out before the difficulties of winter intervene.

LETTER 48

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

I HAVE had considerable difficulty in finding a messenger to convey a letter to your reverence, for our men are so afraid of the winter that they can hardly bear even to put their heads outside their houses. We have suffered from such a very heavy fall of snow that we have been buried, houses and all, beneath it, and now for two months have been living in dens and caves. You know the Cappadocian character and how hard it is to get us to move. Forgive me then for not writing sooner and bringing to the knowledge of your excellency the latest news from Antioch. To tell you all this now, when it is probable that you learnt it long ago, is stale and uninteresting. But as I do not reckon it any trouble to tell you even what you know, I have sent you the letters conveyed by the reader. On this point I shall say no more. Constantinople has now for some time had Demophilus, as the bearers of this letter will themselves tell you, and as has doubtless been reported to your holiness. From all who come to us from that city there is unanimously reported about him a certain counterfeit of orthodoxy and sound religion, to such an extent that even the divided portions of the city have been brought to agreement, and some of the neighboring bishops have accepted the reconciliation. Our men here have not turned out better than I expected. They came directly you were gone, said and did many painful things, and at last went home again, after making their separation from me wider. Whether anything better will happen in the future, and whether they will give up their evil ways, is unknown to all but God. So much for our present condition. The rest of the Church, by God’s grace, stands sound, and prays that in the spring we may have you with us again, and be renewed by your good counsel. My health is no better than it ever is.

LETTER 49

TO ARCADIUS THE BISHOP

I Thanked the Holy God when I read your letter, most pious brother. I pray that I may not be unworthy of the expectations you have formed of me, and that you will enjoy a full reward for the honor which you pay me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I was exceedingly pleased to hear that you have been occupied in a matter eminently becoming a Christian, have raised a house to the glory of God, and have in practical earnest loved, as it is written, “the beauty of the house of the Lord, and have so provided for yourself that heavenly mansion which is prepared in His rest for them that love the Lord. If I am able to find any relics of martyrs, I pray that I may take part in your earnest endeavor. If “the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance,” I shall without doubt have a share in the good fame which the Holy One will give you.

LETTER 50

TO BISHOP INNOCENTIUS

Whom, indeed, could it better befit to encourage the timid, and rouse the slumbering, than you, my godly Lord, who have shewn your general excellence in this, too, that you have consented to come down among us, your lowly inferiors, like a true disciple of Him Who said, “I am among you,” not as a fellow guest, but “as he that serveth.” For you have condescended to minister to us your spiritual gladness, to refresh our souls by your honored letter, and, as it were, to fling the arms of your greatness round the infancy of children. We, therefore, implore your good soul to pray, that we may be worthy to receive aid from the great, such as yourself, and to have a mouth and wisdom wherewith to chime in with the strain of all, who like you are led by the Holy Spirit. Of Him I hear that you are a friend and true worshipper, and I am deeply thankful for your strong and unshaken love to God. I pray that my lot may be found with the true worshippers, among whom we are sure your excellency is to be

ranked, as well as that great and true bishop who has filled all the world with his wonderful work.

LETTER 51

TO BISHOP BOSPORIUS

HOW do you think my heart was pained at hearing of the slanders heaped on me by some of those that feel no fear of the Judge, who “shall destroy them that speak leasing”? I spent nearly the whole night sleepless, thinking of your words of love; so did grief lay hold upon my heart of hearts. For verily, in the words of Solomon, slander humbleth a man. And no man is so void of feeling as not to be touched heart, and bowed down to the ground, if he falls in with lips prone to lying. But we must needs put up with all things and endure all things, after committing our vindication to the Lord. He will not despise us; for “he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker.” They, however, who have patched up this new tragedy of blasphemy seem to have lost all belief in the Lord, Who has declared that we must give account at the day of judgment even for an idle word. And I, tell me, I anathematized the right blessed Dianius? For this is what they have said against me. Where? When? In whose presence? On what pretext? In mere spoken words, or in writing? Following others, or myself the author and originator of the deed? Alas for the impudence of men who make no difficulty at saying anything Alas for their contempt of the judgment of God! Unless, indeed, they add this further to their fiction, that they make me out to have been once upon a time so far out of my mind as not to know what I was saying. For so long as I have been in my senses I know that I never did anything of the kind, or had the least wish to do so. What I am, indeed, conscious of is this; that from my earliest childhood I was brought up in love for him, thought as I gazed at him how venerable he looked, how dignified, how truly reverend. Then when I grew older I began to know him by the good qualities of his soul, and took delight in his society, gradually learning to perceive the simplicity, nobility, and liberality of his character, and all his most distinctive qualities, his gentleness of soul, his mingled magnanimity and meekness, the seemliness of his conduct, his control of temper, the beaming

cheerfulness and affability which he combined with majesty of demeanor. From all this I counted him among men most illustrious for high character.

However, towards the close of his life (I will not conceal the truth) I, together with many of them that in our country feared the Lord, sorrowed over him with sorrow unendurable, because he signed the creed brought from Constantinople by George. Afterwards, full of kindness and gentleness as he was, and willing out of the fullness of his fatherly heart to give satisfaction to everyone, when he had already fallen sick of the disease of which he died, he sent for me, and, calling the Lord to witness, said that in the simplicity of his heart he had agreed to the document sent from Constantinople, but had had no idea of rejecting the creed put forth by the holy Fathers at Nicaea, nor had had any other disposition of heart than from the beginning he had always had. He prayed, moreover, that he might not be cut off from the lot of those blessed three hundred and eighteen bishops who had announced the pious decree to the world. In consequence of this satisfactory statement I dismissed all anxiety and doubt, and, as you are aware, communicated with him, and gave over grieving. Such have been my relations with Dianius. If anyone avers that he is privy to any vile slander on my part against Dianius, do not let him buzz it slave-wise in a corner; let him come boldly out and convict me in the light of day.

LETTER 52

TO THE CANONICOE

1. I HAVE been very much distressed by a painful report which reached my ears; but I have been equally delighted by my brother, beloved of God, bishop Bosporius, who has brought a more satisfactory account of you. He avers by God's grace that all those stories spread abroad about you are inventions of men who are not exactly informed as to the truth about you. He added, moreover, that he found among you impious calumnies about me, of a kind likely to be uttered by those who do not expect to have to give the Judge in the day of His righteous retribution an account of even an idle word. I thank God, then, both because I am cured of my damaging opinion of you, an opinion which I have derived from the calumnies of

men, and because I have heard of your abandonment of those baseless notions about me, on hearing the assurances of my brother. He, in all that he has said as coming from himself, has also completely expressed my own feeling. For in us both there is one mind about the faith, as being heirs of the same Fathers who once at Nicaea promulgated their great decree concerning the faith. Of this, some portions are universally accepted without cavil, but the homoousion, ill received in certain quarters, is still rejected; by some. These objectors we may very properly blame, and yet on the contrary deem them deserving of pardon. To refuse to follow the Fathers, not holding their declaration of more authority than one's own opinion, is conduct worthy of blame, as being brimful of self-sufficiency. On the other hand the fact that they view with suspicion a phrase which is misrepresented by an opposite party does seem to a small extent to relieve them from blame. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the members of the synods which met to discuss the case of Paul of Samosata did find fault with the term as an unfortunate one.

For they maintained that the homoousion set forth the idea both of essence and of what is derived from it, so that the essence, when divided, confers the title of co-essential on the parts into which it is divided. This explanation has some reason in the case of bronze and coins made therefrom, but in the case of God the Father and God the Son there is no question of substance anterior or even underlying both; the mere thought and utterance of such a thing is the last extravagance of impiety. What can be conceived of as anterior to the Unbegotten? By this blasphemy faith in the Father and the Son is destroyed, for things, constituted out of one, have to one another the relation of brothers.

2. Because even at that time there were men who asserted the Son to have been brought into being out of the non-existent, the term homoousion was adopted, to extirpate this impiety. For the conjunction of the Son with the Father is without time and without interval. The preceding words shew this to have been the intended meaning. For after saying that the Son was light of light, and begotten of the substance of the Father, but was not made, they went on to add the homoousion, thereby showing that whatever proportion of light any one would attribute in the case of the Father will obtain also in that of the Son. For very light in relation to very light, according to the actual sense of light, will have no variation. Since

then the Father is light without beginning, and the Son begotten light, but each of Them light and light; they rightly said “of one substance,” in order to set forth the equal dignity of the nature. Things, that have a relation of brotherhood, are not, as some persons have supposed, of one substance; but when both the cause and that which derives its natural existence from the cause are of the same nature, then they are called “of one substance.”

3. This term also corrects the error of Sabellius, for it removes the idea of the identity of the hypostases, and introduces in perfection the idea of the Persons. For nothing can be of one substance with itself, but one thing is of one substance with another. The word has therefore an excellent and orthodox use, defining as it does both the proper character of the hypostases, and setting forth the invariability of the nature. And when we are taught that the Son is of the substance of the Father, begotten and not made, let us not fall into the material sense of the relations. For the substance was not separated from the Father and bestowed on the Son; neither did the substance engender by fluxion, nor yet by shooting forth as plants their fruits. The mode of the divine begetting is ineffable and inconceivable by human thought. It is indeed characteristic of poor and carnal intelligence to compare the things that are eternal with the perishing things of time, and to imagine, that as corporeal things beget, so does God in like manner; it is rather our duty to rise to the truth by arguments of the contrary, and to say, that since thus is the mortal, not thus is He who is immortal. We must neither then deny the divine generation, nor contaminate our intelligence with corporeal senses.

4. The Holy Spirit, too, is numbered with the Father and the Son, because He is above creation, and is ranked as we are taught by the words of the Lord in the Gospel, “Go and baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.” He who, on the contrary, places the Spirit before the Son, or alleges Him to be older than the Father, resists the ordinance of God, and is a stranger to the sound faith, since he fails to preserve the form of doxology which he has received, but adopts some new fangled device in order to be pleasing to men. It is written “The Spirit is of God,” and if He is of God, how can He be older than that of which He is? And what folly is it not, when there is one Unbegotten, to speak of something else as superior to the Unbegotten? He is not even anterior, for nothing intervenes between Son and Father. If, however, He is not of God

but is through Christ, He does not even exist at all. It follows, that this new invention about the order really involves the destruction of the actual existence, and is a denial of the whole faith. It is equally impious to reduce Him to the level of a creature, and to subordinate Him either to Son or to Father, either in time or in rank. These are the points on which I have heard that you are making enquiry. If the Lord grant that we meet I may possibly have more to say on these subjects, and may myself, concerning points which I am investigating, receive satisfactory information from you.

LETTER 53

TO THE CHOREPISCOPI

1. MY soul is deeply pained at the enormity of the matter on which I write, if for this only, that it has caused general suspicion and talk. But so far it has seemed to me incredible. I hope then that what I am writing about it may be taken by the guilty as medicine, by the innocent as a warning, by the indifferent, in which class I trust none of you may be found, as a testimony. And what is it of which I speak? There is a report that some of you take money from candidates for ordination, and excuse it on grounds of religion. This is indeed worse. If any one does evil under the guise of good he deserves double punishment; because he not only does what is in itself not good, but, so to say, makes good an accomplice in the commission of sin. If the allegation be true, let it be so no more. Let a better state of things begin. To the recipient of the bribe it must be said, as was said by the Apostles to him who was willing to give money to buy the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, “Thy money perish with thee. It is a lighter sin to wish in ignorance to buy, than it is to sell, the gift of God. A sale it was; and if you sell what you received as a free gift you will be deprived of the boon, as though you were yourself sold to Satan. You are obtruding the traffic of the huckster into spiritual things and into the Church where we are entrusted with the body and blood of Christ. These things mast not be. And I will mention wherein lies an ingenious contrivance. They think that there is no sin because they take the money not before but after the ordination; but to take is to take at whatever time.

2. I exhort you, then, abandon this gain, or, I would rather says this approach to Hell. Do not, by defiling your hands with such bribes, render yourselves unfit to celebrate holy mysteries. But forgive me. I began by discrediting; and now I am threatening as though I were convinced. If, after this letter of mine, any one do anything of the kind, he will depart from the altars here and will seek a place where he is able to buy and to sell God’s gift. We and the Churches of God have no such custom. One word more, and I have done. These things come of covetousness. Now covetousness is the root of all evil and is called idolatry. Do not then price idols above Christ for the sake of a little money. Do not imitate Judas and once more betray for a bribe Him who was crucified for us. For alike the lands and the hands of all that make such gain shall be called Aceldama.

LETTER 54

TO THE CHOREPISCOPI

I Am much distressed that the canons of the Fathers have fallen through, and that the exact discipline of the Church has been banished from among you. I am apprehensive lest, as this indifference grows, the affairs of the Church should, little by little, fall into confusion According to the ancient custom observed in the Churches of God, ministers in the Church were received after careful examination; the whole of their life was investigated; an enquiry was made as to their being neither railers nor drunkards, not quick to quarrel, keeping their youth in subjection, so as to be able to maintain “the holiness without which no man shall see the Lord.” This examination was made by presbyters and deacons living with them. Then they brought them to the Chorepiscopi; and the Chorepiscopi, after receiving the suffrages of the witnesses as to the truth and giving information to the Bishop, so admitted the minister to the sacerdotal order. Now, however, you have quite passed me over; you have not even had the grace to refer to me, and have transferred the whole authority to yourselves. Furthermore, with complete indifference, you have allowed presbyters and deacons to introduce unworthy persons into the Church, just any one they choose, without any previous examination of life and character, by mere favoritism, on the score of relationship or some other

tie. The consequence is, that in every village, there are reckoned many ministers, but not one single man worthy of the service of the altars. Of this you yourselves supply proof from your difficulty in finding suitable candidates for election. As, then, I perceive that the evil is gradually reaching a point at which it would be incurable, and especially at this moment when a large number of persons are presenting themselves for the ministry through fear of the conscription, I am constrained to have recourse to the restitution of the canons of the Fathers. I thus order you in writing to send me the roll of the ministers in every village, stating by whom each has been introduced, and what is his mode of life. You have the roll in your own keeping, so that your version can be compared with the documents which are in mine, and no one can insert his own name when he likes. So if any have been introduced by presbyters after the first appointment, let them be rejected, and take their place among the laity. Their examination must then be begun by you over again, and, if they prove worthy, let them be received by your decision. Drive out unworthy men from the Church, and so purge it. For the future, test by examination those who are worthy, and then receive them; but do not reckon them of the number before you have reported to me. Otherwise, distinctly understand that he who is admitted to the ministry without my authority will remain a layman.

LETTER 55

TO PAREGORIUS, THE PRESBYTER

I HAVE given patient attention to your letter, and I am astonished that when you are perfectly well able to furnish me with a short and easy defense by taking action at once, you should choose to persist in what is my ground of complaint, and endeavor to cure the incurable by writing a long story about it. I am not the first, Paregorius, nor the only man, to lay down the law that women are not to live with men. Read the canon put forth by our holy Fathers at the Council of Nicaea, which distinctly forbids subintroducts. Unmarried life is honorably distinguished by its being cut off from all female society. If, then, any one, who is known by the outward profession, in reality follows the example of those who live

with wives, it is obvious that he only affects the distinction of virginity in name, and does not hold aloof from unbecoming indulgence. You ought to have been all the more ready to submit yourself without difficulty to my demands, in that you allege that you are free from all bodily appetite. I do not suppose that a man of three score years and ten lives with a woman from any such feelings, and I have not decided, as I have decided, on the ground of any crime having been committed. But we have learnt from the Apostle, not to put a stumbling block or an occasion to fall in a brother’s way;” and I know that what is done very properly by some, naturally becomes to others an occasion for sin. I have therefore given my order, in obedience to the injunction of the holy Fathers, that you are to separate from the woman. Why then, do you find fault with the Chorepiscopus? What is the good of mentioning ancient ill-will? Why do you blame me for lending an easy ear to slander? Why do you not rather lay the blame on yourself, for not consenting to break off your connection with the woman? Expel her from your house, and establish her in a monastery. Let her live with virgins, and do you be served by men, that the name of God be not blasphemed in you. Till you have so done, the innumerable arguments, which you use in your letters, will not do you the slightest service. You will die useless, and you will have to give an account to God for your uselessness. If you persist in clinging to your clerical position without correcting your ways, you will be accursed before all the people, and all, who receive you, will be excommunicate throughout the Church.

LETTER 56.

TO PERGAMIUS

I NATURALLY forget very easily, and I have had lately many things to do, and so my natural infirmity is increased. I have no doubt, therefore, that you have written to me, although I have no recollection of having received any letter from your excellency; for I am sure you would not state what is not the case. But for there having been no reply, it is not I that am in fault; the guilt lies with him who did not ask for one. Now, however, you have this letter, containing my defense for the past and affording ground for a second greeting. So, when you write to me, do not suppose that you are

taking the initiative in another correspondence. You are only discharging your proper obligation in this. For really, although this letter of mine is a return for a previous one of yours, as it is more than twice as bulky, it will fulfill a double purpose. You see to what sophisms my idleness drives me. But, my dear Sir, do not in a few words bring serious charges, indeed the most serious of all. Forgetfulness of one's friends, and neglect of them arising from high place, are faults which involve every kind of wrong. Do we fail to love according to the commandment of the Lord? Then we lose the distinctive mark imprinted on us. Are we puffed to repletion with empty pride and arrogance? Then we fall into the inevitable condemnation of the devil. If, then, you use these words because you held such sentiments about me, pray that I may flee from the wickedness which you have found in my ways; if, however, your tongue shaped itself to these words, in a kind of inconsiderate conventionality, I shall console myself, and ask you to be good enough to adduce some tangible proof of your allegations. Be well assured of this, that my present anxiety is an occasion to me of humility. I shall begin to forget you, when I cease to know myself. Never, then, think that because a man is a very busy man he is a man of faulty character.

LETTER 57.

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

If your holiness only knew the greatness of the happiness you cause me whenever you write to me, I know that you would never have let slip any opportunity of sending me a letter; nay, you would have written me many letters on each occasion, knowing the reward that is kept in store by our loving Lord for the consolation of the afflicted. Everything here is still in a very painful condition, and the thought of your holiness is the only tiring that recalls me from my own troubles; a thought made more distinct to me by my communication with you through that letter of yours which is so full of wisdom and grace. When, therefore, I take your letter into my hand, first of all, I look at its size, and I love it all the more for being so big; then, as I read it, I rejoice over every word I find in it; as I draw near the end I begin to feel sad; so good is every word that I read, in what you write. The

overflowing of a good heart is good. Should I, however, be permitted, in answer to your prayers, while I live on this earth, to meet you face to face, and to enjoy the profitable instruction of your living voice, or any aids to help me in the life that now is, or that which is to come, I should count this indeed the best of blessings, a prelude to the mercy of God. I should, ere now, have adhered to this intention, had I not been prevented by true and loving brothers. I have told my brother Theophrastus to make a detailed report to you of matters, as to which I do not commit my intentions to writing.

LETTER 58.

TO GREGORY MY BROTHER

HOW am I to dispute with you in writing? How can I lay hold of you satisfactorily, with all your simplicity? Tell me; who ever fails a third time into the same nets? Who ever gets a third time into the same snare? Even a brute beast would find it difficult to do so. You forged one letter, and brought it me as though it came from our right reverend uncle the bishop, trying to deceive me, I have no idea why. I received it as a letter written by the bishop and delivered by you. Why should I not? I was delighted; I shewed it to many of my friends; I thanked God. The forgery was found out, on the bishop’s repudiating it in person. I was thoroughly ashamed; covered as I was with the disgrace of cunning trickery and lies, I prayed that the earth might open for me. Then they gave me a second letter, as sent by the bishop himself by the hands of your servant Asterius. Even this second had not really been sent by the bishop, as my very reverend brother Anthimus has told me. Now Adamantius has come bringing me a third. How ought I to receive a letter carried by you or yours? I might have prayed to have a heart of stone, so as neither to remember the past, nor to feel the present; so as to bear every blow, like cattle, with bowed head. But what am I to think, now that, after my first and second experience, I can admit nothing without positive proof? Thus I write attacking your simplicity, which I see plainly to be neither what generally becomes a Christian man, nor is appropriate to the present emergency; I write that, at least for the future, you may take care of yourself and spare me. I must

speak to you with all freedom, and I tell you that you are an unworthy minister of things so great. However, whoever be the writer of the letter, I have answered as is fit Whether, then, you yourself are experimenting on me, or whether really the letter which you have sent is one which you have received from the bishops, you have my answer. At such a time as this you ought to have borne in mind that you are my brother, and have not yet forgotten the ties of nature, and do not regard me in the light of an enemy, for I have entered on a life which is wearing out my strength, and is so far beyond my powers that it is injuring even my soul. Yet for all this, as you have determined to declare war against me, you ought to have come to me and shared my troubles. For it is said, “Brethren and help are against time of trouble.” If the right reverend bishops are really willing to meet me, let them make known to me a place and time, and let them invite me by their own men. I do not refuse to meet my own uncle, but I shall not do so unless the invitation reaches me in due and proper form.

LETTER 59.

TO GREGORY, HIS UNCLE

1. “I Have long time holden my peace. Am I to hold my peace for ever? Shall I still further endure to enforce against myself the hardest punishment of silence, by neither writing myself, nor receiving any statement from another? By holding fast to this stern determination up to the present time I am able to apply to myself the prophet’s words, “I endure patiently like travailing woman.” Yet I am ever longing for communication either in person or by letter, and ever, for my own sins’ sake, missing it. For I cannot imagine any reason for what is happening, other than what I am convinced is the true one, that by being cut off from your love I am expiating old sins; if indeed I am not wrong in using such a phrase as “cut off” in your case, from any one, much less from me, to whom you have always been as a father. Now my sin, like some dense cloud overshadowing me, has made me forget all this. When I reflect that the only result to me of what is going on is sorrow, how can I attribute it to anything but to my own wickedness? But if events are to be traced to sins, be this the end of my troubles; if there was any intended discipline in

it, then your object has been very completely attained, for the punishment has been going on for a long time; so I groan no longer, but am the first to break silence, and beseech you to remember both me and yourself who, to a greater degree than our relationship might have demanded, have shewn me strong affection all my life. Now, I implore you, show kindness to the city for my sake. Do not on my account alienate yourself from it.

2. If, then, there is any consolation in Christ, any fellowship of the Spirit, any mercy and pity, fulfill my prayer. Put a stop to my depression. Let there be a beginning of brighter things for the future. Be yourself a leader to others in the road to all that is best, and follow no one else in the way to what is wrong. Never was any feature so characteristic of any one's body as gentleness and peace are of your soul. It were well becoming such a one as you are to draw all others to yourself, and to cause all who come near you to be permeated with the goodness of your nature, as with the fragrance of myrrh. For though there be a certain amount of opposition now, nevertheless ere long there will be a recognition of the blessings of peace. So long, however, as room is found for the calumnies that are bred of dissension, suspicion is sure to grow from worse to worse. It is most certainly unbecoming for the rest to take no notice of me, but it is especially unbecoming in your excellency. If I am wrong I shall be all the better for being rebuked. This is impossible if we never meet. But, if I am doing no wrong, for what am I disliked? So much I offer in my own defense.

3. As to what the Churches might say in their own behalf, perhaps it is better for me to be silent: they reap the result of our disagreement, and it is not to their gain. I am not speaking to indulge my grief but to put a stop to it. And your intelligence, I am sure, has suffered nothing to escape you. You will yourself be better able to discern and to tell to others points of far greater importance than I can conceive. You saw the mischief done to the Churches before I did; and you are grieving more than I am, for you have long learnt from the Lord not to despise even the least. And now the mischief is not confined to one or two, but whole cities and peoples are sharers in my calamities. What need to tell what kind of report will spread about me even beyond our borders? It were well for you, large hearted as you are, to leave the love of strife to others; nay rather, if it be possible, to root it from their hearts, while you yourself vanquish what is grievous by

endurance. Any angry man can defend himself, but to rise above the actual anger belongs only to you, and any one as good as you, if such there be. One thing I will not say, that he who has a grudge against me is letting his anger fall on the innocent. Do then comfort my soul by coming to me, or by a letter, or by inviting me to come to you, or by some means or other. My prayer is that your piety may be seen in the Church and that you may heal at once me and the people, both by the sight of you and by the words of your good grace. If this be possible it is best; if you determine on any other course I shall willingly accept it. Only accede to my entreaty that you will give me distinct information as to what your wisdom decides.

LETTER 60.

TO GREGORY HIS UNCLE

FORMERLY I was glad to see my brother. Why not, since he is my brother and such a brother? Now I have received him on his coming to visit me with the same feelings, and have lost none of my affection. God forbid that I should ever so feel as to forget the ties of nature and be at war with those who are near and dear to me. I have found his presence a comfort in my bodily sickness and the other troubles of my soul, and I have been especially delighted at the letter which he has brought me from your excellency. For a long time I have been hoping that it would come, for this only reason, that I need not add to my life any doleful episode of quarrel between kith and kin, sure to give pleasure to foes and sorrow to friends, and to be displeasing to God, Who has laid down perfect love as the distinctive characteristic of His disciples. So I reply, as I am indeed bound, with an earnest request for your prayers for me, and your care for me in all things, as your relative. Since I, from want of information, cannot clearly understand the meaning of what is going on, I have judged it right to accept the truth of the account which you are so good as to give me. It is for you of your wisdom to settle the rest, our meeting with one another, the fitting time and a convenient place. If your reverence really does not disdain to come down to my lowliness and to have speech with me, whether you wish the interview to take place in the presence of others or in private, I

shall make no objection, for I have once for all made up my mind to submit to you in love, and to carry out, without exception, what your reverence enjoins on me for the glory of God.

I have not laid my reverend brother under the necessity of reporting anything to you by word of mouth, because on the former occasion what he said was not borne out by facts.

LETTER 61.

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

I HAVE read the letter of your holiness, in which you have expressed your distress at the unhappy governor of Libya. I am grieved that my own country should have given birth to and nurtured such vices. I am grieved too that Libya, a neighboring country, should suffer from our evils, and should have been delivered to the inhumanity of a man whose life is marked at once by cruelty and crime. This however is only in accordance with the wisdom of the Preacher, “Woe to thee O land when thy King is a child;” (a still further touch of trouble) and whose “ Princes” do not “eat” after night but revel at mid-day, raging after other men’s wives with less understanding than brute beasts. This man must surely look for the scourges of the righteous Judge, repaid him in exact requital for those which he himself has previously inflicted on the saints. Notice has been given to my Church in accordance with the letter of your reverence, and he shall be held by all as abominable, cut off from fire, water and shelter, if indeed in the case of men so possessed there is any use in general and unanimous condemnation. Notoriety is enough for him, and your own letter, which has been read in all directions, for I shall not fail to show it to all his friends and relatives. Assuredly, even if retribution does not reach him at once, as it did Pharaoh, certainly it will bring on him hereafter a heavy and hard requital.

LETTER 62.

TO THE CHURCH OF PARNASSUS

FOLLOWING an ancient custom, which has obtained for many years, and at the same time shewing you love in God, which is the fruit of the Spirit, I now, my pious friends, address this letter to you. I feel with you at once in your grief at the event which has befallen you, and in your anxiety at the matter which you have in hand. Concerning all these troubles I can only say, that an occasion is given us to look to the injunctions of the Apostle, and not to sorrow "even as others which have no hope." I do not mean that we should be insensible to the loss we have suffered, but that we should not succumb to our sorrow, while we count the Pastor happy in his end. He has died in a ripe old age, and has found his rest in the great honor given him by his Lord.

As to the future I have this recommendation to give you. You must now lay aside all mourning; you must come to yourselves you must rise to the necessary management of the Church; to the end that the holy God may give heed to His own little flock, and may grant you a shepherd in accordance with His own will, who may wisely feed you.

LETTER 63.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEOCOESAREA

THE wise man, even if he dwells far away, even if I never set eyes on him, I count a friend. So says the tragedian Euripides. And so, if, though I have never had the pleasure of meeting your excellency in person, I speak of myself as a familiar friend, pray do not set this down to mere empty compliment. Common report, which loudly proclaims your universal benevolence, is, in this instance, the promoter of friendship. Indeed since I met the highly respectable Elpidius, I have known you as well, and I have been as completely captured by you, as though I had long lived with you and had practical experience of your excellent qualities. For he did not cease telling me about you, mentioning one by one your magnanimity,

your exalted sentiments, your mild manners, your skill in business, intelligence, dignity tempered by cheerfulness, and eloquence. All the other points that he enumerated in his long conversation with me it is impossible for me to write to you, without extending my letter beyond all reasonable bounds. How can I fail to love such a man? How could I put such restraint upon myself as not loudly to proclaim what I feel? Accept then, most excellent Sir, the greeting which I send you, for it is inspired by true and unfeigned friendship. I abhor all servile compliment. Pray keep me enrolled in the list of your friends, and, by frequently writing to me, bring yourself before me and comfort me in your absence.

LETTER 64.

TO HESYCHIUS

FROM the beginning I have had many points in common with your excellency, your love of letters, everywhere reported by all who have experienced it, and our old friendship with the admirable Terentius. But since that most excellent man, who is to me all that friendship could require, my worthy brother Elpidius, has met me, and told me all your good qualities, (and who more capable than he at once to perceive a man’s virtue and to describe it?) he has kin-died in me such a desire to see you, that I pray that you may one day visit me in my old home, that I may enjoy your good qualities, not merely by hearing of them, but by actual experience.

LETTER 65.

TO ATARBIUS

IF I continue to insist on the privileges to which my superior age entitles me, and wait for you to take the initiative in communication, and if you, my friend, wish to adhere more persistently to your evil counsel of inaction, what end will there be to our silence? However, where friendship is involved, to be defeated is in my opinion to win, and so I am quite ready to gave you precedence, and retire from the contest as to which should

maintain his own opinion. I have been the first to betake myself to writing, because I know that “charity beareth all things... endureth all things... seeketh not her own” and so “never faileth.” He who subjects himself to his neighbor in love can never be humiliated. I do beg you, then, at all events for the future, show the first and greatest fruit of the Spirit, Love; away with the angry man’s sullenness which you are showing me by your silence, and recover joy in your heart, peace with the brothers who are of one mind with you, and zeal and anxiety for the continued safety of the Churches of the, Lord. If I were not to make as strenuous efforts on behalf of the Churches as the opponents of sound doctrine make to subvert and utterly destroy them, you may be quite sure that there is nothing to prevent the truth from being swept away and destroyed by its enemies, and my being involved in the condemnation, for not shewing all possible anxiety for the unity of the Churches, with all zeal and eagerness in mutual unanimity and godly agreement. I exhort you then, drive out of your mind the idea that you need communion with no one else. To cut one’s self off from connection with the brethren is not the mark of one who is walking by love, nor yet the fulfilling of the commandment of Christ. At the same time I do wish you, with all your good intentions, to take into account that the calamities of the war which are now all round about us may one day be at our own doors, and if we too, like all the rest, have our share of outrage, we shall not find any even to sympathize with us, because in the hour of our prosperity we refused to give our share of sympathy to the wronged.

LETTER 66

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

NO one. I feel sure, is more distressed at the present condition, or, rather to speak more truly, ill condition of the Churches than your excellency; for you compare the present with the past, and take into account how great a change has come about. You are well aware that if no check is put to the swift deterioration which we are witnessing, there will soon be nothing to prevent the complete transformation of the Churches. And if the decay of the Churches seems so pitiful to me, what must — so I have often in my lonely musings reflected — be the feelings of one who has known, by

experience, the old tranquillity of the Churches of the Lord, and their one mind about the faith? But as your excellency feels most deeply this distress, it seems to me only becoming that your wisdom should be more strongly moved to interest itself in the Church's behalf. I for my part have long been aware, so far as my moderate intelligence has been able to judge of current events, that the one way of safety for the Churches of the East lies in their having the sympathy of the bishops of the West. For if only those bishops liked to show the same energy on behalf of the Christians sojourning in our part of the world which they have shewn in the case of one or two of the men convicted of breaches of orthodoxy in the West, our common interests would probably reap no small benefit, our sovereigns I treating the authority of the people with respect, and the laity in all quarters unhesitatingly following them. Bat, to carry out these objects, who has more capacity than yourself, with your intelligence and prudence? Who is keener to see the needful course to be taken? Who has more practical experience in working a profitable policy? Who feels more deeply the troubles of the brethren? What through all the West is more honored than your venerable gray hairs? O most honored father, leave behind you some memorial worthy of your life and character. By this one act crown your innumerable efforts on behalf of true religion. Despatch from the holy Church placed under your care men of ability in sound doctrine to the bishops in the West. Recount to them the troubles whereby we are beset. Suggest some mode of relief. Be a Samuel to the Churches. Share the grief of the beleaguered people. Offer prayers for peace. Ask favor from the Lord, that He will send some memorial of peace to the Churches. I know how weak letters are to move men in matters of such importance; but you yourself no more need exhortation from others than the noblest athletes need the children's cheers. It is not as though I were instructing one in ignorance; I am only giving a new impulse to one whose energies are already roused. For the rest of the affairs of the East perhaps you may need the aid of more, and we must wait for the Westerns. But plainly the discipline of the Church of Antioch depends upon your reverence's being able to control some, to reduce others to silence, and to restore strength to the Church by concord. No one knows better than you do, that, like all wise physicians, you ought to begin your treatment in the most vital parts, and what part is more vital to the Churches throughout the world than Antioch? Only let Antioch be

restored to harmony, and nothing will stand in the way of her supplying, as a healthy head, soundness to all the body. Truly the diseases of that city, which has not only been cut asunder by heretics, but is torn in pieces by men who say that they are of one mind with one another, stand in need of your wisdom and evangelic sympathy. To unite the sundered parts again, and bring about the harmony of one body, belongs to Him alone Who by His ineffable power grants even to the dry bones to come back again to sinews and flesh. But the Lord always works His mighty works by means of them that are worthy of Him. Once again, in this case too, we trust that the ministry of matters so important may beseem your excellency, with the result that you will lay the tempest of the people, do away with the party superiorities, and subject all to one another in love, and give back to the Church her ancient strength.

LETTER 67

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

In my former letter it seemed to me sufficient to point out to your excellency, that all that portion of the people of the holy Church of Antioch who are sound in the faith, ought to be brought to concord and unity. My object was to make it plain that the sections, now divided into several parts, ought to be united under the God-beloved bishop Meletius. Now the same beloved deacon, Dorotheus, has requested a more distinct statement on these subjects, and I am therefore constrained to point out that it is the prayer of the whole East, and the earnest desire of one who, like myself, is so wholly united to him, to see him in authority over the Churches of the Lord. He is a man of unimpeachable faith; his manner of life is incomparably excellent, he stands at the head, so to say, of the whole body of the Church, and all else are mere disjointed members. On every ground, then, it is necessary as well as advantageous, that the rest should be united with him, just as smaller streams with great ones. About the rest, however, a certain amount of management is needed, befitting their position, and likely to pacify the people. This is in keeping with your own wisdom, and with your famous readiness and energy. It has however by no means escaped your intelligence, that this same course of

procedure has already recommended itself to the Westerns who are in agreement with you, as I learn from the letters brought to me by the blessed Silvanus.

LETTER 68

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

I WISHED to detain the reverend brother Dorotheus, the deacon, so long at my side, with the object of keeping him until the end of the negotiations, and so by him acquainting your excellency with every detail. But day after day went by; the delay was becoming protracted; now, the moment that some plan, so far as is possible in my difficulties, has occurred to me concerning the course to be taken, I send him to approach your holiness, to make a personal report to you on all the circumstances, and show you my memorandum, to the end that, if what has occurred to me seems to you to be likely to be of service, your excellency may urge on its accomplishment. To be brief, the opinion has prevailed that it is best for this our brother Dorotheus to travel to Rome, to move some of the Italians to undertake a voyage by sea to visit us, that they may avoid all who would put difficulties in their way. My reason for this course is that I see that those, who are all powerful with the Emperor, are neither willing nor able to make any suggestion to him about the exiled, but only count it so much to the good that they see no worse thing befalling the Churches. If, then, my plan seems good also to your prudence, you will be good enough both to indite letters and dictate memoranda as to the points on which he must enlarge, and as to whom he had better address himself. And so that your despatches may have weight and authority, you will add all those who share your sentiments, even though they are not on the spot. Here all is uncertain; Euippius has arrived, but so far has made no sign. However, he and those who think with him from the Armenian Tetrapolis and Cilicia are threatening a tumultuous meeting.

LETTER 69

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

1. As time moves on, it continually confirms the opinion which I have long held of your holiness; or rather that opinion is strengthened by the daily course of events. Most men are indeed satisfied with observing, each one, what lies especially within his own province; not thus is it with you, but your anxiety for all the Churches is no less than that which you feel for the Church that has been especially entrusted to you by our common Lord; inasmuch as you leave no interval in speaking, exhorting, writing, and despatching emissaries, who from time to time give the best advice in each emergency as it arises. Now, from the sacred ranks of your clergy, you have sent forth the venerable brother Peter, whom I have welcomed with great joy. I have also approved of the good object of his journey, which he manifests in accordance with the commands of your excellency, in effecting reconciliation where be finds opposition, and bringing about union instead of division. With the object of offering some contribution to the action which is being taken in this matter, I have thought that I could not make a more fitting beginning than by having recourse to your excellency, as to the head and chief of all, and treating you as alike adviser and commander in the enterprise. I have therefore determined to send to your reverence our brother Dorotheus the deacon, of the Church under the right honorable bishop Meletius, being one who at once is an energetic supporter of the orthodox faith, and is earnestly desirous of seeing the peace of the Churches. The results, I hope, will be, that, following your suggestions (which you are able to make with the less likelihood of failure, both from your age and your experience in affairs, and because you have a greater measure than all others of the aid of the Spirit), he may thus attempt the achievement of our objects. You will welcome him, I am Sure, and will look upon him with friendly eyes. You will strengthen him by the help of your prayers; you will give him a letter as provision by the way; you will grant him, as companions, some of the good men and true that you have about you; so you will speed him on the road to what is before him. It has seemed to me to be desirable to send a letter to the bishop of Rome, begging him to examine our condition, and since there are difficulties in the way of representatives being sent from the West by a general

synodical decree, to advise him to exercise his own personal authority in the matter by choosing suitable persons to sustain the labors of a journey, — suitable, too, by gentleness and firmness of character, to correct the unruly among us here; able to speak with proper reserve and appropriateness, and thoroughly well acquainted with all that has been effected after Ariminum to undo the violent measures adopted there. I should advise that, without any one knowing anything about it, they should travel hither, attracting as little attention as possible, by the sea, with the object of escaping the notice of the enemies of peace.

2. A point also that is insisted upon by some of those in these parts, very necessarily, as is plain even to myself, is that they should drive away the heresy of Marcellus, as grievous and injurious and opposed to the sound faith. For up to this time, in all the letters which they write, they are constant in thoroughly anathematizing the ill-famed Arius and in repudiating him from the Churches. But they attach no blame to Marcellus, who propounded a heresy diametrically opposite to that of Arius, and impiously attacked the very existence of the Only begotten Godhead, and erroneously understood the term “Word.” He grants indeed that the Only begotten was called “Word,” on coming forth at need and in season, but states that He returned again to Him whence He had come forth, and had no existence before His coming forth, nor hypostasis after His return. The books in my possession which contain his unrighteous writings exist as a proof of what I say. Nevertheless they nowhere openly condemned him, and are to this extent culpable that, being from the first in ignorance of the truth, they received him into the communion of the Church. The present state of affairs makes it specially necessary that attention should be called to him, so that those who seek for their opportunity, may be prevented from getting it, from the fact of sound men being united to your holiness, and all who are lame in the true faith may be openly known; that so we may know who are on our side, and may not struggle, as in a night battle, without being able to distinguish between friends and foes. Only I do beseech you that the deacon, whom I have mentioned, be despatched by the earliest possible packet, that at least some of the ends which we pray for may be accomplished during the ensuing year. One thing, however, even before I mention it, you quite understand and I am sure will give heed to, that, when they come, if God

will, they must not let loose schisms among the Churches; and, even though they find some who have personal reasons for mutual differences, they must leave no means untried to unite all who are of the same way of thinking. For we are bound to regard the interests of peace as paramount, and that first of all attention be paid to the Church at Antioch, lest the sound portion of it grow diseased through division on personal grounds. But you will yourself give more complete attention to all these matters, so soon as, by the blessing of God, you find every one entrusting to you the responsibility of securing the peace of the Church.

LETTER 70

WITHOUT ADDRESS

TO renew laws of ancient love, and once again to restore to vigorous life that heavenly and saving gift of Christ which in course of time has withered away, the peace, I mean, of the Fathers, is a labor necessary indeed and profitable to me, but pleasant too, as I am sure it will seem to your Christ-loving disposition. For what could be more delightful than to behold all, who are separated by distances so vast, bound together by the union effected by love into one harmony of members in Christ's body? Nearly all the East (I include under this name all the regions from Illyricum to Egypt) is being agitated, right honorable father, by a terrible storm and tempest. The old heresy, sown by Arius the enemy of the truth, has now boldly and unblushingly reappeared. Like some sour root, it is producing its deadly fruit and is prevailing. The reason of this is, that in every district the champions of right doctrine have been exiled from their Churches by calumny and outrage, and the control of affairs has been handed over to men who are leading captive the souls of the simpler brethren. I have looked upon the visit of your mercifulness as the only possible solution of our difficulties. Ever in the past I have been consoled by your extraordinary affection; and for a short time my heart was cheered by the gratifying report that we shall be visited by you. But, as I was disappointed, I have been constrained to beseech you by letter to be moved to help us, and to send some of those, who are like minded with us, either to conciliate the dissentient and bring back the Churches of God into

friendly union, or at all events to make you see more plainly who are responsible for the unsettled state in which we are, that it may be obvious to you for the future with whom it befits you to be in communion. In this I am by no means making any novel request, but am only asking what has been customary in the case of men who, before our own day, were blessed and dear to God, and conspicuously in your own case. For I well remember learning from the answers made by our fathers when asked, and from documents still preserved among us, that the illustrious and blessed bishop Dionysius, conspicuous in your see as well for soundness of faith as for all other virtues, visited by letter my Church of Caesarea, and by letter exhorted our fathers, and sent men to ransom our brethren from captivity. But now our condition is yet more painful and gloomy and needs more careful treatment. We are lamenting no mere overthrow of earthly buildings, but the capture of Churches; what we see before us is no mere bodily slavery, but a carrying away of souls into captivity, perpetrated day by day by the champions of heresy. Should you not, even now, be moved to succor us, ere long all will have fallen trader the dominion of the heresy, and you will find none left to whom you may hold out your hand.

LETTER 71

BASIL TO GREGORY

1. I Have received the letter of your holiness, by the most reverend brother Helenius. and what you have intimated he has told me in plain terms. How I felt on hearing it, you cannot doubt at all. However, since I have determined that my affection for you shall outweigh my pain, whatever it is, I have accepted it as I ought to do, and I pray the holy God, that my remaining days or hours may be as carefully conducted in their disposition towards you as they have been in past time, during which, my conscience tells me, I have been wanting to you in nothing small or great. [But that the man who boasts that he is now just beginning to take a look at the life of Christians, and thinks he will get some credit by having something to do with me, should invent what he has not heard, and narrate what he has never experienced, is not at all surprising. What is surprising

and extraordinary is that he has got my best friends among the brethren at Nazianzus to listen to him; and not only to listen to him, but as it seems, to take in what he says. On most grounds it might be surprising that the slanderer is of such a character, and that I am the victim, but these troublous times have taught us to bear everything with patience. Slights greater than this have, for my sins, long been things of common occurrence with me. I have never yet given this man's brethren any evidence of my sentiments' about God, and I have no answer to make now. Men who are not convinced by long experience are not likely to be convinced by a short letter. If the former is enough let the charges of the slanderers be counted as idle tales. But if I give license to unbridled mouths, and uninstructed hearts, to talk about whom they will, all the while keeping my ears ready to listen, I shall not be alone in hearing what is said by other people; they will have to hear what I have to say.]

2. I know what has led to all this, and have urged every topic to hinder it; but now I am sick of the subject, and will say no more about it, I mean our little intercourse. For had we kept our old promise to each other, and had due regard to the claims which the Churches have on us, we should have been the greater part of the year together; and then there would have been no opening for these calumniators. Pray have nothing to say to them; let me persuade you to come here and assist me in my labors, particularly in my contest with the individual who is now assailing me. Your very appearance will have the effect of stopping him; directly you show these disturbers of our home that you will, by God's blessing, place yourself at the head of our party, you will break up their cabal, and you will shut every unjust mouth that speaketh unrighteousness against God. And thus facts will show who are your followers in good, and who are the halters and cowardly betrayers of the word of truth. If, however, the Church be betrayed, why then I shall care little to set men right about myself, by means of words, who account of me as men would naturally account who have not yet learned to measure themselves. Perhaps, in a short time, by God's grace, I shall be able to refute their slanders by very deed, for it seems likely that I shall have soon to suffer somewhat for the truth's sake more than usual; the best I can expect is banishment, or, if this hope fails, after all Christ's judgment-seat is not far distant. [If then you ask for a meeting for the Churches' sake, I am ready to betake myself whithersoever

you invite me. But if it is only a question of refuting these slanders, I really have no time to reply to them.]

LETTER 72

TO HESYCHIUS

I KNOW your affection for me, and your zeal for all that is good. I am exceedingly anxious to pacify my very dear son Callisthenes, and I thought that if I could associate you with me in this I might more easily achieve my object. Callisthenes is very much annoyed at the conduct of Eustochius, and he has very good ground for being so. He charges the household of Eustochius with impudence and violence against himself. I am begging him to be propitiated, satisfied with the fright which he has given the impudent fellows and their master, and to forgive, and end the quarrel. Thus two results will follow; he will win the respect of men, and praise with God, if only he will combine forbearance with threats. If you have any friendship and intimacy with him, pray ask this favor of him, and, if you know any in the town likely robe able to; move him, get them to act with you, and tell them that it will be specially gratifying to me. Send back the deacon so soon as his commission is performed. After men have fled for refuge to me, I should be ashamed not to be able to be of any use to them.

LETTER 73

TO CALLISTHENES

1. WHEN I had read your letter I thanked God; first, that I been greeted by a man desirous of doing me honor, for truly I highly estimate any intercourse with persons of high merit; secondly, with pleasure at the thought of being remembered. For a letter is a sign of remembrance; and when I had received yours and learnt its contents I was astonished to find how, as all were agreed, it paid me the respect due to a father from a son. That a man in the heat of anger and indignation, eager to punish those who had annoyed him, should drop more than half his vehemence and give me

authority to decide the matter, caused me to feel such joy as I might over a son in the spirit. In return, what remains for me but to pray for all blessings for you? May you be a delight to your friends, a terror to your foes, an object of respect to all, to the end that any who fall short in their duty to you may, when they learn how gentle you are, only blame themselves for having wronged one of such a character as yourself!

2. I should be very glad to know the object which your goodness has in view, in ordering the servants to be conveyed to the spot where they were guilty of their disorderly conduct. If you come yourself, and exact in person the punishment due for the offense, the slaves shall be there. What other course is possible if you have made up your mind? Only that I do not know what further favor I shall have received, if I shall have failed to get the boys off their punishment. But if business detain you on the way, who is to receive the fellows there? Who is to punish them in your stead? But if you have made up your mind to meet them yourself, and this is quite determined on, tell them to halt at Sasima, and there show the extent of your gentleness and magnanimity. After having your assailants in your own power, and so showing them that your dignity is not to be lightly esteemed, let them go scot free, as I urged you in my former letter. So you will confer a favor on me, and will receive the requital of your good deed from God.

3. I speak in this way, not because the business ought so to be ended, but as a concession to your agitated feelings, and in fear lest somewhat of your wrath may remain still raw. When a man’s eyes are inflamed the softest application seems painful, and I am afraid lest what I say may rather irritate than calm you. What would really be most becoming, bringing great credit to you, and no little cause of honor to me with my friends and contemporaries. would be for you to leave the punishment to me. And although you have sworn to deliver them to execution as the law enjoins, my rebuke is still of no less value as a punishment, nor is the divine law of less account than the laws current in the world. But it will be possible for them, by being punished here by our laws, wherein too lies your own hope of salvation, both to release you from your oath and to undergo a penalty commensurate with their faults.

But once more I am making my letter too long. In the very earnest desire to persuade you I cannot bear to leave unsaid any of the pleas which occur to me, and I am much afraid lest my entreaty should prove ineffectual from my failing to say all that may convey my meaning. Now, true and honored son of the Church, confirm the hopes which I have of you; prove true all the testimony unanimously given to your placability and gentleness. Give orders to the soldier to leave me without delay; he is now as tiresome and rude as he can well be; he evidently prefers giving no cause of annoyance to you to making all of us here his close friends.

LETTER 74

TO MARTINIANUS

1. HOW high do you suppose one to prize the pleasure of our meeting one another once again? How delightful to spend longer time with you so as to enjoy all your good qualities! If powerful proof is given of culture in seeing many men's cities and knowing many men's ways, such I am sure is quickly given in your society. For what is the difference between seeing many men singly or one who has gained experience of all together? I should say that there is an immense superiority in that which gives us the knowledge of good and beautiful things without trouble, and puts within our reach instruction in virtue, pure from all admixture of evil, Is there question of noble deed; of words worth handing down; of institutions of men of superhuman excellence? All are treasured in the store house of your mind. Not then, would I pray, that I might listen to you, like Alcinous to Ulysses, only for a year, but throughout all my life; and to this end I would pray that my life might be long, even though my state were no easy one. Why, then, am I now writing when I ought to be coming to see you? Because my country in her troubles calls me irresistibly to her side. You know, my friend, how she suffers. She is torn in pieces like Pentheus by veritable Maenads, demons. They are dividing her, and dividing her again, like bad surgeons who, in their ignorance, make wounds worse. Suffering as she is from this dissection, it remains for me to tend her like a sick patient. So the Caesareans have urgently appealed to me by letter, and I must go, not as though I could be of any help, but to avoid any blame of

neglect. You know how ready men in difficulties are to hope; and ready too, I ween, to find fault, always charging their troubles on what has been left undone.

2. Yet for this very reason I ought to have come to see you, and to have told you my mind, or rather to implore you to bethink you of some strong measure worthy of your wisdom; not to turn aside from my country falling on her knees, but to betake yourself to the Court, and, with the boldness which is all your own, not to let them suppose that they own two provinces instead of one. They have not imported the second from some other part of the world, but have acted somewhat in the same way in which some owner of horse or ox might act, who should cut it in two, and then think that he had two instead of one, instead of failing to make two and destroying the one he had. Tell the Emperor and his ministers that they are not after this fashion increasing the empire, for power lies not in number but in condition. I am sure that now men are neglecting the course of events, some, possibly, from ignorance of the truth, some from their being unwilling to say anything offensive, some because it does not immediately concern them. The course likely to be most beneficial, and worthy of your high principles, would be for you, if possible, to approach the Emperor in person. If this is difficult both on account of the season of the year and of your age, of which, as you say, inactivity is the foster brother, at all events you need have no difficulty in writing. If you thus give our country the aid of a letter, you will first of all have the satisfaction of knowing that you have left nothing undone that was in your power, and further, by showing sympathy, if only in appearance, you will give the patient much comfort. Would only that it were possible for you to come yourself among us and actually see our deplorable condition! Thus, perhaps, stirred by the plain evidence before you, you might have spoken in terms worthy alike of your own magnanimity and of the affliction of Caesarea. But do not withhold belief from what I am telling you. Verily we want some Simonides, or other like poet, to lament our troubles from actual experience. But why name Simonides? I should rather mention Aeschylus, or any other who has set forth a great calamity in words like his, and uttered lamentation with a mighty voice.

3. Now we have no more meetings, no more debates, no more gatherings of wise men in the Forum, nothing more of all that made our city famous. In

our Forum nowadays it would be stranger for a learned or eloquent man to put in an appearance, than it would for men, shewing a brand of iniquity or unclean hands, to have presented themselves in Athens of old. Instead of them we have the imported boorishness of Massagetae and Scythians. And only one noise is heard of drivers of bargains, and losers of bargains, and of fellows trader the lash. On either hand the porticoes resound with doleful echoes, as though they were uttering a natural and proper sound in groaning at what is going on. Our distress prevents our paying any attention to locked gymnasia and nights when no torch is lighted. There is no small danger lest, our magistrates being removed, everything crash down together as with fallen props. What words can adequately describe our calamities? Some have fled into exile, a considerable portion of our senate, and that not the least valuable, preferring perpetual banishment to Podandus. When I mention Podandus, suppose me to mean the Spartan Ceadas or any natural pit that you may have seen, spots breathing a noxious vapor, to which some have involuntarily given the name Charonian. Picture to yourself that the evils of Podandus are a match for such a place. So, of three parts, some have left their homes and are in exile, wives and hearth and all; some are being led away like captives, the majority of the best men in the city, a piteous spectacle to their friends, fulfilling their enemies' prayers; if, that is, any one has ever been found to call down so dire a curse upon our heads. A third division yet remains: these, unable to endure abandonment by their old companions, and at the same time unable to provide for themselves, have to hate their very lives.

This is what I implore you to make known everywhere with an eloquence all your own, and that righteous boldness of speech which your manner of life gives you. One thing distinctly state; that, unless the authorities soon change their counsels, they will find none left on whom to exercise their clemency. You will either prove some help to the state, or at least you will have done as Solon did, who, when he was unable to defend his abandoned fellow citizens on the capture of the Acropolis, put on his armor, and sat down before the gates, thus making it plain by this guise that he was no party to what was going on. Of one thing I am assured, even though at the present moment there may be some who do not approve of your advice, the day is not far distant when they will give you the greatest credit for

benevolence and sagacity, because they see events corresponding with your prediction.

LETTER 75.

TO ABURGIUS

YOU have many qualities which raise you above the common run of men, but nothing is more distinctly characteristic of you than your zeal for your country. Thus you, who have risen to such a height as to become illustrious throughout all the world, pay a righteous recompense to the land that gave you birth. Yet she, your mother city, who bore you and nursed you, has fallen into the incredible condition of ancient story; and no one visiting Caesarea; not even those most familiar with her, would recognize her as she is; to such complete abandonment has she been suddenly transformed, many of her magistrates having been previously removed, and now nearly all of them transferred to Podandus. The remainder, torn from these like mutilated extremities, have themselves fallen into complete despair, and have caused such a general weight of despondency, that the population of the city is now but scanty; the place looks like a desert, a piteous spectacle to all who love it, and a cause for delight and encouragement to all who have long been plotting for our fall. Who then will reach out a hand to help us? Who will drop a tear of pity over our faith? You have sympathized with a stranger city in like distress; will not your kindly excellency feel for her who gave you birth? If you have any influence, show it in our present need. Certainly you have great help from God, Who has never abandoned you, and has given you many proofs of His kindness. Only be willing to exert yourself in our behalf, and use all the influence you have for the succor of your fellow citizens.

LETTER 76.

TO SAPHRONIUS THE MASTER

THE greatness of the calamities, which have befallen our native city, did seem likely to compel me to travel in person to the court, and there to

relate, both to your excellency and to all those who are most influential in affairs, the dejected state in which Caesarea is lying. But I am kept here alike by ill-health and by the care of the Churches. In the meantime, therefore, I hasten to tell your lordship our troubles by letter, and to acquaint you that never ship, drowned in sea by furious winds, so suddenly disappeared, never city shattered by earthquake or overwhelmed by flood, so swiftly vanished out of sight, as our city, engulfed by this new constitution, has gone utterly to ruin. Our misfortunes have passed into a tale. Our institutions are a thing of the past; and all our men of high civil rank, in despair at what has happened to our magistrates, have left their homes in the city and are wandering about the country. There is a break therefore in the necessary conduct of affairs, and the city, which ere now gloried both in men of learning and in others who abound in opulent towns, has become a most unseemly spectacle. One only consolation have we left in our troubles, and that is to groan over our misfortunes to your excellency and to implore you, if you can, to reach out the helping hand to Caesarea who falls on her knees before you. How indeed you may be able to aid us I am not myself able to explain; but I am sure that to you, with all your intelligence, it will be easy to discover the means, and not difficult, through the power given you by God, to use them when they are found.

LETTER 77.

WITHOUT INSCRIPTION: ABOUT THERASIUS

One good thing we have certainly gained from the government of the great Therasius and that is that you have frequently paid us a visit. Now, alas! we have lost our governor, and we are deprived of this good thing too. But since the boons once given us by God remain immovable, and, although we are parted in body, abide fixed by memory in the souls of each of us, let us constantly write, and communicate our needs to one another. And this we may well do at the present moment, when the storm for a brief space has cried a truce. I trust that you will not part from the admirable Therasius, for I think that it is very becoming to share his great anxieties, and I am delighted at the opportunity given you both of seeing your friends and of being seen by them. I have much to say about many things, but I put it off

till we meet, for it is, I think, hardly safe to entrust matters of such importance to letters.

LETTER 78.

WITHOUT INSCRIPTION, ON BEHALF ELPIDIUS

I Have not failed to observe the interest you have shown in our venerable friend Elpidius; and how with your usual intelligence you have given the prefect an opportunity of showing his kindness. What I am now writing to ask you is to make this favor complete and suggest to the prefect that he should by a particular order set over our city the man who is full of all possible care for the public interests. You will therefore have many admirable reasons to urge upon the prefect for his ordering Elpidius to remain at Caesarea. There is at all events no need for you to be taught by me, since you yourself know only too well, what is the position of affairs, and how capable Elpidius in administration.

LETTER 79.

TO EUSTATHIUS BISHOP OF SEBASTIA

Even before receiving your letter I knew what trouble you are ready to undergo for every one, and specially for my humble self because I am exposed in this struggle. So when I received your letter from the reverend Eleusinius, and saw him actually before my face, I praised God for bestowing on me such a champion and comrade, in my struggles on behalf of true religion by the aid of the Spirit. Be it known to your exalted reverence that I have hitherto sustained some attacks from high magistrates, and these no light ones; while both the prefect and the high chamberlain pleaded with sympathy for my opponents. But, so far, I have sustained every assault unmoved, by that mercy of God which supplies to me the aid of the Spirit, and strengthens my weakness through Him.

LETTER 80.

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

THE worse the diseases of the Churches grow, the more do we all turn to your excellency, in the belief that your championship is the one consolation left to us in our troubles. By the power of your prayers, and your knowledge of what is the best course to suggest in the emergency, you are believed to be able to save us from this terrible tempest by all alike who know your excellency even to a small extent, whether by hearsay or by personal experience. Wherefore, cease not, I implore, to pray for our souls and to rouse us by your letters. Did you but know of what service these are to us you would never have lost a single opportunity of writing. Could I only, by the aid of your prayers, be deemed worthy of seeing you, and of enjoying your good qualities, and of adding to the story of my life a meeting with your truly great and apostolical soul, then I should indeed believe that I had received from God's mercy a consolation equivalent to all the afflictions of my life.

LETTER 81.

TO BISHOP INNOCENT

I WAS delighted to receive the letter your affection sent me; but I am equally grieved at your having laid on me the load of a responsibility which is more than I can carry. How can I, so far removed as I am, undertake so great a charge? As long as the Church possesses you, it rests as it were on its proper buttress. Should the Lord be pleased to make some dispensation in the matter of your life, whom, from among us here can I send to take the charge of the brethren, who will be in like esteem with yourself? That is a very wise and proper wish which you express in your letter, that while you are yet alive you may see the successor destined after you to guide the chosen flock of the Lord (like the blessed Moses, who both wished and saw). As the place is great and famous, and your work has great and wide renown, and the times are difficult, needing no insignificant guide on account of the continuous storms and tempests

which are attacking the Church, I have not thought it safe for my own soul to treat the matter perfunctorily, specially when I bear in mind the terms in which you write. For you say that, accusing me of disregard of the Churches, you mean to withstand me before the Lord. Not then to be at issue with you, but rather to have you on my side in my defense which I make in the presence of Christ I have, after looking round in the assembly of the presbyters of the city, chosen the very honorable vessel, the offspring of the blessed Hermogenes, who wrote the great and invincible creed in the great Synod. He is a presbyter of the Church, of many years standing, of steadfast character, skilled in canons, accurate in the faith, who has lived up to this time in continence and ascetic discipline, although the severity of his austere life has now subdued the flesh; a man of poverty, with no resources in this world, so that he is not even provided with bare bread, but by the labor of his hands gets a living with the brethren who dwell with him. It is my intention to send him. If, then, this is the kind of man you want, and not some younger man fit only to be sent and to discharge the common duties of this world, be so good as to write to me at the first opportunity, that I may send you this man, who is elect of God, adapted for the present work, respected by all who meet him, and who instructs with meekness all who differ from him. I might have sent him at once, but since you yourself had anticipated me in asking for a man of honorable character, and beloved by myself, but far inferior to the one whom I have indicated, I wished my mind in the matter to be made known to you. If therefore this is the kind of man you want, either send one of the brethren to fetch him at the time of the fast, or, if you have no one able to undertake the journey to me, let me know by letter.

LETTER 82.

TO ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

WHEN I turn my gaze upon the world, and perceive the difficulties by which every effort after good is obstructed, like those of a man walking in fetters, I am brought to despair of myself. But then I direct my gaze in the direction of your reverence; I remember that our Lord has appointed you to be physician of the diseases in the Churches; and I recover my spirits,

and rise from the depression of despair to the hope of better things. As your wisdom well knows, the whole Church is undone. And you see everything in all directions in your mind’s eye like a man looking from some tall watch tower, as when at sea many ships sailing together are all dashed one against the other by the violence of the waves, and shipwreck arises in some cases from the sea being furiously agitated from without, in others from the disorder of the sailors hindering and crowding one another. It is enough to present this picture, and to say no more. Your wisdom requires nothing farther, and the present state of affairs does not allow me freedom of speech. What capable pilot can be found in such a storm? Who is worthy to rouse the Lord to rebuke the wind and the sea? Who but he who from his boyhood fought a good fight on behalf of true religion? Since now truly all that is sound among us is moving in the direction of fellowship and unity with those who are of the same opinion, we have come confidently to implore you to send us a single letter, advising us what is to be done. In this way they wish that they may have a beginning of communication which may promote unity. They may, peradventure, be suspected by you, when you remember the past, and therefore, most God-beloved Father, do as follows; send me the letters to the bishops, either by the hand of some one in whom you place trust in Alexandria, or by the hand of our brother Dorotheus the deacon: when I have received these letters I will not deliver them till I have got the bishops’ answers; if not, let me “bear the blame for ever.” Truly this ought not to have struck more awe into him who first uttered it to his father, than into me who now say it to my spiritual father. If however you altogether renounce this hope, at least free me from all blame in acting as I have, for I have undertaken this message and mediation in all sincerity and simplicity, from desire for peace and the mutual intercourse of all who think alike about the Lord.

LETTER 83.

TO A MAGISTRATE

I Have had only a short acquaintance and intercourse with your lordship, but I have no small or contemptible knowledge of you from the reports through which I am brought into communication with many men of

position and importance. You yourself are better able to say whether I, by report, am of any account with you. At all events your reputation with me is such as I have said. But since God has called you to an occupation which gives you opportunity of showing kindness, and in the exercise of which it lies in your power to bring about the restoration of my own city, now level with the ground, it is, I think, only my duty to remind your excellency that in the hope of the requital God will give, you should show yourself of such a character as to win a memory that cannot die, and be made an inheritor of everlasting rest, in consequence of your making the afflictions of the distressed hard to bear. I have a property at Chamanene, and I beg you to look after its interests as though they were your own. And pray do not be surprised at my calling my friendproperty my own, for among other virtues I have been taught that of friendship, and I remember the author of the wise saying a friend is another self. I therefore commend to your excellency this property belonging to my friend, as though it were my own. I beg you to consider the misfortunes of the house, and both to grant them consolation for the past, and for the future to make the place more comfortable for them; for it is now left and abandoned on account of the weight of the rates imposed upon it. I will do my best to meet your excellency and converse with you on points of detail.

LETTER 84.

TO THE PRESIDENT

1. YOU will hardly believe what I am about to write, but it must be written for truth's sake. I have been very anxious to communicate as often as possible with your excellency, but when I got this opportunity of writing a letter I did not at once seize the lucky chance. I hesitated and hung back. What is astonishing is, that when I got what I had been praying for, I did not take it. The reason of this is that I am really ashamed to write to you every time, not out of pure friendship, but with the object of getting something. But then I bethought me (and when you consider it, I do hope you will not think that I communicate with you more for the sake of a bargain than of friendship) that there must be a difference between the

way in which one approaches a magistrate and a private man. We do not accost a physician as we do any mere nobody; nor a magistrate as we do a private individual. We try to get some advantage from the skill of the one and the position of the other. Walk in the sun, and your shadow will follow you, whether you will or not. Just so intercourse with the great is followed by an inevitable gain, the succor of the distressed. The first object of my letter is fulfilled in my being able to greet your excellency. Really, if I had no other cause for writing at all, this must be regarded as an excellent topic. Be greeted then, my dear Sir; may you be preserved by all the world while you fill office after office, and succor now some now others by your authority. Such greeting I am wont to make; such greeting is only due to you from all who have had the least experience of your goodness in your administration.

2. Now, after this prayer, hear my supplication on behalf of the poor old man whom the imperial order had exempted from serving in any public capacity; though really I might say that old age anticipated the Emperor in giving him his discharge. You have yourself satisfied the boon conferred on him by the higher authority, at once from respect to natural infirmity, and, I think, from regard to the public interest, lest any harm should come to the state from a man growing imbecile through age. But how, my dear Sir, have you unwittingly dragged him into public life, by ordering his grandson, a child not yet four years old, to be on the roll of the senate? You have done the very same thing as to drag the old man, through his descendant, again into public business. But now, I do implore you, have mercy on both ages, and free both on the ground of what in each case is pitiable. The one never saw father or mother, never knew them, but from his very cradle was deprived of both, and has entered into life by the help of strangers: the other has been preserved so long as to have suffered every kind of calamity. He saw a son's untimely death; he saw a house without successors; now, unless you devise some remedy commensurate with your kindness, he will see the very consolation of his bereavement made an occasion of innumerable troubles, for, I suppose, the little lad will never act as senator, collect tribute, or pay troops; but once again the old man's white hairs must be shamed. Concede a favor in accordance with the law and agreeable to nature; order the boy to be allowed to wait till he come to man's estate, and the old man to await death quietly on his bed. Let

others, if they will, urge the pretext of press of business and inevitable necessity. But, even if you are under a press of business, it would not be like you to despise the distressed, to slight the law, or to refuse to yield to the prayers of your friends.

LETTER 85.

THAT THE OATH OUGHT NOT TO BE TAKEN

It is my invariable custom to protest at every synod and to urge privately in conversation, that oaths about the taxes ought not to be imposed on husbandmen by the collectors. It remains for me to hear witness, on the same matters, in writing, before God and men, that it behooves you to cease from inflicting death upon men's souls, and to devise some other means of exaction, while you let men keep their souls unwounded. I write thus to you, not as though you needed any spoken exhortation (for you have your own immediate inducements to fear the Lord), but that all your dependents may learn from you not to provoke the Holy One, nor let a forbidden sin become a matter of indifference, through faulty familiarity. No possible good can be done them by oaths, with a view to their paying what is exacted from them, and they suffer an undeniable wrong to the soul. For when men become practiced in perjury, they no longer put any pressure on themselves to pay, but they think that they have discovered in the oath a means of trickery and an opportunity for delay. If, then, the Lord brings a sharp retribution on the perjured, when the debtors are destroyed by punishment there will be none to answer when summoned. If on the other hand the Lord endures with long suffering, then, as I said before, those who have tried the patience of the Lord despise His goodness. Let them not break the law in vain; let them not whet the wrath of God against them. I have said what I ought. The disobedient will see.

LETTER 86.

TO THE GOVERNOR

I KNOW that a first and foremost object of your excellency is in every way to support the right; and after that to benefit your friends, and to exert yourself in behalf of those who have fled to your lordship's protection. Both these pleas are combined in the matter before us. The cause is right for which we are pleading; it is dear to me who am numbered among your friends; it is due to those who are invoking the aid of your constancy in their sufferings. The corn, which was all my very, dear brother Dorotheus had for the necessaries of life, has been carried off by some of the authorities at Berisi, entrusted with the management of affairs, driven to this violence of their own accord or by others' instigation. Either way it is an indictable offense. For how does the man whose wickedness is his own do less wrong than he who is the mere minister of other men's wickedness? To the sufferers the loss is the same. I implore you, therefore, that Dorotheus may have his corn returned by the men by whom he has been robbed, and that they may not be allowed to lay the guilt of their outrage on other men's shoulders. If you grant me my request I shall reckon the value of the boon conferred by your excellency in proportion to the necessity of providing one's self with food.

LETTER 87

WITHOUT ADDRESS ON THE SAME SUBJECT

I AM astonished that, with you to appeal to, so grave an offense should have been committed against the presbyter as that he should have been deprived of his only means of livelihood. The most serious part of the business is that the perpetrators transfer the guilt of their proceedings to you; while all the while it was your duty not only not to suffer such deeds to be done, but to use all your authority to prevent them in the case of any one, but specially in the case of presbyters, and such presbyters as are in agreement with me, and are walking in the same way of true religion. If then you have any care to give me gratification, see that these matters are

set right without delay. For, God helping you, you are able to do this, and greater things than this to whom you will. I have written to the governor of my own country, that, if they refuse to do what is right of their own accord, they may be compelled to do so on pressure from the courts.

LETTER 88

WITHOUT ADDRESS AN THE SUBJECT OF THE EXACTION OF TAXES

YOUR excellency knows better than any one else the difficulty of getting together the gold furnished by contribution. We have no better witness to our poverty than yourself, for with your great kindness you have felt for us, and, up to the present time, so far as has lain within your power, have borne with us, never departing from your own natural forbearance from any alarm caused by superior authority. Now of the whole sum there is still something wanting, and that must be got in from the contribution which we have recommended to all the town. What I ask is, that you will grant us a little delay, that a reminder may be sent to dwellers in the country, and most of our magistrates are in the country. If it is possible for it to be sent in short of as many pounds as those in which we are still behind-hand, I should be glad if you would so, arrange, and the amount shall be sent later. If, however, it is absolutely necessary that the whole sum should be sent in at once, then I repeat my first request that we may be allowed a longer time of grace.

LETTER 89

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

1. THE eagerness of my longing is soothed by the opportunities which the merciful God gives me of saluting your reverence. He Himself is witness of the earnest desire which I have to see your face, and to enjoy your good and soul-refreshing instruction. Now by my reverend and excellent brother Dorotheus, the deacon, who is setting out, first of all I beg you to pray for me that I be no stumbling block to the people, nor hindrance to your

petitions to propitiate the Lord. In the second place I would suggest that you would be so good as to make all arrangements through the aforementioned brother; and, if it seems well that a letter should be sent to the Westerns, because it is only right that communication should be made in writing even through our own messenger, that you will dictate the letter. I have met Sabinus the deacon, sent by them, and have written to the bishops in Illyria, Italy, and Gaul, and to some of those who have written privately to myself. For it is right that some one should be sent in the common interests of the Synod, conveying a second letter which I beg you to have written.

2. As to what concerns the right reverend bishop Athanasius, your intelligence is already aware of what I will mention, that it is impossible for anything to be advanced by my letters, or for any desirable objects to be carried out, unless by some means or other he receives communion from you, who at that time postponed it. He is described as being very anxious to unite with me, and to be willing to contribute all he can, but to be sorry that he was sent away without communion, and that the promise still remains unfulfilled.

What is going on in the East cannot have failed to reach your reverence's ears, but the aforementioned brother will give you more accurate information by word of mouth. Be so good as to dispatch him directly after Easter, because of his waiting for the answer from Samosata. Look kindly on his zeal strengthen him by your prayers and so dispatch him on this commission.

LETTER 90

TO THE HOLY BRETHREN THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST

1. THE good God Who ever mixes consolation with affliction has, even now in the midst of my pangs, granted me a certain amount of comfort in the letters which our right honorable father bishop Athanasius has received from you and sent on to me. For they contain evidence of sound faith and proof of your inviolable agreement and concord, showing thus that the shepherds are following in the footsteps of the Fathers and feeding the

people of the Lord with knowledge. All this has so much gladdened my heart as to dispel my despondency and to create something like a smile in my soul in the midst of the distressing state of affairs in which we are now placed. The Lord has also extended His consolation to me by means of the reverend deacon Sabinus, my son, who has cheered my soul by giving me an exact narrative of your condition; and from personal experience of his own, will give you clear tidings of ours, that you may, in the first place, aid me in my trouble by earnest and constant prayer to God; and next that you may consent to give such consolation as lies in your power to our afflicted Churches. For here, very honorable brethren, all is in a weak state; the Church has given way before the continuous attacks of her foes, like some bark in mid-ocean buffeted by successive blows of the waves; unless haply there be some quick visitation of the divine mercy. As then we reckon your mutual sympathy and unity an important blessing to ourselves, so do we implore you to pity our dissensions; and not, because we are separated by a great extent of country, to part us from you, but to admit us to the concord of one body, because we are united in the fellowship of the Spirit.

2. Our distresses are notorious, even though we leave them untold, for now their sound has gone out into all the world. The doctrines of the Fathers are despised; apostolic traditions are set at nought; the devices of innovators are in vogue in the Churches; now men are rather contrivers of cunning systems than theologians; the wisdom of this world wins the highest prizes and has rejected the glory of the cross. Shepherds are banished, and in their places are introduced grievous wolves hurrying the flock of Christ. Houses of prayer have none to assemble in them; desert places are full of lamenting crowds. The elders lament when they compare the present with the past. The younger are yet more to be compassionated, for they do not know of what they have been deprived. All this is enough to stir the pity of men who have learnt the love of Christ; but, compared with the actual state of things, words fall very far short. If then there be any consolation of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels of mercy, be stirred to help us. Be zealous for true religion, and rescue us from this storm. Ever be spoken among us with boldness that famous dogma of the Fathers, which destroys the ill-famed heresy of Arius, and builds up the Churches in the sound doctrine wherein

the Son is confessed to be of one substance with the Father, and the Holy Ghost is ranked and worshipped as of equal honor, to the end that through your prayers and cooperation the Lord may grant to us that same boldness for the truth and glorying in the confession of the divine and saying Trinity which He has given you. But the aforenamed deacon will tell you every thing in detail. We have welcomed your apostolic zeal for orthodoxy and have agreed to all that has been canonically done by your reverences.

LETTER 91.

TO VALERIANUS, BISHOP OF ILLYRICUM

THANKS be to the Lord, Who has permitted me to see in your unstained life the fruit of primitive love. Far apart as you are in body, you have united yourself to me by writing; you have embraced me with spiritual and holy longing; you have implanted unspeakable affection in my soul. Now I have realized the force of the proverb, “As cold water is to a thirsty soul so is good news from a far country.” Honored brother, I really hunger for affection. The cause is not far to seek, for iniquity is multiplied and the love of many has grown cold. For this reason your letter is precious to me, and I am replying by our reverend brother Sabinus. By him I make myself known to you, and beseech you to be watchful in prayers on our behalf, that God may one day grant calm and quiet to the Church here, and rebuke this wind and sea, that so we may be freed from the storm and agitation in which we are now every moment expecting to be submerged. But in these our troubles one great boon has God given us in hearing that you are in exact agreement and unity with one another, and that the doctrines of true religion are preached among you without let or hindrance. For at some time or other, unless the period of this world is not already concluded, and if there yet remain days of human life, it must needs be that by your means the faith must be renewed in the East and that in due season you recompense her for the blessings which she has given you. The sound part among us here, which preserves the true religion of the Fathers, is sore stricken, and the devil in his wiliness has shattered it by many and various subtle assaults. But, by the help of the prayers of you who love the Lord, may the wicked and deceitful heresy of the Arian error be quenched; may

the good teaching of the Fathers, who met at Nicaea, shine forth; so that the ascription of glory may be rendered to the blessed Trinity in the terms of the baptism of salvation.

LETTER 92

TO THE ITALIANS AND GAULS

1. TO our right godly and holy brethren who are ministering in Italy and Gaul, bishops of like mind with us, we, Meletius, Eusebius, Basil, Bassus, Gregory, Pelagius,, Paul, Anthimus, Theodotus, Bithus, Abraamius, Jobinus, Zeno, Theodoretus, Marcianus, Barachus, Abraamius, Libanius, Thalassius, Joseph, Boethus, Iatrius, Theodotus, Eustathius, Barsumas, John, Chosroes, Iosaces, Narses, Maris, Gregory, and Daphnus, send greeting in the Lord. Souls in anguish find some consolation in sending sigh after sigh from the bottom of the heart, and even a tear shed breaks the force of affliction. But sighs and tears give us less consolation than the opportunity of telling our troubles to your love. We are moreover cheered by the better hope that, peradventure, if we announce our troubles to you, we may move you to give us that succor which we have long hoped you would give the Churches in the East, but which we have not yet received; God, Who in His wisdom arranges all things, must have ordained according to the hidden judgments of His righteousness, that we should be tried for a longer time in these temptations. The fame of our condition has traveled to the ends of the earth, and you are not ignorant of it; nor are you without sympathy with brethren of like mind with yourselves, for you are disciples of the apostle, who teaches us that love for our neighbor is the fulfilling of the law. But, as we have said, the just judgment of God, which has ordained that the affliction due to our sins must be fulfilled, has held you back. But when you have learnt all, specially what has not hitherto reached your ears, from our reverend brother the deacon Sabinus, who will be able to narrate in person what is omitted in our letter, we do beseech you to be roused both to zeal for the truth and sympathy for us. We implore you to put on bowels of mercy, to lay aside all hesitation, and to undertake the labor of love, without counting length of way, your own occupations, or any other human interests.

2. It is not only one Church which is in peril, nor yet two or three which have fallen under this terrible storm. The mischief of this heresy spreads almost from the borders of Illyricum to the Thebaid. Its bad seeds were first sown by the infamous Arius; they then took deep root through the labors of many who vigorously cultivated the impiety between his time and ours. Now they have produced their deadly fruit. The doctrines of true religion are overthrown. The laws of the Church are in confusion. The ambition of men, who have no fear of God, rushes into high posts, and exalted office is now publicly known as the prize of impiety. The result is, that the worse a man blasphemes, the fitter the people think him to be a bishop. Clerical dignity is a thing of the past. There is a complete lack of men shepherding the Lord's flock with knowledge. Ambitious men are constantly throwing away the provision for the poor on their own enjoyment and the distribution of gifts. There is no precise knowledge of canons. There is complete immunity in sinning; for when men have been placed in office by the favor of men, they are obliged to return the favor by continually showing indulgence to offenders. Just judgment is a thing of the past; and everyone walks according to his heart's desire. Vice knows no bounds; the people know no restraint. Men in authority are afraid to speak, for those who have reached power by human interest are the slaves of those to whom they owe their advancement. And now the very vindication of orthodoxy is looked upon in some quarters as an opportunity for mutual attack: and men conceal their private ill-will and pretend that their hostility is all for the sake of the truth. Others, afraid of being convicted of disgraceful crimes, madden the people into fratricidal quarrels, that their own doings may be unnoticed in the general distress. Hence the war admits of no three, for the doers of ill deeds are afraid of a peace, as being likely to lift the veil from their secret infamy. All the while unbelievers laugh; men of weak faith are shaken; faith is uncertain; souls are drenched in ignorance, because adulterators of the word imitate the truth. The mouths of true believers are dumb, while every blasphemous tongue wags free; holy things are trodden under foot; the better laity shun the churches as schools of impiety; and lift their hands in the deserts with sighs and tears to their Lord in heaven. Even you must have heard what is going on in most of our cities, how our people with wives and children and even our old men stream out before the walls, and offer their prayers in the

open air, putting up with all the inconvenience of the weather with great patience, and waiting for help from the Lord.

3. What lamentation can match these woes? What springs of tears are sufficient for them? While, then, some men do seem to stand, while yet a trace of the old state of things is left, before utter shipwreck comes upon the Churches, hasten to us, hasten to us now, true brothers, we implore you; on our knees we implore you, hold out a helping hand. May your brotherly bowels be moved toward us; may tears of sympathy flow; do not see, unmoved, half the empire swallowed up by error; do not let the light of the faith be put out in the place where it shone first.

By what action you can then help matters, and how you are to show sympathy for the afflicted, you do not want to be told by us; the Holy Ghost will suggest to you. But unquestionably, if the survivors are to be saved, there is need of prompt action, and of the arrival of a considerable number of brethren, that those who visit us may complete the number of the synod, in order that they may have weight in effecting a reform, not merely from the dignity of those whose emissaries they are, but also from their own number: thus they will restore the creed drawn up by our fathers at Nicaea, proscribe the heresy, and, by bringing into agreement all who are of one mind, speak peace to the Churches. For the saddest thing about it all is that the sound part is divided against itself, and the troubles we are suffering are like those which once befell Jerusalem when Vespasian was besieging it. The Jews of that time were at once beset by foes without and consumed by the internal sedition of their own people. In our case, too, in addition to the open attack of the heretics, the Churches are reduced to utter helplessness by the war raging among those who are supposed to be orthodox. For all these reasons we do indeed desire your help, that, for the future all who confess the apostolic faith may put an end to the schisms which they have unhappily devised, and be reduced for the future to the authority of the Church; that so, once more, the body of Christ may be complete, restored to integrity with all its members. Thus we shall not only praise the blessings of others, which is all we can do now, but see our own Churches once more restored to their pristine boast of orthodoxy. For, truly, the boon given you by the Lord is fit subject for the highest congratulation, your power of discernment between the spurious and the genuine and pure, and your preaching the faith of the

Fathers without any dissimulation. That faith we have received; that faith we know is stamped with the marks of the Apostles; to that faith we assent, as well as to all that was canonically and lawfully promulgated in the Synodical Letter.

LETTER 93

TO THE PATRICIAN COESARIA, CONCERNING COMMUNION

It is good and beneficial to communicate every day, and to partake of the holy body and blood of Christ. For He distinctly says, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life." And who doubts that to share frequently in life, is the same thing as to have manifold life. I, indeed, communicate four times a week, on the Lord's day, on Wednesday, on Friday, and on the Sabbath, and on the other days if there is a commemoration of any Saint. It is needless to point out that for anyone in times of persecution to be compelled to take the communion in his own hand without the presence of a priest or minister is not a serious offense, as long custom sanctions this practice from the facts themselves. All the solitaries in the desert, where there is no priest, take the communion themselves, keeping communion at home. And at Alexandria and in Egypt, each one of the laity, for the most part, keeps the communion, at his own house, and participates in it when he lilies. For when once the priest has completed the offering, and given it, the recipient, participating in it each time as entire, is bound to believe that he properly takes and receives it from the giver. And even in the church, when the priest gives the portion, the recipient takes it with complete power over it, and so lifts it to his lips with his own hand. It has the same validity whether one portion or several portions are received from the priest at the same time.

LETTER 94

TO ELIAS, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE

I Too have been very anxious to meet your excellency, lest by my failure to do so I might come off worse than my accusers; but bodily sickness has

prevented me, attacking me even more seriously than usual, and so I am perforce reduced to address you by letter. When, not long ago, most excellent sir, I had the pleasure of meeting your excellency, I was anxious to communicate with your wisdom about all my affairs; and I was also anxious to address you on behalf of the Churches, that no ground might be left for future calumnies. But I restrained myself, thinking it altogether superfluous and importunate to add troubles outside his own necessary business to a man charged with so many responsibilities. At the same time (for the truth shall be told) I did shrink from being driven to wound your sold by our mutual recriminations, when it ought in pure devotion to God to reap the perfect reward of piety. For really, if I attract your attention to me, I shall leave you but scant leisure for your public duties; shall act something like a man overloading with additional luggage some boatmen managing a new boat in very rough water, when all the while he ought to lessen the cargo and do his best to lighten the craft. For this very reason, I think, our great Emperor, after seeing how fully occupied I am, leaves me to manage the Churches by myself. Now I should like those who are besieging your impartial ears to be asked what harm the government suffers from me? What depreciation is suffered by any public interests, be they small or great, by my administration of the Churches? Still, possibly, it might be urged that I have done damage to the government by erecting a magnificently appointed church to God, and round it a dwelling house, one liberally assigned to the bishop, and others underneath, allotted to the officers of the Church in order, the use of both being open to you of the magistracy and your escort. But to whom do we do any harm by building a place of entertainment for strangers, both for those who are on a journey and for those who require medical treatment on account of sickness, and so establishing a means of giving these men the comfort they want, physicians, doctors, means of conveyance, and escort? All these men must learn such occupations as are necessary to life and have been found essential to a respectable career; they must also have buildings suitable for their employments, all of which are an honor to the place, and, as their reputation is credited to our governor, confer glory on him. Not indeed that for this reason you were unwillingly induced to accept the responsibility of ruling us, for you alone are sufficient by your high qualities to restore our ruins, to people deserted districts and turn wildernesses into towns. Would it be better to harass and annoy, or to

honor and reverence an associate in the discharge of these duties? Do not think, most excellent sir, that what I say is mere words. We have already, in the meanwhile, begun providing material. So much for our defense, before our ruler. As to what is to be said in answer to the charges of our accusers, to a Christian and to a friend who cares for my opinion, I must now say no more; the subject is too long for a letter, and cannot, besides, be safely committed to writing. But lest, before we have an opportunity of meeting, you are driven by the inducement of some men’s calumnies to give up any of your good will towards me, do as Alexander did. The story is, as you remember, that, when one of his friends was being calumniated, he left one ear open to the slanderer, and carefully closed the other with his hand, with the object of showing that he whose duty is to judge ought not to be easily and wholly given over to the first occupants of his attention, but should keep half his hearing open for the defense of the absent.

LETTER 95

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

I HAD written some while since to your reverence about our meeting one another and other subjects, but I was disappointed at my letter not reaching your excellency, for after the blessed deacon Theophrastus had taken charge of the letter, on my setting out on an unavoidable journey, he did not convey it to your reverence, because he was seized by the sickness of which he died. Hence it happened that I was so late in writing, that, the time being now so exceedingly short, I did not look for there being much use in this letter. The godly bishop Meletius and Theodotus had strongly urged me to visit them, representing that a meeting would be a proof of affection, and being wishful of remedying the troubles which are at present a cause of anxiety. They had appointed, as a time for our meeting, the middle of the approaching month of June, and for the place, Phargamus, a spot famous for martyr’s glory and for the large number of people attending the synod there every year. Directly I returned and heard of the death of the blessed deacon, and that my letter was lying useless at home, I felt that I must not be idle, because thirty-three days were still remaining

up to the appointed time, and so I hurriedly sent the letter to the very reverend Eustathius, my fellow minister, with the object of its being sent on by him to your reverence and of getting an answer without delay. If, then, it is possible and agreeable to you to come, I will come too. If not, I, God willing, will pay the debt of meeting due from last year: unless haply some hindrance for my sins comes in the way again, in which case I must put off my meeting with the bishops to another time.

LETTER 96

TO SOPHRONIUS, THE MASTER

WHO ever loved his city, honoring with filial love the place which gave him birth and nurture, as you do; praying for the whole city together, and for every one in it individually, and not merely praying but confirming your prayers by your own means? For this you are able to effect by God's help, and long, good man that you are, may you be able so to do. Nevertheless in your time our city has enjoyed but a brief dream of prosperity, in being committed to the charge of one the like of whom, according to the students of our oldest annals, never sat in the praefectorial chair. But now the city has suddenly lost his services, through the wickedness of men who have found a ground of attack in his very liberality and impartiality, and, without the knowledge of your excellency, have made up calumnies against him. There is therefore universal depression among us at the loss of a governor with unique capacity for raising our dejected community, a true guardian of justice, accessible to the wronged, a terror to law breakers, of like behavior to rich and poor, and, what is most important, one who has restored the interests of Christians to their old place of honor. That he was, of all men that I know, the most incapable of being bribed, and never did any one an unfair favor, I have passed by as a small point in comparison with his other virtues. I am indeed testifying to all this too late, like men who sing dirges to console themselves when they can get no practical relief. Yet, it is not useless that his memory should remain in your generous heart, and that you should be grateful to him as a benefactor of your native place. Should any of those who feel a grudge against him, for not sacrificing justice to their interests,

attack him, it will be well for you to defend and protect him. Thus you will make it clear to all that you count his interests yours, and think it quite a sufficient reason for this your close association with him that his record should be so unimpeachable, and his administration so remarkable in view of the time. For what any other man would not be able to affect in many years has been quickly accomplished by him. It will be a great favor to me, and a comfort under the circumstances, if you will recommend him to the Emperor, and dispel the calumnious charges brought against him. Believe me that I am speaking here not for myself alone, but for the whole community, and that it is our unanimous prayer that he may reap some benefit from your excellency's aid.

LETTER 97

TO THE SENATE OF TYANA

THE Lord, Who reveals hidden things, and makes manifest the counsels of men's hearts, has given even to the lowly knowledge of devices apparently hard to be understood. Nothing has escaped my notice, nor has any single action been unknown. Nevertheless I neither see nor hear anything but the peace of God and all that pertains to it. Others may be great and powerful and self-confident, but I am nothing and worth nothing, and so I could never take upon myself so much as to think myself able to manage matters without support. I know perfectly well that I stand more in need of the succor of each of the brethren than one hand does of the other. Truly, from our own bodily constitution, the Lord has taught us the necessity of fellowship. When I look to these my limbs and see that no out of them is self-sufficient, how can I reckon myself competent to discharge the duties of life? One foot could not walk securely without the support of the other; one eye could not see well, were it not for the alliance of the other and for its being able to look at objects in conjunction with it. Hearing is more exact when sound is received through both channels, and the grasp is made firmer by the fellowship of the fingers. In a word, of all that is done by nature and by the will, I see nothing done without the concord of fellow forces. Even prayer, when it is not united prayer, loses its natural strength and the Lord has told us that He will be in the midst where two or three call on Him in concord. The Lord Himself undertook the economy, that by

the blood of His cross He might make peace between things in earth and things in heaven. For all these reasons then, I pray that I may for my remaining days remain in peace; in peace I ask that it may be my lot to fall asleep. For peace's sake there is no trouble that I will not undertake, no act, no word of humility, that I will shrink from; I will reckon no length of journey, I will undergo any inconvenience, if only I may be rewarded by being able to make peace. If I am followed by any one in this direction, it is well, and my prayers are answered; but if the result is different I shall not recede from my determination. Every one will receive the fruit of his own works in the day of retribution.

LETTER 98

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. After receiving the letter of your holiness, in which you said you would not come, I was most anxious to set out for Nicopolis, but I have grown weaker in my wish and have remembered all my infirmity. I bethought me, too, of the lack of seriousness in the conduct of those who invited me. They gave me a casual invitation by the hands of our reverend brother Hellenius, the surveyor of customs at Nazianzus, but they never took the trouble to send a messenger to remind me, or any one to escort me. As, for my sins, I was an object of suspicion to them, I shrank from sullying the brightness of their meeting by my presence. In company with your excellency I do not shrink from stripping for even serious trials of strength; but apart from you I feel myself hardly equal even to looking at every day troubles. Since, then, my meeting with them was intended to be about Church affairs, I let the time of the festival go by, and put off the meeting to a period of rest and freedom from distraction, and have decided to go to Nicopolis to discuss the needs of the Churches with the godly bishop Meletius, in case he should decline to go to Samosata. If he agrees, I shall hasten to meet him, provided this is made clear to me by both of you, by him in reply to me (for I have written), and by your reverence.

2. We were to have met the bishops of Cappadocia Secunda, who, directly they were ranked under another prefecture, suddenly got the idea that they were made foreigners and strangers to me. They ignored me, as though

they had never been under my jurisdiction, and had nothing to do with me. I was expecting too a second meeting with the reverend bishop Eustathius, which actually took place. For on account of the cry raised by many against him that he was injuring the faith, I met him, and found, by God's grace, that he was heartily following all orthodoxy. By the fault of the very men who ought to have conveyed my letter, that of the bishop was not transmitted to your excellency, and, harassed as I was by a multitude of cares, it escaped my memory.

I, too, was anxious that our brother Gregory should have the government of a Church commensurate with his abilities; and that would have been the whole Church under the sun gathered into one place. But, as this is impossible, let him be a bishop, not deriving dignity from his see, but conferring dignity on his see by himself. For it is the part of a really great man not only to be sufficient for great things, but by his own influence to make small things great.

But what is to be done to Palmatius, who, after so many exhortations of the brethren, still helps Maximus in his persecutions? Even now they do not hesitate to write to him. They are prevented from coming themselves by bodily weakness and their own occupations. Believe me, very godly Father, our own affairs are much in need of your presence, and vet once more you must put your honorable old age in motion, that you may give your support to Cappadocia, which is now tottering and in danger of falling.

LETTER 99

TO COUNT TERENTIUS

I Have had every desire and have really done my best to obey, if only in part, the imperial order and the friendly letter of your excellency. I am sure that your every word and every thought are full of good intentions and right sentiments. But I have not been permitted to show my ready concurrence by practical action. The truest cause is my sins, which always rise before me and always hamper my steps. Then, again, there is the alienation of the bishop who had been appointed to cooperate with me,

why, I know not; but my right reverend brother Theodotus, who promised from the beginning to act with me, had cordially invited me from Getusa to Nicopolis. When however he saw me in the town, he was so shocked at me, trod so afraid of my sins, that he could not bear to take me either to morning or evening prayer. In this he acted quite justly so far as my deserts go, and quite as befits my course of life, but not in a manner likely to promote the interests of the Churches. His alleged reason was that I had admitted the very reverend brother Eustathius to communion. What I have done is as follows. When invited to a meeting held by our brother Theodotus, and wishful, for love's sake, to obey the summons, that I might not make the gathering fruitless and vain, I was anxious to hold communication with the aforementioned brother Eustathius. I put before him the accusations concerning the faith, advanced against him by our brother Theodotus, and I asked him, if he followed the right faith, to make it plain to me, that I might communicate with him; if he were of another mind he must know plainly that I should be separated from him. We had much conversation on the subject, and all that day was spent in its examination; when evening came on we separated without arriving at any definite conclusion. On the morrow, we had another sitting in the morning and discussed the same points, with the addition of our brother Poemenius, the presbyter of Sebasteia, who vehemently pressed the argument against me. Point by point I cleared up the questions on which he seemed to be accusing me, and brought them to agree to my propositions. The result was, that, by the grace of the Lord, we were found to be in mutual agreement, even on the most minute particulars. So about the ninth hour, after thanking God for granting us to think and say the same thing, we rose up to go to prayer. In addition to this I ought to have got some written statement from him, so that his assent might be made known to his opponents and the proof of his opinion might be sufficient for the rest. But I was myself anxious, with the desire for great exactitude. to meet my brother Theodotus, to get a written statement of the faith from him, and to propose it to Eustathius; that so both objects might be obtained at once, the confession of the right faith by Eustathius and the complete satisfaction of Theodotus and his friends, and they would have no ground for objection after the acceptance of their own propositions. But Theodotus, before learning why we were met and what had been the result of our intercourse, decided not to allow us to take part

in the meeting. So midway on our journey we set out back again, disappointed that our efforts for the peace of the Churches had been counteracted.

3. After this, when I was compelled to undertake a journey into Armenia, knowing the man's character, and with the view both of making my own defense before a competent witness, for what had taken place and of satisfying him, I traveled to Getusa, into the territory of the very godly bishop Meletius, the aforementioned Theodotus being with me; and while there, on being accused by him of my communication with Eustathius, I told him that the result of our intercourse was my finding Eustathius to be in all things in agreement with myself. Then he persisted that Eustathius, after leaving me, had denied this and asseverated to his own disciples that he had never come to any agreement with me about the faith. I, therefore, combated this statement; and see, O most excellent man, if the answer I made was not most fair and most complete. I am convinced, I said, judging from the character of Eustathius, that he cannot thus lightly be turning from one direction to another, now confessing now denying what he said; that a man, shunning a lie, even in any little matter, as an awful sin, is not likely to choose to run counter to the truth in matters of such vast importance and so generally notorious: but if what is reported among you turns out to be true, he must be confronted with a written statement containing the complete exposition of the right faith; then, if I find him ready to agree in writing, I shall continue in communion with him; but, if I find that be shrinks from the test, I shall renounce all intercourse with him. The bishop Meletius agreed to these arguments, and the brother Diodorus the presbyter, who was present, and then the right reverend brother Theodotus, assented, and invited me to go to Nicopolis, both to visit the Church there, and to keep him company as far as Satala. But he left me at Getasa, and, when I reached Nicopolis, forgetting all that he heard from me, and the agreement he had made with me, dismissed me, disgraced by the insults and dishonors which I have mentioned.

4. How, then, right honorable sir, was it possible for me to perform any of the injunctions laid on me, and to provide bishops for Armenia? How could I act, when the sharer of my responsibilities was thus disposed towards me, — the very man by whose aid I was expecting to be able to find suitable persons, because of his having in his district reverend and

learned men, skilled in speech, and acquainted with the other peculiarities of the nation? I know their names, but I shall refrain from mentioning them, lest there arise any hindrance to the interests of Armenia being served at some future time.

Now, after getting as far as Satala in such a state of health, I seemed to settle the rest by the grace of God. I made peace between the Armenian bishops, and made them a suitable address, urging them to put away their customary indifference, and resume their ancient zeal in the Lord's cause. Moreover, I delivered them rules as to how it behooved them to give heed to iniquities generally practiced in Armenia. I further accepted a decision of the Church of Satala, asking that a bishop might be given them through me. I was also careful to inquire into the calumnies promulgated against our brother Cyril, the Armenian bishop, and by God's grace I have found them to be started by the lying slanders of his enemies. This they confessed to me. And I seemed to some extent to reconcile the people to him, so that they avoid communion with him no more. Small achievements these, maybe, and not worth much, but in consequence of the mutual discord caused by the wiles of the devil, it was impossible for me to effect more. Even this much I ought not to have said, so as not to seem to be publishing my own disgrace. But as I could not plead my cause before your excellency in any other way, I was under the necessity of telling you the entire truth.

LETTER 100

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

When I saw your affectionate letter, in the country bordering on Armenia, it was like a lighted torch held up at a distance to mariners at sea, especially if the sea happen to be agitated by the wind. Your reverence's letter was of itself a pleasant one, and full of comfort; but its natural charm was very much enhanced by the time of its arrival, a time so painful to me, that I hardly know how to describe it, after once making up my mind to forget its troubles. However, my deacon will give you a full account. My bodily strength completely failed me, so that I was not even able to bear the slightest movement without pain. Nevertheless I do pray that, by the

aid of your prayers, my own longing may be fulfilled; although my journey has caused me great difficulties, in consequence of the affairs of my own Church having been neglected through its occupying such a long time. But if, while I yet live, God grants me to see your reverence in my Church, then truly I shall have good hope, even for the future, that I am not wholly excluded from the gifts of God. If it be possible, I beg that this meeting between us may take place at the Synod which we hold every year, in memory of the blessed martyr Eupsychius, now about to be held on the 7th of September. I am compassed with anxieties which demand your help and sympathy, both in the matter of the appointment of bishops and in the consideration of the trouble caused me by the simplicity of Gregory of Nyssa, who is summoning a Synod at Ancyra and leaving nothing undone to counteract me.

LETTER 101

CONSOLATORY

THIS is my first letter to you, and I could have prayed that its subject were a brighter one. Had it been so, things would have fallen out as I desire, for it is my wish that the life of all those who are purposed to live in true religion should be happily spent. But the Lord, Who ordains our course in accordance with His ineffable wisdom, has arranged that all these things should come about for the advantage of our souls, whereby He has, on the one hand, made your life sorrowful, and on the other, roused the sympathy of one who, like myself, is united to you in godly love. Therefore on my learning from my brothers what has befallen you it has seemed to me that I could not but give you such comfort as I can. Had it indeed been possible to me to travel to the place in which you are now living I would have made every effort to do so. But my bad health and the present business which occupies me have caused this very journey, which I have undertaken, to be injurious to the interests of my Church. I have, therefore, determined to address your excellency in writing, to remind you that these afflictions are not sent by the Lord, Who rules us, to the servants of God to no purpose, but as a test of the genuineness of our love to the divine Creator. Just as athletes win crowns by their struggles in the

arena, so are Christians brought to perfection by the trial of their temptations, if only we learn to accept what is sent us by the Lord with becoming patience, with all thanksgiving. All things are ordained by the Lord's love. We must not accept anything that befalls us as grievous, even if, for the present, it affects our weakness. We are ignorant, peradventure, of the reasons why each tiring that happens to us is sent to us as a blessing by the Lord but we ought to be convinced that all that happens to us is for our good, either for the reward of our patience, or for the soul which we have received, lest, by lingering too long in this life, it be filled with the wickedness to be found in this world. If the hope of Christians is limited to this life, it might rightly have been reckoned a bitter lot to be prematurely parted from the body; but if, to them that love God, the sundering of the soul from these bodily fetters is the beginning of our real life, why do we grieve like them which have no hope? Be comforted then, and do not fall under your troubles, but show that you are superior to them and can rise above them.

LETTER 102

TO THE CITIZENS OF SATALA

MOVED by your importunity and that of all your people, I have undertaken the charge of your Church, and have promised before the Lord that I will be wanting to you in nothing which is within my power. So I have been compelled, as it is written, to touch as it were the apple of my eye. Thus the high honor in which I hold you has suffered me to remember neither relationship, nor the intimacy which I have had from my boyhood with the person in question, as making a stronger demand on me than your request. I have forgotten all the private considerations which made him near and dear to me, making no account of the sighs which will be heaved by all my people on being deprived of his rule, none of the tears of all his kindred; nor have I taken to heart the affliction of his aged mother, who is supported by his aid alone. All these considerations, great and many as they are, I have put aside, keeping only in view the one object of giving your Church the blessing of the rule of such a man, and of siding her, now distressed as she is, at being so long without a head, and needing great and

powerful support to be enabled to rise again. So much for what concerns myself. Now, on the other hand, I ask you not to fall short of the hope which I have entertained and of the promises which I have made him, that I have sent him to close friends. I ask every one of you to try to surpass the rest in love and affection to him. I entreat you to show this laudable rivalry, and to comfort his heart by the greatness of your attentions to him, that he may forget his own home, forget his kinsfolk, and forget a people so dependent on his rule, like a child weaned from his mother's breast.

I have despatched Nicias beforehand to explain everything to your excellencies, and that you may fix a day to keep the feast and give thanks to the Lord, Who has granted the fulfillment of your prayer.

LETTER 103

TO THE PEOPLE OF SATALA

THE Lord has answered the prayer of His people and has given them, by my humble instrumentality, a shepherd worthy of the name; not one making traffic of the word, as many do, but competent to give full satisfaction to you, who love orthodoxy of doctrine, and have accepted a life agreeable to the Lord's commands, in the name of the Lord, Who has filled him with His own spiritual graces.

LETTER 104

TO THE PREFECT MODESTUS

MERELY to write to so great a man, even though there be no other reason, must be esteemed a great honor. For communication with personages of high distinction confers glory upon all to whom it is permitted. My supplication, however, is one which I am driven by necessity to make to your excellency, in my great distress at the condition of my whole country. Bear with me, I beg you, kindly and in accordance with your own characters and reach a helping hand to my country, now beaten to the

knee. The immediate object of my entreaty is as follows. By the old census, the clergy of God, presbyters and deacons, were left exempt. The recent registrars, however, without any authority from your lordship, have enrolled them, except that in some cases a few were granted immunity on the score of age. I ask, then, that you will leave us this memorial of your beneficence, to preserve through all coming time your good fame; that in accordance with the old law the clergy be exempt from contribution. I do not ask the remission to be conceded personally and individually to those who are now included, in which case the grace will pass to their successors, who may not always be worthy of the sacred ministry. I would suggest that some general concession be made to the clergy, according to the form in the open register, so that the exemption may be given in each place to ministers by the rulers of the Church. This boon is sere to bring undying glory to your excellency for your good deeds, and will cause many to pray for the imperial house. It will also really be profitable to the government, if we afford the relief of exemption, not generally to all the clergy, but to those who from time to time are in distress. This, as any one who chooses may know, is the course we actually pursue when we are at liberty.

LETTER 105

TO THE DEACONESSES, THE DAUGHTERS OF COUNT TERENTIUS

On coming to Samosata I expected to have the pleasure of meeting your excellencies, and when I was disappointed I could not easily bear it. When, I said, will it be possible for me to be in your neighborhood again? When will it be agreeable to you to come into mine? All this, however, must be left to the Lord's will. As to the present, when I found that my son Sophronius was setting out to you, I gladly delivered him this letter, to convey you my salutation, and to tell you how, by God's grace, I do not cease to remember you, and to thank the Lord on your behalf, in that you are goodly scions of a goodly stock, fruitful in good works, and verily like lilies among thorns. Surrounded as you are by the terrible perversity of them that are corrupting the word of truth, you do not give in to their

wiles; you have not abandoned the apostolic proclamation of faith, you have not gone over to the successful novelty of the day. Is not this cause of deep thankfulness to God? Shall not this rightly bring you great renown? You have professed your faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Do not abandon this deposit; the Father — origin of all; the Son — Only begotten, begotten of Him, very God, Perfect of Perfect, living image, shewing the whole Father in Himself; the Holy Ghost, having His subsistence of God, the fount of holiness, power that gives life, grace that maketh perfect, through Whom man is adopted, and the mortal made immortal, conjoined with Father and Son in all things in glory and eternity, in power and kingdom, in sovereignty and godhead; as is testified by the tradition of the baptism of salvation.

But all who maintain that either Son or Spirit is a creature, or absolutely reduce the Spirit to ministerial and servile rank, are far removed from the truth. Flee their communion. Turn away from their teaching, They are destructive to souls. If ever the Lord grant us to meet, I will discourse to you further concerning the faith, to the end that you may perceive at once the power of the truth and the rottenness of heresy by Scriptural proof.

LETTER 106

TO A SOLDIER

I Have many reasons for thanking God for mercies vouchsafed to me in my journey, but I count no blessing greater than the knowledge of your excellency, which has been permitted me by our good Lord’s mercy. I have learnt to know one who proves that even in a soldier’s life it is possible to preserve the perfection of love to God, and that we must mark a Christian not by the style of his dress, but by the disposition of his soul. It was a great delight to me to meet you; and now, whenever I remember you, I feel very glad. Play the man; be strong; strive to nourish and multiply love to God, that there may be given you by Him yet greater boons of blessing. I need no further proof that you remember me; I have evidence in what you have done.

LETTER 107.

TO THE WIDOW JULITTA

I WAS grieved to find on reading your ladyship's letter that you are involved in the same difficulties. What is to be done to men who show such a shifty character, saying now one thing now another and never abiding in the same pledges? If, after the promises made in my presence, and in that of the ex-prefect, he now tries to shorten the time of grace as though nothing had been said, he does seem to have lost, as far as I am concerned, all sense of shame. Nevertheless I wrote to him, rebuking him, and reminding him of his promises. I wrote also to Helladius, who is of the household of the prefect, that information might be given through him about your affairs. I hesitated myself to make so free with an officer of such importance, on account of my never having yet written to him about my own private affairs and my fearing some adverse decision from him, great men, as you know, being easily annoyed about such matters. If, however, any good is to be done in the matter, it will be through Helladius, an excellent man, well disposed towards me, fearing God, and having perfectly free access to the prefect. The Holy One is able to deliver you from all affliction, if only truly and sincerely we fix all our hope on Him.

LETTER 108.

TO THE GUARDIAN OF THE HEIRS OF JULITTA

I AM very much astonished to bear that, after the kind promises which you made and which were only such as might be expected from your generous character, you have now forgotten them and are putting violent and stern pressure on our sister. What to think, trader the circumstances, I really do not know. I know from many who have experienced your liberality, and bear testimony to it, how great it is; and I remember the promises which you made before me and the ex-prefect. You said that you were naming a shorter time in writing, but that you would grant a longer term of grace, from your wish to meet the necessities of the case, and do a favor to the widow, who is now compelled to pay out of her substance

such a large sum of money at once. What is the cause of this change I cannot imagine. However, whatever it is, I beg you to be mindful of your own generous character, and to look to the Lord Who requites good deeds. I beg you to grant the time of remission, which you promised at the outset, that they may be able to sell their property and discharge the debt. I perfectly well remember that you promised, if you received the sum agreed on, to restore to the widow all the stipulated documents, as well those which had been executed before the magistrates as the private papers. I do beg you then, honor me and win great blessing for yourself from the Lord. Remember your own promises, recognizing that you are human and must yourself look for that time when you will need God's help. Do not shut yourself off from that help by your present severity; but, by showing all kindness and clemency to the afflicted, attract God's pity to yourself.

LETTER 109.

TO THE COUNT HELLADIUS

I SHRINK from troubling your good nature, on account of the greatness of your influence, for fear of seeming to make an unwarrantable use of your friendship; however, the necessity of the case prevents my holding my peace. Our sister, who is a relative of mine, and now in the sorrowful position of a widow, has to look after the affairs of her orphan boy. On seeing her above measure oppressed by intolerable responsibilities, I felt great compassion for her, and, feeling deeply on the subject, I have hastened to invoke your aid, in order that you may, if possible, deign to support the messenger whom she has sent, to the end that when she has paid what she promised in person in my presence, she may be freed from any further pressure. She had agreed that she should be relieved from the interest on payment of the capital. Now, however, those who are looking after the affairs of her heirs are trying to exact the payment of the interest as well as that of the capital. The Lord, you know, makes the care of widows and orphans His own, and so do you strive to use your best endeavors in this matter, in the hope of the recompense which God Himself will give you. I cannot help thinking that, when our admirable and

kindly prefect has heard of the discharge of the capital, he will feel for this afflicted and unhappy house now stricken to the knee, and no longer able to cope with the injuries inflicted upon it. Pardon, then, the necessity which compels me to intrude upon you; and give your help in this matter, in proportion to the power which Christ has given you, good and true man as you are, and using your talents for the best.

LETTER 110.

TO THE PREFECT MODESTUS

IN kindly condescending to come down to me you give me great honor and allow me great freedom; and these in like, aye and in greater, measure, I pray that your lordship may receive from our good Master during the whole of your life. I have long wanted to write to you and to receive honor at your hands, but respect for your great dignity has restrained me, and I have been careful lest I should ever seem to abuse the liberty conceded to me. Now, however, I am forced to take courage, not only by the fact of my having received permission from your incomparable excellency to write, but also by the necessity of the distressed. If, then, prayers of even the small are of any avail with the great, be moved, most excellent sir, of your good will to grant relief to a rural population now in pitiable case, and give orders that the tax of iron, paid by the inhabitants of iron-producing Taurus, may be made such as it is possible to pay. Grant this, lest they be crushed once for all, instead of being of lasting service to the state. I am sure that your admirable benevolence will see that this is done.

LETTER 111.

TO MODESTUS, THE PREFECT

UNDER any ordinary circumstances I should have lacked courage to intrude upon your excellency, for I know how to gauge my own importance and to recognize dignities. But now that I have seen a friend in a distressing position at having been summoned before you, I have ventured to give him

this letter. I hope that by using it, as a kind of propitiatory symbol, he may meet with merciful consideration. Truly, although I am of no account, moderation itself may be able to conciliate the most merciful of prefects, and to win pardon for me. Thus if my friend has done no wrong, he may be saved by the mere force of truth; if he has erred, he may be forgiven through my entreaty.

How we are situated here no one knows better than yourself, for you discern the weak parts in each man and rule all with your admirable forethought.

LETTER 112.

TO ANDRONICUS, A GENERAL

1. DID but my health allow of my being able to undertake a journey without difficulty, and of putting up with the inclemency of the winter, I should, instead of writing, have traveled to your excellency in person, and this for two reasons. First to pay my old debt, for I know that I promised to come to Sebastia and to have the pleasure of seeing your excellency; I did indeed come, but I failed to meet you because I arrived a little later than your lordship; secondly, to be my own ambassador, because I have hitherto shrunk from sending, from the idea that I am too insignificant to win such a boon, and at the same time reckoning that no one by merely writing would be so likely to persuade any one of public or private rank, in behalf of any one, as by a personal interview, in which one might clear up some points in the charges, as to others make entreaty, and for others implore pardon; none of which ends can be easily achieved by a letter. Now against all this I can only set one thing, your most excellent self; and because it will suffice to tell you my mind in the matter, and all that is wanting you will add of yourself, I have ventured to write as I do.

2. But you see how from my hesitation, and because I put off explaining the reasons of my pleading, I write in roundabout phrase. This man Domitianus has been an intimate friend of my own and of my parents from the beginning, and is like a brother to me. Why should I not speak the truth? When I learnt the reasons for his being in his present troubles, I said

that he had only got what he deserved. For I hoped that no one who has ever committed any offense be it small or great, will escape punishment. But when I saw him living a life of insecurity and disgrace, and felt that his only hope depends on your decision, I thought that he had been punished enough; and so I implore you to be magnanimous and humane in the view you take of his case. To have one's opponents under one's power is right and proper for a man of spirit and authority; but to be kind and gentle to the fallen is the mark of the man supereminent in greatness of soul, and in inclemency. So, if you will, it is in your power to exhibit your magnanimity in the case of the same man, both in punishing him and in saving him. Let the fear Domitian has of what he suspects, and of what he knows he deserves to suffer, be the extent of his chastisement. I entreat you to add nothing to his punishment, for consider this: many in former times, of whom no record has reached us, have had those who wronged them in their power. But those who surpassed their fellows in philosophy did not persist in their wrath, and of these the memory has been handed down, immortal through all time. Let this glory be added to what history will say of you. Grant to us, who desire to celebrate your praises, to be able to go beyond the instances of kindnesses sting of in days of old. In this manner Croesus, it is said, ceased from his wrath against the slayer of his son, when he gave himself up for punishment, and the great Cyrus was friendly to this very Croesus after his victory. We shall number you with these and shall proclaim this your glory, with all our power, unless we be counted too poor heralds of so great a man.

3. Yet another plea that I ought to urge is this, that we do not chastise transgressors for what is past and gone, (for what means can be devised for undoing the past?) but either that they may be reformed for the future, or may be an example of good behavior to others. Now, no one could say that either of these points is lacking in the present case; for Domitian will remember what has happened till the day of his death; and I think that all the rest, with his example before them, are dead with alarm. Under these circumstances any addition which we make to his punishment will only look like a satisfaction of our own anger. This I should say is far from being true in your case. I could not indeed be induced to speak of such a thing did I not see that a greater blessing comes to him that gives, than to him that receives. Nor will your magnanimity be known only to a few. All

Cappadocia is looking to see what is to be done, and I pray that they may be able to number this among the rest of your good deeds. I shrink from concluding my letter for fear any omission may be to my hurt. But one thing I will add. Domitian has letters from many, who plead for him, but he thinks mine the most important of all, because he has learnt, from whom I know not, that I have influence with your excellency. Do not let the hopes he has placed in me be blasted; do not let me lose my credit among my people here; be entreated, illustrious sir, and grant my boon. You have viewed human life as clearly as ever philosopher viewed it, and you know how goodly is the treasure laid up for all those who give their help to the needy.

LETTER 113.

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF TARSUS

On meeting this man, I heartily thanked God that by means of his visit He had comforted me in many afflictions and had through him shewn me clearly your love. I seem to see in one man’s disposition the zeal of all of you for the truth. He will tell you of our discourses with one another. What you ought to learn directly from me is as follows.

We live in days when the overthrow of the Churches seems imminent; of this I have long been cognizant. There is no edification of the Church; no correction of error; no sympathy for the weak; no single defense of sound brethren; no remedy is found either to heal the disease which has already seized us, or as a preventive against that which we expect. Altogether the state of the Church (if I may use a plain figure though it may seem too humble an one) is like an old coat, which is always being torn and can never be restored to its original strength. At such a time, then, there is need of great effort and diligence that the Churches may in some way be benefited. It is an advantage that parts hitherto severed should be united. Union would be effected if we were willing to accommodate ourselves to the weaker, where we can do so without injury to souls; since, then, many mouths are open against the Holy Ghost, and many tongues whetted to blasphemy against Him, we implore you, as far as in you lies, to reduce the blasphemers to a small number, and to receive into communion all who

do not assert the Holy Ghost to be a creature, that the blasphemers may be left alone, and may either be ashamed and return to the truth, or, if they abide in their error, may cease to have any importance from the smallness of their numbers. Let us then seek no more than this, but propose to all the brethren, who are willing to join us, the Nicene Creed. If they assent to that, let us further require that the Holy Ghost ought not to be called a creature, nor any of those who say so be received into communion. I do not think that we ought to insist upon anything beyond this. For I am convinced that by longer communication and mutual experience without strife, if anything more requires to be added by way of explanation, the Lord Who worketh all things together for good for them that love Him, will grant it.

LETTER 114.

TO CYRIACUS, AT TARSUS

I NEED hardly tell the sons of peace how great is the blessing of peace. But now this blessing, great, marvelous, and worthy as it is of being most strenuously sought by all that love the Lord, is in peril of being reduced to the bare name, because iniquity abounds, and the love of most men has waxed cold. I think then that the one great end of all who are really and truly serving the Lord ought to be to bring back to union the Churches now “at sundry times and in divers managers” divided from one another. In attempting myself to effect this, I cannot fairly be blamed as a busybody, for nothing is so characteristically Christian as the being a peacemaker, and for this reason our Lord has promised us peacemakers a very high reward.

When, therefore, I had met the brethren, and learnt how great was their brotherly love, their regard for you, and yet more their love for Christ, and their exactitude and firmness in all that concerns the faith, and moreover their earnestness in compassing two ends, the not being separated from your love, and the not abandoning their sound faith. I approved of their good disposition; and I now write to your reverence beseeching you with all love to retain them in true union, and associated with you in all your anxiety for the Church. I have moreover pledged myself to them for your

orthodoxy, and that you too by God’s grace are enrolled to fight with all vigor for the truth, whatever you may have to suffer for the true doctrine. My own opinion is that the following conditions are such as will not run counter to your own feeling and will be quite sufficient to satisfy the above mentioned brethren; namely, that you should confess the faith put forth by our Fathers once assembled at Nicaea, that you should not omit any one of its propositions, but bear in mind that the three hundred and eighteen who met together without strife did not speak without the operation of the Holy Ghost, and not to add to that creed the statement that the Holy Ghost is a creature, nor hold communion with those who so say, to the end that the Church of God may be pure and without any evil admixture of any tare. If this full assurance is given them by your good feeling, they are prepared to offer proper submission to you. And I myself promise for the brethren that they will offer no opposition, but will show themselves entirely subordinate, if only your excellency shall have readily granted this one thing which they ask for.

LETTER 115.

TO THE HERETIC SIMPLICIA

WE often ill advisedly hate our superiors and love our inferiors. So I, for my part, hold my tongue, and keep silence about the disgrace of the insults offered me. I wait for the Judge above, Who knows how to punish all wickedness in the end, even though a man pour out gold like sand; let him trample on the right, he does but hurt his own soul. God always asks for sacrifice, not, I think, because He needs it, but because He accepts a pious and right mind as a precious sacrifice. But when a man by his transgressions tramples on himself God reckons his prayers impure. Bethink thyself, then, of the last day, and pray do not try to teach me. I know more than you do, and am not so choked with thorns within. I do not mind tenfold wickedness with a few good qualities. You have stirred up against me lizards and toads, beasts, it is true, of Spring time, but nevertheless unclean. But a bird will come from above who will devour them. The account I have to render is not according to your ideas, but as God thinks fit to judge. If witnesses are wanted, there will not stand

before the Judge slaves; nor yet a disgraceful and detestable set of eunuchs; neither woman nor man, lustful, envious, ill-bribed, passionate, effeminate, slaves of the belly, mad for gold, ruthless, grumbling about their dinner, inconstant, stingy, greedy, insatiable, savage, jealous. What more need I say? At their very birth they were condemned to the knife. How can their mind be right when their feet are awry? They are chaste because of the knife, and it is no credit to them. They are lecherous to no purpose, of their own natural vileness. These are not the witnesses who shall stand in the judgment, but rather the eyes of the just and the eyesight of the perfect, of all who are then to see with their eyes what they now see with their understanding.

LETTER 116.

TO FIRMINIUS

YOU write seldom, and your letters are short, either because you shrink from writing or from avoiding the satiety that comes from excess; or perhaps to train yourself to curt speech. I, indeed, am never satisfied and however abundant be your communication, it is less than my desire, because I wish to know every detail about you. How are you as to health? How as to ascetic discipline? Do you persevere in your original purpose? Or have you formed some new plan, changing your mind according to circumstances? Had you remained the same, I should not have wanted a great number of letters. I should have been quite satisfied with “I am quite well and I hope you are quite well.” But I hear what I am ashamed to say, that you have deserted the ranks of your blessed forefathers, and deserted to your paternal grandfather, and are anxious to be rather a Brettanius than a Firminius. I am very anxious to hear about this, and to learn the reasons which have induced you to take to this kind of life. You have yourself been silent; ashamed, I suppose, of your intentions, and therefore I must implore you not to entertain any project, which can be associated with shame. If any such idea has entered into your mind, put it from you, come to yourself again, bid a long farewell to soldiering and arms and the toils of the camp. Return home thinking it, as your forefathers thought before you, quite enough for ease of life and all possible distinction to hold a high place

in your city. This, I am sure, you will be able to achieve without difficulty, when I consider your natural gifts and the small number of your rivals. If, then, this was not your original intention, or if after forming it you have rejected it, let me know at once. If, on the other hand, which God forbid, you remain in the same mind, let the trouble come self announced. I do not want a letter.

LETTER 117.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

FOR many reasons I know that I am a debtor to your reverence, and now the anxiety in which I find myself necessarily puts me in the way of services of this kind, although my advisers are mere chance comers, and not like yourself joined to me by many and different ties. There is no need to bring the past under review. I may say that I was the cause of my own difficulties, by determining to leave that good discipline which alone leads to salvation. The result was that in this trouble I soon fell into temptation. What happened has seemed worthy of mention, so that I may not again fall into similar distress. As to the future, I wish to give full assurance to your reverence, that, by God's grace, all will go well, since the proceeding is lawful, and there is no difficulty about it, as many of my friends about the court are ready to help me. I shall therefore have a petition drawn up, similar to the form presented to the Vicar; and, if no delay intervene, I shall promptly get my discharge, and shall be sure to give you relief by sending you the formal document. I feel sure that in this my own convictions have more force than the imperial orders. If I shew this fixed and firm in the highest life, by God's aid the keeping of my chastity will be inviolable and sure. I have been pleased to see the brother entrusted to me by you, and hold him among my intimate friends. I trust he may prove worthy of God and of your good word.

LETTER 118.

TO JOVINUS, BISHOP OF PERRHA

YOU owe me a good turn. For I lent you a kindness, which I ought to get back with interest; — a kind of interest, this, which our Lord does not refuse. Pay me, then, my friend, by paying me a visit. So much for the capital; what of the increment? It is the fact of the visit being paid by you, who are a man as much superior to me, as fathers are better than children.

LETTER 119.

TO EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF SEBASTEIA

I ADDRESS you by the very honorable and reverend brother Petrus, beseeching you now and ever to pray for me, that I may be changed from ways dangerous and to be shunned, and may be made one day worthy of the name of Christ. Though I say nothing, you will converse together about my affairs, and he will give you an exact account of what has taken place. But you admit without due examination, the vile suspicions against me which will probably be raised by men who have insulted me, in violation of the fear of God and the regard of men. I am ashamed to tell you what treatment I have received from the illustrious Basilius, whom I had accepted at the hands of your reverence as a protection for my life. But, when you have heard what our brother has to say, you will know every detail. I do not thus speak to avenge myself upon him, for I pray that it may not be put to his account by the Lord, but in order that your affection to me may remain firm, and because I am afraid lest it be shaken by the monstrous slanders which these men are pretty sure to make up in defense of their fall. Whatever be the charges they adduce, I hope your intelligence will put these enquiries to them. Have they formally accused me? Have they sought for any correction of the error which they bring against me? Have they made their grievance against me plain? As matters are, by their ignoble flight they have made it evident that under the cheerfulness of their countenance, and their counterfeit expressions of affection, they are all the while hiding in their heart an immense depth of

guile and of gall. In all this, whether I narrate it or not, your intelligence knows perfectly well what sorrow they have caused me, and what laughter to those who, always expressing their abomination for the pious life in this wretched city, affirm that the pretense of virtue is practiced as a mere trick to get credit, a mere assumption to deceive. So in these days no mode of life is now so suspected of vice by people here as the profession of asceticism. Your intelligence will consider what is the best cure for all this.

As to the charges patched up against me by Sophronius, far from being a prelude of blessings, they are a beginning of division and separation, and are likely to lead to even my love growing cold. I implore that by your merciful kindness he may be withheld from his injurious efforts, and that your affection may strive rather to tighten the bonds of what is falling asunder, and not to increase separation by joining with those who are eager for dissent.

LETTER 120.

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

I Have received a letter from the very God-beloved bishop Eusebius, in which he enjoins that a second letter be written to the Westerns about certain Church matters. He has expressed a wish that the letter should be drawn up by me, and signed by all those who are in communion. Having no means of writing a letter about these wishes of his, I have sent on his minute to your holiness, in order that, when you have read it and can give heed to the information given by the very dear brother Sanctissimus, our fellow presbyter, you may yourself be so good as to indite a letter on these points as seems best to you. We are prepared to agree to it and to lose no time in having it conveyed to those in communion with us, so that, when all have signed it may be carried by the messenger, who is on the point of starting on his journey to visit the bishops of the West. Give orders for the decision of your holiness to be communicated to me as quickly as possible, that I may not be ignorant of your intentions.

As to the intrigue which is now being devised, or has already been devised against me, in Antioch, the same brother will convey intimation to your

holiness, unless indeed the report of what has been done does not anticipate him and make the position clear. There is ground for hope that the threats are coming to an end.

I wish your reverence to know that our brother Anthimus has ordained Faustus, who is living with the pope as bishop, without having received the votes, and in place of our right reverend brother Cyril. Thus he has filled Armenia with schisms. I have thought it right to tell your reverence this, lest they should lie against me, and I be responsible for these disorderly proceedings. You will of course deem it right to make this known to the rest. I think such irregularity will distress many.

LETTER 121

TO THEODOTUS, BISHOP OF NICOPOLIS

THE winter is severe and protracted, so that it is difficult for me even to have the solace of letters. For this reason I have written seldom to your reverence and seldom heard from you, but now my beloved brother Sanctissimus, the copresbyter, has undertaken a journey as far as your city. By him I salute your lordship, and ask you to pray for me, and to give ear to Sanctissimus, that from him you may learn in what situation the Churches are placed, and may give all possible heed to the points put before you. You must know that Faustus came with letters for me, from the pope, requesting that he might be ordained bishop. When however I asked him for some testimonial from yourself. and the rest of the bishops, he made light of me and betook himself to Anthimus. He came back, ordained by Anthimus, without any communication having been made to me on the subject.

LETTER 122.

TO POEMENIUS, BISHOP OF SATALA

WHEN the Armenians returned by your way you no doubt asked for a letter from them, and you learnt why I had not given the letter to them. If

they spoke as truth lovers should, you forgave me on the spot; if they kept anything back (which I do not suppose), at all events hear it from me.

The most illustrious Anthimus, who long ago made peace with me, when he found an opportunity of satisfying his own vain gloriousness, and of causing me some vexation, consecrated Faustus, by his own authority and with his own hand, without waiting for any election from you, and ridiculing my punctiliousness in such matters. Inasmuch, then, as he has confounded ancient order and has made light of you, for whose election I was waiting, and has acted in a manner, as I view it, displeasing to God, for these reasons I felt pained with them, and gave no letter for any of the Armenians, not even for your reverence. Faustus I would not even receive into communion, thereby plainly testifying that, unless he brought me a letter from you, I should be permanently alienated from him, and should influence those of the same mind with me to treat him in the same manner. If there is any remedy for these things, be sure to write to me yourself, giving your testimony to him, if you see that his life is good; and exhort the rest. If on the other hand the mischief is incurable, let me perfectly understand it to be so, that I may no longer take them into account; although really, as they have proved, they have agreed, for the future, to transfer their communion to Anthimus, in contempt of me and of my Church, as though my friendship were no longer worth having.

LETTER 123.

TO URBICIUS, THE MONK

YOU were to have come to see me (and the blessing was drawing near) to cool me, aflame in my temptations, with the tip of your finger. What then? My sins stood in the way and hindered your start, so that I am sick without a remedy. Just as when the waves are round us, one sinks and another rises, and another looms black and dreadful, so of my troubles: some have ceased, some are with me, some are before me. As is generally the case, the one remedy for these troubles is to yield to the crisis and withdraw from my persecutors. Yet come to me, to console, to advise, or even to travel with me; in any case you will make me better for the mere sight of you. Above all, pray, and pray again, that my reason be not

whelmed by the waves of my troubles; pray that all through I may keep a heart pleasing to God, that I be not numbered with the wicked servants, who thank a master when he gives them good, and refuse to submit when he chastises them by adversity; but let me reap benefit from my very trials, trusting most in God when I need Him most.

LETTER 124.

TO THEODORUS

It is sometimes said that slaves to the passion of love, when by some inevitable necessity they are separated from the object of their desire, are able to stay the violence of their passion by indulging the sense of sight, if haply they can look at the picture of the beloved object. Whether this be true or not I cannot say; but what has befallen me in your case, my friend, is not very different. I have felt a disposition towards your godly and guileless soul, somewhat, if I may so say, of the nature of love; but the gratification of my desire, like that of all other blessings, is made difficult to me by the opposition of my sins. However, I have seemed to see a very good likeness of you in the presence of my very reverend brothers. And if it had been my lot to fall in with you when far away from them, I should have fancied that I saw them in you. For the measure of love in each of you is so great, that in both of you there is a plain contest for the superiority. I have thanked God for this. If any longer life be left me, I pray that my life may be made sweet through you, just as now I look on life as a wretched thing to be avoided, because I am separated from the companionship of those I love best. For, in my judgment, there is nothing in which one can be cheerful when cut off from those who truly love us.

LETTER 125.

A TRANSCRIPT OF THE FAITH AS DICTATED BY SAINT BASIL, AND SUBSCRIBED BY EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF SEBASTEIA

1. BOTH men whose minds have been preoccupied by a heterodox creed and now wish to change over to the congregation of the orthodox, and also those who are now for the first time desirous of being instructed in the doctrine of truth, must be taught the creed drawn up by the blessed fathers in the Council which met at Nicaea. The same training would also be exceedingly useful in the case of all who are under suspicion of being in a state of hostility to sound doctrine, and who by ingenious and plausible excuses keep the depravity of their sentiments out of view. For these too this creed is all that is needed. They will either get cured of their concealed unsoundness, or, by continuing to keep it concealed, will themselves bear the load of the sentence due to their dishonesty, and will provide us with an easy defense in the day of judgment, when the Lord will lift the cover from the hidden things of darkness, and "make manifest the counsels of the hearts." It is therefore desirable to receive them with the confession not only that they believe in the words put forth by our fathers at Nicaea, but also according to the sound meaning expressed by those words, For there are men who even in this creed pervert the word of truth, and wrest the meaning of the words in it to suit their own notions. So Marcellus, when expressing impious sentiments concerning the hypostasis of our Lord Jesus Christ, and describing Him as being Logos and nothing more, had the hardihood to profess to find a pretext for his principles in that creed by affixing an improper sense upon the Homoousion. Some, moreover, of the impious following of the Libyan Sabellius, who understand hypostasis and substance to be identical, derive ground for the establishment of their blasphemy from the same source, because of its having been written in the creed "if any one says that the Son is of a different substance or hypostasis, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes him." But they did not there state hypostasis and substance to be identical. Had the words expressed one and the same meaning, what need of both? It is on the contrary clear that while by some it was denied that the Son was of the same substance with the Father, and some asserted

that He was not of the substance and was of some other hypostasis, they thus condemned both opinions as outside that held by the Church. When they set forth their own view, they declared the Son to be of the substance of the Father, but they did not add the words “of the hypostasis.” The former clause stands for the condemnation of the faulty view; the latter plainly states the dogma of salvation. We are therefore bound to confess the Son to be of one substance with the Father, as it is written; but the Father to exist in His own proper hypostasis, the Son in His, and the Holy Ghost in His, as they themselves have clearly delivered the doctrine. They indeed clearly and satisfactorily declared in the words Light of Light, that the Light which begat and the Light which was begotten, are distinct, and yet Light and Light; so that the definition of the Substance is one and the same. I will now subjoin the actual creed as it was drawn up at Nicaea.

2. πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν το καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. [ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὁρατῶν το πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·]

καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ιησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ [τὸν μονογενῆ] γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός μονογενῆ. [τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τών αἰώνων.]

τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ [omit], Φῶς ἐκ Φῶτος, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι᾿ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά το ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ [omit].

τὸν δι᾿ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρωποὺς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμέτεραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα [ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν] καὶ σαρκωθέντα. [ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίς τῆς παρθένου.]
καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα [σταυρωθέντα το ὑπὲρ ημῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ], παθόντα [καὶ ταφέντα], καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρα [κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ], ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. [καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός.]

καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον [μετὰ δόξης] κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· [οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἐσται τόλος.]

καὶ εἰς τό Πνεῦμα τό ἅγιον. [τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ

σνμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμὴν.]

τοῦς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε ὅτο οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑνοστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶαι, ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτοὺς ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. [Omit all the athemas.]

3. Here then all points but one are satisfactorily and exactly defined, some for the correction of what had been corrupted, some as a precaution against errors expected to arise. The doctrine of the Spirit, however, is merely mentioned, as needing no elaboration, because at the time of the Council no question was mooted, and the opinion on this subject in the hearts of the faithful was exposed to no attack. Little by little, however, the growing poison-germs of impiety, first sown by Arius, the champion of the heresy, and then by those who succeeded to his inheritance of mischief, were nurtured to the plague of the Church, and the regular development of the impiety issued in blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Under these circumstances we are under the necessity of putting before the men who have no pity for themselves, and shut their eyes to the inevitable threat directed by our Lord against blasphemers of the Holy Ghost, their bounden duty. They must anathematize all who call the Holy Ghost a creature, and all who so think; all who do not confess that He is holy by nature, as the Father is holy by nature, and the Son is holy by nature, and refuse Him His place in the blessed divine nature. Our not separating Him from Father and Son is a proof of our right mind, for we are bound to be baptized in the terms we have received and to profess belief in the terms in which we are baptized, and as we have professed belief in, so to give glory to Father, on, and Holy Ghost; and to hold aloof from the communion of all who call Him creature, as from open blasphemers. One point must be regarded as settled; and the remark is necessary because of our slanderers; we do not speak of the Holy Ghost as unbegotten, for we recognize one Unbegotten and one Origin of all things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: nor do we speak of the Holy Ghost as begotten, for by the tradition of the faith we have been taught

one Only-begotten: the Spirit of truth we have been taught to proceed from the Father, and we confess Him to be of God without creation. We are also bound to anathematize all who speak of the Holy Ghost as ministerial, inasmuch as by this term they degrade Him to the rank of a creature. For that the ministering spirits are creatures we are told by Scripture in the words "they are all ministering spirits sent forth to minister." But because of men who make universal confusion, and do not keep the doctrine of the Gospels, it is necessary to add yet this further, that they are to be shunned, as plainly hostile to true religion, who invert the order left us by the Lord, and put the Son before the Father, and the Holy Spirit before the Son. For we must keep unaltered and inviolable that order which we have received from the very words of the Lord, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

I, Eustathius, bishop, have read to thee, Basil, and understood; and I assent to what is written above. I have signed in the presence of our Fronto, Severus, the chorepis-copus, and several other clerics.

LETTER 126

TO ATARBIUS

On arriving at Nicopolis in the double hope of settling the disturbances which had arisen, and applying a remedy, as far as possible, to measures taken in a disorderly manner and in violation of the law of the Church, I was exceedingly disappointed at failing to meet you. I heard that you had hurriedly withdrawn, and actually from the very synod which was being held by you. I am, therefore, under the necessity of having recourse to writing, and by this letter I bid you present yourself before me, that you may in person apply some remedy to the pain which I felt, even unto death, on hearing that you bad ventured on action, in the very middle of the church, of the like of which I hitherto have never heard. All this, although painful and serious, is endurable, as having happened to a man who has committed the punishment due for his sufferings to God, and is wholly devoted to peace and to preventing harm falling from any fault of his on God's people. Since, however, some honorable brethren, worthy of

all credit, have told me that you have introduced certain innovations into the faith, and have spoken against sound doctrine, I am under the circumstances the more agitated, and above measure anxious, lest, in addition to the countless wounds which have been inflicted on the Church by traitors to the truth of the Gospel, yet a further calamity should spring up in the renewal of the ancient heresy of Sabellius, the enemy of the Church; for to this the brethren have reported your utterances to be akin. I have, therefore, written to charge you not to shrink from undertaking a short journey to come to me, and, by giving me full assurance in the matter, at once to alleviate my pangs, and to solace the Churches of God, which are now pained to a grave, nay an unendurable extent, at your actions and your reported words.

LETTER 127

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

OUR merciful God, Who makes comfort match trouble, and consoles the lowly, lest they be drowned unawares in exceeding grief, has sent a consolation, equivalent to the troubles I have suffered in Nicopolis, in seasonably bringing me the God-beloved bishop Jobinus. He must tell you himself how very opportune his visit was. I shrink from a long letter, and will hold my peace. And I am the more inclined to silence, lest I seem as it were to put a mark on men, who have turned round and begun to show regard to me, by mentioning their fall.

God grant that you may come to see me in my own home, so that I may embrace your reverence and tell you everything in detail. For we often find some comfort in telling what is painful in actual experience. However, for all that the very godly bishop has done, fully as far as regards his affection for me, and preeminently and stoutly as regards the exact observance of the canons, commend him. Moreover, thank God that your pupils everywhere exhibit your reverence’s character.

LETTER 128

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. HITHERTO I have been unable to give any adequate and practical proof of my earnest desire to pacify the Churches of the Lord. But in my heart I affirm that I have so great a longing, that I would gladly give up even my life, if thereby the flame of hatred, kindled by the evil one, could be put out. If it was not for the sake of this longing for peace that I consented to come to Colonia, may my life he unblessed by peace. The peace I seek is the true peace, left us by the Lord Himself; and what I have asked that I may have for my assurance belongs to one who desires nothing but the true peace, although some perversely interpret the truth into another sense. Let them use their tongues as they will, but assuredly they will one day be sorry for their words.

2. Now I beseech your holiness to remember the original propositions, and not to be led away by receiving answers that do not fit the questions, nor yet to give practical weight to the quibbles of men who, without any power of argument, very cleverly pervert the truth, from their own ideas alone. I set out propositions which were perfectly simple, clear and easy to remember; do we decline to receive into communion those who refuse to accept the Nicene Creed? Do we refuse to have part or lot with those who have the hardihood to assert that the Holy Ghost Is a creature? He, however, instead of answering my questions word for word, has concocted the statement which you have sent me: — and this not from simple-mindedness, as might be imagined, nor yet from his inability to see the consequences. What he reckons is that, by repudiating my proposition, he will expose his true character to the people; while, if he agrees to it, he will depart from that via media which has hitherto seemed to him preferable to any other position. Let him not try to beguile me, nor, with the rest, deceive your intelligence. Let him send a concise answer to my question, whether he accepts or repudiates communion with the enemies of the faith. If you get him to do this and send me such a distinct answer as I pray for, I own myself in error in all that has gone before; I take all the blame upon myself; then ask from me a proof of humility. But, if nothing of the kind come to pass, pardon me, most God-beloved father,

in my inability to approach God's altar with hypocrisy. Were it not for self this dread, why should I separate my from Euippius, so learned a man, so advanced in age, and bound to me by so many ties of affection? If, however, in this case I acted rightly, it would, I am sure, be absurd to appear united with those who maintain the same views as Euippius, through the media-lion of these amiable and charming persons.

3. Not that I think it is absolutely our duty to cut ourselves off from those who do not receive the faith, but rather to have regard to them in accordance with the old law of love, and to write to them with one consent, giving them all exhortation with pity, and to propose to them the faith of the fathers, and invite them to union. If we succeed we should be united in communion with them; if we fail we must be content with one another and purge our conduct of this uncertain spirit, restoring the evangelical and simple conversation followed by those who accepted the Word from the beginning. "They," it is said, "were of one heart and of one soul." If they obey you, this will be best; if not, recognize the real authors of the war, and, for the future do riot write me any more letters about reconciliation.

LETTER 129

TO MELETIUS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

1. I KNEW that the charge which had lately sprung up against the loquacious Apollinarius would sound strange in the ears of your excellency. I did not know myself, till now, that he was accused; at the present time, however, the Sebastenes, after search in some quarter or another, have brought these things forward, and they are carrying about a document for which they are specially trying to condemn me on the ground that I hold the same sentiments, It contains the following phrases. "Wherefore it is everywhere necessary to understand the first identity in conjunction with, or rather in union with, the second, and to say that the second and the third are the same. For what the Father is firstly, the Son is secondly, and the Spirit thirdly. And, again, what the Spirit is firstly, the Son is secondly, in so far as the Spirit is the Lord; and the Father thirdly, in so far as the Spirit is God. And, to express the ineffable with greatest

force, the Father is Son in a paternal sense, and the Son Father in a filial sense, and so in the case of the Spirit, in so far as the Trinity is one God." This is what is being bruited about. I never can believe it to have been invented by those through whom it has been published, although, after their slanders against me, I can regard nothing as beyond their audacity. For writing to some of their party, they advanced their false accusation against me, and then added the words I have quoted, describing them as the work of heretics, but saying nothing as to the author of the document, in order that it might vulgarly be supposed to have come from my pen. Nevertheless, in my opinion, their intelligence would not have gone far enough in putting the phrases together. On this account, in order to repudiate the growing blasphemy against myself, and shew to all the world that I have nothing in common with those who make such statements, I have been compelled to mention Apollinarius as approximating to the impiety of Sabellius. Of this subject I will say no more.

2. I have received a message from the court that, after the first impulse of the Emperor, to which he was impelled by my calumniators, a second decree has been passed, that I am not to be delivered to my accusers, nor given over to their will, as was ordered at the beginning; but that there has been in the meanwhile some delay. If then this obtains, or any gentler measure is determined on, I will let you know. If the former prevails, it shall not be so, without your knowledge.

3. Our brother Sanctissimus has certainly been with you a long time, and you have learnt the objects he has in view. If, then, the letter to the Westerns seems to you to contain at all what is requisite, be so good as to have it written out and conveyed to me, that I may get it signed by those who think with us, and may keep the subscription ready, and written out on a separate paper, which we can fasten on to the letter which is being carried about by our brother and fellow presbyter. As I did not find in the minute anything conclusive, I was in a difficulty on what point to write to the Westerns. Necessary points are anticipated, and it is useless to write what is superfluous, and on such points would it not be ridiculous to show feeling? One subject, however, did appear to me to be hitherto untouched, and to suggest a reason for writing, and that was an exhortation to them not indiscriminately to accept the communion of men coming from the East; but, after once choosing one side, to receive the rest on the

testimony of their fellows, and not to assent to every one writing a form of creed on the pretext of orthodoxy. If they do so, they will be found in communion with men at war with one another, who often put forward the same formulae, and yet battle vehemently against one another, as those who are most widely separated. To the end, then, that the heresy may not be the more widely kindled, while those who are at variance with one another mutually object to their own formulae, they ought to be exhorted to make a distinction between the acts of communion which are brought them by chance comers, and those which are duly drawn up according to the rule of the Church.

LETTER 130

TO THEODOTUS BISHOP OF NICOPOLIS

1. YOU have very rightly and properly blamed me, right honorable and well beloved brother, in that ever since I departed from your reverence, conveying to Eustathius those propositions about the faith, I have told you neither much nor little about his business. This neglect is really not due to any contempt on my part for the way in which he has treated me, but simply to the fact that the story is now published abroad in all men’s ears, and nobody needs any instructions from me in order to learn what his intentions are. For this he has had good heed, as though he were really afraid that he would have few witnesses of his opinion, and has sent to the ends of the earth the letter which he has written against me. He has therefore severed himself from communion with me. He did not consent to meet me at the appointed spot, and did not bring his disciples, as he had promised. On the contrary, he publicly stigmatized me in the public synods, with the Cilician Theophilus, by the open and undisguised slander of sowing in the souls of the people doctrines at variance with his own teaching. This was quite enough to break up all union between us. Afterwards he came to Cilicia, and, on meeting with a certain Gelasius, showed him the creed which only an Arian, or a thorough disciple of Arius, could subscribe. Then, indeed, I was yet more confirmed in my alienation from him. I felt that the Ethiopian will never change his skin, nor

the leopard his spots, nor a man nurtured in doctrines of perversity ever be able to rub off the stain of his heresy.

2. In addition to all this he has bad the impudence to write against me, or rather to compose long discourses full of all kinds of abuse and calumny. To these, up to this time, I have answered nothing, taught as we are by the Apostle, not to avenge ourselves, but to give place unto wrath. Moreover, at the thought of the depth of the hypocrisy with which he has all along approached me, I have, in a way, become speechless with amazement. But, if all this had never happened, who would not feel horror and detestation of the fellow at this fresh piece of audacity? Now, as I hear, if the report is really true and not a slanderous invention, he has ventured to re-ordain certain men; a proceeding on which so far no heretic has ventured. How then can I quietly endure such treatment? How can I look upon the errors of the man as curable? Beware, then, of being led away by lies; do not be moved by the suspicions of men who are prone to look at everything in a bad light, as though I were making little of such things. For, be sure, my very dear and honorable friend, that I have never at any time been so grieved as I am now, on hearing of this confusion of the laws of the Church. Pray only that the Lord grant me to take no step in anger, but to maintain charity, which behaveth itself not unseemly and is not puffed up. Only look how men without charity have been lifted up beyond all human bounds and conduct themselves in an unseemly manner, daring deeds which have no precedent in all the past.

LETTER 131

TO OLYMPIUS

1. TRULY unexpected tidings make both ears tingle. This is my case. These compositions against me, which are being carried about, have fallen upon ears by this time pretty well seasoned, on account of my having formerly received the letter, appropriate enough to my sins, but which I should never have expected to be written by those who sent it. Nevertheless what followed did seem to me so extraordinarily cruel as to blot out all that had gone before. How could I fail to be driven almost out of my senses when I read the letter addressed to the reverend brother Dazinas, full of

outrageous insults and calumnies and of attacks against me, as though I had been convicted of much pernicious designs against the Church? Moreover proofs were forthwith offered of the truth of the calumnies against me, from the document of whose authorship I am ignorant. Parts I recognize, I own, as having been written by Apollinarius of Laodicea. These I had purposely not even ever read, but I had heard of them from the report of others. Other portions I found included, which I had never either read or heard of from any one else; of the truth of this there is a faithful witness in heaven. How then can men who shun lies, who have learnt that love is the fulfilling of the law, who profess to bear the burdens of the weak, have consented to bring these calumnies against me and to condemn me out of other men's writings? I have often asked myself this question, but I cannot imagine the reason, unless it be, as I have said from the beginning, that my pain in all this is a part of the punishment which is due to my sins.

2. First of all I sorrowed in soul that truths were lessened by the sons of men; in the second place I feared for my own self, lest in addition to my other sins, I should become a misanthrope, believing no truth and honor to be left in any man; if indeed those whom I have most greatly trusted are proved to be so disposed both to me and to the truth. Be sure then, my brother, and every one who is a friend of the truth, that the composition is not mine; I do not approve of it, for it is not drawn up according to my views. Even if I did write, a good many years ago, to Apollinarius or to any one else, I ought not to be blamed. I find no fault myself if any member of any society has been cut off into heresy (and you know perfectly well whom I mean though I mention nobody by name), because each man will die in his own sin.

This is my reply to the document sent me, that you may know the truth, and make it plain to all who wish not to hold the truth in unrighteousness. If it prove necessary to defend myself more at length on each separate count, I will do so, God being my helper. I, brother Olympius, neither maintain three Gods, nor communicate with Apollinarius.

LETTER 132

TO ABRAMIUS, BISHOP OF BATNOE

EVER since the autumn I have been quite ignorant of the whereabouts of your reverence; for I kept hearing uncertain rumors, some saying that you were stopping at Samosata, and some in the country, while others maintained that they had seen you at Batnae. This is the reason of my not writing frequently. Now, on hearing that you are staying at Antioch, in the house of the honorable Count Saturninus, I have been glad to give this letter to our beloved and reverend brother Sanctissimus, our fellow presbyter, by whom I salute you, and exhort you, wherever you be, to remember firstly God, and secondly myself, whom you determined from the beginning to love and to reckon among your most intimate friends.

LETTER 133.

TO PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

THE sight of the eyes brings about bodily friendship, and long companionship strengthens it, but genuine regard is the gift of the Spirit, Who unites what is separated by long distances, and makes friends known to one another, not by bodily qualities, but by the characteristics of the soul. The grace of the Lord has granted me this favor, by permitting me to see you with the soul’s eye, and to embrace you with genuine affection, and as it were, to be drawn very near to you, and to come into close union with you in the communion of faith. I am sure that you, disciple as you are of so great a man, and long associated with him, will walk in the same spirit and follow the same doctrines of true religion. Under these circumstances I address your excellency, and beseech you that among the other things in which you have succeeded that great man, you will succeed him in love to me, that you will frequently write me news of you, and will give heed to the brotherhood all over the world with the same affection and the same zeal which that most blessed man always showed to all that love God in truth.

LETTER 134

TO THE PRESBYTER POEONIUS

YOU may conjecture from what it contains, what pleasure you have given me by your letter. The pureness of heart, from which such expressions sprang, was plainly signified by what you wrote. A streamlet tells of its own spring, and so the manner of speech marks the heart from which it came. I must confess that an extraordinary and improbable thing has happened to me. For deeply anxious as I always was to receive a letter from your excellency, when I had taken your letter into my hand and had read it, I was not so much pleased at what you had written, as annoyed at reckoning up the loss I had suffered in your long silence. Now that you have begun to write, pray do not leave off. You will give me greater pleasure than men can give by sending much money to misers. I have had no writer with me, neither caligraphist, nor short-hand. Of all those whom I happen to employ, some have returned to their former mode of life, and others are unfit for work from long sickness.

LETTER 135

TO DIODORUS, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH

1. I HAVE read the books sent me by your excellency. With the second I was delighted, not only with its brevity, as was likely to be the case with a reader out of health and inclined to indolence, but, because it is at once full of thought, and so arranged that the objections of opponents, and the answers to them, stand out distinctly. Its simple and natural style seems to me to befit the profession of a Christian who writes less for self-advertisement than for the general good. The former work, which has practically the same force, but is much more elaborately adorned with rich diction, many figures, and niceties of dialogue, seems to me to require considerable time to read, and much mental labor, both to gather its meaning and retain it in the memory. The abuse of our opponents and the support of our own side, which are thrown in, although they may seem to add some charms of dialectic to the treatise, do yet break the continuity of

the thought and weaken the strength of the argument, by causing interruption and delay. I know that your intelligence is perfectly well aware that the heathen philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight to the point, because they were aware of their not being gifted with the graces of Plato. Plato, on the other hand, with his great power of writing, at the same time attacks opinions and incidentally makes fun of his characters, assailing now the rashness and recklessness of a Thrasymachus, the levity and frivolity of a Hippias, and the arrogance and pomposity of a Protagoras. When, however, he introduces unmarked characters into his dialogues, he uses the interlocutors for making the point clear, but does not admit anything more belonging to the characters into his argument. An instance of this is in the Laws.

2. It is well for us too, who betake ourselves to writing, not from any vain ambition, but from the design of bequeathing counsels of sound doctrine to the brethren, if we introduce some character well known to all the world for presumption of manners, to interweave into the argument some points in accordance with the quality of the character, unless indeed we have no right at all to leave our work and to accuse men. But if the subject of the dialogue be wide and general, digressions against persons interrupt its continuity and tend to no good end. So much I have written to prove that you did not send your work to a flatterer, but have shared your toil with a real brother. And I have spoken not for the correction of what is finished, but as a precaution for the future; for assuredly one who is so accustomed to write, and so diligent in writing, will not hesitate to do so; and the more so that there is no falling off in the number of those who give him subjects. Enough for me to read your books. I am as far from being able to write anything as, I had very nearly said, I am from being well, or from having the least leisure from my work. I have however now sent back the larger and earlier of the two volumes, after perusing it as far as I have been able. The second I have retained, with the wish to transcribe it, but, hitherto, without finding any quick writer. To such a pitch of poverty has come the enviable condition of the Cappadocians!

LETTER 136

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. In what state the good Isaaces has found me, he himself will best explain to you; though his tongue cannot be tragic enough to describe my sufferings, so great was my illness. However, any one who knows me ever so little, will be able to conjecture what it was. For, if when I am called well, I am weaker even than persons who are given over, you may fancy what I was when thus ill. Yet, since disease is my natural state, it would follow (let a fever have its jest) that in this change of habit, my health became especially flourishing. But it is the scourge of the Lord which goes on increasing my pain according to my deserts; therefore I have received illness upon illness, so that now even a child may see that this shell of mine must for certain fail, unless perchance, God's mercy vouchsafe to me, in His long suffering, time for repentance, and now, as often before, extricate me from evils beyond human cure. This shall be, as it is pleasing to Him and good for myself.

2. I need hardly tell you how deplorable and hopeless is the condition of the Churches. Now, for the sake of our own safety, we neglect our neighbor's, and do not even seem able to see that general disaster involves individual ruin. Least of all need I say this to one who, like yourself, foresaw the future from afar, and has foretold and proclaimed it and has been among the first to be roused, and to rouse the rest, writing letters, coming yourself in person, leaving no deed undone, no word unspoken. I remember this in every instance, but yet we are none the better off. Now, indeed, were not my sins in the way, (first of all, my dear brother the reverend deacon Eustathius fell seriously ill and detained me two whole months, looking day by day for his restoration to health; and then all about me fell sick; brother Isaaces will tell you the rest; then last of all I myself was attacked by this complaint) I should long ago have been to see your excellency, not indeed thereby to try to improve the general state of affairs, but to get some good for myself from your society. I had made up my mind to get out of the reach of the ecclesiastical artillery, because I am quite unprepared to meet my enemies' attacks. May God's mighty hand preserve you for all of us, as a noble guardian of the faith, and a vigilant

champion of the Churches; and grant me, before I die, to meet you for the comfort of my soul.

LETTER 137

TO ANTIPATER, ON HIS ASSUMING THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CAPPADOCIA

I DO now really feel the loss which I suffer from being ill; so that, when such a man succeeds to the government of my country, my having to nurse myself compels me to be absent. For a whole month I have been undergoing the treatment of natural hot springs, in the hope of drawing some benefit from them. But I seem to be troubling myself to no purpose in my solitude, or indeed to be deservedly a laughing stock to mankind, for not heeding the proverb which says "warmth is no good to the dead." Even situated as I am, I am very anxious to put aside everything else, and betake myself to your excellency, that I may enjoy the benefit of all your high qualities, and through your goodness settle all my home affairs here in a proper manner. The house of our reverend mother Palladia is my own, for I am not only nearly related to her, but regard her as a mother on account of her character. Now, as some disturbance has been raised about her house, I ask your excellency to postpone the enquiry for a little while, and to wait till I come; not at all that justice may not be done, for I had rather die ten thousand times than ask a favor of that kind from a judge who is a friend of law and right, but that you may learn from me by word of mouth matters which it would be unbecoming for me to write. If you do so you will in no wise fall in fealty to the truth, and we shall suffer no harm. I beg you then to keep the individual in question in safe custody under the charge of the troops, and not refuse to grant me this harmless favor.

LETTER 138

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. WHAT was my state of mind, think you, when I received your piety's letter? When I thought of the feelings which its language expressed, I was

eager to fly straight to Syria; but when I thought of the bodily illness, under which I lay bound, I saw myself unequal, not only to flying, but even to turning on my bed. This day, on which our beloved and excellent brother and deacon, Elpidius, has arrived, is the fiftieth of my illness. I am much reduced by the fever. For lack of what it might feed on, it lingers in this dry flesh as in an expiring wick, and so has brought on a wasting and tedious illness. Next my old plague, the liver, coming upon it, has kept me from taking nourishment, prevented sleep, and held me on the confines of life and death, granting just life enough to feel its inflictions. In consequence I have had recourse to the hot springs, and have availed myself of help from medical men.

But for all these the mischief has proved too strong. Perhaps another man might endure it, but, coining as it did unexpectedly, no one is so stout as to bear it. Long troubled by it as I have been, I have never been so distressed as now at being prevented by it from meeting you and enjoying your true friendship. I know of how much pleasure I am deprived, although last year I did touch With the tip of my finger the sweet honey of your Church.

2. For many urgent reasons I felt bound to meet your reverence, both to discuss many things with you and to learn many things from you. Here it is not possible even to find genuine affection. And, could one even find a true friend, none can give counsel to me in the present emergency with anything like the wisdom and experience which you have acquired in your many labors on the Church’s behalf. The rest I must not write. I may, however, safely say what follows. The presbyter Evagrius, son of Pompeianus of Antioch, who set out some time ago to the West with the blessed Eusebius, has now returned from Rome. He demands from me a letter couched in the precise terms dictated by the Westerns. My own he has brought back again to me, and reports that it did not give satisfaction to the more precise authorities there. He also asks that a commission of men of repute may be promptly sent, that they may have a reasonable pretext for visiting me. My sympathizers in Sebasteia have stripped the covering from the secret sore of the unorthodoxy of Eustathius, and demand my ecclesiastical care.

Iconium is a city of Pisidia, anciently the first after the greatest, and now it is capital of a part, consisting of an union of different portions, and

allowed the government of a distinct province. Iconium too calls me to visit her and to give her a bishop; for Faustinus is dead. Whether I ought to shrink from consecrations over the border; what answer I ought to give to the Sebastenes; what attitude I should show to the propositions of Evagrius; all these are questions to which I was anxious to get answers in a personal interview with you, for here in my present weakness I am cut off from everything. If, then, you can find any one soon coming this way, be so good as to give me your answer on them all. If not, pray that what is pleasing to the Lord may come into my mind. In your synod also bid mention to be made of me, and pray for me yourself, and join your people with you in the prayer that it may be permitted me to continue my service through the remaining days or hours of my sojourning here in a manner pleasing to the Lord.

LETTER 139.

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

1. I Have already heard of the persecution in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and, as might be expected, I am deeply affected. I have observed the ingenuity of the devil's mode of warfare. When he saw that the Church increased under the persecution of enemies and flourished all the more, he changed his plan. He no longer carries on an open warfare, but lays secret snares against us, hiding his hostility under the name which they bear, in order that we may both suffer like our fathers, and, at the same time, seem not to suffer for Christ's sake, because our persecutors too bear the name of Christians. With these thoughts for a long time we sat still, dazed at the news of what had happened, for, in sober earnest, both our ears tingled on hearing of the shameless and inhuman heresy of your persecutors. They have reverenced neither age, nor services to society, nor people's affection. They inflicted torture, ignominy, and exile; they plundered all the property they could find; they were careless alike of human condemnation and of the awful retribution to come at the hands of the righteous Judge. All this has amazed me and all but driven me out of my senses. To my reflections has been added this thought too; can the Lord have wholly abandoned His Churches? Has the last hour come, and is "the falling

away” thus coming upon us, that now the lawless one “may be revealed the son of perdition who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God and is worshipped”? But if the temptation is for a season, bear it, ye noble athletes of Christ. If the world is being delivered to complete, and final destruction, let us not lose heart for the present, but let us await the revelation from heaven, and the manifestation of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ. If all creation is to be dissolved, and the fashion of this world transformed, why should we be surprised that we, who are a part of creation, should feel the general woe, and be delivered to afflictions which our just God inflicts on us according to the measure of our strength, not letting us “be tempted above that we are able, but with the temptation giving us a way to escape that we may be able to bear it”? Brothers, martyrs’ crowns await you. The companies of the confessors are ready to reach out their hands to you and to welcome you into their own ranks. Remember how none of the saints of old won their crowns of patient endurance by living luxuriously and being courted; but all were tested by being put through the fire of great afflictions. “For some had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, and others were sawn asunder and were slain with the sword.” These are the glories of saints. Blessed is he who is deemed worthy to suffer for Christ; more blessed is he whose sufferings are greater, since “ the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.”

2. Had it but been possible for me to travel to you I should have liked nothing better than to meet you, that I might see and embrace Christ’s athletes, and share your prayers and spiritual graces. But now my body is wasted by long sickness, so that I can scarcely even leave my bed, and there are many who are lying in wait for me, like ravening wolves, watching the moment when they may be able to rend Christ’s sheep. I have therefore been compelled to visit you by letter; and I exhort you first of all most earnestly to pray for me, that for the rest of my remaining days or hours I may be enabled to serve the Lord, in accordance with the gospel of His kingdom. Next I beg you to pardon me for my absence and for my delay in writing to you. I have only with great difficulty found a man able to carry out my wishes. I speak of my son, the monk Eugenius, by whom I beseech you to pray for me and for the whole Church, and to write back news of you so that, when I hear, I may be more cheerful.

LETTER 140

TO THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH

1. "OH that I had wings like a dove for then would I fly away" to you, and satisfy my longing to meet you. But now it is not only wings that I want, but a whole body, for mine has suffered from long sickness, and now is quite worn away with continuous affliction. For no one can be so hard of heart, so wholly destitute of sympathy and kindness, as to hear the sigh that strikes my ear from every quarter, as though from some sad choir chanting a symphony of lamentation, without being grieved at heart, being bent to the ground, and wasting away with these irremediable troubles. But the holy God is able to provide a remedy for the irremediable, and to grant you a respite from your long toils. I should like you to feel this comfort and, rejoicing in the hope of consolation, to submit to the present pain of your afflictions. Are we paying the penalty of our sins? Then our plagues are such as to save us for the future from the wrath of God. Are we called upon through these temptations to fight for the truth? Then the righteous Giver of the prizes will not suffer us to be tried above that which we are able to bear, but, in return for our previous struggles, will give us the crown of patience and of hope in Him. Let us, therefore, not flinch from fighting a good fight on behalf of the truth, nor, in despair, fling away the labors we have already achieved. For the strength of the soul is not shewn by one brave deed, nor yet by effort only for a short time; but He Who tests our hearts wishes us to win crowns of righteousness after long and protracted trial. Only let our spirit be kept unbroken, the firmness of our faith in Christ be maintained unshaken, and ere long our Champion will appear; He will come and will not tarry. Expect tribulation after tribulation, hope upon hope; yet a little while yet a little while. Thus the Holy Ghost knows how to comfort His nurslings by a promise of the future. After tribulations comes hope, and what we are hoping for is not far off, for let a man name the whole of human life, it is but a tiny interval compared with the endless age which is laid up in our hopes.

2. Now I accept no newer creed written for me by other men, nor do I venture to propound the outcome of my own intelligence, lest I make the words of true religion merely human words; but what I have been taught

by the holy Fathers, that I announce to all who question me. In my Church the creed written by the holy Fathers in synod at Nicaea is in use. I believe that it is also repeated among you; but I do not refuse to write its exact terms in my letter, lest I be accused of taking too little trouble. It is as follows: This is our faith. But no definition was given about the Holy Ghost, the Pneumatomachi not having at that date appeared. No mention was therefore made of the need of anathematizing those who say that the Holy Ghost is of a created and ministerial nature. For nothing in the divine and blessed Trinity is created.

LETTER 141

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. I HAVE now received two letters from your divine and most excellent wisdom, whereof the one told me clearly how I had been expected by the laity under the jurisdiction of your holiness, and what disappointment I had caused by failing to attend the sacred synod. The other, which from the writing I conjecture to be of the earlier date, though it was delivered later, gave me advice, at once honorable to yourself and necessary to me, not to neglect the interests of God's Churches, nor little by little to allow the guidance of affairs to pass to our opponents, whereby their interests must win, and ours lose. I think that I answered both. But, as I am uncertain whether my replies were preserved by those who were entrusted with the duty of conveying them, I will make my defense over again. As to my absence, I can put in an unimpeachable plea, as to which I think intelligence must have reached your holiness, that I have been detained by illness which bus brought me to the very gates of death. Even now as I write about it, the remains of sickness are still upon me. And they are such as to another man might be unendurable.

2. As to the fact of its not being owing to my neglect that the interests of the Churches have been betrayed to our opponents, I wish your reverence to know that the bishops in communion with me, from lack of earnestness, or because they suspect me and are not open with me, or because the devil is always at hand to oppose good works, are unwilling to cooperate with me. Formerly, indeed, the majority of us were united wish one another,

including the excellent Bosporius. In reality they give me no aid in what is most essential. The consequence of all this is, that to a great extent my recovery is hindered by my distress, and the sorrow I feel brings back my worst symptoms. What, however, can I do alone and unaided, when the canons, as you yourself know, do not allow points of this kind to be settled by one man? And yet what remedy have I not tried? Of what decision have I failed to remind them, some by letter and some in person? They even came to the city, when they heard a report of my death; when, by God’s will, they found me yet alive I made them such a speech as was proper to the occasion. In my presence they respect me, and promise all that is fit, but no sooner have they got back again than they return to their own opinion. In all this I am a sufferer, like the rest, for the Lord has clearly abandoned us, whose love has grown cold because iniquity abounds. For all this may your great and powerful intercession with God be sufficient for me. Perhaps we shall either become of some use, or, even if we fail in our object, we may escape condemnation.

LETTER 142.

TO THE PREFECTS’ ACCOUNTANT

I ASSEMBLED all my brethren the chorepiscopi at the synod of the blessed martyr Eupsychius to introduce them to your excellency. On account of your absence they must be brought before you by letter. Know, therefore, this brother as being worthy to be trusted by your intelligence, because he fears the Lord. As to the matters on behalf of the poor, which he refers to your good-will, deign to believe him as one worthy of credit, and to give the afflicted all the aid in your power. I am sure you will consent to look favorably upon the hospital of the poor which is in his district, and exempt it altogether from taxation. It has already seemed good to your colleague to make the little property of the poor not liable to be rated.

LETTER 143

TO ANOTHER ACCOUNTANT

HAD it been possible for me to meet your excellency I would have in person brought before you the points about which I am anxious, and would have pleaded the cause of the afflicted, but I am prevented by illness and by press of business. I have therefore sent to you in my stead this chorepiscopus, my brother, begging you to give him your aid and use him and to take him into counsel, for his truthfulness and sagacity qualify him to advise in such matters. If you are so good as to inspect the hospital for the poor, which is managed by him, (I am sure you will not pass it without a visit, experienced as you are in the work; for I have been told that you support one of the hospitals at Amasea out of the substance wherewith the Lord has blessed you), I am confident that, after seeing it, you will give him all he asks. Your colleague has already promised me some help towards the hospitals. I tell you this, not that you may imitate him, for you are likely to be a leader of others in good works, but that you may know that others have shown regard for me in this matter.

LETTER 144

TO THE PREFECTS' OFFICER

YOU know the bearer from meeting him in the town. Nevertheless I write to commend him to you, that he may be useful to you in many matters in which you are interested, from his being able to give pious and sensible advice. Now is the thee to carry out what you have said to me in private; I mean when this my brother has told you the state of the poor.

LETTER 145

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

I KNOW the countless labors which you have undergone for the Churches of God; I know your press of occupation, while you discharge your

responsibilities, not as though they were of mere secondary importance, but in accordance with God's will. I know the man who is, as it were, laying close siege to you and by whom you are forced, like birds crouching in cover under an eagle, not to go far from your shelter. I know all this. But longing is strong, both in hoping for the impracticable and attempting the impossible. Rather I should say, hope in God is the strongest of all things. For it is not from unreasonable desire, but from strength of faith, that I expect a way out, even from the greatest difficulties, and that you will find a way to get over all hindrances, and to come to see the Church that loves you best of all, and to be seen by her. What she values most of all good things is to behold your face and to hear your voice. Beware then of making her hopes vain. When last year, on my return from Syria, I reported the promise which you had given me, you cannot think how elated with her hopes I made her. Do not, my friend, postpone your coming to another time. Even if it may be possible for you to see her one day, you may not see her and me too, for sickness is hurrying me on to quit this painful life.

LETTER 146.

TO ANTIOCHUS

I CANNOT accuse you of carelessness and inattention, because, when an opportunity of writing occurred, you said nothing. For I count the greeting which you have sent me in your own honored hand worth many letters. In return I salute you, and beg you earnestly to give heed to the salvation of your soul, disciplining all the lusts of the flesh by reason, and ever keeping the thought of God built up in your soul, as in a very holy temple. In every deed and every word hold before your eyes the judgment of Christ, so that every individual action, being referred to that exact and awful examination may bring you glory in the day of retribution, when you win praise from all creation. If that great man should be able to pay me a visit, it would be a pleasure to me to see you here with him.

LETTER 147

TO ABURGIUS

UP to this thee I used to think Homer a fable, when I read the second part of his poem, in which he narrates the adventures of Ulysses. But the calamity which has befallen the most excellent Maximus has led me to look on what I used to think fabulous and incredible, as exceedingly probable. Maximus was governor of no insignificant people, just as Ulysses was chief of the Cephallenians. Ulysses had great wealth, and returned stripped of everything. To such straits has calamity reduced Maximus, that he may have to present himself at home in borrowed rags. And perhaps he has suffered all this because he has irritated some Laestrygones against him, and has fallen in with some Scylla, hiding a dog's fierceness and fury under a woman's form. Since then he has barely been able to swim out of this inextricable whirlpool. He supplicates you by my means for humanity's sake to grieve for his undeserved misfortunes and not be silent about his needs, but make them known to the authorities. He hopes thus that he may find some aid against the slanders which have been got up against him: and if not, that at all events the intention of the enemy who has shewn such an intoxication of hostility against him may be made public. When a man has been wronged it is a considerable comfort to him if the wickedness of his enemies can be made plain.

LETTER 148.

TO TRAJAN

EVEN the ability to bewail their own calamities brings much comfort to the distressed; and this is specially the case when they meet with others capable, from their lofty character, of sympathizing with their sorrows. So my right honorable brother Maximus, after being prefect of my country, and then suffering what no other man ever yet suffered, stripped of all his belongings both inherited from his forefathers and collected by his own labors, afflicted in body in many and various ways, by his wanderings up and down the world, and not having been able to keep even his civil status

free from attack, to preserve which freemen are wont to leave no labor undone, has made many complaints to me about all that has happened to him, and has begged me to give you a short description of the Iliad of woes in which he is involved. And I, being quite unable to relieve him in any other way in his troubles, have readily done him the favor shortly to relate to your excellency a part of what I have heard from him. He, indeed, seemed to me to blush at the idea of making a plain tale of his own calamity. If what has happened shews that the inflicter of the wrong is a villain, at all events it proves the sufferer to be deserving of great pity; since the very fact of having fallen into troubles inflicted by Divine Providence, seems in a manner to shew that a man has been devoted to suffering. But it would he a sufficient comfort to him if you will only look at him kindly, and extend also to him that abundant favor which all the recipients of it cannot exhaust, — I mean your clemency. We are all of us convinced that before the tribunal your protection will be an immense step towards victory. He who has asked for my letter as likely to be of service is of all men most upright. May it be granted me to see him, with the rest, proclaiming aloud the praises of your lordship with all his power.

LETTER 149.

TO TRAJAN

YOU yourself have seen with your own eyes the distressing condition of Maximus, once a man of high reputation, but now most of all to be pitied, formerly prefect of my country. Would that he had never been so! Many, I think, would be likely to shun provincial governorships, if their dignities are likely to issue in such an end. To a man, then, from the quickness of his intelligence, able from a few circumstances to conjecture the rest, I need hardly narrate in detail fill that I have seen and all that I have heard. Perhaps, however, I shall not seem to be telling a superfluous story if I mention that, though many and terrible things were audaciously done against him before your coming, what went on afterwards was such as to cause the former proceedings to be reckoned as kindness; to such an excess of outrage and injury and actually of personal cruelty did the proceedings go which were afterwards taken against him by the person in authority.

Now he is here with an escort to fill up the measure of his evil deeds unless you are willing to stretch out your strong hand to protect the sufferer. In urging your goodness to an act of kindness I feel that I am undertaking an unnecessary task. Yet since I desire to be serviceable to Maximus I do beg your lordship to add something for my sake to your natural zeal for what is right, to the end that he may clearly perceive that my intervention on his behalf has been of service to him.

LETTER 150

TO AMPHILOCHIUS IN THE NAME OF HERACLIDAS

1. I REMEMBER our old conversations with one another, and am forgetful neither of what I said, nor of what you said. And now public life has no hold upon me. For although I am the same in heart and have not yet put off the old man, nevertheless, outwardly and by withdrawing myself far from worldly life, I seem already to have begun to tread the way of Christian conversation. I sit apart, like men who are on the point of embarking on the deep, looking out at what is before me. Mariners, indeed, need winds to make their voyage prosperous; I on the other hand want a guide to take me by the hand and conduct me safely through life's bitter waves. I feel that I need first a curb for my young manhood, and then pricks to drive me to the course of piety. Both these seem to be provided by reason, which at one thee disciplines my unruliness of soul, and at another thee my sluggishness. Again I want other remedies that I may wash off the impurity of habit. You know how, long accustomed as I was to the Forum, I am lavish of words, and do not guard myself against the thoughts put into my mind by the evil one. I am the servant too of honor, and cannot easily give up thinking great things of myself. Against all this I feel that I need a great instructor. Then, further, I conclude that it is of no mall importance, nor of benefit only for a little while, that the soul's eye should be so purged that, after being freed from all the darkness of ignorance, as though from some blinding humor, one can gaze intently on the beauty of the glory of God. All this I know very well that your wisdom is aware of; I know that you would wish that I might have some one to give me such help, and if ever God grant me to meet you I am sure that I shall learn more about what I ought to heed. For now, in my great

ignorance, I can hardly even form a judgment as to what I lack. Yet I do not repent of my first impulse; my soul does not hang back from the purpose of a godly life as you have feared for me, nobly and becomingly doing everything in your power,' lest, like the woman of whom I have heard the story, I should turn back and become a pillar of salt. I am still, however, under the restraint of external authority; for the magistrates are seeking me like a deserter. But I am chiefly influenced by my own heart, which testifies to itself of all that I have told you.

2. Since you have mentioned our bond, and have announced that you mean to prosecute, you have made me laugh in this my dejection, because you are still an advocate and do not give up your shrewdness. I hold, unless, indeed, like an ignorant man, I am quite missing the truth, that there is only one way to the Lord, and that all who are journeying to Him are traveling together and walking in accordance with ones "bond" of life. If this be so, wherever I go how can I be separated from you? How can r cease to live with you, and with you serve God, to Whom we have both fled for refuge? Our bodies may be separated by distance, but God's eve still doubtless looks upon us both; if indeed a life like mine is fit to be beheld by the divine eyes; for I have read somewhere in the Psalms that the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous. I do indeed pray that with you and with all that are like minded with you, I may be associated, even in body, and that night and day with you and with any other true worshipper of God I may bow my knees to our Father which is in heaven; for I know that communion in prayer brings great gain. If, as often as it is my lot to lie and groan in a different corner, I am always to be accused of lying, I cannot contend against your argument, and already condemn mystic as a liar, if with my own carelessness I have said anything which brings me under such a charge.

3. I was lately at Caesarea, in order to learn what was going on there. I was unwilling to remain in the city itself, and betook myself to the neighboring hospital, that I might get there what information I wanted. According to his custom the very godly bishop visited it, and I consulted him as to the points which you had urged upon me. It is not possible for me to remember all that he said in reply; it went far beyond the limits of a letter. In sum, however, what he said about poverty was this, that the rule ought to be that every one should limit his possessions to one garment. For one

proof of this he quoted the words of John the Baptist “he that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none;” and for another our Lord’s prohibition to His disciples to have two coats. He further added “If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor.” He said too that the parable of the pearl bore on this point, because the merchant, who had found the pearl of great price, went away and sold all that he had and bought it; and he added too that no one ought even to permit himself the distribution of his own property, but should leave it in the hands of the person entrusted with the duty of managing the affairs of the poor; and he proved the point from the acts of the apostles, because they sold their property and brought and laid it at the feet of the apostles, and by them it was distributed to each as every man had need. For he said that experience was needed in order to distinguish between cases of genuine need and of mere greedy begging. For whoever gives to the afflicted gives to the Lord, and from the Lord shall have his reward; but he who gives to every vagabond casts to a dog, a nuisance indeed from his importunity, but deserving no pity on the ground of want.

4. He was moreover the first to speak shortly, as befits the importance of the subject, about some of the daily duties of life. As to this I should wish you to hear from himself, for it would not be right for me to weaken the force of his lessons. I would pray that we might visit him together, that so you might both accurately preserve in your memory what he said, and supply any omissions by your own intelligence. One thing that I do remember, out of the many which I heard, is this; that instruction how to lead the Christian life depends less on words, than on daily example. I know that, if you had not been detained by the duty of succoring your aged father, there is nothing that you would have more greatly esteemed than a meeting with the bishop, and that you would not have advised me to leave him in order to wander in deserts. Caves and rocks are always ready for us, but the help we get from our fellow man is not always at hand. If, then, you will put up with my giving you advice, you will impress on your father the desirability of his allowing you to leave him for a little while in order to meet a man who, alike from his experience of others and from his own wisdom, knows much, and is able to impart it to all who approach him.

LETTER 151

TO EUSTATHIUS THE PHYSICIAN

IF my letters are of any good, lose no thee in writing to me and in rousing me to write. We are unquestionably made more cheerful when we read the letters of wise men who love the Lord. It is for you to say, who read it, whether you find anything worth attention in what I write. Were it not for the multitude of my engagements, I should not debar myself from the pleasure of writing frequently. Pray do you, whose cares are fewer, soothe me by your letters. Wells, it is said, are the better for being used. The exhortations which you derive from your profession are apparently beside the point, for it is not I who the applying the knife; it is men whose day is done, who are filling upon themselves. The phrase of the Stoics runs, "since things do not happen as we like, we like what happens;" but I cannot make my mind fall in with what is happening. That some men should do what they do not like because they cannot help it, I have no objection. You doctors do not cauterize a sick man, or make him suffer pain in some other way, because you like it; but you often adopt this treatment in obedience to the necessity of he case. Mariners do not willingly throw heir cargo overboard; but in order to escape shipwreck they put up with the loss, preferring a life of penury to death. Be sure that I look with sorrow and with many groans upon the separation of those who are holding themselves aloof. But yet I endure it. To lovers of the truth nothing can be put before God and hope in Him.

LETTER 152

TO VICTOR, THE COMMANDER

IF I were to fail to write to any one else I might possibly with justice incur the charge of carelessness or forgetfulness. But it is not possible to forget you, when your name is in all men's mouths. But I cannot be careless about one who is perhaps more distinguished than any one else in the empire. The cause of my silence is evident. I am afraid of troubling so great a man. If, however, to all your other virtues you add that of not only

receiving what I send, but of actually asking after what is missing, lo! here I am writing to you with joyous heart, and I shall go on writing for the future, with prayers to God that you may be requited for the honor you pay me. For the Church, you have anticipated my supplications, by doing everything which I should have asked. And you act to please not man but God, Who has honored you; Who has given you some good things in this life, and will give you others in the life to come, because you have walked with truth in His way, and, from the beginning to the end, have kept your heart fixed in the right faith.

LETTER 153

TO VICTOR THE EX-CONSUL

AS often as it falls to my lot to read your lordship's letters, so often do I thank God that you continue to remember me, and that you are not moved by any calumny to lessen the love which once you consented to entertain for me, either from your wise judgment or your kindly intercourse. I pray then the holy God that you may remain in this mind towards me, and that I may be worthy of the honor which you give me.

LETTER 154

TO ASCHOLIUS, BISHOP OF THESSALONICA

YOU have done well, and in accordance with the law of spiritual love, in writing to me first, and by your good example challenging me to like energy. The friendship of the world, indeed, stands in need of actual sight and intercourse, that thence intimacy may begin. All, however, who know how to love in the spirit do not need the flesh to promote affection, but are led to spiritual communion in the fellowship of the faith. Thanks, then, to the Lord Who has comforted my heart by showing me that love has not grown cold in all, but that there are yet in the world men who show the evidence of the discipleship of Christ. The state of affairs with you seems to be something like that of the stars by night, shining some in one part of the sky and some in another, whereof the brightness is charming, and the more charming because it is unexpected. Such are you, luminaries of the

Churches, a few at most and easily counted in this gloomy state of things, shining as in a moonless night, and, besides being welcome for your virtue, being all the more longed for because of its being so seldom that you are found. Your letter has made your disposition quite plain to me. Although small, as far as regards the number of its syllables, in the correctness of its sentiments it was quite enough to give me proof of your mind and purpose. Your zeal for the cause of the blessed Athanasius is plain proof of your being sound as to the most important matters. In return for my joy at your letter I am exceedingly grateful to my honorable son Euphemius, to whom I pray that all help may be given by the Holy One, and I beg you to join in my prayers that we may soon receive him back with his very honorable wife, my daughter in the Lord. As to yourself, I beg that you will not stay our joy at its beginning, but that you will write on every possible opportunity, and increase your good feeling towards me by constant communication. Give me news, I beg you, about your Churches and how. they are situated as regards union. Pray for us here that our Lord may rebuke the winds and the sea, and that with us there may be a great, calm.

LETTER 155

WITHOUT ADDRESS. IN THE CASE OF A TRAINER

I Am at a loss how to defend myself against all the complaints contained in the first and only letter which your lordship has been so good as to send me. It is not that there is any lack of right on my side, but because among so many charges it is hard to select the most vital, and fix on the point at which I ought to begin to apply a remedy. Perhaps, if I follow the order of your letter, I shall come upon each in turn. Up todayI knew nothing about those who are setting out for Scythia; nor had any one told me even of those who came from your house, so that I might greet you by them, although I am anxious to seize every opportunity of greeting your lordship. To forget you in my prayers is impossible, unless first I forget the work to which God has called me, for assuredly, faithful as by God’s grace you are, you remember all the prayers of the Church; how we pray also for our brethren when on a journey and offer prayer in the holy church for those who are in the army, and for those who speak for the

sake of the Lord's name, and for those who show the fruits of the Spirit. In most, or all of these, I reckon your lordship to be included. How could I ever forget you, as far as I am individually concerned, when I have so many reasons to stir me to recollection, such a sister, such nephews, such kinsfolk, so good, so fond of me, house, household, and friends? By all these, even against my will, I am perforce reminded of your good disposition. As to this, however, our brother has brought me no unpleasant news, nor has any decision been come to by me which could do him any injury. Free, then, the chorepiscopus and myself from all blame, and grieve rather over those who have made false reports. If our learned friend wishes to bring an action against me, he has law courts and laws. In this I beg you not to blame me. In all the good deeds that you do, you are laying up treasure for yourself; you are preparing for yourself in the day of retribution the same refreshment which you are providing for those who are persecuted for the sake of the name of the Lord. If you send the relics of the martyrs home you will do well; as you write that the persecution there is, even now, causing martyrs to the Lord.

LETTER 156

TO THE PRESBYTER EVAGRIUS

1. So far from being impatient at the length of your letter, I assure you I thought it even short, from the pleasure it gave me when reading it. For is there anything more pleasing than the idea of peace? Is anything more suitable to the sacred office. or more acceptable to the Lord, than to take measures for effecting it? May you have the reward of the peace-maker, since so blessed an office has been the object of your good desires and earnest efforts. At the same time, believe me, my revered friend, I will yield to none in my earnest wish and prayer to see the day when those who are one in sentiment shall all fill the same assembly. Indeed it would be monstrous to feel pleasure in the schisms and divisions of the Churches, and not to consider that the greatest of goods consists in the knitting together of the members of Christ's body. But, alas! my inability is as real as my desire. No one knows better than yourself, that time alone is the remedy of ills that time has matured. Besides, a strong and vigorous treatment is necessary to get at the root of the complaint. You will

understand this hint, though there is no reason why I should not speak out.

2. Self-importance, when rooted by habit in the mind, cannot be destroyed by one man, by one single letter, or in a short time. Unless there be some arbiter in whom all parties have confidence, suspicions and collisions will never altogether cease. If, indeed, the influence of Divine grace were shed upon me, and I were given power in word and deed and spiritual gifts to prevail with these rival parties, then this daring experiment might be demanded of me; though, perhaps, even then, you would not advise me to attempt this adjustment of things by myself, without the cooperation of the bishop, on whom principally falls the care of the church. But he cannot come hither, nor can I easily undertake a long journey while the winter lasts, or rather I cannot anyhow, for the Armenian mountains will be soon impassable, even to the young and vigorous, to say nothing of my continued bodily ailments. I have no objection to write to tell him of all this; but I have no expectation that writing will lead to anything, for I know his cautious character, and after all written words have little power to convince the mind. There are so many things to urge, and to bear, and to reply to, and to object, that a letter has no soul, and is in fact but waste paper. However, as I have said, I will write. Only give me credit, most religious and dear brother, for having no private feeling in the matter. Thank God. I have no such feeling towards any one. I have not busied myself in the investigation of the supposed or real complaints which are brought against this or that man; so my opinion has a claim on your attention as that of one who really cannot act from partiality or prejudice. I only desire, through the Lord’s good will, that all things may be done with ecclesiastical propriety.

3. I was vexed to find from my dear son Dorotheus, our associate in the ministry, that you had been unwilling to communicate with him. This was not the kind of conversation which you had with me, as well as I recollect. As to my sending to the West it is quite out of the question. I have no one fit for the service. Indeed, when I look round, I seem to have no one on my side. I can but pray I may be found in the number of those seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. I know the present persecutors of us all seek my life; yet that shall not diminish ought of the zeal which I owe to the Churches of God.

LETTER 157.

TO AMIOCHUS

YOU may well imagine how disappointed I was not to meet you in the summer; not that our meeting in former years was enough to satisfy me, but even to see loved objects in a dream brings those who love some comfort. But you do not even write, so sluggish are you, and I think your absence can be referred to no other cause than that you are slow to undertake journeys for affection's sake. On this point I will say no more. Pray for me, and ask the Lord not to desert me, but as He has brought me out of bygone temptations so also to deliver me from those that I await, for the glory of the name of Him in Whom I put my trust.

LETTER 158.

TO ANTIOCHUS

MY sins have prevented me from carrying out the wish to meet you, which I have long entertained. Let me apologist by letter for my absence, and beseech you not to omit to remember me in your prayers, that, if I live, I may be permitted to enjoy your society. If not, by the aid of your prayers may I quit this world with good hope. I commend to you our brother the camel-master.

LETTER 159

TO EUPATERIUS AND HIS DAUGHTER

1. YOU may well imagine what pleasure the letter of your excellencies gave me, if only from its very contents. What, indeed, could give greater gratification to one who prays ever to be in communication with them who fear the Lord, and to share their blessings, than a letter of this kind, wherein questions are asked about the knowledge of God? For if, to me, "to live is Christ," truly my words ought to be about Christ, my every thought and deed ought to depend upon His commandments, and my soul

to be fashioned after His. I rejoice, therefore, at being asked about such things, and congratulate the askers. By me, to speak shortly, the faith of the Fathers assembled at Nicaea is honored before all later inventions. In it the Son is confessed to be con-substantial with the Father and to be naturally of the same nature with Him who begat Him, for He was confessed to be Light of Light, God of God, and Good of Good, and the like. Both by those holy men the same doctrine was declared, and by me now who pray that I may walk in their footsteps.

2. But since the question now raised by those who are always endeavoring to introduce novelties, but passed over in silence by the men of old, because the doctrine was never gainsaid, has remained without full explanation (I mean that which concerns the Holy Ghost) I will add a statement on this subject in conformity with the sense of Scripture. As we were baptized, so we profess our belief. As we profess our belief, so also we offer praise. As then baptism has been given us by the Savior, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, so, in accordance with our baptism, we make the confession of the creed, and our doxology in accordance with our creed. We glorify the Holy Ghost together with the Father and the Son, from the conviction that He is not separated from the Divine Nature; for that which is foreign by nature does not share in the same honors. All who call the Holy Ghost a creature we pity, on the ground that, by this utterance, they are falling into the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against Him. I need use no argument to prove to those who are even slightly trained in Scripture, that the creature is separated from the Godhead. The creature is a slave; but the Spirit sets free. The creature needs life; the Spirit is the Giver of life. The creature requires teaching. It is the Spirit that teaches. The creature is sanctified; it is the Spirit that sanctifies. Whether you name angels, archangels, or all the heavenly powers, they receive their sanctification through the Spirit, but the Spirit Himself has His holiness by nature, not received by favor, but essentially His; whence He has received the distinctive name of Holy. What then is by nature holy, as the Father is by nature holy, and the Son by nature holy, we do not ourselves allow to be separated and severed from the divine and blessed Trinity, nor accept those who rashly reckon it as part of creation. Let this short summary be sufficient for you, my pious friends. From little seeds, with the cooperation of the Holy Ghost, you

will reap the fuller crop of piety. “Give instruction to a wise man and he will be yet wiser.” I will put off fuller demonstration till we meet. When we do, it will be possible for me to answer objections, to give you fuller proofs from Scripture, and to confirm all the sound rule of faith. For the present pardon my brevity. I should not have written at all had I not thought it a greater injury to you to refuse your request altogether than to grant it in part.

LETTER 160

TO DIODORUS

1. I HAVE received the letter which has reached me under the name of Diodorus, but in what it contains creditable to any one rather than to Diodorus. Some ingenious person seems to have assumed your name, with the intention of getting credit with his hearers. It appears that he was asked by some one if it was lawful to contract marriage with his deceased wife’s sister; and, instead of shuddering at such a question, he heard it unmoved, and quite boldly and bravely supported the unseemly desire. Had I his letter by me I would have sent it you, and you would have been able to defend both yourself and the truth. But the person who showed it me took it away again, and carried it about as a kind of trophy of triumph against me who had forbidden it from the beginning, declaring that he had permission in writing. Now I have written to you that I may attack that spurious document with double strength, and leave it no force whereby it may injure its readers.

2. First of all I have to urge, what is of most importance in such matters, our own custom, which has the force of law, because the rules have been handed down to us by holy men. It is as follows: if any one, overcome by impurity, falls into unlawful intercourse with two sisters, this is not to be looked upon as marriage, nor are they to be admitted at all into the Church until they have separated from one another. Wherefore, although it were possible to say nothing further, the custom would be quite enough to safeguard what is right. But, since the writer of the letter has endeavored to introduce this mischief into our practice by a false argument, I am under the necessity of not omitting the aid of reasoning; although in matters

which are perfectly plain every man's instinctive sentiment is stronger than argument.

3. It is written, he says, in Leviticus "Neither shall thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness. beside the other *in her life time.*" From this it is plain, he argues, that it is lawful to take her when the wife is dead. To this my first answer shall be, that whatever the law says, it says to those who are under the law; otherwise we shall be subject to circumcision, the sabbath, abstinence from meats. For we certainly must not, when we find anything which falls in with our pleasures, subject ourselves to the yoke of slavery to the law; and then, if anything in the law seems hard, have recourse to the freedom which is in Christ. We have been asked if it is written that one may be taken to wife after her sister. Let us say what is safe and true, that it is not written. But to deduce by sequence of argument what is passed over in silence is the part of a legislator, not of one who quotes the articles of the law. Indeed, on these terms, any one who likes will be at liberty to take the sister, even in the lifetime of the wife. The same sophism fits in this case also. It is written, he says, "Thou shall not take a wife to vex her:" so that, apart from vexation, there is no prohibition to take her. The man who wants to indulge his desire will maintain that the relationship of sisters is such that they cannot vex one another. Take away the reason given for the prohibition to live with both, and what is there to prevent a man's taking both sisters? This is not written, we shall say. Neither is the former distinctly stated. The deduction from the argument allows liberty in both cases. But a solution of the difficulty might be found by going a little back to what is behind the enactment. It. appears that the legislator does not include every kind of sin, but particularly prohibits those of the Egyptians, from among whom Israel had gone forth, and of the Canaanites among whom they were going. The words are as follows, "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances." It is probable that this kind of sin was not practiced at that time among the Gentiles. Under these circumstances the lawgiver was, it may be supposed, under no necessity of guarding against it; the unwritten custom sufficed to condemn the crime. How then is it that while forbidding the greater he was silent about the

less? Because the example of the patriarch seemed injurious to many who indulged their flesh so far as to live with sisters in their life time. What ought to be my course? To quote the Scriptures, or to work out what they leave unsaid? In these laws it is not written that a father and son ought not to have the same concubine, but, in the prophet, it is thought deserving of the most extreme condemnation, "A man and his father" it is said "will go in unto the same maid." And how many other forms of unclean lust have been found out in the devils' school, while divine scripture is silent about them, not choosing to befoul its dignity with the names of filthy things and condemning their uncleanness in general terms! As the apostle Paul says, "Fornication and all uncleanness... let it not be once named among you as becometh saints," thus including the unspeakable doings of both males and females under the name of uncleanness. It follows that silence certainly does not give license to voluptuaries.

4. I, however, maintain that this point has not been left in silence, but that the lawgiver has made a distinct prohibition. The words "None of you shall approach to any one that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness," embraces also this form of kinsmanship, for what could be more akin to a man than his own wife, or rather than his own flesh? "For they are no more twain but one flesh." So, through the wife, the sister is made akin to the husband. For as he shall not take his wife's mother, nor yet his wife's daughter, because he may not take his own mother nor his own daughter, so he may not take his wife's sister, because he may not take his own sister. And, on the other hand, it will not be lawful for the wife to be joined with the husband's kin, for the rights of relationship hold good on both sides. But, for my part, to every one who is thinking about marriage I testify that, "the fashion of this world passeth away," and the time is short: "it remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none." If he improperly quotes the charge "Increase and multiply," I laugh at him, for not discerning the signs of the times. Second marriage is a remedy against fornication, not a means of lasciviousness. "If they cannot contain," it is said "let them marry;" but if they marry they must not break the law.

5. But they whose souls are blinded by dishonorable lust do not regard even nature, which from old time distinguished the names of the family. For under what relationship will those who contract these unions name

their sons? Will they call them brothers or cousins of one another? For, on account of the confusion, both names will apply. O man, do not make the aunt the little one's stepmother; do not arm with implacable jealousy her who ought to cherish them with a mother's love. It is only stepmothers who extend their hatred even beyond death; other enemies make a truce with the dead; stepmothers begin their hatred after death. The sum of what I say is this. If any one wants to contract a lawful marriage, the whole world is open to him: if he is only impelled by lust, let him be the more restricted, "that he may know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honor, not in the lust of concupiscence." I should like to say more, but the limits of my letter leave me no further room. I pray that my exhortation may prove stronger than lust, or at least that this pollution may not be found in my own province. Where it has been ventured on there let it abide.

LETTER 161

TO AMPHILOCHIUS ON HIS CONSECRATION AS BISHOP

1. BLESSED be God Who from age to age chooses them that please Him, distinguishes vessels of election, and uses them for the ministry of the Saints. Though you were trying to flee, as you confess, not from me, but from the calling you expected through me, He has netted you in the sure meshes of grace, and has brought you into the midst of Pisidia to catch men for the Lord, and draw the devil's prey from the deep into the light. You, too, may say as the blessed David said, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence." Such is the wonderful work of our loving Master. "Asses are lost" that there may be a king of Israel. David, however, being an Israelite was granted to Israel; but the land which has nursed you and brought you to such a height of virtue, possesses you no longer, and sees her neighbor beautified by her own adornment. But all believers in Christ are one people; all Christ's people, although He is hailed from many regions, are one Church; and so our country is glad and rejoices at the dispensation of the Lord, and instead of thinking that she is one man the poorer, considers that through one man she has become possessed of whole Churches. Only may the Lord grant me both to see you in person, and, so long as I am parted from you, to

hear of your progress in the gospel, and of the good order of your Churches.

2. Play the man, then, and be strong, and walk before the people whom the Most High has entrusted to your hand. Like a skillful pilot, rise in mind above every wave lifted by heretical blasts; keep the boat from being whelmed by the salt and bitter billows of false doctrine; and wait for the calm to be made by the Lord so soon as there shall have been found a voice worthy of rousing Him to rebuke the winds and the sea. If you wish to visit me, now hurried by long sickness towards the inevitable end, do not wait for an opportunity, or for the word from me. You know that to a father's heart every time is suitable to embrace a well-loved son, and that affection is stronger than words. Do not lament over a responsibility transcending your strength. If you had been destined to bear the burden unaided, it would have been not merely heavy; it would have been intolerable. But if the Lord shares the load with you, "cast all your care upon the Lord" and He will Himself act. Only be exhorted ever to give heed lest you be carried away by wicked customs. Rather change all previous evil ways into good by the help of the wisdom given you by God. For Christ has sent you not to follow others, but yourself to take the lead of all who are being saved. I charge you to pray for me, that, if I am still in this life, I may be permitted to see you with your Church. If, however, it is ordained that I now depart, may I see all of you hereafter with the Lord, your Church blooming like a vine with good works, and yourself like a wise husbandman and good servant giving meat in due season to his fellow-servants and receiving the reward of a wise and trusty steward. All who are with me salute your reverence. May you be strong and joyful in the Lord. May you be preserved glorious in the graces of the Spirit and of wisdom.

LETTER 162

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

THE same cause seems to make me hesitate to write, and to prove that I must write. When I think of the visit which I owe, and reckon up the gain at meeting you, I cannot help despising letters, as being not even shadows

in comparison with the reality. Then, again, when I reckon that my only consolation, deprived as I am of all that is best and most important, is to salute such a man and beg him, as I am wont, not to forget me in his prayers, I bethink me that letters are of no small value. I do not, myself, wish to give up all hope of my visit, nor to despair of seeing you. I should be ashamed not to seem to put so much confidence in your prayers as even to expect to be turned from an old man into a young one, if such a need were to arise, and not merely from a sick and emaciated one, as I am now, into one a little bit stronger. It is not easy to express in words the reason of my not being with you already, because I am not only prevented by actual illness, but have not even force of speech enough at any time to give you an account of such manifold and complex disease. I can only say that, ever since Easter up to now, fever, diarrhea, and intestinal disturbance, drowning me like waves, do not suffer me to lift my head above them. Brother Barachus may be able to tell you the character of my symptoms, if not as their severity deserves, at least clearly enough to make you understand the reason of my delay. If you join cordially in my prayers, I have no doubt that my troubles will easily pass away.

LETTER 163.

TO COUNT JOVINUS

One can see your soul in your letter, for in reality no painter can so exactly catch an outward likeness, as uttered thoughts can image the secrets of the soul. As I read your letter, your words exactly characterized your steadfastness, your real dignity, your unfailing sincerity; in all those things it comforted me greatly though I could not see you. Never fail, then, to seize every opportunity of writing to me, and to give me the pleasure of conversing with you at a distance; for to see you face to face I am now forbidden by the distressing state of my health. How serious this is you will learn from the God-beloved bishop Amphilochius, who is both able to report to you from his having been constantly with me, and fully competent to tell you what he has seen. But the only reason why I wish you to know of my sufferings is, that you will forgive me for the future, and acquit me of lack of energy, if I fail to come and see you, though in

truth my loss does not so much need defense from me as comfort from you. Had it been possible for me to come to you, I should have very much preferred a sight of your excellency to all the ends that other men count worth an effort.

LETTER 164

TO ASCHOLIUS

1. It would not be easy for me to say how very much delighted I am with your holiness's letter. My words are too weak to express all that I feel; you, however, ought to be able to conjecture it, from the beauty of what you have written. For what did not your letter contain? It contained love to God; the marvelous description of the martyrs, which put the manner of their good fight so plainly before me that I seemed actually to see it; love and kindness to myself; words of surpassing beauty. So when I had taken it into my hands, and read it many times, and perceived how abundantly full it was of the grace of the Spirit, I thought that I had gone back to the good old times, when God's Churches flourished, rooted in faith, united in love, all the members being in harmony, as though in one body. Then the persecutors were manifest, and manifest too the persecuted. Then the people grew more numerous by being attacked. Then the blood of the martyrs, watering the Churches, nourished many more champions of true religion, each generation stripping for the struggle with the zeal of those that had gone before. Then we Christians were in peace with one another, the peace which the Lord bequeathed us, of which, so cruelly have we driven it from among us, not a single trace is now left us. Yet my soul did go back to that blessedness of old, when a letter came from a long distance, bright with the beauty of love, and a martyr traveled to me from wild regions beyond the Danube, preaching in his own person the exactitude of the faith which is there observed. Who could tell the delight of my soul at all this? What power of speech could be devised competent to describe all that I felt in the bottom of my heart? However, when I saw the athlete, I blessed his trainer: he, too, before the just Judge, after strengthening many for the conflict on behalf of true religion, shall receive the crown of righteousness.

2. By bringing the blessed Eutyches to my recollection, and honoring my country for having sown the seeds of true religion, you have at once delighted me by your reminder of the past, and distressed me by your conviction of the present. None of us now comes near Eutyches in goodness: so far are we from bringing barbarians under the softening power of the Spirit, and the operation of His graces, that by the greatness of our sins we turn gentle hearted men into barbarians, for to ourselves and to our sins I attribute it that the influence of the heretics is so widely diffused. Peradventure no part of the world has escaped the conflagration of heresy. You tell me of struggles of athletes, bodies lacerated for the truth's sake, savage, fury despised by men of fearless heart, various tortures of persecutors, and constancy of the wrestlers through them all, the block and the water whereby the martyrs died. And what is our condition? Love is grown cold; the teaching of the Fathers is being laid waste; everywhere is shipwreck of the Faith; the mouths of the Faithful are silent; the people, driven flora the houses of prayer, lift up their bands in the open air to their Lord which is in heaven. Our afflictions are heavy, martyrdom is nowhere to be seen, because those who evilly entreat us are called by the same name as ourselves. Wherefore pray to the Lord yourself, and join all Christ's noble athletes wills you in prayer for the Churches, to the end that, if any further time remains for this world, and all things are not being driven to destruction, God may be reconciled to his own Churches and restore them to their ancient peace.

LETTER 165

TO ASCHOLIUS, BISHOP OF THESSALONICA

God has fulfilled my old prayer in deigning to allow me to receive the letter of your veritable holiness. What I most of all desire is to see you and to be seen by you, and to enjoy in actual intercourse all the graces of the Spirit with which you are endowed. This, however, is impossible, both on account of the distance which separates us, and the engrossing occupations of each of us. I therefore pray, in the second place, that my soul may be fed by frequent letters from your love in Christ. This has now been granted me on taking your epistle into my hands. I have been doubly delighted at the enjoyment of your communication. I felt as though I could

really see your very soul shining in your words as in some mirror; and I was moved to exceeding joy, not only at your proving to be what all testimony says of you, but that your noble qualities are the ornament of my country. You have filled the country beyond our borders with spiritual fruits, like some vigorous branch sprung from a glorious root. Rightly, then, does our country rejoice in her own offshoots. When you were engaging in conflicts for the Faith she heard that the goodly heritage of the Fathers was preserved in you, and she glorified God. And now what are you about? You have honored the land that gave you birth by sending her a martyr who has just fought a good fight in the barbarian country on your borders, just as a grateful gardener might send his first fruits to those who had given him the seeds. Verily the gift is worthy of Christ's athlete. a martyr of the truth just crowned with the crown of righteousness, whom we have gladly welcomed, glorifying God who has now fulfilled the gospel of His Christ in all the world. Let me ask you to remember in your prayers me who love you, and for my soul's sake earnestly to beseech the Lord that one day I, too, may be deemed worthy to begin to serve God, according to the way of His commandments which He has given us to salvation.

LETTER 166.

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

LETTER 167

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

I Am delighted at your remembering me and writing, and, what is yet more important, at your sending me your blessing in your letter. Had I been but worthy of your labors and of your struggles in Christ's cause, I should have been permitted to come to you and embrace you, and to take you as a model of patience. But since I am not worthy of this, and am detained by many afflictions and much occupation, I do what is next best. I salute your excellency, and beseech you not to grow weary of remembering me. For

the honor and pleasure of receiving your letters is not only an advantage to me, but it is a ground of boasting and pride before the world that I should be held in honor by one whose virtue is so great, and who is in such close communion with God as to be able, alike by his teaching and example, to unite others with him in it.

LETTER 168

TO ANTIOCHUS

I MOURN for the Church that is deprived of the guidance of such a shepherd. But I have so much the more ground for congratulating you on being worthy of the privilege of enjoying, at such a moment, the society of one who is fighting such a good fight in the cause of the truth, and I am sure that you, who nobly support and stimulate his zeal, will be thought worthy by the Lord of a lot like his. What a blessing, to enjoy in unbroken quiet the society of the man so rich in learning and experienced in life! Now, at least, you must, I am sure, know how wise he is. In days gone by his mind was necessarily given to many divided cares, and you were too busy a man to give your sole heed to the spiritual fountain which springs from his pure heart. God grant that you may be a comfort to him, and never yourself want consolation from others. I am sure of the disposition of your heart, alike from the experience which I, for a short time, have had of you, and from the exalted teaching your illustrious instructor, with whom to pass one single day is a sufficient provision for the journey to salvation.

LETTER 169.

BASIL TO GREGORY

YOU have undertaken a kindly and charitable task in getting together the captive troop of the insolent Glycerius (at present I must so write), and, so far as in you lay, covering our common shame. It is only right that your reverence should undo this dishonor with a full knowledge of the facts about him.

This grave and venerable Glycerius of yours was ordained by me deacon of the church of Venesa to serve the presbyter, and look after the work of the Church, for, though the fellow is in other respects intractable, he is naturally clever at manual labor. No sooner was he appointed than he neglected his work, as though there had been absolutely nothing to do. But, of his own private power and authority, he got together some wretched virgins, some of whom came to him of their own accord (you know how young people are prone to anything of this kind), and others were unwillingly forced to accept him as leader of their company. Then he assumed the style and title of patriarch, and began all of a sudden to play the man of dignity. He had not attained to this on any reasonable or pious ground; his only object was to get a means of livelihood, just as some men start one trade and some another. He has all but upset the whole Church, scorning his own presbyter, a man venerable both by character and age; scorning his chorepiscopus, and myself, as of no account at all, continually filling the town and all the clergy with disorder and disturbance. And now, on being mildly rebuked by me and his chorepiscopus, that he may not treat us with contempt (for he was trying to stir the younger men to like insubordination), he is meditating conduct most audacious and inhuman. After robbing as many of the virgins as he could, he has made off by night. I am sure all this will have seemed very sad to you. Think of the time too. The feast was being held there, and, as was natural, large numbers of people were gathered together. He, however, on his side, brought out his own troop, who followed young men and danced round them, causing all well-disposed persons to be most distressed, while loose chatterers laughed aloud. And even this was not enough, enormous as was the scandal. I am told that even the parents of the virgins, finding their bereavement unendurable, wishful to bring home the scattered company, and falling with not unnatural sighs and tears at their daughters' feet, have been insulted and outraged by this excellent young man and his troop of bandits. I am sure your reverence will think all this intolerable. The ridicule of it attaches to us all alike. First of all, order him to come back with the virgins. He might find some mercy, if he were to come back with a letter from you. If you do not adopt this course, at least send the virgins back to their mother the Church. If this cannot be done, at all events do not allow any violence to be done to those that are willing to return, but get them to return to me. Otherwise I call God and man to witness that all this is ill

done, and a breach of the law of the Church. The best course would be for Glycerius to come back with a letter, and in a becoming and proper frame of mind; if not, let him be deprived of his ministry.

LETTER 170

TO GLYCERIUS

HOW far will your mad folly go? How long will you counsel mischief against yourself? How long will you go on rousing me to wrath, and bringing shame on the common order of solitaries? Return. Put confidence in God, and in me, who imitate God's loving-kindness. If I rebuked you like a father, like a father I will forgive you. This is the treatment you shall receive from me, for many others are making supplication in your behalf, and before all the rest your own presbyter, for whose gray hairs and compassionate disposition I feel much respect. Continue longer to hold aloof from me and you have quite fallen from your degree. You will also fall away from God, for with your songs and your garb you are leading the young women not to God, but to the pit.

LETTER 171

TO GREGORY

I WROTE to you, not long ago, about Glycerius and the virgins. Even now they have not returned, but are still hesitating, how and why I know not. I should be sorry to charge this against you, as though you were acting thus to bring discredit on me, either because you have some ground of complaint against me, or to gratify others. Let them then come, fearing nothing. Do you be surety for their doing this. For it pains me to have my members cut off, although they have been rightly cut off. If they hold out the burden will rest on others. I wash my hands of it.

LETTER 172

TO SOPHRONIUS, THE BISHOP

THERE is no need for me to say how much I was delighted by your letter. Your own words will enable you to conjecture what I felt on receiving it. You have exhibited to me in your letter, the first fruits of the Spirit, love. Than this what can be more precious to me in the present state of affairs, when, because iniquity abounds, the love of really has waxed cold? Nothing is rarer now than spiritual intercourse with a brother, a word of peace, and such spiritual communion as I have found in you. For this I thank the Lord, beseeching Him that I may have part in the perfect joy that is found in you. If such be your letter, what must it be to meet you in person? If when you are far away you so affect me, what will you be to me when you are seen face to face? Be sure that if I had not been detained by innumerable occupations, and all the unavoidable anxieties which tie me down, I should have hurried to see your excellency. Although that old complaint of mine is a great hindrance to my moving about, nevertheless in view of the good I expect, I would not have allowed this to stand in my way. To be permitted to meet a man holding the same views and reverencing the faith of the Fathers, as you are said to do by our honorable brethren and fellow presbyters, is in truth to go back to the ancient blessedness of the Churches, when the sufferers from unsound disputation were few, and all lived in peace, "workmen" obeying the commandments and not "needing to be ashamed," serving the Lord with simple and clear confession, and keeping plain and inviolate their faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

LETTER 173

TO THEODORA THE CANONESS

I SHOULD be more diligent in writing to you but for my belief that my letters do not always, my friend, reach your own hands. I am afraid that through the naughtiness of those on whose service I depend, especially at a time like this when the whole world is in a state of confusion, a great

many other people get hold of them. So I wait to be found fault with, and to be eagerly asked for my letters, that so I may have this proof of their delivery. Yet, whether I write or not, one thing I do without failing, and that is to keep in my heart the memory of your excellency, and to pray the Lord to grant that you may complete the course of good living which you have chosen. For in truth it is no light thing for one, who makes a profession, to follow up all that the promise entails. Any out may embrace the gospel life, but only a very few of those who have come within my knowledge have completely carried out their duty in its minutest details, and have overlooked nothing that is contained therein. Only a very few have been consistent in keeping the tongue in check and the eye trader guidance, as the Gospel would have it; in working with the hands according to the mark of doing what is pleasing to God; in moving the feet, and using every member, as the Creator ordained from the beginning. Propriety in dress, watchfulness in the society of men, moderation in eating and drinking, the avoidance of superfluity in the acquisition of necessities; all these things seem small enough when they are thus merely mentioned, but, as I have found by experience, their consistent observance requires no light struggle. Further, such a perfection of humility as not even to remember nobility of family, nor to be elevated by any natural advantage of body or mind which we may have, nor to allow other people's opinion of us to be a ground of pride and exaltation, all this belongs to the evangelic life. There is also sustained self-control, industry in prayer, sympathy in brotherly love, generosity to the poor, lowliness of temper, contrition of heart, soundness of faith, calmness in depression, while we never forget the terrible and inevitable tribunal. To that judgment we are all hastening, but those who remember it, and are anxious about what is to follow after it, are very few.

LETTER 174

TO A WIDOW

I Have been most wishful to write constantly to your excellency, but I have from time to time denied myself, for fear of causing any temptation to beset you, because of those who are ill disposed toward me. As I am told, their hatred has even gone so far that they make a fuss if any one

happens to receive a letter from me. But now that you have begun to write yourself, and very good it is of you to do so, sending me needful information about all that is in your mind, I am stirred to write back to you. Let me then set right what has been omitted in the past, and at the same time reply to what your excellency has written. Truly blessed is the soul, which by night and by day has no other anxiety than how, when the great day comes wherein all creation shall stand before the Judge and shall give an account for its deeds, she too may be able easily to get quit of the reckoning of life.

For he who keeps that day and that hour ever before him, and is ever meditating upon the defense to be made before the tribunal where no excuses will avail, will sin not at all, or not seriously, for we begin to sin when there is a lack of the fear of God in us. When men have a clear apprehension of what is threatened them, the awe inherent in them will never allow them to fall into inconsiderate action or thought. Be mindful therefore of God. Keep the fear of Him in your heart, and enlist all men to join with you in your prayers, for great is the aid of them that are able to move God by their importunity. Never cease to do this. Even while we are living this life in the flesh, prayer will be a mighty helper to as, and when we are departing hence it will be a sufficient provision for us on the journey to the world to come.

Anxiety is a good thing; but, on the other hand, despondency, dejection, and despair of our salvation, are injurious to the soul. Trust therefore in the goodness of God, and look for His succor, knowing that if we turn to Him rightly and sincerely, not only will He not cast us off forever, but will say to us, even while we are in the act of uttering the words of our prayer, “Lo! I am with you.”

LETTER 175

TO COUNT MAGNENIANUS

YOUR excellency lately wrote to me, plainly charging me, besides other matters, to write concerning the Faith. I admire your zeal in the matter, and I pray God that your choice of good things may be persistent, and that, advancing in knowledge and good works, you may be made perfect.

But I have no wish to leave behind me a treatise on the Faith, or to write various creeds, and so I have declined to send what you asked. You seem to me to be surrounded by the din of your men there, idle fellows, who say certain things to calumniate me, with the idea that they will improve their own position by lying disgracefully against me. The past shews what they are, trod future experience will shew them in still plainer colors. I, however, call on all who trust in Christ not to busy themselves in opposition to the ancient faith, but, as we believe, so to be baptized, and, as we are baptized, so to offer the doxology. It is enough for us to confess those names which we have received from Holy Scripture. and to shun all innovation about them. Our salvation does not lie in the invention of modes of address, but in the sound confession of the Godhead in which we have professed our faith.

LETTER 176

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

God grant that when this letter is put into your hands, it may find you in good health, quite at leisure, and as you would wish to be. For then it will not be in vain that I send you this invitation to be present at our city, to add greater dignity to the annual festival which it is the custom of our Church to hold in honor of the martyrs? For be sure my most honored and dear friend, that our people here, though they have had experience of many, desire no one’s presence so eagerly as they do yours; so affectionate an impression has your short intercourse with them left behind. So, then, that the Lord may be glorified, the people delighted, the martyrs honored, and that I in my old age may receive the attention due to me from my true son, do not refuse to travel to me with all speed. I will beg you too to anticipate the day of assembly, that so we may converse at leisure and may comfort one another by the interchange of spiritual gifts. The day is the fifth of September. Come then three days beforehand in order that you may also honor with your presence the Church of the Hospital. May you by the grace of the Lord be kept in good health and spirits in the Lord, praying for me and for the Church of God.

LETTER 177

TO SAPHRONIUS THE MASTER

TO reckon up all those who have received kindness at your excellency's hand, for my sake, is no easy task; so many are there whom I feel that I have benefited through your kind aid, a boon which the Lord has given me to help me in these very serious times. Worthiest of all is he who is now introduced to you by my letter, the reverend brother Eusebius, attacked by a ridiculous calumny which it depends upon you alone in your uprightness, to destroy. I beseech you, therefore, both as respecting the right and as being humanely disposed, to grant me your accustomed favors, by adopting the cause of Eusebius as your own, and championing him, and, at the same time, truth. It is no small thing that he has the right on his side; and this, if he be not stricken down by the present crisis, he will have no difficulty in proving plainly and without possibility of contradiction.

LETTER 178.

TO ABURGIUS

I KNOW that I have often recommended many persons to your excellency, and so in serious emergencies have been very useful to friends in distress. But I do not think that I have ever sent to you one whom I regard with greater respect, or one engaged in contests of greater importance, than my very dear son Eusebius, who now places this letter in your hands. He will himself inform your excellency, if the opportunity is permitted him, in what difficulties he is involved. I ought to say, at least, as much as this. The man ought not to be misjudged, nor, because many have been convicted of disgraceful doings, ought he to come under common suspicion. He ought to have a fair trial, and his life must be enquired into. In this way the untruth of the charges against him will be made plain, and be, after enjoying your righteous protection, will ever proclaim what he owes to your kindness.

LETTER 179.

TO ARINTHOEUS

YOUR natural nobility of character and your general accessibility have taught me to regard you as a friend of freedom and of men. I have, therefore, no hesitation in approaching you in behalf of one who is rendered illustrious by a long line of ancestry, but is worthy of greater esteem and honor on his own account, because of his innate goodness of disposition. I beg you, on my entreaty, to give him your support under a legal charge, in reality, indeed, ridiculous, but difficult to meet on account of the seriousness of the accusation. It would be of great importance to his success if you would deign to say a kind word in his behalf. You would, in the first place, be helping the right; but you would further be showing in this your wonted respect and kindness to myself, who am your friend.

LETTER 180

TO THE MASTER SOPHRONIUS, ON BEHALF OF EUNATHIUS

I HAVE been much distressed on meeting a worthy man involved in very great trouble. Being human, how could I fail to sympathize with a man of high character afflicted beyond his deserts? On thinking in what way I could be useful to him, I did find one means of helping him out of his difficulties, and that is by making him known to your excellency. It is now for you to extend also to him the same good offices which, as I can testify, you have shown to many. You will learn all the facts of the case from the petition presented by him to the emperors. This document I beg you to take into your hands, and implore you to help him to the utmost of your power. You will be helping a Christian, a gentleman, and one whose deep learning ought to win respect. If I add that in helping him you will confer a great kindness upon me, though, indeed, my interests are matters of small moment, yet, since you are always so good as to make them of importance, your boon to me will be no small one.

LETTER 181.

TO OTREIUS, BISHOP OF MELITENE

YOUR reverence is, I know, no less distressed than myself at the removal of the very God-beloved bishop Eusebius. We both of us need comfort. Let us try to give it to one another. Do you write to me what you hear from Samosata, and I will report to you anything that I may learn from Thrace.

It is to me no slight alleviation of our present distress to know the constancy of the people. It will be the same to you to have news of our common father. Of course I cannot now tell you this by letter, but I commend to you one who is fully informed, and will report to you in what condition he left him, and how he bears his troubles. Pray, then, for him and for me that the Lord will grant him speedy release from his distress.

LETTER 182.

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF SAMOSATA

GRIEVED as I am at the desolation of the Church, I none the less congratulate you on having been brought so soon to this extreme limit of your hard struggle. God grant that you may pass through it with patience. to the end that in return for your faithful stewardship, and the noble constancy which you have shewn in Christ's cause, you may receive the great reward.

LETTER 183

TO THE SENATE OF SAMOSATA

SEEING, as I do, that temptation is now spread all over the world, and that the greater cities of Syria have been tried by the same sufferings as yourselves, (though, indeed, nowhere is the Senate so approved and

renowned for good works, as your own, noted as you are for your righteous zeal,) I all but thank the troubles which have befallen you.

For had not this affliction come to pass, your proof under trial would never have been known. To all that earnestly strive for any good, the affliction they endure for the sake of their hope in God is like a furnace to gold.

Rouse ye, then, most excellent sirs, that the labors you are about to undertake may not be unworthy of those which you have already sustained, and that on a firm foundation you may be seen putting a yet worthier finish. Rouse ye, that ye may stand round about the shepherd of the Church, when the Lord grants him to be seen on his own throne, telling each of you in his turn. some good deed done for the sake of the Church of God. On the great day of the Lord, each, according to the proportion of his labors, shall receive his recompense from the munificent Lord. By remembering me and writing to me as often as you can, you will be doing justice in sending me a reply, and will moreover give me very great pleasure, by sending me in writing a plain token of a voice which it is delightful to me to hear.

LETTER 184

TO EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF HIMMERIA

ORPHANHOOD is, I know, very dismal, and entails a great deal of work, because it deprives us of those who are set over us. Whence I conclude that you do not write to me, because you are depressed at what has happened to you, and at the same time are now very much occupied in visiting the folds of Christ, because they are attacked on every side by foes. But every, grief finds consolation in communication with sympathizing friends. Do then, I beg you, as often as you can, write to me. You will both refresh yourself by speaking to me, and you will comfort me by letting me hear from you. I shall endeavor to do the same to you, as often as my work lets me. Pray yourself, and entreat all the brotherhood earnestly to importune the Lord, to grant us one day release from the present distress.

LETTER 185

TO THEODOTUS, BISHOP OF BEROEA

ALTHOUGH you do not write to me, I know that there is recollection of me in your heart; and this I infer, not because I am worthy of any favorable recollection, but because your soul is rich in abundance of love. Yet, as far as in you lies, use whatever opportunities you have of writing to me, to the end that I may both be cheered by hearing news of you, and have occasion to send you tidings of myself. This is the only mode of communication for those who live far apart. Do not let us deprive one another of it, so far as our labors will permit. But I pray God that we may meet in person, that our love may be increased, and that we may multiply gratitude to our Master for His greater boons.

LETTER 186

TO ANTIPATER, THE GOVERNOR

PHILOSOPHY is an excellent thing, if only for this, that it even heals its disciples at small cost; for, in philosophy, the same thing is both dainty and healthy fare. I am told that you have recovered your failing appetite by pickled cabbage. Formerly I used to dislike it, both on account of the proverb, and because it reminded me of the poverty that went with it. Now, however, I am driven to change my mind. I laugh at the proverb when I see that cabbage is such a “good nursing mother of men,” and has restored our governor to the vigor of youth. For the future I shall think nothing like cabbage, not even Homer’s lotus, not even that ambrosia, whatever it was, which fed the Olympians.

LETTER 187.

ANTIPATER TO BASIL

“TWICE cabbage is death,” says the unkind proverb. I, however, though I have called for it often, shall die once. Yes: even though I had never called

for it at all! If you do die anyhow, don’t fear to eat a delicious relish, unjustly reviled by the proverb!

LETTER 188.

(CANONICA PRIMA.)

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, CONCERNING THE CANONS

“Even a fool,” it is said, “when he asks questions,” is counted wise. But when a wise man asks questions, he makes even a feel wise. And this, thank God, is my case, as often as I receive a letter from your industrious self. For we become more learned and wiser than we were before, merely by asking questions, because we are taught many things which we did not know; and our anxiety to answer them acts as a teacher to us. Assuredly at the present time, though I have never before paid attention to the points you raise, I have been forced to make accurate enquiry, and to turn over in my mind both whatever I have heard from the elders, and all that I have been taught in conformity with their lessons.

1. As to your enquiry about the Cathari, a statement has already been made, and you have properly reminded me that it is right to follow the custom obtaining in each region, because those, who at the time gave decision on these points, held different opinions concerning their baptism. But the baptism of the Pepuzeni seems to me to have no authority; and I am astonished how this can have escaped Dionysius, acquainted as he was with the canons. The old authorities decided to accept that baptism which in nowise errs from the faith. Thus they used the names of heresies, of schisms, and of unlawful congregations. By heresies they meant men who were altogether broken off and alienated in matters relating to the actual faith; by *schisms* men who had separated for some ecclesiastical reasons and questions capable of mutual solution; by *unlawful congregations* gatherings held by disorderly presbyters or bishops or by uninstructed laymen. As, for instance, if a man be convicted of crime, and prohibited from discharging ministerial functions, and then refuses to submit to the canons, but arrogates to himself episcopal and ministerial rights, and persons leave the Catholic Church and join him, this is unlawful assembly.

To disagree with members of the Church about repentance, is *schism*. Instances of *heresy* are those of the Manichaeans, of the Valentinians, of the Marcionites, and of these Pepuzenes; for with them there comes in at once their disagreement concerning the actual faith in God. So it seemed good to the ancient authorities to reject the baptism of heretics altogether, but to admit that of schismatics, on the ground that they still belonged to the Church.

As to those who assembled in unlawful congregations, their decision was to join them again to the Church, after they had been brought to a better state by proper repentance and rebuke, and so, in many cases, when men in orders had rebelled with the disorderly, to receive them on their repentance, into the same rank. Now the Pepuzeni are plainly heretical, for, by unlawfully and shamefully applying to Montanus and Priscilla the title of the Paraclete, they have blasphemed against the Holy Ghost. They are, therefore, to be condemned for ascribing divinity to men; and for outraging the Holy Ghost by comparing Him to men. They are thus also liable to eternal damnation, inasmuch as blasphemy against the Holy Ghost admits of no forgiveness. What ground is there, then, for the acceptance of the baptism of men who baptize into the Father and the Son and Montanus or Priscilla? For those who have not been baptized into the names delivered to us have not been baptized at all. So that, although this escaped the vigilance of the great Dionysius, we must by no means imitate his error. The absurdity of the position is obvious in a moment, and evident to all who are gifted with even a small share of reasoning capacity.

The Cathari are schismatics; but it seemed good to the ancient authorities, I mean Cyprian and our own Firmilianus, to reject all these, Cathari, Encratites, and Hydroparastatae, by one common condemnation, because the origin of separation arose through schism, and those who had apostatized from the Church had no longer on them the grace of the Holy Spirit, for it ceased to be imparted when the continuity was broken. The first separatists had received their ordination from the Fathers, and possessed the spiritual gift by the laying on of their hands. But they who were broken off had become laymen, and, because they are no longer able to confer on others that grace of the Holy Spirit from which they themselves are fallen away, they had no authority either to baptize or to ordain. And therefore those who were from time to time baptized by

them, were ordered, as though baptized by laymen, to come to the church to be purified by the Church’s true baptism. Nevertheless, since it has seemed to some of those of Asia that, for the sake of management of the majority, their baptism should be accepted, let it be accepted. We must, however, perceive the iniquitous action of the Encratites; who, in order to shut themselves out from being received back by the Church have endeavored for the future to anticipate readmission by a peculiar baptism of their own, violating, in this manner even their own special practice. My opinion, therefore, is that nothing being distinctly laid down concerning them, it is our duty to reject their baptism, and that in the case of any one who has received baptism from them, we should, on his coming to the church, baptize him. If, however, there is any likelihood of this being detrimental to general discipline, we must fall back upon custom, and follow the fathers who have ordered what course we are to pursue. For I am under some apprehension lest, in our wish to discourage them from baptizing, we may, through the severity of our decision, be a hindrance to those who are being saved. If they accept our baptism, do not allow this to distress us. We are by no means bound to return them the same favor, but only strictly to obey canons. On every ground let it be enjoined that those who come to us from their baptism be anointed in the presence of the faithful, and only on these terms approach the mysteries. I am aware that I have received into episcopal rank Izois and Saturninus from the Encratite following. I am precluded therefore from separating from the Church those who have been united to their company, inasmuch as, through my acceptance of the bishops, I have promulgated a kind of canon of communion with them.

2. The woman who purposely destroys her unborn child is guilty of murder. With us there is no nice enquiry as to its being formed or unformed. In this case it is not only the being about to be born who is vindicated, but the woman in her attack upon herself; because in most cases women who make such attempts die. The destruction of the embryo is an additional crime, a second murder, at all events if we regard it as done with intent. The punishment, however, of these women should not be for life, but for the term of ten years. And let their treatment depend not on mere lapse of time, but on the character of their repentance.

3. A deacon who commits fornication after his appointment to the diaconate is to be deposed. But, after he has been rejected and ranked among the laity, he is not to be excluded from communion. For there is an ancient canon that those who have fallen from their degree are to be subjected to this kind of punishment alone.

Herein, as I suppose, the ancient authorities followed the old rule “Thou shalt not avenge twice for the same thing.” There is this further reason too, that laymen, when expelled from the place of the faithful, are from time to time restored to the rank whence they have fallen; but the deacon undergoes once for all the lasting penalty of deposition. His deacon’s orders not being restored to him, they rested at this one punishment. So far is this as regards what depends on law laid down. But generally a truer remedy is the departure from sin. Wherefore that man will give me full proof of his cure who, after rejecting grace for the sake of the indulgence of the flesh, has then, through bruising of the flesh and the enslaving of it by means of self control, abandoned the pleasures whereby he was subdued. We ought therefore to know both what is of exact prescription and what is of custom; and, in cases which do not admit of the highest treatment, to follow the traditional direction.

4. In the case of trigamy and polygamy they laid down the same rule, in proportion, as in the case of digamy; namely one year for digamy (some authorities say two years); for trigamy men are separated for three and often for four years; but this is no longer described as marriage at all, but as polygamy; nay rather as limited fornication. It is for this reason that the Lord said to the woman of Samaria, who had five husbands, “he whom thou now hast is not thy husband.” He does not reckon those who had exceeded the limits of a second marriage as worthy of the title of husband or wife. In cases of trigamy we have accepted a seclusion of five years, not by the canons, but following the precept of our predecessors. Such offenders ought not to be altogether prohibited from the privileges of the Church; they should be considered deserving of hearing after two or three years, and afterwards of being permitted to stand in their place; but they must be kept from the communion of the good gift, and only restored to the place of communion after showing some fruit of repentance.

5. Heretics repenting at death ought to be received; yet to be received, of course, not indiscriminately, but on trial of exhibition of true repentance and of producing fruit in evidence of their zeal for salvation.

6. The fornication of canonical persons is not to be reckoned as wedlock, and their union is to be completely dissolved, for this is both profitable for the security of the Church and will prevent the heretics from having a ground of attack against us, as though we induced men to join us by the attraction of liberty to sin.

7. Abusers of themselves with mankind, and with beasts, as also murderers, wizards, adulterers, and idolaters, are deserving of the same punishment. Whatever rule you have in the case of the rest, observe also in their case. There can, however, be no doubt that we ought to receive those who have repented of impurity committed in ignorance for thirty years. In this case there is ground for forgiveness in ignorance, in the spontaneity of confession, and the long extent of time. Perhaps they have been delivered to Satan for a whole age of man that they may learn not to behave unseemly; wherefore order them to be received without delay, specially if they shed tears to move your mercy, and shew a manner of living worthy of compassion.

8. The man who in a rage has taken up a hatchet against his own wife is a murderer. But it is what I should have expected from your intelligence that you should very properly remind me to speak on these points more fully, because a wide distinction must be drawn between cases where there is and where there is not intent. A case of an act purely unintentional, and widely removed from the purpose of the agent, is that of a man who throws a stone at a dog or a tree, and hits a man. The object was to drive off the beast or to shake down the fruit. The chance comer falls fortuitously in the way of the blow, and the act is unintentional. Unintentional too is the act of any one who strikes another with a strap or a flexible stick, for the purpose of chastising him, and the man who is being beaten dies. In this case it must be taken into consideration that the object was not to kill, but to improve, the offender. Further, among unintentional acts must be reckoned the case of a man in a fight who when warding off an enemy's attack with cudgel or hand, hits him without mercy in some vital part, so as to injure him, though not quite to kill him.

This, however, comes very near to the intentional; for the man who employs such a weapon in self defense, or who strikes without mercy, evidently does not spare his opponent, because he is mastered by passion. In like manner the case of any one who uses a heavy cudgel, or a stone too big for a man to stand, is reckoned among the unintentional, because he does not do what he meant: in his rage he deals such a blow as to kill his victim, yet all he had in his mind was to give him a thrashing, not to do him to death. If, however, a man uses a sword, or anything of the kind, he has no excuse: certainly none if he throws his hatchet. For he does not strike with the hand, so that the force of the blow may be within his own control, but throws, so that from the weight and edge of the iron, and the force of the throw, the wound cannot fail to be fatal.

On the other hand acts done in the attacks of war or robbery are distinctly intentional, and admit of no doubt. Robbers kill for greed, and to avoid conviction. Soldiers who inflict death in war do so with the obvious purpose not of fighting, nor chastising, but of killing their opponents. And if any one has concocted some magic philter for some other reason, and then causes death, I count this as intentional. Women frequently endeavor to draw men to love them by incantations and magic knots, and give them drugs which dull their intelligence. Such women, when they cause death, though the result of their action may not be what they intended, are nevertheless, on account of their proceedings being magical and prohibited, to be reckoned among intentional homicides. Women also who administer drugs to cause abortion, as well as those who take poisons to destroy unborn children, are murderesses. So much on this subject.

9. The sentence of the Lord that it is unlawful to withdraw from wedlock, save on account of fornication, applies, according to the argument, to men and women alike. Custom, however, does not so obtain. Yet, in relation with women, very strict expressions are to be found; as, for instance, the words of the apostle “He which is joined to a harlot is one body” and of Jeremiah, If a wife “become another man’s shall be return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted?” And again, “He that hath an adulteress is a feel and impious.” Yet custom ordains that men who commit adultery and are in fornication be retained by their wives. Consequently I do not know if the woman who lives with the man who has been dismissed can properly be called an adulteress; the charge in this

case attaches to the woman who has put away her husband, and depends upon the cause for which she withdrew from wedlock. In the case of her being beaten, and refusing to submit, it would be better for her to endure than to be separated from her husband; in the case of her objecting to pecuniary loss, even here she would not have sufficient ground. If her reason is his living in fornication we do not find this in the custom of the church; but from an unbelieving husband a wife is commanded not to depart, but to remain, on account of the uncertainty of the issue. "For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shall save thy husband?" Here then the wife, if she leaves her husband and goes to another, is an adulteress. But the man who has been abandoned is pardonable, and the woman who lives with such a man is not condemned. But if the man who has deserted his wife goes to another, he is himself an adulterer because he makes her commit adultery; and the woman who lives with him is an adulteress, because she has caused another woman's husband to come over to her.

10. Those who swear that they will not receive ordination, declining orders upon oath, must not be driven to perjure themselves, although there does seem to be a canon making concessions to such persons. Yet I have found by experience that perjurers never turn out well. Account must however be taken of the form of the oath, its terms, the frame of mind in which it was taken, and the minutest additions made to the terms, since, if no ground of relief can anywhere be found, such persons must be dismissed. The case, however, of Severus, I mean of the presbyter ordained by him, does seem to me to allow of relief of this kind, if you will permit it. Give directions for the district placed under Mestia, to which the man was appointed, to be reckoned tinder Vasoda. Thus he will not forswear himself by not departing from the place, and Longinus, having Cyriacus with him, will not leave the Church unprovided for, nor himself be guilty of neglect of work. I moreover shall not be held guilty of taking action in contravention of any canons by making a concession to Cyriacus who had sworn that he would remain at Mindana and yet accepted the transfer. His return will be in accordance with his oath, and his obedience to the arrangement will not be reckoned against him as perjury, because it was not added to his oath that he would not go, even a short time, from Mindana, but would remain there for the future. Severus, who pleads

forgetfulness, I shall pardon, only telling him that One who knows what is secret will not overlook the ravaging of His Church by a man of such a character; a man who originally appoints uncanonically, then imposes oaths in violation of the Gospel, then tells a man to perjure himself in the matter of his transfer, and last of all lies in pretended forgetfulness. I am no judge of hearts; I only judge by what I hear; let us leave vengeance to the Lord, and ourselves pardon the common human error of forgetfulness, and receive the man without question.

11. The man who is guilty of unintentional homicide has given sufficient satisfaction in eleven years. We shall, without doubt, observe what is laid down by Moses in the case of wounded men, and shall not hold a murder to have been committed in the case of a man who lies down after he has been struck, and walks again leaning on his staff. If, however, he does not rise again after he has been struck, nevertheless, from there being no intent to kill, the striker is a homicide, but an unintentional homicide.

12. The canon absolutely excludes digamists from the ministry.

13. Homicide in war is not reckoned by our Fathers as homicide; I presume froth their wish to make concession to men fighting on behalf of chastity and true religion. Perhaps, however, it is well to counsel that those whose hands are not clean only abstain from communion for three years.

14. A taker of usury, if he consent to spend his unjust gain on the poor, and to be rid for the future of the plague of covetousness, may be received into the ministry.

15. I am astonished at your requiring exactitude in Scripture, and arguing that there is something forced in the diction of the interpretation which gives the meaning of the original, but does not exactly render what is meant by the Hebrew word. Yet I must not carelessly pass by the question started by an enquiring mind. At the creation of the world, birds of the air and the fishes of the sea had the same origin; for both kinds were produced from the water. The reason is that both have the same characteristics. The latter swim in the water, the former in the air. They are therefore mentioned together. The form of expression is not used without distinction, but of all that lives in the water it is used very properly. The

birds of the air and the fishes of the sea are subject to man; and not they alone, but all that passes through the paths of the sea. For every water-creature is not a fish, as for instance the sea monsters, whales, sharks, dolphins, seals, even sea-horses, sea-dogs, saw-fish, sword-fish, and sea-cows; and, if you like, sea nettles, cockles and all hard-shelled creatures of whom none are fish, and all pass through the paths of the sea; so that there are three kinds, birds of the air, fishes of the sea, and all water-creatures which are distinct from fish, and pass through the paths of the sea.

16. Naaman was not a great man with the Lord, but with his Lord; that is, he was one of the chief princes of the King of the Syrians. Read your Bible carefully, and you will find the answer to your question there.

LETTER 189

TO EUSTATHIUS THE PHYSICIAN

Humanity is the regular business of all you who practice as physicians. And, in my opinion, to put your science at the head and front of life's pursuits is to decide reasonably and rightly. This at all events seems to be the case if man's most precious possession, life, is painful and not worth living, unless it be lived in health, and if for health we are dependent on your skill. In your own case medicine is seen, as it were, with two right hands; you enlarge the accepted limits of philanthropy by not confining the application of your skill to men's bodies, but by attending also to the cure of the diseases of their souls. It is not only in accordance with popular report that I thus write. I am moved by the personal experience which I have had on many occasions and to a remarkable degree at the present time, in the midst of the unspeakable wickedness of our enemies, which has flooded our life like a noxious torrent. You have most skillfully dispersed it and by pouring in your soothing words have allayed the inflammation of my heart. Having regard to the successive and diversified attacks of my enemies against me, I thought that I ought to keep silence and to bear their successive assaults without reply, and without attempting to contradict foes armed with a lie, that terrible weapon which too often drives its point through the heart of truth herself. You did well in

urging me not to abandon the defense of truth, but rather to convict our calumniators, lest haply, by the success of lies, many be hurt.

2. In adopting an unexpected attitude of hatred against me my opponents seem to be repeating the old story in Aesop. He makes the wolf bring certain charges against the lamb, as being really ashamed to seem to kill a creature who had done him no harm without some reasonable pretext; then when the lamb easily rebuts the slander, the wolf, none the less, continues his attack, and, though defeated in equity, comes off winner in biting. Just so with those who seem to count hatred to me as a virtue. They will perhaps blush to hate me without a cause, and so invent pleas and charges against me, without abiding by any of their allegations, but urging as the ground of their detestation now this, now that, and now something else. In no single case is their malice consistent; but when they are balked in one charge they cling to another and, foiled in this, have recourse to a third; and if all their accusations are scattered they do not drop their ill-will. They say that I preach three Gods, dinning the charge into the ears of the mob and pressing the calumny plausibly and persistently. Nevertheless, truth is fighting on my side; and both in public to all the world, and in private to all whom I meet, I prove that I anathematize every one who maintains three Gods and do not even allow him to be a Christian. No sooner do they hear this than Sabellius is handy for them to urge against me, and it is noised abroad that my teaching is tainted with his error. Once more I hold out in my defense my wonted weapon of truth, and demonstrate that I shudder at Sabellianism as much as at Judaism.

3. What then? After all these efforts were they tired? Did they leave off? Not at all. They are charging me with innovation, and base their charge on my confession of three hypostases, and blame me for asserting one Goodness, one Power, one Godhead. In this they are not wide of the truth, for I do so assert. Their complaint is that their custom does not accept this, and that Scripture does not agree. What is my reply? I do not consider it fair that the custom which obtains among them should be regarded as a law and rule of orthodoxy. If custom is to be taken in proof of what is right, then it is certainly competent for me to put forward on my side the custom which obtains here. If they reject this, we are clearly not bound to follow them. Therefore let God-inspired Scripture decide between us; and on whichever side be found doctrines in harmony with the

word of God, in favor of that side will be cast the vote of truth. What then is the charge? Two points are advanced at one and the same time in the accusations leveled against me. I am accused on the one hand of parting the hypostases asunder; on the other of never using in the plural any one of the nouns relating to the Divinity, but of always speaking in the singular number of one Goodness, as I have already said; of one Power; one Godhead; and so on. As to the parting of the hypostases, there ought to be no objection nor opposition on the part of those who assert in the case of the divine nature a distinction of essences. For it is unreasonable to maintain three essences and to object to three hypostases. Nothing, then, is left but the charge of using words of the divine nature in the singulars.

4. I have quite a little difficulty in meeting the second charge. Whoever condemns those who assert that the Godhead is one, must of necessity agree with all who maintain many godheads, or with those who maintain that there is none. No third position is conceivable. The teaching of inspired Scripture does not allow of our speaking of many godheads, but, wherever it mentions the Godhead, speaks of it in the singular number; as, for instance, "in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." And again; "for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." If, then, to multiply godheads is the special mark of the victims of polytheistic error, and to deny the Godhead altogether is to fall into atheism, what sense is there in this charge against me of confessing one Godhead? But they make a plainer disclosure of the end they have in view; namely, in the case of the Father to agree that He is God, and consenting in like manner that the Son be honored with the attribute of Godhead; but to refuse to comprehend the Spirit, though reckoned with Father and with Son in the idea of Godhead. They allow that the power of the Godhead extends from the Father to the Son, but they divide the nature of the Spirit from the divine glory. Against this view, to the best of my ability, I must enter a brief defense of my own position.

5. What, then, is my argument? In delivering the Faith of Salvation to those who are being made disciples in His doctrine, the Lord conjoins with Father and with Son the Holy Spirit also. That which is conjoined once I maintain to be conjoined everywhere and always. There is no question here of a ranking together in one respect and isolation in others. In the

quickening power whereby our nature is transformed from the life of corruption to immortality, the power of the Spirit is comprehended with Father and with Son, and in many other instances, as in the conception of the good, the holy, the eternal, the wise, the right, the supreme, the efficient, and generally in all terms which have the higher meaning, He is inseparably united. Wherefrom I judge it right to hold that the Spirit, thus conjoined with Father and Son in so many sublime and divine senses, is never separated. Indeed I am unaware of any degrees of better or worse in the terms concerning the divine nature, nor can I imagine its being reverent and right to allow the Spirit a participation in those of lesser dignity, while He is judged unworthy of the higher. For all conceptions and terms which regard the divine are of equal dignity one with another, in that they do not vary in regard to the meaning of the subject matter to which they are applied. Our thought is not led to one subject by the attribution of good, and to another by that of wise, powerful, and just; mention any attributes you will, the thing signified is one and the same. And if you name God, you mean the same Being whom you understood by the rest of the terms. Granting, then, that all the terms applied to the divine nature are of equal force one with another in relation to that which they describe, one emphasizing one point and another, but all bringing our intelligence to the contemplation of the same object; what ground is there for conceding to the Spirit fellowship with Father and Son in all other terms, and isolating Him from the Godhead alone? There is no escape from the position that we must either allow the fellowship here, or refuse it everywhere. If He is worthy in every other respect, He is certainly not unworthy in this. If, as our opponents argue, He is too insignificant to be allowed fellowship with Father and with Son in Godhead, He is not worthy to share any single one of the divine attributes: for when the terms are carefully considered, and compared with one another, by the help of the special meaning contemplated in each, they will be found to involve nothing less than the title of God. A proof of what I say lies in the fact that even many inferior objects are designated by this name. Nay, Holy Scripture does not even shrink from using this term in the case of things of a totally opposite character, as when it applies the title God to idols. "Let the gods," it is written, "who have not made heaven and earth, be taken away, and cast beneath the earth;" and again, "the gods of the nations are idols." And the witch, when she called up the required spirits for Saul, is said to have seen

gods. Balsam too, an augur and seer, with the oracles in his hand, as Scripture says, when he had got him the teaching of the demons by his divine ingenuity, is described by Scripture as taking counsel with God. From many similar instances in Holy Scripture it may be proved that the name of God has no pre-eminence over other words which are applied to the divine, since, as has been said, we find it employed without distinction even in the case of things of quite opposite character. On the other hand we are taught by Scripture that the names holy, incorruptible, righteous, and good, are nowhere indiscriminately used of unworthy objects. It follows, then, that if they do not deny that the Holy Spirit is associated with the Son and with the Father, in the names which are specially applied, by the usage of true religion, to the divine nature alone, there is no reasonable ground for refusing to allow the same association in the case of that word alone which, as I have shown, is used as a recognized homonym even of demons and idols.

6. But they contend that this title sets forth the nature of that to which it is applied; that the nature of the Spirit is not a nature shared in common with that of Father and of Son; and that, for this reason, the Spirit ought not to be allowed the common use of the name. It is, therefore, for them to show by what means they have perceived this variation in the nature. If it were indeed possible for the divine nature to be contemplated in itself; could what is proper to it and what is foreign to it be discovered by means of visible things; we should then certainly stand in no need of words or other tokens to lead us to the apprehension of the object of the enquiry. But the divine nature is too exalted to be perceived as objects of enquiry are perceived, and about things which are beyond our knowledge we reason on probable evidence. We are therefore of necessity guided in the investigation of the divine nature by its operations. Suppose we observe the operations of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghost, to be different from one another, we shall then conjecture, from the diversity of the operations that the operating natures are also different. For it is impossible that things which are distinct, as regards their nature, should be associated as regards the form of their operations; fire does not freeze; ice does not warm; difference of natures implies difference of the operations proceeding from them. Grant, then, that we perceive the operation of Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be one and the same, in no respect showing difference or

variation; from this identity of operation we necessarily infer the unity of the nature.

7. The Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost alike hallow, quicken, enlighten, and comfort. No one will attribute a special and peculiar operation of hallowing to the operation of the Spirit, after hearing the Savior in the Gospel saying to the Father about His disciples, sanctify them in Thy name. In like manner all other operations are equally performed, in all who are worthy of them, by the Father and by the Son and by the Holy Ghost; every grace and virtue, guidance, life, consolation, change into the immortal, the passage into freedom and all other good things which come down to man. Nay even the dispensation which is above us in relation to the creature considered both in regard to intelligence and sense, if indeed it is possible for any conjecture concerning what lies above us to be formed from what we know, is not constituted apart from the operation and power of the Holy Ghost, every individual sharing His help in proportion to the dignity and need of each. Truly the ordering and administration of beings above our nature is obscure to our perception; nevertheless any one, arguing from what is known to us, would find it more reasonable to conclude that the power of the Spirit operates even in those beings, than that He is excluded from the government of supramundane things. So to assert is to advance a blasphemy bare and unsupported; it is to support absurdity on fallacy. On the other hand to agree that even the world beyond us is governed by the power of the Spirit, as well as by that of the Father and of the Son, is to advance a contention, supported on the plain testimony of what is seen in human life. Identity of operation in the case of Father and of Son and of Holy Ghost clearly proves invariability of nature. It follows that, even if the name of Godhead does signify nature, the community of essence proves that this title is very properly applied to the Holy Spirit.

8. I am, however, at a loss to understand how our opponents with all their ingenuity can adduce the title of Godhead in proof of nature, as though they had never heard from Scripture that nature does not result from institution and appointment. Moses was made a God of the Egyptians when the divine voice said, “See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh. The title therefore does give proof of a certain authority of oversight or of action. The divine nature, on the other hand, in all the words which are

contrived, remains always inexplicable, as I always teach. We have learnt that it is beneficent, judicial, righteous, good, and so on; and so have been taught differences of operations. But we are, nevertheless, unable to understand the nature of the operator through our idea of the operations. Let any one give an account of each one of these names, and of the actual nature to which they are applied, and it will be found that the definition will not in both cases be the same. And where the definition is not identical the nature is different. There is, then, a distinction to be observed between the essence, of which no explanatory term has yet been discovered, and the meaning of the names applied to it in reference to some operation or dignity. That there should be no difference in the operations we infer from the community of terms. But, we derive no clear proof of variation in nature, because, as has been said, identity of operations indicates community of nature. If then Godhead be the name of an operation, we say that the Godhead is one, as there is one operation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; if, however, as is popularly supposed, the name of Godhead indicates nature, then, since we find no variation in the nature, we reasonably define the Holy Trinity to be of one Godhead.

LETTER 190

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

1. THE interest which you have shewn in the affairs of the Isaurian Church is only what might have been expected from that zeal and propriety of conduct which so continually rouses my admiration of you. The most careless observer must at once perceive that it is in all respects more advantageous for care and anxiety to be divided among several bishops. This has not escaped your observation, and you have done well in noting, and in acquainting me with, the position of affairs. But it is not easy to find fit men. While, then, we are desirous of having the credit that comes of numbers, and cause God’s Church to be more effectively administered by more officers, let us be careful lest we unwittingly bring the word into contempt on account of the unsatisfactory character of the men who are called to office, and accustom the laity to indifference. You yourself know well that the conduct of the governed is commonly of a piece with that of those who are set over them. Perhaps therefore it might be better to

appoint one well approved man, though even this may not be an easy matter, to the supervision of the whole city, and entrust him with the management of details on his own responsibility. Only let him be a servant of God, “a workman that needeth not to be ashamed,” not “looking on his own things,” but on the things of the most, “that they be saved.” If he finds himself overweighted with responsibility, he will associate other laborers for the harvest with himself. If only we can find such a man, I own that I think the one worth many, and the ordering of the cure of souls in this way likely to be attended at once with more advantage to the Churches and with less risk to us. If, however, this course prove difficult, let us first do our best to appoint superintendents to the small townships or villages which have of old been episcopal sees. Then afterwards we will appoint once more the [bishop] of the city. Unless we take this course the man appointed may prove a hindrance to subsequent administration. and from his wish to rule over a larger diocese, and his refusal to accept the ordination of the bishops, we may find ourselves suddenly involved in a domestic quarrel. If this course is difficult, and time does not allow, see to it that the Isaurian bishop is strictly kept within his own bounds by ordaining some of his immediate neighbors. In the future it will be reserved for us to give to the rest bishops at the proper season, after we have carefully examined those whom we ourselves may judge to be most fit.

2. I have asked George, as you requested. He replies as you reported. In all this we must remain quiet, casting the care of the house on the Lord. For I put my trust in the Holy God that He will by my aid grant to him deliverance from his difficulties in some other way, and to me to live my life without trouble. If this cannot be, be so good as to send me word yourself as to what part I must look after, that I may begin to ask this favor of each of my friends in power, either for nothing, or for some moderate price, as the Lord may prosper me.

I have, in accordance with your request, written to brother Valerius. Matters at Nyssa are going on as they were left by your reverence, and, by the aid of your holiness, are improving. Of those who were then separated from me some have gone off to the court, and some remain waiting for tidings from it. The Lord is able as well to frustrate the expectations of these latter as to make the return of the former useless.

3. Philo, on the authority of some Jewish tradition, explains the manna to have been of such a nature that it changed with the taste of the eater: that of itself it was like millet seed boiled in honey; it served sometimes for bread, sometimes for meat, either of birds or beasts; at other times for vegetables, according to each man's liking; even for fish so that the flavor of each separate kind was exactly reproduced in the eater's mouth.

Scripture recognizes chariots containing three riders, because while other chariots contained two, the driver and the man-at-arms, Pharaoh's held three, two men-at-arms. and one to hold the reins.

Sympius has written me a letter expressive of respect and communion. The letter which I have written in reply I am sending to your holiness, that you may send it on to him if you quite approve of it, with the addition of some communication from yourself. May you, by the loving kindness of the Holy One, be preserved for me and for the Church of God, in good health, happy in the Lord, and ever praying for me.

LETTER 191

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

On reading the letter of your reverence I heartily thanked God. I did so because I found in your expressions traces of ancient affection. You are not like the majority. You did not persist in refusing to begin an affectionate correspondence. You have learned the greatness of the prize promised to the saints for humility, and so you have chosen, by taking the second place, to get before me. Among Christians such are the conditions of victory, and it is he who is content to take the second place who wins a crown. But I must not be behind hand in this virtuous rivalry, and so I thus salute your reverence in return; and inform you as to how I am minded, in that, since agreement in the faith is established among us, there is nothing further to prevent our being one body and one spirit, as we have been called in one hope of our calling. It is for you, then, of your charity to follow up a good beginning to rally men of like mind to stand at your side, and to appoint both time and place for meeting. Thus, by God's grace, through mutual accommodation we may govern the Churches by the ancient kind of love; receiving as our own members brothers coming from

the other side, sending as to our kin, and in turn receiving as from our own kin. Such, indeed, was once the boast of the Church. Brothers from each Church, traveling from one end of the world to the other, were provided with little tokens, and found all men fathers and brothers. This is a privilege whereof, like all the rest, the enemy of Christ's Churches has robbed us. We are confined each in his own city, and every one looks at his neighbor with distrust. What more is to be said but that our love has grown cold, whereby alone our Lord has told us that His disciples are distinguished? First of all, if you will, do you become known to one another, that I may know with whom I am to be in agreement. Thus by common consent we will fix on some place convenient to both, and, at a season suitable for traveling, we will hasten to meet one another; the Lord will direct us in the way. Farewell. Be of good cheer. Pray for me. May you be granted to me by the grace of the Holy One?

LETTER 192.

TO SOPHRONIUS THE MASTER

WITH your extraordinary zeal in good deeds you have written to me to say that you yourself owe me double thanks; first, for getting a letter from me, and secondly, for doing me a service. What thanks, then, must not I owe you, both for reading your most delightful words, and for finding what I hoped for so quickly accomplished! The message was exceedingly gratifying on its own account, but it gave me much greater gratification from the fact that you were the friend to whom I owed the boon. God grant that ere long I may see you, and return you thanks in words, and enjoy the great pleasure of your society.

LETTER 193

TO MELETIUS THE PHYSICIAN

I AM not able to flee from the discomforts of winter so well as cranes are, although for foreseeing the future I am quite as clever as a crane. But as to liberty of life the birds are almost as far ahead of me as they are in the

being able to fly. In the first place I have been detained by certain worldly business; then I have been so wasted by constant and violent attacks of fever that there does seem something thinner even than I was, — I am thinner than ever. Besides all this, bouts of quartan ague have gone on for more than twenty turns. Now I do seem to be free from fever, but I am in such a feeble state that I am no stronger than a cobweb. Hence the shortest journey is too far for me, and every breath of wind is more dangerous to me than big waves to those at sea. I have no alternative but to hide in my hut and wait for spring, if only I can last out so long, and am not carried off beforehand by the internal malady of which I am never rid. If the Lord saves me with His mighty hand, I shall gladly betake myself to your remote region, and gladly embrace a friend so dear. Only pray that my life may be ordered as may be best for my soul's good.

LETTER 194

TO ZOILUS

WHAT are you about, most excellent sir, in anticipating me in humility? Educated as you are, and able to write such a letter as you have sent, you nevertheless ask for forgiveness at my hands, as though you were engaged in some undertaking rash and beyond your position. But a truce to mockery. Continue to write to me on every occasion. Am I not wholly illiterate? It is delightful to read the letters of an eloquent writer. Have I learned from Scripture how good a thing is love? I count intercourse with a loving friend invaluable. And I do hope that you may tell me of all the good gifts which I pray for you; the best of health, and the prosperity of all your house. Now as to my own affairs, my condition is not more endurable than usual. It is enough to tell you this and you will understand the bad state of my health. It has indeed reached such extreme suffering as to be as difficult to describe as to experience, if indeed your own experience has fallen short of mine. But it is the work of the good God to give me power to bear in patience whatever trials are inflicted on me for my own good at the hands of our merciful Lord.

LETTER 195

TO EUPHRONIUS, BISHOP OF COLONIA ARMENIOE

COLONIA, which the Lord has placed under your authority, is far out of the way of ordinary routes. The consequence is that, although I am frequently writing to the rest of the brethren in Armenia Minor, I hesitate to write to your reverence, because I have no expectation of finding any one to convey my letter. Now, however, that I am hoping either for your presence, or that my letter will be sent on to you by some of the bishops to whom I have written, I thus write and salute you by letter. I wish to tell you that I seem to be still alive, and at the same time to exhort you to pray for me, that the Lord may lessen my afflictions, and lift from me the heavy load of pain which now presses like a cloud upon my heart. I shall have this relief if He will only grant a quick restoration to those godly bishops who are now punished for their faithfulness to true religion by being scattered all abroad.

LETTER 196

TO ABURGIUS

RUMOR, messenger of good news, is continually reporting how you dart across, like the stars, appearing now here, now there, in the barbarian regions; now supplying the troops with provisions, now appearing in gorgeous array before the emperor. I pray God that your doings may prosper as they deserve, and that you may achieve eminent success. I pray that, so long as I live and breathe this air, (for my life now is no more than drawing breath), our country may from time to time behold you.

LETTER 197

TO AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN

1. THE gifts of the Lord are ever great and many; in greatness beyond measure, in number incalculable. To those who are not insensible of His

mercy one of the greatest of these gifts is that of which I am now availing myself, the opportunity allowed us, far apart in place though we be, of addressing one another by letter. He grants us two means of becoming acquainted; one by personal intercourse, another by epistolary correspondence. Now I have become acquainted with you through what you have said. I do not mean that my memory is impressed with your outward appearance, but that the beauty of the inner man has been brought home to me by the rich variety of your utterances, for each of us "speaketh out of the abundance of the heart." I have given glory to God, Who in every generation selects those who are well-pleasing to Him; Who of old indeed chose from the sheepfold a prince for His people; Who through the Spirit gifted Amos the herdman with power and raised him up to be a prophet; Who now has drawn forth for the care of Christ's flock a man from the imperial city, entrusted with the government of a whole nation, exalted in character, in lineage, in position, in eloquence, in all that this world admires. This same man has flung away all the advantages of the world, counting them all loss that he may gain Christ, and has taken in his hand the helm of the ship, great and famous for its faith in God, the Church of Christ. Come, then, O man of God; not from men have you received or been taught the Gospel of Christ; it is the Lord Himself who has transferred you from the judges of the earth to the throne of the Apostles; fight the good right; heal the infirmity of the people, if any are infected by the disease of Arian madness; renew the ancient footprints of the Fathers. You have laid the foundation of affection towards me; strive to build upon it by the frequency of your salutations. Thus shall we be able to be near one another in spirit, although our earthly homes are far apart.

2. By your earnestness and zeal in the matter of the blessed bishop Dionysius you testify all your love to the Lord, your honor for your predecessors, and your zeal for the fairly. For our disposition towards our faithful fellow-servants is referred to the Lord Whom they have served. Whoever honors men that have contended for the faith proves that he has like zeal for it. One single action is proof of much virtue.

I wish to acquaint your love in Christ that the very zealous brethren who have been commissioned by your reverence to act for you in this good work have won praise for all the clergy by the amiability of their manners;

for by their individual modesty and conciliatoriness they have shewn the sound condition of all. Moreover, with all zeal and diligence they have braved an inclement season; and with unbroken perseverance have persuaded the faithful guardians of the blessed body to transmit to them the custody of what they have regarded as the safeguard of their lives. And you must understand that they are men who would never have been forced by any human authority or sovereignty, had not the perseverance of these brethren moved them to compliance. No doubt a great aid to the attainment of the object desired was the presence of our well beloved and reverend son Therasius the presbyter. He voluntarily undertook all the toil of the journey; he moderated the energy of the faithful on the spot; he persuaded opponents by his arguments; in the presence of priests and deacons, and of many others who fear the Lord, he took up the relics with all becoming reverence, and has aided the brethren in their preservation. These relics do you receive with a joy equivalent to the distress with which their custodians have parted with them and sent them to you. Let none dispute; let none doubt. Here you have that unconquered athlete. These bones, which shared in the conflict with the blessed soul, are known to the Lord. These bones He will crown, together with that soul, in the righteous day of His requital, as it is written, "we must stand before the judgment seat of Christ, that each may give an account of the deeds he has done in the body." One coffin held that honored corpse. None other lay by his side. The burial was a noble one; the honors of a martyr were paid him. Christians who had welcomed him as a guest and then with their own hands laid him in the grave, have now disinterred him. They have wept as men bereaved of a father and a champion. But they have sent him to you, for they put your joy before their own consolation. Pious were the hands that gave; scrupulously careful were the hands that received. There has been no room for deceit; no room for guile. I bear witness to this. Let the untainted truth be accepted by you.

LETTER 198

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

AFTER the letter conveyed to me by the officials I have received one other despatched to me later. I have not sent many myself, for I have not found

any one traveling in your direction. But I have sent more than the four, among which also were those conveyed to me from Samosata after the first epistle of your holiness. These I have sealed and sent to our honorable brother Leontius, peraequator of Nicaea, urging that by his agency they may be delivered to the steward of the household of our honorable brother Sophronius, that he may see to their transmission to you. As my letters are going through many hands, it is likely enough that because one man is very busy or very careless, your reverence may never get them. Pardon me, then, I beseech you, if my letters are few. With your usual intelligence you have properly found fault with me for not sending, as I ought, a courier of my own when there was occasion for doing so; but you must understand that we have had a winter of such severity that all the roads were blocked till Easter, and I had no one disposed to brave the difficulties of the journey. For although our clergy do seem very numerous, they are men inexperienced in traveling because they never traffic, and prefer not to live far away from home, the majority of them plying sedentary crafts, whereby they get their daily bread. The brother whom I have now sent to your reverence I have summoned from the country, and employed in the conveyance of my letter to your holiness, that he may both give you clear intelligence as to me and my affairs, and, moreover, by God's grace, bring me back plain and prompt information about you and yours. Our dear brother Eusebius the reader has for some time been anxious to hasten to your holiness, but I have kept him here for the weather to improve. Even now I am under no little anxiety lest his inexperience in traveling may cause him trouble, and bring on some illness; for he is not robust.

2. I need say nothing to you by letter about the innovations of the East, for the brothers can themselves give you accurate information. You must know, my honored friend, that, when I was writing these words, I was so ill that I had lost all hope of life. It is impossible for me to enumerate all my painful symptoms, my weakness, the violence of my attacks of fever, and my bad health in general. One point only may be selected. I have now completed the time of my sojourn in this miserable and painful life.

LETTER 199

CANONICA SECUNDA

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, CONCERNING THE CANONS

I WROTE some time ago in reply to the questions of your reverence, but I did not send the letter, partly because from my long and dangerous illness I had not time to do so; partly because I had no one to send with it. I have but few men with me who are experienced in traveling and fit for service of this kind. When you thus learn the causes of my delay, forgive me. I have been quite astonished at your readiness to learn and at your humility. You are entrusted with the office of a teacher, and yet you condescend to learn, and to learn of me, who pretend to no great knowledge. Nevertheless, since you consent, on account of your fear of God, to do what another man might hesitate to do, I am bound for my part to go even beyond my strength in aiding your readiness and righteous zeal.

17. You asked me about the presbyter Bianor — can he be admitted among the clergy, because of his oath? I know that I have already given the clergy of Antioch a general sentence in the case of all those who had sworn with him; namely, that they should abstain from the public congregations, but might perform priestly functions in private. Moreover, he has the further liberty for the performance of his ministerial functions, from the fact that his sacred duties lie not at Antioch, but at Iconium; for, as you have written to me yourself, he has chosen to live rather at the latter than at the former place. The man in question may, therefore, be received; but your reverence must require him to shew repentance for the rash readiness of the oath which he took before the unbeliever, being unable to bear the trouble of that small peril.

18. Concerning fallen virgins, who, after professing a chaste life before the Lord, make their vows vain, because they have fallen under the lusts of the flesh, our fathers, tenderly and meekly making allowance for the infirmities of them that fall, laid down that they might be received after a year, ranking them with the digamists. Since, however, by God's grace the Church grows mightier as she advances, and the order of virgins is becoming more numerous, it is my judgment that careful heed should be

given both to the act as it appears upon consideration, and to the mind of Scripture, which may be discovered from the context. Widowhood is inferior to virginity; consequently the sin of the widows comes far behind that of the virgins. Let us see what Paul writes to Timothy. “The young widows refuse: for when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation because they have cast off their first faith.” If, therefore, a widow lies under a very heavy charge, as setting at naught her faith in Christ, what must we think of the virgin, who is the bride of Christ, and a chosen vessel dedicated to the Lord? It is a grave fault even on the part of a slave to give herself away in secret wedlock and fill the house with impurity, and, by her wicked life, to wrong her owner; but it is forsooth far more shocking for the bride to become an adulteress, and, dishonoring her union with the bridegroom, to yield herself to unchaste indulgence. The widow, as being a corrupted slave, is indeed condemned; but the virgin comes under the charge of adultery. We call the man who lives with another man’s wife an adulterer, and do not receive him into communion until he has ceased from his sin; and so we shall ordain in the case of him who has the virgin. One point, however, must be determined beforehand, that the name virgin is given to a woman who voluntarily devotes herself to the Lord, renounces marriage, and embraces a life of holiness. And we admit professions dating from the age of full intelligence. For it is not right in such cases to admit the words of mere children. But a girl of sixteen or seventeen years of age, in full possession of her faculties, who has been submitted to strict examination, and is then constant, and persists in her entreaty to be admitted, may then be ranked among the virgins, her profession ratified, and its violation rigorously punished. Many girls are brought forward by their parents and brothers, and other kinsfolk, before they are of full age, and have no inner impulse towards a celibate life. The object of the friends is simply to provide for themselves. Such women as these must not be readily received, before we have made public investigation of their own sentiments.

19. I do not recognize the profession of men, except in the case of those who have enrolled themselves in the order of monks, and seem to have secretly adopted the celibate life. Yet in their case I think it becoming that there should be a previous examination, and that a distinct profession should be received from them, so that whenever they may revert to the life

of the pleasures of the flesh, they may be subjected to the punishment of fornicators.

20. I do not think that any condemnation ought to be passed on women who professed virginity while in heresy, and then afterwards preferred marriage. “What things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law.” Those who have not yet put on Christ’s yoke do not recognize the laws of the Lord. They are therefore to be received in the church, as having remission in the case of these sins too, as of all, from their faith in Christ. As a general rule, all sins formerly committed in the catechumenical state are not taken into [account. The Church does not receive these persons without baptism; and it is very necessary that in such cases the birthrights should be observed.

21. If a man living with a wife is not satisfied with his marriage and falls into fornication, I account him a fornicator, and prolong his period of punishment. Nevertheless, we have no canon subjecting him to the charge of adultery, if the sin be committed against an unmarried woman. For the adulteress, it is said, “being polluted shall be polluted,” and she shall not return to her husband: and “He that keepeth an adulteress is a fool and impious.” He, however, who has committed fornication is not to be cut off from the society of his own wife. So the wife will receive the husband on his return from fornication, but the husband will expel the polluted woman from his house. The argument here is not easy, but the custom has so obtained.

22. Men who keep women carried off by violence, if they carried them off when betrothed to other men, must not be received before removal of the women and their restoration to those to whom they were first contracted, whether they wish to receive them, or to separate from them. In the case of a girl who has been taken when not betrothed, she ought first to be removed, and restored to her own people, and handed over to the will of, her own people whether parents, or brothers, or any one having authority over her. If they choose to give her up, the cohabitation may stand; but, if they refuse, no violence should be used. In the case of a man having a wife by seduction, be it secret or by violence, he must be held guilty of fornication. The punish-meat of fornicators is fixed at four years. In the first year they must be expelled from prayer, and weep at the door of the

church; in the second they may be received to set-mon; in the third to penance; in the fourth to standing with the people, while they are withheld from the oblation. Finally, they may be admitted to the communion of the good gift.

23. Concerning men who marry two sisters, or women who marry two brothers a short letter of mine has been published, of which I have sent a copy to your reverence. The man who has taken his own brother's wife is not to be received until he have separated from her.

24. A widow whose name is in the list of widows, that is, who is supported by the Church, is ordered by the Apostle to be supported no longer when she marries.

There is no special rule for a widower. The punishment appointed for digamy may suffice. If a widow who is sixty years of age chooses again to live with a husband, she shall be held unworthy of the communion of the good gift until she be moved no longer by her impure desire. If we reckon her before sixty years, the blame rests with us, and not with the woman.

25. The man who retains as his wife the woman whom he has violated, shall be liable to the penalty of rape, but it shall be lawful for him to have her to wife.

26. Fornication is not wedlock, nor yet the beginning of wedlock. Wherefore it is best, if possible, to put asunder those who are united in fornication. If they are set on cohabitation, let them admit the penalty of fornication. Let them be allowed to live together, lest a worse thing happen.

27. As to the priest ignorantly involved in an illegal marriage, I have made the fitting regulation, that he may hold his seat, but must abstain from other functions. For such a case pardon is enough. It is unreasonable that the man who has to treat his own wounds should be blessing another, for benediction is the imparting of holiness. How can he who through his fault, committed in ignorance, is without holiness, impart. it to another? Let him bless neither in public nor in private, nor distribute the body of Christ to others, nor perform any other sacred function, but, content with his seat of honor, let him beseech the Lord with weeping, that his sin, committed in ignorance, may be forgiven.

28. It has seemed to me ridiculous that any one should make a vow to abstain from swine's flesh. Be so good as to teach men to abstain from foolish vows and promises. Represent the use to be quite indifferent. No creature of God, received with thanksgiving, is to be rejected. The vow is ridiculous; the abstinence unnecessary.

29. It is especially desirable that attention should be given to the case of persons in power who threaten on oath to do some hurt to those under their authority. The remedy is twofold. In the first place, let them be taught not to take oaths at random: secondly, not to persist in their wicked determinations. Any one who is arrested in the design of fulfilling an oath to injure another ought to shew repentance for the rashness of his oath, and must not confirm his wickedness under the pretext of piety. Herod was none the better for fulfilling his oath, when, of course only to save himself from perjury, he became the prophet's murderer. Swearing is absolutely forbidden, and it is only reasonable that the oath which tends to evil should be condemned. The swearer must therefore change his mind, and not persist in confirming his impiety. Consider the absurdity of the thing a little further. Suppose a man to swear that he will put his brother's eyes out: is it well for him to carry his oath into action? Or to commit murder? or to break any other commandment? "I have sworn, and I will perform it," not to sin, but to "keep thy righteous judgments." It is no less our duty to undo and destroy sin, than it is to confirm the commandment by immutable counsels.

30. As to those guilty of abduction we have no ancient rule, but I have expressed my own judgment. The period is three years; the culprits and their accomplices to be excluded from service. The act committed without violence is not liable to punishment, whenever it has not been preceded by violation or robbery. The widow is independent, and to follow or not is in her own power. We must, therefore, pay no heed to excuses.

31. A woman whose husband has gone away and disappeared, and who marries another, before she has evidence of his death, commits adultery. Clerics who are guilty of the sin unto death are degraded from their order, but not excluded from the communion of the laity. Thou shall not punish twice for the same fault.

33. Let an indictment for murder be preferred against the woman who gives birth to a child on the road and pays no attention to it.

34. Women who had committee adultery, and confessed their fault through piety, or were in any way convicted, were not allowed by our fathers to be publicly exposed, that we might not cause their death after conviction. But they ordered that they should be excluded from communion till they had fulfilled their term of penance.

35. In the case of a man deserted by his wife, the cause of the desertion must be taken into account. If she appear to have abandoned him without reason, he is deserving of pardon, but the wife of punishment. Pardon will be given to him that he may communicate with the Church.

36. Soldiers' wives who have married in their husbands' absence will come under the same principle as wives who, when their husbands have been on a journey, have not waited their return. Their case, however, does admit of some concession on the ground of there being greater reason to suspect death.

37. The man who marries after abducting another man's wife will incur the charge of adultery for the first case; but for the second will go free.

38. Girls who follow against their fathers' will commit fornication; but if their fathers are reconciled to them, the act seems to admit of a remedy. They are not however immediately restored to communion, but are to be punished for three years.

39. The woman who lives with an adulterer is an adulteress the whole time.

40. The woman who yields to a man against her master's will commits fornication; but if afterwards she accepts free marriage, she marries. The former case is fornication; the latter marriage. The covenants of persons who are not independent have no validity.

41. The woman in widowhood, who is independent, may dwell with a husband without blame, if there is no one to prevent their cohabitation; for the Apostle says; "but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord."

42. Marriages contracted without the permission of those in authority, are fornication. If neither father nor master be living the contracting parties are free from blame; just as if the authorities assent to the cohabitation, it assumes the fixity of marriage.

43. He who smites his neighbor to death is a murderer, whether he struck first or in self defense.

44. The deaconess who commits fornication with a heathen may be received into repentance and will be admitted to the oblation in the seventh year; of course if she be living in chastity. The heathen who, after he has believed, takes to idolatry, returns to his vomit. We do not, however, give up the body of the deaconess to the use of the flesh, as being consecrated.

45. If any one, after taking the name of Christianity, insults Christ, he gets no good froth the name.

46. The woman who unwillingly marries a man deserted at the time by his wife, and is afterwards repudiated, because of the return of the former to him, commits fornication, but involuntarily. She will, therefore, not be prohibited from marriage; but it is better if she remain as she is.

47. Encratitae, Saccophori, and Apotactitae are not regarded in the same manner as Novatians, since in their case a canon has been pronounced, although different; while of the former nothing has been said. All these I re-baptize on the same principle. If among you their re-baptism is forbidden, for the sake of some arrangement, nevertheless let my principle prevail. Their heresy is, as it were, an offshoot of the Marcionites, abominating, as they do, marriage, refusing wine, and calling God’s creature polluted. We do not therefore receive them into the Church, unless they be baptized into our baptism. Let them not say that they have been baptized into Father, Son and Holy Ghost, inasmuch as they make God the author of evil, after the example of Marcion and the rest of the heresies. Wherefore, if this be determined on, more bishops ought to meet together in one place and publish the canon in these terms, that action may be taken without peril, and authority given to answers to questions of this kind.

48. The woman who has been abandoned by her husband, ought, in my judgment, to remain as she is. The Lord said, “If any one leave his wife,

saving for the cause of fornication, he causeth her to commit adultery;" thus, by calling her adulteress, He excludes her from intercourse with another man. For how can the man being guilty, as having caused adultery, and the woman, go without blame, when she is called adulteress by the Lord for having intercourse with another man?

49. Suffering violation should not be a cause of condemnation. So the slave girl, if she has been forced by her own master, is free from blame.

50. There is no law as to trigamy: a third marriage is not contracted by law. We look upon such things as the defilements of the Church. But we do not subject them to public condemnation, as being better than unrestrained fornication.

LETTER 200

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

I Am attacked by sickness after sickness, and all the work given me, not only by the affairs of the Church, but by those who are troubling the Church, has detained me during the whole winter, and up to the present time. It has been therefore quite impossible for me to send any one to you or to pay you a visit. I conjecture that you are similarly situated; not, indeed, as to sickness, God forbid; may the Lord grant you continued health for carrying out His commandments. But I know that the care of the Churches gives you the same distress as it does me. I was now about to send some one to get me accurate information about your condition. But when my well beloved son Meletius, who is moving the newly enlisted troops, reminded me of the opportunity of my saluting you by him, I gladly accepted the occasion to write and had recourse to the kind services of the conveyor of my letter. He is one who may himself serve instead of a letter, both because of his amiable disposition, and of his being well acquainted with all which concerns me. By him, then, I beseech your reverence especially to pray for me, that the Lord may grant to me a riddance from this troublesome body of mine; to His Churches, peace; and to you, rest; and, whenever you have settled the affairs of Lycaonia in apostolic fashion, as you have began, an opportunity to visit also this place. Whether I be sojourning in the flesh, or shall have been already

bidden to take my departure to the Lord, I hope that you will interest yourself in our part of the world, as your own, as indeed it is, strengthening all that is weak, rousing all that is slothful and, by the help of the Spirit Which abides in you, transforming everything into a condition well pleasing to the Lord. My very honorable sons, Meletius and Melitius, whom you have known for some time, and know to be devoted to yourself, keep in your good care and pray for them. This is enough to keep them in safety. Salute in my name, I beg you, all who are with your holiness, both all the clergy, and all the laity under your pastoral care, and my very religious brothers and fellow ministers. Bear in mind the memory of the blessed martyr Eupsychius, and do not wait for me to mention him again. Do not take pains to come on the exact day, but anticipate it, and so give me joy, if I be yet living on this earth. Till then may you, by the grace of the Holy One, be preserved for me and for God's Churches, enjoying health and wealth in the Lord, and praying for me.

LETTER 201.

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

I Long to meet you for many reasons, that I may have the benefit of your advice in the matters I had in hand, and that on beholding you after a long interval I may have some comfort for your absence. But since both of us are prevented by the same reasons, you by the illness which has befallen you, and I by the malady of longer standing which has not yet left me, let us, if you will, each forgive the other, that both may free ourselves from blame.

LETTER 202

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

Under other circumstances I should think it a special privilege to meet with your reverence, but above all now, when the business which brings us together is of such great importance. But so much of my illness as still clings to me is enough to prevent my stirring ever so short a distance. I

tried to drive as far as the martyrs and had a relapse almost into my old state. You must therefore forgive me. If the matter can be put off for a few days, I will, by God’s grace join you, and share your anxieties. If the business presses, do, by God’s help, what has to be done; but reckon me as present with you and as participating in your worthy deeds. May you, by the grace of the Holy One, be preserved to God’s Church, strong and joyous in the Lord, and praying for me.

LETTER 203

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE SEA COAST

I HAVE had a strong desire to meet you, but from time to time some hindrance has supervened and prevented my fulfilling my purpose. I have either been hindered by sickness, and you know well how, from my early manhood to my present old age, this ailment has been my constant companion, brought up with me, and chastising me, by the righteous judgment of God, Who ordains all things in wisdom; or by the cares of the Church, or by struggles with the opponents of the doctrines of truth. [Up to this day I live in much affliction and grief, having the feeling present before me, that you are wanting to me. For when God tells me, who took on Him His sojourn in the flesh for the very purpose that, by patterns of duty, He might regulate our life, and might by His own voice announce to us the Gospel of the kingdom, — when He says, ‘By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,’ and whereas the Lord left His own peace to His disciples as a farewell gift, when about to complete the dispensation in the flesh, saying, ‘Peace I leave with you, My peace I give you,’ I cannot persuade myself that without love to others, and without, as far as rests with me, peaceableness towards all, I can be called a worthy servant of Jesus Christ. I have waited a long while for the chance of your love paying us a visit. For ye are not ignorant that we, being exposed to all, as rocks running out in the sea, sustain the fury of the heretical waves, which, in that they break around us, do not cover the district behind. I say “we” in order to refer it, not to human power, but to the grace of God, Who, by the weakness of men shows His power, as says the prophet in the person of the Lord, ‘Will ye not fear Me, who

have placed the sand as a boundary to the sea? ‘ for by the weakest and most contemptible of all things, the sand, the Mighty One has bounded the great and fall sea. Since, then, this is our position, it became your love to be frequent in sending true brothers to visit us who labor with the storm, and more frequently letters of love, partly to confirm our courage, partly to correct any mistake of ours. For we confess that we are liable to numberless mistakes, being men, and living in the flesh.]

2. But hitherto, very honorable brethren, you have not given me my due; and this for two reasons. Either you failed to perceive the proper course; or else, under the influence of some of the columnies spread abroad about me, you did not think me deserving of being visited by you in love. Now, therefore, I myself take the initiative. I beg to state that I am perfectly ready to rid myself, in your presence, of the charges urged against me, but only on condition that my revilers are admitted to stand face to face with me before your reverences. If I am convicted, I shall not deny my error. You, after the conviction, will receive pardon from the Lord for withdrawing yourselves from the communion of me a sinner. The successful accusers, too, will have their reward in the publication of my secret wickedness. If, however, you condemn me before you have the evidence before you, I shall be none the worse, barring the loss I shall sustain of a possession I hold most dear — your love: while you, for your part, will suffer the same loss in losing me, and will seem to be running counter to the words of the Gospel: “Doth our law judge any man before it hear him?” The reviler, moreover, if he adduce no proof of what he says, will be shewn to have got nothing from his wicked language but a bad name for himself. For what name can be properly applied to the slanderer except that which he professes to bear by the very conduct of which be is guilty? Let the reviler, therefore, appear not as slanderer, but as accuser; nay, I will not call him accuser, I will rather regard him as a brother, admonishing in love, and producing conviction for my amendment. And you must not be hearers of calumny, but triers of proof. Nor must I be left uncured, because my sin is not being made manifest.

3. Let not this consideration influence you. ‘We dwell on the sea, we are exempt from the sufferings of the generality, we need no succor from others; so what is the good to us of foreign communion?’ For the same Lord Who divided the islands from the continent by the sea, bound the

island Christians to those of the continent by love. Nothing, brethren, separates us froth each other, but deliberate estrangement. We have one Lord, one faith, the same hope. The hands need each other; the feet steady each other. The eyes possess their clear apprehension from agreement. We, for our part, confess our own weakness, and we seek your fellow feeling. For we are assured, that though ye are not present in body, yet by the aid of prayer, ye will do us much benefit in these most critical times. It is neither decorous before men, nor pleasing to God, that you should make avowals which not even the Gentiles adopt, which know not God. Even they, as we hear, though the country they live in be sufficient for all things, yet, on account of the uncertainty of the future, make much of alliances with each other, and seek mutual intercourse as being advantageous to them. Yet we, the sons of fathers who have laid down the law that by brief notes the proofs of communion should be carried about from one end of the earth to the other, and that all should be citizens and familiars with all, now sever ourselves from the whole world, and are neither ashamed at our solitariness, nor shudder that on us is fallen the fearful prophecy of the Lord, ‘Because of lawlessness abounding, the love of the many shall wax cold.’]

4. Do not, most honorable brethren, do not suffer this. Rather, by letters of peace and by salutations of love, comfort me for the past. You have made a wound in my heart by your former neglect. Soothe its anguish, as it were, by a tender touch. Whether you wish to come to me, and examine for yourselves into the truth of what you hear of my infirmities, or whether by the addition of more lies my sins are reported to you to be yet more grievous, I must accept even this. I am ready to welcome you with open hands and to offer myself to the strictest test, only let love preside over the proceedings. Or if you prefer to indicate any spot in your own district to which I may come and pay you the visit which is due, submitting myself, as far as may be, to examination, for the healing of the past, and the prevention of slander for the future, I accept this. Although my flesh is weak, yet, as long as I breathe, I am responsible for the due discharge of every duty which may tend to the edification of the Churches of Christ. Do not, I beseech you. make light of my entreaty. Do not force me to disclose my distress to others. Hitherto, brethren, as you are well aware, I have kept my grief to myself, for I blush to speak of your

alienation from me to those of our communion who are at a distance. I shrink at once from paining them and from gratifying those who hate me. I alone am writing this now; but I send in the name of all the brethren in Cappadocia, who have charged me not to employ any chance messenger, but some one who, in case I should, from my anxiety not to be too prolix, leave out any points of importance, might supply them with the intelligence wherewith God has gifted him. I refer to my beloved and reverend fellow presbyter Petrus. Welcome him in love, and send him forth to me in peace, that he may be a messenger to me of good things.

LETTER 204

TO THE NEOCAESARCANS

1. [THERE has been a long silence on both sides, revered and well-beloved brethren, just as if there were angry feelings between us. Yet who is there so sullen and implacable towards the party which has injured him, as to lengthen out the resentment which has begun in disgust through almost a whole life of man?] This [is happening in our case, no just occasion of estrangement existing, as far as I myself know, but on the contrary, there being, from the first, many strong reasons for the closest friendship and unity. The greatest and first is this, our Lord’s command, pointedly saying, “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another.”] Again, the apostle clearly sets before us the good of charity where he tells us that love is the fulfilling of the law; and again where he says that charity is a good thing to be preferred to all great and good things, in the words. “Though I speak with tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor and though I give my body to be burnt and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.” Not that each of the points enumerated could be performed without love, but that the Holy One wishes, as He Himself has said, to attribute to the commandment super-eminent excellency by the figure of hyperbole.

2. [Next, if it tend much towards intimacy to have the same teachers, there are to you and to me the same teachers of God’s mysteries, and spiritual Fathers, who from the beginning were the founders of your Church. I mean the great Gregory, and all who succeeding in order to the throne of your episcopate, like stars rising one after another, have tracked the same course, so as to leave the tokens of the heavenly polity most clear to all who desire them.] And if natural relationships are not to be despised, but are greatly conducive to unbroken union and fellowship, these rights also exist naturally for you and me. [Why is it, then, O venerable among cities, for through you I address the whole city, that no civil writing comes from you, no welcome voice, but your ears are open to those who aim at slander?] I am therefore the more bound to groan, the more I perceive the end they have in view. There is no doubt as to who is the originator of the slander. He is known by many evil deeds, but is best distinguished by this particular wickedness, and it is for this reason that the sin is made his name. But you must pat up with my plain speaking. You have opened both ears to my slanderers. You heartily welcome all you hear without any enquiry. Not one of you distinguishes between lies and truth. Who ever suffered for lack of wicked accusations when struggling all alone? Who was ever convicted of lying in the absence of his victim? What plea does not sound plausible to the hearers when the reviler persists that such and such is the case, and the reviled is neither present nor hears what is urged against him? Does not even the accepted custom of this world teach you, in reference to these matters, that if any one is to be a fair and impartial hearer, he must not be entirely led away by the first speaker, but must wait for the defense of the accused, that so truth may be demonstrated by a comparison of the arguments on both sides? “Judge righteous judgment.” This precept is one of those most necessary for salvation.

3. When I say this I am not forgetful of the words of the Apostle, who fled from human tribunals and reserved the defense of all his life for the unerring judgment seat, when he said, “With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man’s judgment.” Your ears have been preoccupied by lying slanders, slanders that have touched my conduct, slanders that have touched my faith in God. Nevertheless, knowing, as I do, that three persons at once are injured by the slanderer, his victim, his hearer, and himself; as to my own wrong, I would have held my tongue, be

sure; not because I despise your good opinion,(how could I, writing now as I do and earnestly pleading as I do that I may not lose it?) but because I see that of the three sufferers the one who is least injured is myself. It is true that I shall be robbed of you, but you are being robbed of the truth, and he who is at the bottom of all this is parting me from you, but he is alienating himself from the Lord, inasmuch as no one can be brought near to the Lord by doing what is forbidden. Rather then for your sakes than for mine, rather to rescue you from unendurable wrong am I pleading. For who could suffer a worse calamity than the loss of the most precious of all things, the truth?

4. [What say I, brethren? Not that I am a sinless person; not that my life is not full of numberless faults. I know myself; and indeed I cease not my tears for my sins, if by any means I may be able to appease my God, and to escape the punishment threatened against them. But this I say: let him who: judges me, hunt for motes in my eye, if he can say that his own is clear.] I own, brethren, that I need the care of the sound and healthy, and need much of it. If he cannot say that it is clear, and the clearer it is the less will he say so — (for it is the part of the perfect not to exalt themselves; if they do they will certainly come under the charge of the pride of the Pharisee, who, while justifying himself, condemned the publican) let him come with me to the physician let him not “judge before the time until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.” Let him remember the words. “Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; “ and “Condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned.” [In a word, brethren, if my offenses admit of cure, why does not such an one obey the teacher of the Churches, “Reprove, exhort, rebuke”? If, on the other hand, my iniquity he past cure, why does he not withstand me to the face, and, by publishing my transgressions, deliver the Churches from the mischief which I bring on them?] Do not put up with the calumny uttered against me within the teeth. This is the abuse which any slave-girl from the grindstone might utter; this is the kind of fine shewing-off you might expect from any street vagabond; their tongues are whetted for any slander. But [there are bishops; let appeal be made to them. There is a clergy in each of God’s dioceses; let the most eminent be assembled. Let whoso will, speak freely, that I may have to deal with a charge, not a

slander.] Let my secret wickedness be brought into full view; let me no longer be hated, but admonished as a brother. It is more just that we sinners should be pitied by the blessed and the sinless, than that we should be treated angrily.

5. [If the fault be a point of faith, let the document be pointed out to me. Again, let a fair and impartial inquiry be appointed. Let the accusation be read; let it be brought to the test, whether it does not arise from ignorance in the accuser, not from blame in the matter of the writing. For right things often do not seem such to those who are deficient in accurate judgment. Equal weights seem unequal when the arms of the balance are of different sizes.] Men whose sense of taste is destroyed by sickness, sometimes think honey sour. A diseased eye does not see many things which do exist, and notes many things which do not exist. The same thing frequently takes place with regard to the force of words, when the critic is inferior to the writer. The critic ought really to set out with much the same training and equipment as the author. A man ignorant of agriculture is quite incapable of criticizing husbandry, and the distinctions between harmony and discord can only be adequately judged by a trained musician. But any one who chooses will set up for a literary critic, though he cannot tell us where he went to school, or how much time was spent in his education, and knows nothing about letters at all. I see clearly that, even in the case of the words of the Holy Spirit, the investigation of the terms is to be attempted not by every one, but by him who has the spirit of discernment, as the Apostle has taught us, in the differences of gifts; — "For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gift of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits." If, therefore, my gifts are spiritual, he who wishes to judge them must shew proof of his own possession of the gift of "discerning of spirits." If, on the contrary, as he calumniously contends, my gifts are of the wisdom of this world, let him shew that he is an adept in this world's wisdom, and I will submit myself to his verdict. And [let no one suppose that I am making excuses to evade the charge. I put it into your hands, dearest brethren, to investigate for yourselves the points alleged against me. Are you so slow of intelligence as to be wholly dependent upon advocates for the discovery of the truth?

If the points in question seem to you to be quite plain of themselves, persuade the jesters to drop the dispute. [If there be anything you do not understand, put questions to me, through appointed persons who will do justice to me; or ask of me explanations in writing. And take all kinds of pains that nothing may be left unsifted.

6. What clearer evidence can there be of my faith, than that I was brought up by my grandmother, blessed woman, who came from you? I mean the celebrated Macrina who taught me the words of the blessed Gregory; which, as far as memory had preserved down to her day, she cherished herself. while she fashioned and formed me, while yet a child, upon the doctrines of piety. And when I gained the capacity of thought, my reason being matured by full age, I traveled over much sea and land, and whomsoever I found walking in the rule of godliness delivered, those I set down as fathers,] and made them my soul's guides in my journey to God. And up to this day, by the grace of Him who has called me in His holy calling to the knowledge of Himself, I know of no doctrine opposed to the sound teaching having sunk into my heart; nor was my soul ever polluted by the ill-famed blasphemy of Arius. If I have ever received into communion any who have come from that teacher, hiding their unsoundness deep within them, or speaking words of piety, or, at any rate. not opposing what has been said by me, it is on these terms that I have admitted them; and I have not allowed my judgment concerning them to rest wholly with myself, but have followed the decisions given about them by our Fathers. For after receiving the letter of the very blessed Father Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, which I hold in my hand, and shew to any one who asks, wherein he has distinctly declared that any one expressing a wish to come over from the heresy of the Arians and accepting the Nicene Creed. is to be received without hesitation and difficulty, citing in support of his opinion the unanimous assent of the bishops of Macedonia and of Asia; I, considering myself bound to follow the high authority of such a man and of those who made the rule, and with every desire on my own part to win the reward promised to peacemakers, did enroll in the lists of communicants all who accepted that creed.

7. [The fair thing would be to judge of me, not from one or two who do not walk uprightly in the truth, but from the multitude of bishops throughout the world, connected with me by the grace of the Lord. Make

enquiries of Pisidians, Lycaonians, Isaurians, Phrygians of both provinces, Armenians your neighbors, Macedonians, Achaeans. Illyrians, Gauls. Spaniards, the whole of Italy, Sicilians, Africans, the healthy part of Egypt, whatever is left of Syria; all of whom send letters to me, and in turn receive them from me.] From these letters, alike from all which are despatched from them. and from all which go out from us to them, you may learn that we are all of one mind, and of one opinion. [Whoso shuns communion with me, it cannot escape your accuracy, cuts himself off from the whole Church. Look round about, brethren, with whom do you hold communion? If you will not receive it from me, who remains to acknowledge you? Do not reduce me to the necessity of counseling anything unpleasant concerning a Church so dear to me.] There are things now which I hide in the bottom of my heart, in secret groaning over and bewailing the evil days in which we live, in that the greatest Churches which have long been united to one another in brotherly love, now, without any reason, are in mutual opposition. Do not, oh! do not, drive me to complain of these things to all who are in communion with me. Do not force me to give utterance to words which hitherto I have kept in check by reflection and have hidden in my heart. Better were it for me to be removed and the Churches to be at one, than that God's people should suffer such evil through our childish ill-will. [Ask your fathers, and they will tell you that though our districts were divided in position, yet in mind they were one, and were governed by one sentiment. Intercourse of the people was frequent; frequent the visits of the clergy; the pastors, too, had such mutual affection, that each used the other as teacher and guide in things pertaining to the Lord.]

LETTER 205

TO ELPIDIUS THE BISHOP

ONCE again I have started the well-beloved presbyter Meletius to carry my greeting to you. I had positively determined to spare him, on account of the weakness which he has voluntarily brought upon himself, by bringing his body into subjection for the sake of the gospel of Christ. But I have judged it fitting to salute you by the ministry of such men as he is, able to supply of themselves all the shortcomings of my letter, and to

become, alike to writer and recipient, a kind of living epistle. I am also carrying out the very strong wish, which he has always had, to see your excellency, ever since he has had experience of the high qualities you possess. So now I have besought him to travel to you, and through him I discharge the debt of the visit I owe you, and beseech you to pray for me and for the Church of God, that the Lord may grant me deliverance from the injuries of the enemies of the Gospel, and to pass my life in peace and quiet. Nevertheless. if you in your wisdom, think it needful that we should travel to the same spot, and meet the rest of our fight honorable brother bishops of the sea board regions, do you yourself point out a suitable place and time where and when this meeting may take place. Write to our brethren to the end that each and all may, at the appointed time, leave the business they may have in hand, and may be able to effect something for the edification of the Churches of God, do away with the pain which we now suffer from our mutual suspicions, and establish love, without which the Lord Himself has ordained that obedience to every commandment must be of none effect.

LETTER 206

TO ELPIDIUS THE BISHOP. CONSOLATORY

NOW, most of all, do I feel my bodily infirmity, when I see how it stands in the way of my soul's good. Had matters gone as I hoped, I should not now be speaking to you by letter or by messenger, but should in my own person have been paying the debt of affection and enjoying spiritual advantage face to face. Now, however, I am so situated that I am only too glad if I am able even to move about in my own country in the necessary visitation of parishes in my district. But may the Lord grant to you both strength and a ready will, and to me, in addition to my eager desire, ability to enjoy your society when I am in the country of Comana. I am afraid lest your domestic trouble may be some hindrance to you. For I have learnt of your affliction in the loss of your little boy. To a grandfather his death cannot but be grievous. On the other hand to a man who has attained to so high a degree of virtue, and alike from his experience of this world and his spiritual training knows what human nature is, it is natural that the removal of those who are near and dear should not he wholly intolerable.

The Lord requires from us what He does not require from every one. The common mass of mankind lives by habit, but the Christian’s rule of life is the commandment of the Lord, and the example of holy men of old, whose greatness of soul was, above all, exhibited in adversity. To the end, then, that you may yourself leave to them that come after you an example of fortitude and of genuine trust in what we hope for, show that you are not vanquished by your grief, but are rising above your sorrows, patient in affliction, and rejoicing in hope. Pray let none of these things be a hindrance to our hoped for meeting. Children, indeed, are held blameless on account of their tender age; but you and I are under the responsibility of serving the Lord, as He commands us, and in all things to be ready for the administration of the affairs of the Churches. For the due discharge of that duty the Lord has reserved great rewards for faithful and wise stewards.

LETTER 207.

TO THE CLERGY OF NEOCAESAREA

YOU all concur in hating me. To a man you have followed the leader of the war against me. I was therefore minded to say not a word to any one. I determined that I would write no friendly letter; that I would start no communication, but keep my sorrow in silence to myself. Yet it is wrong to keep silence in the face of calumny; not that by contradiction we may vindicate ourselves, but that we may not allow a lie to travel further and its victims to be harmed. I have therefore thought it necessary to put this matter also before you all, and to write a letter to you, although, when I recently wrote to all the presbyterate in common, you did not do me the honor to send me a reply. Do not, my brethren, gratify the vanity of those who are filling your minds with pernicious opinions. Do not consent to look lightly on, when, to your knowledge, God’s people are being subverted by impious teaching. None but Sabellius the Libyan and Marcellus the Galatian have dared to teach and write what the leaders of your people are attempting to bring forward among you as their own private discovery. They are making a great talk about it, but they are perfectly powerless to give their sophisms and fallacies even any color of truth. In their harangues against me they shrink from no wickedness, and

persistently refuse to meet me. Why? Is it not because they are afraid of being convicted for their own wicked opinions? Yes; and in their attacks upon me they have become so lost to all sense of shame as to invent certain dreams to my discredit while they falsely accuse my teaching of being pernicious. Let them take upon their own heads all the visions of the autumn months; they can fix no blasphemy on me, for in every Church there are many to testify to the truth.

2. When they are asked the reason for this furious and truceless war, they allege psalms and a kind of music varying from the custom which has obtained among you, and similar pretexts of which they ought to be ashamed. We are, moreover, accused because we maintain men in the practice of true religion who have renounced the world and all those cares of this life, which the Lord likens to thorns that do not allow the word to bring forth fruit. Men of this kind carry about in the body the deadness of Jesus; they have taken up their own cross, and are followers of God. I would gladly give my life if these really were my faults, and if I had men with me owning me as teacher who had chosen this ascetic life. I hear that virtue of this kind is to be fount now in Egypt, and there are, peradventure some men in Palestine whose conversation follows the precepts of the Gospel. I am told too that some perfect and blessed men are to be found in Mesopotamia. We, in comparison with the perfect, are children. But if women also have chosen to live the Gospel life, preferring virginity to wedlock. leading captive the lust of the flesh, and living in the mourning which is called blessed, they are blessed in their profession wherever they are to be found. We, however, have few instances of this to show, for with us people are still in an elementary stage and are being gradually brought. to piety. If any charges of disorder are brought against the life of our women I do not undertake to defend them. One thing, however, I do say and that is, that these bold hearts, these unbridled mouths are ever fearlessly uttering what Satan, the father of lies, has hitherto I been unable to say. I wish you to know that we rejoice to have assemblies of both men and women, whose conversation is in heaven and who have crucified the flesh with, the affections and lusts thereof; they take no thought for food and raiment, but remain undisturbed beside their Lord, continuing night and day in prayer. Their lips speak not of the deeds of men: they sing

hymns to God continually, working with their own hands that they may have to distribute to them that need.

3. Now as to the charge relating to the singing of psalms, whereby my calumniators specially scare the simpler folk, my reply is this. The customs which now obtain are agreeable to those of all the Churches of God. Among us the people go at night to the house of prayer, and, in distress, affliction, and continual tears, making confession to God, at last rise from their prayers and begin to sing psalms. And now, divided into two parts, they sing antiphonally with one another, thus at once confirming their study of the Gospels, and at the same time producing for themselves a heedful temper and a heart free from distraction. Afterwards they again commit the prelude of the strain to one, and the rest take it up; and so after passing the night in various psalmody, praying at intervals as the day begins to dawn, all together, as with one voice and one heart, raise the psalm of confession to the Lord, each forming for himself his own expressions of penitence. If it is for these reasons that you renounce me, you will renounce the Egyptians; you will renounce both Libyans, Thebans, Palestinians, Arabians, Phoenicians, Syrians, the dwellers by the Euphrates; in a word all those among whom vigils, prayers, and common psalmody have been held in honor.

4. But, it is alleged, these practices were not observed in the time of the great Gregory. My rejoinder is that even the Litanies which you now use were not used in his time. I do not say this to find fault with you; for my prayer would be that every one of you should live in tears and continual penitence. We, for our part, are always offering supplication for our sins, but we propitiate our God not as you do, in the words of mere man, but in the oracles of the Spirit. And what evidence have you that this custom was not followed in the time of the great Gregory? You have kept none of his customs up to the present time. Gregory did not cover his head at prayer. How could he? He was a true disciple of the Apostle who says, “Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head.” And “a man indeed ought not to cover his bead forasmuch as he is the image of God.” Oaths were shunned by Gregory, that pure soul, worthy of the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, content with yea and nay, in accordance with the commandment of the Lord Who said, “I say unto you swear not at all?” Gregory could not bear to call his brother a fool, for he

stood in awe of the threat of the Lord. Passion, wrath, and bitterness never proceeded out of his mouth. Railing he hated, because it leads not to the kingdom of heaven. Envy and arrogance had been shut out of that guiltless sold. He would never have stood at the altar before being reconciled to his brother. A lie, or any word designed to slander any one, he abominated, as one who knew that lies come from the devil, and that the Lord will destroy all that utter a lie. If you have none of these things, and are clear of all, then are you verily disciples of the disciple of the Lord. if not, beware lest, in your disputes about the mode of singing psalms, you are straining at the gnat and setting at naught the greatest of the commandments.

I have been driven to use these expressions by the urgency of my defense, that you may be taught to cast the beam out of your own eyes before you try to remove other men's motes. Nevertheless, I am conceding all, although there is nothing that is not searched into before God. Only let great matters prevail, and do not allow innovations in the fifth to make themselves heard. Do not disregard the hypostases. Do not deny the name of Christ. Do not put a wrong meaning on the words of Gregory. If you do so, as long as I breathe and have the power of utterance, I cannot keep silence, when I see souls being thus destroyed.

LETTER 208

TO EULANCIUS

YOU have been long silent, though you have very great power of speech, and are well trained in the art of conversation and of exhibiting yourself by your eloquence. Possibly it is Neocaesarea which is the cause of your not writing to me. I suppose I must take it as a kindness if those who are there do not remember me, for, as I am informed by those who report what they hear, the mention made of me is not kind. You, however, used to be one of those who were disliked for my sake, not one of those who dislike me for the sake of others. I hope this description will continue to fit you, that wherever you are you will write to me, and will have kindly thoughts of me, if you care at all for what is fair and right. It is certainly fair that those who have been first to show affection should be paid in their own coin.

LETTER 209.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

IT is your lot to share my distress, and to do battle on my behalf. Herein is proof of your manliness. God, who ordains our lives, grants to those who are capable of sustaining great fights greater opportunity of winning renown. You truly have risked your own life as a test of your valor in your friend's behalf, like gold in the furnace. I pray God that other men may be made better; that you may remain what you are, and that you will not cease to find fault with me, as you do, and to charge me with not writing often to you, as a wrong on my part which does you very great injury. This is an accusation only made by a friend. Persist in demanding the payment of such debts. I am not so very unreasonable in paying the claims of affection.

LETTER 210.

TO THE NOTABLES OF NEOCAESAREA

I AM really under no obligation to publish my own mind to you, or to state the reasons for my present sojourn where I am; it is not my custom to indulge in self advertisement, nor is the matter worth publicity. I am not, I think, following my own inclinations; I am answering the challenge of your leaders. I have always striven to be ignored more earnestly than popularity hunters strive after notoriety. But, I am told, the ears of everybody in your town are set a thrilling, while certain tale-mongers, creators of lies, hired for this very work, are giving you a history of me and my doings. I therefore do not think that I ought to overlook your being exposed to the teaching of vile intention and foul tongue; I think that I am bound to tell you myself in what position I am placed. From my childhood I have been familiar with this spot, for here I was brought up by my grandmother; hither I have often retreated, and here I have spent many years, when endeavoring to escape from the hubbub of public affairs, for experience has taught me that the quiet and solitude of the spot are favorable to serious thought. Moreover as my brothers are now living here,

I have gladly retired to this retreat, and have taken a brief breathing time from the press of the labors that beset me, not as a center from which I might give trouble to others, but to indulge my own longing.

2. Where then is the need of having recourse to dreams and of hiring their interpreters, and making me matter for talk over the cups at public entertainments? Had slander been launched against me in any other quarter, I should have called you to witness to prove what I think, and now I ask every one of you to remember those old days when I was invited by your city to take charge of the education of the young, and a deputation of the first men among you came to see me. Afterwards, when you all crowded round me, what were you not ready to give? what not to promise? Nevertheless you were not able to keep me. How then could I, who at that time would not listen when you invited me, now attempt to thrust myself on you uninvited? How could I, who when you complimented and admired me, avoided you, have been intending to court you now that you calumniate me? Nothing of the kind, sirs; I am not quite so cheap. No man in his senses would go on board a boat. without a steersman, or get alongside a Church where the men siring at the helm are themselves stirring up tempest and storm. Whose fault was it that the town was all full of tumult, when some were running away with no one after them, and others stealing off when no invader was near, and all the wizards and dream-tellers were flourishing their bogeys? Whose fault was it else? Does not every child know that it was the mob-leaders'? The reasons of their hatred to me it would be bad taste on my part to recount; but they are quite easy for you to apprehend. When bitterness and division have come to the last pitch of savagery, and the explanation of the cause is altogether groundless and ridiculous, then the mental disease is plain, dangerous indeed to other people's comfort, but greatly and personally calamitous to the patient. And there is one charming point about them. Torn and racked with inward agony as they are, they cannot yet for very shame speak out about it. The state they are in may be known not only from their behavior to me, but from the rest of their conduct. If it were unknown, it would not much matter. But the veritable cause of their shunning communication with me may be unperceived by the majority among you. Listen; and I will tell you.

3. There is going on among you a movement ruinous to the faith, disloyal to the apostolical and evangelical dogmas, disloyal too to the tradition of Gregory the truly great, and of his successors up to the blessed Musonius, whose teaching is still ringing in your ears. For those men, who, from fear of confutation, are forging figments against me, are endeavoring to renew the old mischief of Sabellius, started long ago, and extinguished by the tradition of the great Gregory. But do you bid good-bye to those wine-laden heads, bemuddled by the swelling fumes that mount from their debauch, and from me who am wide awake and from fear of God cannot keep silence. hear what plague is rife among you. Sabellianism is Judaism imported into the preaching of the Gospel under the guise of Christianity. For if a man calls Father Son and Holy Ghost one thing of many faces, and makes the hypostasis of the three one, what is this but to deny the everlasting pre-existence of the Only begotten? He denies too the Lord's sojourn among men in the incarnation, the going down into hell, the resurrection, the judgment; he denies also the proper operations of the Spirit. And I hear that even rasher innovations than those of the foolish Sabellius are now ventured on among you. It is said, and that on the evidence of ear witnesses, that your clever men go to such an extreme as to say that there is no tradition of the name of the Only-begotten, while of the name of the adversary there is; and at this they are highly delighted and elated, as though it were a discovery of their own. For it is said, "I came in my Father's name and ye received me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." And because it is said, " Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," it is obvious, they urge, that the name is one, for it is not "in the *names*," but "in the *name*."

4. I blush so to write to you, for the men thus guilty are of my own blood; and I groan for my own soul, in that, like boxers fighting two men at once, I can only give the truth its proper force by hitting with my proofs, and knocking down, the errors of doctrine on the right and on the left. On one side I am attacked by the Anomoean: on the other by the Sabellian. Do not, I implore you, pay any attention to these abominable and impotent sophisms. Know that the name of Christ which is above every name is His being called Son of God, as Peter says, "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." And as to the

words “I came in my Father’s name,” it is to be understood that He so says describing His Father as origin and cause of Himself. And if it is said “Go and baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,” we must not suppose that here one name is delivered to us. For just as he who said Paul and Silvanus and Timothy mentioned three names, and coupled them one to the other by the word “and,” so He who spoke of the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,” mentioned three, and united them by the conjunction, teaching that with each name must be understood its own proper meaning; for the names mean things. And no one gifted with even the smallest particle of it intelligence doubts that the existence belonging to the things is peculiar and complete in itself. For of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost there is the same nature and one Godhead; but these are different names, setting forth to a us the circumscription and exactitude of the meanings. For unless the meaning of the distinctive qualities of each be unconfounded, it is impossible for the doxology to be adequately offered to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

If, however, they deny that they so say, and so teach, my object is attained. Yet I see that this denial is no easy matter, because of our having many witnesses who heard these things said. But let bygones be bygones; let them only be sound now. If they persist in the same old error I must proclaim your calamity even to other Churches, and get letters written to you froth more bishops. In my efforts to break down this huge mass of impiety now gradually and secretly growing, I shall either effect something towards the object I have in view; or at least my present testimony will clear me of guilt in the judgment day.

5. They have already inserted these expressions in their own writings. They sent them first to the man of God, Meletius, bishop, and after receiving from him a suitable reply, like mothers of monsters, ashamed of their natural deformities, these men themselves brought forth and bring up their disgusting offspring in appropriate darkness. They made an attempt too by letter on my dear friend Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, on the ground that Gregory had said in his exposition of the faith that Father and Son are in thought two, but in hypostasis one. The men who congratulate themselves on the subtilty of their intelligence could not perceive that this is said not in reference to dogmatic opinion, but in controversy with Aelian. And in this dispute there are not a few copyists’ blunders, as,

please God, I shall shew in the case of the actual expressions used. But in his endeavor to convince the heathen, he deemed it needless to be nice about the words he employed; he judged it wiser sometimes to make concessions to the character of the subject who was being persuaded, so as not to run counter to the opportunity given him. This explains how it is that you may find there many expressions which now give great support to the heretics, as for instance “creature” and “thing made” and the like. But those who ignorantly criticize these writings refer to the question of the Godhead much that is said in reference to the conjunction with man; as is the case with this passage which they are hawking about. For it is indispensable to have clear understanding that, as he who fails to confess the community of the essence or substance falls into polytheism, so he who refuses to grant the distinction of the hypostases is carried away into Judaism. For we must keep our mind stayed, so to say, on certain underlying subject matter, and, by forming a clear impression of its distinguishing lines, so arrive at the end desired. For suppose we do not bethink us of the Fatherhood, nor bear in mind Him of whom this distinctive quality is marked off, how can we take in the idea of God the Father? For merely to enumerate the differences of Persons is insufficient; we must confess each Person to have a natural existence in real hypostasis. Now Sabellius did not even deprecate the formation of the persons without hypostasis, saying as he did that the same God, being one in matter, was metamorphosed as the need of the moment required, and spoken of now as Father, now as Son, and now as Holy Ghost. The inventors of this unnamed heresy are renewing the old long extinguished error; those, I mean, who are repudiating the hypostases, and denying the name of the Son of God. They must give over uttering iniquity against God, or they will have to wail with them that deny the Christ.

6. I have felt compelled to write to you in these terms, that you, may be on your guard against the mischief arising from bad teaching. If we may indeed liken pernicious teachings to poisonous drugs, as your dream-tellers have it. these doctrines are hemlock and monkshood, or any other deadly to man. It is these that destroy souls; not my words, as this shrieking drunken scum, full of the fancies of their condition, make out. If they bad any sense they ought to know that in souls, pure and cleansed from all defilement, the prophetic gift shines clear. In a foul mirror you cannot see

what the reflection is, neither can a soul preoccupied with cares of this life, and darkened with the passions of the lust of the flesh, receive the rays of the Holy Ghost. Every dream is not a prophecy, as says Zechariah. “ The Lord shall make bright clouds, and give them showers of rain,... for the idols have spoken vanity and the diviners have told false dreams.” Those who, as Isaiah says, dream and love to sleep in their bed forget that an operation of error is sent to “ the children of disobedience.” And there is a lying spirit, which arose in false prophecies, and deceived Ahab. Knowing this they ought not to have been so lifted up as to ascribe the gift of prophecy to themselves. They are shewn to fall far short even of the case of the seer Balaam; for Balaam when invited by the king of Moab with mighty bribes brooked not to utter a word beyond the will of God, nor to curse Israel whom the Lord cursed not. If then their sleep-fancies do not tally with the commandments of the Lord, let them be content with the Gospels. The Gospels need no dreams to add to their credit. The Lord has sent His peace to us, and left us a new commandment, to love one another, but dreams bring strife and division and destruction of love. Let them therefore not give occasion to the devil to attack their souls in sleep; nor make their imaginations of more authority than the instruction of salvation.

LETTER 211

TO OLYMPIUS

TRULY when I read your excellency’s letter I felt unwonted pleasure and cheerfulness; and when I met your well-beloved sons, I seemed to behold yourself. They found me in the deepest affliction, but they so behaved as to make me forget the hemlock, which your dreamers and dream mongers are carrying about to my hurt, to please the people who have hired them. Some letters I have already sent; others, if you like, shall follow. I only hope that they may be of some advantage to the recipients.

LETTER 212

TO HILARIUS

1. YOU can imagine what I felt, and in what state of mind I was, when I came to Dazimon and found that you had left a few days before my arrival. From my boyhood I have held you in admiration, and, therefore, ever since our old school days, have placed a high value on intercourse with you. But another reason for my doing so is that nothing is so precious now as a soul that loves the, truth, and is gifted with a sound judgment in practical affairs. This, I think, is to be found in you. I see most men, as in the hippodrome, divided into factions, some for one side and some for another, and shouting with their parties. But you are above fear, flattery, and every ignoble sentiment, and so naturally look at truth with an unprejudiced eye. And I see that you are deeply interested in the affairs of the Churches, about which you have sent me a letter, as you have said in your last. I should like to know who took charge of the conveyance of this earlier epistle, that I may know who has wronged me by its loss. No letter from you on this subject has yet reached me.

2. How much, then, would I not have given to meet you, that I might tell you all my troubles? When one is in pain it is, as you know, some alleviation, even to describe it. How gladly would I have answered your questions, not trusting to lifeless letters, but in my own person, narrating each particular. The persuasive force of living words is more efficient and they are not so susceptible as letters to attack and to misrepresentation. For now no one has left anything untried, and the very men in whom I put the greatest confidence, men, who when I saw them among others, I used to think something more than human, have received documents written by some one, and have sent them on, whatever they are, as mine, and on their account are calumniating me to the brethren as though there is nothing now that pious and faithful men ought to hold in greater abhorrence than my name. From the beginning it has been my object to live unknown, to a degree not reached by any one who has considered human infirmity; but now, just as though on the other hand it had been my purpose to make myself notorious to the world, I have been talked about all over the earth, and I may add all over the sea too. For men, who go to the last limit of

impiety, and are introducing into the Churches the godless opinion of Unlikeness, are waging war against me. Those too who hold the via media. as they think, and, though they start from the same principles, do not follow out their logical consequences, because they are so opposed to the view of the majority, are equally hostile to me, overwhelming me to the utmost of their ability with their reproaches, and abstaining from no insidious attacks against me. But the Lord has made their endeavors vain.

Is not this a grievous state of things? Must it not make my life painful? I have at all events one consolation in my troubles, my bodily infirmity. This I am sure will not suffer me to remain much longer in this miserable life. No more on this point. You too I exhort, in your bodily infirmity. to bear yourself bravely and worthy of the God Who has called us. If He sees us accepting our present circumstances with thanksgiving, He will either put away our troubles as He did Job's, or will requite us with the glorious crowns of patience in the life to come.

LETTER 213

WITHOUT ADDRESS

1. MAY the Lord, Who has brought me prompt help in my afflictions, grant you the help of the refreshment wherewith you have refreshed me by writing to me, rewarding you for your consolation of my humble self with the real and great gladness of the Spirit. For I was indeed downcast in soul when I saw in a great multitude the almost brutish and unreasonable insensibility of the people, and the inveterate and ineradicable unsatisfactoriness of their leaders. But I saw your letter; I saw the treasure of love which it contained; then I knew that He Who ordains all our lives had made some sweet consolation shine on me in the bitterness of my life. I therefore salute your holiness in return, and exhort you, as is my wont, not to cease to pray for my unhappy life, that I may never, drowned in the unrealities of this world, forget God, "who raiseth up the poor out of the dust;" that I may never be lifted up with pride and fall into the condemnation of the devil; that I may never be found by the Lord neglectful of my stewardship and asleep; never discharging it amiss, and wounding the conscience of my fellow-servants; and, never companying

with the drunken, suffer the pains threatened in God's just judgment against wicked stewards. I beseech you, therefore, in all your prayers to pray God that I may be watchful in all things; that I may be no shame or disgrace to the name of Christ, in the revelation of the secrets of my heart, in the great day of the appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ.

2. Know then that I am expecting to be summoned by the wickedness of the heretics to the court, in the name of peace. Learn too that on being so informed, this bishop wrote to me to hasten to Mesopotamia, and, after assembling together those who in that country are of like sentiments with us, and are strengthening the state of the Church, to travel in their company to the emperor. But perhaps my health will not be good enough to allow me to undertake a journey in the winter. Indeed, hitherto I have not thought the matter pressing, unless you advise it. I shall therefore await your counsel that my mind may be made up. Lose no time then, I beg you, in making known to me, by means of one of our trusty brethren, what course seems best to the divinely guided intelligence of your excellency.

LETTER 214

TO COUNT TERENTIUS

1. WHEN I heard that your excellency had again been compelled to take part in public affairs, I was straightway distressed (for the truth must be told) at the thought of how contrary to your mind it must be that you after once giving up the anxieties of official life, and allowing yourself leisure for the care of your sold, should again be forced back into your old career. But then I bethought me that peradventure the Lord has ordained that your lordship should again appear in public from this wish to grant the boon of one alleviation for the countless pains which now beset the Church in our part of the world. I am, moreover, cheered by the thought that I am about to meet your excellency once again before I depart this life.

2. But a further rumor has reached me that you are in Antioch, and are transacting the business in hand with the chief authorities. And, besides this, I have heard that the brethren who are of the party of Paulinus are

entering on some discussion with your excellency on the subject of union with us; and by “us” I mean those who are supporters of the blessed man of God, Meletius. I hear, moreover, that the Paulinians are carrying about a letter of the Westerns, assigning to them the episcopate of the Church in Antioch, but speaking under a false impression of Meletius, the admirable bishop of the true Church of God. I am not astonished at this. They are totally ignorant of what is going on here; the others, though they might be supposed to know, give an account to them in which party is put before truth; and it is only what one might expect that they should either be ignorant of the truth, or should even endeavor to conceal the reasons which led the blessed Bishop Athanasius to write to Paulinus. But your excellency has on the spot those who are able to tell you accurately what passed between the bishops in the reign of Jovian, and from them I beseech you to get information. I accuse no one; I pray that I may have love to all, and “ especially unto them who are of the household of faith;” and therefore I congratulate those who have received the letter from Rome. And, although it is a grand testimony in their favor, I only hope it is true and confirmed by facts. But I shall never be able to persuade myself on these grounds to ignore Meletius, or to forget the Church which is under him, or to treat as small, and of little importance to the true religion, the questions which originated the division. I shall never consent to give in, merely because somebody is very much elated at receiving a letter from men. Even if it had come down from heaven itself, but he does not agree with the sound doctrine of the faith, I cannot look upon him as in communion with the saints.

3. Consider well, my excellent friend, that the falsifiers of the truth, who have introduced the Arian schism as an innovation on the sound faith of the Fathers, advance no other reason for refusing to accept the pious opinion of the Fathers than the meaning of the homoousion which they hold in their wickedness, and to the slander of the whole faith, alleging our contention to be that the Son is consubstantial in hypostasis. If we give them any opportunity by our being carried away by men who propound these sentiments and their like, rather from simplicity than from malevolence, there is nothing to prevent our giving them an unanswerable ground of argument against ourselves and confirming the heresy of those whose one end is in all their utterances about the Church, not so much to

establish their own position as to calumniate mine. What more serious calumny could there be? What better calculated to disturb the faith of the majority than that some of us could be shewn to assert that there is one hypostasis of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? We distinctly lay down that there is a difference of Persons; but this statement was anticipated by Sabellius, who affirms that God is one by hypostasis, but is described by Scripture in different Persons, according to the requirements of each individual case; sometimes under the name of Father, when there is occasion for this Person; sometimes under the name of Son when there is a descent to human interests or any of the operations of the oeconomy; and sometimes under the Person of Spirit when the occasion demands such phraseology. If, then, any among us are shewn to assert that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one in substance, while we maintain the three perfect Persons, how shall we escape giving clear and incontrovertible proof of the truth of what is being asserted about us?

4. The non-identity of hypostasis and ousia is, I take it, suggested even by our western brethren, where, from a suspicion of the inadequacy of their own language, they have given the word *ousia* in the Greek, to the end that any possible difference of meaning might be preserved in the clear and unconfounded distinction of terms. If you ask me to state shortly my own view, I shall state that ousia has the same relation to hypostasis as the common has to the particular. Every one of us both shares in existence by the common term of *essence* (ousia) and by his own properties is such an one and such an one. In the same manner, in the matter in question, the term ousia is common, like goodness, or Godhead, or any similar attribute; while hypostasis is contemplated in the special property of Fatherhood, Sonship, or the power to sanctify. If then they describe the Persons as being without hypostasis, the statement is *per se* absurd; but if they concede that the Persons exist in real hypostasis, as they acknowledge, let them so reckon them that the principle of the homoousion may be preserved in the unity of the Godhead, and that the doctrine preached may be the recognition of true religion, of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the perfect and complete hypostasis of each of the Persons named. Nevertheless, there is one point which I should like to have pressed on your excellency, that you and all who like you care for the truth, and honor the combatant in the cause of true religion, ought to wait for the lead

to be taken in bringing about this union and peace by the foremost authorities in the Church, whom I count as pillars and foundations of the truth and of the Church, and reverence all the more because they have been sent away for punishment, and have been exiled far from home. Keep yourself, I implore you, clear of prejudice, that in you, whom God has given me as a staff and support in all things, I may be able to find rest.

LETTER 215

TO THE PRESBYTER DOROTHEUS

I TOOK the earliest opportunity of writing to the most admirable Count Terentius, thinking it better to write to him on the subject in hand by means of strangers, and being anxious that our very dear brother Acacius shall not be inconvenienced by any delay. I have therefore given my letter to the government treasurer, who is traveling by the imperial post, and I have charged him to shew the letter to you first. I cannot understand how it is that no one has told you that the road to Rome is wholly impracticable in winter, the country between Constantinople and out' own regions being full of enemies. If the route by sea must be taken, the season will be favorable; if indeed my God-beloved brother Gregory consents to the voyage and to the commission concerning these matters. For my own part, I do not know who can go with him, and am aware that he is quite inexperienced in ecclesiastical affairs. With a man of kindly character he may get on very well, and be treated with respect, but what possible good could accrue to the cause by communication between a man proud and exalted, and therefore quite unable to hear those who preach the truth to him from a lower standpoint, and a man like my brother, to whom anything like mean servility is unknown?

LETTER 216

TO MELETIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

MANY other journeys have taken me from home. I have been as far as Pisidia to settle the matters concerning the brethren in Isauria in concert with the Pisidian bishops. Thence I journeyed into Pontus, for Eustathius

had caused no small disturbance at Dazimon, and had caused there a considerable secession from our church. I even went as far as the home of my brother Peter, and, as this is not far from Neocaesarea, there was occasion of considerable trouble to the Neocaesareans, and of much rudeness to myself. Some men fled when no one was in pursuit. And I was supposed to be intruding uninvited, simply to get compliments from the folk there. As soon as I got home, after contracting a severe illness from the bad weather and my anxieties. I straightway received a letter from the East to tell me that Paulinus had had certain letters from the West addressed to him, in acknowledgment of a sort of higher claim; and that the Antiochene rebels were vastly elated by them, and were next preparing a form of creed. and offering to make its terms a condition of union with our Church. Besides all this it was reported to me that they had seduced to their faction that most excellent man Terentius. I wrote to him at once as forcibly as I could. to induce him to pause; and I tried to point out their disingenuousness.

LETTER 217

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, THE CANONS

On my return from a long journey (for I have been into Pontus on ecclesiastical business, and to visit my relations) with my body weak and ill, and my spirits considerably broken, I took your reverence's letter into my hand. No sooner did I receive the tokens of that voice which to me is of all voices the sweetest, and of that hand that I love so well, than I forgot all my troubles. And if I was made so much more cheerful by the receipt of your letter, you ought to be able to conjecture at what value I price your actual presence. May this be granted me by the Holy One, whenever it may be convenient to you and you yourself send me an invitation. And if you were to come to the house at Euphemias it would indeed be pleasant for me to meet you, escaping from my vexations here, and hastening to your unfeigned affection. Possibly also for other reasons I may be compelled to go as far as Nazianzus by the sudden departure of the very God-beloved bishop Gregory. How or why this has come to pass, so far I have no information. The man about whom I had spoken to your excellency, and whom you expected to be ready by this time, has,

you must know, fallen ill of a lingering disease, and is moreover now suffering from an affection of the eyes, arising from his old complaint and from the illness which has now befallen him, and he is quite unfit to do any work. I have no one else with me. It is consequently better, although the matter was left by them to me, for some one to be put forward by them. And indeed one cannot but think that the expressions were used merely as a necessary form, and that what they really wished was what they originally requested, that the person selected for the leadership should be one of themselves. If there is any one of the lately baptized, whether Macedonius approve or not, let him be appointed. You will instruct him in his duties, the Lord, Who in all things cooperates with you, granting you His grace for this work also.

51. As to the clergy, the Canons have enjoined without making any distinction that one penalty is assigned for the lapsed, — ejection from the ministry, whether they be in orders or remain ill the ministry which is conferred without imposition of hands.

52. The woman who has given birth to a child and abandoned it in the road, if she was able to save it and neglected it, or thought by this means to hide her sin, or was moved by some brutal and inhuman motive, is to be judged as in a case of murder. If, on the other hand, she was unable to provide for it. and the child perish from exposure and want of the necessities of life, the mother is to be pardoned.

53. The widowed slave is not guilty of a serious fall if she adopts a second marriage under color of rape. She is not on this ground open to accusation. It is rather the object than the pretext which mast be taken into account, but it is clear that she is exposed to the punishment of digamy.

54. I know that I have already written to your reverence, so far as I can, on the distinctions to be observed in cases of involuntary homicide, and on this point I can say no more. It rests with your intelligence to increase or lessen the severity of the punishment as each individual case may require.

55. Assailants of robbers, if they are outside, are prohibited from the communion of the good thing. If they are clerics they are degraded from their orders. For, it is said. “All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.”

56. The intentional homicide, who has afterwards repented, will be excommunicated from the sacrament for twenty years. The twenty years will be appointed for him as follows: for four he ought to weep, standing outside the door of the house of prayer, beseeching the faithful as they enter in to offer prayer in his behalf, and confessing his own sin. After four years he will be admitted among the hearers, and during five years will go out with them. During seven years he will go out with the kneelers, praying. During four years he will only stand with the faithful, and will not take part in the oblation. On the completion of this period he will be admitted to participation of the sacrament.

57. The unintentional homicide will be excluded for ten years from the sacrament. The ten years will be arranged as follows: For two years he will weep, for three years he will continue among the hearers; for four he will be a kneeler; and for one he will only stand. Then he will be admitted to the holy rites.

58. The adulterer will be excluded from the sacrament for fifteen years. During four he will be a weeper, and during five a hearer, during four a kneeler, and for two a slander without communion.

59. The fornicator will not be admitted to participation in the sacrament for seven years; weeping two hearing two kneeling two, and standing one: in the eighth he will be received into communion.

60. The woman who has professed virginity and broken her promise will complete the time appointed in the case of adultery in her continence. The same rule will be observed in the case of men who have professed a solitary life and who lapse.

61. The thief, if he have repented of his own accord and charged himself, shall only be prohibited from partaking of the sacrament for a year; if he be convicted, for two years. The period shall be divided between kneeling and standing. Then let him be held worthy of communion.

62. He who is guilty of unseemliness with males will be under discipline for the same time as adulterers.

63. He who confesses his iniquity in the case of brutes shall observe the same time in penance.

64. Perjurers shall be excommunicated for ten years; weeping for two, hearing for three, kneeling for four, and standing only during one year; then they shall be held worthy of communion.

65. He who confesses-magic or sorcery shall do penance for the time of murder, and shall be treated in the same manner as he who convicts himself of this sin.

66. The tomb breaker shall be ex-communicated for ten years, weeping for two, hearing for three, kneeling for four, standing for one, then he shall be admitted.

67. Incest with a sister shall incur penance for the same time as murder.

68. The union of kindred within the prohibited degrees of marriage, if detected as having taken place in acts of sin, shall receive the punishment of adultery.

69. The Reader who has intercourse with his betrothed before marriage, shall be allowed to read after a year's suspension, remaining without advancement. If he has had secret intercourse without betrothal, he shall be deposed from his ministry. So too the minister.

70. The deacon who has been polluted in lips, and has confessed his commission of this sin, shall be removed from his ministry. But he shall be permitted to partake of the sacrament together with the deacons. The same holds good in the case of a priest. If any one be detected in a more serious sin, whatever be his degree, he shall be deposed.

71. Whoever is aware of the commission of any one of the aforementioned sins, and is convicted without having confessed, shall be under punishment for the same space of time as the actual perpetrator.

72. He who has entrusted himself to soothsayers, or any such persons, shall be under discipline for the same time as the homicide.

73. He who has denied Christ, and sinned against the mystery of salvation, ought to weep all his life long, and is bound to remain in penitence, being deemed worthy of the sacrament in the hour of death, through faith in the mercy of God.

74. If, however, each man who has committed the former sins is made good, through penitence. he to whom is committed by the loving-kindness of God the power of loosing and binding will not be deserving of condemnation, if he become less severe, as he beholds the exceeding greatness of the penitence of the sinner, so as to lessen the period of punishment, for the history in the Scriptures informs us that all who exercise penitence with greater zeal quickly receive the loving-kindness of God.

75. The man who has been polluted with his own sister, either on the father's or the mother's side, must not be allowed to enter the house of prayer, until he has given up his iniquitous and unlawful conduct. And, after he has come to a sense of that fearful sin, let him weep for three years standing at the door of the house of prayer, and entreating the people as they go in to prayer that each and all will mercifully offer on his behalf their prayers with earnestness to the Lord. After this let him be received for another period of three years to hearing alone, and while hearing the Scriptures and the instruction, let him be expelled and not be admitted to prayer. Afterwards, if he has asked it with tears and has fallen before the Lord with contrition of heart and great humiliation, let kneeling be accorded to him during other three years. Thus, when he shall have worthily shown the fruits of repentance, let him be received in the tenth year to the prayer of the faithful without oblation; and after standing with the faithful in prayer for two years, then, and not till then, let him be held worthy of the communion of the good thing.

76. The same rule applies to those who take their own daughters in law.

77. He who abandons the wife, lawfully trailed to him, is subject by the sentence of the Lord to the penalty of adultery. But it has been laid down as a canon by our Fathers that such sinners should weep for a year, be hearers for two years, in kneeling for three years, stand with the faithful in the seventh; and thus be deemed worthy of the oblation, if they have repented with tears.

78. Let the same rule hold good in the case of those who marry two sisters, although at different times.

79. Men who rage after their stepmothers are subject to the same canon as those who rage after their sisters.

80. On polygamy the Fathers are silent, as being brutish and altogether inhuman. The sin seems to me worse than fornication. It is therefore reasonable that such sinners should be subject to the canons; namely a year's weeping, three years kneeling and then reception.

81. During the invasion of the barbarians many men have sworn heathen oaths, tasted things unlawfully offered them in magic temples and so have broken their faith in God. Let regulations be made in the case of these men in accordance with the canons laid down by our Fathers. Those who have endured grievous tortures and have been forced to denial, through inability to sustain the anguish, may be excluded for three years, hearers for two, kneelers for three, and so be received into communion. Those who have abandoned their faith in God, laying hands on the tables of the demons and swearing heathen oaths, without under going great violence, should be excluded for three years, hearers for two. When they have prayed for three years as kneelers, and have stood other three with the faithful in supplication, then let them be received into the communion of the good thing.

82. As to perjurers, if they have broken their oaths under violent compulsion, they are under lighter penalties and may therefore be received after six years. If they break their faith without compulsion, let them be weepers for two years, hearers for three, pray as kneelers for five, during two be received into the communion of prayer, without oblation, and so at last, after giving proof of due repentance, they shall be restored to the communion of the body of Christ.

83. Consulters of soothsayers and they who follow heathen customs, or bring persons into their houses to discover remedies and to effect purification, should fall under the canon of six years. After Weeping a year, hearing a year, kneeling for three years and standing with the faithful for a year so let them be received.

84. I write all this with a view to testing the fruits of repentance. I do not decide such matters absolutely by time, but I give heed to the manner of penance. If men are in a state in which they find it hard to be weaned from

their own ways and choose rather to serve the pleasures of the flesh than to serve the Lord, and refuse to accept the Gospel life, there is no common ground between me and them. In the midst of a disobedient and gainsaying people I have been taught to hear the words “ Save thy own soul.” Do not then let us consent to perish together with such sinners. Let us fear the awful judgment. Let us keep before our eyes the terrible day of the retribution of the Lord. Let us not consent to perish in other men’s sins, for if the terrors of the Lord have not taught us, if so great calamities have not brought us to feel that it is A because of our iniquity that the Lord has abandoned us, and given us into the hands of barbarians, that the people have been led, captive before our foes and given over to dispersion, because the bearers of Christ’s name have dared such deeds; if they have not known nor understood that it is for these reasons that the wrath of God has come upon us, what common ground of argument have I with them?

But we ought to testify to them day and night, alike in public and in private. Let us not consent to be drawn away with them in their wickedness. Let us above all pray that we may do them good, and rescue them from the snare of the evil one. If we cannot do this, let us at all events do our best to save our own souls from everlasting damnation,

LETTER 218

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

BROTHER AELIANUS has himself completed the business concerning which he came. and has stood in need of no aid from me. I owe him, however, double thanks, both for bringing me a letter from your reverence and tot affording me an opportunity of writing to you. By him, therefore, I salute your true and unfeigned love, and beseech you to pray for me more than ever now, when I stand in such need of the aid of your prayers. My health has suffered terribly from the journey to Pontus and my sickness is unendurable. One thing I have long been anxious to make known to you. I do not mean to say that I have been so affected by any other cause as to forget it, but now I wish to put you in mind to send some good man into Lycia, to enquire who are of the right faith, for peradventure they ought

not to be neglected, if indeed the report is true, which has been brought to me by a pious traveler from thence, that they have become altogether alienated from the opinion of the Asiani and wish to embrace communions with us. If any one is to go let him enquire at Corydala for Alexander, the late monk, the bishop; at Limyra for Diotimus, and at Myra for Tatianus, Polemo, and Macarius presbyters; at Patara for Eudemus, the bishop; at Telmessus for Hilarius, the bishop: at Phelus for Lallianus, the bishop. Of these and of more besides I have been informed that they are sound in the faith, and I have been grateful to God that even any in the Asian region should be clear of the heretic's pest. If, then, it be possible, let us in the meanwhile make personal enquiry about them. When we have obtained information I am for writing a letter, and am anxious to invite one of them to meet me. God grant that all may go well with that Church at Iconium, which is so dear to me. Through you I salute all the honorable clergy and all who are associated with your reverence.

LETTER 219

TO THE CLERGY OF SAMOSATA

THE Lord ordereth "all things in measure and weight," and brings on us the temptations which do not exceed our power to endure them, but tests all that fight in the cause of true religion by affliction, not suffering them to be tempted above that they are able to bear. He gives tears to drink in great measure to all who ought to show whether in their affections they are preserving their gratitude to Him. Especially in His dispensation concerning you has He shown His loving-kindness, not suffering such a persecution to be brought on you by your enemies as might turn some of you aside, or cause you to swerve from the faith of Christ. He has matched you with adversaries who are of small importance and easy to be repelled, and has prepared the prize for your patience in your victory over them. But the common enemy of our life, who, in his wiles, strives against the goodness of God, because he has seen that, like a strong wall, you are despising attack from without. has devised, as I hear, that there should arise among yourselves mutual offenses and quarrels. These indeed, at the outset, are insignificant and easy of cure; as time goes on, however, they are increased by contention and are wont to result in irremediable mischief.

I have, therefore, undertaken to exhort you by this letter. Had it been possible, I would have come myself and supplicated you in person. Butt this is prevented by present circumstances, and so, in lieu of supplication, I hold out this letter to you, that you may respect my entreaty, may put a stop to your mutual rivalries, and may soon send me the good news that all cause of offense among you is at an end.

2. I am very anxious that you should know that be is great before God who humbly submits to his neighbor and submits to charges against himself, without having cause for shame, even though they are not true, that he may bring the great blessing of peace upon God's Church.

I hope that there will arise among you a friendly rivalry, as to who shall first be worthy of being called God's son, after winning this rank for himself because of his being a peacemaker. A letter has also been written to you by your very God-beloved bishop as to the course which you ought to pursue. He will write again what it belongs to him to say. But I too, because of its having been already allowed me to be near you, cannot disregard your position. So on the arrival of the very devout brother Theodorus the sub-deacon, and his report that your Church is in distress and disturbance, being deeply grieved and much pained at heart, I could not endure to keep silence. I implore you to fling away all controversy with one another, and to make peace, that you may avoid giving pleasure to you opponents and destroying the boast of the Church, which is now noised abroad throughout the world, that you all, as you are ruled by one soul and heart, so live in one body. Through your reverences I salute all the people of God, both those in rank and office and the rest of the clergy. I exhort you to keep your old character. I can ask for nothing more than this because by the exhibition of your good works you have anticipated and made impossible any improvement on them.

LETTER 220

TO THE BERAEANS

THE Lord has given great consolation to all who are deprived of personal intercourse in allowing them to communicate by letter. By this means, it is true, we cannot learn the express image of the body, but we can learn the

disposition of the very soul. Thus on the present occasion, when I had received the letter of your reverences, I at the same moment recognized you, and took your love towards me into my heart, and needed no long time to create intimacy with you. The disposition shewn in your' letter was quite enough to enkindle in me affection for the beauty of your soul. And, besides your letter, excellent as it was, I had a yet plainer proof of how things are with you from the amiability of the brethren who have been the means of communication between us. The well-beloved and reverend presbyter Acacius, has told me much in addition to what you have written, and has brought before my eyes the conflict you have to keep up day by day, and the stoutness of the stand you are making for the true religion. He has thus so moved my admiration, and roused in me so earnest a desire of enjoying the good qualities in you, that I do pray the Lord that a time may come when I may know you and yours by personal experience. He has told me of the exactitude of those of you who are entrusted with the ministry of the altar, and moreover of the harmonious agreement of all the people, and the generous character and genuine love towards God of the magistrates and chief men of your city. I consequently congratulate the Church on consisting of such members, and pray that spiritual peace may be given to you in yet greater abundance, to the end that in quieter times you may derive enjoyment from your labors in the day of affliction. For sufferings that are painful while they are being experienced are naturally often remembered with pleasure. For the present I beseech you not to faint. Do not despair because your troubles follow so closely one upon another. Your crowns are near: the help of the Lord is near. Do not let all you have hitherto undergone go for nothing; do not nullify a struggle which has been famous over all the world. Human life is but of brief duration. "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field.... The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand for ever." Let us hold fast to the commandment that abideth, and despise the unreality that passeth away. Many Churches have been cheered by your example. In calling new champions into the field you have won for yourselves a great reward, though you knew it not. The Giver of the prize is rich. and is able to reward you not unworthily for your brave deeds.

LETTER 221

TO THE BERAEANS

YOU were previously known to me, my dear friends, by your far-famed piety, and by the crown won by your confession in Christ. Peradventure one of you may ask in reply who can have carried these tidings of us so far? The Lord Himself; for He puts His worshippers like a lamp on a lamp-stand, and makes them shine throughout the whole world. Are not winners in the games wont to be made famous by the prize of victory, and craftsmen by the skillful design of their work? Shall the memory of these and others like them abide for ever unforgotten, and shall not Christ's worshippers concerning whom the Lord says Himself, Them that honor me I will honor, be made famous and glorious by Him before all? Shall He not display the brightness of their radiant splendor as He does the beams of the sun? But I have been moved to greater longing for you by the letter which you have been good enough to send me, a letter in which, above and beyond your former efforts on behalf of the truth, you have been yet more lavish of your abounding and vigorous zeal for the true faith. In all this I rejoice with you, and I pray with you that the God of the universe, Whose is the struggle and the arena,.and Who gives the crown, may fill you with enthusiasm, may make your souls strong, and make your work such as to meet with His divine approval.

LETTER 222

LO THE PEOPLE OF CHALCIS

THE letter of your reverences came upon me in an hour affliction like water poured into the mouths of racehorses, inhaling dust with each eager breath at high noontide in the middle of the course. Beset by trial after trial, I breathed again, at once cheered by your words and invigorated by the thought of your struggles to meet that which is before me with unflinching courage. For the conflagration which has devoured a great part of the East is already advancing by slow degrees into our own neighborhood, and after burning everything round about us is trying to

reach even the Churches in Cappadocia, already moved to tears by the smoke that rises from the ruins of our neighbors' homes. The flames have almost reached me. May the Lord divert them by the breath of His mouth, and stay this wicked fire. Who is such a coward, so unmanly, so untried in the athlete's struggles, as not to be nerved to the fight by your cheers, and pray to be hailed victor at your side? You have been the first to step into the arena of true religion; you have beaten off many an attack in bouts with the heretics; you have borne the strong hot wind of trial, both you who are leaders of the Church, to whom has been the ministry of the altar, and every individual of the laity, including those of higher rank. For this in you is specially admirable and worthy of all praise, that you are all one in the Lord. some of you leaders in the march to what is good, others willingly following. It is for this reason that you are too strong for the attack of your assailants, and allow no hold to your antagonists in any one of your members, wherefore day and night I pray the King of the ages to preserve the people in the integrity of their faith, and for them to preserve the clergy, like a head unharmed at the top, exercising its own watchful forethought for every portion of the body underneath. For while the eyes discharge their functions, the hands can do their work as they ought, the feet can move without tripping, and no part of the body is deprived of due care. I beseech you, then, to cling to one another, as you are doing and as you will do. I beseech you who are entrusted with the care of souls to keep each and all together, and to cherish them like beloved children. I beseech the people to continue to show you the respect and honor due to fathers, that in the goodly order of your Church you may keep your strength and the foundation of your faith in Christ; that God's name may be glorified and the good gift of love increase and abound. May I, as I hear of you, rejoice in your progress in God. If I am still bidden to sojourn in the flesh in this world, may I one day see you in the peace of God. If I be now summoned to depart this life, may I see you in the radiant glory of the saints, together with all them who are accounted worthy through patience and showing forth of good works, with crowns upon your heads.

LETTER 223

AGAINST EUSTATHIUS OF SEBASTEIA

1. THERE is a time to keep silence and a time to speak, is the saying of the Preacher. Time enough has been given to silence, and now the time has come to open my mouth for the publication of the truth concerning matters that are, up to now, unknown. The illustrious Job bore his calamities for a long time in silence, and ever showed his courage by holding out under the most intolerable sufferings, but when he had struggled long enough in silence, and had persisted in covering his anguish in the bottom of his heart, at last he opened his mouth and uttered his well-known words. In my own case this is now the third year of my silence, and my boast has become like that of the Psalmist "I was as a man that heareth not and in whose mouth are no reproofs." Thus I shut up in the bottom of my heart the pangs which I suffered on account of the calumnies directed against me, for calumny humbles a man, and calumny makes a poor man giddy. If, therefore, the mischief of calumny is so great as to cast down even the perfect man from his height, for this is what Scripture indicates by the word man, and by the poor man is meant he who lacks the great doctrines, as is the view also of the prophet when he says, "These are poor, therefore they shall not hear;... I will get me unto the great men," he means by poor those who are lacking in understanding; and here, too, he plainly means those who are not yet furnished in the inner man, and have not even come to the full measure of their age; it is these who are said by the proverb to be made giddy and tossed about. Nevertheless I thought that I ought to bear my troubles in silence, waiting for some indication to come out of them. I did not even think that what was said against me proceeded from ill will; I thought it was the result of ignorance of the truth. But now I see that hostility increases with time, and that my slanderers are not sorry for what they said at the beginning, and do not take any trouble to make amends for the past, but go on and on and rally themselves together to attain their original object. This was to make my life miserable and to devise means for sullying my reputation among the brethren. I, therefore, no longer see safety in silence. I have bethought me of the words of Isaiah: " I have long time holden my peace, shall I always be still and refrain myself? I have been patient like a

travailing woman.” God grant that I may both receive the reward of silence, and gain some strength to confute my opponents, and that thus, by confuting them, I may dry up the bitter torrent of falsehood that has gushed out against me. So might I say, “My soul bus passed over the torrent;” and, “If it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us,... then they had swallowed us up quick, the water had drowned us.”

2. Much time had I spent in vanity, and had wasted nearly all my youth in the vain labor which I underwent in acquiring the wisdom made foolish by God. Then once upon a time, like a man roused from deep sleep, I turned my eyes to the marvelous light of the truth of the Gospel, and I perceived the uselessness of “the wisdom of the princes of this world, that come to naught.” I wept many tears over my miserable life and I prayed that guidance might be vouchsafed me to admit me to the doctrines of true religion. First of all was I minded to make some mending of my ways, long perverted as they were by my intimacy with wicked men. Then I read the Gospel, and I saw there that a great means of reaching perfection was the selling of one’s goods, the sharing them with the poor, the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy to things of earth. And I prayed that I might find some one of the brethren who had chosen this way of life, that with him I might cross life’s short and troubled strait. And many did I find in Alexandria, and many in the rest of Egypt, and others in Palestine, and in Coele Syria, and in Mesopotamia. I admired their continence in living, and their endurance in toil; I was amazed at their persistency in prayer, and at their triumphing over sleep; subdued by no natural necessity, ever keeping their souls’ purpose high and free, in hunger, in thirst, in cold, in nakedness, they never yielded to the body; they were never willing to waste attention on it; always, as though living in a flesh that was not theirs, they shewed in very deed what it is to sojourn for a while in this life, and what to have one’s citizenship and home in heaven. All this moved my admiration. I called these men’s lives blessed, in that they did in deed shew that they “bear about in their body the dying of Jesus.” And I prayed that I, too, as far as in me lay, might imitate them.

3. So when I beheld certain men in my own country striving to copy their ways, I felt that I had found a help to my own salvation, and I took the

things seen for proof of things unseen. And since the secrets in the hearts of each of us are unknown, I held lowliness of dress to be a sufficient indication of lowliness of spirit; and there was enough to convince me in the coarse cloak, the girdle, and the shoes of untanned hide. And though many were for withdrawing me from their society, I would not allow it, because I saw that they put a life of endurance before a life of pleasure; and, because of the extraordinary excellence of their lives, I became an eager supporter of them. And so it came about that I would not hear of any fault being found with their doctrines, although many maintained that their conceptions about God were erroneous, and that they bad become disciples of the champion of the present heresy, and were secretly propagating his teaching. But, as I had never at any time heard these things with my own ears, I concluded that those who reported them were calumniators. Then I was called to preside over the Church. Of the watchmen and spies, who were given me under the pretense of assistance and loving communion, I say nothing, lest I seem to injure my own cause by telling an incredible tale, or give believers an occasion for hating their fellows, if I am believed. This had almost been my own case, had I not been prevented by the mercy of God. For almost every one became an object of suspicion to me, and smitten at heart as I was by wounds treacherously inflicted, I seemed to find nothing in any man that I could trust. But so far there was, nevertheless, a kind of intimacy kept up between us. Once and again we held discussions on doctrinal points. and apparently we seemed to agree and keep together. But they began to find out that I made the same statements concerning my faith in God which they had always heard from me. For, if other things in me may move a sigh, this one boast at least I dare make in the Lord, that never for one moment have I held erroneous conceptions about God, or entertained heterodox opinions, which I have learnt later to change. The teaching about God which I had received as a boy from my blessed mother and my grandmother Macrina, I have ever held with increased conviction. On my coming to ripe years of reason I did not shift my opinions from one to another, but carried out the principles delivered to me by my parents. Just as the seed when it grows is first tiny and then gets bigger but always preserves its identity, not changed in kind though gradually perfected in growth, so I reckon the same doctrine to have grown in my case through gradually advancing stages. What t hold now has not replaced what I held

at the beginning. Let them search their own consciences. Let these men who have now made me the common talk on the charge of false doctrine, and deafened all men's ears with the defamatory letters which they have written against me, so that I am compelled thus to defend myself, ask themselves if they have ever heard anything from me, differing from what I now say, and let them remember the judgment seat of Christ.

4. I am charged with blasphemy against God. Yet it is impossible for me to be convicted on the ground of any treatise concerning the Faith, which they urge against me, nor can I be charged on the ground of the utterances which I have from thee to thee delivered by word of mouth, without their being committed to writing, in the churches of God. Not a single witness has been found to say that he has ever heard from me, when speaking in private, anything contrary to true religion. If then I am not an unorthodox writer, if no fault can be found with my preaching, if I do not lead astray those who converse with me in my own homer on what ground am I being judged? But there is a new invention! Somebody, runs the charge, in Syria has written something inconsistent with true religion; and twenty years or more ago you wrote him a letter: so you are an accomplice of the fellow, and what is urged against him is urged against you. O truth-loving sir, I reply, you who have been taught that lies are the offspring of the devil; what has proved to you that I wrote that letter? You never sent; you never asked; you were never informed by me, who might have told you the truth. But if the letter was mine, how do you know that the document that has come into your hands now is of the same date as my letter? Who told you that it is twenty years old? How do you know that it is a composition of the man to whom my letter was sent? And if he was the composer, and I wrote to him, and my letter and his composition belong to the same date, what proof is there that I accepted it in my judgment, and that I hold those views?

5. Ask yourself. How often did you visit me in my monastery on the his, when my very God-beloved brother Gregory was with me, following the same course of life as myself? Did you ever hear anything of the kind? Was there any appearance of such a thing, small or great? How many days did we spend in the opposite village, at my mother's, living as friend with friend, and discoursing together night and day? Did you ever find me holding any opinion of the kind? And when we went together to visit the

blessed Silvanus, did we not talk of these things on the way? And at Eusinoe, when you were about to set out with other bishops for Lampsacus, was not our discourse about the faith? Were not your shorthand writers at my side the whole thee while I was dictating my objections to the heresy? Were not your most faithful disciples there too? When I was visiting the brotherhood, and passing the night with them in their prayers, continually speaking and hearing of the things pertaining to God without dispute, was not the evidence which I gave of my sentiments exact and definite? How came you then to reckon this rotten and slender suspicion as of more importance than the experience of such a length of time? What evidence of my frame of mind ought you to have preferred to your own? Has there been the slightest want of harmony in my utterances about the faith at Chalcedon, again and again at Heraclea, and at an earlier period in the suburb of Caesarea? Are they not all mutually consistent? I only except the increase in force of which I spoke just now, resulting from advance, and which is not to be regarded as a change from worse to better, but rather as a filling up of what was wanting in the addition of knowledge. How can you fail to bear in mind that the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son, nor the son bear the iniquity of the father, but each shall die in his own sin? I have neither father nor son slandered by you; I have had neither teacher nor disciple. But if the sins of the parents must be made charges against their children, it is far fairer for the sins of Arius to be charged against his disciples; and, whoever begat the heretic Aetius, for the charges against the son to be applied to the father. If on the other hand it is unjust for any one to be accused for their sakes, it is far more unjust that I should be held responsible for the sake of men with whom I have nothing to do, even if they were in every respect sinners, and something worthy of condemnation has been written by them. I must be pardoned if I do not believe all that is urged against them. since my own experience shows me how very easy it is for accusers to slip into slander.

6. Even if they did come forward to accuse me, because they had been deceived, and thought that I was associated with the writers of those words of Sabellius which they are carrying about, they were guilty of unpardonable conduct in straightway attacking and wounding me, when I had done them no wrong, before they had obtained plain proof. I do not like to speak of myself as bound to them in the closest intimacy; or of

them as being evidently not led by the Holy Spirit, because of their cherishing false suspicions. Much anxious thought must be taken, and many sleepless nights must be passed, and with many tears must the truth be sought from God, by him who is on the point of cutting himself off from a brother's friendship. Even the riders of this world, when they are on the point of sentencing some evil doer to death, draw the veil aside, and call in experts for the examination of the case, and consume considerable thee in weighing the severity of the law against the common fault of humanity, and with many a sigh and many a lament for then stern necessity of the case, proclaim before all the people that they are obeying the law from necessity, and not passing sentence to gratify, their own wishes. How much greater care and diligence, how ranch more counsel, ought to be taken by one who is on the point of breaking off from long established friendship with a brother! In this case there is only a single letter and that of doubtful genuineness. It would be quite impossible to argue that it is known by the signature, for they possess not the original, but only a copy. They depend on one single document and that an old one. It is now twenty years since anything has been written to that person. Of my opinions and conduct in the intervening thee I can adduce no better witnesses than the very men who attack and accuse me.

7. But the real reason of separation is not this letter. There is another cause of alienation. I am ashamed to mention it; and I would have been for ever silent about it had not recent events compelled me to publish all their mind for the sake of the good of the mass of the people. Good men have thought that communion with me was a bar to the recovery of their authority. Some have been influenced by the signature of a certain creed which I proposed to them, not that I distrusted their sentiments, I confess, but because I wished to do away with the suspicions which the more part of the brethren who agree with me entertained of them. Accordingly, to avoid anything arising from that confession to prevent their being accepted by the present authorities, they have renounced communion with me. This letter was devised by an after-thought as a pretext for the separation. A very plain proof of what I say is, that after they had denounced me, and composed such complaints against me as suited them, they sent round their letters in all directions before communicating with me. Their letter was in the possession of others who had received it in the course of

transmission and who were on the point of sending it on seven days before it had reached my hands. The idea was that it would be handed from one to another and so would be quickly distributed over the whole country. This was reported to me at the thee by those who were giving me clear information of all their proceedings. But I determined to hold my tongue until the Revealer of all secrets should publish their doings by plain and incontrovertible demonstration.

LETTER 224.

TO THE PRESBYTER GENETHLIUS

1. I HAVE received your reverence's letter and I am delighted at the title which you have felicitously applied to the writing which they have composed in calling it "a writing of divorcement," What defense the writers will be able to make before the tribunal of Christ, where no excuse will avail, I am quite unable to conceive. After accusing me, violently running me down, and telling tales in accordance not with the truth but with what they wished to be true, they have assumed a great show of humility, and have accused me of haughtiness for refusing to receive their envoys. They have written, as they have, what is all — or nearly all — for I do not wish to exaggerate, — lies, in the endeavor to persuade men rather than God, and to please men rather than God, with Whom nothing is more precious than truth. Moreover into the letter written against me they have introduced heretical expressions, and have concealed the author of the impiety, in order that most of the more unsophisticated might be deceived by the calumny got up against me, and suppose the portion introduced to be mine. For nothing is said by my ingenious slanderers as to the name of the author of these vile doctrines, and it is left for the simple to suspect that these inventions, if not their expression in writing. is due to me. Now that you know all this, I exhort you not to be perturbed yourselves, and to calm the excitement of those who are agitated. I say this although I know that it will not be easy for my defense to be received, because I have been anticipated by the vile calumnies uttered against me by persons of influence.

2. Now as to the point that the writings going the round as mine are not mine at all, the angry feeling felt against me so confuses their reason that they cannot see what is profitable. Nevertheless, if the question were put to them by yourselves, I do think that they would not reach such a pitch of obstinate perversity as to dare to utter the lie with their own lips, and allege the document in question to be mine. And if it is not mine, why am I being judged for other men's writings? But they will urge that I am in communion with Apollinarius, and cherish in my heart perverse doctrines of this kind. Let them be asked for proof. If they are able to search into a man's heart, let them say so; and do you admit the truth of all that they say about everything. If on the other hand, they are trying to prove my being in communion on plain and open grounds, let them produce either a canonical letter written by me to him, or by him to me. Let them shew that I have held intercourse with his clergy, or have ever received any one of them into the communion of prayer. If they adduce the letter written now five and twenty years ago, written by layman to layman, and not even this as I wrote it, but altered (God knows by whom), then recognize their unfairness. No bishop is accused if, while he was a layman, he wrote something somewhat incautiously on an indifferent matter; not anything concerning the Faith, but a mere word of friendly greeting. Possibly even my opponents are known to have written to Jews and to Pagans, without incurring any blame. Hitherto no one has ever been judged for any such conduct as that on which I am being condemned by these strainers-out of gnats. God, who knows men's hearts, knows that I never wrote these things, nor sanctioned them, but that I anathematize all who hold the vile opinion of the confusion of the hypostases, on which point the most impious heresy of Sabellius has been revived. And all the brethren who have been personally acquainted with my insignificant self know it equally well. Let those very men who now vehemently accuse me, search their own consciences, and they will own that from my boyhood I have been far removed from any doctrine of the kind.

3. If any one enquires what my opinion is, he will learn it froth the actual little document, to which is appended their own autograph signature. This they wish to destroy, and they are anxious to conceal their own change of position in slandering me. For they do not like to own that they have repented of their subscription to the tract I gave them; while they charge

me with impiety from the idea that no one perceives that their disruption from me is only a pretext, while in reality they have departed from that faith which they have over and over again owned in writing, before many witnesses, and have lastly received and subscribed when delivered to them by me. It is open to any one to read the signatures and to learn the truth from the document itself. Their intention will be obvious, if, after reading the subscription which they gave me, any one reads the creed which they gave Gelasius, and observes what a vast difference there is between the two confessions. It would be better for men who so easily shift their own position, not to examine other men's motes but to cast out the beam in their own eye. I am making a more complete defense on every point in another letter; this will satisfy readers who want fuller assurance. Do you, now that you have received this letter, put away all despondency, and confirm the love to me, which makes me eagerly long for union with you. Verily it is a great sorrow to me, and a pain in my heart that cannot be assuaged, if the slanders uttered against me so far prevail as to chill your love and to alienate us from one another. Farewell.

LETTER 225

TO DEMOSTHENES, AS FROM THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS

I AM always very thankful to God and to the emperor, under whose rule we live. when I see the government of my country put Into the hands of one who is not only a Christian, but is moreover correct in life and a careful guardian of the laws according to which our life in this world is ordered. I have had special reason for offering this gratitude to God and to our God-beloved emperor on the occasion of your coming among us. I have been aware that some of the enemies of peace have been about to stir your august tribunal against me, and have been waiting to be summoned by your excellency that you might learn the truth from me; if indeed your high wisdom condescends to consider the examination of ecclesiastical matters to be within your province. The, tribunal overlooked me, but your excellency, moved by the reproaches of Philochares, ordered my brother and fellow-minister Gregory to be haled before your judgment seat. He obeyed your summons; how could he do otherwise? But he was attacked by pain in the side, and at the same time, in consequence of a chill, was

attacked by his old kidney complaint. He has therefore been compelled, forcibly detained by your soldiers as he was, to be conveyed to some quiet spot, where he could have his maladies attended to, and get some comfort in his intolerable agony. Under these circumstances we have combined to approach your lordship with the entreaty that you will feel no anger at the postponement of the trial. The public interests have not in any way suffered through our delay, nor have those of the Church been injured. If there is any question of the wasteful expenditure of money, the treasurers of the Church funds are there, ready to give an account to any one who likes, and to exhibit the injustice of the charges advanced by men who have braved the careful hearing of the case before you. For they can have no difficulty in making the truth clear to any one who seeks it from the actual writings of the blessed bishop himself. If there is any other point of canonical order which requires investigation, and your excellency deigns to undertake to hear and to judge it, it will be necessary for us all to be present, because, if there has been a failure in any point of canonical order, the responsibility lies with the consecrators and not with him who is forcibly compelled to undertake the ministry. We therefore petition you to reserve the hearing of the case for us in our own country, and not to compel us to travel beyond its borders, nor force us to a meeting with bishops with whom we have not yet come to agreement on ecclesiastical questions. I beg you also to be merciful to my own old age and ill health. You will learn by actual investigation, if it please God, that no canonical rule be it small or great was omitted in the appointment of the bishop. I pray that under your administration unity and peace may be brought about with my brethren; but so long as this does not exist it is difficult for us even to meet, because ninny of our simpler brethren suffer from our mutual disputes.

LETTER 226

TO THE ASCETICS UNDER HIM

IT may be that the holy God will grant me the joy of a meeting with you, for I am ever longing to see you and bear about you, because in no other thing do I find rest for my soul than in your progress and perfection in the commandments of Christ. But so long as this hope remains unrealized I

feel bound to visit you through the instrumentality of our dear and God-fearing brethren, and to address you, my beloved friends, by letter. Wherefore I have sent my reverend and dear brother and fellow-worker in the Gospel, Meletius the presbyter. He will tell you my yearning affection for you. and the anxiety of my soul, in that. night and day, I beseech the Lord in your behalf, that I may have boldness in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ through your salvation, and that when your work is tried by the just judgment of God you may shine forth in the brightness of the saints. At the same thee the difficulties of the day cause me deep anxiety, for all Churches have been tossed to and fro, and all souls are being sifted. Some have even opened their mouths without any reserve against their fellow servants. Lies are boldly uttered, and the truth has been hidden. The accused are being condemned without a trial, and the accusers are believed without evidence. I had heard that many letters are being carried about against myself, stinging, gibbeting, and attacking me for matters about which I have my defense ready for the tribunal of truth; and I had intended to keep Silence, as indeed I have done; for now for three years I have been bearing the blows of calumny and the whips of accusation, content to think that I have the Lord, Who knows all secrets, as witness of its falsehood. But I see now that many men have silence as a corroboration of these slanders, and have formed the idea that my silence was due, not to my longsuffering, but to my inability to open my lips in opposition to the truth. For these reasons I have attempted to write to you, beseeching your love in Christ not to accept these partial calumnies as true. because, as it is written, the law judges no man unless it have heard and known his actions.

2. Nevertheless before a fair judge the facts themselves are a sufficient demonstration of the truth. Wherefore, even if I be, silent, you can look at events. The very men who are now indicting me for heterodoxy have been seen openly numbered with the heretical faction. The very accusers who condemn the for other men’s writings, are plainly contravening their own confessions, given to me by them in writing. Look at the conduct of the exhibitors of this audacity. It is their invariable custom to go over to the party in power, to trample on their weaker friends, and to court the strong. The writers of those famous letters against Eudoxius and all his t faction, the senders of them to all the brotherhood, the protesters that they shun their communion as fatal to souls, and would not accept the

votes given for their deposition, because they were given by heretics, as they persuaded me then, — these very men, completely forgetful of all this, have joined their faction. No room for denial is left them. They laid their mind bare when they embraced private communion with them at Ancyra, when they had not yet been publicly received by them. Ask them, then, if Basilides, who gave communion to Ecdicius, is now orthodox, why when returning from Dardania, did they overthrow his altars in the territory of Gangra, and set up their own tables? Why have they comparatively recently attacked the churches of Amasea and Zela and appointed presbyters and deacons there themselves? If they communicate with them as orthodox, why do they attack them as heretical? If they hold them to be heretical, how is it that they do not shun communion with them? Is it not, my honorable brethren, plain even to he intelligence of a child, that it is always with a view to some personal advantage that they endeavor to calumniate or to give support? So they have stood off from me, not because I did not write in reply (which is alleged to be the main ground of offense), nor because I did not receive the chorepiscopi whom they assert they sent. Those who are trumping up the tale will render an account to the Lord. One man, Eustathius, was sent and gave a letter to the court of the vicar, and spent three days in the city. When he was on the point of going home, it is said that he came to my house late in the evening, when I was asleep. On hearing that I was asleep, he went away; he did not come near me on the next day, and after thus going through the mere form of discharging his duty to me, departed. This is the charge under which I am guilty. This is the sin against which these long-suffering people have neglected to weigh the previous service wherein I served them in love. For this error they have made their wrath against me so severe that they have caused me to be denounced in all the Churches throughout the world — at least, that is, wherever they could.

3. But of course this is not the real cause of our separation. It was when they found that they would recommend themselves to Euzoius if they were alienated from me, that they devised these pretenses. The object was to find some ground of recommendation with the authorities for their attack upon me. Now they are beginning to run down even the Nicene Creed, and nickname me *Homoousiast*, because in that creed the Only begotten Son is said to be *homoousios* with God the Father. Not that one

essence is divided into two kindred parts; God forbid! This was not the meaning of that holy and God-beloved synod; their meaning was that what the Father is in essence, such is the Son. And thus they themselves have explained it to us, in the phrase *Light of Light*. Now it is the Nicene Creed, brought by themselves from the west, which they presented to the Synod at Tyana, by which they were received. But they have an ingenious theory as to changes of this kind; they use the words of the creed as physicians use a remedy for the particular moment, and substitute now one and now another to suit particular diseases. The unsoundness of such a sophism it is rather for you to consider than for me to prove. For "the Lord will give you understanding" to know what is the right doctrine, and what the crooked and perverse. If indeed we are to subscribe one creed todayand another tomorrow, and shift with the seasons, then is the declaration false of him who said, " One Lord, one faith, one baptism." But if it is true, then "Let no man deceive you with [these] vain words." They falsely accuse me of introducing novelties about the Holy Spirit. Ask what the novelty is. I confess what I have received, that the Paraclete is ranked with Father and Son, and not numbered with created beings. We have made profession of our faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and we are baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Wherefore we never separate the Spirit from conjunction with the Father and the Son. For our mind, enlightened by the Spirit, looks at the Son, and in Him, as in an image, beholds the Father. And I do not invent names of myself, but call the Holy Ghost Paraclete; nor do I consent to destroy His due glory. These are truly my doctrines. If any one wishes to accuse me for them, let him accuse me; let my persecutor persecute me. Let him who believes in the slanders against me be ready for the judgment. "The Lord is at hand." "I am careful for nothing,"

4. If any one in Syria is writing, this is nothing to me. For it is said "By thy words thou shall be justified, and by thy words thou shall be condemned." Let my own words judge me. Let no one condemn me for other men's errors nor adduce letters written twenty years ago in proof that I would allow communion to the writers of such things. Before these things were written, and before any suspicion of this kind had been stirred against them, I did write as layman to layman. I wrote nothing about the faith in any way like that which they are now carrying about to calumniate

me. I sent nothing but a mere greeting to return a friendly communication, for I shun and anathematize as impious alike all who are affected with the unsoundness of Sabellius, and all who maintain the opinions of Arius. If any one says that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the same, and supposes one thing under several names, and one hypostasis described by three persons, I rank such an one as belonging to the faction of the Jews. Similarly, if any one says that the Son is in essence unlike the Father, or degrades the Holy Ghost into a creature, I anathematize him, and say that he is coming near to the heathen error. But it is impossible for the mouths of my accusers to be restrained by my letter; rather is it likely that they are being irritated at my defense, and are getting up new and more violent attacks against me. But it is not difficult for your ears to be guarded. Wherefore, as far as in you lies, do as I bid you. Keep your heart clear and unprejudiced by their calumnies; and insist on my rendering an account to meet the charges laid against me. If you find that truth is on my side do not yield to lies; if on the other hand you feel that I am feeble in defending myself, then believe my accusers as being worthy of credit. They pass sleepless nights to do me mischief. I do not ask this of you. They are taking to a commercial career, and turning their slanders against me into a means of profit. I implore you on the other hand to stop at home, and to lead a decorous life, quietly doing Christ's work. I advise you to avoid communication with them, for it always tends to the perversion of their hearers. I say this that you may keep your affection for the uncontaminated, may preserve the faith of the Fathers in its integrity. and may appear approved before the Lord as friends of the truth.

LETTER 227

CONSOLATORY, TO THE CLERGY OF COLONIA.'

WHAT is so goodly and honorable before God and men as perfect love, which, as we are told by the wise teacher, is the fulfilling of the law? I therefore approve of your warm affection for your bishop, for, as to an affectionate son the loss of a good father is unendurable, so Christ's Church cannot bear the departure of a pastor and teacher. Thus, in your exceeding affection for your bishop, you are giving proof of a good and noble disposition. But this your good will towards your spiritual father is

to be approved so long as it is shewn in reason and moderation; once let it begin to overstep this line, and it is no longer descrying of the same commendation. In time case of your very God-beloved brother, our fellow-minister Euphronius, good government has been shewn by those to whom has been committed the administration of the Church; they have acted as the occasion compelled them, to the gain alike of the Church to which be has been removed and of yourselves from whom he has been taken. Do not look at this as merely of man's ordaining, nor as having been originated by the calculations of men who regard earthly things. Believe that those to whom the anxious care of the Churches belongs bare acted, as they have, with the aid of the Holy Spirit; impress this inception of the proceedings on your hearts and do your best to perfect it. Accept quietly and thankfully what has happened, with the conviction that all, who refuse to accept what is ordered in God's Churches by the Churches, are resisting the ordinance of God. Do not enter into a dispute with your Mother Church at Nicopolis. Do not exasperate yourselves against those who have taken the anxious responsibility of your souls. In the firm establishment of things at Nicopolis your part in them may also be preserved; but if some disturbance affects them, though you have protectors beyond number, with the head the heart will be destroyed. It is like men who live on the riverside; when they see some one far up the stream making a strong dam against the current, they know that, in stopping the inrush of the current, he is providing for their safety. Just so those who have now undertaken the weight of the care of the Churches, by protecting the rest, are proving for your own security. You will be sheltered from every storm, while others have to bear the brunt of the attack. But you ought also to consider this; he has not cast you off; he has taken others into his charge. I am not so invidious as to compel the man, who is able to give a share of his good gifts to others, also to confine his favor to you, and to limit it to your own city. A man who puts a fence round a spring, and spoils the outpour of the waters, is not free from the disease of envy, and it is just the same with him who tries to prevent the further flow of abundant teaching. Let him have some care for Nicopolis too, and let your interests be added to his anxieties there. He has received an addition of labor, but there is no diminution in his diligence on your behalf. I am really distressed at out thing that you have said, which seems to me quite extravagant, namely, that if you cannot obtain your object,

you will betake yourselves to the tribunals, and put the matter into the hands of men, the great object of whose prayers is the overthrow of the Churches. Take heed lest men, carried away by unwise passions, persuade you. to your hurt, to put in any plea before the courts, and so some catastrophe may ensue, and the weight of the result fall upon the heads of those who have occasioned it. Take my advice. It is offered you in a fatherly spirit. Consent to the arrangement with the very God-beloved bishops, which has been made in accordance with God's will. Wait for my arrival. When I am with you, with God's help, I will give you in person all the exhortations which it has been impossible for me to express in my letter, and will do my utmost to give you all possible consolation, not by word but in deed.

LETTER 228

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF COLONIA

I HAVE received your lordships' letter, and offered thanks to God most holy, that you, occupied as you are with affairs of state, should not put those of the Church in the second place. I am grateful to think that every one of you has shewn anxiety as though he were acting in his own private interest, nay, in defense of his own life, and that you have written to me in your distress at the removal of your very God-beloved bishop Euphronius. Nicopolis has not really stolen him from you; were she pleading her cause before a judge she might say that she was recovering what is her own. If honorably treated she will tell you, as becomes an affectionate mother, that she will share with you the Father who will give a portion of his grace to each of you: he will not suffer the one to be in any way harmed by the invasion of their adversaries, and at the same time will not deprive you, the other, of the care to which you have been accustomed. Bethink you then of the emergency of the time; apply your best intelligence to understand how good government necessitates a certain course of action; and then pardon the bishops who have adopted this course for the establishment of the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. Suggest to yourselves what is becoming you. Your own intelligence needs no instruction, You know how to adopt the counsels of those who love you. It is only natural that you should be unaware of many of the

questions that are being agitated, because of our being situated far away in Armenia; but we who are in the midst of affairs and have our ears dinned every day on all sides with news of Churches that are being overthrown, are in deep anxiety lest the common enemy, in envy at the protracted peace of our life, should be able to sow his tares in your ground too, and Armenia, as well as other places, be given over to our adversaries to devour. For the present be still, as not refusing to allow your neighbors too share with you the use of a goodly vessel. Ere long, 'if the Lord allow me to come to you, you shall, if it seem necessary to you, receive yet greater consolation for what has come to pass.

LETTER 229

TO THE CLERGY OF NICOPOLIS

I AM sure that a work done by one or two pious men is not done without the cooperation of the Holy Spirit. For when nothing merely human is put before us, when holy men are moved to action with no thought of their own personal gratification, and with the sole object of pleasing God. it is plain that it is the Lord Who is directing their hearts. When spiritually-minded men take the lead in counsel, and the Lord's people follow them with consentient hearts, there can be no doubt that their decisions are arrived at with the participation of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who poured out His blood for the Churches' sake. You are therefore right in supposing that our very God-beloved brother and fellow minister Poemenius, who arrived among you at an opportune moment, and discovered this means of consoling you, has been divinely moved. I not only praise his discovery of the right course to take; I much admire the firmness with which, without allowing any delay to intervene, so as to slacken the energy of the petitioners, or to give the opposite party an opportunity of taking precautions, and to set in motion the counterplots of secret foes, he at once crowned his happy course with a successful conclusion. The Lord of His especial grace keep him and his, so that the Church, as becomes her, may remain in a succession in no way degenerate, and not give place to the evil one, who now, if ever, is vexed at the firm establishment of the Churches.

2. I have also written at length to exhort our brethren at Colonia. You, moreover, are bound rather to put up with their frame of mind than to increase their irritation, as though you despised them for their insignificance, or provoked them to a quarrel by) your contempt. It is only natural for disputants to act without due counsel, and to manage their own affairs ill with the object of vexing their opponents. And no one is so small as not to be now able to give an occasion, to those who want an occasion, for great troubles. I do not speak at random. I speak from my own experience of my own troubles. From these may God keep you in answer to your prayers. Pray also for me, that I may have a successful journey, and, on my arrival, may share your joy in your present pastor, and with you may find consolation at the departure of our common father.

LETTER 230

TO THE MAGISTRATES OF NICOPOLIS

THE government of the Churches is carried on by those to whom the chief offices in them have been entrusted, but their hands are strengthened by the laity. The measures which lay with the God-beloved bishops have been taken. The rest concerns you, if you deign to accord a hearty reception; to the bishop who has been given you. and to make a vigorous resistance to attacks from outside. For nothing is so likely to cause discouragement to all, whether rulers or the rest who envy your peaceful position, as agreement in affection to the appointed bishop, and firmness in maintaining your ground. They are likely to despair of every evil attempt, if they see that their counsels are accepted neither by clergy nor by laity. Bring it about then that your own sentiments as to the right may be shared by all the city, and so speak to the citizens, and to all the inhabitants of the district, in confirmation of their good sentiments, that the genuineness of your love to God may be everywhere known. I trust that it may be permitted me one day to visit and inspect a Church which is the nursing mother of true religion, honored by me as a metropolis of orthodoxy, because it has from of old been under the government of men right honorable and the elect of God, who have held fast to “ the faithful word as we have been taught.” You have approved him who has just been appointed as worthy of these predecessors, and I have agreed. May you

be preserved by God’s grace. May He scatter the evil counsels of 3 our enemies, and fix in your souls strength and constancy to preserve what has been rightly determined on.

LETTER 231

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

I FIND few opportunities of writing to your reverence, and this causes me no little trouble. It is just the same as if, when it was in my power to see you and enjoy your society very often. I did so but seldom. But it is impossible for me to write to you because so few travel hence to you, otherwise there is no reason why my letter should not be a kind of journal of my life, to tell you, my dear friend, everything that happens to me day by day. It is a comfort to me to tell you my affairs, and I know that you care for nothing more than for what concerns me. Now, however, Elpidius is going home to his own master, to refute the calumnies falsely got up against him by certain enemies, and he has asked me for a letter. I therefore salute your reverence by him and corn mend to you a man who deserves your protection, at once for the sake of justice and for my own sake. Although I could say nothing else in his favor, yet, because he has made it of very great importance to be the bearer of my letter, reckon him among our friends, and remember me and pray for the Church.

You must know that my yew God-beloved brother is in exile, for he could not endure the annoyance caused him by shameless persons. Doara is in a state of agitation. for the fat sea monster is throwing everything into confusion. My enemies, as I am informed by those who know, are plotting against me at court. But hitherto the hand of the Lord has been over me. Only pray that I be not abandoned in the end. My brother is taking things quietly Doara has received the old muleteer. She can do no more. The Lord will scatter the counsels of my enemies. The out cure for all my troubles present and to come is to set eyes on you. If you possibly can, while I am still alive, do come to see me. The book on the Spirit has been written by me, and is finished, as you know, My brethren here have prevented me from sending it to you written on paper, and have told me that they had your excellency’s orders to engross it on parchment.’ Not, then, to appear

to do anything against your injunctions, I have delayed now, but I will send it a little later, if only I find any suitable person to convey it. May you be granted to me and to God's Church by the kindness of the Holy One, in all health and happiness, and praying for me to the Lord.

LETTER 232

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

EVERY day that brings me a letter from you is a feast day, the very greatest of feast days. And when symbols of the feast are brought, what can I call it but a feast of feasts, as the old law used to speak of Sabbath of Sabbaths? I thank the Lord that you are quite well, and that you have celebrated the commemoration of the economy of salvation in a Church at peace. I have been disturbed by some troubles; and have not been without distress from the fact of my God-beloved brother being in exile. Pray for him that God may one day grant him to see his Church healed from the wounds of heretical bites. Do come to see me while I am yet upon this earth. Act in accordance with your own wishes and with my most earnest prayers. I may be allowed to be astonished at the meaning of your blessings, inasmuch as you have mysteriously wished me a vigorous old age. By your lamps you rouse me to nightly toil; and by your sweet meats you seem to pledge yourself securely that all my body is in good case. But there is no munching for me at my time of life, for my teeth have long ago been worn away by time and bad health. As to what you have asked me there are some replies in the document I send you, written to the best of my ability, and as opportunity has allowed.

LETTER 233

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, IN REPLY TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS

1. I KNOW that I have myself heard of this, and I am aware of the constitution of mankind. What shall I say? The mind is a wonderful thing, and therein we possess that which is after the image of the Creator. And the operation of the mind is wonderful; in that, in its perpetual motion, it frequently forms imaginations about things non-existent as though they

were existent, and is frequently carried straight to the truth. But there are in it two faculties; in accordance with the view of us who believe in God, the one evil, that of the demons which draws us on to their own apostasy; and the divine and the good, which brings us to the likeness of God. When, therefor, the mind remains alone and unaided, it contemplates small things, commensurate with itself. When it yields to those who deceive it, it nullifies its proper judgment, and is concerned with monstrous fancies. Then it considers wood to be no longer wood, but a God; then it looks on gold no longer as money, but as an object of worship. If on the other hand it assents to its diviner part, and accepts the boons of the Spirit, then, so fir as its nature admits, it becomes perceptive of the divine. There are, as it were, three conditions of life, and three operations of the mind. Our ways may be wicked, and the movements of our mind wicked; such as adulteries, thefts, idolatries, slanders, strife, passion, sedition, vain-glory, and all that the apostle Paul enumerates among the works of the flesh. Or the soul's operation is, as it were, in a mean, and has nothing about it either damnable or laudable, as the perception of such mechanical crafts as we commonly speak of as indifferent, and, of their own character, inclining neither towards virtue nor towards vice. For what vice is there in the craft of the helmsman or the physician? Neither are these operations in themselves virtues, but they incline in one direction or the other in accordance with the will of those who use them. But the mind which is impregnated with the Godhead of the Spirit is at once capable of viewing great objects; it beholds the divine beauty, though only so far as grace imparts and its nature receives.

2. Let them dismiss, therefore, these questions of dialectics and examine the truth, not with mischievous exactness but with reverence. The judgment of our mind is given us for the understanding of the truth. Now our God is the very truth. So the primary function of our mind is to know one God, but to know Him so far as the infinitely great can be known by the very small. When our eyes are first brought to the perception of visible objects, all visible objects are not at once brought into sight. The hemisphere of heaven is not beheld with one glance, but we are surrounded by a certain appearance, though in reality many things, not to say all things, in it are unperceived; — the nature of the stars, their greatness, their distances, their movements, their conjunctions, their intervals, their

other conditions, the actual essence of the firmament, the distance of depth from the concave circumference to the convex surface. Nevertheless, no one would allege the heaven to be invisible because of what is unknown; it would be said to be visible on account of our limited perception of it. It is just the same in the case of God. If the mind has been injured by devils it will be guilty of idolatry, or will be perverted to some other form of impiety. But if it has yielded to the aid of the Spirit, it will have understanding of the truth, and will know God. But it will know Him, as the Apostle says, in part; and in the life to come more perfectly. For "when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." The judgment of the mind is, therefore, good and given us for a good end — the perception of God; but it operates only so far as it can.

LETTER 234

TO THE SAME, IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION

DO you worship what you know or what you do not know? If I answer, I worship what I know, they immediately reply, What is the essence of the object of worship? Then, if I confess that I am ignorant of the essence, they turn on me again and say, So you worship you know not what. I answer that the word to know has many meanings. We say that we know the greatness of God, His power, His wisdom, His goodness, His providence over us, and the justness of His judgment; but not His very essence. The question is, therefore, only put for the sake of dispute. For he who denies that he knows the essence does not confess himself to be ignorant of God. because our idea of God is gathered from all tire attributes which I have enumerated. But God, he says, is simple, and whatever attribute of Him you have reckoned as knowable is of His essence. But the absurdities involved in this sophism are innumerable. When all these high attributes have been enumerated, are they all names of one essence? And is there the same mutual force in His awfulness and His loving-kindness, His justice and His creative power, His providence and His foreknowledge, and His bestowal of rewards and punishments, His majesty and His providence? In mentioning any one of these do we declare His essence? If they say, yes, let them not ask if we know the essence of God, but let them enquire of us whether we know God to be awful, or just, or merciful.

These we confess that we know. if they say that essence is something distinct, let them not put us in the wrong on the score of simplicity. For they confess themselves that there is a distinction between the essence and each one of the attributes enumerated. The operations are various, and the essence simple, but we say that we know our God from His operations, but do not undertake to approach near to His essence. His operations come down to us, but His essence remains beyond our reach.

2. But, it is replied, if you are ignorant of the essence, you are ignorant of Himself. Retort, If you say that you know His essence, you are ignorant of Himself. A man who has been bitten by a mad dog, and sees a dog in a dish, does not really see any more than is seen by people in good health; he is to be pitied because he thinks he sees what he does not see. Do not then admire him for his announcement, but pity him for his insanity. Recognize that the voice is the voice of mockers, when they say, if you are ignorant of the essence of God, you worship what you do not know. I do know that He exists; what His essence is, I look at as beyond intelligence. How then am I saved? Through faith. It is faith sufficient to know that God exists, without knowing what He is; and "He is a rewarder of them that seek Him." So knowledge of the divine essence involves perception of His incomprehensibility, and the object of our worship is not that of which we comprehend the essence, but of which we comprehend that the essence exists.

3. And the following counter question may also be put to them. "No man hath seen God at any time, the Only-begotten which is in the bosom hath declared him." What of the Father did the Only-begotten Son declare? His essence or His power? If His power, we know so much as He declared to us. If His essence, tell me where He said that His essence was the being unbegotten? When did Abraham worship? Was it not when he believed? And when did he believe? Was it not when he was called? Where in this place is there any testimony in Scripture to Abraham's comprehending? When did the disciples worship Him? Was it not when they saw creation subject to Him? It was from the obedience of sea and winds to Him that they recognized His Godhead. Therefore the knowledge came from the operations, and the worship from the knowledge. "Believest thou that I am able to do this?" "I believe, Lord;" and he worshipped Him. So worship follows faith, and faith is confirmed by power. But if you say

that the believer [also knows, he knows from what he believes; and *vice versa* he believes from what he knows. We know God from His power. We, therefore, believe in Him who is known, and we worship Him who is believed in.

LETTER 235

TO THE SAME, IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION

1. WHICH is first in order, knowledge or faith? I reply that generally, in the case of disciples, faith precedes knowledge. But, in our teaching, if any one asserts knowledge to come before faith, I make no objection; understanding knowledge so far as is within the bounds of human comprehension. In our lessons we must first believe that the letter a is said to us; then we learn the characters and their pronunciation, and last of all we get the distinct idea of the force of the letter. But in our belief about God, first comes the idea that God is. This we gather from His works. For, as we perceive His wisdom, His goodness, and all His invisible things from the creation of the world, so we know Him. So, too, we accept Him as our Lord. For since God is the Creator of the whole world, and we are a part of the world, God is our Creator. This knowledge is followed by faith, and this faith by worship.

2. But the word knowledge has many meanings, and so those who make sport of simpler minds, and like to make themselves remarkable by astounding statements (just like jugglers who get the balls out of sight before men's very eyes), hastily included everything in their general enquiry. Knowledge, I say, has a very wide application, and knowledge may be got of what a tiring is, by number, by bulk, by force, by its mode of existence, by the period of its generation, by its essence. When then our opponents include the whole in their question, if they catch us in the confession that we know, they straightway demand from us knowledge of the essence; if, on the contrary, they see us cautious as to making any assertion on the subject, they affix on us the stigma of impiety. I, however, confess that I know what is knowable of God, and that I know what it is which is beyond my comprehension. So if you ask me if I know what sand is, and I reply that I do, you will obviously be slandering me, if

you straightway ask me the number of the sand; inasmuch as your first enquiry bore only on the form of sand, while your second unfair objection bore upon its number. The quibble is just as though any one were to say, Do you know Timothy? Oh, if you know Timothy you know his nature. Since you have acknowledged that you know Timothy, give me an account of Timothy's nature. Yes; but I at the same time both know and do not know Timothy, though not in the same way and in the same degree. It is not that I do not know in the same way in which I do know; but I know in one way and am ignorant in one way. I know him according to his forth and other properties; but I am ignorant of his essence. Indeed, in this way too, I both know, and am ignorant of, myself. I know indeed who I am, but, so far as I am ignorant of my essence I do not know myself.

3. Let them tell me in what sense Paul says, "Now we know in part"; do we know His essence in part, as knowing parts of His essence? No. This is absurd; for God is without parts. But do we know the whole essence? How then "When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." Why are idolaters found fault with? Is it not because they knew God and did not honor Him as God? Why are the "foolish Galatians" reproached by Paul in the words, "After that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements?" How was God known in Jewry? Was it because in Jewry it was known what His essence is? "The ox," it is said, "knoweth his owner." According to your argument the ox knows his Lord's essence. " And the ass his master's crib." So the ass knows the essence of the crib, but "Israel doth not know me." So, according to you, Israel is found fault with for not knowing what the essence of God is. "Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee," that is, who have not comprehended thy essence. But, I repeat, knowledge is manifold — it involves perception of our Creator, recognition of His wonderful works, observance of His commandments and intimate communion with Him. All this they thrust on one side and force knowledge into one single meaning, the contemplation of God's essence. Thou shall put them, it is said, before the testimony and I shall be known of thee thence. Is the term, "I shall be known of thee," instead of, " I will reveal my essence"? "The Lord knoweth them that are his." Does He know the essence of them that are His, but is ignorant of the essence of those who disobey Him? "Adam

knew his wife.” Did he know her essence? It is said of Rebekah “She was a virgin, neither had any man known her,” and “How shall this be seeing I know not a man?” Did no man know Rebekah’s essence? Does Mary mean “ I do not know the essence of any man”? Is it not the custom of Scripture to use the word “know” of nuptial embraces? The statement that God shall he known from the mercy seat means that He will be known to His worshippers. And the Lord knoweth them that are His, means that on account of their good works He receives them into intimate communion with Him.

LETTER 236

TO THE SAME AMPHILOCHIUS

1. ENQUIRY has already frequently been made concerning the saying of the gospels as to our Lord Jesus Christ’s ignorance of the day and of the hour of the end; an objection constantly put forward by the Anomoeans to the destruction of the glory of the Only-Begotten, in order to show Him to be unlike in essence and subordinate in dignity; inasmuch as, if He know not all things, He cannot possess the same nature nor be regarded as of one likeness with Him, who by His own prescience and faculty of forecasting the future has knowledge coextensive with the universe. This question has now been proposed to me by your intelligence as a new one. I can give in reply the answer which I heard from our fathers when I was a boy, and which on account of my love for what is good, I have received without question. I do not expect that it can undo the shamelessness of them that fight against Christ, for where is the reasoning strong enough to stand their attack? It may, however, suffice to convince all that love the Lord, and in whom the previous assurance supplied them by faith is stronger than any demonstration of reason.

Now “no man” seems to be a general expression, so that not even one person is excepted by it, but this is not its use in Scripture, as I have observed in the passage “there is none good but one, that is, God.” For even in this passage the Son does not so speak to the exclusion of Himself from the good nature. But, since the Father is the first good, we believe the words “no man” to have been uttered with the understood addition of “

first.” So with the passage “No than knoweth the Son but the Father; “ even here there is no charge of ignorance against the Spirit, but only a testimony that knowledge of His own nature naturally belongs to the Father first. Thus also we understand “ No man knoweth,” to refer to the Father the first knowledge of things, both present and to be, and generally to exhibit to men the first cause. Otherwise how can this passage fall in with the rest of the evidence of Scripture, or agree with the common notions of us who believe that the Only-Begotten is the image of the invisible God, and image not of the bodily figure, but of the very Godhead and of the mighty qualities attributed to the essence of God, image of power, image of wisdom, as Christ is called “the power of God and the wisdom of God”? Now of wisdom knowledge is plainly a part; and if in any part He falls short, He is not an image of the whole; and how can we understand the Father not to have shewn that day and that hour — the smallest portion of the ages — to Him through Whom He made the ages? How can the Creator of the universe fall short of the knowledge of the smallest portion of the things created by Him? How can He who says, when the end is near, that such and such signs shall appear in heaven and in earth, be ignorant of the end itself? When He says, “The end is not yet.” He makes a definite statement, as though with knowledge and not in doubt. Then further, it is plain to the fair enquirer that our Lord says many things to men, in the character of man; as for instance, “give me to drink” is a saying of our Lord, expressive of His bodily necessity; and yet the asker was not soulless flesh. but Godhead using flesh endued with soul. So in the present instance no one will be carried beyond the bounds of the interpretation of true religion, who understands the ignorance of him who had received all things according to the aeconomy, and was advancing with God and man in favor and wisdom.

2. It would be worthy of your diligence to set the phrases of the Gospel side by side, and compare together those of Matthew and those of Mark, for these two alone are found in concurrence in this passage. The wording of Matthew is “of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.” That of Mark runs, “But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.” What is noticeable in these passages is this; that Matthew says nothing about the ignorance of the Son, and seems to agree

with Mark as to sense in saying “but my Father only.” Now I understand the word “only” have been used in contradistinction to the angels, but that the Son is not included with His own servants in ignorance.

He could not say what is false Who said “All things that the Father hath are Mine,” but one of the things which the Father hath is knowledge of that day and of that hour. In the passage in Matthew, then, the Lord made no mention of His own Person, as a matter beyond controversy, and said that the angels knew not and that His Father alone knew, tacitly asserting the knowledge of His Father to be His own knowledge too, because of what He had said elsewhere. “as the Father knoweth me even so know I the Father,” and if the Father has complete knowledge of the Son, nothing excepted, so that He knows all knowledge to dwell in Him, He will clearly be known as fully by the Son with all His inherent wisdom and all His knowledge of things to come. This modification, I think, may be given to the words of Matthew, “but my Father only.” Now as to the words of Mark, who appears distinctly to exclude the Son from the knowledge, my opinion is this. No man knoweth, neither the angels of God; nor yet the Son would have known unless the Father had known: that is, the cause of the Son’s knowing comes from the Father. To a fair hearer there is no violence in this interpretation, because the wore “only” is not added as it is in Matthew. Mark’s sense, then, is as follows: of that day and of that hour knoweth no man, nor the angels of God; but even the Son would not have known if the Father had not known, for the knowledge naturally His was given by the Father. This is very decorous and becoming the divine nature to say of the Son, because He has, His knowledge and His being, beheld in all the wisdom and glory which become His Godhead, from Him with Whom He is consubstantial.

3. As to Jeconias, whom the prophet Jeremiah declares in these words to have been rejected from the land of Judah, “Jeconias was dishonored like a vessel for which there is no more use; and because he was cast out he and his seed; and none shall rise from his seed sitting upon the throne of David and ruling in Judah,” the matter is plain and clear. On the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the kingdomhad been destroyed, and there was no longer an hereditary succession of reigns as before. Nevertheless, at that time, the deposed descendants of David were living in captivity. On the return of Salathiel and Zerubbabel the supreme government rested to a

greater degree with the people, and the sovereignty was afterwards transferred to the priesthood, on account of the intermingling of the priestly and royal tribes; whence the Lord, in things pertaining, to God, is both King and High Priest. Moreover, the royal tribe did not fail until the coming of the Christ; nevertheless, the seed of Jeconias sat no longer upon the throne of David. Plainly it is the royal dignity which is described by the term “throne.” You remember the history, how all Judaea, Idumaea, Moab. both the neighboring regions of Syria and the further countries up to Mesopotamia, and the country on the other side as far as the river of Egypt, were all tributary to David. If then none of his descendants appeared with a sovereignty so wide, how is not the word of the prophet true that no one of the seed of Jeconias should any longer sit upon the throne of David, for none of his descendants appears to have attained this dignity. Nevertheless, the tribe of Judah did not fail, until He for whom it was destined came. But even He did not sit upon the material throne. The kingdom of Judaea was transferred to Herod, the son of Antipater the Ascalonite, and his sons who divided Judaea into four principalities, when Pilate was Procurator and Tiberius was Master of the Roman Empire. It is the indestructible kingdom which he calls the throne of David on which the Lord sat. He is the expectation of the Gentiles and not of the smallest division of the world, for it is written, “ In that day there shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek.” “I have called thee...for a covenant of the people for a light of the Gentiles “; and thus then God remained a priest although He did not receive the scepter of Judah, and King of all the earth; so the blessing of Jacob was fulfilled, and in Him “shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,” and all the nations shall call the Christ blessed.

4. And as to the tremendous question put by the facetious Encratites, why we do not eat everything? Let this answer be given, that we turn with disgust from our excrements. As far as dignity goes, to us flesh is grass; but as to distinction between what is and what is not serviceable, just as in vegetables, we separate the unwholesome from the wholesome, so in flesh we distinguish between that which is good and that which is bad for food. Hemlock is a vegetable, just as vulture’s flesh is flesh yet no one in his senses would eat henbane nor dog’s flesh unless he were in very great straits. If he did, however, he would not sin.

5. Next as to those who maintain that human affairs are governed by fate, do not ask information from me, but stab them with their own shafts of rhetoric. The question is too long for my present infirmity. With regard to emerging in baptism — I do not know how it came into your mind to ask such a question, if indeed you understood immersion to fulfill the figure of the three days. It is impossible for any one to be immersed three times, without emerging three times. We write the word φάγος paroxytone.

6. The distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις is the same as that between the general and the particular; as, for instance, between the animal and the particular man. Wherefore, in the case of the Godhead, we confess one essence or substance so as not to give a variant definition of existence hut we confess a particular hypostasis, in order that our conception of Father, Son and Holy Spirit may be without confusion and clear. If we have no distinct perception of the separate characteristics, namely, fatherhood, sonship, and sanctification, but form our conception of God t from the general idea of existence, we cannot possibly give a sound account of our faith. We must, therefore, confess the faith by adding the particular to the common. The Godhead is common; the fatherhood particular. We must therefore combine the two and say," I believe in God the Father." The like course must be pursued in the confession of the Son; we must combine the particular with the common and say " I believe in God the Son," so in the case of the Holy Ghost we must make our utterance conform to the appellation and say " in God the Holy Ghost." Hence it results that there is a satisfactory preservation of the unity by the confession of the one Godhead, while in the distinction of the individual properties regarded in each there is the confession of the peculiar properties of the Persons. On the other hand those who identify essence or substance and hypostasis are compelled to confess only three Persons, and, in their hesitation to speak of three hypostases, are convicted of failure to avoid the error of Sabellius, for even Sabellius himself, who in many places confuses the conception, yet, by asserting that the same hypostasis changed its form to meet the needs of the moment, does endeavor to distinguish persons.

7. Lastly as to your enquiry in what manner things neutral and indifferent are ordained for us, whether by some chance working by its own accord, or by the righteous providence of God, my answer is this: Health and

sickness, riches and poverty, credit and discredit, inasmuch as they do not render their possessors good, are not in the category of things naturally good, but, in so far as in any way they make life's current flow more easily, in each case the former is to be preferred to its contrary, and has a certain kind of value. To some men these things are given by God for stewardship's sake, as for instance to Abraham, to Job and such like. To inferior characters they are a challenge to improvement. For the man who persists in unrighteousness, after so goodly a token of love from God, subjects himself to condemnation without defense. The good man, however, neither turns his heart to wealth when he has it, nor seeks after it if he has it not. He treats what is given him as given him not for his selfish enjoyment, but for wise administration. No one in his senses, runs after the trouble of distributing other people's property, unless he is trying to get the praise of the world, which admires and envies anybody in authority.

Good men take sickness as athletes take their contest, waiting for the crowns that are to reward their endurance. To ascribe the dispensation of these things to any one else is as inconsistent with true religion as it is with common sense.

LETTER 237

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. I BOTH wrote to your reverence by the vicar of Thrace, and sent other letters by one of the officers of the treasury of Philippopolis, who was starting from our country into Thrace, and begged him to take them on his departure. But the vicar never received my letter, for while I was visiting my diocese, he came into town in the evening and started early in the morning, so that the church officers did not know of his coming, and the letter remained at my house. The treasurer, too, on account of some unexpected and urgent business, set out without seeing me or taking my letters. No one else could be found; so I remained, sorry at not being able to write to you and at not receiving any letter from your reverence. Yet I was wishful, were it possible, to tell you all that happens to me day by day. So many astonishing things happen as to need a daily narrative, and

you may be sure that I would have written one, unless my mind had been diverted from its purpose by the pressure of events.

2. The first and greatest of my troubles was the visit of the Vicar. As to whether he is a man really heretically minded I do not know; for I think that he is quite unversed in doctrine, and has not the slightest interest or experience in such things, for I see him day and night busy, both in body and soul, in other things. But he is certainly a friend of heretics; and he is not more friendly to them than he is ill-disposed to me. He has a summoned a synod of wicked men in mid-winter in Galatia. He has deposed Hypsinus and set up Ecdicius in his place. I He has ordered the removal of my brother on the accusation of one man, and that one quite insignificant. Then, after being occupied for some little time about the army, he came to us again breathing rage and slaughter, and, in one sentence, delivered all the Church of Caesarea to the Senate. He settled for several days at Sebaste, separating friends from foes, calling those in communion with me senators, and condemning them to the public service, while he advanced the adherents of Eustathius. He has ordered a second synod of bishops of Galatia and Pontus to be assembled at Nyssa. They have submitted, have met, and have sent to the Churches a man of whose character I do not like to speak; but your reverence can well understand what sort of a man he must be who would put himself at the disposal of such counsels of men. Now, while I am thus writing, the same gang have hurried to Sebaste to unite with Eustathius, and, with him, to upset the Church of Nicopolis. For the blessed Theodotus has fallen asleep. Hitherto the Nicopolitans have bravely and stoutly resisted the vicar’s first assault; for he tried to persuade them to receive Eustathius, and to accept their bishop on his appointment. But, on seeing them unwilling to yield, he is now trying, by yet more violent action, to effect the establishment of the bishop whom it has been attempted to give them. There is, moreover, said to be some rumored expectation of a synod, by which means they mean to summon me to receive them into communion, or to be friendly with them. Such is the position of the Churches. As to my own health, I think it better to say nothing. I cannot bear not to tell the truth, and by telling the truth I shall only grieve you.

LETTER 238

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF NICOPOLIS

I HAVE received your letter, my reverend brethren, but it told me nothing that I did not already know. for the whole country round about was already full of the report announcing the disgrace of that one among you who has fallen, and through lust of vain glory has brought on himself very shameful dishonor, and has through his self-love lost the rewards promised to faith. Nay, through the just hatred of them that fear the Lord he misses even that contemptible little glory for lust of which he has been sold to impiety. By the character he has now shown he has very plainly proved, concerning all his life, that he has never at any time lived in hope of the promises laid up for us by the Lord, but, in all his transactions of human affairs, has used words of faith and mockery of piety, all to deceive every one whom he met. But how are you injured? Are you any worse off for this than you were before? One of your number has fallen away, and if one or two others have gone with him, they are to be pitied for their fall, but, by God's grace, your body is whole. The useless part has gone, and what is left has not suffered mutilation. You are haply distressed that you are driven without the walls, but you shall dwell under the protection of the God of Heaven, and the angel who watches over the Church has gone out with you. So they lie down in empty places day by day, bringing upon themselves heavy judgment through the dispersion of the people. And, if in all this there is sorrow to be borne, I trust in the Lord that it will not be without its use to you. Therefore, the more have been your trials, look for a more perfect reward from your just Judge. Do not take your present troubles ill. Do not lose hope. Yet a little while and your Helper will come to you and will not tarry.

LETTER 239

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

1. THE Lord has granted me the privilege of now saluting your holiness by our beloved and very reverend brother, the presbyter Antiochus, of

exhorting you to pray for me as you are wont, and offering in our communication by letter some consolation for our long separation. And, when you pray, I ask you to beg from the Lord this as the first and greatest boon, that I may be delivered from vile and wicked men, who have gained such power over the people that now I seem to see, indeed, a repetition of the events of the taking of Jerusalem. For the weaker grow the Churches the more does men's lust for power increase. And now the very title of bishop has been conferred on wretched slaves, for no servant of God would choose to come forward in opposition to claim the see; — no one but miserable fellows like the emissaries of Anysius the creature of Euippius, and of Ecdicius of Parnassus: whoever has appointed him has sent into the Churches a poor means of aiding his own entry into the life to come.

They have expelled my brother from Nyssa, and into his place have introduced hardly a man — a mere scamp worth only an obol or two, but, so far as regards the ruin of the faith, a match for those who have put him where he is.

At the town of Doara they have brought shame upon the poor name of bishop, and have sent there a wretch, an orphans' domestic, a runaway from his own masters, to flatter a godless woman, who formerly used George as she liked, and now has got this fellow to succeed him.

And who could properly lament the occurrences at Nicopolis? That unhappy Fronto did, indeed, for a while pretend to be on the side of the truth, but now he has shamefully betrayed both the faith and himself, and for the price of his betrayal has got a name of disgrace. He imagines that he has obtained from these men the rank of bishop; in reality he has become, by God's grace, the abomination of all Armenia. But there is nothing that they will not dare; nothing wherein they are at a loss for worthy accomplices. But the rest of the news of Syria my brother knows better and can tell you better, than I.

2. The news of the West you know already, on the recital of brother Dorotheus. What sort of letters are to be given him on his departure? Perhaps he will travel with the excellent Sanctissimus, who is full of enthusiasm, journeying through the East, and collecting letters and signatures from all the men of mark. What ought to be written by them, or

how I can come to an agreement with those who are writing, I do not know. If you hear of any one soon traveling my way, be so good as to let me know. I am moved to say, as Diomede said,

"Would God, Atrides, thy request were yet to undertake;
... he's proud enough."

Really lofty souls, when they are courted, get haughtier than ever. If the Lord be propitious to us, what other thing do we need? If the anger of the Lord lasts on what help can come to us from the frown of the West? Men who do not know the truth, and do not wish to learn it, but are prejudiced by false suspicions, are doing now as they did in the case of Marcellus, when they quarreled with men who told them the truth, and by their own action strengthened the cause of heresy. Apart from the common document, I should like to have written to their Coryphaeus — nothing, indeed, about ecclesiastical affairs except gently to suggest that they know nothing of what is going on here, and will not accept the only means whereby they might learn it. I would say, generally, that they ought not to press hard on men who are crushed by trials. They must not take dignity for pride. Sin only avails to produce enmity against God.

LETTER 240

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF NICOPOLIS

1. YOU have done quite right in sending me a letter, and in sending it by the hands of one who, even if you had not written, would have been perfectly competent to give me considerable comfort in all my anxieties, and an authentic report as to the position of affairs. Many vague rumors were continually reaching me, and therefore I was desirous of getting information on many points from some one able to give it through accurate knowledge. Touching all these I have received a satisfactory and intelligent narrative from our well-beloved and honorable brother Theodosius the presbyter. I now write to your reverences the advice which I give myself, for in many respects our positions are identical; and that not only at the present moment, but in times gone by too, as many instances may prove. Of some of these we possess records in writing; others we have received through unwritten recollection from persons acquainted with the facts. We

know how, for the sake of the name of the Lord, trials have beset alike individuals and cities that have put their trust in Him. Nevertheless, one and all have passed away, and the distress caused by the days of darkness bus not been everlasting. For just as when hail-storm and flood, and all natural calamities, at once injure and destroy things that have no strength, while they are only themselves affected by falling on the strong, so the terrible trials set in action against the Church have been proved feebler than the firm foundation of our faith in Christ. The hail-storm has passed away; the torrent has rushed over its bed; clear sky has taken the place of the former, and the latter has left the course without water and dry, over which it traveled, and has disappeared in the deep. So, too, in a little while the storm, now bursting upon us, will cease to be. But this will be on the condition of our being will big not to look to the present, but to gaze in hope at the future somewhat further off.

2. Is the trial heavy, my brethren? Let us endure the toil. No one who shuns the blows and the dust of battle wins a crown. Are those mockeries of the devil, and the enemies sent to attack us, insignificant? They are troublesome because they are his ministers, but contemptible because God has in them combined wickedness with weakness. Let us beware of being condemned for crying out too loud over a little pain. Only one thing is worth anguish, the loss of one's own self, when for the sake of the credit of the moment, if one can really call making a public disgrace of one's self credit, one has deprived one's self of the everlasting reward of the just. You are children of confessors; you are children of martyrs; you have resisted sin unto blood. Use, each one of you, the examples of those near and dear to you to make you brave for true religion's sake. No one of us has been torn by lashes; no one of us has suffered confiscation of his house; we have not been driven into exile; we have not suffered imprisonment. What great suffering have we undergone, unless peradventure it is grievous that we have suffered noticing, and have not been reckoned worthy of the sufferings of Christ? But if you are grieved because one whom I need not name occupies the house of prayer, and you worship the Lord of heaven and earth in the open air, remember that the eleven disciples were shut up in the upper chamber, when they that had crucified the Lord were worshipping in the Jews' far-famed temple. Peradventure, Judas, who preferred death by hanging to life in disgrace,

proved himself a better man than those who now meet universal condemnation without a blush.

3. Only do not be deceived by their lies when they claim to be of the right faith. They are not Christians, but traffickers in Christ, always preferring their profit in this life to living in accordance with the truth. When they thought that they should get this empty dignity, they joined the enemies of Christ: now that they have seen the indignation of the people, they are once more for pretending orthodoxy. I do not recognize as bishop — I would not count among Christ's clergy — a man who has been promoted to a chief post by polluted hands, to the destruction of the faith. This is my decision. If you have any part with me, you will doubtless think as I do. If you take counsel on your own responsibility, every man is master of his own mind, and I am innocent of this blood. I have written thus, not because I distrust you, but that by declaring my own mind I may strengthen some men's hesitation, and prevent any out from being prematurely received into communion, or after receiving the laying on of hands of our enemies, when peace is made, later on, trying to force me to enroll them in the ranks of the sacred ministry. Through you I salute the clergy of the city and diocese, and all the laity who fear the Lord.

LETTER 241

TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA

IT is not to increase your distress that I am so lavish of painful topics in my letters to your excellency. My object is to get some comfort for myself in the lamentations which are a kind of natural means of dispersing deep-seated pain whenever they are produced. and further to rouse you, my great-hearted friend, to more earnest prayer on behalf of the Churches. We know that Moses prayed continually for the people; yet, when his battle with Amalek had begun, he did not. let down his hands from morning to evening, and the uplifting of the hands of the saint only ended with the end of the fight.

LETTER 242

TO THE WESTERNS

1. THE HOLY GOD Holy God has promised a happy of issue out of all their infirmities to those that trust in Him. We, therefore, though we have been cut off in a mid-ocean of troubles, though we are tossed by the great waves raised up against us by the spirits of wickedness, nevertheless hold out in Christ Who strengthens us. We have not slackened the strength of our zeal for the Churches, nor, as though despairing of our salvation, while the billows in the tempest rise above our heads, do we look to be destroyed. On the contrary, we are still holding out with all possible earnestness, remembering how even he who was swallowed by the sea monster, because he did not despair of his life, but cried to the Lord, was saved. Thus too we, though we have reached the last pitch of peril, do not give up our hope in God. On every side we see His succor round about us. For these reasons now we turn our eyes to you, right honorable brethren. In many an hour of our affliction we have expected that you would be at our side; and disappointed in that hope we have said to ourselves, “I looked for some to take pity and there was none; and for comforters but I found none.” Our sufferings are such as to have reached the confines of the empire; and since, when one member suffers, all the members suffer, it is doubtless right that your pity should be shown to us who have been so long in trouble. Fort hat sympathy, which we have hoped you of your charity feel for us, is caused less by nearness of place than by union of spirit.

2. How comes it to pass then that we have received nothing of what is due to us by the law of love; no letter of consolation, no visit from brethren? This is now the thirteenth year since the war of heresy began against us. in this the Churches have suffered more tribulations than all those which are on record since Christ’s gospel was first preached. I am unwilling to describe these one by one, lest the feebleness of my narrative should make the evidence of the calamities less convincing. It is moreover the less necessary for me to tell you of them, because you have long known what has happened from the reports which will have reached you. The sum and substance of our troubles is this: the people have left the houses of prayer

and are holding congregations in the wildernesses. It is a sad sight. Women, boys, old men, and those who are in other ways infirm, remain in the open air, in heavy rain, in the snow, the gales and the frost of winter as well as in summer under the blazing heat of the sun. All this they are suffering because they refuse to have anything to do with the wicked leaven of Arius.

3. How could mere words give you any clear idea of all this without your being stirred to sympathy by personal experience and the evidence of eyewitnesses? We implore you, therefore, to stretch out a helping hand to those that have already been stricken to the ground, and to send messengers to retailed us of the prizes in store for the reward of all who patiently suffer for Christ. A voice that we are used to is naturally less able to comfort us than one; which sounds from afar, and that one coming from men who over all the world are known by God's grace to be among the noblest; for common report everywhere represents you as having remained steadfast, without suffering a wound in your faith, and as having kept the deposit of the apostles inviolate. This is not our case. here are among us some who, through lust of glory and that puffing up which is especially wont to destroy the souls of Christian men, have audaciously uttered certain novelties of expression with the result that the Churches have become like cracked pots and pans and bare let in the inrush of heretical impurity. But do you, whom we love and long for, be to us ass surgeons for the wounded, as trainers for the whole, healing the limb that is diseased, and anointing the limb that is sound for the service of the true religion.

LETTER 243

TO THE BISHOPS OF ITALY AND GAUL CONCERNING THE CONDITION AND CONFUSION OF THE CHURCHES

1. To his brethren truly God-beloved and very dear, and fellow ministers of like mind, the bishops of Gaul and Italy, Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who has deigned to style the universal Church of God His body, and has made us individually members one of another, has moreover granted to all of us to live in intimate

association with one another, as befits the agreement of the members. Wherefore, although we dwell far away from one another, yet, as regards our close conjunction, we are very near. Since, then, the head cannot say to the feet, I have no need of you, you will not, I am sure, endure to reject us; you will, on the contrary, sympathize with us in the troubles to which, for our sins, we have been given over, in proportion as we rejoice together with you in your glorying in the peace which the Lord has bestowed on you. Ere now we have also at another time invoked your charity to send us succor and sympathy; but our punishment was not full, and you were not suffered to rise up to succor us. One chief object of our desire is that through you the state of confusion in which we are situated should be made known to the emperor of your part of the world. If this is difficult, we beseech you to send envoys to visit and comfort us in our affliction, that you may have the evidence of eyewitnesses of those sufferings of the East which cannot be told by word of mouth, because language is inadequate to give a clear report of our condition.

2. Persecution has come upon us, right honorable brethren, and persecution in the severest form. Shepherds are persecuted that their flocks may be scattered. And the worst of all is that those who are being treated ill cannot accept their sufferings in proof of their testimony, nor can the people reverence the athletes as in the army of martyrs, because the name of Christians is applied to the persecutors. The one charge which is now sure to secure severe punishment is the careful keeping of the traditions of the Fathers. For this the pious are exiled from their homes, and are sent away to dwell in distant regions. No reverence is shown by the judges of iniquity to the hoary head, to practical piety, to the life lived from boyhood to old age according to the Gospel. No malefactor is doomed without proof, but bishops have been convicted on calumny alone, and are consigned to penalties on charges wholly unsupported by evidence. Some have not even known who has accused them, nor been brought before any tribunal, nor even been falsely accused at all. They have been apprehended with violence late at night, have been exiled to distant places, and, through the hardships of these remote wastes, have been given over to death. The rest is notorious, though I make no mention of it — the flight of priests; the flight of deacons the foraying of all the clergy. Either the image must be worshipped, or we are delivered to the

wicked flame of whips. The laity groan; tears are filling without ceasing in public and in private; all are mutually lamenting their woes. No one's heart is so hard as to lose a father, and bear the bereavement meekly. There is a sound of them that mourn in the city — a sound in the fields, in the roads, in the deserts. But one voice is heard from all that utter sad and piteous words. Joy and spiritual gladness are taken away. Our feasts are turned into mourning. Our houses of prayer are shut. The altars of the spiritual service are lying idle. Christians no longer assemble together; teachers no longer preside. The doctrines of salvation are no longer taught. We have no more solemn assemblies, no more evening hymns, no more of that blessed joy of souls which arises in the souls of all that believe in the Lord at communions, and the imparting of spiritual boons. We may well say, " Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or reader, or offering, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy."

3. We are writing to those who know these things, for there is not a region of the world which is ignorant of our calamities. Do not suppose that we are using these words as though to give information, or to recall ourselves to your recollection. We know that you could no more forget us than a mother forget the sons of her womb. But all who are crushed by any weight of agony find some natural alleviation for their pain in uttering groans of distress, and it is for this that we are doing as we do. We get rid of the load of our grief in telling you of our manifold misfortunes, and in expressing the hope that you may haply be the more moved to pray for us, and may prevail on the Lord to be reconciled to us. And if these afflictions had been confined to ourselves, we might even have determined to keep silence, and to rejoice in our sufferings for Christ's sake, since "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." But at the present time we are alarmed, lest the mischief growing day by days like a flame spreading through some burning wood, when it has consumed what is close at hand, may catch distant objects too. The plague of heresy is spreading, and there is ground of apprehension lest, when it has 'devoured our Churches, it may afterwards creep on even so far as to the sound portion of your district. Peradventure it is because with us iniquity has abounded that we have been first delivered to be devoured by the cruel teeth of the enemies of God. But the gospel of the kingdom began in our regions, and then went

forth over all the world. So, peradventure — and this is most probable — the common enemy of our souls, is striving to bring it about that the seeds of apostasy, originating in the same quarter, should be distributed throughout the world. For the darkness of impiety plots to come upon the very hearts whereon the “light of the knowledge” of Christ has shone.

4. Reckon then, as true disciples of the Lord, that our sufferings are yours. We are not being attacked for the sake of riches. or glory, or any temporal advantages. We stand in the arena to fight for our common heritage, for the treasure of the sound faith, derived from our Fathers. Grieve with us, all ye who love the brethrens at the shutting of the mouths of our men of true religion, and at the opening of the bold and blasphemous lips of all that utter unrighteousness against God. The pillars and foundation of the truth are scattered abroad. We, whose insignificance has allowed of our being overlooked, are deprived of our right of free speech. Do ye enter into the straggle, for the people’s sake. Do not think only of your being yourselves moored in a safe haven, where the grace of God gives you shelter from the tempest of the winds of wickedness. Reach out a helping hand to the Churches that are being buffeted by the storm, lest, if they be abandoned, they suffer complete shipwreck of the faith. Lament for us, in that the Only-begotten is being blasphemed, and there is none to offer contradiction. The Holy Ghost is being set at nought and he who is able to confute the error has been sent into exile. Polytheism has prevailed. Our opponents own a great God and a small God. “Son” is no longer a name of nature, but is looked upon as a title of some kind of honor. The Holy Ghost is regarded not as complemental of the Holy Trinity, nor as participating in the divine and blessed Nature, but as in some sort one of the number of created beings, and attached to Father and Son, at mere haphazard and as occasion may require. “ Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears,” and I will weep many days for the people who are being driven to destruction by these vile doctrines. The ears of the simple are being led astray, and have now got used to heretical impiety. The nurslings of the Church are being brought up in the doctrines of iniquity. What are they to do? Our opponents have the command of baptisms; they speed the dying on their way; they visit the sick; they console the sorrowful; they aid the distressed; they give succor of various kinds; they communicate the mysteries. All these things, as long as the

performance of them is in their hands, are so many ties to bind the people to their views. The result will be that in a little time, even if some liberty be conceded to us, there is small hope that they who have been long under the influence of error will be recalled to recognition of the truth.

5. Under these circumstances it would have been well for many of us to have traveled to your reverences, and to have individually reported each his own position. You may now take as a proof of the sore straits in which we are placed the fact that we are not even free to travel abroad. For if any one leaves his Church, even for a very brief space, he will leave his people at the mercy of those who are plotting their ruin. By God's mercy instead of many we have sent one, our very reverend and beloved brother the presbyter Dorotheus. He is fully able to supply by his personal report whatever has been omitted in our letter, for he has carefully followed all that has occurred, and is jealous of the right faith. Receive him in peace, and speedily send him back to us, bringing us good news of your readiness to succor the brotherhood.

LETTER 244

TO PATROPHILUS, BISHOP OF AEGAE

1. I HAVE read, and read with pleasure, the letter which you have sent by Strategius the presbyter. How should I not so read it, written as it is by a wise man, and dictated by a heart which has learned to observe the universal love taught by the commandment of the Lord? Possibly I am not unaware of the reasons which have hitherto kept you silent. You have been, as it were, amazed and astounded, at the idea of the change in the notorious Basil. Why, ever since he was a boy he did such and such service to such an one; at such and such times he did such and such things; he waged war against foes innumerable for the sake of his allegiance to one man; now he has become a totally different character; he has exchanged love for war; he is all that you have written; so you naturally shew considerable astonishment at the very unexpected turn of affairs. And if you have found some fault, I do not take it ill. I am not so beyond correction as to be amazed at the affectionate rebukes of my brothers. Indeed so far was I from being vexed at your letter that it really almost

made me laugh to think that when there were, as I thought, so many strong causes already existing to cement our friendship, you should have expressed such very great astonishment at the trifles which have been reported to you. So truly have you suffered the fate of all those who omit to enquire into the nature of circumstances, and give heed to the men who are being discussed; of all who do not examine into the truth, but judge by the distinction of persons, in forgetfulness of the extortion “Ye shall not respect persons in judgment.”

2. Nevertheless, since God in judgment of man does not accept persons, I will not refuse to make known to you the defense which I have prepared for the great tribunal. On my side, from the beginning, there has been no cause of quarrel, either small or great; but men who hate me, for what reason is best known to themselves (I must not say a word about them), incessantly calumniated me. I cleared myself again and! again of slanders. There seemed no end to the matter, and no good came of my continual defense, because I was far away, and the authors of the false statements, being on the spot, were able by their calumnies against me to wound a susceptible heart, and one which has never learnt to keep one ear open. for the absent. When the Nicopolitans, as you yourself are partly aware, were asking for some proof of faith, I determined to have recourse to the written document. I thought that I should fulfill two objects at once; I expected both to persuade the Nicopolitans not to think ill of the man, and to shut the mouths of my calumniators, because agreement in faith would exclude slander on both sides. Indeed the creed had been drawn up, and it was brought from me, and signed. After it had been signed, a place was appointed for a second meeting, and another date fixed, so that my brethren in the diocese might come together and be united with one another, and our communion for the future be genuine and sincere. I, for my part, arrived at the appointed time, and, of the brethren who act with me, some were on the spot, and others were hurrying thither, all joyous and eager as though on the high road to peace. Couriers and a letter from myself announced my arrival; for the spot appointed for the reception of those who were assembling was mine. But nobody appeared on the other side; no one came in advance; no one to announce the approach of the expected bishops. So those who had been sent by me returned with the report of the deep dejection and the complaints of those who were

assembled, as though a new creed had been promulgated by me. They were moreover said to be for deciding, that they certainly would not suffer their bishop to go over to me. Then came a messenger bringing me a letter hastily drawn up, and containing no mention of the points originally agreed on. My brother Theophilus, a man worthy of all respect and honor at my hands, sent one of his adherents, and made certain announcements, which he thought it not improper for him to utter, nor unbecoming in me to hear. He did not condescend to write, not so much because he was afraid of being convicted on written evidence, as because he was anxious not to be compelled to address me as bishop. Assuredly his language was violent, and came from a heart a vehemently agitated. Under these circumstances I departed abashed and depressed, not knowing what to answer to my questioners. Then, without any long interval of time, there was the journey into Cilicia, the return thence, and forthwith a letter repudiating communion with me.

3. The cause of the rupture was the allegation that I wrote to Apollinarius and was in communion with the presbyter Diodorus. I never regarded Apollinarius as an enemy, and for some reasons I even respect him. But I never so far trotted myself to him as to take upon me the charges against him; indeed I have myself some accusations to bring against him after reading some of his books. I do not know that I ever asked him for a book on the Holy Spirit, or received it on his sending: I am told that he has become a most copious writer, but I have read very few of his works. I have not even time to investigate such matters. Indeed I shrink from admitting any of the more recent works, for my health does not even allow of my reading the inspired Scriptures with diligence and as I ought. What, then, is it to me, if some one has written something displeasing to somebody else? Yet if one man is to render an account on behalf of another, let him who accuses me for Apollinarius' sake defend himself to me for the sake of Arius his own master and of Aetius his own disciple. I never learnt anything from, nor taught anything to this man whose guilt is laid at my door. Diodorus, as a nursling of the blessed Silvanus, I did receive from the beginning: I love him now and respect him on account of his grace of speech, whereby many who meet him are made the better men.

4. At this letter I was affected in such a manner as might be expected, and astounded at so sudden and pleasant a change. I felt quite unable to reply.

My heart could hardly beat; my tongue failed me, and my hand grew numb. I felt like a poor creature (for the truth shall be told; yet it is pardonable); I all but fell into a state of misanthropy; I looked on every one with suspicion and thought that there was no charity to be found in mankind. Charity seemed a mere specious word, serving as a kind of decoration to those who use it, while no such sentiment was really to be found in the heart of man. Could it really be that out who seethed to have disciplined himself froth boyhood to old age, could be so easily brutalized on such grounds, without a thought for me, without any idea that his experience of bygone years ought to have more weight than this wretched slander? Could he really, like an unbroken colt as yet untaught to carry his rider properly, on some petty suspicion rear and unseat his rider and fling to the ground what was once his pride? If so, what must be thought of the rest with whom I had no such strong ties of friendship, and who had given no such proofs of a well trained life? All this I turned over in my soul and continually revolved in my heart, or, shall I rather say my heart was turned over by these things fighting and pricking me at the recollection of them? I wrote no answer; not that I kept silence from contempt; do not think it of me my brother, for I am not defending myself to men but I speak before God in Christ. I kept silence from utter inability to say a word commensurate with my grief.

5. While I was in this position another letter came to me, addressed to a certain Dazizas, but in reality written to all the world. This is obvious from its very rapid distribution, for in a few days it was delivered all over Pontus, and was traveling about Galatia; indeed it is said that the carriers of this good news traversed Bithynia, and reached the Hellespont itself. What was written against me to Dazizas you are very well aware, for they do not reckon you as so far beyond the bounds of their friendship as to have left you alone undistinguished by this honor. However, if the letter has not reached you, I will send it to you. In it you will find me charged with craft and treachery, with corruption of Churches and with ruin of souls. The charge which they think the truest of all is, that I made that exposition of the faith for secret and dishonest reasons, not to do service to the Nicopolitans, but with the design of disingenously extracting a confession from them. Of all this the Lord is Judge. What clear evidence can there be of the thoughts of the heart? One thing I do wonder at in

them, that after signing the document presented by me, they show so much disagreement, that they confuse truth and falsehood to satisfy those who are accusing them, quite forgetful that their written confession of the Nicene Creed is preserved at Rome, and that they with their own hand delivered to the council at Tyana the document brought from Rome which is in my hands, and contains the same creed. They forgot their own address, when they came forward and bewailed the deceit by which they had been tricked into giving their adhesion to the document drawn up by the faction of Eudoxius, and so bethought them of the defense for that error, that they should go to Rome and there accept the creed of the Fathers, that so they might make amends, for the mischief they had done the Church by their agreement in evil, by their introduction of something better. Now the very men who undertook long journeys for the faith's sake, and made all these fine speeches, are reviling me for walking craftily, and for playing the playing the plotter under the cloke of love. is plain from the Letter, now bring carried about, that they have condemned the faith of Nicaea. They saw Cyzicus, and came home with another creed.

6. But why say anything of mere verbal inconsistency? The practical proofs of their change of position afforded by their conduct are far stronger. They refused to yield to the sentence of fifty bishops passed against them. They declined to resign the government of their Churches although the number of bishops assenting to the decree for their deposition was so many, on the alleged ground that they were not partakers of the Holy Ghost, and were not governing their Churches by the grace of God, but had clutched their dignity by the aid of human power, and through lust of vain glory. Now they are for receiving the men consecrated by these same persons as bishops. I should like you to ask them in my stead, (although they despise all mankind, is bereft of eyes, ears, and common sense), to perceive the inconsistency of their conduct, what sentiments they do really entertain in their own hearts. How can there be two bishops, one deposed by Euippius, and the other consecrated by him? Both are the actions of the same man. Had he not been endowed with the grace bestowed upon Jeremiah to pull down and build again, to root out and to plant, he certainly would not have rooted the one out and planted the other. Grant him the one and you must grant him the other. Their one object, as it seems, is everywhere to look to their own advantage, and to

regard every one who acts in accordance with their own wishes as a friend, while they treat any one who opposes them as an enemy, and spare no calumny to run him down.

7. What measures are they now taking against the Church? For the shiftiness of their originators, shocking; for the apathy of all who are affected by them, pitiable. By a respectable commission the children and grandchildren of Euippius have been summoned from distant regions to Sebasteia, and to them the people have been entrusted. They have taken possession of the altar. They have been made the leaven of that Church. I am persecuted by them as a Homoousiast. Eustathius, who brought the Homoousion in the script from Rome to Tyana, although he was not able to get admitted into their much to be coveted communion, either because they feared, or respected the authority of, the large number of persons who had agreed in condemning him, is now in intimate alliance with them. I only hope that I may never have time enough on my hands to tell of all their doings — who were gathered together, how each one had been ordained, and from what kind of earlier life each arrived at his present dignity. I have been taught to pray “that my mouth may not utter the works of the men.” If you enquire you will learn these things for yourself, and, if they are hidden from you, they will not assuredly continue hidden from the judges.

8. I will not, however, omit to tell you, my dear friend, in what a state I have been. Last year I suffered from a very violent fever, and came near to the gates of death. When, by God’s mercy, I was restored, I was distressed at coming back to life, as I bethought me of all the troubles before me. I considered with myself for what reason, hidden in the depths of the wisdom of God, yet further clays of life in the flesh had been allowed me. But when I heard of these matters I concluded that the Lord wished a me to see the Churches at rest after the storm which they had previously suffered from the alienation of the men in whom, on account of their fictitious gravity of character, every confidence had been placed. Or peradventure the Lord designed to invigorate my soul, and to render it more vigilant for the future, to the end that, instead of giving heed to men, it might be made perfect through those precepts of the Gospel which do not share in the changes and chances of human seasons and circumstances,

but abide for ever the same, as they were uttered by the blessed lips that cannot lie.

9. Men are like clouds, shifting hither and thither in the sky with the change of the winds. And of all men who have ever come within my experience these of whom I am speaking are the most unstable. As to the other business of life, those who have lived with them may give evidence; but as to what is within my own knowledge, their inconsistency as regards the faith, I do not know that I have ever myself observed it or heard from any one else, of anything like it. Originally they were followers of Arius; then they went over to Hermogenes, who was diametrically opposed to the errors of Arius, as is evinced by the Creed originally recited by him at Nicaea. Hermogenes, fell asleep, and then they went over to Eusebius, the coryphaeus, as we know on personal evidence, of the Arian ring. Leaving this, for whatever reasons, they came home again, and once more concealed their Arian sentiments. After reaching the episcopate, to pass by what occurred in the interval, how many creeds did they put forth? One at Ancyra; another at Seleucia; another at Constantinople, the famous one; another at Lampsacus, then that of Nike in Thrace; and now again the creed of Cyzicus. Of this last I know nothing, except that I am told that they have suppressed the homoousion, and are supporting the like in essence, while they subscribe with Eunomius the blasphemies against the Holy Spirit. Although all of the creeds which I have enumerated may not be opposed to one another, yet they alike exhibit the inconsistency of the men’s minds, from their never standing by the same words. I have said nothing as to countless other points, but this that I do say is true. Now that they have gone over to you, I beg you to write back by the same man, I mean our fellow presbyter Strategius, whether you have remained in the same mind towards me, or whether you have been alienated in consequence of your meeting them. For it was not likely that they would be silent, nor that you yourself, after writing to me as you have. would not use free speaking to them too. If you remain in communion with me, it is well; it is what I would most earnestly pray for. If they have drawn you over to them, it is sad. How should separation from such a brother not be sad? If in nothing else, at least in bearing losses like this, we have been considerably tried at their hands.

LETTER 245

TO THEOPHILUS THE BISHOP

IT is some time since I received your letter, but I waited to be able to reply by some fit person; that so the bearer of my answer might supply whatever might be wanting in it. Now there has arrived our much beloved and very reverend brother Strategius, and I have judged it well to make use of his services, both as knowing my mind and able to convey news of me with due propriety and reverence. Know, therefore, my beloved and honored friend, that I highly value my affection for you, and am not conscious so far as the disposition of lay heart goes, of having at any time failed in it, although I have had many serious causes of reasonable complaint. But I have decided to weigh the good against the bad, as in a balance, and to add my own mind where the better inclines. Now changes have been made by those who should least of all have allowed anything of the kind. Pardon me, therefore, for I have not changed my mind, if I have shifted any side, or rather I should say, I shall still be on the same side, but there are others who are continually changing it, and are now openly deserting to the foe. You yourself know what a value I put on their communion, so long as they were of the sound party. If now I refuse to follow these, and shun all who think with them, I ought fairly to be forgiven. I put truth and my own salvation before everything.

LETTER 246

TO THE NICOPOLITANS

I AM filled with distress at seeing evil on the high road to success, while you, my reverend friends, are faint and failing under continuous calamity. But when again I bethink me of the mighty hand of God, and reflect that He knows how to raise up them that are broken down, to love the just, to crush the proud and to put down the mighty from their seats, then again my heart grows lighter by hope, and I know that through your prayers the calm that the Lord will show us will come soon. Only grow not weary in

prayer, but in the present emergency strive to give to all a plain example by deed of whatever you teach by word.

LETTER 247

TO THE NICOPOLITANS

WHEN I had read the letter of your holinesses, how did I not groan and lament that I had heard of these further troubles, of blows and insults inflicted on yourselves, of destruction of homes, devastation of the city, ruin of your whole country, persecution of the Church, banishment; of priests, invasion of wolves, and scattering of flocks. But I have looked to the Lord in heaven, and have ceased to groan and weep, because I am perfectly well assured, as I hope you know too, that help will speedily come and that you will not be for ever forsaken. What we have suffered, we have suffered for our sins. But our loving Lord will show us His own aid for the sake of His love and pity for the Churches. Nevertheless, I have not omitted to beseech men in authority in person. I have written to those at court, who love us, that the wrath of our ravening enemy may be stayed. I think, moreover, that from many quarters condemnation may fall upon his head, unless indeed these. troublous times allow our public men no leisure for these matters.

LETTER 248

TO AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM

SO far as my own wishes are concerned I am grieved at living at such a distance from your reverence. But, as regards the peace of your own life, I thank the Lord Who has kept you out of this conflagration which has specially ravaged my diocese. For the just Judge has sent me, in accordance with my works, a messenger of Satan, who is buffeting me a severely enough, and is vigorously defending the heresy. Indeed to such a pitch has he carried the war against us, that he does not shrink even from shedding the blood of those who trust in God. You cannot fail to have heard that a man of the name of Asclepius, because he would not consent to communion with Doeg, has died under the blows inflicted on him by

them, or rather, by their blows has been translated into life. You may suppose that the rest of their doings are of a piece with this; the persecutions of presbyters and teachers, and all that might be expected to be done by men abusing the imperial authority at their own caprice. But, in answer to your prayers, the Lord will give us release from these things, and patience to bear the weight of our trials worthily of our hope in Him. Pray write frequently to me of all that concerns yourself. If you find any one who can be trusted to carry you the book that I have finished, be so kind as to send for it, that so, when I have been cheered by your approval, I may send it on to others also. By the grace of the Holy One may you be granted to me and to the Church of the Lord in good health rejoicing in the Lord, and praying for me.

LETTER 249

WITHOUT ADDRESS. COMMENDATORY

I CONGRATULATE this my brother, in being delivered from our troubles here and in approaching your reverence. In choosing a good life with them that fear the Lord he has chosen a good provision for the life to come. I commend him to your excellency and by him I beseech you to pray for my wretched life, to the end that I may be delivered from these trials and begin to serve the Lord according to the Gospel.

LETTER 250

TO PATROPHILUS, BISHOP OF AEGAE

THERE has been some delay in my receiving your answer to my former letter; but it has reached me through the well-beloved Strategius, and I have given thanks to the Lord for your continuance in your love to me. What you have now been kind enough to write on the same subject proves your good intentions, for you think as you ought, and you counsel me to my gain. But I see that my words will be extending too far, if I am to reply to everything written to me by your excellency. I therefore say no more than this, that, if the blessing of peace goes no further than the mere name of peace, it is ridiculous to go on picking out here one and there another, and

allow them alone a share in the boon, while others beyond number are excluded from it. But if agreement with mischievous men, under the appearance of peace, really does the harm an enemy might do to all who consent to it, then only consider who those men are who have been admitted to their companionship, who have conceived an unrighteous hatred against me; who but men of the faction not in communion with me. There is no need now for me to mention them by name. They have been invited by them to Sebasteia; they have assumed the charge of the Church; they have performed service at the altar: they have given of their own bread to all the people, being proclaimed bishops by the clergy there, and escorted through all the district as saints and in communion. If one must adopt the faction of these men, it is absurd to begin at the extremities, and not rather to hold intercourse with those that are their heads. If then we are to count heretic and shun no one at all, why, tell the, do you separate yourself from the communion of certain persons? But if any are to be shunned, let me be told by these people who are so logically consistent in everything, to what party those belong whom they have invited over from Galatia to join them? If such things seem grievous to you, charge the separation on those who are responsible for it. If you judge them to be of no importance, forgive me for declining to be of the leaven of the teachers of wrong doctrine. Wherefore, if you will, have no more to do with those specious arguments, but with all openness confute them that do not walk aright in the truth of the Gospel.

LETTER 251

TO THE PEOPLE OF EVAESAE

1. MY occupations are very numerous, and my mind is full of many anxious cares, but I have never forgotten you, my dear friends, ever praying my God for your constancy in the fifth, wherein ye stand and have your boasting in the hope of the glory of God. Truly nowadays it is hard to find, and extraordinary to see, a Church pure, unharmed by the troubles of the times, and preserving the apostolic doctrine in all its integrity and completeness. Such is your Church shewn at this present time by Him who in every generation makes manifest them that are

worthy of His calling. May the Lord grant to you the blessings of Jerusalem which is above, in return for your flinging back at the heads of the liars their slanders against me, and your refusal to allow them entry into your hearts. I know, and am persuaded in the Lord, that “your reward is great in heaven,” even on account of this very conduct. For you have wisely concluded among yourselves, as indeed is the truth, that the men who are “ rewarding me evil for good, and hatred for my love,” are accusing me now for the very same points which they are found to have themselves confessed and subscribed.

2. Their presenting you with their own signatures for an accusation against me is not the only contradiction into which they have fallen. They were unanimously deposed by the bishops assembled at Constantinople. They refused to accept this deposition and appealed to a synod of impious men, refusing to admit the episcopacy of their judges, in order not to accept the sentence passed upon them.

The reason alleged for their non-recognition was their being leaders of wicked heresy. All this happened nearly seventeen years ago. The principal men of those who deposed them were Eudoxius, Euippius, George, Acacius, and others unknown to you.

The present tyrants of the churches are their successors, some ordained to fill their places, and others actually promoted by them.

3. Now let those who charge me with unsound doctrine tell me in what Fay the men whose deposition they refused to accept were heretical. Let them tell me in what way those promoted by them, and holding the same views as their fathers, are orthodox. If Euippius was orthodox, how can Eustathius, whom he deposed, be other than a layman? If Euippius was a heretic, how can any one ordained by him be in communion with Eustathius now? But all this conduct, this trying to accuse men and set them up again, is child’s play, got up against the Churches of God, for their own gain.

When Eustathius was traveling through Paphlagonia, he overthrew the altars of Basilides of Paphlagonia, and used to perform divine service on his own tables. Now he is begging Basilides to be admitted to communion. He refused to communicate with our reverend brother Elpidius, because of

his alliance with the Amasenes; and now he comes as a suppliant to the Amasenes, petitioning for alliance with them. Even ye yourselves know how shocking were his public utterances against Euippius: now he glorifies the holders of Euippius's opinions for their orthodoxy, if only they will cooperate in promoting his restitution. And I am all the while being calumniated, not because I am doing any wrong, but because they have imagined that they will thus be recommended to the party at Antioch. The character of those whom they sent for last year from Galatia, as being likely by their means to recover the free exercise of their episcopal powers, is only too well known to all who have lived even for a short time with them. I pray that the Lord may never allow me leisure to recount all their proceedings. I will only say that they have passed through the whole country, with the honor and attendance of bishops, escorted by their most honorable bodyguard and sympathizers; and have made a grand entry into the city, and held an assembly with all authority. The people have been given over to them. The altar has been given over to them. How they went to Nicopolis, and could do nothing there of all that they had promised, and how they came, and what appearance they presented on their return, is known to those who were on the spot. They are obviously taking every single step for their own. gain and profit. If they say that they have repented, let them shew their repentance in writing; let them anathematize the Creed of Constantinople; let them separate from the heretics; and let them no longer trick the simple-minded. So much for them and theirs.

4. I, however, brethren beloved, small and insignificant as I am, but remaining ever by God's grace the same, have never changed with the changes of the world. My creed has not varied at Seleucia, at Constantinople, at Zela, at Lampsacus, and at Rome. My present creed is not different from the former; it has remained ever one and the same. As we received from the Lord, so are we baptized; as we are baptized, so we make profession of our faith; as we make profession of our faith, so do we offer our doxology, not separating the Holy Ghost from Father and Son, nor preferring Him in honor to the Father, or asserting Him to be prior to the Son, as blasphemers' tongues invent. Who could be so rash as to reject the Lord's commandment, and boldly devise an order of his own for the Names? But I do not call the Spirit, Who is ranked with Father and Son, a creature. I do not dare to call slavish that which is royal. And I beseech

you to remember the threat uttered by the Lord in the words, “ All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.” Keep yourselves from dangerous teaching against the Spirit. “ Stand fast in the faith.” Look over all the world, and see how small the part is which is unsound. All the rest of the Church which has received the Gospel. from one end of the world to the other, abides in this sound and unperverted doctrine. From their communion I pray that I may never fall, and I pray that I may have part and lot with you in the righteous day of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He shall come to give to every one according to his conduct.

LETTER 252

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PONTIC DIOCESE

THE honors of martyrs ought to be very eagerly coveted by all who rest their hopes on the Lord, and more especially by you who seek after virtue. By your disposition towards the great and good among your fellow servants you are shewing your affection to our common Lord. Moreover, a special reason for this is to be found in the tie, as it were, of blood, which binds the life of exact discipline to those who have been made perfect through endurance. Since then Eupsychius and Damas and their company are most illustrious among martyrs, and their memory is yearly kept in our city and all the neighborhood, the Church, calling on you by my voice, reminds you to keep up your ancient custom of paying a visit. A great and good world lies before you among the people, who desire to be edified by you, and are anxious for the reward dependent on the honor paid to the martyrs. Receive, therefore, my supplications, and consent of your kindness to give at the cost of small trouble to yourselves a great boon to me.

LETTER 253

TO THE PRESBYTERS OF ANTIOCH

THE anxious care which you have for the Churches of God will to some extent be assuaged by our very dear and very reverend brother Sanctissimus the presbyter, when he has told you of the love and kindness felt for us by all the West. But, on the other hand, it will be roused afresh and made yet keener, when he has told you in person what zeal is demanded by the present position of affairs. All other authorities have told us, as it were, by halves, the minds of men in the West, and the condition of things there. He is very competent to understand men's minds, and to make exact enquiry into the condition of affairs, and he will tell you everything and will guide your good will through the whole business. You have matter before you appropriate to the excellent will which you have always shewn in your anxiety on behalf of the Churches of God.

LETTER 254

TO PELAGIUS, BISHOP OF THE SYRIAN LAODICEA

MAY the Lord grant me once again in person to behold your true piety and to supply in actual intercourse all that is wanting in my letter. I am behindhand in beginning to write and must needs make many excuses. But we have with us the well beloved and reverend brother Sanctissimus, the presbyter. He will tell you everything, both our news and the news of the West. You will be cheered by what you hear; but when he tells you of the troubles in which we are involved he will perhaps add some distress and anxiety to that which already besets your kindly soul. Yet it is not to no purpose that affliction should be felt by you, able as you are to move the Lord. Your anxiety will turn to our gain, and I know that we shall receive succor from God as long as we have the aid of your prayers. Pray, too, with me for release from my anxieties, and ask for some increase in my bodily strength; then the Lord will prosper me on my way to the fulfillment of my desires and to a sight of your excellency.

LETTER 255

TO VITUS, BISHOP OF CHARRAE

WOULD that it were possible for me to write to your reverence every day! Forever since I have had experience of your affection I have had great desire to converse with you, or, if this be impossible, at least to communicate with you by letter, that I may tell you my own news and learn in what state you are. Yet we have not what we wish but what the Lord gives, and this we ought to receive with gratitude. I have therefore thanked the holy God for giving me an opportunity for writing to your reverence on the arrival of our very well beloved and reverend brother Sanctissimus, the presbyter. He has had considerable trouble in accomplishing his journey, and will tell you with accuracy all that he has learnt in the West. For all these things we ought to thank the Lord and to beseech Him to give us too the same peace and that we may freely receive one another. Receive all the brethren in Christ in my name.

LETTER 256

TO THE VERY WELL BELOVED AND REVEREND BRETHREN THE PRESBYTERS ACACIUS, AETIUS, PAULUS, AND SILVANUS; THE DEACONS SILVINUS AND LUCIUS, AND THE REST OF THE BRETHREN THE MONKS, BASIL, THE BISHOP

NEWS has reached me of the severe persecution carried on against you, and how directly after Easter the men who fast for strife and debate attacked your homes, and gave your labors to the flames, preparing for you indeed a house in the heavens, not made with hands. but for themselves laying up in store the fire which they had used to your hurt. I no sooner heard of this than I groaned over what had happened; pitying not you, my brethren, (God forbid!) but the men who are so sunk in wickedness as to carry their evil deeds to such an extent. I expected you all to hurry at once to the refuge prepared for you in my humble self; and I hoped that the Lord would give me refreshment in the midst of my continual troubles in embracing you, and in receiving on this inactive body of mine the noble sweat which you are dropping for the truth’s sake, and so having some

share in the prizes laid tip for you by the Judge of truth. But this did not enter into year minds, and you did not even expect any relief at my hands. I was therefore at least anxious to find frequent opportunities of writing to you, to the end that like those who cheer on combatants in the arena, I might myself by letter give you some encouragement in your good fight. For two reasons, however, I have not found this easy. In the first place, I did not know where you were residing. And, secondly, but few of our people travel in your direction. Now the Lord has brought us the very well beloved and reverend brother Sanctissimus, the presbyter. By him I am able to salute you, and I beseech you to pray for me, rejoicing and exulting that your reward is great in heaven, and that you have freedom with the Lord to cease not day and night calling on Him to put an end to this storm of the Churches; to grant the shepherds to their flocks, and that the Church may return to her proper dignity. I am persuaded that if a voice be found to move our good God, He will not make His mercy afar off, but will now "with the temptation make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." Salute all the brethren in Christ in any name.

LETTER 257

TO THE MONKS HARASSED BY THE ARIANS

1. I HAVE thought it only right to announce to you by letter how I said to myself, when I heard of the trials brought upon you by the enemies of God, that in a time reckoned a time of peace you have won for yourselves the blessings promised to all who suffer persecution for the sake of the name of Christ. In my judgment the war that is waged against us by our fellow countrymen is the hardest to bear, because against open and declared enemies it is easy to defend ourselves, while we are necessarily at the mercy of those who are associated with us, and are thus exposed to continual danger. This has been your case. Our fathers were persecuted, but by idolaters their substance was plundered, their houses were overthrown, they themselves were driven into exile, by our open enemies. for Christ's name's sake. The persecutors who have lately appeared, hate us no less than they, but, to the deceiving of many, they put forward the name of Christ, that the persecuted may be robbed of all comfort from its confession, because the majority of simpler folk, while admitting that we

are being wronged, are unwilling to reckon our death for the truth's sake to be martyrdom. I am therefore persuaded that the reward in store for you from the righteous Judge is yet greater than that bestowed on those former martyrs. They indeed both had the public praise of men, and received the reward of God; to you, though your good deeds are not less, no honors are given by the people. It is only fair that the requital in store for you in the world to come should be far greater.

2. I exhort you, therefore, not to faint in your afflictions, but to be revived by God's love, and to add daily to your zeal. knowing that in you ought to be preserved that remnant of true religion which the Lord will find when He cometh on the earth. Even if bishops are driven from their Churches, be not dismayed. If traitors have arisen from among the very clergy themselves, let not this undermine your confidence in God. We are saved not by names, but by mind and purpose, and genuine love toward our Creator. Bethink you how in the attack against our Lord, high priests and scribes and elders devised the plot, and how few of the people were found really receiving the word. Remember that it is not the multitude who are being saved, but the elect of God. Be not then affrighted at the great multitude of the people who are carried hither and thither by winds like the waters of the sea. If but one be saved, like Lot at Sodom, he ought to abide in right judgment, keeping his hope in Christ unshaken, for the Lord will not forsake His holy ones. Salute all the brethren in Christ from me. Pray earnestly for my miserable soul.

LETTER 258

TO EPIPHANIUS THE BISHOP

1. It has long been expected that, in accordance with the prediction of our Lord, because of iniquity abounding, the love of the majority would wax cold. Now experience has confirmed this expectation. But though this condition of things has already obtained among us here, it seems to be contradicted by the letter brought from your holiness. For verily it is no mere ordinary proof of love, first that you should remember an unworthy and insignificant person like myself; and secondly, that you should send to visit me brethren who are fit and proper ministers of a correspondence of

peace. For now, when every man is viewing every one else with suspicion, no spectacle is rarer than that which you are presenting. Nowhere is pity to be seen; nowhere sympathy; nowhere a brotherly tear for a brother in distress. Not persecutions for the truth's sake, not Churches with all their people in tears; not this great tale of troubles closing round us, are enough to stir us to anxiety for the welfare of one another. We jump on them that are fallen; we scratch and tear at wounded places; we who are supposed to agree with one another launch the curses that are uttered by the heretics; men who are in agreement on the most important matters are wholly severed from one another on some one single point. How, then, can I do otherwise than admire him who in such circumstances shews that his love to his neighbor is pure and guileless, and, though separated from me by so great a distance of sea and land, gives my soul all the care he can?

2. I have been specially struck with admiration at your having been distressed even by the dispute of the monks on the Mount of Olives, and at your expressing a wish that some means might be found of reconciling them to one another. I have further been glad to hear that you have not been unaware of the unfortunate steps, taken by certain persons, which have caused disturbance among the brethren, and that you have keenly interested yourself even in these matters. But I have deemed it hardly worthy of your wisdom that you should entrust the rectification of matters of such importance to me: for I am not guided by the grace of God, because of my living in sin; I have no power of eloquence, because I have cheerfully withdrawn from vain studies; and I am not yet sufficiently versed in the doctrines of the truth. I have therefore already written to my beloved brethren at the Mount of Olives, our own Palladius, and Innocent the Italian, in answer to their letters to me, that it is impossible for me to make even the slightest addition to the Nicene Creed, except the ascription of Glory to the Holy Ghost, because our Fathers treated this point cursorily, no question having at that time arisen concerning the Spirit. As to the additions it is proposed to make to that Creed, concerning the incarnation of our Lord, I have neither tested nor accepted them, as being beyond my comprehension. I know well that, if once we begin to interfere with the simplicity of the Creed, we shall embark on interminable discussion, contradiction ever leading us on and on, and shall but disturb the souls of simpler folk by the introduction of new phrases.

3. As to the Church at Antioch (I mean that which is in agreement in the same doctrine), may the Lord grant that one day we may see it united. It is in peril of being specially open to the attacks of the enemy, who is angry with it because there the name of Christian first obtained. There heresy is divided against orthodoxy, and orthodoxy is divided against herself. My position, however, is this. The right reverend bishop Meletius was the first to speak boldly for the truth, and fought that good fight in the days of Constantine, Therefore my Church has felt strong affection towards him, for the sake of that brave and firm stand, and has held communion with him. I, therefore, by God's grace, have held him to be in communion up to this time; and, if God will, I shall continue to do so. Moreover the very blessed Pope Athanasius came from Alexandria, and was most anxious that communion should be established between Meletius and himself; but by the malice of counselors their conjunction was put off to another season. Would that this had not been so! I have never accepted communion with any one of those who have since been introduced into the see, not because I count them unworthy, but because I see no ground for the condemnation of Meletius. Nevertheless I have heard many things about the brethren, without giving heed to them, because the accused were not brought face to face with their accusers, according to that which is written, "Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and know what he doeth?" I cannot therefore at present write to them, right honorable brother, and I ought not to be forced to do so. It will be becoming to your peaceful disposition not to cause union in one direction and disunion in another, but to restore the severed member to the original union. First, then, pray; next, to the utmost of your ability, exhort, that ambition may be driven from their hearts, and that reconciliation may be effected between them both to restore strength to the Church, and to destroy the rage of our foes. It has given great comfort to my soul that, in addition to your other right and accurate statements in theology, you should acknowledge the necessity of stating that the hypostases are three. Let the brethren at Antioch be instructed by you after this manner. Indeed I am confident that they have been so instructed; for I am sure you would never have accepted communion with them unless you had carefully made sure of this point in them.

4. The Magusaeans, as you were good enough to point out to me in your other letter, are here in considerable numbers, scattered all over the country, settlers having long ago been introduced into these parts from Babylon. Their manners are peculiar, as they do not mix with other men. It is quite impossible to converse with them, inasmuch as they have been made the prey of the devil to do his will. They have no books; no instructors in doctrine. They are brought up in senseless institutions, piety being handed down from father to son. In addition to the characteristics which are open to general observation, they object to the slaying of animals as defilement, and they cause the animals they want for their own use to be slaughtered by other people. They are wild after illicit marriages; they consider fire divine, and so on. No one hitherto has told me any fables about the descent of the Magi from Abraham: they name a certain Zarnuas as the founder of their race. I have nothing more to write to your excellency about them.

LETTER 259

TO THE MONKS PALLADIUS AND INNOCENT

FROM your affection for me you ought to be able to conjecture my affection for you. I have always desired to be a herald of peace, and, when I fail in my object, I am grieved. How could it be otherwise? I cannot feel angry with any one for this reason, because I know that the blessing of peace has long ago been withdrawn from us. If the responsibility for division lies with others, may the Lord grant that those who cause dissension may cease to do so. I cannot even ask that your visits to me may be frequent. You nave therefore no reason to excuse yourselves on this score. I am well aware that men who have embraced the life of labor, and always provide with their own hands the necessities of life, cannot be long away from home; but, wherever you are, remember me, and pray for me that no cause of disturbance may dwell in my heart, and that I may be at peace with myself and with God.

LETTER 260

TO OPTIMUS THE BISHOP

1. UNDER any circumstances I should have gladly seen the good lads, on account of both a steadiness of character beyond their years, and their near relationship to your excellency, which might have led me to expect something remarkable in them. And, when I saw them approaching me with your letter, my affection towards them was doubled. But now that I have read the letter now that I have seen all the anxious care for the Church that there is in it, and the evidence it affords of your zeal in reading the divine Scriptures, I thank the Lord. And I invoke blessings on those who brought me such a letter, and, even before them, on the writer himself.

2. You have asked for a solution of that famous passage which is everywhere interpreted in different senses, “Whosoever slayeth Cain will exact vengeance for seven sins.” Your question shews that you have yourself carefully observed the charge of Paul to Timothy, for you are obviously attentive to your reading. You have moreover roused me, old man that I am, dull alike from age and bodily infirmity, and from the many afflictions which have been stirred up round about me and have weighed down my life. Fervent in spirit as you are yourself, you are rousing me, now benumbed like a beast in his den, to some little, wakefulness and vital energy. The passage in question may be interpreted simply and may also receive an elaborate explanation. The simpler, and one that may occur to any one off hand. is this: that Cain ought to suffer sevenfold punishment for his sins.

For it is not the part of a righteous judge to define requital on the principle of like for like, but the originator of evil mast pay his debt with addition, if he is to be made better by punishment and render other men wiser by his example. Therefore, since it is ordained that Cain pay the penalty of his sin sevenfold, he who kills him, it is said, will discharge the sentence pronounced against him by the divine judgment. This is the sense that suggests itself to us on our first reading the passage.

3. But readers, gifted with greater curiosity, are naturally inclined to probe into the question further. How, they ask, can justice be satisfied seven

times? And what are the vengeances? Are they for seven sins committed? Or is the sin committed once and are there seven punishments for the one sin? Scripture continually assigns *seven* as the number of the remission of sins. “How often,” it is asked, “shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him?” (It is Peter who is speaking to the Lord.) “Till seven times?” Then comes the Lord’s answer, “I say not unto thee, until seven times, but, until seventy times seven.” Our Lord did not vary the number, but multiplied the seven, and so fixed the limit of the forgiveness. After seven years the Hebrew used to be freed from slavery. Seven weeks of years used in old times to make the famous jubilee, in which the land rested, debts were remitted, slaves were set free, and, as it were, a new life began over again, the old life from age to age being in a sense completed at the number seven. These things are types of this present life, which revolves in seven days and passes by, wherein punishments of slighter sins are inflicted, according to the loving care of our good Lord, to save us from being delivered to punishment in the age that has no end. The expression *seven times* is therefore introduced because of its connection with this present world for men who love this world ought specially to be punished in the things for the sake of which they have chosen to live wicked lives. If you understand the *vengeances* to be for the sins committed by Cain, you will find those sins to be seven. Or if you understand them to mean the sentence passed on him by the Judge, you will not go far wrong. To take the crimes of Cain: the first sin is *envy* at the preference of Abel; the second is *guile*, whereby he said to his brother, “Let us go into the field:” the third is *murder*, a further wickedness: the fourth, *fratricide*, a still greater iniquity: the fifth that he committed the *first murder*, and set a bad example to mankind: the sixth *wrong* in that he grieved his parents: the seventh, his *lie* to God; for when he was asked, “Where is Abel thy brother?” he replied, “I know not.” Seven sins were therefore avenged in the destruction of Cain. For when the Lord said, “Cursed is the earth which has opened to receive the blood of thy brother,” and “groaning and trembling shall there be on the earth,” Cain said, “If thou castest me out today from the earth, then from thy face shall I be hid, and groaning and trembling shall I lie upon the earth, and every one that findeth me shall slay me.” It is in answer to this that the Lord says, “Whosoever slayeth Cain will discharge seven vengeances.” Cain supposed that he would be an easy prey to every one, because of there being no safety for him in the

earth (for the earth was cursed for his sake), and of his being deprived of the succor of God, Who was angry with him for the murder, and so of there being no help for him either from earth or from heaven. Therefore he said, “It shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me.” Scripture proves his error in the words, “Not so;” i.e. thou shall not be slain. For to men suffering punishment, death is a gain, because it brings relief from their pain. But thy life shall be prolonged, that thy punishment may be made commensurate with thy sins. Since then the word ἐκδικούμενον may be understood in two senses; both the sin for which vengeance was taken, and the manner of the punishment, let us now examine whether the criminal suffered a sevenfold torment.

4. The seven sins of Cain have been enumerated in what has been already said. Now I ask if the punishments inflicted on him were seven, and I state as follows. The Lord enquired ‘Where is Abel thy brother?’ not because he wished for information, but in order to give Cain an opportunity for repentance, as is proved by the words themselves, for on his denial the Lord immediately convicts him saying, “The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me.” So the enquiry, “Where is Abel thy brother?” was not made with a view to God’s information, but to give Cain an opportunity of perceiving his sin. But for God’s having visited him he might have pleaded that he was left alone and had no opportunity given him for repentance. Now the physician appeared that the patient might flee to him for help. Cain, however, not only fails to hide his sore, but makes another one in adding the lie to the murder. “I know not. Am I my brother’s keeper?” Now from this point begin to reckon the punishments. “Cursed is the ground for thy sake,” one punishment. “Thou shall till the ground.” This is the second punishment. Some secret necessity was imposed upon him forcing him to the tillage of the earth, so that it should never be permitted him to take rest when he might wish, but ever to suffer pain with the earth, his enemy, which, by polluting it with his brother’s blood, he had made accursed. “Thou shall till the ground.” Terrible punishment, to live with those that hate one, to have for a companion an enemy, an implacable foe. “Thou shall till the earth,” that is, Thou shall toil at the labors of the field, never resting, never released from thy work, day or night, bound down by secret necessity which is harder than any savage master, and continually urged on to labor. “And it shall not yield unto thee

her strength." Although the ceaseless toil had some fruit, the labor itself were no little torture to one forced never to relax it. But the toil is ceaseless, and the labors at the earth are fruitless (for "she did not yield her strength") and this fruitlessness of labor is the third punishment. "Groaning and trembling shall thou be on the earth." Here two more are added to the three; continual groaning, and tremblings of the body, the limbs being deprived of the steadiness that comes of strength. Cain had made a bad use of the strength of his body, and so its vigor was destroyed, and it tottered and shook, and it was hard for him to lift meat and drink to his mouth, for after his impious conduct, his wicked hand was no longer allowed to minister to his body's needs. Another punishment is that which Cain disclosed when he said, "*Thou hast driven me out from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid*." What is the meaning of this driving out from the face of the earth? It means deprivation of the benefits which are derived from the earth. He was not transferred to another place, but he was made a stranger to all the good things of earth. "*And from thy face shall I be hid*." The heaviest punishment for men of good heart is alienation from God. "*And it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me*." He infers this from what has gone before. If I am cast out of the earth, and hidden from thy face, it remains for me to be slain of every one. What says the Lord? *Not so*. But he put a mark upon him. This is the seventh punishment, that the punishment should not be hid, but that by a plain sign proclamation should be made to all, that this is the first doer of unholy deeds. To all who reason rightly the heaviest of punishments is shame. We have learned this also in the case of the judgments, when "some" shall rise "to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

5. Your next question is of a kindred character, concerning the words of Lamech to his wives; "*I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt: if Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and Sevenfold*." Some suppose that Cain was slain by Lamech, and that he survived to this generation that he might suffer a longer punishment. But this is not the case. Lamech evidently committed two murders, from what he says himself, "I have slain a man and a young man," the man to his wounding, and the young man to his hurt. There is a difference between wounding and hurt. And there is a difference between a man and a young

man. “If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.” It is right that I should undergo four hundred and ninety punishments, if God’s judgment on Cain was just, that his punishments should be seven. Cain had not learned to murder from another, and had never seen a murderer undergoing punishment. But I, who had before my eyes Cain groaning and trembling, and the mightiness of the wrath of God, was not made wiser by the example before me. Wherefore I deserve to suffer four hundred and ninety punishments. There are, however, some who have gone so far as the following explanation, which does not jar with the doctrine of the Church; from Cain to the flood, they say, seven generations passed by, and the punishment was brought on the whole earth, because sin was everywhere spread abroad. But the sin of Lamech requires for its cure not a Flood, but Him Who Himself takes away the sin of the world. Count the generations from Adam to the coming of Christ, and you will find, according to the genealogy of Luke, that the Lord was born in the seventy-seventh.

Thus I have investigated this point to the best of my ability, though I have passed by matters therein. that might be investigated, for fear of prolonging my observations beyond the limits of my letter. But for your intelligence little seeds are enough. “Give instruction,” it is said, “to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser.” “If a skillful man hear a wise word he will commend it, and add unto it.”

6. About the words of Simeon to Mary, there is no obscurity or variety of interpretation. “And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary His mother, Behold, this Child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against; (yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hears may he revealed.” Here I am astonished that, after passing by the previous words as requiring no explanation, you should enquire about the expression, “Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also.” To me the question, how the same child can be for the fall and rising again, and what is the sign that shall be spoken against, does not seem less perplexing than the question how a sword shall pierce through Mary’s heart.

7. My view is, that the Lord is for falling and rising again, not because some fall and others rise again, but because in us the worst falls and the

better is set up. The advent of the Lord is destructive of our bodily affections and it rouses the proper qualities of the soul. As when Paul says, “When I am weak, then I am strong,” the same man is weak and is strong, but he is weak in the flesh and strong in the spirit. Thus the Lord does not give to some occasions of falling and to others occasions of rising. Those who fall, fall from the station in which they once were, but it is plain that the faithless man never stands, but is always dragged along the ground with the serpent whom he follows. He has then nowhere to fall from, because he has already been cast down by his unbelief. Wherefore the first boon is, that he who stands in his sin should fall and die, and then should live in righteousness and rise, both of which graces our faith in Christ confers on us. Let the worse fall that the better may have opportunity to rise. If fornication fall not, chastity does not rise. Unless our unreason be crushed our reason will not come to perfection. In this sense he is for the fall and rising again of many.

8. *For a sign that shall be spoken against.* By a sign, we properly, understand in Scripture a cross. Moses, it is said, set the serpent “upon a pole.” That is upon a cross. Or else a sign is indicative of something strange and obscure seen by the simple but understood by the intelligent. There is no cessation of controversy about the Incarnation of the Lord; some asserting that he assumed a body, and others that his sojourn was bodiless; some that he had a passible body, and others that he fulfilled the bodily oeconomy by a kind of appearance. Some say that his body was earthly, some that it was heavenly; some that He pre-existed before the ages; some that He took His beginning from Mary. It is on this account that He is a sign that shall be spoken against.

9. By a sword is meant the word which tries and judges our thoughts, which pierces even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of our thoughts. Now every soul in the hour of the Passion was subjected, as it were, to a kind of searching. According to the word of the Lord it is said, “ All ye shall be offended because of me.” Simeon therefore prophesies about Mary herself, that when standing by the cross, and beholding what is being done, and hearing the voices, after the witness of Gabriel, after her secret knowledge of the divine conception, after the great exhibition of miracles, she shall feel about her soul a mighty tempest. The Lord was bound to taste of death for every

man — to become a propitiation for the world and to justify all men by His own blood. Even thou thyself, who hast been taught from on high the things concerning the Lord, shalt be reached by some doubt. This is the sword. “That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.” He indicates that after the offense at the Cross of Christ a certain swift healing shall come from the Lord to the disciples and to Mary herself, confirming their heart in faith in Him. In the same way we saw Peter, after he had been offended, holding more firmly to his faith in Christ. What was human in him was proved unsound, that the power of the Lord might be shewn.

LETTER 261

TO THE SOZOPOLITANS

I HAVE received the letter which you, right honorable brethren, have sent me concerning the circumstances in which you are placed. I thank the Lord that you have let me share in the anxiety you feel as to your attention to things needful and deserving of serious heed. But I was distressed to hear that over and above the disturbance brought on the Churches by the Arians, and the confusion caused by them in the definition of the faith, there has appeared among you yet another innovation, throwing the brotherhood into great dejection, because, as you have informed me, certain persons are uttering, in the hearing of the faithful, novel and unfamiliar doctrines which they allege to be deduced from the teaching of Scripture. You write that there are men among you who are trying to destroy the saving incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and, so far as they can, are ovesympathizethe grace of the great mystery unrevealed from everlasting, but manifested in His own times, when the Lord, when He had gone through all things pertaining to the cure of the human race, bestowed on all of us the been of His own sojourn among us. For He helped His own creation, first through the patriarchs, whose lives were set forth as examples and rules to all willing to follow the footsteps of the saints, and with zeal like theirs to reach the perfection of good works. Next for succor He gave the Law, ordaining it by angels in the hand of Moses; then the prophets, foretelling the salvation to come; judges, kings, and righteous men, doing great works, with a mighty a hand. After all these in the last

days He was Himself manifested ill the flesh, “made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.”

2. If, then, the sojourn of the Lord in flesh has never taken place, the Redeemer paid not the fine to death on our behalf, nor through Himself destroyed death’s reign. For if what was reigned over by death was not that which was assumed by the Lord death would not have ceased working his own ends, nor would the sufferings of the God-bearing flesh have been rustle our gain; He would not have killed sin in the flesh: we who had died in Adam should not have been made alive in Christ; the fallen to pieces would not have been framed again; the shattered would not have been set up again; that which by the serpent’s trick had been estranged from God would never have been made once more His own. All these boons are undone by those that assert that it was with a heavenly body that the Lord came among us. And if the God-bearing flesh was not ordained to be assumed of the lump of Adam, what need was there of the Holy Virgin? But who has the hardihood now once again to renew by the help of sophistical arguments and, of course, by scriptural evidence, that old dogma of Valentinus, now long ago silenced? For this impious doctrine of the seeming is no novelty. It was started long ago by the feeble-minded Valentinus, who, after tearing off a few of the Apostle’s statements, constructed for himself this impious fabrication, asserting that the Lord assumed the “form of a servant,” and not the servant himself, and that He was made in the “ likeness,” but that actual manhood was not assumed by Him. Similar sentiments are expressed by these men who can only be pitied for bringing new troubles upon you.

3. As to the statement that human feelings are transmitted to the actual Godhead, it is one made by men who preserve no order in their thoughts, and are ignorant that there is a distinction between the feelings of flesh, of flesh endowed with soul, and of soul using a body. It is the property of flesh to undergo division, diminution, dissolution; of flesh endowed with soul to feel weariness, pain, hunger, thirst, and to be overcome by sleep; of soul using body to feel grief, heaviness, anxiety, and such like. Of these some are natural and necessary to every living creature; others come of evil will, and are superinduced because of life’s lacking proper discipline and training for virtue. Hence it is evident that our Lord assumed the natural

affections to establish His real incarnation, and not by way of semblance of incantation, and that all the affections derived from evil that besmirch the purity of our life. He rejected as unworthy of His unsullied Godhead. It is on this account that He is said to have been “made in the likeness of flesh of sin; “ not, as these men hold, in likeness of flesh, but of flesh of sin. It follows that He took our flesh with its natural afflictions, but “ did no sin.” Just as the death which is in the flesh. transmitted to us through Adam, was swallowed up by the Godhead, so was the sin taken away by the righteousness which is in Christ Jesus, so that in the resurrection we receive back the flesh neither liable to death nor subject to sin.

These, brethren, are the mysteries of the Church; these are the traditions of the Fathers. Every man who fears the Lord, and is awaiting God’s judgment, I charge not to be carried away by various doctrines. If any one teaches a different doctrine, and refuses to accede to the sound words of the faith, rejecting the oracles of the Spirit, and making his own teaching of more authority than the lessons of the Gospels, of such an one beware. May the Lord grant that one day we may meet, so that all that my argument has let slip I may supply when we stand face to face! I have written little when there was much to say, for I did not like to go beyond my letter’s bounds. At the same time I do not doubt that to all that fear the Lord a brief reminder is enough.

LETTER 262

TO THE MONK URBICIUS

1. YOU have done well to write to me. You. have shewn how great is the fruit of charity. Continue so to do. Do not think that, when you write to me, you need offer excuses. I recognize my own position, and I know that by nature every man is of equal honor with the rest. Whatever excellence there is in me is not of family, nor of superfluous wealth, nor of physical condition; it comes only of superiority in the fear of God. What, then, hinders you from fearing the Lord yet more, and so, in this respect, being greater than I am? Write often to me, and acquaint me with the condition of the brotherhood with you. Tell me what members of the Church in your parts are sound, that I may know to whom I ought to write, and in whom I

may confide. I am told that there are some who are endeavoring to deprave the right doctrine of tire Lord's incarnation by perverse opinions, and I therefore call upon them through you to hold off from those unreasonable views, which some are reported to me to hold. I mean that God Himself was turned into flesh; that He did not assume, through the Holy Mary, the nature of Adam, but, in His own proper Godhead, was changed into a material nature.

2. This absurd position can be easily confuted. The blasphemy is its own conviction, and I therefore think that, for one who fears the Lord, the mere reminder is enough. If He was turned, then He was changed. But far be it from me to say or think such a thing, when God has declared, "I am the Lord, I change not." Moreover, how could the benefit of the incarnation be conveyed to as, unless our body, joined to the Godhead, was made superior to the dominion of death? If He was changed. He no longer constituted a proper body, such as subsisted after the combination with it of the divine body. But how, if all the nature of the Only-begotten was changed, could the incomprehensible Godhead be circumscribed within the limit of the mass of a little body? I am sure that no one who is in his senses, and has the fear of God, is suffering from this unsoundness. But the report has reached me that some of your company are afflicted with this mental infirmity, and I have therefore thought it necessary, not to send you a mere formal greeting, but to include in my letter something which may even build up the souls of them that fear the Lord. I therefore urge that these errors receive ecclesiastical correction, and that you abstain from communion with the heretics. I know that we are deprived of our liberty in Christ by indifference on these points.

LETTER 263

TO THE WESTERNS

1. MAY the Lord God, in Whom we have put our trust, give to each of you grace sufficient to enable you to realize your hope, in proportion to the joy wherewith you have filled my heart, both by the letter which you have sent me by the hands of the well-beloved fellow-presbyters, and by the sympathy which you have felt for me in my distress, like men who

have put on bowels of mercy,' as you have been described to me by the presbyters afore-mentioned. Although my wounds remain the same, nevertheless it does bring alleviation to me that I should have leeches at hand, able, should they find an opportunity, to apply rapid remedies to my hurts. Wherefore in return I salute you by our beloved friends, and exhort you, if the Lord puts it into your power to come to me, not to hesitate to visit me. For part of the greatest commandment is the visitation of the sick. But if the good God and wise Dispenser of our lives reserves this boon for another season, at all events write to me whatever it is proper for you to write for the consolation of the oppressed and the lifting up of those that are crushed down. Already the Church has suffered many severe blows, and great has been my affliction at them. Nowhere is there expectation of succor unless the Lord sends us a remedy by you who are his true servants.

2. The bold and shameless heresy of the Arians, after being publicly cut off from the body of the Church, still abides in its own error, and does not do us much harm because its impiety is notorious to all. Nevertheless men clad in sheep's clothing, and presenting a mild and amiable appearance, but within unsparingly ravaging Christ's flocks, find it easy to do hurt to the simpler ones, because they came out from us. It is these who are grievous and hard to guard against. It is these that we implore your diligence to denounce publicly to all the Churches of the East; to the end that they may either turn to the right way and join with us in genuine alliance, or, if they abide in their perversity, may keep their mischief to themselves alone, and be unable to communicate their own plague to their neighbors by unguarded communion. I am constrained to mention them by name, in order that you may yourselves recognize those who are stirring up disturbance here, and may make them known to our Churches. My own words are suspected by most men, as though I had an ill will towards them on account of some private quarrel. You, however, have all the more credit with the people, in proportion to the distance that separates your home from theirs, besides the fact that you are gifted with God's grace to help those who are distressed. If more of you concur in uttering the same opinions, it is clear that the number of those who have expressed them will make it impossible to oppose their acceptance.

3. One of those who have caused me great sorrow is Eustathius of Sebasteia in Lesser Armenia; formerly a disciple of Arius, and a follower of him at the tithe when he flourished in Alexandria, and concocted his infamous blasphemies against the Only-begotten, he was numbered among his most faithful disciples. On his return to his own country he submitted a confession of the sound faith to Hermogenes, the very blessed Bishop of Caesarea, who was on the point of condemning him for false doctrine. Under these circumstances he was ordained by Hermogenes, and, on the death of that bishop, hastened to Eusebius of Constantinople, who himself yielded to none in the energy of his support of the impious doctrine of Arius. From Constantinople he was expelled for some reason or another, returned to his own country and a second time made his defense, attempting to conceal his impious sentiments and cloaking them under a certain verbal orthodoxy. He no sooner obtained the rank of bishop than he straightway appeared writing an anathema on the Homoousion in the Arians' synod at Ancyra. From thence he went to Seleucia and took part in the notorious measures of his fellow heretics. At Constantinople he assented a second time to the propositions of the heretics. On being ejected from his episcopate, on the ground of his former deposition at Melitine, he hit upon a journey to you as a means of restitution for himself. What propositions were made to him by the blessed bishop Liberius, and to what he agreed, I am ignorant. I only know that he brought a letter restoring him, which he shewed to the synod at Tyana, and was restored to his see. He is now defaming the very creed for which he was received; he is consorting with those who are anathematizing the Homoousion, and is prime leader of the heresy of the pneumatomachi. As it is from the west that he derives his power to injure the Churches, and uses the authority given him by you to the overthrow of the many, it is necessary that his correction should come from the same quarter, and that a letter be sent to the Churches stating on what terms he was received, and in what manner he has changed his conduct and nullifies the favor given him by the Father's at that time.

4. Next comes Apollinarius, who is no less a cause of sorrow to the Churches. With his facility of writing, and a tongue ready to argue on any subject, he has filled the world with his works, in disregard of the advice of him who said, "Beware of making many books." In their multitude there

are certainly many errors. How is it possible to avoid sin in a multitude of words? And the theological works of Apollinarius are founded on Scriptural proof, but are based on a human origin. He has written about the resurrection, from a mythical, or rather Jewish, point of view; urging that we shall return again to the worship of the Law, be circumcised, keep the Sabbath, abstain from meats, offer sacrifices to God, worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, and be altogether turned from Christians into Jews. What could be more ridiculous? Or, rather, what could be more contrary to the doctrines of the Gospel? Then, further, he has made such confusion among the brethren about the incarnation, that few of his readers preserve the old mark of true religion; but the more part, in their eagerness for novelty, have been diverted into investigations and quarrelsome discussions of his unprofitable treatises.

5. As to whether there is anything objectionable about the conversation of Paulinus, you can say yourselves. What distresses me is that he should shew an inclination for the doctrine of Marcellus, and unreservedly admit his followers to communion. You know, most honorable brethren, that the reversal of all our hope is involved in the doctrine of Marcellus, for it does not confess the Son in His proper hypostasis, but represents Him as having been sent forth, and as having again returned to Him from Whom He came; neither does it admit that the Paraclete has His own subsistence. It follows that no one could be wrong in declaring this heresy to be all at variance with Christianity, and in styling it a corrupt Judaism. Of these things I implore you to take due heed. This will be the case if you will consent to write to all the Churches of the East that those who have perverted these doctrines are in communion with you, if they amend; but that if they contentiously determine to abide by their innovations, you are separated from them. I am myself well aware, that it had been fitting for me to treat of these matters, sitting in synod with you in common deliberation. But this the time does not allow. Delay is dangerous, for the mischief they have caused has taken root. I have therefore been constrained to dispatch these brethren, that you may learn from them all that has been omitted in my letter, and that they may rouse you to afford the succor which we pray for to the Churches of the East.

LETTER 264

TO BARSES, BISHOP OF EDESSA, IN EXILE

TO Barses the bishop, truly God-beloved and worthy of all reverence and honor, Basil sends greeting in the Lord. As my dear brother Domninus is setting out to you, I gladly seize the opportunity of writing, and I greet you by him, praying the holy God that we may be so long preserved in this life as to be permitted to see you, and to enjoy the good gifts which you possess. Only pray, I beseech you, that the Lord may not deliver us for aye to the enemies of the Cross of Christ, but that He will keep His Churches, until the time of that peace which the just Judge Himself knows when He will bestow. For He will bestow it. He will not always abandon us. As He limited seventy years for the period of captivity for the Israelites in punishment for their sins, so peradventure the Mighty One, after giving us up for some appointed time, will recall us once again, and will restore us to the peace of the beginning — unless indeed the apostasy is now nigh at hand, and the events that have lately happened are the beginnings of the approach of Antichrist. If this be so, pray that the good Lord will either take away our afflictions, or preserve us through our afflictions unvanquished. Through you I greet all those who have been thought worthy to be associated with you. All who are with me salute your reverence. May you, by the grace of the Holy One, be preserved to the Church of God in good health, trusting in the Lord, and praying for me.

LETTER 265

TO EULOGIUS, ALEXANDER, AND HARPOCRATION, BISHOPS OF EGYPT, IN EXILE

1. IN all things we find that the providence exercised by our good God over His Churches is mighty, and that thus the very things which seem to be gloomy, and do not turn out as we should like, are ordained for the advantage of most, in the hidden wisdom of God, and in the unsearchable judgments of His righteousness. Now the Lord has removed you from the regions of Egypt, and has brought you and established you in the midst of

Palestine, after the manner of Israel of old, whom He carried away by captivity into the land of the Assyrians, and there extinguished idolatry through the sojourn of His saints. Now too we find the same thing, when we observe that the Lord is making known your struggle for the sake of true religion, opening to you through your exile the arena of your blessed contests, and to all who see before them your noble constancy, giving the boon of your good example to lead them to salvation. By God's grace, I have heard of the correctness of your faith, and of your zeal for the brethren and that it is in no careless or perfunctory spirit that you provide what is profitable and necessary for salvation, and that you support all that conduces to the edification of the Churches. I have therefore thought it right that I should be brought into communion with your goodness, and be united to your reverences by letter. For these reasons I have sent my very dear brother the deacon Elpidius, who not only conveys my letter, but is moreover fully qualified to announce to you whatever may have been omitted in my letter.

2. I have been specially moved to desire union with you by the report of the zeal of your reverences in the cause of orthodoxy. The constancy of your hearts has been stirred neither by multiplicity of books nor by variety of ingenious arguments. You have on the contrary, recognized those who endeavored to introduce innovations in opposition to the apostolic doctrines, and you have refused to keep silence concerning the mischief which they are causing. I have in truth found great distress among all who cleave to the peace of the Lord at the divers innovations of Apollinarius of Laodicea. He has all the more distressed me from the fact that he seemed at the beginning on our side. A sufferer can in a certain sense endure what comes to him from an open enemy, even though it be exceedingly painful, as it is written, "For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could bare borne it." But it is intolerable, and beyond the power of comfort, to be wronged by a close and sympathetic friend. Now that very man whom I have expected to have at my right hand in defense of the truth, I have found in many ways hindering those who are being saved, by seducing their minds and drawing them away from direct doctrine. What rash and hasty deed has he not done? What ill considered and dangerous argument has he not risked? Is not all the Church divided against herself, specially since the day when men have been sent

by him to the Churches governed by orthodox bishops, to rend them asunder and to set up some peculiar and illegal service? Is not ridicule brought upon the great mystery of true religion when bishops go about without people and clergy, having nothing but the mere name and title, and effecting nothing for the advancement of the Gospel of peace and salvation? Are not his discourses about God full of impious doctrines, the old impiety of the insane Sabellius being now renewed by him in his writings? For if the works which are current among the Sebastenes are not the forgery of foes, and are really his composition, he has reached a height of impiety which cannot be surpassed, in saying that Father, Son, and Spirit are the same, and other dark pieces of irreverence which I have declined even to hear, praying that I may have nothing to do with those who have uttered them. Does he not confuse the doctrine of the incarnation? Has not the oeconomy of salvation been made doubtful to the many on account of his dark and cloudy speculations about it? To collect them all, and refute them, requires long time and much discussion. But where have the promises of the Gospel been blunted and destroyed as by his figments? So meanly and poorly has he dared to explain the blessed hope laid up for all who live according to the Gospel of Christ, as to reduce it to mere old wives' fables and doctrines of Jews. He proclaims the renewal of the Temple, the observance of the worship of the Law, a typical high priest over again after the real High Priest, and a sacrifice for sins after the Lamb of God Who taketh away the sin of the world. He preaches partial baptisms after the one baptism, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the Church which, through its faith in Christ, has not spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; cleansing of leprosy after the painless state of the resurrection; an offering of jealousy when they neither marry nor are given in marriage; shew-bread after the Bread from heaven; burning lamps after the true Light. In a word, if the law of the Commandments has been done away with by dogmas, it is plain that under these circumstances the dogmas of Christ will be nullified by the injunctions of the law. At these things shame and disgrace have covered my face, and heavy grief hath filled my heart. Wherefore, I beseech you, as skillful physicians, and instructed how to discipline antagonists with gentleness, to try and bring him back to the right order of the Church, and to persuade him to despise the wordiness of his own works; for he has proved the truth of the proverb "in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin" Put boldly before him

the doctrines of orthodoxy, in order that his amendment may be published abroad, and his repentance made known to his brethren.

3. It is also desirable that I should remind your reverence about the followers of Marcellus, in order that you may decide nothing in their case rashly or inconsiderately. On account of his impious doctrines he has gone out from the Church. It is therefore necessary that his followers should only be received into communion on condition that they anathematize that heresy, in order that those who are united to me through you may he accepted by all the brethren. And now most men are moved to no small grief on hearing that you have both received them and admitted them to ecclesiastical communion on their coming to your excellency. Nevertheless you ought to have known that by God's grace you do not stand alone in the East, but have many in communion with you, who vindicate the orthodoxy of the Fathers, and who put forth the pious doctrine of the Faith at Nicaea. The Westerns also all agree with you and with me, whose exposition of the Faith I have received and keep with me, assenting to their sound doctrine. You ought, then, to have satisfied all who are in agreement with you, that the action which is being taken may he ratified by the general consent, and that peace may not be broken by the acceptance of some while others are kept apart. Thus you ought to have at the same time seriously and gently taken counsel about matters which are of importance to all the Churches throughout the world. Praise is not due to him who hastily determines any point, but rather to him who rules every detail firmly and unalterably, so that when his judgment is enquired into, even at a later time, it may be the more esteemed. This is the man who is acceptable both to God and man as one who guides his words with discretion. Thus I have addressed your reverence in such terms as are possible in a letter. May the Lord grant that one day we may meet, that so, after arranging everything together with you for the government of the Churches, I may with you receive the reward prepared by the righteous Judge for faithful and wise stewards. In the mean time he so good as to let me know with what intention you have received the followers of Marcellus, knowing this, that even if you secure everything, so far as you yourselves are concerned, you ought not to deal with a matter of such importance on your own sole responsibility. It is further necessary that

the Westerns, and those who are in communion with them in the East, should concur in the restoration of these men.

LETTER 266

TO PETRUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

1. YOU have very properly rebuked me, and in a manner becoming a spiritual brother who has been taught genuine love by the Lord, because I am not giving you exact and detailed information of all that is going on here, for it is both your part to be interested in what concerns me, and mine to tell you all that concerns myself. But I must tell you, right honorable and well-beloved brother, that our continuous afflictions, and this mighty agitation which is now shaking the Churches, result in my talking all that is happening as a matter of coarse. Just as in smithies where men whose ears are deafened get accustomed to the sound, so by the frequency of the strange tidings that reach me I have now grown accustomed to be undisturbed and undismayed at extraordinary events. So the policy which has been for a long time pursued by the Arians to the detriment of the Church, although their achievements have been many and great and noised abroad through all the world, has nevertheless been endurable to me, because of their being the work of open foes and enemies of the word of truth. It is when these men do something unusual that I am astonished, not when they attempt something great and audacious against true religion. But I am grieved and troubled at what is being done by men who feel and think with me. Yet their doings are so frequent and so constantly reported to me, that even they do not appear surprising. So it comes about that I was not agitated at the recent disorderly proceedings, partly because I knew perfectly well that common report would carry them to you without my help, and partly because I preferred to wait for somebody else to give you disagreeable news. And yet, further, I did not think it reasonable that I should show indignation at such proceedings, as though I were annoyed at suffering a slight. To the actual agents in the matter I have written in becoming terms, exhorting them, because of the dissension arising among some of the brethren there, not to fall away from charity, but to wait for the matter to be set right by those who have authority to remedy disorders in due ecclesiastical form. That you should

have so acted, stirred by honorable and becoming motives, calls for my commendation, and moves my gratitude to the Lord that there remains preserved in you a relic of the ancient discipline, and that the Church has not lost her own might in my persecution. The canons have not suffered persecution as well as I. Though importuned again by the Galatians, I was never able to give them an answer, because I waited for your decision. Now, if the Lord so will and they will consent to listen to me, I hope that I shall be able to bring the people to the Church. It cannot then be cast in my teeth that I have gone over to the Marcellians, and they on the contrary will become limbs of the body of the Church of Christ. Thus the disgrace caused by heresy will be made to disappear by the method I adopt, and I shall escape the opprobrium of having gone over to them.

2. I have also been grieved by our brother Dorotheus, because, as he has himself written, he has not gently and mildly reported everything to your excellency. I set this down to the difficulty of the times. I seem to be deprived by my sins of all success in my undertakings, if indeed the best of my brethren are proved ill-disposed and incompetent, by their failure to perform their duties in accordance with my wishes. On his return Dorotheus reported to me the conversation which he had had with your excellency in the presence of the very venerable bishop Damasus, and he caused me distress by saying that our God-beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Meletius and Eusebius, had been reckoned among the Ariomaniacs. If their orthodoxy were established by nothing else, the attacks made upon them by the Arians are, to the minds of all right thinking people, no small proof of their rectitude. Even your participation with them in sufferings endured for Christ’s sake ought to unite your reverence to them in love. Be assured of this, right honorable sir, that there is no word of orthodoxy which has not been proclaimed by these men with all boldness. God is my witness. I have heard them myself. I should not certainly have now admitted them to communion, if I had caught them tripping in the faith. But, if it seem good to you, let us leave the past alone. Let us make a peaceful start for the future. For we have need one of another in the fellowship of the members, and specially now, when the Churches of the East are looking to us, and will take your agreement as a pledge of strength and consolidation. If, on the other hand, they perceive

that you are in a state of mutual suspicion, they will drop their hands, and slacken in their resistance to the enemies of the faith.

LETTER 267

TO BARSES, BISHOP OF EDESSA, IN EXILE

FOR the sake of the affection which I entertain for you, I long to be with you, to embrace you, my dear friend, in person, and to glorify the Lord Who is magnified in you, and has made your honorable old age renowned among all them that fear Him throughout the world. But severe sickness afflicts me, and to a greater degree than I can express in words, I am weighed down by the care of the Churches. I am not my own master, to go whither I will, and to visit whom I will. Therefore I am trying to satisfy the longing I have for the good gifts in you by writing to you, and I beseech your reverence to pray for me and for the Church, that the Lord may grant to me to pass the remaining days or hours of my sojourn here without offense. May He permit me to see the peace of His Churches. Of your fellow-ministers and fellow-athletes may I hear all that I pray for, and of yourself that you are granted such a lot as the people under you seek for by day and by night from the Lord of righteousness. I have not written often, not even so often as I ought, but I have written to your reverence. Possibly the brethren to whom I committed my greetings were not able to preserve them. But now that I have found some of my brethren traveling to your excellency, I have readily entrusted my letter to them, and I have sent some messages which I beg you to receive from my humility without disdain, and to bless me after the manner of the patriarch Isaac. I have been much occupied, and have had my mind drowned in a multiplicity of cares. So it may well be that I have omitted something which I ought to have said. If so, do not reckon it against me; and do not be grieved. Act in all things up to your own high character, that I, like every one else, may enjoy the fruit of your virtue. May you be granted to me and to the Church, in good health, rejoicing in the Lord, praying for me.

LETTER 268

TO EUSEBIUS, IN EXILE

EVEN in our time the Lord has taught us, by protecting with His great and powerful hand the life of your holiness, that He does not abandon His holy ones. I reckon your case to be almost like that of the saint remaining unhurt in the belly of the monster of the deep, or that of the men who feared the Lord, living unscathed in the fierce fire. For though the war is round about you on every side, He, as I hear, has kept you unharmed. May the mighty God keep you, if I live longer, to fulfill my earnest prayer that I may see you! If not for me, may He keep you for the rest, who wait for your return as they might for their own salvation. I am persuaded that the Lord in His loving-kindness will give heed to the tears of the Churches, and to the sighs which all are heaving over you, and will preserve you in life until He grant the prayer of all who night and day are praying to Him. Of all the measures taken against you, up to the arrival of our beloved brother Libanius the deacon, I have been sufficiently informed by him while on his way. I am anxious to learn what happened afterwards. I hear that in the meanwhile still greater troubles have occurred where you are; about all this, sooner if possible, but, if not, at least by our reverend brother Paul the presbyter, on his return, may I learn, as I pray that I may, that your life is preserved safe and sound. But on account of the report that all the roads are infested with thieves and deserters,report that all the roads are infested with thieves and deserters, I have been afraid to entrust anything to the brother’s keeping, for fear of causing his death. If the Lord grant a little quiet, (as I am told of the coming of the army), I will try to send you one of my own men, to visit you, to bring me back news of everything about you.

LETTER 269

TO THE WIFE OF ARIATHAEUS, THE GENERAL CONSOLATORY

1. IT had been only proper, and due to your affection, that I should have been on the spot, and have taken part in the present occurrences. Thus I

might have at once assuaged my own sorrow, and given some consolation to your excellency. But my body will no longer endure long journeys, and so I am driven to approach you by letter, that I seem not to count what has happened as altogether of no interest to me. Who has not mourned for that man? Who is so stony of heart as not to have shed a warm tear over him? I especially have been filled with mourning at the thought of all the marks of respect which I have received from him, and of the general protection which he has extended to the Churches of God. Nevertheless, I have bethought me that he was human, and had done the work he had to do in this life, and now in the appointed time has been taken back again by God Who ordains our lots. All this, I beseech you, in your wisdom, to take to heart, and to meet the event with meekness, and, so far as is possible, to endure your loss with moderation. Time may be able to soothe your heart, and allow the approach of reason. At the same time your great love for your husband, and year goodness to all, lead me to fear that, from the very simplicity of your character, the wound of your grief may pierce you deeply, and that you may give yourself up entirely to your feelings. The teaching of Scripture is always useful, and specially at times like this. Remember, then, the son, the passed by our Creator. By it all we who are dust shall return to dust. No one is so great as to be superior to dissolution.

2. Your admirable husband was a good and great man, and his bodily strength rivaled the virtues of his soul. He was unsurpassed, I must own, in both respects. But he was human, and he is dead; like Adam. like Abel, like Noah, like Abraham, like Moses, or any one else of like nature that you can name. Let us not then complain because he has been taken from us. Let us rather thank Him, who joined us to him, that we dwelt with him from the beginning. To lose a husband is a lot which you share with other women; but to have been united to such a husband is a boast which I do not think any other woman can make. In truth our Creator fashioned that man for us as a model of what human nature ought to be. All eyes were attracted towards him, and every tongue told of his deeds. Painters and sculptors fell short of his excellence, and historians, when they tell the story of his achievements in war, seem to fall into the region of the mythical and the incredible. Thus it has come about that most men have not even been able to give credit to the report conveying the sad tidings, or

to accept the truth of the news that Arinthaeus is dead. Nevertheless Arinthaeus has suffered what will happen to heaven and to sun and to earth. He has died a bright death; not bowed down by old age; without losing one whir of his honor; great in this life; great in the life to come; deprived of nothing of his present splendor in view of the glory hoped for, because he washed away all the stain of his soul, in the very moment of his departure hence, in the layer of regeneration. That you should have arranged and joined in this rite is cause of supreme consolation. Turn now your thoughts from the present to the future, that you may be worthy through good works to obtain a place of rest like his. Spare an aged mother; spare a tender daughter, to whom you are now the sole comfort. Be an example of fortitude to other women, and so regulate your grief that you may neither eject it from your heart, nor be overwhelmed by your distress. Ever keep your eyes fixed on the great reward of patience, promised, as the requital of the deeds of this life, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

LETTER 270

WITHOUT ADDRESS. CONCERNING

I AM distressed to find that you are by no means indignant at the sins forbidden, and that you seem incapable of understanding, how this *raptus*, which has been committed, is an act of unlawfulness and tyranny against society and human nature, and an outrage on free men. I am sure that if you had all been of one mind in this matter, there would have been nothing to prevent this bad custom from being long ago driven out of your country. Do thou at the present time shew the zeal of a Christian man, and be moved as the wrong deserves. Wherever you find the girl, insist on taking her away, and restore her to her parents, shut out the man from the prayers, and make him excommunicate. His accomplices, according to the canon which I have already put forth, cut off, with all their household, from the prayers. The village which received the girl after the abduction, and kept her, or even fought against her restitution, shut out with all its inhabitants from the prayers; to the end that all may know that we regard

the ravisher as a common foe, like a snake or any other wild beast, and so hunt him out, and help those whom he has wronged.

LETTER 271

TO EUSEBIUS, MY COMRADE, TO RECOMMEND CYRIACUS THE PRESBYTER

AT once and in haste, after your departure, I came to the town. Why need I tell a man not needing to be told, because he knows by experience, how distressed I was not to find you? How delightful it would have been to me to see once more the excellent Eusebius, to embrace him, to travel once again in memory to our young days, and to be reminded of old times when for both of us there was one home, one hearth, the same schoolmaster, the same leisure, the same work, the same treats, the same hardships, and everything shared in common! What do you think I would not have given to recall all this by actually meeting you, to rid me of the heavy weight of my old age, and to seem to be turned from an old man into a lad again? But I have lost this pleasure. At least of the privilege of meeting your excellency in correspondence, and of consoling myself by the best means at my disposal, I am not deprived. I am so fortunate as to meet the very reverend presbyter Cyriacus. I am ashamed to recommend him to you, and to make him, through me, your own, lest I seem to be performing a superfluous task in offering to you what you already possess and value as your own. But it is my duty to witness to the truth, and to give the best boons I have to those who are spiritually united to me. I think that the man’s blamelessness in: his sacred position is well known to you; but I confirm it, for I do not know that any charge is brought against him by those who do not fear the Lord and are laying their hands upon all. Even if they had done anything of the kind, the man would not have been unworthy, for the enemies of the Lord rather vindicate the orders of those whom they attack than deprive them of any of the grace given them by the Spirit. However, as I said, nothing has even been thought of against the man. Be so good then as to look upon him as a blameless presbyter, in union with me, and worthy of all reverence. Thus will you benefit yourself and gratify me.

LETTER 272

TO SOPHRONIUS THE MAGISTER OFFICIORUM

1. It has been reported to me by Actiacus the deacon, that certain men have moved you to anger against me, by falsely stating me to be ill-disposed towards your excellency. I cannot be astonished at a man in your position being followed by certain sycophants. High position seems to be in some way naturally attended by miserable hangers-on of this kind. Destitute as they are of any good quality of their own whereby they may be known, they endeavor to recommend themselves by means of other people's ills. Peradventure, just as mildew is a blight which grows in corn, so flattery stealing upon friendship is a blight of friendship. So, as I said, I am by no means astonished that these men should buzz about your bright and distinguished hearth, as drones do about the hives. But what has moved my wonderment, and has seemed altogether astounding, is that a man like yourself, specially distinguished by the seriousness of your character, should have been induced to give both your ears to these people and to accept their calumny against me. From my youth up to this my old age I have felt affection for many men, but I am not aware that I have ever felt greater affection for any one than for your excellency. Even had not my reason induced me to regard a man of such a character, our intimacy from boyhood would have sufficed to attach me to your soul. You know yourself how much custom has to do with friendship. Pardon my deficiency, if I can show nothing worthy of this preference. You will not ask some deed from me in proof of my good will; you will be satisfied with a temper of mind which assuredly prays for you that you may have all that is best. May your fortunes never fall so low, as that you should need the aid of any one so insignificant as myself!

2. How then was I likely to say anything against you, or to take any action in the matter of Memnonius? These points were reported to me by the deacon. How could I put the wealth of Hymetius before the friendship of one so prodigal of his substance as you are? There is no truth in any of these things. I have neither said nor done anything against you. Possibly some ground may have been given for some of the lies that are being told, by my remarking to some of those who are causing disturbance, "If the

man has determined to accomplish what he has in mind, then, whether you make disturbance or not, what he means to be done will certainly be done. You will speak, or hold your tongues; it will make no difference. If he changes his mind, beware how you defame my friend's honorable name. Do not, under the pretense of zeal in your patron's cause, attempt to make some personal profit out of your attempts to threaten and alarm." As to that person's making his will. I have never said one word, great or small, directly or indirectly, about the matter.

3. You must not refuse to believe what I say, unless you regard me as quite a desperate character, who thinks nothing of the great sin of lying. Put away all suspicion of me in relation to the business, and for the future reckon my affection for you as beyond the reach of all calumny. Imitate Alexander, who received a letter, saying that his physician was plotting his death, at the very moment when he was just about to drink his medicine, and was so far from believing the slanderer that he at one and the same time read the letter and drank the drought. I refuse to admit that I am in any way inferior to the men who have been famous for their friendship, for I have never been detected in any breach of mine; and, besides this, I have received from my God. the commandment of love, and owe you love not only as part of mankind in general, but because I recognize you individually as a benefactor both of my country and of myself.

LETTER 273

WITHOUT ADDRESS. CONCERNING HERA

I AM sure that your excellency loves me well enough to regard all that concerns me as concerning you. Therefore I commend to your great kindness and high consideration my very reverend brother Hera, whom I do not merely call brother by any conventional phrase, but because of his boundless affection. I beseech you to regard him as though he were nearly connected with yourself, and, so far as you can, to give him your protection in the matters in which he requires your generous and thoughtful aid. I shall then have this one more kindness to reckon in addition to the many which I have already received at your hands.

LETTER 274

TO HIMERIUS, THE MASTER

THAT my friendship and affection for the very reverend brother Hera began when I was quite a boy, and has, by God's grace, continued up to my old age, no one knows better than yourself. For the Lord granted me the affection of your excellency at about the same time that He allowed me to become acquainted with Hera. He now needs your patronage, and I therefore beseech and supplicate you to do a favor for the sake of our old affection, and to heed the necessity under which we now lie. I beg you to make his cause your own, that he may need no other protection, but may return to me, successful in all that be is praying for. Then to the many kindnesses which I have received at your hands I shall be able to add yet this one more. I could not claim any favor more important to myself, or one more nearly touching my own interests.

LETTER 275

WITHOUT ADDRESS. CONCERNING HERA

YOU have anticipated my entreaties in your affection for my very reverend brother Hera, and you have been better to him than I could have prayed for you to be in the abundant honor which you have shewn him, and the protection which you have extended to him on every occasion. But I cannot allow his affairs to go unnoticed by a word, and I must beseech your excellency that for my sake you will add something to the interest you have shewn in him, and will send him back to his own country victorious over the revilings of his enemies. Now many are trying to insult the peacefulness of his life, and he is not beyond the reach of envy's shafts. Against his foes we shall find one sure means of safety, if you will consent to extend your protection over him.

LETTER 276

TO THE GREAT HARMATIUS

THE common law of human nature makes elders fathers to youngsters, and the special peculiar law of us Christians puts us old men in the place of parents to the younger. Do not, then, think that I am impertinent or shew myself indefensibly meddlesome, if I plead with you on behalf of your son. In other respects I think it only right that you should exact obedience from him; for, so far as his body is concerned, he is subject to you, both by the law of nature, and by the civil law under which we live. His soul, however, is derived from a diviner source, and may properly be held to be subject to another authority. The debts which it owes to God have a higher claim than any others. Since, then, he has preferred the God of us Christians, the true God, to your many gods which are worshipped by the help of material symbols, be not angry with him. Rather admire his noble firmness of soul, in sacrificing the fear and respect due to his father to close conjunction with God, through true knowledge and a life of virtue. Nature herself will move you, as well as your invariable gentleness and kindliness of disposition, not to allow yourself to feel angry with him even to a small extent. And I am sure that you will not set my mediation at naught, — or rather, I should say, the mediation of your townsmen of which I am the exponent. They all love you so well, and pray so earnestly for all blessings for you, that they suppose that in you they have welcomed a Christian too. So overjoyed have they been at the report which has suddenly reached the town.

LETTER 277

TO THE LEARNED MAXIMUS

THE excellent Theotecnus has given mean account of your highness, whereby he has inspired me with a longing for your acquaintance, so clearly do his words delineate the character of your mind. He has enkindled in me so ardent an affection for you, that were it not that I am weighed down with age, that I am the victim of a congenital ailment, that I

am bound hand and foot by the numberless cares of the Church, nothing would have hindered my coming to you. For indeed it is no small gain that a member of a great house, a man of illustrious lineage, in adopting the life of the gospel, should bridle the propensities of youth by reflection, and subject to reason the affections of the flesh; should display a humility consistent with his Christian profession, bethinking himself, as is his duty, whence he is come and whither he is going. For it is this consideration of our nature that reduces the swelling of the mind, and banishes all boastfulness and arrogance. In a word it renders one a disciple of our Lord, Who said, “Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.” And in truth, very dear son, the only thing that deserves our exertions and praises is our everlasting welfare; and this is the honor that comes from God.

Human affairs are fainter than a shadow; more deceitful than a dream. Youth fades more quickly than the flowers of spring; our beauty wastes with age or sickness. Riches are uncertain; glory is fickle. The pursuit of arts and sciences is bounded by the present life; the charm of eloquence, which all covet, reaches but the ear: whereas the practice of virtue is a precious possession for its owner, a delightful spectacle for all who witness it. Make this your study; so will you be worthy of the good things promised by the Lord.

But a recital of the means whereby to make the acquisition, and secure the enjoyment of these blessings, lies beyond the intention of this present letter. Thus much however, after what I heard from my brother Theotecnus, it occurred to me to write to you. I pray that he may always speak the truth, especially in his accounts of you; that the Lord may be the more glorified in you, abounding as you do in the most precious fruits of piety, although derived from a foreign root.

LETTER 278

TO VALERIANUS

I DESIRED, when in Orphanene, to see your excellency; I had also hoped that while you were living at Corsagaena, there would have been nothing to hinder your coming to me at a synod which I had expected to hold at Attagaena; since, however, I failed to hold it, my desire was to see you in

the bill-country; for here again Evesus, being in that neighborhood, held out hopes of our meeting. But since I have been disappointed on both occasions, I determined to write and beg that you would deign to visit me; for I think it is but right and proper that the young man should come to the old. Furthermore, at our meeting, I would make you a tender of my advice, touching your negotiations with certain at Caesarea: a right conclusion of the matter calls for my intervention. If agreeable then, do not be backward in coming to me.

LETTER 279

TO MODESTUS THE PREFECT

ALTHOUGH so numerous are my letters, conveyed to your excellency by as many bearers, yet, having regard to the especial honor you have shewn me, I cannot think that their large number causes you any annoyance.

I do not hesitate therefore to entrust to this brother the accompanying letter: I know that he will meet with all that he wishes, and that you will count me hut as a benefactor in furnishing occasion for the gratification of your kind inclinations. He craves your advocacy. His cause be will explain in person, if you but deign to regard him with a favorable eye, and embolden him to speak freely in the presence of so august an authority. Accept my assurance that any kindness shewn to him, I shall regard as personal to myself. His special reason for leaving Tyana and coming to me was the high value he attached to the presentation of a letter written by myself in support of his application. That he may not be disappointed of his hope; that I may continue in the enjoyment of your consideration; that your interest in all that is good may, in this present matter, find scope for its full exercised are the grounds on which I crave a gracious reception for him, and a place amongst those nearest to you.

LETTER 280

TO MODESTUS THE PREFECT

I FEEL my boldness in pressing my suit by letter upon a man in your position; still the honor that you have paid me in the past has banished all my scruples. Accordingly I write with confidence.

My plea is for a relative of mine, a man worthy of respect for his integrity. He is the bearer of this letter, and he stands to me in the place of a son. Your favor is all that he requires for the fulfillment of his wishes. Deign therefore to receive, at the hands of the aforesaid bearer, my letter in furtherance of his plea. I pray you to give him an opportunity of explaining his affairs at an interview with those in a position to help him. So by your direction shall he quickly obtain his desires; while I shall have occasion for boasting that by God's favor I have found a champion who regards the entreaties of my friends as personal claims to his protection.

LETTER 281

TO MODESTUS THE PREFECT

I AM mindful of the great honor I received in the encouragement you gave me, along with others, to address your excellency. I avail myself of the privilege and the enjoyment of your gracious favor.

I congratulate myself upon having such a correspondent, as also upon the opportunity afforded your excellency of conferring an honor on me by your reply.

I claim your clemency on behalf of Helladius my special friend. I pray that he may be relieved from the anxieties of TAX assessor, and so be enabled to work in the interests of our country.

You have already so far given a gracious consent, that I now repeat my request, and pray you to send instructions to the governor of the Province, that Helladius may be released from this infliction.

LETTER 282

TO A BISHOP

YOU blame me for not inviting you; and, when invited, you do not attend. That your former excuse was an empty one is clear from your conduct on the second occasion. For had you been invited before, in all probability you would never have come.

Act not again unadvisedly, but obey this present invitation; since you know that its repetition strengthens an indictment, and that a second lends credibility to a previous accusation.

I exhort you always to bear with me; or even if you cannot, at any rate it is your duty not to neglect the Martyrs, to join in whose commemoration you are invited. Render therefore your service to us both; or if you will not consent to this, at any rate to the more worthy.

LETTER 283

TO A WIDOW

I HOPE to find a suitable day for the conference, after those which I intend to fix for the hill-country. I see no opportunity for our meeting (unless the Lord so order it beyond my expectation), other than at a public conference.

You may imagine my position from your own experience. If in the care of a single household you are beset with such a crowd of anxieties, how many distractions, think you, each day brings to me?

Your dream, I think, reveals more perfectly the necessity of making provision for spiritual contemplation, and cultivating that mental vision by which God is wont to be seen. Enjoying as you do the consolation of the Holy Scriptures, you stand in need neither of my assistance nor of that of anybody else to help you to comprehend your duty. You have the all-sufficient counsel and guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead you to what is right.

LETTER 284

TO THE ASSESSOR IN THE CASE OF MONKS

CONCERNING the monks, your excellency has, I believe, already rules in force, so that I need ask for no special favor on their behalf.

It is enough that they share with others the enjoyment of your general beneficence; still I feel it incumbent upon me too to interest myself in their case. I therefore submit it to your more perfect judgment, that men who have long since taken leave of this life, who have mortified their own bodies, so that they have neither money to spend nor bodily service to render in the interests of the common weal, should be exempted from taxation. For if their lives are consistent with their profession, they possess neither money nor bodies; for the former is spent in communicating to the needy; while their bodies are worn away in prayer and fasting.

Men living such lives you will, I know, regard with special reverence; nay you will wish to secure their intervention, since by their life in the Gospel they are able to prevail with God.

LETTER 285

WITHOUT ADDRESS

THE bearer of this letter is one on whom rests the care of our Church and the management of its property — our beloved son.

Deign to grant him freedom of speech on those points that are referred to year holiness, and attention to the expression of his own views; so shall our Church at length recover herself, and henceforth be released from this many-headed Hydra.

Our property is our poverty; so much so that we are ever in search of one to relieve us of it; for the expenses of the Church property amount to more than any profit that she derives from it.

LETTER 286

TO THE COMMENTARIENSIS

WHEREAS certain vagabonds have been arrested in the church for stealing, in defiance of God's commandment, some poor men's clothing, of little value otherwise, yet such as they had rather have on than off their backs; and whereas you consider that in virtue of your office you yourself should have the custody of the offenders: — I hereby declare, that I would have you know that for offenses committed in the church it is our business to mete out punishment, and that the intervention of the civil authorities is in these cases superfluous. Wherefore, the stolen property, as set forth in the document in your possession and in the transcript made in the presence of eyewitnesses, I enjoin you to retain, reserving part for future claims, and distributing the rest among the present applicants.

As for the offenders, — that they be corrected in the discipline and admonition of the Lord. By this means I hope to work their successive reformations. For where the stripes of human tribunals have failed, I have often known the fearful judgments of God to be effectual. If it is, however, your wish to refer this matter also to the count, such is my confidence in his justice and uprightness that I leave you to follow your own counsels.

LETTER 287

WITHOUT ADDRESS

IT is difficult to deal with this man. I scarcely know how to treat so shifty, and, to judge from the evidence, so desperate a character. When summoned before the court, he fails to appear; and if he does attend, he is gifted with such volubility of words and oaths, that I think myself well off to be quickly rid of him. I have often known him twist round his accusations upon his accusers. In a word, there is no creature living upon earth so subtle and versatile in villainy. A slight acquaintance with him suffices to prove this. Why then do you appeal to me? Why not at once bring yourselves to submit to his ill-treatment, as to a visitation of God's anger?

At the same time you must not be contaminated by contact with wickedness.

I enjoin therefore that he and all his household be forbidden the services of the Church, and all other communion with her ministers. Being thus made an example of, he may haply be brought to a sense of his enormities.

LETTER 288.

WITHOUT ADDRESS. EXCOMMUNICATORY

WHEN public punishment fails to bring a man to his senses, or exclusion from the prayers of the Church to drive him to repentance, it only remains to treat him in accordance with our Lord's directions — as it is written, " If thy brother shall trespass against thee....tell him his fault between thee and him;... if he will not hear thee, take with 'thee another;" "and if he shall" then " neglect to hear, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear even the Church, let him be unto thee henceforth as an heathen man, and as a publican." Now all this we have done in the case of this fellow. First, he was accused of his fault; then he was convicted in the presence of one or two witnesses; thirdly, in the presence of the Church. Thus we have made our solemn protest, and he has not listened to it. Henceforth let him be excommunicated.

Further, let proclamation be made throughout the district, that he be excluded from participation in any of the ordinary relations of life; so that by our withholding ourselves from all intercourse with him he may become altogether food for the devil.

LETTER 289

WITHOUT ADDRESS. CONCERNING AN AFFLICTED WOMAN

I CONSIDER it an equal mistake, to let the guilty go unpunished, and to exceed the proper limits of punishment. I accordingly passed upon this man the sentence I considered it incumbent on me to pass — ex-communication from the Church. The sufferer I exhorted not to avenge

herself; but to leave to God the redressing of her wrongs. Thus if my admonitions had possessed any weight, I should then have been obeyed, for the language I employed was far more likely to ensure credit, than any letter to enforce compliance.

So, even after listening to her statements that contained matter sufficiently grave, I still held my peace; and even now I am not sure that it becomes me to treat again of this same question.

For, she says, I have foregone husband, children, all (he enjoyments of life, for the attainment of this single object, the favor of God, and good repute amongst men. Yet one day the offender, an adept from boyhood in corrupting families, with the impudence habitual to him, forced an entrance into my house; and thus within the bare limits of an interview an acquaintanceship was formed. It was only owing to my ignorance of the man, and to that timidity which comes from inexperience, that I hesitated openly to turn him out of doors. Yet to such a pitch of impiety and insolence did he come, that he filled the whole city with slanders, and publicly inveighed against me by affixing to the church doors libelous placards. For this conduct, it is true, he incurred the displeasure of the law: but, nevertheless, he returned to his slanderous attacks on me. Once more the market-place was filled with his abuse, as well as the gymnasia, theatres, and houses whose congeniality of habits gained him an admittance. Nor did his very extravagance lead men to recognize those virtues wherein I was conspicuous, so universally had I been represented as being of an incontinent disposition. In these calumnies, she goes on to say, some find a delight — such is the pleasure men naturally feel in the disparagement of others; some profess to be pained, but shew no sympathy; others believe the truth of these slanders; others again, having regard to the persistency of his oaths, are undecided. But sympathy I have none. And now indeed I begin to realize my loneliness, and bewail myself. I have no brother, friend, relation, no servant, bond or free, in a word, no one whatever to share my grief. And yet, I think, I am more than any one else an object of pity, in a city where the haters of wickedness are so few. They bandy violence; but violence, though they fail to see it, moves in a circle, and in time will overtake each one of them.

In such and still more appealing terms she told her tale, with countless tears, and so departed. Nor did she altogether acquit me of blame; thinking that, when I ought to sympathise with her like a father, I am indifferent to her troubles, and regard the sufferings of others too philosophically.

For it is not, she urged, the loss of money that you bid me disregard; nor the endurance of bodily sufferings; but a damaged reputation, an injury involving loss upon the Church at large.

This is her appeal; and now I pray you, most excellent sir, consider what answer you would have me make her. The decision I have come to in my own mind is, not to surrender offenders to the magistrates; yet not to rescue those already in their custody, since it has long ago been declared by the Apostle, that the magistrates should be a terror to them in their evil-doings; for, it is said, “he beareth not the sword in vain.” To surrender him, then, is contrary to my humanity; while to release him would be an encouragement to his violence.

Perhaps, however, you will defer taking action until my arrival. I will then shew you that I can effect nothing from there being none to obey me.

LETTER 290

TO NECTARIUS

MAY many blessings rest on those who encourage your excellency in maintaining a constant correspondence with me! And regard not such a wish as conventional merely, but as expressing my sincere conviction of the value of your utterances. Whom could I honor above Nectarius — known to me from his earliest days as a child of fairest promise, who now through the exercise of every virtue has reached a position of the highest eminence? — So much so, that of all my friends the dearest is the bearer of your letter.

Touching the election of those set over districts, God forbid that I should do anything for the gratification of man, through listening to importunities or yielding to fear. In that case I should be not a steward. but a huckster, battering the gift of God for the favor of man. But seeing that votes are given but by mortals, who can only bear such testimony as they do from

outward appearances, while the choice of fit persons is committed in all humility to Him Who knows the secrets of the heart, haply it is best for everybody, when he has tendered the evidence of his vote, to abstain from all heat and contention, as though some self-interest were involved in the testimony, and to pray to God that what is advantageous may not remain unknown. Thus the result is no longer attributable to man, but a cause for thankfulness to God. For these things, if they be of man, cannot be said to be; but are pretense only, altogether void of reality.

Consider also, that when a man strives with might and main to gain his end, there is no small danger of his drawing even sinners to his side; and there is much sinfulness, such is the weakness of man's nature, even where we should least expect it.

Again, in private consultation we often offer our friends good advice, and, though we do not find them taking it, yet we are not angry. Where then it is not man that counsels, but God that determines, shall we feel indignation at not being preferred before the determination of God?

And if these things were given to man by man, what need were there for us to ask them of ourselves? Were it not better for each to take them from himself? But if they are the gift of God, we ought to pray and not to grieve. And in our prayer we should not seek our own will, but leave it to God who disposes for the best.

Now may the holy God keep from your home all taste of sorrow; and grant to you and to your family a life exempt from harm and sickness.

LETTER 291

TO TIMOTHEUS THE CHOREPISCOPUS

THE due limits of a letter, and that mode of addressing you, render it inconvenient for me to write all I think; at the same time to pass over my thoughts in silence, when my heart is burning with righteous indignation against you, is well-nigh impossible. I will adopt the midway course: I will write some things; others I will omit. For I wish to chide you, if so I may, in terms both flank and friendly.

Yes! that Timotheus whom I have known from boyhood, so intent upon an upright and ascetic life, as even to be accused of excess therein, now forsakes the enquiry after those means whereby we may be united to God; now makes it his first thought what some one else may think of him, and lives a life of dependence upon the opinions of others; is mainly anxious how to serve his friends, without incurring the ridicule of enemies; and fears disgrace with the world as a great misfortune. Does he not know, that while he is occupied with these trifles he is unconsciously neglecting his highest interests? For, that we cannot be engaged with both at once — the things of this world and of Heaven — the holy Scriptures are full of teaching for us. Nay, Nature herself is full of such instances. In the exercise of the mental faculty, to think two thoughts at the same time is quite impossible. In the perceptions of our senses, to admit two sounds falling upon our ears at the same moment, and to distinguish them, although we are provided with two open passages, is impossible. Our eyes, again, unless they are both fixed upon the object of our vision, are unable to perform their action accurately.

Thus much for Nature; but to recite to you the evidence of the Scriptures were as ridiculous as, so runs the proverb, ‘to carry owls to Athens.’ Why then combine things incompatible — the tumults of civil life and the practice of religion?

Withdraw from clamor; be no more the cause or object of annoyance; let us keep ourselves to ourselves. We long since proposed religion as our aim; let us make the attainment of it our practice, and shew those who have the wish to insult us that it does not lie with them to annoy us at their will. But this will only be when we have clearly shewn them that we afford no handle for abuse.

For the present enough of this! Would that some day we might meet and more perfectly consider those things that be for our souls’ welfare; so may we not be too much occupied with thoughts of vanity, since death mast one day overtake us.

I was greatly pleased with the gifts you kindly sent me. They were most welcome on their own account; the thought of who it was that sent them made them many times more welcome. The gifts from Pontus, the tablets

and medicines, kindly accept when I send them. At present they are not by me.

N.B. The letters numbered 292.-366. are included by the Ben. Ed. in a “Classis Tertia,” having no note of time. Some are doubtful, and some plainly spurious. Of these I include such as seem most important.

LETTER 292

TO PALLADIUS

THE one-half of my desire has God fulfilled in the interview He granted me with our fair sister, your wife. The other half He is able to accomplish; and so with the sight of your excellency I shall render my full thanks to God.

And I am the more desirous of seeing you, now that I hear you have been adorned with that great ornament, the clothing of immortality, which cloaks our mortality, and puts out of sight the death of the flesh; by virtue of which the corruptible is swallowed up in incorruption.

Thus God of His goodness has now alienated you from sin, united you to Himself, has opened the doors of Heaven, and pointed out the paths that lead to heavenly bliss. I entreat you therefore by that wisdom wherein you excel all other men, that you receive the divine favor circumspectly, proving a faithful guardian of this treasure, as the repository of this royal gift, keeping watch over it with all carefulness. Preserve this seal of righteousness unsullied, that so you may stand before God, shining in the brightness of the Saints. Let no spot or wrinkle defile the pure robe of immortality; but keep holiness in all your members, as having put on Christ. “For,” it is said, “ as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.” Wherefore let all your members be holy as becomes their investment in a raiment of holiness and light.

LETTER 293

TO JULIANUS

HOW fare you this long while? Have you altogether recovered the use of your hand? And how do other things prosper? According to your wishes and my prayers? In accordance with your purposes?

Where men are readily disposed to change, it is only natural that their lives are not well ordered: but where their minds are fixed, steadfast and unalterable, it follows that their lives should be conformable to their purposes.

True, it is not in the helmsman's power to make a calm when he wishes; but with us. it is quite easy to render our lives tranquil by stilling the storms of passion that surge within, by rising superior to those that assail us from without. The upright man is touched by neither loss, nor sickness, nor the other ills of life; for he walks in heart with God. keeps his gaze fixed upon the future, and easily and lightly weathers the storms that rise from earth.

Be not troubled with the cares of earth. Such men are like fat birds, in vain endowed with flight, that creep like beasts upon the ground. But you — for I have witnessed you in difficulties — are like swimmers racing out at sea.

A single claw reveals the whole lion: so from a slight acquaintance I think I know you fully. And I count it a great thing, that you set some store by me, that I am not absent from your thoughts, but constantly in your recollection.

Now writing is a proof of recollection; and the oftener you write, the better pleased I am.

LETTER 294.

TO FESTUS AND MAGNUS

It is doubtless a father's duty to make provision for his children; a husbandman's to tend his plants and crops; a teacher's to bestow care upon his pupils, especially when, innate goodness shews signs of promise for them.

The husbandman finds toil a pleasure when he sees the ears ripen or the plants increase; the teacher is gladdened at his pupils' growth in knowledge, the father at his son's in stature. But greater is the care I feel for you; higher the hopes I entertain; in proportion as piety is more excellent than all the arts, than all the animals and fruits together.

And piety I planted in your heart while still pure and tender, and I matured it in the hopes of seeing it reach maturity and bearing fruits in due season. My prayers meanwhile were furthered by your love of learning. And you know well that you have my good wishes, and that God's favor rests upon your endeavors; for when rightly directed, called or uncalled, God is at hand to further them.

Now every man that loves God is prone to teaching; nay, where there is the power to teach things profitable, their eagerness is well nigh uncontrollable; but first their hearers' minds must be cleared of all resistance.

Not that separation in the body is a hindrance to instruction. The Creator, in the fullness of His love and wisdom, did not confine our minds within our bodies, nor the power of speaking to our tongues. Ability to profit derives some advantage even from lapse of time; thus we are able to transmit instruction, not only to those who are dwelling far away, but even to those who are hereafter to be born. And experience proves my words: those who lived many years before teach posterity by instruction preserved in their writings; and we, though so far separated in the body, are always near in thought, and converse together with ease.

Instruction is bounded neither by sea nor land, if only we have a care for our souls' profit.

LETTER 295

TO MONKS

I DO not think that I need further commend you to God's grace, after the words that I addressed to you in person. I then bade you adopt the life in common, after the manner of living of the Apostles. This you accepted as wholesome instruction, and gave God thanks for it.

Thus your conduct was due, not so much to the words I spoke, as to my instructions to put them into practice, conducive at once to your advantage who accepted, to my comfort who gave you the advice, and to the glory and praise of Christ, by Whose name we are called.

For this reason I have sent to you our well-beloved brother, that he may learn of your zeal, may quicken your sloth, may report to me of opposition. For great is my desire to see you all united in one body, and to hear that you are not content to live a life without witness; but have undertaken to be both watchful of each other's diligence, and witnesses of each other's success.

Thus will each of you receive a reward in full, not only on his own behalf, but also for his brother's progress. And, as is fitting, you will be a source of mutual profit, both by your words and deeds, as a result of constant intercourse and exhortation.

But above all I exhort you to be mindful of the faith of the Fathers, and not to be shaken by those who in your retirement would try to wrest you from it. For you know that unless illumined by faith in God, strictness of life availeth nothing; nor will a right confession of faith, if void of good works, be able to present you before the Lord.

Faith and works must be joined: so shall the man of God be perfect, and his life not halt through any imperfection.

For the faith which saves us, as saith the Apostle, is that which worketh by love.

LETTER 296

TO A WIDOW

[A short letter in which Basil excuses himself for making use of the widow's mules.]

LETTER 297

TO A WIDOW

[A short letter of introduction.]

LETTER 298

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[A short letter of commendation.]

LETTER 299.

TO A CENSITOR

I WAS aware, before you told me, that you do not like your employment in public affairs. It is an old saying that those who are anxious to lead a pious life do not throw themselves with pleasure into office. The case of magistrates seems to me like that of physicians. They see awful sights; they meet with bad smells; they get trouble for themselves out of other people's calamities. This is at least the case with those who are real magistrates. All men who are engaged in business, look also to make a profit, and are excited about this kind of glory, count it the greatest possible advantage to acquire some power and influence by which they may be able to benefit their friends, punish their enemies, and get what they want for themselves. You are not a man of this kind. How should

you be? You have voluntarily withdrawn from even high office in the State. You might have ruled the city like one single house, but you have preferred a life free from care and anxiety. You have placed a higher value on having no troubles yourself and not troubling other people, than other people do on making themselves disagreeable. But it has seemed good to the Lord that the district of Ibora should not be under the power of hucksters, nor be turned into a mere slave market. It is His will that every individual in it should be enrolled, as is right. Do you therefore accept this responsibility? It is vexatious, I know, but it is one which may bring you the approbation of God. Neither fawn upon the great and powerful, nor despise the poor and needy. Show to all under your rule an impartiality of mind, balanced more exactly than any scales. Thus in the sight of those who have entrusted you with these responsibilities your zeal for justice will be made evident, and they will view you with exceptional admiration. And even though you go unnoticed by them, you will not be unnoticed by our God. The prizes which He has put before us for good works are great.

LETTER 300.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[A consolatory letter to a father.]

LETTER 301

TO MAXIMUS

[Consolatory on the death of his wife.]

LETTER 302

TO THE WIFE OF BRISO

[Consolatory on the death of her husband. These three consolatory letters present no features different from those contained in previous letters of a similar character.]

LETTER 303

TO THE COMES PRIVATARUM

YOU have, I think, been led to impose a contribution of mares on these people by false information on the part of the inhabitants. What is going on is quite unfair. It cannot but be displeasing to your excellency, and is distressing to me on account of my intimate connection with the victims of the wrong. I have therefore lost no time in begging year Lordship not to allow these promoters of iniquity to succeed in their malevolence.

LETTER 304

TO ABURGIUS

[A few unimportant words of introduction.]

LETTER 305

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[An unimportant letter of recommendation.]

LETTER 306

TO THE GOVERNOR OF SEBASTEIA

I AM aware that your excellency is favorably receiving my letters, and I understand why. You love all that is good; you are ready in doing kindnesses. So whenever I give you the opportunity of shewing your magnanimity, you are eager for my letters, because you know that they furnish an occasion for good deeds. Now, once more, behold an occasion for your shewing all the signs of rectitude, and at the same time for the public exhibition of your virtues! Certain persons have come from Alexandria for the discharge of a necessary duty which is due from all men to the dead. They ask your excellency to give orders that it may be

permitted them to have conveyed away, under official sanction, the corpse of a relative who departed this life at Sebasteia, while the troops were quartered there. They further beg that, as far as possible, aid may be given them for traveling at the public expense, so that, of your bounty, they may find some help and solace in their long journey. The tidings of this will travel as far as to great Alexandria. and will convey thither the report of your excellency's astonishing kindness. This you well understand without my mentioning it. I shall add gratitude for this one more favor to that which I feel for all which you have done me.

LETTER 307

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[A request to mediate between two litigants.]

LETTER 308

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory, with the mention of a place called Capralis.]

LETTER 309

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory on behalf of a man reduced from wealth to poverty, with three children, and anxious about his rating.]

LETTER 310.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory on behalf of some kinsfolk, and of the people of Ariarathia, a place in the Sargaransene, about 60 m. E. of Caesarea.]

LETTER 311

[Commendatory: short and of no importance.]

LETTER 312

[Commendatory: short and unimportant.]

LETTER 313

[Commendatory of the interests of Sulpicius.]

LETTER 314

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory.]

LETTER 315

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory of a widow.]

LETTERS 316., 317., 318., 319.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Commendatory; short.]

LETTER 320

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[A salutation.]

LETTER 321

TO THECLA

[Included among the Letters of Gregory of Nazianzus, who is assumed by the Ben. Ed. to be indubitably the writer.]

LETTER 322

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Asking a friend to come with his wife and spend Easter with him.]

LETTER 323

TO PHILAGRIUS ARCENUS

LETTER 324.

To Pasinicus, the Physician.

LETTER 325

TO MAGNINIANUS

LETTER 326

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[MONITORY.]LETTER 327.

WITHOUT ADDRESS

[Hortatory.]

LETTER 328

TO HYPERECTIUS

[On Basil's health.]

LETTER 329

TO PHALIRIUS

[WITH thanks for a present of fish.]

LETTERS 330., 331., 332., 333.

[All short and without address.

Letters from 332 to 333. have no importance.]

LETTER 334

TO A WRITER

WRITE straight, and make the lines straight. Do not let your hand go too high or too low. Avoid forcing the pen to travel slantwise, like Aesop's crab. Advance straight on, as if following the line of the carpenter's rule, which always preserves exactitude and prevents any irregularity. The oblique is ungraceful. It is the straight which pleases the eye, and does not allow the reader's eyes to go nodding up and down like a swing-beam. This has been my fate in reading your writing. As the lines lie ladderwise, I was obliged, when I had to go from one to another, to mount up to the end of the last: then, when no connection was to be found, I bad to go back, and seek for the right order again, retreating and following the furrow, like Theseus in the story following Ariadne's thread. Write straight, and do not confuse our mind by your slanting and irregular writing.

LETTER 335

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

I AM really ashamed of sending you the Cappadocians out by one. I should prefer to induce all our youths to devote themselves to letters and learning, and to avail themselves of your instruction in their training. But it is impracticable to get hold of them all at once, while they choose what suits themselves. I therefore send you those who from time to time are won over; and this I do with the assurance that I am conferring on them a boon as great as that which is given by those who bring thirsty men to the fountain. The lad, whom I am now sending, will be highly valued for his own sake when he has been in your society. He is already well known on account of his father, who has won a name among us both for rectitude of life and for authority in our community. He is, moreover, a close friend of my own. To requite him for his friendship to me, I am conferring on his son the benefit of an introduction to you — a boon well worthy of being earnestly prayed for by all who are competent to judge of a man's high character.

LETTER 336

LIBANIUS TO BASILIUS

1. AFTER some little time a young Cappadocian has reached me. One gain to me is that he is a Cappadocian. But this Cappadocian is one of the first rank. This is another gain. Further, he brings me a letter from the admirable Basil. This is the greatest gain of all. You think that I have forgotten you. I had great respect for you in your youth. I saw you vying with old men in self-restraint, and this in a city teeming with pleasures. I saw you already in possession of considerable learning. Then you thought that you ought also to see Athens, and you persuaded Celsus to accompany you. Happy Celsus, to be dear to you! Then you returned, and lived at home, and I said to myself, What, I wonder, is Basil about now? To what occupation has he betaken himself? Is he following the ancient orators, and practicing in the courts? Or is he turning the sons of fortunate fathers into orators? Then there came those who reported to me that you were adopting a course of life better than any of these, and were, rather, bethinking you how you might win the friendship of God than heaps of gold, I blessed both you and the Cappadocians; you, for making this your aim; them, for being able to point to so noble a fellow-countryman.

2. I am aware that the Firmus, whom yet mention, has continually won everywhere; hence his great power as a speaker. But with all the eulogies that have been bestowed on him, I am not aware that he has ever received such praise as I have heard of in your letter. For what a credit it is to him, that it should be you who declare that his reputation is inferior to none!

Apparently, you have despatched this young man to me before seeing Firminus; had you done so, your letters would not have failed to mention him. What is Firminus now doing or intending to do? Is he still anxious to be married? Or is all that over now? Are the claims of the senate heavy on him? Is he obliged to stay where he is? Is there any hope of his taking to study again? Let him send me an answer, and I trust it may be satisfactory. If it be a distressing one, at least it will relieve him from seeing me at his door. And if Firminus had been now at Athens, what would your senators have done? Would they have sent the Salaminia after

him? You see that it is only by your fellow-countrymen that I am wronged. Yet I shall never cease to love and praise the Cappadocians. I should like them to be better disposed to me, but, if they continue to act as they do, I shall bear it. Firminus was four months with me, and was not a day idle. You will know how much he has acquired, and perhaps will not complain. As to his being able to come here again, what ally can I call in? If your senators are right-minded, as men of education ought to be, they will honor me in the second case, since they grieved me in the first.

LETTER 337.

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

LO and behold, yet another Cappadocian has come to you; a son of my own! Yet my present position makes all men my sons. On this ground he may be regarded as a brother of the former one, and worthy of the same attention alike from me his father, and from you his instructor — if really it is possible for these young men, who come from me, to obtain any further favors. I do not mean that it is not possible for your excellency to give anything more to your old comrades, but because year services are so lavishly bestowed upon all. It will be sufficient for the lad before he gets experience if he be numbered among those who are intimately known to you. I trust you may send him back to me worthy of my prayers and of your great reputation in learning and eloquence. He is accompanied by a young man of his own age, and of like zeal for instruction; a youth of good family, and closely associated with myself. I am sure be will be in every way as well treated, though his means are smaller than is the case with the rest.

LETTER 338

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

I KNOW you will often write, “Here is another Cappadocian for you!” I expect that you will send me many. I am sure that you are everywhere putting pressure on both fathers and sons by all your complimentary

expressions about me. But it would not be kind on my part not to mention what happened about your good letter. There were sitting with me not a few of our people of distinction, and among them the very excellent Alypius, Hierocles' cousin. The messengers gave in the letter. I read it right through without a word; then with a smile, and evidently gratified, I exclaimed, "I am vanquished!" "How? When? Where?" they asked. " How is it that you are not distressed at being vanquished?" " I am beaten," I replied, "in beautiful letter writing. Basil has won. But I love him; and so I am delighted." On hearing this, they all wanted to bear of the victory from the letter itself. It was read by Alypius, while all listened. It was voted that what I had said was quite true. Then the reader went out, with the letter still in his hand, to shew it, I suppose, to others. I had some difficulty in getting it back. Go on writing others like it; go on winning. This is for me to win. You are quite right in thinking that my services are not measured by money. Enough for him who has nothing to give, that he is as wishful to receive. If I perceive any one who is poor to be a lover of learning, he takes precedence of the rich. True, I never found such instructors; but nothing shall stand in the way of my being, at least in that respect, an improvement on mine. Let no one, then, hesitate to come hither because he is poor, if only he possesses the one qualification of knowing how to work.

LETTER 339

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

WHAT could not a sophist say? And such a sophist! One whose peculiar art is, whenever he likes, to make great things small, and to give greatness to small things! This is what you have shewn in my case. That dirty little letter of mine, as, perhaps, you who live in all luxury of eloquence would call it, a letter in no way more tolerable than the one you hold in your hands now you have so extolled as, forsooth, 'to be eaten by it, and to be yielding me the prize for composition! You are acting much as fathers do, when they join in their boys' games, and let the little fellows be proud of the victories which they have let them win without any loss to themselves, and with much gain to the children's emulation. Really and truly the delight your speech must have given, when you were joking

about me, must have been indescribable! It is as though some Polydamas or Milo were to decline the pancratium or a wrestling bout with me! After carefully examining, I have found no sign of weakness. So those who look for exaggeration are the more astonished at your being able to descend in sport to my level, than if you had led the barbarian in full sail over Athos. I, however, my dear sir, am now spending my time with Moses and Elias, and saints like them, who tell me their stories in a barbarous tongue, and I utter what I learnt from them, true, indeed, in sense, though rude in phrase, as what I am writing testifies. If ever I learned anything from you, I have forgotten it in the course of time. But do you continue to write to me, and so suggest other topics for correspondence. Your letter will exhibit you, and will not convict me. I have already introduced to you the son of Anysius, as a son of my own. If he is my son, he is the child of his father, poor, and a poor man's son. What I am saying is well known to who is wise as well as a sophist.

LETTER 340

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

HAD you been for a long time considering how best you could reply to my letter about yours, you could not in my judgment have acquitted yourself better than by writing as you have written now. You call me a sophist, and you allege that it is a sophist's business to make small things great and great things small. And you maintain that the object of my letter was to prove yours a good one, when it was not a good one, and that it was no better than the one which you have sent last, and, in a word that you have no power of expression, the books which you have now in hand producing no such effect, and the eloquence which you once possessed having all disappeared. Now, in the endeavor to prove this, you have made this epistle too, which you are reviling, so admirable, that my visitors could not refrain from leaping with admiration as it was being read. I was astonished that after your trying to run down the former one by this, by saying that the former one was like it, you have really complimented the former by it. To carry out your object, you ought to have made this one worse, that you might slander the former. But it is not like you, I think, to do despite to the truth. It would have been done despite to, if you had

purposely written badly, and not put out the powers you have. It would be characteristic of you not to find fault with what is worthy of praise, lest in your attempt to make great things insignificant, your proceedings reduce you to the rank of the sophists. Keep to the books which you say are inferior in style, though better in sense. No one hinders you. But of the principles which are ever mine, and once were yours, the roots both remain and will remain, as long as you exist. Though you water them ever so little, no length of time will ever completely destroy them.

LETTER 341

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

YOU have not yet ceased to be offended with me, and so I tremble as I write. If you have cared, why, my dear sir, do you not write? If you are still offended, a thing alien from any reasonable soul and from your own, why, while you are preaching to others, that they must not keep their anger till sundown, have you kept yours during many suns? Peradventure you have meant to punish me by depriving me of the sound of your sweet voice? Nay; excellent sir, be gentle, and let me enjoy your golden tongue.

LETTER 342

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

ALL who are attached to the rose, as might be expected in the case of lovers of the beautiful, are not displeased even at the thorns from out of which the flower blows. I have even heard it said about roses by some one, perhaps in jest, or, it may be, even in earnest, that nature has furnished the bloom with those delicate thorns, like stings of love to lovers, to excite those who pluck them to intenser longing by these ingeniously adapted pricks. But what do I mean by this introduction of the rose into my letter? You do not need telling, when you remember your own letter. It had indeed the bloom of the rose, and, by its fair speech, opened out all spring to me; but it was bethorned with certain fault findings and charges against me. But even the thorn of your words is delightful to me, for it enkindles in me a greater longing for your friendship.

LETTER 343

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

IF these are the words of an untrained tongue, what would you be if you would polish them? On your lips live fountains of words better than the flowing of springs. I, on the contrary, if I am not daily watered, am silent.

LETTER 344.

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

I AM dissuaded from writing often to you, learned as you are, by my timidity and my ignorance. But your persistent silence is different. What excuse can be offered for it? If any one takes into account that you are slow to write to me, living as you do in the midst of letters, he will condemn you for forgetfulness of me. He who is ready at speaking is not unprepared to write. And if a man so endowed is silent, it is plain that he acts either from forgetfulness or from contempt. I will, however, requite your silence with a greeting. Farewell, most honored sir. Write if you like. If you prefer it, do not write.

LETTER 345

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

IT is, I think, more needful for me to defend myself for not having begun to write to you long ago, than to offer any excuse for beginning now. I am that same man who always used to run up whenever you put in an appearance, and who listened with the greatest delight to the stream of your eloquence; rejoicing to hear you; with difficulty tearing myself away; saying to my friends, This man is thus far superior to the daughters of Achelous, in that, like them, he soothes, but he does not hurt as they do. Truly it is no great thing not to hurt; but this man’s songs are a positive gain to the hearer. That I should be in this state of mind, should think that I am regarded with affection, and should seem able to speak, and yet

should not venture to write, is the mark of a man guilty of extreme idleness, and, at the same time, inflicting punishment on himself. For it is clear that you will requite my poor little letter with a fine large one, and will take care not to wrong me again. At this word, I fancy, many will cry out, and will crowd round with the shout, What! has Basil done any wrong — even a small wrong? Then so have Oeacus, and Minos and his brother. In other points I admit that you have won. Who ever saw you that does not envy you? But in one thing you have sinned against me; and, if I remind you of it, induce those who are indignant thereat not to make a public outcry. NO one has ever come to you and asked a favor which it was easy to give, and gone away unsuccessful. But I am one of those who have craved a boon without receiving it. What then did I ask? Often when I was with you in camp. I was desirous of entering, with the aid of your wisdom, into the depth of Homer frenzy. If the whole is impossible, I said, do you bring me to a portion of what I want. I was anxious for a part, wherein, when things have gone ill with the Greeks. Agamemnon courts with gifts the man whom he has insulted. When I so spoke, you laughed, because you could not deny that you could if you liked, but were unwilling to give. Do I really seem to be wronged to you and to your friends, who were indignant at my saying that you were doing a wrong?

LETTER 346

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

YOU yourself will judge whether I have added anything in the way of learning to the young men whom you have sent. I hope that this addition, however little it be, will get the credit of being great, for the sake of your friendship towards me. But inasmuch as you give less praise to learning than to temperance and to a refusal to abandon our souls to dishonorable pleasures, they have devoted their main attention to this, and have lived, as indeed they ought, with due recollection of the friend who sent them hither.

So welcome what is your own, and give praise to men who by their mode of life have done credit both to you and to me. But to ask you to be serviceable to them is like asking a father to be serviceable to his children.

LETTER 347

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

EVERY bishop is a thing out of which it is very hard to get anything. The further you have advanced beyond other people in learning, the more you make me afraid that you will refuse what I ask. I want some rafters. Any other sophist would have called them stakes, or poles, not because he wanted stakes or poles, but rather for shewing off his wordlets than out of any real need. If you do not supply them, I shall have to winter in the open air.

LETTER 348

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

IF γριπίζειν is the same thing as to gain, and this is the meaning of the phrase which your sophistic ingenuity has got from the depths of Plato, consider, my dear sir, who is the more hard to be got from, I who am thus impaled by your epistolary skill, or the tribe of Sophists, whose craft is to make money out of their words. What bishop ever imposed tribute by his words? What bishop ever made his disciples pay taxes? It is you who make your words marketable, as confectioners make honey-cakes. See how you have made the old man leap and bound! However, to who make such a fuss about your declamations, I have ordered as many rafters to be supplied as there were fighters at Thermopylae, all of goodly length, and, as Homer has it, “long-shadowing,” which the sacred Alphaeus has promised to restore.

LETTER 349

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

WILL you not give over, Basil, packing this sacred haunt of the Muses with Cappadocians, and these redolent of the frost and snow and all Cappadocia’s good things? They have almost made me a Cappadocian too,

always chanting their “I salute you.” But I must endure, since it is Basil who commands. Know, however, that I am making a careful study of the manners and customs of the country, and that I mean to metamorphose the men into the nobility and the harmony of my Calliope, that they may seem to you to be turned from pigeons into doves.

LETTER 350

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

YOUR annoyance is over. Let this be the beginning of my letter. Go on mocking and abusing me and mine, whether laughing or in earnest. Why say anything about frost or snow, when you might be luxuriating in mockery? For my part, Libanius, that I may rouse you to a hearty laugh, I have written my letter enveloped in a snow-white veil. When you take the letter in your hand, you will feel how cold it is, and how it symbolizes the condition of the sender — kept at home and not able to put head out of doors. For my house is a rave till spring comes and brings us back from death to life, and once more gives to us, as to plants, the boon of existence.

LETTER 351.

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

MANY, who have come to me from where you are, have admired your oratorical power. They were remarking that there has been a very brilliant specimen of this, and a very great contest, as they alleged, with the result that all crowded together, and no one appeared in the whole city but Libanius alone in the lists, and everybody, young and old, listening. For no one was willing to be absent — not a man of rank — not a distinguished soldier — not an artisan. Even women hurried to be present at the struggle. And what was it? What was the speech which brought together this vast assembly? I have been told that it contained a description of a man of peevish temper. Pray lose no time in sending me this much admired speech, in order that I too may join in praising your eloquence. If I am a

praiser of Libanius without his works, what am I likely to become after receiving the grounds on which to praise him?

LETTER 352

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

BEHOLD! I have sent you my speech, all streaming with sweat as I am! How should I be otherwise, when sending my speech to one who by his skill in oratory is able to shew that the wisdom of Plato and the ability of Demosthenes were belauded in vain? I feel like a gnat compared with an elephant. How I shiver and shake, as I reckon up the day when you will inspect my performance I am almost out of my wits!

LETTER 353

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

I HAVE read your speech, and have immensely admired it. O muses; O learning; O Athens; what do you not give to those who love you! What fruits do not they gather who spend even a short time with you! Oh for your copiously flowing fountain! What men all who drink of it are shewn to be! I seemed to see the man himself in your speech, in the company of his chattering little woman. A living story has been written on the ground by Libanius, who alone has bestowed the gift of life upon his words.

LETTER 354

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

NOW I recognize men’s description of me! Basil has praised me, and I am hailed victor over all! Now that I have received your vote, I am entitled to walk with the proud gait of a man who haughtily looks down on all the world. You have composed an oration against drunkenness. I should like to read it. But I am unwilling to try to say anything clever. When I have seen your speech it will teach me the art of expressing myself.

LETTER 355

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

ARE you living at Athens, Basil? Have you forgotten yourself? The sons of the Caesareans could not endure to hear these things. My tongue was not accustomed to them. Just as though I were treading some dangerous ground, and were struck at the novelty of the sounds, it said to me its father, “My father, you never taught this! This man is Homer, or Plato, or Aristotle, or Susarion. He knows everything.” So far my tongue. I only wish, Basil, that you could praise me in the same manner!

LETTER 356

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

I AM delighted at receiving what you write, but when you ask me to reply, I am in a difficulty. What could I say in answer to so Attic a tongue, except that I confess, and confess with joy, that I am a pupil of fishermen?

LETTER 357

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

WHAT has made Basil object to the letter, the proof of philosophy? I have learned to make fun from you, but nevertheless your fun is venerable and, so to say, hoary with age. But, by our very friendship, by our common pastimes, do away, I charge you, with the distress caused by your letter... in nothing differing.

LETTER 358

LIBANIUS TO BASIL

OH, for the old days in which we were all in all to one another! Now we are sadly separated! Ye have one another, I have no one like you to replace

you. I hear that Alcimus in his old age is venturing on a young man's exploits, and is hurrying to Rome, after imposing on you the labor of remaining with the lads. You, who are always so kind, will not take this ill. You were not even angry with me for having to write first.

LETTER 359

BASIL TO LIBANIUS

YOU, who have included all the art of the ancients in your own mind, are so silent, that you do not even let me get any gain in a letter. I, if the art of Daedalus had only been safe, would have made me Icarus' wings and come to you. But wax cannot be entrusted to the sun, and so, instead of Icarus' wings, I send you words to prove my affection. It is the nature of words to indicate the love of the heart. So far, words. You do with them what you will, and, possessing all the power you do, are silent. But pray transfer to me the fountains of words that spring from your mouth.

LETTER 360

OF THE HOLY TRINITY, THE INCARNATION, THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS, AND THEIR IMAGES

ACCORDING to the blameless faith of the Christians which we have obtained from God, I confess and agree that I believe in one God the Father Almighty; God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost; I adore and worship one God, the Three. I confess to the oeconomy of the Son in the flesh, and that the holy Mary, who gave birth to Him according to the flesh, was Mother of God. I acknowledge also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs; and I invoke them to supplication to God, that through them, that is, through their mediation, the merciful God may be propitious to me, and that a ransom may be made and given me for my sins. Wherefore also I honor and kiss the features of their images, inasmuch as they have been handed down from the holy apostles, and are not forbidden, but are in all our churches.

LETTERS 361. and 363., to Apollinarius, and Letters 362. and 364., from Apollinarius to Basil, are condemned as indubitably spurious, not only on internal evidence, but also on the ground of Basil's asseveration that he had never written but once to Apollinarius, and that "as layman to layman." Letter 365., "to the great emperor Theodosius," on an inundation in Cappadocia, is also condemned by the Ben. Ed. as spurious, and contains nothing of ecclesiastical or theological interest. Tillemont however (vol. v., p. 739) thought its style not unworthy of a young man and a rhetorician, and conjectures the Theodosius to whom it is addressed to be not the great emperor, but some magistrate of Cappadocia.

LETTER 366

BASIL TA URBICIUS THE MONK, CONCERNING CONTINENCY

YOU do well in making exact definitions for us, so that we may recognize not only continency, but its fruit. Now its fruit is the companionship of God. For not to be corrupted, is to have part with God; just as to be corrupted is the companionship of the world. Continency is denial of the body, and confession to God. It withdraws from anything mortal, like a body which has the Spirit of God. It is without rivalry and envy, and causes us to be united to God. He who loves a body envies another. He who has not admitted the disease of corruption into his heart, is for the future strong enough to endure any labor, and though he have died in the body, he lives in incorruption. Verily, if I rightly apprehend the matter, God seems to me to be continency, because He desires nothing, but has all things in Himself. He reaches after nothing, nor has any sense in eyes or ears; wanting nothing, He is in all respects complete and full. Concupiscence is a disease of the soul; but continency is its health. And continency must not be regarded only in one species, as, for instance, in matters of sensual love. It must be regarded in everything which the soul lusts after in an evil manner, not being content with what is needful for it. Envy is caused for the sake of gold, and innumerable wrongs for the sake of other lusts. Not to be drunken is continency. Not to overeat one's self is continency. To subdue the body is continency, and to keep evil

thoughts in subjection, whenever the soul is disturbed by any fancy false and bad, and the heart is distracted by vain cares. Continency makes men free, being at once a medicine and a power, for it does not teach temperance; it gives it. Continency is a grace of God. Jesus seemed to be continency, when He was made light to land and sea; for He was carried neither by earth nor ocean, and just as He walked on the sea, so He did not weigh down the earth. For if death comes of corruption, and not dying comes of not having corruption, then Jesus wrought not mortality but divinity. He ate and drank in a peculiar manner, without rendering his food., So mighty a power in Him was continency, that His food was not corrupted in Him, since He had no corruption. If only there be a little continency in us, we are higher than all. We have been told that angels were ejected from heaven because of concupiscence and became incontinent. They were vanquished; they did not come down. What could that plague have effected there, if an eye such as I am thinking of had been there? Wherefore I said, If we have a little patience, and do not love the world, but the life above, we shall be found there where we direct our mind. For it is the mind, apparently, which is the eye that seeth unseen things. For we say “the mind sees;” “the mind hears.” I have written at length, though it may seem little to you. But there is meaning in all that I have said, and, when you have read it, you will see it.

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THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS SECOND SERIES, VOLUME 9

by Philip Schaff, editor

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OF

THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

SECOND SERIES

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH PROLEGOMENA AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.,
Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

AND

HENRY WACE,D.D.,
Professor of King's College, London.

IN CONNECTION WITH A NUMBER OF PATRISTIC SCHOLARS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

VOLUME 9

ST. HILARY OF POTIERS
JOHN OF DAMASCUS

PREFACE

THIS volume of the series of Nicene Fathers has been unfortunately delayed. When I consented in the first instance to edit the volume, it was with the distinct understanding that I could not myself undertake the translation, but that I would do my best to find translators and see the work through the press. It has been several times placed in the hands of very competent scholars; but the fact that work of this kind can only b done in the intervals of regular duties, and the almost inevitable drawback that the best men are also the busiest, has repeatedly stood in the way and caused the work to be returned to me. That it sees the light now is due mainly to the zeal, ability, and scholarship of the Rev. E. W. Watson. It was late in the day when Mr. Watson first undertook a share in the work which has since then been constantly increased. He has co-operated with me in the most loyal and efficient manner; and while I am glad to think that the whole of the Introduction and a full half of the translation are from his hand, there is hardly a page (except in the translation of the *De Synodis*, which was complete before he joined the work) which does not owe to him many and marked improvements. My own personal debt to Mr. Watson is very great indeed, and that of the subscribers to the series is, I believe, hardly less.

For the translator of Hilary has before him a very difficult task. It has not been with this as with other volumes of the series, where an excellent translation already existed and careful revision was all that was needed. A small beginning had been made for the *De Trinitate* by the late Dr. Short, Bishop of Adelaide, whose manuscript was kindly lent to one of the contributors to this volume. but with this exception no English translation of Hilary's works has been hitherto attempted. That which is now offered is the first in the field. And it must be confessed that Hilary is a formidable writer. I do not think that I know any Latin writer so formidable, unless it is Victorinus Afer, or Tertullian. And the terse, vigorous, incisive sentences of Tertullian, when once the obscurities of meaning have been mastered, run more easily into English than the involved and overloaded periods of Hilary. It is true that in a period of decline Hilary preserves more than most of his contemporaries of the tradition of Roman culture;

but it is the culture of the rhetorical schools at almost the extreme point of their artificiality and mannerism. Hilary was too sincere a man and too thoroughly in earnest to be essentially mannered or artificial; but his training had taken too strong a hold upon him to allow him to express his thought with ease and simplicity. And his very merits all tended in the same direction. He has the *copia verborum;* he has the weight and force of character which naturally goes with a certain amplitude of style; he has the seriousness and depth of conviction which keeps him at a high level of dignity and gravity but is unrelieved by lighter touches.

We must take our author as we find him. But it seems to me, if I am not mistaken, that Mr. Watson has performed a real feat of translation in not only reproducing the meaning of the original but giving to it an English rendering which is so readable, flowing, and even elegant. I think it will be allowed that only a natural feeling for the rhythm and cadence of English speech, as well as for its varied harmonies of diction, could have produced the result which is now laid before the reader. And I cherish the hope, that although different degrees of success have doubtless been attained by the different contributors at least no jarring discrepancy of style will be felt throughout the volume. It will be seen that the style generally leans to the side of freedom; but I believe that it will be found to be the freedom of the scholar who is really true to his text while transfusing it into another tongue, and not the clumsy approximation which only means failure.

Few writers deserve their place in the library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers more thoroughly than Hilary. He might be said to be the one Latin theologian before the age of St. Augustine and St. Leo. Tertullian had a still greater influence upon the writers who followed him. He came at a still more formative and critical time, and the *vis vivida* of his original and wayward genius has rarely been equaled. But the particular influence which Tertullian exerted in coining the terms and marking out the main lines of Latin theology came to him almost by accident. He was primarily a lawyer, and his special gift did not lie in the region of speculation. It is a strange fortune which gave to the language on which he set his stamp so great a control of the future. The influence of Hilary on the other hand is his by right. His intercourse with the East had a marked effect upon him. It quickened a natural bent for speculation unusual in the West. The reader will find in Mr. Watson’s Introduction a description and estimate of

Hilary's theology which is in my opinion at once accurate, candid and judicious. No attempt is made to gloss over the defects, especially in what we might call the more superficial exegesis of Hilary's argument; but behind and beneath this we feel that we are in contact with a very powerful mind. We feel that we are in contact with a mind that has seized and holds fast the central truth of the Christian system, which at that particular crisis of the Church's history was gravely imperiled. The nerve of all Hilary's thinking lies in his belief, a belief to which he clung more tenaciously than to life itself, that Christ was the Son of God not in name and metaphor only, but in fullest and deepest reality. The great Athanasius himself has not given to this belief a more impressive or more weighty expression. And when like assaults come round, as they are constantly doing, in what is in many respects the inferior arena of our own day, it is both morally bracing and intellectually helpful to go back to these protagonists of the elder time.

And yet, although Hilary is thus one of the chief builders up of a metaphysical theology in the West—although, in other words, he stands upon the direct line of the origin of the *Quicumque vult*, it is well to remember that no one could be more conscious than he was of the inadequacy of human thought and human language to deal with these high matters. The accusation of intruding with a light heart into mysteries is very far from touching him. "The heretics compel us to speak where we would far rather be silent. If anything is said, this is what must be said," is his constant burden. In this respect too Hilary affords a noble pattern not only to the Christian theologian but to the student of theology, however humble.

It has been an unfortunate necessity that use has had to be made almost throughout of an untrustworthy text. The critical edition which is being produced for the *Corpus Scriptorum Eccleseasticorum Latinorum* of the Vienna Academy does not as yet extend beyond the Commentary of the Psalms (*S. Hilarri Ep. Pictaviensis Tract. super Psalmos*, recens. A. Zingerle, Vindonbonae, MDCCCXCI). This is the more to be regretted as the MSS. of Hilary are rather exceptionally early and good. Most of these were used in the Benedictine edition, but not so systematically or thoroughly as a modern standard requires. It is impossible to speak decidedly about the text of Hilary until the Vienna edition is completed.

The treatise *De Synodis* was translated by the Rev. L. Pullan, and has been in print for some time. The Introduction and the translation of *De Trinitate* I—VII, are the work of Mr. Watson. Books VIII. and XII. were undertaken Mr. E. N. Bennett, Fellow of Hertford, and Books IX.—XI. by the Rev. S. C. Gayford, late Scholar of Exeter. The specimens of the Commentary on the Psalms were translated by the Rev. H. F. Stewart, Vice-Principal of the Theological College, Salisbury, who has also made himself responsible for the double Index.

A word of special thanks is due to the printers, Messrs.. Parker, who have carried out their part of the work with conspicuous intelligence and with the most conscientious care.

W. SANDAY
CHRIST CHURCH
OXFORD
July 12, 1898.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. HILARY OF POITIERS

ST. HILARY of Poitiers is one of the greatest, yet least studied of the Fathers of the Western Church. He has suffered thus, partly from a certain obscurity in his style of writing, partly from the difficulty of the thoughts which he attempted to convey. But there are other reasons for the comparative neglect into which he has fallen. He learnt his theology, as we shall see, from Eastern authorities, and was not content to carry on and develop the traditional teaching of the West; and the disciple of Origen, who found his natural allies in the Cappadocian school of Basil and the Gregories, his juniors though they were, was speaking to somewhat unsympathetic ears. Again, his Latin tongue debarred him from influence in the East, and he suffered, like al Westerns**,** from that deep suspicion of Sabellianism which was rooted in the Eastern Churches. Not are these the only reasons for the neglect of Hilary. Of his two chief works, the Homilies on the Psalms, important as they were in popularizing the allegorical method of interpretation, were soon outdone in favor by other commentaries; while his great controversial work on the Trinity suffered from its very perfection for the purpose with which it was composed. It seems, at first sight, to be not a refutation of Arianism, or of any particularly phrase of Arianism, but of one particular document, the Epistle of Arius to Alexander, in which Arian doctrines are expressed; and that a document which, in the constantly shifting phases of the controversy, soon fell into an oblivion which the work of Hilary has nearly shared. It is only incidentally constructive; its plan follows, in the central portion, that of the production of Arius which he was controverting, and this negative method must have lessened its popularity for purposes of practical instruction, and in competition with such a masterpiece as the *De Triniate* of St. Augustine. And furthermore, Hilary never does himself justice. He was a great original thinker in the field of Christology, but he

has never stated his views systematically and completely. They have to be laboriously reconstructed by the collection of passages scattered throughout his works; and though he is a thinker so consistent that little or no conjecture is needed for the piecing together of his system, yet we cannot be surprised that full justice has never been done to him. He has been regarded chiefly as one of the sufferers from the violence of Constantius, as the composer of a useful conspectus of arguments against Arianism, as an unsuccessful negotiator for an understanding between the Eastern and Western Churches; but his sufferings were as nothing compared to those of Athanasius, while his influence in controversy seems to have been as small as the results of his diplomacy. It is not his practical share, in word or deed, in the conflicts of his day that is his chief title to fame, but his independence and depth as a Christian thinker. He has, indeed, exerted an important influence upon the growth of doctrine, but it has been through the adoption of his views by Augustine and Ambrose; and many who have profited by his thoughts have never known who was their author.

Hilary of Poitiers, the most impersonal of writers, is so silent about himself, he is so rarely mentioned by contemporary writers—in all the voluminous works of Athanasius he is never once named,—and the ancient historians of the Church knew so little concerning him beyond what we, as well as they, can learn from his writings, that nothing more than a vary scanty narrative can be constructed from these, as seen in the light of the general history of the time and combined with the few notices of him found elsewhere. But the account, though short, cannot be seriously defective. Apart from one or two episodes, it is eminently the history of a mind, and of a singularly consistent mind, whose antecedents we can, in the main, recognize, and whose changes of thought are few, and can be followed.

He was born, probably about the year 300 A.D., and almost certainly, since he was afterwards its bishop, in the town, or in the district dependent upon the town, by the name of which he is usually styled. Other names, besides Hilarius, he must have had, but we do not know them. The fact that he has had to be distinguished by the name of his see, to avoid confusion with his namesake of Arles, the contemporary of St. Augustine, shows how soon and how thoroughly personal details

concerning him were forgotten. The rank of his parents must have been respectable at least, and perhaps high; so much we may safely assume from the education they gave him. Birth in the Gallic provinces during the fourth century brought with it no sense of provincial inferiority. Society was thoroughly Roman, and education and literature more vigorous, so far as we can judge, than in any other part of the West. The citizen of Gaul and of Northern Italy was, in fact, more in the center of the world's life than the inhabitant of Rome. Gaul was in the West what Romas Asia was in the East, the province of decisive importance, both for position and for wealth. And in this prosperous and highly civilized community the opportunities for the highest education were ample. We know, from Ausonius and otherwise, how complete was the provision of teaching at Bordeaux and elsewhere in Gaul. Greek was taught habitually as well as Latin. In fact, never since the days of Hadrian had educated society throughout the Empire had been so nearly bilingual. It was not that the Latin-speaking West had still to turn for its culture and its philosophy to the literature of Greece. Since the days of Diocletian the court, or at least the most important court, had resided as a rule in Asia, and Greek and tended to become, equally with Latin, the language of the courtier and the administrator. The two were of almost equal importance; if an Oriental like Ammianus Marcellinus could write, and write well, in Latin, we may be certain that, in return, Greek was familiar to educated Westerns. To Hilary it was certainly familiar from his youth; his earlier thoughts were molded by Neoplatonism, and his later decisively influenced by the writings of Oigen. His literary and technical knowledge of Latin was also complete. It would require wide special study and knowledge to fix his relation in matters of composition and rhetoric to other writers. But one assertion, that of Jerome, that Hilary was a deliberate imitator of the style of Quintilian, cannot be taken seriously. Jerome is the most reckless of writers; and it is at least possible to be somewhat familiar with the writings of both and yet see no resemblance, except in a certain sustained gravity, between them. Another description by Jerome of Hilary as 'mounted on Gallic buskin and adorned with flowers of Greece; is suitable enough, as to its first part, to Hilary's dignified rhetoric; the flowers of Greece, if they mean embellishments inserted for their own sake, are not perceptible. In this same passage Jerome goes onto criticize Hilary's entanglement in long periods, which renders him unsuitable for unlearned

readers. But those laborious, yet perfectly constructed, sentences are an essential part of his method. Without them he could not attain the effect he desires; they are as deliberate and, in their way, as successful as the eccentricities of Tactius. But when Jerome elsewhere calls Hilary ‘the Rhone of Latin eloquence,’ he is speaking at random. It is only rarely that he breaks through his habitual sobriety of utterance; and his rare outbursts of devotion or denunciation are perhaps the more effective because the reader is unprepared to expect them. Such language as this of Jerome shows that Hilary’s literary accomplishments were recognized, even though it fails to describe them well. But though he had at his command, and avowedly employed, the resources of rhetoric in order that his words might be as worthy as he could make them of the greatness of his theme, yet some portions of the *De Trinitate*, and most of the Homilies on the Psalms are written in a singularly equable and almost conversational style, the unobtrusive excellence of which manifests the hand of a clear thinker and a practiced writer. He is no pedant, no laborious imitator of antiquity, distant or near; he abstains, perhaps more completely than any other Christian writer of classical education, from the allusions to the poets which were the usual ornament of prose. He is an eminently businesslike writer; his pages, where they are unadorned, express his meaning with perfect clearness; where they are decked out with antithesis or apostrophe and other devices of rhetoric, they would no doubt, if our training could put us in sympathy with him, produce the effect upon us which he designed, and we must, in justice to him, remember as we read that, in their own kind, they are excellent, and that, whether they aid us or no in entering into his argument, they never obscure his thought. Save in the few passages when corruption exists in the text, it is never safe to assert that Hilary is unintelligible. The reader or translator who cannot follow or render the argument must rather lay the blame upon his own imperfect knowledge of the language and thought of the fourth century. Where he is stating or proving truth, whether well-established or newly ascertained, he is admirably precise; and even in his more dubious speculations he never cloaks a weak argument in ambiguous language. A loftier genius might have given us in language adequate, through no fault of his own, to the attempt some imitations of remoter truths. We must be thankful to the sober Hilary that he, with his strong sense of the limitations of our intellect, has provided a clear and accurate statement of the case against Arianism, and

has widened the bounds of theological knowledge by reasonable deductions from the text of Scripture, usually convincing and always suggestive.

His training as a writer and thinker had certainly been accomplished before his conversion. His literary work done, like that of St. Cyprian, within a few years of middle life, displays, with a somewhat increasing maturity of thought, a steady uniformity of language and idiom, which can only have been acquired in his earlier days. And this assured possession of literary from was naturally accompanied by a philosophical training. Of one branch of a philosophical education, that of logic, there is almost too much evidence in his pages. He is free from the repulsive angularity which sometimes disfigures the pages of Novatian, a writer who had no great influence over him; but in the *De Trinitate* he too often refuses to trust his reader's intelligence, and insists upon being logical not only in thought but in expression. But, sound premisses being given, he may always be expected to draw the right conclusion. He is singularly free from confusion of thought, and never advances to results beyond what his premisses warrant. It is only when a false, though accepted, exegesis misleads him, in certain collateral arguments which may be surrendered without loss to his main theses, that he can be refuted; or again when, in his ventures into new fields of thought, he is unfortunate in the selection or combination of texts. But in these cases, as always, the logical processes are not in fault; his deduction is clear and honest.

Philosophy in those days was regarded as incomplete unless it included some knowledge of natural phenomena, to be used for purposes of analogy,. Origen and Athanasius display a considerable interest in, and acquaintance with, physical and physiological matters, and Hilary shares the taste. The conditions of human or animal birth and life and death are often discussed; he believes in universal remedies for disease, and knows of the employment of anaesthetics in surgery. Sometimes he wanders further afield, as for instance, in his account of the natural history of the fig-tree and the worm, and in the curious little piece of information concerning Troglodytes and topazes, borrowed, he says, from secular writers, and still to be read in the elder Pliny. Even where he seems to be borrowing, on rare occasions, from the commonplaces of Roman poetry, it is rather with the interest of the naturalist than of the rhetorician, as when he speaks in all seriousness of 'Marsian enhancements and hissing vipers lulled to sleep,'

or recalls Lucan's asps and basilisks of the African desert as a description of his heretical opponents. Perhaps his lost work, twice mentioned by Jerome, against the physician Dioscorus was a refutation of physical arguments against Christianity.

Hilary's speculative thought, like that of every serious adherent of the pagan creed, had certainly been inspired by Neoplatonism. We cannot take the account of his spiritual progress up to the full Catholic faith, which he gives in the beginning of the *De Trinitate*, and of which we find a less finished sketch in the Homily on Psalm 61. § 2, as literal history. It is too symmetrical in its advance through steadily increasing light to the perfect knowledge, too well prepared as a piece of literary workmanship—it is indeed an admirable example of majestic prose, a worthy preface to the that great treatise—for us to accept it, as it stands, as the record of actual experience. But we may safely see in it the evidence that Hilary had been an earnest student of the best thought of his day, and had found in Neoplatonism not only a speculative training but also the desire, which was to find its satisfaction in the Faith, for knowledge of God, and for union with Him. It was a debt which Origen, his master, shared with him; and it must have been because, as a Neoplatonist feeling after the truth, he found so much of common ground in Origen, that he was able to accept so fully the teaching of Alexandria. But it would be impossible to separate between the lessons which Hilary had learnt from the pagan form of this philosophy, and those which may have been new to him when he studied it in its Christian presentment. Of the influence of Christian Platonism upon him something will be said shortly. At this point we need only mention as a noteworthy indication of the fact that Hilary was not unmindful of the debt, that the only philosophy which he specifically attacks is the godless system of Epicurus, which denies creation, declares that the gods do not concern themselves with men, and deifies water or earth of atoms.

It was, then, as a man of mature age, of literary skill and philosophical training, that Hilary approached Christianity. He had been drawn towards the Faith by desire for a truth which he had not found in philosophy; and his conviction that this truth was Christianity was established by independent study of Scripture, not by intercourse with Christian teachers; so much we may safely conclude from the early pages of the *De*

Trinitate. It must remain doubtful whether the works of Origen, who influenced his thought so profoundly, had fallen into his hands before his conversion, or whether it was as a Christian, seeking for further light upon the Faith, that he first studied them. For it is certainly improbable that he would find among the Christians of his own district many who could help him in intellectual difficulties. The educated classes were still largely pagan, and the Christian body, which was, we may say, unanimously and undoubtingly Catholic, held, without much mental activity, a traditional and inherited faith. Into this body Hilary entered by Baptism, at some unknown date. His age at the time, his employment, whether or no he was married, whether or no he entered the ministry of the Church of Poitiers, can never be known. It is only certain that he was strengthening his faith by thought and study.

He had come to the Faith, St. Augustine says, laden, like Cyprian, Lactantius and others, with the gold and silver and raiment of Egypt; and he would naturally wish to find a Christian employment for the philosophy which he brought with him. If his horizon had been limited to his neighbors in Gaul, he would have found little encouragement and less assistance. The oral teaching which prevailed in the West furnished, no doubt, safe guidance in doctrine, but could not supply reasons for the Faith. And reasons were the one great interest of Hilary. The whole practical side of Christianity as a system of life is ignored, or rather taken for granted and therefore not discussed, in his writings, which are ample enough to be a mirror of his thought. For instance, we cannot doubt that his belief concerning the Eucharist was that of the whole Church. Yet in the great treatise on the Trinity, of which no small part is given to the proof that Christ is God and Man, and that through this union must come the union of man with God, the Eucharist as a means to such union is only once introduced, and that in a short passage, and for the purpose of argument. And altogether it would be as impossible to reconstruct the Christian life and thought of the day from his writings as from those of the half-pagan Arnobius. To such a mind as this the teaching which ordinary Christians needed and welcomed could bring no satisfaction, and no aid towards the interpretation of Scripture. The Western Church was, indeed, in an almost illogical position. Conviction was in advance of argument. The loyal practice of the Faith had led men on, as it were by intuition, to

apprehend and firmly hold truths which the more thoughtful East was doubtedly and painfully approaching. Here, again, Hilary would be out of sympathy with his neighbors, and we cannot wonder that in such a doctrine as that of the Holy Spirit he held the conservative Eastern view. Nor were the Latin-speaking Churches well equipped with theological literature. The two great theologians who had as yet written in their tongue, Tertullian and Novatian, with the former of whom Hilary was familiar, were discredited by their personal history. St. Cyprian, the one doctor whom the West already boasted, could reach disciplined enthusiasm and Christian morality, but his scattered statements concerning points of doctrine convey nothing more than a general impression of piety and soundness; and even his arrangement, in the *Testimonia,* of Scriptural evidences was a poor weapon against the logical attack of Arianism. But there is little reason to suppose that there was any general sense of the need of a more systematic theology. Africa was paralyzed, and the attention of the Western provinces probably engrossed, by the Donatist strife, into which questions of doctrine did not enter. The adjustment of the relations between Church and State, the instruction and government of the countless proselytes who flocked to the Faith while toleration grew into imperial favor, must have needed all the attention that the Church's rulers could give. And these busy years had followed upon a generation of merciless persecution, during which change of practice or growth of thought had been impossible; and the confessors, naturally a conservative force, were one of dominant powers in the Church. We cannot be surprised that the scattered notices in Hilary's writings of points of discipline, and his hortatory teaching, are in no respect different from what we find a century earlier in St. Cyprian. And men who were content to leave the superstructure as they found it were not likely to probe the foundations. their belief grew in definiteness as the years went on, and faithful lives were rewarded, almost unconsciously, with a deeper insight into truth. But meanwhile they took the Faith as they had received it; one might say, as a matter of course. There was little heresy within the Western Church. Arianism was never enough to excite fear, even though repugnance were felt. The Churches were satisfied with faith and life as they saw it within and around them. Their religion was traditional, in no degenerate sense.

But such a religion could not satisfy ardent and logical minds, like those of St. Hilary and his two great successors, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. To such men it was a necessity of their faith that they should know, and know in its right proportions, the truth so far as it had been revealed, and trace the appointed limits which human knowledge might not overpass. For their own assurance and for effective warfare against heresy a reasoned system of theology was necessary. Hilary, the earliest, had the greatest difficulty. To aid him in the interpretation of Scripture he had only one writer in his own tongue, Tertullian, whose teaching, in the matters which interested Hilary, though orthodox, was behind the times. His strong insistence upon the subordination of the Son to the Father, due to the same danger which still, in the fourth century, seemed in the East the most formidable, was not in harmony with the prevalent thought of the West. Thus Hilary, in his search for reasons for the Faith, was practically isolated; there was little at home which could help him to construct his system. To an intellect so self-reliant as his this may have been no great trial. Scrupulous though he was in confining his speculations within the bounds of inherited and acknowledged truth, yet in matters still undecided he exercised a singularly free judgment, now advancing beyond, now lingering behind, the usual belief of his contemporaries. In following out his thoughts, loyally yet independently, he was conscious that he was breaking what was new ground to his older fellow-Christians, almost as much as to himself, the convert from Paganism. And that he was aware of the novelty is evident from the sparing use which he makes of that stock argument of the old controversialists, the newness of heresy. He uses it, e.g., in *Trin.* II. 4, and uses it with effect; but it is far less prominent in him than in others.

For such independence of thought he could find precedent in Alexandrian theology, of which he was obviously a careful student and, in his free use of his own judgment upon it, a true disciple. When he was drawn into the Arian controversy and studied its literature, his thoughts to some extent were modified; but he never ceases to leave upon his reader the impression of an Oriental isolated in the West. From the Christian Platonists of Alexandria come his most characteristic thoughts. They have passed on, for instance, from Philo to him that sense of the importance of the revelation contained in the divine name He That Is. His peculiar doctrine

of the impassibility of the incarnate Christ is derived, more probably directly than indirectly, from Clement of Alexandria. But it is to Origen that Hilary stands in the closest and most constant relations, now as a pupil, now as a critic. In fact, as we shall see, no small portion of the Homilies on the Psalms, towards the end of the work, is devoted to the controverting of opinions expressed by Origen; and by an omission which is itself a criticism he completely ignores one of that writer's most important contributions to Christian thought, the mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs. It is true that Jerome knew of a commentary on that Book which was doubtfully attributed to Hilary; but if Hilary had once accepted such an exegesis he could not possibly have failed to use it on some of the numerous occasions when it must have suggested itself in the course of his writing, for it is not his habit to allow a thought to drop out of his mind; his characteristic ideas recur again and again. In some cases we can actually watch the growth of Hilary's mind as it emancipates itself from Origen's influence; as, for instance, in his psychology. He begins (*Comm, in* <40BB> *Matthew* 5:8) by holding, with Origen and Tertullian, that the soul is corporeal; in later life he states expressly that this is not the case. Yet what Hilary accepted from Origen is far more important than what he rejected. His strong sense of the dignity of man, of the freedom of the will, his philosophical belief in the inseparable connection of name and thing, the thought of the Incarnation as primarily an obscuring of the Divine glory, are some of the lessons which Origen has taught him. But, above all, it is to him that he owes his rudimentary doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit. Hilary says nothing inconsistent with the truth as it was soon to be universally recognized; but his caution in declining to accept, or at least to state, the general belief of Western Christendom that the Holy Spirit, since Christians are baptized in His Name as well as in that of the Father and Son, is God in the same sense as They, is evidence both of his independence of the opinion around him and of his dependence on Origen. Of similar dependence on any other writer or school there is no trace. He knew Tertullian well, and there is some evidence that he knew Hippolytus and Novatian, but his thought was not molded by theirs; and when, in the maturity of his powers, he became a fellow-combatant with Athanasius and the precursors of the great Cappadocians, his borrowing is not that of a disciple but of an equal.

There is one of St. Hilary's writings, evidently the earliest of those extant and probably the earliest of all, which may be noticed here, as it gives no sign of being written by a Bishop. It is the *Commentary on St. Matthew*. It is, in the strictest sense, a commentary, and not, like the work upon the Psalms, a series of exegetical discourses. It deals with the text of the Gospel, as it stood in Hilary's Latin version, without comment or criticism upon its peculiarities, and draws out the meaning, chiefly allegorical, not of the whole Gospel, but apparently of lections that were read in public worship. A few pages at the beginning and end are unfortunately lost, but they cannot have contained anything of such importance as to alter the impression which we form of the book. In diction and grammar it is exactly similar to Hilary's later writings; the fact that it is, perhaps, somewhat more stiff in style may be due to self-consciousness of a writer venturing for the first time upon so important a subject. The exegesis is often the same as that of Origen, but a comparison of the several passages in which Jerome mentions this commentary makes it certain that it is not dependent upon him in the same way as are the Homilies on the Psalms and Hilary's lost work upon Job. Yet if he is not in this work the translator, or editor, of Origen, he is manifestly his disciple. We cannot account for the resemblance otherwise. Hilary is independently working out Origen's thought on Origen's lines. Origen is not named, nor any other author, except that he excuses himself from expounding the Lord's Prayer on the ground that Tertullian and Cyprian had written excellent treatises upon it. This is a rare exception to his habit of not naming other writers. But, whoever the writers were from whom Hilary drew his exegesis, his theology is his own. There is no immaturity in the thought; every one of his characteristic ideas, as will be seen in the next chapter, is already to be found here. But there is one interesting landmark in the growth of the Latin theological vocabulary, very archaic in itself and an evidence that Hilary had not yet decided upon the terms that he would use. He twice speaks of Christ's Divinity as 'the *theotes* which we call *deitas*.' In his later writings he consistently uses *divinitas*, except in the few instances where he is almost forced, to avoid intolerable monotony, to vary it with *deitas*; and in this commentary he would not have used either of these words, still less would he have used both, unless he were feeling his way to a fixed technical term. Another witness to the early date of the work is the absence of any clear sign that Hilary know of the existence of Arianism.

He knows, indeed, that there are heresies which impugn the Godhead of Christ, and in consequence states that doctrine with great precision, and frequently as well as forcibly. But it has been pointed out that he discusses many texts which served, in the Arian strife, for attack or defense, without alluding to that burning question: and this would have been impossible and, indeed, a dereliction of duty, in Hilary's later life. And there is one passage in which he speaks of God the Father as 'He with (or 'in') Whom the Word was *before He was born.'* The Incarnation is spoken of in words which would usually denote the eternal Generation: and if a candid reader could not be misled, yet an opportunity is given to the malevolent which Hilary or, indeed, any careful writer engaged in the Arian controversy would have avoided. The Commentary, then, is an early work, yet in no respect unworthy of its author. But though he had developed his characteristic thoughts before he began to write it, they are certainly less prominent here than in the treatises which followed. It is chiefly remarkable for its display of allegorical ingenuity. Its pages are full of fantastic interpretations of the kind which he had so great a share in introducing into Western Europe. He started by it a movement which he would have been powerless to stop; that he was not altogether satisfied with the principle of allegory is shown by the more modest use that he made of it when he composed, with fuller experience, the Homilies on the Psalms. It is, perhaps, only natural that there is little allegorism in the *De Trinitate*. Such a hot-house growth could not thrive in the keen air of controversy. As for the Commentary on St. Matthew, its chief influence has been indirect, in that St. Ambrose made large use of it in his own work upon the same Gospel The consideration of Hilary's use of Scripture and of the place which it held in his system of theology is reserved for the next chapter, where illustrations from this Commentary are given.

About the year 350 Hilary was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers. So we may infer from his own words that he had been a good while regenerate, and for some little time a bishop, on the eve of his exile in 356 A.D. Whether, like Ambrose, he was raised directly from lay life to the Episcopate cannot be known. It is at least possible that this was the case. His position as a bishop was one of great importance, and, as it must have seemed, free from special difficulties. There was a wide difference between the Church organization of the Latin-speaking provinces of the Empire (with the

exception of Central and Southern Italy and of Africa, in each which a multitude of insignificant sees were dependent upon the autocracy of Rome and Carthage respectively) and that of the Greek-speaking provinces of the East. In the former there was a mere handful of dioceses, of huge geographical extent; in the latter every town, at least in the more civilized parts, had its bishop. The Western bishops were inevitably isolated from one another, and could exercise none of that constant surveillance over each other's orthodoxy which was, for evil as well as for good, so marked a feature of the Church life of the East. And the very greatness of their position gave them stability. The equipoise of power was too perfect, the hands in which it was vested too few, the men themselves, probably, too statesmanlike, for the Western Church to be infected with that nervous agitation which possessed the shifting multitudes of Eastern prelates, and made them suspicious and loquacious and disastrously eager for compromise. It was, in fact, the custom of the West to take the orthodoxy of its bishops for granted, and an external impulse was necessary before they could be overthrown. The two great sees with which Hilary was in immediate relation were those of Arles and Milan, and both were in Arian hands. But is needed the direct incitation of a hostile Emperor to set Saturninus against Hilary; and it was in vain that Hilary, in the floodtide of orthodox revival in the West, attacked Auxentius. The orthodox Emperor upheld the Arian, who survived Hilary by eight years and died in possession of his see. But this great and secure position of the Western bishop had its drawbacks. Hilary was conscious of its greatness, and strove to be worthy of it; but it was a greatness of responsibility to which neither he, nor any other man, could be equal. For in his eyes the bishop was still, as he had been in the little Churches of the past, and still might be in quiet places of the East or South, the sole priest, *sacerdos*, of his flock. In his exile he reminds the Emperor that he is still distributing the communion through his presbyters to the Church. This survival can have had none but evil results. It put both bishop and clergy in a false position. The latter were degraded by the denial to them of a definite status and rights of their own. Authority without influence and information in lieu of knowledge was all for which the former could hope. And this lack of any organized means of influencing a wide-spread flock—such as diocese as that of Poitiers must have been several times as large as a rural diocese of England—prevented its bishop from creating any strong public opinion

within it, unless he were an evangelist with the gifts of a Martin of Tours. It was impossible for him to excite in so unwieldy a district any popular enthusiasm of devotion to himself. Unlike an Athanasius, he could be deported into exile at the Emperor's will with as little commotion as the bishop of some petty half-Greek town in Asia Minor.

During the first years of Hilary's episcopate there was civil turmoil in Gaul, but the Church was at peace. While the Eastern ruler Constantius favored the Arians, partly misled by unprincipled advisers and partly guided by an unwise, though honest, desire for compromise in the interests of peace, his brother Constans, who reigned in the West, upheld the Catholic cause, to which the immense majority of his clergy and people were attached. He was slain in January 350, by the usurper Magentius, who, with whatever motives, took the same side. It was certainly that which would best conciliate his own subjects; but he went further, and attempted to strengthen his precarious throne against the impending attack of Constantius by negotiations with the discontented Nicene Christians of the East. He tried to win over Athanasius, who was, however, too wise to listen; and, in any case, he gained nothing by tampering with the subjects of Constantius. Constantius defeated Magnentius, pursued him, and finally slew him on the 11th August, 353, and was then undisputed master not only of the East but of the West, which he proceeded to bring into ecclesiastical conformity, as far as he could, with his former dominions.

The general history of Arianism and the tendencies of Christian thought at this time have been so fully and admirable delineated in the introduction to the translation of St. Athanasius in this series, that it would be superfluous and presumptuous to go over the same ground. It must suffice to say that Constantius was animated with a strong personal hatred against Athanasius, and that the prelates at his court seem to have found their chief employment in intrigues for the expulsion of bishops, whose seats might be filled by friends of their own. Athanasius was a formidable antagonist, from his strong position in Alexandria, even to an Emperor; and Constantius was attempting to weaken him by creating an impression that he was unworthy of the high esteem in which he was held. Even in the East, as yet, the Nicene doctrine was not avowedly rejected; still less could the doctrinal issue be raised in Gaul, where the truths stated in the Nicene Creed were regarded as so obvious that the Creed itself had excited little

interest or attention. Hilary at this time had never heard it, though nearly thirty years had passed since the Council decreed it. But there was personal charges against Athanasius, of which he has himself given us a full and interesting account, which had done him, and were to do him, serious injury. They had been disproved publicly and completely more than once, and with great solemnity and apparent finality ten years before this, at Sardica in 343 A.D. But in a distant province, aided by the application of sufficient pressure, they might serve their turn, and if the Emperor could obtain his enemy's condemnation, and that in a region whose theological sympathies were notoriously on his side, a great step would be gained towards his expulsion from Egypt. No time was lost. In October, 353, a Council was called at Arles to consider the charges. it suited Constantius' purpose well that Saturninus of Arles, bishop of the most important see in Gaul, and the natural president, was both a courtier and an Arian. He did his work well. The assembled bishops believed, or were induced to profess that they believed, that the charges against Athanasius were not made in the interests of his theological opponents, and that the Emperor's account of them was true. The decision, condemning the accused, was almost unanimous. Even the representative of Liberius of Rome consented, to be disavowed on his return; and only one bishop, Paulinus of Treves, suffered exile for resistance. He may have been the only advocate for Athanasius, or Constantius may have thought that one example would suffice to terrify the episcopate of Gaul into submission. It is impossible to say whether Hilary was present at the Council or no. It is not probable that he was absent: and his ignorance, even later, on important points in the dispute shows that he may well have given an honest verdict against Athanasius. The new ruler's world had been given that he was guilty; nothing can yet have been known against Constantius and much must have been hoped from him. It was only natural that he should obtain the desired decision. Two years followed, during which the Emperor was too busy with warfare on the frontiers of Gaul to proceed further in the matter of Athanasius. But in Autumn of 355 he summoned a Council at Milan, a city whose influence over Gaul was so great that it might almost be called the ecclesiastical capital of that country. Here again strong pressure was used, and the verdict given as Constantius desired. Hilary was not present at this Council; he was by this time aware of the motives of Constantius and the courtier bishops, and would certainly have shared in the opposition

offered, and probably in the exile inflicted upon three of the leaders in it. These were Dionysius of Milan, who disappears from history, his place being taken by Hilary's future enemy, Auxentius, and Eusebius of Vercel and Lucifer of Cagliari, both of whom were to make their mark in the future.

By this time Hilary had definitely taken his side, and it will be well to consider his relation to the parties in the controversy. And first as to Arianism. As we have seen, Arian prelates were not in possession of the two great sees of Arles and Milan in his own neighborhood; and Arianisers of different shades, or at least men tolerant of Arianism, held a clear majority of the Eastern bishoprics, except in the wholly Catholic Egypt. But it is certain that, in the West at any rate, the fundamental difference of the Arian from the Catholic position was not generally recognized. Arian practice and Arian practical teaching was indistinguishable from Catholic; and unless ultimate principles were questioned, Catholic clergy might work, and the multitudes of Catholic laity might live and die, without knowing that their bishop's creed was different from their own. The Abbe Duchesne has made the very probable suggestion that the stately Ambrosian ritual of Milan was really introduced from the East by Auxentius, the Arian intruder from Cappadocia, of whom we have spoken. Arian Baptism and the Arian Eucharist were exactly the same as the Catholic. They were not skeptical; they accepted all current beliefs or superstitions, and had their own confessors and workers of miracles. The Bible was common ground to both parties: each professed its confidence that it had the support of Scripture. "No false system ever struck more directly at the life of Christianity than Arianism. Yet after all it held aloft the Lord's example as the Son of Man, and never wavered in its worship of Him as the Son of God." And the leaders of this school were in possession of many of the great places of the Church, and asserted that they had the right to hold them; that if they had not the sole right, at least they had as good a right as the Catholics, to be bishops, and yet to teach the doctrine that Christ was a creature, not the Son. And what made things worse was that they seemed to be at one with the Catholics, and that it was possible, and indeed almost inevitable, that the multitudes who did not look below the surface should be satisfied to take them for what they seemed. Many of the Arians no doubt honestly thought that their position

was a tenable one, and held their offices with a good conscience; but we cannot wonder that men like Athanasius and Hilary, aware of the sophistical nature of many of the arguments used, and knowing that some, at least, of the leaders were scrupulous adventurers, should have regarded all Arianism and all Arians as deliberately dishonest. It seemed incredible that they could be sincerely at home in the Church, and intolerable that they should have the power of deceiving the people and persecuting true believers. It is against Arianism in the Church that Hilary's efforts are directed, not against Arianism as an external heresy. He ignores heresies outside the Church as completely as does Cyprian; they are outside, and therefore he has nothing to do with them. But Arianism, as represented by an Auxentius ora Saturninus, it an *internum malum*; and to the extirpation of this 'inward evil' the remaining years of his life were to be devoted.

His own devotion, from the time of his conversion to the Catholic Faith, which almost all around him held, was not the less sincere because it did not find its natural expression in the Nicene Creed. That document, which primarily concerned only bishops, and them only when their orthodoxy was in question, was hardly known in the West, where the bishops had as yet had little occasion for doubting one another's faith. Hilary had never heard it,—he can hardly have avoided hearing of it,—till just before his exile. In his earlier conflicts he rarely mentions it, and when he does it is in connection with the local circumstances of the East. In later life he, with Western Christendom at large, recognized its value as a rallying point for the faithful; but even then there is no attachment to the Creed for its own sake. It might almost seem that the Creed, by his defense of which Athanasius has earned such glory, owed its original celebrity to him rather than he to it. His unjust persecution and heroic endurance excited interest in the symbol of which he was the champion. If it were otherwise, there has been a strange conspiracy of silence among Western theologians. In their great works on the Trinity, Hilary most rarely, and Augustine never, allude to it; the Council of Aquileia, held in the same interests and almost at the same time as that of Constantinople in 381, absolutely ignores it. The Creed, in the year 355, was little known in the West and unpopular in the East. Even Athanasius kept it somewhat in the background, from reasons of prudence, and Hilary's sympathies, as we shall see, were with

the Eastern School which could accept the truth, though they disliked this expression of it.

The time had now come for Hilary, holding these views of Arianism and of the Faith, to take an active part in the conflict. We have seen that he was not at Milan; he was therefore not personally compromised, but the honor of the Church compelled him to move. He exerted himself to induce the bishops of Gaul to withdraw from communion with Saturninus, and with Ursacius and Valens, disciples of Arius during his exile on the banks of the Danube thirty years before, and now high in favor with Constantius, and his ministers, we might almost say, for the ecclesiastical affairs of the Western provinces. We do not know how many bishops were enlisted by Hilary against Saturninus. It is probable that not many would follow him in so bold a venture; even men of like mind with himself might well think it unwise. It was almost a revolutionary act, an importation of the methods of Eastern controversy into the peaceful West, for this was not the constitutional action of a synod but the private venture of Hilary and his allies. However righteous and necessary, in the interests of morality and religion, their conduct may have seemed to them, to Constantius and his advisers it must have appeared an act of defiance to the law, both of Church and State. And Hilary would certainly not win favor with the Emperor by his letter of protest, the *First Epistle to Constantius*, written about the end of the year 355. He adopts the usual tone of the time, that of exaggerated laudation and even servility towards the Emperor. Such language was, of course, in great measure conventional; we know from Cicero's letters how little superlatives, whether of flattery or abuse, need mean, and language had certainly not grown more sincere under the Empire. The letter was, in fact, a singularly bold manifesto, and one which Hilary himself must have foreseen was likely to bring upon him the punishment which had befallen the recusants at Arles and Milan. He begins (§ 1) in studiously general terms, making no mention of the provinces in which the offenses were being committed, with a complaint of the tyrannical interference of civil officers in religious matters. If there is to be peace (§ 2), there must be liberty; Catholics must not be forced to become Arians. The voice of resistance was being raised; men were beginning to say that it was better to die than to see the faith defiled at the bidding of an individual. Equity required that God-fearing men should not suffer by

compulsory intercourse with the teachers of execrable blasphemy, but be allowed bishops whom they could obey with a good conscience. Truth and falsehood, light and darkness could not combine. He entreated the Emperor to allow the people to choose for themselves to what teachers they would listen, with whom they would join in the Eucharist and in prayer for him. Next (§ 3) he denies that there is any purpose of treason, or any discontent. The only disturbance is that caused by Arian propagators of heresy, who are busily engaged in misleading the ignorant. He now (§ 4) prays that the excellent bishops who have been sent into exile may be restored; liberty and joy would be the result. Then (§ 5) he attacks the modern and deadly Arian pestilence. Borrowing, somewhat incautiously, the words of the Council of Sardica, now twelve years old, he gives a list of Arian chiefs which ends with “those two ignorant and unprincipled youths, Ursacius and Valens.” Communion with such men as these, even communion in ignorance, is a participation in their guilt, a fatal sin. He proceeds, in § 6, to combine denunciation of the atrocities committed in Egypt with a splendid plea for liberty of conscience; it is equally vain and wicked to attempt to drive men into Arianism, and an enforced faith is, in any case, worthless. The Arians (§ 7) were themselves legally convicted long ago and Athanasius acquitted; it is a perversion of justice that the condemned should now be intriguing against one so upright and so faithful to the truth. And lastly (§ 8) he comes to the wrong done at Milan, and tells the well-known story of the violence practiced upon Eusebius of Vercelli and others in the Synagogue of malignants,’ as he calls it. here also he takes occasion to speak of Paulinus of Treves, exiled for his resistance at Arles two years before, where he “had withstood the monstrous crimes of those men.” The conclusion of the letter is unfortunately lost, and there are one or more gaps in the body of it; these, we may judge, would only have made it more unacceptable to Constantius.

It was, indeed, from the Emperor’s point of view, a most provocatory Epistle. He and his advisers were convinced that compromise was the way of peace. They had no quarrel with the orthodoxy of the West, if only that orthodoxy would concede that Arianisers were entitled to office in the Church, or would at least be silent; and they were animated by a persistent hatred of Athanasius. Moreover, the whole tendency of thought, since Constantine began to favor the Church, had run towards glorification of the

Emperor as the vice-gerent of God; and the orthodox had had their full share in encouraging the idea. That a bishop, with no status to justify his interference, should renounce communion with his own superior, the Emperor's friend, at Arles; should forbid the officers of state to meddle in the Church's affairs, and demand an entirely new thing, recognition by the state as lawful members of the Church while yet they rejected the prelates whom the state recognized; should declare that peace was impossible because the conflicting doctrines were as different as light and darkness, and that the Emperor's friends were execrable heretics; should assert, while denying that he or his friends had any treasonable purpose, that men were ready to die rather than submit; should denounce two Councils, lawfully held, and demand reinstatement of those who had opposed the decision of those Councils; should, above all, take the part of Athanasius, now obviously doomed to another exile;—all this must have savored of rebellion. And rebellion was no imaginary danger. We have seen that Magnentius had tried to enlist Athanasius on his side against the Arian Emperor. Constantius was but a new ruler over Gaul, and had no claim, through services rendered, to its loyalty. He might reasonably construe Hilary's words into a threat that the orthodox of Gaul would, if their wishes were disregarded, support and orthodox pretender. And there was a special reason for suspicion. At this very time Constantius had just conferred the government of the West upon his cousin Julian, who was installed as Caesar on the 6th November, 355. From the first, probably, Constantius distrusted Julian, and Julian certainly distrusted Constantius. Thus it might well seem that the materials were ready for an explosion; that a disloyal Caesar would find ready allies in discontented Catholics.

We cannot wonder that Hilary's letter had no effect upon the policy of Constantius. It is somewhat surprising that several months elapsed before he was punished. In the spring of the year 356 Saturninus presided at a Council held at Beziers, at which Hilary was, he tells us, compelled to attend. In what the compulsion consisted we do not know. It may simply have been that he was summoned to attend; a summons which he could not with dignity refuse, knowing, as he must have done, that charges would be brought against himself. Of the proceedings of the Synod we know little. The complaints against Hilary concerned his conduct, not his faith. This latter was, of course, above suspicion, and it was not the policy of the

court party to attack orthodoxy in Gaul. He seems to have been charged with exciting popular discontent; and this, as we have seen, was an accusation which his own letter had rendered plausible. He tried to raise the question of the Faith, challenging the doctrine of his opponents. But though a large majority of a council of Gallic bishops would certainly be in sympathy with him, he had no success. Their position was not threatened; Hilary, like Paulinus, was accused of no doctrinal error, and these victims of Constantius, if they had raised no questions concerning their neighbor's faith and made no objections to the Emperor's tyranny, might also have passed their days in peace. The tone of the episcopate in Gaul was, in fact, by no means heroic. If we may trust Sulpicius Severus, in all these Councils the opposition was prepared to accept the Emperor's word about Athanasius, and excommunicate him, if the general question of the Faith might be discussed. But the condition was evaded, and the issue never frankly raised; and, it is was cowardly, it was not unnatural that Hilary should have been condemned by the Synod, and condemned almost unanimously. Only Rodanius of Toulouse was punished with him; the sufferers would certainly have been more numerous had there been any strenuous remonstrance against the injustice. The Synod sent their decision to the Caesar Julian, their immediate ruler Julian took no action; he may have felt that the matter was too serious for him to decide without reference to the Emperor, but it is more likely that he had no wish to outrage the dominant Church feeling of Gaul and alienate sympathies which he might need in the future. In any case by refused to pass a sentence which he must have known would be in accordance with the Emperor's desire; and the vote of the Synod, condemning Hilary, was sent to Constantius himself. He acted upon it at once, and in the summer of the same year, 356, Hilary was exiled to the diocese, or civil district comprising several provinces, of Asia.

We now come to the most important period of Hilary's life. He was already, as we have seen a Greek scholar and a followers of Greek theology. He was not to come into immediate contact with the great problems of the day in the field on which they were being constantly debated. And he was well prepared to take his part. He had formed his own convictions before he was acquainted with *homoousion, homoiousion* or the Nicene Creed. He was therefore in full sympathy with Athanasius

on the main point. And his manner of treating the controversy shows that the policy of Athanasius was also, in a great measure, his. Like Athanasius, he spares Marcellus as much as possible. We know that Athanasius till the end refuses to condemn him, though one of the most formidable weapons in the armory of the Anti-Nicene party was the conjunction in which they could plausibly put their two names, as those of the most strenuous opponents of Arianism. Similarly Hilary never names Marcellus, as he never names Apollinaris, though he had the keenest sense of danger involved in either heresy, and argues forcibly and often against both. Like Athanasius again, he has no mercy upon Photinus the disciple, while he spares Marcellus the master; and it is a small, though clear, sign of dependence that he occasionally applies Athanasius' nickname of *Ariomanito*e, or 'Arian lunatics,' to his opponents. It is certain that Hilary was familiar with the writings of Athanasius, and borrowed freely from them. But so little has yet been done towards ascertaining the progress of Christian thought and the extent of each writer's contribution to it, that it is impossible to say which arguments were already current and may have been independently adopted by Hilary and by Athanasius, and for which the former is indebted to the latter. Yet it is universally recognized that the debt exists; and Hilary's greatness as a theologian, his mastery of the subject, would embolden him to borrow and adapt more freely that he was dealing as with an equal and a fellow-combatant in the same cause.

Athanasius and Hilary can never have met face to face. But the eyes and the agents of Athanasius were everywhere, and he must have known something of the exile and of the services of Hilary, who was, of course, well acquainted with the history of Athanasius, though, with the rest of Gaul, he may not have been whole-hearted in his defense. And now he was the more likely to be drawn towards him because this was the time of his approximation to the younger generation of the Conservative School. For it is with them that Hilary's affinities are closest and most obvious. The great Cappadocians were devoted Origenists—we know the service they rendered to their master by the publication of the *Philocalia*,—and there could be no stronger bond of union between Hilary and themselves. They were the outgrowth of that great Asiatic school to which the name of Semiarians, somewhat unkindly given by Epiphanius, has clung, and which was steadily increasing in influence over the thought of Asia, the dominant

province, at this time, of the whole Empire. Gregory of Nazianzus, the eldest of the three great writers, was probably not more than twenty-five years of age when Hilary was sent into exile, and none of them can have seriously affected even his latest works. But they represented, in a more perfect form, the teaching of the best men of the Conservative School; and when we find that Hilary, who was old enough to be the father of Basil and the two Gregories, has thoughts in common with them which are not to be found in Athanasius, we may safely assign this peculiar teaching to the influence upon Hilary, predisposed by his loyalty to Origen to listen to the representatives of the Origenist tradition, of this school of theology. We see one side of this influence in Hilary's understatement of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The Semiarians were coming to be of one mind with the Nicenes as to the consubstantial Deity of the Son; none of them, in all probability, at this time would have admitted the consubstantial Deity of the Spirit, and the unity of their School was to be wrecked in future years upon this point. The fact that Hilary could use language so reserved upon this subject must have led them to welcome his alliance the more heartily. Neither he nor they could foresee the future of the doctrine, and both sides must have sincerely thought that they were at one. And, indeed, on Hilary's part there was a great willingness to believe in this unity, which led him, as we shall see, into an unfortunate attempt at ecclesiastical diplomacy. Another evidence of contact with this Eastern School, but at its most advanced point, is the remarkable expression, 'Only-begotten God,' which Hilary 'employs with startling freedom, evidently as the natural expression of his own inmost thought.' Dr. Hort, whose words these are, states that the term is used by Athanasius only twice, once in youth and once in old age; but that, on the other hand, it is familiar to two of the Cappadocians, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. They must have learned it from some Asiatic writer known to Hilary as a contemporary, to them as successors. And when we find Hilary rejecting the baptism of heretics, and so putting himself in opposition to what had been the Roman view for a century and that of Gaul since the Council of Arles in 314, and then find this opinion echoed by Gregory of Nazianzus, we are reminded not only of Hilary's general independence of thought, but of the circumstance that St. Cyprian found his stoutest ally in contesting this same point in the Cappadocian Firmilian. A comparison of the two sets of writings would probably lead to the discovery of more coincidences

than have yet been noticed; of the fact itself, of ‘the Semiarian influence so visible in the *De Synodis* of Hilary, and even in his own later work,’ there can be no doubt.

With these affinities, with an adequate knowledge of the Greek language and a strong sympathy, as well as a great familiarity, with Greek modes of thought, Hilary found himself in the summer of the year 356 an exile in Asia Minor. It was exile in the most favorable circumstances. He was still bishop of Poitiers, recognized as such by the government, which only forbade him, for reasons of state ostensibly not connected with theology, to reside within his diocese. He had free communication with his fellow-bishops in Gaul, and was allowed to administer his own diocese, so far as administration by letter was possible, without interruption. And his diocese did not forget him. We learn from Sulpicius Severus that he and the others of the little band of exiles, who had suffered at Arles, and Milan, and Beziers, were the heroes of the day in their own country. That orthodox bishops should suffer for the Faith was a new thing in the West; we cannot wonder that subsidies were raised for their support and delegations sent to assure them of the sympathy of their flocks. To a man like Hilary, of energy and ability, of recognized episcopal rank and unimpeached orthodoxy, the position offered not less but more opportunities of service than hitherto he had enjoyed. For no restriction was put upon his movements, so long as he kept within the wide bounds allotted him. he had perfect leisure for travel or for study, the money needed for the expense of his journeys, and something of the glory, still very real, with which the confessor was invested. And his movements were confined to the very region where he could learn most concerning the question of the hour, and do most for its solution. In fact, in sending Hilary into such an exile as this, Constantius had done too much, or too little; he had injured, and not advanced, his own favorite cause of unity by way of compromise. In this instance, as in those of Arius and Athanasius and many others, exile became a efficacious means for the spreading and strengthening of convictions. If Hilary had no great success, as we shall see, in the Council which he attended, yet his presence, during these critical years, in a region where men were gradually advancing to the fuller truth cannot have been without influence upon their spiritual growth; and

his residence in Asia no doubt confirmed and enriched his own apprehension of the Faith.

It is certain that Hilary was busily engaged in writing his great work upon the Trinity, and that some parts of it were actually published, during his exile. But as this work in its final form would appear to belong to the next stage of Hialry's life, it will be well to postpone its consideration for the present, and proceed at once to his share in the conciliar action of the time. We have no information concerning his conduct before the year 358, but it is necessary to say something about the important events which preceded his publication of the *De Synodis* and his participation in the Council of Seleucia.

It was a time when new combinations of parties were being formed. Arianism was showing itself openly, as it had not dared to do since Nicaea. In 357 Hilary's adversaries, Ursacius and Valens, in a Synod at Sirmium, published a creed which was Arian without concealment; it was, indeed, as serious a blow to the Emperor's policy of compromise as anything that Athanasius or Hilary had ventured. But it was the work of friends of the Emperor, and showed that, for the moment at any rate, the Court had been won over to the extreme party. But the forces of Conservatism were still the stongest. Within a few months, early in 358, the great Asiatic prelates, soon to be divided over the question of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit but still at one, Basil of Ancyra, Macedonius and others, met at Ancyra and repudiated Arianism while ignoring, after their manner, the Nicene definition. Then their delegates proceeded to the Court, now at Sirmium, and won Constantius back to his old position. Ursacius and Valens, who had no scruples, signed a Conservtive creed, as did the weak Liberius of Rome, anxious to escape from an exile to which he had been consigned soon after the banishment of Hilary. It was a great triumph to have induced so prominent a bishop to minimize—we cannot say that he denied—his own belief and that of the Western churches. And the Asiatic leaders were determined to have the spoils of victory. Liberius, of course, was allowed to return home, for he had proved compliant, and the Conservatives had no quarrel with those who held the *homoousion.* But the most prominent of the Arian leaders, those who had the courage of their conviction, to the number, it is said, of seventy, were exiled. It is true that Constantius was quickly persuaded by other influences to restore

them; but the theological difference was embittered by the sense of personal injury, and further conflicts rendered inevitable between Conservatives and Arians.

It was with this Conservative party, victorious for the moment, that Hilary had to deal. Its leaders, and especially Basil of Ancyra, had the ear of the Emperor, and seemed to hold the future of the Church in their hands. Hilary was on friendly terms with Basil, with whom, as we have seen, he had much in common, and corresponded on his behalf with the Western Bishops. He was, indeed, by the peculiar combination in him of the Eastern and Western, perhaps the only man who could have played the part he undertook. He was thoroughly and outspokenly orthodox, yet had no prejudice in favor of the Nicene definition. He would have been content, like the earlier generation of Eastern bishops, with a simple formulary; the Apostle's Creed, the traditional standard of the West, satisfied the exigencies even of his own precise thought. And if a personal jealousy of Athanasius and his school on the part of the Asiatic Conservatives was one of the chief obstacles to peace, communication between him and Athanansius; he could ignore, and may even have been ignorant of, the antipathy of Asia to Alexandria. And he was no absolute follower of Athanasius' teaching. We saw that in some important respects he was an independent thinker, and that in others he is on common ground with the Cappadocians, the heirs of the best thought of such men as Basil of Ancyra. Nor could he labor under any suspicion of being involved in the heresy of Marcellus. It was an honorable tradition of Eastern Christendom to guard against the recrudescence of such heresy as his, which revived the fallacies of Paul of Samosata and of Sabellius, and seemed in Asia the most formidable of all possible errors. Marcellus had forged it as a weapon in defense of the Nicene faith; and if his doctrine were among the most formidable antagonists of Arianism, it may well have seemed that there was not much to choose between the two. And while Athanasius had never condemned Marcellus, and the West had more than once pronounced him innocent, the general feeling of the East was decisively against him, and deeply suspicious of any appearance of sympathy with him. And further, by one of those complications of personal with theological opposition which were so sadly frequent, Basil was in possession of that very see of Ancyra from which the heretic Marcellus had been expelled.

Hilary, who was unconcerned in all this, saw a new hope for the Church in his Asiatic friends, and his own tendencies of thought must have been a welcome surprise to them, accustomed as they were to suspect Sabellianism in the West. The prospect, indeed, was at first sight a fair one. The faith, it seemed, might be upheld by imperial support, now that it had advocated who were not prejudiced in the Emperor's eyes as was Athanasius; and Athanasius himself, accredited by the testimony of Asia, might recover his position. Yet Hilary was building on an unsound foundation. The Semiarian party was not united. Hilary may not have suspected, or may, in his zeal for the cause, have concealed from himself the fact, that in the doctrine of the Holy Ghost there lay the seeds of a strife which was soon to divide his allies as widely as Arius was separated from Athanasius. And these allies, as a body, were not worthy supporters of the truth. There were many sincere men among them, but these were mixed with adventurers, who used the conflict as a means of attaining office, with as few scruples as any of the other prelates who hung around the court. But the fatal obstacle to success was that the whole plan depended on the favor of Constantius. For the moment Basil and his friends possessed this, but their adversaries were men of greater dexterity and fewer scruples than they. Valens and Ursacius and their like were doing their utmost to retrieve defeat and enjoy revenge. It is significant that Athanasius, as it seems, had no share in Hilary's hopes and schemes for drawing East and West together. He had an unrivaled knowledge of the circumstances, and an open mind, willing to see good in the Semiarians; had the plan contained the elements of success if would have received his warm support.

Hilary threw himself heartily into it. He traveled, we know, extensively; so much so, that his letters from Gaul failed to reach him in the year 358. This was a serious matter. We have seen that the exiles from the West had derived great support from their flocks. Hilary's own weight as a negotiator must have depended upon the general knowledge that he did not stand alone, but represented the public opinion of a great province. For this reason, as well as for his own peace of mind, it must have been a welcome relief to him to learn, when letters came at last, that his friends had not forgotten or deserted him; and he seized the opportunity of reply to send to the bishops of all the Gallic provinces and of Britain the circular

letters which we call the *De Synodis,* translated in this volume. The Introduction to it, here given, makes is unnecessary to describe its contents. It may suffice to say that it is an able and well-written attempt to explain the Eastern position to Western theologians. He shows that the Eastern creeds, which had been composed since the Nicene, were susceptible of an orthodox meaning, and felicitously brings out their merits by contrast with the unmitigated heresy of the second creed of Sirmium, which he cites at full length. It must be admitted that there is a certain amount of special pleading; that his eyes are resolutely shut to any other aspect of the documents than that which he is commending to the attention of his readers in Gaul. And he is as boldly original in his rendering of history as of doctrine. He actually describes the Council of the Dedication, which confirmed the deposition of Athanasius and propounded a compromising creed, definitely intended to displace the Nicene, as an 'assembly of the saints.' The West, we know, cared little for Eastern disputes and formularies. There can have been no great risk that Hilary's praise should revolt the minds of his friends, and as little hope that it would excite any enthusiasm among them. This description, and a good deal else in the *De Synodis,* was obviously meant to be read in the land where it was written. When all possible allowance is made for his sympathy with the best men among the Asiatics, and for the hopefulness with which he might naturally regard his allies, it is still impossible to think that he was quite sincere in asserting that their object in compiling ambiguous creeds was the suppression of Sabellianism and not the rejection of the *homoousion*. Yet it was natural enough that he should write as he did, for the prospect must have seemed most attractive. If this open letter could convince the Eastern bishops that they were regarded in the West not with suspicion, as teachers of the inferiority of Christ, but with admiration, as steadfast upholders of His reality, a great step was made towards union. And if Hilary could persuade his brethren in Gaul that the imperfect terms in which the East was accustomed to express its faith in Christ were compatible with sound belief, an approach could be made from that side also. And in justice to Hilary we must bear in mind that he does not fall into the error of Liberius. It was a serious fault for a Western bishop to abandon words which were, for him and for his Church, the recognized expression of the truth; it was a very different matter to argue that inadequate terms, in the mouth of those who were unhappily

pledged to the use of them, might contain the saving Faith. This latter is the argument which Hilary uses. He urges the East to advance to the definiteness of the Nicene confession; he urges the West to welcome the first signs of such an advance, and meantime to recognize the truth that was half-concealed in their ambiguous documents. The attempt was a bold one, and met, as was inevitable, with severe criticism from the side of uncompromising orthodoxy, which we may for the moment leave unnoticed. What Athanasius thought of the treatise we do not know; it would be unsafe to conjecture that his own work, which bears the same title and was written in the following year, when the futility of the hope which had buoyed Hilary up had been demonstrated, was a silent criticism upon the *De Synodis* of the other. It is, at least, a success in itself, and was a step towards the ultimate victory of truth; we cannot say as much of Hilary's effort, admirable though its intention was, and though it must have contributed something to the softening of asperities. But Alexandria and Gaul were distant, and while the one excited repugnance in the Emperor's mind, the other had little influence with him. The decision seemed to lie in the hands of Basil of Ancyra and his colleagues. The men who had the ear of Constantius, and had lately induced him to banish the Arians, must in consistency use their influence for the restoration of exiles who were suffering for their opposition to Arianism; and this influence, if only the West would heartily join with them, would be strong enough to secure even the restoration of Athanasius. Such thoughts were certainly present in the mind of Hilary when he painted so bright a picture of Eastern Councils, and represented Constantius as an innocent believer, once misguided but now returned to the Faith. From the Semiarian leaders, controlling the policy of Constantius, he expected peace for the Church, restoration of the exiles, the suppression of Arianism. And if to some extent he deceived himself, and was willing to believe and to persuade others that men's faith and purpose differed from what in fact it was, we must remember that it was a time of passionate earnestness, when cool judgment concerning friend or foe was almost impossible for one who was involved in that great conflict concerning the Divinity of Christ.

But the times were not ripe for an understanding between East and West, and the Asiatics in whom Hilary had put his trust were not, and did not deserve to be, the restorers of the Church. Their victory had been

complete, but the Emperor was inconstant and their adversaries were men of talent, who had once guided his counsels and knew how to recover their position. The policy of Constantius was, as we know, one of compromise, and it might seem to him that the prevailing confusion would cease if only a sufficiently comprehensive formula could be devised and accepted. ‘Specious charity and colorless indefiniteness was the policy of the new party, formed by Valens and Arians of every shade, which won the favor of Constantius within a year of the Semiarian victory. They had been mortified, had been forced to sign a confession which they disbelieved, many of them had suffered a momentary exile. Now they were to have their revenge; not only were the terms of communion to be so lax that extreme Arianism should be at home within the Church, but, as in a modern change of ministry, the Semiarians were to yield their sees to their opponents. To attain these ends a Council was necessary. The general history of the Homoean intrigues, of their division of the forces opposed to them by the assembling of a Western Council at Rimini, of an Eastern at Seleucia in September, 359. The Emperor, who hoped for a final settlement, desired that the Council should be as large as possible, and the governors of provinces exerted themselves to collect bishops, and to forward them to Seleucia, as was usual, at the public expense. Among the rest, Hilary, who was, we must remember, a bishop with a diocese of his own, and of unimpugned orthodoxy, exiled ostensibly for a political offense, received orders to attend at the cost of the State. In the Council, which numbered some 160 bishops, his Semiarian friends were in a majority of three to one; the uncompromising Nicenes of Egypt and the uncompromising Arians, taken together, did not number more than a quarter of the whole. Hilary was welcomed heartily and, as it would seem, unanimously; but he had to disclaim, on behalf of the Church in Gaul, the Sabellianism of which it was suspected, and with some reason after the Western welcome of Marcellus. He stated his faith to the satisfaction of the Council in accordance with the Nicene confession. We cannot doubt that he made use of its very words, for Hilary was not the man to retreat from the position he held, and the terms of his alliance with the school of Basil of Ancyra required no such renunciation. The proceedings of the Council, in which Hilary took no public part, may be omitted. The Semiarians, strong in numbers and, as they still thought, in the Emperor’s favor, swept everything before them. They adopted the ambiguous creed

of the Council of the Dedication,—that Council which Hilary had lately called an ‘assembly of the Saints’—for the Nicenes were a powerless minority; and they their sentence of excommunication upon the Arians, who were still fewer in number. They even ventured to consecrate a successor to Eudoxius, one of the most extreme, for the great Church of Antioch. Then the Council elected a commission of ten of the leaders of the majority to present to the Emperor a report of its proceedings, and dispersed. In spite of some ominous signs of obstinacy on the part of the Arians, and of favor towards them shown by the government officials, they seemed to have succeeded in establishing still more firmly the results attained at Ancyra two years before, and to have struck another and, as they might hope, a more effectual blow at the heretics.

But when the deputation, with whom Hilary traveled, reached Constantinople, they found that the position was entirely different from their expectation. The intriguing party, whose aim was to punish and displace the Semiarians, had contrived a double treason. They misrepresented the Western Council to the Emperor as in agreement with themselves; and they sacrificed their more honest colleagues in Arianism. They hated those who, like Basil of Ancyra, maintained the *homoiousion, the* doctrine that the Son is of like nature with the Father; the Emperor sincerely rejected the logical Arianism which said that He is of unlike nature. They abandon their friends in order to induce Constantius to sacrifice his old Semiarian advisers; and proposed with success their new Homoean formula, that the Son is ‘like the Father in all things, as Scripture says.’ His nature is not mentioned; the last words were a concession to the scruples of the Emperor. We shall see presently that this rupture with the consistent Arians is a matter of some importance for the dating of Hilary’s *De Trinitate;* for the present we must follow the fortunes of himself and his allies. He had journeyed with them to Constantinople. This was, apparently, a breach of the order given to confine himself to the diocese of Asia; but he had already been commanded to go to Seleucia, which lay beyond those limits, and his journey to Constantinople may have been regarded as a legitimate sequel to this former journey. In any case he was not molested, and was allowed to appear, with the deputation from Seleucia, at the Court of Constantius. For the last two months of the year 359 the disputes concerning the Faith still continued. But the Emperor was

firm in his determination to bring about a compromise which should embrace every one who was not an extreme and conscientious Arian, and the Homoean leaders supported him ably and unscrupulously. They falsified the sense of the Council of Rimini and denied their own Arianism, and Constantius backed them up by threats against the Seleucian deputation. Hilary, of course, had no official position, and could speak only for himself. The Western Church seemed to have decided against its own faith, and the decision of the East, represented by the ten delegates, was not yet declared, though it must have been probable that they would succumb to the pressure exercised upon them, and desert their own convictions and those of the Council whose commission they held. In these circumstances Hilary had the courage, which we cannot easily overestimate, to make a personal appeal to Constantius. It is evident that as yet he is hopeful, or at least that he thinks it worth while to make an attempt. He writes with the same customary humility which we found in his former address to the Emperor. Constantius is ‘most pious,’ ‘good and religious,’ ‘most gracious,’ and so forth. The sincerity of the appeal is manifest; Hilary still believes, or is trying to believe, that the Emperor, who had so lately been on the side of Basil of Ancyra and his friends, and had at their instigation humiliated and exiled their opponents, has not transferred his favor once more to the party of Valens. The address is written with great dignity of style and of matter. Hilary begins by declaring that the importance of his theme is such that it enforces attention, however insignificant the speaker may be; yet (§ 2) his position entitles him to speak. He is a bishop, in communion with all the churches and bishops of Gaul, and to that very day distributing the Eucharist by the hands of his presbyters to his own Church. He is in exile, it is true, but he is guiltless; falsely accused by designing men who had gained the Emperor’s ear. He appeals to Julian’s knowledge of his innocence; discredit upon the administration of Julian, under which he had been conformed. The Emperor’s rescript sentencing Hilary to exile was public; it was notorious that the charges upon which the sentence was based were false. Saturninus, the active promoter, if not the instigator, of the attack, was now in Constantinople. Hilary confidently promises to demonstrate that the proceedings were a deception of Constantius, and an insult to Julian; if he fails, he will no longer petition to be allowed to return to the exercise of his office, but will retire to pass the rest of his days as a layman

in repentance. To this end he asks to be confronted with Saturninus (§ 3), or rather takes for granted that Constantius will do as he wishes. He leaves the Emperor to determine all the conditions of the debate, in which, as he repeats, he will wring from Saturninus the confession of his falsehood. Meanwhile he promises to be silent upon the subject till the appointed time. Next, he turns to the great subject of the day. The world's danger, the guilt of silence, the judgment of God, fill him with fear; he is constrained to speak when his own salvation and that of the Emperor and of mankind is at stake, and encouraged by the consciousness of multitudes who sympathize with him. He bids the Emperor (§ 4) call back to his mind the Faith which (so he says) Constantius is longing in vain to hear from his bishops. Those whose duty is to proclaim the Faith of God are employed, instead, in composing faiths of their own, and so they revolve in an endless circle of error and strife. The sense of human infirmity ought to have made them content to hold the Faith in the same form of words in which they received it. At their baptism they had professed and sworn their faith, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;* doubt or change are equally unlawful. Yet men were using the sacred words while they dishonestly assigned to them another meaning, or even were daring to depart from them. Thus to some the three sacred Names were empty terms. Hence innovations in the statement of Faith; the search for novelties took the place of loyalty to ancient truth, and the creed of the year displaced the creed of the Gospels. Every one framed his confession according to his own desire of his own character; while creeds were multiplying, the one Faith was perishing. Since the Council of Nicaea (§ 5) there had been no end of this writing of creeds. So busily were men wrangling over words, seeking novelties, debating knotty points, forming factions and pursuing ambitions, refusing to agree and hurling anathemas at one another, that almost all had drifted away from Christ. The confusion was such that none could either teach or learn in safety. Within the last year no less than four contradictory creeds had been promulgated. There was no single point of the Faith which they or their fathers had held upon which violent hands had not been laid. And the pitiful creed which for the moment held the field was that the son is 'like the Father'; whether this likeness were perfect or imperfect was left in obscurity. The result of constant change and ceaseless dispute was self-contradiction and mutual destruction. This search for a faith (§ 6) involved the assumption that the

true Faith was not ready to the believer's hand. They would have it in writing, as though the heart were not its place. Baptism implied the Faith and was useless without its acceptance; to teach a new Christ after Baptism, or to alter the Faith then declared, was sin against the Holy Ghost. The chief cause of the continuance of the present blasphemy was the love of applause; men invented grandiloquent paraphrases in place of the Apostle's Creed, to delude the vulgar, to conceal their aberrations, to effect a compromise with other forms of error. They would do anything rather than confess that they had been wrong. When the storm rises (§ 7) the mariner returns to the harbor he had left; the spendthrift youth, with ruin in prospect, to the sober habits of his father's home. So Christians, with shipwreck of the Faith in sight and the heavenly patrimony almost lost, must return to the safety which lies in the primitive, Apostolic Baptismal Creed. They must not condemn as presumptuous or profane the Nicene confession, but eschew it as giving occasion to attacks upon the Faith, and to denials of the truth on the ground of novelty. There is danger lest innovation creep in. excused as improvement of this creed; and emendation is an endless process, which leads the emenders to condemnation of each other. Hilary now (§ 8) professes his sincere admiration of Constantius' devout purpose and earnestness in seeking the truth, which he who denies is antichrist, and he who feigns is anathema. He entreats the Emperor to allow him to expound the Faith, in his own presence, before the Council which was now debating the subject at Constantinople. His exposition shall be Scriptural; he will use the words of Christ, Whose exile and Whose bishop he is. The Emperor seeks the Faith; let him hear it not from modern volumes, but from the books of God. Even in the West it may be taught, whence shall come some that shall sit at meat in the kingdom of God. This is a matter not of philosophy, but of the teaching of the Gospel. He asks audience rather for the Emperor's sake and for God's Churches than for himself. He is sure of the faith that is in him; it is God's, and he will never change it. But (§ 9) the Emperor must bear in mind that every heretic professes that his own is the Scriptural doctrine. So say Marcellus, Photinus, and the rest. He prays (§ 10) for the Emperor's best attention; his pleas will be for faith and unity and eternal life. He will speak in all reverence to Constantius' royal position, and for his faith, and what he says shall tend to peace between East and West. Finally (§ 11) he gives, as an outline of the address he proposes to deliver,

the series of texts on which he will base his argument. This is what the Holy Spirit has taught him to believe. To this faith he will ever adhere, loyal to the Faith of his fathers, and the creed of his Baptism, and the Gospel as he has learnt it.

In this address, to which we cannot wonder that Constantius made no response, there is much that is remarkable. There is not doubt that Hilary's exile had been a political measure, and that the Emperor, in this as in the numerous other cases of the same kind, had acted deliberately and with full knowledge of the circumstances in the way that seemed to him most conducive to the interests of permanent peace. Hilary's assumption that Constantius had been deceived is a legitimate allusion, which no one could misunderstand, to a fact which could not be respectfully stated. That he should have spoken as he did, and indeed that he should have raised the subject at all, is a clear sign of the uncertainty of the times. A timorous appeal for mercy would have been useless; a bold statement of innocence, although, as things turned out, if failed, was a effort worth making to check the Homoean advance. Saturninus, as we saw, was one of the Court party among the bishops; and he was an enemy of Julian, who was soon to permit his deposition. Julian's knowledge of Hilary can have been but small; his exile began within a month or two of the Caesar's arrival in Gaul, and Julian was not responsible for it. For good or for evil, he had little to say in the case. But the suspicions were already aroused which were soon to lead to Julian's revolt, and Constantius had begun to give the orders which would lessen Julian's military force, and were, as he supposed, intended to prepare his downfall. To appeal to Julian and to attack Saturnius was to remind Constantius very broadly that great interests were at stake, and that a protector might be found for the creed which he persecuted. And his double mention of the West (§§ 8, 10) as able to teach the truth, and as needing to be reconciled with the East, has a political ring. It suggests that the Western provinces are a united force, with which the Emperor must reckon. The fact that Constantius, though he did not grant the meeting in his own presence with Saturninus, which Hilary had asked for, yet he did grant the substance of his prayer, allowing him to return without obstacle to his diocese, seems to show that the Emperor felt the need for caution and concession in the West.

The theological part of the letter is even more remarkable. Its doctrine is, of course, exactly that of the *De Trinitate*. The summary of Scripture proofs for the doctrine in § 11, the allusion to unlearned fishermen who have been teachers of the Faith, and several other passages, are either anticipations or reminiscences of that work. But the interest of the letter lies in its bold proposal to go behind all the modern creeds, of the confusion of which a vivid picture is drawn, and revert to the baptismal formula. Here is a leading combatant on the Catholic side actually proposing to withdraw the Nicene confession:—'Amid these shipwrecks of faith, when our inheritance of the heavenly patrimony is almost squandered, our safety lies in clinging to that first and only Gospel Faith which we confessed and apprehended at our Baptism, and in making no change in that one form which, when we welcome it and listen to it, brings the right faith I do not mean that we should condemn as a godless and blasphemous writing the work of the Synod of our fathers; yet rash men make use of it as a means of gainsaying' (§ 7). The Nicene Creed, Hilary goes on to say, had been the starting-point of an endless chain of innovations and amendments, and thus had done harm instead of good. We have seen that Hilary was not only acting with the Semiarians, but was nearer to them in many ways than he was to Athanasius. The future of his friends was now in doubt; not only was their doctrine in danger, but, after the example they had themselves set, they must have been certain that defeat meant deposition. This was a concession which only a sense of extreme urgency could have induced Hilary to make. Yet even now he avoid the mistake of Liberius. He offers to sign no compromising creed; he only proposes that all modern creeds be consigned to the same oblivion. It was, in effect, the offer of another compromise in lieu of the Homoean; though Hilary makes it perfectly clear what is, in his eyes, the only sense in which this simple and primitive confession can honestly be made, yet assuredly those whose doctrine most widely diverged would have felt able to make it. That the proposal was sincerely meant, and that his words, uncompromising as they are in assertion of the truth, were not intended for a simple defiance of the enemy, is shown by a list of heretics whom he advances, in § 9, in proof of his contention that all error claims to be based on Scripture. Three of them, Montanus, Manichaeus and Marcion, were heretics in the eyes of an Arian as much as of a Catholic; the other three, Marcellus, Photinus and Sabellius, were those with whom the Arians were

constantly taunting their adversaries. Hilary avoids, deliberately as we may be sure, the use of any name which could wound his opponents. But bold and eloquent and true as the appeal of Hilary was, it was still less likely that his petition for a hearing in Council should be granted than that he should be allowed to disprove the accusations which had led to his exile. The homoean leaders had the victory in their hands, and they knew it, if Hilary and his friends were still in the dark. They did not want conciliation, but revenge, and this appeal was foredoomed to failure. The end of the crisis soon came. The Semiarian leaders were deposed, not on the charge of heresy, for that would have been inconsistent with the Homoean position and also with their acquiescence in the Homoean formula, but on some of those complaints concerning conduct which were always forthcoming when they were needed. Among the victims was not only Basil of Ancyra, Hilary's friend, but also Macedonius of Constantinople, who was in after days to be the chief of the party which denied the true Godhead of the Holy Ghost. he and his friends were probably unconscious at this time of the gulf which divided them from such men as Hilary, who for their part were content, in the interests of unity, with language which understated their belief, or else had not yet a clear sense of their faith upon this point. In any case it was well that the victory of the true Faith was not won at this time, and with the aid of such allies; we may even regard it as a sign of some short-sightedness on Hilary's part that he had thrown himself so heartily into their cause. But he, at any rate, was not to suffer. The two Eastern parties, Homoean and Semiarian, which alternately ejected one another from their sees, were very evenly balanced, and though Constantius was now on the side of the former, his friendship was not to be trusted. The solid orthodoxy of the West was an influence which, as Hilary had hinted, could not be ignored; and even in the East the Nicenes were a power worth conciliating. Hence the Homoeans gave a share of the Semiarian spoils to them; and it was part of the same policy, and not, as has been quaintly suggested, because they were afraid of his arguments, that they permitted Hilary to return to Gaul. Reasons of state as well as of ecclesiastical interest favored his restoration.

In the late revolution, though the Faith had suffered, individual Catholics had gained. But the party to which Hilary had attached himself, and from which he had hoped so much was crushed; and his personal advantage did

not compensate, in his eyes of the injury to truth. He has left us a memorial of his feelings in the *Invective against Constantius,* one of the bitterest documents of a controversy in which all who engaged were too earnest to spare their opponents. It is an admirable piece of rhetoric suffused with passion, not the less spontaneous because its form, according to the canons of taste of that time, is perfect. For we must remember that the education of the day was literary, its aim being to provide the recipient with a prompt and felicitous expression of his thought, whatever they might be. The Invective was certainly written in the first place as a relief to Hilary's own feelings; he could not anticipate that Constantius had changed his views for the last time; that he would soon cease to be the master of Gaul, and would be dead within some eighteen months. But the existence of other attacks upon Constantius, composed about this time, makes it probable that there was some secret circulation of such documents; and we can as little accuse the writers of cowardice, when we consider the Emperor's far-reaching power, as we can attribute to them injustice towards him.

The book begins with an animated summons to resistance:—'The time for speech is come, the time of silence past. Let us look for Christ's coming, for Antichrist is already in power. Let the shepherds cry aloud, for the hirelings are fled. Let us lay down our lives for the sheep, for the thieves have entered in and the ravening lion prowls around. With such words on our lips let us go forth to martyrdom, for the angel of Satan has transfigured himself into an angel of light.' After more Scriptural language of the same kind, Hilary goes on to say (2) that, though he had been fully conscious of the extent of the danger to the Faith, he had been strictly moderate in his conduct. After the exiling of orthodox bishops at Arles and Milan, he and the bishops of Gaul had contented themselves with abstaining from communion with Saturninus, Ursacius and Valens. Other heretical bishops had been allowed a time for repentance. And even after he had been forced to attend the Synod of Beziers, refused a hearing for the charges of heresy which he wished to bring, and finally exiled, he had never, in word or writing, uttered any denunciation against his opponents, the Synagogue of Satan, who falsely claimed to be the Church of Christ. He had not faltered in his own belief, but had welcomed every suggestion that held out a hope of unity; and in that hope he have even refrained from

blaming those who associated or worshipped with the excommunicate. Setting all personal considerations on one side, he had labored for a restoration of the Church through a general repentance. This reserve and consistency (§ 3) is evidence that what he is about to say is not due to personal irritation. He speaks in the name of Christ, and his prolonged silence makes it his duty to speak plainly. It had been happy for him had he lived in the days of Nero or Decius (§ 4). The Holy Spirit would have fired him to endure as did the martyrs of Scripture; torments and death would have been welcome. It would have been a fair fight with an open enemy. But now (§ 5) Constantius was Antichrist, and waged his warfare by deceit and flattery. It was scourging then, pampering now; no longer freedom in prison, but slavery at court, and gold as deadly as the sword had been; martyrs no longer burnt at the stake, but a secret lighting of the fires of hell. All that seems good in Constantius, his confession of Christ, his efforts for unity, his severity to heretics, his reverence for bishops, his building of churches, is perverted to evil ends. He professes loyalty to Christ, but his constant aim is to prevent Christ from being honored equally with the Father. Hence (§ 6) it is a clear duty to speak out, as the Baptist to Herod and the Maccabees to Antioch. Constantius is addressed (§ 7) in the words in which Hilary would have addressed Nero or Decius, or Maximian, had he been arraigned before them, as the enemy of God and His Church, a persecutor and a tyrant. But he has a peculiar infamy, worse than theirs, for it is as a pretended Christian that he opposed Christ, imprisons bishops, overawes the Church by military force, threatens and starves one council (at Rimini) into submission, and frustrates the purpose of another (Seleucia) by sowing dissension. To the pagan Emperors the Church owed a great debt (§ 8); the Martyrs with whom they had enriched her were still working daily wonders, healing the sick, casting out evil spirits, suspending the law of gravitation. But Constantius;' guilt has no mitigation. A nominal Christian, he has brought unmixed evil upon the Church. The victims of his perversion cannot even plead bodily suffering as an excuse for their lapse. The devil is his father, from whom he has learnt his skill of misleading. He says to Christ, *Lord, Lord,* but shall not enter the kingdom of heaven (§ 9), for he denies the Son, and therefore the fatherhood of God. The old persecutors were enemies of Christ only; Constantius insults the Father also, by making Him lie. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing (§ 10). He loads the Church with the gold of the state and

the spoil of pagan temples; it is the kiss with which Judas betrayed his Master. The clergy receive immunities and remissions of taxation: it is to tempt them to deny Christ. he will only relate such acts of Constantius' tyranny as affect the Church (§ 11). He will not press, for he does not know the offense alleged, his conduct in branding bishops on the forehead, as convicts, and setting them to labor in the mines. But he recounts his long course of oppression and faction at Alexandria; a warfare longer than that which he had waged against Persia. Elsewhere, in the East, he had spread terror and strife, always to prevent Christ being preached. Then he had turned to the West. The excellent Paulinus had been driven from Treves, and cruelly treated, banished from all Christian society, and forced to consort with Montanist heretics. Again, at Milan, the soldiers had brutally forced their way through the orthodox crowds and torn bishops from the alter; a crime like that of the Jews who slew Zacharias in the Temple. He had robbed Rome also of her bishop, whose restoration was as disgraceful to the Emperor as his banishment. At Toulouse the clergy had been shamefully maltreated, and gross irreverence committed in the Church. These are the deeds of Antichrist. Hitherto, Hilary has spoken of matters of public notoriety, though not of his own observation. Now (§ 12) he comes to the Synod of Seleucia, at which he had been present. He found there as many blasphemers as Constantius chose. Only the Egyptians, with the exception of George, the intruder into the See of Athanasius, were avowedly Homoousian. Yet of the one hundred and five bishops who professed the Homoeousian Creed, he found 'some piety in the words of some.' But the Anomoeans were rank blasphemers; he give, in § 13, words from a sermon by their leader, Eudoxius of Antioch, which were quoted by the opposition, and received with the abhorrence they deserved. This party found (§ 14) that no toleration was to be expected for such doctrines, and so forged the Homoean creed, which condemned equally the *homoousion*, the *homoiousion* and the *anomoion.* Their insincerity in thus rejecting their own belief was manifest to the Council, and one of them, who canvassed Hilary's support, avowed blank Arianism in the conversation. The large Homoeousian majority (§ 15) deposed the authors of the Homoean confession, who flew for aid the Constantius, who received them with honor and allowed them to air their heresy. The tables were turned; the minority, aided by the Emperor's threats of exile, drove the majority, in the persons of their ten delegates, to conform to the

new creed. The people were coerced by the prefect, the bishops threatened within the palace walls; the chief cities of the East were provided with heretical bishops. It was nothing less than making a present to the devil of the whole world for which Christ died. Constantius professed (§ 16) that his aim was to abolish unscriptural words. But what right had he to give orders to bishops or dictate the language of their sermons? A new disease needed new remedies; warfare was inevitable when fresh enemies arose. And, after all, the Homoean formula, 'like the Father,' was itself unscriptural. Scripture is adduced (§ 17) by Hilary to prove that the Son is not merely like, but equal to, the Father; and (§ 18) one in nature with Him, having (§ 19) the form and the glory of God. This 'likeness' is a trap (§ 20); chaff strewn on water, straw covering a pit, a hood hidden in the bait. The Catholic sense is the only true sense in which the word can be used, as is shown more fully, by arguments to be found in the *De Trinitate*, in §§ 21, 22. And now he asks Constantius (§ 23) the plain question, what his creed is. He has made a hasty progress, by a steep descent, to the nethermost pit of blasphemy. He began with the Faith, which deserved the name, of Nicaea; he changed it at Antioch. But he was a clumsy builder; the structure he raised was always falling, and had to be constantly renewed; creed after creed had been framed, the safeguards and anathemas of which would have been needless had he remained steadfast to the Nicene. Hilary does not lament the creeds which Constantius had abandoned (§ 24); they might be harmless in themselves, but they represented no real belief. Yet why should he reject his own creeds? There was no such reason for his discontent with them as there had been, in his heresy, for his rejection of the Nicene. This ceaseless variety arose from want of faith; 'one Faith, one Baptism,' is the mark of truth. The result had been to stultify the bishops. They had been driven to condemn in succession the accurate *homoousion* and the harmless *homoiousion*, and even the word *ousia*, or substance. These were the pranks of a mere buffoon, amusing himself at the expense of the Church, and compelling the bishops, like dogs returning to their vomit, to accept what they had rejected. So many had been the contradictory creeds that every one was now, or had been in the past, a heretic confessed. And this result had only been attained (§ 26) by violence, as for instance in the cases of the Eastern and African bishops. The latter had committed to writing their sentence upon Ursacius and Valens; the Emperor had seized the document. It might

go to the flames, as would Constantius himself, but the sentence was registered with God. Other men (§ 27) had waged war with the living, but Constantius extended his hostility to the dead; he contradicted the teaching of the saints, and his bishops rejected their predecessors, to whom they owed their orders, by denying their doctrine. The three hundred and eighteen at Nicaea were anathema to him, and his own father who had presided there. Yet though he might scorn the past, he could not control the future. The truth defined at Nicaea had been solemnly committed to writing and remained, however Constantius might contemn it. ‘Give ear,’ Hilary concludes, ‘to the holy meaning of the words, to the unalterable determination of the Church, to the faith which thy father avowed, to the sure hope in which man must put his trust, the universal conviction of the doom of heresy; and learn therefrom that thou are the foe of God’s religion, the enemy of the tombs of the saints, the rebellious inheritor of thy father’s piety.’

Here, again, there is much of interest. Hilary’s painful feeling of isolation is manifest. he had withdrawn from communion with Satuninus and the few Arians of Gaul, but has to confess that his own friends were not equally uncompromising. The Gallic bishops, with their enormous diocese, had probably few occasions for meeting, and prudent men could easily avoid a conflict which the Arians, a feeble minority, would certainly not provoke. The bishops had been courteous, or more than courteous; and Hilary dared not protest. His whole importance as a negotiator in the East depended on the belief that he was the representative of a harmonious body of opinion. To advertise this departure from his policy of warfare would have been fatal to his influence. And if weakness, as he must have judged it, was leading his brethren at home into a recognition of Arians, Constantius and his Homoean counselors had ingeniously contrived a still more serious break in the orthodox line of battle. There was reason in his bitter complaint of the Emperor’s generosity. He was lavish with his money, and it was well worth a bishop’s while to be his friend. And of this expenditure Nicenes were enjoying their share, and that without having to surrender their personal belief, for all that was required was that they should not be inquisitive as to their neighbor’s heresies. But Nicene bishops, of an accommodating character, were not only holding their own; they were enjoying a share of the spoils of the routed Semiarians. It was

almost a stroke of genius thus to shatter Hilary's alliance; for it was certainly not by chance that among the sees to which Nicenes, in full and formal communion with him, were preferred, was Ancyra itself, from which his chosen friend Basil had been ejected. Disgusted though Hilary must have been with such subservience, and saddened by the downfall of his friends, it is clear that the Emperor's policy had some success, even with him. His former hopes being dashed to the ground, he now turns, with an interest he had never before shown, to the Nicene Creed as a bulwark of the Faith. And we can see the same feeling at work in his very cold recognition that there was 'some piety in the words of some' among his friends at Seleucia. It would be unjust to think of Hilary as a timeserver, but we must admit that there is something almost too businesslike in this dismission from his mind of former hopes and friendships. He looked always to a practical result in the establishment of truth, and a judgment so sound as his could not fail to see that the Asiatic negotiations were a closed chapter in his life. And his mind must have been full of the thought that he was returning to the West, which had its own interests and its own prejudices, and was impartially suspicious of all Eastern theologians; whose 'selfish coldness' towards the East was, indeed, ten years later still a barrier against unity. If Hilary was to be, as he purposed, a power in the West, he must promptly resume the Western tone; and he will have succumbed to a very natural infirmity if, in his disappointment, he was disposed to couple together his allies who had failed with the Emperor who had caused their failure.

The historical statements of the Invective, as has been said, cannot always be verified. The account of the Synod of Seleucia is, however, unjust to Constantius. It was the free expression of the belief of Asia, and if heretics were present by command of the Emperor, an overwhelming majority, more or less orthodox, were present by the same command. But the character and policy of Constantius are delineated fairly enough. The results, disastrous both to conscience and to peace, are not too darkly drawn, and no sarcasm could be too severe for the absurd as well as degrading position to which he had reduced the Church. But the Invective is interesting not only for its content but as an illustration of its writer's character. Strong language meant less in Latin than in English, but the passionate earnestness of these pages cannot be doubted. They are not

more violent than the attack of Athanasius upon Constantius, nor less violent than those of Lucifer; if the last author is usually regarded as pre-eminent in abuse, he deserves his reputation not because of the vigor of his denunciation, but because his pages contain nothing but railing. The change is sudden, no doubt, from respect for Constantius and hopefulness as to his conduct, but the provocation, we must remember, had been extreme. If the faith of the Fathers was intense and, in the best sense, childlike, there is something childlike also in their gusts of passion, their uncontrolled emotion in victory or defeat, the personal element which is constantly present in their controversies. Though, henceforth, ecclesiastical policy was to be but a secondary interest with Hilary, and diplomacy was to give place to a more successful attempt to influence thought, yet we can see in another sphere the same spirit of conflict; for it is evident that his labors against heresy, beside the more serious satisfaction of knowing that he was on the side of truth, are lightened by the logicians's pleasure in exposing fallacy.

The deposition of the Semiarian leaders took place very early in the year 360, and Hilary's dismissal homewards, one of the same series of measures, must soon have followed. If he had formed the plan of his Invective before he had left Constantinople, it is not probable that he wrote it there. It was more probably the employment of his long homeward journey. His natural route would be by the great Egnatian Way, which led through Thessalonica to Durazzo, thence by sea to Brindisi, and so to Rome and the North. It is true that the historians, or rather Rufinus, from whom the rest appear to have borrowed all their knowledge, say that Illyricum was one sphere of his labors for the restoration of the Faith. But a journey by land through Illyricum, the country of Valens and Ursacius and thoroughly indoctrinated with Arianism, would not only have been dangerous but useless. For Hilary's purpose was to confirm the faithful among the bishops and to win back to orthodoxy those who had been terrorized or deceived into error, and thus to cement a new confederacy against the Homoeans; not to make a vain assault upon what was, for the present, an impregnable position. And though the Western portion of the *Via Enatia* did not pass through the existing political division called Illyricum, it did lie within the region called in history and literature by that name. Again, the evidence that Hilary passed through Rome is not

convincing; but since it was his best road, and he would find there the most important person among those who had wavered in their allegiance to truth, we may sagely accept it. he made it his business, we are told, to exhort the Churches through which he passed to abjure heresy and return to the true faith. But we know nothing of the places through which he passed before reaching Rome, the see of Liberius, with whom it was most desirable for him to be on friendly terms. Liberius was not so black as he has sometimes been painted, but he was not a heroic figure. His position was exactly that of many other bishops in the Western lands. They had not denied their own faith, but at one time or another, in most cases at Rimini, they had admitted that there was room in the same communion for Arian bishops and for themselves. In the case of Liberius the circumstances are involved in some obscurity, but it is clear that he had, in order to obtain remission of his exile, taken a position which was practically that of the old Council of the Dedication. Hilary, we remember, had called that Council a 'Synod of the Saints,' when speaking of it from the Eastern point of view. But he had never stooped to such a minimizing of the Faith as its words, construed at the best, involved. Easterns, in their peculiar difficulties, he was hopeful enough to believe, had framed its terms in a legitimate sense; he could accept it from them, but could not use it as the expression of his own belief. So to do would have been a retrograde step; and this step Liberius had taken, to the scandal of the Church. Yet he, and all whose position in any way resembled his—all, indeed, except some few incorrigible ringleaders—were in the Church; their deflection was, in Hilary's words, an 'inward evil.' And Hilary was no Lucifer; his desire was to unite all who could be united in defense of the truth. This was the plan dictated by policy as well as by charity, and in the case of Liberius, if, as is probable, they met, it was certainly rewarded with success. Indeed, according to Rufinus, Hilary was successful at every stage of his journey. Somewhere on his course he fell in with Eusebius of Vercelli, who had been exiled at the Council of Milan, had passed his time in the region to the East of that in which Hilary had been interned, and was now profiting by the same Homoean amnesty to return to his diocese. He also had been using the opportunities of travel for the promotion of the Faith. He had come from Antioch, and therefore had probably landed at or near Naples. He was now travelling northwards, exhorting as he went. His encounter with Hilary stimulated him to still greater efforts; but Rufinus

tell us that he was the less successful of the two, for Hilary, ‘a man by nature mild and winning, and also learned and singularly apt at persuasion, applied himself to the task with a greater diligence and skill.’ They do not appear to have traveled in company; the cities to be visited were too numerous and their own time, eager as they must have been to reach their homes, too short. But their journey seems to have been a triumphal progress; the bishops were induced to renounce their compromise with error, and the people inflamed against heresy, so that, in the words of Rufinus, ‘these two men, glorious luminaries as it were of the universe, flooded Illyricum and Italy and the Gallic provinces with their splendor, so that even from hidden nooks and corners all darkness of heresy was banished.’

In the passage just quoted Rufinus directly connects the publication of Hilary’s masterpiece, usually called the *De Trinitate*, with this work of reconciliation. After speaking of his success in it, he proceeds, ‘Moreover he published his books *Concerning the Faith*, composed in a lofty style, wherein he displayed the guile of the heretics and the deceptions practiced upon our friends, together with the credulous and misplaced sincerity of the latter, with such skill that his ample instructions amended the errors not only of those whom he encountered, but also of those whom distance hindered him from meeting face to face.’ Some of the twelve books of which the work is composed had certainly been published during his exile, and it is possible that certain portions may date from his later residence in Gaul. But a study of the work itself leads to the conclusion that Rufinus was right in the main in placing it at this stage of Hilary’s life; this was certainly the earliest date at which it can have been widely influential.

The title which Hilary gave to his work as a whole was certainly *De Fide, Concerning the Faith*, the name by which, as we saw, Rufinus describes it. It is probable that its controversial purpose was indicated by the addition of *contra Arianos;* but it is certain that its present title, *De Trinitate*, was not given to it by Hilary. The word *Trinitas* is of extraordinary rare occurrence in his writings; the only instances seem to be in *Trin.* I. 22, 36, where he is giving a very condensed summary of the contents of his work. In the actual course of his argument the word is scrupulously avoided, as it is in all his other writings. In this respect he resembles Athanasius, who will usually name the Three Persons rather than employ this convenient

and even then familiar term. There may have been some undesirable connotation in it which he desired to avoid, though this is hardly probable; it is more likely that both Athanasius and Hilary, conscious that the use of technical terms of theology was in their times a playing with edged tools, deliberately avoided a word which was unnecessary, though it might be useful. And in Hilary's case there is the additional reason that to his mind the antithesis of truth and falsehood was One God or Two Gods; that to him, more than to any other Western theologian, the developed and clearly expressed thought of Three coequal Persons was strange. Since, then, the word and the thought were rarely present in his mind, we cannot accept as the title of his work what is, after all, only a mediaeval description.

The composite character of the treatise, which must still for convenience be called the *De Trinitate*, is manifest. The beginnings of several of its books, which contain far more preliminary, and often rhetorical, matter than is necessary to link them on the their predecessors, point to a separate publication of each; a course which was, indeed, necessary under the literary conditions of the time. This piecemeal publication is further proved by the elaborate summaries of the contents of previous books which are given as, e.g., at the beginning of *Trin.* X.; and by the frequent repetition of earlier arguments at a later stage, which shows that the writer could not trust to the reader's possession of the whole. Though no such attention had been devoted to the growth of this work as Noeldechen has paid to that of the treatises of Tertullian, yet some account of the process can be given. For although Hilary himself, in arranging the complete treatise, has done much to make it run smoothly and consecutively, and though the scribes who have copied it have probably made it appear still more homogeneous, yet some clues to its construction are left. The first is his description of the fifth book as the second (V. 3). This implies that the fourth is the first; and when we examine the fourth we find that, it we leave out of consideration a little preliminary matter, it is the beginning of a refutation of Arianism. It states the Arian case, explains the necessity of the term *homoousios,* gives a list of the texts on which the Arians relied, and set out at length one of their statements of doctrine, the Epistle of Arius to Alexander, which it proceeds to demolish, in the remainder of the fourth book and in the fifth, by arguments from particular passages and from the general sense of the Old Testament. In the sixth book, for the

reason already given, the Arian Creed is repeated, after a vivid account of the evils of the time, and the refutation continued by arguments from the New Testament. In § 2 of this book there is further evidence of the composite character of the treatise. Hilary says that though is in the *first* book he has already set out the Arian manifesto, yet he thinks good, as he is still dealing with it, to repeat it in this *sixth*. Hilary seems to have overlooked the discrepancy, which some officious scribe has half corrected. The seventh book, he says at the beginning, is the climax of the whole work. If we take the *De Trinitate* as a whole, this is a meaningless flourish; but if we look on the eighth book, and find an elaborate introduction followed by a line of argument different from that of the four preceding books, we must be inclined to think that the seventh is the climax and termination of what has been an independent work, consisting of four books. And if we turn to the end of the seventh, and note that it alone of all the twelve has nothing that can be called a peroration, but ends in an absolutely bald and businesslike manner, we are almost forced to conclude that this is because the peroration which it once had, as the climax of the work, was unsuitable for its new position and has been wholly removed. Had Hilary written this book as one of the series of twelve, he would certainly, according to all rules of literary propriety, have given it a formal termination. In these four books then, the fourth to the seventh, we may see the nucleus of the *De Trinitate*; not necessarily the part first written, for he says (IV. 1) that some parts , at any rate, of the three first books are of earlier date, but that around which the whole has been arranged. It has a complete unity of its own, following step by step the Arian Creed, of which we shall presently speak. It is purely controversial, and quite possibly the title *Contra Arianos*, for which there is some evidence, really belongs to this smaller work, though it clung, not unnaturally, to the whole for which Hilary devised the more appropriate name *De Fide*. Concerning the date of these four books, we can only say that they must have been composed during his exile. For though he does not mention his exile, yet he is already a bishop (VI. 2), and knows about the *homoousion* (IV. 4). We have seen already that his acquaintance with the Nicene Creed began only just before his exile; he must, therefore, have written them during his enforced leisure in Asia.

In the beginning of the fourth book Hilary refers back to the proof furnished in the previous books, written some time ago, of the Scriptural character of his faith and of the unscriptural nature of all the heresies. Setting aside the first book, which does not correspond to this description, we find what he describes in the second and third. These form a short connected treatise, complete in itself. It is much more academic than that of which we have already spoken; it deals briefly with all the current heresies (II. 4 ff.), but shows no sign that one of them, more than the others, was an urgent danger. There is none of the passion of conflict; Hilary is in the mood for rhetoric, and makes the most of his opportunities. He expatiates, for instance, on the greatness of his theme (II. 5), harps almost to excess upon the Fisherman to whom mysteries so great were revealed (II. 13 ff.), dilates, after the manner of a sermon, upon the condescension and the glory manifest in the Incarnation, describes miracles with much liveliness of detail (III. 5, 20), and ends the treatise (III. 24—26) with a nobly eloquent statement of the paradox of wisdom which is folly and folly which is wisdom, and of faith as the only means of knowing God. The little work, though it deals professedly with certain heresies, is in the main constructive. It contains far more of positive assertion of the truth, without reference to opponents, than it dies of criticism of their views. In sustained calmness of tone—it recognizes the existence of honest doubt (III. 1),—and in literary workmanship, it excels any other part of the *De Trinitate*, and in the latter respect is certainly superior to the more conversational Homilies on the Psalms. But it suffers, in comparison with the books which follow, by a certain want of intensity; the reader feels that it was written, in one sense, for the sake of writing it, and written, in another sense, for purposes of general utility. It is not, as later portions of the work were forged as a weapon for use in a conflict of life and death. Yet, standing as it does, at the beginning of the whole great treatise, it serves admirably as an introduction. It is clear, convincing and interesting, and its eloquent peroration carries the reader on the central portion of the work,, which begins with the fourth book. Except that the second book has lost its exordium, for the same reason that the seventh has lost its conclusion, to two books are complete as well as homogeneous. Of the date nothing definite can be said. There is no sign of any special interest in Arianism; and Hilary’s leisure for a paper conflict with a dead foe like Ebionism suggests that he was writing before the strife had reached

Gaul. The general tone of the two books is quite consistent with this; and we may regard it as more probable than not that they were composed before the exile; whether they were published at the time as a separate treatise, or laid on one side for a while, cannot be known; the former supposition is the more reasonable.

The remaining books, from the eighth to the twelfth, appear to have been written continuously, with a view to their forming part of the present connected whole. They were, no doubt, published separately, and they, with books IV. to VII., may well be the letters (stripped, of course, in the permanent shape of their epistolary accessories) which, Hilary feared, were obtaining no recognition from his friends in Gaul. The last five have certain references back to arguments in previous books, while these do not refer forward, nor do the groups II. III. and IV.—VIII. refer to one another. But books VIII.—XII. have also internal references, and promise that a subject shall be fully treated in due course. We may therefore assume that, when he began to write book VIII., Hilary had already determined to make use of his previous minor works, and that he now proceeded to complete his task with constant reference to these. Evidences of exact date are here again lacking; he writes as a bishop and as an exile, and under a most pressing necessity. The preface to book VIII., with its description of the dangers of the time and of Hilary's sense of the duty of a bishop, seems to represent the state of mind in which he resolved to construct the present *De Trinitate*. It is too emphatic for a mere transition from one step in a continuous discussion to another. Regarding these last five books, then, as written continuously, with one purpose and with one theological outlook, we may fix an approximate date for them by two considerations. They show, in books IX. and X., that he was thoroughly conscious of the increasing peril of Apollinarianism. They show also, by their silence, that he had determined to ignore what was one of the most obvious and certainly the most offensive of the current modes of thought. There is no refutation, except implicitly, and no mention of Anomoeanism, that extreme Arianism which pronounced the Son unlike the Father. This can be explained only in one way. We have seen that Hilary thinks Arianism worth attack because it is an 'inward evil;' that he does not, except in early and leisurely work such as book II., pay any attention to heresies which were obviously outside the Church and had an organization of their own.

We have seen also that the Homoeans cast out their more honest Anomoean brethren in 359. The latter made no attempt to retrieve their position within the Church; they proceeded to establish a Church of their own, which was, so they protested, the true one. It was under Jovian (A.D. 362—363) that they consecrated their own bishop for Constantinople; but the separation must have been visible for some time before that decisive step was taken. Thus, when the *De Trinitate* took its present form, Apollinarianism was risen above the Church's horizon and Anomoeanism was sunk below it. We cannot, therefore, put the completion of the work earlier than the remission of Hilary's exile; we cannot, indeed, suppose that he had leisure to make it perfect except in his home. Yet the work must have been for the most part finished before its writer reached Italy on his return; and the issue or reissue of its several portions was a natural, and certainly a powerful, measure towards the end which he had at heart.

There remains the first book, which was obviously, as Erasmus saw, the last to be composed. It is a survey of the accomplished task, beginning with that account of Hilary's spiritual birth and growth which has already been mentioned. This is a piece of writing examples of Roman eloquence. Hooker, among English authors, is the one whom it most suggests. Then there follows a brief summary of the argument of the successive books, and a prayer for the success of the work. This reads, and perhaps it was meant to read, as though it were a prayer that he might worthily execute a plan which as yet existed only in his brain; but it may also be interpreted, in the more natural sense, as a petition that his hope might not be frustrated, and that his book might appear to others what he trusted, in his own mind, that it was, true to Scripture, sound in logic, and written with that lofty gravity which befitted the greatness of his theme.

After speaking of the construction of the work, as Hilary framed it, something must be said of certain interpolations which it has suffered. The most important are those at the end of book IX. and in X. 8, which flatly contradict his teaching. They are obvious intrusions, imperfectly attested by manuscript authority, and condemned by their own character. Hilary was not the writer to stultify himself and confuse his readers by so clumsy a device as that of appending a bald denial of its truth to a long and careful exposition of his characteristic doctrine. Another passage, where the

scholarship seems to indicate the work of an inferior hand, is *Trin.* X. 40, in which there is a singular misunderstanding of the Greek Testament. The writer must have known Greek, for no manuscript of the Latin Bible would have suggested his mistake, and therefore he must have written in early days. It is even possible that Hilary himself was, for once, at fault in his scholarship. Yet, at the most, the interpolations are few and, where they seriously affect the sense, are easily detected. Not many authors of antiquity have escaped so lightly in this respect as Hilary.

Hilary certainly intended his work to be regarded as a whole; as a treastise *Concerning the Faith,* for it had grown into something more than a refutation of Arianism. He has carefully avoided, so far as the circumstances of the time and the composite character of the treatise would allow him, any allusion to names and events of temporary interest; there is, in fact, nothing more definite than a repetition of the wish expressed in the Second Epistle to Constantius, that it were possible to recur to the Baptismal formula as the authoritative statement of the Faith. It is not, like the *De Synodis*, written with a diplomatic purpose; it is, though cast inevitably in a controversial form, a statement of permanent truths. This has involved the sacrifice of much that would have been of immediate service, and deprived the book of a great part of its value as a weapon in the conflicts of the day. But we can see, by the selection he made of a document to controvert, that Hilary's choice was deliberate. It was no recent creed, no confession to which any existing body of partisans was pledged. He chose for refutation the Epistle of Arius to Alexander, written almost forty years ago and destitute, it must have seemed, of any but an historical interest. And it was no extreme statement of the Arian position. This Epistle was 'far more temperate and cautious; than its alternative, Arius' letter to Eusebius. The same wide outlook as is manifest in this indifference to the interest of the moment is seen also in Hilary's silence in regard to the names of friends and foes. Marcellus, Apollinaris, Eudoxius, Acacius are a few of those whom it must have seemed that he would do well to renounce as imagined friends who brought his cause discredit, or bitter enemies to truth and its advocates. But here also he refrains; no names are mentioned except those of men whose heresies were already the commonplaces of controversy. And there is also an absolute silence concerning the feuds and alliances of the day. No notice is taken of

the loyalty of living confessors or the approximation to truth of well-meaning waverers. The book contains no sign that it has any but a general object; it is, as far as possible, an impersonal refutation of error and statement of truth.

This was the deliberate purpose of Hilary, and he had certainly counted its cost in immediate popularity and success. For though, as we have seen, the work did produce, as it deserved, a considerable effect at the time of its publication, it had remained ever since, in spite of all its merits, in a certain obscurity. There can be no doubt that this is largely due to the Mezentian union with such a document as Arius' Epistle to Alexander of the decisively important section of the *De Trinitate*. The books in which that Epistle in controverted were those of vital interest for the age; and the method which Hilary's plan constrained him to adopt was such as to invite younger theologians to compete with him. Future generations could not be satisfied with his presentation of the case. And again, his plan of refuting the Arian document point by point, contrasting as it does with the free course of his thought in the earlier and later books, tends to repel the reader. The fourth book proves from certain texts that the Son is God; the fifth from the same texts that He is true God. Hence this part of the treatise is pervaded by a certain monotony; a cumulative impression is produced by out being led forward again and again along successive lines of argument to the same point, beyond which we make no progress till the last proof is stated. The work is admirably and convincingly done, but we are glad to hear the last of the Epistle of Arius to Alexander, and accompany Hilary in a less embarrassed enquiry.

Yet the whole work has defects of its own. It is burdened with much repetition; subjects, especially, which have been treated in books II. and III. are discussed again at great length in later books. The frequent stress laid upon the infinity of God, the limitation of human speech and knowledge, the consequent incompleteness of the argument from analogy, the humility necessary when dealing with infinities apparently opposed, though it adds to the solemnity of the writer's tone and was doubtless necessary when the work was published in parts, becomes somewhat tedious in the course of a continuous reading. And something must here be said of the peculiarities of style. We saw that in places, as for instance in the beginning of the *De Trinitate*, Hilary can rise to a singularly lofty

eloquence. This eloquence is not merely the unstudied utterance of an earnest faith, but the expression given to it by one whom natural talent and careful training had made a master of literary form. Yet, since his training was that of an age whose standard of taste was far from classical purity, much that must have seemed to him and to his contemporaries to be admirably effective can excite no admiration now. He prays, at the end of the first book, that his diction may be worthy of his theme, and doubtless his effort was a sincere as his prayer. Had there been less effort, there would certainly, in the judgment of a modern reader, have been more success. But he could not foresee the future, and ingenious affectations such as occur at the end of book VIII. § I, *impietati insolenti, et insolentiae vaniloquoe, et vaniloquio seducenti,* with the jingle of rhymes which follows, are too frequent for our taste in his pages. Sometimes we find purple patches which remind us of the rhetoric of Apuleius; sometimes an excessive display of symmetry and antithesis, which suggests to us St. Cyprian at his worst. Yet Cyprian had the excuse that all his writings are short occasional papers written for immediate effect; neither he, nor any Latin Christian before Hilary, had ventured to construct a great treastise of theology, intended to influence future ages as well as the present. Another excessive development of rhetoric is the abuse of apostrophe, which Hilary sometimes rides almost to death, as in his addresses to the Fisherman, St. John, in the second book. These blemishes, however, do not seriously affect his intelligibility. He has earned, in this as in greater matters, an unhappy reputation for obscurity, which he has, to a certain extent, deserved. His other writings, even the Commentary on St. Matthew, are free from the involved language which sometimes makes the *De Trinitate* hard to understand, and often hard to read with pleasure. When Hilary was appealing to the Emperor, or addressing his own flock, as in the Homilies on the Psalms, he has command of a style which is always clear, stately on occasion, never weak or bald; in these cases he resisted, or did not feel, the temptation to use the resources of his rhetoric. These, unfortunately, had for then result the production of sentences which are often marvels of grammatical contortion and elliptical ingenuity. Yet such sentence, though numerous, are of few and uniform types. In Hilary’s case, as in that of Tertullian, familiarity makes the reader so accustomed to them that he instinctively expects their recurrence; and, at their worst, they are never actual breaches of the laws of the language. A

translator can hardly be an impartial judge in this matter, for constantly, in passages where the sense is perfectly clear, the ingenuity with which words and constructions are arranged makes it almost impossible to render their meaning in idiomatic terms. One can translate him out of Latin, but not into English. In this he resembles one of the many styles of St. Augustine. There are passages in the *De Trinitate*, for instance VIII. 27, 28, which it would seem that Augustine had deliberately imitated; a course natural enough in the case of one who was deeply indebted to his predecessor's thought, and must have looked with reverence upon the great pioneer of systematic theology in the Latin tongue. But this involution of style, irritating as it sometimes is, has the compensating advantage that it keeps the reader constantly on the alert. He cannot skim these pages in the comfortable delusion that he is following the course of thought without much effort.

The same attention which Hilary demands from his readers has obviously been bestowed upon the work by himself. It is the selected and compressed result not only of his general study of theology, but of his familiarity with the literature and the many phases of the great Arian controversy. And he makes it clear that he is engaged in no mere conflict of wit; his passionate loyalty to the person of Christ is the obvious motive of his writing. He has taken his side with full conviction, and he is equally convinced that his opponents have irrevocably taken theirs. There is little or no reference to the existence or even the possibility of doubt, no charitable construction for ambiguous creeds, hardly a word of pleading with those in error. There is no excuse for heresy; it is mere insanity, when it is not willful self-destruction or deliberate blasphemy. The battle is one without quarter; and sometimes, we must suspect, Hilary has been misled in argument by the uncompromising character of the conflict. Every reason advanced for a pernicious belief, he seems to think, must itself be bad, and be met with a direct negative. And again, in the heat of warfare he is led to press his arguments too far. Not only is the best and fullest use of Scripture made—for Hilary, like Athanasius, is marvelously imbued with its spirit as well as familiar with its letter—but texts are pressed into his service, and interpreted sometimes with brilliant ingenuity, which cannot bear the meaning assigned them. Yet much of this exegesis must be laid to the charge of his time, not of himself; and in the *De Trinitate*, as contrasted

with the Homilies on the Psalms; he is wisely sparing in the use of allegorical interpretations. He remembers that he is refuting enemies, not conversing with friends. And his belief in their conscious insincerity leads to a certain hardness of tone. They will escape his conclusions if they possibly can; he must pin them down. Hence texts are sometimes treated, and deductions drawn from them, as though they were postulates of geometry; and, however we may admire the machine-like precision and completeness of the proof, we feel that we are reading Euclid rather than literature. But his also is due to that system of exegesis, fatal to any recognition of the eloquence and poetry of Scripture, of which something will be said in the next chapter.

These, after all, are but pretty flaws in so great a work. Not only as a thinker, but as a pioneer of thought, whose treasures have enriched, often unrecognized, the pages of Ambrose and Augustine and all later theologians, he deserves our reverence. Not without reason was he ranked, within a generation of his death, with Cyprian and Ambrose, as one of the three chief glories of Western Christendom. Jerome and Augustine mention him frequently and with honor. This is not the place to summarize or discuss the contents of his works; but the reader cannot fail to recognize their great and varied value, the completeness of this refutation of current heresies, the convincing character of his presentation of the truth, and the originality, restrained always by scrupulous reverence as well as by intellectual caution, of his additions to the speculative development of the Faith. We recognize also the tenacity with which, encumbered as he was with the double task of simultaneously refuting Arianism and working out his own thoughts, he has adhered to the main issues. He never wanders into detail, but keeps steadfastly to his course. He refrains, for instance, from all consideration of the results which Arianism might produce upon the superstructure of the Faith and upon the conduct of Christians; they are undermining the foundations, and he never forgets that it is these which he has undertaken to strengthen and defend. Our confidence in him as a guide is increased by the eminently businesslike use which he makes of his higher qualities. This is obvious in the smallest of details, as, for instance, in his judicious abstinence, which will be considered in the next chapter, from the use of technical terms of theology, when their employment would have made his task easier, and might even to superficial minds, have

enhanced his reputation. We see it also in the talent which he shows in the choice of watchwords, which serve both to enliven his pages and to guide the reader through their argument. Such is the frequent antithesis of the orthodox *unitas* with the heretical *unio,* the latter a harmless word in itself and used by Tertullian indifferently with the former, but seized by the quick intelligence of Hilary to serve this special end; such also, the frequent 'Not two Gods but One,' and the more obvious contrast between the Catholic *unum* and the Arian *unus*. Thus, in excellence of literary workmanship, in sustained cogency and steady progress of argument, in the full use made of rare gifts of intellect and heart, we must recognize that Hilary has brought his great undertaking to a successful issue; that the voyage beset with many perils, to use his favorite illustration, has safely ended in the haven of Truth and Faith.

Whether the *De Trinitate* were complete or not at the time of his return to Poitiers, after the triumphal passage through Italy, its publication in its final form must very shortly have followed. But literature was, for the present, to claim only the smaller share of his attention. Heartily as he must have rejoiced to be again in his home, he had many anxieties to face. The bishops of Gaul, as we saw from the Invective against Constantius, had been less militant against their Arian neighbors than he had wished. There had been peace in the Church; such peace as could be produced by a mutual ignoring of differences. And it may well be that the Gallican bishops, in their prejudice against the East, thought that Hilary himself had gone too far in the path of conciliation, and that his alliance with the Semarians was a much longer step towards compromise with heresy than their own prudent neutrality. Each side must have felt that there was something to be explained. Hilary, for his part, by the publication of the *De Trinitate* had made it perfectly clear that his faith was above suspicion; and his abstinence in that work from all mention of existing parties or phrases of the controversy showed that he had withdrawn from his earlier position. He was now once more a Western bishop, concerned only with absolute truth and the interests of the Church in his own province. But he had to reckon with the sterner champions of the Nicene faith, who had not forgotten the *De Synodis*, however much they might approve the *De Trinitate*. Some curious fragments survive of the Apology which he was driven to write by the attacks of Lucifer of Cagliari. Lucifer, one of the

exiles of Milan, was an uncompromising partisan, who could recognize no distinctions among those who did not accept the Nicene Creed. All were equally bad in his eyes; no explaining away of differences or attempt at conciliation was lawful. In days to come he was to be a thorn in the side of Athanasius, and was to end his life in a schism which he formed because the Catholic Church was not sufficiently exclusive. We, who know his after history and turn with repugnance from the monotonous railing with which his writings, happily brief, are filled, may be disposed to underestimate the man. But at the time he was a formidable antagonist. He had the great advantage of being one of the little company of confessors of the Faith, whom all the West admired. He represented truly enough the feeling of the Latin Churches, now that the oppression of their leaders had awakened their hostility to Arianism. And vigorous abuse, such as the facile pen of Lucifer could pour fourth, is always interesting when addressed to prominent living men, stale though it becomes when the passions of the moment are no longer felt. Lucifer's protest is lost, but we may gather from the fragments of Hilary's reply that it was milder in tone than was usual with him. Indeed, confessor writing to confessor would naturally use the language of courtesy. But it was an arraignment of the policy which Hilary had adopted, and in which he had failed, though Athanasius was soon to resume it with better success. And courteously as it may have been worded, it cannot have been pleasant for Hilary to be publicly reminded of his failure, and to have doubts cast upon his consistency; least of all when he was returning to Gaul with new hopes, but also with new difficulties. His reply, so far as we can judge of it from the fragments which remain, was of a tone which would be counted moderate in the controversies of today. He addresses his opponent as 'Brother Lucifer,' and patiently explains that he had been misunderstood. There is no confession that he had been in the wrong, though he fully admits that the term *homoiousion*, innocently used by his Eastern friends, was employed by others in a heretical sense. And he point out that Lucifer himself had spoken of the 'likeness' of Son and Father, probably alluding to a passage in his existing writings. The use of this *tu quoque* argument, and a certain apologetic strain which is apparent in the reply, seem to show that Hilary felt himself at a disadvantage. He must have wished the Asiatic episode to be forgotten; he had now to make his weight felt in the

West, where he had good hope that a direct and uncompromising attack upon Arianism would be successful.

For a great change was taking place in public affairs. When Hilary left Constantinople, early in the spring of the year 360, it was probably a profound secret in the capital that a rupture between Constantius and Julian was becoming inevitable. In affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, the Emperor, and his favorite, the bishop Saturninus, must have seemed secure of their dominance in Gaul. But events moved rapidly. Constantius needed troops to strengthen the Eastern armies, never adequate to an emergency, for an impending war with Persia; he may also have desired to weaken the forces of Julian. He demanded me; those whom Julian detached for Eastern service refused to march, and proclaim Julian Emperor at Paris. This was in May, some months, at the least, before Hilary, delayed by his Italian labors in the cause of orthodoxy, can have reached home. Julian temporized, he kept up negotiations with Constantius, and employed his army in frontier warfare. But there could be no doubt of the issue. Conflict was inevitable, and the West could have little fear as to the result. The Western armies were the strongest in the Empire; it was with them, in the last great trial of strength, Constantine the Great had won the day, and the victory of his nephew, successful and popular both as a commander and an administrator, must have been anticipated. Julian's march against Constantius did not commence till the summer of the year 361; but long before this the rule of Constantius and the theological system for which he stood had been rejected by Gaul. The bishops had not shunned Saturninus, as Hilary had desired; most of them had been induced to give their sanction to Arianism at the Council of Rimini. While overshadowed by Constantius and his representative Saturninus, they had not dared to assert themselves. But now the moment was come, and with it the leader. Hilary's arrival in Gaul must have taken place when the conflict was visibly impending, and he can have had no hesitation as to the side he should take. Julian's rule in Gaul began but a few months before his exile, and they had probably never met face to face. But Julian had a well earned reputation as a righteous governor and Hilary had introduced his name into his second appeal to Constantius, as a witness to his character and as suffering in fame by the injustice of Constantius. We must remember that Julian had kept his paganism carefully concealed, and that all the world, except a few intimate

friends, took it for granted that the was, as the high standard of his life seemed to indicate, a sincere Christian. And now he had displaced Constantius in the supreme rule over Gaul, and Saturninus, who had by this time returned, was powerless. We cannot wonder that Hilary continued his efforts; that he went through the land, everywhere inducing the bishops to abjure their own confession made at Rimini. This the bishops, for their part, were certainly willing to do; they were no Arians at heart, and their treatment at Rimini, followed as it was by a fraudulent misrepresentation of the meaning of their words, must have aroused their just resentment. Under the rule of Julian there was no risk of , there was even an advantage, in showing their colors; it set them right both with the new Emperor and with public opinion. But it was not enough for Hilary's purpose that the 'inward evil' of a wavering faith should be amended; it was also necessary that avowed heresy should be expelled. For this the cooperation of Julian was necessary; and before it was granted Julian might naturally look for some definite pronouncement on Hilary's part. To this conjuncture, in the latter half of the year 360 or the earlier part of 361, we may best assign the publication of the Invective, already described, against Constantius. It was a renunciation of allegiance to his old master, not the less clear because the new is not mentioned. And with the name of Constantius was coupled that of Saturninus, as he abettor in tyranny and misbelief. Julian recognized the value of the Catholic alliance by giving effect to the decision of a Council held at Paris, which deposed Saturninus. Hilary had no ecclesiastical authority to gather such a Council, but his character and the eminence of his services no doubt rendered his colleagues willing to follow him; yet neither he nor they would have acted as they did without the assurance of Julian's support. Their action committed them irrevocably to Julian's cause; and it must have seemed that his expulsion of Saturninus committed him irrevocably to the orthodox side. Yet Julian, impartially disbelieving both creeds, had made the ostensible cause of Saturninus' exile, not his errors of faith, but some of those charges of misconduct which were always forthcoming when a convenient excuse was wanted for the banishment of a bishop. Saturninus was a man of the world, and very possibly his Arianism was only assumed in aid of his ambition; it is likely enough that his conduct furnished sufficient grounds for his punishment. The fall of its chief, Sulpicius Severus says, destroyed the party. The other Arian prelates, who must have been few in number,

submitted to the orthodox tests, with one exception. Paternus of Perigord, a man of no fame, had the courage of his convictions. He stubbornly asserted his belief, and shared the fate of Saturnius. Thus Hilary obtained, what he had failed to get in the case of the more prominent offender, a clear precedent for the deposition of bishops guilty of Arianism. The synodical letter, addressed to the Eastern bishops in reply to letters which some of them had sent to Hilary since his return, was incorporated by him in his History, to be mentioned hereafter. The bishops of Gaul assert their orthodoxy, hold Auxentius, Balens, Ursacius and their like excommunicate, and have just excommunicated Saturninus. By his action at paris, so Sulpicius says, Hilary earned the glory that it was by his single exertions that the provinces of Gaul were cleansed from the defilements of heresy.

These events happened before Julian left the country, in the middle of the summer of 361, on his march against Constantius; or at least, if the actual proceedings were subsequent to his departure, they must have quickly followed it, for his sanction was necessary, and when that was obtained there was no motive for delay. And now, for some years, Hilary disappears from sight. He tells us nothing in his writings of the ordinary course of his life and work; even his informal and discursive Homilies cast no light upon his methods of administration, his successes or failures, and very little on the character of his flock. There was no further conflict within the Church of Gaul during Hilary's lifetime. The death of Constantius, which happened before Julian could meet him in battle, removed all political anxiety. Julian himself was too busy with the revival of paganism in the East to concern himself seriously with its promotion in the Latin-speaking provinces, from which he was absent, and for which he cared less. The orthodox cause in Gaul did not suffer by his apostasy. His short reign was followed by the still briefer rule of the Catholic Jovian. Next came Valentinian, personally orthodox, but steadily refusing to allow depositions on account of doctrine. Under him Arianism dwindled away; Catholic successors were elected to to Arian prelates, and the process would have been hastened but by a few years had Hilary been permitted to expel Auxentius from Milan, as we shall presently see him attempting to do.

This was his last interference in the politics of the Church, and does not concern us as yet. His chief interest henceforth was to be in literary work;

in popularizing and, as he thought, improving upon the teaching of Origen. He commented upon the book of Job, as we know from Jerome and Augustine. The former says that this, and his work on the Psalms, were translations from Origen. But that is far from an accurate account of the latter work, and may be equally inaccurate concerning the former. The two fragments which St. Augustine has preserved from the Commentary on Job are so short that we cannot draw from them any conclusion as to the character of the book. If we may trust Jerome, its length was somewhat more than a quarter of that of the Homilies on the Psalms, in their present form. It is unfortunate, but not surprising, that the work should have fallen into oblivion. It was, no doubt, allegorical in its method, and nothing of that kind could survive in competition with Gregory the Great's inimitable *Moralia* on Job.

Hilary's other adaptation from Origen, the Homilies on the Psalms, happily remains to us. It is at least a great work as the *De Trinitate*, and one from which we can learn even more what manner of man its writer was. For the *De Trinitate* is an appeal to all thoughtful Christians of the time, and written for future generations as well as for them; characteristic, as it is, in many ways of the author, the compass of the work and the stateliness of its rhetoric tend to conceal his personality. But the Homilies on the Psalms, which would seem to have reached us in the notes of a shorthand writer, so artless and conversational is the style, show us Hilary in another aspect. He is imparting instruction to his own familiar congregation; and he knows his people so well that he pours out whatever is passing through his mind. In fact, he seems often to be thinking aloud on subjects which interest him rather than addressing himself to the needs of his audience. Practical exhortation has, indeed, a much smaller space than mystical exegesis and speculative Christology. Yet abstruse questions are never made more obscure by involution of style. The language is free and flowing, always that of an educated man who has learned facility by practice. And here, strange as it seems to a reader of the *De Trinitate,* he betrays a preference for poetic words, which shows that his renunciation of such ornament elsewhere is deliberate. Yet, even here, he indulges in no definite reminiscences of the poets.

There remains only one trace, though it is sufficient, of the original circumstances of delivery. The Homily on Psalm 14. begins with the

words, ‘The Psalm which has been read.’ The Psalms were sung as an act of worship, not read as a lesson, in the normal course of divine service; and therefore we must assume that the Psalm to be expounded was recited, by the lector or another, as an introduction to the Homily. We need not by surprised that such notices, which must have seemed to possess no permanent interest, have been edited away. Many of the Homilies are too long to have been delivered on one or even two occasions, yet the ascription of praise with which Hilary, like Origen, always concludes has been omitted in every case except at the end of the whole discourse. This shows that Hilary himself, or more probably some editor, has put the work into its final shape. But this editing of the Homilies has not extended to the excision of the numerous repetitions, which were natural enough when Hilary was delivering each as a commentary complete in itself, and do not offend us when we read the discourse on a single Psalm, though they certainly disfigure the work when regarded as a treatise on the whole Psalter.

It is probably due to the accidents of time that our present copies of the Homilies are imperfect. We are, indeed, better off than was Jerome. His manuscript contained Homilies on Psalms 1, 2, 51—62, 118—150, according to the Latin notation. We have, in addition to these, Homilies which are certainly genuine on Psalms 13, 14, 63—69; and others on the titles of Psalms 9 and 91, which are probably spurious. Some more Homilies of uncertain origin which have been fathered upon Hilary, and may be found in the editions, may be left out of account. In the Homily on Psalm 59, § 2, he mentions one, unknown to Jerome as to ourselves, on Psalm 44; and this allusion, isolated though it is, suggests that the Homilies contained, or were meant to contain, a commentary on the whole Book of Psalms, composed in the order in which they stand. There is, of course, nothing strange in the circulation in Cyprian which did not contain an epistle which has come down to us. This series of Homilies was probably continuous as well as c complete. The incidental allusions to the events of the Psalter and went on to the end. We might, indeed, construe the language of that on Psalm 52, § 13, concerning prosperous clergy, who heap up wealth for themselves and live in luxury, as an allusion to men like Saturninus, but the passage is vague, and a vivid recollection, not a present evil, may have suggested it. More definite, and indeed, a clear not of time,

is the Homily of Psalm 63, where heathenism is aggressive and is become a real danger, of which Hilary speaks in the same terms as he does of heresy. This contrasts strongly with such language as that of the Homily on Psalm 67, § 20, where the heathens are daily flocking into the Church, or of that on Psalm 137, § 10, where paganism has collapsed, its temples are ruined and its oracles silent; such words as the former could only have been written in the short reign of Julian. Other indications, such as the frequent warnings against heresy and denunciations of heretics, are too general to help in fixing the date. On the whole, it would seem a reasonable hypothesis that Hilary began his connected series of Homilies on the Psalms soon after his return to Gaul, that he had made good progress with them when Julian publicly apostatized, and that they were not completed till the better times of Valentinian

He was conversing in pastoral intimacy with this people, and hence we cannot be surprised that he draws, perhaps unconsciously, on the results of his own previous labors. For instance, on Psalm 61, § 2, he gives what is evidently a reminiscence, yet with features of its own and not as a professed autobiography, of his mental history as described in the opening of the *De Trinitate.* And while the direct controversy against Arianism is not avoided, there is a manifest preference for the development of Hilary's characteristic Christology, which had already occupied him in the later books of the *De Trinitate.* We must, indeed, reconstruct his doctrine in this respect even more from the Homilies than from the *De Trinitate;* and in the alter work he not only expands what he had previously suggested, but throws out still further suggestions which he had not the length of life to present in a more perfect form. But the Homilies contain much that is of far less permanent interest. Wherever he can, he brings in the mystical interpretation of numbers, that strange vagary of the Eastern mind which had, at least from the time of Irenaeus and the Epistle of Barnabas, found a congenial home in Christian thought. This and other distortions of the sense of Scripture, which are the result in Hilary, as in Origen, of a prosaic rather than a poetical turn of mind, will find a more appropriate place for discussion at the beginning of the next chapter. Allusions to the mode of worship of his time are very rare, as are detail of contemporary life. Of general encouragement to virtue and denunciation of vice there is abundance, and it repeats with striking fidelity the teaching of Cyprian.

Hilary displays the same Puritanism in regard to jewelry as does Cyprian, and the same abhorrence of public games and spectacles. Of these three elements, the Christology, the mysticism, the moral teaching, the Homilies are mainly compact. They carry on no sustained argument and contain, as has been said, a good deal of repetition. In fact, a continuous reader will probably form a worse impression of their quality than he who is satisfied with a few pages at a time. They are eminently adapted for selection, and the three Homilies, those on Psalms 1, 53, and 130, which have been translated for this volume, may be inadequate, yet are fairly representative, as specimens of the instruction which Hilary conveys in this work.

It has been said that the practical teaching of Hilary is that of Cyprian. But this is not a literary debt; the writer to whom almost all the exegesis is due, by borrowing of substance or of method, is Origen, except where the spirit of the fourth century has been at work. Yet others authors have been consulted, and this is not for general information, as in the case, already cited, of the elder Pliny, but for interpretation of the Psalms. For instance, a strange legend concerning Mount Hersom is cited on Psalm 132, § 6, from a writer whose name Hilary does not know; and on Psalm 133, § 4, he has consulted several writers and rejects the opinion of them all. But these authorities, whoever they may have been, were of little importance for his purpose in comparison with Origen. Still we can only accept Jerome's assertion that the Homilies are translated from Origen in a qualified sense. Hilary was writing for the edification of his own flock, and was obliged to modify much that Origen had said if he would serve their needs, for religious thought had changed rapidly in the century which lay between the two, and a mere translation would have been as coldly received as would a reprint of some commentary of the age of George II. today. And Hilary's was a mind too active and independent to be the slave of a traditional interpretation We must, therefore, expect to find a considerable divergence; and we cannot be surprised that Hilary, as he settle down to his task, grew more and more free in his treatment of Origen's exegesis.

Unhappily the remains of Origen's work upon the Psalms, though considerable, are fragmentary, and of the fragments scattered through *Catenoe* no complete or critical edition has yet been made. Still, insufficient as the material would be for a detailed study and comparison,

enough survives to enable us to form a general idea of the relation between the two writers. Origen composed Homilies upon the Psalter, a Commentary upon it, and a summary treatise, called the *Enchiridion.* The first of these works was Hilary's model; Origen's Homilies were diffused extemporary expositions, ending like Hilary's, with an ascription of praise. It is unfortunate that, of the few which survive, all treat of Psalms on which Hilary's Homilies are lost. But it is doubtful whether Hilary knew the other writings of Origen upon the Psalter. We have ourselves a very small knowledge of them, for the *Cateane* are not in the habit of giving more than the name of the author whom they cite. Yet it may well be that some of the apparent discrepancies between the explanations given by Hilary and by Origen are due to the loss of the passage from Origen's Homily which would have agreed with Hilary, and to the survival of the different rendering given in the Commentary or the *Enchiridion*; some, no doubt, are also due to the carelessness and even dishonesty of the compilers of *Catenoe* in stating the authorship of their selections. But though it is possible that Hilary had access to all Origen's writings on the Psalms, there is not reason to suppose that he possessed a copy of his *Hexepla*. The only translation of the Old Testament which he names beside the Septuagint is that of Aquila; he is aware that there are others, but none save the Septunagint has authority or deserves respect, and his rare allusions to them are only such as we find in Origen's Homilies, and imply no such exhaustive knowledge of the variants as a possessor of the *Hexapla* would have.

A comparison of the two writers shows the closeness of their relation, and if we had Origen's complete Homilies, and not mere excerpts, the debt of Hilary would certainly be still more manifest. For the compilers of *Catenoe* have naturally selected what was best in Origen, and most suited for short extracts; his eccentricities have been in great measure omitted. Hence we may err in attributing to Hilary much that is perverse in his comments; there is an abundance of wild mysticism in the fragments of Origen, but its proportion to the whole is undoubtedly less in their present state than in their original condition. Hilary's method was that of paraphrasing, not of servile translation. There is apparently only one literal rendering of an extant passage of Origen, and that a short one; but paraphrases, which often become very diffuse expansions, are constant.

But a just comparison between the two must embrace their differences as well as their resemblances. Hilary has exercised a silent criticism in omitting many of Origen's textual disquisitions. He gives, it is true, many various readings, but his confidence in the Septuagint often renders him indifferent in regard to divergences which Origen had taken seriously. The space which the latter devotes to the Greek versions Hilary employs in correcting the errors and variations of the Latin, or in explaining the meaning of Greek words. But these are matters which rather belong to the next chapter, concerning, as they do, Hilary's attitude towards Scripture. It is more significant of his tone of mind that he has omitted Origen's speculations on the resurrection of the body, preserved by Epiphanius, and on the origin of evil. Again, Origen delights to give his readers a choice of interpretations; Hilary chooses one of those which Origen has given, and makes no mention to the other. This is his constant habit in the earlier part of the Homilies; towards the end, however, he often gives a rendering of his own, and also mentions, either as possible or as wrong, that which Origen had offered. Or else, though he only makes his own suggestion, yet it us obvious to those who have Origen at hand that he has in his mind, and is refuting for his own satisfaction, an alternative which he does not think good to lay before his audience. A similar liberty with his original occurs in the Homily on Psalm 135, § 12:—'The purposes of the present discourse and of this place forbid us to search more deeply.' This must have seemed a commonplace to his hearers; but it happens that Origen's speculations upon the passage have survived, and we can see that Hilary was rather making excuses to himself for his disregard of them than directly addressing his congregation. Apart from the numerous instances where Hilary derives a different result from the same data, there are certain cases where he accepts the current Latin text, though it differed from Origen's Greek, and draws, without any reference to Origen, his own conclusions as to the meaning. These, again, seem to be confined to the latter part of the work, and may be the result of occasional neglect to consult the authorities, rather than a deliberate departure from Origen's teaching.

But the chief interest of the comparison between the writings of these two Fathers upon the Psalms lies in the insight which it affords into their respective modes of thought. Fragmentary as they are, Origen's words are a manifestly genuine and not inadequate expression of his mind; and

Hilary, a recognized authority and conscious of his powers, has so molded and transformed his original, now adapting and now rejecting, that he has made it, even on the ground which is common to both, a true and sufficient representation of his own mental attitude. The Romans contrasts broadly with the Greek. He constantly illustrates his discourse with historical incidents of Scripture, taken in their literal sense; there are few such in Origen. Origen is full, as usual, of praises of the contemplative state; in speculation upon Divine things consists for him the happiness everywhere promised to the saints. Hilary ignores abstract speculation, whether as a method of interpretation or as a hope for the future, and actually describes the contemplation of God's dealings with men as merely one among other modes of preparation for eternal blessings. In the same discourse he paraphrases the words of Origen, 'He who has done all things that conduce to the knowledge of God,' by 'They who have the abiding sense of a cleansed heart.' Though he is the willing slave of the allegorical method, yet he revolts from time to time against its excesses in Origen; their treatment of Psalm 126, in the one case practical, in the other mystical, is a typical example. Hilary's attention is fixed on concrete things; the enemies denounced in the Psalms mean for him the heretics of the day, while Origen had recognized in them the invisible agency of evil spirits. The words 'Who teacheth my hand to fight' suggest to Origen intellectual weapons and victories; they remind Hilary of the 'I have overcome the world' of Christ. In fact, the thought of Hilary was so charged with definite convictions concerning Christ, and so impressed with their importance that his very earnestness and concentration betrays him into error of interpretation. It would be an insufficient, yet not a false, contrast between him and Origen to say that the latter distorts, with an almost playful ingenuity, the single words or phrases of Scripture, while Hilary, with masterful indifference to the principles of exegesis, will force a whole chapter to render the sense which he desires. And his obvious sincerity, his concentration of thought upon one great and always interesting doctrine, his constant appeal to what seems to be, and sometimes is, the exact sense of Scripture, and the vigor of his style, far better adapted to its purpose than that of Origen; all these render him an even more convincing exponent than the other of the bad system of interpretation which both have adopted. Sound theological deductions and wise moral reflections on every page make the reader willing to pardon a vicious method, for

Hilary's doctrine is never based upon his exegesis of the Psalms. No primary truth depends for him upon allegory or mysticism, and it may be that he used the method with the less caution because he looked for nothing more than that it should illustrate and confirm what was already established. Since, then, the permanent interest of the work is that it shows us what seemed to Hilary, as a representative of his age, to be the truth, and we have in it a powerful and original presentation of that truth, we can welcome, as a quaint and not ungraceful enlivening of his argument, this ingenuity of misinterpretation. And we may learn also a lesson for ourselves of the importance of the doctrine which he inculcates with such perseverance. Confronting him as it did, in various aspects, at every turn and in the most unlikely places during his journey through the Psalter, his faith concerning Christ was manifestly in Hilary's eyes the vital element of religion.

The Homilies on the Psalms have never been a popular work. Readable as they are, and free from most of the difficulties which beset the *De Trinitate*, posterity allowed them to be mutilated, and, as we saw, only a portion has come down to us. Their chief influence, like that of the other treatise, has been that which Hilary has exercised through them upon writers of greater fame. Ambrose has borrowed from them liberally and quite uncritically for his own exposition of certain of the Psalms; and Ambrose, accredited by his own fame and that of his greater friend Augustine, has quite overshadowed the fame of Hilary. The Homilies may, perhaps, have also suffered from an undeserved suspicion that anything written by the author of the *De Trinitate* would be hard to read. They have, in any case, been little read; and yet, as the first important example in Latin literature of the allegorical method, and as furnishing the staple of a widely studied work of St. Ambrose, they have profoundly affected the course of Christian thought. Their historical interest as well as their intrinsic value commands our respect.

In his Homily on Psalm 138, § 4, Hilary briefly mentions to Patriarches as examples of faith, and adds, 'but these are matters of which we must discourse more suitable and fully in their proper place.' This is a promise to which till of late no known work of our writer corresponded. Jerome had, indeed, informed us that Hilary had composed a treatise entitled *De Mysteriis*, but no one had connected it with his words in the Homily. It

had been supposed that the lost treatise dealt with the sacraments, in spite of the facts that it is Hilary's custom to speak of types as mysteries,' and that the sacraments are a theme upon which he never dwells. But in 1887 a great portion of Hilary's actual treatise on the Mysteries was recovered in the same manuscript which contained the more famous *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places* of Silvia of Aquitaine. It is a short treatise of two books, unhappily mutilated at the beginning, in the middle and near the end, though the peroration has survived. The title is lost, but there is no reason to doubt that Jerome was nearly right in calling it a *tractaius,* though he would have done better had he used the plural. It is written in the same easy style as the Homilies on the Psalms, and if it was not originally delivered as two homilies, as is probable, it must be a condensation of several discourses into a more compact form. The first book deals with the Patriarchs, the second with the Prophets, regarded as types of Christ. The whole is written from the point of view with which Hilary's other writings have made us familiar. Every deed recorded in Scripture proclaims or typifies or proves the advent of the incarnate Christ, and it is Hilary's purpose to display the whole of his work as reflected in the Old Testament, like image in a mirror. He begins with Adam and goes on the Moses, deriving lessons from the lives of all the chief characters, often with an exercise of great ingenuity. For instance, in the history of the Fall Eve is the Church, which is sinful but shall be saved through bearing children in Baptism; the burning bush is a type of the endurance of the Church, of which St. Paul speaks in <4008>2 Corinthians 4:8; the manna was found in the morning, the time of Christ's Resurrection and therefore of the reception of heavenly food in the Eucharist. They who collect too much are heretics with their excess of argument. In the second book we have a fragmentary and desultory treatment of incidents in the lives of the Prophets, which Hilary ends by saying that in all the events which he has recorded we recognize 'God the Father and God the son, and God the Son from God the Father, Jesus Christ, God and Man.' The peroration, in fact, reads like a summary of the argument of the *De Trinitate.* Of the genuineness of the little work there can be no doubt. Its language, its plan its arguments are unmistakably those of Hilary. The homilies were probably delivered soon after he had finished his course on the Psalms, of which they contain some reminiscences, such as we say are found in the later Homilies on the Psalms of earlier passages in the same. In all

probability the subject matter of the *De Mysteriis* is mainly drawn from Origen. It is too short, and too much akin to Hilary's more important writings, to cast much light upon his modes of thought. He has, indeed, no occasion to speak here upon the points on which his teaching is most original and characteristic.

In this same manuscript, discovered by Gamurrini at Arezzo, are the remains of what professes to be Hilary's collection of hymns. He has always had the fame of being the earliest Latin hymn writer. This was, indeed, a task which the circumstances of his life must have suggested to him. The conflict with Arianism forced him to become the pioneer of systematic theology in the Latin tongue; it also drove him into exile in the East, where he must have acquainted himself with the controversial use made of hymnody by the Arians. Thus it was natural that he should have introduced hymns also into the West. But if the *De Trinitate* had little success, the hymns were still more unfortunate. Jerome tells us that Hilary complained of finding the Gauls unteachable in sacred song; and there is no reason to suppose that he had any wide of permanent success in introducing hymns into public worship. If Hilary must have the credit of originality in this respect, the honor of turning his suggestion to account belongs to Ambrose, whose fame in more respects than one is built upon foundations laid by the other. And if but a scanty remnant of the verse of Ambrose, popular as it was, survives, we cannot be surprised that not a line remains which can safely be attributed to Hilary, though authorities who deserve have pronounced in favor of more than one of the five hymns we must consider.

Hilary's own opinion concerning the use of hymns can best be learned from his Homilies of Psalms 64 and 65. In the former (§ 12) the Church's delightful exercise of singing hymns at morning and evening is one of the chief tokens which she has of God's mercy towards her. In the latter (§ 1) we are told that sacred song requires the accompaniment of instrumental harmonies; that the combination to this end different forms of service and of art produces a result acceptable to God. The lifting of the voice to God in exultation, as an act of spiritual warfare against the devil and his hosts, is given as an example of the uses of hymnody (§ 4). It is a means of putting the enemy to flight; 'Whoever he be that takes his post outside the Church, let him hear the voice of the people at their prayers, let him mark

the multitudinous sound of our hymns, and in the performance of the divine Sacraments let him recognize the responses which out loyal confession makes. Every adversary must needs be affrighted, the devil routed, death conquered in the faith of the Resurrection, by such jubilant utterance of our exultant voice. The enemy will know that this gives pleasure to God and assurance to our hope, even this public and triumphant raising of our voice in song.' Original composition, both of words and music, is evidently in Hilary's mind; and we can see that he is rather recommending a useful novelty than describing an established practice. it is a remarkable coincidence that the five hymns which are called his are, in fact, a song of triumph over the devil, and a hymn in praise of the Resurrection, which are, so their editor thinks, actually alluded to in the Homily cited above; a confession of faith; and a morning hymn and one which has been taken for an evening hymn. These are exactly the subjects which correspond to Hilary's description.

But, when we come to the examination of these hymns in detail, the gravest doubts arise. The first three were discovered in the same manuscript to which we owe the *De Mysteriis.* They formed part of a small collection, which cannot have numbered more than seven or eight hymns, of which these three only have escaped, not without some mutilation. That which stands first is the confession of faith, the matter of which contains nothing that is inconsistent with Hilary's time. But beyond this, and the fact that the manuscript ascribes it to Hilary, there is nothing to suggest his authorship. It is a dreary production in a limping imitation of an Horatian metre; an involved argumentative statement of Catholic doctrine, in which is would be difficult to say whether verse or subject suffers the more from their unwonted union. The sequence of thought is helped out by the mechanical device of an alphabetical arrangement of the stanzas, but even this assistance could not make it intelligible to an ordinary congregation. And the want of literary skill in the author makes it impossible to suppose that Hilary is he; classical knowledge was still on too high a level for an educated man to perpetrate such solecisms.

In the same manuscript there follow, after an unfortunate gap, the two hymns to which it has been suggested that Hilary alludes in his Homily of Psalm 65, those which celebrate the praises of the Resurrection and the triumph over Satan. The former is by a woman's hand, and the feminine

forms of the language must have made it, one would think, unsuitable for congregational singing. There is no reason why the poem should not date from the fourth century; indeed, since it is written by a neophyte, that date is more probable than a later time, when adult converts to Christianity were more sacred. It has considerable merits; it is fervid intone and free in movement, and has every appearance of being the expressions of genuine feeling. It is, in fact, likely enough that, if it were written in Hilary's day, he should have inserted it in a collection of sacred verse. Concerning its authorship the suggestion has been made that it was written by Florentia, a heathen maiden converted by Hilary near Seleucia, who followed him to Gaul, lived, died, and was buried by him in his diocese. The story of Florentia rests on no better authority than the worthless biography of Hilary, written by Fortunatus, who, moreover, says nothing about hymns composed by her. Neither proof nor disproof is possible: unless we regard the defective Latinity as evidence in favor of a Greek origin for the authoress. The third hymn, which celebrates the triumph of Christ over Satan, may or may not be the work of the same hand as the second. It bears much more resemblance to it than to the laborious and prosaic effusion which stands first. The manuscript which contains these three hymns distinctly assigns the first, and one or more which have perished, to Hilary:—'*Incipiunt hymni eiusdem.*' Whether a fresh title stood before the later hymns, which clearly belong to another, we cannot say; the collection is too short for this to be probable. It is obvious that, if we have in this manuscript the remains of a hymn-book for actual use, it was, like ours, a compilation; brief as it was, it may have been as large as the cumbrous shape of ancient volumes would allow to be cheaply multiplied and conveniently used. Many popular treatises, as for instance some by Tertullian and Cyprian, were quite as short. Who the compiler may have been must remain unknown. We must attach some importance to the evidence of the manuscript which has restored to us the *De Mysteriis* and the Pilgrimage of Silvia; and we may reasonably suppose that this collection was made in the time, and even with the sanction, of Hilary, though we cannot accept him as the author of any of the three hymns which remain.

The spurious letter to his imaginary daughter Abra was apparently written with the ingenious purpose of fathering upon Hilary the morning hymn,

Luis Largitor spledide. This is a hymn of considerable beauty, in the same metre as the genuine Ambrosian hymns. But there is this essential difference, that while in the latter the rules of classical versification as regards the length of syllables are scrupulously followed, in the former these rules are ignored, and rhythm takes the place of quantity. This is a sufficient proof that the hymn is of a later date than Ambrose, and, *a fortiori*, than Hilary. There remains the so-called evening hymn, which has been supposed to be the companion to the last. This, again, is alphabetical, and contains in twenty-three stanzas a confession of sin, an appeal to Christ and an assertion of orthodoxy. The rules of metre are neglected in favor of an uncouth attempt at rhythm. Latin appears to have been a dead language to the writer, who adorns his lines with little pieces of pagan mythology, and whose taste is indicated by the work of some bombastic monk, perhaps of the time of Charles the Great; unlike the other four, it cannot possibly date from Hilary's generation.

Omitting certain fragments of treatises of which Hilary may, or may not, have been the author, we now come to his attack upon Auxentius of Milan, and to the last of his complete works. Dionysius of Milan had been, as we saw, a sufferer in the same cause as Hilary. But he had been still more hardly treated; he had not only been exiled, but his place had been taken by Auxentius, an Eastern Arian of the school favored by Constantius. Dionysius died in exile, and Auxentius remained in undisputed possession of the see. He must have been a man of considerable ability; perhaps, as we have mentioned, he was the creator of the so-called Ambrosian ritual, and certainly he was the leader of the Arian party in Italy and the further West. The very fact that Constantius and his advisers chose him for so great a post as the bishopric of Milan proves that they had confidence in him. He justified their trust, holding his own without apparent difficulty at Milan and working successfully in the cause of compromise at Ariminum and elsewhere Athanasius mentions him often and bitterly as a leader of the heretics; and he must be ranked with Ursacius and Valens as one the most unscrupulous of his party. While Constantius reigned Auxentius was, of course, safe from attack. But at the end of the year 364, Hilary thought that the opportunity was come. Since his last entry into the conflict Julian and his successor Jovian had died, and Valentinian had for some months been Emperor. He had just divided the

Roman Empire with his brother Valens, himself choosing the Western half with Milan for his capital, while he gave Constantinople and the East to Valens. The latter was a man of small abilities, unworthy to reign, and a convinced Arian; Valentinian, with many faults, was a strong ruler, and favored the cause of orthodoxy. But he was, before all else, a soldier and a statesman; his orthodoxy was, perhaps, a mere acquiescence in the predominant belief among his subjects, and it had, in any case, much less influence over his conduct than had Arianism over that of Valens. It must have seemed to Hilary and to Eusebius of Vercelli that there was danger to the Church in the possession by Auxentius of so commanding a position as that of bishop of Milan, with constant access to the Emperor's ear; and especially now that the Emperor was new to his work and had no knowledge, perhaps no strong convictions, concerning the points at issue. As far as they could judge, their success or failure in displacing Auxentius would influence the fortunes of the Church for a generation at least. it would, therefore, by unjust to accuse Hilary as a mere busy-body. He interfered, it is true, outside his own province, but it was at a serious crisis; and his knowledge of the Western Church must have assured him that, if he did not act, the necessary protest would probably remain unmade.

Hilary, then, in company with his ally Eusebius, hastened to Milan in order to influence the mind of Valentinian against Auxentius, and to waken the dormant orthodoxy of the Milanese Church. For there seems to have been little local opposition to the Arian bishop: no organized congregation of Catholics in the city rejected his communion. On the other hand, there was no militant Arianism; the worship conducted by Auxentius could excite no scruples, and in his teaching he would certainly avoid the point of difference. he and his school had no desire to persecute orthodoxy because it was orthodox. From their point of view, the Faith had been settled in such a way that their own position was unassailable, and all they wished was to live and to let live. And we must remember that the Council of Rimini, disgraceful as the manner was in which its decision had been reached, was still the rule of the Faith for the Western Church. Hilary and Eusebius had induced a multitude of bishops, amid the applause of their flocks, to recant; but private expressions of opinion, however numerous, could not erase the definitions of Rimini from the records of the Church. It

was not till the year 369 that a Council at Rome expunged them. The first object of the allies was to excite opposition to the Arian, and in this they had some success. Auxentius, in his petition to the Emperor, which we possess, asserts that they stirred up certain of the laity, who had been in communion neither with himself nor with his predecessors, to call him a heretic. The immediate predecessor of Auxentius was the Catholic Dionysius, and we cannot suppose that this is a fair description of Hilary's followers. But it is probable that the malcontents were not numerous, for none but enthusiasts would venture into apparent schism on account of a heresy which was certainly not conspicuous. How long Hilary was allowed to continue his efforts is unknown. Valentinian reached Milan in the November of 364, and left it in the Autumn of the following year; and before his departure his decision had frustrated Hilary's purpose. We only know that, as soon as the matter grew serious, Auxentius appealed to the Emperor. There was no point more important in the eyes of the government than unity within the local Churches, and Auxentius, being formally in the right, must have made his appeal with much confidence. His success was immediate. The Emperor issued what Hilary calls 'a grievous edict,' the terms of which Hilary does not mention. He only says that under the pretext, and with the desire, of unity, Valentinian threw the faithful Church of Milan into confusion. In other words, he forbade Hilary to agitate for a separation of the people from their bishop.

But Hilary, silenced in the city, exerted himself at court. With urgent importunity, he tells us, he pressed his charges against Auxentius, and induced the Emperor to appoint a commission to consider them. In due time this commissar met. It consisted of two lay officials, with 'some ten' bishops as assessors. Hilary and Eusebius were present, as well as the accused. Auxentius pleaded his own cause, beginning with the unfortunate attack upon his adversaries that they had been deposed by Council, and therefore had no *locus standi* as accusers of a bishop. This was untrue; Hilary, we know, had been banished, but his see had never been declared vacant, nor, in all probability, had that of Eusebius. They were not intruders, like Auxentius, though even he had gained some legality for his position from the death of Dionysius in exile. The failure of this plea was so complete that Hilary, in his account of the matter, declares that it is not

worth his while to repeat his defense. Next came the serious business of the commission. This was not the theological enquiry after truth, but the legal question whether, in fact, the teaching of Auxentius was in conformity with recognized standards. Hilary had asserted that his creed differed from that of the Emperor and of all other Christians, and had asserted it in very unsparing language. He now maintained his allegation, and, in doing so, gave Auxentius a double advantage. For he diverged into the general question of theology, while Auxentius stuck to the letter of the decisions of Rimini; and the words of Hilary had been such that he could claim to be a sufferer from calumny. Hilary's account of the doctrinal discussion is that he forced the reluctant Auxentius by his questions to the very edge of a denial of Faith; that Auxentius escaped from this difficulty by a complete surrender, to which Hilary pinned him down by making him sign an orthodox confession, in terms to which he had several times agreed during the course of the debate; that Hilary remitted this confession through the Quaestor, the lay president of the commission, to the Emperor. This document, which Hilary says that he appended to his explanatory letter, is unfortunately lost. The brief account of the matter which Auxentius gives is not inconsistent with Hilary's. He tells us that he began by protesting that he had never known or seen Arius, and did not even know what his doctrine was; he proceeded to declare that he still believed and preached the truths which he had been taught in his infancy and of which he had satisfied himself by study of Scripture; and he gives a summary of the statement of faith which he made before the commission. But he says not a word about the passage of arms between Hilary and himself, of his defeat, and of the enforced signature of a confession which contradicted his previous assertions.

Hilary's account of the proceedings must certainly be accepted. But, though his moral and dialectical victory was complete, it is obvious that he had gained no advantage for his cause. He had taunted Auxentius as an adherent of Arius. Auxentius had an immediate reply, which put his opponent in the wrong. We cannot doubt that he spoke the truth, when he said that he had never known Arius; and it certainly was the case, that in the early years of the fourth century, inadequate statements of the doctrine of the Trinity were widely prevalent and passed without dispute. It was also true that the dominant faction at the court of Constantius, of which

Auxentius had been a leader, had in the most effectual way disclaimed complicity with Arianism by ejecting its honest professors from their sees and by joining with their lips in the universal condemnation of the founder of that heresy. But if this was their shame, it was also, in such circumstances as those of that heresy. But if this was their shame, it was also, in such circumstances as those of Auxentius, their protection. And Auxentius held one of the greatest positions in the Church, and even in the state, now that Milan was to be, so it seemed, the capital of the West. The spirit of the government at that time was one of almost Chinese reverence for official rank; and it must have seemed an outrage that the irresponsible bishop of a city, mean in comparison with Milan, should assail Auxentius in such terms as Hilary had used. Even though he had admitted, instead of repudiating, that affinity with Arius, there would have been an impropriety in the use of that familiar weapon, the labeling of a party with the name of its most discredited and unpopular member. We may be sure that Auxentius, a man of the world, would derive all possible advantage from this excessive vehemence of his adversary. In the debate itself, where Hilary would have the advantage not only of a sound cause, but of greater earnestness, we cannot be surprised that he won the victory. Auxentius was probably indifferent at heart; Hilary had devoted his life and all his talents to the cause. But such a victory could have no results, beyond lowering Auxentius in public esteem and self-respect. It does not appear from his words or from those of Hilary, that the actual creed of Rimini was imported into the dispute. It was on it that Auxentius relied; if he did not expressly contradict its terms, the debate became a mere discussion concerning abstract truth. The legal standard of doctrine was no more affected by his unwilling concession than it had been a few years before by the numerous repudiations, prompted by Hilary and Eusebius, of the vote given at Rimini. The confession which Hilary annexed in triumph to his narrative was the mere incidental expression of a private opinion, which Auxentius, in his further plea, could afford to leave unnoticed.

The commissioners no doubt made their report privately to the Emperor. We do not know its tenor, but from the sequel we may be sure that they gave it as their opinion that Auxentius was the lawful bishop of Milan. Some time passed before Valentinian spoke. Whether Hilary took any further steps to influence his decision is unknown; but we possess a

memorial addressed ‘to the most blessed and glorious Emperors Valentinian and Valens’ by Auxentius. The two brothers were, by mutual arrangement, each sovereign within his own dominion, but they ruled as colleagues, not as rivals; and Auxentius must have taken courage form the thought that it would seem unnatural and impolitic for the elder to seize this first opportunity of proclaiming his dissent from the cherished convictions of the younger, by degrading one of the very school his brother delighted to honor. For what had been proposed was not the silent filling of a vacant place, but the public ejection of a bishop whose station was not much less prominent than that of Athansius himself, and his ejection on purely theological grounds. Constantius himself had rarely been so bold; his acts of oppression, as in Hilary’s case, were usually cloaked by some allegation of misconduct on the victim’s part. But Auxentius had more than the character of Valens and political considerations on which to rely. In the forefront of his defense he put the Council of Rimini. This attack by Hilary and his friends was, according to him, the attempt of a handful of men to break up the unity attained by the labors of that great assembly of six hundred bishops. He declared his firm assent to all its decisions; every heresy that it had condemned he condemned. He sent with his address a copy of the Acts of the Council, and begged the Emperor to have them read to him. Its language would convince him that Hilary and Eusebius, bishops long deposed, were merely plotting universal schism. This, with his own account of the proceedings before the commission and a short statement of his belief, forms his appeal to the Emperor. It was composed with great skill, and was quite unanswerable. His actual possession of the see, the circumstances of the time, the very doctrine of the Church—for only a Council could undo what a Council had done—rendered his position unassailable. And if he was in the right, Hilary and his colleague were in the wrong. Nothing but success could have saved them from the humiliation, to which they were now subjected, of being expelled from Milan and bidden to return to their homes, while the Emperor publicly recognized Auxentius by receiving the Communion at his hands. Yet morally they had been in the right throughout. The strong legal position of Auxentius and the canons of that imposing Council of six hundred bishops behind which he screened himself had been obtained by deliberate fraud and oppression. He and his creed could not have, and did not deserve to have, any stability. Yet Valentinian was probably in the

right, even in the interests of truth, in refusing to make a martyr of Auxentius. There would have been reprisals in the East, where the Catholic cause had far more to lost than had Arianism in the West; and general considerations of equity and policy must have inclined him to allow the Arian to pass the remainder of his days in peace. But we cannot wonder that Hilary failed to appreciate such reasons. He had thrown himself with all his heart into the attack, and risked in it his public credit as bishop and confessor and first of Western theologians. Hence his published account of the transaction is tinged with a pardonable shade of personal resentment. It was, indeed, necessary that he should issue a statement. The assault and the repulse were rendered conspicuous by time and place, and by the eminence of the persons engaged; and it was Hilary's duty to see that the defeat which he had incurred brought no injury upon his cause. He therefor addressed a public letter 'to the beloved brethren who abide in the Faith of the fathers and repudiate the Arian heresy, the bishops and all their flocks.' He begins by speaking of the blessings of peace, which the Christians of that day could neither enjoy nor promote, beset as they were by the forerunners of Antichrist, who boasted of the peace, in other words of the harmonious concurrence in blasphemy, which they had brought about. They bear themselves not as bishops of Christ but as priests of Antichrist. This is not random abuse (§ 2), but sober recognition of the fact, stated by St. John, that there are many Antichrists. For these men assume the cloak of piety, and pretend to preach the Gospel, with one object of inducing others to deny Christ. It was (§ 3) the misery and folly of the day that men endeavored to promote the cause of God by human means and the favor of the world. Hilary asks bishops, who believe in their office, whether the Apostles had secular support with palace dignities; scourged and fettered, they sang their hymns. It was in obedience to no royal edict the Paul gathered a Church for Christ; he was exposed to public view in the theater. Nero and Vespasian and Decius were no patrons of the Church; it was through their hatred that the truth had thriven. The Apostles labored with their hands and worshipped in garrets and secret places, and in defiance of senate of monarch visited, it might be said, every village and every tribe. Yet it was these rebels who had the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; the more they were forbidden, the more they preached, and the power of God was made manifest. But now (§ 4) the Faith finds favor with men. The Church seeks for secular support, and in

doing so insults Christ by the implication that His support is insufficient. She in her turn holds out the threat of exile and prison. It was her endurance of these that draw men to her; now she imposes her faith by violence. She craves for favors at the hand of her communicants; once it was her consecration that she braved the threatenings of persecutors. Bishops in exile spread the Faith; not it is she that exiles bishops. She boasts that the world loves her; the world's hatred was the evidence that she was Christ's. The ruin is obvious which has fallen upon the Church. The reason is plain (§ 5). The time of Antichrist, disguised as an angel of light, has come. The true Christ is hidden from almost every mind and heart. Antichrist is now obscuring the truth that he may assert falsehood hereafter. Hence the conflicting opinions of the time, the doctrine of Arius and of his heirs, Valens, Ursacius, Auxentius and their fellows. their preaching of novelties concerning Christ is the work of Antichrist, who is using them to introduce his own worship. This is proved (§ 6) by a statement of their minimizing and prevaricating doctrine, which has, however, made no impression upon the guileless and well-meaning laity. Then (§§ 7—9) comes Hilary's account of his proceedings at Milan, strongly colored by the intensity of his feelings. The Emperor's first refusal to interfere with Auxentius is a 'command that the Church of the Milanese, which confesses that Christ if true God, of one divinity and substance with the Father, should be thrown into confusion under the pretext, and with the desire, of unity.' The canons of Rimini are described as those of the Thracian Nicaea; Auxentius' protest that he had never known Arius is met by the assertion that he had been ordained to the presbyterate in an Arian Church under George of Alexandria. Hilary refuses to discuss the Council of Rimini; it had been universally and righteously repudiated. His ejection from Milan, in spite of his protests that Auxentius was a liar and a renegade, is a revelation of the mystery of ungodliness. For Auxentius (§§ 10, 11) had spoken with two contrary voices; the one that of the confession which Hilary had driven him to sign, the other that of Rimini. His skill in words could deceive even the elect, but he had been clearly exposed. Finally (§ 12) Hilary regrets that he cannot state the case to each bishop and Church in person. He begs them to make the best of his letter; he dares not make it fully intelligible by circulating with it the Arian blasphemies which he had assailed. He bids them beware of Antichrist, and warns against love and reverence for the

material structure of their churches, wherein Antichrist will one day have his seat. Mountains and woods and dens of beasts and prisons and morasses are the places of safety; in them some of the Prophets had lived, and some had died. he bids them shun Auxentius as an angel of Satan, an enemy of Christ, a deceiver and a blasphemer. ‘Let him assemble against me what synods he will, let him proclaim me, as he has often done already, a heretic by public advertisement, let him direct, at this will, the wrath of the might against me; yet, being an Arian, he shall be nothing less than a devil in my eyes. Never will I desire peace except with them who, following the doctrine of our fathers at Nicaea, shall make the Arians anathema and proclaim the true divinity of Christ.’

These are the concluding words of Hilary’s last public utterance. We see him again giving an unreserved adhesion, in word as well as in heart, to the Nicene confession. It was the course dictated by policy as well as by conviction. His cautious language in earlier days had done good service to the Church in the East, and had made it easier for those who had compromised themselves at Rimini to reconcile themselves with him and with the truth for which he stood. But by this time all whom he could wish to win had given in their adhesion; Auxentius and the few who held with him, if such there were, were irreconcilable. They took their stand upon the Council of Rimini, and their opponents found in the doctrine of Nicaea the clear and uncompromising challenge which was necessary for effective warfare. But if Hilary’s doctrinal position is definite, his theory of the relations of Church and State, if indeed his indignation allowed him the think of them, is obscure. An orthodox Emperor was upholding an Arian, and Hilary, while giving Valentinian credit for personal good faith, is a eager as in the worst days of Constantius for a severance. We must, however, remember that his manifest, though it is the expression of a settled policy in the matter of doctrine, is in other respects the unguarded outpouring of an injured feeling. And here again we find the old perplexity of the ‘inward evil.’ Auxentius is represented as in the Church and outside it at the same time. He is an Antichrist, a devil, all that is evil; but Hilary is threatened and it is the Church that threatens, submission to an Arian is enforced and it is the Church which enforces it. And if Auxentius had adhered to the confession which Hilary had induced him to sign, all objection to he episcopate would apparently have ceased. The time had

not come, for it ever can come, for the solution of such problems. Meantime Hilary did his best, so far as words could do it, to brush aside the sophistries behind which Auxentius was defending himself. The doctrine of Rimini is named that of Nicaea, in Thrace, where the discreditable and insignificant assembly met in which its terms were settled; the Church of Alexandria under the intruder George is frankly called Arian. It was an appeal to the future as well as an apology for himself. But certainly it could not move Valentinian, nor can Hilary have expected that it should. And, after all, Valentinian's action was harmless, as least. By Hilary's own confession, Auxentius had no influence for evil over his flock, and these proceedings must have warned him, if he needed the warning, that abstinence from aggressive Arianism was necessary if he would end his days in peace. The Emperor's policy remained unchanged. At the Roman Council of the year 369 the Western bishops formally annulled, the proceedings of Rimini, and so deprived Auxentius of his legal position. At the same time, as the logical consequence, they condemned him to deposition, but Valentinian refused to give effect to their sentence, and Auxentius remained bishop of Milan till his death in the year 374. He had outlived Hilary and Eusebius, and also Athanasius, the promoter of the last attack upon him; he had also outlived whatever Arianism there had been in Milan. His successor, St. Ambrose, had the enthusiastic support of his people in his conflicts with Arian princes. The Church could have gained little by Hilary's success, and yet we cannot be sure that, in a broad sense, he failed. So resolute a bearing must have effectually strengthened the convictions of Valentinian and the fears of Auxentius.

There remains one work of Hilary to be considered. This was a history of the Arian controversy in such of its aspects as had fallen under his own observation. We know from Jerome's biography of Hilary that he wrote a book against Valens and Ursacius, containing an account of the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia. They had been his adversaries throughout his career, and had held their own against him. To them, at least as much as to Constantius, the overthrow of his Asiatic friends was due, and to them he owed the favor, which must have galled him, of permission to return to his diocese. Auxentius was one of their allies, and the failure of Hilary's attack upon him made it clear that these men too, as subjects of Valentinian, were safe from merited deposition. Their worldly success was manifest; it was a

natural and righteous task which Hilary undertook when he exposed their true character. It was clear that while Valens and Valentinian lived—and they were in early middle life—there would be an armed peace within the Western Church; that the overthrow of bishop by bishop in theological strife would be forbidden. the pen was the only weapon left to Hilary, and he used it to give an account of events from the time of that Council of Arles, in the year 353, which was the beginning for Gaul of the Arian conflict. He followed its course, with especial reference to Uracius and Valens, until the year 367, or at least the end of 366; the latest incident recorded in the fragments which we possess must have happened within a few months of his death. The work was less a history than a collection of documents strung together by an explanatory narrative. It is evident that it was not undertaken as a literary effort; its aim is not the information of future generations, but the solemn indictment at the bar of public opinion of living offenders. It must have been when complete, a singularly businesslike production, with no graces of style t render it attractive and no generalizations to illuminate its pages. Had the whole been preserved, we should have had a complete record of Hilary's life; as it is, we have thirteen valuable fragments, to which we owe a considerable part of our general knowledge of the time, though they tell us comparatively little of his own career. The commencement of the work has happily survived, and from it we learn the spirit in which he wrote. He begins (Fragment I. §§ 1, 2.) with an exposition of St. Paul's doctrine of faith, hope, and love. He testifies, with the Apostle, that the last is the greatest. The inseparable bond, of which he is conscious, of God's love for him and his for God, has detached him from worldly interests. He, like others (§ 3), might have enjoyed ease and prosperity and imperial friendship, and have been, as they were, a bishop only in name and a burden upon the Church. But the condition imposed was that of tampering with Gospel truths, willful blindness to oppression and the condonation of tyranny. Public opinion, ill-informed and unused to theological subtleties, would not have observed the change. But it would have been a cowardly declension from the love of Christ to which he could not stoop. He feels (§ 4) the difficulty of the task he undertakes. The devil and the heretics had done their worst, multitudes had been terrified into denial of their convictions. The story was complicated by the ingenuity of evil of the plotters, and evidence was difficult to obtain. The scene of intrigue could not be clearly delineated,

crowded as it was with the busy figures of bishops and officers, putting every engine into motion against men of apostolic mind. The energy with which they propagated slander was the measure of its falsehood. They had implanted in the public mind the belief that the exiled bishops had suffered merely for refusing to condemn Athanasius; that they were inspired by obstinacy, not by principle. Out of reverence for the Emperor, whose throne is from God (§ 5), Hilary will not comment upon his usurped jurisdiction over a bishop, nor on the manner in which it was exercised; nor yet on the injustice whereby bishops were forced to pass sentence upon the accused in his absence. In this volume he will give the true causes of trouble, in comparison of which such tyranny, grievous though it be, is of small account. Once before—this, no doubt, was at Bezeirs—he had spoken his mind upon the matter. But that was a hasty and unprepared utterance, delivered to an audience as eager to silence him as he was to speak. He will, therefore (§ 6), give a full and consecutive narrative of events from the Council of Arles onwards, with such an account of the question there debated as will show the true merits of Paulinus, and make it clear that nothing less than the Faith was at stake. He ends his introduction (§ 7) by warning the reader that this is a work which needs to be seriously studied. The multitude of letters and of synods which he must adduce will merely confuse and disgust him, if he do not bear in mind the dates and the persons, and the exact sense in which terms are used. Finally, he reminds him of the greatness of the subject. This is the knowledge of God, the hope of eternity; it is the duty of a Christian to acquire such knowledge as shall enable him to form and maintain his own conclusions. The excerpts from the work have evidently been made by some one who was interested in Italy and Illyricum rather than in Gaul, and thought that the documents were more important than the narrative. Hence Hilary's character is as little illustrated as the events of his life. Nor can the date of the work be precisely fixed. It is clear that he had already taken up his final attitude of uncompromising adherence to the Nicene Symbol; that is to say, he began to write after all the waverers had been reclaimed from contact with Arianism. He must, therefore, have written the book in his latest years; and it is manifest that after he had brought the narrative down to the time of his return from exile, he continued to add to it from time to time even till the end of his life. For the last incident recorded in the Fragments, the secession from the party of Valens and Ursacius of an old

and important ally, Germinius of Sirmium, must have come to his knowledge very shortly before his death. He had had little success in his warfare with error; if he and his friends had held their own, they had not succeeded either in synod or at court in overthrowing their enemies; and it is pleasant to think that this gleam of comfort came to brighten the last days of Hilary. The news must have reached Gaul early in the year 367, and no subsequent event of importance can have come to his knowledge.

But though we have reached the term of Hilary's life, there remains one topic on which something must be said, his relation to St. Martin of Tours. Martin, born in Pannonia, the country of Valens and Ursacius, but converted from paganism under Catholic influences, was attracted by Hilary, already a bishop, and spent some years in his society before the outbreak of the Arian strife in Gaul. Hilary, we are told, wished to ordain him a priest, but at his urgent wish refrained, and admitted him instead to the humble rank of an exorcist. At an uncertain date, which cannot have long preceded Hilary's exile, he felt himself moved to return to his native province in order to convert his parents, who were still pagans. He succeeded in the case of his mother and of many of his countrymen. But he was soon compelled to abandon his labors, for he had, as a true disciple of Hilary, regarded it as his duty to oppose the Arianism dominant in the province. Opposition to the bishops on the part of a man holding so low a station in the Church was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical offense, and Martin can have expected no other treatment than that which he received, of scourging and expulsion from the province. Hilary was by this time in exile, and Martin turned to Milan, where the heresy of the intruder Auxentius called forth his protests, which were silenced by another expulsion. He next retired to a small island off the Italian coast, where he lived in seclusion till he heard of Hilary's return. He hastened to Rome, so Fortunatus tells us, to meet his friend, but missed him on the way; and followed him at once to Poitiers. There Hilary gave him a site near the city, on which he founded the first monastery in that region, over which he presided for the rest of Hilary's life and for four years after his death. In the year 371 he was consecrated bishop of Tours, and so continued till his death twenty-five years later. It is clear that Martin was never able to exert any influence over the mind or action of Hilary, whose interests were in an intellectual sphere above his reach. But the courage and tenacity with

which Martin held and preached the Faith was certainly inspired to some considerable extent by admiration of Hilary and confidence in his teaching. And the joy which Hilary expresses, as we have seen, in his later Homilies on the Psalms over the rapid spread of Christianity in Gaul, was no doubt occasioned by the earlier triumphs of Martin among the peasantry. The two men were formed each to be the complement of the other. It was the work of Hilary to prove with cogent clearness to educated Christians, that reason as well as piety dictated an acceptance of the Catholic Faith; the mission of Martin was to those who were neither educated nor Christian, and his success in bringing the Faith home to the lives and consciences of the pagan masses marks him out as one of the greatest among the preachers of the Gospel. Both of them actively opposed Arianism, and both suffered in the conflict. But the confessorship of neither had any perceptible share in promoting the final victory of truth. Their true glory is that they were fellow-laborers equally successful in widely separate parts of the same field; and Hilary in entitled, beyond the honor die to his own achievements, to a share in that of St. Martin, whose merits he discovered and fostered.

We have now reached the end of Hilary's life. Sulpicius Severus tells us that he died in the sixth year from his return. He had probably reached Poitiers early in the year 361; we have seen that the latest event recorded in the fragments of his history must have come to his knowledge early in 367. There is no reason to doubt that this was the conclusion of history, and no consideration suggests that Sulpicius was wrong in his date. We may therefore assign the death of Hilary, with considerable confidence, to the year 367, and probably to its middle portion. Of the circumstances of his death nothing is recorded. This is one of the many signs that his contemporaries did not value him at his true worth. To them he must have been the busy and somewhat unsuccessful man of affairs; their successors in the next generation turned away from him and his works to the more attractive writings and more commanding characters of Ambrose and Augustine. Yet certainly no firmer purpose of more convinced faith, perhaps no keener intellect has devoted itself to the defense and elucidation of truth than that of Hilary: and it may be that Christian thinkers in the future will find an inspiration of new and fruitful thoughts in his writings.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEOLOGY OF ST. HILARY OF POITIERS

THIS CHAPTER offers no more than tentative and imperfect outline of the theology of St. Hilary; it is an essay, not a monograph. Little attempt will be made to estimate the value of his opinions from the point of view of modern thought; little will be said about his relation to earlier and contemporary thought, a subject on which he is habitually silent, and nothing about the after fate of his speculations. Ye the task, thus narrowed, is not without its difficulties. Much more attention, it is true, has been paid to Hilary's theology than to the history of his life, and the student cannot presume to dispense with the assistance of the books already written. But they cannot release him from the necessity of collecting evidence for himself from the pages of Hilary, and forming his own judgment upon it, for none of them can claim completeness and they differ widely as to the views which Hilary held. There is the further difficulty that a brief statement of a theologian's opinions must be systematic. But Hilary has abstained, perhaps deliberately, from constructing a system; the scattered points of his teaching must be gathered from writings composed at various times and with various purposes. The part of his work which was, no doubt, most useful in his own day, his summary in the *De Trinitate* of the defense against Arianism, is clear and well arranged, but it bears less of the stamp of Hilary's genius than any other writings. His characteristic thoughts are scattered over the pages of this great controversial treatise, where the exigencies of his immediate argument often deny him full scope for their development; or else they must be sought in his Commentary on St. Matthew, where they find incidental expression in the midst of allegorical exegesis; or again, amid the mysticism and exhortation of the Homilies on the Psalms. It is in some of these last that the Christology of Hilary is most completely stated; but the Homilies were intended for a general audience, and are unsystematic in construction and almost conversational in tone. Hilary has never worked out his thoughts in consistent theological form, and many of the most original among them have failed to attract the attention which they would

have received had they been presented in such a shape as that of the later books of the *De Trinitate.*

This desultory mode of composition had its advantages in life and warmth of present interest, and gives to Hilary's writings a value as historical documents which a formal and comprehensive treatise would have lacked. But it seriously increases the difficulty of the present undertaking. It was inevitable that Hilary's method, though he is a singularly consistent thinker, should sometimes lead him into self-contradiction and sometimes leave his meaning in obscurity. In such cases probabilities must be balanced, with due regard to the opinion of former theologians who have studied his writings, and a definite conclusion must be given, though space cannot be found for the considerations upon which it is based. But though the writer may be satisfied that he has, on the whole, fairly represented Hilary's belief, it is impossible that a summary of doctrine can be an adequate reflection of a great teacher's mind. Proportions are altogether changed; a doctrine once stated and then dismissed must be set down on the same scale as another to which the author recurs again and again with obvious interest. The inevitable result is an apparent coldness an stiffness and excess of method which does Hilary an injustice both as a thinker and as a writer. In the interests of orderly sequence not only must he be represented as sometimes more consistent than he really is, but the play of thought, the undeveloped suggestions, often brilliant in their originality, the striking expression given to familiar truths, must all be sacrificed, and with them great part of the pleasure and profit to be derived from his writings. For there are two conclusions which the careful student will certainly reach; the one that every statement and argument will be in hearty and scrupulous consonance with the Creeds, the other that, within this limit, he must not be surprised at any ingenuity or audacity of logic or exegesis in explanation an illustration of recognized truths, and especially in the speculative connection of one truth with another. But the evidence that Hilary's heart, as well as his reason, was engaged in the search and defense of truth must be sought, where it will be abundantly found, in the translations given in this volume. The present chapter only purposes to set out, in a very prosaic manner, the conclusions at which his speculative genius arrived, working as it did by the methods of strict logic in the spirit of eager loyalty to the Faith.

In his effort to render a reason for his belief Hilary's constant appeal is to Scripture; and he avails himself freely of the thoughts of earlier theologians. But he never makes himself their slave; he is not the avowed adherence of any school, and never cites the names of those whose arguments he adopts. These he adjusts to his own system of thought, and presents for acceptance, not on authority, but on their own merits. For Scripture, however, he has an unbounded reverence. Everything that he believes, save the fundamental truth of Theism, of which man has an innate consciousness, being unable to gaze upon the heavens without the conviction that God exists and has His home there, is directly derived from Holy Scripture. Scripture for Hilary means the Septuagint for the Old Testament, the Latin for the New. He was, as we saw, no Hebrew Scholar, and had small respect either for the versions which competed with the Septuagint or for the Latin rendering the Old Testament, but there is little evidence that he was dissatisfied with the Latin of the New; in fact, in one instance, whether through habitual contentment with his Latin or through momentary carelessness in verifying the sense, he bases an argument on a thoroughly false interpretation. Of his relation to Origen and the literary aspects of his exegetical work, something has been said in the former chapter. Here we must speak of his use of Scripture as the source of truth, and of the methods he employs to draw out its meaning.

In Hilary's eyes the two Testaments from one homogeneous revelation, of equal value throughout, and any part of the whole may be used in explanation of any other part. The same title of *beatissimus* is given to Daniel and to St. Paul when both are cited in *Comm. in Matt.* [illegible]25:3; indeed, he and others of his day seem to have felt that the Saints of the Old Covenant were as near to themselves as those of the New. Not many years had passed since Christians were accustomed to encourage themselves to martyrdom, in default of well-known heroes of their own faith, by the example of Daniel and his companions, or of the Seven Maccabees and their Mother. But Scripture is not only harmonious throughout, as Origen had taught; it is also never otiose. It never repeats itself, and a significance must be sought not only in the smallest differences of language, but also in the order in which apparent synonyms occur; in fact, every detail, and every sense in which every detail may be interpreted, is a matter for profitable enquiry. Hence, the text of Scripture not only bears, but demands, the most strict and literal interpretation. Hilary's explanation of

the words, ‘My soul is sorrowful even unto death,’ in *Tract. in Psalms* [1908]141:8 and *Trin.* X. 36, is a remarkable instance of his method; as is the argument from the words of Isaiah, ‘We *esteemed* Him stricken,’ that this, so far as it signifies an actual sense of pain in Christ, is only an opinion, and a false one. Similarly the language of St. Paul about the treasures of knowledge hidden in Christ us made to prove His omniscience on earth. Whatever is hidden is present it its hiding-place; therefore Christ could no be ignorant. But this close adherence to the text of Scripture is combined with great boldness in its interpretation. Hilary does not venture, with Origen, to assert that some passages of Scripture have no literal sense, but he teaches that there are cases when its statements have no meaning in relation to the circumstances in which they were written, and uses this to enforce the doctrine, which he holds as firmly as Origen, that the spiritual meaning is the only one of serious importance. All religious truth is contained in Scripture, and it is out duty to be ignorant of what lies outside it. But within the limits of Scripture the utmost liberty of inference is to be admitted concerning the purpose with which the words were written and the sense to be attached to them. Sometimes, and especially in his later writings, when Hilary was growing more cautious and weaning himself from the influence of Origen, we are warned to be careful, not to read too much of definite dogmatic truth into every passage, to consider the context and occasion. Elsewhere, but this especially in that somewhat immature and unguarded production, the Commentary on St. Matthew, we find a purpose and meaning, beyond the natural sense, educed by such considerations as that, while all the Gospel is true, its facts are often so stated as to be a prophecy as well as a history; or that part of an event is sometimes suppressed in the narrative in order to make the whole more perfect as a prophecy. But he can derive a lesson not merely from what Scripture says by also from the discrepancies between the different texts in which it is conveyed to us. Hilary had learned from Origen to regard the Septuagint as an independent and inspired authority for the revelation of the Old Testament. Its translators are ‘those seventy elders who had a knowledge of the Law and of the Prophets which transcends the limitations and doubtfulness of the letter. His confidence in their work, which is not exceeded by that of St. Augustine, encourages him to draw lessons from the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint titles of the Psalms. For instance, Psalm 142. has been furnished in the

Septuagint with a title which attributes it to David when pursued by Absalom. The contents of the Psalm are appropriate neither to the circumstances not to the date. But this does not justify us in ignoring the title. We must regard the fact that a wrong connection is given to the Psalm as a warning to ourselves not to attempt to discover its historical position, but confine ourselves to its spiritual sense. And this is not all. Another Psalm, the third, is assigned in the Hebrew to the same King in the same distress. But, though this attribution is certainly correct, here also we must follow the leading of the Septuagint, which was led to give a wrong title to one Psalm lest we should attach importance to the correct title of another. In both cases we must fix our attention not on the afflictions of David, but on the sorrows of Christ. Thus, negatively if not positively, the Septuagint must guide our judgment. But Hilary often goes even further, and ventures upon a purely subjective interpretation, which sometimes gives useful insight into the modes of thought of Gaul in the fourth century. For instance, he is thoroughly classical in taking it for granted that the Psalmist's words, 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,' cannot refer to the natural feature; that he can never mean the actual mountains bristling with woods, the naked rocks and pathless precipices and frozen snows. And even Gregory the Great could not surpass the prosaic grotesqueness with which Hilary declares it impious to suppose that God would feed the young ravens, foul carrion birds; and that the lilies of the Sermon on the Mount must be explained away, because they wear no clothing, and because, as a matter of fact, it is quite possible for men to be more brightly attired than they. Examples of such reasoning, more or less extravagant, might be multiplied from Hilary's exegetical writings; passages in which no allowance is made for Oriental imagery, for poetry or for rhetoric.

But though Hilary throughout his whole period of authorship uses the mystical method of interpretation, never doubting that everywhere in Scripture there is a spiritual meaning which can be elicited, and that whatever sense, consistent with truth otherwise ascertained, can be extracted from it, may be extracted, yet there is a manifest increase insobriety in his later as compared with his earlier writings. From the riotous profusion of mysticisms is the Commentary of St. Matthew, where, for instance, every character and detail in the incident of St. John Baptist's death becomes a symbol, it is a great advance to the almost Athanasian cautiousness in exegesis of the *De Trinitate*; though even here,

especially in the early books which deal with the Old Testament, there is some extravagance and a very liberal employment of the method. His reasons, when he gives them, are those adduced in his other writings; the inappropriateness of the words to the time when they were written, or the plea that reverence or reason bids us penetrate begins the letter. his increasing caution is due to no distrust of the principle of mysticism.

Though Hilary was not its inventor, and was forced by the large part played by Old Testament exegesis in the Arian controversy to employ it, whether he would not , yet it is certain that his hearty, though not indiscriminate, acceptance of the method led to its general adoption in the West. Tertullian and Cuprian had made no great use of such speculations; Irenaeus probably had little influence. It was the introduction of Origen's thought to Latin Christendom by Hilary and his contemporaries which set the fashion, and none of them can have had such influence as Hilary Himself. It is a strange irony of fate that so deep and original thinker should have exerted his most permanent influence not through his own thoughts, but through this dubious legacy which he handed on from Alexandria to Europe. Yet, within certain limits, it was a sound and, for that age, even a scientific method; and Hilary might at least plead that he never allowed the system to be his master, and that it was a means which enabled him to derive from Scriptures which otherwise, to him, would be unprofitable, some measure of true and valuable instruction. It never moulds his thoughts; at the most, he regards it as a useful auxiliary. No praise can be too high for his wise and sober marshaling not so much of texts as of the collective evidence of Scripture concerning the relation of the Father and the Son in the *De Trinitate*; and if his Christology be not equally convincing, it is not the fault of his method, but of its application.

We cannot wonder that Hilary, who owed his clear dogmatic convictions to a careful and independent study of Scripture, should have wished to lead others to the same source of knowledge. He couples it with the Eucharist as a second Table of the Lord, a public means of grace, which needs, if it is to profit the hearer, the same preparation of a pure heart and life. Attention to the lessons read in church is a primary duty, but private study of Scripture is enforced with equal earnestness. It must be for all, as Hilary had found it for himself, a privilege as well as a duty.

His sense of the value of Scripture is heightened by his belief in the sacredness of language. Names belong inseparably to the things which they signify; words are themselves a revelation. This is a lesson learned from Origen; and the false antithesis between the nature and the name of God, of which, according to the Arians, Christ had the latter only, made it of special use to Hilary. But if this high dignity belongs to every statement of truth, there is the less need for technical terms of theology. they rarity of their occurrence in the pages of Hilary has already been mentioned. ‘Trinity’ is almost absent, and ‘Person’ hardly more common; he prefers, by a turn of language which would scarcely be seemly in English, to speak of the ‘embodied’ Christ and of His ‘Embodiment,’ though Latin theology was already familiar with the ‘Incarnation.’ In fact, it would seem that he had resolved to make himself independent of technical terms and of such lines of thought as would require them. But he is never guilty of confusion caused by an inadequate vocabulary. He has the literary skill to express in ordinary words ideas which are very remote from ordinary thought, and this at no inordinate length. No one, for instance, has developed the idea of the mutual indwelling of Father and Son more fully and clearly than he; yet he has not found it necessary to employ or devise the monstrous ‘circuminsession’ or ‘perischoresis’ of later theology. And where he does use terms of current theology, or rather metaphysic, he shows that he is their master, not their slave. The most important idea of this kind which he had to express was that of the Divine substance. The word ‘essence’ is entirely rejected; ‘substance’ and ‘nature’ are freely used as synonyms, but in such alternation that both of them still obviously belong to the sphere of literature, and not of science. they are twice used as exact alternatives, for the avoidance of monotony, in parallel clauses of *Trin.* VI. 18, 19. So also the nature of fire in VII. 29 is not an abstraction; and in IX. 36 *fin.* the Divine substance and nature are equivalents. These are only a few on many instances. here, as always, there is an abstention from abstract thoughts and terms, which indicates, on the part of a student of philosophy and of philosophical theology, a deliberate narrowing of his range of speculation. We may illustrate the purpose of Hilary by comparing his method with that of the author of a treatise on Astronomy without Mathematics. But some part of his caution is probably due to his sense of the inadequacy of the terms with which Latin theology was as yet equipped, and of the danger, not only to his readers; faith, but to his own

reputation for orthodoxy, which might result from ingenuity in the employment or invention of technical language.

Though, as we have seen, the contemplative state is not the ultimate happiness of man, yet the knowledge of God is essential to salvation; man, created in God's image, is by nature capable of, and intended for, such knowledge, and Christ came to impart it, the necessary condition on the side of the humanity being purity of mind, and the result the elevation of man to the life of God. Hilary does not shrink from the emphatic language of the Alexandrian school, which spoke of the 'deification' of man; God, he says, was born to be man, in order that man might be born to be God. If this end is to be attained, obviously what is accepted as knowledge must be true; hence the supreme wickedness of heresy, which destroys the future of mankind by palming upon them error for truth; the greater their dexterity the greater, because the more deliberate, their crime. And Hilary was obviously convinced that his opponents had conceived this nefarious purpose. It is not in the language of mere conventional polemics, but in all sincerity, that he repeatedly describes them as liars who cannot possibly be ignorant of the facts which they misrepresent, inventors of sophistical arguments and falsifiers of the text of Scripture, conscious that their doom is sealed, and endeavoring to divert their minds from the thought of future misery by involving others in their own destruction. He fully recognizes the ability and philosophical learning displayed by them; it only makes their case the worse, and, after all, is merely follow. But it increases the difficulties of the defenders of the Faith. For though man can and must know God, Who, for His part, has revealed Himself, our knowledge ought to consist in a simple acceptance of the precise terms of Scripture. The utmost humility is necessary; error begins when men grow inquisitive. Our capacity for knowledge, as Hilary is never tired of insisting, is so limited that we ought to be content to believe without defining the terms of our belief. For weak as intellect is, language, the instrument which it must employ, is still less adequate to so great a task. Heresy has insisted upon definition, and the true belief is compelled to follow suit. Here again, in the heretical abuse of technical terms and of logical processes, we find a reason for the almost ostentatious simplicity of diction which we often find in Hilary's pages. He evidently believed that it was possible for us to apprehend revealed truth and to profit fully by it, without paraphrase or other explanation. In the case of one great doctrine, as we shall see, no

necessities of controversy compelled him to develop his belief; if he had had his way, the Faith should never have been stated in ampler terms than 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

In a great measure he has succeeded in retaining this simplicity in regard to the doctrine of God. He had the full Greek sense of the divine unity; there is no suggestion of the possession by the Persons of the Trinity of contrasted or complementary qualities. The revelation he would defend is that of God, One, perfect, infinite, immutable. This absolute God has manifest Himself under the name 'He That Is,' to which Hilary constantly recurs. It is only through His own revelation of Himself that God can be known. But here we are faced by a difficulty; our reason is inadequate and tends to be fallacious. The argument from analogy, which we should naturally use, cannot be a sufficient guide, since it must proceed from the finite to the infinite. Hilary has set this forth with great force and frequency, and with a picturesque variety of illustration. Again, our partial glimpses of the truth are often in apparent contradiction; when this is the case, we need to be on our guard against the temptation to reject one an incompatible with the other. We must devote an equal attention to each, and believe without hesitation that both are true. The interest of the *De Trinitate* is greatly heightened by the skill and courage with which Hilary will handle some seeming paradox, and make the antithesis of opposed infinities conduce to reverence for Him of Whom they are aspects. And he never allows his reader the immensity of his theme; and here again the skill is manifest with which he casts upon the reader the same awe with which he is himself impressed.

Of God as Father Hilary had little that is new to say. He is called Father in Scripture; therefore He is Father and necessarily has a Son. And conversely the fact that Scripture speaks of God the Son is proof of the fatherhood. In fact, the name 'Son' contains a revelation so necessary for the times that it has practically banished that of 'the Word,' which we should have expected Hilary, as a disciple of Origen, to employ by preference. But since faith in the Father alone is insufficient for salvation, and is, indeed, not only insufficient but actually false, because it denies His fatherhood in ignoring the consubstantial Son, Hilary's attention is concentrated upon the relation between these two Persons. This relation is one of eternal mutual indwelling, or 'perichoresis,' as it has been called,

rendered possible by Their oneness of nature and by the infinity of Both. The thought is worked out from such passages as <2454>Isaiah 45:14, St. <8141>John 14:11, with great cogency and completeness, yet always with due stress laid on the incapacity of man to comprehend its immensity. Hilary advances from this scriptural position to the profound conception of the divine self-consciousness as consisting in Their mutual recognition. Each sees Himself in His perfect image, which must be coeternal with Himself. In Hilary this is only a hint, one of the many thought which the urgency of the conflict with Arianism forbade him to expand. But Dorner justly sees in it ‘a kind of speculative construction of the doctrine of the Trinity, out of the idea of the divine self-consciousness.’

The Arian controversy was chiefly waged over the question of the eternal generation of the Son. By the time that Hilary began to write, every text of Scripture which could be made applicable to the point in dispute had been used to the utmost. There was little or nothing that remained to be done in the discovery or combination of passages. Of that controversy Athanasius was the hero; the arguments which he used and those which he refuted are admirable set forth in the introduction to the translation of his writings in this series. In writing the *De Trinitate*, so far as it dealt directly with the original controversy, it was neither possible nor desirable that Hilary should leave the beaten path. His object was to provide his readers with a compendious statement of ascertained truth for their own guidance, and with a armory of weapons which had been tried and found effective in the conflicts of the day. It would, therefore, be superfluous to give in this place a detailed account of his reasonings concerning the generation of the Son, nor would such an account be of any assistance to those who have his writings in their hands. Hilary’s treatment of the Scriptural evidence is very complete, as was, indeed, necessary in a work which was intended as a handbook for practical use. The Father alone is unbegotten; the Son is truly the Son, neither created nor adopted. The Son is the Creator of the worlds, the Wisdom of God, Who alone knows the Father, Who manifested God to man in the various Theophanies of the Old Testament. His birth is without parallel, inasmuch as other births imply a previous non-existence, while that of the Son is from eternity. For the generation on the part of the Father and the birth on the part of the Son are not connected as by a temporal sequence of cause and effect, but exactly coincide in a timeless eternity. Hilary repudiates the possibility of

illustrating this divine birth by sensible analogies; it is beyond our understanding as it is beyond time. Nor can we wonder at this, seeing that our own birth is to us an insoluble mystery. The eternal birth of the Son is the expression of the eternal nature of god. It is the nature of the One that he should be Father, of the Other that He should be Son; this nature is co-eternal with Themselves, and therefore the One is co-eternal with the Other. Hence Athanasius had drawn the conclusion that the Son is 'by nature and not by will;' not that the will of God in contrary to His nature, but that (if the words may be used) there was no scope for its exercise in the generation of the Son, which came to pass as a direct consequence of the Divine nature. Such language was a natural protest against an Arian abuse; but it was a departure from earlier precedent and was not accepted by the Cappadocian school, more true to Alexandrian tradition than Athanasius himself, with which Hilary was in closest sympathy. In their eyes the generation of the Son must be an act of God's will, if the freedom of Omnipotence, for which they were jealous, was to be respected; and Hilary shared their scruples. Not only in the *De Synodis* but in the *De Trinitate* he assigns the birth of the Son to the omnipotence, the counsel and will of God acting in co-operation with His nature. This two-fold cause of birth is peculiar to the Son; all other beings owe their existence simply to the power and will, not to the nature of God. such being the relation between Father and Son, it is obvious that They cannot differ in nature. The word 'birth,' by which the relation is described, indicates the transmission of nature from parent to offspring; and this word is, like 'Father' and 'Son,' an essential part of the revelation. The same divine nature or substance exists eternally and in equal perfection in Both, unbegotten in the Father, begotten in the Son. In fact, the expression, 'Only begotten God,' may be called Hilary's watchword, with such 'peculiar abundance' does it occur in his writings, as in those of his Cappadocian friends. But, though the Son is the Image of the Father, Hilary in his maturer thought, when free from the influence of his Asiatic allies, is careful to avoid using the inadequate and perilous term 'likeness' to describe the relation. Such being the birth, and such the unity of nature, the Son must be very God. This is proved by all the usual passages of the Old Testament, from the Creation onwards. These are used, as by the other Fathers, to prove that the Son has not the name only, but the reality, of Godhead; the reality corresponding to the nature. All things were made

through Him out of nothing; therefore He is Almighty as the Father is Almighty. If man is made in the image of Both, if one Spirit belongs to Both, than there can be no difference of nature between the Two. But They are not Two as possessing one nature, like human father and son, while living separate lives. God is One, with a Divinity undivided and indivisible; and Hilary is never weary of denying the Arian charge that his creed involved the worship of two Gods. No analogies from created things can explain their unity. Tree and branch, fire and heat, source and stream can only illustrate Their inseparable co-existence; such comparisons, if pressed, lead inevitably to error. The true unity of Father and Son is deeper than this; deeper also than any unity, however perfect, of will with will. For it is an eternal mutual indwelling, Each perfectly corresponding with and comprehending and containing the Other, and Himself in the Other; and this not after the manner of earthly commingling of substances or exchange of properties. The only true comparison that can be made is with the union between Christ, in virtue of His humanity, and the believer; such is the union, in virtue of the Godhead, between Father and Son. And this unity extends inevitably to will and action. Since the Father is acting in all that the Son does, the Son is acting in all that the Father does; 'he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' This doctrine reconciles all our Lord's statements in the Gospel of St. John concerning His own and His Father's work.

But notwithstanding this unity, there is a true numerical duality of Person. Sabellius, we must remember, had held for two generations the pre-eminence among heretics. To the Greek-speaking world outside Egypt the error which he and Paul of Samosata had taught, that God is one Person, was still the most dangerous of falsehoods; the supreme victory of truth had not been won in their eyes when Arius was condemned at Nicaea, but when Paul was deposed at Antioch. The Nicene leaders had certainly counted the cost when they adopted as the test of orthodoxy the same word which Paul had used for the inculcation of error. But the *homoousion,* however great its value as a permanent safeguard of truth, was the immediate cause of alienation and suspicion. And not only did it make the East misunderstand the West, but it furnished the Arians with the most effective of instruments for widening the breach between the two forces opposed to them. They had an excuse for calling their opponents in Egypt and the West by the name of Sabellians, the very name most likely

to engender distrust in Asia. Hilary, who could enter with sympathy feeling was, labors with untiring patience to dissipate the prejudice. There is no Arian plea against which he argues at greater length. The names ‘Father’ and ‘Son,’ being parts of the revelation, are convincing proofs of distinction of Person as well as of unity of nature. They prove that the nature is the same, but possessed after a different manner by Each of the Two; by the One as ingenerate, by the Other as begotten. The word ‘Image,’ also a part of the revelation, is another proof of the distinction; an object and its reflection in a mirror are obviously not one thing. Again, the distinct existence of the Son is proved by the fact that He has free volition of His own and by a multitude of passages of Scripture, many of them absolutely convincing, as for instance, those from the Gospel of St. John. But these two Persons, though one in nature, are not equal in dignity. The Father is greater than the Son; greater not merely as compared to the incarnate Christ, but as compared to the Son, begotten from eternity. This is not simply by the prerogative inherent in all paternity; it is because the Father is self-existent, Himself the Source of all being. With one of his happy phrases Hilary describes it as an inferiority *generatione, non genere;* the Son is one in kind or nature with the Father, though inferior, as the Begotten, to the Unbegotten. But this inferiority is not to be so construed as to lessen our belief in His divine attributes. For instance, when He addresses the Father in prayer, this is not because He is subordinate, but because He wishes to honor the Fatherhood; and, as Hilary argues at great length, the end, when God shall be all in all, is not to be regarded as a surrender of the Son’s power, in the sense of loss. it is a mysterious final state of permanent, willing submission to the Father’s will, into which he enters b the supreme expression of an obedience which has never failed. Again, our Lord’s language in St. 41132Mark 13:32, must not be taken as signifying ignorance on the part of the Son of His Father’s purpose. For, according to St. Paul (5103Colossians 2:3), in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and therefore He must know the day and hour of judgment. He is ignorant relatively to us, in the sense that He will not betray His Father’s secret. Whether or no it be possible in calmer times to maintain that the knowledge and the ignorance are complementary truths which finite minds cannot reconcile, we cannot wonder that Hilary, ever on the watch against apparent concessions to Arianism, should in this instance have abandoned his usual method of

balancing against each other the apparent contraries. His reasoning is, in any case, a striking proof of his intense conviction of the co-equal Godhead of the Son.

Such is Hilary's argument, very briefly stated. We may read almost all of it, where Hilary himself had certainly read it, in the *Discourses against the Arians* and elsewhere in the writings of Athanasius. How far, however, he was borrowing from the latter must remain doubtful, as must the question as to the originality of Athansius. For the controversy was universal, and both of these great writers had the practical purpose of collecting the best arguments out of the multitude which were suggested in ephemeral literature or verbal debate. Their victory, intellectual as well as moral, over their adversaries was decisive, and the more striking because it was the Arians who had made the attack on ground chosen by themselves. They authority of Scripture as the final court of appeal was their premiss as well as that of their opponents; and they had selected the texts on which the verdict of Scripture was to be based. Out of their own mouth they were condemned, and the work done in the fourth century can never need to be repeated. It was, of course, an unfinished work. As we have seen, Hilary concerns himself with two Persons, not with three; and since he states the contrasted truths of plurality and unity without such explanation of the mystery as the speculative genius of Augustine was to supply, he leaves, in spite of all his efforts, a certain impression of excessive dualism. But these defects do not lessen the permanent value of his work. Indeed, we may even assert that they, together with some strange speculations and many instances of wild interpretation, which are, however, no part of the structure of his argument and do not affect its solidity, actually enhance its human and historical interest. The *De Trinitate* remains 'the most perfect literary achievement called forth by the Arian controversy.'

Hitherto we have been considering the relations within the Godhead of Father and Son, together with certain characters which belong to the Son in virtue of His eternal birth. We now come to the more original part of Hilary's teaching, which must be treated in greater detail. Till now he has spoken only of the Son; he now comes to speak of Christ, the name which the Son bears in relation to the world. We have seen that Hilary regards the Son as the Creator. This was proved for him, as for Athanasius, by the passage, <2082>Proverbs 8:22, which they read according to the Septuagint,

‘The Lord hath created Me for the beginning of His ways for His Works.’ These words, round which the controversy raged, were interpreted by the orthodox as implying that at the time, and for the purpose, of creation the Father assigned new functions to the Son as His representative. The gift of these functions, the exercise of which called into existence orders of being inferior to God, marked in Hilary’s eyes a change so definite and important in the activity of the Son that it deserved to be called a second birth, not ineffable like the eternal birth, but strictly analogous to the Incarnation. This last was a creation, which brought Him within the sphere of created humanity; the creation of Wisdom for the beginning of God’s ways had brought Him, though less closely, into the same relation, and the Incarnation is the completion of what was begun in preparation for the creation of the world. Creation is the mode by which finite being begins, and the beginning if each stage in the connection between the infinite Son and His creatures is called, from the one point of view, a creation, from the other, a birth. We cannot fail to see here an anticipation of the opinion that ‘the true Protevangelium is the revelation of Creation, or in other words that the Incarnation was independent of the Fall,’ for the Incarnation is a step in the one continuous divine progress from the Creation to the final consummation of all things, and has not sins for its cause, but is part of the original council of God. Together with this new office the Son receives a new name. Henceforth Hilary call Him Christ; He is Christ in relation to the world, as He is Son in relation to the Father. From the beginning of time, then, the Son becomes Christ and stands in immediate relation to the world; it is in and through Christ that God is the Author of all things, and the title of Creator strictly belongs to the Son. This beginning of time, we must remember, is hidden in no remote antiquity. The world had no mysterious past; it came into existence suddenly at a date which could be fixed with much precision, some 5,600 years before Hilary’s day, and had undergone no change since then. Before that date there had been nothing outside the Godhead; from that time forth the Son has stood inconstant relation to the created world.

Christ, for so we must henceforth call Him, has not only sustained in being the universe which He created, but has also imparted to men a steadily increasing knowledge of God. For such knowledge, we remember, man was made, and his salvation depends upon its possession. All the Theophanies of the Old Testament are such revelations by Him of Himself; and it was

He that spoke by the mouth of Moses and the Prophets. But however significant and valuable this Divine teaching and manifestation might be, it was not complete in itself, but was designed to prepare men's minds to expect its fulfillment in the Incarnation. Just as the Law was preliminary to the Gospel, so the appearances of Christ is in human form to Abraham and to others were a foreshadowing of the true humanity which He was to assume. They were true revelations, so far as they went; but their purpose was not simply to impart so much knowledge as they explicitly conveyed, but also to lead men on to expect more, and to expect it in the very form in which it ultimately came. For His self-revelation in the Incarnation was but the treading again of a familiar path. He had often appeared, and had often spoken, by His own mouth of by that of men who He had inspired; and in all this contact with the world His one object had been to bestow upon mankind the knowledge of God. With the same object He became incarnate; the full revelation was to impart the perfect knowledge. He became man, Hilary says, in order that we might believe Him;—'to be a Witness from among us to the things of God, and by means of weak flesh to proclaim God the Father to our weak and carnal selves.' Here again we see the continuity of the Divine purpose, the fulfillment of the counsel which dates back to the beginning of time. If man had not sinned, he would still have needed the progressive revelation; sin has certainly modified Christ's course upon earth, but was not the determining cause of the Incarnation.

The doctrine of the Incarnation, or Embodiment as Hilary prefers to call it, it presented very fully in the *De Trinitate*, and with much originality. The God head of Christ is secured by His identity with the eternal Son and by the fact that at the very time of His humiliation upon earth He was continuing without interruption His divine work of maintaining the existence of the worlds. Indeed, by a natural protest against the degradation which the Arians would put upon Him, it is the glory of Christ upon which Hilary lays chief stress. And this is not the moral glory of submission and self-sacrifice, but the visible glory of miracles attesting the Divine presence. In the third book of the *De Trinitate* the miracles of Cana and the feeding of the five thousand, the entrance into the closed room where the disciples were assembled, the darkness and the earthquake at the Crucifixion, are the proofs urged for His Godhead; and the wonderful circumstances surrounding the birth at Bethlehem are similarly

employed in book II. Sound as the reasoning is, it is typical of a certain unwillingness on Hilary's part to dwell upon the self-surrender of Christ; he prefers to think of Him rather as the Revealer of God than as the Redeemer of men. But, apart from this preference, he constantly insists that the Incarnation has caused neither loss nor change of the Divine nature in Christ, and proves the point by the same words of our Lord which had been used to demonstrate the eternal Sonship. And the assumption of flesh lessens His power as little as it degrades His nature. For though it is, in one aspect, an act of submission to the will of the Father, it is, in another, an exertion of His own omnipotence. No inferior power could appropriate to itself an alien nature; only God could strip Himself of the attributes of Godhead.

But the incarnate of Christ is as truly man as He is truly God. We have seen that He is 'created in the body'; and Hilary constantly insists that His humanity is neither fictitious nor different in kind from ours. We must therefore consider what is the constitution of man. He is, so Hilary teaches, a physically composite being; the elements of which is body is composed are themselves lifeless, and man himself is never fully alive. According to this physiology, the father is the author of the child's body, the maternal function being altogether subsidiary. It would seem that the mother does nothing more than protect the embryo, so giving it the opportunity of growth, and finally bring the child to birth. And each human soul is separately created, like the universe, out of nothing. Only the body is engendered; the soul, wherein the likeness of man to God consists, has a nobler origin, being the immediate creation of God. Hilary does not hold, or at least does not attach importance to, the tripartite division of man; for the purposes of his philosophy we consist of soul and body. We may now proceed to consider his theory of the Incarnation. This is based upon the Pauline conception of the first and second Adam. Each of these was created, and the two acts of creation exactly correspond. Christ, the Creator, made clay into the first Adam, who therefore had an earthly body. He made Himself into the second Adam, and therefore has a heavenly Body. To this end He descended from heaven and entered into the Virgin's womb. For, in accordance with Hilary's principle of interpretation, the word 'Spirit' must not be regarded as necessarily signifying the Holy Ghost, but one or other of the Persons of the Trinity as the context may require; and in this case it means the Son, since the

question is of an act of creation, and He, and none other, is the Creator. Also, correspondence between the two Adams would be as effectually broken were the Holy Ghost the Agent in the conception, as it would be were Christ's body engendered and not created. Thus He is Himself not only the Author but (if the word may be used) the material of His own body; the language of St. John, that the Word *became* flesh, must be taken literally. It would be insufficient to say that the Word took, or united Himself to, the flesh. But this creation of the Second Adam to be true man is not our only evidence of His humanity. We have seen that in Hilary's judgment the mother has but a secondary share in her offspring. That share, whatever it be, belongs to the Virgin; she contributed to His growth and to His coming to birth 'everything which it is the nature of her sex to impart.' But though Christ is constantly said to have been born of the Virgin, He is habitually called the 'Son of Man,' not the Son of the Virgin, nor she the Mother of God. Such language would attribute to her an activity and an importance inconsistent with Hilary's theory. For no portion of her substance, he distinctly says, was taken into the substance of her Son's human body; and elsewhere he argues that St. Paul's words 'made of a woman' are deliberately chosen to describe Christ's birth as a creation free from any commingling with existing humanity. But the Virgin has an essential share in the fulfillment of prophecy. For though Christ without her co-operation could have created Himself as man, yet He would not have been, as He was fore-ordained to be, the Son of Man. And since He holds that the Virgin performs every function of a mother, Hilary avoids that Valentinian heresy according to which Christ passed through the Virgin 'like water through a pipe,' for He was Himself the Author of a true act of creation within her, and, when she had fulfilled her office, was born as true flesh. Again, Hilary's clear sense of the eternal personal pre-existence of the Word saves him from any contact with the Monarchianism combated by Hippolytus and Tertullian, which held that the Son was the Father under another aspect. Indeed, so secure does he feel himself that he can venture to employ Monarchian theories, now rendered harmless, in explanation of the mysteries of the Incarnation. For we cannot fail to see a connection between his opinions and theirs; and it might seem that , confident in his wider knowledge, he has borrowed not only from the arguments used by Tertullian against the Monarchian Praxeas, but also from those which Tertullian assigns to the latter. Such reasonings, we

know, had been very prevalent in the West; and Hilary's use of certain of them, in order to turn their edge by showing that they were not inconsistent with the fundamental doctrines of the Faith, may indicate that Monarchianism was still a real danger.

Thus the Son becomes flesh, and that by true maternity on the Virgin's part. But man is more than flesh; he is soul as well, and it is the soul which makes him a man instead of matter. The soul, as we saw, is created by a special act of God at the beginning of the separate existence of each human being; and Christ, to be true man and not merely true flesh, created for Himself the human soul which was necessary for true humanity. He had borrowed from the Apollinarians, consciously no doubt, their interpretation of one of their favorite passages, 'The Word became flesh'; here again we find an argument of heretics rendered harmless and adopted by orthodoxy. For the strange Apollinarian denial to Christ of a human soul, and therefore of perfect manhood, is not only expressly contradicted, but repudiated on every page by the contrary assumption on which all Hilary's arguments are based. Christ, then, is 'perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting,' for Whom the Virgin has performed the normal functions of maternity. But there is one wide and obvious difference between Hilary's mode of handling the matter and that with which we are familiar. His view concerning the mother's office forbids his laying stress upon our Lord's inheritance from her. Occasionally, and without emphasis, he mentions our Lord as the Son of David, or otherwise introduces His human ancestry, but he never dwells upon the subject. He neither bases upon this ancestry the truth, nor deduces from it the character, of Christ's humanity. Such is Hilary's account of the facts of the Incarnation. In his teaching there is no doubt error as well as defect, but only in the mode of explanation, not in the doctrine explained. It will help us to do him justice if we may compare the theories that have been framed concerning another great doctrine, that of the Atonement, and remember that they strangely diverse speculations of Gregory the Great and of St. Anselm profess to account for the same facts, and that, so far as definitions of the Church are concerned, we are free to accept one or other, or neither, of the rival explanations.

Christ, then, Who had been perfect God from eternity, became perfect Man by His self-wrought act of creation. Thus there was an

approximation between God and man; man was raised by God, Who humbled Himself to meet Him. On the other hand the Virgin was sanctified in preparation for her sacred motherhood; on the other hand there was a condescension of the Son to our low estate. The key to this is found by Hilary in the language of St. Paul. Christ emptied Himself of the form of God and took the form of a servant; this is a revelation as decisive as the same Apostle's words concerning the first and second Adam. The form of God, wherein the Son is to the Father as the exact image reflected in a mirror, the exact impression taken from a seal, belongs to Christ's very being. He could not detach it from Himself, if He would, for it is the property of God to be eternally what He is; and, as Hilary constantly reminds us, the continuous existence of creation is evidence that there had been no break in the Son's divine activity in maintaining the universe which He had made. While He was in the cradle He upheld the worlds. Yet, in some real sense, Christ emptied Himself of this form of God. It was necessary that He should do so if manhood, even the sinless manhood created by Himself for His own Incarnation, was to co-exist with Godhead in His one Person. This is stated as distinctively as is the correlative fact that He retained and exercised the powers and the majesty of His nature. Thus it is clear that, outside the sphere of His work for men, the form and the nature of God remained unchanged in the Son; while within that sphere the form, though not the nature, was so affected that it could truly be said to be laid aside. But when we come to Hilary's explanation of this process, we can only acquit him of inconsistency in thought by admitting the ambiguity of his language. In one group of passages he recognizes the self-emptying, but minimizes its importance; in another he denies that our Lord could or did empty Himself of the form of God. And again, his definitions of the word 'form' are so various as to be actually contradictory. Yet a consistent sense, and one exceedingly characteristic of Hilary, can be derived from a comparison of his statements; and in judging him we must remember that we have no systematic exposition of his views, but must gather them not only from his deliberate reasonings, but sometimes from homiletical amplifications of Scripture language, composed for edification and without the thought of theological balance, and sometimes from incidental sayings, thrown out in the course of other lines of argument. To the minimizing statements belongs his description of the evacuation as a 'change of apparel,' and his definition of the word

‘form; as meaning no more than ‘face’ or ‘appearance,’ as also his insistence from time to time upon the permanence of this form in Christ, not merely in his supramundane relations, but as the Son of Man. On the other hand Hilary expressly declares that the ‘concurrence of the two forms’ is impossible, they being mutually exclusive. This represents the higher form, that of God, as something more than a dress or appearance which could be changed or masked; and stronger still is the language used in the Homily on Psalm 68. There (§ 4) he speaks of Christ being exhausted of His heavenly nature, this being used as a synonym for the form of God, and even of His being emptied of His substance. But it is probable that the Homily has descended to us, without revision by its author, in the very words which the shorthand writer took down. This mention of ‘substance’ is unlike Hilary’s usual language, and the antithesis between the substance which the Son had not, because He had emptied Himself of it, and the substance which He had, because He had assumed it, is somewhat infelicitously expressed The term must certainly not be taken as the deliberate statement of Hilary’s final opinion, still less as the decisive passage to which his other assertions must be accommodated; but it is at least clear evidence that Hilary, in the maturity of his thought, was not afraid to state in the strongest possible language the reality and completeness of the evacuation. The reconciliation of these apparently contradictory views concerning Christ’s relation tot he form of God can only be found in Hilary’s idea of the Incarnation as a ‘dispensation,’ or series of dispensations. The word and the thought are borrowed through Tertullian from the Greek ‘economy’; but in Hilary’s mind the notion of Divine reserve had grown till it has become, we might say, the dominant element of the conception. This self-emptying is a dispensation, whereby the incarnate Son of God appears to be, what He is not, destitute of the form of God. For this form is the glory of God, concealed by our Lord for the purposes of His human life, yet held by Hilary, to a greater extent, perhaps, than by any other theologian, to have been present with Him on earth. In words which have a wider application, and must be considered hereafter, Hilary speaks of Christ as ‘emptying Himself and hiding Himself within Himself.’ Concealment has a great part to play in Hilary’s theories, and is in this instance the only explanation consistent with his doctrinal position.

Thus the Son made possible the union of humanity with Himself. He ‘shrank from God into man’ by an act not only of Divine power, but of personal Divine will. He Who did this thing could not cease to be what He had been before; hence His very deed in submitting Himself to the change is evidence of His unchanged continuity of existence. And furthermore, His assumption of the servant’s form was not accompanied by a single act. His wearing of that form was one continuous act of voluntary self-repression, and the events of His life on earth bear frequent witness to His possession of the powers of God.

Thus in Him God is united with man; these two natures form the ‘elements’ or ‘parts’ of one Person. The Godhead is superposed upon the manhood; or, as Hilary prefers to say, the manhood is assumed by Christ. And these two natures are not confused, but simultaneously coexist in Him as the Son of man. There are not two Christs, nor is the one Christ a composite Being in such a sense that He is intermediate in kind between God and Man. He can speak as God and can also speak as Man; in the Homilies on the Psalms Hilary constantly distinguishes between His utterances in the one and the other nature. Yet He is one Person with two natures, of which the one dominates, though it does not extinguish, the other in every relation of His existence as the Son of man. Every act, bodily or mental, done by Him is done by both natures of the one Christ. Hence a certain indifference towards the human aspects of His life, and a tendency rather to explain away that seems humiliation than to draw out its lessons. And Hilary is so impressed with the unity of Christ that the humanity, a notion for which he has no name, would have been in his eyes nothing more than a collective term for certain attributes of One Who is more than man, just as the body of Christ is not for him a dwelling occupied, or an instrument used, by God, but an inseparable property of Christ, Who personally is God and Man.

Hence the body of Christ has a character peculiar to itself. It is a heavenly body, because of its origin and because of its Owner, the Son of Man Who came down from heaven, and though on earth was in heaven still. It performs the functions and experiences, the limitations of a human body, and this is evidence that it is in every sense a true, or an alien or fictitious body. Though it is free from the sins of humanity, it has our weaknesses. But here the distinction must be made, which will presently be discussed,

between the two kinds of suffering, that which feels and that which only endures. Christ was not conscious of suffering from these weaknesses, which could inflict no sense of want or weariness or pain upon His body, a body not the less real because it was perfect. He took our infirmities as truly as He bore our sins. But He was not more under the dominion of the one than of the other. His body was in the likeness of ours, but its reality did not consist in the likeness, but in the fact that He had created it a true body, by means of which to fulfill God's purposes, that should have been a true body, but it would have been difficult for us to believe it. Hence He assumed one which had for habits what are necessities to us, in order to demonstrate to us its reality. It was foreordained that He should be incarnate; the mode of the Incarnation was determined by considerations of our advantage. The arguments by which this thesis is supported will be stated presently, in connection with Hilary's account of the Passion. It would be difficult to decide whether he has constructed his theory concerning the human activities of our Lord upon the basis of this preponderance of the Divine nature in His incarnate personality, or whether he has argued back from what he deems the true account of Christ's mode of life on earth, and invented the hypothesis in explanation of it. In any case he has had the courage exactly to reverse the general belief of Christendom regarding the powers normally used by Christ. We are accustomed to think that with rare exceptions, such as the Transfiguration, He lived a life limited by the ordinary conditions of humanity, to draw lessons for ourselves from His bearing in circumstances like our own, to estimate His condescension and suffering, in kind if not degree, by our own conciseness. Hilary regards the normal state of the incarnate Christ as that of exaltation, from which he stooped on rare occasions, by a special act of will, to self-humiliation. Thus the Incarnation, though itself a declension from the pristine glory, does not account for the facts of Christ's life; they must be explained by further isolated and temporary declensions. And since the Incarnation is the one great event, knowledge and faith concerning which are essential, the events which accompany or result from it tend, in Hilary's thought, to shrink in importance. They can and must minimize, explained away, regarded as 'dispensations,' if they seem to derogate from the Majesty of Him Who was incarnate.

When we examine the interpretation of Scripture by which Hilary reaches the desired conclusions we find it, in many instances, strange indeed. The

letter of the Gospels tells us of bodily needs and of suffering; Christ, though more than man, is proved to be Man by His obvious submission to the conditions of human life. But according to Hilary all human suffering is due to the union of an imperfect soul with an imperfect body. The soul of Christ, though truly human, was perfect; His body was that of a Person Divine as well as human. Thus both elements were perfect of their kind, and therefore as free from infirmity as from sin, for affliction is the lot of man not because he is man, but because he is a sinner. In contrast with the squalor of sinful humanity, glory surrounded Christ from the annunciation onward throughout His course on earth. Miracle is the attestation of His Godhead, and He Who was thus superior to the powers of nature could not be subject to the sufferings which nature inflicts. But, being omnipotent, He could subject Himself to humiliations which no power less than his Own could lay upon Him, and this self-subjection is the supreme evidence of his might as well of His goodwill towards men. God, and only God, could occupy at once the cradle and the throne on high. Thus in emphasizing the humiliation Hilary is extolling the majesty of Christ, and refuting the errors of Arianism. That school had made the most of Christ's sufferings, holding them a proof of His inferiority to the Father. In Hilary's eyes His power to condescend and His final victory are equally conclusive evidences of His co-equal Divinity. But if He stoops to our estate, and is at the same time God subject to the limitations of our nature; that is a fact of revelation. But He was subject by a secession of detached acts of self-restraint, culminating in the act, voluntary like the others, of His death. Of His acceptance of the ordinary infirmities of humanity we have already spoken. Hilary gives the same explanation of the Passion as he does of the thirst or weariness of Christ. That He could suffer, and that to the utmost, is proved by the fact that He did suffer; yet was He, or could He be, conscious of suffering? For the fulfillment of the Divine purpose, for our assurance of the reality of His work, the acts had to be done; but it was sufficient that they should be done by a dispensation, in other words, that the events should be real and yet the feelings be absent of which, had the events happened to us,. we should have been conscious. To understand this we must recur to Hilary's theory of the relation of the soul to the body. The former is the organ of sense, the latter a lifeless thing. But the soul may fall below, or rise above, its normal state. Mortification of the body may set in, or drugs be administered which shall

render the soul incapable of feeling the keenest pain. On the other hand it is capable of a spiritual elevation which shall make it unconscious of bodily needs or sufferings, as when Moses and Elijah fasted, or the three Jewish youths walked amid the flames. On this high level Christ always dwelt. Others might rise for a moment above themselves; He, not although, but because He was true and perfect Man, never fell below it. He placed Himself in circumstances where shame and wounds and death were inflicted upon Him; He had lived a life of humiliation, not only real, in that it involved a certain separation from God, but also apparent. But as in this latter respect we may no more overlook His glory than we may suppose Him ignorant, as by a dispensation He professed to be, so in regard to the Passion we must not imagine that He was inferior to His saints in being conscious, as they were not, of suffering. So far, indeed, is He from the sense of suffering that Hilary even says that the Passion was a delight to Him, and this not merely in its prospective results, but in the consciousness of power which He enjoyed in passing through it. Nor could this be surprising to one who looked with Hilary's eyes upon the humanity of Christ. He enforces his view sometimes with rhetoric, as when he repudiates the notion that the Bread of Life could hunger, and He who gives the living water, thirst, that the hand which restored the servant's ear could itself feel pain, that He Who said, 'Now is the Son of Man glorified,' when Judas left the chamber, could at that moment be feeling sorrow, and He before Whom the soldiers fell be capable of fear, or shrink from the pain of a death which was itself an exertion of His own free will and power. Or else he dwells upon the general character of Christ's manhood. He recognizes no change in the mode of being after the Resurrection; the passing through closed doors, the sudden disappearance of Emmaus are typical of the normal properties of His body, which could heal the sick by a touch, and could walk upon the waves. It is a body upon the sensibility of which the forces of nature can make no impression whatever; they can no more pain Him than the stroke of a weapon can affect air or water; or, as Hilary puts it elsewhere, fear and death, which have so painful a meaning to us, were no more to Him than a shower falling upon a surface which it cannot penetrate. It is not the passages of the Gospel which tell of Christ's glory, but those which speak of weakness or suffering that need to be explained; and Hilary on occasion is not afraid to explain them away. For instance, we read that when our Lord had fasted

forty days and forty nights ‘He was afterward an hungered.’ Hilary denies that there is a connection of cause and effect. Christ’s perfect body was unaffected by abstinence; but after the fast by an exertion of His will He experienced hunger. So also the Agony in the Garden is ingeniously misinterpreted. He took with Him the three Apostles, and then began to be sorrowful. He was not sorrowful; till He had taken them; they, not He, were the cause. When He said, ‘My would is exceeding sorrowful,, even unto death,’ the last words must not be regarded as meaning that He was a mortal sorrow, but as giving a note of time. The sorrow of which He spoke was not for Himself but for His Apostles, whose flight He foresaw, and He was asserting that this sorrow would last till He died. And when He prayed that the cup might pass away from Him, this was no entreaty that He might be spared. It was His purpose to drink it. The prayer was for His disciples that the cup might pass on from Him to them; that they might suffer for Him as martyrs full of hope, without pain or fear. One passage, St. <422B>Luke 22:43, 44, which conflicts with his view is rejected by Hilary on textual grounds, and not without some reason. He had looked for it, and found it absent, in a large number of manuscripts, both Greek and Latin. But perhaps the strangest argument which he employees is that when the Gospel tells us that Christ thirsted and hungered and wept, eating and drinking, were two sets of dispensations, unconnected by the relation of cause and effect; the tears were another dispensation, not the expression of personal grief. If, as a habit, He accepts the needs and functions of our body, this does not render His own body more real, for by the act of its creation it was made truly human; His purpose, as has been said, is to enable us to recognize its reality, which would otherwise be difficult. If He wept, He had the same object; this use of one of the evidences of bodily emotion would help us to believe. And so it is throughout Christ’s life on earth. He suffered by He did not feel. No one but a heretic, says Hilary, would suppose that He was pained by the nails which fixed Him to the Cross.

It is obvious that Hilary’s theory offers a perfect defense against the two dangers of the day, Arianism and Apollinarianism. The tables are turned upon the former by emphatic insistence upon the power manifested in the humiliation and suffering of Christ. That He, being what He was, should be able to place Himself in such circumstances was the most impressive evidence of His Divinity. And if His humanity was endowed with Divine

properties, much more must His Divinity. And if His humanity was endowed with Divine properties, much more must His Divinity rise above that inferiority to which the Arians consigned it. Apollinarianism is controverted by the demonstration of His true humanity. No language can be too strong to describe its glories; but the true wonder is not that Christ, as God, has such attributes, but that He Who has them is very Man. The theory was well adapted for service in the controversies of he day; for us, however we may admire the courage and ingenuity it displays, it can be no more than a curiosity of doctrinal history. Yet, whatever its defects as an explanation of the facts, the skill with which dangers on wither hand are avoided, the manifest anxiety to be loyal to established doctrine, deserve recognition and respect. It has been said that Hilary ‘constantly withdraws in the second clause what he has asserted in the first,’ and in a sense it is true. For many of his statements might make him seem the advocate of an extreme doctrine of *Kenosis,* which would represent our Lord’s self-emptying as complete. but often expressed and always present in Hilary’s thought, for the coherence of which it is necessary, is the correlative notion of the dispensation, whereby Christ seemed for our sake to be less than He truly was. Again, Hilary has been accused of ‘sailing somewhat close to the cliffs of Docetism,’ but all admit that he has escaped shipwreck. Various accounts of his teaching, all of which agree in acquitting him of this error, have been given; and that which has been accepted in this paper, of Christ by the vert perfection of His humanity habitually living in such an ecstasy as that of Polycarp or Perpetua at their martyrdom, is a noble conception in itself and consistent with the Creeds, though it cannot satisfy us. In part, at any rate, it belonged to the lessons which Hilary had learned from Alexandria. Clement had taught, though his successor Origen rejected, the impassibility of Christ, Who had eaten and drunk only by a ‘dispensation’;—’He ate not for the sake of His body, which was sustained by a holy power, but that that false notion might not creep into the minds of His companions which in later days some have, in fact, conceived, that He had been manifested only in appearance. He was altogether impassible; there entered from without into Him no movement of the feelings, whether pleasure or pain.’ Thus Hilary had what would be in his eyes high authority for his opinion. But he must have felt some doubts of its value if he compared the strange exegesis and forced logic by which it was supported with that frank acceptance of the obvious sense of

Scripture in which he takes so reasonable a pride in his direct controversy with the Arians. And another criticism may be ventured. In that controversy he balances with scrupulous reverence mystery against mystery, never forgetting that he is dealing with infinities. In this case the one is made to overwhelm the other; the infinite glory excludes the infinite sorrow from his view. Here, if anywhere, Hilary needs, and may justly claim, the indulgence he has demanded. It had not been his wish to define or explain; he was content with the plain words to commit a fault; and speculation bases on sound principle, however perilous to him who made the first attempt, had been rendered by the prevalence of heresy a necessary evil. Again, we must bear in mind that Hilary was essentially a Greek theologian, to whom the supremely interesting as well as the supremely important doctrine was that God became Man. He does not conceal of undervalue to fact of the Atonement and of the Passion as the means by which it was wrought. But, even though he had not held his peculiar theory of impassibility, he would still have thought the effort most worth making not that of realizing the pains of Christ by our experience of sufferings and sense of the enormity of sin, but that of apprehending the mystery of the Incarnation. For that act of condescension was greater, not only in scale but in kind, than any humiliation to which Christ, already Man, submitted Himself in His human state.

Christ, Whose properties as incarnate are thus described by Hilary, is one Person. This, of course, needs no proof, but something must be said of the use which he makes of the doctrine. It is by Christ's own work, by an act of power, even of violence, exercised by Him upon Himself, that the two natures are inseparably associated in Him; so inseparably that between His death resurrection His Divinity was simultaneously present with each of the severed elements of His humanity. Hence, though Hilary frequently discriminate between Christ's utterances as God and as Man, he never fails to keep his reader's attention fixed upon the unity of His Person. And this unity is the more obvious because, as has been said, the Manhood in Christ is dominated by the Godhead. Though we are not allowed to forget that He is truly Man, yet as a rule Hilary prefers to speak in such words as, 'the only-begotten Son of God was crucified,' or to say more briefly, 'God was crucified.' Judas is 'the betrayer of God;' 'the life or mortals is renewed through the death of immortal God.' Such expressions are far

more frequent than the balanced language, ‘the Passion of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord,’ and these again than such an exaltation of the manhood as ‘the Man Jesus Christ, the Lord of Majesty.’ But once, in an unguarded moment, an element of His humanity seems to be denied. Hilary never says that Christ’s body is God, but he speaks of the spectators of the Crucifixion ‘contemplating the power of the soul which by signs and deeds had proved itself God.’

But though distinctions may be drawn, and though for the sake of emphasis and brevity Christ may be called by the name of one only of His two natures, the essential fact is never forgotten that He is God and man, one Person in two forms, God’s and the servant’s. And these two natures do not stand isolated and apart, merely contained within the limits of one personality. Just as we saw that Hilary recognizes a complete mutual indwelling and interpretation of Father and son, so he teaches that in the narrower sphere of the Incarnation there is an equally exact and comprehensive union of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ. Jesus is Christ, and Christ is Jesus. Not merely is the one Christ perfect Man and perfect God, but the whole Son of Man is the whole Son of God. So fat is His manhood from being merged and lost in His Divinity, that the extent of the one is the measure of the other. We must not imagine that, simultaneously with the incarnate, there existed a non-incarnate Christ, respectively submitting to humiliation ruling the worlds; not yet must we conceive of one Christ in two unconnected states of being, as though the assumption of humanity were merely a function analogous to the guiding of the stars. On the contrary, the one Person is co-extensive with all infinity and all action lies within His scope. Whatever He does, whether it be, or be not, in relation to humanity and in the former case whether it be the exaltation of manhood or the self-emptying of Godhead, is done within the sphere of the Incarnation,’ the sphere which embraces His whole being and His whole action. The self-emptying itself was not a self-determination, instant and complete, made before in Incarnation, but, as we saw, a process which continued throughout Christ’s life on earth and was active to the end. For as He hung, deliberately self-emptied of his glory, on the Cross, He manifested His normal powers by the earthquake shock. His submission to death was the last of a consistent series of exertions of His will, which began with the Annunciation and culminated in the Crucifixion.

Hilary estimates the cost of the Incarnation not by any episodes of Christ's life on earth, but by the fact that it brought about a real, though partial, separation or breach within the Godhead. Henceforward there was in Christ the nature of the creature as well as that of the Creator; and this second nature, though it had been assumed in its most perfect form, was sundered by an infinite distance from God the Father, though indissolubly united with the Divinity of his Son. A barrier therefore was raised between them, to be overcome in due time by the elevation of manhood in and through the Son. When this elevation was complete within the person of Christ, then the separation between Him and His Father would be at an end. he would still have true humanity, but this humanity would be raised to the level of association with the Father. In Hilary's doctrine the submission of Christ to this isolation is the central fact of Christianity, the supreme evidence of His love for men. Not only did it thus isolate Him, truly though partially, from the Father, but it introduced a strain, a 'division' within His now incarnate Person. The union of natures was real, but in order that it might become perfect the two needed to be adjusted; and the humiliation involved in this adjustment is a great part of the sacrifice made by Christ. There was conflict, in a certain sense, within himself, repression and concealment of His powers. But finally the barrier was to be removed, the loss regained, by the exaltation of the manhood into harmonious association with the Godhead of Father and of Son. Then He Who had become in one Person God and Man would become for ever fully God and fully Man. The humanity would gain, the Divinity regain, its appropriate dignity, while each retained the reality it had had on earth.

Thus Christ's life in the world was a period of transition. He had descended; this was the time of preparation for an equal, and even loftier, ascent. We must not consider in what the preparation consisted; and here, at first sight, Hilary had involved himself in a grave difficulty. For it is manifest that his theory of Christ's life as one lived without effort, spiritual of physical, or rather as a life whose exertion consisted in a steady self-accommodation to the infinities of men, varied by occasional an special acts of condescension to suffering, excludes the possibility of an advance, a growth in grace as well as in stature, such as Athanasius scripturally taught. We might say of Hilary, as has been said of another Father, 'under his treatment the Divine history seems to be dissolved into a docetic drama.' In such a life it might seem that there was not merely no

possibility of progress, but even an absence of identity, in the sense of continuity. The phenomena of Christ's life, therefore, are not manifestations of the disturbance and strain on which Hilary insists, for they are, when, rightly considered, proofs of His union with God and of His Divine power, not of weakness or of partial separation. It would, indeed, be vain for us to seek for sensible evidence of the process of adjustment, for it went on within the inmost being of the one Person. It did not affect the Godhead or the Manhood, both visibly revealed as aspects of the Person, but the hidden relation between the two. Our knowledge assures us that the process took place, but it is a knowledge attained by inference from what He was before and after the state of transition, not by observation of His action in that state. Both natures of the one Person were affected; 'everything'—glory as well as humiliation—'was common to the entire Person at every moment, though to each aspect in its own distinctive manner.' The entire Person entered into inequality with Himself; the actuality of each aspect, during the state of humiliation, fell short of its idea—of the idea of the Son, of the idea of the perfect man, of the idea of the God-man. It was not merely the human aspect that was at first inadequate to the Divine; for, through the medium of the voluntary 'evacuatio,' it dragged down the Divine nature also, so far as it permitted it, to its own inequality.' Such is the only explanation which will reconcile Hilary's various, and sometimes obscure, utterances on this great subject. It is open to the obvious and fatal objection that it cuts, instead of loosening the knot. For it denies any connection between the dispensation of Christ's life on earth and the mystery of is assumption and exaltation of humanity; the one becomes somewhat purposeless, and the other remains inverified. But it is at least a bold and reverent speculation, not inconsistent with the Faith as a system of thought, though no place can be found for it in the Faith, regarded as a revelation of fact.

It was on behalf of mankind that this great sacrifice was made by the Son. While it separated Him from the Father, it united Him to men. We must now consider what was the spiritual constitution of the humanity which He assumed, as we have already considered the physical Man, as we saw (p. LXIX.) is constituted of body and soul, an outward and an inward substance, the one earthly, the other heavenly; The exact process of his creation has been revealed. First, man—that is, his soul—was made in the image of God; next, long afterwards, his body was fashioned out of dust;

finally by a distinct act, man was made a living soul by the breath of God, the heavenly and earthly natures being thus coupled together. The world was already complete when God created the highest, the most beautiful of His works after His own image. His other works were made by an instantaneous command; even the firmament was established by his *hand*; man alone was made by the *hands* of God;—'Thy hands have made me and fashioned me.' This singular honor of being made by a process, not an act, and by the hands, not the hand or the voice, of God, was paid to man not simply as the highest of the creatures, but as the one for whose sake the rest of the universe was called into being. It is, of course, the soul, made after the image of God, which has this high honor; an honor which no length of sinful ancestry can forfeit, for each soul is still separately created. Hence no human soul is akin to any other human soul; the uniformity of type is secured by each being made in the same pattern, and the dignity of humanity by the fact that this pattern is that of the Son, the Image of God. But the soul pervades the whole body with which it is associated, even as God pervades the universe. The soul of each man is individual, special to himself; his brotherhood with mankind belongs to him through his body, which has therefore something of universality. Hence the relation which He took that has made Him one with us in the Incarnation and in the Eucharist. The reality of His body, as we have seen, is amply secured by Hilary; its universality is assured by the absence of nay individual human paternity, which would have isolated Him from others. Thus He took all humanity into His one body; He is the Church, for He contained the congregation, so to speak, of the whole race of men.' Hence He spoke of Himself as the City set on a hill; the inhabitants are mankind. But Christ not only embraces all humanity in Himself, but the archetype after Whom, and the final cause for Whom, man was made. Every soul, when it proceeds from the hands of God, is pure, free and immortal, with a natural affinity and capacity for good, which can find its satisfaction only in Christ, the ideal Man. But if Christ is thus everything to man, humanity has also, in the foreordained purpose of God, something to confer upon Christ. The temporary humiliation of the Incarnation has for its result a higher glory than he possessed before, acquired through the harmony of the two natures.

The course of this elevation is represented by Hilary as a succession of births, in continuation of the majestic series. First there had been the

eternal generation of the Son; then His creation for the ways and for the works of God. His appointment, which Hilary regards as equivalent in importance to another birth, to the office of Creator; next the Incarnation, the birth in time which makes Him what He was not before, namely Man. This is followed by the birth of Baptism, of which Hilary speaks thrice. He read in St. [40B7]Matthew 3:17, instead of the familiar words of the Voice from heaven, ‘Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee.’ This was in his judgment the institution of the sacrament of Baptism; because Christ was baptized, we must follow His example. It was a new birth to Him, and therefore to us. He had been the Son; He became through Baptism the perfect Son by this fresh birth. It is difficult to see what Hilary’s thought was; perhaps he had not defined it to himself. But, with this reading in his copy of the Gospel, it was necessary that he should be ready with an explanation; and though there remained a higher perfection to be reached, this birth in Baptism might well be regarded as a stage in the return of Christ to His glory, an elevation of His humanity to a more perfect congruity with his Godhead. This birth is followed by another, the effect and importance of which is more obvious, that of the Resurrection, ‘the birthday of His humanity to glory.’ By the Incarnation He had lost unity with the Father; but the created nature, by the assumption of which He had disturbed the unity both within Himself and in relation to the Father, is now raised to the level on which that unity is again possible. In the Resurrection, therefore, it is restored; and this stage of Christ’s achievement is regarded as a new birth, by which His glory becomes, as it had been before, the same as that of the Father. But now the glory is shared by His humanity; the servant’s form is promoted to the glory of God and the discordance comes to an end. Christ, God and Man, stands where the Word before the Incarnation stood. In this Resurrection, the only step in this Divine work which is caused by sin, His full humanity partakes. In order to satisfy all the conditions of actual human life, He died and visited the lower world; and also, comes that final state, of which something has already been said, when God shall be all in all. No further change will be possible within the Person of Christ, for his humanity, already in harmony with the Godhead, will now be transmitted. The whole Christ, Man as well as God, will become wholly God. Yet the humanity will still exist, for it is inseparable from the Divinity, and will consist, as before, of body and soul. But there will be nothing earthly or fleshly left in

the body; its nature will be purely spiritual. The only form in which Hilary can express this result is the seeming paradox that Christ will, by virtue of the final subjection, ‘be and continue what He is not.’ By this return of the whole Christ into perfect union with God, humanity attains the purpose of its creation. He was the archetype after Whose likeness man was fashioned, and in His Person all the possibilities of mankind are attained. And this great consummation not only fulfills the destinies of humanity; it brings also an augmentation of the glory of Him Who is glorified in Christ.

In the fact that humanity is thus elevated in Christ consists the hope of individual men. Man in Him has, in a true sense, become God; and though Hilary as a rule avoids the phrase, familiar to him in the writings of his Alexandrian teachers and freely used by Athanasius and other of his contemporaries, that men become gods because God became Man, still the thought which it conveys is constantly present to his mind. As we have seen, men are created with such elevation as their final cause; they have the innate certainty that their soul is of Divine origin and a natural longing for the knowledge and hope of things eternal. But they can only rise by a process, corresponding to that by which the humanity in Christ was raised to the level of the Divinity. This process begins with the new birth in the one Baptism, and attains its completion when we fully receive the nature and the knowledge of God. We are to be members of Christ’s body and partakers in Him, saved into the name and the nature of God. And the means to this is knowledge of Him, received into a pure mind. Such knowledge makes the soul of man a dwelling rational, pure and eternal, wherein the Divine nature, whose properties these are, may eternally abide. Only that which has reason can be in union with Him Who is reason. Faith must be accurately informed as well as sincere. Christ became Man in order that we might believe Him; that He might be a witness to us from among ourselves touching the things of God.

We have now followed Hilary through his great theory, in which we may safely say that no other theologian entirely agrees, and which, where it is more original, diverges most widely from the usual lines of Christian thought. Yet it nowhere contradicts the accepted standards of belief; and if it errs it does so in explanation, not in the statement of the truths which it undertakes to explain. Hilary has the distinction of being the only one of

his contemporaries with the speculative genius to imagine this development ending in the abolition of incongruity and in the restoration of the full majesty of the Son and of man with Him. He saw that there must be such a development, and if he was wrong in tracing its course, there is a reverence and loyalty, a solidity of reasoning and steady grasp of the problems under discussion, which save him from falling into mere ingenuity or ostentation. Sometimes he may seen to be on the verge of heresy; but in each case it will be found that, whether his system be right or no, the place in it which he has found for an argument used elsewhere in the interests of error is one where the argument is powerless for him—it must seem that his theology is abstract, moving in a region apart from the facts of human life. It must be admitted that this is the case; that though, as we shall presently see, Hilary had a clear sense of the realities of temptation and sin and of the need of redemption, and has expressed himself in these regards with the fervor and practical wisdom of an earnest and experienced pastor, still these subjects lie within the sphere of his feelings rather than of his thought. It was not his fault that he lived in the days before St. Augustine, and in the heat of an earlier controversy; and it is his conspicuous merit that in his zeal for the Divinity of Christ he traced the Incarnation back beyond the beginning of sin and found its motive in God's eternal purpose of uniting man to Himself. He does not estimate the condescension of Christ by the distance which separates the Sinless from the sinful. to his wider thought sin is not the cause of that great sequence of Divine acts of grace, but a disturbing factor which has modified its course. The measure of the love of God in Christ is the infinity He overpassed in uniting the Creator with the creature.

But before we approach the practical theology of Hilary something must be said of his teaching concerning the Third Person of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit is little developed in his writings. The cause was, in part, his sympathy with Eastern thought. The West., in this as in some other respects, was in advance of the contemporary Greeks; but Hilary was too independent to accept conclusions which were as yet unreasoned. But a stronger reason was that the doctrine was not directly involved in the Arian controversy. On the main question, as we have seen, he kept an open mind, and was prepared to modify from time to time the terms in which he stated the Divinity of our Lord; but in other respects he was often strangely archaic. Such is the case here; Hilary's is a logical

position, but the logical process has been arrested. There is nothing in his words concerning the Holy Spirit inconsistent with the later definitions of faith, and it would be unfair to blame him because, in the course of a strenuous life devoted tot he elucidation and defense of other doctrines, he found no time to develop this; unfair also to blame him for not recognizing its full importance. In his earlier days, and while he was in alliance with the Seminarians, there was nothing to bring this doctrine prominently before his mind; in his later life it still lay outside the range of controversy, so far as he was concerned. Hilary, in fact, preferred like Athanasius to rest in the indefinite terms of the original Nicene Creed, the confession of which ended with the simple ‘And in the Holy Ghost. ‘But there was a further and practical reason for his reserve. It was a constant taunt of the Arians that the Catholics worshipped a plurality of Gods. The frequency and emphasis with which Hilary denies that Christians have either two Gods or one God in solitude proves that he regarded this plausible assertion as one of the most dangerous weapons wielded by heresy. It was his object, as a skillful disputant, to bring his whole forces to bear upon them, and this in a precisely limited field of battle. To import the question of the Holy Spirit, into the controversy might distract his reader’s attention from the main issue, and afford the enemy an opening for that evasion which he constantly accuses them of attempting. Hence, in part, the small space allowed to so important a theme; and hence the avoidance, which we noticed, of the very word ‘Trinity.’ The Arians made the most of their argument about two Gods; Hilary would not allow them the opportunity of imputing to the faithful a belief in three. This might not have been a sufficient inducement, had it stood alone, but the encouragement which he received from Origen’s vagueness, representative as it was of the average theology of the third century, must have predisposed him to give weight to the practical consideration. Yet Hilary has not avoided a formal statement in his belief. In *Trin.* II. §§ 29—35, which is, as we saw, part of a summary statement of the Christian Faith, he set is forth with Scripture proofs. But he shows clearly, by the short space he allows to it, that it is not in his eyes of co-ordinate importance with the other truths of which he treats. And the curious language in which he introduces the subject, in § 29, seems to imply that he throws it in to satisfy others rather than from his own sense of its necessary place in such a statement. The doctrine, as he here defines it, it that the Holy Spirit undoubtedly exists; the Father and the

Son are the Authors of His being, and, since He is joined with Them in our confession, He cannot, without mutilation of the Faith, be separated from Them. The fact that He is given to us is a further proof of His existence. Yet the title ‘Spirit’ is often used both for Father and for Son; in proof of this St. [4]John 4:24 and [4]2 Corinthians 3:17 are cited. Yet the Holy Spirit has a personal existence and a special office in relation to us. It is through Him that we know God. Our nature is capable of knowing Him, as the eye is capable of sight; and the gift of the Spirit is to the soul what the gift of light is to the eye. Again, in XII. §§ 55, 56, the subject is introduced, as if by an after thought, and even more briefly than in the second book. As he has refused to style the Son a creature, so he refuses to give that name to the Spirit, Who has gone forth from God, and been sent by Christ. The Son is the Only-begotten, and therefore he will not say that the Spirit was begotten; yet he cannot call Him a creature, for the Spirit’s knowledge of the mysteries of God, of which He is the Interpreter to men, is the proof of His oneness in nature with God. The Spirit speaks unutterable things and is ineffable in His operation. Hilary cannot define, yet he believes. It must suffice to say, with the Apostle, simply that He is the Spirit of God. The tone of § 56 seems that of silent rebuke to some excess of definition, as he would deem it, of which he had heard. To these passages must be added another in *Trin.* VIII. 19 f.; where the possession by Father and Son of one Spirit is used in proof of Their own unity. But in this passage there occur several instances of Hilary’s characteristic vagueness. As in II. 30, so here we are told that ‘the Spirit’ may mean Father or Son as well as Holy Ghost, and instances are given where the word has one or other of the two first significations. Thus we must set a certain number of passages where a reference in Scripture to the Holy Spirit is explained away against a number, certainly no greater, in which He is recognized; and in the latter we notice a strong tendency to understate the truth. For though we are expressly told that the Spirit is not a creature, that He is from the Father through the son, is of one substance with Them and bears the same relation to the One that He bears to the Other, yet Hilary refuses with some emphasis and in a conspicuous place, at the very end of the treatise, to call Him God. But both groups of passages, those in which the Holy Ghost is recognized and those in which reason is given for non-recognition, are more than counterbalanced by a multitude in which, no doubt for the controversial reason already mentioned, the Holy Spirit is

left unnamed, though it would have been most natural that allusion should be made to Him. We find in Hilary ‘the premisses from which the Divinity of the Holy Ghost is the necessary conclusion;’ and there is reason to believe that he would have stated the doctrine of the Procession in the Western, not in the Eastern, form; but we find a certain willingness to keep the doctrine in the background, which sufficiently indicates a failure to grasp its cardinal importance, and is, however natural in his circumstances and however interesting as evidence of his mode of thought, a blemish to the *De Trinitate,* if we seek in it a balanced exposition of the Faith.

We may not turn to the practical teaching of Hilary. Henceforth he will be no longer the compiler of the best Latin handbook of the Arian controversy, or the somewhat unsystematic investigator of unexplored regions of theology. We shall find him often accepting the common stock of Christian ideas of his age, without criticism or attempt at improvement upon them; often paraphrasing in even more emphatic language emphatic and apparently contradictory passages of Scripture, without any effect after harmony or balance. Yet sometimes we shall find him anticipating on one page the thoughts of later theologians, while on another he is content to repeat the views upon the same subject which had satisfied an earlier generation. His doctrine, where it is not traditional, in never more than tentative, and we must not be surprised, we must even expect, to find him inconsistent with himself.

No subject illustrates this inconsistency better than that of sin, of which Hilary gives two accounts, the one Eastern and traditional, the other an anticipation of Augustinianism. These are never compared and weighed the one against the other. In the passages where each appears, it is adduced confidently, without any reservation or hint that he is aware of another explanation of the facts of experience. The more usual account is that which is required by Hilary’s doctrine of the separate creation of every human soul, which is good, because it is God’s immediate work, and has natural tendency to, and fitness for, perfection. Because God, after Whose image man is made, is free, therefore man also is free; he has absolute liberty, and is under no compulsion to good or to evil. The sin which God foresees, as in the case of Esau, He does not foreordain. Punishment never follows except upon sin actually committed; the elect are they who show themselves worthy of election. But the human body has defiled the soul; in

fact, Hilary sometimes speaks as though sin were not an act of will but an irresistible pressure exerted by the body on the soul. If we had no body, he says once, we should have no sin; it is a ‘body of death’ and cannot be pure. This is the spiritual meaning of the ancient law against touching a corpse. When the Psalmist laments that his soul cleaveth to the ground, his sorrow is that it is inseparably attached to a body of earth; when Job and Jeremiah cursed the day of their birth, their anger was directed against the necessity of living surrounded by the weaknesses and vices of the flesh, not against the creation of their souls after the image of God. Such language, if it stood alone, would convince it author of Manicheanism, but Hilary elsewhere asserts that the desire of the soul goes half-way to meet the invitation of sin, and this latter in his normal teaching. Man has a natural proclivity to evil, an inherited weakness, which has, as a matter of experience, betrayed all men into actual sin, with the exception of Christ. Elsewhere, however, Hilary recognizes the possibility, under existing conditions, of a sinless life. For David could make the prayer, ‘Take from me the way of iniquity;’ of iniquity itself he was guiltless, and only needed to pray against the tendency inherent in his bodily nature. But such a case is altogether exceptional; ordinary men must confide in the thought that God is indulgent, for He knows our infirmity. He is propitiated by the wish to be righteous, and in His judgment the merits of good men outweigh their sins. Hence a prevalent tone of hopefulness about the future state of the baptized; even Sodom and Gomorrah, their punishment in history having satisfied the righteousness of God, shall ultimately be saved. Yet God has a perfect, imitable goodness of which human goodness, though real, falls infinitely short, because He is steadfast and we are driven by varying impulses. This Divine goodness is the standard and the hope set before us. It can only be attained by grace, and grace is freely offered. But just as the soul, being free, advances to meet sin, so it must advance to meet grace. Man must take the first step; he must wish and pray for grace, and then perseverance in faith will be granted him, together with such a measure of the Spirit as he shall desire and deserve. He will, indeed, be able to do more than he need, as David did when he spared and afterwards lamented Saul, his worst enemy, and St. Paul, who voluntarily abstained from the lawful privilege of marriage. Such is Hilary’s first account, ‘a naive, undeveloped mode of thought concerning the origin of sin and the state of man.’ Its inconsistencies are as obvious as their cause, the

unguarded homiletical expansion of isolated passages. There is no attempt to reconcile man's freedom to be good with the fact of universal sin. The theory, so far as it is consistent, is derived from Alexandria, from Clemet and Origen. It may seem not merely inadequate as theology, but philosophical rather than Christian; and its aim is, indeed, that of strengthening man's sense of moral responsibility and of heightening his courage to withstand temptation. But we must remember that Hilary everywhere assumes the union between the Christian and Christ. While this union exists there is always the power of bringing conduct into conformity with His will. Conduct, then, is, comparatively speaking, a matter of detail. Sins of action and emotion do not necessarily sever the union; a whole system of casuistry might be built upon Hilary's foundation. But false thoughts of God violate the very principle of union between Him and man. However abstract they may seem and remote from practical life, they are an unsuperable barrier. For intellectual harmony, as well as moral, is necessary; and error of belief, like a key moving in a lock with whose wards it does not correspond, forbids all access to the nature and the grace of God. A good example of his relative estimate of intellectual and moral offenses occurs in the Homily on Psalm 1. §§ 6—8, where it is noteworthy that he does not trace back the former to moral causes.

Against these, the expressions of Hilary's usual opinion, must be set others in which he anticipates the language of St. Augustine in the Pelagian controversy. But certain deductions must be made, before we can rightly judge the weight of his testimony on the side of original sin. Passages where he is merely amplifying the words of Scripture must be excluded, as also those which are obviously exhibitions of unguarded rhetoric. For instance such words as these, 'Ever since the sin and unbelief of our first parent, we of later generations have had sin for the father of our body and unbelief for the mother of our soul,' contradicting as they do Hilary's well-known theory of the origin of the soul, cannot be regarded as giving his deliberate belief concerning sin. Again, we must be careful not to interpret strong language concerning the body (e.g. *Tr. in Psalms* 118, *Caph,* 5 *fin.*), as though it referred to our whole complex manhood But after all deductions a good deal of strong Augustinianism remains. In the person of Adam God created all mankind, and all are implicated in his downfall, which was not only the beginning of evil but is a continuous

power. Not only as a matter of experience, is no man sinless, but no man can, by any possibility, be free from sin. Because of the sin of one sentence is passed upon all; the sentence of slavery which is so deep a degradation that the victim of sin forfeits even the name of man. But Hilary not only states the doctrine; he approaches very nearly, on rare occasions, to the term ‘original sin.’ It follows that nothing less than a regeneration, the free gift of God, will avail; and the grace by which the Christian must be maintained is also His spontaneous and unconditional gift. Faith, knowledge, Christian life, all have their origin and their maintenance from Him. Such is a brief statement of Hilary’s position as a forerunner of St. Augustine. The passages cited are scattered over his writings, from the earliest to the latest, and there is no sign that the more modern view was gaining ground in his mind as his judgment ripened. He had no occasion to face the question, and was content to say whatever seemed obviously to arise from the words under discussion, or to be most profitable to his audience. His Augustinianism, if it may be called so, is but one of many instances of originality, a thought thrown out but not developed. It is a symptom of revolt against the inadequate views of older theologians; but it had more influence upon the mind of his great successor than upon his own. Dealing, as he did, with the subject in hortatory writings, hardly at all, and only incidentally, in his formal treatise on the Trinity, he preferred to regard it as a matter of morals rather than of doctrine. And the dignity of man, impressed upon him by the great Alexandrians, seemed to demand for humanity the fullest liberty.

We may not turn to the Atonement, by which Christ has overcome sin. Hilary’s language concerning it is, as a rule, simply Scriptural. He had no occasion to discuss the doctrine, and his teaching is that which was traditional in his day, without any such anticipations of future thought as we found in his treatment of sin. Since the humanity of Christ is universal, His death was on behalf of all mankind, ‘to buy the salvation of the whole human race by the offering of this holy and perfect Victim.’ His last cry upon the Cross was the expression of His sorrow that some would not profit by His sacrifice; that He was not, as He had desired, bearing the sins of all. He was able to take them upon Him because He had both natures. His manhood could do what His Godhead could not; it could atone for the sins of men. Man had been overcome by Satan; Satan, in his turn, has been overcome by Man. In the long conflict, enduring through Christ’s life, of

which the first pitched battle was the Temptation, the last the Crucifixion, the victory has been won by the Mediator in the flesh. The devil was in the wrong throughout. He was deceived, or rather deceived himself, not recognizing what it was for which Christ hungered. The same delusion as to Christ's character led him afterwards to exact the penalty of sin from One Who had not deserved it. Thus the human sufferings of Christ, unjustly inflicted, involve His enemy in condemnation and forfeit his right to hold mankind enslaved. Therefore we are set free, and the sinless Passion and death are the triumph of the flesh over spiritual wickedness and the vengeance of God upon it. Man is set free, because he is justified in Christ, Who is Man. But the fact that Christ could do the works necessary to this end is proof that He is God. These works included the endurance of such suffering—in the sense, of course, which Hilary attached to the word—as no one who was not more than man could bear. Hence he emphasizes the Passion, because in doing he magnified the Divine nature of Him Who sustained it. He sets forth the sufferings in the light of deeds, of displays of power, the greatest wonder being that the Son of God should have made Himself passable. Yet though it was from union with the Godhead that His humanity possessed the purity, the willingness, the power to win this victory, and though, in Hilary's words, it was immortal God Who died upon the Cross, still it was a victory won not by God but by the flesh. But the Passion must not be regarded simply as an attack, ending in his overthrow, made by Satan upon Christ. It is also a free satisfaction offered to God by Christ as Man, in order that His sufferings might release us from the punishment we had deserved, being accepted instead of ours. This latter was a thought peculiarly characteristic of the West, and especially of St. Cyprian's teaching; but Hilary has had his share of giving prominence to the propitiatory aspect of Christ's self-sacrifice. Yet it must be confessed that the death of Christ is somewhat in the background; that Hilary is less interested in its positive value than in its negative aspect, as the cessation from earthly life and the transition to glory. Upon this, and upon the evidential importance of the Passion as a transcendent exertion of power, whereby the Son of God held Himself down and constrained Himself to suffer and die, Hilary chiefly dwells. The death has not, in his eyes, the interest of the Resurrection. The reason is that it does not belong to the course of the Incarnation as fore-ordained by God, but is only a modification of it, rendered necessary

by the sinful self-will of man. Had there been no Fall, the visible, palpable flesh would still have been laid aside, though not by death upon the Cross, when Christ's work in the world was done; and there would have been some event corresponding to the Ascension, if not to the Resurrection. The body, laid aside on earth, would have been resumed in glory; and human flesh, unfallen and therefore not corrupt, yet free and therefore corruptible, would have entered into perfectly harmonious union with His Divinity, and so have been rendered anterior to the beginnings of sin; and it is this broader conception that renders the Passion itself intelligible, while relegating it to a secondary place. But Hilary, though as a rule he mentions the subject not for its own sake but in the course of argument, has as firm a faith in the efficacy of Christ's death and of His continued intercession in His humanity for mankind as he has in His triumphant Resurrection.

In regard to the manner in which man is to profit by the Atonement, Hilary shows the same inconsistency as in the case of sin. On the one hand, he lays frequent stress on knowledge concerning God and concerning the nature of sin as the first conditions of salvation; on the other, he insists, less often yet with equal emphasis, upon its being God's spontaneous gift to men, to be appropriated only by faith. We have already seen that one of Hilary's positions is that man must take the first step towards God; that if we will make the beginning He will give the increase. This increase is the knowledge of God imparted to willing minds, which lifts them up to piety. He states strongly the superiority of knowledge to faith;—"There is a certain greater effectiveness in knowledge than in faith. thus the writer here did not believe; he knew. For faith has the reward of obedience, but it has not the assurance of ascertained truth. The Apostle has indicated the breadth of the interval between the two by putting the latter in the lower place in his list of the gifts of graces. 'To the first wisdom, to the next knowledge, to the third faith' is his message; for he who believes may be ignorant even while he believes, but he who has come to know is saved by his possession of knowledge from the very possibility of unbelief." This high estimation of sound knowledge was due, no doubt, to the intellectual character of the Arian conflict, in which each party retorted upon the other the charge of ignorance and folly; and it must have been confirmed by the observation that some who were conspicuous for the misinterpretation of Scripture were notorious also for moral obliquity. There was, however, that deeper reason which influenced all

Hilary's thought; the conviction that if there is to be any harmony, any understanding between God and the soul of man, it must be a perfect harmony and understanding. And knowledge is pre-eminently the sphere in which this is possible, for the revelation of God is clear and precise, and unmistakably in its import. But there was another, a directly practical reason for this insistence. Apprehension of Divine truths is the unfailing test of a Christian mind; conduct changes and faith varies in intensity, but the facts of religion remain the same, and the believer can be judged by his attitude towards them. Hence we cannot be surprised that Hilary maintains the insufficiency of 'simplicity of faith,' and ranks its advocates with heathen philosophers who regard purity of life as a substitute for religion. God, he says, has provided copious knowledge, with which we cannot dispense. But this knowledge is to embrace not only the truth concerning God, but also concerning the realities of human life. It is to be a knowledge of the fact that sins have been committed and an opening of the eyes to their enormity. This will be followed by confession to God, by the promise to Him that we will henceforth regard sin as He regards it, and by the profession of a firm purpose to abandon it. Here again the starting-point is human knowledge. When the right attitude towards sin, intellectually and therefor morally, has been assumed, when there is the propose of amendment and an earnest and successful struggle against sensual and worldly temptations, then we shall become 'worthy of the favor of God.' In this light confession is habitually regarded; it is a voluntary moral act, a self-enlightenment to the realities of sin, necessarily followed by repugnance and the effort to escape, and antecedent to Divine pardon and aid. But in contrast to this, Hilary's normal judgment, there are passages where human action is put altogether in the background. Forgiveness is the spontaneous bounty of God, overflowing from the riches of His loving-kindness, and faith the condition of its bestowal and the means by which it is appropriated. Even the Psalmist himself perfect in all good works, prayed for mercy; he put his whole trust in God, and so must we. And faith precedes knowledge also, which is unattainable except by the believer. Salvation does not come first, and then faith, but through faith is the hope of salvation; the blind man believed before he saw. Here again, as in the case of sin, we have two groups of statements without attempt at reconciliation; but that which lays stress upon human initiative is far more numerous than the other, and must be regarded as expressing

Hilary's underlying thought in his exhortations to Christian conduct, to his doctrine of which we may now turn.

We must first premise that Christ's work as our Example as well as our Savior is fully recognized. Many of his deeds on earth were done by way of dispensation, in order to set us a pattern of life and thought. Christian life has, of course, its beginning in the free gift of Baptism, with the new life and the new facilities then bestowed, which render possible the illumination of the soul. Hilary, as was natural at a time when Baptism was often deferred by professed Christians, and there were many converts from paganism, seems to contemplate that of adults as the rule; and he feels it necessary to warn them that their Baptism will not restore them to perfect innocence. In fact, by a strange conjecture tentatively made, he once suggests that our Baptism is that wherewith John baptized our Lord, and that the Baptism of the Holy Ghost awaits us hereafter, in cleansing fires beyond the grave or in the purification of martyrdom. Hilary nowhere says in so many words that while Baptism abolishes sins previously committed, alms and other good deeds perform a similar office for later offenses, but his view, which will be presently stated, concerning good works show that he agreed in this respect with St. Cyprian; neither, however, would hold that the good works were sufficient in ordinary cases without the further purification. Martyrdoms had, of course, ceased in Hilary's day throughout the Roman empire, but it is interesting to observe that the old opinion, which had such power in the third century, still survived. The Christian, then, has need for fear, but he has a good hope, for all the baptized while in this world are still in the land of the living, and can only forfeit their citizenship by willful and persistent unworthiness. The means for maintaining the new life of effort is the Eucharist, which is equally necessary with Baptism. But the Eucharist is one of the many matters of practical importance on which Hilary is almost silent, having nothing new to say, and being able to assume that his readers and hearers were well informed and of one mind with himself. His reticence is never a proof that he regarded them with indifference.

The Christian life is thus a life of hope and of high possibilities. But Hilary frankly and often recognizes the serious short-comings of the average believers of his day. Sometimes, in his zeal for their improvement and in the wish to encourage his flock, he even seems to condone their faults,

venturing to ascribe to God what may almost be styled as mere good-nature, as when he speaks of God, Himself immutable, as no stern Judge of our changefulness, but rather appeased by the wish on our part for better things than angry, because we cannot perform impossibilities. But in this very passage, he holds up for our example the high attainment of the Saints, explaining that the Psalmist's words, 'There is none that doeth good, no not one,' refer only to those who are altogether gone out of the way and become abominable, and not to all mankind. Indeed, holding as he does that all Christians may have as much grace from God as they will take, and that the conduct which is therefore possible is also necessary to salvation, he could not consistently maintain the lower position. In fact, the standard of life which Hilary sets in the Homilies on the Psalms is very high. Cleanness of hand and heart is the first object at which we must aim, and the Law of God must be our delight. This is the lesson inculcated throughout his discourses of Psalm 119. He recognizes the complexity of life, with its various duties and difficulties, which are, however, a privilege inasmuch as there is honor to be won by victory over them; and he takes a common-sense view of our powers and responsibilities. But though his tone is buoyant and life in his eyes is well worth living for the Christian, he insists not merely upon a general purity of life, but upon renunciation of worldly pleasures. Like Cyprian, he would apparently have the wealthy believer dispose of his capital and spend his income in works of charity, without thought of economy. Like Cyprian, again, he denounces the wearing of gold and jewelry, and the attendance at public places of amusement. Higher interests, spiritual and intellectual, must take the place of such dissipation. Sacred melody will be more attractive than the immodest dialogue of the theater, and study of the course of the stars a more pleasing pursuit than a visit to the racecourse. Yet strictly and even sternly Christian as Hilary is, he does not allow us altogether to forget that his is an age with another code than ours. Vengeance with him is a Christian motive. He takes with absolute literalness the Psalmist's imprecations. Like every other emotion which he expresses, that of delight at the punishment of evil doers ought to have a place in the Christian soul. This was an inheritance from the days of persecution, which were still within the memory of living men. Cyprian often encourages the confessors to patience by the prospect of seeing the wrath of God upon their enemies; but he never gives so strong expression to the feeling as Hilary

does, when he enforces obedience to our Lord's command to turn the other cheek by the consideration that fuller satisfaction will be failed if the wrong be stored up against the Day of Judgment. There is something hard and Puritan in the tone which Hilary has caught from the men of the times of persecution; of vengeance upon them. This was not mere pardonable excitement of feeling; it was a Christen duty and privilege to rejoice in the future destruction of his opponents. but there is an even stranger difference between his standard and ours. Among the difficulties of keeping in the strait and narrow way he reckons that of truthfulness. A lie, he says, is often necessary, and deliberate falsehood sometimes useful. We may mislead an assassin, and so enable his intended victim to escape; our testimony may save a defendant who is in peril in the courts; we may have to cheer a sick man by making light of his ailment. Such are the cases in which the Apostle says that our speech is to be 'seasoned with salt.' It is not the lie that is wrong; the point of conscience is whether or no it will inflict injury upon another. Hilary is not alone in taking falsehood lightly, and allowance must be made for the age in which he lived. And his words cast light upon the history of the time. The constant accusations made against the character and conduct of theological opponents, which are so painful a feature of the controversies of the early centuries, find their justification in the principle which Hilary has stated. No harm was done, rather a benefit was conferred upon mankind, if a false teacher could be discredited in a summary and effective manner; such was certainly a thought which presented itself to the minds of combatants, both orthodox and heterodox. Apart from these exceptions, which, however, Hilary would not have regarded as such, his standard of life, as has been said, is a high one both in faith and in practice, and his exhortation is full of strong common sense. It is, however, a standard set for educated people; there is little attention paid to those who are safe from the dangers of intellect and wealth. The worldliness which he rebukes is that of the rich and influential; and his arguments are addressed to the reading class, as are his numerous appeals to his audience in the Homilies on the Psalms to study Scripture for themselves. Indeed, his advice to them seems to imply that they have abundance leisure for spiritual exercises and for reflection. But he does not simply ignore the illiterate, still mostly pagans, for the work of St. Martin of Tours only began, as we saw, in Hilary's last days; in one passage at

least he speaks with the scorn of an ancient philosopher of ‘the rustic mind,’ which will fail to find the meaning of the Psalms.

Hilary is not content with setting a standard which his flock must strive to reach. He would have them attain to a higher level than is commanded, and at the same time constantly remember that they are failing to perform their duty to God. This higher life is set before his whole audience as their aim. He recognizes the peculiar honor of the widow and the virgin, but has singular little to say about these classes of the Christian community, or about the clergy, and no special counsel for them. The works of supererogation—the word is not his—which he preaches are within the reach of all Christians. They consist in the more perfect practice of the ordinary virtues. King David ‘was not content henceforth to be confined to the express commands of the Law, nor to be subject to a mere necessity of obedience.’ ‘The Prophet prays that these free-will offerings may be acceptable to God, because the deeds done in compliance to the Law’s edict are performed under the actual compulsion of servitude. As an instance he gives the character of David. His duty was to be humble; he made himself humble exceedingly, thus doing more than he was legally bound to do. He spared his enemies so far as in him lay, and bewailed their death; this was a free service to which he was bound by no compulsion. Such conduct places those who practice it on the same level with those whose lives are formally consecrated; the state of the latter being regarded, as always in earlier times, as admirable in itself, and not as a means towards higher things. Vigils and fasts and acts of mercy are the methods advocated by Hilary for such attainment. But they must not stand alone, nor must the Christian put his trust in them. Humility must have faith for its principle, and fasting be combined with charity. And the Christian must never forget that though he may in some respects be doing more than he need, yet in others he is certainly falling short. For the conflict is unceasing; the devil, typified by the mountains in the Psalm, has been touched by God and is smoking, but is not yet burning and powerless for mischief. Hence there is a constant danger lest the Christian fall into unbelief or unfruitfulness, sins equally fatal; future temptations. Nor may he dismiss his past offenses from his memory. It can never cease to be good for us to confess our former sins, even though we have become righteous. St. Paul did not allow himself to forget that he had persecuted the Church of God. But there is a further need than that of penitence. Like

Cyprian before him and Augustine after him, Hilary insists upon the value of alms in the sight of God. The clothing of the naked, the release of the captive plead with God for the remission of our sins; and the man who redeems his faults by alms is classes among those who win His favor, with the perfect in love and the blameless in faith.

Thus the thought of salvation by works greatly preponderates over that of salvation by grace. Hilary is fearful of weakening man's sense of moral responsibility of swelling too much upon God's work which, however, he does not fail to recognize. Of the two great dangers, that of faith and that of life, the former seemed to him the more serious. God's requirements in that respect were easy of fulfillment; He had stated the truth and He expected it to be unhesitatingly accepted. But if unbelief, being an exertion of the will, was easy, misbelief must be peculiarly and fatally wicked. The confessions of St. Peter, the foundation upon which the Church is built, is that Christ is God; the sin against the Holy Ghost is denial of this truth. These are the highest glory and the deepest shame of man. It does not seem that Hilary regarded any man, however depraved, as beyond hope so long as he did not dispute this truth; he has no code of mortal sins. But heresy concerning Christ, whatever the conduct and character of the heretic, excludes all possibility of salvation, for it necessarily cuts him off from the one Faith and the one Church which are the condition and the sphere of growth towards perfection; and the severance is just, because misbelief is a willful sin. Since, then, compliance or non-compliance with one of God's demands, that for faith in His revelation, depends upon the will, it was natural that Hilary should lay stress upon the importance of the will in regard to God's other demand, that for a Christian life. This was, in a sense, a lighter requirement, for various degrees of obedience were possible. Conduct could neither give nor deny faith, but only affect its growth, while without the frank recognition of the facts of religion no conduct could be acceptable to God. Life presents to the will a constantly changing series of choices between good and evil, while the Faith must be accepted or rejected at once and as a whole. It is clear from Hilary's insistence upon this that the difficulties, apart from heresy, with which he had to content resembled those of Mission work in modern India. There were many who would accept Christianity as a revelation, yet had not the moral strength to live in conformity with their belief. Of such persons Hilary will not despair. They have the first essential of salvation, a clear

and definite acceptance of doctrinal truth; they have also the offer of sufficient grace, and the free will and power to use it. And time and opportunity are granted, for the vicissitudes of life form a progressive education; they are, if taken aright, the school, the training-ground for immorality. This is because all Christians are in Christ, by virtue of his Incarnation. They are, as St. Paul says, complete in Him, furnished with the faith and hope they need. But this is only a preparatory completeness; hereafter they shall be complete in themselves, when the perfect harmony is attained and they are conformed to His glory. Thus to the end the dignity and responsibility of mankind is maintained. But it is obvious that Hilary has failed to correlate the work of Christ with the work of the Christian. The necessity of His guidance and aid, and the manner in which these are bestowed, is sufficiently stated, and the duty of the Christian man is copiously and eloquently enforced. But the importance of Christ's work within Himself, in harmonizing the two natures, has withdrawn most of Hilary's attention from His work within the believing soul; and the impression which Hilary's writings leave upon the mind concerning the Savior and redeemed mankind is that of allied forces seeking the same end but acting independently, each in a sphere of its own.

There still remains to be considered Hilary's account of the future state. The human soul, being created after the image of God is imperishable; resurrection is as inevitable as death. And the resurrection will be in the body, for good and bad alike. The body of the good will be glorified, like that of Christ; its substance will be the same as in the present life, its glory such that it will be in all other respects a new body. Indeed, the true life of man only begins when this transformation takes place. No such changes awaits the wicked; we shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed, as St. Paul says. They remain as they are, or rather are subjected to a ceaseless process of deterioration, whereby the soul is degraded to the level of the body, while this in the case of others is raised, either instantly or by a course of purification, to the level of the soul. Their last state is vividly described in language which recalls that of Virgil; crushed to powder and dried to dust they will fly for ever before the wind of God's wrath. For the thoroughly good and the thoroughly bad the final state begins at the moment of death. There is no judgment for either class, but only for those whose character contains element of both good and evil. For perfect goodness is only a theoretical possibility, and Hilary is not certain of the

condemnation of any except willful unbelievers. Evil is mingled in varying proportions with good in the character of men at large; God can detect it in the very best. All therefore need to be purified after death, if they are to escape condemnation on the Day of Judgment. Even the Mother of our Lord needs the purification of pain; this is the sword which should pierce through her soul. All who are infected by sin, the heretic who has erred in ignorance among them, must pass through cleansing fires after death. Then comes the general Resurrection. To the good it brings the final change to perfect glory; the bad will rise only to return to their former place. The multitude of men will be judged, and after the education and purification of suffering to which, by God's mercy, they have been submitted, will be accepted by Him. Hilary's writings contain no hint that any who are allowed to present themselves on the Day of Judgment will then be rejected.

We have now completed the survey of Hilary's thought. Many of these were strange and new to his contemporaries, and his originality, we may be sure, deprived him of some of the influence he wished to exert in the controversies of his day. Yet he shared the spirit and entered heartily into the interests and conflicts of his age, and therefore his thoughts in many ways were different from our own. To this we owe, no doubt, the preservation of his works; writings which anticipated modern opinion would have been powerless for good in that day, and would not have survived to ours. Thus from his own century to ours Hilary has been somewhat isolated and neglected, and even misunderstood. Yet he is one of the most notable figures in the history of the early Church, and must be numbered among those who have done most to make Christian thought richer and more exact. If we would appreciate him aright as one of the builders of the dogmatic structure of the Faith, we must omit from the materials of our estimate a great part of his writings, and a part which has had a wider influence than any other. His interpretation of the letter, though not of the spirit, of Scripture must be dismissed; interesting as it always is; and often suggestive, it was not his own and was a hindrance, though he did not see it, to the freedom of his thought. Yet his exegesis in detail is often admirable. For instance, it would not be easy to overpraise his insight and courage in resisting the conventional orthodoxy, sanctioned by Athanasius in his own generation and by Augustine in the next, which interpreted St. Paul's 'First-born of every creature' as signifying the

Incarnation of Christ, and not His eternal generation. We must omit also much that Hilary borrowed without question from current opinion; it is his glory that he concentrated his attention upon some few questions of supreme importance, and his strength, not his weakness, that he was ready to adopt in other matters the best and wisest judgments to which he had access. An intelligent, and perhaps ineffective, curiosity may keep itself abreast of the thought of the time, to quote a popular phrase; Hilary was content to survey wide regions of doctrine and discipline with the eyes of Origen and of Cyprian. This limitation of the interests of a powerful mind has enabled him to penetrate further into the mysteries of the Faith than any of his predecessors; to points, in fact, where his successors have failed to establish themselves. We cannot blame him that later theologians, starting where he left off, have in some directions advanced further still. The writings of Hilary are the quarry whence many of the best thoughts of Ambrose and of Leo and hewn. Eminent and successful as these men were, we cannot rank them with Hilary as intellectually his equals; we may even wonder how many of their conclusions they would have drawn had not Hilary supplied the premisses. It is a greater honor that the unrivaled genius of Augustine is deeply indebted to him. Nor may we blame him, save lightly, for some rashness and error in his speculations. He set out, unwillingly, as we know, but not half-heartedly, upon his novel journey of exploration. He had not, as we have, centuries of criticism behind him, and could not know that some of the avenues he followed would lead him astray. It may be that we are sober because we are, in a sense, disillusioned; that modern Christian thought which starts from the old premisses tends to excess of circumspection. And certainly Hilary would not have earned his fame as one of the most original and profound of teachers, whose view of Christology is one of the most interesting in the whole of Christian antiquity, had he not been inspired by a sense of freedom and of hope in his quest. Yet great as was his genius and reverent the spirit in which he worked, the errors into which he fell, though few, were serious. There are instances in which he neglects his habitual balancing of corresponding infinities; as when he shuts his eyes to half the revelation, and asserts that Christ could not be ignorant and could not feel pain. And there is that whole system of dispensations which he has built up in explanation of Christ’s life on earth; a system against which our conscience and our common sense rebel, for it contradicts the plain words

of Scripture and attributes to God ‘a process of Divine reserve which is in fact deception.’ We may compare Hilary’s method in such cases to the architecture of Gloucester and of Sherborne, where the ingenuity of a later age has connected and adorned the massive and isolated columns of Norman date by its own light and graceful drapery of stonework. We cannot but admire the result; yet there is a certain concealment of the original design, and perhaps a perilous cutting away of the solid structure. But, in justice to Hilary, we must remember that in these speculations he is venturing away from the established standards of doctrine. When he is enunciating revealed truths, or arguing onward from them to conclusions towards which they point, he had the company of the Creeds, or at least they indicate the way he must go. But in explaining the connection between doctrine and doctrine he is left to his own guidance. It is as though a traveller, not content to acquaint himself with the highroads, should make his way over hedge and ditch from one of them to another; he will not always hit upon the best and straightest course. But at least Hilary’s conclusions, though sometimes erroneous, were reached by honest and reverent reasoning, and neither ancient nor modern theology can afford to reproach him. The tendency of the former, especially after the rise of Nestorius, was to exaggerate some of his errors; and the latter has failed to develop and enforce some of his highest teaching.

This is, indeed, worthy of all admiration. On the moral side of Christianity we see him insisting upon the voluntary character of Christ’s work; upon His acts of will, which are a satisfaction to God and an appeal to us. On the intellectual side we find the Unity in Trinity so luminously declared that Bishop French of Lahore, one of the greatest of missionaries, had the works of Hilary constantly in his hands, and contemplated as translation of the *De Trinitate* into Arabic for the benefit of Mohammedans. This was not because Hilary’s explanation of our Lord’s sufferings might seem t commend the Gospel to their prejudices; such a concession would have been repugnant to the French’s whole mode of thought. It was because in the central argument on behalf of the Godhead of Christ, where he had least scope for originality of thought, Hilary has never suffered himself to become a mere mechanical compiler. The light which he has cast upon his subject, though clear, in never hard; and the doctrine which, because it was attractive to himself, he has made attractive to his readers, is that of the

unity of God, the very doctrine which is of supreme importance in Mohammedan eyes.

But, above all, is Hilary's doctrine concerning the Incarnation as the eternal purpose of God for the union of the creature with the Creator, that must excite our interest and awaken our thoughts. He renders it, on the one hand, impossible to rate too highly the dignity of man, created to share the nature and the life of God; impossible, on the other hand, to estimate highly enough the condescension of Christ in assuming humanity. It is by His humiliation that we are saved; by the fact that the nature of man was taken by his Maker, not by the fact that Christ, being man, remained sinless. For sin began against God's will and after His counsel was formed; it might deflect the march of His purpose towards fulfillment, but could no more impede its consummation than it could cause its inception. The true salvation of man is not that which rescues him, when corrupt, from sin and its consequences, but that which raises him, corruptible, because free, even though he had not become corrupt, into the safety of union with the nature of God. Human life, though pure from actual sin, would have been aimless and hopeless without the Incarnation. And the human body would have had no glory, for its glory is that Christ has taken it, worn it awhile in its imperfect state, laid it aside and finally resumed it in its perfection. All this He must have done, in accordance with God's purpose, even though the Fall had never occurred. Hence the Incarnation and the Resurrection are the facts of paramount interest; the death of Christ, corresponding as it does to the hypothetical thought. It is represented as being primarily for Christ the moment of transition, for the Christian the act which enables him to profit by the Incarnation; but it is the Incarnation itself whereby, in Hilary's words, we are saved into the nature and the name of God. But though we may feel that this great truth is not stated in its full impressiveness, we must allow that the thought which has taken the foremost place is no mere academic speculation. And, after all, sin and the Atonement are copiously treated in his writings, though they do not control his exposition of the Incarnation. Yet even in this there are large spaces of his argument where these considerations have a place, though only to give local color, so to speak, and a sense of reality to the description of a purpose formed and a work done for man because he is man, not because he is fallen. But if Hilary has somewhat erred in placing the Cross in the background, he is not in error in magnifying the scope of

the reconciliation which includes it as in a wider horizon. Man has in Christ the nature of God; the infinite Mind is intelligible to the finite. The Creeds are no dry statement of facts which do not touch our life; the truths they contain are the revelation of God’s self to us. Not for the pleasure of weaving theories, but in the interests of practical piety, Hilary has fused belief and conduct into the unity of that knowledge which Isaiah foresaw and St. John possessed; the knowledge which is not a means toward life, but life itself.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TREATISE

DE SYNODIS

HILARY had taken no part in the Synod held at Ancyra in the spring of A.D. 358, but he had been made acquainted with its decisions and even with the anathemas which the legates of that Synod concealed at Sirmium. He saw that these decisions marked an approach. The horror which was felt at the Sirmian *Blasphemia* by those Eusebians whose only objection to the Nicene faith was that they did not understand it, augured well for the future. At the same time the majority of the Eastern bishops were deliberately heretical. It was natural that Hilary should be anxious about the episcopate of the West.

He had been in exile about three years and had corresponded with the Western bishops. From several quarters letters had now ceased to arrive, and the fear came that the bishops did not care to write to one whose convictions were different to their own. Great was his joy when, at the end of the year 358, he received a letter which not only explained that the innocent cause of their silence was ignorance of his address, but also that they had persistently refused communion with Saturninus and condemned the *Blasphemia*.

Early in 359 he dispatched to them the *Liber de Synodis.* It is a double letter, addressed to Western bishops, but containing passages intended for Orientals, into whose hands the letter would doubtless come in time. Hilary recognized that the orthodox of the West had kept aloof from the orthodox of the East, firstly from ignorance of events, secondly from misunderstanding of the word ὁμοούσιος, and thirdly from the feelings of distrust then prevalent. These facts determined the contents of his letter. He begins with an expression of the delight he experienced on receiving the news that the Gallican bishops had condemned the notorious Sirmian formula. He praises the consistency of their faith.

He then mentions that he has received from certain of their number a request that he would furnish them with an account of the creeds which had been composed in the East. He modestly accedes to this request beseeching his readers not to criticize his letter until they have read the

whole letter and mastered the complete argument. His aim throughout is to frustrate the heretic and assist the Catholic.

In the first or historical division of the letter he promises a transcription, with explanations, of all the creeds drawn up since the Council of Nicaea. He protests that he is not responsible for any statement contained in these creeds, and leaves his readers to judge of their orthodoxy.

The Greek confessions had already been translated into Latin, but Hilary considered it necessary to give his own independent translations, the previous versions having been half-unintelligible on account of their slavish adherence to the original.

The historical part of the book consists of fifty-four chapters (c. 10—63). It begins with the second Sirmian formula, and the opposing formula promulgated at Ancyra in A.D. 358. The Sirmian creed being given in c. 10, Hilary. before proceeding to give the twelve anathemas directed against its teaching by the bishops who assembled at Ancyra, explains the meaning of *essentia* and *substantia.* Concerning the former he says, *Essentia est res quae est, vel ex quibus est, et quae in eo quod maneat subsistit.* This *essentia* is therefore identical with *substantia, quia res quae est necesse est subsistat in sese.* The Ancyran anathemas are then appended, with notes and a summary.

In the second division (c. 29—33) of the historical part, Hilary considers the Dedication creed drawn up at Antioch in A.D. 341. He interprets is somewhat favorably. After stating that the creed is perhaps not sufficiently explicit in declaring the exact likeness of the Father and the Son, he excuses this inadequacy by pointing out that the Synod was not held to contradict Anomoean teaching, but teaching of a Sabellian tendency. The complete similarity of the Son’s essence to that of the Father appears to him to be guarded by the phrase *Deum de Deo, totum ex toto.*

The third division (c. 34—37) contains the creed drawn up by the Synod, or Cabal Synod, which met at Philippopolis in A.D. 343. Hilary does not discuss the authority of the Synod; it was enough for his purpose that it was composed of Orientals, and that its language emphatically condemns genuine Arianism and asserts the Son is *God of God*. The anathema which

the creed pronounces on those who declare the Son to have been begotten without the Father's will, is interpreted by Hilary as an assertion that the eternal Birth was not conditioned by those passions which affect human generation.

The fourth division (c. 38—61) contains the long formula drawn up at Sirmium in A.D. 351 against Photinus. The twenty-seven anathemas are then separately considered and commended. The two remaining chapters of the historical part of the work include a reflection on the many-sided character of these creeds both in their positive and negative aspects. God is *infinitus et immensus,* and therefore short statements concerning His nature may often prove misleading. The bishops have used many definitions and phrases because clearness will remove a danger. These frequent definitions would have been quite unnecessary if it had not been for the prevalence of heresy. Asia as a whole is ignorant of God, presenting a piteous contrast to the fidelity of the Western bishops.

The theological part of the work opens in c. 64 with Hilary's expositions of his own belief. He denies that there is in God only one personality, as he denies that there is any difference of substance. The Father is greater is that He is Father, the Son is not less because He is Son. He asks his readers to remember that if his words fall short, his meaning is sound. This done, he passes to discuss the meaning of the word ὁμοούσιον. Three wrong meanings may be attributed to it. Firstly, it may be understood to deny the personal distinctions in the Trinity. Secondly, it may be thought to imply that the divine essence is capable of division. Thirdly, it may be represented as implying that the Father and the Son both equally partake of one prior substance. A short expression like ὁμοούσιος must therefore receive an exact explanation. A risk is attached to its use, but there is no risk if we understand it to mean that the Father is unbegotten and the Son derives His being from the Father, and is like Him in power, and honor, and nature. The Son is subordinate to the Father as to the Author of His being, yet it was not by a robbery that He made Himself equal with God. He is not from nothing. He is wholly God. He is not the Author of the divine life, but the Image. He is no creature, but is God. Not a second God, but one god with the Father through similarity of essence. This is the ideal meaning of ὁμοούσιος, and in this sense it is not an error to assert, but to deny, the consubstantiality.

Hilary them makes a direct appeal to the Western bishops. They might forget the contests of the word while retaining the sound, but provided that the meaning was granted, what objection could be made to the word? Was the word ὁμοιούσιον free from all possible objections? Hilary (c. 72—75) shows that *really like* means *really equal.* Scripture is appealed to as proving the assertion that the Son is both like God and equal to God. This essential likeness can alone justify the statement that the Father and the Son are one. It is blasphemous to represent the similarity as a mere analogy. The similitude is a similitude of proper nature and equality. The conclusion of the argument is that the word ὁμοιούσιος, if understood, leads us to the word ὁμοούσιος which helps to guard it, and that it does not imply any separation between the Person of the Trinity.

The saint now turns to the Eastern bishop, a small number of whom still remained faithful. He bestowed upon them titles of praise, and expresses his joy at the decisions they had made, and at the Emperor's repudiation of his former mistake. With Pauline fervor Hilary exclaims that he would remain in exile all his life, if only truth might be preached.

Then, in a chapter which displays alike his knowledge of the Bible and his power of refined sarcasm, he unveils his suspicions concerning Valens and Urascius. He doubts whether they could have been so inexperienced as to be ignorant of the meaning of the word ὁμοούσιοι when they signed the third Sirmian Creed. Furthermore he is obliged to point out a defect in the letter which the Oriental bishops wrote at the Synod of Ancyra. The word ὁμοούσιον is there rejected. The three grounds for rejection could only be that the word was thought to imply a prior substance, or the teaching of Paul of Samosata, or that the word was not in Scripture. The first two grounds were only illusions, the third was equally fatal to the word ὁμοιούσιον. Those who intelligibly maintained ὁμοούσιον or ὁμοιούσιος, meant the same thing and condemned the same in piety (c. 82). Why should any one wish to decline the word which the Council of Nicaea had used for an end which was unquestionably good? The argument is enforced by the insertion of the Nicene Creed in full. True, the word ὁμοούσιον is quite capable of misconstruction. But the application of this test to the difficult passages in the Bible would lead to the chaos of all belief. The possible abuse of the word does not abolish its use. The authority of the eighty bishops who condemned the Samosatene abuse of

it does not affect the authority of the three hundred and eighteen who ratified its Nicene meaning. Hilary adds a statement of great importance. Before he was acquainted with the term he had personally believed what it implied. The term has merely invigorated his previous faith (c. 88, cf. c. 91). In other words, Hilary tells his contemporaries, and tells posterity that the word ὁμοούσιον is Scripture because it is the sense of Scripture, and is truly conservative because it alone adequately preserves the faith of the fathers. The argument in interwoven with a spirited appeal to the Eastern bishops to return to that faith as expressed at Nicaea.

The last chapter (c. 92) is addressed to the Western bishops. It modestly defends the action of Hilary in writing, and urges a corresponding energy of the part of his readers. The whole concludes with a devout prayer.

The *Liber de Synodis,* like other works in which Catholicism has endeavored to be conciliatory, did not pass unchallenged. It satisfied neither the genuine Arian nor the violently orthodox. The notes or fragments which we call Hilary's Apology throw light upon the latter fact. Hilary has to explain that the had not meant that the Eastern bishops had stated the true faith at Ancyra, and tells his *Lord and brother Lucifer* that it was against his will that he had mentioned the word ὁμοιούσιον. We must ourselves confess that Hilary puts an interpretation on the meaning of the Eastern formulae which would have been impossible if he had written after the Synod of Ariminum. Speaking when he did, his arguments were not only pardonable but right.

ON THE COUNCILS

OR

THE FAITH OF THE EASTERNS

TO the most dearly loved and blessed brethren our fellow-bishops of the province of Germania Prima and Germania Secunda, Belgica Prima and Belgica Secunda, Lugdunensis Prima and Lugdunensis Secunda, and the province of Aquitania, and the province of Novempopulana, and to the laity and clergy of Tolosa in the Provincia Narbonensis, and to the bishops of the provinces of Britain, Hilary the servant of Christ, eternal salvation in God our Lord.

I had determined, beloved brethren, to send no letter to you concerning the affairs of the Church in consequence of your prolonged silence. For when I had by writing from several cities of the Roman world frequently informed you of the faith and efforts of our religions brethren, the bishops of the East, and bow the Evil One profiting by the discords of the times had with envenomed lips and tongue hissed out his deadly doctrine, I was afraid. I feared lest while so many bishops were involved in the serious danger of disastrous sin or disastrous mistake, you were holding your peace because a defiled and sin-stained conscience tempted you to despair. Ignorance I could not attribute to you; you had been too often warned. I judged therefore that I also ought to observe silence towards you, carefully remembering the Lord’s saying, that those who after a first and second entreaty, and in spite of the witness of the Church, neglect to hear, are to be unto us as heathen men and publicans.

2. But when I received the letters that your blessed faith inspired, and understood that their slow arrival and their paucity were due to the remoteness and secrecy of my place of exile, I rejoiced in the Lord that you had continued pure and undefiled by the contagion of any execrable heresy, and that you were united with me in faith and spirit, and so were partakers of that exile into which Saturninus, fearing his own conscience, had thrust

me after beguiling the Emperor, and after that you had denied him communion for the whole three years ago until now. I equally rejoiced that the impious and infidel creed which was sent straightway to you from Sirmium was not only not accepted by you, but condemned as soon as reported and notified. I felt that it was now binding on me as a religious duty to write sound and faithful words to you as my fellow-bishops, who communicate with me in Christ. I, who through fear of what might have been could at one time only rejoice with my own conscience that I was free from all these errors, was now bound to express delight at the purity of our common faith. Praise God for the unshaken stability of your noble hearts, for your firm house built on the foundation of the faithful rock, for the undefiled and unswerving constancy of a will that has proved immaculate! For since the good profession at the Council of Biterrae, where I denounced the ringleaders of this heresy with some of you for my witnesses, it has remained and still continues to remain, pure, unspotted and scrupulous.

3. You awaited the noble triumph of a holy and steadfast perseverance without yielding to the threats, the powers and the assaults of Saturninus: and when all the waves of awakening blasphemy struggled against God, you who still remain with me faithful in Christ did not give way when threatened with the onset of heresy, and now by meeting that onset you have broken all its violence. Yes, brethren, you have conquered, to the abundant joy of those who share your faith: and your unimpaired constancy gained the double glory of keeping a pure conscience and giving an authoritative example. For the fame of your unswerving and unshaken faith has moved certain Eastern bishops, late though it be, to some shame for the heresy fostered and supported in those regions: and when they heard of the godless confession composed at Sirmium, they contradicted its audacious authors by passing certain decrees themselves. And though they withstood them not without in their turn raising some scruples, and inflicting some wounds upon a sensitive piety, yet they withstood them so vigorously as to compel those who at Sirmium yielded to the views of Potamius and Hosius as accepting and confirming those views, to declare their ignorance and error in so doing; in fact they had to condemn in writing their own action. And they subscribed with the express purpose of condemning something else in advance.

4. But your invincible faith keeps the honorable distinction of conscious worth, and content with repudiating crafty, vague, or hesitating action, safely abides in Christ, preserving the profession of its liberty. You abstain from communion with those who oppose their bishops with their blasphemies and keep them in exile, and do not by assenting to any crafty subterfuge bring yourselves under a charge of unrighteous judgment. For since we all suffered deep and grievous pain at the actions of the wicked against God, within our boundaries alone is communion in Christ to be found from the time that the Church began to be harried by disturbances such as the expatriation of bishops, the deposition of priests, the intimidation of the people, the threatening of the faith, and the determination of the meaning of Christ's doctrine by human will and power. Your resolute faith does not pretend to be ignorant of these facts or profess that it can tolerate them, perceiving that by the act of hypocritical assent it would bring itself before the bar of conscience.

5. And although in all your actions, past and present, you bear witness to the uninterrupted independence and security of your faith; yet in particular you prove your warmth and fervor of spirit by the fact that some of you whose letters have succeeded in reaching me have expressed a wish that I, unfit as I am, should notify to you what the Easterns have since said in their confessions of faith. They affectionately laid the additional burden upon me of indicating my sentiments on all their decisions. I know that my skill and learning are inadequate, for I feel it most difficult to express in words my own belief as I understand it in my heart; far less easy must it be to expound the statements of others.

6. Now I beseech you by the mercy of the Lord, that as I will in this letter according to your desire write to you of divine things and of the witness of a pure conscience to our faith, no one will think to judge me by the beginning of my letter before he has read the conclusion of my argument. For it is unfair before the complete argument has been grasped, to conceive a prejudice on account of initial statements, the reason of which is yet unknown, since it is not with imperfect statements before us that we must make a decision for the sake of investigation, but on the conclusion for the sake of knowledge. I have some fear, not about you, as God is witness of my heart, but about some who in their own esteem are very cautious and prudent but do not understand the blessed apostle's precept not to think

of themselves more highly than they ought: for I am afraid that they are unwilling to know all those facts, the complete account of which I will offer at the end, and at the same time they avoid drawing the true conclusion from the aforesaid facts. But whoever takes up these lines to read and examine them has only to be consistently patient with me and with himself and peruse the whole to its completion. Perchance all this assertion of my faith will result in those who conceal their heresy being unable to practice the deception they wish, and in true Catholics attaining the object which they desire.

7. Therefore I comply with your affectionate and urgent wish, and I have set down all the creeds which have been promulgated at different times and places since the holy Council of Nicaea, with my appended explanations of all the phrases and even words employed. If they be thought to contain anything faulty, no one can impute the fault to me: for I am only a reporter, as you wished me to be, and not an author. But if anything is found to be laid down in right and apostolic fashion, no one can doubt that it is no credit to the interpreter but to the originator. In any case I have sent you a faithful account of these transactions: it is for you to determine by the decision your faith inspires whether their spirit is Catholic or heretical.

8. For although it was necessary to reply to your letters, in which you offered me Christian communion with your faith, (and, moreover, certain of your number who were summoned to the Council which seemed pending in Bithynia did refuse with firm consistency of faith to hold communion with any but myself outside Gaul), it also seemed fit to use my episcopal office and authority, when heresy was so rife, in submitting to you by letter some godly and faithful counsel. For the word of God cannot be exiled as our bodies are, or so chained and bound that it cannot be imparted to you in any place. But when I had learnt that synods were to meet in Ancyra and Ariminum, and that one or two bishops from each province in Gaul would assemble there, I thought it especially needful that I, who am confined in the East, should explain and make known to you the grounds of those mutual suspicious which exist between us and the Eastern bishops, though some of you know those grounds; in order that whereas you had condemned and they had anathematized this heresy that spreads from Sirmium, you might nevertheless know with what confession

of faith the Eastern bishops had come to the same result that you had come to, and that I might prevent you, whom I hope to see as shining lights in future Councils, differing, through a mistake about words, even a hair's-breadth from pure Catholic belief, when your interpretation of the apostolic faith is identically the same and you are Catholics at heart.

9. Now it seems to me right and appropriate, before I begin my argument about suspicions and dissensions as to words, to give as complete an account as possible of the decisions of the Eastern bishops adverse to the heresy compiled at Sirmium. Others have published all these transactions very plainly, but much obscurity is caused by a translation from Greek into Latin, and to be absolutely literal is to be sometimes partly unintelligible.

10. You remember that in the Blasphemia, lately written at Sirmium, the object of the authors was to proclaim the Father to be the one and only God of all things, and deny the Son to be God: and while they determined that men should hold their peace about ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον they determined that God the Son should be asserted to be born not of God the Father, but of nothing, as the first creatures were, or of another essence than God, as the later creatures. And further that in saying the Father was greater in honor, dignity, splendor and majesty, they implied that the Son lacked those things which constitute the Father's superiority. Lastly, that while it is affirmed that His birth is unknowable, we were commanded by this Compulsory Ignorance Act not to know that He is of God: just as if it could be commanded or decreed that a man should know what in future he is to be ignorant of, or be ignorant of what he already knows. I have subjoined in full this pestilent and godless blasphemy, though against my will, to facilitate a more complete knowledge of the worth and reason of the replies made on the opposite side by those Easterns who endeavored to counteract all the wiles of the heretics according to their understanding and comprehension.

A COPY OF THE BLASPHEMIA
COMPOSED AT SIRMIUM BY OSIUS AND POLAMIUS

11. Since there appeared to be some misunderstanding respecting the faith, all points have been carefully investigated and discussed at Sirmium in the

presence of our most reverend brothers and fellow-bishops, Valens, Ursacius and Germinius.

It is evident that there is one God, the Father Almighty, according as it is believed throughout the whole world; and His only Son Jesus Christ our Savior, begotten of Him before the ages. But we cannot and ought not to say that there are two Gods, for the Lord Himself said, I will go unto My Father and your Father, unto My God and your God. So there is one God over all, as the Apostle hath taught us, Is He God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: seeing it is one God, which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith. And in all other things they agreed thereto, nor would they allow any difference.

But since some or many persons were disturbed by questions concerning substance, called in Greek οὐσία, that is, to make it understood more exactly, as to ὁμοούσιον, or what is called ὁμοιούσιον, there ought to be no mention made of these at all. Nor ought any exposition to be made of them for the reason and consideration that they are not contained in the divine Scriptures, and that they are above man's understanding, nor can any man declare the birth of the Son, of whom it is written, Who shall declare His generation? For it is plain that only the Father knows how He begot the Son, and the Son how He was begotten of the Father. There is no question hat the Father is greater. No one can doubt hat the Father is greater than the Son in honor, dignity, splendor, majesty, and in the very name of Father, the Son Himself testifying, He that sent Me is greater than I. And no one is ignorant that it is Catholic doctrine that there are two Persons of Father and Son; and that the Father is greater, and that the Son is subordinated to the Father, together with all things which the Father has subordinated to Him, and that the Father has no beginning and is invisible, immortal and impassible, but that the Son has been begotten of the Father God of God, Light of Light, and that the generation of this Son, as is aforesaid, no one knows but His Father, And that the Son of God Himself, our Lord and God, as we read took flesh, that is, a body, that is, man of the womb of the Virgin Mary, of the Angel announced. And as all the Scriptures teach, and especially the doctor of the Gentiles himself, He took of Mary the Virgin, man, through whom He suffered. And the whole faith is summed up and secured in this, that the Trinity must always be

preserved, as we read in the Gospel, Go ye and baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Complete and perfect is the number of the Trinity. How the Paraclete, the Spirit, is through the Son: Who was sent and came according to His promise in order to instruct, teach and sanctify the apostles and all believers.

12. After these many and most impious statements had been made, the Eastern bishops on their side again met together and composed definitions of their confession. Since, however, we have frequently to mention the words essence and substance, we must determine the meaning of essence, lest in discussing facts we prove ignorant of the signification of our words. Essence is a reality which is, or the reality of those things from which it is, and which subsists inasmuch as it is permanent. Now we can speak of the essence, or nature, or genus, or substance of anything. And the strict reason why the word essence is employed is because it is always. But this is identical with substance, because a thing which is, necessarily subsists in itself, and whatever thus subsists possesses unquestionably a permanent genus, nature or substance. When, therefore, we say that essence signifies nature, or genus, or substance, we mean the essence of that thing which permanently exists in the nature, genus, or substance. Now, therefore, let us review the definitions of faith drawn up by the Easterns.

I. “If any one hearing that the Son is the image of the invisible God, says that the image of God is the same as the invisible God, as though refusing to confess that He is truly Son: let him be anathema.”

13. Hereby is excluded the assertion of those who wish to represent the relationship of Father and Son as a matter of names, inasmuch as every image is similar in species to that of which it is an image. For no one is himself his own image, but it is necessary that the image should demonstrate him of whom it is an image. So an image is the figured and indistinguishable likeness of one thing equated with another. Therefore the Father is, and the Son is, because the Son is the image of the Father: and he who is an image, if he is to be truly an image, must have in himself his original’s species, nature and essence in virtue of the fact that he is an image.

II. “And if any one hearing the Son say, As the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself , shall say

that He who has received life from the Father, and who also declares, I live by the Father, is the same as He who gave life: let him be anathema."

14. The person of the recipient and of the giver are distinguished so that the same should not be made one and sole. For since he is under anathema who has believed that, when recipient and giver are mentioned one solitary and unique person is implied, we may not suppose that the selfsame person who gave received from Himself. For He who lives and He through whom He lives are not identical, for one lives to Himself, the other declares that He lives through the Author of His life, and no one will declare that He who enjoys life and He through whom His life is caused are personally identical.

III. "And if any one hearing that the Only-begotten Son is like the invisible God, denies that the Son who is the image of the invisible God (whose image is understood to include essence) is Son in essence, as though denying His true Sonship: let him be anathema."

15. It is here insisted that the nature is indistinguishable and entirely similar. For since He is the Only-begotten Son of God and the image of the invisible God, it is necessary that He should be of an essence similar in species and nature. Or what distinction can be made between Father and Son affecting their nature with its similar genus, when the Son subsisting through the nature begotten in Him is invested with the properties of the Father, viz., glory, worth, power, invisibility, essence? And while these prerogatives of divinity are equal we neither understand the one to be less because He is Son, nor the other to be greater because He is Father; since the Son is the image of the Father in species, and not dissimilar in genus; since the similarity of a Son begotten of the substance of His Father does not admit of any diversity of substance, and the Son and image of the invisible God embraces in Himself the whole form of His Father's divinity both in kind and in amount: and this is to be truly Son, to reflect the truth of the Father's forth by the perfect likeness of the nature imaged in Himself.

IV. "And if any one hearing this text, For as the Father hath life in Himself so also He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself; denies that the Son is like the Father even in essence, though He testifies that it is even as He has said; let him be anathema. For it is plain that since the life

which is understood to exist in the Father signifies substance, and the life of the Only-begotten which was begotten of the Father is also understood to mean substance or essence, He there signifies a likeness of essence to essence.”

16. With the Son’s origin as thus stated is connected the perfect birth of the undivided nature. For what in each is life, that in each is signified by essence. And in the life which is begotten of life, i.e. in the essence which is born of essence, seeing that it is not born unlike (and that because life is of life), He keeps in Himself a nature wholly similar to His original, because there is no diversity in the likeness of the essence that is born and that besets, that is, of the life which is possessed and which has been given. For though God begat Him of Himself, in likeness to His own nature, He in whom is the unbegotten likeness did not relinquish the property of His natural substance. For He only has what He gave; and as possessing life He gave life to be possessed. And thus what is born of essence, as life of life, is essentially like itself, and the essence of Him who is begotten and of Him who begets admits no diversity or unlikeness.

V. “It any one hearing the words formed or treated it and begat me spoken by the same lips, refuses to understand this begat me of likeness of essence, but says that begat me and formed me are the same: as if to deny that the perfect Son of God was here signified as Son under two different expressions, as Wisdom has given Us to piously understand, and asserts that formed me and begat me only imply formation and not sonship: let him be anathema.”

17. Those who say that the Son of God is only a creature or formation are opposed on the fact that they say they have read The Lord formed or created me, which seems to imply formation or creation; hot they omit the following sentence, which is the key to the first, and from the first wrest authority for their impious statement that the Son is a creature, because Wisdom has said that she was created. But if she were created, how could she be also born? For all birth, of whatever kind, attains its own nature from the nature that begets it: but creation takes its beginning from the power of the Creator, the Creator being able to form a creature from nothing. So Wisdom, who said that she was created, does in the next sentence say that she was also begotten, using the word creation of the act

of the changeless nature of her Parent, which nature, unlike the manner and wont of human parturition, without any detriment or change of self created from itself what it begat. Similarly a Creator has no need of passion or intercourse or parturition. And that which is created out of nothing begins to exist at a definite moment. And He who creates makes His object through His mere power, and creation is the work of might, not the birth of a nature from a nature that besets it. But because the Son of God was not begotten after the manner of corporeal childbearing, but was born perfect God of perfect God; therefore Wisdom says that she was created, excluding in her manner of birth every kind of corporeal process.

18. Moreover, to shew that she possesses a nature that was born and not created, Wisdom has added that she was begotten, that by declaring that she was created and also begotten, she might completely explain her birth. By speaking of creation she implies that the nature of the Father is changeless, and she also shews that the substance of her nature begotten of God the Father is genuine and real. And so her words about creation and generation have explained the perfection of her birth: the former that the Father is changeless, the latter the reality of her own nature. The two things combined become one, and that one is both in perfection: for the Son being born of God without any change in God, is so born of the Father as to be created; and the Father, who is changeless in Himself and the Son's Father by nature, so forms the Son as to beget Him. Therefore the heresy which has dared to aver that the Son of God is a creature is condemned because while the first statement shews the impossible perfection of the divinity, the second, which asserts His natural generation, crushes the impious opinion that He was created out of nothing.

VI. "And if any one grant the Son only a likeness of activity, but rob Him of the likeness of essence which is the corner-stone of our faith, in spite of the fact that the Son Himself reveals His essential likeness with the Father in the words, For as the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself, as well as His likeness in activity by teaching us that What things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise, such a man robs himself of the knowledge of eternal life which is in the Father and the Son, and let him be anathema."

19. The heretics when beset by authoritative passages in Scripture are wont only to grant that the Son is like the Father in might while they deprive Him of similarity of nature. This is foolish and impious, for they do not understand that similar might can only be the result of a similar nature. For a lower nature can never attain to the might of a higher and more powerful nature. What will the men who make these assertions say about the omnipotence of God the Father, if the might of a lower nature is made equal to His own? For they cannot deny that the Son's power is the same, seeing that He has said What things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise.

No, a similarity of nature follows on a similarity of might when He says, As the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have lift in Himself. In life is implied nature and essence; this, Christ teaches, has been given Him to have as the Father hath. Therefore similarity of life contains similarity of might: for there cannot be similarity of life where the nature is dissimilar. So it is necessary that similarity of essence follows on similarity of might: for as what the Father does, the Son does also, so the life that the Father has He has given to the Son to have likewise. Therefore we condemn the rash and impious statements of those who confess a similarity of might but have dared to preach a dissimilarity of nature, since it is the chief ground of our hope to confess that in the Father and the Son there is an identical divine substance.

VII. "And if any one professing that he believes that there is a Father and a Son, says that the Father is Father of an essence unlike Himself but of similar activity; for speaking profane and novel words against the essence of the Son and nullifying His true divine Sonship, let him be anathema."

20. By confused and involved expressions the heretics very frequently elude the truth and secure the ears of the unwary by the mere sound of common words, such as the titles Father and Son, which they do not truthfully utter to express a natural and genuine community of essence: for they are aware that God is called the Father of all creation, and remember that all the saints are named sons of God. In like manner they declare that the relationship between the Father and the Son resembles that between the Father and the universe, so that the names Father and Son are rather titular than real. For the names are titular if the Persons have a distinct

nature of a different essence, since no reality can be attached to the name of father unless it be based on the nature of his offspring. So the Father cannot be called Father of an alien substance unlike His own, for a perfect birth manifests no diversity between itself and the original substance. Therefore we repudiate all the impious assertions that the Father is Father of a Son begotten of Himself and yet not of His own nature. We shall not call God Father for having a creature like Him in might and activity, but for begetting a nature of an essence not unlike or alien to Himself: for a natural birth does not admit of any dissimilarity with the Father's nature. Therefore those are anathema who assert that the Father is Father of a nature unlike Himself, so that something other than God is born of God, and who suppose that the essence of the Father degenerated in begetting the Son. For so far as in them lies they destroy the very birthless and changeless essence of the Father by daring to attribute to Him in the birth of His Only-begotten an alteration and degeneration of His natural essence.

VIII. "And if any one understanding that the Son is like in essence to Him whose Son He is admitted to be, says that the Son is the same as the Father, or part of the Father, or that it is through an emanation or any such passion as is necessary for the procreation of corporeal children that the incorporeal Son draws His life from the incorporeal Father: let him be anathema."

21. We have always to beware of the vices of particular perversions, and countenance no opportunity for delusion. For many heretics say that the Son is like the Father in divinity in order to support the theory that in virtue of this similarity the Son is the same Person as the Father: for this undivided similarity appears to countenance a belief in a single monad. For what does not differ in kind seems to retain identity of nature.

22. But birth does not countenance this vain imagination; for such identity without differentiation excludes birth. For what is born has a father who caused its birth. Nor because the divinity of Him who is being born is inseparable from that of Him who begets, are the Begetter and the Begotten the same Person; while on the other hand He who is born and He who begets cannot be unlike. He is therefore anathema who shall proclaim a similarity of nature in the Father and the Son in order to abolish the personal meaning of the word Son: for while through mutual likeness one

differs in no respect from the other, yet this very likeness, which does not admit of bare union, confesses both the Father and the Son because the Son is the changeless likeness of the Father. For the Son is not part of the Father so that He who is born and He who begets can be called one Person. Nor is He an emanation so that by a continual flow of a corporeal uninterrupted stream the flow is itself kept in its source, the source being identical with the flow in virtue of the successive and unbroken continuity. But the birth is perfect, and remains alike in nature; not taking its beginning materially from a corporeal conception and bearing, but as an incorporeal Son drawing His existence from an incorporeal Father according to the likeness which belongs to an identical nature.

IX. "And if any one, because the Father is never admitted to be the Son and the Son is never admitted to be the Father, when he says that the Son is other than the Father (because the Father is one Person and the Son another, inasmuch as it is said, There is another that beareth witness of Me, even the father who sent Me), does in anxiety for the distinct personal qualities of the Father and the Son which in the Church must be piously understood to exist, fear that the Son and the Father may sometimes be admitted to be the same Person, and therefore denies that the Son is like in essence to the Father: let him be anathema."

23. It was said unto the apostles of the Lord, Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Christ therefore wished there to be in us the nature of different creatures: but in such a sort that the harmlessness of the dove might temper the serpent's wisdom, and the wisdom of the serpent might instruct the harmlessness of the dove, and that so wisdom might be made harmless and harmlessness wise. This precept has been observed in the exposition of this creed. For the former sentence of which we have spoken guarded against the teaching of a unity of person under the cloak of an essential likeness, and against the denial of the Son's birth as the result of an identity of nature, lest we should understand God to be a single monad because one Person does not differ in kind from the other. In the next sentence, by harmless and apostolic wisdom we have again taken refuge in that wisdom of the serpent to which we are bidden to be conformed no less than to the harmlessness of the dove, lest perchance through a repudiation of the unity of persons on the ground that the Father is one Person and the Son another, a preaching of the dissimilarity of their

natures should again take us unawares, and test on the ground that He who sent and He who was sent are two Persons (for the Sent and the Sender cannot be one Person) they should be considered to have divided and dissimilar natures, though He who is born and He who begets Him cannot be of a different essence. So we preserve in Father and in Son the likeness of an identical nature through an essential birth: yet the similarity of nature does not injure personality by making the Sent and the Sender to be but one. Nor do we do away with the similarity of nature by admitting distinct personal qualities, for it is impossible that the one God should be called Son and Father to Himself. So then the truth as to the birth supports the similarity of essence and the similarity of essence does not undermine the personal reality of the birth. Nor again does a profession of belief in the Begetter and the Begotten exclude a similarity of essence; for while the Begetter and the Begotten cannot be one Person, He who is born and He who begets cannot be of a different nature.

X. "And if any one admits that God became Father of the Only-begotten Son at any point in times and not that the Only-begotten Son came into existence without passion beyond all times and beyond all human calculation: for contravening the teaching of the Gospel which scorned any interval of times between the being of the Father and the Son and faithfully has instructed us that In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, let him be anathema."

24. It is a pious saying that the Father is not limited by times: for the true meaning of the name of Father which He bore before times began surpasses comprehension. Although religion teaches us to ascribe to Him this name of Father through which comes the impassible origin of the Son, yet He is not bound in time, for the eternal and infinite God cannot be understood as having become a Father in time, and according to the teaching of the Gospel the Only-begotten God the Word is recognized even in the beginning rather to be with God than to be born.

XI. "And if any one says that the Father is older in times than His Only-begotten Son, and that the Son is younger than the Father: let him be anathema"

25. The essential likeness conformed to the Father's essence in kind is also taught to be identical in time: lest He who is the image of God, who is the

Word, who is God with God in the beginning, who is like the Father, by the insertion of times between Himself and the Father should not have in Himself in perfection that which is both image, and Word, and God. For if He be proclaimed to be younger in time, He has lost the truth of the image and likeness: for that is no longer likeness which is found to be dissimilar in times. For that very fact that God is Father prevents there being any times in which He was not Father: consequently there can be no times in the Son's existence in which He was not Son. Wherefore we must neither call the Father older than the Son nor the Son younger than the Father: for the true meaning of neither name can exist without the other.

XII. "And if any one attributes the timeless substance (i.e. Person) of the Only-begotten Son derived from the Father to the unborn essence of God, as though calling the Father Son: let him be anathema."

26. The above definition when it denied that the idea of time could be applied to the birth of the Son seemed to have given an occasion for heresy (we saw that it would be monstrous if the Father were limited by time, but that He would be so limited if the Son were subjected to time), so that by the help of this repudiation of time, the Father who is unborn might under the appellation of Son be proclaimed as both Father and Son in a single and unique Person. For in excluding times from the Son's birth it seemed to countenance the opinion that there was no birth, so that He whose birth is not in times might be considered not to have been born at all. Wherefore, lest at the suggestion of this denial of times the heresy of the unity of Persons should insinuate itself, that impiety is condemned which dares to refer the timeless birth to the unique and singular Person of the unborn essence. For it is one thing to be outside times and another to be unborn; the first admits of birth (though outside time), the other, so far as it is, is the one sole author froth eternity of its being what it is.

27. We have reviewed, beloved brethren, all the definitions of faith made by the Eastern bishops which they formulated in their assembly against the recently emerging heresy. And we, as far as we have been able, have adapted the wording of our exposition to express their meaning, following their diction rather than desiring to be thought the originators of new phrases. In these words they decree the principles of their conscience and a long maintained doctrine against a new and profane impiety. Those who

compiled this heresy at Sirmium, or accepted it after its compilation, they have thereby compelled to confess their ignorance and to sign such decrees. There the Son is the perfect image of the Father: there under the qualities of an identical essence, the Person of the Son is not annihilated and confounded with the Father: there the Son is declared to be image of the Father in virtue of a real likeness, and does not differ in substance from the Father, whose image He is: there on account of the life which the Father has and the life which the Son has received, the Father can have nothing different in substance (this being implied in life) from that which the Son received to have: there the begotten Son is not a creature, but is a Person undistinguished from the Father's nature: there, just as an identical might belongs to the Father and the Son, so their essence admits of no difference: there the Father by begetting the Son in no wise degenerates from Himself in Him through any difference of nature: there, though the likeness of nature is the same in each, the proper qualities which mark this likeness are repugnant to a confusion of Persons, so that there is not one subsisting Person who is called both Father and Son: there, though it is piously affirmed that there is both a Father who sends and a Son who is sent, yet no distinction in essence is drawn between the Father and the Son, the Sent and the Sender: there the truth of God's Fatherhood is not bound by limits of times: there the Son is not later in time: there beyond all time is a perfect birth which refutes the error that the Son could not be born.

28. Here, beloved brethren, is the entire creed which was published by some Easterns, few in proportion to the whole number of bishops, and which first saw light at the very times when you repelled the introduction of this heresy. The reason for its promulgation was the fact that they were bidden to say nothing of the ὁμοούσιον. But even in former times, through the urgency of these numerous causes, it was necessary at different occasions to compose other creeds, the character of which will be understood from their wording. For when you are frilly aware of the results, it will be easier for us to bring to a full consummation, such as religion and unity demand, the argument in which we are interested.

An exposition of the faith of the Church made at the Council held an the occasion of the Dedication of the church at Antioch by ninety-seven bishops there present, because of suspicions felt as to the orthodoxy of a certain bishop.

29. “We believe in accordance with evangelical and apostolic tradition in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator, Maker and Disposer of all things that are, and from whom are all things.

“And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His Only-begotten Son, God through whom are all things, who was begotten of the Father, God of God, whole God of whole God, One of One perfect God of perfect God, King of King, Lord of Lord, the Word, the Wisdom, the Life, true Light, true Way, the Resurrection the Shepherd, the Gate, unable to change or alter, the unvarying image of the essence and might and glory of the Godhead, the first-born of all creation, who always was in the beginning with God, the Word of God, according to what is said in the Gospel, and the Word was God, through whom all things were made, and in whom all things subsist, who in the last days came down from above, and was born of a virgin according to the Scriptures, and was made the Lamb, the Mediator between God and man, the Apostle of our faith, and leader of life. For He said, came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me. Who suffered and rose again for us on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and is to come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead.

“And in the Holy Ghost, who was given to them that believe, to comfort, sanctify and perfect, even as our Lord Jesus Christ ordained His disciples, saying, Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, manifestly, that is, of a Father who is truly Father, and clearly of a Son who is truly Son, and a Holy Ghost who is truly a Holy Ghost, these words not being set forth idly and without meaning, but carefully signifying the Person, and order, and glory of each of those who are named, to teach us that they are three Persons, but in agreement one.

30. “Having therefore held this faith from the beginning, and being resolved to hold it to the end in the sight of God and Christ, we say anathema to every heretical and perverted sect, and if any man teaches contrary to the wholesome and right faith of the Scriptures, saying that there is or was time, or space, or age before the Son was begotten, let him be anathema. And if any one say that the Son is a formation like one of the things that are formed, or a birth resembling other births, or a creature like the

creatures, and not as the divine Scriptures have affirmed in each passage aforesaid, or teaches or proclaims as the Gospel anything else than what we have received: let him be anathema. For all those things which were written in the divine Scriptures by Prophets and by Apostles we believe and follow truly and with fear."

31. Perhaps this creed has not spoken expressly enough of the identical similarity of the Father and the Son, especially in concluding that the names Father, Son and Holy Ghost referred to the Person and order and glory of each of those who are named to teach us that they are three Persons, but in agreement one.

32. But in the first place we must remember that the bishops did not assemble at Antioch to oppose the heresy which has dared to declare that the substance of the Son is unlike that of the Father, but to oppose that which, in spite of the Council of Nicaea, presumed to attribute the three names to the Father. Of this we will treat in its proper place. I recollect that at the beginning of my argument I besought the patience and forbearance of my readers and hearers until the completion of my letter, lest any one should rashly rise to judge me before he was acquainted with the entire argument. I ask it again. This assembly of the saints wished to strike a blow at that impiety which by a mere counting of names evades the truth as to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; which represents that there is no personal cause for each name, and by a false use of these names makes the triple nomenclature imply only one Person, so that the Father alone could be also called both Holy Ghost and Son. Consequently they declared there were three substances, meaning three subsistent Persons, and not thereby introducing any dissimilarity of essence to separate the substance of Father and Son. For the words to teach us that they are three in substance, but in agreement one are free from objection, because as the Spirit is also named, and He is the Paraclete, it is more fitting that a unity of agreement should be asserted than a unity of essence based on likeness of substance.

33. Further the whole of the above statement has drawn no distinction whatever between the essence and nature of the Father and the Son. For when it is said, God of God, whole God of whole God, there is no room for doubting that whole God is born of whole God. For the nature of God

who is of God admits of no difference, and as whole God of whole God He is in all in which the Father is. One of One excludes the passions of a human birth and conception, so that since He is One of One, He comes from no other source, nor is different nor alien, for He is One of One, perfect God of perfect God. Except in having a cause of its origin His birth does not differ from the birthless nature since the perfection of both Persons is the same. King of King. A power that is expressed by one and the same title allows no dissimilarity of power. Lord of Lord. In 'Lord' also the lordship is equal: there can be no difference where domination is confessed of both without diversity. But plainest of all is the statement appended after several others unable to change or alter, the unvarying image of the Godhead and essence and might and glory. For as God of God, whole God of whole God, One of One, perfect God of perfect God, King of King and Lord of Lord, since in all that glory and nature of Godhead in which the Father ever abides, the Son born of Him also subsists; He derives this also from the Father's substance that He is unable to change. For in His birth that nature from which He is born is not changed; but the Son has maintained a changeless essence since His origin is in a changeless nature. For though He is an image, yet the image cannot alter, since in Him was born the image of the Father's essence, and there could not be in Him a change of nature caused by any unlikeness to the Father's essence from which He was begotten. Now when we are taught that He was brought into being as the first of all creation, and He is Himself said to have always been in the beginning with God as God the Word, the fact that He was brought into being shews that He was born, and the fact that He always was, shews that He is not separated from the Father by time. Therefore this Council by dividing the three substances, which it did to exclude a monad God with a threefold title, did not introduce any separation of substance between the Father and the Son. The whole exposition of faith makes no distinction between Father and Son, the Unborn and the Only-begotten, in time, or name, or essence, or dignity, or domination. But our common conscience demands that we should gain a knowledge of the other creeds of the same Eastern bishops, composed at different times and places, that by the study of many confessions we may understand the sincerity of their faith.

THE CREED ACCORDING TO THE COUNCIL OF THE EAST

34. "We, the holy synod met in Sardica from different provinces of the East, namely, Thebais, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Bithynia and Hellespont, from Asia, namely, the two provinces of Phrygia, Pisidia, the islands of the Cyclades, Pamphylia, Caria, Lydia, from Europe, namely, Thrace, Haemimontus, Moesia, and the two provinces of Pannonia, have set forth this creed.

> "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Maker of all things, from whom all fatherhood in heaven and earth is named:
>
> "And we believe in His Only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who before all ages was begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, through whom were made all things which are in heaven and earth, visible and invisible: who is the Word and Wisdom and Might and Life and true Light: and who in the last days for our sake was incarnate, and Was born of the holy Virgin, who was crucified and dead and buried, And rose from the dead on the third day, And was received into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father, And shall come to judge the quick and the dead and to give to every man according to his works: Whose kingdom remaineth without end for ever and ever. For He sitteth on the right hand of the Father not only in this age, but also in the age to come.
>
> "We believe also in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, whom according to His promise He sent to His apostles after His return into the heavens to teach them and to bring all things to their remembrance, through whom also the souls of them that believe sincerely in Him are sanctified.
>
> "But those who say that the Son of God is sprung from things non-existent or from another substance and not from God, and that there was a time or age when He was not, the holy Catholic Church holds them as aliens. Likewise also those who say that there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God and that before the ages He was neither Christ nor Son of God, or that He Himself is the Father

and the Son and the Holy Ghost, or that the Son is incapable of birth; or that the Father begat the Son without purpose or will: the holy Catholic Church anathematizes."

35. In the exposition of this creed, concise but complete definitions have been employed. For in condemning those who said that the Son sprang from things non-existent, it attributed to Him a source which had no beginning but continues perpetually. And lest this source from which He drew His permanent birth should be understood to be any other substance than that of God, it also declares to be blasphemers those who said that the Son was born of some other substance and not of God. And so since He does not draw His subsistence from nothing, or spring from any other source than God, it cannot be doubted that He was born with those qualities which are God's; since the Only-begotten essence of the Son is generated neither from things which are non-existent nor from any other substance than the birthless and eternal substance of the Father. But the creed also rejects intervals of times or ages: on the assumption that He who does not differ in nature cannot be separable by time.

36. On every side, where anxiety might be felt, approach is barred to the arguments of heretics lest it should be declared that there is any difference in the Son. For those are anathematized who say that there are three Gods: because according to God's true nature His substance does not admit a number of applications of the title, except as it is given to individual men and angels in recognition of their merit, though the substance of their nature and that of God is different. In that sense there are consequently many gods. Furthermore in the nature of God, God is one, yet in such a way that the Son also is God, because in Him there is not a different nature: and since He is God of God, both must be God, and since there is no difference of kind between them there is no distinction in their essence. A number of titular Gods is rejected; because there is no diversity in the quality of the divine nature. Since therefore he is anathema who says there are many Gods and he is anathema who denies that the Son is God; it is fully shewn that the fact that each has one and the same name arises from the real character of the similar substance in each: since in confessing the Unborn God the Father, and the Only-begotten God the Son, with no dissimilarity of essence between them, each is called God, yet God must be believed and be declared to be one. So by the diligent and watchful care

of the bishops the creed guards the similarity of the nature begotten and the nature begetting, confirming it by the application of one name.

37. Yet to prevent the declaration of one God seeming to affirm that God is a solitary monad without offspring of His own, it immediately condemns the rash suggestion that because God is one, therefore God the Father is one and solitary, having in Himself the name of Father and of Son: since in the Father who begets and the Son who comes to birth one God must be declared to exist on account of the substance of their nature being similar in each. The faith of the saints knows nothing of the Son being incapable of birth: because the nature of the Son only draws its existence from birth. But the nature of the birth is in Him so perfect that He who was born of the substance of God is born also of His purpose and will. For from His will and purpose, not from the process of a corporeal nature, springs the absolute perfection of the essence of God born from the essence of God. It follows that we should now consider that creed which was compiled not long ago when Photinus was deposed from the episcopate.

A COPY OF THE CREED COMPOSED AT SIRMIUM
BY THE EASTERNS TO OFFENSE PHOTINUS

38. “We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker, from whom every fatherhood in heaven and in earth is named.

“And in His only Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who was born of the Father before all ages, God of God, Light of Light through whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible. Who is the Word and Wisdom and Might and Life and true Light: who in the last days for our sake took a body, And was born of the holy Virgin, And was crucified, And was dead and buried: who also rose from the dead on the third day, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father, And shall come at the end of the world to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom continueth without end and remaineth for perpetual ages. For He shall be sitting at the right hand of the Father not only in this age, but also in the age to come.

“And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, whom according to His promise He sent to the apostles after He ascended into heaven to teach

them and to remind them of all things, through whom also are sanctified the souls of those who believe sincerely in Him.

I. “But those who say that the Son is sprung from things non-existent, or from another substance and not from God, and that there was a time or age when He was not, the holy Catholic Church regards as aliens.

II. “If any man says that the Father and the Son are two Gods: let him be anathema.

III. “And if any man says that God is one, but does not confess that Christ, God the Son of God, ministered to the Father in the creation of all things: let him be anathema.

IV. “And if any man dares to say that the Unborn God, or a part of Him, was born of Mary: let him be anathema.

V. “And if any man say that the Son born of Mary was, before born of Mary, Son only according to foreknowledge or predestination, and denies that He was born of the Father before the ages and was with God, and that all things were made through Him: let him be anathema.

VI. “If any man says that the substance of God is expanded and contracted: let him be anathema.

VII. “If any man says that the expanded substance of God makes the Son; or names Son His supposed expanded substance: let him be anathema.

VIII. “If any man says that the Son of God is the internal or uttered Word of God: let him be anathema.

IX. “If any man says that the man alone born of Mary is the Son: let him be anathema.

X. “If any man though saying that God and Man was born of Mary, understands thereby the Unborn God: let him be anathema.

XI. “If any man hearing The Word was, made Flesh thinks that the Word was transformed into Flesh, or says that He suffered change in taking Flesh: let him be anathema.

XII. “If any man hearing that the only Son of God was crucified, says that His divinity suffered corruption, or pain, or change, or diminution, or destruction: let him be anathema.

XIII. “If any man says Let us make man was not spoken by the Father to the Son, but by God to Himself: let him be anathema.

XIV. “If any man says that the Son did not appear to Abraham, but the Unborn God, or a part of Him: let him be anathema.

XV. “If any man says that the Son did not wrestle with Jacob as a man, but the Unborn God, or a part of Him: let him be anathema.

XVI. “If any man does not understand The Lord rained from the Lord to be spoken of the Father and the Son, but that the Father rained from Himself: let him be anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father.

XVII. “If any man says that the Lord and the Lord, the Father and the Son are two Gods. because of the aforesaid words: let him be anathema. For we do not make the Son the equal or peer of the Father, but understand the Son to be subject. For He did not come down to Sodom without the Father’s will, nor rain from Himself but from the Lord, to wit by the Father’s authority; nor does He sit at the Father’s right hand by His own authority, but He hears the Father saying. Sit thou on My, right hand.

XVIII. “If any man says that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are one Person: let him be anathema.

XIX. “If any man speaking of the Holy Ghost the Paraclete says that He is the Unborn God: let him be anathema.

XX. “If any man denies that, as the Lord has taught us, the Paraclete is different from the Son; for He said, And the Father shall send you another Comforter, whom I shall ask: let him be anathema.

XXI. “If any man says that the Holy Spirit is a part of the Father or of the Son: let him be anathema.

XXII. “If any man says that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three Gods: let him be anathema.

XXIII. “If any man after the example of the Jews understands as said for the destruction of the Eternal Only-begotten God the words, I am the first God, and I am the last God, and beside Me there is no God, which were spoken for the destruction of idols and them that are no gods: let him be anathema.

XXIV. “If any man says that the Son was made by the will of God, like any object in creation: let him be anathema.

XXV. “If any man says that the Son was born against the will of the Father: let him be anathema. For the Father was not forced against His own will, or induced by any necessity of nature to beget the Son: but as soon as He willed, before time and without passion He begat Him of Himself and shewed Him forth.

XXVI. “If any man says that the Son is incapable of birth and without beginning, saying as though there were two incapable of birth and unborn and without beginning, and makes two Gods: let him be anathema. For the Head, which is the beginning of all things, is the Son; but the Head or beginning of Christ is God: for so to One who is without beginning and is the beginning of all things, we refer the whole world through Christ.

XXVII. “Once more we strengthen the understanding of Christianity by saying, If any man denies that Christ who is God and Son of God, personally existed before time began and aided the Father in the perfecting of all things; but says that only from the time that He was born of Mary did He gain the name of Christ and Son and a beginning of His deity: let him be anathema.”

39. The necessity of the moment urged the Council to set forth a wider and broader exposition of the creed including many intricate questions, because the heresy which Photinus was reviving was sapping our Catholic home by many secret mines. Their purpose was to oppose every form of stealthy subtle heresy by a corresponding form of pure and unsullied faith, and to have as many complete explanations of the faith as there were instances of peculiar faithlessness. Immediately after the universal and

unquestioned statement of the Christian mysteries, the explanation of the faith against the heretics begins as follows.

I. “But those who say that the Son is sprung from things non-existent, or from another substance and not from God, and that there was a time or age when He was not, the holy Catholic Church regards as aliens.”

40. What ambiguity is there here? What is omitted that the consciousness of a sincere faith could suggest? He does not spring from things non-existent: therefore His origin has existence. There is no other substance extant to be His origin, but that of God: therefore nothing else can be born in Him but all that is God; because His existence is not from nothing, and He draws subsistence from no other source. He does not differ in time: therefore the Son like the Father is eternal. And so the Unborn Father and the Only-begotten Son share all the same qualities. They are equal in years, and that very similarity between the sole-existing paternal essence and its offspring prevents distinction in any quality.

II. “If any man says that the Father and the Son are two Gods: let him be anathema.

III. “And if any man says that God is one, but does not confess that Christ who is God and eternal Son of God ministered to the Father in the creation of all things: let him be anathema.”

41. The very statement of the name as our religion states it gives us a clear insight into the fact. For since it is condemned to say that the Father and the Son are two Gods, and it is also accursed to deny that the Son is God, any opinion as to the substance of the one being different from that of the other in asserting two Gods is excluded. For there is no other essence, except that of God the Father, from which God the Son of God was born before time. For since we are compelled to confess God the Father, and roundly declare that Christ the Son of God is God, and between these two truths lies the impious confession of two Gods: They must on the ground of their identity of nature and name be one in the kind of their essence if the name of their essence is necessarily one.

IV. “If any one dares to say that the Unborn God, or a part of Him, was born of Mary: let him be anathema.”

42. The fact of the essence declared to be one in the Father and the Son having one name on account of their similarity of nature seemed to offer an opportunity to heretics to declare that the Unborn God, or a part of Him, was born of Mary. The danger was met by the wholesome resolution that he who declared this should be anathema. For the unity of the name which religion employs and which is based on the exact similarity of their natural essence, has not repudiated the Person of the begotten essence so as to represent, trader cover of the unity of name, that the substance of God is singular and undifferentiated because we predicate one name for the essence of each, that is, predicate one God, on account of the exactly similar substance of the undivided nature in each Person.

V. "If any man say that the Son existed before Mary only according to foreknowledge or predestination, and denies that He was born of the Father before the ages and with God, and that all things were made through Him: let him be anathema."

43. While denying that the God of us all, the Son of God, existed before He was born in bodily form, some assert that He existed according to foreknowledge and predestination, and not according to the essence of a personally subsistent nature: that is, because the Father predestined the Son to have existence some day by being born of the Virgin, He was announced to us by the Father's foreknowledge rather than born and existent before the ages in the substance of the divine nature, and that all things which He Himself spake in the prophets concerning the mysteries of His incarnation and passion were simply said concerning Him by the Father according to His foreknowledge. Consequently this perverse doctrine is condemned, so that we know that the Only-begotten Son of God was born of the Father before all worlds, and formed the worlds and all creation, and that He was not merely predestined to be born.

VI. "If any man says that the substance of God is expanded and contracted: let him be anathema."

44. To contract and expand are bodily affections: but God who is a Spirit and breathes where He listeth, does not expand or contract Himself through any change of substance. Remaining free and outside the bond of any bodily nature, He supplies out of Himself what He wills, when He

wills, and where He wills. Therefore it is impious to ascribe any change of substance to such an unfettered Power.

VII. “If any man says that the expanded substance of God makes the Son, or names Son His expanded substance: let him be anathema.”

45. The above opinion, although meant to teach the immutability of God, yet prepared the way for the following heresy. Some have ventured to say that the Unborn God by expansion of His substance extended Himself as far as the holy Virgin, in order that this extension produced by the increase of His nature and assuming manhood might be called Son. They denied that the Son who is perfect God born before time began was the same as He who was afterwards born as Man. Therefore the Catholic Faith condemns all denial of the immutability of the Father and of the birth of the Son.

VIII. “If any man says that the Son is the internal or uttered Word of God: let him be anathema.”

46. Heretics, destroying as far as in them lies the Son of God, confess Him to be only the word, going forth as an utterance from the speaker’s lips and the unembodied sound of an impersonal voice: so that God the Father has as Son a word resembling any word we utter in virtue of our inborn power of speaking. Therefore this dangerous deceit is condemned, which asserts that God the Word. who was in the beginning with God, is only the word of a voice sometimes internal and sometimes expressed.

IX. “If any man says that the man alone born of Mary is the Son: let him be anathema.”

We cannot declare that the Son of God is born of Mary without declaring Him to be both Man and God. But lest the declaration that He is both God and Man should give occasion to deceit, the Council immediately adds,

X. “If any man though saying that God and Man was born of Mary, understands thereby the Unborn God: let him be anathema”

47. Thus is preserved both the name and power of the divine substance. For since he is anathema who says that the Son of God by Mary is man and not God; and he falls under the same condemnation who says that the Unborn God became man: God made Man is not denied to be God but

denied to be the Unborn God, the Father being distinguished from the Son not under the head of nature or by diversity of substance, but only by such pre-eminence as His birthless nature gives.

XI. "If any man hearing The Word was made Flesh thinks that the Word was transformed into Flesh, or says that He suffered change in taking Flesh: let him be anathema."

48. This preserves the dignity of the Godhead: so that in the fact that the Word was made Flesh, the Word, in becoming Flesh, has not lost through being Flesh what constituted the Word, nor has become transformed into Flesh, so as to cease to be the Word; but the Word was made Flesh in order that the Flesh might begin to be what the Word is. Else whence came to His Flesh miraculous power in working, glory on the Mount, knowledge of the thoughts of human hearts, calmness in His passion, life in His death? God knowing no change, when made Flesh lost nothing of the prerogatives of His substance.

XII. "If any man hearing that the only Son of God was crucified, says that His divinity suffered corruption or pain or change or diminution or destruction: let him be anathema."

49. It is clearly shewn why the Word, though He was made Flesh, was nevertheless not transformed into Flesh. Though these kinds of suffering affect the infirmity of the flesh, yet God the Word when made Flesh could not change under suffering. Suffering and change are not identical. Suffering of every kind causes all flesh to change through sensitiveness and endurance of pain. But the Word that was made Flesh, although He made Himself subject to suffering, was nevertheless unchanged by the liability to suffer. For He was able to suffer, and yet the Word was not possible. Possibility denotes a nature that is weak; but suffering in itself is the endurance of pains inflicted, and since the Godhead is immutable and yet the Word was made Flesh, such pains found in Him a material which they could affect though the Person of the Word had no infirmity or possibility. And so when He suffered His Nature remained immutable because like His Father, His Person is of an impossible essence, though it is born.

XIII. "If any man says Let us make man was not spoken by the Father to the Son, but by God to Himself: let him be anathema.

XIV. “If any man says that the Son did not appear to Abraham, but the Unborn God, or a part of Him: let him be anathema.

XV. “If any man says that the Son did not wrestle with Jacob as a man, but the Unborn God, or a part of Him: let him be anathema.

XVI.“If any man does not understand The Lord rained from the Lord to be spoken of the Father and the Son, but says that the Father rained from Himself: let him be anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father.”

50. These points had to be inserted into the creed because Photinus, against whom the synod was held, denied them. They were inserted lest any one should dare to assert that the Son of God did not exist before the Son of the Virgin, and should attach to the Unborn God with the foolish perversity of an insane heresy all the above passages which refer to the Son of God, and while applying them to the Father, deny the Person of the Son. The clearness of these statements absolves us from the necessity of interpreting them.

XVII. “If any man says that the Lord and the Lord, the Father and the Son, are two Gods because of the aforesaid words: let him be anathema. For we do not make the Son the equal or peer of the Father, but understand the Son to be subject. For He did not come down to Sodom without the Father’s will, nor rain from Himself but from the Lord, to wit, by the Father’s authority; nor does He sit at the Father’s right hand by His own authority, but because He hears the Father saying, Sit Thou on My right hand.”

51. The foregoing and the following statements utterly remove any ground for suspecting that this definition asserts a diversity of different deities in the Lord and the Lord. No comparison is made because it was seen to be impious to say that there are two Gods: not that they refrain from making the Son equal and peer of the Father in order to deny that He is God. For, since he is anathema who denies that Christ is God, it is not on that score that it is profane to speak of two equal Gods. God is One on account of the true character of His natural essence and because from the Unborn God the Father, who is the one God, the Only-begotten God the Son is born, and draws His divine Being only from God; and since the essence of Him

who is begotten is exactly similar to the essence of Him who begot Him, there must be one name for the exactly similar nature. That the Son is not on a level with the Father and is not equal to Him is chiefly shewn in the fact that He was subjected to Him to render obedience, in that the Lord rained from the Lord and that the Father did not, as Photinus and Sabellius say, rain from Himself, as the Lord from the Lord; in that He then sat down at the right hand of God when it was told Him to seat Himself; in that He is sent, in that He receives, in that He submits in all things to the will of Him who sent Him. But the subordination of filial love is not a diminution of essence, nor does pious duty cause a degeneration of nature, since in spite of the fact that both the Unborn Father is God and the Only-begotten Son of God is God, God is nevertheless One, and the subjection and dignity of the Son are both taught in that by being called Son He is made subject to that name which because it implies that God is His Father is yet a name which denotes His nature. Having a name which belongs to Him whose Son He is, He is subject to the Father both in service and name; yet in such a way that the subordination of His name bears witness to the true character of His natural and exactly similar essence.

XVIII. "If any man says that the Father and the Son are one Person: let him be anathema."

52. Sheer perversity calls for no contradiction: and yet the mad frenzy of certain men has been so violent as to dare to predicate one Person with two names.

XIX. "If any man speaking of the Holy Ghost the Paraclete say that He is the Unborn God: let him be anathema."

53. The further clause makes liable to anathema the predicating Unborn God of the Paraclete. For it is most impious to say that He who was sent by the Son for our consolation is the Unborn God.

XX. "If any man deny that, as the Lord has taught us, the Paraclete is different from the Son; for He said, And the Further shall send you another Comforter, whom I shall ask: let him be anathema."

54. We remember that the Paraclete was sent by the Son, and at the beginning the creed explained this. But since through the virtue of His nature, which is exactly similar, the Son has frequently called His own works the works of the Father, saying, I do the works of My Father: so when He intended to send the Paraclete, as He often promised, He said sometimes that He was to be sent from the Father, in that He was piously wont to refer all that He did to the Father. And from this the heretics often seize an opportunity of saying that the Son Himself is the Paraclete: while by the fact that He promised to pray that another Comforter should be sent from the Father, He shews the difference between Him who is sent and Him who asked.

XXI. "If any man says that the Holy Spirit is a part of the Father or of the Son: let him be anathema."

55. The insane frenzy of the heretics, and not any genuine difficulty, rendered it necessary that this should be written. For since the name of Holy Spirit has its own signification, and the Holy Spirit the Paraclete has the office and rank peculiar to His Person, and since the Father and the Son are everywhere declared to be immutable: how could the Holy Spirit be asserted to be a part either of the Father or of the Son? But since this folly is often affirmed amid other follies by godless men, it was needful that the pious should condemn it.

XXII. "If any man says that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three Gods: let him be anathema."

56. Since it is contrary to religion to say that there are two Gods, because we remember and declare that nowhere has it been affirmed that there is more than one God: how much more worthy of condemnation is it to name three Gods in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Nevertheless, since heretics say this, Catholics rightly condemn it.

XXIII. "If any man, after the example of the Jews, understand as said for the destruction of the Eternal Only-begotten God, the words, I am the first God, and I am the last God, and beside Me there is no God, which were spoken for the destruction of idols and them that are no gods: let him be anathema."

57. Though we condemn a plurality of gods and declare that God is only one, we cannot deny that the Son of God is God. Nay, the true character of His nature causes the name that is denied to a plurality to be the privilege of His essence. The words, Beside Me there is no God, cannot rob the Son of His divinity: because beside Him who is of God there is no other God. And these words of God the Father cannot annul the divinity of Him who was born of Himself with an essence in no way different from His own nature. The Jews interpret this passage as proving the bare unity of God, because they are ignorant of the Only-begotten God. But we, while we deny that there are two Gods, abhor the idea of a diversity of natural essence in the Father and the Son. The words, Beside Me there is no God, take away an impious belief in false gods. In confessing that God is One, and also saying that the Son is God, our use of the same name affirms that there is no difference of substance between the two Persons.

XXIV. "If any man says that the Son was made by the will of God, like any object in creation: let him be anathema."

58. To all creatures the will of God has given substance: but a perfect birth gave to the Son a nature from a substance that is impossible and itself unborn. All created things are such as God willed them to be: but the Son who is born of God has such a personality as God has. God's nature did not produce a nature unlike itself: but the Son begotten of God's substance has derived the essence of His nature by virtue of His origin, not from an act of will after the manner of creatures.

XXV. "If any man says that the Son was born against the will of the Father: let him be anathema. For the Father was not forced against His own will, or induced against His will by any necessity of nature, to beget Ills Son; but as soon as He willed, before time and without passion He begat Him of Himself and shewed Him forth."

59. Since it was taught that the Son did not, like all other things, owe His existence to God's will, lest He should be thought to derive His essence only at His Father's will and not in virtue of His own nature, an opportunity seemed thereby to be given to heretics to attribute to God the Father a necessity of begetting the Son from Himself, as though He had brought forth the Son by a law of nature in spite of Himself. But such liability to be acted upon does not exist in God the Father in the ineffable

and perfect birth of the Son it was neither mere will that begat Him nor was the Father's essence changed or forced at the bidding of a natural law. Nor was any substance sought for to beget Him, nor is the nature of the Begetter changed in the Begotten, nor is the Father's unique name affected by time. Before all time the Father, out of the essence of His nature, with a desire that was subject to no passion, gave to the Son a birth that conveyed the essence of His nature.

XXVI. "If any man says that the Son is incapable of birth and without beginning, speaking as though there were two incapable of birth and unborn and without beginning, and makes two Gods: let him be anathema. For the Head, which is the beginning of all things, is the Son; but the Head or beginning of Christ is God: for so to One who is without beginning and is the beginning of all things, we refer the whole world through Christ."

60. To declare the Son to be incapable of birth is the height of impiety. God would no longer be One: for the nature of the one Unborn God demands that we should confess that God is one. Since therefore God is one, there cannot be two incapable of birth: because God is one (although both the Father is God and the Son of God is God) for the very reason that incapability of birth is the only quality that can belong to one Person only. The Son is God for the very reason that He derives His birth from that essence which cannot be born. Therefore our holy faith rejects the idea that the Son is incapable of birth in order to predicate one God incapable of birth and consequently one God, and in order to embrace the Only-begotten nature, begotten from the unborn essence, in the one name of the Unborn God. For the Head of all things is the Son: but the Head of the Son is God. And to one God through this stepping-stone and by this confession all things are referred, since the whole world takes its beginning from Him to whom God Himself is the beginning.

XXVII. "Once more we strengthen the understanding of Christianity by saying, If any man denies that Christ, who is God and the Son of God, existed before time began and aided the Father in the perfecting of all things; but says that only from the time that He was born of Mary did He gain the name of Christ and Son and a beginning of His deity: let him be anathema."

61. A condemnation of that heresy on account of which the Synod was held necessarily concluded with an explanation of the whole faith that was being opposed. This heresy falsely stated that the beginning of the Son of God dated from His birth of Mary. According to evangelical and apostolic doctrine the corner-stone of our faith is that our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God and Son of God, cannot be separated from the Father in title or power or difference of substance or interval of time.

62. You perceive that the truth has been sought by many paths through the advice and opinions of different bishops, and the ground of their views has been set forth by the separate declarations inscribed in this creed. Every separate point of heretical assertion has been successfully refuted. The infinite and boundless God cannot be made comprehensible by a few words of human speech. Brevity often misleads both learner and teacher, and a concentrated discourse either causes a subject not to be understood, or spoils the meaning of an argument where a thing is hinted at, and is not proved by full demonstration. The bishops fully understood this, and therefore have used for the purpose of teaching many definitions and a profusion of words that the ordinary understanding might find no difficulty, but that their hearers might be saturated with the truth thus differently expressed, and that in treating of divine things these adequate and manifold definitions might leave no room for danger or obscurity.

63. You must not be surprised, dear brethren, that so many creeds have recently been written. The frenzy of heretics makes it necessary. The danger of the Eastern Churches is so great that it is rare to find either priest or layman that belongs to this faith, of the orthodoxy of which you may judge. Certain individuals have acted so wrongly as to support the side of evil, and the strength of the wicked has been increased by the exile of some of the bishops, the cause of which you are acquainted with. I am not speaking about distant events or writing down incidents of which I know nothing: I have heard and seen the faults which we now have to combat. They are not laymen but bishops who are guilty. Except the bishop Eleusius and his few comrades, the greater part of the ten provinces of Asia, in which I am now staying, really know not God. Would that they knew nothing about Him, for their ignorance would meet with a readier pardon than their detraction. These faithful bishops do not keep silence in their pain. They seek for the unity of that faith of which others have long

since robbed them. The necessity of a united exposition of that faith was first felt when Hosius forgot his former deeds and words, and a fresh yet festering heresy broke out at Sirmium. Of Hosius I say nothing, I leave his conduct in the background lest man's judgment should forget what once he was. But everywhere there are scandals, schisms and treacheries. Hence some of those who had formerly written one creed were compelled to sign another. I make no complaint against these long-suffering Eastern bishops, it was enough that they gave at least a compulsory assent to the faith after they had once been willing to blaspheme. I think it a subject of congratulation that a single penitent should be found among such obstinate, blaspheming and heretical bishops. But, brethren, you enjoy happiness and glory in the Lord, who meanwhile retain and conscientiously confess the whole apostolic faith, and have hitherto been ignorant of written creeds. You have not needed the letter, for you abounded in the spirit. You required not the office of a hand to write what you believed in your hearts and professed unto salvation. It was unnecessary for you to read as bishops what you held when new-born converts. But necessity has introduced the custom of ex-pounding creeds and signing expositions. Where the conscience is in danger we must use the letter. Nor is it wrong to write what it is wholesome to confess.

64. Kept always from guile by the gift of the Holy Spirit, we confess and write of our own will that there are not two Gods but one God; nor do we therefore deny that the Son of God is also God; for He is God of God. We deny that there are two incapable of birth, because God is one through the prerogative of being incapable of birth; nor does it follow that the Unbegotten is not God, for His source is the Unborn substance. There is not one subsistent Person, but a similar substance in both Persons. There is not one name of God applied to dissimilar natures, but a wholly similar essence belonging to one name and nature. One is not superior to the other on account of the kind of His substance, but one is subject to the other because born of the other. The Father is greater because He is Father, the Son is not the less because He is Son. The difference is one of the meaning of a name and not of a nature. We confess that the Father is not affected by time, but do not deny that the Son is equally eternal. We assert that the Father is in the Son because the Son has nothing in Himself unlike the Father: we confess that the Son is in the Father because the existence of

the Son is not from any other source. We recognize that their nature is mutual and similar because equal: we do not think them to be one Person because they are one: we declare that they are through the similarity of an identical nature one, in such a way that they nevertheless are not one Person.

65. I have expounded, beloved brethren, my belief in our common faith so far as our wonted human speech permitted and the Lord, whom I have ever besought, as He is my witness, has given me power. If I have said too little, nay, if I have said almost nothing, I ask you to remember that it is not belief but words that are lacking. Perhaps I shall thereby prove that my human nature, though not my will, is weak: and I pardon my human nature if it cannot speak as it would of God, for it is enough for its salvation to have believed the things of God.

66. Since your faith and mine, so far as I am conscious, is in no danger before God, and I have shewn you, as you wished, the creeds that have been set forth by the Eastern bishops (though I repeat that they were few in number, for, considering how numerous the Eastern Churches are, that faith is held by few), I have also declared my own convictions about divine things, according to the doctrine of the apostles. it remains for you to investigate without suspicion the points that mislead the unguarded temper of our simple minds, for there is now no opportunity left of hearing. And although I shall no longer fear that sentence will not be passed upon me in accordance with the whole exposition of the creed, I ask you to allow me to express a wish that I may not have the sentence passed until the exposition is actually completed.

67. Many of us, beloved brethren, declare the substance of the Father and the Son to be one in such a spirit that I consider the statement to be quite as much wrong as right. The expression contains both a conscientious conviction and the opportunity for delusion. If we assert the one substance, understanding it to mean the likeness of natural qualities and such a likeness as includes not only the species but the genus, we assert it in a truly religious spirit, provided we believe that the one substance signifies such a similitude of qualities that the unity is not the unity of a monad but of equals. By equality I mean exact similarity so that the likeness may be called an equality, provided that the equality imply unity

because it implies an equal pair, and that the unity which implies an equal pair be not wrested to mean a single Person. Therefore the one substance will be asserted piously if it does not abolish the subsistent personality or divide the one substance into two, for their substance by the true character of the Son's birth and by their natural likeness is so free from difference that it is called one.

68. But if we attribute one substance to the Father and the Son to teach that there is a solitary personal existence although denoted by two titles: then though we confess the Son with our lips we do not keep Him in our hearts, since in confessing one substance we then really say that the Father and the Son constitute one undifferentiated Person. Nay, there immediately arises an opportunity for the erroneous belief that the Father is divided, and that He cut off a portion of Himself to be His Son. That is what the heretics mean when they say the substance is one: and the terminology of our good confession so gratifies them that it aids heresy when the word ὁμοούσιος is left by itself, undefined and ambiguous. There is also a third error. When the Father and the Son are said to be of one substance this is thought to imply a prior substance, which the two equal Persons both possess. Consequently the word implies three things, one original substance and two Persons, who are as it were fellow-heirs of this one substance. For as two fellow-heirs are two, and the heritage of which they are fellow-heirs is anterior to them, so the two equal Persons might appear to be sharers in one anterior substance. The assertion of the one substance of the Father and the Son signifies either that there is one Person who has two titles, or one divided substance that has made two imperfect substances, or that there is a third prior substance which has been usurped and assumed by two and which is called one because it was one before it was severed into two. Where then is there room for the Son's birth? Where is the Father or the Son, if these names are explained not by the birth of the divine nature but a severing or sharing of one anterior substance?

69. Therefore amid the numerous dangers which threaten the faith, brevity of words must be employed sparingly, lest what is piously meant be thought to be impiously expressed, and a word be judged guilty of occasioning heresy when it has been used in conscientious and unsuspecting innocence. A Catholic about to state that the substance of

the Father and the Son is one, must not begin at that point: nor hold this word all important as though true faith did not exist where the word was not used. He will be safe in asserting the one substance if he has first said that the Father is unbegotten, that the Son is born, that He draws His personal subsistence from the Father, that He is like the Father in might, honor and nature, that He is subject to the Father as to the Author of His being, that He did not commit robbery by making Himself equal with God, in whose form He remained, that He was obedient unto death. He did not spring from nothing, but was born. He is not incapable of birth but equally eternal. He is not the Father, but the Son begotten of Him. He is not any portion of God, but is whole God. He is not Himself the source but the image; the image of God born of God to be God. He is not a creature but is God. Not another God in the kind of His substance, but the one God in virtue of the essence of His exactly similar substance. God is not one in Person but in nature, for the Born and the Begetter have nothing different or unlike. After saying all this, he does not err in declaring one substance of the Father and the Son. Nay, if he now denies the one substance he sins.

70. Therefore let no one think that our words were meant to deny the one substance. We are giving the very reason why it should not be denied. Let no one think that the word ought to be used by itself and unexplained. Otherwise the word ὁμοούσιος is not used in a religious spirit. I will not endure to hear that Christ was born of Mary unless I also hear, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God. I will not hear Christ was hungry, unless I hear that after His fast of forty days He said, Man doth not live by bread alone. I will not hear He thirsted unless I also hear, Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst. I will not hear Christ suffered unless I hear, The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified. I will not hear He died unless I hear He rose again. Let us bring forward no isolated point of the divine mysteries to rouse the suspicions of our hearers and give an occasion to the blasphemers. We must first preach the birth and subordination of the Son and the likeness of His nature, and then we may preach in godly fashion that the Father and the Son are of one substance. I do not personally understand why we ought to preach before everything else, as the most valuable and important of doctrines and in itself sufficient, a truth which

cannot be piously preached before other truths, although it is impious to deny it after them.

71. Beloved brethren, we must not deny that there is one substance of the Father and the Son, but we must not declare it without giving our reasons. The one substance must be derived from the true character of the begotten nature, not from any division, any confusion of Persons, any sharing of an anterior substance. It may be right to assert the one substance, it may be right to keep silence about it. You believe in the birth and you believe in the likeness. Why should the word cause mutual suspicions, when we view the fact in the same way? Let us believe and say that there is one substance, but in virtue of the true character of the nature and not to imply a blasphemous unity of Persons. Let the oneness be due to the fact that there are similar Persons and not a solitary Person.

72. But perhaps the word similarity may not seem fully appropriate. If so, I ask how I can express the equality of one Person with the other except by such a word? Or is to be like not the same thing as to be equal? If I say the divine nature is one I am suspected of meaning that it is undifferentiated: if I say the Persons are similar, I mean that I compare what is exactly like. I ask what position equal holds between like and one? I enquire whether it means similarity rather than singularity. Equality does not exist between things unlike, nor does similarity exist in one. What is the difference between those that are similar and those that are equal? Can one equal be distinguished from the other? So those who are equal are not unlike. If then those who are unlike are not equals, what can those who are like be but equals?

73. Therefore, beloved brethren, in declaring that the Son is like in all things to the Father, we declare nothing else than that He is equal. Likeness means perfect equality, and this fact we may gather from the Holy Scriptures, And Adam lived two hundred and thirty years, and begat a son according to his own image and according to his own likeness; and called his name Seth. I ask what was the nature of his likeness and image which Adam begot in Seth? Remove bodily infirmities, remove the first stage of conception, remove birth-pangs, and every kind of human need. I ask whether this likeness which exists in Seth differs in nature from the author of his being, or whether there was in each an essence of a different kind, so

that Seth had not at his birth the natural essence of Adam? Nay, he had a likeness to Adam, even though we deny it, for his nature was not different. This likeness of nature in Seth was not due to a nature of a different kind, since Seth was begotten from only one father, so we see that a likeness of nature renders things equal because this likeness betokens an exactly similar essence. Therefore every son by virtue of his natural birth is the equal of his father, in that he has a natural likeness to him. And with regard to the nature of the Father and the Son the blessed John teaches the very likeness which Moses says existed between Seth and Adam, a likeness which is this equality of nature. He says, Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His father, making Himself equal with God. Why do we allow minds that are dulled with the weight of sin to interfere with the doctrines and sayings of such holy men, and impiously match our rash though sluggish senses against their impregnable assertions? According to Moses, Seth is the likeness of Adam, according to John, the Son is equal to the Father, yet we seek to find a third impossible something between the Father and the Son. He is like the Father, He is the Son of the Father, He is born of Him: this fact alone justices the assertion that they are one.

74. I am aware, dear brethren, that there are some who confess the likeness, but deny the equality. Let them speak as they will, and insert the poison of their blasphemy into ignorant ears. If they say that there is a difference between likeness and equality, I ask whence equality can be obtained? If the Son is like the Father in essence, might, glory and eternity, I ask why they decline to say He is equal? In the above creed an anathema was pronounced on any man who should say that the Father was Father of an essence unlike Himself. Therefore if He gave to Him whom He begat without effect upon Himself a nature which was neither another nor a different nature, He cannot have given Him any other than His own. Likeness then is the sharing of what is one’s own, the sharing of one’s own is equality, and equality admits of no difference. Those things which do not differ at all are one. So the Father and the Son are one, not by unity of Person but by equality of nature.

75. Although general conviction and divine authority sanction no difference between likeness and equality, since both Moses and John would lead us to believe the Son is like the Father and also His equal, yet let us consider

whether the Lord, when the Jews were angry with Him for calling God His Father and thus making Himself equal with God, did Himself teach that He was equal with God. He says, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do. He shewed that the Father originates by saying Can do nothing of Himself, He calls attention to His own obedience by adding, but what He seeth the Father do. There is no difference of might, He says He can do nothing that He does not see because it is His nature and not His sight that gives Him power. But His obedience consists in His being able only when He sees. And so by the fact that He has power when He sees, He shews that He does not gain power by seeing but claims power on the authority of seeing. The natural might does not differ in Father and Son, the Son's equality of power with the Father not being due to any increase or advance of the Son's nature but to the Father's example. In short that honor which the Son's subjection retained for the Father belongs equally to the Son on the strength of His nature. He has Himself added, What things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. Surely then the likeness implies equality. Certainly it does, even though we deny it: for these also doeth the Son likewise. Are not things done likewise the same? Or do not the same things admit equality? Is there any other difference between likeness and equality, when things that are done likewise are understood to be made the same? Unless perchance any one will deny that the same things are equal, or deny that similar things are equal, for things that are done in like manner are not only declared to be equal but to be the same things.

76. Therefore, brethren, likeness of nature can be attacked by no cavil, and the Son cannot be said to lack the true qualities of the Father's nature because He is like Him. No real likeness exists where there is no equality of nature, and equality of nurture cannot exist unless it imply unity, not unity of person but of kind. It is right to believe, religious to feel, and wholesome to confess, that we do not deny that the substance of the Father and the Son is one because it is similar, and that it is similar because they are one.

77. Beloved, after explaining in a faithful and godly manner the meaning of the phrases one substance, in Greek ὁμοούσιον, and similar substance or ὁμοιούσιον, and shewing very completely the faults which may arise from a deceitful brevity or dangerous simplicity of language, it only

remains for me to address myself to the holy bishops of the East. We have no longer any mutual suspicions about our faith, and those which before now have been due to mere misunderstanding are being cleared away. They will pardon me if I proceed to speak somewhat freely with them on the basis of our common faith.

78. Ye who have begun to be eager for apostolic and evangelical doctrine, kindled by the fire of faith amid the thick darkness of a night of heresy, with how great a hope of recalling the true faith have you inspired us by consistently checking the bold attack of infidelity! In former days it was only in obscure corners that our Lord Jesus Christ was denied to be the Son of God according to His nature, and was asserted to have no share in the Father's essence, but like the creatures' to have received His origin from things that were not. But the heresy now bursts forth backed by civil authority, and what it once muttered in secret it has of late boasted of in open triumph. Whereas in former times it has tried by secret mines to creep into the Catholic Church, it has now put forth every power of this world in the fawning. manners of a false religion. For the perversity of these men has been so audacious that when they dared not preach this doctrine publicly themselves, they beguiled the Emperor to give them hearing. For they did beguile an ignorant sovereign so successfully that though he was busy with war he expounded their infidel creed, and before he was regenerate by baptism imposed a form of faith upon the churches. Opposing bishops they drove into exile. They drove me also to wish for exile, by trying to force me to commit blasphemy. May I always be an exile, if only the truth begins to be preached again! I thank God that the Emperor, through your warnings, acknowledged his ignorance, and through these your definitions of faith came to recognize an error which was not his own but that of his advisers. He freed himself from the reproach of impiety in the eyes of God and men, when he respectfully received your embassy, and after you had won from him a confession of his ignorance, shewed his knowledge of the hypocrisy of the men whose influence brought him under this reproach.

79. These are deceivers, I both fear and believe they are deceivers, beloved brethren; for they have ever deceived. This very document is marked by hypocrisy. They excuse themselves for having desired silence as to ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον on the ground that they taught that the

meaning of the words was identical. Rustic bishops, I trow, and untutored in the significance of ὁμοούσιον: as though there had never been any Council about the matter, or any dispute. But suppose they did not know what ὁμοούσιον was, or were really unaware that ὁμοιούσιον meant of a like essence. Granted that they were ignorant of this, why did they wish to be ignorant of the generation of the Son? If it cannot be expressed in words, is it therefore unknowable? But if we cannot know how He was born, can we refuse to know even this, that God the Son being born not of another substance but of God, has not an essence differing from the Father's? Have they not read that the Son is to be honored even as the Father, that they prefer the Father in honor? Were they ignorant that the Father is seen in the Son, that they make the Son differ in dignity, splendor and majesty? Is this due to ignorance that the Son, like all other things, is made subject to the Father, and while thus subjected is not distinguished from them? A distinction does exist, for the subjection of the Son is filial reverence, the subjection of all other things is the weakness of things created. They knew that He suffered, but when, may I ask, did they come to know that He jointly suffered? They avoid the words ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον, because they are not in Scripture: I enquire whence they gathered that the Son jointly suffered? Can they mean that there were two Persons who suffered? This is what the word leads us to believe. What of those words, Jesus Christ the Son of God? Is Jesus Christ one, and the Son of God another? If the Son of God is not one and the same inwardly and outwardly, it ignorance on such a point is permissible, then believe that they were ignorant of the meaning of ὁμοούσιον. But if on these points ignorance leads to blasphemy and yet cannot find even a false excuse, I fear that they lied in professing ignorance of the word ὁμοιούσιον. I do not greatly complain of the pardon you extended them; it is reverent to reserve for God His own prerogatives, and mistakes of ignorance are but human. But the two bishops, Ursacius and Valens, must pardon me for not believing that at their age and with their experience they were really ignorant. It is very difficult not to think they are lying, seeing that it is only by a falsehood that they can clear themselves on another score. But God rather grant that I am mistaken than that they really knew. For I had rather be judged in the wrong than that your faith should be contaminated by communion with the guilt of heresy.

80. Now I beseech you, holy brethren, to listen to my anxieties with indulgence. The Lord is my witness that in no matter do I wish to criticize the definitions of your faith, which you brought to Sirmium. But forgive me if I do not understand certain points; I will comfort myself with the recollection that the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. Perhaps I am not presumptuous in gathering from this that I too may understand something that another does not know. Not that I have dared to hint that you are ignorant of anything according to the measure of knowledge: but for the unity of the Catholic faith suffer me to be as anxious as yourselves.

81. Your letter on the meaning of ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον, which Valens, Ursacius and Germinius demanded should be read at Sirmium, I understand to have been on certain points no less cautious than outspoken. And with regard to ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον your proof has left no difficulty untouched. As to the latter, which implies the similarity of essence, our opinions are the same. But in dealing with the ὁμοούσιον, or the one essence, you declared that it ought to be rejected because the use of this word led to the idea that there was a prior substance which two Persons had divided between themselves. I see the flaw in that way of taking it. Any such sense is profane, and must be rejected by the Church's common decision. The second reason that you added was that our fathers, when Paul of Samosata was pronounced a heretic, also rejected the word ὁμοούσιον, on the ground that by attributing this title to God he had taught that He was single and undifferentiated, and at once Father and to Himself. Wherefore the Church still regards it as most profane to exclude the different personal qualities, and, under the mask of the aforesaid expressions, to revive the error of confounding the Persons and denying the personal distinctions in the Godhead. Thirdly you mentioned this reason for disapproving of the ὁμοούσιον that in the Council of Nicaea our fathers were compelled to adopt the word on account of those who said the Son was a creature: although it ought not to be accepted, because it is not to be found in Scripture. Your saying this causes me some astonishment. For if the word ὁμοούσιον must be repudiated on account of its novelty, I am afraid that the word ὁμοιούσιον which is equally absent in Scripture, is some danger.

82. But I am not needlessly critical on this point. For I had rather use an expression that is new than commit sin by rejecting it. So, then, we will pass by this question of innovation, and see whether the real question is not reduced to something which all our fellow-Christians unanimously condemn. What man in his senses will ever declare that there is a third substance, which is common to both the Father and the Son? And who that has been reborn in Christ and confessed both the Son and the Father will follow him of Samosata in confessing that Christ is Himself to Himself both Father and Son? So in condemning the blasphemies of the heretics we hold the same opinion, and such an interpretation of ὁμοούσιον we not only reject but hate. The question of an erroneous interpretation is at an end, when we agree in condemning the error.

83. But when I at last turn to speak on the third point, I pray you to let there be no conflict of suspicions where there is peace at heart. Do not think I would advance anything hurtful to the progress of unity. For it is absurd to fear cavil about a word when the fact expressed by the word presents no difficulty. Who objects to the fact that the Council of Nicaea adopted the word ὁμοούσιον? He who does so, must necessarily like its rejection by the Arians. The Arians rejected the word, that God the Son might not be asserted to be born of the substance of God the Father, but formed out of nothing, like the creatures. This is no new thing that I speak of. The perfidy of the Arians is to be found in many of their letters and is its own witness. If the godlessness of the negation then gave a godly meaning to the assertion, I ask why we should now criticize a word which was then rightly adopted because it was wrongly denied? If it was rightly adopted, why after supporting the right should that which extinguished the wrong be called to account? Having been used as the instrument of evil it came to be the instrument of good.

84. Let us see, therefore, what the Council of Nicaea intended by saying ὁμοούσιον, that is, of one substance: not certainly to hatch the heresy which arises from an erroneous interpretation of ὁμοούσιον. I do not think the Council says that the Father and the Son divided and shared a previously existing substance to make it their own. It will not be adverse to religion to insert in our argument the creed which was then composed to preserve religion.

> “We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:
>
> “And in one our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, born not made, of one substance with the Father (which in Greek they call ὁμοούσιον); By whom all things were made which are in heaven and in earth, Who for our salvation came down, And was incarnate, And was made man, And suffered, And rose again the third day, And ascended into heaven, And shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
>
> “And in the Holy Ghost.
>
> “But those who say, There was when He was not, And before He was born He was not, And that He was made of things that existed not, or of another substance and essence, saying that God was able to change and alter, to these the Catholic Church says anathema.”

Here the Holy Council of religious men introduces no prior substance divided between two Persons, but the Son born of the substance of the Father. Do we, too, deny or confess anything else? And after other explanations of our common faith, it says, Born not made, of one substance with the Father (which in Greek they call ὁμοούσιον). What occasion is there here for an erroneous interpretation? The Son is declared to be born of the substance of the Father, not made: lest while the word born implies His divinity, the word made should imply He is a creature. For the same reason we have of one substance, not to teach that there is one solitary divine Person, but that the Son is born of the substance of God and subsists from no other source, nor in any diversity caused by a difference of substance. Surely again this is our faith, that He subsists from no other source, and He is not unlike the Father. Is not the meaning here of the word ὁμοούσιον) that the Son is produced of the Father’s nature, the essence of the Son having no other origin, and that both, therefore, have one unvarying essence? As the Son’s essence has no other origin, we may rightly believe that both are of one essence, since the Son could be born with no substance but that derived from the Father’s nature which was its source.

85. But perhaps on the opposite side it will be said that it ought to meet with disapproval, because an erroneous interpretation is generally put upon it. If such is our fear, we ought to erase the words of the Apostle, There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, because Photinus uses this to support his heresy, and refuse to read it because he interprets it mischievously. And the fire or the sponge should annihilate the Epistle to the Philippians, lest Marcion should read again in it, And was found in fashion as a man, and say Christ's body was only a phantasm and not a body. Away with the Gospel of John, lest Sabellius learn from it, I and the Father are one. Nor must those who now affirm the Son to be a creature find it written, The Father is greater than I. Nor must those who wish to declare that the Son is unlike the Father read: But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. We must dispense, too, with the books of Moses, lest the darkness be thought coeval with God who dwells in the unborn light, since in Genesis the day began to be after the night; lest the years of Methuselah extend later than the date of the deluge, and consequently more than eight souls were saved lest God hearing the cry of Sodom when the measure of its sins was full should come down as though ignorant of the cry to see if the measure of its sins was full according to the cry, and be found to be ignorant of what He knew; lest any one of those who buried Moses should have known his sepulcher when he was buried; lest these passages, as the heretics think, should prove that the contradictions of the law make it its own enemy. So as they do not understand them, we ought not to read them. And though I should not have said it myself unless forced by the argument, we must, if it seems fit, abolish all the divine and holy Gospels with their message of our salvation, lest their statements be found inconsistent; lest we should read that the Lord who was to send the Holy Spirit was Himself born of the Holy Spirit; lest He who was to threaten death by the sword to those who should take the sword, should before His passion command that a sword should be brought; lest He who was about to descend into hell should say that He would be in paradise with the thief; lest finally the Apostles should be found at fault, in that when commanded to baptize in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they baptized in the name of Jesus only. I speak to ton, brethren, to you, who are no longer nourished with milk, but with meat, and are strong. Shall we, because the

wise men of the world have not understood these things, and they are foolish unto them, be wise as the world is wise and believe these things foolish? Because they are hidden from the godless, shall we refuse to shine with the truth of a doctrine which we understand? We prejudice the cause of divine doctrines when we think that they ought not to exist, because some do not regard them as holy. If so, we must not glory in the cross of Christ, because it is a stumbling-block to the world; and we must not preach death in connection with the living God, lest the godless argue that God is dead.

86. Some misunderstand ὁμοούσιον; does that prevent me from understanding it? The Samosatene was wrong in using the word ὁμοούσιον; does that make the Arians right in denying it? Eighty bishops once rejected it; but three hundred and eighteen recently accepted it. And for my own part I think the number sacred, for with such a number Abraham overcame the wicked kings, and was blessed by Him who is a type of the eternal priesthood. The former disapproved of it to oppose a heretic: the latter surely approved of it to oppose a heretic. The authority of the fathers is weighty, is the sanctity of their successors trivial? If their opinions were contradictory, we ought to decide which is the better: but if both their approval and disapproval established the same fact, why do we carp at such good decisions?

87. But perhaps you will reply, ‘Some of those who were then present at Nicaea have now decreed that we ought to keep silence about the word ὁμοούσιον.’ Against my will I must answer: Do not the very same men rule that we must keep silence about the word ὁμοιούσιον? I beseech you that there may be found no one of them but Hosius, that old man who loves a peaceful grave too well, who shall be found to think that we ought to keep silence about both. Amid the fury of the heretics into what straits shall we fall at last, if while we do not accept both, we keep neither? For there seems to be no impiety in saying that since neither is found in Scripture, we ought to confess neither or both.

88. Holy brethren, I understand by ὁμοούσιον God of God, not of an essence that is unlike, not divided but born, and that the Son has a birth which is unique, of the substance of the unborn God, that He is begotten yet co-eternal and wholly like the Father. I believed this before I knew the

word ὁμοούσιον but it greatly helped my belief. Why do you condemn my faith when I express it by ὁμοούσιον while you cannot disapprove it when expressed by ὁμοιούσιον? For you condemn my faith, or rather your own, when you condemn its verbal equivalent. Do others misunderstand it? Let us join in condemning the misunderstanding, but not deprive our faith of its security. Do you think we must subscribe to the Samosatene Council to prevent any one from using ὁμοούσιον in the sense of Paul of Samosata? Then let us also subscribe to the Council of Nicaea, so that the Arians may not impugn the word. Have we to fear that ὁμοιούσιον does not imply the same belief as ὁμοούσιον? Let us decree that there is no difference between being of one or of a similar substance. The word ὁμοούσιον can be understood in a wrong sense Let us prove that it can be understood in a very good sense. We hold one and the same sacred truth. I beseech you that we should agree that this truth, which is one and the same, should be regarded as sacred. Forgive me, brethren, as I have so often asked you to do. You are not Arians: why should you be thought to be Arians by denying the ὁμοούσιον?

89. But you say: ‘The ambiguity of the word ὁμοούσιον troubles and offends me.’ I pray you hear me again and be not offended. I am troubled by the inadequacy of the word ὁμοιούσιον. Many deceptions come from similarity. I distrust vessels plated with gold, for I may be deceived by the metal underneath: and yet that which is seen resembles gold. I distrust anything that looks like milk, lest that which is offered to me be milk but not sheep’s milk: for cow’s milk certainly looks like it. Sheep’s milk cannot be really like sheep’s milk unless drawn from a sheep. True likeness belongs to a true natural connection. But when the true natural connection exists, the ὁμοούσιον is implied. It is a likeness according to essence when one piece of metal is like another and not plated, if milk which is of the same color as other milk is not different in taste. Nothing can be like gold but gold, or like milk that did not belong to that species. I have often been deceived by the color of wine: and yet by tasting the liquor have recognized that it was of another kind. I have seen meat look like other meat, but afterwards the flavor has revealed the difference to me. Yes, I fear those resemblances which are not due to a unity of nature.

90. I am afraid, brethren, of the brood of heresies which are successively produced in the East: and I have already read what I tell you I fear. There

was nothing whatever suspicious in the document which some of you, with the assent of certain Orientals, took on your embassy to Sirmium to be there subscribed. But some misunderstanding has arisen in reference to certain statements at the beginning which I believe you, my holy brethren, Basil, Eustathius, and Eleusius, omitted to mention lest they should give offense. If it was right to draw them up, it was wrong to bury them in silence. But if they are now unmentioned because they were wrong we must beware lest they should be repeated at some future time. Out of consideration for you I have hitherto said nothing about this: yet you know as well as I do that this creed was not identical with the creed of Ancyra. I am not talking gossip: I possess a copy of the creed, and I did not get it from laymen, it was given me by bishops.

91. I pray you, brethren, remove all suspicion and leave no occasion for it. To approve of ὁμοιούσιον, we need not disapprove of ὁμοούσιον. Let us think of the many holy prelates now at rest: what judgment will the Lord pronounce upon us if we now say anathema to them? What will be our case if we push the matter so far as to deny that they were bishops and so deny that we are ourselves bishops? We were ordained by them and are their successors. Let us renounce our episcopate, if we took its office from men under anathema. Brethren, forgive my anguish: it is an impious act that you are attempting. I cannot endure to hear the man anathematized who says ὁμοούσιον and says it in the right sense. No fault can be found with a word which does no harm to the meaning of religion. I do not know the word ὁμοιούσιον, or understand it, unless it confesses a similarity of essence. I call the God of heaven and earth to witness, that when I had heard neither word, my belief was always such that I should have interpreted ὁμοιούσιον by ὁμοούσιον. That is, I believed that nothing could be similar according to nature unless it was of the same nature. Though long ago regenerate in baptism, and for some time a bishop, I never heard of the Nicene creed until I was going into exile, but the Gospels and Epistles suggested to me the meaning of ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον. Our desire is sacred. Let us not condemn the fathers, let us not encourage heretics, lest while we drive one heresy away, we nurture another. After the Council of Nicaea our fathers interpreted the due meaning of ὁμοούσιον with scrupulous care; the books are extant, the facts are fresh in men’s minds: if anything has to be added to the interpretation, let us

consult together. Between us we can thoroughly establish the faith, so that what has been well settled need not be disturbed, and what has been misunderstood may be removed.

92. Beloved brethren, I have passed beyond the bounds of courtesy, and forgetting my modesty I have been compelled by my affection for you to write thus of many abstruse matters which until this our age were unattempted and left in silence. I have spoken what I myself believed, conscious that I owed it as my soldier's service to the Church to send to you in accordance with the teaching of the Gospel by these letters the voice of the office which I hold in Christ. It is yours to discuss, to provide and to act, that the inviolable fidelity in which you stand you may still keep with conscientious hearts, and that you may continue to hold what you hold now. Remember my exile in your holy prayers. I do not know, now that I have thus expounded the faith, whether it would be as sweet to return unto you again in the Lord Jesus Christ as it would be full of peace to die. That our God and Lord may keep you pure and undefiled unto the day of His appearing is my desire, dearest brethren.

INTRODUCTION TO THE

DE TRINITATE

SINCE the circumstances in which the *De Trinitate* was written, and the character and object of the work, are discussed in the general Introduction, it will suffice to give here a brief summary of its content, adapted, in the main, from the Benedictine edition.

BOOK 1. The treatise begins with St. Hilary's own spiritual history, the events of which are displayed, no doubt, more logically and symmetrically in the narrative than they had occurred in the writer's experience. He tells of the efforts of a pure and noble soul, impeded, end and aim of life. He rises first to the conception of the old philosophers, and then by successive advances, as he learns more and more of the Divine revelation in Scripture, he attains the object of his search in the apprehension of God as revealed in the Catholic Faith. But this happiness is not the result of a mere intellectual knowledge, but of belief as well. In §§ 1¾ 14, we have this advance from ignorance and fear to knowledge and peace. And here he might have rested, had he not been charged with the sacerdotal (i.e., in the language of that time, the episcopal) office, which laid upon him the duty of caring for the salvation of others. And such care was needed, for (§§ 15, 16) heresies were abroad, and chiefly two; the Sabellian which said that Father and son were mere names or aspects of one Divine Person, and therefore there had been no true birth of the Son; and the Arian (which, however, Hilary rarely calls by the name of its advocate, preferring to style it the 'new heresy') asserting more or less openly that the Son is created and not born, and therefore is different in kind from the Father, and not, in the true sense, God. Hilary declares (§§ 17) that his purpose is to refute these heresies and to demonstrate the true faith by the evidence of Scripture. He demands from his hearers a loyal belief in the Scriptures which he will cite; without such faith his arguments will not profit them (§ 18); and in § 19 he wards them of the limits of the argument from analogy, which he must employ, inadequate as it is in respect of the finite illustrations which he must use to express the infinite. Then in § 20 he speaks with a modest pride of his careful marshaling of the arguments

which shall lead his readers to the right conclusion, and in §§ 21¾ 36 he gives a summary of the contents of the work. He concludes the first Book (§§ 37, 38) with a prayer which expresses his certainty that what he holds is the truth, and entreats the Father and the Son that he may have the eloquence of language and the cogency of reasoning needed for the worthy presentation of the truth concerning Them.

BOOK 2. He begins with the command to baptize all nations (St. [40]28:19Matthew 28:19) as a summary of the faith; this by itself would suffice were not explanations rendered necessary by heretical misrepresentations of it meaning. For (§§ 3, 4) heresy is the result of Scripture misunderstood; and here we must notice that Scripture is regarded as ground common to both sides. All accept it as literally true, and combine its texts as well best serve their own purposes. Hilary, regarding all heresies as one combined opposition to the truth, makes to two objections that their arguments are mutually destructive, and that they are modern. Then in § 5 he expresses the awe with which he approaches the subject. The language which he must use is utterly inadequate, and yet he is compelled to use it. In §§ 6, 7 he begins with the notion of God as Father; in §§ 8¾ 11 he proceeds to that of God the Son. He states the faith as it must be believed; it is not enough (§§ 12, 13) to accept the truth of Christ's miracles. The mystery, as it is revealed in St. [43]1:1John 1:1¾ 4, must be the object of faith. In §§ 14¾ 21 he expounds this passage in the face of current objections, and then triumphantly asserts that all the efforts of heresy are vain (§ 22). He advances proof-texts in § 23 against each objector, and then points out in §§ 24,25 our indebtedness to the infinite Divine condescension thus revealed. For, in all the humiliation to which Christ stooped the Divine Majesty was still inseparably His, and was manifested both in the circumstances of His birth and in His life on earth (§§ 26¾ 28). The book concludes (§§ 29¾ 35) with a statement of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as perfect as in the undeveloped state of that doctrine was possible.

BOOK 3. In §§ 1—4, the words, *I in the Father and the Father in Me,* are taken as typical. Man cannot comprehend, but only apprehend them. So far as they are explicable Hilary explains them. But God's self-revelation is always mysterious. The miracles of Christ are inexplicable (§§ 5—8); this is God's way, and meant to check presumption. Human wisdom is limited, and when it passes its bounds, and invades the realm of faith, it becomes

folly. Next, in §§ 9—17, the passage, St. <870>John 17:1 ff., is explained as proving that in the One God there are the Persons of Father and of Son, and as revealing God in the aspect of the Father. Then, in §§ 18—21, the wonderful deeds of Christ are put forth as evidence of His wonderful birth. We must not ask how He can be coeternal with the Father, for it is in vain that we should ask how He could pass through the closed door. Either question is mere presumption. The revelation which Christ makes (§§ 22, 23) is that of God as His Father; *Unum sunt, non Unus.* And finally, in §§ 25, 26, he returns to the futility of reasoning. True wisdom is to believe where we cannot comprehend; we must trust to faith, not to proof.

BOOK 4. This book is in a sense the beginning of the treatise, and is sometimes cited later on as the first. Its three predecessors, he says in § 1, had been written some time before. They had contained a statement of the truth concerning the Divinity of Christ, and a summary refutation of the various heresies. He now commences his main attack upon Arianism. First (§ 2) he repeats what his difficulty is; that human language and thought cannot cope with the Infinite. Then (§ 3) he tells how the Arians explain away the eternal Sonship of Christ. As a defense against this tampering with the truth, the Church has adopted the term *Homoousion* (§§ 4—7); Hilary explains and defends its use. In § 8 he shows, by a collection of the passages of Scripture which they wrest to their own purposes, that such a definition is necessary, and in §§ 9, 10 that their use of these passages is dishonest. In § 11 he tells us exactly what the Arian teaching is, and sets it forth in one of their own formularies, the *Epistola Arii ad Alexandrum* (§§ 12, 13). In § 14 this doctrine is denounced; it does not explain, but explains away. The proclamation made through Moses, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One,* upon which the Arians take their stand, reveals only one aspect of the truth (§ 15). It does not exhaust the truth; for God is represented as not one solitary Person in the history of creation (§§ 16—22), in the life of Abraham (§§ 23—31), and in that of Moses (§§ 32—34). And this again is the teaching of the Prophets, as is shown by passages selected from Isaiah, Hosea, and Jeremiah (§§ 35—42). All evidence thus collected shows that in the Godhead there is both Father and Son, and that the Son is God.

BOOK 5. Hilary now points out (§ 1) the controversial strength of the Arian position. If he is silent in face of their assertion, they will claim that

he agrees with them that the Son is God only in some inferior sense. On the other hand, if he opposes them, he will seem to be contradicting the Mosaic revelation of the Divine unity. In § 2 he recapitulates the argument of Book IV., that the witness of Scripture proves that God is not a solitary Person; that, as he says, there is *God and God.* But the Arians had a further loophole; their creed asserted (§ 3) one true God. They might argue that Christ is indeed God, but of a nature different from that of the Father. In refutation of this Hilary goes one more through the history of creation (§§ 4—10), proving that the narrative reveals not only the Son's share in that work, but also His equality and oneness of nature with the Father; in other words, that He is not only God but true God. The same truth is demonstrated from the life of Abraham (§§ 11—16). Moreover, these self-revelations of the Son (as the Angel, on various occasions) are anticipations of the Incarnation. He was first seen in flesh, afterwards born in flesh. The Arians concentrate their attention on the humble conditions of Christ's human life, and so, from want of a comprehensive view, fail to discern His true Godhead. But Hilary will not anticipate the evidence of the Gospels (§§ 17, 18). He returns to the Old Testament, and proves his point from Jacob's visions (§§ 19, 20), and by the revelations made to Moses (§§ 24, 25), he proceeds to prove from certain passages of Isaiah that the Prophet recognized the Son as true God (§§ 26—31), and that St. Paul understood him in that sense (§§ 32, 33). Then in §§ 34, 35, the result which has been attained is dwelt upon. Hilary shows that it is the Arians who fail to recognize the one true God; for Christ is true God, yet not a second God. Finally, in §§ 36—39, Moses Isaiah, and Jeremiah are adduced as testifying that Christ is God from God, and God in God.

BOOK 6. Hilary begins by lamenting the wide extension of Arianism; his love for souls leads him to combat the heresy, whose insidiousness makes it the more dangerous (§§ 1—4). He repeats in §§ 5, 6 the same Arian creed which he had given in Book 4. The heretics here gain the appearance of orthodoxy by condemning errors inconsistent with their own; and this condemnation is designed to cast upon the Catholic faith the suspicion of complicity in such errors. Hence he must postpone his appeal to the New Testament till he has examined them (§§ 7, 8). Accordingly in §§ 9—12 he explains successively the doctrines of Valentinus, Manichaeus, Sabelluis and Hieracas, and shows that the Church rejects them all, as she does (§

13) the doctrine which the Arians in their creed have falsely assigned to her. Their object is to deny that the Son is coeternal with the Father and of one substance with Him (§§ 16, 17). The Arians would make a creature of Christ (§ 18), to Whom, in §§ 19—21, Hilary turns with an impassioned declaration of certainty that He is very God. He then resumes the argument, and proves that Christ is Son by birth, not by adoption, from the words both of Father and Son as recorded in the Gospel (§§ 22—25). This is confirmed (§§ 26, 27) by the Gospel account of His acts, which are otherwise inexplicable. The argument is clenched by a discussion of St. [BOB]John 7:28, 29, and [BOB]8:42 (§§ 28—31). The true Sonship of Christ is further proved by the faith of the Apostles, whose certainty increased with their knowledge (§§ 31—35), and especially by that of St. Peter (§§ 36—38), of St. John (§§ 39—43), and of St. Paul (§§ 44, 45). To reject such a weight of testimony is to prefer Antichrist to Christ (§ 46). And, moreover, we have witness of those for whom He wrought miracles, of devils, of the Jews, of the Apostles in peril on the sea, of the centurion by the Cross, that Christ is truly the Son of God (§§ 47—52).

BOOK 7. The Arians are adepts at concealing their meaning; at the use of Scripture terms in unscriptural senses (§ 1). They have already been refuted by the proof that Christ is the true and coeternal Son; and Hilary now advances to the proof of the true Divinity of Christ, which is logically inseparable from His true Sonship (§ 2). But the danger is great lest, in attacking one heresy, he should use language which would sanction others (§ 3). Yet the truth is one, while heresies are manifold. Each of them can be trusted to demolish the others, while none can establish its own case. He illustrates this by the mutually destructive arguments of Sabellius, Arius and Photinus (§§ 5—7). Christ is proved to be God by the name *God* which is given Him in Scripture: *The Word was God* (§§ 8, 9). the name is His in the strict sense, and not any derivative meaning (§§ 10, 11). Yet Father, and Son are not two, but one God (§ 13). Being the Son of God, He has the nature of God, and therefore is God (§ 14—17), and yet not one Person with the Father (§ 18). Again, His power, manifested in His works, proves His Godhead (§ 19), as does the fact that all judgment has been given Him by the Father (§ 20). Christ’s own words display the truth (§ 21). The Arians are blind to the plain sense of Scripture, and are more blasphemous than the Jews; Christ’s reply to the latter meets to

objections of the former (§§ 22—24). He asserts His unity with the Father (§ 25), and makes His works the proof (§ 26). The Father is in the Son and the Son is in the Father (§ 27): this is illustrated by the transmission of physical properties from parent to child and from flame to flame (§§ 28—30). In fact, the Catholic is the only rational explanation of the words of Scripture (§§ 31, 32). Again (§§ 33—38), the way to the Father is through the Son, and knowledge of the Son is knowledge of the Father. This would be impossible, were not the Son God in the same sense in which the Father is God. Thus the contrary doctrines of Sabellius and of Arius are confuted; there is neither one Person, not yet two Gods (§§ 39, 40). Christ calls upon us to believe the truth, and belief is not only possible but reasonable (§ 41).

BOOK 8. Piety is necessary in a Bishop, but he needs also knowledge and dialectical skill in the face of such heresies as were rampant in Hilary's day; for the heretics outdo the orthodox in zeal, and are masters in the art of devising pitfalls for the unwary reasoner (§§ 1—3). He maintains (§ 4) that hitherto he has established his case; and now turns, in § 5, to the Arian interpretation of *I and the Father are One*, as meaning that They are one in will, not in nature. The fallacy of this is shown by a comparison of the unity of Christians in Christ (§§ 7—9); a unity which is confessedly one of nature, yet is not more natural than that of Father and Son, of which it is a type (§ 10). And indeed the words, *I and the Father are One*, and ill-adapted to express a mere harmony of will (§ 11). This gift of unity of nature could not be given, as it is, though the Incarnation and the Eucharist, to Christians, unless the Givers Themselves possessed it; i.e. unless Father and son were One God (§§ 12—14). As a matter of fact, we have a perfect union through the mediation of Christ, with the Father; and it is a unity in nature, a permanent abiding; an assurance to us of the indwelling of Father in Son and Son in Father, and of the fact that Christ is not a creature, one in will with the Father, but a Son, one in nature with Him (§§ 15—18). For, again (§§ 19—21), the Mission of the Holy Ghost is jointly from the Father and the Son; He is called sometimes the Spirit of the Son, and this is a further proof of the unity in nature of Father and Son. Hilary now enquires (§§ 22—25) into the senses in which Scripture speaks of the Holy Spirit. Sometimes this title is given to the Father, sometimes to the Son, in both cases to save us from corporeal conceptions of God. But it is also

used, in the strictest sense, of the Paraclete, as on the day of Pentecost. Now the Divine Spirit dwells in Christians; but this Spirit, whether styled the Spirit of God, or the Spirit of Christ, or the Spirit of Truth, proceeding from the Father and sent by the son, is only one Spirit. Hence the Godhead in One, and the nature of the Persons within that Godhead one also (§§ 26, 27). He next points out (§ 28) that the Arians are inconsistent in worshipping Christ, and yet styling Him a creature; for thus they fall under the curse of the Law, and forfeit the Holy Spirit. Again (§§ 29—34) the powers and graces bestowed by God are described indiscriminately as gifts of one or another Person in the Godhead. The Son, therefore, as a Giver, must be one with the Father, Who is also a Giver, and one with the Spirit. There is *One God and One Lord* (§ 35); if we deny that the Son is God, we must also deny that the Father is Lord; which is absurd. They are One God, with one Spirit, but not one Person (§ 36). St. Paul expressly says that Christ is *God over all;* an expression which must, like all the Apostles teaching, bear the Catholic sense, and is incompatible with Arianism (§§ 37—39). The supporters of Arianism are thus alien from the faith (§ 40). After a restatement of the truth (§ 41), Hilary proceeds to deduce the Divine nature of the Son from the fact that He has been sealed by the Father (§§ 42—45). This sealing makes Him the Father's counterpart, Whose Image He thus becomes, though in the form of a servant. If He were thus the Image of God after His Incarnation, how much more before that condescension (§ 46). In § 47 he again denies that this teaching reduces the Father and the Son to one Person; and then (§§ 48—50) works out the sense in which Christ is the Image of God. It means that They are of one nature and of one power, and that the Son is the Firstborn, through Whom all things were created. But creation and also reconciliation is the joint work of Father and Son (§ 51). Christ could not have stated more explicitly than He has done His unity with the Father; the recognition of this truth is the test of the true Church (§ 52). Heresy is blind to the essential difference between the life-giving Christ and the created universe, which owes its life to Him (§ 53). In Him dwells *the whole fullness of the Godhead bodily*. The Indweller and the Indwealt are Both Persons, yet are One God; and the whole Godhead dwells in Each (§§ 54—56).

BOOK 9. After a summary (§ 1) of the results already obtained, Hilary returns, in § 2, to certain of the Arian proof-texts, and warns his readers that their life depends on the recognition in Christ of true god and true man, for it is this twofold nature which makes Him he Mediator (§ 3). Universal analogy and our consciousness of the capacity to rise to the life in God convince us of these two natures in Him, Who makes this rise possible (§ 4). But heresy lays hold of words spoken by Christ Incarnate, appropriate to His humility as Man, and assigns them to Him in His previous state; thus they make Him deny His true Godhead. But His utterances before the Incarnation, during His life on earth, and after His return to glory, must be carefully distinguished (§§ 5,6). Hilary now examines the aims and achievements of Christ Incarnate, and shows that His work for men was a Divine work, accomplished by Him for us only because He was throughout both God and Man, the two natures in Him being inseparable (§§ 7—14). After reaching this conclusion from a general survey of Christ's life on earth, he examines in the light of it the Arian arguments from isolated words. They assert that Christ refused to be called *Good* or *Master*. He refused neither title, and yet declared that both belong to God only (§§ 15—18). And, indeed, He could not have associated Himself more closely than He did with the Father, while yet He kept His Person distinct (§ 19). The Father Himself bears witness to the Son; and the sin and loss of the Jews in this, that, seeing the Father's works done by Christ, they did not see in Him the Son (§§ 20, 21). The honor and glory of Christ is inseparable from that of God (§§ 22, 23). The Scribe did well to confess the Divine unity, but was still outside the Kingdom because He did not believe in Christ as God (§§ 24—27). Next, the Arian argument from the words, *This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent,* is refuted by comparison with cognate passages (§§ 28—35). For indeed, if the Father be the only true God, the Son must also be the only true God (§ 36). That Divine nature which is common to Father and Son is subject to no limitations, and the eternal generation can be illustrated by no analogy of created things (§ 37). Christ took humanity, and, since the Father's nature did not share in this, the unity was so far impaired. But humanity has been raised in Christ to God; and this could only be because His unity in the Divine nature with the Father was perfect. Otherwise the flesh which Christ took could not have entered into the Divine glory (§ 38).

There is but only gory of Father and of Son; the Son sought in the Incarnation not glory for the Word but for the flesh (§§ 39, 40). The glory of Father and Son is one; in that unity the Son bestows, as well as receives, glory (§§ 41, 42), and this glory, common to Both, is evidence that the Divine nature also is common to Both (§ 42). Again, the Arians allege the words, *The Son can do nothing of Himself*, which Hilary shows, by an examination of the contest, to be a support of the Catholic cause (§§ 43—46). The Son does the Father's work, not under compulsion as an inferior, but because They are One. His will is free, yet in perfect harmony with that of the Father, because of their unity of nature (§§ 47—50). The Arians also appeal to the text, *The Father is greater than I.* The Father is, in fact, greater, first as being the Unbegotten, and secondly inasmuch as the Son has condescended to the state of man, yet without forfeiting His Godhead (§ 51). But He is not greater in nature than the Son, Who is His Image; or rather, the Begetter is the greater, while the Son, as the Begotten, is not less than He, for, although begotten, He had no beginning of existence (§§ 52—57). Next, the allegation of ignorance, based on St. <41332 Mark 13:32, and therefore of difference in nature from God Omniscient is refuted (§§ 58—62), both by express statements of Scripture and by a consideration of the Divine character. It is only in figurative senses that God is stated in the Old Testament sometimes to come to know, sometimes to be ignorant of, particular facts (§§ 63, 64). And so it is with Christ; His ignorance is but a wise and merciful concealment of knowledge (§§ 65—67). Yet the Arians, though they admit that Christ, being superior to man, knows all the secrets of humanity, assert that He can and does, for Each is in the Other and is mirrored in the Other (§ 69). The ignorance can be nothing but concealment. Only the Father knows, i.e. He has told none but the Son; the Son dies not know, i.e. He will not to reveal His knowledge (§§ 70, 71). God is unlimited; unlimited therefore in knowledge, They are One (§§ 72—74). And the Apostles, by repeating their question after the Resurrection, show that they were aware that His ignorance meant reserve. And Christ did not, this time, speak of ignorance, though He withheld the knowledge which they asked (§ 75).

BOOK 10. Theological differences are not the result of honest reasoning, but of reasoning distorted, as in the case of the Arians, by preconceived opinions, whose cause is sin and their result hypocrisy (§§ 1—3). Hilary

had fallen on the evil times foretold by the Apostle; truth is banished and so is he, yet his sufferings do not affect his joy in the Lord (§ 4). In the preceding books he has stated the exact truth, of which he now gives a summary (§§ 5—8). But the further objection is raised that, while God is impassible, Christ in His Passion suffered fear and pain (§ 9). But He Who taught others not to fear death could not fear it Himself (§ 10). He died of His own free will, knowing that in three days His Body and Spirit would rise again (§§ 11, 12). Nor did He fear bodily tortures, for pain is an affection of the weak human soul, which inhabits our body, and is not felt by the body itself (§§ 13, 14). And, although the Virgin fulfilled entirely the part of the human mother, yet the Begetter was Divine. Christ, when He took the form of a servant, remained still in the form of God, and was born perfect even as the Begetter was perfect, for Mary was not the Cause, but only the means, of His human life (§§ 15, 16). St. Paul draws a clear distinction between the First Man, who was earthly, and the Second Man, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and in Whom what is Flesh, in one aspect, in Bread from heaven in another (§§ 17, 18). He is therefore perfect Man as well as perfect God, and did not inherit the flesh or the soul of Adam. His whole human nature is derived from the Holy Ghost, by Whom the Virgin conceived (§§ 19, 20). Again (§ 21) the Arians argue that the Word was in Jesus in the same sense in which the Spirit was in the Prophets, and reproach the Catholics with denying the true humanity of Christ. Hilary replies that just as Christ was the cause of the birth of His own human Body, so He was the Author of His own human Soul; for no soul is transmitted. Thus His human nature is complete; He has taken the form of a servant, but all the while He is in the form of God, i.e. He Who is God and also Man is one Christ, Who was born and died and rose (§ 22). In all this He endured passion but not pain, even as air or water, if pierced by a blow, is unaffected by it. The blow is real, and the Passion was real; but it was not inflicted on our limited humanity but on a human nature which could walk on water and pass through locked doors (§ 23). If it be argued that he wept, hungered, thirsted, Hilary answers that He could wipe away tears and supply needs, and therefore was not subject to them; that though He endured them, and true Man, He was not affected by them. Such sufferings are habitual with men, and He endured them to show that He had a true Body (§ 24). For such a Body He had, although)since He was not conceived in sin) one free from the defects of our bodies; not

sinful flesh, but only the likeness of sinful flesh. For he was the Word made Flesh, and continued to be true God as He had been before (§§ 25, 26). The Lord f glory suffered neither fear nor pain in His Passion, as is shown by the powers which He exercised on the verge of death (§§ 27, 28). His utterances in the Garden and on the Cross are not evidences of pain or fear, for they may be matched by lofty expressions of calmness and hope (§§ 29—32). Thus no proof or fear or pain or weakness can be drawn from the circumstances of the Passion. Nor was the Cross a shame, for it was His road from humiliation to glory (§ 33), nor the descent to hell a degradation, for all the while He was in heaven. How different the faith of the Thief on the cross to that of the Arian! (§ 34). The argument is summed up in § 35. Next the Agony is considered. Christ does not say that He is sorrowful on account of death, by *unto death.* It is anxiety on the Apostle's account, lest their faith should fail; a fear which reached to His death, not beyond, for He knew that after His death His glory would revive their faith. This was the fear in which He was comforted by the Angel; for Himself He was fearless, being conscious of His Godhead (§§ 36—43). He was free from pain and fear, for it is the sinful body which transmits these affections to the soul. Yet even human bodies rise sometimes superior to them, e.g. Daniel and other heroes of faith: how much more Christ (§§ 44—46). In the same way we must understand His bearing our suffering and our sin (§ 47), for, as St. Paul says, His Passion was itself a triumph (§ 48). The complaint that He was forsaken by the Father is similarly explained (§ 49). The purpose of the Arian argument is to displace the truth of Christ as very God and very man in favor of one or other heretical hypothesis, all of which the Church rejects (§§ 50—52). Our reason must recognize its limitations and be content to believe, without understanding, apparently contradictory truths (§§ 53, 54). Christ weeping over Jerusalem and at the grave of Lazarus is equally inexplicable, yet certain (§§ 55, 56). His laying down and taking again His life is accounted for by the two natures inseparably united in one Person (§§ 57—62). After a short summary (§ 63) he returns to the union of two natures, which is the stumbling block of worldly wisdom (§ 64), and shows it to be the only reasonable explanation of the facts (§§ 65, 66). As St. Paul says, our belief must be *according to the Scriptures;* the necessity and the rewards of faith (§§ 67—70). The seeming infirmity of Christ was assumed for our instruction and for our salvation.

BOOK 11. The Faith is one, even as God is One; but the faiths of heretics are many (§§ 1, 2). Hilary has now demonstrated the truth about Christ, so that it cannot be denied; it is attested also by miracles even in his own day (§ 3). The Arians preach another, a created Christ; and in making Christ a creature they proclaim another God, not a Father but a Creator (§ 4). The Son, as the Image, is of one nature with the Father; if He is inferior He is not the Image (§ 5). But the Arians explain the oneness away by arguments from His condescension to our estate (§ 6), and, even after His Resurrection, plead that He confesses His inequality. They argue thus from I Corinthians 15:24—28, a passage to which the rest of the book is devoted (§§ 7, 8). but we must recognize the mysteriousness of the truth, accepting the two sides of it, both clearly revealed though we cannot reconcile them (§ 9). They regard only one aspect; Hilary in reply proves once more that Christ is both born from God, and Himself God (§§ 10—12). But at His Incarnation he began to have as Lord the God Who had been His Father eternally (§ 13), and when He said the He was ascending to *His God*, He spoke as when He calls His brethren (§§ 14, 15). Thus there are two senses in which God is the Father of Christ; and He Who is Father to Christ the Son is Lord to Christ the Servant (§§ 16, 17). And it was to Him as Servant that the Psalmist said, *Thy God hath anointed Thee;* the words would have not meaning if addressed to Him as Son (§§ 18, 19). It is through this lower nature that He is our Brother and God our Father, and He the Mediator (§ 20).But it is argued that His subjection at the last and the delivery of the kingdom to the Father is a proof of inequality. The passage must be taken as a whole (§§ 21, 22). There are some truths which it is difficult for man to grasp, and if we misunderstand them we must not be ashamed to confess our error (§§ 23, 24). In this passage the Arians aid their case by changing the order of the prophecy (§§ 25—27). *The end* means a final and enduring state, not the coming to an end (§ 28), and though He delivers up the kingdom He does not cease to reign (§ 29). His subjection to the Father and the subjection of all things to Him is next considered; in one sense it is figurative language, in another it proves the unity of Father and Son. The subjection of the Son means His partaking in the glory of the Father (§§ 30—36). The Transfiguration shows the glory of Christ’s Body; a glory which the faithful shall share (§§ 37, 38). The righteous are His kingdom, which He, as Man, shall deliver to the Father, for *By man came also the resurrection of the dead* (§ 39). And at last God

shall be all in all, humanity in Christ not being declared, but glorified and received into the Godhead (§ 40). Christ, as well as St. Paul, has foretold the (§ 41, 42). The Arian misrepresentation of this truth is mere folly (§ 43). Any rational explanation must assume that God's majesty cannot be augmented, even as it cannot be measured (§§ 44, 45), while our reason is limited, and so contrasted with the Divine infinity. God cannot become greater than He was in becoming *All in all.* Father and Son, after as before, must Each be as He was (§§ 46—48). All was done for us that we might be glorified, being conformed to the likeness of Him Who is the Image of the Father (§ 49).

BOOK 12. Hilary gives a final explanation of the great Arian text, *The Lord created me for a beginning of His ways;* the words must not be taken literally. Christ is not created, by Creator (§§ 1—5). If He is a creature, the Father also is a creature, for They are One in nature and in honor (§§ 6, 7). The similar passage, *I begat Thee from the womb,* is figurative; elsewhere God's Hands and Eyes are spoken of. The sense is that the Son is God from God (§§ 8—10). Nor was Christ made; He is the Son, not the handiwork, of the Father (§§ 11, 12). And His Sonship is immediate, not derivative like ours, or like that of Israel His firstborn. This latter kind of sonship has a definite beginning of existence, and an origin out of nothing (§§ 13—16). The Arian arguments fail to prove that the Sonship of Christ has either of these characters (§§ 17, 18). Truth is to be attained not by self-confidence arguing but by faith (§ 19), yet it is not enough for us to avoid their reasonings; we must overthrow them (§ 20). the Son was born from eternity , being the Son of the eternal Father (§ 21). The objection that sonship involves beginning does not hold in His case (§§ 22, 23). The Son has all that the Father has; He has therefore eternity and an unconditioned existence (§ 24). He is from the Eternal, and therefore eternal Himself; from the Eternal, and therefore not from nothing. Reason cannot grasp, and therefore cannot refute, this. We must not assert that there was a time before He was born, a time when He was not (§§ 25—27). We must not argue, from the analogy of our own birth, that the truth is impossible (§ 28), not that, because of His eternal existence, the son was not born (§§ 29—32). Again, the Arians deny the eternal Fatherhood of God; He always existed, they say, but was not always the Father. This contradicts Scripture (§§ 33, 34). They argue that Wisdom is said to be the

first of God’s creatures; but creation, in this sense, is a synonym for generation, and Wisdom was antecedent to creation (§§ 40, 41). Nor may we believe that Christ was a begotten simply in order to perform the creative work, as God’s Minister, for Wisdom took part in the design as well as in the execution (§§ 42, 43). And again, Wisdom is spoken of as created, as an indication of Her control over created things (§ 44). The creation to be a beginning of God’s ways is a separate event from the eternal generation. It means that Christ, as the Way of Life, under the Old Covenant took the semblance, under the New covenant the substance, of the creature man, to lead us into the way. The two senses must not be confused (§§ 45—49). Yet mere inaccuracy of speech, without heretical intent, is not unpardonable (§ 50). After a final assertion (§ 51) of faith in Christ as God from God, the eternal Son, Hilary appeals to the Almighty Father, declaring his creed, his consciousness of human infirmity and of the need of faith (§§ 52, 53). The Son is the Only-begotten of God, the Second because He is the Son (§ 54). The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son. He also is no creature, but of one nature with the God Whose mysteries He knows, and ineffable like Him Whose Spirit He is (§ 55). Finally, Hilary prays that, as he was baptized, so he may remain in the faith of Three Persons in One God.

ON THE TRINITY

BOOK 1

1. WHEN I was seeking an employment adequate to the powers of human life and righteous in itself, whether prompted by nature or suggested by the researches of the wise, whereby I might attain to some result worthy of that Divine gift of understanding which has been given us, many things occurred to me which in general esteem were thought to render life both useful and desirable. And especially that which now, as always in the past, is regarded as most to be desired, leisure combined with wealth, came before my mind. The one without the other seemed rather a source of evil than an opportunity for good, for leisure in poverty is felt to be almost an exile from life itself, while wealth possessed amid anxiety is in itself an affliction, rendered the worse by the deeper humiliation which he must suffer who loses, after possessing, the things that most are wished and sought. And yet, though these two embrace the highest and best of the luxuries of life, they seem not far removed from the normal pleasures of the beasts which, as they roam through shady places rich in herbage, enjoy at once their safety from toil and the abundance of their food. For if this be regarded as the best and most perfect conduct of the life of man, it results that one Object is common, though the range of feelings differ, to us and the whole unreasoning animal world, Since all of them, in that bounteous provision and absolute leisure which nature bestows, have full scope for enjoyment without anxiety for possession.

2. I believe that the mass of mankind have spurned from themselves and censured in others this acquiescence in a thoughtless, animal life, for no other reason than that nature herself has taught them that it is unworthy of humanity to hold themselves born only to gratify their greed and their sloth, and ushered into life for no high aim of glorious deed or fair accomplishment, and that this very life was granted without the power of progress towards immortality; a life, indeed, which then we should confidently assert did not deserve to be regarded as a gift of God, since, racked by pain and laden with trouble, it wastes itself upon itself from the

blank mind of infancy to the wanderings of age. I believe that men, prompted by nature herself, have raised themselves through teaching and practice to the virtues which we name patience and temperance and forbearance, under the conviction that right living means right action and right thought, and that Immortal God has not given life only to end in death; for none can believe that the Giver of good has bestowed the pleasant sense of life in order that it may be overcast by the gloomy fear of dying.

3. And yet, though I could not tax with folly and uselessness this counsel of theirs to keep the soul free from blame, and evade by foresight or elude by skill or endure with patience the troubles of life, still I could not regard these men as guides competent to lead me to the good and happy Life. Their precepts were platitudes, on the mere level of human impulse; animal instinct could not fail to comprehend them, and he who understood but disobeyed would have fallen into an insanity baser than animal unreason. Moreover, my soul was eager not merely to do the things, neglect of which brings shame and suffering, but to know the God and Father Who had given this great gift, to Whom, it felt, it owed its whole self, Whose service was its true honor, on Whom all its hopes were fixed, in Whose lovingkindness, as in a safe home and haven, it could rest amid all the troubles of this anxious life. It was inflamed with a passionate desire to apprehend Him or to know Him.

4. Some of these teachers brought forward large households of dubious deities, and under the persuasion that there is a sexual activity in divine beings narrated births and lineages from God to God. Others asserted that there were gods greater and less, of distinction proportionate to their power. Some denied the existence of any gods whatever, and confined their reverence to a nature which, in their opinion owes its being to chance-led vibrations and collisions. On the other hand, many followed the common belief in asserting the existence of a God, but proclaimed Him heedless and indifferent to the affairs of men. Again, some worshipped in the elements of earth and air the actual bodily and visible forms of created things; and, finally, some made their gods dwell within images of men or of beasts, tame or wild, of birds or of snakes, and confined the Lord of the universe and Father of infinity within these narrow prisons of metal or stone or wood. These I was sure, could be no exponents of truth, for though they

were at one in the absurdity, the foulness, the impiety of their observances, they were at variance concerning the essential articles of their senseless belief. My soul was distracted amid all these claims, yet still it pressed along that profitable road which leads inevitably to the true knowledge of God. It could not hold that neglect of a world created by Himself was worthily to be attributed to God, or that deities endowed with sex, and lines of begetters and begotten, were compatible with the pure and mighty nature of the Godhead. Nay, rather, it was sure that that which is Divine and eternal must be one without distinction of sex, for that which is self-existent cannot have left outside itself anything superior to itself. Hence omnipotence and eternity are the possession of One only, for omnipotence is incapable of degrees of strength or weakness, and eternity of priority or succession. In God we must worship absolute eternity and absolute power.

5. While my mind was dwelling on these and on many like thoughts, I chanced upon the books which, according to the tradition of the Hebrew faith, were written by Moses and the prophets, and found in these words spoken by God the Creator testifying of Himself 'I AM THAT I AM, and again, HE THAT IS hath sent me unto you.' I confess that I was amazed to find in them an indication concerning God so exact that it expressed in the terms best adapted to human understanding an unattainable insight into the mystery of the Divine nature. For no property of God which the mind can grasp is more characteristic of Him than existence, since existence, in the absolute sense, cannot be predicated of that which shall come to an end, or of that which has had a beginning, and He who now joins continuity of being with the possession of perfect felicity could not in the past, nor can in the future, be non-existent; for whatsoever is Divine can neither be originated nor destroyed. Wherefore, since God's eternity is inseparable from Himself, it was worthy of Him to reveal this one thing, that He is, as the assurance of His absolute eternity.

6. For such an indication of God's infinity the words 'I AM THAT I AM' were clearly adequate; but, in addition, we needed to apprehend the operation of His majesty and power. For while absolute existence is peculiar to Him Who, abiding eternally, had no beginning in a past however remote, we hear again an utterance worthy of Himself issuing from the eternal and Holy God, Who says, Who holdeth the heaven in His palm and

the earth in His hand, and again, The heaven is My throne and the earth is the footstool of My feet. What house will ye build Me or what shall be the place of My rest? The whole heaven is held in the palm of God, the whole earth grasped, in His hand. Now the word of God, profitable as it is to the cursory thought of a pious mind, reveals a deeper meaning to the patient student than to the momentary hearer. For this heaven which is held in the palm of God is also His throne, and the earth which is grasped in His hand is also the footstool beneath His feet. This was not written that from throne and footstool, metaphors drawn from the posture of one sitting. we should conclude that He has extension in space, as of a body, for that which is His throne and footstool is also held in hand and palm by that infinite Omnipotence. It was written that in all born and created things God might be known within them and without, overshadowing and indwelling, surrounding all and interfused through all, since palm and hand, which hold, reveal the might of His external control, while throne and footstool. by their support of a sitter, display the subservience of outward things to One within Who, Himself outside them, encloses all in His grasp, let dwells within the external world which is His own. In this wise does God, from within and from without, control and correspond to the universe; being infinite He is present in all things, in Him Who is infinite all are included. In devout thoughts such as these my soul, engrossed in the pursuit of truth, took its delight. For it seemed that the greatness of God so far surpassed the mental powers of His handiwork, that however far the limited mind of man might strain in the hazardous effort to define Him, the gap was not lessened between the finite nature which struggled and the boundless infinity that lay beyond its ken, I had come by reverent reflection on my own part to understand this, but I found it confirmed by the words of the prophet, Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from Thy face? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I go down into hell, Thou art there also; if I have taken my wings before dawn and made my dwelling in the uttermost parts of the sea (Thou art there). For thither Thy hand shall guide me and Thy right hand shall hold me. There is no space where God is not; space does not exist apart from Him. He is in heaven, in hell, beyond the seas; dwelling in all things and enveloping all. Thus He embraces, and is embraced by, the universe, confined to no part of it but pervading all.

7. Therefore, although my soul drew joy from the apprehension of this august and unfathomable Mind, because it could worship as its own Father and Creator so limitless an Infinity, yet with a still more eager desire it sought to know the true aspect of its infinite and eternal Lord, that it might be able to believe that that immeasurable Deity was appareled in splendor befitting the beauty of His wisdom. Then, while the devout soul was baffled and astray through its own feebleness, it caught from the prophet's voice this scale of comparison for God, admirably expressed, By the greatness of His works and the beauty of the things that He hath made the Creator of worlds is rightly discerned. The Creator of great things is supreme in greatness, of beautiful things in beauty. Since the work transcends our thoughts, all thought must be transcended by the Maker. Thus heaven and air and earth and seas are fair: fair also the whole universe, as the Greeks agree, who from its beautiful ordering call it κόσμος, that is, order. But if our thought can estimate this beauty of the universe by a natural instinct — an instinct such as we see in certain birds and beasts whose voice, though it fall below the level of our understanding, yet has a sense clear to them though they cannot utter it, and in which, since all speech is the expression of some thought, there lies a meaning patent to themselves — must not the Lord of this universal beauty be recognized as Himself most beautiful amid all the beauty that surrounds Him? For though the splendor of His eternal glory overtax our mind's best powers, it cannot fail to see that He is beautiful. We must in truth confess that God is most beautiful, and that with a beauty which, though it transcend our comprehension, forces itself upon our perception.

8. Thus my mind, full of these results which by its own reflection and the teaching of Scripture it had attained, rested with assurance, as on some peaceful watch-tower, upon that glorious conclusion, recognizing that its true nature made it capable of one homage to its Creator, and of none other, whether greater or less; the homage namely of conviction that His is a greatness too vast for our comprehension but not for our faith. For a reasonable faith is akin to reason and accepts its aid, even though that same reason cannot cope with the vastness of eternal Omnipotence.

9. Beneath all these thoughts lay an instinctive hope, which strengthened my assertion of the faith, in some perfect blessedness hereafter to be earned by devout thoughts concerning God and upright life; the reward, as

it were, that awaits the triumphant warrior. For true faith in God would pass unrewarded, if the soul be destroyed by death, and quenched in the extinction of bodily life. Even unaided reason pleaded that it was unworthy of God to usher man into an existence which has some share of His thought and wisdom, only to await the sentence of life withdrawn and of eternal death; to create him out of nothing to take his place in the World, only that when he has taken it he may perish. For, on the only rational theory of creation, its purpose was that things non-existent should come into being, not that things existing should cease to be.

10. Yet my soul was weighed down with fear both for itself and for the body. It retained a firm conviction, and a devout loyalty to the true faith concerning God, but had come to harbor a deep anxiety concerning itself and the bodily dwelling which must, it thought, share its destruction. While in this state, in addition to its knowledge of the teaching of the Law and Prophets, it learned the truths taught by the Apostle in the Gospel; — In the beginning was the Ward, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him, and without Him was not anything made. That which was made in Him is life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for witness, that he might bear witness of the light. That was the true light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. He was in the world, and the world was made through Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own things, and they that were His own received Him not. But to as many as received Him He gave power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on His Name; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth. Here the soul makes an advance beyond the attainment of its natural capacities, is taught more than it had dreamed concerning God. For it learns that its Creator is God of God; it hears that the Word is God and was with God in the beginning. It comes to understand that the Light of the world was abiding in the world and that the world knew Him not; that He came to His own possession and that they that were His own received Him not; but that they who do receive

Him by virtue of their faith advance to be sons of God, being born not of the embrace of the flesh nor of the conception of the blood nor of bodily desire, but of God; finally, it learns that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and that His glory was seen, which, as of the Only-begotten from the Father, is perfect through grace and truth.

11. Herein my soul, trembling and distressed, found a hope wider than it had imagined. First came its introduction to the knowledge of God the Father. Then it learnt that the eternity and infinity and beauty which, by the light of natural reason, it had attributed to its Creator belonged also to God the Only-begotten. It did not disperse its faith among a plurality of deities, for it heard that He is God of God; nor did it fall into the error of attributing a difference of nature to this God of God, for it learnt that He is full of grace and truth. Nor yet did my soul perceive anything contrary to reason in God of God, since He was revealed as having been in the beginning God with God. It saw that there are very few who attain to the knowledge of this saving faith, though its reward be great, for even His own received Him not though they who receive Him are promoted to be sons of God by a birth, not of the flesh but of faith. It learnt also that this sonship to God is not a compulsion but a possibility. for, while the Divine gift is offered to all, it is no heredity inevitably imprinted but a prize awarded to willing choice. And test this very truth that whosoever will may become a son of God should stagger the weakness of our faith (for most we desire, but least expect, that which from its very greatness we find it hard to hope for), God the Word became flesh, that through His Incarnation our flesh might attain to union with God the Word. And lest we should think that this incarnate Word was some other than God the Word, or that His flesh was of a body different from ours, He dwelt among us that by His dwelling He might be known as the indwelling God, and, by His dwelling among us, known as God incarnate in no other flesh than our own, and moreover, though He had condescended to take our flesh, not destitute of His own attributes; for He, the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, is fully possessed of His own attributes and truly endowed with ours.

12. This lesson in the Divine mysteries was gladly welcomed by my soul, now drawing near through the flesh to God, called to new birth through faith, entrusted with liberty and power to win the heavenly regeneration,

conscious of the love of its Father and Creator, sure that He would not annihilate a creature whom He had summoned out of nothing into life. And it could estimate how high are these truths above the mental vision of man; for the reason which deals with the common objects of thought can conceive of nothing as existent beyond what it perceives within itself or can create out of itself. My soul measured the mighty workings of God, wrought on the scale of His eternal omnipotence, not by its own powers of perception but by a boundless faith; and therefore refused to disbelieve, because it could not understand, that God was in the beginning with God, and that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, but bore in mind the truth that with the will to believe would come the power to understand.

13. And lest the soul should stray and linger in some delusion of heathen philosophy, it receives this further lesson of perfect loyalty to the holy faith, taught by the Apostle in words inspired: — Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the word, and not after Christ; for in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and ye are made full in Him, Which is the Head of all principality and power; in Whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in putting off the body, of the flesh, but wash the circumcision of Christ; buried with Him in Baptism, wherein also ye have risen again through faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead. And you, when ye were dead in sins and in the uncircumcision of your flesh, He hath quickened with Him, having forgiven you all your sins, blotting out the band which was against us by its ordinances, which was contrary to us; and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the Cross; and having put off the flesh He made a show of powers openly, triumphing over them through confidence in Himself. Steadfast faith rejects the vain subtleties of philosophic enquiry; truth refuses to be vanquished by these treacherous devices of human folly, and enslaved by falsehood. It will not confine God within the limits which barred our common reason, nor judge after the rudiments of the world concerning Christ, in Whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and in such wise that the utmost efforts of the earthly mind to comprehend Him are baffled by that immeasurable Eternity and Omnipotence. My soul judged of Him as One Who, drawing us upward to partake of His own Divine nature, has loosened henceforth the bond of

bodily observances Who, unlike the Symbolic Law, has initiated us into no rites of mutilating the flesh, but Whose purpose is that our spirit, circumcised from vice, should purify all the natural faculties of the body by abstinence from sin, that we being buried with His Death in Baptism may return to the life of eternity (since regeneration to life is death to the former life), and dying to our sins be born again to immortality, that even as He abandoned His immortality to die for us, so should we awaken from death to immortality with Him. For He took upon Him the flesh in which we have sinned that by wearing our flesh He might forgive sins; a flesh which He shares with us by wearing it, not by sinning in it. He blotted out through death the sentence of death, that by a new creation of our race in Himself He might sweep away the penalty appointed by the former Law. He let them nail Him to the cross that He might nail to the curse of the cross and abolish all the curses to which the world is condemned. He suffered as man to the utmost that He might put powers to shame. For Scripture had foretold that He Who is God should die; that the victory and triumph of them that trust in Him lay in the fact that He, Who is immortal and cannot be overcome by death, was to die that mortals might gain eternity. These deeds of God, wrought in a manner beyond our comprehension, cannot, I repeat, be understood by our natural faculties, for the work of the Infinite and Eternal can only be grasped by an infinite intelligence. Hence, just as the truths that God became man, that the Immortal died that the Eternal was buried, do not belong to the rational order but are an unique work of power, so on the other hand it is an effect not of intellect but of omnipotence that He Who is man is also God, that He Who died is immortal, that He Who was buried is eternal. We, then, are raised together by God in Christ through His death. But, since in Christ there is the fullness of the Godhead, we have herein a revelation of God the Father joining to raise us in Him Who died; and we must confess that Christ Jesus is none other than God in all the fullness of the Deity.

14. In this calm assurance of safety did my soul gladly and hopefully take its rest, and feared so little the interruption of death, that death seemed only a name for eternal life. And the life of this present body was so far from seeming a burden or affliction that it was regarded as children regard their alphabet, sick men their draught, shipwrecked sailors their swim, young men the training for their profession, future commanders their first

campaign; that is, as an endurable submission to present necessities, bearing the promise of a blissful immortality. And further, I began to proclaim those truths in which my soul had a personal faith, as a duty of the episcopate which had been laid upon me, employing my office to promote the salvation of all men.

15. While I was thus engaged there came to light certain fallacies of rash and wicked men, hopeless for themselves and merciless towards others, who made their own feeble nature the measure of the might of God's nature. They claimed, not that they had ascended to an infinite knowledge of infinite things, but that they had reduced all knowledge, undefined before, within the scope of ordinary reason, and fixed the limits of the faith. Whereas the true work of religion is a service of obedience; and these were men heedless of their own weakness, reckless of Divine realities, who undertook to improve upon the teaching of God.

16. Not to touch upon the vain enquiries of other heretics — concerning whom however, when the course of my argument gives occasion, I will not be silent — there are those who tamper with the faith of the Gospel by denying, under the cloak of loyalty to the One God, the birth of God the Only-begotten. They assert that there was an extension of God into man, not a descent; that He, Who for the season that He took our flesh was Son of Man, had not been previously, nor was then, Son of God; that there was no Divine birth in His case, but an identity of Begetter and Begotten; and (to maintain what they consider a perfect loyalty to the unity of God) that there was an unbroken continuity in the Incarnation, the Father extending Himself into the Virgin, and Himself being born as His own Son. Others, on the contrary (heretics, because there is no salvation apart from Christ, Who in the beginning was God the Word with God), deny that He was born and declare that He was merely created. Birth, they hold, would confess Him to be true God, while creation proves His Godhead unreal; and though this explanation be a fraud against the faith in the unity of God, regarded as an accurate definition, yet they think it may pass muster as figurative language. They degrade, in name and in belief, His true birth to the level of a creation, to cut Him off front the Divine unity, that, as a creature called into being, He may not claim the fullness of the Godhead, which is not His by a true birth.

17. My soul has been burning to answer these insane attacks. I call to mind that the very center of a saving faith is the belief not merely in God, but in God as a Father; not merely in Christ, but in Christ as the Son of God; in Him, not as a creature, but as God the Creator, born of God. My prime object is by the clear assertions of prophets and evangelists to refute the insanity and ignorance of men who use the unity of God (in itself a pious and profitable confession) as a cloak for their denial either that in Christ God was born, or else that He is very God. Their purpose is to isolate a solitary God at the heart of the faith by making Christ, though mighty, only a creature; because, so they allege, a birth of God widens the believer's faith into a trust in more gods than one. But we, divinely taught to confess neither two Gods nor yet a solitary God, will adduce the evidence of the Gospels and the prophets for our confession of God the Father and God the Son, united, not confounded, in our faith. We will not admit Their identity nor allow, as a compromise, that Christ is God in some imperfect sense; for God, born of God, cannot be the same as His Father, since He is His Son, nor yet can He be different in nature.

18. And you, whose warmth of faith and passion for a truth unknown to the world and its philosophers shall prompt to read me, must remember to eschew the feeble and baseless conjectures of earthly minds, and in devout willingness to learn must break down the barriers of prejudice and half-knowledge. The new faculties of the regenerate intellect are needed; each must have his understanding enlightened by the heavenly gift imparted to the soul. First he must take his stand upon the sure ground [substantia = ὑποστάσει] of God, as holy Jeremiah says, that since he is to hear about that nature [substantial he may expand his thoughts till they are worthy of the theme, not fixing some arbitrary standard for himself, but judging as of infinity. And again, though he be aware that he is partaker of the Divine nature, as the holy apostle Peter says in his second Epistle, yet he must not measure the Divine nature by the limitations of his own, but gauge God's assertions concerning Himself by the scale of His own glorious self-revelation. For he is the best student who does not read his thoughts into the book, but lets it reveal its own; who draws from it its sense, and does not import his own into it, nor force upon its words a meaning which he had determined was the right one before he opened its pages. Since then we are to discourse of the things of God, let us assume

that God has full knowledge of Himself, and bow with humble reverence to His words. For He Whom we can only know through His own utterances is the fitting witness concerning Himself.

19. If in our discussion of the nature and birth of God we adduce certain analogies, let no one suppose that such comparisons are perfect and complete. There can be no comparison between God and earthly things, yet the weakness of our understanding forces us to seek for illustrations from a lower sphere to explain our meaning about loftier themes. The course of daily life shews how our experience in ordinary matters enables us to form conclusions on unfamiliar subjects. We must therefore regard any comparison as helpful to man rather than as descriptive of God, since it suggests, rather than exhausts, the sense we seek. Nor let such a comparison be thought too bold when it sets side by side carnal and spiritual natures, things invisible and things palpable, since it avows itself a necessary aid to the weakness of the human mind, and deprecates the condemnation due to an imperfect analogy. On this principle I proceed with my task, intending to use the terms supplied by God, yet coloring my argument with illustrations drawn from human life.

20. And first, I have so laid out the plan of the whole work as to consult the advantage of the reader by the logical order in which its books are arranged. It has been my resolve to publish no half-finished and ill-considered treatise, lest its disorderly array should resemble the confused clamor of a mob of peasants. And since no one can scale a precipice unless there be jutting ledges to aid his progress to the summit, I have here set down in order the primary outlines of our ascent leading our difficult course of argument up the easiest path; not cutting steps in the face of the rock, but leveling it to a gentle slope, that so the traveler, almost without a sense of effort may reach the heights.

21. Thus, after the present first book, the second expounds the mystery of the Divine birth, that those who shall be baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost may know the true Names, and not be perplexed about their sense but accurately informed as to fact and meaning, and so receive full assurance that in the words which are used they have the true Names, and that those Names involve the truth.

22. After this short and simple discourse concerning the Trinity, the third book makes further progress, sure though slow. Citing the greatest instances of His power, it brings within the range of faith's understanding that saying, in itself beyond our comprehension, I in the Father and the Father in Me, which Christ utters concerning Himself. Thus truth beyond the dull wit of man is the prize of faith equipped with reason and knowledge; for neither may we doubt God's Word concerning Himself, nor can we suppose that the devout reason is incapable of apprehending His might.

23. The fourth book starts With the doctrines of the heretics, and disowns complicity in the fallacies whereby they are traducing the faith of the Church. It publishes that infidel creed which a number of them have lately promulgated, and exposes the dishonesty, and therefore the wickedness, of their arguments from the Law for what they call the unity of God. It sets out the whole evidence of Law and Prophets to demonstrate the impiety of asserting the unity of God to the exclusion of the Godhead of Christ, and the treason of alleging that if Christ be God the Only-begotten, then God is not one.

24. The fifth book follows in reply the sequence of heretical assertion. They had falsely declared that they followed the law in the sense which they assigned to the unity of God, and that they had proved from it that the true God is of one Person; and this in order to rob the Lord Christ of His birth by their conclusion concerning the One true God, for birth is the evidence of origin. In answer I assert, step by step, what they deny; for from the Law and the Prophets I demonstrate that there are not two gods, nor one isolated true God, neither perverting the faith in the Divine unity nor denying the birth of Christ. And since they say that the Lord Jesus Christ, created rather than born, bears the Divine Name by gift and not by right, I have proved His true Divinity from the Prophets in such a way that, He being acknowledged very God, the assurance of His inherent Godhead shall hold us fast to the certainty that God is One.

25. The sixth book reveals the full deceitfulness of this heretical teaching. To win credit for their assertions they denounce the impious doctrine of heretics: — of Valentinus, to wit, and Sabellius and Manichaeus and Hieracas, and appropriate the godly language of the Church as a cover for

their blasphemy. They reprove and alter the language of these heretics, correcting it into a vague resemblance to orthodoxy, in order to suppress the holy faith while apparently denouncing heresy. But we state clearly what is the language and what the doctrine of each of these men, and acquit the Church of any complicity or fellowship with condemned heretics. Their words which deserve condemnation we condemn, and those which claim our humble acceptance we accept. Thus that Divine Sonship of Jesus Christ, which is the object of their most strenuous denial, we prove by the witness of the Father, by Christ's own assertion, by the preaching of Apostles, by the faith of believers, by the cries of devils, by the contradiction of Jews, in itself a confession, by the recognition of the heathen who had not known God; and all this to rescue from dispute a truth of which Christ had left us no excuse for ignorance.

26. Next the seventh book, starting from the basis of a true faith now attained, delivers its verdict in the great debate. First, armed with its sound and incontrovertible proof of the impregnable faith, it takes part in the conflict raging between Sabellius and Hebion and these opponents of the true Godhead. It joins issue with Sabellius on his denial of the pre-existence of Christ, and with his assailants on their assertion that He is a creature. Sabellius overlooked the eternity of the Son, but believed that true God worked in a human body. Our present adversaries deny that He was born, assert that He was created, and fail to see in His deeds the works of very God. What both sides dispute, we believe. Sabellius denies that it was the Son who was working, and he is wrong; but he proves his case triumphantly when he alleges that the work done was that of true God. The Church shares his victory over those who deny that in Christ was very God. But when Sabellius denies that Christ existed before the worlds, his adversaries prove to conviction that Christ's activity is from everlasting, and we are on their side in this confutation of Sabellius, who recognizes true God, but not God the Son, in this activity. And our two previous adversaries join forces to refute Hebion, the second demonstrating the eternal existence of Christ, while the first proves that His work is that of very God. Thus the heretics overthrow one another, while the Church, as against Sabellius, against those who call Christ a creature, against Hebion, bears witness that the Lord Jesus Christ is very God of very God, born before the worlds and born in after times as man.

27. No one can doubt that we have taken the course of true reverence and of sound doctrine when, after proving from Law and Prophets first that Christ is the Son of God, and next that He is true God, and flits without breach of the mysterious unity, we proceed to support the Law and the Prophets by the evidence of the Gospels, and prove from them also that He is the Son of God and Himself very God. It is the easiest of tasks, after demonstrating His right to the Name of Son, to shew that the Name truly describes His relation to the Father; though indeed universal usage regards the granting of the name of son as convincing evidence of sonship. But, to leave no loophole for the trickery and deceit of these traducers of the true birth of God the Only-begotten, we have used His true Godhead as evidence of His true Sonship; to shew that He Who (as is confessed by all) bears the Name of Son of God is actually God, we have adduced His Name, His birth, His nature, His power, His assertions. We have proved that His Name is an accurate description of Himself, that the title of Son is an evidence of birth, that in His birth He retained His Divine Nature, and with His nature His power, and that that power manifested itself in conscious and deliberate self-revelation. I have set down the Gospel proofs of each several point, shewing how His self-revelation displays His power. how His power reveals His nature, how His nature is His by birthright, and from His birth comes His title to the name of Son. Thus every whisper of blasphemy is silenced, for the Lord Jesus Christ Himself by the witness of His own mouth has taught us that He is, as His Name, His birth, His nature, His power declare, in the true sense of Deity, very God of very God.

28. While its two predecessors have been devoted to the confirmation of the faith in Christ as Son of God and true God, the eighth book is taken up with the proof of the unity of God, shewing that this unity is consistent with the birth of the Son, and that the birth involves no duality in the Godhead. First it exposes the sophistry with which these heretics have attempted to avoid, though they could not deny, the confession of the real existence of God, Father and Son; it demolishes their helpless and absurd plea that in such passages as, And the multitude of them that believed were one soul and heart, and again, He that planteth and He that watereth are one, and Neither far these only do I pray, but for them also that shall believe on Me through their word, that they may all be one, even as Thou,

Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, a unity of will and mind, not of Divinity, is expressed. From a consideration of the true sense of these texts we shew that they involve the reality of the Divine birth; and then, displaying the whole series of our Lord's self-revelations, we exhibit, in the language of Apostles and in the very words of the Holy Spirit, the whole and perfect mystery of the glory of God as Father and as Only-begotten Son. Because there is a Father we know that there is a Son; in that Son the Father is manifested to us, and hence our certainty that He is born the Only-begotten and that He is very God.

29. In matters essential to salvation it is not enough to advance the proofs which faith supplies and finds sufficient. Arguments which we have not tested may delude us into a misapprehension of the meaning of our own words, unless we take the offensive by exposing the hollowness of the enemy's proofs, and so establish our own faith upon the demonstrated absurdity of his. The ninth book, therefore, is employed in refuting the arguments by which the heretics attempt to invalidate the birth of God the Only-begotten; — heretics who ignore the mystery of the revelation hidden from the beginning of the world, and forget that the Gospel faith proclaims the union of God and man. For their denial that our Lord Jesus Christ is God, like unto God and equal with God as Son with Father, born of God and by right of His birth subsisting as very Spirit, they are accustomed to appeal to such words of our Lord as, Why callest thou Me good? None is good save One, even God. They argue that by His reproof of the man who called Him good, and by His assertion of the goodness of God only, He excludes Himself from the goodness of that God Who alone is good and from that true Divinity which belongs only to One. With this text their blasphemous reasoning connects another, And this is life eternal that they should know Thee the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, Jesus Christ. Here, they say, He confesses that the Father is the only true God, and that He Himself is neither true nor God, since this recognition of an only true God is limited to the Possessor of the attributes assigned. And they profess to be quite clear about His meaning in this passage, since He also says, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing. The fact that He can only copy is said to be evidence of the limitation of His nature. There can be no comparison

between Omnipotence and One whose action is dependent upon the previous activity of Another reason itself draws an absolute line between power and the want of power. That line is so clear that He Himself has avowed concerning God the Father, The Father is greater than I. So frank a confession silences all demur; it is blasphemy and madness to assign the dignity and nature of Gaol to One who disclaims them. So utterly devoid is He of the qualities of true God that He actually bears witness concerning Himself, But of that day and hour knoweth no one, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but God only A son who knows not his father's secret must, from his ignorance, be alien from the father who knows; a nature limited in knowledge cannot partake of that majesty and might which alone is exempt from the tyranny of ignorance.

30. We therefore expose the blasphemous misunderstanding at which they have arrived by distortion and perversion of the meaning of Christ's words. We account for those words by stating what manner of questions He was answering, at what times He was speaking, what partial knowledge He was deigning to impart; we make the circumstances explain the words, and do not force the former into consistency with the latter. Thus each case of variance, that for instance between The Father is greater than I, and I and the Father are One, or between None is good save One, even God, and He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also, or a difference so wide as that between Father, all things that are Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine, and That they may know Thee, the only, true God, or between I in the Father and the Father in Me, and But of the day and hour knoweth no one, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but the Father only, is explained by a discrimination between gradual revelation and full expression of His nature and power. Both are utterances of the same Speaker, and an exposition of the real force of each group will shew that Christ's true Godhead is no whir impaired because, to form the mystery of the Gospel faith, the birth and Name of Christ were revealed gradually, and under conditions which He chose of occasion and time.

31. The purpose of the tenth book is one in harmony with the faith. For since, in the folly which passes with them for wisdom, the heretics have twisted some Of the circumstances and utterances of the Passion into an insolent contradiction of the Divine nature and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, I am compelled to prove that this is a blasphemous

misinterpretation, and that these things were put on record by the Lord Himself as evidences of His true and absolute majesty. In their parody of the faith they deceive themselves with words such as, My soul is sorrowful even unto death. He, they think, must be far removed from the blissful and passionless life of God, over Whose soul brooded this crushing fear of an impending woe, Who under the pressure of suffering even humbled Himself to pray, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away from Me, and assuredly bore the appearance of fearing to endure the trials from which He prayed for release; Whose whole nature was so overwhelmed by agony that in those moments on the Cross He cried, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? forced by the bitterness of His pain to complain that He was forsaken: Who, destitute of the Father's help, gave up the ghost with the words, Father; into Thy hands I commend My Spirit. The fear, they say, which beset Him at the moment of expiring made Him entrust His Spirit to the care of God the Father: the very hopelessness of His own condition forced Him to commit His Soul to the keeping of Another.

32. Their folly being as great as their blasphemy, they fail to mark that Christ's words, spoken under similar circumstances, are always consistent; they cleave to the letter and ignore the purpose of His words. There is the widest difference between My soul is sorrowful even unto death, and Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power so also between Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away, from Me, and The cup which the Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it? and further between My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? and Verily I say unto thee, Today shall thou be with Me in Paradise, and between Father into Thy hands I commend My Spirit, and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do; and their narrow minds, unable to grasp the Divine meaning, plunge into blasphemy in the attempt at explanation. There is a broad distinction between anxiety and a mind at ease, between haste and the prayer for delay, between words of anguish and words of encouragement, between despair for self and confident entreaty for others; and the heretics display their impiety by ignoring the assertions of Deity and the Divine nature of Christ, which account for the one class, of His words, while they concentrate their attention upon the deeds and words which refer only to His ministry on earth. I have

therefore set out all the elements contained in the mystery of the Soul and Body of the Lord Jesus Christ; all have been sought out, none suppressed. Next, casting the calm light of reason upon the question, I have referred each of His sayings to the class to which its meaning attaches it, and so have shewn that He had also a confidence which never wavered a will which never faltered, an assurance which never murmured, that, when He commended His own soul to the Father, in this was involved a prayer for the pardon of others. Thus a complete presentment of the teaching of the Gospel interprets and confirms all (and not some only) of the words of Christ.

33. And so — for not even the glory of the Resurrection has opened the eyes of these lost men and kept them within the manifest bounds of the faith — they have forged a weapon for their blasphemy out of a pretended reverence, and even perverted the revelation of a mystery into an insult to God. From the words, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, to My God and your God, they argue that since that Father is ours as much as His, and that God also ours and His, His own confession that He shares with us in that relation to the Father and to God excludes Him from true Divinity, and subordinates Him to God the Creator Whose creature and inferior He is, as we are, although He has received the adoption of a Son. Nay more, we must not suppose that He possesses any of the characters of the Divine nature, since the Apostle says, But when He saith, all things are put in subjection, this is except Him Who did subject all things unto Him, for when all things shall have been subjected unto Him, then shall also He Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all. For, so they say, subjection is evidence of want of power in the subject and of its possession by the sovereign. The eleventh book is employed in a reverent discussion of this argument; it proves from these very words of the Apostle not only that subjection is no evidence of want of power in Christ but that it actually is a sign of His true Divinity as God the Son; that the fact that His Father and God is also our Father and God is an infinite advantage to us and no degradation to Him, since He Who has been born as Man and suffered all the afflictions of our flesh has gone up on high to our God and Father, to receive His glory as Man our Representative.

34. In this treatise we have followed the course which we know is pursued in every branch of education. First come easy lessons and a familiarity, slowly attained by practice, with the groundwork of the subject; then the student may make proof, in the business of life, of the training which he has received. Thus the soldier, when he is perfect in his exercises, can go out to battle; the advocate ventures into the conflicts of the courts when he is versed in the pleadings of the school of rhetoric; the sailor who has learned to navigate his ship in the land-locked harbor of his home may be trusted amid the storms of open seas and distant climes. Such has been our proceeding in this most serious and difficult science in which the whole faith is taught. First came simple instruction for the untaught believer in the birth, the name, the Divinity, the true Divinity of Christ; since then we have quietly and steadily advanced till our readers can demolish every plea or the heretics; and now at last we have pitted them against the adversary in the present great and glorious conflict. The mind of men is powerless with the ordinary resources of unaided reason to grasp the idea of an eternal birth, but they attain by study of things Divine to the apprehension of mysteries which lie beyond the range of common thought. They can explode that paradox concerning the Lord Jesus, which derives all its strength and semblance of cogency from a purblind pagan philosophy: the paradox which asserts, There was a time when He was not, and He was not before He was born, and He was made out of nothing; as though His birth were proof that He had previously been non-existent and at a given moment came into being, and God the Only-begotten could thus be subjected to the conception of time, as if the faith itself [by conferring the title of ‘Son’] and the very nature of birth proved that there was a time when He was not. Accordingly they argue that He was born out of nothing, on the ground that birth implies the grant of being to that which previously had no being. We proclaim in answer, on the evidence of Apostles and Evangelists, that the Father is eternal and the Son eternal, and demonstrate that the Son is God of all with an absolute, not a limited, pre-existence; that these bold assaults of their blasphemous logic — He was born out of nothing, and He was not before He was barn — are powerless against Him; that His eternity is consistent with sonship, and His sonship with eternity; that there was in Him no unique exemption from birth but a birth from everlasting, for, while birth implies a Father, Divinity is inseparable from eternity.

35. Ignorance of prophetic diction and unskilfulness in interpreting Scripture has led them into a perversion of the point and meaning of the passage, The Lord created Me far a beginning of His ways for His works. They labor to establish from it that Christ is created, rather than born, as God, and hence partakes the nature of created beings, though He excel them in the manner of His creation, and has no glory of Divine birth but only the powers of a transcendent creature. We in reply, without importing any new considerations or preconceived opinions, will make this very passage of Wisdom display its own true meaning and object. We will show that the fact that He was created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works, cannot be twisted into evidence concerning the Divine and eternal birth, because creation for these purposes and birth from everlasting are two entirely different things. Where birth is meant, there birth, and nothing but birth, is spoken of; where creation is mentioned, the cause of that creation is first named. There is a Wisdom born before all things, and again there is a wisdom created for particular purposes; the Wisdom which is from everlasting is one, the wisdom which has come into existence during the lapse of time is another.

36. Having thus concluded that we must reject the word ‘creation’ from our confession of faith in God the Only-begotten, we proceed to lay down the teachings of reason and of piety concerning the Holy Spirit, that the reader, whose convictions have been established by patient and earnest study of the preceding books, may be provided with a complete presentation of the faith. This end will be attained when the blasphemies of heretical teaching on this theme also have been swept away, and the mystery, pure and undefiled, of the Trinity which regenerates us has been fixed in terms of saving precision on the authority of Apostles and Evangelists. Men will no longer dare, on the strength of mere human reasoning, to rank among creatures that Divine Spirit, Whom we receive as the pledge of immortality and source of fellowship with the sinless nature of God.

37. I know, O Lord God Almighty, that I owe Thee, as the chief duty of my life, the devotion of all my words and thoughts to Thyself. The gift of speech which Thou hast bestowed can bring me no higher reward than the opportunity of service in preaching Thee and displaying Thee as Thou art, as Father and Father of God the Only-begotten, to the world in its

blindness and the heretic in his rebellion. But this is the mere expression of my own desire; I must pray also for the gift of Thy help and compassion, that the breath of Thy Spirit may fill the sails of faith and confession which I have spread, and a favoring wind be sent to forward me on my voyage of instruction. We can trust the promise of Him Who said, Ask, and it shall be given you, seek, and ye shall find, knock, and it shall be opened unto you; and we in our want shall pray for the things we need. We shall bring an untiring energy to the study of Thy Prophets and Apostles, and we shall knock for entrance at every gate of hidden knowledge, but it is Thine to answer the prayer, to grant the thing we seek, to open the door on which we beat. Our minds are born with dull and clouded vision, our feeble intellect is penned within the barriers of an impassable ignorance concerning things Divine; but the study of Thy revelation elevates our soul to the comprehension of sacred truth, and submission to the faith is the path to a certainty beyond the reach of unassisted reason.

38. And therefore we look to Thy support for the first trembling steps of this undertaking, to Thy aid that it may gain strength and prosper. We look to Thee to give us the fellowship of that Spirit Who guided the Prophets and the Apostles, that we may take their words in the sense in which they spoke and assign its right shade of meaning to every utterance. For we shall speak of things which they preached in a mystery; of Thee, O God Eternal, Father of the Eternal and Only-begotten God, Who alone art without birth, and of the One Lord Jesus Christ, born of Thee from everlasting. We may not sever Him from Thee, or make Him one of a plurality of Gods, on any plea of difference of nature. We may not say that He is not begotten of Thee, because Thou art One. We must not fail to confess Him as true God, seeing that He is born of Thee, true God, His Father. Grant us, therefore, precision of language, soundness of argument, grace of style, loyalty to truth. Enable us to utter the things that we believe, that so we may confess, as Prophets and Apostles have taught us, Thee, One God our Father, and One Lord Jesus Christ, and put to silence the gainsaying of heretics, proclaiming Thee as God, yet not solitary, and Him as God, in no unreal sense.

BOOK 2

1. BELIEVERS have always found their satisfaction in that Divine utterance, which our ears heard recited from the Gospel at the moment when that Power, which is its attestation, was bestowed upon us: — Go now and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I command you; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. What element in the mystery of man's salvation is not included in those words? What is forgotten, what left in darkness? All is full, as from the Divine fullness; perfect, as from the Divine perfection. The passage contains the exact words to be used, the essential acts, the sequence of processes, an insight into the Divine nature. He bade them baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that is with confession of the Creator and of the Only-begotten, and of the Gift. For God the Father is One, from Whom are all things; and our Lord Jesus Christ the Only-begotten, through Whom are all things, is One; and the Spirit, God's Gift to us, Who pervades all things, is also One. Thus all are ranged according to powers possessed and benefits conferred; — the One Power from Whom all, the One Offspring through Whom all, the One Gilt Who gives us perfect hope. Nothing can be found lacking in that supreme Union which embraces, in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, infinity in the Eternal, His Likeness in His express Image, our enjoyment of Him in the Gift.

2. But the errors of heretics and blasphemers force us to deal with unlawful matters, to scale perilous heights, to speak unutterable words, to trespass on forbidden ground. Faith ought in silence to fulfill the commandments, worshipping the Father, reverencing with Him the Son, abounding in the Holy Ghost, but we must strain the poor resources of our language to express thoughts too great for words. The error of others compels us to err in daring to embody in human terms truths which ought to be hidden in the silent veneration of the heart.

3. For there have risen many who have given to the plain words of Holy Writ some arbitrary interpretation of their own, instead of its true and only sense, and this in defiance of the clear meaning of words. Heresy lies

in the sense assigned, not in the word written; the guilt is that of the expositor, not of the text. Is not truth indestructible? When we hear the name Father, is not sonship involved in that Name? The Holy Ghost is mentioned by name; must He not exist? We can no more separate fatherhood from the Father or sonship from the Son than we can deny the existence in the Holy Ghost of that gift which we receive. Yet men of distorted mind plunge the whole matter in doubt and difficulty, fatuously reversing the clear meaning of words, and depriving the Father of His fatherhood because they wish to strip the Son of His sonship. They take away the fatherhood by asserting that the Son is not a Son by nature; for a son is not of the nature of his father when begetter and begotten have not the same properties, and he is no son whose being is different from that of the father, and unlike it. Yet in what sense is God a Father (as He is), if He have not begotten in His Son that same substance and nature which are His own?

4. Since, therefore, they cannot make any change in the facts recorded, they bring novel principles and theories of man's device to bear upon them. Sabellius, for instance, makes the Son an extension of the Father, and the faith in this regard a matter of words rather than of reality, for he makes one and the same Person, Son to Himself and also Father. Hebion allows no beginning to the Son of God except from Mary, and represents Him not as first God and then man. but as first man then God; declares that the Virgin did not receive into herself One previously existent, Who had been in the beginning God the Word dwelling with God, but that through the agency of the Word she bore Flesh; the 'Word' meaning in his opinion not the nature of the pre-existent Only-begotten God, but only the sound of an uplifted voice. Similarly certain teachers of our present day assert that the Image and Wisdom and Power of God was produced out of nothing, and in time. They do this to save God, regarded as Father of the Son, from being lowered to the Son's level. They are fearful lest this birth of the Son from Him should deprive Him of His glory, and therefore come to God's rescue by styling His Son a creature made out of nothing, in order that God may live on in solitary perfection without a Son born of Himself and partaking His nature. What wonder that their doctrine of the Holy Ghost should be different from ours, when they presume to subject the Giver of that Holy Ghost to creation, and change, and non-existence. Thus

do they destroy the consistency and completeness of the mystery of the faith. They break up the absolute unity of God by assigning differences of nature where all is clearly common to Each; they deny the Father by robbing he Son of His true Sonship; they deny the Holy Ghost in their blindness to the facts that we possess Him and that Christ gave Him. They betray ill-trained souls to ruin by their boast of the logical perfection of their doctrine; they deceive their hearers by emptying terms of their meaning, through the Names remain to witness to the truth. I pass over the pitfalls of other heresies, Valentinian, Marcionite, Manichee and the rest. From time to time they catch the attention of some foolish souls and prove fatal by the very infection of their contact; one plague as destructive as another when once the poison of their teaching has found its way into the hearer's thoughts.

5. Their treason involves us in the difficult and dangerous position of having to make a definite pronouncement, beyond the statements of Scripture, upon this grave and abstruse matter. The Lord said that the nations were to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The words of the faith are clear; the heretics do their utmost to involve the meaning in doubt. We may not on this account add to the appointed form, yet we must set a limit to their license of interpretation. Since their malice, inspired by the devil's cunning, empties the doctrine of its meaning while it retains the Names which convey the truth, we must emphasize the truth which those Names convey. We must proclaim, exactly as we shall find them in the words of Scripture, the majesty and functions of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and so debar the heretics from robbing these Names of their connotation of Divine character, and compel them by means of these very Names to confine their use of terms to their proper meaning. I cannot conceive what manner of mind our opponents have, who pervert the truth, darken the light, divide the indivisible rend the scatheless, dissolve the perfect unity. It may seem to them a light thing to tear up Perfection, to make laws for Omnipotence, to limit Infinity; as for me, the task of answering them fills me with anxiety; my brain whirls, my intellect is stunned, my very words must be a confession, not that I am weak of utterance, but that I am dumb. Yet a wish to undertake the task forces itself upon me; it means withstanding the proud, guiding the wanderer, warning the ignorant. But the subject is

inexhaustible; I can see no limit to my venture of speaking concerning God in terms more precise than He Himself has used. He has assigned the Names — Father, Son and Holy Ghost, — which are our information of the Divine nature. Words cannot express or feeling embrace or reason apprehend the re suits of enquiry carried further; all is ineffable, unattainable, incomprehensible. Language is exhausted by the magnitude of the theme, the splendor of its effulgence blinds the gazing eye, the intellect cannot compass its boundless extent. Still, under the necessity that is laid upon us, with a prayer for pardon to Him Whose attributes these are, we will venture, enquire and speak; and moreover — it is the only promise that in so grave a matter we dare to make — we will accept whatever conclusion He shall indicate.

6. It is the Father to Whom all existence owes its origin. In Christ and through Christ He is the source of all. In contrast to all else He is serf-existent. He does not draw His being from without, but possesses it from Himself and in Himself. He is infinite, for nothing contains Him and He contains all things; He is eternally unconditioned by space, for He is illimitable; eternally anterior to time, for time is His creation. Let imagination range to what you may suppose is God’s utmost limit, and you will find Him present there; strain as you will there is always a further horizon towards which to strain. Infinity is His property, just as the power of making such effort is yours. Words will fail you, but His being will not be circumscribed. Or again, turn back the pages of history, and you will find Him ever present; should numbers fail to express the antiquity to which you have penetrated, yet God’s eternity is not diminished. Gird up your intellect to comprehend Him as a whole; He eludes you, God, as a whole, has left something within your grasp, but this something is inextricably involved in His entirety. Thus you have missed the whole, since it is only a part which remains in your hands; nay, not even a part, for you are dealing with a whole which you have failed to divide. For a part implies division, a whole is undivided, and God is everywhere and wholly present wherever He is. Reason, therefore, cannot cope with Him, since no point of contemplation can be found outside Himself and since eternity is eternally His. This is a true statement of the mystery of that unfathomable nature which is expressed by the Name ‘Father:’ God invisible, ineffable, infinite. Let us confess by our silence

that words cannot describe Him; let sense admit that it is foiled in the attempt to apprehend, and reason in the effort to define. Yet He has, as we said, in ‘Father’ a name to indicate His nature; He is a Father unconditioned. He does not, as men do, receive the power of paternity from an external source. He is unbegotten, everlasting, inherently eternal. To the Son only is He known, for no one knoweth the Father save the Son and him to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him, nor yet the Son save the Father. Each has perfect and complete knowledge of the Other. Therefore, since no one knoweth the Father save the Son, let our thoughts of the Father be at one with the thoughts of the Son, the only faithful Witness, Who reveals Him to us.

7. It is easier for me to feel this concerning the Father than to say it. I am well aware that no words are adequate to describe His attributes. We must feel that He is invisible, incomprehensible, eternal. But to say that He is self-existent and self-originating and self-sustained, that He is invisible and incomprehensible and immortal; all this is an acknowledgment of His glory, a hint of our meaning, a sketch of our thoughts, but speech is powerless to tell us what God is, words cannot express the reality. You hear that He is self-existent; human reason cannot explain such independence. We can find objects which uphold, and objects which are upheld, but that which thus exists is obviously distinct from that which is the cause of its existence. Again, if you hear that He is self-originating, no instance can be found in which the giver of the gift of life is identical with the life that is given. If you hear that He is immortal, then there is something which does not spring from Him and with which He has, by His very nature, no contact; and, indeed, death is not the only thing which this word ‘immortal’ claims as independent of God. If you hear that He is incomprehensible, that is as much as to say that He is non-existent, since contact with Him is impossible. If you say that He is invisible, a being that does not visibly exist cannot be sure of its own existence. Thus our confession of God fails through the defects of language; the best combination of words we can devise cannot indicate the reality and the greatness of God. The perfect knowledge of God is so to know Him that we are sure we must not be ignorant of Him, yet cannot describe Him. We must believe, must apprehend, must worship; and such acts of devotion must stand in lieu of definition.

8. We have now exchanged the perils of a harborless coast for the storms of the open sea. We can neither safely advance nor safely retreat, yet the way that lies before us has greater hardships than that which lies behind. The Father is what He is, and as He is manifested, so we must believe. The mind shrinks in dread from treating of the Son; at every word I tremble lest I be betrayed into treason. For He is the Offspring of the Unbegotten, One from One, true from true, living from living, perfect from perfect; the Power of Power, the Wisdom of Wisdom, the Glory of Glory, the Likeness of the invisible God, the Image Unbegotten Father. Yet in what sense can we conceive that the Only-begotten is the Offspring of the Unbegotten? Repeatedly the Father cries from heaven, This is My beloved Son in Whom I well pleased. It is no rending or severance, for He that begat is without passions, and He that was born is the Image of the invisible God and bears witness, The Father is in Me and I in the Father. It is no mere adoption, for He is the true Son of God and cries, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. Nor did He come into existence in obedience to a command as did created things, for He is the Only-begotten of the One God; and He has life in Himself, even as He that begot Him has life, for He says, As the Father hath life in Himself, even so gave He to the Son to have life in Himself. Nor is there a portion of the Father resident in the Son, for the Son bears witness, All things that the Father hath are Mine, and again, And all things that are Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine, and the Apostle testifies, For in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily; and by the nature of things a portion cannot possess the whole. He is the perfect Son of the perfect Father, for He Who has all has given all to Him. Yet we must not imagine that the Father did not give, because He still possesses, or that He has lost, because He gave to the Son.

9. The manner of this birth is therefore a secret confined to the Two. If any one lays upon his personal incapacity his failure to solve the mystery, ill spite of the certainty that Father and Son stand to Each Other in those relations, he will be still more pained at the ignorance to which I confess. I, too, am in the dark, yet I ask no questions. I look for comfort to the fact that Archangels share my ignorance, that Angels have not heard the explanation, and worlds do not contain it, that no prophet has espied it and no Apostle sought for it, that the Son Himself has not revealed it. Let such pitiful complaints cease. Whoever you are that search into these

mysteries, I do not bid you resume your exploration of height and breadth and depth; I ask you rather to acquiesce patiently in your ignorance of the mode of Divine generation, seeing that you know not how His creatures come into existence. Answer me this one question: — Do your senses give you any evidence that you yourself were begotten? Can you explain the process by which you became a father? I do not ask whence you drew perception, how you obtained life, whence your reason comes, what is the nature of your senses of smell, touch, sight, hearing; the fact that we have the use of all these is the evidence that they exist. What I ask is: — How do you give them to your children? How do you ingraft the senses, lighten the eyes, implant the mind? Tell me, if you can. You have, then, powers which you do not understand, you impart gifts which you cannot comprehend. You are calmly indifferent to the mysteries of your own being, profanely impatient of ignorance concerning the mysteries of God's.

10. Listen then to the Unbegotten Father, listen to the Only-begotten Son. Hear His words, The Father is greater than I, and I and the Father are One, and He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also, and The Father is in Me and I in the Father, and I went out from the Father, and Who is in the bosom of the Father, and Whatsoever the Father hath He hath delivered to the Son, and The Son hath life in Himself, even as the Father hath in Himself. Hear in these words the Son, the Image, the Wisdom, the Power, the Glory of God. Next mark the Holy Ghost proclaiming Who shall declare His generation? Note the Lord's assurance, No one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son and He to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him, Penetrate into the mystery, plunge into the darkness which shrouds that birth, where you will be alone with God the Unbegotten and God the Only-begotten. Make your start, continue, persevere. I know that you will not reach the goal, but I shall rejoice at your progress. For He who devoutly treads an endless road, though he reach no conclusion, will profit by his exertions. Reason will fail for want of words, but when it comes to a stand it will be the better for the effort made.

11. The Son draws His life from that Father Who truly has life; the Only begotten from the Unbegotten, Offspring from Parent, Living from Living. As the Father hath life in Himself, even so gave He to the Son also to have life in Himself. The Son is perfect from Him that is perfect, for He is

whole from Him that is whole. This is no division or severance, for Each is in the Other, and the fullness of the Godhead is in the Son. Incomprehensible is begotten of Incomprehensible, for none else knows Them, but Each knows the Other; Invisible is begotten of Invisible, for the Son is the Image of the invisible God, and he that has seen the Son has seen the Father also. There is a distinction, for They are Father and Son; not that Their Divinity is different in kind, for Both are One, God of God, One God Only begotten of One God Unbegotten. They are not two Gods, but One of One; not two Unbegotten, for the Son is born of the Unborn. There is no diversity, for the life of the living God is in the living Christ. So much I have resolved to say concerning the nature of their Divinity not imagining that I have succeeded in making a summary of the faith, but recognizing that the theme is inexhaustible. So faith, you object, has no service to render, since there is nothing that it can comprehend. Not so; the proper service of faith is to grasp and confess the truth that it is incompetent to comprehend its Object.

12. It remains to say something more concerning the mysterious generation of the Son; or rather this something more is everything. I quiver, I linger, my powers fail, I know not where to begin. I cannot tell the time of the Son's birth; it were impious not to be certain of the fact. Whom shall I entreat? Whom shall I call to my aid? From what books shall I borrow the terms needed to state so hard a problem? Shall I ransack the philosophy of Greece? No! I have read, Where is the wise? Where is the enquirer of this world? In this matter, then, the world's philosophers, the wise men of paganism, are dumb: for they have rejected the wisdom of God. Shall I turn to the Scribe of the law? He is in darkness, for the Cross of Christ is an offense to him. Shall I, perchance, bid you shut your eyes to heresy, and pass it by in silence, on the ground that sufficient reverence is shown to Him Whom we preach if we believe that lepers were cleansed, the deaf heard, the lame ran, the palsied stood, the blind (in general) received sight, the blind from his birth had eyes given to him, devils were routed, the sick recovered, the dead lived. The heretics confess all this, and perish.

13. Look now to see a thing not less miraculous than lame men running, blind men seeing, the flight of devils, the life from the dead. There stands by my side, to guide me through the difficulties which I have enunciated, a poor fisherman, ignorant, uneducated, fishing-lines in hand, clothes

dripping, muddy feet, every inch a sailor. Consider and decide whether it were the greater feat to raise the dead or impart to an untrained mind the knowledge of mysteries so deep as he reveals by saying, In the beginning was the Word. What means this In the beginning was? He ranges backward over the spaces of time, centuries are left behind, ages are canceled. Fix in your mind what date you will for this beginning; you miss the mark, for even then He, of Whom we are speaking, was. Survey the universe, note well what is written of it, In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. This word beginning fixes the moment of creation; you can assign its date to an event which is definitely stated to have happened in the beginning. But this fisherman of mine, unlettered and unread, is untrammeled by time, undaunted by its immensity; he pierces beyond the beginning. For his was has no limit of time and no commencement; the uncreated Word was in the beginning.

14. But perhaps we shall find that our fisherman has been guilty of departure from the terms of the problem proposed for solution. He has set the Word free from the limitations of time; that which is free lives its own life and is bound to no obedience. Let us, therefore, pay our best attention to what follows: — And the Word was with God. We find that it is with God that the Word, Which was before the beginning, exists unconditioned by time. The Word, Which was, is with God. He Who is absent when we seek for His or gin in time is present all the while with the Creator of time. For this once our fisherman has escaped; perhaps he will succumb to the difficulties which await him.

15. For you will plead that a word is the sound of a voice; that it is a naming of things. an utterance of thoughts. This Word was with God, and was in the beginning; the expression of the eternal Thinker’s thoughts must be eternal. For the present I will give you a brief answer of my own on the fisherman’s behalf, till we see what defense he has to make for his own simplicity. The nature, then, of a word is that it is first a potentiality, afterwards a past event; an existing thing only while it is being heard. How can we say, In the beginning was the Word, when a word neither exists before, nor lives after, a definite point of time? Can we even say that there is a point of time in which a word exists? Not only are the words in a speaker’s mouth non-existent until they are spoken, and perished the instant they are uttered, but even in the moment of utterance there is a

change from the sound which commences to that which ends a word. Such is the reply that suggests itself to me as a bystander. But your opponent the Fisherman has an answer of his own. He will begin by reproving you for your inattention. Even though your unpracticed ear failed to catch the first clause, In the beginning was the Word, why complain of the next, And the Word was with God? Was it And the Word was in God that you heard, — the dictum of some profound philosophy? Or is it that your provincial dialect makes no distinction between in and with? The assertion is that Which was in the beginning was with, not in, Another. But I will not argue from the beginning of the sentence; the sequel can take care of itself. Hear now the rank and the name of the Word: — And the Word was God. Your plea that the Word is the sound of a voice, the utterance of a thought, falls to the ground. The Word is a reality, not a sound, a Being, not a speech, God, not a nonentity.

16. But I tremble to say it; the audacity staggers me. I hear, And the Word was God; I, whom the prophets have taught that God is One. To save me from further fears, give me, friend Fisherman, a fuller imparting of this great mystery. Show that these assertions are consistent with the unity of God; that there is no blasphemy in them, no explaining away, no denial of eternity. He continues, He was in the beginning with God. This He was in the beginning removes the limit of time; the word God shows that He is more than a voice; that He is with God proves that He neither encroaches nor is encroached upon, for His identity is not swallowed up in that of Another, and He is clearly stated to be present with the One Unbegotten God as God, His One and Only-begotten Son.

17. We are still waiting, Fisherman, for your full description of the Word. He was in the beginning, it may be said, but perhaps He was not before the beginning. To this also I will furnish a reply on my Fisherman’s behalf. The Word could not be other than He was; that was is unconditional and unlimited. But what says the Fisherman for himself? All things were made through Him. Thus, since nothing exists apart from Him through Whom the universe came into being, He, the Author of all things, must have an immeasurable existence. For time is a cognizable and divisible measure of extension, not in space, but in duration. All things are from Him, without exception; time then itself is His creature.

18. But, my Fisherman, the objection will be raised that you are reckless and extravagant in your language; that All things were made through Him needs qualification. There is the Unbegotten, made of none; there is also the Son, begotten of the Unborn Father. This All things is an unguarded statement, admitting no exceptions. While we are silent, not daring to answer or trying to think of some reply, do you break in with, And without Him was nothing made. You have restored the Author of the Godhead to His place, while proclaiming that He has a Companion. From your saying that nothing was made without Him, I learn that He was not alone. He through Whom the work was done is One; He without Whom it was not done is Another: a distinction is drawn between Creator and Companion.

19. Reverence for the One Unbegotten Creator distressed me, lest in your sweeping assertion that all things were made by the Word you had included Him. You have banished my fears by your Without Him was nothing made. Yet this same Without Him was nothing made brings trouble and distraction. There was, then, something made by that Other; not made, it is true, without Him. If the Other did make anything, even though the Word were present at the making, then it is untrue that through Him all things were made. It is one thing to be the Creator's Companion, quite another to be the Creator's Self. I could find answers of my own to the previous objections; in this case, Fisherman, I can only turn at once to your words, All things were made through Him. And now I understand, for the Apostle has enlightened me: — Things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all are through Him and in Him..

20. Since, then, all things were made through Him, come to our help and tell us what it was that was made not without Him. That which was made in Him is life. That which was made in Him was certainly not made without Him; for that which was made in Him was also made through Him. All things were created in Him and through Him. They were created in Him, for He was born as God the Creator. Again, nothing that was made in Him was made without Him, for the reason that God the Begotten was life, and was born as Life, not made life after His birth; for there are not two elements in Him, one inborn and one afterwards conferred. There is no interval in His case between birth and maturity. None of the things that

were created in Him was made without Him, for He is the Life which made their creation possible. Moreover God, the Son of God, became God by virtue of His birth, not after He was born. Being born the Living from the Living, the True from the True, the Perfect from the Perfect, He was born in full possession of His powers. He needed not to learn in after time what His birth was, but was conscious of His Godhead by the very fact that He was born as God of God. I and the Father are One, are the words of the Only-begotten Son of the Unbegotten. It is the voice of the One God proclaiming Himself to be Father and Son; Father speaking in the Son and Son in the Father. Hence also He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also; hence All that the Father hath, He hath given to the Son; hence As the Father hath life in Himself so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself; hence No one knoweth the Father save the Son, nor the Son save the Father; hence In Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.

21. This Life is the Light of men, the Light which lightens the darkness. To comfort us for that powerlessness to describe His generation of which the prophet speaks, the Fisherman adds, And the darkness comprehended Him not. The language of unaided reason was baffled and silenced; the Fisherman who lay on the bosom of the Lord was taught to express the mystery. His language is not the world's language, for He deals with things that are not of the world. Let us know what it is, if there be any teaching that you can extract from his words, more than their plain sense conveys; if you can translate into other terms the truth we have elicited, publish them abroad. If there be none — indeed, because there are none — let us accept with reverence this teaching of the fisherman, and recognize in his words the oracles of God. Let us cling in adoration to the true confession of Father and Son, Unbegotten and Only-begotten ineffably, Whose majesty defies all expression and all perception. Let us, like John, lie on the bosom of the Lord Jesus, that we too may understand and proclaim the mystery.

22. This faith, and every part of it, is impressed upon us by the evidence of the Gospels, by the teaching of the Apostles, by the futility of the treacherous attacks which heretics make on every side. The foundation stands firm and unshaken in face of winds and rains and torrents; storms cannot overthrow it, nor dripping waters hollow it, nor floods sweep it away. Its excellence is proved by the failure of countless assaults to impair

it. Certain remedies are so compounded as to be of value not merely against some single disease but against all; they are of universal efficacy. So it is with the Catholic faith. It is not a medicine for some special malady, but for every ill; virulence cannot master, nor numbers defeat, nor complexity baffle it. One and unchanging it faces and conquers all its foes. Marvelous it is that one form of words should contain a remedy for every disease, a statement of truth to confront every contrivance of falsehood. Let heresy muster its forces and every sect come forth to battle. Let our answer to their challenge be that there is One Unbegotten God the Father, and One Only-begotten Son of God, perfect Offspring of perfect Parent; that the Sun was begotten by no lessening of the Father or subtraction from His Substance, but that He Who possesses all things begot an all-possessing Son; a Son not emanating nor proceeding from the Father, but compact of, and inherent in, the whole Divinity, of Him Who wherever He is present is present eternally; One free from time, unlimited in duration, since by Him all things were mode, and, indeed, He could not be confined within a limit created by Himself. Such is the Catholic and Apostolic Faith which the Gospel has taught us and we avow.

23. Let Sabellius, if he dare, confound Father and Son as two names with one meaning, making of them not Unity but One Person. He shall have a prompt answer from the Gospels, not once or twice, but often repeated, This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased. He shall hear the words, The Father is greater than I, and I go to the Father, and Father, I thank Thee, and Glorify Me, Father, and Thou art the Son of the living God. Let Hebion try to sap the faith, who allows the Son of God no life before the Virgin’s womb, and sees in Him the Word only after His life as flesh had begun. We will bid him read again, Father, glorify Me with Thine own Self with that glory which I had with Thee before the world was, and In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and All things were made through Him, and He was in the world, and the world was made through Him, and the world knew Him not. Let the preachers whose apostleship is of the newest fashion — an apostleship of Antichrist — come forward and pour their mockery and insult upon the Son of God. They must hear, I came out from the Father and The Son in the Father’s bosom, and I and the Father are One, and I in the Father, and the Father in Me. And lastly, if they be wrath, as the Jews

were, that Christ should claim God for His own Father, making Himself equal with God, they must take the answer which He gave the Jews, Believe My works, that the Father is in Me and I in the Father. Thus our one immovable foundation, our one blissful rock of faith, is the confession from Peter's mouth, Thou art the Son of the living God. On it we can base an answer to every objection with which perverted ingenuity or embittered treachery may assail the truth.

24. In what remains we have the appointment of the Father's will. The Virgin, the birth, the Body, then the Cross, the death, the visit to the lower world; these things are our salvation. For the sake of mankind the Son of God was born of the Virgin and of the Holy Ghost. In this process He ministered to Himself; by His own power — the power of God — which overshadowed her He sowed the beginning of His Body, and entered on the first stage of His life in the flesh. He did it that by His Incarnation He might take to Himself from the Virgin the fleshly nature, and that through this commingling there might come into being a hallowed Body of all humanity; that so through that Body which He was pleased to assume all mankind might be hid in Him, and He in return, through His unseen existence, be reproduced in all. Thus the invisible Image of God scorned not the shame which marks the beginnings of human life. He passed through every stage; through conception, birth, wailing, cradle and each successive humiliation.

25. What worthy return can we make for so great a condescension? The One Only-begotten God, ineffably born of God, entered the Virgin's womb and grew and took the frame of poor humanity. He Who upholds the universe, within Whom and through Whom are all things, was brought forth by common childbirth; He at Whose voice Archangels and Angels tremble, and heaven and earth and all the elements of this world are melted, was heard in childish wailing. The Invisible and Incomprehensible, Whom sight and feeling and touch cannot gauge, was wrapped in a cradle. If any man deem all this unworthy of God, the greater must he own his debt for the benefit conferred the less such condescension befits the majesty of God. He by Whom man was made had nothing to gain by becoming Man; it was our gain that God was incarnate and dwelt among us, making all flesh His home by taking upon Him the flesh of One. We were raised because He was lowered; shame to Him was glory to us. He, being God,

made flesh His residence, and we in return are lifted anew from the flesh to God.

26. But lest perchance fastidious minds be exercised by cradle and wailing, birth and conception, we must render to God the glory which each of these contains, that we may approach His self-abasement with souls duly filled with His claim to reign, and not forget His majesty in His condescension. Let us note, therefore, who were attendant on His conception. All Angel speaks to Zacharias; fertility is given to the barren; the priest comes forth dumb from the place of incense; John bursts forth into speech while yet confined within his mother's womb; an Angel blesses Mary and promises that she, a virgin, shall be the mother of the Son of God. Conscious of her virginity, she is distressed at this hard thing; the Angel explains to her the mighty working of God, saying, The Holy Ghost shall come from above into thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. The Holy Ghost, descending from above, hallowed the Virgin's womb, and breathing therein (for The Spirit bloweth where it listeth), mingled Himself with the fleshly nature of man, and annexed by force and might that foreign domain. And, lest through weakness of the human structure failure should ensue, the power of the Most High overshadowed the Virgin, strengthening her feebleness in semblance of a cloud east round her, that the shadow, which was the might of God, might fortify her bodily frame to receive the procreative power of the Spirit. Such is the glory of the conception.

27. And now let us consider the glory which accompanies the birth, the wailing and the cradle. The Angel tells Joseph that the Virgin shall bear a Son, and that Son shall be named Emmanuel, that is, God with us. The Spirit foretells it through the prophet, the Angel bears witness; He that is born is God with us. The light of a new star shines forth for the Magi; a heavenly sign escorts the Lord of heaven. An Angel brings to the shepherds the news that Christ the Lord is born, the Savior of the world. A multitude of the heavenly host flock together to sing the praise of that childbirth; the rejoicing of the Divine company proclaims the fulfillment of the mighty work. Then glory to God in heaven, and peace an earth to men of good will is announced. And now the Magi come and worship Him wrapped in swaddling clothes; after a life devoted to mystic rites of vain philosophy they bow the knee before a Babe laid in His cradle. Thus the

Magi stoop to reverence the infirmities of Infancy; its cries are saluted by the heavenly joy of angels; the Spirit Who inspired the prophet, the heralding Angel, the light of the new star, all minister around Him. In such wise was it that the Holy Ghost's descent and the overshadowing power of the Most High brought Him to His birth. The inward reality is widely different from the outward appearance; the eye sees one thing, the soul another. A virgin bears; her child is of God. An Infant wails; angels are heard in praise. There are coarse swaddling clothes; God is being worshipped. The glory of His Majesty is not forfeited when He assumes the lowliness of flesh.

28. So was it also during His further life on earth. The whole time which He passed in human form was spent upon the works of God. I have no space for details; it must suffice to say that in all the varied acts of power and healing which He wrought, the fact is conspicuous that He was man by virtue of the flesh He had taken, God by the evidence of the works He did.

29. Concerning the Holy Spirit I ought not to be silent, and yet I have no need to speak; still, for the sake of those who are in ignorance, I cannot refrain. There is no need to speak, because we are bound to confess Him, proceeding, as He does, from Father and Son. For my own part, I think it wrong to discuss the question of His existence. He does exist, inasmuch as He is given, received, retained; He is joined with Father and Son in our confession of the faith, and cannot he excluded from a true confession of Father and Son; take away a part, and the whole faith is marred. If any man demand what meaning we attach to this conclusion, he, as well as we, has read the words of the Apostle, Because ye are sons of God, God hath sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father, and Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in Whom ye have been sealed, and again, But we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we may know the things that are given unto us by God, and also But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God is in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is not His, and further, But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies for the sake of His Spirit which dwelleth in you. Wherefore since He is, and is given, and is possessed, and is of God, let

His traducers take refuge in silence. When they ask, Through Whom is He? To what end does He exist? Of what nature is He? We answer that He it is through Whom all things exist, and from Whom are all things, and that He is the Spirit of God, God's gift to the faithful. If our answer displease them, their displeasure must also fall upon the Apostles and the Prophets, who spoke of Him exactly as we have spoken. And furthermore, Father and Son must incur the same displeasure.

30. The reason, I believe, why certain people continue in ignorance or doubt is that they see this third Name, that of the Holy Spirit, often used to signify the Father or the Son. No objection need be raised to this; whether it be Father or Son, He is Spirit, and He is holy.

31. But the words of the Gospel, For God is Spirit, need careful examination as to their sense and their purpose. For every saying has an antecedent cause and an aim which must be ascertained by study of the meaning. We must bear this in mind lest, on the strength of the words, God is Spirit, we deny not only the Name, but also the work and the gift of the Holy Ghost. The Lord was speaking with a woman of Samaria, for He had come to be the Redeemer for all mankind, After He had discoursed at length of the living water, and of her five husbands, and of him whom she then had who was not her husband, the woman answered, Lord, I perceive that Thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. The Lord replied, Woman, believe Me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not; we warship that which we know; far salvation is from the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in the Spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. For God is Spirit, and they that warship Him must worship in the Spirit and in truth, for God is Spirit. We see that the woman, her mind full of inherited tradition, thought that God must be worshipped either on a mountain, as at Samaria, or in a temple, as at Jerusalem; for Samaria in disobedience to the Law had chosen a site upon the mountain for worship, while the Jews regarded the temple founded by Solomon as the home of their religion, and the prejudices of both confined the all-embracing and illimitable God to the crest of a hill or the vault of a building. God is invisible, incomprehensible, immeasurable; the Lord said

that the time had come when God should be worshipped neither on mountain nor in temple. For Spirit cannot be cabined or confined; it is omnipresent in space and time, and under all conditions present in its fullness. Therefore, He said, they are the true worshippers who shall worship in the Spirit and in truth. And these who are to worship God the Spirit in the Spirit shall have the One for the means, the Other for the object, of their reverence: for Each of the Two stands in a different relation to the worshipper. The words, God is Spirit, do not alter the fact that the Holy Spirit has a Name of His own, and that He is the Gift to us. The woman who confined God to hill or temple was told that God contains all things and is self-contained: that He, the Invisible and Incomprehensible must be worshipper by invisible and incomprehensible means. The imparted gift and the object of reverence were clearly shewn when Christ taught that God, being Spirit, must be worshipped in the Spirit, and revealed what freedom and knowledge, what boundless scope for adoration, lay in this worship of God, the Spirit, in the Spirit.

32. The words of the Apostle are of like purport; For the Lord is Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. To make his meaning clear he has distinguished between the Spirit, Who exists, and Him Whose Spirit He is Proprietor and Property, He and his are different in sense. Thus when he says, The Lord is Spirit he reveals the infinity of God; when He adds, Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, he indicates Him Who belongs to God; for He is the Spirit of the Lord, and Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. The Apostle makes the statement not from any necessity of his own argument, but in the interests of clearness. For the Holy Ghost is everywhere One, enlightening all patriarchs and prophets and the whole company of the Law, inspiring John even in his mother’s womb, given in due time to the Apostles and other believers, that they might recognize the truth vouchsafed them.

33. Let us hear from our Lord’s own words what is the work of the Holy Ghost within us. He says, I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. For it is expedient for you that I go: if I go I will send you the Advocate. And again, I will ask the Father and He shall send you another Advocate, that He may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth. He shall guide you into all truth, far He shall not speak from Himself, but whatsoever things He shall hear lie shall speak, and He shall

declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify Me, far He shall take of Mine. These words were spoken to show how multitudes should enter the kingdom of heaven; they contain an assurance of the goodwill of the Giver, and of the mode and terms of the Gift. They tell how, because our feeble minds cannot comprehend the Father or the Son, our faith which finds God's incarnation hard of credence shall be illumined by the gift of the Holy Ghost, the Bond of union and the Source of light.

34. The next step naturally is to listen to the Apostle's account of the powers and functions of this Gift. He says, As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the children of God. For ye received not the Spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye received the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father; and again, For no man by the Spirit of God saith anathema to Jesus, and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit; and he adds, Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and diversities of ministrations, but the same Lord, and diversities of workings, but the same God, Who worketh all things in all. But to each one is given the enlightenment of the Spirit, to profit withal. Now to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit, to another faith in the same Spirit, to another gifts of healings in the One Spirit, to another workings of miracles, to another prophecy, to another discerning of spirits, to another kinds of tongues, to another interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh the One and same Spirit. Here we have a statement of the purpose and results of the Gift; and I cannot conceive what doubt can remain, after so clear a definition of His Origin, His action and His powers.

35. Let us therefore make use of this great benefit, and seek for personal experience of this most needful Gift. For the Apostle says, in words I have already cited, But we have not received the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we may know the the things that are given unto us by God. We receive Him, then, that we may know. Faculties of the human body, if denied their exercise, will lie dormant. The eye without light, natural or artificial, cannot fulfill its office; the ear will be ignorant of its function unless some voice or sound be heard; the nostrils unconscious of their purpose unless some scent be breathed. Not that the faculty will be absent, because it is never called into use, but that there will be no experience of its existence. So, too, the soul of man, unless through faith it

have appropriated the gift of the Spirit, will have the innate faculty Of apprehending God, but be destitute of the light of knowledge, That Gift, which is in Christ, is One, yet offered, and offered fully, to all; denied to none, and given to each according to the measure of his willingness to receive; its stores the richer, the more earnest the desire to earn them. This gift is with us unto the end of the world, the solace of our waiting, the assurance, by the favors which He bestows, of the hope that shall be ours, the light of our minds, the sun of our souls. This Holy Spirit we must seek and must earn, and then hold fast by faith and obedience to the commands of God.

BOOK 3

1. THE words of the Lord, I in the Father, and the Father in Me, confuse many minds, and not unnaturally, for the powers of human reason cannot provide them with any intelligible meaning. It seems impossible that one object should be both within and without another, or that (since it is laid down that the Beings of whom we are treating, though They do not dwell apart, retain their separate existence and condition) these Beings can reciprocally contain One Another, so that One should permanently envelope, and also be permanently enveloped by, the Other, whom yet He envelopes. This is a problem which the wit of man will never solve, nor will human research ever find an analogy for this condition of Divine existence. But what man cannot understand, God can be. I do not mean to say that the fact that this is an assertion made by God renders it at once intelligible to us. We must think for ourselves, and come to know the meaning of the words, I in the Father, and the Father in Me: but this will depend upon our success in gasping the truth that reasoning based upon Divine verities can establish its conclusions, even though they seem to contradict the laws of the universe.

2. In order to solve as easily as possible this most difficult problem, we must first master the knowledge which the Divine Scriptures give of Father and of Son, that so we may speak with more precision, as dealing with familiar and accustomed matters. The eternity of the Father, as we concluded after full discussion in the last Book, transcends space, and time, and appearance, and all the forms of human thought. He is without and within all things, He contains all and can be contained by none, is incapable of change by increase or diminution, invisible, incomprehensible, full, perfect, eternal, not deriving anything that He has from another, but, if ought be derived from Him, still complete and self-sufficing.

3. He therefore, the Unbegotten, before time was begot a Son from Himself; not from any pre-existent matter, for all things are through the Son; not from nothing, for the Son is from the Father’s self; not by way of childbirth, for in God there is neither change nor void; not as a piece of Himself cut or torn off or stretched out, for God is passionless and bodiless, and only a possible and embodied being could so be treated, and,

as the [Apostle says, in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Incomprehensibly, ineffably, before time or worlds, He begat the Only-begotten from His own unbegotten substance, bestowing through love and power His whole Divinity upon that Birth. Thus He is the Only-begotten, perfect, eternal Son of the unbegotten, perfect, eternal Father. But those properties which He has in consequence of the Body which He took, are the fruit of His goodwill toward our salvation. For He, being invisible and bodiless and incomprehensible, as the Son of God, took upon Him such a measure of matter and of lowliness as was needed to bring Him within the range of our understanding, and perception, and contemplation. It was a condescension to our feebleness rather than a surrender of His own proper attributes.

4. He, therefore, being the perfect Father's perfect Son. the Only-begotten Offspring of the unbegotten God, who has received all from Him Who possesses all, being God from God, Spirit from Spirit, Light from Light, says boldly, The Father in Me, and I in the Father. For as the Father is Spirit, so is the Son Spirit; as the Father is God, so is the Son God; as the Father is Light, so is the Son Light. Thus those properties which are in the Father are the source of those wherewith the Son is endowed; that is, He is wholly Son of Him Who is wholly Father; not imported from without, for before the Son nothing was; not made from nothing, for the Son is from God; not a son partially, for the fullness of the Godhead is in the Son; not a Son in some respects, but in all; a Son according to the will of Him who had the power, after a manner which He only knows. What is in the Father is in the Son also; what is in the Unbegotten is in the Only-begotten also. The One is from the Other, and they Two are a Unity; not Two made One, yet One in the Other, for that which is in Both is the same. The Father is in the Son, for the Son is from Him; the Son is in the Father, because the Father is His sole Origin; the Only-begotten is in the Unbegotten, because He is the Only-begotten from the Unbegotten. Thus mutually Each is in the Other, for as all is perfect in the Unbegotten Father, so all is perfect in the Only-begotten Son. This is the Unity which is in Son and Father, this the power, this the love; our hope, and faith, and truth, and way, and life is not to dispute the Father's powers or to depreciate the Son, but to reverence the mystery and majesty of His birth; to set the unbegotten Father above all rivalry, and count the Only-begotten

Son as His equal in eternity and might, confessing concerning God the Son that He is from God.

5. Such powers are there in God; powers which the methods of our reason cannot comprehend, but of which our faith, on the sure evidence of His action, is convinced. We shall find instances of this action in the bodily sphere as well as in the spiritual, its manifestation taking, not the form of an analogy which might illustrate the Birth, but of a deed marvelous yet comprehensible. On the wedding day in Galilee water was made wine. Have we words to tell or senses to ascertain what methods produced the change by which the tastelessness of water disappeared, and was replaced by the full flavor of wine? It was not a mixing; it was a creation, and a creation which was not a beginning, but a transformation. A weaker liquid was not obtained by admixture of a stronger element; an existing thing perished and a new thing came into being. The bridegroom was anxious. the household in confusion, the harmony of the marriage feast imperiled. Jesus is asked for help. He does not rise or busy Himself; He does the work without an effort. Water is poured into the vessels, wine drawn out in the cups. The evidence of the senses of the pourer contradicts that of the drawer. They who poured expect water to be drawn; they who draw think that wine must have been poured in. The intervening time cannot account for any gain or loss of character in the liquid. The mode of action baffles sight and sense, but the power of God is manifest in the result achieved.

6. In the case of the five loaves a miracle of the same type excites our wonder. By their increase five thousand men and countless women and children are saved from hunger; the method eludes our powers of observation. Five loaves are offered and broken; while the Apostles are dividing them a succession of new-created portions passes, they cannot tell how, through their hands. The loaf which they are dividing grows no smaller, yet their hands are continually full of the pieces. The swiftness of the process baffles sight; you follow with the eye a hand full of portions, and meantime you see that the contents of the other hand are not diminished, and all the while the heap of pieces grows. The carvers are busy at their task, the eaters are hard at work; the hungry are satisfied, and the fragments fill twelve baskets. Sight or sense cannot discover the mode of so noteworthy a miracle. What was not existent is created; what we see

passes our understanding. Our only resource is faith in God's omnipotence.

7. There is no deception in these miracles of God, no subtle pretense to please or to deceive. These works of the Son of God were done from no desire for self-display; He Whom countless myriads of angels serve never deluded man. What was there of ours that He could need, through Whom all that we have was created? Did He demand praise from us who now are heavy with sleep, now sated with lust, now laden with the guilt of riot and bloodshed, now drunken from reveling; — He Whom Archangels, and Dominions, and Principalities, and Powers, without sleep or cessation or sin, praise in heaven with everlasting and unwearied voice? They praise Him because He, the Image of the Invisible God, created all their host in Himself, made the worlds, established the heavens, appointed the stars, fixed the earth, laid the foundations of the deep; because in after time He was born, He conquered death, broke the gates of hell, won for Himself a people to be His fellow-heirs, lifted flesh from corruption up to the glory of eternity. There was nothing, then, that He might gain from us, that could induce Him to assume the splendor of these mysterious and inexplicable works, as though He needed our praise. But God foresaw how human sin and folly would be misled, and knew that disbelief would dare to pass its judgment even on the things of God, and therefore He vanquished presumption by tokens of His power which must give pause to our boldest.

8. For there are many of those wise men of the world whose wisdom is folly with God, who contradict our proclamation of God from God, True from True, Perfect from Perfect, One from One, as though we taught things impossible They pin their faith to certain conclusions which they have reached by process of logic: — Nothing can be born of one, far every birth requires two parents, and If this Son be born of One He has received a part of His Begetter: if He be a part, then Neither of the Two is perfect, for something is missing from Him from Whom the Son issued, and there cannot be fullness in One Who consists of a portion of Another. Thus Neither is perfect, for the Begetter has lost His fullness, and the Begotten has not acquired it. This is that wisdom of the world which was foreseen by God even in the prophet's days, and condemned through him in the words, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and reject the understanding

of the prudent. And the apostle says: Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the inquirer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For because in the wisdom of God he world through wisdom knew not God, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews seek signs, and the Greeks seek wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews indeed a stumbling-block and to the Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

9. The Son of God, therefore, having the charge of mankind, was first made man, that men might believe on Him; that He might be to us a witness, sprung from ourselves, of things Divine, and preach to us, weak and carnal as we are, through the weakness of the flesh concerning God the Father, so fulfilling the Father's will, even as He says, I came not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me. It was not that He Himself was unwilling, but that He might manifest His obedience as the result of His Father's will, for His own will is to do His Father's. This is that will to carry out the Father's will of which He testifies in the words: Father, the hour is come;,glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee; even as Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that whatsoever Thou hast given Him, He should give it eternal life. And this is life eternal, that they should know Thee the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, Jesus Christ. I have glorified Thee upon earth, having accomplished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Me with Thine own Self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. I have manifested Thy Name unto the men whom Thou hast given Me. In words short and few He has revealed the whole task to which He was appointed and assigned. Yet those words, short and few as they are, are the true faith's safeguard against every suggestion of the devil's cunning. Let us briefly consider the force of each separate phrase.

10. He says, Father the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee. He says that the hour, not the day nor the time, is come. An hour is a fraction of a day. What hour must this be? The hour, of course, of which lie speaks, to strengthen His disciples, at the time of His passion: — Lo, the hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified. This then

is the hour in which He prays to be glorified by the Father, that He Himself may glorify the Father. But what does He mean? Does One who is about to give glory look to receive it? Does One who is about to confer honor make request for Himself? Is He in want of the very thing which He is about to repay? Here let the world's philosophers, the wise men of Greece, beset our path, and spread their syllogistic nets to entangle the truth. Let them ask How? and Whence? and Why? When they can find no answer, let us tell them that it is because God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. That is the reason why we in our foolishness understand things incomprehensible to the world's philosophers. The Lord had said, Father, the hour is come; He had revealed the hour of His passion, for these words were spoken at the very moment; and then He added, Glorify Thy Son. But how was the Son to be glorified? He had been born of a virgin, from cradle and childhood He had grown to man's estate, through sleep and hunger and thirst and weariness and tears He had lived man's life: even now He was to be spitted on, scourged, crucified And why? These things were ordained for our assurance that in Christ is pure man. But the shame of the cross is not ours; we are not sentenced to the scourge, nor defiled by spitting. The Father glorifies the Son; how? He is next nailed to the cross. Then what followed? The sun, instead of setting, fled. How so? It did not retire behind a cloud, but abandoned its appointed orbit, and all the elements of the world felt that same shock of the death of Christ. The stars in their courses, to avoid complicity in the crime, escaped by self-extinction from beholding the scene. What did the earth? It quivered beneath the burden of the Lord hanging on the tree, protesting that it was powerless to confine Him who was dying. Yet surely rock and stone will not refuse Him a resting-place. Yes, they are rent and cloven, and their strength fails. They must confess that the rock-hewn sepulcher cannot imprison the Body which awaits its burial.

11. And next? The centurion of the cohort, the guardian of the cross, cries out, Truly this was the Son of God. Creation is set free by the mediation of this Sin-offering; the very rocks lose their solidity and strength. They who had nailed Him to the cross confess that truly this is the Son of God. The outcome justifies the assertion. The Lord had said, Glorify Thy Son. He had asserted, by that word Thy, that He was God's Son not in name

only, but in nature. Multitudes of us are sons of God; He is Son in another sense. For He is God's true and own Son, by origin and not by adoption, not by name only but in truth, born and not created. So, after He was glorified, that confession touched the truth; the centurion confessed Him the true Son of God, that no believer might doubt a fact which even the servant of His persecutors could not deny.

12. But perhaps some may suppose that He was destitute of that glory for which He prayed, and that His looking to be glorified by a Greater is evidence of want of power. Who, indeed, would deny that the Father is the greater; the Unbegotten greater than the Begotten, the Father than the Son, the Sender than the Sent, He that wills than He that obeys? He Himself shall be His own witness: — The Father is greater than I. It is a fact which we must recognize, but we must take heed lest with unskilled thinkers the majesty of the Father should obscure the glory of the Son. Such obscuration is forbidden by this same glory for which the Son prays; for the prayer, Father glorify Thy Son, is completed by, That the San may glorify Thee. Thus there is no lack of power in the Son, Who, when He has received this glory, will make His return for it in glory. But why, if He were not in want, did He make the prayer? No one makes request except for something which he needs. Or can it be that the Father too is in want? Or has He given His glory away so recklessly that He needs to have it returned Him by the Son? No; the One has never been in want, nor the Other needed to ask, and yet Each shall give to the Other. Thus the prayer for glory to be given and to be paid back is neither a robbery of the Father nor a depreciation of the Son, but a demonstration of the power of one Godhead resident in Both. The Son prays that He may be glorified by the Father; the Father deems it no humiliation to be glorified by the Son, The exchange of glory given and received proclaims the unity of power in Father and in Son.

13. We must next ascertain what and whence this glorifying is. God, I am sure, is subject to no change; His eternity admits not of defect or amendment, of gain or of loss. It is the character of Him alone, that what He is, He is from everlasting. What He from everlasting is, it is by His nature impossible that He should ever cease to be. How then can He receive glory, a thing which He fully possesses, and of which His store does not diminish; there being no fresh glory which He can obtain, and

none that He has lost and can recover? We are brought to a standstill. But the Evangelist does not fail us, though our reason has displayed its helplessness. To tell us what return of glory it was that the Son should make to the Father, he gives the words: Even as Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that whatsoever Thou hast given Him He may give it eternal life. And this is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent. The Father, then, is glorified through the Son, by His being made known to us. And the glory was this, that the Son, being made flesh, received from Him power over all flesh, and the charge of restoring eternal life to us, ephemeral beings burdened with the body. Eternal life for us was the result not of work done, but of innate power; not by a new creation, but simply by knowledge of God, was the glory of that eternity to be acquired. Nothing was added to God's glory; it had not decreased, and so could not be replenished. But He is glorified through the Son in the sight of us, ignorant, exiled, defiled, dwelling in hopeless death and lawless darkness; glorified inasmuch as the Son, by virtue of that power over all flesh which the Father gave Him, was to bestow on us eternal life. It is through this work of the Son that the Father is glorified. So when the Son received all things from the Father, the Father glorified Him; and conversely, when all things were made through the Son, He glorified the Father. The return of glory given lies herein, that all the glory which the Son has is the glory of the Father, since everything He has is the Father's gift. For the glory of Him who executes a charge redounds to the glory of Him Who gave it, the glory of the Begotten to the glory of the Begetter.

14. But in what does eternity of life consist? His own words tell us: — That they way know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent. Is there any doubt or difficulty here, or any inconsistency? It is life to know the true God; but the bare knowledge of Him does not give it. What, then, does He add? And Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent. In Thee, the only true God, the Son pays the honor due to His Father; by the addition, And Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent, He associates Himself with the true Godhead. The believer in his confession draws no line between the Two, for his hope of life rests in Both, and indeed, the true God is inseparable from Him Whose Name follows in the creed. Therefore when we read, That they may know Thee, the only true

God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent, these terms of Sender and of Sent are not intended, under any semblance of distinction or discrimination, to convey a difference between the true Godhead of Father and of Son, but to be a guide to the devout confession of Them as Begetter and Begotten.

15. And so the Son glorifies the Father fully and finally in the words which follow, I have glorified Thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which Thou hast given Me to do. All the Father's praise is from the Son, for every praise bestowed upon the Son is praise of the Father, since all that He accomplished is what the Father had willed The Son of God is born as man; but the power of God is in the virgin-birth. The Son of God is seen as man; but God is president in His human actions. The Son of God is nailed to the cross; but on the cross God conquers human death. Christ, the Son of God, dies; but all flesh is made alive in Christ. The Son of God is in hell; but man is carried back to heaven. In proportion to our praise of Christ for these His works, will be the praise we bring to Him from Whom Christ's Godhead is. These are the ways in which the Father glorifies the Son on earth; and in return the Son reveals by works of power to the ignorance of the heathen and to the foolishness of the world, Him from Whom He is. This exchange of glory, given and received, implies no augmentation of the Godhead, but means the praises rendered for the knowledge granted to those who had lived in ignorance of God. What, indeed, could there be which the Father, from Whom are all things, did not richly possess? In what was the Son lacking, in Whom all the fullness of the Godhead had been pleased to dwell? The Father is glorified on earth because the work which He had commanded is finished.

16. Next let us see what this glory is which the Son expects to receive from the Father; and then our exposition will be complete. The sequel is, I have glorified Thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which Thou hast given Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own Self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. I have manifested Thy name unto men. It is, then, by the Son's works that the Father is glorified, in that He is recognized as God, as Father of God time Only-begotten, Who for our salvation willed that His Son should be born as man, even of a virgin; that Son Whose whole life, consummated in the Passion, was consistent with the humiliation of the virgin birth. Thus,

because the Son of God, all-perfect and horn from everlasting in the fullness of the Godhead, had now by incarnation become Man and was ready for His death, He prays that He may be glorified with God, even as He was glorifying His Father on the earth; for at that moment the powers of God were being glorified in the flesh before the eyes of a world that knew Him not. But what is this glory with the Father, for which He looks? It is that, of course, which He had with Him before the world was. He had the fullness of the Godhead; He has it still, for He is God's Son. But He Who was the Son of God had become the Son of man also, for The Word was made flesh. He had not lost His former being, but He had become what He was not before; He had not abdicated His own position, yet He had taken ours; He prays that the nature which He had assumed may be promoted to the glory which He had never renounced. Therefore, since the Son is the Word, and the Word was made flesh, and the Word was God, and was in the beginning with God, and the Word was Son before the foundation of the world; this Son, now incarnate, prayed that flesh might be to the Father what the Son had been. He prayed that flesh, born in time, might receive the splendor of the everlasting glory, that the corruption of the flesh might be swallowed up, transformed into the power of God and the purity of the Spirit. It is His prayer to God, the Son's confession of the Father, the entreaty of that flesh wherein all shall see Him on the Judgment-day, pierced and bearing the marks of the cross; of that flesh wherein His glory was foreshown upon the Mount, wherein He ascended to heaven and is set down at the right hand of God, wherein Paul saw Him, and Stephen paid Him worship.

17. The name Father has thus been revealed to men; the question arises, What is this Father's own name? Yet surely the name of God has never been unknown. Moses heard it from the bush, Genesis announces it at the beginning of the history of creation, the Law has proclaimed and the prophets extolled it, the history of the world has made mankind familiar with it; the very heathen have worshipped it under a veil of falsehood. Men have never been left in ignorance of the name of God. And yet they were, in very truth, in ignorance. For no man knows God unless He confess Him as Father, Father of the Only-begotten Son, and confess also the Son a Son by no partition or extension or procession, but born of Him, as Son of Father, ineffably and incomprehensibly, and retaining the

fullness of that Godhead from which and in which He was born as true and infinite and perfect God. This is what the fullness of the Godhead means. If any of these things be lacking, there will not be that fullness which was pleased to dwell in Him. This is the message of the Son, His revelation to men in their ignorance. The Father is glorified through the Son when men recognize that, He is Father of a Son so Divine.

18. The Son, wishing to assure us of the truth of this, His Divine birth, has appointed His works to serve as an illustration, that from the ineffable power displayed in ineffable deeds we may learn the lesson of the ineffable birth. For instance, When water was made wine, and five loaves satisfied five thousand men, beside women and children, and twelve baskets were filled with the fragments, we see a fact though we cannot understand it; a deed is done though it bares our reason; the process cannot be followed, though the result is obvious. It is folly to intrude in the spirit of carping, when the matter into which we enquire is such that we cannot probe it to the bottom. For even as the Father is ineffable because He is Unbegotten, so is the Son ineffable because He is the Only-begotten, since the Begotten is the Image of the Unbegotten. Now it is by the use of our senses and of language that we have to form our conception of an image; and it must be by the same means that we form our idea of that which the image represents. But in this case we, whose faculties can deal only with visible and tangible things, are straining after the invisible, and striving to grasp the impalpable. Yet we take no shame to ourselves, we reproach ourselves with no irreverence, when we doubt and criticize the mysteries and powers of God. How is He the Son? Whence is He? What did the Father lose by His birth? Of what portion of the Father was He born? So we ask; yet all the while there has been confronting us the evidence of works done to assure us that God’s action is not limited by our power of comprehending His methods.

19. You ask what was the manner in which, as the Spirit teaches, the Son was born? I will put a question to you as to things corporal. I ask not in what manner He was born of a virgin; I ask only whether her flesh, in the course of bringing His flesh to readiness for birth, suffered any loss. Assuredly she did not conceive Him in the common way, or suffer the shame of human intercourse, in order to bear Him: yet she bore Him, complete in His human Body, without loss of her own completeness.

Surely piety requires that we should regard as possible with God a thing which we see became possible through his power in the case of a human being.

20. But you, whoever you are that would seek into the unsearchable, and in all seriousness form an opinion upon the mysteries and powers of God; — I turn to you for counsel, and beg you to enlighten me, an unskilled and simple believer of all that God says, as to a circumstance which I am about to mention. I listen to the Lord's words and, since I believe what is recorded, I am sure that after His Resurrection He offered Himself repeatedly in the Body to the sight of multitudes of unbelievers. At any rate, He did so to Thomas who had protested that he would not believe unless he handled His wounds. His words are, Unless I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and thrust my hand into His side, I will not believe. The Lord stoops to the level even of our feeble understanding; to satisfy the doubts of unbelieving minds He works a miracle of His invisible power. Do you, my critic of the ways of heaven, explain His action if you can. The disciples were in a closed room; they had met and held their assembly in secret since the Passion of the Lord. The Lord presents Himself to strengthen the faith of Thomas by meeting his challenge; He gives him His Body to feel, His wounds to handle. He, indeed, who would be recognized as having suffered wounds must needs produce the body in which those wounds were received. I ask at what point in the walls of that closed house the Lord bodily entered. The Apostle has recorded the circumstances with careful precision; Jesus came when the doors were shut, and stood in the midst. Did He penetrate through bricks and mortar, or through stout woodwork, substances whose very nature it is to bar progress? For there He stood in bodily presence; there was no suspicion of deceit Let the eye of your mind follow His path as He enters; let your intellectual vision accompany Him as He passes into that closed dwelling. There is no breach in the walls, no door has been unbarred; yet lo, He stands in the midst Whose might no barrier can resist. You are a critic of things invisible; I ask you to explain a visible event. Everything remains firm as it was; no body is capable of insinuating itself through the interstices of wood and stone. The Body of the Lord does not disperse itself, to come together again after a disappearance; yet whence comes He Who is standing in the midst? Your

senses and your words are powerless to account for it; the fact is certain, but it lies beyond the region of human explanation. If, as you say, our account of the Divine birth is a lie, then prove that this account of the Lord's entrance is a fiction. If we assume that an event did not happen, because we cannot discover how it was done, we make the limits of our understanding into the limits of reality. But the certainty of the evidence proves the falsehood of our contradiction. The Lord did stand in a closed house in the midst of the disciples; the Son was born of the Father. Deny not that He stood, because your puny wits cannot ascertain how He came there; renounce a disbelief in God the Only-begotten and perfect Son of God the Unbegotten and perfect Father, which is based only on the incapacity of sense and speech to comprehend the transcendent miracle of that birth.

21. Nay more, the whole constitution of nature would bear us out against the impiety of doubting the works and powers of God. And yet our disbelief tilts even against obvious truth; we strive in our fury to pluck even God from His throne. If we could, we would climb by bodily strength to heaven, would fling into confusion the ordered courses of sun and stars, would disarrange the ebb and flow of tides, check rivers at their source or make their waters flow backward, would shake the foundations of the world, in the utter irreverence of our rage against the paternal work of God. It is well that our bodily limitations confine us within more modest bounds. Assuredly, there is no concealment of the mischief we would do if we could. In one respect we are free; and so with blasphemous insolence we distort the truth and turn our weapons against the words of God.

22. The Son has said, Father, I have manifested Thy Name unto men. What reason is there for denunciation or fury here? Do you deny the Father? Why, it was the primary purpose of the Son to enable us to know the Father. But in fact you do deny Him when, according to you, the Son was not born of Him. Yet why should He have the name of Son if He be, as others are, an arbitrary creation of God? I could feel awe of God as Creator of Christ as well as Founder of the universe; it were an exercise of power worthy of Him to be the Maker of Him Who made Archangels and Angels, things visible and things invisible, heaven and earth and the whole creation around us. But the work which the Lord came to do was not to enable you to recognize the omnipotence of God as Creator of all things,

but to enable you to know Him as the Father of that Son Who addresses you. In heaven there are Powers beside Himself, Powers mighty and eternal; there is but one Only-begotten Son, and the difference between Him and them is not one of mere degree of might, but that they all were made through Him. Since He is the true and only Son, let us not make Him a bastard by asserting that He was made out of nothing. You hear the name Son; believe that He is the Son. You hear the name Father; fix it in your mind that He is the Father. Why surround these names with doubt and illwill and hostility? The things of God are provided with names which give a true indication of the realities; why force an arbitrary meaning upon their obvious sense Father and Son are spoken of; doubt not that the words mean what they say. The end and aim of the revelation of the Son is that you should know the Father. Why frustrate the labors of the Prophets, the Incarnation of the Word, the Virgin's travail, the effect of miracles, the cross of Christ? It was all spent upon you, it is all offered to you, that through it all Father and Son may be manifest to you. And you replace the truth by a theory of arbitrary action, of creation or adoption. Turn your thoughts to the warfare, the conflict waged by Christ. He describes it thus: — Father, I have manifested Thy Name unto men. He does not say, Thou hast created the Creator of all the heavens, or Thou hast made the Maker of the whole earth. He says, Father, I have manifested Thy Name unto men. Accept your Savior's gift of knowledge. Be assured that there is a Father Who begot, a Son Who was born; born in the truth of His Nature of the Father, Who is. Remember that the revelation is not of the Father manifested as God, but of God manifested as the Father.

23. You hear the words, I and the Father are one. Why do you rend and tear the Son away from the Father? They are a unity: an absolute Existence having all things in perfect communion with that absolute Existence, from Whom He is. When you hear the Son saying, I and the Father are one, adjust your view of facts to the Persons; accept the statement which Begetter and Begotten make concerning Themselves. Believe that They are One, even as They are also Begetter and Begotten. Why deny the common nature? Why impugn the true Divinity? You hear again, The Father in Me, and I in the Father. That this is true of Father and of Son is demonstrated by the Son's works. Our science cannot envelope body in body, or pour

one into another, as water into wine; but we confess that in Both is equivalence of power and fullness of the Godhead. For the Son has received all things from the Father; He is the Likeness of God, the Image of His substance. The words, Image of His substance, discriminate between Christ and Him from Whom He is but only to establish Their distinct existence not to teach a difference of nature; and the meaning of Father in Son and Son in Father is that there is the perfect fullness of the Godhead in Both. The Father is not impaired by the Son's existence, nor is the Son a mutilated fragment of the Father. An image implies its original; likeness is a relative term. Now nothing can be like God unless it have its source in Him; a perfect likeness can be reflected only from that which it represents; an accurate resemblance forbids the assumption of any element of difference. Disturb not this likeness; make no separation where truth shews no variance, for He Who said, Let us make man after our image and likeness, by those words Our likeness revealed the existence of Beings, Each like the Other. Touch not handle not, pervert not. Hold fast the Names which teach the truth, hold fast the Son's declaration of Himself. I would not have you flatter the Son with praises of your own invention; it is well with you if you be satisfied with the written word.

24. Again, we must not repose so blind a confidence in human intellect as to imagine that we have complete knowledge of the objects of our thought, or that the ultimate problem is solved as soon as we have formed a symmetrical and consistent theory. Finite minds cannot conceive the Infinite; a being dependent for its existence upon another cannot attain to perfect knowledge either of its Creator or of itself, for its consciousness of self is colored by its circumstances, and bounds are set which its perception cannot pass. Its activity is not self-caused, but due to the Creator, and a being dependent on a Creator has perfect possession of none of its faculties, since its origin lies outside itself. Hence by an inexorable law it is folly for that being to say that it has perfect knowledge of any matter; its powers have limits which it cannot modify, and only while it is under the delusion that its petty bounds are coterminous with infinity can it make the empty boast of possessing wisdom. For of wisdom it is incapable, its knowledge being limited to the range of its perception, and sharing the impotence of its dependent existence. And therefore this masquerade of a finite nature boasting that it possesses the

wisdom Which springs only from infinite knowledge earns the scorn and ridicule of the Apostle, who calls its wisdom folly. He says, For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, not in the language of wisdom, lest the cross of Christ should be made void. Far the word of the cross is foolishness to then that are perishing, but unto them that are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the prudent I will reject. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the enquirer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For seeing that in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God, God decreed through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews ask for signs and the Greeks seek after wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews indeed a stumbling-block and to Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the weakness of God is stranger than men, and the foolishness of God is wiser than men. Thus all unbelief is foolishness, for it takes such wisdom as its own finite perception can attain, and, measuring infinity by that petty scale, concludes that what it cannot understand must be impossible. Unbelief is the result of incapacity engaged in argument. Men are sure that an event never happened, because they have made up their minds that it could not happen.

25. Hence the Apostle, familiar with the narrow assumption of human thought that what it does not know is not truth, says that he does not speak in the language of knowledge, lest his preaching should be in vain. To save himself from being regarded as a preacher of foolishness he adds that the word of the cross is foolishness to them that perish, He knew that the unbelievers held that the only true knowledge was that which formed their own wisdom, and that, since their wisdom was cognizant only of matters which lay within their narrow horizon, the other wisdom, which alone is Divine and perfect, seemed foolishness to them. Thus their foolishness actually consisted, in that feeble imagination which they mistook for wisdom. Hence it is that the very things which to them that perish are foolishness are the power of God to them that are saved; for these last never use their own inadequate faculties as a measure, but attribute to the Divine activities the omnipotence of heaven. God rejects the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the prudent in this sense,

that just because they recognize their own foolishness, salvation is granted to them that believe. Unbelievers pronounce the verdict of foolishness on everything that lies beyond their ken, while believers leave to the power and majesty of God the choice of the mysteries wherein salvation is bestowed. There is no foolishness in the things of God; the foolishness lies in that human wisdom which demands of God, as the condition of belief, signs and wisdom. It is the foolishness of the Jews to demand signs; they have a certain knowledge of the Name of God through long acquaintance with the Law, but the offense of the cross repels them. The foolishness of the Greeks is to demand wisdom; with Gentile folly and the philosophy of men they seek the reason why God was lifted up on the cross. And because, in consideration for the weakness of our mental powers, these things have been hidden in a mystery, this foolishness. of Jews and Greeks turns to unbelief; for they denounce, as unworthy of reasonable credence, truths which their mind is inherently incapable of comprehending. But, because the world's wisdom was so foolish, — for previously through God's wisdom it knew not God, that is, the splendor of the universe, and the wonderful order which He planned for His handiwork, taught it no reverence for its Creator — God was pleased through the preaching of foolishness to save them that believe, that is, through the faith of the cross to make everlasting life the lot of mortals; that so the self-confidence of human wisdom might be put to shame, and salvation found where men had thought that foolishness dwelt. For Christ, Who is foolishness to Gentiles, and offense to Jews, is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God; because what seems weak and foolish to human apprehension in the things of God transcends in true wisdom and might the thoughts and the powers of earth.

26. And therefore the action of God must not be canvassed by human faculties; the Creator must not be judged by those who are the work of His hands. We must clothe ourselves in foolishness that we may gain wisdom; not in the foolishness of hazardous conclusions, but in the foolishness of a modest sense of our own infirmity, that so the evidence of God's power may teach us truths to which the arguments of earthly philosophy cannot attain. For when we are fully conscious of our own foolishness, and have felt the helplessness and destitution of our reason, then through the counsels of Divine Wisdom we shall be initiated into the wisdom of God; setting no bounds to boundless majesty and power, nor tying the Lord of

nature down to nature’s laws; sure that for us the one true faith concerning God is that of which He is at once the Author and the Witness.

BOOK 4

1. THE earlier books of this treatise, written some time ago, contain, I think, an invincible proof that we hold and profess the faith in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which is taught by the Evangelists and Apostles, and that no commerce is possible between us and the heretics, inasmuch as they deny unconditionally, irrationally, and recklessly, the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet certain points remained which I have felt myself bound to include in this and the following books, in order to make our assurance of the faith even more certain by exposure of every one of their falsehoods and blasphemies. Accordingly, we will enquire first What are the dangers of their teaching, the risks involved by such irreverence; next, what principles they hold, and what arguments they advance against the apostolic faith to which we adhere, and by what sleight of language they impose upon the can dour of their hearers; and lastly, by what method of comment they disarm the words of Scripture of their force and meaning.

2. We are well aware that neither the speech of men nor the analogy of human nature can give us a full insight into the things of God. The ineffable cannot submit to the bounds and limits of definition; that which is spiritual is distinct from every class or instance of bodily things. Yet, since our subject is that of heavenly natures, we must employ ordinary natures and ordinary speech as our means of expressing what our mind apprehends; a means no doubt unworthy of the majesty of God, but forced upon us by feebleness of our intellect, which can use only our own circumstances and our own words to convey to others our perceptions and our conclusions. This truth has been enforced already in the first book, but is now repeated in order that, in any analogies from human affairs which we adduce, we may not be supposed to think of God as resembling embodied natures, or to compare spiritual Beings with our passible selves, but rather be regarded as advancing the outward appearance of visible things as a clue to the inward meaning of things invisible.

3. For the heretics say that Christ is not from God, that is, that the Son is not born from the Father, and is God not by nature but by appointment; in other words, that He has received an adoption which consists in the giving of a name, being God’s Son in the sense in which many are sons of God;

again, that Christ's majesty is an evidence of God's widespread bounty, He being God in the sense in which there are gods many; although they admit that in His adoption and naming as God a more liberal affection than in other cases was shewn, His adoption being the first in order of time, and He greater than other adopted sons, and first in rank among the creatures because of the greater splendor which accompanied His creation. Some add, by way of confessing the omnipotence of God, that He was created into God's likeness, and that it was out of nothing that He, like other creatures, was raised up to be the Image of the eternal Creator, bidden at a word to spring from non-existence into being by the power of God, Who can frame out of nothing the likeness of Himself.

4. Moreover, they use their knowledge of the historical fact that bishops of a former time have taught that Father and Son are of one substance, to subvert the truth by the ingenious plea that this is a heretical notion. They say that this term 'of one substance,' in the Greek *homoousion*, is used to mean and express that the Father is the same as the Son; that is, that He extended Himself out of infinity into the Virgin, and took a body from her, and gave to Himself, in the body which He had taken, the name of Son. This is their first lie concerning the homoousion. Their next lie is that this word homoousion implies that Father and Son participate in something antecedent to Either and distinct from Both, and that a certain imaginary substance, or ousia, anterior to all matter whatsoever, has existed heretofore and been divided and wholly distributed between the Two; which proves, they say, that Each of the Two is of a nature pro-existent to Himself, and Each identical in matter with the Other. And so they profess to condemn the confession of the homoousion on the ground that term does not discriminate between Father and Son, and makes the Father subsequent in time to that matter which He has in common with the Son. And they have devised this third objection to the word homoousion, that its meaning, as they explain it, is that the Son derives His origin from a partition of the Father's substance, as though one object had been cut in two and He were the severed portion. The meaning of 'one substance,' they say, is that the part cut off from the whole continues to share the nature of that from which it has been severed; but God, being impossible, cannot be divided, for, if He must submit to be lessened by division. He is

subject to change, and will be rendered imperfect if His perfect substance leave Him to reside in the severed portion.

5. They think also that they have a compendious refutation of Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles alike, in their assertion that the Son was born within time. They pronounce us illogical for saying that the Son has existed from everlasting; and, since they reject the possibility of His eternity, they are forced to believe that He was born at a point in time. For if He has not always existed, there was a time when He was not; and if there be a time when He was not, time was anterior to Him. He who has not existed everlastingly began to exist within time, while He Who is free from the limits of time is necessarily eternal. The reason they give for their rejection of the eternity of the Son is that His everlasting existence contradicts the faith in His birth; as though by confessing that He has existed eternally, we made His birth impossible.

6. What foolish and godless fears! What impious anxiety on God's behalf! The meaning which they profess to detect in the word homoousion, and in the assertion of the eternity of the Son, is detested, rejected, denounced by the Church. She confesses one God front Whom are all things; she confesses one Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom are all things; One from Whom, One through Whom; One the Source of all, One the Agent through Whom all were created. In the One from Whom are all things she recognizes the Majesty which has no beginning, and in the One through Whom are all things she recognizes a might coequal with His Source; for Both are jointly supreme in the work of creation and in rule over created things. In the Spirit she recognizes God as Spirit, impossible and indivisible, for she has learnt from the Lord that Spirit has neither flesh nor bones; a warning to save her from supposing that God, being Spirit, could be burdened with bodily suffering and loss. She recognizes one God, unborn from everlasting; she recognizes also one Only-begotten Son of God. She confesses the Father eternal and without beginning; she confesses also that the Son's beginning is from eternity. Not that He has no beginning, but that He is Son of the Father Who has none; not that He is self-originated, but that He is from Him Who is unbegotten from everlasting; born from eternity, receiving, that is, His birth from the eternity of the Father. Thus our faith is free from the guesswork of heretical perversity; it is expressed in fixed and published terms, though as

yet no reasoned defense of our confession has been put forth. Still, lest any suspicion should linger around the sense in which the Fathers have used the word homoousion and round our confession of the eternity of the Son, I have set down the proofs whereby we may be assured that the Son abides ever in that substance wherein He was begotten from the Father, and that the birth of His Son has not diminished ought of that Substance wherein the Father was abiding; that holy men, inspired by the teaching of God, when they said that the Son is homoousios with the Father pointed to no such flaws or defects as I have mentioned. My purpose has been to counteract the impression that this ousia, this assertion that He is homoousios with the Father, is a negation of the nativity of the Only-begotten Son.

7. To assure ourselves of the needfulness of these two phrases, adopted and employed as the best of safeguards against the heretical rabble of that day, I think it best to reply to the obstinate misbelief of our present heretics, and refute their vain and pestilent teaching by the witness of the evangelists and apostles. They flatter themselves that they can furnish a proof for each of their propositions; they have, in fact, appended to each some passages or other from holy Writ; passages so grossly misinterpreted as to ensnare none but the illiterate by the semblance of truth with which perverted ingenuity has masked their explanation.

8. For they attempt, by praising the Godhead of the Father only, to deprive the Son of His Divinity, pleading that it is written, Hear, 0 Israel, the Lord thy God is One, and that the Lord repeats this in His answer to the doctor of the Law who asked Him what was the greatest commandment in the Law; — Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. Again, they say that Paul proclaims, For there is One God, and One Mediator between God and men. And furthermore, they insist that God alone is wise, in order to leave no wisdom for the Son, relying upon the words of the Apostle, Now to Him that is able to stablish you according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according, to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through age-long times, but now is manifested through the scriptures of the prophets according to the commandment of the eternal God Who is made known unto all nations unto obedience of faith; to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory far ever and every. They argue also that He alone is true,

for Isaiah says, They shall bless Thee, the true God, and the Lord Himself has borne witness in the Gospel, saying, And this is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent Again they reason that He alone is good, to leave no goodness for the Son, because it has been said through Him, There is none goad save One, even God; and that He alone has power, because Paul has said, Which in His own times He shall skew to us, Who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords. And further, they profess themselves certain that in the Father there is no change nor turning, because He has said through the prophet, I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed, and the apostle James, With Whom there is no change; certain also that He is the righteous Judge, for it is written, God is the righteous Judge, strong and patient; that He cares for all, because the Lord has said, speaking of the birds, And your heavenly. Father feedeth them, and, Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And not one of them falleth upon the ground without the will of your Father; but the very hairs of your head are numbered. They say that the Father has prescience of all things, as the blessed Susanna says, O eternal God, that knowest secrets, and knowest all things before they be; that He is incomprehensible, as it is written, The heaven is My throne, and the earth is the footstool of My feet. What house will ye build Me, or what is the place of My rest? For these things hath My hand made, and all these things are mine; that He contains all things, as Paul bears witness, For in Him we live and move and have our being, and the psalmist, Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit, and whither shall I fly from Thy face? If I climb up into heaven, Thou art there; if I go down to hell, Thou art present. If I take my wings before the light and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even thither Thy hand shall lead me and Thy right hand shall hold me; that He is without body, for it is written, For God is Spirit, and they that warship Him must worship in spirit and in truth; that He is immortal and invisible, as Paul says, Who only hath immortality, and dwelleth in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can sees, and the Evangelist, No one hath seen God at any time, except the Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father; that He alone abides eternally unborn, for it is written, I Am That I Am, and Thus shall thou say to the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you, and through Jeremiah, O Lord, Who art Lord.

9. Who can fail to observe that these statements are full of fraud and fallacy? Cleverly as issues have been confused and texts combined, malice and folly is the character indelibly imprinted upon this laborious effort of cunning and clumsiness. For instance, among their points of faith they have included this, that they confess the Father only to be unborn; as though any one on our side could suppose that He, Who begot Him through Whom are all things, derived His being from any external source. The very fact that He bears the name of Father reveals Him as the cause of His Son's existence. That name of lather gives no hint that He who bears it is Himself descended from another, while it tells us plainly from Whom it is that the Son is begotten. Let us therefore leave to the Father His own special and incommunicable property, confessing that in Him reside the eternal powers of an omnipotence without beginning. None, I am sure, can doubt that the reason why, in their confession of God the Father, certain attributes are dwelt upon as peculiarly and inalienably His own, is that He may be left in isolated possession of them. For when they say that He alone is true, alone is righteous, alone is wise, alone is invisible, alone is good, alone is mighty, alone is immortal, they are raising up this word alone as a barrier to cut off the Son from His share in these attributes. He Who is alone, they say, has no partner in His properties. But if we suppose that these attributes reside in the Father only, and not in the Son also, then we must believe that God the Son has neither truth nor wisdom; that He is a bodily being compact of visible and material elements, ill-disposed and feeble and void of immortality; for we exclude Him from all these attributes of which we make the Father the solitary Possessor.

10. We, however, who propose to discourse of that most perfect majesty and fullest Divinity which appertains to the Only-begotten Son of God, have no fear lest our readers should imagine that amplitude of phrase in speaking of the Son is a detraction from the glory of God the Father, as though every praise assigned to the Son had first been withdrawn from Him. For, on the contrary, the majesty of the Son is glory to the Father; the Source must be glorious from which He Who is worthy of such glory comes. The Son has nothing but by virtue of His birth; the Father shares all veneration received by that birthright. Thus the suggestion that we diminish the Father's honor is put to silence, for all the glory which, as we

shall teach, is inherent in the Son will be reflected back, to the increased glory of Him who has begotten a Son so great.

11. Now that we have exposed their plan of belittling the Son under cover of magnifying the Father, the next step is to listen to the exact terms in which they express their own belief concerning the Son. For, since we have to answer in succession each of their allegations and to display on the evidence of Holy Scripture the impiety of their doctrines, we must append, to what they say of the Father, the decisions which they bare put on record concerning the Son, that by a comparison of their confession of the Father with their confession of the Son we may follow a uniform order in our solution of the questions as they arise. They state as their verdict that the Son is not derived from any pre-existent matter, for through Him all things were created, nor yet begotten from God, for nothing can be withdrawn from God; but that He was made out of what was nonexistent, that is, that He is a perfect creature of God, though different from His other creatures. They argue that He is a creature, because it is written, The Lord hath created Me for a beginning of His ways; that He is the perfect handiwork of God, though different from His other works, they prove, as to the first point, by what Paul writes to the Hebrews, Being made so much belief than the angels, as He possesseth a more excellent name than they, and again, Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ, who is faithful to Him that made Him. For their depreciation of the might and majesty and Godhead of the Son they rely chiefly on His own words, The Father is greater than I. But they admit that He is not one of the common herd of creatures on the evidence of All things were made through Him. And so they sum up the whole of their blasphemous teaching in these words which follow: —

12. “We confess One God, alone unmade, alone eternal, alone unoriginate, alone true, alone possessing immortality, alone good, alone mighty, Creator, Ordainer and Disposer of all things, unchangeable and unalterable, righteous and good, of the Law and the Prophets and the New Testament. We believe that this God gave birth to the Only-begotten Son before all worlds, through Whom He made the world and all things; that He gave birth to Him not in semblance, but in truth, following His own Will, so that He is unchangeable and unalterable, God’s perfect creature but not as

one of His other creatures, His handiwork, but not as His Other works; not, as Valentinus maintained, that the Son is a development of the Father; nor, as Manichaeus has declared of the Son, a consubstantial part of the Father; nor, as Sabellius, who makes two out of one, Son and Father at once; nor, as Hieracas, a light from a light, or a lamp with two flames; nor as if He was previously in being and afterwards born or created afresh to be a Son, a notion often condemned by thyself, blessed Pope, publicly in the Church and in the assembly of the brethren. But, as we have affirmed, we believe that He was created by the will of God before times and worlds, and has His life and existence from the Father, Who gave Him to share His own glorious perfections. For, when the Father gave to Him the inheritance of all things, He did not thereby deprive Himself of attributes which are His without origination, He being the source of all things.

13. “So there are three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. God, for His part, is the cause of all things, utterly unoriginate and separate from all; while the Son, put forth by the Father outside time, and created and established before the worlds, did not exist before He was born, but, being born outside time before the worlds, came into being as the Only Son of the Only Father. For He is neither eternal, nor co-eternal, nor co-uncreate with the Father, nor has He an existence collateral with the Father, as some say, who postulate two unborn principles. But God is before all things, as being indivisible and the beginning of all. Wherefore He is before the Son also, as indeed we have learnt from thee in thy public preaching. Inasmuch then as He hath His being from God, and His glorious perfections, and His life, and is entrusted with all things, for this reason God is His source, and hath rule over Him, as being His God, since He is before Him. As to such phrases as from Him, and from the womb, and I went out from the Father and am came, if they be understood to denote that the Father extends a part and, as it were, a development of that one substance, then the Father will be of a compound nature and divisible and changeable and corporeal, according to them; and thus, as far as their words go, the incorporeal God will be subjected to the properties of matter.”

14. Such is their error, such their pestilent teaching; to support it they borrow the words of Scripture, perverting its meaning and using the ignorance of men as their opportunity of gaining credence for their lies. Yet it is certainly by these same words of God that we must come to

understand the things of God. For human feebleness cannot by any strength of its own attain to the knowledge of heavenly things; the faculties which deal with bodily matters can form no notion of the unseen world. Neither our created bodily substance, nor the reason given by God for the purposes of ordinary life, is capable of ascertaining and pronouncing upon the nature and work of God. Our wits cannot rise to the level of heavenly knowledge, our powers of perception lack the strength to apprehend that limitless might. We must believe God's word concerning Himself, and humbly accept such insight as He vouchsafes to give. We must make our choice between rejecting His witness, as the heathen do, or else believing in Him as He is, and this in the only possible way, by thinking of Him in the aspect in which He presents Himself to us. Therefore let private judgment cease; let human reason refrain from passing barriers divinely set. In this spirit we eschew all blasphemous and reckless assertion concerning God, and cleave to the very letter of revelation. Each point in our enquiry shall be considered in the light of His instruction, Who is our theme; there shall be no stringing together of isolated phrases whose context is suppressed, to trick and misinform the unpracticed listener. The meaning of words shall be ascertained by considering the circumstances under which they were spoken words must be explained by circumstances not circumstances forced into conformity will words. We, at any rate, will treat our subject completely; we will state both the circumstances under which words were spoken, and the true purport of the words. Each point shall be considered in orderly sequence.

15. Their starting-point is this; We confess, they say, One only God, because Moses says, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. But is this a truth which anyone has ever dared to doubt? Or was any believer ever known to confess otherwise than that there is One God from Whom are all things, One Majesty which has no birth, and that He is that unoriginated Power? Yet this fact of the Unity of God offers no chance for denying the Divinity of His Son. For Moses, or rather God through Moses, laid it down as His first commandment to that people, devoted both in Egypt and in the Desert to idols and the worship of imaginary gods, that they must believe in One God. There was truth and reason in the commandment, for God, from Whom are all things, is One. But let us see whether this Moses have not confessed that He, through Whom are all

things, is also God. God is not robbed, He is still God, if His Son share the Godhead. For the case is that of God from God, of One from One, of God Who is One because God is from Him. And conversely the Son is not less God because God the Father is One, for He is the Only-begotten Son of God; not eternally unborn, so as to deprive the Father of His Oneness, nor yet different from God, for He is born from Him. We must not doubt that He is God by virtue of that birth from God which proves to us who believe that God is One; yet let us see whether Moses, who announced to Israel, The Lord thy God is One, has also proclaimed the Godhead of the Son. To make good our confession of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ we must employ the evidence of that same witness on whom the heretics rely for the confession of One Only God, which they imagine to involve the denial of the Godhead of the Son.

16. Since, therefore, the words of the Apostle, One God the Father, from Whom are all things, and one Jesus Christ, our Lord, through Whom are all things, form an accurate and complete confession concerning God, let us see what Moses has to say of the beginning of the world. His words are, And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the water, and let it divide the water from the water. And it was so, and God made the firmament and God divided the water through the midst. Here, then, you have the God from Whom, and the God through Whom. If you deny it, you must tell us through whom it was that God’s work in creation was done, or else point for your explanation to an obedience in things yet uncreated, which, when God said Let there be a firmament, impelled the firmament to establish itself. Such suggestions are inconsistent with the clear sense of Scripture. For all things, as the Prophet says, were made out of nothing; it was no transformation of existing things, but the creation into a perfect form of the non-existent. Through whom? Hear the Evangelist: things were made through Him. If you ask Who this is, the same Evangelist will tell you: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through Him. If you are minded to combat the view that it was the Father Who said, Let there be a firmament, the prophet will answer you: He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created. The recorded words, Let there be a firmament, reveal to us that the Father spoke. But in the words which follow, And it was so, in the statement that

God did this thing, we must recognize the Person of the Agent. He spake, and they, were made; the Scripture does not say that He willed it, and did it. He commanded, and they were created; you observe that it does not say they came into existence, because it was His pleasure. In that case there would be no office for a Mediator between God and the world which was awaiting its creation. God, from Whom are all things, gives the order for creation which God, through Whom are all things, executes. Under one and the same Name we confess Him Who gave and Him Who fulfilled the command. If you dare to deny that God made is spoken of the Son, how do you explain All things were made through Him? Or the Apostle's words, One resets Christ, our Lord, through, Whom are all things? Or, He spake, and they were made? If these inspired words succeed in convincing your stubborn mind, you will cease to regard that text, Hear, O Israel, the Lord Hey God is One, as a refusal of Divinity to the Son of God, since at the very foundation of the world He Who spoke it proclaimed that His Son also is God. But let us see what increase of profit we may draw from this distinction of God Who commands and God Who executes. For though it is repugnant even to our natural reason to suppose that in the words, He commanded, and they were made, one single and isolated Person is intended, yet, for the avoidance of all doubts, we must expound the events which followed upon the creation of the world.

17. When the world was complete and its inhabitant was to be created, the words spoken concerning him were, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness. I ask you, Do you suppose that God spoke those words to Himself? Is it not obvious that He was addressing not Himself, but Another? If you reply that He was alone, then out of His own mouth He confutes you, for He says, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness. God has spoken to us through the Lawgiver in the way which is intelligible to us; that is, He makes us acquainted with His action by means of language, the faculty with which He has been pleased to endow us. There is, indeed, an indication of the Son of God through Whom all things were made, in the words, And God said, Let there be a firmament, and in, And God maple the firmament, which follows: but lest we should think these words of God were wasted and meaningless, supposing that He issued to Himself the command of creation, and Himself obeyed it, — for what notion could be further from the thought of a solitary God than that of

giving a verbal order to Himself, when nothing was necessary except an exertion of His will? — He determined to give us a more perfect assurance that these words refer to Another beside Himself. When He said, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness, His cation of a Partner demolishes the theory of His isolation. For an isolated being cannot be partner to himself; and again, the words, Let Us make, are inconsistent with solitude, while Our cannot be used except to a companion. Both words, Us and Our are inconsistent with the notion of a solitary God speaking to Himself, and equally inconsistent with that of the address being made to a stranger who has nothing in common with the Speaker. If you interpret the passage to mean that He is isolated, I ask you whether you suppose that He was speaking with Himself? If you do not understand that He was speaking with Himself, how can you assume that He was isolated? If He were isolated, we should find Him described as isolated; if He had a companion, then as not isolated. I and Mine would describe the former state; the latter is indicated by Us and Our.

18. Thus, when we read, Let Us make man after Our image and likeness, these two words Us and Our reveal that there is neither one isolated God, nor yet one God in two dissimilar Persons; and our confession must be framed in harmony with the second as well as with the first truth. For the words our image — not our images — prove that there is one nature possessed by Both But an argument from words is an insufficient proof; unless its result be confirmed by the evidence of facts; and accordingly it is written, And God made man; after the image of God made He him. If the words He spoke, I ask, were the soliloquy of an isolated God, what meaning shall we assign to this last statement? For in it I see a triple allusion, to the Maker, to the being made, and to the image. The being made is man; God made him, and made him in the image of God. If Genesis were speaking of an isolated God, it would certainly have been And made him after His own image. But since the book was foreshowing the Mystery of the Gospel, it spoke not of two Gods, but of God and God, for it speaks of man made through God in the image of God. Thus we find that God wrought man after an image and likeness common to Himself and to God; that the mention of an Agent forbids us to assume that He was isolated; and that the work, done after an image and likeness which was

that of Both, proves that there is no difference in kind between the Godhead of the One and of the Other.

19. It may seem waste of time to bring forward further arguments, for truths concerning God gain no strength by repetition; a single statement suffices to establish them. Yet it is well for us to know all that has been revealed upon the subject, for though we are not responsible for the words of Scripture, yet we shall have to render an account for the sense we have assigned to them. One of the many commandments which God gave to Noah is, Whoso sheddeth man's blood for his blood shall his life be shed, far after the image of God made 1 man. Here again is the distinction between likeness, creature, and Creator. God bears wireless that He made man after the image of God. When He was about to make man, because He was speaking of Himself, yet not to Himself, God said, After our image; and again, after man was made, God made man after the image of God. It would have been no inaccuracy of language, had He said, addressing Himself, I have made man after My image, for He had shewn that the Persons are one in nature by, Let us make man after Our image. But for the more perfect removal of all doubt as to whether God be, or be not, a solitary Being, when He made man He made him, we are told, After the image of God.

20. If you still wish to assert that God the Father in solitude said these words to Him self, I can go with you as far as to admit the possibility that He might in solitude nave spoken to Himself as if He were conversing with a companion, and that it is credible that He wished the words I have made man after the image of God to be equivalent to I have made man after My own image. But your own confession of faith will refute you. For you have confessed that all things are from the Father, but all through the Son; and the words, Let Us make man, shew that the Source from Whom are all things is He Who spoke thus, while God made him after the image of God clearly points to Him through Whom the work was done.

21. And furthermore, to make all self-deception unlawful, that Wisdom, which you have yourself confessed to be Christ, shall confront you with the words, When tare was establishing the fountains under the heaven, when He was making strong the foundations of the earth. I was with Him, setting them in order. It was I, over Whom He rejoiced. Moreover, I was

daily rejoicing in His sight, all the while that He was rejoining in the world that He hart made, and in the sans of men. Every difficulty is removed; error itself must recognize the truth. There is with God Wisdom, begotten before the worlds; and not only present with Him, but setting in order, for She was with Him, setting them in order. Mark this work of setting in order, or arranging. The Father, by His commands, is the Cause; the Son, by His execution of the things commanded, sets in order. The distinction between the Persons is marked by the work assigned to Each. When it says Let us make, creation is identified with the word of command; but when it is written, I was with Him, setting them in order, God reveals that He did not do the work in isolation. For He was rejoicing before Him, Who, He tells us, rejoiced in return; Moreover, I was daily rejoicing in His sight, all the while that He was rejoicing in the world that He had made, and in the sans of men. Wisdom has taught us the reason of Her joy. She rejoiced because of the joy of the Father, Who rejoices over the completion of the world and over the sons of men. For it is written, And God saw that they were good. She rejoices that God is well pleased with His work, which has been made through Her, at His command. She avows that Her joy results from the Father's gladness over the finished world and over the sons of men; over the sons of men, because in the one man Adam the whole human race had begun its course. Thus in the creation of the world there is no mere soliloquy of an isolated Father; His Wisdom is His partner in the work, and rejoices with Him when their conjoint labor ends.

22. I am aware that the full explanation of these words involves the discussion of many and weighty problems. I do not shirk them, but postpone them for the present, reserving their consideration for later stages of the enquiry. For the present I devote myself to that article of the blasphemers' faith, or rather faithlessness, which asserts that Moses proclaims the solitude of God. We do not forget that the assertion is true in the sense that there is One God, from Whom are all things; but neither do we forget that this truth is no excuse for denying the Godhead of the Son, since Moses throughout the course of his writings clearly indicates the existence of God and God. We must examine bow the history of God's choice, and of the giving of the Law, proclaims God co-ordinate with God.

23. After God had often spoken with Abraham, Sarah was moved to wrath against Hagar, being jealous that she, the mistress, was barren, while her

handmaid had conceived a son. Then, when Hagar had departed from her sight, the Spirit speaks thus concerning her, And the angel of the Lord said unto Hagar, Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, and it shall not be numbered for multitude, and again, And she called the Name of the Lord that spake with her. Thou art God, Who hast seen me. It is the Angel of God Who speaks, and speaks of things far beyond the powers which a messenger, for that is the meaning of the word, could have. He says, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, and it shall not be numbered for multitude. The power of multiplying nations lies outside the ministry of an angel. Yet what says the Scripture of Him Who is called the Angel of God, yet speaks words which belong to God alone? And she calico the Name of the Lord that spake with her, Thou art God, Who hast seen me. First He is the Angel of God; then He is the Lord, for She called the Name of the Lord; then, thirdly, He is God, for Thou art God, Who hast seen me. He Who is called the Angel of God is also Lord and God. The Son of God is also, according to the prophet, the Angel of great counsel. To discriminate clearly between the Persons, He is called the Angel of God; He Who is God from God is also the Angel of God. but, that He may have the honor which is His due, He is entitled also Lord and God.

24. In this passage the one Deity is first the Angel of God, and then, successively. Lord and God. But to Abraham He is God only. For when the distinction of Persons had first been made, as a safeguard against the delusion that God is a solitary Being, then His true and unqualified name could safely be uttered. And so it is written. And God said to Abraham, Behold Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac; and I will establish My covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him. And as far Ishmael, behold. I have heard thee and have blessed him, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve nations shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. Is it possible to doubt that He Who was previously called the Angel of God is here, in the sequel, spoken of as God? In both instances He is speaking of Ishmael; in both it is the same Person Who shall multiply him. To save us from supposing that this was a different Speaker from Him who had addressed Hagar, the Divine words expressly attest the identity, saying, And I have

blessed him, and will multiply him. The blessing is repeated from a former occasion, for Hagar had already been addressed; the multiplication is promised for a future day, for this is God's first word to Abraham concerning Ishmael. Now it is God Who speaks to Abraham; to Hagar the Angel of God had spoken. Thus God and the Angel of God are One; He Who is the Angel of God is also God the Son of God. He is called the Angel because He is the Angel of great counsel; but afterwards He is spoken of as Go I, lest we should suppose that He Who is God is only an angel. Let us now repeat the facts in order. The Angel of the Lord spoke to Hagar; He spoke also to Abraham as God. One Speaker addressed both. The blessing was given to Ishmael, and the promise that he should grow into a great people.

25. In another instance the Scripture reveals through Abraham that it was God Who spoke. He receives the further promise of a son, Isaac. Afterwards there appear to him three men. Abraham, though he sees three, worships One, and acknowledges Him as Lord. Three were standing before him, Scripture says, but he knew well Which it was that he must worship and confess. There was nothing in outward appearance to distinguish them, but by the eye of faith, the vision of the soul, he knew his Lord. Then the Scripture goes on, And He said unto him, I will certainly return unto thee at this time hereafter, and Sarah thy wife shall have a son; and afterwards the Lord said to Him, I will not conceal from Abraham My servant the things that I will do; and again, Moreover the Lord said, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is filled up, and their sins are exceeding great. Then after long discourse, which for the sake of brevity shall be omitted, Abraham, distressed at the destruction which awaited the innocent as well as the guilty, said, In no wise wilt Thou, Who judgest the earth, execute this judgment. And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes. Afterwards, when the warning to Lot, Abraham's brother, was ended, the Scripture says, And the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and, after a while, And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and did unto Sarah as He had spoken, and Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him. And afterwards, when the handmaid with her son had been driven from Abraham's house, and was dreading test her child should die in

the wilderness for want of water, the same Scripture says And the Lord God heard the voice of the lad, where he was, and the Angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What is it, Hagar? Fear not, for God hath heard the voice of the lad from the place where he is. Arise, and take the lad and hold his hand, for I will make him a great nation.

26. What blind faithlessness it is, what dullness of an unbelieving heart, what headstrong impiety, to abide in ignorance of all this, or else to know and yet neglect it! Assuredly it is written for the very purpose that error or oblivion may not hinder the recognition of the truth. If, as we shall prove, it is impossible to escape knowledge of the facts, then it must be nothing less than blasphemy to deny them. This record begins with the speech of the Angel to Hagar, His promise to multiply Ishmael into a great nation and to give him a countless offspring. She listens, and by her confession reveals that He is Lord and God. The story begins with His appearance as the Angel of God; at its termination He stands confessed as God Himself. Thus He Who, while He executes the ministry of declaring the great counsel is God's Angel, is Himself in name and nature God. The name corresponds to the nature; the nature is not falsified to make it conform to the name. Again, God speaks to Abraham of this same matter; he is told that Ishmael has already received a blessing, and shall be increased into a nation; I have blessed him, God says. This is no change from the Person indicated before; He shews that it was He Who had already given the blessing. The Scripture has obviously been consistent throughout in its progress from mystery to clear revelation; it began with the Angel of God, and proceeds to reveal that it was God Himself Who had spoken in this same matter.

27. The course of the Divine narrative is accompanied by a progressive development of doctrine. In the passage which we have discussed God speaks to Abraham. and promises that Sarah shall bear a son. Afterwards three men stand by him; he worships One and acknowledges Him as Lord. After this worship and acknowledgment by Abraham, the One promises that He will return hereafter at the same season, and that then Sarah shall have her son. This One again is seen by Abraham in the guise of a man, and salutes him with the same promise. The change is one of name only; Abraham's acknowledgment in each case is the same. It was a Man whom he saw, yet Abraham worshipped Him as Lord; he beheld, no doubt, in a

mystery the coming Incarnation. Faith so strong has not missed its recognition; the Lord says in the Gospel, Your father Abraham rejoined to see My day; and he saw it, and was glade. To continue the history; the Man Whom he saw promised that He would return at the same season. Mark the fulfillment of the promise, remembering meanwhile that it was a Man Who made it. What says the Scripture? And the Lord visited Sarah. So this Man is the Lord, fulfilling His own promise. What follows next? And God did unto Sarah as He had said. The narrative calls His words those of a Man, relates that Sarah was visited by the Lord, proclaims that the result was the work of God. You are sure that it was a Man who spoke, for Abraham not only heard, but saw Him. Can you be less certain that He was God, when the same Scripture, which had called Him Man, confesses Him God? For its words are, And Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, and at the set time of which God had spoken to him. But it was the Man who had promised that He would come. Believe that He was nothing more than man; unless, in fact, He Who came was God and Lord. Connect the incidents. It was, confessedly, the Man who promised that He would come that Sarah might conceive and bear a son. And now accept instruction, and confess the faith; it was the Lord God Who came that she might conceive and bear. The Man made the promise in the power of God; by the same power God fulfilled the promise. Thus God reveals Himself both in word and deed. Next, two of the three men whom Abraham saw depart; He Who remains behind is Lord and God. And not only Lord and God, but also Judge, for Abraham stood before the Lord and said, In no wise shall Thou do this things, to slay the righteous with the wicked, for then the righteous shall be as the wicked. In no wise wilt Thou Who judgest the whole earth, execute this judgment. Thus by all his words Abraham instructs us in that faith, for which he was justified; he recognizes the Lord from among the three, he worships Him only, and confesses that He is Lord and Judge.

28. Lest you fall into the error of supposing that this acknowledgment of the One was a payment of honor to all the three whom Abraham saw in company, mark the words of Lot when he saw the two who had departed; And when Lot saw them, he rose up to meet them, and he bowed himself with his face toward the ground; and he said, Behold, my lords, turn in to your servant’s house. Here the plural lords shews that this was nothing

more than a vision of angels; in the other case the faithful patriarch pays the honor due to One only. Thus the sacred narrative makes it clear that two of the three were mere angels; it had previously proclaimed the One as Lord and God by the words, And the Lord said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I then bear a child? But I am grown old. Is anything from God impossible? this season I will return to thee hereafter, and Sarah shall have a son. The Scripture is accurate and consistent; we detect no such confusion as the plural used of the One God and Lord, no Divine honors paid to the two angels. Lot, no doubt, calls them lords, while the Scripture calls them angels. The one is human reverence, the other literal truth.

29. And now there fails on Sodom and Gomorrah the vengeance of a righteous judgment. What can we learn from it for the purposes of our enquiry? The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord. It is The Lord from the Lord; Scripture makes no distinction, by difference of name, between Their natures, but discriminates between Themselves. For we read in the Gospel, The Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son. Thus what the Lord gave, the Lord had received from the Lord.

30. You have now had evidence of God the Judge as Lord and Lord; learn next that there is the same joint ownership of name in the case of God and God. Jacob, when he fled through fear of his brother, saw in his dream a ladder resting upon the earth and reaching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it, and the Lord resting above it, Who gave him all the blessings which He had bestowed upon Abraham and Isaac. At a later time God spoke to him thus: And God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to the place Bethel, and dwell there, and make there an altar unto God, that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of thy brother. God demands honor for God, and makes it clear that demand is on behalf of Another than Himself. He who appeared to thee when than fleddest are His words: He guards carefully against any confusion of the Persons. It is God Who speaks, and God of Whom He speaks. Their majesty is asserted by the combination of Both under Their true Name of God, while the words plainly declare Their several existence.

31. Here again there occur to me considerations which must be taken into account in a complete treatment of the subject. But the order of defense

must adapt itself to the order of attack, and I reserve these outstanding questions for discussion in the next book. For the present, in regard to God Who demanded honor for God, it will suffice for me to point out that He Who was the Angel of God, when He spoke with Hagar, was God and Lord when tie spoke of the same matter with Abraham; that the Man Who spoke with Abraham was also God and Lord, while the two angels, who were seen with the Lord and whom He sent to Lot, are described by the prophet as angels, and nothing more. Nor was it to Abraham only that God appeared in human guise; He appeared as Man to Jacob also. And not only did He appear, but, so we are told, He wrestled; and not only did He wrestle, but He was vanquished by His adversary. Neither the time at my disposal, nor the subject, will allow me to discuss the typical meaning of this wrestling. It was certainly God Who wrestled, for Jacob prevailed against God, and Israel saw God.

32. And now let us enquire whether elsewhere than in the case of Hagar the Angel of God has been discovered to be God Himself. He has been so discovered, and found to be not only God, but the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. For the Angel of the Lord appeared to Moses from the bush; and Whose voice, think you, are we to suppose was heard? The voice of Him Who was seen, or of Another? There is no room for deception; the words of Scripture are clear: And the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire from a bush, and again, The Lord called unto him from the bush, Moses, Moses, and he answered, What is it? And the Lord said, Draw not nigh hither, put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And He said unto him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, He who appeared in the bush speaks from the bush; the place of the vision and of the voice is one; He Who speaks is none other than He Who was seen. He Who is the Angel of God when the eye beholds Him is the Lord when the ear hears Him, and the Lord Whose voice is heard is recognized as the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob. When He is styled the Angel of God, the fact is revealed that He is no self-contained and solitary Being: for He is the Angel of God. When He is designated Lord and God, He receives the full title which is due to His nature and His name. You have, then, in the Angel Who appeared from the bush, Him Who is Lord and God.

33. Continue your study of the witness borne by Moses; mark how diligently he seizes every opportunity of proclaiming the Lord and God. You take note of the passage, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. Note also the words of that Divine song of his; See, See, that I am the Lord, and there is no God beside Me. While God has been the Speaker throughout the poem, he ends with, Rejoice, ye heavens, together with Him and let all the sans of God praise Him. Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people, and let all the Angels of God do Him honor. God is to be glorified by the Angels of God, and He says, For I am the Lord, and there is no Gad beside Me. For He is God the Only-begotten, and the title 'Only-begotten' excludes all partnership in that character, just as the title 'Unoriginate' denies that there is, in that regard, any who shares the character of the Unoriginate Father. The Son is One from One. There is none unoriginate except God the Unoriginate, and so likewise there is none only-begotten except God the Only-begotten. They stand Each single and alone, being respectively the One Unoriginate and the One Only-begotten. And so They Two are One God, for between the One, and the One Who is His offspring there lies no gulf of difference of nature in the eternal Godhead. Therefore He must be worshipped by the sons of God and glorified by the angels of God. Honor and reverence is demanded for God from the sons and from the angels of God. Notice Who it is that shall receive this honor, and by whom it is to lie paid. It is God, and they are the sons and angels of God. And test you should imagine that honor is not demanded for God Who shares our nature, but that Moses is thinking here of reverence due to God the Father, — though, indeed, it is in the Son that the Father must be honored — examine the words of the blessing bestowed by God upon Joseph, at the end of the same book. They are, And let the things that are well-pleasing to Him that appeared in the bush came upon the head and crown of Joseph. Thus God is to be worshipped by the sons of God; but God Who is Himself the Son of God. And God is to be reverenced by the angels of God; but God Who is Himself the Angel of God. For God appeared from the bush as the Angel of God, and the prayer for Joseph is that he may receive such blessings as He shall please, He is none the less God because He is the Angel of God; and none the less the Angel of God because He is God. A clear indication is given of the Divine Persons; the line is definitely drawn between the Unbegotten and the Begotten. A revelation of the mysteries of heaven is granted, and we are

taught not to dream of God as dwelling in solitude, when angels and sons of God shall worship Him, Who is God's Angel and Its Son.

34. Let this be taken as our answer from the books of Moses, or rather as the answer of Moses himself. The heretics imagine that they can use his assertion of the Unity of God in disproof of the Divinity of God the Son; a blasphemy in defiance of the clear warning of their own witness, for whenever he confesses that God is One he never fails to teach the Son's Divinity. Our next step must be to adduce the manifold utterance of the prophets concerning the same Son.

35. You know the words, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One; would that you knew them aright! As you interpret them, I seek in vain for their sense. It is said in the Psalms, God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee . Impress upon the reader's mind the distinction between the Anointer and the Anointed; discriminate between the Thee and the Thy: make it clear to Whom and of Whom the words are spoken. For this definite confession is the conclusion of the preceding passage, which runs thus; Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the scepter of Thy kingdom is a right scepter. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity. And then he continues, Therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee. Thus the God of the eternal kingdom, in reward for His love of righteousness and hatred of iniquity, is anointed by His God. Surely some broad difference is drawn, some gap too wide for our mental span, between these names? No; the distinction of Persons is indicated by Thee and Thy, but nothing suggests a difference of nature. Thy points to the Author, Thee to Him Who is the Author's offspring. For He is God from God, as these same words of the prophet declare, God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee. And His own words bear wireless that there is no God anterior to God the Unoriginate; Be ye My witnesses, and I am witness, saith the Lord God, and My Servant Whom I have chosen, that ye may know and believe and understand that I am, and before? Me there is no other God, nor shall be after Me. Thus the majesty of Him that has no beginning is declared, and the glory of Him that is from the Unoriginate is safeguarded; for God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee. That word Thy declares His birth, yet does not contradict His nature; Thy God means that the Son was born from Him to share the Godhead. But the fact that the Father is God is no obstacle to the Son's being God also, for God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee. Mention is made both of Father and

of Son; the one title of God conveys the assurance that in character and majesty They are One.

36. But lest these words, For I am, and before Me there is no other God, nor shall be after Me, be made a handle for blasphemous presumption, as proving that the Son is not God, since after the God, Whom no God precedes, there follows no other God, the purpose of the passage must be considered. God is His own best interpreter, but His chosen Servant joins with Him to assure us that there is no God before Him, nor shall be after Him. His oxen witness concerning Himself is, indeed, sufficient, but He has added the witness of the Servant Whom He has chosen. Thus we have the united testimony of the Two, that there is no God before Him; we accept the truth, because all things are from Him. We have Their witness also that there shall be no God after Him; but They do not deny that God has been born from Him in the past. Already there was the Servant speaking thus, and bearing witness to the Father; the Servant born in that tribe from which God's elect was to spring. He sets forth also the same truth in the Gospels: Behold, My Servant Whom I have chosen, My Beloved in Whom My soul is well pleased. This is the sense, then, in which God says, There is no other God before Me, nor shall be after Me. He reveals the infinity of His eternal and unchanging majesty by this assertion that there is no God before or after Himself. But He gives His Servant a share both in the bearing of wireless and in the possession of the Name of God.

37. The fact is obvious from His own words. For He says to Hosea the prophet, I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel, but will altogether be their enemy. But I will have mercy upon the children Judah, and will save them in the Lord their God. Here God the Father gives the name of God, without any ambiguity, to the Son, in Whom also He chose us before countless ages. Their God, He says, for while the Father, being Unoriginate, is independent of all, He has given us for an inheritance to His Son. In like manner we read, Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance. None can be God to Him from Whom are all things, for He is eternal and has no beginning; but the Son has God, from Whom He was born, for His Father. Yet to us the Father is God and the Son is God; the Father reveals to us that the Son is our God, and the Son teaches that the Father is God over us. The point for us to remember is that in this

passage the Father gives to the Son the name of God, the title of His own unoriginate majesty. But I have commented sufficiently on these words of Hosea.

38. Again, how clear is the declaration made by God the Father through Isaiah concerning our Lord! He says, For thus saith the Lord, the holy God of Israel, Who made the things to came, Ask me concerning your sons and your daughters, and concerning the works of My hands command ye Me. I have made the earth and man upon it, I have commanded all the stars, I have raised up a King with righteousness, and all His ways are straight. He shall build My city, and shall turn back the captivity of My people, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of Sabaoth. Egypt shall labor, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians and Sabeans. Men of stature shall come over unto Thee and shall be Thy servants, and shall follow after Thee, bound in chains, and shall worship Thee and make supplication unto Thee, for God is in Thee and there is no God beside Thee. For Thou art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel, the Savior. All that resist Him shall be ashamed and confounded, and shall walk in confusion. Is any opening left for gainsaying, or excuse for ignorance? If blasphemy continue, is it not in brazen defiance that it survives? God from Whom are all things, Who made all by His command, asserts that He is the Author of the universe, for, unless He had spoken, nothing had been created. He asserts that He has raised up a righteous King, who builds for Himself, that is, for God, a city, and turns back the captivity of His people, for no gift nor reward, for freely are we all saved. Next, He tells how after the labors of Egypt, and after the traffic of Ethiopians and Sabeans, men of stature shall come over to Him. How shall we understand these labors in Egypt, this traffic of Ethiopians and Sabeans? Let us call to mind how the Magi of the East worshipped and paid tribute to the Lord; let us estimate the weariness of that long pilgrimage to Bethlehem of Judah. In the toilsome journey of the Magian princes we see the labors of Egypt to which the prophet alludes. For when the Magi executed, in their spurious, material way, the duty ordained for them by the power of God, the whole heathen world was offering in their person the deepest reverence of which its worship was capable. And these same Magi presented gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh from the merchandise of the Ethiopians and Sabeans; a thing foretold by another prophet, who has said, The Ethiopians shall full down

before His face, and is enemies shall lick the dust. The Kings of Tharsis shall offer presents, the Kings of the Arabians and Sabeans shall bring gifts, and there shall be given to Him of the gold of Arabia? The Magi and their offerings stand for the labor of Egypt and for the merchandise of Ethiopians and Sabeans; the adoring Magi represent the heathen world, and offer the choicest gifts of the Gentiles to the Lord Whom they adore.

39. As for the men of stature who shall come over to Him and follow Him in chains, there is no doubt who they are. Turn to the Gospels; Peter, when he is to follow his Lord, is girded up. Read the Apostles: Paul, the servant of Christ, boasts of his bonds. Let us see whether this ‘prisoner of Jesus Christ’ conforms in his teaching to the prophecies uttered by God concerning God His Son. God hart said, They shall make supplication, for God is in Thee. Now mark and digest these words of the Apostle: — God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself. And then the prophecy continues, And there is no God beside Thee. The Apostle promptly matches this with For there is one Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom are all things. Obviously there can be none other but He, for He is One. The third prophetic statement is, Thou art God and we knew it not. But Paul, once the persecutor of the Church, says, Whose are the fathers, from Whom is Christ, Who is God over all. Such is to be the message of these men in chains; men of stature, indeed, they will be, and shall sit on twelve thrones to judge the tribes of Israel, and shall follow their Lord, witnesses to Him in teaching and in martyrdom.

40. Thus God is in God, and it is God in Whom God dwells. But how is There is no God beside Thee true, if God be within Him? Heretic! In support of your confession of a solitary Father you employ the words, There is no God beside Me; what sense can you assign to the solemn declaration of God the Father, There is no God beside Thee, if your explanation of There is no God beside Me be a denial of the Godhead of the Son? To whom, in that case, can God have said, There is no God beside Thee? You cannot suggest that this solitary Being said it to Himself. It was to the King Whom He summoned that the Lord said, by the mouth of the men of stature who worshipped and made supplication, For God is in Thee. The facts are inconsistent with solitude. In Thee implies that there was One present within range, if I may say so, of the Speaker’s voice. The complete sentence, God is in Thee, reveals not only God

present, but also God abiding in Him Who is present. The words distinguish the Indweller from Him in Whom He dwells, but it is a distinction of Person only, not of character. God is in Him, and He, in Whom God is, is God. The residence of God cannot be within a nature strange and alien to His own. He abides in One Who is His own, born from Himself. God is in God, because God is from God. Far Than art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel, the Savior

41. My next book is devoted to the refutation of your denial that God is in God; for the prophet continues, All that resist Him shall be ashamed and confounded and shall walk in confusion. This is God's sentence, passed upon your unbelief. You set yourself in opposition to Christ, and it is on His account that the Father's voice is raised in solemn reproof; for He, Whose Godhead you deny, is God. And you deny it under cloak of reverence for God, because He says, There is no other God beside Me. Submit to shame and confusion; the Unoriginate God has no need of the dignity you offer; He has never asked for this majesty of isolation which you attribute to Him. He repudiates your officious interpretation which would twist His words, There is no other God beside Me, into a denial of the Godhead of the Son Whom He begot from Himself. To frustrate your purpose of demolishing the Divinity of the Son by assigning the Godhead in some special sense to Himself, He rounds off the glories of the Only-begotten by the attribution of absolute Divinity: — And there is no God beside Thee. Why make distinctions between exact equivalents? Why separate what is perfectly matched? It is the peculiar characteristic of the Son of God that there is no God beside Him; the peculiar characteristic of God the Father that there is no God apart from Him. Use His words concerning Himself; confess Him in His own terms, and entreat Him as King; For God is in Thee, and there is no God beside Thee. For Thou art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel, the Savior. A confession couched in words so reverent is free from the taint of presumption: its terms can excite no repugnance. Above all, we must remember that to refuse it means shame and ignominy. Brood in thought over these words God; employ them in your confession of Him, and so escape the threatened shame. For if you deny the Divinity of the Son of God, you will not be augmenting the glory of God by adoring Him in lonely majesty; you will be slighting the Father by refusing to reverence the Son. In faith

and veneration confess of the Unoriginate God that there is no God beside Him; claim for God the Only-begotten that apart from Him there is no God.

42. As you have listened already to Moses and Isaiah, so listen now to Jeremiah inculcating the same truth as they: — This is our God, and there shall be none other likened unto Him, Who hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved. Afterward did He shew Himself upon earth and dwelt among men. For previously he had said, And He is Man, and Who shall know Him? Thus you have God seen on earth and dwelling among men. Now I ask you what sense you would assign to No one hath seen Gad at any time, save the Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, when Jeremiah proclaims God seen on earth and dwelling among men? The Father confessedly cannot be seen except by the Son; Who then is This who was seen and dwelt among men? He must be our God, for He is God visible in human form, Whom men can handle. And take to heart the prophet's words, There shall be none other likened to Him. If you ask how this can be, listen to the remainder of the sentence, lest you be tempted to deny to the Father His share of the confession. Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. The whole passage is, There shall be none likened unto Him, Who hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant and to Israel His beloved. Afterward did He skew Himself upon earth and dwelt among men. For there is one Mediator between God and Men, Who is both God and Man; Mediator both in giving of the Law and in taking of our body. Therefore none other can be likened unto Him, for He is One, born from God into God, and the it was through Whom all things were created in heaven and earth, through Whom times and worlds were made. Everything, in fine, that exists owes its existence to His action. He it is that instructs Abraham, that speaks with Moses, that testifies to Israel, that abides in the prophets, that was born through the Virgin from the Holy Ghost, that nails to the cross of His passion the powers that are our foes, that slays death in hell, that strengthens the assurance of our hope by His Resurrection, that destroys the corruption of human flesh by the glory of His Body. Therefore none shall be likened unto Him. For these are the peculiar powers of God the Only-begotten; He alone was born from God, the blissful Possessor of

such great prerogatives. No second God can be likened unto Him, for He is God from God, not born from any alien being. There is nothing new or strange or modern created in Him. When Israel hears that its God is one, and that no second God is likened, that men may deem him God, to God Who is God's Son, the revelation means that God the Father and God the Son are One altogether, not by confusion of Person but by unity of substance. For the prophet forbids us, because God the Son is God, to liken Him to some second deity.

BOOK 5

1. OUR reply, in the previous books, to the mad and blasphemous doctrines of the heretics has led us with open eyes into the difficulty that our readers incur an equal danger whether we refute our opponents, or whether we forbear. For while unbelief with boisterous irreverence was thrusting upon us the unity of God, a unity which devout and reasonable faith cannot deny, the scrupulous soul was caught in the dilemma that, whether it asserted or denied the proposition, the danger of blasphemy was equally incurred. To human logic it may seem ridiculous and irrational to say that it can be impious to assert, and impious to deny, the same doctrine, since what it is godly to maintain it must be godless to dispute; if it serve a good purpose to demolish a statement, it may seem folly to dream that good can come from supporting it. But human logic is fallacy in the presence of the counsels of God, and folly when it would cope with the wisdom of heaven; its thoughts are fettered by its limitations, its philosophy confined by the feebleness of natural reason. It must be foolish in its own eyes before it can be wise unto God; that is, it must learn the poverty of its own faculties and seek after Divine wisdom. It must become wise, not by the standard of human philosophy, but of that which mounts to God, before it can enter into His wisdom, and its eyes be opened to the folly of the world. The heretics have ingeniously contrived that this folly, which passes for wisdom, shall be their engine. They employ the confession of One God, for which they appeal to the witness of the Law and the Gospels in the words, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. They are well aware of the risks involved, whether their assertion be met by contradiction or passed over in silence; and, whichever happens, they see an opening to promote their heresy. If sacred truth, pressed with a blasphemous intent, be met by silence, that silence is construed as consent; as a confession that, because God is One, therefore His Son is not God, and God abides in eternal solitude. If, on the other hand, the heresy involved in their bold argument be met by contradiction, this opposition is branded as a departure from the true Gospel faith, which states in precise terms the unity of God, or else they cast in the opponent’s teeth that he has fallen into the contrary heresy, which allows but one Person of Father and of Son. Such is the deadly artifice, wearing the aspect of an attractive

innocence, which the world's wisdom, which is folly with God, has forged to beguile us in this first article of their faith, which we can neither confess nor deny without risk of blasphemy. We walk between dangers on either hand; the unity of God may force us into a denial of the Godhead of His Son, or, if we confess that the Father is God and the Son is God, we may be driven into the heresy of interpreting the unity of Father and of Son in the Sabellian sense. Thus their device of insisting upon the One God would either shut out the Second Person from the Godhead, or destroy the Unity by admitting Him as a second God, or else make the unity merely nominal. For unity, they would plead, excludes a Second; the existence of a Second is destructive of unity; and Two cannot be One.

2. But we who have attained this wisdom of God, which is folly to the world, and purpose, by means of the sound and saving profession of true faith in the Lord, to unmask the snake-like treachery of their teaching; we have so laid out the plan of our undertaking as to gain a vantage ground for the display of the truth without entangling ourselves in the dangers of heretical assertion. We carefully avoid either extreme; not denying that God is One, yet setting forth distinctly, on the evidence of the Lawgiver who proclaims the unity of God, the truth that there is God and God. We teach that it is by no confusion of the Two that God is One; we do not rend Him in pieces by preaching a plurality of Gods, nor yet do we profess a distinction only in name. But we present Him as God and God, postponing at present for fuller discussion hereafter the question of the Divine unity. For the Gospels tell us that Moses taught the truth when he proclaimed that God is One; and Moses by his proclamation of One God confirms the lesson of the Gospels, which tell of God and God. Thus we do not contradict our authorities, but base our teaching upon them, proving that the revelation to Israel of the unity of God gives no sanction to the refusal of Divinity to the Son of God; since he who is our authority for asserting that there is One God is our authority also for confessing the Godhead of His Son.

3. And so the arrangement of our treatise follows closely the order of the objections raised. Since the next article of their blasphemous and dishonest confession is, We confess One true God, the whole of this second book is devoted to the question whether the Son of God be true God. For it is clear that the heretics have ingeniously contrived this arrangement of first

naming One God and then One true God, in order to detach the Son from the name and nature of God; since the thought must suggest itself that, truth being inherent in the One God, it must be strictly confined to Him. And therefore, since it is clear beyond a doubt that Moses, when he proclaimed the unity of God, meant therein to assert the Divinity of the Son, let us return to the leading passages in which his teaching is conveyed, and enquire whether or no he wishes us to believe that the Son, Who, as he has taught us, is God, is also true God. It is clear that the truth, or genuineness, of a thing is a question of its nature and its powers. For instance, true wheat is that which grows to a head with the beard bristling round it, which is purged from the chaff and ground to flour, compounded into a loaf and taken for food, and renders the nature and the uses of bread. Thus natural powers are the evidence of truth; and let us see, by this test, whether He, Whom Moses calls God, be true God. We will defer for the present our discourse concerning this One God, Who is also true God, lest, if I fail at once to take up their challenge and uphold the One True God in the two Persons of Father and of Son, eager and anxious souls be oppressed by dangerous doubts.

4. And now, since we accept as common ground the fact that God recognizes His Son as God, I ask you: how does the creation of the world disprove our assertion that the Son is true God? There is no doubt that all things are through the Son, for, in the Apostle’s words, All things are through Him, and in Him. If all things are through Him, and all were made out of noticing, and none otherwise than through Him, in what element of true Godhead is He defective, Who possesses both the nature and the power of God? He bad at His disposal the powers of the Divine nature, to bring into being the non-existent and to create at His pleasure. For God saw that they were good.

5. When the Law says, And God said, Let there be a firmament, and then adds, And God made the firmament, it introduces no other distinction than that of Person. It indicates no difference of power or nature, and makes no change of name. Under the one title of God it reveals, first, the thought of Him Who spoke, and then the action of Him Who created. The language of the narrator says nothing to deprive Him of Divine nature and power; nay rather, how precisely does it inculcate His true Godhead. The power to give effect to the word of creation belongs only to that Nature with Whom

to speak is the same as to fulfill. How then is He not true God, Who creates, if He is true God, Who commands? If the word spoken was truly Divine, the deed done was truly Divine also. God spoke, and God created; if it was true God Who spoke, He Who created was true God also; unless indeed, while the presence of true Godhead was displayed in the speech of the One, its absence was manifested in the action of the Other. Thus in the Son of God we behold the true Divine nature. He is God, He is Creator, He is Son of God, He is omnipotent. It is not merely that He can do whatever He will, for will is always the concomitant of power; but He can do also whatever is commanded Him. Absolute power is this, that its possessor can execute as Agent whatever His words as Speaker can express. When unlimited power of expression is combined with unlimited power of execution, then this creative power, commensurate with the commanding word, possesses the true nature of God. Titus the Son of God is not false God, nor God by adoption, nor God by gift of the name, but true God. Nothing would be gained by the statement of the arguments by which His true Godhead is opposed. His possession of the name and of the nature of God is conclusive proof. He, by Whom all things were made, is God. So much the creation of the world tells me about Him. He is God, equal with God in name; true God, equal with true God in power. The might of God is revealed to us in the creative word; the might of God is manifested also in the creative act. And now again I ask by what authority you deny, in your confession of Father and Son, the true Divine nature of Him Whose name reveals His power, Whose power proves His right to the Name.

6. My reader must bear in mind that I am silent about the current objections through no forgetfulness, and no distrust of my cause. For that constantly cited text, The Father is greater than I, and its cognate passages are perfectly familiar to me, and I have my interpretation of them ready, which makes them witness to the true Divine nature of the Son. But it serves my purpose best to adhere in reply to the order of attack, that our pious effort may follow close upon the progress of their impious scheme, and when we see them diverge into godless heresy we may at once obliterate the track of error. To this end we postpone to the end of our work the testimony of the Evangelists and Apostles, and join battle with the blasphemers for the present on the ground of the Law and the Prophets, silencing their crooked argument, based on misinterpretation and

deceit, by the very texts with which they strive to delude us. The sound method of demonstrating a truth is to expose the fallacy of the objections raised against it; and the disgrace of the deceiver is complete if his own lie be converted into an evidence for the truth. And, indeed, the universal experience of mankind has learned that falsehood and truth are incompatible, and cannot be reconciled or made coherent; that by their very nature they are among those opposites which are eternally repugnant, and can never combine or agree.

7. This being the case, I ask how a distinction can be made in the words, Let Us make man after Our own image and likeness between a true God and a false. The words express a meaning, the meaning is the outcome of thought; the thought is set in motion by truth. Let us follow the words back to their meaning, and learn from the meaning the thought, and from the thought attain to the underlying truth. Thy enquiry is, whether He to Whom the words Let Us make man after Our own image and likeness were spoken, was not thought of as true by Him Who spoke; for they undoubtedly express the feeling and thought of the Speaker. In saying Let Us make, He clearly indicates One in no discord with Himself, no alien or powerless Being, but One endowed with power to do the thing of which He speaks. His own words assure us that this is the sense in which we must understand that they were spoken.

8. To assure us still more fully of the true Godhead manifested in the nature and work of the Son, He, Who expressed His meaning in the words I have cited, shews that His thought was suggested by the true Divinity of Him to Whom He said, After Our own image and likeness. How is He falsely called God, to Whom the true God says, After Our own image and likeness? Our is inconsistent with isolation, and with difference either in purpose or in nature. Man is created, taking the words in their strict sense, in Their common image. Now there can be nothing common to the true and to the false. God, the Speaker, is speaking to God; man is being created in the image of Father and of Son. The Two are One in name and One in nature. It is only out image after which man is made. The time has not yet come for me to discuss this matter; hereafter I will explain what is this image of God the Father and of God the Son into which man was created. For the present we will stick to the question, was, or was not, He true God, to Whom the true God said, La Us make man after Our own image

and likeness? Separate, if you can, the true from the false elements in this image common to Both; in your heretical madness divide the indivisible. For They Two are One, of Whose one image and likeness man is the one copy.

9. But now let us continue our reading of this Scripture, to shew how the consistency of truth is unaffected by these dishonest objections. The next words are, And God made man; after the image of God made He him. The image is in common; God made man after the image of God. I would ask him who denies that God's Son is true God, in what God's image he supposes that God made man? He must bear constantly in mind that all things are through the Son; heretical ingenuity must not, for its own purposes, twist this passage into action on the part of the Father. If, therefore, man is created through God the Son after the image of God the Father, he is created also after the image of the Son; for all admit that the words After Our image and likeness were spoken to the Son. Thus His true Godhead is as explicitly asserted by the Divine words as manifested in the Divine action; so that it is God Who molds man into the image of God, Who reveals Himself as God, and, moreover, as true God. For His joint possession of the Divine image proves Him true God, while His creative action displays Him as God the Son.

10. What wild insanity of abandoned souls! What blind audacity of reckless blasphemy! You hear of God and God; you hear of Our image. Why suggest that One is, and One is not, true God? Why distinguish between God by nature and God in name? Why, under pretext of defending the faith, do you destroy the faith? Why struggle to pervert the revelation of One God, One true God, into a denial that God is One and true? Not yet will I stifle your insane efforts with the clear words of Evangelists and Prophets, in which Father and Son appear not as one Person, but as One in nature, and Each as true God. For the present the Law, unaided, annihilates you. Does the Law ever speak of One true God, and One not true? Does it ever speak of Either, except by the name of God, which is the true expression of Their nature? It speaks of God and God; it speaks also of God as One. Nay, it does more than so describe Them. It manifests Them as true God and true God, by the sure evidence of Their joint image. It begins by speaking of Them first by their strict name of God; then it attributes true Godhead to Both in common. For

when man, Their creature, is created after the image of Both, sound reason forces the conclusion that Each of Them is true God.

11. But let us travel once more in our journey of instruction over the lessons taught in the holy Law of God. The Angel of God speaks to Hagar; and this same Angel is God. But perhaps His being the Angel of God means that He is not true God. For this title seems to indicate a lower nature y where the name points to a difference in kind, it is thought that true equality must be absent. The last book has already exposed the hollowness of this objection; the title of Angel informs us of His office, not of His nature. I have prophetic evidence for this explanation; Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire. That flaming fire is His ministers; that spirit which comes, His angels. These figures shew the nature and the power of His messengers, or angels, and of His ministers. This spirit is an angel, that flaming fire a minister, of God. Their nature adapts them for the function of messenger or minister. Thus the Law, or rather God through the Law, wishing to indicate God the Son as a Person, yet as bearing the same name with the Father, calls Him the Angel, that is, the Messenger, of God. The title Messenger proves that He has an office of His own; that His nature is truly Divine is proved when He is called God. But this sequence, first Angel, then God, is in the order of revelation, not in Himself. For we confess Them Father and Son in the strictest sense, in such equality that the Only-begotten Son, by virtue of His birth, possesses true Divinity from the Unbegotten Father. This revelation of Them as Sender and as Sent is but another expression for Father and Son; not contradicting the true Divine nature of the Son, nor canceling His possession of the Godhead as His birthright. For none can doubt that the Son by His birth partakes congenitally of the nature of His Author, in such wise that from the One there comes into being an indivisible Unity, because One is from One.

12. Faith burns with passionate ardor; the burden of silence is intolerable, and my thoughts imperiously demand an utterance. Already, in the preceding book I have departed from the intended method of my demonstration. I was denouncing that blasphemous sense in which the heretics speak of One God, and expounding the passages in which Moses speaks of God and God. I hastened on with a precipitate, though devout, zeal to the true sense in which we hold the unity of God. And now again,

wrapped up in the pursuit of another enquiry, I have suffered myself to wander from the course, and, while I was engaged upon the true Divinity of the Son, the ardor of my soul has hurried me on before the time to make the confession of true God as Father and as Son. But our own faith must wait its proper place in the treatise. This preliminary statement of it has been made as a safeguard for the reader; it shall be so developed and explained hereafter as to frustrate the schemes of the gainsayer.

13. To resume the argument; this title of office indicates no difference of nature, for He, Who is the Angel of God, is God. The test of His true Godhead shall be, whether or no His words and acts were those of God. He increases Ishmael into a great people, and promises that many nations shall bear his name. Is this, I ask, within an angel's power? If not, and this is the power of God, why do you refuse true Divinity to Him Who, on your own confession, has the true power of God? Thus He possesses the true and perfect powers of the Divine nature. True God, in all the types in which He reveals Himself for the world's salvation, is not, nor ever can be, other than true God.

14. Now first, I ask, what is the meaning of these terms, 'true God' and 'not true God'? If any one says to me 'This is fire, but not true fire; water, but not true water,' I can attach no intelligible meaning to his words. What difference in kind can there be between one true specimen, and another true specimen, of the same class? If a thing be fire, it must be true fire; while its nature remains the same it cannot lose this character of true fire. Deprive water of its watery nature, and by so doing you destroy it as true water; let it remain water, and it will inevitably still be true water. The only way in which an object can lose its nature is by losing its existence; if it continue to exist it must be truly itself. If the Son of God is God, then He is true God; if He is not true God, then in no possible sense is tie God at all. If He has not the nature, then He has no right to the name; if, on the contrary, the name which indicates the nature is His by inherent right, then it cannot be that He is destitute of that nature in its truest sense.

15. But perhaps it will be argued that, when the Angel of God is called God, He receives the name as a favor, through adoption, and has in consequence a nominal, not a true, Godhead. If He gave us an inadequate revelation of His Divine nature at the time when He was styled the Angel

of God, judge whether He has not fully manifested His true Godhead under the name of a nature lower than the angelic. For a Man spoke to Abraham, and Abraham worshipped Him as God. Pestilent heretic! Abraham confessed Him, you deny Him, to be God. What hope is there for you, in your blasphemy, of the blessings promised to Abraham? He is Father of the Gentiles, but not for you; you cannot go forth from your regeneration to join the household of his seed, through the blessings given to his faith. You are no son, raised up to Abraham from the stones; you are a generation of vipers, an adversary of his belief. You are not the Israel of God, the heir of Abraham, justified by faith; for you have disbelieved God, while Abraham was justified and appointed to be the Father of the Gentiles through that faith wherein he worshipped the God Whose word he trusted. God it was Whom that blessed and faithful Patriarch worshipped then; and mark how truly He was God, to Whom, in His own words, all things are possible. Is there any, but God alone, to Whom nothing is impossible? And He, to Whom all things are possible, does He fall short of true Divinity?

16. I ask further, Who is this God Who overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah? For the Lord rained from the Lord; was it not the true Lord from the true Lord? Have you any alternative to this Lord, and Lord? Or any other meaning for the terms, except that in Lord, and Lord, their Persons are distinguished? Bear in mind that Him Whom you have confessed as Alone true, you have also confessed as Alone the righteous Judge 9. Now mark that the Lord who rains from the Lord, and slays not the just with the unjust, and judges the whole earth, is both Lord and also righteous Judge, and also rains from the Lord. In the face of all this, I ask you Which it is that you describe as alone the righteous Judge. The Lord rains from the Lord; you will not deny that He Who rains from the Lord is the righteous, Judge, for Abraham, the Father of the Gentiles — but not of the unbelieving Gentiles — speaks thus: In no wise shall Thou do tills thing, to slay the righteous with the wicked, for then shall the righteous be as the wicked. In no wise shall Thou, Who judgest the earth, execute this judgment. This God, then, the righteous Judge, is clearly also the true God. Blasphemer! Your own falsehood confutes you. Not yet do I bring forward the witness of the Gospels concerning God the Judge; the Law has told me that He is the Judge. You must deprive the Son of His judgeship

before you can deprive Him of His true Divinity. You have solemnly confessed that He Who is the only righteous Judge is also the only true God; your own statements bind you to the admission that He Who is the righteous Judge is also true God. This Judge is the Lord, to Whom all things are possible, the Promiser of eternal blessings, Judge of righteous and of wicked. He is the God of Abraham, worshipped by him. Fool and blasphemer that you are, your shameless readiness of tongue must invent some new fallacy, if you are to prove that He is not true God.

17. His merciful and mysterious self-revelations are in no wise inconsistent with His true heavenly nature; and His faithful saints never fail to penetrate the guise He has assumed in order that faith may see Him. The types of the Law foreshew the mysteries of the Gospel; they enable the Patriarch to see and to believe what hereafter the Apostle is to gaze on and publish. For, since the Law is the shadow of things to come, the shadow that was seen was a true outline of the reality which cast it. God was seen and believed and worshipped as Man, Who was indeed to be born as Man in the fullness of time. He takes upon Him, to meet the Patriarch's eye, a semblance which foreshadows the future truth. In that old day God was only seen, not born, as Man; in due time He was born, as well as seen. Familiarity with the human appearance, which He took that men might behold Him, was to prepare them for the time when He should, in very truth, be born as Man. Then it was that the shadow took substance, the semblance reality, the vision life. But God remained unchanged, whether He were seen in the appearance, or born in the reality, of manhood. The resemblance was perfect between Himself, after His birth, and Himself, as He had been seen in vision. As He was born, so He had appeared; as He had appeared, so was He born. But, since the time has not yet come for us to compare the Gospel account with that of the prophet Moses, let us pursue our chosen course through the pages of the Law. Hereafter we shall prove from the Gospels that it was the true Son of God Who was born as Man; for the present, we are shewing from the Law that it was true God, the Son of God, Who appeared to the Patriarchs in human form. For when One appeared to Abraham as Man, He was worshipped as God and proclaimed as Judge; and when the Lord rained from the Lord, beyond a doubt the Law tells us that the Lord rained from the Lord in order to reveal to us the Father and the Son. Nor can we for a moment suppose that when

the Patriarch, with full knowledge, worshipped the Son as God, he was blind to the fact that it was true God Whom he worshipped.

18. But godless unbelief finds it very hard to apprehend the true faith. Their capacity for devotion has never been expanded by belief, and is too narrow to receive a full presentment of the truth. Hence the unbelieving soul cannot grasp the great work done by God in being born as Man to accomplish the salvation of mankind; in the work of its salvation it fails to see the power of God. They think of the travail of His birth, the feebleness of infancy, the growth of childhood, the attainment of maturity, of bodily suffering and of the Cross with which it ended, and of the death upon the Cross; and all this conceals His true Godhead from their eyes. Yet He had called into being all these capacities for Himself, as additions to His nature; capacities which in His true Divine nature He had not possessed. Thus He acquired them without loss of His true Divinity, and ceased not to be God when He became Man; when He, Who is God eternally, became Man at a point in time. They cannot see an exercise of the true God's power in His becoming what He was not before, yet never ceasing to be His former Self. And yet there would have been no acceptance of our feeble nature, had not He by the strength of His own omnipotent nature, while remaining what He was, come to be what previously He was not. What blindness of heresy, what foolish wisdom of the world, which cannot see that the reproach of Christ is the power of God, the folly of faith the wisdom of God! So Christ in your eyes is not God because He, Who was from eternity, was born, because the Unchangeable grew with years, the Impassible suffered, the Living died, the Dead lives; because all His history contradicts the common course of nature! Is not all this simply to say that He, being God, was omnipotent? Not yet, ye holy and venerable Gospels, do I turn your pages, to prove from them that Christ Jesus, amid these changes and sufferings, is God. For the Law is the forerunner of the Gospels, and the Law must teach us that, when God clothed Himself in infirmity, He lost not His Godhead. The types of the Law are our convincing assurance of the mysteries of the Gospel faith.

19. Be with me now in thy faithful spirit, holy and blessed Patriarch Jacob, to combat the poisonous hissings of the serpent of unbelief. Prevail once more in thy wrestling with the Man, and, being the stronger, once more entreat His blessing. Why pray for what thou mightest demand from

thy weaker Opponent? Thy strong arm has vanquished Him Whose blessing thou prayest. Thy bodily victory is in broad contrast to thy soul's humility, thy deeds to thy thoughts. It is a Man whom thou holdest powerless in thy strong grasp; but in thine eye this Man is true God, and God not in name only, but in nature. It is not the blessing of a God by adoption that thou dost claim, but the true God's blessing. With Man thou strivest; but face to face thou seest God. What thou seest with the bodily eye is different far from what thou beholdest with the vision of faith. Thou hast felt Him to be weak Man; but thy soul has been saved because it saw God in Him. When thou wast wrestling thou wast Jacob; thou art Israel now, through faith in the blessing which thou didst claim. According to the flesh, the Man is thy inferior, for a type of His passion in the flesh; but thou canst recognize God in that weak flesh, for a sign of His blessing in the Spirit. The witness of the eye does not disturb thy faith,; His feebleness does not mislead thee into neglect of His blessing. Though He is Man, His humanity is no bar to His being God, His Godhead no bar to His being true God; for, being God, He must indeed be true.

20. The Law in its progress still follows the sequence of the Gospel mystery, of which it is the shadow; its types are a faithful anticipation of the truths taught by the Apostles. In the vision of his dream the blessed Jacob saw God; this was the revelation of a mystery, not a bodily manifestation. For there was shown to him the descent of angels by the ladder, and their ascent to heaven, and God resting above the ladder; and the vision, as it was interpreted, foretold that his dream should some day become a revealed truth. The Patriarch's words, The house of God and the gate of heaven, skew us the scene of his vision; and then, after a long account of what he did, the narrative proceeds thus: And God said unto Jacob, Arise, and go up to the place Bethel, and dwell there: and make there a Sacrifice unto God, that appeared unto thee widen thou fleddest from the face of Esau. If the faith of the Gospel has access through God the Son to God the Father, and if it is only through God that God can be apprehended, even shew us in what sense This is not true God, Who demands reverence for God, Who rests above the heavenly ladder. What difference of nature separates the Two, when Both bear the one name which indicates the one nature? It is God Who was seen; it is also God Who speaks about God Who was seen. God cannot be apprehended except

through God; even as also God accepts no worship from us except through God. We could not understand that the One must be reverenced, unless the Other had taught us reverence for Him; we could not have known that the One is God, unless we had known the Godhead of the Other. The revelation of mysteries holds its appointed course; it is by God that we are initiated into the worship of God. And when one name, which tells of one nature, combines the Father with the Son, how can the Son so fall beneath Himself as to be other than true God?

21. Human judgment must not pass its sentence upon God. Our nature is not such that it Can lift itself by its own forces to the contemplation of heavenly things. We must learn from God what we are to think of God; we have no source of knowledge but Himself. You may be as carefully trained as you will in secular philosophy; you may have lived a life of righteousness. All this will contribute to your mental satisfaction, but it will not help you to know God. Moses was adopted as the son of the queen, and instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; he had, moreover, out of loyalty to his race avenged the wrong of the Hebrew by slaying the Egyptian, and yet he knew not the God Who had blessed his fathers. For when he left Egypt through fear of the discovery of his deed, and was living as a shepherd in the land of Midian, he saw a fire in the bush, and the bush unconsumed. Then it was that he heard the voice of God, and asked His name, and learned His nature. Of all this he could have known nothing except through God Himself. And we, in like manner, must confine ourselves, in whatever we say of God, to the terms in which He has spoken to our understanding concerning Himself.

22. It is the Angel of God Who appeared in the fire from the bush; and it is God Who spoke from the bush amid the fire. He is manifested as Angel; that is His office, not His nature. The name which expresses His nature is given you as God; for the Angel of God is God. But perhaps He is not true God. Is the God of Abraham, then, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, not true God? For the Angel Who speaks from the bush is their God eternally. And, lest you insinuate that the name is His only by adoption, it is the absolute God Who speaks to Moses. These are His words: — And the Lord said unto Moses, I Am that I Am; and He said, Thus shale thou say unto the children of Israel, He that is hath sent me unto you. God’s discourse began as the speech of the Angel, in order to reveal the mystery

of human salvation in the Son. Next He appears as the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, that we may know the name which is His by nature. Finally it is the God that is Who sends Moses to Israel, that we may have full assurance that in the absolute sense He is God.

23. What further fictions can the futile folly of insane blasphemy devise? Do you still persist in your nightly sowing of tares, predestined to be burnt, among the pure wheat, when the knowledge of all the Patriarchs contradicts you? Nay more: if you believed Moses, you would believe also in God, the Son of God; unless perchance you deny that it was of Him that Moses spoke. If you propose to deny that, you must listen to the words of God: — For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me also, far he wrote of Me. Moses, indeed, will refute you with the whole volume of the Law, ordained through angels, which he received by the hand of the Mediator. Enquire whether He, Who gave the Law, were not true God; for the Mediator was the Giver. And was it not to meet God that Moses led out the people to the Mount? Was it not God Who came down into the Mount? Or was it, perhaps, only by a fiction or an adoption, and not by right of nature, that He, Who did all this, bore the name of God? Mark the blare of the trumpets, the flashing of the torches, the clouds of smoke, as from a furnace, rolling over the mountain, the terror of conscious impotence on the part of man in the presence of God, the confession of the people, when they prayed Moses to be their spokesman, that at the voice of God they would die. Is He, in your judgment, not true God, when simple dread lest He should speak filled Israel with the fear of death? He Whose voice could not be borne by human weakness? In your eyes is He not God, because He addressed you through the weak faculties of a man, that you might hear, and live? Moses entered the Mount; in forty days and nights he gained the knowledge of the mysteries of heaven, and set it all in order according to the vision of the truth which was revealed to him there. From intercourse with God, Who spoke with him, he received the reflected splendor of that glory on which none may gaze? his corruptible countenance was transfigured into the likeness of the unapproachable light of Him, with Whom he was dwelling. Of this God he bears witness, of this God he speaks; he summons the angels of God to come and worship Him amid the gladness of the Gentiles, and prays that the blessings which

please Him may descend upon the head of Joseph. In face of such evidence as this, dare any man say that He has nothing but the name of God, and deny His true Divinity?

24. This long discussion has, I believe, brought out the truth that no sound argument has ever been adduced in favor of a distinction between One Who is, and One Who is not, true God, in those passages where the Law speaks of God and God, of Lord and Lord. I have proved that these terms are inconsistent with difference between Them in name or in nature, and that we can use the name as a test of the nature, and the nature as a clue to the name. Thus I have shewn that the character, the power, the attributes, the name of God are inherent in Him Whom the Law has called God. I have shewn also that the Law, gradually unfolding the Gospel mystery, reveals the Son as a Person by manifesting God as obedient, in the creation of the world, to the words of God, and in the formation of man making what is the joint image of God, and of God; and again, that in the judgment of the men of Sodom the Lord is Judge from the Lord; that, in the giving of blessings and ordaining of the mysteries of the Law, the Angel of God is God. Thus, in support of the saving confession of God as ever manifested in the Persons of Father and of Son, we have shewn how the Law teaches the true Godhead by the use of the strict name of God; for, while the Law states clearly that They are Two, it casts no shadow of doubt upon the true Godhead of either.

25. And now the time has come for us to put a stop to that cunning artifice of heresy, by which they pervert the devout and godly teachings of the Law into a support for their own godless delusion. They preface their denial of the Son of God with the words, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One; and then, because their blasphemy would be refuted by the identity of name, since the Law speaks of God and God, they invoke the authority of the prophetic words, They shall bless Thee, the true God, to prove that the name is not used in the true sense. They argue that these words teach that God is One, and that God, the Son of God, has His name only and not His nature; and that therefore we must conclude that the true God is one Person only. But perhaps you imagine, fool, that we shall contradict these texts of yours, and so deny that there is one true God. Assuredly we do not contradict them by a confession conceived in your sense. Our faith receives them, our reason accepts them, our words declare

them. We recognize One God, and Him true God. The name of God has no dangers for our confession, which proclaims that in the nature of the Son there is the One true God. Learn the meaning of your own words, recognize the One true God, and then you will be able to make a faithful confession of God, One and true. It is the words of our faith which you are turning into the instrument of your blasphemy, preserving the sound and perverting the sense. Masquerading in a foolish garb of imaginary wisdom, under cover of loyalty to truth you are the truth's destroyer. You confess that God is Out and true, on purpose to deny the truth which you confess. Your language claims a reputation for piety on the strength of its impiety, for truth on the strength of its falsehood. Your preaching of One true God leads up to a denial of Him. For you deny that the Son is true God, though you admit that He is God, but God in name only, not in nature. If His birth be in name, not in nature, then you are justified in denying His true right to the name; but if He be truly born as God, how then can He fail to be true God by virtue of His birth? Deny the fact, and you may deny the consequence; if you admit the fact, how can He be other than Himself? No being can alter its own essential nature. About His birth I shall speak presently; meantime I will refute your blasphemous falsehoods concerning His true Divine nature by the utterances of prophets. But I shall take care that in our assertion of the One true God I give no cover to the Sabellian heresy that the Father is one Person with the Son, and none to that slander against the Son's true Godhead, which you evolve out of the unity of the One true God.

26. Blasphemy is incompatible with wisdom; where the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, is absent, no glimmer of intelligence survives. An instance of this is seen in the heretics' citation of the prophet's words, And they shall bless Thee, the true God, as evidence against the Godhead of the Son. First, we see here the folly, which clogs unbelief in the misunderstanding or (if it were understood) in the suppression of the earlier part of the prophecy: and again we see it in their fraudulent interpolation of that one little word, not to be found in the book itself. This proceeding is as stupid as it is dishonest, since no one would trust them so far as to accept their reading without referring for corroboration to the prophetic text. For that text does not stand thus: They shall bless Thee, the true God, but thus: They shall bless the true

God. There is no slight difference between Thee, the true God and The true Gad. If Thee be retained, the pronoun of the second person implies that Another is being addressed; if Thee be omitted, True God, the object of the sentence, is the Speaker.

27. To ensure that our explanation of the passage shall be complete and certain, I cite the words in full: — Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold, they that serve Me shall eat, but ye shall be hungry, behold, they that serve Me shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty, behold, they that serve Me shall rejoice with gladness, but ye shall cry for sorrow of your heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. For ye shall leave your name for a rejoicing unto My chosen, but the Lord shall slay you. But My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon earth; and they shall bless the true God, and they that swear upon the earth shall swear by the true God. There is always a good reason for any departure from the accustomed modes of expression, but novelty is also made an opportunity for misinterpretation. The question here is, Why, when so many earlier prophecies have been uttered concerning God, and the name God, alone and without epithet, has sufficed hitherto to indicate the Divine majesty and nature, the Spirit of prophecy should now foretell through Isaiah that the true God was to be blessed, and that men should swear upon earth by the true God. First, we must bear in mind that this discourse was spoken concerning times to come. Now, I ask, was not He, in the mind of the Jews, true God, Whom men used then to bless, and by whom they swore? The Jews, unaware of the typical meaning of their mysteries, and therefore ignorant of God the Son, worshipped God simply as God, and not as Father; for, if they had worshipped Him as Father, they would have worshipped the Son also. It was God, therefore, Whom they blessed and by Whom they swore. But the prophet testifies that it is trite God Who shall be blessed hereafter; calling Him true God, because the mysteriousness of His Incarnation was to blind the eyes of some to His true Godhead. When falsehood was to be published abroad, it was necessary that the truth should be clearly stated. And now let us review this passage, clause by clause.

28. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Behold, they that serve Me shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold, they that serve Me shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty. Note that one clause contains two different tenses, in order to

teach truth concerning two different times; They that serve Me shall eat. Present piety is rewarded with a future prize, and similarly present godlessness shall suffer the penalty of future thirst and hunger. Then He adds, Behold, they that serve Me shall rejoice with gladness, but ye shall cry for sorrow of your heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. Here again, as before, there is a revelation for the future and for the present. They who serve now shall rejoice with gladness, while they who do not serve shall abide in crying and howling through sorrow of heart and vexation of spirit. He proceeds, For ye shall leave your name for a rejoicing unto My chosen, but the Lord shall slay you. These words, dealing with a future time, are addressed to the carnal Israel, which is taunted with the prospect of having to surrender its name to the chosen of God. What is this name? Israel, of course; for to Israel the prophecy was addressed. And now I ask, What is Israel to-day? The Apostle gives the answer: — They who are in the spirit, not in the letter, they who walk in the Law of Christ, are the Israel of God.

29. Furthermore, we must form a conclusion why it is that the words cited above, Therefore thus saith the Lord, are followed by But the Lord shall slay you, and as to the meaning of the next sentence, But my servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon earth. There can be no doubt that both Therefore thus saith the Lord, and afterwards But the Lord shall slay you, prove that it was the Lord Who both spoke, and also purposed to slay, Who meant to reward His servants with that new name, Who was well known to have spoken through the prophets and was to he the judge of the righteous and of the wicked. And thus the remainder of this revelation of the mystery of the Gospel removes all doubt concerning the Lord as Speaker and as Slayer. It continues: — But My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon earth Here everything is in the future. What then is this new name of a religion; a name which shall be blessed upon earth? If ever in past ages there were a blessing upon the name Christian, it is not a new name. But if this hallowed name of our devotion towards God be new, then this new title of Christian, awarded to our faith, is that heavenly blessing which is our reward upon earth.

30. And now come words in perfect harmony with the inward assurance of our faith. He says, And they shall bless the true God, and they that swear

upon earth shall swear by the true God. And indeed they who in God's service have received the new name shall bless God; and moreover the God by Whom they shall swear is the true God. What doubt is there as to Who this true God is, by Whom men shall swear and Whom they shall bless, through Whom a new and blessed name shall be given to them that serve Him? I have on my side, in opposition to the blasphemous misrepresentations of heresy, the clear and definite evidence of the Church's faith; the witness of the new name which Thou, O Christ, hast given, of the blessed title which Thou hast bestowed in reward of loyal service. It swears that Thou art true God. Every mouth, O Christ, of them that believe tells that Thou art God. The faith of all believers swears that Thou art God, confesses, proclaims, is inwardly assured, that Thou art true God.

31. And thus this passage of prophecy, taken with its whole context, clearly describe, as God both Him Whom we serve for the new name's sake, and Him through Whom the new name is blessed upon earth. It tells us Who it is that is blessed as true God, and Who is sworn by as true God. And this is the confession of faith made, in the fullness of time, by the Church in loyal devotion to Christ her Lord. We can see how exactly the words of prophecy conform to the truth, by their refraining from the insertion of that pronoun of the second person. Had the words been Thee, the true God, then they might have been interpreted as spoken to another. The true God can refer to none but the Speaker. The passage, taken by itself, shews to Whom it refers; the preceding words, taken in connection with it, declare Who the Speaker is Who makes this confession of God. They are these: — I have appeared openly to them that asked not for Me, and, I have been found of them that sought Me not. I said, Here am I, unto a nation that called not an My name. I have spread out My hands all the day to an unbelieving and gainsaying people. Could a dishonest attempt to suppress the truth be more completely exposed, or the Speaker be more distinctly revealed as true God, than here? Who, I demand, was it that appeared to them that asked not for Him, and was found of them that sought Him not? What nation is it that formerly called not on His name? Who is it that spread out His hands all the day to an unbelieving and gainsaying people? Compare with these words that holy and Divine Song of Deuteronomy, in which God, in His wrath against them that are no Gods, moves the unbelievers to jealousy against those that are no people

and a foolish nation. Conclude for yourself, Who it is that makes Himself manifest to them that knew Him not; Who, though one people is His own, becomes the possession of strangers; Who it is that spreads out His hands before an unbelieving and gainsaying people, nailing to the cross the writing of the former sentence against us. For the same Spirit in the prophet, whom we are considering, proceeds thus in the course of this one prophecy, which is connected in argument as well as continuos in utterance: But My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon earth, and they shall bless the true God, and they that swear upon the earth shall swear by the trite God.

32. If heresy, in its folly and wickedness, shall attempt to entice the simple-minded and uninstructed away from the true belief that these words were spoken in reference to God the Son, by reigning that they are an utterance of God the Father concerning Himself, it shall hear sentence passed upon the lie by the Apostle and Teacher of the Gentiles. He interprets all these prophecies as allusions to the passion of the Lord and to the times of Gospel faith, when he is reproving the unbelief of Israel, which will not recognize that the Lord is come in the flesh. His words are: — For whosoever shall have called upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How shall they call on Him in Whom they have not believed? But how shall they believe in Him of Whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, excerpt they hare been sent? As it is written, How beautiful are the feel of them that proclaim peace, of them that proclaim good things. But all do not obey the Gospel. For Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report? So then faith cometh by hearing and hearing through the word. But I say, Have they not heard? Yes verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moses saith, I will provoke you to jealousy against them that are no people, and against a foolish nation I will anger you. Moreover Esaias is bold, and saith, I appeared unto them that seek Me not, I was found by them that asked not after Me. But to Israel what saith He? All day long I have stretched forth My hands to a people that hearken not. Who art thou that bast mounted up through the successive heavens, knowing not whether thou wert in the body or out of the body, and canst explain more faithfully than he the words of the prophet? Who art thou that hast heard, and mayst not tell, the ineffable mysteries of the secret things of heaven,

and hast proclaimed with greater assurance the knowledge granted thee by God for revelation? Who art thou that hast been fore-ordained to a full share of the Lord's suffering on the Cross, and first has been caught up to Paradise and drawn nobler teaching from the Scriptures of God than this chosen vessel? If there be such a man, has he been ignorant that these are the deeds and words of the true God, proclaimed to us by His own true and chosen Apostle that we may recognize in Him their Author?

33. But it may be argued that the Apostle was not inspired by the Spirit of prophecy when he borrowed these prophetic words; that he was only interpreting at random the words of another man, and though, no doubt, everything the Apostle says of himself comes to him by revelation from Christ, yet his knowledge of the words of Isaiah is only derived from the book. I answer that in the beginning of that utterance in which it is said that the servants of the true God shall bless Him and swear by Him, we read this adoration by the prophet: — From everlasting we have not heard, nor have our eyes seen God, except Thee, and Thy works which Thou wilt do for them that await Thy mercy. Isaiah says that he has seen no God but Him. For he did actually see the glory of God, the mystery of Whose taking flesh from the Virgin he foretold. And if you, in your heresy, do not know that it was God the Only-begotten Whom the prophet saw in that glory, listen to the Evangelist: — These things said Esaias, when he saw His glory, and spake of Him. The Apostle, the Evangelist, the Prophet combine to silence your objections. Isaiah did see God; even though it is written, No one hath seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son Who is in the bosom of the Father; He hath declared Him, it was God Whom the prophet saw. He gazed upon the Divine glory, and men were filled with envy at such honor vouchsafed to his prophetic greatness. For this was the reason why the Jews passed sentence of death upon him.

34. Thus the Only-begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father, has told us of God, Whom no man has seen. Either disprove the fact that the Son has thus informed us, or else believe Him Who has been seen, Who appeared to them who knew Him not, and became the God of the Gentiles who called not upon Him and spread out His bands before a gainsaying people. And believe this also concerning Him, that they who serve Him are called by a new name, and that on earth men bless Him and swear by Him as true God. Prophecy tells, the Gospel confirms, the Apostle explains,

the Church confesses, that He Who was seen is true God; but none venture to say that God the Father was seen. And yet the madness of heresy has run to such lengths that, while they pro-less to recognize this truth, they really deny it. They deny it by means of the newfangled and godless device of evading the truth, while making a studied pretense of adhesion to it. For when they confess one God, alone true and alone righteous, alone wise, alone unchangeable, alone immortal, alone mighty, they attach to Him a Son different in substance, not born from God to be God, but adopted through creation to be a Son, having the name of God not by nature, but as a title received by adoption; and thus they inevitably deprive the Son of all those attributes which they accumulate upon the Father in His lonely majesty.

35. The distorted mind of heresy is incapable of knowing and confessing the One true God; the sound faith and reason necessary for such confession is incompatible with unbelief. We must confess Father and Son before we can apprehend God as One awl true. When we have known the mysteries of man’s salvation, accomplished in us through the power of regeneration unto life in the Father and the Son, then we may hope to penetrate the mysteries of the Law and the Prophets. Godless ignorance of the teaching of Evangelists and Apostles cannot frame the thought of One true God. Out of the teaching of Evangelists and Apostles we shall present the sound doctrine concerning Him, In accurate agreement with the faith of true believers. We shall present Him in such wise that the Only-begotten, Who is of the substance of the Father, shall be known as indivisible and inseparable in nature, not in Person. We shall set forth God as One, because God is from the nature of God. But we shall also establish this doctrine of the perfect unity of God upon the words of the Prophets, and make them the foundations of the Gospel structure, proving that there is One God, with one Divine nature, by the fact that God the Only-begotten is never classed apart as a second God. For throughout this book of our treatise we have followed the same course as in its predecessor; the same methods which proved there that the Son is God, have proved here that He is true God. I trust that our explanation of each passage has been so convincing that we have now manifested Him as true God as effectually as we formerly demonstrated His Godhead. The remainder of the book shall be devoted to the proof that He, Who is now recognized as true God, must not be regarded as a second God. Our disproof of the notion of a second

God will further establish the unity; and this truth shall be displayed as not inconsistent with the personal existence of the Son, while yet it maintains the unity of nature in God and God.

36. The true method of our enquiry demands that we should begin with him, through whom God first manifested Himself to the world, that is, with Moses, by whose mouth God the Only-begotten thus declared Himself; See, see that I am God, and there is no God beside Me. That godless heresy must not assign these words to God, the unbegotten Father, is clear by the sense of the passage and by the evidence of the Apostle who, as we have already stated, has taught us to understand this whole discourse as spoken by God the Only-begotten. The Apostle also points out the words, Rejoice, 0 ye nations, with His people as those of the Son, and in corroboration further cites this: — And there shall be a root of Jesse, and One that shall arise to rule the nations; in Him shall the nations trust. Thus Moses by the words, Rejoice, O ye nations, with His people indicates Him Who said, There is no Gad beside Me; and the Apostle refers the same words to our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Only-begotten, in Whose rising as a king from the root of Jesse, according to the flesh, the hope of the Gentiles rests. And therefore we must now consider the meaning of these words, that we, who know that they were spoken by Him, may ascertain in what sense He spoke them.

37. That true and absolute and perfect doctrine, which forms our faith, is the confession of God from God and God in God, by no bodily process but by Divine power, by no transfusion from nature into nature but through the secret and mighty working of the One nature; God from God, not by division or extension or emanation, but by the operation of a nature which brings into existence, by means of birth, a nature One with itself. The facts shall receive a fuller treatment in the next book, which is to be devoted to an exposition of the teaching of the Evangelists and Apostles; for the present we must maintain our assertion and belief by means of the Law and the Prophets. The nature with which God is born is necessarily the same as that of His Source. He cannot come into existence as other than God, since His origin is from none other than God. His nature is the same, not in the sense that the Begetter also was begotten — for then the Unbegotten, having been begotten, would not be Himself — but that the substance of the Begotten consists in all those elements which are summed

up in the substance of the Begetter, Who is His only Origin. Thus it is due to no external cause that His origin is from the One, and that His existence partakes the Unity; their is no novel element in Him, because His life is from the Living; no element absent, because the Living begot Him to partake His own life. Hence, in the generation of the Son, the incorporeal and unchangeable God begets, in accordance with His own nature, God incorporeal and unchangeable; and this perfect birth of incorporeal and unchangeable God from incorporeal and unchangeable God involves, as we see in the light of the revelation of God from God, no diminution of the Begetter's substance. And so God the Only-begotten bears witness through the holy Moses; See, see that I am God, and there is no God beside Me. For there is no second Divine nature, and so there can be no God beside Him, since He is God, yet by the powers of His nature God is also in Him. And because He is God and God is in Him, there is no God beside Him; for God, than Whom there is no other Source of Deity, is in Him, and consequently there is within Him not only His own existence, but the Author of that existence.

38. This saving faith which we profess is sustained by the spirit of prophecy, speaking with one voice through many mouths, and never, through long and changing ages, bearing an uncertain witness to the truths of revelation. For instance, the words which, as we are told through Moses, were spoken by God the Only-begotten, are confirmed for our better instruction by the prophetic spirit, speaking this time through those men of stature, — For God is in Thee, and there is no God beside Thee. Thou art God, and we knew it not, O God Israel, the Savior. Let heresy fling itself with its utmost effort of despair and rage against this declaration of a name and nature inseparably joined, and rend in twain, if its furious struggles can, a union perfect in title and in fact. God is in God and beside Him there is no God. Let heresy, if it can, divide the God within from the God within Whom He is, and classify, Each after His kind, the members of that mystic union. For when He says God is in Thee, He teaches that the true nature of God the Father is present in God the Son; for we must understand that it is the God Who is that is in Him. And when He adds, And there is no God beside Thee, He shews that outside Him there is no God, since God's dwelling is within Himself. And the third assertion, Thou art God and we knew it not, sets forth for our instruction what must be the confession of the devout and believing soul. When it has learnt the

mysteries of the Divine birth, and the name Emmanuel which the angel announced to Joseph, it must cry, Thou art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel, the Savior. It must recognize the subsistence of the Divine nature in Him, inasmuch as God is in God, and the nonexistence of any other God except the true. For, He being God and God being in Him, the delusion of another God, of what kind soever, must be surrendered. Such is the message of the prophet Isaiah; he bears witness to the indivisible and inseparable Godhead of Father and of Son.

39. Jeremiah also, a prophet equally inspired, has taught that God the Only-begotten is of a nature one with that of God the Father. His words are: — This is our God, and there shall be none other likened unto Him, hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved Afterward He was seen upon earth, and dwelt among men. Why try to transform the Son of God into a second God? Learn to recognize and to confess the One True God. No second God is likened to Christ, and so can claim to be God. He is God from God by nature and by birth, for the Source of His Godhead is God. And, again, He is not a second God, for no other is likened unto Him; the truth that is in Him is nothing else than the truth of God. Why link together, in pretended devotion to the unity of God, true and false, base and genuine, unlike and unlike? The Father is God and the Son is God. God is in God; beside Him there is no God, and none other is likened unto Him so as to be God. If in these Two you shall recognize the Unity, instead of the solitude, of God, you will share the Church’s faith, which confesses the Father in the Son. But if, in ignorance of the heavenly mystery, you insist that God is One in order to enforce the doctrine of His isolation, then you are a stranger to the knowledge of God, for you deny that God is in God.

BOOK 6

1. IT is with a full knowledge of the dangers and passions of the time that I have ventured to attack this wild and godless heresy, which asserts that the Son of God is a creature. Multitudes of Churches, in almost every province of the Roman Empire, have already caught the plague of this deadly doctrine; error, persistently inculcated and falsely claiming to be the truth, has become ingrained in minds which vainly imagine that they are loyal to the faith. I know how hardly the will is moved to a thorough recantation, when zeal for a mistaken cause is encouraged by the sense of numbers and confirmed by the sanction of general approval. A multitude under delusion can only be approached with difficulty and danger. When the crowd has gone astray, even though it know that it is in the wrong, it is ashamed to return. It claims consideration for its numbers, and has the assurance to command that its folly shall be accounted wisdom. It assumes that its size is evidence of the correctness of its opinions; and thus a falsehood which has found general credence is boldly asserted to have established its truth.

2. For my own part, it was not only the claim which my vocation has upon me, the duty of diligently preaching the Gospel which, as a bishop, I owe to the Church, that has led me on. My eagerness to write has increased with the increasing numbers endangered and enthralled by this heretical theory. There was a rich prospect of joy in the thought of multitudes who might be saved, if they could know the mysteries of the right faith in God, and abandon the blasphemous principles of bureau folly, desert the heretics and surrender themselves to God; if they would forsake the bait with which the fowler snares his prey, and soar aloft in freedom and safety, following Christ as Leader, prophets as instructors, apostles as guides, and accepting the perfect faith and sure salvation in the confession of Father and of Son. So would they, in obedience to the words of the Lord, He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father which hath sent Him, be setting themselves to honor the Father, through honor paid to the Son.

3. For of late the infection of a mortal evil has gone abroad among mankind, whose ravages have dealt destruction and death on every hand. The sudden desolation of cities smitten, with their people in them, by earthquake to

the ground, the terrible slaughter of recurring wars, the widespread mortality of an irresistible pestilence, have never wrought such fatal mischief as the progress of this heresy throughout the world. For God, unto Whom all the dead live, destroys those only who are self-destroyed. From Him Who is to be the Judge of all, Whose Majesty will temper with mercy the punishment allotted to the mistakes of ignorance, they who deny Him can expect not even judgment, but only denial.

4. For this mad heresy does deny; it denies the mystery of the true faith by means of statements borrowed from our confession, which it employs for its own godless ends. The confession of their misbelief, which I have already cited in an earlier book, begins thus: — "We confess one God, alone unmade, alone eternal, alone unoriginate, alone true, alone possessing immortality, alone good, alone mighty." Thus they parade the opening words of our own confession, which runs, "One God, alone unmade and alone unoriginate," that this semblance of truth may serve as introduction to their blasphemous additions. For, after a multitude of words in which an equally insincere devotion to the Son is expressed, their confession continues, "God's perfect creature, but not as one of His other creatures, His Handiwork, but not as His other works." And again, after an interval in which true statements are occasionally interspersed in order to veil their impious purpose of alleging, as by sophistry they try to prove, that He came into existence out of nothing, they add, "He, created and established before the worlds, did not exist before He was born." And lastly, as though every point of their false doctrine, that He is to be regarded neither as Son nor as God, were guarded impregnably against assault, they continue: — "As to such phrases as from Him, and from the womb, and I went out from the Father and am come, if they be understood to denote that the Father extends a part and, as it were, a development of that one substance, then the Father will be of a compound nature and divisible and changeable and corporeal, according to them; and thus, as far as their words go, the incorporeal God will be subjected to the properties of matter." But, as we are now about to cover the whole ground once more, employing this time the language of the Gospels as our weapon against this most godless heresy, it has seemed best to repeat here, in the sixth book, the whole heretical document, though we have already given a full copy of it in the fourth, in order that our opponents may read it again, and compare it,

point by point, with our reply, and so be forced, however reluctant and argumentative, by the clear teaching of the Evangelists and Apostles, to recognize the truth. The heretical confession is as follows: —

5. “We confess one God, alone unmade, alone eternal, alone unoriginate, alone possessing immortality, alone good, alone mighty, Creator, Ordainer and Disposer of all things, unchangeable and unalterable, righteous and good, of the Law and the Prophets and the New Testament. We believe that this God gave birth to the Only-begotten Son before all worlds, through Whom He made the world and all things, that He gave birth to Him not in semblance, but in truth, following His own will, so that He is unchangeable and unalterable, God’s perfect Creature, but not as one of His other creatures, His Handiwork, but not as His other works; not, as Valentinus maintained, that the Son is a development of the Father, nor, as Manichaeus has declared of the Son, a consubstantial part of the Father, nor, as Sabellius, who makes two out of One, Son and Father at once, nor, as Hieracas, a light from a light, or a lamp with two flames, nor, as if He was previously in being and afterwards born, or created afresh, to be a Son, a notion often condemned by thyself, blessed Pope, publicly in the Church, and in the assembly of the brethren. But, as we have affirmed, we believe that He was created by the will of God before times and worlds, and has His life and existence from the Father, Who gave Him to share His own glorious perfections. For, when the Father gave to Him the inheritance of all things, He did not thereby deprive Himself of attributes which are His without origination, He being the source of all things.

6. “So there are three Persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. God, for His part, is the Cause of all things, utterly unoriginate and separate from all; while the Son, put forth by the Father outside time, and created and established before the worlds, did not exist before He was born, but, being born outside time before the worlds, came into being as the Only Son of the Only Father. For He is neither eternal, nor co-eternal, nor co-uncreate with the Father, nor has He an existence collateral with the Father, as some say who postulate two unborn principles. But God is before all things, as being indivisible and the beginning of all. Wherefore He is before the Son also, as indeed we have learnt from thee in thy public preaching. Inasmuch then as He has His being from God, and His glorious perfections, and His life, and is entrusted with all things, for this reason God is His Source. For

He rules over Him, as being His God, since He is before Him. As to such phrases as from Him, and from the womb, and I went out from the Father and am come, if they be understood to denote that the Father extends a part and, as it were, a development of that one Substance, then the Father will be of a compound nature and divisible and changeable and corporeal, according to them; and thus, as far as their words go, the incorporeal God will be subjected to the properties of matter."

7. Who can fail to see here the slimy windings of the serpent's track: the coiled adder, with forces concentrated for the spring, concealing the deadly weapon of its poisonous fangs within its folds? Presently we shall stretch it out and examine it, and expose the venom of this hidden head. For their plan is first to impress with certain sound statements, and then to infuse the poison of their heresy. They speak us fair, in order to work us secret harm. Yet, amid all their specious professions, I nowhere hear God's Son entitled God; I never hear sonship attributed to the Son. They say much about His having the name of Son, but nothing about His having the nature. That is kept out of sight, that He may seem to have no right even to the name. They make a show of unmasking other heresies to conceal the fact that they are heretics themselves. They strenuously assert that there is One only, One true God, to the end that they may strip the Son of God of His true and personal Divinity.

8. And therefore, although in the two last books I have proved from the teaching of the Law and Prophets that God and God, true God and true God, true God the Father and true God the Son, must be confessed as One true God, by unity of nature and not by confusion of Persons, yet, for the complete presentation of the faith, I must also adduce the teaching of the Evangelists and Apostles. I must show from them that true God, the Son of God, is not of a different, an alien nature from that of the Father, but possesses the same Divinity while having a distinct existence through a true birth. And, indeed, I cannot think that any soul exists so witless as to fancy that, although we know God's self-revelations, yet we cannot understand them; that, if they can be understood, would not wish to understand, or would dream that human reason can devise improvements upon them. But before I begin to discuss the facts contained in these saving mysteries, I must first humble the pride with which these heretics rebuke the names of other heresies. I shall hold up to the light this

ingenious cloak for their own impiety. I shall shew that this very means of concealing the deadliness of their teaching serves rather to reveal and betray it, and is a widely effectual warning of the true character of this honeyed poison.

9. For instance, these heretics would have it that the Son of God is not from God; that God was not born from God out of, and in, the nature of God. To this end, when they have solemnly borne witness to "One God, alone true," they refrain from adding "The Father." And then, in order to escape from confessing one true Godhead of Father and of Son by a denial of the true birth, they proceed, "Not, as Valentinus maintained, that the Son is a development of the Father." Thus they think to cast discredit upon the birth of God from God by calling it a "development," as though it were a form of the Valentinian heresy. For Valentinus was the author of foul and foolish imaginations; beside the chief God, he invented a whole household of deities and countless powers called aeons, and taught that our Lord Jesus Christ was a development mysteriously brought about by a secret action of will. The faith of the Church, the faith of the Evangelists and Apostles, knows nothing of this imaginary development, sprung from the brain of a reckless and senseless dreamer. It knows nothing of the "Depth" and "Silence" and the thrice ten aeons of Valentinus. It knows none but One God the Father, from Whom are all things, and One Jesus Christ, our Lord, through Whom are all things, Who is God born from God. But it occurred to them that He, in being born as God from God, neither withdrew anything from the Divinity of His Author nor was Himself born other than God; that He became God not by a new beginning of Deity but by birth from the existing God; and that every birth appears, as far as human faculties can judge, to be a development, so that even that birth might be regarded as a development. And these considerations have induced them to make an attack upon the Valentinian heresy of development as a means of destroying faith in the true birth of the Son. For the experience of common life leads worldly wisdom to suppose that there is no great difference between a birth and a development. The mind of man, dull and slow to grasp the things of God, needs to be constantly reminded of the principle, which I have stated more than once, that analogies drawn from human experience are not of perfect application to the mysteries of Divine power; that their only value is that this

comparison with material objects imparts to the spirit such a notion of heavenly things that we may rise, as by a ladder of nature, to an apprehension of the majesty of God. But the birth of God must not be judged by such development as takes place in human births. When One is born from One, God born from God, the circumstances of human birth enable us to apprehend the fact; but a birth which presupposes intercourse and conception and time and travail can give us no clue to the Divine method. When we are told that God was born from God, we must accept it as true that He was born, and be content with that. We shall, however, in the proper place discourse of the truth of the Divine birth, as the Gospels and the Apostles set it forth. Our present duty has been to expose this device of heretical ingenuity, this attack upon the true birth of Christ, concealed under the form of an attack upon a so-called development.

10. And then, in continuation of this same fraudulent assault upon the faith, their confession proceeds thus: — “Nor, as Manichaeus has declared of the Son, a consubstantial part of the Father.” They have already denied that He is a development, in order to escape from the admission of His birth; now they introduce, labeled with the name of Manichaeus, the doctrine that the Son is a portion of the one Divine substance, and deny it, in order to subvert the belief in God from God. For Manichaeus, the furious adversary of the Law and Prophets, the strenuous champion of the devil’s cause and blind worshipper of the sun, taught that That which was in the Virgin’s womb was a portion of the one Divine substance, and that by the Son we must understand a certain piece of God’s substance which was cut off, and made its appearance in the flesh. And so they make the most of this heresy that in the birth of the Son there was a division of the one substance and use it as a means of evading the doctrine of the birth of the Only-begotten, and the very name of the unity of substance. Because it is sheer blasphemy to speak of a birth re-suiting from division of the one substance they deny any birth; all forms of birth are joined in the condemnation which they pass upon the Manichaean notion of birth by severance. And again, they abolish the unity of substance, both name and thing, because the heretics hold that the unity is divisible; and deny that the Son is God from God, by refusing to believe that He is truly possessed of the Divine nature. Why does this mad heresy profess a fictitious reverence, a senseless anxiety? The faith of the Church does, as these

insane propounders of error remind us, condemn Manichaeus, for she knows nothing of the Son as a portion. She knows Him as whole God from whole God, as One from One, not severed but born. She is assured that the birth of God involves neither impoverishment of the Begetter nor inferiority of the Begotten. If this be the Church's own imagining, reproach her with the follies of a wisdom falsely claimed; but if she have learned it from her Lord, confess that the Begotten knows the manner of His begetting. She has learnt from God the Only-begotten these truths, that Father and Son are One, and that in the Son the fullness of the Godhead dwells. And therefore she loathes this attribution to the Son of a portion of the one substance; and, because she knows that He was truly born of God, she worships the Son as rightful Possessor of true Divinity. But, for the present, let us defer our full answer to these several allegations, and hasten through the rest of their denunciations.

11. What follows is this: — "Nor, as Sabellius, who makes two out of One, Son and Father at once." Sabellius holds this in willful blindness to the revelation of the Evangelists and Apostles. But what we see here is not one heretic honestly denouncing other. It is the wish to leave no point of union between Father and Son that prompts them to reproach Sabellius with his division of an indivisible Person; a division which does not result in the birth of a second Person, but cuts the One Person into two parts, one of which enters the Virgin's womb. But we confess a birth; we reject this confusion of two Persons in One, while yet we cleave to the Divine unity. That is, we hold that God from God means unity of nature; for that Being, Who, by a true birth from God, became God, can draw His substance from no other source than the Divine. And since He continues to draw His being, as He drew it at first, from God, He must remain true God for ever; and hence They Two are One, for He, Who is God from God, has no other than the Divine nature, and no other than the Divine origin. But the reason why this blasphemous Sabellian confusion of two Persons into One is here condemned is that they wish to rob the Church of her true faith in Two Persons in One God. But now I must examine the remaining instances of this perverted ingenuity, to save myself from the reputation of a censorious judge of sincere enquirers, moved rather by dislike than genuine fear. I shall shew, by the terms with which they wind up their

confession, what is the deadly conclusion which they have skillfully contrived shall be its inevitable issue.

12. Their next clause is: — “Nor, as Hieracas, a light from a light, or a lamp with two flames, nor as if He was previously in being, and afterwards born, or created afresh, to be a Son.” Hieracas ignores the birth of the Only-begotten, and, in complete unconsciousness of the meaning of the Gospel revelations, talks of two flames from one lamp. This symmetrical pair of flames, fed by the supply of oil contained in one bowl, is His illustration of the substance of Father and Son. It is as though that substance were something separate from Either Person, like the oil in the lamp, which is distinct from the two flames, though they depend upon it for their existence; or like the wick, of one material throughout and burning at both ends, which is distinct from the flames, yet provides them and connects them together. All this is a mere delusion of human folly, which has trusted to itself, and not to God, for knowledge. But the true faith asserts that God is born from God, as light from light, which pours itself forth without self-diminution, giving what it has yet having what it gave. It asserts that by His birth He was what He is, for as He is so was He born; that His birth was the gift of the existing Life, a gift which did not lessen the store from which it was taken; and that They Two are One, for He, from Whom He is born, is as Himself, and He that was born has neither another source nor another nature, for He is Light from Light. It is in order to draw men’s faith away from this, the true doctrine, that this lantern or lamp of Hieracas is cast in the teeth of those who confess Light from Light. Because the phrase has been used in an heretical sense, and condemned both now and in earlier days, they want to persuade us that there is no true sense in which it can be employed. Let heresy forthwith abandon these groundless fears, and refrain from claiming to be the protector of the Church’s faith on the score of a reputation for zeal earned so dishonestly. For we allow nothing bodily, nothing lifeless, to have a place among the attributes of God; whatever is God is perfect God. In Him is nothing but power, life, light, blessedness, Spirit. That nature contains no dull, material elements; being immutable, it has no incongruities within it. God, because He is God, is unchangeable; and the unchangeable God begat God. Their bond of union is not, like that of two flames, two wicks of one lamp, something outside Themselves. The birth of the

Only-begotten Son from God is not a prolongation in space, but a begetting; not an extension, but Light from Light. For the unity of light with light is a unity of nature, not unbroken continuation.

13. And again, what a wonderful example of heretical ingenuity is this: — "Nor as if He were previously in being, and afterwards born or created afresh, to be a Son." God, since He was born from God, was assuredly not born from nothing, nor from things non-existent. His birth was that of the eternally living nature. Yet, though He is God, He is not identical with the pre-existing God; God was born from God Who existed before Him; in, and by, His birth He partook of the nature of His Source. If we are speaking words of our own, all this is mere irreverence; but if, as we shall prove, God Himself has taught us how to speak, then the necessity is laid upon us of confessing the Divine birth in the sense revealed by God. And it is this unity of nature in Father and in Son, this ineffable mystery of the living birth, which the madness of heresy is struggling to banish from belief, when it says, "Nor as if He were previously in being, and afterwards born, or created afresh, to be a Son." Now who is senseless enough to suppose that the Father ceased to be Himself; that the same Person Who had previously existed was afterwards born, or created afresh, to be the Son? That God disappeared, and that His disappearance was followed by an emergence in birth, when, in fact, that birth is evidence of the continuous existence of its Author? Or who is so insane as to suppose that a Son can come into existence otherwise than through birth? Who so void of reason as to say that the birth of God resulted in anything else than in God being born? The abiding God was not born, but God was born from the abiding God; the nature bestowed in that birth was the very nature of the Begetter. And God by His birth, which was from God into God, received, because His was a true birth, not things new-created but things which were and are the permanent possession of God. Thus it is not the pre-existent God that was born; yet God was born, and began to exist, out of and with the properties of God. And thus we see how heresy, throughout this long prelude, has been treacherously leading up to this most blasphemous doctrine. Its object being to deny God the Only-begotten, it starts with what purports to be a defense of truth, to go on to the assertion that Christ is born not from God but out of nothing,

and that His birth is due to the Divine counsel of creation from the non-existent.

14. And then again, after an interval designed to prepare us for what is coming, their heresy delivers this assault; — “While the Son, put forth outside time, and created and established before the worlds, did not exist before He was born.” This “He did not exist before He was born” is a form of words by which the heresy flatters itself that it gains two ends; support for its blasphemy, and a screen for itself if its doctrine be arraigned. A support for its blasphemy, because, if He did not exist before He was born, He cannot be of one nature with His eternal Origin. He must have His beginning out of nothing, if He have no powers but such as are coeval with His birth. And a screen for its heresy, for if this statement be condemned, it furnishes a ready answer. He that did exist, it will be said, could not be born; being in existence already, He could not possibly come into being by passing through the process of birth, for the very meaning of birth is the entry into existence of the being that is born. Fool and blasphemer! Who dreams of birth in the case of Him Who is the unborn and eternal? How can we think of God, Who is, being born, when being born implies the process of birth? It is the birth of God the Only-begotten from God His Father that you are striving to disprove, and it was your purpose to escape the confession of that truth by means of this “He did not exist before He was born;” the confession that God, from Whom the Son of God was born, did exist eternally, and that it is from His abiding nature that God the Son draws His existence through birth. If, then, the Son is born from God, you must confess that His is a birth of that abiding nature; not a birth of the pre-existing God, but a birth of God from God the pre-existent.

15. But the fiery zeal of this heresy is such that it cannot restrain itself from passionate outbreak. In its effort to prove, in conformity with its assertion that He did not exist before He was born, that the Son was born from the non-existent, that is, that He was not born from God the Father to be God the Son by a true and perfect birth, it winds up its confession by rising in rage and hatred to the highest pitch of possible blasphemy: — “As to such phrases as from Him, and from the womb, and I went out front the Father and am come, if they be understood to denote that the Father extends a part, and, as it were, a development of that one substance,

then the Father will be of a compound nature and divisible and changeable and corporeal, according to them; and thus, as far as their words go, the incorporeal God will be subjected to the properties of matter." The defense of the true faith against the falsehoods of heresy would indeed be a task of toil and difficulty, if it were needful for us to follow the processes of thought as far as they have plunged into the depths of godlessness. Happily for our purpose it is shallowness of thought that has engendered their eagerness to blaspheme. And hence, while it is easy to refute, the folly, it is difficult to amend the fool, for he will neither think out right conclusions for himself, nor accept them when offered by another. Yet I trust that they who in pious ignorance, not in willful folly bred of self-conceit, are enchained by error, will welcome correction. For our demonstration of the truth will afford convincing proof that heresy is nothing else than folly.

16. You said in your unreason, and you are still repeating to-day, ignorant that your wisdom is a defiance of God, "As to such phrases as from Him, and from the womb, and I went out from the Father and am come," I ask you, Are these phrases, or are they not, words of God? They certainly are His; and, since they are spoken by God about Himself, we are bound to accept them exactly as they were spoken. Concerning the phrases themselves, and the precise force of each, we shall speak in the proper place. For the present I will only put this question to the intelligence of every reader; When we see From Himself, are we to take it as equivalent to "From sortie one else," or to "From nothing," or are we to accept it as the truth? It is not "From some one else," for it is From Himself; that is, His Godhead has no other source than God. It is not "From nothing," for it is From Himself; a declaration of the nature from which His birth is. It is not "Himself," but From Himself; a statement that They are related as Father and Son. And next, when the revelation From the womb is made, I ask whether we can possibly believe that He is born from nothing, when the truth of His birth is clearly indicated in terms borrowed from bodily functions. It is not because He has bodily members, that God records the generation of the Son in the words, I bore Thee from the womb before the morning star . He uses language which assists our understanding to assure us that His Only-begotten Son was ineffably born of His own true Godhead. His purpose is to educate the faculties of men up to the

knowledge of the faith, by clothing Divine verities in words descriptive of human circumstances. Thus, when He says, From the womb, He is teaching us that His Only-begotten was, in the Divine sense, born, and did not come into existence by means of creation out of nothing. And lastly, when the Son said, I went forth from the Father and am come, did He leave it doubtful whether His Divinity were, or were not, derived from the Father? He went out from the Father; that is, He had a birth, and the Father, and no other, gave Him that birth. He bears witness that He, from Whom He declares that He came forth, is the Author of His being. The proof and interpretation of all this shall be given hereafter.

17. But meanwhile let us see what ground these men have for the confidence with which they forbid us to accept as true the utterances of God concerning Himself; utterances, the authenticity of which they do not deny. What more grievous insult could be flung by human folly and insolence at God's self-revelation, than a condemnation of it, shewn in correction? For not even doubt and Criticism will satisfy them. What more grievous than this profane handling and disputing of the nature and power of God? Than the presumption of saying that, if the Son is from God, then God is changeable and corporeal, since He has extended or developed a part of Himself to be His Son? Whence this anxiety to prove the immutability of God? We confess the birth, we proclaim the Only-begotten, for so God has taught us. You, in order to banish the birth and the Only-begotten from the faith of the Church, confront us with an unchangeable God, incapable, by His nature, of extension or development. I could bring forward instances of birth, even in natures belonging to this world, which would refute this wretched delusion that every birth must be an extension. And I could save you from the error that a being can come into existence only at the cost of loss to that which begets it, for there are many examples of life transmitted, without bodily intercourse, from one living creature to another. But it would be impious to deal in evidences, when God has spoken; and the utmost excess of madness to deny His authority to give us a faith, when our worship is a confession that He alone can give us life. For if life comes through Him alone, must not He be the Author of the faith which is the condition of that life? And if we hold Him an untrustworthy witness concerning Himself, how can we be sure of the life which is His gift?

18. For you attribute, most godless of heretics, the birth of the Son to an act of creative will; you say that He is not born from God, but that He was created and came into existence by the choice of the Creator. And the unity of the Godhead, as you interpret it, will not allow Him to be God, for, since God remains One, the Son cannot retain His original nature in that state into which He has been born. He has been endowed, through creation, you say, with a substance different from the Divine, although, being in a sense the Only-begotten, He is superior to God's other creatures and works. You say that He was raised up, that He in His turn might perform the task committed to Him of raising up the created world; but that His birth did not confer upon Him the Divine nature. He was born, according to you, in the sense that He came into existence out of nothing. You call Him a Son, not because He was born from God, but because He was created by God. For you call to mind that God has deemed even holy men worthy of this title, and you consider that it is assigned to the Son in exactly the same sense in which the words, I have said, Ye are Gods, and all of you sons of the Most High , were spoken; that is, that He bears the name through the Giver's condescension, and not by right of nature. Thus, in your eyes, He is Son by adoption, God by gift of the title, Only-begotten by favor, First-born in date, in every sense a creature, in no sense God. For you hold that His generation was not a birth from God, in the natural sense, but the beginning of the life of a created substance.

19. And now, Almighty God, I first must pray Thee to forgive my excess of indignation, and permit me to address Thee; and next to grant me, dust and ashes as I am, yet bound in loyal devotion to Thyself, freedom of utterance in this debate. There was a time when I, poor wretch, was not; before my life and consciousness and personality began to exist. It is to Thy mercy that I owe my life; and I doubt not that Thou, in Thy goodness, didst give me my birth for my good, for Thou, Who hast no need of me, wouldst never have made the beginning of my life the beginning of evil. And then, when Thou hadst breathed into me the breath of life and endowed me with the power of thought, Thou didst instruct me in the knowledge of Thyself, by means of the sacred volumes given us through Thy servants Moses and the prophets. From them I learnt Thy revelation, that we must not worship Thee as a lonely God. For their pages taught me of God, not different from Thee in nature but One with

Thee in mysterious unity of substance. I learnt that Thou art God in God, by no mingling or confusion but by Thy very nature, since the Divinity which is Thyself dwells in Him Who is from Thee. But the true doctrine of the perfect birth revealed that Thou, the Indwelt, and Thou, the Indweller, are not One Person, yet that Thou dost dwell in Him Who is from Thee. And the voices of Evangelists and Apostles repeat the lesson, and the very words which fell from the holy mouth of Thy Only-begotten are recorded, telling how Thy Son, God the Only-begotten from Thee the Unbegotten God, was born of the Virgin as man to fulfill the mystery of my salvation; holy Thou dwellest in Him, by virtue of His true generation from Thyself, and He in Thee, because of the nature given in His abiding birth from Thee.

20. What is this hopeless quagmire of error into which Thou hast plunged me? For I have learnt all this and have come to believe it; this faith is so ingrained into my mind that I have neither the power nor the wish to change it. Why this deception of an unhappy man, this ruin of a poor wretch in body and soul, by deluding him with falsehoods concerning Thyself? After the Red Sea had been divided, the splendor on the face of Moses, descending from the Mount, deceived me. He had gazed, in Thy presence, upon all the mysteries of heaven, and I believed his words, dictated by Thee, concerning Thyself. And David, the man that was found after Thine own heart, has betrayed me to destruction, and Solomon, who was thought worthy of the gift of Divine Wisdom, and Isaiah, who saw the Lord of Sabaoth and prophesied, and Jeremiah consecrated in the womb, before he was fashioned, to be the prophet of nations to be rooted out and planted in, and Ezekiel, the witness of the mystery of the Resurrection, and Daniel, the man beloved, who had knowledge of times, and all the hallowed band of the Prophets; and Matthew also, chosen to proclaim the whole mystery of the Gospel, first a publican, then an Apostle, and John, the Lord’s familiar friend, and therefore worthy to reveal the deepest secrets of heaven, and blessed Simon, who after his confession of the mystery was set to be the foundation-stone of the Church, and received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and all his companions who spoke by the Holy Ghost, and Paul, the chosen vessel, changed from persecutor into Apostle, who, as a living man abode under the deep sea and ascended into the third heaven, who was in Paradise before his martyrdom, whose

martyrdom was the perfect offering of a flawless faith; all have deceived me.

21. These are the men who have taught me the doctrines which I hold, and so deeply am I impregnated with their teaching that no antidote can release me from their influence. Forgive me, O God Almighty, my powerlessness to change, my willingness to die in this belief. These propagators of blasphemy, for so they seem to me, are a product of these last times, too modern to avail me. It is too late for them to correct the faith which I received from Thee. Before I had ever heard their names, I had put my trust in Thee had received regeneration from Thee and become Thine, as still I am. I know that Thou art omnipotent; I look not that Thou shouldst reveal to me the mystery of that ineffable birth which is secret between Thyself and Thy Only-begotten. Nothing is impossible with Thee, and I doubt not that in begetting Thy Son Thou didst exert Thy full omnipotence. To doubt it would be to deny that Thou an omnipotent. For my own birth teaches me that Thou art good, and therefore I am sure that in the birth of Thine Only-begotten Thou didst grudge Him no good gift. I believe that all that is Thine is His, and all that is His is Thine. The creation of the world is sufficient evidence to me that Thou art wise; and I am sure that Thy Wisdom, Who is like Thee, must have been begotten from Thyself. And Thou art One God, in very truth, in my eyes; I will never believe that in Him, Who is God from Thee, there is ought that is not Thine. Judge me in Him, if it be sin in me that, through Thy Son, I have trusted too well in Law and Prophets and Apostles.

22. But this wild talk must cease; the rhetoric of exposing heretical folly must give place to the drudgery of framing arguments. So, I trust, those among them who are capable of being saved will set their faces towards the true faith taught by the Evangelists and Apostles, and recognize Him Who is the true Son of God, not by adoption but by nature. For the plan of our reply must be that of first proving that He is the Son of God, and therefore fully endowed with that Divine nature in the possession of which His Sonship consists. For the chief aim of the heresy, which we are considering, is to deny that our Lord Jesus Christ is true God and truly the Son of God. Many evidences assure us that our Lord Jesus Christ is, and is revealed to be, God the Only-begotten, truly the Son of God. His Father bears witness to it, He Himself asserts it, the Apostles proclaim it, the

faithful believe it, devils confess it, Jews deny it, the heathen at His passion recognized it. The name of God is given Him in the right of absolute ownership, not because He has been admitted to joint use with others of the title. Every work and word of Christ transcends the power of those who bear the title of sons; the foremost lesson that we learn from all that is most prominent in His life is that He is the Son of God, and that He does not hold the name of Son as a title shared with a widespread company of friends.

23. I will not weaken the evidence for this truth by intermixing words of my own. Let us hear the Father, when the baptism of Jesus Christ was accomplished, speaking, as often, concerning His Only-begotten, in order to save us from being misled by His visible body into a failure to recognize Him as the Son. His words are: — This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased . Is the truth presented here with dim outlines? Is the proclamation made in uncertain tones? The promise of the Virgin birth brought by the angel from the Holy Ghost, the guiding star of the Magi, the reverence paid Him in His cradle, the majesty, attested by the Baptist, of Him Who condescended to be baptized; all these are deemed an insufficient witness to His glory. The Father Himself speaks from heaven, and His words are, This is My Son. What means this evidence, not of titles, but of pronouns? Titles may be appended to names at will; pronouns are a sure indication of the persons to whom they refer. And here we have, in This and My, the clearest of indications. Mark the true meaning aid the purpose of the words. You have read, I have begotten sons, and have raised them up ; but you did not read there My sons, for He had begotten Himself those sons by division among the Gentiles, and from the people of His inheritance. And lest we should suppose that the name Son was given as an additional title to God the Only-begotten, to signify His share by adoption in some joint heritage, His true nature is expressed by the pronoun which gives the indubitable sense of ownership. I will allow you to interpret the word Son, if you will, as signifying that Christ is one of a number, if you can furnish an instance where it is said of another of that number, This is My Son. If, on the other hand, This is My Son be His peculiar designation, why accuse the Father, when He asserts His ownership, of making an unfounded claim? When He says This is My Son, may we not paraphrase His meaning thus: — “He has given to others

the title of sons, but He Himself is My own Son; I have given the name to multitudes by adoption, but this Son is My very own. Seek not for another lest you lose your faith that This is He. By gesture and by voice, by This, and My, and Son, I declare Him to you.” And now what reasonable excuse remains for lack of faith? This, and nothing less than this, it was that the Father’s voice proclaimed. He willed that we should not be left in ignorance of the nature of Him Who came to be baptized, that He might fulfill all righteousness; that by the voice of God we might recognize as the Son of God Him Who was visible as Man, to accomplish the mystery of our salvation.

24. And again, because the life of believers was involved in the confession of this faith, — for there is no other way to eternal life than the assurance that Jesus Christ, God the Only-begotten, is the Son of God — the Apostles heard once more the voice from heaven repeating the same message, in order to strengthen this life-giving belief, in negation of which is death. When the Lord, appareled in splendor, was standing upon the Mountain, with Moses and Elias at His side, and the three Pillars of the churches who had been chosen as witnesses to the truth of the vision and the voice, the Father spoke thus from heaven:-This is My beloved Son in Whom I am well pleased; hear Him . The glory which they saw was not sufficient attestation of His majesty; the voice proclaims, This is My Son. The Apostles cannot face the glory of God; mortal eyes grow dim in its presence. The trust of Peter and James and John fails them, and they are prostrate in fear. But this solemn declaration, spoken from the Father’s knowledge, comes to their relief; He is revealed as His Father’s own true Son. And over and above the witness of This and My to His true Sonship, the words are uttered, Hear Him. It is the witness of the Father from heaven, in confirmation of the witness borne by the Son on earth; for we are bidden to hear Him. Though this recognition by the Father of the Son removes all doubt, yet we are bidden also to accept the Son’s self-revelation. When the Father’s voice commands us to shew our obedience by hearing Him, we are ordered to repose an absolute confidence in the words of the Son. Since, therefore, the Father has manifested His will in this message to us to hear the Son, let us hear what it is that the Son has told us concerning Himself.

25. I can conceive of no man so destitute of ordinary-reason as to recognize in each of the Gospels confessions by the Son of the humiliation to which He has submitted in taking a body upon Him, — as for instance His words, often repeated, Father, glorify Me , and Ye shall see the Son of Man , and The Father is greater than I , and, more strongly, Now is My soul troubled exceedingly , and even this, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me”? and many more, of which I shall speak in due time, — and yet, in the face of these constant expressions of His humility, to charge Him with presumption because He calls God His Father, as when He says, Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up , or, Ye have made my Father’s house an house of merchandise . I can conceive of no one foolish enough to regard His assertion, consistently made, that God is His Father, not as the simple truth sincerely stated from certain knowledge, but as a bold and baseless claim. We cannot denounce this constantly professed humility as an insolent demand for the rights of another, a laying of hands on what is not His own, an appropriation of powers which only God can wield. Nor, when He calls Himself the Son, as in, For God sent not His Son into this world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved , and in, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? can we accuse Him of what would be an equal presumption with that of calling God His Father. But what else is it than such an accusation, if we allow to Jesus Christ the name of Son by adoption only? Do we not charge Him, when He calls God His Father, with daring to make a baseless claim? The Father’s voice from heaven says Hear Him. I hear Him saying, Father I thank Thee , and Say ye that I blasphemed, because said, I am the Son of God? If I may not believe these names, and assume that they mean what they assert, how am I to trust and to understand? No hint is given of an alternative meaning. The Father bears witness from heaven, This is My Son; the Son on His part speaks of My Father’s house, and My Father. The confession of that name gives salvation, when faith is demanded in the question, Dost thou believe an the Son of God? The pronoun My indicates that the noun which follows belongs to the speaker. What right, I demand, have you heretics to suppose it otherwise? You contradict the Father’s word the Son’s assertion; you empty language of its meaning, and distort the words of God into a sense they cannot bear. On you alone rests the guilt of this shameless blasphemy, that God has lied concerning Himself.

26. And thus, although nothing but a sincere belief that these names are truly significant, — that, when we read, This is My Son and My Father, the words really indicate Persons of Whom, and to Whom, they were spoken — can make them intelligible, yet, lest it be supposed that Son and Father are titles the one merely of adoption, the other merely of dignity, let us see what are the attributes attached, by the Son Himself, to His name of Son. He says, All things are delivered Me of My Father, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any the Father save the Son, and he to Whom the Son will reveal Him . Are the words of which we are speaking, This is My Son and My Father, consistent, or are they not, with No one knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any the Father save the Son? For it is only by witness mutually borne that the Son can be known through the Father, and the Father through the Son. We hear the voice from heaven; we hear also the words of the Son. We have as little excuse for not knowing the Son, as we have for not knowing the Father. All things are delivered unto Him; from this All there is no exception. If They possess an equal might; if They share an equal mutual knowledge, hidden from us; if these names of Father and Son express the relation between Them, then, I demand, are They not in truth what They are in name, wielders of the same omnipotence, shrouded in the same impenetrable mystery? God does not speak in order to deceive. The Fatherhood of the Father, the Sonship of the Son, are literal truths. And now learn how facts bear out the verities which these names reveal.

27. The Son speaks thus: — For the works which the Father hath given Me to finish, the same works which I do, bear witness of Me that the Father hath sent Me; and the Father Himself which hath sent Me hath borne witness of Me . God the Only-begotten proves His Sonship by an appeal not only to the name, but to the power; the works which He does are evidence that He has been sent by the Father. What, I ask, is the fact which these works prove? That He was sent. That He was sent, is used as a proof of His sonlike obedience and of His Father’s authority: for the works which He does could not possibly be done by any other than Him Who is sent by the Father. Yet the evidence of His works fails to convince the unbelieving that the Father sent Him. For He proceeds, And the Father Himself which hath sent Me hath borne witness of Me; and ye have neither heard His voice nor seen His shape . What was this witness of the

Father concerning Him? Turn over the pages of the Gospels and review their contents. Read us other of the attestations given by the Father beside those which we have heard already; This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased, and Than art My Son. John, who heard these words, needed them not, for He knew the truth already. It was for our instruction that the Father spoke. But this is not all. John in the wilderness was honored with this revelation; the Apostles were not to be denied the same assurance. It came to them in the very same words, but with an addition which John did not receive. He had been a prophet from the womb, and needed not the commandment, Hear Him. Yes; I will hear Him, and will hear none but Him and His Apostle, who heard for my instruction. Even though the books contained no further witness, borne by the Father to the Son, than that He is the Son, I have, for confirmation of the truth, the evidence of His Father's works which He does. What is this modern slander that His name is a gift by adoption, His Godhead a lie, His titles a pretense? We have the Father's witness to His Sonship; by works, equal to the Father's, the Son bears witness to His own equality with the Father. Why such blindness to His obvious possession of the true Sonship which He both claims and displays. It is not through condescending kindness on the part of God the Father that Christ bears the name of Son; not by holiness that He has earned the title, as many have won it by enduring hardness in confession of the faith. Such sonship is not of right; it is by a favor, worthy of Himself, that God bestows the title. But that which is indicated by This, and My, and Hear Him, is different in kind from the other. It is the true and real and genuine Sonship.

28. And indeed the Son never makes for Himself a lower claim than is contained in this designation, given Him by His Father. The Father's words, This is My Son, reveal His nature; those which follow, Hear Him, are a summons to us to listen to the mystery and the faith which He came down from heaven to bring; to learn that, if we would be saved, our confession must be a copy of His teaching. And in like manner the Son Himself teaches us, in words of His own, that He was truly born and truly came; — Ye neither know Me, nor know ye whence I am, for I am not came of Myself, but He that sent Me is true, Whom ye know not, but I know Him, for I am from Him, and He hath sent Me. No man knows the Father; the Son often assures us of this. The reason why He says that

none knows Him but Himself, is that He is from the Father. Is it, I ask, as the result of an act of creation, or of a genuine birth, that He is from Him? If it be an act of creation, then all created things are from God. How then is it that none of them know the Father, when the Son says that the reason why He has this knowledge is that He is from Him? If He be created, not born, we shall observe in Him a resemblance to other beings who are from God. Since all, on this supposition, are from God, why is He not as ignorant of the Father as are the others? But if this knowledge of the Father be peculiar to Him, Who is from the Father, must not this circumstance also, that He is from the Father, be peculiar to Him? That is, must He not be the true Son born from the nature of God? For the reason why He alone knows God is that He alone is from God. You observe, then, a knowledge, which is peculiar to Himself, resulting from a birth which also is peculiar to Himself. You recognize that it is not by an act of creative power, but through a true birth, that He is from the Father; and that this is why He alone knows the Father, Who is unknown to all other beings which are from Him.

29. But He immediately adds, For I am from Him, and He hath sent Me, to debar heresy from the violent assumption that His being from God dates from the time of His Advent. The Gospel revelation of the mystery proceeds in a logical sequence; first He is born, then He is sent. Similarly, in the previous declaration, we were told of ignorance , first as to Who He is, and then as to whence He is. For the words, I am from Him, and He hath sent Me, contain two separate statements, as also do the words, Ye neither know Me, nor know ye whence I am. Every man is born in the flesh; yet does not universal consciousness make every man spring from God? How then can Christ assert that either He, or the source of His being, is unknown? He can only do so by assigning His immediate parentage to the ultimate Author of existence; and, when He has done this, He can demonstrate their ignorance of God by their ignorance of the fact that He is the Son of God. Let the victims of this wretched delusion reflect upon the words, Ye neither know Me, nor know ye whence I am. All things, they argue, are from nothing; they allow of no exception. They even dare to misrepresent God the Only-begotten as sprung from nothing. How can we explain this ignorance of Christ, and of the origin of Christ, on the part of the blasphemers? The very fact that, as the Scripture says,

they know not whence He is, is an indication of that unknowable origin from which He springs. If we can say of a thing that it came into existence out of nothing, then we are not ignorant of its origin; we know that it was made out of nothing, and this is a piece of definite knowledge. Now He Who came is not the Author of His own being; but He Who sent Him is true, Whom the blasphemers know not. He it was Who sent Him; and they know not that He was the Sender. Thus the Sent is from the Sender; from Him Whom they know not as His Author. The reason why they know not Who Christ is, is that they know not from Whom He is. None can confess the Son who denies that He was born; none can understand that He was born who has formed the opinion that He is from nothing. And indeed He is so far from being made out of nothing, that the heretics cannot tell whence He is.

30. They are blankly ignorant who separate the Divine name from the Divine nature; ignorant, and content to be ignorant. But let them listen to the reproof which the Son inflicts upon unbelievers for their want of this knowledge, when the Jews said that God was their Father: — If God were your Father, ye would surely love Me; for I went forth from God, and am come; neither am I come of Myself, but He sent Me. The Son of God has here no word of blame for the devout confidence of those who combine the confession that He is true God, the Son of God, with their own claim to be God's sons. What He is blaming is the insolence of the Jews in daring to claim God as their Father, when meanwhile they did not love Him, the Son: — If God were your Father, ye would surely love Me; for I went forth from God. All, who have God for their Father through faith, have Him for Father through that same faith whereby we confess that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. But to confess that He is the Son in a sense which covers the whole company of saints; to say, in effect, that He is one of the sons of God; — what faith is there in that? Are not all the rest, feeble created beings though they be, in that sense sons? In what does the eminence of a faith, which has confessed that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, consist, if He, as one of a multitude of sons, have the name only, and not the nature, of the Son? This unbelief has no love for Christ; it is a mockery of the faith for these perverters of the truth to claim God as their Father. If He were their Father, they would love Christ because He had gone forth from God. And now I must enquire the meaning of this going

forth from God. His going forth is obviously different from His coming, for the two are mentioned side by side in this passage, I went forth from God and am come. In order to elucidate the separate meanings of I went forth from God and I am come, He immediately subjoins, Neither am I come of Myself, but He sent Me. He tells us that He is not the source of His own existence in the words, Neither am I come of Myself. In them He tells us that He has proceeded forth a second time from God, and has been sent by Him. But when He tells us that they who call God their Father must love Himself because He has gone forth from God, He makes His birth the reason for their love. Went forth carries back our thoughts to the incorporeal birth, for it is by love of Christ, Who was born from Him, that we must gain the right of devoutly claiming God for our Father. For when the Son says, He that hateth Me hateth My Father also, this My is the assertion of a relation to the Father which is shared by none. On the other hand, He condemns the man who claims God as his Father, and loves not the Son, as using a wrongful liberty with the Father's name; since he who hates Him, the Son, must hate the Father also, and none can be devoted to the Father save those who love the Son. For the one and only reason which He gives for loving the Son is His origin from the Father. The Son, therefore, is from the Father, not by His Advent, but by His birth; and love for the Father is only possible to those who believe that the Son is from Him.

31. To this the Lord's words bear witness; — I will not say unto you that I will pray the Father for you, for the Father Himself loveth you, because ye have loved Me, and believe that I went forth from God, and am come from the Father into this world. A complete faith concerning the Son, which accepts and loves the truth that He went forth from God, has access to the Father without need of His intervention. The confession that the Son was born and sent from God wins for it direct audience and love from Him. Thus the narrative of His birth and coming must be taken in the strictest and most literal sense. I went forth from God, He says, conveying that His nature is exactly that which was given Him by His birth; for what being but God could go forth from God, that is, could enter upon existence by birth from Him? Then He continues, And am come from the Father into this world. To assure us that this going forth from God means birth from the Father, He tells us that He came from the Father into this world. The

latter statement refers to His incarnation, the former to His nature. And again, His putting on record first the fact of His going forth from God, and then His coming from the Father, forbids us to identify the going with the coming. Coming from the Father, and going forth from God, are not synonymous; they might be paraphrased as ‘Birth’ and ‘Presence,’ and are as different in meaning as these. It is one thing to have gone forth from God, and entered by birth upon a substantial existence; another to have come from the Father into this world to accomplish the mysteries of our salvation.

32. In the order of our defense, as I have arranged it in my mind, this has seemed the most convenient place for proving that, thirdly, the Apostles believed our Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, not merely in name but in nature, not by adoption but by birth. It is true that there remain unmentioned many and most weighty words of God the Only-begotten concerning Himself, in which the truth of His Divine birth is set so clearly forth as to silence any whisper of objection. Yet since it would be unwise to burden the reader’s mind with an accumulation of evidence, and ample proof has been already given of the genuineness of His birth, I will hold back the remainder of His utterances till later stages of our enquiry. For we have so arranged I the course of our argument that now, after hearing the Father’s witness and the Son’s self-revelation, we are to be instructed by the Apostles’ faith in the true and, as we must confess, the truly born Son of God. We must see whether they could find in the words of the Lord, I went forth from God, any other meaning than this, that there was in Him a birth of the Divine nature.

33. After many dark sayings, spoken in parables by Him Whom they already knew as the Christ foretold by Moses and the Prophets, Whom Nathanael had confessed as the Son of God and King of Israel, Who had Himself reproached Philip, in his question about the Father, for not perceiving, by the works which He did, that the Father was in Him and He in the Father; after He had already often taught them that He was sent from the Father; still, it was not till they had heard Him assert that He had gone forth from God that they confessed, in the words which immediately follow in the Gospel; — His disciples say unto Him, Now speakest Thou plainly, and speakest no proverb. Now therefore we are sure that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask Thee; by this

we believe that Thou wentest forth from God. What was there so marvelous in this form of words, Went forth from God, which He had used? Had ye seen, O holy and blessed men, who for the reward of your faith have received the keys of the kingdom of heaven and power to bind and to loose in heaven and earth, works so great, so truly Divine, wrought by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and do ye yet profess that it was not until He had first told you that He had gone forth from God that ye attained the knowledge of the truth? And yet ye had seen water at the marriage turned into the marriage wine; one nature becoming another nature, whether it were by change, or by development, or by creation. And your hands had broken up the five loaves into a meal for that great multitude, and when all were satisfied ye had found that twelve baskets were needed to contain the fragments of the loaves; a small quantity of matter, in the process of relieving hunger, had multiplied into a great quantity of matter of the same nature. And ye had seen withered hands recover their suppleness, the tongues of dumb men loosened into speech, the feet of the lame made swift to run, the eyes of the blind endowed with vision, and life restored to the dead. Lazarus, who stank already, had risen to his feet at a word. He was summoned from the tomb and instantly came forth, without a pause between the word and its fulfillment. He was standing before you, a living man, while yet the air was carrying the odor of death to your nostrils. I speak not of other exertions of His mighty, His Divine powers. And is it, in spite of all this, only after ye heard Him say, I went forth from God, that ye understood Who He is that had been sent from heaven? Is this the first time that the truth had been told you without a proverb? The first time that the powers of His nature made it manifest to you that He went forth from God? And this in spite of His silent scrutiny of the purposes of your will, of His needing not to ask you concerning anything as though He were ignorant, of His universal knowledge? For all these things, done in the power and in the nature of God, are evidence that He must have gone forth from God.

34. By this the holy Apostles did not understand that He had gone forth, in the sense of having been sent, from God. For they had often heard Him confess, in His earlier discourses, that He was sent; but what they hear now is the express statement that He had gone forth from God. This opens their eyes to perceive from His works His Divine nature. The fact that He

had gone forth from God makes clear to them His true Divinity, and so they say, Now therefore we are sure that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask Thee; by this we believe that Thou wentest forth from God. The reason why they believe that He went forth from God is that He both can, and does, perform the works of God. Their perfect assurance of His Divine nature is the result of their knowledge, not that He is come from God, but that He did go forth from God. Accordingly we find that it is this truth, now heard for the first time, which clenches their faith. The Lord had made two statements; I went forth from God, and I am come from the Father into this world. One of these, I am come from the Father into this world, they had often heard, and it awakens no surprise. But their reply makes it manifest that they now believe and understand the other, that is, I went forth from God. Their answer, By this we believe that Thou wentest forth from God, is a response to it, and to it only; they do not add, 'And art come from the Father into this world.' The one statement is welcomed with a declaration of faith; the other is passed over in silence. The confession was wrung from them by the sudden presentation of a new truth, which convinced their reason and constrained them to avow their certainty. They knew already that He, like God, could do all things; but His birth, which accounted for that omnipotence, had not been revealed. They knew that He had been sent from God, but they knew not that He had gone forth from God. Now at last, taught by this utterance to understand the ineffable and perfect birth of the Son, they confess that He had spoken to them without a proverb.

35. For God is not born from God by the ordinary process of a human childbirth; this is no case of one being issuing from another by the exertion of natural forces. That birth is pure and perfect and stainless; indeed, we must call it rather a proceeding forth than a birth. For it is One from One; no partition, or withdrawing, or lessening, or efflux, or extension, or suffering of change, but the birth of living nature from living nature. It is God going forth from God, not a creature picked out to bear the name of God. His existence did not take its beginning out of nothing, but went forth from the Eternal; and this going forth is rightly entitled a birth, though it would be false to call it a beginning. For the proceeding forth of God from God is a thing entirely different from the coming into existence of a new substance. And though our apprehension of this truth, which is ineffable,

cannot be defined in words, yet the teaching of the Son, as He reveals to us that He went forth from God, imparts to it the certainty of an assured faith.

36. A belief that the Son of God is Son in name only and not in nature, is not the faith of the Gospels and of the Apostles. If this be a mere title, to which adoption is His only claim; if He be not the Son in virtue of having proceeded forth from God, whence, I ask, was it that the blessed Simon Bar-Jona confessed to Him, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God? Because He shared with all mankind the power of being born as one of the sons of God through the sacrament of regeneration? If Christ be the Son of God only in this titular way, what was the revelation made to Peter, not by flesh and blood, but by the Father in heaven? What praise could he deserve for making a declaration which was universally applicable? What credit was due to Him for stating a fact of general knowledge? If He be Son by adoption, wherein lay the blessedness of Peter's confession, which offered a tribute to the Son to which, in that case, He had no more title than any member of the company of saints? The Apostle's faith penetrates into a region closed to human reasoning. He had, no doubt, often heard, He that receiveth you receiveth Me, and He that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me. Hence he knew well that Christ had been sent; he had heard Him, Whom he knew to have been sent, making the declaration, All things are delivered unto Me of the Father, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any one the Father save the Son. What then is this truth, which the Father now reveals to Peter, which receives the praise of a blessed confession? It cannot have been that the names of 'Father' and 'Son' were novel to him; he had heard them often. Yet he speaks words which the tongue of man had never framed before: — Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. For though Christ, while dwelling in the body, had avowed Himself to be the Son of God, yet now for the first time the Apostle's faith had recognized in Him the presence of the Divine nature. Peter is praised not merely for his tribute of adoration, but for his recognition of the mysterious truth; for confessing not Christ only, but Christ the Son of God. It would clearly have sufficed for a payment of reverence, had he said, Thou art the Christ, and nothing more. But it would have been a hollow confession, had Peter only hailed Him as Christ, without confessing Him the Son of God. And

so his words Thou art declare that what is asserted of Him is strictly and exactly true to His nature. Next, the Father's utterance, This is My Son, had revealed to Peter that he must confess Thou art the Son of God, for in the words This is, God the Revealer points Him out, and the response, Thou art, is the believer's welcome to the truth. And this is the rock of confession whereon the Church is built. But the perceptive faculties of flesh and blood cannot attain to the recognition and confession of this truth. It is a mystery, Divinely revealed, that Christ must be not only named, but believed, the Son of God. Was it only the Divine name; was it not rather the Divine nature that was revealed to Peter? If it were the name, he had heard it often from the Lord, proclaiming Himself the Son of God. What honor, then, did he deserve for announcing the name? No; it was not the name; it was the nature, for the name had been repeatedly proclaimed.

37. This faith it is which is the foundation of the Church; through this faith the gates of hell cannot prevail against her. This is the faith which has the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever this faith shall have loosed or bound on earth shall be loosed or bound in heaven. This faith is the Father's gift by revelation; even the knowledge that we must not imagine a false Christ, a creature made out of nothing, but must confess Him the Son of God, truly possessed of the Divine nature. What blasphemous madness and pitiful folly is it, that will not heed the venerable age and faith of that blessed martyr, Peter himself, for whom the Father was prayed that his faith might not fail in temptation; who twice repeated the declaration of love for God that was demanded of him, and was grieved that he was tested by a third renewal of the question, as though it were a doubtful and wavering devotion, and then, because this third trial had cleansed him of his infirmities, had the reward of hearing the Lord's commission, Feed My sheep, a third time repeated; who, when all the Apostles were silent, alone recognized by the Father's revelation the Son of God, and won the pre-eminence of a glory beyond the reach of human frailty by his confession of his blissful faith! What are the conclusions forced upon us by the study of his words? He confessed that Christ is the Son of God; you, lying bishop of the new apostolate, thrust upon us your modern notion that Christ is a creature, made out of nothing. What violence is this, that so distorts the glorious words? The very reason why he is blessed is

that he confessed the Son of God. This is the Father's revelation, this the foundation of the Church, this the assurance of her permanence. Hence has she the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hence judgment in heaven and judgment on earth. Through revelation Peter learnt the mystery hidden from the beginning of the world, proclaimed the faith, published the Divine nature, confessed the Son of God. He who would deny all this truth and confess Christ a creature, must first deny the apostleship of Peter, his faith, his blessedness, his episcopate, his martyrdom. And when he has done all this, he must learn that he has severed himself from Christ; for it was by confessing Him that Peter won these glories.

38. Do you think, wretched heretic of today, that Peter would have been the more blessed now, if he had said, 'Thou art Christ, God's perfect creature, His handiwork, though excelling all His other works. Thy beginning was from nothing, and through the goodness of God, Who alone is good, the name of Son has been given Thee by adoption, although in fact Thou wast not born from God?' What answer, think you, would have been given to such words as these, when this same Peter's reply to the announcement of the Passion, Be it far from Thee, Lord; this shall not be, was rebuked with, Get thee behind Me, Satan, thou art an offense unto Me? Yet Peter could plead his human ignorance in extenuation of his guilt, for as yet the Father had not revealed all the mystery of the Passion; still, mere defect of faith was visited with this stern condemnation. Now, why was it that the Father did not reveal to Peter your true confession, this faith in an adopted creature? I fancy that God must have grudged him the knowledge of the truth; that He wanted to postpone it to a later age, and keep it as a novelty for your modern preachers. Yes; you may have a change of faith, if the keys of heaven are changed. You may have a change of faith, if there is a change in that Church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. You may have a change of faith, if there shall be a fresh apostolate, binding and loosing in heaven what it has bound and loosed on earth. You may have a change of faith, if another Christ the Son of God, beside the true Christ, shall be preached. But if that faith which confesses Christ as the Son of God, and that faith only, received in Peter's person every accumulated blessing, then perforce the faith which proclaims Him a creature, made out of nothing, holds not the keys of the Church and is a

stranger to the apostolic faith and power. It is neither the Church's faith, nor is it Christ's.

39. Let us therefore cite every example of a statement of the faith made by an Apostle. All of them, when they confess the Son of God, confess Him not as a nominal and adoptive Son, but as Son by possession of the Divine nature. They never degrade Him to the level of a creature, but assign Him the splendor of a true birth from God. Let John speak to us, while he is waiting, just as he is, for the coming of the Lord; John, who was left behind and appointed to a destiny hidden in the counsel of God, for he is not told that he shall not die, but only that he shall tarry. Let him speak to us in his own familiar voice: — No one hath seen God at any time, except the Only-begotten Son, Which is in the bosom of the Father. It seemed to him that the name of Son did not set forth with sufficient distinctness His true Divinity, unless he gave an external support to the peculiar majesty of Christ by indicating the difference between Him and all others. Hence he not only calls Him the Son, but adds the further designation of the Only-begotten, and so cuts away the last prop from under this imaginary adoption. For the fact that He is Only-begotten is proof positive of His right to the name of Son.

40. I defer the consideration of the words, which is in the bosom of the Father, to a more appropriate place. My present enquiry is into the sense of Only-begotten, and the claim upon us which that sense may make. And first let us see whether the word mean, as you assert, a perfect creature of God; Only-begotten being equivalent to perfect, and Son a synonym for creature. But John described the Only-begotten Son as God, not as a perfect creature. His words, Which is in the bosom of the Father, shew that he anticipated these blasphemous designations; and, indeed, he had heard his Lord say, For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. God, Who loved the world, gave His Only-begotten Son as a manifest token of His love. If the evidence of His love be this, that He bestowed a creature upon creatures, gave a worldly being on the world's behalf, granted one raised up from nothing for the redemption of objects equally raised up from nothing, this cheap and petty sacrifice is a poor assurance of His favor towards us. Gifts of price are the evidence of affection the greatness of the surrender of the greatness of the love. God,

Who loved the world, gave not an adopted Son, but His own, His Only-begotten. Here is personal interest, true Sonship, sincerity; not creation, or adoption, or pretense. Herein is the proof of His love and affection, that He gave His own, His Only-begotten Son.

41. I appeal not now to any of the titles which are given to the Son; there is no loss in delay when it is the result of an embarrassing abundance of choice. My present argument is that a successful result implies a sufficient cause; some clear and cogent motive must underlie every effectual performance. And so the Evangelist has been obliged to reveal his motive in writing. Let us see what is the purpose which he confesses; — But these things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. The one reason which he alleges for writing his Gospel is that all may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. If it be sufficient for salvation to believe that He is the Christ, why does he add The Son of God? But if the true faith be nothing less than the belief that Christ is not merely Christ, but Christ the Son of God, then assuredly the name of Son is not attached to Christ as a customary appendage due to adoption, seeing that it is essential to salvation. If then salvation consists in the confession of the name, must not the name express the truth? If the name express the truth, by what authority can He be called a creature? It is not the confession of a creature, but the confession of the Son, which shall give us salvation.

42. To believe, therefore, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God is true salvation, is the acceptable service of an unfeigned faith. For we have no love within us towards God the Father except through faith in the Son. Let us hear Him speaking to us in the words of the Epistle; — Every one that loveth the Father loveth Him that is born from Him. What, I ask, is the meaning of being born from Him? Can it mean, perchance, being created by Him? Does the Evangelist lie in saying that He was born from God, while the heretic more correctly teaches that He was created? Let us all listen to the true character of this teacher of heresy. It is written, He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son. What will you do now, champion of the creature, conjurer up of a novel Christ out of nothing? Hear the title which awaits you, if you persist in your assertion. Or do you think that perhaps you may still describe the Father and the Son as Creator and Creature, and yet by an ingenious ambiguity of language escape being

recognized as antichrist? If your confession embraces a Father in the true sense, and a Son in the true sense, then I am a slanderer, assailing you with a title of infamy which you have not deserved. But if in your confession all Christ's attributes are spurious and nominal, and not His own, then learn from the Apostle the right description of such a faith as yours; and hear what is the true faith which believes in the Son. The words which follow are these; — He that denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: he that confesseth the Son hath both the Son and the Father. He that denies the Son is destitute of the Father; he that confesses and has the Son has the Father also. What room is there here for adoptive names? Does not every word tell of the Divine nature? Learn how completely that nature is present.

43. John speaks thus; — For we know that the Son of God is came, and was incarnate for us, and suffered, and rose again from the dead and took us for Himself, and gave us a good understanding that we may know Him that is true, and may be in His true Son Jesus Christ. He is true and is life eternal and our resurrection. Wisdom doomed to an evil end, void of the Spirit of God, destined to possess the spirit and the name of Antichrist, blind to the truth that the Son of God came to fulfill the mystery of our salvation, and unworthy in that blindness to perceive the light of that sovereign knowledge! For this wisdom asserts that Jesus Christ is no true Son of God, but a creature of His, Who bears the Divine name by adoption. In what dark oracle of hidden knowledge was the secret learnt? To whose research do we owe this, the great discovery of the day? Were you he that lay upon the bosom of the Lord? You he to whom in the familiar intercourse of love He revealed the mystery? Was it you that alone followed Him to the foot of the Cross? And while He was charging you to receive Mary as your Mother, did He teach you this secret, as the token of His peculiar love for yourself? Or did you run to the Sepulcher, and reach it sooner even than Peter, and so gain this knowledge there? Or was it amid the throngs of angels, and sealed books whose clasps none can open, and manifold influences of the signs of heaven, and unknown songs of the eternal choirs, that the Lamb, your Guide, revealed to you this godly doctrine, that the Father is no Father, the Son no Son, nor nature, nor truth? For you transform all these into lies. The Apostle, by that most excellent knowledge that was granted him, speaks of the Son of God as

true. You assert His creation, proclaim His adoption, deny His birth. While the true Son of God is eternal life and resurrection to us, for him, in whose eyes He is not true, there is neither eternal life nor resurrection. And this is the lesson taught by John, the disciple beloved of the Lord.

44. And the persecutor, who was converted to be an Apostle and a chosen vessel, delivers the very same message. What discourse is there of his which does not presuppose the confession of the Son? What Epistle of his that does not begin with a confession of that mysterious truth? When he says, We were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, and, God sent His Son to be the likeness of the flesh of sin, and again, God is faithful, by Whom ye were called unto the fellowship of His Son, is any loophole left for heretical misrepresentation? His Son, Son of God; so we read, but nothing is said of His adoption, or of God's creature. The name expresses the nature; He is God's Son, and therefore the Sonship is true. The Apostle's confession asserts the genuineness of the relation. I see not how the Divine nature of the Son could have been more completely stated. That Chosen Vessel has proclaimed in no weak or wavering voice that Christ is the Son of Him Who, as we believe, is the Father. The Teacher of the Gentiles, the Apostle of Christ, has left us no uncertainty, no opening for error in his presentation of the doctrine. He is quite clear upon the Subject of children by adoption; of those who by faith attain so to be and so to be named. in his own words, For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. This is the name granted to us, who believe, through the sacrament of regeneration; our confession of the faith wins us this adoption. For our work done in obedience to the Spirit of God gives us the title of sons of God. Abba, Father, is the cry which we raise, not the expression of our essential nature. For that essential nature of ours is untouched by that tribute of the voice. It is one thing for God to be addressed as Father; another thing for Him to be the Father of His Son.

45. But now let us learn what is this faith concerning the Son of God, which the Apostle holds. For though there is no single discourse, among the many which he delivered concerning the Church's doctrine, in which he mentions the Father without also making confession of the Son, yet, in order to display the truth of the relation which that name conveys with the

utmost definiteness of which human language is capable, he speaks thus: — What then? If God be for us, who can be against us? Who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us. Can Son, by any remaining possibility, be a title received through adoption, when He is expressly called God's own Son? For the Apostle, wishing to make manifest the love of God towards us, uses a kind of comparison, to enable us to estimate how great that love is, when He says that it was His own Son Whom God did not spare. He suggests the thought that this was no sacrifice of an adopted Son, on behalf of those whom He purposed to adopt, of a creature for creatures, but of His Son for strangers, His own Son for those to whom He had willed to give a share in the name of sons. Seek out the full import of the term, that you may understand the extent of the love. Consider the meaning of own; mark the genuineness of the Sonship which it implies. For the Apostle now describes Him as God's own Soil; previously he had often spoken of Him as God's Son, or Son of God. And though many manuscripts, through a want of apprehension on the part of the translators, read in this passage His Son, instead of His own, Son, yet the original Greek, the tongue in which the Apostle wrote, is more exactly rendered by His own than by His. And though the casual reader may discern no great difference between His own and His, yet the Apostle, who in all his other statements had spoken of His Son, which is, in the Greek, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν, in this passage uses the words ὅσ γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, that is, Who spared not His own Son, expressly and emphatically indicating His true Divine nature, Previously he had declared that through the Spirit of adoption there are many sons; now his object is to point to God's own Son, God the Only-begotten.

46. This is no universal and inevitable error; they who deny the Son cannot lay the fault upon their ignorance, for ignorance of the truth which they deny is impossible. They describe the Son of God as a creature who came into being out of nothing. If the Father has never asserted this, nor the Son confirmed it, nor the Apostles proclaimed it, then the dating which prompts their allegation is bred not of ignorance, but of hatred for Christ. When the Father says of His Son, This is, and the Son of Himself, It is He that talketh with Thee, and when Peter confesses Thou art, and John assures us, This is the true God, and Paul is never weary of proclaiming Him as God's own Son, I can conceive of no other motive for this denial

than hatred. The plea of want of familiarity with the subject cannot be urged in extenuation of their guilt. It is the suggestion of that Evil One, uttered now through these prophets and forerunners of his coming; he will utter it himself hereafter when he comes as Antichrist. He is using this novel engine of assault to shake us in our saving confession of the faith. His first object is to pluck from our hearts the confident assurance of the Divine nature of the Son; next, he would fill our minds with the notion of Christ's adoption, and leave no room for the memory of His other claims. For they who hold that Christ is but a creature, must regard Christ as Antichrist, since a creature cannot be God's own Son, and therefore He must lie in calling Himself the Son of God. Hence also they who deny that Christ is the Son of God must have Antichrist for their Christ.

47. What is the hope of which this futile passion of yours is in pursuit? What is the assurance of your salvation which emboldens you with blasphemous license of tongue to maintain that Christ is a creature, and not a Son? It was your duty to know this mystery, from the Gospels, and to hold the knowledge fast. For though the Lord can do all things, yet He resolved that every one who prays for His effectual help must earn it by a true confession of Himself. Not, indeed, that the suppliant's confession could augment the power of Him, Who is the Power of God; but the earning was to be the reward of faith. So, when He asked Martha, who was entreating Him for Lazarus, whether she believed that they who had believed in Him should not die eternally, her answer expressed the trust of her soul; — Yea, Lord, I believe that Than art the Christ, the Son of God, Who art come into this world. This confession is eternal life; this faith has immortality. Martha, praying for her brother's life, was asked whether she believed this. She did so believe. What life does the denier expect, from whom does he hope to receive it, when this belief, and this only, is eternal life? For great is the mystery of this faith, and perfect the blessedness which is the fruit of this confession.

48. The Lord had given sight to a man blind from his birth; the, Lord of nature had removed a defect of nature. Because this blind man had been born for the glory of God, that God's work might be made manifest in the work of Christ, the Lord did not delay till the man had given evidence of his faith by a confession of it. But though he knew not at the time Who it was that had bestowed the great gift of eyesight, yet afterwards he earned

a knowledge of the faith. For it was not the dispelling of his blindness that won him eternal life. And so, when the man was already healed and had suffered ejection from the synagogue, the Lord put to him the question, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? This was to save him from the thought of loss, in exclusion from the synagogue, by the certainty that confession of the true faith had restored him to immortality. When the man, his soul still unenlightened, made answer, Who is He, Lord, that I may believe on Him? The Lord's reply was, Thou hast bath seen Him, and it is He that talketh with thee. For He was minded to remove the ignorance of the man whose sight he had restored, and whom He was now enriching with the knowledge of so glorious a faith. Does the Lord demand from this man, as from others, who prayed Him to heal them, a confession of faith as the price of their recovery? Emphatically not. For the blind man could already see when he was thus addressed. The Lord asked the question in order to receive the answer, Lord, I believe. The faith which spoke in that answer was to receive not sight, but life. And now let us examine carefully the force of the words. The Lord asks of the man, Dost thou believe an the Son of God? Surely, if a simple confession of Christ, leaving His nature in obscurity, were a complete expression of the faith, the terms of the question would have been, 'Dost thou believe in Christ?' But in days to come almost every heretic was to make a parade of that name, confessing Christ and yet denying that He is the Son; and therefore He demands, as the condition of faith, that we should believe in what is peculiar to Himself, that is, in His Divine Sonship. What is the profit of faith in the Son of God, if it be faith in a creature, when He requires of us faith in Christ, not the creature, but the Son, of God.

49. Did devils fail to understand the full meaning of this name of Son? For we are valuing the heretics at their true worth if we refute them no longer by the teaching of Apostles, but out of the mouth of devils. They cry, and cry often, What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Thou Son of God most High? Truth wrung this confession from them against their will; their reluctant obedience is a witness to the force of the Divine nature within Him. When they fly from the bodies they have long possessed, it is His might that conquers them; their confession of His nature is an act of reverence. These transactions display Christ as the Son of God both in power and in name. Can you hear, amid all these cries of devils confessing

Him, Christ once styled a creature, or God’s condescension in adopting Him once named?

50. If you will not learn Who Christ is from those that know Him, learn it at least from those that know Him not. So shall the confession, which their ignorance is forced to make, rebuke your blasphemy. The Jews did not recognize Christ, come in the body, though they knew that the true Christ must be the Son of God. And so, when they were employing false witnesses, without one word of truth in their testimony, against Him, their priest asked Him, Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? They knew not that in Him the mystery was fulfilled; they knew that the Divine nature was the condition of its fulfillment. They did not ask whether Christ be the Son of God; they asked whether He were Christ, the Son of God. They were wrong as to the Person, not as to the Sonship, of Christ. They did not doubt that Christ is the Son of God; and thus, while they asked whether He were the Christ, they asked without denying that the Christ is the Son of God. What, then, of your faith, which leads you to deny what even they, in their blindness, confessed? The perfect knowledge is this, to be assured that Christ, the Son of God, Who existed before the worlds, was also born of the Virgin. Even they, who know nothing of His birth from Mary, know that He is the Son of God. Mark the fellowship with Jewish wickedness in which your denial of the Divine Sonship has involved you! For they have put on record the reason of their condemnation: — And by our Law He aught to die, because He made Himself the Son of God. Is not this the same charge which you are blasphemously bringing against Him, that, while you pronounce Him a creature, He calls Himself the Son? He confesses Himself the Son, and they declare Him guilty of death: you too deny that He is the Son of God. What sentence do you pass upon Him? You have the same repugnance to His claim as had the Jews. You agree with their verdict; I want to know whether you will quarrel about the sentence. Your offense, in denying that He is the Son of God, is exactly the same as theirs, though their guilt is less, for they sinned in ignorance. They knew not that Christ was born of Mary, yet they never doubted that Christ must be the Son of God. You are perfectly aware of the fact that Christ was born of Mary, yet you refuse Him the name of Son of God. If they come to the faith, there awaits them an unimperilled salvation, because of their past ignorance. Every gate

of safety is shut to you, because you persist in denying a truth which is obvious to you. For you are not ignorant that He is the Son of God; you know it so well that you allow Him the name as a title of adoption, and feign that He is a creature adorned, like others, with the right to call Himself a Son. You rob Him, as far as you can, of the Divine nature; if you could, you would rob Him of the Divine name as well. But, because you cannot, you divorce the name from the nature; He is called a Son, but He shall not be the true Son of God.

51. The confession of the Apostles, for whom by a word of command the raging wind and troubled sea were restored to calm, was an opportunity for you. You might have confessed, as they did, that He is God's true Son; you might have borrowed their very words, Of a truth, this is the Son of God. But an evil spirit of madness is driving you on to shipwreck of your life; your reason is distracted and overwhelmed, like the ocean tormented by the fury of the storm.

52. If this witness of the voyagers seem inconclusive to you because they were Apostles, — though to me it comes with the greater weight for the same reason, though it surprises me the less, — accept at any rate a corroboration given by the Gentiles. Hear how the soldier of the Roman cohort, one of the stern guard around the Cross, was humbled to the faith. The centurion sees the mighty workings of Christ's power; and this is the witness borne by him: — Truly this was the Son of God. The truth was forced upon him, after Christ had given up the ghost, by the torn veil of the Temple, and the earth that shook, and the rocks that were rent, and the sepulchers that were opened, and the dead that rose. And it was the confession of an unbeliever. The deeds that were done convinced him that Christ's nature was omnipotent; he names Him the Son of God, being assured of His true Divinity. So cogent was the proof, so strong the man's conviction, that the force of truth conquered his will, and even he who had nailed Christ to the Cross was driven to confess that He is the Lord of eternal glory, truly the Son of God.

BOOK 7

1. THIS is the seventh book of our treatise against the wild extravagance of modern heresy. In order of place it must follow its predecessors; in order of importance, as an exposition of the mysteries of the right faith, it precedes. and excels them all. I am well aware how hard and steep is the path of evangelical instruction up which we are mounting. The fears inspired by consciousness of my own incapacity are plucking me back, but the warmth of faith urges me on; the assaults of heresy heat my blood, and the dangers of the ignorant excite my compassion. I fear to speak, and yet I cannot be silent. A double dread subdues my spirit; it may be that speech, it may be that silence, will render me guilty of a desertion of the truth. For this cunning heresy has hedged itself round with marvelous devices of perverted ingenuity. First there is the semblance of devotion; then the language carefully chosen to lull the suspicions of a candid listener; and again, the accommodation of their views to secular philosophy; and finally, their withdrawing of attention from manifest truth by a pretended explanation of Divine methods. Their loud profession of the unity of God is a fraudulent imitation of the faith; their assertion that Christ is the Son of God a play upon words for the delusion of their hearers; their saying that He did not exist before He was born a bid for the support of the world's philosophers; their confession of God as incorporeal and immutable leads, by a display of fallacious logic, up to a denial of the birth of God from God. They turn our arguments against ourselves; the Church's faith is made the engine of its own destruction. They have contrived to involve us in the perplexing position of an equal danger, whether we reason with them or whether we refrain. For they use the fact that we allow certain of their assumptions to pass unchallenged as an argument on behalf of those which we do contradict.

2. We call to mind that in the preceding books the reader has been urged to study the whole of that blasphemous manifesto, and mark how it is animated throughout by the one aim of propagating the belief that our Lord Jesus Christ is neither God, nor Son of God. Its authors argue that He is permitted to use the names of God and of Son by virtue of a certain adoption, though neither Godhead nor Sonship be His by nature. They use

the fact, true in itself, that God is immutable and incorporeal, as an argument against the birth of the Son from Him. They value the truth, that God the Father is One, only as a weapon against our faith in the Godhead of Christ; pleading that an incorporeal nature cannot be rationally conceived as generating another, and that our faith in One God is inconsistent with the confession of God from God. But our earlier books have already refuted and foiled this argument of theirs by an appeal to the Law and the Prophets. Our defense has followed, step by step, the course of their attack. We have set forth God from God, and at the same time confessed One true God; shewing that this presentation of the faith neither falls short of the truth by ascribing singleness of Person to the One true God, nor adds to the faith by asserting the existence of a second Deity. For we confess neither an isolated God, nor yet two Gods. Thus, neither denying that God is One nor maintaining that He is alone, we hold the straight road of truth. Each Divine Person is in the Unity, yet no Person is the One God. Next, our purpose being to demonstrate the irrefragable truth of this mystery by the evidence of the Evangelists and Apostles, our first duty has been to make our readers acquainted with the nature, truly subsisting and truly born, of the Son of God; to demonstrate that He has no origin external to God, and was not created out of nothing, but is the Son, born from God. This is a truth which the evidence adduced in the last book has placed beyond all doubt. The assertion that He bears the name of Son by virtue of adoption has been put to silence, and He stands forth as a true Son by a true birth. Our present task is to prove from the Gospels that, because He is true Son, He is true God also. For unless He be true Son He cannot be true God, nor true God unless He be true Son.

3. Nothing is more harassing to human nature than the sense of impending danger. If calamities unknown or unanticipated befall us, we may need pity, yet we have been free from care; no load of anxiety has oppressed us. But he whose mind is full of possibilities of trouble suffers already a torment in his fear. I who now am venturing out to sea, am a mariner not unused to shipwreck, a traveler who knows by experience holy brigands lurk in the forests, an explorer of African deserts aware of the danger from scorpions and asps and basilisks. I enjoy no instant of relief from the knowledge and fear of present danger. Every heretic is on the watch, noting every word as it drops from my mouth. The whole progress of my

argument is infested with ambuscades and pitfalls and snares. It is not of the road, of its hardness or steepness, that I complain; I am following in the footsteps of the Apostles, not choosing my own path. My trouble is the constant peril, the constant dread, of wandering into some ambush, of stumbling into some pit, of being entangled in some net. My purpose is to proclaim the unity of God, in the sense of the Law and Prophets and Apostles. Sabellius is at hand, eager with cruel kindness to welcome me, on the strength of this unity, and swallow me up in his own destruction. If I withstand him, and deny that, in the Sabellian sense, God is One a fresh heresy is ready to receive me, pointing out that I teach the existence of two Gods. Again, if I undertake to tell holy the Son of God was born from Mary, Photinus, the Ebion of our day, will be prompt to twist this assertion of the truth into a confirmation of his lie. I need mention no other heresies save one; all the world knows that they are alien from the Church. It is one that has been often denounced, often rejected, yet it preys upon our vitals still. Galatia has reared a large brood of godless assertors of the unity of God. Alexandria has sown broadcast, over almost the whole world, her denial, which is an affirmation, of the doctrine of two Gods. Pannonia upholds her pestilent doctrine that the only birth of Jesus Christ was from the Virgin. And the Church, distracted by these rival faiths, is in danger of being led by means of truth into a rejection of truth. Doctrines are being forced upon her for godless ends, which, according to the use that is made of them, will either support or overthrow the faith. For instance, we cannot, as true believers, assert that God is One, if we mean by it that He is alone; for faith in a lonely God denies the Godhead of the Son. If, on the other hand, we assert, as we truly can, that the Son is God, we are in danger, so they fondly imagine, of deserting the truth that God is One. We are in peril on either hand; we may deny the unity or we may maintain the isolation. But it is a danger which has no terrors for the foolish things of the word. Our adversaries are blind to the fact that His assertion that He is not alone is consistent with unity; that though He is One He is not solitary.

4. But I trust that the Church, by the light of her doctrine, will so enlighten the world’s vain wisdom, that, even though it accept not the mystery of the faith, it will recognize that in our conflict with heretics we, and not they, are the true representatives of that mystery. For great is the force of

truth; not only is it its own sufficient witness, but the more it is assailed the more evident it becomes; the daily shocks which it receives only increase its inherent stability. It is the peculiar property of the Church that when she is buffeted she is triumphant, when she is assaulted with argument she proves herself in the right, when she is deserted by her supporters she holds the field. It is her wish that all men should remain at her side and in her bosom; if it lay with her, none would become unworthy to abide under the shelter of that august mother, none would be cast out or suffered to depart from her calm retreat. But when heretics desert her or she expels them, the loss she endures, in that she cannot save them, is compensated by an increased assurance that she alone can offer bliss. This is a truth which the passionate zeal of rival heresies brings into the clearest prominence. The Church, ordained by the Lord and established by His Apostles, is one for all; but the frantic folly of discordant sects has severed them from her. And it is obvious that these dissensions concerning the faith result from a distorted mind, which twists the words of Scripture into conformity with its opinion, instead of adjusting that opinion to the words of Scripture. And thus, amid the clash of mutually destructive errors, the Church stands revealed not only by her own teaching, but by that of her rivals. They are ranged, all of them, against her; and the very fact that she stands single and alone is her sufficient answer to their godless delusions. The hosts of heresy assemble themselves against her; each of them can defeat all the others, but not one can win a victory for itself. The only victory is the triumph which the Church celebrates over them all. Each heresy wields against its adversary some weapon already shattered, in another instance, by the Church’s condemnation. There is no point of union between them, and the outcome of their internecine struggles is the confirmation of the faith.

5. Sabellius sweeps away the birth of the Son, and then preaches the unity of God; but he does not doubt that the mighty Nature, which acted in the human Christ, was God. He shuts his eyes to the revealed mystery of the Sonship; the works done seem to him so marvelous that he cannot believe that He who performed them could undergo a true generation. When he hears the words, He that hath, seen Me hath seen the Father also, he jumps to the blasphemous conclusion of an inseparable and indistinguishable identity of nature in Father and Son, because he fails to

see that the revelation of the birth is the mode in which Their unity of nature is manifested to. us. For the fact that the Father is seen in the Son is a proof of the Son's Divinity, not a disproof of His birth. Thus our knowledge of Each of Them is conditioned-by our knowledge of the Other, for there is no difference of nature between them and, since in this respect they are One, a reverent study of the character of Either will give us a true insight into the nature of Both For, indeed, it is certain that He, Who was in the form of God, must in His self-revelation present Himself to us in the exact aspect of the form of God. Again, this perverse and insane delusion derives a further encouragement from the words, I and the Father are One. From the fact of unity in the same nature they have impiously deduced a confusion of Persons; their interpretation, that the words signify a single Power, contradicts the tenor of the passage. For I and the Father are One does not indicate a solitary God. The use of the conjunction and shews clearly that more than one Person is signified; and are requires a plurality of subject. Moreover, the One is not incompatible with a birth. Its sense is, that the Two Persons have the one nature in common. The One is inconsistent with difference; the are with identity.

6. Set our modern heresy in array against the delusion, equally wild, of Sabellius; let them make the best of their case. The new heretics will advance the passage. The Father is greater than I. Neglecting the mystery of the Divine birth, and the mystery of God's emptying Himself and taking flesh, they will argue the inferiority of His nature from His assertion that the Father is the greater. They will plead against Sabellius that Christ is a Son, in so far as One can be a Son who is inferior to the Father and needs to ask for restoration to His glory, and fears to die and indeed did die. In reply Sabellius will adduce His deeds in evidence of His Divine nature; and while our novel heresy, to escape the admission of Christ's true Sonship, will heartily agree with him that God is One, Sabellius will emphatically assert the same article of the faith, in the sense that no Son exists. The one side lays stress upon the action of the Son; the other urges that in that action God is manifest. the one will demonstrate the unity, the other disprove the identity. Sabellius will defend his position thus: — "The works that were done could have been done by no other nature than the Divine. Sins were remitted, the sick were healed, the lame ran, the blind saw, the dead lived. God alone has power for this. The words I and the

Father are One could only have been spoken from self-knowledge; no nature, outside the Father's, could have uttered them. Why then suggest a second substance, and urge me to believe in a second God? These works are peculiar to God; the One God wrought them." His adversaries, animated by a hatred, equally venomous, for the faith, will argue that the Son is unlike in nature to God the Father: — "You are ignorant of the mystery of your salvation. You must believe in a Son through Whom the worlds were made, through Whom man was fashioned, Who gave the Law through Angels, Who was born of Mary, Who was sent by the Father, was crucified, dead and buried, Who rose again from the dead and is at the right hand of God, Who is the Judge of quick and dead. Unto Him we must use again, we must confess Him, we must earn our place in His kingdom." Each of the two enemies of the Church is fighting the Church's battle. Sabellius displays Christ as God by the witness of the Divine nature manifested in His works; Sabellius' antagonists confess Christ, on the evidence of the revealed faith, to be the Son of God.

7. Again, how glorious a victory for our faith is that in which Ebionin other words, Photinus — both wins the day and loses it! He castigates Sabellius for denying that the Son of God is Man, and in his turn has to submit to the reproaches of Arian fanatics for failing to see that this Man is the Son of God. Against Sabellius he calls the Gospels to his aid, with their evidence concerning the Son of Mary; Arius deprives him of this ally by proving that the Gospels make Christ something more than the Son of Mary. Sabellius denies that there is a Son of God; against him Photinus elevates man to the place of Son. Photinus will hear nothing of a Son born before the worlds; against him, Arius denies that the only birth of the Son of God was His human birth. Let them defeat one another to their hearts' content, for every victory which each of them wins is balanced by a defeat Our present adversaries are ranted in the matter of the Divine nature of the Son; Sabellius in the matter of the Son's revealed existence; Photinus is convicted of ignorance, or else of falsehood, in his denial of the Son's birth before the worlds. Meanwhile the Church, whose faith is based upon the teaching of Evangelists and Apostles, holds fast, against Sabellius, her assertion that the Son exists; against Arius, that He is God by nature; against Photinus, that He created the universe. And she is the more convinced of her faith, in that they cannot combine to contradict it. For

Sabellius points to the works of Christ in proof of the Divinity of Him Who wrought them, though he knows not that the Son was their Author. The Arians grant Him the name of Son, though they confess not that the true nature of God dwelt in Him. Photinus maintains His manhood, though in maintaining it he forgets that Christ was born as God before the worlds. Thus, in their several assertions and denials, there are points in which each heresy is in the right in defense or attack; and the result of their conflicts is that the truth of our confession is brought into clearer light.

8. I felt that I must spare a little space to point this out. It has been from no love for amplification, but that it might serve as a warning. First, I wished to expose the vague and confused character of this crowd of heresies, whose mutual feuds turn, as we have seen, to our advantage. Secondly, in my warfare against the blasphemous doctrines of modern heresy; that is, in my task of proclaiming that both God the Father and God the Son are God, — in other words, that Father and Son are One in name, One in nature, One in the kind of Divinity which they possess, — I wished to shield myself from any charge which might be brought against me, either as an advocate of two Gods or of one lonely and isolated Deity. For in God the Father and God the Son, as I have set them forth, no confusion of Persons can be detected; nor in my exposition of Their common nature can any difference between the Godhead of the One and of the Other be discerned. In the preceding book I have sufficiently refuted, by the witness of the Gospels, those who deny the subsistence of I God the Son by a true birth from God; my present duty is to shew that He, Who in the truth of His nature is Son of God, is also in the truth of His nature God. But this proof must not degenerate into the fatal profession of a solitary God, or of a second God. It shall manifest God as One yet not alone; but in its care to avoid the error of making Him lonely it shall not fall into the error of denying His unity.

9. Thus we have all these different assurances of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ: — His name, His birth, His nature, His power, His own assertion. As to the name, I conceive that no doubt is possible. It is written, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. What reason can there be for suspecting that He is not what His name indicates? And does not this name clearly describe His nature? If a statement be contradicted, it must be for some reason. What

reason, I demand, is there in this instance for denying that He is God? The name is given Him, plainly and distinctly, and unqualified by any incongruous addition which might raise a doubt. The Word, we read, which was made flesh, was none other than God. Here is no loophole for any such conjecture as that He has received this name as a favor or taken it upon Himself, so possessing a titular Godhead which is not His by nature.

10. Consider the other recorded instances in which this name was given by favor or assumed. To Moses it was said, I have made thee a God to Pharaoh. Does not this addition, to Pharaoh, account for the title? Did God impart to Moses the Divine nature? Did He not rather make Moses a God in the sight of Pharaoh, who was to be smitten with terror when Moses' serpent swallowed the magic serpents and returned into a rod, when he drove back the venomous flies which he had called forth, when he stayed the hail by the same power wherewith he had summoned it, and made the locusts depart by the same might which had brought them; when in the wonders that he wrought the magicians saw the finger of God? That was the sense in which Moses was appointed to be God to Pharaoh; he was feared and entreated, he chastised and healed. It is one thing to be appointed a God; it is another thing to be God. He was made a God to Pharaoh; he had not that nature and that name wherein God consists. I call to mind another instance of the name being given as a title; that where it is written, I have said, Ye are gods. But this is obviously the granting of a favor. I have said proves that it is no definition, but only a description by One Who chooses to speak thus, A definition gives us knowledge of the object defined; a description depends on the arbitrary will of the speaker. When a speaker is manifestly conferring a title, that title has its origin only in the speaker's words, not in the thing itself. The title is not the name which expresses its nature and kind.

11. But in this case the Word in very truth is God; the essence of the Godhead exists in the Word, and that essence is expressed in the Word's name. For the name Word is inherent in the Son of God as a consequence of His mysterious birth, as are also the names Wisdom and Power. These, together with the substance which is His by a true birth, were called into existence to be the Son of God; yet, since they are the elements of God's nature, they are still immanent in Him in undiminished extent, although they were born from Him to be His Son. For, as we have said so often, the

mystery which we preach is that of a Son Who owes His existence not to division but to birth. He is not a segment cut off, and so incomplete, but an Offspring born, and therefore perfect; for birth involves no diminution of the Begetter, and has the possibility of perfection for the Begotten. And therefore the titles of those substantive properties are applied to God the Only-begotten, for when He came into existence by birth it was they which constituted His perfection; and this although they did not thereby desert the Father, in Whom, by the immutability of His nature, they are eternally present. For instance, the Word is God the Only-begotten, and yet the Unbegotten Father is never without His Word. Not that the nature of the Son is that of a sound which is uttered. He is God from God, subsisting through a true birth; God's own Son, born from the Father, indistinguishable from Him in nature, and therefore inseparable. This is the lesson which His title of the Word is meant to teach us. And in the same way Christ is the Wisdom and the Power of God; not that He is, as He is often regarded, the inward activity of the Father's might or thought, but that His nature, possessing through birth a true substantial existence, is indicated by these names of inward forces. For an object, which has by birth an existence of its own, cannot be regarded as a property; a property is necessarily inherent in some being and can have no independent existence. But it was to save us from concluding that the Son is alien from the Divine nature of His Father that He, the Only-begotten from the eternal God His Father, born as God into a substantial existence of His own, has had Himself revealed to us under these names of properties, of which the Father, out of Whom He came into existence, has suffered no diminution. Thus He, being God, is nothing else than God. For when I hear the words, And the Word was God, they do not merely tell me that the Son was called God; they reveal to my understanding that He is God. In those previous instances, where Moses was called God and others were styled gods, there was the mere addition of a name by way of title. Here a solid essential truth is stated; The Word was God. That was indicates no accidental title, but an eternal reality, a permanent element of His existence, an inherent character of His nature.

12. And now let us See whether the confession of Thomas the Apostle, when he cried, My Lord and My God, corresponds with this assertion of the Evangelist. We see that he speaks of Him, Whom he confesses to be

God, as My God. Now Thomas was undoubtedly familiar with those words of the Lord, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One. How then could the faith of an Apostle become so oblivious of that primary command as to confess Christ as God, when life is conditional upon the confession of the Divine unity? It was because, in the light of the Resurrection, the whole mystery of the faith had become visible to the Apostle. He had often heard such words as, I and the Father are One, and, All things that the Father hath are Mine, and, I in the Father and the Father in Me; and now he can confess that the name of God expresses the nature of Christ, without peril to the faith. Without breach of loyalty to the One God, the Father, his devotion could now regard the Son of God as God, since he believed that everything contained in the nature of the Son was truly of the same nature with the Father. No longer need he fear that such a confession as his was the proclamation of a second God, a treason against the unity of the Divine nature; for it was not a second God Whom that perfect birth of the Godhead had brought into being. Thus it was with full knowledge of the mystery of the Gospel that Thomas confessed his Lord and his God. It was not a title of honor; it was a confession of nature. He believed that Christ was God in substance and in power. And the Lord, in turn, shews that this act of worship was the expression not of mere reverence, but of faith, when He says, Because than hast seen, thou hast believed; blessed are they which have not seen, and have believed. For Thomas had seen before he believed. But, you ask, What was it that Thomas believed? That, beyond a doubt, which is expressed in his words, My Lord and my God. No nature but that of God could have risen by its own might from death to life; and it is this fact, that Christ is God, which was confessed by Thomas with the confidence of an assured faith. Shall we, then, dream that His name of God is not a substantial reality, when that name has been proclaimed by a faith based upon certain evidence? Surely a Son devoted to His Father, One Who did not His own will but the will of Him that sent Him, Who sought not His own glory but the glory of Him from Whom He came, would have rejected the adoration involved in such a name as destructive of that unity of God which had been the burden of His teaching. Yet, in fact, He confirms this assertion of the mysterious truth, made by the believing Apostle; He accepts as His own the name which belongs to the nature of the Father. And He teaches that they are

blessed who, though they have not seen Him rise from the dead, yet have believed, on the assurance of the Resurrection, that He is God.

13. Thus the name which expresses His nature proves the truth of our confession of the faith. For the name, which indicates any single substance, points out also any other substance of the same kind; and, in this instance, there are not two substances but one substance, of the one kind. For the Son of God is God; this is the truth expressed in His name. The one name does not embrace two Gods; for the one name God is the name of one indivisible nature. For since the Father is God and the Son is God, and that name which is peculiar to the Divine nature is inherent in Each, therefore the Two are One. For the Son, though He subsists through a birth from the Divine nature, yet preserves the unity in His name; and this birth of the Son does not compel loyal believers to acknowledge two Gods, since our confession declares that Father and Son are One, both in nature and in name. Thus the Son of God has the Divine name as the result of His birth. Now the second step in our demonstration was to be that of shewing that it is by virtue of His birth that He is God. I have still to bring forward the evidence of the Apostles that the Divine name is used of Him in an exact sense; but for the present I purpose to continue our enquiry into the language of the Gospels.

14. And first I ask what new element, destructive of His Godhead, can have been imported by birth into the nature of the Son? Universal reason rejects the supposition that a being can become different in nature, by the process of birth, from the being to which its birth is due; although we recognize the possibility that from parents, different in kind, an offspring sharing the nature of both, yet diverse from either, may be propagated. The fact is familiar in the case of beasts, both tame and wild. But even in this case there is no real novelty; the new qualities already exist, concealed in the two different parental natures, and are only developed by the connection. The birth of their joint offspring is not the cause of that offspring’s difference from its parents. The difference is a gift from them of various diversities, which are received and combined in one frame. When this is the case as to the transmission and reception even of bodily differences, is it not a form of madness to assert that the birth of God the Only-begotten was the birth from God of a nature inferior to Himself? For the giving of birth is a function of the true nature of the transmitter of life;

and without the presence and action of that true nature there can be no birth. The object of all this heat and passion is to prove that there was no birth, but a creation, of the Son of God; that the Divine nature is not His origin and that He does not possess that nature in His personal subsistence, but draws, from what was non-existent, a nature different in kind from the Divine. They are angry because He says, That which is barn of the flesh is flesh, and that which is barn of the Spirit is Spirit. For, since God is a Spirit, it is clear that in One born from Him there can be nothing alien or different froth that Spirit from which He was born. Thus the birth of God constitutes Him perfect God. And hence also it is clear that we must not say that He began to exist, but only that He was born. For there is a sense in which beginning is different from birth. A thing which begins to exist either comes into existence out of nothing, or develops out of one state into another, ceasing to be what it was before; so, for instance, gold is formed out of earth, solids melt into liquids, cold changes to warmth, white to red, water breeds moving creatures, lifeless objects torn into living. In contrast to all this, the Son of God did not begin, out of nothing, to be God, but was born as God; nor had He an existence of another kind before the Divine. Thus He Who was born to be God had neither a beginning of His Godhead, nor yet a development up to it. His birth retained for Him that nature out of which He came into being; the Son of God, in His distinct existence, is what God is, and is nothing else.

15. Again, any one who is in doubt concerning this matter may gain from the Jews an accurate knowledge of Christ’s nature; or rather learn that He was truly born from the Gospel, where it is written, Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him because He not only broke the Sabbath, but said also that God was His own Father, making Himself equal with God. This passage is unlike most others in not giving us the words spoken by the Jews, but the Apostle’s explanation of their motive in wishing to kill the Lord. We see that no plea of misapprehension can excuse the wickedness of these blasphemers; for we have the Apostle’s evidence that the true nature of Christ was fully revealed to them. They could speak of His birth: — He said that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God. Was not His clearly a birth of nature from nature, when He published the equality of His nature by speaking of God, by name, as His own Father? Now it is manifest that equality consists in the absence of

difference between those who are equal. Is it not also manifest that the result of birth must be a nature in which there is an absence of difference between Son and Father? And this is the only possible origin of true equality; birth can only bring into existence a nature equal to its origin. But again, we can no more hold that there is equality where there is confusion, than we can where there is difference. Thus equality, as of the image, is incompatible with isolation and with diversity; for equality cannot dwell with difference, nor yet in solitude.

16. And now, although we have found the sense of Scripture, as we understand it, in harmony with the conclusions of ordinary reason, the two agreeing that equality is incompatible either with diversity or with isolation, yet we must seek a fresh support for Our contention from actual words of our Lord. For only so can we check that license of arbitrary interpretation whereby these bold traducers of the faith would even venture to cavil at the Lord's solemn self-revelation. His answer to the Jews was this: — The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father do; for what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things that Himself doeth; and He will shew Him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son, that all may honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father which hath sent Him. The course of our argument, as I had shaped it in my mind, required that each several point of the debate should be handled singly; that, since we had been taught that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God in name, in birth, in nature, in power, in self-revelation, our demonstration of the faith should establish each successive point in that order. But His birth is a barrier to such a treatment of the question; for a consideration of it includes a consideration of His name and nature and power and self-revelation. For His birth involves all these, and they are His by the fact that He is born. And thus our argument concerning His birth has taken such a course that it is impossible for us to keep these other matters back for separate discussion in their turn.

17. The chief reason why the Jews wished to kill the Lord was that, in calling God His Father, He had made Himself equal with God; and

therefore He put His answer, in which He reproved their evil passion, into the form of an exposition of the whole mystery of our faith. For just before this, when He had healed the paralytic and they had passed their judgment upon Him that He was worthy of death for breaking the Sabbath, He had said, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Their jealousy had been inflamed to the utmost by the raising of Himself to the level of God which was involved in this use of the name of Father. And now He wishes to assert His birth and to reveal the powers of His nature, and so He says, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do. These opening words of His reply are aimed at that wicked zeal of the Jews, which hurried them on even to the desire of slaying Him. It is in reference to the charge of breaking the Sabbath that He says, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. He wished them to understand that His practice was justified by Divine authority; and He taught them by the same words that His work must be regarded as the work of the Father, Who was working in Him all that He wrought. And again, it was to subdue the jealousy awakened by His speaking of God as His Father that He uttered those words, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do. Lest this making of Himself equal to God, as having the name and nature of God's Son, should withdraw men's faith from the truth that He had been born, He says that the Son can do nothing but what He sees the Father do. Next, in confirmation of the saving harmony of truths in our confession of Father and of Son, He displays this nature which is His by birth; a nature which derives its power of action not from successive gifts of strength to do particular deeds, but from knowledge. He shews that this knowledge is not imparted by the Father's performance of any bodily work, as a pattern, that the Son may imitate what the Father has previously done; but that, by the action of the Divine nature, He had come to share the subsistence of the Divine nature, or, in other words, had been born as Son from the Father. He told them that, because the power and the nature of God dwelt consciously within Him, it was impossible for Him to do anything which He had not seen the Father doing; that, since it is in the might of the Father that God the Only-begotten performs His works His liberty of action coincides in its range with His knowledge of the powers of the nature of God the Father; a nature inseparable from Himself, and lawfully owned by

Him in virtue of His birth. For God sees not after a bodily fashion, but possesses, by His nature, the vision of Omnipotence.

18. The next words are, For what things soever He — the Father — doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. This likewise is added to indicate His birth; whatsoever and same to indicate the true Divinity of His nature. Whatsoever and same make it impossible that there should be any actions of His that are different from or outside, the actions of the Father. Thus He, Whose nature has power to do all the same things as the Father, is included in the same nature with the Father. But when, in contrast with this, we read that all these same things are done by the Son likewise, the fact that the works are like those of Another is fatal to the supposition that He Who does them works in isolation. Thus the same things that the Father does are all done likewise by the Son. Here we have clear proof of His true birth, and at the same time a convincing attestation of the Mystery of our faith, which, with its foundation in the Unity of the nature of God, confesses that there resides in Father and Son an indivisible Divinity. For the Son does the same things as the Father, and does them likewise; while acting in like manner He does the same things. Two truths are combined in one proposition; that His works are done likewise proves His birth; that they are the same works proves His nature.

19. Thus the progressive revelation contained in our Lord's reply is at one with the progressive statement of truth in the Church's confession of faith. Neither of them divides the nature, and both declare the birth. For the next words of Christ are, For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things that Himself doeth; and He will skew Him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Rather raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. Can there be any other purpose in this revelation of the manner in which God works, except that of inculcating the true birth; the faith in a subsisting Son born from the subsisting God, His Father? The only other explanation is that God the Only-begotten was so ignorant that He needed the instruction conveyed in this showing; but the reckless blasphemy of the suggestion makes this alternative impossible. For He, knowing, as He does, everything that He is taught, has no need of the teaching. And accordingly, after the words, The Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things that Himself doeth, we are next informed that all this skewing is for our instruction in the faith;

that the Father and the Son may have their equal share in our confession, and we be saved, by this statement that the Father shews all that He does to the Son, from the delusion that the Son's knowledge is imperfect. With this object He goes on to say, And He will skew Him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. We see that the Son has full knowledge of the future works which the Father will shew Him hereafter. He knows that He will be shewn how, after His Father's example, He is to give life to the dead. For He says that the Father will shew to the Son things at which they shall marvel; and at once proceeds to tell them what these things are for as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. The power is equal because the nature is one and the same. The skewing of the works is an aid, not to ignorance in Him, but to faith in us. It conveys to the Son no knowledge of things unknown, but it imparts to us the confidence to proclaim His birth, by assuring us that the Father has shewn to Him all the works that He Himself can do. The terms used in this Divine discourse have been chosen with the utmost deliberation, lest any vagueness of language should suggest a difference of nature between the Two. Christ says that the Father's works were shewn Him, instead of saying that, to enable Him to perform them, a mighty nature was given Him. Hereby He wishes to reveal to us that this shewing was a substantive part of the process of His birth, since, simultaneously with that birth, there was imparted to Him by the Father's love a knowledge of the works which the Father willed that He should do. And again, to save us from being led, by this declaration of the shewing, to suppose that the Son's nature is ignorant and therefore different from the Father's, He makes it clear that He already knows the things that are to be shewn Him. So far, indeed, is He from needing the authority of precedent to enable Him to act, that He is to give life to whom He will. To will implies a free nature, subsisting with power to choose in the blissful exercise of omnipotence.

20. And next, lest it should seem that to give life to whom He will is not within the power of One Who has been truly born, but is only the prerogative of ingenerate Omnipotence, He hastens to add, For the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son. The statement that all judgment is given teaches both His birth and His Sonship; for only a

nature which is altogether one with the Father's could possess all things; and a Son can possess nothing, except by gift. But all judgment has been given Him for He quickens whom He will. Now we cannot suppose that judgment is taken away from the Father, although He does not exercise it; for the Son's whole power of judgment proceeds from the Father's, being a gift from Him. And there is no concealment of the reason why judgment has been given to the Son, for the words which follow are, But He hath given all judgment to the Son, that all men may honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father Which hath sent Him. What possible excuse remains for doubt, or for the irreverence of denial? The reason for the gift of judgment is that the Son may receive an honor equal to that which is paid to the Father; and thus he who dishonors the Son is guilty of dishonoring the Father also. How, after this proof, can we imagine that the nature given Him by birth is different from the Father's, when He is the Father's equal in work, in power, in honor, in the punishment awarded to gainsayers? Thus this whole Divine reply is nothing else than an unfolding of the mystery of His birth. And the only distinction that it is right or possible to make between Father and Son is that the Latter was born; yet born in such a sense as to be One with His Father.

21. Thus the Father works hitherto and the Son works. In Father and Son you have the names which express Their nature in relation to Each other. Note also that it is the Divine nature, that through which God works, that is working here. And remember, lest you fall into the error of imagining that the operation of two unlike natures is here described, how it was said concerning the blind man, But that the works of God may be made manifest in him, I must work the works of Him that sent Me. You see that in his case the work wrought by the Son is the Father's work; and the Son's work is God's work. The remainder of the discourse which we are considering also deals with works; but my defense is at present only concerned with assigning the whole work to Both, and pointing out that They are at one in Their method of working, since the Son is employed upon that work which the Father does hitherto. The sanction contained in this fact that, by virtue of His Divine birth, the Father is working with Him in all that He does, will save us from supposing that the Lord of the Sabbath was doing wrong in working on the Sabbath. His Sonship is not

affected, for there is no confusion of His Divinity with the Father's, and no negation of it; His Godhead is not affected, for His Divine nature is untouched. Their unity is not affected, for no difference is revealed to sever Them; and Their unity is not presented in such a light as to contradict Their distinct existence. First recognize the Sonship of the Son; The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do Here His birth is manifest; because of i. He can do nothing of Himself till He sees it bring done. He cannot be unbegotten, because He can do nothing of Himself; He has no power of initiation, and therefore He must have been born. But the fact that He can see the Father's works proves that He has the comprehension which belongs to the conscious Possessor of Divinity. Next, mark that He does possess this true Divine nature; — For what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. And now that we have seen Him endowed with the powers of that nature, note how this results in unity, how one nature dwells in the Two; — That all men may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. And then, lest reflection on this unity entangle you in the delusion of a solitary and self-contained God, take to heart the mystery of the faith manifested in these words, He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father Which hath sent Him. The rage and cunning of heresy may do their worst; our position is impregnable. He is the Son, because He can do nothing of Himself; He is God, because, whatever the Father does, He does the same; They Two are One, because He is equal in honor to the Father and does the very same works; He is not the Father, because He is sent. So great is the wealth of mysterious truth contained in this one doctrine of the birth! It embraces His name, His nature, His power, His self-revelation; for everything conveyed to Him in His birth must be contained in that nature from which His birth is derived. Into His nature no element of any substance different in kind from that of His Author is introduced, for a nature which springs from one nature only must be entirely one with that nature which is its parent. An unity is that which, containing no discordant elements, is one in kind with itself; an unity constituted through birth cannot be solitary; for solitude can have but a single occupant, while an unity constituted through birth implies the conjunction of Two.

22. And furthermore, let His own Divine words bear witness to Himself. He says, They that are of My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and

they follow Me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them of My hand. That which My Father hath given Me is greater than all, and no man shall be able to pluck them out of My Father's hand. I and the Father are one. What lethargy can blunt so utterly, the edge of our understanding as to render so precise a statement for one moment obscure to us? What proud sophistry can play such pranks with human docility as to persuade those, who have learnt from these words the knowledge of what God is that they must not recognize God in Him Whose Godhead was here revealed to them? Heresy ought either to bring forward other Gospels in support of its doctrine; or else, if our existing Gospels are the only documents which teach of God, why do they not believe the lessons taught? If they are the only source of knowledge, why not draw faith, as well as knowledge, from them? Yet now we find that their faith is held in defiance of their knowledge; and hence it is a faith rooted not in knowledge, but in sin; a faith of bold irreverence, instead of reverent humility, towards the truth confessedly known. God the Only-begotten, as we have seen, fully assured of His own nature, reveals with the utmost precision of language the mystery of His birth. He reveals it, ineffable though it is, in such wise that we can believe and confess it; that we can understand that He was born and believe that He has the nature of God and is One with the Father, and One with Him in such a sense that God is not alone nor Son another name for Father, but that in very truth He is the Son. For, firstly, He assures us of the powers of His Divine nature, saying of His sheep, and no man shall pluck them out of My hand. It is the utterance of conscious power, this confession of free and irresistible energy, that will allow no man to pluck His sheep from His hand. But more than this; not only has He the nature of God, but He would have us know that nature is His by birth from God, and hence He adds, That which the Father has given Me is greater than all. He makes no secret of His birth from the Father, for what He received from the Father He says is greater than all. And He Who received it, received it at His birth, not after His birth, and yet it came to Him from Another, for He received it. But He, Who received this gift from Another, forbids us to suppose that He Himself is different in kind from That Other, and does not eternally subsist with the same nature as that of Him Who gave the gift, by saying, No man shall be able to pluck them out of My, Father's hand. None can pluck them out of His hand, for He has received from His

Father that which is greater than all things. What, then, means this contradictory assertion that none can pluck them from His Father's hand? It is the Son's hand which received them from the Father, the Father's hand which gave them to the Son: in what sense is it said that what cannot be plucked from the Son's hand cannot be plucked from the Father's hand? Hear, if you wish to know: — I and the Father are one. The Son's hand is the Father's hand. For the Divine nature does not deteriorate or cease to be the same in passing through birth: nor yet is this sameness a bar to our faith in the birth, for in that birth no alien element was admitted into His nature. And here He speaks of the Son's hand, which is the hand of the Father, that by a bodily similitude you may learn the power of the one Divine nature which is in Both; for the nature and the power of the Father is in the Son. And lastly, that in this mysterious truth of the birth you may discern the true and indistinguishable unity of the nature of God, the words were spoken, I and the Father are One. They were spoken that in this unity we might see neither difference nor solitude; for They are Two, and yet no second nature came into being through that true birth and generation.

23. There still remains, if I read them aright, the same desire in these maddened souls, though their opportunity for fulfilling it is lost. Their bitter hearts still cherish a longing for mischief which they can no longer hope to satisfy. The Lord is on His throne in heaven, and the furious hatred of heresy cannot drag Him, as the Jews did, to the Cross. But the spirit of unbelief is the same, though now it takes the form of rejecting His Godhead. They bid defiance to His words, though they cannot deny that He spoke them. They vent their hatred in blasphemy; instead of stones they shower abuse. If they could they would bring Him down from His throne to a second crucifixion. When the Jews were moved to wrath by the novelty of Christ's teaching we read, The Jews therefore took up stones to stone Him. He answered them, Many good works have I shewed you from the Father; far which of those works do ye stone Me? The Jews answered Him, For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy; and because Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God. I bid you, heretic, to recognize herein your own deeds, your own words. Be sure that you are their partner, for you have made their unbelief your pattern. It was at the words, I and the Father are One, that the Jews took up stones. Their

godless irritation at the revelation of that saving mystery hurried them on even to an attempt to slay. There is no one whom you can stone; but is your guilt in denying Him less than theirs? The will is the same, though it is frustrated by His throne in heaven. Nay, it is you that are more impious than the Jew. He lifted his stone against the Body, you lift yours against the Spirit; he as he thought, against man, you against God; he against a sojourner on earth, you against Him that sits upon the throne of majesty; he against One Whom he knew not, you against Him Whom you confess; he against the mortal Christ, you against the Judge of the universe. The Jew says, Being Man; you say, 'Being a creature.' You and he join in the cry, Makest Thyself God, with the same insolence of blasphemy. You deny that He is God begotten of God; you deny that He is the Son by a true birth; you deny that His words, I and the Father are One, contain the assertion of one and the same nature in Both. You foist upon us in His stead a modern, a strange, an alien God; you make Him God of another kind from the Father, or else not God at all, as not subsisting by a birth from God.

24. The mystery contained in those words, I and the Father are One, moves you to wrath. The Jew answered, Thou, being a man makest Thyself God; your blasphemy is a match for his: — 'Thou, being a creature, makest Thyself God.' You say, in effect, 'Thou art not a Son by birth, Thou art not God in truth; Thou art a creature, excelling all other creatures. But Thou wast not born to be God, for I refuse to believe that the incorporeal God gave birth to Thy nature. Thou and the Father are not One. Nay more. Thou art not the Son, Thou art not like God, Thou art not God.' The Lord had His answer for the Jews; an answer that meets the case of your blasphemy even better than it met theirs: — Is it not written in the Law, I said, Ye are gods? If, therefore, He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of Me, Whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into this world, that I have blasphemed, because I said I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, and ye will not believe Me, believe the works, that ye may know and be sure that the Father is in Me, and I in Him. The matter of this reply was dictated by that of the blasphemous attack upon Him. The accusation was that He, being a man, made Himself God. Their proof of this allegation was His own statement, I

and the Father are One. He therefore sets Himself to prove that the Divine nature, which is His by birth, gives Him the right to assert that He and the Father are One. He begins by exposing the absurdity, as well as the insolence, of such a charge as that of making Himself God, though He was a man. The Law had conferred the title upon holy men; the word of God, from which there is no appeal, had given its sanction to the public use of the name. What blasphemy, then, could there be in the assumption of the title of Son of God by Him Whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the world? The unalterable record of the Word of God has confirmed the title to those to whom the Law assigned it. There is an end, therefore, of the charge that He, being a man, makes Himself God, when the Law gives the name of gods to those who are confessedly men. And further, if other men may use this name without blasphemy, there can obviously be no blasphemy in its use by the Man Whom the Father has sanctified, — and note here that throughout this argument He calls Himself Man, for the Son of God is also Son of Man — since He excels the rest, who yet are guilty of no irreverence in styling themselves gods. He excels them, in that He has been hallowed to be the Son, as the blessed Paul says, who teaches us of this sanctification: — Which He had promised afore by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, Which was made of the seal of David according to the flesh, and was appointed to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of sanctification. Thus the accusation of blasphemy on His part, in making Himself God, falls to the ground. For the Word of God has conferred this name upon many men; and He, Who was sanctified and sent by the Father, did no more than proclaim Himself the Son of God.

25. There remains, I conceive, no possibility of doubt but that the words, I and the Father are One, were spoken with regard to the nature which is His by birth. The Jews had rebuked Him because by these words He, being a man, made Himself God. The coarse of His answer proves that, in this I and the Father are One, He did profess Himself the Son of God, first in name, then in nature, and lastly by birth. For I and Father are the names of substantive Beings; One is a declaration of Their nature, namely, that it is essentially the same in Both; are forbids us to confound Them together; are one, while forbidding confusion, teaches that the unity of the Two is the result of a birth. Now all this truth is drawn out from that name, the Son of

God, which He being sanctified by the Father, bestows upon Himself; a name, His right to which is confirmed by His assertion, I and the Father are One. For birth cannot confer any nature upon the offspring other than that of the parent from whom that offspring is born.

26. Once more, God the Only-begotten has summed up for us, in words of His own, the whole revealed mystery of the faith. When He had given His answer to the charge that He, being a man, made Himself God, He determined to shew that His words, I and the Father are One, are a clear and necessary conclusion; and therefore He thus pursued His argument; — Ye say that I have blasphemed, because I said, I am the Son of God. If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, and ye will not believe Me, believe the works, that ye may know and be sure that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father. After this, heresy that still persists in its course perpetrates a willful outrage in conscious despair; the assertion of unbelief is deliberate shamelessness. They who make it take pride in folly and are dead to the faith. for it is not ignorance, but madness, to contradict this saying. The Lord had said, I and the Father are One; and the mystery of His birth, which He revealed, was the unity in nature of Father and Son. Again, when He was accused for claiming the Divine nature, He justified His claim by advancing a reason; — If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not. We are not to believe His assertion that He is the Son of God, unless He does His Father's works. Hence we see that His birth has given Him no new or alien nature, for His doing of the Father's works is to be the reason why we mast believe that He is the Son. What room is there here for adoption, or for leave to use the name, or for denial that He was born from the nature of God, when the proof that He is God's Son is that He does the works which belong to the Father's nature? No creature is equal or like to God, no nature external to His is comparable in might to Him; it is only the Son, born from Himself, Whom we can without blasphemy liken and equal to Him. Nothing outside Himself can be compared to God without insult to His august majesty. If any being, not born from God's sell, can be discovered that is like Him and equal to Him in power, then God, in admitting a partner to share His throne, forfeits His pre-eminence. No longer is God One, for a second, indistinguishable from Himself, has arisen. On the other hand, there is no insult in making His own true Son His equal. For then that which is like

Him is His own; that which is compared with Him is born from Himself; the Power that can do His own works is not external to Him. Nay more, it is an actual heightening of His glory, that He has begotten Omnipotence, and yet not severed that Omnipotent nature from Himself. The Son performs the Father's works, and on that ground demands that we should believe that He is God's Son. This is no claim of mere arrogance; for He bases it upon His works, and bids us examine them. And He bears witness that these works are not His own, but His Father's. He would not have our thoughts distracted by the splendor of the deeds from the evidence for His birth. And because the Jews could not penetrate the mystery of the Body which He had taken, the Humanity born of Mary, and recognize the Son of God, He appeals to His deeds for confirmation of His right to the name; — But if I do them, and ye will not believe Me, believe the works. First, He would not have them believe that He is the Son of God, except on the evidence of God's works which He does. Next, if He does the works, yet seems unworthy, in His bodily humility, to bear the Divine name, He demands that they shall believe the works. Why should the mystery of His human birth hinder our recognition of His birth as God, when He that is Divinely born fulfills every Divine task by the agency of that Manhood which He has assumed? If we believe not the Man, for the works' sake, when He tells us that He is the Son of God, let us believe the works when they, which are beyond a doubt the works of God, are manifestly wrought by the Son of God. For the Son of God possesses, in virtue of His birth, everything that is God's; and therefore the Son's work is the Father's work because His birth has not excluded Him from that nature which is His source and wherein He abides, and because He has in Himself that nature to which He owes it that He exists eternally.

27. And so the Son, Who does the Father's works and demands of us that, if we believe not Him, at least we believe His works, is bound to tell us what the point is as to which we are to believe the works. And He does tell us in the words which follow: — But if I do, and ye will not believe Me, believe the works, that ye may know and be sure that the Father is in Me, and I in Him. It is the same truth as is contained in I am the Son of God, and I and the Father are One. This is the nature which is His by birth; this the mystery of the saving faith, that we must not divide the unity, nor separate the nature from the birth, but must confess that the

living God was in truth born from the living God. God, Who is Life, is not a Being built up of various and lifeless portions; He is Power, and not compact of feeble elements, Light, intermingled with no shades of darkness, Spirit, that can harmonize with no incongruities. All that is within Him is One; what is Spirit is Light and Power and Life, and what is Life is Light and Power and Spirit. He Who says, I am, and I change not, can suffer neither change in detail nor transformation in kind. For these attributes, which I have named, are not attached to different portions of Him, but meet and unite, entirely and perfectly, in the whole being of the living God. He is the living God, the eternal Power of the living Divine nature; and that which is born from Him, according to the mysterious truth which He reveals, could not be other than living. For when He said, As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live through the Father, He taught that it is through the living Father that He has life in Himself. And, moreover, when He said, For as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son also to have life in Himself, He bore witness that life, to the fullest extent, is His gift from the living God. Now if the living Son was born from the living Father, that birth took place without a new nature coming into existence. Nothing new comes into existence when the Living is begotten by the Living; for life was not sought out from the non-existent to receive birth; and Life, which receives its birth from Life, must needs, because of that unity of nature and because of the mysterious event of that perfect and ineffable birth, live always in Him that lives and have the life of the Living in Himself.

28. I call to mind that, at the beginning of our treatises, I gave the warning that human analogies correspond imperfectly to their Divine counterparts, yet that our understanding receives a real, if incomplete, enlightenment by comparing the latter with visible types. And now I appeal to human experience in the matter of birth, whether the source of their children’s being remain not within the parents. For though the lifeless and ignoble matter, which sets in motion the beginnings of life, pass from one parent into the other, yet these retain their respective natural forces. They have brought into existence a nature one with their own, and therefore the begetter is bound up with the existence of the begotten; and the begotten, receiving birth through a force transmitted, yet not lost, by the begetter, abides in that begetter. This may suffice as a statement of what happens in

a human birth. It is inadequate as a parallel to the perfect birth of God the Only-begotten; for humanity is born in weakness and from the union of two unlike natures, and maintained in life by a combination of lifeless substances. Again, humanity does not enter at once into the exercise of its appointed life, and never fully lives that life, being always encumbered with a multitude of members which decay and are insensibly discarded. In God, on the other hand, the Divine life is lived in the fullest sense, for God is Life; and from Life nothing that is not truly living can be born. And His birth is not by way of emanation but results from an act of power. Thus, since God's life is perfect in its intensity, and since that which is born from Him is perfect in power, God has the power of giving birth but not of suffering change. His nature is capable of increase, not of diminution, for He continues in, and shares the life of, that Son to Whom He gave in birth a nature like to, and inseparable from, His own. And that Son, the Living born from the Living, is not separated by the event of His birth from the nature that begat Him.

29. Another analogy which casts some light upon the meaning of the faith is that of fire as containing fire in itself and as abiding in fire. Fire contains the brightness of light, the heat which is its essential nature, the property of destroying by combustion the flickering inconstancy of flame. Yet all the while it is fire, and in all these manifestations there is but one nature. Its weakness is that it is dependent for its existence upon inflammable matter, and that it perishes with the matter on which it has lived. A comparison with fire gives us, in some measure, an insight into the incomparable nature of God; it helps us to believe in the properties of God that we find them, to a certain extent, present in an earthly element. I ask, then, whether in fire derived from fire there is any division or separation. When one flame is kindled from another, is the original nature cut off from the derived, so as not to abide in it? Does it not rather follow on, and dwell in the second flame by a kind of increase, as it were by birth? For no portion has been cut off from the nature of the first flame, and yet there is light from light. Does not the first flame live on in the second, which owes its existence, though not by division, to the first? Does not the second still dwell in the first, from which it was not cut off; from which it went forth, retaining its unity with the substance to which its nature belongs? Are not

the two one, when it is physically impossible to derive light from light by division, and logically impossible to distinguish between them in nature.

30. These illustrations, I repeat, must only be used as aids to apprehension of the faith, not as standards of comparison for the Divine majesty. Our method is that of using bodily instances as a clue to the invisible. Reverence land reason justify us in using such help, which we find used in God's witness to Himself, while yet we do not aspire to find a parallel to the nature of God. But the minds of simple believers have been distressed by the mad heretical objection that it is wrong to accept a doctrine concerning God which needs, in order to become intelligible, the help of bodily analogies. And therefore, in accordance with that word of our Lord which we have already cited, That which is born of the flesh is flesh, but that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit, we have thought it expedient, since God is Spirit, to give to these comparisons a certain place in our argument. By so doing we shall avert from God the charge that He has deceived us in using these analogies; shewing, as we have done, that such illustrations from the nature of His creatures enable us to grasp the meaning of God's self-revelation to us.

31. We see how the living Son of the living Father, He Who is God from God, reveals the unity of the Divine nature, indissolubly One and the same, and the mystery of His birth in these words, I and the Father are One. Because the seeming arrogance of them engendered a prejudice against Him, He made it more clear that He had spoken in the conscious possession of Divinity by saying, Ye say that I have blasphemed because I said, I am the Son of God; thus shewing that the oneness of His nature with that of God was due to birth from God. And then, to clench their faith in His birth by a positive assertion, and to guard them, at the same time, from imagining that the birth involves a difference of nature, He crowns His argument with the words, Believe the works, that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father. Does His birth, as here revealed, display His Divinity as not His by nature, as not His own by right? Each is in the Other; the birth of the Son is from the Father only; no alien or unlike nature has been raised to Godhead and subsists as God. God from God, eternally abiding, owes His Godhead to none other than God. Import, if you see your opportunity, two gods into the Church's faith; separate Son from Father as far as you can, consistently with the birth which you

admit; yet still the Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father, and this by no interchange of emanations but by the perfect birth of the living nature. Thus you cannot add together God the Father and God the Son, and count Them as two Gods, for They Two are One God. You cannot confuse Them together, for They Two are not One Person. And so the Apostolic faith rejects two gods; for it knows nothing of two Fathers or two Sons. In confessing the Father it confesses the Son; it believes in the Son in believing in the Father. For the name of Father involves that of Son, since without having a son none can be a father. Evidence of the existence of a son is proof that there has been a father, for a son cannot exist except from a father. When we confess that God is One we deny that He is single; for the Son is the complement of the Father, and to the Father the Son's existence is due. But birth works no change in the Divine nature; both in Father and in Son that nature is true to its kind. And the right expression for us of this unity of nature is the confession that They, being Two by birth and generation, are One God, not one Person.

32. We will leave it to him to preach two Gods, who can preach One God without confessing the unity; he shall proclaim that God is solitary, who can deny that there are two Persons, Each dwelling in the Other by the power of Their nature and the mystery of birth given and received. And that man may assign a different nature to Each of the Two, who is ignorant that the unity of Father and of Son is a revealed truth. Let the heretics blot out this record of the Son's self-revelation I in the Father and the Father in Me; then, and not till then, shall they assert that there are two Gods, or one God in loneliness. There is no hint of more natures than one in what we are told of Their possession of the one Divine nature. The truth that God is from God does not multiply God by two; the birth destroys the supposition of a lonely God. And again, because They are interdependent They form an unity; and that They are interdependent is proved by Their being One from One. For the One, in begetting the One, conferred upon Him nothing that was not His own; and the One, in being begotten, received from the One only what belongs to one. Thus the apostolic faith, in proclaiming the Father, will proclaim Him as One God, and in confessing the Son will confess Him as One God; since one and the same Divine nature exists in Both, and because, the Father being God and the Son being God, and the one name of God expressing the nature of Both,

the term ‘One God’ signifies the Two. God from God, or God in God, does not mean that there are two Gods, for God abides, One from One, eternally with the one Divine nature and the one Divine name; nor does God dwindle down to a single Person, for One and One can never be in solitude.

33. The Lord has not left in doubt or obscurity the teaching conveyed in this great mystery; He has not abandoned us to lose our way in dim uncertainty. Listen to Him as He reveals the full knowledge of this faith to His Apostles; — I am the Way and the Truth and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but through Me. If ye know Me, ye know My Father also; and from henceforth ye shall know Him, and have seen Him. Philip saith unto Him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and ye have not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. How sayest thou, Shew us the Rather? Dost than not believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me? The words that I speak unto you I speak not of Myself, but the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth His works. Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me; or else believe for the very works’ sake. He Who is the Way leads us not into by-paths or trackless wastes: He Who is the Truth mocks us not with lies; He Who is the Life betrays us not into delusions which are death. He Himself has chosen these winning names to indicate the methods which He has appointed for our salvation. As the Way, He will guide us to the Truth; the Truth will establish us in the Life. And therefore it is all-important for us to know what is the mysterious mode, which He reveals, of attaining this life. No man cometh to the Rather but through Me. The way to the Father is through the Son. And now we must enquire whether this is to be by a course of obedience to His teaching, or by faith in His Godhead. For it is conceivable that our way to the Father may be through adherence to the Son’s teaching, rather than through believing that the Godhead of the Father dwells in the Son. And therefore let us, in the next place, seek out the true meaning of the instruction given us here. For it is not by cleaving to a preconceived opinion, but by studying the force of the words, that we shall enter into possession of this faith.

34. The words which follow those last cited are, If ye know Me, ye know My Father also. It is the Man, Jesus Christ, Whom they behold. How can

a knowledge of Him be a knowledge of the Father? For the Apostles see Him wearing the aspect of that human nature which belongs to Him; but God is not encumbered with body and flesh, and is incognizable by those who dwell in our weak and fleshly body. The answer is given by the Lord, Who asserts that under the flesh, which, in a mystery, He had taken, His Father's nature dwells within Him. He sets the facts in their due order thus; — If ye know Me, ye know My Father also; and from henceforth ye shall know Him, and have seen Him. He makes a distinction between the time of sight, and the time of knowledge. He says that from henceforth they shall know Him Whom they had already seen; and so shall possess. from the time of this revelation on-war I. the knowledge of that nature, on which, in Him, they long had gazed.

35. But the novel sound of these words disturbed the Apostle Philip. A Man is before their eyes; this Man avows Himself the Son of God, and declares that when they have known Him they will know the Father. He tells them that they have seen the Father, and that, because they have seen Him, they shall know Him hereafter. This truth is too broad for the grasp of weak humanity; their faith fails in the presence of these paradoxes. Christ says that the Father has been seen already and shall now be known; and this, although sight, is knowledge. He says that if the Son has been known, the Father has been known also; and this though the Son has imparted knowledge of Himself through the bodily senses of sight and sound, while the Father's nature, different altogether from that of the visible Man, which they know, could not be learnt from their knowledge of the nature of Him Whom they have seen. He has also often borne witness that no man has seen the Father. And so Philip broke forth, with the loyalty and confidence of an Apostle, with the request, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us. He was not tampering with the faith; it was but a mistake made in ignorance. For the Lord had said that the Father had been seen already and henceforth should be known but the Apostle had not understood that He had been seen. Accordingly he did not deny that the Father had been seen, but asked to see Him. He did not ask that the Father should be unveiled to his bodily gaze, but that he might have such an indication as should enlighten him concerning the Father Who had been seen. For he had seen the Son under the aspect of Man, but cannot understand how he could thereby have seen the Father. His adding, And it

sufficeth us, to the prayer, Lord, shew us the Father, reveals clearly that it was a mental, not a bodily vision of the Father which he desired. He did not refuse faith to the Lord's words, but asked for such enlightenment to his mind as should enable him to believe; for the fact that the Lord had spoken was conclusive evidence to the Apostle that faith was his duty. The consideration which moved him to ask that the Father might be shewn, was that the Son had said that He had been seen, and should be known because He had been seen. There was no presumption in this prayer that He, Who had already been seen, should now be made manifest.

36. And therefore the Lord answered Philip thus; — Have I been so long time with you, and ye have not known Me, Philip? He rebukes the Apostle for defective knowledge of Himself; for previously He had said that when He was known the Father was known also. But what is the meaning of this complaint that for so long they had not known Him? It means this; that if they had known Him, they must have recognized in Him the Godhead which belongs to His Father's nature. For His works were the peculiar works of God. He walked upon the waves, commanded the winds, manifestly, though none could tell how, changed the water into wine and multiplied the loaves, put devils to flight, healed diseases, restored injured limbs and repaired the defects of nature, forgave sins and raised the dead to life. And all this He did while wearing flesh; and He accompanied the works with the assertion that He was the Son of God. Hence it is that He justly complains that they did not recognize in His mysterious human birth and life the action of the nature of God, performing these deeds through the Manhood which He had assumed.

37. And therefore the Lord reproached them that they had not known Him, though He had so long been doing these works, and answered their prayer that He would shew them the Father by saying, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. He was not speaking of a bodily manifestation, of perception by the eye of flesh, but by that eye of which He had once spoken; — Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes and look an the fields; for they are white to harvest. The season of the year, the fields white to harvest are allusions equally incompatible with an earthly and visible prospect. He was bidding them lift the eyes of their understanding to contemplate the bliss of the final harvest. And so it is with His present

words, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. It was not the carnal body, which He had received by birth from the Virgin, that could manifest to them the image and likeness of God. The human aspect which He wore could be no aid towards the mental vision of the incorporeal God. But God was recognized in Christ, by such as recognized Christ as the Son on the evidence of the powers of His Divine nature; and a recognition of God the Son produces a recognition of God the Father. For the Son is in such a sense the Image, as to be One in kind with the Father, and yet to indicate that the Father is His Origin. Other images, made of metals or colors or other materials by various arts, reproduce the appearance of the objects which they represent. Yet can lifeless copies be put on a level with their living originals? Painted or carved or molten effigies with the nature which they imitate? The Son is not the Image of the Father after such a fashion as this; He is the living Image of the Living. The Son that is born of the Father has a nature in no wise different from His; and, because His nature is not different, He possesses the power of that nature which is the same as His own. The fact that He is the Image proves that God the Father is the Author of the birth of the Only-begotten, Who is Himself revealed as the Likeness and Image of the invisible God. And hence the likeness, which is joined in union with the Divine nature, is indelibly His, because the powers of that nature are inalienably His own.

38. Such is the meaning of this passage, Have I been so long time with you, and ye have not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. How sayest thou, Shew us the Father? Dost thou not believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me? It is only the Word of God, of Whom we men are enabled, in our discourse concerning Divine things, to reason. All else that belongs to the Godhead is dark and difficult, dangerous and obscure. If any man propose to express what is known in other words than those supplied by God, he must inevitably either display his own ignorance, or else leave his readers' minds in utter perplexity. The Lord, when He was asked to shew the Father, said, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. He that would alter this is an antichrist, he that would deny it is a Jew, he that is ignorant a Pagan. If we find ourselves in difficulty, let us lay the fault to our own reason; if God's declaration seem involved in obscurity, let us assume that our want of faith is the cause. These words state with precision that God is not solitary, and yet that

there are no differences within the Divine nature. For the Father is seen in the Son, and this could be the case neither if He were a lonely Being, nor yet if He were unlike the Son. it is through the Son that the Father is seen: and this mystery which the Son reveals is that They are One God, but not one Person. What other meaning can you attach to this saying of the Lord's, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also? This is no case of identity; the use of the conjunction also shews that the Father is named in addition to the Son. These words, The Father also, are incompatible with the notion of an isolated and single Person. No conclusion is possible but that the Father was made visible through the Son, because They are One and are alike in nature. And, lest our faith in this regard should be left in any doubt, the Lord proceeded, How safest thou, Shew us the Father? The Father had been seen in the Son; how then could men be ignorant of the Father? What need could there be for Him to be shewn?

39. Again, the unity of Begetter and Begotten, manifested in sameness of nature and true oneness of kind, proves that the Father was seen in His true nature. And this is shewn by the Lord's next words, Believe not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? In no other words than these, which the Son has used, can the fact be state that Father and Son, being alike in nature, are inseparable. The Son, Who is the Way and the Truth and the Life, is not deceiving us by some theatrical transformation of names and aspects, when He, while wearing Manhood, styles Himself the Son of God. He is not falsely concealing the fact that He is God the Father; He is not a single Persons Who hides His features under a mask, that we may imagine that Two are present. He is not a solitary Being, now posing as His own Son, and again calling Himself the Father; tricking out one unchanging nature with varying names. Far removed from this is the plain honesty of the words. The Father is the Father, and the Son is the Son. But these names, and the realities which they represent, contain no innovation upon the Divine nature, nothing inconsistent, nothing alien. For the Divine nature, being true to itself, persists in being itself; that which is from God is God. The Divine birth imports neither diminution nor difference into the Godhead, for the Son is born into, and subsists with, a nature that is within the Divine nature and is like to it, and the Father sought out no alien element to be mingled in the nature of His Only-begotten Son, but endowed Him with all things that are His own, and

this without loss to the Giver. And thus the Son is not destitute of the Divine nature, for, being God, He is from God and from none other; and He is not different from God, but is indeed nothing else than God, for that which is begotten from God is the Son, and the Son only, and the Divine nature, in receiving birth as a Son, has not forfeited its Divinity. Thus the Father is in the Son, the Son is in the Father, God is in God. And this is not by the combination of two harmonious, though different, kinds of being, nor by the incorporating power of an ampler substance exercised upon a lesser; for the properties of matter make it impossible that things which enclose others should also be enclosed by them. It is by the birth of living nature from living nature. The substance remains the same, birth causes no deterioration in the Divine nature; God is not born from God to be ought else than God. Herein is no innovation, no estrangement, no division. It is sin to believe that Father and Son are two Gods, sacrilege to assert that Father and Son are one solitary God, blasphemy to deny the unity, consisting in sameness of kind. of God from God.

40. Lest they, whose faith conforms to the Gospel, should regard this mystery as something vague and obscure, the Lord has expounded it in this order; — Dost thou not believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me? The words that I speak unto you I speak not of Myself, but the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth His works. In what other words than these could, or can, the possession of the Divine nature by Father and Son be declared, consistently with prominence for the Son's birth? When He says, The words that I speak unto you I speak not of Myself, He neither suppresses His personality, nor denies His Sonship, nor conceals the presence in Himself of His Father's Divine nature. While speaking of Himself — and that He does so speak is proved by the pronoun I — He speaks as abiding in the Divine substance; while speaking not of Himself, He bears witness to the birth which took place in Him of God from God His Father. And He is inseparable and indistinguishable in unity of nature from the Father; for He speaks, though He speaks not of Himself. He Who speaks, though He speak not of Himself, necessarily exists, inasmuch as He speaks; and, inasmuch as He speaks not of Himself, He makes it manifest that His words are not His own. For He has added, But the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth His works. That the Father dwells in the Son proves that the Father is not isolated and alone; that the Father

works through the Son proves that the Son is not an alien or a stranger. There cannot be one Person only, for He speaks not of Himself; and, conversely, They cannot be separate and divided when the One speaks through the voice of the Other. These words are the revelation of the mystery of Their unity. And again, They Two are not different One from the Other, seeing that by Their inherent nature Each is in the Other; and They are One, seeing that He, Who speaks, speaks not of Himself, and He, Who speaks not of Himself, yet does speak. And then, having taught that the Father both spoke and wrought in Him, the Son establishes this perfect unity as the rule of our faith; — But the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth His works. Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me; or else believe far the very works' sake. The Father works in the Son; but the Son also works the works of His Father.

41. And so, lest we should believe and say that the Father works in the Son through His own omnipotent energy, and not through the Son's possession, as His birthright, of the Divine nature, Christ says, Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me. What means this, Believe Me? Clearly it refers back to the previous, Shew us the Father. Their faith — that faith which had demanded that the Father should be shewn — is confirmed by this command to believe. He was not satisfied with saying, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. He goes further, and expands our knowledge, so that we can contemplate the Father in the Son, remembering meanwhile that the Son is in the Father. Thus He would save us from the error of imagining a reciprocal emanation of the One into the Other, by teaching Their unity in the One nature through birth given and received. The Lord would have us take Him at His word, lest our hold upon the faith be shaken by His condescension in assuming Humanity. If His flesh, His body, His passion seem to make His Godhead doubtful, let us at least believe, on the evidence of the works, that God is in God and God is flora God, and that They are One. For by the power of Their nature Each is in the Other. The Father loses nothing that is His because it is in the Son, and the Son receives His whole Sonship from the Father. Bodily natures are not created after such a fashion that they mutually contain each other, or possess the perfect unity of one abiding nature. In their case it would be impossible that an Onlybegotten Son could exist eternally, inseparable from the true Divine nature of His Father.

Yet this is the peculiar property of God the Only-begotten, this the faith revealed in the mystery of His true birth, this the work of the Spirit's power, that to be, and to be in God, is for Christ the same thing; and that this being in God is not the presence of one thing within another, as a body inside another body, but that the life and subsistence of Christ is such that He is within the subsisting God, and within Him, yet having a subsistence of His own. For Each subsists in such wise as not to exist apart from the Other, since They are Two through birth given and received, and therefore only one Divine nature exists. This is the meaning of the words, I and the Father are One, and He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also, and I in the Father and the Father in Me. They tell us that the Son Who is born is not different or inferior to the Father; that His possession, by right of birth, of the Divine nature as Son of God, and therefore nothing else than God, is the supreme truth conveyed in the mysterious revelation of the One Godhead in Father and Son. And therefore the doctrine of the generation of the Only-begotten is guiltless of ditheism, for the Son of God, in being born into the Godhead, manifested in Himself the nature of God His Begetter.

BOOK 8

1. THE Blessed Apostle Paul in laying down the form for appointing a bishop and creating by his instructions an entirely new type of member of the Church, has taught us in the following words the sum total of all the virtues perfected in him: — Holding fast the word according to the doctrine of faith that he may be able to exhort to sound doctrine and to convict gainsavers. For there are many unruly men, vain talkers and deceivers. For in this way he points out that the essentials of orderliness and morals are only profitable for good service in the priesthood if at the same time the qualities needful for knowing how to teach and preserve the faith are not lacking, for a man is not straightway made a good and useful priest by a merely innocent life or by a mere knowledge of preaching. For an innocent minister is profitable to himself alone unless he be instructed also; while he that is instructed has nothing to support his teaching unless he be innocent. For the words of the Apostle do not merely fit a man for his life in this world by precepts of honesty and uprightness, nor on the other hand do they educate in expertness of teaching a mere Scribe of the Synagogue for the expounding of the Law: but the Apostle is training a leader of the Church, perfected by the perfect accomplishment of: the greatest virtues, so that his life may be adorned by his teaching, and his teaching by his life. Accordingly he has provided Titus, the person to whom his words were addressed, with an injunction as to the perfect practice of religion to this effect: — In all things shewing thyself an ensample of good works, teaching with gravity sound words that cannot be condemned, that the adversary may be ashamed, having nothing disgraceful or evil to say of us. This teacher of the Gentiles and elect doctor of the Church, from his consciousness of Christ who spoke and dwelt within him, knew well that the infection of tainted speech would spread abroad, and that the corruption of pestilent doctrine would furiously rage against the sound form of faithful words, and infusing the poison of its own evil tenets into the inmost soul, would creep on with deep-seated mischief. For it is of these that he says, Whose word spreadeth like a cancer, tainting the health of the mind, invaded by it with a secret and stealthy contagion. For this reason, he wished that there should be in the bishop the teaching of sound words, a good conscience in the faith and expertness in exhortation

to withstand wicked and false and wild gainsayings. For there are many who pretend to the faith, but are not subject to the faith, and rather set up a faith for themselves than receive that which is given, being puffed up with the thoughts of human vanity, knowing the things they wish to know and unwilling to know the things that are true; since it is a mark of true wisdom sometimes to know what we do not like. However, this will-wisdom is followed by foolish preaching, for what is foolishly learnt must needs be foolishly preached. Yet how great an evil to those who hear is foolish preaching, when they are misled into foolish opinions by conceit of wisdom! And for this cause the Apostle described them thus: There are many unruly, vain talkers and deceivers. Hence we must utter our voice against arrogant wickedness and boastful arrogance and seductive boastfulness, — yes, we must speak against such things through the soundness of our doctrine, the truth of our faith, the sincerity of our preaching, so that we may have the purity of truth and the truth of sound doctrine.

2. The reason why I have just mentioned this utterance of the Apostle is this; men of crooked minds and false professions, void of hope and venomous of speech, lay upon me the necessity of inveighing against them, because under the guise of religion they instill deadly doctrines, infectious thoughts and corrupt desires into the simple minds of their hearers. And this they do with an utter disregard of the true sense of the apostolic teaching, so that the Father is not a Father, nor the Son, Son, nor the Faith, the Faith. In resisting their wild falsehoods, we have extended the course of our reply so far, that after proving from the Law that God and God were distinct and that very God was in very God, we then shewed from the teaching of evangelists and apostles the perfect and true birth of the Only-begotten God; and lastly, we pointed out in the due course of our argument that the Son of God is very God, and of a nature identical with the Father’s, so that the faith of the Church should neither confess that God is single nor that there are two Gods. For neither would the birth of God allow God to be solitary, nor would a perfect birth allow different natures to be ascribed to two Gods. Now in refuting their vain speaking we have a twofold object, first that we may teach what is holy and perfect and sound, and, that our discourse should not by straying through any by-paths and crooked ways, and struggling out of devious and winding

tunnels, seem rather to search for the truth than declare it. Our second object is that we should reveal to the conviction of all men the folly and absurdity of those crafty arguments of their vain and deceitful opinions which are adapted to a plausible show of seductive truth. For it is not enough for us to have pointed out what things are good, unless they are understood to be absolutely good by our refutation of their opposites.

3. But as it is the nature and endeavor of the good and wise to prepare themselves wholly for securing either the reality or the opportunity of some precious hope lest their preparedness should in some respects fall short of that which they look for, — so in like manner those who are filled with the madness of heretical frenzy make it their chiefest. anxiety to labor with all the ingenuity of their impiety against the truth of pious faith, in order that against those who are religious they may establish their own irreligion; that they may surpass the hope of our life in the hopelessness of their own, and that they may spend more thought over false than we spend over true teaching. For against the pious assertions of our faith they have carefully devised such objections of their impious misbelief, as first to ask whether we believe in one God, next, whether Christ also be God, lastly, whether the Father is greater than the Son, in order that when they hear us confess that God is one they may use our reply to shew that Christ cannot be God. For they do not enquire concerning the Son whether He be God; all they wish for in asking questions about Christ is to prove that He is not a Son, that by entrapping men of simple faith they may through the belief in one God divert them from the belief in Christ as God, on the ground that God is no longer one if Christ also must be acknowledged as God. Again with what subtlety of worldly wisdom do they contend when they say, If God is one, whosoever that other shall be shewn to be, he will not he God. For if there be another God He can no longer be one, since nature does not permit that where there is another there should be one only, or that where there is only one there should be another. Afterwards, when by the crafty cunning of this insidious argument they have misled those who are ready to believe and listen, they then apply this proposition (as if they could now establish it by an easier method), that Christ is God rather in name than in nature, because this generic name in Him can destroy in none that only true belief in one God: and they contend that through this the Father is greater than the Son,

because, the natures being different, as there is but one God, the Father is greater from the essential character of His nature; and that the Other is only called Son while He is really a creature subsisting by the will of the Father, because He is less than the Father; and also that He is not God, because God being one does not admit of another God, since he who is less must necessarily be of a nature alien from that of the person who is greater. Again, how foolish they are in their attempts to lay down a law for God when they maintain that no birth can take place from one single being, because throughout the universe birth arises from the union of two; moreover, that the unchangeable God cannot accord from Himself birth to one who is born, because that which is changeless is incapable of addition, nor can the nature of a solitary and single being contain within itself the property of generation.

4. We, on the contrary, having by spiritual teaching arrived at the faith of the evangelists and apostles, and following after the hope of eternal blessedness by our confession of the Father and the Son, and having proved out of the Law the mystery of God and God, without overstepping the limits of our faith in one God, or failing to proclaim that Christ is God, have adopted this method of reply from the Gospels, that we declare the true nativity of Only-begotten God from God the Father, because that through this He was both very God and not alien from the nature of the One very God, and thus neither could His Godhead be denied nor Himself be described as another God, because while the birth made Him God, the nature within him of one God of God did not separate Him off as another God. And although our human reason led us to this conclusion, that the names of distinct natures could not meet together in the same nature, and not be one, where the essence of each did not differ in kind; nevertheless, it seemed good that we should prove this from the express sayings of our Lord, Who after frequently making known that the God of our faith and hope was One, in order to affirm the mystery of the One God, while declaring and proving His own Godhead, said, I and the Father are one; and, If ye had known Me, ye would have known My Father also; and, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also; and, Believe Me, that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father: or else believe for the very works’ sake . He has signified His own birth in the name Father, and declares that in the knowledge of Himself the Father is known. He

avows the unity of nature, when those who see Him see the Father. He bears witness that He is indivisible from the Father, when He dwells in the Father Who dwells in Him. He possesses the confidence of self-knowledge when He demands credit for His words from the operations of His power. And thus in this most blessed faith of the perfect birth, every error, as well that of two Gods as of a single God, is abolished, since They Who are one in essence are not one person, and He Who is not one person with HIM WHO IS, is yet so free from difference from Him that They Two are One God.

5. Now seeing that heretics cannot deny these things because they are so clearly stated and understood, they nevertheless pervert them by the most foolish and wicked lies so as afterwards to deny them. For the words of Christ, I and the Father are one, they endeavor to refer to a mere concord of unanimity, so that there may be in them a unity of will not of nature, that is, that they may be one not by essence of being, but by identity of will. And they apply to the support of their case the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, Now of the multitude of them that believed the heart and soul were one, in order to prove that a diversity of souls and hearts may be united into one heart and soul through a mere conformity of will. Or else they cite those words to the Corinthians, Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one, to shew that, since They are one in Their work for our salvation, and in the revelation of one mystery, Their unity is an unity of wills. Or again, they quote the prayer of our Lord for the salvation of the nations who should believe in Him: Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that shall believe on Me through their Word; that they all may be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, to shew that since men cannot, so to speak, be fused back into God or themselves coalesce into one undistinguished mass, this oneness must arise from unity of will, while all perform actions pleasing to God, and unite one with another in the harmonious accord of their thoughts, and that thus it is not nature which makes them one, but will.

6. He clearly knows not wisdom who knows not God. And since Christ is Wisdom he must needs be beyond the pale of wisdom who knows not Christ or hates Him. As, for instance, they do who will have it that the Lord of Glory, and King of the Universe, and Only-begotten God is a creature of God and not His Son, and in addition to such foolish lies shew

a still more foolish cleverness in the defense of their falsehood. For even putting aside for a little that essential character of unity which exists in God the Father and God the Son, they can be refuted out of the very passages which they adduce.

7. For as to those whose soul and heart were one, I ask whether they were one through faith in God? Yes, assuredly, through faith, for through this the soul and heart of all were one. Again I ask, is the faith one or is there a second faith? One undoubtedly, and that on the authority of the Apostle himself, who proclaims one faith even as one Lord, and one baptism, and one hope, and one God. If then it is through faith, that is, through the nature of one faith, that all are one, how is it that thou dost not understand a natural unity in the case of those who through the nature of one faith are one? For all were born again to innocence, to immortality, to the knowledge of God, to the faith of hope. And if these things cannot differ within themselves because there is both one hope and one God, as also there is one Lord and one baptism of regeneration; if these things are one rather by agreement than by nature, ascribe a unity of will to those also who have been born again into them. If, however, they have been begotten again into the nature of one life and eternity, then, inasmuch as their soul and heart are one, the unity of will fails to account for their case who are one by regeneration into the same nature.

8. These are not our own conjectures which we offer, nor do we falsely put together any of these things in order to deceive the ears of our bearers by perverting the meaning of words; but holding fast the form of sound teaching we know and preach the things which are true. For the Apostle shews that this unity of the faithful arises from the nature of the sacraments when be writes to the Galatians. Fear as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There is neither few nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. That these are one amid so great diversities of race, condition, sex, — is it from an agreement of will or from the unity of the sacrament, since these have one baptism and have all put on one Christ? What, therefore, will a concord of minds avail here when they are one in that they have put on one Christ through the nature of one baptism?

9. Or, again, since he who plants and he who waters are one, are they not one because, being themselves born again in one baptism they form a ministry of one regenerating baptism? Do not they do the same thing? Are they not one in One? So they who are one through the same thing are one also by nature, not only by will, inasmuch as they themselves have been made the same thing and are ministers of the same thing and the same power.

10. Now the contradiction of fools always serves to prove their folly, because with regard to the faults which they contrive by the devices of an unwise or crooked understanding against the truth, while the latter remains unshaken and immovable the things which are opposed to it must needs be regarded as false and foolish. For heretics in their attempt to deceive others by the words, I and the Father are ones, that there might not be acknowledged in them the unity and like essence of deity, but only a oneness arising from mutual love and an agreement of wills — these heretics, I say, have brought forward an instance of that unity, as we have shewn above, even from the words of our Lord, That they all may be one, as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us. Every man is outside the promises of the Gospel who is outside the faith in them, and by the guilt of an evil understanding has lost all simple hope. For to know not what thou believest demands not so much excuse as a reward, for the greatest service of faith is to hope for that which thou knowest not. But it is the madness of most consummate wickedness either not to believe things which are understood or to have corrupted the sense in which one believes.

11. But although the wickedness of man can pervert his intellectual powers, nevertheless the words retain their meaning. Our Lord prays to His Father that those who shall believe in Him may be one, and as He is in the Father and the Father in Him, so all may be one in Them. Why dost thou bring in here an identity of mind, why a unity of soul and heart through agreement of will? For there would have been no lack of suitable words for our Lord, if it were will that made them one, to have prayed in this fashion, — Father, as We are one in will, so may they also be one in will, that we may all be one through agreement. Or could it be that He Who is the Word was unacquainted with the meaning of words? and that He Who is Truth knew not how to speak the truth? and He Who is Wisdom

went astray in foolish talk? and He Who is Power was compassed about with such weakness that He could not speak what He wished to be understood? He has clearly spoken the true and sincere mysteries of the faith of the Gospel. And He has not only spoken that we may comprehend, He has also taught that we may believe, saying, That they all may be one, as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us. For those first of all is the prayer of whom it is said, That they all may be one. Then the promotion of unity is set forth by a pattern of unity, when He says, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, so that as the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, so through the pattern of this unity all might be one in the Father and the Son.

12. But because it is proper to the Father alone and the Son that They should be one by nature because God is from God, and the Only-begotten from the Unbegotten can subsist in no other nature than that of His origin; so that He Who was begotten should exist in the substance of His birth, and the birth should possess no other and different truth of deity than that from which it issued; for our Lord has left us in no doubt as to our belief by asserting throughout the whole of the discourse which follows the nature of this complete unity. For the next words are these, That the world may believe that Thou didst send Me. Thus the world is to believe that the Son has been sent by the Father because all who shall believe in Him will be one in the Father and the Son. And how they will be so we are soon told, — And the glory which Than hast given Me I have given unto them. Now I ask whether glory is identical with will, since will is an emotion of the mind while glory is an ornament or embellishment of nature. So then it is the glory received from the Father that the Son hath given to all who shall believe in Him, and certainly not will. Had this been given, faith would carry with it no required, for a necessity of will attached to us would also impose faith upon us. However He has shewn what is effected by the bestowal of the glory received, That they may be one, even as We are one. It is then with this object that the received glory was bestowed, that all might be one. So now all are one in glory, because the glory given is none other than that which was received: nor has it been given for any other cause than that all should be one. And since all are one through the glory given to the Son and by the Son bestowed upon believers, I ask how

can the Son be of a different glory from the Father's, since the glory of the Son brings all that believe into the unity of the Father's glory. Now it may be that the utterance of human hope in this case may be somewhat immoderate, yet it will not be contrary to faith; for though to hope for this were presumptuous, yet not to have believed it is sinful, for we have one and the same Author both of our hope and of our faith. We will treat of this matter more clearly and at greater length in its own place, as is fitting. Yet in the meantime it is easily seen from our present argument that this hope of ours is neither vain nor presumptuous. So then through the glory received and given all are one. I hold the faith and recognize the cause of the unity, but I do not yet understand how it is that the glory given makes all one.

13. Now our Lord has not left the minds of His faithful followers in doubt, but has explained the manner in which His nature operates, saying, That they may be one, as We are one: I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected in one. Now I ask those who bring forward a unity of will between Father and Son, whether Christ is in us to-day through verity of nature or through agreement of will. For if in truth the Word has been made flesh and we in very truth receive the Word made flesh as food from the Lord, are we not bound to believe that He abides in us naturally, Who, born as a man, has assumed the nature of our flesh now inseparable from Himself, and has conjoined the nature of His own flesh to the nature of the eternal Godhead in the sacrament by which His flesh is communicated to us? For so are we all one, because the Father is in Christ and Christ in us. Whosoever then shall deny that the Father is in Christ naturally must first deny that either he is himself in Christ naturally, or Christ in him, because the Father in Christ and Christ in us make us one in Them. Hence, if indeed Christ has taken to Himself the flesh of our body, and that Man Who was born froth Mary was induced Christ, and we indeed receive in a mystery the flesh of His body — (and for this cause we shall be one, because the Father is in Him and He in us), — how can a unity of will be maintained, seeing that the special property of nature received through the sacrament is the sacrament of a perfect unity?

14. The words in which we speak of the things of God must be used in no mere human and worldly sense, nor must the perverseness of an alien and impious interpretation be extorted from the soundness of heavenly words

by any violent and headstrong preaching. Let us read what is written, let us understand what we read, and then fulfill the demands of a perfect faith. For as to what we say concerning the reality of Christ's nature within us, unless we have been taught by Him, our words are foolish and impious. For He says Himself, My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. As to the verity of the flesh and blood there is no room left for doubt. For now both from the declaration of the Lord Himself and our own faith, it is verily flesh and verily blood. And these when eaten and drunk, bring it to pass that both we are in Christ and Christ in us. Is not this true? Yet they who affirm that Christ Jesus is not truly God are welcome to find it false. He therefore Himself is in us through the flesh and we in Him, whilst together with Him our own selves are in God.

15. Now how it is that we are in Him through the sacrament of the flesh and blood bestowed upon us, He Himself testifies, saying, And the world will no longer see Me, but ye shall see Me; because I live ye shall live also; because I am in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you. If He wished to indicate a mere unity of will, why did He set forth a kind of gradation and sequence in the completion of the unity, unless it were that, since He was in the Father through the nature of Deity, and we on the contrary in Him through His birth in the body, He would have us believe that He is in us through the mystery of the sacraments? and thus there might be taught a perfect unity through a Mediator, whilst, we abiding in Him, He abode in the Father, and as abiding in the Father abode also in us; and so we might arrive at unity with the Father, since in Him Who dwells naturally in the Father by birth, we also dwell naturally, while He Himself abides naturally in us also.

16. Again, how natural this unity is in us He has Himself testified on this wise, — He who eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. For no man shall dwell in Him, save him in whom He dwells Himself, for the only flesh which He has taken to Himself is the flesh of those who have taken His. Now He had already taught before the sacrament of this perfect unity, saying, As the living Father sent Me, and I live through the Father, so he that eateth My flesh shall himself also live through Me. So then He lives through the Father, and as He lives through the Father in like manner we live through His flesh. For all comparison is

chosen to shape our understanding, so that we may grasp the subject of which we treat by help of the analogy set before us. This is the cause of our life that we have Christ dwelling within our carnal selves through the flesh, and we shall live through Him in the same manner as He lives through the Father. if, then, we live naturally through Him according to the flesh, that is, have partaken of the nature of His flesh, must He not naturally have the Father within Himself according to the Spirit since He Himself lives through the Father? And He lives through the Father because His birth has not implanted in Him an alien and different nature inasmuch as His very being is from Him yet is not divided from Him by any barrier of an unlikeness of nature, for within Himself He has the Father through the birth in the power of the nature.

17. I have dwelt upon these facts because the heretics falsely maintain that the union between Father and Son is one of will only, and make use of the example of our own union with God, as though we were trailed to the Son and through the Son to the Father by mere obedience and a devout will, and none of the natural verity of communion were vouchsafed us through the sacrament of the Body and Blood; although the glory of the Son bestowed upon us through the Son abiding in us after the flesh, while we are united in Him corporeally and inseparably, bids us preach the mystery of the true and natural unity.

18. So we have made our reply to the folly of our violent opponents, merely to prove the emptiness of their falsehoods and so prevent them from misleading the unwary by the error of their vain and foolish statements. But the faith of the Gospel did not of necessity require our answer. The Lord prayed on our behalf for our union with God, but God keeps His own unity and abides in it. It is not through any mysterious appointment of God that they are one, but through a birth of nature, for God loses nothing in begetting Him from Himself. They are one, for the things which are not plucked out of His hand are not plucked out of the hand of the Father, for, when He is known, the Father is known, for, when He is seen, the Father is seen, for what He speaks the Father speaks as abiding in Him, for in His works the Father works, for He is in the Father and the Father in Him. This proceeds from no creation but from birth; it is not brought about by will but by power; it is no agreement of mind that speaks, it is nature; because to be created and to be born are not one and

the same, any more than to will and to be able; neither is it the same thing to agree and to abide

19. Thus we do not deny a unanimity between the Father and the Son, — for heretics are accustomed to utter this falsehood, that since we do not accept concord by itself as the bond of unity we declare Them to be at variance. But let them listen how it is that we do not deny such a unanimity. The Father and the Son are one in nature, honor, power, and the same nature cannot will things that are contrary. Moreover, let them listen to the testimony of the Son as touching the unity of nature between Himself and the Father, for He says, When that advocate is come, Whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth Who proceedeth front the Father, He shall testify of Me. The Advocate shall come and the Son shall send Him from the Father, and He is the Spirit of truth Who proceedeth from the Father. Let the whole following of heretics arouse the keenest powers of their wit; let them now seek for what lies they can tell to the unlearned, and declare what that is which the Son sends from the Father. He Who sends manifests His power in that which He sends. But as to that which He sends from the Father, how shall we regard it, as received or sent forth or begotten? For His words that He will send from the Father must imply one or other of these modes of sending. And He will send from the Father that Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father; He therefore cannot be the Recipient, since He is revealed as the Sender. It only remains to make sure of our conviction on the point, whether we are to believe an egress of a co-existent Being, or a procession of a Being begotten.

20. For the present I forbear to expose their license of speculation, some of them holding that the Paraclete Spirit comes from the Father or from the Son. For our Lord has not left this in uncertainty, for after these same words He spoke thus, — I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all truth: for He shall not speak from Himself: but what things soever He shall hear, these shall He speak; and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine and stroll declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. Accordingly He receives from the Son, Who is both sent by Him, and

proceeds from the Father. Now I ask whether to receive from the Son is the same thing as to proceed from the Father. But if one believes that there is a difference between receiving from the Son and proceeding from the Father, surely to receive from the Son and to receive from the Father will be regarded as one and the same thing. For our Lord Himself says, Because He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. That which He will receive, — whether it will be power, or excellence, or teaching, — the Son has said must be received from Him, and again He indicates that this same thing must be received from the Father. For when tie says that all things whatsoever the Father hath are His, and that for this cause He declared that it must be received from His own, He teaches also that what is received from the Father is yet received from Himself, because all things that the Father hath are His. Such a unity admits no difference, nor does it make any difference from whom that is received, which given by the Father is described as given by the Son. Is a mere unity of will brought forward here also? All things which the Father hath are the Son's, and all things which the Son hath are the Father's. For He Himself saith, And all Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine. It is not yet the place to shew wily He spoke thus, For He shall receive of Mine: for this points to some subsequent time, when it is revealed that He shall receive. Now at any rate He says that He will receive of Himself, because all things that the Father had were His. Dissever if thou canst the unity of the nature, and introduce some necessary unlikeness through which the Son may not exist in unity of nature. For the Spirit of truth proceedeth from the Father and is sent from the Father by the Son. All things that the Father hath are the Son's; and for this cause whatever He Who is to be sent shall receive, He shall receive from the Son, because all things that the Father hath are the Son's. The nature in all respects maintains its law, and because Both are One that same Godhead is signified as existing in Both through generation and nativity; since the Son affirms that that which the Spirit of truth shall receive from the Father is to be given by Himself. So the frowardness of heretics must not be allowed an unchecked license of impious beliefs, in refusing to acknowledge that this saying of the Lord, — that because all things which the Father hath are His, therefore the Spirit of truth shall receive of Him, — is to be referred to unity of nature.

21. Let us listen to that chosen vessel and teacher of the Gentiles, when he had already commended the faith of the people of Rome because of their understanding of the truth. For wishing to teach the unity of nature in the case of the Father and the Son, he speaks thus, But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God is in you. But if any have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. But if Christ is in you, the body indeed is dead through sin, but the Spirit is life through righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him Who raised up Christ from the dead dwelleth in you; He Who raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because of His Spirit Who dwelleth in you. We are all spiritual if the Spirit of God dwells in us. But this Spirit of God is also the Spirit of Christ, and though the Spirit of Christ is in us, yet His Spirit is also in us Who raised Christ from the dead, and He Who raised Christ from the dead shall quicken our mortal bodies also on account of His Spirit that dwelleth in us. We are quickened therefore on account of the Spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us, through Him Who raised Christ from the dead. And since the Spirit of Him Who raised Christ from the dead dwells in us, and yet the Spirit of Christ is in us, nevertheless the Spirit Which is in us cannot but be the Spirit of God. Separate, then, O heretic, the Spirit of Christ from the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of Christ raised from the dead from the Spirit of God Which raises Christ from the dead; when the Spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us is the Spirit of God, and when the Spirit of Christ Who was raised from the dead is yet the Spirit of God Who raises Christ from the dead.

22. And now I ask whether thou thinkest that in the Spirit of God is signified a nature or a property belonging to a nature. For a nature is not identical with a thing belonging to it, just as neither is a man identical with what belongs to a man, nor fire with what belongs to fire itself, and in like manner God is not the same as that which belongs to God.

23. For I am aware that the Son of God is revealed under the title Spirit of God in order that we may understand the presence of the Farther in Him, and that the term Spirit of God may be employed to indicate Either, and that this is shewn not only on the authority of prophets but of evangelists also, when it is said, The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me; therefore He hath anointed Me. And again, Behold My Servant Whom I have chosen, My beloved in Whom My soul is well pleased, I will put My Spirit upon Him.

And when the Lord Himself bears witness of Himself, But if I in the Spirit of God cast out devils, then has the kingdom of God come upon you. For the passages seem without any doubt to denote either Father or Son, while they yet manifest the excellence of nature.

24. For I think that the expression ‘Spirit of God’ was used with respect to Each, lest we should believe that the Son was present in the Father or the Father in the Son in a merely corporeal manner, that is, lest God might be thought to abide in one position and exist nowhere else apart from Himself. For a man or any other thing like him, when he is in one place, cannot be in another, because what is in one place is confined to the place where it is: his nature cannot allow him to be everywhere when he exists in some one position. But God is a living Force, of infinite power, present everywhere and nowhere absent, and manifests His whole self through His own, and signifies that His own are naught else than Himself, so that where they are He may be understood to be Himself. Yet we must not think that, after a corporeal fashion, when He is in one place He ceases to be everywhere, for through His own things He is still present in all places, while the things which are His are none other than His own self. Now these things have been said to make us understand what is meant by ‘nature.’

25. Now I think that it ought to be clearly understood that God the Father is denoted by the Spirit of God, because our Lord Jesus Christ declared that the Spirit of the Lord was upon Him since He anoints Him and sends Him to preach the Gospel. For in Him is made manifest the excellence of the Father’s nature, disclosing that the Son partakes of His nature even when born in the flesh through the mystery of this spiritual unction, since after the birth ratified in. His baptism this intimation of His inherent Sonship was heard as a voice bore witness from Heaven: — Thou art My Son; this day have begotten Thee. For not even He Himself can be understood as resting upon Himself or coming to Himself from Heaven, or as bestowing on Himself the title of Son: but all this demonstration was for our faith, in order that under the mystery of a complete and true birth we should recognize that the unity of the nature dwells in the Son Who had begun to be also man. We have thus found that in the Spirit of God the Father is designated; but we understand that the Son is indicated in the same way, when He says: But if I in the Spirit of God cast out devils, then

has the kingdom of God come upon you. That is, He shews clearly that He, by the power of His nature, casts out devils, which cannot be cast out save by the Spirit of God. The phrase ‘Spirit of God’ denotes also the Paraclete Spirit, and that not only on the testimony of prophets but also of apostles, when it is said: — This is that which was spoken through the Prophet, It shall come to pass on the last day, saith the Lord, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and their sans and their daughters shall prophesy And we learn that all this prophecy was fulfilled in the case of the Apostles, when, after the sending of the Holy Spirit, they all spoke with the tongues of the Gentiles.

26. Now we have of necessity set these things forth with this object, that in whatever direction the deception of heretics betakes itself, it might yet be kept in check by the boundaries and limits of the gospel truth. For Christ dwells in us, and where Christ dwells God dwells. And when the Spirit of Christ dwells in us, this indwelling means not that any other Spirit dwells in us than the Spirit of God. But if it is understood that Christ dwells in us through the Holy Spirit, we must yet recognize this Spirit of God as also the Spirit of Christ. And since the nature dwells in us as the nature of one substantive Being, we must regard the nature of the Son as identical with that of the Father, since the Holy Spirit Who is both the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of God is proved to be a Being of one nature. I ask now, therefore, how can They fail to be one by nature? The Spirit of Truth proceeds from the Father, He is sent by the Son and receives from the Son. But all things that the Father hath are the Son’s, and for this cause He Who receives from Him is the Spirit of God but at the same time the Spirit of Christ. The Spirit is a Being of the nature of the Son but the same Being is of the nature of the Father. He is the Spirit of Him Who raised Christ from the dead; but this is no other than the Spirit of Christ Who was so raised. The nature of Christ and of God must differ in some respect so as not to be the same, if it can be shewn that the Spirit which is of God is not the Spirit of Christ also.

27. But you, heretic, as you wildly rave and are driven about by the Spirit of your deadly doctrine the Apostle seizes and constrains, establishing Christ for us as the foundation of our faith, being well aware also of that saying of our Lord, If a man love Me, he will also keep My word; and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him, and make Our abode

with him. For by this He testified that while the Spirit of Christ abides in us the Spirit of God abides in us, and that the Spirit of Him that was raised from the dead differs not from the Spirit of Him that raised Him from the dead. For they come and dwell in us: and I ask whether they will come as alleges associated together and make Their abode, or in unity of nature? Nay, the teacher of the Gentiles contends that it is not two Spirits — the Spirits of God and of Christ — that are present in those who believe, but the Spirit of Christ which is also the Spirit of God. This is no joint indwelling, it is one indwelling: yet an indwelling under the mysterious semblance of a joint indwelling, for it is not the case that two Spirits indwell, nor is one that indwells different from the other. For there is in us the Spirit of God and there is also in us the Spirit of Christ, and when the Spirit of Christ is in us there is also in us the Spirit of God. And so since what is of God is also of Christ, and what is of Christ is also of God, Christ cannot be anything different from what God is. Christ, therefore, is God, one Spirit with God.

28. Now the Apostle asserts that those words in the Gospel, I and the Father are one, imply unity of nature and not a solitary single Being, as he writes to the Corinthians, Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man in the Spirit of God calleth Jesus anathema. Perceivest thou now, O heretic, in what spirit thou callest Christ a creature? For since they are under a curse who have served the creature more than the Creator — in affirming Christ to be a creature, learn what thou art, since thou knowest full well that the worship of the creature is accursed. And observe what follows, And no one can call Jesus Lord, but in the Holy Spirit. Dost thou perceive what is lacking to thee, when thou deniest Christ what is His own? If thou holdest that Christ is Lord through His Divine nature, thou hast the Holy Spirit. But if He be Lord merely by a name of adoption thou lackest the Holy Spirit, and art animated by a spirit of error: because no one can call Jesus Lord, but in the Holy Spirit. But when thou sayest that He is a creature rather than God, although thou stylest Him Lord, still thou dost not say that He is the Lord. For to thee He is Lord as one of a common class and by a familiar name, rather than by nature. Yet learn from Paul His nature.

29. For the Apostle goes on to say, Now there are diversities of gifts, but there is the same Spirit; and there are diversities of ministrations but one

and the same Lord; and there are diversities of workings but the same God, Who worketh all things in all. But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit for that which profiteth. In this passage before us we perceive a fourfold statement: in the diversity of gifts it is the same Spirit, in the diversity of ministrations it is the very same Lord, in the diversity of workings it is the same God, and in the bestowal of that which is profitable there is a manifestation of the Spirit. And in order that the bestowal of what is profitable might be recognized in the manifestation of the Spirit, he continues: To one indeed is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit; to another faith in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healing in the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.

30. And indeed that which we called the fourth statement, that is the manifestation of the Spirit in the bestowal of what is profitable, has a clear meaning. For the Apostle has enumerated the profitable gifts through which this manifestation of the Spirit took place. Now in these diverse activities that Gift is set forth in no uncertain light of which our Lord had spoken to the apostles when He taught them not to depart from Jerusalem; but wait, said He, for the promise of the Father which ye heard from My lips: for John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, which ye shall also receive not many days hence. And again: But ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost cometh upon you; and ye shall be My witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. He bids them wait for the promise of the Father of which they had beard from His lips. We may be sure that here we have a reference to the Father’s same promise. Hence it is by these miraculous workings that the manifestation of the Spirit takes place. For the gift of the Spirit is manifest, where wisdom makes utterance and the words of life are heard, and where there is the knowledge that comes of God-given insight, lest after the fashion of beasts through ignorance of God we should fail to know the Author of our life; or by faith in God, lest by not believing the Gospel of God, we should be outside His Gospel; or by the gift of healings, that by the cure of diseases we should bear witness to His grace Who bestoweth these things; or by the working

of miracles, that what we do may be understood to be the power of God, or by prophesy, that through our understanding of doctrine we might be known to be taught of God; or by discerning of spirits, that we should not be unable to tell whether any one speaks with a holy or a perverted spirit; or by kinds of tongues, that the speaking in tongues may be bestowed as a sign of the gift of the Holy Spirit; or by the interpretation of tongues, that the faith of those that hear may not be imperiled through ignorance, since the interpreter of a tongue explains the tongue to those who are ignorant of it. Thus in all these things distributed to each one to profit withal there is the manifestation of the Spirit, the gift of the Spirit being apparent through these marvelous advantages vestowed upon each.

31. Now the blessed Apostle Paul in revealing the secret of these heavenly mysteries, most difficult to human comprehension, has preserved a clear enunciation and a carefully worded caution in order to shew that these diverse gifts are given through the Spirit and in the Spirit (for to be given through the Spirit and in the Spirit is not the same thing), because the granting of a gift which is exercised in the Spirit is yet bestowed through the Spirit. But he sums up these diversities of gifts thus: Now all these things worketh one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one as He will. Now, therefore, I ask what Spirit works these things, dividing to each one according as He wills: is it He by Whom or He in Whom there is this distribution of gifts? But if any one shall dare to say that it is the same Person which is indicated, the Apostle will refute so faulty an opinion, for he says above, And there are diversities of workings, but the same God Who worketh all things in all. So there is one Who distributes and another in Whom the distribution is vouchsafed. Yet know that it is always God Who worketh all these things, but in such a way that Christ works, and the Son in His working performs the Father’s work. And if in the Holy Spirit thou confessest Jesus to be Lord, understand the force of that threefold indication in the Apostle’s letter; forasmuch as in the diversities of gifts, it is the same Spirit, and in the diversities of ministrations it is the same Lord, and in the diversities of workings it is the same God; and again, one Spirit that worketh all things distributing to each according as He will. And grasp the idea if thou canst that the Lord in the distribution of ministrations, and God in the distribution of workings, are this one and the same Spirit Who both works and distributes as He will; because in the

distribution of gifts there is one Spirit, and the same Spirit works and distributes.

32. But if this one Spirit of one Divinity, one in both God and Lord through the mystery of the birth, does not please thee, then point out to me what Spirit both works and distributes these diverse gifts to us, and in what Spirit He does this. But, thou must shew me nothing but what accords with our faith, because the Apostle shews us Who is to be understood, saying, For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. He affirms that diversities of gifts come from one Lord Jesus Christ Who is the body of all. Because after he had made known the Lord in ministration, and made known also God in workings, he yet shews that one Spirit both works and distributes all these things, distributing these varieties of His gracious gifts for the perfecting of one body.

33. Unless perchance we think that the Apostle did not keep to the principle of unity in that he said, And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord, and there are diversities of workings, but the same God. So that because he referred ministrations to the Lord and workings to God, be does not appear to have understood one and the same Being in ministrations and operations. Learn how these members which minister are also members which work, when he says, Ye are the body of Christ, and of Him members indeed. For God hath set same in the Church, first apostles, in whom is the word of wisdom; secondly prophets, in whom is the gift of knowledge thirdly teachers, in whom is the doctrine of faith; next mighty works, among which are the healing of diseases, the power to help,, governments by the prophets, and gifts of either speaking or interpreting divers kinds of tongues. Clearly these are the Church’s agents of ministry and work of whom the body of Christ consists; and God has ordained them. But perhaps thou maintainest that they have not been ordained by Christ, because it was God Who ordained them. But thou shall hear what the Apostle says himself: Now to each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of Christ. And again, He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens that He might fill all things. And he gave some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and same, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of

the saints, for the work of ministering. Are not then the gifts of ministration Christ's, while they are also the gifts of God?

34. But if impiety has assumed to itself that because he says, The same Lord and the same God, they are not in unity of nature, I will support this interpretation with what you deem still stronger arguments. For the same Apostle says, But for us there is one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him. And again, One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is both through all, and in us all. By these words one God and one Lord it would seem that to God only is attributed, as to one God, the property of being God; since the property of oneness does not admit of partnership with another. Verily how rare and hard to attain are such spiritual gifts! How truly is the manifestation of the Spirit seen in the bestowal of such useful gifts! And with reason has this order in the distribution of graces been appointed, that the foremost should be the word of wisdom; for true it is, And no one can call Jesus Lord but in the Holy Spirit, because but through this word of wisdom Christ could not be understood to be Lord; that then there should follow next the word of understanding, that we might speak with understanding what we know, and might know the word of wisdom; and that the third gift should consist of faith, seeing that those leading and higher graces would be unprofitable gifts did we not believe that He is God. So that in the true sense of this greatest and most noble utterance of the Apostle no heretics possess either the word of wisdom or the word of knowledge or the faith of religion, inasmuch as willful wickedness, being incapable of understanding, is void of knowledge of the word and of genuineness of faith. For no one utters what he does not know; nor can he believe that which he cannot utter; and thus when the Apostle preached one God, a proselyte as He was from the Law, and called to the gospel of Christ, he has attained to the confession of a perfect faith. And lest the simplicity of a seemingly unguarded statement might afford heretics any opportunity for denying through the preaching of one God the birth of the Son, the Apostle has set forth one God while indicating His peculiar attribute in these words, One God the Father, of Whom are all thing, and we in Him, in order that He Who is God might also be acknowledged as Father. Afterwards, inasmuch as this bare belief in one God the Father would not suffice for salvation, he added, And one, our

Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him, shewing that the purity of saving faith consists in the preaching of one God and one Lord, so that we might believe in one God the Father and one Lord Jesus Christ. For he knew full well how our Lord had said, For this is the will of My Father, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth on Him should have eternal life. But in fixing the order of the Church's faith, and basing our faith upon the Father and the Son, he has uttered the mystery of that indivisible and indissoluble unity and faith in the words one God and one Lord.

35. First of all, then, O heretic that hast no part in the Spirit which spoke by the Apostle, learn thy folly. If thou wrongly employest the confession of one God to deny the Godhead of Christ, on the ground that where one God exists He must be regarded as solitary, and that to be One is characteristic and peculiar to Him Who is One, — what sense wilt thou assign to the statement that Jesus Christ is one Lord? For if, as thou assertest, the fact that the Father alone is God has not left to Christ the possibility of Godhead, it must needs be also according to thee that the fact of Christ being one Lord does not leave God the possibility of being Lord, seeing that thou wilt have it that to be One must be the essential property of Him Who is One. Hence if thou deniest that the one Lord Christ is also God, thou must needs deny that the one God the Father is also Lord. And what will the greatness of God amount to if He be not Lord, and the power of the Lord if He be not God: since it(viz., the greatness or power) causes that to be God which is Lord, and makes that Lord which is God?

36. Now the Apostle, maintaining the true sense of the Lord's saying, I and the Father are one, whilst He asserts that Both are One, signifies that Both are One not after the manner of the soleness of a single being, but in the unity of the Spirit; for one God the Father and one Christ the Lord, since Each is both Lord and God, do not yet admit in our creed either two Gods or two Lords. So then Each is one, and though one, neither is sole. We shall not be able to express the mystery of the faith except in the words of the Apostle. For there is one God and one Lord, and the fact that there is one God and one Lord proves that there is at once Lordship in God, and Godhead in the Lord. Thou canst not maintain a trojan of person, so making God single; nor yet canst thou divide the Spirit, so preventing

the Two from being One. Nor in the one God and one Lord wilt thou be able to separate the power, so that He Who is Lord should not also be God, and He Who is God should not also be Lord. For the Apostle in the enunciation of the Names has taken care not to preach either two Gods or two Lords. And for this reason he has employed such a method of teaching as in the one Lord Christ to set forth also one God, and in the one God the Father to set forth also one Lord. And, not to misguide us into the blasphemy that God is solitary, which would destroy the birth of the Only-begotten God, he has confessed both Father and Christ.

37. Unless perchance the frenzy of utter desperation will venture to rush to such lengths that, inasmuch as the Apostle has called Christ Lord, no one ought to acknowledge Him as aught else save Lord, and that because He has the property of Lord He has not the true Godhead. But Paul knows full well that Christ is God, for he says, Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ, Who is Gad over all. It is no creature here who is reckoned as God; nay, it is the God of things created Who is God over all.

38. Now that He Who is God over all is also Spirit inseparable from the Father, learn also from that very utterance of the Apostle, of which we are now speaking. For when he confessed one God the Father from Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through Whom are all things; what difference, I ask, dirt he intend by saying that all things are from God and that all things are through Christ? Can He possibly be regarded as of a nature and spirit separable from Himself, He from Whom and through Whom are all things? For all things have come into being through the Son out of nothing, and the Apostle has referred them to God the Father, From Whom are all things, but also to the Son, through Whom are all things. And I find here no difference, since by Each is exercised the same power. For if with regard to the subsistence of the universe it was an exact sufficient statement that things created are from God, what need was there to state that the things which are from God are through Christ, unless it be one and the same thing to be through Christ and from God? But as it has been ascribed to Each of Them that They are Lord and God in such wise that each title belongs to Both, so too from Whom and through Whom is here referred to Both; and this to shew the unity of Both, not to make known God’s singleness. The language of the Apostle affords no opening for wicked error, nor is his faith too exalted for careful statement. For he has

guarded himself by those specially appropriate words from being understood to mean two Gods or a solitary God: for while he rejects oneness of person he yet does not divide the unity of Godhead. For this from Whom are all things and through Whom are all things, although it did not posit a solitary Deity in the sole possession of majesty, must yet set forth One not different in efficiency, since from Whom are all things and through Whom are all things must signify an Author of the same nature engaged in the same work. He affirms, moreover, that Each is properly of the same nature. For after announcing the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God, and after asserting the mystery of His inscrutable judgments and avowing our ignorance of His ways past finding out, he has yet made use of the exercise of human faith, and rendered this homage to the depth of the unsearchable and inscrutable mysteries of heaven, for of Him and through Him and in Him are all things: to Him be glory for ever. Amen. He employs to indicate the one nature, that which cannot but be the work of one nature.

39. For whereas he has specially ascribed to God that all things are from Him, and he has assigned as a peculiar property to Christ, that all things are through Him, and it is now the glory of God that from Him and through Him and in Him are all things; and whereas the Spirit of God is the same as the Spirit of Christ, or whereas in the ministration of the Lord and in the working of God, one Spirit both works and divides, They cannot but be one Whose properties are those of one; since in the same Lord the Son, and in the same God the Father, one and the same Spirit distributing in the same Holy Spirit accomplishes all things. How worthy is this saint of the knowledge of exalted and heavenly mysteries, adopted and chosen to share in the secret things of God, preserving a due silence over things which may not be uttered, true apostle of Christ! How by the announcement of his clear teaching has he restrained the imaginations of human willfulness, confessing, as he does, one God the Father and one Lord Jesus Christ, so that meanwhile no one can either preach two Gods or one solitary God; although He Who is not one person cannot multiply into two Gods, nor on the other hand can They Who are not two Gods be understood to be one single person; while meantime the revelation of God as Father demonstrates the true nativity of Christ.

40. Thrust out now your quivering and hissing tongues, ye vipers of heresy, whether it be thou Sabellius or thou Photinus, or ye who now preach that the Only-begotten God is a creature. Whosoever denies the Son shall hear of one God the Father, because inasmuch as a father becomes a father only by having a son, this name Father necessarily connotes the existence of the Son. And again, let him who takes away from the Son the unity of an identical nature, acknowledge one Lord Jesus Christ. For unless through unity of the Spirit He is one Lord room will not be left for God the Father to be Lord. Again, let him who holds the Son to have become Son in time and by His Incarnation, learn that through Him are all things and we through Him, and that His timeless Infinity was creating all things before time was. And meanwhile let him read again that there is one hope of our calling, and one baptism, and one faith; if, after that, he oppose himself to the preaching of the Apostle, he, being accursed because he framed strange doctrines of his own device, is neither called nor baptized nor believing; because in one God the Father and in one Lord Jesus Christ there lies the one faith of one hope and baptism. And no alien doctrine can boast that it has a place among the truths which belong to one God and Lord and hope and baptism and faith.

41. So then the one faith is, to confess the Father in the Son and the Son in the Father through the unity of an indivisible nature, not confused but inseparable, not intermingled but identical, not conjoined but coexisting, not incomplete but perfect. For there is birth not separation, there is a Son not an adoption; and He is God, not a creature. Neither is He a God of a different kind, but the Father and Son are one: for the nature was not altered by birth so as to be alien from the property of its original. So the Apostle holds the faith of the Son abiding in the Father and the Father in the Son when he proclaims that for him there is one God the Father and one Lord Christ, since in Christ the Lord there was also God, and in God the Father there was also Lord, and They Two are that unity which is God, and They Two are also that unity which is the Lord, for reason indicates that there must be something imperfect in God unless He be Lord, and in the Lord unless He were God. And so since Both are one, and Both are implied under either name, and neither exists apart from the unity, the Apostle has not gone beyond the preaching of the Gospel in his

teaching, nor does Christ when He speaks in Paul differ from the words which He spoke while abiding in the world in bodily form.

42. For the Lord had said in the gospels, Work not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto life eternal, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for Him the Father, even God, hath sealed. They said therefore unto Him, What must we do that we may work the works of God? And He said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him Whom He hath sent. In setting forth the mystery of His Incarnation and His Godhead our Lord has also uttered the teaching of our faith and hope that we should work for food, not that which perisheth but that which abideth for ever; that we should remember that this food of eternity is given us by the Son of Man; that we should know the Son of Man as sealed by God the Father; that we should know that this is the work of God, even faith in Him Whom He has sent. And Who is it Whom the Father has sent? Even He Whom the Father has sealed. And Who is He Whom the Father has sealed? In truth, the Son of Man, even He who gives the food of eternal life. And further who are they to whom He gives it? They who shall work for the food that does not perish. Thus, then, the work for this food is at the same time the work of God, namely, to believe on Him Whom He has sent. But these words are uttered by the Son of Man. And how shall the Son of Man give the food of life eternal? Why, he knows not the mystery of his own salvation, who knows not that the Son of Man, bestowing food unto life eternal, has been sealed by God the Father. At this point I now ask in what sense are we to understand that the Son of Man has been sealed by God the Father?

43. Now we ought to recognize first of all that God has spoken not for Himself but for us, and that He has so far tempered the language of His utterance as to enable the weakness of our nature to grasp and understand it. For after being rebuked by the Jews for having made Himself the equal of God by professing to be the Son of God, He had answered that He Himself did all things that the Father did, and that He had received all judgment from the Father; moreover that He must be honored even as the Father. And in all these things having before declared Himself Son, He had made Himself equal to the Father in honor, power and nature. Afterwards He had said that as the Father had life in Himself, so He had given the Son to have life in Himself, wherein He signified that by virtue of the mystery

of the birth He possessed the unity of the same nature. For when He says that He has what the Father has, He means that He has the Father's self. For that God is not after human fashion of a composite being, so that in Him there is a difference of kind between Possessor and Possessed; but all that He is life, a nature, that is, complete, absolute and infinite, not composed of dissimilar elements but with one life permeating the whole. And since this life was in such wise given as it was possessed, although the fact the it was given manifestly reveals the birth of the Recipient, it yet does not involve a difference of kind since the life given was such as was possessed.

44. Therefore after this manifold and precise revelation of the presence of the Father's nature in Himself, He goes on to say, For Him hath the Father sealed, even God. It is the nature of a seal to exhibit the whole form of the figure graven upon it, and that an impression taken from it reproduces it in every respect; and since it receives the whole of that which is impressed, it displays also in itself wholly whoever has been impressed upon it. Yet this comparison is not adequate to exemplify the Divine birth, because in seals there is a matter, difference of nature, and an act of impression, whereby the likeness of stronger natures is impressed upon things of a more yielding nature. But the Only-begotten God, Who was also through the Mystery of our salvation the Son of Man, desiring to point out to us the likeness of His Father's proper nature in Himself, said that He was sealed by God; because the Son of Man was about to give the food of eternal life, and that we thereby might perceive in Him the power of giving food unto eternity, in that He possessed within Himself all the fullness of His Father's form, even of the God Who sealed Him: so that what God had sealed should display in itself none other than the form of the God Who sealed it. These things indeed the Lord spoke to the Jews, who could not receive His saying because of unbelief.

45. But in us the preacher of the Gospel by the Spirit of Christ Who spoke through him, instills the knowledge of this His proper nature when he says, Who, being in the form of God, thought it not a thing to grasp a that He was equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant. For He, Whom God had sealed, could be naught else than the form of God, and that which has been sealed in the form of God must needs present at the same time imaged forth within itself all that God possesses.

And for this cause the Apostle taught that He Whom God sealed is God abiding in the form of God. For when about to speak of the Mystery of the batty assumed and born in Him, he says, He thought it not a thing to grasp at that He was equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant. As regards His being in the form of God, by virtue of God's seal upon Him, he still remained God. But inasmuch as He was to take the form of a servant and become obedient unto death, not grasping at His equality with God, He emptied Himself through obedience to take the form of a slave. And He emptied Himself of the form of God, that is, of that wherein He was equal with God — not that He regarded His equality with God as any encroachment, — although He was in the form of God and equal with God and sealed by God as God.

46. At this point I ask whether He Who abides as God in the form of God is a God of another kind, as we perceive in the case of seals in respect of the likenesses which stamp and those which are stamped, since a steel die impressed upon lead or a gem upon wax shapes the figure cut in it or imprints that which stands in relief upon it. But if there be any one so foolish and senseless as to think that that, pertaining to Himself, which God fashions to be God, is aught but God, and that He Who is in the form of God is in any respect anything else save God after the mystery of His Incarnation and of His humility, made perfect through obedience even unto the death of the cross, he shall hear, by the confession of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth and of every tongue, that Jesus is in the glory of God the Father. If then, when His form had become that of a slave He abides in such glory, how, I ask, did He abide when in the form of God? Must not Christ the Spirit have been in the nature of Gods — for this is what is meant by 'in the glory of God' — when Christ as Jesus, that is, born as man, exists in the glory of God the Father?

47. In all things the blessed Apostle preserves the unchangeable teaching of the Gospel faith. The Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed as God in such wise that neither does the Apostle's faith, by calling Him a God of a different order, fall away to the confession of two Gods, nor by making God the Son inseparable from the Father does it leave an opening for the unholy doctrine of a single and solitary God. For when he says, in the form of God and in the glory of the Father the Apostle neither teaches that They differ one from another, nor allows us to think of Him as not existing. For

He Who is in the form of God neither ends by becoming another God nor Himself loses His Godhead: for He cannot be severed from the form of God since He exists in it, nor is He, Who is in the form of God, not God Just as He Who is in the glory of God cannot be aught else than God, and, since He is God in the glory of God, cannot be proclaimed as another God and one different from the true God, seeing that by reason of the fact that He is in the glory of God He possesses naturally from Him in Whose glory He is, the property of divinity.

48. But there is no danger that the one faith will cease to be such through diversity in its preaching. The Evangelist had taught that our Lord said, He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also. But has Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, forgotten or kept back the meaning of the Lord's words, when he says, Who is the image of the invisible God? I ask whether He is the visible likeness of the invisible God, and whether the infinite God can also be presented to view under the likeness of a finite form? For a likeness must needs repeat the form of that of which it is the likeness. Let those, however, who will have a nature of a different sort in the Son determine what sort of likeness of the invisible God they wish the Son to be. Is it a bodily likeness exposed to the gaze, and moving from place to place with human gait and motion? Nay, but let them remember that according to the Gospels and the Prophets both Christ is a Spirit and God is a Spirit. If they confine this Christ the Spirit within the bounds of shape and body, such a corporeal Christ will not be the likeness of the invisible God, nor will a finite limitation represent that which is infinite.

49. But, as it is, neither did the Lord leave us in doubt: He who hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also; nor was the Apostle silent as to His nature, Who is the image of the invisible God. For the Lord had said, If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not, teaching them to see the Father in Himself in that He did the works of the Father; that through perceiving the power of His nature they might understand the nature of that power which they perceived. Wherefore the Apostle proclaiming that this is the image of God, says, Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in Him were all things made in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him and in Him, and He is before all, and for Him all things consist. And He is the

head of the body, the Church, Who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence. For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fullness dwell, and through Him all things should be reconciled to Him. So through the power of these works He is the image of God. For assuredly the Creator of things invisible is not compelled by any necessity inherent in His nature to be the visible image of the invisible God. And lest He should be regarded as the likeness of the form and not of the nature, He is styled the likeness of the invisible God in order that we may understand by His exercise of the powers (not the invisible attributes) of the Divine nature, that that nature is in Him.

50. He is accordingly the first-born of every creature because in Him all things were created. And lest any one should dare to refer to any other than Him the creation of all things in Himself, he says, All things have been created through Him and in Him, and He is before all, and far Him all things consist. All things then consist for Him Who is before all things, and in Whom are all things. Now this indeed describes the origin of created things. But concerning the dispensation by which He assumed our body, he adds, And He is the head of the body, the Church: Who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead: that in all things He might have the pre-eminence. For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fullness dwell, and that through Him all things should be reconciled to Him. The Apostle has assigned to the spiritual mysteries their material effects. For He Who is the image of the invisible God is Himself the head of His body, the Church, and He Who is the first-born of every creature is at the same time the beginning, the first born from the dead: that in all things He might have the pre-eminence, being for us the Body, while He is also the image of God, since He, Who is the first-born of created things, is at the same time the first-born for eternity; so that as to Him things spiritual, being created in the First-born, owe it that they abide, even so all things human also owe it to Him that in the First-born from the dead they are born again into eternity. For He is Himself the beginning, Who as Son is therefore the image, and because the image, is of God. Further He is the first-born of every created thing, possessing in Himself the origin of the universe: and again He is the head of His body, the Church, and the first-born from the dead, so that in all things He has

the pre-eminence. And because all things consist for Him, in Him the fullness of the Godhead is pleased to dwell, for in Him all things are reconciled through Him to Him, through Whom all things were created in Himself.

51. Do you now perceive what it is to be the image of God? It means that all things are created in Him through Him. Whereas all things are created in Him, understand that He, Whose image He is, also creates all things in Him. And since all things which are created in Him are also created through Him, recognize that in Him Who is the image there is present the nature of Him, Whose image He is. For through Himself He creates the things which are created in Him, just as through Himself all things are reconciled in Him. Inasmuch as they are reconciled in Him, recognize in Him the nature of the Father's unity, reconciling all things to Himself in Him. Inasmuch as all things are reconciled through Him, perceive Him reconciling to the Father in Himself all things which He reconciled through Himself. For the same Apostle says, But all things are from God, Who reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation: to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. Compare with this the whole mystery of the faith of the Gospel. For He Who is seen when Jesus is seen, Who works in His works, and speaks in His words, also reconciles in His reconciliation. And for this cause, in Him and through Him there is reconciliation, because the Father abiding in Him through a like nature restored the world to Himself by reconciliation through and in Him.

52. Thus God out of regard for human weakness has not set forth the faith in bare and uncertain statements. For although the authority of our Lord's mere words of itself compelled their acceptance, He nevertheless has informed our reason by a revelation which explains their meaning, that we might learn to know His words, I and the Father are one, by means of that which was itself the cause of the unity in question. For in saying that the Father speaks in His words, and works through His working, and judges through His judgment, and is seen in His manifestation, and reconciles through His reconciliation, and abides in Him, while He in turn abides in the Father, — what more fitting words, I ask, could He have employed in His teaching to suit the faculties of our reason, that we might believe in Their unity, than those by which, through the truth of the birth and the

unity of the nature, it is declared that whatever the Son did and said, the Father said and did in the Son? This says nothing of a nature foreign to Himself, or added by creation to God, or born into Godhead by a partition of God, but it betokens the divinity of One Who by a perfect birth is begotten perfect God, Who has so confident an assurance of His nature that He says, I in the Father and the Father in Me, and again, All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine. For nought of the Godhead is lacking in Him, in Whose working and speaking and manifestation God works and speaks and is beheld. They are not two Gods, Who in their working and words and manifestation put on a semblance of unity. Neither is He a solitary God. Who in the works and words and sight of God, Himself worked and spoke and was seen as God. The Church understands this. The Synagogue does not believe, philosophy does not know, that being One of One, Whole of Whole, God and Son, He has neither by His birth deprived the Father of His completeness, nor failed to possess the same completeness in Himself by right of His birth. And whosoever is caught in this folly of unbelief is a disciple either of the Jews or of the heathen.

53. Now that you may understand the saying of the Lord, when He said, All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine, learn the teaching and faith of the Apostle who said, Take heed lest any lead you astray through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world and not after Christ; for in Him dwelleth the fullness of Godhead bodily. That man is of the world and savors of the teaching of men and is the victim of philosophy, who does not know Christ to be the true God, who does not recognize in Him the fullness of Godhead. The mind of man knows only that which it understands, and the world’s powers of belief are limited, since it judges according to the laws of the material elements that that alone is possible which it can see or do. For the elements of the world have come into being out of nothing, but Christ’s continuity of existence did not begin in the non-existent, nor did He ever begin to exist, but He took from the beginning a beginning which is eternal. The elements of the world are either without life, or have issued out of this stage into life, but Christ is life, born to be living God from the living God. The elements of the world have been established by God, but they are not God: Christ as God of God is Himself wholly all that God is. The elements of the world, since they are within it, cannot possibly rise out of their

condition and cease to be within it, but Christ, while having God within Himself through the Mystery, is Himself in God. The elements of the universe, generating from themselves creatures with a life like their own, do indeed through the exercise of their bodily functions bestow upon them from their own bodies the beginnings of life, but they are not themselves present as living beings in their offspring, whereas in Christ all the fullness of the Godhead is present in bodily shape.

54. Now I ask, whose Godhead is it whereof the fullness dwells in Him? If it be not that of the Father, what other God do you, misleading preacher of one God, thrust upon me as Him Whose Godhead dwells fully in Christ? But if it be that of the Father, inform me how this fullness dwells in Him in bodily fashion. If you hold that the Father abides in the Son in bodily fashion, the Father, while dwelling in the Son, will not exist in Himself. If on the other hand, and this is more true, the Godhead abiding in Him in bodily shape displays within Him the verity of the nature of God from God, inasmuch as God is in Him, abiding neither through condescension nor through will but by birth, true and wholly in bodily fullness according as He is; and inasmuch as, in the whole compass of His being, He was born by His divine birth to be God, and within the Godhead there is no difference or dissimilarity, except that in Christ He dwells in bodily form, and yet whatever dwells in Him bodily is according to the fullness of Godhead; why follow after the doctrines of men? Why cleave to the teaching of empty falsehoods? Why talk of ‘agreement’ or ‘harmony of will’ or ‘a creature?’ The fullness of Godhead dwells in Christ bodily.

55. The Apostle has herein held fast to the canon of his faith, by teaching that the fullness of the Godhead dwelt in Christ bodily; and this, in order that the teaching of the faith might not degenerate into an unholy profession of a oneness of Persons or sinful frenzy break forth into the belief of two different natures. For the fullness of Godhead which dwells in Christ in bodily fashion is neither solitary nor separable; for the fullness in bodily form does not admit any partition from the other bodily fullness, and the indwelling Godhead cannot be regarded as also the dwelling-place of the Godhead. And Christ is so constituted that the fullness of Godhead dwells in Him in bodily fashion, and that this fullness must be held one in nature with Christ. Lay hands on every chance that offers for your quibbles, sharpen the points of your blasphemous wit. Name, at least, the

imaginary being whose fullness of Godhead it is which dwells in Christ in bodily fashion. For He is Christ, and there is dwelling in Him in bodily fashion the fullness of Godhead.

56. And if you would know what it is to ‘dwell in bodily fashion,’ understand what it is to speak in one that speaks, to be seen in one who is seen, to work in one who works, to be God in God, whole of whole, one of one; and thus learn what is meant by the fullness of God in bodily shape. Remember, too, that the Apostle does not keep silence on the question, whose Godhead it is, which dwells fully in Christ in bodily fashion, for he says, For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity. So it is His Godhead that dwells in Christ in bodily fashion, not partially but wholly, not parcelwise but in fullness; and so dwelling that the Two are one, and so one, that the One Who is God does not differ from the Other Who is God: Both so equally divine, as a perfect birth engendered perfect God. And the birth exists thus in its perfection, because the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily in God born of God.

BOOK 9

1. IN the last book we treated of the indistinguishable nature of God the Father and God the Son, and demonstrated that the words, I and the Father are One, go to prove not a solitary God, but a unity of the Godhead unbroken by the birth of the Son: for God can be born only of God, and He that is born God of God must be all that God is. We reviewed, although not exhaustively, yet enough to make our meaning clear, the sayings of our Lord and the Apostles, which teach the inseparable nature and power of the Father and the Son; and we came to the passage in the teaching of the Apostle, where he says, Take heed lest there shall be any one that leadeth you astray through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ; for in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. We pointed out that here the words, in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, prove Him true and perfect God of His Father's nature, neither severing Him from, nor identifying Him with, the Father. On the one hand we are taught that, since the incorporeal God dwelt in Him bodily, the Son as God begotten of God is in natural unity with the Father: and on the other hand, if God dwelt in Christ, this proves the birth of the personal Christ in Whom He dwell. We have thus, it seems to me, more than answered the irreverence of those who refer to a unity or agreement of will such words of the Lord as, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father, or, The Father is in Me and I in the Father, or, I and the Father are One, or, All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine. Not daring to deny the words themselves, these false teachers, in the mask of religion, corrupt the sense of the words. For instance, it is true that where the unity of nature is proclaimed the agreement of will cannot be denied; but in order to set aside that unity which follows from the birth, they profess merely a relationship of mutual harmony. But the blessed Apostle, after many indubitable statements of the real truth, cuts short their rash and profane assertions, by saying, in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, for by the bodily indwelling of the incorporeal God in Christ is taught the strict unity of Their nature. It is, therefore, not a matter of words, but a real truth that the Son was not alone, but the Father abode in Him: and not only abode, but also worked and spoke: not only worked and spoke, but also manifested

Himself in Him. Through the Mystery of the birth the Son's power is the power of the Father, His authority the Father's authority, His nature the Father's nature. By His birth the Son possesses the nature of the Father: as the Father's image, He reproduces from the Father all that is in the Father, because He is the reality as well as the image of the Father, for a perfect birth produces a perfect image, and the fullness of the Godhead dwelling bodily in Him indicates the truth of His nature.

2. All this is indeed as it is: He, Who is by nature God of God, must possess the nature of His origin, which God possesses, and the indistinguishable unity of a living nature cannot be divided by the birth of a living nature. Yet nevertheless the heretics, under cover of the saving confession of the Gospel faith, are stealing on to the subversion of the truth: for by forcing their own interpretations on words uttered with other meanings and intentions, they are robbing the Son of His natural unity. Thus to deny the Son of God, they quote the authority of His own words, Why callest than Me good? None is good, save one, God. These words, they say, proclaim the Oneness of God: anything else, therefore, which shares the name of God, cannot possess the nature of God, for God is One. And from His words, This is life eternal, that they should know Thee the only true God, they attempt to establish the theory that Christ is called God by a mere title, not as being very God. Further, to exclude Him from the proper nature of the true God, they quote, The Son can do nothing of Himself except that which He hath seen the Father do. They use also the text, The Father is greater than I Finally, when they repeat the words, Of that day and that hour knoweth no one, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only, as though they were the absolute renunciation of His claim to divinity, they boast that they have overthrown the faith of the Church. The birth, they say, cannot raise to equality the nature which the limitation of ignorance degrades. The Father's omniscience and the Son's ignorance reveal unlikeness in the Divinity, for God must be ignorant of nothing, and the ignorant cannot be compared with the omniscient. All these passages they neither understand rationally, nor distinguish as to their occasions, nor apprehend in the light of the Gospel mysteries, nor realize in the strict meaning of the words and so they impugn the divine nature of Christ with crude and insensate rashness, quoting single detached utterances to catch the ears of the

unwary, and keeping back either the sequel which explains or the incidents which prompted them, though the meaning of words must be sought in the context before or after them.

3. We will offer later an explanation of these texts in the words of the Gospels and Epistles themselves. But first we hold it right to remind the members of our common faith, that the knowledge of the Eternal is presented in the same confession which gives eternal life. He does not, he cannot know his own life, who is ignorant that Christ Jesus was very God, as He was very man. It is equally perilous, whether we deny that Christ Jesus was God the Spirit, or that He was flesh of our body: Every one therefore who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven. So said the Word made flesh; so taught the man Jesus Christ, the Lord of majesty, constituted Mediator in His own person for the salvation of the Church, and being in that very mystery of Mediatorship between men and God, Himself one Person, both man and God. For He, being of two natures united for that Mediatorship, is the full reality of each nature; while abiding in each, He is wanting in neither; He does not cease to be God because He becomes man, nor fail to be mall because He remains for ever God. This is the true faith for human blessedness, to preach at once the Godhead and the manhood, to confess the Word and the flesh, neither forgetting the God, because He is man, nor ignoring the flesh, because He is the Word.

4. It is contrary to our experience of nature, that He should be born man and still remain God; bill it accords with the tenor of our expectation, that being born man, He still remained God, for when the higher nature is born into the lower, it is credible that the lower should also be born into the higher. And, indeed, according to the laws and habits of nature, the working of our expectation even anticipates the divine mystery. For in every tiling that is born, nature has the capacity for increase, but has no power of decrease. Look at the trees, the crops, the cattle. Regard man himself, the possessor of reason. He always expands by growth, he does not contract by decrease; nor does he ever lose the self into which he has grown. He wastes indeed with age, or is cut off by death; he undergoes change by lapse of time, or reaches the end allotted to the constitution of

life, yet it is not in his power to cease to be what he is; I mean that he cannot make a new self by decrease from his old self, that is, become a child again from an old man. So the necessity of perpetual increase, which is imposed on our nature by natural law, leads us on good grounds to expect its promotion into a higher nature, since its increase is according to, and its decrease contrary to, nature. It was God alone Who could become something other than before, and yet not cease to be what He had ever been; Who could shrink within the limits of womb, cradle, and infancy, yet not depart from the power of God. This is a mystery, not for Himself, but for us. The assumption of our nature was no advancement for God, but His willingness to lower Himself is our promotion, for He did not resign His divinity but conferred divinity on man.

5. The Only-begotten God, therefore, when He was born man of the Virgin, and in the fullness of time was about in His own person to raise humanity to divinity, always maintained this form of the Gospel teaching. He taught, namely, to believe Him the Son of God, and exhorted to preach Him the Son of Man; man saying and doing all that belongs to God; God saying and doing all that belongs to man. Yet never did He speak without signifying by the twofold aspect of these very utterances both His manhood and His divinity. Though He proclaimed one God the Father, He declared Himself to be in the nature of the one God, by the truth of His generation. Yet in His office as Son and His condition as man, He subjected Himself to God the Father, since everything that is born must refer itself back to its author, and all flesh must confess itself weak before God. Here, accordingly, the heretics find opportunity to deceive the simple and ignorant. These words, uttered in His human character, they falsely refer to the weakness of His divine nature; and because He was one and the same Person in all His utterances, they claim that He spoke always of His entire self.

6. We do not deny that all the sayings which are preserved of His, refer to His nature. But, if Jesus Christ be man and God, neither God for the first time, when He became man, nor then ceasing to be God, nor after He became Man in God less than perfect man and perfect God, then the mystery of His words must be one and the same with that of His nature. When according to the time indicated, we disconnect His divinity from humanity, then let us also disconnect His language as God from the

language of man; when we confess Him God and man at the same time, let us distinguish at the same time His words as God and His words as man; when after His manhood and Godhead, we recognize again the time when His whole manhood is wholly God, let us refer to that time all that is revealed concerning it. It is one thing, that He was God before He was man, another, that He was man and God, and another, that after being man and God, He was perfect man and perfect God. Do not then confuse the times and natures in the mystery of the dispensation, for according to the attributes of His different natures, He must speak of Himself in relation to the mystery of His humanity, in one way before His birth, in another while He was yet to die, and in another as eternal.

7. For our sake, therefore, Jesus Christ, retaining all these attributes, and being born man in our body, spoke after the fashion of our nature without concealing that divinity belonged to His own nature. In His birth, His passion, and His death, He passed through all the circumstances of our nature, but He bore them all by the power of His own. He was Himself the cause of His birth, He willed to suffer what He could not suffer, He died though He lives for ever. Yet God did all this not merely through man, for He was born of Himself, He suffered of His own free will, and died of Himself. He did it also as man, for He was really born, suffered and died. These were the mysteries of the secret counsels of heaven, determined before the world was made. The Only-begotten God was to become man of His own will, and man was to abide eternally in God. God was to suffer of His own will, that the malice of the devil, working in the weakness of human infirmity, might not confirm the law of sin in us, since God had assumed our weakness. God was to die of His own will, that no power, after that the immortal God had constrained Himself within the law of death, might raise up its head against Him, or put forth the natural strength which He bad created in it. Thus God was born to take us into Himself, suffered to justify us, and died to avenge us; for our manhood abides for ever in Him, the weakness of our infirmity is united with His strength, and the spiritual powers of iniquity and wickedness are subdued in the triumph of our flesh, since God died through the flesh.

8. The Apostle, who knew this mystery, and had received the knowledge of the faith through the Lord Himself, was not unmindful, that neither the world, nor mankind, nor philosophy could contain Him, for he writes,

Take heed, lest there shall be any one that leadeth you astray through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Jesus Christ, for in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and in Him ye are made full, Who is the head of all principalities and powers. After the announcement that in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, follows immediately the mystery of our assumption, in the words, in Him ye are made full. As the fullness of the Godhead is in Him, so we are made full in Him. The Apostle says not merely ye are made full, but, in Him ye are made full; for all who are, or shall be, regenerated through the hope of faith to life eternal, abide even now in the body of Christ; and afterwards they shall be made full no longer in Him, but in themselves, at the time of which the Apostle says, Who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory. Now, therefore, we are made full in Him, that is, by the assumption of His flesh, for in Him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Nor has this our hope a light authority in Him. Our fullness in Him constitutes His headship and principality over all power, as it is written, That in His name every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things below, and every tongue confess that fester is Lord in the glory of God life Father. Jesus shall be confessed in the glory of God the Father, born in man, yet now no longer abiding in the infirmity of our body. but in the glory of God. Every tongue shall confess this. But though all things in heaven and earth shall bow the knee to Him, yet herein He is head of all principalities and powers, that to Him the whole universe shall bow the knee in submission, in Whom we are made full, Who through the fullness of the Godhead dwelling in Him bodily, shall be confessed in the glory of God the Father.

9. But after the announcement of the mystery of Christ’s nature, and our assumption, that is, the fullness of Godhead abiding in Christ, and ourselves made full in Him by His birth as man, the Apostle continues the dispensation of human salvation in the words. In whom ye were also circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the stripping off of the body of the flesh, but with the circumcision of Christ, having been buried with Him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with Him through faith in the working of God, who raised Him from the dead. We are circumcised not with a fleshly circumcision but with the circumcision of

Christ, that is, we are born again into a new man; for, being buried with Him in His baptism, we must die to the old man, because the regeneration of baptism has the force of resurrection. The circumcision of Christ does not mean the putting off of foreskins, but to die entirely with Him, and by that death to live henceforth entirely to Him. For we rise again in Him through faith in God, Who raised Him from the dead; wherefore we must believe in God, by Whose Working Christ was raised from the dead, for our faith rises again in and with Christ.

10. Then is completed the entire mystery of the assumed manhood, And you being dead through your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, you I say, did He quicken together with Him, having, forgiven you all your trespasses, blotting out the bond written in ordinances, that was against us, which was contrary to us; and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing a to the cross, and having put off from Himself His flesh, He hath made a shew of powers, triumphing over them in Himself. The worldly man cannot receive the faith of the Apostle, nor can any language but that of the Apostle explain his meaning. God raised Christ from the dead; Christ in Whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily. But He quickened us also together with Him, forgiving us our sins, blotting out the bond of the law of sin, which through the ordinances made aforetime was against us, taking it out of the way, and fixing it to His cross, stripping Himself of His flesh by the law of death, holding up the powers to shew, and triumphing over them in Himself. Concerning the powers and how He triumphed over them in Himself, and held them up to shew, and the bond which he blotted out, and the life which He gave us, we have already spoken. But who can understand or express this mystery? The working of God raises Christ from the dead; the same working of God quickens us together with Christ, forgives our sins, blots out the bond, and fixes it to the cross; He puts off from Himself His flesh, holds up the powers to shew, and triumphs over them in Himself. We have the working of God raising Christ from the dead, and we have Christ working in Himself the very things which God works in Him, for it was Christ who died, stripping from Himself His flesh. Hold fast then to Christ the man, raised from the dead by God, and hold fast to Christ the God, working out our salvation when He was yet to die. God works in Christ, but it is Christ Who strips from Himself His flesh and dies. It was Christ who died, and

Christ Who worked with the power of God before His death, yet it was the working of God which raised the dead Christ, and it was none other who raised Christ from the dead but Christ Himself, Who worked before His death, and put off His flesh to die.

11. Do you understand already the Mysteries of the Apostle's Faith? Do you think to know Christ already? Tell me, then, Who is it Who strips from Himself His flesh, and what is that flesh stripped off? I see two thoughts expressed by the Apostle, the flesh stripped off, and Him Who strips it off: and then I hear of Christ raised from the dead by the working of God. If it is Christ Who is raised from the dead, and God Who raises Him; Who, pray, strips from Himself the flesh? Who raises Christ from the dead, and quickens us with Him? If the dead Christ be not the same as the flesh stripped off, tell me the name of the flesh stripped off, and expound me the nature of Him Who strips it off. I find that Christ the God, Who was raised from the dead, is the same as He Who stripped from Himself His flesh, and that flesh, the same as Christ Who was raised from the dead; then I see Him holding principalities and powers up to shew, and triumphing in Himself. Do you understand this triumphing in Himself? Do you perceive that the flesh stripped off, and He Who strips it off, are not different from one another? He triumphs in Himself, that is in that flesh which He stripped from Himself. Do you see that thus are proclaimed His humanity and His divinity, that death is attributed to the man, and the quickening of the flesh to the God, though He Who dies and He Who raises the dead to life are not two, but one Person? The flesh stripped off is the dead Christ: He Who raises Christ from the dead is the same Christ Who stripped from Himself the flesh. See His divine nature in the power to raise again, and recognize in His death the dispensation of His manhood. And though either function is performed by its proper nature, yet remember that He Who died, and raised to life, was one, Christ Jesus.

12. I remember that the Apostle often refers to God the Father as raising Christ from the dead; but he is not inconsistent with himself or at variance with the Gospel faith, for the Lord Himself says: — Therefore doth the Father love Me, because I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No one shall take it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This command have I received from the Father: and again, when asked to shew a sign concerning Himself,

that they night believe in Him, He says of the Temple of His body, Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up. By the power to take His soul again and to raise the Temple up, He declares Himself God, and the Resurrection His own work: yet He refers all to the authority of His Father's command. This is not contrary to the meaning of the Apostle, when He proclaims Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God, thus referring all the magnificence of His work to the glory of the Father: for whatever Christ does, the power and the wisdom of God does: and whatever the power and the wisdom of God does, without doubt God Himself does, Whose power and wisdom Christ is. So Christ was raised from the dead by the working of God; for He Himself worked the works of God the Father with a nature indistinguishable from God's. And our faith in the Resurrection rests on the God Who raised Christ from the dead.

13. It is this preaching of the double aspect of Christ's Person which the blessed Apostle emphasizes. He points out in Christ His human infirmity, and His divine power and nature. Thus to the Corinthians he writes, For though He was crucified through weakness, yet He liveth through the power of God, attributing His death to human infirmity, but His life to divine power: and again to the Romans, For the death, that He died unto sin, He died once: but the life, that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Even so reckon ye yourselves also to he dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus, ascribing His death to sin, that is, to our body, but His life to God, Whose nature it is to live We ought, therefore, he says, to die to our body, that we may live to God in Christ Jesus, Who after the assumption of our body of sin, lives now wholly unto God, uniting the nature He shared with us with the participation of divine immortality.

14. I have been compelled to dwell briefly on this, lest we should forget our Lord Jesus Christ is being treated of as a Person of two natures, since He, Who was abiding in the form of God, took the form of a servant, in which He was obedient even unto death. The obedience of death has nothing to do with the form of God, just as the form of God is not inherent in the form of a servant. Yet through the Mystery of the Gospel Dispensation the I same Person is in the form of a servant and in the form of God, though it is not the same thing to take the form of a servant and to be abiding in the form of God; nor could He Who was abiding in the form of God, take the form of a servant without emptying Himself, since the

combination of the two forms would be incongruous. Yet it was not another and a different Person Who emptied Himself and Who took the form of a servant. To take anything cannot be predicated of some one who is not, for he only can take who exists. The emptying of the form does not then imply the abolition of the nature: He emptied Himself, but did not lose His self: He took a new form, but remained what He was. Again, whether emptying or taking, He was the same Person: there is, therefore, a mystery, in that He emptied Himself, and took the form of a servant, but He does not come to an end, so as to cease to exist in emptying Himself, and to be non-existent when He took. The emptying availed to bring about the taking of the servant's form, but not to prevent Christ, Who was in the form of God, from continuing to be Christ, for it was in very deed Christ Who took the form of a servant. When He emptied Himself to become Christ the man, while continuing to be Christ the Spirit, the changing of His bodily fashion, and the assumption of another nature in His body, did not put an end to the nature of His eternal divinity, for He was one and the same Christ when He changed His fashion, and when He assumed our nature.

15. We have now expounded the Dispensation of the Mysteries, through which the heretics deceive certain of the unlearned into ascribing to infirmity in the divinity, what Christ said and did through His assumed human nature, and attributing to the form of God what is appropriate only to the form of the servant. Let us pass on, then, to answer their statements in detail. We can always safely distinguish the two kinds of utterances, since the only true faith lies in the confession of Jesus Christ as Word and flesh, that is, God and Man. The heretics consider it necessary to deny that our Lord Jesus Christ by virtue of His nature was divine, because He said, Why callest thou Me good? None is good save one, God. Now a satisfactory answer must stand in direct relation to the matter of enquiry, for only in that case will it furnish a reply to the question put. At the outset, then, I would ask these misinterpreters, "Do you think that the Lord resented being called good?" Would He rather have been called bad, as seems to be signified by the words, Why callest thou Me good? I do not think any one is so unreasonable as to ascribe to Him a confession of wickedness, when it was He Who said, Come unto Me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Take My yoke upon you, and

learn of Me: for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy and My burden is light. He says He is meek and lowly: can we believe that He was angry because He was called good? The two propositions are inconsistent. He Who witnesses to His own goodness would not repudiate the name of Good. Plainly, then, He was not angry because He was called good: and if we cannot believe that He resented being called good, we must ask what was said of Him which He did resent.

16. Let us see, then, how the questioner styled Him, beside calling Him good. He said, Good Master, what good thing shall I do? adding to the title of "good" that of master. If Christ then did not chide because He was called good, it must have been because He was called "good Master." Further the manner of His reproof shews that it was the disbelief of the questioner, rather than the name of master, or of good, which He resented. A youth, who provides himself upon the observance of the law, but did not know the end of the law, which is Christ, who thought himself justified by works, without perceiving that Christ came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to those who believe that the law cannot save through the faith of justification, questioned the Lord of the law, the Only-begotten God, as though He were a teacher of the common precepts and the writings of the law. But the Lord, abhorring this declaration of irreverent unbelief, which addresses Him as a teacher of the law, answered, Why callest thou Me good? and to shew how we may know, and call Him good, He added, None is good, save one, God, not repudiating the name of good, if it be given to Him as God.

17. Then, as a proof that He resents the name "good master," on the ground of the unbelief, which addresses Him as a man, He replies to the vain-glorious youth, and his boast that he had fulfilled the law, One thing thou lackest; go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me. There is no shrinking from the title of "good" in the promise of heavenly treasures, no reluctance to be regarded as "master" in the offer to lead the way to perfect blessedness. But there is reproof of the unbelief which draws an earthly opinion of Him from the teaching, that goodness belongs to God alone. To signify that He is both good and God, He exercises the functions of goodness, opening the heavenly treasures, and offering Himself as guide to

them. All the homage offered to Him as man He repudiates, but he does not disown that which He paid to God; for at the moment when He confesses that the one God is good, His words and actions are those of the power and the goodness and the nature of the one God.

18. That He did not shrink from the title of good, or decline the office of master, but resented the unbelief which perceived no more in Him than body and flesh, may be proved from the difference of His language, when the apostles confessed Him their Master, Ye call Me Master, and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am; and on another occasion, Be yet not called masters, far Christ is your Master. From the faithful, to whom He is master, He accepts the title with words of praise, but here He rejects the name “good master,” when He is not acknowledged to be the Lord and the Christ, and pronounces the one God alone good, but without distinguishing Himself from God, for He calls Himself Lord, and Christ, and guide to the heavenly treasures.

19. The Lord always maintained this definition of the faith of the Church, which consists in teaching that there is one God the Father, but without separating Himself from the mystery of the one God, for He declared Himself, by the nature which is His by birth, neither a second God, nor the sole God. Since the nature of the One God is in Him, He cannot be God of a different kind from Him; His birth requires that, being Son, it should be with a perfect Sonship. So He can neither be separated from God nor merged in God. Hence He speaks in words deliberately chosen, so that whatever He claims for the Father, He signifies in modest language to be appropriate to Himself also. Take as an instance the command, Believe in God, and believe also in Me. He is identified with God in honor; how, pray, can He be separated from His nature? He says, Believe in Me also, just as He said Believe in God. Do not the words in Me signify His nature? Separate the two natures, but you must separate also the two beliefs. If it be life, that we should believe in God without Christ, strip Christ of the name and qualities of God. But if perfect life is given to those who believe in God, only when they believe in Christ also, let the careful reader ponder the meaning of the saying, Believe in God, and believe in Me also, for these words, uniting faith in Him with faith in God, unite His nature to God’s. He enjoins first of all the duty of belief in God, but adds to it the command that we should believe in Himself also; which implies

that He is God, since they who believe in God must also believe in Him. Yet He excludes the suggestion of a unity contrary to religion, for the exhortation Believe in God, believe in Me also, forbids us to think of Him as alone in solitude.

20. In many, nay almost all His discourses, He offers the explanation of this mystery, never separating Himself from the divine unity, when He confesses God the Father, and never characterizing God as single and solitary, when He places Himself in unity with Him. But nowhere does He more plainly teach the mystery of His unity and His birth than when He says, But the witness which I have is greater than that of John, for the works which the Father hath given Me to accomplish, the very works that I do, bear witness of Me, that the Father hath sent Me, and the Father which sent Me, He hath borne witness of Me. Ye have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His form. And ye have not His word abiding in you, for Whom He sent, Him ye believe not How can the Father be truly said to have borne witness of the Son, when neither He Himself was seen, nor His voice heard? Yet I remember that a voice was heard from Heaven, which said, This is My beloved Son, in Whom I have been well pleased; hear ye Him. How can it be said that they did not hear the voice of God, when the voice which they heard itself asserted that it was the Father's voice? But perhaps the dwellers in Jerusalem had not heard what John had heard in the solitude of the desert. We must ask, then, "How did the Father bear witness in Jerusalem?" It is no longer the witness given to John, who heard the voice from heaven, but a witness greater than that of John. What that witness is He goes on to say, The works which the Father hath given me to accomplish, the very works which I do, bear witness of Me, that the Father hath sent Me. We must admit the authority of the testimony, for no one, except the Son sent of the Father, could do such works. His works are therefore His testimony. But what follows? And the Father, which sent Me, He hath borne witness of Me. Ye have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His form, and ye have not His word abiding in you. Are they blameless, in that they did not know the testimony of the Father, Who was never heard or seen amongst them, and Whose word was not abiding in them? No, for they cannot plead that His testimony was hidden from them; as Christ says, the testimony of His works is the testimony of the Father concerning Him. His works testify of

Him that He was sent of the Father; but the testimony of these works is the Father's testimony; since, therefore, the working of the Son is the Father's testimony, it follows of necessity that the same nature was operative in Christ, by which the Father testifies of Him. So Christ, Who works the works, and the Father Who testifies through them, are revealed as possessing one inseparable nature through the birth, for the operation of Christ is signified to be itself the testimony of God concerning Him.

21. They are not, therefore, acquitted of blame for not recognizing the testimony; for the works of Christ are the Father's testimony concerning Him. Nor can they plead ignorance of the testimony on the ground that they had not heard the voice of the Testifier, nor seen His form, nor had His word abiding in them. For immediately after the words, Ye have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His form, and ye have not His word abiding in you, He points out why the voice was not heard, nor the form seen, and the word did not abide in them, though the Father had testified concerning Him: For Whom He sent, Him ye believe not; that is, if they had believed Him, they would have heard the voice of God, and seen the form of God, and His word would have been in them, since through the unity of Their nature the Father is heard and manifested and possessed in the Son. Is He not also the expression of the Father, since He was sent from Him? Does He distinguish Himself by any difference of nature from the Father, when He says that the Father, testifying of Him, was neither heard, nor seen, nor understood, because they did not believe in Him, Whom the Father sent? The Only-begotten God does not, therefore, separate Himself from God when He confesses God the Father; but, proclaiming by the word "Father" His relationship to God. He includes Himself in the honor due to God.

22. For, in this very same discourse in which He pronounces that His works testify of Him that He was sent of the Father, and asserts that the Father testifies of Him, that He was sent from Him, He says, The honor of Him, Who alone is God, ye seek not. This is not, however, a bare statement, without any previous preparation for the belief in His unity with the Father. Hear what precedes it, Ye will not come to Me that ye may have life. I receive not glory from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in yourselves. I am come in My Father's name, and ye receive Me not: if another shall come in His name, him ye will receive.

How can ye believe, which receive glory, from men, and the glory of Him, Who alone is God, ye seek not He disdains the glory of men, for glory should rather be sought of God. It is the mark of unbelievers to receive glory of one another: for what glory can man give to man? He says He knows that the love of God is not in them, and pronounces, as the cause, that they do not receive Him coming in His Father's name. "Coming in His Father's name:" what does that mean but "coming in the name of God?" Is it not because they rejected Him Who came in the name of God, that the love of God is not in them? Is it not implied that He has the nature of God, when He says, Ye will not come to Me that ye may have life. Hear what He said of Himself in the same discourse, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they there hear shall live. He comes in the name of the Father: that is, He is not Himself the Father, yet is in the same divine nature as the Father: for as Son and God it is natural for Him to come in the name of the Father. Then, another coming in the same name they will receive: but he is one from whom men will expect glory, and to whom they will give glory in return, though he will feign to have come in the name of the Father. By this, doubtless, is signified the Antichrist, glorying in his false use of the Father's name. Him they will glorify, and will be glorified of him: but the glory of Him, Who alone is God, they will not seek.

23. They have not the love of God in them, He says, because they rejected Him coming in the name of the Father, but accepted another, who came in the same name, and received glory of one another, but neglected the glory of Him, Who is the only true God. Is it possible to think that He separates Himself from the glory of the only God, when He gives as the reason why they seek not the glory of the only God, that they receive Antichrist, and Himself they will not receive? To reject Him is to neglect the glory of the only God; is not, then, His glory the glory of the only God, if to receive Him steadfastly was to seek the glory of the only God? This very discourse is our witness: for at its beginning we read, That all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which sent Him. It is only things of the same nature that are equal in honor; equality of honor denotes that there is no separation between the honored. But with the revelation of the birth is combined, the demand for equality of honor. Since the Son is to be honored

as the Father', and since they seek not the honor of Him, Who is the only God, He is not excluded from the honor of the only God, for His honor is one and the same as that of God: just as He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father also, so he who seeks not the honor of the only God, seeks not the honor of Christ also. Accordingly the honor of Christ is inseparable from the honor of God. By His words, when the news of Lazarus' sickness was brought to Him, He illustrates the complete identification of Father and Son in honor: This sickness is not unto death, but far the glory of God, that the Son of Man may be glorified through him Lazarus dies for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified through him. Is there any doubt that the glory of the Son of God is the glory of God, when the death of Lazarus, which is glorious to God, glorifies the Son of God? Thus Christ is declared to be one in nature with God the Father through His birth, since the sickness of Lazarus is for the glory of God, and at the same time the Mystery of the faith is not violated, for the Son of God is to be glorified through Lazarus. The Son of God is to be regarded as God, yet He is none the less to be confessed also Son of God: for by glorifying God through Lazarus, the Son of God is glorified.

24. By the mystery of the divine nature we are forbidden to separate the birth of the living Son from His living Father. The Son of God suffers no such change of kind, that the truth of His Father's nature does not abide in Him. For even where, by the confession of one God only, He seems to disclaim for Himself the nature of God by the term "only," nevertheless, without destroying the belief in one God, He places Himself in the unity of the Father's nature. Thus, when the Scribe asked Him, which is the chief commandment of the law, He answered, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord: thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy spirit, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like unto it, Than shall love thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. They think that He severs Himself from the nature and worship of the One God when He pronounces as the chief commandment, Hear, O Israel, the Land our God is one Lord, and does not even make Himself the object of worship in the second commandment, since the law bids us to love our neighbor, as it bids us to believe in one God. Nor must we pass over the

answer of the Scribe, Of a truth thou hast well said, that God is one, and there is none other but He: and to love Him with all the heart, and all the strength and all the soul, and to love his neighbor as himself, this is greater than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices. The answer of the Scribe seems to accord with the words of the Lord, for He too proclaims the innermost and inmost love of one God, and professes the love of one's neighbor as real as the love of self, and places love of God and love of one's neighbor above all the burnt offerings of sacrifices. But let us see what follows.

25. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, He said unto him, Thou art not far from the kingdom of Gads. What is the meaning of such moderate praise? Believe in one God, and love Him with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy heart, and love thy neighbor as thyself; if this be the faith which makes man perfect for the Kingdom of God, why is not the Scribe already within, instead of not far from the Kingdom of Heaven? It is in another strain that He grants the Kingdom of Heaven to those who clothe the naked, feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, and visit the sick and the prisoner, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; or rewards the poor in spirit, Blessed are the poor in spirit: far theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Their gain is perfect, their possession complete, their inheritance of the kingdom prepared for them is secured. But was this young man's confession short of theirs? His ideal of duty raises love of neighbor to the level of love of self; what more did he want to attain to the perfection of good conduct? To be occasionally charitable, and ready to help, is not perfect love; but perfect love has fulfilled the whole duty of charity, when a man leaves no debt to his neighbor unpaid, but gives him as much as he gives,himself. But the Scribe was debarred from perfection, because he did not know the mystery which had been accomplished. He received, indeed, the praise of the Lord for his profession of faith, he heard the reply that he was not far from the kingdom, but he was not put in actual possession of the blessed hope. His course, though ignorant, was favorable; he put the love of God before all things, and charity towards his neighbor on a level with love of self. And when he ranked the love of God even higher than charity towards his

neighbor, he broke through the law of burnt offerings and sacrifices; and that was not far from the mystery of the Gospel.

26. We may perceive also, from the words of our Lord Himself, why He said, Thou art not far from the Kingdom of Heaven, rather than, Thou shall be in the Kingdom of Heaven. Then follows: And no man after that durst ask Him any question. And Jesus answered and said, as He taught in the Temple, How say the Scribes that the Christ is the Son of David? David himself saith in the Holy Spirit, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou an My right hand, till I make Thine enemies the footstool of Thy feet (Psalm 110:1). David himself calleth Him Lord, and whence is He his Son? The Scribe is not far from the Kingdom of God when he confesses one God, Who is to be loved above all things. But his own statement of the law is a reproach to him that the mystery of the law has escaped him, that he does not know Christ the Lord, the Son of God, by the nature of His birth to be included in the confession of the one God. The confession of one God according to the law seemed to leave no room for the Son of God in the mystery of the one Lord; so He asks the Scribe, how he can call Christ the Son of David, when David calls Him his Lord, since it is against the order of nature that the son of so great a Patriarch should be also his Lord. He would bid the Scribe, who regards Him only in respect of His flesh, and His birth from Mary, the daughter of David, to remember that, in respect of His Spirit, He is David's Lord rather than his son; that the words, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, do not sever Christ from the mystery of the One Lord, since so great a Patriarch and Prophet calls Him his Lord, as the Son begotten of the Lord before the morning star. He does not pass over the law, or forget that none other is to be confessed Lord, but without violating the faith of the law, He teaches that He is Lord, in that He had His being by the mystery of a natural birth from the substance of the incorporeal God. He is one, born of one, and the nature of the one Lord has made Him by nature Lord.

27. What room is any longer left for doubt? The Lord Himself proclaiming that the chief commandment of the law is to confess and love the one Lord, proves Himself to be Lord not by words of His own, but by the Prophet's testimony, always signifying, however, that He is Lord, because He is the Son of God. By virtue of His birth He abides in the mystery of the one God, for the birth transmitting with it, as it did, the nature of God is not

the issuing forth of another God with a different nature; and, because the generation is real, neither is the Father degraded from being Lord, nor is the Son born less than Lord. The Father retains His authority, the Son obtains His nature. God the Father is one Lord, but the Only-begotten God the Lord is not separated from the One, since He derives His nature as Lord from the one Lord. Thus by the law Christ teaches that there is one Lord; by the witness of the prophets He proves Himself Lord also.

28. May the faith of the Gospel ever profit thus by the rash contentions of the ungodly to defend itself with the weapons of their attack, and conquering with the arms prepared for its destruction, prove that the words of the one Spirit are the doctrine of the one faith! For Christ is none other than. He is preached, namely the true God, and abiding in the glory of the one true God. Just as He proclaims Himself Lord out of the law, even when He seems to deny the fact, so in the Gospels He proves Himself the true God, even when He appears to confess the opposite. To escape the acknowledgment that He is the true God, the heretics plead that He said, And this is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God. and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ. When He says, Thee, the only true God, they think He excludes Himself from the reality of God by the restriction of solitariness; for the only true God cannot be understood except as a solitary God. It is true the Apostolic faith does not suffer us to believe in two true Gods, for nothing which is foreign to the nature of the one God can be put on equality with the truth of that nature; and there is more than one God in the reality of the one God, if there exists outside the nature of the only true God a true God of another kind, not possessing by virtue of His birth the same nature with Him.

29. But by these very words He proclaims Himself plainly to be true God in the nature of the only true God. To understand this, let our answer proceed from statements which He made previously, though the connection is unbroken right down to these words. We can then establish the faith step by step, and let the confidence of our freedom rest at last on the summit of our argument, the true Godhead of Christ. There comes first the mystery of His words, He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father; and, Do ye not believe Me that! am in the Father and the Father in Me? The words that I say unto you, I speak not front Myself; but the Father abiding in Me, Himself doeth His works. Believe Me that I and in the

Father and the Father in Me: or else believe Me for the very works' sake. At the close of this discourse, teeming with deep mysteries, follows the reply of the disciples, Now know we that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask thee: by this we believe that Thou camest forth front God. They perceived in Him the nature of God by the divine powers which He exercised; for to know all things, and to read the thoughts of the heart belongs to the Son, not to the mere messenger of God. They confessed, therefore, that He was come from God, because the power of the divine nature was in Him.

30. The Lord praised their understanding, and answered not that He was sent from, but that He was come out from, God, signifying by the words "come out from" the great fact of His birth from the incorporeal God. He had already proclaimed the birth in the same language, when He said, Ye love Me, and believe that I came out from the Father, and came from the Father into this world. He had come from the Father into this world, because He had come out from God. To shew that He signifies His birth by the coming out, He adds that He has come from the Father; and since He had come out from God, because He had come from the Father, that "coming out," followed, as it is, by the confession of the Father's name, is simply and solely the birth. To the Apostles, then, as understanding this mystery of His coming out, He continues, Ye believe now, Behold the hour cometh, yea is come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave Me alone: yet I am not alone, because the Father is with Me. He would shew that the "coming out" is not a separation from God the Father, but a birth, which by His being born continues in Him the nature of God the Father, and therefore He adds that He is not alone, but the Father is with Him; in power, that is, and unity of nature, for the Father was abiding in Him, speaking in His words, and working in His works. Lastly to shew the reason of this whole discourse, He adds, These things I have spoken to you, that in Me ye may have peace. In this world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer, for I have overcame the worlds. He has spoken these things unto them, that in Him they may abide in peace, not torn asunder by the passion of dissension over debates about the faith. He was left alone, but was not alone, for He had come out from God, and there abode still in Him the God, from Whom He had come out. Therefore he bade them, when they were harassed in the world, to wait for

His promises, for since He had come out from God, and God was still in Him, He had conquered the world.

31. Then, finally, to express in words the whole Mystery, He raised His eyes to heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come: glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee. Even as Thou gavest Him authority over all flesh, that, whatsoever Thou hast given Him, to them He should give eternal life. Do you call Him weak because He asks to be glorified? So be it, if He does not ask to be glorified in order that He may Himself glorify Him by Whom He is glorified. Of the receiving and giving of glory we have spoken in another book, and it would be superfluous to go over the question again. But of this at least we are certain, that He prays for glory in order that the Father may be glorified by granting it. But perhaps He is weak in that He receives power over all flesh. And indeed the receiving of power might be a sign of weakness if He were not able to give to those whom He receives life eternal. Yet the very fact of receiving is used to prove inferiority of nature. It might, if Christ were not true God by birth as truly as is the Unbegotten. But if the receiving of power signifies neither more nor less than the Birth, by which He received all that He has, that gift does not degrade the Begotten, because it makes Him perfectly and entirely what God is. God Unbegotten brought God Only-begotten to a perfect birth of divine blessedness: it is, then, the mystery of the Father to be the Author of the Birth, but it is no degradation to the Son to be made the perfect image of His Author by a real birth. ‘The giving of power over all flesh, and this, in order that to all flesh might be given eternal life, postulates the Fatherhood of the Giver and the Divinity of the Receiver: for by giving is signified that the One is the Father, and in receiving the power to give eternal life, the Other remains God the Son. All power is therefore natural and congenital to the Son of God; and though it is given, that does not separate Him from His Author, for that which is given is the property of His Author, power to bestow eternal life. to change the corruptible into the incorruptible. The Father gave all, the Son received all; as is plain from His words, All things, whatsoever the Father hath, are Mine. He is not speaking here of species of created things, and processes of material change, but He unfolds to us the glory of the blessed and perfect Divinity, and teaches us that God is here manifested as the sum of His attributes, His power, His eternity. His providence, His authority; not

that we should think that He possesses these as something extraneous to Himself, but that by these His qualities He Himself has been expressed in terms partly comprehensible by our sense. The Only-be-gotten, therefore, taught that He had all that the Father has, and that the Holy Spirit should receive of Him: as He says, All things, whatsoever the Father hath, are Mine; therefore I said, He shall take of Mine. All that the Father hath are His, delivered and received: but these gifts do not degrade His divinity, since they give Him the same attributes as the Father.

32. These are the steps by which He advances the knowledge of Himself. He teaches that He is come out from the Father, pro-. claims that the Father is with Him, and testifies that He has conquered the world. He is to be glorified of the Father, and will glorify Him: He will use the power He has received, to give to all flesh eternal life. Then hear the crowning point, which concludes the whole series, and this is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ. Learn, heretic, to confess, if you cannot believe, the faith which gives eternal life. Separate, if you can, Christ from God, the Son from the Father, God over all from the true God, the One from the Only: if, as you say, eternal life is to believe in one only true God without Jesus Christ. But if there is no eternal life in a confession of the only true God, which separates Christ from Him, how, pray, can Christ be separated from the true God for our faith, when He is not separable for our salvation?

33. I know that labored solutions of difficult questions do not find favor with the reader, but it will perhaps be to the advantage of the faith if I permit myself to postpone for a time the exposition of the full truth, and wrestle against the heretics with these wonts of the Gospel. You hear the statement of the Lord, This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ. What is it, pray, which suggests to you that Christ is not the true God? No further indication is given to shew you what you should think of Christ. There is nothing but Jesus Christ: not Son of Man, as He generally called Himself: not San of God, as He often declared Himself: not the living bread which cometh down from Heaven, as He repeated to the scandal of many. He says, Thee, the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ, omitting all His usual names and titles, natural and assumed. Hence, if the confession of the only true God, and at Jesus Christ, gives us

eternal life, without doubt the name Jesus Christ has here the full sense of that of God.

34. But perhaps by saying, Thee the only, Christ severs Himself from communion and unity with God. Yes, but after the words, Thee the only true God, does He not immediately continue, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ? I appeal to the sense of the reader: what must we believe Christ to be, when we are commanded to believe in Him also, as well as the Father the only true God? Or, perhaps, if the Father is the only true God, there is no room for Christ to be God. It might be so, if, because there is one God the Father, Christ were not the one Lord. The fact that God the Father is one, leaves Christ none the less the one Lord: and similarly the Father's one true Godhead makes Christ none the less true God: for we can only obtain eternal life if we believe in Christ, as well as in the only true God

35. Come, heretic, what will your fatuous doctrine instruct us to believe of Christ; Christ, Who dispenses eternal life, Who is glorified of, and glorifies, the Father, Who overcame the world, Who, deserted, is not alone, but has the Father with Him, Who came out from God, and came from the Father? He is born with such divine powers; what of the nature and reality of God will you allow Him? It is in vain that we believe in the only true God the Father, unless we believe also in Him, Whom He sent, even Jesus Christ. Why do you hesitate? Tell us, what is Christ to be confessed? You deny what has been written: what is left, but to believe what has not been written? O unhappy willfulness! O falsehood striving against the truth! Christ is united in belief and confession with the only true God the Father: what faith is it, pray, to deny Him to be true God, and to call Him a creature, when it is no faith to believe in the only true God without Christ? But you are narrow, heretic, and unable to receive the Holy Spirit. The sense of the heavenly words escapes you; stung with the asp's poison of error, you forget that Christ is to be confessed true God in the faith of the only true God, if we would obtain eternal life.

36. But the faith of the Church, while confessing the only true God the Father, confesses Christ also. It does not confess Christ true God without the Father the only true God; nor the Father the only true God without Christ. It confesses Christ true God, because it confesses the Father the

only true God. Thus the fact that God the Father is the only true God constitutes Christ also true God. The Only-begotten God suffered no change of nature by His natural birth: and He Who, according to the nature of His divine origin was born God from the living God, is, by the truth of that nature, inalienable from the only true God. Thus there follows from the true divine nature its necessary result, that the outcome of true divinity must be a true birth, and that the one God could not produce from Himself a God of a second kind. The mystery of God consists neither in simplicity, nor in multiplicity: for neither is there another God, Who springs from God with qualities of His own nature, nor does God remain as a single Person, for the true birth of the Son teaches us to confess Him as Father. The begotten God did not, therefore, lose the qualities of His nature: He possesses the natural power of Him, Whose nature He retains in Himself by a natural birth. The divinity in Him is not changed, or degenerate, for if His birth had brought with it any defect, it would more justly cast upon the Nature, through which He came into being, the reflection of having failed to implant in its offspring the properties of itself. The change would not degrade the Son, Who had passed into a new substance by birth, but the Father, Who had been unable to maintain the constancy of His nature in the birth of the Son, and had brought forth something external and foreign to Himself.

37. But, as we have often said, the inadequacy of human ideas has no corresponding inadequacy in the unity of God the Father and God the Son: as though there were extension, or series, or flux, like a spring pouring forth its stream from the source, or a tree supporting its branch on the stem, or fire giving out its heat into space. In these cases we have expansion without any separation: the parts are bound together and do not exist of themselves, but the heat is in the fire, the branch in the tree, the stream in the spring. So the thing itself alone has an independent existence; the one does not pass into the other, for the tree and the branch are one and the same, as also the fire and the heat, the spring and the stream. But the Only-begotten God is God, subsisting by virtue of a perfect and ineffable birth, true Scion of the Unbegotten God, incorporeal offspring of an incorporeal nature, living and true God of living and true God, God of a nature inseparable from God. The fact of birth does not make Him God

with a different nature, nor did the generation, which produced His substance, change its nature in kind.

38. Put in the dispensation of the flesh which He assumed, and through the obedience whereby He emptied Himself of the form of God, Christ, born man, took to Himself a new nature, not by loss of virtue or nature but by change of fashion. He emptied Himself of the form of God and took the form of a servant, when He was born. But the Fathers nature, with which He was in natural unity, was not affected by this assumption of flesh; while Christ, though abiding in the virtue of His nature, yet in respect of the humanity assumed in this temporal change, lost together with the form of God the unity with the divine nature also. But the Incarnation is summed up in this, that the whole Son, that is, His manhood as well as His divinity, was permitted by the Father's gracious favor to continue in the unity of the Father's nature, and retained not only the powers of the divine nature, but also that nature's self. For the object to be gained was that man might become God. But the assumed manhood could not in any wise abide in the unity of God, unless, through unity with God, it attained to unity with the nature of God. Then, since God the Word was in the nature of God, the Word made flesh would in its turn also be in the nature of God. Thus, if the flesh were united to the glory of the Word, the man Jesus Christ could abide in the glory of God the Father, and the Word made flesh could be restored to the unity of the Father's nature, even as regards His manhood, since the assumed flesh had obtained the glory of the Word. Therefore the Father must reinstate the Word in His unity, that the offspring of His nature might again return to be glorified in Himself: for the unity had been infringed by the new dispensation, and could only be restored perfect as before if the Father glorified with Himself the flesh assumed by the Son.

39. For this reason, having already so well prepared their minds for the understanding of this belief, the Lord follows up the words, And this is eternal life, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ, with a reference to the obedience displayed in His incarnation I have glorified Thee on the earth, I have accomplished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And then, that we might know the reward of His obedience, and the secret purpose of the whole divine plan, He continued, And now, O Father, glorify Thou slate

with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. Does any one deny that Christ remained in the nature of God or believe Him separable and distinct from the only true God? Let him tell us what is the meaning of this prayer. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self. For what purpose should the Father glorify Him with His own self? What is the signification of these words? What follows from their signification? The Father neither stood in need of glory, nor had He emptied Himself of the form of His glory. How should He glorify the Son with His own self, and with that glory which He had with Him before the world was made? And what is the sense of which He had with Him? Christ does not say, “The glory which I had before the world was made, when I was with Thee,” but, The glory which I had with Thee. When I was with Thee would signify, “when I dwelt by Thy side:” but which I had with Thee teaches the Mystery of His nature. Further, Glorify Me with Thyself is not the same as “Glorify Me.” He does not ask merely that He may be glorified, that He may have some special glory of His own, but prays that He may be glorified of the Father with Himself. The Father was to glorify Him with Himself, that He might abide in unity with Him as before, since the unity with the Father’s glory had left Him through the obedience of the Incarnation. And this means that the glorifying should reinstate Him in that nature, with which He was united by the Mystery of His divine birth; that He might be glorified of the Father with Himself; that He should resume all that He had had with the Father before; that the assumption of the servant’s form should not estrange from Him the nature of the form of God, but that God should glorify in Himself the form of the servant, that it might become for ever the form of God, since He, Who had before abode in the form of God, was now in the form of a servant. land since the form of a servant was to be glorified in the form of God, it was to be glorified in Him in Whose form the fashion of the servant’s form was to be honored.

40. But these words of the Lord are not new, or attested now for the first time in the teaching of the Gospels, for He testified to this very mystery of God the Father glorifying the Son with Himself by the noble joy at the fulfillment of His hope, with which He rejoiced at the very moment when Judas went forth to betray Him. Filled with joy that His purpose was now to be fully accomplished. He said, Now is the Son of Man glorified and

God is glorified in Him. If God is glorified in Him, He hath glorified Him in Himself, and straightway hath He glorified Him. How can we whose souls are burdened with bodies of clay, whose minds are polluted and stained with foul consciousness of sin, be so puffed up as to judge of His divine claim? How can we set up ourselves to criticize His heavenly nature, rebelling against God with our unhallowed and blasphemous disputations? The Lord enunciated the faith of the Gospel in the simplest words that could be found, and fitted His discourses to our understanding, so far as the weakness of our nature allowed Him, without saying anything unworthy of the majesty of His own nature. The signification of His opening words cannot, I think, be doubted, Now is the Son of Man glorified; that is, all the glory which He obtains is not for the Word but for His flesh: not for the birth of His Godhead, but for the dispensation of His manhood born into the world. What then, may I ask, is the meaning of what follows, And God is glorified in Him? I hear that God is glorified in Him; but what that can be according to your interpretation, heretic, I do not know. God is glorified in Him, in the Son of Man, that is: tell me, then, is the Son of Man the same as the Son of God? And since the Son of Man is not one and the Son of God another, but He Who is Son of God is Himself also Son of Man, Who, pray, is the God Who is glorified in this Son of Man, Who is also Son of God?

41. So God is glorified in the Son of Man, Who is also Son of God. Let us see, then, what is this third clause which is added, If God is glorified in Him, God hath also glorified Him in Himself. What, pray, is this secret mystery? God, in the glorified Son of Man, glorifies a glorified God in Himself The glory of God is in the Son of Man, and the glory of God is in the glory of the Son of Man. God glorifies in Himself, but man is not glorified through himself. Again the God Who is glorified in the man, though He receives the glory, yet is Himself none other than God. But since in the glorifying of the Son of Man. the God, Who glorifies, glorifies God in Himself, I recognize that the glory of Christ’s nature is taken into the glory of that nature which glorifies His nature. God does not glorify Himself; but He glorifies in Himself God glorified in man. And this “glorifies in Himself,” though it is not a glorifying of Himself, yet means that He took the nature, which He glorified, into the glory of His own nature Since the God, Who glorifies the God glorified in man, glorifies Him

in Himself, He proves that the God Whom He glorifies is in Himself, for He glorifies Him in Himself. Come, heretic, whoever you be, produce the inextricable objections of your tortuous doctrine; though they bind themselves in their own tangles, yet, marshal them as you will, we shall not be in danger of sticking in their snares. The Son of Man is glorified; God is glorified in Him; God glorifies in Himself Him, Who is glorified in the man. It is not the same that the Son of Man is glorified, as that God is glorified in the Son of Man, or that God glorifies in Himself Him, Who is glorified in the man. Express in the terms of your unholy belief, what you mean by God being glorified in the Son of Man. It must certainly be either Christ Who is glorified in the flesh, or the Father Who is glorified in Christ. If it is Christ is manifestly God, Who is glorified in the flesh. If it is the Father, we are face to face with the mystery of the unity, since the Father is glorified in the Son. Thus, if you allow it to be Christ, despite yourself you confess Him God; if you understand it of God the Father, you cannot deny the nature of God the Father in Christ. Let this be enough concerning the glorified Son of Man and God glorified in Him. But when we consider that God glorifies in Himself God, Who is glorified in the Son of Man, by what loophole, pray, can your profane doctrine escape from the confession that Christ is very God according to the verity of His nature? God glorifies in Himself Christ, Who was born a man; is Christ then outside Him, when He glorifies Him in Himself? He restores to Christ in Himself the glory which He had with Himself, and now that the servant's form, which He assumed, is in turn assumed into the form of God, God Who is glorified in man is glorified in Himself; He was in God's self before the dispensation, by which He emptied Himself, and now He is united with God's self, both in the form of the servant, and in the nature belonging to His birth. For His birth did not make Him God of a new and foreign nature, but by generation He was made natural Son of a natural Father. After His human birth, when He is glorified in His manhood, He shines again with the glory of His own nature; the Father glorifies Him in Himself, when He is assumed into the glory of His Father's nature, of which He had emptied Himself in the dispensation.

42. The words of the Apostle's faith are a barrier against your reckless and frenzied profanity, which forbids you to turn the freedom of speculation into license, and wander into error. Every tongue, he says, shall confess

that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. The Father has glorified Him in Himself, therefore He must be confessed in the glory of the Father. And if He is to be confessed in the Father's glory, and the Father has glorified Him in Himself, is He not plainly all that His Father is, since the Father has glorified Him in Himself and He is to be confessed in the Father's glory? He is now not merely in the glory of God, but in the glory of God the Father. The Father glorifies Him. not with a glory from without, but in Himself. By taking Him back into that glory, which belongs to Himself, and which He had with Him before, the Father glorifies Him with Himself and in Himself. Therefore this confession is inseparable from Christ even in the humiliation of His manhood, as He says, And this is eternal life, that they should know Thee, the only true God, Him, Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ; for firstly there is no life eternal in the confession of God the Father without Jesus Christ, and secondly Christ is glorified in the Father. Eternal life is precisely this, to know the only true God and Him, Whom He sent, even Jesus Christ; deny that Christ is true God, if you can have life by believing in God without Him. As for the truth that God the Father is the only true God let this be untrue of the God Christ, unless Christ's glory is wholly in the only true God the Father. For if the Father glorifies Him in Himself, and the Father is the only true God, Christ is not outside the only true God, since the Father, Who is the only true God, glorifies in Himself Christ, Who is raised into the glory of God. And in that He is glorified by the only true God in Himself, He is not estranged from the only true God, for He is glorified by the true God in Himself, the only God.

43. But perhaps the godless unbeliever meets the pious believer with the assertion that we cannot understand of the true God a confession of powerlessness, such as, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing. If the twofold angers of the Jews had not demanded a twofold answer, it would indeed have been a confession of weakness, that the Son could do nothing of Himself, except what He had seen the Father doing. But Christ was answering in the same sentence the double charge of the Jews, who accused Him of violating the Sabbath, and of making Himself equal with God by calling God His Father. Do you think, then, that by fixing attention upon the form of His reply you can withdraw it for the substance? We have

already treated of this passage in another book; yet as the exposition of the faith gains rather than loses by repetition, let us ponder once more on the words, since the occasion demands it of us.

44. Hear how the necessity for the reply arose: — And for this cause did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to kill Him, because He did these things on the Sabbath. Their anger was so kindled against Him, that they desired to kill Him, because He did His works on the Sabbath. But let us see also what the Lord answered, My Father worketh even until now, and I work. Tell us, heretic, what is that work of the Father; since through the Son, and in the Son, are all things, visible and invisible? You, who are wise beyond the Gospels, have doubtless obtained from some other secret source of learning the knowledge of the Father's work, to reveal Him to us. But the Father works in the Son, as the Son Himself says, The words that I say unto you, I speak not from Myself, but the Father who abideth in Me, He doeth His works. Do you grasp the meaning of the words, My Father worketh even until now? He speaks that we may recognize in Him the power of the Father's nature employing the nature, which has that power, to work on the Sabbath. The Father works in Him while He works; without doubt, then, He works along with the working of the Father, and therefore He says, My Father worketh even until now, that this present work of His words and actions may be regarded as the working of the Father's nature in Himself. This worketh even until now identifies the time with the moment of speaking, and therefore we must regard Him as referring to that very work of the Father's which He was then doing, for it implies the working of the Father at the very time of His words. And lest the Faith, being restricted to a knowledge of the Father only, should fair of the hope of eternal life, He adds at once, And I work; that is, what the Father worketh even until now, the Son also worketh. Thus He expounds the whole of the faith; for the work which is now, belongs to the present time; and if the Father works, and the Son works, no union exists between them, which merges them into a single Person. But the wrath of the bystanders is now redoubled. Hear what follows, For this cause, therefore, the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but because He called God His own Father, making Himself equal with God. Allow me here to repeat that, by the judgment of the Evangelist and by common consent of mankind, the Son is in equality with the

Father’s nature; and that equality cannot exist except by identity of nature. The begotten cannot derive what it is save from its source and the thing generated cannot be foreign to that which generates it, since from that alone has it come to be what it is. Let us see, then, what the Lord replied to this double outburst of wrath, Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing: for what things soever He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner.

45. Unless we regard these words as an integral part of His statement, we do them violence by forcing upon them an arbitrary and unbelieving interpretation. But if His answer refers to the grounds of their anger, our faith expresses rightly what He meant to teach, and the perversity of the ungodly is left without support for its profane delusion. Let us see then whether this reply is suitable to an accusation of working on the Sabbath. The Son can do nothing, of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing. He has said just above, My Father worketh even until now, and I work. If by virtue of the authority of the Father’s nature within Him, all that He works, He works with the Father in Him, and the Father works even until now on the Sabbath, then the Son, Who pleads the authority of the Father’s working, is acquitted of blame. For the words, can do nothing, refer not to strength hut to authority; He can do nothing of Himself, except what He has seen. Now, to have seen does not confer the power to do, and therefore He is not weak, if He can do nothing without having seen, but His authority is shewn to depend on seeing. Again the words, unless He hath seen, signify the consciousness derived from seeing, as when He says to the Apostles, Behold I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are while already unto harvest. With the consciousness that the Father’s nature is abiding in Him, and working in Him when He works, to forestall the idea that the Lord of the Sabbath has violated the Sabbath, He pronounces that, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing. And thus He demonstrates that His every action springs from His consciousness of the nature working within Him; when He works on the Sabbath, the Father worketh even until now on the Sabbath. In what follows, however, He refers to the second cause of their indignation, For what things soever He doeth, the Son doeth in like manner. Is it false that, what things soever the Father doeth, the Son doeth in like manner? Does the Son of God admit a distinction between the

Father’s power and working and His own? Does He shrink from claiming the equality of homage befitting an equal in power and nature? If He does, disdain His weakness, and degrade Him from equality of nature with the Father But He Himself says only a little later, That all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father, He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which sent Him. Discover, if you can, the inferiority, when Both are equal in honor; make out the weakness, when Both work with the same power.

46. Why do you misrepresent the occasion of the reply in order to detract from His divinity? To the working on the Sabbath He answers that He can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing: to demonstrate His equality, He professes to do what things soever the Father doeth. Enforce your charge of weakness, by His answer concerning the Sabbath, if you can disprove that what things soever the Father doeth, the Son doeth in like manner. But if what things soever includes all things without exception; in what is He found weak, when there is nothing that the Father doeth, which He cannot also do? Where is His claim to equality refuted by any episode of weakness, when one and the same honor is demanded for Him and for the Father? If Both have the same power in operation, and both claim the same reverence in worship, I cannot understand what dishonor of inferiority can exist, since Father and Son possess the same power of operation, and equality of honor.

47. Although we have treated this passage as the facts themselves explain it, yet to prove that the Lord’s words, The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing, so far from supporting this unholy degradation of His nature, testify to His conscious possession of the nature of the Father, by Whose authority He worked on the Sabbath, let us shew them that we can produce another saying of the Lord, which bears upon the question, I do nothing of Myself, but as the Father taught Me, I speak these things. And He that sent Me is with Me: He hath not left Me alone, for I do always the things that are pleasing to Him. Do you feel what is implied in the words, The San can do nothing, but what He hath seen the Father doing? Or what a mystery is contained in the saying, I can do nothing of myself, and He hath not left me alone, far I do always the things that are pleasing to Him? He does nothing of Himself, because the Father abides in Him; can you reconcile with this the fact that the

Father does not leave Him, because He does the things which are pleasing to Him? Your interpretation, heretic, sets up a contradiction between these two statements, that He does nothing of Himself, unless taught of the Father abiding in Him, and that the Father abides in Him, because He does always the things which are pleasing to Him. For if the Father's abiding in Him means that He does nothing of Himself, how could He have deserved that the Father should abide in Him, by doing always the things which are pleasing to the Father. It is no merit, not to do of oneself what one does. Conversely, how are the Son's deeds pleasing to the Father, if the Father Himself, abiding in the Son, be their Author? Impiety, thou art in a sore strait; the well-armed piety of the faith hath hemmed thee in. The Son is either an Agent, or He is not. If He is not an Agent, how does He please by his acts? If He is an Agent, in what sense are deeds, done not of Himself, His own? On the one hand, He must have done the things which are pleasing; on the other, it is no merit to have done, yet not of oneself, what one does.

48. But, my opponent, the unity of Their nature is such, that the several action of Each implies the conjoint action of Both, and Their joint activity a several activity of Each. Conceive the Son acting, and the Father acting through Him. He acts not of Himself, for we have to explain how the Father abides in Him. He acts in His own Person, for in accordance with His birth as the Son, He does Himself what is pleasing. His acting not of Himself would prove Him weak, were it not the case that He so acts that what He does is pleasing to the Father. But He would not be in the unity of the divine nature, if the deeds which He does, and wherein He pleases, were not His own, and He were merely prompted to action by the Father abiding in Him. The Father then in abiding in Him, teaches Him, and the Son in acting, acts not of Himself; while, on the other hand, the Son, though not acting of Himself, acts Himself, for what He does is pleasing. Thus is the unity of Their nature retained in Their action, for the One, though He acts Himself, does not act of Himself, while the Other, Who has abstained from action, is yet active.

49. Connect with this that saying, which you lay hold of to support the imputation of infirmity, All that the Father giveth Me shall come unto Me, and him that cometh to Me I will in no wise east out; for I am come down from heaven not to do Mine own will, but the will of the Father that sent

Me. But, perhaps you say, the Son has no freedom of will: the weakness of His nature subjects Him to necessity, and He is denied free-will, and subjected to necessity that He may not reject those who are given to Him and come from the Father. Nor was the Lord content to demonstrate the mystery of the Unity by His action in not rejecting those who are given to Him, nor seeking to do His own will instead of the will of him that sent Him, but when the Jews, after the repetition of the words, Him that sent Me, began to murmur, He confirms our interpretation by saying, Every one who heareth from the Father and learneth, cometh unto Me. Not that any man hath seen the Father, save He which is from God, He hath seen the Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in Me hath eternal life. Now, tell me first, where has the Father been heard, and where has He taught His hearers? No one hath seen the Father, save Him Who is from God: has any one ever heard Him Whom no one has ever seen? He that has heard from the Father, comes to the Son: and he that has heard the teaching of the Son, has heard the teaching of the Father's nature, for its properties are revealed in the Son. When, therefore, we hear the Son teaching, we must understand that we are hearing the teaching of the Father. No one hath seen the Father, yet he who comes to the Son, hears and learns from the Father to come: it is manifest, therefore, that the Father teaches through the words of the Son, and, though seen of none, speaks to us in the manifestation of the Son, because the Son, by virtue of His perfect birth, possesses all the properties of His Father's nature. The Only-begotten God desiring, therefore, to testify of the Father's authority, yet inculcating His own unity with the Father's nature. does not cast out those who are given to Him of the Father, or work His own will instead of the will of Him that sent Him: not that the does not will what He does, or is not Himself heard when He teaches; but in order that He may reveal Him Who sent Him, and Himself the Sent, under the aspect of one indistinguishable nature, He shews all that He wills, and says, and does, to be the will and works of the Father.

50. But He proves abundantly that His will is free by the words, As the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son also quickeneth whom He will. When the equality of Father and Son in power and honor is indicated, then the freedom of the Son's will is made manifest: when Their unity is demonstrated, His conformity to the Father's will is

signified, for what the Father wills, the Son does. But to do is something more than to obey a will: the latter would imply external necessity, while to do another's will requires unity with him, being an act of volition. In doing the will of the Father the Son teaches that through the identity of Their nature His will is the same in nature with the Father's, since all that He does is the Father's will. The Son plainly wills all that the Father wills, for wills of the same nature cannot dissent from one another. It is the will of the Father which is revealed in the words, For this is the will of My Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son and believeth in Him, should have eternal life, and that I should raise Him up at the last day. Hear now, whether the will of the Son is discordant with the Father's, when He says, Father, those whom Thou hast given Me, I will that where I am they also may be with Me. Here is no doubt that the Son wills: for while the Father wills that those who believe in the Son should have eternal life, the Son wills that the believer should be where He is. For is it not eternal life to dwell together with Christ? And does He not grant to the believer in Him all perfection of blessing when He says, No one hath known the Son save the Father, neither hath any known the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him? Has He not freedom of will, when He wills to impart to us the knowledge of the Father's mystery? Is not His will so free that He can bestow on whom He will the knowledge of Himself and His Father? Thus Father and Son are manifestly joint Possessors of a nature common to Both through birth and common through unity: for the Son is free of will, but what He does willingly is an act of the Father's will.

51. He who has not grasped the manifest truths of the faith, obviously cannot have an understanding of its mysteries; because he has not the doctrine of the Gospel he is an alien to the hope of the Gospel. We must confess the Father to be in the Son and the Son in the Father, by unity of nature, by might of power, as equal in honor as Begetter and Begotten. But. perhaps you say, the witness of our Lord Himself is contrary to this declaration, for He says, The Father is greater than I. Is this, heretic, the weapon of your profanity? Are these the arms of your frenzy? Has it escaped you, that the Church does not admit two Unbegotten, or confess two Fathers? Have you forgotten the Incarnation of the Mediator, with the birth, the cradle, the child hood, the passion, the cross and the death

belonging to it? When you were born again, did you not confess the Son of God, born of Mary? If the Son of God, of Whom these things are true, says, The Father is greater than I, can you be ignorant that the Incarnation for your salvation was an emptying of the form of God, and that the Father, unaffected by this assumption of human conditions, abode in the blessed eternity of His own incorrupt nature without taking our flesh? We confess that the Only-begotten God, while He abode in the form of God, abode in the nature of God, but we do not at once reabsorb into the substance of the divine unity His unity bearing the form of a servant. Nor do we teach that the Father is in the Son, as if He entered into Him bodily; but that the nature which was begotten by the Father of the same kind as His own, possessed by nature the nature which begot it: and that this nature, abiding in the form of the nature which begot it, took the form of human nature and weakness. Christ possessed all that was proper to His nature: but the form of God had departed from Him, for by emptying Himself of it. He had taken the form of a servant. The divine nature had not ceased to be, but still abiding in Him, it had taken upon itself the humility of earthly birth, and was exercising its proper power in the fashion of the humility it assumed. So God, born of God, being found as man in the form of a servant, but acting as God in His miracles, was at once God as His deeds proved, and yet man, for He was found in the fashion of man

52. Therefore, in the discourse we have expounded above, He had borne witness to the unity of His nature with the Father's: He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also: The Father is in Me, and I in the Father. These two passages perfectly agree, since Both Persons are of equal nature; to behold the Son is the same as to behold the Father; that the One abides in the One shows that They are inseparable And. lest they should misunderstand Him, as though when they beheld His body, they beheld the Father in Him, He had added, Believe Me, that I am in the Father and the Father in Me: or else believe Me for the very works' sake. His power belonged to His nature, and His working was the exercise of that power; in the exercise of that power, then, they might recognize in Him the unity with the Father's nature. In proportion as any one recognized Him to be God in the power of His nature, he would come to know God the Father, present in that mighty nature. The Son, Who is equal with the Father,

shewed by His works that the Father could be seen in Him: in order that we, perceiving in the Son a nature like the Father's in its power, might know that in Father and Son there is no distinction of nature.

53. So the Only-begotten God, just before He finished His work in the flesh, and completed the mystery of taking the servant's form, in order to establish our faith, thus speaks, Ye heard how I said unto you, I go away, and I came unto you. If ye loved Me, ye would rejoice, because I go unto the Father; for the Father is greater than I. He has already, in an earlier part of this very discourse unfolded in all its aspects the teaching of His divine nature: can we, then, on the strength of this confession deprive the Son of that equality, which His true birth has perfected in Him? Or is it an indignity to the Only-begotten God, that the Unbegotten God is His Father, seeing that His Only-begotten birth from the Unbegotten gives Him the Only-begotten nature? He is not the source of His own being, nor did He, being Himself non-existent, bring to pass His own birth out of nothing; but, existing as a living nature and from a living nature, He possesses the power of that nature, and declares the authority of that nature, by bearing witness to His honor, and in His honor to the grace belonging to the birth He received. He pays to the Father the tribute of obedience to the will of Him Who sent Him, but the obedience of humility does not dissolve the unity of His nature: He becomes obedient unto death, but, after death, He is above every name.

54. But if His equality is doubted because the Name is given Him after He put off the form of God, we dishonor Him by ignoring the mystery of the humility which He assumed. The birth of His humanity brought to Him a new nature, and His form was changed in His humility, by the assumption of a servant's form, but now the giving of the Name restores to Him equality of form. Ask yourself what it is, which is given. If the gift be something pertaining to God, the grant to the receiving nature does not impair the divinity of the giving nature. Again, the words, And gave Him the Name, involve a mystery in the giving, but the giving of the Name does not make it another name. To Jesus is given, that to Him, Every knee shall bow of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. The honor is given Him that He should be confessed in the glory of God the Father. Do you hear Him say, The Father is greater than I? Know Him

also, of Whom it is said in reward of His obedience, And gave unto Him the Name which is above every name; hear Him Who said, I and the Father are one; He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also; I am in the Father, and the Father in Me. Consider the honor of the confession which is granted Him, that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. When, then, is the Father greater than the Son? Surely, when He gives Him the Name above every name. And on the other hand, when is it that the Son and the Father are one? Surely, when every tongue confesses that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. If, then, the Father is greater through His authority to give, is the Son less through the confession of receiving? The Giver is greater: but the Receiver is not less, for to Him it is given to be one with the Giver. If it is not given to Jesus to be confessed in the glory of God the Father, He is less than the Father. But if it is given Him to be in that glory, in which the Father is, we see in the prerogative of giving, that the Giver is greater, and in the confession of the gift, that the Two are One. The Father is, therefore, greater than the Son: for manifestly the is greater, Who makes another to be all that He Himself is, Who imparts to the Son by the mystery of the birth the image of His own unbegotten nature, Who begets Him from Himself into His own form, and restores Him again from the form of a servant to the form of God, Whose work it is that Christ, born God according to the Spirit in the glory of the Father, but now Jesus Christ dead in the flesh, should be once more God in the glory of the Father. When, therefore, Christ says that He is going to the Father, He reveals the reason why they should rejoice if they loved Him, because the Father is greater than He.

55. After the explanation that love is the source of this joy, because love rejoices that Jesus is to be confessed in the glory of God the Father, He next expresses His claim to receive back that glory, in the words, For the prince of this world cometh, and he hath nothing in Me. The prince of this world hath nothing in Him: for being found in fashion as a man, He dwelt in the likeness of the flesh of sin, yet apart from the sin of the flesh, and in the flesh condemned sin by sin. Then, giving obedience to the Father’s command as His only motive, He adds, But that the world may know that I love the Father, even as the Father gave Me commandment, so I do. Arise, let us go hence. In His zeal to do the Father’s commandment, He rises and hastens to complete the mystery of His bodily passion. But the

next moment He unfolds the mystery of His assumption of flesh. Through this assumption we are in Him, as the branches in the vinestock; and unless He had become the Vine. we could have borne no good fruit. He exhorts us to abide in Himself, through faith in His assumed body, that, since the Word has been made flesh, we may be in the nature of His flesh, as the branches are in the Vine. He separates the form of the Father's majesty from the humiliation of the assumed flesh by calling Himself the Vine, the source of unity for all the branches, and the Father the careful Husbandman, Who prunes away its useless and barren branches to be burnt in the fire. In the words, He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also, and The words that I say unto you, I speak not of Myself, but the Father abiding in Me, He do the His works, and Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me, He reveals the truth of His birth and the mystery of His Incarnation. He then continues the thread of His discourse, until He comes to the saying, The Father is greater than I; and after this, to complete the meaning of these words, He hastens to add the illustration of the husbandman, the vine, and the branches, which directs our notice to His submission to bodily humiliation. He says that, because the Father is greater than Himself, He is going to the Father, and that love should rejoice, that He is going to the Father, that is, to receive back His glory from the Father: with Him, and in Him, to be glorified not with a brand-new honor, but with the old, not with some strange honor but with that which He had with Him before. If then Christ shall not enter into Him with glory, to abide in the glory of God, you may disparage His nature: but if the glory which He receives is the proof of His Godhead, recognize that it as Giver of this proof that the Father is the greater.

56. Why do you distort the Incarnation into a blasphemy? Why pervert the mystery of salvation into a weapon of destruction? The Father, Who glorifies the Son, is greater: The Son, Who is glorified in the Father, is not less. How can He be less, when He is in the glory of God the Father? And how can the Father not be greater? The Father therefore is greater, because He is Father: but the Son, because He is Son, is not less. By the birth of the Son the Father is constituted greater: the nature that is His by birth, does not suffer the Son to be less. The Father is greater, for the Son prays Him to render glory to manhood He has assumed. The Son is not less, for He receives back His glory with the Father. Thus are consummated at once

the mystery of the Birth, and the dispensation of the Incarnation. The Father, as Father, and as glorifying Him Who now is Son of Man, is greater: Father and Son are one, in that the Son, born of the Father, after assuming an earthly body is taken back to the glory of the Father.

57. The birth, therefore, does not constitute His nature inferior, for He is in the form of God, as being born of God. And though by their very signification, 'Unbegotten' and 'Begotten' seem to be opposed, yet the Begotten cannot be excluded from the nature of the Unbegotten, for there is none other from whom He could derive His substance. He does not indeed share in the supreme majesty of being unbegotten: but He has received from the Unbegotten God the nature of divinity. Thus faith confesses the eternity of the Only-begotten God, though it can give no meaning to begetting or beginning in His case. His nature forbids us to say that He ever began to be, for His birth lies beyond the beginnings of time. But while we confess Him existent before all ages, we do not hesitate to pronounce Him born in timeless eternity, for we believe His birth, though we know it never had a beginning.

58. Seeking to disparage His nature, the heretics lay hold of such sayings as, The Father is greater than I, or, But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only. It is turned to a reproach against the Only-begotten God that He did not know the day and the hour: that, though God, born of God, He is not in the perfection of divine nature, since He is subjected to the limitation of ignorance; that is, an external force stronger than Himself, triumphing, as it were, over His weakness, makes Him captive to this infirmity. And, indeed, it is with an apparent right to claim that this confession is inevitable, that the heretics, in their frenzy, would drive us to such a blasphemous interpretation. The words are those of the Lord Himself, and what, it may be asked, could be more unholy than to corrupt His express assertion by our attempt to explain it away.

59. But, before we investigate the meaning and occasion of these words, let us first appear to the judgment of common sense. Is it credible, that He, Who stands to all things as the Author of their present and future, should not know all things? If all things are through and in Christ, and in such a way through Christ that they are also in Him, must not that, which is both

in Him and through Him, be also in His knowledge, when that knowledge, by virtue of a nature which cannot be nescient, habitually apprehends what is neither in, nor through Him? But that which derives from Him alone its origin, and has in Him alone the efficient cause of its present state and future development, can that be beyond the ken of His nature, through which is effected, and in which is contained, all that it is and shall be? Jesus Christ knows the thoughts of the mind, as it is now, stirred by present motives, and as it will be to-morrow, aroused by the impulse of future desires. Hear the witness of the Evangelist, For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who it was that should betray Him. By its virtue His nature could perceive the unborn future, and foresee the awakening of passions yet dormant in the mind: do you believe that it did not know what is through itself, and within itself? He is Lord of all that belongs to others, is He not Lord of His own? Remember what is written of Him, All things have been created through Him, and in Him: and He is before all things: or again, For it was the good pleasure of the Father, that in Him should all the fullness dwell, and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, all fullness is in Him, all things were made through Him, and are reconciled in Him, and for that day of reconciliation we wait expectant; did He not, then, know it, when its time was in His bands, and fixed by His mystery, for it is the day of His coming, of which the Apostle wrote, When Christ, Who is your life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with Him be manifested in glory. No one is ignorant of that which is through himself and Within himself: shall Christ come, and does He not know the day of His coming? It is His day, for the same Apostle says, The day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night: can we believe, then, that He did not know it? Human natures, so far as in them lies, foresee what they determine to do: knowledge of the end desired accompanies the desire to act: does not He Who is born God, know what is in, and through, Himself? The times are through Him, the day is in His hand, for the future is constituted through Him, and the Dispensation of His coming is in His power: is His understanding so dull, that the sense of His torpid nature does not tell Him what He has Himself determined? Is He like the brute and the beast, which, animated by no reason or foresight, not even conscious of acting but driven to and fro by the impulse of irrational desire, proceed to their end with fortuitous and uncertain course?

60. But, again, how can we believe that the Lord of glory, because He was able not to know the day of His own coming, was of a discordant and imperfect nature, subject to the necessity of coming, but ignorant of the day of His coming? This would make God weaker than the power of ignorance, which took from Him the prerogative of knowledge. Then, too, how we redouble occasions of blasphemy, if we impute not only infirmity to Christ, but also defect to God the Father, saying that He defrauded of foreknowledge of this day the Only-begotten God, the Son of His love, and in malice denied Him certainty concerning the future consummation: suffered Him to know the day and hour of His passion, but withheld from Him the day of His power, and the hour of His glory among His Saints: took from Him the knowledge of His blessedness, while He granted Him prescience of His death? The trembling conscience of man dare not presume to think thus of God, or ascribe to Him such taint of human fickleness, that the Father should deny anything to the Son, or the Son, Who was born as God, should possess an imperfect knowledge.

61. But God can never be anything but love, or anything but the Father: and He, Who loves, does not envy; He Who is Father, is wholly and entirely Father. This name admits of no compromise: no one can be partly father, and partly not. A father is father in respect of his whole personality; all that he is present in the child, for paternity by piecemeal is impossible: not that paternity extends to self-generation, but that a father is altogether father in all his qualities, to the offsprings born of him. According to the constitution of human bodies, which are made of dissimilar elements, and composed of various parts, the father must be father of the whole, since a perfect birth hands on to the child all the different elements and parts, which are in the father. The father is, therefore, father of all that is his; the birth proceeds froth the whole of himself, and constitutes the whole of the child. God, however, has no body, but simple essence: no parts, but an all-embracing whole: nothing quickened, but everything living. God is therefore all life, and all one, not compounded of parts, but perfect in His simplicity, and, as the Father, must be Father to His begotten in all that He Himself is, for the perfect birth of the Son makes Him perfect Father in all that He has. So, if He is proper Father to the Son the Son must possess all the properties of the Father. Yet how can this be, if the Son has not the quality of prescience, if

there is anything from His Author, which is wanting in His birth? To say that there is one of God's properties which He has not, is almost equivalent to saying that He has none of them. And what is proper to God, if not the knowledge of the future, a vision, which embraces the invisible and unborn world, and has within its scope that which is not yet, but is to be?

62. Moreover Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, forestalls the impious falsehood, that the Only-begotten God was partially nescient. Listen to his words, Being instructed in love, unto all riches of the fullness of understanding, unto knowledge of the mystery of God, even Christ, in Whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden. God, even Christ, is the mystery, and all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in Him. But a portion is one thing, the whole another: a part is not the same as all, nor can all be called a part. If the Son does not know the day, all the treasures of knowledge are not in Him; but He has all the treasures of knowledge in Him, therefore He is not ignorant of the day. But we must remember that those treasures of knowledge were hidden in Him, though not, because hidden, therefore wanting. As in God, they are in Him: as in the mystery, they are hidden. But Christ, the mystery of God, in Whom are all the treasures of knowledge hidden, is not Himself hidden from our eyes and minds. Since then He is Himself the mystery, let us see whether He is ignorant when He does not know. If elsewhere His profession of ignorance does not imply that He does not know, here also it will be wrong to call Him ignorant, if He does not know. In Him are hidden all the treasures of knowledge, and so His ignorance is an economy rather than ignorance. Thus we can assign a reason for His ignorance, without the assumption that He did not know.

63. Whenever God says that He does not know, He professes ignorance indeed, but is not under the defect of ignorance. It is not because of the infirmity of ignorance that He does not know, but because it is not yet the time to speak, or the divine Plan to act. Thus He says to Abraham, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is full, and their sin is very grievous. Therefore I will go down now, and see if they have done altogether according to the cry of it: and if not, I will know. Here we perceive God not knowing that which notwithstanding He knows. He knows that their sins are very grievous, but He comes down again to see whether they have

done altogether, and to know if they have not. We observe, then, that He is not ignorant, although He does not know, but that, when the time comes for action, He knows. This knowledge is not, therefore, a change from ignorance, but the coming of the fullness of time. He waits still to know, but we cannot suppose that He does not know: therefore His not knowing what He knows, and His knowing what He does not know, is nothing else than a divine economy in word and deed.

64. We cannot, then, doubt that the knowledge of God depends on the occasion and not on any change on His part: by the occasion being meant the occasion, not of obtaining but of declaring knowledge, as we learn from His words to Abraham, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto hint, far now I know that thou fearest thy God, and hast not withheld thy beloved son, for My sake. God knows now, but that now I know is a profession of previous ignorance: yet it is not true, that until now God did not know the faith of Abraham, for it is written, Abraham believed in God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, and therefore this now I know marks the time when Abraham received this testimony, not when God began to know. Abraham had proved, by the sacrifice of his son, the love he bore to God, and God knew it at the time He spoke: but as we cannot suppose that He did not know before, we must for this reason suppose that He took knowledge of it then because He spoke.

By way of example, we have chosen, for our consideration this passage out of many in the Old Testament, which treat of, the knowledge of God, in order to skew that when God does not know, the cause lies, not in His ignorance, but in the occasion.

65. We find our Lord in the Gospels knowing, yet not knowing, many things. Thus He does not know the workers of iniquity, who glory in their mighty works and in His name, for He says to them, Then will swear, I never knew you; depart from all ye that work iniquity. He declares with an oath even, that He does not know them, but nevertheless He knows them to be workers of iniquity. He does not know them, not because He does not know, but because by the iniquity of their deeds they are unworthy of His knowledge, and He even confirms His denial with the sanctity of an oath. By the virtue of His nature He could not be ignorant, by the mystery of His will He refused to know. Again the Unbegotten God does not know

the foolish virgins; He is ignorant of those who were too careless to have their oil ready, when He entered the chamber of His glorious coming. They come and implore, and so far from not knowing them, He cries, Verily, I say unto you, I know you not. Their coming and their prayer compel Him to recognize them, but His profession of ignorance refers to His will, not to His nature they are unworthy to be known of Him to Whom nothing is unknown. Hence, in order that we should not impute His ignorance to infirmity, He says immediately to the Apostles, Watch therefore, for ye know not the day north the hour. When He bids them watch, for they know not the day or the hour, He points out that He knew not the virgins, because through sleep and neglect they had no oil, and therefore were unworthy to enter into His is chamber.

66. The Lord Jesus Christ, then, Who searcheth the heart and the reins, has no weakness in His nature, that He should not know, for, as we perceive, even the fact of His ignorance proceeds from the omniscience of His nature. Yet if any there be, who impute to Him ignorance, let them tremble, lest He Who knows their thoughts should say to them, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? The All-knowing, though not ignorant of thoughts and deeds, sometimes enquires as if He were, as for instance when He asks the woman who it was that touched the hem of His garment, or the Apostles, why they quarreled among themselves, or the mourners, where the sepulcher of Lazarus was: but His ignorance was not ignorance, except in words. It is against reason that He should know from afar the death and burial of Lazarus, but not the place of his sepulcher: that He should read the thoughts of the mind, and not recognize the faith of the woman: that He should not need to ask concerning anything, yet be ignorant of the dissension of the Apostles. But He, Who knows all things, sometimes by a practice of economy professes ignorance, even though He is not ignorant. Thus, in the case of Abraham, God concealed His knowledge for a time: in that of the foolish virgins and the workers of iniquity, He refused to recognize the unworthy: in the mystery of the Son of Man, His asking, as if ignorant, expressed His humanity. He accommodated Himself to the reality of His birth in the flesh in everything to which the weakness of our nature is subject, not in such wise that He became weak in His divine nature, but that God, born man, assumed the weaknesses of humanity, yet without thereby reducing His unchangeable

nature to a weak nature, for the unchangeable nature was that wherein He mysteriously assumed flesh. He, Who was God is man, but, being man, has not ceased to remain God. Conducting Himself then as one born man, and proving Himself such, though remaining God the Word, He often uses the language of man (though God, speaking as God, makes frequent use of human terms), and does not know that which it is not yet time to declare, or which is not deserving of His recognition.

67. We can now understand why He said that He knew not the day. If we believe Him to have been really ignorant, we contradict the Apostle, who says, In Whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden. There is knowledge which is hidden in Him, and because it has to be hidden, it must sometimes for this purpose be professed as ignorance, for once declared, it will no longer he secret. In order, therefore, that the knowledge may remain hidden, He declares that He does not know. But if He does not know, in order that the knowledge may remain hidden, this ignorance is not due to His nature, which is omniscient, for He is ignorant solely in order that it may be hidden. Nor is it hard to see why the knowledge of the day is hidden. He exhorts us to watch continually with unrelaxing faith, and withholds from us the security of certain knowledge, that our minds may be kept on the stretch by the uncertainty of suspense, and while they hasten towards and continually look for the day of His coming, may always watch in hope; and that, though we know the time must come, its very uncertainty may make us careful and vigilant. Thus the Lord says, Therefore be ye also ready, for ye know not what hour the Son of Man shall comes; and again, Blessed is that servant whom His Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing. The ignorance is, therefore, a means not to delude, but to encourage in perseverance. It is no loss to be denied a knowledge which it is an advantage not to have, for the security of knowledge might breed negligence of the faith, which now is concealed, while the uncertainty of expectation keeps us continually prepared, even as the master of the house, with the fear of loss before his eyes, watches and guards against the dreaded coming of the thief, who chooses the time of sleep for his work.

68. Manifestly, therefore, the ignorance of God is not ignorance but a mystery: in the economy of His actions and words and manifestations, He does not know and at the same time He knows, or knows and at the same

time does not know. But we must ask, whether it may not be through the Son's infirmity that He knows not what the Father knows. He could perhaps read the thoughts of the human heart, because His stronger nature can unite itself with a weaker in all its movement's, and by the force of its power, as it were, pass through and through the feeble nature. But a weaker nature is powerless to penetrate a stronger: light things may be penetrated by heavy, rare by dense, liquid by solid, but the heavy are impenetrable to the light, the dense to the rare, and the solid to the liquid: the strong are not exposed to the weak, but the weak are penetrated by the strong. Therefore, the heretics say, the Son knew not the thoughts of the Father, because, being Himself weak, He could not approach the more powerful and enter into Him, or pass through Him.

69. Should any one presume, not merely to speak thus of the Only-begotten God in the rashness of his tongue, but even to think so in the wickedness of his heart, let him hear what the Apostle thought of the Holy Ghost, from the words he wrote to the Corinthians, But unto us God revealed them through the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, which are in him, save the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so the things which are in God, none knoweth, save the Spirit of God. But let us cast aside these empty illustrations of material things, and measure God born of God, Spirit of Spirit, by His own powers and not by earthly conditions. Let us measure Him not by our own senses, but by His divine claims. Let us believe Him Who said, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also. Let us not forget that He said, Believe, if only by My works, that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father, and again, I and the Father are one. If the names which correspond to realities, when intelligibly used, impart to us any true information, then He Who is seen in Another by the eye of understanding is not different in nature from that Other; not different in kind, since He abides in the Father, and the Father in Him; not separate, since Both are One. Perceive their unity in the indivisibility of their nature, and apprehend the mystery of that indivisible nature by regarding the One as the mirror of the Other. But remember that He is the mirror, not as the image reflected by the splendor of a nature outside Himself, but as being a living nature, indistinguishable from the Father's living nature, derived wholly from the whole of His Father's, having the

Father’s in Him because He is the Only begotten, and abiding in the Father, because He is God.

70. The heretics cannot deny that the Lord used these words to signify the mystery His birth, but they attempt to escape from them by referring them to a harmony of will. They make the unity of God the Father and God the Son not one of divinity, but merely of will: as if the divine teaching were poor in expression and the Lord could not have said, I and the Father are one in will; or as if those words could have the same meaning as I and the Father are one; or as if He meant, He that hath seen My will, hath seen the will of My Father also, but, being unskilled statement, tried to express that idea in the words, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also: or as if the divine vocabulary did not contain the terms, The will of My Father is in Me, and My will is in the Father, but this thought could be expressed by I the Father and the Father in Me. All this is nauseous and irreverent nonsense; common sense condemns the judgment of such silly fancies, as that the Lord could not say what He wanted, or did not say what He said. True, we find Him speaking in parables and allegories, but it is a different thing to strengthen one’s words with illustrations, or satisfy the dignity of the subject with the help of suggestive proverbs, or adapt one’s language to the needs of the moment. But this passage concerning the unity, of which we are speaking, does not allow us to look for the meaning outside the plain sound of the words. If Father and Son are one, in the sense that They are one in will, and if separable natures cannot be one in will, because their diversity of kind and nature must draw them into diversities of will and judgment, how call They be one in will. not being one in knowledge? There can be no unity of will between ignorance and knowledge. Omniscience and nescience are opposites, and opposites cannot be of the same will.

71. But perhaps it may be held to confirm the Son in His confession of ignorance that He says the Father alone knows. But unless He had plainly said that the Father alone knows, it would have been a matter of the greatest danger for our understanding, since we might have thought that He Himself did not know. For, since His ignorance is due to the economy of hidden knowledge, and not to a nature capable of ignorance, now that He says the Father alone knows, we cannot believe that He does not know; for, as we said above, God’s knowledge is not the discovery of what He

did not know, but its declaration. The fact that the Father alone knows, is no proof that the Son ignorant: He says that He does not know, that others may not know: that the Father alone knows, to shew that He Himself also knows. If we say that God came to know the love of Abraham, when He ceased to conceal His knowledge, it follows that only because He did not conceal it from the Son, can the Father be said to know the day, for God does not learn by sudden perception, but declares His knowledge with the occasion. If, then, the Son according to the mystery does not know the day, that He may not reveal it: on the other hand, only by the fact that He has revealed it can the Father be proved to know the day.

72. Far be it from us to imagine vicissitudes of bodily change in the Father and Son, as though the Father sometimes spoke to the Son, and sometimes was silent. We remember, indeed, that a voice was sometimes uttered from heaven for us, that the power of the Father's words might confirm for us the mystery of the Son, as the Lord says, This voice hath not come from Heaven for My sake but for your sakes. But the divine nature can dispense with the various combinations necessary for human functions, the motion of the tongue, the adjustment of the mouth, the forcing of the breath, and the vibration of the air. God is a simple Being: we must understand Him by devotion, and confess Him by reverence. He is to be worshipped, not pursued by our senses, for a conditioned and weak nature cannot grasp with the guesses of its imagination the mystery of an infinite and omnipotent nature. In God is no variability, no parts, as of a composite divinity, that in Him will should follow inaction, speech silence, or work rest, or that He should not will, without passing from some other mental state to volition, or speak, without breaking the silence with His voice, or act, without going forth to labor. He is not subject to the laws of nature, for nature has received its law from Him: He never suffers weakness or change when He acts, for His power is boundless, as the Lord said, Father, all things are possible unto Thee. He can do more than human sense can conceive. The Lord does not deprive even Himself of the quality of omnipotence, for He says, What things soever the Father doest, these the Son also doeth in like manner. Nothing is difficult, when there is no weakness; for only a power which is weak to effect, knows the need of

effort. The cause of difficulty is the weakness of the motive force; a force of limitless power rises above the conditions of impotence.

73. We have established this point to exclude the idea that after silence God spoke to the Son, or after ignorance the Son began to know. To reach our intelligence terms must be used applicable to our own nature: thus we do not understand communication except by word of mouth, or comprehend the opposite of nescience except as knowledge. Thus the Son does not know the day for the reason that He does not reveal it: the Father, He says, alone knows it for the reason that He reveals it to the Son alone. But, as we have said, Christ is conscious of no such natural impediments as an ignorance which must be removed before He can come to know, or a knowledge which is not His before the Father begins to speak. He declares the unity of His nature, as the only-begotten, with the Father, by the unmistakable words, All things whatsoever the Father hath, are Mine. There is no mention here of coming into possession: it is one tiring, to be the Possessor of things external to Him; another, to be self-contained and self-existent. The former is to possess heaven and earth and the universe, the latter to be able to describe Himself by His own properties, which are His, not as something external and subject, but as something of which He Himself subsists. When He says, therefore, that all things which the Father has, are His, He alludes to the divine nature, and not to a joint ownership of gifts bestowed. For referring to His words that the Holy Spirit should take of His, He says, All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine, therefore said I, He shall take of Mine: that is, the Holy Spirit takes of His, but takes also of the Father's: and if He receives of the Father's, He receives also of His. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, and does not receive of a creature, but teaches us that He receives all these gifts, because they are all God's. All things that belong to the Father are the Spirit's; but we must not think that whatever He received of the Son, He did not receive of the Father also; for all that the Father hath belongs equally to the Son.

74. So the nature of Christ needed no change, or question, or answer, that it should advance from ignorance to knowledge, or ask of One Who had continued in silence, and wait to receive His answer: but, abiding perfectly in mysterious unity with Him, it received of God its whole being as it derived from Him its origin. And, further, it received all that belonged to

the whole being of God, namely, His knowledge and His will. What the Father knows, the Son does not learn by question and answer; what the Father wills, the Son does not will by command. Since all that the Father has, is His, it is the property of His nature to will and know, exactly as the Father wills and knows. But to prove His birth He often expounds the doctrine of His Person, as when He says, I came not to do Mine own will, but, the will of Him that sent Me. He does the Father's will, not His own, and by the will of Him that sent Me, He means His Father. But that He Himself wills the same, is unmistakably declared in the words, Father, those whom Thou hast given Me, I will, that, where also may be with Me. The Father wills that we should be with Christ, in Whom, according to the Apostle, He chose us before the foundation of the world, and the Son wills the same, namely that we should be with Him. His will is, therefore, the same in nature as the Father's will, though to make plain the fact of the birth it is distinguished from the Father's.

75. The Son is ignorant, then, of nothing which the Father knows, nor does it follow because the Father alone knows, that the Son does not know. Father and Son abide in unity of nature, and the ignorance of the Son belongs to the divine Plan of silence seeing that in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. This the Lord Himself testified, when He answered the question of the Apostles concerning the times, It is not yours to know times or moments, which the Father hath set within His own authority. The knowledge is denied them, and not only that, but the anxiety to learn is forbidden, because it is not theirs to know these times. Yet now that He is risen, they ask again, though their question on the former occasion had been met with the reply, that not even the Son knew. They cannot possibly have understood literally that the Son did not know, for they ask Him again as though He did know. They perceived in the mystery of His ignorance a divine Plan of silence, and now, after His resurrection, they renew the question, thinking that the time has come to speak. And the Son no longer denies that He knows, but tells them that it is not theirs to know, because the Father has set it within His own authority. If then, the Apostles attributed it to the divine Plan, and not to weakness, that the Son did not know the day, shall we say that the Son knew not the day for the simple reason that He was not God? Remember, God the Father set the day within His authority, that it might not come to

the knowledge of man, and the Son, when asked before, replied that He did not know, but now, no longer denying His knowledge, replies that it is theirs not to know, for the Father has set the times not in His own knowledge, but in His own authority. The day and the moment are included in the word ‘times’: can it be, then, that He, Who was to restore Israel to its kingdom, did not Himself know the day and the moment of that restoration? He instructs us to see an evidence of His birth in this exclusive prerogative of the Father, yet He does not deny that He knows: and while He proclaims that the possession of this knowledge is withheld from ourselves, He asserts that it belongs to the mystery of the Father’s authority.

We must not therefore think, because He said He did not know the day and the moment, that the Son did not know. As man He wept, and slept, and sorrowed, but God is incapable of tears, or fear, or sleep. According to the weakness of His flesh He shed tears, slept, hungered, thirsted, was weary, and feared, yet without impairing the reality of His Only-begotten nature; equally so must we refer to His human nature, the words that He knew not the day or the hour.

BOOK 10

1. IT IS manifest that there is nothing which men have ever said which is not liable to opposition. Where the will dissents the mind also dissents: under the bias of opposing judgment it joins battle, and denies the assertions to which it objects. Though every word we say be incontrovertible if gauged by the standard of truth, yet so long as men think or feel differently, the truth is always exposed, to the cavils of opponents, because they attack, under the delusion of error or prejudice, the truth they misunderstand or dislike. For decisions once formed cling with excessive obstinacy: and the passion of controversy cannot be driven from the course it has taken, when the will is not subject to the reason. Enquiry after truth gives way to the search for proofs of what we wish to believe; desire is paramount over truth. Then the theories we concoct build themselves on names rather than things the logic of truth gives place to the logic of prejudice: a logic which the will adjusts to defend its fancies, not one which stimulates the will through the understanding of truth by the reason. From these defects of partisan spirit arise all controversies between opposing theories. Then follows an obstinate battle between truth asserting itself, and prejudice defending itself: truth maintains its ground and prejudice resists. But if desire had not forestalled reason: if the understanding of the truth had moved us to desire what was true: instead of trying to set up our desires as doctrines, we should let our doctrines dictate our desires; there would be no contradiction of the truth, for every one would begin by desiring what was true, not by defending the truth of that which he desired.

2. Not unmindful of this sin of willfulness, the Apostle, writing to Timothy, after many injunctions to bear witness to the faith and to preach the word, adds, For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but having itching ears will heap up teachers to themselves after their own lusts, and will turn away their ears from the truth, and turn aside unto fables. For when their unhallowed zeal shall drive them beyond the endurance of sound doctrine, they will heap up teachers for their lusts, that is, construct schemes of doctrine to suit their own desires, not wishing to be taught, hut getting together teachers who will tell them what they

wish: that the crowd of teachers whom they have ferreted out and gathered together, may satisfy them with the doctrines of their own tumultuous desires. And if these madmen in their godless folly do not know with what spirit they reject the sound, and yearn after the corrupt doctrine, let them hear the words of the same Apostle to the same Timothy, But the Spirit saith expressly that in the last days some shall away from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils through the hypocrisy of lying talk. What advancement of doctrine is it to discover what one fancies, and not what one ought to learn? Or what piety in doctrine is it not to desire what one ought to learn, but to heap up doctrine after our desires? But this is what the promptings of seducing spirits supply. They confirm the falsehoods of pretended godliness, for a canting hypocrisy always succeeds to defection from the faith: so that at least in word the reverence is retained, which the conscience has lost. Even that pretended piety they make impious by all manner of lies, violating by schemes of false doctrine the sacredness of the faith: for they pile up doctrines to suit their desires, and not according to the faith of the Gospel. They delight, with an uncontrollable pleasure, to have their itching ears tickled by the novelty of their favorite preaching; they estrange themselves utterly from the hearing of the truth, and surrender themselves entirely to fables: so that their incapacity for either speaking or understanding the truth invests their discourse with what is, to them, a semblance of truth.

3. We have clearly fallen on the evil times prophesied by the Apostle; for nowadays teachers are sought after who preach not God but a creature. And men are more zealous for what they themselves desire, than for what the sound faith teaches. So far have their itching ears stirred them to listen to what they desire, that for the moment that preaching alone rules among their crowd of doctors which estranges the Only-begotten God from the power and nature of God the Father, and makes Him in our faith either a God of the second order, or not a God at all; in either case a damning profession of impiety, whether one profess two Gods by making different grades of divinity; or else deny divinity altogether to Him Who drew His nature by birth from God. Such doctrines please those whose ears are estranged from the hearing of the truth and turned to fables, while the hearing of this our sound faith is not endured, and is driven bodily into exile with its preachers.

4. But though many may heap up teachers according to their desires, and banish sound doctrine, yet from the company of the Saints the preaching of truth can never be exiled. From our exile we shall speak by these our writings, and the Word of God which cannot be bound will run unhindered, warning us of this time which the Apostle prophesied. For when men shew themselves impatient of the true message, and heap up teachers according to their own human desires, we can no longer doubt about the times, but know that while the preachers of sound doctrine are banished truth is banished too. We do not complain of the times: we rejoice rather, that iniquity has revealed itself in this our exile, when, unable to endure the truth, it banishes the preachers of sound doctrine, that it may heap up for itself teachers after its own desires. We glory in our exile, and rejoice in the Lord that in our person the Apostle's prophecy should be fulfilled.

5. In the earlier books, then, while maintaining the profession of a faith, I trust, sincere, and a truth uncorrupted, we arranged the method of our answer throughout, so that (though such are our limitations, that human language can never be safe from exception) no one could contradict us without an open profession of godlessness. For so completely have we demonstrated the true meaning of those texts which they cunningly filch from the Gospels and appropriate for their own teaching, that if any one denies it, he cannot escape on the plea of ignorance, but is condemned out of his own mouth of godlessness. Further, we have, according to the gift of the Holy Ghost, so cautiously proceeded throughout in our proof of the faith, that no charge could possibly be trumped up against us. For it is their way to fill the ears of the unwary with declarations that we deny the birth of Christ, when we preach the unity of the Godhead; and they say that by the text, I and the Father are one, we confess that God is solitary: thus, according to them, we say that the Unbegotten God descended into the Virgin, and was born man, and that He refers the opening word 'I' to the dispensation of His flesh, but adds to it the proof of His divinity, And the Father, as being the Father of Himself as man; and further, that, consisting of two Persons, human and divine, He said of Himself, We are one.

6. But we have always maintained the birth existing out of time: we have taught that God the Son is God of the same nature with God the Father, not co-equal with the Unbegotten, for He was not Himself Unbegotten,

but, as the Only-begotten, not unequal because begotten; that the Two are One, not by the giving of a double name to one Person, but by a true begetting and being begotten; that neither are there two Gods, different in kind, in our faith, nor is God solitary because He is one, in the sense in which we confess the mystery of the Only-begotten God: but that the Son is both indicated in the name of, and exists in, the Father, Whose name and Whose nature are in Him, while the Father by His name implies, and abides in, the Son, since a son cannot be spoken of, or exist, except as born of a father. Further, we say that He is the living copy of the living nature, the impression of the divine seal upon the divine nature, so undistinguished from God in power and kind, that neither His works nor His words nor His form are other than the Father's: but that, since the image by nature possesses the nature of its author, the Author also has worked and spoken and appeared through His natural image.

7. But by the side of this timeless and ineffable generation of the Only-begotten, which transcends the perception of human understanding, we taught as well the mystery of God born to be man from the womb of the Virgin, shewing how according to the plan of the Incarnation, when He emptied Himself of the form of God and took the form of a servant, the weakness of the assumed humanity did not weaken the divine nature, but that Divine power was imparted to humanity without the virtue of divinity being lost in the human form. For when God was born to be man the purpose was not that the Godhead should be lost, but that, the Godhead remaining, man should be born to be God. Thus Emmanuel is His name, which is God with us, that God might not be lowered to the level of man, but man raised to that of God. Nor, when He asks that He may be glorified, is it in any way a glorifying of His divine nature, but of the lower nature He assumed: for He asks for that glory which He had with God before the world was made.

8. As we are answering all, even their most insensate statements, we come now to the discussion of the unknown hour. Now, I even if, as they say, the Son had not known it, this could give no ground for an attack upon His Godhead as the Only-begotten. It was not in the nature of things that His birth should avail to put His beginning back, until it was equivalent to the existence which is unbegotten, and had no beginning; and the Farther reserves as His prerogative, to demonstrate His authority as the

Unbegotten, the fixing of this still undetermined day. Nor may we conclude that in His Person there is any defect in that nature which contained by right of birth all the fullness of that nature which a perfect birth could impart. Nor again could the ignorance of day and hour be imputed in the Only-begotten God to a lower degree of Divinity. It is to demonstrate against the Sabellian heretics that the Father's authority is without birth or beginning, that this prerogative of unbegotten authority is not granted to the Son. But if, as we have maintained, when He said that He knew not the day, He kept silence not from ignorance, but in accordance with the Divine Plan, all occasion for irreverent declarations must be removed, and the blasphemous teachings of heresy thwarted, that the truth of the Gospel may be illustrated by the very words which seem to obscure it.

9. Thus the greater number of them will not allow Him to have the impossible nature of God because He feared His Passion and shewed Himself weak by submitting to suffering. They assert that He Who feared and felt pain could not enjoy that confidence of power which is above fear, or that incorruption of spirit which is not conscious of suffering: but, being of a nature lower than God the Father, He trembled with fear at human suffering, and groaned before the violence of bodily pain. These impious assertions are based on the words, My soul is sorrowful event unto death, and Father if it be possible let this cup pass away from He, and also, My God, My God, why hast Than forsaken He? to which they also add, Father into Thy hands I commend My Spirit. All these words of our holy faith they appropriate to the use of their unholy blasphemy: that He feared, Who was sorrowful, and even prayed that the cup might be taken away from Him; that He felt pain, because He complained that God had deserted Him in His suffering; that He was infirm, because He commended His Spirit to the Father. His doubts and anxieties preclude us, they say, from assigning to Him that likeness to God which would belong to a nature equal to God as being born His Only-begotten. He proclaims His own weakness and inferiority by the prayer to remove the cup, by the complaint of desertion and the commending of His Spirit.

10. Now first of all, before we shew from these very texts, that He was subject to no infirmity of fear or sorrow on His own account, let us ask, "What can we find for Him to fear, that the dread of an unendurable pain

should have seized Him?" The objects of His fear, which they allege, are, I suppose, suffering and death. Now I ask those who are of this opinion, "Can we reasonably suppose that He feared death, Who drove away the terrors of death from His Apostles, exhorting them to the glory of martyrdom with the words, He that doth not take his crass and follow after Me is not worth of Me; and, He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that hath last his life far My sake shall find it? If to die for Him is life, what pain can we think He had to suffer in the mystery of death, Who rewards with life those who die for Him? Could death make Him fear what could be done to the body, when He exhorted the disciples, Pear not those which kill the body?

11. Further, what terror had the pain of death for Him, to Whom death was an act of His own free will? In the human race death is brought on either by an attack upon the body of an external enemy, such as fever wound, accident or fall: or our bodily nature is overcome by age, and yields to death. But the Only-begotten God, Who had the power of laying down His life, and of taking it up again, after the drought of vinegar, having borne witness that His work of human suffering was finished, in order to accomplish in Himself the mystery of death, bowed His head and gave up His Spirit. If it has been granted to our mortal nature of its own will to breathe its last breath, and seek rest in death; if the buffeted soul may depart, without the breaking up of the body, and the spirit burst forth and flee away, without being as it were violated in its own home by the breaking and piercing and crushing of limbs; then fear of death might seize the Lord of life; if, that is, when He gave up the ghost and died, His death were not an exercise of His own free will. But if He died of His own will, and through His own will gave back His Spirit, death had no terror; because it was in His own power.

12. But perchance with the fearfulness of human ignorance, He feared the very power of death, which He possessed; so, though He died of His own accord, He feared because He was to die. If any think so, let them ask "To which was death terrible, to His Spirit or to His body?" If to His body, are they ignorant that the Holy One should not see corruption, that within three days He was to revive the temple of His body? But if death was terrible to Spirit, should Christ fear the abyss of hell, while Lazarus was rejoicing in Abraham's bosom? It is foolish and absurd, that He should fear

death, Who could lay down His soul, and take it up again, Who, to fulfill the mystery of human life, was about to die of His own free will. He cannot fear death Whose power and purpose in dying is to die but for a moment: fear is incompatible with willingness to die, and the power to live again, for both of these rob death of his terrors.

13. But was it perhaps the physical pain of hanging on the cross, or the rough cords with which He was bound, or the cruel wounds, where the nails were driven in, that dismayed Him? Let us see of what body the Man Jesus was, that pain should dwell in His crucified, bound, and pierced body.

14. The nature of our bodies is such, that when endued with life and feeling by conjunction with a sentient soul, they become something more than inert, insensate matter. They feel when touched, suffer when pricked, shiver with cold, feet pleasure in warmth, waste with hunger, and grow fat with food. By a certain transfusion of the soul, which supports and penetrates them, they feel pleasure or pain according to the surrounding circumstances. When the body is pricked or pierced, it is the sold which pervades it that is conscious, and suffers pain. For instance a flesh-wound is felt even to the bone, while the fingers feel nothing when we cut the nails which protrude from the flesh. And if through some disease a limb becomes withered, it loses the feeling of living flesh: it can be cut or burnt, it feels no pain whatever, because the soul is no longer mingled with it. Also when through some grave necessity part of the body must be cut away, the soul can be lulled to sleep by drugs, which overcome the pain, and produce in the mind a death-like forgetfulness of its power of sense. Then limbs can be cut off without pain: the flesh is dead to all feeling, and does not heed the deep thrust of the knife, because the soul within it is asleep. It is, therefore, because the body lives by admixture with a weak soul, that it is subject to the weakness of pain.

15. If the Man Jesus Christ began His bodily life with the same beginning as our body and soul, if He were not, as God, the immediate Author of His own body and soul alike, when He was fashioned in the likeness and form of man, and born as man, then we may suppose that He felt the pain of our body; since by His beginning, a conception like ours, He had a body animated with a soul like our own. But if through His own act He took to

Himself flesh from the Virgin, and likewise by His own act joined a soul to the body thus conceived, then the nature of His suffering must have corresponded with the nature of His body and soul. For when He emptied Himself of the form of God and received the form of a servant when the Son of God was born also Son of Man, without losing His own self and power, God the Word formed the perfect living Man. For how was the Son of God born Son of Man, how did He receive the form of a servant, still remaining in the forth of God, unless (God the Word being able of Himself to take flesh from the Virgin and to give that flesh a soul, for the redemption of our soul and body), the Man Christ Jesus was born perfect, and made in the form of a servant by the assumption of the body, which the Virgin conceived? For the Virgin conceived, what she conceived, from the Holy Ghost alone, and though for His birth in the flesh she supplied from herself that element, which women always contribute to the seed planted in them, still Jesus Christ was not formed by an ordinary human conception. In His birth, the cause of which was transmitted solely by the Holy Ghost, His mother performed the same part as in all human conceptions: but by virtue of His origin He never ceased to be God.

16. This deep and beautiful mystery of His assumption of manhood the Lord Himself reveals in the words, No man hath ascended into heaven, but He that descended from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. ‘Descended from heaven’ refers to His origin from the Spirit: for though Mary contributed to His growth in the womb and birth all that is natural to her sex, His body did not owe to her its origin. The ‘Son of Man’ refers to the birth of the flesh conceived in the Virgin; ‘Who is in heaven’ implies the power of His eternal nature: an infinite nature, which could not restrict itself to the limits of the body, of which it was itself the source and base. By the virtue of the Spirit and the power of God the Word, though He abode in the form of a servant, He was ever present as Lord of all, within and beyond the circle of heaven and earth. So He descended from heaven and is the Son of Man, yet is in heaven: for the Word made flesh did not cease to be the Word. As the Word, He is in heaven, as flesh He is the Son of Man. As Word made flesh, He is at once from heaven, and Son of Man, and in heaven, for the power of the Word, abiding eternally without body, was present still in the heaven He had left: to Him and to none other the

flesh owed its origin. So the Word made flesh, though He was flesh, yet never ceased to be the Word.

17. The blessed Apostle also perfectly describes this mystery of the ineffable birth of Christ's body in the words, The first man was from the soil of the ground, the second man from heaven. Calling Him 'Man' he expresses His birth from the Virgin, who in the exercise of her office as mother, performed the duties of her sex in the conception and birth of man. And when he says, The second man from heaven he testifies His origin from the Holy Ghost, Who came upon the Virgin. As He is then man, and from heaven, this Man was born of the Virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. So speaks the Apostle.

18. Again the Lord Himself revealing this mystery of His birth, speaks thus: I am the living bread Who have descended from Heaven: if any one shall eat of My bread he shall live far ever: calling Himself the Bread since He is the origin of His own body. Further, that it may not be thought the Word left His own virtue and nature for the flesh, He says again that it is His bread; since He is the bread which descends from heaven, His body cannot be regarded as sprung from human conception, because it is shewn to be from heaven. And His language concerning His bread is an assertion that the Word took a body, for He adds, Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in you. Hence, inasmuch as the Being Who is Son of Man descended also as bread from heaven, by the 'Bread descending from heaven' and by the 'Flesh and Blood of the Son of Man' must be understood His assumption of the flesh, conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin.

19. Being, then, Man with this body, Jesus Christ is both the Son of God and Son of Man, Who emptied Himself of the form of God, and received the form of a servant. There is not one Son of Man and another Son of God; nor one in the form of God, and another born perfect man in the form of a servant: so that, as by the nature determined for us by God, the Author of our being, man is born with body and soul, so likewise Jesus Christ, by His own power, is God and Man with flesh and soul, possessing in Himself whole and perfect manhood, and whole and perfect Godhead.

20. Yet many, with the art by which they seek to prove their heresy, are wont to delude the ears of the unlearned with the error, that as the body and soul of Adam both sinned, so the Lord must have taken the soul and body of Adam from the Virgin, and that it was not the whole Man that she conceived from the Holy Ghost. If they had understood the mystery of the Incarnation, these men would have understood at the same time the mystery that the Son of Man is also Son of God. As if in receiving so much from the Virgin, He received from her His soul also; whereas though flesh is always born of flesh, every soul is the direct work of God.

21. With a view to deprive of substantive divinity the Only-begotten God, Who was God the Word with God in the beginning, they make Him merely the utterance of the voice of God. The Son is related to God His Father, they say, as the words to the speaker. They are trying to creep into the position, that it was not God the eternal Word, abiding in the form of God, Who was born as Christ the Man, Whose life therefore springs from a human origin, not from the mystery of a spiritual conception; that He was not God the Word, making Himself man by birth from the Virgin, but the Word of God dwelling in Jesus as the spirit of prophecy dwelt in the prophets. They accuse us of saying that Christ was born man with body and soul different from ours. But we preach the Word made flesh Christ emptying Himself of the form of God and taking the form of a servant, perfect according to the fashion of human form, born a man after the likeness of ourselves: that being true Son of God, He is indeed true Son of Man, neither the less Man because born of God, nor the less God because Man born of God.

22. But as He by His own act assumed a body from the Virgin, so He assumed from Himself a soul; though even in ordinary human birth the soul is never derived from the parents. If, then, the Virgin received from God alone the flesh which she conceived, far more certain is it that the soul of that body can have come from God alone. If, too, the same Christ be the Son of Man, Who is also the Son of God (for the whole Son of Man is the whole Son of God), how ridiculous is it to preach besides the Son of God, the Word made flesh, another I know not whom, inspired, like a prophet, by God the Word; whereas our Lord Jesus Christ is both Son of Man and Son of God. Yet because His soul was sorrowful unto death, and because He had the power to lay down His soul and the power to take it up again,

they want to derive it from some alien source, and not from the Holy Ghost, the Author of His body's conception: for God the Word became man without departing from the mystery of His own nature. He was born also not to be at one time two separate beings, but that it might be made plain, that He Who was God before He was Man, now that He has taken humanity, is God and Man. How could Jesus Christ, the Son of God, have been born of Mary, except by the Word becoming flesh: that is by the Son of God, though in the form of God, taking the form of a slave? When He Who was in the form of God took the form of a slave, two contraries were brought together. Thus it was just as true, that He received the form of a slave, as that He remained in the form of God. The use of the one word 'form' to describe both natures compels us to recognize that He truly possessed both. He is in the form of a servant, Who is also in the form of God. And though He is the latter by His eternal nature, and the former in accordance with the divine Plan of Grace, the word has its true significance equally in both cases, because He is both: as truly in the form of God as in the form of Man. Just as to take the form of a servant is none other than to be born a man, so to be in the form of God is none other than to be God: and we confess Him as one and the same Person, not by loss of the Godhead, but by assumption of the manhood: in the form of God through His divine nature, in the form of man from His conception by the Holy Ghost, being found in fashion as a man. That is why alter His birth as Jesus Christ, His suffering, death, and burial, He also rose again. We cannot separate Him from Himself in all these diverse mysteries, so that He should be no longer Christ; for Christ, Who took the form of a servant, was none other than He Who was in the form of God: He Who died was the same as He Who was born: He Who rose again as He Who died; He Who is in heaven as He Who rose again; lastly, He Who is in heaven as He Who before descended from heaven.

23. So the Man Jesus Christ, Only-begotten God, as flesh and as Word at the same time Son of Man and Son of God, without ceasing to be Himself, that is, God, took true humanity after the likeness of our humanity. But when, in this humanity, He was struck with blows, or smitten with wounds, or bound with ropes, or lifted on high, He felt the force of suffering, but without its pain. Thus a dart passing through water, or piercing a flame, or wounding the air, inflicts all that it is its nature to do: it

passes through, it pierces, it wounds; but all this is without effect on the thing it strikes; since it is against the order of nature to make a hole in water, or pierce flame, or wound the air, though it is the nature of a dart to make holes, to pierce and to wound. So our Lord Jesus Christ suffered blows, hanging, crucifixion and death: but the suffering which attacked the body of the Lord, without ceasing to be suffering, had not the natural effect of suffering. It exercised its function of punishment with all its violence; but the body of Christ by its virtue suffered the violence of the punishment, without its consciousness. True, the body of the Lord would have been capable of feeling pain like our natures, if our bodies possessed the power of treading on the waters, and walking over the waves without weighing them down by our tread or forcing them apart by the pressure of our steps, if we could pass through solid substances, and the barred doors were no obstacle to us. But, as only the body of our Lord could be borne up by the power of His soul in the waters, could walk upon the waves, and pass through walls, how can we judge of the flesh conceived of the Holy Ghost on the analogy of a human body? That flesh, that is, that Bread, is from Heaven; that humanity is from God. He had a body to suffer, and He suffered: but He had not a nature which could feel pain. For His body possessed a unique nature of its own; it was transformed into heavenly glory on the Mount, it put fevers to flight by its touch, it gave new eyesight by its spittle.

24. It may perhaps be said, ‘We find Him giving way to weeping, to hunger and thirst: must we not suppose Him liable to all the other affections of human nature?’ But if we do not understand the mystery of His tears, hunger, and thirst, let us remember that He Who wept also raised the dead to life: that He did not weep for the death of Lazarus, but rejoiced; that He Who thirsted, gave from Himself rivers of living water. He could not be parched with thirst, if He was able to give the thirsty drink. Again, He Who hungered could condemn the tree which offered no fruit for His hunger: but how could His nature be overcome by hunger if He could strike the green tree barren by His word? And if, beside the mystery of weeping, hunger and thirst, the flesh He assumed, that is His entire manhood, was exposed to our weaknesses: even then it was not left to suffer from their indignities. His weeping was not for Himself; His thirst needed no water to quench it; His hunger no food to stay it. It is

never said that the Lord ate or drank or wept when He was hungry, or thirsty, or sorrowful. He conformed to the habits of the body to prove the reality of His own body, to satisfy the custom of human bodies by doing as our nature does. When He ate and drank, it was a concession, not to His own necessities, but to our habits.

25. For Christ had indeed a body, but unique, as befitted His origin. He did not come into existence through the passions incident to human conception: He came into the form of our body by an act of His own power. He bore our collective humanity in the form of a servant, but He was free from the sins and imperfections of the human body: that we might be in Him, because He was born of the Virgin, and yet our faults might not be in Him, because He is the source of His own humanity, born as man but not born under the defects of human conception. It is this mystery of His birth which the Apostle upholds and demonstrates, when he says, He humbled Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of a man and being formed in fashion as a man: that is, in that He took the form of a servant, He was born in the form of a man: in that He was made in the likeness of a man, and formed in fashion as a man, the appearance and reality of His body testified His humanity, yet, though He was formed in fashion as a man, He knew not what sin was. For His conception was in the likeness of our nature, not in the possession of our faults. For lest the words, He took the form of a servant, might be understood of a natural birth, the Apostle adds, made in the likeness of a man, and formed in fashion as a man. The truth of His birth is thus prevented from suggesting the defects incident to our weak natures, since the form of a servant implies the reality of His birth, and found in fashion as a man, the likeness of our nature. He was of Himself born man through the Virgin, and found in the likeness of our degenerate body of sin: as the Apostle testifies in his letter to the Romans, For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His Son in the likeness of flesh of sin, condemned sin of sin. He was not found in the fashion of a man: but found in fashion as a man: nor was His flesh the flesh of sin, but the likeness of the flesh of sin. Thus the fashion of flesh implies the truth of His birth, and the likeness of the flesh of sin removes Him from the imperfections of human weakness. So the Man Jesus Christ as man was truly born, as Christ had no sin in His nature: for, on His human

side, He was born, and could not but be a man; on His divine side, He could never cease to be Christ. Since then Jesus Christ was man, He submitted as man to a human birth: yet as Christ He was free from the infirmity of our degenerate race.

26. The Apostles' belief prepares us for the understanding of this mystery; when it testifies that Jesus Christ was found in fashion as a man and was sent in the likeness of the flesh of sin. For being fashioned as a man, He is in the form of a servant, but not in the imperfections of a servant's nature; and being in the likeness of the flesh of sin, the Word is indeed flesh, but is in the likeness of the flesh of sin and not the flesh of sin itself. In like manner Jesus Christ being man is indeed human, but even thus cannot be aught else but Christ, born as man by the birth of His body, but not human in defects, as He was not human in origin. The Word made flesh could not but be the flesh that He was made; yet He remained always the Word, though He was made flesh. As the Word made flesh could not vacate the nature of His Source, so by virtue of the origin of His nature He could not but remain the Word: but at the same time we must believe that the Word is that flesh which He was made; always, however, with the reserve, that when He dwelt among us, the flesh was not the Word, but was the flesh of the Word dwelling in the flesh.

Though we have proved this, still we will see whether in the whole range of suffering, which He endured, we can anywhere detect in our Lord the weakness of bodily pain. We will put off for a time the discussion of the passages on the strength of which heresy has attributed fear to our Lord; now let us turn to the facts themselves: for His words cannot signify fear if His actions display confidence.

27. Do you suppose, heretic, that the Lord of glory feared to suffer? Why, when Peter made this error through ignorance, did He not call him 'Satan' and a 'stumbling-block? Thus was Peter, who deprecated the mystery of the Passion, established in the faith by so sharp a rebuke from the lips of the gentle Christ, Whom not flesh and blood, but the Father in Heaven had revealed to him.

What phantom hope are you chasing when you deny that Christ is God, and attribute to Him fear of suffering? He afraid, Who went forth to meet the armed bands of His captors? Weakness in His body, at Whose

approach the pursuers reeled and broke their ranks and fell prone, unable to endure His Majesty as He offered Himself to their chains? What weakness could enthrall His body, Whose nature had such power?

28. But perhaps He feared the pain of wounds. Say then, What terror had the thrust of the nail for Him Who merely by His touch restored the ear that was cut off? You who assert the weakness of the Lord, explain this work of power at the moment when His flesh was weak and suffering. Peter drew his sword and smote: the High Priest's servant stood there, lopped of his ear. How was the flesh of the ear restored from the bare wound by the touch of Christ? Amidst the flowing blood, and the wound left by the cleaving sword, when the body was so maimed, whence sprang forth an ear which was not there? Whence came that which did not exist before? Whence was restored that which was wanting? Did the hand, which created an ear, feel the pain of the nails? He prevented another from feeling the pain of a wound: did He feel it Himself? His touch could restore the flesh that was cut off; was He sorrowful because He feared the piercing of His own flesh? And if the body of Christ had this virtue, dare we allege infirmity in that nature, whose natural force could counteract all the natural infirmities of man?

29. But, perhaps, in their misguided and impious perversity, they infer His weakness from the fact that His soul was sorrowful unto death. It is not yet the time to blame you, heretic, for misunderstanding the passage. For the present I will only ask you, Why do you forget that when Judas went forth to betray Him, He said, Now is the Son of Man glorified? If suffering was to glorify Him, how could the fear of it have made Him sorrowful? How, unless He was so void of reason, that He feared to suffer when suffering was to glorify Him?

30. But perhaps He may be thought to have feared to the extent that He prayed that the cup might be removed from Him: Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee: remove this cup from Me. To take the narrowest ground of argument, might you not have refuted for yourself this dull impiety by your own reading of the words, Put up thy sword into its sheath: the cup which My Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it? Could fear induce Him to pray for the removal from Him of that which, in His zeal for the Divine Plan, He was hastening to fulfill? To say He shrank

from the suffering He desired is not consistent. You allow that He suffered willingly: would it not be more reverent to confess that you had misunderstood this passage, than to rush with blasphemous and headlong folly to the assertion that He prayed to escape suffering. though you allow that He suffered willingly?

31. Yet, I suppose, you will arm yourself also for your godless contention with these words of the Lord, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? Perhaps you think that after the disgrace of the cross, the favor of His Father's help departed from Him, and hence His cry that He was left alone in His weakness. But if you regard the contempt, the weakness, the cross of Christ as a disgrace, you should remember His words, Verily I say unto you, From henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of Heaven.

32. Where, pray, can you see fear in His Passion? Where weakness? Or pain? Or dishonor? Do the godless say He feared? But He proclaimed with His own lips His willingness to suffer. Do they maintain that He was weak? He revealed His power, when His pursuers were stricken with panic and dared not face Him. Do they contend that He felt the pain of the wounds in His flesh? But He shewed, when He restored the wounded flesh of the ear, that, though He was flesh, He did not feel the pain of fleshly wounds. The hand which touched the wounded ear belonged to His body: yet that hand created an ear out of a wound: how then can that be the hand of a body which was subject to weakness?

33. But, they say, the cross was a dishonor to Him; yet it is because of the cross that we can now see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, that He Who was born man of the womb of the Virgin has returned in His Majesty with the clouds of heaven. Your irreverence blinds you to the natural relations of cause and event: not only does the spirit of godlessness and error, with which you are filled, hide from your understanding the mystery of faith, but the obtuseness of heresy drags you below the level of ordinary human intelligence. For it stands to reason that whatever we fear, we avoid: that a weak nature is a prey to terror by its very feebleness: that whatever feels pain possesses a nature always liable to pain: that whatever dishonors is always a degradation. On what

reasonable principle, then, do you hold that our Lord Jesus Christ feared that towards which He pressed: or awed the brave, yet trembled Himself with weakness: or stopped the pain of wounds, yet felt the pain of His own: or was dishonored by the degradation of the cross, yet through the cross sat down by God on high, and returned to His Kingdom?

34. But perhaps you think your impiety has still an opportunity left to see in the words, Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirits, a proof that He feared the descent into the lower world, and even the necessity of death. But when you read these words and could not understand them, would it not have been better to say nothing, or to pray devoutly to be shewn their meaning, than to go astray with such barefaced assertions, too mad with your own folly to perceive the truth? Could you believe that He feared the depths of the abyss, the scorching flames, or the pit of avenging punishment, when you listen to His words to the thief on the cross, Verily, I say unto thee, To-day shall thou be with Me in Paradise? Such a nature with such power could not be shut up within the confines of the nether world, nor even subjected to fear of it. When He descended to Hades, He was never absent from Paradise (just as He was always in Heaven when He was preaching on earth as the Son of Man), but promised His martyr a home there, and held out to him the transports of perfect happiness. Bodily fear cannot touch Him Who reaches indeed down as far as Hades, but by the power of His nature is present in all things everywhere. As little can the abyssof Hell and the terrors of death lay hold upon the nature which rules the world, boundless in the freedom of its spiritual power, confident of the raptures of Paradise; for the Lord Who was to descend to Hades, was also to dwell in Paradise. Separate, if you can, from His indivisible nature a part which could fear punishment: send the one part of Christ to Hades to suffer pain, the other, you must leave in Paradise to reign: for the thief says, Remember me when Thou comest in Thy Kingdom. It was the groan he heard, I suppose, when the nails pierced the hands of our Lord, which provoked in him this blessed confession of faith: he learnt the Kingdom of Christ from His weakened and stricken body! He begs that Christ will remember him when He comes in His Kingdom: you say that Christ feared as He hung dying upon the cross. The Lord promises him, To-day, shalt thou be with Me in Paradise; you would subject Christ to Hades and fear of punishment. Your faith has

the opposite expectation. The thief confessed Christ in His Kingdom as He hung on the cross, and was rewarded with Paradise from the cross: you who impute to Christ the pain of punishment and the fear of death, will fail of Paradise and His Kingdom.

35. We have now seen the power that lay in the acts and words of Christ. We have incontestably proved that His body did not share the infirmity of a natural body, because its power could expel the infirmities of the body that when He suffered, suffering laid hold of His body, but did not inflict upon it the nature of pain: and this because, though the form of our body was in the Lord, yet He by virtue of His origin was not in the body of our weakness and imperfection. He was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin, who performed the office of her sex, but did not receive the seed of His conception from man. She brought forth a body, but one conceived of the Holy Ghost; a body possessing inherent reality, but with no infirmity in its nature. That body was truly and indeed body, because it was born of the Virgin: but it was above the weakness of our body, because it had its beginning in a spiritual conception.

36. But even now that we have proved what was the faith of the Apostle, the heretics think to meet it by the text, My soul is sorrowful even. unto death. These words, they say, prove the consciousness of natural infirmity which made Christ begin to be sorrowful. Now, first, I appeal to common intelligence: what do we mean by sorrowful unto death? It cannot signify the same as ‘to be sorrowful because of death:’ for where there is sorrow because of death, it is the death that is the cause of the sadness. But a sadness even to death implies that death is the finish, not the cause, of the sadness. If then He was sorrowful even to death, not because of death, we must enquire, whence came His sadness? He was sorrowful, not for a certain time, or for a period which human ignorance could not determine, but even unto death. So far from His sadness being caused by His death, it was removed by it.

37. That we may understand what was the cause of His sadness, let us see what precedes and follows this confession of sadness: for in the Passover supper our Lord completely signified the whole mystery of His Passion and our faith. After He had said that they should all be offended in Him, but promised that He would go before them into Galilee, Peter protested

that though all the rest should be offended, he would remain faithful and not be offended. But the Lord knowing by His Divine Nature what should come to pass, answered that Peter would deny Him thrice: that we might know from Peter how the others were offended, since even he lapsed into so great peril to his faith by the triple denial. After that, He took Peter, James and John, chosen, the first two to be His martyrs, John to be strengthened for the proclamation of the Gospel, and declared that He was sorrowful unto death. Then He went before, and prayed, saying, My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from Me; yet, not as I will, but as Thou wilt. He prays that the cup may pass from Him, when it was certainly already before Him: for even then was being fulfilled that pouting forth of His blood of the New Testament for the sins of many. He does not pray that it may not be with Him; but that it may pass away from Him. Then He prays that His wilt may not be done, and wills that what He wishes to be effected, may not be granted Him. For He says, Yet not as I will, but as Thou wilt: signifying by His spontaneous prayer for the cup's removal His fellowship with human anxiety, yet associating Himself with the decree of the Will which He shares inseparably with the Father. To shew, moreover, that He does not pray for Himself, and that He seeks only a conditional fulfillment of what He desires and prays for, He prefaces the whole of this request with the words, My Father, if it is possible. Is there anything for the Father the possibility of which is uncertain? But if nothing is impossible to the Father, we can see on what depends this condition, if it is possible: for this prayer is immediately followed by the words, And He came to His disciples and findeth sleeping, and saith to Peter, Could ye not watch one hour with Me? Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation: for the spirit indeed is willing, but the fresh is weak. Is the cause of this sadness and this prayer any longer doubtful? He bids them watch and pray with Him for this purpose, that they may not enter into temptation; for the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak. They were under the promise made in the constancy of faithful souls not to be offended, yet, through weakness of the flesh, they were to be offended It is not, therefore, for Himself that He is sorrowful and prays: it is for those whom He exhorts to watchfulness and prayer, lest He cup of suffering should be their lot: lest that cup which He prays may pass away from Him, should abide with them.

38. And the reason He prayed that the cup might be removed from Him, if that were possible, was that, though with God nothing is impossible, as Christ Himself says, Father, all things are possible to Thee, yet for man it is. impossible to withstand the fear of suffering, and only by trial can faith be proved. Wherefore, as Man He prays for men that the cup may pass away, but as God from God, His will is in unison with the Father's effectual will. He teaches what He meant by If it is possible, in His words to Peter Lo, Satan hath sought you that He might sift you as wheat: but f have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail. The cup of the Lord's Passion was to be a trial for there all, and He prays the Father for Peter that his faith may not fail: that when he denied through weakness, at least he might not fail t of penitential sorrow, for repentance would mean that faith survived.

39. The Lord was sorrowful then unto death because in presence of the death, the earthquake, the darkened day, the rent veil, the opened graves, and the resurrection of the dead, the faith of the disciples would need to be established which had been so shaken by the terror of the night arrest, the scourging, the striking, the spitting upon, the crown of thorns, the bearing of the cross, and all the insults of the Passion, but most of all by the condemnation to the accursed cross. Knowing that all this would be at an end after His Passion, He was sad unto death. He knew, too, that the cup could not pass away unless He drank it, for He said, My Father, this cup cannot pass from Me unless I drink it: Thy will be done: that is, with the completion of His Passion, the fear of the cup would pass away which could not pass away unless He drank it: the end of that fear would follow only when His Passion was completed and terror destroyed, because after His death, the stumbling-block of the disciples' weakness would be removed by the glory of His power.

40. Although by His words, Thy will be done, He surrendered the Apostles to the decision of His Father's will, in regard to the offense of the cup, that is, of His Passion, still He repeated His prayer a second and a third time. After that He said, Sleep on now, and take your rest. It is not without the consciousness of some secret reason that He Who had reproached them for their sleep, now bade them sleep on, add take their rest. Luke is thought to have given us the meaning of this command. After He had told us how Satan had sought to sift the Apostles as it were wheat,

and how the Lord had been entreated that the faith of Peter might not fails, he adds that the Lord prayed earnestly, and then that an angel stood by Him comforting Him, and as the angel stood by Him, He prayed the more earnestly, so that the sweat poured from His hotly in drops of blood. The Angel was sent, then, to watch over the Apostles, and when the Lord was comforted by him, so that He no longer sorrowed for them, He said, without fear of sadness, Sleep on now, and take your rest. Matthew and Mark are silent about the angel, and the request of the devil: but after the sorrowfulness of His soul, the reproach of the sleepers, and the prayer that the cup may be taken away, there must be some good reason for the command to the sleepers which follows; unless we assume that He Who was about to leave them, and Himself had received comfort from the Angel sent to Him, meant to abandon them to their sleep, soon to be arrested and kept in durance.

41. We must not indeed pass over the fact hat in many manuscripts, both Latin and Greek, nothing is said of the angel's coming or the Bloody Sweat. But while we suspend judgment, whether this is an omission, where it is wanting, or an interpolation, where it is found (for the discordance of the copies leaves the question uncertain), let not the heretics encourage themselves that herein lies a confirmation of His weakness, that He needed the help and comfort of an angel. Let them remember the Creator of the angels needs not the support of His creatures. Moreover His comforting must be explained in the same way as His sorrow. He was sorrowful for us, that is, on our account; He must also have been comforted for us, that is, on our account. If He sorrowed concerning us, He was comforted concerning us. The object of His comfort is the saint as that of His sadness. Nor let any one dare to impute the Sweat to a weakness, for it is contrary to nature to sweat blood. It was no infirmity, for His power reversed the law of nature. The bloody sweat does not for one moment support the heresy of weakness, while it establishes against the heresy which invents an apparent body, the reality all His body. Since, then, His fear was concerning us, and His prayer on our behalf, we are forced to the conclusion that all this happened on our account, for whom He feared, and for whom He prayed.

42. Again the Gospels fill up what is lacking in one another: we learn some things from one, some from another, and so on, because all are the

proclamation of the same spirit. Thus John, who especially brings out the working of spiritual causes in the Gospel, preserves this prayer of the Lord for the Apostles, which all the others passed over: how He prayed, namely, Holy Father, keep them in Thy Name.... while I was them I kept them in Thy Name: those whom Thou gavest Me I have kept. That prayer was not for Himself but for His Apostles; nor was He sorrowful for Himself, since He bids them pray that they be not tempted; nor is the angel sent to Him, for He could summon down from Heaven, if He would, twelve thousand angels; nor did He fear because of death when He was troubled unto death. Again, He does not pray that the cup may pass over Himself, but that it may pass away from Himself, though before it could pass away He must have drunk it. But, further, ‘to pass away’ does not mean merely ‘to leave the place,’ but ‘not to exist any more at all:’ which is shewn in the language of the Gospels and Epistles: for example, Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not perish: also the Apostle says, Behold the old things are passed away; they are become new. And again, The fashion of this world shall pass away. The cup, therefore, of which He prays to the Father, cannot pass away unless it be drunk; and when He prays, He prays for those whom He preserved, so long as He was with them, whom He now hands over to the Father to preserve. Now that He is about to accomplish the mystery of death He begs the Father to guard them. The presence of the angel who was sent to Him (if this explanation be true) is not of doubtful significance. Jesus shewed His certainty that the prayer was answered when, at its close, He bade the disciples sleep on. The effect of this prayer and the security which prompted the command, ‘sleep on,’ is noticed by the Evangelist in the course of the Passion, when he says of the Apostles just before they escaped from the hands of the pursuers, That the word might be fulfilled which He had spoken, Of those whom Thou hast given Me I lost not one of them. He fulfills Himself the petition of His prayer, and they are all safe; but He asks that those whom He has preserved the Father will now preserve in His own Name. And they are preserved: the faith of Peter does not fail: it cowered, but repentance followed immediately.

43. Combine the Lord’s prayer in John, the request of the devil in Luke, the sorrowfulness unto death, and the protest against sleep, followed by the command, Sleep on, in Matthew and Mark, and all difficulty

disappears. The prayer in John, in which He commends the Apostles to His Father, explains the cause of His sorrowfulness, and the prayer that the cup may pass away. It is not from Himself that the Lord prays the suffering may be taken away. He beseeches the Father to preserve the disciples during His coming passion. In the same way, the prayer against Satan in St. Luke explains the confidence with which He permitted the sleep He had just forbidden.

44. There was, then, no place for human anxiety and trepidation in that nature, which was more than human. It was superior to the ills of earthly flesh; a body not sprung from earthly elements, although His origin as Son of Man was due to the mystery of the conception by the Holy Ghost. The power of the Most High imparted its power to the booty which the Virgin bare from the conception of the Holy Ghost. The animated body derives its conscious existence from association with a soul, which is diffused throughout it, and quickens it to perceive pains inflicted from without. Thus the soul, warned by the happy glow of its own heavenly faith and hope, soars above its own origin in the beginnings of an earthly body, and raises that body to union with itself in thought and spirit, so that it ceases to feel the suffering of that which, all the while, it suffers. Why need we then say more about the nature of the Lord's body, that of the Son of Man Who came down from heaven? Even earthly bodies can sometimes be made indifferent to the natural necessities of pain and fear.

45. Did the Jewish children fear the flames blazing up with the fuel cast upon them in the fiery furnace at Babylon? Did the terror of that terrible fire prevail over their nature, conceived though it was like ours? Did they feel pain, when the flames surrounded them? Perhaps, however, you may say they felt no pain, because they were not burnt: the flames were deprived of their burning nature. To be sure it is natural to the body to fear burning, and to be burnt by fire. But through the spirit of faith their earthly bodies (that is, bodies which had their origin according to the principles of natural birth) could neither be burnt nor made afraid. What, therefore, in the case of men was a violation of the order of nature, produced by faith in God, cannot be judged in God's case natural, but as an activity of the Spirit commencing with His earthly origin. The children were bound in the midst of the fire; they had no fear as they mounted the blazing pile: they felt not the flame as they prayed: though in the midst of

the furnace, they could not be burnt. Both the fire and their bodies lost their proper natures; the one did not burn, the others were not burnt. Yet in all other respects, both fire and bodies retained their natures: for the bystanders were consumed, and the ministers of punishment were themselves punished. Impious heretic you will have it that Christ suffered pain from the piercing of the nails, that He felt the bitterness of the wound, when they were driven through His hands: why, pray, did not the children fear the flames? Why did they suffer no pain? What was the nature in their bodies, which overcame that of fire? In the zeal of their faith and the glory of a blessed martyrdom they forgot to fear the terrible; should Christ be sorrowful from fear of the cross, Christ, Who even if He had been conceived with our sinful origin, would have been still God upon the cross, Who was to judge the world and reign for ever and ever? Could He forget such a reward, and tremble with the anxiety of dishonorable fear?

46. Daniel, whose meat was the scanty portion of a prophet, did not fear the lions' den. The Apostles rejoiced in suffering and death for the Name of Christ. To Paul his sacrifice was the crown of righteousness. The Martyrs sang hymns as they offered their necks to the executioner, and climbed with psalms the blazing logs piled for them. The consciousness of faith takes away the weakness of nature, transforms the bodily senses that they feel no pain, and so the body is strengthened by the fixed purpose of the soul, and feels nothing except the impulse of its enthusiasm. The suffering which the mind despises in its desire of glory, the body does not feel, so long as the soul invigorates it. It is, then, a natural effect in man, that the zeal of the soul glowing for glory should make him unconscious of suffering, heedless of wounds, and regardless of death. But Jesus Christ the Lord of glory, the hem of Whose garment can heal, Whose spittle and word can create; for the than with the withered hand at His command stretched it forth whole, he who was born blind felt no more the defect of his birth, and the smitten ear was made sound as the other; dare we think of His pierced body in that pain and weakness, from which the spirit of faith in Him rescued the glorious and blessed Martyrs?

47. The Only-begotten God, then, suffered in His person the attacks of all the infirmities to which we are subject; but He suffered them in the power of His own nature, just as He was born in the power of His own nature, for at His birth He did not lose His omnipotent nature by being born.

Though born under human conditions, He was not so conceived: His birth was surrounded by human circumstances, but His origin went beyond them. He suffered then in His body alter the manner of our infirm body, yet bore the sufferings of our body in the power of His own body. To this article of our faith the prophet bears witness when he says, He beareth our sins and grieveth for us: and we esteemed Him stricken, smitten, and afflicted: He was wounded for our transgressions and made weak for our sins. It is then a mistaken opinion of human judgment, which thinks He felt pain because He suffered. He bore our sins, that is, He assumed our body of sin, but was Himself sinless. He was sent in the likeness of the flesh of sin, bearing sin indeed in His flesh but our sin. So too He felt pain for us, but not with our senses; He was found in fashion as a man, with a body which could feel pain, but His nature could not feel pain; for, though His fashion was that of a man, His origin was not human, but He was born by conception of the Holy Ghost.

For the reasons mentioned, He was esteemed ‘stricken, smitten and afflicted.’ He took the form of a servant: and ‘man born of a Virgin’ conveys to us the idea of One Whose nature felt pain when He suffered. But though He was wounded it was ‘for our transgressions.’ The wound was not the wound of His own transgressions: the suffering not a suffering for Himself. He was not born man for His own sake, nor did He transgress in His own action. The Apostle explains the principle of the Divine Plan when he says, We beseech you through Christ to be reconciled to God. Him, Who knew no sin, He made to be sin on our behalf. To condemn sin through sin in the flesh, He Who knew no sin was Himself made sin; that is, by means of the flesh to condemn sin in the flesh, He became flesh on our behalf but knew not flesh: and therefore was wounded because of our transgressions.

48. Again, the Apostle knows nothing in Christ about fear of pain. When He wishes to speak of the dispensation of the Passion, He includes it in the mystery of Christ’s Divinity. Forgiving us all our trespasses, blotting out the band written in ordinances, that was against us, which was contrary to us: taking it away, and nailing it to the cross; stripping off from Himself His flesh, He made a shew of principalities and towers openly triumphing over them in Himself. Was that the power, think you, to yield to the wound of the nail, to wince under the piercing blow, to

convert itself into a nature that can feel pain? Yet the Apostle, who speaks as the mouthpiece of Christ, relating the work of our salvation through the Lord, describes the death of Christ as ‘stripping off from Himself His flesh, boldly putting to shame the powers and triumphing over them in Himself.’ If His passion was a necessity of nature and not the free gift of your salvation: if the cross was merely the suffering of wounds, and not the fixing upon Himself of the decree of death made out against you: if His dying was a violence done by death, and not the stripping off of the flesh by the power of God: lastly, if His death itself was anything but a dishonoring of powers, an act of boldness, a triumph: then ascribe to Him infirmity, because He was therein subject to necessity and nature, to force, to fear and disgrace. But if it is the exact opposite in the mystery of the Passion, as it was preached to us, who, pray, can be so senseless as to repudiate the faith taught by the Apostles, to reverse all feelings of religion, to distort into the dishonorable charge of natural weakness, what was an act of free-will, a mystery, a display of power and boldness, a triumph? And what a triumph it was, when He offered Himself to those who sought to crucify Him, and they could not endure His presence: when He stood under sentence of death, Who shortly was to sit on the right hand of power: when He prayed for His persecutors while the nails were driven through Him: when He completed the mystery as He drained the draught of vinegar; when He was numbered among the transgressors and meanwhile granted Paradise: that when He was lifted on the tree, the earth quaked: when He hung on the cross, sun and day were put to flight: that He left His own body, yet cubed life back to the bodies of others: was buffed a corpse and rose again God: as man suffered all weaknesses for our sakes, as God triumphed in them all.

49. There is still, the heretics say, another serious and far reaching confession of weakness, all the more so because it is in the mouth of the Lord Himself, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? They construe this into the expression of a bitter complaint, that He was deserted and given over to weakness. But what a violent interpretation of an irreligious mind! how repugnant to the whole tenor of our Lord’s words! He hastened to the death, which was to glorify Him, and after which He was to sit on the right hand of power; with all those blessed expectations could He fear death, and therefore complain that His God had

betrayed Him to its necessity, when it was the entrance to eternal blessedness?

50. Further their heretical ingenuity presses on in the path prepared by their own godlessness, even to the entire absorption of God the Word into the human soul, and consequent denial that Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, was the same as the Son of God. So either God the Word ceased to be Himself while He performed the function of a soul in giving life to a body, or the man who was born was not the Christ at all, but the Word dwelt in him, as the Spirit dwelt in the prophets. These absurd and perverse errors have grown in boldness and godlessness till they assert that Jesus Christ was not Christ until He was born of Mary. He Who was born was not a pre-existent Being, but began at that moment to exist.

Hence follows also the error that God the Word, as it were some part of the Divine power extending itself in unbroken continuation, dwelt within that man who received from Mary the beginning of his being, and endowed him with the power of Divine working: though that man lived and moved by the nature of his own soul.

51. Through this subtle and mischievous doctrine they are drawn into the error that God the Word became soul to the body, His nature by self-humiliation working the change upon itself, and thus the Word ceased to be God; or else, that the Man Jesus, in the poverty and remoteness from God of His nature, was animated only by the life and motion of His own human soul, wherein the Word of God, that is, as it were, the might of His uttered voice, resided. Thus the way is opened for all manner of irreverent theorizing: the sum of which is, either that God the Word was merged in the soul and ceased to be God: or that Christ had no existence before His birth from Mary, since Jesus Christ, a mere man of ordinary body and soul, began to exist only at His human birth and was raised to the level of the Power, which worked within Him, by the extraneous force of the Divine Word extending itself into Him. Then when God the Word, after this extension, was withdrawn, He cried, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? or at least when the divine nature of the Word once more gave place within Him to a human soul, He Who had hitherto relied on His Father’s help, now separated from it, and abandoned to death, bemoaned His solitude and chide His deserter. Thus in every way

arises a deadly danger of error in belief, whether it be thought that the cry of complaint denotes a weakness of nature in God the Word, or that God the Word was not pre-existent because the birth of Jesus Christ from Mary was the beginning of His being.

52. Amid these irreverent and ill-grounded theories the faith of the Church, inspired by the teaching of the Apostles, has recognized a birth of Christ, but no beginning. It knows of the dispensation, but of no division: it refuses to make a separation in Jesus Christ; whereby Jesus is one and Christ another; nor does it distinguish the Son of Man from the Son of God, lest perhaps the Son of God be not regarded as Son of Man also. It does not absorb the Son of God in the Son of Man; nor does it by a tripartite belief tear asunder Christ, Whose coat woven from the top throughout was not parted, dividing Jesus Christ into the Word, a body and a soul; nor, on the other hand, does it absorb the Word in body and soul. To it He is perfectly God the Word, and perfectly Christ the Man. To this alone we hold fast in the mystery of our confession, namely, the faith that Christ is none other than Jesus, and the doctrine that Jesus is none other than Christ.

53. I am not ignorant how much the grandeur of the divine mystery baffles our weak understanding, so that language can scarcely express it, or reason define it, or thought even embrace it. The Apostle, knowing that the most difficult task for an earthly nature is to apprehend, unaided, God’s mode of action (for then our judgment were keener to discern than God is mighty to effect), writes to his true son according to the faith, who had received the Holy Scripture from his childhood, As I exhorted thee to tarry at Ephesus, when I was going into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge certain men not to teach a different doctrine, neither to give heed to fables and endless genealogies, the which minister questionings, rattler than the edification of God which is in faith. He bids him forbear to handle wordy genealogies and fables, which minister endless questionings. The edification of God, he says, is in faith: he limits human reverence to the faithful worship of the Almighty, and does not suffer our weakness to strain itself in the attempt to see what only dazzles the eye. If we look at the brightness of the sun, the sight is strained and weakened: and sometimes when we scrutinize with too curious gaze the source of the shining light, the eyes lose their natural power, and the sense of sight is even destroyed.

Thus it happens that through trying to see too much we see nothing at all. What must we then expect in the case of God, the Sun of Righteousness? Will not foolishness be their reward, who would be over wise? Will not dull and brainless stupor usurp the place of the burning light of intelligence? A lower nature cannot understand the principle of a higher: nor can Heaven's mode of thought be revealed to human conception, for whatever is within the range of a limited consciousness, is itself limited. The divine power exceeds therefore the capacity of the human mind. If the limited strains itself to reach so far, it becomes even feebler than before. It loses what certainty it had: instead of seeing heavenly things it is only blinded by them. No mind can fully comprehend the divine: it punishes the obstinacy of the curious by depriving them of their power. Would we look at the sun we must remove as much of his brilliancy as we need, in order to see him: if not, by expecting too much, we fall short of the possible. In the same way we can only hope to understand the purposes of Heaven, so far as is permitted. We must expect only what He grants to our apprehension: if we attempt to go beyond the limit of His indulgence, it is withdrawn altogether. There is that in God which we can perceive: it is visible to all if we are content with the possible. Just as with the sun we can see something, if we are content to see what can be seen, but if we strain beyond the possible we lose all: so is it with the nature of God. There is that which we can understand if we are content with understanding what we can: but aim beyond your powers and you will lose even the power of attaining what was within your reach.

54. The mystery of that other timeless birth I will not yet touch upon: its treatment demands an ampler space than this. For the present I will speak of the Incarnation only. Tell me, I pray, ye who pry into secrets of Heaven, the mystery of Christ born of a Virgin and His nature; whence will you explain that He was conceived and born of a Virgin? What was the physical cause of His origin according to your disputations? How was He formed within His mother's womb? Whence His body and His humanity? And lastly, what does it mean that the Son of Man descended from heaven Who remained in heaven? It is not possible by the laws of bodies for the same object to remain and to descend: the one is the change of downward motion; the other the stillness of being at rest. The Infant wails but is in Heaven: the Boy grows but remains ever the immeasurable God. By what

perception of human understanding can we comprehend that He ascended where He was before, and He descended Who remained in heaven? The Lord says, What if ye should behold the Son of Man ascending thither where He was before? The Son of Man ascends where He was before: can sense apprehend this? The Son of Man descends from heaven, Who is in heaven: can reason cope with this? The Word was made flesh: can words express this? The Word becomes flesh, that is, God becomes Man: the Man is in heaven: the God is from heaven. He ascends Who descended: but He descends and yet does not descend. He is as He ever was, yet He was not ever what He is. We pass in review the causes, but we cannot explain the manner: we perceive the manner, and we cannot understand the causes. Yet if we understand Christ Jesus even thus, we shall know Him: if we seek to understand Him further we shall not know Him at all.

55. Again, how great a mystery of word and act it is that Christ wept, that His eyes filled with tears from the anguish of His mind. Whence came this defect in His soul that sorrow should wring tears from His body? What bitter fate, what unendurable pain, could move to a flood of tears the Son of Man Who descended from heaven? Again, what was it in Him which wept? God the Word? or His human soul? For though weeping is a bodily function, the body is but a servant; tears are, as it were, the sweat of the agonized soul. Again, what was the cause of His weeping? Did He owe to Jerusalem the debt of His tears, Jerusalem, the godless parricide, whom no suffering could requite for the slaughter of Apostles and Prophets, and the murder of her Lord Himself? He might weep for the disasters and death which befall mankind: but could He grieve for the fall of that doomed and desperate race? What, I ask, was this mystery of weeping? His soul wept for sorrow; was not it the soul which sent forth the Prophets? Which would so often have gathered the chickens together under the shadow of His wings? But God the Word cannot grieve, nor can the Spirit weep: nor could His soul possibly do anything before the body existed. Yet we cannot doubt that Jesus Christ truly wept.

56. No less real were the tears He shed for Lazarus. The first question here is, What was there to weep for in the case of Lazarus? Not his death, for that was not unto death, but for the glory of God: for the Lord says, That sickness is not unto death, but far the glory of God, that the Son of God may be honored through him. The death which was the cause of God’s

being glorified could not bring sorrow and tears. Nor was there any occasion for tears in His absence from Lazarus at the time of his death. He says plainly, Lazarus is dead, and I rejoice for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent that ye may believe. His absence then, which aided the Apostles' belief, was not the cause of His sorrow: for with the knowledge of Divine omniscience, He declared the death of the sick man from afar. We can find, then, no necessity for tears, yet He wept. And again I ask, To whom must we ascribe the weeping? To God, or the soul, or the body? The body, of itself, has no tears except those it sheds at the command of the sorrowing soul. Far less can God have wept, for He was to be glorified in Lazarus. Nor is it reason to say His soul recalled Lazarus from the tomb: can a soul linked to a body, by the power of its command, call another soul back to the dead hotly from which it has departed? Can He grieve Who is about to be glorified? Can He weep Who is about to restore the dead to life? Tears are not for Him Who is about to give life, or grief for Him Who is about to receive glory. Yet He Who wept and grieved was also the Giver of life.

57. If there are many points which we treat scantily it is not because we have nothing to say, or do not know what has already been said; our purpose is, by abstaining from too laborious a process of argument, to render the results as attractive as possible to the reader. We know the deeds and words of our Lord, yet we know them not: we are not ignorant of them, yet they cannot be understood. The facts are real, but the power behind them is a mystery. We will prove this from His own words, For thus reason doth the Father love Me, because I lay down My life that I may take it up again. No one taketh it from Me, buthay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it up again. This commandment received I from the Father. He lays down His life of Himself, but I ask who lays it down? We confess without hesitation, that Christ is God the Word: but on the other hand, we know that the Son of Man was composed of a soul and a body: compare the angel's words to Joseph, Arise and take the child and His mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead who sought the soul of the child. Whose soul is it? His body's, or God's? If His body's, what power has the body to lay down the soul, when it is only by the working of the soul that it is quickened into life? Again, how could the body, which apart from the soul

is inert and dead, receive a command from the Father? But if, on the other hand, any man suppose that God the Word laid aside His soul, that He might take it up again, he must prove that God the Word died, that is, remained without life and feeling like a dead body, and took up His soul again to be quickened once more into life by it.

58. But, further, no one who is endued with reason can impute to God a soul; though it is written in many places that the soul of God hates Sabbaths and new moons: and also that it delights in certain things. But this is merely a conventional expression to be understood in the same way as when God is spoken of as possessing body, with hands, and eyes, and fingers, and arms, and heart. As the Lord said, A Spirit hath not flesh and bones: He then Who is, and changeth not, cannot have the limbs and parts of a tangible body. He is a simple and blessed nature, a single, complete, all-embracing Whole. God is therefore not quickened into life, like bodies, by the action of an indwelling soul, but is Himself His own life.

59. How does He then lay down His soul, or take it up again? What is the meaning of this command He received? God could not lay it down that is, die, or take it up again, that is, come to life. But neither did the body receive the command to take it up again; it could not do so of itself, for He said of the Temple of His body, Destroy this temple and after three days I will raise it up. Thus it is God Who raises up the temple of His body. And Who lays down His soul to take it again? The body does not take it up again of itself: it is raised up by God. That which is raised up again must have been dead, and that which is living does not lay down its soul. God then was neither dead nor buried: and yet He said, In that she has poured this ointment upon My body she did it for My burial. In that it was poured upon His body it was done for His burial: but the His is not the same as Him. It is quite another use of the pronoun when we say, ‘it was done for the burial of Him,’ and when we say, ‘His body was anointed:’ nor is the sense the same in ‘His body was buried,’ and ‘He was buried.’

60. To grasp this divine mystery we must see the God in Him without ignoring the Man; and the Man without ignoring the God. We must not divide Jesus Christ, for the Word was made flesh: yet we must not call Him buried, though we know He raised Himself again: must not doubt His resurrection, though we dare not deny He was buried. Jesus Christ was

buried, for He died: He died, and even cried out at the moment of death, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? Yet He, Who uttered these words, said also: Verily I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise, and He Who promised Paradise to the thief cried aloud, Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit; and having said this He gave up the Ghost.

61. Ye who trisect Christ into the Word, the soul and the body, or degrade the whole Christ, even God the Word, into a single member of our race, unfold to us this mystery of great godliness which was manifested in the flesh. What Spirit did Christ give up? Who commended His Spirit into the hands of His Father? Who was to be in Paradise that same day? Who complained that He was deserted of God? The cry of the deserted betokens the weakness of the dying: the promise of Paradise the sovereign power of the living God. To commend His Spirit denoted confidence: to give up His Spirit implied His departure by death. Who then, I demand, was it Who died? Surely He Who gave up His Spirit? but Who gave up His Spirit? Certainly He Who commended it to His Father. And if He Who commended His Spirit is the same as He Who gave it up and died, was it the body which commended its soul, or God Who commended the body's soul? I say 'soul,' because there is no doubt it is frequently synonymous with 'spirit,' as might be gathered merely from the language here: Jesus gave up His 'Spirit' when He was on the point of death. If, therefore, you hold the conviction that the body commended the soul, that the perishable commended the living, the corruptible the eternal, that which was to be raised again, that which abides unchanged, then, since He Who commended His Spirit to the Father was also to be in Paradise with the thief that same day, I would fain know if, while the sepulcher received Him, He was abiding in heaven, or if He was abiding in heaven, when He cried out that God had deserted Him.

62. It is one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh, Who expresses Himself in all these utterances, Who is man when He says He is abandoned to death: yet while man still rules in Paradise as God, and though reigning in Paradise, as Son of God commends His Spirit to His Father, as Son of Man gives up to death the Spirit He commended to the Father. Why do we then view as a disgrace that which is a mystery? We see Him complaining that He is left to die, because He is Man: we see

Him, as He dies, declaring that He reigned in Paradise, because He is God. Why should we harp, to support our irreverence, on what He said to make us understand His death, and keep back what He proclaimed to demonstrate His immortality? The words and the voice are equally His, when He complains of desertion, and when He declares His rule: by what method of heretical logic do we split up our belief and deny that He Who died was at the same time He Who rules? Did He not testify both equally of Himself, when He commended His Spirit, and when He gave it up? But if He is the same, Who commended His Spirit, and gave it up, if He dies when ruling and rides when dead: then the mystery of the Son of God and Son of Man means that He is One, Who dying reigns, and reigning dies.

63. Stand aside then, all godless unbelievers, for whom the divine mystery is too great, who do not know that Christ wept not for Himself but for us, to prove the reality of His assumed manhood by yielding to the emotion common to humanity: who do not perceive that Christ died not for Himself, but for our life, to renew human life by the death of the deathless God: who cannot reconcile the complaint of the deserted with the confidence of the Ruler: who would teach us that because He reigns as God and complains that He is dying, we have here a dead man and the reigning God. For He Who dies is none other than He Who reigns, He Who commends His spirit than He Who gives it up: He Who was buried, rose again: ascending or descending He is altogether one.

64. Listen to the teaching of the Apostle and see in it a faith instructed not by the understanding of the flesh but by the gift of the Spirit. The Greeks seek after wisdom, he says, and the Jews ask for a sign; but we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ Jesus, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Is Christ divided here so that Jesus the crucified is one, and Christ, the power and wisdom of God, another? This is to the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Gentiles foolishness; but to us Christ Jesus is the power of God, and the wisdom of God: wisdom, however, not known of the world, nor understood by a secular philosophy. Hear the same blessed Apostle when he declares that it has not been understood, We speak the wisdom of God, which hath been hidden in a mystery, which God foreordained before the world for our glory: which none of the rulers of this world has known: for had they

known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. Does not the Apostle know that this wisdom of God is hidden in a mystery, and cannot be known of the rulers of this world? Does he divide Christ into a Lord of Glory and a crucified Jesus? Nay, rather, he contradicts this most foolish and impious idea with the words, For I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.

65. The Apostle knew nothing else, and he determined to know nothing else: we men of feebler wit, and feebler faith, split up, divide and double Jesus Christ, constituting ourselves judges of the unknown, and blaspheming the hidden mystery. For us Christ crucified is one, Christ the wisdom of God another: Christ Who was buried different from Christ Who descended from Heaven: the Son of Man not at the same time also Son of God. We teach that which we do not understand: we seek to refute that which we cannot grasp. We men improve upon the revelation of God: we are not content to say with the Apostle, Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ Jesus, that died, yea, rather, that was raised front the dead, Who is at the right hand of God, Who also maketh intercession far us. Is He Who intercedes for us other than He Who is at the right hand of God? Is not He Who is at the right hand of God the very same Who rose again? Is He Who rose again other than He Who died? He Who died than He Who condemns us? Lastly, is not He Who condemns us also God Who justifies us? Distinguish, if you can, Christ our accuser from God our defender, Christ Who died from Christ Who condemns, Christ sitting at the right hand of God and praying for us from Christ Who died. Whether, therefore, dead or buried, descended into Hades or ascended into Heaven, all is one and the same Christ: as the Apostle says, Now this 'He ascended' what is it, but that He also descended to the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all heavens, that He may fill all things. How far then shall we push our babbling ignorance and blasphemy, professing to explain what is hidden in the mystery of God? He that descended is the same also that ascended. Can we longer doubt that the Man Christ Jesus rose from the dead, ascended above the heavens and is at the right hand of God? We cannot say His body descended into Hades, which lay in the grave. If then He Who descended is one with Him, Who ascended; if His body did not go down into Hades, yet really arose

from the dead, and ascended into heaven, what remains, except to believe in the secret mystery, which is hidden from the world and the rulers of this age, and to confess that, ascending or descending, He is but One, one Jesus Christ for us, Son of God and Son of Man, God the Word and Man in the flesh, Who suffered, died, was buried, rose again, was received into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God: Who possesses in His one single self, according to the Divine Plan and nature, in the form of God and in the form of a servant, the Human and Divine without separation or division.

66. So the Apostle molding our ignorant and haphazard ideas into conformity with truth says of this mystery of the faith, For He was crucified through weakness but He liveth through the power of God. Preaching the Son of Man and Son of God, Man through the Divine Plan, God through His eternal nature, he says, that He Who was crucified through weakness is He Who lives through the power of God. His weakness arises from the form of a servant, His nature remains because of the form of God. He took the form of a servant, though He was in form of God: therefore there can be no doubt as to the mystery according to which He both suffered and lived. There existed in Him both weakness to suffer, and power of God to give life: and hence He Who suffered and lived cannot be more than One, or other than Himself.

67. The Only-begotten God suffered indeed all that men can suffer: but let us express ourselves in the words and faith of the Apostle. He says, For I delivered unto you first of all how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures. This is no unsupported statement of his own, which might lead to error, but a warning to us to confess that Christ died and rose after a real manner, not a nominal, since the tact is certified by the full weight of Scripture authority; and that we must understand His death in that exact sense in which Scripture declares it. In his regard for the perplexities and scruples of the weak and sensitive believer, he adds these solemn concluding words, according to the Scriptures, to his proclamation of the death and the resurrection. He would not have us grow weaker, driven about by every wind of vain doctrine, or vexed by empty subtleties and false doubts: he would summon faith to return, before it were shipwrecked, to the haven of piety, believing and confessing the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Son of Man and Son of God, according to the

Scriptures, this being the safeguard of reverence against the attack of the adversary, so to understand the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, as it was written of Him. There is no danger in faith: the reverent confession of the hidden mystery of God is always safe. Christ was born of the Virgin, but conceived of the Holy Ghost according to the Scriptures. Christ wept, but according to the Scriptures: that which made Him weep was also a cause of joy. Christ hungered; but according to the Scriptures, He used His power as God against the tree which bore no fruit, when He had no loath Christ suffered: but according to the Scriptures, He was about to sit at the right hand of Power. He complained that He was abandoned to die: but according to the Scriptures, at the same moment He received in His kingdom in Paradise the thief who confessed Him. He died: but according to the Scriptures, He rose again and sits at the right hand of God. In the belief of this mystery there is life: this confession resists all attack.

68. The Apostle is careful to leave no room for doubt: we cannot say, “Christ was born, suffered, was dead and buried, and rose again but how, by what power, by what division of parts of Himself? Who wept? Who rejoiced? Who complained? Who descended? and Who ascended?” He rests the merits of faith entirely on the confession of unquestioning reverence. The righteousness, he says, which is of faith saith thus, Say not in thy heart, Who hath ascended into heaven, that is, to bring Christ down: or Who hath descended into the abyss: that is, to bring Christ up from the dead? But what saith the Scripture? Thy word is nigh, in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach: because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart, that God hath raised Him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. Faith perfects the righteous man: as it is written, Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. Did Abraham impugn the word of God, when he was promised the inheritance of the Gentiles, and an abiding posterity as many as the sand or the stars for multitude? To the reverent faith, which trusts implicitly on the omnipotence of God, the limits of human weakness are no barrier. Despising all that is feeble and earthly in itself, it believes the divine promise, even though it exceeds the possibilities of human nature. It knows that the laws which govern man are no hindrance to the power of God, Who is as bountiful in the performance as He is gracious in the promise. Nothing is more righteous than Faith. For

as in human conduct it is equity and self-restraint that receive our approval, so in the case of God, what is more righteous for man than to ascribe omnipotence to Him, Whose Power He perceives to be without limits?

69. The Apostle then looking in us for the righteousness which is of Faith, cuts at the root of incredulous doubt and godless unbelief. He forbids us to admit into our hearts the cares of anxious thought, and points to the authority of the Prophet's words, Say not in thy heart, Who hath ascended into heaven? Then He completes the thought of the Prophet's words with the addition, That is to bring Christ down. The perception of the human mind cannot attain to the knowledge of the divine: but neither can a reverent faith doubt the works of God. Christ needed no human help, that any one should ascend into heaven to bring Him down from His blessed Home to His earthly body. It was no external force which drove Him down to the earth. We must believe that He came, even as He did come: it is true religion to confess Jesus Christ not brought down, but descending. The mystery both of the time and the method of His coming, belongs to Him alone. We may not think because He came but recently, that therefore He must have been brought down, nor that His coming in time depended upon another, who brought Him down.

Nor does the Apostle give room for unbelief in the other direction. He quotes at once the words of the Prophet, Or Who hath descended into the abyss, and adds immediately the explanation, That is to bring Christ back from the dead. He is free to return into heaven, Who was free to descend to the earth. All hesitation and doubt is then removed. Faith reveals what omnipotence plans: history relates the effect, God Almighty was the cause.

70. But there is demanded from us an unwavering certainty. The Apostle expounding the whole secret of the Scripture passes on, Thy word is nigh, in thy mouth and in thy heart. The words of our confession must not be tardy or deliberately vague: there must be no interval between heart and lips, lest what ought to be the confession of true reverence become a subterfuge of infidelity. The word must be near us, and within us; no delay between the heart and the lips; a faith of conviction as well as of words. Heart and lips must be in harmony, and reveal in thought and utterance a

religion which does not waver. Here too, as before, the Apostle adds the explanation of the Prophet's words, That is the word of Faith, which we preach; because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. Piety consists in rejecting doubt, righteousness in believing, salvation in confessing. Trifle not with ambiguities, be not stirred up to vain babblings, do not debate in any way the powers of God, or impose limits upon His might, cease searching again and again for the causes of unsearchable mysteries: confess rather that Jesus is the Lord, and believe that God raised Him from the dead; herein is salvation. What folly is it to depreciate the nature and character of Christ, when this alone is salvation, to know that He is the Lord. Again, what an error of human vanity to quarrel about His resurrection, when it is enough for eternal life to believe that God raised Him up. In simplicity then is faith, in faith righteousness, and in confession true godliness. For God does not call us to the blessed life through arduous investigations. He does not tempt us with the varied arts of rhetoric. The way to eternally is plain and easy; believe that Jesus was raised from the dead by God and confess that He is the Lord. Let no one therefore wrest into an occasion for impiety, what was said because of our ignorance. It had to be proved to us, that Jesus Christ died, that we might live in Him.

71. If then He said, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me, and Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit, that we might be sure that He did die, was not this, in His care for our faith, rather a scattering of our doubts, than a confession of His weakness? When He was about to restore Lazarus, He prayed to the Father: but what need had He of prayer, Who said, Father, I thank Thee, that Thou hast heard Me; and I know that Thou hearest Me always, but because of the multitude I said it, that they may believe that Thou didst send Me? He prayed then for us, that we may know Him to be the Son; the words of prayer availed Him nothing, but He said them for the advancement of our faith. He was not in want of help, but we of teaching. Again He prayed to be glorified; and immediately was heard from heaven the voice of God the Father glorifying Him: but when they wondered at the voice, He said, This voice hath not come for My sake, but for your sakes. The Father is besought for us, He speaks for us: may all this lead us to believe and confess! The answer of the Glorifier is

granted not to the prayer for glory, but to the ignorance of the bystanders: must we not then regard the complaint of suffering, when He found His greatest joy in suffering, as intended for the building up of our faith? Christ prayed for His persecutors, because they knew not what they did. He promised Paradise from the cross, because He is God the King. He rejoiced upon the cross, that all was finished when He drank the vinegar, because He had fulfilled all prophecy before He died. He was born for us, suffered for us, died for us, rose again for us. This alone is necessary for our salvation, to confess the Son of God risen from the dead: why then should we die in this state of godless unbelief? If Christ, ever secure of His divinity, made clear to us His death, Himself indifferent to death, yet dying to assure that it was true humanity that He had assumed: why should we use this very confession of the Son of God that for us He became Son of Man and died as the chief weapon to deny His divinity?

BOOK 11

1. THE Apostle in his letter to the Ephesians, reviewing in its manifold aspects the full and perfect mystery of the Gospel, mingles with other instructions in the knowledge of God the following: As ye also were called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, and through all, and in us all. He does not leave us in the vague and misleading paths of an indefinite teaching, or abandon us to the shifting fancies of imagination, but limits the unimpeded license of intellect and desire by the appointment of restraining barriers. He gives us no opportunity to be wise beyond what he preached, but defines in exact and precise language the faith fixed for all time, that there may be no excuse for instability of belief. He declares one faith, as he preaches one Lord, and pronounces one baptism, as he declares one faith of one Lord, that as there is one faith of one Lord, so there may be one baptism of one faith in one Lord. And since the whole mystery of the baptism and the faith is not only in one Lord, but also in one God, he completes the consummation of our hope by the confession of one God. The one baptism and the one faith are of one God, as they are of one Lord. Lord and God are each one, not by union of person but by distinction of properties: for, on the one hand, it is the property of Each to be one, whether of the Father in His Fatherhood, or of the Son in His Sonship, and on the other hand, that property of individuality, which Each possesses, constitutes for Each the mystery of His union with the Other. Thus the one Lord Christ cannot take away from God the Father His Lordship, or the one God the Father deny to the one Lord Christ His Godhead. If, because God is one, Christ is not also by nature divine, then we cannot allow that the one God is Lord, because there is one Lord Christ: that is, on the supposition that by their ‘oneness’ is signified not the mystery, but an exclusive unity. So there is one baptism and one faith of one Lord, as of one God.

2. But how can it be any longer one faith, if it does not steadfastly and sincerely confess one Lord and one God the Father: and how can the faith which is not one faith confess one Lord and one God the Father? Further, how can the faith be one, when its preachers are so at variance? One comes teaching that the Lord Jesus Christ, being in the weakness of our nature,

groaned with anguish when the nails pierced His hands, that He lost the virtue of His own power and nature, and shrank shuddering from the death which threatened Him. Another even denies the cardinal doctrine of the Generation and pronounces Him a creature. Another will call Him, but not think Him, God on the ground that religion allows us to speak of more Gods than One, but He, Whom we recognize as God, must be conscious of sharing the divine nature. Again, how can Christ the Lord be one, when some say that as God He feels no pain, others make Him weak and fearful: to some He is God in name, to others God in nature: to some the Son by Generation, to others the Son by appellation? And if this is so, how can God the Father be one in the faith, when to some He is Father by His authority, to others Father by generation, in the sense that God is Father of the universe?

And yet, who will deny that whatever is not the one faith, is not faith at all? For in the one faith there is one Lord Christ, and God the Father is one. But the one Lord Jesus Christ is not one in the truth of the confession, as well as in name, unless He is Son, unless He is God, unless He is unchangeable, unless His Sonship and His Godhead have been eternally present in Him. He who preaches Christ other than He is, that is, other than Son and God, preaches another Christ. Nor is he in the one faith of the one baptism, for in the teaching of the Apostle the one faith is the faith of that one baptism, in which the one Lord is Christ, the Son of God Who is also God.

3. Yet it cannot be denied that Christ was Christ. It cannot be that He was incognizable to mankind. The books of the prophets have set their seal upon Him: the fullness of the times, which waxes daily, witnesses of Him: by the working of wonders the tombs of Apostles and Martyrs proclaim Him: the power of His name reveals Him: the unclean spirits confess Him, and the devils howling in their torment call aloud His name. In all we see the dispensation of His power. But our faith must preach Him as He is, namely, one Lord not in name but in confession, in one faith of one baptism: for on our faith in one Lord Christ depends our confession of one God the Father.

4. But these teachers of a new Christ, who deny to Him all that is His, preach another Lord Christ as well as another God the Father. The One is

not the Begetter but the Creator, the Other not begotten, but created. Christ is therefore not very God, because He is not God by birth, and faith cannot recognize a Father in God, because there is no generation to constitute Him Father. They glorify God the Father indeed, as is His right and due, when they predicate of Him a nature unapproachable, invisible, inviolable, ineffable, and infinite, endued with omniscience and omnipotence, instinct with love, moving in all and permeating all, immanent and transcendent, sentient in all sentient existence. But when they proceed to ascribe to Him the unique glory of being alone good, alone omnipotent, alone immortal, who does not feel that this pious praise aims to exclude the Lord Jesus Christ froth the blessedness, which by the reservation 'alone' is restricted to the glory of God? Does it not leave Christ in sinfulness and weakness and death, while the Father reigns in solitary perfection? Does it not deny in Christ a natural origin from God the Father, in the fear lest He should be thought to inherit by a birth, which bestows upon the Begotten the same virtue of nature as the Begetter, a blessedness natural to God the Father alone?

5. Unlearned in the teaching of the Gospels and Apostles, they extol the glory of God the Father, not, however, with the sincerity of a devout believer, but with the cunning of impiety, to wrest from it an argument for their wicked heresy. Nothing, they say, can be compared with His nature: therefore the Only-begotten God is excluded from the comparison, because He possesses a lower and weaker nature. And this they say of God, the living image of the living God, the perfect form of His blessed nature, the only-begotten offspring of His unbegotten substance; Who is not truly the image of God unless He possesses the perfect glory of the Father's blessedness: and reproduces in its exactitude the likeness of His whole nature. But if the Only-begotten God is the image of the Unbegotten God, the verity of that perfect and supreme nature resides in Him and makes Him the image of the very God. Is the Father omnipotent? The weak Son is not the image of omnipotence. Is He good? The Son, Whose divinity is of a lower stamp, does not reflect in His sinful nature the image of goodness. Is He incorporeal? The Son, Whose very spirit is confined to the limits of a body, is not in the forth of the Incorporeal. Is He ineffable? The Son, Whom language can define, Whose nature the tongue can describe, is not the image of the Ineffable. Is He the true God? The Son possesses only

a fictitious divinity, and the false cannot be the image of the True. The Apostle, however, does not ascribe to Christ a portion of the image, or a part of the form, but pronounces Him unreservedly the image of the invisible God and the form of God. And how could He declare more expressly the divine nature of the Son of God, than by saying that Christ is the image of the invisible God even in respect of His invisibility: for if the substance of Christ were discernible how could He be the image of an invisible nature?

6. But, as we pointed out in the former books, they seize the Dispensation of the assumed manhood as a pretext to dishonor His divinity, and distort the Mystery of our salvation into an occasion of blasphemy. Had they held fast the faith of the Apostle, they would neither have forgotten that He, Who was in the form of God, took the form of a servant, nor made use of the servant's forth to dishonor the form of God (for the form of God includes the fullness of divinity), but they would have noted, reasonably and reverently, the distinction of occasions and mysteries, without dishonoring the divinity, or being misled by the Incarnation of Christ. But now, when we have, I am convinced, proved everything to the utmost, and pointed out the power of the divine nature underlying the birth of the assumed body, there is no longer room for doubt. He Who was at once man and the Only-begotten God performed all things by the power of God, and in the power of God accomplished all things through a true human nature. As begotten of God He possessed the nature of divine omnipotence, as born of the Virgin He had a perfect and entire humanity. Though He had a real body, He subsisted in the nature of God, and though He subsisted in the nature of God, He abode in a real body.

7. In our reply we have followed Him to the moment of His glorious death, and taking one by one the statements of their unhallowed doctrine, we have refuted them from the teaching of the Gospels and the Apostle. But even after His glorious resurrection there are certain things which they have made bold to construe as proofs of the weakness of a lower nature, and to these we must now reply. Let us adopt once more our usual method of drawing out from the words themselves their true signification, that so we may discover the truth precisely where they think to overthrow it. For the Lord spoke in simple words for our instruction in the faith, and His

words cannot need support or comment from foreign and irrelevant sayings.

8. Among their other sins the heretics often employ as an argument the words of the Lord, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and your God. His Father is also their Father, His God their God; therefore He is not in the nature of God, for He pronounces God the Father of others as of Himself, and His unique Sonship ceases when He shares with others the nature and the origin which make Him Son and God. But let them add further the words of the Apostle, But when He saith All things are put in subjection, He is excepted Who did subject all things unto Him. And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall He Himself be subjected unto Him that did subject all things unto Himself, that God may be all in all, whereby, since they regard that subjection as a proof of weakness, they may dispossess Him of the virtue of His Father's nature, because His natural infirmity subjected Him to the dominion of a stronger nature. And after that, let them adopt their very strongest position and their impregnable defense, before which the truth of the Divine birth is to he demolished; namely, that if He is subjected, He is not God; if His God and Father is ours also, He shares all in common with creatures, and therefore is Himself also a creature: created of God and not begotten, since the creature has its substance out of nothing, but the begotten possesses the nature of its author.

9. Falsehood is always infamous, for the liar throwing off the bridle of shame dares to gainsay the truth, or else at times he hides behind some veil of pretext, that he may appear to defend with modesty what is shameless in intention. But in this case, when they sacrilegiously use the Scriptures to degrade the dignity of our Lord, there is no room for the blush or the false excuse; for there are occasions when even pardon accorded to ignorance is refused, and willful misconstruction is exposed in its naked profanity. Let us postpone for a moment the exposition of this passage in the Gospel, and ask them first whether they have forgotten the preaching of the Apostle, who said, Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory. Who is so dull that he cannot comprehend that the mystery of godliness is simply the Dispensation of the flesh assumed by the Lord? At

the outset then, he who does not agree in this confession is not in the faith of God. For the Apostle leaves no doubt that all must confess that the hidden secret of our salvation is not the dishonor of God, but the mystery of great godliness, and a mystery no longer kept from our eyes, but manifested in the flesh; no longer weak through the nature of flesh, but justified in the Spirit. And so by the justification of the Spirit is removed from our faith the idea of fleshly weakness; through the manifestation of the flesh is revealed that which was secret, and in the unknown cause of that which was secret is contained the only confession, the confession of the mystery of great godliness. This is the whole system of the faith set forth by the Apostle in its proper order. From godliness proceeds the mystery, from the mystery the manifestation in the flesh, from the manifestation in the flesh the justification in the Spirit: for the mystery of godliness which was manifested in the flesh, to be truly a mystery, was manifested in the flesh through the justification of the Spirit. Again, we must not forget what manner of justification in the Spirit is this manifestation in the flesh: for the mystery which was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, and believed on in this world, this same mystery was received up in glory. Thus is it in every way a mystery of great godliness, when it is manifested in the flesh, when it is justified in the Spirit, when it is seen of angels, when it is preached among the nations, when it is believed on in the world, and when it is received up in glory. The preaching follows the seeing, and the believing the preaching, and the consummation of all is the receiving up in glory: for the assumption into glory is the mystery of great godliness, and by faith in the Dispensation we are prepared to be received up, and to be conformed to the glory of the Lord. The assumption of flesh is therefore also the mystery of great godliness, for through the assumption of flesh the mystery was manifested in the flesh. But we mast believe that the manifestation in the flesh also is this same mystery of great godliness, for His manifestation in the flesh is His justification in the Spirit, and His assumption into glory. And now what room does our faith leave for any to think that the secret of the Dispensation of godliness is the enfeebling of the divinity, when through the assumption of glory is to be confessed the mystery of great godliness? What was ‘infirmity’ is now the ‘mystery:’ what was ‘necessity’ becomes ‘godliness.’ And now let us turn to the

meaning of the Evangelist's words, that the secret of our salvation and our glory may not be converted into an occasion of blasphemy.

10. You credit with the weight of irresistible authority, heretic, that saying of the Lord, I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God. The same Father, you say, is His Father and ours, the same God His God and ours. He partakes, therefore, of our weakness, for in the possession of the same Father we are not inferior as sons, and in the service of the same God we are equal as servants. Since, then, we are of created origin and a servant's nature, but have a common Father and God with Him, He is in common with our nature a creature and a servant. So runs this infatuated and unhallowed teaching. It produces also the words of the Prophet, Thy God hath anointed Thee, O God, to prove that Christ does not partake of that glorious nature which belongs to God, since the God Who anoints Him is preferred before Him as His God.

11. We do not know Christ the God unless we know God the Begotten. But to be born God is to belong to the nature of God, for the name Begotten signifies indeed the manner of His origin, but does not make Him different in kind from the Begetter. And if so, the Begotten owes indeed to His Author the source of His being, but is not dispossessed of the nature of that Author, for the birth of God can arise but from one origin, and have but one nature. If its origin is not from God, it is not a birth; if it is anything but a birth, Christ is not God. But He is God of God, and therefore God the Father stands to God the Son as God of His birth and Father of His nature, for the birth of God is from God, and in the specific nature of God.

12. See in all that He said, how carefully the Lord tempers the pious acknowledgment of His debt, so that neither the confession of the birth could be held to reflect upon His divinity, nor His reverent obedience to infringe upon His sovereign nature. He does not withhold the homage due from Him as the Begotten, Who owed to His Author His very existence, but He manifests by His confident bearing the consciousness of participation in that nature, which belongs to Him by virtue of the origin whereby He was born as God. Take, for instance, the words, He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also, and, The wards that I say, I speak not from Myself. He does not speak from Himself: therefore He receives from

His Author that which He says. But if any have seen Him, they have seen the Father also: they are conscious, by this evidence, given to shew that God is in Him, that a nature, one in kind with that of God, was born from God to subsist as God. Take again the words, That which the Father hath given unto Me, is greater than all, and, I and the Father are one. To say that the Father gave, is a confession that He received His origin: but the unity of Himself with the Father is a property of His nature derived from that origin. Take another instance, He hath given all judgment unto the Son, that all may honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He acknowledges that the judgment is given to Him, and therefore He does not put His birth in the background: but He claims equal honor with the Father, and therefore He does not resign His nature. Yet another example, I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me, and, The Father is greater than I. The One is in the Other: recognize, then, the divinity of God, the Begotten of God: the Father is greater than He: perceive, then, His acknowledgment of the Father's authority. In the same way He says, The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He hath seen the Father doing: for what things soever He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner. He doeth nothing of Himself: that is, in accordance with His birth the Father prompts His actions: yet what things soever the Father doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner; that is, He subsists as nothing less than God, and by the Father's omnipotent nature residing in Him, can do all that God the Father does. All is uttered in agreement with His unity of Spirit with the Father, and the properties of that nature, which He possesses by virtue of His birth. That birth, which brought Him into being, constituted Him divine, and His being reveals the consciousness of that divine nature. God the Son confesses God His Father, because He was born of Him; but also, because He was barn, He inherits the whole nature of God.

13. So the Dispensation of the great and godly mystery makes Him, Who was already Father of the divine Son, also His Lord in the created form which He assumed, for He, Who was in the form of God, was found also in the form of a servant. Yet He was not a servant, for according to the Spirit He was God the Son of God. Every one will agree also that there is no servant where there is no Lord. God is indeed Father in the Generation of the Only-begotten God, but only in the case that the Other is a servant

can we call Him Lord as well as Father. The Son was not at the first a servant by nature, but afterwards began to be by nature something which He was not before. Thus the Father is Lord on the same grounds as the Son is servant. By the Dispensation of His nature the Son had a Lord, when He made Himself a servant by the assumption of manhood.

14. Being, then, in the form of a servant, Jesus Christ, Who before was in the form of God, said as a man, I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God. He was speaking as a servant to servants: how can we then dissociate the words from Christ the servant, and transfer them to that nature, which had nothing of the servant in it? For He Who abode in the form of God took upon Him the form of a servant, this form being the indispensable condition of His fellowship as a servant with servants. It is in this sense that God is His Father and the Father of men, His God and the God of servants. Jesus Christ was speaking as a man in the form of a servant to men and servants; what difficulty is there then in the idea, that in His human aspect the Father is His Father as ours, in His servant's nature God is His God as all men's?

15. These, then, are the words with which He prefaces the message, Go unto My brethren, and say to them, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and your God. I ask, Are they to be understood as His brethren with reference to the form of God or to the form of a servant? And has our flesh kinship with Him in regard to the fullness of the Godhead dwelling in Him, that we should be reckoned His brothers in respect of His divinity? No, for the Spirit of prophecy recognizes clearly in what respect we are the brethren of the Only-begotten God. It is as a warm and no man that He says, I will declare Thy name unto My brethren. As a worm, which is born without the ordinary process of conception, or else comes up into the world, already living, from the depths of the earth, He speaks here in manifestation of the fact that He had assumed flesh and also brought it up, living, from Hades. Throughout the Psalm He is foretelling by the Spirit of prophecy the mysteries of His Passion: it is therefore in respect of the Dispensation, in which He suffered, that He has brethren. The Apostle also recognizes the mystery of this brotherhood, for he calls Him not only the firstborn from the dead, but also the firstborn among many brethren. Christ is the Firstborn among many brethren in the same sense in which He is Firstborn from the dead:

and as the mystery of death concerns His body, so the mystery of brotherhood also refers to His flesh. Thus God has brethren according to His flesh, for the Word became flesh and dwelt amongst us: but the Only-begotten Son, unique as the Only-begotten, has no brethren.

16. By assuming flesh, however, He acquired our nature in our totality, and became all that we are, but did not lose that which He was before. Both before by His heavenly origin, and now by His earthly constitution, God is His Father. By His earthly constitution God is His Father, since all things are from God the Father, and God is Father to all things, since from Him and in Him are all things. But to the Only-begotten God, God is Father, not only because the Word became flesh; His Fatherhood extends also to Him Who was, as God the Word, with God in the beginning. Thus, when the Word became flesh, God was His Father both by the birth of God the Word, and by the constitution of His flesh: for God is the Father of all flesh, though not in the same way that He is Father to God the Word. But God the Word, though He did not cease to be God, really did become flesh: and while He thus dwelt He was still truly the Word, just as when the Word became flesh He was still truly God as well as man. For to 'dwell' can only be said of one who abides in something: and to become flesh' of one who is born. He dwelt among us; that is, He assumed our flesh. The Word became flesh and dwelt among us; that is, He was God in the reality of our body. If Christ Jesus, the man according to the flesh, robbed God the Word of the divine nature, or was not according to the mystery of godliness also God the Word, then it reduces His nature to our level that God is His Father, and our Father, His God and our God. But if God the Word, when He became the man Christ Jesus, did not cease to be God the Word, then God is at the same time His Father and ours, His God and ours, only in respect of that nature, by which the Word is our brother, and the message to His brethren, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and your God, is not that of the Only-begotten God the Word, but of the Word made flesh.

17. The Apostle here speaks in carefully guarded words, which by their definiteness can give no occasion to the ungodly. We have seen that the Evangelist makes the Lord use the word 'Brethren' in the preface to the message, thus signifying that the whole message, being addressed to His brethren, refers to His fellowship in that nature which makes Him their

brother. Thus he makes manifest that the mystery of godliness, which is here proclaimed, is no degradation of His divinity. The community with Him, by which God is our Father and His, our God and His, exists in regard to the Dispensation of the flesh: we are counted His brethren, because He was born into the body. No one disputes that God the Father is also the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, but this reverent confession offers no occasion for irreverence. God is His God but not as possessing a different order of divinity from His. He was begotten God of the Father, and born a servant by the Dispensation: and so God is His Father because He is God of God, and God is His God, because He is flesh of the Virgin. All this the Apostle confirms in one short and decisive sentence, Making mention of you in my prayers that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you a spirit of wisdom and revelation. When he speaks of Him as Jesus Christ, he mentions His God: when his theme is the glory of Christ, he calls God His Father. To Christ, as having glory, God is Father: to Christ, as being Jesus, God is God. For the angel, when speaking of Christ the Lord, Who should be born of Mary, calls Him by the name 'Jesus:' but to the prophets Christ the Lord is 'Spirit.' The Apostle's words in this passage seem to many, on account of the Latin, somewhat obscure, for Latin has no articles, which the beautiful and logical usage of Greek employs. The Greek runs, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης, which we might translate into Latin, if the usage of the article were permitted, 'Ille Deus illius Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ille pater illius claritatis' (The God of the Lord [of us] Jesus Christ, the Father of the glory). In this form 'The God of the Jesus Christ,' and 'the Father of the glory,' the sentence expresses, so far as we can comprehend them, certain truths of His nature. Where the glory of Christ is concerned, God is His Father; where Christ is Jesus, there the Father is His God. In the Dispensation by which He is a servant, He has as God Him Whom, in the glory by which He is God, He has as Father.

18. Time and the lapse of ages make no difference to a Spirit. Christ is one and the same Christ, whether in the body, or abiding by the Spirit in the prophets. Speaking through the mouth of the holy Patriarch David, He says, Thy God, O God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows, which refers to no less a mystery than the Dispensation of His assumption of flesh. He, Who now sends the message to His brethren

that their Father is His Father, and their God His God, announced Himself then as anointed by His God above His fellows. No one is fellow to the Only-begotten Christ, God the Word: but we know that we are His fellows by the assumption which made Him flesh. That anointing did not exalt the blessed and incorruptible Begotten Who abides in the nature of God, but it established the mystery of His body, and sanctified the manhood which He assumed. To this the Apostle Peter witnesses, Of a truth in this city were they gathered together against Thy holy Son Jesus, Whom Thou didst anoint: and on another occasion, Ye know that the saying was published through all Judaea, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached: even Jesus of Nazareth, how that God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost and with power. Jesus was anointed, therefore, that the mystery of the regeneration of flesh might be accomplished. Nor are we left in doubt how He was thus anointed with the Spirit of God and with power, when we listen to the Father's voice, as it spoke when He came up out of the Jordan, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Thus is testified the sanctification of His flesh, and in this testimony we must recognize His anointing with the power of the Spirit.

19. But the Word was God, and with God in the beginning, and therefore the anointing could neither be related nor explained, if it referred to that nature, of which we are told nothing, except that it was in the beginning. And in fact He Who was God had no need to anoint Himself with the Spirit and power of God, when He was Himself the Spirit and power of God. So He, being God, was anointed by His God above His fellows. And, although there were many Christs (i.e. anointed persons) according to the Law before the Dispensation of the flesh, yet Christ, Who was anointed above His fellows, came after them, for He was preferred above His anointed fellows. Accordingly, the words of the prophecy bring out the fact that the anointing took place in time, and comparatively late in time. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore Thy God, O God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows. Now, a fact which follows later upon other facts, cannot be dated before them. That a reward be deserved postulates as a prior condition the existence of one who can deserve it, for merit earned implies that there has been one capable of acquiring it. If, therefore, we attribute the birth of the

Only-begotten God to this anointing, which is His reward for loving righteousness and hating iniquity, we shall be regarding Him not as born, but as promoted by unction, to be the Only-begotten God. But then we imply that He advanced with gradual progress and promotion to perfect divinity, and that He was not born God, but afterwards for His merit anointed God. Thus we shall make Christ as God Himself conditioned, whereas He is the final cause of all conditions; and what becomes then of the Apostle's words, All things are through Him and in Him, and He is before all, and in Him all things consist? The Lord Jesus Christ was not deified because of anything, or by means of anything, but was born God: God by origin, not promoted to divinity for any cause after His birth, but as the Son; and one in kind with God because begotten of Him. His anointing then, though it is the result of a cause, did not enhance that in Him, which could not be made more perfect. It concerned that part of Him which was to be made perfect through the perfection of the Mystery: that is, our manhood was sanctified in Christ by unction. If then the prophet here also teaches us the dispensation of the servant, for which Christ is anointed by His God above His fellows, and that because He loved righteousness and hated iniquity, then surely the words of the prophet must refer to that nature in Christ, by which He has fellows through His assumption of flesh. Can we doubt this when we note how carefully the Spirit of prophecy chooses His words? God is anointed by His God; that is, in His own nature He is God, but in the dispensation of the anointing God is His God. God is anointed: but tell me, is that Word anointed, Who was God in the beginning? Manifestly not, for the anointing comes after His divine birth. It was then not the begotten Word, God with God in the beginning, Who was anointed, but that nature in God which came to Him through the dispensation later than His divinity: and when His God anointed Him, He anointed in Him the whole nature of the servant, which He assumed in the mystery of His flesh.

20. Let no one then defile with his godless interpretations the mystery of great godliness which was manifested in the flesh, or reckon himself equal to the Only-begotten in respect of His divine substance. Let Him be our brother and our fellow, inasmuch as the Word made flesh dwelt among us, inasmuch as the man Jesus Christ is Mediator between God and man. Let Him, after the manner of servants, have a common Father and a common

God with us, and as anointed above His fellows, let Him be of the same nature as His anointed fellows, though His be an unction of special privilege. In the mystery of the Mediatorship let Him be at once very man and very God, Himself God of God, but having a common Father and God with us in that community by which He is our brother.

21. But perhaps that subjection, that delivering of the kingdom, and lastly that end betoken the dissolution of His nature, or the loss of His power, or the enfeebling of His divinity. Many argue thus: Christ is included in the common subjection of all to God, and by the condition of subjection loses His divinity: He surrenders His Kingdom, therefore He is no longer King: the end which overtakes Him entails as its consequence the loss of His power.

22. It will not be out of place here if we review the full meaning of the Apostle's teaching upon this subject. Let us take, then, each single sentence and expound it, that we may grasp the entire Mystery by comprehending it in its fullness. The words of the Apostle are, For since by man came death by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ are all made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the firstfruits, then they that are Christ's at His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered the Kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have emptied all authority and all power. For He must reign until He put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be conquered is death. But when He saith, All things are put in subjection, He is excepted Who did subject all things unto Him. But when all things have been subjected to Him, then shall He also Himself be subjected to Him, that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all.

23. The Apostle who was chosen not of then nor through man, but through Jesus Christ, to be the teacher of the Gentiles, expounds in language as express as he can command the secrets of the heavenly Dispensations. He who had been caught up into the third heaven and had heard unspeakable words, reveals to the perception of human understanding as much as human nature can receive. But he does not forget that there are things which cannot be understood in the moment of hearing. The infirmity of man needs time to review before the true and perfect

tribunal of the mind, that which is poured indiscriminately into the ears. Comprehension follows the spoken words more slowly than hearing, for it is the ear which hears, but the reason which understands, though it is God Who reveals the inner meaning to those who seek it. We learn this from the words written among many other exhortations to Timothy, the disciple instructed from a babe in the Holy Scriptures by the glorious faith of his grandmother and mother: Understand what I say, for the Lord shall give thee understanding in all things. The exhortation to understand is prompted by the difficulty of understanding. But God's gift of understanding is the reward of faith, for through faith the infirmity of sense is recompensed with the gift of revelation. Timothy, that 'man of God' as the Apostle witnesses of him, Paul's true child in the faith, is exhorted to understand because the Lord will give him understanding in all things: let us, therefore, knowing that the Lord will grant us understanding in all things, remember that the Apostle exhorts us also to understand.

24. And if, by an error incident to human nature, we be clinging to some preconception of our own, let us not reject the advance in knowledge through the gift of revelation. If we have hitherto used only our own judgment, let that not make us ashamed to change its decisions for the better. Guiding this advance wisely and carefully, the same blessed Apostle writes to the Philippians, Let us therefore as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in anything ye are otherwise minded, this also shall Gad reveal unto you. Only, wherein we have hastened, in that same let us walk. Reason cannot anticipate with preconceptions the revelation of God. For the Apostle has here shewn us wherein consists the wisdom of those who have the perfect wisdom, and for those who are otherwise minded, he awaits the revelation of God, that they may obtain the perfect wisdom. If any, then, have otherwise conceived this profound dispensation of the hidden knowledge, and if that which we offer them is in any respect more right or better approved, let them not be ashamed to receive the perfect wisdom, as the Apostle advises, through the revelation of God, and if they hate to abide in untruth let them not love ignorance more. If to them, who had another wisdom, God has revealed this also, the Apostle exhorts them to hasten on the road in which they have started, to cast aside the notions of their former ignorance, and obtain the revelation of perfect understanding by the path into which they have eagerly entered. Let us,

therefore, keep on in the path along which we have hastened: or, if the error of our wandering steps has delayed our eager haste, let us, notwithstanding, start again through the revelation of God towards the goal of our desire, and not turn our feet from the path. We have hastened towards Christ Jesus the Lord of Glory, the King of the eternal ages, in Whom are restored all things in Heaven and in earth, by Whom all things consist, in Whom and with Whom we shall abide for ever. So long as we walk in this path we have the perfect wisdom: and if we have another wisdom, God will reveal to us what is the perfect wisdom. Let us, then, examine in the light of the Apostle's faith the mystery of the words before us: and let our treatment be, as it always has been, a refutation from the actual truth of the Apostle's confession of every interpretation, which they would profanely foist upon his words.

25. Three assertions are here disputed, which, in the order in which the Apostle makes them, are first the end, then the delivering, and lastly the subjection. The object is to prove that Christ ceases to exist at the end, that He loses His kingdom, when He delivers it up, that He strips Himself of the divine nature, when He is subjected to God.

26. At the outset take note that this is not the order of the Apostle's teaching, for in that order the surrender of the Kingdom is first, then the subjection, and lastly the end. But every cause is itself the result of its particular cause, so that, in every chain of causation, each cause, itself producing a result, has inevitably its underlying antecedent. Thus the end will come, but when He has delivered the Kingdom to God. He will deliver the Kingdom, but when He has abolished all authority and power. He will abolish all authority and power, because He must reign. He will reign until He has put all enemies under His feet. He will put all enemies under His feet, because God has subjected everything under His feet. God has so subjected them as to make death the last enemy to be conquered by Him. Then, when all things are subjected unto God. except Him Who subjected all things unto Him, He too will be subjected unto Him, Who subjects all to Himself. But the cause of the subjection is none other than that God may be all in all; and therefore the end is that God is all in all.

27. Before going any further we must now enquire whether the end is a dissolution, or the delivering a forfeiture, or the subjection an enfeebling of

Christ. And if we find that these are contraries, which cannot be connected as causes and effects, we shall be able to understand the words in the true sense in which they were spoken.

28. Christ is the end of the law; but, tell me, is He come to destroy it or to fulfill it? And if Christ, the end of the law, does not destroy it, but fulfills it (as He says, I am come not to destroy the law but fulfill it), is not the end of the law, so far from being its dissolution, the very opposite, namely its final perfection? All things are advancing towards an end, but that end is a condition of rest in the perfection, which is the goal of their advance, and not their abolition. Further, all things exist for the sake of the end, but the end itself is not the means to anything beyond: it is an ultimate, all-embracing whole, which rests in itself. And because it is self-contained, and works for no other time or object than itself, the goal is always that to which our hopes are directed. Therefore the Lord exhorts us to wait with patient and reverent faith until the end comes: Blessed is He that endureth to the end. It is not a blessed dissolution, which awaits us, nor is non-existence the fruit, and annihilation the appointed reward of faith: but the end is the final attainment of the promised blessedness, and they are blessed who endure until the goal of perfect happiness is reached, when the expectation of faithful hope has no object beyond. Their end is to abide with unbroken rest in that condition, towards which they are pressing. Similarly, as a deterrent, the Apostle warns us of the end of the wicked, Whose end is perdition,Ö but our expectation is in heaven. Suppose then we interpret the end as a dissolution, we are forced to acknowledge that, since there is an end for the blessed and for the wicked, the issue levels the godly with the ungodly, for the appointed end of both is a common annihilation. What of our expectation in heaven, if for us as well as for the wicked the end is a cessation of being? But even if there remains for the saints an expectation. whereas for the wicked there waits the end they have deserved, we cannot conceive that end as a final dissolution. What punishment would it be for the wicked to be beyond the feeling of avenging torments, because the capability of suffering has been removed by dissolution? The end is, therefore, a culminating and irrevocable condition which awaits us, reserved for the blessed and prepared for the wicked.

29. We can therefore no longer doubt that by the end is meant an ultimate and final condition and not a dissolution. We shall have something more to say upon this subject, when we come to the explanation of this passage, but for the present this is enough to make our meaning clear. Let us, therefore, turn now to the delivering of the Kingdom, and see whether it means a surrender of rule, whether the Son by delivering ceases to possess that which He delivers to the Father. If this is what the wicked contend in their unreasoning infatuation, they must allow that the Father, by delivering, lost all, when He delivered all to the Son, if delivery implies the surrender of that which is delivered. For the Lord said, All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father, and again, All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and earth. If, therefore, to deliver is to yield possession, the Father no longer possessed that which He delivered. But if the Father did not cease to possess that which He delivered, neither does the Son surrender that which He delivers. Therefore, if He did not lose by the delivering that which He delivered, we must recognize that only the Dispensation explains how the Father still possesses what He delivered, and the Son does not forfeit what He gave.

30. As to the subjection, there are other facts which come to the help of our faith, and prevent us from putting an indignity on Christ upon this score, but above all this passage contains its own defense. First, however, I appeal to common reason: is the subjection still to be understood as the subordination of servitude to lordship, weakness to power, meanness to honor, qualities the opposite of one another? Is the Son in this manner subjected to the Father by the distinction of a different nature? If, indeed, we would think so, we shall find in the Apostle’s words a preventive for such errors of the imagination. When all things are subjected to Him, says He, then must He be subjected to Him, Who subjects all things to Himself; and by this ‘then’ he means to denote the temporal Dispensation. For if we put any other construction on the subjection, Christ, though then to be subjected, is not subjected now, and thus we make Him an insolent and impious rebel, whom the necessity of time, breaking as it were and subduing His profane and overweening pride, will reduce to a tardy obedience. But what does He Himself say? I am not come to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me: and again, Therefore hath the Father loved Me because I do all things that are pleasing unto Him: and, Father,

Thy will be done. Or hear the Apostle, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death. Although He humbled Himself, His nature knew no humiliation: though He was obedient, it was a voluntary obedience, for He became obedient by humbling Himself. The Only-begotten God humbled Himself, and obeyed His Father even to the death of the Cross: but as what, as man or as God, is He to be subjected to the Father, when all things have been subjected to Him? Of a truth this subjection is no sign of a fresh obedience, but the Dispensation of the Mystery, for the allegiance is eternal, the subjection an event within time. The subjection is then in its signification simply a demonstration of the Mystery.

31. What that is must be understood in view of this same hope of our faith. We cannot be ignorant that the Lord Jesus Christ rose again from the dead, and sits at the right hand of God, for we have also the witness of the Apostle, According to the working of the strength of His might, which He wrought in Christ, when tie raised Him from the dead, and made Him to sit at His right hand in the heavenly places above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world but also in that which is to came, and put all things in subjection under His feet. The language of the Apostle, as befits the power of God, speaks of the future as already past: for that which is to be wrought by the completion of time already exists in Christ, in Whom is all fullness, and ‘future’ refers only to the temporal order of the Dispensation, not to a new development. Thus, God has put all things under His feet, though they are still to be subjected. By their subjection, conceived as already past, is expressed the immutable power of Christ: by their subjection, as future, is signified their consummation at the end of the ages as the result of the fullness of time.

32. The meaning of the abolishing of every power which is against Him is not obscure The prince of the air, the power of spiritual wickedness, shall be delivered to eternal destruction, as Christ says, Depart from Me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which My Father hath prepared far the devil and his angels. The abolishing is not the same as the subjecting. To abolish the power of the enemy is to sweep away for ever his prerogative of power, so that by the abolition of his power is brought to an end the rule of his kingdom. Of this the Lord testifies when He says, My kingdom is not of this world: as He had once before testified that the ruler of that

kingdom is the prince of the world, whose power shall be destroyed by the abolition of the rule of His kingdom. A subjection, on the other hand, which implies obedience and allegiance, is a proof of submission and mutability.

33. So when their authority is abolished, His enemies shall be subjected: and so subjected, that He shall subject them to Himself. Moreover He shall so subject them to Himself, that God shall subject them to Him. Was the Apostle ignorant, think you, of the force of these words in the Gospel, No one cometh to Me, except the Father draw Him to Me which stand side by side with those other words, No one cometh unto the Father but by Me: just as in this Epistle Christ subjects His enemies to Himself, yet God subjects them to Him, and He witnesses throughout this, his work of subjection, that God is working in Him? Except through Him there is no approach to the Father, but there is also no approach to Him, unless the Father draw us. Understanding Him to be the Son of God, we recognize in Him the true nature of the Father. Hence, when we learn to know the Son, God the Father calls us: when we believe the Son, God the Father receives us; for our recognition and knowledge of the Father is in the Son, Who shews us in Himself God the Father, Who draws us, if we be devout, by His fatherly love into a mutual bond with His Son. So then the Father draws us, when, as the first condition, He is acknowledged Father: but no one comes to the Father except through the Son, because we cannot know the Father, unless faith in the Son is active in us, since we cannot approach the Father in worship, unless we first adore the Son, while if we know the Son, the Father draws us to eternal life and receives us. But each result is the work of the Son, for by the preaching of the Father, Whom the Son preaches, the Father brings us to the Son, and the Son leads us to the Father. The statement of this Mystery was necessary for the more perfect understanding of the present passage, to shew that through the Son the Father draws us and receives us; that we might understand the two aspects, the Son subjecting all to Himself, and the Father subjecting all to Him. Through the birth the nature of God is abiding in the Son, and does that which He Himself does. What He does God does, but what God does in Him, He Himself does: in the sense that where He acts Himself we must believe the Son of God acts; and where God acts, we must perceive the properties of the Father’s nature existing in Him as the Son.

34. When authorities and powers are abolished, His enemies shall be subjected under His feet. The same Apostle tells who are these enemies, As touching the Gospel they are enemies for your sakes, but as touching the election they are beloved far the fathers' sake. We remember that they are enemies of the cross of Christ; let us remember also that, because they are beloved for the fathers' sake, they are reserved for the subjection, as the Apostle says, I would not, brethren, have you ignorant of this mystery, lest ye be wise in your own conceits, that a hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved, even as it is written, There shall come out of Sion a Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: and this is the covenant firm Me to them, when I have taken away their sins. So His enemies shall be subjected under His feet.

35. But we must not forget what follows the subjection, namely, Last of all is death conquered by Him. This victory over death is nothing else than the resurrection from the dead: for when the corruption of death is stayed, the quickened and now heavenly nature is made eternal, as it is written, For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in strife. O death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy strife? In the subjection of His enemies death is Conquered; and, death conquered, life immortal follows. The Apostle tells us also of the special reward attained by this subjection which is made perfect by the subjection of belief: Who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory, according to the works of His power, whereby He is able to subject all things to Himself. There is then another subjection, which consists in a transition from one nature to another, for our nature ceases, so far as its present character is concerned, and is subjected to Him, into Whose form it passes. But by 'ceasing' is implied not an end of being, but a promotion into something higher. Thus our nature by being merged into the image of the other nature which it receives, becomes subjected through the imposition of a new form.

36. Hence the Apostle, to make his explanation of this Mystery complete, after saying that death is the last enemy to be conquered, adds: But when He saith, rill things are put in subjection except Him, Who did subject all

things to Him, then must He be subjected to Him, that did subject all things to Him, that God may be all in all. The first step of the Mystery is that all things are subjected to Him: then He is subjected to Him, Who subjects all things to Himself. As we are subjected to the glory of the rule of His body, so He also, reigning in the glory of His body, is by the same Mystery in turn subjected to Him, Who subjects all things to Himself. And we are subjected to the glory of His body, that we may share that splendor with which He reigns in the body, since we shall be conformed to His body.

37. Nor are the Gospels silent concerning the glory of His present reigning body. It is written that the Lord said, Verily, I say unto you, there be same of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom. And it came to pass, after six days Jesus taketh with Him Peter and James and John His brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart. And Jesus was transfigured before them, and His face did shine as the sun, and His garments became as snow Thus was shewn to the Apostles the glory of the body of Christ coming into His Kingdom: for in the fashion of His glorious Transfiguration, the Lord stood revealed in the splendor of His reigning body.

38. He promised also to the Apostles the participation in this His glory. So shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather together out of His Kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and He shall send them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. Were their natural and bodily ears closed to the hearing of the words, that the Lord should need to admonish them to hear? Yet the Lord, hinting at the knowledge of the Mystery, commands them to listen to the doctrine of the faith. In the end of the world all things that cause stumbling shall be removed from His Kingdom. We see the Lord then reigning in the splendor of His body, until the things that cause stumbling are removed. And we see ourselves, in consequence, conformed to the glory of His body in the Kingdom of the Father, shining as with the splendor of the sun, the splendor in which He shewed the fashion of His Kingdom to the Apostles, when He was transfigured on the mountain.

39. He shall deliver the Kingdom to God the Father, not in the sense that He resigns His power by the delivering, but that we, being conformed to the glory of His body, shall form the Kingdom of God. It is not said, He shall deliver up His Kingdom, but, He shall deliver up the Kingdom, that is, deliver up to God us who have been made the Kingdom by the glorifying of His body. He shall deliver us into the Kingdom, as it is said in the Gospel, Came, re blessed of My Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. The just shall shine like the sun in the Kingdom of their Father, and the Son shall deliver to the Father, as His Kingdom, those whom He has called into His Kingdom, to whom also He has promised the blessedness of this Mystery, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. While He reigns, He shall remove all things that cause stumbling, and then the just shall shine as the sun in the Kingdom of the Father. Afterwards He shall deliver the Kingdom to the Father, and those whom He has handed to the Father, as the Kingdom, shall see God. He Himself witnesses to the Apostles what manner of Kingdom this is: The Kingdom of God is within you. Thus it is as King that He shall deliver up the Kingdom, and if any ask Who it is that delivers up the Kingdom, let him hear, Christ is risen from the dead, the firstfruits of them that sleep; since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. All that is said on the point before us concerns the Mystery of the body, since Christ is the firstfruits of the dead. Let us gather also from the words of the Apostle by what Mystery Christ rose from the dead: Remember that Christ hath risen from the dead, of the seed of David. Here he teaches that the death and resurrection are due only to the Dispensation by which Christ was flesh.

40. In His body, the game body though now made glorious, He reigns until the authorities are abolished, death conquered, and His enemies subdued. This distinction is carefully preserved by the Apostle: the authorities and powers are abolished, the enemies are subjected. Then, when they are subjected, He, that is the Lord, shall be subjected to Him that subjecteth all things to Himself, that God may be all in all, the nature of the Father’s divinity imposing itself upon the nature of our body which was assumed. It is thus that God shall be all in all: according to the Dispensation He becomes by His Godhead and His manhood the Mediator between men and God, and so by the Dispensation He acquires the nature of flesh, and

by the subjection shall obtain the nature of God in all things, so as to be God not in part, but wholly and entirely. The end of the subjection is then simply that God may be all in all, that no trace of the nature of His earthly body may remain in Him. Although before this time the two were combined within Him, He must now become God only; not, however, by casting off the body, but by translating it through subjection; not by losing it through dissolutions, but by transfiguring it in glory: adding humanity to His divinity, not divesting Himself of divinity by His humanity. And He is subjected, not that He may cease to be, but that God may be all in all, having, in the mystery of the subjection, to continue to be that which He no longer is, not having by dissolution to be robbed of Himself, that is, to be deprived of His being.

41. We have a sufficient and sacred guarantee for this belief in the authority of the Apostle. Through the Dispensation, and within time, the Lord Jesus Christ, the firstfruits of them that sleep, is to be subjected, that God may be all in all, and this subjection is not the debasement of His divinity, but the promotion of His assumed nature, for He Who is God and Man is now altogether God. But some may think that, when we say He was both glorified in the body whilst reigning in the body, and is hereafter to be subjected that God may be all in all, our belief finds no support for itself in the Gospels nor yet in the Epistles. We will, therefore, produce testimony of our faith, not only from the words of the Apostle, but also from our Lord’s mouth. We will shew that Christ said first with His own lips what He afterwards said by the mouth of Paul.

42. Does He not reveal to His Apostles the Dispensation of this glory by the express signification of the words, Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God hath been glorified in Him, Gad hath glorified Him in Himself, and straightway hath He glorified Him. In the words, Now is the Son of Man honored, and God is honored in Him, we have first the glory of the Son of Man, then the glory of God in the Son of Man. So there is first signified the glory of the body, which it borrows from its association with the divine nature: and then follows the promotion to a fuller glory derived from an addition to the glory of the body. If God hath been honored in Him, God hath honored Him in Himself, and straightway hath God honored Him. God has glorified Him in Himself, because He has already been glorified in Him. God was glorified in Him:

this refers to the glory of the body, for by this glory is expressed in a human body the glory of God, in the glory of the Son of Man is seen the divine glory. God was glorified in Him, and therefore hath God glorified Him in Himself: that is, by His promotion to the Godhead, whose glory was increased in Him, God has glorified Him in Himself. Already before this He was reigning in the glory which springs from the divine glory: from henceforth, however, He is Himself to pass into the divine glory. God hath glorified Him in Himself: that is, in that nature by which God is what He is. That God may be all in all: that His whole being, leaving behind the Dispensation by which He is man, may be eternally transformed into divinity. Nor is the time of this hidden from us: And God hath glorified Him in Himself, and straightway hath He glorified Him. At the moment when Judas arose to betray Him, He signified as present the glory which He would obtain after His Passion through the Resurrection, but assigned to the future the glory with which God would glorify Him with Himself. The glory of God is seen in Him in the power of the Resurrection, but He Himself, out of the Dispensation of subjection, will be taken eternally into the glory of God, that is, into God, the all in all.

43. But what absurd folly is it of the heretics to regard as unattainable for God that goal to which man hopes to attain, to imply that He is powerless to effect in Himself that which He is mighty to effect in us. It is not the language of reason or common sense to say that God is bound by some necessity of His nature to consult our happiness, but cannot bestow the like blessings upon Himself. God does not, indeed, need any further blessedness, for His nature and power stand fast in their eternal perfection. But although in the Dispensation, that mystery of great godliness, He Who is God became man, He is not powerless to make Himself again entirely God, for without doubt He will transform us also into that which as yet we are not. The final sequel of man’s life and death is the resurrection: the assured reward of our warfare is immortality and incorruption, not the ceaseless persistence of everlasting punishment, but the unbroken enjoyment and happiness of eternal glory. These bodies of earthly origin shall be exalted to the fashion of a higher nature, and conformed to the glory of the Lord’s body. But what then of God found in the form of a servant? Though already, while still in the form of a servant, glorified in the body, shall He not be also conformed to God? Shall He bestow upon

us the form of His glorified body, and yet be able to do for His own body nothing more than He does for Himself in common with us? For the most part the heretics interpret the words, Then shall He be subjected to Him that did subject all things to Himself, that God may be all in all, as if they meant that the Son is to be subjected to God the Father, in order that by the subjection of the Son, God the Father may be all in all. But is there still lacking in God some perfection which He is to obtain by the subjection of the Son? Can they believe that God does not already possess that final accession of blessed divinity, because it is said that by the coming of the fullness of time He shall be made all in all?

44. To me, who hold that God cannot be known except by devotion, even to answer such objections seems no less unholy than to support them. What presumption to suppose that words can adequately describe His nature, when thought is often too deep for words, and His nature transcends even the conceptions of thought! What blasphemy even to discuss whether anything is lacking in God, whether He is Himself full, or it remains for Him to be fuller than His fullness! If God, Who is Himself the source of His own eternal divinity, were capable of progress, that He should be greater to-day than yesterday, He could never reach the time when nothing would be wanting to Him, for the nature to which advance is still possible must always in its progress leave some ground ahead still untrodden: if it be subject to the law of progress, though always progressing it must always be susceptible of further progress. But to Him, Who abides in perfect fullness, Who for ever is, there is no fullness left by which He can be made more full, for perfect fullness cannot receive an accession of further fullness. And this is the attitude of thought in which reverence contemplates God, namely, that nothing is wanting to Him, that He is full.

45. But the Apostle does not neglect to say with what manner of confession we should bear witness of God. O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past tracing out! Far who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been His counselor? Or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him? For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. To Him be the glory for ever and ever. No earthly mind can define God, no understanding can penetrate with its

perception to sound the depth of His wisdom. His judgments defy the searching scrutiny of His creatures: the trackless paths of His knowledge baffle the zeal of all pursuers. His ways are plunged in the depths of incomprehensibility: nothing can be fathomed or traced to the end in the things of God. No one has ever been taught to know His mind, no one besides Himself ever permitted to share His counsel. But all this applies to us men only, and not to Him, through Whom are all things, the Angel of mighty Counsel, Who said, Not one knoweth the Son save the Father: neither doth arty one know the Father save the Son, and him to whom the Son hath willed to reveal Him. It is to curb our own feeble intellect, when it strains itself to fathom the depth of the divine nature with its descriptions and definitions, that we must re-echo the language of the Apostle's exclamation, lest we should attempt by rash conjecture to snatch from God more than He has been pleased to reveal to us.

46. It is a recognized axiom of natural philosophy, that nothing falls within the scope of the senses unless it is subjected to their observation, as for instance an object placed before the eyes, or an event posterior to the birth of human sense and intelligence. The former we can see and handle, and therefore the mind is qualified to pass a verdict upon it, since it can be examined by the senses of touch and sight. The latter, which is an event in time, produced or constituted since the origin of man, falls within the limits in which the discerning sense may claim to pass judgment, since it is not prior in time to our perception and reason. For our sight cannot perceive the invisible, since it only distinguishes, the seen; our reason cannot project itself into the time when it was not, because it can only judge of that, to which it is prior in time. And even within these limits, the infirmity which is bound up with its nature robs it of absolutely certain knowledge of the sequence of cause and effect. How much less then can it go back behind the time when it had its origin, and comprehend with its perception things which existed before it in the realms of eternity?

47. The Apostle then recognized that nothing can fall within our knowledge, except it be posterior in time to the faculty of sense. Accordingly when he had asserted the depth of the wisdom of God, the infinity of His inscrutable judgments, the secret of His unsearchable ways, the mystery of His unfathomable mind, the incomprehensibility of His uncommunicated counsel, he continued, For who hath first given to Him,

and it shall be recompensed unto him again? Far of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. The eternal God is neither subject to limitation, nor did human reason and intelligence exercise their functions before He had His being. His whole being is therefore a depth, which we can neither examine nor penetrate. We say His whole being, not to define it as limited, but to understand it in its unlimited boundlessness: because of no one has He received His being, no antecedent giver can claim service from Him in return for a gift bestowed: for of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. He does not lack things that are of Him and through Him and in Him. The Source and Maker of all, Who contains all, Who is beyond all, does not need that which is within Him, the Creator His creatures, the Possessor His possessions. Nothing is prior to Him, nothing derived from any other than Him, nothing beyond Him. What element of fullness is still lacking in God, which time will supply to make Him all in all? Whence can He receive it, if outside Him is nothing, and while nothing is outside Him, He is eternally Himself? And if He is eternally Himself, and there is nothing outside Him, with what increase shall He be made full, by what addition shall He be made other than He is? Did He not say, I am and I change not? What possibility is there of change in Him? What scope for progress? What is prior to eternity? What more divine than God? The subjection of the Son will not therefore make God to be all in all, nor will any cause perfect Him, from Whom and through Whom and in Whom are all causes. He remains God as He ever was, and He needs nothing further, for what He is, He is eternally of Himself and for Himself.

48. But neither is it necessary for the Only-begotten God that He should change. He is God, and that is the name of full and perfect divinity. For, as we said before, the meaning of the repeated glorifying, and the cause of the subjection is that God may be all in all: but it is a Mystery, not a necessity, that God is to be all in all. Christ abode in the form of God when He assumed the form of a servant, not being subjected to change, but emptying Himself; hiding within Himself, and remaining master of Himself though He was emptied. He constrained Himself even to the form and fashion of a man, lest the weakness of the assumed humility should not be able to endure the immeasurable power of His nature. His unbounded might contracted itself, until it could fulfill the duty of obedience even to the endurance of the body to which it was yoked. But since He was

self-contained even when He emptied Himself, His authority suffered no diminution, for in the humiliation of the emptying He exercised within Himself the power of that authority which was emptied.

49. It is therefore for the promotion of us, the assumed humanity, that God shall be all in all. He Who was found in the form of a servant, though He was in the form of God, is now again to be confessed in the glory of God the Father: that is, without doubt He dwells in the form of God, in Whose glory He is to be confessed. All is therefore a dispensation only, and not a change of His nature; for He abides still in Him, in Whom He ever was. But there intervenes a new nature, which began in Him with His human birth, and so all that He obtains is on behalf of that nature which before was not God, since after the Mystery of the Dispensation God is all in all. It is, therefore, we who are the gainers, we who are promoted, for we shall be conformed to the glory of the body of God. Further the Only-begotten God, despite His human birth, is nothing less than God, Who is all in all. That subjection of the body, by which all that is fleshly in Him, is swallowed up into the spiritual nature, will make Him to be God and all in all, since He is Man also as well as God; and His humanity which advances towards this goal is ours also. We shall be promoted to a glory conformable to that of Him Who became Man for us, being renewed unto the knowledge of God, and created again in the image of the Creator, as the Apostle says, Having put off the old man with his doings, and put on the new man, which is being renewed unto the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created him. Thus is man made the perfect image of God. For, being conformed to the glory of the body of God, he is exalted to the image of the Creator, after the pattern assigned to the first man. Leaving sin and the old man behind, he is made a new man unto the knowledge of God, and arrives at the perfection of his constitution, since through the knowledge of his God he becomes the perfect image of God. Through godliness he is promoted to immortality, through immortality he shall live for ever as the image of his Creator.

BOOK 12

1. AT length, with the Holy Ghost speeding our way, we are approaching the safe, calm harbor of a firm faith. We are in the position of men, long tossed about by sea and wind, to whom it very often happens, that while great heaped-up waves delay them for a time around the coasts near the ports, at last that very surge of the vast and dreadful billows drives them on into a trusty, well-known anchorage. And this, I hope, will befall us, as we struggle in this twelfth book against the storm of heresy; so that while we venture out trusty bark therein upon the wave of this grievous impiety, this very wave may bring us to the haven of rest for which we long. For while all are driven about by the uncertain wind of doctrine, there is panic here and danger there, and then again there often is even shipwreck, because it is maintained on prophetic authority that God Only-begotten is a creature — so that to Him there belongs not birth but creation, because it has been said in the character of Wisdom, The Lord created Me as the beginning of His ways. This is the greatest billow in the storm they raise, this is the big wave of the whirling tempest: yet when we have faced it, and it has broken without damage to our ship, it will speed us forward even to the all-safe harbor of the shore for which we long.

2. Yet we do not rest, like sailors, on uncertain or on idle hopes: whom, as they shape their course to their wish, and not by assured knowledge, at times the shifting, fickle winds forsake or drive from their course. But we have by our side the unfailing Spirit of faith, abiding with us by the gift of the Only-begotten God, and leading us to smooth waters in an unwavering course. For we recognize the Lord Christ as no creature, for indeed He is none such; nor as something that has been made, since He is Himself the Lord of all things that are made; but we know Him to be God, God the true generation of God the Father. All we indeed, as His goodness has thought fit, have been named and adopted as sons of God: but He is to God the Father the one, true Son, and the true and perfect birth, which abides only in the knowledge of the Father and the Son. But this only, and this alone, is our religion, to confess Him as the Son not adopted but born, not chosen but begotten. For we do not speak of Him either as made, or as not born; since we neither compare the Creator to His creatures, nor falsely speak of

birth without begetting. He does not exist of Himself, Who exists through birth; nor is He not born, Who is the Son; nor can He, Who is the Son, come to exist otherwise than by being born, because He is the Son.

3. Moreover no one doubts that the assertions of impiety always contradict and resist the assertions of religious faith; and that that cannot be piously held now which is already condemned as impiously conceived; as, for instance, the discrepancy and variance which these new correctors of the apostolic faith maintain between the Spirit of the Evangelists and that of Prophets; or their assertion that the Prophets prophesied one thing and the Evangelists preached another, since Solomon calls upon us to adore a creature, while Paul convicts those who serve a creature. And certainly these two texts do not seem to agree together, according to the blasphemous theory, whereby the Apostle, who was trained by the law, and separated by divine appointment, and spoke through Christ speaking in him, either was ignorant of the prophecy, or was not ignorant but contradicted it; and thus did not know Christ to be a creature when he named Him the Creator; and forbade the worship of a creature, warning us that the Creator alone is to be served, and saying, Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature, passing by the Creator Who is blessed far ever and ever.

4. Does Christ, Who is God, speaking in Paul, fail to refute this impiety of falsehood? Does He fail to condemn this lying perversion of truth? For through the Lord Christ all things were created; and therefore it is His proper name that He should be the Creator. Does not both the reality and the title of His creative power belong to Him? Melchisedec is our witness, thus declaring God to be Creator of heaven and earth: Blessed be Abraham of God most high, Who created heaven and earth. The prophet Hosea also is witness, saying, I am the Lord thy God, that establish the heavens and create the earth, Whose hands have created all the host of heaven. Peter too is witness, writing thus, Committing your souls as to a faithful Creator. Why do we apply the name of the work to the Maker of that work? Why do we give the same name to God and to our fellowmen? He is our Creator, He is the Creator of all the heavenly host.

5. Since by the faith of the Apostles and Evangelists these statements are referred in their meaning to the Son, through Whom all things were made,

how shall He be made equal to the very works of His hands and be in the same category of nature as all other things? In the first place our human intelligence repudiates this statement that the Creator is a creature; since creation comes to exist by means of the Creator. But if He is a creature, He is both subject to corruption and exposed to the suspense of waiting, and is subjected to bondage. For the same blessed Apostle Paul says: For the long expectation of the creature waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God. For the creature was subject to vanity, not of its own will, but on account of Him Who has made it subject in hope. Because also the creature itself shall be freed from the slavery of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. If, therefore, Christ is a creature, it must needs be that He is in uncertainty, hoping always with a tedious expectation, and that His long expectation, rather than ours, is waiting, and that while He waits He is subjected to vanity, and is subjected through a subjection due to necessity, not of His own will. But since He is subjected not of His own will, He must needs be also a bondservant; moreover since tie is a bondservant He must needs also be dwelling in a corruptible nature. For the Apostle teaches that all these things belong to the creature, and that, when it shall be freed from these through a long expectation, it will shine with a glory proper to man. But what a thoughtless and impious assertion about God is this, to imagine Him exposed, through the insults which the creature bears, to such mockeries as that He should hope and serve, and be under compulsion and receive recognition, and be freed hereafter into a condition which is ours, not His; while really it is of His gift that we make our little progress.

6. But our impiety, by the license of this forbidden language, waxes apace with yet deeper faithlessness; asserting that since the Son is a creature it is bound to maintain that the Father also does not differ from a creature. For Christ, remaining in the form of God, took the form of a servant; and if He is a creature Who is in the form of God, God can never be separate from the creature, because there is a creature in the form of God. But to be in the form of God can only be understood to mean, remaining in the nature of God whence also God is a creature, because there is a creature with His nature. But He Who was in the form of God, did not grasp at being equal with God, because from equality with God, that is, from the form of God, He descended into the form of a servant. But He could not descend from

God into man, except by emptying Himself, as God, of the form of God. But when He emptied Himself, He was not effaced, so as not to be; since then He would have become other in kind than He had been. For neither did He, Who emptied Himself within Himself, cease to be Himself; since the power of His might remains even in the power of emptying Himself; and the transition into the form of a servant does not mean the loss of the nature of God, since to have put off the form of God is nothing less than a mighty act of divine power.

7. But to be in this way in the form of God is nothing else than to be equal with God: so that equality of honor is owed to the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is in the form of God, as He Himself says, That all men may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father Who sent Him. There is never a difference between things which does not also imply a different degree of honor. The same objects deserve the same reverence; for otherwise the highest honor will be unworthily bestowed on those which are inferior, or with insult to the superior the inferior will be made equal to them in honor. But if the Son, regarded as a creation rather than a birth, be treated with a reverence equal to that paid the Father, then we grant no special need of honor to the Father, since we charge ourselves with only such reverence towards Him as is shewn to a creature. But since He is equal to God the Father, inasmuch as He is born as God from Him, He is also equal to Him in honor, for He is a Son and not a creature.

8. This again is a notable utterance of the Father concerning Him: From the womb, before the morning star I begat Thee. Here, as we have often said already, nothing derogatory to God is implied in the concession to our weakness of understanding; as though, because He said that He begot Him from the womb, He were therefore composed of inner and outer parts, which unite to form His members, and owed His being to the same causes within time to which earthly bodies owe theirs; when in fact He Whose existence is due to no natural necessities, free and perfect, and eternal Lord of all nature, in explanation of the true character of the birth of His Only-begotten, points to power of His own unchangeable nature. For though Spirit be born of Spirit (consistently, be it remembered, with the true character of Spirit, through which itself is also Spirit), nevertheless its only cause for being born lies within those perfect and unchangeable

causes. And though it is from a perfect and unchangeable cause that it is born, it must needs be born from that cause, in accordance with the true character of that cause. Now the necessary process of human birth is conditioned by the causes which operate upon the womb. But as God is not made up of parts, but is unchangeable as being Spirit, for God is Spirit, He is subject to no natural necessity working within Him. But since He was telling us of the birth of Spirit from Spirit, He instructed our understanding by an example from causes which work among us: not to give an example of the manner of birth, but to declare the fact of generation; not that the example might prove Him subject to necessity, but that it might enlighten our mind. If, therefore, God Only-begotten is a created being, what meaning is there in a revelation which uses the common facts of human birth to indicate that He was divinely generated?

9. For often by means of these members of our bodies, God illustrates for us the method of His own operations, enlightening our intelligence by using terms commonly understood: as when He says, Whose hands created all the host of heaven; or again, The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous; or again, I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man after My own heart. Now by the heart is denoted the desire, to which David was well-pleasing through the uprightness of his character; and knowledge of the whole universe, whereby nothing is beyond God’s ken, is expressed under the term ‘eyes;’ and His creative activity, whereby nothing exists which is not of God, is understood by the name of ‘hands.’ Therefore as God wills and foresees and does everything, and even in the use of terms denoting bodily action must be understood to have no need of the assistance of a body; surely, now, in the statement that He begat from the womb, the idea is brought forward not of a human origin produced by a bodily act, but of a birth which must be understood as spiritual, since in the other cases where members are spoken of, this is done to represent to us other active powers in God.

10. Therefore since heart is put for desire, and eyes for sight, and hands for work achieved, — and yet, without in any way being made up of parts, God desires and foresees and acts, these same operations being expressed by the words heart, and eyes, and hand, — is not the meaning of the phrase that He begat from the womb an assertion of the reality of the birth? Not that He begat the Son from His womb, just as neither does He

act by means of a hand, nor see by means of eyes, nor desire by means of a heart. But since by the employment of these terms it is made clear that He really acts and sees and wills everything, so from the word ‘womb’ it is clear that He really begot from Himself Him Whom He begat; not that he made use of a womb, but that He purposed to express reality. Just in the same way He does not trill or see or act through bodily faculties, but uses the names of these members in order that through the services performed by corporeal forces we may understand the power of forces which are not corporeal.

11. Now the constitution of human society does not allow, nor indeed do the words of our Lord’s teaching permit, that the disciple should be above his master, or the slave rule over his Lord; because, in these contrasted positions, subordination to knowledge is the fitting state of ignorance, and unconditional submission the appointed lot of servitude. And since it is the common judgment of all that this is so, whose rashness now shall induce us to say or think that God is a creature, or that the Son has been made? For nowhere do we find that our Master and Lord spoke thus of Himself to His servants and disciples, or that He taught that His birth was a creation or a making. Moreover, the Father never bore witness to Him as being aught else but a Son, nor did the Son profess that God was aught else than His own true Father, assuredly affirming that He was born, not made nor created, as He says, Every one that loveth the Father, loveth also the Son Who is born of Him.

12. On the other hand His works in creation are acts of making and not a birth through generation. For the heaven is not a son, neither is the earth a son, nor is the world a birth; for of these it is said, All things were made through Him; and by the prophet, The heavens are the works of Thy hands; and by the same prophet, Neglect not the works of Thy hands. Is the picture a son of the painter, or the sword a son of the smith or the house a son of the architect? These are the works of their making: but He alone is the Son of the Father Who is born of the Father.

13. And we indeed are sons of God, but sons because the Son has made us such. For we were once sons of wrath, but have been made sons of God through the Spirit of adoption, and have earned that title by favor, not by right of birth. And since everything that is made, before it was made, was

not, so we, although we were not sons, have been made what we are. For formerly we were not sons: but after we have earned the name we are such. Moreover, we have not been born, but made; not begotten, but purchased. For God purchased a people for Himself, and by this act begot them. But we never learn that God begot sons in the strict sense of the term. For He does not say, “I have begotten and brought up My sons,” but only, I have begotten and brought up sons.

14. Yet perchance inasmuch as He says, My firstborn Son Israel, some one will interpret the fact that He said, My firstborn, so as to deprive the Son of the characteristic property of birth; as though, because God also applied to Israel the epithet Mine, the adoption of those who have been made sons was misrepresented as though it were an actual birth, and therefore the phrase used of Him, This is My beloved Son, is not solely applicable to the birth of God, since the epithet My is (so it is asserted) shared with those who clearly were not born sons. But that they were not really born, although they are said to have been born, is shewn even from that passage where it is said, A people which shall be born, whom the Lord hath made.

15. Therefore the people of Israel is born, in such wise that it is made; nor do we take the assertion that it is born as contradictory to the fact that it is made. For it is a son by adoption, not by generation; nor is this its true character, but its title. For although the words. My firstborn are written of it; there is yet a great and wide difference between My beloved Son, and My firstborn son. For where there is birth, there we see, My beloved Son; but where there is a choice from among the nations, and adoption through an act of will, there is My firstborn son. Here the people is God’s, in regard to its character as firstborn; in the former ease the fact that He is God’s, relates to His character as a Son. Again, in a case of birth the father’s ownership comes first, and then his love; in a case of adoption the primary fact is that the son is made a firstborn, and then comes the ownership. Thus to Israel, adopted for a son out of all the peoples of the earth, properly belonged the character of a firstborn; but to Him alone, Who is born God, properly belongs the character of a Son. Accordingly there is no true and complete birth where sonship is imputed rather than real: since it is not doubtful that that people, which is born into a state of sonship, is also made. But since it would not have been what it is now become, and inasmuch as its birth is but a name for its being made, it has

no true birth, since it was something else before it was born. And for this reason it was not before it was born, that is, before it was made, because that which is a son from among the nations was a nation before it was a son: and accordingly it is not truly a son, because it was not always a son. But God Only-begotten was neither at any time not a Son, nor was He anything before He was a Son, nor is He Himself anything except a Son. And so He Who is always a Son, has rendered it impossible for us to think of Him that there was a time when He was not.

16. For indeed human births involve a previous non-existence, because, as a first reason, all are born from those, all of whom formerly were not. For although each one who is born has his origin from one who has been, nevertheless that very parent, from whom he is born, was not before he was born. Again, as a second reason, he who is born, is born after that he was not, for time existed before he was born. For if he is born to-day, in the time which was yesterday, he was not; and he has come into a state of being from a state of not being; and our reason enforces that that which is born to-day did not exist yesterday. And so it remains that his birth, by virtue of which he is, took place after a state of non-existence; since necessarily today implies the previous existence of yesterday, so that it is true of it that there was a time when it was not. And these facts hold good of the origin of everything relating to man: all receive a beginning, previously to which they had not been: firstly, as we have explained, in respect of time, and then in respect of cause And in respect of time indeed there is no doubt that things which now begin to be, formerly were not; and this is true also in respect of cause, since it is certain that their existence is not derived from a cause within themselves. For think over all the causes of beginnings, and direct your understanding to their antecedents: you will find that nothing began by self-causation, since nothing is born by the free act of the parent, but all things are created what they are through the power of God. Whence also it is a natural property of each class of things by virtue of actual heredity, that it once was not and then began to be, beginning after time began, and existing within time. And while all existing things have an origin later than that of time, their causes also, in their turn, were once nonexistent, being born from things which once were not. Even Adam, the first parent of the human race, was formed from the earth, which was made out of nothing, and after time, that is to

say, after the heaven and earth, and the day and the sun, moon and stars, and he had no first beginning in being born, and began to be when he once had not been.

17. But for God Only-begotten, Who is preceded by no antecedent time, the possibility is excluded that at some time He was not, since that “some time” thus becomes prior to Him; and again, the assertion that He was not involves the potion of time: whence time will not begin to be after Him, but He Himself will begin to be after time, and, inasmuch as He was not before He was born, the very period when He was not will take precedence of Him. Further, He Who is born from Him Who really is, cannot be understood to have been born from that which was not: since He Who really is, is the cause of His existing, and His birth cannot have its origin in that which is not. And therefore since in His case it is not true either in regard of time that He ever was not, or in regard of the Father, that is, the Author of His being, that He has come into existence out of nothing, He has left no possibility with regard to Himself either of His having been born out of nothing, or of His not having existed before He was born.

18. Now I am not ignorant that most of those, whose mind being dulled by impiety does not accept the mystery of God, or who through the strong influence of a hostile spirit are ready to manifest, under the cover of reverence, a marl passion for disparaging God, are wont to make strange assertions in the ears of simple-minded men. They assert that since we say that the Son always has been, and that He never has been anything which He has not always been, we are therefore declaring that He is without birth, inasmuch as He always has been; since, according to the workings of human reason, that which always has existed cannot possibly have been born: since (so they urge) the cause of a thing being born, is that something, which was not, may come into existence, while the coming into existence of something which was not, means nothing else, according to the judgment of common sense, than its being born. They may add those arguments, subtle enough and pleasant to hear; — “If He was born, He began to be; at the time when He began to be, He was not: and when He was not, it cannot be that He was.” By such proofs let them maintain that it is the language of reasonable piety to say, “He was not before He was born: because in order that He might come to be, One Who was not, not

One Who was, was born. Nor did He Who was, require a birth, although He who was not was born, to the end that He might come to be.”

19. Now, first of all, men professing a devout knowledge of divine things, in matters where the truth preached by Evangelists and Apostles shewed the way, ought to have laid aside the intricate questions of a crafty philosophy, and rather to have followed after the faith which rests in God: because the sophistry of a syllogistical question easily disarms a weak understanding of the protection of its faith, since treacherous assertion lures on the guileless defender, who tries to support his case by enquiry into facts, till at last it robs him, by means of his own enquiry, of his certainty; so that the answerer no longer retains in his consciousness a truth which by his admission he has surrendered. For what answer accommodates itself so well to the questioner’s purpose, as the admission on our part, when we are asked, “Does anything exist before it is born?” that that which is born, did not previously exist? For it is contrary both to nature and to necessary reason that a thing which already exists should be born: since a thing must needs be born in order that it may come to be, and not because it already existed. But when we have made this concession, because it is rightly made, we lose the certainty of our faith, and being ensnared we fall in with their impious and unchristian designs.

20. But the blessed Apostle Paul, taking precaution against this, as we have often shewn, warned us to be on our guard, saying: Take heed lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world, and not according to Christ, in Whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Therefore we must be on our guard against philosophy, and methods which rest upon traditions of men we must not so much avoid as refute. Any concession that we make must imply not that we are out-argued but that we are confused, for it is right that we, who declare that Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, should not flee from the doctrines of men, but rather overthrow them; and we must restrain and instruct the simple-minded lest they be spoiled by these teachers. For since God can do all things, and in His wisdom can do all things wisely, for neither is His purpose unarmed with power nor His power unguided by purpose, it behooves those who proclaim Christ to the world, to face the irreverent and faulty doctrines of the world with the knowledge imparted by that

wise Omnipotence, according to the saying of the blessed Apostle: For our weapons are not carnal but powerful for God, for the casting down of strongholds, casting down reasonings and every high thing which is exalted against the knowledge of God. The Apostle did not leave us a faith which was bare and devoid of reason; for although a bare faith may be most mighty to salvation, nevertheless, unless it is trained by teaching, while it will have indeed a secure retreat to withdraw to in the midst of foes, it will yet be unable to maintain a safe and strong position for resistance. Its position will be like that which a camp affords to a weak force after a flight; not like the undismayed courage of men who have a camp to hold. Therefore we must beat down the insolent arguments which are raised against God, and destroy the fastnesses of fallacious reasoning, and crush cunning intellects which hit themselves up to impiety, with weapons not carnal but spiritual, not with earthly, learning but with heavenly wisdom; so that in proportion as divine things differ from human, so may the philosophy of heaven surpass the rivalry of earth.

21. Accordingly let misbelief abandon its efforts; let it not think, because it does not understand, that we deny a truth which, in fact, we alone rightly understand and believe. For while we declare in so many words that He was born, nevertheless we do not assert that He was ever not born. For it is not the same thing to be not born and to be born: since the latter term expresses origin derived from some other, the former origin derived from none. And it is one thing to exist always, as the Eternal, without any source of being, and another to be co-eternal with a Father, having Him for the Source of being. For where a father is the source of being, there also is birth; and further, where the Source of being is eternal, the birth also is eternal: for since birth comes from the source of being, birth which comes from an eternal Source of being must be eternal. Now everything which always exists, is also eternal. But nevertheless, not everything which is eternal is also not born; since that which is born from eternity has eternally the character of having been born; but that which is not born is ingenerate as well as eternal. But if that which has been born from the Eternal is not born eternal, it will follow that the Father also is not an eternal Source of being. Therefore if any measure of eternity is wanting to Him Who has been born of the eternal Father, clearly the very same measure is wanting to the Author of His being; since what belongs in an infinite degree to Him

Who begets, belongs in an infinite degree to Him also Who is born. For neither reason nor intelligence allows of any interval between the birth of God the Son and the generation by God the Father; since the generation consists in the birth, and the birth in the generation. Thus each of these events coincides exactly with the other; neither took place unless both took place. Therefore that which owes its existence to both these events cannot be eternal unless they both are eternal; since neither of the two correlatives, apart from the other, has any reality, because it is impossible for one to exist without the other.

22. But some one, who cannot receive this divine mystery, will say, "Everything which has been born, once was not; since it was born in order that it might come into existence."

23. But does any one doubt that all human beings that have been born, at one time were not? It is, however, one thing to be born of some one who once was not, and another to be born of One Who always is. For every state of infancy, since previously it had no existence, began from some point of time. And this again, growing up into childhood, still later urges on youth to fatherhood. Yet the man was not always a father, for he advanced to youth through boyhood, and to boyhood through original infancy. Therefore he who was not always a father, also did not always beget: but where the Father is eternal, the Son also is eternal. And so if you hold, whether by argument or by instinct, that God, in the mystery of our knowledge of Whom one property is that He is Father, was not always the Father of the begotten Son, you hold also, as a matter of understanding and of knowledge, that the Son, Who was begotten, did not always exist. But if the property of fatherhood be co-eternal with the Father, then necessarily also the property of sonship must be co-eternal with the Son. And how will it square with our language or our understanding to maintain that He was not before He was born, Whose property it is that He always was what He has been born.

24. And so God Only-begotten, containing in Himself the form and image of the invisible God, in all things which are properties of God the Father is equal to Him by virtue of the fullness of true Godhead in Himself. For, as we have shewn in the former books, in respect of power and veneration He is as mighty and as worthy of honor as the Father: so also, inasmuch as the

Father is always Father, He too, inasmuch as He is the Son, possesses the like property of being always the Son. For according to the words spoken to Moses, He Who is, hath sent Me unto you, we obtain the unambiguous conception that absolute being belongs to God; since that which is, cannot be thought of or spoken of as not being. For being and not being are contraries, nor can these mutually exclusive descriptions be simultaneously true of one and the same object: for while the one is present, the other must be absent. Therefore, where anything is, neither conception nor language will admit of its not being. When our thoughts are turned backwards, and are continually carried back further and further to understand the nature of Him Who is, this sole fact about Him, that He is, remains ever prior to our thoughts; since that quality, which is infinitely present in God, always withdraws itself from the backward gaze of our thoughts, though they reach back to an infinite distance. The result is that the backward straining of our thoughts can never grasp anything prior to God's property of absolute existence; since nothing presents itself, to enable us to understand the nature of God, even though we go on seeking to eternity, save always the fact that God always is. That then which has both been declared about God by Moses, that of which our human intelligence can give no further explanation; that very quality the Gospels testify to be a property of God Only-begotten; since in the beginning was the Word, and since the Word was with God, and since He was the true Light, and since God Only-begotten is in the bosom of the Father, and since Jesus Christ is God over all.

25. Therefore He was, and He is, since He is from Him Who always is what He is. But to be from Him, that is to say, to be from the Father, is birth. Moreover, to be always from Him, Who always is, is eternity; but this eternity is derived not from Himself, but from the Eternal. And from the Eternal nothing can spring but what is eternal: for if the Offspring is not eternal, then neither is the Father, Who is the source of generation, eternal. Now since it is the special characteristic of His being that His Father always exists, and that He is always His Son, and since eternity is expressed in the name He that Is, therefore, since He possesses absolute being, He possesses also eternal being. Moreover, no one doubts that generation implies birth, and that birth points to one existing from that time forth, and not to one who does not continue. Furthermore, there can

be no doubt that no one who already was in existence could be born. For no cause of birth can accrue to Him, Who of Himself continues eternal. But God Only-begotten, Who is the Wisdom of God, and the Power and the Word of God, since He was born, bears witness to the Father as the source of His being. Since He was born of One, Who eternally exists, He was not born of nothing. Since He was born before times eternal, His birth must necessarily be prior to all thought. There is no room for the verbal quibble, "He was not, before He was born." For if He is within the range of our thought, in the sense that He was not before He was born, then both our thought and time are prior to His birth; since everything which once was not, is within the compass of thought and time, by the very meaning of the assertion that it once was not, which separates off, within time, a period when it did not exist. But He is from the Eternal, and yet has always been; He is not ingenerate, yet never was non-existent; since to have always been transcends time, and to have been born is birth.

26. And so we confess that God Only-begotten was born, but born before times eternal: since we must make our confession within such limits as the express preaching of Apostles and Prophets assigns to us; though at the same time human thought cannot grasp any intelligible idea of birth out of time, since it is inconsistent with the nature of earthly beings that any of them should be born before all times. But when we make this assertion, how can we reconcile with it, as part of the same doctrine, the contradictory statement that before His birth He was not, when according to the Apostle He is God Only-begotten before times eternal? If, therefore, the belief that He was born before times eternal is not only the reasonable conclusion of human intelligence, but the confession of thoughtful faith, then, since birth implies some author of being, and what surpasses all time is eternal, and whatever is born before times eternal transcends earthly perception, we are certainly exalting by impious self-will a notion of human reason, if we maintain in a carnal sense that before He was born He was not, since He is born eternal, beyond human perception or carnal intelligence. And again, whatever transcends time is eternal.

27. For we can embrace all time in imagination or knowledge, since we know that what is now to-day, did not exist yesterday, because what was yesterday is not now; and on the other hand what is now, is only now and was not also yesterday. And by imagination we can so span the past that

we have no doubt that before some city was founded, there existed a time in which that city had not been founded. Since, therefore, all time is the sphere of knowledge or imagination, we judge of it by the perceptions of human reason; hence we are considered to hare reasonably asserted about anything, “It was not, before it was born,” since antecedent time is prior to the origin of every single thing. But on the other hand, since in things of God, that is to say, in regard to the birth of God, there is nothing that is not before time eternal: it is illogical to use of Him the phrase “before He was born,” or to suppose that He Who possesses before times eternal the eternal promise, is merely (in the language of the blessed Apostle) in hope of eternal life, which God Who cannot lie has promised before times eternal, or to say that once He was not. For reason rejects the notion that He began to exist after anything, Who, so we must confess, existed before times eternal.

28. We may grant that for anything to be born before times eternal is not the way of human nature, nor a matter which we can understand; and yet in this we believe God’s declarations about Himself. How then does the infidelity of our own day assert, according to the conceptions of human intelligence, that that had no existence before it was born, which the Apostolic faith tells us was, in some manner inconceivable to the human understanding, always born, or in other words existed before times eternal? For what is born before time is always born; since that which exists before time eternal, always exists. But what has always been born, cannot at any time have had no existence; since non-existence at a given time is directly contrary to eternity of existence. Moreover, existing always excludes the idea of not having existed always. And the idea of not having existed always being excluded by the postulate that He has always been born, we cannot conceive the supposition that He did not exist before He was born. For it is obvious that He Who was born before times eternal, has always been born, although we can forth no positive conception of anything having been born before all time. For if we must confess (as is clearly necessary) that He has been born before every creature, whether invisible or corporeal, and before all ages and times eternal, and before all perception, Who always exists through the very fact that He has been so born; — then by no manner of thought can it be conceived that before He was born, He did not exist; since He Who has been born before times

eternal, is prior to all thought, and we can never think that once He did not exist, when we have to confess that He always exists.

29. But our opponent cunningly anticipates us with this carping objection. “If,” be urges, “it is inconceivable that He did not exist before He was born, it must be conceivable that One Who already existed was born.”

30. I will ask this objector in reply, whether he remembers my calling Him anything else than born, and whether I did not say that existence before times eternal and birth have the same meaning in the case of Him that was, For the birth of One already existing is not really birth, but a self-wrought change through birth, and the eternal existence of One Who is born means that in His birth He is prior to any conception of time, and that there is no tooth for the mind to suppose that at any time He was unborn. And so an eternal birth before times eternal is not the same as existence before being born. But to have been born always before times eternal excludes the possibility of having had no existence be fore birth.

31. Again, this same fact excludes the possibility of saying that He existed before He was born; because He Who transcends perception transcends it in every respect. For if the notion of being born, though always existing, transcends thought, it is equally impossible that the notion that He did not exist before He was born should be a subject of thought. And so, since we must confess that to have been always born means for us nothing beyond the fact of birth, the question whether He did or did not exist before He was born cannot be determined under our conditions of thought; since this one fact that He was born before times eternal ever eludes the grasp of our thought. So He was born and yet has always existed; He Who does not allow anything else to be understood or said about Him than that He was born. For since He is prior to time itself within which thought exists (since time eternal is previous to thought), He debars thought from determining concerning Him, whether He was or was not before He was born; since existence before birth is incompatible with the idea of birth, and previous non-existence involves the idea of time. Therefore, while the infinity of times eternal is fatal to any explanation involving the idea of time — that is to say, to the notion that He did not exist; His birth equally forbids any that is inconsistent with it, — that is to say, the notion that He existed before He was born. For if the question of His existence or His

non-existence can be determined under our conditions of thought, then the birth itself must be after time; for He Who does not always exist must, of necessity, have begun to be after some given point of time.

32. Therefore the conclusion reached by faith and argument and thought is that the Lord Jesus both was born and always existed: since if the mind survey the past in search of knowledge concerning the Son, this one fact and nothing else, will be constantly present to the enquirer's perception, that He was born and always existed. As therefore it is a property of God the Father to exist without birth, so also it must belong to the Son to exist always through birth. But birth can declare nothing except that there is a Father and the title Father nothing else except that there is a birth. For neither those names nor the nature of the case, will allow of any intermediate position. For either He was not always a Father, unless there was always also a Son; or if He was always a Father, there was always also a Son; since whatever period of time is denied to the Son, to make His sonship non-eternal, just so much the Father lacks of having been always a Father: so that although He was always God, nevertheless He cannot have been also a Father for the same infinity during which He is God.

33. Now the declarations of impiety even go so far as not only to ascribe to the Son birth in time, but also generation in time to the Father; because the process of generation and the birth take place within one period.

34. But, heretic, do you consider it pious and devout to confess that God indeed always existed, yet was not always Father? For if it is pious for you to think so, you must then condemn Paul of impiety, when he says that the Son existed before times eternal: you must also accuse Wisdom itself, when it bears witness concerning itself that it was founded before the ages: for it was present with the Father when He was preparing the heaven. But in order that you may assign to God a beginning of His being a Father, first determine the starting-point at which the times must have begun. For if they had a beginning, the Apostle is a liar for declaring them to be eternal. For you all are accustomed to reckon the times from the creation of the sun and the moon, since it is written of them, And let them be far signs and for times and for years. But He Who is before the heaven, which in your view is even before time, is also before the ages. Nor is He merely before the ages, but also before the generations of generations

which precede the ages. Why do you limit things divine and infinite by what is perishable and earthly and narrow? With regard to Christ, Paul knows of nothing except an eternity of times. Wisdom does not say that it is after anything, but before everything. In your judgment the times were established by the sun and the moon; but David shews that Christ remains before the sun, saying, His is name is before the sun. And lest you should think that the things of God began with the formation of this universe, he says again, And for generations of generations before the moon. These great men counted worthy of prophetic inspiration look down upon time: every opening is barred whereby human perception might penetrate behind the birth, which transcends times eternal. Yet let the faith of a devout imagination accept this as limit of its speculations, remembering that the Lord Jesus Christ, God Only-begotten, is born in a manner to be acknowledged as a perfect birth, and in the reverence paid to His divinity, not forgetting that He is eternal.

35. But we are accused of lying, and together with us the doctrine preached by the Apostle is attacked, because while it confesses the birth, it asserts the eternity of that birth: the result being that, while the birth bears witness to an Author of being, the assertion of eternity in the mystery of the divine birth transgresses the limits of human thought. For there is brought forward against us the declaration of Wisdom concerning itself, when it taught that it was created in these words The Lord created Me for the beginning of His ways.

36. And, O wretched heretic! you turn the weapons granted to the Church against the Synagogue, against belief in the Church’s preaching, and distort against the common salvation of all the sure meaning of a saving doctrine. For you maintain by these words that Christ is a creature, instead of silencing the Jew, who denies that Christ was God before eternal ages, and that His power is active in all the working and teaching of God, by these words of the living Wisdom! For Wisdom has in this passage asserted that it had been created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works from the commencement of the ages, lest perchance it might be supposed that it did not subsist before Mary; yet has not employed this word ‘created’ in order to signify that its birth was a creation, since it was created for the beginning of God’s ways and for His works. Nay rather lest any one should suppose that this beginning of the ways, which is indeed

the starting-point for the human knowledge of things divine, was meant to subordinate an infinite birth to conditions of time, Wisdom declared itself established before the ages. For, since it is one thing to be created for the beginning of the ways and for the works of God, and another to be established before the ages, the establishing was intended to be understood as prior to the creation; and the very fact of its being established for God's works before the ages was intended to point to the mystery of the creation; since the establishing is before the ages, but the creation for the beginning of the ways and for the works of God is after the commencement of the ages.

37. But now, test the terms 'creation' and 'establishing' should be an obstacle to belief in the divine birth, these words follow, Before He made the earth, before He made firm the mountains, before all the hills He begat Me. Thus He is begotten before the earth, Who is established before the ages; and not only before the earth, but also before the mountains and hills. And indeed in these expressions, since Wisdom speaks of itself, more is meant than is said. For all objects which are used to convey the idea of infinity must be of such a kind as to be subsequent in point of time to no single thing and to no class of things. But things existing in time cannot possibly be fitted to indicate eternity; because, from the very fact that they are posterior to other things, they are incapable of suggesting the thought of infinity as a beginning, themselves having their own beginning in time. For what wonder is it, that God should have begotten the Lord Christ before the earth, when the origin of the angels is found to be prior to the creation of the earth? Or why should He, Who was said to be begotten before the earth, be also declared to be born before the mountains, and not only before the mountains but also before the hills; the hills being mentioned, as an afterthought, after the mountains, and reason requiring that there should be a world before mountains could exist? For such reasons it cannot be supposed that these words were used merely in order that He might be understood to exist prior to hills and mountains and earth, Who surpasses by the eternity of His own infinity things which are themselves prior to earth and mountains and hills.

38. But this divine discourse has not left our understandings unenlightened, since it explains the reason of the phrase in what follows: — God made the regions, both the uninhabitable parts and the heights which are inhabited

under the heaven. When He was preparing the heaven, I was with Him; and when He was setting apart His own seat. When above the winds He made the clouds huge in the upper air, and when He placed securely the springs under the heaven, and when He made firm the foundations of the earth, I was by Him, joining all things together. What period in time is here? Or how far are the conceptions of human intelligence allowed to reach beyond the infinite birth of God Only-begotten? By means of things whose creation we can conceive in our mind, it is not possible to understand the generation of Him, Who is prior to all these things; and hence we cannot maintain that He came, indeed, first in time, yet was not infinite, inasmuch as the only privilege bestowed upon Him was a birth prior to things temporal. For in that case, since they, by their constitution, are subject to the conditions of time, He, though prior to them all, would be equally subject to conditions of time, because their creation within time would define the time of His birth, namely that He was born before then; for that which is antecedent to temporal things stands in the same relation to time as they.

39. But the voice of God, our instruction in true wisdom, speaks what is perfect, and expresses the absolute truth, when it teaches that itself is prior not merely to things of time, but even to things infinite. For when the heaven was being prepared, it was present with God. Is the preparation of the heaven an act of God within time; so that an impulse of thought suddenly surprised His mind, as though it had been previously dull and inert. and after the fashion of men He sought for materials and instruments for fashioning the heaven? Nay, the prophet’s conception of the working of God is far different, when He says, By the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all their power by the breath of His mouth. Yet the heavens needed the command of God, that they might be established; for their arrangement and excellence in this firm unshaken constitution, which they display, did not arise from the blending and commingling of some kind of matter, but from the breath of the mouth of God. What then does it mean, that Wisdom begotten of God was present with Him, when He was preparing the heaven? For neither does the creation of heaven consist in a preparation of material, nor does it consist with the nature of God to linger over preliminary thoughts concerning His work. For everything, which there is in created things, was always with God: for

although these things in respect of their creation have a beginning, nevertheless they have no beginning in respect of the knowledge and power of God. And here the prophet is our witness, saying, O God, Who hast made all things which shall be. For although things future, in so far as they are to be created, are still to be made, yet to God, with Whom there is nothing new or sudden in creation they have already been made; since there is a dispensation of times for their creation, and in the prescient working of the divine power they have already been made. Here, therefore, Wisdom, in teaching that it was born before the ages, teaches that it is not merely prior to things which have been created, but is even co-eternal with what is eternal, to wit, with the preparation of the heaven, and the setting apart of the abode of God. For this abode was not set apart at the time when it was actually made, for setting apart and fashioning an abode are different things. Nor again was the heaven formed at the time when it was (ideally) prepared, for Wisdom was with God both when He prepared and when He set apart the heaven. And afterwards it was fashioning the heaven by the side of God Who formed it: it proves its eternity by its presence with Him as He prepares; it reveals its functions, when it fashions by the side of God Who forms. Therefore, in the passage before us it said that it was begotten even before the earth and mountains and hills, because it meant to teach that it was present at the preparation of the heaven; in order that it might shew that, even when the heaven was being prepared, this work was already finished in the counsel of God, for to Him there is nothing new.

40. For the preparation for creation is perpetual and eternal: nor was the frame of this universe actually made by isolated acts of thought, in the sense that first the heaven was thought of, and afterwards there came into God’s mind a thought and plan concerning the earth; that He thought of each part singly, so that first the earth was spread out as a plain, and then through better counsels was made to rise up in mountains, and yet again was diversified with hills, and in the fourth place was also made habitable even in the heights; that so the heaven was prepared an I the abode of God set apart, and huge clouds in the upper air held the exhalations caught up by the winds; then afterwards sure springs began to run under the heaven, and, last of all, the earth was made firm with strong foundations. For Wisdom declares that it is prior to all these things. But since all things under the heaven were made through God, and Christ was present at the

fashioning of the heaven, and preceded even the eternity of the heaven which was prepared, this fact does not allow us to think in respect to God of disconnected thoughts on details, since the whole preparation of these things is co-eternal with God. For although, as Moses teaches, each act of creation had its proper order; — the making the firmament solid, the laying bare of the dry land, the gathering together of the sea, the ordering of the stars, the generation by the waters and the earth when they brought forth living creatures out of themselves; yet the creation of the heaven and earth and other elements is not separated by the slightest interval in God's working, since their preparation had been completed in like infinity of eternity in the counsel of God.

41. Thus, though Christ was present in God with these infinite and eternal decrees, He has granted to us nothing more than a knowledge of the fact of His birth; in order that, just as an apprehension of the birth is the means which leads to faith in God, so also the knowledge of the eternity of His birth might avail to sustain piety; since neither reason nor experience allow us to speak of any but an eternal Son as proceeding from a Father Who is eternal.

42. But perhaps the word 'creation,' and its employment of Him, disturbs us. Certainly the word 'creation' would disturb us, if birth before the ages and creation for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works were not affirmed of Him. For birth cannot be understood to denote creation, since the birth precedes causation, but the creation takes place through causation. For before the preparation of the heaven and before the commencement of the ages was He established, Who was created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works. Is it possible that to be created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works, means the same as to be born before all things? No: one of these ideas relates to time employed in action, but the other bears a sense which has no relation to time.

43. Or perhaps you wish the assertion that He was created for the works to be understood in the sense that He was created on account of the works; in other words that Christ was created for the sake of performing the works. In that case He exists as a servant and a builder of the universe, and was not born the Lord of Glory; He was created for the service of forming

the ages, and was not always the beloved Son and the King of the ages. But, although the general understanding of Christians contradicts this impious thought of yours, recognizing that it is one thing to be created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works, and another to be born before the ages, yet this very same passage thwarts your purpose of falsely asserting that the Lord Christ was created, on account of the formation of the universe, since it shews that God the Father is the Maker and Former of the universe, and shews it convincingly, since Christ Himself was present fashioning by the side of Him Who was forming all things. But, while all Scripture was designed to speak of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Creator of the universe, Wisdom, to destroy all occasion for impiety, has here declared that though God the Father was the Constructor of the universe, yet itself was not absent from Him while constructing it, since it was present with Him even when He was preparing it beforehand, and that when the Father formed the universe, Wisdom also was fashioning it by the side of Him Who formed it, and was present with Him even when He prepared it. Whence Wisdom would have us understand that it was not created on account of God's works, by the very fact that it had been present at the eternal preparation of works yet to be, and proves Scripture not to be false, by the fact that it fashioned the universe by the side of God when He formed it.

44. Learn at last, heretic, from the revelation of Catholic teaching, what is the meaning of the saying that Christ was created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works; and be taught by the words of Wisdom itself the folly of your impious dullness. For thus it begins: If I shall declare unto you the things which are done every day, I will remember to recount those things which are from of old. For Wisdom had said before, You, O men, I entreat, and I utter my voice to the sons of men. O ye simple, understand subtilty, moreover ye unlearned, apply your heart; and again, Through Me kings reign, and mighty men decree justice. Through Me princes are magnified, and through Me despots possess the earth; and again, I walk in the ways of equity, and move in the midst of the paths of justice; that I may divide substance to those that love Me, and fill their treasures with good things. Wisdom is not silent about its daily work. And firstly entreating all men, it advises the simple to understand subtilty, and the unlearned to apply their heart, in order that a zealous and diligent

reader may ponder the different and separate meanings of the words. And so it teaches that by its methods and ordinances all success, all attainment of knowledge or fame or wealth, is achieved: it shews that within itself are contained the reigns of kings and the prudence of the mighty, and the famous works of princes, and the justice of despots who possess the earth; that it moreover does not mingle with wicked deeds and has no part in acts of injustice; and that all this is done by Wisdom in order that, by taking part in every work of equity and justice, it may supply to those that love it, a wealth of eternal goods and incorruptible treasures. Therefore Wisdom, after declaring that it will relate the things which are done every day, promises that it will also be mindful to recount the things which are from of old. And now what blindness is it, to think that things were performed before the beginning of the ages, which are expressly declared to date merely from the beginning of the ages! For every work among those which date from the beginning of the ages is itself posterior to that beginning: but on the contrary, things which are before the beginning of the ages, precede the ordering of the ages, which are later than they. And so Wisdom, after declaring that it is mindful to speak of the things which date from the beginning of the ages, says, The Lord created Me for the beginning of His ways for His works, by these words denoting things performed from the date of the beginning of the ages. Thus Wisdom's teaching concerns not a generation declared to precede the ages, but a dispensation which began with the ages themselves.

45. We must also enquire what is the meaning of the saying that God, born before the ages, was again created for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works. This surely is said because where there is a birth before the commencement of the ages, there is the eternity of an endless generation: but where the same birth is represented as a creation from the commencement of the ages, for the ways of God and for His works, it is applied as the creative cause to the works and to the ways. And first, since Christ is Wisdom, we must see whether He is Himself the beginning of the way of the works of God. Of this, I think, there is no doubt; for He says, I am the way, and, No man cometh to the Father except through Me. A way is the guide of those who go, the course marked out for those who hasten, the safeguard of the ignorant, a teacher, so to speak, of things unknown and longed for. Therefore He is created for the beginning of the ways, for

the works of God; because He is the Way and leads men to the Father. But we must seek for the purpose of this creation, which is from the commencement of the ages. For it is also the mystery of the last dispensation, wherein Christ was again created in bodily form, and declared that He was the way of the works of God. Again, He was created for the ways of God from the commencement of the ages, when, subjecting Himself to the visible form of a creature, He took the form of a created being.

46. And so let us see for what ways of God, and for what works of God, Wisdom was created from the commencement of the ages, though born of God before all ages. Adam heard the voice of One walking in Paradise. Do you think that His approach could have been heard, had He not assumed the guise of a created being? Is not the fact, that He was heard as He walked, proof that He was present in a created form? I do not ask in what guise He spoke to Cain and Abel and Noah, and in what guise He was near to Enoch also, blessing him. An Angel speaks to Hagar, and certainly He is also God. Has He the same form, when He appears like an Angel, as He has in that nature, by virtue of which He is God? Certainly the form of an Angel is revealed, where afterwards mention is made of the nature of God. But why should I speak of an Angel? He comes as a man to Abraham. Under the guise of a man, in the shape of that created being, is not Christ present in that nature, which He possesses as being also God? A man speaks, and is present in the body, and is nourished by food; and yet God is adored. Surely He Who was an Angel is now also man, in order to save us from the assumption that any of these diverse aspects of one state, that of the creature, is His natural form as God. Again, He comes to Jacob in human shape, and even grasps him for wrestling; and He takes hold with His hands, and struggles with His limbs, and bends His flanks, and adopts every movement and gesture of ours. But again He is revealed, this time to Moses, and as a fire; in order that you might learn to believe that this created nature was to provide Him with an outward guise, not to embody the reality of His nature. He possessed, at that moment, the power of burning, but He did not assume the destructive property which is inherent in the nature of fire, for the fire evidently burned and yet the bush was not injured.

47. Glance over the whole course of time, and realist in what guise He appeared to Joshua the son of Nun, a prophet bearing His name, or to Isaiah, who relates that he saw Him, as the Gospel also bears witness, or to Ezekiel, who was admitted even to knowledge of the Resurrection, or to Daniel, who confesses the Son of Man in the eternal kingdom of the ages, or to all the rest to whom He presented Himself in the form of various created beings, for the ways of God and for the works of God, that is to say, to teach us to know God, and to profit our eternal state. Why dues this method, expressly designed for human salvation, bring about at the present time such an impious attack upon His eternal birth? The creation, of which you speak, dates from the commencement of the ages; but His birth is without end, and before the ages. Maintain by all means that we are doing violence to words, if a Prophet, or the Lord, or an Apostle, or any oracle whatever has described by the name of creation the birth of His eternal divinity. In all these manifestations God, Who is a consuming fire, is present, as created, in such a manner that He could lay aside the created form by the same power by which He assumed it, being able to destroy again that which had come into existence merely that it might be looked upon.

48. But that blessed and true birth of the flesh conceived within the Virgin the Apostle has named both a creating and a making, for then there was born both the nature and form of our created being. And without doubt in his view this name belongs to Christ's true birth as a man, since he says, But when the fullness of the time came, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, in order that He might redeem those who are under the law, that we might obtain the adoption of sons. And so He is God's own Son, Who is made in human form and of human origin; nor is He only made but also created, as it is said: Even as the truth is in Jesus, that ye put away according to your former manner of life, that old man, which becomes corrupt according to the lusts of deceit. However, be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put ye on that new man, which is created according God. So the new man is to be put on Who has been created according to God. For He Who was Son of God was born also Son Man. This was not the birth of the divinity, but the creating of the flesh; the new Man taking the title of the race, and being created according to God Who was born before the ages. And how the new man was created

according to God, he explains in what follows, adding, in righteousness, and in holiness, and in truth. For there was no guile in Him; and He has been made unto us righteousness and sanctification, and is Himself the Truth. This, then, is the Christ, created a new man according to God, Whom we put on.

49. If, then, Wisdom, in saying that it was mindful of the things which have been performed since the beginning of the ages, said that it was created for the works of God and for the ways of God; and yet, while saying that it was created, taught that it was established before the ages, lest we should suppose that the mystery of that created form, so variously and frequently assumed, involved some change in its nature; — for although the firmness with which it was established would not allow of any disturbance that could overthrow it, yet, lest the establishment might seem to mean something less than birth, Wisdom declared itself to be begotten before all things: — if this is so, why is the term ‘creation’ now applied to the birth of that which was both begotten before all things, and also established before the ages? Because that which was established before the ages was created anew froth the commencement of the ages for the beginning of the ways of God and for His works. In this sense must we understand the difference between creation from the commencement of the ages and that birth which precedes the ages and all things. Impiety at least has not this excuse, that it can plead error as the cause of its profanity.

50. For although the weakness of the understanding might hinder the perceptions of a man devoutly disposed, so that, even after this explanation, he might fail to grasp the meaning of “creation,” nevertheless, even the letter of the Apostle’s saying, when he applies the term “making” to a true birth, should have sufficed for a sincere, if not intelligent, belief, that the term “creation” was designed to conduce to a belief in generation. For when the Apostle was minded to assert the birth of One from one Parent, that is to say, the birth of the Lord from a virgin without a conception due to human passions, he clearly had a definite purpose in calling Him “made of a woman,” Whom he knew and had frequently asserted to have been born. He desired that the ‘birth’ should point to the reality of the generation, and the ‘making’ should testify to the birth of One from one Parent; because the term ‘making’ excludes the idea of a conception by means of human intercourse, it being expressly stated that

He was made of a virgin, though it is equally certain that He was born and not made. But see, heretic, how impious you are. No sentence of prophet, or evangelist, or apostle has said that Jesus Christ was created from God, rather than born from Him: yet you deny the birth. and assert the creation, but not according to the Apostle's meaning, when he said that He was made, lest there should be any doubt that He was born as One from one Parent. You make your assertion in a most impious sense, implying that God did not derive His being by way of birth conveying nature; although a creature would rather have come into being out of nothing. This is the primary infection in your unhappy mind, not that you term birth a creating, but that you adapt your faith to the idea of creation instead of birth. And yet while it would mark a poor intellect, still it would not mark a man entirely undevout, if you had called Christ created, in order that men might recognize His impossible birth from God, as being that of One from One.

51. But none of these phrases does a firm apostolic faith permit. For it knows in what dispensation of time Christ was created, and in what eternity of times He was born. Moreover, He was born God of God, and the divinity of His true birth and perfect generation is not doubtful. For in relation to God we acknowledge only two modes of being, birth and eternity: birth, moreover, not after anything, but before all things, so that birth only bears witness to a Source of being, and does not predicate any incongruity between the offspring and the Source of being. Still, by common admission, this birth, because it is from God, implies a secondary position in respect to the Source of being, and yet cannot be separated from that Source, since any attempt of thought to pass beyond acceptance of the fact of birth, must also necessarily penetrate the mystery of the generation. And so this is the only pious language to use about God: to know Him as Father, and with Him to know also Him, Who is the Son born of Him. Nor assuredly are we taught anything concerning God, except that He is the Father of God the Only-begotten and the Creator. So let not human weakness overreach itself; and let it make this only confession, in which alone lies its salvation — that, before the mystery of the Incarnation, it is ever assured, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, of this one fact that He had been born.

52. For my part, so long as I shall have the power by means of this Spirit Whom Thou hast granted me, Holy Father, Almighty God, I will confess Thee to be not only eternally God, but also eternally Father. Nor will I ever break out into such folly and impiety, as to make myself the judge of Thy omnipotence and Thy mysteries, nor shall this weak understanding arrogantly seek for more than that devout belief in Thy infinitude and faith in Thy eternity, which have been taught me. I will not assert that Thou wast ever without Thy Wisdom, and Thy Power, and Thy Word, without God Only-begotten, my Lord Jesus Christ. The weak and imperfect language, to which our nature is limited, does not dominate my thoughts concerning Thee, so that my poverty of utterance should choke faith into silence. For although we have a word and wisdom and power of our own, the product of our free inward activity, yet Thine is the absolute generation of perfect God, Who is Thy Word and Wisdom and Power; so that He can never be separated from Thee, Who in these names of Thy eternal properties is shewn to be born of Thee. Yet His birth is only so far shewn as to make manifest the fact that Thou art the Source of His being; yet sufficiently to confirm our belief in His infinity, inasmuch as it is related that He was born before times eternal.

53. For in human affairs Thou hast set before us many things of such a sort, that though we do not know their cause, yet the effect is not unknown; and reverence inculcates faith, where ignorance is inherent in our nature. Thus when I raised to Thy heaven these feeble eyes of mine, my certainty regarding it was limited to the fact that it is Thine. For seeing therein these orbits where the stars are fixed, and their annual revolutions, and the Pleiades and the Great Bear and the Morning Star, each having their varied duties in the service which is appointed them, I recognize Thy presence, O God, in these things whereof I cannot gain any clear understanding. And when I view the marvelous swellings of Thy sea, I know that I have failed to comprehend not merely the origin of the waters but even the movements of this changeful expanse; yet I grasp at faith in some reasonable cause, although it is one that I cannot see, and fail not to recognize Thee in these things also, which I do not know. Furthermore, when in thought I turn to the earth, which by the power of hidden agencies causes to decay all the seeds which it receives, quickens them when decayed, multiplies them when quickened, and makes them strong when

multiplied; in all these changes I find nothing which my mind can understand, yet my ignorance helps towards recognizing Thee, for though I know nothing of the nature that waits on me, I recognize Thee by actual experience of the advantages I possess. Moreover, though I do not know myself, yet I perceive so much that I marvel at Thee the more because I am ignorant of myself. For without understanding it, I perceive a certain motion or order or life in my mind when it exercises its powers; and this very perception I owe to Thee, for though Thou deniest the power of understanding my natural first beginning, yet Thou givest that of perceiving nature with its charms. And since in what concerns myself I recognize Thee, ignorant as I am, so recognizing Thee I will not in what concerns Thee cherish a feebler faith in Thy omnipotence, because I do not understand. My thoughts shall not attempt to grasp and master the origin of Thy Only-begotten Son, nor shall my faculties strain to reach beyond the truth that He is my Creator and my God.

54. His birth is before times eternal. If anything exist which precedes eternity, it will be something which, when eternity is comprehended, still eludes comprehension. And this something is Thine, and is Thy Only-begotten; no portion, nor extension, nor any empty name devised to suit some theory of Thy mode of action. He is the Son, a Son born of Thee, God the Father, Himself true God, begotten by Thee in the unity of Thy nature, and meet to be acknowledged after Thee, and yet with Thee, since Thou art the eternal Author of His eternal origin. For since He is from Thee, He is second to Thee; yet since He is Thine, Thou art not to be separated from Him. For we must never assert that Thou didst once exist without Thy Son, test we should be reproaching Thee either with imperfection, as then unable to generate, or with superfluousness after the generation. And so the exact meaning for us of the eternal generation is that we know Thee to be the eternal Father of Thy Only-begotten Son, Who was born of Thee before times eternal.

55. But, for my part, I cannot be content by the service of my faith and voice, to deny that my Lord and my God, Thy Only-begotten, Jesus Christ, is a creature; I must also deny that this name of ‘creature’ belongs to Thy Holy Spirit, seeing that He proceeds from Thee and is sent through Him, so great is my reverence for everything that is Thine. Nor, because I know that Thou alone art unborn and that the Only-begotten is born of

Thee, will I refuse to say that the Holy Spirit was begotten, or assert that He was ever created. I fear the blasphemies which would be insinuated against Thee by such use of this title ‘creature,’ which I share with the other beings brought into being by Thee. Thy Holy Spirit, as the Apostle says, searches and knows Thy deep things, and as Intercessor for me speaks to Thee words I could not utter; and shall I express or rather dishonor, by the title ‘creature,’ the power of His nature, which subsists eternally, derived from Thee through Thine Only-begotten? Nothing, except want belongs to Thee, penetrates into Thee; nor can the agency of a power foreign and strange to Thee measure the depth of Thy boundless majesty. To Thee belongs whatever enters into Thee; nor is anything strange to Thee, which dwells in Thee through its searching power.

56. But I cannot describe Him, Whose pleas for me I cannot describe. As in the revelation that Thy Only-begotten was born of Thee before times eternal, when we cease to struggle with ambiguities of language and difficulties of thought, the one certainty of His birth remains; so I hold fast in my consciousness the truth that Thy Holy Spirit is from Thee and through Him, although I cannot by my intellect comprehend it. For in Thy spiritual things I am dull, as Thy Only-begotten says, Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be barn anew. The Spirit breathes where it will, and thou hearest the voice of it; but dost not know whence it comes or whither it goes. So is every one who is barn of water and of the Holy Spirit. Though I hold a belief in my regeneration, I hold it in ignorance; I possess the reality, though I comprehend it not. For my own consciousness had no part in causing this new birth, which is manifest in its effects. Moreover the Spirit has no limits; He speaks when He will, and what He will, and where He will. Since, then, the cause of His coming and going is unknown, though the watcher is conscious of the fact, shall I count the nature of the Spirit among created things, and limit Him by fixing the time of His origin? Thy servant John says, indeed, that all things were made through the Son, Who as God the Word was in the beginning, O God, with Thee. Again, Paul recounts all things as created in Him, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible. And, while he declared that everything was created in Christ and through Christ, he thought, with respect to the Holy Spirit, that the description was sufficient, when he called Him Thy Spirit. With these men, peculiarly Thine elect, I will think in these matters; just

as, after their example, I will say nothing beyond my comprehension about Thy Only-begotten, but simply declare that He was born, so also after their example I will not trespass beyond that which human intellect can know about Thy Holy Spirit, but simply declare that He is Thy Spirit. May my lot be no useless strife of words, but the unwavering confession of an unhesitating faith!

57. Keep, I pray Thee, this my pious faith undefiled, and even till my spirit departs, grant that this may be the utterance of my convictions: so that I may ever hold fast that which I professed in the creed of my regeneration, when I was baptized in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Let me, in short, adore Thee our Father, and Thy Son together with Thee; let me win the favor of Thy Holy Spirit, Who is from Thee, through Thy Only-begotten. For I have a convincing Witness to my faith, Who says, Father, all Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine, even my Lord Jesus Christ, abiding in Thee, and from Thee, and with Thee, for ever God: Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HOMILIES

ON PSALMS 1., 53., 130

SOME account of St. Hilary's *Homilies on the Psalms* has already been given in the Introduction to this volume, pp. XL—XLV. A few words remain to be said concerning his principle of exposition. This may be gathered from his own statement in the fifth section of the *Instructio Psalmorum*, the discourse preliminary to the Homilies:—'There is no doubt that the language of the Psalms must be interpreted by the light of the teaching of the Gospel. Thus, whoever he be by whose mouth the Spirit of prophecy has spoken, the whole purpose of his words is our instruction concerning the glory and power of the coming, the Incarnation, the Passion, the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our resurrection. Moreover, all the prophecies are shit and sealed to worldly sense and pagan wisdom, as Isaiah says, *And all these words shall be unto you as the sayings of this book which is sealed*.... The whole is a texture woven of allegorical and typical meanings, whereby are spread before our view all the mysteries of the Only-begotten Son of God, Who was to be born in the body, to suffer, to die, to rise again, to reign for ever with those who share His glory because they believed on Him, to be the Judge of the rest of mankind.' It is true that Hilary from time to time discriminates, and sometimes very shrewdly, between passages which must, and others which must not, be thus interpreted, but for the most part the commentary is theological and therefore mystical. The Psalter is not used for the establishment of doctrine. No position for which Hilary had not another and an independent defense is maintained on the strength of an allegorical explanation, and no deductions are drawn from such allegories. They are simply used for the cumulative confirmation of truth otherwise revealed. The result is a commentary much more illustrative of Hilary's own thought than of that of the writers of the Psalms; and great as are the merits of the Homilies, they are counter-balanced by obvious and serious defects. There is, of course, little interest taken in the circumstances in which the Psalms were written. They are, in Hilary's eyes, essentially

prophecies, and he is content as a rule to describe the writer simply as ‘the Prophet.’ And as with the history, so with the spirit of the Psalter. There is little evidence that he recognized in it the noblest and most perfect expression of human devotion towards God, and still less that he appreciated the elevation of its poetry. For the latter failure there is ample excuse. The Septuagint and Old Latin versions of the Psalms have for us venerable antiquity and sacred associations, but they can hardly be said to appeal to the imagination. Now while Hilary of course regarded the Greek translation as authoritative on account both of our Lord’s use of it and of general consent, he treats it not as literature but rather in the spirit of a lawyer interpreting and applying the terms of an ancient charter. Nor is it likely that the Latin version would move Hilary as it sometimes moves us who read it today and find a certain dignity and power in its unpolished sentences. Its roughness could only shock, and its obscurity perplex, one who, as we have said already (Intr, III), could think and express himself clearly in what was to him a living and a cultivated language. But with all his disadvantages he has produced a great and profoundly Christian work, of permanent value and interest and of abiding influence upon thought, theological and moral. For in these Homilies, and not least in those which are here translated, the Roman genius for moral reflection is manifest, and the pattern set which St. Ambrose was to follow with success in such work as his *De officiis ministrorum.*

HOMILIES ON THE PSALMS

PSALM 1

THE primary condition of knowledge for reading the Psalms is the ability to see as whose mouthpiece we are to regard the Psalmist as speaking, and who it is that he addresses. For they are not all of the same uniform character, but of different authorship and different types. For we constantly find that the Person of God the Father is being set before us, as in that passage of the eighty-eighth Psalm: I have exalted one chosen out of My people, I have found David My servant, with My holy oil have I anointed hint. He shall call Me, Thou art my Father and the upholder of my salvation. And I will make him My first-born, higher than the kings of the earth; while in what we might call the majority of Psalms the Person of the Son is introduced, as in the seventeenth: A people whom I have not known hath served Me; and in the twenty-first: they parted My garments among them and cast lots upon My vesture. But the contents of the first Psalm forbid us to understand it either of the Person of the Father or of the Son: But his will hath been in the law of the Lord, and in His Law will he meditate day and night. Now in the Psalm in which we said the Person of the Father is intended, the terms used are exactly appropriate, for instance: He shall call Me, Thou art my Father, my God and the upholder of my salvation; and in that one in which we hear the Son speaking, He proclaims Himself to be the author of the words by the very expressions He employs, saying, A people whom I have not known hath served Me. That is to say, when the Father on the one hand says: He shall call Me; and the Son on the other hand says: a people hath served Me, they shew that it is They Themselves Who are speaking concerning Themselves. Here, however, where we have But his will hath been in the Law of the Lord; obviously it is not the Person of the Lord speaking concerning Himself, but the person of another, extolling the happiness of that man whose will is in the Law of the Lord. Here, then, we are to recognize the person of the Prophet by whose lips the Holy Spirit speaks, raising us by the instrumentality of his lips to the knowledge of a spiritual mystery.

2. And as he says this we must enquire concerning what man we are to understand him to be speaking. He says: Happy is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of pestilence. But his will hath been in the Law of the Lord, and in His Law will he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rills of water, that will yield its fruit in its own season. His leaf also shall not wither, and all things, whatsoever he shall do, shall prosper. I have discovered, either from personal conversation or from their letters and writings, that the opinion of many men about this Psalm is, that we ought to understand it to be a description of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is His happiness which is extolled in the verses following. But this interpretation is wrong both in method and reasoning, though doubtless it is inspired by a pious tendency of thought, since the whole of the Psalter is to be referred to Him: the time and place in His life to which this passage refers must be ascertained by the sound method of knowledge guided by reason.

3. Now the words which stand at the beginning of the Psalm are quite unsuited to the Person and Dignity of the Son, while the whole contents are in themselves a condemnation of the careless haste that would use them to extol Him. For when it is said, and his will hath been in the Law of the Lord, how (seeing that the Law was given by the Son of God) can a happiness which depends on his will being in the Law of the Lord be attributed to Him Who is Himself Lord of the Law? That the Law is His He Himself declares in the seventy-seventh Psalm, where He says: Hear My Law, O My people: incline your ears unto the words of My mouth. I will open My mouth in a parable. And the Evangelist Matthew further asserts that these words were spoken by the Son, when he says For this cause spake He in parables that the saying might be fulfilled: I will open My mouth in parables. The Lord then gave fulfillment in act to His own prophecy, speaking in the parables in which He had promised that He would speak. But how can the sentence, and he shall be like a tree planted by the rills of water, — wherein growth in happiness is set forth in a figure — be possibly applied to His Person, and a tree be said to be more happy than the Son of God, and the cause of His happiness, which would be the case if an analogy were established between Him and it in respect of growth towards happiness? Again, since according to Wisdom and the

Apostle, He is both before the ages and before times eternal, and is the First-born of every creature; and since in Him and through Him all things were created, how can He be happy by becoming like objects created by Himself? For neither does the power of the Creator need for its exaltation comparison with any creature, nor does the immemorial age of the First-born allow of a comparison involving unsuitable conditions of time, as would be the case if He were compared to a tree. For that which shall be at some point of future time cannot be looked upon as having either previously existed or as now existing anywhere. But whatsoever already is does not teed any extension of time to begin existence, because it already possesses continuous existence from the date of its beginning up till the present.

4. And so, since these words are understood to be inapplicable to the divinity of the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, we must suppose him, who is here extolled as happy by the Prophet, to be the man who strives to conform himself to that body which the Lord assumed and in which He was born as man, by zeal for justice and perfect fulfillment of all righteousness. That this is the necessary interpretation will be shewn as the exposition of the Psalm proceeds.

5. The Holy Spirit made choice of this magnificent and noble introduction to the Psalter, in order to stir up weak man to a pure zeal for piety by the hope of happiness, to teach him the mystery of the Incarnate God, to promise him participation in heavenly glory, to declare the penalty of the Judgment, to proclaim the two-fold resurrection, to shew forth the counsel of God as seen in His award. It is indeed after a faultless and mature design that He has laid the foundation of this great prophecy; His will being that the hope connected with the happy man might allure weak humanity to zeal for the Faith; that the analogy of the happiness of the tree might be the pledge of a happy hope, that the declaration of His wrath against the ungodly might set the bounds of fear to the excesses of ungodliness, that difference in rank in the assemblies of the saints might mark difference in merit, that the standard appointed for judging the ways of the righteous might shew forth the majesty of God.

But let us now deal with the subject matter and the words which express it.

6. Happy is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of pestilence. But his will hath been in the Law of the Lord, and in His Law will he meditate day and night.

The Prophet recites five kinds of caution as continually present in the mind of the happy man: the first, not to walk in the counsel of the ungodly, the second, not to stand in the way of sinners, the third, not to sit in the seat of pestilence, next, to set his will in the Law of the Lord, and lastly, to meditate therein by day and by night. There must, therefore, be a distinction between the ungodly and the sinner, between the sinner and the pestilent; chiefly because here the ungodly has a counsel, the sinner a way, the pestilent a seat, and again, because the question is of walking, not standing, in the counsel of the ungodly; of standing, not walking, in the way of the sinner. Now if we would understand the reason of these facts, we must note the precise difference between the sinner and the undutiful, that so it may become clear why to the sinner is assigned a way, and to the undutiful a counsel; next, why the question is of standing in the way, and of walking in the counsel, whereas men are accustomed to connect standing with a counsel, and walking with a way.

Not every man that is a sinner is also undutiful: but the undutiful man cannot fail to be a sinner. Let us take an instance from general experience. Sons, though they be drunken and profligate and spendthrift, can yet love their fathers; and with all these vices, and, therefore, not free from guilt, may yet be free from undutifulness. But the undutiful, though they may be models of continence and frugality, are, by the mere fact of despising the parent, worse transgressors than it they were guilty of every sin that lies outside the category of undutifulness.

7. There is no doubt then that, as this instance proves, the undutiful(or ungodly) must be distinguished from the sinner. And, indeed, general opinion agrees to call those men ungodly who scorn to search for the knowledge of God, who in their irreverent mind take for granted that there is no Creator of the world, who assert that it arrived at the order and beauty which we see by chance movements, who, in order to deprive their Creator of all power to pass judgment on a life lived rightly or in sin, will

have it that man comes into being and passes out of it again by the simple operation of a law of nature.

Thus, all the counsel of these men is wavering, unsteady, and vague, and wanders about in the same familiar paths and over the same familiar ground, never finding a resting-place, for it fails to reach any definite decision. They have never in their system risen to the doctrine of a Creator of the world, for instead of answering our questions as to the cause, beginning, and duration of the world, whether the world is for man, or man for the world, the reason of death, its extent and nature, they press in ceaseless motion round the circle of this godless. argument and find no rest in these imaginings.

8. There are, besides, other counsels of the ungodly, i.e., of those who have fallen into heresy, unrestrained by the laws of either the New Testament or the Old. Their reasoning ever takes the course of a vicious circle; without grasp or foothold to stay them they tread their interminable round of endless indecision. Their ungodliness consists in measuring God, not by His own revelation, but by a standard of their choosing; they forget that it is as godless to make a God as to deny Him; if you ask them what effect these opinions have on their faith and hope, they are perplexed and confused, they wander from the point and willfully avoid the real issue of the debate. Happy is the man then who hath not walked in this kind of counsel of the ungodly, nay, who has not even entertained the wish to walk therein, for it is a sin even to think for a moment of things that are ungodly.

9. The next condition is, that the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly shall not stand in the way of sinners. For there are many whose confession concerning God, while it acquits them of ungodliness, yet does not set them free from sin; those, for example, who abide in the Church but do not observe her laws; such are the greedy, the drunken, the brawlers, the wanton, the proud, hypocrites, liars, plunderers. No doubt we are urged towards these sins by the promptings of our natural instincts; but it is good for us to withdraw from the path into which we are being hurried and not to stand therein, seeing that we are offered so easy a way of escape. It is for this reason that the man who has not stood in the way

of sinners is happy, for while nature carries him into that way, religious belief draws him back.

10. Now the third condition for gaining happiness is not to sit in the seat of pestilence. The Pharisees sat as teachers in Moses' seat, and Pilate sat in the seat of judgment: of what seat then are we to consider the occupation pestilential? Not surely of that of Moses, for it is the occupants of the seat and not the occupation of it that the Lord condemns when He says: The Scribes and Pharisees sit an Moses' seat; whatsoever they bid you do, that do; but do not ye after their work . The occupation of that seat is not pestilential, to which obedience is enjoined by the Lord's own word. That then must be really pestilential, the infection of which Pilate sought to avoid by washing his hands. For many, even God-fearing men, are led astray by the canvassing for worldly honors; and desire to administer the law of the courts, though they are bound by those of the Church.

But although they bring to the discharge of their duties a religious intention, as is shewn by their merciful and upright demeanor, still they cannot escape a certain contagious infection arising from the business in which their life is spent. For the conduct of civil cases does not suffer them to be true to the holy principles of the Church's law, even though they wish it. And without abandoning their pious purpose they are compelled, against their will, by the necessary conditions of the seat they have won, to use, at one time invective, at another, insult, at another, punishment; and their very position makes them authors as well as victims of the necessity which constrains them, their system being as it were impregnated with the infection. Hence this title, the seat of pestilence, by which the Prophet describes their seat, because by its infection it poisons the very will of the religiously minded.

11. But the fact that he has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of pestilence, does not constitute the perfection of the man's happiness. For the belief that one God is the Creator of the world, the avoidance of sin by the pursuit of unassuming goodness, the preference of the tranquil leisure of private life to the grandeur of public position — all this may be found even in a pagan. But here the Prophet, in portraying in the likeness of God the man that is

perfect — one who may serve as a noble example of eternal happiness — points to the exercise by him of no commonplace virtues, and to the words, But his will hath been in the Law of the Lord, for the attainment of perfect happiness. To refrain from what has gone before is useless unless his mind be set on what follows, But his will hath been in the Law of the Lord. The Prophet does not look for fear. The majority of men are kept within the bounds of Law by fear; the few are brought under the Law by will: for it is the mark of fear not to dare to omit what it is afraid of, but of perfect piety to be ready to obey commands. This is why that man is happy whose will, not whose fear, is in the Law of God.

12. But then sometimes the will needs supplementing; and the mere desire for perfect happiness does not win it, unless performance wait upon intention. The Psalm, you remember, goes on: And in His Law will he meditate day and night. The man achieves the perfection of happiness by unbroken and unwearied meditation in the Law. Now it may be objected that this is impossible owing to the conditions of human infirmity, which require time for repose, for sleep, for food: so that our bodily circumstances preclude us from the hope of attaining happiness, inasmuch as we are distracted by the interruption of our bodily needs from our meditation by day and night. Parallel to this passage are the words of the Apostle, Pray without ceasing. As though we were bound to set at naught our bodily requirements and to continue praying without any interruption! Meditation in the Law, therefore, does not lie in reading its words, but in pious performance of its injunctions; not in a mere perusal of the books and writings, but in a practical meditation and exercise in their respective contents, and in a fulfillment of the Law by the works we do by night and day, as the Apostle says: Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. The way to secure uninterrupted prayer is for every devout man to make his life one long prayer by works acceptable to God and always done to His glory: thus a life lived according to the Law by night and day will in itself become a nightly and daily meditation in the Law.

13. But now that the man has found perfect happiness by keeping aloof from the counsel of the ungodly and the way of sinners and the seat of pestilence, and by gladly meditating in the Law of God by day and by night, we are next to be shewn the rich fruit that this happiness he has won

will yield him. Now the anticipation of happiness contains the germ of future happiness. For the next verse runs: And he shall be like a tree planted beside the rills of water, which shall yield its fruit in its own season, whose leaf also shall not fall off. This may perhaps be deemed an absurd and inappropriate comparison, in which are extolled a planted tree, rills of water, the yielding of fruit, its own time, and the leaf that falls not. All this may appear trivial enough to the judgment of the world. But let us examine the teaching of the Prophet and see the beauty that lies in the objects and words used to illustrate happiness.

14. In the book of Genesis, where the lawgiver depicts the paradise planted by God, we are shewn that every tree is fair to look upon and good for food; it is also stated that there stands in the midst of the garden a tree of Life and a tree of the knowledge of good and evil; next that the garden is watered by a stream that afterwards divides into four heads. The Prophet Solomon teaches us what this tree of Life is in his exhortation concerning Wisdom: She is a tree of life to all them that lay hold upon her, and lean upon her. This tree then is living; and not only living, but, furthermore, guided by reason; guided by reason, that is, in so far as to yield fruit, and that not casually nor unseasonably, but in its own season. And this tree is planted beside the rills of water in the domain of the Kingdom of God, that is, of course, in Paradise, and in the place where the stream as it issues forth is divided into four heads. For he does not say, Behind the rills of water, but, Beside the rills of water, at the place where first the heads receive each their flow of waters. This tree is planted in that place whither the Lord, Who is Wisdom, leads the thief who confessed Him to be the Lord, saying: Verily I say unto thee, to day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise. And now that we have shewn upon prophetic warrant that Wisdom, which is Christ, is called the tree of Life in accordance with the mystery of the coming Incarnation and Passion, we must go on to find support for the strict truth of this interpretation from the Gospels. The Lord with His own lips compared Himself to a tree when the Jews said that He cast out devils in Beelzebub: Either make the tree good, said He, and its fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt; far the tree is known by its fruits; because although to cast out devils is an excellent fruit, they said He was Beelzebab, whose fruits are abominable. Nor yet did He hesitate to teach that the power that makes

the tree happy resided in His Person, when on the way to the Cross He said: For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Declaring by this image of the green tree that there was nothing in Him that was subject to the dryness of death.

15. That happy man, then, will become like unto this tree when he shall be transplanted, as the thief was, into the garden and set to grow beside the rills of water: and his planting will be that happy new planting which cannot be uprooted, to which the Lord refers in the Gospels when He curses the other kind of planting and says: Every planting that My Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. This tree, therefore, will yield its fruits. Now in all other passages where God's Word teaches some lesson from the fruits of trees, it mentions them as making fruit rather than as yielding fruit, as when it says: A good tree cannot make evil fruitsm and when in Isaiah the complaint about the vine is: I looked that it should make grapes, and it made thorns. But this tree will yield its fruits, being supplied with free-will and understanding for the purpose. For it will yield its fruits in its own season. And, pray, in what season? In the season, of course, of which the Apostle speaks: That He might make known unto you also the mystery of His Will, according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself, in the dispensation of the fullness of time. This, then, is the dispensation of time, by which is regulated the right moment of receiving, in the case of the recipients, and of giving, in that of the giver; for the giver has choice of the season. But delay in point of time depends upon the fullness of times. For the dispensation of yielding fruit waits upon the fullness of time. Now what, you ask, is this fruit that is to be dispensed? That assuredly of which this same Apostle is speaking when he says: And He will change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like His glorious body. Thus He will give us those fruits of His which He has already brought to perfection in that man whom He has chosen to Himself who is portrayed under the image of a tree, whose mortality He has utterly done away and has raised him to share in His own immortality.

This man then will be happy like that tree, when at length he stands surrounded by the glory of God, being made like unto the Lord.

16. But the leaf of this tree shall not fall off. There is no ground for wonder that its leaves do not fall off, seeing that its fruits will not drop to the

ground, either because they are forced off by ripeness, or shaken off by external violence, but it will yield them, distributing them by an act of reasoned service. Now the spiritual significance of the leaves is made clear by a comparison based upon material objects. We see that leaves are made to sprout round the fruits about which they cluster, for the express purpose of protecting them, and of forming a kind of fence to the young and tender shoots. What the leaves signify, then, is the teaching of God's words in which the promised fruits are clothed. For it is these words that kindly shade our hopes, that shield and protect them from the rough winds of this world. These leaves, then, that is the words of God, shall not fall: for the Lord Himself has said: Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away for of the words that have been spoken by God not one shall fail or fall.

17. Now that the leaves of the tree we speak of are not valueless but are a source of health to the nations is testified by St. John in the Apocalypse, where he says: And He shewed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb; in the midst of the street of it and on either side of the river the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, yielding its fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree are for the healing the nations.

Bodily manifestations so reveal the mysteries of heaven that, although matter by itself cannot convey the full spiritual meaning, yet to regard them only in their material aspect is to mutilate them. We should have expected to hear that there were trees, not one tree, standing on either side of the river shewn to the saint. But because the tree of Life in the sacrament of Baptism is in every case one, supplying to those that come to it on every side the fruits of the apostolic message, so there stands on either side of the river one tree of Life. There is one Lamb seen amid the throne of God, and one river, and one tree of Life: three figures wherein are comprised the mysteries of the Incarnation, Baptism and Passion, whose leaves, that is to say, the words of the Gospel, bring healing to the nations through the teaching of a message that cannot tall to the ground.

18. And all things whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. Never again shall His gift and His statutes be set at naught, as they were in the case of Adam, who by his sin in breaking the Law lost the happiness of an assured

immortality; but now, thanks to the redemption wrought by the tree of Life, that is, by the Passion of the Lord, all that happens to us is eternal and eternally conscious of happiness in virtue of our future likeness to that tree of Life. For all their doings shall prosper. being wrought no longer amid shift and change nor in human weakness, for corruption will be swallowed up in incorruption, weakness in endless life, the form of earthly flesh in the form of God. This tree, then, planted and yielding its fruit in its own season, shall that happy man resemble, himself being planted in the Garden, that what God has planted may abide, never to be rooted up, in the Garden where all things done by God shall be guided to a prosperous issue, apart from the decay that belongs to human weakness and to time, and has to be uprooted.

19. The next point after the prophet had set forth the man's perfect happiness was for him to declare what punishment remained for the ungodly. Thus there ensues: The ungodly the not so, but are like the dust which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. The ungodly have no possible hope of having the image of the happy tree applied to them; the only lot that awaits them is one of wandering and winnowing, crushing, dispersion and unrest; shaken out of the solid framework of their bodily condition, they must be swept away to punishment in dust, a plaything of the wind. They shall not be dissolved into nothing, for punishment must find in them some stuff to work on, but ground into particles, imponderable, unsubstantial, dry, they shall be tossed to and fro, and make sport for the punishment that gives them never rest. Their punishment is recorded by the same Prophet in another place where he says: I will beat them small as the dust before the wind, like the mire of the streets I will destroy them.

Thus as there is an appointed type for happiness, so is there one for punishment. For as it is no hard task for the wind to scatter the dust, and as men who walk through the mud of the streets are hardly aware that they have been treading on it, so it is easy for the punishment of hell to destroy and disperse the ungodly, the logical result of whose sins is to melt them into mud and crush them into dust, reft of all solid substance, for dust and mud they are, and being merely mud and dust are good for nothing else than punishment.

20. And the Prophet, seeing that the change of their solid substance into dust will deprive them of all share in the boon of fruit to be bestowed upon the happy man in season by the tree, has accordingly added: Therefore the ungodly shall not rise again in the Judgment. The fact that they shall not rise again does not convey sentence of annihilation upon these men, for indeed they will exist as dust; it is the resurrection to Judgment that is denied them. Non-existence will not enable them to miss the pain of punishment; for while that which will be non-existent would escape punishment, they, on the other hand, will exist to be punished, for they will be dust. Now to become dust, whether by being dried to dust or ground to dust, involves not loss of the state of existence, but a change of state. But the fact that they will not rise again to Judgment makes it clear that they have lost, not the power to rise, but the privilege of rising to Judgment. Now what we are to understand by the privilege of rising again and being judged is declared by the Lord in the Gospels where He says: He that believeth on Me is not judged: he that believeth not hath been judged already. And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light.

21. The terms of this utterance of the Lord are disturbing to inattentive hearers and careless, hasty readers. For by saying: He that believeth on Me shall not be judged, He exempts believers, and by adding: But he that believeth not hath been judged already, He excludes unbelievers, from judgment. If, then, He has thus exempted believers and debarred unbelievers, allowing the chance of judgment neither to one class nor the other, how can He be considered consistent when he adds thirdly: And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light? For there can apparently be no place left for judgment, since neither believers nor unbelievers are to be judged. Such no doubt will be the conclusion drawn by inattentive hearers and hasty readers. The utterance, however, has an appropriate meaning and a rational interpretation of its own.

22. He that believes, says Christ, is not judged. And is there any need to judge a believer? Judgment arises Out Of ambiguity, and where ambiguity ceases, there is no call for trial and judgment. Hence not even unbelievers need be judged, because there is no doubt about their being unbelievers; but after exempting believers and unbelievers alike from judgment, the Lord

added a case for judgment and human agents upon, whom it must be exercised. For some there are who stand midway between the godly and the ungodly, having affinities to both, but strictly belonging to neither class, because they have come to be what they are by a combination of the two. They may not be assigned to the ranks of belief, because there is in them a certain infusion of unbelief; they may not be ranged with unbelief, because they are not without a certain portion of belief. For many are kept within the pale of the church by the fear of God; yet they are tempted all the while to worldly faults by the allurements of the world. They pray, because they are afraid; they sin, because it is their will. The fair hope of future life makes them call themselves Christians; the allurements of present pleasure make them act like heathen. They do not abide in ungodliness, because they hold the name of God in honor; they are not godly because they follow after things contrary to godliness. And they cannot help loving those things best which can never enable them to be what they call themselves, because their desire to do such works is stronger than their desire to be true to their name. And this is why the Lord, after saying that believers would not be judged and that unbelievers had been judged already, added that This is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light.

These, then, are they whom the judgment awaits which unbelievers have already had passed upon them and believers do not need: because they have loved darkness more than light; not that they did not love the light too, but because their love of darkness is the more active. For when two loves are matched in rivalry, one always wins the preference; and their judgment arises from the fact that, though they loved Christ, they yet loved darkness more. These then will be judged; they are neither exempted from judgment like the godly, nor have they already been judged like the ungodly; but judgment awaits them for the love which they have deliberately preferred.

23. It is precisely the scheme and system thus laid down in the Gospel that the Prophet has followed, when he says: Therefore the ungodly shall not rise again in the Judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous. He leaves no judgment for the ungodly, because they have been judged already; on the other hand, he has refused to sinners, who as we shewed in our former discourse are to be distinguished from the ungodly, the counsel

of the righteous, because they are to be judged. For ungodliness causes the former to be judged beforehand, but sin keeps the latter to be judged hereafter. Thus ungodliness having already been judged is not admitted to the judgment of sinners, while again sinners, who, are yet to be judged, are deemed unworthy of enjoying the counsel of the righteous, who will not be judged.

24. The source of this distinction lies in the following words: For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish. Sinners do not come near the counsel of the righteous for this reason, that the Lord knows the way of the righteous. Now He knows, not by an advance from ignorance to knowledge, but because He condescends to know. For there is no play of human emotions in God that He should know or not know anything. The blessed Apostle Paul declared how we were known of God when be said: If any man among you is a prophet or spiritual, let him take knowledge of the things which I write unto you, that they are of the Lord: but if any man does not know, he is not known.

Thus he shews that those are known of God who know the things of God: they are to come to be known when they know, that is, when they attain to the honor of being known through the merit of their known godliness, in order that the knowledge may be seen to be a growth on the part of him who is known, and not a growth on the part of one who knows not.

Now God shews clearly in the cases of Adam and Abraham that He does not know sinners, but does know believers. For it was said to Adam when he had sinned: Adam, where art thou? Not because God knew not that the man whom He still had in the garden was there still, but to shew, by his being asked where he was, that he was unworthy of God’s knowledge by the fact of having sinned. But Abraham, after being for a long time unknown — the word of God came to him when he was seventy years of age — was, upon his proving himself faithful to the Lord, admitted to intimacy with God by the following act of high condescension: Now I know that thou fearest the Lord thy God, and for My sake thou hast not spared thy dearly loved son.

God certainly was not ignorant of the faith of Abraham, which He had already reckoned to him for righteousness when he believed about the birth of Isaac: but now because he had given a signal instance of his fear in

offering his son, he is at last known, approved, rendered worthy of being not unknown. It is in this way then that God both knows and to be judged, are set far from their counsel; knows not — Adam the sinner is not known, and Abraham the faithful is known is worthy, and they that is, of being known by God Who surely have already been judged by Him Who said: knows all things. The way of the righteous, The Father judgeth no man, but hath given all therefore, who are not to be judged is known judgment unto the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by God: and this is why sinners, who are Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

<950>PSALM 53 (54)

For the end among the hymns, of the meaning of David when the Ziphims came and said Saul: behold, is not David hid with us? Save me, O God, by Thy name, and judge me by Thy power. Hear my prayer, O God; give ear unto the words of my mouth, and so on.

1. The doctrines of the Gospel were well known to holy and blessed David in his capacity of Prophet, and although it was under the Law that he lived his bodily life, he yet filled, as far as in him lay, the requirements of the Apostolic behest and justified the witness borne to him by God in the words: I have found a man after My own heart, David, the son of Jesse. He did not avenge himself upon his foes by war, he did not oppose force of arms to those that laid wait for him, but after the pattern of the Lord, Whose name and Whose meekness alike he foreshadowed, when he was betrayed he entreated, when he was in danger he sang psalms, when he incurred hatred he rejoiced; and for tills cause he was found a man after God's own heart. For although twelve legions of angels might have come to the help of the Lord in His hour of passion, yet that He might perfectly fulfill His service of humble obedience, He surrendered Himself to suffering and weakness, only praying with the words: Father into Thy hands I commend My spirit. After the same pattern, David, whose actual sufferings prophetically foretold the future sufferings of the Lord opposed not his enemies either by word or act; in obedience to the command of the Gospel, he would not render evil for evil, in imitation of his Master's meekness, in his affliction, in his betrayal, in his fight, he called upon the Lord and was content to use His weapons only in his contest with the ungodly.

2. Now to this Psalm is prefixed a title arising out of an historical event; but before the event is described we are instructed as to the scope, time and application of the incidents underlying it. First we have: For the end of the meaning of that David. Then there follows: When the Ziphims came and said to Saul: behold, is not David hid with us? Thus David's betrayal by the Ziphims awaits for its interpretation the end. This shews that what was actually being done to David contained a type of something yet to cone; an innocent man is harassed by railing, a prophet is mocked by

reviling words, one approved by God is demanded for execution, a king is betrayed to his foe. So the Lord was betrayed to Herod and Pilate by those very men in whose hands He ought to have been safe. The Psalm then awaits the end for its interpretation, and finds its meaning in the true David, in Whom is the end of the Law, that David who holds the keys and opens with them the gate of knowledge, in fulfilling the things foretold of Him by David.

3. The meaning of the proper name, according to the exact sense of the Hebrew, affords us no small assistance in interpreting the passage. Ziphims mean what we call sprinklings of the face; these were called in Hebrew Ziphims. Now, by the Law, sprinkling was a cleansing from sins; it purified the people through faith by the sprinkling of blood, of which this same blessed David thus speaks: Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed; the Law, through faith, providing as a temporary substitute, in the blood of whole burnt-offerings, a type of the sprinkling with the blood of the Lord, which was to be. But this people, like the people of the Ziphims, being sprinkled on their lace and not in their faith, and receiving the cleansing drops on their lips and not in their hearts, turned faithless and traitors towards their David, as God had foretold by the Prophet: This people honoreth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me. They were ready to betray David because, the faith of their heart being dead, they had performed all the mystical ceremonies of the Law with deceitful face.

4. Save me, O God, by Thy Name, and judge me by Thy power. Hear my prayer, O God; give ear unto the words of my mouth.

The suffering of the Prophet David is, according to the account we have given of the title, a type of the Passion of our God and Lord Jesus Christ. This is why his prayer also corresponds in sense with the prayer of Him Who being the Word was made flesh: in such wise that He Who suffered all things after the manner of man, in everything He said, spoke after the manner of man; and He who bore the infirmities and took on Him the sins of men approached God in prayer with the humility proper to men. This interpretation, even though we be unwilling and slow to receive it, is required by the meaning and force of the words, so that there can be no doubt that everything in the Psalm is uttered by David as His mouthpiece.

For he says: Save me O God, by Thy name. Thus prays in bodily humiliation, using the words of His own Prophet, the Only-begotten Son of God, Who at the same time was claiming again the glory which He had possessed before the ages. He asks to be saved by the Name of God whereby He was called and wherein He was begotten, in order that the Name of God which rightly belonged to His former nature and kind might avail to save Him in that body wherein He had been born.

5. And because the whole of this passage is the utterance of One in the form of a servant — of a servant obedient unto the death of the Cross — which He took upon Him and for which He supplicates the saving help of the Name that belongs to God, and being sure of salvation by that Name, He immediately adds: and judge Me by Thy power. For now as the reward for His humility in emptying Himself and assuming the form of a servant, in the same humility in which He had assumed it, He was asking to resume the form which He shared with God, having saved to bear the Name of God that humanity in which as God He had obediently condescended to be born. And in order to teach us that the dignity of this Name whereby He prayed to be saved is something more than an empty title, He prays to be judged by the power of God. For a right award is he essential result of judgment, as the Scripture says: Becoming obedient unto death, yea, the death of the Cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted Him and gave unto Him the name which is above every name. Thus, first of all the name which is above every name is given unto Him; then next, this is a judgment of decisive force, because by the power of God, He, Who after being God had died as man, rose again from death as man to be God, as the Apostle says: He was crucified from weakness, yet He liveth by the power of God, and again: For I am not ashamed of the Gospel: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. For by the power of the Judgment human weakness is rescued to bear God’s name and nature; and thus as the reward for His obedience He is exalted by the power of this judgment unto the saving protection of God’s name; whence He possesses both the Name and the Power of God. Again, if the Prophet had begun this utterance in the way men generally speak, he would have asked to be judged by mercy or kindness, not by power. But judgment by power was a necessity in the case of One Who being the Son of Got was born of a virgin to be Son of Man, and Who now being Son of Man was to have the

Name and power of the Son of God restored to Him by the power of judgment.

6. Next there follows: Hear my prayer, O God, give ear unto the words of my mouth. The obvious thing for the Prophet to say was, O God, hear me. But because he is speaking as the mouthpiece of Him, Who alone knew how to pray, we are given a constantly reiterated demand that prayer shall be heard. The words of St. Paul teach us that no man knows how he ought to pray: For we know not how to pray as we ought. Man in his weakness, therefore, has no right to demand that his prayer shall be heard: for even the teacher of the Gentiles does not know the true object and scope of prayer, and that, after the Lord had given a model. What we are shewn here is the perfect confidence of Him, Who alone sees the Father, Who alone knows the Father, Who alone can pray the whole night through — the Gospel tells us that the Lord continued all night in prayer — Who in the mirror of words has shewn us the true image of the deepest of all mysteries in the simple words we use in prayer. And so, in making the demand that His prayer should be heard, he added, in order to teach us that this was the prerogative of His perfect confidence: Give ear unto the words of My mouth. Now can any man suppose that it is a human confidence which can thus desire that the words of his mouth should be heard? Those words, for instance, in which we express the motions and instincts of the mind, either when anger inflames us, or hatred moves us to slander, or pain to complaint, when flattery makes us fawn, when hope of gain or shame of the truth begets the lie, or resentment over injury, the insult? Was there ever any man at all points so pure and patient in his life as not to be liable to these failings of human instability? He alone could confidently desire this Who did no sin, in Whose mouth was no deceit, Who gave His back to the smiters, Who turned not His cheek from the blow, Who did not resent scorn and spitting, Who never crossed the will of Him, to Whose Will ordering it all He gave in all points glad obedience.

7. He has next added the reason why He prays for His words to be heard: For strangers are risen up against Me and violent men have sought after My soul; they have not set God before their eyes. The Only-begotten Son of God, the Word of God and God the Word — although assuredly He could Himself do all things that the Father could, as He says: What things soever the Father doeth, the Son also doeth in like manner, while the name

describing the divine nature which was His inseparably involved the inseparable possession of divine power, — yet in order that He might present to us a perfect example of human humility, both prayed for and underwent all things that are the lot of man. Sharing in our common weakness He prayed the Father to save Him, so that He might teach us that He was born man under all the conditions of man's infirmity. This is why He was hungry and thirsty, slept and was weary, shunned the assemblies of the ungodly, was sad and wept, suffered and died. And it was in order to make it clear that He was subject to all these conditions, not by His nature, but by assumption, that when He had undergone them all He rose again. Thus all His complaints in the Psalms spring from a mental state belonging to our nature. Nor must it cause surprise if we take the words of the Psalms in this sense, seeing that the Lord Himself testified, if we believe the Gospel, that the Psalms spiritually foretold His Passion.

8. Now they were strangers that rose up against Him. For these are no sons of Abraham, nor sons of God, but a brood of vipers, servants of sin, a Canaanitish seed, their father an Amorite and their mother a daughter of Heth, inheriting diabolical desires from the devil their parent. Further it is the violent that seek after His soul; such as was Herod when he asked the chief priests where Christ should be born, such as was the whole synagogue when it bore false witness against Him. But in deeming this sold to be of human nature and weakness they set not God before their eyes; for God had stooped from that estate wherein He abode as God, even to the beginnings of human birth; that is, He became Son of Man Who before was the Son of God. For the Son of God is none other than He Who is Son of Man, and Son of Man not in partial measure but born so, the Form of God divesting Itself of that which It was and becoming that which It was not, that so It might be born into a soul and body of Its own. Hence He is both Son of God and Son of Man, hence both God and Man: in other words the Son of God was born with the attributes derived from human birth, the Nature of God condescending to assume the nature of one born as man who is wholly molded of soul and flesh. Wherefore strangers, when they rise up against Him, and the mighty, when they seek after that soul of His, which in the Gospels is often sad and cast down, set not God before their eyes, because God it was, and the Son of God existing from out the

ages, that was born with the attributes of human nature, was born as man, that is, with our body and our soul, by a virgin birth; the mighty and glorious works He wrought never opened their eyes to the fact that the Son of Man Whose soul they were seeking had come to be man with a beginning of life after an eternal existence as Son of God.

9. The introduction of a pause marks a change of person. He no longer speaks but is addressed. For now the prophetic utterance assumes a general character. Thus immediately after the prayer addressed to God, he has added, in order that the confidence of the speaker might be understood to have obtained what He was asking even in the very moment of asking: Behold, God is My helper and the Lord is the upholder of My soul. He has requited evil unto Mine enemies. To each separate petition he has assigned its proper result, thus teaching us hath that God does not neglect to hear, and that to look for a pledge of His pitifulness in hearing our several petitions is not a thing unreasonable. For to the words, For strangers are risen up against Me, the corresponding statement is: God is My helper; while with regard to and the violent have sought after My soul, the exact result of the hearing of His prayer is expressed in the words: and the Lord is the upholder of My soul; lastly the statement, they have not set God before their eyes, is appropriately balanced by, He hath requites evil unto Mine enemies. Thus God both gives help against those that rise up, and upholds the soul of His Holy One when it is sought by the violent, and when He is not set before the eyes, nor considered by the ungodly, He requites upon His enemies the very evils which they had wrought; so that while without thinking upon God they seek the soul of the righteous and rise up against Him, He is saved and upheld, and they find that He Whom, absorbed in their wicked works, they did not consider, avenges their malice by turning it against themselves.

10. Let pure religion, therefore, have this confidence, and doubt not that amid the persecutions at the hand of man and the dangers to the soul, it still has God for its helper, knowing that, if at length it comes to a violent and unjust death, the soul on leaving the tabernacle of the body finds rest with God its upholder; let it have, moreover, perfect assurance of requital in the thought that all evil deeds return upon the heads of those that work them. God cannot be charged with injustice, and perfect goodness is unstained by the impulses and motions of an evil will. He does not awaken

mischief out of malice, but requites it in vengeance; He does not inflict it because He wishes us ill, but He aims it against our sins. For these evils are universally appointed as instruments of retribution without destruction of life, such being the sternly just ordinance of that righteous judgment. But these evils are warded off from the righteous by the law of righteousness, and are turned back upon the unrighteous by the righteousness of that judgment. Each proceeding is equally just; for the righteous, because they are righteous, the warning exhibition of evil without actual infliction; for the wicked, because they so deserve, the punitive infliction of evil; the righteous will not suffer it, though it is displayed to them; the wicked will never cease to suffer it, because it is displayed to them.

11. After this there is a return to the Person of God, to Whom the petition was at the first addressed: Destroy them by Thy truth. Truth confounds falsehood, and lying is destroyed by truth. We have shewn that the whole of the foregoing prayer is the utterance of that human nature in which the Son of God was horn; so here it is the voice of human nature calling upon God the Father to destroy His enemies in His truth. What this truth is, stands beyond doubt; it is of course He Who said: I am the Life, the Way, the Anti the enemies were destroyed by the truth when, for all their attempts to win Christ's condemnation by false witness, they heard that He was risen from the dead and had to admit that He had resumed His glory in all the reality of Godhead. Ere long they found, in ruin and destruction by famine and war, their reward for crucifying God; for they condemned the Lord of Life to death, and paid no heed to God's truth displayed in Him through His glorious works. And thus the Truth of God destroyed them when He rose again to resume the majesty of His Father's Glory, and gave proof of the truth of that perfect Divinity which He possessed.

12. Now in view of our repeated, nay our unbroken assertion both that it was the Only-begotten Son of God Who was uplifted on the cross, and that He was condemned to death Who is eternal by virtue of the origin which is His by the nature which He derives from the eternal Father, it must be clearly understood that He was subjected to suffering of no natural necessity, but to accomplish the mystery of man's salvation; that He submitted to suffering of His own Will, and not under compulsion. And although this suffering did not belong to His nature as eternal Son, the

immutability of God being proof against the assault of any derogatory disturbance, yet it was freely undertaken, and was intended to fulfill a penal function without, however, inflicting the pain of penalty upon the sufferer: not that the suffering in question was not of a kind to cause pain, but because the divine Nature feels no pain. God suffered, then, by voluntarily submitting to suffering; but although He underwent the sufferings in all the fullness of their force, which necessarily causes pain to the sufferers, yet He never so abandoned the powers of His Nature as to feel pain.

13. For next there follows: I will sacrifice unto Thee freely. The sacrifices of the Law, which consisted of whole burnt-offerings and oblations of goats and of bulls, did not involve an expression of free will, because the sentence of a curse was pronounced on all who broke the Law. Whoever failed to sacrifice laid himself open to the curse. And it was always necessary to go through the whole sacrificial action because the addition of a curse to the commandment forbade any trifling with the obligation of offering. It was from this curse that our Lord Jesus Christ redeemed us, when, as the Apostle says: Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made curse for us, for it is written: cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree. Thus He offered Himself to the death of the accursed that He might break the curse of the Law, offering Himself voluntarily a victim to God the Father, in order that by means of a voluntary victim the curse which attended the discontinuance of the regular victim might be removed. Now of this sacrifice mention is made in another passage of the Psalms: Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared for Me; that is, by offering to God the Father, Who refused the legal sacrifices, the acceptable offering of the body which He received. Of which offering the holy Apostle thus speaks: Far this He did once for all when He offered Himself up, securing complete salvation for the human race by the offering of this holy, perfect victim.

14. Then He gives thanks to God the Father for the accomplishment of all these acts: I will give thanks unto Thy name, O Lord, for it is good, for Than hast delivered Me out of all affliction. He has assigned to each clause its strict fulfillment. Thus at the beginning He bad said: Save Me, O God, by Thy name; after the prayers had been heard it was right that there should follow a corresponding ascription of thanks, in order that

confession might be made to His name by Whose name He had prayed to be saved, and that inasmuch as He had asked for help against the strangers that rose up against Him, He might set on record that He bad received it in the burst of joy expressed in the words: Thou hast delivered Me out of all affliction. Then in respect of the fact that the violent in seeking after His soul did not set God before their eyes, He has declared His eternal possession of unchangeable divinity in the words: And Mine eye hath looked down upon Mine enemies. For the Only-begotten Son of God was not cut off by death. It is true that in order to take the whole of our nature upon Him He submitted to death, that is to the apparent severance of soul and body, and made His way even to the realms below, the debt which man must manifestly pay: but He rose again and abides for ever and looks down with an eye that death cannot dim upon His enemies, being exalted unto the glory of God and born once more Son of God after becoming Son of Man, as He had been Son of God when He first became Son of Man, by the glory of His resurrection. He looks down upon His enemies to whom He once said: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up. And so, now that this temple of His body has been built again, He surveys from His throne on high those who sought after His soul, and, set far beyond the power of human death, He looks down from heaven upon those who wrought His death, He who suffered death, yet could not die, the God-Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

PSALM 130 (131)

O Lord, my heart is not exalted, neither have mine eyes been lifted up.

1. This Psalm, a short one, which demands an analytical rather than a homiletical treatment, teaches us the lesson of humility and meekness. Now, as we have in a great number of other places spoken about humility, there is no need to repeat the same things here. Of course we are bound to bear in mind in how great need our faith stands of humility when we hear the Prophet thus speaking of it as equivalent to the performance of the highest works: O Lord, my heart is not exalted. For a troubled heart is the noblest sacrifice in the eyes of God. The heart, therefore, must not be lifted up by prosperity, but humbly kept within the bounds of meekness through the fear of God.

2. Neither have Mine eyes been lifted up. The strict sense of the Greek here conveys a different meaning; οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀρθαλμοί μου that is, have not been lifted up from one object to look on another. Yet the eyes must be lifted up in obedience to the Prophet's words: Lift up your eyes and see who hath displayed all these things. And the Lord says in the gospel: Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white unto harvest. The eyes, then, are to be lifted up: not, however, to transfer their gaze elsewhere, but to remain fixed once for all upon that to which they have been raised.

3. Then follows: Neither have I walked amid great things, nor amid wonderful things that are above me. It is most dangerous to walk amid mean things, and not to linger amid wonderful things. God's utterances are great; He Himself is wonderful in the highest: how then can the psalmist pride himself as on a good work for not walking amid great and wonderful things? It is the addition of the words, which are above me, that shews that the walking is not amid those things which men commonly regard as great and wonderful, For David, prophet and king as he was, once was humble and despised and unworthy to sit at his father's table; but he found favor with God, he was anointed to be king, he was inspired to prophesy. His kingdom did not make him haughty, he was not moved by hatreds: he loved those that persecuted him, he paid honor to his dead enemies, he

spared his incestuous and murderous children. In his capacity of sovereign he was despised, in that of father he was wounded, in that of prophet he was afflicted; yet he did not call for vengeance as a prophet might, nor exact punishment as a father, nor requite insults as a sovereign. And so he did not walk amid things great and wonderful which were above him.

4. Let us see what comes next: If I was not humble-minded but have lifted up my soul. What inconsistency on the Prophet's part! He does not lift up his heart: he does lift up his soul. He does not walk amid things great and wonderful that are above him; yet his thoughts are not mean. He is exalted in mind and cast down in heart. He is humble in his own affairs: but he is not humble in his thought. For his thought reaches to heaven his soul is lifted up on high. But his heart, out of which proceed, according to the Gospel, evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, railings, is humble, pressed down beneath the gentle yoke of meekness. We must strike a middle course, then, between humility and exaltation, so that we may be humble in heart but lifted up in soul and thought.

5. Then he goes on: Like a weaned child upon his mother's breast, so will thou reward my soul. We are told that when Isaac was weaned Abraham made a feast because now that he was weaned he was on the verge of boyhood and was passing beyond milk food. The Apostle feeds all that are imperfect in the faith and still babes in the things of God with the milk of knowledge. Thus to cease to need milk marks the greatest possible advance. Abraham proclaimed by a joyful feast that his son had come to stronger meat, and the Apostle refuses bread to the carnal-minded and those that are babes in Christ. And so the Prophet prays that God, because he has not lifted up his heart, nor walked amid things great and wonderful that are above him, because he has not been humble-minded but did lift up his soul, may reward his soul, lying like a weaned child upon his mother: that is to say that he may be deemed worthy of the reward of the perfect, heavenly and living bread, on the ground that by reason of his works already recorded he has now passed beyond the stage of milk.

6. But he does not demand this living bread from heaven for himself alone, he encourages all mankind to hope for it by saying: Let Israel hope in the Lord from henceforth and for evermore. He sets no temporal limit to our

hope, he bids our faithful expectation stretch out into infinity. We are to hope for ever and ever, winning the hope of future life through the hope of our present life which we have in Christ Jesus our Lord, Who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS

EXPOSITION OF THE ORTHODOX FAITH

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. S.D.F. SALMOND, D.D. F.E.I.S.,

PRINICIPAL OF THE FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN.

IN the difficlut task of translating the *De Fide Orthodoxa*—a task made the more difficult attimes by the conditionof the text,—I am indebted for much to my son, James L. Salmond, M.A., M.B., formerly of Balliol College, Oxford. There still remain passages of doubtful interpretation. It was intended to furnish a larger body of Notes and also an account of John and his writings. It has been found advisable, however, to complete the volume without these.

S.D.F. SALMOND
ABERDEEN,
1 Sept. 1898.

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CHAPTER 22. (95.) Concerning the law of God and the law of sin.

CHAPTER 23. (96.) Against the Jews on the question of the Sabbath.

CHAPTER 24. (97.) Concerning Virginity.

CHAPTER 25. (98.) Concerning the Circumcision.

CHAPTER 26. (99.) Concerning the Antichrist.

CHAPTER 27. (100.) Concerning the Resurrection.

PROLOGUE

FROM THE LATIN OF THE EDITION OF MICHAEL LEQUIEN, AS GIVEN IN MINGE'S PATROLOGY

AFTER the rules of Christian dialectic and the review of the errors of ancient heresies comes the at last the book "Concerning the Orthodox Faith." In this book John of Damascus retains the same order as was adopted by Theodore in his "Epitmoe of Divine Dogmas," but takes a different method. for the former, by the sheer weight of his own genius, framed various kinds of arguments against heretics, adducing the testimony of the sacred page, and thus he composed a concise treatise of Theology. Our author, however did not confine himself to Scripture, but gathered together also the opinions of the holy Fathers, and produced a work marked with equal perspicuity and brevity, and forming an unexhausted storehouse of tradition in which nothing is to be found that has not been either sanctioned by the ecumenical synods or accepted by the approved leaders of the Church.

He followed, indeed, chiefly Gregory of Nazianzus, who, from the great accuracy of his erudition in divine matters, earned the title "The Theologian," and who left scarcely any chapter of Christian learning untouched in his surviving works, and is free from any taint or suspicion of the slightest error. John had read his books with such assiduity that he seemed to hold them all in the embrace of his faithful memory. Wherefore throughout this work you may hear not so much John of Damascus as Gregory the Theologian expounding the mysteries of the orthodox faith. John further made use of Basil the Great, of Gregory of Nyssa, and especially of Nemsius, bishop of Emesa in Syria, the most beloved of all; likewise of Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Leontius of Byzantium, the martyr Maximus: also of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and, not to mention others, that writer who took the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. Out of all these he culled on every hand the flower of their opinions, and concocted most sweet honey of soundest doctrine. For his aim was, not to strike out views of his own or anything novel, but rather to collect into one single theological work the opinions of the ancients

which were scattered through the various volumes. And, indeed, in order that the reader may more readily perceive the method of this most careful teacher, we shall carefully note in the margin the names of the authors and of the books from which he copied each separate opinion.

To John of Damascus, therefore, belongs the merit of being the first to compose a volume packed with the sentences of catholic teachers. Accordingly his authority among theologians was always weighty, not only in the East but even in the West, and with the Latins; all the more so after the translation into Latin of his book “Concerning the Orthodox Faith,” by Burgundio, a citizen of Pisa, during the Pontificate of Eugenius the Third. Further if was this translation that was used by that master of sentences, St. Thomas, and other later theologians, down till the time when at the beginning of the 16th century Jacobus Faber Stapulensis attempted to produce a more perfect translation than was the old one with its uncouth and barbarous diction. But as this one, too, had many faults, Jacobus Billius, in the course of the same century, completed a version of greater elegance but yet lacking in carefulness and brevity. For, as Combefis remarked, “in translating the Damascene Billius showed the rawness of a recruit.” Combefis himself, however, considered the translation of Billy of no little worth; for when he was toiling at a new edition of the works of John of Damascus, he did not think it necessary to make a new translation once more, but was quite content to emend the earlier one. For he was rightly aware that all the most learned interpreters of lengthy tomes slip into many errors, and that it is much easier to improve on the errors of others than to detect one’s own. Thus our translation will represent that of Billius purged of its blemishes and restored to a more concise style. But in order that our edition should go forth in a more accurate shape than the rest, besides using the older translations and the various copies to the number of twenty or more codices, collated by my own hand, I have moreover revised the Greek phraseology and diction in those places of the Greek Fathers which the Damascene has massed together. Nay, further, omitting both the shorter commentaries of Faber on each chapter and also the longer ones of Judocus Clictoveus of Neoportuna, neither of whom contributes much, if anything, to the intelligent understanding of the Greek Fathers, I have attempted by fuller annotations, to place before the eyes of all a specimen of eastern

theology, drawn alike from those teachers whom the Damascene copied and from Greeks of later date whom I had the privilege of consulting.

The customary division among the Latins of the work “Concerning the Orthodox Faith” into four books is found in no Greek codex, nor in the Greek edition of Verona. And, further, that division is not met with in the old manuscripts of the original Latin translation, except as a chance note written in ink by a second and later hand on the margins of some of them. Hence Marcus Hopperus appears to be mistaken in ascribing in the dedicatory epistle of the Graeco-Latin edition of Basil the division into four books to the Latin translator: that is, unless I am mistaken, do Faber, whose edition he published. Traces of this, however, exist in the books of St. Thomas Aquinas I therefore hold that this mode of division was devised and introduced by the Latins in imitation of the four books of “Sentences” of Peter Lombard. Codex Regius ***n.*** 3445, and that is a very late one, alone seems to divide the “De Fide Orthodoxa” into two parts, the first, or (περί τῆς θεολογίας), dealing indeed with the one triune God, the Creator and Provider, and the second, or (περί τῆς οἰκονομίας), with God Incarnate, the Redeemer and Rewarder. but an objection to this division is the clear connection between chapter 43, in which the Incarnation, or “Oeconomia Divina,” is discussed, and the words which immediately precede it in the end of chapter, 42, which is entitles “On Praedestination,” making either chapter part of one continuous discussion. This fault cannot be taken to the other division into four parts. But in order not to startle the reader accustomed to the former division with too much novelty, I have, following Hopperus, assigned indeed to the Greek chapters the same numbers as were marked in the Greek codices, but I have not hesitated to divide the Latin translation into four books.

I have come across no edition of the old Latin translation; but the version of Jacombus Faber was issued in Paris by Judocus Clictoveus from the press of Henry Stephen in the year 1512, along with commentaries. Next, in the year 1535, Henry Pet, the printer of Basle, published the existing works of St. John of Damascus, and amongst them the four books “Concerning the Orthodox Faith, as translated by Jacobus Faber of Stapula,” but without any commentary. After some years the same Henry in a second edition added the shorter commentaries of Clictoveus, and again in the edition published in the year 1537. In the preface to these

editions there occurs among others the following sentence, “Now for the first time are added annotations explaining all the difficulties and the hard and lofty passages.: For of a truth I know no older edition in which those explanations, such as they are, are given. Further, the author of these is asserted by Henricus Gravus, of the order of Preachers, in his own Latin edition of the works of holy John of Damascus, which he brought out at Colonge from the press of Peter Quentel, in the year 1546, to have been Jacobus Faber, and of a surety indeed in certain places, and in especial where the most holy mystery of the Eucharist is under discussion, the annotations are somewhat frigid in character and do not express with sufficient fullness of the catholic faith. And his cannot be said without pain, for the sake of a man whom otherwise I should look up to as worthy of veneration, as almost one of my own house, had he not proved himself a traitor to his ancestral religion or at least somewhat too partial to innovators. As to the edition of our Gravius, learned as he was in both Latin and Greek, he revised the translation, Jacobus Faber’s translation, and compared it with the Greek text and illustrated it with very short scholia, “for the sake of heretics,” as he said in the dedicatory letter to Oswald, especially where they themselves try in vain to shake the doctrine of the Church as stated by the Damascene.

The book “Concerning the Orthodox Faith” Donatus Veronensis caused to be printed at Verona first in Greek only, and presented it to Clement the Seventh in the year 1531. Not till the year 1548 did he produce a version containing both the Greek and Latin, and again in the year 1575. Next, in the year 1577, Jacobus Billy published at Paris his own translation without the Greek text: and it was printed again in that same city in the years 1603 and 1617.

Here it will not be superfluous to call to mind that the great part of the first book, as they say, of the work “Concerning the Orthodox Faith: exists as the sixth volume of the works of Cyril of Alexandria, inscribed in that teacher’s name, a result to be doubtless attributed to the carelessness of some copyist who found these writings of the Damascene along with others of Cyril.

AN EXACT EXPOSITION OF THE

ORTHODOX FAITH

BOOK 1

CHAPTER 1

THAT THE DEITY IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE, AND THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO PRY INTO AND MEDDLE WITH THE THINGS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN DELIVERED TO US BY THE HOLY PROPHETS, AND APOSTLES, AND EVANGELISTS

No one hath seen God at any time; the Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him. The Deity, therefore, is ineffable and incomprehensible. For no one knoweth the Father, save the Son, nor the Son, save the Father. And the Holy Spirit, too, so knows the things of God as the spirit of the man knows the things that are in him. Moreover, after the first and blessed nature no one, not of men only, but even of supramundane powers, and the Cherubim, I say, and Seraphim themselves, has ever known God, save he to whom He revealed Himself.

God, however, did not leave us in absolute ignorance. For the knowledge of God's existence has been implanted by Him in all by nature. This creation, too, and its maintenance, and its government, proclaim the majesty of the Divine nature. Moreover, by the Law and the Prophets in former times and afterwards by His Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, He disclosed to us the knowledge of Himself as that was possible for us. All things, therefore, that have been delivered to us by Law and Prophets and Apostles and Evangelists we receive, and know, and honor, seeking for nothing beyond these. For God, being good, is the cause of all good, subject neither to envy nor to any passion. For envy is far removed from the Divine nature, which is both passionless and only

good. As knowing all things, therefore, and providing for what is profitable for each, He revealed that which it was to our profit to know; but what we were unable to bear He kept secret. With these things let us be satisfied, and let us abide by them, not removing everlasting boundaries, nor overpassing the divine tradition.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THINGS UTTERABLE AND THINGS UNUTTERABLE, AND THINGS KNOWABLE AND THINKS UNKNOWABLE

It is necessary, therefore, that one who wishes to speak or to hear of God should understand clearly that alike in the doctrine of Deity and in that of the Incarnation, neither are all things unutterable nor all utterable; neither all unknowable nor all knowable. But the knowable belongs to one order, and the utterable to another; just as it is one thing to speak and another thing to know. Many of the things relating to God, therefore, that are dimly understood cannot be put into fitting terms, but on things above us we cannot do else than express ourselves according to our limited capacity; as, for instance, when we speak of God we use the terms sleep, and wrath, and regardlessness, hands, too, and feet, land such like expressions.

We, therefore, both know and confess that God is without beginning, without end, eternal and everlasting, uncreate, unchangeable, invariable, simple, uncompound, incorporeal, invisible, impalpable, uncircumscribed, infinite, incognizable, indefinable, incomprehensible, good, just, maker of all things created, almighty, all-ruling, all-surveying, of all overseer, sovereign, judge; and that God is One, that is to say, one essences; and that He is known, and has His being in three subsistences, in Father, I say, and Son and Holy Spirit; and that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in all respects, except in that of not being begotten, that of being begotten, and that of procession; and that the Only-begotten Son and Word of God and God, in His bowels of mercy, for our salvation, by the good pleasure of God and the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, being conceived without seed, was born uncorruptedly of the Holy Virgin and Mother of God, Mary, by the Holy Spirit, and became of her perfect Man; and that the Same is at once perfect God and perfect Man, of two

natures, Godhead and Manhood, and in two natures possessing intelligence, will and energy, and freedom, and, in a word, perfect according to the measure and proportion proper to each, at once to the divinity, I say, and to the humanity, yet to one composite persons; and that He suffered hunger and thirst and weariness, and was crucified, and for three days submitted to the experience of death and burial, and ascended to heaven, from which also He came to us, and shall come again. And the Holy Scripture is witness to this and the whole choir of the Saints.

But neither do we know, nor can we tell, what the essence of God is, or how it is in all, or how the Only-begotten Son and God, having emptied Himself, became Man of virgin blood, made by another law contrary to nature, or how He walked with dry feet upon the waters. It is not within our capacity, therefore, to say anything about God or even to think of Him, beyond the things which have been divinely revealed to us, whether by word or by manifestation, by the divine oracles at once of the Old Testament and of the New.

CHAPTER 3

PROOF THAT THERE IS A GOD

That there is a God, then, is no matter of doubt to those who receive the Holy Scriptures, the Old Testament, I mean, and the New; nor indeed to most of the Greeks. For, as we said, the knowledge of the existence of God is implanted in us by nature. But since the wickedness of the Evil One has prevailed so mightily against man’s nature as even to drive some into denying the existence of God, that most foolish and woe-fullest pit of destruction (whose folly David, revealer of the Divine meaning, exposed when he said, The fool said in his heart, There is no God), so the disciples of the Lord and His Apostles, made wise by the Holy Spirit and working wonders in His power and grace, took them captive in the net of miracles and drew them up out of the depths of ignorance to the light of the knowledge of God. In like manner also their successors in grace and worth, both pastors and teachers, having received the enlightening grace of the Spirit, were wont, alike by the power of miracles and the word of grace, to enlighten those walking in darkness and to bring back the wanderers into

the way. But as for us who are not recipients either of the gift of miracles or the gift of teaching (for indeed we have rendered ourselves unworthy of these by our passion for pleasure), come, let us in connection with this theme discuss a few of those things which have been delivered to us on this subject by the expounders of grace, calling on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

All things, that exist, are either created or uncreated. If, then, things are created, it follows that they are also wholly mutable. For things, whose existence originated in change, must also be subject to change, whether it be that they perish or that they become other than they are by act of wills. But if things are uncreated they must in all consistency be also wholly immutable. For things which are opposed in the nature of their existence must also be opposed in the mode of their existence, that is to say, must have opposite properties: who, then, will refuse to grant that all existing things, not only such as come within the province of the senses, but even the very angels, are subject to change and transformation and movement of various kinds? For the things appertaining to the rational world, I mean angels and spirits and demons, are subject to changes of will, whether it is a progression or a retrogression in goodness, whether a struggle or a surrender; while the others suffer changes of generation and destruction, of increase and decrease, of quality and of movement in space. Things then that are mutable are also wholly created. But things that are created must be the work of some maker, and the maker cannot have been created. For if he had been created, he also must surely have been created by some one, and so on till we arrive at something uncreated. The Creator, then, being uncreated, is also wholly immutable. And what could this be other than Deity?

And even the very continuity of the creation, and its preservation and government, teach us that there does exist a Deity, who supports and maintains and preserves and ever provides for this universe. For how could opposite natures, such as fire and water, air and earth, have combined with each other so as to form one complete world, and continue to abide in indissoluble union, were there not some omnipotent power which bound them together and always is preserving them from dissolution?

What is it that gave order to things of heaven and things of earth, and all those things that move in the air and in the water, or rather to what was in existence before these, viz., to heaven and earth and air and the elements of fire and water? What was it that mingled and distributed these? What was it that set these in motion and keeps them in their unceasing and unhindered course? Was it not the Artificer of these things, and He Who hath implanted in everything the law whereby the universe is carried on and directed? Who then is the Artificer of these things? Is it not He Who created them and brought them into existence. For we shall not attribute such a power to the spontaneous. For, supposing their coming into existence was due to the spontaneous; what of the power that put all in orders? And let us grant this, if you please. What of that which has preserved and kept them in harmony with the original laws of their existence? Clearly it is something quite distinct from the spontaneous. And what could this be other than Deity?

CHAPTER 4

CONCERNING THE NATURE OF DEITY: THAT IT IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE

It is plain, then, that there is a God. But what He is in His essence and nature is absolutely incomprehensible and unknowable. For it is evident that He is incorporeal. For how could that possess body which is infinite, and boundless, and formless, and intangible and invisible, in short, simple and not compound? How could that be immutable which is circumscribed and subject to passion? And how could that be passionless which is composed of elements and is resolved again into them? For combination is the beginning of conflict, and conflict of separation, and separation of dissolution, and dissolution is altogether foreign to God.

Again, how will it also be maintained that God permeates and fills the universe? as the Scriptures say, Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lords? For it is an impossibility that one body should permeate other bodies without dividing and being divided, and without being enveloped and contrasted, in the same way as all fluids mix and commingle.

But if some say that the body is immaterial, in thee same way as the fifth body of which the Greek philosophers speak (which body is an impossibility), it will be wholly subject to motion like the heaven. For that is what they mean by the fifth body. Who then is it that moves it? For everything that is moved is moved by another thing. And who again is it that moves that? and so on to infinity till we at length arrive at something motionless. For the first mover is motionless, and that is the Deity. And must not that which is moved be circumscribed in space? The Deity, then, alone is motionless, moving the universe by immobility. So then it must be assumed that the Deity is incorporeal.

But even this gives no true idea of His essence, to say that He is unbegotten, and without beginning, changeless and imperishable, and possessed of such other qualities as we are wont to ascribe to God and His environments. For these do not indicate what He is, but what He is not. But when we would explain what the essence of anything is, we must not speak only negatively. In the case of God, however, it is impossible to explain what He is in His essence, and it befits us the rather to hold discourse about His absolute separation from all things. For He does not belong to the class of existing things: not that He has no existence, but that He is above all existing things, nay even above existence itself. For if all forms of knowledge have to do with what exists, assuredly that which is above knowledge must certainly be also above essence: and, conversely, that which is above essence will also be above knowledge.

God then is infinite and incomprehensible and all that is comprehensible about Him is His infinity and incomprehensibility. But all that we can affirm concerning God does not shew forth God’s nature, but only the qualities of His nature. For when you speak of Him as good, and just, and wise, and so forth, you do not tell God’s nature but only the qualities of His nature. Further there are some affirmations which we make concerning God which have the force of absolute negation: for example, when we use the term darkness, in reference to God, we do not mean darkness itself, but that He is not light but above light: and when we speak of Him as light, we mean that He is not darkness.

CHAPTER 5

PROOF THAT GOD IS ONE AND NOT MANY

We have, then, adequately demonstrated that there is a God, and that His essence is incomprehensible. But that God is one and not many is no matter of doubt to those who believe in the Holy Scriptures. For the Lord says in the beginning of the Law: I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Thou shall have no other Gods before Me. And again He says, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And in Isaiah the prophet we read For I am the first God and I am the last and beside Me there is no God. Before Me there was not any God, nor after Me will there be any God, and beside Me there is no God. And the Lord, too, in the holy gospels speaketh these words to His Father, And this is life eternal, that they may know Thee the only true God. But with those that do not believe in the Holy Scriptures we will reason thus.

The Deity is perfect, and without blemish in goodness, and wisdom, and power, without beginning, without end, everlasting, uncircumscribed, and in short, perfect in all things. Should we say, then, that there are many Gods, we must recognize difference among the many. For if there is no difference among them, they are one rather than many. But if there is difference among them, what becomes of the perfectness? For that which comes short of perfection, whether it be in goodness, or power, or wisdom, or time, or place, could not be God. But it is this very identity in all respects that shews that the Deity is one and not many.

Again, if there are many Gods, how can one maintain that God is uncircumscribed? For where the one would be, the other could not be.

Further, how could the world be governed by many and saved from dissolution and destruction, while strife is seen to rage between the rulers? For difference introduces strife. And if any one should say that each rules over a part, what of that which established this order and gave to each his particular realm? For this would the rather be God. Therefore, God is one, perfect, uncircumscribed, maker of the universe, and its preserver and governor, exceeding and preceding all perfection.

Moreover, it is a natural necessity that duality should originate in unity.

CHAPTER 6

CONCERNING THE WORD AND THE SON OF GOD: A REASONED PROOF

So then this one and only God is not Wordless. And possessing the Word, He will have it not as without a subsistence, nor as having had a beginning, nor as destined to cease to be. For there never was a time when God was not Word: but He ever possesses His own Word, begotten of Himself, not, as our word is, without a subsistence and dissolving into air, but having a subsistence in Him and life and perfection, not proceeding out of Himself but ever existing within Himself. For where could it be, if it were to go outside Him? For inasmuch as our nature is perishable and easily dissolved, our word is also without subsistence. But since God is everlasting and perfect, He will have His Word subsistent in Him, and everlasting trod living, and possessed of all the attributes of the Begetter. For just as our word, proceeding as it floes out of the mind, is neither wholly identical with the mind nor utterly diverse from it (for so far as it proceeds out of the mind it is different from it, while so far as it reveals the mind, it is no longer absolutely diverse from the mind, but being one in nature with the mind, it is yet to the subject diverse from it), so in the same manner also the Word of Gods in its independent subsistence is differentiated froth Him from Whom it derives its subsistence: but inasmuch as it displays in itself the same attributes as are seen in God, it is of the same nature as God. For just as absolute perfection is contemplated in the Father, so also is it contemplated in the Word that is begotten of Him.

CHAPTER 7

CONCERNING THE HOLY SPIRIT, A REASONED PROOF

Moreover the Word must also possess Spirit. For in fact even our word is not destitute of spirit; but in our case the spirit is something different from our essence. For there is an attraction and movement of the air which is

drawn in and poured forth that the body may be sustained. And it is this which in the moment of utterance becomes the articulate word, revealing in itself the force of the word. But in the case of the divine nature, which is simple and uncompound, we must confess in all piety that there exists a Spirit of God, for the Word is not more imperfect than our own word. Now we cannot, in piety, consider the Spirit to be something foreign that gains admission into God from without, as is the case with compound natures like us. Nay, just as, when we heard of the Word of God, we considered it to be not without subsistence, nor the product of learning, nor the mere utterance of voice, nor as passing into the air and perishing, but as being essentially subsisting, endowed with free volition, and energy, and omnipotence: so also, when we have learnt about the Spirit of God, we contemplate it as the companion of the Word and the revealer of His energy, and not as mere breath without subsistence. For to conceive of the Spirit that dwells in God as after the likeness of our own spirit, would be to drag down the greatness of the divine nature to the lowest depths of degradation. But we must contemplate it as an essential power, existing in its own proper and peculiar subsistence, proceeding from the Father and resting in the Word, and shewing forth the Word, neither capable of disjunction from God in Whom it exists, and the Word Whose companion it is, nor poured forth to vanish into nothingness, but being in subsistence in the likeness of the Word, endowed with life, free volition, independent movement, energy, ever willing that which is good, and having power to keep pace with the will in all its decrees, having no beginning and no end. For never was the Father at any time lacking in the Word, nor the Word in the Spirit.

Thus because of the unity in nature, the error of the Greeks in holding that God is many, is utterly destroyed: and again by our acceptance of the Word and the Spirit, the dogma of the Jews is overthrown: and there remains of each party only what is profitable. On the one hand of the Jewish idea we have the unity of God’s nature, and on the other, of the Greek, we have the distinction in subsistences and that only.

But should the Jew refuse to accept the Word and the Spirit, let the divine Scripture confute him and curb his tongue. For concerning the Word, the divine David says, For ever, O Lord, Thy Word is settled in heaven. And again, He sent His Word and healed them. But the word that is uttered is

not sent, nor is it for ever settled. And concerning the Spirit, the same David says, Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created. And again, By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth. Job, too, says, The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life. Now the Spirit which is sent and makes and stablishes and conserves, is not mere breath that dissolves, any more than the mouth of God is a bodily member. For the conception of both must be such as harmonizes with the Divine nature.

CHAPTER 8

CONCERNING THE HOLY TRINITY

We believe, then, in One God, one beginning, having no beginning, uncreate, unbegotten, imperishable and immortal, everlasting, infinite, uncircumscribed, boundless, of infinite power, simple, uncompound, incorporeal, without flux, passionless, unchangeable, unalterable, unseen, the fountain of goodness and justice, the light of the mind, inaccessible; a power known by no measure, measurable only by His own will alone (for all things that He wills He can), creator of all created things, seen or unseen, of all the maintainer and preserver, for all the provider, master and Lord and king over all, with an endless and immortal kingdom: having no contrary, filling all, by nothing encompassed, but rather Himself the encompasser and maintainer and original possessor of the universe, occupying all essences intact and extending beyond all things, and being separate from all essence as being super-essential and above all things and absolute God, absolute goodness, and absolute fullness: determining all sovereignties and ranks, being placed above all sovereignty and rank, above essence and life and word and thought: being Himself very light and goodness and life and essence, inasmuch as He does not derive His being from another, that is to say, of those things that exist: but being Himself the fountain of being to all that is, of life to the living, of reason to those that have reason; to all the cause of all good: perceiving all things even before they have become: one essence, one divinity, one power, one will, one energy, one beginning, one authority, one dominion, one sovereignty, made known in three perfect subsistences and adored with one adoration, believed in and ministered to by all rational creation, united without

confusion and divided without separation (which indeed transcends thought). (We believe) in Father and Son and Holy Spirit whereinto also we have been baptized. For so our Lord commanded the Apostles to baptize, saying, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

(We believe) in one Father, the beginning, and cause of all: begotten of no one: without cause or generation, alone subsisting: creator of all: but Father of one only by nature, His Only-begotten Son and our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, and Producer of the most Holy Spirit. And in one Son of God, the Only-begotten, our Lord, Jesus Christ: begotten of the Father, before all the ages: Light of Light, true God of true God: begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, through Whom all things are made: and when we say He was before all the ages we shew that His birth is without time or beginning: for the Son of God was not brought into being out of nothing, He that is the effulgence of the glory, the impress of the Father's subsistence, the living wisdom and power, the Word possessing interior subsistence, the essential and perfect and living imageof the unseen God. But always He was with the Father and in Him, everlastingly and without beginning begotten of Him. For there never was a time when the Father was and the Son was not, but always the Father and always the Son, Who was begotten of Him, existed together. For He could not have received the name Father apart from the Son: for if He were without the Son, He could not be the Father: and if He thereafter had the Son, thereafter He became the Father, not having been the Father prior to this, and He was changed from that which was not the Father and became the Father. This is the worst form of blasphemy. For we may not speak of God as destitute of natural generative power: and generative power means, the power of producing from one's self, that is to say, from one's own proper essence, that which is like in nature to one's self.

In treating, then, of the generation of the Son, it is an act of impiety to say that time comes into play and that the existence of the Son is of later origin than the Father. For we hold that it is from Him, that is, from the Father's nature, that the Son is generated. And unless we grant that the Son coexisted from the beginning with the Father, by Whom He was begotten, we introduce change into the Father's subsistence, because, not being the Father, He subsequently became the Father. For the creation, even though

it originated later, is nevertheless not derived from the essence of God, but is brought into existence out of nothing by His will and power, and change does not touch God's nature. For generation means that the begetter produces out of his essence offspring similar in essence. But creation and making mean that the creator and maker produces from that which is external, and not out of his own essence, a creation of an absolutely dissimilar nature.

Wherefore in God, Who alone is passionless and unalterable, and immutable, and ever so continueth, both begetting and creating are passionless. For being by nature passionless and not liable to flux, since He is simple and uncompound, He is not subject to passion or flux either in begetting or in creating, nor has He need of any cooperation. But generation in Him is without beginning and everlasting, being the work of nature and producing out of His own essence, that the Begetter may not undergo change, and that He may not be God first and God last, nor receive any accession: while creation in the case of God, being the work of will, is not coeternal with God. For it is not natural that that which is brought into existence out of nothing should be coeternal with what is without beginning and everlasting. There is this difference in fact between man's making and God's. Man can bring nothing into existence out of nothing, but all that he makes requires pre-existing matter for its basis, and he does not create it by will only, but thinks out first what it is to be and pictures it in his mind, and only then fashions it with his hands, undergoing labor and troubles, and often missing the mark and failing to produce to his satisfaction that after which he strives. But God, through the exercise of will alone, has brought all things into existence out of nothing. Now there is the same difference between God and man in begetting and generating. For in God, Who is without time and beginning, passionless, not liable to flux, incorporeal, alone and without end, generation is without time and beginning, passionless and not liable to flux, nor dependent on the union of two: nor has His own incomprehensible generation beginning or end. And it is without beginning because He is immutable: without flux because He is passionless and incorporeal: independent of the union of two again because He is incorporeal but also because He is the one and only God, and stands in need of no cooperation: and without end or cessation because He is without beginning, or time, or

end, and ever continues the same. For that which has no beginning has no end: but that which through grace is endless is assuredly not without beginning, as, witness, the angels.

Accordingly the everlasting God generates His own Word which is perfect, without beginning and without end, that God, Whose nature and existence are above time, may not engender in time. But with man clearly it is otherwise, for generation is with him a matter of sex, and destruction and flux and increase and body clothe him round about, and he possesses a nature which is male or female. For the male requires the assistance of the female. But may He Who surpasses all, and transcends all thought and comprehension, be gracious to us.

The holy catholic and apostolic Church, then, teaches the existence at once of a Father: and of His Only-begotten Son, born of Him without time and flux and passion, in a manner incomprehensible and perceived by the God of the universe alone: just as we recognize the existence at once of fire and the light which proceeds from it: for there is not first fire and thereafter light, but they exist together. And just as light is ever the product of fire, and ever is in it and at no time is separate from it, so in like manner also the Son is begotten of the Father and is never in any ways separate from Him, but ever is in Him. But whereas the light which is produced from fire without separation, and abideth ever in it, has no proper subsistence of its own distinct from that of fire (for it is a natural quality of fire), the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father without separation and difference and ever abiding in Him, has a proper subsistence of its own distinct froth that of the Father.

The terms, ‘Word’ and ‘effulgence,’ then, are used because He is begotten of the Father without the union of two, or passion, or time, or flux, or separation: and the terms ‘Son’ and ‘impress of the Father’s subsistence,’ because He is perfect and has subsistence and is in all respects similar to the Father, save that the Father is not begotten: and the term ‘Only-begotten’ because He alone was begotten alone of the Father alone. For no other generation is like to the generation of the Son of God, since no other is Son of God. For though the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father, yet this is not generative in character but processional. This is a different mode of existence, alike incomprehensible and unknown, just as is

the generation of the Son. Wherefore all the qualities the Father has are the Son's, save that the Father is unbegotten, and this exception involves no difference in essence nor dignity, but only a different mode of coming into existence. We have an analogy in Adam, who was not begotten (for God Himself molded him), and Seth, who was begotten (for he is Adam's son), and Eve, who proceeded out of Adam's rib (for she was not begotten). These do not differ from each other in nature, for they are human beings: but they differ in the mode of coming into existence.

For one must recognize that the word ἀγένητον with only one 'ν' signifies "uncreate" or "not having been made," while ἀγέννητον written with double 'ν' means "unbegotten." According to the first significance essence differs from essence: for one essence is uncreate, or ἀγένητον with one 'ν,' and another is create or γενητή. But in the second significance there is no difference between essence and essence. For the first subsistence of all kinds of living creatures is ἀγέννητος but not ἀγένητος. For they were created by the Creator, being brought into being by His Word, but they were not begotten, for there was no pre-existing form like themselves from which they might have been born.

So then in the first sense of the word the three absolutely divine subsistences of the Holy Godhead agree: for they exist as one in essence and uncreate. But with the second signification it is quite otherwise. For the Father alone is ingenerate, no other subsistence having given Him being. And the Son alone is generate, for He was begotten of the Father's essence without beginning and without time. And only the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father's essence, not having been generated but simply proceeding. For this is the doctrine of Holy Scripture. But the nature of the generation and the procession is quite beyond comprehension.

And this also it behooves us to know, that the names Fatherhood, Sonship and Procession, were not applied to the Holy Godhead by us: on the contrary, they were communicated to us by the Godhead, as the divine apostle says, Wherefore I bow the knee to the Father, from Whom is every family in heaven and on earth. But if we say that the Father is the origin of the Son and greater than the Son, we do not suggest any precedence in time or superiority in nature of the Father over the Son (for through His agency He made the ages), or superiority in any other respect save causation. And

we mean by this, that the Son is begotten of the Father and not the Father of the Son, and that the Father naturally is the cause of the Son: just as we say in the same way not that fire proceedeth from light, but rather light from fire. So then, whenever we hear it said that the Father is the origin of the Son and greater than the Son, let us understand it to mean in respect of causation. And just as we do not say that fire is of one essence and light of another, so we cannot say that the Father is of one essence and the Son of another: but both are of one and the same essence. And just as we say that fire has brightness through the light proceeding from it, and do not consider the light of the fire as an instrument ministering to the fire, but rather as its natural force: so we say that the Father creates all that He creates through His Only-begotten Son, not as though the Son were a mere instrument serving the Father's ends, but as His natural and subsistential force. And just as we say both that the fire shines and again that the light of the fire shines, So all things whatsoever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. But whereas light possesses no proper subsistence of its own, distinct from that of the fire, the Son is a perfect subsistence, inseparable from the Father's subsistence, as we have shewn above. For it is quite impossible to find in creation an image that will illustrate in itself exactly in all details the nature of the Holy Trinity. For how could that which is create and compound, subject to flux and change, circumscribed, formed and corruptible, clearly shew forth the super-essential divine essence, unaffected as it is in any of these ways? Now it is evident that all creation is liable to most of these affections, and all from its very nature is subject to corruption.

Likewise we believe also in one Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life: Who proceedeth from the Father and resteth in the Son: the object of equal adoration and glorification with the Father and Son, since He is coessential and coeternal: the Spirit of God, direct, authoritative, the fountain of wisdom, and life, and holiness: God existing and addressed along with Father and Son: uncreate, full, creative, all-ruling, all-effecting, all-powerful, of infinite power, Lord of all creation and not under any Lord: deifying, not deified: filling, not filled: shared in, not sharing in: sanctifying, not sanctified: the intercessor, receiving the supplications of all: in all things like to the Father and Son: proceeding from the Father and communicated through the Son, and participated in by all creation, through

Himself creating, and investing with essence and sanctifying, and maintaining the universe: having subsistence, existing in its own proper and peculiar subsistence, inseparable and indivisible from Father and Son, and possessing all the qualities that the Father and Son possess, save that of not being begotten or born. For the Father is without canst and unborn: for He is derived from nothing, but derives from Himself His being, nor does He derive a single quality from another. Rather He is Himself the beginning and cause of the existence of all things in a definite and natural manner. But the Son is derived from the Father after the manner of generation, and the Holy Spirit likewise is derived from the Father, yet not after the manner of generation, but after that of procession. And we have learned that there is a difference between generation and procession, but the nature of that difference we in no wise understand. Further, the generation of the Son from the Father and the procession of the Holy Spirit are simultaneous.

All then that the Son and the Spirit have is from the Father, even their very being: and unless the Father is, neither the Son nor the Spirit is. And unless the Father possesses a certain attribute, neither the Son nor the Spirit possesses it: and through the Father, that is, because of the Father's existence, the Son and the Spirit exist, and through the Father, that is, because of the Father having the qualities, the Son and the Spirit have all their qualities, those of being unbegotten, and of birth and of procession being excepted. For in these hypostatic or personal properties alone do the three holy subsistences differ from each other, being indivisibly divided not by essence but by the distinguishing mark of their proper and peculiar subsistence.

Further we say that each of the three has a perfect subsistence, that we may understand not one compound perfect nature made up of three imperfect elements, but one simple essence, surpassing and preceding perfection, existing in three perfect subsistences. For all that is composed of imperfect elements must necessarily be compound. But from perfect subsistences no compound can arise. Wherefore we do not speak of the form as from subsistences, but as in subsistences. But we speak of those things as imperfect which do not preserve the form of that which is completed out of them. For stone and wood and iron are each perfect in its own nature, but with reference to the building that is completed out of them each is imperfect: for none of them is in itself a house.

The subsistences then we say are perfect, that we may not conceive of the divine nature as compound. For compoundness is the beginning of separation. And again we speak of the three subsistences as being in each other, that we may not introduce a crowd and multitude of Gods. Owing to the three subsistences, there is no compoundness or confusion: while, owing to their having the same essence and dwelling in one another, and being the same in will, and energy, and power, and authority, and movement, so to speak, we recognize the indivisibility and the unity of God. For verily there is one God, and His word and Spirit.

Marg. MS. Concerning the distinction of the three subsistences: and concerning the thing itself and our reason and thought in relation to it.

One ought, moreover, to recognize that it is one thing to look at a matter as it is, and another thing to look at it in the light of reason and thought. In the case of all created things, the distinction of the subsistences is observed in actual fact. For in actual fact Peter is seen to be separate from Paul. But the community and connection and unity are apprehended by reason and thought. For it is by the mind that we perceive that Peter and Paul are of the same nature and have one common nature. For both are living creatures, rational and mortal: and both are flesh, endowed with the spirit of reason and understanding. It is, then, by reason that this community of nature is observed. For here indeed the subsistences do not exist one within the other. But each privately and individually, that is to say, in itself, stands quite separate, having very many points that divide it from the other. For they are both separated in space and differ in time, and are divided in thought, and power, and shape, or form, and habit, and temperament and dignity, and pursuits, and all differentiating properties, but above all, in the fact that they do not dwell in one another but are separated. Hence it comes that we can speak of two, three, or many men.

And this may be perceived throughout the whole of creation, but in the case of the holy and superessential and incomprehensible Trinity, far removed from everything, it is quite the reverse. For there the community and unity are observed in fact, through the coeternity of the subsistences, and through their having the same essence and energy and will and concord of mind, and then being identical in authority and power and goodness — I

do not say similar but identical — and then movement by one impulse. For there is one essence, one goodness, one power, one will, one energy, one authority, one and the same, I repeat, not three resembling each other. But the three subsistences have one and the same movement. For each one of them is related as closely to the other as to itself: that is to say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one in all respects, save those of not being begotten, of birth and of procession. But it is by thought that the difference is perceived. For we recognize one God: but only in the attributes of Fatherhood, Sonship, and Procession, both in respect of cause and effect and perfection of subsistence, that is, manner of existence, do we perceive difference. For with reference to the uncircumscribed Deity we cannot speak of separation in space, as we can in our own case. For the subsistences dwell in one another, in no wise confused but cleaving together, according to the word of the Lord, I am in the father, and the father in Me: nor can one admit difference in will or judgment or energy or power or anything else whatsoever which may produce actual and absolute separation in our case. Wherefore we do not speak of three Gods, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but rather of one God, the holy Trinity, the Son and Spirit being referred to one cause, and not compounded or coalesced according to the synaeresis of Sabellius. For, as we said, they are made one not so as to commingle, but so as to cleave to each other, and they have their being in each other without any coalescence or commingling. Nor do the Son and the Spirit stand apart, nor are they sundered in essence according to the dieresis of Arias. For the Deity is undivided amongst things divided, to put it concisely: and it is just like three suns cleaving to each other without separation and giving out light mingled and conjoined into one. When, then, we turn our eyes to the Divinity, and the first cause and the sovereignty and the oneness and sameness, so to speak, of the movement and will of the Divinity, and the identity in essence and power and energy and lordship, what is seen by us is unity. But when we look to those things in which the Divinity is, or, to put it more accurately, which are the Divinity, and those things which are in it through the first cause without time or distinction in glory or separation, that is to say, the subsistences of the Son and the Spirit, it seems to us a Trinity that we adore. The Father is one Father, and without beginning, that is, without cause: for He is not derived from anything. The Son is one Son, but not without beginning, that is, not without cause: for

He is derived from the Father. But if you eliminate the idea of a beginning from time, He is also without beginning: for the creator of times cannot be subject to time. The Holy Spirit is one Spirit, going forth from the Father, not in the manner of Sonship but of procession; so that neither has the Father lost His property of being unbegotten because He hath begotten, nor has the Son lost His property of being begotten because He was begotten of that which was unbegotten (for how could that be so?), nor does the Spirit change either into the Father or into the Son because He hath proceeded and is God. For a property is quite constant. For how could a property persist if it were variable, moveable, and could change into something else? For if the Father is the Son, He is not strictly the Father: for there is strictly one Father. And if the Son is the Father, He is not strictly the Son: for there is strictly one Son and one Holy Spirit.

Further, it should be understood that we do not speak of the Father as derived from any one, but we speak of Him as the Father of the Son. And we do not speak of the Son as Cause or Father, but we speak of Him both as from the Father, and as the Son of the Father. And we speak likewise of the Holy Spirit as from the Father, and call Him the Spirit of the Father. And we do not speak of the Spirit as from the Son: but yet we call Him the Spirit of the Son. For if any one hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His, saith the divine apostle. And we confess that He is manifested and imparted to us through the Son. For He breathed upon His Disciples, says he, and said, Receive ye the Holy Spirit. It is just the same as in the case of the sun from which come both the ray and the radiance (for the sun itself is the source of both the ray and the radiance), and it is through the ray that the radiance is imparted to us, and it is the radiance itself by which we are lightened and in which we participate. Further we do not speak of the Son of the Spirit, or of the Son as derived from the Spirit.

CHAPTER 9

CONCERNING WHAT IS AFFIRMED ABOUT GOD

The Deity is simple and uncompound. But that which is composed of many and different elements is compound. If, then, we should speak of the

qualities of being uncreate and without beginning and incorporeal and immortal and everlasting and good and creative and so forth as essential differences in the case of God, that which is composed of so many qualities will not be simple but must be compound. But this is impious in the extreme. Each then of the affirmations about God should be thought of as signifying not what He is in essence, but either something that it is impossible to make plain, or some relation to some of those things which are contrasts or some of those things that follow the nature, or an energy.

It appears then that the most proper of all the names given to God is “He that is,” as He Himself said in answer to Moses on the mountain, Say to the sons of Israel, He that is hath sent Me. For He keeps all being in His own embrace, like a sea of essence infinite and unseen. Or as the holy Dionysius says, “He that is good.” For one cannot say of God that He has being in the first place and goodness in the second.

The second name of God is ὁ θεός, derived from θέειν , to run, because He courses through all things, or from αἴθειν, to burn: For God is a fire consuming all evils: or from θεᾶσθαι, because He is all-seeing: for nothing can escape Him, and over all He keepeth watch. For He saw all things before they were, holding them timelessly in His thoughts; and each one conformably to His voluntary and timeless thought, which constitutes predetermination and image and pattern, comes into existence at the predetermined time.

The first name then conveys the notion of His existence and of the nature of His existence: while the second contains the idea of energy. Further, the terms ‘without beginning,’ ‘incorruptible,’ ‘unbegotten,’ as also ‘uncreate,’ ‘incorporeal,’ ‘unseen,’ and so forth, explain what He is not: that is to say, they tell us that His being had no beginning, that He is not corruptible, nor created, nor corporeal, nor visible. Again, goodness and justice and piety and such like names belong to the nature, but do not explain His actual essence. Finally, Lord and King and names of that class indicate a relationship with their contrasts: for the name Lord has reference to those over whom the Lord rules, and the name King to those under kingly authority, and the name Creator to the creatures, and the name Shepherd to the sheep he tends.

CHAPTER 10

CONCERNING DIVINE UNION AND SEPARATION

Therefore all these names must be understood as common to deity as a whole, and as containing the notions of sameness and simplicity and indivisibility and union: while the names Father, Son and Spirit, and cause, less and caused, and unbegotten and begotten, and procession contain the idea of separation: for these terms do not explain His essence, but the mutual relationship and manner of existence.

When, then, we have perceived these things and are conducted from these to the divine essence, we do not apprehend the essence itself but only the attributes of the essence: just as we have not apprehended the essence of the soul even when we have learnt that it is incorporeal and without magnitude and form: nor again, the essence of the body when we know that it is white or black, but only the attributes of the essence. Further, the true doctrine teacheth that the Deity is simple and has one simple energy, good and energizing in all things, just as the sun's ray, which warms all things and energizes in each in harmony with its natural aptitude and receptive power, having obtained this form of energy from God, its Maker.

But quite distinct is all that pertains to the divine and benignant incarnation of the divine Word. For in that neither the Father nor the Spirit have any part at all, unless so far as regards approval and the working of inexplicable miracles which the God-Word, having become man like us, worked, as unchangeable God and son of God.

CHAPTER 11

CONCERNING WHAT IS AFFIRMED ABOUT GOD AS THOUGH HE HAD BODY

Since we find many terms used symbolically in the Scriptures concerning God which are more applicable to that which has body, we should recognize that it is quite impossible for us men clothed about with this dense covering of flesh to understand or speak of the divine and lofty and immaterial energies of the Godhead, except by the use of images and types

and symbols derived from our own life. So then all the statements concerning God, that imply body, are symbols, but have a higher meaning: for the Deity is simple and formless. Hence by God's eyes and eyelids and sight we are to understand His power of overseeing all things and His knowledge, that nothing can escape: for in the case of us this sense makes our knowledge more complete and more full of certainty. By God's ears and hearing is meant His readiness to be propitiated and to receive our petitions: for it is this sense that renders us also kind to suppliants, inclining our ear to them more graciously. God's mouth and speech are His means of indicating His will; for it is by the mouth and speech that we make clear the thoughts that are in the heart: God's food and drink are our concurrence to His will, for we, too, satisfy the necessities of our natural appetite through the sense of taste. And God's sense of smell is His appreciation of our thoughts of and good will towards Him, for it is through this sense that we appreciate sweet fragrance. And God's countenance is the demonstration and manifestation of Himself through His works, for our manifestation is through the countenance. And God's hands mean the effectual nature of His energy, for it is with our own hands that we accomplish our most useful and valuable work. And His right hand is His aid in prosperity, for it is the right hand that we also use when making anything of beautiful shape or of great value, or where much strength is required. His handling is His power of accurate discrimination and exaction, even in the minutest and most secret details, for those whom we have handled cannot conceal from us aught within themselves. His feet and walk are His advent and presence, either for the purpose of bringing succor to the needy, or vengeance against enemies, or to perform any other action, for it is by using our feet that we come to arrive at any place. His oath is the unchangeableness of His counsel, for it is by oath that we confirm our compacts with one another. His anger and fury are His hatred of and aversion to all wickedness, for we, too, hate that which is contrary to our mind and become enraged thereat. His forgetfulness and sleep and slumbering are His delay in taking vengeance on His enemies and the postponement of the accustomed help to His own. And to put it shortly, all the statements made about God that imply body have some hidden meaning and teach us what is above us by means of something familiar to ourselves, with the exception of any statement concerning the bodily sojourn of the God-Word. For He for our safety took upon Himself the

whole nature of man, the thinking spirit, the body, and all the properties of human nature, even the natural and blameless passions.

CHAPTER 12

CONCERNING THE SAME

The following, then, are the mysteries which we have learned from the holy oracles, as the divine Dionysius the Areopagite said: that God is the cause and beginning of all: the essence of all that have essence: the life of the living: the reason of all rational beings: the intellect of all intelligent beings: the recalling and restoring of those who fall away from Him: the renovation and transformation of those that corrupt that which is natural: the holy foundation of those who are tossed in unholiness: the steadfastness of those who have stood firm: the way of those whose course is directed to Him and the hand stretched forth to guide them upwards. And I shall add He is also the Father of all His creatures (for God, Who brought us into being out of nothing, is in a stricter sense our Father than are our parents who have derived both being and begetting from Him): the shepherd of those who follow and are tended by Him: the radiance of those who are enlightened: the initiation of the initiated: the deification of the deified: the peace of those at discord: the simplicity of those who love simplicity: the unity of those who worship unity: of all beginning the beginning, super-essential because above all beginnings: and the good revelation of what is hidden, that is, of the knowledge of Him so far as that is lawful for and attainable by each.

FURTHER AND MORE ACCURATELY CONCERNING DIVINE NAMES

The Deity being incomprehensible is also assuredly nameless. Therefore since we know not His essence, let us not seek for a name for His essence. For names are explanations of actual things. But God, Who is good and brought us out of nothing into being that we might share in His goodness, and Who gave us the faculty of knowledge, not only did not impart to us His essence, but did not even grant us the knowledge of His essence. For it is impossible for nature to understand fully the supernatural. Moreover, if

knowledge is of things that are, how can there be knowledge of the super-essential? Through His unspeakable goodness, then, it pleased Him to be called by names that we could understand, that we might not be altogether cut off from the knowledge of Him but should have some notion of Him, however vague. Inasmuch, then, as He is incomprehensible, He is also unnamable. But inasmuch as He is the cause of all and contains in Himself the reasons and causes of all that is, He receives names drawn from all that is, even from opposites: for example, He is called light and darkness, water and fire: in order that we may know that these are not of His essence but that He is super-essential and unnamable: but inasmuch as He is the cause of all, He receives names from all His effects.

Wherefore, of the divine names, some have a negative signification, and indicate that He is super-essential: such are “non-essential,” “timeless,” “without beginning,” “invisible”: not that God is inferior to anything or lacking in anything (for all things are His and have become from Him and through Him and endure in Him), but that He is pre-eminently separated from all that is. For He is not one of the things that are, but over all things. Some again have an affirmative signification, as indicating that He is the cause of all things. For as the cause of all that is and of all essence, He is called both Ens and Essence. And as the cause of all reason and wisdom, of the rational and the wise, He is called both reason and rational, and wisdom and wise. Similarly He is spoken of as Intellect and Intellectual, Life and Living, Power and Powerful, and so on with all the rest. Or rather those names are most appropriate to Him which are derived from what is most precious and most akin to Himself. That which is immaterial is more precious and more akin to Himself than that which is material, and the pure than the impure, and the holy than the unholy: for they have greater part in Him. So then, sun and light will be more apt names for Him than darkness, and day than night, and life than death, and fire and spirit and water, as having life, than earth, and above all, goodness than wickedness: which is just to say, being more than not being. For goodness is existence and the cause of existence, but wickedness is the negation of goodness, that is, of existence. These, then, are the affirmations and the negations, but the sweetest names are a combination of both: for example, the super-essential essence, the Godhead that is more than God, the beginning that is above beginning and such like. Further there are some affirmations about God

which have in a pre-eminent degree the force of denial: for example, darkness: for this does not imply that God is darkness but that He is not light, but above light.

God then is called Mind and Reason and Spirit and Wisdom and Power, as the cause of these, and as immaterial, and maker of all, and omnipotent. And these names are common to the whole Godhead, whether affirmative or negative. And they are also used of each of the subsistences of the Holy Trinity in the very same and identical way and with their full significance. For when I think of one of the subsistences, I recognize it to be perfect God and perfect essence: but when I combine and reckon the three together, I know one perfect God. For the Godhead is not compound but in three perfect subsistences, one perfect indivisible and uncompound God. And when I think of the relation of the three subsistences to each other, I perceive that the Father is super-essential Sun, source of goodness, fathomless sea of essence, reason, wisdom, power, light, divinity: the generating and productive source of good hidden in it. He Himself then is mind, the depth of reason, begetter of the Word, and through the Word the Producer of the revealing Spirit. And to put it shortly, the Father has no reason, wisdom, power, will, save the Son Who is the only power of the Father the immediate cause of the creation of the universe: as perfect subsistence begotten of perfect subsistence in a manner known to Himself, Who is and is named the Son. And the Holy Spirit is the power of the Father revealing the hidden mysteries of His Divinity, proceeding from the Father through the Son in a manner known to Himself, but different from that of generation. Wherefore the Holy Spirit is the perfecter of the creation of the universe. All the terms, then, that are appropriate to the Father, as cause, source, begetter, are to be ascribed to the Father alone: while those that are appropriate to the caused, begotten Son, Word, immediate power, will, wisdom, are to be ascribed to the Son: and those that are appropriate to the caused, processional, manifesting, perfecting power, are to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit. The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Holy Spirit: Father of the Son alone and producer of the Holy Spirit. The Son is Son, Word, Wisdom, Power, Image, Effulgence, Impress of the Father and derived from the Father. But the Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father but the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father. For there is no impulse without Spirit. And

we speak also of the Spirit of the Son, not as through proceeding from Him, but as proceeding through Him from the Father. For the Father alone is cause.

CHAPTER 13

CONCERNING THE PLACE OF GOD: AND THAT THE DEITY ALONE IS UNCIRCUMSCRIBED

Bodily place is the limit of that which contains, by which that which is contained is contained: for example, the air contains but the body is contained. But it is not the whole of the containing air which is the place of the contained body, but the limit of the containing air, where it comes into contact with the contained body: and the reason is clearly because that which contains is not within that which it contains.

But there is also mental place where mind is active, and mental and incorporeal nature exists: where mind dwells and energizes and is contained not in a bodily but in a mental fashion. For it is without form, and so cannot be contained as a body is. God, then, being immaterial and uncircumscribed, has not place. For He is His own place, filling all things and being above all things, and Himself maintaining all things. Yet we speak of God having place and the place of God where His energy becomes manifest. For He penetrates everything without mixing with it, and imparts to all His energy in proportion to the fitness and receptive power of each: and by this I mean, a purity both natural and voluntary. For the immaterial is purer than the material, and that which is virtuous than that which is linked with vice. Wherefore by the place of God is meant that which has a greater share in His energy and grace. For this reason the Heaven is His throne. For in it are the angels who do His will and are always glorifying Him. For this is His rest and the earth is His footstool. For in it He dwelt in the flesh among men. And His sacred flesh has been named the foot of God. The Church, too, is spoken of as the place of God: for we have set this apart for the glorifying of God as a sort of consecrated place wherein we also hold converse with Him. Likewise also the places in which His energy becomes manifest to us, whether through the flesh or apart from flesh, are spoken of as the places of God.

But it must be understood that the Deity is indivisible, being everywhere wholly in His entirety and not divided up part by part like that which has body, but wholly in everything and wholly above everything.

Marg. MS. Concerning the place of angel and spirit, and concerning the uncircumscribed.

The angel, although not contained in place with figured form as is body, yet is spoken of as being in place because he has a mental presence and energizes in accordance with his nature, and is not elsewhere but has his mental limitations there where he energizes. For it is impossible to energize at the same time in different places. For to God alone belongs the power of energizing everywhere at the same time. The angel energizes in different places by the quickness of his nature and the promptness and speed by which he can change his place: but the Deity, Who is everywhere and above all, energizes at the same time in diverse ways with one simple energy.

Further the soul is bound up with the body. whole with whole and not part with part: and it is not contained by the body but contains it as fire does iron, and being in it energizes with its own proper energies.

That which is comprehended in place or time or apprehension is circumscribed: while that which is contained by none of these is uncircumscribed. Wherefore the Deity alone is uncircumscribed, being without beginning and without end, and containing all things, and in no wise apprehended. For He alone is incomprehensible and unbounded, within no one’s knowledge and contemplated by Himself alone. But the angel is circumscribed alike in time (for His being had commencement) and in place (but mental space, as we said above) and in apprehension. For they know somehow the nature of each other and have their bounds perfectly defined by the Creator. Bodies in short are circumscribed both in beginning and end, and bodily place and apprehension.

Marg. MS. From various sources concerning God and the father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And concerning the Word and the Spirit.

The Deity, then, is quite unchangeable and invariable. For all things which are not in our hands He hath predetermined by His foreknowledge, each in

its own proper and peculiar time and place. And accordingly the Father judgeth no one, but hath given all judgment to the Son. For clearly the Father and the Son and also the Holy Spirit judged as God. But the Son Himself will descend in the body as man, and will sit on the throne of Glory (for descending and sitting require circumscribed body), and will judge all the world in justice.

All things are far apart from God, not in place but in nature. In our case, thoughtfulness, and wisdom, and counsel come to pass and go away as states of being. Not so in the case of God: for with Him there is no happening or ceasing to be: for He is invariable and unchangeable: and it would not be right to speak of contingency in connection with Him. For goodness is concomitant with essence. He who longs always after God, he seeth Him: for God is in all things. Existing things are dependent on that which is, and nothing can be unless it is in that which is. God then is mingled with everything, maintaining their nature: and in His holy flesh the God-Word is made one in subsistence and is mixed with our nature, yet without confusion.

No one seeth the Father, save the Son and the Spirit.

The Son is the counsel and wisdom and power of the Father. For one may not speak of quality in connection with God, from fear of implying that He was a compound of essence and quality.

The Son is from the Father, and derives from Him all His properties: hence He cannot do ought of Himself. For He has not energy peculiar to Himself and distinct from the Father.

That God Who is invisible by nature is made visible by His energies, we perceive from the organization and government of the world.

The Son is the Father’s image, and the Spirit the Son’s, through which Christ dwelling in man makes him after his own image.

The Holy Spirit is God, being between the unbegotten and the begotten, and united to the Father through the Son. We speak of the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the mind of Christ, the Spirit of the Lord, the very Lord, the Spirit of adoption, of truth, of liberty, of wisdom (for He is the creator of all these): filling all things with essence, maintaining all things,

filling the universe with essence, while yet the universe is not the measure of His power.

God is everlasting and unchangeable essence, creator of all that is, adored with pious consideration.

God is also Father, being ever unbegotten, for He was born of no one, but hath begotten His coeternal Son: God is likewise Son, being always with the Father, born of the Father timelessly, everlastingly, without flux or passion, or separation from Him. God is also Holy Spirit, being sanctifying power, subsistential, proceeding from the Father without separation, and resting in the Son, identical in essence with Father and Son.

Word is that which is ever essentially present with the Father. Again, word is also the natural movement of the mind, according to which it is moved and thinks and considers, being as it were its own light and radiance. Again, word is the thought that is spoken only within the heart. And again, word is the utterance that is the messenger of thought. God therefore is Word essential and enhypostatic: and the other three kinds of word are faculties of the soul, and are not contemplated as having a proper subsistence of their own. The first of these is the natural offspring of the mind, ever welling up naturally out of it: the second is the thought: and the third is the utterance.

The Spirit has various meanings. There is the Holy Spirit: but the powers of the Holy Spirit are also spoken of as spirits: the good messenger is also spirit: the demon also is spirit: the soul too is spirit: and sometimes mind also is spoken of as spirit. Finally the wind is spirit and the air is spirit.

CHAPTER 14

THE PROPERTIES OF THE DIVINE NATURE

Uncreate, without beginning, immortal, infinite, eternal, immaterial, good, creative, just, enlightening, immutable, passionless, uncircumscribed, immeasurable, unlimited, undefined, unseen, unthinkable, wanting in nothing, being His own rule and authority, all-ruling, life-giving, omnipotent, of infinite power, con-raining and maintaining the universe and making provision for all: all these and such like attributes the Deity

possesses by nature, not having received them from elsewhere, but Himself imparting all good to His own creations according to the capacity of each.

The subsistences dwell and are established firmly in one another. For they are inseparable and cannot part from one another, but keep to their separate courses within one another, without coalescing or mingling, but cleaving to each other. For the Son is in the Father and the Spirit: and the Spirit in the Father and the Son: and the Father in the Son and the Spirit, but there is no coalescence or commingling or confusion And there is one and the same motion: for there is one impulse and one motion of the three subsistences, which is not to be observed in any created nature.

Further the divine effulgence and energy, being one and simple and indivisible, assuming many varied forms in its goodness among what is divisible and allotting to each the component parts of its own nature, still remains simple and is multiplied without division among the divided, and gathers and converts the divided into its own simplicity. For all things long after it and have their existence in it. It gives also to all things being according to their several natures, and it is itself the being of existing things, the life of living things, the reason of rational beings, the thought of thinking beings. But it is itself above mind and reason and life and essence.

Further the divine nature has the property of penetrating all things without mixing with them and of being itself impenetrable by anything else. Moreover, there is the property of knowing all things with a simple knowledge and of seeing all things, simply with His divine, all-surveying, immaterial eye, both the things of the present, and the things of the past, and the things of the future, before they come into being. It is also sinless, and can cast sin out, and bring salvation: and all that it wills, it can accomplish, but does not will all it could accomplish. For it could destroy the universe but it does not will so to do.

BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1

CONCERNING AEON OR AGE

HE created the ages Who Himself was. before the ages, Whom the divine David thus addresses, From age to age Than art. The divine apostle also says, Through Whom He created the ages.

It must then be understood that the word age has various meanings, for it denotes many things. The life of each man is called an age. Again, a period of a thousand years is called an age. Again, the whole course of the present life is called an age: also the future life, the immortal life after the resurrection, is spoken of as an age. Again, the word age is used to denote, not time nor yet a part of time as measured by the movement and course of the sun, that is to say, composed of days and nights, but the sort of temporal motion and interval that is coextensive with eternity. For age is to things eternal just what time is to things temporal.

Seven ages of this world are spoken of, that is, from the creation of the heaven and earth till the general consummation and resurrection of men. For there is a partial consummation, viz., the death of each man: but there is also a general and complete consummation, when the general resurrection of men will come to pass. And the eighth age is the age to come.

Before the world was formed, when there was as yet no sun dividing day from night, there was not an age such as could be measured, but there was the sort of temporal motion and interval that is coextensive with eternity. And in this sense there is but one age, and God is spoken of as αἰώνιος and προαιώνιος, for the age or aeon itself is His creation. For God, Who alone is without beginning, is Himself the Creator of all things, whether age or any other existing thing. And when I say God, it is evident that I mean the Father and His Only. begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, and His all-holy Spirit, our one God.

But we speak also of ages of ages, inasmuch as the seven ages of the present world include many ages in the sense of lives of men, and the one age embraces all the ages, and the present and the future are spoken of as age of age. Further, everlasting (i.e. αἰώνιος) life and everlasting punishment prove that the age or neon to come is unending. For time will not be counted by days and nights even after the resurrection, but there will rather be one day with no evening, wherein the Sun of Justice will shine brightly on the just, but for the sinful there will be night profound and limitless. In what way then will the period of one thousand years be counted which, according to Origen, is required for the complete restoration? Of all the ages, therefore, the sole creator is God Who hath also created the universe and Who was before the ages.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE CREATION

Since, then, God, Who is good and more than good, did not find satisfaction in self-contemplation, but in fits exceeding goodness wished certain things to come into existence which would enjoy His benefits and share in His goodness, He brought all things out of nothing into being and created them, both what is invisible and what is visible. Yea, even man, who is a compound of the visible and the invisible. And it is by thought that He creates, and thought is the basis of the work, the Word filling it and the Spirit perfecting it.

CHAPTER 3

CONCERNING ANGELS

He is Himself the Maker and Creator of the angels: for He brought them out of nothing into being and created them after His own image, an incorporeal race, a sort of spirit or immaterial fire: in the words of the divine David, He maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire: and He has described their lightness and the ardor, and heat, and keenness and sharpness with which they hunger for God and serve Him,

and how they are borne to the regions above and are quite delivered from all material thought.

An angel, then, is an intelligent essence, in perpetual motion, with free-will, incorporeal, ministering to God, having obtained by grace an immortal nature: and the Creator alone knows the form and limitation of its essence. But all that we can understand is, that it is incorporeal and immaterial. For all that is compared with God Who alone is incomparable, we find to be dense and material. For in reality only the Deity is immaterial and incorporeal.

The angel's nature then is rational, and intelligent, and endowed with free-will, change. able in will, or fickle. For all that is created is changeable, and only that which is uncreated is unchangeable. Also all that is rational is endowed with free-will. As it is, then, rational and intelligent, it is endowed with free-will: and as it is created, it is changeable, having power either to abide or progress in goodness, or to turn towards evil.

It is not susceptible of repentance because it is incorporeal. For it is owing to the weakness of his body that man comes to have repentance.

It is immortal, not by natures but by grace. For all that has had beginning comes also to its natural end. But God alone is eternal, or rather, He is above the Eternal: for He, the Creator of times, is not under the dominion of time, but above time.

They are secondary intelligent lights derived from that first light which is without beginning, for they have the power of illumination; they have no need of tongue or hearing, but without uttering words they communicate to each other their own thoughts and counsels.

Through the Word, therefore, all the angels were created, and through the sanctification by the Holy Spirit were they brought to perfection, sharing each in proportion to his worth and rank in brightness and grace.

They are circumscribed: for when they are in the Heaven they are not on the earth: and when they are sent by God down to the earth they do not remain in the Heaven. They are not hemmed in by walls and doors, and bars and seals, for they are quite unlimited. Unlimited, I repeat, for it is not as they really are that they reveal themselves to the worthy men to whom

God wishes them to appear, but in a changed form which the beholders are capable of seeing. For that alone is naturally and strictly unlimited which is uncreated. For every created tiring is limited by God Who created it.

Further, apart from their essence they receive the sanctification from the Spirit: through the divine grace they prophesy: they have no need of marriage for they are immortal.

Seeing that they are minds they are in mental places, and are not circumscribed after the fashion of a body. For they have not a bodily form by nature, nor are they tended in three dimensions. But to whatever post they may be assigned, there they are present after the manner of a mind and energize, and cannot be present and energize in various places at the same time.

Whether they are equals in essence or differ from one another we know not. God, their Creator, Who knoweth all things, alone knoweth. But they differ from each other in brightness and position, whether it is that their position is dependent on their brightness, or their brightness on their position: and they impart brightness to one another, because they excel one another in rank and nature. And clearly the higher share their brightness and knowledge with the lower.

They are mighty and prompt to fulfill the will of the Deity, and their nature is endowed with such celerity that wherever the Divine glance bids them there they are straightway found. They are the guardians of the divisions of the earth: they are set over nations and regions, allotted to them by their Creator: they govern all our affairs and bring us succor. And the reason surely is because they are set over us by the divine will and command and are ever in the vicinity of God.

With difficulty they are moved to evil, yet they are not absolutely immovable: but now they are altogether immovable, not by nature but by grace and by their nearness to the Only Good.

They behold God according to their capacity, and this is their food.

They are above us for they are incorporeal, and are free of all bodily passion, yet are not passionless: for the Deity alone is passionless.

They take different forms at the bidding of their Master, God, and thus reveal themselves to men and unveil the divine mysteries to them.

They have Heaven for their dwelling-place, and have one duty, to sing God's praise and carry out His divine will.

Moreover, as that most holy, and sacred, and gifted theologian, Dionysius the Areopagite, says, All theology, that is to say, the holy Scripture, has nine different names for the heavenly essences. These essences that divine master in sacred things divides into three groups, each containing three. And the first group, he says, consists of those who are in God's presence and are said to be directly and immediately one with Him, viz., the Seraphim with their six wings, the many-eyed Cherubim and those that sit in the holiest thrones. The second group is that of the Dominions, and the Powers, and the Authorities; and the third, and last, is that of the Rulers and Archangels and Angels

Some, indeed, like Gregory the Theologian, say that these were before the creation of other things. He thinks that the angelic and heavenly powers were first and that thought was their function. Others, again, hold that they were created after the first heaven was made. But all are agreed that it was before the foundation of man. For myself, I am in harmony with the theologian. For it was fitting that the mental essence should be the first created, and then that which can be perceived, and finally man himself, in whose being both parts are united.

But those who say that the angels are creators of any kind of essence whatever are the mouth of their father, the devil. For since they are created things they are not creators. But He Who creates and provides for and maintains all things is God, Who alone is uncreate and is praised and glorified in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER 4

CONCERNING THE DEVIL AND DEMONS

He who from among these angelic powers was set over the earthly realm, and into whose hands God committed the guardianship of the earth, was not made wicked in nature but was good, and made for good ends, and

received from his Creator no trace whatever of evil in himself. But he did not sustain the brightness and the honor which the Creator had bestowed on him, and of his free choice was changed from what was in harmony to what was at variance with his nature, and became roused against God Who created him, and determined to rise in rebellion against Him: and he was the first to depart from good and become evil. For evil is nothing else than absence of goodness, just as darkness also is absence of light. For goodness is the light of the mind, and, similarly, evil is the darkness of the mind. Light, therefore, being the work of the Creator and being made good (for God saw all that He made, and behold they were exceeding good) produced darkness at His free-will. But along with him an innumerable host of angels subject to him were torn away and followed him and shared in his fall. Wherefore, being of the same nature as the angels, they became wicked, turning away at their own free choice from good to evil

Hence they have no power or strength against any one except what God in His dispensation hath conceded to them, as for instance, against Job and those swine that are mentioned in the Gospels. But when God has made the concession they do prevail, and are changed and transformed into any form whatever in which they wish to appear.

Of the future both the angels of God and the demons are alike ignorant: yet they make predictions. God reveals the future to the angels and commands them to prophesy, and so what they say comes to pass. But the demons also make predictions, sometimes because they see what is happening at a distance, and sometimes merely making guesses: hence much that they say is false and they should not be believed, even although they do often, in the way we have said, tell what is true. Besides they know the Scriptures.

All wickedness, then, and all impure passions are the work of their mind. But while the liberty to attack man has been granted to them, they have not the strength to over master any one: for we have it in our power to receive or not to receive the attack. Wherefore there has been prepared for the devil and his demons, and those who follow him, fire unquenchable and everlasting punishment.

Note, further, that what in the case of man is death is a fall in the case of angels. For after the fall there is no possibility of repentance for them, just as after death there is for men no repentance.

CHAPTER 5

CONCERNING THE VISIBLE CREATION

Our God Himself, Whom we glorify as Three in One, created the heaven and the earth and all that they contain, and brought all things out of nothing into being: some He made out of no pre-existing basis of matter, such as heaven, earth, air, fire, water: and the rest out of these elements that He had created, such as living creatures, plants, seeds. For these are made up of earth, and water, and air, and fire, at the bidding of the Creator.

CHAPTER 6

CONCERNING THE HEAVEN

The heaven is the circumference of things created, both visible and invisible. For within its boundary are included and marked off both the mental faculties of the angels and all the world of sense. But the Deity alone is uncircumscribed, filling all things, and surrounding all things, and hounding all things, for He is above all things, and has created all things.

Since, therefore, the Scripture speaks of heaven, and heaven of heaven, and heavens of heavens, and the blessed Paul says that he was snatched away to the third heaven, we say that in the cosmogony of the universe we accept the creation of a heaven which the foreign philosophers, appropriating the views of Moses, call a starless sphere. But further, God called the firmament also heaven, which He commanded to be in the midst of the waters, setting it to divide the waters that are above the firmament from the waters that are below the firmament. And its nature, according to the divine Basilius, who is versed in the mysteries of divine Scripture, is delicate as smoke. Others, however, hold that it is watery in nature, since it is set in the midst of the waters: others say it is composed of the four elements: and lastly, others speak of it as a filth body, distinct from the four elements.

Further, some have thought that the heaven encircles the universe and has the form of a sphere, and that everywhere it is the highest point, and that

the center of the space enclosed by it is the lowest part: and, further, that those bodies that are light and airy are allotted by the Creator the upper region: while those that are heavy and tend to descend occupy the lower region, which is the middle. The element, then, that is lightest and most inclined to soar upwards is fire, and hence they hold that its position is immediately after the heaven, and they call it ether, and after it comes the lower air. But earth and water, which are heavier and have more of a downward tendency, are suspended in the center. Therefore, taking them in the reverse order, we have in the lowest situation earth and water: but water is lighter than earth, and hence is more easily set in motion: above these on all hands, like a covering; is the circle of air, and all round the air is the circle of ether, and outside air is the circle of the heaven.

Further, they say that the heaven moves in a circle and so compresses all that is within it, that they remain firm and not liable to fall asunder.

They say also that there are seven zones of the heaven, one higher than the other. And its nature, they say, is of extreme fineness, like that of smoke, and each zone contains one of the planets. For there are said to be seven planets: Sol, Luna, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. But sometimes Venus is called Lucifer and sometimes Vesper. These are called planets because their movements are the reverse of those of the heaven. For while the heaven and all other stars move from east to west, these alone move from west to east. And this can easily be seen in the case of the moon, which moves each evening a little backwards.

All, therefore, who hold that the heaven is in the form of a sphere, say that it is equally removed and distant from the earth at all points, whether above, or sideways, or below. And by ‘below’ and ‘ sideways’ I mean all that comes within the range of our senses. For it follows from what has been said, that the heaven occupies the whole of the upper region and the earth the whole of the lower. They say, besides, that the heaven encircles the earth in the manner of a sphere, and bears along with it in its most rapid revolutions sun, moon and stars, and that when the sun is over the earth it becomes day there, and when it is under the earth it is night. And, again, when the sun goes under the earth it is night here, but day yonder.

Others have pictured the heaven as a hemisphere. This idea is suggested by these words of David, the singer of God, Who stretchest out the heavens

like a curtain, by which word he clearly means a tent: and by these from the blessed Isaiah, Who hath established the heavens like a vault: and also because when the sun, moon, and stars set they make a circuit round the earth from west to north, and so reach once more the east. Still, whether it is this way or that, all things have been made and established by the divine command, and have the divine will and counsel for a foundation that cannot be moved. For He Himself spoke and they were made: He Himself commanded and they were created. He hath also established them for ever and ever: He hath made a decree which will not pass.

The heaven of heaven, then, is the first heaven which is above the firmament. So here we have two heavens, for God called the firmament also Heaven. And it is customary in the divine Scripture to speak of the air also as heavens, because we see it above us. Bless Him, it says, all ye birds of the heaven, meaning of the air. For it is the air and not the heaven that is the region in which birds fly. So here we have three heavens, as the divine Apostle said. But if you should wish to look upon the seven zones as seven heavens there is no injury done to the word of truth. For it is usual in the Hebrew tongue to speak of heaven in the plural, that is, as heavens, and when a Hebrew wishes to say heaven of heaven, he usually says heavens of heavens, and this clearly means heaven of heaven, which is above the firmament, and the waters which are above the heavens, whether it is the air and the firmament, or the seven zones of the firmament, or the firmament itself which are spoken of in the plural as heavens according to the Hebrew custom.

All things, then, which are brought into existence are subject to corruption according to the law of their nature, and so even the heavens themselves are corruptible. But by the grace of God they are maintained and preserved. Only the Deity, however, is by nature without beginning and without end. Wherefore it has been said, They will perish, but Thou dost endure: nevertheless, the heavens will not be utterly destroyed. For they will wax old and be wound round as a covering, and will be changed, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth.

For the great part the heaven is greater than the earth, but we need not investigate the essence of the heaven, for it is quite beyond our knowledge.

It must not be supposed that the heavens or the luminaries are endowed with life. For they are inanimate and insensible. So that when the divine Scripture saith, Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad, it is the angels in heaven and the men on earth that are invited to rejoice. For the Scripture is familiar with the figure of personification, and is wont to speak of inanimate things as though they were animate: for example, The sea saw it and fled: Jordan was driven back. And again, What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou, O Jordan, that thou was driven back? Mountains, too, and hills are asked the reason of their leaping in the same way as we are wont to say, the city was gathered together, when we do not mean the buildings, but the inhabitants of the city: again, the heavens declare the glory of God, does not mean that they send forth a voice that can be heard by bodily ears, but that from their own greatness they bring before our minds the power of the Creator: and when we contemplate their beauty we praise the Maker as the Master-Craftsman.

CHAPTER 7

CONCERNING LIGHT, FIRE, THE LUMINARIES, SUN, MOON AND STARS

Fire is one of the four elements, light and with a greater tendency to ascend than the others. It has the power of burning and also of giving light, and it was made by the Creator on the first day. For the divine Scripture says, And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. Fire is not a different thing from what light is, as some maintain. Others again hold that this fire of the universe is above the air and call it ether. In the beginning, then, that is to say on the first day, God created light, the ornament and glory of the whole visible creation. For take away light and all things remain in undistinguishable darkness, incapable of displaying their native beauty. And God called the light day, but the darkness He called night. Further, darkness is not any essence, but an accident: for it is simply absence of light. The air, indeed, has not light in its essence. It was, then, this very absence of light from the air that God called darkness: and it is not the essence of air that is darkness, but the absence of light which clearly is rather an accident than an essence. And, indeed, it was not night, but day, that was first named, so that day is first and after that comes night. Night,

therefore, follows day. And from the beginning of day till the next day is one complete period of day and night. For the Scripture says, And the evening and the morning were one day.

When, therefore, in the first three days the light was poured forth and reduced at the divine command, both day and night came to pass. But on the fourth day God created the great luminary, that is, the sun, to have rule and authority over the day: for it is by it that day is made: for it is day when the sun is above the earth, and the duration of a day is the course of the sun over the earth from its rising till its setting. And He also created the lesser luminaries, that is, the moon and the stars, to have rule and authority over the night, and to give light by night. For it is night when the sun is under the earth, and the duration of night is the course of the sun under the earth from its rising till its setting. The moon, then, and the stars were set to lighten the night: not that they are in the daytime under the earth, for even by day stars are in the heaven over the earth but the sun conceals both the stars and the moon by the greater brilliance of its light and prevents them from being seen.

On these luminaries the Creator bestowed the first-created light: not because He was in need of other light, but that that light might not remain idle. For a luminary is not merely light, but a vessel for containing light.

There are, we are told, seven planets amongst these luminaries, and these move in a direction opposite to that of the heaven: hence the name planets. For, while they say that the heaven moves from east to west, the planets move from west to east; but the heaven bears the seven planets along with it by its swifter motion. Now these are the names of the seven planets: Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and in each zone of heaven is, we are told, one of these seven planets:

In the first and highest Saturn

In the second Jupiter

In the third Mars

In the fourth Sol

In the fifth Venus

In the sixth Mercury

In the seventh and lowest Luna

[Note: The classical symbols for each of these planets, which appear in the 1898 edition, are omitted.]

The course which the Creator appointed for them to run is unceasing and remaineth fixed as He established them. For the divine David says, The moan and the stars which Thou establishedst, and by the word ‘establishedst,’ he referred to the fixity and unchangeableness of the order and series granted to them by God. For He appointed them for seasons, and signs, and days and years. It is through the Sun that the four seasons are brought about. And the first of these is spring: for in it God created all things, and even down to the present time its presence is evidenced by the bursting of the flowers into bud, and this is the equinoctial period, since day and night each consist of twelve hours. It is caused by the sun rising in the middle, and is mild and increases the blood, and is warm and moist, and holds a position midway between winter and summer, being warmer and drier than winter, but colder and moister than summer. This season lasts from March 21st till June 24th. Next, when the rising of the sun moves towards more northerly parts, the season of summer succeeds, which has a place midway between spring and autumn, combining the warmth of spring with the dryness of autumn: for it is dry and warm, and increases the yellow bile. In it falls the longest day, which has fifteen hours, and the shortest night of all, having only nine hours. This season lasts from June 24th till September 25th. Then when the sun again returns to the middle, autumn takes the place of summer. It has a medium amount of cold and heat, dryness and moisture, and holds a place midway between summer and winter, combining the dryness of summer with the cold of winter. For it is cold and dry, and increases the black bile. This season, again, is equinoctial, both day and night consisting of twelve hours, and it lasts from September 25th till December 25th. And when the rising of the sun sinks to its smallest and lowest point, i.e. the south, winter is reached, with its cold and moisture. It occupies a place midway between autumn and spring, combining the cold of autumn and the moisture of spring. In it falls the shortest day, which has only nine hours, and the longest night, which has fifteen: and it lasts from December 25th till March 21st. For the

Creator made this wise provision that we should not pass from the extreme of cold, or heat, or dryness, or moisture, to the opposite extreme, and thus incur grievous maladies. For reason itself teaches us the danger of sudden changes.

So, then, it is the sun that makes the seasons, and through them the year: it likewise makes the days and nights, the days when it rises and is above the earth, and the nights when it sets below the earth: and it bestows on the other luminaries, both moon and stars, their power of giving forth light.

Further, they say that there are in the heaven twelve signs made by the stars, and that these move in an opposite direction to the sun and moon, and the other five planets, and that the seven planets pass across these twelve signs. Further, the sun makes a complete month in each sign and traverses the twelve signs in the same number of months. These, then, are the names of the twelve signs and their respective months: —

The Ram, which receives the sun on the 21st of March.

The Bull, on the 23rd of April.

The Twins, on the 24th of May.

The Crab, on the 24th of June.

The Virgin, on the 25th of July.

The Scales, on the 25th of September.

The Scorpion, on the 25th of October.

The Archer, on the 25th of November.

Capricorn, on the 25th of December.

Aquarius, on the 25th of January.

The Fish, on the 24th of February.

But the moon traverses the twelve signs each month, since it occupies a lower position and travels through the signs at a quicker rate. For if you draw one circle within another, the inner one will be found to be the lesser:

and so it is that owing to the moon occupying a lower position its course is shorter and is sooner completed

Now the Greeks declare that all our affairs are controlled by the rising and setting and collision of these stars, viz., the sun and moon: for it is with these matters that astrology has to do. But we hold that we get from them signs of rain and drought, cold and heat, moisture and dryness, and of the various winds, and so forth, but no sign whatever as to our actions. For we have been created with free wills by our Creator and are masters over our own actions. Indeed, if all our actions depend on the courses of the stars, all we do is done of necessity: and necessity precludes either virtue or vice. But if we possess neither virtue nor vice, we do not deserve praise or punishment, and God, too, will turn out to be unjust, since He gives good things to some and afflicts others. Nay, He will no longer continue to guide or provide for His own creatures, if all things are carried and swept along in the grip of necessity. And the faculty of reason will be superfluous to us: for if we are not masters of any of our actions, deliberation is quite superfluous. Reason, indeed, is granted to us solely that we might take counsel, and hence all reason implies freedom of will.

And, therefore, we hold that the stars are not the causes of the things that occur, nor of the origin of things that come to pass, nor of the destruction of those things that perish. They are rather signs of showers and changes of air. But, perhaps, some one may say that though they are not the causes of wars, yet they are signs of them. And, in truth, the quality of the air which is produced by sun, and moon, and stars, produces in various ways different temperaments, and habits, and dispositions. But the habits are amongst the things that we have in our own hands, for it is reason that rules, and directs, and changes them.

It often happens, also, that comets arise. These are signs of the death of kings, and they are not any of the stars that were made in the beginning, but are formed at the same tithe by divine command and again dissolved. And so not even that star which the Magi saw at the birth of the Friend and Savior of man, our Lord, Who became flesh for our sake, is of the number of those that were made in the beginning. And this is evidently the case because sometimes its course was from east to west, and sometimes from north to south; at one moment it was hidden, and at the next it was

revealed: which is quite out of harmony with the order and nature of the stars.

It must be understood, then, that the moon derives its light from the sun; not that God was unable to grant it light of its own, but in order that rhythm and order may be unimpressed upon nature, one part ruling, the other being ruled, and that we might thus be taught to live in community and to share our possessions with one another, and to be under subjection, first to our Maker and Creator, our God and Master, and then also to the rulers set in authority over us by Him: and not to question why this man is ruler and not I myself, but to welcome all that comes from God in a gracious and reasonable spirit.

The sun and the moon, moreover, suffer eclipse, and this demonstrates the folly of those who worship the creature in place of the Creator, and teaches us how changeable and alterable all things are For all things are changeable save God, and whatever is changeable is liable to corruption in accordance with the laws of its own nature.

Now the cause of the eclipse of the sun is that the body of the moon is interposed like a partition-wall and casts a shadow, and prevents the light from being shed down on us: and the extent of the eclipse is proportional to the size of the moon’s body that is found to conceal the sun. But do not marvel that the moon’s body is the smaller. For many declare that the sun is many times larger even than the earth, and the holy Fathers say that it is equal to the earth: yet often a small cloud, or even a small hill or a wall quite conceals it.

The eclipse of the moon, on the other hand, is due to the shadow the earth casts on it when it is a fifteen days’ moon and the sun and moon happen to be at the opposite poles of the highest circle, the sun being under the earth and the moon above the earth. For the earth casts a shadow and the sun’s light is prevented from illuminating the moon, and therefore it is then eclipsed.

It should be understood that the moon was made full by the Creator, that is, a fifteen days’ moon: for it was fitting that it should be made complete. But on the fourth day, as we said, the sun was created. Therefore the moon was eleven days in advance of the sun, because from the fourth to

the fifteenth day there are eleven days. Hence it happens that in each year the twelve months of the moon contain eleven days fewer than the twelve months of the sun. For the twelve months of the sun contain three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, and so because the quarter becomes a whole, in four years an extra day is completed, which is called bis-sextile. And that year has three hundred and sixty-six days. The years of the moon, on the other hand, have three hundred and fifty-four days. For the moon wanes from the time of its origin, or renewal, till it is fourteen and three-quarter days' old, and proceeds to wane till the twenty-ninth and a half day, when it is completely void of light And then when it is once more connected with the sun it is reproduced and renewed, a memorial of our resurrection. Thus in each year the moon gives away eleven days to the sun, and so in three years the intercalary month of the Hebrews arises, and that year comes to consist of thirteen months, owing to the addition of these eleven days.

It is evident that both sun and moon and stars are compound and liable to corruption according to the laws of their various natures. But of their nature we are ignorant. Some, indeed, say that fire when deprived of matter is invisible, and thus, that when it is quenched it vanishes altogether. Others, again, say that when it is quenched it is transformed into air.

The circle of the zodiac has an oblique motion and is divided into twelve sections called zodia, or signs: each sign has three divisions of ten each, i.e. thirty divisions, and each division has sixty very minute subdivisions. The heaven, therefore, has three hundred and sixty-five degrees: the hemisphere above the earth and that below the earth each having one hundred and eighty degrees.

THE ABODES OF THE PLANETS

The Ram and the Scorpion are the abode of Mars: the Bull and the Scales, of Venus: the Twins and the Virgin, of Mercury: the Crab, of the Moon: the Lion, of the Sun: the Archer and the Fish, of Jupiter: Capricorn and Aquarius, of Saturn.

THEIR ALTITUDES

The Ram has the altitude of the Sun: the Bull, of the Moon: the Crab, of Jupiter: the Virgin, of Mars: the Scales, of Saturn: Capricorn, of Mercury: the Fish, of Venus.

THE PHASES OF THE MOON

It is in conjunction whenever it is in the same degree as the sun: it is born when it is fifteen degrees distant from the sun: it rises when it is crescent-shaped, and this occurs twice, at which times it is sixty degrees distant from the sun: it is half-full twice, when it is ninety degrees from the sun: twice it is gibbous, when it is one hundred and twenty degrees from the sun: it is twice a full moon, giving full light, when it is a hundred and fifty degrees from the sun: it is a complete moon when it is a hundred and eighty degrees distant from the sun. We say twice, because these phases occur both when the moon waxes and when it wanes. In two and a half days the moon traverses each sign.

CHAPTER 8

CONCERNING AIR AND WINDS

Air is the most subtle element, and is moist and warm: heavier, indeed, than fire: but lighter than earth and water: it is the cause of respiration and voice: it is colorless, that is, it has no color by nature: it is clear and transparent, for it is capable of receiving light: it ministers to three of our senses, for it is by its aid that we see, hear and smell: it has the power likewise of receiving heat and cold, dryness and moisture, and its movements in space are up, down, within, without, to the right and to the left, and the cyclical movement.

It does not derive its light from itself, but is illuminated by sun, and moon, and stars, and fire. And this is just what the Scripture means when it says, And darkeness was upon the deep; for its object is to shew that the air has not derived its light from itself, but that it is quite a different essence from light.

And wind is a movement of air: or wind is a rush of air which changes its name as it changes the place whence it rushes.

Its place is in the air. For place is the circumference of a body. But what is it that surrounds bodies but air? There are, moreover, different places in which the movement of air originates, and from these the winds get their names. There are in all twelve winds. It is said that air is just fire after it has been extinguished, or the vapor of heated water. At all events, in its own special nature the air is warm, but it becomes cold owing to the proximity of water and earth, so that the lower parts of it are cold, and the higher warm.

These then are the winds: Caecias, or Meses, arises in the region where the sun rises in summer. Subsolanus, where the sun rises at the equinoxes. Eurus, where it rises in winter. Africus, where it sets in winter. Favonius, where it sets at the equinoxes, and Corns, or Olympias, or Iapyx, where it sets in summer. Then come Auster and Aquilo, whose blasts oppose one another. Between Aquilo and Caecias comes Boreas: and tween Eurus and Auster, Phoenix or Euronotus; between Auster and Africus, Libonotus or Leucouotus: and lastly, between Aquilo and Corus, Thrascias, or Cercius, as it is called by the inhabitants of that region.

[These, then, are the races which dwell at the ends of the world: beside Subsolanus are the Bactriani: beside Eurus, the Indians: beside Phoenix, the Red Sea and Ethiopia: beside Libonotus, the Garamantes, who are beyond Systis: beside Africus, the Ethiopians and the Western Mauri: beside Favonius, the columns of Hercules and the beginnings of Libya and Europe: beside Corus, Iberia, which is now called Spain: beside Thrascia, the Gauls and the neighboring nations: beside Aquilo, the Scythians who are beyond Thrace: beside Boreas, Pontus, Maeotis and the Sarmatae: beside Caecias, the Caspian Sea and the Sacai.]

CHAPTER 9

CONCERNING THE WATERS

Water also is one of the four elements, the most beautiful of God’s creations. It is both wet and cold, heavy, and with a tendency to descend,

and flows with great readiness. It is this the Holy Scripture has in view when it says, And darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. For the deep is nothing else than a huge quantity of water whose limit man cannot comprehend. In the beginning, indeed, the water lay all over the surface of the earth. And first God created the firmament to divide the water above the firmament from the water below the firmament. For in the midst of the sea of waters the firmament was established at the Master's decree. And out of it God bade the firmament arise, and it arose. Now for what reason was it that God placed water above the firmament? It was because of the intense burning heat of the sun and ether. For immediately under the firmament is spread out the ether, and the sun and moon and stars are in the firmament, and so if water had not been put above it the firmament would have been consumed by the heat.

Next, God bade the waters be gathered together into one mass. But when the Scripture speaks of one mass it evidently does not mean that they were gathered together into one place: for immediately it goes on to say, And the gatherings of the waters He called seas: but the words signify that the waters were separated off in a body from the earth into distinct groups. Thus the waters were gathered together into their special collections and the dry land was brought to view. And hence arose the two seas that surround Egypt, for it lies between two seas. These collections contain various seas and mountains, and islands, and promontories, and harbors, and surround various bays and beaches, and coastlands. For the word beach is used when the nature of the tract is sandy, while coastland signifies that it is rocky and deep close into shore, getting deep all on a sudden In like manner arose also the sea that lies where the sun rises, the name of which is the Indian Sea: also the northern sea called the Caspian. The lakes also were formed in the same manner.

The ocean, then, is like a river encircling the whole earth, and I think it is concerning it that the divine Scripture says, A river went ant of Paradise. The water of the ocean is sweet and potable. It is it that furnishes the seas with water which, because it stays a long time in the seas and stands unmoved, becomes bitter: for the sun and the waterspouts draw up always the finer parts. Thus it is that clouds are formed and showers take place, because the filtration makes the water sweet.

This is parted into four first divisions, that is to say, into four rivers. The name of the first is Pheison, which is the Indian Ganges; the name of the second is Geon, which is the Nile flowing from Ethiopia down to Egypt: the name of the third is Tigris, and the name of the fourth is Euphrates. There are also very many other mighty rivers of which some empty themselves into the sea and others are used up in the earth. Thus the whole earth is bored through and mined, and has, so to speak, certain veins through which it sends up in springs the water it has received from the sea. The water of the spring thus depends for its character on the quality of the earth. For the sea water is filtered and strained through the earth and thus becomes sweet. But if the place from which the spring arises is bitter or briny, so also is the water that is sent up. Moreover, it often happens that water which has been closely pent up bursts through with violence, and thus it becomes warm. And this is why they send forth waters that are naturally warm.

By the divine decree hollow places are made in the earth, and so into these the waters are gathered. And this is how mountains are formed. God, then, bade the first water produce living breath, since it was to be by water and the Holy Spirit that moved upon the waters in the beginning, that man was to be renewed. For this is what the divine Basilius said: Therefore it produced living creatures, small and big; whales and dragons, fish that swim in the waters, and feathered fowl. The birds form a link between water and earth and air: for they have their origin in the water, they live on the earth and they fly in the air. Water, then, is the most beautiful element and rich in usefulness, and purifies from all filth, and not only from the filth of the body but from that of the soul, if it should have received the grace of the Spirit.

CONCERNING THE SEAS

The Aegean Sea is received by the Hellespont, which ends at Abydos and Sestus: next, the Propontis, which ends at Chalcedon and Byzantium: here are the straits where the Pontus arises. Next, the lake of Maeotis. Again, from the beginning of Europe and Libya it is the Iberian Sea, which extends from the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees mountain. Then the Ligurian Sea as far as the borders of Etruria. Next, the Sardinian Sea, which is above Sardinia and inclines downwards to Libya. Then the Etrurian Sea, which

begins at the extreme limits of Liguria and ends at Sicily. Then the Libyan Sea. Then the Cretan, and Sicilian, and Ionian, and Adriatic Seas, the last of which is poured out of the Sicilian Sea, which is called the Corinthian Gulf, or the Alcyonian Sea. The Saronic Sea is surrounded by the Sunian and Scylaean Seas. Next is the Myrtoan Sea and the Icarian Sea, in which are also the Cyclades. Then the Carpathian, and Pamphylian, and Egyptian Seas: and, thereafter, above the Icarian Sea, the Aegean Sea pours itself out. There is also the coast of Europe from the mouth of the Tanais River to the Pillars of Hercules, 609,709 stadia: and that of Libya from the Tigris, as far as the mouth of the Canobus, 209,252 stadia: and lastly, that of Asia from the Canobus to the Tanais, which, including the Gulf, is 4,111 stadia. And so the full extent of the seaboard of the world that we inhabit with the gulfs is 1,309,072 stadia.

CHAPTER 10

CONCERNING EARTH AND ITS PRODUCTS

The earth is one of the four elements, dry, cold, heavy, motionless, brought into being by God, out of nothing on the first day. For in the beginning, he said, God created the heaven and the earths: but the seat and foundation of the earth no man has been able to declare. Some, indeed, hold that its seat is the waters: thus the divine David says, To Him Who established the earth on the waters. Others place it in the air. Again some other says, fare Who hangeth the earth on nothing. And, again, David, the singer of God, says, as though the representative of God, I bear up the pillars of it, meaning by “pillars” the force that sustains it. Further, the expression, He hath rounded it upon the seas, shews clearly that the earth is on all hands surrounded with water. But whether we grant that it is established on itself, or on air or on water, or on nothing, we must not turn aside from reverent thought, but must admit that all things are sustained and preserved by the power of the Creator.

In the beginning, then, as the Holy Scripture says, it was hidden beneath the waters, and was unwrought, that is to say, not beautified. But at God’s bidding, places to hold the waters appeared, and then the mountains came into existence, and at the divine command the earth received its own

proper adornment, and was dressed in all manner of herbs and plants, and on these, by the divine decree, was bestowed the power of growth and nourishment, and of producing seed to generate their like. Moreover, at the bidding of the Creator it produced also all manner of kinds of living creatures, creeping things, and wild beasts, and cattle. All, indeed, are for the seasonable use of man: but of them some are for food, such as stags, sheep, deer, and such like: others for service such as camels, oxen, horses, asses, and such like: and others for enjoyment, such as apes, and among birds, jays and parrots, and such like. Again, amongst plants and herbs some are fruit bearing, others edible, others fragrant and flowery, given to us for our enjoyment, for example, the rose and such like, and others for the healing of disease. For there is not a single animal or plant in which the Creator has not implanted some form of energy capable of being used to satisfy man's needs. For He Who knew all things before they were, saw that in the future man would go forward in the strength of his own will, and would be subject to corruption, and, therefore, He created all things for his seasonable use, alike those in the firmament, and those on the earth, and those in the waters.

Indeed, before the transgression all things were under his power. For God set him as ruler over all things on the earth and in the waters. Even the serpent was accustomed to man, and approached him more readily than it did other living creatures, and held intercourse with him with delightful motions. And hence it was through it that the devil, the prince of evil, made his most wicked suggestion to our first parents. Moreover, the earth of its own accord used to yield fruits, for the benefit of the animals that were obedient to man, and there was neither rain nor tempest on the earth. But after the transgression, when he was compared with the unintelligent cattle and became like to them, after he had contrived that in him irrational desire should have rule over reasoning mind and had become disobedient to the Master's command, the subject creation rose up against him whom the Creator had appointed to be ruler: and it was appointed for him that he should till with sweat the earth from which he had been taken.

But even now wild beasts are not without their uses, for, by the terror they cause, they bring man to the knowledge of his Creator and lead him to call upon His name. And, further, at the transgression the thorn sprung out of the earth in accordance with the Lord's express declaration and was

conjoined with the pleasures of the rose, that it might lead us to remember the transgression on account of which the earth was condemned to bring forth for us thorns and prickles.

That this is the case is made worthy of belief from the fact that their endurance is secured by the word of the Lord, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.

Further, some hold that the earth is in the form of a sphere, others that it is in that of a cone. At all events it is much smaller than the heaven, and suspended almost like a point in its midst. And it will pass away and be changed. But blessed is the man who inherits the earth promised to the meek.

For the earth that is to be the possession of the holy is immortal. Who, then, can fitly marvel at the boundless and incomprehensible wisdom of the Creator? Or who can render sufficient thanks to the Giver of so many blessings?

> [There are also provinces, or prefectures, of the earth which we recognize: Europe embraces thirty four, and the huge continent of Asia has forty-eight of these provinces, and twelve canons as they are called.]

CHAPTER 11

CONCERNING PARADISE

Now when God was about to fashion man oat of the visible and invisible creation in His own image and likeness to reign as king and ruler over all the earth and all that it contains, He first made for him, so to speak, a kingdom in which he should live a life of happiness and prosperity. And this is the divine paradise, planted in Eden by the hands of God, a very storehouse of joy and gladness of heart (for “Eden” means luxuriousness). Its site is higher in the East than all the earth: it is temperate and the air that surrounds it is the rarest and purest: evergreen plants are its pride, sweet fragrances abound, it is flooded with light, and in sensuous freshness and beauty it transcends imagination: in truth the place is divine, a meet

home for him who was created in God’s image: no creature lacking reason made its dwelling there but man alone, the work of God’s own hands.

In its midst God planted the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. The tree of knowledge was for trial, and proof, and exercise of man’s obedience and disobedience: and hence it was named the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, or else it was because to those who partook of it was given power to know their own nature. Now this is a good thing for those who are mature, but an evil thing for the immature and those whose appetites are too strong, being like solid food to tender babes still in need of milk. For our Creator, God, did not intend us to be burdened with care and troubled about many things, nor to take thought about, or make provision for, our own life. But this at length was Adam’s fate: for he tasted and knew that he was naked and made a girdle round about him: for he took fig-leaves and girded himself about. But before they took of the fruit, They were both naked. Adam and Eve, and were not ashamed. For God meant that we should be thus free from passion, and this is indeed the mark of a mind absolutely void of passion. Yea, He meant us further to be free from care and to have but one work to perform, to sing as do the angels, without ceasing or intermission, the praises of the Creator, and to delight in contemplation of Him and to cast all our care on Him. This is what the Prophet David proclaimed to us when He said, Cast thy burden on the Lord, and He will sustain thee. And, again, in the Gospels, Christ taught His disciples saying, Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat, nor for your body what ye shall put on. And further, Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you. And to Martha He said, Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her, meaning, clearly, sitting at His feet and listening to His words.

The tree of life, on the other hand, was a tree having the energy that is the cause of life, or to be eaten only by those who deserve to live and are not subject to death. Some, indeed, have pictured Paradise as a realm of sense, and others as a realm of mind. But it seems to me, that, just as man is a creature, in whom we find both sense and mind blended together, in like manner also man’s most holy temple combines the properties of sense and mind, and has this twofold expression: for, as we said, the life in the body

is spent in the most divine and lovely region, while the life in the soul is passed in a place far more sublime and of more surpassing beauty, where God makes His home, and where He wraps man about as with a glorious garment, and robes him in His grace, and delights and sustains him like an angel with the sweetest of all fruits, the contemplation of Himself. Verily it has been filly named the tree of life. For since the life is not cut short by death, the sweetness of the divine participation is imparted to those who share it. And this is, in truth, what God meant by every tree, saying, Of every tree in Paradise thou mayest freely eat. For the ‘every’ is just Himself in Whom and through Whom the universe is maintained. But the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was for the distinguishing between the many divisions of contemplation, and this is just the knowledge of one’s own nature, which, indeed, is a good thing for those who are mature and advanced in divine contemplation (being of itself a proclamation of the magnificence of God), and have no fear of falling, because they have through time come to have the habit of such contemplation, but it is an evil tiring to those still young and with stronger appetites, who by reason of their insecure bold on the better part, and because as yet they are not firmly established in the seat of the one and only good, are apt to be torn and dragged away from this to the care of their own body.

Thus, to my thinking, the divine Paradise is twofold, and the God-inspired Fathers handed down a true message, whether they taught this doctrine or that. Indeed, it is possible to understand by every tree the knowledge of the divine power derived from created things. In the words of the divine Apostle, For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. But of all these thoughts and speculations the sublimest is that dealing with ourselves, that is, with our own composition. As the divine David says, The knowledge of Thee from me, that is from my constitution, was made a wonder. But for the reasons we have already mentioned, such knowledge was dangerous for Adam who had been so lately created.

The tree of life too may be understood as that more divine thought that has its origin in the world of sense, and the ascent through that to the originating and constructive cause of all. And this was the name He gave to every tree, implying fullness and indivisibility, and conveying only participation in what is good. But by the tree of the knowledge of good

and evil, we are to understand that sensible and pleasurable food which, sweet though it seems, in reality brings him who partakes of it into communion with evil. For God says, Of every tree in Paradise thou mayest freely eat. It is, me-thinks, as if God said, Through all My creations thou art to ascend to Me thy creator, and of all the fruits titan mayest pluck one, that is, Myself who ant the true life: let every thing bear for thee the fruit of life, and let participation in Me be the support of your own being. For in this way than wilt be immortal. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shall not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shall surely die s. For sensible food is by nature for the replenishing of that which gradually wastes away and it passes into the drought and perisheth: and he cannot remain incorruptible who partakes of sensible food.

CHAPTER 12

CONCERNING MAN

IN this way, then, God brought into existence mental essence, by which I mean, angels and all the heavenly orders. For these clearly have a mental and incorporeal nature: “incorporeal” I mean in comparison with the denseness of matter. For the Deity alone in reality is immaterial and incorporeal. But further He created in the same way sensible essence, that is heaven and earth and the intermediate region; and so He created both the kind of being that is of His own nature (for the nature that has to do with reason is related to God, and apprehensible by mind alone), and the kind which, inasmuch as it clearly falls under the province of the senses, is separated from Him by the greatest interval. And it was also fit that there should be a mixture of both kinds of being, as a token of still greater wisdom and of the opulence of the Divine expenditure as regards natures, as Gregorius, the expounder of God’s being and ways, puts it, and to be a sort of connecting link between the visible and invisible natures. And by the word “fit” I mean, simply that it was an evidence of the Creator’s will, for that will is the law and ordinance most meet, and no one will say to his Maker, “Why hast Thou so fashioned me?” For the potter is able at his will to make vessels of various patterns out of his clay, as a proof of his own wisdom.

Now this being the case, He creates with His own hands man of a visible nature and an invisible, after His own image and likeness: on the one hand man's body He formed of earth, and on the other his reasoning and thinking soul He bestowed upon him by His own inbreathing, and this is what we mean by "after His image." For the phrase "after His image" clearly refers to the side of his nature which consists of mind and free will, whereas "after His likeness "means likeness in virtue so far as that is possible.

Further, body and soul were formed at one and the same time, not first the one and then the other, as Origen so senselessly supposes.

God then made man without evil, upright, virtuous, free from pain and care, glorified with every virtue, adorned with all that is good, like a sort of second microcosm within the great world. another angel capable of worship, compound, surveying the visible creation and initiated into the mysteries of the realm of thought, king over the things of earth, but subject to a higher king, of the earth and of the heaven, temporal and eternal, belonging to the realm of sight and to the realm of thought, midway between greatness and lowliness, spirit and flesh: for he is spirit by grace, but flesh by overweening pride: spirit that he may abide and glorify his Benefactor, and flesh that he may suffer, and suffering may be admonished and disciplined when he prides himself in his greatness: here, that is, in the present life, his life is ordered as an animal's, but elsewhere, that is, in the age to come, he is changed and — to complete the mystery — becomes deified by merely inclining himself towards God; becoming deified, in the way of participating in the divine glory and not in that of a change into the divine being.

But God made him by nature sinless, and endowed him with free will. By sinless, I mean not that sin could find no place in him (for that is the case with Deity alone), bat that sin is the result of the free volition he enjoys rather than an integral part of his nature; that is to say, he has the power to continue and go forward in the path of goodness, by cooperating with the divine grace, and likewise to turn from good and take to wickedness, for God has conceded this by conferring freedom of will upon him. For there is no virtue in what is the result of mere force.

The soul, accordingly, is a living essence, simple, incorporeal, invisible in its proper nature to bodily eyes, immortal, reasoning and intelligent, formless, making use of an organized body, and being the source of its powers of life, and growth, and sensation, and generation, mind being but its purest part and not in any wise alien to it; (for as the eye to the body, so is the mind to the soul); further it enjoys freedom and volition and energy, and is mutable, that is, it is given to change, because it is created. All these qualities according to nature it has received of the grace of the Creator, of which grace it has received both its being and this particular kind of nature.

Marg. The different applications of “incorporeal.” We understand two kinds of what is incorporeal and invisible and formless: the one is such in essence, the other by free gift: and likewise the one is such in nature, and the other only in comparison with the denseness of matter. God then is incorporeal by nature, but the angels and demons and souls are said to be so by free gift, and in comparison with the denseness of matter.

Further, body is that which has three dimensions, that is to say, it has length and breadth and depth, or thickness. And every body is composed of the four elements; the bodies of living creatures, moreover, are composed of the four humors.

Now there are, it should be known, four elements: earth which is dry and cold: water which is cold and wet: air which is wet and warm: fire which is warm and dry. In like manner there are also four humors, analogous to the four elements: black bile, which bears an analogy to earth, for it is dry and cold: phlegm, analogous to water, for it is cold and wet: blood, analogous to air, for it is wet and warm: yellow bile, the analogue to fire, for it is warm and city. Now, fruits are composed of the elements, and the humors are composed of the fruits, and the bodies of living creatures consist of the humors and dissolve back into them. For every thing that is compound dissolves back into its elements.

Marg. That man has community alike with inanimate things and animate creatures, whether they are devoid of or possess the faculty of reason.

Man, it is to be noted, has community with things inanimate, and participates in the life of unreasoning creatures, and shares in the mental processes of those endowed with reason. For the bond of union between man and inanimate things is the body and its composition out of the font elements: and the bond between man and plants consists, in addition to these things, of their powers of nourishment and growth and seeding, that is, generation: and finally, over and above these links man is connected with unreasoning animals by appetite, that is anger and desire, and sense and impulsive movement.

There are then five senses, sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch. Further, impulsive movement consists in change from place to place, and in the movements of the body as a whole and in the emission of voice and the drawing of breath. For we have it in our power to perform or refrain from performing these actions.

Lastly, man’s reason unites him to incorporeal and intelligent natures, for he applies his reason and mind and judgment to everything, and pursues after virtues, and eagerly follows after piety, which is the crown of the virtues. And so man is a microcosm.

Moreover, it should be known that division and flux and change are peculiar to the body alone. By change, I mean change in quality, that is in heat and cold and so forth: by flux, I mean change in the way of depletion, for dry things and wet things and spiritsuffer depletion, and require repletion: so that hunger and thirst are natural affections. Again, division is the separation of the humors, one from another, and the partition into form and matter.

But piety and thought are the peculiar properties of the soul. And the virtues are common to soul and body, although they are referred to the soul as if the soul were making use of the body.

The reasoning part, it should be understood, naturally bears rule over that which is void of reason. For the faculties of the soul are divided into that which has reason, and that which is without reason. Again, of that which is without reason there are two divisions: that which does not listen to reason, that is to say, is disobedient to reason, and that which listens and obeys reason. That which does not listen or obey reason is the vital or

pulsating faculty, and the spermatic or generative faculty, and the vegetative or nutritive faculty: to this belong also the faculties of growth and bodily formation. For these are not under the dominion of reason but under that of nature. That which listens to and obeys reason, on the other hand is divided into anger and desire. And the unreasoning part of the soul is called in common the pathetic and the appetitive. Further, it is to be understood, that impulsive movement likewise belongs to the part that is obedient to reason.

The part which does not pay heed to reason includes the nutritive and generative and pulsating faculties: and the name “vegetative” is applied to the faculties of increase and nutriment and generation, and the name “vital” to the faculty of pulsation.

Of the faculty of nutrition, then, there are four forces: an attractive force which attracts nourishment: a retentive force by which nourishment is retained and not suffered to be immediately excreted: an alternative force by which the food is resolved into the humors: and an excretive force, by which the excess of food is excreted into the draught and cast forth.

The forces again, inherent in a living creature are, it should be noted, partly psychical, partly vegetative, partly vital. The psychical forces are concerned with free volition, that is to say, impulsive movement and sensation. Impulsive movement includes change of place and movement of the body as a whole, and phonation and respiration. For it is in our power to perform or refrain from performing these acts. The vegetative and vital forces, however, are quite outside the province of will. The vegetative, moreover, include the faculties of nourishment and growth, and generation, and the vital power is the faculty of pulsation. For these go on energizing whether we will it or not.

Lastly, we must observe that of actual things, some are good, and some are bad. A good thing in anticipation constitutes desire: while a good thing in realization constitutes pleasure. Similarly an evil thing in anticipation begets fear, and in realization it begets pain. And when we speak of good in this connection we are to be understood to mean both real and apparent good: and, similarly, we mean real and apparent evil.

CHAPTER 13

CONCERNING PLEASURES

There are pleasures of the soul and pleasures of the body. The pleasures of the soul are those which are the exclusive possession of the soul, such as the pleasures of learning and contemplation. The pleasures of the body, however, are those which are enjoyed by soul and body in fellowship, and hence are called bodily pleasures: and such are the pleasures of food and intercourse and the like. But one could not find any class of pleasures belonging solely to the body.

Again, some pleasures are true, others false. And the exclusively intellectual pleasures consist in knowledge and contemplation, while the pleasures of the body depend upon sensation. Further, of bodily pleasures, some are both natural and necessary, in the absence of which life is impossible, for example the pleasures of food which replenishes waste, and the pleasures of necessary clothing. Others are natural but not necessary, as the pleasures of natural and lawful intercourse. For though the function that these perform is to secure the permanence of the race as a whole, it is still possible to live a virgin life apart from them. Others, however, are neither natural nor necessary, such as drunkenness, lust, and surfeiting to excess. For these contribute neither to the maintenance of our own lives nor to the succession of the race, but on the contrary, are rather even a hindrance. He therefore that would live a life acceptable to God must follow after those pleasures which are both natural and necessary: and must give a secondary place to those which are natural but not necessary, and enjoy them only in fitting season, and manner, and measure; while the others must be altogether renounced.

Those then are to be considered moral pleasures which are not bound up with pain, and bring no cause for repentance, and result in no other harm and keep within the bounds of moderation, and do not draw us far away from serious occupations, nor make slaves of us.

CHAPTER 14

CONCERNING PAIN

There are four varieties of pain, viz., anguish, griefs, envy, pity. Anguish is pain without utterance: grief is pain that is heavy to bear like a burden: envy is pain over the good fortune of others: pity is pain over the evil fortune of others.

CHAPTER 15

CONCERNING FEAR

Fear is divided into six varieties: viz., shrinking, shame, disgrace, consternation, panic, anxiety. Shrinking is fear of some act about to take place. Shame is fear arising from the anticipation of blame: and this is the highest form of the affection. Disgrace is fear springing from some base act already done, and even for this form there is some hope of salvation. Consternation is fear originating in some huge product of the imagination. Panic is fear caused by some unusual product of the imagination. Anxiety is fear of failure, that is, of misfortune: for when we fear that our efforts will not meet with success, we suffer anxiety.

CHAPTER 16

CONCERNING ANGER

Anger is the ebullition of the heart's blood produced by bilious exhalation or turbidity. Hence it is that the words χολή and χόλος are both used in the sense of anger. Anger is sometimes lust for vengeance. For when we are wronged or think that we are wronged, we are distressed, and there arises this mixture of desire and anger.

There are three forms of anger: rage, which the Greeks also call χολή or χόλος, υῆνις and κότος. When anger arises and begins to be roused, it is called rage or χολή or χόλος. Wrath again implies that the bile endures,

that is to say, that the memory of the wrong abides: and indeed the Greek word for it, μῆνις is derived from μένειν, and means what abides and is transferred to memory. Rancor, on the other hand, implies watching for a suitable moment for revenge, and the Greek word for it is κότος from κεῖσθαι.

Anger further is the satellite of reason, the vindicator of desire. For when we long after anything and are opposed in our desire by some one, we are angered at that person, as though we had been wronged: and reason evidently deems that there are just grounds for displeasure in what has happened, in the case of those who, like us, have in the natural course of things to guard their own position.

CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING IMAGINATION

Imagination is a faculty of the unreasoning part of the soul. It is through the organs of sense that it is brought into action, and it is spoken of as sensation. And further, what is imagined and perceived is that which comes within the scope of the faculty of imagination and sensation. For example, the sense of sight is the visual faculty itself, but the object of sight is that which comes within the scope of the sense of sight, such as a stone or any other such object. Further, an imagination is an affection of the unreasoning part of the soul which is occasioned by some object acting upon the sensation. But an appearance is an empty affection of the unreasoning part of the soul, not occasioned by any object acting upon the sensation. Moreover the organ of imagination is the anterior ventricle of the brain.

CHAPTER 18

CONCERNING SENSATION

Sensation is that faculty of the soul whereby material objects can be apprehended or discriminated. And the sensoria are the organs or members

through which sensations are conveyed. And the objects of sense are the things that come within the province of sensation. And lastly, the subject of sense is the living animal which possesses the faculty of sensation. Now there are five senses, and likewise five organs of sense.

The first sense is sight: and the sensoria or organs of sight are the nerves of the brain and the eyes. Now sight is primarily perception of color, but along with the color it discriminates the body that has color, and its size and form, and locality, and the intervening space and the number: also whether it is in motion or at rest, rough or smooth, even or uneven, sharp or blunt, and finally whether its composition is watery or earthy, that is, wet or dry.

The second sense is hearing, whereby voices and sounds are perceived. And it distinguishes these as sharp or deep, or smooth or loud. Its organs are the soft nerves of the brain, and the structure of the ears. Further, man and the ape are the only animals that do not move their ears.

The third sense is smell, which is caused by the nostrils transmitting the vapors to the brain: and it is bounded by the extreme limits of the anterior ventricle of the brain. It is the faculty by which vapors are perceived and apprehended. Now, the most generic distinction between vapors is whether they have a good or an evil odor, or form an intermediate class with neither a good nor an evil odor. A good odor is produced by the thorough digestion in the body of the humors. When they are only moderately digested the intermediate class is formed, and when the digestion is very imperfect or utterly wanting, an evil odor results.

The fourth sense is taste: it is the faculty whereby the humors are apprehended or perceived, and its organs of sense are the tongue, and more especially the lips, and the palate (which the Greeks call οὐρανίσκος), and in these are nerves that come from the brain and are spread out, and convey to the dominant part of the soul the perception or sensation they have encountered. The so-called gustatory qualities of the humors are these: — sweetness, pungency, bitterness, astringency, acerbity, sourness, saltness, fattiness, stickiness; for taste is capable of discriminating all these. But water has none of these qualities, and is therefore devoid of taste. Moreover, astringency is only a more intense and exaggerated form of acerbity.

The fifth sense is touch, which is common to all living things. Its organs are nerves which come from the brain and ramify all through the body. Hence the body as a whole, including even the other organs of sense, possesses the sense of touch. Within its scope come heat and cold, softness and hardness, viscosity and brittleness, heaviness and lightness: for it is by touch alone that these qualities are discriminated. On the other hand, roughness and smoothness, dryness and wetness, thickness and thinness, up and down, place and size, whenever that is such as to be embraced in a single application of the sense of touch, are all common to touch and sight, as well as denseness and rareness, that is porosity, and rotundity if it is small, and some other shapes. In like manner also by the aid of memory and thought perception of the nearness of a body is possible, and similarly perception of number up to two or three, and such small and easily reckoned figures. But it is by sight rather than touch that these things are perceived.

The Creator, it is to be noted, fashioned all the other organs of sense in pairs, so that if one were destroyed, the other might fill its place. For there are two eyes, two ears, two orifices of the nose, and two tongues, which in some animals, such as snakes, are separate, but in others, like man, are united. But touch is spread over the whole body with the exception of bones, nerves, nails, horns, hairs, ligaments, and other such structures.

Further, it is to be observed that sight is possible only in straight lines, whereas smell and hearing are not limited to straight lines only, but act in all directions. Touch, again, and taste act neither in straight lines, nor in every direction, but only when each comes near to the sensible objects that are proper to it.

CHAPTER 19

CONCERNING THOUGHT

The faculty of thought deals with judgments and assents, and impulse to action and disinclinations, and escapes from action: and more especially with thoughts connected with what is thinkable, and the virtues and the different branches of learning, and the theories of the arts and matters of

counsel and choice. Further, it is this faculty which prophesies the future to us in dreams, and this is what the Pythagoreans, adopting the Hebrew view, hold to be the one true form of prophecy. The organ of thought then is the mid-ventricle of the brain, and the vital spirit it contains.

CHAPTER 20

CONCERNING MEMORY

The faculty of memory is the cause and storehouse of remembrance and recollection. For memory is a fantasy that is left behind of some sensation and thought manifesting itself in action; or the preservation of a sensation and thought. For the soul comprehends objects of sense through the organs of sense, that is to say, it perceives, and thence arises a notion: and similarly it comprehends the objects of thought through the mind, and thence arises a thought. It is then the preservation of the types of these notions and thoughts that is spoken of as memory.

Further, it is worthy of remark that the apprehension of matters of thought depends on learning, or natural process of thought, and not on sensation. For though objects of sense are retained in the memory by themselves, only such objects of thought are remembered as we have learned, and we have no memory of their essence.

Recollection is the name given to the recovery of some memory lost by forgetfulness. For forgetfulness is just loss of memory. The faculty of imagination then, having apprehended material objects through the senses, transmits this to the faculty of thought or reason (for they are both the same), and this after it has received and passed judgment on it, passes it on to the faculty of memory. Now the organ of memory is the posterior ventricle of the brain, which the Greeks call the παρεγκεφαλίς, and the vital spirit it contains.

CHAPTER 21

CONCERNING CONCEPTION AND ARTICULATION

Again the reasoning part of the soul is divided into conception and articulation. Conception is an activity of the soul originating in the reason without resulting in utterance. Accordingly, often, even when we are silent we run through a whole speech in our minds, and hold discussions in our dreams. And it is this faculty chiefly which constitutes us all reasoning beings. For those who are dumb by birth or have lost their voice through some disease or injury, are just as much reasoning beings. But articulation by voice or in the different dialects requires energy: that is to say, the word is articulated by the tongue and mouth, and this is why it is named articulation. It is, indeed, the messenger of thought, and it is because of it that we are called speaking beings.

CHAPTER 22

CONCERNING PASSION AND ENERGY

Passion is a word with various meanings. It is used in regard to the body, and refers to diseases and wounds, and again, it is used in reference to the soul, and means desire and anger. But to speak broadly and generally, passion is an animal affection which is succeeded by pleasure and pain. For pain succeeds passion, but is not the same thing as passion. For passion is an affection of things without sense, but not so pain. Pain then is not passion, but the sensation of passion: and it must be considerable, that is to say, it must be great enough to come within the scope of sense.

Again, the definition of passions of the soul is this: Passion is a sensible activity of the appetitive faculty, depending on the presentation to the mind of something good or bad. Or in other words, passion is an irrational activity of the soul, resulting from the notion of something good or bad. For the notion of something good results in desire, and the notion of something bad results in anger. But passion considered as a class, that is, passion in general, is defined as a movement in one thing caused by

another. Energy, on the other hand, is a drastic movement, and by "drastic" is meant that which is moved of itself. Thus, anger is the energy manifested by the part of the soul where anger resides, whereas passion involves the two divisions of the soul, and in addition the whole body when it is forcibly impelled to action by anger. For there has been caused movement in one thing caused by another, and this is called passion.

But in another sense energy is spoken of as passion. For energy is a movement in harmony with nature, whereas passion is a movement at variance with nature. According, then, to this view, energy may be spoken of as passion when it does not act in accord with nature, whether its movement is due to itself or to some other thing. Thus, in connection with the heart, its natural pulsation is energy, whereas its palpitation, which is an excessive and unnatural movement, is passion and not energy.

But it is not every activity of the passionate part of the soul that is called passion, but only the more violent ones, and such as are capable of causing sensation: for the minor and unperceived movements are certainly not passions. For to constitute passion there is necessary a considerable degree of force, and thus it is on this account that we add to the definition of passion that it is a sensible activity. For the lesser activities escape the notice of the senses, and do not cause passion.

Observe also that our soul possesses twofold faculties, those of knowledge, and those of life. The faculties of knowledge are mind, thought, notion, presentation, sensation: and the vital or appetitive faculties are will and choice. Now, to make what has been said clearer, let us consider these things more closely, and first let us take the faculties of knowledge.

Presentation and sensation then have already been sufficiently discussed above. It is sensation that causes a passion, which is called presentation, to arise in the soul, and from presentation comes notion. Thereafter thought, weighing the truth or falseness of the notion, determines what is true: and this explains the Greek word for thought, διάνοια, which is derived from διανοεῖν, meaning to think and discriminate. That, however, which is judged and determined to be true, is spoken of as mind.

Or to put it otherwise: The primary activity of the mind, observe, is intelligence, but intelligence applied to any object is called a thought, and

when this persists and makes on the mind an impression of the object of thought, it is named reflection, and when reflection dwells on the same object and puts itself to the test, and closely examines the relation of the thought to the soul, it gets the name prudence. Further, prudence, when it extends its area forms the power of reasoning, and is called conception, and this is defined as the fullest activity of the soul, arising in that part where reason resides, and being devoid of outward expression: and from it proceeds the uttered word spoken by the tongue. And now that we have discussed the faculties of knowledge, let us turn to the vital or appetitive faculties.

It should be understood that there is implanted in the soul by nature a faculty of desiring that which is in harmony with its nature, and of maintaining in close union all that belongs essentially to its nature: and this power is called will or θέλησις. For the essence both of existence and of living yearns after activity both as regards mind and sense, and in this it merely longs to realize its own natural and perfect being. And so this definition also is given of this natural will: will is an appetite, both rational and vital, depending only on what is natural. So that will is nothing else than the natural and vital and rational appetite of all things that go to constitute nature, that is, just the simple faculty. For the appetite of creatures without reason, since it is irrational, is not called will.

Again βούλησις or wish is a sort of natural will, that is to say, a natural and rational appetite for some definite thing. For there is seated in the soul of man a faculty of rational desire. When, then, this rational desire directs itself naturally to some definite object it is called wish. For wish is rational desire and longing for some definite thing.

Wish, however, is used both in connection with what is within our power, and in connection with what is outside our power, that is, both with regard to the possible and the impossible. For we wish often to indulge lust or to be temperate, or to sleep and the like, and these are within our power to accomplish, and possible. But we wish also to be kings, and this is not within our power, or we wish perchance never to die, and this is an impossibility.

The wish, then, has reference to the end alone, and not to the means by which the end is attained. The end is the object of our wish, for instance,

to be a king or to enjoy good health: but the means by which the end is attained, that is to say, the manner in which we ought to enjoy good health, or reach the rank of king, are the objects of deliberation. Then after wish follow inquiry and speculation (ζήτησις and σκέψις), and after these, if the object is anything within our power, comes counsel or deliberation (βουλή or βούλευσις): counsel is an appetite for investigating lines of action lying within our own power. For one deliberates, whether one ought to prosecute any matter or not, and next, one decides which is the better, and this is called judgment (κρίσις). Thereafter, one becomes disposed to and forms a liking for that in favor of which deliberation gave judgment, and this is called inclination (γνώμη). For should one form a judgment and not be disposed to or form a liking for the object of that judgment, it is not called inclination. Then, again, after one has become so disposed, choice or selection (προαίρεσις and ἐπιλογή) comes into play. For choice consists in the choosing and selecting of one of two possibilities in preference to the other. Then one is impelled to action, and this is called impulse (ὁρμή): and thereafter it is brought into employment, and this is called use (χρῆσις). The last stage after we have enjoyed the use is cessation from desire.

In the case, however, of creatures without reason, as soon as appetite is roused for anything, straightway arises impulse to action. For the appetite of creatures without reason is irrational, and they are ruled by their natural appetite. Hence, neither the names of will or wish are applicable to the appetite of creatures without reason. For will is rational, free and natural desire, and in the case of man, endowed with reason as he is, the natural appetite is ruled rather than rules For his actions are free, and depend upon reason, since the faculties of knowledge and life are bound up together in man. He is free in desire, free in wish, free in examination and investigation, free in deliberation, free in judgment, free in inclination, free in choice, free in impulse, and free in action where that is in accordance with nature.

But in the case of God, it is to be remembered, we speak of wish, but it is not correct to speak of choice. For God does not deliberate, since that is a mark of ignorance, and no one deliberates about what he knows. But if counsel is a mark of ignorance, surely choice must also be so. God, then, since He has absolute knowledge of everything, does not deliberate.

Nor in the case of the soul of the Lord do we speak of counsel or choice, seeing that He had no part in ignorance. For, although He was of a nature that is not cognizant of the future, yet because of His oneness in subsistence with God the Word, He had knowledge of all things, and that not by grace, but, as we have said, because He was one in subsistence. For He Himself was both God and Man, and hence He did not possess the will that acts by opinion or disposition. While He did possess the natural and simple will which is to be observed equally in all the personalities of men, His holy soul had not opinion (or, disposition) that is to say, no inclination opposed to His divine will, nor aught else contrary to His divine will. For opinion (or, disposition) differs as persons differ, except in the case of the holy and simple and uncompound and indivisible Godhead. There, indeed, since the subsistences are in nowise divided or separated, neither is the object of will divided. And there, since there is but one nature, there is also but one natural will. And again, since the subsistences are unseparated, the three subsistences have also one object of will, and one activity. In the case of men, however, seeing that their nature is one, their natural will is also one, but since their subsistences are separated and divided from each other, alike in place and time, and disposition to things, and in many other respects, for this reason their acts of will and their opinions are different. But in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, since He possesses different natures, His natural wills, that is, His volitional faculties belonging to Him as God and as Man are also different. But since the subsistence is one, and He Who exercises the will is one, the object of the will the gnomic will, is also one, His human will evidently following His divine will, and willing that which the divine will willed it to will.

Further note, that will (θέλησις) and wish (βούλησις) are two different things: also the object of will (τὸ θελητόν) and the capacity for will (θελητικόν), and the subject that exercises will (ὁ θέλων), are all different. For will is just the simple faculty of willing, whereas wish is will directed to some definite object. Again, the object of will is the matter underlying the will, that is to say, the thing that we will: for instance, when appetite is roused for food. The appetite pure and simple, however, is a rational will. The capacity for will, moreover, means that which possesses the volitional faculty, for example, man. Further, the subject that exercises will is the actual person who makes use of will.

The word τὸ θελήμα, it is well to note, sometimes denotes the will, that is, the volitional faculty, and in this sense we speak of natural will: and sometimes it denotes the object of will, and we speak of will (θέλημα γνωμικόν) depending on inclination.

CHAPTER 23

CONCERNING ENERGY

All the faculties we have already discussed, both those of knowledge and those of life, both the natural and the artificial, are, it is to be noted, called energies. For energyis the natural force and activity of each essence: or again, natural energy is the activity innate in every essence: and so, clearly, things that have the same essence have also the same energy, and things that have different natures have also different energies. For no essence can be devoid of natural energy.

Natural energy again is the force in each essence by which its nature is made manifest. And again: natural energy is the primal, eternally-moving force of the intelligent soul: that is, the eternally-moving word of the soul, which ever springs naturally from it. And yet again: natural energy is the force and activity of each essence which only that which is not lacks.

But actions are also called energies: for instance, speaking, eating, drinking, and such like. The natural affections also are often called energies, for instance, hunger, thirst, and so forth. And yet again, the result of the force is also often called energy.

Things are spoken of in a twofold way as being potential and actual. For we say that the child at the breast is a potential scholar, for he is so equipped that, if taught, he will become a scholar. Further, we speak of a potential and an actual scholar, meaning that the latter is versed in letters, while the former has the power of interpreting letters, but does not put it into actual use: again, when we speak of an actual scholar, we mean that he puts his power into actual use, that is to say, that he really interprets writings.

It is, therefore, to be observed that in the second sense potentiality and actuality go together; for the scholar is in the one case potential, and in the other actual.

The primal and only true energy of nature is the voluntary or rational and independent life which constitutes our humanity. I know not how those who rob the Lord of this can say that He became man.

Energy is drastic activity of nature: and by drastic is meant that which is moved of itself.

CHAPTER 24

CONCERNING WHAT IS VOLUNTARY AND WHAT IS INVOLUNTARY

The voluntary implies a certain definite action, and so-called involuntariness also implies a certain definite action. Further, many attribute true involuntariness not only to suffering, but even to action. We must then understand action to be rational energy. Actions are followed by praise or blame, and some of them are accompanied with pleasure and others with pain; some are to be desired by the actor, others are to be shunned: further, of those that are desirable, some are always so, others only at some particular time. And so it is also with those that are to be shunned. Again, some actions enlist pity and are pardonable, others are hateful and deserve punishment. Voluntariness, then, is assuredly followed by praise or blame, and renders the action pleasurable and desirable to the actor, either for all time or for the moment of its performance. Involuntariness, on the other hand, brings merited pity or pardon in its train, and renders the act painful and undesirable to the doer, and makes him leave it in a state of incompleteness even though force is brought to bear upon him.

Further, what is involuntary, depends in part on force and in part on ignorance. It depends on force when the creative beginning in cause is from without, that is to say, when one is forced by another without being at all persuaded, or when one does not contribute to the act on one’s own impulse, or does not co-operate at all, or do on one’s own account that

which is exacted by force. Thus we may give this definition: “An involuntary act is one in which the beginning is from without, and where one does not contribute at all on one’s own impulse to that which one is force” And by beginning we mean the creative cause. All involuntary act depends, on the other hand, on ignorance, when one is not the cause of the ignorance one’s self, but events just so happen. For, if one commits murder while drunk, it is an act of ignorance, but yet not involuntary: for one was one’s self responsible for the cause of the ignorance, that is to say, the drunkenness. But if while shooting at the customary range one slew one’s father who happened to be passing by, this would be termed an ignorant and involuntary act.

As, then, that which is involuntary is in two parts, one depending on force, the other on ignorance, that which is voluntary is the opposite of both. For that which is voluntary is the result neither of force nor of ignorance. A voluntary act, then, is one of which the beginning or cause originates in an actor, who knows each individual circumstance through which and in which the action takes place. By “individual” is meant what the rhetoricians call circumstantial elements: for instance, the actor, the sufferer, the action (perchance a murder), the instrument, the place, the time, the manner, the reason of the action.

Notice that there are certain things that occupy a place intermediate between what is voluntary and what is involuntary. Although they are unpleasant and painful we welcome them as the escape from a still greater trouble; for instance, to escape shipwreck we cast the cargo overboard.

Notice also that children and irrational creatures perform voluntary actions, but these do not involve the exercise of choice: further, all our actions that are done in anger and without previous deliberation are voluntary actions, but do not in the least involve free choice. Also, if a friend suddenly appears on the scene, or if one unexpectedly lights on a treasure, so far as we are concerned it is quite voluntary, but there is no question of choice in the matter. For all these things are voluntary, because we desire pleasure from them, but they do not by any means imply choice, because they are not the result of deliberation. And deliberation must assuredly precede choice, as we have said above.

CHAPTER 25

CONCERNING WHAT IS IN OUR OWN POWER, THAT IS, CONCERNING FREE-WILL

The first enquiry involved in the consideration of free-will, that is, of what is in our own power, is whether anything is in our power: for there are many who deny this. The second is, what are the things that are in our power, and over what things do we have authority? The third is, what is the reason for which God Who created us endued us with free-will? So then we shall take up the first question, and firstly we shall prove that of those things which even our opponents grant, some are within our power. And let us proceed thus.

Of all the things that happen, the cause is said to be either God, or necessity, or fate, or nature, or chance, or accident. But God's function has to do with essence and providence: necessity deals with the movement of things that ever keep to the same course: fate with the necessary accomplishment of the things it brings to pass (for fate itself implies necessity): nature with birth, growth, destruction, plants and animals; chance with what is rare and unexpected. For chance is defined as the meeting and concurrence of two causes, originating in choice but bringing to pass something other than what is natural: for example, if a man finds a treasure while digging a ditch: for the man who hid the treasure did not do so that the other might find it, nor did the finder dig with the purpose of finding the treasure: but the former hid it that he might take it away when he wished, and the other's aim was to dig the ditch: whereas something happened quite different from what both had in view. Accident again deals with casual occurrences that take place among lifeless or irrational things, apart from nature and art. This then is their doctrine. Under which, then, of these categories are we to bring what happens through the agency of man, if indeed man is not the cause and beginning of action? for it would not be right to ascribe to God actions that are sometimes base and unjust: nor may we ascribe these to necessity, for they are not such as ever continue the same: nor to fate, for fate implies not possibility only but necessity: nor to nature, for nature's province is animals and plants: nor to chance, for the actions of men are not rare and unexpected: nor to accident,

for that is used in reference to the casual occurrences that take place in the world of lifeless and irrational things. We are left then with this fact, that the man who acts and makes is himself the author of his own works, and is a creature endowed with free-will.

Further, if man is the author of no action, the faculty of deliberation is quite superfluous for to what purpose could deliberation be put if man is the master of none of his actions? for all deliberation is for the sake of action. But to prove that the fairest and most precious of man's endowments is quite superfluous would be the height of absurdity. If then man deliberates, he deliberates with a view to action. For all deliberation is with a view to and on account of action.

CHAPTER 26

CONCERNING EVENTS

Of events, some are in our hands, others are not. Those then are in our hands which we are free to do or not to do at our will, that is all actions that are done voluntarily (for those actions are not called voluntary the doing of which is not in our hands), and in a word, all that are followed by blame or praise and depend on motive and law. Strictly all mental and deliberative acts are in our hands. Now deliberation is concerned with equal possibilities: and an 'equal possibility' is an action that is itself within our power and its opposite, and our mind makes choice of the alternatives, and this is the origin of action. The actions, therefore, that are in our hands are these equal possibilities: e.g. to be moved or not to be moved, to hasten or not to hasten, to long for unnecessaries or not to do so, to tell lies or not to tell lies, to give or not to give, to rejoice or not to rejoice as fits the occasion, and all such actions as imply virtue or vice in their performance, for we are free to do or not to do these at our pleasure. Amongst equal possibilities also are included the arts, for we have it in our power to cultivate these or not as we please.

Note, however, that while the choice of what is to be done is ever in our power, the action itself often is prevented by some dispensation of the divine Providence.

CHAPTER 27

CONCERNING THE REASON OF OUR ENDOWMENT WITH FREE-WILL

We hold, therefore, that free-will comes on the scene at the same moment as reason, and that change and alteration are congenital to all that is produced. For all that is produced is also subject to change. For those things must be subject to change whose production has its origin in change. And change consists in being brought into being out of nothing, and in transforming a substratum of matter into something different. Inanimate things, then, and things without reason undergo the aforementioned bodily changes, while the changes of things endowed with reason depend on choice. For reason consists of a speculative and a practical part. The speculative part is the contemplation of the nature of things, and the practical consists in deliberation and defines the true reason for what is to be done. The speculative side is called mind or wisdom, and the practical side is called reason or prudence. Every one, then, who deliberates does so in the belief that the choice of what is to be done lies in his hands, that he may choose what seems best as the result of his deliberation, and having chosen may act upon it. And if this is so, free-will must necessarily be very closely related to reason. For either man is an irrational being, or, if he is rational, he is master of his acts and endowed with free-will. Hence also creatures without reason do not enjoy free-will: for nature leads them rather than they nature, and so they do not oppose the natural appetite, but as soon as their appetite longs after anything they rush headlong after it. But man, being rational, leads nature rather than nature him, and so when he desires aught he has the power to curb his appetite or to indulge it as he pleases. Hence also creatures devoid of reason are the subjects neither of praise nor blame, while man is the subject of both praise and blame.

Note also that the angels, being rational, are endowed with free-will, and, inasmuch as they are created, are liable to change. This in fact is made plain by the devil who, although made good by the Creator, became of his own free-will the inventor of evil, and by the powers who revolted with him,

that is the demons, and by the other troops of angels who abode in goodness.

CHAPTER 28

CONCERNING WHAT IS NOT IN OUR HANDS

Of things that are not in our hands some have their beginning or cause in those that are in our power, that is to say, the recompenses of our actions both in the present and in the age to come, but all the rest are dependent on the divine will. For the origin of all things is from God, but their destruction has been introduced by our wickedness for our punishment or benefit. For God did not create death, neither does He take delight in the destruction of living things. But death is the work rather of man, that is, its origin is in Adam's transgression, in like manner as all other punishments. But all other things must be referred to God. For our birth is to be referred to His creative power; and our continuance to His conservative power; and our government and safety to His providential power; and the eternal enjoyment of good things by those who preserve the laws of nature in which we are formed is to be ascribed to His goodness. But since some deny the existence of Providence, let us further devote a few words to the discussion of Providence.

CHAPTER 29

CONCERNING PROVIDENCE

Providence, then, is the care that God takes over existing things. And again: Providence is the will of God through which all existing things receive their fitting issue. But if Providence is God's will, according to true reasoning all things that come into being through Providence must necessarily be both most fair and most excellent, and such that they cannot be surpassed. For the same person must of necessity be creator of and provider for what exists: for it is not meet nor fitting that the creator of what exists and the provider should be separate persons. For in that case they would both assuredly be deficient, the one in creating, the other in providing. God

therefore is both Creator and Provider, and His creative and preserving and providing power is simply His good-will. For whatsoever the Lard pleased that did He in heaven and in earth, and no one resisted His will. He willed that all things should be and they were. He wills the universe to be framed and it is framed, and all that He wills comes to pass.

That He provides, and that He provides excellently, one can most readily perceive thus. God alone is good and wise by nature. Since then He is good, He provides: for he who does not provide is not good. For even men and creatures without reason provide for their own offspring according to their nature, and he who does not provide is blamed. Again, since He is wise, He takes the best care over what exists.

When, therefore, we give heed to these things we ought to be filled with wonder at all the works of Providence, and praise them all, and accept them all without enquiry, even though they are in the eyes of many unjust, because the Providence of God is beyond our ken and comprehension, while our reasonings and actions and the future are revealed to His eyes alone. And by “all” I mean those that are not in our hands: for those that are in our power are outside the sphere of Providence and within that of our Free-will.

Now the works of Providence are partly according to the good-will(of God) and partly according to permission. Works of good-will include all those that are undeniably good, while works of permission are..... For Providence often permits the just man to encounter misfortune in order that he may reveal to others the virtue that lies concealed within him, as was the case with Job. At other times it allows something strange to be done in order that something great and marvelous might be accomplished through the seemingly-strange act, as when the salvation of men was brought about through the Cross. In another way it allows the pious man to suffer sore trials in order that he may not depart from a right conscience nor lapse into pride on account of the power and grace granted to him, as was the case with Paul.

One man is forsaken for a season with a view to another’s restoration, in order that others when they see his state may be taught a lesson, as in the case of Lazarus and the rich man. For it belongs to our nature to be east down when we see persons in distress. Another is deserted by Providence

in order that another may be glorified, and not for his own sin or that of his parents, just as the man who was blind from his birth ministered to the glory of the Son of Man. Again another is permitted to suffer in order to stir up emulation in the breasts of others, so that others by magnifying the glory of the sufferer may resolutely welcome suffering in the hope of future glory and the desire for future blessings, as in the case of the martyrs. Another is allowed to fall at times into some act of baseness in order that another worse fault may be thus corrected, as for instance when God allows a man who takes pride in his virtue and righteousness to fall away into fornication in order that he may be brought through this fall into the perception of his own weakness and be humbled and approach and make confession to the Lord.

Moreover, it is to be observed that the choice of what is to be done is in our own hands: but the final issue depends, in the one case when our actions are good, on the cooperation of God, Who in His justice brings help according to His foreknowledge to such as choose the good with a right conscience, and, in the other case when our actions are to evil, on the desertion by God, Who again in His justice stands aloof in accordance with His foreknowledge.

Now there are two forms of desertion: for there is desertion in the matters of guidance and training, and there is complete and hopeless desertion. The former has in view the restoration and safety and glory of the sufferer, or the rousing of feelings of emulation and imitation in others, or the glory of God: but the latter is when man, after God has done all that was possible to save him, remains of his own set purpose blind and uncured, or rather incurable, and then he is handed over to utter destruction, as was Judas. May God be gracious to us, and deliver us from such desertion.

Observe further that the ways of God’s providence are many, and they cannot be explained in words nor conceived by the mind.

And remember that all the assaults of dark and evil fortune contribute to the salvation of those who receive them with thankfulness, and are assuredly ambassadors of help.

Also one must bear in mind that God’s original wish was that all should be saved and come to His Kingdom. For it was not for punishment that He

formed us but to share in His goodness, inasmuch as He is a good God. But inasmuch as He is a just God, His will is that sinners should suffer punishment.

The first then is called God's antecedent will and pleasure, and springs from Himself, while the second is called God's consequent will and permission, and has its origin in us. And the latter is two-fold; one part dealing with matters of guidance and training, and having in view our salvation, and the other being hopeless and leading to our utter punishment, as we said above. And this is the case with actions that are not left in our hands.

But of actions that are in our hands the good ones depend on His antecedent goodwill and pleasure, while the wicked ones depend neither on His antecedent nor on His consequent will, but are a concession to free-will For that which is the result of compulsion has neither reason nor virtue in it. God makes provision for all creation and makes all creation the instrument of His help and training, yea often even the demons themselves, as for example in the cases of Job and the swine.

CHAPTER 30

CONCERNING PRESCIENCE AND PREDESTINATION

We ought to understand that while God knows all things beforehand, yet He does not predetermine all things. For He knows beforehand those things that are in our power, but He does not predetermine them. For it is not His will that there should be wickedness nor does He choose to compel virtue. So that predetermination is the work of the divine command based on fore-knowledge. But on the other hand God predetermines those things which are not within our power in accordance with His prescience. For already God in His prescience has prejudged all things in accordance with His goodness and justice.

Bear in mind, too, that virtue is a gift from God implanted in our nature, and that He Himself is the source and cause of all good, and without His co-operation and help we cannot will or do any good thing, But we have it in our power either to abide in virtue and follow God, Who calls us into

ways of virtue, or to stray from paths of virtue, which is to dwell in wickedness, and to follow the devil who summons but cannot compel us. For wickedness is nothing else than the withdrawal of goodness, just as darkness is nothing else than the withdrawal of light While then we abide in the natural state we abide in virtue, but when we deviate from the natural state, that is from virtue, we come into an unnatural state and dwell in wickedness.

Repentance is the returning from the unnatural into the natural state, from the devil to God, through discipline and effort.

Man then the Creator made male, giving him to share in His own divine grace, and bringing him thus into communion with Himself: and thus it was that he gave in the manner of a prophet the names to living flyings, with authority as though they were given to be his slaves. For having been endowed with reason and mind, and free-will after the image of God, he was filly entrusted with dominion over earthly things by the common Creator and Master of all.

But since God in His prescience knew that man would transgress and become liable to destruction, He made from him a female to be a help to him like himself; a help, indeed, for the conservation of the race after the transgression from age to age by generation. For the earliest formation is called ‘making’ and not ‘generation.’ For ‘making ‘ is the original formation at God’s hands, while ‘generation’ is the succession from each Other made necessary by the sentence of death imposed on us ‘on account of the transgression.

This man He placed in Paradise, a home that was alike spiritual and sensible. For he lived in the body on the earth in the realm of sense, while he dwelt in the spirit among the angels, cultivating divine thoughts, and being supported by them: living in naked simplicity a life free from artificiality, and being led up through His creations to the one and only Creator, in Whose contemplation he found joy and gladness.

When therefore He had furnished his nature with free-will, He imposed a law on him, not to taste of the tree of knowledge. Concerning this tree, we have said as much as is necessary in the chapter about Paradise, at least as much as it was in our power to say. And with this command He gave the

promise that, if he should preserve the dignity of the soul by giving the victory to reason, and acknowledging his Creator and observing His command, he should share eternal blessedness and live to all eternity, proving mightier than death: but if forsooth he should subject the soul to the body, and prefer the delights of the body, comparing himself in ignorance of his true dignity to the senseless beasts, and shaking off his Creator's yoke, and neglecting His divine injunction, he will be liable to death and corruption, and will be compelled to labor throughout a miserable life. For it was no profit to man to obtain incorruption while still untried and unproved, lest he should fall into pride and under the judgment of the devil. For through his incorruption the devil, when he had fallen as the result of his own free choice, was firmly established in wickedness, so that there was no room for repentance and no hope of change: just as, moreover, the angels also, when they had made free choice of virtue became through grace immovably rooted in goodness.

It was necessary, therefore, that man should first be put to the test (for man untried and unproved would be worth nothing), and being made perfect by the trial through the observance of the command should thus receive incorruption as the prize of his virtue. For being intermediate between God and matter he was destined, if he kept the command, to be delivered from his natural relation to existing things and to be made one with God's estate, and to be immovably established in goodness, but, if he transgressed and inclined the rather to what was material, and tore his mind from the Author of his being, I mean God, his fate was to be corruption, and he was to become subject to passion instead of passionless, and mortal instead of immortal, and dependent on connection and unsettled generation. And in his desire for life he would cling to pleasures as though they were necessary to maintain it, and would fearlessly abhor those who sought to deprive him of these, and transfer his desire from God to matter, and his anger from the real enemy of his salvation to his own brethren. The envy of the devil then was the reason of man's fall. For that same demon, so full of envy and with such a hatred of good, would not suffer us to enjoy the pleasures of heaven, when he himself was kept below on account of his arrogance, and hence the false one tempts miserable man with the hope of Godhead, and leading him up to as great a height of arrogance as himself, he hurls him down into a pit of destruction just as deep.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

CONCERNING THE DIVINE ECONOMY AND GOD'S CARE OVER US, AND CONCERNING OUR SALVATION

MAN, then, was thus snared by the assault of the arch-fiend, and broke his Creator's command, and was stripped of grace and put off his confidence with God, and covered himself with the asperities of a toilsome life (for this is the meaning of the fig-leaves); and was clothed about with death, that is, mortality and the grossness of flesh (for this is what the garment of skins signifies); and was banished from Paradise by God's just judgment, and condemned to death, and made subject to corruption. Yet, notwithstanding all this, in His pity, God, Who gave him his being, and Who in His graciousness bestowed on him a life of happiness, did not disregard man. But He first trained him in many ways and called him back, by groans and trembling, by the deluge of water, and the utter destruction of almost the whole race, by confusion and diversity of tongues, by the rule of angels, by the burning of cities, by figurative manifestations of God, by wars and victories and defeats, by signs and wonders, by manifold faculties, by the law and the prophets: for by all these means God earnestly strove to emancipate man from the wide-spread and enslaving bonds of sin, which had made life such a mass of iniquity, and to effect man's return to a life of happiness. For it was sin that brought death like a wild and savage beast into the worldto the ruin of the human life. But it behooved the Redeemer to be without sin, and not made liable through sin to death, and further, that His nature should be strengthened and renewed, and trained by labor and taught the way of virtue which leads away from corruption to the life eternal and, in the end, is revealed the mighty ocean of love to man that is about Him. For the very Creator and Lord Himself undertakes a struggle in behalf of the work of His own hands, and learns by toil to become Master. And since the enemy snares man by the hope of Godhead, he himself is snared in turn by the screen of flesh, and so are shown at once the goodness and wisdom, the justice and might of God.

God’s goodness is revealed in that He did not disregard the frailty of His own handiwork, but was moved with compassion for him in his fall, and stretched forth His hand to him: and His justice in that when man was overcome He did not make another victorious over the tyrant, nor did He snatch man by might from death, but in His goodness and justice He made him, who had become through his sins the slave of death, himself once more conqueror and rescued like by like, most difficult though it seemed: and His wisdom is seen in His devising the most fitting solution of the difficulty. For by the good pleasure of our God and Father, the Only-begotten Son and Word of God and God, Who is in the bosom of the God and Father, of like essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit, Who was before the ages, Who is without beginning and was in the beginning, Who is in the presence of the God and Father, and is God and made in the form of God, bent the heavens and descended to earth: that is to say, He humbled without humiliation His lofty station which yet could not be humbled, and condescends to His servants, with a condescension ineffable and incomprehensible: (for that is what the descent signifies). And God being perfect becomes perfect man, and brings to perfection the newest of all new things, the only new thing under the Sun, through which the boundless might of God is manifested. For what greater thing is there, than that God should become Man? And the Word became flesh without being changed, of the Holy Spirit, and Mary the holy and ever-virgin one, the mother of God. And He acts as mediator between God and man, He the only lover of man conceived in the Virgin’s chaste womb without will or desire, or any connection with man or pleasurable generation, but through the Holy Spirit and the first offspring of Adam. And He becomes obedient to the Father Who is like unto us, and finds a remedy for our disobedience in what He had assumed from us, and became a pattern of obedience to us without which it is not possible to obtain salvation.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE MANNER IN WHICH THE WORD WAS CONCEIVED, AND CONCERNING HIS DIVINE INCARNATION

The angel of the Lord was sent to the holy Virgin, who was descended from David's line. Far it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which tribe no one turned his attention to the altar, as the divine apostle said: but about this we will speak more accurately later. And bearing glad tidings to her, he said, Hail thou highly favored one, the Lord is with thee. And she was troubled at his word, and the angel said to her, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God, and shalt bring forth a Son and shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins. Hence it comes that Jesus has the interpretation Savior. And when she asked in her perplexity, How can this be, seeing I know not a man? the angel again answered her, The Holy Spirit shall came upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And she said to him, Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to Thy word.

So then, after the assent of the holy Virgin, the Holy Spirit descended on her, according to the word of the Lord which the angel spoke, purifying her, and granting her power to receive the divinity of the Word, and likewise power to bring forth. And then was she overshadowed by the enhypostatic Wisdom and Power of the most high God, the Son of God Who is of like essence with the Father as of Divine seed, and from her holy and most pure blood He formed flesh animated with the spirit of reason and thought, the first-fruits of our compound nature: not by procreation but by creation through the Holy Spirit: not developing the fashion of the body by gradual additions but perfecting it at once, He Himself, the very Word of God, standing to the flesh in the relation of subsistence. For the divine Word was not made one with flesh that had an independent pre-existence, but taking up His abode in the womb of the holy Virgin, He unreservedly in His own subsistence took upon Himself through the pure blood of the eternal Virgin a body of flesh animated with the spirit of reason and thought, thus assuming to Himself the first-fruits of man's

compound nature, Himself, the Word, having become a subsistence in the flesh. So that He is at once flesh, and at the same time flesh of God the Word, and likewise flesh animated, possessing both reason and thought. Wherefore we speak not of man as having become God, but of God as having become Man. For being by nature perfect God, He naturally became likewise perfect Man: and did not change His nature nor make the dispensation an empty show, but became, without confusion or change or division, one in subsistence with the flesh, which was conceived of the holy Virgin, and animated with reason and thought, and had found existence in Him, while He did not change the nature of His divinity into the essence of flesh, nor the essence of flesh into the nature of His divinity, and did not make one compound nature out of His divine nature and the human nature He had assumed.

CHAPTER 3

CONCERNING CHRIST'S TWO NATURES, IN APPOSITION TO THOSE WHO HOLD THAT HE HAS ONLY ONE

For the two natures were united with each other without change or alteration, neither the divine nature departing from its native simplicity, nor yet the human being either changed into the nature of God or reduced to non-existence, nor one compound nature being produced out of the two. For the compound nature cannot be of the same essence as either of the natures out of which it is compounded, as made one thing out of others: for example, the body is composed of the four elements, but is not of the same essence as fire or air, or water or earth, nor does it keep these names. If, therefore, after the union, Christ's nature was, as the heretics hold, a compound unity, He had changed from a simple into a compound nature, and is not of the same essence as the Father Whose nature is simple, nor as the mother, who is not a compound of divinity and humanity. Nor will He then be in divinity and humanity: nor will He be called either God or Man, but simply Christ: and the word Christ will be the name not of the subsistence, but of what in their view is the one nature.

We, however, do not give it as our view that Christ's nature is compound, nor yet that He is one thing made of other things and differing from them

as man is made of sold and body, or as the body is made of the four elements, but hold that, though He is constituted of these different parts He is yet the same. For we confess that He alike in His divinity and in His humanity both is and is said to be perfect God, the same Being, and that He consists of two natures, and exists in two natures. Further, by the word “Christ” we understand the name of the subsistence, not in the sense of one kind, but as signifying the existence of two natures. For in His own person He anointed Himself; as God anointing His body with His own divinity, and as Man being anointed. For He is Himself both God and Man. And the anointing is the divinity of His humanity. For if Christ, being of one compound nature, is of like essence to the Father, then the Father also must be compound and of like essence with the flesh, which is absurd and extremely blasphemous.

How, indeed, could one and the same nature come to embrace opposing and essential differences? For how is it possible that the same nature should be at once created and uncreated, mortal and immortal, circumscribed and uncircumscribed?

But if those who declare that Christ has only one nature should say also that that nature is a simple one, they must admit either that He is God pure and simple, and thus reduce the incarnation to a mere pretense, or that He is only man, according to Nestorius. And how then about His being “perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity”? And when can Christ be said to be of two natures, if they hold that He is of one composite nature after the union? For it is surely clear to every one that before the union Christ’s nature was one.

But this is what leads the heretics astray, viz., that they look upon nature and subsistence as the same thing. For when we speak of the nature of men as one, observe that in saying this we are not looking to the question of soul and body. For when we compare together the soul and the body it cannot be said that they are of one nature. But since there are very many subsistences of men, and yet all have the same kind of nature: for all are composed of soul and body, and all have part in the nature of the soul, and possess the essence of the body, and the common form: we speak of the one nature of these very many and different subsistences; while each

subsistence, to wit, has two natures, and fulfills itself in two natures, namely, soul and body.

But a common form cannot be admitted in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ. For neither was there ever, nor is there, nor will there ever be another Christ constituted of deity and humanity, and existing in deity and humanity at once perfect God and perfect man. And thus in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ we cannot speak of one nature made up of divinity and humanity, as we do in the case of the individual made up of soul and body. For in the latter case we have to do with an individual, but Christ is not an individual. For there is no predicable form of Christlihood, so to speak, that He possesses. And therefore we hold that there has been a union of two perfect natures, one divine and one human; not with disorder or confusion, or intermixture, or commingling, as is said by the God-accursed Dioscorus and by Eutyches and Severus, and all that impious company: and not in a personal or relative manner, or as a matter of dignity or agreement in will, or equality in honor, or identity in name, or good pleasure, as Nestorius, hated of God, said, and Diodorus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and their diabolical tribe: but by synthesis; that is, in subsistence, without change or confusion or alteration or difference or separation, and we confess that in two perfect natures there is but one subsistence of the Son of God incarnate; holding that there is one and the same subsistence belonging to His divinity and His humanity, and granting that the two natures are preserved in Him after the union, but we do not hold that each is separate and by itself, but that they are united to each other in one compound subsistence. For we look upon the union as essential, that is, as true and not imaginary. We say that it is essential, moreover, not in the sense of two natures resulting in one compound nature, but in the sense of a true union of them in one compound subsistence of the Son of God, and we hold that their essential difference is preserved. For the created remaineth created, and the uncreated, uncreated: the mortal remaineth mortal; the immortal, immortal: the circumscribed, circumscribed: the uncircumscribed, uncircumscribed: the visible, visible: the invisible, invisible. “The one part is all glorious with wonders: while the other is the victim of insults.”

Moreover, the Word appropriates to Himself the attributes of humanity: for all that pertains to His holy flesh is His: and He imparts to the flesh

His own attributes by way of communication in virtue of the interpenetration of the parts one with another, and the oneness according to subsistence, and inasmuch as He Who lived and acted both as God and as man, taking to Himself either form and holding intercourse with the other form, was one and the same. Hence it is that the Lord of Glory is said to have been crucified, although His divine nature never endured the Cross, and that the Son of Man is allowed to have been in heaven before the Passion, as the Lord Himself said. For the Lord of Glory is one and the same with Him Who is in nature and in truth the Son of Man, that is, Who became man, and both His wonders and His sufferings are known to us, although His wonders were worked in His divine capacity, and His sufferings endured as man. For we know that, just as is His one subsistence, so is the essential difference of the nature preserved. For how could difference be preserved if the very things that differ from one another are not preserved? For difference is the difference between things that differ. In so far as Christ's natures differ from one another, that is, in the matter of essence, we hold that Christ unites in Himself two extremes: in respect of His divinity He is connected with the Father and the Spirit, while in respect of His humanity He is connected with His mother and all mankind. And in so far as His natures are united, we hold that He differs from the Father and the Spirit on the one hand, and from the mother and the rest of mankind on the other. For the natures are united in His subsistence, having one compound subsistence, in which He differs from the Father and the Spirit, and also from the mother and us.

CHAPTER 4

CONCERNING THE MANNER OF THE MUTUAL COMMUNICATION

Now we have often said already that essence is one thing and subsistence another, and that essence signifies the common and general form of subsistences of the same kind, such as God, man, while subsistence marks the individual, that is to say, Father, Son, Holy Spirit, or Peter, Paul. Observe, then, that the names, divinity and humanity, denote essences or natures: while the names, God and man, are applied both in connection

with natures, as when we say that God is incomprehensible essence, and that God is one, and with reference to subsistences, that which is more specific having the name of the more general applied to it, as when the Scripture says, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee, or again, There was a certain man in the land of Uz, for it was only to Job that reference was made.

Therefore, in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, seeing that we recognize that He has two natures but only one subsistence compounded of both, when we contemplate His natures we speak of His divinity and His humanity, but when we contemplate the subsistence compounded of the natures we sometimes use terms that have reference to His double nature, as “Christ,” and “at once God and man,” and “God Incarnate;” and sometimes those that imply only one of His natures, as “God” alone, or “Son of God,” and “man” alone, or “Son of Man;” sometimes using names that imply His loftiness and sometimes those that imply His lowliness. For He Who is alike God and man is one, being the former from the Father ever without cause, but having become the latter afterwards for His love towards man.

When, then, we speak of His divinity we do not ascribe to it the properties of humanity. For we do not say that His divinity is subject to passion or created. Nor, again, do we predicate of His flesh or of His humanity the properties of divinity: for we do not say that His flesh or His humanity is uncreated. But when we speak of His subsistence, whether we give it a name implying both natures, or one that refers to only one of them, we still attribute to it the properties of both natures. For Christ, which name implies both natures, is spoken of as at once God and man, created and uncreated, subject to suffering and incapable of suffering: and when He is named Son of God and God, in reference to only one of His natures, He still keeps the properties of the co-existing nature, that is, the flesh, being spoken of as God who suffers, and as the Lord of Glory crucified, not in respect of His being God but in respect of His being at the same time man. Likewise also when He is called Man and Son of Man, He still keeps the properties and glories of the divine nature, a child before the ages, and man who knew no beginning; it is not, however, as child or man but as God that He is before the ages, and became a child in the end. And Ibis is the manner of the mutual communication, either nature giving in

exchange to the other its own properties through the identity of the subsistence and the interpenetration of the parts with one another. Accordingly we can say of Christ: This our God was seen upon the earth and lived amongst men, and This man is uncreated and impossible and uncircumscribed.

CHAPTER 5

CONCERNING THE NUMBER OF THE NATURES

In the case, therefore, of the Godhead we confess that there is but one nature, but hold that there are three subsistences actually existing, and hold that all things that are of nature and essence are simple, and recognize the difference of the subsistences only in the three properties of independence of cause and Fatherhood, of dependence on cause and Sonship, of dependence on cause and procession. And we know further that these are indivisible and inseparable from each other and united into one, and interpenetrating one another without confusion. Yea, I repeat, united without confusion, for they are three although united, and they are distinct, although inseparable. For although each has an independent existence, that is to say, is a perfect subsistence and has an individuality of its own, that is, has a special mode of existence, yet they are one in essence and in the natural properties. and in being inseparable and indivisible from the Father’s subsistence, and they both are and are said to be one God. In the very same way, then, in the case of the divine and ineffable dispensation, exceeding all thought and comprehension, I mean the Incarnation of the One God the Word of the Holy Trinity, and our Lord Jesus Christ, we confess that there are two natures, one divine and one human, joined together with one another and united in subsistence, so that one compound subsistence is formed out of the two natures: but we hold that the two natures are still preserved, even after the union, in the one compound subsistence, that is, in the one Christ, and that these exist in reality and have their natural properties; for they are united without confusion, and are distinguished and enumerated without being separable. And just as the three subsistences of the Holy Trinity are united without confusion, and are distinguished and enumerated without being separable,

the enumeration not entailing division or separation or alienation or cleavage among them (for we recognize one God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit), so in the same way the natures of Christ also, although they are united, yet are united without confusion; and although they interpenetrate one another, yet they do not permit of change or transmutation of one into the other. For each keeps its own natural individuality strictly unchanged. And thus it is that they can be enumerated without the enumeration introducing division. For Christ, indeed, is one, perfect both in divinity and in humanity. For it is not the nature of number to cause separation or unity, but its nature is to indicate the quantity of what is enumerated, whether these are united or separated: for we have unity, for instance, when fifty stones compose a wall, but we have separation when the fifty stones lie on the ground; and again, we have unity when we speak of coal having two natures, namely, fire and wood, but we have separation in that the nature of fire is one thing, and the nature of wood another thing; for these things are united and separated not by number, but in another way. So, then, just as even though the three subsistences of the Godhead are united with each other, we cannot speak of them as one subsistence because we should confuse and do away with the difference between the subsistences, so also we cannot speak of the two natures of Christ as one nature, united though they are in subsistence, because we should then confuse and do away with and reduce to nothing the difference between the two natures.

CHAPTER. 6

THAT IN ONE OF ITS SUBSISTENCES THE DIVINE NATURE IS UNITED IN ITS ENTIRETY TO THE HUMAN NATURE, IN ITS ENTIRETY AND NOT ONLY PART TO PART

What is common and general is predicated of the included particulars. Essence, then, is common as being a form, while subsistence is particular. It is particular not as though it had part of the nature and had not the rest, but particular in a numerical sense, as being individual. For it is in number and not in nature that the difference between subsistences is said to lie. Essence, therefore, is predicated of subsistence, because in each subsistence of the same form the essence is perfect. Wherefore

subsistences do not differ from each other in essence but in the accidents which indeed are the characteristic properties, but characteristic of subsistence and not of nature. For indeed they define subsistence as essence along with accidents. So that the subsistence contains both the general and the particular, and has an independent existence, while essence has not an independent existence but is contemplated in the subsistences. Accordingly when one of the subsistences suffers, the whole essence, being capable of suffering, is held to have suffered in one of its subsistences as much as the subsistence suffered, but it does not necessarily follow, however, that all the subsistences of the same class should suffer along with the suffering subsistence.

Thus, therefore, we confess that the nature of the Godhead is wholly and perfectly in each of its subsistences, wholly in the Father, wholly in the Son, and wholly in the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, and the Holy Spirit is perfect God. In like manner, too, in the Incarnation of the Trinity of the One God the Word of the Holy Trinity, we hold that in one of its subsistences the nature of the Godhead is wholly and perfectly united with the whole nature of humanity, and not part united to part. The divine Apostle in truth says that in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, that is to say in His flesh. And His divinely-inspired disciple, Dionysius, who had so deep a knowledge of things divine, said that the Godhead as a whole had fellowship with us in one of its own subsistences. But we shall not be driven to hold that all the subsistences of the Holy Godhead, to wit the three, are made one in subsistence with all the subsistences of humanity. For in no other respect did the Father and the Holy Spirit take part in the incarnation of God the Word than according to good will and pleasure But we hold that to the whole of human nature the whole essence of the Godhead was united. For God the Word omitted none of the things which He implanted in our nature when He formed us in the beginning, but took them all upon Himself, body and soul both intelligent and rational, and all their properties. For the creature that is devoid of one of these is not man. But He in His fullness took upon Himself me in my fullness, and was united whole to whole that He might in His grace bestow salvation on the whole man. For what has not been taken cannot be healed.

The Word of God, then, was united to flesh through the medium of mind which is intermediate between the purity of God and the grossness of flesh. For the mind holds sway over soul and body, but while the mind is the purest part of the soul God is that of the mind. And when it is allowed by that which is more excellent, the mind of Christ gives proof of its own authority, but it is under the dominion of and obedient to that which is more excellent, and does those things which the divine will purposes.

Further the mind has become the seat of the divinity united with it in subsistence, just as is evidently the case with the body too, not as an inmate, which is the impious error into which the heretics fall when they say that one bushel cannot contain two bushels, for they are judging what is immaterial by material standards. How indeed could Christ be called perfect God and perfect man, and be said to be of like essence with the Father and with us, if only part of the divine nature is joined in Him to part of the human nature?

We hold, moreover, that our nature has been raised from the dead and has ascended to the heavens and taken its seat at the right hand of the Father: not that all the persons of men have risen from the dead and taken their seat at the right hand of the Father, but that this has happened to the whole of our nature in the subsistence of Christ. Verily the divine Apostle says, God hath raised us up together and made us sit together in Christ.

And this further we hold, that the union took place through common essences. For every essence is common to the subsistences contained in it, and there cannot be found a partial and particular nature, that is to say, essence: for otherwise we would have to hold that the same subsistences are at once the same and different in essence, and that the Holy Trinity in respect of the divinity is at once the same and different in essence. So then the same nature is to be observed in each of the subsistences, and when we said that the nature of the word became flesh, as did the blessed Athanasius and Cyrillus, we mean that the divinity was joined to the flesh. Hence we cannot say “The nature of the Word suffered;” for the divinity in it did not suffer, but we say that the human nature, not by any means, however, meaning all the subsistences of men, suffered in Christ, and we confess further that Christ suffered in His human nature. So that when we speak of the nature of the Word we mean the Word Himself. And the

Word has both the general element of essence and the particular element of subsistence.

CHAPTER 7

CONCERNING THE ONE COMPOUND SUBSISTENCE OF GOD THE WORD

We hold then that the divine subsistence of God the Word existed before all else and is without time and eternal, simple and uncompound, uncreated, incorporeal, invisible, intangible, uncircumscribed, possessing all the Father possesses, since He is of the same essence with Him, differing from the Father's subsistence in the manner of His generation and the relation of the Father's subsistence, being perfect also and at no time separated from the Father's subsistence: and in these last. days, without leaving the Father's bosom, took up His abode in an uncircumscribed manner in the womb of the holy Virgin, without the instrumentality of seed, and in an incomprehensible manner known only to Himself, and causing the flesh derived from the holy Virgin to subsist in the very subsistence that was before all the ages.

So then He was both in all things and above all things and also dwelt in the womb of the holy Mother of God, but in it by the energy of the incarnation. He therefore became flesh and He took upon Himself thereby the first-fruits of our compound nature, viz., the flesh animated with the intelligent and national soul, so that the very subsistence of God the Word was changed into the subsistence of the flesh, and the subsistence of the Word, which was formerly simple, became compound, yea compounded of two perfect natures, divinity and humanity, and bearing the characteristic and distinctive property of the divine Sonship of God the Word in virtue of which it is distinguished from the Father and the Spirit, and also the characteristic and distinctive properties of the flesh, in virtue of which it differs from the Mother and the rest of mankind, bearing further the properties of the divine nature in virtue of which it is united to the Father and the Spirit, and the marks of the human nature in virtue of which it is united to the Mother and to us. And further it differs from the Father and

the Spirit and the Mother and us in being at once God and man. For this we know to be the most special property of the subsistence of Christ.

Wherefore we confess Him, even after the incarnation, the one Son of God, and likewise Son of Man, one Christ, one Lord, the only-begotten Son and Word of God, one Lord Jesus. We reverence His two generations, one from the Father before time and beyond cause and reason and time and nature, and one in the end for our sake, and like to us and above us; for our sake because it was for our salvation, like to us in that He was man born of woman at full tithe, and above us because it was not by seed, but by the Holy Spirit and the Holy Virgin Mary, transcending the laws of parturition. We proclaim Him not as God only, devoid of our humanity, nor yet as man only, stripping Him of His divinity, nor as two distinct persons, but as one and the same, at once God and man, perfect God and perfect man, wholly God and wholly man, the same being wholly God, even though He was also flesh and wholly man, even though He was also most high God. And by “perfect God” and “perfect man” we mean to emphasize the fullness and unfailingness of the natures: while by “wholly God” and “wholly man” we mean to lay stress on the singularity and individuality of the subsistence.

And we confess also that there is one incarnate nature of God the Word, expressing by the word “incarnate” the essence of the flesh, according to the blessed Cyril. And so the Word was made flesh and yet did not abandon His own proper immateriality: He became wholly flesh and yet remained wholly uncircumscribed. So far as He is body He is diminished and contracted into narrow limits, but inasmuch as He is God He is uncircumscribed, His flesh not being coextensive with His uncircumscribed divinity.

He is then wholly perfect God, but yet is not simply God: for He is not only God but also man. And He is also wholly perfect man but not simply man, for He is not only man but also God. For “simply” here has reference to His nature, and “wholly” to His subsistence, just as “another thing” would refer to nature, while “another” would refer to subsistence.

But observe that although we hold that the natures of the Lord permeate one another, yet we know that the permeation springs from the divine nature. For it is that that penetrates and permeates all things, as it wills,

while nothing penetrates it: and it is it, too, that imparts to the flesh its own peculiar glories, while abiding itself impossible and without participation in the affections of the flesh. For if the sun imparts to us his energies and yet does not participate in ours, how much the rather must this be true of the Creator and Lord of the Sun.

CHAPTER 8

IN REPLY TO THOSE WHO ASK WHETHER THE NATURES OF THE LORD ARE BROUGHT UNDER A CONTINUOUS OR A DISCONTINUOUS QUANTITY

If any one asks concerning the natures of the Lord if they are brought under a continuous or discontinuous quantity, we will say that the natures of the Lord are neither one body nor one superficies, nor one line, nor time, nor place, so as to be reduced to a continuous quantity. For these are the things that are reckoned continuously.

Further note that number deals with things that differ, and it is quite impossible to enumerate things that differ from one another in no respect: and just so far as they differ are they enumerated: for instance, Peter and Paul are not counted separately in so far as they are one. For since they are one in respect of their essence they cannot be spoken of as two natures, but as they differ in respect of subsistence they are spoken of as two subsistences. So that number deals with differences, and just as the differing objects differ from one another so far they are enumerated.

The natures of the Lord, then, are united without confusion so far as regards subsistence, and they are divided without separation according to the method and manner of difference. And it is not according to the manner in which they are united that they are enumerated, for it is not in respect of subsistence that we hold that there are two natures of Christ: but according to the manner in which they are divided without separation they are enumerated, for it is in respect of the method and manner of difference that there are two natures of Christ. For being united in subsistence and permeating one another, they are united without confusion, each preserving throughout its own peculiar and natural difference. Hence, since

they are enumerated according to the manner of difference, and that alone, they must be brought under a discontinuous quantity.

Christ, therefore, is one, perfect God and perfect man: and Him we worship along with the Father and the Spirit, with one obeisance, adoring even His immaculate flesh and not holding that the flesh is not meet for worship: for in fact it is worshipped in the one subsistence of the Word, which indeed became subsistence for it. But in this we do not do homage to that which is created. For we worship Him, not as mere flesh, but as flesh united with divinity, and because His two natures are brought under the one person and one subsistence of God the Word. I fear to touch coal because of the fire bound up with the wood. I worship the twofold nature of Christ because of the divinity that is in Him bound up with flesh. For I do not introduce a fourth person into the Trinity. God forbid! but I confess one person of God the Word and of His flesh, and the Trinity remains Trinity, even after the incarnation of the Word.

IN REPLY TO THOSE WHO ASK WHETHER THE TWO NATURES ARE BROUGHT UNDER A CONTINUOUS OR A DISCONTINUOUS QUANTITY

The natures of the Lord are neither one body nor one superficies, nor one line, nor place, nor time, so as to be brought under a continuous quantity: for these are the things that are reckoned continuously. But the natures of the Lord are united without confusion in respect of subsistence, and are divided without separation according to the method and manner of difference. And according to the manner in which they are united they are not enumerated. For we do not say that the natures of Christ are two subsistences or two in respect of subsistence. But according to the manner in which they are divided without division, are they enumerated. For there are two natures according to the method and manner of difference. For being united in subsistence and permeating one another they are united without confusion, neither having been changed into the other, but each preserving its own natural difference even after the union. For that which is created remained created, and that which is uncreated, uncreated. By the manner of difference, then, and in that alone, they are enumerated, and thus are brought under discontinuous quantity. For things which differ from each other in no respect cannot be enumerated, but just so far as they

differ are they enumerated; for instance, Peter and Paul are not enumerated in those respects in which they are one: for being one in respect of their essence they are not two natures nor are they so spoken of. But inasmuch as they differ in subsistence they are spoken of as two subsistences. So that difference is the cause of number.

CHAPTER 9

IN REPLY TO THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE IS NATURE THAT HAS NO SUBSISTENCE

For although there is no nature without subsistence, nor essence apart from person (since in truth it is in persons and subsistences that essence and nature are to be contemplated), yet it does not necessarily follow that the natures that are united to one another in subsistence should have each its own proper subsistence. For after they have come together into one subsistence, it is possible that neither should they be without subsistence, nor should each have its own peculiar subsistence, but that both should have one and the same subsistence. For since one and the same subsistence of the Word has become the subsistence of the natures, neither of them is permitted to be without subsistence, nor are they allowed to have subsistences that differ from each other, or to have sometimes the subsistence of this nature and sometimes of that, but always without division or separation they both have the same subsistence — a subsistence which is not broken up into parts or divided, so that one part should belong to this, and one to that, but which belongs wholly to this and wholly to that in its absolute entirety. For the flesh of God the Word did not subsist as an independent subsistence, nor did there arise another subsistence besides that of God the Word, but as it existed in that it became rather a subsistence which subsisted in another, than one which was an independent subsistence. Wherefore, neither does it lack subsistence altogether, nor yet is there thus introduced into the Trinity another subsistence.

CHAPTER 10

CONCERNING THE TRISAGIUM (“THE THRICE HOLY”)

This being so, we declare that the addition which the vain-minded Peter the Fuller made to the Trisagium or “Thrice Holy” Hymn is blasphemous; for it introduces a fourth person into the Trinity, giving a separate place to the Son of God, Who is the truly subsisting power of the Father, and a separate place to Him Who was crucified as though He were different from the “Mighty One,” or as though the Holy Trinity was considered possible, and the Father and the Holy Spirit suffered on the Cross along with the Son. Have done with this blasphemous and nonsensical interpolation! For we hold the words “Holy God” to refer to the Father, without limiting the title of divinity to Him alone, but acknowledging also as God the Son and the Holy Spirit: and the words “Holy and Mighty” we ascribe to the Son, without stripping the Father and the Holy Spirit of might: and the words “Holy and Immortal” we attribute to the Holy Spirit, without depriving the Father and the Son of immortality. For, indeed, we apply all the divine names simply and unconditionally to each of the subsistences in imitation of the divine Apostle’s words. But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him: and one Lord Jesus Christ by Whom are all things, and we by Him And, nevertheless, we follow Gregory the Theologian when he says, “But to us there is but one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and one Holy Spirit, in Whom are all things:” for the words “of Whom” and “through Whom” and “in Whom” do not divide the natures (for neither the prepositions nor the order of the names could ever be changed), but they characterize the properties of one unconfused nature. And this becomes clear from the fact that they are once more gathered into one, if only one reads with care these words of the same Apostle, Of Him and through Him and in Him are all things: to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

For that the “Trisagium” refers not to the Son alone, but to the Holy Trinity, the divine and saintly Athanasius and Basil and Gregory, and all the band of the divinely-inspired Fathers bear witness: because, as a matter of fact, by the threefold holiness the Holy Seraphim suggest to us the three

subsistences of the superessential Godhead. But by the one Lordship they denote the one essence and dominion of the supremely-divine Trinity. Gregory the Theologian of a truth says, “Thus, then, the Holy of Holies, which is completely veiled by the Seraphim, and is glorified with three consecrations, meet together in one lordship and one divinity.” This was the most beautiful and sublime philosophy of still another of our predecessors.

Ecclesiastical historians, then, say that once when the people of Constantinople were offering prayers to God to avert a threatened calamity, during Proclus’ tenure of the office of Archbishop, it happened that a boy was snatched up from among the people, and was taught by angelic teachers the “Thrice Holy” Hymn, “Thou Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us:” and when once more he was restored to earth, he told what he had learned, and all the people sang the Hymn, and so the threatened calamity was averted. And in the fourth holy and great (Ecumenical Council, I mean the one at Chalcedon, we are told that it was in this form that the Hymn was sung; for the minutes of this holy assembly so record it. It is, therefore, a matter for laughter and ridicule that this “Thrice Holy” Hymn, taught us by the angels, and confirmed by the averting of calamity, ratified and established by so great an assembly of the holy Fathers, and sung first by the Seraphim as a declaration of the three subsistences of the Godhead, should be mangled and forsooth emended to suit the view of the stupid Fuller as though he were higher than the Seraphim. But oh! the arrogance! not to say folly! But we say it thus, though demons should rend us in pieces, “Do Thou, Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy and Immortal One, have mercy upon us.”

CHAPTER 11

CONCERNING THE NATURE AS VIEWED IN SPECIES AND IN INDIVIDUAL, AND CONCERNING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UNION AND INCARNATION: AND HOW THIS IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD, "THE ONE NATURE OF GOD THE WORD INCARNATE."

Nature is regarded either abstractly as a matter of pure thought (for it has no independent existence): or commonly in all subsistences of the same species as their bond of union, and is then spoken of as nature viewed in species: or universally as the same, but with the addition of accidents, in one subsistence, and is spoken of as nature viewed in the individual, this being identical with nature viewed in species. God the Word Incarnate, therefore, did not assume the nature that is regarded as an abstraction in pure thought (for this is not incarnation, but only an imposture and a figment of incarnation), nor the nature viewed in species (for He did not assume all the subsistences): but the nature viewed in the individual, which is identical with that viewed in species. For He took on Himself the elements of our compound nature, and these not as having an independent existence or as being originally an individual, and in this way assumed by Him, but as existing in His own subsistence. For the subsistence of God the Word in itself became the subsistence of the flesh, and accordingly "the Word became flesh" clearly without any change, and likewise the flesh became Word without alteration, and God became man. For the Word is God, and man is God, through having one and the same subsistence. And so it is possible to speak of the same thing as being the nature of the Word and the nature in the individual. For it signifies strictly and exclusively neither the individual, that is, the subsistence, nor the common nature of the subsistences, but the common nature as viewed and presented in one of the subsistences.

Union, then, is one thing, and incarnation is something quite different. For union signifies only the conjunction, but not at all that with which union is effected. But incarnation (which is just the same as if one said "the putting on of man's nature") signifies that the conjunction is with flesh, that is to say, with man, just as the heating of iron implies its union with fire. Indeed, the blessed Cyril himself, when he is interpreting the phrase, "one

nature of God the Word Incarnate," says in the second epistle to Sucensus, "For if we simply said 'the one nature of the Word' and then were silent, and did not add the word 'incarnate.' but, so to speak, quite excluded the dispensation, there would be some plausibility in the question they feign to ask, 'If one nature is the whole, what becomes of the perfection in humanity, or how has the essence like us come to exist?' But inasmuch as the perfection in humanity and the disclosure of the essence like us are conveyed in the word 'incarnate,' they must cease from relying on a mere straw" Here, then, he placed the nature of the Word over nature itself. For if He had received nature instead of subsistence, it would not have been absurd to have omitted the "incarnate." For when we say simply one subsistence of God the Word, we do not err. In like manner, also, Leontius the Byzantine considered this phrase to refer to nature, and not to subsistence. But in the Defense which he wrote in reply to the attacks that Theodoret made on the second anathema, the blessed Cyril says this: "The nature of the Word, that is, the subsistence, which is the Word itself." So that "the nature of the Word" means neither the subsistence alone, nor "the common nature of the subsistence," but "the common nature viewed as a whole in the subsistence of the Word."

It has been said, then, that the nature of the Word became flesh, that is, was united to flesh: but that the nature of the Word suffered in the flesh we have never heard up till now, though we have been taught that Christ suffered in the flesh. So that "the nature of the Word" does not mean "the subsistence." It remains, therefore, to say that to become flesh is to be united with the flesh, while the Word having become flesh means that the very subsistence of the Word became without change the subsistence of the flesh. It has also been said that God became man, and man God. For the Word which is God became without alteration man. But that the Godhead became man, or became flesh, or put on the nature of man, this we have never heard. This, indeed, we have learned, that the Godhead was united to humanity in one of its subsistences, and it has been stated that God took on a different form or essence, to wit our own. For the name God is applicable to each of the subsistences, but we cannot use the term Godhead in reference to subsistence. For we are never told that the Godhead is the Father alone, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone. For "Godhead" implies "nature," while "Father" implies subsistence just as

“Humanity” implies nature, and “Peter” subsistence. But “God” indicates the common element of the nature, and is applicable derivatively to each of the subsistences, just as “man” is. For He Who has divine nature is God, and he who has human nature is man.

Besides all this, notice that the Father and the Holy Spirit take no part at all in the incarnation of the Word except in connection with the miracles, and in respect of good will and purpose.

CHAPTER 12

THAT THE HOLY VIRGIN IS THE MOTHER OF GOD: AN ARGUMENT DIRECTED AGAINST THE NESTORIANS

Moreover we proclaim the holy Virgin to be in strict truth the Mother of God. For inasmuch as He who was born of her was true God, she who bare the true God incarnate is the true mother of God. For we hold that God was born of her, not implying that the divinity of the Word received from her the beginning of its being, but meaning that God the Word Himself, Who was begotten of the Father timelessly before the ages, and was with the Father and the Spirit without beginning and through eternity, took up His abode in these last days for the sake of our salvation in the Virgin’s womb, and was without change made flesh and born of her. For the holy Virgin did not bare mere man but true God: and not mere God but God incarnate, Who did not bring down His body from Heaven, nor simply passed through the Virgin as channel, but received from her flesh of like essence to our own and subsisting in Himself. For if the body had come down from heaven and had not partaken of our nature, what would have been the use of His becoming man? For the purpose of God the Word becoming man was that the very same nature, which had sinned and fallen and become corrupted, should triumph over the deceiving tyrant and so be freed from corruption, just as the divine apostle puts it, For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. If the first is true the second must also be true.

Although, however, he says, The first Adam is of the earth earthy; the second Adam is Lord from Heaven, he does not say that His body is from

heaven, but emphasizes the fact that He is not mere man. For, mark, he called Him both Adam and Lord, thus indicating His double nature. For Adam is, being interpreted, earth-born: and it is clear that man's nature is earth-born since he is formed from earth, but the title Lord signifies His divine essence.

And again the Apostle says: God sent forth His only-begotten Son, made of a woman. He did not say "made by a woman." Wherefore the divine apostle meant that the only-begotten Son of God and God is the same as He who was made man of the Virgin, and that He who was born of the Virgin is the same as the Son of God and God.

But He was born after the bodily fashion inasmuch as He became man, and did not take up His abode in a man formed beforehand, as in a prophet, but became Himself in essence and truth man, that is He caused flesh animated with the intelligent and reasonable to subsist in His own subsistence, and Himself became subsistence for it. For this is the meaning of "made of a woman." For how could the very Word of God itself have been made under the law, if He did not become man of like essence with ourselves?

Hence it is with justice and truth that we call the holy Mary the Mother of God. For this name embraces the whole mystery of the dispensation. For if she who bore Him is the Mother of God, assuredly He Who was born of her is God and likewise also man. For how could God, Who was before the ages, have been born of a woman unless He had become man? For the son of man must clearly be man himself. But if He Who was born of a woman is Himself God, manifestly He Who was born of God the Father in accordance with the laws of an essence that is divine and knows no beginning, and He Who was in the last days born of the Virgin in accordance with the laws of an essence that has beginning and is subject to time, that is, an essence which is human, must be one and the same. The name in truth signifies the one subsistence and the two natures and the two generations Of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But we never say that the holy Virgin is the Mother of Christ because it was in order to do away with the title Mother of God, and to bring dishonor on the Mother of God, who alone is in truth worthy of honor above all creation, that the impure and abominable Judaizing Nestorius, that vessel of dishonor, invented this name for an insult. For David the

king, and Aaron, the high priest, are also called Christ, for it is customary to make kings and priests by anointing: and besides every God-inspired man may be called Christ. but yet be is not by nature God: yea, the accursed Nestorius insulted Him Who was born of the Virgin by calling Him God-bearer. May it be far from us to speak of or think of Him as God-bearer only, Who is in truth God incarnate. For the Word Himself became flesh, having been in truth conceived of the Virgin, but coming forth as God with the assumed nature which, as soon as He was brought forth into being, was deified by Him, so that these three things took place simultaneously, the assumption of our nature, the coming into being, and the deification of the assumed nature by the Word. And thus it is that the holy Virgin is thought of and spoken of as the Mother of God, not only because of the nature of the Word, but also because of the deification of man's nature, the miracles of conception and of existence being wrought together, to wit, the conception the Word, and the existence of the flesh in the Word Himself. For the very Mother of God in some marvelous manner was the means of fashioning the Framer of all things and of bestowing manhood on the God and Creator of all, Who deified the nature that He assumed, while the union preserved those things that were united just as they were united, that is to say, not only the divine nature of Christ but also His human nature, not only that which is above us but that which is of us. For He was not first made like us and only later became higher than us, but ever from His first coating into being He existed with the double nature, because He existed in the Word Himself from the beginning of the conception. Wherefore He is human in His own nature, but also, in some marvelous manner, of God and divine. Moreover He has the properties of the living flesh: for by reason of the dispensation the Word received these which are, according to the order of natural motion, truly natural.

CHAPTER 13

CONCERNING THE PROPERTIES OF THE TWO NATURES

Confessing, then, the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, to be perfect God and perfect man, we hold that the same has all the attributes of the Father save that of being ingenerate, and all the attributes of the first Adam, save only

his sin, these attributes being body and the intelligent and rational soul; and further that He has, corresponding to the two natures, the two sets of natural qualities belonging to the two natures: two natural volitions, one divine and one human, two natural, energies, one divine and one human, two natural free-wills, one divine and one human, and two kinds of wisdom and knowledge, one divine and one human. For being of like essence with God and the Father, He wills and energizes freely as God, and being also of like essence with us He likewise wills and energizes freely as man. For His are the miracles and His also are the passive states.

CHAPTER 14

CONCERNING THE VOLITIONS AND FREE-WILL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Since, then, Christ has two natures, we hold that He has also two natural wills and two natural energies. But since His two natures have one subsistence, we hold that it is one and the same person who wills and energizes naturally in both natures, of which, and in which, and also which is Christ our Lord: and moreover that He wills and energizes without separation but as a united whole. For He wills and energizes in either form in close communion with the other. For things that have the same essence have also the same will and energy, while things that are different in essence are different in will and energy; and vice versa, things that have the same will and energy have the same essence, while things that are different in will and energy are different in essence.

Wherefore in the case of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit we recognize, from their sameness in will and energy, their sameness in nature. But in the case of the divine dispensation we recognize from their difference in will and energy the difference of the two natures, and as we perceive the difference of the two natures we confess that the wills and energies also are different. For just as the number of the natures of one and the same Christ, when considered and spoken of with piety, do not cause a division of the one Christ but merely bring out the fact that the difference between the natures is maintained even in the union, so it is with the number of wills and energies that belong essentially to His natures. (For He was endowed

with the powers of willing and energizing in both natures, for the sake of our salvation) It does not introduce division: God forbid! but merely brings out the fact that the differences between them are safeguarded and preserved even in the union. For we hold that wills and energies are faculties belonging to nature, not to subsistence; I mean those faculties of will and energy by which He Who wills and energizes does so. For if we allow that they belong to subsistence, we will be forced to say that the three subsistences of the Holy Trinity have different wills and different energies.

For it is to be noted that willing and the manner of willing are not the same thing. For to will is a faculty of nature, just as seeing is, for all men possess it; but the manner of willing does not depend on nature but on our judgment, just as does also the manner of seeing, whether well or ill. For all men do not will in the same way, nor do they all see in the same way. And this also we will grant in connection with energies. For the manner of willing, or seeing, or energizing, is the mode of using the faculties of will and sight and energy, belonging only to him who uses them, and marking him off from others by the generally accepted difference.

Simple willing then is spoken of as volition or the faculty of will, being a rational propension and natural will; but in a particular way willing, or that which underlies volition, is the object of will, and will dependent on judgment. Further that which has innate in it the faculty of volition is spoken of as capable of willing: as for instance the divine is capable of willing, and the human in like manner. But he who exercises volition, that is to say the subsistence, for instance Peter, is spoken of as willing.

Since, then, Christ is one and His subsistence is one, He also Who wills both as God and as man is one and the same. And since He has two natures endowed with volition, inasmuch as they are rational (for whatever is rational is endowed with volition and free-will), we shall postulate two volitions or natural wills in Him. For He in His own person is capable of volition in accordance with both His natures. For He assumed that faculty of volition which belongs naturally to us. And since Christ, Who in His own person wills according to either nature, is one, we shall postulate the same object of will in His case, not as though He wills only those things which He willed naturally as God (for it is no part of Godhead to will to

eat or drink and so forth), but as willing also those things which human nature requires for its support, and this without involving any opposition in judgment, but simply as the result of the individuality of the natures. For then it was that He thus willed naturally, when His divine volition so willed and permitted the flesh to suffer and do that which was proper to it.

But that volition is implanted in man by nature is manifest from this. Excluding the divine life, there are three forms of life: the vegetative, the sentient, and the intellectual. The properties of the vegetative life are the functions of nourishment, and growth, and production: that of the sentient life is impulse: and that of the rational and intellectual life is freedom of will. If, then, nourishment belongs by nature to the vegetative life and impulse to the sentient, freedom of will by nature belongs to the rational and intellectual life. But freedom of will is nothing else than volition. The Word, therefore, having become flesh, endowed with life and mind and free-will, became also endowed with volition.

Further, that which is natural is not the result of training: for no one learns how to think, or live, or hunger, or thirst, or sleep. Nor do we learn how to will: so that willing is natural.

And again: if in the case of creatures devoid of reason nature rules, while nature is ruled in man who is moved of his own free-will and volition, it follows, then, that man is by nature endowed with volition.

And again: if man has been made after the image of the blessed and super-essential Godhead, and if the divine nature is by nature endowed with free-will and volition, it follows that man, as its image, is free by nature and volitive. For the fathers defined freedom as volition.

And further: if to will is a part of the nature of every man and not present in some and absent in others, and if that which is seen to be common to all is a characteristic feature of the nature that belongs to the individuals of the class, surely, then, man is by nature endowed with volition.

And once more: if the nature receives neither more nor less, but all are equally endowed with volition and not some more than others, then by nature man is endowed with volition. So that since man is by nature endowed with volition, the Lord also must be by nature endowed with volition, not only because He is God, but also because He became man.

For just as He assumed our nature, so also He has assumed naturally our will. And in this way the Fathers said that He formed our will in Himself.

If the will is not natural, it must be either hypostatic or unnatural. But if it is hypostatic, the Son must thus, forsooth, have a different will from what the Father has: for that which is hypostatic is characteristic of subsistence only. And if it is unnatural, will must be a defection from nature: for what is unnatural is destructive of what is natural.

The God and Father of all things wills either as Father or as God. Now if as Father, His will be different from that of the Son, for the Son is not the Father. But if as God, the Son is God and likewise the Holy Spirit is God, and so volition is part of His nature, that is, it is natural.

Besides, if according to the view of the Fathers, those who have one and the same will have also one and the same essence, and if the divinity and humanity of Christ have one and the same will, then assuredly these have also one and the same essence.

And again: if according to the view of the Fathers the distinction between the natures is not seen in the single will, we mast either, when we speak of the one will, cease to speak of the different natures in Christ or, when we speak of the different natures of Christ, cease to speak of the one will.

And further, the divine Gospel says, The Lord came into the borders of Tyre and Sidon and entered into a house, and would have no man know it; but He could not be hid. If, then, His divine will is omnipotent, but yet, though He would, He could not be hid, surely it was as man that He would and could not, and so as man He must be endowed with volition.

And once again, the Gospel tells us that, He, having come into the place, said ‘I thirst’: and they gave Him same vinegar mixed with gall, and when He had tasted it fare would not drink. If, then, on the one hand it was as God that tie suffered thirst and when He had tasted would not drink, surely He must be subject to passion also as God, for thirst and taste are passions. But if it was not as God but altogether as man that He was athirst, likewise as man He must be endowed with volition.

Moreover, the blessed Paul the Apostle says, He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. But obedience is subjection of the real

will, not of the unreal will. For that which is irrational is not said to be obedient or disobedient. But the Lord having become obedient to the Father, became so not as God but as man. For as God He is not said to be obedient or disobedient. For these things are of the things that are trader one’s band, as the inspired Gregorius said. Wherefore, then, Christ is endowed with volition as man.

While, however, we assert that will is natural, we hold not that it is dominated by necessity, but that it is free. For if it is rational, it must be absolutely free. For it is not only the divine and uncreated nature that is free from the bonds of necessity, but also the intellectual and created nature. And this is manifest: for God, being by nature good and being by nature the Creator and by nature God, is not all this of necessity. For who is there to introduce this necessity?

It is to be observed further, that freedom of will is used in several senses, one in connection with God, another in connection with angels, and a third in connection with men. For used in reference to God it is to be understood in a superessential manner, and in reference to angels it is to be taken in the sense that the election is concomitant with the state, and admits of the interposition of no interval of time at all: for while the angel possesses free-will by nature, he uses it without let or hindrance, having neither antipathy on the part of the body to overcome nor any assailant. Again, used in reference to men, it is to be taken in the sense that the state is considered to be anterior in time to the election. For than is free and has free-will by nature, but he has also the assault of the devil to impede him and the motion of the body: and thus through the assault and the weight of the batty, election comes to be later than the state.

If, then, Adam obeyed of his own will and ate of his own will, surely in us the will is the first part to suffer. And if the will is the first to suffer, and the Word Incarnate did not assume this with the rest of our nature, it follows that we have not been freed from sin.

Moreover, if the faculty of free-will which is in nature is His work and yet He did not assume it, He either condemned His own workmanship as not good, or grudged us the comfort it brought, and so deprived us of the full benefit, and shewed that He was Himself subject to passion since He was not willing or not able to work out our perfect salvation.

Moreover, one cannot speak of one compound thing made of two wills in the same way as a subsistence is a composition of two natures. Firstly because the compositions are of things in subsistence (hypotasis), not of things viewed in a different category, not in one proper to them: and secondly, because if we speak of composition of wills and energies, we will be obliged to speak of composition of the other natural properties, such as the uncreated and the created, the invisible and the visible, and so on. And what will be the name of the will that is compounded out of two wills? For the compound cannot be called by the name of the elements that make it up. For otherwise we should call that which is compounded of natures nature and not subsistence. And further, if we say that there is one compound will in Christ, we separate Him in will from the Father, for the Father's will is not compound. It remains, therefore, to say that the subsistence of Christ atone is compound and common, as in the case of the natures so also in that of the natural properties.

And we cannot, if we wish to be accurate, speak of Christ as having judgment (γνώμη) and preference. For judgment is a disposition with reference to the decision arrived at after investigation and deliberation concerning something unknown, that is to say, after counsel and decision. And after judgment comes preference, which chooses out and selects the one rather than the other. But the Lord being not mere man but also God, and knowing all things, had no need of inquiry. and investigation, and counsel, and decision, and by nature made whatever is good His own and whatever is bad foreign to Him. For thus says Isaiah the prophet, Before the child shall know to prefer the evil, he shall choose the good; because before the child knows good or evil, he refuses wickedness by choosing the good. For the word "before" proves that it is not with investigation and deliberation, as is the way with us, but as God and as subsisting in a divine manner in the flesh, that is to say, being united in subsistence to the flesh, and because of His very existence and all-embracing knowledge, that He is possessed of good in His own nature. For the virtues are natural qualities, and are implanted in all by nature and in equal measure, even if we do not all in equal measure employ our natural energies. By the transgression we were driven from the natural to the unnatural. But the Lord led us back from the unnatural into the natural. For this is what is the meaning of in our image, after our likeness. And the discipline and trouble of this life

were not designed as a means for our attaining virtue which was foreign to our nature, but to enable us to cast aside the evil that was foreign and contrary to our nature: just as on laboriously removing from steel the rust which is not natural to it but acquired through neglect, we reveal the natural brightness of the steel.

Observe further that the word judgment (γνώμη) is used in many ways and in many senses. Sometimes it signifies exhortation: as when the divine apostle says, Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment: sometimes it means counsel, as when the prophet David says, They have taken crafty counsel against Thy people: sometimes it means a decree, as when we read in Daniel, Concerning whom (or, what) went this shameless decree forth? At other times it is used in the sense of belief, or opinion, or purpose, and, to put it shortly, the word judgment has twenty-eight different meanings.

CHAPTER 15

CONCERNING THE ENERGIES IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

We hold, further, that there are two energies in our Lord Jesus Christ. For He possesses on the one hand, as God and being of like essence with the Father, the divine energy, and, likewise, since He became man and of like essence to us, the energy proper to human nature.

But observe that energy and capacity for energy, and the product of energy, and the agent of energy, are all different. Energy is the efficient (δραστική) and essential activity of nature: the capacity for energy is the nature from which proceeds energy: the product of energy is that which is effected by energy: and the agent of energy is the person or subsistence which uses the energy. Further, sometimes energy is used in the sense of the product of energy, and the product of energy in that of energy, just as the terms creation and creature are sometimes transposed. For we say “all creation,” meaning creatures.

Note also that energy is an activity and is energized rather than energizes; as Gregory the Theologian says in his thesis concerning the Holy Spirit:

“If energy exists, it must manifestly be energized and will not energize: and as soon as it has been energized, it will cease.”

Life itself, it should be observed, is energy, yea, the primal energy of the living creature and so is the whole economy of the living creature, its functions of nutrition and growth, that is, the vegetative side of its nature, and the movement stirred By impulse, that is, the sentient side, and its activity of intellect and free-will. Energy, moreover, is the perfect realization of power. If, then, we contemplate all these in Christ, surely we must also hold that He possesses human energy.

The first thought that arises in us is called energy: and it is simple energy not involving any relationship, the mind sending forth the thoughts peculiar to it in an independent and invisible way, for if it did not do so it could not justly be called mind. Again, the revelation and unfolding of thought by means of articulate speech is said to be energy. But this is no longer simple energy that revolves no relationship, but it is considered in relation as being composed of thought and speech. Further, the very relation which be who does anything bears to that which is brought about is energy; and the very thing that is effected is called energy. The first belongs to the soul alone, the second to the soul making use of the body, the third to the body animated by mind, and the last is the effect. For the mind sees beforehand what is to be and then performs it thus by means of the body. And so the hegemony belongs to the soul, for it uses the body as an instrument, leading and restraining it. But the energy of the body is quite different, for the booty is led and moved by the soul. And with regard to the effect, the touching and handling and, so to speak, the embrace of what is effected, belong to the body, while the figuration and formation belong to the soul. And so in connection with our Lord Jesus Christ, the power of miracles is the energy of His divinity, while the work of His hands and the willing and the saying, I will, be thou clean, are the energy of His humanity. And as to the effect, the breaking of the loaves, and the fact that the leper heard the “I will,” belong to His humanity, while the multiplication of the loaves and the purification of the leper belong to His divinity. For through both, that is through the energy of the booty and the energy of the soul. He displayed one and the same, cognate and equal divine energy. For just as we saw that His natures were united and permeate one another, and yet do not deny that they are different but even

enumerate them, although we know they are inseparable, so also in connection with the wills and the energies we know their union, and we recognize their difference and enumerate them without introducing separation. For just as the flesh was deified without undergoing change in its own nature, in the same way also will and energy are deified without transgressing their own proper limits. For whether He is the one or the other, He is one and the same, and whether He wills and energizes in one way or the other, that is as God or as man, He is one and the same.

We must, then, maintain that Christ has two energies in virtue of His double nature. For things that have diverse natures, have also different energies, and things that have diverse energies, have also different natures. And so conversely, things that have the same nature have also the same energy, and things that have one and the same energy have also one and the same essence, which is the view of the Fathers, who declare the divine meaning. One of these alternatives, then, must be true: either, if we hold that Christ has one energy. we must also hold that He has but one essence, or, if we are solicitous about truth. and confess that He has according to the doctrine of the Gospels and the Fathers two essences, we must also confess that He has two energies corresponding to and accompanying them. For as He is of like essence with God and the Father in divinity, He will be His equal also in energy. And as He likewise is of like essence with us in humanity He will be our equal also in energy. For the blessed Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, says, “Things that have one and the same energy, have also absolutely the same power.” For all energy is the effect of power. But it cannot be that uncreated and created nature have one and the same nature or power or energy. But if we should hold that Christ has but one energy, we should attribute to the divinity of the Word the passions of the intelligent spirit, viz. tear and grief and anguish.

If they should say, indeed, that the holy Fathers said in their disputation concerning the Holy Trinity, “Things that have one and the same essence have also one and the same energy, and things which have different essences have also different energies,” and that it is not right to transfer to the dispensation what has reference to matters of theology, we shall answer that if it has been said by the Fathers solely with reference to theology. and if the Son has not even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father s, assuredly He cannot have the same essence. But to whom

shall we attribute this, My Father worketh hitherto and I work: and this, What things soever He seeth the Father doing, these also doeth the Son likewise: and this, If ye believe not Me, believe My works: and this, The work which I do bear witness concerning Me: and this. As the Father raised up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. For all these shew not only that He is of like essence to the Father even after the incarnation, but that He has also the same energy.

And again: if the providence that embraces all creation is not only of the Father and the Holy Spirit, but also of the Son even after the incarnation, assuredly since that is energy, He must have even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father.

But if we have learnt from the miracles that Christ has the same essence as the Father, and since the miracles happen to be the energy of God, assuredly He must have even after the incarnation the same energy as the Father.

But, if there is one energy belonging to both His divinity and His humanity, it will be compound, and will be either a different energy from that of the Father, or the Father, too, will have a compound energy. But if the Father has a compound energy, manifestly He must also have a compound nature.

But if they should say that together with energy is also introduced personality, we shall reply that if personality is introduced along with energy, then the true converse must hold good that energy is also introduced along with personality; and there will be also three energies of the Holy Trinity just as there are three persons or subsistences, or there will be one person and one subsistence just as there is only one energy. Indeed, the holy Fathers have maintained with one voice that things that have the same essence have also the same energy.

But further, if personality is introduced along with energy, those who divine that neither one nor two energies of Christ are to be spoken of, do not maintain that either one or two persons of Christ are to be spoken of.

Take the case of the flaming sword; just as in it the natures of the fire and the steel are preserved distinct, so also are their two energies and their effects. For the energy of the steel is its cutting power, and that of the fire

is its burning power, and the cut is the effect of the energy of the steel, and the burn is the effect of the energy of the fire: and these are kept quite distinct in the burnt cut, and in the cut burn, although neither does the burning take place apart from the cut after the union of the two, nor the cut apart from the burning: and we do not maintain on account of the twofold natural energy that there are two flaming swords, nor do we confuse the essential difference of the energies on account of the unity of the flaming sword. In like manner also, in the case of Christ, His divinity possesses an energy that is divine and omnipotent while His humanity has an energy such as is our own. And the effect of His human energy was His taking the child by the hand and drawing her to Himself, while that of His divine energy was the restoring of her to life. For the one is quite distinct from the other, although they are inseparable from one another in theandric energy. But if, because Christ has one subsistence, He must also have one energy, then, because He has one subsistence, He must also have one essence.

And again: if we should hold that Christ has but one energy, this must be either divine or human, or neither. But if we hold that it is divine we must maintain that He is God alone, stripped of our humanity. And if we hold that it is human, we shall be guilty of the impiety of saying that He is mere man. And if we hold that it is neither divine nor human, we must also hold that He is neither God nor man, of like essence neither to the Father nor to us. For it is as a result of the union that the identity in hypostasis arises, but yet the difference between the natures is not done away with. But since the difference between the natures is preserved, manifestly also the energies of the natures will be preserved. For no nature exists that is lacking in energy.

If Christ our Master has one energy, it must be either created or uncreated; for between these there is no energy, just as there is no nature. If, then, it is created, it will point to created nature alone, but if it is uncreated, it will betoken uncreated essence alone. For that which is natural must completely correspond with its nature: for there cannot exist a nature that is defective. But the energy that harmonizes with nature does not belong to that which is external: and this is manifest because, apart from the energy that harmonizes with nature, no nature can either exist or be known. For

through that in which each thing manifests its energy, the absence of change confirms its own proper nature.

If Christ has one energy, it must be one and the same energy that performs both divine and human actions. But there is no existing thing which abiding in its natural state can act in opposite ways: for fire does not freeze and boil, nor does water dry up and make wet. How then could He Who is by nature God, and Who became by nature man, have both performed miracles, and endured passions with one and the same energy?

If, then, Christ assumed the human mind, that is to say, the intelligent and reasonable soul, undoubtedly He has + thought, and will think for ever. But thought is the energy of the mind: and so Christ. as man, is endowed with energy, and will be so for ever.

Indeed, the most wise and great and holy John Chrysostom says in his interpretation of the Acts, in the second discourse, “One would not err if he should call even His passion action: for in that He suffered all things, tie accomplished that great and marvelous work, the overthrow of death, and all His other works.”

It all energy is defined as essential movement of some nature, as those who are versed in these matters say, where does one perceive any nature that has no movement, and is completely devoid of energy, or where does one find energy that is not movement of natural power? But, as the blessed Cyril says, no one in his senses could admit that there was but one natural energy of God and His creation. It is not His human nature that raises up Lazarus from the dead, nor is it His divine power that sheds tears: for the shedding of tears is peculiar to human nature while the life is peculiar to the enhypostatic life. But yet they are common the one to the other, because of the identity in subsistence. For Christ is one, and one also is His person or subsistence, but yet He has two natures, one belonging to His humanity, and another belonging to His divinity. And the glory. indeed, which proceeded naturally from His divinity became common to both through the identity in subsistence. and again on account of His flesh that which was lowly became common to both. For He Who is the one or the other, that is God or man, is one and the same, and both what is divine and what is human belong to Himself. For while His divinity performed the miracles, they were not done apart from the flesh, and while His flesh

performed its lowly offices, they were not done apart from the divinity. For His divinity was joined to the suffering flesh, yet remaining without passion, and endured the saving passions, and the holy mind was joined to the energizing divinity of the Word, perceiving and knowing what was being accomplished.

And thus His divinity communicates its own glories to the body while it remains itself without part in the sufferings of the flesh. For His flesh did not suffer through His divinity in the same way that His divinity energized through the flesh. For the flesh acted as the instrument of His divinity. Although, therefore, from the first conception there was no division at all between the two forms, but the actions of either form through all the time became those of one person, nevertheless we do not in any way confuse those things that took place without separation, but recognize from the quality of its works what sort of form anything has.

Christ, then, energizes according to both His natures and either nature energizes in Him in communion with the other, the Word performing through the authority and power of its divinity all the actions proper to the Word, i.e. all acts of supremacy and sovereignty, and the body performing all the actions proper to the body, in obedience to the will of the Word that is united to it, and of whom it has become a distinct part. For He was not moved of Himself to the natural passions, nor again did He in that way recoil from the things of pain, and pray for release from them, or suffer what befell from without, but He was moved in conformity with His nature, the Word willing and allowing Him economically * to suffer that, and to do the things proper to Him, that the truth might be confirmed by the works of nature.

Moreover, just as He received in His birth of a virgin superessential essence, so also He revealed His human energy in a superhuman way, walking with earthly feet on unstable water, not by turning the water into earth, but by causing it in the superabundant power of His divinity not to flow away nor yield beneath the weight of material feet. For not in a merely human way did He do human things: for He was not only man, but also God, and so even His sufferings brought life and salvation: nor yet did He energize as God, strictly after the manner of God, for He was not only

God, but also man, and so it was by touch and word and such like that He worked miracles.

But if any one should say, “We do not say that Christ has but one nature, in order to do away with His human energy, but we do so because human energy, in opposition to divine energy, is called passion (πάτθος).” we shall answer that, according to this reasoning, those also who hold that He has but one nature do not maintain this with a view to doing away with His human nature, but because human nature in opposition to divine nature is spoken of as passible (παθητική). But God forbid that we should call the human activity passion, when we are distinguishing it from divine energy. For, to speak generally, of nothing is the existence recognized or defined by comparison or collation. If it were so, indeed, existing things would turn out to be mutually the one the cause of the other. For if the human activity is passion because the divine activity is energy, assuredly also the human nature must be wicked because the divine nature is good, and, by conversion and opposition, if the divine activity is called energy because the human activity is called passion, then also the divine nature must be good because the human nature is bad. And so all created things must be bad, and he must have spoken falsely who said, And God saw every thing that He had made, and, behold, it was very good.

We, therefore, maintain that the holy Fathers gave various names to the human activity according to the underlying notion. For the called it power, and energy, and difference, and activity, and property, and quality, and passion, not in distinction from the divine activity, but power, because it is a conservative and invariable force; and energy, because it is a distinguishing mark, and reveals the absolute similarity between all things of the same class; and difference, because it distinguishes; and activity, because it makes manifest; and property, because it is constituent and belongs to that alone, and not to any other; and quality, because it gives form; and passion, because it is moved, For all things that are of God and after God suffer in respect of being moved, forasmuch as they have not in themselves motion or power. Therefore, as has been said, it is not in order to distinguish the one from the other that it has been named, but it is in accordance with the plan implanted in it in a creative manner by the Cause that framed the universe. Wherefore, also, when they spoke of it along

with the divine nature they called it energy. For he who said, “For either form energizes close communion with the other,” did something quite different froth him who said, And when He had fasted forty days, He was afterwards an hungered:(for He allowed His nature to energize when it so willed, in the way proper to itself,) or from those who hold there is a different energy in Him or that He has a twofold energy, or now one energy and now another. For these statements with the change in terms signify the two energies. Indeed, often the number is indicated both by change of terms and by speaking of them as divine and human. For the difference is difference in differing things, but how do things that do not exist differ?

CHAPTER 16

IN REPLY TO THOSE WHO SAY “IF MAN HAS TWO NATURES AND TWO ENERGIES, CHRIST MUST BE HELD TO HAVE THREE NATURES AND AS MANY ENERGIES.”

Each individual man, since he is composed of two natures, soul and body, and since these natures are unchangeable in him, could appropriately be spoken of as two natures: for he preserves even after their union thee natural properties of either. For the body is not immortal, but corruptible; neither is the soul mortal, but immortal: and the body is not invisible pot the soul visible to bodily eyes: but the soul is rational and intellectual, and incorporeal, while the body is dense and visible, and irrational. But things that are opposed to one another in essence have not one nature, and, therefore, soul and body cannot have one essence.

And again: if man is a rational and mortal animal, and every definition is explanatory of the underlying natures, and the rational is not the same as the mortal according to the plan of nature, man then certainly cannot have one nature, according to the rule of his own definition.

But if man should at any time be said to have one nature, the word “nature” is here used instead of “species,” as when we say that man does not differ from man in any difference of nature. But since all men are fashioned in the same way, and are composed of soul and body, and each has two distinct natures, they are all brought under one definition. And

this is not unreasonable, for the holy Athanasius spake of all created things as having one nature forasmuch as they were all produced, expressing himself thus in his Oration against those who blasphemed the Holy Spirit: “That the Holy Spirit is above all creation, and different from the nature of things produced and peculiar to divinity, we may again perceive. For whatever is seen to be common to many things, and not more in one and less in another, is called essence. since, then, every man is composed of soul and body, accordingly we speak of man as having one nature. But we cannot speak of our Lord’s subsistence as one nature: for each nature preserves, even after the union, its natural properties, nor can we find a class of Christs. For no other Christ was born both of divinity and of humanity to be at once God and man.”

And again: man’s unity in species is not the same thing as the unity of soul and body in essence. For man’s unity in species makes clear the absolute similarity between all men, while the unity of soul and body in essence is an insult to their very existence, and reduces them to nothingness: for either the one must change into the essence of the other, or from different things something different must be produced, and so both would be changed, or if they keep to their own proper limits there must be two natures. For, as regards the nature of essence the corporeal is not the same as the incorporeal. Therefore, although holding that man has one nature, not because the essential quality of his soul and that of his body are the same, but because the individuals included under the species are exactly the same, it is not necessary for us to maintain that Christ also has one nature, for in this case there is no species embracing many subsistences.

Moreover, every compound is said to be composed of what immediately composes it. For we do not say that a house is composed of earth and water, but of bricks and timber. Otherwise, it would be necessary to speak of man as composed of at least five things, viz., the four elements and soul. And so also, in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ we do not look at the parts of the parts, but at those divisions of which He is immediately composed, viz., divinity and humanity.

And further, if by saying that man has two natures we are obliged to hold that Christ has three, you, too, by saying that man is composed of two natures must hold that Christ is composed of three natures: and it is just

the same with the energies. For energy must correspond with nature: and Gregory the Theologian bears witness that man is said to have and has two natures, saying, “God and man are two natures, since, indeed, soul and body also are two natures.” And in his discourse “Concerning Baptism” he says, “Since we consist of two parts, soul and body. the visible and the invisible nature, the purification is likewise twofold, that is, by water and Spirit.”

CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING THE DEIFICATION OF THE NATURE OF OUR LORD’S FLESH AND OF HIS WILL

It is worthy of note that the flesh of the Lord is not said to have been deified and made equal to God and God in respect of any change or alteration, or transformation, or confusion of nature: as Gregory the Theologian says, “Whereof the one deified, and the other was deified, and, to speak boldly, made equal to God: and that which anointed became man, and that which was anointed became God.” For these words do not mean any change in nature, but rather the economical union (I mean the union in subsistence by virtue of which it was united inseparably with God the Word), and the permeation of the natures through one another, just as we saw that burning permeated the steel. For, just as we confess that God became man without change or alteration, so we consider that the flesh became God without change. For because the Word became flesh, He did not overstep the limits of His own divinity nor abandon the divine glories that belong to Him: nor, on the other hand, was the flesh, when deified, changed in its own nature or in its natural properties. For even after the union, boil the natures abode unconfused and their properties unimpaired. But the flesh of the Lord received the riches of the divine energies through the purest union with the Word, that is to say, the union in subsistence, without entailing the loss of any of its natural attributes. For it is not in virtue of any energy of its own but through the Word united to it, that it manifests divine energy: for the flaming steel burns, not because it has been endowed in a physical way with burning energy, but because it has obtained this energy by its union with fire.

Wherefore the same flesh was mortal by reason of its own nature and life-giving through its union with the Word in subsistence. And we hold that it is just the same with the deification of the will; for its natural activity was not changed but united with His divine and omnipotent will, and became the will of God, made man. And so it was that, though He wished, He could not of Himself escape, because it pleased God the Word that the weakness of the human will, which was in truth in Him, should be made manifest. But He was able to cause at His will the cleansing of the leper, because of the union with the divine will.

Observe further, that the deification of the nature and the will points most expressly and most directly both to two natures and two wills. For just as the burning does not change into fire the nature of the thing that is burnt, but makes distinct both what is burnt, and what burned it, and is indicative not of one but of two natures, so also the deification does not bring about one compound nature but two, and their union in subsistence. Gregory the Theologian, indeed, says, “Whereof the one deified, the other was deified,” and by the words “whereof,” “the one,” “the other,” he assuredly indicates two natures.

CHAPTER 18

FURTHER CONCERNING VOLITIONS AND FREE-WILLS: MINDS, TOO, AND KNOWLEDGES AND WISDOMS

When we say that Christ is perfect Gods and perfect man, we assuredly attribute to Him all the properties natural to both the Father and mother. For He became man in order that that which was overcome might overcome. For He Who was omnipotent did not in His omnipotent authority and might lack the power to rescue man out of the hands of the tyrant. But the tyrant would have had a ground of complaint if, after He had overcome man, God should have used force against him. Wherefore God in His pity and love for man wished to reveal fallen man himself as conqueror, and became man to restore like with like.

But that man is a rational and intelligent animal, no one will deny. How, then, could He have become man if He took on Himself flesh without soul,

or soul without mind? For that is not man. Again, what benefit would His becoming man have been to us if He Who suffered first was not saved, nor renewed and strengthened by the union with divinity? For that which is not assumed is not remedied. He, therefore, assumed the whole man, even the fairest part of him, which had become diseased, in order that He might bestow salvation on the whole. And, indeed, there could never exist a mind that had not wisdom and was destitute of knowledge. For if it has not energy or motion, it is utterly reduced to nothingness.

Therefore, God the Word, wishing to restore that which was in His own image, became man. But what is that which was in His own image, unless mind? So He gave up the better and assumed the worse. For mindis in the border-land between God and flesh, for it dwells indeed in fellowship with the flesh, and is, moreover, the image of God. Mind, then, mingles with mind, and mind holds a place midway between the pureness of God and the denseness of flesh. For if the Lord assumed a soul without mind, He assumed the soul of an irrational animal.

But if the Evangelist said that the Word was made flesh, note that in the Holy Scripture sometimes a man is spoken of as a soul, as, for example, with seventy-five souls came Jacob into Egypt: and sometimes a man is spoken of as flesh, as, for example, All flesh shall see the salvation of God. And accordingly the Lord did not become flesh without soul or mind, but man. He says, indeed, Himself, Why seek ye to kill Me, a Man that hath told you the truth? He, therefore, assumed flesh animated with the spirit of reason and mind, a spirit that holds sway over the flesh but is itself under the dominion of the divinity of the Word.

So, then, He had by nature, both as God and as man, the power of will. But His human will was obedient and subordinate to His divine will, not being guided by its own inclination, but willing those things which the divine will willed. For it was with the permission of the divine will that He suffered by nature what was proper to Him. For when He prayed that He might escape the death, it was with His divine will naturally willing and permitting it that He did so pray and agonize and fear, and again when His divine will willed that His human will should choose the death, the passion became voluntary to Him. For it was not as God only, but also as man, that He voluntarily surrendered Himself to the death. And thus He

bestowed on us also courage in the face of death. So, indeed, He said before His saving passion, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," manifestly as though He were to drink the cup as man and not as God. It was as man, then, that He wished the cup to pass from Him: but these are the words of natural timidity. Nevertheless, He said, not My will, that is to say, not in so far as I am of a different essence from Thee, but Thy will be done, the is to say, My will and Thy will, in so far as I am of the same essence as Thou. Now these are the words of a brave heart. For the Spirit of the Lord, since He truly became man in His good pleasure, on first testing its natural weakness was sensible of the natural fellow-suffering involved in its separation from the body, but being strengthened by the divine will it again grew bold in the face of death. For since He was Himself wholly God although also man, and wholly man although also God, He Himself as man subjected in Himself and by Himself His human nature to God and the Father, and became obedient to the Father, thus making Himself the most excellent type and example for us.

Of His own free-will, moreover, He exercised His divine and human will. For free-will is assuredly implanted in every rational nature. For to what end would it possess reason, if it could not reason at its own free-will? For the Creator hath implanted even in the unreasoning brutes natural appetite to compel them to sustain their own nature. For devoid of reason, as they are, they cannot guide their natural appetite but are guided by it. And so, as soon as the appetite for anything has sprung up, straightway arises also the impulse for action. And thus they do not win praise or happiness for pursuing virtue, nor punishment for doing evil. But the rational nature, although it does possess a natural appetite, can guide and train it by reason wherever the laws of nature are observed. For the advantage of reason consists in this, the free-will, by which we mean natural activity in a rational subject. Wherefore in pursuing virtue it wins praise and happiness, and in pursuing vice it wins punishment.

So that the soulof the Lord being moved of its own free-will willed, but willed of its free-will those things which His divine will willed it to will. For the flesh was not moved at a sign from the Word, as Moses and all the holy men were moved at a sign from heaven. But He Himself, Who was one and yet both God and man, willed according to both His divine and His human will. Wherefore it was not in inclination but rather in natural

power that the two wills of the Lord differed from one another. For His divine will was without beginning and all-effecting, as having power that kept pace with it, and free from passion; while His human will had a beginning in time, and itself endured the natural and innocent passions, and was not naturally omnipotent. But yet it was omnipotent because it truly and naturally had its origin in the God-Word.

CHAPTER 19

CONCERNING THE THEANDRIC ENERGY

When the blessed Dionysius says that Christ exhibited to us some sort of novel theandric energy, he does not do away with the natural energies by saying that one energy resulted from the union of the divine with the human energy: for in the same way we could speak of one new nature resulting from the union of the divine with the human nature. For, according to the holy Fathers, things that have one energy have also one essence. But Ire wished to indicate the novel and ineffable manner in which the natural energies of Christ manifest themselves, a manner befitting the ineffable manner in which the natures of Christ mutually, permeate one another, and further how strange and wonder-rid and, in the nature of things, unknown was His life as man, and lastly the manner of the mutual interchange arising from the ineffable union. For we hold that the energies are not divided and that the natures do not energies separately, but that each conjointly in complete community with the other energizes with its own proper energy. For the human part did not energize merely in a human manner, for He was not mere man; nor did the divine part energize only after the manner of God, for He was not simply God, but He was at once God and man. For just as in the case of natures we recognize both their union and their natural difference, so is it also with the natural wills and energies.

Note, therefore, that in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, we speak sometimes of His two natures and sometimes of His one person: and the one or the other is referred to one conception. For the two natures are one Christ, and the one Christ is two natures. Wherefore it is all the same whether we say “Christ energizes according to either of His natures,” or

“either nature energizes in Christ in communion with the other.” The divine nature, then, has communion with the flesh in its energizing, because it is by the good pleasure of the divine will that the flesh is permitted to suffer and do the things proper to itself, and because the energy of the flesh is altogether saving, and this is an attribute not of human but of divine energy. On the other hand the flesh has communion with the divinity of the Word in its energizing, because the divine energies are performed, so to speak, through the organ of the body, and because He Who energizes at once as God and man is one and the same.

Further observe that His holy mind also performs its natural energies, thinking and knowing that it is God’s mind and that it is worshipped by all creation, and remembering the times He spent on earth and all He suffered, but it has communion with the divinity of the Word in its energizing and orders and governs the universe, thinking and knowing and ordering not as the mere mind of man, but as united in subsistence with God and acting as the mind of God.

This, then, the theandric energy makes plain that when God became man, that is when He became incarnate, both His human energy was divine, that is deified, and not without part in His divine energy, and His divine energy was not without part in His human energy, but either was observed in conjunction with the other. Now this manner of speaking is called a periphrasis, viz., when one embraces two things in one statement. For just as in the case of the flaming sword we speak of the cut burn as one, and the burnt cut as one, but still hold that the cut and the burn have different energies and different natures, the burn having the nature of fire and the cut the nature of steel, in the same way also when we speak of one theandric energy of Christ, we understand two distinct energies of His two natures, a divine energy belonging to His divinity, and a human energy belonging to His humanity.

CHAPTER 20

CONCERNING THE NATURAL AND INNOCENT PASSIONS

We confess, then, that He assumed all the natural and innocent passions of man. For He assumed the whole man and all man's attributes save sin. For that is not natural, nor is it implanted in us by the Creator, but arises voluntarily in our mode of life as the result of a further implantation by the devil, though it cannot prevail over us by force. For the natural and innocent passions are those which are not in our power, but which have entered into the life of man owing to the condemnation by reason of the transgression; such as hunger, thirst, weariness, labor, the tears, the corruption, the shrinking from death, the fear, the agony with the bloody sweat, the succor at the hands of angels because of the weakness of the nature, and other such like passions which belong by nature to every man.

All, then, He assumed that He might sanctify all. He was tried and overcame in order that He might prepare victory for us and give to nature power to overcome its antagonist, in order that nature which was overcome of old might overcome its former conqueror by the very weapons wherewith it had itself been overcome.

The wicked one, then, made his assault from without, not by thoughts prompted inwardly, just as it was with Adam. For it was not by inward thoughts, but by the serpent that Adam was assailed. But the Lord repulsed the assault and dispelled it like vapor, in order that the passions which assailed him and were overcome might be easily subdued by us, and that the new Adam should save the old.

Of a truth our natural passions were in harmony with nature and above nature in Christ. For they were stirred in Him after a natural manner when He permitted the flesh to suffer what was proper to it: but they were above nature because that which was natural did not in the Lord assume command over the will. For no compulsion is contemplated in Him but all is voluntary. For it was with His will that He hungered and thirsted and feared and died.

CHAPTER 21

CONCERNING IGNORANCE AND SERVITUDE.

He assumed, it is to be noted, the ignorant and servile nature. For it is man's nature to be the servant of God, his Creator, and he does not possess knowledge of the future. If, then, as Gregory the Theologian holds, you are to separate the realm of sight from the realm of thought, the flesh is to be spoken of as both servile and ignorant, but on account of the identity of subsistence and the inseparable union the soul of the Lord was enriched with the knowledge of the future as also with the other miraculous powers. For just as the flesh of men is not in its own nature life-giving, while the flesh of our Lord which was united in subsistence with God the Word Himself, although it was not exempt from the mortality of its nature, yet became life-giving through its union in subsistence with the Word, and we may not say that it was not and is not for ever life-giving: in like manner His human nature does not in essence possess the knowledge of the future, but the soul of the Lord through its union with God the Word Himself and its identity in subsistence was enriched, as I said, with the knowledge of the future as well as with the other miraculous powers.

Observe further that we may not speak of Him as servant. For the words servitude and mastership are not marks of nature but indicate relationship, to something, such as that of fatherhood and sonship. For these do not signify essence but relation.

It is just as we said, then, in connection with ignorance, that if you separate with subtle thoughts, that is, with fine imaginings, the created from the uncreated, the flesh is a servant, unless it has been united with God the Word. But how can it be a servant when t is once united in subsistence? For since Christ is one, He cannot be His own servant and Lord. For these are not simple predications but relative. Whose servant, then could He be? His Father's? The Son, then, would not have all the Father's attributes, if He is the Father's servant and yet in no respect His own. Besides, how could the apostle say concerning us who were adopted by Him, So that you are no longer a servant but a son, if indeed He is

Himself a servant? The word servant, then, is used merely as a title, though not in the strict meaning: but for our sakes He assumed the form of a servant and is called a servant among us. For although He is without passion, yet for our sake He was the servant of passion and became the minister of our salvation. Those, then, who say that He is a servant divide the one Christ into two, just as Nestorius did. But we declare Him to be Master and Lord of all creation, the one Christ, at once God and man, and all-knowing. For in Him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, the hidden treasures.

CHAPTER 22

CONCERNING HIS GROWTH

He is, moreover, said to grow in wisdom and age and grace, increasing in age indeed and through the increase in age manifesting the wisdom that is in Him; yea, further, making men's progress in wisdom and grace, and the fulfillment of the Father's goodwill, that is to say, men's knowledge of God and men's salvation, His own increase, and everywhere taking as His own that which is ours. But those who hold that He progressed in wisdom and grace in the sense of receiving some addition to these attributes, do not say that the union took place at the first origin of the flesh, nor yet do they give precedence to the union in subsistence, but giving heed to the foolish Nestorius they imagine some strange relative union and mere indwelling, understanding neither what they say nor whereof they affirm. For if in truth the flesh was united with God the Word from its first origin, or rather if it existed in Him and was identical in subsistence with Him, how was it that it was not endowed completely with all wisdom and grace? not that it might itself participate in the grace, nor share by grace in what belonged to the Word, but rather by reason of the union in subsistence, since both what is human and what is divine belong to the one Christ, and that He Who was Himself at once God and man should pour forth like a fountain over the universe His grace and wisdom and plenitude of every blessing.

CHAPTER 23

CONCERNING HIS FEAR

The word fear has a double meaning. For fear is natural when the soul is unwilling to be separated from the body, on account of the natural sympathy and close relationship planted in it in the beginning by the Creator, which makes it fear and struggle against death and pray for an escape from it. It may be defined thus: natural fear is the force whereby we cling to being with shrinking. For if all things were brought by the Creator out of nothing into being, they all have by nature a longing after being and not after non-being. Moreover the inclination towards those things that support existence is a natural property of them. Hence God the Word when He became man had this longing, manifesting, on the one hand, in those things that support existence, the inclination of His nature in desiring food and drink and sleep, and having in a natural manner made proof of these things, while on the other hand displaying in those things that bring corruption His natural disinclination in voluntarily shrinking in the hour of His passion before the flee of death. For although what happened did so according to the laws of nature, yet it was not, as in our case, a matter of necessity. For He willingly and spontaneously accepted that which was natural. So that fear itself and terror and agony belong to the natural and innocent passions and are not under the dominion of sin.

Again, there is a fear which arises from treachery of reasoning and want of faith, and ignorance of the hour of death, as when we are at night affected by fear at some chance noise. This is unnatural fear, and may be thus defined: unnatural fear is an unexpected shrinking. This our Lord did not assume. Hence He never felt fear except in the hour of His passion, although He often experienced a feeling of shrinking in accordance with the dispensation. For He was not ignorant of the appointed time.

But the holy Athanasius in his discourse against Apollinarius says that He did actually feel fear. “Wherefore the Lord said: Now is My soul troubled. The ‘now’ indeed means just ‘when He willed,’ but yet points to what actually was. For He did not speak of what was not, as though it were present, as if the things that were said only apparently happened. For all

things happened naturally and actually.” And again, after some other matters, he says,” In nowise does His divinity admit passion apart from a suffering body, nor yet does it manifest trouble and pain apart froth a pained and troubled soul, nor does it suffer anguish and offer up prayer apart from a mind that suffered anguish and offered up prayer. For, although these occurrences were not due to any overthrow of nature, yet they took place to shew forth His real being.” The words “these occurrences were not due to any overthrow of His nature,” prove that it was not involuntarily that He endured these things.

CHAPTER 24

CONCERNING OUR LORD’S PRAYING.

Prayer is an uprising of the mind to God or a petitioning of God for what is fitting. How then did it happen that our Lord offered up prayer in the case of Lazarus, and at the hour of His passion? For His holy mind was in no need either of any uprising towards God, since it had been once and for all united in subsistence with the God Word, or of any petitioning of God. For Christ is one. But it was because He appropriated to Himself our personality and took our impress on Himself, and became an ensample for us, and taught us to ask of God and strain towards Him, and guided us through His own holy mind in the way that leads up to God. For just as He endured the passion, achieving for our sakes a triumph over it, so also He offered up prayer, guiding us, as I said, in the way that leads up to God, and “fulfilling all righteousness” on our behalf, as He said to John, and reconciling His Father to us, and honoring Him as the beginning and cause, and proving that He is no enemy of God. For when He said in connection with Lazarus, Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast heard Me. And I know that Thou hearest Me always, but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that Thou hast sent Me, is it not most manifest to all that He said this in honor of His Father as the cause even of Himself, and to shew that He was no enemy of God?

Again, when he said, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: yet, not as I will but as Thou wilt, is it not clear to all that He said this as a lesson to us to ask help in our trials only from God, and to prefer God’s

will to our own, and as a proof that He did actually appropriate to Himself the attributes of our nature, and that He did in truth possess two wills, natural, indeed, and corresponding with His natures but yet in no wise opposed to one another? “Father” implies that He is of the same essence, but “if it be possible” does not mean that He was in ignorance (for what is impossible to God?), but serves to teach us to prefer God’s will to our own. For that alone is impossible which is against God’s will and permission. “But not as I will but as Thou wilt,” for inasmuch as He is God, He is identical with the Father, while inasmuch as He is man, He manifests the natural will of mankind. For it is this that naturally seeks escape from death.

Further, these words, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? He said as making our personality His own. For neither would God be regarded with us as His Father, unless one were to discriminate with subtle imaginings of the mind between that which is seen and that which is thought, nor was He ever forsaken by His divinity: nay, it was we who were forsaken and disregarded. So that it was as appropriating our personality that He offered these prayers.

CHAPTER 25

CONCERNING THE APPROPRIATION

It is to be observed that there are two appropriations: one that is natural and essential, and one that is personal and relative. The natural and essential one is that by which our Lord in His love for man took on Himself our nature and all our natural attributes, becoming in nature and truth man, and making trial of that which is natural: but the personal and relative appropriation is when any one assumes the person of another relatively, for instance, out of pity or love, and in his place utters words concerning him that have no connection with himself. And it was in this way that our Lord appropriated both our curse and our desertion, and such other things as are not natural: not that He Himself was or became such, but that He took upon Himself our personality and ranked Himself as one of us. Such is the meaning in which this phrase is to be taken: Being made a curse for our sakes.

CHAPTER 26

CONCERNING THE PASSION OF OUR LORD'S BODY, AND THE IMPASSIBILITY OF HIS DIVINITY

The Word of God then itself endured all in the flesh, while His divine nature which alone was passionless remained void of passion. For since the one Christ, Who is a compound of divinity and humanity, and exists in divinity and humanity, truly suffered, that part which is capable of passion suffered as it was natural it should, but that part which was void of passion did not share in the suffering. For the soul, indeed, since it is capable of passion shares in the pain and suffering of a bodily cut, though it is not cut itself but only the body: but the divine part which is void of passion does not share in the suffering of the body.

Observe, further, that we say that God suffered in the flesh, bat never that His divinity suffered in the flesh, or that God suffered through the flesh. For if, when the sun is shining upon a tree, the axe should cleave the tree, and, nevertheless, the sun remains uncleft and void of passion, much more will the passionless divinity of the Word, united in subsistence to the flesh, remain void of passion when the body undergoes passion. And should any one pour water over flaming steel, it is that which naturally suffers by the water, I mean, the fire, that is quenched, but the steel remains untouched (for it is not the nature of steel to be destroyed by water): much more, then, when the flesh suffered did His only passionless divinity escape all passion although abiding inseparable from it. For one must not take the examples too absolutely and strictly: indeed, in the examples, one must consider both what is like and what is unlike, otherwise it would not be an example. For, if they were like in all respects they would be identities, and not examples, and all the more so in dealing with divine matters. For one cannot find an example that is like in all respects whether we are dealing with theology or the dispensation.

CHAPTER 27

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT THE DIVINITY OF THE WORD REMAINED INSEPARABLE FROM THE SOUL AND THE BODY, EVEN AT OUR LORD'S DEATH, AND THAT HIS SUBSISTENCE CONTINUED ONE

Since our Lord Jesus Christ was without sin (for He committed no sin, He Who took away the sin of the world, nor was there any deceit found in His mouth) He was not subject to death, since death came into the world through sin. He dies, therefore, because He took on Himself death on our behalf, and He makes Himself an offering to the Father for our sakes. For we had sinned against Him, and it was meet that He should receive the ransom for us, and that we should thus he delivered from the condemnation. God forbid that the blood of the Lord should have been offered to the tyrant. Wherefore death approaches, and swallowing up the body as a bait is transfixed on the hook of divinity, and after tasting of a sinless and life-giving body, perishes, and brings up again all whom of old he swallowed up. For just as darkness disappears on the introduction of light, so is death repulsed before the assault of life, and brings life to all, but death to the destroyer.

Wherefore, although He died as man and His Holy Spirit was severed from His immaculate body, yet His divinity remained inseparable from both, I mean, from His soul and His body, and so even thus His one hypostasis was not divided into two hypostases. For body and soul received simultaneously in the beginning their being in the subsistence of the Word, and although they were severed from one another by death, yet they continued, each of them, having the one subsistence of the Word. So that the one subsistence of the Word is alike the subsistence of the Word, and of soul and body. For at no time had either soul or body a separate subsistence of their own, different from that of the Word, and the subsistence of the Word is for ever one, and at no time two. So that the subsistence of Christ is always one. For, although the soul was separated from the body topically, yet hypostatically they were united through the Word.

CHAPTER 28

CONCERNING CORRUPTION AND DESTRUCTION

The word corruption has two meanings. For it signifies all the human sufferings, such as hunger, thirst, weariness, the piercing with nails, death, that is, the separation of soul and body, and so forth. In this sense we say that our Lord's body was subject to corruption. For He voluntarily accepted all these things. But corruption means also the complete resolution of the body into its constituent elements, and its utter disappearance, which is spoken of by many preferably as destruction. The body of our Lord did not experience this form of corruption, as the prophet David says, For Thou will not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy one to see corruption.

Wherefore to say, with that foolish Julianus and Gaianus, that our Lord's body was incorruptible, in the first sense of the word, before His resurrection is impious. For if it were incorruptible it was not really, but only apparently, of the same essence as ours, and what the Gospel tells us happened, viz. the hunger, the thirst, the nails, the wound in His side, the death, did not actually occur. But if they only apparently happened, then the mystery of the dispensation is an imposture and a sham, and He became man only in appearance, and not in actual fact, and we are saved only in appearance, and not in actual fact. But God forbid, and may those who so say have no part in the salvation. But we have obtained and shall obtain the true salvation. But in the second meaning of the word "corruption," we confess that our Lord's body is incorruptible, that is, indestructible, for such is the tradition of the inspired Fathers. Indeed, after the resurrection of our Savior from the dead, we say that our Lord's body is incorruptible even in the first sense of the word. For our Lord by His own body bestowed the gifts both of resurrection and of subsequent incorruption even on our own body, He Himself having become to us the firstfruits both of resurrection and incorruption, and of passionlessness. For as the divine Apostle says, This corruptible must put an incorruption.

CHAPTER 29

CONCERNING THE DESCENT TO HADES

The soul when it was deified descended into Hades, in order that, just as the Sun of Righteousness rose for those upon the earth, so likewise He might bring light to those who sit under the earth in darkness and shadow of death: in order that just as He brought the message of peace to those upon the earth, and of release to the prisoners, and of sight to the blind, and became to those who believed the Author of everlasting salvation and to those who did not believe a reproach of their unbelief, so He might become the same to those in Hades: That every knee should bow to Him, of things in heaven, and things in earth and things under the earth. And thus after He had freed those who had been bound for ages, straightway He rose again from the dead, shewing us the way of resurrection.

BOOK 4

CHAPTER 1

CONCERNING WHAT FOLLOWED THE RESURRECTION

After Christ was risen from the dead He laid aside all His passions, I mean His corruption or hunger or thirst or sleep or weariness or such like. For, although He did taste food after the resurrection, yet He did not do so because it was a law of His nature (for He felt no hunger), but in the way of economy, in order that He might convince us of the reality of the resurrection, and that it was one and the same flesh which suffered and rose again. But He laid aside none of the divisions of His nature, neither body nor spirit, but possesses both the body and the soul intelligent and reasonable, volitional and energetic, and in this wise He sits at the right hand of the Father, using His will both as God and as man in behalf of our salvation, energizing in His divine capacity to provide for and maintain and govern all things, and remembering in His human capacity the time He spent on earth, while all the time He both sees and knows that He is adored by all rational creation. For His Holy Spirit knows that He is one in substance with God the Word, and shares as Spirit of God and not simply as Spirit the worship accorded to Him. Moreover, His ascent from earth to heaven, and again, His descent from heaven to earth, are manifestations of the energies of His circumscribed body. For He shall so come again to you, saith he, in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE SITTING AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER

We hold, moreover, that Christ sits in the body at the right hand of God the Father, but we do not hold that the right hand of the Father is actual place. For how could He that is uncircumscribed have a right hand limited

by place? Right hands and left hands belong to what is circumscribed. But we understand the right hand of the Father to be the glory and honor of the Godhead in which the Son of God, who existed as God before the ages, and is of like essence to the Father, and in the end became flesh, has a seat in the body, His flesh sharing in the glory. For He along with His flesh is adored with one adoration by all creation.

CHAPTER 3

IN REPLY TO THOSE WHO SAY "IF CHRIST HAS TWO NATURES, EITHER YE DO SERVICE TO THE CREATURE IN WORSHIPPING CREATED NATURE, OR YE SAY THAT THERE IS ONE NATURE TO BE WORSHIPPED, AND ANOTHER NOT TO BE WORSHIPPED."

Along with the Father and the Holy Spirit we worship the Son of God, Who was incorporeal before He took on humanity, and now in His own person is incarnate and has become man though still being also God. His flesh, then, in its own nature, if one were to make subtle mental distinctions between what is seen and what is thought, is not deserving of worship since it is created. But as it is united with God the Word, it is worshipped on account of Him and in Him. For just as the king deserves homage alike when unrobed and when robed, and just as the purple robe, considered simply as a purple robe, is trampled upon and tossed about, but after becoming the royal dress receives all honor and glory, and whoever dishonors it is generally condemned to death: and again, just as wood in itself is not of such a nature that it cannot be touched, but becomes so when fire is applied to it, and it becomes charcoal, and yet this is not because of its own nature, but because of the fire united to it, and the nature of the wood is not such as cannot be touched, but rather the charcoal or burning wood: so also the flesh, in its own nature, is not to be worshipped, but is worshipped in the incarnate God Word, not because of itself, but because of its union in subsistence with God the Word. And we do not say that we worship mere flesh, but God's flesh, that is, God incarnate.

CHAPTER 4

WHY IT WAS THE SON OF GOD, AND NOT THE FATHER OR THE SPIRIT, THAT BECAME MAN: AND WHAT HAVING BECAME MAN HE ACHIEVED

The Father is Father and not Son: the Son is Son and not Father: the Holy Spirit is Spirit and not Father or Son. For the individuality is unchangeable. How, indeed, could individuality continue to exist at all if it were ever changing and altering? Wherefore the Son of God became Son of Man in order that His individuality might endure. For since He was the Son of God, He became Son of Man, being made flesh of the holy Virgin and not losing the individuality of Sonship.

Further, the Son of God became man, in order that He might again bestow on man that favor for the sake of which He created him. For He created him after His own image, endowed with intellect and free-will, and after His own likeness, that is to say, perfect in all virtue so far as it is possible for man's nature to attain perfection. For the following properties are, so to speak, marks of the divine nature: viz. absence of care and distraction and guile, goodness, wisdom, justice, freedom from all vice. So then, after He had placed man in communion with Himself (for having made him for incorruption, He led him up through communion wills Himself to incorruption), and when moreover, through the transgression of the command we had confused and obliterated the marks of the divine image, and had become evil, we were stripped of our communion with God (for what communion hath light with darkness?): and having been shut out from life we became subject to the corruption of death: yea, since He gave us to share in the better part, and we did not keep it secure, He shares in the inferior part, I mean our own nature, in order that through Himself and in Himself He might renew that which was made after His image and likeness, and might teach us, too, the conduct of a virtuous life, making through Himself the way thither easy for us, and might by the communication of life deliver us from corruption, becoming Himself the firstfruits of our resurrection, and might renovate the useless and worn vessel calling us to the knowledge of God that He might redeem us from

the tyranny of the devil, and might strengthen and teach us how to overthrow the tyrant through patience and humility.

The worship of demons then has ceased: creation has been sanctified by the divine blood: altars and temples of idols have been overthrown, the knowledge of God has been implanted in men's minds, the co-essential Trinity, the uncreate divinity, one true God, Creator and Lord of all receives men's service: virtues are cultivated, the hope of resurrection has been granted through the resurrection of Christ, the demons shudder at those men who of old were under their subjection. And the marvel, indeed, is that all this has been successfully brought about through His cross and passion and death. Throughout all the earth the Gospel of the knowledge of God has been preached; no wars or weapons or armies being used to rout the enemy, but only a few, naked, poor, illiterate, persecuted and tormented men, who with their lives in their hands, preached Him Who was crucified in the flesh and died, and who became victors over the wise and powerful. For the omnipotent power of the Cross accompanied them. Death itself, which once was maws chiefest terror, has been overthrown, and now that which was once the object of hate and loathing is preferred to life. These are the achievements of Christ's presence: these are the tokens of His power. For it was not one people that He saved, as when through Moses He divided the sea and delivered Israel out of Egypt and the bondage of Pharaoh; nay, rather He rescued all mankind from the corruption of death and the bitter tyranny of sin: not leading them by force to virtue, not overwhelming them with earth or burning them with fire, or ordering the sinners to be stoned, but persuading men by gentleness and long-suffering to choose virtue and vie with one another, and find pleasure in the struggle to attain it. For, formerly, it was sinners who were persecuted, and yet they clung all the closer to sin, and sin was looked upon by them as their God: but now for the sake of piety and virtue men choose persecutions and crucifixions and death.

Hail! O Christ, the Word and Wisdom and Power of God, and God omnipotent! What can we helpless ones give Thee in return for all these good gifts? For all are Thine, and Thou askest naught from us save our salvation, Thou Who Thyself art the Giver of this, and yet art grateful to those who receive it, through Thy unspeakable goodness. Thanks be to Thee Who gave us life, and granted us the grace of a happy life, and

restored us to that, when we had gone astray, through Thy unspeakable condescension.

CHAPTER 5

IN REPLY TO THOSE WHO ASK IF CHRIST'S SUBSISTENCE IS CREATE OR UNCREATE

The subsistence of God the Word before the Incarnation was simple and uncompound, and incorporeal and uncreate: but after it became flesh, it became also the subsistence of the flesh, and became compounded of divinity which it always possessed, and of flesh which it had assumed: and it bears the properties of the two natures, being made known in two natures: so that the one same subsistence is both uncreate in divinity and create in humanity, visible and invisible. For otherwise we are compelled either to divide the one Christ and speak of two subsistences, or to deny the distinction between the natures and thus introduce change and confusion.

CHAPTER 6

CONCERNING THE QUESTION, WHEN CHRIST WAS CALLED

The mind was not united with God the Word, as some falsely assert, before the Incarnation by the Virgin and from that time called Christ. That is the absurd nonsense of Origen who lays down the doctrine of the priority of the existence of souls. But we hold that the Son and Word of God became Christ after He had dwelt in the womb of His holy ever-virgin Mother, and became flesh without change, and that the flesh was anointed with divinity. For this is the anointing of humanity, as Gregory the Theologian says. And here are the words of the most holy Cyril of Alexandria which he wrote to the Emperor Theodosius: "For I indeed hold that one ought to give the name Jesus Christ neither to the Word that is of God if He is without humanity, nor yet to the temple born of woman if it is not united with the Word. For the Word that is of God is understood to be Christ when united with humanity in ineffable manner in the union of

the oeconomy." And again, he writes to the Empresses thus: "Some hold that the name 'Christ' is rightly given to the Word that is begotten of God the Father, to Him alone, and regarded separately by Himself. But we have not been taught so to think and speak. For when the Word became flesh, then it was, we say, that He was called Christ Jesus. For since He was anointed with the oil of gladness, that is the Spirit, by Him Who is God and Father, He is for this reason called Christ. But that the anointing was an act that concerned Him as man could be doubted by no one who is accustomed to think rightly." Moreover, the celebrated Athanasius says this in his discourse "Concerning the Saving Manifestation:" "The God Who was before the sojourn in the flesh was not man, but God in God, being invisible and without passion, but when He became man, He received in addition the name of Christ because of the flesh, since, indeed, passion and death follow in the train of this name."

And although the holy Scripture says, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness, it is to be observed that the holy Scripture often uses the past tense instead of the future, as for example here: Thereafter He was seen upon the earth and dwelt among men. For as yet God was not seen nor did He dwell among men when this was said. And here again: By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea wept. For as yet these things had not come to pass.

CHAPTER 7

IN ANSWER TO THOSE WHO ENQUIRE WHETHER THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD BORE TWO NATURES, AND WHETHER TWO NATURES HUNG UPON THE CRASS

ἀγένητον and γενητόν, written with one 'ν' and meaning uncreated and created, refer to nature: but ἀγέννητον and γεννητόν, that is to say, unbegotten and begotten, as the double 'ν' indicates, refer not to nature but to subsistence. The divine nature then is ἀγένητος, that is to say, uncreate, but all things that come after the divine nature are γένητα, that is, created. In the divine and uncreated nature, therefore, the property of being ἀγέννητον or unbegotten is contemplated in the Father (for He was not begotten), that of being γέννητον or begotten in the Son (for He has been

eternally begotten of the Father), and that of procession in the Holy Spirit. Moreover of each species of living creatures, the first members were ἀγέννητα but not ἀγένητα: for they were brought into being by their Maker, but were not the offspring of creatures like themselves. For γένεσις is creation, while γέννησις or begetting is in the case of God the origin of a co-essential Son arising from the Father alone, and in the case of bodies, the origin of a co-essential subsistence arising from the contact of male and female. And thus we perceive that begetting refers not to nature but to subsistence. For if it did refer to nature, τὸ γέννητον and το ἀγέννητον, i.e. the properties of being begotten and unbegotten, could not be contemplated in one and the same nature. Accordingly the holy Mother of God bore a subsistence revealed in two natures; being begotten on the one hand, by reason of its divinity, of the Father timelessly, and, at last, on the other hand, being incarnated of her in time and born in the flesh.

But if our interrogators should hint that He Who is begotten of the holy Mother of God is two natures, we reply, “Yea! He is two natures: for He is in His own person God and man. And the same is to be said concerning the crucifixion and resurrection and ascension. For these refer not to nature but to subsistence. Christ then, since He is in two natures, suffered and was crucified in the nature that was subject to passion. For it was in the flesh and not in His divinity that He hung upon the Cross. Otherwise, let them answer us, when we ask if two natures died. No, we shall say. And so two natures Were not crucified but Christ was begotten, that is to say, the divine Word having become man was begotten in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, suffered in the flesh, while His divinity continued to be impossible.”

CHAPTER 8

HOW THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD IS CALLED FIRST-BORN

He who is first begotten is called first-born, whether he is only-begotten or the first of a number of brothers. If then the Son of God was called first-born, but was not called Only-begotten, we could imagine that He was the first-born of creatures, as being a creature. But since He is called

both first-born and Only-begotten, both senses must be preserved in His case. We say that He is first-born of all creation since both He Himself is of God and creation is of God, but as He Himself is born alone and timelessly of the essence of God the Father, He may with reason be called Only-begotten Son, first-born and not first-created. For the creation was not brought into being out of the essence of the Father, but by His will out of nothing. And He is called First-born among many brethren, for although being Only-begotten, He was also born of a mother. Since, indeed, He participated just as we ourselves do in blood and flesh and became man, while we too through Him became sons of God, being adopted through the baptism, He Who is by nature Son of God became first-born amongst us who were made by adoption and grace sons of God, and stand to Him in the relation of brothers. Wherefore He said, I ascend unto My Father and your Father. He did not say “our Father,” but “My Father,” clearly in the sense of Father by nature, and “your Father,” in the sense of Father by grace. And “My God and your God.” He did not say “our God,” but “My God:” and if you distinguish with subtle thought that which is seen from that which is thought, also “your God,” as Maker and Lord.

CHAPTER 9

CONCERNING FAITH AND BAPTISM

We confess one baptism for the remission of sins and for life eternal. For baptism declares the Lord’s death. We are indeed “buried with the Lord through baptism,” as saith the divine Apostle. So then, as our Lord died once for all, we also must be baptized once for all, and baptized according to the Word of the Lord, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, being taught the confession in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Those, then, who, after having been baptized into Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and having been taught that there is one divine nature in three subsistences, are rebaptized, these, as the divine Apostle says, crucify the Christ afresh. For it is impossible, he saith, for those who were once enlightened, etc., to renew them again unto repentance: seeing they crucify to themselves the Christ afresh, and put Him to an open shame. But those who were not baptized into the Holy Trinity, these must be baptized

again. For although the divine Apostle says: Into Christ and into His death were we baptized, he does not mean that the invocation of baptism must be in these words, but that baptism is an image of the death of Christ. For by the three immersions, baptism signifies the three days of our Lord's entombment. The baptism then into Christ means that believers are baptized into Him. We could not believe in Christ if we were not taught confession in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For Christ is the Son of the Living God, Whom the Father anointed with the Holy Spirit: in the words of the divine David, Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. And Isaiah also speaking in the person of the Lord says, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because He hath anointed me. Christ, however, taught His own disciples the invocation and said, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. For since Christ made us for incorruption, and we transgressed His saving command. He condemned us to the corruption of death in order that that which is evil should not be immortal, and when in His compassion He stooped to His servants and became like us, He redeemed us from corruption through His own passion. He caused the fountain of remission to well forth for us out of His holy and immaculate side, water for our regeneration, and the washing away of sin and corruption; and blood to drink as the hostage of life eternal. And He laid on us the command to be born again of water and of the Spirit, through prayer and invocation, the Holy Spirit drawing nigh unto the water. For since man's nature is twofold, consisting of soul and body, He bestowed on us a twofold purification, of water and of the Spirit the Spirit renewing that part in us which is after His image and likeness, and the water by the grace of the Spirit cleansing the body from sin and delivering it from corruption, the water indeed expressing the image of death, but the Spirit affording the earnest of life.

For from the beginning the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and anew the Scripture witnesseth that water has the power of purification. In the time of Noah God washed away the sin of the world by water. By water every impure person is purified, according to the law, even the very garments being washed with water. Elias shewed forth the grace of the Spirit mingled with the water when he burned the holocaust by pouring on water. And almost everything is purified by water according to

the law: for the things of sight are symbols of the things of thought. The regeneration, however, takes place in the spirit: for faith has the power of making us sons (of God), creatures as we are, by the Spirit, and of leading us into our original blessedness.

The remission of sins, therefore, is granted alike to all through baptism: but the grace of the Spirit is proportional to the faith and previous purification. Now, indeed, we receive the firstfruits of the Holy Spirit through baptism, and the second birth is for us the beginning and seal and security and illumination of another life.

It behooves as, then, with all our strength to steadfastly keep ourselves pure from filthy works, that we may not, like the dog returning to his vomit, make ourselves again the slaves of sin. For faith apart from works is dead, and so likewise are works apart from faith. For the true faith is attested by works.

Now we are baptized into the Holy Trinity because those things which are baptized have need of the Holy Trinity for their maintenance and continuance, and the three subsistences cannot be otherwise than present, the one with the other. For the Holy Trinity is indivisible.

The first baptism was that of the flood for the eradication of sin. The second was through the sea and the cloud: for the cloud is the symbol of the Spirit and the sea of the water. The third baptism was that of the Law: for every impure person washed himself with water, and even washed his garments, and so entered into the camp. The fourth was that of John, being preliminary and leading those who were baptized to repent-once, that they might believe in Christ: I, certainly return unto thee at this time hereafter, and Sarah thy wife shall have a son; and afterwards the Lord said to Him, I will not conceal from Abraham My servant the things that I will do; and again, Moreover the Lord said, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is filled up, and their sins are exceeding great. Then after long discourse, which for the sake of brevity shall be omitted, Abraham, distressed at the destruction which awaited the innocent as well as the guilty, said, In no wise wilt Thou, Who judgest the earth, execute this judgment. And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes. Afterwards when the warning to Lot, Abraham’s brother, was ended, the Scripture says, And the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon

Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and, after a while, And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and did unto Sarah as He had spoken, and Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him. And afterwards, when the handmaid with her son had been driven from Abraham's house, and was dreading lest her child should die in the wilderness for want of water, the same Scripture says, And the Lord God heard the voice of the lad, where he was, and the Angel of God child to Hagar out of heaven, and said unto her, What is it, Hagar? Fear not, for God hath heard the voice of the lad from the place where he is. Arise, and take the lad, and hold his hand, for I will make him a great nation.

26. What blind faithlessness it is, what dullness of an unbelieving heart, what headstrong impiety, to abide in ignorance of all this, or else to know and yet neglect it! Assuredly it is written for the very purpose that error or oblivion may not hinder the recognition of the truth. If, as we shall prove, it is impossible to escape knowledge of the facts, then it must be nothing less than blasphemy to deny them. This record begins with the speech of the Angel to Hagar, His promise to multiply Ishmael into a great nation and to give him a countless offspring. She listens, and by her confession reveals that He is Lord and God. The story begins with His appearance as the Angel of God; at its termination He stands confessed as God Himself. Thus He Who, while He executes the ministry of declaring the great counsel is God's Angel, is Himself in name and nature God. The name corresponds to the nature; the nature is not falsified to make it conform to the name. Again, God speaks to Abraham of this same matter; he is told that Ishmael has already received a blessing, and shall be increased into a nation; I have blessed him, God says. This is no change from the Person indicated before; He shews that it was He Who had already given the blessing. The Scripture has obviously been consistent throughout in its progress from mystery to clear revelation; it began with the Angel of God, and proceeds to reveal that it was God Himself Who had spoken in this same matter.

27. The course of the Divine narrative is accompanied by a progressive development of doctrine. In the passage which we have discussed God speaks to Abraham, and promises that Sarah shall bear a son. Afterwards three men stand by him; he worships One and acknowledges Him as Lord.

After this worship and acknowledgment by Abraham, the One promises that He will return hereafter at the same season, and that then Sarah shall have her son. This One again is seen by Abraham in the guise of a man, and salutes him with the same promise. The change is one of name only; Abraham's acknowledgment in each ease is the same. It was a Man whom he saw, yet Abraham worshipped Him as Lord; he beheld, no doubt, in a mystery the coming Incarnation. Faith so strong has not missed its recognition; the Lord says in the Gospel, Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day; and he saw it, and was glad. To continue the history; the Man Whom he saw promised that He would return at the same season. Mark the fulfillment of the promise, remembering meanwhile that it was a Man Who made it. What says the Scripture? And the Lord visited Sarah. So this Man is the Lord, fulfilling His own promise. What follows next? And God did unto Sarah as He had said. The narrative calls His words those of a Man, relates that Sarah was visited by the Lord, proclaims that the result was the work of God. You are sure that it was a Man who spoke, for Abraham not only heard, but saw Him. Can you be less certain that He was God, when the same Scripture, which had called Him Man, confesses Him God? For its words are, And Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, and at the set time of which God had spoken to him. But it was the Man who had promised that He would come. Believe that He was nothing more than man; unless, in fact, He Who came was God and Lord. Connect the incidents. It was, confessedly, the Man who promised that He would come that Sarah might conand omnipotence and truth and wisdom and justice, he will find all things smooth and even, and the way straight. But without faith it is impossible to be saved. For it is by faith that all things, both human and spiritual, are sustained. For without faith neither does the farmer cut his furrow, nor does the merchant commit his life to the raging waves of the sea on a small piece of wood, nor are marriages contracted nor any other step in life taken. By faith we consider that all things were brought out of nothing into being by God's power. And we direct all things, both divine and human, by faith. Further, faith is assent free from all meddlesome inquisitiveness.

Every action, therefore, and performance of miracles by Christ are most great and divine and marvelous: but the most marvelous of all is His precious Cross. For no other thing has subdued death, expiated the sin of

the first parent, despoiled Hades, bestowed the resurrection, granted the power to us of contemning the present and even death itself, prepared the return to our former blessedness, opened the gates of Paradise, given our nature a seat at the right hand of God, and made us the children and heirs of God, save the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. For by the Crossall things have been made right. So many of us, the apostle says, as were baptized into Christ, were baptized into His death, and as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. Further Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God. Lo! the death of Christ, that is, the Cross, clothed us with the enhypostatic wisdom and power of God. And the power of God is the Word of the Cross, either because God's might, that is, the victory over death, has been revealed to us by it, or because, just as the four extremities of the Cross are held fast and bound together by the bolt in the middle, so also by God's power the height and the depth, the length and the breadth, that is, every creature visible and invisible, is maintained.

This was given to us as a sign on our forehead, just as the circumcision was given to Israel: for by it we believers are separated and distinguished from unbelievers. This is the shield and weapon against, and trophy over, the devil. This is the seal that the destroyer may not touch you, as saith the Scripture. This is the resurrection of those lying in death, the support of the standing, the staff of the weak, the rod of the flock, the safe conduct of the earnest, the perfection of those that press forwards, the salvation of soul and body, the aversion of all things evil, the patron of all things good, the taking away of sin, the plant of resurrection, the tree of eternal life.

So, then, this same truly precious and august tree, on which Christ hath offered Himself as a sacrifice for our sakes, is to be worshipped as sanctified by contact with His holy body and blood; likewise the nails, the spear, the clothes, His sacred tabernacles which are the manger, the cave, Golgotha, which bringeth salvation, the tomb which giveth life, Sion, the chief stronghold of the churches and the like, are to be worshipped. In the words of David, the father of God, We shall go into His tabernacles, we shall worship at the place where His feet stood. And that it is the Cross that is meant is made clear by what follows, Arise, O Lord, into Thy Rest . For the resurrection comes after the Cross. For if of those things which we love, house and couch and garment, are to be longed after, how much

the rather should we long after that which belonged to God, our Savior, by means of which we are in truth saved.

Moreover we worship even the image of the precious and life-giving Cross, although made of another tree, not honoring the tree (God forbid) but the image as a symbol of Christ. For He said to His disciples, admonishing them, Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in Heaven, meaning the Cross. And so also the angel of the resurrection said to the woman, Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified. And the Apostle said, We preach Christ crucified. For there are many Christs and many Jesuses, but one crucified. He does not say speared but crucified. It behooves us, then, to worship the sign of Christ. For wherever the sign may be, there also will He be. But it does not behoove us to worship the material of which the image of the Cross is composed, even though it be gold or precious stones, after it is destroyed, if that should happen. Everything, therefore, that is dedicated to God we worship, conferring the adoration on Him.

The tree of life which was planted by God in Paradise pre-figured this precious Cross. For since death was by a tree, it was fitting that life and resurrection should be bestowed by a tree. Jacob, when He worshipped the top of Joseph’s staff, was the first to image the Cross, and when he blessed his sons with crossed hands he made most clearly the sign of the cross. Likewise also did Moses’ rod, when it smote the sea in the figure of the cross and saved Israel, while it overwhelmed Pharaoh in the depths; likewise also the hands stretched out crosswise and routing Amalek; and the bitter water made sweet by a tree, and the rock rent and pouring forth streams of water, and the rod that meant for Aaron the dignity of the high priesthood: and the serpent lifted in triumph on a tree as though it were dead, the tree bringing salvation to those who in faith saw their enemy dead, just as Christ was nailed to the tree in the flesh of sin which yet knew no sin. The mighty Moses cried, You will see your life hanging on the tree before your eyes, and Isaiah likewise, I have spread out my hands all the day unto a faithless and rebellious people. But may we who worship this obtain a part in Christ the crucified. Amen.

CHAPTER 12

CONCERNING WORSHIP TOWARDS THE EAST

It is not without reason or by chance that we worship towards the East. But seeing that we are composed of a visible and an invisible nature, that is to say, of a nature partly of spirit and partly of sense, we render also a twofold worship to the Creator; just as we sing both with our spirit and our bodily lips, and are baptized with both water and Spirit, and are united with the Lord in a twofold manner, being sharers in the mysteries and in the grace of the Spirit.

Since, therefore, God is spiritual light, and Christ is called in the Scriptures Sun of Righteousness and Dayspring, the East is the direction that must be assigned to His worship. For everything good must be assigned to Him from Whom every good thing arises. Indeed the divine David also says, Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth: O sing praises unto the Lord: to Him that rideth upon the Heavens of heavens towards the East. Moreover the Scripture also says, And God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom He had formed: and when he had transgressed His command He expelled him and made him to dwell over against the delights of Paradises, which clearly is the West. So, then, we worship God seeking and striving after our old fatherland. Moreover the tent of Moses had its veil and mercy seat towards the East. Also the tribe of Judah as the most precious pitched their camp on the East. Also in the celebrated temple of Solomon the Gate of the Lord was placed eastward. Moreover Christ, when He hung on the Cross, had His face turned towards the West, and so we worship, striving after Him. And when He was received again into Heaven He was borne towards the East, and thus His apostles worship Him, and thus He will come again in the way in which they beheld Him going towards Heaven; as the Lord Himself said, As the lightning cometh out of the East and shineth even unto the West, so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be.

So, then, in expectation of His coming we worship towards the East. But this tradition of the apostles is unwritten. For much that has been handed down to us by tradition is unwritten.

CHAPTER 13

CONCERNING THE HOLY AND IMMACULATE MYSTERIES OF THE LORD

God Who is good and altogether good and more than good, Who is goodness throughout, by reason of the exceeding riches of His goodness did not suffer Himself, that is His nature, only to be good, with no other to participate therein, but because of this He made first the spiritual and heavenly powers: next the visible and sensible universe: next man with his spiritual and sentient nature. All things, therefore, which he made, share in His goodness in respect of their existence. For He Himself is existence to all, since all things that are, are in Him, not only because it was He that brought them out of nothing into being, but because His energy preserves and maintains all that He made: and in especial the living creatures. For both in that they exist and in that they enjoy life they share in His goodness. But in truth those of them that have reason have a still greater share in that, both because of what has been already said and also because of the very reason which they possess. For they are somehow more dearly akin to Him, even though He is incomparably higher than they.

Man, however, being endowed with reason and free will, received the power of continuous union with God through his own choice, if indeed he should abide in goodness, that is in obedience to his Maker. Since, however, he transgressed the command of his Creator and became liable to death and corruption, the Creator and Maker of our race, because of His bowels of compassion, took on our likeness, becoming man in all things but without sin, and was united to our nature. For since He bestowed on us His own image and His own spirit and we did not keep them safe, He took Himself a share in our poor and weak nature, in order that He might cleanse us and make us incorruptible, and establish us once more as partakers of His divinity.

For it was fitting that not only the first-fruits of our nature should partake in the higher good but every man who wished it, and that a second birth should take place and that the nourishment should be new and suitable to the birth and thus the measure of perfection be attained. Through His birth, that is, His incarnation, and baptism and passion and resurrection,

He delivered our nature from the sin of our first parent and death and corruption, and became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and made Himself the way and image and pattern, in order that we, too, following in His footsteps, may become by adoption what He is Himself by nature, sons and heirs of God and joint heirs with Him. He gave us therefore, as I said, a second birth in order that, just as we who are born of Adam are in his image and are the heirs of the curse and corruption, so also being born of Him we may be in His likeness and heirs of His incorruption and blessing and glory.

Now seeing that this Adam is spiritual, it was meet that both the birth and likewise the food should be spiritual too, but since we are of a double and compound nature, it is meet that both the birth should be double and likewise the food compound. We were therefore given a birth by water and Spirit: I mean, by the holy baptism: and the food is the very bread of life, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who came down from heaven. For when He was about to take on Himself a voluntary death for our sakes, on the night on which He gave Himself up, He laid a new covenant on His holy disciples and apostles, and through them on all who believe on Him. In the upper chamber, then, of holy and illustrious Sion, after He had eaten the ancient Passover with His disciples and had fulfilled the ancient covenant, He washed His disciples' feet in token of the holy baptism. Then having broken bread He gave it to them saying, Take, eat, this is My body broken for you for the remission of sins. Likewise also He took the cup of wine and water and gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it: for this is My blood, the blood of the New Testament which is shed for you for the remission of sins. This do ye in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the death of the Son of man and confess His resurrection until He come.

If then the Word of God is quick and energizing, and the Lord did all that He willed; if He said, Let there be light and there was light, let there be a firmament and there was a firmament; if the heavens were established by the Word of the Lord and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth; if the heaven and the earth, water and fire and air and the whole glory of these, and, in sooth, this most noble creature, man, were perfected by the Word of the Lord; if God the Word of His own will became man and the pure and undefiled blood of the holy and ever-virginal One made His flesh

without the aid of seed, can He not then make the bread His body and the wine and water His blood? He said in the beginning, Let the earth bring forth grass, and even until this present day, when the rain comes it brings forth its proper fruits, urged on and strengthened by the divine command. God said, This is My body, and This is My blood, and this do ye in remembrance of Me. And so it is at His omnipotent command until He come: for it was in this sense that He said until He come: and the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit becomes through the invocation the rain to this new tillage. For just as God made all that He made by the energy of the Holy Spirit, so also now the energy of the Spirit performs those things that are supernatural and which it is not possible to comprehend unless by faith alone. How shall this be, said the holy Virgin, seeing I know not a man? And the archangel Gabriel answered her: The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. And now you ask, how the bread became Christ's body and the wine and water Christ's blood. And I say unto thee, "The Holy Spirit is present and does those things which surpass reason and thought."

Further, bread and wine are employed: for God knoweth man's infirmity: for in general man turns away discontentedly from what is not well-worn by custom: and so with His usual indulgence H e performs His supernatural works through familiar objects: and just as, in the case of baptism, since it is man's custom to wash himself with water and anoint himself with oil, He connected the grace of the Spirit with the oil and the water and made it the water of regeneration, in like manner since it is man's custom to eat and to drink water and wine, He connected His divinity with these and made them His body and blood in order that we may rise to what is supernatural through what is familiar and natural.

The body which is born of the holy Virgin is in truth body united with divinity, not that the body which was received up into the heavens descends, but that the bread itself and the wine are changed into God's body and blood. But if you enquire how this happens, it is enough for you to learn that it was through the Holy Spirit, just as the Lord took on Himself flesh that subsisted in Him and was born of the holy Mother of God through the Spirit. And we know nothing further save that the Word of God is true and energizes and is omnipotent, but the manner of this cannot be searched out. But one can put it well thus, that just as in nature

the bread by the eating and the wine and the water by the drinking are changed into the body and blood of the eater and drinker, and do not become a different body from the former one, so the bread of the table and the wine and water are supernaturally changed by the invocation and presence of the Holy Spirit into the body and blood of Christ, and are not two but one and the same.

Wherefore to those who partake worthily with faith, it is for the remission of sins and for life everlasting and for the safeguarding of soul and body; but to those who partake unworthily without faith, it is for chastisement and punishment, just as also the death of the Lord became to those who believe life and incorruption for the enjoyment of eternal blessedness, while to those who do not believe and to the murderers of the Lord it is for everlasting chastisement and punishment.

The bread and the wine are not merely figures of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid!) but the deified body of the Lord itself: for the Lord has said, “This is My body,” not, this is a figure of My body: and “My blood,” not, a figure of My blood. And on a previous occasion He had said to the Jews, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. For My flesh is meat indeed and My blood is drink indeed. And again, He that eateth Me, shall live.

Wherefore with all fear and a pure conscience and certain faith let us draw near and it will assuredly be to us as we believe, doubting nothing. Let us pay homage to it in all purity both of soul and body: for it is twofold. Let us draw near to it with an ardent desire, and with our hands held in the form of the crosslet us receive the body of the Crucified One: and let us apply our eyes and lips and brows and partake of the divine coal, in order that the fire of the longing, that is in us, with the additional heat derived from the coal may utterly consume our sins and illumine our hearts, and that we may be inflamed and deified by the participation in the divine fire. Isaiah saw the coal. But coal is not plain wood but wood united with fire: in like manner also the bread of the communion is not plain bread but bread united with divinity. But a body which is united with divinity is not one nature, but has one nature belonging to the body and another belonging to the divinity that is united to it, so that the compound is not one nature but two.

With bread and wine Melchisedek, the priest of the most high God, received Abraham on his return from the slaughter of the Gentiles. That table pre-imaged this mystical table, just as that priest was a type and image of Christ, the true high-priest. For thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek. Of this bread the show-bread was an image. This surely is that pure and bloodless sacrifice which the Lord through the prophet said is offered to Him from the rising to the setting of the sun.

The body and blood of Christ are making for the support of our soul and body, without being consumed or suffering corruption, not making for the draught (God forbid!) but for our being and preservation, a protection against all kinds of injury, a purging from all uncleanness: should one receive base gold, they purify it by the critical burning lest in the future we be condemned with this world. They purify from diseases and all kinds of calamities; according to the words of the divine Apostles, For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world. This too is what he says, So that he that partaketh of the body and blood of Christ unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself. Being purified by this, we are united to the body of Christ and to His Spirit and become the body of Christ.

This bread is the first-fruits of the future bread which is ἐπιούσιος, i.e. necessary for existence. For the word ἐπιούσιον signifies either the future, that is Him Who is for a future age, or else Him of Whom we partake for the preservation of our essence. Whether then it is in this sense or that, it is fitting to speak so of the Lord’s body. For the Lord’s flesh is life-giving spirit because it was conceived of the life-giving Spirit. For what is born of the Spirit is spirit. But I do not say this to take away the nature of the body, but I wish to make clear its life-giving and divine power.

But if some persons called the bread and the wine antitypes of the body and blood of the Lord, as did the divinely inspired Basil, they said so not after the consecration but before the consecration, so calling the offering itself.

Participation is spoken of; for through it we partake of the divinity of Jesus. Communion, too, is spoken of, and it is an actual communion, because through it we have communion with Christ and share in His flesh

and His divinity: yea, we have communion and are united with one another through it. For since we partake of one bread, we all become one body of Christ and one blood, and members one of another, being of one body with Christ.

With all our strength, therefore, let us beware lest we receive communion from or grant it to heretics; Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, saith the Lord, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest we become partakers in their dishonor and condemnation. For if trojan is in truth with Christ and with one another, we are assuredly voluntarily united also with all those who partake with us. For this union is effected voluntarily and not against our inclination. For we are all one body because we partake of the one bread, as the divine Apostle says.

Further, antitypes of future things are spoken of, not as though they were not in reality Christ's body and blood, but that now through them we partake of Christ's divinity, while then we shall partake mentally through the vision alone.

CHAPTER 14

CONCERNING OUR LORD'S GENEALOGY AND CONCERNING THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD

Concerning the holy and much-lauded ever-virgin one, Mary, the Mother of God, we have said something in the preceding chapters, bringing forward what was most opportune, viz., that strictly and truly she is and is called the Mother of God. Now let us fill up the blanks. For she being pre-ordained by the eternal prescient counsel of God and imaged forth and proclaimed in diverse images and discourses of the prophets through the Holy Spirit, sprang at the pre-determined time from the root of David, according to the promises that were made to him. For the Lord hath sworn, He saith in truth to David, He will not turn from it: of the fruit of Thy body will I set upon Thy throne. And again, Once have I sworn by My holiness, that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever, and His throne as the sun before Me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven. And Isaiah says: And there shall

come out a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots.

But that Joseph is descended from the tribe of David is expressly demonstrated by Matthew and Luke, the most holy evangelists. But Matthew derives Joseph from David through Solomon, while Luke does so through Nathan; while over the holy Virgin's origin both pass in silence.

One ought to remember that it was not the custom of the Hebrews nor of the divine Scripture to give genealogies of women; and the law was to prevent one tribe seeking wives from another. And so since Joseph was descended from the tribe of David and was a just man (for this the divine Gospel testifies), he would not have espoused the holy Virgin contrary to the law; he would not have taken her unless she had been of the same tribe. It was sufficient, therefore, to demonstrate the descent of Joseph.

One ought also to observe this, that the law was that when a man died without seed, this maws brother should take to wife the wife of the dead man and raise up seed to his brother. The offspring, therefore, belonged by nature to the second, that is, to him that begat it, but by law to the dead.

Born then of the line of Nathan, the son of David, Levi begat Melchi and Panther: Panther begat Barpanther, so called. This Barpanther begat Joachim: Joachim begat the holy Mother of God. And of the line of Solomon, the son of David, Mathan had a wife of whom he begat Jacob. Now on the death of Mathan, Melchi, of the tribe of Nathan, the son of Levi and brother of Panther, married the wife of Mathan, Jacob's mother, of whom he begat Heli. Therefore Jacob and Hell became brothers on the mother's side, Jacob being of the tribe of Solomon and Heli of the tribe of Nathan. Then Heli of the tribe of Nathan died childless, and Jacob his brother, of the tribe of Solomon, took his wife and raised up seed to his brother and begat Joseph. Joseph, therefore, is by nature the son of Jacob, of the line of Solomon, but by law he is the son of Hell of the line of Nathan.

Joachim then took to wife that revered and praiseworthy woman, Anna. But just as the earlier Anna, who was barren, bore Samuel by prayer and by promise, so also this Anna by supplication and promise from God bare the Mother of God in order that she might not even in this be behind the

matrons of fame. Accordingly it was grace (for this is the interpretation of Anna) that bore the lady: (for she became truly the Lady of all created things in becoming the Mother of the Creator). Further, Joachim was born in the house of the Probatica, and was brought up to the temple. Then planted in the House of God and increased by the Spirit, like a fruitful olive tree, she became the home of every virtue, turning her mind away from every secular and carnal desire, and thus keeping her soul as well as her hotly virginal, as was meet for her who was to receive God into her bosom: for as He is holy, He finds rest among the holy. Thus, therefore, she strove after holiness, and was declared a holy and wonderful temple fit for the most high God.

Moreover, since the enemy of our salvation was keeping a watchful eye on virgins, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, who said, Behold a virgin shall conceive and bare a Son and shall call His name Emmanuel, which is, being interpreted, ‘God with us,’ in order that he who taketh the wise in their own craftiness may deceive him who always glorieth in his wisdom, the maiden is given in marriage to Joseph by the priests, a new book to him who is versed in letters: but the marriage was both the protection of the virgin and the delusion of him who was keeping a watchful eye on virgins. But when the fullness of time was come, the messenger of the Lord was sent to her, with the good news of our Lord’s conception. And thus she conceived the Son of God, the hypostatic power of the Father, not of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, that is to say, by connection and seed, but by the good pleasure of the Father and co-operation of the Holy Spirit. She ministered to the Creator in that He was created, to the Fashioner in that He was fashioned, and to the Son of God and God in that He was made flesh and became man from her pure and immaculate flesh and blood, satisfying the debt of the first mother. For just as the latter was formed from Adam without connection, so also did the former bring forth the new Adam, who was brought forth in accordance with the laws of parturition and above the nature of generation.

For He who was of the Father, yet without mother, was born of woman without a father’s co-operation. And so far as He was born of woman, His birth was in accordance with the laws of parturition, while so far as He had no father, His birth was above the nature of generation: and in that it was at the usual time (for He was born on the completion of the ninth month

when the tenth was just beginning), His birth was in accordance with the laws of parturition, while in that it was painless it was above the laws of generation. For, as pleasure did not precede it, pain did not follow it, according to the prophet who says, Before she travailed, she brought forth, and again, before her pain came she was delivered of a man-child. The Son of God incarnate, therefore, was born of her, not a divinely-inspired man but God incarnate not a prophet anointed with energy but by the presence of the anointing One in His completeness, so that the Anointer became man and the Anointed God, not by a change of nature but by union in subsistence. For the Anointer and the Anointed were one and the same, anointing in the capacity of God Himself as man. Must there not therefore be a Mother of God who bore God incarnate? Assuredly she who played the part of the Creator's servant and mother is in all strictness and truth in reality God's Mother and Lady and Queen over all created things. But just as He who was conceived kept her who conceived still virgin, in like manner also He who was born preserved her virginity intact, only passing through her and keeping her closed. The conception, indeed, was through the sense of hearing, but the birth through the usual path by which children come, although some tell tales of His birth through the side of the Mother of God. For it was not impossible for Him to have come by this gate, without injuring her seal in any way.

The ever-virgin One thus remains even after the birth still virgin, having never at any time up till death consorted with a man. For although it is written, And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son, yet note that he who is first-begotten is first-born even if he is only-begotten. For the word "first-born" means that he was born first but does not at all suggest the birth of others. And the word "till" signifies the limit of the appointed time but does not exclude the time thereafter. For the Lord says, And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world, not meaning thereby that He will be separated from us after the completion of the age. The divine apostle, indeed, says, And so shall we ever be with the Lord, meaning after the general resurrection.

For could it be possible that she, who had borne God and from experience of the subsequent events had come to know the miracle, should receive the embrace of a man. God forbid! It is not the part of a chaste mind to think such thoughts, far less to commit such acts

But this blessed woman, who was deemed worthy of gifts that are supernatural, suffered those pains, which she escaped at the birth, in the hour of the passion, enduring from motherly sympathy the rending of the bowels, and when she beheld Him, Whom she knew to be God by the manner of His generation, killed as a malefactor, her thoughts pierced her as a sword, and this is the meaning of this verse: Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also. But the joy of the resurrection transforms the pain, proclaiming Him, Who died in the flesh, to be God.

CHAPTER 15

CONCERNING THE HONOR
DUE TO THE SAINTS AND THEIR REMAINS

To the saints honor must be paid as friends of Christ, as sons and heirs of God: in the words of John the theologian and evangelist, As many as received Him, to them gave He power to became sons of God. So that they are no longer servants, but sons: and if sons, also heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ: and the Lord in the holy Gospels says to His apostles, Ye are My friends. Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth. And further, if the Creator and Lord of all things is called also King of Kings and Lord of Lords and God of Gods, surely also the saints are gods and lords and kings. For of these God is and is called God and Lord and King. For I am the God of Abraham, He said to Moses, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. And God made Moses a God to Pharaoh. Now I mean gods and kings and lords not in nature, but as rulers and masters of their passions, and as preserving a truthful likeness to the divine image according to which they were made (for the image of a king is also called king), and as being united to God of their own free-will and receiving Him as an indweller and becoming by grace through participation with Him what He is Himself by nature. Surely, then, the worshippers and friends and sons of God are to be held in honor? For the honor shewn to the most thoughtful of fellow-servants is a proof of good feeling towards the common Master.

These are made treasuries and pure habitations of God: For I will dwell in them, said God, and walk in them, and I will be their God. The divine

Scripture likewise saith that the souls of the just are in God's hand and death cannot lay hold of them. For death is rather the sleep of the saints than their death. For they travailed in this life and shall to the end, and Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. What then, is more precious than to be in the hand of God? For God is Life and Light, and those who are in God's hand are in life and light.

Further, that God dwelt even in their bodies in spiritual wise, the Apostle tells us, saying, Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit dwelling in you?, and The Lord is that Spirit, and If any one destroy the temple of God, him will God destroy. Surely, then, we must ascribe honor to the living temples of God, the living tabernacles of God. These while they lived stood with confidence before God.

The Master Christ made the remains of the saints to be fountains of salvation to us, pouring forth manifold blessings and abounding in oil of sweet fragrance: and let no one disbelieve this. For if water burst in the desert from the steep and solid rock at God's will and from the jaw-bone of an ass to quench Samson's thirst, is it incredible that fragrant oil should burst forth from the martyrs' remains? By no means, at least to those who know the power of God and the honor which He accords His saints.

In the law every one who toucheth a dead body was considered impure, but these are not dead. For from the time when He that is Himself life and the Author of life was reckoned among the dead, we do not call those dead who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection and in faith on Him. For how could a dead body work miracles? How, therefore, are demons driven off by them, diseases dispelled, sick persons made well, the blind restored to sight, lepers purified, temptations and troubles overcome, and how does every good gift from the Father of lights come down through them to those who pray with sure faith? How much labor would you not undergo to find a patron to introduce you to a mortal king and speak to him on your behalf? Are not those, then, worthy of honor who are the patrons of the whole race, and make intercession to God for us? Yea, verily, we ought to give honor to them by raising temples to God in their name, bringing them fruit-offerings, honoring their memories and taking spiritual delight in them, in order that the joy of those who call on us may be ours, that in our attempts at worship we may not on the contrary cause

them offense. For those who worship God will take pleasure in those things whereby God is worshipped, while His shield-bearers will be wrath at those things wherewith God is wroth. In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, in contrition and in pity for the needy, let us believers worship the saints, as God also is most worshipped in such wise. Let us raise monuments to them and visible images, and let us ourselves become, through imitation of their virtues, living monuments and images of them. Let us give honor to her who bore God as being strictly and truly the Mother of God. Let us honor also the prophet John as forerunner and baptist, as apostle and martyr, For among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist, as saith the Lord, and he became the first to proclaim the Kingdom. Let us honor the apostles as the Lord's brothers, who saw Him face to face and ministered to His passion, for whom God the Father did foreknow He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, first apostles, second prophets, third pastors end teachers. Let us also honor the martyrs of the Lord chosen out of every class, as soldiers of Christ who have drunk His cup and were then baptized with the baptism of His life-bringing death, to be partakers of His passion and glory: of whom the leader is Stephen, the first deacon of Christ and apostle and first martyr. Also let us honor our holy fathers, the God-possessed ascetics, whose struggle was the longer and more toilsome one of the conscience: who wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; they wandered in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy. Let us honor those who were prophets before grace, the patriarchs and just men who foretold the Lord's coming. Let us carefully review the life of these men, and let us emulate their faith and love and hope and zeal and way of life, and endurance of sufferings and patience even to blood, in order that we may be sharers with them in their crowns of glory.

CHAPTER 16

CONCERNING IMAGES

But since some find fault with us for worshipping and honoring the image of our Savior and that of our Lady, and those, too, of the rest of the saints and servants of Christ, let them remember that in the beginning God created man after His own image. On what grounds, then, do we shew reverence to each other unless because we are made after God's image? For as Basil, that much-versed expounder of divine things, says, the honor given to the image passes over to the prototype. Now a prototype is that which is imaged, from which the derivative is obtained. Why was it that the Mosaic people honored on all hands the tabernacle which bore an image and type of heavenly things, or rather of the whole creation? God indeed said to Moses, Look that thou make them after their pattern which was shewed thee in the mount. The Cherubim, too, which o'er shadow the mercy seat, are they not the work of men's hands? What, further, is the celebrated temple at Jerusalem? Is it not hand-made and fashioned by the skill of men?

Moreover the divine Scripture blames those who worship graven images, but also those who sacrifice to demons. The Greeks sacrificed and the Jews also sacrificed: but the Greeks to demons and the Jews to God. And the sacrifice of the Greeks was rejected and condemned, but the sacrifice of the just was very acceptable to God. For Noah sacrificed, and God smelled a sweet savor, receiving the fragrance of the right choice and good-will towards Him. And so the graven images of the Greeks, since they were images of deities, were rejected and forbidden.

But besides this who can make an imitation of the invisible, incorporeal, uncircumscribed, formless God? Therefore to give form to the Deity is the height of folly and impiety. And hence it is that in the Old Testament the use of images was not common. But after God in His bowels of pity became in truth man for our salvation, not as He was seen by Abraham in the semblance of a man, nor as He was seen by the prophets, but in being truly man, and after He lived upon the earth and dwelt among men, worked miracles, suffered, was crucified, rose again and was taken back to Heaven,

since all these things actually took place and were seen by men, they were written for the remembrance and instruction of us who were not alive at that time in order that though we saw not, we may still, hearing and believing, obtain the blessing of the Lord. But seeing that not every one has a knowledge of letters nor time for reading, the Fathers gave their sanction to depicting these events on images as being acts of great heroism, in order that they should form a concise memorial of them. Often, doubtless, when we have not the Lord's passion in mind and see the image of Christ's crucifixion, His saving passion is brought back to remembrance, and we fall down and worship not the material but that which is imaged: just as we do not worship the material of which the Gospels are made, nor the material of the Cross, but that which these typify. For wherein does the cross, that typifies the Lord, differ from a cross that does not do so? It is just the same also in the case of the Mother of the Lord. For the honor which we give to her is referred to Him Who was made of her incarnate. And similarly also the brave acts of holy men stir us up to be brave and to emulate and imitate their valor and to glorify God. For as we said, the honor that is given to the best of fellow-servants is a proof of good-will towards our common Lady, and the honor rendered to the image passes over to the prototype. But this is an unwritten tradition, just as is also the worshipping towards the East and the worship of the Cross, and very many other similar things.

A certain tale, too, is told, how that when Augarus was king over the city of the Edessenes, he sent a portrait painter to paint a likeness of the Lord, and when the painter could not paint because of the brightness that shone from His countenance, the Lord Himself put a garment over His own divine and life-giving face and impressed on it an image of Himself and sent this to Augarus, to satisfy thus his desire.

Moreover that the Apostles handed down much that was unwritten, Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, tells us in these words: Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught of us, whether by word or by epistle. And to the Corinthians he writes, Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the traditions as I have delivered them to you."

CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING SCRIPTURE

It is one and the same God Whom both the Old and the New Testament proclaim, Who is praised and glorified in the Trinity: I am come, saith the Lord, not to destroy life law but to fulfill it. For He Himself worked out our salvation for which all Scripture and all mystery exists. And again, Search the Scriptures for they are they that testify of Me. And the Apostle says, God, Who at sundry times and in diverse manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. Through the Holy Spirit, therefore, both the law and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles and pastors and teachers, spake.

All Scripture, then, is given by inspiration of God and is also assuredly profitable. Wherefore to search the Scriptures is a work most fair and most profitable for souls. For just as the tree planted by the channels of waters, so also the soul watered by the divine Scripture is enriched and gives fruit in its season, viz. orthodox belief, and is adorned with evergreen leafage, I mean, actions pleasing to God. For through the Holy Scriptures we are trained to action that is pleasing to God, and untroubled contemplation. For in these we find both exhortation to every virtue and dissuasion from every vice. If, therefore, we are lovers of learning, we shall also be learned in many things. For by care and toil and the grace of God the Giver, all things are accomplished. For every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to hint that knocketh it shall be opened. Wherefore let us knock at that very fair garden of the Scriptures, so fragrant and sweet and blooming, with its varied sounds of spiritual and divinely-inspired birds ringing all round our ears, laying hold of our hearts, comforting the mourner, pacifying the angry and filling him with joy everlasting: which sets our mind on the gold-gleaming, brilliant back of the divine dove, whose bright pinions bear up to the only-begotten Son and Heir of the Husbandman of that spiritual Vineyard and bring us through Him to the Father of Lights. But let us not knock carelessly but rather zealously and constantly: lest knocking we grow weary. For thus it will be opened to us. If we read once or twice and do not understand what we read, let us not grow weary, but let us persist, let us talk much, let us enquire. For ask thy

Father, he saith, and He will shew thee: thy elders and they will tell thee. For there is not in every man that knowledge. Let us draw of the fountain of the garden perennial and purest waters springing into life eternal. Here let us luxuriate, let us revel insatiate: for the Scriptures possess inexhaustible grace. But if we are able to pluck anything profitable from outside sources, there is nothing to forbid that. Let us become tried money-dealers, heaping up the true and pure gold and discarding the spurious. Let us keep the fairest sayings but let us throw to the dogs absurd gods and strange myths: for we might prevail most mightily against them through themselves.

Observe, further, that there are two and twenty books of the Old Testament, one for each letter of the Hebrew tongue. For there are twenty-two letters of which five are double, and so they come to be twenty-seven. For the letters Caph, Mere, Nun, Pe, Sade are double. And thus the number of the books in this way is twenty-two, but is found to be twenty-seven because of the double character of five. For Ruth is joined on to Judges, and the Hebrews count them one book: the first and second books of Kings are counted one: and so are the third and fourth books of Kings: and also the first and second of Paraleipomena: and the first and second of Esdra. In this way, then, the books are collected together in four Pentateuchs and two others remain over, to form thus the canonical books. Five of them are of the Law, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. This which is the code of the Law, constitutes the first Pentateuch. Then comes another Pentateuch, the so-called Grapheia, or as they are called by some, the Hagiographa, which are the following: Jesus the Son of Nave, Judges along with Ruth, first and second Kings, which are one book, third and fourth Kings, which are one book, and the two books of the Paraleipomena which are one book. This is the second Pentateuch. The third Pentateuch is the books in verse, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes of Solomon and the Song of Songs of Solomon. The fourth Pentateuch is the Prophetical books, viz the twelve prophets constituting one book, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. Then come the two books of Esdra made into one, and Esther. There are also the Panaretus, that is the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus, which was published in Hebrew by the father of Sirach, and afterwards

translated into Greek by his grandson, Jesus, the Son of Sirach. These are virtuous and noble, but are not counted nor were they placed in the ark.

The New Testament contains four gospels, that according to Matthew, that according to Mark, that according to Luke, that according to John: the Acts of the Holy Apostles by Luke the Evangelist: seven catholic epistles, viz. one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude: fourteen letters of the Apostle Paul: the Revelation of John the Evangelist: the Canons of the holy apostles, by Clement.

CHAPTER 18

REGARDING THE THINGS SAID CONCERNING CHRIST

The things said concerning Christ fall into four generic modes. For some fit Him even before the incarnation, others in the union, others after the union, and others after the resurrection. Also of those that refer to the period before the incarnation there are six modes: for some of them declare the union of nature and the identity in essence with the Father, as this, I and My Father are one: also this, He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father: and this, Who being in the form of God, and so forth. Others declare the perfection of subsistence, as these, Son of God, and the Express Image of His person, and Messenger of great counsel, Wonderful Counselor, and the like.

Again, others declare the indwelling of the subsistences in one another, as, I am in the Father and the Father in Me; and the inseparable foundation, as, for instance, the Word, Wisdom, Power, Effulgence. For the word is inseparably established in the mind (and it is the essential mind that I mean), and so also is wisdom, and power in him that is powerful, and effulgence in the light, all springing forth from these.

And others make known the fact of His origin from the Father as cause, for instance My Father is greater than I. For from Him He derives both His being and all that He has: His being was by generative and not by creative means, as, I came forth from the Father and am come, and I live by the Father. But all that He hath is not His by free gift or by teaching, but in a causal sense, as, The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the

Father do. For if the Father is not, neither is the Son. For the Son is of the Father and in the Father and with the Father, and not after the Father. In like manner also what He doeth is of Him and with Him. For there is one and the same, not similar but the same, will and energy and power in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Moreover, other things are said as though the Father's good-will was fulfilled through His energy, and not as through an instrument or a servant, but as through His essential and hypostatic Word and Wisdom and Power, because but one action is observed in Father and Son, as for example, All things were made by Him, and He sent His Word and healed them, and That they may believe that Than hast sent Me.

Some, again, have a prophetic sense, and of these some are in the future tense: for instance, He shall come openly, and this from Zechariah, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, and this from Micah, Behold, the Lord cometh out of His place and will came down and tread upon the high places of the earth. But others, though future, are put in the past tense, as, for instance, This is our God: Therefore He was seen upon the earth and dwell among men, and The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways for His works, and Wherefore God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows, and such like.

The things said, then, that refer to the period before the union will be applicable to Him even after the union: but those that refer to the period after the union will not be applicable at all before the union, unless indeed in a prophetic sense, as we said. Those that refer to the time of the union have three modes. For when our discourse dears with the higher aspect, we speak of the deification of the flesh, and His assumption of the Word and exceeding exaltation, and so forth, making manifest the riches that are added to the flesh tram the union and natural conjunction with the most high God the Word. And when our discourse deals with the lower aspect, we speak of the incarnation of God the Word, His becoming man, His emptying of Himself, His poverty, His humility. For these and such like are imposed upon the Word and God through His admixture with humanity. When again we keep both sides in view at the same time, we speak of union, community, anointing, natural conjunction, conformation and the like. The former two modes, then, have their reason in this third

mode. For through the union it is made clear what either has obtained from the intimate junction with and permeation through the other. For through the union in subsistence the flesh is said to be deified and to become God and to be equally God with the Word; and God the Word is said to be made flesh, and to become man, and is called creature and last: not in the sense that the two natures are converted into one compound nature (for it is not possible for the opposite natural qualities to exist at the same time in one nature), but in the sense that the two natures are united in subsistence and permeate one another without confusion or transmutation The permeation moreover did not come of the flesh but of the divinity: for it is impossible that the flesh should permeate through the divinity: but the divine nature once permeating through the flesh gave also to the flesh the same ineffable power of permeation; and this indeed is what we call union.

Note, too, that in the case of the first and second modes of those that belong to the period of the union, reciprocation is observed. For when we speak about the flesh, we use the terms deification and assumption of the Word and exceeding exaltation and anointing. For these are derived from divinity, but are observed in connection with the flesh. And when we speak about the Word, we use the terms emptying, incarnation, becoming man, humility and the like: and these, as we said, are imposed on the Word and God through the flesh. For He endured these things in person of His own free-will.

Of the things that refer to the period after the union there are three modes. The first declares His divine nature, as, I am in the Father and the Father in Me, and I and the Father are one: and all those things which are affirmed of Him before His assumption of humanity, these will be affirmed of Him even after His assumption of humanity, with this exception, that He did not assume the flesh and its natural properties.

The second declares His human nature, as, Now ye seek to kill Me, a man that hath told you the truth, and Even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, and the like.

Further, of the statements made and written about Christ the Savior after the manner of men, whether they deal with sayings or actions, there are six modes. For some of them were done or said naturally in accordance with the incarnation; for instance, His birth from a virgin, His growth and

progress with age, His hunger, thirst, weariness, fear, sleep, piercing with nails, death and all such like natural and innocent passions. For in all these there is a mixture of the divine and human, although they are held to belong in reality to the body, the divine suffering none of these, but procuring through them our salvation.

Others are of the nature of ascription, as Christ's question, Where have ye laid Lazarus? His running to the fig-tree, His shrinking, that is, His drawing back, His praying, and His making as though He would have gone He in need of these or similar things, but only because His form was that of a man as necessity and expediency demanded. For example, the praying was to shew that He is not opposed to God, for He gives honor to the Father as the cause of Himself: and the question was not put in ignorance but to shew that He is in truth man as well as God; and the drawing back is to teach us not to be impetuous nor to give ourselves up.

Others again are said in the manner of association and relation, as, My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? and He hath made Him to be sin for us, Who knew no sin, and being made a curse for us; also, Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him. For neither as God nor as man was He ever forsaken by the Father, nor did He become sin or a curse, nor did He require to be made subject to the Father. For as God He is equal to the Father and not opposed to Him nor subjected to Him; and as God, He was never at any time disobedient to His Begetter to make it necessary for Him to make Him subject. Appropriating, then, our person and ranking Himself with us, He used these words. For we are bound in the fetters of sin and the curse as faithless and disobedient, and therefore forsaken.

Others are said by reason of distinction in thought. For if you divide in thought things that are inseparable in actual truth, to cut the flesh from the Word, the terms 'servant' and 'ignorant' are used of Him, for indeed He was of a subject and ignorant nature, and except that it was united with God the Word, His flesh was servile and ignorant. But because of the union in subsistence with God the Word it was neither servile nor ignorant. In this way, too, He called the Father His God.

Others again are for the purpose of revealing Him to us and strengthening our faith, as, And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I

had with Thee, before the world was. For He Himself was glorified and is glorified, but His glory was not manifested nor confirmed to us. Also that which the apostle said, Declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead. For by the miracles and the resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit it was manifested and confirmed to the world that He is the Son of God. And this too, The Child grew in wisdom and grace.

Others again have reference to His appropriation of the personal life of the Jews, in numbering Himself among the Jews, as He saith to the Samaritan woman, Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, far salvation is of the Jews.

The third mode is one which declares the one subsistence and brings out the dual nature: for instance, And I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me. And this: I go to My Father and ye see Me no more. And this: They would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. And this: And no man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven, and such like.

Again of the affirmations that refer to the period after the resurrection some are suitable to God, as, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for here ‘Son’ is clearly used as God; also this, And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world, and other similar ones. For He is with us as God. Others are suitable to man, as, They held Him by the feet, and There they will see Me, and so forth.

Further, of those referring to the period after the Resurrection that are suitable to man there are different modes. For some did actually take place, yet not according to nature, but according to dispensation, in order to confirm the fact that the very body, which suffered, rose again; such are the weals, the eating and the drinking after the resurrection. Others took place actually and naturally, as changing from place to place without trouble and passing in through closed gates. Others have the character of simulation, as, He made as though He would have gone further. Others are appropriate to the double nature, as, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and our God, and The King of Glory shall carte in, and He sat down on the right hand of the majesty on High. Finally others

are to be understood as though He were ranking Himself with us, in the manner of separation in pure thought, as, My God and your God.

Those then that are sublime must be assigned to the divine nature, which is superior to passion and body: and those that are humble must be ascribed to the human nature; and those that are common must be attributed to the compound, that is, the one Christ, Who is God and man. And it should be understood that both belong to one and the same Jesus Christ, our Lord. For if we know what is proper to each, and perceive that both are performed by one and the same, we shall have the true faith and shall not go astray. And from all these the difference between the united natures is recognized, and the fact that, as the most godly Cyril says, they are not identical in the natural quality of their divinity and humanity. But yet there is but one Son and Christ and Lord: and as He is one, He has also but one person, the unity in subsistence being in nowise broken up into parts by the recognition of the difference of the natures.

CHAPTER 19

THAT GOD IS NOT THE CAUSE OF EVILS

It is to be observed that it is the custom in the Holy Scripture to speak of God's permission as His energy, as when the apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans, Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor? And for this reason, that He Himself makes this or that. For He is Himself alone the Maker of all things; yet it is not He Himself that fashions noble or ignoble things, but the personal choice of each one. And this is manifest from what the same Apostle says in the Second Epistle to Timothy, In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth: and some to honor and some to dishonor. If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work. And it is evident that the purification must be voluntary: for if a man, he saith, purge himself. And the consequent antistrophe responds, "If a man purge not himself he will be a vessel to dishonor, unmeet for the master's use and fit only to be broken in pieces." Wherefore this passage that we have quoted

and this, God hath concluded them all in unbelief, and this, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, all these must be understood not as though God Himself were energizing, but as though God were permitting, both because of free-will and because goodness knows no compulsion.

His permission, therefore, is usually spoken of in the Holy Scripture as His energy and work. Nay, even when He says that God creates evil things, and that there is no evil in a city that the Lord hath not done, he does not mean by these words that the Lord is the cause of evil, but the word ‘evil’ is used in two ways, with two meanings. For sometimes it means what is evil by nature, and this is the opposite of virtue and the will of God: and sometimes it means that which is evil and oppressive to our sensation, that is to say, afflictions and calamities. Now these are seemingly evil because they are painful, but in reality are good. For to those who understand they became ambassadors of conversion and salvation. The Scripture says that of these God is the Author.

It is, moreover, to be observed that of these, too, we are the cause: for involuntary evils are the offspring of voluntary ones.

This also should be recognized, that it is usual in the Scriptures for some things that ought to be considered as effects to be stated in a causal sense, as, Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in Thy sight, that Than mightest be justified when Thou speakest, and prevail when Thou judgest. For the sinner did not sin in order that God might prevail, nor again did God require our sin in order that He might by it be revealed as victor. For above comparison He wins the victor’s prize against all, even against those who are sinless, being Maker, incomprehensible, uncreated, and possessing natural and not adventitious glory. But it is because when we sin God is not unjust in His anger against us; and when He pardons the penitent He is shewn victor over our wickedness. But it is not for this that we sin, but because the thing so turns out. It is just as if one were sitting at work and a friend stood near by, and one said, My friend came in order that I might do no work that day. The friend, however, was not present in order that the man should do no work, but such was the result. For being occupied with receiving his friend he did not work. These things, too, are spoken of as effects because affairs so turned

out. Moreover, God does not wish that He alone should be just, but that all should, so far as possible, be made like unto Him.

CHAPTER 20

THAT THERE ARE NOT TWO KINGDOMS

That there are not two kingdoms, one good and one bad, we shall see from this. For good and evil are opposed to one another and mutually destructive, and cannot exist in one another or with one another. Each of them, therefore, in its own division will belong to the whole, and first they will he circumscribed, not by the whole alone but also each of them by part of the whole.

Next I ask, who it is that assigns to each its place. For they will not affirm that they have come to a friendly agreement with, or been reconciled to, one another. For evil is not evil when it is at peace with, and reconciled to, goodness, nor is goodness good when it is on amicable terms with evil. But if He Who has marked off to each of these its own sphere of action is something different from them, He must the rather be God.

One of two things indeed is necessary, either that they come in contact with and destroy one another, or that there exists some intermediate place where neither goodness nor evil exists, separating both from one another, like a partition. And so there will be no longer two but three kingdoms.

Again, one of these alternatives is necessary, either that they are at peace, which is quite incompatible with evil (for that which is at peace is not evil), or they are at strife, which is incompatible with goodness (for that which is at strife is not perfectly good), or the evil is at strife and the good does not retaliate, but is destroyed by the evil, or they are ever in trouble and distress, which is not a mark of goodness. There is, therefore, but one kingdom, delivered from all evil.

But if this is so, they say, whence comes evil? For it is quite impossible that evil should originate from goodness. We answer then, that evil is nothing else than absence of goodness and a lapsing from what is natural into what is unnatural: for nothing evil is natural. For all things,

whatsoever God made, are very good, so far as they were made: if, therefore, they remain just as they were created, they are very good, but when they voluntarily depart from what is natural and turn to what is unnatural, they slip into evil.

By nature, therefore, all things are servants of the Creator and obey Him. Whenever, then, any of His creatures voluntarily rebels and becomes disobedient to his Maker, he introduces evil into himself. For evil is not any essence nor a property of essence, but an accident, that is, a voluntary deviation from what is natural into what is unnatural, which is sin.

Whence, then, comes sin? It is an invention of the free-will of the devil. Is the devil, then, evil? In so far as he was brought into existence he is not evil but good. For he was created by his Maker a bright and very brilliant angel, endowed with free-will as being rational. But he voluntarily departed from the virtue that is natural and came into the darkness of evil, being far removed from God, Who alone is good and can give life and light. For from Him every good thing derives its goodness, and so far as it is separated from Him in will (for it is not in place), it falls into evil.

CHAPTER 21

THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH GOD IN HIS FOREKNOWLEDGE CREATED PERSONS WHO WOULD SIN AND NOT REPENT

God in His goodness brought what exists into being out of nothing, and has foreknowledge of what will exist in the future. If, therefore, they were not to exist in the future, they would neither be evil in the future nor would they be foreknown. For knowledge is of what exists and foreknowledge is of what will surely exist in the future. For simple being comes first and then good or evil being. But if the very existence of those, who through the goodness of God are in the future to exist, were to be prevented by the fact that they were to become evil of their own choice, evil would have prevailed over the goodness of God. Wherefore God makes all His works good, but each becomes of its own choice good or evil. Although, then, the Lord said, Goad were it for that man that he had never been barn, He said it in condemnation not of His own creation but of the evil which His own

creation had acquired by his own choice and through his own heedlessness. For the heedlessness that marks man's judgment made His Creator's beneficence of no profit to him. It is just as if any one, when he had obtained riches and dominion from a king, were to Lord it over his benefactor, who, when he has worsted him, will punish him as he deserves, if he should see him keeping hold of the sovereignty to the end.

CHAPTER 22

CONCERNING THE LAW OF GOD AND THE LAW OF SIN

The Deity is good and more than good, and so is His will. For that which God wishes is good. Moreover the precept, which teaches this, is law, that we, holding by it, may walk in light: and the transgression of this precept is sin, and this continues to exist on account of the assault of the devil and our unconstrained and voluntary reception of it. And this, too, is called law.

And so the law of God, settling in our mind, draws it towards itself and pricks our conscience. And our conscience, too, is called a law of our mind. Further, the assault of the wicked one, that is the law of sin, settling in the members of our flesh, makes its assault upon us through it. For by once voluntarily transgressing the law of God and receiving the assault of the wicked one, we gave entrance to it, being sold by ourselves to sin. Wherefore our body is readily impelled to it. And so the savor and perception of sin that is stored up in our body, that is to say, lust and pleasure of the body, is law in the members of our flesh.

Therefore the law of my mind, that is, the conscience, sympathizes with the law of God, that is, the precept, and makes that its will. But the law of sin, that is to say, the assault made through the law that is in our members, or through the lust and inclination and movement of the body and of the irrational part of the soul, is in opposition to the law of my mind, that is to conscience, and takes me captive (even though I make the law of God my will and set my love on it, and make not sin my will), by reason of commixture: and through the softness of pleasure and the lust of the body and of the irrational part of the soul, as I said, it leads me astray and

induces me to become the servant of sin. But what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh (for He assumed flesh but not sin) condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but in the Spirit. For the Spirit helpeth our infirmities and affordeth power to the law of our mind, against the law that is in our members. For the verse, we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered, itself teacheth us what to pray for. Hence it is impossible to carry out the precepts of the Lord except by patience and prayer.

CHAPTER 23

AGAINST THE JEWS ON THE QUESTION SABBATH

The seventh day is called the Sabbath and signifies rest. For in it God rested from all His works, as the divine Scripture says: and so the number of the days goes up to seven and then circles back again and begins at the first. This is the precious number with the Jews. God having ordained that it should be held in honor, and that in no chance fashion but with the imposition of most heavy penalties for the transgression. And it was not in a simple fashion that He ordained this, but for certain reasons understood mystically by the spiritual and clear-sighted.

So far, indeed, as I in my ignorance know, to begin with inferior and more dense things, God, knowing the denseness of the Israelites and their carnal love and propensity towards matter in everything, made this law: first, in order that the servant and the cattle should rest as it is written, for the righteous man regardeth the life of his beast: next, in order that when they take their ease from the distraction of material things, they may gather together unto God, spending the whole of the seventh day in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs and the study of the divine Scriptures and resting in God. For when the law did not exist and there was no divinely-inspired Scripture, the Sabbath was not consecrated to God. But when the divinely-inspired Scripture was given by Moses, the Sabbath was consecrated to God in order that on it they, who do not dedicate their

whole life to God, and who do not make their desire subservient to the as though to a Father, but are like foolish servants, may on that day talk much concerning the exercise of it, and may abstract a small, truly a most insignificant, portion of their life for the service of God, and this from fear of the chastisements and punishments which threaten transgressors. For the law is not made for a righteous man but for the unrighteous. Moses, of a truth, was the first to abide fasting with God for forty days and again for another forty, and thus doubtless to afflict himself with hunger on the Sabbaths although the law forbade self-affliction on the Sabbath. But if they should object that this took place before the law, what will they say about Elias the Thesbite who accomplished a journey of forty days on one meal? For he, by thus afflicting himself on the Sabbaths not only with hunger but with the forty days' journeying, broke the Sabbath: and yet God, Who gave the law, was not wroth with him but shewed Himself to him on Choreb as a reward for his virtue. And what will they say about Daniel? Did he not spend three weeks without food? And again, did not all Israel circumcise the child on the Sabbath, if it happened to be the eighth day after birth? And do they not hold the great fast which the law enjoins if it falls on the Sabbath? And further, do not the priests and the Levites profane the Sabbath in the works of the tabernacle and yet are held blameless? Yea, if an ox should fall into a pit on the Sabbath, he who draws it forth is blameless, while he who neglects to do so is condemned. And did not all the Israelites compass the walls of Jericho bearing the Ark of God for seven days, in which assuredly the Sabbath was included.

As I said, therefore, for the purpose of securing leisure to worship God in order that they might, both servant and beast of burden, devote a very small share to Him and be at rest, the observance of the Sabbath was devised for the carnal that were still childish and in the bonds of the elements of the world, and unable to conceive of anything beyond the body and the letter. But when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth His Only-begotten Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law that we might receive the adoption of sons. For to as many of us as received Him, He gave power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on Him. So that we are no longer servants but sons: no longer under the law but under grace: no longer do we serve God in part from fear, but we are bound to dedicate to Him the

whole span of our life, and cause that servant, I mean wrath and desire, to cease from sin and bid it devote itself to the service of God, always directing our whole desire towards God and arming our wrath against the enemies of God: and likewise we hinder that beast of burden, that is the body, from the servitude of sin, and urge it forwards to assist to the uttermost the divine precepts.

These are the things which the spiritual law of Christ enjoins on us and those who observe that become superior to the law of Moses. For when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away: and when the covering of the law, that is, the veil, is rent asunder through the crucifixion of the Savior, and the Spirit shines forth with tongues of fire, the letter shall be done away with, bodily things shall come to an end, the law of servitude shall be fulfilled, and the law of liberty be bestowed on us. Yea we shall celebrate the perfect rest of bureau nature, I mean the day after the resurrection, on which the Lord Jesus, the Author of Life and our Savior, shall lead us into the heritage promised to those who serve God in the spirit, a heritage into which He entered Himself as our forerunner after He rose from the dead, and whereon, the gates of Heaven being opened to Him, He took His seat in bodily form at the right hand of the Father, where those who keep the spiritual law shall also come.

What belongs to us, therefore, who walk by the spirit and not by the letter, is the complete abandonment of carnal things, the spiritual service and communion with God. For circumcision is the abandonment of carnal pleasure and of whatever is superfluous and unnecessary. For the foreskin is nothing else than the skin which it superfluous to the organ of lust. And, indeed, every pleasure which does not arise from God nor is in God is superfluous to pleasure: and of that the foreskin is the type. The Sabbath, moreover, is the cessation from sin; so that both things happen to be one, and so both together, when observed by those who are spiritual, do not bring about any breach of the law at all.

Further, observe that the number seven denotes all the present time, as the most wise Solomon says, to give a portion to seven and also to eight. And David, the divine singer when he composed the eighth psalm, sang of the future restoration after the resurrection from the dead. Since the Law,

therefore, enjoined that the seventh day should be spent in rest from carnal things and devoted to spiritual things, it was a mystic indication to the true Israelite who had a mind to see God, that he should through all time offer himself to God and rise higher than carnal things.

CHAPTER 24

CONCERNING VIRGINITY

Carnal men abuse virginity, and the pleasure-loving bring forward the following verse in proof, Cursed be every one that raiseth not up seed in Israel. But we, made confident by God the Word that was made flesh of the Virgin, answer that virginity was implanted in man's nature from above and in the beginning. For man was formed of virgin soil. From Adam alone was Eve created. In Paradise virginity held sway. Indeed, Divine Scripture tells that both Adam and Eve were naked and were not ashamed. But after their transgression they knew that they were naked, and in their shame they sewed aprons for themselves. And when, after the transgression, Adam heard, dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return, when death entered into the world by reason of the transgression, then Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare seed. So that to prevent the wearing out and destruction of the race by death, marriage was devised that the race of men may be preserved through the procreation of children.

But they will perhaps ask, what then is the meaning of "male and female," and "Be fruitful and multiply?" In answer we shall say that "Be fruitful and multiply" does not altogether refer to the multiplying by the marriage connection. For God had power to multiply the race also in different ways, if they kept the precept unbroken to the end. But God, Who knoweth all things before they have existence, knowing in His foreknowledge that they would fall into transgression in the future and be condemned to death, anticipated this and made "male and female," and bade them "be fruitful and multiply." Let us, then, proceed on our way and see the glories of virginity: and this also includes chastity.

Noah when he was commanded to enter the ark and was entrusted with the preservation of the seed of the world received this command, Go in, saith

the Lord, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives. He separated them from their wives in order that with purity they might escape the flood and that shipwreck of the whole world. After the cessation of the flood, however, He said, Go forth of the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives. Lo, again, marriage is granted for the sake of the multiplication of the race. Next, Elias, the fire-breathing charioteer and sojourner in heaven did not embrace celibacy, and yet was not his virtue attested by his super-human ascension? Who closed the heavens? Who raised the dead? Who divided Jordan? Was it not the virginal Elias? And did not Elisha, his disciple, after he had given proof of equal virtue, ask and obtain as an inheritance a double portion of the grace of the Spirit? What of the three youths? Did they not by practicing virginity become mightier than fire, their bodies through virginity being made proof against the fire? And was it not Daniel's body that was so hardened by virginity that the wild beasts' teeth could not fasten in it. Did not God, when He wished the Israelites to see Him, bid them purify the body? Did not the priests purify themselves and so approach the temple's shrine and offer victims? And did not the law call chastity the great vow?

The precept of the law, therefore, is to be taken in a more spiritual sense. For there is spiritual seed which is conceived through the love and fear of God in the spiritual womb, travailing and bringing forth the spirit of salvation. And in this sense must be understood this verse: Blessed is he who hath seed in Zion and posterity in Jerusalem. For does it mean that, although he be a whoremonger and a drunkard and an idolater, he is still blessed if only he hath seed in Sion and posterity in Jerusalem? No one in his senses will say this.

Virginity is the rule of life among the angels, the property of all incorporeal nature. This we say without speaking ill of marriage: God forbid! (for we know that the Lord blessed marriage by His presence, and we know him who said, Marriage is and the bed undefiled), but knowing that virginity is better than marriage, however good. For among the virtues, equally as among the vices, there are higher and lower grades. We know that all mortals after the first parents of the race are the offspring of marriage. For the first parents were the work of virginity and not of marriage. But celibacy is, as we said, an imitation of the angels. Wherefore virginity is as much more honorable than marriage, as the angel is higher than man. But

why do I say angel? Christ Himself is the glory of virginity, who was not only-begotten of the Father without beginning or emission or connection, but also became man in our image, being made flesh for our sakes of the Virgin without connection, and manifesting in Himself the true and perfect virginity. Wherefore, although He did not enjoin that on us by law (for as He said, all men cannot receive this saying), yet in actual fact He taught us that and gave us strength for it. For it is surely clear to every one that virginity now is flourishing among men.

Good indeed is the procreation of children enjoined by the law, and good is marriage on account of fornications, for it does away with these, and by lawful intercourse does not permit the madness of desire to he caromed into unlawful acts. Good is marriage for those who have no continence: but that virginity is better which increases the fruitfulness of the soul and offers to God the seasonable fruit of prayer. Marriage is honorable and the bed undefiled, but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.

CHAPTER 25

CONCERNING THE CIRCUMCISION

The Circumcision was given to Abraham before the law, after the blessings, after the promise, as a sign separating him and his offspring and his household from the Gentiles with whom he lived. And this is evident, for when the Israelites passed forty years alone by themselves in the desert, having no intercourse with any other race, all that were horn in the desert were uncircumcised: but when Joshua led them across Jordan, they were circumcised, and a second law of circumcision was instituted. For in Abraham’s time the law of circumcision was given, and for the forty years in the desert it fell into abeyance. And again for the second time God gave the law of Circumcision to Joshua, after the crossing of Jordan, according as it is written in the book of Joshua, the son of Nun: At that time the Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of stone from the sharp rock, and assemble and circumcise the sons of Israel a second time; and a little later: For the children of Israel walked forty and two years in the wilderness of Battaris, till all the people that were men of war, which came out of Egypt, were uncircumcised, because they obeyed not the voice of the Lord: unto

whom the Lord sware that He would not shew them the goad land, which the Lord swore unto their fathers that He would give them, a land that floweth with milk and honey. And their children, whom He raised up in their stead, them Joshua circumcised: for they were uncircumcised, because they had not circumcised them by the way. So that the circumcision was a sign, dividing Israel from the Gentiles with whom they dwelt.

It was, moreover, a figure of baptism. For just as the circumcision does not cut off a useful member of the body but only a useless superfluity, so by the holy baptism we are circumcised from sin, and sin clearly is, so to speak, the superfluous part of desire and not useful desire. For it is quite impossible that any one should have no desire at all nor ever experience the taste of pleasure. But the useless part of pleasure, that is to say, useless desire and pleasure, it is this that is sin from which holy baptism circumcises us, giving us as a token the precious cross on the brow, not to divide us from the Gentiles (for all the nations received baptism and were sealed with the sign of the Cross), but to distinguish in each nation the faithful from the Faithless. Wherefore, when the truth is revealed, circumcision is a senseless figure and shade. So circumcision is now superfluous and contrary to holy baptism. For he who is circumcised is a debtor to do the whale law. Further, the Lord was circumcised that He might fulfill the law: and He fulfilled the whole law and observed the Sabbath that He might fulfill and establish the law. Moreover after He was baptized and the Holy Spirit had appeared to men, descending on Him in the form of a dove, from that time the spiritual service and conduct of life and the Kingdom of Heaven was preached.

CHAPTER 26

CONCERNING THE ANTICHRIST

It should be known that the Antichrist is hound to come. Every one, therefore, who confesses not that the Son of God came in the flesh and is perfect God and became perfect man, after being God, is Antichrist. But in a peculiar and special sense he who comes at the consummation of the age is called Antichrist. First, then, it is requisite that the Gospel should be preached among all nations, as the Lord said, and then he will come to

refute the impious Jews. For the Lord said to them: I am come in My Father's name and ye receive Me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. And the apostle says, Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause Gad shall send them a strong delusion that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. The Jews accordingly did not receive the Lord Jesus Christ who was the Son of God and God, but receive the impostor who calls himself God. For that he will assume the name of God, the angel teaches Daniel, saying these words, Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers. And the apostle says: Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son, of perdition: who opposeth and exalted himself above all that is called Gad or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God; in the temple of God he said; not our temple, but the old Jewish temple. For he will come not to us but to the Jews: not for Christ or the things of Christ: wherefore he is called Antichrist.

First, therefore, it is necessary that the Gospel should be preached among all nations: And then shall that wicked one be revealed, even him whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, whom the Lord shall consume with the word of His mouth and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming. The devil himself, therefore does not become man in the way that the Lord was made man. God forbid! but he becomes man as the offspring of fornication and receiveth all the energy of Satan. For God, foreknowing the strangeness of the choice that he would make, allows the devil to take up his abode in him.

He is, therefore, as we said, the offspring of fornication and is nurtured in secret, and on a sudden he rises up and rebels and assumes rule. And in the beginning of his rule, or rather tyranny, he assumes the role of sanctity. But when he becomes master he persecutes the Church of God and displays all his wickedness. But he will come with signs and lying wonders, fictitious and not real, and he will deceive and lead away from the living God those whose mind rests on an unsound and unstable foundation, so that even the elect shall, if it be possible, be made to stumble.

But Enoch and Elias the Thesbite shall be sent and shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, that is, the synagogue to our Lord Jesus Christ and the preaching of the apostles: and they will be destroyed by him. And the Lord shall come out of heaven, just as the holy apostles beheld Him going into heaven perfect God and perfect man, with glory and power, and will destroy the man of lawlessness, the son of destruction, with the breath of His mouth. Let no one, therefore, look for the Lord to come from earth, but out of Heaven, as He himself has made sure.

CHAPTER 27

CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION

We believe also in the resurrection of the dead. For there will be in truth, there will be, a resurrection of the dead, and by resurrection we mean resurrection of bodies. For resurrection is the second state of that which has fallen. For the souls are immortal, and hence how can they rise again? For if they define death as the separation of soul and body, resurrection surely is the re-union of soul and body, and the second state of the living creature that has suffered dissolution and downfall. It is, then, this very body, which is corruptible and liable to dissolution, that will rise again incorruptible. For He, who made it in the beginning of the sand of the earth, does not lack the power to raise it up again after it has been dissolved again and returned to the earth from which it was taken, in accordance with the reversal of the Creator’s judgment.

For if there is no resurrection, let us eat and drink: let us pursue a life of pleasure and enjoyment. If there is no resurrection, wherein do we differ from the irrational brutes? If there is no resurrection, let us hold the wild beasts of the field happy who have a life free from sorrow. If there is no resurrection, neither is there any God nor Providence, but all things are driven and borne along of themselves. For observe how we see most righteous men suffering hunger and injustice and receiving no help in the present life, while sinners and unrighteous men abound in riches and every delight. And who in his senses would take this for the work of a righteous judgment or a wise providence? There must be, therefore, there must be, a resurrection. For God is just and is the rewarder of those who submit

patiently to Him. Wherefore if it is the soul alone that engages in the contests of virtue, it is also the soul alone that will receive the crown. And if it were the soul alone that revels in pleasures, it would also be the soul alone that would be justly punished. But since the soul does not pursue either virtue or vice separate from the body, both together will obtain that which is their just due.

Nay, the divine Scripture bears witness that there will be a resurrection of the body. God in truth says to Moses after the flood, Even as the green herb have I given you all things. But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, for his blood his own shall be shed, for in the image of God made I man. How will He require the blood of man at the hand of every beast, unless because the bodies of dead men will rise again? For not for man will the beasts die.

And again to Moses, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob: God is not the God of the dead (that is, those who are dead and will be no more), but of the living, whose souls indeed live in His hand, but whose bodies will again come to life through the resurrection. And David, sire of the Divine, says to God, Thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. See how he speaks about bodies. Then he subjoins this, Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created: and Thou renewest the face of the earth.

Further Isaiah says: The dead shall rise again, and they that are in the graves shall awake. And it is clear that the souls do not lie in the graves, but the bodies.

And again, the blessed Ezekiel says: And it was as I prophesied, and behold a shaking and the bones came together, bone to his bone, each to its own joint: and when I beheld, lo, the sinews came up upon them and the flesh grew and rose up on them and the skin covered them above. And later he teaches how the spirits came back when they were bidden.

And divine Daniel also says: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall

be a time of trouble, such trouble as never was since there was a nation on the earth even to that same time. And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake: some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and out of the multitude of the just shall shine like stars into the ages and beyond. The words, many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, clearly shew that there will be a resurrection of bodies. For no one surely would say that the souls sleep in the dust of the earth.

Moreover, even the Lord in the holy Gospels clearly allows that there is a resurrection of the bodies. For they that are in the graves, He says, shall hear His voice and shall come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. Now no one in his senses would ever say that the souls are in the graves.

But it was not only by word, but also by deed, that the Lord revealed the resurrection of the bodies. First He raised up Lazarus, even after he had been dead four days, and was stinking. For He did not raise the soul without the body, but the body along with the soul: and not another body but the very one that was corrupt. For how could the resurrection of the dead man have been known or believed if it had not been established by his characteristic properties? But it was in fact to make the divinity of His own nature manifest and to confirm the belief in His own and our resurrection, that He raised up Lazarus who was destined once more to die. And the Lord became Himself the first-fruits of the perfect resurrection that is no longer subject to death Wherefore also the divine Apostle Paul said: If the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised. And if Christ be not raised, our faith is vain: we are jet in our sins. And, Now, is Christ risen from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept, and the first-born pyre the dead; and again, For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. Even so, he said, as Christ rose again. Moreover, that the resurrection of the Lord was the union of uncorrupted body and soul (for it was these that had been divided) is manifest: for He said, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. And the holy Gospel is a

trustworthy witness that He spoke of His own body. Handle Me and see, the Lord said to His own disciples when they were thinking that they saw a spirit, that it is I Myself, and that I am not changed: for a spirit hath not flesh or bones, as ye see Me have. And when He had said this He shewed them His hands and His side, and stretched them forward for Thomas to touch. Is not this sufficient to establish belief in the resurrection of bodies?

Again the divine apostle says, For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. And again: It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption: it is sawn in weakness, it is raised in power: it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory: it is sown a natural body (that is to say, crass and mortal), it is raised a spiritual body, such as was our Lord's body after the resurrection which passed through closed doors, was unwearying, had no need of food, or sleep, or drink. For they will be, saith the Lord, as the angels of God: there will no longer be marriage nor procreation of children. The divine apostle, in truth, says, For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body: not meaning change into another form (God forbid!), but rather the change from corruption into incorruption.

But some one will say, How are the dead raised up? Oh, what disbelief! Oh, what folly! Will He, Who at His solitary will changed earth into body, Who commanded the little drop of seed to grow in the mother's womb and become in the end this varied and manifold organ of the body, not the rather raise up again at His solitary will that which was and is dissolved? And with what body do they come? Thou fool, if thy hardness will not permit you to believe the words of God, at least believe His works. For that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body. Behold, therefore, how the seed is buried in the furrows as in tombs. Who is it that giveth them roots and stalk and leaves and ears and the most delicate beards? Is it not the Maker of the universe? Is it not at the bidding of Him Who hath contrived all things? Believe, therefore, in this wise, even that the resurrection of the dead will come to pass at the divine will and sign. For He has power that is able to keep pace with His will.

We shall therefore rise again, our souls being once more united with our bodies, now made incorruptible and having put off corruption, and we shall stand beside the awful judgment-seat of Christ: and the devil and his demons and the man that is his, that is the Antichrist and the impious and the sinful, will be given over to everlasting fire: not material fire like our fire, but such fire as God would know. But those who have done good will shine forth as the sun with the angels into life eternal, with our Lord Jesus Christ, ever seeing Him and being in His sight and deriving unceasing joy from Him, praising Him with the Father and the Holy Spirit throughout the limitless ages of ages. Amen.

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OF

THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

SECOND SERIES

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
WITH PROLEGOMENA AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF

PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.,
Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

AND

HENRY WACE,D.D.,
Professor of King'S College, London.

IN CONNECTION WITH A NUMBER OF PATRISTIC SCHOLARS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

VOLUME 10

ST. AMBROSE
SELECTED WORKS AND LETTERS

SAGE Software
Albany, Oregon
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SOME OF

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF ST. AMBROSE,

TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. H. DE ROMESTIN, M.A.,

Of St. John's College, Oxford, and Rector of Tiptree, Essex.

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

THE REV. E. DE ROMESTIN, M.A.,

Of New College, Oxford,

AND

THE REV. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, M.A.,

Of Merton College, Oxford.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

ALTHOUGH, according to the plan of this "Library," Commentaries on Holy Scriptures are omitted, and the field of selection is thus somewhat lessened, it has been no easy matter to decide which of St. Ambrose's many treatises should be chosen and which omitted.

Obviously the great work on the Faith, *De Fide*, must be included, and this implied the addition of that on the Holy Spirit. Then the treatise on the Duties of the clergy, as throwing much light on the ideas of the Fourth Century as to what was expected of ecclesiastics, seemed to claim a place. And after these the difficulty becomes very great. It is unfortunate that the limitations of space do not admit of the inclusion of all the dogmatic and ascetic treatises. Similarly, one would have been glad to insert the addresses on the deaths of the two Emperors Valentinian and Theodosius. More, also, of his letter might well have been added, though, as they have appeared in full in the Oxford, "Library of the Fathers," this is a matter for less regret.

As will be seen, I have availed myself of the assistance of my son, the Rev. E. de Romestin, of New College, and of the Rev. H.T.F. Duckworth, of Merton College, each of whom took high honors in the Theological School at Oxford.

The work has been carried out under some difficulties, and not the least has been the loss in traveling of a considerable portion of the manuscript, the whole of which had to be translated anew.

PROLEGOMENA TO ST. AMBROSE

1. LITERATURE.

1. EDITIONS.

ALL the Editions of the works of St. Ambrose which preceded that of the Benedictines are very inadequate. Of these the chief are the folllowing:

1. Venice, A.D. 1485.

2. Cribelluis, A.D. 1490.

3. Auerbach, Basel, A.D. 1492, reprinted in 1506, with a full Index. These are very faulty Editions.

4. Erasmus, Basel, A.D. 1527, reprinted and re-edited by different persons, in various places [by Baronius amongst others, A.D. 1549].

5. Gillot Campanus, Paris, A.D. 1568.

6. Felix de Montalto [afterwards Pope Sixtus V.], Rome, A.D. 1580-1585, reprinted at Paris, A.D. 1603.

7. The Benedictines of St. Maur, Paris, A.D. 1686-1690, reprinted at Venice, A.D. 1748 and 1781, as well as with additions by Migne, Patres Latini, Vols. XIV-XVII.

8. A new edition by Ballerini, Milan, A.D. 1875-1886, founded on that of the Benedictines, but by no means superior to it.

There is still room for a critical edition of the works of this great Father, which are unfortunately very corrupt, but in many points it is not likely that the work of the Benedictine editors can be improved upon.

9. There are separate editions of some of the treatises of St. Ambrose, as of the *Hexaemeron* and *De Officiis Clericorum*, in the Bibliotheca

Patrum Eccl. Latinae Selecta, Leipzig, Tauchnitz. The *De Officiis* has also been edited, with considerable improvements in the text, by Krabinger, Tubingen, 1857, and the *De Fide* and *De Paenitentia*, by Hurter in the Vienna selections from the Fathers.

2. TRANSLATIONS.

There seems to have never been any attempt to translate the works of this great Christian Father and Doctor in full.

Some few treatises, *De Officiis, De excessu frairis Satyri, De Virginitate*, and several other short ones, appear in German, in the select writings of the Fathers, published by Kosel of Kempten. The Epistles have been translated into French by Bonrecuiel, Paris, A.D. 1746; and the *De Officiis* and Epistles into English, the former by humfrey, London, A.D. 1637; the latter in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers," revised by E. Walford, London, 1881; whilst the *De Mysteriis* appears in a little volume of Sacramental Treatises, published by Messrs. J. Parker & Co., Oxford, under the supervision of the Editor of this volume. There is a very valuable little monograph entitled *Studia Ambrosiana*, chiefly critical, and unfortunately brief, by Maximilian Ihm. Leipzig, Teubner, 1889.

3. BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF ST. AMBROSE.

(a.) *Ancient.*

Many of his own writings.—Life of St. Ambrose by Paulinus, a deacon of the Church of Milan.—St. Augustin, Confessions, V. 23, 24; Vi. 1-6; IX. 13-16; and many other passages in his writings.—St. Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 134.Rufinus, Ecclesiastical History, XI. 11, 15, 16, 18.—Socrates, Eccl. History, IV. 30; V. 11.—Sozomen, Eccl. History, VI. 24; VII. 13, 25.

(b.) *Modern.*

Baronius, Annals, A.D. 397, n. 25-35; Life of St. Ambrose in the prolegomena to the Roman Edition of his works.—The Life of St. Ambrose gathered from his own writings, in the Benedictine Edition (excellent).—Hermant, *Vie de St. Ambroise*, Paris, 1678.—Tillemont,

Memoires, etc., Tome X. St. Ambroise, and notes.—Ceillier, *Histoire generale des Auteurs sacres,* Tome V. Ed. 2, Paris 186c.—Dupin, Tome ii. [This writer says that the text of St. Ambrose is more corrupt than that of any other Father. See Alzog, *Patrologie,* Ed. I.]—Cave, *Hist. Lit.* Vol. I.—Schoeneman, *Bibliotheca historica PP. Lat.* I. 388-419.—Silbert. *Leben des heiligen Ambrosius,* Vienna, 1841—Baunard, *Histoire de St. Ambroise,* Paris, 1872 [translated into German, Freiburg, 1873].—Life of St. Ambrose, by Archdeacon Thornton, London, and other shorter sketches.—Fessler [Jungmann], *Institutiones Patrologiae,* I. 655 [also Patrologies of Moehler, Alzog, etc.]. Articles in the Freiburg *Kirchen-Lexikon,* the Dictionary of Christian biography, and other encyclopaedias.

2. NOTES ON SECULAR AND CHURCH HISTORY DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

After the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, the faith of the Catholic Church was established, but a considerable time was to elapse, and the tide of heterodoxy was to ebb and flow many times before peace should finally ensue. The “conversion” of the Emperor Constantine, though not followed, till he was dying, by baptism, led not merely to the toleration but to the protection and, as it were, the “establishment” of the Christian religion. This very naturally was followed by a large influx of worldliness into the Church, and bishops began to be time-servers and courtiers. St. Ambrose, however, was not of this number, but whether in defense of the Catholic faith, of the property of the Church, or, as in his legations to Maximus, for the protection of those in peril or anxiety who sought his aid, he braved every danger, even that of death itself.

During the greater part of the life of St. Ambrose many of those in power, amongst others the empress mother Justina, were Arians. Julian, though too early to affect the actions of the bishop, apostatized to paganism, which also numbered many supporters of high station. On the other hand, the influence of St. Ambrose, exercised even with severe strictness, was

all-powerful with Theodosius, known as the emperor who subdued the Arian heresy and abolished the worship of idols in the Roman Empire.

The various historical events during the lifetime of St. Ambrose will be found entered under the different years in the subjoined table; it remains only here to give some account of his burial-place.

St. Ambrose having discovered the bodies of SS. Cosmas and Damian, A.D. 389, placed them under the right side of the altar in his basilica, and desired that he should be himself buried near them to the left, which was done A.D. 397. In the year 835 the Archbishop of Milan, Angilbert II. caused a large porphyry sarcophagus to be made in which he laid the body of St. Ambrose between the other two under the altar. In 1864 some excavations and repairs revealed *in situ* a magnificent sarcophagus nearly four and a half feet in length, three in width, and nearly two in height, without the covering, placed lengthwise. Further excavations brought to view two other tombs, one to the right and one to the south. In teh one to the left were a few pieces of money, one of Flavius Victor, one of Theodosius, with some fragments of cloth gold and other things. These were evidently the original resting-places of St. Ambrose and of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and the sarcophagus that constructed under Lothair, A.D. 835, by Angilbert.

3. HISTORICAL SUMMARY AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

A.D.

340 — Birth of St. Ambrose (probably at Treves), youngest son of Ambrose, Prefect of the Gauls. Constantine II. killed at Aquileia. Death of Eusebius.

341. — Seventh Council of Antioch. Second exile of St. Athanasius.

343. — Photinus begins teaching his heresy.

347. — Birth of St. John Chrysostom. Council of Sardica. St. Athanasius restored.

348. — Birth of Prudentius the Christian poet.

349. — Synod of Sirmium against Photinus.

350. — Death of the Emperor Constans. St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. Magnentius proclaimed Emperor of the West.

351. — Photinus condemned by a semi-Arian synod.

352. — Liberius, Pope in succession to Julius.

353-4. — About this date St. Ambrose is taken by his mother to live at Rome, where he sister Marcellina received the veil at the hands of Liberius at Christmas, either A.D. **353**, or more probably **354**. Suicide of Magnentius the Emperor.

354. — Birth of St. Augustine. Death of the Emperor Gallus.

355. — Liberius, the Pope, Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, and Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, banished by an Arian synod at Milan. Third exile of St. Athanasius.

356. — Banishment of St. Hilary of Poitiers.

357. — Liberius subscribes (as the Arians say) an Arian Creed, and returns to Rome A.D. **358**.

359. — Council of Ariminum, Macedonius of Constantinople deposed. Eudoxius consecrated Bishop.

361. — Julian Emperor.

362. — Fourth exile of St. Athanasius.

363. — Death of the Emperor Julian. St. Athanasius restored. Felix Pope.

364. — Death of the Emperor Jovian. Valentinian and Valens Emperors.

366. — Death of Liberius in September. Damasus elected in his place, but the see is also claimed by Ursinus.

367. — Gratian, only a boy, declared Augustus by his father Valentinian.

368-74. — Successful career of St. Ambrose in legal business and as “consular.”

370. — St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea.

372. — St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Bishop of Susium.

373. — Death of St. Athanasius.

374. — Death of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, and election of St. Ambrose, though still only a catechumen, by acclamation. St. Martin Bishop of Tours.

374-5. — St. Ambrose sends a deputation of clerics to St. Basil to ask for the body of St. Doinysius, late Catholic Bishop of Milan. [St. Basil, Ep. 197.]

375. — Death of Valentinian in November. His son Valentinian is admitted by Gratian to be Emperor of the East, though only four years old.

377. — St. Ambrose writes the three books, *De Virginibus;* one, *De Viduis;* which is followed by the book, *De Virginitate.*

378. — The first two books, *De Fide,* written at the request of Gratian, who was setting out to the relief of Valens against the Goths. Valens is overcome and killed at Adrianople. Many Christians having been made captives, St. Ambrose sells Church plate to redeem them.

379. — Theodosius is proclaimed Augustus. Death of St. Basil and of St. Ephrem Syrus. Gratian, on his way back from Thrace, requests St. Ambrose to come to meet him and receives the first two books of the treatise *De Fide,* and asks for a further one on the Holy Spirit; the latter was written two years later. Death of Satyrus, brother of St. Ambrose. The two treatises on his death written.

379-80. — Famine in Rome.—See *De Off.* III. 46-48.

380. — Baptism of Theodosius at Thessalonica. Books III.-V. of the *De Fide* written about this time. the basilica which had been sequestered by Gratian is restored to the Church.

381. — Death at Constantinople of Athanaricus, leader of the Goths. The three books, *De Spiritu Sancto,* written. Death of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. The OEcumenical Council of Constantinople commences under the presidency of Meletius of Antioch. Also at Aquileia a council, at which St. Ambrose took a leading part, was held against the heretics Palladius and Secundianus. An account is given of the proceedings in Epistles **9-12**.

381-2. — St. Ambrose presides over a council of Italian bishops to take into consideration the troubles at Antioch and Constantinople. Epistles **13**, to Theodosius, and 14, his reply, state the proceedings. Theodosius summoned a council to consider the same matters at Constantinople.

382. — Gratian orders the removal of the image of Victory from the forum at Rome. [Ep. **17**, **18**.] Acholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, dies and is succeeded by Anysius.

383. — The Priscillianists endeavor in vain to gain Damasus and St. Ambrose to their side by means of a visit to Rome and Milan. On the **25**th of August Gratian is assassinated at Lyons by the instigation of Maximus. A great dearth at Rome. [*De Off.* III. **7**, 49; Ep. 18.]

383-4. — First legation of St. Ambrose to Maximus on behalf of Justina the Empress and her son Valentinian II.

384. — The memorial of Symmachus the prefect of the city to Valentinian, requesting the restoration of the Altar of Victory, and the reply of St. Ambrose. [Ep. 17, 18.] A synod at Bordeaux against the Priscillianists. Death of Damasus, who is succeeded by the Siricius as Pope.

385. — Priscillian and his companions are condemned to death at Treves at the instigation of the Spanish Bishops Idacius and Ithancius. The Ithacians consecrate Felix as bishop. [Ep. 42-51.] The persecution at Milan of Catholics by Justina in Holy Week. [Ep. 20.] The law of Valentinian II., granting Arians equal rights with Catholics. Auxentius claims the see of Milan. [Sermon against Auxentius and Ep. 21.] The deposit which a widow had entrusted to the Church at Trent having been carried off by imperial order, St. Ambrose succeeds in procuring its restitution. [De Off. II. 29, 150, 151.] New basilica at Milan consecrated.

386. — Finding the bodies of St. Gervasius and Pretasius [Ep.22.] Epistle 23 to the bishops of the province of AEmilia on the right day for the observance of Easter.

386-7. — The exposition of the Gospel according to St. Luke written.

387. — Baptism of St. Augustine at Milan by St. Ambrose at Easter. Second mission of St. Ambrose to Maximus. [Ep. 24.] Expulsion of St. Ambrose from Treves because of his refusal to communicate with the murderer of his sovereign. In the later part of the year Maximus crosses into Italy and enters Milan.

388. — At Constantinople the Arians destroy the residence of the Catholic Bishop Nectarius. [Ep. 40, 13.] Death of Justina, and conversion of Valentinian II. by Theodosius. Theodosius marches against Maximus, who is everywhere defeated [Ep. 40, 23], and executed at Aquileia. Third application concerning the Altar of Victory.

390. — The excessive cruelty with which Theodosius punished a sedition at Thessalonica brought on him exclusion from communion, and a severe rebuke at the hands of St. Ambrose. The Emperor's penitence and readmission to communion. A synod is held at Milan against the Ithacian heretics, and Felix, Bishop of Treves. [Ep. 51.]

391-2. — The deputation of part of the Roman Senate to Valentinian to request the restoration of the Altar of Victory in the Forum.]Ep. 57, 5.] The treatise *De institutione Virginis*, written about this time, as also, *De Officiis.*

392. — Valentinian II. killed at Vienne by Arbogastes [Ep. 53, 2; De ob. Valent. 25 ff.]. His body is brought to Milan. The address, Constolatio de ob. Val. A further delegation from the Senate is sent to Eugenius respecting the Altar of Victory [Ep. 57, 6 ff.].

393. — On the arrival of Eugenius at Milan St. Ambrose leaves the city for Bononia Faventia and Florence. The letters to Eugenius and Sabinus written about this time.

393-4. — At Florence St. Ambrose dedicates a basilica, in which he deposits the bodies of the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola, which he had brought from Bononia. His address on this occasion was that which is inscribed, *Exhortatio Virginitatis.* He writes Ep. 59.

394. — Theodosius sets out from Constantinople against Eugenius. About the beginning of August St. Ambrose returns to Milan. Eugenius defeated by Theodosius and slain, Sept. 6. St. Ambrose intercedes and obtains pardon for the followers of Eugenius. After this St. Ambrose writes the Enarrationes on Psalms 35-40 and Ep. 61, 62.

395. — Death of Theodosius at Milan. St. Ambrose's oration *De obitu Theodosii*. Honorius and Arcadius Emperors. St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. Death of Rufinus.

396. — Dissentions at Vercellae, the occasion of writing Ep. 63, and of a visit to that Church.

397. — St. Ambrose consecrates a bishop for Tichinum, and shortly after falls ill. He commenced the *Ennaratio* on Psalm 43, which he left unfinished; and died in the night between Good Friday and Easter Eve, having recommended Simplicianus as his successor.

4. ON THE DOCTRINE OF ST. AMBROSE.

There is a very complete agreement on the part of St. Ambrose with the Catholic teaching of the universal Church. St. Augustine speaks of him as "a faithful teacher of the Church, and even at the risk of his life a most strenuous defender of Catholic truth," "whose skill, constancy, labors, and perils, both on account of what he did and what he wrote, the roman world unhesitately proclaims." In matters both of faith and morals by his words and writings he greatly benefited the Church and was called by St. Jerome "a pillar of the Church."

In his dogmatic treatises, more particularly in his books on the Faith, he shows great skill and penetration, and his reasoning is full and clear, meeting the most subtle objections with patient industry. Scarcely any ancient writer has treated the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the theological difficulties connected with it more clearly and convincingly than St. Ambrose in his *De Fide* and *De Spiritu Sanctio.*

In his expositions of Holy Scripture he treats of the threefold sense, the literal, the moral, and the mystical, devoting more pains, however, and time to the latter than to the former. He gives special consideration to the mystical interpretation of such passages as may seem to contain in a literal sense anything diverging from sound morality. Many of his other mystical interpretations of plain, simple matters of fact have much beauty, as in his treatment of the story of the building of the ark, the marriage of Isaac, and the blessings of the Patriarches. The literal sense is followed specially in the *Hexaemeron*, the treatise on Paradise, Noah and the Ark, and the

Exposition of the Gospel according to St. Luke. The moral sense, though referred to throughout his writings, is more particularly sought out in the Expositions of the Psalms.

St. Ambrose was a diligent student of the Greek writers, whom he often follows largely, especially Origen and Didymus, as also St. Basil the Great and St. Athanasius, and he has also adapted many points of allegorical interpretation from Philo. He is fond of alleging scriptural proofs, and when he argues from reason often confirms his argument by some quotation of reference, a task easy for him who, from his consecration, was so diligent a student of holy Scripture.

As to justification, St. Ambrose ascribes the whole work to the Holy Spirit, Who seals us in our hearts, as we receive the outward sign in our bodies. Through the Holy Spirit we receive a share of the grace of adoption. Christ was perfect according to the fullness of His Majesty; we are perfected by a continual progress in virtue.

With regard to baptism, he taught in accordance with the received belief of his day that it is the sacrament of adoption and regeneration, wherein sin is forgiven, and the Holy Spirit confers new life upon the soul and joins it mystically to Christ. As to the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, his doctrine is no less definite. In his treastise on the Faith he says of the elements that they “are transfigured [*transfigurantur*] by the mystery of the sacred prayer into flesh and blood.” He interprets various texts, also, in many places in the same sense. In a like spirit he maintains that the power of forgiving sins on repentance is vested in the ministry of the Church. The intercession of the saints, and up to a certain point their invocation, is likewise upheld.

There was a Latin version made from the Septuagint, including the Apocrypha, in Africa, and in use there at the end of the second century, very barbarous, and copying even Greek constructions. Of this text SS. Ambrose and Augustine used a recession. But our author seems to have been very independent, and to have made use of several different versions of holy Scripture, translating, as it would seem, often for himself from the Septuagint, referring also to Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila, though thinking less of the latter. When the prophets, he says, were moved by the Holy Spirit, they were troubled and darkened with their own ignorance.

Prayer, he asserts, is necessary for understanding holy Scripture. Each Testament is not equally easy, and we are not to criticize what we do not understand. He speaks of the Hebrew as the truth, but states that the Septuagint added much that is useful.

The Arians are repeatedly charged by St. Ambrose with falsifying and manipulating Scripture for their own ends, not always, it would seem, very justly, but the same charge is common one against all heretical bodies in early days. As to the Canon, he would seem to have no very definite rule. He admits Tobit as a prophetic, Judith as canonical, nor does he distinguish between canonical and deuterocanonical, while the sapiential books are all attributed to Solomon. He quotes Baruch as Jeremiah, and refers to the History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and other apocryphal works as “Scripture.” Ezra, he says, re-established holy Scripture by memory, and he quotes the fourth book of Esdras.

5. LIFE OF ST. AMBROSE.

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, one of the four Latin doctors of the Church, was descended from a Roman family of some distinction, some time Christian, and counting martyrs as well as state officials amongst its members.

His father, likewise names Ambrosius, was prefect of the Gauls, an office the jurisdiction of which extended over Spain, Britain, Cis- and Trans-Alpine Gaul. His chief official residence was Treves, where probably St. Ambrose was born, as seems most likely, A.D. 340.

After his father’s death, his mother and his elder brother, Satyrus, went with St. Ambrose to Rome, not earlier than 353, where his elder sister, Marcellina, received the veil at Christmas from Pope Liberius, the exact year being uncertain.

Here the future bishop devoted himself to legal studies, in which he met with great success. His skill in law and general reputation soon led to his advancement, and about A.D. 370 he was appointed by the Praetorian Prefect Probus governor of Liguria and AEmilia, with the rank of consular. On this occasion Probus is said to have closed an address to St. Ambrose

with the words, “Go and act, not as a judge, but as a bishop.” This advice was so well followed by Ambrose, that owing to his equity and kindness the people came to look up to him rather as a father than as a judge.

After some few years Auxentius, the intended Arian Bishop of Milan, died, A.D. 374, and it is said that during the discussion as to the appointment of his successor a child cried out in the assembly, “Ambrose Bishop,” and although he was but a catechumen and so canonically unqualified, the multitude immediately elected him by acclamation.

St. Ambrose did all in his power, even, if we accept the statements of his biographer Paulinus, probably a clerk of Milan, resorting to some questionable expedients, to escape from the dignity laid upon him, but when his election was ratified by the Emperor Valentinian, he recognized his appointment as being the will of God, and insisted on being baptized by a Catholic priest. Eight days later, December 7, A.D. 374, he was consecrated Bishop.

The first care of the new bishop was at once to divest himself of his worldly property, giving his silver and gold to the poor and the Church, and committing the management of his estates, except a life interest for his sister, to his brother Satyrus, who gave up his own office to come to his assistance, and enable him to devote himself wholly to theological study and his other episcopal duties.

His chief studies were holy Scripture and ecclesiastical writers, especially St. Basil the Great and Didymus of Alexandria, from whom no less a man than St. Jerome accused him of plagiarizing. His natural abilities and thorough knowledge of Greek stood him in good stead, when, as he himself, he had to learn and to teach at the same time.

The life of St. Ambrose was a pattern of the discharge of episcopal duties. He spent much time daily in study and devotion, besides the more public duties of his office. He preached every Sunday and at certain seasons daily. His labors in preparing catechumens for baptism were blessed with great success, amongst those taught by him being St. Augustine.

But the zeal and courage of the new Bishop were soon tried. The Empress mother Justina was still an Arian, but had little influence during the life of the Emperor Gratian, who was much attached to St. Ambrose. After his

murder, however, A.D. 383, his brother Valentinian II., a boy of only twelve years of age, ascended the throne and was naturally much under his mother's influence. Justina led him to support a demand of the Arians for the use of the Portian basilica, situated outside the walls of Milan. This being refused, a second application was made for the large and newer basilica within the city. Ambrose replied, "The Emperor has his palaces, let him leave the churches to the Bishop." Soldiers were sent to secure the delivery of the basilica, but St. Ambrose with the faithful occupied the building and remained within, singing psalms and hymns till the soldiers retired.

St. Ambrose was no less successful in his zeal against the expiring heathenism of Italy than against Arianism. One of the many remnants till recent times of heathen worship had bee the Altar of Victory in the Senate-house at Rome, which was removed under Gratian; the prefect of Rome, Symmachus, himself a heathen but a friend of St. Ambrose, appealed to Valentinian II. that it might be restored, and Ambrose successfully opposed this appeal in two Epistles (17, 18) addressed to the young Emperor. Yet again, when Theodosius assumed to imperial power [A.D. 387], a renewed attempt was made and once more frustrated. Later on, Eugenius the usurper judged it politic to take the heathen's side, the Altar of Victory was once more set up, and the temples stood open as in the days of old. But this triumph lasted only for a brief period. When Theodosius defeated the usurper at Aquileia, in the spring of 394, he also defeated paganism, which sank to rise no more as a public religion, though it long lingered in private amidst indifference, toleration, and at times persecution.

The influence exercised by Ambrose upon the rulers of his day is sufficiently manifested by these facts, but he had the courage to use not only influence, but, when needed, rebuke and Church discipline.

Only a few months after his elevation to the see of Milan, he remonstrated with Valentinian I. concerning the severity of his rule and other abuses, and required amendment. The Emperor's reply did him honor: "Well, if I have offended, prescribe for me the remedies which the law of God requires." Again, on another occasion, in 390, Theodosius had put down a seditious movement in Thessalonica with great severity, causing some 7,000 persons

to be slain. St. Ambrose at once, disregarding the possible consequences to himself, wrote him a letter (Ep. 51) on the subject, exhorting him to repentance, and pointing out that he could not permit him to be present at the celebration of the Mysteries, till he had openly testified in his sorrow. At another time when the same Emperor had ventured into the sanctuary or chancel of the church, which was the right of the clergy alone, St. Ambrose rebuked him and caused him to retire.

These acts of ecclesiastical discipline were also accompanied by others in which the great Bishop was able in temporal matters to assist the imperial family.

Twice on behalf of the young Emperor Valentinian II. he undertook a mission to Treves, to see the usurper Maximus, and when Valentinian died, St. Ambrose delivered a striking oration at his funeral, recording his many virtues. Theodosius did not survive his victory over Eugenius for many months. In January of the following year [A.D. 395], he died at Milan, and the funeral oration which St. Ambrose pronounced over him is also extant.

Yet whilst thus devoting much time to weighty affairs of State, the Bishop never neglected the duties of his office. He preached every Sunday, at great festivals, once or more often, every day. He celebrated the Holy Mysteries daily. His life was marked by perfect purity, sympathy, energy, and devotion. He was always ready to help those requiring assistance, and so when Augustine came to Milan to teach rhetoric, A.D. 384, he was kindly received and fascinated. Probably he owed his conversion even more to the life and character than to the teaching of St. Ambrose.

One subject St. Ambrose never tired of recommending was Virginity; and such was the power of his exhortations that mothers used to forbid their daughters to attend his sermons and addresses.

The indefatigable zeal of the great Bishop further exhibited itself in the number of his writings. Many of them consist of addresses subsequently worked up into treatises, and are on all subjects, dogmatic, controversial, exegetical, and ascetic. There remain also a large number of valuable letters, and some hymns, probably from four to twelve of those ascribed to him being genuine, and in use to the present day.

But besides his writings and his resistance to the attacks of Arianism, heathenism, or the secular power, St. Ambrose devoted himself to actively defending the cause of the Church and of orthodoxy wherever he had the opportunity. Although the death of Satyrus, A.D. 379, must have greatly added to the troubles of St. Ambrose, he was as watchful as ever against all possibilities of heretical aggression. To his care and opposition to the party of the Empress Justina it was owing that the city of Sirmium was preserved in A.D. 381 from receiving an Arian bishop. And in the same year, when the Arians, hoping for large support from the East, had almost persuaded the Emperor to summon a general council at Aquileia, St. Ambrose prevailed upon him to summon only the neighboring bishops, and what might have been a serious evil was avoided.

In such ways the holy man, embracing in his far-seeing care the interests of religion far and wide, spent his days in unceasing labor till his health failed in the year 397, when, as is related by Paulinus, Count Stilicho, saying that the loss of such a man threatened destruction to Italy, persuaded the nobles of the city to request St.; Ambrose that he would pray for longer life. But the Saint replied: “I have not so lived amongst you as to be ashamed of living, and I do not fear to die, for we have a good Lord.” As some of the bystanders were discussing in whispers who would be St. Ambrose’s successor, and mentioned Simplicianus, he overheard them, and said, “An old man, but good.” For the last few hours of his life Ambrose lay with his arms extended in the form of a cross, praying. Honoratus, Bishop of Vercellae, lying in another room, heard himself called thrice, and coming down, offered him the Body of the Lord, after receiving which St. Ambrose breathed his last, on Good Friday night, April 4-5, A.D. 397, and was laid to rest on Easter morning in the Ambrosian liturgy and rites, differing considerably from the Roman use of the rest of the churches of Italy, continue to this day, though doubtless with many modifications subsequent to the time of St. Ambrose.

6. WRITINGS OF ST. AMBROSE.

The extant writings of St. Ambrose may be divided under six heads, I. Dogmatic; II. Exegetic; III. Moral; IV. Sermons; V. Letters; VI. A few Hymns.

I. DOGMATIC AND CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

1. *De Fide.* The chief of these are the Five Books on the Faith, of which the two first were written in compliance with a request of the Emperor Gratian, A.D. 378. Books III.-V. were written in 379 or 380, and seem to have been worked up from addresses delivered to the people [V. prol. 9, 11; III. 143; IV. 119]. This treatise vindicates the Divinity of Christ from the attacks of the Arians, and has always enjoyed the highest reputation, being quoted and referred to again and again.

2. *De Spiritu Sancto.* The three books on the Holy Spirit may be considered as a continuation of the above treatise, and were also addressed to Gratian in compliance with his request, A.D. 381. In this treatise St. Ambrose shows that the Holy Spirit is God, and of one nature and substance with the Father and the Son. He makes use of the Greek writers, SS. Didymus, Basil the Great, and Athanasius, and was on this ground attacked by St. Jerome. See Rufinus, *Apol. adv. Hieron,* II.

3. *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento.* The book on the Mystery of the Lord's Incarnation owed its origin to a challenge to dispute publicly given to St. Ambrose by two Arian chamberlains of Gratian. On the day appointed they were, as Paulinus relates in his life of St. Ambrose, thrown out of the chariot which was conveying them and killed. On the next day, that the people might not be disappointed, this discourse was delivered, but the reference made to the absence of the challengers hardly suits the story of Paulinus. The treatise is a very valuable argument in defense of our Lord's Divinity and Eternity, and that He is perfect God and perfect Man. In rewriting the address the Bishop added a refutation of the argument that the Begotten and the unbegotten could not be of one nature and substance. The treatise may be considered as a supplement to that concerning the Faith.

4. *De Mysteriis.* A valuable treatise on the Mysteries, under which title St. Ambrose includes Baptism, with its complement, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. It is somewhat similar to the *Catechese Mystagogicae* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, expounding the doctrine and ceremonies of these sacraments. On doctrinal grounds the authenticity of the work has been impugned by some modern writers, but there is no sufficient foundation for their arguments, as the teaching may be paralleled in many other

passages of St. Ambrose. The date is not certain, but may be about A.D. 387.

5. *Libri duo de poenitentia.* These books on Penitence were written about A.D. 384, against the Novatians. In the first book the writer proves that the power of forgiving sins was left by Christ to His Church. In the second book, insisting on the necessity of repentance and confession, he also refutes the Novatian interpretations of <580604>Hebrews 6:4-6 and St. <401231>Matthew 12:31-32. This treatise has also undeservedly been questioned on doctrinal grounds by some moderns.

These treatises are all translated in this volume.

2. EXEGETICAL WORKS.

St. Ambrose was in the habit of explaining various books of holy Scripture in courses of lectures, which he subsequently worked up, often at the request of friends, into treatises in the shape in which they have come down to us. Of the class we have:

1. *Hexaemeron.* This treatise expounding the literal and moral sense of the work of the six days of creation [<010101>Genesis 1:1-26], consists of nine addresses to the people of Milan, delivered in the last week of Lent, probably A.D. 389, and is now divided into six books. The writer has studied Origen, by followed rather the teaching of St. Hippolytus and Basil the Great, though he expresses himself often quite in a different sense.

2. *De Paradiso.* This is the earliest or one of the earliest of extant writings of St. Ambrose, though the exact date is uncertain. In it he discusses what and where Paradise was, and the question of the life of our first parents there, the temptation, fall and its results, and answers certain cavils of the Gnostics and Manichees. He also enters into an allegorical exposition comparing Paradise with the human soul.

3. *De Cain et Abel.* The treatise is now divided into two books, but the division is too inartistic to have been made by the writer. As to the date, it was later than the last treatise, but probably not many months. The interpretation are very mystical, and touch upon moral and dogmatic questions.

4. *De Noe st Arca.* The treatise has reached us in a mutilated condition. It was written probably before the *De Officiis* and *De Abraham,* but after the works on Paradise and Cain and Abel, though the exact date cannot be determined. The exposition is literal and allegorical.

5. *De Patriarchis.* Seven books preached and written at various dates about 387 or 388. The same kind of interpretation is followed in these as in the former treatises.

6. *De fuga saeculi.* Written probably about A.D. 389-390. An instructive treatise setting forth the desirability of avoiding the dangers of the world, and for those who must live in the world, showing how to pass through them most safely.

7. *De Elia et jejunio.* A treatise composed from addresses delivered during Lent, certainly after A.D. 386, possibly 389.

8. *De Tobia.* A work quoted by St. Augustine (*C. Jul Pelag.* I.), consisting of sermons of the story of Tobias, and chiefly directed against the practice of usury.

9. *De Nabuthe Jezraelita*. One or two sermons against avarice, probably written about A.D. 395.

10. *Libri* iv. *de interpellatione Job et David.* The first and third books have Job, the second and fourth have David, for their subject, and formed a course of sermons the date of which is uncertain.

11. *Apologia prophetae David and Theodosium Augustum.* A number of addresses delivered, it would seem, about A.D. 384, quoted also by St. Augustine.

12. *Ennationes in* xii. *Psalmos Davidicos.* Commentaries on <190135>Psalm 1:35-40, 43, 45, 47, 48, 61 (according to St. Ambrose's numbering). These seem to have been partly preached, partly dictated at various dates, and much in them is borrowed from St. Basil.

13. *Expositio Pslami* 118. This treatise is one of the most carefully worked out of all the writings of St. Ambrose and consists of twenty-two addresses to the faithful, each address comprising one division of the

Psalm. From various allusions, it would seem that the complete work dates from about A.D. 388.

14. *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam.* The ten books of this commentary consist likewise of sermons in which St. Ambrose explained the Gospel during a period of one or two years, in 386 and 387.

3. ETHICAL WRITINGS.

Among the ethical or moral writings of St. Ambrose, the first place is deservedly assigned to:

1. *De Officiis Ministrorum.* In three books, which are translated in this series.

2. *De Virginibus.* Three books concerning Virgins, addressed to his sister Marcellina in the year 377, probably, like most of the treatises of St. Ambrose, revised from addresses, the first of which was delivered on the festival of St. Agnes, January 21. This would seem to have been perhaps the very earliest of the writings of St. Ambrose, Cassian, and others.

3. *De Vidius.* This shorter work, concerning Widows, was probably written not very long after the last mentioned treatise.

4. *De Virginitate.* A treatise on Virginity, the date of which cannot certainly be fixed, but the writing *De Vidius* is referred to in chapter 9.

5. *De Institutione Virginis.* A treatise on the training and discipline of a Virgin, addressed to Eusebius, either bishop or a noble of Bologna, after St. Ambrose had admitted his niece to the rank of Virgins, probably about A.D. 391 to 392.

6. *Exhortatio Virginitatis.* A commendation of Virginity preached on the occasion of the consecration of a church at Florence by St. Ambrose, A.D. 393 or 394.

4 SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

1. *Contra Auxentium.* A sermon against Auxentius, concerning giving up the basilicas to the Arians, usually inserted between the twenty-first and the twenty-second of the letters of St. Ambrose.

2. *De Excessu fratris Satyri.* The two addresses on the occasion of the death of St. Ambrose’s brother Satyrus, translated in this volume.

3. *De obitu Valentiniani Consolatio.* The Emperor Valentinian having been murdered by Arbogastes, Count of Vienne, his body was brought to Milan, and remained two months unburied. At last Theodosius sent the necessary rescript, and at the funeral solemnities St. Ambrose delivered the address entitled, “Consolation.”

4. *De obitu Theodosii oratio.* A discourse delivered forty days after the death of the Emperor Theodosius before the Emperor Honorius at Milan.

5. THE LETTERS OF ST. AMBROSE.

The Benedictine Editors of St. Ambrose have divided his Epistles into two classes: the first comprising those to which they thought it possible to assign dates; the second those which afford no data for a conclusion. Probably in many cases the exact year is not so certain as the editors have made it appear, but they seem arranged in a fairly probably consecutive order.

THE LETTERS.

1. To the Emperor Gratian, in reply to his request for a treatise on the Faith. Written A.D. 379, before August, as Gratian came to Milan in that month.

2. To Constantius, a bishop, on episcopal duties, and commending him to the care of the vacant see of Forum Cornelii, or Imola. Probably written about A.D. 379.

3, 4. To Cornelius, Bishop of Comum, the first a friendly letter, the second containing also an invitation to the consecration of a church by Bassianus, Bishop of Laus Pompeia, now Lodi Vecchio, near Milan. Written probably after A.D. 381.

5, 6. To Syagrius, Bishop of Verona. On a charge falsely brought against the Virgin Indicia. They may have been written A.D. 380.

7, 8. To Justus, perhaps Bishop of Lyons. On holy Scripture. If the conjecture that Justus was the Bishop of Lyons is correct, written about 380 or 381.

9-12. Letters concerning the Council of Aquileia, held A.D. 381, to the bishops of the provinces of Gaul, to the Emperor Gratian and his colleagues. Two men, Palladius and Secundianus, held Arian opinions, and the former appears to have asked Gratian to convoke a General Council, pleading that he was unjustly condemned. St. Ambrose pointed out to the Emperor that such a question as the orthodoxy of two persons could be settled by a local council in Italy; and as a result, by the Emperor's mandate, a council of Italian bishops met at Aquileia, other bishops having also permission to attend. Palladius and Secundianus were condemned, and these letters have reference to the proceedings at the council. They were probably written by St. Ambrose in the name of the council, A.D. 381.

13, 14. Two letters addressed to Theodosius, the former relating the decisions of a council, probably held at Milan, on the Meletian schism at Antioch, and the latter further expressing the desire of the bishops for a council on this subject, and also on the opinions of Apollinaris. Written A.D. 383.

15. To the Bishops of Macedonia, in reply to their notification of the death of Acholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, who baptized Theodosius, and had met St. Ambrose at a council in Rome. Written A.D. 383.

16. To Anicius, on his election to succeed Acholius, whose labors and life are commended by St. Ambrose. Written A.D. 383.

17, 18. On the occasion of the attempt of Symmachus and the heathen senators to procure the restitution of the image and Altar of Victory in the roman Senate-house, frustrated by St. Ambrose, A.D. 384.

19. To Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, subsequently martyred, written probably about A.D. 385.

20. To his sister, Marcellina, giving an account of the frustrated attempts of the Arian and imperial party to gain possession of a basilica at Milan, A.D. 385.

21. To the Emperor Valentinian II., declining the challenge to dispute with the Arian Auxentius before lay judges. A.D. 386.

22. To his sister Marcellina, giving an account of the finding of the bodies of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, and of the consequent miracles. Written A.D. 386.

23. To the bishops of the province of AEmilia, on the proper date for the observance of Easter, in 387. Written probably A.D. 386.

24. To Valentinian II., with an account of St. Ambrose's second mission to Maximus on his behalf. Written probably A.D. 387.

25, 26. Inscribed the former to Studius, the second to Irenaeus, but from internal evidence these appear to be the same person. It deals with the question, how far a judge being a Christian may lawfully sentence any one to death. Written probably about A.D. 388.

27-33. Addressed to Irenaeus, on various questions. Written about A.D. 387.

34-36. To Orontianus, a cleric, on the soul and other questions. Written after 386.

37, 38. To Simplicianus, who became the successor of St. Ambrose in the see of Milan, setting forth that holiness is perfect freedom.

39. To Faustinus, on the occasion of the death of a sister. Written probably after A.D. 387.

40. To Theodosius. The Jewish synagogue at Callunicum in Mesopotamia having been destroyed by the Christians, and a meeting-house of the Valentinian heretics also burnt by the Catholics, Theodosius ordered that the bishop should rebuild the synagogue at his own expense, and the monks be punished. St. Ambrose remonstrates with the Emperor, and it would seem, from the following letter to his sister, at first unsuccessfully.

41. To his sister Marcellina, relating the circumstances alluded to above, and telling her of his sermon before the Emperor, and of his subsequent refusal to celebrate the Eucharist, until the Emperor had promised to rescind the order. The date of the two letters is A.D. 388.

42. Reply of St. Ambrose and a synod at Milan to the notification of Pope Siricius announcing the sentence of excommunication passed upon Jovinian and his followers.

43, 44. To Horontianus, in reply to his inquiries on some points connected with the Creation.

45. To Sabinus, Bishop of Placentia, in answer to questions concerning Paradise.

46. To the same, on the subject of an Apollinarian heretic.

47-49. To the same, with books and on private matters.

50. To Chromatius, probably Bishop of Aquileia, explaining how evil men may be used to utter true prophecies.

51. To Theodosius, after the massacre at Thessalonica. Written A.D. 390.

52. A private letter to Titianus.

53. To Theodosius, to express the sorrow of St. Ambrose at the death of Valentinian II., slain by Arbogastes.

54, 55. To Eusebius, not, it would seem, the Bishop of Bologna who was present at the Council of Aquileia, but rather a lay friend to whom St. Ambrose wrote his treatise on the training of a virgin. Probably written A.D. 392 or 393.

56. To Theophilus. The troubles of the church of Antioch through the Meletian schism might have terminated on the death of Paulinus, had he not on his deathbed consecrated Evagrius as his successor in violation of the canons. Theodosius, being pressed by the Western bishops, now summoned a council at Capua, commanding Flavian to attend, which command he however disobeyed. The council referred the matter to Theophilus of Alexandria and the bishops of Egypt. But Flavian, as Theophilus had informed St. Ambrose, refused to submit to their decision. This is the reply of St. Ambrose advising Theophilus to summon Flavian once more, and communicate the result to Pope Siricius. The letter must have been written quite at the end of A.D. 391, or the beginning of 392.

57. To Eugenius the usurper, to avoid whom St. Ambrose had left Milan, and to whose letters he had sent no reply. Written A.D. 393.

58. To Sabinus, Bishop, on the resolution of Paulinus and Therasia to forsake the world. Written probably A.D. 393.

59. To Severus, Bishop probably of Naples, telling him of James, a Persian priest, who had resolved to retire from the world into Campania, and contrasting this with his own troubles, owing to the invasion of Eugenius, A.D. 393 or 394.

60. To Paternus, against a proposed incestuous marriage.

61. To Theodosius, after his victory over Eugenius. Written A.D. 394.

62. To the same, urging him to be merciful to the followers of Eugenius. Written in the same year.

63. To the Church at Vercellae.

The second division of the letters, being those which cannot be dated, begins here in the Benedictine Edition.

64. To Irenaeus, on the Manna.

65. To Simplicianus, on <022406>Exodus 24:6.

66. To Romulus, on Aaron’s making the calf of the golden earrings.

67. To Simplicianus, showing how Moses yielded to Aaron in matters relating to his priestly character.

68. To Romulus. Explanation of the text <052823>Deuteronomy 28:23.

69. To Irenaeus, answering a question as to the prohibition under severe penalties in the Mosaic law, of disguising the sex by dress.

70, 71. To Horontianus, on part of the prophecy of Micah.

72. To Constantius, on the rite of circumcision.

73-76. To Irenaeus. Why the law was given, and the scope of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The letter numbered 75 is plainly a continuation of 74,

although inscribed to Clementianus, a difficulty similar to that about letter 26.

77, 78. To Horontianus, contrasting the condition of the Jew and the Christian.

79, 80. To Bellicius, on recovery from sickness, and on the miracle of healing the man blind from his birth.

81. To certain clergy, against despondency.

82. To Marcellus, concerning a lawsuit.

83. To Sisinnius, commending him for forgiving his son, who had married without consulting him.

84. To Cynegius.

85, 86. To Siricius, with thanks for letters, and commending Priscus.

87. To Segatius [more probably Phaebadius], Bishop of Agens, and Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux. Polybius, mentioned in the letter, was proconsul of Africa between the years 380 and 390.

88. To Atticus. Commendation of Priscus.

89. To Alypius. Acknowledgment of letters.

90. To Antonius. On the mutual affection of himself and St. Ambrose.

91. To Candidianus, probably a fellow-bishop. A letter of affection.

6. HYMNS.

During the persecutions stirred up by the Arian Empress Justina, A.D. 385-6, referred to in his 20th letter, St. Ambrose and the faithful spent the whole night in the basilica, and the holy Bishop employed the people in singing psalms and hymns. A large number of hymns have been attributed to St. Ambrose, the number having by some editors been brought down to twelve, of which, however, only four are certainly his compositions.

1. *Eterne rerum Conditor,* referred to by St. Augustine, *Retract.* I., and by St. Ambrose himself, *Hexaem.* V. The hymn is still in use at Lauds on Sunday.

2. *Deus Creator omnium.* Quoted by St. Augustine, *Conf.* IX.

3. *Jam surigit hora tertia.* Also quoted by St. Augustine.

4. *Veni Redemptor gentium.* A Christmas hymn, quoted by Pope Celestine, A.D. 430, in a sermon against the Nestorians, preached before a synod at Rome, and also by other writers.

Of other hymns one commencing, *Illuminans Altissimus,* is quoted by Cassiodorus as an Epiphany hymn by St. Ambrose, and the same author refers to another, *Orabo mente Dominum.* The Benedictine Editors admit six other hymns, but they are supported by no authority anterior to Venerable Bede.

7. DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS WORKS.

This volume cannot of course comprehend the arguments and discussions necessary for any critical examination of certain works whether doubtful or certainly spurious, but their names may be given and certain conclusions stated.

1. Five books on the Jewish war, ordinarily attributed to Hegesippus. This is a translation into Latin and a condensation in part of the well-known work of Josephus. Ihm, a very thorough student of St. Ambrose, seems quite disposed to maintain after careful examination that this is the work of St. Ambrose.

2. *De lege Dei.* This treatise, a sort of compendium of Roman law in the fourth century, and comparison of it with the law of Moses, is ascribed, in a translation published by Mai, to St. Ambrose, who is said to have undertaken the work at the command of Theodosius. On the authenticity, however, of this treatise there probably will always remain much doubt.

3. Among works more or less doubtful are *De Sacramentis,* admitted by the Benedictines, but rejected, and apparently on sufficient grounds, by Ihm.

4. *Apologia David altera.* Suspected by Erasmus, Tillemont, and Ihm.

5. *De lapsu Virginis consecratae.* A severe castigation of a fallen virgin and of her seducer. The treatise seems to have been written by a certain Bishop of Nicetas, and a MS. At speaks of it as having been revised by St. Ambrose.

6. There are further three brief addresses ascribed by some persons to St. Ambrose, touching on the question of selling all and giving to the poor. Some of the matter is like St. Ambrose, but the same cannot be said of the diction and style.

8. LOST WRITINGS OF ST. AMBROSE.

1. *Expositio Isaiae prophetiae,* referred to by St. Augustine as well as by St. Ambrose himself.

2. *Liber de Sacrameto regenerationis sive de philosphia,* referred to by St. Augustine.

3. *Libellus and Pansophium puerum,* written A.D. 393-4, according to Paulinus in his life of St. Ambrose.

4. *Libri quatuor regnorum,* referred to in the introduction to the work on the Jewish war.

5. *Expositio fidei,* quoted by Theodoret and others as a writing of St. Ambrose.

ON THE DUTIES OF THE CLERGY

INTRODUCTION

St. Ambrose, esteeming very highly the dignity of the ministerial office, was most desirous that the clergy of his diocese should live worthily of their high vocation, and be good and profitable examples to the people. Consequently he undertook the following treatise, setting forth the duties of the clergy, and taking as a model the treatise of Cicero, *De Officiis.*

The writer says that his object is to impress upon those whom he has ordained the lessons which he had previously taught them. Like Cicero, he treats that which is right, becoming, or honorable [*decorum*], and what is expedient [*utile*]; but with reference not to this life but to that which is to come, teaching in the first book that which is becoming or honorable; in the second, what is expedient; and in the third, considering both in conjunction.

In the first book he divides duties into “ordinary,” or the way of the commandments, binding upon all alike; and “perfect,” which consist in following the counsels. After treating then of some elementary duties, such as those towards parents and elders, he touches upon the two principles which lead the mind, reason and appetite, and shows that what is becoming consists in thinking of good and right things, and in the subjection of the appetite to reason, and supplies certain rules and examples, ending with a discussion of the four Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance.

In the second book, passing from what is becoming to what is expedient, he points out that we can only measure what is really expedient by reference to eternal life, in contradiction to the errors of heathen philosophers, and shows that what is expedient consists in the knowledge of God and in good living. Incidentally he shows that what is becoming is

really that which is expedient, and ends the book with several chapters of practical considerations.

In the third book he treats of duties of perfection, and lays down as a rule that in everything we must inquire what is expedient, not for individuals, but for many or for all. Nothing is to be striven after which is not becoming; to this everything must give place, not only expediency but even friendship and life itself. By many examples he then proves how holy men have sought after what was becoming, and have thereby secured what was expedient.

The object of St. Ambrose in basing his treatise on the lines of that of Cicero would seem to have been the confutation of some of the false principles of heathenism, and to show how much higher Christian morality is than that of the Gentiles. The treatise was probably composed about A.D. 391.

THREE BOOKS ON THE DUTIES OF THE CLERGY

BY

ST. AMBROSE,
BISHOP OF MILAN

BOOK 1

CHAPTER

A Bishop's special office is to teach; St. Ambrose himself, however, has to learn in order that he may teach; or rather has to teach what he has not learnt; at any rate learning and teaching with himself must go on together.

1. I THINK I shall not seem to be taking too much on myself, if, in the midst of my children, I yield to my desire to teach, seeing that the master of humility himself has said: "Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord." Wherein one may observe both the humility and the grace of his reverence for God. For in saying "the fear of the Lord," which seems to be common to all, he has described the chief mark of reverence for God. As, however, fear itself is the beginning of wisdom and the source of blessedness — for they that fear the Lord are blessed — he has plainly marked himself out as the teacher for instruction in wisdom, and the guide to the attainment of blessedness.

2. We therefore, being anxious to imitate his reverence for God, and not without justification in dispensing grace, deliver to you as to children those things which the Spirit of Wisdom has imparted to him, and which have been made clear to us through him, and learnt by sight and by example. For we can no longer now escape from the duty of teaching which the needs of

the priesthood have laid upon us, though we tried to avoid it: “For God gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers.”

3. I do not therefore claim for myself the glory of the apostles (for who can do this save those whom the Son of God Himself has chosen?); nor the grace of the prophets, nor the virtue of the evangelists, nor the cautious care of the pastors. I only desire to attain to that care and diligence in the sacred writings, which the Apostle has placed last amongst the duties of the saints; and this very: thing I desire, so that, in the endeavor to teach, I may be able to learn. For one is the true Master, Who alone has not learnt, what He taught all; but men learn before they teach, and receive from Him what they may hand on to others.

4. But not even this was the case with me. For I was carried off from the judgment seat, and the garb [infulis] of office, to enter on the priesthood, and began to teach you, what I myself had not yet learnt. So it happened that I began to teach before I began to learn. Therefore I must learn and teach at the same time, since I had no leisure to learn before.

CHAPTER 2

Manifold dangers are incurred by speaking; the remedy for which Scripture shows to consist in silence.

5. NOW what ought we to learn before everything else, but to be silent, that we may be able to speak? lest my voice should condemn me, before that of another acquit me; for it is written: “By thy words thou shalt be condemned.” What need is there, then, that thou shouldest hasten to undergo the danger of condemnation by speaking, when thou cans, be more safe by keeping silent? How many have I seen to fall into sin by speaking, but scarcely one by keeping silent; and so it is more difficult to know how to keep silent than how to speak. I know that most persons speak because they do not know how to keep silent. It is seldom that any one is silent even when speaking profits him nothing. He is wise, then, who knows how to keep silent. Lastly, the Wisdom of God said: “The Lord hath given to me the tongue of learning, that I should know when it is good to speak.” Justly, then, is he wise who has received of the Lord to know when he

ought to speak. Wherefore the Scripture says well: “A wise man will keep silence until there is opportunity.”

6. Therefore the saints of the Lord loved to keep silence, because they knew that a man’s voice is often the utterance of sin, and a man’s speech is the beginning of human error. Lastly, the Saint of the Lord said: “I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue.” For he knew and had read that it was a mark of the divine protection for a man to be hid from the scourge of his own tongue, and the witness of his own conscience. We are chastised by the silent reproaches of our thoughts, and by the judgment of conscience. We are chastised also by the lash of our own voice, when we say things whereby our soul is mortally injured, and our mind is sorely wounded. But who is there that has his heart clean from the impurities of sin, and does not offend in his tongue? And so, as he saw there was no one who could keep his mouth free from evil speaking, he laid upon himself the law of innocency by a rule of silence, with a view to avoiding by silence that fault which he could with difficulty escape in speaking.

7. Let us hearken, then, to the master of precaution: “I said, I will take heed to my ways;” that is, “I said to myself: in the silent biddings of my thoughts, I have enjoined upon myself, that I should take heed to my ways.” Some ways there are which we ought to follow; others as to which we ought to take heed. We must follow the ways of the Lord, and take heed to our own ways, lest they lead us into sin. One can take heed if one is not hasty in speaking. The law says: “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God” It said not: “Speak,” but “Hear.” Eve fell because she said to the man what she had not heard from the Lord her God. The first word from God says to thee: Hear! If thou hearest, take heed to thy ways; and if thou hast fallen, quickly amend thy way. For: “Wherein does a young man amend his way; except in taking heed to the word of the Lord?” Be silent therefore first of all, and hearken, that thou fail not in thy tongue.

8. It is a great evil that a man should be condemned by his own mouth. Truly, if each one shall give account for an idle word, how much more for words of impurity and shame? For words uttered hastily are far worse than idle words. If, therefore, an account is demanded for an idle word, how much more will punishment be exacted for impious language?

CHAPTER 3

Silence should not remain unbroken, nor should it arise from idleness. How heart and mouth must be guarded against inordinate affections.

9. WHAT then? Ought we to be dumb? Certainly not. For: "there is a time to keep silence and a time to speak." If, then, we are to give account for an idle word, let us take care that we do not have to give it also for an idle silence. For there is also an active silence, such as Susanna's was, who did more by keeping silence than if she had spoken. For in keeping silence before men she spoke to God, and found no greater proof of her chastity than silence. Her conscience spoke where no word was heard, and she sought no judgment for herself at the hands of men, for she had the witness of the Lord. She therefore desired to be acquitted by Him, Who she knew could not be deceived in any way. Yea, the Lord Himself in the Gospel worked out in silence the salvation of men. David rightly therefore enjoined on himself not constant silence, but watchfulness.

10. Let us then guard our hearts, let us guard our mouths. Both have been written about. In this place we are bidden to take heed to our mouth; in another place thou art told: "Keep thy heart with all diligence." If David took heed, wilt thou not take heed? If Isaiah had unclean lips — who said: "Woe is me, for I am undone, for I am a man, and have unclean lips" — if a prophet of the Lord had unclean lips, how shall we have them clean?

11. But for whom was it written, unless it was for each one of us: "Hedge thy possession about with thorns, and bind up thy silver and gold, and make a door and a bar for thy mouth, and a yoke and a balance for thy words"? Thy possession is thy mind, thy gold thy heart, thy silver thy speech: "The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire." A good mind is also a good possession. And, further, a pure inner life is a valuable possession. Hedge in, then, this possession of thine, enclose it with thought, guard it with thorns, that is, with pious care, lest the fierce passions of the flesh should rush upon it and lead it captive, lest strong emotions should assault it, and, overstepping their bounds, carry off its vintage. Guard thy inner self. Do not neglect or contemn it as though it were worthless, for it is a valuable possession; truly valuable indeed, for

its fruit is not perishable and only for a time, but is lasting and of use for eternal salvation. Cultivate, therefore, thy possession, and let it be thy tilling ground.

12. Bind up thy words that they run not riot, and grow wanton, and gather up sins for themselves in too much talking. Let them be rather confined, and held back within their own banks. An overflowing river quickly gathers mud. Bind up also thy meaning; let it not be left slack and unchecked, lest it be said of thee: "There is no healing balsam, nor oil, nor bandage to apply." Sobriety of mind has its reins, whereby it is directed and guided.

13. Let there be a door to thy mouth, that it may be shut when need arises, and let it be carefully barred, that none may rouse thy voice to anger, and thou pay back abuse with abuse. Thou hast heard it read to-day: "Be ye angry and sin not." Therefore although we are angry (this arising from the motions of our nature, not of our will), let us not utter with our mouth one evil word, lest we fall into sin; but let there be a yoke and a balance to thy words, that is, humility and moderation, that thy tongue may be subject to thy mind. Let it be held in check with a tight rein; let it have its own means of restraint, whereby it can be recalled to moderation; let it utter swords tried by the scales of justice, that thee may be seriousness in our meaning, weight in our speech, and due measure in our words.

CHAPTER 4

The same care must be taken that our speech proceed not from evil passions, but from good motives; for here it is that the devil is especially on the watch to catch us.

14. If any one takes heed to this, he will be mild, gentle, modest. For in guarding his mouth, and restraining his tongue, and in not speaking before examining, pondering, and weighing his words — as to whether this should be said, that should be answered, or whether it be a suitable time for this remark — he certainly is practicing modesty, gentleness, patience. So he will not burst out into speech through displeasure or anger, nor give sign of any passion in his words, nor proclaim that the flames of lust are bunting in his language, or that the incentives of wrath are present in what he says.

Let him act thus for fear that his words, which ought to grace his inner life, should at the last plainly show and prove that there is some vice in his morals.

15. For then especially does the enemy lay his plans, when he sees passions engendered in us; then he supplies tinder; then he lays snares. Wherefore the prophet says not without cause, as we heard read to-day: “Surely He hath delivered me from the snare of the hunter and from the hard word.” Symmachus said this means “the word of provocation;” others “the word that brings disquiet.” The snare of the enemy is our speech — but that itself is also just as much an enemy to us. Too often we say something that our foe takes hold of, and whereby he wounds us as though by our own sword. How far better it is to perish by the sword of others than by our own!

16. Accordingly the enemy tests our arms and clashes together his weapons. If he sees that I am disturbed, he implants the points of his darts, so as to raise a crop of quarrels. If I utter an unseemly word, he sets his snare. Then he puts before me the opportunity for revenge as a bait, so that in desiring to be revenged, I may put myself in the snare, and draw the death-knot tight for myself. If any one feels this enemy is near, he ought to give greater heed to his mouth, lest he make room for the enemy; but not many see him.

CHAPTER 5

We must guard also against a visible enemy when he incites us by silence; by the help of which alone we can escape from those greater than ourselves, and maintain that humility which we must display towards all.

17. BUT we must also guard against him who can be seen, and who provokes us, and spurs us on, and exasperates us, and supplies what will excite us to licentiousness or lust. If, then, any one reviles us, irritates, stirs us up to violence, tries to make us quarrel; let us keep silence, let us not be ashamed to become dumb. For he who irritates us and does us an injury is committing sin, and wishes us to become like himself.

18. Certainly if thou art silent, and hidest thy feelings, he is wont to say: “Why are you silent? Speak if you dare; but you dare not, you are dumb, I have made you speechless.” If thou art silent, he is the more excited. He thinks himself beaten, laughed at, little thought of, and ridiculed. If thou answerest, he thinks he has become the victor, because he has found one like himself. For if thou art silent, men will say: “That man has been abusive, but this one held him in contempt.” If thou return the abuse, they will say: “Both have been abusive.” Both will be condemned, neither will be acquitted. Therefore it is his object to irritate, so that I may speak and act as he does. But it is the duty of a just man to hide his feelings and say nothing, to preserve the fruit of a good conscience, to trust himself rather to the judgment of good men than to the insolence of a calumniator, and to be satisfied with the stability of his own character. For that is: “To keep silence even from good words;” since one who has a good conscience ought not to be troubled by false words, nor ought he to make more of another’s abuse than of the witness of his own heart.

19. So, then, let a man guard also his humility. If, however, he is unwilling to appear too humble, he thinks as follows, and says within himself: “Am I to allow this man to despise me, and say such things to my face against me, as though I could not open my mouth before him? Why should I not also say something whereby I can grieve him? Am I to let him do me wrong, as though I were not a man, and as though I could not avenge myself? Is he to bring charges against me as though I could not bring together worse ones against him?”

20. Whoever speaks like this is not gentle and humble, nor is he without temptation. The tempter stirs him up, and himself puts such thoughts in his heart. Often and often, too, the evil spirit employs another person, and gets him to say such things to him; but do thou set thy foot firm on the rock. Although a slave should abuse, let the just man be silent, and if a weak man utter insults, let him be silent, and if a poor man should make accusations, let him not answer. These are the weapons of the just man, so that he may conquer by giving way, as those skilled in throwing the javelin are wont to conquer by giving way, and in flight to wound their pursuers with severer blows.

CHAPTER 6

In this matter we must imitate David's silence and humility, so as not even to seem deserving of harm.

21. WHAT need is there to be troubled when we hear abuse? Why do we not imitate him who says: "I was dumb and humbled myself, and kept silence even from good words"? Or did David only say this, and not act up to it? No, he also acted up to it. For when Shimei the son of Gera reviled him, David was silent; and although he was surrounded with armed men he did not return the abuse, nor sought revenge: nay, even when the son of Zeruiah spoke to him, because he wished to take vengeance on him, David did not permit it. He went on as though dumb, and humbled; he went on in silence; nor was he disturbed, although called a bloody man, for he was conscious of his own gentleness. He therefore was not disturbed by insults, for he had full knowledge of his own good works.

22. He, then, who is quickly roused by wrong makes himself seem deserving of insult, even whilst he wishes to be shown not to deserve it. He who despises wrongs is better off than he who grieves over them. For he who despises them looks down on them, as though he feels them not; but he who grieves over them is tormented, just as though he actually felt them.

CHAPTER 7

How admirably [<193901>]*Psalm 39 takes the place of an introduction. Incited thereto by this psalm the saint determines to write on duties. He does this with more reason even than Cicero, who wrote on this subject to his son. How, further, this is so.*

23. NOT without thought did I make use of the beginning of this psalm, in writing to you, my children. For this psalm which the Prophet David gave to Jeduthun to sing, I urge you to regard, being delighted myself with its depth of meaning and the excellency of its maxims. For we have learnt in those words we have just shortly touched upon, that both patience in keeping silence and the duty of awaiting a fit time for speaking are taught

in this psalm, as well as contempt of riches in the following verses, which things are the chief groundwork of virtues. Whilst, therefore, meditating on this psalm, it has come to my mind to write "on the Duties."

24. Although some philosophers have written on this subject, — Panaetius, for instance, and his son amongst the Greek, Cicero amongst the Latin, writers — I did not think it foreign to my office to write also myself. And as Cicero wrote for the instruction of his son, so I, too, write to teach you, my children. For I love you, whom I have begotten in the Gospel, no less than if you were my own true sons. For nature does not make us love more ardently than grace. We certainly ought to love those who we think will be with us for evermore. than those who will be with us in this world only. These often are born unworthy of their race, so as to bring disgrace on their father; but you we chose beforehand, to love. They are loved naturally, of necessity, which is not a sufficiently suitable and constant teacher to implant a lasting love. But ye are loved on the ground of our deliberate choice, whereby a great feeling of affection is combined with the strength of our love: thus one tests what one loves and loves what one has chosen.

CHAPTER 8

The word "Duty" has been often used both by philosophers and in the holy Scriptures; from whence it is derived.

25. SINCE, therefore, the person concerned is one fit to write on the Duties, let us see whether the subject itself stands on the same ground, and whether this word is suitable only to the schools of the philosophers, or is also to be found in the sacred Scriptures. Beautifully has the Holy Spirit, as it happens, brought before us a passage in reading the Gospel to-day, as though He would urge us to write; whereby we are confirmed in our view, that the word officium, "duty," may also be used with us. For when Zacharias the priest was struck dumb in the temple, and could not speak, it is said: "And it came to pass that as soon as the days of his duty [officii] were accomplished, he departed to his own house." We read, therefore, that the word officium, "duty," can be used by us.

26. And this is not inconsistent with reason, since we consider that the word officium (duty) is derived from efficere (to effect), and is formed with the change of one letter for the sake of euphony; or at any rate that you should do those things which injure [officiant] no one, but benefit all.

CHAPTER 9

A duty is to be chosen from what is virtuous, and from what is useful, and also from the comparison of the two, one with the other; but nothing is recognized by Christians as virtuous or useful which is not helpful to the future life. This treatise on duty, therefore, will not be superfluous.

27. THE philosophers considered that duties were derived from what is virtuous and what is useful, and that from these two one should choose the better. Then, they say, it may happen that two virtuous or two useful things will clash together, and the question is, which is the more virtuous, and which the more useful? First, therefore, “duty” is divided into three sections: what is virtuous, what is useful, and what is the better of two. Then, again, these three are divided into five classes; that is, two that are virtuous, two that are useful, and, lastly, the right judgment as to the choice between them. The first they say has to do with the moral dignity and integrity of life; the second with the conveniences of life, with wealth, resources, opportunities; whilst a right judgment must underlie the choice of any Of them. This is what the philosophers say.

28. But we measure nothing at all but that which is fitting and virtuous, and that by the rule of things future rather than of things present; and we state nothing to be useful but what will help us to the blessing of eternal life; certainly not that which will help us enjoy merely the present time. Nor do we recognize any advantages in opportunities and in the wealth of earthly goods, but consider them as disadvantages if not put aside, and to be looked on as a burden, when we have them, rather than as a loss when expended.

29. This work of ours, therefore, is not superfluous, seeing that we and they regard duty in quite different ways. They reckon the advantages of this life among the good things, we reckon them among the evil things; for

he who receives good things here, as the rich man in the parable, is tormented there; and Lazarus, who endured evil things here, there found comfort. Lastly, those who do not read their writings may read ours if they will — if, that is, they do not require great adornment of language or a skillfully-treated subject, but are satisfied with the simple charm of the subject itself.

CHAPTER 10

What is seemly is often found in the sacred writings long before it appears in the books of the philosophers. Pythagoras borrowed the law of his silence from David. David's rule, however, is the best, for our first duty is to have due measure in speaking.

30. We are instructed and taught that "what is seemly" is put in our Scriptures in the first place. (In Greek it is called πρέπον) For we read: "A Hymn be-seems Thee, O God, in Sion," In Greek this is: Σοί πρέπειΰμνος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Σιών. And the Apostle says: "Speak the things which become sound doctrine." And elsewhere: "For it beseemed Him through Whom are all things and for Whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

31. Was Panaetius or Aristotle, who also wrote on duty," earlier than David? Why, Pythagoras himself, who lived before the time of Socrates, followed the prophet David's steps and gave his disciples a law of silence. He went so far as to restrain his disciples from the use of speech for five years. David, on the other hand, gave his law, not with a view to impair the gift of nature, but to teach us to take heed to the words we utter. Pythagoras again made his rule, that he might teach men to speak by not speaking. But David made his, so that by speaking we might learn the more how to speak. How can there be instruction without exercise, or advance without practice?

32. A man wishing to undergo a warlike training daily exercises himself with his weapons. As though ready for action he rehearses his part in the fight and stands forth just as if the enemy were in position before him. Or, with a view to acquiring skill and strength in throwing the javelin, he either

puts his own arms to the proof, or avoids the blows of his foes, and escapes them by his watchful attention. The man that desires to navigate a ship on the sea, or to row, tries first on a river. They who wish to acquire an agreeable style of singing and a beautiful voice begin by bringing out their voice gradually by singing. And they who seek to win the crown of victory by strength of body and in a regular wrestling match, harden their limbs by daily practice in the wrestling school, foster their endurance, and accustom themselves to hard work.

33. Nature herself teaches us this in the case of infants, For they first exercise themselves in the sounds of speech and so learn to speak. Thus these sounds of speech are a kind of practice, and a school for the voice. Let those then who want to learn to take heed in speaking not refuse what is according to nature, but let them use all watchful care; just as those who are on a watch-tower keep on the alert by watching, and not by going to sleep. For everything is made more perfect and strong by exercises proper and suitable to itself.

34. David, therefore, was not always silent, but only for a time; not perpetually nor to all did he refuse to speak; but he used not to answer the enemy that provoked him, the sinner that exasperated him. As he says elsewhere: “As though he were deaf he heard not them that speak vanity and imagine deceit: and as though he were dumb he opened not his mouth to them.” Again, in another place, it is said: “Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like to him.”

35. The first duty then is to have due measure in our speech. In this way a sacrifice of praise is offered up to God; thus a godly fear is shown when the sacred Scriptures are read; thus parents are honored. I know well that many speak because they know not how to keep silence. But it is not often any one is silent when speaking does not profit him. A wise man, intending to speak, first carefully considers what he is to say, and to whom he is to say it; also where and at what time. There is therefore such a thing as due measure in keeping silence and also in speaking; there is also such a thing as a due measure in what we do. It is a glorious thing to maintain the right standard of duty.

CHAPTER 11

It is proved by the witness of Scripture that all duty is either "ordinary" or "perfect." To which is added a word in praise of mercy, and an exhortation to practice it.

36. EVERY duty is either "ordinary" or "perfect," a fact which we can also confirm by the authority of the Scriptures. For we read in the Gospel that the Lord said: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith: Which? Jesus said to him: Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honor thy father and thy mother, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." These are ordinary duties, to which something is wanting.

37. Upon this the young man says to Him: "All these things have I kept from my youth up, what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him: If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all thy goods and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow Me." And earlier the same is written, where the Lord says that we must love our enemies, and pray for those that falsely accuse and persecute us, and bless those that curse us. This we are bound to do, if we would be perfect as our Father Who is in heaven; Who bids the sun to shed his rays over the evil and the good, and makes the lands of the whole universe fertile with rain and dew without any distinction. This, then, is a perfect duty (the Greeks call it χατόρθωμα), whereby all things are put right which could have any failings in them.

38. Mercy, also, is a good thing, for it makes men perfect, in that it imitates the perfect Father. Nothing graces the Christian soul so much as mercy; mercy as shown chiefly towards the poor, that thou mayest treat them as sharers in common with thee in the produce of nature, which brings forth the fruits of the earth for use to all. Thus thou mayest freely give to a poor man what thou hast, and in this way help him who is thy brother and companion. Thou bestowest silver; he receives life. Thou givest money; he considers it his fortune. Thy coin makes up all his property.

39. Further, he bestows more on thee than thou on him, since he is thy debtor in regard to thy salvation. If thou clothe the naked, thou clothest thyself with righteousness; if thou bring the stranger under thy roof, if thou support the needy, he procures for thee the friendship of the saints and eternal habitations. That is no small recompense. Thou sowest earthly things and receivest heavenly. Dost thou wonder at the judgment of God in the case of holy Job? Wonder rather at his virtue, in that he could say: "I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor. Their shoulders were made warm with the skins of my lambs. The stranger dwelt not at my gates, but my door was open to every one that came." Clearly blessed is he from whose house a poor man has never gone with empty hand. Nor again is any one more blessed than he who is sensible of the needs of the poor, and the hardships of the weak and helpless. In the day of judgment he will receive salvation from the Lord, Whom he will have as his debtor for the mercy he has shown.

CHAPTER 12

To prevent any one from being checked in the exercise of mercy, he shows that God cares for human actions; and proves on the evidence of Job that all wicked men are unhappy in the very abundance of their wealth.

40. But many are kept back from the duty of showing active mercy, because they suppose that God does not care about the actions of men, or that He does not know what we do in secret, and what our conscience has in view. Some again think that His judgment in no wise seems to be just; for they see that sinners have abundance of riches, that they enjoy honors, health, and children; while, on the other hand, the just live in poverty and unhonored, they are without children, sickly in body, and often in grief.

41. That is no small point. For those three royal friends of Job declared him to be a sinner, because they saw that he, after being rich, became poor; that after having many children, he had lost them all, and that he was now covered with sores and was full of weals, and was a mass of wounds from head to foot. But holy Job made this declaration to them: "If I suffer thus because of my sins, why do the wicked live? They grow old also in riches,

their seed is according to their pleasure, their children are before their eyes, their houses are prosperous; but they have no fear; there is no scourge from the Lord on them."

42. A faint-hearted man, seeing this, is disturbed in mind, and turns his attention away from it. Holy Job, when about to speak in the words of such a one, began thus, saying: "Bear with me, I also will speak; then laugh at me. For if I am found fault with, I am found fault with as a man. Bear, therefore, the burden of my words." For I am going to say (he means) what I do not approve; but I shall utter wrong words to refute you. Or, to translate it in another way: "How now? Am I found fault with by a man?" That is: a man cannot find fault with me because I have sinned, although I deserve to be found fault with; for ye do not find fault with me on the ground of an open sin, but estimate what I deserve for my offenses by the extent of my misfortunes. Thus the faint-hearted man, seeing that the wicked succeed and prosper, whilst he himself is crushed by misfortune, says to the Lord: "Depart from me, I desire not the knowledge of Thy ways. What good is it that we serve Him, or what use to hasten to Him? In the hands of the wicked are all good things, but He sees not their works."

43. Plato has been greatly praised, because in his book "on the State," he has made the person who undertook the part of objector against justice to ask pardon for his words, of which he himself did not approve; and to say that that character was only assumed for the sake of finding out the truth and to investigate the question at issue. And Cicero so far approved of this, that he also, in his book which he wrote "on the Commonwealth," thought something must be said against that idea.

44. How many years before these did Job live! He was the first to discover this, and to consider what excuses had to be made for this, not for the sake of decking out his eloquence, but for the sake of finding out the truth. At once he made the matter plain, stating that the lamp of the wicked is put out, that their destruction will come; that God, the teacher of wisdom and instruction, is not deceived, but is a judge of the truth. Therefore the blessedness of individuals must not be estimated at the value of their known wealth, but according to the voice of their conscience within them. For this, as a true and uncorrupted judge of punishments and rewards, decides between the deserts of the innocent and the guilty. The innocent

man dies in the strength of his own simplicity, in the full possession of his own will; having a soul filled as it were with marrow. But the sinner, though he has abundance in life, and lives in the midst of luxury, and is redolent with sweet scents, ends his life in the bitterness of his soul, and brings his last day to a close, taking with him none of those good things which he once enjoyed — carrying away nothing with him but the price of his own wickedness.

45. In thinking of this, deny if thou canst that a recompense is paid by divine judgment. The former feels happy in his heart, the latter wretched; that man on his own verdict is guiltless, this one a criminal; that man again is happy in leaving the world, this man grieves over it. Who can be pronounced guiltless that is not innocent in the sight of his own conscience? “Tell me,” he says, “where is the Covering of his tabernacle; his token will not be found.” The life of the criminal is as a dream. He has opened his eyes. His repose has departed, his enjoyment has fled. Nay, that very repose of the wicked, which even while they live is only seeming, is now in hell, for alive they go down into hell.

46. Thou seest the enjoyments of the sinner; but question his conscience. Will he not be more foul than any sepulcher? Thou beholdest his joy, thou admirest the bodily health of his children, and the amount of his wealth; but look within at the sores and wounds of his soul, the sadness of his heart. And what shall I say of his wealth, when thou readest: “For a man’s life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth”? When thou knowest, that though he seems to thee to be rich, to himself is poor, and in his own person refutes thy judgment? What also shall I say of the number of his children and of his freedom from pain — when he is full of grief and decides that he will have no heir, and does not wish that those who copy his ways should succeed him? For the sinner really leaves no heir. Thus the wicked man is a punishment to himself, but the upright man is a grace to himself — and to either, whether good or bad, the reward of his deeds is paid in his own person.

CHAPTER 13

The ideas of those philosophers are refuted who deny to God the care of the whole world, or of any of its parts.

47. BUT let us return to our point, lest we seem to have lost sight of the break we made in answering the ideas of those who, seeing some wicked men, rich, joyous, full of honors, and powerful, whilst many upright men are in want and are weak, — suppose therefore that God either cares nothing about us (which is what the Epicureans say), or that He is ignorant of men's actions as the wicked say — or that, if He knows all things, He is an unjust judge in allowing the good to be in want and the wicked to have abundance. But it did not seem out of place to make a digression to meet an idea of this kind and to contrast it with the feelings of those very persons whom they consider happy — for they think themselves wretched. I suppose they would believe themselves more readily than us.

48. After this digression I consider it an easy matter to refute the rest — above all the declaration of those who think that God has no care whatever for the world. For instance, Aristotle declares that His providence extends only to the moon. But what workman is there who gives no care to his work? Who would forsake and abandon what he believes himself to have produced? If it is derogatory to rule, is it not more so to have created? Though there is no wrong involved in not creating anything, it is surely the height of cruelty not to care for what one has created.

49. But if some deny God to be the Creator, and so count themselves amongst the beasts and irrational creatures, what shall we say of those who condemn themselves to such indignity? They themselves declare that God pervades all things, that all depend upon His power, that His might and majesty penetrate all the elements, — lands, heaven, and seas; yet they think it derogatory to Him to enter into man's spirit, which is the noblest thing He has given us, and to be there with the full knowledge of the divine Majesty.

50. But philosophers who are held to be reasonable laugh at the teacher of these ideas as besotted and licentious. But what shall I say of Aristotle's idea? He thinks that God is satisfied with His own narrow bounds, and

lives within the prescribed limits of His kingdom. This, however, is also what the poets' tales tell us. For they relate that the world is divided between three gods, so that it has fallen to the lot of one to restrain and rule heaven, to another the sea, and to a third the lower regions. They have also to take care not to stir up war one with the other by allowing thoughts and cares about the belongings of others to take hold of them. In the same way, Aristotle also declares that God has no care for the earth, as He has none for the sea or the lower regions. How is it that these philosophers shut out of their ranks the poets whose footsteps they follow?

CHAPTER 14

Nothing escapes God's knowledge. This is proved by the witness of the Scriptures and the analogy of the sun, which, although created, yet by its light or heat enters into all things.

51. NEXT comes the answer to the question, whether God, not having failed to show care for His work, now fails to have knowledge of it? Thus it is written: "He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that made the eye, shall He not regard?"

52. This false idea was not unknown to the holy prophets. David himself introduces men to speak whom pride has filled and claimed for its own. For what shows greater pride than when men who are living in sin think it unfit that other sinners should live, and say: "Lord, how long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly triumph?" And later on: "And yet they say, the Lord shall not see: neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." Whom the prophet answers, saying: "Take heed, ye unwise among the people: O ye fools, when will ye understand? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? or He that made the eye, shall He not see? He that rebuketh the nations, shall He not punish? — He that teacheth man knowledge? The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man that they are vain." Does He Who discerns whatsoever is vain not know what is holy, and is He ignorant of what He Himself has made? Can the workman be ignorant of his own work? This one is a man, yet he discerns what is hidden in his work; and God — shall He not know His own work? Is there more depth, then, in the work than in its author? Has He made something superior to Himself;

the value of which, as its Author, He was ignorant of, and whose condition He knew not, though He was its Director? So much for these persons.

53. But we are satisfied with the witness of Him Who says: “I search out the heart and the reins.” In the Gospel, also, the Lord Jesus says: “Why think ye evil in your hearts? For He knew they were thinking evil.” The evangelist also witnesses to this, saying: “For Jesus knew their thoughts.”

54. The idea of these people will not trouble us much if we look at their actions. They will not have Him to be judge over them, Whom nothing deceives; they will not grant to Him the knowledge of things hidden, for they are afraid their own hidden things may be brought to light. But the Lord, also, “knowing their works, has given them over unto darkness. In the night,” he says, “he will be as a thief, and the eye of the adulterer will watch for the darkness, saying, No eye shall see me; he hath covered up his face.” For every one that avoids the light loves darkness, seeking to be hid, though he cannot be hid from God, Who knows not only what is transacted, but also what will be thought of, both in the depths of space and in the minds of men. Thus, again, he who speaks in the book Ecclesiasticus says: “Who seeth me? The darkness hath covered me, and the walls have hidden me; whom do I fear?” But although lying on his bed he may think thus, he is caught where he never thought of it. “It shall be,” it says, “a shame to him because he knew not what the fear of the Lord was.”

55. But what can be more foolish than to suppose that anything escapes God’s notice, when the sun which supplies the light enters even hidden spots, and the strength of its heat reaches to the foundations of a house and its inner chambers? Who can deny that the depths of the earth, which-the winter’s ice has bound together, are warmed by the mildness of spring? Surely the very heart of a tree feels the force of heat or cold, to such an extent that its roots are either nipped with the cold or sprout forth in the warmth of the sun. In short, wherever the mildness of heaven smiles on the earth, there the earth produces in abundance fruits of different kinds.

56. If, then, the sun’s rays pour their light over all the earth and enter into its hidden spots; if they cannot be checked by iron bars or the barrier of heavy doors from getting within, how can it be impossible for the Glory of God, which is instinct with life, to enter into the thoughts and hearts of

men that He Himself has created? And how shall it not see what He Himself has created? Did He make His works to be better and more powerful than He Himself is, Who made them (in this event) so as to escape the notice of their Creator whensoever they will? Did He implant such perfection and power in our mind that He Himself could not comprehend it when He wished?

CHAPTER 15

Those who are dissatisfied with the fact that the good receive evil, and the evil good, are shown by the example of Lazarus, and on the authority of Paul, that punishments and rewards are reserved for a future life.

57. We have fully discussed two questions; and this discussion, as we think, has not turned out quite unfavorably for us. A third question yet remains; it is this: Why do sinners have abundance of wealth and riches, and fare sumptuously, and have no grief or sorrow; whilst the upright are in want, and are punished by the loss of wives or children? Now, that parable in the Gospel ought to satisfy persons like these; for the rich man was clothed in purple and fine linen, and dined sumptuously every day; but the beggar, full of sores, used to gather the crumbs of his table. After the death of the two, however, the beggar was in Abraham's bosom in rest; the rich man Was in torment. Is it not plain from this that rewards and punishments according to deserts await one after death?

58. And surely this is but right. For in a contest there is much labor needed — and after the contest victory falls to some, to others disgrace. Is the palm ever given or the crown granted before the course is finished? Paul writes well; He says: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing." "In that day," he says, He will give it — not here. Here he fought, in labors, in dangers, in shipwrecks, like a good wrestler; for he knew how that "through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God."

Therefore no one can receive a reward, unless he has striven lawfully; nor is the victory a glorious one, unless the contest also has been toilsome.

CHAPTER 16

To confirm what has been said above about rewards and punishments, he adds that it is not strange if there is no reward reserved for some in the future; for they do not labor here nor struggle. He goes on to say also that for this reason temporal goods are granted to these persons, so that they may have no excuse whatever.

59. Is not he unjust who gives the reward before the end of the contest? Therefore the Lord says in the Gospel: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” He said not: “Blessed are the rich,” but “the poor.” By the divine judgment blessedness begins there whence human misery is supposed to spring. “Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled; Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; Blessed are the merciful, for God will have mercy on them; Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness’ sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for plentiful is your reward in heaven.” A reward future and not present, — in heaven, not on earth, — has He promised shall be given. What further dost thou expect? What further is due? Why dost thou demand the crown with so much haste, before thou dost conquer? Why dost thou desire to shake off the dust and to rest? Why dost thou long to sit at the feast before the course is finished? As yet the people are looking on, the athletes are in the arena, and thou — dost thou already look for ease?

60. Perhaps thou sayest: Why Are the wicked joyous? why do they live in luxury? why do they not toil with me? It is because they who have not put down their names to strive for the crown are not bound to undergo the labors of the contest. They who have not gone down into the race-course do not anoint themselves with oil nor get covered with dust. For those

whom glory awaits trouble is at hand. The perfumed spectators are wont to look on, not to join in the struggle, nor to endure the sun, the hear, the dust, and the showers. Let the athletes say to them: Come, strive with us. The spectators will but answer: We sit here now to decide about you, but you, if you conquer, will gain the glory of the crown and we shall not.

61. They, then, who have devoted themselves to pleasures, luxury, robbery, gain, or honors are spectators rather than combatants. They have the profit of labor, but not the fruits of virtue. They love their ease; by cunning and wickedness they heap up riches; but they will pay the penalty of their iniquity, though it be late. Their rest will be in hell, thine in heaven; their home in the grave, thine in paradise. Whence Job said beautifully that they watch in the tomb, for they cannot have the calm of quiet rest which he enjoys who shall rise again.

62. Do not, therefore, understand, or speak, or think as a child; nor as a child claim those things now which belong to a future time. The crown belongs to the perfect. Wait till that which is perfect is come, when thou mayest know — not through a glass as in a riddle, but face to face — the very form of truth made clear. Then will be made known why that person was rich who was wicked and a robber of other men’s goods, why another was powerful, why a third had many children, and yet a fourth was loaded with honors.

63. Perhaps all this happens that the question may be asked of the robber: Thou wast rich, wherefore didst thou seize on the goods of others? Need did not force thee poverty did not drive thee to it. Did I not make thee rich, that thou mightest have no excuse? So, too, it may be said to a person of power: Why didst thou not aid the widow the orphans also, when enduring wrong? Wast thou powerless? Couldst thou not help? I made thee for this purpose, not that thou mightest do wrong, but that thou mightest check it. Is it not written for thee “Save him that endureth wrong?” Is it not written for thee: “Deliver the poor and needy out of the hand of the sinner”? It may be said also to the man who has abundance of good things: I have blessed thee with children and honors; I have granted thee health of body; why didst thou not follow my commands? My servant, what have I done to thee, or how have I grieved thee? Was it not I that gave thee children, bestowed honors, granted health to thee? Why

didst thou deny me? Why didst thou suppose that thy actions would not come to my knowledge? Why didst thou accept my gifts, yet despise my commands?

64. We can gather the same from the example of the traitor Judas. He was chosen among the Twelve Apostles, and had charge of the money bag, to lay it out upon the poor, that it might not seem as though he had betrayed the Lord because he was unhonored or in want. Wherefore the Lord granted him this office, that He might also be justified in him; he would be guilty of a greater fault, not as one driven to it by wrong done to him, but as one misusing grace.

CHAPTER 17

The duties of youth, and examples suitable to that age, are next put forth.

65. Since it has been made sufficiently plain that there will be punishment for wickedness and reward for virtue, let us proceed to speak of the duties which have to be borne in mind from our youth up, that they may grow with our years. A good youth ought to have a fear of God, to be subject to his parents, to give honor to his elders, to preserve his purity; he ought not to despise humility, but should love forbearance and modesty. All these are an ornament to youthful years. For as seriousness is the true grace of an old man, and ardor of a young man, so also is modesty, as though by some gift of nature, well set off in a youth.

66. Isaac feared the Lord, as was indeed but natural in the son of Abraham; being subject also to his father to such an extent that he would not avoid death in opposition to his father’s will. Joseph also, though he dreamed that sun and moon and stars made obeisance to him, yet was subject to his father’s will with ready obedience. So chaste was he, he would not hear even a word unless it were pure; humble was he even to doing the work of a slave, modest, even to taking flight, enduring, even to bearing imprisonment, so forgiving of wrong as even to repay it with good, Whose modesty was such, that, when seized by a woman, he preferred to leave his garment in her hands in flight, rather than to lay aside his modesty. Moses, also, and Jeremiah, chosen by the Lord to declare the words of

God to the people, were for avoiding, through modesty, that which through grace they could do.

CHAPTER 18

On the different functions of modesty. How it should qualify both speech and silence, accompany chastity, commend our prayers to God, govern our bodily motions; on which last point reference is made to two clerics in language by no means unsuited to its object. Further he proceeds to say that one's gait should be in accordance with that same virtue, and how careful one must be that nothing immodest come forth from one's mouth, or be noticed in one's body. All these points are illustrated with very appropriate examples.

67. LOVELY, then, is the virtue of modesty, and sweet is its grace! It is seen not only in actions, but even in our words, so that we may not go beyond due measure in speech, and that our words may not have an unbecoming sound. The mirror of our mind often enough reflects its image in our words. Sobriety weighs out the sound even of our voice, for fear that too loud a voice should offend the ear of any one. Nay, in singing itself the first rule is modesty, and the same is true in every kind of speech, too, so that a man may gradually learn to praise God, or to sing songs, or even to speak, in that the principles of modesty grace his advance.

68. Silence, again, wherein all the other virtues rest, is the chief act of modesty. Only, if it is supposed to be a sign of a childish or proud spirit, it is accounted a reproach; if a sign of modesty, it is reckoned for praise. Susanna was silent in danger, and thought the loss of modesty was worse than loss of life. She did not consider that her safety should be guarded at the risk of her chastity. To God alone she spoke, to Whom she could speak out in true modesty. She avoided looking on the face of men. For there is also modesty in the glance of the eye, which makes a woman unwilling to look upon men, or to be seen by them.

69. Let no one suppose that this praise belongs to chastity alone. For modesty is the companion of purity, in company with which chastity

itself is safer. Shame, again, is good as a companion and guide of chastity, inasmuch as it does not suffer purity to be defiled in approaching even the outskirts of danger. This it is that, at the very outset of her recognition, commends the Mother of the Lord to those who read the Scriptures, and, as a credible witness, declares her worthy to be chosen to such an office. For when in her chamber, alone, she is saluted by the angel, she is silent, and is disturbed at his entrance, and the Virgin's face is troubled at the strange appearance of a man's form. And so, though she was humble, yet it was not because of this, but on account of her modesty, that she did not return his salutation, nor give him any answer, except to ask, when she had learnt that she should conceive the Lord, how this should be. She certainly did not speak merely for the sake of making a reply.

70. In our very prayers, too, modesty is most pleasing, and gains us much grace from our God. Was it not this that exalted the publican, and commended him, when he dared not raise even his eyes to heaven? So he was justified by the judgment of the Lord rather than the Pharisee, whom overweening pride made so hideous. "Therefore let us pray in the incorruptibility of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price," as St. Peter says. A noble thing, then, is modesty, which, though giving up its rights, seizing on nothing for itself, laying claim to nothing, and in some ways somewhat retiring within the sphere of its own powers, yet is rich in the sight of God, in Whose sight no man is rich. Rich is modesty, for it is the portion of God. Paul also bids that prayer be offered up with modesty and sobriety. He desires that this should be first, and, as it were, lead the way of prayers to come, so that the sinner's prayer may not be boastful, but veiled, as it were, with the blush of shame, may merit a far greater degree of grace, in giving way to modesty at the remembrance of its fault.

71. Modesty must further be guarded in our very movements and gestures and gait. For the condition of the mind is often seen in the attitude of the body. For this reason the hidden man of our heart (our inner self) is considered to be either frivolous, boastful, or boisterous, or, on the other hand, steady, firm, pure, and dependable. Thus the movement of the body is a sort of voice of the soul.

72. Ye remember, my children, that a friend of ours who seemed to recommend himself by his assiduity in his duties, yet was not admitted by me into the number of the clergy, because his gestures were too unseemly. Also that I bade one, whom I found already among the clergy, never to go in front of me, because he actually pained me by the seeming arrogance of his gait. That is what I said when he returned to his duty after an offense committed. This alone I would not allow, nor did my mind deceive me. For both have left the Church. What their gait betrayed them to be, such were they proved to be by the faithlessness of their hearts. The one forsook his faith at the time of the Arian troubles; the other, through love of money, denied that he belonged to us, so that he might not have to undergo sentence at the hands of the Church. In their gait was discernible the semblance of fickleness, the appearance, as it were, of wandering buffoons.

73. Some there are who in walking perceptibly copy the gestures of actors, and act as though they were bearers in the processions, and had the motions of nodding statues, to such an extent that they seem to keep a sort of time, as often as they change their step.

74. Nor do I think it becoming to walk hurriedly, except when a case of some danger demands it, or a real necessity. For we often see those who hurry come up panting, and with features distorted. But if there is no reason for the need of such hurry, it gives cause for just offense. I am not, however, talking of those who have to hurry now and then for some particular reason, but of those to whom, by the yoke of constant habit, it has become a second nature. In the case of the former I cannot approve of their slow solemn movements, which remind one of the forms of phantoms. Nor do I care for the others with their headlong speed, for they put one in mind of the ruin of outcasts.

75. A suitable gait is that wherein there is an appearance of authority and weight and dignity, and which has a calm collected bearing. But it must be of such a character that all effort and conceit may be wanting, and that it be simple and plain. Nothing counterfeit is pleasing. Let nature train our movements. If indeed there is any fault in our nature, let us mend it with diligence. And, that artifice may be wanting, let not amendment be wanting.

76. But if we pay so much attention to things like these, how much more careful ought we to be to let nothing shameful proceed out of our mouth, for that defiles a man terribly. It is not food that defiles, but unjust disparagement of others and foul words. These things are openly shameful. In our office indeed must no word be let fall at all unseemly, nor one that may give offense to modesty. But not only ought we to say nothing unbecoming to ourselves, but we ought not even to lend our ears to words of this sort. Thus Joseph fled and left his garment, that he might hear nothing inconsistent with his modesty. For he who delights to listen, urges the other on to speak.

77. To have full knowledge of what is foul is in the highest degree shameful. To see anything of this sort, if by chance it should happen, how dreadful that is! What, therefore, is displeasing to us in others, can that be pleasing in ourselves? Is not nature herself our teacher, who has formed to perfection every part of our body, so as to provide for what is necessary and to beautify and grace its form? However she has left plain and open to the sight those parts which are beautiful to look upon; among which, the head, set as it were above all, and the pleasant lines of the figure, and the appearance of the face are prominent, whilst their usefulness for work is ready to hand. But those parts in which there is a compliance with the necessities of nature, she has partly put away and hidden in the body itself, lest they should present a disgusting appearance, and partly, too, she has taught and persuaded us to cover them.

78. Is not nature herself then a teacher of modesty? Following her example, the modesty of men, which I suppose is so called from the mode of knowing what is seemly, has covered and veiled what it has found hid in the frame of our body; like that door which Noah was bidden to make in the side of the ark; wherein we find a figure of the Church, and also of the human body, for through that door the remnants of food were cast out. Thus the Maker of our nature so thought of our modesty, and so guarded what was seemly and virtuous in our body, as to place what is unseemly behind, and to put it out of the sight of our eyes. Of this the Apostle says well: “Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary, and those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.” Truly, by following the guidance of

nature, diligent care has added to the grace of the body. In another place I have gone more fully into this subject, and said that not only do we hide those parts which have been given us to hide, but also that we think it unseemly to mention by name their description, and the use of those members.

79. And if these parts are exposed to view by chance, modesty is violated; but if on purpose, it is reckoned as utter shamelessness. Wherefore Ham, Noah's son, brought disgrace upon himself; for he laughed when he saw his father naked, but they who covered their father received the gift of a blessing. For which cause, also, it was an ancient custom in Rome, and in many other states as well, that grown-up sons should not bathe with their parents, or sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law, in order that the great duty of reverence for parents should not be weakened. Many, however, cover themselves so far as they can in the baths, so that, where the whole body is bare, that part of it at least may be covered.

80. The priests, also, under the old law, as we read in Exodus, wore breeches, as it was told Moses by the Lord: "And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover their shame: from the loins even to the thighs they shall reach, and Aaron and his sons shall wear them, when they enter into the tabernacle of witness, and when they come unto the altar of the holy place to offer sacrifice, that they lay not sin upon themselves and die." Some of us are said still to observe this, but most explain it spiritually, and suppose it was said with a view to guarding modesty and preserving chastity.

CHAPTER 19

How should seemliness be represented by a speaker? Does beauty add anything to virtue, and, if so, how much? Lastly, what care should we take that nothing conceited or effeminate be seen in us?

81. It has given me pleasure to dwell somewhat at length on the various functions of modesty; for I speak to you who either can recognize the good that is in it in your own cases, or at least do not know its loss. Fitted as it is for all ages, persons, times, and places, yet it most beseems youthful and childish years.

82. But at every age we must take care that all we do is seemly and becoming, and that the course of our life forms one harmonious and complete whole. Wherefore Cicero thinks that a certain order ought to be observed in what is seemly. He says that this lies in beauty, order, and in appointment fitted for action. This, as he says, it is difficult to explain in words, yet it can be quite sufficiently understood.

83. Why Cicero should have introduced beauty, I do not quite understand; though it is true he also speaks in praise of the powers of the body. We certainly do not locate virtue in the beauty of the body, though, on the other hand, we do recognize a certain grace, as when modesty is wont to cover the face with a blush of shame, and to make it more pleasing. For as a workman is wont to work better the more suitable his materials are, so modesty is more conspicuous in the comeliness of the body. Only the comeliness of the body should not be assumed; it should be natural and artless, unstudied rather than elaborated, not heightened by costly and glistening garments, but just clad in ordinary clothing, One must see that nothing is wanting that one's credit or necessity demands, whilst nothing must be added for the sake of splendor.

84. The voice, too, should not be languid, nor feeble, nor womanish in its tone, — such a tone of voice as many are in the habit of using, under the idea of seeming important. It should preserve a certain quality, and rhythm, and a manly vigor. For all to do what is best suited to their character and sex, that is to attain to beauty of life. This is the best order for movements, this the employment fitted for every action. But as I cannot approve of a soft or weak tone of voice, or an effeminate gesture of the body, so also I cannot approve of what is boorish and rustic. Let us follow nature. The imitation of her provides us with a principle of training, and gives us a pattern of virtue.

CHAPTER 20

If we are to preserve our modesty we must avoid fellowship with profligate men, also the banquets of strangers, and intercourse with women; our leisure time at home should be spent in pious and virtuous pursuits.

85. MODESTY has indeed its rocks — not any that she brings with her, but those, I mean, which she often runs against, as when we associate with profligate men, who, under the form of pleasantry, administer poison to the good. And the latter, if they are very constant in their attendance at banquets and games, and often join in jests, enervate that manly gravity of theirs. Let us then take heed that, in wishing to relax our minds, we do not destroy all harmony, the blending as it were of all good works. For habit quickly bends nature in another direction.

86. For this reason I think that what ye wisely do is befitting to the duties of clerics, and especially to those of the priesthood — namely, that ye avoid the banquets of strangers, but so that ye are still hospitable to travelers, and give no occasion for reproach by reason of your great care in the matter. Banquets with strangers engross one's attention, and soon produce a love for feasting. Tales, also, of the world and its pleasures often creep in. One cannot shut one's ears; and to forbid them is looked on as a sign of haughtiness. One's glass, too, even against one's will, is filled time after time. It is better surely to excuse oneself once for all at one's own home, than often at another's. When one rises sober, at any rate one's presence need not be condemned by the insolence of another.

87. There is no need for the younger clergy to go to the houses of widows or virgins, except for the sake of a definite visit, and in that case only with the elder clergy, that is, with the bishop, or, if the matter be somewhat important, with the priests. Why should we give room to the world to revile? What need is there for those frequent visits to give ground for rumors? What if one of those women should by chance fall? Why shouldst thou undergo the reproach of another's fall? How many even strong men have been led away by their passions? How many are there who have not indeed yielded to sin, but have given ground for suspicion?

88. Why dost thou not spend the time which thou hast free from thy duties in the church in reading? Why dost thou not go back again to see Christ? Why dost thou not address Him, and hear His voice? We address Him when we pray, we hear Him when we read the sacred oracles of God. What have we to do with strange houses? There is one house which holds all. They who need us can come to us. What have we to do with tales and fables? An office to minister at the altar of Christ is what we have

received; no duty to make ourselves agreeable to men has been laid upon us.

89. We ought to be humble, gentle, mild, serious, patient. We must keep the mean in all things, so that a calm countenance and quiet speech may show that there is no vice in our lives.

CHAPTER 21

We must guard against anger, before it arises; if it has already arisen we must check and calm it, and if we cannot do this either, at least we should keep our tongue from abuse, so that our passions may be like boys' quarrels. He relates what Archites said, and shows that David led the way in this matter, both in his actions and in his writings.

90. LET anger be guarded against. If it cannot, however, be averted, let it be kept within bounds. For indignation is a terrible incentive to sin. It disorders the mind to such an extent as to leave no room for reason. The first thing, therefore, to aim at, if possible, is to make tranquillity of character our natural disposition by constant practice, by desire for better things, by fixed determination. But since passion is to a large extent implanted in our nature and character, so that it cannot be uprooted and avoided, it must be checked by reason, if, that is, it can be foreseen. And if the mind has already been filled with indignation before it could be foreseen or provided against in any way, we must consider how to conquer the passion of the mind, how to restrain our anger, that it may no more be so filled. Resist wrath, if possible; if not, give way, for it is written: "Give place to wrath."

91. Jacob dutifully gave way to his brother when angry, and to Rebecca; that is to say, taught by counsels of patience, he preferred to go away and live in foreign lands, rather than to arouse his brother's anger; and then to return only when he thought his brother was appeased. Thus it was that he found such great grace with God. With what offers of willing service, with what gifts, did he reconcile his brother to himself again, so that he should not remember the blessing which had been taken away from him, but should only remember the reparation now offered?

92. If, then, anger has got the start, and has already taken possession of thy mind, and mounted into thy heart, forsake not thy ground. Thy ground is patience, it is wisdom, it is reason, it is the allaying of indignation. And if the stubbornness of thy opponent rouses thee, and his perverseness drives thee to indignation: if thou canst not calm thy mind, check at least thy tongue. For so it is written: “Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Seek peace and pursue it.” See the peace of holy Jacob, how great it was! First, then, calm thy mind. If thou canst not do this, put a restraint upon thy tongue. Lastly, omit not to seek for reconciliation. These ideas the speakers of the world have borrowed from us, and have set down in their writings. But he who said it first has the credit of understanding its meaning.

93. Let us then avoid or at any rate check anger, so that we may not lose our share of praise, nor yet add to our list of sins. It is no light thing to calm one’s anger. It is no less difficult a thing than it is not to be roused at all. The one is an act of our own will, the other is an effect of nature. So quarrels among boys are harmless, and have more of a pleasant than a bitter character about them. And if boys quickly come to quarrel one with the other, they are easily calmed down again, and quickly come together with even greater friendliness. They do not know how to act deceitfully and artfully. Do not condemn these children, of whom the Lord says: “Except ye be converted and become as this child, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.” So also the Lord Himself, Who is the Power of God, as a Boy, when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He was struck, struck not back. Set then thy mind on this — like a child never to keep an injury in mind, never to show malice, but that all things may be done blamelessly by thee. Regard not the return made thee by others. Hold thy ground. Guard the simplicity and purity of thy heart. Answer not an angry man according to his anger, nor a foolish man according to his folly. One fault quickly calls forth another. If stones are rubbed together, does not fire break forth?

94. The heathen — (they are wont to exaggerate everything in speaking) — make much of the saying of the philosopher Archires of Tarentum, which he spoke to his bailiff: “O you wretched man, how I would punish you, if I were not angry.” But David already before this had in his indignation held back his armed hand. How much greater a thing it is not to revile again,

than not to avenge oneself! The warriors, too, prepared to take vengeance against Nabal, Abigail restrained by her prayers. From whence we perceive that we ought not only to yield to timely entreaties, but also to be pleased with them. So much was David pleased that he blessed her who intervened, because he was restrained from his desire for revenge.

95. Already before this he had said of his enemies: “For they cast iniquity upon me, and in their wrath they were grievous to me.” Let us hear what he said when overwhelmed in wrath: “Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will flee away and be at rest.” They kept provoking him to anger, bat he sought quietness.

96. He had also said: Be ye angry and sin not.” The moral teacher who knew that the natural disposition should rather be guided by a reasonable course of teaching, than be eradicated, teaches morals, and says: “Be angry where there is a fault against which ye ought to be angry.” For it is impossible not to be roused up by the baseness of many things; otherwise we might be accounted, not virtuous, but apathetic and neglectful. Be angry therefore, so that ye keep free from fault, or, in other words: If ye are angry, do not sin, but overcome wrath with reason. Or one might put it thus: If ye are angry, be angry with yourselves, because ye are roused, and ye will not sin. For he who is angry with himself, because he has been so easily roused, ceases to be angry with another. But he who wishes to prove his anger is righteous only gets the more inflamed, and quickly falls into sin. “Better is he,” as Solomon. says, “that restraineth his anger, than he that taketh a city,” for anger leads astray even brave men.

97. We ought therefore to take care that we do not get into a flurry, before reason prepares our minds. For oftentimes anger or distress or fear of death almost deprives the soul of life, and beats it down by a sudden blow. It is therefore a good thing to anticipate this by reflection, and to exercise the mind by considering the matter. So the mind will not be roused by any sudden disturbance, but will grow calm, being held in by the yoke and reins of reason.

CHAPTER 22

On reflection and passion, and on observing propriety of speech, both in ordinary conversation and in holding discussions.

98. THERE are two kinds of mental motions — those of reflection and of passion. The one has to do with reflection, the other with passion. There is no confusion one with the other, for they are markedly different and unlike. Reflection has to search and as it were to grind out the truth. Passion prompts and stimulates us to do something. Thus by its very nature reflection diffuses tranquillity and calm; and passion sends forth the impulse to act. Let us then be ready to allow reflection on good things to enter into our mind, and to make passion submit to reason (if indeed we wish to direct our minds to guard what is seemly), lest desire for anything should shut out reason. Rather let reason test and see what befits virtue.

99. And since we have said that we must aim at the observance of what is seemly, so as to know what is the due measure in our words and deeds, and as order in speech rather than in action comes first; speech is divided into two kinds: first, as it is used in friendly conversation, and then in the treatment and discussion of matters of faith and justice. In either case we must take care that there is no irritation. Our language should he mild and quiet, and full of kindness and courtesy and free from insult. Let there be no obstinate disputes in our familiar conversations, for they are wont only to bring up useless subjects, rather than to supply anything useful. Let there be discussion without wrath, urbanity without bitterness, warning without sharpness, advice without giving offense. And as in every action of our life we ought to take heed to this, in order that no overpowering impulse of our mind may ever shut out reason (let us always keep a place for counsel), so, too, ought we to observe that rule in our language, so that neither wrath nor hatred may be aroused, and that we may not show any signs of our greed or sloth.

100. Let our language be of this sort, more especially when we are speaking of the holy Scriptures. For of what ought we to speak more often than of the best subject of conversation, of its exhortation to watch-fullness, its care for good instruction? Let us have a reason for beginning, and let our end be within due limits. For a speech that is

wearisome only stirs up anger. But surely it is most unseemly that when every kind of conversation generally gives additional pleasure, this should give cause of offense!

101. The treatment also of such subjects as the teaching of faith, instruction on self-restraint, discussion on justice, exhortation to activity, must not be taken up by us and fully gone into all at one time, but must be carried on in course, so far as we can do it, and as the subject-matter of the passage allows. Our discourse must not be too lengthy, nor too soon cut short, for fear the former should leave behind it a feeling of aversion, and the latter produce carelessness and neglect. The address should be plain and simple, clear and evident, full of dignity and weight; it should not be studied or too refined, nor yet, on the other hand, be unpleasing and rough in style.

CHAPTER 23

Jests, although at times they may be quite proper, should be altogether banished among clerics. The voice should be plain and frank.

102. MEN of the world give many further rules about the way to speak, which I think we may pass over; as, for instance, the way jesting should be conducted. For though at times jests may be proper and pleasant, yet they are unsuited to the clerical life. For how can we adopt those things which we do not find in the holy Scriptures?

103. We must also take care that in relating stories we do not alter the earnest purpose of the harder rule we have set before us "Woe unto you that laugh, for ye shall weep," says the Lord. Do we seek for something to laugh at, that laughing here we may weep hereafter? I think we ought to avoid not only broad jokes, but all kinds of jests, unless perchance it is not unfitting at the time for our conversation to be agreeable and pleasant.

104. In speaking of the voice, I certainly think it ought to be plain and clear. That it should be musical is a gift of nature, and is not to be won by exertion. Let it be distinct in its pronunciation and full of a manly vigor, but let it be free from a rough and rustic twang. See, too, that it does not

assume a theatrical accent, but rather keeps true to the inner meaning of the words it utters.

CHAPTER 24

There are three things to be noticed in the actions of our life. First, our passions are to be controlled by our reason; next, we ought to observe a suitable moderation in our desires; and, lastly, everything ought to be done at the fight time and in the proper order. All these qualities shone forth so conspicuously in the holy men of Old Testament time, that it is evident they were well furnished with what men call the cardinal virtues.

105. I THINK I have said enough on the art of speaking. Let us now consider what beseems an active life. We note that there are three things to be regarded in connection with this subject. One is, that passion should not resist our reason. In that way only can our duties be brought into line with what is seemly. For if passion yields to reason we can easily maintain what is seemly in our duties. Next, we must take care rest, either by showing greater zeal or less than the matter we take up demands, we look as though we were taking up a small matter with great parade or were treating a great matter with but little care. Thirdly, as regards moderation in our endeavors and works, and also with regard to order in doing things and in the right timing of things, I think that everything should be open and straightforward.

106. But first comes that which I may call the foundation of all namely, that our passions should obey our reason. The second and third are really the same — moderation in either case. There is room with us for the survey of a pleasing form, which is accounted beauty, and the consideration of dignity. Next follows the consideration of the order and the timing of things. These, then, are the three points, and we must see whether we can show them in perfection in any one of the saints.

107. First there is our father Abraham, who was formed and called for the instruction of generations to come. When bidden to go forth from his own country and kindred and from his father’s house, though bound and held back by many ties of relationship, did he not give proof that ill him

passion was subject to reason? Who does not delight in the sweet charms of his native land, his kindred, and his own home? Their sweetness then delighted him. But the thought of the heavenly command and of an eternal reward influenced him more. Did he not reflect that he could not take his wife with him without the greatest danger, unused as she was to hardships, and so tender to bear insults, and so beautiful as to be likely to arouse the lust of profligate men? Yet he decided somewhat deliberately to undergo all this rather than to escape it by making excuses. Lastly, when he had gone into Egypt, he advised her to say she was his sister, not his wife.

108. See here what passions are at work! He feared for the chastity of his wife, he feared for his own safety, he had his suspicions about the lust of the Egyptians, and yet the reasonableness of performing his duty to God prevailed with him. For. he thought that by the favor of God he could be safe everywhere, but if he offended the Lord he could not abide unharmed even at home. Thus reason conquered passion, and brought it into subjection to itself.

109. When his nephew was taken captive, without being terrified or dismayed at the hordes of so many kings, he resumed the war. And after the victory was gained he refused his share of the spoil, which he himself had really won. Also, when a son was promised him, though he thought of the lost vigor of his body, now as good as dead, and the barrenness of his wife, and his own great age, he believed God, though it was against the law of nature.

110. Note how everything meets together here. Passion was not wanting, but it was checked. Here was a mind equable in action, which neither treated great things as unimportant or little things as great. Here there was moderation in different affairs, order in things, fitness of occasion, due measure in words. He was foremost in faith, conspicuous in virtue, vigorous in battle, in victory not greedy, at home hospitable, and to his wife attentive.

111. Jacob also, his holy grandson, loved to pass his time at home free from danger; but his mother wished him to live in foreign parts, and so give place to his brother’s anger. Sound counsels prevailed over natural feelings. An exile from home, banished from his parents, yet everywhere, in all he did, he observed due measure, such as was fitting, and made use of his

opportunities at the right time. So dear was he to his parents at home, that the one, moved by the promptness of his compliance, gave him his blessing, the other inclined towards him with tender love. In the judgment of his brother, also, he was placed first, when he thought that he ought to give up his food to his brother. For though according to his natural inclinations he wished for food, yet when asked for it he gave it up from a feeling of brotherly affection. He was a faithful shepherd of the flock for his master, an attentive son-in-law to his father-in-law; he was active in work, sparing in his meals, conspicuous in making amends, lavish in repaying. Nay, so well did he calm his brother’s anger that he received his favor, though he had feared his enmity.

112. What shall I say of Joseph? He certainly had a longing for freedom, and yet endured the bonds of servitude. How meek he was in slavery, how unchanging in virtue, how kindly in prison! Wise, too, in interpreting, and self-restrained in exercising his power! In the time of plenty was he not careful? In the time of famine was he not fair? Did he not praiseworthily do everything in order, and use opportunities at their season; giving justice to his people by the restraining guidance of his office?

113. Job also, both in prosperity and adversity, was blameless, patient, pleasing, and acceptable to God. He was harassed with pain, yet could find consolation.

114. David also was brave in war, patient in time of adversity, peaceful at Jerusalem, in the hour of victory merciful, on committing sin repentant, in his old age foreseeing. He preserved due measure in his actions, and took his opportunities as they came. He has set them down in the songs of succeeding years; and so it seems to me that he has by his life no less than by the sweetness of his hymns poured forth an undying song of his own merits to God.

115. What duty connected with the chief virtues was wanting in these men? In the first place they showed prudence, which is exercised in the search of the truth, and which imparts a desire for full knowledge; next, justice, which assigns each man his own, does not claim another’s, and disregards its own advantage, so as to guard the rights of all; thirdly, fortitude, which both in warfare and at home is conspicuous in greatness of mind and distinguishes itself in the strength of the body; fourthly,

temperance, which preserves the right method and order in all things that we think should either be done or said.

CHAPTER 25

A reason is given why this book did not open with a discussion of the above-mentioned virtues. It is also concisely pointed out that the same virtues existed in the ancient fathers.

116. PERHAPS, as the different classes of duties are derived from these four virtues, some one may say that they ought to have been described first of all. But it would have been artificial to have given a definition of duty at the outset, and then to have gone on to divide it up into various classes. We have avoided what is artificial, and have put forward the examples of the fathers of old. These certainly offer us no uncertainty as regards our understanding them, and give us no room for subtlety in our discussion of them. Let the life of the fathers, then, be for us a mirror of virtue, not a mere collection of shrewd and clever acts. Let us show reverence in following them, not mere cleverness in discussing them.

117. Prudence held the first place in holy Abraham. For of him the Scriptures say: “Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness;” for no one is prudent who knows not God. Again: “The fool hath said, There is no God;” for a wise man would not say so. How is he wise who looks not for his Maker, but says to a stone: “Thou art my father”? Who says to the devil as the Manichaean does: “Thou art the author of my being”? How is Arius wise, who prefers an imperfect and inferior creator to one who is a true and perfect one? How can Marcion or Eunomius be wise, who prefer to have an evil rather than a good God? And how can he be wise who does not fear his God? For: “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.” Elsewhere, too, it stands: “The wise turn not aside from the mouth of the Lord, but come near Him in their confession of His greatness.” So when the Scripture says: “It was counted to him for righteousness,” that brought to him the grace of another virtue.

118. The chief amongst ourselves have stated that prudence lies in the knowledge of the truth. But who of them all excelled Abraham, David, or Solomon in this? Then they go on to say that justice has regard to the

whole community of the human race. So David said: “He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor, His righteousness remaineth for over.” The just man has pity. the just man lends. The whole world of riches lies at the feet of the wise and the just. The just man regards what belongs to all as his own, and his own as common property. The man just accuses himself rather than others. For he is just who does not spare himself, and who does not suffer his secret actions to be concealed. See now how just Abraham was! In his old age he begat a son according to promise, and when the Lord demanded him for sacrifice he did not think he ought to refuse him, although he was his only son.

119. Note here all these four virtues in one act. It was wise to believe God, and not to put love for his son before the commands of his Creator. It was just to give back what had been received. It was brave to restrain natural feelings by reason. The father led the victim; the son asked where it was: the father’s feelings were hardly tried, but were not overcome. The son said again: “My father,” and thus pierced his father’s heart, though without weakening his devotion to God. The fourth virtue, temperance, too, was there. Being just he preserved due measure in his piety, and order in all he had to carry out. And so in bringing what was needed for the sacrifice, in lighting the fire, in binding his son, in drawing the knife, in performing the sacrifice in due order; thus he merited as his reward that he might keep his son.

120. Is there greater wisdom than holy Jacob’s, who saw God face to face and won a blessing? Can there be higher justice than his in dividing with his brother what he had acquired, and offering it as a gift? What greater fortitude than his in striving with God? What moderation so true as his, who acted with such moderation as regards time and place, as to prefer to hide his daughter’s shame rather than to avenge himself? For being set in the midst of foes, he thought it better to gain their affections than to concentrate their hate on himself.

121. How wise also was Noah, who built the whole of the ark! How just again! For he alone, preserved of all to be the father of the human race, was made a survivor of past generations, and the author of one to come; he was born, too, rather for the world and the universe than for himself. How brave he was to overcome the flood! how temperate to endure it! When he

had entered the ark, with what moderation he passed the time! When he sent forth the raven and the dove, when he received them on their return, when he took the opportunity of leaving the ark, with what moderation did he make use of these occasions!

CHAPTER 26

In investigating the truth the philosophers have broken through their own rules. Moses, however, showed himself more wise than they. The greater the dignity of wisdom, the more earnestly must we strive to gain it. Nature herself urges us all to do this.

122. It is said, therefore, that in investigating the truth, we must observe what is seemly. We ought to look for what is true with the greatest care. We must not put forward falsehood for truth, nor hide the truth in darkness, nor fill the mind with idle, involved, or doubtful matters. What so unseemly as to worship a wooden thing, which men themselves have made? What shows such darkness as to discuss subjects connected with geometry and astronomy (which they approve of), to measure the depths of space, to shut up heaven and earth within the limits of fixed numbers, to leave aside the grounds of salvation and to seek for error?

123. Moses, learned as he was in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, did not approve of those things, but thought that kind of wisdom both harmful and foolish. Turning away therefrom, he sought God with all the desire of his heart, and thus saw, questioned, heard Him when He spoke. Who is more wise than he whom God taught, and who brought to nought all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and all the powers of their craft by the might of his works? He did not treat things unknown as well known, and so rashly accept them. Yet these philosophers, though they do not consider it contrary to nature, nor shameful for themselves to worship, and to ask help from an idol which knows nothing, teach us that these two things mentioned in the words just spoken, which are in accordance both with nature and with virtue, ought to be avoided.

124. The loftier the virtue of wisdom is, the more I say we ought to strive for it, so that we may be able to attain to it. And that we may have no ideas which are contrary to nature, or are disgraceful, or unfitting, we ought

to give two things, that is, time and care, to considering matters for the sake of investigating them. For there is nothing in which man excels all other living creatures more than in the fact that he has reason, seeks out the origin of things, thinks that the Author of his being should be searched out. For in His hand is our life and death; He rules this world by His nod. And to Him we know that we must give a reason for our actions. For there is nothing which is more of a help to a good life than to believe that He will be our judge, Whom hidden things do not escape, and unseemly things offend, and good deeds delight.

125. In all men, then, there lies, in accordance with human nature, a desire to search out the truth, which leads us on to have a longing for knowledge and learning, and infuses into us a wish to seek after it. To excel in this seems a noble thing to mankind; but there are only few who attain to it. And they, by deep thought, by careful deliberation, spend no little labor so as to be able to attain to that blessed and virtuous life, and to approach its likeness in their actions. "For not he that saith to Me Lord. Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth those things that I say."' To have a desire for knowledge without actions to correspond — well! I do not know whether that carries anything more with it.

CHAPTER 27

The first source of duty is prudence, from whence spring three other virtues; and they cannot be separated or torn asunder, since they are mutually connected one with the other.

126. THE first source of duty, then, is prudence. For what is more of a duty than to give to the Creator all one's devotion and reverence? This source, however, is drawn off into other virtues. For justice cannot exist without prudence, since it demands no small amount of prudence to see whether a thing is just or unjust. A mistake on either side is very serious. "For he that says a just man is unjust, or an unjust man is just, is accursed with God. Wherefore does justice abound unto the wicked?" says Solomon. Nor, on the other hand, can prudence exist without justice, for piety towards God is the beginning of understanding. On which we notice

that this is a borrowed rather than an original idea among the worldly wise, for piety is the foundation of all virtues.

127. But the piety of justices is first directed towards God; secondly, towards one's country; next, towards parents; lastly, towards all. This, too, is in accordance with the guidance of nature. From the beginning of life, when understanding first begins to be infused into us, we love life as the gift of God, we love our country and our parents; lastly, our companions, with whom we like to associate. Hence arises true love, which prefers others to self, and seeks not its own, wherein lies the pre-eminence of justice.

128. It is ingrained in all living creatures, first of all, to preserve their own safety, to guard against what is harmful, to strive for what is advantageous. They seek food and converts, whereby they may protect themselves from dangers, storms, and sun, — all which is a mark of prudence. Next we find that all the different creatures are by nature wont to herd together, at first with fellows of their own class and sort, then also with others. So we see oxen delighted to be in herds, horses in droves, and especially like with like, stags, also, in company with stags and often with men. And what should I say on their desire to have young, and on their offspring, or even on their passions, wherein the likeness of justice is conspicuous?

129. It is clear, then, that these and the remaining virtues are related to one another. For courage, which in war preserves one's country from the barbarians, or at home defends the weak, or comrades from robbers, is full of justice; and to know on what plan to defend and to give help, how to make use of opportunities of time and place, is the part of prudence and moderation, and temperance itself cannot observe due measure without prudence. To know a fit opportunity, and to make return according to what is right, belongs to justice. In all these, too, large-heartedness is necessary, and fortitude of mind, and often of body, so that we may carry out what we wish.

CHAPTER 28

A community rests upon justice and good-will. Two parts of the former, revenge and private possession, are not recognized by

Christians. What the Stoics say about common property and mutual help has been borrowed from the sacred writings. The greatness of the glory of justice, and what hinders access to it.

130. JUSTICE, then, has to do with the society of the human race, and the community at large. For that which holds society together is divided into two parts, — justice and good-will, which also is called liberality and kindness. Justice seems to me the loftier, liberality the more pleasing, of the two. The one gives judgment, the other shows goodness.

131. But that very thing is excluded with us which philosophers think to be the office of justice. For they say that the first expression of justice is, to hurt no one, except when driven to it by wrongs received. This is put aside by the authority of the Gospel. For the Scripture wills that the Spirit of the Son of Man should be in us, Who came to give grace, not to bring harm.

132. Next they considered it consonant with justice that one should treat common, that is, public property as public, and private as private. But this is not even in accord with nature, for nature has poured forth all things for all men for common use. God has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession for all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few. Here, too, we are told that the Stoics taught that all things which are produced on the earth are created for the use of men, but that men are born for the sake of men, so that mutually one may be of advantage to another.

133. But whence have they got such ideas but out of the holy Scriptures? For Moses wrote that God said: “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.” And David said: “Thou hast put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea.” So these philosophers have learnt from our writings that all things were made subject to man, and, therefore, they think that all things were produced also for man’s sake.

134. That man was made for the sake of man we find stated also in the books of Moses, when the Lord says: “It is not good that man should be alone, let us make him an helpmeet for him.” Thus the woman was given to the man to help him. She should bear him children, that one man might always be a help to another. Again, before the woman was formed, it was said of Adam: “There was not found an help-meet for him.” For one man could not have proper help but from another. Amongst all the living creatures, therefore, there was none meet for him, or, to put it plainly, none to be his helper. Hence a woman was looked for to help him.

135. Thus, in accordance with the will of God and the union of nature, we ought to be of mutual help one to the other, and to vie with each other in doing duties, to lay all our advantages as it were before all, and (to use the words of Scripture) to bring help one to the other from a feeling of devotion or of duty, by giving money, or by doing something, at any rate in some way or other; so that the charm of human fellowship may ever grow sweeter amongst us, and none may ever be recalled from their duty by the fear of danger, but rather account all things, whether good or evil, as their own concern. Thus holy Moses feared not to undertake terrible wars for his people’s sake, nor was he afraid of the arms of the mightiest kings, nor yet was he frightened at the savagery of barbarian nations. He put on one side the thought of his own safety so as to give freedom to the people.

136. Great, then, is the glory of justice; for she, existing rather for the good of others than of self, is an aid to the bonds of union and fellowship amongst us. She holds so high a place that she has all things laid under her authority, and further can bring help to others and supply money; nor does she refuse her services, but even undergoes dangers for others.

137. Who would not gladly climb and hold the heights of this virtue, were it not that greed weakens and lessens the power of such a virtue? For as long as we want to add to our possessions and to heap up money, to take into our possession fresh lands, and to be the richest of all, we have cast aside the form of justice and have lost the blessing of kindness towards all. How can he be just that tries to take from another what he wants for himself?

138. The desire to gain power also enervates the perfect strength and beauty of justice. For how can he, who attempts to bring others under his

own power, come forward on behalf of others? And how can a man help the weak against the strong, when he himself aspires to great power at the cost of liberty?

CHAPTER 29

Justice should be observed even in war and with enemies. This is proved by the example of Moses and Elisha. The ancient writers learnt in turn from the Hebrews to call their enemies by a gentler term. Lastly, the foundation of justice rests on faith, and its symmetry is perfect in the Church.

139. How great a thing justice is can be gathered from the fact that there is no place, nor person, nor time, with which it has nothing to do. It must even be preserved in all dealings with enemies. For instance, if the day or the spot for a battle has been agreed upon with them, it would be considered an act against justice to occupy the spot beforehand, or to anticipate the time. For there is some difference whether one is overcome in some battle by a severe engagement, or by superior skill, or by a mere chance. But a deeper vengeance is taken on fiercer foes, and on those that are false as well as on those who have done greater wrongs, as was the case with the Midianites. For they had made many of the Jewish people to sin through their women; for which reason the anger of the Lord was poured out upon the people of our fathers. Thus it came about that Moses when victorious allowed none of them to live. On the other hand, Joshua did not attack the Gibeonites, who had tried the people of our fathers with guile rather than with war, but punished them by laying on them a law of bondage. Elisha again would not allow the king of Israel to slay the Syrians when he wished to do so. He had brought them into the city, when they were besieging him, after he had struck them with instantaneous blindness, so that they could not see where they were going, For he said: “Thou shall not smite those whom thou hast not taken captive with thy spear and with thy sword. Set before them bread and water, that they may eat and drink and return and go to their own home.” Incited by their kind treatment they should show forth to the world the kindness they had received. “Thus” (we read) “there came no more the bands of Syria into the land of Israel.”

140. If, then, justice is binding, even in war, how much more ought we to observe it in time of peace. Such favor the prophet showed to those who came to seize him. We read that the king of Syria had sent his army to lie in wait for him, for he had learnt that it was Elisha who had made known to all his plans and consultations. And Gehazi the prophet's servant, seeing the army, began to fear that his life was in danger. But the prophet said to him: "Fear not, for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." And when the prophet asked that the eyes of his servant might be opened, they were opened. Then Gehazi saw the whole mountain full of horses and chariots round about Elisha. As they came down to him the prophet says: "Smite, O God, the army of Syria with blindness." And this prayer being granted, he says to the Syrians: "Follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom ye seek." Then saw they Elisha, whom they were endeavoring to lay hold of, and seeing him they could not hold him fast. It is clear from this that faith and justice should be observed even in war; and that it could not but be a disgraceful thing if faith were violated.

141. So also the ancients used to give their foes a less harsh name, and called them strangers. For enemies used to be called strangers after the customs of old. This too we can say they adopted from our writings; for the Hebrews used to call their foes "allophyllos," that is, when put into Latin, "alienigenas" (of another race). For so we read in the first book of Kings: "It came to pass in those days that they of another race put themselves in array against Israel."

142. The foundation of justice therefore is faith, for the hearts of the just dwell on faith, and the just man that accuses himself builds justice on faith, for his justice becomes plain when he confesses the truth. So the Lord saith through Isaiah: "Behold, I lay a stone for a foundation in Sion." This means Christ as the foundation of the Church. For Christ is the object of faith to all; but the Church is as it were the outward form of justice, she is the common right of all. For all in common she prays, for all in common she works, in the temptations of all she is tried. So he who denies himself is indeed a just man, is indeed worthy of Christ. For this reason Paul has made Christ to be the foundation, so that we may build upon Him the works of justice, whilst faith is the foundation. In our works, then, if they are evil, there appears unrighteousness; if they are good, justice.

CHAPTER 30

On kindness and its several parts, namely, good-will and liberality. How they are to be combined. What else is further needed for any one to show liberality in a praiseworthy manner.

143. Now we can go on to speak of kindness, which breaks up into two parts, goodwill and liberality. Kindness to exist in perfection must consist of these two qualities. It is not enough just to wish well; we must also do well. Nor, again, is it enough to do well, unless this springs from a good source even from a good, will. “For God loveth a cheerful giver.” If we act unwillingly, what is our reward? Wherefore the Apostle, speaking generally, says: “If I do this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if unwillingly, a dispensation is given unto me.” In the Gospel, also, we have received many rules of just liberality.

144. It is thus a glorious thing to wish well, and to give freely, with the one desire to do good and not to do harm. For if we were to think it our duty to give the means to an extravagant man to live extravagantly, or to an adulterer to pay for his adultery, it would not be an act of kindness, for there would be no good-will in it. We should be doing harm, not good, to another if we gave him money to aid him in plotting against his country, or in attempting to get together at our expense some abandoned men to attack the Church. Nor, again, does it look like liberality to help one who presses very hardly on widows and orphans, or attempts to seize on their property with any show of violence.

145. It is no sign of a liberal spirit to extort from one what we give to another, or to gain money unjustly, and then to think it can be well spent, unless we act as Zacchaeus did, and restore fourfold what we have taken from him whom we have robbed, and make up for such heathenish crimes by the zeal of our faith and by true Christian labor. Our liberality must have some sure foundation.

146. The first thing necessary is to do kindness in good faith, and not to act falsely when the offering is made. Never let us say we are doing more, when we are really doing less. What need is there to speak at all? In a promise a cheat lies hid. It is in our power to give what we like. Cheating

shatters the foundation, and so destroys the work. Did Peter grow angry only so far as to desire that Ananias and his wife should be slain? Certainly not. He wished that others, through knowing their example, should not perish.

147. Nor is it a real act of liberality if thou givest for the sake of boasting about it, rather than for mercy's sake. Thy inner feelings give the name to thy acts. As it comes forth from thee, so will others regard it. See what a true judge thou hast! He consults with thee how to take up thy work, and first of all he questions thy mind. "Let not," he says, "thy left hand know what thy right hand doth." This does not refer to our actual bodies, but means: Let not him who is of one mind with thee, not even thy brother, know what thou doest, lest thou shouldst lose the fruit of thy reward hereafter by seeking here thy price in boastfulness. But that liberality is real where a man hides what he does in silence, and secretly assists the needs of individuals, whom the mouth of the poor, and not his own lips, praises.

148. Perfect liberality is proved by its good faith, the case it helps, the time and place when and where it is shown. But first we must always see that we help those of the household of faith. It is a serious fault if a believer is in want, and thou knowest it, or if thou knowest that he is without means, that he is hungry, that he suffer distress, especially if he is ashamed of his need. It is a great fault if he is overwhelmed by the imprisonment or false accusation of his family, and thou dost not come to his help. If he is in prison, and — upright though he is — has to suffer pain and punishment for some debt (for though we ought to show mercy to all, yet we ought to show it especially to an upright man); if in the time of his trouble he obtains nothing from thee; if in the time of danger, when he is carried off to die, thy money seems more to thee than the life of a dying man; what a sin is that to thee! Wherefore Job says beautifully: "Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me."

149. God, indeed, is not a respecter of persons, for He knows all things. And we, indeed, ought to show mercy to all. But as many try to get help on false pretenses, and make out that they are miserably off; therefore where the case is plain and the person well known, and no time is to be lost, mercy ought to be shown more readily. For the Lord is not exacting to

demand the utmost. Blessed, indeed, is he who forsakes all and follows Him, but blessed also is he who does what he can to the best of his powers with what he has. The Lord preferred the two mites of the widow to all the gifts of the rich, for she gave all that she had, but they only gave a small part out of all their abundance. It is the intention, therefore, that makes the gift valuable or poor, and gives to things their value. The Lord does not want us to give away all our goods at once, but to impart them little by little; unless, indeed, our case is like that of Elisha, who killed his oxen, and fed the people on what he had, so that no household cares might hold him back, and that he might give up all things, and devote himself to the prophetic teaching.

150. True liberality also must be tested in this way: that we despise not our nearest relatives, if we know they are in want. For it is better for thee to help thy kindred who feel the shame of asking help from others, or of going to another to beg assistance in their need. Not, however, that they should become rich on what thou couldst otherwise give to the poor. It is the facts of the case we must consider, and not personal feeling. Thou didst not dedicate thyself to the Lord on purpose to make thy family rich, but that thou mightest win eternal life by the fruit of good works, and atone for thy sins by showing mercy. They think perhaps that they are asking but little, but they demand the price thou shouldst pay for thy sins. They attempt to take away the fruits of thy life, and think they are acting rightly. And one accuses thee because thou hast not made him rich, when all the time he wished to cheat thee of the reward of eternal life.

151. So far we have given our advice, now let us look for our authority. First, then, no one ought to be ashamed of becoming poor after being rich, if this happens because he gives freely to the poor; for Christ became poor when He was rich, that through His poverty He might enrich all.” He has given us a rule to follow, so that we may give a good account of our reduced inheritance; whoever has stayed the hunger of the poor has lightened his distress. “Herein I give my advice,” says the Apostle, “for this is expedient for you, that ye should be followers of Christ.” Advice is given to the good, but warnings restrain the wrong-doers. Again he says, as though to the good: “For ye have begun not only to do, but also to be willing, a year ago.” Both of these, and not only one, is the mark of perfection. Thus he teaches that liberality without good-will, and good-will

without liberality, are neither of them perfect. Wherefore he also urges us on to perfection, saying: “Now, therefore, perform the doing of it; that as the will to do it was ready enough in you, so also there may be the will to accomplish it out of that which ye have. For if the will be ready, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. But not so that others should have plenty, and ye should be in want: but let there be equality, — your abundance must now serve for their want, that their abundance may serve for your want; that there may be equality, as it is written: “He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.”

152. We notice how the Apostle includes both good-will and liberality, as well as the manner, the fruits of right giving, and the persons concerned. The manner certainly, for he gave advice to those not perfect: For only the imperfect suffer anxiety. But if any priest or other cleric, being unwilling to burden the Church, does not give away all that he has, but does honorably what his office demands, he does not seem to me to be imperfect. I think also that the Apostle here spoke not of anxiety of mind, but rather of domestic troubles.

153. And I think it was with reference to the persons concerned that he said: “that your abundance might serve for their want, and their abundance for your want.” This means, that the abundance of the people might arouse them to good works, so as to supply the want of food of others; whilst the spiritual abundance of these latter might assist the want of spiritual merits among the people themselves, and so win them a blessing.

154. Wherefore he gave them an excellent example: “He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.” That example is a great encouragement to all men to show mercy. For he that possesses much gold has nothing over, for all in this world is as nothing; and he that has little has no lack, for what he loses is nothing already. The whole matter is without loss, for the whole of it is lost already.

155. We can also rightly understand it thus. He that has much, although he does not give away, has nothing over. For however much he gets, he always is in want, because he longs for more. And he who has little has no lack, for it does not cost much to feed the poor. In like manner, too, the poor person that gives spiritual blessings in return for money, although he

has much grace, has nothing over. For grace does not burden the mind, but lightens it.

156. It can further be taken in this way: Thou, O man, hast nothing over! For how much hast thou really received, though it may seem much to thee? John, than whom none was greater among those born of woman, yet was less than he who is least in the kingdom of heaven.

157. Or once more. The grace of God is never superabundant, humanly speaking, for it is spiritual. Who can measure its greatness or its breadth, which one cannot see? Faith, if it were as a grain of mustard seed, can transplant mountains — and more than a grain is not granted thee. If grace dwelt fully in thee, wouldst thou not have to fear lest thy mind should begin to be elated at so great a gift? For there are many who have fallen more terribly, from spiritual heights, than if they had never received grace at all from the Lord. And he who has little has no lack, for it is not tangible so as to be divided; and what seems little to him that has is much to him that lacks.

158. In giving we must also take into consideration age and weakness; sometimes, also, that natural feeling of shame, which indicates good birth. One ought to give more to the old who can no longer supply themselves with food by labor. So, too, weakness of body must be assisted, and that readily. Again, if any one after being rich has fallen into want, we must assist, especially if he has lost what he had from no sin of his own, but owing to robbery or banishment or false accusation.

159. Perchance some one may say: A blind man sits here in one place, and people pass him by, whilst a strong young man often has something given him. That is true; for he comes over people by his importunity. That is not because in their judgment he deserves it, but because they are wearied by his begging. For the Lord speaks in the Gospel of him who had already closed iris door; how that when one knocks at his door very violently, he rises and gives what is wanted, because of his importunity.

CHAPTER 31

A kindness received should be returned with a freer hand. This is shown by the example of the earth. A passage from Solomon about feasting is adduced to prove the same, and is expounded later in a spiritual sense.

160. It is also rights that more regard should be paid to him who has conferred some benefit or girl upon thee, if he ever is reduced to want. For what is so contrary to one's duty as not to return what one has received? Nor do I think that a return of equal value should be made, but a greater. One ought to make up for the enjoyment of a kindness one has received from another, to such an extent as to help that person. even to putting an end to his needs. For not to be the better in returning than in conferring a kindness, is to be the inferior; for he who was the first to give was the first in point of time, and also first in showing a kind disposition.

161. Wherefore w e must imitate the nature of the earth in this respect, which is wont to return the seed she has received, multiplied a thousand-fold. And so it is written: "As a field is the foolish man, and as a vineyard is the man without sense. If thou leavest him, he will be made desolate." As a field also is the wise man, so as to return the seed given him in fuller measure, as though it had been lent to him on interest. The earth either produces fruits of its own accord, or pays back and restores, what it was entrusted with, in fruitful abundance. In both these ways a return is due from thee, when thou enterest upon the use of thy father's possession, that thou mayest not be left to lie as an unfruitful field. It may be that a man can make an excuse for not giving anything, but how can he excuse himself for not returning what was given? It is hardly right not to give anything; it is certainly not right to make no return for kindness done to oneself.

162. Therefore Solomon says well: "When thou sittest to eat at the table of a ruler consider diligently what is before thee, and put forth thine hand, knowing that it behooves thee to make such preparations. But if thou art insatiable, be not desirous of his dainties, for they have but a deceptive life." I have written these words as I wish that we all should follow them. It is a good thing to do a service, but he who knows not how to return one

is very hard. The earth herself supplies an example of kindliness. She provides fruits of her own accord, which thou didst not sow; she also returns many-fold what she has received. It is not right for thee to deny knowledge of money paid in to thee, and how can it be right to let a service done go without notice? In the book of Proverbs also it is said: that the repayment of kindness has such great power with God, that through it, even in the day of destruction, a man may find grace, though his sins outweigh all else. And why need I bring forward other examples when the Lord Himself promises in the Gospel a fuller reward to the merits of the saints, and exhorts us to do good works, saying: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom."

163. But the feasting that Solomon speaks of has not to do with common food only, but it is to be understood as having to do with good works. For how can the soul be feasted in better wise than on good works; or what can so easily fill the mind of the just as the knowledge of a good work done? What pleasanter food is there than to do the will of God? The Lord has told us that He had this food alone in abundance, as it is written in the Gospel, saying: "My food is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven."

164. In this food let us delight of which the prophet says: "Delight thou in the Lord." In this food they delight, who have with wonderful knowledge learnt to take in the higher delights; who can know what that delight is which is pure and which can be understood by the mind. Let us therefore eat the bread of wisdom, and let us be filled with the word of God. For the life of man made in the image of God consists not in bread alone, but in every word that cometh from God. About the cup, too, holy Job says, plainly enough: "As the earth waiteth for the rain, so did they for my words."

CHAPTER 32

After saying what return must be made for the service of the above-mentioned feast, various reasons for repaying kindness are

enumerated. Then he speaks in praise of good-will, on its results and its order.

165. IT is therefore a good thing for us to be bedewed with the exhortations of the divine Scriptures, and that the word of God should come down upon us like the dew. When, therefore, thou sittest at the table of that great man, understand who that great man is. Set in the paradise of delight and placed at the feast of wisdom, think of what is put before thee! The divine Scriptures are the feast of wisdom, and the single books the various dishes. Know, first, what dishes the banquet offers, then stretch forth thy hand, that those things which thou readest, or which thou receivest from the Lord thy God, thou mayest carry out in action, and so by thy duties mayest show forth the grace that was granted thee. Such was the case with Peter and Paul, who in preaching the Gospel made some return to Him Who freely gave them all things. So that each of them might say: "By the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me was not in vain, but I labored more abundantly than they all."

166. One repays the fruit of a service done him, and repays it, gold with gold, silver with silver. Another gives his labor. Another — and I do not know whether he does not do it in fuller measure — gives but the best wishes of his heart? But what if there is no opportunity to make a return at hand? If we wish to return a kindness, more depends on the spirit in which we do it than on the amount of our property, whilst people will think more of our good-will, than of our power to make a full return. For a kindness done is regarded in the light of what one has. A great thing, therefore, is good-will. For even if it has nothing to give, yet it offers the more, and though there is nothing in its own possession, yet it gives largely to many, and does that, too, without loss to itself, and to the gain of the many. Thus good-will is better than liberality itself. It is richer in character than the other is in gifts; for there are more that need a kindness than there are that have abundance.

167. But good-will also goes in conjunction with liberality, for liberality really starts from it, seeing that the habit of giving comes after the desire to give. It exists, however, also separate and distinct. For where liberality is wanting, there good-will abide's — the parent as it were of all in common, uniting and binding friendships together. It is faithful in counsel, joyful in

times of prosperity, and in times of sorrow sad. So it happens that any one trusts himself to the counsels of a man of good-will rather than to those of a wise one, as David did. For he, though he was the more farseeing, agreed to the counsels of Jonathan, who was the younger. Remove good-will out of the reach of men, and it is as though one had withdrawn the sun from the world. For without it men would no longer care to show the way to the stranger, to recall the wanderer, to show hospitality (this latter is no small virtue, for on this point Job praised himself, when he said: “At my doors the stranger dwelt not, my gate was open to every one who came”), nor even to give water from the water that flows at their door, or to light another’s candle at their own. Thus good-will exists in all these, like a fount of waters refreshing the thirsty, and like a light, which, shining forth to others, fails not them who have given a light to others from their own light.

168. There is also liberality springing from good-will, that makes one tear up the bond of a debtor which one holds, without demanding any of the debt back from him. Holy Job bids us act thus by his own example. For he that has does not borrow, but he that has not does not put an end to the agreement. Why, then, if thou hast no need, dost thou save up for greedy heirs what thou canst give back immediately, and so get praise for good-will, and that without loss of money?

169. To go to the root of thereafter — good-will starts first with those at home, that is with children, parents, brothers, and goes on from one step to another throughout the world. Having started from Paradise, it has filled the world. For God set the feeling of good-will in the man and woman, saying: “They shall be one flesh,” and (one may add) one spirit. Wherefore Eve also believed the serpent; for she who had received the gift of good-will did not think there was ill-will.

CHAPTER 33

Good-will exists especially in the Church,
and nourishes kindred virtues.

170. Good-will expands in the body of the Church, by fellowship in faith, by the bond of baptism, by kinship through grace received, by

communion in the mysteries. For all these bonds claim for themselves the name of intimacy, the reverence of children, the authority and religious care of parents, the relationship of brothers. Therefore the bonds of grace clearly point to an increase of good-will.

171. The desire to attain to like virtues also stands one in good stead; just as again good-will brings about a likeness in character. For Jonathan the king's son imitated the gentleness of holy David, because he loved him. Wherefore those words: "With the holy thou shalt be holy," seem not only to be concerned with our ordinary intercourse, but also to have some connection with good-will. The sons of Noah indeed dwelt together, and yet their characters were not at all alike. Esau and Jacob also dwelt together in their father's house, but were very unlike. There was, however, no good-will between them to make the one prefer the other to himself, but rather a rivalry as to which should first get. the blessing. Since one was so hard, and the other gentle, good-will could not exist as between such different characters and conflicting desires. Add to this the fact that holy Jacob could not prefer the unworthy in son of his father's house to virtue.

172. But nothing is so harmonious as justice and impartiality. For this, as the comrade and ally of good-will, makes us love those whom we think to be like ourselves. Again, good-will contains also in itself fortitude. For when friendship springs from the fount of good-will it does not hesitate to endure the great dangers of life for a friend. "If evils come to me through him," it says, "I will bear them."

CHAPTER 34

Some other advantages of goodwill are here enumerated.

173. GOOD-WILL also is wont to remove the sword of anger. It is also good-will that makes the wounds of a friend to be better than the willing kisses of an enemy. Goodwill again makes many to become one. For if many are friends, they become one; in whom there is but one spirit and one opinion. We note, too, that in friendship corrections are pleasing. They have their sting, but they cause no pain. We are pierced by the words of blame, but are delighted with the anxiety that good-will shows.

174. To conclude, the same duties are not owed to all. Nor is regard ever paid to persons, though the occasion and the circumstances of the case are generally taken into consideration, so that one may at times have to help a neighbor rather than one's brother. For Solomon also says: "Better is a neighbor that is near than a brother far off." For this reason a man generally trusts himself to the good-will of a friend rather than to the ties of relationship with his brother. So far does good-will prevail that it often goes beyond the pledges given by nature.

CHAPTER 35

On fortitude. This is divided into two parts: as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. The first cannot be a virtue unless combined with justice and prudence. The other depends to a large extent upon endurance.

175. WE have discussed fully enough the nature and force of what is virtuous from the standpoint of justice. Now let us discuss fortitude, which (being a loftier virtue than the rest) is divided into two parts, as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. But the thought of warlike matters seems to be foreign to the duty of our office, for we have our thoughts fixed more on the duty of the soul than on that of the body; nor is it our business to look to arms, but rather to the affairs of peace. Our fathers, however, as Joshua, the son of Nun, Jerubbaal, Samson, and David, gained great glory also in war.

176. Fortitude, therefore, is a loftier virtue than the rest, but it is also one that never stands alone. For it never depends on itself alone. Moreover, fortitude without justice is the source of wickedness. For the stronger it is, the more ready is it to crush the weaker, whilst in matters of war one ought to see whether the war is just or unjust.

177. David never waged war unless he was driven to it. Thus prudence was combined in him with fortitude in the battle. For even when about to fight single-handed against Goliath, the enormous giant, he rejected the armor with which he was laden. His strength depended more on his own arm than on the weapons of others. Then, at a distance, to get a stronger throw, with one cast of a stone, he slew his enemy. After that he never

entered on a war without seeking counsel of the Lord. Thus he was victorious in all wars, and even to his last years was ready to fight. And when war arose with the Philistines, he joined battle with their fierce troops, being desirous of winning renown, whilst careless of his own safety.

178. But this is not the only kind of fortitude which is worthy of note. We consider their fortitude glorious, who, with greatness of mind, “through faith stopped the mouth of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong.” They did not gain a victory in common with many, surrounded with comrades, and aided by the legions, but won their triumph alone over their treacherous foes by the mere courage of their own souls. How unconquerable was Daniel, who feared not the lions raging round about him. The beasts roared, whilst he was eating.

CHAPTER 36

One of the duties of fortitude is to keep the weak from receiving injury; another, to check the wrong motions of our own souls; a third, both to disregard humiliations, and to do what is right with an even mind. All these clearly ought to be fulfilled by all Christians, and especially by the clergy.

179. THE glory of fortitude, therefore, does not rest only on the strength of one’s body or of one’s arms, but rather on the courage of the mind. Nor is the law of courage exercised in causing, but in driving away all harm. He who does not keep harm off a friend, if he can, is as much in fault as he who causes it. Wherefore holy Moses gave this as a first proof of his fortitude in war. For when he saw an Hebrew receiving hard treatment at the hands of an Egyptian, he defended him, and laid low the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. Solomon also says: “Deliver him that is led to death.”

180. From whence, then, Cicero and Panaetius, or even Aristotle, got these ideas is perfectly clear. For though living before these two, Job had said: “I delivered the poor out of the hand of the strong, and I aided the fatherless for whom there was no helper. Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me.” Was not he most brave in that he bore so nobly the

attacks of the devil, and overcame him with the powers of his mind? Nor have we cause to doubt the fortitude of him to whom the Lord said: “Gird up thy loins like a man. Put on loftiness and power. Humble every one that doeth wrong.” The Apostle also says: “Ye have a strong consolation.” He, then, is brave who finds consolation in any grief.

181. And in very truth, rightly is that called fortitude, when a man conquers himself, restrains his anger, yields and gives way to no allurements, is not put out by misfortunes, nor gets elated by good success, and does not get carried away by every varying change as by some chance wind. But what is more noble and splendid than to train the mind, keep down the flesh, and reduce it to subjection, so that it may obey commands, listen to reason, and in undergoing labors readily carry out the intention and wish of the mind.

182. This, then, is the first notion of fortitude. For fortitude of the mind can be regarded in two ways. First, as it counts all externals as very unimportant, and looks on them as rather superfluous and to be despised than to be sought after. Secondly, as it strives after those things which are the highest, and all things in which one can see anything moral (or as the Greeks call it, (πρέπον) with all the powers of the mind. For what can be more noble than to train thy minds so as not to place a high value on riches and pleasures and honors, nor to waste all thy care on these? When thy mind is thus disposed, thou must consider how all that is virtuous and seemly must be placed before everything else; and thou must so fix thy mind upon that, that if aught happens which may break thy spirit, whether loss of property, or the reception of fewer honors, or the disparagement of unbelievers, thou mayest not feel it, as though thou were above such things; nay, so that even dangers which menace thy safety, if undertaken at the call of justice, may not trouble thee.

183. This it the true fortitude which Christ’s warrior has, who receives not the crown unless he strives lawfully. Or does that call to fortitude seem to thee but a poor one: “Tribulation worketh patience, and patience, experience, and experience, hope?” See how many a contest there is, yet by one crown! That call none gives, but he who was strengthened in Christ Jesus, and whose flesh had no rest. Affliction on all sides, fighting without and fears within. And though in dangers, in countless labors, in prisons, in

deaths—he was not broken in spirit, but fought so as to become more powerful through his infirmities.

184. Think, then, how he teaches those who enter upon their duties in the Church, that they ought to have contempt for all earthly things: “If, then, ye be dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do ye act as though living in the world? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using.” And further: “I ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, not those things which are on earth.” This, indeed, is meant for all the faithful. But thee, especially, my son, he urges to despise riches and to avoid profane and old wives’ fables—allowing nothing but this: “Exercise thyself unto godliness, but bodily exercise profiteth a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things.”

185. Let, then, godliness exercise thee unto justice, continence, gentleness, that thou mayest avoid childish acts, and that rooted and grounded in grace thou mayest fight the good fight of faith. Entangle not thyself in the affairs of this life, for thou art fighting for God. For if he who fights for the emperor is forbidden by human laws to enter upon lawsuits, to do any legal business, or to sell merchandise; how much more ought he who enters upon the warfare of faith to keep from every kind of business, being satisfied with the produce of his own little bit of land, if he has it? If he has not that, let him be content with the pay he will get for his service. Here is a good witness to this fact, who says: “I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.” That is the true rest and temperance of gain, nor tormented by the fear of want

CHAPTER 37

An even mind should be preserved in adversity as well as in posterity. However, evil things must be avoided.

186. THERE is also that true of freedom of the mind from vexation which makes us neither give way too much in our griefs, nor be too elated in prosperity. And if they who urge men to undertake the affairs of the state give such rules, how much more ought we who are called to do duty in the Church, to act thus and do those things which are pleasing to God, so that

Christ's power may show itself forth in us. We too must prove ourselves to our Captain, so that our members may be the weapons of justice; not carnal weapons in which sin may reign, but weapons strong for God, whereby sin may be destroyed. Let our flesh die, that in it every sin may die. And as though living again after death, may we rise to new works and a new life.

187. These, then, are the services of fortitude; and full they are of virtuous and seemly duties. But in all that we do we must look to see, not only if it is virtuous, but whether or not it is possible, so that we may not enter upon anything that we cannot carry out. Wherefore the Lord, to use His own word, wills us to flee in time of persecution from one city to another; so that no one, whilst longing for the crown of martyrdom, may put himself in the way of dangers which possibly the weak flesh or a mind indulged could not bear and endure.

CHAPTER 38

We must strengthen the mind against troubles to come, and build it up by looking out for them beforehand. What difficulties there are in doing this.

188. BUT again, no one must retire through cowardice, or give up his faith from fear of danger. With what grace must the soul be equipped, and the mind trained and taught to stand firm, so as never to be disturbed by any fears, to be broken by any troubles, or to yield to any torments! With what difficulty indeed are they borne! But as all pains seem less in the fear of greater pains, so also, if thou dost determine not to go from thy course, and layest before thee the fear of divine judgment and the torment of eternal punishment, canst though gain endurance of mind.

189. If a man thus prepares himself, he gives signs of great diligence. On the other hand it is a sign of a natural ability, if a man by the power of his mind can forsee the future, and put as it were before his eyes what may happen, and decide what he ought to do if it should take place. It may happen, too, that he will think over two or three things at once, which he supposes may come either singly or together, and that he settles what he

will do with them as he thinks will be to the most advantage, in the event of their coming either singly or together.

200. Therefore it is the duty of a brave man not to shut his eyes when anything threatens, but to put it before him and to search it out as it were in the mirror of his mind, and to meet the future with foreseeing thought, for fear he might afterwards have to say: This has come to me because I thought it could not come about. If misfortunes are not looked for beforehand, they quickly get a hold over us. In war an unexpected enemy is with difficulty resisted, and if he finds the others unprepared, he easily overcomes them; so evils unthought of readily break down the soul.

200. In these two points, then, consists the excellency of the soul: so that thy soul, trained in good thought, and with a pure heart, first, may see what is true and virtuous (for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"), and may decide that only to be good which is virtuous; and, next, may never be disturbed by business of any kind, not get tossed about by any desires.

201. Not that this is an easy thing for any one. For what is so difficult as to discern, as though from some watch-tower, the resources of wisdom and all those other things, which to most seem so great and noble? Again, what so difficult as to place one's decision on fixed grounds, and to despise what one has decided to be worthless, as of no good? Or, once more, what so difficult, when some misfortune has happened, and it is looked on as something serious and grieving, as to bear it in such a way that one considers it nothing beyond what is natural, when one reads: "Naked was I born, naked shall I go forth. What the Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away" (he who said this had lost children and possessions), and to preserve in all things the character of a wise and upright man, as he did who says: "As the Lord pleased, so did He. Blessed be the name of the Lord." And again: "thous speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?"

CHAPTER 39

One must show fortitude in fighting against all vices, especially against avarice. Holy Job teaches this lesson.

202. FORTITUDE of soul, then, is not an unimportant thing, nor is it cut off from the other virtues, for it wages war in conjunction with the virtues, and alone defends the beauty of all the virtues, and guards their powers of discernment, and fights against all vices with implacable hate. It is unconquerable as regards labors, brave to endure dangers, stern as against pleasures, hardened against allurements, to which it knows not how to lend an ear, nor, so to speak, to give a greeting. It cares not for money, and flies from avarice as from a plague that destroys all virtue. For nothing is so much opposed to fortitude as when one allows oneself to be overcome by gain. Often when the enemy is repulsed and the hosts of the foe are turned to flight, has the warrior died miserable among these whom he has laid low, whilst he is busy with the spoils of the fallen; and the legions, whilst busy with their booty, have called back upon them the enemy that had fled, and so have been robbed of their triumph.

203. Fortitude, then, must repulse so foul a plague and crush it down. It must not let itself be tempted by desires, nor shaken by fear. Virtue stands true to itself and bravely pursues all vices as though they were the poison of virtue. It must repel anger as it were with arms, for it removes counsel far off. It must avoid it as though it were some severe sickness. It must further be on its guard against a desire for glory, which often has done harm when sought for too anxiously, and always when it has been once attained.

204. What of all this was wanting in holy Job, or in his virtue, or what came upon him in the way of vice? How did he bear the distress of sickness or cold or hunger? How did he look upon the dangers which menaced his safety? Were the riches from which so much went to the poor gathered together by plunder? Did he ever allow greed for wealth, or the desire for pleasures, or lusts to rise in his heart? Did ever the unkind disputes of the three princes, or the insults of the slaves, rouse him to anger? Did glory carry him away like some fickle person when he called down vengeance on himself if ever he had hidden even an involuntary fault, or had feared the multitude of the people so as not to confess it in the sight of all? His virtues had no point of contact with any vices, but stood firm on their own ground. Who, then, was so brave as holy Job? How can he be put second to any, on whose level hardly one like himself can be placed?

CHAPTER 40

Courage in war was not wanting in our forefathers, as is shown by the example of the men of old, especially by the glorious deed of Eleazar.

205. BUT perhaps renown in war keeps some so bound to itself as to make them think that fortitude is to be found in battle alone, and that therefore I had gone aside to speak of these things, because that was wanting in us. But how brave was Joshua the son of Nun, who in one battle laid low five kings together with their people! Again, when he fought against the Gibeonites and feared that night might stop him from gaining the victory, he called out with deep faith and high spirit: “Let the sun stand still;” and it stood still until the victory was complete. Gideon with three hundred men gained a triumph over a great nation and a cruel foe. Jonathan when a young man showed great courage in battle, and what shall I say about the Maccabees?

206. First, I will speak of the people of our fathers. They were ready to fight for the temple of God and for their rights, and when attacked on the Sabbath day by the craft of the enemy, willingly allowed wounds to be inflicted on their unprotected bodies, rather than join in the fight, so that they might not defile the Sabbath. They all gladly gave themselves up to death. but the Maccabees thinking that then all the nation would perish, on the Sabbath also, when they were challenged to fight, took vengeance for the death of their innocent brethren. And afterwards when he had been roused by this to fresh exertions, King Antiochus, having begun the war afresh under to leadership of his generals Lysias, Nicanor, and Georgias, was so utterly crushed, together with his Eastern and Assyrian forces, that he left 48,000 lying on the battle-field, slain by an army of but 3,000 men.

207. Mark the courage of the leader, Judas Maccabaeus, as exemplified in the character on one of his soldiers. Eleazar, meeting with an elephant higher than all the rest, and with all the royal trappings upon it, and thinking that the king was on it, ran hastily and threw himself into the midst of the legion; and, casting away his shield, with both hands he slew those opposed to him, until he reached the beast. Then he got beneath it, thrust in his sword and slew it. But the beast in falling crushed Eleazar and

so killed him. What courage of mind was his then, first, in that he feared not death, next because, when surrounded by enemies, he was carried by it into the thickest of his foes and penetrated the very center! Then, despising death, and casting away his shield, he ran beneath the huge beast, wounded it with both his hands, and let it fall upon him. He ran beneath if so as to give a more deadly blow. Enclosed by its fall, rather than crushed, he was buried in his own triumph.

208. Nor was he deceived in his intention, though he was deceived by the royal ornaments. For the enemy, startled at such an exhibition of valor, dared not rush upon this single unarmed man, held fast though he was. They were so terrified after the mischance of the slaughter of the beast, that they considered themselves altogether unequal to the valor of one. Nay, King Antiochus, son of Lysias, terrified at the fortitude of one, asked for peace. He had come to the war with 120,000 armed men and with 32 elephants, which glittered and gleamed with the sheen of arms like a line of burning lamps, as the sun rose upon them, marching along one by one, like very mountains for size. Thus Eleazar left peace as the heir of his courage. These are the signs of triumphs.

CHAPTER 41

> *After praising Judas' and Jonathan's loftiness of mind, the constancy of the martyrs in their endurance of tortures, which is no small part of fortitude, is next brought before us.*

209. BUT as fortitude is proved, not only by prosperity but also in adversity, let us now consider the death of Judas Maccabaeus. For he, after Nicanor, the general of King Demetrius, was defeated, boldly engaged 20,000 of the king's army with 900 men who were anxious to retire for fear of being overcome by so great a multitude, but whom he persuaded to endure a glorious death rather than to retire in disgraceful flight. "Let us not leave," he says, "any stain upon our glory." Thus, then, engaging in battle after having fought from sunrise till evening, he attacks and quickly drives back the right wing, where he sees the strongest troop of the enemy to be. But whilst pursuing the fugitives from the rear he gave a chance for a

wound to be inflicted. thus he found the spot of death more full of glory for himself than any triumph.

210. Why need I further mention his brother Jonathan, who fought against the king's force, but with a small troop. Though forsaken by his men, and left with only two, he retrieved the battle, drove back the enemy, and recalled his own men, who were flying in every direction, to share in his triumph.

211. Here, then is fortitude in war, which bear no light impress of what is virtuous and seemly upon it, for it prefers death to slavery and disgrace. But what am I to say of the sufferings of the martyrs? Not to go too far abroad, did not the children of Maccabaeus gain triumphs over the proud King Antiochus, as great as those of their fathers? The latter in truth were armed, but they conquered without arms. The company of the seven brothers stood unconquered, though surrounded by the legions of the king—tortures failed, tormentors ceased; but the martyrs failed not. One, having had the skin of his head pulled off, though changed in appearance, grew in courage. Another, bidden to put forth his tongue, so that it might be cut off, answered: "The Lord hears Moses when silent. He hears better the silent thoughts of His own than the voice of all others. Dost thou fear the scourge of my tongue—and dost thou not fear the scourge of blood split upon the ground? Blood, too, has a voice whereby it cries aloud to God—as it did in the case of Abel."

212. What shall I say of the mother who with joy looked on the corpses of her children as so many trophies, and found delight in the voices of her dying sons, as though in the songs of singers, noting in her children the tones of the glorious harp of her own heart, and a sweeter harmony of love than any strain of the lute could give?

213. What shall I say of those two-year-old children of Bethlehem, who received the palm of victory before they felt their natural life within them? What of St. Agnes, who when in danger as regards two great matters, that is, chastity and life, protected her chastity and exchanged life for immortality?

214. And let us not pass by St. Lawrence, who, seeing Xystus his bishop led to martyrdom, began to weep, not at his sufferings but at the fact that

he himself was to remain behind. With these words he began to address him: “Whither, father, goest thou without my son? Whither, holy priest, art thou hastening without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without an attendant. What are thou displeased at in me, my father? Hast thou found me unworthy? Prove, then, whether thou hast chosen a fitting servant. To him whom thou hast entrusted to consecration of the Savior’s blood, to whom thou hast granted fellowship in partaking of the Sacraments, to him dost thou refuse a part in thy death? Beware, lest thy good judgment by endangered, whilst thy fortitude receives its praise. The rejection of a pupil is the loss of the teacher; or how is it that noble and illustrious men gain the victory in the contests of their scholars rather than in their own? Abraham offered his son, Peter sent Stephen on before him! Do thou, father, show forth thy courage in thy son. Offer me whom thou hast trained, that thou, confident in thy choice of me, mayest reach the crown in worthy company.”

215. Then Xystus said: “I leave thee not nor forsake thee. Greater struggles yet await thee. We as old men have to undergo an easier fight; a more glorious triumph over the tyrants awaits thee, a young man. Soon shalt thou come. Cease weeping; after three days thou shalt follow me. This interval must come between the priest and his levite. It was not for thee to conquer under the eye of thy master, as though thou neededst a helper. Why dost thou seek to share in my death? I leave to thee its full inheritance. Why dost thou need my presence? Let the weak disciples go before their master, let the brave follow him, that they may conquer without him. For they no longer need his guidance. So Elijah left Elisha. To thee I entrust the full succession to my own courage.”

216. Such was their contention, and surely a worthy one, wherein priest and attendant strove as to who should be the first to suffer for the name of Christ. When that tragic piece is played, it is said there is great applause in the theater as Pylades says he is Orestes, whilst Orestes declares that he is really himself. The former acted as he did, that he might die for Orestes, and Orestes, that might not allow Pylades to be slain instead of himself. But it was not right that they should live, for each of them was guilty of parricide, the one because he had committed the crime, the other because he had helped in its commission. But here there was nothing to call holy Lawrence to act thus but his love and devotion. However, after three days

he was placed upon the gridiron by the tyrant whom he mocked, and was burnt. He said: “The flesh is roasted, turn it and eat.” So by the courage of his mind he overcame the power of fire.

CHAPTER 42

The powers that be are not needlessly to be irritated. One must not lend one’s ears to flattery.

217. I Think we must take care, lest in being led on by too great a desire for glory, we should abuse the powers that be, and arouse the minds of the heathen, who are opposed to us, to desire persecution, and excite them to anger. How many do some cause to perish, that they themselves may continue to the end, and overcome their tortures!

218. We must also look to it that we do not open our ears to flatterers. To allow oneself to be smoothed down by flattery seems to be a sign not only of want of fortitude, but a sign of actual cowardice.

CHAPTER 43

On temperance and its chief parts, especially tranquility of mind and moderation, care for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly.

219. As we have spoken of three of the virtues, there remains but the fourth for us to speak of. This is called temperance and moderation; wherein, before all else, tranquillity of mind, the attainment of gentleness, the grace of moderation, regard for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly are sought and looked for.

220. We must keep to a certain order in life, so that a foundation may be laid with our first feelings of modesty, for that is the friend and ally of calmness of mind. Avoiding over-confidence, averse to all excess, it loves sobriety, guards what is honorable, and seeks only what is seemly.

221. Let choice of intercourse come next. Let us link ourselves with older men of approved goodness. For as the companionship of people of our

own age is the pleasanter, so that of our elders is the safer. By their guidance and the conduct of their lives they give color to the character of their lives they give color to the character of younger men, and tinge them as it were with the deep purple probity. For if they who are ignorant of a locality are very glad to take a journey in the company of skilled guides, how much more ought young men to enter on the path of life, which is new to them, in the company of old men; so that they may not go wrong, and turn aside from the true path of virtue. For nothing is better than to have the same men both to direct us in life, and also to be witnesses of how we live.

222. One must also in every action consider what is suitable for different persons, times, and ages, and what will also be in accordance with the abilities of individuals. For often what befits one does not befit another; one thing suits a youth, another an old man; one thing does in danger, another in good fortune.

223. David danced before the ark of the Lord. Samuel did not dance; yet David was not blamed, while the other was praised. David changed his countenance before the king, whose name was Achish. If he had done this without any fear of being recognized, he would certainly not have escaped the charge of levity. Saul also, surrounded by the company of prophets, himself prophesied. Yet of him alone, as though he were unworthy, was it said: “Is Saul also among the prophets?”

CHAPTER 44

Every one ought to apply himself to the duties suited to his character. Many, however, are hindered by following their father’s pursuits. Clerics act in a different way.

224. EACH one knows his own powers. Therefore let each one apply himself to that which he has chosen as suitable to himself. But he must first consider what will be the consequences. He may know his good points, but he must know his faults also. He must also be a fair judge of himself, so as to aim at what is good and avoid what is bad.

225. One is more fitted for the post of reader, another does better for the singing, a third is more solicitous for exorcising those possessed with an evil spirit, another, again, is held to be more suited to have the charge of the sacred things. All these things a priest should look at. He should give each one that particular duty for which he is best fitted. For whither each one's bent of mind leads him, or whatever duty befits him, that position or duty is filled with greater grace.

226. But as this is a difficult matter in every state of life, so in our case it is most difficult. For each one is wont to follow his parent's choice in life. Thus those whose fathers were in the army generally enter the army too. And others do the same with regard to the different professions.

227. In the clerical office, however, nothing is more rare than to find a man to follow his father's footsteps, either because the difficulties of the work hold him back, or continence in the uncertain days of youth is too difficult to hold to, or the life seems to be too quiet for the activity of youth. So they turn to those pursuits which are thought to be more showy. Most, indeed, prefer the present to the future. They are fighting for the present, we for the future. Wherefore it follows that the greater the cause in which we are engaged, the more must our attention be devoted to it.

CHAPTER 45

On what is noble and virtuous, and what the difference between them is, as stated both in the profane and sacred writers.

228. Let us then hold fast modesty, and that moderation which adds to the beauty of the whole of life. For it is no light thing in every matter to preserve due measure and to bring about order, wherein that is plainly conspicuous which we call "decorum," or what is seemly. This is so closely connected with what is virtuous, that one cannot separate the two. For what is seemly is also virtuous — and what is virtuous is seemly. So that the distinction lies rather in the words than in the things themselves. That there is a difference between them we can understand, but we cannot explain it.

229. To make an attempt to get some sort of a distinction between them, we may say that what is virtuous may be compared to the good health and soundness of the body, whilst what is seemly is, as it were, its comeliness and beauty. And as beauty seems to stand above soundness and health and yet cannot exist without them, nor be separated from them in any way — for unless one has good health, one cannot have beauty and comeliness — so what is virtuous contains in itself also what is seemly, so as to seem to start with it, and to be unable to exist without it. What is virtuous, then, is like soundness in all our work and undertaking; what is seemly is, as it were, the outward appearance, which, when joined with what is virtuous, can only be known apart in our thoughts. For though in some cases it seems to stand out conspicuous, yet it has its root in what is virtuous, though the flower is its own. Rooted in this, it flourishes; otherwise it fails and droops. For what is virtue, but to avoid anything shameful as though it were death? And what is the opposite of virtue, except that which brings barrenness and death? If, then, the essence of virtue is strong and vigorous, seemliness will also quickly spring forth like a flower, for its root is sound. But if the root of its purpose is corrupt, nothing will grow out of it.

230. In our writings this is put somewhat more plainly. For David says: “The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with splendor.” And the Apostle says: “Walk honestly as in the day.” The Greek text has ευσχημόνως — and this really means: with good clothing, with a good appearance. When God made the first man, He created him with a good figure, with limbs well set, and gave him a very noble appearance. He had not given him remission of sins. But afterwards He, Who came in the form of a servant, and in the likeness of man, renewed him with His Spirit, and poured His grace into his heart, and put on Himself the splendor of the redemption of the human race. Therefore the Prophet said: “The Lord reigneth, He is clothed with splendor.” And again he says: “A hymn beseems Thee, O God, in Sion.” That is: It is right and good to fear Thee, to love Thee, to pray to Thee, to honor Thee, for it is written: “Let all things be done decently and in order.” But we can also fear, love, ask, honor men; yet the hymn especially is addressed to God. This seemliness which we offer to God we may believe to be far better than other things. It befits also a woman to pray in an orderly dress, but it especially beseems her to pray covered, and to pray giving promise of purity together with a good conversation.

CHAPTER 46

A twofold division of what is seemly is given. Next it is shown that what is according to nature is virtuous, and what is otherwise must be looked on as shameful. This division is explained by examples.

231. Seemliness, therefore, which stands conspicuous has a twofold division. For there is what we may call a general seemliness, which is diffused through all that is virtuous, and is seen, as one may say, in the whole body. It is also individual, and shows itself clearly in some particular part. The first has a consistent form and the perfection of what is virtuous harmonizing in every action. For all its life is consistent with itself, and there is no discrepancy in anything. The other is concerned when there is any special action done in a virtuous course of life.

232. At the same time let us note that it is seemly to live in accordance with nature, and to pass our time in accordance with it, and that whatever is contrary to nature is shameful. For the Apostle asks: “Is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered; doth not nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? For it is contrary to nature.” And again he says: “If a woman have long hair, it is a glory unto her.” It is according to nature, since her hair is given her for a veil, for it is a natural veil. Thus nature arranges for us both character and appearance, and we ought to observe her directions. Would that we could guard her innocence, and not change what we have received by our wickedness!

233. We have that general seemliness; for God made the beauty of this world. We have it also in its parts; for when God made the light, and marked off the day from the night, when He made heaven, and separated land and seas, when He set the sun and moon and stars to shine on the earth, He approved of them all one by one. Therefore this comeliness, which shone forth in each single part of the world, was resplendent in the whole, as the Book of Wisdom shows, saying: “I existed, in whom He rejoiced when He was glad at the completion of the world.” Likewise also in the building up of the human body each single member is pleasing, but the right adjustment of the members all together delights us far more. For thus they seem to be united and fitted in one harmonious whole.

CHAPTER 47

What is seemly should always shine forth in our life. What passions, then, ought we to allow to come to a head, and which should we restrain?

234. If any one preserves an even tenor in the whole of life, and method in all that he does, and sees there is order and consistency in his words and moderation in his deeds, then what is seemly stands forth conspicuous in his life and shines forth as in some mirror.

235. There should be besides a pleasant way of speaking, so that we may win the good-will of those who hear us, and make ourselves agreeable to all our friends and fellow-citizens, if possible. Let none show himself to be given to flattery, nor to be desirous of flattery from any one. The one is a mark of artfulness, the other of vanity.

236. Let no one ever look down on what another, least of all a good man, thinks of him, for thus he learns to give regard to the good. For to disregard the judgment of good men is a sign of conceitedness or of weakness. One of these arises from pride, the other from carelessness.

237. We must also guard against the motions of our soul. The soul must always watch and look after itself, so as to guard itself against itself. For there are motions in which there is a kind of passion that breaks forth as it were in a sort of rush. Wherefore in Greek it is called ὁρμή, because it comes out suddenly with some force. In these there lies no slight force of soul or of nature. Its force, however, is twofold: on the one side it rests on passion, on the other on reason, which checks passion, and makes it obedient to itself, and leads it whither it will; and trains it by careful teaching to know what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided, so as to make it submit to its kind tamer.

238. For we ought to be careful never to do anything rashly or carelessly, or anything at all for which we cannot give a reasonable ground. For though a reason for our action is not given to every one, yet everybody looks into it. Nor, indeed, have we anything whereby we can excuse ourselves. For though there is a sort of natural force in every passion of ours, yet that same passion is subject to reason by the law of nature itself, and is

obedient to it. Wherefore it is the duty of a careful watchman so to keep a lookout, that passion may not outrun reason nor utterly forsake it, lest by outstripping it confusion be caused, and reason be shut out, and come to nothing by such desertion. Disquiet destroys consistency. Withdrawal shows cowardice and implies indolence. For when the mind is disquieted passion spreads wide and far, and in a fierce outburst endures not the reins of reason and feels not the management of its driver so as to be turned back. Wherefore as a rule not only is the soul perturbed and reason lost, but one's countenance gets inflamed by anger or by lust, it grows pale with fear, it contains not itself in pleasure, and cannot bear joy.

239. When this happens, then that natural judgment and weight of character is cast aside, and that consistency which alone in deed and thought can keep up its own authority and what is seemly, can no longer be retained.

240. But fiercer passion springs from excessive anger,' which the pain of some wrong received kindles within us. The monitions of the psalm which forms the opening of our subject instruct us on this point. Beautifully, then, has it come about that, in writing on duties, we used that declaration of our opening passage which also itself has to do with the direction of duty.

241. But since (as was but right) we there only touched upon the matter, as to how each one ought to take care not to be disturbed when wrong is done him, for fear that our preliminary remarks should run to too great length, I think that I will now discuss it a little more fully. For the occasion is opportune, as we are speaking on the different parts of temperance, to see how anger may be checked.

CHAPTER 48

The argument for restraining anger is given again. Then the three classes of those who receive wrongs are set forth; to the most perfect of which the Apostle and David are said to have attained. He takes the opportunity to state the difference between this and the future life.

242. We wish if we can to point out three classes of men who receive wrongs in holy Scripture. One of these forms the class of those whom the sinner reviles, abuses, rides over rough-shod. And just because justice fails them, shame grows, pain increases. Very many of my own order, of my own number, are like these. For if any one does me, who am weak, an injury, perhaps, though I am weak, I may forgive the wrong done me. If he charges me with an offense I am not such an one as to be content with the witness of my own conscience, although I know I am clear of what he brings against me; but I desire, just because I am weak, to wash out the mark of my inborn shame. Therefore I demand eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, and repay abuse with abuse.

243. If, however, I am one who is advancing, although not yet perfect, I do not return the reproaches; and if he breaks out into abuse, and fills my ears with reproaches, I am silent and do not answer.

244. But if I am perfect (I say this only by way of example, for in truth I am weak), if, then, I am perfect, I bless him that curses me, as Paul also blessed, for he says: "Being reviled we bless." He had heard Him Who says: "Love your enemies, pray for them which despitefully use you.and persecute you." And so Paul suffered persecution and endured it, for he conquered and calmed his human feelings for the sake of the reward set before him, namely, that he should become a son of God if he loved his enemies.

245. We call show, too, that holy David was like to Paul in this same class of virtue. When the son of Shimei cursed him, and charged him with heavy offenses, at the first he was silent and humbled himself, and was silent even about his good deeds, that is, his knowledge of good works. Then he even asked to be cursed; for when he was cursed he hoped to gain divine pity.

246. But see how he stored up humility and justice and prudence so as to merit grace from the Lord! At first he said: "Therefore he cursed me, because the Lord hath said unto him that he should curse." Here we have humility; for he thought that those things which are divinely ordered were to be endured with an even mind, as though he were but some servant lad. Then he said: "Behold my son, which came forth of my bowels, seeketh my life." Here we have justice. For if we suffer hard things at the hand of

our own family, why are we angry at what is done to us by strangers? Lastly he says: “Let him alone that he may curse, for the Lord hath bidden him. It may be that the Lord will look on my humiliation and requite me good for this cursing.” So he bore not only the abuse, but left the man unpunished when throwing stones and following him. Nay, more I After his victory he freely granted him pardon when he asked for it.

247. I have written this to show that holy David, in true evangelical spirit, was not only not offended, but was even thankful to his abuser, and was delighted rather than angered by his wrongs, for which he thought some return would be granted to him. But, though perfect, he sought something still more perfect. As a man he grew hot at the pain of his wrongs, but like a good soldier he conquered, he endured like a brave wrestler. The end and aim of his patience was the expectation of the fulfillment of the promises, and therefore he said: “Lord, make me to know mine end and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know what is wanting to me.” He seeks, then, that end of the heavenly promises, when each one shall arise in his own order: “Christ the firstfruits, then they that are Christ’s who have believed in His coming. Then cometh the end.” For when the kingdom is delivered up to God, even the Father, and all the powers are put down, as the Apostle says, then perfection begins. Here, then, is the hindrance, here the weakness of the perfect; there full perfection. Thus it is he asks for those days of eternal life which are, and not for those which pass away, so that he may know what is wanting to him, what is the land of promise that bears everlasting fruits, which is the first mansion in his Father’s house, which the second, which the third, wherein each one will rest according to his merits.

248. We then must strive for that wherein is perfection and wherein is truth. Here is the shadow, here the image; there the truth. The shadow is in the law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in heaven. In old times a lamb, a Calf was offered; now Christ is offered. But He is offered as man and as enduring suffering. And He offers Himself as a priest to take away our sins, here in an image, there in truth, where with the Father He intercedes for us as our Advocate Here, then, we walk in an image, we see in an image; there face to face where is full perfection. For all perfection rests in the truth.

CHAPTER 49

We must reserve the likeness of the virtues in ourselves. The likeness of the devil and of vice must be got rid of, and especially that of avarice; for this deprives us of liberty, and despoils those who are in the midst of vanities of the image of God.

249. WHILST, then, we are here let us preserve the likeness, that there we may attain to the truth. Let the likeness of justice exist in us, likewise that of wisdom, for we shall come to that day and shall be rewarded according to our likeness.

250. Let not the adversary find his image in thee, let him not find fury nor rage; for in these exists the likeness of wickedness. "Our adversary the devil as a roaring lion seeketh whom he may kill, whom he may devour." Let him not find desire for gold, nor heaps of money, nor the appearance of vices, lest he take from thee the voice of liberty. For the voice of true liberty is heard, when thou canst say: "The prince of this world shall come, and shall find no part in me." Therefore, if thou art sure that he will find nothing in thee, when he comes to search through thee, thou wilt say, as the patriarch Jacob did to Laban: "Know now if there is aught of thine with me." Rightly do we account Jacob blessed with whom Laban could find naught of his. For Rachel had hidden the gold and silver images of his gods.

251. If, then, wisdom, and faith, and contempt of the world, and spiritual grace, exclude all faithlessness, thou wilt be blessed; for thou regardest not vanity and folly and lying. Is it a light thing to take away from thy adversary the opportunity to speak, so that he can have no ground to make his complaint against thee? Thus he who looks not on vanity is not perturbed; but he who looks upon it is perturbed, and that, too, all to no purpose. Is it not a vain thing to heap up riches? for surely to seek for fleeting things is vain enough. And when thou hast gathered them, how dost thou know that thou shall have them in possession?

252. Is it not vain for a merchant to journey by night and by day, that he may be able to heap up treasures? Is it not vain for him to gather merchandise, and to be much perturbed about its price, for fear he might

sell it for less than he gave? that he should strive everywhere for high prices, and thus unexpectedly call up robbers against himself through their envy at his much-vaunted business; or that, without waiting for calmer winds, impatient of delays, he should meet with shipwreck whilst seeking for gain?

253. And is not he, too, perturbed in vain who with great toil amasses wealth, though he knows not what heir to leave it to? Often and often all that an avaricious man has got together with the greatest care, his spendthrift heir scatters abroad with headlong prodigality. The shameless prodigal, blind to the present, heedless of the future, swallows up as in an abyss what took so long to gather. Often, too, the desired successor gains but envy for his share of the inheritance, and by his sudden death hands over the whole amount of the succession, which he has hardly entered upon, to strangers.

254. Why, then, dost thou idly spin a web which is worthless and fruitless? And why dost thou build up useless heaps of treasures like spiders' webs? For though they overflow, they are no good; nay, they denude thee of the likeness of God, and put on thee the likeness of the earthy. If any one has the likeness of the tyrant, is he not liable to condemnation? Thou layest aside the likeness of the Eternal King, and raisest in thyself the image of death. Rather cast out of the kingdom of thy soul the likeness of the devil, and raise up the likeness of Christ. Let this shine forth in thee; let this glow brightly in thy kingdom, that is, thy soul, for it destroys the likeness of all vices. David says of this: "O Lord, in Thy kingdom thou bringest their images to nothing." For when the Lord has adorned Jerusalem according to His own likeness, then every likeness of the adversary is destroyed.

CHAPTER 50

The Levites ought to be utterly free from all earthly desires. What their virtues should be on the Apostle's own showing, and how great their purity must be. Also what their dignity and duty is, for the carrying out of which the chief virtues are necessary. He states that these were not unknown to the philosophers, but that they erred

in their order. Some are by their nature in accordance with duty, which yet on account of what accompanies them become contrary to duty. From whence he gathers what gifts the office of the Levites demands. To conclude, he adds an exposition of Moses' words when blessing the tribe of Levi.

255. If, then, in the Gospel of the Lord the people themselves were taught and led to despise riches, how much more ought ye Levites no longer to be bound down by earthly desires. For your portion is God. For when their earthly possessions were portioned out by Moses to the people of our fathers, the Lord suffered not the Levites to have a share in that earthly possession, for He Himself would be the strength of their inheritance. Wherefore David says: "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup." Whence we get the name "Levite," which means: "Himself is mine," or "Himself for me." Great, then, is his honor, that God should say of him: Himself is Mine. Or, as was said to Peter about the piece of money found in the fish's mouth: "Give to them for Me and for thee." Wherefore the Apostle, when he said: "A bishop should be sober, modest, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not covetous, nor a brawler, one that rules well his own house," also added: "Likewise must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And let them also first be proved, and so let them serve, being found blameless. "

256. We note how much is required of us. The minister of the Lord should abstain from wine, so that he may be upheld by the good witness not only of the faithful but also by those who are without. For it is right that the witness to our acts and works should be the opinion of the public at large, that the office be not disgraced. Thus he who sees the minister of the altar adorned with suitable virtues may praise their Author, and reverence the Lord Who has such servants. The praise of the Lord sounds forth where there is a pure possession and an innocent rule at home.

257. But what shall I say about chastity, when only one and no second union is allowed? As regards marriage, the law is, not to marry again, nor to seek union with another wife. It seems strange to many why impediment should be caused by a second marriage entered on before

baptism, so as to prevent election to the clerical office, and to the reception of the gift of ordination; seeing that even crimes are not wont to stand in the way, if they have been put away in the sacrament of baptism. But we must learn, that in baptism sin can be forgiven, but law cannot be abolished. In the case of marriage there is no sin, but there is a law. Whatever sin there is can be put away, whatever law there is cannot be laid aside in marriage. How could he exhort to widowhood who himself had married more than once?

258. But ye know that the ministerial office must be kept pure and unspotted, and must not be defiled by conjugal intercourse; ye know this, I say, who have received the gifts of the sacred ministry, with pure bodies, and unspoilt modesty, and without ever having enjoyed conjugal intercourse. I am mentioning this, because in some out-of-the-way places, when they enter on the ministry, or even when they become priests, they have begotten children. They defend this on the ground of old custom, when, as it happened, the sacrifice was offered up at long intervals. However, even the people had to be purified two or three days beforehand, so as to come clean to the sacrifice, as we read in the Old Testament. They even used to wash their clothes. If such regard was paid in what was only the figure, how much ought it to be shown in the reality! Learn then, Priest and Levite, what it means to wash thy clothes. Thou must have a pure body wherewith to offer up the sacraments. If the people were forbidden to approach their victim unless they washed their clothes, dost thou, while foul in heart and body, dare to make supplication for others? Dost thou dare to make an offering for them?

259. The duty of the Levites is no light one, for the Lord says of them: “Behold I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel, instead of every first-born that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel. These shall be their redemption, and the Levites shall be Mine. For I hallowed unto Me all the first-born in the land of Egypt.” We know that the Levites are not reckoned among the rest, but are preferred before all, for they are chosen out of all, and are sanctified like the firstfruits and the firstlings which belong to the Lord, since the payment of vows and redemption for sin are offered by them. “Thou shalt not receive them,” He says, “among the children of Israel, but thou shalt appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of testimony, and over all the vessels thereof, and over all

things that belong to it. They shall bear the tabernacle and all the vessels thereof, and they shall minister in it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle. And when the tabernacle setteth forward the Levites shall take it down, and when the camp is pitched they shall set up the tabernacle again. And the stranger that cometh nigh shall surely be put to death."

260. Thou, then, art chosen out of the whole number of the children of Israel, regarded as the firstfruits of the sacred offerings, set over the tabernacle so as to keep guard in the camp of holiness and faith, to which if a stranger approach, he shall surely die. Thou art placed there to watch over the ark of the covenant. All do not see the depths of the mysteries, for they are hid from the Levites, lest they should see who ought not to see, and they who cannot serve should take it up. Moses, indeed, saw the circumcision of the Spirit, but veiled it, so as to give circumcision only in an outward sign. He saw the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth; he saw the sufferings of the Lord, but he veiled the unleavened bread of truth in the material unleavened bread, he veiled the sufferings of the Lord in the sacrifice of a lamb or a calf. Good Levites have ever preserved the mystery entrusted to them under the protection of their own faith, and yet dost thou think little of what is entrusted to thee? First, thou shalt see the deep things of God, which needs wisdom. Next, thou must keep watch for the people; this requires justice. Thou must defend the camp and guard the tabernacle, which needs fortitude. Thou must show thyself continent and sober, and this needs temperance.

261. These chief virtues, they who are without have recognized, but they considered that the order resting on society was higher than that resting on wisdom; though wisdom is the foundation, and justice the building which cannot stand unless it have a foundation. The foundation is Christ.

262. First stands faith, which is a sign of wisdom, as Solomon says, in following his father: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And the law says: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, thou shalt love thy neighbor." It is a noble thing to do one's kindnesses and duties towards the whole of the human race. But it is ever most seemly that thou shouldst give to God the most precious thing thou hast, that is, thy mind, for thou hast nothing better than that. When thou hast paid thy debt to thy Creator, then thou mayest labor for men, to show them kindness, and to

give help; then thou mayest assist the needy with money, or by some duty, or some service that lies in the way of thy ministry; by money to support him; by paying a debt, so as to free him that is bound; by undertaking a duty, so as to take charge of a trust, which he fears to lose, who has put it by in trust.

263. It is a duty, then, to take care of and to restore what has been entrusted to us. But meanwhile a change comes, either in time or circumstances, so that it is no longer a duty to restore what one has received. As, for instance, when a man demands back his money as an open enemy, to use it against his country, and to offer his wealth to barbarians. Or, if thou shouldst have to restore it, whilst another stood by to extort it from him by force. If thou restore money to a raving lunatic when he cannot keep it; if thou give up to a madman a sword once put by with thee, whereby he may kill himself, is it not an act contrary to duty to pay the debt? Is it not contrary to duty to take knowingly what has been got by a thief, so that he who has lost it is cheated out of it?

264. It is also sometimes contrary to duty to fulfill a promise, or to keep an oath. As was the case with Herod, who swore that whatever was asked he would give to the daughter of Herodies, and so allowed the death of John, that he might not break his word. And what shall I say of Jephthah, who offered up his daughter in sacrifice, she having been the first to meet him as he returned home victorious; whereby he fulfilled the vow which he had made that he would offer to God whatever should meet him first. It would have been better to make no promise at all, than to fulfill it in the death of his daughter.

265. Ye are not ignorant how important it is to look to this. And so a Levite is chosen to guard the sanctuary, one who shall never fail in counsel, nor forsake the faith, nor fear death, nor do anything extravagant, so that in his whole appearance he may give proof of his earnestness. For he ought to have not only his soul but even his eyes in restraint, so that no chance mishap may bring a blush to his forehead. For “whosoever looketh on a woman to desire her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.” Thus adultery is committed not only by actual committal of the foul deed, but even by the desire of the ardent gaze.

266. This seems high and somewhat severe, but in a high office it is not out of place. For the grace of the Levites is such that Moses spoke of them as follows in his blessing: “Give to Levi his men, give Levi his trusted ones, give Levi the lot of his inheritance, and his truth to the holy men whom they tempted in temptation, and reviled at the waters of contradiction. Who said to his father and mother, I know thee not, and knew not his brethren, and renounced his children. He guarded Thy word and kept Thy testimony.”

267. They, then, are His men, His trusty ones, who have no deceit in their hearts, hide no treachery within them, but guard His words and ponder them in their heart, as Mary pondered them; who know not their parents so as to put them before their duty; who hate the violators of chastity, and avenge the injury done to purity; and know the times for the fulfilling of their duty, as also which duty is the greater, which the lesser, and to what occasion each is suited. In all this they follow that alone which is virtuous. And who, where there are two virtuous duties, think that which is the more virtuous must come first. These are in truth tightly blessed.

268. If any one makes known the just works of the Lord, and offers Him incense, then: “Bless, O Lord, his strength; accept the work of his hands,” that he may find the grace of the prophetic blessing with Him Who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1

Happiness in life is to be gained by living virtuously, inasmuch as thus a Christian, whilst despising glory and the favor of men, desires to please God alone in what he does.

1. In the first book we spoke of the duties which we thought befitted a virtuous life, whereon no one has ever doubted but that a blessed life, which the Scripture calls eternal life, depends. So great is the splendor of a virtuous life that a peaceful conscience and a calm innocence work out a happy life. And as the risen sun hides the globe of the moon and the light of the stars, so the brightness of a virtuous life, where it glitters in true pure glory, casts into the shade all other things, which, according to the desires of the body, are considered to be good, or are reckoned in the eyes of the world to be great and noble.

2. Blessed, plainly, is that life which is not valued at the estimation of outsiders, but is known, as judge of itself, by its own inner feelings. It needs no popular opinion as its reward in any way; nor has it any fear of punishments. Thus the less it strives for glory, the more it rises above it. For to those who seek for glory, that reward in the shape of present things is but a shadow of future ones, and is a hindrance to eternal life, as it is written in the Scriptures: "Verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward." This is said of those who, as it were, with the sound of a trumpet desire to make known to all the world the liberality they exercise towards the poor. It is the same, too, in the case of fasting, which is done but for outward show. "They have," he says, "their reward."

3. It therefore belongs to a virtuous life to show mercy and to fast in secret; that thou mayest seem to be seeking a reward from thy God alone, and not from men. For he who seeks it from man has his reward, but he who seeks it from God has eternal life, which none can give but the Lord of Eternity, as it is said: "Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise." Wherefore the Scripture plainly has called that life which

is blessed, eternal life. It has not been left to be appraised according to man's ideas on the subject, but has been entrusted to the divine judgment.

CHAPTER 2

The different ideas of philosophers on the subject of happiness. He proves, first, from the Gospel that it rests on the knowledge of God and the pursuit of good works; next, that it may not be thought that this idea was adopted from the philosophers, he adds proofs from the witness of the prophets.

4. THE philosophers have made a happy life to depend, either (as Hieronymus) on freedom from pain, or (as Herillus) on knowledge. For Herillus, hearing knowledge very highly praised by Aristotle and Theophrastus, made it alone to be the chief good, when they really praised it as a good thing, not as the only good; others, as Epicurus, have called pleasure such; others, as Callipho, and after him Diodorus, understood it in such a way as to make a virtuous life go in union, the one with pleasure, the other with freedom from pain, since a happy life could not exist without it. Zeno, the Stoic, thought the highest and only good existed in a virtuous life. But Aristotle and Theophrastus and the other Peripatetics maintained that a happy life consisted in virtue, that is, in a virtuous life, but that its happiness was made complete by the advantages of the body and other external good things.

5. But the sacred Scriptures say that eternal life rests on a knowledge of divine things and on the fruit of good works. The Gospel bears witness to both these statements. For the Lord Jesus spoke thus of knowledge: "This is eternal life, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent," About works He gives this answer: "Every one that hath forsaken house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life."

6. Let no one think that this was but lately said, and that it was spoken of by the philosophers before it was mentioned in the Gospel. For the philosophers, that is to say, Aristotle and Theophrastus, as also Zeno and Hieronymus, certainly lived before the time of the Gospel; but they came

after the prophets. Let them rather think how long before even the names of the philosophers were heard of, both of these seem to have found open expression through the mouth of the holy David; for it is written: “Blessed is the man whom Thou instructest, O Lord, and teachest him out of Thy law.” We find elsewhere also: “Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, he will rejoice greatly in His commandments,” We have proved our point as regards knowledge, the reward for which the prophet states to be the fruit of eternity, adding that in the house of the man that feareth the Lord, or is instructed in His law and rejoices greatly in the divine commandments, “is glory and riches; and his justice abideth for ever and ever.” He has further also in the same psalm stated of good works, that they gain for an upright man the gift of eternal life. He speaks thus: “Blessed is the man that showeth pity and lendeth, he will guide his affairs with discretion, surely he shall not be moved for ever, the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance,” And further: “He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor, his justice endureth for ever.”

7. Faith, then, has [the promise of] eternal life, for it is a good foundation. Good works, too, have the same, for an upright man is tested by his words and acts. For if a man is always busy talking and yet is slow to act, he shows by his acts how worthless his knowledge is: besides it is much worse to know what one ought to do, and yet not to do what one has learnt should be done. On the other hand, to be active in good works and unfaithful at heart is as idle as though one wanted to raise a beautiful and lofty dome upon a bad foundation. The higher one builds, the greater is the fall; for without the protection of faith good works cannot stand. A treacherous anchorage in a harbor perforates a ship, and a sandy bottom quickly gives way and cannot bear the weight of the building placed upon it. There then will be found the fullness of reward, where the virtues are perfect, and where there is a reasonable agreement between words and acts.

CHAPTER 3

The definition of blessedness as drawn from the Scriptures is considered and proved. It cannot be enhanced by external good fortune, nor can it be weakened by misfortune.

8. AS, then, knowledge, so far as it stands alone, is put aside either as worthless, according to the superfluous discussions of the philosophers, or as but an imperfect idea, let us now note how clearly the divine Scriptures explain a thing about which we see the philosophers held so many involved and perplexing ideas. For the Scriptures state that nothing is good but what is virtuous, and declare that virtue is blessed in every circumstance, and that it is never enhanced by either corporal or other external good fortune, nor is it weakened by adversity. No state is so blessed as that wherein one is free from sin, is filled with innocence, and is fully supplied with the grace of God. For it is written: "Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of pestilence, but in the law of the Lord was his delight." And again: "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord."

9. Innocence, then, and knowledge make a man blessed. We have also noted already that the blessedness of eternal life is the reward for good works. It remains, then, to show that when the patronage of pleasure or the fear of pain is despised (and the first of these one abhors as poor and effeminate, and the other as unmanly and weak), that then a blessed life can rise up in the midst of pain. This can easily be shown when we read: "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." And again: "He that will come after Me, let him take up his cross and follow Me."

CHAPTER 4

The same argument, namely, that blessedness is not lessened or added to by external matters, is illustrated by the example of men of old.

10. THERE is, then, a blessedness even in pains and griefs. All which virtue with its sweetness checks and restrains, abounding as it does in natural resources for either soothing conscience or increasing grace. For Moses was blessed in no small degree when, surrounded by the Egyptians and

shut in by the sea, he found by his merits a way for himself and the people to go through the waters. When was he ever braver than at the moment when, surrounded by the greatest dangers, he gave not up the hope of safety, but besought a triumph?

11. What of Aaron? When did he ever think himself more blessed than when he stood between the living and the dead, and by his presence stayed death from passing from the bodies of the dead to the lines of the living? What shall I say of the youth Daniel, who was so wise that, when in the midst of the lions enraged with hunger, he was by no means overcome with terror at the fierceness of the beasts. So free from fear was he, that he could eat, and was not afraid he might by his example excite the animals to feed on him.

12. There is, then, in pain a virtue that can display the sweetness of a good conscience, and therefore it serves as a proof that pain does not lessen the pleasure of virtue. As, then, there is no loss of blessedness to virtue through pain, so also the pleasures of the body and the enjoyment that benefits give add nothing to it. On this the Apostle says well: “What things to me were gain, those I counted loss for Christ,” and he added: “Wherefore I count all things but loss, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ.”

13. Moses, too, thought the treasures of Egypt to be his loss, and thus showed forth in his life the reproach of the Cross of the Lord. He was not rich when he had abundance of money, nor was he afterwards poor when he was in want of food, unless, perchance, there is any one who thinks he was less happy when daily food was wanting to him and his people in the wilderness. But yet manna, that is, angels’ food, which surely none will dare deny to be a mark of the greatest good and of blessedness, was given him from heaven; also the daily shower of meat was sufficient to feed the whole multitude.

14. Bread for food also failed Elijah, that holy man, had he sought for it; but it seemed not to fail him because he sought it not. Thus by the daily service of the ravens bread was brought to him in the morning, meat in the evening. Was he any the less blessed because he was poor to himself? Certainly not. Nay, he was the more blessed, for he was rich toward God. It is better to be rich for others than for oneself. He was so, for in the time

of famine he asked a widow for food, intending to repay it, so that the barrel of meal failed not for three years and six months, and the oil jar sufficed and served the needy widow for her daily use all that time also. Rightly did Peter wish to be there where he saw them. Rightly did they appear in the mount with Christ in glory, for He Himself became poor when He was rich.

15. Riches, then, give no assistance to living a blessed life, a fact that the Lord clearly shows in the Gospel, saying: "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst now, for they shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh." Thus it is stated as plainly as possible that poverty, hunger, and pain, which are considered to be evils, not only are not hindrances to a blessed life, but are actually so many helps toward it.

CHAPTER 5

Those things which are generally looked on as good are mostly hindrances to a blessed life, and those which are looked on as evil are the materials out of which virtues grow. What belongs to blessedness is shown by other examples.

16. But those things which seem to be good, as riches, abundance, joy without pain, are a hindrance to the fruits of blessedness, as is clearly stated in the Lord's own words, when He said: "Woe to you rich, for ye have received your consolation! Woe unto you that are full, for ye shall hunger, and to those who laugh, for they shall mourn!" So, then, corporal or external good things are not only no assistance to attaining a blessed life, but are even a hindrance to it.

17. Wherefore Naboth was blessed, even though he was stoned by the rich; weak and poor, as opposed to the royal resources, he was rich in his aim and his religion; so rich, indeed, that he would not exchange the inheritance of the vineyard received from his father for the king's money; and on this account was he perfect, for he defended the rights of his forefathers with his own blood. Thus, also, Ahab was wretched on his own showing, for he caused the poor man to be put to death, so as to take possession of his vineyard himself.

18. It is quite certain that virtue is the only and the highest good; that it alone richly abounds in the fruit of a blessed life; that a blessed life, by means of which eternal life is won, does not depend on external or corporal benefits, but on virtue only. A blessed life is the fruit of the present, and eternal life is the hope of the future.

19. Some, however, there are who think a blessed life is impossible in this body, weak and fragile as it is. For in it one must suffer pain and grief, one must weep, one must be ill. So I could also say that a blessed life rests on bodily rejoicing, but not on the heights of wisdom, on the sweetness of conscience, or on the loftiness of virtue. It is not a blessed thing to be in the midst of suffering; but it is blessed to be victorious over it, and not to be cowed by the power of temporal pain.

20. Suppose that things come which are accounted terrible as regards the grief they cause, such as blindness, exile, hunger, violation of a daughter, loss of children. Who will deny that Isaac was blessed, who did not see in his old age, and yet gave blessings with his benediction? Was not Jacob blessed who, leaving his father's house, endured exile as a shepherd for pay, and mourned for the violated chastity of his daughter, and suffered hunger? Were they not blessed on whose good faith God received witness, as it is written: "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob"? A wretched thing is slavery, but Joseph was not wretched; nay, clearly he was blessed, when he whilst in slavery checked the lusts of his mistress. What shall I say of holy David who bewailed the death of three sons, and, what was even worse than this, his daughter's incestuous connection? How could he be unblessed from whom the Author of blessedness Himself sprung, Who has made many blessed? For: "Blessed are they who have not seen yet have believed." All these felt their own weakness, but they bravely prevailed over it. What can we think of as more wretched than holy Job, either in the burning of his house, or the instantaneous death of his ten sons, or his bodily pains? Was he less blessed than if he had not endured those things whereby he really showed himself approved?

21. True it is that in these sufferings there is something bitter, and that strength of mind cannot hide this pain. I should not deny that the sea is deep because inshore it is shallow, nor that the sky is clear because

sometimes it is covered with clouds, nor that the earth is fruitful because in some places there is but barren ground, nor that the crops are rich and full because they sometimes have wild oats mingled with them. So, too, count it as true that the harvest of a happy conscience may be mingled with some bitter feelings of grief. In the sheaves of the whole of a blessed life, if by chance any misfortune or bitterness has crept in, is it not as though the wild oats were hidden, or as though the bitterness of the tares was concealed by the sweet scent of the corn? But let us now proceed again with our subject.

CHAPTER 6

On what is useful: not that which is advantageous, but that which is just and virtuous. It is to be found in losses, and is divided into what is useful for the body, and what is useful unto godliness.

22. In the first book we made our division in such a way as to set in the first place what is virtuous and what is seemly; for all duties are derived from these. In the second place we set what is useful. But as at the start we said that there was a difference between what is virtuous and what is seemly — which one can comprehend more easily than one can explain — so also when we are thinking of what is useful, we have to give considerable thought to what is the more useful.

23. But we do not reckon usefulness by the value of any gain in money, but in acquiring godliness, as the Apostle says: “But godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.” Thus in the holy Scriptures, if we look carefully we shall often find that what is virtuous is called useful: “All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not profitable” [useful]. Before that he was speaking of vices, and so means: It is lawful to sin, but it is not seemly. Sins rest in one’s own power, but they are not virtuous. To live wantonly is easy, but it is not right. For food serves not God but the belly.

24. Therefore, because what is useful is also just, it is just to serve Christ, Who redeemed us. They too are just who for His Name’s sake have given themselves up to death, they are unjust who have avoided it. Of them it says: What profit is there in my blood? that is: what advance has my

justice made? Wherefore they also say: “Let us bind the just, for he is useless to us,” that is: he is unjust, for he complains of us, condemns and rebukes us. This could also be referred to the greed of impious men, which closely resembles treachery; as we read in the case of the traitor Judas, who in his longing for gain and his desire for money put his head into the noose of treachery and fell.

25. We have then to speak of that usefulness which is full of what is virtuous, as the Apostle himself has laid it down in so many words, saying: “And this I speak for your own profit, not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely.” It is plain, then, that what is virtuous is useful, and what is useful is virtuous; also that what is useful is just, and what is just is useful. I can say this, for I am speaking, not to merchants who are covetous from a desire to make gain, but to my children. And I am speaking of the duties which I wish to impress upon and impart to you, whom I have chosen for the service of the Lord; so that those things which have been already implanted and fixed in your minds and characters by habit and training may now be further unfolded to you by explanation and instruction.

26. Therefore as I am about to speak of what is useful, I will take up those words of the Prophet: “Incline my heart unto Thy testimonies and not to covetousness,” that the sound of the word “useful” may not rouse in us the desire for money. Some indeed put it thus: “Incline my heart unto Thy testimonies and not to what is useful,” that is, that kind of usefulness which is always on the watch for making gains in business, and has been bent and diverted by the habits of men to the pursuit of money. For as a rule most people call that only useful which is profitable, but we are speaking of that kind of usefulness which is sought in earthly loss “that we may gain Christ,” whose gain is “godliness with contentment.” Great, too, is the gain whereby we attain to godliness, which is rich with God, not indeed in fleeting wealth, but in eternal gifts, and in which rests no uncertain trial but grace constant and unending.

27. There is therefore a usefulness connected with the body, and also one that has to do with godliness, according to the Apostle’s division: “Bodily exercise profiteth a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things.” And what is so virtuous as integrity? what so seemly as to preserve the body

unspotted and undefiled, and its purity unsullied? What, again, is so seemly as that a widow should keep her plighted troth to her dead husband? What more useful than this whereby the heavenly kingdom is attained? For "there are some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."

CHAPTER 7

What is useful is the same as what is virtuous; nothing is more useful than love, which is gained by gentleness, courtesy, kindness, justice, and the other virtues, as we are given to understand from the histories of Moses and David. Lastly, confidence springs from love, and again love from confidence.

28. THERE is therefore not only a close intercourse between what is virtuous and what is useful, but the same thing is both useful and virtuous. Therefore He Who willed to open the kingdom of heaven to all sought not what was useful to Himself, but what was useful for all. Thus we must have a certain order and proceed step by step from habitual or common acts to those which are more excellent, so as to show by many examples the advancement of what is useful.

29. And first we may know there is nothing so useful as to be loved, nothing so useless as not to be loved; for to be hated in my opinion is simply fatal and altogether deadly. We speak of this, then, in order that we may take care to give cause for a good estimate and opinion to be formed of us, and may try to get a place in others' affections through our calmness of mind and kindness of soul. For goodness is agreeable and pleasing to all, and there is nothing that so easily reaches human feelings. And if that is assisted by gentleness of character and willingness, as well as by moderation in giving orders and courtesy of speech, by honor in word, by a ready interchange of conversation and by the grace of modesty, it is incredible how much all this tends to an increase of love.

30. We read, not only in the case of private individuals but even of kings, what is the effect of ready and willing courtesy, and what harm pride and great swelling words have done, so far as to make even kingdoms to totter and powers to be destroyed. If any one gains the people's favor by advice

or service, by fulfilling the duties of his ministry or office, or if he encounters danger for the sake of the whole nation, there is no doubt but that such love will be shown him by the people that they all will put his safety and welfare before their own.

31. What reproaches Moses had to bear from his people! But when the Lord would have avenged him on those who reviled him, he often used to offer himself for the people that he might save them from the divine anger. With what gentle words used he to address the people, even after he was wronged I He comforted them in their labors, consoled them by his prophetic declarations of the future, and encouraged them by his works. And though he often spoke with God, yet he was wont to address men gently and pleasantly. Worthily was he considered to stand above all men. For they could not even look on his face, and refused to believe that his sepulcher was found. He had captivated the minds of all the people to such an extent; that they loved him even more for his gentleness than they admired him for his deeds.

32. There is David too who followed his steps, who was chosen from among all to rule the people. How gentle and kindly he was, humble in spirit too, how diligent and ready to show affection. Before he came to the throne he offered himself in the stead of all. As king he showed himself an equal to all in warfare, and shared in their labors. He was brave in battle, gentle in ruling, patient under abuse, and more ready to bear than to return wrongs. So dear was he to all, that though a youth, he was chosen even against his will to rule over them, and was made to undertake the duty though he withstood it. When old he was asked by his people not to engage in battle, because they all preferred to incur danger for his sake rather than that he should undergo it for theirs.

33. He had bound the people to himself freely in doing his duty; first, when he during the division among the people preferred to live like an exile at Hebron rather than to reign at Jerusalem; next, when he showed that he loved valor even in an enemy. He had also thought that justice should be shown to those who had borne arms against himself the same as to his own men. Again, he admired Abner, the bravest champion of the opposing side, whilst he was their leader and was yet waging war. Nor did he despise him when suing for peace, but honored him by a banquet. When killed by

treachery, he mourned and wept for him. He followed him and honored his obsequies, and evinced his good faith in desiring vengeance for the murder; for he handed on that duty to his son in the charge that he gave him, being anxious rather that the death of an innocent man should not be left unavenged, than that any one should mourn for his own.

34. It is no small thing, especially in the case of a king, so to perform humble duties as to make oneself like the very lowest. It is noble not to seek for food at another's risk and to refuse a drink of water, to countless a sin, and to offer oneself to death for one's people. This latter David did, so that the divine anger might be turned against himself, when he offered himself to the destroying angel and said: "Lo I have sinned: I the shepherd have done wickedly, but this flock, what hath it done? Let Thy hand be against me."

35. What further should I say? He opened not his mouth to those planning deceit, and, as though hearing not, he thought no word should be returned, nor did be answer their reproaches. When he was evil spoken of, he prayed, when he was cursed, he blessed. He walked in simplicity of heart, and fled from the proud. He was a follower of those unspotted from the world, one who mixed ashes with his food when bewailing his sins, and mingled his drink with weeping. Worthily, then, was he called for by all the people. All the tribes of Israel came to him saying: "Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. Also yesterday and the day before when Saul lived, and reigned, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel. And the Lord said to thee, Thou shalt feed My people!' And why should I say more about him of whom the word of the Lord has gone forth to say: "I have found David according to My heart"? Who ever walked in holiness of heart and in justice as he did, so as to fulfill the will of God; for whose sake pardon was granted to his children when they sinned, and their rights were preserved to his heirs?

36. Who would not have loved him, when they saw how dear he was to his friends? For as he truly loved his friends, so he thought that he was loved as much in return by his own friends. Nay, parents put him even before their own children, and children loved him more than their parents. Wherefore Saul was very angry and strove to strike Jonathan his son with

a spear because he thought that David’s friendship held a higher place in his esteem than either filial piety or a father’s authority.

37. It gives a very great impetus to mutual love if one shows love in return to those who love us and proves that one does not love them less than oneself is loved, especially if one shows it by the proofs that a faithful friendship gives. What is so likely to win favor as gratitude? What more natural than to love one who loves us? What so implanted and so impressed on men’s feelings as the wish to let another, by whom we want to be loved, know that we love him? Well does the wise man say: “Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend.” And again: “I will not be ashamed to defend a friend, neither will I hide myself from him.” If, indeed, the words in Ecclesiasticus testify that the medicine of life and immortality is in a friend; yet none has ever doubted that it is in love that our best defense lies. As the Apostle says: “It beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; love never faileth.”

38. Thus David failed not, for he was dear to all, and wished to be loved rather than feared by his subjects. Fear keeps the watch of temporal protection, but knows not how to keep guard permanently. And so where fear has departed, boldness often creeps in; for fear does not force confidence but affection calls it forth.

39. Love, then, is the first thing to give us a recommendation. It is a good thing therefore to have our witness in the love of many. Then arises confidence, so that even strangers are not afraid to trust themselves to thy kindness, when they see thee so dear to many. So likewise one goes through confidence to love, so that he who has shown good faith to one or two has an influence as it were on the minds of all, and wins the good-will of all.

CHAPTER 8

Nothing has greater effect in gaining good-will than giving advice; but none can trust it unless it rests on justice and prudence. How conspicuous these two virtues were in Solomon is shown by his well-known judgment.

40. TWO things, therefore, love and confidence, are the most efficacious in commending us to others; also this third quality if thou hast it, namely, what many consider to be worthy of admiration in thee, and think to be rightly worthy of honor [the power, in fact, of giving good advice].

41. Since the giving of good advice is a great means of gaining men's affections, prudence and justice are much needed in every case. These are looked for by most, so that confidence at once is placed in him in whom they exist, because he can give useful and trustworthy advice to whoever wants it. Who will put himself into the hands of a man whom he does not think to be more wise than himself who asks for advice? It is necessary therefore that he of whom advice is asked should be superior to him who asks it. For why should we consult a man when we do not think that he can make anything more plain than we ourselves see it?

42. But if we have found a man that by the vigor of his character, by his strength of mind and influence, stands forth above all others, and further, is better fitted by example and experience than others; that can put an end to immediate dangers, foresee future ones, point out those close at hand, can explain a subject, bring relief in time, is ready not only to give advice but also to give help, — in such a man confidence is placed, so that he who seeks advice can say: "Though evil should happen to me through him, I will bear it."

43. To a man of this sort then we entrust our safety and our reputation, for he is, as we said before, just and prudent. Justice causes us to have no fear of deceit, and prudence frees us from having any suspicions of error. However, we trust ourselves more readily to a just than to a prudent man, to put it in the way people generally do. But, according to the definition of the philosophers, where there is one virtue, others exist too, whilst prudence cannot exist without justice. We find this stated also in our writers, for David says: "The just showeth mercy and lendeth." What the just lends, he says elsewhere: "A good man is he that showeth mercy and lendeth, he will guide his words with discretion. "

44. Is not that noble judgment of Solomon full of wisdom and justice? Let us see whether it is so. "Two women," it says, "stood before King Solomon, and the one said to him, Hear me, my Lord, I and this woman dwell in one house, and before the third day we gave birth and bore a son

apiece, and were together, there was no witness in the house, nor any other woman with us, only we two alone. And her son died this night, because she overlaid it, and she arose at midnight, and took my son from my breast, and laid it in her bosom, and her dead child she laid at my breast, And I arose in the morning to give my child suck, and found him dead. And I considered it at dawn, and behold it was not my son. And the other woman said, Nay, but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son."

45. This was their dispute, in which either tried to claim the living child for herself, and denied that the dead one was hers. Then the king commanded a sword to be brought and the infant to be cut in half, and either piece to be given to one, one half to the one, and one half to the other. Then the woman whose the child really was, moved by her feelings, cried out: "Divide not the child, my Lord; let it rather be given to her and live, and do not kill it." But the other answered: "Let it be neither mine nor hers, divide it." Then the king ordered that the infant should be given to the woman who had said: Do not kill it, but give it to that woman; "For," as it says, "her bowels yearned upon her son."

46. It is not wrong to suppose that the mind of God was in him; for what is hidden from God? What can be more hidden than the witness that lies deep within; into which the mind of the wise king entered as though to judge a mother's feelings, and elicited as it were the voice of a mother's heart. For a mother's feelings were laid bare, when she chose that her son should live with another, rather than that he should be killed in his mother's sight.

47. It was therefore a sign of wisdom to distinguish between secret heart-thoughts, to draw the truth from hidden springs, and to pierce as it were with the sword of the Spirit not only the inward parts of the body, but even of the mind and soul. It was the part of justice also that she who had killed her own child should not take away another's, but that the real mother should have her own back again. Indeed the Scriptures have declared this. "All Israel," it says, "heard of the judgment which the king had judged, and they feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment." Solomon also himself had asked for wisdom, so that a prudent heart might be given him to hear and to judge with justice.

CHAPTER 9

Though justice and prudence are inseparable, we must have respect to the ideas of people in general, for they make a distinction between the different cardinal virtues.

48. It is clear also, according to the sacred Scriptures, which are the older, that wisdom cannot exist without justice, for where one of these two is, there the other must be also. With what wisdom did Daniel expose the lie in the false accusation brought against him by his thorough examination, so that those false informers had no answer ready to hand! It was a mark of prudence to convict the criminals by the witness of their own words, and a sign of justice to give over the guilty to punishment, and to save the innocent from it.

49. There is therefore an inseparable union between wisdom and justice; but, generally speaking, the one special form of virtue is divided up. Thus temperance lies in despising pleasures, fortitude may be seen in undergoing labors and dangers, prudence in the choice of what is good, by knowing how to distinguish between things useful and the reverse; justice, in being a good guardian of another’s rights and protector of its own, thus maintaining for each his own. We can make this fourfold division in deference to commonly received ideas; and so, whilst deviating from those subtle discussions of philosophic learning which are brought forth as though from some inner recess for the sake of investigating the truth, can follow the commonly received use and their ordinary meaning. Keeping, then, to this division, let us return to our subject.

CHAPTER 10

Men entrust their safety rather to a just than to a prudent man. But every one is wont to seek out the man who combines in himself the qualities of justice and prudence. Solomon gives us an example of this. (The words which the queen of Sheba spoke of him are explained.) Also Daniel and Joseph.

50. WE entrust our case to the most prudent man we can find, and ask advice from him more readily than we do from others. However, the faithful counsel of a just man stands first and often has more weight than the great abilities of the wisest of men: “For better are the wounds of a friend than the kisses of others.” And just because it is the judgment of a just man, it is also the conclusion of a wise one: in the one lies the result of the matter in dispute, in the other readiness of invention.

51. And if one connects the two, there will be great soundness in the advice given, which is regarded by all with admiration for the wisdom shown, and with love for its justice. And so all will desire to hear the wisdom of that man in whom those two virtues are found together, as all the kings of the earth desired to see the face of Solomon and to hear his wisdom. Nay, even the queen of Sheba came to him and tried him with questions. She came and spoke of all the things that were in her heart, and heard all the wisdom of Solomon, nor did any word escape her.

52. Who she was whom nothing escaped, and that there was nothing which the truth-loving Solomon did not tell her, learn, O man, from this which thou hearest her saying: “It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy words and of thy prudence, yet I did not believe those that told it me until I came, and mine eyes had seen it; and behold the half was not told me. Thou hast added good things over and above all that I heard in mine own land. Blessed are thy women and blessed thy servants, which stand before thee, and that hear all thy prudence.” Recognize the feast of the true Solomon, and who are set down at that feast; recognize it wisely and think in what land all the nations shall hear the fame of true wisdom and justice, and with what eyes they shall see Him, beholding those things which are not seen. “For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.”

53. What women are blessed but those of whom it is said “that many hear the word of God and bring forth fruit”? And again: “Whosoever doeth the word of God is My father and sister and mother.” And who are those blessed servants, who stand before Him, but Paul, who said: “Even to this day I stand witnessing both to great and small;” or Simeon, who was waiting in the temple to see the consolation of Israel? How could he have asked to be let depart, except that in standing before the Lord he had not

the power of departing, but only according to the will of God? Solomon is put before us simply for the sake of example, of whom it was eagerly expected that his wisdom should be heard.

54. Joseph also when in prison was not free from being consulted about matters of uncertainty. His counsel was of advantage to the whole of Egypt, so that it felt not the seven years' famine, and he was able even to relieve other peoples from their dreadful hunger.

55. Daniel, though one of the captives, was made the head of the royal counselors. By his counsels he improved the present and foretold the future. Confidence was put in him in all things, because he had frequently interpreted things, and had shown that he had declared the truth.

CHAPTER 11

A third element which tends to gain any one's confidence is shown to have been conspicuous in Moses, Daniel, and Joseph.

56. But a third point seems also to have been noted in the case of those who were thought worthy of admiration after the example of Joseph, Solomon, and Daniel. For what shall I say of Moses whose advice all Israel always waited for, whose life caused them to trust in his prudence and increased their esteem for him? Who would not trust to the counsel of Moses, to whom the elders reserved for decision whatever they thought beyond their understanding and powers?

57. Who would refuse the counsel of Daniel, of whom God Himself said: "Who is wiser than Daniel?" How can men doubt about the minds of those to whom God has given such grace? By the counsel of Moses wars were brought to an end, and for his merit's sake food came from heaven and drink from the rock.

58. How pure must have been the soul of Daniel to soften the character of barbarians and to tame the lions! What temperance was his, what self-restraint in soul and body! Not unworthily did he become an object of admiration to all, when — and all men do admire this, — though enjoying royal friendships, he sought not for gold, nor counted the honor given him

as more precious than his faith. For he was willing to endure danger for the law of God rather than to be turned from his purpose in order to gain the favor of men.

59. And what, again, shall I say of the chastity and justice of Joseph, whom I had almost passed by, whereby on the one hand he rejected the allurements of his mistress and refused rewards, on the other he mocked at death, repressed his fear, and chose a prison? Who would not consider him a fit person to give advice in a private case, whose fruitful spirit and fertile mind enriched the barrenness of the time with the wealth of his counsels and heart?

CHAPTER 12

No one asks counsel from a man tainted with vice, or from one who is morose or impracticable, but rather from one of whom we have a pattern in the Scriptures,

60. We note therefore that in seeking for counsel, uprightness of life, excellence in virtues, habits of benevolence, and the charm of good-nature have very great weight. Who seeks for a spring in the mud? Who wants to drink from muddy water? So where there is luxurious living, excess, and a union of vices, who will think that he ought to draw from that source? Who does not despise a foul life? Who will think a man to be useful to another’s cause whom he sees to be useless in his own life? Who, again, does not avoid a wicked, ill-disposed, abusive person, who is always ready to do harm? Who would not be only too eager to avoid him?

61. And who will come to a man however well fitted to give the best of advice who is nevertheless hard to approach? It goes with him as with a fountain whose waters are shut off. What is the advantage of having wisdom, if one refuses to give advice? If one cuts off the opportunities of giving advice, the source is closed, so as no longer to flow for others or to be of any good to oneself.

62. Well can we refer this to him who, possessing prudence, has defiled it with the foulness of a vicious life and so pollutes the water at the source. His life is a proof of a degenerate spirit. How can one judge him to be good

in counsel whom one sees to be evil in character? He ought to be superior to me, if I am ready to trust myself to him. Am I to suppose that he is fit to give me advice who never takes it for himself, or am I to believe that he has time to give to me when he has none for himself, when his mind is filled with pleasures, and he is overcome by lust, is the slave of avarice, is excited by greed, and is terrified with fright? How is there room for counsel here where there is none for quiet?

63. That man of counsel whom I must admire and look up to, whom the gracious Lord gave to our fathers, put aside all that was offensive. His follower he ought to be, who can give counsel and protect another's prudence from vice; for nothing foul can mingle with that.

CHAPTER 13

The beauty of wisdom is made plain by the divine testimony. From this he goes on to prove its connection with the other virtues.

64. Is there any one who would like to be beautiful in face and at the same time to have its charm spoilt by a beast-like body and fearful talons? Now the form of virtues is so wonderful and glorious, and especially the beauty of wisdom, as the whole of the Scriptures tell us. For it is more brilliant than the sun, and when compared with the stars far outshines any constellation. Night takes their light away in its train, but wickedness cannot overcome wisdom.

65. We have spoken of its beauty, and proved it by the witness of Scripture. It remains to show on the authority of Scripture that there can be no fellowship between it and vice, but that it has an inseparable union with the rest of the virtues. "It has a spirit sagacious, undefiled, sure, holy, loving what is good, quick, that never forbids a kindness, kind, steadfast, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things." And again: "She teacheth temperance and justice and virtue."

CHAPTER 14

Prudence is combined with all the virtues,
especially with contempt of riches.

66. Prudence, therefore, works through all things, she has fellowship with all that is good. For how can she give good advice unless she have justice too, so that she may clothe herself in consistency, not fear death, be held back by no alarm, no fear, nor think it right to be turned aside from the truth by any flattery, nor shun exile, knowing that the world is the fatherland of the wise man. She fears not want, for she knows that nothing is wanting to the wise man, since the whole world of riches is his. What is greater than the man that knows not how to be excited at the thought of money, and has a contempt for riches, and looks down as from some lofty vantage-ground on the desires of men? Men think that one who acts thus is more than man: "Who is this," it says, "and we will praise him. For wonderful things hath he done in his life." Surely he ought to be admired who despises riches, seeing that most place them even before their own safety.

67. The rule of economy and the authority of self-restraint befits all, and most of all him who stands highest in honor; so that no love for his treasures may seize upon such a man, and that he who rules over free men may never become a slave to money. It is more seemly that in soul he should be superior to treasures, and in willing service be subject to his friends. For humility increases the regard in which one is held. It is praiseworthy and right for the chief of men to have no desire for filthy lucre in common with Syrian traders and Gilead merchants, nor to place all their hope of good in money, or to count up their daily gains and to calculate their savings like a hireling.

CHAPTER 15

Of liberality. To whom it must chiefly be shown, and how men of slender means may show it by giving their service and counsel.

68. BUT if it is praiseworthy to have one's soul free from this failing, how much more glorious is it to gain the love of the people by liberality which is neither too freely shown to those who are unsuitable, nor too sparingly bestowed upon the needy.

69. There are many kinds of liberality. Not only can we distribute and give away food to those who need it from our own daily supply, so that they may sustain life; but we can also give advice and help to those who are ashamed to show their want openly, so long as the common supplies of the needy are not exhausted. I am now speaking of one set over some office. If he is a priest or almoner, let him inform the bishop of them, and not withhold the name of any he knows to be in any need, or to have lost their wealth and to be now reduced to want; especially if they have not fallen into this trouble owing to wastefulness in youth, but because of another's theft, or through loss of their inheritance from no fault of their own, so that they cannot now earn their daily bread.

70. The highest kind of liberality is, to redeem captives, to save them from the hands of their enemies, to snatch men from death, and, most of all, women from shame, to restore children to their parents, parents to their children, and, to give back a citizen to his country. This was recognized when Thrace and Illyria were so terribly devastated. How many captives were then for sale all over the world! Could one but call them together, their number would have surpassed that of a whole province. Yet there were some who would have sent back into slavery those whom the Church had redeemed. They themselves were harder than slavery itself to look askance at another's mercy. If they themselves (they said) had come to slavery, they would be slaves freely. If they had been sold, they would not refuse the service of slavery. They wished to undo the freedom of others, though they could not undo their own slavery, unless perchance it should please the buyer to receive his price again, whereby, however, slavery would not be simply undone but redeemed.

71. It is then a special quality of liberality to redeem captives, especially from barbarian enemies who are moved by no spark of human feeling to show mercy, except so far as avarice has preserved it with a view to redemption. It is also a great thing to take upon oneself another's debt, if the debtor cannot pay and is hard pressed to do so, and where the money

is due by right and is only left unpaid through want. So, too, it is a sign of great liberality to bring up children, and to take care of orphans.

72. There are others who place in marriage maidens that have lost their parents, so as to preserve their chastity, and who help them not only with good wishes but also by a sum of money. There is also another kind of liberality which the Apostle teaches: “If any that believeth hath widows let him relieve them, that the Church be not burdened by supplying them, that it may have enough for those that are widows indeed.”

73. Useful, then, is liberality of this sort; but it is not common to all. For there are many good men who have but slender means, and are content with little for their own use, and are not able to give help to lighten the poverty of others. However, another sort of kindness is ready to their hand, whereby they can help those poorer still. For there is a twofold liberality: one that gives actual assistance, that is, in money; the other, which is busy in offering active help, is often much grander and nobler.

74. How much grander it was for Abraham to have recovered his captured son-in-law by his victorious arms, than if he had ransomed him! How much more usefully did holy Joseph help King Pharaoh by his counsel to provide for the future. than if he had offered him money! For money would not have bought back the fruitfulness of any one state; whilst he by his foresight kept the famine for five years from the whole of Egypt.

75. Money is easily spent; counsels can never be exhausted. They only grow the stronger by constant use. Money grows less and quickly comes to an end, and has failed even kindness itself; so that the more there are to whom one wants to give, the fewer one can help; and often one has not got what one thinks ought to be given to others. But as regards the offer of advice and active help, the more there are to spend it on, the more there seems to be, and the more it returns to its own source. The rich stream of prudence ever flows back upon itself, and the more it has reached out to, so much the more active becomes all that remains.

CHAPTER 16

Due measure must be observed in liberality, that it may not be expended on worthless persons, when it is needed by worthier ones. However, alms are not to be given in too sparing and hesitating a way. One ought rather to follow the example of the blessed Joseph, whose prudence is commended at great length.

76. IT is clear, then, that there ought to be due measure in our liberality, that our gifts may not become useless. Moderation must be observed, especially by priests, for fear that they should give away for the sake of ostentation, and not for justice' sake. Never was the greed of beggars greater than it is now. They come in full vigor, they come with no reason but that they are on the tramp. They want to empty the purses of the poor — to deprive them of their means of support. Not content with a little, they ask for more. In the clothes that cover them they seek a ground to urge their demands, and with lies about their lives they ask for further sums of money. If any one were to trust their tale too readily, he would quickly drain the fund which is meant to serve for the sustenance of the poor. Let there be method in our giving, so that the poor may not go away empty nor the subsistence of the needy be done away and become the spoil of the dishonest. Let there be then such due measure that kindness may never be put aside, and true need never be left neglected.

77. Many pretend they have debts. Let the truth be looked into. They bemoan the fact that they have been stripped of everything by robbers. In such a case give credit only if the misfortune is apparent, or the person is well known; and then readily give help. To those rejected by the Church supplies must be granted if they are in want of food. He, then, that observes method in his giving is hard towards none, but is free towards all, We ought not only to lend our ears to hear the voices of those who plead, but also our eyes to look into their needs. Weakness calls more loudly to the good dispenser than the voice of the poor. It cannot always be that the cries of an importunate beggar will never extort more, but let us not always give way to impudence. He must be seen who does not see thee. He must be sought for who is ashamed to be seen. He also that is in prison must

come to thy thoughts; another seized with sickness must present himself to thy mind, as he cannot reach thy ears.

78. The more people see thy zeal in showing mercy, the more will they love thee, I know many priests who had the more, the more they gave, For they who see a good dispenser give him something to distribute in his round of duty, sure that the act of mercy will reach the poor. If they see him giving away either in excess or too sparingly, they contemn either of these; in the one case because he wastes the fruits of another's labors by unnecessary payments, on the other hand because he hoards them in his money bags. As, then, method must be observed in liberality, so also at times it seems as though the spur must be applied. Method, then, so that the kindness one shows may be able to be shown day by day, and that we may not have to withdraw from a needful case what we have freely spent on waste. A spur, because money is better laid out in food for the poor than on a purse for the rich. We must take care test in our money chests we shut up the welfare of the needy, and bury the life of the poor as it were in a sepulcher.

79. Joseph could have given away all the wealth of Egypt, and have spent the royal treasures; but he would not even seem to be wasteful of what was another's. He preferred to sell the corn rather than to give it to the hungry. For if he had given it to a few there would have been none for most. He gave good proof of that liberality whereby there was enough for all. He opened the storehouses that all might buy their corn supply, lest if they received it for nothing, they should give up cultivating the ground. For he who has the use of what is another's often neglects his own.

80. First of all, then, he gathered up their money, then their implements, last of all he acquired for the king all their rights to the ground. He did not wish to deprive all of them of their property, but to support them in it. He also imposed a general tax, that they might hold their own in safety. So pleasing was this to all from whom he had taken the land, that they looked on it, not as the selling of their rights, but as the recovery of their welfare. Thus they spoke: "Thou hast saved our lives, let us find grace in the sight of our Lord." For they had lost nothing of their own, but had received a new right. Nothing of what was useful to them had failed, for they had now gained it in perpetuity.

81. O noble man! who sought not for the fleeting glory of a needless bounty, but set up as his memorial the lasting benefits of his foresight. He acted so that the people should help themselves by their payments, and should not in their time of need seek help from others. For it was surely better to give up part of their crops than to lose the whole of their rights. He fixed the impost at a fifth of their whole produce, and thus showed himself clear-sighted in making provision for the future, and liberal in the tax he laid upon them. Never after did Egypt suffer from such a famine.

82. How splendidly he inferred the future. First, how acutely, when interpreting the royal dream, he stated the truth. This was the king's first dream. Seven heifers came up out of the river well-favored and fat-fleshed, and they fed at the banks of the river. And other bullocks ill-favored and lean-fleshed came up out of the river after the heifers, and fed near them on the very edge of the river. And these thin and wretched bullocks seemed to devour those others which were so fat and well-favored. And this was the second dream. Seven fat ears full and good came up from the ground. And after them seven wretched ears, blasted with the wind and withered, endeavored to take their place. And it seemed that the barren and thin ears devoured the rich and fruitful ears.

83. This dream Joseph unfolded as follows: that the seven heifers were seven years, and the seven ears likewise were seven years, — interpreting the times by the produce of cattle and crops. For both the calving of a heifer takes a year, and the produce of a crop fills out a whole year. And they came up out of the river just as days, years, and times pass by and flow along swiftly like the rivers. He therefore states that the seven earlier years of a rich land will be fertile and fruitful but the latter seven years will be barren and unfruitful, whose barrenness will eat up the richness of the former time. Wherefore he warns them to see that supplies of corn are got together in the fruitful years that they may help out the needs of the coming scarcity.

84. What shall we admire first? His powers of mind, with which he descended to the very resting-place of truth? Or his counsel, whereby he foresaw so great and lasting a need? Or his watchfulness or justice? By his watchfulness, when so high an office was given him, he gathered together such vast supplies; and through his justice he treated all alike. And what

am I to say of his greatness of mind? For though sold by his brothers into slavery, he took no revenge for this wrong, but put an end to their want. What of his gentleness, whereby by a pious fraud he sought to gain the presence of his beloved brother whom, under pretense of a well-planned theft, he declared to have stolen his property, that he might hold him as a hostage of his love?

85. Whence it was deservedly said to him by his father: “My son Joseph is enlarged, my son is enlarged, my younger son, my beloved. My God hath helped thee and blessed thee with the blessing of heaven above and the blessing of the earth, the earth that hath all things, on account of the blessings of thy father and thy mother. It hath prevailed over the blessings of the everlasting hills and the desires of the eternal hills.” And in Deuteronomy: “Thou Who wast seen in the bush, that Thou mayest come upon the head of Joseph, upon his pate. Honored among his brethren, his glory is as the firstling of his bullocks; his horns are like the horns of unicorns. With his horn he shall push the nations even to the ends of the earth. They are the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh.”

CHAPTER 17

What virtues ought to exist in him whom we consult. How Joseph and Paul were equipped with them.

86. Such, then, ought he to be who gives counsel to another, in order that he may offer himself as a pattern in all good works, in teaching, in trueness of character, in seriousness. Thus his words will be wholesome and irreproachable, his counsel useful, his life virtuous, and his opinions seemly.

87. Such was Paul, who gave counsel to virgins, guidance to priests, so as to offer himself as a pattern for us to copy. Thus he knew how to be humble, as also Joseph did, who, though sprung from the noble family of the patriarchs, was not ashamed of his base slavery; rather he adorned it with his ready service, and made it glorious by his virtues. He knew how to be humble who had to go through the hands of both buyer and seller, and called them, Lord. Hear him as he humbles himself: “My Lord on my

account knoweth not what is in his house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand, neither hath he kept back anything from me but thee, because thou art his wife; how, then, can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?” Full of humility are his words, full, too, of chastity. Of humility, for he was obedient to his Lord; of an honorable spirit, for he was grateful; full, also, of chastity, for he thought it a terrible sin to be defiled by so great a crime.

88. Such, then, ought the man of counsel to be. He must have nothing dark, or deceptive, or false about him, to cast a shadow on his life and character, nothing wicked or evil to keep back those who want advice. For there are some things which one flies from, others which one despises. We fly from those things which can do harm, or can perfidiously and quietly grow to do us hurt, as when he whose advice we ask is of doubtful honor, or is desirous of money, so that a certain sum can make him change his mind. If a man acts unjustly, we fly from him and avoid him. A man that is a pleasure seeker and extravagant, although he does not act falsely, yet is avaricious and too fond of filthy lucre; such an one is despised. What proof of hard work, what fruits of labor, can he give who gives himself up to a sluggish and idle life, or what cares and anxieties ever enter his mind?

89. Therefore the man of good counsel says: “I have learnt in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content.” For he knew that the root of all evils is the love of money, and therefore he was content with what he had, without seeking for what was another’s. Sufficient for me, he says, is what I have; whether I have little or much, to me it is much. It seems as though he wanted to state it as clearly as possible. He makes use of these words: “I am content,” he says, “with what I have.” That means: “I neither have want, nor have I too much. I have no want, for I seek nothing more. I have not too much, for I have it not for myself, but for the many.” This is said with reference to money.

90. But he could have said these words about everything, for all that he had at the moment contented him; that is, he wanted no greater honor, he sought for no further services, he was not desirous of vainglory, nor did he look for gratitude where it was not due; but patient in labors, sure in his merits, he waited for the end of the struggle that he must needs endure. “I know,” he says, “how to be abused.” An untaught humility has no claim to

praise, but only that which possesses modesty and a knowledge of self. For there is a humility that rests on fear, one, too, that rests on want of skill and ignorance. Therefore the Scripture says: “He will save the humble in spirit.” Gloriously, therefore, does he say: “I know how to be abased;” that is to say, where, in what moderation, to what end, in what duty, in which office. The Pharisee knew not how to be abased, therefore he was cast down. The publican knew, and therefore he was justified.

91. Paul knew, too, how to abound, for he had a rich soul, though he possessed not the treasure of a rich man. He knew how to abound, for he sought no gift in money, but looked for fruit in grace. We can understand his words that he knew how to abound also in another way. For he could say again: “O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged.”

92. In all things he was accustomed both to be full and to be hungry. Blessed is he that knows how to be full in Christ. Not corporal, but spiritual, is that satiety which knowledge brings about. And rightly is there need of knowledge: “For man lives not by bread alone, but by every word of God.” For he who knew how to be full also knew how to be hungry, so as to be always seeking something new, hungering after God, thirsting for the Lord. He knew how to hunger, for he knew that the hungry shall eat. He knew, also, how to abound, and was able to abound, for he had nothing and yet possessed all things.

CHAPTER 18

We learn from the fact of the separation of the ten tribes from King Rehoboam what harm bad counselors can do.

93. Justice, then, especially graces men that are set over any office; on the other hand, injustice fails them and fights against them. Scripture itself gives us an example, where it says, that when the people of Israel, after the death of Solomon, had asked his son Rehoboam to free their neck from their cruel yoke, and to lighten the harshness of his father’s rule, he, despising the counsel of the old men, gave the following answer at the suggestion of the young men: “He would add a burden to the yoke of his father, and change their lighter toils for harder.”

94. Angered by this answer, the people said: “We have no portion in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse. Return to your tents, O Israel. For we will not have this man for a prince or a leader over us.” So, forsaken and deserted by the people, he could keep with him scarce two of the ten tribes for David’s sake.

CHAPTER 19

Many are won by justice and benevolence and courtesy, but all this must be sincere.

95. It is plain, then, that equity strengthens empires, and injustice destroys them. How could wickedness hold fast a kingdom when it cannot even rule over a single family? There is need, therefore, of the greatest kindness, so that we may preserve not only the government of affairs in general, but also the rights of individuals. Benevolence is of the greatest value; for it seeks to embrace all in its favors, to bind them to itself by fulfilling duties, and to pledge them to itself by its charm.

96. We have also said that courtesy of speech has great effect in winning favor. But we want it to be sincere and sensible, without flattery, lest flattery should disgrace the simplicity and purity of our address. We ought to be a pattern to others not only in act but also in word, in purity, and in faith. What we wish to be thought, such let us be; and let us show openly such feelings as we have within us. Let us not say an unjust word in our heart that we think can be hid in silence, for He hears things said in secret Who made things secret, and knows the secrets of the heart, and has implanted feelings within. Therefore as though under the eyes of the Judge let us consider all we do as set forth in the light, that it may be manifest to all.

CHAPTER 20

Familiarity with good men is very advantageous to all, especially to the young, as is shown by the example of Joshua and Moses and

others. Further, those who are unlike in age are often alike in virtues, as Peter and John prove.

97. It is a very good thing to unite oneself to a good man. It is also very useful for the young to follow the guidance of great and wise men. For he who lives in company with wise men is wise himself; but he who clings to the foolish is looked on as a fool too. This friendship with the wise is a great help in teaching us, and also as giving a sure proof of our uprightness. Young men show very soon that they imitate those to whom they attach themselves. And this idea gains ground from the fact that in all their daily life they grow to be like those with whom they have enjoyed intercourse to the full.

98. Joshua the son of Nun became so great, because his union with Moses was the means not only of instructing him in a knowledge of the law, but also of sanctifying him to receive grace. When in His tabernacle the majesty of the Lord was seen to shine forth in its divine Presence, Joshua alone was in the tabernacle. When Moses spoke with God, Joshua too was covered by the sacred cloud. The priests and people stood below, and Joshua and Moses went up the mount to receive the law. All the people were within the camp; Joshua was without the camp in the tabernacle of witness. When the pillar of a cloud came down, and God spoke with Moses, he stood as a trusty servant beside him; and he, a young man, did not go out of the tabernacle, though the old men who stood afar off trembled at these divine wonders.

99. Everywhere, therefore, he alone kept close to holy Moses amid all these wondrous works and dread secrets. Wherefore it happens that he who had been his companion in this intercourse with God succeeded to his power. Worthy surely was he to stand forth as a man who might stay the course of the river, and who might say: “Sun, stand still,” and delay the night and lengthen the day, as though to witness his victory. Why? — a blessing denied to Moses — he alone was chosen to lead the people into the promised land. A man he was, great in the wonders he wrought by faith, great in his triumphs. The works of Moses were of a higher type, his brought greater success. Either of these then aided by divine grace rose above all human standing. The one ruled the sea, the other heaven.

100. Beautiful, therefore, is the union between old and young. The one to give witness, the other to give comfort; the one to give guidance, the other to give pleasure. I pass by Lot, who when young clung to Abraham, as he was setting out. For some perhaps might say this arose rather owing to their relationship than from any voluntary action on his part. And what are we to say of Elijah and Elisha? Though Scripture has not in so many words stated that Elisha was a young man, yet we gather from it that he was the younger. In the Acts of the Apostles, Barnabas took Mark with him, and Paul took Silas and Timothy and Titus.

101. We see also that duties were divided amongst them according to their superiority in anything. The elders took the lead in giving counsel, the younger in showing activity. Often, too, those who were alike in virtue but unlike in years were greatly rejoiced at their union, as Peter and John were. We read in the Gospel that John was a young man, even in his own words, though he was behind none of the elders in merits and wisdom. For in him there was a venerable ripeness of character and the prudence of the hoarhead. An unspotted life is the due of a good old age.

CHAPTER 21

To defend the weak, or to help strangers, or to perform similar duties, greatly adds to one's worth, especially in the case of tried men. Whilst one gets great blame for love of money; wastefulness, also, in the cue of priests is very much condemned.

102. The regard in which one is held is also very much enhanced when one rescues a poor man out of the hands of a powerful one, or saves a condemned criminal from death; so long as it can be done without disturbance, for fear that we might seem to be doing it rather for the sake of showing off than for pity's sake, and so might inflict severer wounds whilst desiring to heal slighter ones. But if one has freed a man who is crushed down by the resources and faction of a powerful person, rather than overwhelmed by the deserts of his own wickedness, then the witness of a great and high opinion grows strong.

103. Hospitality also serves to recommend many. For it is a kind of open display of kindly feelings: so that the stranger may not want hospitality,

but be courteously received, and that the door may be open to him when he comes. It is most seemly in the eyes of the whole world that the stranger should be received with honor; that the charm of hospitality should not fail at our table; that we should meet a guest with ready and free service, and look out for his arrival.

104. This especially was Abraham's praise, for he watched at the door. of his tent, that no stranger by any chance might pass by. He carefully kept a lookout, so as to meet the stranger, and anticipate him, and ask him not to pass by, saying: "My Lord, if I have found favor in thy sight, pass not by thy servant." Therefore as a reward for his hospitality, he received the gift of posterity.

105. Lot also, his nephew, who was near to him not only in relationship but also in virtue, on account of his readiness to show hospitality, turned aside the punishment of Sodom from himself and his family.

106. A man ought therefore to be hospitable, kind, upright, not desirous of what belongs to another, willing to give up some of his own rights if assailed, rather than to take away another's. He ought to avoid disputes, to hate quarrels. He ought to restore unity and the grace of quietness. When a good man gives up any of his own rights, it is not only a sign of liberality, but is also accompanied by great advantages. To start with, it is no small gain to be free from the cost of a lawsuit. Then it also brings in good results, by an increase of friendship, from which many advantages rise. These become afterwards most useful to the man that can despise a little something at the time.

107. In all the duties of hospitality kindly feeling must be shown to all, but greater respect must be given to the upright. For "Whosoever receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward," as the Lord has said. Such is the favor in which hospitality stands with God, that not even the draught of cold water shall fail of getting a reward. Thou seest that Abraham, in looking for guests, received God Himself to entertain. Thou seest that Lot received the angels. And how dost thou know that when thou receivest men, thou dost not receive Christ? Christ may be in the stranger that comes, for Christ is there in the person of the poor, as He Himself says: "I was in prison and thou camest to Me, I was naked and thou didst clothe Me.".

108. It is sweet, then, to seek not for money but for grace. It is true that this evil has long ago entered into human hearts, so that money stands in the place of honor, and the minds of men are filled with admiration for wealth. Thus love of money sinks in and as it were dries up every kindly duty; so that men consider everything a loss which is spent beyond the usual amount. But even here the holy Scriptures have been on the watch against love of money, that it might prove no cause of hindrance, saying: “Better is hospitality, even though it consisteth only of herbs.” And again: “Better is bread in pleasantness with peace.” For the Scriptures teach us not to be wasteful, but liberal.

109. There are two kinds of free-giving, one arising from liberality, the other from wasteful extravagance. It is a mark of liberality to receive the stranger, to clothe the naked, to redeem the captives, to help the needy. It is wasteful to spend money on expensive banquets and much wine. Wherefore one reads: “Wine is wasteful, drunkenness is abusive.” It is wasteful to spend one’s own wealth merely for the sake of gaining the favor of the people. This they do who spend their inheritance on the games of the circus, or on theatrical pieces and gladiatorial shows, or even a combat of wild beasts, just to surpass the fame of their forefathers for these things. All this that they do is but foolish, for it is not right to be extravagant in spending money even on good works.

110. It is a right kind of liberality to keep due measure towards the poor themselves, that one may have enough for more; and not to go beyond the right limit for the sake of winning favor. Whatever comes forth out of a pure sincere disposition, that is seemly. It is also seemly not to enter on unnecessary undertakings, nor to omit those that are needed.

111. But it befits the priest especially to adorn the temple of God with fitting splendor, so that the court of the Lord may be made glorious by his endeavors. He ought always to spend money as mercy demands. It behooves him to give to strangers what is right. This must not be too much, but enough; not more than, but as much as, kindly feeling demands, so that he may never seek another’s favor at the expense of the poor, nor show himself as either too stingy or too free to the clergy. The one act is unkind, the other wasteful. It is unkind if money should be wanting for the

necessities of those whom one ought to win back from their wretched employments. It is wasteful if there should be too much over for pleasure.

CHAPTER 22

We must observe a right standard between too great mildness and excessive harshness. They who endeavor to creep into the hearts of others by a false show of mildness gain nothing substantial or lasting. This the example of Absalom plainly enough shows.

112. MOREOVER, due measure befits even our words and instructions, that it may not seem as though there was either too great mildness or too much harshness. Many prefer to be too mild, so as to appear to be good. But it is certain that nothing feigned or false can bear the form of true virtue; nay, it cannot even last. At first it flourishes, then, as time goes on, like a floweret it fades and passes away, but what is true and sincere has a deep root.

113. To prove by examples our assertion that what is reigned cannot last, but flourishing just for a time quickly fails, we will take one example of pretense and falsehood from that family, from which we have already drawn so many examples to show their growth in virtue.

114. Absalom was King David's son, known for his beauty, of splendid appearance and in the heyday of youth; so that no other such man as he was found in Israel. He was without a blemish from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head. He had for himself a chariot and horses and fifty men to run before him. He rose at early dawn and stood before the gate in the way, and whoever he knew to be seeking the judgment of the king, he called to himself, saying: "From what city art thou?" And he answered: "I thy servant am of one of the tribes of Israel." And Absalom answered: "Thy words are good and right. Is there none given thee by the king to hear thee? Who will make me a judge? And whosoever will come unto me, that hath need of judgment, I will give him justice." With such words he cajoled them. And when they came to make obeisance to him, stretching forth his hand he took hold of them and kissed them. So he turned the hearts of all to himself. For flattery of this sort quickly finds its way to touch the very depths of the heart.

115. Those spoilt and ambitious men chose what for a time seemed an honor to them, and was pleasing and enjoyable. But whilst that delay took place, which the prophet, being prudent above all, thought ought to intervene, they could no longer hold out or bear it. Then David having no doubt about the victory commended his son to those who went out to fight, so that they should spare him. He would not engage in the battle himself test he should seem to be taking up arms against one who was still his son, though attempting to destroy his father.

116. It is clear, then, that those things are lasting and sound, which are true and grow out of a sincere and not a false heart. Those, however, which are brought about by pretense and adulation can never last for long.

CHAPTER 23

The good faith of those who are easily bought over with money or flattery is a frail thing to trust to.

117. WHO would suppose that those who are bought over to obedience by money, or those who are allured by adulation, would ever be faithful to them? For the former are ever ready to sell themselves, whilst the latter cannot put up with a hard rule. They are easily won with a little adulation, but if one reproves them by a word, they murmur against it, they give one up, they go away with hostile feelings, they forsake one in anger. They prefer to rule rather than to obey. They think that those whom they ought to have placed over them ought to be subject to themselves, as though indebted to them by their kindness.

118. What man is there that thinks those will be faithful to himself, whom he believes he will have to bind to himself by money or flattery? For he who takes thy money supposes that he is cheaply held, and looked down upon, unless the money is paid again and again. So he frequently expects his price; whilst the other, who is met with prayer and flattery, is always wanting to be asked.

CHAPTER 24

We must strive for preferment only by right means. An office undertaken must be carded out wisely and with moderation. The inferior clergy should not detract from the bishop's reputation by reigned virtues; nor again, should the bishop be jealous of a cleric, but he should be just in all things and especially in giving judgment.

119. I think, then, that one should strive to win preferment, especially in the Church, only by good actions and with a right aim; so that there may be no proud conceit, no idle carelessness, no shameful disposition of mind, no unseemly ambition. A plain simplicity of mind is enough for everything, and commends itself quite sufficiently.

120. When in office, again, it is not right to be harsh and severe, nor may one be too easy; lest on the one hand we should seem to be exercising a despotic power, and on the other to be by no means filling the office we had taken up.

121. We must strive also to win many by kindnesses and duties that we can do, and to preserve the favor already shown us. For they will with good reason forget the benefits of former times if they are now vexed at some great wrong. For it often enough happens that those one has shown favor to and allowed to rise step by step, are driven away, if one decides in some unworthy way to put another before them. But it is seemly for a priest to show such favor in his kindnesses and his decisions as to guard equity, and to show regard to the other clergy as to parents.

122. Those who once stood approved should not now become overbearing, but rather, as mindful of the grace they have received, stand firm in their humility. A priest ought not to be offended if either cleric or attendant or any ecclesiastic should win regard for himself, by showing mercy, or by fasting, or by uprightness of life, or by teaching and reading. For the grace of the Church is the praise of the teacher. It is a good thing that the work of another should be praised, if only it be done without any desire to boast. For each one should receive praise from the lips of his neighbor, and not from his own mouth, and each one should be commended by the work he has done, not merely by the wishes he had.

223. But if any one is disobedient to his bishop and wishes to exalt and upraise himself, and to overshadow his bishop's merits by a feigned appearance of learning or humility or mercy, he is wandering from the truth in his pride; for the rule of truth is, to do nothing to advance one's own cause whereby another loses ground, nor to use whatever good one has to the disgrace or blame of another.

124. Never protect a wicked man, nor allow the sacred things to be given over to an unworthy one; on the other hand, do not harass and press hard on a man whose fault is not clearly proved. Injustice quickly gives offense in every case, but especially in the Church, where equity ought to exist, where like treatment should be given to all, so that a powerful person may not claim the more, nor a rich man appropriate the more. For whether we be poor or rich, we are one in Christ. Let him that lives a holier life claim nothing more thereby for himself; for he ought rather to be the more humble for it.

125. In giving judgment let us have no respect of persons. Favor must be put out of sight, and the case be decided on its merits. Nothing is so great a strain on another's good opinion or confidence, as the fact of our giving away the cause of the weaker to the more powerful in any case that comes before us. The same happens if we are hard on the poor, whilst we make excuses for the rich man when guilty. Men are ready enough to flatter those in high positions, so as not to let them think themselves injured, or to feel vexed as though overthrown. But if thou fearest to give offense then do not undertake to give judgment. If thou art a priest or some cleric do not urge it. It is allowable for thee to be silent in the matter, if it be a money affair, though it is always due to consistency to be on the side of equity. But in the cause of God, where there is danger to the whole Church, it is no small sin to act as though one saw nothing.

CHAPTER 25

Benefits should be conferred on the poor rather than on the rich, for these latter either think a return is expected from them, or else they are angry at seeming to be indebted for such an action. But the poor man makes God the debtor in his place, and freely owns to the

benefits he has received. To these remarks is added a warning to despise riches.

126. BUT what advantage is it to thee to show favor to a rich man? Is it that he is more ready to repay one who loves him? For we generally show favor to those from whom we expect to receive a return of favor. But we ought to think far more of the weak and helpless, because we hope to receive, on behalf of him who has it not, a recompense from the Lord Jesus, Who in the likeness of a marriage feast has given us a general representation of virtue. By this He bids us confer benefits rather on those who cannot give them to us in return, teaching us to bid to our feasts and meals, not those who are rich, but those that are poor. For the rich seem to be asked that they may prepare a banquet for us in return; the poor, as they have nothing wherewith to make return, when they receive anything, make the Lord to be our recompense Who has offered Himself as surety for the poor.

127. In the ordinary course of things, too, the conferring of a benefit on the poor is of more use than when it is conferred on the rich. The rich man scorns the benefit and is ashamed to feel indebted for a favor. Nay, moreover, whatever is offered to him he takes as due to his merits, as though only a just debt were paid him; or else he thinks it was but given because the giver expected a still greater return to be made him by the rich man. So. in accepting a kindness, the rich man, on that very ground, thinks that he has given more than he ever received. The poor man, however, though he has no money wherewith he can repay, at least shows his gratitude. And heroin it is certain that he returns more than he received. For money is paid in coins, but gratitude never fails; money grows less by payment, but gratitude fails when held back, and is preserved when given to others. Next — a thing the rich man avoids — the poor man owns that he feels bound by the debt. He really thinks help has been given him, not that it has been offered in return for his honor. He considers that his children have been again given him, that his life is restored and his family preserved. How much better, then, is it to confer benefits upon the good than on the ungrateful.

128. Wherefore the Lord said to His disciples: “Take neither gold nor silver nor money.” Whereby as with a sickle He cuts off the love of money

that is ever growing up in human hearts. Peter also said to the lame man, who was always carried even from his mother's womb: "Silver and gold have I none, but what I have give I thee. In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk." So he gave not money, but he gave health. How much better it is to have health without money, than money without health! The lame man rose; he had not hoped for that: he received no money; though he had hoped for that. But riches are hardly to be found among the saints of the Lord, so as to become objects of contempt to them.

CHAPTER 26

How long standing an evil love of money is, is plain from many examples in the Old Testament. And yet it is plain, too, how idle a thing the possession of money is.

129. BUT man's habits have so long applied themselves to this admiration of money, that no one is thought worthy of honor unless he is rich. This is no new habit. Nay, this vice (and that makes the matter worse) grew long years ago in the hearts of men. When the city of Jericho fell at the sound of the priests' trumpets, and Joshua the son of Nun gained the victory, he knew that the valor of the people was weakened through love of money and desire for gold. For when Achan had taken a garment of gold and two hundred shekels of silver and a golden ingot from the spoils of the ruined city, he was brought before the Lord, and could not deny the theft, but owned it.

130. Love of money, then, is an old, an ancient vice, which showed itself even at the declaration of the divine law; for a law was given to check it. On account of love of money Balak thought Balaam could be tempted by rewards to curse the people of our fathers. Love of money would have won the day too, had not God bidden him hold back from cursing. Overcome by love of money Achan led to destruction all the people of the fathers. So Joshua the son of Nun, who could stay the sun from setting, could not stay the love of money in man from creeping on. At the sound of his voice the sun stood still, but love of money stayed not. When the sun

stood still Joshua completed his triumph, but when love of money went on, he almost lost the victory.

131. Why? Did not the woman Delilah's love of money deceive Samson, the bravest man of all So he who had torn asunder the roaring lion with his hands; who, when bound and handed over to his enemies, alone, without help, burst his bonds and slew a thousand of them; who broke the cords interwoven with sinews as though they were but the slight threads of a net; he, I say, having laid his head on the woman's knee, was robbed of the decoration of his victory-bringing hair, that which gave him his might. Money flowed into the lap of the woman, and the favor of God forsook the man.

132. Love of money, then, is deadly. Seductive is money, whilst it also defiles those who have it, and helps not those who have it not. Supposing that money sometimes is a help, yet it is only a help to a poor man who makes his want known. What good is it to him who does not long for it, nor seek it; who does not need its help and is not turned aside by pursuit of it? What good is it to others, if he who has it is alone the richer for it? Is he therefore more honorable because he has that whereby honor is often lost, because he has what he must guard rather than possess? We possess what we use, but what is beyond our use brings us no fruit of possession, but only the danger of watching.

CHAPTER 27

In contempt of money there is the pattern of justice, which virtue bishops and clerics ought to aim at together with some others. A few words are added on the duty of not bringing an excommunication too quickly into force.

133. To come to an end; we know that contempt of riches is a form of justice, therefore we ought to avoid love of money, and strive with all our powers never to do anything against justice, but to guard it in all our deeds and actions.

134. If we would please God, we must have love, we must be of one mind, we must follow humility, each one thinking the other higher than himself.

This is true humility, when one never claims anything proudly for oneself, but thinks oneself to be the inferior. The bishop should treat the clerics and attendants, who are indeed his sons, as members of himself, and give to each one that duty for which he sees him to be fit.

135. Not without pain is a limb of the body cut off which has become corrupt. It is treated for a long time, to see if it can be cured with various remedies. If it cannot be cured, then it is cut off by a good physician. Thus it is a good bishop's desire to wish to heal the weak, to remove the spreading ulcers, to burn some parts and not to cut them off; and lastly, when they cannot be healed, to cut them off with pain to himself. Wherefore that beautiful rule of the Apostle stands forth brightly, that we should look each one, not on his own things, but on the things of others. In this way it will never come about that we shall in anger give way to our own feelings, or concede more than is right in favor to our own wishes.

CHAPTER 28

Mercy must be freely shown even though it brings an odium of its own. With regard to this, reference is made to the well-known story about the sacred vessels which were broken up by Ambrose to pay for the redemption of captives; and very beautiful advice is given about the right use of the gold and silver which the Church possesses. Next, after showing from the action of holy Lawrence what are the true treasures of the Church, certain rules are laid down which ought to be observed in melting down and employing for such uses the consecrated vessels of the Church.

136. It is a very great incentive to mercy to share in others' misfortunes, to help the needs of others as far as our means allow, and sometimes even beyond them. For it is better for mercy's sake to take up a case, or to suffer odium rather than to show hard feeling. So I once brought odium on myself because I broke up the sacred vessels to redeem captives — a fact that could displease the Arians. Not that it displeased them as an act, but as being a thing in which they could take hold of something for which to blame me. Who can be so hard, cruel, iron-hearted, as to be displeased because a man is redeemed from death, or a woman from barbarian

impurities, things that are worse than death, or boys and girls and infants from the pollution of idols, whereby through fear of death they were defiled?

137. Although we did not act thus without good reason, yet we have followed it up among the people so as to confess and to add again and again that it was far better to preserve souls than gold for the Lord. For He Who sent the apostles without gold also brought together the churches without gold. The Church has gold, not to store up, but to lay out, and to spend on those who need. What necessity is there to guard what is of no good? Do we not know how much gold and silver the Assyrians took out of the temple of the Lord? Is it not much better that the priests should melt it down for the sustenance of the poor, if other supplies fail, than that a sacrilegious enemy should carry it off and defile it? Would not the Lord Himself say: Why didst thou suffer so many needy to die of hunger? Surely thou hadst gold? Thou shouldst have given them sustenance. Why are so many captives brought on the slave market, and why are so many unredeemed left to be slain by the enemy? It had been better to preserve living vessels than gold ones.

138. To this no answer could be given. For what wouldst thou say: I feared that the temple of God would need its ornaments? He would answer: The sacraments need not gold, nor are they proper to gold only — for they are not bought with gold. The glory of the sacraments is the redemption of captives. Truly they are precious vessels, for they redeem men from death. That, indeed, is the true treasure of the Lord which effects what His blood effected. Then, indeed, is the vessel of the Lord’s blood recognized, when one sees in either redemption, so that the chalice redeems from the enemy those whom His blood redeemed from sin. How beautifully it is said, when long lines of captives are redeemed by the Church: These Christ has redeemed. Behold the gold that can be tried, behold the useful gold, behold the gold of Christ which frees from death, behold the gold whereby modesty is redeemed and chastity is preserved.

139. These, then, I preferred to hand over to you as free men, rather than to store up the gold. This crowd of captives, this company surely is more glorious than the sight of cups. The gold of the Redeemer ought to contribute to this work so as to redeem those in danger. I recognize the fact

that the blood of Christ not only glows in cups of gold, but also by the office of redemption has impressed upon them the power of the divine operation.

140. Such gold the holy martyr Lawrence preserved for the Lord. For when the treasures of the Church were demanded from him, he promised that he would show them. On the following day he brought the poor together. When asked where the treasures were which he had promised, he pointed to the poor, saying: “These are the treasures of the Church.” And truly they were treasures, in whom Christ lives, in whom there is faith in Him. So, too, the Apostle says: “We have this treasure in earthen vessels.” What greater treasures has Christ than those in whom He says He Himself lives? For thus it is written: “I was hungry and ye gave Me to eat, I was thirsty and ye gave Me to drink, I was a stranger and ye took Me in.” And again: “What thou didst to one of these, thou didst it unto Me.” What better treasures has Jesus than those in which He loves to be seen?

141. These treasures Lawrence pointed out, and prevailed, for the persecutors could not take them away. Jehoiachim, who preserved his gold during the siege and spent it not in providing food, saw his gold carried off, and himself led into captivity. Lawrence, who preferred to spend the gold of the Church on the poor, rather than to keep it in hand for the persecutor, received the sacred crown of martyrdom for the unique and deep-sighted vigor of his meaning. Or was it perhaps said to holy Lawrence: “Thou shouldst not spend the treasures of the Church, or sell the sacred vessels “?

142. It is necessary that every one should fill this office, with genuine good faith and clear-sighted forethought. If any one derives profit from it for himself it is a crime, but if he spends the treasures on the poor, or redeems captives, he shows mercy. For no one can say: Why does the poor man live? None can complain that captives are redeemed, none can find fault because a temple of the Lord is built, none can be angry because a plot of ground has been enlarged for the burial of the bodies of the faithful, none can be vexed because in the tombs of the Christians there is rest for the dead. In these three ways it is allowable to break up, melt down, or sell even the sacred vessels of the Church.

143. It is necessary to see that the mystic cup does not go out of the Church, lest the service of the sacred chalice should be turned over to base uses. Therefore vessels were first sought for in the Church which had not been consecrated to such holy uses. Then broken up and afterwards melted down, they were given to the poor in small payments, and were also used for the ransom of captives. But if new vessels fail, or those which never seem to have been used tot such a holy purpose, then, as I have already said, I think that all might be put to this use without irreverence.

CHAPTER 29

The property of widows or of all the faithful, that has been entrusted to the Church, ought to be defended though it brings danger to oneself. This is illustrated by the example of Onias the priest, and of Ambrose, bishop of Ticinum.

144. GREAT care must be taken that the property entrusted by widows remains inviolate. It should be guarded without causing complaint, not only if it belongs to widows, but to any one at all. For good faith must be shown to all, though the cause of the widow and orphans comes first.

145. So everything entrusted to the temple was preserved in the name of the widows alone, as we read in the book of the Maccabees. For when information was given of the money, which Simon treacherously had told King Antiochus could be found in large quantities in the temple at Jerusalem, Heliodorus was sent to look into the matter. He came to the temple, and made known to the high priest his hateful information and the reason of his coming.

146. Then the priest said that only means for the maintenance of the widows and orphans was laid up there. And when Heliodorus would have gone to seize it, and to claim it on the king's behalf, the, priests cast themselves before the altar, after putting on their priestly robes, and with tears called on the living God Who had given them the law concerning trust-money to show Himself as guardian of His own commands. The changed look and color of the high priest showed what grief of soul and anxiety and tension of mind were his. All wept, for the spot would fall into contempt, if not even in the temple of God safe and faithful

guardianship could be preserved. Women with breasts girded, and virgins who usually were shut in, knocked at the doors. Some ran to the walls, others looked out of the windows, all raised their hands to heaven in prayer that God would stand by His laws.

147. But Heliodorus, undeterred by this, was eager to carry out his intention, and had already surrounded the treasury with his followers, when suddenly there appeared to him a dreadful horseman all glorious in golden armor, his horse also being adorned with costly ornaments. Two other youths also appeared in glorious might and wondrous beauty, in splendor and glory and beauteous array. They stood round him, and on either side beat the sacrilegious wretch, and gave him stroke after stroke without intermission. What more need I say? Shut in by darkness he fell to the ground, and lay there nearly dead with fear at this plain proof of divine power, nor had he any hope of safety left within him. Joy returned to those who were in fear, fear fell on those who were so proud before. And some of the friends of Heliodorus in their trouble besought Onias, asking life for him, since he was almost at his last breath.

148. When, therefore, the high priest asked for this, the same youths again appeared to Heliodorus, clad in the same garments, and said to him: Give thanks to Onias the high priest, for whose sake thy life is granted thee. But do thou, having experienced the scourge of God, go and tell thy friends how much thou hast learnt of the sanctity of the temple and the power of God. With these words they passed out of sight. Heliodorus then, his life having come back to him, offered a sacrifice to the Lord, gave thanks to the priest Onias, and returned with his army to the king, saying: “If thou hast an enemy or one who is plotting against thy power, send him thither and thou wilt receive him back well scourged.”

149. Therefore, my sons, good faith must be preserved in the case of trust-money, and care, too, must be shown. Your service will glow the brighter if the oppression of a powerful man, which some widow or orphan cannot withstand, is checked by the assistance of the Church, and if ye show that the command of the Lord has more weight with you than the favor of the rich.

150. Ye also remember how often we entered on a contest against the royal attacks, on behalf of the trust-money belonging to widows, yea, and to

others as well. You and I shared this in common. I will also mention the late case of the Church at Ticinum, which was in danger of losing the widow's trust-money that it had received. For when he who wanted to claim it on some imperial rescript demanded it, the clergy did not maintain their rights. For they themselves, having once been called to office and sent to intervene, now supposed that they could not oppose the emperor's orders. The plain words of the rescript were read, the orders of the chief officer of the court were there, he who was to act in the matter was at hand. What more was to be said? It was handed over.

151. However, after taking counsel with me, the holy bishop took possession of the rooms to which he knew that the widow's property had been carried. As it could not be carried away, it was all set down in writing. Later on it was again demanded on proof of the document. The emperor repeated the order, and would meet us himself in his own person. We refused. And when the force of the divine law, and a long list of passages and the danger of Heliodorus was explained, at length the emperor became reasonable. Afterwards, again, an attempt was made to seize it, but the good bishop anticipated the attempt and restored to the widow all he had received. So faith was preserved, but the oppression was no longer a cause for fear; for now it is the matter itself, not good faith, that is in danger.

CHAPTER 30

The ending of the book brings an exhortation to avoid ill-will, and to seek prudence, faith, and the other virtues.

152. My sons, avoid wicked men, guard against the envious. There is this difference between a wicked and an envious man: the wicked man is delighted at his own good fortune, but the envious is tortured at the thought of an other's. The former loves evil, the latter hates good. So he is almost more bearable who desires good for himself alone, than he who desires evil for all.

153. My sons, think before you act, and when you have thought long then do what you consider right. When the opportunity of a praiseworthy

death is given let it be seized at once. Glory that is put off flies away and is not easily laid hold of again.

154. Love faith. For by his devotion and faith Josiah won great love for himself from his enemies. For he celebrated the Lord’s passover when he was eighteen years old, as no one had done it before him. As then in zeal he was superior to those who went before him, so do ye, my sons, show zeal for God. Let zeal for God search you through, and devour you, so that each one of you may say: “The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.” An apostle of Christ was called the zealot. But why do I speak of an apostle? The Lord Himself said: “The zeal of thine house hath eaten Me up.” Let it then be real zeal for God, not mean earthy zeal, for that causes jealousy.

155. Let there be peace among you, which passeth all understanding. Love one another. Nothing is sweeter than charity, nothing more blessed than peace. Ye yourselves know that I have ever loved you and do now love you above all others. As the children of one father ye have become united under the bond of brotherly affection.

156. Whatsoever is good, that hold fast; and the God of peace and love be with you in the Lord Jesus, to Whom be honor and glory, dominion and might, together with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

We are taught by David and Solomon how to take counsel with our own heart. Scipio is not to be accounted prime author of the saying which is ascribed to him. The writer proves What glorious things the holy prophets accomplished in their time of quiet, and shows, by examples of their and others' leisure moments, that a just man is never alone in trouble.

1. THE prophet David taught us that we should go about in our heart as though in a large house; that we should hold converse with it as with some trusty companion. He spoke to himself, and conversed with himself, as these words show: "I said, I will take heed to my ways." Solomon his son also said: "Drink water out of thine own vessels, and out of the springs of thy wells;" that is: use thine own counsel. For: "Counsel in the heart of a man is as deep waters." "Let no stranger," it says, "share it with thee. Let the fountain of thy water be thine own, and rejoice with thy wife who is thine from thy youth. Let the loving hind and pleasant doe converse with thee."

2. Scipio, therefore, was not the first to know that he was not alone when he was alone, or that he was least at leisure when he was at leisure. For Moses knew it before him, who, when silent, was crying out; who, when he stood at ease, was fighting, nay, not merely fighting but triumphing over enemies whom he had not come near. So much was he at ease, that others held up his hands; yet he was no less active than others, for he with his hands at ease was overcoming the enemy, whom they that were in the battle could not conquer. Thus Moses in his silence spoke, and in his ease labored hard. And were his labors greater than his times of quiet, who, being in the mount for forty days, received the whole law? And in that solitude there was One not far away to speak with him. Whence also David says: "I will hear what the Lord God will say within me." How

much greater a thing is it for God to speak with any one, than for a man to speak with himself!

3. The apostles passed by and their shadows cured the sick. Their garments were touched and health was granted.

4. Elijah spoke the word, and the rain ceased and fell not on the earth for three years and six months. Again he spoke, and the barrel of meal failed not, and the cruse of oil wasted not the whole time of that long famine.

5. But — as many delight in warfare — which is the most glorious, to bring a battle to an end by the strength of a great army, or, by merits before God alone? Elisha rested in one place while the king of Syria waged a great war against the people of our fathers, and was adding to its terrors by various treacherous plans, and was endeavoring to catch them in an ambush. But the prophet found out all their preparations, and being by the grace of God present everywhere in mental vigor, he told the thoughts of their enemies to his countrymen, and warned them of what places to beware. And when this was known to the king of Syria, he sent an army and shut in the prophet. Elisha prayed and caused all of them to be struck with blindness, and made those who had come to besiege him enter Samaria as captives.

6. Let us compare this leisure of his with that of others. Other men for the sake of rest are wont to withdraw their minds from business, and to retire from the company and companionship of men; to seek the retirement of the country or the solitude of the fields, or in the city to give their minds a rest and to enjoy peace and quietness. But Elisha was ever active. In solitude he divided Jordan on passing over it, so that the lower part flowed down, whilst the upper returned to its source. On Carmel he promises the woman, who so far had had no child, that a son now unhoped for should be born to her. He raises the dead to life, he corrects the bitterness of the food, and makes it to be sweet by mixing meal with it. Having distributed ten loaves to the people for food, he gathered up the fragments that were left after they had been filled. He makes the iron head of the axe, which had fallen off and was sunk deep in the river Jordan, to swim by putting the wooden handle in the water. He changes leprosy for cleanness, drought for rain, famine for plenty.

7. When can the upright man be alone, since he is always with God? When is he left forsaken who is never separated from Christ? “Who,” it says, “shall separate us from the love of Christ? I am confident that neither death nor life nor angel shall do so.” And when can he be deprived of his labor who never can be deprived of his merits, wherein his labor receives its crown? By what places is he limited to whom the whole world of riches is a possession? By what judgment is he confined who is never blamed by any one? For he is “as unknown yet well known, as dying and behold he lives, as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things.” For the upright man regards nothing but what is consistent and virtuous. And so although he seems poor to another, he is rich to himself, for his worth is taken not at the value of the things which are temporal, but of the things which are eternal.

CHAPTER 2

The discussions among philosophers about the comparison between what is virtuous and what is useful have nothing to do with Christians. For with them nothing is useful which is not just. What are the duties of perfection, and what are ordinary duties? The same words often suit different things in different ways. Lastly, a just man never seeks his own advantage at the cost of another’s disadvantage, but rather is always on the lookout for what is useful to others.

8. As we have already spoken about the two former subjects, wherein we discussed what is virtuous and what is useful, there follows now the question whether we ought to compare what is virtuous and useful together, and to ask which we must follow. For, as we have already discussed the matter as to whether a thing is virtuous or wicked, and in another place whether it is useful or useless, so here some think we ought to find out whether a thing is virtuous or useful.

9. I am induced to do this, lest I should seem to be allowing that these two are mutually opposed to one another, when I have already shown them to be one. For I said that nothing can be virtuous but what is useful, and nothing can be useful but what is virtuous. For we do not follow the

wisdom of the flesh, whereby the usefulness that consists in an abundance of money is held to be of most value, but we follow that wisdom which is of God, whereby those things which are greatly valued in this world are counted but as loss.

10. For this κατόρθωμα, which is duty carried out entirely and in perfection, starts from the true source of virtue. On this follows another, or ordinary duty. This shows by its name that no hard or extraordinary practice of virtue is involved, for it can be common to very many. The desire to save money is the usual practice with many. To enjoy a well-prepared banquet and a pleasant meal is a general habit; but to fast or to use self-restraint is the practice of but few, and not to be desirous of another's goods is a virtue rarely found. On the other hand, to wish to deprive another of his property — and not to be content with one's due — here one will find many to keep company with one. Those (the philosopher would say) are primary duties — these ordinary. The primary are found but with few, the ordinary with the many.

11. Again, the same words often have a different meaning. For instance, we call God good and a man good; but it bears in each case quite a different meaning. We call God just in one sense, man in another. So, too, there is a difference in meaning when we call God wise and a man wise. This we are taught in the Gospel: "Be ye perfect even as your Father Who is in heaven is perfect." I read again that Paul was perfect and yet not perfect. For when he said: "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that. I may apprehend it." Immediately he added: "We, then, that are perfect." There is a twofold form of perfection, the one having but ordinary, the other the highest worth. The one availing here, the other hereafter. The one in accordance with human powers, the other with the perfection of the world to come. But God is just through all, wise above all, perfect in all.

12. There is also diversity even among men themselves. Daniel, of whom it was said: "Who is wiser than Daniel?" was wise in a different sense to what others are. The same may be said of Solomon, who was filled with wisdom, above all the wisdom of the ancients, and more than all the wise men of Egypt. To be wise as men are in general is quite a different thing to being really wise. He who is ordinarily wise is wise for temporal matters,

is wise for himself, so as to deprive another of something and get it for himself. He who is really wise does not know how to regard his own advantage, but looks with all his desire to that which is eternal, and to that which is seemly and virtuous, seeking not what is useful for himself, but for all.

13. Let this, then, be our rule, so that we may never go wrong between two things, one virtuous, the other useful. The upright man must never think of depriving another of anything, nor must he ever wish to increase his own advantage to the disadvantage of another. This rule the Apostle gives thee, saying: "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but each one another's." That is: Let no man seek his own advantage, but another's; let no man seek his own honor, but another's. Wherefore he says in another place: "Let each esteem other better than themselves, looking not each one to his own things, but to the things of others."

14. And let no one seek his own favor or his own praise, but another's. This we can plainly see declared in the book of Proverbs, where the Holy Spirit says through Solomon: "My son, if thou be wise, be wise for thyself and thy neighbors; but if thou turn out evil, thou alone shalt bear it." The wise man gives counsel to others, as the upright man does, and shares with him in wearing the form of either virtue.

CHAPTER 3

The rule given about not seeking one's own gain is established, first by the examples of Christ, next by the meaning of the word, and lastly by the very form and uses of our limbs. Wherefore the writer shows what a crime it is to deprive another of what is useful, since the law of nature as well as the divine law is broken by such wickedness. Further, by its means we also lose that gift which makes us superior to other living creatures; and lastly, through it civil laws are abused and treated with the greatest contempt.

15. If, then, any one wishes to please all, he must strive in everything to do, not what is useful for himself, but what is useful for many, as also Paul strove to do. For this is "to be conformed to the image of Christ," namely,

when one does not strive for what is another's, and does not deprive another of something so as to gain it for oneself. For Christ our Lord, though He was in the form of God, emptied Himself so as to take on Himself the form of man, which He wished to enrich with the virtue of His works. Wilt thou, then, spoil him whom Christ has put on? Wilt thou strip him whom Christ has clothed? For this is what thou art doing when thou dost attempt to increase thine own advantage at another's loss.

16. Think, O man, from whence thou hast received thy name — even from the earth, which takes nothing from any one, but gives freely to all, and supplies varied produce for the use of all living things. Hence humanity is called a particular and innate virtue in man, for it assists its partner.

17. The very form of thy body and the uses of thy limbs teach thee this. Can one limb claim the duties of another? Can the eye claim for itself the duties of the ear; or the mouth the duties of the eye; or the hand the service of the feet; or the feet that of the hands? Nay, the hands themselves, both left and right, have different duties to do, so that if one were to change the use of either, one would act contrary to nature. We should have to lay aside the whole man before we could change the service of the various members: as if, for instance, we were to try to take food with the left hand, or to perform the duties of the left hand with the right, so as to remove the remains of food — unless, of course, need demanded it.

18. Imagine for a moment, and give to the eye the power to withdraw the understanding from the head, the sense of hearing from the ears, the power of thought from the mind, the sense of smell from the nose, the sense of taste from the mouth, and then to assume them itself, would it not at once destroy the whole order of nature? Wherefore the Apostle says well: "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?" So, then, we are all one body, though with many members, all necessary to the body. For no one member can say of another: "I have no need of thee." For those members which seem to be more feeble are much more necessary and require greater care and attention. And if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it.

19. So we see how grave a matter it is to deprive another, with whom we ought rather to suffer, of anything, or to act unfairly or injuriously towards one to whom we ought to give a share in our services. This is a true law of

nature, which binds us to show all kindly feeling, so that we should all of us in turn help one another, as parts of one body, and should never think of depriving another of anything, seeing it is against the law of nature even to abstain from giving help. We are born in such a way that limb combines with limb, and one works with another, and all assist each other in mutual service. But if one fails in its duty, the rest are hindered. If, for instance, the hand tears out the eye, has it not hindered the use, of its work? If it were to wound the foot, how many actions would it not prevent? But how much worse is it for the whole man to be drawn aside from his duty than for one of the members only! If the whole body is injured in one member, so also is the whole community of the human race disturbed in one man. The nature of mankind is injured, as also is the society of the holy Church, which rises into one united body, bound together in oneness of faith and love. Christ the Lord, also, Who died for all, will grieve that the price of His blood was paid in vain.

20. Why, the very law of the Lord teaches us that this rule must be observed, so that we may never deprive another of anything for the sake of our own advantage. For it says: “Remove not the bounds which thy fathers have set.” It bids a neighbor’s ox to be brought back if found wandering. It orders a thief to be put to death. It forbids the laborer to be deprived of his hire, and orders money to be returned without usury. It is a mark of kindly feeling to help him who has nothing, but it is a sign of a hard nature to extort more than one has given. If a man has need of thy assistance because he has not enough of his own wherewith to repay a debt, is it not a wicked thing to demand under the guise of kindly feeling a larger sum from him who has not the means to pay off a less amount? Thou dost but free him from debt to another, to bring him under thy own hand; and thou callest that human kindliness which is but a further wickedness.

21. It is in this very matter that we stand before all other living creatures, for they do not understand how to do good. Wild beasts snatch away, men share with others. Wherefore the Psalmist says: “The righteous showeth mercy and giveth.” There are some, however, to whom the wild beasts do good. They feed their young with what they get, and the birds satisfy their brood with food; but to men alone has it been given to feed all as though they were their own. That is so in accordance with the claims of nature.

And if it is not lawful to refuse to give, how is it lawful to deprive another? And do not our very laws teach us the same? They order those things which have been taken from others with injury to their persons or property to be restored with additional recompense; so as to check the thief from stealing by the penalty, and by the fine to recall him from his ways.

22. Suppose, however, that some one did not fear the penalty, or laughed at the fine, would that make it a worthy thing to deprive another of his own? That would be a mean vice and suited only to the lowest of the low. So contrary to nature is it, that while want might seem to drive one to it, yet nature could never urge it. And yet we find secret theft among slaves, open robbery among the rich.

23. But what so contrary to nature as to injure another for our own benefit? The natural feelings of our own hearts urge us to keep on the watch for all, to undergo trouble, to do work for all. It is considered also a glorious thing for each one at risk to himself to seek the quiet of all, and to think it far more thankworthy to have saved his country from destruction than to have kept danger from himself. We must think it a far more noble thing to labor for our country than to pass a quiet life at ease in the full enjoyment of leisure.

CHAPTER 4

> *As it has been shown that he who injures another for the sake of his own advantage will undergo terrible punishment at the hand of his own conscience, it is referred that nothing is useful to one which is not in the same way useful to all. Thus there is no place among Christians for the question propounded by the philosophers about two shipwrecked persons, for they must show love and humility to all.*

24. HENCE we infer that a man who guides himself according to the ruling of nature, so as to be obedient to her, can never injure another. If he injures another, he violates nature, nor will he think that what he has gained is so much an advantage as a disadvantage. And what punishment is worse than the wounds of the conscience within? What judgment harder than that of

our hearts, whereby each one stands convicted and accuses himself of the injury that he has wrongfully done against his brother? This the Scriptures speak of very plainly, saying: "Out of the mouth of fools there is a rod for wrong-doing." Folly, then, is condemned because it causes wrong-doing. Ought we not rather to avoid this, than death, or loss, or want, or exile, or sickness? Who would not think some blemish of body or loss of inheritance far less than some blemish of soul or loss of reputation?

25. It is clear, then, that all must consider and hold that the advantage of the individual is the same as that of all, and that nothing must be considered advantageous except what is for the general good. For how can one be benefited alone? That which is useless to all is harmful. I certainly cannot think that he who is useless to all can be of use to himself. For if there is one law of nature for all, there is also one state of usefulness for all. And we are bound by the law of nature to act for the good of all. It is not, therefore, right for him who wishes the interests of another to be considered according to nature, to injure him against the law of nature.

26. For if those who run in a race are, as one hears, instructed and warned each one to win the race by swiftness of foot and not by any foul play, and to hasten on to victory by running as hard as they can, but not to dare to trip up another or push him aside with their hand, how much more in the course of this life ought the victory to be won by us, without falseness to another and cheating?

27. Some ask whether a wise man ought in case of a shipwreck to take away a plank from an ignorant sailor? Although it seems better for the common good that a wise man rather than a fool should escape from shipwreck, yet I do not think that a Christian, a just and a wise man, ought to save his own life by the death of another; just as when he meets with an armed robber he cannot return his blows, lest in defending his life he should stain his love toward his neighbor. The verdict on this is plain and clear in the books of the Gospel. "Put up thy sword, for every one that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword." What robber is more hateful than the persecutor who came to kill Christ? But Christ would not be defended from the wounds of the persecutor, for He willed to heal all by His wounds.

28. Why dost thou consider thyself greater than another, when a Christian man ought to put others before himself, to claim nothing for himself, usurp no honors, claim no reward for his merits? Why, next, art thou not wont to bear thy own troubles rather than to destroy another's advantage? For what is so contrary to nature as not to be content with what one has or to seek what is another's, and to try to get it in shameful ways. For if a virtuous life is in accordance with nature — for God made all things very good — then shameful living must be opposed to it A virtuous and a shameful life cannot go together, since they are absolutely severed by the law of nature.

CHAPTER 5

The upright does nothing that is contrary to duty, even though there is a hope of keeping it secret. To point this out the tale about the ring of Gyges was invented by the philosophers. Exposing this, he brings forward known and true examples from the life of David and John the Baptist.

29. To lay down here already the result of our discussion, as though we had already ended it, we declare it a fixed rule, that we must never aim at anything hut what is virtuous. The wise man does nothing but what can be done openly and without falseness, nor does he do anything whereby he may involve himself in any wrong-doing, even where he may escape notice. For he is guilty in his own eyes, before being so in the eyes of others; and the publicity of his crime does not bring him more shame than his own consciousness of it. This we can show, not by the made-up stories which philosophers use, but from the true examples of good men.

30. I need not, therefore, imagine a great chasm in the earth, which had been loosened by heavy rains, and had afterwards burst asunder, as Plato does. For he makes Gyges descend into that chasm, and to meet there that iron horse of the fable that had doors in its sides. When these doors were opened, he found a gold ring on the finger of a dead man, whose corpse lay there lifeless. He desiring the gold took away the ring. But when he returned to the king's shepherds, to whose number he belonged, by chance having turned the stone inwards towards the palms of his hands, he saw

all, yet was seen by none. Then when he turned the ring to its proper position, he was again seen by all. On becoming conscious of this strange power, by the use of the ring he committed adultery with the queen, killed the king, and took possession of the kingdom after slaying all the rest, who he thought should be put to death, so that they might be no hindrance to him.

31. Give, says Plato, this ring to a wise man, that when he commits a fault he may by its help remain unnoticed; yet he will be none the more free from the stain of sin than if he could not be hid. The hiding-place of the wise lies not in the hope of impunity but in his own innocency. Lastly, the law is not laid down for the just but for the unjust. For the just has within himself the law of his mind, and a rule of equity and justice. Thus he is not recalled from sin by fear of punishment, but by the rule of a virtuous life.

32. Therefore, to return to our subject, I will now bring forward, not false examples for true, but true examples in place of false. For why need I imagine a chasm in the earth, and an iron horse and a gold ring found on the fingers of a dead man; and say that such was the power of this ring, that he who wore it could appear at his own will, but if he did not wish to be seen, he could remove himself out of the sight of those who stood by, so as to seem to be away. This story, of course, is meant to answer the question whether a wise man, on getting the opportunity of using that ring so as to be able to hide his crimes, and to obtain a kingdom, — whether, I say, a wise man would be unwilling to sin and would consider the stain of sin far worse than the pains of punishment, or whether he would use it for doing wickedness in the hope of not being found out? Why, I say, should I need the pretense of a ring, when I can show from what has been done that a wise man, on seeing he would not only be undetected in his sin, but would also gain a kingdom if he gave way to it, and who, on the other hand, noted danger to his own safety if he did not commit the crime, yet chose to risk his own safety so as to be free from crime, rather than to commit the crime and so gain the kingdom.

33. When David fled from the face of King Saul, because the king was seeking him in the desert with three thousand chosen men to put him to death, he entered the king’s camp and found him sleeping. There he not only did him no injury, but actually guarded him from being slain by any

who had entered with him. For when Abishai said to him: “The Lord hath delivered thine: enemy into thine hand this day, ‘now therefore I will slay him,” he answered: “Destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord’s anointed, and be guiltless?” And he added: “As the Lore liveth, unless the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall die in battle, and it be laid to me, the Lord forbid that I should stretch out my hand against the Lord’s anointed.”

34. Therefore he did not suffer him to be slain, but removed only his spear, which stood by his head, and his cruse of water. Then, whilst all were sleeping, he left the camp and went across to the top of the hill, and began to reproach the royal attendants, and especially their general Abner, for not keeping faithful watch over their Lord and king. Next, he showed them where the king’s spear and cruse were which had stood at his head. And when the king called to him, he restored the spear, and said: “The Lord render to every man his righteousness and faithfulness, for the Lord delivered thee into my hand, but I would not avenge myself on the Lord’s anointed.” Even whilst he said this, he feared his plots and fled, changing his place in exile. However, he never put safety before innocency, seeing that when a second opportunity was given him of killing the king, he would not use the chance that came to him, and which put in his reach certain safety instead of fear, and a kingdom instead of exile.

35. Where was the use of the ring in John’s case, who would not have been put to death by Herod if he had kept silence? He could have kept silence before him so as to be both seen and yet not killed. But because he not only could not endure to sin himself to protect his own safety, but could not bear and endure even another’s sin, he brought about the cause of his own death. Certainly none can deny that he might have kept silence, who in the case of Gyges deny that he could have remained invisible by the help of the ring.

36. But although that fable has not the force of truth, yet it has this much to go upon, that if an upright man could hide himself, yet he would avoid sin just as though he could not conceal himself; and that he would not hide his person by putting on a ring, but his life by putting on Christ. As the Apostle says: “Our life is hid with Christ in God.” Let, then, no one here strive to shine, let none show pride, let none boast. Christ willed not to be

known here, He would not that His Name should be preached in the Gospel whilst He lived on earth. He came to lie hid from this world. Let us therefore likewise hide our life after the example of Christ, let us shun boast-fullness, let us not desire to be made known. It is better to live here in humility, and there in glory. “When Christ,” it says, “shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory.”

CHAPTER 6

We ought not to allow the idea of profit to get hold of us. What excuses they make who get their gains by selling corn, and what answer ought to be made to them. In connection with this certain parables from the Gospels and some of the sayings of Solomon are set before our eyes.

37. Let not, therefore, expediency get the better of virtue, but virtue of expediency. By expediency here I mean what is accounted so by people generally. Let love of money be destroyed, let lust die. The holy man says that he has never been engaged in business. For to get an increase in price is a sign not of simplicity but of cunning. Elsewhere it says: “He that seeketh a high price for his corn is cursed among the people.”

38. Plain and definite is the statement, leaving no room for debate, such as a disputatious kind of speaking is wont to give, when one maintains that agriculture is considered praiseworthy by all; that the fruits of the earth are easily grown; that the more a man has sown, the greater will be his meed of praise; further, that the richer returns of his active labors are not gained by fraud, and that carelessness and disregard for an uncultivated soil are wont to be blamed.

39. I have ploughed, he says, carefully. I have sown freely. I have tilled actively. I have gathered good increase. I have stored it anxiously, saved it faithfully, and guarded it with care. Now in a time of famine I sell it, and come to the help of the hungry. I sell my own corn, not another’s. And for no more than others, nay, even at a less price. What fraud is there here, when many would come to great danger if they had nothing to buy? Is industry to be made a crime? Or diligence to be blamed? Or foresight to be abused? Perhaps he may even say: Joseph collected corn in a time of

abundance, and sold it when it was dear. Is any one forced to buy it at too dear a price? Is force employed against the buyer? The opportunity to buy is afforded to all, injury is inflicted on none.

40. When this has been said, and one man's ideas have carried him so far, another rises and says: Agriculture is good indeed, for it supplies fruits for all, and by simple industry adds to the richness of the earth without any cheating or fraud. If there is any error, the loss is the greater, for the better a man sows, the better he will reap. If he has sown the pure grain of wheat, he gathers a purer and cleaner harvest. The fruitful earth returns what she has received in manifold measure. A good field returns its produce with interest.

41. Thou must expect payment for thy labor from the crops of the fruitful land, and must hope for a just return from the fruitfulness of the rich earth. Why dost thou use the industry of nature and make a cheat of it? Why dost thou grudge for the use of men what is grown for all? Why lessen the abundance for the people? Why make want thy aim? Why make the poor long for a barren season? For when they do not feel the benefits of a fruitful season, because thou art putting up the price, and art storing up the corn, they would far rather that nothing should be produced, than that thou shouldst do business at the expense of other people's hunger. Thou makest much of the want of corn, the small supply of food. Thou groanest over the rich crops of the soil; thou mournest the general plenty, and bewailest the garners full of corn; thou art on the lookout to see when the crop is poor and the harvest fails. Thou rejoicest that a curse has smiled upon thy wishes, so that none should have their produce. Then thou rejoicest that thy harvest has come. Then thou collectest wealth from the misery of all, and callest this industry and diligence, when it is but cunning shrewdness and an adroit trick of the trade. Thou callest it a remedy, when it is but a wicked contrivance. Shall I call this robbery or only gain? These opportunities are seized as though seasons for plunder, wherein, like some cruel waylayer, thou mayest fall upon the stomachs of men. The price rises higher as though by the mere addition of interest, but the danger to life is increased too. For then the interest of the stored-up crops grows higher. As a usurer thou hidest up thy corn, as a seller thou puttest it up for auction. Why dost thou wish evil to all, because the famine will grow

worse, as though no corn should be left, as though a more unfruitful year should follow? Thy gain is the public loss.

42. Holy Joseph opened the garners to all; he did not shut them up. He did not try to get the full price of the year's produce, but assigned it for a yearly payment. He took nothing for himself, but, so far as famine could be checked for the future, he made his arrangements with careful foresight.

43. Thou hast read how the Lord Jesus in the Gospel speaks of that corn-dealer who was looking out for a high price, whose possessions brought him in rich fruits, but who, as though still in need, said: "What shall I do? I have no room where to bestow my goods. I will pull down my barns and build greater," though he could not know whether in the following night his soul would not be demanded of him. He knew not what to do, he seemed to be in doubt, just as though he were in want of food. His barns could not take in the year's supply, and yet he thought he was in need.

44. Rightly, therefore, Solomon says: "He that withholdeth corn shall leave it for the nations," not for his heirs, for the gains of avarice have nothing to do with the rights of succession. That which is not rightfully got together is scattered as though by a wind by outsiders that seize it. And he added: "He who graspeth at the year's produce is cursed among the people, but blessing shall be his that imparteth it." Thou seest, then, what is said of him who distributes the corn, but not of him that seeks for a high price. True expediency does not therefore exist where virtue loses more than expediency gains.

CHAPTER 7

Strangers must never be expelled the city in a time of famine. In this matter the noble advice of a Christian sage is adduced, in contrast to which the shameful deed committed at Rome is given. By comparing the two it is shown that the former is combined with what is virtuous and useful, but the latter with neither.

45. BUT they, too, who would forbid the city to strangers cannot have our approval. They would expel them at the very time when they ought to

help, and separate them from the trade of their common parent. They would refuse them a share in the produce meant for all, and avert the intercourse that has already begun; and they are unwilling, in a time of necessity, to give those with whom they have enjoyed their rights in common, a share in what they themselves have. Beasts do not drive out beasts, yet man shuts out man. Wild beasts and animals consider food which the earth supplies to be common to all. They all give assistance to those like themselves; and man, who ought to think nothing human foreign to himself, fights against his own.

46. How much better did he act who, having already reached an advanced age, when the city was suffering from famine, and, as is common in such cases, the people demanded that strangers should be forbidden the city, having the office of the prefectship of the city, which is higher than the rest, called together the officials and richer men, and demanded that they should take counsel for the public welfare. He said that it was as cruel a thing for the strangers to be expelled as for one man to be cast off by another, and to be refused food when dying. We do not allow our dogs to come to our table and leave them unfed, yet we shut out a man. How unprofitable, again, it is for the world that so many people perish, whom some deadly plague carries off. How unprofitable for their city that so large a number should perish, who were wont to be helpful either in paying contributions or in carrying on business. Another's hunger is profitable to no man, nor to put off the day of help as long as possible and to do nothing to check the want. Nay more, when so many of the cultivators of the soil are gone, when so many laborers are dying, the corn supplies will fail for the future. Shall we then expel those who are wont to supply us with food, are we unwilling to feed in a time of need those who have fed us all along? How great is the assistance which they supply even at this time. "Not by bread alone does man live." They are even our own family; many of them even are our own kindred. Let us make some return for what we have received.

47. But perhaps we fear that want may increase. First of all, I answer, mercy never fails, but always finds means of help. Next, let us make up for the corn supplies which are to be granted to them, by a subscription. Let us put that right with our gold. And, again, must we not buy other cultivators of the soil if we lose these? How much cheaper is it to feed

than to buy a working-man. Where, too, can one obtain, where find a man to take the place of the former? And suppose one finds him, do not forget that, with an ignorant man used to different ways, one may fill up the place in point of numbers, but not as regards the work to be done.

48. Why need I say more? When the money was supplied corn was brought in. So the city's abundance was not diminished, and yet assistance was given to the strangers. What praise this act won that holy man from God! What glory among men! He, indeed, had won an honored name, who, pointing to the people of a whole province, could truly say to the emperor: All these I have preserved for thee; these live owing to the kindness of the senate; these thy council has snatched from death!

49. How much more expedient was this than that which was done lately at Rome. There from that widely extended city were those expelled who had already passed most of their life in it. In tears they went forth with their children, for whom as being citizens they bewailed the exile, which, as they said, ought to be averted; no less did they grieve over the broken bonds of union, the severed ties of relationship. And yet a fruitful year had smiled upon us. The city alone needed corn to be brought into it. It could have got help, if it had sought corn from the Italians whose children they were driving out. Nothing is more shameful than to expel a man as a foreigner, and yet to claim his services as though he belonged to us. How canst thou expel a man who lives on his own produce? How canst thou expel him who supplies thee with food? Thou retainest thy servant, and thrustest out thy kindred! Thou takest the corn, but showest no good feeling! Thou takest food by force, but dost not show gratitude!

50. How wretched this is, how useless! For how can that be expedient which is not seemly. Of what great supplies from her corporations has Rome at times been deprived, yet she could not dismiss them and yet escape a famine, while waiting for a favorable breeze, and the provisions in the hoped-for ships.

51. How far more virtuous and expedient was that first-mentioned management! For what is so seemly or virtuous as when the needy are assisted by the gifts of the rich, when food is supplied to the hungry, when daily bread fails none? What so advantageous as when the cultivators are kept for the land, and the country people do not perish?

52. What is virtuous, then, is also expedient, and what is expedient is virtuous. On the other hand, what is not expedient is unseemly, and what is unseemly is also not expedient.

CHAPTER 8

That those who put what is virtuous before what is useful are acceptable to God is shown by the example of Joshua, Caleb, and the other spies.

53. When could our fathers ever have thrown off their servitude, unless they had believed that it was not only shameful but even useless to serve the king of Egypt?

54. Joshua, also, and Caleb, when sent to spy out the land, brought back the news that the land was indeed rich, but that it was inhabited by very fierce nations. The people, terrified at the thought of war, refused to take possession of their land. Joshua and Caleb, who had been sent as spies, tried to persuade them that the land was fruitful. They thought it unseemly to give way before the heathen; they chose rather to be stoned, which is what the people threatened, than to recede from their virtuous standpoint. The others kept dissuading, the people exclaimed against it. saying they would have to fight against cruel and terrible nations; that they would fall in battle, and their wives and children would be left for a prey.

55. The anger of the Lord burst forth, so that He would kill all, but at the prayer of Moses He softened His judgment and put off His vengeance, knowing that He had already sufficiently punished those who were faithless, even if He spared them meanwhile and did not slay the unbelievers. However, He said they should not come to that land which they had refused, as a penalty for their unbelief; but their children and wives, who had not murmured, and who, owing to their sex and age, were guiltless, should receive the promised inheritance of that land. So the bodies of those of twenty years old and upwards fell in the desert. The punishment of the rest was put aside. But they who had gone up with Joshua, and had thought fit to dissuade the people, died forthwith of a great plague. Joshua and Caleb entered the land of promise together with those who were innocent by reason of age or sex.

56. The better part, therefore, preferred glory to safety; the worse part safety to virtue. But the divine judgment approved those who thought virtue was above what is useful, whilst it condemned those who preferred what seemed more in accordance with safety than with what is virtuous.

CHAPTER 9

> *Cheating and dishonest ways of making money are utterly unfit for clerics whose duty is to serve all. They ought never to be involved in a money affair, unless it is one affecting a man's life. For them the example of David is given, that they should injure none, even when provoked; also the death of Naboth, to keep them from preferring life to virtue.*

57. Nothing is more odious than for a man to have no love for a virtuous life, but instead to be kept excited by an unworthy business in following out a low line of trade, or to be inflamed by an avaricious heart, and by day and by night to be eager to damage another's property, not to raise the soul to the splendor of a virtuous life, and not to regard the beauty of true praise.

58. Hence rise inheritances sought by cunning words and gained under pretense of being self-restrained and serious. But this is absolutely abhorrent to the idea of a Christian man. For everything gained by craft and got together by cheating loses the merit of openness. Even amongst those who have undertaken no duty in the ranks of the clergy it is considered unfitting to seek for the inheritance of another. Let those who are reaching the end of their life use their own judgment, so that they may freely make their wills as they think best, since they will not be able to amend them later. For it is not honorable to divert the savings that belong to others or have been got together for them. It is further the duty of the priest or the cleric to be of use if possible to all and to be harmful to none.

59. If it is not possible to help one without injuring another, it is better to help neither than to press hard upon one. Therefore it is not a priest's duty to interfere in money affairs. For here it must often happen that he who loses his case receives harm; and then he considers that he has been worsted through the action of the intervener. It is a priest's duty to hurt

no one, to be ready to help all. To be able to do this is in God's power alone. In a case of life and death, without doubt it is a grave sin to injure him whom one ought to help when in danger. But it is foolish to gain others' hate in taking up money matters, though for the sake of a man's safety great trouble and toil may often be undertaken. It is glorious in such a case to run risks. Let, then, this be firmly held to in the priestly duties, namely, to injure none, not even when provoked and embittered by some injury. Good was the man who said: "If I have rewarded evil to those who did me good." For what glory is it if we do not injure him who has not injured us? But it is true virtue to forgive when injured.

60. What a virtuous action was that, when David wished rather to spare the king his enemy, though he could have injured him! How useful, too, it was, for it helped him when he succeeded to the throne. For all learnt to observe faith to their king and not to seize the kingdom, but to fear and reverence him. Thus what is virtuous was preferred to what was useful, and then usefulness followed on what was virtuous.

61. But that he spared him was a small matter; he also grieved for him when slain in war, and mourned for him with tears, saying: "Ye mountains of Gilboa, let neither dew nor rain fall upon you; ye mountains of death, for there the shield of the mighty is cast away, the shield of Saul. It is not anointed with oil, but with the blood of the wounded and the fat of the warriors. The bow of Jonathan turned not back and the sword of Saul returned not empty. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and very dear, inseparable in life, and in death they were not divided. They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet with your ornaments, who put on gold upon your apparel. How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! Jonathan was wounded even to death. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me. Thy love came to me like the love of women. How have the mighty fallen and the longed-for weapons perished!

62. What mother could weep thus for her only son as he wept here for his enemy? Who could follow his benefactor with such praise as that with which he followed the man who plotted against his life? How affectionately he grieved, with what deep feeling he bewailed him! The

mountains dried up at the prophet's curse, and a divine power filled the judgment of him who spoke it. Therefore the elements themselves paid the penalty for witnessing the king's death.

63. And what, in the case of holy Naboth, was the cause of his death, except his regard for a virtuous life? For when the king demanded the vineyard from him, promising to give him money, he refused the price for his father's heritage as unseemly, and preferred to shun such shame by dying. "The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee;" that is, that such reproach may not fall on me, that God may not allow such wickedness to be attained by force. He is not speaking about the vines — nor has God care for vines or plots of ground — but he says it of his fathers' rights. He could have received another or the king's vineyards and been his friend, wherein men think there is no small usefulness so far as this world is concerned. But because it was base he thought it could not be useful, and so he preferred to endure danger with honor intact, rather than gain what was useful to his own disgrace. I am here again speaking of what is commonly understood as useful, not that in which there is the grace of virtuous life.

64. The king could himself have taken it by force, but that he thought too shameless; then when Naboth was dead he grieved. The Lord also declared that the woman's cruelty should be punished by a fitting penalty, because she was unmindful of virtue and preferred a shameful gain.

65. Every kind of unfair action is shameful. Even in common things, false weights and unjust measures are accursed. And if fraud in the market or in business is punished, can it seem free from reproach if found in the midst of the performance of the duties of virtue? Solomon says: "A great and a little weight and divers measures are an abomination before the Lord." Before that it also says: "A false balance is abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is acceptable to Him. "

CHAPTER 10

We are warned not only in civil law, but also in the holy Scriptures, to avoid fraud in every agreement, as is clear from the example of Joshua and the Gibeonites.

66. In everything, therefore, good faith is seemly, justice is pleasing, due measure in equity is delightful. But what shall I say about contracts, and especially about the sale of land, or agreements, or covenants? Are there not rules just for the purpose of shutting out all false deceit, and to make him whose deceit is found out liable to double punishment? Everywhere, then, does regard for what is virtuous take the lead; it shuts out deceit, it expels fraud. Wherefore the prophet David has rightly stated his judgment in general, saying: “He hath done no evil to his neighbor.” Fraud, then, ought to be wanting not only in contracts, in which the defects of those things which are for sale are ordered to be recorded (which contracts, unless the vendor has mentioned the defects, are rendered void by an action for fraud, although he has conveyed them fully to the purchaser), but it ought also to be absent in all else. Candor must be shown, the truth must be made known.

67. The divine Scriptures have plainly stated (not indeed a legal rule of the lawyers but) the ancient judgment of the patriarchs on deceit, in that book of the Old Testament which is ascribed to Joshua the son of Nun. When the report had gone forth among the various peoples that the sea was dried up at the crossing of the Hebrews; that water had flowed from the rock; that food was supplied daily from heaven in quantities large enough for so many thousands of the people; that the walls of Jericho had fallen at the sound of the holy trumpets, being overthrown by the noise of the shouts of the people; also, that the king of Ai was conquered and had been hung on a tree until the evening; then the Gibeonites, fearing his strong hand, came with guile, pretending that they were from a land very far away, and by traveling so long had rent their shoes and worn out their clothing, of which they showed proofs that it was growing old. They said, too, that their reason for undergoing so much labor was their desire to obtain peace and to form friendship with the Hebrews, and began to ask Joshua to form an alliance with them. And he, being as yet ignorant of localities, and not knowing anything of the inhabitants, did not see through their deceit, nor did he enquire of God, but readily believed them.

68. So sacred was one’s plighted word held in those days that no one would believe that others could try to deceive. Who could find fault with the saints in this, namely, that they should consider others to have the same feelings as themselves, and suppose no one would lie because truth

was their own companion? They know not what deceit is, they gladly believe of others what they themselves are, whilst they cannot suspect others to be what they themselves are not. Hence Solomon says: “An innocent man believeth every word.” We must not blame his readiness to believe, but should rather praise his goodness. To know nothing of aught that may injure another, this is to be innocent. And although he is cheated by another, still he thinks well of all, for he thinks there is good faith in all.

69. Induced, therefore, by such considerations to believe them, he made an agreement, he gave them peace, and formed a union with them. But when he came to their country and the deceit was found out, — for though they lived quite close they pretended to be strangers, — the people of our fathers began to be angry at having been deceived. Joshua, however, thought the peace they had made could not be broken (for it had been confirmed by an oath), for fear that, in punishing the treachery of others, he should. be breaking his own pledge. He made them pay the penalty, however, by forcing them to undertake the lowest kind of work. The judgment was mild indeed, but it was a lasting one, for in their duties there abides the punishment of their ancient cunning, handed down to this day in their hereditary service.

CHAPTER 11

Having adduced examples of certain frauds found in a few passages of the rhetoricians, he shows that these and all others are more fully and plainly condemned in Scripture.

70. I SHALL say nothing of the snapping of fingers, or the naked dancing of the heir, at entering on an inheritance. These are well-known things. Nor will I speak of the mass of fishes gathered up at a pretended fishing expedition to excite the buyer’s desires. For why did he show himself so eager for luxuries and delicacies as to allow a fraud of this character?

71. What need is there for me to speak of that well-known story of the pleasant and quiet retreat at Syracuse and of the cunning of a Sicilian? For he having found a stranger, and knowing that he was anxious to buy an estate, asked him to his grounds for a meal. He accepted, and on the following day he came. There the sight of a great number of fishermen met

his eyes, and a banquet laid out in the most splendid profusion. In the sight of the guests, fishers were placed in the garden-grounds, where no net had ever been laid before. Each one in turn presented to the guests what he had taken, the fish were placed upon the table, and caught the glance of those who sat there. The stranger wondered at the large quantity of fish and the number of boats there were. The answer given was, that this was the great water supply, and that great numbers of fish came there because of the sweetness of the water. To be brief, he drew on the stranger to be urgent in getting the grounds, he willingly allows himself to be induced to sell them, and seemingly with a heavy heart he receives the money.

72. On the next day the purchaser comes to the grounds with his friends, but finds no boat there. On asking whether perhaps the fishermen were observing a festival on that day, he is told that, with the exception of yesterday, they were never wont to fish there; but what power had he to proceed against such a fraud, who had so shamefully grasped at such luxuries? For he who convicts another of a fault ought himself to be free from it. I will not therefore include such trifles as these under the power of ecclesiastical censure, for that altogether condemns every desire for dishonorable gain, and briefly, with few words, forbids every sharp and cunning action.

73. And what shall I say of him who claims to be the heir or legatee, on the proof of a will which, though falsified by others, yet was known to be so by him, and who tries to make again through another’s crime, though even the laws of the state convict him who knowingly makes use of a false will, as guilty of a wrong action. But the law of justice is plain, namely, that a good man ought not to go aside from the truth, nor to inflict an unjust loss on any one, nor to act at all deceitfully or to take part in any fraud.

74. What is clearer, however, on this point than the case of Ananias? He acted falsely as regards the price he got for his land, for he sold it and laid at the apostles’ feet part of the price, pretending it was the whole amount. For this he perished as guilty of fraud. He might have offered nothing and have acted so without committing a fraud. But as deceit entered into his action, he gained no favor for his liberality, but paid the penalty for his artifice.

75. The Lord also in the Gospel rejected those coming to Him with guile, saying: “The foxes have holes,” for He bids us live in simplicity and innocency of heart. David also says: “Thou hast used deceit as a sharp razor,” pointing out by this the treacherous man, just as an implement of this kind is used to help adorn a man, yet often wounds him. If any one makes a show of favor and yet plans deceit after the example of the traitor, so as to give up to death him whom he ought to guard, let him be looked on in the light of that instrument which is wont to wound owing to the vice of a drunken mind and a trembling hand. Thus that man drunk with the wine of wickedness brought death on the high priest Ahimelech, through a terrible act of treachery, because he had received the prophet with hospitality when the king, roused by the stings of envy, was following him.

CHAPTER 12

We may make no promise that is wrong, and if we have made an unjust oath, we may not keep it. It is shown that Herod sinned in this respect. The vow taken by Jephtha is condemned, and so are all others which God does not desire to have paid to Him. Lastly, the daughter of Jephtha is compared with the two Pythagoreans and is placed before them.

76. A MAN’S disposition ought to be undefiled and sound, so that he may utter words without dissimulation and possess his vessel in sanctification; that he may not delude his brother with false words nor promise aught dishonorable. If he has made such a promise it is far better for him not to fulfill it, rather than to fulfill what is shameful.

77. Often people bind themselves by a solemn oath, and, though they come to know that they ought not to have made the promise, fulfill it in consideration of their oath. This is what Herod did, as we mentioned before. For he made a shameful promise of reward to a dancer — and cruelly performed it. It was shameful, for a kingdom was promised for a dance; and it was cruel, for the death of a prophet is sacrificed for the sake of an oath. How much better perjury would have been than the keeping of such an oath, if indeed that could be called perjury which a drunkard had

sworn to in his wine-cups, or an effeminate profligate had promised whilst the dance was going on. The prophet's head was brought in on a dish, and this was considered an act of good faith when it really was an act of madness!

78. Never shall I be led to believe that the leader Jephtha made his vow otherwise than without thought, when he promised to offer to God whatever should meet him at the threshold of his house on his return. For he repented of his vow, as afterwards his daughter came to meet him. He rent his clothes and said: "Alas, my daughter, thou hast entangled me, thou art become a source of trouble unto me." And though with pious fear and reverence he took upon himself the bitter fulfillment of his cruel task, yet he ordered and left to be observed an annual period of grief and mourning for future times. It was a hard vow, but far more bitter was its fulfillment, whilst he who carried it out had the greatest cause to mourn. Thus it became a rule and a law in Israel from year to year, as it says: "that the daughters of Israel went to lament the daughter of Jephtha the Gileadite four days in a year." I cannot blame the man for holding it necessary to fulfill his vow, but yet it was a wretched necessity which could only be solved by the death of his child.

79. It is better to make no vow than to vow what God does not wish to be paid to Him to Whom the promise was made. In the case of Isaac we have an example, for the Lord appointed a ram to be offered up instead of him. Therefore it is not always every promise that is to be fulfilled. Nay, the Lord Himself often alters His determination, as the Scriptures point out. For in the book called Numbers He had declared that He would punish the people with death and destroy them, but afterwards, when besought by Moses, He was reconciled again to them. And again, He said to Moses and Aaron: "Separate yourselves from among this congregation that I may consume them in a moment." And when they separated from the assembly the earth suddenly clave asunder and opened her mouth and swallowed up Dathan and Abiram.

80. That example of Jephtha's daughter is far more glorious and ancient than that of the two Pythagoreans, which is accounted so notable among the philosophers. One of these, when condemned to death by the tyrant Dionysius, and when the day of his death was fixed, asked for leave to be

granted him to go home, so as to provide for his family. But for fear that he might break his faith and not return, he offered a surety for his own death, on condition that if he himself were absent on the appointed day, his surety would be ready to die in his stead. The other did not refuse the conditions of suretyship which were proposed and awaited the day of death with a calm mind. So the one did not withdraw himself and the other returned on the day appointed. This all seemed so wonderful that the tyrant sought their friendship whose destruction he had been anxious for.

81. What, then, in the case of esteemed and learned men is full of marvel, that in the case of a virgin is found to be far more splendid, far more glorious, as she says to her sorrowing father: “Do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth.” But she asked for a delay of two months in order that she might go about with her companions upon the mountains to bewail fitly and dutifully her virginity now given up to death. The weeping of her companions did not move her, their grief prevailed not upon her, nor did their lamentations hold her back. She allowed not the day to pass, nor did the hour escape her notice. She returned to her father as though returning according to her own desire, and of her own will urged him on when he was hesitating, and acted thus of her own free choice, so that what was at first an awful chance became a pious sacrifice.

CHAPTER 13

Judith, after enduring many dangers for virtue’s sake, gained very many and great benefits.

82. SEE! Judith presents herself to thee as worthy of admiration. She approaches Holophernes, a man feared by the people, and surrounded by the victorious troops of the Assyrians. At first she makes an impression on him by the grace of her form and the beauty of her countenance. Then she entraps him by the refinement of her speech. Her first triumph was that she returned from the tent of the enemy with her purity unspotted. Her second, that she gained a victory over a man, and put to flight the people by her counsel.

83. The Persians were terrified at her daring. And so what is admired in the case of those two Pythagoreans deserves also in her case our admiration, for she trembled not at the danger of death, nor even at the danger her modesty was in, which is a matter of greater concern to good women. She feared not the blow of one scoundrel, nor even the weapons of a whole army. She, a woman, stood between the lines of the combatants — right amidst victorious arms — heedless of death. As one looks at her overwhelming danger, one would say she went out to die; as one looks at her faith, one says she went but out to fight.

84. Judith then followed the call of virtue, and as she follows that, she wins great benefits. It was virtuous to prevent the people of the Lord from giving themselves up to the heathen; to prevent them from betraying their native rites and mysteries, or from yielding up their consecrated virgins, their venerable widows, and modest matrons to barbarian impurity, or from ending the siege by a surrender. It was virtuous for her to be willing to encounter danger on behalf of all, so as to deliver all from danger.

85. How great must have been the power of her virtue, that she, a woman, should claim to give counsel on the chiefest matters and not leave it in the hands of the leaders of the people! How great, again, the power of her virtue to reckon for certain upon God to help her! How great her grace to find His help!

CHAPTER 14

How virtuous and useful was that which Elisha did. This is compared with that oft-recounted act of the Greeks. John gave up his life for virtue's sake, and Susanna for the same reason exposed herself to the danger of death.

86. What did Elisha follow but virtue, when he brought the army of Syria who had come to take him as captive into Samaria, after having covered their eyes with blindness? Then he said: "O Lord, open their eyes that they may see." And they saw. But when the king of Israel wished to slay those that had entered and asked the prophet to give him leave to do so, he answered that they whose captivity was not brought about by strength of hand or weapons of war must not be slain, but that rather he should help

them by supplying food. Then they were refreshed with plenty of food. And after that those Syrian robbers thought they must never again return to the land of Israel.

87. How much nobler was this than that which the Greeks once did! For when two nations strove one with the other to gain glory and supreme power, and one of them had the opportunity to burn the ships of the other secretly, they thought it a shameful thing to do so, and preferred to gain a less advantage honorably than a greater one in shameful wise. They, indeed, could not act thus without disgrace to themselves, and entrap by this plot those who had banded together for the sake of ending the Persian war. Though they could deny it in word, yet they could never but blush at the thought of it. Elisha, however, wished to save, not destroy, those who were deceived indeed, though not by some foul act, and had been struck blind by the power of the Lord. For it was seemly to spare an enemy, and to grant his life to an adversary when indeed he could have taken it, had he not spared it.

88. It is plain, then, that whatever is seemly is always useful. For holy Judith by seemly disregard for her own safety put an end to the dangers of the siege, and by her own virtue won what was useful to all in common. And Elisha gained more renown by pardoning than he would have done by slaying, and preserved those enemies whom he had taken for greater usefulness.

89. And what else did John have in mind but what is virtuous, so that he could not endure a wicked union even in the king’s case, saying: “It is not lawful for thee to have her to wife.” He could have been silent, had he not thought it unseemly for himself not to speak the truth for fear of death, or to make the prophetic office yield to the king, or to indulge in flattery. He knew well that he would die as he was against the king, but he preferred virtue to safety. Yet what is more expedient than the suffering which brought glory to the saint.

90. Holy Susanna, too, when threatened with the fear of false witness, seeing herself hard pressed on one side by danger, on the other by disgrace, preferred to avoid disgrace by a virtuous death rather than to endure and live a shameful life in the desire to save herself. So while she fixed her mind on virtue, she also preserved her life. But if she had preferred what seemed

to her to be useful to preserve life, she would never have gained such great renown, nay, perhaps-and that would have been not only useless but even dangerous — she might even not have escaped the penalty for her crime. We note, therefore, that whatsoever is shameful cannot be useful, nor, again, can that which is virtuous be useless. For usefulness is ever the double of virtue, and virtue of usefulness.

CHAPTER 15

After mentioning a noble action of the Romans, the writer shows from the deeds of Moses that he had the greatest regard for what is virtuous.

91. It is related as a memorable deed of a Roman general, that when the physician of a hostile king came to him and promised to give him poison, he sent him back bound to the enemy. In truth, it is a noble thing for a man to refuse to gain the victory by foul acts, after he has entered on the struggle for power. He did not consider virtue to lie in victory, but declared that to be a shameful victory unless it was gained with honor.

92. Let us return to our hero Moses, and to loftier deeds, to show they were both superior as well as earlier. The king of Egypt would not let the people of our fathers go, Then Moses bade the priest Aaron to stretch his rod over all the waters of Egypt. Aaron stretched it out, and the water of the river was turned into blood. None could drink the water, and all the Egyptians were perishing with thirst; but there was pure water flowing in abundance for the fathers. They sprinkled ashes toward heaven, and sores and burning boils came upon man and beast. They brought down hail mingled with flaming fire, and all things were destroyed upon the land. Moses prayed, and all things were restored to their former beauty. The hail ceased, the sores were healed, the rivers gave their wonted draught.

93. Then, again, the land was covered with thick darkness for the space of three days, because Moses had raised his hand and spread out the darkness. All the first-born of Egypt died, whilst all the offspring of the Hebrews was left unharmed. Moses was asked to put an end to these horrors, and he prayed and obtained his request. In the one case it was a fact worthy of praise that he checked himself from joining in deceit; in the

other it was noteworthy how, by his innate goodness, he turned aside from the foe those divinely ordered punishments. He was indeed, as it is written, gentle and meek. He knew that the king would not keep true to his promises, yet he thought it right and good to pray when asked to do so, to bless when wronged, to forgive when besought.

94. He cast down his rod and it became a serpent which devoured the serpents of Egypt; this signifying that the Word should become Flesh to destroy the poison of the dread serpent by the forgiveness and pardon of sins. For the rod stands for the Word that is true — royal — filled with power — and glorious in ruling. The rod became a serpent; so He Who was the Son of God begotten of the Father became the Son of man born of a woman, and lifted, like the serpent, on the cross, poured His healing medicine on the wounds of man. Wherefore the Lord Himself says: “As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.”

95. Again, another sign which Moses gave points to our Lord Jesus Christ. He put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, and his hand was become as snow. A second time he put it in and drew it out, and it was again like the appearance of human flesh. This signified first the original glory of the Godhead of the Lord Jesus, and then the assumption of our flesh, in which truth all nations and peoples must believe. So he put in his hand, for Christ is the right hand of God; and whosoever does not believe in His Godhead and Incarnation is punished as a sinner; like that king who, whilst not believing open and plain signs, yet afterwards, when punished, prayed that he might find mercy. How great, then, Moses’ regard for virtue must have been is shown by these proofs, and especially by the fact that he offered himself on behalf of the people, praying that God would either forgive the people or blot him out of the book of the living.

CHAPTER 16

After saying a few words about Tobit he demonstrates that Raguel surpassed the philosophers in virtue.

96. Tobit also clearly portrayed in his life true virtue, when he left the feast and buried the dead, and invited the needy to the meals at his own

poor table. And Raguel is a still brighter example. For he, in his regard for virtue, when asked to give his daughter in marriage, was not silent regarding his daughter's faults, for fear of seeming to get the better of the suitor by silence. So when Tobit the son of Tobias asked that his daughter might be given him, he answered that, according to the law, she ought to be given him as near of kin, but that he had already given her to six men, and all of them were dead. This just man, then, feared more for others than for himself, and wished rather that his daughter should remain unmarried than that others should run risks in consequence of their union with her.

97. How simply he settled all the questions of the philosophers! They talk about the defects of a house, whether they ought to be concealed or made known by the vendor. Raguel was quite certain that his daughter's faults ought not to be kept secret. And, indeed, he had not been eager to give her up — he was asked for her. We can have no doubt how much more nobly he acted than those philosophers, when we consider how much more important a daughter's future is than some mere money affair.

CHAPTER 17

With what virtuous feelings the fathers of old hid the sacred fires when on the point of going into captivity.

98. LET us consider, again, that deed done at the time of the captivity, which has attained the highest degree of virtue and glory. Virtue is checked by no adversities, for it rises up among them, and prevails here rather than in prosperity. 'Mid chains or arms, 'mid flames or slavery (which is harder for freemen to bear than any punishment), 'midst the pains of the dying, the destruction of their country, the fears of the living, or the blood of the slain, — amidst all this our forefathers failed not in their care and thought for what is virtuous. Amidst the ashes and dust of their fallen country it glowed and shone forth brightly in pious efforts.

99. For when our fathers were carried away into Persia, certain priests, who then were in the service of Almighty God, secretly buried in the valley the fire taken from the altar of the Lord. There was there an open pit, with no water in it, and not accessible for the wants of the people, in a spot unknown and free from intruders. There they sealed the hidden fire

with the sacred mark and in secret. They were not anxious to bury gold or to hide up silver to preserve it for their children, but in their own great peril, thinking of all that was virtuous, they thought the sacred fire ought to be preserved so that impure men might not defile it, nor the blood of the slain extinguish it, nor the heaps of miserable ruins cover it.

100. So they went to Persia, free only in their religion; for that alone could not be torn from them by their captivity. After a length of time, indeed, according to God's good pleasure, He put it into the Persian king's heart to order the temple in Judea to be restored, and the regular customs to be again rebuilt at Jerusalem. To carry out this work of his the Persian king appointed the priest Nehemiah. He took with him the grandchildren of those priests who on leaving their native soil had hidden the sacred fire to save it from perishing. But on arriving, as we are told in the history of the fathers, they found not fire but water. And when fire was wanting to burn upon the altars, the priest Nehemiah bade them draw the water, to bring it to him, and to sprinkle it upon the wood. Then, O wondrous sight! though the sky had been overcast with clouds, suddenly the sun shone forth, a great fire flamed forth, so that all, wonder-stricken at such a clear sign of the favor of the Lord, were filled with joy. Nehemiah prayed; the priests sang a hymn of praise to God, when the sacrifice was completed. Nehemiah again bade the remainder of the water to be poured upon the larger stones. And when this was done a flame burst forth whilst the light shining from off the altar shone more brightly yet.

101. When this sign became known, the king of Persia ordered a temple to be built on that spot where the fire had been hidden and the water afterwards found, to which many gifts were made. They who were with holy Nehemiah called it Naphthar, — which means cleansing — by many it is called Nephi. It is to be found also in the history of the prophet Jeremiah, that he bade those who should come after him to take of the fire. That is the fire which fell on Moses' sacrifice and consumed it, as it is written: "There came a fire out from the Lord and consumed upon the altar all the whole burnt-offering." The sacrifice must be hallowed with this fire only. Therefore, also, fire went out from the Lord upon the sons of Aaron who wished to offer strange fire, and consumed them, so that their dead bodies were cast forth without the camp.

101. Jeremiah coming to a spot found there a house like a cave, and brought into it the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, and closed up the entrance. And when those who had come with him examined it rather closely to mark the spot, they could not discover nor find it. When Jeremiah understood what they wanted he said: “The spot will remain unknown until God shall gather His people together and be gracious to them. Then God shall reveal these things and the majesty of the Lord shall appear.”

CHAPTER 18

In the narration of that event already mentioned, and especially of the sacrifice offered by Nehemiah, is typified the Holy Spirit and Christian baptism. The sacrifice of Moses and Elijah and the history of Noah are also referred to the same.

102. We form the congregation of the Lord. We recognize the propitiation of our Lord God, which our Propitiator wrought in His passion. I think, too, we cannot leave out of sight that fire when we read that the Lord Jesus baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire, as John said in his Gospel. Rightly was the sacrifice consumed, for it was for sin. But that fire was a type of the Holy Spirit Who was to come down after the Lord’s ascension, and forgive the sins of all, and Who like fire inflames the mind and faithful heart. Wherefore Jeremiah, after receiving the Spirit, says: “It became in my heart as a burning fire flaming in my bones, and I am vile and cannot bear it.” In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and those others who were waiting for the Promise of the Father, we read that tongues as of fire were distributed among them. The soul of each one was so uplifted by His influence that they were supposed to be full of new wine, who instead had received the gift of a diversity of tongues.

103. What else can this mean — namely, that fire became water and water called forth fire — but that spiritual grace burns out our sins through fire, and through water cleanses them? For sin is washed away and it is burnt away. Wherefore the Apostle says: “The fire shall try every man’s work

of what sort it is.” And further on: “If any man’s work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.”

104. This, then, we have stated, so as to prove that sins are burnt out by means of fire. We know now that this is in truth the sacred fire which then, as a type of the future remission of sins, came down upon the sacrifice.

105. This fire is hidden in the time of captivity, during which sin reigns, but in the time of liberty it is brought forth. And though it is changed into the appearance of water, yet it preserves its nature as fire so as to consume the sacrifice. Do not wonder when thou readest that God the Father said: “I am a consuming fire.” And again: “They have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water.” The Lord Jesus, too, like a fire inflamed the hearts of those who heard Him, and like a fount of waters cooled them. For He Himself said in His Gospel that He came to send fire on the earth and to supply a draught of living waters to those who thirst.

106. In the time of Elijah, also, fire came down when he challenged the prophets of the heathen to light up the altar without fire. When they could not do so, he poured water thrice over his victim, so that the water ran round about the altar; then he cried out and the fire fell from the Lord from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering.

107. Thou art that victim. Contemplate in silence each single point. The breath of the Holy Spirit descends on thee, He seems to burn thee when He consumes thy sins. The sacrifice which was consumed in the time of Moses was a sacrifice for sin, wherefore Moses said, as is written in the book of the Maccabees: “Because the sacrifice for sin was not to be eaten, it was consumed.” Does it not seem to be consumed for thee when in the sacrament of baptism the whole outer man perishes? “Our old man is crucified,” the Apostle exclaims. Herein, as the example of the fathers teaches us, the Egyptian is swallowed up — the Hebrew arises renewed by the Holy Spirit, as he also crossed the Red Sea dryshod — where our fathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea.

108. In the flood, too, in Noah’s time all flesh died, though just Noah was preserved together with his family. Is not a man consumed when all that is mortal is cut off from life? The outer man is destroyed, but the inner is renewed. Not in baptism alone but also in repentance does this destruction

of the flesh tend to the growth of the spirit, as we are taught on the Apostle's authority, when holy Paul says: "I have judged as though I were present him that hath so done this deed, to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ."

109. We seem to have made a somewhat lengthy digression for the sake of regarding this wonderful mystery, in desiring to unfold more fully this sacrament which has been revealed to us, and which, indeed, is as full of virtue as it is full of religious awe.

CHAPTER 19

The crime committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah against the wife of a certain Levite is related, and from the vengeance taken it is inferred how the idea of virtue must have filled the heart of those people of old.

110. What regard for virtue our forefathers had to avenge by a war the wrongs of one woman which had been brought on her by her violation at the hands of profligate men! Nay, when the people were conquered, they vowed that they would not give their daughters in marriage to the tribe of Benjamin! That tribe had remained without hope of posterity, had they not received leave of necessity to use deceit. And this permission does not seem to fail in giving fitting punishment for violation, since they were only allowed to enter on a union by a rape, and not through the sacrament of marriage. And indeed it was right that they who had broken another's intercourse should themselves lose their marriage rites.

111. How full of pitiful traits is this story! A man, it says, a Levite, had taken to himself a wife, who I suppose was called a concubine from the word "concubitus." She some time afterwards, as is wont to happen, offended at certain things, betook herself to her father, and was with him four months. Then her husband arose and went to the house of his father-in-law, to reconcile himself with his wife, to win her back and take her home again. The woman ran to meet him and brought her husband into her father's house.

112. The maiden's father rejoiced and went to meet him, and the man stayed with him three days, and they ate and rested. On the next day the Levite arose at daybreak, but was detained by his father-in-law, that he might not so quickly lose the pleasure of his company. Again on the next and the third day the maiden's father did not suffer his son-in-law to start, until their joy and mutual regard was complete. But on the seventh day, when it was already drawing to a close, after a pleasant meal, having urged the approach of the coming night, so as to make him think he ought to sleep amongst friends rather than strangers, he was unable to keep him, and so let him go together with his daughter.

113. When some little progress was made, though night was threatening to come on, and they were close by the town of the Jebusites, on the slave's request that his Lord should turn aside there, he refused, because it was not a city of the children of Israel. He meant to get as far as Gibeah, which was inhabited by the people of the tribe of Benjamin. But when they arrived there was no one to receive them with hospitality, except a stranger of advanced age — When he had looked upon them he asked the Levite: Whither goest thou and whence dost thou come? On his answering that he was traveling and was making for Mount Ephraim and that there was no one to take him in, the old man offered him hospitality and prepared a meal.

114. And when they were satisfied and the tables were removed, vile men rushed up and surrounded the house. Then the old man offered these wicked men his daughter, a virgin, and the concubine with whom she shared her bed, only that violence might not be inflicted on his guest. But when reason did no good and violence prevailed, the Levite parted from his wife, and they knew her and abused her all that night. Overcome by this cruelty or by grief at her wrong, she fell at the door of their host where her husband had entered, and gave up the ghost, with the last effort of her life guarding the feelings of a good wife so as to preserve for her husband at least her mortal remains.

115. When this became known (to be brief) almost all the people of Israel broke out into war. The war remained doubtful with an uncertain issue, but in the third engagement the people of Benjamin were delivered to the people of Israel, and being condemned by the divine judgment paid the

penalty for their profligacy. The sentence, further, was that none of the people of the fathers should give his daughter in marriage to them. This was confirmed by a solemn oath. But relenting at having laid so hard a sentence on their brethren, they moderated their severity so as to give them in marriage those maidens that had lost their parents, whose fathers had been slain for their sins, or to give them the means of finding a wife by a raid. Because of the villainy of so foul a deed, they who have violated another's marriage rights were shown to be unworthy to ask for marriage. But for fear that one tribe might perish from the people, they connived at the deceit.

116. What great regard our forefathers had for virtue is shown by the fact that forty thousand men drew the sword against their brethren of the tribe of Benjamin in their desire to avenge the wrong done to modesty, for they would not endure the violation of chastity. And so in that war on both sides there fell sixty-five thousand warriors, whilst their cities were burnt. And when at first the people of Israel were defeated, yet unmoved by fear at the reverses of the war, they disregarded the sorrow the avenging of chastity cost them. They rushed into the battle ready to wash out with their own blood the stains of the crime that had been committed.

CHAPTER 20

After the terrible siege of Samaria was ended in accordance with Elisha's prophecy, he relates what regard the four lepers showed for what was virtuous.

117. WHY need we wonder that the people of the Lord had regard for what was seemly and virtuous when even the lepers — as we read in the books of the Kings — showed concern for what is virtuous?

118. There was a great famine in Samaria, for the army of the Syrians was besieging it. The king in his anxiety was making the round of the guards on the wails when a woman addressed him, saying: This woman persuaded me to give up my son — and I gave him up, and we boiled him and did eat him. And she promised that she would afterwards bring her son and that we should eat his flesh together, but now she hath hidden her son and will not bring him. The king was troubled because these women seemed to have fed not merely on human bodies, but on the bodies of their own children; and being moved by an example of such awful misery, threatened the

prophet Elisha with death. For he believed it was in his power to break up the siege and to avert the famine; or else he was angry because the prophet had not allowed the king to smite the Syrians whom he had struck with blindness.

119. Elisha sat with the elders at Bethel, and before the king's messenger came to him he said to the elders: "See ye how the son of that murderess hath sent to take away mine head?" Then the messenger entered and brought the king's command threatening instant danger to his life. Him the prophet answered: "To-morrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel in the gate of Samaria." Then when the messenger sent by the king would not believe it, saying: "If the Lord would rain abundance of corn from heaven, not even so would that come about," Elisha said to him: "Because thou hast not believed, thou shall see it with thine eyes, but shall not eat of it."

120. And suddenly in the camp of Syria was there heard, as it were, a sound of chariots and a loud noise of horses and the noise of a great host, and the tumult of some vast battle. And the Syrians thought that the king of Israel had called to his help in the battle the king of Egypt and the king of the Amorites, and they fled at dawn leaving their tents, for they feared that they might be crushed by the sudden arrival of fresh foes, and would not be able to withstand the united forces of the kings. This was unknown in Samaria, for they dared not go out of the town, being overcome with fear and also being weak through hunger.

121. But there were four lepers at the gate of the city to whom life was a misery, and to die would be gain. And they said one to another: "Behold we sit here and die. If we enter into the city, we shall die with hunger; if we remain here, there are no means of living at hand for us. Let us go to the Syrian camp, either they will quickly kill us or grant us the means of safety." So they went and entered into the camp, and behold, all was forsaken by the enemy. Entering the tents, first of all on finding food they satisfied their hunger, then they laid hold of as much gold and silver as they could. But whilst they were intent on the booty alone, they arranged to announce to the king that the Syrians had fled, for they thought this more virtuous than to withhold the information and keep for themselves the plunder gained by deceit.

122. At this information the peoples went forth and plundered the Syrian camp. The supplies of the enemy produced an abundance, and brought about cheapness of corn according to the prophet's word: "A measure of fine flour for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel." In this rejoicing of the people, that officer on whose hand the king leaned died, being crushed and trodden under foot by the people as the crowds kept hurrying to go out or returned with great rejoicing.

CHAPTER 21

Esther in danger of her life followed the grace of virtue; nay, even a heathen king did so, when death was threatened to a man most friendly to him, For friendship must ever be combined with virtue, as the examples of Jonathan and Ahimelech show.

123. Why did Queen Esther expose herself to death and not fear the wrath of a fierce king? Was it not to save her people from death, an act both seemly and virtuous? The king of Persia himself also, though fierce and proud, yet thought it seemly to show honor to the man who had given information about a plot which had been laid against himself, to save a free people from slavery, to snatch them from death, and not to spare him who had pressed on such unseemly plans. So finally he handed over to the gallows the man that stood second to himself, and whom he counted chief among all his friends, because he considered that he had dishonored him by his false counsels.

124. For that commendable friendship which maintains virtue is to be preferred most certainly to wealth, or honors, or power. It is not wont to be preferred to virtue indeed, but to follow after it. So it was with Jonathan,who for his affection's sake avoided not his father's displeasure nor the danger to his own safety. So, too, it was with Ahimelech, who, to preserve the duties of hospitality, thought he must endure death rather than betray his friend when fleeing.

CHAPTER 22

Virtue must never be given up for the sake of a friend. If, however, one has to bear witness against a friend, it must be done with caution. Between friends what candor is needed in opening the heart, what magnanimity in suffering, what freedom in finding fault!

Friendship is the guardian of virtues, which are not to be found but in men of like character. It must be mild in rebuking and averse to seeking its own advantage; whence it happens that true friends are scarce among the rich. What is the dignity of friendship? The treachery of a friend, as it is worse, so it is also more hateful than another's, as is recognized from the example of Judas and of Job's friends.

125. Nothing, then, must be set before virtue; and that it may never be set aside by the desire for friendship, Scripture also gives us a warning on the subject of friendship. There are, indeed various questions raised among philosophers; for instance whether a man ought for the sake of a friend to plot against his country or not, so as to serve his friend? Whether it is right to break one's faith, and so aid and maintain a friend's advantage?

126. And Scripture also says: "A maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow, so is a man that beareth false witness against his friend." But note what it adds. It blames not witness given against a friend, but false witness. For what if the cause of God or of one's country compels one to give witness? Ought friendship to take a higher place than our religion, or our love for our fellow-citizens? In these matters, however, true witness is required so that a friend may not be assailed by the treachery of a friend, by whose good faith he ought to be acquitted. A man, then, ought never to please a friend who desires evil, or to plot against one who is innocent.

127. Certainly, if it is necessary to give witness, then, when one knows of any fault in a friend, one ought to rebuke him secretly — if he does not listen, one must do it openly. For rebukes are good, and often better than a silent friendship. Even if a friend thinks himself hurt, still rebuke him; and if the bitterness of the correction wounds his mind, still rebuke him and fear not. "The wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of flatterers:" Rebuke, then, thy erring friend; forsake not an innocent one. For friendship ought to be steadfast and to rest firm in true affection. We ought not to change our friends in childish fashion at some idle fancy.

128. Open thy breast to a friend that he may be faithful to thee, and that thou mayest receive from him the delight of thy life. "For a faithful friend is the medicine of life and the grace of immortality." Give way to a friend as to an equal, and be not ashamed to be beforehand with thy friend in

doing kindly duties. For friendship knows nothing of pride. So the wise man says: “Do not blush to greet a friend.” Do not desert a friend in time of need, nor forsake him nor fail him, for friendship is the support of life. Let us then bear our burdens as the Apostle has taught: for he spoke to those whom the charity of the same one body had embraced together. If friends in prosperity help friends, why do they not also in times of adversity offer their support? Let us aid by giving counsel, let us offer our best endeavors, let us sympathize with them with all our heart.

129. If necessary, let us endure for a friend even hardship. Often enmity has to be borne for the sake of a friend’s innocence; oftentimes revilings, if one defends and answers for a friend who is found fault with and accused. Do not be afraid of such displeasure, for the voice of the just says: “Though evil come upon me, I will endure it for a friend’s sake.” In adversity, too, a friend is proved, for in prosperity all seem to be friends. But as in adversity patience and endurance are needed, so in prosperity strong influence is wanted to check and confute the arrogance of a friend who becomes overbearing.

130. How nobly Job when he was in adversity said: “Pity me, my friends, pity me.” That is not a cry as it were of misery, but rather one of blame. For when he was unjustly reproached by his friends, he answered: “Pity me, my friends,” that is, ye ought to show pity, but instead ye assail and overwhelm a man with whose sufferings ye ought to show sympathy for friendship’s sake.

131. Preserve, then, my sons, that friendship ye have begun with your brethren, for nothing in the world is more beautiful than that. It is indeed a comfort in this life to have one to whom thou canst open thy heart, with whom thou canst share confidences, and to whom thou canst entrust the secrets of thy heart. It is a comfort to have a trusty man by thy side, who will rejoice with thee in prosperity, sympathize in troubles, encourage in persecution. What good friends those Hebrew children were whom the flames of the fiery furnace did not separate from their love of each other! Of them we have already spoken. Holy David says well: “Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant, inseparable in their life, in death they were not divided.”

132. This is the fruit of friendship; and so faith may not be put aside for the sake of friendship. He cannot be a friend to a man who has been unfaithful to God. Friendship is the guardian of pity and the teacher of equality, so as to make the superior equal to the inferior, and the inferior to the superior. For there can be no friendship between diverse characters, and so the good-will of either ought to be mutually suited to the other. Let not authority be wanting to the inferior if the matter demands it, nor humility to the superior. Let him listen to the other as though he were of like position — an equal, and let the other warn and reprove like a friend, not from a desire to show off, but with a deep feeling of love.

134. Let not thy warning be harsh, nor thy rebuke bitter, for as friendship ought to avoid flattery, so, too, ought it to be free from arrogance. For what is a friend but a partner in love, to whom thou unitest and attachest thy soul, and with whom thou blendest so as to desire from being two to become one; to whom thou entrustest thyself as to a second self, from whom thou fearest nothing, and from whom thou demandest nothing dishonorable for the sake of thine own advantage. Friendship is not meant as a source of revenue, but is full of seemliness, full of grace. Friendship is a virtue, not a way of making money. It is produced, not by money, but by esteem; not by the offer of rewards, but by a mutual rivalry in doing kindnesses.

134. Lastly, the friendships of the poor are generally better than those of the rich, and often the rich are without friends, whilst the poor have many. For true friendship cannot exist where there is lying flattery. Many try fawningly to please the rich, but no one cares to make pretense to a poor man. Whatsoever is stated to a poor man is true, his friendship is free from envy.

135. What is more precious than friendship which is shared alike by angels and by men? Wherefore the Lord Jesus says: “Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may receive you into eternal habitations.” God Himself makes us friends instead of servants, as He Himself says: “Ye are My friends if ye do whatsoever I command you.” He gave us a pattern of friendship to follow. We are to fulfill the wish of a friend, to unfold to him our secrets which we hold in our own hearts, and are not to disregard his confidences. Let us show him our heart and he will open his to us. Therefore He says: “I have called you friends, for I have

made known unto you all things whatsoever I have heard of My Father." A friend, then, if he is a true one, hides nothing; he pours forth his soul as the Lord Jesus poured forth the mysteries of His Father.

136. So he who does the will of God is His friend and is honored with this name. He who is of one mind with Him, he too is His friend. For there is unity of mind in friends, and no one is more hateful than the man that injures friendship. Hence in the traitor the Lord found this the worst point on which to condemn his treachery, namely, that he gave no sign of gratitude and had mingled the poison of malice at the table of friendship. So He says: "It was thou, a man of like mind, My guide and Mine acquaintance, who ever didst take pleasant meals with Me." That is: it could not be endured, for thou didst fall upon Him Who granted grace to thee. "For if My enemy had reproached Me I could have borne it, and I would have hid Myself from him who hated Me." An enemy can be avoided; a friend cannot, if he desires to lay a plot. Let us guard against him to whom we do not entrust our plans; we cannot guard against him to whom we have already entrusted them. And so to show up all the hatefulness of the sin He did not say: Thou, My servant, My apostle; but thou, a man of like mind with Me; that is: thou art not My but thy own betrayer, for thou didst betray a man of like mind with thyself.

137. The Lord Himself, when He was displeased with the three princes who had not deferred to holy Job, wished to pardon them through their friend, so that the prayer of friendship might win remission of sins. Therefore Job asked and God pardoned. Friendship helped them whom arrogance had harmed.

138. These things I have left with you, my children, that you may guard them in your minds — you yourselves will prove whether they will be of any advantage. Meanwhile they offer you a large number of examples, for almost all the examples drawn from our forefathers, and also many a word of theirs, are included within these three books; so that, although the language may not be graceful, yet a succession of old-time examples set down in such small compass may offer much instruction.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THREE BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

THE three books on the Holy Spirit are, as St. Ambrose says himself, a sequel to those on the Faith, and the two treatises together have been sometimes quoted as if one, with the title, *De Trinitate*. But as we see from Gratian's letter to St. Ambrose, and from the reply, that each treatise is separate, and the *De Spiritu Sancto* was written some years later, A.D. 381.

In the first book St. Ambrose commences by allegorizing the history of Gideon and the fleece, seeing in the drying and moistening of the threshing-floor a type of the Holy Spirit leaving the Jews and being poured out on the Gentiles. Passing to his more immediate subject, he proves that the Holy Spirit is above the whole Creation and is truly God, alleging as a special argument that the sin against the Holy Spirit called the Spirit of God; that He spake by the prophets and apostles; that He sanctifies men, and is typified by the mystical ointment spoken of in Scripture. Next, St. Ambrose treats of his oneness with the other two Persons on the Holy Trinity, and shows that His mission in no way detracts from this oneness, but that there is in all the Divine Persons a perfect unity of peace, love, and other virtues.

The second book commences with a treatment of the history of Samson in the same way as that of Gideon in Book I. Samson always succeeded so long as the Holy Spirit was with him, but fell into misfortune so soon as he was forsaken. Is it shown that the power of the Holy Spirit is the same as that of the Father and the Son, and that there is an agreement in design and working, and in vivifying man. He is Creator and therefore to be worshipped, and He worked with the Father and the Son in founding the Church, and in conclusion is proved the unity of operation in the Three Persons.

There can be but little doubt that this is the work, and St. Ambrose the author, bitterly attacked by St. Jerome; the whole passage may be read in the *Apology* of Rufinus, in vol in. of this series. St. Ambrose is compared to a daw decked in another bird's plumage, and charged with writing "bad

things in Latin taken, from good things in Greek," and St. Jerome even took the trouble to translate the work of St. Didymus on the Holy Spirit (from the preface to which the above extracts are taken), in order that those who did not know Greek might, St. Jerome, hoped, recognize the plagiarisms.

Rufinus vigorously defends St. Ambrose, and, pointing out many inconsistencies in his opponent, says: "The saintly Ambrose wrote his book on the Holy Spirit not in words only but with his own blood, for he offered his life-blood to his persecutors, and shed it within himself, though God preserved his life for future labors."

The truth is that St. Ambrose being a good Greek scholar, and having undertaken to write on the Holy Spirit, studied what others had written before him, and made use of what had been urged by SS. Basil Didymus, and others. The opinion of the great St. Augustine concerning this treatise may by set against that of St. Jerome. "St Ambrose when treating of the deep subject of the Holy Spirit, and showing that He is equal with the Father and the Son, yet makes use of a simple style of discourse; inasmuch as his subject required not the embellishments of language, but proofs to move the minds of his readers."

THREE BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

TO THE EMPEROR GRATIAN

BOOK 1

The choice of Gideon was a figure of our Lord's Incarnation, the sacrifice of a kid, of the satisfaction for sins in the body of Christ; that of the bullock, of the abolition of profane rites; and in the three hundred soldiers was a type of the future redemptic through the cross. The seeking of various signs by Gideon was also a mystery, for by the dryness and moistening of the fleece was signified the falling away of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, by the water received in a basin the washing of the apostles' feet. St. Ambrose prays that his own pollution may be washed away, and praises the loving-kindness of Christ. The same water sent forth by the Son of God effects marvelous conversions; it cannot, however, be sent by any other, since it is the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit, Who is subject to no external power.

1. WHEN Jerubbaal, as we read, was beating out wheat under an oak, he received a message from God in order that he might bring the people of God from the power of strangers into liberty. Nor is it a matter of wonder if he was chosen for grace, seeing that even then, being appointed under the shadow of the holy cross and of the adorable Wisdom in the predestined mystery of the future Incarnation, he was bringing forth the visible grains of the fruitful corn from their hiding places, and was [mystically] separating the elect of the saints from the refuse of the empty chaff. For these elect, as though trained with the rod of truth, laying aside the superfluities of the old man together with his deeds, are gathered in the

Church as in a winepress. or the Church is the winepress of the eternal fountain, since from her wells forth the juice of the heavenly Vine.

2. And Gideon, moved by that message, when he heard that, though thousands of the people failed, God would deliver His own from their enemies by means of one man, offered a kid, and according to the word of the Angel, laid its flesh and the unleavened cakes upon the rock, and poured the broth upon them. And as soon as the Angel touched them with the end of the staff which he bore, fire burst forth out of the rock, and so the sacrifice which he was offering was consumed. By which it seems clear that that rock was a figure of the Body of Christ, for it is written: “They drank of that rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.” Which certainly refers not to His Godhead, but to His Flesh, which watered the hearts of the thirsting people with the perpetual stream of His Blood.

3. Even at that time was it declared in a mystery that the Lord Jesus in His Flesh would, when crucified, do away the sins of the whole world, and not only the deeds of the body, but the desires of the soul. For the flesh of the kid refers to sins of deed, the broth to the enticements of desire as it is written: “For the people lusted’ an evil lust, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat?” That the Angel then stretched forth his staff, and touched the rock, from which fire went out, shows that the Flesh of the Lord, being filled with the Divine Spirit, would burn away all the sins of human frailty. Wherefore, also, the Lord says: “I am come to send fire upon the earth.”

4. Then the man, instructed and fore-knowing what was to be, observes the heavenly mysteries, and therefore, according to the warning, slew the bullock destined by his father to idols, and himself offered to God another bullock seven years old. By doing which he most plainly showed that after the coming of the Lord all Gentile sacrifices should be done away, and that only the sacrifice of the Lord’s passion should be offered for the redemption of the people. For that bullock was, in a type, Christ, in Whom, as Esaias said, dwelt the fullness of the seven gifts of the Spirit. This bullock Abraham also offered when he saw the day of the Lord and was glad. He it is Who was offered at one time in the type of a kid, at another in that of a sheep, at another in that of a bullock. Of a kid, because He is a sacrifice for sin; of a sheep, because He is an unresisting victim; of a bullock, because He is a victim without blemish.

5. Holy Gideon then saw the mystery beforehand. Next he chose out three hundred for the battle, so as to show that the world should be freed from the incursion of worse enemies, not by the multitude of their number, but by the mystery of the cross. And yet, though he was brave and faithful, he asked of the Lord yet fuller proofs of future victory, saying: “If Thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, O Lord, as Thou hast said, behold I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor, and if there shall be dew on the fleece and dryness on all the ground, I shall know that Thou wilt deliver the people by my hand according to Thy promise. And it was so.” Afterwards he asked in addition that dew should descend on all the earth and dryness be on the fleece.

6. Some one perhaps will enquire whether he does not seem to have been wanting in faith, seeing that after being instructed by many signs he asked still more. But how can he seem to have asked as if doubting or wanting in faith, who was speaking in mysteries? He was not then doubtful, but careful that we should not doubt. For how could he be doubtful whose prayer was effectual? And how could he have begun the battle without fear, unless he had understood the message of God? for the dew on the fleece signified the faith among the Jews, because the words of God come down like the dew.

7. So when the whole world was parched with the drought of Gentile superstition, then came that dew of the heavenly visits on the fleece. But after that the lost sheep of the house of Israel (whom I think that the figure of the Jewish fleece shadowed forth), after that those sheep, I say, “had refused the fountain of living water,” the dew of moistening faith dried up in the breasts of the Jews, and that divine Fountain turned away its course to the hearts of the Gentiles. Whence it has come to pass that now the whole world is moistened with the dew of faith, but the Jews have lost their prophets and counselors.

8. Nor is it strange that they should suffer the drought of unbelief, whom the Lord deprived of the fertilizing of the shower of prophecy, saying: “I will command My clouds that they rain not upon that vineyard.” For there is a health-giving shower of salutary grace, as David also said: “He came down like rain upon a fleece. and like drops that drop upon the earth.” The divine Scriptures promised us this rain upon the whole earth, to water the

world with the dew of the Divine Spirit at the coming of the Savior. The Lord, then, has now come, and the rain has come; the Lord has come bringing the heavenly drops with Him, and so now we drink, who before were thirsty, and with an interior draught drink in that Divine Spirit.

9. Holy Gideon, then, foresaw this, that the nations of the Gentiles also would drink by the reception of faith, and therefore he enquired more diligently, for the caution of the saints is necessary. Insomuch that also Joshua the son of Nun, when he saw the captain of the heavenly host, enquired: "Art thou for us, or for our adversaries?" lest, perchance, he might be deceived by some stratagem of the adversary.

10. Nor was it without a reason that he put the fleece neither in a field nor in a meadow, but in a threshing-floor, where is the harvest of the wheat: "For the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few;" because that, through faith in the Lord, there was about to be a harvest fruitful in virtues.

11. Nor, again, was it without a reason that he dried the fleece of the Jews, and put the dew from it into a basin, so that it was filled with water, yet he did not himself wash his feet in that dew. The prerogative of so great a mystery was to be given to another. He was being waited for Who alone could wash away the filth of all. Gideon was not great enough to claim this mystery for himself, but "the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." Let us, then, recognize in Whom these mysteries are seen to be accomplished. Not in holy Gideon, for they were still at their commencement. Therefore the Gentiles were surpassed, for dryness was still upon the Gentiles, and therefore did Israel surpass them, for then did the dew remain on the fleece,

12. Let us come now to the Gospel of God. I find the Lord stripping Himself of His garments, and girding Himself with a towel, pouring water into a basin, and washing the disciples' feet. That heavenly dew was this water, this was foretold, namely, that the Lord Jesus Christ would wash the feet of His disciples in that heavenly dew. And now let the feet of our minds be stretched out. The Lord Jesus wills also to wash our feet, for He says, not to Peter alone, but to each of the faithful: "If I wash not thy feet thou wilt have no part with Me."

13. Come, then, Lord Jesus, put off Thy garments, which Thou didst put on for my sake; be Thou stripped that Thou mayest clothe us with Thy mercy. Gird Thyself for our sakes with a towel, that Thou mayest gird us with Thy gift of immortality. Pour water into the basin, wash not only our feet but also the head, and not only of the body, but also the footsteps of the soul. I wish to put off all the filth of our frailty, so that I also may say: "By night I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?")

14. How great is that excellence! As a servant, Thou dost wash the feet of Thy disciples; as God, Thou sendest dew from heaven. Nor dost Thou wash the feet only, but also invitest us to sit down with Thee, and by the example of Thy dignity dost exhort us, saying: "Ye call Me Master and Lord, and ye do well, for so I am. If, then, I the Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet."

15. I, then, wish also myself to wash the feet of my brethren, I wish to fulfill the commandment of my Lord, I will not be ashamed in myself, nor disdain what He Himself did first. Good is the mystery of humility, because while washing the pollutions of others I wash away my own. But all were not able to exhaust this mystery. Abraham was, indeed, willing to wash feet, but because of a feeling of hospitality. Gideon, too, was willing to wash the feet of the Angel of the Lord who appeared to him, but his willingness was confined to one; he was willing as one who would do a service, not as one who would confer fellowship with himself. This is a great mystery which no one knew. Lastly, the Lord said to Peter: "What I do thou knowest not now, but shalt know hereafter." This, I say, is a divine mystery which even they who wash will enquire into. It is not, then, the simple water of the heavenly mystery whereby we attain to be found worthy of having part with Christ.

16. There is also a certain water which we put into the basin of our soul, water from the fleece and from the Book of Judges; water, too, from the Book of Psalms. It is the water of the message from heaven. Let, then, this water, O Lord Jesus, come into my soul, into my flesh, that through the moisture of this rain the valleys of our minds and the fields of our hearts may grow green. May the drops from Thee come upon me, shedding forth grace and immortality. Wash the steps of my mind that I may not sin

again. Wash the heel of my soul, that I may be able to efface the curse, that I feel not the serpent's bite on the foot of my soul, but, as Thou Thyself hast bidden those who follow Thee, may tread on serpents and scorpions with uninjured foot. Thou hast redeemed the world, redeem the soul of a single sinner.

17. This is the special excellence of Thy loving-kindness, wherewith Thou hast redeemed the whole world one by one. Elijah was sent to one widow; Elisha cleansed one; Thou, O Lord Jesus, hast at this day cleansed a thousand. How many in the city of Rome, how many at Alexandria, how many at Antioch, how many also at Constantinople! For even Constantinople has received the word of God, and has received evident proofs of Thy judgment. For so long as she cherished the Arians' poison in her bosom, disquieted by neighboring wars, she echoed with hostile arms around. But so soon as she rejected those who were alien from the faith she received as a suppliant the enemy himself, the judge of kings, whom she had always been wont to fear, she buried him when dead, and retains him entombed. How many, then, hast Thou cleansed at Constantinople, how many, lastly, at this day in the whole world!

18. Damasus cleansed not, Peter cleansed not, Ambrose cleansed not, Gregory cleansed not; for ours is the ministry, but the sacraments are Thine. For it is not in man's power to confer what is divine, but it is, O Lord, Thy gift and that of the Father, as Thou hast spoken by the prophets, saying: "I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy." This is that typical dew from heaven, this is that gracious rain, as we read: "A gracious rain, dividing for His inheritance." For the Holy Spirit is not subject to any foreign power or law, but is the Arbiter of this own freedom, dividing all things according to the decision of His own will, to each, as we read, severally as He wills.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose commences his argument by complimenting the Emperor, both for his faith and for the restitution of the Basilica to the Church; then having urged that his opponents, if they affirm that the Holy Spirit is not a servant, cannot deny Him to be above all,

adds that the same Spirit, when He said, "All things serve Thee," showed plainly that He was distinct from creatures; which point he also establishes by other evidence.

19. THE Holy Spirit, then, is not amongst but above all things. For (since you, most merciful Emperor, are so fully instructed concerning the Son of God as to be able yourself to teach others) I will not detain you longer, as you desire and claim to be told something more exactly [concerning Him], especially since you lately showed yourself to be so pleased by an argument of this nature, as to command the Basilica to be restored to the Church without any one urging you.

20. So, then, we have received the grace of your faith and the reward of our own; for we cannot say otherwise than that it was of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that when all were unconscious of it, you suddenly restored the Basilica. This is the gift, I say, this the work of the Holy Spirit, Who indeed was at that time preached by us, but was working in you.

21. And I do not regret the losses of the previous time, since the sequestration of that Basilica resulted in the gain of a sort of usury. For you sequestrated the Basilica, that you might give proof of your faith. And so your piety fulfilled its intention, which had sequestered that it might give proof, and so gave proof as to restore. I did not lose the fruit, and I have your judgment, and it has been made clear to all that, with a certain diversity of action, there was in you no diversity of opinion. It was made clear, I say, to all, that it was not of yourself that you sequestrated, that it was of yourself when you restored it.

22. Now let us establish by evidence what we have said. The first point in the discussion is that all things serve. Now it is clear that all things serve, since it is written: "All things serve Thee." This the Spirit said through the prophet. He did not say, We serve, but, "serve Thee," that you might believe that He Himself is excepted from serving. So, then, since all things serve, and the Spirit does not serve, the Holy Spirit is certainly not included amongst all things.

23. For if we say that the Holy Spirit is included amongst all things, certainly when we read that the Spirit searches the deep things of God, we deny that God the Father is over all. For since the Spirit is of God, and is

the Spirit of His mouth, how can we say that the Holy Spirit is included amongst all things, seeing that God, Whose is the Spirit, is over all, possessing certainly fullness of perfection and perfect power.

25. But lest the objectors should think that the Apostle was in error, let them learn whom he followed as his authority for his belief. The Lord said in the Gospel: "When the Paraclete is come, Whom I will send to you from My Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father, He shall bear witness of Me." So the Holy Spirit both proceeds from the Father, and bears witness of the Son. For the witness Who is both faithful and true bears witness of the Father, than which witness nothing is more full for the expression of the Divine Majesty, nothing more clear as to the Unity of the Divine Power, since the Spirit has the same knowledge as the Son, Who is the witness and inseparable sharer of the Father's secrets.

26. He excludes, then, the fellowship and number of creatures from the knowledge of God, but by not excluding the Holy Spirit, He shows that He is not of the fellowship of creatures. So that the passage which is read in the Gospel: "For no man hath seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son Who is in the bosom of the Father He hath declared Him," also pertains to the exclusion of the Holy Spirit. For how has He not seen God Who searches even the deep things of God? How has He not seen God Who knows the things which are of God? How has He not seen God Who is of God? So, since it is laid down that no one has seen God at any time, whereas the Holy Spirit has seen Him, clearly the Holy Spirit is excepted. He, then, is above all Who is excluded from all.

CHAPTER 2

The words, "All things were made by Him," are not a proof that the Holy Spirit is included amongst all things, since He was not made. For otherwise it could be proved by other passages that the Son, and even the Father Himself, must be numbered amongst all things, which would be similar irreverence.

27. This seems, gracious Emperor, to be a full account of our right feeling, but to the impious it does not seem so. Observe what they are striving after. For the heretics are wont to say that the Holy Spirit is to be

reckoned amongst all things, because it is written of God the Son: “All things were made by Him.”

28. How utterly confused is a course of argument which does not hold to the truth, and is involved in an inverted order of statements. For this argument would be of value for the statement that the Holy Spirit is amongst all things, if they proved that He was made. For Scripture says that all things which were made were made by the Son; but since we are not taught that the Holy Spirit was made, He certainly cannot be proved to be amongst all things Who was neither made as all things are, nor created. To me this testimony is of use for establishing each point; firstly, that He is proved to be above all things, because He was not made; and secondly, that because He is above all things, He is seen not to have been made, and is not to be numbered amongst those things which were made.

29. But if any one, because the Evangelist stated that all things were made by the Word, making no exception of the Holy Spirit (although the Spirit of God speaking in John said: “All things were made by Him, “and said not we were all things which were made; whilst the Lord Himself distinctly showed that the Spirit of God spoke in the Evangelists, saying, “For it will not be you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you”), yet if any one, as I said, does not except the Holy Spirit in this place, but numbers Him amongst all, he consequently does not except the Son of God in that passage where the Apostle says: “Yet to us there is one God the Father, of Whom are all things, and we by Him.” But that he may know that the Son is not amongst all things, let him read what follows, for when he says: “And one Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things,” he certainly excepts the Son of God from all, who also excepted the Father.

30. But it is equal irreverence to detract from the dignity of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit. For he believes not in the Father who does not believe in the Son, nor does he believe in the Son of God who does not believe in the Spirit, nor can faith stand without the rule of truth. For he who has begun to deny the oneness of power in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit certainly cannot prove his divided faith in points where there is no division. So, then, since complete piety is to believe rightly, so complete impiety is to believe wrongly.

31. Therefore they who think that the Holy Spirit ought to be numbered amongst all things, because they read that all things were made by the Son, must needs also think that the Son is to be numbered amongst all things, because they read: “All things are of God.” But, consequently, they also do not separate the Father from all things, who do not separate the Son from all creatures, since, as all things are of the Father, so, too, all things are by the Son. And the Apostle, because of his foresight in the Spirit, used this very expression, lest he should seem to the impious who had heard that the Son had said, “That which My Father hath given Me is greater than all,” to have included the Son amongst all.

CHAPTER 3

The statement of the Apostle, that all things are of the Father by the Son, does not separate the Spirit from Their company, since what is referred to one Person is also attributed to each. So those baptized in the Name of Christ are held to be baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, if, that is, there is belief in the Three Persons, otherwise the baptism will be null. This also applies to baptism in the Name of the Holy Spirit. If because of one passage the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, it will necessarily follow from other passages that the Father will be subordinated to the Son. The Son is worshipped by angels, not by the Spirit, for the latter is His witness, not His servant. Where the Son is spoken of as being before all, it is to be understood of creatures. The great dignity of the Holy Spirit is proved by the absence of forgiveness for the sin against Him. How it is that such sin cannot be forgiven, and how the Spirit is one.

32. But perhaps some one may say that there was a reason why the writer said that all things were of the Father, and all things through the Son, but made no mention of the Holy Spirit, and would obtain the foundation of an argument from this. But if he persists in his perverse interpretation, in how many passages will he find the power of the Holy Spirit asserted, in which Scripture has stated nothing concerning either the Father or the Son, but has left it to be understood?

40. Where, then, the grace of the Spirit is asserted, is that of God the Father or of the Only-begotten Son denied? By no means; for as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so, too, “the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who hath been given us.” And as he who is blessed in Christ is blessed in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, because the Name is one and the Power one; so, too, when any divine operation, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, is treated of, it is not referred only to the Holy Spirit, but also to the Father and the Son, and not only to the Father, but also to the Son and the Spirit.

41. Then, too, the Ethiopian eunuch of Queen Candace, when baptized in Christ, obtained the fullness of the sacrament. And they who said that they knew not of any Holy Spirit, although they said that they had been baptized with John’s baptism, were baptized afterwards, because John baptized for the remission of sins in the Name of the coming Jesus, not in his own. And so they knew not the Spirit, because in the form in which John baptized they had not received baptism in the Name of Christ. For John, though he did not baptize in the Spirit, nevertheless preached Christ and the Spirit. And then, when he was questioned whether he were perchance himself the Christ, he answered: “I baptize you with water, but a stronger than I shall come, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and. with fire.” They therefore, because they had been baptized neither in the Name of Christ nor with faith in the Holy Spirit, could not receive the sacrament of baptism.

42. So they were baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, and baptism was not repeated in their case, but administered differently, for there is but one baptism. But where there is not the complete sacrament of baptism, there is not considered to be a commencement nor any kind of baptism. But baptism is complete if one confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. If you deny One you overthrow the whole. And just as if you mention in words One only, either the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, and in your belief do not deny either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, the mystery of the faith is complete, so, too, although you name the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and lessen the power of either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, the whole mystery is made empty. And, lastly, they who had said: “We have not heard if there be any Holy

Spirit, were baptized afterwards in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ." And this was an additional abundance of grace, for now through Paul's preaching they knew the Holy Spirit.

43. Nor ought it to seem opposed to this, that although subsequently mention is not made of the Spirit, He is yet believed in, and what had not been mentioned in words is expressed in belief. For when it is said, "In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ," the mystery is complete through the oneness of the Name, and the Spirit is not separated from the baptism of Christ, since John baptized unto repentance, Christ in the Spirit.

44. Let us now consider whether as we read that the sacrament of baptism in the Name of Christ was complete, so, too, when the Holy Spirit alone is named, anything is wanting to the completeness of the mystery. Let us follow out the argument that he who has named One has signified the Trinity. If you name Christ, you imply both God the Father by Whom the Son was anointed, and the Son Himself Who was anointed, and the Holy Spirit with Whom He was anointed. For it is written: "This Jesus of Nazareth, Whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit." And if you name the Father, you denote equally His Son and the Spirit of His mouth, if, that is, you apprehend it in your heart. And if you speak of the Spirit, you name also God the Father, from Whom the Spirit proceeds, and the Son, inasmuch as He is also the Spirit of the Son.

45. Wherefore that authority may also be joined to reason Scripture indicates that we can also be rightly baptized in the Spirit, when the Lord says: "But ye shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit." And in another place the Apostle says: "For we were all baptized in the body itself into one Spirit." The work is one, for the mystery is one; the baptism one, for there was one death on behalf of the world; there is, then, a oneness of working, a oneness of setting forth, which cannot be separated.

46. But if in this place the Spirit be separated from the operation of the Father and the Son, because it is said, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, then, too, when the Apostle says of Christ, "Who is over all, God blessed for ever," He set Christ not only above all creatures, but (which it is impious to say) above the Father also. But God forbid, for the Father is not amongst all things, is not amongst a kind of crowd of His own creatures. The whole creation is below, over all is the Godhead of the

Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The former serves, the latter rules; the former is subject, the latter reigns; the former is the work. the latter the author of the work; the former, without exception, worships, the latter is worshipped by all without exception.

47. Lastly, of the Son it is written: “And let all the angels of God worship Him.” You do not find, Let the Holy Spirit worship. And farther on: “To which of the angels said He at any time, Sit thou on My right hand till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet? Are they not all,” says he, “ministering spirits who are sent to minister?” When he says All, does he include the Holy Spirit? Certainly not, because Angels and the other Powers are destined to serve in ministering and obedience to the Son of God.

48. But in truth the Holy Spirit is not a minister but a witness of the Son, as the Son Himself said of Him: “He shall bear witness of Me.” The Spirit, then, is a witness of the Son. He who is a witness knows all things, as God the Father is a witness. For so you read in later passages, for our salvation was confirmed to us by God bearing witness by signs and wonders and by manifold powers and by distributions of the Holy Spirit. He who divides as he will is certainly above all, not amongst all, for to divide is the gift of the worker, not an innate part of the work itself.

49. If the Son is above all, through Whom our salvation received its commencement, so that it might be preached, certainly God the Father also, Who testifies and gives confirmation concerning our salvation by signs and wonders, is excepted from all. In like manner the Spirit, Who bears witness to our salvation by His diversities of gifts, is not to be numbered with the crowd of creatures, but to be reckoned with the Father and the Son; Who, when He divides, is not Himself divided by cutting off Himself, for being indivisible He loses nothing when He gives to all, as also the Son, when the Father receives the kingdom, loses nothing, nor does the Father, when He gives that which is His to the Son, suffer loss. We know, then, by the testimony of the Son that there is no loss in the division of spiritual grace; for He Who breathes where He wills is everywhere free from loss. Concerning which power we shall speak more fully farther on.

50. In the meanwhile, since our intention is to prove in due order that the Spirit is not to be reckoned amongst all things, let us take the Apostle,

whose words they call in question, as an authority for this position. For what "all things" would be, whether visible or invisible, he himself declared when he said: "For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in earth." You see that "all things" is spoken of things in the heavens, and of things in earth, for in the heavens are also invisible things which were made.

51. But that no one should be ignorant of this he added those of whom he was speaking: "Whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all things were created by Him and in Him, and He is before all, and in Him all things consist." Does he, then, include the Holy Spirit here amongst creatures? Or when he says that the Son of God is before all things, is he to be supposed to have said that He is before the Father? Certainly not; for as here he says that all things were created by the Son, and that all things in the heavens consist in Him, so, too, it cannot be doubted that all things in the heavens have their strength in the Holy Spirit, since we read: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens established and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His mouth." He, then, is above all, from Whom is all the strength of things in heaven and things on earth. He, then, Who is above all things certainly does not serve; He Who serves not is free; He Who is free has the prerogative of lordship.

52. If I were to say this at first it would be denied. But in the same manner as they deny the less that the greater may not be believed, so let us set forth lesser matters first that either they may show their perfidy in lesser matters, or, if they grant the lesser matters, we may infer greater from the lesser.

53. I think, most merciful Emperor, that they are most fully confuted who dare to reckon the Holy Spirit amongst all things. But that they may know that they are pressed not only by the testimony of the apostles, but also by that of our Lord; how can they dare to reckon the Holy Spirit amongst all things, since the Lord Himself said: "He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter." How, then, can any one dare to reckon the Holy Spirit amongst creatures? Or who will so blind himself as to think that if he have injured any creature he cannot be forgiven in any wise? For if the Jews because they

worshipped the host of heaven were deprived of divine protection, whilst he who worships and confesses the Holy Spirit is accepted of God, but he who confesses Him not is convicted of sacrilege without forgiveness: certainly it follows from this that the Holy Spirit cannot be reckoned amongst all things, but that He is above all things, an offense against Whom is avenged by eternal punishment.

54. But observe carefully why the Lord said: “He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him, but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter.” Is an offense against the Son different from one against the Holy Spirit? For as their dignity is one, and common to both, so too is the offense. But if any one, led astray by the visible human body, should think somewhat more remissly than is fitting concerning the Body of Christ (for it ought not to appear of little worth to us, seeing it is the palace of chastity, and the fruit of the Virgin), he incurs guilt, but he is not shut out from pardon, which he may attain to by faith. But if any one should deny the dignity, majesty, and eternal power of the Holy Spirit, and should think that devils are cast out not in the Spirit of God, but in Beelzebub, there can be no attaining of pardon there where is the fullness of sacrilege; for he who has denied the Spirit has denied also the Father and the Son, since the same is the Spirit of God Who is the Spirit of Christ.

CHAPTER 4

The Holy Spirit is one and the same Who spake in the prophets and apostles, Who is the Spirit of God and of Christ; Whom, further, Scripture designates the Paraclete, and the Spirit of life and truth.

55. But no one will doubt that the Spirit is one, although very many have doubted whether God be one. For many heretics have said that the God of the Old Testament is one, and the God of the New Testament is another. But as the Father is one Who both spake of old, as we read, to the fathers by the prophets, and to us in the last days by His Son; “and as the Son is one, Who according to the tenor of the Old Testament was offended by Adam, seen by Abraham, worshipped by Jacob; so, too, the Holy Spirit is one, who energized in the prophets, was breathed upon the apostles, and

was joined to the Father and the Son in the sacrament of baptism. For David says of Him: “And take not Thy Holy Spirit from me.” And in another place he said of Him: “Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit?”

56. That you may know that the Spirit of God is the same as the Holy Spirit, as we read also in the Apostle: “No one speaking in the Spirit of God says Anathema to Jesus and no one can say, Lord Jesus, but in the Holy Spirit,” the Apostle calls Him the Spirit of God. He called Him also the Spirit of Christ, as you read: “But ye are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.” And farther on: “But if the Spirit of Him Who raised Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you.” The same is, then, the Spirit of God, Who is the Spirit of Christ.

57. The same is also the Spirit of Life, as the Apostle says: “For the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus hath delivered me from the law of sin and death.”

58. Him, then, Whom the Apostle called the Spirit of Life, the Lord in the Gospel named the Paraclete, and the Spirit of Truth, as you find: “And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Comforter [Paraclete], that He may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom this world cannot receive; because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him.” You have, then, the Paraclete Spirit, called also the Spirit of Truth, and the invisible Spirit. How, then, do some think that the Son is visible in His Divine Nature, when the world cannot see even the Spirit?

59. Receive now the saying of the Lord, that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of Truth, for you read in the end of this book: “Receive the Holy Spirit.” And Peter teaches that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of the Lord, when he says: “Ananias, why has it seemed good to thee to tempt and to lie to the Holy Spirit?” And immediately after he says again to the wife of Ananias: “Why has it seemed good to you to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?” When he says “to you,” he shows that he is speaking of the same Spirit of Whom he had spoken to Ananias. He Himself is, then, the Spirit of the Lord Who is the Holy Spirit.

60. And the Lord Himself made clear that the same Who is the Spirit of the Father is the Holy Spirit, when according to Matthew He said that we ought not to take thought in persecution what we should say: “For it is

not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you," Again He says according to St. Luke: "Be not anxious how ye shall answer or speak, for the Holy Spirit of God shall teach you in that hour what ye ought to say." So, although many are called spirits, as it is said: "Who maketh His Angels spirits," yet the Spirit of God is but one.

61. Both apostles and prophets received that one Spirit, as the vessel of election, the Doctor of the Gentiles, says: "For we have all drunk of one Spirit;" Him, as it were, Who cannot be divided, but is poured into souls, and flows into the senses, that He may quench the burning of this world's thirst.

CHAPTER 5

The Holy Spirit, since He sanctifies creatures, is neither a creature nor subject to change. He is always good, since He is given by the Father and the Son; neither is He to be numbered amongst such things as are said to fail. He must be acknowledged as the source of goodness. The Spirit of God's mouth, the amender of evils, and Himself good. Lastly, as He is said in Scripture to be good, and is joined to the Father and the Son in baptism, He cannot possibly be denied to be good. He is not, however, said to progress, but to be made perfect in goodness, which distinguishes Him from all creatures.

62. THE Holy Spirit is not, then, of the substance of things corporeal, for He sheds incorporeal grace on corporeal things; nor, again, is He of the substance of invisible creatures, for they receive His sanctification, and through Him are superior to the other works of the universe. Whether you speak of Angels, or Dominions, or Powers, every creature waits for the grace of the Holy Spirit. For as we are children through the Spirit, because "God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts crying, Abba, Father; so that thou art now not a servant but a son;" in like manner, also, every creature is waiting for the revelation of the sons of God, whom in truth the grace of the Holy Spirit made sons of God. Therefore, also, every creature itself shall be changed by the revelation of the grace of the Spirit, "and

shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God."

63. Every creature, then, is subject to change, not only such as has been changed by some sin or condition of the outward elements, but also such as can be liable to corruption by a hull of nature, though by careful discipline it be not yet so; for, as we have shown in a former treatise, the nature of Angels evidently can be changed. It is certainly fitting to judge that such as is the nature of one, such also is that of others. The nature of the rest, then, is capable of change, but the discipline is better.

64. Every creature, therefore, is capable of change, but the Holy Spirit is good and not capable of change, nor can He be changed by any fault, Who does away the faults of all and pardons their sins. How, then, is He capable of change, Who by sanctifying works in others a change to grace, but is not changed Himself.

65. How is He capable of change Who is always good? For the Holy Spirit, through Whom the things that are good are ministered to us, is never evil. Whence two evangelists in one and the same place, in words in differing from each other, have made the same statement, for you read in Matthew: "If you, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more shall your Father, Who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask Him." But according to Luke you will find it thus written: "How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?" We observe, then, that the Holy Spirit is good in the Lord's judgment by the testimony of the evangelists, since the one has put good things in the place of the Holy Spirit, the other has named the Holy Spirit in the place of good things. If, then, the Holy Spirit is that which is good, how is He not good?

66. Nor does it escape our notice that some copies have likewise, according to St. Luke: "How much more shall your heavenly Father give a good gift to them that ask Him." This good gift is the grace of the Spirit, which the Lord Jesus shed forth from heaven, after having been fixed to the gibbet of the cross, returning with the triumphal spoils of death deprived of its power, as you find it written: "Ascending up on high He led captivity captive, and gave good gifts to men." And well does he say "gifts," for as the Son was given, of Whom it is written: "Unto us a Child is born, unto

us a Son is given;" so, too, is the grace of the Spirit given. But why should I hesitate to say that the Holy Spirit also is given to us, since. it is written: "The love of God is shed forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given to us." And since captive breasts certainly could not receive Him, the Lord Jesus first led captivity captive, that our affections being set free, He might pour forth the gift of divine grace.

67. And He said well "led captivity captive." For the victory of Christ is the victory of liberty, which won grace for all, and inflicted wrong on none. So in the setting free of all no one is captive. And because in the time of the Lord's passion wrong alone had no part, which had made captive all of whom it had gained possession, captivity itself turning back upon itself was made captive, not now attached to Belial but to Christ, to serve Whom is liberty. "For he who is called in the Lord as a servant is the Lord's freedman."

68. But to return to the point. "All," says He, "have gone aside, all together are become unprofitable. There is none that doeth good, not even one." If they except the Holy Spirit, even they themselves confess that He is not amongst all; if they do not except Him, then they, too, acknowledge that He has gone aside amongst all.

69. But let us consider whether He has goodness in Himself, since He is the Source and Principle of goodness. For as the Father and the Son have, so too the Holy Spirit also has goodness. And the Apostle also taught this when he said: "Now the fruit of the Spirit is peace, love, joy, patience, goodness." For who doubts that He is good Whose fruit is goodness. For a good tree brings forth good fruit."

70. And so if God be good, how shall He Who is the Spirit of His mouth not be good, Who searcheth even the deep things of God? Can the infection of evil enter into the deep things of God? And from this it is seen how foolish they are who deny that the Son of God is good, when they cannot deny that the Spirit of Christ is good, of Whom the Son of God says: "Therefore said I that He shall receive of Mine."

71. Or is the Spirit not good, Who of the worst makes good men, does away sin, destroys evil, shuts out crime, pours in good gifts, makes

apostles of persecutors, and priests of sinners? “Ye were,” it is said, “sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.”

72. But why do we put them off? And if they ask for statements since they do not deny facts, let them hear that the Holy Spirit is good, for David said: “Let Thy good Spirit. lead me forth in the right way.” For what is the Spirit but full of goodness? Who though because of His nature He cannot be attained to, yet because of His goodness can be received by us, filling all things His power, but only partaken of by the just, simple in substance, rich in virtues, present to each, dividing of His own to every one, and Himself whole everywhere.

73. And with good cause did the Son of God say: “Go and baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” not disdaining association with the Holy Spirit. Why, then, do some take it ill that He Whom the Lord disdained not in the sacrament of baptism, should be joined in our devotion with the Father and the Son?

74. Good, then, is the Spirit, but good, not as though acquiring but as imparting goodness. For the Holy Spirit does not receive from creatures but is received; as also He is not sanctified but sanctifies; for the creature is sanctified, but the Holy Spirit sanctifies. In which matter, though the word is used in common, there is a difference in the nature. For both the man who receives and God Who gives sanctity are called holy, as we read: “Be ye holy, for I am holy.” Now sanctification and corruption cannot share the same nature, and therefore the grace of the Holy Spirit and the creature cannot be of one substance.

75. Since, then, the whole invisible creation (whose substance some rightly believe to be reasonable and incorporeal), with the exception of the Trinity, does not impart but acquires the grace of the Spirit, and does not share in it but receives it, the whole commonalty of creation is to be separated from association with the Holy Spirit. Let them then believe that the Holy Spirit is not a creature; or, if they think Him a creature, why do they associate Him with the Father? If they think Him a creature, why do they join Him with the Son of God? But if they do not think that He should be separated from the Father and the Son, they do not consider Him to be a creature, for where the sanctification is one the nature is one.

CHAPTER 6

Although we are baptized with water and the Spirit, the latter is much superior to the former, and is not therefore to be separated from the Father and-the Son.

76. THERE are, however, many who, because we are baptized with water and the Spirit, think that there is no difference in the offices of water and the Spirit, and therefore think that they do not differ in nature. Nor do they observe that we are buried in the element of water that we may rise again renewed by the Spirit. For in the water is the representation of death, in the Spirit is the pledge of life, that the body of sin may die through the water, which encloses the body as it were in a kind of tomb, that we, by the power of the Spirit, may be renewed from the death of sin, being born again in God.

77. And so these three witnesses are one, as John said: “The water, the blood, and the Spirit.” One in the mystery, not in nature. The water, then, is a witness of burial, the blood is a witness of death, the Spirit is a witness of life. If, then, there be any grace in the water, it is not from the nature of water, but from the presence of the Holy Spirit.

78. Do we live in the water or in the Spirit? Are we sealed in the water or in the Spirit. For in Him we live and He Himself is the earnest of our inheritance, as the Apostle says, writing to the Ephesians I “In Whom believing ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, Who is an earnest of our inheritance.” So we were sealed by the Holy Spirit, not by nature, but by God, for it is written: “He Who anointed us is God, Who also sealed us, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.”

79. We were then sealed with the Spirit by God. For as we die in Christ, in order to be born again, so, too, we are sealed with the Spirit, that we may possess His brightness and image and grace, which is undoubtedly our spiritual seal. For although we were visibly sealed in our bodies, we are in truth sealed in our hearts, that the Holy Spirit may portray in us the likeness of the heavenly image.

80. Who, then, can dare to say that the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, since through Him we attain to the image and likeness

of God, and through Him, as the Apostle Peter says, are partakers of the divine nature? In which there is certainly not the inheritance of carnal succession, but the spiritual connection of the grace of adoption. And in order that we may know that this seal is rather on our hearts than on our bodies, the prophet says: “The light of Thy countenance has been impressed upon us, O Lord, Thou hast put gladness in my heart.”

CHAPTER 7

The Holy Spirit is not a creature, seeing that He is infinite, and was shed upon the apostles dispersed through all countries, and moreover sanctifies the Angers also, to whom He makes us equal. Mary was full of the same likewise, so too, Christ the Lord, and so far all things high and low. And all benediction has its origin from His operation, as was signified in the moving of the water at Bethesda.

81. SINCE then, every creature is confined within certain limits of its own nature, and inasmuch as those invisible operations, which cannot be circumscribed by place and bounds, yet are closed in by the property of their own substance; how can any one dare to call the Holy Spirit a creature, Who has not a limited and circumscribed power? because He is always in all things and everywhere, which assuredly is the property of Divinity and Lordship, for: “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof.”

81. And so, when the Lord appointed His servants the apostles, that we might recognize that the creature was one thing and the grace of the Spirit another, He appointed them to different places, because all could not be everywhere at once. But He gave the Holy Spirit to all, to shed upon the apostles though separated the gift of indivisible grace. The persons, then, were different, but the accomplishment of the working was in all one, because the Holy Spirit is one of Whom it is said: “Ye shall receive power, even the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth.”

82. The Holy Spirit, then, is uncircumscribed and infinite, Who infused Himself into the minds of the disciples throughout the separate divisions

of distant regions, and the remote bounds of the whole world, Whom nothing is able to escape or to deceive. And therefore holy David says: “Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from Thy face.” Of what Angel does the Scripture say this? of what Dominion? of what Power? of what Angel do we find the power diffused over many? For Angels were sent to few, but the Holy Spirit was poured upon whole peoples. Who, then, can doubt that that is divine which is shed upon many at once and is not seen; but that that is corporeal which is seen and held by individuals?

83. But in like manner as the Spirit sanctifying the apostles is not a partaker of human nature; so, too, He sanctifying Angels, Dominions, and Powers, has no partnership with creatures. But if any think that the holiness of the Angels is not spiritual, but some other kind of grace belonging to the property of their nature, they will forsooth judge Angels to be inferior to men. For since themselves also confess that they would not dare to compare Angels to the Holy Spirit, and they cannot deny that the Holy Spirit is shed upon men; but the sanctification of the Spirit is a divine gift and favor, men who possess a better kind of sanctification will certainly be found to be preferred to the Angels. But since Angels come down to men to assist them, it must be understood that the nature of Angels is higher as it receives more of the grace of the Spirit, and that the favor awarded to us and to them comes from the same author.

84. But how great is that grace which makes even the lower nature of the lot of men equal to the gifts received by Angels, as the Lord Himself promised, saying: “Ye shall be as the Angels in heaven.” Nor is it difficult, for He Who made those Angels in the Spirit will by the same grace make men also equal to the Angels.

85. But of what creature can it be said that it fills all things, as is written of the Holy Spirit: “I will pour My Spirit upon all flesh.” This cannot be said of an Angel. Lastly, Gabriel himself, when sent to Mary, said: “Hail, full of grace,” plainly declaring the grace of the Spirit which was in her, because the Holy Spirit had come upon her, and she was about to have her womb full of grace with the heavenly Word.

86. For it is of the Lord to fill all things, Who says: “I fill heaven and earth.” If, then, it is the Lord Who fills heaven and earth, Who can judge

the Holy Spirit to be without a share in the dominion and divine power, seeing that He has filled the world, and what is beyond the whole world, filled Jesus the Redeemer of the whole world? For it is written: “But Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, departed from Jordan,” Who, then, except one who possessed the same fullness could fill Him Who fills all things?

87. But test they should object that this was said according to the flesh, though He alone from Whose flesh went forth virtue to heal all, was more than all; yet, as the Lord fills all things, so, too, we read of the Spirit: “For the Spirit of the Lord filled the whole world.” And you find it said of all who had consorted with the Apostles that, “filled with the Holy Spirit they spoke the word of God with boldness.” You see that the Spirit gives both fullness and boldness, Whose operation the archangel announces to Mary, saying: “The Holy Spirit shall come on thee.”

88. You read, too, in the Gospel that the Angel descended at the appointed time into the pool and troubled the water, and he who first went down into the pool was made whole, What did the Angel declare in this type but the descent of the Holy Spirit, which was to come to pass in our day, and should consecrate the waters when invoked by the prayers of the priest? That Angel, then, was a herald of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as by means of the grace of the Spirit medicine was to be applied to our infirmities of soul and mind. The Spirit, then, has the same ministers as God the Father and Christ. He fills all things, possesses all things, works all and in all in the same manner as God the Father and the Son work.

89. What, then, is more divine than the working of the Holy Spirit, since God Himself testifies that the Holy Spirit presides over His blessings, saying: “I will put My Spirit upon thy seed and My blessings upon thy children.” For no blessing can be full except through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, too, the Apostle found nothing better to wish us than this, as He himself said: “We cease not to pray and make request for you that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding walking worthily of God.” He taught, then, that this was the will of God, that rather by walking in good works and words and affections, we should be filled with the will of God, Who puts His Holy Spirit in our hearts. Therefore if he who has the Holy Spirit is

filled with the will of God, there is certainly no difference of will between the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER 8

The Holy Spirit is given by God alone, yet not wholly to each person, since there is no one besides Christ capable of receiving Him wholly. Charity is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, Who, prefigured by the mystical ointment, is shown to have nothing common with creatures; and He, inasmuch as He is said to proceed from the mouth of God, must not be classed with creatures, nor with things divisible, seeing He is eternal.

90. OBSERVE at the same time that God gives the Holy Spirit. For this is no work of man, nor girl of man; but He Who is invoked by the priest is given by God, wherein is the gift of God and the ministry of the priest. For if the Apostle Paul judged that he was not able to give the Holy Spirit himself by his own authority, and considered himself so far unequal to this office that he wished us to be filled by God with the Spirit, who is sufficient to dare to arrogate to himself the conferring of this gift? So the Apostle uttered this wish in prayer, and did not claim a fight by any authority of his own; he desired to obtain, he did not presume to command. Peter, too, says that he is not capable of compelling or restraining the Holy Spirit. For he spoke thus: “Wherefore if God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I could resist God?”

91. But perchance they would not be moved by the example of apostles, and so let us use divine utterances; for it is written: “Jacob is My servant, I will uphold him; Israel is My elect, My soul hath upheld him, I put My Spirit upon him.” The Lord also said by Isaiah: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me.”

92. Who, then, can dare to say that the substance of the Holy Spirit is created, at Whose shining in our hearts we behold the beauty of divine truth, and the distance between the creature and the Godhead, that the work may be distinguished from its Author? Or of what creature has God so spoken as to say: “I will pour out of My Spirit”? He said not Spirit, but “of My Spirit,” for we are not able to receive the fullness of the Holy

Spirit, but we receive as much as our Master divides to us of His own according to His will. For as the Son of God thought it not robbery that He should be equal to God, but emptied Himself, that we might be able to receive Him in our minds; but He emptied Himself not that He was void of His own fullness, but in order that He, Whose fullness I could not endure, might infuse Himself into me according to the measure of my capacity, in like manner also the Father says that He pours out of the Spirit upon all flesh; for He did not pour Him forth wholly, but that which He poured forth abounded for all.

93. There was therefore a pouring out upon us of the Spirit, but upon the Lord Jesus, when He was in the form of man, the Spirit abode, as it is written: "Upon Whom thou shall see the Spirit descending from heaven, and abiding upon Him, He it is Who baptizeth in the Holy Spirit." Around us is the liberality of the Giver in abundant provision, in Him abides for ever the fullness of the Spirit. He shed forth then what He deemed to be sufficient for us, and what was shed forth is not separated nor divided; but He has a unity of fullness wherewith He may enlighten the sight of our hearts according to what our strength is capable of. Lastly, we receive so much as the advancing of our mind acquires, for the fullness of the grace of the Spirit is indivisible, but is Shared in by us according to the capacity of our own nature.

94. God, then, sheds forth of the Spirit, and the love of God is also shed abroad through the Spirit; in which point we ought to recognize the unity of the operation and of the grace. For as God shed forth of the Holy Spirit, so also "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit;" in order that we may understand that the Holy Spirit is not a work, Who is the dispenser and plenteous Fount of the divine love.

95. In like manner that you may believe that that which is shed abroad cannot be common to the creatures but peculiar to the Godhead, the name of the Son is also poured forth, as you read: "Thy Name is as ointment poured forth." Of which saying nothing can surpass the force. For as ointment closed up in a vase keeps in its perfume, so long as it is confined in the narrow space of that vase, though it cannot reach many, it yet preserves its strength. But when the ointment has been poured out of that vase wherein it was enclosed, it spreads far and wide; so, too, the Name of

Christ before His coming amongst the people of Israel was enclosed in the minds of the Jews as in some vase. For “God is known in Judah, His Name is great in Israel;” that is, the Name which the vases of the Jews held confined in their narrow limits.

96. Even then that Name was indeed great, when it remained in the narrow limits of the weak and few, but it had not yet poured forth its greatness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles, and to the ends of the whole world. But after that He by His coming had shone throughout the whole world, He spread abroad that divine Name of His throughout all creatures, not filled up by any addition (for fullness admits not of increase), but filling up the empty spaces, that His Name might be wonderful in all the world. The pouring forth, then, of His Name signifies a kind of abundant exuberance of graces and copiousness of heavenly goods, for whatever is poured forth flows over from abundance.

97. So as wisdom which proceeds from the mouth of God cannot be said to be created, nor the Word Which is uttered from His heart, nor the power in which is the fullness of the eternal Majesty; so, too, the Spirit which is poured forth from the mouth of God cannot be considered to be created, since God Himself has shown their unity to be such that He speaks of His pouring forth of His Spirit. By which we understand that the grace of God the Father is the same as that of the Holy Spirit, and that without an y division or loss it is divided to the hearts of each. That, then, which is shed abroad of the Holy Spirit is neither severed, nor comprehended in any corporeal parts, nor divided.

98. For how can it be credible that the Spirit should be divided. by any parceling out? John says of God: “Hereby know we that He abides in us by the Spirit which He hath given us. “‘ But that which abides always is certainly not changed, therefore if it suffers no change it is eternal. And so the Holy Spirit is eternal, but the creature is liable to fault, and therefore subject to change. But that which is subject to change cannot be eternal, and there cannot therefore be anything in common between the Spirit and the creature, because the Spirit is eternal, but every creature is temporal.

99. But the Apostle also shows that the Holy Spirit is eternal, for: “If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the sprinkling the ashes of an heifer sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of

Christ, Who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God?" Therefore the Spirit is eternal.

CHAPTER 9

The Holy Spirit is rightly called the ointment of Christ, and the oil of gladness; and why. Christ Himself is not the ointment, since He was anointed with the Holy Spirit. It is not strange that the Spirit should be called Ointment, since the Father and the Son are also called Spirit. And there is no confusion between them, since Christ alone suffered death, Whose saving cross is then spoken of.

100. Now many have thought that the Holy Spirit is the ointment of Christ, And well it is said ointment, because He is called the oil of gladness, the joining together of many graces giving a sweet fragrance. But God the Almighty Father anointed Him the Prince of priests, Who was, not like others anointed in a type under the Law, but was both according to the Law anointed in the body, and in truth was full with the virtue of the Holy Spirit from the Father above the Law.

101. This is the oil of gladness, of which the prophet says: "God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." Lastly, Peter says that Jesus was anointed with the Spirit, as you read: "Ye know that word which went through all Judea beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit." The Holy Spirit is, then, the oil of gladness.

102. And well did he say oil of gladness, lest you should think Him a creature; for it is the nature of this sort of oil that it will by no means mingle with moisture of another kind. Gladness, too, does not anoint the body, but brightens the inmost heart, as the prophet said: "Thou hast put gladness in my heart." So as he loses his pains who wishes to mix oil with moister matter, because since the nature of oil is lighter than others, when the others settle, it rises and is separated. How do those wretched peddlers think that the oil of gladness can by their tricks be mingled with other creatures, since of a truth corporeal things cannot be mingled with in corporeal, nor things created with uncreated?

102. And well is that called oil of gladness wherewith Christ was anointed; for neither was usual nor common oil to be sought for Him, wherewith either wounds are dressed or heat assuaged; since the salvation of the world did not seek alleviation for His wounds, nor the eternal might of His wearied Body demand refreshment.

103. Nor is it wonderful if He have the oil of gladness, Who made those about to die rejoice, put off sadness from the world, destroyed the odor of sorrowful death. And so the Apostle says: “For we are the good odor of Christ to God;” certainly showing that he is speaking of spiritual things. But when the Son of God Himself says: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me,” He points out the ointment of the Spirit. Therefore the Spirit is the ointment of Christ.

104. Or since the Name of Jesus is as ointment poured out, if they wish to understand Christ Himself, and not the Spirit of Christ to be expressed under the name of ointment, certainly when the Apostle Peter says that the Lord Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is without doubt plain that the Spirit also is called ointment.

105. But what wonder, since both the Father and the Son are said to be Spirit. Of which we shall speak more fully when we begin to speak of the Unity of the Name. Yet since most suitable place occurs here, that we may not seem to have passed on without a conclusion, let them read that both the Father is called Spirit, as the Lord said in the Gospel, “for God is Spirit;” and Christ is called Spirit, for Jeremiah said: “The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord.”

106. So, then, both the Father is Spirit and Christ is Spirit, for that which is not a created body is spirit, but the Holy Spirit is not commingled with the Father and the Son, but is distinct from the Father and from the Son. For the Holy Spirit did not die, Who could not die because He had not taken flesh upon Him, and the eternal Godhead was incapable of dying, but Christ died according to the flesh.

107. For of a truth He died in that which He took of the Virgin, not in that which He had of the Father, for Christ died in that nature in which He was crucified. But the Holy Spirit could not be crucified, Who had not flesh and bones, but the Son of God was crucified, Who took flesh and bones,

that on that cross the temptations of our flesh might die. For He took on Him that which He was not that He might hide that which He was; He hid that which He was that He might be tempted in it, and that which He was not might be redeemed, in order that He might call us by means of that which He was not to that which He was.

108. O the divine mystery of that cross, on which weakness hangs, might is free, vices are nailed, and triumphal trophies raised. So that a certain saint said: “Pierce my flesh with nails for fear of Thee;” he says not with nails of iron, but of fear and faith. For the bonds of virtue are stronger than those of punishment. Lastly, his faith bound Peter, when he had followed the Lord as far as the hall of the high priest, whom no one had bound, and punishment loosened not him, whom faith bound. Again, when he was bound by the Jews, prayer loosed him, punishment did not hold him, because he had not gone back from Christ.

109. Therefore do you also crucify sin, that you may die to sin; he who dies to sin lives to God; do you live to Him Who spared not His own Son, that in His body He might crucify our passions. For Christ died for us, that we might live in His revived Body. Therefore not our life but our guilt died in Him, “Who,” it is said, “bare our sins in His own Body on the tree; that being set free from our sins we might live in righteousness, by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed.”

110. That wood of the cross is, then, as it were a kind of ship of our salvation, our passage, not a punishment, for there is no other salvation but the passage of eternal salvation. Whilst expecting death I do not feel it; whilst thinking little of punishment I do not suffer; whilst careless of fear I know it not.

111. Who, then, is He by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed but Christ the Lord? of Whom the same Isaiah prophesied His stripes were our healing, of Whom Paul the Apostle wrote in his epistle: “Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us.” This. indeed, was divine in Him, that His Flesh did no sin, nor did the creature of the body take in Him sin. For what wonder would it be if the Godhead alone sinned not, seeing It had no incentives to sin? But if God alone is free from sin, certainly every creature by its own nature can be, as we have said, liable to sin.

CHAPTER 10

That the Spirit forgives sin is common to Him with the Father and the Son, but not with the Angels.

112. TELL me, then, whoever you are who deny the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit could not be liable to sin, Who rather forgives sin. Does an Angel forgive? Does an Archangel? Certainly not, but the Father alone, the Son alone, and the Holy Spirit alone. Now no one is unable to avoid that which he has power to forgive.

113. But perhaps some one will say that the Seraph said to Isaiah: "Behold, this hath touched thy lips, and shall take away thine iniquities, and purge away thy sins." Shall take away, he says, and shall purge, not I will take away, but that fire from the altar of God, that is, the grace of the Spirit. For what else can we piously understand to be on the altar of God but the grace of the Spirit? Certainly not the wood of the forests, nor the soot and coals. Or what is so in accordance with piety as to understand according to the mystery that it was revealed by the mouth of Isaiah that all men should be cleansed by the passion of Christ, Who as a coal according to the flesh burnt up our sins, as you read in Zechariah: "Is not this a brand cast forth from the fire? And that was Joshua clothed in filthy garments."

114. Lastly, that we may know that this mystery of the common redemption was most clearly revealed by the prophets, you have also in this place: "Lo, it hath taken away thy sins;" not that Christ put aside His sins Who did no sin, but that in the flesh of Christ the whole human race should be loosed from their sins.

115. But even if the Seraph had taken away sin, it would have been as one of the ministers of God appointed to this mystery. For thus said Isaiah: "For one of the Seraphim was sent to me."

CHAPTER 11

The Spirit is sent to all, and passes not from place to place, for He is not limited either by time or space. He goes forth from the Son, as

the Son from the Father, in Whom He ever abides: and also comes to us when we receive. He comes also after the same manner as the Father Himself, from Whom He can by no means be separated.

116. The Spirit, also, is indeed said to be sent, but the Seraph to one, the Spirit to all. The Seraph is sent to minister, the Spirit works a mystery. The Seraph performs what is commanded, the Spirit divides as He wills. The Seraph passes from place to place, for he does not fill all things, but is himself filled by the Spirit. The Seraph comes down with a certain mode of passage according to his nature, but we cannot think this of the Spirit, of Whom the Son of God says: “When the Paraclete shall come, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom I send unto you, Who proceedeth from the Father.”

117. For if the Spirit proceeds from a place and passes to a place, both the Father Himself will be found in a place, and the Son likewise. If He goes forth from a place, Whom the Father or the Son sends, certainly the Spirit passing from a place, and making progress, seems to leave, according to those impious interpretations, both the Father and the Son like some material body.

118. I am saying this with reference to those who say that the Spirit comes down by movement. But neither the Father, Who is above all not only of corporeal nature, but also of the invisible creation, is circumscribed in any place; nor is the Son, Who, as the Worker of all creation, is above every creature, enclosed by the places or times of His own works; nor is the Spirit of Truth as being the Spirit of God, circumscribed by any corporeal limits, Who since He is incorporeal is far above the whole rational creation through the ineffable fullness of His Godhead, having over all things the power of breathing where He wills, and of inspiring as He wills.

119. The Spirit is not, then, sent as it were from a place, nor does He proceed as from a place, when He proceeds from the Son, as the Son Himself, when He says, “I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world,” destroys all fancies, which can be reckoned as from place to place. In like manner, also, when we read that God is within or without, we certainly do not either enclose God within anybody or separate Him from anybody, but weighing these things in a deep and ineffable estimation, we comprehend the hiddenness of the divine nature.

120. Lastly, Wisdom so says that she came forth from the mouth of the Most High, as not to be external to the Father, but with the Father; for “the Word was with God;” and not only with God but also in God; for He says: “I am in the Father and the Father is in Me.” But neither when He goes forth from the Father does He retire from a place, nor is He separated as a body from a body; nor when He is in the Father is He as if a body enclosed as it were in a body. The Holy Spirit also, when He proceeds from the Father and the Son, is not separated from the Father nor separated from the Son. For how could He be separated from the Father Who is the Spirit of His mouth? Which is certainly both a proof of His eternity, and expresses the Unity of this Godhead.

121. He exists then, and abides always, Who is the Spirit of His mouth, but He seems to come down when we receive Him, that He may dwell in us, that we may not be alien from His grace. To us He seems to come down, not that He does come down, but that our mind ascends to Him. Of which we would speak more fully did we not remember that in the former treatise there was set forth that the Father said: “Let us go down and confound their language,” and that the Son said: “He that loveth Me will keep My saying, and My Father will love him, and We will come to Him and make Our abode with Him.”

122. The Spirit, then, so comes as does the Father, for where the Father is there is also the Son, and where the Son is there is the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is not to be supposed to come separately. But He comes not from place to place, but from the disposition of the order to the safety of redemption, from the grace of giving life to that of sanctification, to translate us from earth to heaven, from wretchedness to glory, from slavery to a kingdom.

123. The Spirit comes, then, as the Father comes. For the Son said, “I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with Him.” Does the Father come in a bodily fashion? Thus, then, comes the Spirit in Whom, when He comes, is the full presence of the Father and the Son.

124. But who can separate the Spirit from the Father and the Son, since we cannot even name the Father and the Son without the Spirit? “For no one saith Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit?” If, then, we cannot call Jesus Lord except in the Holy Spirit, we certainly cannot proclaim Him without

the Spirit. But if the Angels also proclaim Jesus to be Lord, Whom no one can proclaim except in the Spirit, then in them also the office of the Holy Spirit operates.

125. We have proved, then, that the presence and the grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, which is so heavenly and divine that the Son gives thanks therefore to the Father, saying, “I give thanks to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.”

CHAPTER 12

The peace and grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, so also is Their charity one, which showed itself chiefly in the redemption of man. Their communion with man is also one.

126. THEREFORE since the calling is one, the grace is also one. Lastly, it is written: “Grace unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.” You see, then, that we are told that the grace of the Father and the Son is one, and the peace of the Father and the Son is one, but this grace and peace is the fruit of the Spirit, as the Apostle taught us himself, saying: “But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience.” And peace is good and necessary that no one be troubled with doubtful disputations, nor be shaken by the storm of bodily passions, but that his affections may remain quietly disposed as to the worship of God, with simplicity of faith and tranquillity of mind.

127. As to peace we have proved the point; but as to grace the prophet Zechariah says, that God promised to pour upon Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy, and the Apostle Peter says: “Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the grace of the Holy Spirit.” So grace comes also of the Holy Spirit as of the Father and the Son. For how can there be grace without the Spirit, since all divine grace is in the Spirit?

128. Nor do we read only of the peace and grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also, faithful Emperor, of the love and communion. For of love it has been said: “The grace of our Lord Jesus

Christ, and the love of God." We have heard of the love of the Father. The same love which is the Father's is also the Son's. For He Himself said: "He that loveth Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him," And what is the love of the Son, but that He offered Himself for us, and redeemed us with His own blood. But the same love is in the Father, for it is written: "God so loved the world, that He gave His Only-begotten Son."

129. So, then, the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself. Love is preserved and due affection is not wronged, for affection is not wronged where there is no distress in the giving up. He gave one Who was willing, He gave One Who offered Himself, the Father did not give the Son to punishment but to grace. If you enquire into the merit of the deed, enquire into the description of the affection. The vessel of election shows plainly the unity of this divine love, because both the Father gave the Son and the Son gave Himself. The Father gave, Who "spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all." And of the Son he also says: "Who gave Himself for me." "Gave Himself," he says. If it be of grace, what do I find fault with. If it be that He suffered wrong, I owe the more.

130. But learn that in like manner as the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself, so, too, the Holy Spirit gave Him. For it is written: "Then was Jesus led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil." So, too, the loving Spirit gave the Son of God. For as the love of the Father and the Son is one, so, too, we have shown that this love of God is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, and is the fruit of the Holy Spirit, because "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience."

131. And that there is communion between the Father and the Son is plain, for it is written: "And our communion is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ." And in another place: "The communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all." If, then, the peace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, the grace one, the love one, and the communion one, the working is certainly one, and where the working is one, certainly the power cannot be divided nor the substance separated. For, if so, how could the grace of the same working agree?

CHAPTER 13

St. Ambrose shows from the Scriptures that the Name of the Three Divine Persons is one, and first the unity of the Name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as each is called Paraclete and Truth.

132. WHO, then, would dare to deny the oneness of Name, when he sees the oneness of the working. But why should I maintain the unity of the Name by arguments, when there is the plain testimony of the Divine Voice that the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one? For it is written: “Go, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.” He said, “in the Name,” not “in the Names.” So, then, the Name of the Father is not one, that of the Son another, and that of the Holy Spirit another, for God is one; the Names are not more than one, for there are not two Gods, or three Gods.

132. And that He might reveal that the Godhead is one and the Majesty one, because the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, and the Son did not come in one Name and the Holy Spirit in another, the Lord Himself said: “I am come in My Father’s Name, and ye did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name ye will receive him.”

133. And Scripture makes clear that that which is the Father’s Name, the same is also that of the Son, for the Lord said in Exodus: “I will go before thee in My Name, and will call by My Name the Lord before thee.” So, then, the Lord said that He would call the Lord by His Name. The Lord, then, is the Name of the Father and of the Son.

134. But since the Name of the Father and of the Son is one, learn that the same is the Name of the Holy Spirit also, since the Holy Spirit came in the Name of the Son, as it is written: “But the Paraclete, even the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name, He shall teach you all things.”. But He Who came in the Name of the Son came also certainly in the Name of the Father, for the Name of the Father and of the Son is one. Thus it comes to pass that the Name of the Father and of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit. For there is no other Name given under heaven wherein we must be saved.

155. At the same time He showed that the oneness of the Divine Name must be taught, not the difference, since Christ came in the oneness of the Name, but Antichrist will come in his own name, as it is written: “I am come in My Father’s Name, and ye did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name, ye will receive him.”

156. We are, then, clearly taught by these passages that there is no difference of Name in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that that which is the Name of the Father is also the Name of the Son, and likewise that which is the Name of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit, when the Son also is called Paraclete, as is the Holy Spirit. And therefore does the Lord Jesus say in the Gospel: “I will ask My Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth.” And He said well “another,” that you might not suppose that the Son is also the Spirit, for oneness is of the Name, not a Sabellian confusion of the Son and of the Spirit.

157. So, then, the Son is one Paraclete, the Holy Spirit another Paraclete; for John called the Son a Paraclete, as you find: “If any man sin, we have a Paraclete [Advocate] with the Father, Jesus Christ.” So in like manner as there is a oneness of name, so, too, is there a oneness of power, for where the Paraclete Spirit is, there is also the Son.

158. For as the Lord says in this place that the Spirit will be forever with the faithful, so, too, does He elsewhere show that He will Himself be forever with the apostles, saying: “Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.” Therefore the Son and the Spirit are one, the Name of the Trinity is one, and the Presence one and indivisible.

159. But as we show that the Son is called the Paraclete, so, too, do we show that the Spirit is called the Truth. Christ is the Truth, the Spirit is the Truth, for you find in John’s epistle: “For the Spirit is Truth.” Not only, then, is the Spirit called the Spirit of Truth. but also the Truth, as the Son is also declared to be the Truth, Who says: “I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.”

CHAPTER 14

Each Person of the Trinity is said in the sacred writings to be Light. The Spirit is designated Fire by Isaiah, a figure of which Fire was seen in the bush by Moses, in the tongues of fire, and in Gideon's pitchers. And the Godhead of the same Spirit cannot be denied, since His operation is the same as that of the Father and of the Son, and He is also called the light and fire of the Lord's countenance.

160. BUT why should I argue that as the Father is light, so, too, the Son is light, and the Holy Spirit is light? Which certainly pertains to the power of God. For God is Light, as John said: "For God is Light, and in Him is no darkness."

161. But the Son, too, is Light, because "the Life was the Light of men." And the Evangelist, that he might show that he was speaking of the Son of God, says of John the Baptist: "He was not light, but [was sent] to be a witness of the Light. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into this world." So, then, since God is Light, and the Son of God the true Light, without doubt the Son of God is true God.

162. And you find elsewhere that the Son of God is Light: "The people that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death have seen a great Light." But, which is still more clear, it is said: "For with Thee is the fount of Life, and in Thy light we shall see light," which means that with Thee, O God the Father Almighty, Who art the Fount of Life, in Thy Son Who is the Light, we shall see the light of the Holy Spirit. As the Lord Himself shows, saying: "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," and elsewhere: "Virtue went out from Him."

163. But who can doubt that the Father is Light, when we read of His Son that He is the Brightness of eternal Light? For of Whom but of the Father is the Son the Brightness, Who both is always with the Father, and always shines, not with unlike but with the same radiance.

164. And Isaiah shows that the Holy Spirit is not only Light but also Fire, saying: "And the light of Israel shall be for a fire." So the prophets called Him a burning Fire, because in those three points we see more intensely the majesty of the Godhead; since to sanctify is of the Godhead, to

illuminate is the property of fire and light, and the Godhead is wont to be pointed out or seen in the appearance of fire: “For our God is a consuming Fire,” as Moses said.

165. For he himself saw the fire in the bush, and had heard God when the voice from the flame of fire came to him saying: “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.” The voice came from the fire, and the voice was in the bush, and the fire did no harm. For the bush was burning but was not consumed, because in that mystery the Lord was showing that He would come to illuminate the thorns of our body, and not to consume those who were in misery, but to alleviate their misery; Who would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire, that He might give grace and destroy sin. So in the symbol of fire God keeps His intention.

166. In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit had descended upon the faithful, the appearance of fire was seen, for you read thus: “And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great vehemence, and it filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire.”

167. For the same reason was it that when Gideon was about to overcome the Midianites, he commanded three hundred men to take pitchers, and to hold lighted torches inside the pitchers, and trumpets in their right hands. Our predecessors have preserved the explanation received from the apostles, that the pitchers are our bodies, fashioned of clay, which know not fear if they burn with the fervor of the grace of the Spirit, and bear witness to the passion of the Lord Jesus with a loud confession of the Voice.

168. Who, then, can doubt of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, since where the grace of the Spirit is, there the manifestation of the Godhead appears. By which evidence we infer not a diversity but the unity of the divine power. For how can there be a severance of power, where the effect of the working in all is one?

169. What, then, is that fire? Not certainly one made up of common twigs, or roaring with the burning of the reeds of the woods, but that fire which improves good deeds like gold, and consumes sins like stubble. This is

undoubtedly the Holy Spirit, Who is called both the fire and light of the countenance of God; light as we said above: “The light of Thy countenance has been sealed upon us, O Lord.” What is, then, the light that is sealed, but that of the seal of the Spirit, believing in Whom, “ye were sealed,” he says, “with the Holy Spirit of promise.”

170. And as there is a light of the divine countenance, so, too, does fire shine forth from the countenance of God, for it is written: “A fire shall burn in His sight.” For the grace of the day of judgment shines beforehand, that forgiveness may follow to reward the service of the saints. O the great fullness of the Scriptures, which no one can comprehend with human genius! O greatest proof of the Divine Unity For how many things are pointed out in these two verses!

CHAPTER 15

The Holy Spirit is Life equally with the Father and the Son, in truth whether the Father be mentioned, with Whom is the Fount of Life, or the Son, that Fount can be none other than the Holy Spirit.

171. We have said that the Father is Light, the Son is Light, and the Holy Spirit is Light; let us also learn that the Father is Life, the Son Life, and the Holy Spirit Life. For John said: “That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, and which we have seen, and have beheld with our eyes, and our hands have handled concerning the Word of Life; and the Life appeared, and we saw and testify, and declare to you of that Life which was with the Father.” He said both Word of Life and Life that he might signify both the Father and the Son to be Life. For what is the Word of Life but the Word of God? And by this phrase both God and the Word of God are shown to be Life. And as it is said the Word of Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life. Therefore, as the Word of Life is Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life is Life.

172. Learn now that as the Father is the Fount of Life, so, too, many have stated that the Son is signified as the Fount of Life; so that, he says, with Thee, Almighty God, Thy Son is the Fount of Life. That is the Fount of the Holy Spirit, for the Spirit is Life, as the Lord says: “The words which

I speak unto you are Spirit and Life," for where the Spirit is, there also is Life; and where Life is, is also the Holy Spirit.

173. Many, however, consider that in this passage the Father only is signified by the Fount. Let them, however, notice what the Scripture relates: "With Thee is the Well of Life." That is, the Son is with the Father; since the Word was with God, Who was in the beginning, and was with God.

174. But whether in this place one understands the Fount to be the Father or the Son, we certainly do not understand a fount of that water which is created, but the Fount of that divine grace, that is, of the Holy Spirit, for He is the living water. Wherefore the Lord said: "If thou knowest the gift of God, and Who He is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked Him, and He would have given thee living water."

175. This was the water for which the soul of David thirsted. The hart desires the fountain of these waters, not thirsting for the poison of serpents. For the water of the grace of the Spirit is living, that it may purify the inner parts of the mind, and wash away every sin of the soul, and purify the transgression of hidden faults.

CHAPTER 16

The Holy Spirit is that large river by which the mystical Jerusalem is watered. It is equal to its Fount, that is, the Father and the Son, as is signified in holy Scripture. St. Ambrose himself thirsts for that water, and warns us that in order to preserve it within us, we must avoid the devil, lust, and heresy, since our vessels are frail, and that broken cisterns must be forsaken, that after the example of the Samaritan woman and of the patriarchs we may find the water of the Lord.

176. But lest perchance any one should speak against as it were the littleness of the Spirit, and from this should endeavor to establish a difference in greatness, arguing that water seems to be but a small part of a Fount, although examples taken from creatures seem by no means suitable for application to the Godhead; yet lest they should judge anything

injuriously from this comparison taken from creatures, let them learn that not only is the Holy Spirit called Water, but also a River, as we read: "From his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this He said of the Spirit, Whom they were beginning to receive, who were about to believe in Him."

177. So, then, the Holy Spirit is the River, and the abundant River, which according to the Hebrews flowed from Jesus in the lands, as we have received it prophesied by the mouth of Isaiah. This is the great River which flows always and never fails. And not only a river, but also one of copious stream and overflowing greatness, as also David said: "The stream of the river makes glad the city of God."

178. For neither is that city, the heavenly Jerusalem, watered by the channel of any earthly river, but that Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Fount of Life, by a short draught of Whom we are satiated, seems to flow more abundantly among those celestial Thrones, Dominions and Powers, Angels and Archangels, rushing in the full course of the seven virtues of the Spirit. For if a river rising above its banks overflows, how much more does the Spirit, rising above every creature, when He touches the as it were low-lying fields of our minds, make glad that heavenly nature of the creatures with the larger fertility of His sanctification.

179. And let it not trouble you that either here it is said "rivers," or elsewhere "seven Spirits," for by the sanctification of these seven gifts of the Spirit, as Isaiah said, is signified the fullness of all virtue; the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the Spirit of the fear of God. One, then, is the River, but many the channels of the girls of the Spirit. This River, then, goes forth from the Fount of Life.

180. And here, again, you must not turn aside your thoughts to lower things, because there seems to be some difference between a Fount and a River, and yet the divine Scripture has provided that the weakness of human understanding should not be injured by the lowliness of the language. Set before yourself any river, it springs from its fount, but is of one nature, of one brightness and beauty. And do you assert rightly that the Holy Spirit is of one substance, brightness, and glory with the Son of God and with God the Father. I will sum up all in the oneness of the

qualities, and shall not be afraid of any question as to difference of greatness. For in this point also Scripture has provided for us; for the Son of God says: “He that shall drink of the water which I will give him, it shall become in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life.” This well is clearly the grace of the Spirit, a stream proceeding from the living Fount. The Holy Spirit, then, is also the Fount of eternal life.

181. You observe, then, from His words that the unity of the divine greatness is pointed out, and that Christ cannot be denied to be a Fount even by heretics, since the Spirit, too, is called a Fount. And as the Spirit is called a river, so, too, the Father said: “Behold, I come down upon you like a river of peace, and like a stream overflowing the glory of the Gentiles.” And who can doubt that the Son of God is the River of life, from Whom the streams of eternal life flowed forth?

182. Good, then, is this water, even the grace of the Spirit. Who will give this Fount to my breast? Let it spring up in me, let that which gives eternal life flow upon me. Let that Fount overflow upon us, and not flow away. For Wisdom says: “Drink water out of thine own vessels, and from the founts of thine own wells, and let thy waters flow abroad in thy streets.” How shall I keep this water that it flow not forth, that it glide not away? How shall I preserve my vessel, lest any crack of sin penetrating it, should let the water of eternal life exude? Teach us, Lord Jesus, teach us as Thou didst teach Thine apostles, saying: “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where rust and moth destroy, and where thieves break through and steal.”

182. For He intimates that the thief is the unclean spirit, who cannot find entrance into those who walk in the light of good works, but if he has caught any one in the darkness of earthly desires, and in the midst of the enjoyment of earthly pleasures, he spoils them of all the flower of eternal virtue. And therefore the Lord says: “Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth destroy, and where thieves do not break through and steal. For where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.”

183. Our rust is wantonness, our rust is lust, our rust is luxury, which dim the keen vision of the mind with the filth of vices. Again, our moth is Arius, our moth is Photinus, who rend the holy vesture of the Church with

their impiety, and desiring to separate the indivisible unity of the divine power, gnaw the precious veil of faith with sacrilegious tooth. The water is spilt if Arius has imprinted his tooth, it flows away if Photinus has planted his sting in any one’s vessel. We are but of common clay, we quickly feel vices. But no one says to the potter, “Why hast Thou made me thus?” For though our vessel be but common, yet one is in honor, another in dishonor. Do not then lay open thy pool, dig not with vices and crimes, lest any one say: “He hath opened a pool and digged it, and is fallen into the pit which he made.”

184. If you seek Jesus, forsake the broken cisterns, for Christ was wont to sit not by a pool but by a well. There that Samaritan roman found Him, she who believed, she who wished to draw water. Although you ought to have come in early morning, nevertheless if you come later, even at the sixth hour, you will find Jesus wearied with His journey. He is weary, but it is through thee, because He has long sought thee, thy unbelief has long wearied Him. Yet He is not offended if thou only comest, He asks to drink Who is about to give. But He drinks not the water of a stream flowing by, but thy salvation; He drinks thy good dispositions, He drinks the cup, that is, the Passion which stoned for thy sins, that thou drinking of His sacred blood mightest quench the thirst of this world.

185. So Abraham gained God after he had dug the well. So Isaac, while walking by the well, received that wife who was coming to him as a type of the Church. Faithful he was at the well, unfaithful at the pool. Lastly, too, Rebecca, as we read, found him who sought her at the well, and the harlots washed themselves in the blood in the pool of Jezebel.

BOOK 2

INTRODUCTION

The Three Persons of the Godhead were not unknown to the judges of old nor to Moses, for the equality of the Son with the Father, as well as of the Three Persons amongst Themselves, is laid down both elsewhere and by him. Samson also enjoyed the assistance of the Holy Spirit, his history is touched upon and shown to be in some points typical of the Church and her mysteries. When the Holy Spirit left Samson he fell into various calamities, and St. Ambrose explains the spiritual significance of his shorn locks.

1. EVEN in reading the first book of the ancient history it is made clear both that the sevenfold grace of the Spirit shone forth in the judges themselves of the Jews, and that the mysteries of the heavenly sacraments were made known by the Spirit, of Whose eternity Moses was not ignorant. Then, too, at the very beginning of the world, and indeed before its beginning, he conjoined Him with God, Whom he knew to be eternal before the beginning of the world. For if any one takes good heed he will recognize in the beginning both the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. For of the Father it is written: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Of the Spirit it is said: "The Spirit was borne upon the waters." And well in the beginning of creation is there set forth the figure of baptism whereby the creature had to be purified. And of the Son we read that He it is Who divided light from darkness, for there is one God the Father Who speaks, and one God the Son Who acts.

2. But, again, that you may not think that there was assumption in the bidding of Him Who spoke, or inferiority on the part of Him Who carried out the bidding, the Father' acknowledges the Son as equal to Himself in the execution of the work, saying: "Let Us make man after Our image and likeness." For the common image and the working and the likeness can signify nothing but the oneness of the same Majesty.

3. But that we may more fully recognize the equality of the Father and the Son, as the Father spoke, the Son made, so, too, the Father works and the Son speaks. The Father works, as it is written: “My Father worketh hitherto.” You find it said to the Son: “Say the word and he shall be healed.” And the Son says to the Father: “I will that where I am, they too shall be with Me.” The Father did what the Son said.

4. But neither was Abraham ignorant of the Holy Spirit; he saw Three and worshipped One, for there is one God, one Lord, and one Spirit. And so there is a oneness of honor, because there is a oneness of power.

5. And why should I speak of all one by one? Samson, born by the divine promise, had the Spirit accompanying him, for we read: “The Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to be with him in the camp.”And so foreshadowing the future mystery, he demanded a wife of the aliens, which, as it is written, his father and mother knew not of, because it was from the Lord. And rightly was he esteemed stronger than others, because the Spirit of the Lord guided him, under Whose guidance he alone put to flight the people of the aliens, and at another time inaccessible to the bite of the lion, he, unconquerable in his strength, tore him asunder with his hands. Would that he had been as careful to preserve grace, as strong to overcome the beast!

6. And perhaps this was not only a prodigy of valor, but also a mystery of wisdom, an utterance of prophecy. For it does not seem to have been without a purpose that, as he was going to his marriage, a roaring lion met him, which he tore asunder with his hands, in whose body, when about to enjoy the wished-for wedlock, he found a swarm of bees, and took honey from its mouth, which he gave to his father and mother to eat. The people of the Gentiles which believed had honey, the people which was before savage is now the people of Christ.

7. Nor is the riddle without mystery, which he set forth to his companions: “Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness.” And there was a mystery up to the point of the three days in which its answer was sought in vain, which could not be made known except by the faith of the Church, on the seventh day, the time of the Law being completed, after the Passion of the Lord. For thus you find

that the apostles did not understand, “because Jesus was not yet glorified.”

8. “What,” answer they, “is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?” To which he replied: “If ye had not farmed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle.” O divine mystery! O manifest sacrament! we have escaped from the slayer, we have overcome the strong one. The food of life is now there, where before was the hunger of a miserable death. Dangers are changed into safety, bitterness into sweetness. Grace came forth from the offense, power from weakness, and life from death.

9. There are, however, who think on the other hand that the wedlock could not have been established unless the lion of the tribe of Judah had been slain; and so in His body, that is, the Church, bees were found who store up the honey of wisdom, because after the Passion of the Lord the apostles believed more fully. This lion, then, Samson as a Jew slew, but in it he found honey, as in the figure of the heritage which was to be redeemed, that the remnant might be saved according to the election of grace.

10. “And the Spirit of the Lord,” it is said, “came upon him, and he went down to Ascalon, and smote thirty men of them.” For he could not fail to carry off the victory who saw the mysteries. And so in the garments they receive the reward of wisdom, the badge of intercourse, who resolve and answer the riddle.

11. Here, again, other mysteries come up, in that his wife is taken away, and for this foxes set fire to the sheaves of the aliens. For their own cunning often deceives those who contend against divine mysteries. Wherefore it is said again in the Song of Songs: “Take us the little foxes which destroy the vineyards, that our vineyards may flourish.” He said well “little,” because the larger could not destroy the vineyards, though to the strong even the devil is weak.

12. So, then, he (to sum up the story briefly, for the consideration of the whole passage is reserved for its own season) was unconquered so long as he kept the grace of the Spirit, as was the people of God chosen by the Lord, that Nazarite under the Law. Samson, then, was unconquered, and so

invincible as to be able to smite a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass; so full of heavenly grace that when thirsty he found even water in the jawbone of an ass, whether you consider this as a miracle, or turn it to a mystery, because in the humility of the people of the Gentiles there would be both rest and triumph according to that which is written: “He that smiteth thee on the cheek, turn to him also the other.” For by this endurance of injuries, which the sacrament of baptism teaches, we triumph over the stings of auger, that having passed through death we may attain to the rest of the resurrection.

13. Is that, then, Samson who broke ropes twisted with thongs, and new cords like weak threads? Is that Samson who did not feel the bonds of his hair fastened to the beam, so long as he had the grace of the Spirit? He, I say, after the Spirit of God departed from him, was greatly changed from that Samson Who returned clothed in the spoils of the aliens, but fallen from his greatness on the knees of a woman, caressed and deceived, is shorn of his hair.

14. Was, then, the hair of his head of such importance that, so long as it remained, his strength should endure unconquered, but when his head was shorn the man should suddenly lose all his strength? It is not so, nor may we think that the hair of his head has such power. There is the hair of religion and faith; the hair of the Nazarite perfect in the Law, consecrated in sparingness and abstinence, with which she (a type of the Church), who poured ointment on the feet of the Lord, wiped the feet of the heavenly Word, for then she knew Christ also after the flesh. That hair it is of which it is said: “Thy hair is as flocks of goats,” growing on that head of which it is said: “The head of the man is Christ,” and in another place: “His head is as fine gold, and his locks like black pine-trees.”

15. And so, also, in the Gospel our Lord, pointing out that some hairs are seen and known, says: “But even the hairs of your head are all numbered,” implying, indeed, acts of spiritual virtues, for God does not take care for our hair. Though, indeed, it is not absurd to believe that literally, seeing that according to His divine Majesty nothing can be hidden from Him.

16. But what does it profit me, if God Himself knows all my hairs? That rather abounds and profits me, if the watchful witness of good works reward me with the gift of eternal life. And, in fine, Samson himself,

declaring that these hairs are not mystical, says: “If I be shorn my strength will depart from me.” So much concerning the mystery, let us now consider the order of the passage.

CHAPTER 1

The Spirit is the Lord and Power; and in this is not inferior to the Father and the Son.

17. Above, you read that “the Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to go with him.” Farther on it is said: “And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him.” Again he says: “If I be shaven, my strength will depart from me.” After he was shaven, see what the Scripture says: “The Lord,” he says, “departed from him.”

18. You see, then, that He Who went with him, Himself departed from him. The Same is, then, the Lord, Who is the Spirit of the Lord, that is, he called the Spirit of God, Lord, as also the Apostle says: “The Lord is the Spirit, now where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.” You find, then, the Holy Spirit called the Lord; for the Holy Spirit and the Son are not one Person [unus] but one Substance [unum].

19. In this place he used the word Power, and implied the Spirit. For as the Father is Power, so, too, the Son is Power, and the Holy Spirit is Power. Of the Son you have read that Christ is “the Power of God and the Wisdom of God.” We read, too, that the Father is Power, as it is written: “Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Power of God.” He certainly named the Father Power, at Whose right hand the Son sits, as you read: “The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand.” And the Lord Himself named the Holy Spirit Power, when He said: “Ye shall receive Power when the Holy Spirit cometh upon you.”

CHAPTER 2

The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are One in counsel.

20. For the Spirit Himself is Power, as you read: “The Spirit of Counsel and of Power (or might).”And as the Son is the Angel of great counsel, so, too, is the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Counsel, that you may know that the Counsel of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is One. Counsel, not concerning any doubtful matters, but concerning those foreknown and determined.

21. But that the Spirit is the Arbiter of the Divine Counsel, you may know even from this. For when above we showed that the Holy Spirit was the Lord of baptism, and read that baptism is the counsel of God, as you read, “But the Pharisees despised the counsel of God, not being baptized of Him,” it is quite clear that as there can be no baptism without the Spirit, so, too, the counsel of God is not without the Spirit.

22. And that we may know more completely that the Spirit is Power, we ought to know that He was promised when the Lord said: “I will pour out of ivy Spirit upon all flesh.” He, then, Who was promised to us is Himself Power, as in the Gospel the same Son of God declared when He said: “And I will send the promise of the Father upon you, but do you remain in the city until ye be endued with power from on high.”

23. And the Evangelist so far shows that the Spirit is Power, that St. Luke relates that He came down with great power, when he says: “And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great power.”

24. But, again, that you may not suppose that this is to be referred to bodily things and perceptible to the senses, learn that the Spirit so descended as Christ is to descend, as you find: “They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and majesty.”

25. For how should not the power and might be one, when the work. is one, the judgment one, the temple one, the life-giving one, the sanctification one, and the kingdom also of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit one?

CHAPTER 3

As to know the Father and the Son is life, so is it life to know the Holy Spirit; and therefore in the Godhead He is not to be separated from the Father.

26. LET them say, then, wherein they think that there is an unlikeness in the divine operation. Since as to know the Father and the Son is life, as the Lord Himself declared, saying: "This is life eternal to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom Thou hast sent," so, too, to know the Holy Spirit is life. For the Lord said: "If ye love Me, keep My commandments, and I will ask the Father and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him, but ye know Him, for He is with you, and in you."

27. So, then, the world had not eternal life, because it had not received the Spirit; for where the Spirit is, there is eternal life; for the Spirit Himself it is Who effects eternal life. Wherefore I wonder why the Arians stir the question as to the only true God. For as it is eternal life to know the only true God, so, too, is it eternal life to know Jesus Christ; so, again, it is eternal life to know the Holy Spirit, Whom, as also the Father, the world does not see, and, as also the Son, does not know. But he who is not of this world has eternal life, and the Spirit, Who is the Light of eternal life, remains with him for ever.

28. If the knowledge of the only true God confers the same benefit as the knowledge of the Son and of the Spirit, why do you sever the Son and the Spirit from the honor of the true God, when you do not sever Him from conferring the benefit? For of necessity you must either believe that this is the greatest gift of the only true Godhead, and will confess the only true Godhead as of the Father, so also of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; or if you say that he, too, can give life eternal who is not true God, it will happen that you derogate rather from the Father, Whose work you do not consider to be the chief work of the only true Godhead, but one to be compared to the work of a creature.

CHAPTER 4

The Holy Spirit gives life, not in a different way from the Father and the Son, nor by a different working.

29. And what wonder is it the Spirit works Life, Who quickens as does the Father and as does the Son? And who can deny that quickening is the work of the Eternal Majesty? For it is written: "Quicken Thy servant." He, then, is quickened who is a servant, that is, man, who before had not life, but received the privilege of having it.

30. Let us then see whether the Spirit is quickened, or Himself quickens. Now it is written: "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." So, then, the Spirit quickens.

31. But that you may understand that the quickening of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is no separate work, read how there is a oneness of quickening also, since God Himself quickens through the Spirit, for Paul said: "He Who raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies because of His Spirit Who dwelleth in you."

CHAPTER 5

The Holy Spirit, as well as the Father and the Son, is pointed out in holy Scripture as Creator, and the same truth was shadowed forth even by heathen writers, but it was shown most plainly in the Mystery of the Incarnation, after touching upon which, the writer maintains his argument from the fact that worship which is due to the Creator alone is paid to the Holy Spirit.

32. But who can doubt that the Holy Spirit gives life to all things; since both He, as the Father and the Son, is the Creator of all things; and the Almighty Father is understood to have done nothing without the Holy Spirit; and since also in the beginning of the creation the Spirit moved upon the water.

33. So when the Spirit was moving upon the water, the creation was without grace; but after this world being created underwent the operation

of the Spirit, it gained all the beauty of that grace, wherewith the world is illuminated. And that the grace of the universe cannot abide without the Holy Spirit the prophet declared when he said “Thou wilt take away Thy Spirit, and they will fail and be turned again into their dust. Send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be made, and Thou wilt renew all the face of the earth.” Not only, then, did he teach that no creature can stand without the Holy Spirit, but also that the Spirit is the Creator of the whole creation.

34. And who can deny that the creation of the earth is the work of the Holy Spirit, Whose work it is that it is renewed? For if they desire to deny that it was created by the Spirit, since they cannot deny that it must be renewed by the Spirit, they who desire to sever the Persons must maintain that the operation of the Holy Spirit is superior to that of the Father and the Son, which is far from the truth; for there is no doubt that the restored earth is better than it was created. Or if at first, without the operation of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son made the earth, but the operation of the Holy Spirit was joined on afterwards, it will seem that that which was made required His aid, which was then added. But far be it from any one to think this, namely, that the divine work should be believed to have a change in the Creator, an error brought in by Manicheus.

35. But do we suppose that the substance of the earth exists without the operation of the Holy Spirit, without Whose work not even the expanse of the sky endures? For it is written: “By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His Mouth.” Observe what he says, that all the strength of the heavens is to be referred to the Spirit. For how should He Who was moving before the earth was made, be resting when it was being made?

36. Gentile writers, following ours as it were through shadows, because they could not imbibe the truth of the Spirit, have pointed out in their verses that the Spirit within nourishes heaven and earth, and the glittering orbs of moon and stars. So they deny not that the strength of creatures exists through the Spirit, are we who read this to deny it? But you think that they refer to a Spirit produced of the air. If they declared a Spirit of the air to be the Author of all things, do we doubt that the Spirit of God is the Creator of all things?

37. But why do I delay with matters not to the purpose? Let them accept a plain proof that there can be nothing which the Holy Spirit can be said not to have made; and that it cannot be doubted that all subsists through His operation, whether Angels, Archangels, Thrones, or Dominions; since the Lord Himself, Whom the Angels serve, was begotten by the Holy Spirit coming upon the Virgin, as, according to Matthew, the Angel said to Joseph: “Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife, for that which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit.” And according to Luke, he said to Mary: “The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee.”

38. The birth from the Virgin was, then, the work of the Spirit. The fruit of the womb is the work of the Spirit, according to that which is written: “Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the Fruit of thy womb.” The flower from the root is the work of the Spirit, that flower, I say, of which it was well prophesied: “A rod shall go forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root.” The root of Jesse the patriarch is the family of the Jews, Mary is the rod, Christ the flower of Mary, Who, about to spread the good odor of faith throughout the whole world, budded forth from a virgin womb, as He Himself said: “I am the flower of the plain, a lily of the valley.”

39. The flower, when cut, keeps its odor, and when bruised increases it, nor if torn off does it lose it; so, too, the Lord Jesus, on the gibbet of the cross, neither failed when bruised, nor fainted when torn; and when He was cut by that piercing of the spear, being made more beautiful by the cob our of the outpoured Blood, He, as it were, grew comely again, not able in Himself to die, and breathing forth upon the dead the gift of eternal life. On this flower, then, of the royal rod the Holy Spirit rested.

40. A good rod, as some think, is the Flesh of the Lord, which, raising itself from its earthly root to heaven, bore around the whole world the sweet-smelling fruits of religion, the mysteries of the divine generation, pouring grace on the altars of heaven.

41. So, then, we cannot doubt that the Spirit is Creator, Whom we know as the Author of the Lord’s Incarnation. For who can doubt when you find in the commencement of the Gospel that the generation of Jesus Christ was on this wise: “When Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of [ex] the Holy Spirit.”

42. For although most authorities read “de Spiritu,” yet the Greek from which the Latins translated have “ἐχ πνεύματος ἁγίου,” that is, “ex Spiritu Sancto.” For that which is” of” [ex] any one is either of his substance or of his power. Of his substance, as the Son, Who says: “I came forth of the Mouth of the Most High;” as the Spirit, “Who proceedeth from the Father;” of Whom the Son says: “He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine.” But of the power, as in the passage: “One God the Father, of Whom are all things.”

43. How, then, was Mary with child of the Holy Spirit? If as of her substance, was the Spirit, then, changed into flesh and bones? Certainly not. But if the Virgin conceived as of His operation and power, who can deny that the Holy Spirit is Creator?

44. How is it, too, that Job plainly set forth the Spirit as his Creator, saying: “The Spirit of God hath made me”? In one short verse he showed Him to be both Divine and Creator. If, then, the Spirit is Creator, He is certainly not a creature, for the Apostle has separated the Creator and the creature, saying: “They served the creature rather than the Creator.”

45. He teaches that the Creator is to be served by condemning those who serve the creature, whereas we owe our service to the Creator. And since he knew the Spirit to be the Creator, he teaches that we ought to serve Him, saying: “Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the concision, for we are the circumcision who serve the Spirit of God.”

46. But if any one disputes because of the variations of the Latin codices, some of which heretics have falsified, let him look at the Greek codices, and observe that it is there written: “οἱ πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες,” which is, being translated, “who serve the Spirit of God.”

47. So, then, when the same Apostle says that we ought to serve the Spirit, who asserts that we must not serve the creature, but the Creator; without doubt he plainly shows that the Holy Spirit is Creator, and is to be venerated with the honor due to the eternal Godhead; for it is written: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.”

CHAPTER 6

To those who object that according to the words of Amos the Spirit is created, the answer is made that the word is there understood of the wind, which is often created, which cannot be said of the Holy Spirit, since He is eternal, and cannot be dissolved in death, or by an heretical absorption into the Father. But if they pertinaciously contend that this passage was written of the Holy Spirit, St. Ambrose points out that recourse must be had to a spiritual Interpretation, for Christ by His coming established the thunder, that is, the force of the divine utterances, and by Spirit is signified the human soul as also the flesh assumed by Christ. And since this was created by each Person of the Trinity, it is thence argued that the Spirit, Who has before been affirmed to be the Creator of all things, was the Author of the Incarnation of the Lord.

48. NOR does it escape my notice that heretics have been wont to object that the Holy Spirit appears to be a creature, because many of them use as an argument for establishing their impiety that passage of Amos, where he spoke of the blowing of the wind, as the words of the prophet made clear. For you read thus: “Behold, I am He that establish the thunders, and create the wind [spirit], and declare unto man his Christ, that make light and mist, and ascend upon high places, the Lord God Almighty is His Name.”

49. If they make an argument of this, hat he said “spirit” was created, Esdras aught us that spirit is created, saying in the fourth book: “And upon the second day Thou madest the spirit of the firmament,” yet, that we may keep to our point, is it not evident that in what Amos said the order of he passage shows that the prophet was speaking of the creation of this world?

50. He begins as follows: “I am the Lord that establish the thunders and create he wind [spirit].” The order of the words itself teaches us; for if he had wished to speak of the Holy Spirit, he would certainly not have put the thunders in the first place. For thunder is not more ancient than the Holy Spirit; though they be ungodly, they still dare not say that. And then when we, see what follows concerning light and mist, is it not plain that what is said is to be understood of the creation of this world? For we

know by every-day experience, that when we have storms on this earth, thunders come first, blasts of wind follow on, the sky grows black with mists, and light shines again out of the darkness. For the blasts of wind are also called "spirits," as it is written: "Fire and brimstone and the spirit of storm."

51. And that you might know that he called this "spirit," he says: "establishing thunders and creating the wind [spirit]." For these are often created, when they take place. But the Holy Spirit is eternal, and if any one dares to call Him a creature, still he cannot say that He is daily created like the blast of the wind. Then, again, Wisdom herself, speaking after the mystery of the assumed Body, says: "The Lord created Me." Although prophesying of things to come, yet, because the coming of the Lord was predestined, it is not said "creates" but "created Me;" that men might believe that the Body of Jesus was begotten of the Virgin Mary, not often, but once only.

52. And so, as to that which the prophet declared as it were of the daily working of God in the thunder and the creation of the wind, it would be impious to understand any such thing of the Holy Spirit, Whom the ungodly themselves cannot deny to exist from before the world. Whence with pious asseveration we testify that He always exists, and abides ever. For neither can He Who before the world was moving upon the waters begin to be visible after the world's creation; or else it would be allowable to suppose that there are many Holy Spirits, Who come into being by as it were a daily production. Far be it from any one to pollute himself with such impiety as to say that the Holy Spirit is frequently or ever created. For I do not understand why He should be frequently created; unless perchance they believe that He dies frequently and so is frequently created. But how can the Spirit of life die? If, then, He cannot die, there is no reason why He should be often created.

53. But they who think otherwise fall into this sacrilege, that they do not distinguish the Holy Spirit; who think that the Word Which was sent forth returns to the Father, and the Spirit Which was sent forth is reabsorbed into God, so that there should be a reabsorption and a kind of alternation of one changing himself into various forms; whereas the distinction

between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit always abiding and unchangeable, preserves the Unity of its power.

54. But if any one thinks that the word of the prophet is to be explained with reference to the Holy Spirit, because it is said, “declaring unto men His Christ,” he will explain it more easily of the Lord’s Incarnation. For if it troubles you that he said Spirit, and therefore you think that this cannot well be explained of the mystery of the taking of human nature, read on in the Scriptures and you will find that all agrees most excellently with Christ, of Whom it is thoroughly fitting to think that He established the thunders by His coming, that is, the force and sound of the heavenly Scriptures, by the thunder, as it were, of which our minds are struck with astonishment, so that we learn to be afraid, and pay respect to the heavenly oracles.

55. Lastly, in the Gospel the brothers of the Lord were called Sons of Thunder; and when the voice was uttered of the Father, saying, “I have both glorified it and will glorify it again,” the Jews said that it thundered on Him. For although they could not receive the grace of the truth, yet they confessed unwillingly, and in their ignorance were speaking mysteries, so that there resulted a great testimony of the Father to the Son. And in the Book of Job, too, the Scripture says: “And who knows when He will make the power of His thunder?” Certainly if these words pertained to the thunders of the heavens, he would have said that their force was already made, not about to be made.

56. Therefore he referred the thunders to the words of the Lord, the sound of which went out into all the earth, and we understand the word “spirit” in this place of the soul, which He took endowed with reason and perfect; for Scripture often designates the soul of man by the word spirit, as you read: “Who creates the spirit of man within him.” So, too, the Lord signified His Soul by the word Spirit, when He said: “Into Thy hands I commend My Spirit.”

57. And that you might know that he spoke of the coming down of Jesus, he added that He declared His Christ to men for in His baptism He declared Him, saying: “Thou art My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased.” He declared Him on the mount, saying: “This is My beloved Son, hear ye Him.” He declared Him in His Passion, when the sun hid

itself, and sea and earth trembled. He declared Him in the Centurion, who said: “Truly this was the Son of God.”

58. We ought, then, to take this whole passage either to be simply to be understood of that state in which we here live and breathe, or of the mystery of the Lord’s Body; for if here it had been stated that the Holy Spirit was created, undoubtedly Scripture would elsewhere have declared the same, as we often read of the Son of God, Who according to the flesh was both made and created.

59. But it is fitting that we should consider His Majesty in the very fact of His taking flesh for us, that we may see His divine power in the very taking of the Body. For as we read that the Father created the mystery of the Lord’s Incarnation, the Spirit too created it; and so too we read that Christ Himself created His own Body. For the Father created it, as it is written: “The Lord created Me,” and in another place, “God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law.” And the Spirit created the whole mystery, according to that which we read, for “Mary was found with child of the Holy Spirit.”

60. You find, then, that the Father created and the Spirit created; learn, too, that the Son of God also created, when Solomon says: “Wisdom hath made herself a house.” How, then, can the Holy Spirit Who created the mystery of the Lord’s Incarnation, which is above all created things, be Himself a creature?

61. As we have shown above generally that the Holy Spirit is our Creator according to the flesh in the outer man, let us now show that He is our Creator also according to the mystery of grace. And as the Father creates, so too does the Son create, and so too the Holy Spirit creates, as we read in the words of Paul: “For it is the gift of God, not of works, test any one should boast. For we are His workmanship created in Christ Jesus in good works.”

CHAPTER 7

The Holy Spirit is no less the author of spiritual creation or regeneration than the Father and the Son. The excellence of that

creation, and wherein it consists. How we are to understand holy Scripture, when it attributes a body or members to God.

62. So, then, the Father creates in good works, and the Son also, for it is written: “But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe on His Name; who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.”

63. In like manner the Lord Himself also testifies that we are born again of the Spirit according to grace, saying: “That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit, because God is Spirit. Marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again. The Spirit breatheth where He willeth, and thou hearest His voice, but knowest not whence He cometh or whither He goeth, so is every one who is born of the Spirit.”

64. It is then clear that the Holy Spirit is also the Author of the grace of the Spirit, since we are created according to God, that we may be made the sons of God. So when He has taken us into His kingdom by the adoption of holy regeneration, do we deny Him that which is His? He has made us heirs of the new birth from above, do we claim the heritage and reject its Author? But the benefit cannot remain when its Author is shut out; the Author is not without the gift, nor the gift without the Author. If you claim the grace, believe the power; if you reject the power, do not ask for the grace. He who has denied the Spirit has at the same time denied the gift. For if the Author be of no account how can His gifts be precious? Why do we grudge the gifts we ourselves receive, diminish our hopes, repudiate our dignity, and deny our Comforter?

65. But we cannot deny Him. Far be it from us to deny that which is so great, since the Apostle says: “But ye brethren, like Isaac, are the children of promise, but as then, he that is born after the flesh persecutes him that is after the Spirit.” Again certainly is understood from what has gone before, is born after the Spirit. He then who is born after the Spirit is born after God. Now we are born again when we are renewed in our inward affections and lay aside the oldness or the outer man. And so the Apostle says again: “But be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created according to God in truth and righteousness and

holiness.” Let them hear how the Scripture has signified the unity of the divine operation. He who is renewed in the spirit of his mind has put on the new man, which is created according to God.

66. That more excellent regeneration is then the work of the Holy Spirit; and the Spirit is the Author of that new man which is created after the image of God, which no one will doubt to be better than this outer man of ours. Since the Apostle has pointed out that the one is heavenly, the other earthly, when he says: “As is the heavenly, such also are the heavenly.”

67. Since, then, the grace of the Spirit makes that to be heavenly which it can create earthy, we ought to observe by reason though we be without instances. For in a certain place holy Job says: “As the Lord liveth, Who thus judgeth me, and the Almighty, Who hath brought my soul to bitterness (for the Spirit of God which is in my nostrils).” He certainly did not here signify by His Spirit the vital breath and bodily breathing passages, but signifies the nostrils of the inner man within him, wherewith he gathered in the fragrance of eternal life, and drew in the grace of the heavenly ointment as with a kind of twofold sense.

68. For there are spiritual nostrils, as we read, which the spouse of the Word has, to whom it is said: “And the smell of thy nostrils;” and in another place: “The Lord smelled a smell of sweetness.” There are, then, as it were, inward members of a man, whose hands are considered to be in action, his ears in hearing, his feet in a kind of progress in a good work. And so from what is done we gather as it were figures of the members, for it is not suitable for us to imagine anything in the inner man after a fleshly manner.

69. And there are some who suppose that God is fashioned after a bodily manner, when they read of His hand or finger, and they do not observe that these things are written not because of any fashion of a body, since in the Godhead are neither members nor parts, but are expressions of the oneness of the Godhead, that we may believe that it is impossible for either the Son or the Holy Spirit to be separated from God the Father; since the fullness of the Godhead dwells as it were bodily in the substance of the Trinity. For this reason, then, is the Son also called the Right Hand of the Father, as we read: “The Right Hand of the Lord hath done mighty things, the Right Hand of the Lord hath exalted me.”

CHAPTER 8

St. Ambrose examines and refutes the heretical argument that because God is said to be glorified in the Spirit, and not with the Spirit, the Holy Spirit is therefore inferior to the Father. He shows that the particle in can be also used of the Son and even of the Father, and that on the other hand with may be said of creatures without any infringement on the prerogatives of the Godhead; and that in reality these prepositions simply imply the connection of the Three Divine Persons.

70. BUT what wonder is it if foolish men question about words, when they do so even about syllables? For some think that a distinction should be made and that God should be praised in the Spirit, but not with the Spirit, and consider that the greatness of the Godhead is to be estimated from one syllable or some custom, arguing that if they consider that God should be glorified in the Spirit, they point to some office of the Holy Spirit, but that if they say that God receives glory or power with the Spirit, they seem to imply some association and communion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

71. But who can separate what is incapable of separation? who can divide that association which Christ shows to be inseparable? "Go," says He, "baptize all nations in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Has He changed either a word or a syllable here concerning the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit? Certainly not. But He says, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The expression is the same for the Spirit as for the Father and for Himself. From which is inferred not any office of the Holy Spirit, but rather a sharing of honor or of working when we say "in the Spirit."

72. Consider, too, that this opinion of yours tends to the injury of the Father and the Son, for the latter did not say, "with the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," but in the Name, and yet not any office but the power of the Trinity is expressed in this syllable,

73. Lastly, that you may know that it is not a syllable which prejudices faith, but faith which commends a syllable, Paul also speaks in Christ.

Christ is not less, because Paul spoke in Christ, as you find: “We speak before God in Christ.” As, then, the Apostle says that we speak in Christ, so, too, is that which we speak in the Spirit; as the Apostle himself said: “No man saith Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit.” So, then, in this place not any subjection of the Holy Spirit, but a connection of grace is signified.

74. And that you may know that distinction does not depend upon a syllable, he says also in another place: “And these indeed were you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.” How many instances of this I can bring forward. For it is written: “Ye are all one in Christ Jesus,” and elsewhere: “To those sanctified in Christ Jesus,” and again: “That we might be the righteousness of God in Him,” and in another place: “Should fall from the chastity which is in Christ Jesus.”

75. But what am I doing? For while I say that like things are written of the Son as of the Spirit, I am rather leading on to this, not that because it is written of the Son, therefore it would appear to be reverently written of the Holy Spirit, but that because the same is written of the Spirit, therefore men allege that the Son’s honor is lessened because of the Spirit. For say they, Is it written of God the Father?

76. But let them learn that it is also said of God the Father: “In the Lord I will praise the word;” and elsewhere: “In God we will do mighty deeds;” and “My remembrance shall be ever in Thee;” and “In Thy Name will we rejoice;” and again in another place: “That his deeds may be manifested, that they are wrought in God;” and Paul:” In God Who created all things;” and again: “Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ;” and in the Gospel: “I in the Father and the Father in Me,” and “the Father that dwelleth in Me.” It is also written: “He that glorieth let him glory in the Lord;” and in another place: “Our life is hid with Christ in God.” Did he here ascribe more to the Son than to the Father in saying that we are with Christ in God? or does our state avail more than the grace of the Spirit, so that we can be with Christ and the Holy Spirit cannot? And when Christ wills to be with us, as He Himself said: “Father, I will that they whom Thou hast given Me be with Me where I am,” would He disdain to be with

the Spirit? For it is written: “Ye coming together and my spirit with the power of the Lord Jesus.” Do we then come together in the power of the Lord, and dare to say that the Lord Jesus would not be willing to come together with the Spirit Who does not disdain to come together with us?

77. So the Apostle thinks that it makes no difference which particle you use. For each is a conjunctive particle, and conjunction does not cause separation, for if it divided it would not be called a conjunction.

78. What, then, moves you to say that to God the Father or to His Christ there is glory, life, greatness, or power, in the Holy Spirit, and to refuse to say with the Holy Spirit? Is it that you are afraid of seeming to join the Spirit with the Father and the Son? But hear what is written of the Spirit: “For the law of the Spirit is life in Christ Jesus.” And in another place God the Father says: “They shall worship Thee, and in Thee they shall make supplication.” God the Father says that we ought to pray in Christ; and do you think that it is any derogation to the Spirit if the glory of Christ is said to be in Him?

79. Hear that what you are afraid to acknowledge of the Spirit, the Apostle did not fear to claim for himself; for he says: “To be dissolved and to be with Christ is much better.” Do you deny that the Spirit, through Whom the Apostle was made worthy of being with Christ, is with Christ?

80. What, then, is the reason that you prefer saying that God or Christ is glorified in the Spirit rather than with the Spirit? Is it because if you say in the Spirit, the Spirit is declared to be less than Christ? Although your making the Lord greater or less is a matter which can be refuted, yet since we read, “For Christ was made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in Him,” He is found chiefest in Whom we are found most low. So, too, elsewhere you read, “For in Him all things consist,” that is, in His power. And the things which consist in Him cannot be compared to Him, because they receive from His power the substance whereby they consist.

81. Do you then understand that God so reigns in the Spirit that the power of the Spirit, as a kind of source of substance, imparts to God the origin of His rule? But this is impious. And so our predecessors spoke of the unity of power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, when they said that

the glory of Christ was with the Spirit, that they might declare their inseparable connection.

82. For how is the Holy Spirit separated from the Son, since “the Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are sons of God, and if sons, also heirs, heirs, indeed, of God and joint-heirs with Christ.” Who, then, is so foolish as to wish to dissever the eternal conjunction of the Spirit and Christ, when the Spirit by Whom we are made joint-heirs with Christ conjoins even what is severed.

83. “If so be,” he says, “we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together.” If we then shall be glorified together with Christ through the Spirit, how do we refuse to admit that the Spirit Himself is glorified together with Christ? Do we dissociate the life of Christ and of the Holy Spirit when the Spirit says that we shall live together with the Son of God? For the Apostle says: “If we be dead with Christ we believe that we shall also live with Him;” and then again: “For if we suffer with Him we shall also live with Him, and not only shall we live with Him, but shall be also glorified with Him, and not only be glorified but shall also reign with Him.”

84. No division, then, is implied in those particles, for each is a particle of conjunction. And lastly, we often find in holy Scripture the one inserted and the other understood, as it is written: “I will enter into Thy house in whole burnt-offerings,” that is, “with whole burnt-offerings;” and in another place: “He brought them forth in silver and gold,” that is, “with silver and gold.” And elsewhere the Psalmist says: “Wilt Thou not go forth with us in our hosts?” for that which is really meant, “with our hosts.” So, then, in the use of the expression no lessening of honor can be implied, and nothing ought to be deduced derogatory to the honor of the Godhead, it is necessary that with the heart man should believe unto righteousness, and that out of the faith of the heart confession should be made in the mouth unto salvation. But they who believe not with the heart spread what is derogatory with their mouth.

CHAPTER 9

A passage of St. Paul abused by heretics, to prove a distinction between the Divine Persons, is explained, and it is proved that the whole passage can be rightly said of each Person, though it refers specially to the Son. It is then proved that each member of the passage is applicable to each Person, and as to say, Him are all things is applicable to the Father, so may all things are through Him and in Him also be said of Him.

85. ANOTHER similar passage is that which they say implies difference, where it is written: “But to us there is one Father, of Whom are all things and we unto Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him.” For they pretend that when it is said “of Him,” the matter is signified, when “through Him, either the instrument of the work or some office, but when it is said “in Him,” either the place or the time in which all things that are made are seen.

86. So, then, their desire is to prove that there is some difference of substance, being anxious to make a distinction between as it were the instrument, and the proper worker or author, and also between time or place and the instrument. But is the Son, then, alien as regards His Nature from the Father, because an instrument is alien from the worker or author? or is the Son alien from the Spirit, because either time or place is not of the same class as an instrument?

87. Compare now our assertions. They will have it that matter is of God as though of the nature of God, as when you say that a chest is made of wood or a statue of stone; that after this fashion matter has come forth from God, and that the same matter has been made by the Son as if by some sort of instrument; so that they declare that the Son is not so much the Artificer as the instrument of the work; and that all things have been made in the Spirit, as if in some place or time; they attribute each part severally to each Person severally and deny that all are in common.

88. But we show that all things are so of God the Father, that God the Father has suffered no loss because all things are either through Him or in Him, and yet all things are not of Him as if of matter; then, too, that all

things are through the Lord the Son, so that He is not deprived of the attribute that all things are of the Son and in Him; and that all things are in the Spirit, so that we may teach that all things are through the Spirit, and all things from the Spirit.

89. For these particles, like those of which we have spoken before, imply each other. For the Apostle did not so say, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, as to signify that the substance of — the Father and the Son could be severed, but that he might teach that by a distinction without confusion the Father is one, the Son another. Those particles, then, are not as it were in opposition to each other, but are as it were allied and agreed, so as often to suit even one Person, as it is written: “For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things.”

90. But if you really consider whence the passage is taken you will have no doubt that it is said of the Son. For the Apostle says, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, “Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counselor?” And he adds: “For of Him and in Him are all things.” Which Isaiah had said of the Artificer of all, as you read: “Who hath measured out the water with his hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with his closed hand? Who hath placed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counselor?”

91. And the Apostle added: “For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things.” What is “of Him”? That the nature of everything is of His will, and He is the Author of all things which have come into being. “Through Him” means what? That the establishment and continuance of all things is His girl. What is “in Him”? That all things by a wonderful kind of longing and unspeakable love look upon the Author of their life, and the Giver of their graces and functions, according to that which is written: “The eyes of all look unto Thee,” and “Thou openest Thine hand and fillest every living creature with Thy good pleasure.”

92. And of the Father, too, you may rightly say “of Him,” for of Him was the operative Wisdom, Which of His own and the Father’s will gave being to all things which were not. “Through Him,” because all things were made through His Wisdom. “In Him,” because He is the Fount of substantial Life, in Whom we live and move and have our being.

93. Of the Spirit also, as being formed by Him, strengthened by Him, established in Him, we receive the gift of eternal life.

94. Since, then, these expressions seem suitable either to the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, it is certain that nothing derogatory is spoken of in them, since we both say that many things are of the Son, and many through the Father, as you find it said of the Son: “That we may be increased through all things in Him, Who is Christ the Head, from Whom,” says he, “the whole body, flamed and knit together through every joint of the supply for the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.” And again, writing to the Colossians of those who have not the knowledge of the Son of God, he says: “Because they hold not the Head, from Whom all the body being supplied and joined together through joints and bands, increaseth to the increase of God.” For we said above that Christ is the Head of the Church. And in another place you read: “Of His fullness have all we received.” And the Lord Himself said: “He shall take of Mine and show it unto you.” And before, He said: “I perceive that virtue is gone out of Me.”

95. In like manner that you may recognize the Unity, it is also said of the Spirit: “For he that soweth in the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life.” And John says: “Hereby we know that He is in us because He hath given us of His Spirit.” And the Angel says: “That Which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit.” And the Lord says: “That which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.”

96. So, then, as we read that all things are of the Father, so, too, that all things can be said to be of the Son, through Whom are all things; and we are taught by proof that all things are of the Spirit in Whom are all things.

97. Now let us consider whether we can teach that anything is through the Father. But it is written: “Paul the servant of Christ through the will of God;” and elsewhere: “Wherefore thou art now not a servant but a son, and if a son an heir also through God;” and again: “As Christ rose from the dead by the glory of God.” And elsewhere God the Father says to the Son: “Behold proselytes shall come to Thee through Me.”

98. You will find many other passages, if you look for things done through the Father. Is, then, the Father less because we read that many things are in

the Son and of the Son, and find in the heavenly Scriptures very many things done or given through the Father?

99. But in like manner we also read of many things done through the Spirit, as you find: “But God hath revealed them to us through His Spirit;” and in another place: “Keep the good deposit through the Holy Spirit;” and to the Ephesians: “to be strengthened through His Spirit;” and to the Corinthians: “To another is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom;” and in another place: “But if through the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live;” and above: “He Who raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies through the indwelling of His Spirit in you.”

100. But perhaps some one may say, Show me that we can read expressly that all things are of the Son, or that all things are of the Spirit. But I reply, Let them also show that it is written that all things are through the Father. But since we have proved that these expressions suit either the Esther or the Son or the Holy Spirit, and that no distinction of the divine power can arise from particles of this kind, there is no doubt but that all things are of Him through Whom all things are; and that all things are through Him through Whom all are; and that we must understand that all things are through Him or of Him in Whom all are. For every creature exists both of the will. and through the operation and in the power of the Trinity, as it is written: “Let Us make man after Our image and likeness;” and elsewhere: “By the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all their power by the Spirit of His mouth.”

CHAPTER 10

Being about to prove that the will, the calling, and the commandment of the Trinity is one, St. Ambrose shows that the Spirit called the Church exactly as the Father and the Son did, and proves this by the selection of SS. Paul and Barnabas, and especially by the mission of St. Peter to Cornelius. And by the way he points out how in the Apostle’s vision the calling of the Gentiles was shadowed forth, who having been before like wild beasts, now by the operation of the Spirit lay aside that wildness. Then having quoted other passages in support of this view, he shows that in the

case of Jeremiah cast into a pit by Jews, and rescued by Abdemelech, is a type of the slighting of the Holy Spirit by the Jews, and of His being honored by the Gentiles.

101. AND not only is the operation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit everywhere one but also there is one and the same will, calling, and giving of commands, which one may see in the great and saving mystery of the Church. For as the Father called the Gentiles to the Church, saying: “I will call her My people which was not My people, and her beloved who was not beloved;” and elsewhere: “My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations,” so, too, the Lord Jesus said that Paul was chosen by Him to call forth and gather together the Church, as you find it said by the Lord Jesus to Ananias: “Go, for he is a chosen vessel unto Me to bear My name before all nations.”

102. As, then, God the Father called the Church, so, too, Christ called it, and so, too, the Spirit called it, saying: “Separate Me Paul and Barnabas for the work to which I have called them.” “So,” it is added, “having fasted and prayed, they laid hands on them and sent them forth. And they, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleucia.” So Paul received the apostleship by the will not only of Christ, but also of the Holy Spirit, and hastened to gather together the Gentiles.

103. And not only Paul, but also, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, Peter. For when he had seen in his prayer heaven opened and a certain vessel tied at the four corners, as it were a sheet in which were all kinds of four-fooled beasts and wild beasts and fowls of the air, “a voice came to him saying, Arise, Peter, kill and eat. And Peter said, Be it far from me, Lord, I have never eaten anything common or unclean. And again a voice came to him, saying, What God hath cleansed call not thou common. And this was done three times, and the vessel was received back into heaven.” And so when Peter was silently thinking over this with himself, and the servants of Cornelius appointed by the Angel had come to him, the Spirit said to him, “Lo, men are seeking thee, rise therefore, and go down and go with them; doubt not, for I have sent thee.”

104. How clearly did the Holy Spirit express His own power I First of all in that He inspired him who was praying, and was present to him who was entreating; then when Peter, being called, answer “Lord,” and so was

found worthy of a second message, because he acknowledged the Lord. But the Scripture declares Who that Lord was, for He Whom he had answered spoke to him when he answered. And the following words show the Spirit clearly revealed, for He Who formed the mystery made known the mystery.

105. Notice, also, that the appearance of the mystery three times repeated expressed the operation of the Trinity. And so in the mysteries the threefold question is put, and the threefold answer made, and no one can be cleansed but by a threefold confession. For which reason, also, Peter in the Gospel is asked three times whether he loves the Lord, that by the threefold answer the bonds of the guilt he had contracted by denying the Lord might be loosed.

106. Then, again, because the Angel is sent to Cornelius, the Holy Spirit speaks to Peter: “For the eyes of the Lord are over the faithful of the earth.” Nor is it without a purpose that when He had said before, “What God hath cleansed call not thou common,” the Holy Spirit came upon the Gentiles to purify them, when it is manifest that the operation of the Spirit is a divine operation. But Peter, when sent by the Spirit, did not wait for the command of God the Father, but acknowledged that that message was from the Spirit Himself, and the grace that of the Spirit Himself, when he said: “If, then, God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I should resist God?”

107. It is, then, the Holy Spirit Who has delivered us from that Gentile impurity. For in those kinds of four-fooled creatures and wild beasts and birds there was a figure of the condition of man, which appears clothed with the bestial ferocity of wild beasts unless it grows gentle by the sanctification of the Spirit. Excellent, then, is that grace which changes the rage of beasts into the simplicity of the Spirit: “For we also were aforetime foolish, unbelieving, erring, serving divers lusts and pleasures. But now by the renewing of the Spirit we begin to be heirs of Christ, and joint-heirs with the Angels.”

108. Therefore the holy prophet David, seeing in the Spirit that we should from wild beasts become like the dwellers in heaven, says, “Rebuke the wild beasts of the wood,” evidently signifying, not the wood disturbed by the running of wild beasts, and shaken with the roaring of animals, but that

wood of which it is written: “We found it in the fields of the wood.” In which, as the prophet said: “The righteous shall flourish as the palm-tree, and shall be multiplied as the cedar which is in Libanus.” That wood which, shaken in the tops of the trees spoken of in prophecy, shed forth the nourishment of the heavenly Word. That wood into which Paul entered indeed as a ravening wolf, but went forth as a shepherd, for “their sound is gone out into all the earth.”

109. We then were wild beasts, and therefore the Lord said: “Beware of false prophets, which come in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.” But now, through the Holy Spirit, the rage of lions, the spots of leopards, the craft of foxes, the rapacity of wolves, have passed away from our feelings; great, then, is the grace which has changed earth to heaven, that the conversation of us, who once were wandering as wild beasts in the woods, might be in heaven.

110. And not only in this place, but also elsewhere in the same book, the Apostle Peter declared that the Church was built by the Holy Spirit. For you read that he said: “God, Which knoweth the hearts of men, bare witness, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as also to us; and He made no distinction between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.” In which is to be considered, that as Christ is the Cornerstone, Who joined together both peoples into one, so, too, the Holy Spirit made no distinction between the hearts of each people, but united them.

111. Do not, then, like a Jew, despise the Son, Whom the prophets foretold; for you would despise also the Holy Spirit, you would despise Isaiah, you would despise Jeremiah, whom he who was chosen of the Lord raised with rags and cords from the pit of that Jewish abode. For the people of the Jews, despising the word of prophecy, had cast him into the pit. Nor was there found any. one of the Jews to draw the prophet out, but one Ethiopian Abdemelech, as the Scripture testifies.

112. In which account is a very beautiful figure, that is to say, that we, sinners of the Gentiles, black beforehand through our transgressions, and aforetime fruitless, raised from the depth the word of prophecy which the Jews had thrust down, as it were, into the mire of their mind and carnality. And therefore it is written: “Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God.” In which is signified the appearance of holy Church, who says in the Song

of Songs: “I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem;” black through sin, comely through grace; black by natural condition, comely through redemption, or certainly, black with the dust of her labors. So she is black while fighting, is comely when she is crowned with the ornaments of victory.

113. And fittingly is the prophet raised by cords, for the faithful writer said: “The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places.” And fittingly with rags; for the Lord Himself, when those who had been first invited to the marriage made excuse, sent to the partings of the highways, that as many as were found, both bad and good, should be invited to the marriage. With these rags, then, He lifted the word of prophecy from the mire.

CHAPTER 11

We shall follow the example of Abdemelech, if we believe that the Son and Holy Spirit know all things. This knowledge is attributed in Scripture to the Spirit, and also to the Son. The Son is glorified by the Spirit, as also the Spirit by the Son. Also, inasmuch as we read that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit say and reveal the same things, we must acknowledge in Them a oneness of nature and knowledge. Lastly, that the Spirit searcheth the deep things of God is not a mark of ignorance, since the Father and the Son are likewise said to search, and Paul, although chosen by Christ, yet was taught by the Spirit.

114. And you, too, shall be Abdemelech, that is, chosen by the Lord, if you raise the Word of God from the depth of Gentile ignorance; if you believe that the Son of God is not deceived, that nothing escapes His knowledge, that He is not ignorant of what is going to be. And the Holy Spirit also is not deceived, of Whom the Lord says: “But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He shall lead you into all truth.” He Who says all passes by nothing, neither the day nor the hour, neither things past nor things to come.

115. And that you may know that He both knows all things, and foretells things to come, and that His knowledge is one with that of the Father and the Son, hear what the Truth of God says concerning Him: “For He shall

not speak from Himself, but what things He shall hear shall He speak, and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come."

116. Therefore, that you may observe that He knows all things, when the Son said: "But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the Angels of heaven," He excepted the Holy Spirit. But if the Holy Spirit is excepted from ignorance, how is the Son of God not excepted?

117. But you say that He numbered the Son of God also with the Angels. He numbered the Son indeed, but He did not number the Spirit also. Confess, then, either that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son of God, so as to speak now not only as an Arian, but even as a Photinian, or acknowledge to what you ought to refer it that He said that the Son knew not. For as man He could [in His human nature] be numbered with creatures Who were created.

118. But if you are willing to learn that the Son of God knows all things, and has foreknowledge of all, see that those very things which you think to be unknown to the Son, the Holy Spirit received from the Son. He received them, however, through Unity of Substance, as the Son received from the Father. "He," says He, "shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you." What, then, is more clear than this Unity? What things the Father hath pertain to the Son; what things the Son hath the Holy Spirit also has received.

119. Yet learn that the Son knows the day of judgment. We read in Zechariah: "And the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with Him. In that day there shall not be light, but cold and frost, and it shall be one day, and that day is known unto the Lord." This day, then, was known unto the Lord, Who shall come with His saints, to enlighten us by His second Advent.

120. But let us continue the point which we have commenced concerning the Spirit. For in the passage we have brought forward you find that the Son says of the Spirit: "He shall glorify Me." So, then, the Spirit glorifies the Son, as the Father also glorifies Him, but the Son of God also glorifies the Spirit, as we said above. He, then, is not weak who is the cause of the

mutual glory through the Unity of the Eternal Light, nor is He inferior to the Spirit, of Whom this is true that He is glorified by the Spirit.

122. And you too shall be chosen, if you believe that the Spirit spoke that which the Father spoke, and which the Son spoke. Paul, in fine, was therefore chosen because he so believed and so taught, since, as it is written, God "hath revealed to us by His Spirit that which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." And therefore is He called the Spirit of revelation, as you read: "For God giveth to those who thus prepare themselves the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, that He may be known."

123. There is, then, a Unity of knowledge, since, as the Father, Who gives the Spirit of revelation, reveals, so also the Son reveals, for it is written: "No one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any one know the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall will to reveal Him." He said more concerning the Son, not because He has more than the Father, but lest He should be supposed to have less. And not unfittingly is the Father thus revealed by the Son, for the Son knows the Father even as the Father knows the Son.

124. Learn now that the Spirit too knows God the Father, for it is written that, "As no one knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit which is in him, so too the things of God no one knoweth save the Spirit of God." "No one," he says, "knoweth save the Spirit of God." Is, then, the Son of God excluded? Certainly not, since neither is the Spirit excluded, when it is said: "And none knoweth the Father, save the Son."

125. Therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one nature and of one knowledge. And the Spirit is not to be numbered with all things which were made by the Son, since He knew the Father, Whom (as it is written) who can know save the Son? But the Holy Spirit knows also. What then? When the totality of created things is spoken of, it follows that the Holy Spirit is not included.

126. Now I should like them to answer what it is in man which knows the things of a man. Certainly that must be reasonable which surpasses the other powers of the soul, and by which the highest nature of man is

estimated. What, then, is the Spirit, Who knows the deep things of God, and through Whom Almighty God is revealed? Is He inferior in the fullness of the Godhead Who is proved even by this instance to be of one substance with the Father? Or is He ignorant of anything Who knows the counsels of God, and His mysteries which have been hidden from the beginning? What is there that He knows not Who knows all things that are of God? For “the Spirit searcheth even the deep things of God.”

127. But lest you should think that He searches things unknown, and so searches that He may learn that which He knows not, it is stated first that God revealed them to us through His Spirit, and at the same time in order that you may learn that the Spirit knows the things which are revealed to us through the Spirit Himself, it is said subsequently: “For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? so, too, the things of God knoweth no one save the Spirit of God.” If, then, the spirit of a man knows the things of a man, and knows them before it searches, can there be anything of God which the Spirit of God knows not? Of Whom the Apostle said not without a purpose, “The things of God knoweth no one, save the Spirit of God;” not that He knows by searching, but knows by nature; not that the knowledge of divine things is an accident in Him, but is His natural knowledge.

128. But if this moves you that He said “searcheth,” learn that this is also said of God, inasmuch as He is the searcher of hearts and reins. For Himself said: “I am He that searcheth the heart and reins.” And of the Son of God you have also in the Epistle to the Hebrews: “Who is the Searcher of the mind and thoughts.” Whence it is clear that no inferior searches the inward things of his superior, for to know hidden things is of the divine power alone. The Holy Spirit, then, is a searcher in like manner as the Father, and the Son is a searcher in like manner, by the proper signification of which expression this is implied, that evidently there is nothing which He knows not, Whom nothing escapes.

129. Lastly, he was chosen by Christ, and taught by the Spirit. For as he himself witnesses, having obtained through the Spirit knowledge of the divine secrets, he shows both that the Holy Spirit knows God, and has revealed to us the things which are of God, as the Son also has revealed them. And he adds: “But we received, not the spirit of this world, but the

Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us by God, which we also speak, not in persuasive words of man’s wisdom, but in manifestation of the Spirit and in the power of God.”

CHAPTER 12

After proof that the Spirit is the Giver of revelation equally with the Father and the Son, it is explained how the same Spirit does not speak of Himself; and it is shown that no bodily organs are to be thought of in Him, and that no inferiority is to be supposed from the fact of our reading that He hears, since the same would have to be attributed to the Son, and indeed even to the Father, since He hears the Son. The Spirit then hears and glorifies the Son in the sense that He revealed Him to the prophets and apostles, by which the Unity of operation of the Three Persons is inferred; and, since the Spirit does the same works as the Father, the substance of each is also declared to be the same.

130. It has then been proved that like as God has revealed to us the things which are His, so too the Son, and so too the Spirit, has revealed the things of God. For our knowledge proceeds from one Spirit, through one Son to one Father; and from one Father through one Son to one Holy Spirit is delivered goodness and sanctification and the sovereign right of eternal power. Where, then, there is a manifestation of the Spirit, there is the power of God, nor can there be any distinction where the work is one. And therefore that which the Son says the Father also says, and that which the Father says the Son also says, and that which the Father and the Son say the Holy Spirit also says.

131. Whence also the Son of God said concerning the Holy Spirit: “He shall not speak from Himself,” that is, not without the participation of the Father and Myself. For the Spirit is not divided and separated, but speaks what He hears. He hears, that is to say, by unity of substance and by the property of knowledge. For He receives not hearing by any orifices of the body, nor does the divine voice resound with any carnal measures, nor does He hear what He knows not; since commonly in human matters hearing produces knowledge, and yet not even in men themselves is there

always bodily speech or fleshly hearing. For “he that speaketh in tongues,” it is said, “speaketh not to men but to God, for no one heareth, but in the Spirit he speaketh mysteries.”

132. Therefore if in men hearing is not always of the body, do you require in God the voices of man’s weakness, and certain organs of fleshly hearing, when He is said to hear in order that we may believe that He knows? For we know that which we have heard, and we hear beforehand that we may be able to know; but in God Who knows all things knowledge goes before hearing. So in order to state that the Son is not ignorant of what the Father wills, we say that He has heard; but in God there is no sound nor syllable, such as usually signify the indication of the will; but oneness of will is comprehended in hidden ways in God, but in us is shown by signs.

133. What means, then, “He shall not speak from Himself”? This is, He shall not speak without Me; for He speaks the truth, He breathes wisdom. He speaks not without the Father, for He is the Spirit of God; He hears not from Himself, for all things are of God.

134. The Son received all things from the Father, for He Himself said:” All things have been delivered unto Me from My Father.” All that is the Father’s the Son also has, for He says again: “All things which the Father hath are Mine.” And those things which He Himself received by Unity of nature, the Spirit by the same Unity of nature received also from Him, as the Lord Jesus Himself declares, when speaking of His Spirit: “Therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you.” Therefore what the Spirit says is the Son’s, what the Son hath given is the Father’s. So neither the Son nor the Spirit speaks anything of Himself. For the Trinity speaks nothing external to Itself.

135. But if you contend that this is an argument for the weakness of the Holy Spirit, and for a kind of likeness to the lowliness of the body, you will also make it an argument to the injury of the Son, because the Son said of Himself: “As I hear I judge,” and “The Son can do nothing else than what He seeth the Father doing.” For if that be true, as it is, which the Son said: “All things which the Father hath are Mine,” and the Son according to the Godhead is One with the Father, One by natural substance, not according to the Sabellian falsehood; that which is one by the property of substance certainly cannot be separated, and so the Son cannot do

anything except what He has heard of the Father, for the Word of God endures forever, nor is the Father ever separated from the operation of the Son; and that which the Son works He knows that the Father wills, and what the Father wills the Son knows how to work.

136. Lastly, that one may not think that there is any difference of work either in time or in order between the Father and the Son, but may believe the oneness of the same operation, He says: “The works which I do He doeth.” And again, that one may not think that there is any difference in the distinction of the works, but may judge that the will, the working, and the power of the Father and the Son are the same, Wisdom says concerning the Father: “For whatsoever things He doeth, the Son likewise doeth the same.” So that the action of neither Person is before or after that of the Other, but the same result of one operation. And for this reason the Son says that He can do nothing of Himself, because His operation cannot be separated from that of the Father. In like manner the operation of the Holy Spirit is not separated. Whence also the things which He speaks, He is said to hear from the Father.

137. What if I demonstrate that the Father also hears the Son, as the Son too hears the Father? For you have it written in the Gospel that the Son says: “Father, I thank Thee that Thou heardest Me.” How did the Father hear the Son, since in the previous passage concerning Lazarus the Son spoke nothing to the Father? And that we might not think that the Son was heard once by the Father, He added: “And I knew that Thou hearest Me always.” Therefore the hearing is not that of subject obedience, but of eternal Unity.

138. In like manner, then, the Spirit is said to hear from the Father, and to glorify the Son. To glorify, because the Holy Spirit taught us that the Son is the Image of the invisible God, and the brightness of His glory, and the impress of His substance. The Spirit also spoke in the patriarchs and the prophets, and, lastly, the apostles began then to be more perfect after that they had received the Holy Spirit. There is therefore no separation of the divine power and grace, for although “there are diversities of gifts, yet it is the same Spirit; and diversities of ministrations, yet the same Lord; and diversities of operations, yet the same God Who worketh all in all.” There are diversities of offices, not severances of the Trinity.

139. Lastly, it is the same God Who worketh all in all, that you may know that there is no diversity of operation between God the Father and the Holy Spirit; since those things which the Spirit works, God the Father also works, "Who worketh all in all." For while God the Father worketh all in all, yet "to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of sayings; but all these worketh one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one as He will."

140. There is then no doubt but that those things which the Father worketh, the Spirit worketh also. Nor does He work in accordance with a command, as he who hears in bodily fashion, but voluntarily, as being free in His own will, not the servant of the power of another. For He does not obey as being bidden, but as the giver He is the controller of His own gifts.

141. Consider meanwhile whether you can say that the Spirit effects all things which the Father effects; for you cannot deny that the Father effects those things which the Holy Spirit effects; otherwise the Father does not effect all things, if He effects not those things which the Spirit also effects. But if the Father also effects those things which the Spirit effects, since the Spirit divides His operations, according to His own will, you must of necessity say, either that what the Spirit divides He divides according to His own will, against the will of God the Father; or if you say that the Father wills the same that the Holy Spirit wills, you must of necessity confess the oneness of the divine will and operation, even if you do it unwillingly, and, if not with the heart, at least with the mouth.

142. But if the Holy Spirit is of one will and operation with God the Father, He is also of one substance, since the Creator is known by His works. So, then, it is the same Spirit, he says, the same Lord, the same God. And if you say Spirit. He is the same; and if you say Lord, He is the same; and if you say God, He is the same. Not the same, so that Himself is Father, Himself Son, Himself Spirit [one and the selfsame Person]; but because both the Father and the Son are the same Power. He is, then, the same in substance and in power, for there is not in the Godhead either the

confusion of Sabellius nor the division of Arius, nor any earthly and bodily change.

CHAPTER 13

Prophecy was not only from the Father and the Son but also from the Spirit; the authority and operation of the latter on the apostles is signified to be the same as Theirs; and so we are to understand that them is unity in the three points of authority, rule, and bounty; yet need no disadvantage be feared from that participation, since such does not arise in human friendship. Lastly, it is established that this is the inheritance of the apostolic faith from the fact that the apostles are described as having obeyed the Holy Spirit.

143. TAKE, O sacred Emperor, another strong instance in this question, and one known to you: “In many ways and in divers manners, God spake to the fathers in the prophets.” And the Wisdom of God said: “I will send prophets and apostles.” And “To one is given,” as it is written, “through the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another, the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy.” Therefore, according to the Apostle, prophecy is not only through the Father and the Son, but also through the Holy Spirit, and therefore the office is one, and the grace one. So you find that the Spirit also is the author of prophecies.

144. The apostles also said: “It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us.” And when they say, “It seemed good,” they point out not only the Worker of the grace, but also the Author of the carrying out of that which was commanded. For as we read of God: “It pleased God;” so, too, when it is said that, “It seemed good to the Holy Spirit,” one who is master of his own power is portrayed.

145. And how should He not be a master Who speaks what He wills, and commands what He wills, as the Father commands and the Son commands? For as Paul heard the voice saying to him, “I am Jesus, Whom thou persecutest,” so, too, the Spirit forbade Paul and Silas to go into Bithynia. And as the Father spake through the prophets, so, too, Agabus

says concerning the Spirit: “Thus saith the Holy Spirit, Thus shall the Jews in Jerusalem bind the man, whose is this girdle.” And as Wisdom sent the apostles, saying, “Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel,” so, too, the Holy Spirit says: “Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.” And so being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, as the Scripture points out farther on, they were distinguished in nothing from the other apostles, as though they were sent in one way by God the Father, in another way by Spirit.

146. Lastly, Paul having been sent by the Spirit, was both a vessel of election on Christ’s part, and himself relates that God wrought in him, saying: “For He that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought for me also unto the Gentiles.” Since, then, the Same wrought in Paul Who wrought in Peter, it is certainly evident that, since the Spirit wrought in Paul, the Holy Spirit wrought also in Peter. But Peter himself testifies that God the Father wrought in him, as it is stated in the Acts of the Apostles that Peter rose up and said to them: “Men and brethren, ye know that a good while ago God made choice amongst us that the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel from my mouth.” See, then, in Peter God wrought the grace of preaching. And who would dare to deny the operation of Christ in him, since he was certainly elected and chosen by Christ, when the Lord said: “Feed My lambs.”

147. The operation, then, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, unless perchance you, who deny the oneness of the same operation upon the Apostle, think this; that the Father and the Spirit wrought in Peter, in whom the Son had wrought, as if the operation of the Son by no means sufficed for him to the attainment of the grace. And so the strength of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit being as it were joined and brought together, the work was manifold, lest the operation of Christ alone should be too weak to establish Peter.

148. And not only in Peter is there found to be one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also in all the apostles the unity of the divine operation, and a certain authority over the dispensations of heaven. For the divine operation works by the power of a command, not in the execution of a ministry; for God, when He works, does not fashion anything by toil or art, but “He spake and they were made.” He said, “Let

there be light, and there was light,” for the effecting of the work is comprised in the commandment of God.

149. We can, then, easily find, if we will consider, that this royal power is by the witness of the Scriptures attributed to the Holy Spirit; and it will be made clear that all the apostles were not only disciples of Christ, but also ministers of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. As also the teacher of the Gentiles tells us, when he says: “God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; then miracles, the gift of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues.”

150. See, God set apostles, and set prophets and teachers, gave the gift of healings, which you find above to be given by the Holy Spirit; gave divers kinds of tongues. But yet all are not apostles, all are not prophets, all are not teachers. Not all, says he, have the gift of healings, nor do all, says he, speak with tongues. For the whole of the divine gifts cannot exist in each several man; each, according to his capacity, receives that which he either desires or deserves. But the power of the Trinity, which is lavish of all graces, is not like this weakness.

151. Lastly, God set apostles. Those whom God set in the Church, Christ chose and ordained to be apostles, and sent them into the world, saying: “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He that shall believe and be baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In My Name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them, they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.” You see the Father and Christ also set teachers in the Churches; and as the Father gives the gift of healings, so, too, does the Son give; as the Father gives the gift of tongues, so, too, has the Son also granted it.

152. In like manner we have heard also above concerning the Holy Spirit, that He too grants the same kinds of graces. For it is said: “To one is given through the Spirit the gift of healings, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another prophecy.” So, then, the Spirit gives the same gifts as the Father, and the Son also gives them. Let us now learn more expressly what we have touched upon above, that the Holy Spirit entrusts the same office as the Father and the Son, and appoints the same persons; since Paul said:

"Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock in the which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers to rule the Church of God."

153. There is, then, unity of authority, unity of appointment, unity of giving. For if you separate appointment and power, what cause was there [for maintaining] that those whom Christ appointed as apostles, God the Father appointed, and the Holy Spirit appointed? unless, perhaps, as if sharing a possession or a right, They, like men, were afraid of legal prejudice, and therefore the operation was divided, and the authority distributed.

154. These things are narrow and paltry, even between men, who for the most part, although they do not agree in action, yet agree in will. So that a certain person being asked what a friend is, answered, "A second self." If, then, a man so defined a friend as to say, he was a second self, that is to say, through a oneness of love and good-will, how much more ought we to esteem the oneness of Majesty, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, when by the same operation and divine power, either the unity, or certainly that which is more, the ταυτότης, as it is called in Greek, is expressed, for ταύτο signifies "the same," so that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit have the same; so that to have the same will and the same power does not arise from the affection of the will, but inheres in the substance of the Trinity.

155. This is the inheritance of apostolic faith and devotion, which one may observe also in the Acts of the Apostles. Therefore Paul and Barnabas obeyed the commands of the Holy Spirit. And all the apostles obeyed, and forthwith ordained those whom the Spirit had ordered to be separated: "Separate Me," said He, "Barnabas and Saul." Do you see the authority of Him Who commands? Consider the merit of those who obey.

156. Paul believed, and because he believed he cast off the zeal of a persecutor, and gained a crown of righteousness. He believed who used to make havoc of the Churches; but being converted to the faith, he preached in the Spirit that which the Spirit commanded. The Spirit anointed His champion, and having shaken off the dust of unbelief, presented him as an insuperable conqueror of the unbelievers to various assemblies of the ungodly, and trained him by many sufferings for the prize of his high calling in Christ Jesus.

157. Barnabas also believed, and obeyed because he believed. Therefore, being chosen by the authority of the Holy Spirit, Which came on him abundantly, as a special sign of his merits, he was not unworthy of so great a fellowship. For one grace shone in these whom one Spirit had chosen.

158. Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, though the latter was the foundation of the Church, and the former a wise builder knowing how to make firm the footsteps of the nations who believed; Paul was not, I say, unworthy of the fellowship of the apostles, but is easily comparable with the first, and second to none. For he who knows not that he is inferior makes himself equal.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

Not only were the prophets and apostles sent by the Spirit, but also the Son of God. This is proved from Isaiah and the evangelists, and it is explained why St. Luke wrote that the same Spirit descended like a dove upon Christ and abode upon Him. Next, after establishing this mission of Christ, the writer infers that the Son is sent by the Father and the Spirit, as the Spirit is by the Father and the Son.

1. In the former book we have shown by the clear evidence of the Scriptures that the apostles and prophets were appointed, the latter to prophesy, the former to preach the Gospel, by the Holy Spirit in the same way as by the Father and the Son; now we add what all will rightly wonder at, and not be able to doubt, that the Spirit was upon Christ; and that as He sent the Spirit, so the Spirit sent the Son of God. For the Son of God says: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me, He hath sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind." And having read this from the Book of Isaiah, He says in the Gospel: "To-day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears;" that He might point out that it was said of Himself.

2. Can we, then, wonder if the Spirit sent both the prophets and the apostles, since Christ said: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me"? And rightly did He say "upon Me," because He was speaking as the Son of Man. For as the Son of Man He was anointed and sent to preach the Gospel.

3. But if they believe not the Son, let them hear the Father also saying that the Spirit of the Lord is upon Christ. For He says to John: "Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending from heaven and abiding upon Him, He it is Who baptizeth with the Holy Spirit." God the Father said this to John, and John heard and saw and believed. He heard from

God, he saw in the Lord, he believed that it was the Spirit Who was coming down from heaven. For it was not a dove that descended, but the Holy Spirit as a dove; for thus it is written: “I saw the Spirit descending from heaven as a dove.”

4. As John says that he saw, so, too, wrote Mark; Luke, however, added that the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily form as a dove; you must not think that this was an incarnation, but an appearance. He, then, brought the appearance before him, that by means of the appearance he might believe who did not see the Spirit, and that by the appearance He might manifest that He had a share of the one honor in authority, the one operation in the mystery, the one gift in the bath, together with the Father and the Son; unless perchance we consider Him in Whom the Lord was baptized too weak for the servant to be baptized in Him.

5. And he said fittingly, “abiding upon Him,” because the Spirit inspired a saying or acted upon the prophets as often as He would, but abode always in Christ.

6. Nor, again, let it move you that he said “upon Him,” for he was speaking of the Son of Man, because he was baptized as the Son of Man. For the Spirit is not upon Christ, according to the Godhead, but in Christ; for, as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ is both in the Father and in the Son, for He is the Spirit of His mouth. For He Who is of God abides in God, as it is written: “But we received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God.” And He abides in Christ, Who has received from Christ; for it is written again: “He shall take of Mine:” and elsewhere: “The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death.” He is, then, not over Christ according to the Godhead of Christ, for the Trinity is not over Itself, but over all things: It is not over Itself but in Itself.

7. Who, then, can doubt that the Spirit sent the prophets and apostles, since the Son of God says: “The Spirit of the Lord is. upon Me.” And elsewhere: “I am the First, and I am also for ever, and Mine hand hath rounded the earth, and My right hand hath established the heaven; I will call them and they shall stand up together, and shall all be gathered together and shall hear. Who hath declared these things to them? Because I

loved thee I performed thy pleasure against Babylon, that the seed of the Chaldaeans might be taken away. I have spoken, and I have called, I have brought him and have made his way prosperous. Come unto Me and hear ye this. From the beginning I have not spoken in secret, I was there when those things were done; and now the Lord God hath sent Me and His Spirit." Who is it Who says: The Lord God hath sent Me and His Spirit, except He Who came from the Father that He might save sinners? And, as you hear, the Spirit sent Him, lest when you hear that the Son sends the Spirit, you should believe the Spirit to be of inferior power.

8. So both the Father and the Spirit sent the Son; the Father sent Him, for it is written: "But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name." The Son sent Him, for He said: "But when the Paraclete is come, Whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth." If, then, the Son and the Spirit send each other, as the Father sends, there is no inferiority of subjection, but a community of power.

CHAPTER 2

The Son and the Spirit are alike given; whence not subjection but one Godhead is shown by Its working.

9. AND not only did the Father send the Son, but also gave Him, as the Son Himself gave Himself. For we read: "Grace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins." If they think that He was subject in that He was sent, they cannot deny that it was of grace that He was given. But He was given by the Father, as Isaiah said: "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given;" but He was given, I dare to say it, by the Spirit also, Who was sent by the Spirit. For since the prophet has not defined by whom He was given, he shows that He was given by the grace of the Trinity; and inasmuch as the Son Himself gave Himself, He could not be subject to Himself according to His Godhead. Therefore that He was given could not be a sign of subjection in the God-head.

10. But the Holy Spirit also was given, for it is written: "I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete." And the Apostle says:

"Wherefore he that despiseth these things despiseth not man but God, Who hath given us His Holy Spirit." Isaiah, too, shows that both the Spirit and the Son are given: "Thus," says he, "saith the Lord God, Who made the heaven and fashioned it, Who stablished the earth, and the things which are in it, and giveth breath to the people upon it, and the Spirit to them that walk upon it." And to the Son: "I am the Lord God, Who have called Thee in righteousness, and will hold Thine hand, and will strengthen Thee; and I have given Thee for a covenant of My people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of their fetters those that are bound." Since, then, the Son is both sent and given, and the Spirit also is both sent and given, They have assuredly a oneness of Godhead Who have a oneness of action.

CHAPTER 3

The same Unity may also be recognized from the fact that the Spirit is called Finger, and the Son Right Hand; for the understanding of divine things is assisted by the usage of human language. The tables of the law were written by this Finger, and they were afterwards broken, and the reason. Lastly, Christ wrote with the same Finger; yet we must not admit any inferiority in the Spirit from this bodily comparison.

11. SO, too, the Spirit is also called the Finger of God, because there is an indivisible and inseparable communion between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For as the Scripture called the Son of God the Right Hand of God, as it is said: "Thy Right Hand, O Lord, is made glorious in power. Thy Right Hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy;" so the Holy Spirit is called the Finger of God, as the Lord Himself says: "But if I by the Finger of God cast out devils." For in the same place in another book of the Gospel He named the Spirit of God, as you find: "But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils."

12. What, then, could have been said to signify more expressly the unity of the Godhead, or of Its working, which Unity is according to the Godhead of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, than that we should understand that the fullness of the eternal Godhead would seem to be

divided far more than this body of ours, if any one were to sever the unity of Substance, and multiply Its powers, whereas the eternity of the same Godhead is one?

13. For oftentimes it is convenient to estimate from our own words those things which are above us, and because we cannot see those things we draw inferences from those which we can see. “For the invisible things of Him,” says the Apostle, “from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things which are made.” And he adds: “His eternal power also and Godhead.” Of which one thing seems to be said of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit; that in the same manner as the Son is called the eternal Power of the Father, so, also, the Spirit, because He is divine, should be believed to be His eternal Godhead. For the Son, too, because He ever lives, is eternal life. This Finger, then, of God is both eternal and divine. For what is there belonging to God which is not eternal and divine?

14. With this Finger, as we read, God wrote on those tables of stone which Moses received. For God did not with a finger of flesh write the forms and portions of those letters which we read, but gave the law by His Spirit. And so the Apostle says: “For the Law is spiritual, which, indeed, is written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but on fleshy tables of the heart.” For if the letter of the Apostle is written in the Spirit, what hinders us from believing that the Law of God was written not with ink, but with the Spirit of God, which certainly does not stain but enlightens the secret places of our heart and mind?

14. Now it was written on tables of stone, because it was written in a type, but the tables were first broken and cast out of the hands of Moses, because the Jews fell away from the works of the prophet. And fitly were the tables broken, not the writing erased. And do you see that your table be not broken, that your mind and soul be not divided. Is Christ divided? He is not divided, but is one with the Father; and let no one separate you. from Him. If your faith fails, the table of your heart is broken. The coherence of your soul is lessened if you do not believe the unity of Godhead in the Trinity. Your faith is written, and your sin is written, as Jeremiah said: “Thy sin, O Judah, is written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond. And it is written,” he says, “on thy breast and on thy

heart.” The sin, therefore, is there where grace is, but the sin is written with a pen, grace is denoted by the Spirit.

15. With this Finger, also, the Lord Jesus, with bowed head, mystically wrote on the ground, when the adulteress was brought before Him by the Jews, signifying in a figure that, when we judge of the sins of another, we ought to remember our own.

16. And lest, again, because God wrote the Law by His Spirit, we should believe any inferiority, as it were, concerning the ministry of the Spirit, or from the consideration of our own body should think the Spirit to be a small part of God, the Apostle says, elsewhere, that he does not speak with words of human wisdom, but in words taught by the Spirit, and that he compares spiritual things with spiritual; but that the natural man receiveth not the things which pertain to the Spirit of God. For he knew that he who compared divine with carnal things was amongst natural things, and not to be reckoned amongst spiritual men; “for they are foolishness,” he says, “unto him.” And so, because he knew that these questions would arise amongst natural men, foreseeing the future he says: “For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct Him? But we have the mind of Christ.”

CHAPTER 4

To those who contend that the Spirit because He is called the Finger is less than the Father, St. Ambrose replies that this would also tend to the lessening of the Son, Who is called the Right Hand. That these names are to be referred only to the Unity, for which reason Moses proclaimed that the whole Trinity worked in the passage of the Red Sea. And, indeed, it is no wonder that the operation of the Spirit found place there, where there was a figure of baptism, since the Scripture teaches that the Three Persons equally sanctify and are operative in that sacrament.

17. BUT if any one is still entangled in carnal doubts, and hesitates because of bodily figures, let him consider that he cannot think rightly of the Son who can think wrongly of the Spirit. For if some think that the Spirit is a certain small portion of God, because He is called the Finger of God, the

same persons must certainly maintain that a small portion only is in the Son of God, because He is called the Right Hand of God.

18. But the Son is called both the Right Hand and the Power of God; if, then, we consider our words, there can be no perfection without power; let them therefore take care lest they think that which it is impious to say, namely, that the Father being but half perfect in His own Substance received perfection through the Son, and let them cease to deny that the Son is co-eternal with the Father. For when did the Power of God not exist? But if they think that at any time the Power of God existed not, they will say that at some time Perfection existed not in God the Father, to Whom they think that Power was at some time wanting.

19. But, as I said, these things are written that we may refer them to the Unity of the Godhead, and believe that which the Apostle said, that the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily in Christ, which dwells also in the Father, and dwells in the Holy Spirit; and that, as there is a unity of the Godhead, so also is there a unity of operation.

20. And this may also be gathered from the Song of Moses, for he, after leading the people of the Jews through the sea, acknowledged the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, saying: "Thy Right Hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, Thy Right Hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy." Here you have his confession of the Son and of the Father, Whose Right Hand He is. And farther on, not to pass by the Holy Spirit, He added: "Thou didst send Thy Spirit and the sea covered them, and the water was divided by the Spirit of Thine anger." By which is signified the unity of the Godhead, not an inequality of the Trinity.

21. You see, then, that the Holy Spirit also co-operated with the Father and the Son, so that just as if the waves were congealed in the midst of the sea, a wall as it were of water rose up for the passage of the Jews, and then, poured back again by the Spirit, overwhelmed the people of the Egyptians. And many think that from the same origin the pillar of cloud went before the people of the Jews by day, and the pillar of fire by night, that the grace of the Spirit might protect His people.

22. Now that this operation of God, which the whole world rightly wonders at, did not take place without the work of the Holy Spirit, the

Apostle also declared when he said that the truth of a spiritual mystery was prefigured in it, for we read as follows: “For our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized in Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink.”

23. For how without the operation of the Holy Spirit could there be the type of a sacrament, the whole truth of which is in the Spirit? As the Apostle also set forth, saying: “But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.”

24. You see, then, that the Father works in the Son, and that the Son works in the Spirit. And therefore do not doubt that, according to the order of Scripture, there was in the figure that which the Truth Himself declared to be in the truth. For who can deny His operation in the Font, in which we feel His operation and grace?

25. For as the Father sanctifies, so, too, the Son sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies. The Father sanctifies according to that which is written: “The God of peace sanctify you, and may your spirit, soul, and body be preserved entire without blame in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.” And elsewhere the Son says: “Father, sanctify them in the truth.”

26. But of the Son the same Apostle said: “Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.” Do you see that He was made sanctification? But He was made so unto us, not that He should change that which He was, but that He might sanctify us in the flesh.

27. And the Apostle also teaches that the Holy Spirit sanctifies. For he speaks thus: “We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren dearly beloved of the Lord; because God chose you as first-fruits unto salvation, in sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.”

28. So, then, the Father sanctifies, the Son also sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies; but the sanctification is one, for baptism is one, and the grace of the sacrament is one.

CHAPTER 5

The writer sums up the argument he had commenced, and confirms the statement that unity is signified by the terms finger and right hand, from the fact that the works of God are the same as are the works of hands; and that those of hands are the same as those of fingers; and lastly, that the term hand applies equally to the Son and the Spirit, and that of finger applies to the Spirit and the Son.

29. BUT what wonder is it if He Who Himself needs n o sanctification, but abounds therewith, sanctifies each man; since, as I said, we have been taught that His Majesty is so great, that the Holy Spirit seems to be as inseparable from God the Father as the finger is from the body?

30. But if any one thinks that this should be referred not to the oneness of power, but to its lessening, he indeed will fall into such madness as to appear to fashion the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as it were into one bodily form, and to picture to himself certain distinctions of its members.

31. But let them learn, as I have often said, that not inequality but unity of power is signified by this testimony; inasmuch as things which are the works of God are also the works of hands, and we read that the same are the works of fingers. For it is written: “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth the work of His hands;” and elsewhere: “In the beginning Thou didst found the earth, O Lord; and the heavens are the works of Thy hands.” So, then, the works of the hands are the same as the works of God. There is not therefore any distinction of the work according to the kind of bodily members, but a oneness of power.

32. But those which are the works of the hands are also the works of the fingers, for it is equally written: “For I will behold Thy heavens, the works of Thy fingers, the moon, and the stars, which Thou hast established.” What less are the fingers here said to have made than the hands, since they made the same as the hands, as it is written: “For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy work, and in the works of Thy hands will I rejoice,”

33. And yet since we read that the Son is the hand(for it is written: “Hath not My Hand made all these things?” and elsewhere: “I will place thee in the cleft of the rock, and I will cover thee with Mine hand, I have placed

My hand under the covering of the rock," which refers to the mystery of the Incarnation, because the eternal Power of God took on Itself the covering of a body), it is certainly clear that Scripture used the term hand both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

34. And again, since we read that the Spirit is the finger of God, we think that fingers [in the plural] are spoken of to signify the Son and Spirit. Lastly, that he may state that he received the sanctification both of the Son and of the Spirit, a certain saint says: "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me."

CHAPTER 6

The Spirit rebukes just as do the Father and the Son; and indeed judges could not judge without Him, as is shown by the judgments of Solomon and Daniel, which are explained in a few words, by the way; and no other than the Holy Spirit inspired Daniel.

35. WHY do we reject like words when we assert the oneness of power, since the oneness of power extends so far that the Spirit rebukes, as the Father rebukes, and as the Son rebukes. For so it is written: "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger, neither chasten me in Thy displeasure." Then in the forty-ninth [fiftieth] Psalm, the Lord speaks thus: "I will rebuke thee, and will set thy sins before thy face" And in like manner the Son said of the Holy Spirit: "When I go away, I will send the Paraclete to you. And He, when He is come, will rebuke the world, concerning sin, and concerning righteousness, and concerning judgment"

36. But whither is the madness of faithless men leading us, so that we appear to be proving, as if it were a matter of doubt, that the Holy Spirit rebukes, whereas judges themselves are unable to judge, except through the Spirit. Lastly, that famous judgment of Solomon, when, amongst the difficulties arising from those who were contending, as one, having overlain the child which she had borne, wished to claim the child of another, and the other was protecting her own son, he both discovered deceit in the very hidden thoughts. and affection in the mother's heart, was certainly so admirable only by the gift of the Holy Spirit For no other sword would have penetrated the hidden feeling of those women, except the sword of

the Spirit, of which the Lord says: "I am not come to send peace but a sword." For the inmost mind cannot be penetrated by steel, but by the Spirit: "For the Spirit of understanding is holy, one only, manifold, subtle, lively," and, farther on, "overseeing all things."

37. Consider what the prophet says, that He oversees all things. And so Solomon also oversaw, so that he ordered that sword to be brought, because while pretending that he intended to divide the infant, he reflected that the true mother would have more regard for her son than for her comfort, and would set kindness before right, not right before kindness. But that she who feigned the feelings of a mother, blinded by the desire of gaining her end, would think little of the destruction of him in regard to whom she felt no outgoing of tenderness. And so that spiritual man, that he might judge all things (for he that is spiritual judgeth all things), sought in the feelings the natural disposition which was concealed in the language, and questioned tenderness that he might set forth the truth. So the mother overcame by the affection of love, which is a fruit of the Spirit.

38. He judges in a prophet, for the word of wisdom is given by the Spirit; how, then, do men deny that the Spirit can rebuke the world concerning judgment, Who removes doubt from judgment, and grants the successful issue?

39. Daniel also, unless he had received the Spirit of God, would never have been able to discover that lustful adultery, that fraudulent lie. For when Susanna, assailed by the conspiracy of the elders, saw that the mind of the people was moved by consideration for the old men, and destitute of all help, alone amongst men, conscious of her chastity she prayed God to judge; it is written: "The Lord heard her voice, when she was being led to be put to death, and the Lord raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel." And so according to the grace of the Holy Spirit received by him, he discovered the varying evidence of the treacherous, for it was none other than the operation of divine power, that his voice should make them whose inward feelings were concealed to be known.

41. Understand, then, the sacred and heavenly miracle of the Holy Spirit She who preferred to be chaste in herself, rather than in the opinion of the people, she who preferred to hazard [the reputation of] her innocence, rather than her modesty, who when she was accused was silent, when she

was condemned held her peace, content with the judgment of her own conscience, who preserved regard for her modesty even in peril, that they who were not able to force her chastity might not seem to have forced her to petulance; when she called upon the Lord, she obtained the Spirit, Who made known the hidden consciousness of the elders.

42. Let the chaste learn not to dread calumny. For she who preferred chastity to life did not suffer the loss of life, and retained the glory of chastity. So, too, Abraham, once bidden to go to foreign lands, and not being held back either by the danger to his wife's modesty, nor by the fear of death before him, preserved both his own life and his wife's chastity. So no one has ever repented of trusting God, and chastity increased devotion in Sarah, and devotion chastity.

43. And lest any one should perhaps think that, as the Scripture says, "God raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth," the Spirit in him was that of a man, not the Holy Spirit, let him read farther on, and he will find that Daniel received the Holy Spirit, and therefore prophesied. Lastly, too, the king advanced him because he had the grace of the Spirit For he speaks thus: "Thou, O Daniel, art able, forasmuch as the Holy Spirit of God is in thee." And farther on it is written: "And Daniel was set over them, because an excellent Spirit was in him." And the Spirit of Moses also was distributed to those who were to be judges.

CHAPTER 7

The Son Himself does not judge or punish without the Spirit, so that the same Spirit is called the Sword of the Word. But inasmuch as the Word is in turn called the Sword of the Spirit, the highest unity of power is thereby recognized in each.

44. BUT what should we say of the other points? We have heard that the Lord Jesus not only judges in the Spirit but punishes also. For neither would He punish Antichrist, whom, as we read, "the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth," unless He had before judged of his deserts. Yet here is not a grace received, but the unity remains undivided, since neither can Christ be without the Spirit, nor the Spirit without Christ. For the unity of the divine nature cannot be divided.

45. And since that instance comes before us. that the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, the Spirit is understood to be as it were the Sword of the Word. Lastly, in the Gospel also the Lord Jesus Himself says: “I came not to send peace but a sword.” For He came that He might give the Spirit; and so there is in His mouth a two-edged sword, which is in truth the grace of the Spirit So the Spirit is the Sword of the Word.

46. And that you may know that there is no inequality but unity of nature, the Word also is the Sword of the Holy Spirit, for it is written: “Taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of Salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.”

47. Since, then, the Sword of the Word is the Holy Spirit, and the Sword of the Holy Spirit is the Word of God, there is certainly in Them oneness of power.

CHAPTER 8

The aforesaid unity is proved hereby, that as the Father is said to be grieved and tempted, so too the Son. The Son was also tempted in the wilderness, where a figure of the cross was set up in the brazen serpent: but the Apostle says that the Spirit also was there tempted. St. Ambrose infers from this that the Israelites were guided into the promised land by the same Spirit, and that His will and power are one with those of the Father and the Son.

48. And we may behold this unity also in other passages of the Scriptures. For whereas Ezekiel says to the people of the Jews: “And thou hast grieved Me in all these things, saith the Lord;” Paul says to the new people in his Epistle: “Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in Whom ye were sealed.” Again, whereas Isaiah says of the Jews themselves: “But they believed not, but grieved the Holy Spirit;” David says of God: “They grieved the Most High in the desert, and tempted God in their hearts.”

49. Understand also that whereas Scripture in other places says that the Spirit was tempted, and that God was tempted, it says also that Christ was tempted; for you have the Apostle saying to the Corinthians:

“Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, and perished by serpents.” Just was the punishment that the adversaries should feel the venom, who had not venerated the Maker.

50. And well did the Lord ordain that by the lifting up of the brazen serpent the wounds of those who were bitten should be healed; for the brazen serpent is a type of the Cross; for although in His flesh Christ was lifted up, yet in Him was the Apostle crucified to the world and the world to him; for he says: “The world hath been crucified unto me, and I unto the world.” “So the world was crucified in its allurements, and therefore not a real but a brazen serpent was hanged; because the Lord took on Him the likeness of a sinner, in the truth. indeed, of His Body, but without the truth of sin, that imitating a serpent through the deceitful appearance of human weakness, having laid aside the slough of the flesh, He might destroy the cunning of the true serpent. And therefore in the Cross of the Lord, which came to man’s help in avenging temptation, I, who accept the medicine of the Trinity, recognize in the wicked the offense against the Trinity.

51. Therefore when you find in the book of Moses, that the Lord being tempted sent serpents on the people of the Jews, it is necessary that you either confess the Unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Divine Majesty, or certainly when the writing of the Apostle says that the Spirit was tempted, it undoubtedly pointed out the Spirit by the name of Lord. But the Apostle writing to the Hebrews says that the Spirit was tempted, for you find this: “Wherefore the Holy Ghost saith this: Today if ye shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts, like as in the provocation in the day of temptation in the wilderness, where your fathers tempted Me, proved Me, and saw My works. Forty years was I near to this generation and said: They do alway err in their heart; but they did not know My ways, as I sware in My wrath, If they shall enter into My rest.”

52. Therefore, according to the Apostle, the Spirit was tempted. If He was tempted, He also certainly was guiding the people of the Jews into the land of promise, as it is written: “For He led them through the deep, as a horse through the wilderness, and they labored not, and like the cattle through the plain. The Spirit came down from the Lord and guided them.” And He certainly ministered to them the calm rain of heavenly food, He

with fertile shower made fruitful that daily harvest which earth had not brought forth, and husbandman had not sown.

53. Now let us look at these points one by one. God had promised rest to the Jews; the Spirit calls that rest His. God the Father relates that He was tempted by the unbelieving, and the Spirit says that He was tempted by the same, for the temptation is one wherewith the one Godhead of the Trinity was tempted by the unbelieving. God condemns the people of the Jews, so that they cannot attain to the land flowing with milk and honey, that is, to the rest of the resurrection; and the Spirit condemns them by the same decree: “If they shall enter into My rest.” It is, then, the decree of one Will, the excellency of one Power.

CHAPTER 9

That the Holy Spirit is provoked is proved by the words of St. Peter, in which it is shown that the Spirit of God is one and the same as the Spirit of the Lord, both by other passages and by reference to the sentence of the same Apostle on Ananias and Sapphira, whence it is argued that the union of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, as well as His own Godhead, is proved.

54. Perhaps, however, some one might say that this passage cannot be specially applied to the Holy Spirit, had not the same Apostle Peter taught us in another place that the Holy Ghost can be tempted by our sins, for you find that the wife of Ananias is thus addressed: “Why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?” For the Spirit of the Lord is the very Spirit of God; for there is one Holy Spirit, as also the Apostle Paul taught, saying: “But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His.” He first mentioned the Spirit of God and immediately adds that the Same is the Spirit of Christ. And having spoken of the Spirit, that we might understand that where the Holy Spirit is there is Christ, he added: “But if Christ be in you.”

55. Then, in the same way as we here understand that where the Spirit is there also is Christ; so also, elsewhere, he shows that where Christ is, there also is the Holy Spirit. For having said: “Do ye seek a proof of

Christ Who speaketh in me?” he says elsewhere: “For I think that I also have the Spirit of God.” The Unity, then, is inseparable, for by the testimony of Scripture where either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit is designated, there is all the fullness of the Trinity.

56. But Peter himself in the instance we have brought forward spoke first of the Holy Spirit, and then called Him the Spirit of the Lord, for you read as follows: “Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Spirit, and to deal fraudulently concerning the price of the field? While it remained did it not continue thine own, and when sold was it not in thy power? Why hast thou conceived this wickedness in thy heart? Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God.” And below he says to the wife: “Why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?”

57. First, we understand that he called the Holy Spirit the Spirit of the Lord. Then, since he mentioned first the Holy Spirit and added: “Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God,” you must necessarily either understand the oneness of the Godhead in the Holy Spirit, since when the Holy Spirit is tempted a lie is told to God; or, if you endeavor to exclude the oneness of the Godhead, you yourself according to the words of Scripture certainly believe Him to be God.

58. For if we understand that these expressions are used both of the Spirit and of the Father, we certainly observe the unity of truth and knowledge in God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for falsehood is discovered alike by the Holy Spirit and by God the Father. But if we have received each truth concerning the Spirit, why do you, faithless man, attempt to deny what you read? Confess, then, either the oneness of the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, or the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. Whichever you say, you will have said each in God, for both the Unity upholds the Godhead and the Godhead the Unity.

CHAPTER 10

The Divinity of the Holy Spirit is supported by a passage of St. John. This passage was, indeed, erased by heretics, but it is a vain attempt, since their faithlessness could thereby more easily be convicted, The order of the context is considered in order that this

passage may be shown to refer to the Spirit. He is born of the Spirit who is born again of the same Spirit, of Whom Christ Himself is believed to have been born and born again. Again, the Godhead of the Spirit is inferred from two testimonies of St. John; and lastly, it is explained how the Spirit, the water, and the blood are called witnesses.

59. Nor does the Scripture in this place alone bear witness to the θεότης, that is, the Godhead of the Holy Spirit; but also the Lord Himself said in the Gospel: "The Spirit is God." Which passage you, Arians, so expressly testify to be said concerning the Spirit, that you remove it from your copies, and would that it were from yours and not also from those of the Church! For at the time when Auxentius had seized the Church of Milan with the arms and forces of impious unbelief, the Church of Sirmium was attacked by Valens and Ursatius, when their priests [i.e. bishops] failed in faith; this falsehood and sacrilege of yours was found in the ecclesiastical books. And it may chance that you did the same in the past.

60. And you have indeed been able to blot out the letters, but could not remove the faith. That erasure betrayed you more. that erasure condemned you more; and you were not able to obliterate the truth, but that erasure blotted out your names from the book of life. Why was the passage removed, "For God is a Spirit," if it did not pertain to the Spirit? For if you will have it that the expression is used of God the Father, you, who think it should be erased, deny, in consequence, God the Father. Choose which you will, in each the snare of your own impiety will bind you if you confess yourselves to be heathen by denying either the Father or the Spirit to be God. Therefore your confession wherein you have blotted out the Word of God remains, while you fear the original.

61. You have blotted it out, indeed, in your breasts and minds, but the Word of God is not blotted out, the Holy Spirit is not blotted out, but turns away from impious minds; not grace but iniquity is blotted out; for it is written: "I am He, I am He that blot out thine iniquities." Lastly, Moses, making request for the people, says: "Blot me out of Thy book, if Thou sparest not this people." And yet he was not blotted out, because he had no iniquity, but grace flowed forth.

62. You are, then, convicted by your own confession that you cannot say it was done with wisdom but with cunning. For by cunning you know that you are convicted by the evidence of that passage, and that your arguments cannot apply against that testimony. For whence else could the meaning of that place be derived, since the whole tenor of the passage is concerning the Spirit?

63. Nicodemus enquires about regeneration, and the Lord replies: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And that He might show that there is one birth according to the flesh, and another according to the Spirit, He added: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of the flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit, because the Spirit is God." Follow out the whole course of the passage, and you will find that God has shut out your impiety by the fullness of His statement: "Marvel not," says He, "that I said, Ye must be born again. The Spirit breatheth where He listeth, and thou hearest His voice, but knowest not whence He cometh or whither He goeth, so is every one who is born of the Spirit."

64. Who is he who is born of the Spirit, and is made Spirit, but he who is renewed in the Spirit of his mind? This certainly is he who is regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit, since we receive the hope of eternal life through the layer of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit. And elsewhere the Apostle Peter says: "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit." For who is he that is baptized with the Holy Spirit but he who is born again through water and the Holy Spirit? Therefore the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And therefore He declared that we are born of Him in the latter case, through Whom He said that we were born in the former. This is the sentence of the Lord; I rest on what is written, not on argument.

65. I ask, however, why, if there be no doubt that we are born again by the Holy Spirit, there should be any doubt that we are born of the Holy Spirit, since the Lord Jesus Himself was both born and born again of the Holy Spirit. And if you confess that He was born of the Holy Spirit, because you are not able to deny it, but deny that He was born again, it is great folly to confess what is peculiar to God, and deny what is common to

men. And therefore that is well said to you which was said to the Jews: "If I told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?"

66. And yet we find each passage so written in Greek, that He said not, through the Spirit, but of the Spirit. For it stands thus: ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος χαι Πνεύματος, that is, of water and the Spirit. Therefore, since one ought not to doubt that "that which is born of the Spirit" is written of the Holy Spirit; there is no doubt but that the Holy Spirit also is God, according to that which is written, "the Spirit is God."

67. But the same Evangelist, that he might make it plain that he wrote this concerning the Holy Spirit, says elsewhere: "Jesus Christ came by water and blood, not in the water only, but by water and blood. And the Spirit beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth; for there are three witnesses, the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one."

68. Hear how they are witnesses: The Spirit renews the mind, the water is serviceable for the layer, and the blood refers to the price. For the Spirit made us children by adoption, the water of the sacred Font washed us, the blood of the Lord redeemed us. So we obtain one invisible and one visible testimony in a spiritual sacrament, for "the Spirit Himself beareth witness to our spirit." Though the fullness of the sacrament be in each, yet there is a distinction of office; so where there is distinction of office, there certainly is not equality of witness.

CHAPTER 11

The objection has been made, that the words of St. John, "The Spirit is God," are to be referred to God the Father; since Christ afterwards declares that God is to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth. The answer is, first, that by the word Spirit is sometimes meant spiritual grace; next, it is shown that, if they insist that the Person of the Holy Spirit is signified by the words "in Spirit," and therefore deny that adoration is due to Him, the argument tells equally against the Son; and since numberless passages prove that He is to be worshipped, we understand from this that the same rule

is to be laid down as regards the Spirit. Why are we commanded to fall down before His footstool? Because by this is signified the Lord's Body, and as the Spirit was the Maker of this, it follows that He is to be worshipped, and yet it does not accordingly follow that Mary is to be worshipped. Therefore the worship of the Spirit is not done away with, but His union with the Father is expressed, when it is said that the Father is to be worshipped in Spirit, and this point is supported by similar expressions.

69. But perhaps reference may be made to the fact that in a later passage of the same book, the Lord again said that God is Spirit, but spoke of God the Father. For you have this passage in the Gospel: "The hour now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and truth, for such also doth the Father seek. God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in Spirit and truth." By this passage you wish not only to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but also, from God being worshipped in Spirit, deduce a subjection of the Spirit.

70. To which point I will briefly answer that Spirit is often put for the grace of the Spirit, as the Apostle also said: "For the Spirit Himself intercedeth for us with groanings which cannot be uttered;" that is, the grace of the Spirit, unless perchance you have been able to hear the groanings of the Holy Spirit. Therefore here too God is worshipped, not in the wickedness of the heart, but in the grace of the Spirit. "For into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter," because "no one can call Jesus Lord but in the Holy Spirit." And immediately he adds: "Now there are diversities of gifts."

71. Now this cannot pertain to the fullness, nor to the dividing of the Spirit; for neither does the mind of man grasp His fullness, nor is He divided into any portions of Himself; but He pours into [the soul] the gift of spiritual grace, in which God is worshipped as He is also worshipped in truth, for no one worships Him except he who drinks in the truth of His Godhead with pious affection. And he certainly does not apprehend Christ as it were personally, nor the Holy Spirit personally.

72. Or if you think that this is said as it were personally of Christ and of the Spirit, then God is worshipped in truth in like manner as He is worshipped in Spirit. There is therefore either a like subjection, which God

forbid that you should believe, and the Son is not worshipped; or, which is true, there is a like grace of Unity, and the Spirit is worshipped.

73. Let us then here draw our inferences and put an end to the impious questionings of the Arians. For if they say that the Spirit is therefore not to be worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit, let them then say that the Truth is not to be worshipped, because God is worshipped in truth. For although there be many truths, since it is written: “Truths are minished from the sons of men;” yet they are given by the Divine Truth, which is Christ, Who says: “I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.” If therefore they understand the truth in this passage from custom, let them also understand the grace of the Spirit, and there is no stumbling; or if they receive Christ as the Truth, let them deny that He is to be worshipped.

74. But they are refuted by the acts of the pious, and by the course of the Scriptures. For Mary worshipped Christ, and therefore is appointed to be the messenger of the Resurrection to the apostles, loosening the hereditary bond, and the huge offense of womankind. For this the Lord wrought mystically, “that where sin had exceedingly abounded, grace might more exceedingly abound.” And rightly is a woman appointed [as messenger] to men; that she who first had brought the message of sin to man should first bring the message of the grace of the Lord.

75. And the apostles worshipped; and therefore they who bore the testimony of the faith received authority as to the faith. And the angels worshipped, of whom it is written: “And let all His angels worship Him.”

76. But they worship not only His Godhead but also His Footstool, as it is written: “And worship His footstool, for it is holy,” Or if they deny that in Christ the mysteries also of His Incarnation are to be worshipped, in which we observe as it were certain express traces of His Godhead, and certain ways of the Heavenly Word; let them read that even the apostles worshipped Him when He rose again in the glory of His Flesh.

77. Therefore if it do not at all detract from Christ, that God is worshipped in Christ, for Christ too is worshipped; it certainly also detracts nothing from the Spirit that God is worshipped in the Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped, as the Apostle has said: “We serve the Spirit

of God,” for he who serves worships also, as it is said in an earlier passage: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.”

78. But lest any one should perchance seem to elude the instance we have adduced, let us consider in what manner that which the prophet says, “Worship His Footstool,” appears to refer to the mystery of the divine Incarnation, for we must not estimate the footstool from the custom of men. For neither has God a body, neither is He other than beyond measure, that we should think a footstool was laid down as a support for His feet. And we read that nothing besides God is to be worshipped, for it is written: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.” How, then, should the prophet, brought up under the Law, and instructed in the Law, give a precept against the Law? The question, then, is not unimportant, and so let us more diligently consider what the footstool is. For we read elsewhere: “The heaven is My throne, and the earth the footstool of My feet.” But the earth is not to be worshipped by us, for it is a creature of God.

79. Let us, however, see whether the prophet does not say that that earth is to be worshipped which the Lord Jesus took upon Him in assuming flesh. And so, by foot-stool is understood earth, but by the earth the Flesh of Christ, which we this day also adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles, as we said above, adored in the Lord Jesus; for Christ is not divided but is one; nor, when He is adored as the Son of God, is He denied to have been born of the Virgin. Since, then, the mystery of the Incarnation is to be adored, and the Incarnation is the work of the Spirit, as it is written, “The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, and that Holy Thing Which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God,” without doubt the Holy Spirit also is to be adored, since He Who according to the flesh was born of the Holy Spirit is adored.

80. And let no one divert this to the Virgin Mary; Mary was the temple of God, not the God of the temple. And therefore He alone is to be worshipped Who was working in His temple.

81. It makes, then, nothing against our argument that God is worshipped in Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped. Although if we consider the words themselves, what else ought we to understand in the Father, the

Son, and the Holy Spirit, but the unity of the same power. For what is "must worship in Spirit and in truth"? If, however, you do not refer this to the grace of the Spirit, nor the true faith of conscience; but, as we said, personally (if indeed this word person is fit to express the Divine Majesty), you must take it of Christ and of the Spirit.

82. What means, then, the Father is worshipped in Christ, except that the Father is in Christ, and the Father speaks in Christ, and the Father abides in Christ. Not, indeed, as a body in a body, for God is not a body; nor as a confused mixture [confusus in confuso], but as the true in the true, God in God, Light in Light; as the eternal Father in the co-eternal Son. So not an ingrafting of a body is meant, but unity of power. Therefore, by unity of power, Christ is jointly worshipped in the Father when God the Father is worshipped in Christ. In like manner, then, by unity of the same power the Spirit is jointly worshipped in God, when God is worshipped in the Spirit.

83. Let us investigate the force of that word and expression more diligently, and deduce its proper meaning from other passages. "Thou hast," it is said, "made them all in wisdom." Do we here understand that Wisdom was without a share in the things that were made? But "all things were made by Him." And David says: "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established." So, then, he himself who calls the Son of God the maker even of heavenly things, has also plainly said that all things were made in the Son, that in the renewal of His works He might by no means separate the Son from the Father, but unite Him to the Father.

84. Paul, too, says: "For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in the earth, Visible and invisible." Does he, then, when he says, "in Him," deny that they were made through Him? Certainly he did not deny but affirmed it. And further he says in another place: "One Lord Jesus, through Whom are all things." In saying, then, "through Him," has he denied that all things were made in Him, through Whom he says that all things exist? These words, "in Him" and "with Him," have this force, that by them is understood one and like in all respects, not contrary. Which he also made clear farther on, saying: "All things have been created through Him and in Him;" for, as we said above, Scripture witnesses that these three expressions, "with Him," and "through Him," and "in Him," are

equivalent in Christ. For you read that all things were made through Him and in Him.

85. Learn also that the Father was with Him, and He with the Father, when all things were being made. Wisdom says: “When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, when He was making the fountains of waters.” And in the Old Testament the Father, by saying, “Let Us make,” showed that the Son was to be worshipped with Himself as the Maker of all things. As, then, those things are said to have been created in the Son, of which the Son is received as the Creator; so, too, when God is said to be worshipped in truth by the proper meaning of the word itself often expressed after the same manner it ought to be understood, that the Son too is worshipped. So in like manner is the Spirit also worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit, Therefore the Father is worshipped both with the Son and with the Spirit, because the Trinity is worshipped.

CHAPTER 12

From the fact that St. Paul has shown that the light of the Godhead which the three apostles worshipped in Christ is in the Trinity, it is made clear that the Spirit also is to be worshipped. It is shown from the words themselves that the Spirit is intended by the apostles. The Godhead of the same Spirit is proved from the fact that He has a temple wherein He dwells not as a priest, but as God: and is worshipped with the Father and the Son; whence is understood the oneness of nature in Them.

86. BUT does any one deny that the Godhead of the eternal Trinity is to be worshipped? whereas the Scriptures also express the inexplicable Majesty of the Divine Trinity, as the Apostle says elsewhere: “Since God, Who said that light should shine out of darkness, shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”

87. The apostles truly saw this glory, when the Lord Jesus on the mount shone with the light of His Godhead: “The apostles,” it says, “saw it and fell on their face.” Do not you think that they even, as they fell, worshipped, when they could not with their bodily eyes endure the brightness of the divine splendor, and the glory of eternal light dulled the

keenness of mortal sight? Or what else did they who saw His glory say at that time, except, “O come let us worship and fall down before Him”? For “God shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.”

88. Who is He, then, Who shined that we might know God in the face of Jesus Christ? For he said, “God shined,” that the glory of God might be known in the face of Jesus Christ. Whom else do we think but the manifested Spirit? Or who else is there besides the Holy Spirit to Whom the power of the Godhead may be referred? For they who exclude the Spirit must necessarily bring in another, who may with the Father and the Son receive the glory of the Godhead.

89. Let us then go back to the same words: “It is God Who shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.” You have Christ plainly set forth. For Whose glory is said to give light but that of the Spirit? So, then, he set forth God Himself, since he spoke of the glory of God; if of the Father, it remains that “He who said that light should shine out of darkness, and shine in our hearts,” be understood to be the Holy Spirit, for we cannot venerate any other with the Father and the Son. If, then, you understand the Spirit, Him also has the Apostle called God; it is necessary, then, that you also confess the Godhead of the Spirit, who now deny it.

90. But how shamelessly do you deny this, since you have read that the Holy Spirit has a temple. For it is written: “Ye are the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.” Now God has a temple, a creature has no true temple. But the Spirit, Who dwelleth in us, has a temple. For it is written: “Your members are temples of the Holy Spirit.”

91. But He does not dwell in the temple as a priest, nor as a minister, but as God, since the Lord Jesus Himself said: “I will dwell in them, and will walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be My people.” And David says: “The Lord is in His holy temple.” Therefore the Spirit dwells in His holy temple, as the Father dwells and as the Son dwells, Who says: “I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with him.”

92. But the Father abides in us through the Spirit, Whom He has given us. How, then, can different natures abide together? Certainly it is impossible. But the Spirit abides with the Father and the Son. Whence, too, the Apostle joined the Communion of the Holy Spirit with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, saying: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all."

91. We observe, then, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit abide in one and the same [subject] through the oneness of the same nature. Therefore, He Who dwells in the temple has divine power, for as of the Father and of the Son, so are we also the temple of the Holy Spirit; not many temples, but one temple, for it is the temple of one Power.

CHAPTER 13

To those who object that Catholics, when they ascribe Godhead to the Holy Spirit, introduce three Gods, it is answered, that by the same argument they themselves bring in two Gods, unless they deny Godhead to the Son; after which the orthodox doctrine is set forth.

92. BUT what do you fear? Is it that which you have been accustomed to carp at? lest you should make three Gods. God forbid; for where the Godhead is understood as one, one God is spoken of. For neither when we call the Son God do we say there are two Gods. For if, when you confess the Godhead of the Spirit, you think that three Gods are spoken of, then, too, when you speak of the Godhead of the Son because you are not able to deny it, you bring in two Gods. For it is necessary according to your opinion, if you think that God is the name of one person, not of one nature, that you either say that there are two Gods, or deny that the Son is God.

93. But let us free you from the charge of ignorance, though we do not excuse you from fault For according to our opinion, because there is one God, one Godhead and oneness of power is understood. For as we say that there is one God, confessing the Father, and not denying the Son under the true Name of the Godhead; so, too, we exclude not the Holy Spirit from the Unity of the Godhead, and do not assert but deny that

there are three Gods, because it is not unity but a division of power which makes plurality. For how can the Unity of the Godhead admit of plurality, seeing that plurality is of numbers, but the Divine Nature does not admit numbers?

CHAPTER 14

Besides the evidence adduced above, other passages can be brought to prove the sovereignty of the Three Persons. Two are quoted from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and by collating other testimonies of the Scriptures it is shown that in them dominion is claimed for the Spirit as for the other Persons. Then, by quotation of another still more express passage in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, it is inferred both that the Spirit is Lord, and that where the Lord is, there is the Spirit.

94. God, then, is One, without violation of the majesty of the eternal Trinity, as is declared in the instance set before us. And not in that place alone do we see the Trinity expressed in the Name of the Godhead; but both in many places, as we have said also above, and especially in the epistles which the Apostle wrote to the Thessalonians, he most clearly set forth the Godhead and sovereignty of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For you read as follows: "The Lord make you to increase and abound In love one toward another, and toward all men, as we also do toward you, to the stablishing of your hearts without blame in holiness before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus."

95. Who, then, is the Lord Who makes us to increase and abound before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus? He has named the Father and has named the Son; Whom, then, has he joined with the Father and the Son except the Spirit? Who is the Lord Who establishes our hearts in holiness. For holiness is a grace of the Spirit, as, too, is said farther on: "In holiness of the Spirit and belief of the truth."

96. Who, then, do you think is here named Lord, except the Spirit? And has not God the Father been able to teach you, Who says: "Upon Whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizeth in the Holy Spirit"? For the Spirit descended in

the likeness of a dove, that He might both bear witness to His wisdom, and perfect the sacrament of the spiritual layer, and show that His working is one with that of the Father and the Son.

97. And that you should not suppose that anything had fallen from the Apostle by oversight, but that he knowingly and designedly and inspired by the Spirit designated Him Lord, Whom he felt to be God, he repeated the same in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, saying: “But the Lord direct your hearts in the love of God and in the patience of Christ.” If love be of God and patience of Christ, it ought to be shown Who is the Lord Who directs, if we deny that the direction is of the Holy Spirit.

98. But we cannot deny it, since the Lord said of Him: “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He will lead you into all truth.” And David says of Him: “Thy good Spirit shall lead me into the right way.”

99. See what the voice of the Lord uttered concerning the Holy Spirit. The Son of God came, and because He had not yet shed forth the Spirit, He declared that we were living like little children without the Spirit. He said that the Spirit was to come Who should make of these little children stronger men, by an increase, namely, of spiritual age. And this He laid down not that He might set the power of the Spirit in the first place, but that He might show that the fullness of strength consists in the knowledge of the Trinity.

100. It is therefore necessary either that you mention some fourth person besides the Spirit of whom you ought to be conscious, or assuredly that you do not consider another to be Lord, except the Spirit Who has been pointed out.

101. But if you require the plain statement of the words in which Scripture has spoken of the Spirit as Lord, it cannot have escaped you that it is written: “Now the Lord is the Spirit.” Which the course of the whole passage shows to have been certainly said of the Holy Spirit. And so let us consider the apostolic statement: “As often as Moses is read,” says he, “a veil is laid over their heart; but when they shall be turned to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit; but where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

102. So he not only called the Spirit Lord, but also added: "But where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. So we all with unveiled face, reflecting the glory of the Lord, are formed anew into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord the Spirit;" that is, we who have been before converted to the Lord, so as by spiritual understanding to see the glory of the Lord, as it were, in the minor of the Scriptures, are now being transformed from that glory which converted us to the Lord, to the heavenly glory. Therefore since it is the Lord to Whom we are converted, but the Lord is that Spirit by Whom we are formed anew, who are converted to the Lord, assuredly the Holy Ghost is pointed out, for He Who forms anew receives those who are converted. For how should He form again those whom He had not received.

103. Though why should we seek for the expression of words, where we see the expression of unity? For although you may distinguish between Lord and Spirit, you cannot deny that where the Lord is, there too is the Spirit, and he who has been converted to the Lord will have been converted to the Spirit. If you cavil at the letter, you cannot injure the Unity; if you wish to separate the Unity, you confess the Spirit Himself as the Lord of power.

CHAPTER 15

Though the Spirit be called Lord, three Lords are not thereby implied; inasmuch as two Lords are not implied by the fact that the Son in the same manner as the Father is called Lord in many passages of Scripture; for Lordship exists in the Godhead, and the Godhead in Lordship, and these coincide without division in the Three Persons.

104. BUT perhaps, again, you may say: If I call the Spirit Lord, I shall set forth three Lords. Do you then when you call the Son Lord either deny the Son or confess two Lords? God forbid, for the Son Himself said: "Do not serve two lords." But certainly He denied not either Himself or the Father to be Lord; for He called the Father Lord, as you read: "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth." And the Lord spoke of Himself, as we read in the Gospel: "Ye call Me Master and Lord, and ye do well, for so I

am.” But He spoke not of two Lords; indeed He shows that He did not speak of two Lords, when He warns them: “Do not serve two lords.” For there are not two Lords where the Lordship is but one, for the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, and so there is one Lord.

105. Such, too, was the teaching of the Law: “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord,” that is, unchangeable, always abiding in unity of power, always the same, and not altered by any accession or diminution. Therefore Moses called Him One, and yet also relates that the Lord rained down fire from the Lord. The Apostle, too, says: “The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord.” The Lord rains down from the Lord; the Lord grants mercy from the Lord. The Lord is neither divided when He rains from the Lord, nor is there a separation when He grants mercy from the Lord, but in each case the oneness of the Lordship is expressed.

106. In the Psalms, too, you find: “The Lord said unto my Lord.” And he did not therefore deny that the Father was his Lord, because he spoke of the Son as his Lord; but therefore called the Son his Lord, that you might not think Him to be the Son, but the Lord of the prophet, as the Lord Himself showed in the Gospel, when He said: “If David in the Spirit called Him Lord, how is he his Son?” David, not the Spirit, calls Him Lord in the Spirit. Or if they falsely infer from this that the Spirit called Him Lord, they must necessarily by a like sacrilege seem to assert that the Son of God is also the Son of the Spirit.

107. So, as we do not say that there are two Lords, when we so style both the Father and the Son, so, too, we do not say that there are three Lords, when we confess the Spirit to be Lord. For as it is profane to say that there are three Lords or three Gods, so, too, is it utter profanity to speak of two Lords or two Gods; for there is one God, one Lord, one Holy Spirit; and He Who is God is Lord, and He Who is Lord is God, for the Godhead is in the Lordship, and the Lordship is in the Godhead.

108. Lastly, you have read that the Father is both Lord and God: “O Lord my God, I will call upon Thee, hear Thou me.” You find the Son to be both Lord and God, as you have read in the Gospel, that, when Thomas had touched the side of Christ, he said, “My Lord and my God.” So in like manner as the Father is God and the Son Lord, so too the Son is God and the Father Lord. The holy designation changes from one to the other, the

divine nature changes not, but the dignity remains unchangeable. For they are not [as it were] contributions gathered from bounty, but free-will gifts of natural love; for both Unity has its special property, and the special properties are bound together in unity.

CHAPTER 16

The Father is holy, and likewise the Son and the Spirit, and so They are honored in the same Trisagion: nor can we speak more worthily of God than by calling Him Holy; whence it is clear that we must not derogate from the dignity of the Holy Spirit. In Him is all which pertains to God, since in baptism He is named with the Father and the Son, and the Father has given to Him to be greater than all, nor can any one deprive Him of this. And so from the very passage of St. John which heretics used against His dignity, the equality of the Trinity and the Unity of the Godhead is established. Lastly, after explaining how the Son receives from the Father, St. Ambrose shows how various heresies are refuted by the passage cited.

109. So, then, the Father is holy, the Son is holy, and the Spirit is holy, but they are not three Holies; for there is one Holy God, one Lord. For the true holiness is one, as the true Godhead is one, as that true holiness belonging to the Divine Nature is one.

110. So everything which we esteem holy proclaims that Sole Holiness. Cherubim and Seraphim with unwearied voices praise Him and say: “Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth.” They say it, not once, lest you should believe that there is but one; not twice, lest you should exclude the Spirit; they say not holies [in the plural], lest you should imagine that there is plurality, but they repeat thrice and say the same word, that even in a hymn you may understand the distinction of Persons in the Trinity, and the oneness of the Godhead and while they say this they proclaim God.

111. We too find nothing of more worth, whereby we are able to proclaim God, than the calling Him holy. Everything is too low for God, too low for the Lord. And therefore consider from this fact also whether one ought at

all to derogate from the Holy Spirit, whose Name is the praise of God. For thus is the Father praised, thus is the Son also praised, in the same manner as the Spirit also is named and praised. The Seraphim utter praise, the whole company of the blessed utter praise, inasmuch as they call God holy, the Son holy, the Spirit holy.

112. How, then, does He not possess all that pertains to God, Who is named by priests in baptism with the Father and the Son, and is invoked in the oblations, is proclaimed by the Seraphim in heaven with the Father and the Son, dwells in the Saints with the Father and the Son, is poured upon the just, is given as the source of inspiration to the prophets? And for this reason in the divine Scripture all is called because God inspires what the Spirit has spoken.

113. Or if they are unwilling to allow that the Holy Spirit has all things which pertain to God, and can do all things, let them say what He has not, and what He cannot do. For like as the Son has all things, and the Father grudges not to give all things to the Son according to His nature, having given to Him that which is greater than all, as the Scripture bears witness, saying: "That which My Father hath given unto Me is greater than all." So too the Spirit has of Christ that which is greater than all, because righteousness knows not grudging.

114. So, then, if we attend diligently, we comprehend here also the oneness of the Divine Power. He says: "That which My Father hath given unto Me is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of My Father's hand. I and the Father are One." For if we rightly showed above that the Holy Spirit is the Hand of the Father, the same is certainly the Hand of the Father which is the Hand of the Son, since the Same is the Spirit of the Father Who is the Spirit of the Son. Therefore whosoever of us receives eternal life in this Name of the Trinity, as he is not torn from the Father; so he is not torn from the Son, so too he is not torn from the Spirit.

115. Again, from the very fact that the Father is said to have given to the Son, and the Spirit to have received from the Son, as it is written: "He shall glorify Me, for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you"(which He seems to have said rather of the office of distributing, than of the prerogative of Divine Power, for those whom the Son redeemed the Spirit

also, Who was to sanctify them, received), from those very words, I say, from which they construct their sophistry, the Unity of the Godhead is perceived, not the need of a gift.

116. The Father gave by begetting, not by adoption; He gave as it were that which was contained in the very prerogative of the Divine Nature, not what was lacking as it were by favor of His bounty. And so because the Son acquires persons to Himself as the Father does; so gives life as does the Father, He expressed His equality with the Father in the Unity of Power, saying: “I and the Father are One.” For when He says, “I and the Father,” equality is revealed; when He says, “are One,” Unity is asserted. Equality excludes confusion; Unity excludes separation. Equality distinguishes between the Father and the Son; Unity does not separate the Father and the Son.

117. Therefore, when He says, “I and the Father,” He rejects the Sabellian, for He says that He is one, the Father another; He rejects the Photinian, for He joins Himself with God the Father. With the former words He rejects those, for He said: “I and the Father;” with the latter words He rejects the Arians, for He says: “are One.” Yet in both the former and the latter words He refutes the heretical violence of the Sabellians, for He said: “We are One [Substance],” not “We are One [Person].” And of the Arians, for He said: “I and the Father,” not “the Father and I.” Which was certainly not a sign of rudeness, but of dutifulness and foreknowledge, that we might not think wrongly from the order of the words, For unity knows no order equality knows no gradation; nor can it be laid to the Son of God that the Teacher Himself of dutifulness should offend against dutifulness by rudeness.

CHAPTER 17

St. Ambrose shows by instances that the places in which those words were spoken help to the understanding of the words of the Lord; he shows that Christ uttered the passage quoted from St. John in Solomon’s porch, by which is signified the mind of a wise man, for he says that Christ would not have uttered this saying in the heart of a foolish or contentious man. He goes on to say that

Christ is stoned by those who believe not these words, and as the keys of heaven were given to Peter for his confession of them, so Iscariot, because he believed not the same, perished evilly. He takes this opportunity to inveigh against the Jews who bought the Son of God and sold Joseph. He explains the price paid for each mystically; and having in the same manner expounded the murmuring of the traitor concerning Magdalene's ointment, he adds that Christ is bought in one way by heretics in another way by Catholics, and that those in vain take to themselves the name of Christians who sever the Spirit from the Father.

118. It is worth while to notice in what place the Lord held this discussion, for His utterances are often [better] estimated by the kind of places in which He conversed. When about to fast, He is led(as we read) into the wilderness to render vain the devil's temptations. For although it deserves praise to have lived temperately in the midst of abundance, yet the enticements of temptation are more frequent amongst riches and pleasures. Then the tempter, in order to try Him, promises Him abundance, and the Lord in order to overcome cherishes hunger. Now I do not deny that temperance can exist in the midst of riches; but although he who navigates the sea often escapes, yet he is more exposed to peril than he who will not go to sea.

119. Let us consider some other points. When about to promise the kingdom of heaven, Jesus went up into a mountain. At another time He leads His disciples through the corn-fields, when about to sow in their minds the crop of heavenly precepts. so that a plentiful harvest of souls should ripen. When about to consummate the work of the flesh which He had taken, having now seen perfection in His disciples, whom He had established upon the root of His words, He enters a garden, that He might plant the young olive-trees in the house of the Lord, and that He might water the just flourishing like a palm-tree, and the fruitful vine with the stream of His Blood.

120. In this passage too He was walking, as we read, in Solomon's porch on the day' of the dedication, that is, Christ was walking in the breast of the wise and prudent, to dedicate his good affection to Himself. What that porch was the prophet teaches, saying: "I will walk in the midst of Thy

house in the innocency of my heart.” So, then, we have in our own selves the house of God, we have the halls, we have also the porches, and we have the cents, for it is written: “Let thy waters flow abroad in thy courts.” Open, then, this porch of thy heart to the Word of God, Who says to thee: “Open thy mouth wide and I will fill it.”

121. Let us, therefore, hear what the Word of God, walking in the heart of the wise and peaceful, says: “I and My Father are One.” He will not say this in the ‘breast of the unquiet and foolish, for “the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him.” The narrow breasts of sinners do not take in the greatness of the faith. Lastly, the Jews hearing, “I and the Father are One, took up stones to stone Him.”

122. He who cannot listen to this is a Jew; he who cannot listen to this stones Christ with the stones of his treachery, rougher than any rock, and if you believe me, he wounds Christ. For although He cannot now feel a wound: “For now henceforth we know not Christ after the flesh,” yet He Who rejoices in the love of the Church is stoned by the impiety of the Arians.

123. “The law of Thy mouth, O Lord, is good unto me, I keep Thy commandments.” Thou hast Thyself said that Thou art one with the Father. Because Peter believed this, he received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and without anxiety for himself forgave sins. Judas, because he believed not this, strangled himself with the cord of his own wickedness. O the hard stones of unbelieving words! O the unseemly cord of the betrayer, and the still more hideous purchase-money of the Jews! O hateful money wherewith either the just is bought for death, or sold! Joseph was sold, Jesus Christ was bought, the one to slavery, the Other to death. O detestable inheritance, O deadly sale, which either sells a brother to suffering or sets a price on the Lord to destroy Him, the Purchaser of the salvation of all.

124. The Jews did violence to two things which are chief of all, faith and duty, and in each to Christ the Author of faith and duty. For both in the patriarch Joseph was there a type of Christ, and Christ Himself came in the truth of His Body, “Who counted it not robbery that He should be equal with God, but took on Him the form of a servant,” because of our

fall, that is to say, taking slavery upon Himself and not shrinking from suffering.

125. In one place the sale is for twenty pieces, in the other for thirty. For how could His true price be apprehended, Whose value cannot be limited? There is error in the price because there is error in the inquiry. The sale is for twenty pieces in the Old Testament, for thirty in the New; for the Truth is of more value than the type, Grace is more generous than training, the Presence is better than the Law, for the Law promised the Coming, the Coming fulfilled the Law.

126. The Ishmaelites made their purchase for twenty pieces, the Jews for thirty. And this is no trivial figure. The faithless are more lavish for iniquity than the faithful for salvation. It is, however, fitting to consider the quality of each agreement. Twenty pieces are the price of him sold to slavery, thirty pieces of Him delivered to the Cross. For although the Mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Passion must be in like manner matters of amazement, yet the fulfillment of faith is in the Mystery of the Passion. I do not indeed value less the birth from the holy Virgin, but I receive even more gratefully the Mystery of the sacred Body. What is more full of mercy than that He should forgive me the wrongs done to Himself? But it is even fuller measure that He gave us so great a gift, that He Who was not to die because He was God, should die by our death, that we might live by His Spirit.

127. Lastly, it was not without meaning that Judas Iscariot valued that ointment at three hundred pence, which seems certainly by the statement of the price itself to set forth the Lord's cross. Whence, too, the Lord says: "For she, pouring this ointment on My body, did it for My burial." Why, then, did Judas value this at so high a rate? Because remission of sins is of more value to sinners, and forgiveness seems to be more precious. Lastly, you find it written: "To whom much is forgiven the same loveth more." r Therefore sinners themselves also confess the grace of the Lord's Passion which they have lost, and they bear witness to Christ who persecuted Him.

128. Or because, "into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter," the evil disposition of the traitor uttered this and he valued the suffering of the Lord's body at a dearer rate, that by the immensity of the price he might

draw all away from the faith. And therefore the Lord offered Himself without price, that the necessity of poverty might hold no one hack from Christ. The patriarchs sold Him for a small price that all might buy. Isaiah said: “Ye that have no money go buy and drink; eat ye without money,” that he might gain him who had no money. O traitor Judas, thou valuest the ointment of His Passion at three hundred pence, and sellest His Passion for thirty pence. Profuse in valuing, mean in selling.

129. So, then, all do not buy Christ at the same price; Photinus, who buys Him for death, buys Him at one price; the Arian, who buys Him to wrong Him, at another price; the Catholic, who buys Him to glorify Him, at another. But he buys Him without money according to that which is written: “He that hath no money let him buy without price.”

130. “Not all,” says Christ, “that say unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven!” Although many call themselves Christians, and make use of the name, yet not all shall receive the reward. Both Cain offered sacrifice, and Judas received the kiss, but it was said to him, “Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?” that is, thou fillest up thy wickedness with the pledge of affection, and sowest hatred with the implement of peace, and inflictest death with the outward token of love.

131. Let not, then, the Arians flatter themselves with the employment of the name, because they call themselves Christians. The Lord will answer them: You set forward My Name, and deny My Substance, but I do not recognize My Name where My eternal Godhead is not. That is not My Name which is divided from the Father, and separated from the Spirit; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My doctrine; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My Spirit. For he knows not that he is comparing the Spirit of the Father to those servants whom He created. Concerning which point we have already spoken at length.

CHAPTER 18

As he purposes to establish the Godhead of the Holy Spirit by the points already discussed, St. Ambrose touches again on some of them; for instance, that He does not commit but forgives sin; that

He is not a creature but the Creator; and lastly, that He does not offer but receives worship.

132. BUT to sum up, in order at the end more distinctly to gather up the arguments which have been used here and there, the evident glory of the Godhead is proved both by other arguments, and most especially by these four. God is known by these marks: either that He is without sin; or that He forgives sin; or that He is not a creature but the Creator; or that He does not give but receives worship.

133. So, then, no one is without sin except God alone, for no one is without sin except God. Also, no one forgives sins except God alone, for it is also written: “Who can forgive sins but God alone?” And one cannot be the Creator of all except he be not a creature, and he who is not a creature is without doubt God; for it is written: “They worshipped the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed for ever.” God also does not worship, but is worshipped, for it is written: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve.”

134. Let us therefore consider whether the Holy Spirit have any of these marks which may bear witness to His Godhead. And first let us treat of the point that none is without sin except God alone, and demand that they prove that the Holy Spirit has sin.

135. But they are unable to show us this, and demand our authority from us, namely, that we should show by texts that the Holy Spirit has not sinned, as it is said of the Son that He did no sin. Let them learn that we teach by authority of the Scriptures; for it is written: “For in Wisdom is a Spirit of understanding, holy, one only, manifold, subtle, easy to move, eloquent, undefiled.” The Scripture says He is undefiled, has it lied concerning the Son, that you should believe it to have lied concerning the Spirit? For the prophet said in the same place concerning Wisdom, that nothing that defiles enters into her. She herself is undefiled, and her Spirit is undefiled. Therefore if the Spirit have not sin, He is God.

136. But how can He be guilty of sin Who Himself forgives sins? Therefore He has not committed sin, and if He be without sin He is not a creature. For every creature is exposed to the capability of sin, and the eternal Godhead alone is free from sin and undefiled.

137. Let us now see whether the Spirit forgives sins. But on this point there can be no doubt, since the Lord Himself said: “Receive ye the Holy Spirit. Whosesoever sins ye forgive they shall be forgiven.” See that sins are forgiven through the Holy Spirit. But men make use of their ministry for the forgiveness of sins, they do not exercise the right of any power of their own. For they forgive sins not in their own name but in that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. They ask, the Godhead gives, the service is of man, the gift is of the Power on high.

138. And it is not doubtful that sin is forgiven by means of baptism, but in baptism the operation is that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, the Spirit forgives sin, since it is written, “Who can forgive sins except God alone? certainly He Who cannot be separated from the oneness of the name of the Nature is also incapable of being severed from the power of God. Now if He is not severed from the power of God, how is He severed from the name of God.

139. Let us now see whether He be a creature or the Creator. But since we have above most clearly proved Him to be the Creator, as it is written: “The Spirit of God Who hath made me;” and it has been declared that the face of the earth is renewed by the Spirit, and that all things languish without the Spirit, it is clear that the Spirit is the Creator. But who can doubt this, since, as we have shown above, not even the generation of the Lord from the Virgin, which is more excellent than all creatures, is without the operation of the Spirit?

140. Therefore the Spirit is not a creature, but the Creator, and He Who is Creator is certainly not a creature. And because He is not a creature, without doubt He is the Creator Who produces all things together with the Father and the Son. But if He be the Creator, certainly the Apostle, by saying in condemnation of the Gentiles, “Who served the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed for ever,” and by warning men, as I said above, that the Holy Spirit is to be served, both showed Him to be the Creator, and because He is the Creator demonstrated that He ought to be called God. Which he also sums up In the Epistle written to the Hebrews, saying: “For He that created all things is God.” Let them, therefore, either say what it is which has been created without the Father, Son, and Holy

Spirit, or let them confess that the Spirit also is of one Godhead with the Father and the Son.

141. The writer taught also that He was to be worshipped, Whom he called Lord and God. For He Who is the God and Lord of the Universe is certainly to be worshipped by all, for it is thus written: “Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve.”

142. Or let them say where they have read that the Spirit worships. For it is said of the Son of God: “Let all the Angels of God worship Him;” we do not read, Let the Spirit worship Him. For how can He worship Who is not amongst servants and ministers, but, together with the Father and the Son, has the service of the just under Him, for it is written: “We serve the Spirit of God.” He is, therefore, to be worshipped by us, Whom the Apostle taught that we must serve, and Whom we serve we also adore, according to that which is written, to repeat the same words again: “Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.”

143. Although the Apostle has not omitted even this point, so as to omit to teach us that the Spirit is to be worshipped. For since we have demonstrated that the Spirit is in the prophets, no one can doubt that prophecy is given by the Spirit, and plainly when He Who is in the prophets is worshipped, the same Spirit is worshipped. And so you find: “If the whole Church be assembled together, and all speak with tongues, and there come in one unlearned or unbelieving, will he not say that ye are mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one unlearned and unbelieving, he is convicted by all, he is judged by all. For the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so falling down on his face he will worship God, declaring that God is in truth among you.” It is, therefore, God Who is worshipped, God Who abides and Who speaks in the prophets; but the Spirit thus abides and speaks, therefore, also, the Spirit is worshipped.

CHAPTER 19

Having proved above that the Spirit abides and speaks in the prophets, St. Ambrose infers that He knows all things which are of God, and therefore is One with the Father and the Son. This same point he establishes again from the fact that He possesses all that

God possesses, namely, Godhead, knowledge of the heart, truth, a Name above every name, and power to raise the dead, as is proved from Ezekiel, and in this He is equal to the Son.

144. AND so as the Father and the Son are One, because the Son has all things which the Father has, so too the Spirit is one with the Father and the Son, because He too knows all the things of God. For He did not obtain it by force, so that there should be any injury as of one who had suffered loss; He did not seize it, lest the loss should be his from whom it might seem to have been plundered. For neither did He seize it through need, nor through superiority of greater power did He take it by force, but He possesses it by unity of power. Therefore, if He works all these things, for one and the same Spirit worketh all, how is He not God Who has all things which God has?

145. Or let us consider what God may have which the Holy Spirit has not. God the Father has Godhead, and the Son, too, in Whom dwells the fullness of the Godhead, has it, and the Spirit has it, for it is written: "The Spirit of God is in my nostrils."

146. God, again, searches the hearts and reins, for it is written: "God searcheth the hearts and reins." The Son also has this power, Who said, "Why think ye evil in your hearts?" For Jesus knew their thoughts. And the Spirit has the same power, Who manifests to the prophets also the secrets of the hearts of others, as we said above: "for the secrets of his heart are made manifest," And why do we wonder if He searches the hidden things of man Who searches even the deep things of God?

147. God has as an attribute that He is true for it is written: "Let God be true and every man a liar." Does the Spirit lie Who is the Spirit of Truth? and Whom we have shown to be called the Truth, since John called Him too the Truth, as also the Son? And David says in the psalm: "Send out Thy light and Thy truth, they have led me and brought me to Thy holy hill and to Thy tabernacles." If you consider that in this passage the Son is the light, then the Spirit is the Truth, or if you consider the Son to be the Truth, then the Spirit is the light,

148. God has a Name which is above every name, and has given a name to the Son, as we read that in the Name of Jesus knees should bow. Let us

consider whether the Spirit has this Name. But it is written “Go, baptize the nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” He has, then, a Name above every name. What, therefore, the Father and the Son have, the Holy Spirit also has through the oneness of the Name of His nature.

149. It is a prerogative of God to raise the dead. “For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, so the Son also quickeneth whom He will.” But the Spirit also(by Whom God raiseth) raiseth them, for it is written: “He shall quicken also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwelleth in you.” But that you may not think this a trivial grace, learn that the Spirit also raises, for the prophet Ezekiel says: “Come, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, and they shall live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet an exceeding great company.” And farther on God says: “Ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, that I may bring My people out of their graves, and I will give you My Spirit, and ye shall live.”

150. When He spoke of His Spirit, did He mention any other besides the Holy Spirit? For He would neither have spoken. of His Spirit as produced by blowing, nor could this Spirit come from the four quarters of the world, for the blowing of these winds, which we experience, is partial, not universal; and this spirit by which we live is also individual, not universal. But it is the nature of the Holy Spirit to be both over all and in all. Therefore from the words of the prophet we may see how(the flame-work of the members long since fallen asunder being scattered) the bones may come together again to the form of a revived body, when the Spirit quickens them; and the ashes may come together on the limbs belonging to them, animated by a disposition to come together before being formed anew in the appearance of living.

151. Do we not in the likeness of what is done recognize the oneness of the divine power? The Spirit raises after the same manner as the Lord raised at the time of His own Passion, when suddenly in the twinkling of an eye the graves of the dead were opened, and the bodies living again arose from the tombs, and the smell of death being removed, and the scent

of life restored, the ashes of those who were dead took again the likeness of the living.

152. So, then, the Spirit has that which Christ has, and therefore what God has, for all things which the Father has the Son also has, and therefore He said: “All things which the Father hath are Mine.”

CHAPTER 20

The river flowing from the Throne of God is a figure of the Holy Spirit, but by the waters spoken of by David the powers of heaven are intended. The kingdom of God is the work of the Spirit; and it is no matter for wonder if He reigns in this together with the Son, since St. Paul promises that we too shall reign with the Son.

153. And this, again, is not a trivial matter that we read that a river goes forth from the throne of God. For you read the words of the Evangelist John to this purport: “And He showed me a river of living water, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street thereof, and on either side, was the tree of life, bearing twelve kinds of fruits, yielding its fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of all nations.”

154. This is certainly the River proceeding from the throne of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, Whom he drinks who believes in Christ, as He Himself says: “If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. He that believeth on Me, as saith the Scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spoke He of the Spirit.” Therefore the river is the Spirit.

155. This, then, is in the throne of God, for the water washes not the throne of God. Then, whatever you may understand by that water, David said not that it was above the throne of God, but above the heavens, for it is written: “Let the waters which are above the heavens praise the Name of the Lord.” Let them praise, he says, not let it praise. For if he had intended us to understand the element of water, he would certainly have said, Let it praise, but by using the plural he intended the Powers to be understood.

156. And what wonder is it if the Holy Spirit is in the throne of God, since the kingdom of God itself is the work of the Holy Spirit, as it is written: “For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.” And when the Savior Himself says, “Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed,” by adding afterwards, “But if I, by the Spirit of God, cast out devils, without doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.” He shows that the kingdom of God is held undivided by Himself and by the Spirit.

157. But what is more foolish than for any one to deny that the Holy Spirit reigns together with Christ when the Apostle says that even we shall reign together with Christ in the kingdom of Christ: “If we are dead with Him, we shall also live with Him; if we endure, we shall also reign with Him.” But we by adoption, He by power; we by grace, He by nature.

158. The Holy Spirit, therefore, shares in the kingdom with the Father and the Son, and He is of one nature with Them, of one Lordship, and also of one power.

CHAPTER 21

Isaiah was sent by the Spirit, and accordingly the same Spirit was seen by him. What is meant by the revolving wheels, and the divers wings, and how since the Spirit is proclaimed Lord of Sabaoth by the Seraphim, certainly none but impious men can deny Him this title.

159. SINCE, then, He has a share in the kingdom, what hinders us from understanding that it was the Holy Spirit by Whom Isaiah was sent? For on the authority of Paul we cannot doubt, whose judgment the Evangelist Luke so much approved in the Acts of the Apostles as to write as follows in Paul’s words: “Well spake the Holy Spirit through Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying: Go to this people and say, Ye shall hear with the ear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive.”

160. It is, then, the Spirit Who sent Isaiah. If the Spirit sent him, it is certainly the Spirit Whom, after Uzziah’s death, Isaiah saw, when he said: “I saw the Lord of Sabaoth sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and

the house was full of His majesty. And the Seraphim stood round about Him, each one had six wings, and with two they were covering His face, and with two they were covering His feet, and with two they were flying; and they cried out one to the other, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His majesty."

161. If the Seraphim were standing, how were they flying? If they were flying, how were they standing? If we cannot understand this, how is it that we want to understand God, Whom we have not seen?

162. But as the prophet saw a wheel running within a wheel(which certainly does not refer to any appearance to the bodily sight, but to the grace of each Testament; for the life of the saints is polished, and so consistent with itself that later portions agree with the former). The wheel, then, within a wheel is life under the Law, life under grace; inasmuch as Jews are within the Church, the Law is included in grace. For he is within the Church who is a Jew secretly; and circumcision of the heart is a sacrament within the Church. But that Jewry is within the Church of which it is written: "In Jewry is God known;" therefore as wheel runs within wheel, so in like manner the wings were still, and the wings were flying.

163. In like manner, too, the Seraphim were veiling His face with two wings, and with two were veiling His feet, and with two were flying. For here also is a mystery of spiritual wisdom. Seasons stand, seasons fly; the past stand, the future are flying, and like the wings of the Seraphim, so they veil the face or the feet of God; inasmuch as in God, Who has neither beginning nor end, the whole course of times and seasons, from this knowledge of its beginning and its end, is at rest. So, then, times past and future stand, the present fly. Ask not after the secrets of His beginning or His end, for there is neither. You have the present, but you must praise Him, not question.

164. The Seraphim with unwearied voices praise, and do you question? And certainly when they do this they show us that we must not sometimes question about God, but always praise Him. Therefore the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of Sabaoth. Unless perchance the Teacher Whom Christ chose pleases not the impious, or they can deny that the

Holy Spirit is the Lord of powers, Who gives whatever powers He Himself wills.

CHAPTER 22

In proof of the Unity in Trinity the passage of Isaiah which has been cited is considered, and it is shown that there is no difference as to its sense amongst those who expound it of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Spirit. If He Who was crucified was Lord of glory, so, too, is the Holy Spirit equal in all things to the Father and the Son, and the Arians will never be able to diminish His glory.

165. It is now possible to recognize the oneness of the majesty and rule in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For many say that it was God the Father Who was seen at that time by Isaiah. Paul says it was the Spirit, and Luke supports him. John the Evangelist refers it to the Son. or thus has he written of the Son: “These things spake Jesus, and departed and hid Himself from them. But though He had done so great signs before them, they did not believe on Him, that the word of Isaiah might be fulfilled which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the Arm of the Lord been revealed? Therefore, they could not believe, because Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they might not see with their eyes and understand with their heart and be converted, and I should heal them. These things said Isaiah when he saw His glory, and spake of Him.”

166. John says that Isaiah spoke these words, and revealed most clearly that the glory of the Son appeared to him. Paul, however, relates that the Spirit said these things. Whence, then, is this difference?

167. There is, indeed, a difference of words, not of meaning. For though they said different things, neither was in error, for both the Father is seen in the Son, Who said, “He that seeth Me seeth the Father also,” and the Son is seen in the Spirit; for as “no man says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit,” so Christ is seen not by the eye of flesh, but by the grace of the Spirit. Whence, too, the Scripture says: “Rise, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee.” And Paul, when he had lost his eyesight, how did he see Christ except in the Spirit? Wherefore

the Lord says: “For to this end I have appeared unto thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness of the things wherein thou hast seen Me, and of the things wherein thou shalt see Me.” For the prophets also received the Spirit and saw Christ.

168. One, then, is the vision, one the right to command, one the glory. Do we deny that the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of glory when the Lord of glory was crucified who was born from the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary? For Christ is not one of two, but is one, and was born as Son of God of the Father before the world; and in the world born as man by taking flesh.

169. And why should I say that, as the Father and the Son, so, too, the Spirit is free from stain and Almighty, for Solomon called Him in Greek παντοδύναμον, πᾶνὲπίσχοπον, because He is Almighty and beholds all things, as we showed above to be, is read in the Book of Wisdom. Therefore the Spirit enjoys honor and glory.

170. Consider now lest perchance something may not beseem Him, or if this displease thee, O Arian, drag Him down from His fellowship with the Father and the Son. But if thou choose to drag Him down thou wilt see the heavens reversed above thee, for all their strength is from the Spirit. If thou choose to drag Him down, thou must first lay hands on God, for the Spirit is God. But how wilt thou drag Him down, Who searcheth the deep things of God?

THE TWO BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN, ON THE DECEASE OF HIS BROTHER SATYRUS

INTRODUCTION

BESIDES his elder sister Marcellina, who received the veil at the hands of Pope Liberius, at Christmas [perh. 353 A.D.], St. Ambrose had also a brother named Satyrus, to which name, in the epitaph on him ascribed to the bishop, is added Uranius. This is probably, however, merely in refence to his translation from earth to heaven.

Satyrus had in his earlier years, as well as St. Ambrose, practised as an advocate, and had held office. But when his brother was appointed Bishop of Milan, Satyrus at once gave up his appointment, and devoted his life to managing St. Ambrose's secular affairs, that nothing might distract him from his episcopal duties. After, however, a few short years of devotion to this task, he succumbed to a severe illness October 7, A.D. 379.

The grief of St. Ambrose at the loss of his absolutely like-minded brother was intense, and to it we owe the exquisite discourse delivered at the funeral of Satyrus, and the second, on the Resurrection, delivered one week later.

St. Ambrose subsequently revised these two addresses, and they have come down to us as the "two books of St. Ambrose on the decease of Satyrus," some MSS. adding, "and the resurrection of the dead."

The epitaph on Satyrus, said to be by St. Ambrose, is as follows:

Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem
Martyris ad laevam detulit Ambrosius.
Haec meriti merces, ut sacri sanguinis humor
Finitimas penetrans adluat exuvias.

THE TWO BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

ON THE

DECEASE OF HIS BROTHER SAYTRUS

BOOK 1

1. WE have brought hither, dearest brethren, my sacrifice, a sacrifice undefiled, a sacrifice well pleasing to God, my Lord and brother Satyrus. I did not forget that he was mortal, nor did my feelings deceive me, but grace abounded more exceedingly. And so I have nothing to complain of, but have cause for thankfulness to God, for I always desired that if any troubles should await either the Church or myself, they should rather fall on me and on my house. Thanks, therefore, be to God, that in this time of common fear, when everything is dreaded from the barbarian movements, I ended the trouble of all by my personal grief, and that I dreaded for all which was turned upon me. And may this be fully accomplished, so that my grief may be a ransom for the grief of all.

2. Nothing among things of earth, dearest brethren, was more precious to me, nothing more worthy of love, nothing more dear than such a brother, but public matters come before private. And should any one enquire what was his feeling; he would rather be slain for others than live for himself, because Christ died according to the flesh for all, that we might learn not to live for ourselves alone.

3. To this must be added that I cannot be ungrateful to God; for I must rather rejoice that I had such a brother than grieve that I had lost a brother, for the former is a gift, the latter a debt to be paid. And so, as long as I might, I enjoyed the loan entrusted to me, now He Who deposited the

pledge has taken it back. There is no difference between denying that a pledge has been deposited and grieving at its being returned. In each there is untrustworthiness, and in each [eternal] life is risked. It is a fault if you refuse repayment, and piety if you refuse a sacrifice. Since, too, the lender of money can be made a fool of, but the Author of nature, the Lender of all that we need, cannot be cheated. And so the larger the amount of the loan, so much the more gratitude is due for the use of the capital.

4. Wherefore, I cannot be ungrateful concerning my brother, for he has given back that which was common to nature, and has gained what is peculiar to grace alone. For who would refuse the common lot? Who would grieve that a pledge specially en-trusted to him is taken away, since the Father gave up His only Son to death for us? Who would think that he ought to be excepted from the lot of dying, who has not been excepted from the lot of being born? It is a great mystery of divine love, that not even in Christ was exception made of the death of the body; and although He was the Lord of nature, He refused not the law of the flesh which He had taken upon Him. It is necessary for me to die, for Him it was not necessary. Could not He Who said of His servant, “If I will that he tarry thus until I come, what is that to thee?” not have remained as He was, if so He willed? But by continuance of my brother’s life here, he would have destroyed his reward and my sacrifice. What is a greater consolation to us than that according to the flesh Christ also died? Or why should I weep too violently for my brother, knowing as I do that that divine love could not die.

5. Why should I alone weep more than others for him for whom you all weep? I have merged my personal grief in the grief of all, especially because my tears are of no use, whereas yours strengthen faith and bring consolation. You who are rich weep, and by weeping prove that riches gathered together are of no avail for safety, since death cannot be put off by a money payment, and the last day carries off alike the rich and the poor. You that are old weep, because in him you fear that you see the lot of your own children; and for this reason, since you cannot prolong the life of the body, train your children not to bodily enjoyment but to virtuous duties. And you that are young weep too, because the end of life is not the ripeness of old age. The poor too wept, and, which is of much more worth, and much more fruitful, washed away his transgressions with their tears.

Those are redeeming tears, those are groanings which hide the grief of death, that grief which through the plenteousness of eternal joy covers over the feeling of former grief. And so, though the funeral be that of a private person, yet is the mourning public; and therefore cannot the weeping last long which is hallowed by the affection of all,

6. For why should I weep for thee, my most loving brother, who wast thus torn from me that thou mightest be the brother of all? For I have not lost but changed my intercourse with thee; before we were inseparable in the body, now we are undivided in affection; for thou remainest with me, and ever wilt remain. And, indeed, whilst thou wast living with me, our country never tore thee from me, nor didst thou thyself ever prefer our country to me; and now thou art become surety for that other country, for I begin to be no stranger there where the better portion of myself already is. I was never wholly engrossed in myself, but the greater part of each of us was in the other, yet we were each of us in Christ, in Whom is the whole sum of all, and the portion of each severally. This grave is more pleasing to me than thy natal soil, in which is the fruit not of nature but of grace, for in that body which now lies lifeless lies the better work of my life, since in this body, too, which I bear is the richer portion of thyself.

7. And would that, as memory and gratitude are devoted to thee, so, too, whatever time I have still to breathe this air, I could breathe it into thy life, and that half of my time might be struck off from me and be added to thine! For it had been just that for those, whose use of hereditary property was always undivided, the period of life should not have been divided, or at least that we, who always without difference shared everything in common during life, should not have a difference in our deaths.

8. But now, brother, whither shall I advance, or whither shall I turn? The ox seeks his fellow, and conceives itself incomplete, and by frequent lowing shows its tender longing. if perchance that one is wanting with whom it has been wont to draw the plough. And shall I, my brother, not long after thee? Or can I ever forget thee, with whom I always drew the plough of this life? In work I was inferior, but in love more Closely bound; not so much fit through my strength, as endurable through thy patience, who with the care of anxious affection didst ever protect my side with thine, as a brother in thy love, as a father in thy care, as older in

watchfulness, as younger in respect. So in the one degree of relationship thou didst expend on me the duties of many, so that I long after not one only but many lost in thee, in whom alone flattery was unknown, dutifulness was portrayed. For thou hadst nothing to which to add by pretense, inasmuch as all was comprised in thy dutifulness, so as neither to receive addition nor await a change.

9. But whither am I going, in my immoderate grief, forgetful of my duty, mindful of kindness received? The Apostle calls me back, and as it were puts a bit upon my sorrow, saying, as you heard just now: “We would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep, that ye be not sorrowful, as the rest which have no hope.” Pardon me, dearest brethren. For we are not all able to say: “Be ye imitators of me, as I also am of Christ.” But if you seek one to imitate, you have One Whom you may imitate. All are not fitted to teach, would that all were apt to learn.

10. But we have not incurred any grievous sin by our tears. Not all weeping proceeds from unbelief or weakness. Natural grief is one thing, distrustful sadness is another, and there is a very great difference between longing for what you have lost and lamenting that you have lost it. Not only grief has tears, joy also has tears of its own. Both piety excites weeping, and prayer waters the couch, and supplication, according to the prophet’s saying, washes the bed, Their friends made a great mourning when the patriarchs were buried. Tears, then, are marks of devotion, not producers of grief. I confess, then, that I too wept, but the Lord also wept. He wept for one not related to Him, I for my brother. He wept for all in weeping for one, ‘I will weep for thee in all, my brother.

11. He wept for what affected us, not Himself; for the Godhead sheds no tears; but He wept in that nature in which He was sad; He wept in that in which He was crucified, in that in which He died, in that in which He was buried. He wept in that which the prophet this day brought to our minds: “Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man was made in her, and the Most High Himself established her.” He wept in that nature in which He called Sion Mother, born in Judaea, conceived by the Virgin. But according to His Divine Nature He could not have a mother, for He is the Creator of His mother. So far as He was made, it was not by divine but by human generation, because He was made man, God was born.

12. But you read in another place: “Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given.” In the word Child is an indication of age, in that of Son the fullness of the Godhead. Made of His mother, born of the Father yet the Same Person was both born and given, you must not think of two but of one. For one is the Son of God, both born of the Father and sprung from the Virgin, differing in order, but in name agreeing in one, as, too, the lesson just heard teaches for “a man was made in her and the Most High Himself established her;” man indeed in the body, the Most High in power. And though He be God and man in diversity of nature, yet is He at the same time one in each nature. One property, then, is peculiar to His own nature, another He has in common with us, but in both is He one, and in both is He perfect.

13. Therefore it is no subject of wonder that God made Him to be both Lord and Christ. He made Him Jesus, Him, that is, Who received the name in His bodily nature; He made Him of Whom also the patriarch David writes: “Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man is made in her.” But being made man He is unlike the Father, not in Godhead but in His body; not separated from the Father, but differing in office, abiding united in power, but separated in the mystery of the Passion.

14. The treatment of this topic demands more arguments, by which to demonstrate the authority of the Father, the special property of the Son, and the Unity of the whole Trinity; but to-day I have undertaken the office of consolation, not of discussion, although it is customary in consoling to draw away the mind from its grief by application to discussion. But I would rather moderate the grief than alter the affection, that the longing may rather be assuaged than lulled to sleep. For I have no wish to turn away too far from my brother, and to be led off by other thoughts, seeing that this discourse has been undertaken, as it were, for the sake of accompanying him, that I might follow in affection him departing, and embrace in mind him whom I see with my eyes. For it gives me pleasure to fix the whole gaze of my eyes on him, to encompass him with kindly endearments; whilst my mind is stupefied, and I feel as though he were not lost whom I am able still to see present; and I think him not dead, my services to whom I do not as yet perceive to be wanting, services to which I had devoted the whole of my life and the drawing of every breath.

15. What, then, can I pay back in return for such kindness and such pains? I had made thee, my brother, my heir; thou hast left me as the heir; I hoped to leave thee as survivor, and thou hast left me. I, in return for thy kindnesses, that I might repay thy benefits, gave wishes; now I have lost my wishes yet not thy benefits. What shall I, succeeding to my own heir, do? What shall I do who outlive my own life? What shall I do, no longer sharing this light which yet shines on me? What thanks, what good offices, can I repay to thee? Thou hast nothing from me but tears. And perchance, secure of thy reward, thou desirest not those tears which are all that I have left. For even when thou wast yet alive, thou didst forbid me to weep, and didst show that our grief was more pain to thee than thine own death. Tears are bidden to flow no longer, and weeping is repressed. And gratitude to thee forbids them too, lest whilst we weep for our loss we seem to despair concerning thy merits.

16. But for myself at least thou lessenest the bitterness of that grief; I have nothing to fear who used to fear for thee. I have nothing which the world can now snatch from me. Although our holy sister still survives, venerable for her blameless life, thy equal in character, and not falling short in kindly offices; yet we both used to fear more for thee, we felt that all the sweetness of this life was stored up in thee. To live for thy sake was a delight, to die for thee were no cause of sorrow, for we both used to pray that thou mightest survive, it was no pleasure that we should survive thee. When did not our very soul shudder when a dread of this kind touched us? How were our minds dismayed by the tidings of thy sickness!

17. Alas for our wretched hopes! We thought that he was restored to us whom we see carried off, and we now recognize that thy departure hence was obtained by thy vows to the holy martyr Lawrence! And indeed I would that thou hadst obtained not only a safe passage hence, but also a longer time of life I Thou couldst have obtained many years of life, since thou wast able to obtain thy departure hence. And I indeed thank Thee, Almighty Everlasting God, that Thou hast not denied us at least this last comfort, that Thou hast granted us the longed-for return of our much loved brother from the regions of Sicily and Africa; for he was snatched away so soon after his return as though his death were delayed for this alone, that he might return to his brethren.

18. Now, I clearly have my pledge which no change can any more tear from me; I have the relics which I may embrace, I have the tomb which I may cover with my body, I have the grave on which I may lie, and I shall believe that I am more acceptable to God, because I shall rest upon the bones of that holy body. Would that I had been able in like manner to place my body in the way of thy death! Hadst thou been attacked with the sword, I would have rather offered myself to be pierced for thee; had I been able to recall thy life as it was passing away, I would have rather offered my own.

19. It profited me nothing to receive thy last breath, nor to have breathed into the mouth of thee dying, for I thought that either I myself should receive thy death, or should transfer my life to thee. O that sad, yet sweet pledge of the last kiss! O the misery of that embrace, in which the lifeless body began to stiffen, the last breath vanished! I tightened my arms indeed, but had already lost him whom I was holding; I drew in thy last breath with my mouth, that I might share thy death. But in some way that breath became lifegiving to me, and even in death diffused an odor of greater love. And if I was unable to lengthen thy life by my breath, would that at least the strength of thy last breath might have been transfused into my mind, and that our affection might have inspired me with that purity and innocence of thine. Thou wouldst have left me, dearest brother, this inheritance, which would not smite the affections with tears of grief, but commend thine heir by notable grace.

20. What, then, shall I now do, since all the sweetness, all the solace, in fine, all the charms of that life are lost to me? For thou wast alone my solace at home, my charm abroad; thou, I say, my adviser in counsel, the sharer in my cares, the averter of anxiety, the driver away of sorrow; thou wast the protector of my acts and the defender of my thoughts; thou, lastly, the only one on whom rested care of home and of public matters. I call thy holy soul to witness that, in the building of the church, I often feared lest I might displease thee. Lastly, when thou camest back thou didst chide thy delay. So wast thou, at home and abroad, the instructor and teacher of the priest, that thou didst not suffer him to think of domestic matters, and didst take thought to care for public matters. But I may not fear to seem to speak boastingly, for this is thy meed of praise, that thou,

without displeasing any, both didst manage thy brother's house and recommend his priesthood.

21. I feel, indeed, that my mind is touched by the repetition of thy services and the enumeration of thy virtues, and yet in being thus affected I find my rest, and although these memories renew my grief, they nevertheless bring pleasure. Am I able either not to think of thee, or ever to think of thee without tears? And shall I ever be able either not to remember such a brother, or to remember him without tearful gratitude? For what has ever been pleasant to me that has not had its source in thee? What, I say, has ever been a pleasure to me without thee, or to thee without me? Had we not every practice in common, almost to our very eyesight and our sleep? Were our wills ever at variance? And what step did we not take in common? So that we almost seemed in raising our feet to move each others body.

22. But if ever either had to go forth without the other, one would think that his side was unprotected, one could see his countenance troubled, one would suppose that his soul was sad, the accustomed grace, the usual vigor did not shine forth, the loneliness was a subject of dread to all, and made them fearful of some sickness. Such a strange thing it seemed to all that we were separated. I certainly, impatient at my brother's absence, and having it constantly in mind, kept on turning my head seeking him, as it were, present, and seemed to myself then to see him and speak to him. But if I was disappointed in my hope, I seemed to myself, as it were, to be dragging a yoke on my bowed down neck, to advance with difficulty, to meet others with diffidence, and to return home hurriedly, since it gave me no pleasure to go farther without thee.

23. But when we both had to go forth, there were not more steps on the way than words, nor was our pace quicker than our talk, and it was less for the sake of walking than for the pleasure of conversing, for each of us hung on the lips of the other. We thought not of gazing intently on the view as we passed along, but listened to each other's anxious talk, drank in the kindly expression of the eyes, and inhaled the delight of the brother's appearance. How I used silently to admire within myself thy virtues, how I congratulated myself that God had given me such a brother, so modest, so capable, so innocent, so simple, so that when I thought of thy

innocence I began to doubt thy capability, when I saw thy capability I could hardly imagine thy innocence! But thou didst combine both with wonderful perfection.

24. Lastly, what we both had been unable to effect, thou didst accomplish alone. Prosper, as I hear, congratulated himself because he thought that on account of my priesthood he need not restore what he had purloined, but he found thy power alone to be greater than that of us both together. And so he paid all, and was not ungrateful for thy moderation, and did not scoff at thy modesty. But for whom, brother, didst thou seek to gain that? We wished that should be the reward of thy labors which was the proof of them. Thou didst accomplish everything, and when having done all thou didst return, thou alone, who art to be preferred to all, art torn from us; as if thou hadst put off death for this end, that thou mightest fulfill the office of affection, and then carry off the palm for capability.

25. How little, dearest brother, did the honors of this world delight us, because they separated us from one another! And we accepted them, not because the acquisition of them was to be desired, but that there might be no appearance of paltry dissimulation. Or perhaps they were therefore granted to us, that, inasmuch as by thy early death thou wast about to shatter our pleasure, we might learn to live without each other.

26. And indeed I recognize the foreboding dread of my mind, when I often go again through what I have written. I endeavored to restrain thee, brother, from visiting Africa thyself, and wished thee rather to send some one. I was afraid to let thee go that journey, to trust thee to the waves, and a greater fear than usual came over my mind; but thou didst arrange the journey, and order the business, and, as I hear, didst entrust thyself again to the waves in an old and leaky vessel For since thou wast aiming at speed, thou didst set caution aside; eager to do me a kindness, thou madest nothing of thy danger.

27. O deceitful joy! O the uncertain course of earthly affairs! We thought that he who was returned from Africa, restored from the sea, preserved after shipwreck, could not now be snatched from us; but, though on land, we suffered a more grievous shipwreck, for the death of him whom shipwreck at sea owing to strong swimming could not kill is shipwreck to us. For what enjoyment remains to us, from whom so sweet an ornament

has been taken, so bright a light in this world's darkness has been extinguished? For in him an ornament not only of our family but of the whole fatherland has perished.

28. I feel, indeed, the deepest gratitude to you, dearest brethren, holy people, that you esteem my grief as no other than your own, that you feel this bereavement as having happened to yourselves, that you offer me the tears of the whole city, of every age, and the good wishes of every rank, with unusual affection. For this is not the grief of private sympathy, but as it were a service and offering of public good-will. And should any sympathy with me because of the loss of such a brother touch you, I have abundant fruit from it, I have the pledge of your affection. I might prefer that my brother were living, but yet public kindness is in prosperity very pleasant, and in adversity very grateful.

29. And, indeed, so great kindness seems to me to merit no ordinary gratitude. For not without a purpose are the widows in the Acts of the Apostles described as weeping when Tabitha was dead, or the crowd in the Gospel, moved by the widow's tears and accompanying the funeral of the young man who was to be raised again. There is, then, no doubt that by your tears the protection of the apostles is obtained; no doubt, I say, that Christ is moved to mercy, seeing you weeping. Though He has not now touched the bier, yet He has received the spirit commended to Him, and if He have not called the dead by the bodily voice, yet He has by the authority of His divine power delivered my brother's soul from the pains of death and from the attacks of wicked spirits. And though he that was dead has not sat up on the bier, yet he has found rest in Christ; and if he have not spoken to us, yet he sees those things which are above us, and rejoices in that he now sees higher things than we. For by the things which we read in the Gospels we understand what shall be, and what we see at present is a sign of what is to be.

30. He had no need of being raised again for time, for whom the raising again for eternity is waiting. For why should he fall back into this wretched and miserable state of corruption, and return to this mournful life, for whose rescue from such imminent evils and threatening dangers we ought rather to rejoice? For if no one mourns for Enoch, who was translated when the world was at peace and wars were not raging, but the

people rather congratulated him, as Scripture says concerning him: “He was taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding,” with how much greater justice must this now be said, when to the dangers of the world is added the uncertainty of life. He was taken away that he might not fall into the hands of the barbarians; he was taken away that he might not see the ruin of the whole earth, the end of the world, the burial of his relatives, the death of fellow-citizens; lest, lastly, which is more bitter than any death, he should see the pollution of the holy virgins and widows.

31. So then, brother, I esteem thee happy both in the beauty of thy life and in the opportuneness of thy death. For thou wast snatched away not from us but from dangers; thou didst not lose life but didst escape the fear of threatening troubles. For with the pity of thy holy mind for those near to thee, if thou knewest that Italy was now oppressed by the nearness of the enemy, how wouldst thou groan, how wouldst thou grieve that our safety wholly depended on the barrier of the Alps, and that the protection of purity consisted in barricades of trees! With what sorrow wouldst thou mourn that thy friends were separated from the enemy by so slight a division, from an enemy, too, both impure and cruel, who spares neither chastity nor life.

32. How, I say, couldst thou bear these things which we are compelled to endure, and perchance (which is more grievous) to behold virgins ravished, little children torn from the embrace of their parents and tossed on javelins, the bodies consecrated to God defiled, and even aged widows polluted? How, I say, couldst thou endure these things, who even with thy last breath, forgetful of thyself, yet not without thought for us, didst warn us concerning the invasion of the barbarians, saying that not in vain hadst thou said that we ought to flee. Perchance was it because thou didst see that we were left destitute by thy death, and thou didst it, not out of weakness of spirit, but from affection, and wast weak with respect to us, but strong with respect to thyself. For when thou wast summoned home by the noble man Symmachus thy parent, because Italy was said to be blazing with war, because thou wast going into danger, because thou wast likely to fall amongst enemies, thou didst answer that this was the cause of thy coming, that thou mightest not fail us in danger, that thou mightest show thyself a sharer in thy brother’s peril.

33. Happy, then, was he in so opportune a death, because he has not been preserved for this sorrow. Certainly thou art happier than thy holy sister, deprived of thy comfort, anxious for her own modesty, lately blessed with two brothers, now wretched because of both, being able neither to follow the one nor to leave the other; for whom thy tomb is a lodging, and the burying-place of thy body a home. And would that even this resting-place were safe! Our food is mingled with weeping and our drink with tears, for thou hast given us the bread of tears as food, and tears to drink in large measure, nay, even beyond measure.

34. What now shall I say of myself, who may not die lest I leave my sister, and desire not to live lest I be separated from thee? For what can ever be pleasant to me without thee, in whom was always my whole pleasure? or what satisfaction is it to remain longer in this life, and to linger on the earth where we lived with pleasure so long as we lived together? If there were anything which could delight us here, it could not delight without thee; and if ever we had earnestly desired to prolong our life, now at any rate we would not exist without thee.

35. This is indeed unendurable. For what can be endured without thee, such a companion of my life, such a sharer of my toil and partaker of my duties? And I could not even make his loss more endurable by dwelling on it beforehand, so much did my mind fear to think of any such thing concerning him! Not that I was ignorant of his condition, but a certain kind of prayers and vows had so clouded the sense of common frailty, that I knew not how to think anything concerning him except entire prosperity.

36. And then lately, when I was oppressed by a severe attack (would that it had been fatal), I grieved only that thou wast not sitting by my couch, and sharing the kindly duty with my holy sister mightest with thy fingers close my eyes when dead. What had I wished? What am I now pondering? What vows are wanting? What services are to succeed? I was preparing one thing, I am compelled to set forth another; not being the subject of the funeral rites but the minister. O hard eyes, which could behold my brother dying! O cruel and unkind hands, which closed those eyes in which I used to see so much! O still harder neck, which could bear so sad a burden, though it were in a service full of consolation.

37. Thou, my brother, hadst more justly done these things for me. I used to expect these services at thy hands, I used to long for them. But now, having survived my own life, what comfort can I find without thee, who alone usedst to comfort me when mourning, to excite my happiness and drive away my sorrow? How do I now behold thee, my brother, who now addressest no words to me, offerest me no kiss? Though, indeed, our mutual love was so deeply seated in each of us, that it was cherished rather by inward affection than made public by open caresses, for we who professed such mutual trust and love did not seek the testimony of others. The strong spirit of our brotherhood had so infused itself into each of us, that there was no need to prove our love by caresses; but our minds being conscious of our affection, we, satisfied with our inward love, did not seem to require the show of caresses, whom the very appearance of each other fashioned for mutual love; for we seemed, I know not by what spiritual stamp or bodily likeness, to be the one in the other.

38. Who saw thee, and did not think that he had seen me? How often have I saluted those who, because they had previously saluted thee, said that they had been already saluted by me? How many said something to thee, and related that they had said it to me? What pleasure, what amusement often was given me by this, because I saw that they were mistaken in us? What an agreeable mistake, what a pleasant slip, how innocent a deceit, how sweet a trick! For there was nothing for me to fear in thy words or acts, and I rejoiced when they were ascribed to me.

39. But if they insisted all too vehemently that they had given me some information, I used to smile and answer with delight: Take care that it was not my brother whom you told. For since we had everything in common, one spirit and one disposition, yet the secrets of friends alone were not common property, not that we were afraid of danger in the communication, but that we might keep faith by withholding it. Yet if we had a matter to be consulted about, our counsel was always in common, though the secret was not always made common. For although our friends spoke to either of us, so that what they said might reach the other; yet I know that secrets were for the most part kept with such good faith that they were not imparted even to the other brother. For this is a convincing proof that was not betrayed without which had not been imparted to the brother.

40. I confess, then, that being raised by these so great and excellent benefits to a kind of mental ecstasy, I had ceased to fear that I might be the survivor, because I thought him more worthy to live, and therefore received the blow which I am unable to endure, for the wounds of such pain are more easily borne when dwelt upon beforehand than when unexpected. Who will now console me full of sorrows? Who will raise up him that is smitten down? With whom shall I share my cares? Who will set me free from the business of this world? For thou wast the manager of our affairs, the censor of the servants, the decider between brother and sister, the decider not in matters of strife but of affection.

41. For if at any time there was a discussion between me and my holy sister on any matter, as to which was the preferable opinion, we used to take thee as judge, who wouldst hurt no one, and anxious to satisfy each, didst keep to thy loving affection and the right measure in deciding, so as to let each depart satisfied, and gain for thyself the thanks of each. Or if thou thyself broughtest anything for discussion, how pleasantly didst thou argue! and thy very indignation, how free from bitterness it was! how was thy discipline not unpleasant to the servants themselves! since thou didst strive rather to blame thyself before thy brethren than to punish through excitement! For our profession restrained in us the zeal for correction, and, indeed, thou, my brother, didst remove from us every inclination to correct, when thou didst promise to punish and desire to alleviate.

42. That is, then, evidence of no ordinary prudence, which virtue is thus defined by the wise. The first of good things is to know God, and with a pious mind to reverence Him as true and divine, and to delight in that lovable and desirable beauty of the eternal Truth with the whole affection of the mind. And the second consists in deriving from that divine and heavenly source of nature, love towards our neighbors, since even the wise of this world have borrowed from our laws. For they never could have obtained those points for the discipline of men, except from that heavenly fount of the divine law.

43. What, then, shall I say of his reverence in regard to the worship of God? He, before being initiated in the more perfect mysteries, being in danger of shipwreck when the ship that bore him, dashed upon rocky shallows, was being broken up by the waves tossing it hither and thither,

fearing not death but lest he should depart this life without the Mystery, asked of those whom he knew to be initiated the divine Sacrament of the faithful; not that he might gaze on secret things with curious eyes, but to obtain aid for his faith. For he caused it to be bound in a napkin, and the napkin round his neck, and so cast himself into the sea, not seeking a plank loosened from the framework of the ship, by floating on which he might be rescued, for he sought the means of faith alone. And so believing that he was sufficiently protected and defended by this, he sought no other aid.

44. One may consider his courage at the same time, for he, when the vessel was breaking up, did not as a shipwrecked man seize a plank, but as a brave man found in himself the support of his courage, nor did his hope fail nor his expectation deceive him. And then, when preserved from the waves and brought safe to land in the port, he first recognized his Leader, to Whom he had committed himself, and at once after either himself rescuing the servants, or seeing that they were rescued, disregarding his goods, and not longing for what was lost, he sought the Church of God, that he might return thanks for his deliverance, and acknowledge the eternal mysteries, declaring that there was no greater duty than thanksgiving. But if not to be grateful to man has been judged like to murder, how enormous a crime is it not to be grateful to God!

45. Now it is the mark of a prudent man to know himself, and, as it has been defined by the wise, to live in accordance with nature. What, then, is so much in accordance with nature as to be grateful to the Creator? Behold this heaven, does it not render thanks to its Creator when He is seen? For "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaims His handywork." The sea itself when it is quiet and at rest sets forth a representation of the Divine Quiet; when it is stirred up, it shows that the wrath on high is terrible. Do we not all rightly admire the grace of God, when we observe that senseless nature restrains its waves as it were with sense and reason, and that the waves know their own limit? And what shall I say of the earth, which in obedience to the divine command freely supplies food to all living things; and the fields restore what they have received multiplied as it were by accumulating interest, and heaped up.

46. So he who by the guidance of nature had grasped the methods of the divine work in the ardent vigor of his mind, knew that thanks should be

paid first of all to the Preserver of all; but inasmuch as he could not repay, he could at least feel grateful. For the essence of this thankfulness is that when it is offered it is felt, and by being felt is offered. So he offered thanks and brought away faith. For he who had felt such protection on the part of the heavenly Mystery wrapped in a napkin, how much did he expect if he received it with his mouth and drew it to the very depth of his bosom? How much more must he have been expecting of that, when received into his breast, which had so benefited him when covered with a napkin?

47. But he was not so eager as to lay aside caution. He called the bishop to him, and esteeming that there can be no true thankfulness except it spring from true faith, he enquired whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church? And possibly at that place the Church of the district was in schism. For at that time Lucifer had withdrawn from our communion, and although he had been an exile for the faith, and had left inheritors of his own faith, yet my brother did not think that there could be true faith in schism. For though schismatics kept the faith towards God, yet they kept it not towards the Church of God, certain of whose limbs they suffered as it were to be divided, and her members to be torn. For since Christ suffered for the Church, and the Church is the body of Christ, it does not seem that faith in Christ is shown by those by whom His Passion is made of none effect, and His body divided.

48. And so though he retained the deposit of faith, and feared to voyage as debtor of so vast an amount, yet he preferred to cross over to a place where he could make his payment in safety, for he was convinced that the payment of thankfulness to God consists in dispositions and faith, which payment, so soon as he had free access to the Church, he delayed not to make. And he both received the grace of God which he longed for, and preserved it when received. Nothing, then, can be wiser than that prudence which distinguishes between divine and human matters.

49. Why should I speak of his well-known eloquence in his forensic duties? What incredible admiration did he excite in the hall of justice of the high prefecture! But I prefer to speak of those things which he esteemed, through consideration of the mysteries of God, to be preferable to human matters.

50. And should any one wish more fully to regard his fortitude, let him consider how often after his shipwreck with invincible disregard of this life he crossed the sea and traveled through widespread regions in his journeys, and at last that at this very time he did not shrink from danger, but met it. Patient under injustice, regardless of cold, would that he had been equally thoughtful in taking precautions. But exactly herein was he blessed, that he, so long as his bodily strength allowed, spent his life fulfilling the work of youth, uninterruptedly carrying out what he wished to do, and paid no attention to his weakness.

51. But in what words can I set forth his simplicity? By this I mean a certain moderation of character and soberness of mind. Pardon me, I beseech you, and attribute it to my grief, if I allow myself to speak somewhat fully about him with whom I am no longer permitted to converse. And certainly it is an advantage for you to see that you have performed this kindly office not led by weak feelings, but by sound judgment; not as impelled by pity for his death, but moved by desire to do honor to his virtues; for every simple soul is blessed. And so great was his simplicity, that, converted as it were into a child, he was conspicuous for the simplicity belonging to that guileless age, for the likeness of perfect virtue, and for reflecting as in a mirror innocence of character. Therefore he entered into the kingdom of heaven, because he believed the word of God, because he, like a child, rejected the artifices of flattery, and chose rather to accept with gentleness the pain of injustice than to avenge himself sharply; he was more ready to listen to complaints than to guile, ready for conciliation, inaccessible to ambition, holy in modesty, so that in him one would rather speak of excess of bashfulness than have to seek for such as is needful.

52. But the foundations of virtue are never in excess, for modesty does not hinder but rather commends the discharge of duty. And so was his face suffused with a certain virginal modesty, showing forth his inward feeling in his countenance, if perchance he had, coming on a sudden, met some female relative, he was as it were bowed down and sunk to the earth, though he was not different in company with men, he seldom lifted up his face, raised his eyes, or spoke; when he did one of these things, it was with a kind of bashful modesty of heart, with which, too, the chastity of his body agreed. For he preserved the gifts of holy baptism inviolate, being

pure in body and still more pure in heart; fearing not less the shame of impurity in conversation than in his body; and thinking that no less regard was to be paid to modesty in purity of words than in chastity of body.

53. In fine, he so loved chastity as never to seek a wife, although in him it was not merely the desire of chastity, but also the grace of his love for us. But in a wonderful manner he concealed his feeling as to marriage, and avoided all boastfulness; and so carefully did he conceal his feeling, that even when we pressed it on him, he appeared rather to postpone wedlock than to avoid it. So this was the one point with which he did not trust his brother and sister, not through any doubtful hesitation, but simply through virtuous modesty.

54. Who, then, could refrain from wondering that a man in age between a brother and a sister, the one a virgin, the Other a priest, yet in greatness of soul not below either, should so excel in two great gifts, as to reflect the chastity of one vocation and the sanctity of the other, being bound not by profession but by the exercise of virtue. If, then, lust and anger bring forth other vices, I may rightly call chastity and gentleness as it were the parents of virtues; although, as it is the origin of all good things, so too is piety the seed-plot of other virtues.

55. What, then, shall I say of his economy, a kind of continence regarding possessions? For he who takes care of his own does not seek other men's goods, nor is he puffed up by abundance who is contented with his own. For he did not wish to recover anything except his own, and that rather that he might not be cheated than that he might be richer. For he rightly called those who seek other men's goods hawks of money. But if avarice be the root of all evils, he who does not seek for money has certainly stripped himself of vices.

56. Nor did he ever delight in more carefully prepared feasts or many dishes, except when he invited friends, wishing for what was sufficient for nature, not for superabundance for pleasure's sake. And, indeed, he was not poor in means, but was so in spirit. Certainly we ought by no means to doubt of his happiness, who neither as a wealthy man delighted in riches, nor as a poor man thought that what he had was scanty.

57. It remains that, to come to the end of the cardinal virtues, we should notice in him the constituents of justice. For although virtues are related to

each other and connected, still as it were a more distinct sketch of each is wanted, and especially of justice. For it being somewhat niggardly towards itself is wholly devoted to what is without, and whatever it has through a certain rigor towards self, being carried away by love for all, it pours forth on its neighbors.

58. But there are many kinds of this virtue. One towards friends, another towards all men, another with respect to the worship of God or the relief of the poor. So what he was towards all, the affection of the people of the province over which he was set shows; who used to say that he was rather their parent than a judge, a kind umpire for loving clients, a steadfast awarder of just law.

59. But what he was with his brother and sister, though all men were embraced in his good-will, our undivided patrimony testifies, and the inheritance neither distributed nor diminished, but preserved. For he said that love was no reason for making a will. This, too, he signified with his last words, when commending those whom he had loved, saying that it was his choice never to marry a wife, that he might not be separated from his brother and sister, and that he would not make a will, lest our feelings should in any point be hurt. Lastly, though begged and entreated by us, he thought that nothing ought to be determined by himself, not, however, forgetting the poor, but only asking that so much should be given to them as should seem just to us.

60. By this alone he gave a sufficient proof of his fear of God, and set an example of religious feeling as regards men. For what he gave to the poor he offered to God, since "he that distributeth to the poor lendeth unto God;" and by requiring what was just, he left them not a little, but the whole. For this is the total sum of justice, to sell what one has and give to the pool For he who "hath dispersed, and hath given to the poor, his righteousness endureth for ever." So he left us as stewards, not heirs; for the inheritance is to the heirs a matter of question, the stewardship is a duty to the poor.

61. So that one may rightly say that the Holy Spirit has this day told us by the voice of the boy reader: "He that is innocent in his hands and of a clean heart, who hath not lifted up his soul to vanity, nor used deceit unto his neighbor, this is the generation of them that seek the Lord." He, then,

shall both ascend into the hill of the Lord and dwell in the tabernacle of God; because “he hath walked without spot, he hath worked righteousness, he hath spoken truth, he hath not deceived his neighbor;” nor did he lend his money for usury, who always wished [no more than] to retain that which was inherited.

62. Why should I relate that in his piety he went beyond mere justice, when he, having thought that in consideration of my office something ought to be given to the unlawful possessor of our property, declared that I was the author of the bounty, but made over the receipts of his own share to the common fund.

63. These and other matters, which were then a pleasure to me, now sharpen the remembrance of my grief. They abide, however, and always will do so, nor do they ever pass away like a shadow; for the grace of virtue dies not with the body, nor do natural life and merits come to an end at the same time, although the use of natural life does not perish for ever, but rests in a kind of exemption for a time.

64. For one, then, who has performed such good deeds, and is rescued from perils, I shall weep rather from longing for him than for the loss. For the very opportuneness of his death bids us bear in mind that we must follow him rather with grateful veneration than grieve for him, for it is written that private grief should cease in public sorrow. This is said in the prophetical language, not only to that one woman, who is figured there, but to each, since it seems to be said to the Church.

65. To me, then, does this message come, and Holy Scripture says: “Dost thou teach this, is it thus that thou instructest the people of God? Knowest thou not that thy example is a danger to others? save that perchance thou complainest that thy prayer is not heard. First of all this is shameless arrogance, to desire to obtain for thyself what thou knowest to have been denied to many, even saints, when thou art aware that God is no respecter of persons?” For although God is merciful, yet if He always heard all, He would appear to act no longer of His own free will, but by a kind of necessity. Then, since all ask, if He were to hear all, no one would die. For how much dost thou daily pray? Is, then, God’s appointment to be made void in consideration of thee? Why, then, dost thou lament that is sometimes not obtained, which thou knowest cannot always be obtained?

66. “Thou fool,” it says, “above all women, seest thou not our mourning, and what hath happened to us, how that Sion our mother is saddened with all sadness, and humbled with humbling. Mourn now also very sore, since we all mourn, and be sad since we all are sad, and thou art grieved for a brother. Ask the earth and she shall tell thee that it is she which ought to mourn, outliving so many that grow upon her. And out of her,” it says, “were all born in the beginning, and out of her shall others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly rooted out. Who, then, ought to make more mourning than she that hath lost so great a multitude, and not thou, which art sorry but for one?”

67. Let, then, the common mourning swallow up ours and cut off the bitterness of our private sorrow. For we ought not to grieve for those whom we see to be set free, and we bear in mind that so many holy souls are not without a purpose at this time loosed from the chains of the body. For we see. as if by God’s decree, such reverend widows dying so closely at one time, that it seems to be a sort of setting out on a journey, not a sinking in death, lest their chastity in which they have served God their full time should be exposed to peril. What groans, what mourning, does so bitter a recollection stir up in me! And if I had no leisure for mourning, yet in my own personal grief, in the loss of the very flower of so much merit, the common lot of nature consoled me; and my grief in consideration of one alone veiled the bitterness of the public funeral by the show of piety at home.

68. I seek again, then, O sacred Scripture, thy consolations, for it delights me to dwell on thy precepts and on thy sentences. How far more easy is it for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fail! But let us now listen to what is written: “Now,” it says, “keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage the things which have befallen thee. For if thou shall acknowledge the determination of God to be just, thou shalt both receive thy son in time, and shalt be praised among women.” If this is said to a woman, how much more to a priest! If such words are said of a son it is certainly not unfitting that they should be uttered also concerning the loss of a brother; though if he had been my son I could never have loved him more. For as in the death of children, the lost labor and the pain borne to no purpose seem to increase the sorrow; so,

too, in the case of brothers the habits of intercourse and joint occupations inflame the bitterness of grief.

69. But, lo! I hear the Scripture saying: “Do not continue this discourse, but allow thyself to be persuaded. For how great are the misfortunes of Sion! Be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem. For thou seest that our holy places are polluted and the name that was called upon us is almost profaned, they that are ours have suffered shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites gone into captivity, our wives are polluted, our virgins suffer violence, our righteous men are carded away, our little ones given up, our young men brought in bondage, and our strong men become weak. And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hast lost her glory, since now she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us. Do thou, then, shake off thy great heaviness, and put from thee the multitude of sorrows, that the Mighty may be merciful to thee again, and the Highest shall give thee rest by casing thy labors.”

70. So, then, my tears shall cease, for one must yield to healthful remedies, since there ought to be some difference between believers and unbelievers. Let them, therefore, weep who cannot have the hope of the resurrection, of which not the sentence of God but the strictness of the faith deprives them. Let there be this difference between the servants of Christ and the worshippers of idols, that the latter weep for their friends, whom they suppose to have perished for ever; that they should never cease from tears, and gain no rest from sorrow, who think that the dead have no rest. But from us, for whom death is the end not of our nature but of this life only, since our nature itself is restored to a better state, let the advent of death wipe away all tears.

71. And certainly if they have ever found any consolation who have thought that death is the end of sensation and the failing of our nature, how much more must we find it so to whom the consciousness of good done brings the promise of better rewards! The heathen have their consolation, because they think that death is a cessation of all evils, and as they are without the fruit of life, so, too, they think that they have escaped all the feeling and pain of those severe and constant sufferings which we have to endure in this life. We, however, as we are better supported by our rewards, so, too, ought we to he more patient through our consolation, for

they seem to be not lost but sent before, whom death is not going to swallow up, but eternity to receive.

72. My tears shall therefore cease, or if they cannot cease, I will weep for thee, my brother, in the common sorrow, and will hide my private groaning in the public grief. For how can my tears wholly cease, since they break forth at every utterance of thy name, or when my very habitual actions arouse thy memory, or when my affection pictures thy likeness, or when recollection renews my grief. For how canst thou be absent who art again made present in so many occupations? Thou art present, I say, and art always brought before me, and with my whole mind and soul do I embrace thee, gaze upon thee, address thee, kiss thee; I grasp thee whether in the gloomy night or in the clear light, when thou vouch-safest to revisit and console me sorrowing. And now the very nights which used to seem irksome in thy lifetime, because they denied us the power of looking on each other; and sleep itself, lately, the odious interrupter of our converse, have commenced to be sweet, because they restore thee to me. They, then, are not wretched but blessed whose mutual presence fails not, whose care for each other is not lessened, whose mutual esteem is increased. For sleep is a likeness and image of death.

73. But if, in the quiet of night, our souls still cleaving to the chains of the body, and as it were bound within the prison bars of the limbs, yet are able to see higher and separate things, how much more do they see these, when in their pure and heavenly senses they suffer from no hindrances of bodily weakness. And so when, as a certain evening was drawing on, I was complaining that thou didst not revisit me when at rest, thou wast wholly present always. So that, as I lay with my limbs bathed in sleep, while I was [in mind] awake for thee, thou wast alive to me, I could say, “What is death, my brother?” For certainly thou wast not separated from me for a single moment, for thou wast so present with me everywhere, that enjoyment of each other, which we were unable to have in the intercourse of this life, is now always and everywhere with us. For at that time certainly all things could not be present, for neither did our physical constitution allow it, nor could the sight of each other, nor the sweetness of our bodily embraces at all times and in all places be enjoyed. But the pictures in our souls were always present with us, even when we were not

together, and these have not come to an end, but constantly come back to us, and the greater the longing the greater abundance have we of them.

74. So, then, I hold thee, my brother, and neither death nor time shall tear thee from me. Tears themselves are sweet, and weeping itself a pleasure, for by these the eagerness of the soul is assuaged, and affection being eased is quieted. For neither can I be without thee, nor ever forget thee, or think of thee without tears. O bitter days, which show that our union is broken! O nights worthy of tears, which have lost for me so good a sharer of my rest, so inseparable a companion! What sufferings would ye cause me, unless the likeness of him present offered itself to me, unless the visions of my soul represented him whom my bodily sight shows me no more!

75. Now, now, O brother, dearest to my soul, although thou art gone by too early a death, happy at least art thou, who dost not endure these sorrows, and art not compelled to mourn the loss of a brother, separation from whom thou couldst not long endure, but didst quickly return and visit him again. But if then thou didst hasten to banish the weariness of my loneliness, to lighten the sadness of thy brother’s mind, how much more often oughtest thou now to revisit my afflicted soul, and thyself lighten the sorrow which has its origin from thee!

76. But the exercise of my office now bids me rest awhile, and attention to my priestly duties draws my mind away; but what will happen to my holy sister, who though she moderates her affection by the fear of God, yet again kindles the grief itself of the affection by the zeal of her devotion? Prostrate on the ground, embracing her brother’s tomb, wearied with toilsome walking, sad in spirit, day and night she renews her grief. For though she often breaks off her weeping by speech, she renews it in prayer; and although in her knowledge of her Scriptures she excels those who bring consolation, she makes up for her desire of weeping by the constancy of her prayers, renewing the abundance of her tears then chiefly, when no one can interrupt her. So thou hast that which thou mayest pity, not what thou mayest blame, for to weep in prayer is a sign of virtue. And although that be a common thing with virgins, whose softer sex and more tender affection abound in tears at the sight of the common weakness, even without the feeling of family grief, yet when there is a greater cause for sorrowing, no limit is set to that sorrow.

77. The means of consolation, then, are wanting since excuses abound. For thou canst not forbid that which thou teachest, especially when she attributes her tears to devotion, not to sorrow, and conceals the course of the common grief for fear of shame. Console her, therefore, thou who canst approach her soul, and penetrate her mind. Let her perceive that thou art present, feel that thou art not departed, that having enjoyed his consolation of whose merit she is assured, she may learn not to grieve heavily for him, who warned her that he was not to be mourned for.

78. But why should I delay thee, brother, why should I wait that my address should die and as it were be buried with thee? Although the sight and form of thy lifeless body, and its remaining comeliness and figure abiding here, comfort the eyes, I delay no longer, let us go on to the tomb. But first, before the people I utter the last farewell, declare peace to thee, and pay the last kiss. Go before us to that home, common and waiting for all, and certainly now longed for by me beyond others. Prepare a common dwelling for him with whom thou hast dwelt, and as here we have had all things in common, so there, too, let us know no divided rights.

79. Do not, I pray thee, long put off him who is desirous of thee, expect him who is hastening after thee, help him who is hurrying, and if I seem to thee to delay too long, summon me. For we have not ever been long separated from each other, but thou wast always wont to return. Nor since thou canst not return again, I will go to thee; it is just that I should repay the kindness and take my turn. Never was there much difference in the condition of our life; whether health or sickness, it was common to both, so that if one sickened the other fell ill, and when one began to recover, the other, too, was convalescent. How have we lost our rights? This time, too, we had our sickness in common, how is it that death was not ours in common?

80. And now to Thee, Almighty God, I commend this guileless soul, to Thee I offer my sacrifice; accept favorably and mercifully the gift of a brother, the offering of a priest. I offer beforehand these first libations of myself. I come to Thee with this pledge, a pledge not of money but of life, cause me not to remain too long a debtor of such an amount. It is not the ordinary interest of a brother’s love, nor the common course of nature, which is increased by such an amount of virtue. I can bear it, if I shall be soon compelled to pay it.

BOOK 2

ON THE BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION

1. In the former book I indulged my longing to some extent, lest too sharp remedies applied to a burning wound might rather increase than assuage the pain. And as at the same time I often addressed my brother, and had him before my eyes, it was not out of place to let natural feelings have a little play, since they are somewhat satisfied by tears, soothed by weeping, and numbed by a shock. For the outward expression of affection is of a soft and tender nature, it loves nothing extravagant, nothing stern, nothing hard; and patience is proved by enduring rather than by resisting.

2. So, since the death-day might well, lately, by the sad spectacle draw aside the mind of a brother, because it occupied him wholly, now, inasmuch as on the seventh day, the symbol of the future rest, we return to the grave, it is profitable to turn our thoughts somewhat from my brother to a general exhortation addressed to all, and to give our attention to this; so as neither to cling to my brother with all our minds, lest our feelings overcome us, nor forgetting such devotion and desert, to turn wholly away from him; and in truth we should but increase the suffering of our intense grief, if his death were again the subject of to-day's address.

3. Wherefore we propose, dearest brethren, to console ourselves with the common course of nature, and not to think anything hard which awaits all. And therefore we deem that death is not to be mourned over; firstly, because it is common and due to all; next, because it frees us from the miseries of this lie and, lastly, because when in the likeness of sleep we are at rest from the toils of this world, a more lively vigor is shed upon us. What grief is there which the grace of the Resurrection does not console? What sorrow is not excluded by the belief that nothing perishes in death? nay, indeed, that by the hastening of death it comes to pass that much is preserved from perishing. So it will happen, dearest brethren, that in our general exhortation we shall turn our affections to my brother, and shall not seem to have wandered too far from him, if through hope of the

Resurrection and the sweetness of future glory even in our discourse he should live again for us.

4. Let us then begin at this point, that we show that the departure of our loved ones should not be mourned by us. For what is more absurd than to deplore as though it were a special misfortune, what one knows is appointed unto all? This were to lift up the mind above the condition of men, not to accept the common law, to reject the fellowship of nature, to be puffed up in a fleshly mind, and not to recognize the measure of the flesh itself. What is more absurd than not to recognize what one is, to pretend to be what one is not? Or what can be a sign of less forethought than to be unable to bear, when it has happened, what one knew was going to happen? Nature herself calls us back, and draws us aside froth sorrow of this sort by a kind of consolation of her own. For what so deep mourning is there, or so bitter grief, in which the mind is not at times relieved? For human nature has this peculiarity, that although men may be in sad circumstances, yet if only they be men, they sometimes turn their thoughts a little away from sadness.

5. It is said, indeed, that there have been certain tribes who mourned at the birth of human beings, and kept festival at their deaths, and this not without reason, for they thought that those who had entered upon this ocean of life should be mourned over, but that they who had escaped from the waves and storms of this world should be accompanied by rejoicing not without good reason. And we too forget the birthdays of the departed, and commemorate with festal solemnity the day on which they died.

6. Therefore, in accordance with nature, excessive grief must not be yielded to, test we should seem either to claim for ourselves either an exceptional superiority of nature, or to reject the common lot. For death is alike to all, without difference for the poor, without exception for the rich. And so although through the sin of one alone, yet it passed upon all; that we may not refuse to acknowledge Him to be also the Author of death, Whom we do not refuse to acknowledge as the Author of our race; and that, as through one death is ours, so should be also the resurrection; and that we should not refuse the misery, that we may attain to the gift. For, as we read, Christ "is come to save that which was lost," and "to be Lord both of the dead and living." In Adam I fell, in Adam I was cast out of Paradise, in

Adam I died; how shall the Lord call me back, except He find me in Adam; guilty as I was in him, so now justified in Christ. If, then, death be the debt of all, we must be able to endure the payment. But this topic must be reserved for later treatment.

7. It is now our purpose to demonstrate that death ought not to cause too heavy grief, because nature itself rejects this. And so they say that there was a law among the Lycians, commanding that men who gave way to grief should be clothed in female apparel, inasmuch as they judged mourning to be soft and effeminate in a man. And it is inconsistent that those who ought to offer their breast to death for the faith, for religion, for their country, for righteous judgment, and the endeavor after virtue, should grieve too bitterly for that in the case of others which, if a fitting cause required, they would seek for themselves. For how can one help shrinking from that in ourselves which one mourns with too little patience when it has happened to others? Put aside your grief, if you can; if you cannot, keep it to yourself.

8. Is, then, all sorrow to be kept within or repressed? Why should not reason rather than time lighten one’s sadness? Shall not wisdom better assuage that which the passage of time will obliterate? Further, it seems to me that it is a want of due feeling with regard to the memory of those whose loss we mourn, when we prefer to forget them rather than that our sorrow should be lessened by consolation; and to shrink from the recollection of them, rather than remember them with thankfulness; that we fear the calling to mind of those whose image in our hearts ought to be a delight; that we are rather distrustful than hopeful regarding the acceptance of the departed, and think of those we loved rather as liable to punishment than as heirs of immortality.

9. But you may say: We have lost those whom we used to love. Is not this the common lot of ourselves and the earth and elements, that we cannot keep for ever what has been entrusted to us for a time? The earth groans under the plough, is lashed by rains, struck by tempests, bound by cold, burnt by the sun, that it may bring forth its yearly fruits; and when it has clothed itself with a variety of flowers, it is stripped and spoiled of its own adornment. How many plunderers it has! And it does not complain of the loss of its fruits, to which it gave birth that it might lose them, nor

thereafter does it refuse to produce what it remembers will be taken from it.

10. The heavens themselves do not always shine with the globes of twinkling stars, wherewith as with coronets they are adorned. They are not always growing bright with the dawn of light, or ruddy with the rays of the sun; but in constant succession that most pleasing appearance of the world grows dark with the damp chill of night. What is more grateful than the light? what more pleasant than the sun? each of which daily comes to an end; yet we do not take it ill that these have passed away from us, because we expect them to return. Thou art taught in these things what patience thou oughtest to manifest with regard to those who belong to thee. If things above pass away from thee, and cause no grief, why should the passing away of man be mourned?

11. Let, then, grief be patient, let there be that moderation in adversity which is required in prosperity. If it be not seemly to rejoice immoderately, is it seemly so to mourn? For want of moderation in grief or fear of death is no small evil. How many has it driven to the halter, in how many hands has it placed the sword, that they might by that very means demonstrate their madness in not enduring death, and yet seeking it; in adopting that as a remedy which they flee from as an evil. And because they were unable to endure and to suffer what is in agreement with their nature, they fall into that which is contrary to their desire, being separated for ever from those whom they desired to follow. But this is not common, since nature herself restrains although madness drives men on.

12. But it is common with women to make public wailing, as though they feared that their misery might not be known. They affect soiled clothing, as though the feeling of sorrow consisted therein; they moisten their unkempt hair with filth; and lastly, which is done habitually in many places, with their clothing torn and their dress rent in two, they prostitute their modesty in nakedness, as if they were ready to sacrifice that modesty because they have lost that which was its reward. And so wanton eyes are excited, and lust after those naked limbs, which were they not made bare they would not desire. Would that those filthy garments covered the mind rather than the bodily form. Lasciviousness of mind is often hidden under

sad clothing, and the unseemly rudeness of dress is used as a covering to hide the secrets of wanton spirits.

13. She mourns for her husband with sufficient devotion who preserves her modesty and does not give up her constancy. The best duties to discharge to the departed are that they live in our memories and continue in our affection. She has not lost her husband who manifests her chastity, nor is she widowed as regards her union who has not changed her husband's name. Nor hast thou lost the heir when thou assistest the joint-heir, but in exchange for a successor in perishable things thou hast a sharer in things eternal. Thou hast one to represent thine heir, pay to the poor what was due to the heir, that there may remain one to survive, not only the old age of father or mother, but thine own life. Thou leavest thy successor all the more, if his share conduce not to luxury in things present, but to the purchasing of things to come.

14. But we long for those whom we have lost. For two things specially pain us: either the longing for those we have lost, which I experience in my own case; or that we think them deprived of the sweetness of life, and snatched away from the fruits of their toil. For there is a tender movement of love, which suddenly kindles the affection, so as to have the effect rather of soothing than of hindering the pain; inasmuch as it seems a dutiful thing to long for what one has lost, and so under an appearance of virtue weakness increases.

15. But why dost thou think that she who has sent her beloved to foreign parts, and because of military service, or of undertaking some office, or has discovered that for the purpose of commerce he has crossed the sea, ought to be more patient than thou who art left, not because of some chance decision or desire of money, but by the law of nature? But, you say, the hope of regaining him is shut out. As though the return of any one were certain! And oftentimes doubt wearies the mind more where the fear of danger is strong; and it is more burdensome to fear lest something should happen than to bear what one already knows has happened. For the one increases the amount of fear, the other looks forward to the end of its grief.

16. But masters have the right to transfer their slaves whithersoever they determine. Has not God this right? It is not granted to us to look for their return, but it is granted us to follow those gone before. And certainly the

usual shortness of life seems neither to have deprived them of much who have gone before, nor to delay very long him who remains.

17. But if one cannot mitigate one's grief, does it not seem unbecoming to wish that because of our longing the whole course of things should be upset? The longings of lovers are certainly more intense, and yet they are tempered by regard to what is necessary; and though they grieve at being forsaken they are not wont to mourn, rather being deserted they blush at loving too hastily. And so patience in regret is all the more manifested.

18. But what shall I say of those who think that the departed are deprived of the sweetness of life? There can be no real sweetness in the midst of the bitternesses and pains of this life, which are caused either by the infirmity of the body itself, or by the discomfort of things happening from without. For we are always anxious and in suspense as to our wishes for happier circumstances; we waver in uncertainty, our hope setting before us doubtful things for certain, inconvenient for satisfactory, things that will fail for what is firm, and we have neither any strength in our will nor certainty in our wishes. But if anything happens against our wish, we think we are lost, and are rather broken down by pain at adversity than cheered by the enjoyment of prosperity. What good, then, are they deprived of who are rather freed from troubles?

19. Good health, I doubt not, is more beneficial to us than bad health is hurtful. Riches bring more delights than poverty annoyance, the satisfaction in children's love is greater than the sorrow at their loss, and youth is more pleasant than old age is sad. How often is the attainment of one's wishes a weariness, and what one has longed for a regret; so that one grieves at having obtained what one was not afraid of obtaining. But what fatherland, what pleasures, can compensate for exile and the bitterness of other penalties? For even when we have these, the pleasure is weakened either by the disinclination to use or by the fear of losing them.

20. But suppose that some one remains unharmed, free from grief, in uninterrupted enjoyment of the pleasures of the whole course of man's life, what comfort can the soul attain to, enclosed in the bonds of a body of such a kind, and restrained by the narrow limits of the limbs? If our flesh shrinks from prison, if it abhors everything which denies it the power of roaming about; when it seems, indeed, to be always going forth, with its

little powers of hearing or seeing what is beyond itself, how much more does our soul desire to escape from that prison-house of the body, which, being free with movement like the air, goes whither we know not, and comes whence we know not.

21. We know, however, that it survives the body, and that being set free from the bars of the body, it sees with clear gaze those things which before, dwelling in the body, it could not see. And we are able to judge of this by the instance of those who have visions of things absent and even heavenly in sleep (whose minds, when the body is as it were buried in sleep, rise to higher things and relate them to the body). So, then, if death frees us from the miseries of this world, it is certainly no evil, inasmuch as it restores liberty and excludes suffering.

22. At this point the right place occurs for arguing that death is not an evil, because it is the refuge from all miseries and all evils, a safe harbor of security, and a haven of rest. For what adversity is there which we do not experience in this life? What storms and tempests do we not suffer? by what discomforts are we not harassed? whose merits are spared?

23. The holy patriarch Israel fled from his country, was exiled from his father, relatives, and home, he mourned over the shame of his daughter and the death of his son, he endured famine, when dead he lost his own grave, for he entreated that his bones should be translated, a lest even in death he should find rest.

24. Holy Joseph experienced the hatred of his brethren, the guile of those who envied him, the service of slavery, the mastership of merchantmen, the wantonness of his mistress, the ignorance of her husband, and the misery of prison.

25. Holy David lost two sons; the one incestuous, the other a parricide. To have had them was a disgrace, to have lost them a grief. And he lost a third, the infant whom he loved. Him he wept for while still alive, but did not long for when dead. For so we read, that, while the child was sick, David entreated the Lord for him, and fasted and lay in sackcloth, and when the elders came near to raise him from the earth, he would neither rise nor eat. But when he heard that the child was dead, he changed his clothes, worshipped God, and took food. When this seemed strange to his

servants, he answered that he had rightly fasted and wept while the child was alive, because he justly thought that God might have mercy, and it could not be doubted that He could preserve the life of one alive Who could give life to the departed, but now, when death had taken place, why should he fast, for he could not now bring back him that was dead, and recall him who was lifeless. “I,” said he, “shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.”

26. O greatest consolation for him who mourns! O true judgment of a wise man! O wonderful wisdom of one who is a bond-man! that none should take it ill that anything adverse has happened to him, or complain that he is afflicted contrary to his deserts. For who art thou who beforehand proclaimest thy deserts? Why desirest thou to anticipate Him Who takes cognizance of all? Why dost thou snatch away the verdict from Him Who is going to judge? This is permitted not even to the saints, nor has it ever been done by the saints with impunity. David confesses that he was scourged for this in his psalm: “Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they have obtained riches. Therefore I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands among the innocent; and I was scourged all the day long, and my accusation came every morning.”

27. Peter also, though full of faith and devotion, yet because, not yet conscious of our common weakness, he had presumptuously said to the Lord, “I will lay down my life for Thy sake,” fell into the trial of his presumption before the cock crowed thrice. Although, indeed, that trial was a lesson for our salvation, that we might learn not to think little of the weakness of the flesh, lest through thus thinking little of it we should be tempted. If Peter was tempted, who can presume? who can maintain that he cannot be tempted? And without doubt for our sakes was Peter tempted, so that, the proving of the temptation did not take place in a stronger than he, but that in him we should learn how, resisting in temptations, although tried even by care for our lives, we might yet overcome the sting of the temptation with tears of patience.

28. But that same David, that the difference of his actions may not perhaps disturb those who cling to the words of Scripture; that same David, I say, who had not wept for the innocent infant, wept for the parricide when dead. For at the last, when he was wailing and mourning, he

said, “O my son Absalom, my son Absalom! Who will grant me to die for thee!” But not only is Absalom the parricide wept over, Amnon is wept over; not only is the incestuous wept over, but is even avenged; the one by the scorn of the kingdom, the other by the exile of his brothers. The wicked is wept over, not the innocent. What is the cause? What is the reason? There is no little deliberation with the prudent and confirmation of results with the wise; for there is great consistency of prudence in so great a difference of actions, but the belief is one. He wept for those who were dead, but did not think that he ought to weep for the dead infant, for he thought that they were lost to him, but hoped that the latter would rise again.

29. But concerning the Resurrection more will be said later on; let us now return to our immediate subject. We have set forth that even holy men have without any consideration for their merits, suffered many and heavy things in this world, together with toil and misery. So David, entering into himself, says: “Remember; Lord, that we are dust; as for man, his days are but as grass;” and in another place: “Man is like to vanity, his days pass away as a shadow.” For what is more wretched than we, who are sent into this life as it were plundered and naked, with frail bodies, deceitful hearts, weak minds, anxious in respect of cares, slothful as to labor, prone to pleasures.

30. Not to be born is then by far the best, according to Solomon’s sentence. For they also who have seemed to themselves to excel most in philosophy have followed him. For he, before these philosophers in time, but later than many of our writers, spoke thus in Ecclesiastes: “And I praised all the departed, which are already dead, more than the living, who are yet alive. And better than both they is he who hath not yet been born, and who hath not seen this evil work which hath been done under the sun. And I saw all travail, and all the good of this labor, that for this a man is envied of his neighbor. And, indeed, this is vanity and vexation of spirit.”

31. And who said this but he who asked for and obtained wisdom, to know how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the course of the year, and the dispositions of stars, to be acquainted with the natures of living creatures, the furies of wild beasts, and the violence of winds, and to understand the thoughts of man! How, then, should mortal matters be

hidden from him, from whom heavenly things were not hidden? He who penetrated the thoughts of the woman who was claiming the child of another, who by the inspiration of divine grace knew the natures of living creatures which he did not share; could he err or say what was untrue with regard to the circumstances of that nature, which he found in his own personal experience?

32. But Solomon was not the only person who felt this, though he alone gave expression to it. He had read the words of holy Job: "Let the day perish wherein I was born." Job had recognized that to be born is the beginning of all woes, and therefore wished that the day on which he was born might perish, so that the origin of all troubles might be removed, and wished that the day of his birth might perish that he might receive the day of resurrection. For Solomon had heard his father's saying: "Lord, make me to know mine end, and the number of my days, that I may know what is lacking unto me." For David knew that what is perfect cannot be grasped here, and therefore hastened on to those things which are to come. For now we know in part, and understand in part, but then it will be possible for that which is perfect to be grasped, when not the shadow but the reality of the Divine Majesty and eternity shall begin to shine so as to be gazed upon by us with unveiled face.

33. But no one would hasten to the end, except he were fleeing from the discomfort of this life. And so David also explained why he hastened to the end, when he said: "Behold Thou hast made my days old, and my being is as nothing before Thee, surely all things are vanity, even every man that liveth." Why, then, do we hesitate to flee from vanity? Or why does it please us to be troubled to no purpose in this world, to lay up treasures, and not know for what heir we are gathering them? Let us pray that troubles be removed from us, that we be taken out of this foolish world, that we may be free from our daily pilgrimage, and return to that country and our natural home. For on this earth we are strangers and foreigners; we have to return thither whence we have come down, we must strive and pray not perfunctorily but earnestly to be delivered from the guile and wickedness of men full of words. And he who knew the remedy groaned that his sojourn was prolonged, and that he must dwell with the unjust and sinners. What shall I do, who both am sinful and know not the remedy?

34. Jeremiah also bewails his birth in these words: “Woe is me, my mother! Why hast thou borne me a man of contention in all the earth? I have not benefited others, nor has any one benefited me, my strength hath failed.” If, then, holy men shrink from life whose life, though profitable to us, is esteemed unprofitable to themselves; what ought we to do who am not able to profit others, and who feel that it, like money borrowed at interest, grows more heavily weighted every day with an increasing mass of sins?

35. “I die daily,” says the Apostle. Better certainly is this saying than theirs who said that meditation on death was true philosophy, for they praised the study, he exercised the practice of death. And they acted for themselves only, but Paul, himself perfect, died not for his own weakness but for ours. But what is meditation on death but a kind of separation of body and soul, for death itself is defined as nothing else than the separation of body and soul? But this is in accordance with common opinion.

36. But according to the Scriptures we have been taught that death is threefold. One death is when we die to sin, but live to God. Blessed, then, is that death which, escaping from sin, and devoted to God, separates us from what is mortal and consecrates us to Him Who is immortal. Another death is the departure from this life, as the patriarch Abraham died, and the patriarch David, and were buried with their fathers; when the soul is set free from the bonds of the body. The third death is that of which it is said: “Leave the dead to bury their own dead.” In that death not only the flesh but also the soul dies, for “the soul that sinneth, it shall die.” For it dies to the Lord, through the weakness not of nature but of guilt. But this death is not the discharge from this life, but a fall through error.

37. Spiritual death, then, is one thing, natural death another, a third the death of punishment. But that which is natural is not also penal, for the Lord did not inflict death as a penalty, but as a remedy. And to Adam when he sinned, one thing was appointed as a penalty, another for a remedy, when it was said: “Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I had commanded thee that of it alone thou shouldst not eat, cursed is the ground in thy labor; in sorrow shalt thou eat its fruit all the days of thy life. Thorns and thistles shall it

bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return to the earth from which thou wast taken.”

38. Here you have the days of rest from penalties, for they contain the punishment decreed against the thorns of this life, the cares of the world, and the pleasures of riches which shut out the Word. Death is given for a remedy, because it is the end of evils. For God said not, “Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of the woman thou shalt return to the earth,” for this would have been a penal sentence, as this one is, “The earth under curse shall bring forth thorns and thistles to thee;” but He said: “In sweat shall thou eat thy bread until thou return to the earth.” You see that death is rather the goal of our penalties, by which an end is put to the course of this life.

39. So, then, death is not only not an evil, but is even a good thing. So that it is sought as a good, as it is written: “Men shall seek death and shall not find it.” They will seek it who shall say to the mountains: “Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us.” That soul, too, shall seek it which has sinned. That rich man lying in hell shall seek it, who wishes that his tongue should be cooled with the finger of Lazarus.

40. We see, then, that this death is a gain and life a penalty, so that Paul says: “To me to live is Christ and to die is gain.” What is Christ but the death of the body, the breath of life? And so let us die with Him, that we may live with Him. Let there then be in us as it were a daily practice and inclination to dying, that by this separation from bodily desires, of which we have spoken, our soul may learn to withdraw itself, and, as it were placed on high, when earthly lusts cannot approach and attach it to themselves, may take upon herself the likeness of death, that she incur not the penalty of death. For the law of the flesh wars against the law of the mind, and makes it over to the law of error, as the Apostle has made known to us, saying: “For I see a law of the flesh in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity in the law of sin.” We are all attached, we all feel this; but we are not all delivered. And so a miserable man am I, unless I seek the remedy.

41. But what remedy? “Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord.” We have a

physician, let us use the remedy. Our remedy is the grace of Christ, and the body of death is our body. Let us therefore be as strangers to our body, lest we be strangers to Christ. Though we are in the body, let us not follow the things which are of the body, let us not reject the rightful claims of nature, but desire before all the gifts of grace: “For to be dissolved and to be with Christ is far better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sakes.”

42. But this need is not the case of all, Lord Jesus; it is not so with me, who am profitable to none; for to me death is a gain, that I may sin no more. To die is gain to me, who, in the very treatise in which I comfort others, am incited as it were by an intense impulse to the longing for my lost brother, since it suffers me not to forget him. Now I love him more, and long for him more intensely. I long for him when I speak, I long for him when I read again what I have written, and I think that I am more impelled to write this, that I may not ever be without the recollection of him. And in this I am not acting contrary to Scripture, but I am of the same mind with Scripture, that I may grieve with more patience, and long with greater intensity.

43. Thou hast caused me, my brother, not to fear death, and I only would that my life might die with thine! This Balaam wished for as the greatest good for himself, when, inspired by the spirit of prophecy, he said: “Let my soul die in the souls of the righteous, and let my seed be like the seed of them.” And in truth he wished this according to the spirit of prophecy, for as he saw the rising of Christ, so also he saw His triumph, he saw His death, but saw also in Him the everlasting resurrection of men, and therefore feared not to die as he was to rise again. Let not then my soul die in sin, nor admit sin into itself, but let it die in the soul of the righteous, that it may receive his righteousness. Then, too, he who dies in Christ. is made a partaker of His grace in the Font.

44. Death is not, then, an object of dread, nor bitter to those in need, nor too bitter to the rich, nor unkind to the old, nor a mark of cowardice to the brave, nor everlasting to the faithful nor unexpected to the wise. For how many have consecrated their life by the renown of their death alone, how many have been ashamed to live, and have found death a gain! We have read how often by the death of one great nations have been delivered; the

armies of the enemy have been put to flight by the death of the general, who had been unable to conquer them when alive.

45. By the death of martyrs religion has been defended, faith increased, the Church strengthened; the dead have conquered, the persecutors have been overcome. And so we celebrate the death of those of whose lives we are ignorant. So, too, David rejoiced in prophecy at the departure of his own soul, saying: “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.” He esteemed death better than life. The death itself of the martyrs is the prize of their life. And again, by the death of those at variance hatred is put an end to.

46. Why should more be said? By the death of One the world was redeemed. For Christ, had He Willed, need not have died, but He neither thought that death should be shunned as though there were any cowardice in it, nor could He have saved us better than by dying. And so His death is the life of all. We are signed with the sign of His death, we show forth His death when we pray; when we offer the Sacrifice we declare His death, for His death is victory, His death is our mystery, His death is the yearly recurring solemnity of the world. What now should we say concerning His death, since we prove by this Divine Example that death alone found immortality, and that death itself redeemed itself. Death, then, is not to be mourned over, for it is the cause of salvation for all; death is not to be shunned, for the Son of God did not think it unworthy of Him, and did not shun it. The order of nature is not to be loosed, for what is common to all cannot admit of exception in individuals.

47. And, indeed, death was no part of man’s nature, but became natural; for God did not institute death at first, but gave it as a remedy. Let us then take heed that it do not seem to be the opposite. For if death is a good, why is it written that “God made not death, but by the malice of men death entered into the world”? For of a truth death was no necessary part of the divine operation, since for those who were placed in paradise a continual succession of all good things streamed forth; but because of transgression the life of man, condemned to lengthened labor, began to be wretched with intolerable groaning; so that it was fitting that an end should be set to the evils, and that death should restore what life had lost. For

immortality, unless grace breathed upon it, would be rather a burden than an advantage.

48. And if one consider accurately, it is not the death of our being, but of evil, for being continues, it is evil that perishes. That which has been rises again; would that as it is now free from sinning, so it were without former guilt! But this very thing is a proof that it is not the death of being, that we shall be the same persons as we were. And so we shall either pay the penalty of our sins, or attain to the reward of our good deeds. For the same being will rise again, now more honorable for having paid the tax of death. And then “the dead who are in Christ shall rise first; then, too, we who are alive,” it is said, “shall together with them be caught up in the clouds into the air to meet the Lord, and so we shall always be with the Lord.” They first, but those that are alive second. They with Jesus, those that are alive through Jesus. To them life will be sweeter after rest, and though the living will have a delightful gain, yet they will be without experience of the remedy.

49. There is, then, nothing for us to fear in death, nothing for us to mourn, whether life which was received from nature be rendered up to her again, or whether it be sacrificed to some duty which claims it, and this will be either an act of religion or the exercise of some virtue. And no one ever wished to remain as at present. This has been supposed to have been promised to John, but it is not the truth. We hold fast to the words, and deduce the meaning from them. He himself in his own writing denies that there was a promise that he should not die, that no one from that instance might yield to an empty hope. But if to wish for this would be an extravagant hope, how much more extravagant were it to grieve without rule for what has happened according to rule!

50. The heathen mostly console themselves with the thought, either of the common misery, or of the law of nature, or of the immortality of the soul. And would that their utterances were consistent, and that they did not transmit the wretched soul into a number of ludicrous monstrosities and figures! But what ought we to do, whose reward is the resurrection, though many, not being able to deny the greatness of this gift, refuse to believe in it? And for this reason will we maintain it, not by one casual argument only, but by as many as we are able.

51. All things, indeed, are believed to be, either because of experience, or on grounds of reason, or from similar instances, or because it is fitting that they be, and each of these supports our belief. Experience teaches us that we are moved; reason, that which moves us must be considered the property of another power; similar instances show that the field has borne crops, and therefore we expect that it will continue to bear them. Fitness, because even where we do not think that there will be results, yet we believe that it is by no means fitting to give up the works of virtue.

52. Each, then, is supported by each. But belief in the resurrection is inferred most clearly on three grounds, in which all are included. These are reason, analogy from universal example, and the evidence of what has happened, since many have risen. Reason is clear. For since the whole course of our life consists in the union of body and soul, and the resurrection brings with it either the reward of good works, or the punishment of wicked ones, it is necessary that the body, whose actions are weighed, rise again. For how shall the soul be summoned to judgment without the body, when account has to be rendered of the companionship of itself and the body?

53. Rising again is the lot of all, but there is a difficulty in believing this, because it is not due to our deserts, but is the gift of God. The first argument for the resurrection is the course of the world, and the condition of all things, the series of generations, the changes in the way of succession, the setting and rising of constellations, the ending of day and night, and their daily succession coming as it were again to life. And no other reason can exist for the fertile temperament of this earth, but that the divine order restores by the dews of night as much of that moisture from which all earthly things are produced, as the heat of the sun dries up by day. Why should I speak of the fruits of the earth? Do they not seem to die when they fall, to rise again when they grow green once more? That which is sown rises again, that which is dead rises again, and they are formed once more into the same classes and kinds as before. The earth first gave back these fruits, in these first our nature found the pattern of the resurrection.

54. Why doubt that body shall rise again from body? Grain is sown, grain comes up again: fruit is sown, fruit comes up again; but the grain is clothed

with blossom and husk. “And this mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible must put on incorruption.” The blossom of the resurrection is immortality, the blossom of the resurrection is incorruption. For what is more fruitful than perpetual rest? what supplied with richer store than everlasting security? Here is that abundant fruit, by whose increase man’s nature shoots forth more abundantly after death.

55. But you wonder how what has yielded to putrefaction can again become solid, how scattered particles can come together, those that are consumed be made good: you do not wonder how seeds broken up under the moist pressure of the earth grow green. For certainly they too, rotting under contact with the earth, are broken up, and when the fertilizing moisture of the soil gives life to the dead and hidden seeds, and, by the vital warmth, as it were breathes out a kind of soul of the green herb. Then by little and little nature raises from the ground the tender stalk of the growing ear, and as a careful mother folds it in certain sheaths, lest the sharp ice should hurt it as it grows, and to protect it from too great heat of the sun; and lest after this the rain should break down the fruit itself escaping as it were from its first cradle and just grown up, or lest the wind should scatter it, or small birds destroy it, she usually hedges it around with a fence of bristling awn.

56. Why should one, then, be surprised if the earth give back those bodies of men which it has received, seeing that it gives life to, raises, clothes, protects, and defends whatsoever bodies of seeds it has received? Cease then to doubt that the trustworthy earth, which restores multiplied as it were by usury the seeds committed to it, will also restore the entrusted deposit of the race of man. And why should I speak of the kinds of trees, which spring up from seed sown, and with revivified fruitfulness bear again their opening fruits, and repeat the old shape and likeness, and certain trees being renewed continue through many generations, and in their endurance overpass the very centuries? We see the grape rot, and the vine come up again: a graft is inserted and the tree is born again. Is there this divine foresight for restoring trees, and no care for men? And He Who has not suffered to perish that which He gave for man’s use, shall He suffer man to perish, whom he made after His own image?

57. But it appears incredible to you that the dead rise again? “Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself sowest, does it not first die that it may be quickened?” Sow any dry seed you please, it is raised up. But, you answer, it has the life-juice in itself. And our body has its blood, has its own moisture. This is the life-juice of our body. So that I think that the objection is exploded which some allege that a dry twig does not revive, and then endeavor to argue from this to the prejudice of the flesh. For the flesh is not dry, since all flesh is of clay, clay comes from moisture — moisture from the earth. Then, again, many growing plants, though always fresh, spring from dry and sandy soil, since the earth itself supplies sufficient moisture for itself. Does the earth then, which continually restores all things, fail with regard to man? From what has been said it is clear that we must not doubt that it is rather in accordance with than contrary to nature; for it is natural that all things living should rise again, but contrary to nature that they should perish.

58. We come now to a point which much troubles the heathen, how it can be that the earth should restore those whom the sea has swallowed up, wild beasts have torn to pieces or have devoured. So, then, at last we necessarily come to the conclusion that the doubt is not as to belief in resurrection in general, but as to a part. For, granted that the bodies of those torn in pieces do not rise again, the others do so, and the resurrection is not disproved, but a certain class is an exception. Yet I wonder why they think there is any doubt even concerning these, as though not all things which are of the earth return to the earth, and crumble again into earth. And the sea itself for the most part casts up on neighboring shores whatever human bodies it has swallowed. And if this were not so, I suppose we are to believe that it would not be difficult for God to join together what was dispersed, to unite what was scattered; God, Whom the universe obeys, to Whom the dumb elements submit and nature serves; as though it were not a greater wonder to give life to clay than to join it together.

59. That bird in the country of Arabia, which is called the Phoenix, restored by the renovating juices of its flesh, after being dead comes to life again: shall we believe that men alone are not raised up again? Yet we know this by common report and the authority of writings, namely, that the bird referred to has a fixed period of life of five hundred years, and when by

some warning of nature it knows that the end of its life is at hand, it furnishes for itself a casket of frankincense and myrrh and other perfumes, and its work and the time being together ended, it enters the casket and dies. Then from its juices a worm comes forth, and grows by degrees into the fashion of the same bird, and its former habits are restored, and borne up by the oarage of its wings it commences once more the course of its renewed life, and discharges a debt of gratitude. For it conveys that casket, whether the tomb of its body or the cradle of its resurrection, in which quitting life it died, and dying it rose again, from Ethiopia to Lycaonia; and so by the resurrection of this bird the people of those regions understand that a period of five hundred years is accomplished. So to that bird the five hundredth is the year of resurrection, but to us the thousandth: it has its resurrection in this world, we have ours at the end of the world. Many think also that this bird kindles its own funeral pile, and comes to life again from its own ashes.

60. But perhaps nature if more deeply investigated will seem to give a deeper reason for our belief: let our thoughts turn back to the origin and commencement of the creation of man. You are men and women, you are not ignorant of the things which have to do with human nature, and if any of you have not this knowledge, you know that we are born of nothing. But how small an origin for being so great as we are! And if I do not speak more plainly, yet you understand. what I mean, or rather what I will not say. Whence, then, is this head, and that wonderful countenance, whose maker we see not? We see the work, it is fashioned for various purposes and uses. Whence is this upright figure, this lofty stature, this power of action, this quickness of perception, this capacity for walking upright? Doubtless the organs of nature are not known to us, but that which they effect is known. Thou too wast once seed, and thy body is the seed of that which shall rise again. Listen to Paul and learn that thou art this seed: “It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body.” Thou also, then, art sown as are other things, why wonderest thou if thou shall rise again as shall others? But thou believest as to them, because thou seest; thou believest not this, because thou seest it not: “Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.”

61. However, before the season comes, those things also are not believed, for every season is not suited for the raising of seeds. Wheat is sown at one time, and comes up at another; at one time the vine is planted, at another the budding twigs begin to shoot, the foliage grows luxuriant, and the grape is formed; at one time the olive is planted, at another time, as though pregnant and loaded with its offspring of berries, it is bent down by the abundance of its fruit. But before its own period arrives for each, the produce is restricted, and that which bears has not the age of bearing in its own power. One may see the mother of all at one time disfigured with mold, at another bare of produce, at another green and full of flowers, at another dried up. Any spot which might wish to be always clothed and never to lay aside the golden dress of its seeds, or the green dress of the meadows, would be barren in itself and unendowed with the gain of its own produce which it would have transferred to others.

62. So, then, even if thou wilt not believe in our resurrection by faith nor by example, thou wilt believe by experience. For many products, as the vine, the olive, and different fruits, the end of the year is the fit time for ripening; and for us also the consummation of the world, as though the end of the year has set the fitting time for rising again. And fitly is the resurrection of the dead at the consummation of the world, test after the resurrection we should have to fall back into this evil age. For this cause Christ suffered that He might deliver us from this evil world; lest the temptations of this world should overthrow us again, and it should be an injury to us to come again to life, if we came to life again for sin.

63. So then we have both a reason and a time for the resurrection: a reason because nature in all its produce remains consistent with itself, and does not fail in the generation of men alone; a time because all things are produced at the end of the year. For the seasons of the world consist of one year. What wonder if the year be one since the day is one. For on one day the Lord hired the laborers to work in the vineyard, when He said, “Why stand ye here all the day idle?”

64. The causes of the beginnings of all things are seeds. And the Apostle of the Gentiles has said that the human body is a seed. And so in succession after sowing there is the substance needful for the resurrection. But even if there were no substance and no cause, who could think it difficult for God

to create man anew whence He will and as He wills. Who commanded the world to come into being out of no matter and no substance? Look at the heaven, behold the earth. Whence are the fires of the stars? Whence the orb and rays of the sun? Whence the globe of the moon? Whence the mountain heights, the hard rocks, the woody groves? Whence are the air diffused around, and the waters, whether enclosed or poured abroad? But if God made all these things out of nothing (for "He spake and they were made, He commanded and they were created"), why should we wonder that which has been should be brought to life again, since we see produced that which had not been?

65. It is a cause for wonder that though they do not believe in the resurrection, yet in their kindly care they make provision that the human race should not perish, and so say that souls pass and migrate into other bodies that the world may not pass away. But let them say which is the most difficult, for souls to migrate, or to return; come back to that which is their own, or seek for fresh dwelling places.

66. But let those who have not been taught doubt. For us who have read the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Gospel it is not lawful to doubt. For who can doubt when he reads: "And in that time shall all thy people be saved which is written in the book; and many of them that sleep in the graves of the earth shall arise with one opening, these to everlasting life, and those to shame and everlasting confusion. And they that have understanding shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and of the just many shall be as the stars for ever." Well, then, did he speak of the rest of those that sleep, that one may understand that death lasts not for ever, which like sleep is undergone for a time, and is put off at its time; and he shows that the progress of that life which shall be after death is better than that which is passed in sorrow and pain before death, inasmuch as the former is compared to the stars, the latter is assigned to trouble.

67. And why should I bring together what is written elsewhere: "Thou shalt raise me up and I will praise Thee." Or that other passage in which holy Job, after experiencing the miseries of this life, and overcoming all adversity by his virtuous patience, promised himself a recompense for present evils in the resurrection, saying: "Thou shall raise up this body of mine which has suffered many evils." Isaiah also, proclaiming the

resurrection to the people, says that he is the announcer of the Lord's message, for we read thus: "For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken, and they shall say in that day." And what the mouth of the Lord declared that the people should say is set forth later on, where it is written: "Because of Thy fear, O Lord, we have been with child and have brought forth the Spirit of Thy Salvation, which Thou hast poured forth upon the earth. They that inhabit the earth shall fall, they shall rise that are in the graves. For the dew which is from Thee is health for them but the land of the wicked shall perish. Go O my people, and enter into thy chambers; hide thyself for a little until the Lord's wrath pass by."

68. How well did he by the chambers point out the tombs of the dead, in which for a brief space we are hidden, that we may be better able to pass to the judgment of God, which shall try us with the indignation due for our wickednesses. He, then, is alive who is hidden and at rest, as though withdrawing himself from our midst and retiring, lest the misery of this world should entangle him with closer snares, for whom the heavenly oracles affirm by the voices of the prophets that the joy of the resurrection is reserved, and the soundness of their freed bodies procured by the divine deed. And dew is well used as a sign, since by it all vital seeds of the earth are raised to growth. What wonder is it, then, if the dust and ashes also of our failing body grow vigorous by the richness of the heavenly dew, and by the reception of this vital moistening the shapes of our limbs are refashioned and connected again with each other?

69. And the holy prophet Ezekiel teaches and describes with a full exposition how vigor is restored to the dry bones, the senses return, motion is added, and the sinews coming back, the joints of the human body grow strong; how the bones which were very dry are clothed with restored flesh, and the course of the veins and the flow of the blood is covered by the veil of the skin drawn over them. As we read, the reviving multitude of human bodies seems to spring up under the very words of the prophet, and one can see on the widespread plain the new seed shoot forth.

70. But if the wise men of old believed that a crop of armed men sprang up in the district of Thebes from the sowing of the hydra's teeth, whereas it is certainly established that seeds of one kind cannot be changed into another kind of plant, nor bring forth produce differing from its own seeds, so that

men should spring from serpents and flesh from teeth; how much more, indeed, is it to be believed that whatever has been sown rises again in its own nature, and that crops do not differ from their seed, that soft things do not spring from hard, nor hard from soft, nor is poison changed into blood; but that flesh is restored from flesh, bone from bone, blood from blood, the humors of the body from humors. Can ye then, ye heathen, who are able to assert a change, deny a restoration of the nature? Can you refuse to believe the oracles of God, the Gospel, and the prophets, who believe empty fables?

71. But let us now hear the prophet himself, who speaks thus: "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord led me forth in the Spirit, and placed me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of men's bones; and He led me through them round about, and, lo, there were very many bones on the face of the plain, and they were very dry. And He said unto me: Son of man, can these bones live? And I said: Lord, Thou knowest; and He said to me: Prophesy over these bones, and thou shalt say unto them: O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord to these bones: Behold I bring upon you the Spirit of life, and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and will stretch skin over you, and will put My Spirit into you, and ye shall live, and know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as He commanded me. And it came to pass when I was prophesying all these things, lo, there was a great earthquake."

72. Note how the prophet shows that there was hearing and movement in the bones before the Spirit of life was poured upon them. For, above, both the dry bones are bidden to hear, as if they had the sense of hearing, and that upon this each of them came to its own joint is pointed out by the words of the prophet, for we read as follows: "And the bones came together, each one to its joint. And I beheld, and, lo, sinews and flesh were forming upon them, and skin came upon them from above, and there was no Spirit in them."

73. Great is the lovingkindness of the Lord, that the prophet is taken as a witness of the future resurrection, that we, too might see it with his eyes. For all could not be taken as witnesses, but in that one all we are witnesses, for neither does lying come upon a holy man, nor error upon so great a prophet.

74. Nor ought it to appear at all improbable, that at the command of God the bones were fitted again to their joints, since we have numberless instances in which nature has obeyed the commands of heaven; as the earth was bidden to bring forth the green herb, and did bring it forth; as the rock at the touch of the rod gave forth water for the thirsting people; and the hard stone poured forth streams by the mercy of God for those parched with heat. What else did the rod changed into a serpent signify, than that at the will of God living things can be produced from those that are without life? Do you think it more incredible that bones should come together when bidden, than that streams should be turned back or the sea flee? For thus does the prophet testify: “The sea saw it and fled, Jordan was driven back.” Nor can there be any doubt about this fact, which was proved by the rescue of one and the destruction of the other of two peoples, that the waves of the sea stood restrained, and at the same time surrounded one people, and poured back upon the other for their death, that they might overwhelm the one, but preserve the other. And what do we find in the Gospel itself? Did not the Lord Himself prove there that the sea grew calm at a word, the clouds were driven away, the blasts of the winds yielded, and that on the quieted shores the dumb elements obeyed God?

75. But let us go on with the other points, that we may observe how by the Spirit of life the dead are quickened, they that lie in the graves arise, and the tombs are opened: “And He said unto me: Prophesy, son of man, and say to the Spirit, Come from the four winds of heaven, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, that they may live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet, an exceeding great company. And the Lord spake unto me, saying: Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. For they say, Our bones are become dry, our hope is lost, we shall perish. Therefore, prophesy and say: Thus saith the Lord: Behold I will open your graves, and will bring you up out of your graves into the land of Israel, and ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, and bring forth My people out of the graves, and shall put My Spirit in you, and place you in your own land, and ye shall know that I am the Lord; I have spoken, and I will perform it, saith the Lord.”

76. We notice here how the operations of the Spirit of life are again resumed; we know after what manner the dead are raised from the opening

tombs. And is it in truth a matter of wonder that the sepulchers of the dead are unclosed at the bidding of the Lord, when the whole earth from its utmost limits is shaken by one thunderclap, the sea overflows its bounds, and again checks the course of its waves? And finally, he who has believed that the dead shall rise again "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound)," "shall be caught up amongst the first in the clouds to meet Christ in the air;" he who has not believed shall be left, and subject himself to the sentence by his own unbelief.

77. The Lord also shows us in the Gospel, to come now to instances, after what manner we shall rise again. "For He raised not Lazarus alone, but the faith of all; and if thou believest, as thou readest, thy spirit also, which was dead, revives with Lazarus." For what does it mean, that the Lord went to the sepulcher and cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth," except that He would give us a visible proof, would set forth an example of the future resurrection? Why did He cry with a loud voice, as though He were not wont to work in the Spirit, to command in silence, but only that He might show that which is written: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump the dead shall rise again incorruptible"? For the raising of the voice answers to the peal of trumpets. And He cried, "Lazarus, come forth." Why is the name added, except perchance lest one might seem to be raised instead of another, or that the resurrection were rather accidental than commanded.

78. So, then, the dead man heard, and came forth from the tomb, bound hand and foot with grave cloths, and his face was bound with a napkin. Conceive, if thou canst, how he makes his way with closed eyes, directs his steps with bound feet, and moves as though free with fastened limbs. The bands remained on him but did not restrain him, his eyes were covered yet they saw. So, then, he saw who was rising again, who was walking, who was leaving the sepulcher. For when the power of the divine command was working, nature did not require its own functions, and brought, as it were, into extremity, obeyed no longer its own course, but the divine will. The bands of death were burst before those of the grave. The power of moving was exercised before the means of moving were supplied.

79. If thou marvellest at this, consider Who gave the command, that thou mayest cease to wonder; Jesus Christ. the Power of God, the Life, the Light, the Resurrection of the dead. The Power raised up him that was lying prostrate, the Life produced his steps, the Light drove away the darkness and restored his sight, the Resurrection renewed the gift of life.

80. Perchance it may trouble thee that the Jews took away the stone and loosened the grave cloths, and thou mayest haply be anxious as to who shall move the stone from thy tomb. As though He Who could restore the Spirit could not remove the stone; or He Who made the bound to walk could not burst the bonds; or He Who had shed light upon the covered eyes could not uncover the face; or He Who could renew the course of nature could not cleave the stone! But, in order that they may believe their eyes who will not believe with their heart, they remove the stone, they see the corpse, they smell the stench, they loose the grave cloths. They cannot deny that he is dead whom they behold rising again; they see the signs of death and the proofs of life. What if, whilst they are busied, they are converted by the very toil itself? What if, while they hear, they believe their own ears? What if, while they behold, they are instructed by their own eyes? What if, while they loose the bonds, they free their own minds? What if, while Lazarus is being unbound, the people is set free, while they let Lazarus go, themselves return to the Lord? For, lastly, many who had come to Mary, seeing what had taken place, believed.

81. And this was not the only instance which our Lord Jesus Christ set forth, but He raised others also, that we might at any rate believe more numerous instances. He raised the young man again, moved by the tears of his widowed mother, when He came and touched the bier, and said: "Young man, I say unto thee, arise, and he that was dead sat up and began to speak." As soon as he heard he forthwith sat up, he forthwith spake. The working of power, then, is one thing, the order of nature is another.

82. And what shall I say of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, at whose death multitudes were weeping and the flute-players piping? For the funeral solemnities were being performed because of the conviction of death. How quickly at the word of the Lord does the spirit return, the reviving body rise up, and food is taken, that the evidence of life may be believed!

83. And why should we wonder that the soul is restored at the word of God, that flesh returns to the bones, when we remember the dead raised by the touch of the prophet’s body? Elijah prayed, an d raised the dead child. Peter in the name of Christ bade Tabitha rise and walk, and the poor rejoicing believed for the food’s sake which she ministered to them, and shall we not believe for our salvation’s sake? They purchased the resurrection of another by their tears, shall we not believe in the purchase of ours by the Passion of Christ? Who when He gave up the ghost, in order to show that He died for our resurrection, worked out the course of the resurrection; for so soon as “He cried again with a loud voice and gave up the ghost, the earth did quake, and the rocks were rent, and the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and, going forth out of the tombs after His resurrection, came into the holy city and appeared unto many.”

84. If these things happened when He gave up the ghost, why should we think them incredible when He shall return to judgment? especially since this earlier resurrection is a pledge of that future resurrection, and a pattern of that reality Which is to come; indeed, it is rather itself truth than a pattern. Who, then, at the Lord’s resurrection opened the graves, gave a hand to those who were rising, showed them the road to find the holy city? If there was no one, it was certainly the Divine Power which was working in the bodies of the dead. Shall one seek for the aid of man where one sees the work of God?

85. Divine action has no need of human assistance. God commanded that the heavens should come into existence, and it was done; He determined that the earth should be created, and it was created. Who carried together the stones on his shoulders? who supplied the expenses? who furnished assistance to God as He toiled? These things were made in a moment. Would you know how quickly? “He spake and they were made.” If the elements spring up at a word. why should the dead not rise at a word? For though they be dead, yet they once lived, once had the breath of life for feeling, and strength for acting; and there is a very great difference between not having been capable of life, and having remained lifeless. The devil said: “Command this stone that it become bread.” He confesses that at the command of God nature can be transformed, dost thou not believe that at the command of God nature can be remade?

86. Philosophers dispute about the course of the sun and the system of the heavens, and there are those who think that these should be believed when they are ignorant of what they are talking about. For neither have they climbed up into the heavens, nor measured the sky, nor examined the universe with their eyes; for none of them was with God in the beginning, none of them has said of God: “When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, I was with Him as a master workman, I was he in whom He delighted.” If, then, they are believed, is God not believed, Who says: “As the new heavens and the new earth, which I make to remain before Me, saith the Lord; so shall your name and your seed abide; and month shall be after month, and sabbath after sabbath, and all flesh shall come in My sight to worship in Jerusalem, saith the Lord God; and they shall go forth, and shall see the limbs of men who have transgressed against Me. For their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched and they shall be a sight to all flesh.”

87. If the earth and heaven are renewed, why should we doubt that man, on account of whom heaven and earth were made, can be renewed? If the transgressor be reserved for punishment, why should not the just be kept for glory? If the worm of sins does not die, how shall the flesh of the just perish? For the resurrection, as the very form of the word shows, is this, that what has fallen should rise again, that which has died should come to life again.

88. And this is the course and ground of justice, that since the action of body and soul is common to both(for what the soul has conceived the body has carried out), each should come into judgment, and each should be either given over to punishment or reserved for glory. For it would seem almost inconsistent that, since the law of the mind fights against the law of the flesh, and the mind often, when sin dwelling in man acts, does that which it hates; the mind guilty of a fault shared by another should be subjected to penalty, and the flesh, the author of the evil, should enjoy rest: and that should alone suffer which had not sinned alone, or should alone attain to glory, not having fought alone with the help of grace.

89. The reason, unless I am mistaken, is complete and just, but I do not require a reason from Christ. If I am convinced by reason I reject faith. Abraham believed God, let us also believe Him, that we who are heirs of

his race may also be heirs of his faith. David likewise believed, and therefore did he speak; let us also believe that we may be able to speak, knowing that "He Who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus." For God, Who never lies, promised this; the Truth promised this in His Gospel, when He said: "This is the will of Him that sent Me, that of all that which He hath given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day." And He thought it not sufficient to have said this once, but marked it by express repetition, for this follows: "For this is the will of My Father, Who sent Me, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth on Him should have eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day."

90. Who was He that said this? He in truth Who when dead raised up many bodies of the departed. If we believe not God, shall we not believe evidence? Do we not believe what He promised, since He did even that which He did not promise? And what reason would He have had for dying, had He not also had a reason for rising again? For, seeing that God could not die, Wisdom could not die; and inasmuch as that could not rise again which had not died, flesh is assumed, which can die, that whilst that, whose nature it is, dies, that which had died should rise again. For the resurrection could not be effected except by man; since, "as by man came death, so too by man came the resurrection of the dead."

91. So, then, man rose because man died; man was raised again, but God raised him. Then it was man according to the Flesh, now God is all in all. For now we know not Christ according to the flesh, but we possess the grace of that Flesh, so that we know Him the firstfruits of them that rest, the firstborn of the dead. Now the first-fruits are undoubtedly of the same nature and kind as the remaining fruits, the first of which are offered to God as a petition for a richer increase, as a holy thank-offering for all gifts, and as a kind of libation of that nature which has been restored. Christ, then, is the firstfruits of them that rest. But is this of His own who are at rest, who, as it were, freed from death, are holden by a kind of sweet slumber, or of all those who are dead? "As in Christ all die, so too in Christ shall all be made alive." So, then, as the firstfruits of death were in Adam, so also the firstfruits of the resurrection are in Christ.

92. All men rise again, but let no one lose heart, and let not the just grieve at the common lot of rising again, since he awaits the chief fruit of his virtue. All indeed shall rise again, but, as says the Apostle, “each in his own order.” The fruit of the Divine Mercy is common to all, but the order of merit differs. The day gives light to all, the sun warms all, the rain fertilizes the possessions of all with genial showers.

93. We are all born, and we shall all rise again, but in each state, whether of living or of living again, grace differs and the condition differs. For, “in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, the dead shall rise incorruptible and we shall be changed.” Moreover, in death itself some rest, and some live. Rest is good, but life is better. And so the Apostle rouses him that is resting to life, saying: “Rise, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.” Therefore he is aroused that he may live, that he may be like to Paul, that he may be able to say: “For we that are alive shall not prevent those that are asleep.” He speaks not here of the common manner of life, and the breath which we all alike enjoy, but of the merit of the resurrection. For, having said, “And the dead which are in Christ shall rise first,” he adds further; “And we that are alive shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air.”

94. Paul certainly is dead, and by his honorable passion exchanged the life of the body for everlasting glory; did he then deceive himself when he wrote that he should be caught up alive in the clouds to meet Christ? We read the same too of Enoch and of Elijah, and thou too shalt be caught up in the Spirit. Lo the chariot of Elijah, lo the fire, though not seen are prepared, that the just may ascend, the innocent be borne forth, and thy life may not know death. For indeed the apostles knew not death, according to that which was said: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, many of those standing here shall not taste death until they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom.” For he lives, who has nothing in him which can die, who has not from Egypt any shoe or bond, but has put it off before laying aside the service of this body. And so not Enoch alone is alive, for not he alone was caught up; Paul also was caught up to meet Christ.

95. The patriarchs also live, for God could not be called the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, except the dead were living; for He is not

the God of the dead but of the living. And we, too, shall live if we be willing to copy the deeds and habits of our predecessors. We are astonished at the rewards of the patriarchs, let us copy their faithfulness; we tell of their grace, let us follow their obedience; let us not, enticed by appetite, fall into the snares of the world. Let us lay hold of the opportunity, of the commandment of the Law, the mercy of our vocation, the desire of suffering. The patriarchs went forth from their own land, let us go forth in purpose from the power of the body; let us go forth in purpose as they in exile; but they esteemed that not to be exile which the fear of God caused, necessity did not enforce. They changed their land for another soil, let us change earth for heaven; they changed in earthly habitation, let us change in spirit. To them Wisdom showed the heaven illuminated with stars, let it enlighten the eyes of our heart. Thus does the type agree with the truth, and the truth with the type.

96. Abraham, ready to receive strangers, faithful towards God, devoted in ministering, quick in his service, saw the Trinity in a type; he added religious duty to hospitality, when beholding Three he worshipped One, and preserving the distinction of the Persons, yet addressed one Lord, he offered to Three the honor of his gift, while acknowledging one Power. It was not learning but grace which spoke in him, and he believed better what he had not learnt than we who have learnt. No one had falsified the representation of the truth, and so he sees Three, but worships the Unity. He brings forth three measures of fine meal, and slays one victim, considering that one sacrifice is sufficient, but a triple gift; one victim, an offering of three. And in the four kings, who does not understand that he subjected to himself the elements of the material creation, and all earthly things in a sign whereby the Lord’s Passion was prefigured? Faithful in war, moderate in his triumph, in that he preferred not to become richer by the gifts of men, but by those of God.

97. He believed that he when old could beget a son, and judged himself when a father able to sacrifice his son; nor did his fatherly affection tremble when duty aided the right hand of the old man, for he knew that his son would be more acceptable to God when sacrificed than when whole. Therefore he brings his well-beloved son to be sacrificed, and offered promptly him whom he had received late; nor is he restrained by being called by the name of father, when his son called him “Father,” and

he replied, "My son." Dear pledges of love are these names, but the commands of God are loved still more. And so although their hearts felt for each other, their purpose remained firm. The father's hand stretched out the knife over his son, and the father's heart struck the blow that the sentence might not fail of being carried out; he feared lest the stroke should miss, lest his right hand should fail. He felt the movings of fatherly affection, but did not shrink from the work of submission, and hastened his obedience, even when he heard the voice from heaven. Let us then set God before all those whom we love, father, brother, mother, that He may preserve for us those whom we love, as in the case of Abraham we behold rather the liberal Rewarder than the servant.

98. The father offered indeed his son, but God is appeased not by blood but by dutiful obedience. He showed the ram in the thicketin the stead of the lad, that He might restore the son to his father, and yet the victim not fail the priest. And so Abraham was not stained with his son's blood, nor was God deprived of the sacrifice. The prophet spoke, and neither yielded to boastfulness nor continued obstinate, but took the ram in exchange for the lad. And by this is shown the more how piously he offered him whom he now so gladly received back. And thou, if thou offer thy gift to God, dost not lose it. But we are tenacious of our own; God gave His only Son for us, we refuse ours. Abraham saw this and recognized the mystery, that salvation should be to us from the Tree, nor did it escape his notice that in one and the same sacrifice it was One that seemed to be offered, Another which could be slain.

99. Let us, then, imitate the devotion of Abraham, let us imitate the goodness of Isaac, let us imitate his purity. The man was plainly good and chaste, full of devotion towards God, chaste towards his wife. He returned not evil for evil, yielded to those who would thrust him out, received them again on their repentance, neither violent towards insolence, nor stubborn towards kindness. Fleeing from strife when he went away from others, ready to forgive when he received them again, and still more lavish of goodness when he forgave them. The fellowship of his company was sought, he gave in addition a feast of pleasure.

100. In Jacob, too, let us imitate the type of Christ, let there be some likeness of his actions in ourselves. We shall have our share with him, if we

imitate him. He was obedient to his mother, he yielded to his brother, he served his father-in-law, he sought his wages from the increase, not from a division of the flocks. There was no covetous division, where his portion brought such gain. Nor was that sign without a purpose, the ladder from earth to heaven, wherein was seen the future fellowship between men and angels through the cross of Christ, whose thigh was paralyzed, that in his thigh he might recognize the Heir of his body, and foretell by the paralyzing of his thigh the Passion of his Heir.

101. We see, then, that heaven is open to virtue, and that this is the privilege not only of a few: “For many shall come from the east dud from the west, and the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God,” giving expression to the enjoyment of perpetual rest since the motions of their souls are stilled. Let us follow Abraham in our habits, that he may receive us into his bosom, and cherish us with loving embrace, like Lazarus the inheritor of his humility surrounded by his own special virtues. The followers of the holy patriarch, approved of God, cherish us not in a bodily bosom, but in a clothing as it were of good works. “Be not deceived,” says the Apostle, “God is not mocked.”

102. We have seen, then, how grave an offense it is not to believe the resurrection; for if we rise not again, then Christ died in vain, then Christ rose not again. For if He rose not for us, He certainly rose not at all, for He had no need to rise for Himself. The universe rose again in Him, the heaven rose again in Him, the earth rose again in Him, for there shall be a new heaven and a new earth. But where was the necessity of a resurrection for Him Whom the claims of death held not? For though He died as man, yet was He free in hell itself.

103. Wilt thou know how free? “I am become as a man that hath no help, free among the dead.” And well is He called free, Who had power to raise Himself, according to that which is written: “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.” And well is He called free, Who had descended to rescue others. For He was made as a man, not, indeed, in appearance only, but so fashioned in truth, for He is man, and who shall know Him? For, “being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death,” in order that through that obedience we might see His glory, “the

glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father," according to Saint John. For thus is the statement of Scripture preserved, if both the glory of the Only-begotten and the nature of perfect man are preserved in Christ.

104. And so He needed no helper. For He needed none when He made the world, so as to need none when He would redeem it. No legate, no messenger, but the Lord Himself made it whole. "He spake and it was done." The Lord Himself made it whole, Himself in every part, because all things were by Him. For who should help Him in Whom all things were created and by Whom all things consist? Who should help Him Who makes all things in a moment, and raises the dead at the last trump? The "last," not as though He could not raise them at the first, or the second, or the third, but an order is observed, not that a difficulty may be at last overcome, but that the prescribed number be accomplished.

105. But it is now time, I think, to speak of the trumpets since my discourse is nearing its end, that the trumpet may also be the sign of the finishing of my address. We read of seven trumpets in the Revelation of John, which seven angels received. And there you read that when the seventh angel sounded his trumpet, there was a great voice from heaven, saying: "The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever." The word trumpet is also used for a voice, as you read: "Behold a door opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard, as of a trumpet speaking with me and saying, Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass." We read also: "Blow up the trumpet at the beginning of the month [the new moon]; and again elsewhere: "Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet."

106. Therefore we ought with all our power to observe what is the signification of the trumpets, lest, accepting them, like old women, as part of the story, we should be in danger if we were to think things unworthy of spiritual teaching, or not befitting the dignity of the Scriptures. For when we read that our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual hosts of wickedness, which are in high places, we ought not to think of weapons of the flesh, but of such as are mighty before God. It is not enough that one see the trumpet or hear its sound, unless one understands the signification of the sound. For if the trumpet give an

uncertain sound, how shall one prepare himself for war? Wherefore it is important that we understand the meaning of the voice of the trumpet, lest we seem barbarians, when we either hear or utter trumpet-sounds of this sort. And therefore when we speak, let us pray that the Holy Spirit would interpret them to us.

107. Let us, then, investigate what we read in the Old Testament concerning the kinds of trumpets, considering that those festivals which were enjoined on the Jews by the Law are the shadow of joys above and of heavenly festivals. For here is the shadow, there the truth. Let us endeavor to attain to the truth by means of the shadow. Of which truth the figure is expressed in this manner, where we read that the Lord said to Moses: “Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, shall be a rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, it shall be called holy unto you. Ye shall not do any servile work, and ye shall kindle a whole burnt-offering unto the Lord.” And in the Book of Numbers: “The Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Make thee two trumpets of beaten work, of silver shalt thou make them, and they shall be to thee for calling the assembly and for the journeying of the camp. And thou shalt blow with them, and all the congregation shall be gathered together at the door of the tabernacle of witness. But if thou blow with one trumpet, all the princes and leaders of Israel shall come to thee; and ye shall blow a signal with the trumpet the first time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it on the east. And ye shall blow a signal with the trumpet the second time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it towards Libanus. And ye shall blow a signal with the trumpet the third time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Boream]. And ye shall blow a signal with the trumpet the fourth time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Aquilonem]. They shall blow a signal with the trumpet when they move forward. And when ye shall gather together the assembly, blow with the trumpet, but not the signal. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets, and it shall be for you a statute for ever throughout your generations. But if ye shall go out to war into your own land, against the adversaries who resist you, ye shall sound a signal with the trumpets and ye shall be remembered before the Lord. and have deliverance from your dead. Also in the days of your gladness, and on

your feast days, and on your new moons, ye shall blow with the trumpets, and at your whole burnt sacrifices and at your peace-offerings, and it shall be for you for your memorial before the Lord, saith the Lord.”

108. What then? shall we esteem festival days by eating and drinking? But let no man judge us in respect of eating; “for we know that the Law is spiritual.” “Let no man therefore judge us in any meats or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or new moons, or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ.” Let us, then, seek the body of Christ which the voice of the Father, from heaven, as it were the last trumpet, has shown to you at the time when the Jews said that it thundered; the body of Christ, which again the last trump shall reveal; for “the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven at the voice of the Archangel, and at the trump of God, and they that are dead in Christ shall rise again;” for “where the body is, there too are the eagles,” where the body of Christ is, there is the truth.

108. The seventh trumpet, then, seems to signify the sabbath of the week, which is reckoned not only in days and years and periods (for which reason the number of the jubilee is sacred), but includes also the seventieth year, when the people returned to Jerusalem, who had remained seventy years in captivity. In hundreds also and in thousands the observation of the sacred number is by no means passed over, for not without a meaning did the Lord say: “I have left the seven thousand men, who have not bent their knees before Baal.” Therefore the shadow of the future rest is figured in time in the days, months, and years of this world, and therefore the children of Israel are commanded by Moses, that in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, a rest should be established for all at the “memorial of the trumpets;” and that no servile work should be done, but a sacrifice be offered to God, because that at the end of the week, as it were the sabbath of the world, spiritual and not bodily work is required of us. For that which is bodily is servile, for the body serves the soul, but innocence makes free, guilt reduces to slavery.

109. It was necessary, then, that spiritual things should be made known as in a mirror and in a riddle; “For now we see by means of a mirror, but then face to face.” Now we war after the flesh, then in the Spirit we shall see the divine mysteries. Let, then, the character of the true law be expressed

in our manner of life, who walk in the image of God, for the shadow of the Law has now passed away. The carnal Jews had the shadow, the likeness is ours, the reality theirs who shall rise again. For we know that according to the Law there are these three, the shadow, the image or likeness, and the reality; the shadow in the Law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in the judgment. But all is Christ's, and all is in Christ, Whom now we cannot see according to the reality, but we see Him, as it were, in a kind of likeness of future things, of which we have seen the shadow in the Law. So, then, Christ is not the shadow but the likeness of God, not an empty likeness but the reality. And so the Law was by Moses, for the shadow was through man, the likeness was through the Law, the reality through Jesus. For reality cannot proceed from any other source than from reality.

110. If, then, any one desires to see this Image of God, he must love God, that he may be loved by God; and be no longer a servant but a friend, because he has kept the commandments of God, that he may enter into the cloud where God is. Let him make to himself two reasonable trumpets of beaten work of proved silver, that is, composed of precious words and adorned, from which not a harsh shrill sound with dread-inspiring voice may be uttered, but high thanks to God may be poured forth with continuous exultation. For by the voice of such trumpets the dead are raised, not indeed by the sound of the metal, but aroused by the word of truth. And perchance it is those two trumpets by which Paul, through the Divine Spirit, spake when he said: "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding, I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding;" for the one without the other seems by no means to have perfect utterance.

111. Yet it is not every one's business to sound each trumpet, nor every one's business to call together the whole assembly, but that prerogative is granted to the priests alone, and the ministers of God who sound the trumpets, so that whosoever shall hear and follow thither where the glory of the Lord is, and shall with early determination come to the tabernacle of witness, may be able also to see the divine works, and merit that appointed and eternal home for the entire succession of his posterity. For then is the war finished and the enemy put to flight, when the grace of the Spirit and the energy of the soul act together.

112. And these are salutary trumpets also, if one believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth; “For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” For with this twofold trumpet man arrives at that holy land, namely, the grace of the resurrection. Let them, then, ever sound to thee, that thou mayest ever hear the voice of God; may the utterances of the Angels and Prophets ever incite and move thee, that thou mayest hasten to things above.

113. David was thinking of this purpose in his breast when he said: “For I will pass into the place of the marvelous tabernacle, even to the house of God, with the voice of exultation and thanksgiving, the sound of one that feasts.” For not only are enemies overcome by the sound of these trumpets; but without them there could not be rejoicings, and festivals or new moons. For no one, unless he have received the promises of the Divine Word, and believes the message derived therefrom, can keep festivals or new moons, in which he desires to fill himself, freed from bodily pleasure and secular occupation, with the light of Christ. And sacrifices themselves cannot be pleasing to Christ unless confession of the mouth accompanies them, which according to custom stirs up the people to implore the grace of God at the priestly oblation.

114. Let us therefore be preachers of the Lord, and praise Him in the sound of the trumpet, not thinking little or lightly of its power, but such things as can fill the ear of the mind, and enter into the depths of our inmost consciousness, so that we think not that what suits to the body is to be applied to the Godhead, nor measure the greatness of Divine Power by human might, so as to enquire how any one can rise again, or with what kind of body he will come, or how that which has been dissolved can again coalesce, and what is lost be restored, for all these things are accomplished as soon as they are determined by the Divine Will. And it is not a sound of a trumpet distinguishable by the bodily senses which is expected, but the invisible power of the Majesty of heaven operates; for with God to will is to do; nor need we enquire into the force required for the resurrection, but seek its fruit for ourselves. Which will be accomplished all the more easily, if freed from faults we attain to the fullness of the spiritual mystery, and the renewed flesh receives grace from the Spirit, and the soul obtains from Christ the brightness of eternal light.

115. But those mysteries pertain not to individuals only, but to the whole human race. For observe the order of grace according to the type of the Law. When the first trumpet sounds, it collects those towards the east, as the chief and elect; when the second sounds, those nearly equal in merit, who, being placed towards Libanus, have abandoned the follies of the nations; when the third, those who as it were, tossed on the sea of this world, have been driven hither and thither by the waves of this life; when the fourth, those who have by no means been able sufficiently to soften the hardness of their hearts by the commandments of spiritual utterance, and therefore are said to be towards the north — for, according to Solomon, the north is a hard wind.

116. And so although all are raised again in a moment, yet all are raised in the order of their merits. And therefore they rise first, who yielding early to the impulses of devotion, and as it were going forth before the rising dawn of faith, received the rays of the eternal Sun. This one may rightly say either of the patriarchs in the course of the Old Testament, or of the apostles under the Gospel. And the second are they who, forsaking the rites of the Gentiles, passed from unholy error under the training of the Church. So, then, those first were of the fathers, those second of the Gentiles, for the light of faith took its beginning from those, among these it will remain to the end of the world. In the third place and in the fourth, those are raised who are in the south and in the north. The earth is divided into these four, of these four is the year made up, in these four is the earth completed, and from these four is the Church collected. For all who are considered to be joined to holy Church, by being called by the Divine Name, shall obtain the privilege of the resurrection and he grace of eternal bliss, for "they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God."

117. For it is no small light wherewith Christ encompasses His world: since "His going forth is from the height of heaven, and His progress to the height thereof, nor is there any who can hide himself from His heat." For with His Goodness He enlightens all, and wills not to reject but to amend the foolish, and desires not to exclude the hard-hearted from the Church, but to soften them. And so the Church in the Song of Songs and Christ in the Gospel invites them, saying: "Come unto Me, all ye who labor and are

heavy laden, and I will refresh you; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.”

118. And you may recognize also the voice of the invitation of the Church, for she says: “Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south, blow upon my garden, and let my ointment flow forth. Let my brother come down into his garden and eat the fruit of his precious trees.” For knowing even then, O holy Church, that from those also there would be fruitful works for thee, thou didst promise to thy Christ fruit from such as they, thou who didst first say that thou wast brought into the King’s chamber. loving His breast above wine, since thou lovedst Him Who loved thee, soughtest Him Who fed thee, and didst despise dangers for religion’s sake.

119. And then, O Bride, thou art called to come from Libanus, being in the Lord’s judgment all fair and without fault. For thus it is written: “Thou art all fair, my love, and there is no fault in thee. Come hither from Libanus, my bride, come hither from Libanus.”

120. Afterwards, thou, fearing no rushing waters, no torrents coming down from Libanus, callest the north and south winds, wishing them to blow upon thy garden, that thy ointment may flow forth upon others, and that thou mayest offer to Christ in others the manifold fruits of thy productiveness.

121. And therefore “blessed is he who keepeth the words of this prophecy,” which has revealed the resurrection to us by clearer testimony, saying: “And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and they opened the books; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and hell gave up the dead which were in it.” We must, then, not question how they shall rise again, whom hell gives up and the sea restores.

122. Hear also when the future grace of the just is promised: “And I heard,”’ he says, “a great voice from the throne saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be their God with them: and He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more.”

123. Compare now, if you will, and contrast this life with that; and choose, if you then can, unending bodily existence in toil, and in the wretched misery of such changes as we endure, in satiety when we have our wishes, in that disgust which attends our pleasures. If God were willing to let these last for ever, would you choose them? For if on its own account life is to be escaped from, that there may be an avoidance of troubles and rest from miseries, how much more is that rest to be sought for, which shall be followed by the eternal pleasure of the resurrection to come, where there is no succession of faults, no enticement to sin?

124. Who is so patient in suffering as not to pray for death? who has such endurance in weakness as not to wish rather to die than to live in debility? Who is so brave in sorrow as not to desire to escape from it even by death? But if we ourselves are dissatisfied while life lasts, although we know that a limit is fixed for it, how much more weary should we become of this life if we saw that the troubles of the body would be with us without end! For who is there who would wish to be excepted from death? Or what would be more unendurable than a miserable immortality? "If in this life only," he says, "we hope in Christ, we are more miserable than all men;" not because to hope in Christ is miserable, but because Christ has prepared another life for those who hope in Him. For this life is liable to sin, that life is reserved for the reward.

124. And how much weariness do we find that the short stages of our lives bring us! The boy longs to be a young man; the youth counts the years leading to riper age; the young man, unthankful for the advantage of his vigorous time of life, desires the honor of old age. And so to all there comes naturally the desire of change, because we are dissatisfied with that which we now are. And lastly, even the things we have desired are wearisome to us; and what we have wished to obtain, when we have obtained it, we dislike.

125. Wherefore holy men have not without reason often lamented their lengthy dwelling here: David lamented it, Jeremiah lamented it, and Elijah lamented it. If we believe wise men, and those in whom the Divine Spirit dwelt, they were hastening to better things; and if we enquire as to the judgment of others, that we may ascertain that all agree in one opinion, what great men have preferred death to sorrow, what great men have preferred it to fear! esteeming forsooth the fear of death to be worse than

death itself. So death is not feared on account of evils which belong to it, but is preferred to the miseries of life, since the departure of the dying is desired and the dread of the living is avoided.

126. So be it, then. Granted that the Resurrection is preferable to this life. What! have philosophers themselves found anything with which we should have a greater delight to continue than to rise again? Even those indeed who say that souls are immortal do not satisfy me, seeing they only allow me a partial redemption. What grace can that be by which I am not wholly benefited? What life is that if the operation of God dies out in me? What righteousness is that which, if death is the end of natural existence. is common to the sinner and the just? What is that truth, that the soul should be considered immortal, because it moves itself and is always in motion? As regards that which in the body is common to us with beasts, it is perhaps uncertain what happens before the body exists, and the truth is not to be gathered from these differences but destroyed.

127. But is their opinion preferable, who say that our souls, when they have passed out of these bodies, migrate into the bodies of beasts, or of various other living creatures? Philosophers, indeed, themselves are wont to argue that these are ridiculous fancies of poets, such as might be produced by draughts of the drugs of Circe; and they say that not so much they who are represented to have undergone such things, as the senses of those who have invented such tales are changed into the forms of various beasts as it were by Circe's cup. For what is so like a marvel as to believe that men could have been changed into the forms of beasts? How much greater a marvel, however, would it be that the soul which rules man should take on itself the nature of a beast so opposed to that of man, and being capable of reason should be able to pass over to an irrational animal, than that the form of the body should have been changed? You yourselves, who teach these things, destroy what you teach. For you have given up the production of these portentous conversions by means of magic incantations.

128. Poets say these things in sport, and philosophers blame them and at the same time they imagine that those very things are true of the dead which they consider fictitious as regards the living. For they who invented such tales did not intend to assert the truth of their own fable, but to deride the errors of philosophers, who think that that same soul which was

accustomed to overcome anger by gentle and lowly purpose, can now, inflamed by the raging impulses of a lion, impatient with anger and with unbridled rage, thirst for blood and seek for slaughter. Or again, that that soul, which as it were by royal counsel used to moderate the various storms of the people, and to calm them with the voice of reason, can now endure to howl in pathless and desert places after the fashion of a wolf; or that that soul which, groaning under a heavy burden, used to low in sad complaint over the labors of the plough, now changed into the fashion of a man, seeks for horns on his smooth brow; or that another, which used of old to be borne aloft on rapid wing to the heights of heaven, now thinks of flight no longer in its power, and mourns that it grows sluggish in the weight of a human body.

129. Perchance you destroyed Icarus through some such teaching, because the youth, led on by your persuasion, imagined, it may be, that he had been a bird. By such means too have many old men been deceived so as to submit to grievous pain, having unhappily believed the fables about swans, and thought that they, whilst soothing their pain with mournful strains, would be able to transmute their gray hair into downy feathers.

130. How incredible are these things! how odious! How much more fitting is it to believe in accordance with nature, in accordance with what takes place in every kind of fruit; to believe in accordance with the pattern of what has happened, in accordance with the utterances of prophets, and the heavenly promise of Christ For what is better than to be sure that the work of God does not perish, and that those who are made in the image and likeness of God cannot be transformed into the shapes of beasts; since in truth it is not the form of the body but of the spirit which is made after the likeness of God. For in what manner could man, to whom are subjected the other kinds of living creatures, migrate with the better part of himself into an animal subjected to himself? Nature does not suffer this, and if nature did grace would not.

131. But I have seen what you, Gentiles, think of each other, and indeed it ought not to seem strange that you who worship beasts should believe that you can be changed into beasts. But I had rather that you judged better concerning what is due to you, that you may believe that you will be not in the company of wild beasts, but in the companionship of angels.

132. The soul has to depart from the surroundings of this life, and the pollutions of the earthly body, and to press on to those heavenly companies, though it is for the saints alone, to attain to them, and to sing praise to God (as in the prophet’s words we hear of those who are harping and saying: “For great are Thy marvelous works, O Lord God Almighty, just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of the nations; who shall not fear and magnify Thy Name, for Thou only art holy, for all nations shall come and worship before Thee”), and to see Thy marriage feast, O Lord Jesus, in which the Bride is led from earthly to heavenly things, while all rejoice in harmony, for “to Thee shall all flesh come,” now no longer subject to transitory things, but joined to the Spirit, to see the chambers adorned with linen, roses, lilies, and garlands. Of whom else is the marriage so adorned? For it is adorned with the purple stripes of confessors, the blood of martyrs, the lilies of virgins, and the crowns of priests.

133. Holy David desired beyond all else for himself that he might behold and gaze upon this, for he says: “One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and see the pleasure of the Lord.”

134. It is a pleasure to believe this, a joy to hope for it; and certainly, not to have believed it is a pain, to have lived in this hope a grace. But if I am mistaken in this, that I prefer to be associated after death with angels rather than with beasts, I am gladly mistaken, and so long as I live will never suffer myself to be cheated of this hope.

135. For what comfort have I left but that I hope to come quickly to thee, my brother, and that thy departure will not cause a long severance between us, and that it may be granted me, through thy intercessions, that thou mayest quickly call me who long for thee. For who is there who ought not to wish for himself beyond all else that “this corruptible should put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality”? that we who succumb to death through the frailty of the body, being raised above nature, may no longer have to fear death.

EXPOSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

BY

ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

PREFACE

ON the eve of setting out for the East, to aid his Uncle Valens in repelling a Gothic invasion, Gratian, the Emperor of the West, requested St. Ambrose to write him a treatise in proof of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Gratian's object in making this request was to secure some sort of preservative against the corrupting influence of Arianism, which at that time (A.D. 378) had gained the upper hand of Orthodoxy in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, owing to its establishment at the Imperial Court. In compliance with Gratian's wish, the Bishop of Milan composed a treatise, which now forms the first two Books of the *De Fide*. With this work the Emperor was so much pleased that on his return from the East, after the death of Valens at Hadrianople, he wrote to St. Ambrose, begging for a fresh copy of the treatise, and further, for its enlargement by the addition of a discourse on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The original treatise was, indeed, enlarged by St. Ambrose in 379, but the additional Books dealt, not with the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, but rather with new objections raised by the Arian teachers, and points which had either been passed over or not fully discussed already. In this way St. Ambrose's Exposition was brought into its present form.

The object of the Exposition is, as has already been indicated, to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and His co-eternity, co-equality, and consubstantiality, as God the Son, with God the Father. This the author does by constant appeal to the Scriptures, both of the Old and of the New Testament, which the Arians had in many cases forced into the mould of false interpretation to make them fit their doctrine.

Besides the title of *De Fide,* that of *De Trintiate* was one by which this treatise was largely known in after ages; it is certain, though, that the former was that assigned by St. Ambrose himself.

PREFATORY NOTE

The notes to the first four books of the De Fide have in some instances been taken over from those in Father Hurter's Edition of the treatise (Innsbruck: Wagner), which has been used in prefacing the translation of these books. These notes are distinguished by the letter "H" placed at the end.

The citations from Scripture embodied in the text have been translated as they stood in the original. This will account for any divergence from the renderings in the English Bible and Prayer-book, whilst any agreement may be set down to reminiscences of the more familiar versions. It was thought best to adopt this treatment of St. Ambrose's citations, inasmuch as the divergences are worth noting, and indeed, in some cases, the argument rather turns upon them. The references are, throughout made to chapters and verses in the English Bible and not to the Vulgate, unless especially stated so to be.

The Prefaces and Summaries of Contents are based on those in Father Hurter's Edition.

ST. AMBROSE'S EXPOSITION

OF THE

CHRISTIAN FAITH

BOOK 1

PROLOGUE

The author praises Gratian's zeal for instruction in the Faith, and speaks lowly of his own merits. Taught of God Himself, the Emperor stands in no need of human instruction; yet this his devoutness prepares the way to victory. The task appointed to the author is difficult: in the accomplishment whereof he will be guided not so much by reason and argument as by authority, especially that of the Nicene Council.

1. THE Queen of the South, as we read in the Book of the Kings, came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Likewise King Hiram sent to Solomon that he might prove him. So also your sacred Majesty, following these examples of old time, has decreed to hear my confession of faith. But I am no Solomon, that you should wonder at my wisdom, and your Majesty is not the sovereign of a single people; it is the Augustus, ruler of the whole world, that has commanded the setting forth of the Faith in a book, not for your instruction, but for your approval.

2. For why, august Emperor, should your Majesty learn that Faith which, from your earliest childhood, you have ever devoutly and lovingly kept? "Before I formed thee in thy mother's belly I knew thee," saith the Scripture, "and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee." Sanctification, therefore, cometh not of tradition, but of inspiration;

therefore keep watch over the gifts of God. For that which no man hath taught you, God hath surely given and inspired.

3. Your sacred Majesty, being about to go forth to war, requires of me a book, expounding the Faith, since your Majesty knows that victories are gained more by faith in the commander, than by valor in the soldiers. For Abraham led into battle three hundred and eighteen men, and brought home the spoils of countless foes; and having, by the power of that which was the sign of our Lord's Cross and Name, overcome the might of five kings and conquering hosts, he both avenged his neighbor and gained victory and the ransom of his brother's son. So also Joshua the son of Nun, when he could not prevail against the enemy with the might of all his army, overcame by sound of seven sacred trumpets, in the place where he saw and knew the Captain of the heavenly host. For victory, then, your Majesty makes ready, being Christ's loyal servant and defender of the Faith, which you would have me set forth in writing.

4. Truly, I would rather take upon me the duty of exhortation to keep the Faith, than that of disputing thereon; for the former means devout confession, whereas the latter is liable to rash presumption. Howbeit, forasmuch as your Majesty has no need of exhortation, whilst I may not pray to be excused from the duty of loyalty, I will take in hand a bold enterprise, yet modestly withal, not so much reasoning and disputing concerning the Faith as gathering together a multitude of witness.

5. Of the Acts of Councils, I shall let that one be my chief guide which three hundred and eighteen priests, appointed, as it were, after the judgment of Abraham, made (so to speak) a trophy raised to proclaim their victory over the infidel throughout the world, prevailing by that courage of the Faith, wherein all agreed. Verily, as it seems to me, one may herein see the hand of God, forasmuch as the same number is our authority in the Councils of the Faith, and an example of loyalty in the records of old.

CHAPTER 1

The author distinguishes the faith from the errors of Pagans, Jews, and Heretics, and after explaining the significance of the names "God" and "Lord," shows clearly the difference of Persons in

Unity of Essence. In dividing the Essence, the Arians not only bring in the doctrine of three Gods, but even overthrow the dominion of the Trinity.

6. NOW this is the declaration of our Faith, that we say that God is One, neither dividing His Son from Him, as do the heathen, nor denying, with the Jews, that He was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and afterwards born of the Virgin; nor yet, like Sabellius, confounding the Father with the Word, and so maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same Person; nor again, as doth Photinus, holding that the Son first came into existence in the Virgin's womb: nor believing, with Arius, in a number of diverse Powers, and so, like the benighted heathen, making out more than one God. For it is written: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord thy God is one God."

7. For God and Lord is a name of majesty, a name of power, even as God Himself saith: "The Lord is My name," and as in another place the prophet declareth: "The Lord Almighty is His name." God is He, therefore, and Lord, either because His rule is over all, or because He beholdeth all things, and is feared by all, without difference.

8. If, then, God is One, one is the name, one is the power, of the Trinity. Christ Himself, indeed, saith: "Go ye, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." In the name, mark you, not in the names."

9. Moreover, Christ Himself saith: "I and the Father are One." "One," said He, that there be no separation of power and nature; but again, "We are," that you may recognize Father and Son, forasmuch as the perfect Father is believed to have begotten the perfect Son, and the Father and the Son are One, not by confusion of Person, but by unity of nature.

10. We say, then, that there is one God, not two or three Gods, this being the error into which the impious heresy of the Arians doth run with its blasphemies. For it says that there are three Gods, in that it divides the Godhead of the Trinity; whereas the Lord, in saying, "Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," hath shown that the Trinity is of one power. We confess Father, Son, and

Spirit, understanding in a perfect Trinity both fullness of Divinity and unity of power.

11. “Every kingdom divided against itself shall quickly be overthrown,” saith the Lord. Now the kingdom of the Trinity is not divided. If, therefore, it is not divided, it is one; for that which is not one is divided. The Arians, however, would have the kingdom of the Trinity to be such as may easily be overthrown, by division against itself. But truly, seeing that it cannot be overthrown, it is plainly undivided. For no unity is divided or rent asunder, and therefore neither age nor corruption has any power over it.

CHAPTER 2

The Emperor is exhorted to display zeal in the Faith. Christ’s perfect Godhead is shown from the unity of will and working which He has with the Father. The attributes of Divinity are shown to be proper to Christ, Whose various titles prove His essential unity, with distinction of Person. In no other way can the unity of God be maintained.

12. “NOT every one that saith unto Me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,” saith the Scripture. Faith, therefore, august Sovereign, must not be a mere matter of performance, for it is written, “The zeal of thine house hath devoured me.” Let us then with faithful spirit and devout mind call upon Jesus our Lord, let us believe that He is God, to the end that whatever we ask of the Father, we may obtain in His name. For the Father’s will is, that He be entreated through the Son, the Son’s that the Father be entreated.

13. The grace of His submission makes for agreement [with our teaching], and the acts of His power are not at variance therewith. For whatsoever things the Father doeth, the same also doeth the Son, in like manner. The Son both doeth the same things, and doeth them in like manner, but it is the Father’s will that He be entreated in the matter of what He Himself proposeth to do, that you may understand, not that He cannot do it otherwise, but that there is one power displayed. Truly, then, is the Son of God to be adored and worshipped, Who by the power of His Godhead

hath laid the foundations of the world, and by His submission informed our affections.

14. Therefore we ought to believe that God is good, eternal, perfect, almighty, and true, such as we find Him in the Law and the Prophets, and the rest of the holy Scriptures, for otherwise there is no God. For He Who is God cannot but be good, seeing that fullness of goodness is of the nature of God: nor can God, Who made time, be in time; nor, again, can God be imperfect, for a lesser being is plainly imperfect, seeing that it lacks somewhat whereby it could be made equal to a greater. This, then, is the teaching of our faith — that God is not evil, that with God nothing is impossible, that God exists not in time, that God is beneath no being. If I am in error, let my adversaries prove it.

15. Seeing, then, that Christ is God, He is, by consequence, good and almighty and eternal and perfect and true; for these attributes belong to the essential nature of the Godhead. Let our adversaries, therefore, deny the Divine Nature in Christ,-otherwise they cannot refuse to God what is proper to the Divine Nature.

16. Further, that none may fall into error, let a man attend to those signs vouchsafed us by holy Scripture, whereby we may know the Son. He is called the Word, the Son, the Power of God, the Wisdom of God. The Word, because He is without blemish; the Power, because He is perfect; the Son, because He is begotten of the Father; the Wisdom, because He is one with the Father, one in eternity, one in Divinity. Not that the Father is one Person with the Son; between Father and Son is the plain distinction that comes of generation; so that Christ is God of God, Everlasting of Everlasting, Fullness of Fullness.

17. Now these are not mere names, but signs of power manifesting itself in works for while there is fullness of Godhead in the Father, there is also fullness of Godhead in the Son, not diverse, but one. The Godhead is nothing confused, for it is an unity: nothing manifold, for in it there is no difference.

18. Moreover, if in all them that believed there was, as it is written, one soul and one heart: if every one that cleaveth to the Lord is one spirit, as the Apostle hath said: if a man and his wife are one flesh: if all we mortal

men are, so far as regards our general nature, of one substance: if this is what the Scripture saith of created men, that, being many, they are one, who can in no way be compared to Divine Persons, how much more are the Father and the Son one in Divinity, with Whom there is no difference either of substance or of will!

19. For how else shall we say that God is One? Divinity maketh plurality, but unity of power debarreth quantity of number, seeing that unity is not number, but itself is the principle of all numbers.

CHAPTER 3

By evidence gathered from Scripture the unity of Father and Son is proved, and firstly, a passage, taken from the Book of Isaiah, is compared with others and expounded in such sort as to show that in the Son there is no diversity from the Father’s nature, save only as regards the flesh; whence it follows that the Godhead of both Persons is One. This conclusion is confirmed by the authority of Baruch.

20. NOW the oracles of the prophets bear witness what close unity holy Scripture declares to subsist between the Father and the Son as regards their Godhead. For thus saith the Lord of Sabaoth: “Egypt hath labored, and the commerce of the Ethiopians and Sabeans: mighty men shall come over to thee, and shall be thy servants, and in thy train shall they follow, bound in fetters, and they shall fall down before thee, and to thee shall they make supplication: for God is in thee, and there is no God beside thee. For thou art God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel.”

21. Hear the voice of the prophet: “In Thee,” he saith, “is God, and there is no God beside Thee.” How agreeth this with the Arians’ teaching? They must deny either the Father’s or the Son’s Divinity, unless they believe, once for all, unity of the same Divinity.

22. “In Thee,” saith he, “is God” — forasmuch as the Father is in the Son. For it is written, “The Father, Who abideth in Me, Himself speaketh,” and “The works that I do, He Himself also doeth.” And yet again we read that the Son is in the Father, saying, “I am in the Father, and the Father in Me.”

Let the Arians, if they can, make away with this kinship in nature and unity in work.

23. There is, therefore, God in God, but not two Gods; for it is written that there is one God, and there is Lord in Lord, but not two Lords, forasmuch as it is likewise written: “Serve not two lords.” And the Law saith: “Hear, O Israel! The Lord thy God is one God;” moreover, in the same Testament it is written: “The Lord rained from the Lord.” The Lord, it is said, sent rain “from the Lord.” So also you may read in Genesis: “And God said, — and God made,” and, lower down, “And God made man in the image of God;” yet it was not two gods, but one God, that made [man]. In the one place, then, as in the other, the unity of operation and of name is maintained. For surely, when we read “God of God,” we do not speak of two Gods.

24. Again, you may read in the forty-fourth psalm how the prophet not only calls the Father “God” but also proclaims the Son as God, saying: “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.” And further on: “God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” This God Who anoints, and God Who in the flesh is anointed, is the Son of God. For what fellows in His anointing hath Christ, except such as are in the flesh? You see, then, that God is by God anointed, but being anointed in taking upon Him the nature of mankind, He is proclaimed the Son of God; yet is the principle of the Law not broken.

25. So again, when you read, “The Lord rained from the Lord,” acknowledge the unity of Godhead, for unity in operation doth not allow of more than one individual God, even as the Lord Himself has shown, saying: “Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me: or believe Me for the very works’ sake.” Here, too, we see that unity of Godhead is signified by unity in operation.

26. The Apostle, careful to prove that there is one Godhead of both Father and Son, and one Lordship, lest we should run into any error, whether of heathen or of Jewish ungodliness, showed us the rule we ought to follow, saying: “One God, the Father, from Whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him.” For just as, in calling Jesus Christ “Lord,” he did not deny that the Father was Lord, even so, in saying, “One God, the Father,” he did not deny true

Godhead to the Son, and thus he taught, not that there was more than one God, but that the source of power was one, forasmuch as Godhead consists in Lordship, and Lordship in Godhead, as it is written: “Be ye sure that the Lord, He is God. It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves.”

27. “In thee,” therefore, “is God,” by unity of nature, and “there is no God beside Thee,” by reason of personal possession of the Substance, without any reserve or difference.

28. Again, Scripture speaks, in the Book of Jeremiah, of One God, and yet acknowledges both Father and Son. Thus we read: “He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of. He hath discovered all the way of teaching, and given it to Jacob, His servant, and to Israel, His beloved. After these things He appeared upon earth, and conversed with men.”

29. The prophet speaks of the Son, for it was the Son Himself Who conversed with men, and this is what he says: “He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of.” Why do we call Him in question, of Whom so great a prophet saith that no other can be compared with Him? What comparison of another can be made, when the Godhead is One? This was the confession of a people set in the midst of dangers; reverencing religion, and therefore unskilled in strife of argument.

30. Come, Holy Spirit, and help Thy prophets, in whom Thou art wont to dwell, in whom we believe. Shall we believe the wise of this world, if we believe not the prophets? But where is the wise man, where is the scribe? When our peasant planted figs, he found that whereof the philosopher knew nothing, for God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the strong. Are we to believe the Jews? for God was once known in Jewry. Nay, but they deny that very thing, which is the foundation of our belief, seeing that they know not the Father, who have denied the Son.

CHAPTER 4

The Unity of God is necessarily implied in the order of Nature, in the Faith, and in Baptism. The gifts of the Magi declare the Unity of

the Godhead; Christ’s Godhead and Manhood. The truth of the doctrine o£ the Trinity in Unity is shown in the Angel walking in the midst of the furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

31. ALL nature testifies to the Unity of God, inasmuch as the universe is one. The Faith declares that there is one God, seeing that there is one belief in both the Old and the New Testament. That there is one Spirit, all holy, grace witnesseth, because there is one Baptism, in the Name of the Trinity. The prophets proclaim, the apostles hear, the voice of one God. In one God did the Magi believe, and they brought, in adoration, gold, frankincense, and myrrh to Christ’s cradle, confessing, by the gift of gold, His Royalty, and with the incense worshipping Him as God. For gold is the sign of kingdom, incense of God, myrrh of burial.

32. What, then, was the meaning of the mystic offerings in the lowly cattle-stalls, save that we should discern in Christ the difference between the Godhead and the flesh? He is seen as man, He is adored as Lord. He lies in swaddling-clothes, but shines amid the stars; the cradle shows His birth, the stars His dominion; it is the flesh that is wrapped in clothes, the Godhead that receives the ministry of angels. Thus the dignity of His natural majesty is not lost, and His true assumption of the flesh is proved.

33. This is our Faith. Thus did God will that He should be known by all, thus believed the three children, and felt not the fire into the midst whereof they were cast, which destroyed and burnt up unbelievers, whilst it fell harmless as dew upon the faithful, for whom the flames kindled by others became cold, seeing that the torment had justly lost its power in conflict with faith. For with them there was One in the form of an angel, comforting them, to the end that in the number of the Trinity one Supreme Power might be praised. God was praised, the Son of God was seen in God’s angel, holy and spiritual grace spake in the children.

CHAPTER 5

The various blasphemies uttered by the Arians against Christ are cited. Before these are replied to, the orthodox are admonished to beware of the captious arguments of philosophers, forasmuch as in these especially did the heretics put their trust.

34. Now let us consider the disputings of the Arians concerning the Son of God.

35. They say that the Son of God is unlike His Father. To say this of a man would be an insult.

36. They say that the Son of God had a beginning in time, whereas He Himself is the source and ordainer of time and all that therein is. We are men, and we would not be limited to time. We began to exist once, and we believe that we shall have a timeless existence. We desire after immortality — how, then, can we deny the eternity of God's Son, Whom God declares to be eternal by nature, not by grace?

37. They say that He was created. But who would reckon an author with his works, and have him seem to be what he has himself made?

38. They deny His goodness. Their blaspheming is its own condemnation, and so cannot hope for pardon.

39. They deny that He is truly Son of God, they deny His omnipotence, in that whilst they admit that all things are made by the ministry of the Son, they attribute the original source of their being to the power of God. But what is power, save perfection of nature?

40. Furthermore, the Arians deny that in Godhead He is One with the Father. Let them annul the Gospel, then, and silence the voice of Christ. For Christ Himself has said: "I and the Father are one." It is not I who say this: Christ has said it. Is He a deceiver, that He should lie? Is He unrighteous, that He should claim to be what He never was." But of these matters we will deal severally, at greater length, in their proper place.

41. Seeing, then, that the heretic says that Christ is unlike His Father, and seeks to maintain this by force of subtle disputation, we must cite the Scripture: "Take heed that no man make spoil of you by philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men, and after the rudiments of this world, not according to Christ; for in Him dwelleth all the fullness of Godhead in bodily shape."

42. For they store up all the strength of their poisons in dialetical disputation, which by the judgment of philosophers is defined as having no power to establish aught, and aiming only at destruction. But it was not

by dialectic that it pleased God to save His people; "for the kingdom of God consisteth in simplicity of faith, not in wordy contention."

CHAPTER 6

By way of leading up to his proof that Christ is not different from the Father, St. Ambrose cites the more famous leaders of the Arian party, and explains how little their witness agrees, and shows what de-fence the Scriptures provide against them.

43. THE Arians, then, say that Christ is unlike the Father; we deny it. Nay, indeed, we shrink in dread from the word. Nevertheless I would not that your sacred Majesty should trust to argument and our disputation. Let us enquire of the Scriptures, of apostles, of prophets, of Christ. In a word, let us enquire of the Father, Whose honor these men say they uphold, if the Son be judged inferior to Him, But insult to the Son brings no honor to the good Father. It cannot please the good Father, if the Son be judged inferior, rather than equal, to His Father.

44. I pray your sacred Majesty to suffer me, if for a little while I address myself particularly to these men. But whom shall I choose out to cite? Eunomius? or Arius and Aetius, his instructors? For there are many names, but one unbelief, constant in wickedness, but in conversation divided against itself; without difference in respect of deceit, but in common enterprise breeding dissent. But wherefore they will not agree together I understand not.

45. The Arians reject the person of Eunomius, but they maintain his unbelief and walk in the ways of his iniquity. They say that he has too generously published the writings of Arius. Truly, a plentiful lavishing of error! They praise him who gave the command, and deny him who executed it! Wherefore they have now fallen apart into several sects. Some follow after Eunomius or Aetius, others after Palladius or Demophilus and Auxentius, or the inheritors of this form of unbelief. Others, again, follow different teachers. Is Christ, then, divided? Nay; but those who divide Him from the Father do with their own hands cut themselves asunder.

46. Seeing, therefore, that men who agree not amongst themselves have all alike conspired against the Church of God, I shall call those whom I have to answer by the common name of heretics. For heresy, like some hydra of fable, hath waxed great from its wounds, and, being ofttimes lopped short, hath grown afresh, being appointed to find meet destruction in flames of fire. Or, like some dread and monstrous Scylla, divided into many shapes of unbelief, she displays, as a mask to her guile, the pretense of being a Christian sect, but those wretched men whom she finds tossed to and fro in the waves of her unhallowed strait, amid the wreckage of their faith, she, girt with beastly monsters, rends with the cruel fang of her blasphemous doctrine.

47. This monster's cavern, your sacred Majesty, thick laid, as seafaring men do say it is, with hidden lairs, and all the neighborhood thereof, where the rocks of unbelief echo to the howling of her black dogs, we must pass by with ears in a manner stopped. For it is written: "Hedge thine ears about with thorns;" and again: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers;" and yet again: "A man that is an heretic, avoid after the first reproof, knowing that such an one is fallen, and is in sin, being condemned of his own judgment." So then, like prudent pilots, let us set the sails of our faith for the course wherein we may pass by most safely, and again follow the coasts of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER 7

The likeness of Christ to the Father is asserted on the authority of St. Paul, the prophets, and the Gospel, and especially in reliance upon the creation of man in God's image.

48. THE Apostle saith that Christ is the image of the Father — for he calls Him the image of the invisible God, the first-begotten of all creation. First-begotten, mark you, not first-created, in order that He may be believed to be both begotten, in virtue of His nature, and first in virtue of His eternity. In another place also the Apostle has declared that God made the Son "heir of all things, by Whom also He made the worlds, Who is the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His substance." The Apostle calls Christ the image of the Father, and Arius says that He is

unlike the Father. Why, then, is He called an image, if He hath no likeness? Men will not have their portraits unlike them, and Arius contends that the Father is unlike the Son, and would have it that the Father has begotten one unlike Himself, as though unable to generate His like.

49. The prophets say: “In Thy light we shall see light;” and again: “Wisdom is the brightness of everlasting light, and the spotless mirror of God’s majesty, the image of His goodness.” See what great names are declared! “Brightness,” because in the Son the Father’s glory shines clearly: “spotless minor,” because the Father is seen in the Son: “image of goodness,” because it is not one body seen reflected in another, but the whole power [of the Godhead] in the Son. The word “image” teaches us that there is no difference; “expression,” that He is the counterpart of the Father’s form; and “brightness” declares His eternity. The “image” in truth is not that of a bodily countenance, not one made up of colors, nor modeled in wax, but simply derived from God, coming out from the Father, drawn from the fountainhead.

50. By means of this image the Lord showed Philip the Father. saying, “Philip, he that sees Me, sees the Father also. How then dost thou say, Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me?” Yes, he who looks upon the Son sees, in portrait, the Father. Mark what manner of portrait is spoken of. It is Truth, Righteousness, the Power of God: not dumb, for it is the Word; not insensible, for it is Wisdom; not vain and foolish, for it is Power; not soulless, for iris the Life; not dead, for it is the Resurrection. You see, then, that whilst an image is spoken of, the meaning is that it is the Father, Whose image the Son is, seeing that no one can be his own image.

51. More might I set down from the Son’s testimony; howbeit, lest He perchance appear to have asserted Himself overmuch let us enquire of the Father. For the Father said, “Let us make man in Our image and likeness.” The Father saith to the Son “in Our image and likeness,” and thou sayest that the Son of God is unlike the Father.

52. John saith, “Beloved, we are sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: we know that if He be revealed, we shall be like Him.” O blind madness O shameless obstinacy I We are men, and, so far as we may, we shall be in the likeness of God: dare we deny that the Son is like God?

53. Therefore the Father hath said: “Let us make man in Our image and likeness.” At the beginning of the universe itself, as I read, the Father and the Son existed, and I see one creation. I hear Him that speaketh. I acknowledge Him that doeth: but it is of one image, one likeness, that I read. This likeness belongs not to diversity but to unity. What, therefore, thou claimest for thyself, thou takest from the Son of God, seeing, indeed, that thou canst not be in the image of God, save by help of the image of God.

CHAPTER 8

The likeness of the Son to the Father being proved, it is not hard to prove the Son’s eternity, though, indeed, this may be established on the authority of the Prophet Isaiah and St. John the Evangelist, by which authority the heretical leaders are shown to be refuted.

54. It is plain, therefore, that the Son is not unlike the Father, and so we may confess the more readily that He is also eternal, seeing that He Who is like the Eternal must needs be eternal. But if we say that the Father is eternal, and yet deny this of the Son, we say that the Son is unlike the Father, for the temporal differeth from the eternal. The Prophet proclaims Him eternal, and the Apostle proclaims Him eternal; the Testaments, Old and New alike, are full of witness to the Son’s eternity.

55. Let us take them, then, in their order. In the Old Testament — to cite one out of a multitude of testimonies — it is written: “Before Me hath there been no other God, and after Me shall there be none.” I will not comment on this place, but ask thee straight: “Who speaks these words, — the Father or the Son?” Whichever of the two thou sayest, thou wilt find thyself convinced, or, if a believer, instructed. Who, then, speaks these words, the Father or the Son? If it is the Son, He says, “Before Me hath there been no other God;” if the Father, He says, “After Me shall there be none.” The One hath none before Him, the Other none that comes after; as the Father is known in the Son, so also is the Son known in the Father, for whensoever you speak of the Father, you speak also by implication of His Son, seeing that none is his own father; and when you name the Son, you do also acknowledge His Father, inasmuch as none can

be his own son. And so neither can the Son exist without the Father, nor the Father without the Son. The Father, therefore, is eternal, and the Son also eternal.

56. “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God.” “Was,” mark you, “with God.” “Was” — see, we have “was” four times over. Where did the blasphemer find it written that He “was not.” Again, John, in another passage — in his Epistle — speaketh of “That which was in the beginning.” The extension of the “was” is infinite. Conceive any length of time you will, yet still the Son “was.”

57. Now in this short passage our fisherman hath barred the way of all heresy. For that which was “in the beginning” is not comprehended in time, is not preceded by any beginning. Let Arius, therefore, hold his peace. Moreover, that which was “with God” is not confounded and mingled with Him, but is distinguished by the perfection unblemished which it hath as the Word abiding with God; and so let Sabellius keep silence. And “the Word was God,” This Word, therefore, consisteth not in uttered speech, but in the designation of celestial excellence, so that Photinus’ teaching is refuted. Furthermore, by the fact that in the beginning He was with God is proven the indivisible unity of eternal Godhead in Father and Son, to the shame and confusion of Eunomius. Lastly, seeing that all things are said to have been made by Him, He is plainly shown to be author of the Old and of the New Testament alike; so that the Manichaean can find no ground for his assaults. Thus hath the good fisherman caught them all in one net, to make them powerless to deceive, albeit unprofitable fish to take.

CHAPTER 9

St. Ambrose questions the heretics and exhibits their answer, which is, that the Son existed, indeed, before all time, yet was not co-eternal with the Father, whereat the Saint shows that they represent the Godhead as changeable, and further, that each Person must be believed to be eternal.

58. Tell me, thou heretic, — for the surpassing clemency of the Emperor grants me this indulgence of addressing thee for a short space, not that I desire to confer with thee, or am greedy to hear thy arguments, but because I am willing to exhibit them, — tell me, I say, whether there was ever a time when God Almighty was not the Father, and yet was God. “I say nothing about time,” is thy answer. Well and subtly objected! For if thou bringest time into the dispute, thou wilt condemn thyself, seeing that thou must acknowledge that there was a time when the Son was not, whereas the Son is the ruler and creator of time. He cannot have begun to exist after His own work. Thou, therefore, must needs allow Him to be the ruler and maker of His work.

59. “I do not say,” answerest thou, “that the Son existed not before time;” but when I call Him “Son,” I declare that His Father existed before Him, for, as you say, father exists before son.” But what means this? Thou deniest that time was before the Son, and yet thou wilt have it that something preceded the existence of the Son — some creature of time, — and thou showest certain stages of generation intervening, whereby thou dost give us to understand that the generation from the Father was a process in time. For if He began to be a Father, then, in the first instance, He was God, and afterwards He became a Father. How, then, is God unchangeable? For if He was first God, and then the Father, surely He has undergone change by reason of the added and later act of generation.

60. But may God preserve us from this madness; for it was but to confute the impiety of the heretics that we brought in this question. The devout spirit affirms a generation that is not in time and so declares Father and Son to be co-eternal, and does not maintain that God has ever suffered change.

61. Let Father and Son, therefore, be associated in worship, even as They are associated in Godhead; let not blasphemy put asunder those whom the close bond of generation hath joined together. Let us honor the Son, that we may honor the Father also, as it is written in the Gospel. The Son’s eternity is the adornment of the Father’s majesty. If the Son hath not been from everlasting, then the Father hath suffered change; but the Son is from all eternity, therefore hath the Father never changed, for He is always

unchangeable. And thus we see that they who would deny the Son's eternity would teach that the Father is mutable.

CHAPTER 10

Christ's eternity being proved from the Apostle's teaching, St. Ambrose admonishes us that the Divine Generation is not to be thought of alter the fashion of human procreation, nor to be too curiously pried into. With the difficulties thence arising he refuses to deal, saying that whatever terms, taken from our knowledge of body, are used in speaking of this Divine Generation, must be understood with a spiritual meaning.

62. HEAR now another argument, showing clearly the eternity of the Son. The Apostle says that God's Power and Godhead are eternal, and that Christ is the Power of God — for it is written that Christ is "the Power of God and the Wisdom of God." If, then, Christ is the Power of God, it follows that, forasmuch as God's Power is eternal, Christ also is eternal.

63. Thou canst not, then, heretic, build up a false doctrine from the custom of human procreation, nor yet gather the wherewithal for such work from our discourse, for we cannot compass the greatness of infinite Godhead, "of Whose greatness there is no end," in our straitened speech. If thou shouldst seek to give an account of a man's birth, thou must needs point to a time. But the Divine Generation is above all things; it reaches far and wide, it rises high above all thought and feeling. For it is written: "No man cometh to the Father, save by Me." Whatsoever, therefore, thou dost conceive concerning the Father — yea, be it even His eternity — thou canst not conceive aught concerning Him save by the Son's aid, nor can any understanding ascend to the Father save through the Son. "This is My dearly-beloved Son," the Father saith. "Is" mark you — He Who is, what He is, forever. Hence also David is moved to say: "O Lord, Thy Word abideth for ever in heaven," — for what abideth fails neither in existence nor in eternity.

64. Dost thou ask me how He is a Son, if He have not a Father existing before Him? I ask of thee, in turn, when, or how, thinkest thou that the Son was begotten. For me the knowledge of the mystery of His generation

is more than I can attain to, — the mind fails, the voice is dumb — ay, and not mine alone, but the angels' also. It is above Powers, above Angels, above Cherubim, Seraphim, and all that has feeling and thought, for it is written: "The peace of Christ, which passeth all understanding." If the peace of Christ passes all understanding, how can so wondrous a generation but be above all understanding?

65. Do thou, then (like the angels), cover thy face with thy hands, for it is not given thee to look into surpassing mysteries I We are suffered to know that the Son is begotten, not to dispute upon the manner of His begetting. I cannot deny the one; the other I fear to search into, for if Paul says that the words which he heard when caught up into the third heaven might not be uttered, how can we explain the secret of this generation from and of the Father, which we can neither hear nor attain to with our understanding?

66. But if you will constrain me to the rule of human generation, that you may be allowed to say that the Father existed before the Son, then consider whether instances, taken from the generation of earthly creatures, are suitable to show forth the Divine Generation. If we speak according to what is customary amongst men, you cannot deny that, in man, the changes in the father's existence happen before those in the son's. The father is the first to grow, to enter old age, to grieve, to weep. If, then, the son is after him in time, he is older in, experience than the son. If the child comes to be born, the parent escapes not the shame of begetting.

67. Why take such delight in that rack of questioning? You hear the name of the Son of God; abolish it, then, or acknowledge His true nature. You hear speak of the womb — acknowledge the truth of undoubted begetting. Of His heart — know that here is God's word. Of His right hand — confess His power. Of His face — acknowledge His wisdom. These words are not to be understood, when we speak of God, as when we speak of bodies. The generation of the Son is incomprehensible, the Father begets impassibly, and yet of Himself and in ages inconceivably remote hath very God begotten very God. The Father loves the Son, and you anxiously examine His Person; the Father is well. pleased in Him, you, joining the Jews, look upon Him with an evil eye; the Father knows the Son, and you join the heathen in reviling Him.

CHAPTER 11

It cannot be proved from Scripture that the Father existed before the Son, nor yet can arguments taken from human reproduction avail to this end, since they bring in absurdities without end. To dare to affirm that Christ began to exist in the course of time is the height of blasphemy.

68. YOU ask me whether it is possible that He Who is the Father should not be prior in existence. I ask you to tell me when the Father existed, the Son as yet being not; prove this, gather it from argument or evidence of Scripture. If you lean upon arguments, you have doubtless been taught that God's power is eternal. Again, you have read the Scripture that saith: "O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto Me, there shall be no new God in thee, neither shalt thou worship a strange God." The first of these commands betokens [the Son's] eternity, the second His possession of an identical nature, so that we can neither believe Him to have come into existence after the Father, nor suppose Him the Son of another Divinity. For if He existed not always with the Father, He is a "new" [God]; if He is not of one Divinity with the Father, He is a "strange" [God]. But He is not after the Father, for He is not "a new God;" nor is He "a strange God," for He is begotten of the Father, and because, as it is written, He is "God above all, blessed for ever."

69. But if the Arians believe Him to be a strange God, why do they worship Him, when it is written: "Thou shall worship no strange God"? Else, if they do not worship the Son, let them confess thereto, and the case is at an end, — that they deceive no one by their professions of religion. This, then, we see, is the witness of the Scriptures. If you have any others to produce, it will be your business to do so.

70. Let us now go further, and gather the truth in conclusion from arguments. For although arguments usually give place, even to human evidence, still, heretic, argue as thou wilt. "Experience teaches us," you say, "that the being which generates is prior to that which is generated." I answer: Follow our customary experience through all its departments, and if the rest agree herewith, I oppose not your claim that your point be granted; but if there be no such agreement, how can you claim assent on

this one point, when in all the rest you lack support? Seeing, then, that you call for what is customary, it comes about that the Son, when He was begotten of the Father, was a little child. You have seen Him an infant, crying in the cradle. As the years passed, He has gone forward from strength to strength — for if He was weak with the weakness of things begotten, He must also have fallen under the weakness, not only of birth, but of life also.

71. But perchance you run to such a pitch of folly as not to flinch from asserting these things of the Son of God, measuring Him, as you do, by the rule of human infirmity. What, then, if, while you cannot refuse Him the name of God, you are bent to prove Him, by reason of weakness, to be a man? What if, whilst you examine the Person of the Son, you are calling the Father in question, and whilst you hastily pass sentence upon the Former, you include the Latter in the same condemnation!

72. If the Divine Generation has been subject to the limits of time, — if we suppose this, borrowing from the custom of human generation, then it follows, further, that the Father bare the Son in a bodily womb, and labored under the burden whilst ten months sped their courses. But how can generation, as it commonly takes place, be brought about without the help of the other sex? You see that the common order of generation was not the commencement, and you think that the courses of generation, which are ruled by certain necessities whereunto bodies are subject, have always prevailed. You require the customary course, I ask for difference of sex: you demand the supposition of time, I that of order: you enquire into the end, I into the beginning. Now surely it is the end that depends on the beginning, not the beginning on the end.

73. “Everything,” say you, “that is begotten has a beginning, and therefore because the Son is the Son, He has a beginning, and came first into existence within limits of time. Let this be taken as the word of their own mouth; as for myself, I confess that the Son is begotten, but the rest of their declaration makes me shudder. Man, dost thou confess God, and diminish His honor by such slander? From this madness may God deliver us.

CHAPTER 12

Further objections to the Godhead of the Son are met by the same answer — to wit, that they may equally be urged against the Father also. The Father, then, being in no way confined by time, place, or anything else created, no such limitation is to be imposed upon the Son, Whose marvelous generation is not only of the Father, but of the Virgin also, and therefore, since in His generation of the Father no distinction of sex, or the like, was involved, neither was it in His generation of the Virgin.

74. THE next objection is this: “If the Son has not those properties which all sons have, He is no Son.” May Father, Son, and Holy Spirit pardon me, for I would propound the question in all devoutness. Surely the Father is, and abides for ever: created things, too, are as God hath ordained them. Is there any one, then, amongst these creatures which is not subject to the limitations of place, time, or the fact of having been created, or to some originating cause or creator, Surely, none. What, then? Is there any one of them whereof the Father stands in need? So to say were blasphemy. Cease, then, to apply to the Godhead what is proper only to created existences, or, if you insist upon forcing the comparison, bethink you whither your wickedness leads. God forbid that we should even behold the end thereof.

75. We maintain the answer given by piety. God is Almighty, and therefore God the Father needs none of those things, for in Him there is no changing, nor any place for such help as we need, we whose weakness is supported by means of things of this kind. But He Who is Almighty, plainly He is uncreate, and not confined to any place, and surpasses time. Before God was not anything — nay, even to speak about anything being before God is a grave sin. If, then, you grant that in the nature of God the Father there is nought that implies a being sustained, because He is God, it follows that nothing of this sort can be supposed to exist in the Son of God, nothing that connotes a beginning, or growth, forasmuch as He is “very God of very God.”

76. Seeing, then, that we find not the customary order prevailing, be content, Arian, to believe in a miraculous generation of the Son. Be

content, I say, and if you believe me not, at least have respect unto the voice of God saying, “To whom have ye esteemed Me to be like?” and again: “God is not like a man that He should repent.” If, indeed, God works mysteriously, seeing that He doth not work any work, or fashion anything, or bring it to completion, by labor of hands, or in any course of days, “for He spake, and they were made; He gave the word and they were created,” why should we not believe that He Whom we acknowledge as a Creator, mysteriously working, discerning it in His works, also begat His Son in a mysterious manner? Surely it is fitting that He should be regarded as having begotten the Son in a special and mysterious way. Let Him Who hath the grace of majesty unrivaled likewise have the glory of mysterious generation.

77. Not only Christ’s generation of the Father, but His birth also of the Virgin, demands our wonder. You say that the former is like unto the manner wherein we men are conceived. I will show — nay more, I will compel you yourself to confess, that the latter also hath no likeness to the manner of our birth. Tell me how it was that He was born of Mary, with what law did His conception in a Virgin’s womb agree, how there could be any birth without the seed of a man, how a maiden could become great with child, how she became a mother before experience of such intercourse as is between wives and husbands. There was no [visible] cause, — and yet a son was begotten. How, then, came about this birth, under a new law?

78. If, then, the common order of human generation was not found in the case of the Virgin Mary, how can you demand that God the Father should beget in such wise as you were begotten in? Surely the common order is determined by difference of sex; for this is implanted in the nature of our flesh, but where flesh is not, how can you expect to find the infirmity of flesh? No man calls in question one who is better than he is: to believe is enjoined upon you, without permission to question. For it is written, “Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness.” Language is vain to set forth, not only the generation of the Son, but even the works of God, for it is written: “All His works are executed in faithfulness;” His works, then, are done in faithfulness, but not His generation? Ay, we call in question that which we see not, we who are bidden to believe rather than enquire of that we see.

CHAPTER 13

Discussion of the Divine Generation is continued. St. Ambrose illustrates its method by the same example as that employed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The duty of believing what is revealed is shown by the example of Nebuchadnezzar and St. Peter. By the vision granted to St. Peter was shown the Son's Eternity and Godhead — the Apostle, then, must be believed in preference to the teachers of philosophy, whose authority was everywhere falling into discredit. The Arians, on the other hand, are shown to be like unto the heathen.

79. It will be asked: "In what sort was the Son begotten?" As one who is for ever, as the Word, as the brightness of eternal light, for brightness takes effect in the instant of its coming into existence. Which example is the Apostle's, not mine. Think not, then, that there was ever a moment of time when God was without wisdom, any more than that there was ever a time when light was without radiance. Judge not, Arian, divine things by human, but believe the divine where thou findest not the human.

80. The heathen king saw in the fire, together with the three Hebrew children, the form of a fourth, like as of an angel, and because he thought that this angel excelled all angels, he judged Him to be the Son of God, Whom he had not read of, but in Whom he believed. Abraham, also, saw Three and adored One.

81. Peter, when he saw Moses and Elias on the mountain, with the Son of God, was not deceived as to their nature and glory. For he enquired, not of them, but of Christ what he ought to do, inasmuch as though he prepared to do homage to all three, yet he waited for the command of one. But since he ignorantly thought that for three persons three tabernacles should be set up, he was corrected by the sovereign voice of God the Father, saying, "This is My dearly beloved Son: hear ye Him." That is to say: "Why dost thou join thy fellow-servants in equality with thy Lord? "This is My Son." Not "Moses is My Son," nor "Elias is My Son," but "This is My Son." The Apostle was not dull to understand the rebuke; he fell on his face brought low by the Father's voice and the glorious beauty of the Son, but he was raised up by the Son, Whose wont it is to raise up them that

are fallen. Then he saw one only, the Son of God alone, for the servants had withdrawn, that He might be seen to be Lord alone, Who alone was entitled Son.

82. What, then, was the purpose of that vision, which signified not that Christ and His servants were equal, but betokened a mystery, save that it should be made plain to us that the Law and the Prophets, in agreement with the Gospel, revealed as eternal the Son of God, Whom they had heralded. When we, therefore, hear of the Son coming forth of the womb, the Word from the heart, let us believe that the Son was not fashioned-with hands but begotten of the Father, not the work of a craftsman but the offspring of a parent.

83. He, therefore, Who said, "This is My Son," said not, "This is a creature of time," nor "This being is of My creation, My making, My servant," but "This is My Son, Whom ye see glorified." This is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, Who appeared to Moses in the bush, concerning Whom Moses saith, "He Who is hath sent me." It was not the Father Who spake to Moses in the bush or in the desert, but the Son. It was of this Moses-that Stephen said, "This is He Who was in the church, in the wilderness, with the Angel." This, then, is He Who gave the Law, Who spake with Moses, saying, "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob." This, then, is the God of the patriarchs, this is the God of the prophets.

84. It is of the Son, therefore, that we read, thy mind understandeth the reading, let thy tongue make confession. Away with arguments, where faith is required; now let dialectic hold her peace, even in the midst of her schools. I ask not what it is that philosophers say, but I would know what they do. They sit desolate in their schools. See the victory of faith over argument. They who dispute subtly are forsaken daily by their fellows; they who with simplicity believe are daily increased. Not philosophers but fishermen, not masters of dialectic but taxi-gatherers, now find credence. The one sort, through pleasures and luxuries, have bound the world's burden upon themselves; the other, by fasting and mortification, have cast it off, and so doth sorrow now begin to win over more followers than pleasure.

85. Let us now see how far Arians and pagans do differ. The latter call upon gods, who are different in sex and unequal in power; the former affirm a Trinity where there is likewise inequality of power and diversity of Godhead. The pagans assert that their Gods began to exist once upon a time; the Arians lyingly declare that Christ began to exist in the course of time. Have they not all dyed their impiety in the vats of philosophy? But indeed the pagans do extol that which they worship, the Arians maintain that the Son of God, Who is God, is a creature.

CHAPTER 14

That the Son of God is not a created being is proved by the following arguments: That He commanded not that the Gospel should be preached to Himself; that a created being is given over unto vanity; that the Son has created all things; that we read of Him as begotten; and that the difference of generation and adoption has always been understood in those places where both natures — the divine and the human — are declared to co-exist in Him. All of which testimony is confirmed by the Apostle's interpretation.

86. It is now made plain, as I believe, your sacred Majesty, that the Lord Jesus is neither unlike the Father, nor one that began to exist in course of time. We have yet to confute another blasphemy, and to show that the Son of God is not a created being. Herein is the quickening word that we read as our help, for we have heard the passage read where the Lord saith: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creation." He Who saith "all creation" excepts nothing. How, then, do they stand who call Christ a "creature"? If He were a creature, could He have commanded that the Gospel should be preached to Himself? It is not, therefore, a creature, but the Creator, Who commits to His disciples the work of teaching created beings.

87. Christ, then, is no created being; for "created beings are," as the Apostle hath said, "given over to vanity." Is Christ given over unto vanity? Again, "creation" — according to the same Apostle — "groans and travails together even until now." What, then? Doth Christ take any part in this groaning and travailing — He Who hath set us miserable mourners free

from death? “Creation,” saith the Apostle, “shall be set free from the slavery of corruption.” We see, then, that between creation and its Lord there is a vast difference for creation is enslaved, but “the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.”

88. Who was it that led first into this error, of declaring Him Who created and made all things to be a creature? Did the Lord, I would ask, create Himself? We read that “all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made.” This being so, did He make Himself? We real — and who shall deny? — that in wisdom hath God made all things. If so, how can we suppose that wisdom was made in itself?

89. We read that the Son is begotten, inasmuch as the Father saith: “I brought thee forth from the womb before the morning star” We read of the “first-born” Son, of the “only-begotten” — first-born, because there is none before Him; only-begotten, because there is none after Him. Again, we read: “Who shall declare His generation?” “Generation,” mark you, not “creation.” What argument can be brought to meet testimonies so great and mighty as these?

90. Moreover, God’s Son discovers the difference between generation and grace when He says: “I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God.” He did not say, “I go up to our Father,” but “I go up to My Father and your Father.” This distinction is the sign of a difference, inasmuch as He Who is Christ’s Father is our Creator.

91. Furthermore He said, “to My God and your God,” because although He and the Father are One, and the Father is His Father by possession of the same nature, whilst God began to be our Father through the office of the Son, not by virtue of nature, but of grace — still He seems to point us here to the existence in Christ of both natures, Godhead and Manhood, — Godhead of His Father, Manhood of His Mother, the former being before all things, the latter derived from the Virgin. For the first, speaking as the Son, He called God His Father, and afterward, speaking as man, named Him as God.

92. Everywhere, indeed, we have witness in the Scriptures to show that Christ, in naming God as His God, does so as man. “My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?” And again: “From My mother’s womb

Thou art My God.” In the former place He suffers as a man; in the latter it is a man who is brought forth from his mother’s womb. And so when He says, “From My mother’s womb Thou art My God,” He means that He Who was always His Father is His God from the moment when He was brought forth from His Mother’s womb.

93. Seeing, then, that we read in the Gospel, in the Apostle, in the Prophets, of Christ as begotten, how dare the Arians to say that He was created or made? But, indeed, they ought to have bethought them, where they have read of Him as created, where as made. For it has been plainly shown that the Son of God is begotten of God, born of God — let them, then, consider with care where they have read that He was made, seeing that He was not made God, but born as God, the Son of God; afterward, however, He was, according to the flesh, made man of Mary.

94. “But when the fullness of time was come, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law.” “His Son,” observe, not as one of many, not as His in common with another, but His own, and in saying “His Son,” the Apostle showed that it is of the Son’s nature that His generation is eternal. Him the Apostle has affirmed to have been afterwards “made” of a woman, in order that the making might be understood not of the Godhead, but of the putting on of a body — “made of a woman,” then, by taking on of flesh; “made under the Law” through observance of the Law. Howbeit, the former, the spiritual generation is before the Law was, the latter is after the Law.

CHAPTER 15

An explanation of <44236>Acts 2:36 and <200822>Proverbs 8:22, which are shown to refer properly to Christ’s manhood alone.

95. TO no purpose, then, is the heretics’ customary citation of the Scripture, that “God made Him both Lord and Christ.” Let these ignorant persons read the whole passage, and understand it. For thus it is written. “God made this Jesus, Whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ.” It was not the Godhead, but the flesh, that was crucified. This, indeed, was possible, cause the flesh allowed of being crucified. It follows not, then, that the Son of God is a created being.

96. Let us despatch, then, that passage also, which they do use to misrepresent,-let them learn what is the sense of the words, “The Lord created Me.” It is not “the Father created,” but “the Lord created Me.” The flesh acknowledgeth its Lord, praise declareth the Father: our created nature confesseth the first, loveth, knoweth the latter. Who, then, cannot but perceive that these words announce the Incarnation Thus the Son speaketh of Himself as created in respect of that wherein he witnesseth to Himself as being man, when He says, “Why seek ye to kill Me, a man, Who have told you the truth?” He speaketh of His Manhood, wherein He was crucified, and died, and was buried.

97. Furthermore, there is no doubt but that the writer set down as past that which was to come; for this is the usage of prophecy, that things to come are spoken of as though they were already present or past. For example, in the twenty-first psalm you have read: “Fat bulls(of Bashan) have beset me,” and again: “They parted My garments among them.” This the Evangelist showeth to have been spoken prophetically of the time of the Passion, for to God the things that are to come are present, and for Him Who foreknoweth all things, they are as though they were past and over; as it is written, “Who hath made the things that are to be.”

98. It is no wonder that He should declare His place to have been set fast before all worlds, seeing that the Scripture tells us that He was foreordained before the times and ages. The following passage discovers how the words in question present themselves as a true prophecy of the Incarnation: “Wisdom hath built her an house, and set up seven pillars to support it, and she hath slain her victims. She hath mingled her wine in the bowl, and made ready her table, and sent her servants, calling men together with a mighty voice of proclamation, saying: ‘He who is simple, let him turn in to me.’”Do we not see, in the Gospel, that all these things were fulfilled after the Incarnation, in that Christ disclosed the mysteries of the Holy Supper, sent forth His apostles, and cried with a loud voice, saying, “If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink.” That which followeth, then, answereth to that which went before, and we behold the whole story of the Incarnation set forth in brief by prophecy.

99. Many other passages might readily be seen to be prophecies of this sort concerning the Incarnation, but I will not delay over books, lest the treatise appear too wordy.

CHAPTER 16

The Arians blaspheme Christ, if by the words "created" and "begotten" they mean and understand one and the same thing. If, however, they regard the words as distinct in meaning, they must not speak of Him, of Whom they have read that He was begotten, as if He were a created being. This rule is upheld by the witness of St. Paul, who, professing himself a servant of Christ, forbade worship of a created being. God being a substance pure and uncompounded, there is no created nature in Him; furthermore, the Son is not to be degraded to the level of things created, seeing that in Him the Father is well pleased.

100. NOW will I enquire particularly of the Arians, whether they think that begotten and created are one and the same. If they call them the same, then is there no difference betwixt generation and creation. It follows then, that forasmuch as we also are created there is between us and Christ and the elements no difference. Thus much, however, great as their madness is, they will not venture to say.

101. Furthermore — to concede that which is no truth, to their folly-I ask them, if there is, as they think, no difference in the words, why do they not call upon Him Whom they worship by the better title? Why do they not avail themselves of the Father's word? Why do they reject the title of honor, and use a dishonoring name?

102. If, however, there is — as I think there is — a distinction between "created" and "begotten," then, when we have read that He is begotten, we shall surely not understand the same by the terms "begotten" and "created." Let them therefore confess Him to be begotten of the Father, born of the Virgin, or let them say how the Son of God can be both begotten and created. A single nature, above all, the Divine Being, rejects strife(within itself).

103. But in any case let our private judgment pass: let us enquire of Paul, who, filled with the Spirit of God, and so foreseeing these questionings, hath given sentence against pagans in general and Arians in particular, saying that they were by God’s judgment condemned, who served the creature rather than the Creator. Thus, in fact, you may read: “God gave them over to the lusts of their own heart, that they might one with another dishonor their bodies, they who changed God’s truth into a lie, and worshipped and served the thing created rather than the Creator, Who is God, blessed for ever.”

104. Thus Paul forbids me to worship a creature, and admonishes me of my duty to serve Christ. It follows, then, that Christ is not a created being. The Apostle calls himself “Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ,” and this good servant, who acknowledges his Lord, will likewise have us not worship that which is created. How, then, could he have been himself a servant of Christ, if he thought that Christ was a created person? Let these heretics, then, cease either to worship Him Whom they call a created being, or to call Him a creature, Whom they feign to worship, lest under color of being worshippers they fall into worse impiety. For a domestic is worse than a foreign foe, and that these men should use the Name of Christ to Christ’s dishonor increaseth their guilt.

105. What better expounder of the Scriptures do we indeed look for than that teacher of the Gentiles, that chosen vessel — chosen from the number of the persecutors? He who had been the persecutor of Christ confesses Him. He had read Solomon more, in any case, than Arius hath, and he was well learned in the Law, and so, because he had read, he said not that Christ was created, but that He was begotten. For he had read, “He spake, and they were made: He commanded, and they were created.” Was Christ, I ask, made at a word? Was He created at a command?

106. Moreover, how can there be any created nature in God? In truth, God is of an uncompounded nature; nothing can be added to Him, and that alone which is Divine hath He in His nature; filling all things, yet nowhere Himself confounded with aught; penetrating all things, yet Himself nowhere to be penetrated; present in all His fullness at one and the same moment, in heaven, in earth, in the deepest depth of the sea, to sight invisible, by speech not to be declared, by feeling not to be measured; to be

followed by faith, to be adored with devotion; so that whatsoever title excels in depth of spiritual import, in setting forth glory and honor, in exalting power, this you may know to belong of right to God.

107. Since, then, the Father is well pleased in the Son; believe that the Son is worthy of the Father, that He came out from God, as He Himself bears witness, saying: “I went out from God, and am come;” and again: “I went out from God.” He Who proceeded and came forth from God can have no attributes but such as are proper to God.

CHAPTER 17

That Christ is very God is proved from the fact that He is God’s own Son, also from His having been begotten and having come forth from God, and further, from the unity of will and operation subsisting in Father and Son. The witness of the apostles and of the centurion — which St. Ambrose sets over against the Arian teaching — is adduced, together with that of Isaiah and St. John.

108. Hence it is that Christ is not only God, but very God indeed — very God of very God, insomuch that He Himself is the Truth, If, then, we enquire His Name, it is “the Truth;” if we seek to know His natural rank and dignity, He is so truly the very Son of God, that He is indeed God’s own Son; as it is written, “Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for our sakes,” gave Him up, that is, so far as the flesh was concerned. That He is God’s own Son declares His Godhead; that He is very God shows that He is God’s own Son; His pitifulness is the earnest of His submission, His sacrifice, of our salvation.

109. Lest, however, men should wrest the Scripture, that “God gave Him up,” the Apostle himself has said in another place, “Peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins;” and again: “Even as Christ hath loved us, and given Himself for us.” If, then, He both was given up by the Father, and gave Himself up of His own accord, it is plain that the working and the will of Father and Son is one.

110. If, then, we enquire into His natural pre-eminence, we find it to consist in being begotten. To deny that the Son of God is begotten [of

God] is to deny that He is God’s own Son, and to deny Christ to be God’s own Son is to class Him with the rest of mankind, as no more a Son than any of the rest. If, however, we enquire into the distinctive property of His generation, it is this, that He came forth from God. For whilst, in our experience, to come out implies something already existent, and that which is said to come out seems to proceed forth from hidden and inward places, we, though it be presented but in short passages, observe the peculiar attribute of the Divine Generation, that the Son doth not seem to have come forth out of any place, but as God from God, a Son from a Father, nor to have had a beginning in the course of time, having come forth from the Father by being born, as He Himself Who was born said: “I came forth from the mouth of the Most High.”

111. But if the Arians acknowledge not the Son’s nature, if they believe not the Scriptures, let them at least believe the mighty works. To whom doth the Father say, “Let us make man?” save to Him Whom He knew to be His true Son? In Whom, save in one who was true, could He recognize His Image? The son by adoption is not the same as the true Son; nor would the Son say, “I and the Father are one,” if He, being Himself not true, were measuring Himself with One Who is true. The Father, therefore, says, “Let us make.” He Who spake is true; can He, then, Who made be not true? Shall the honor rendered to Him Who speaks be withheld from Him Who makes?

112. But how, unless the Father knew Him to be His true Son, should He commend to Him His will, for perfect co-operation, and His works, for perfect bringing in out in actuality? Seeing that the Son worketh the works which the Father doeth, and that the Son quickens whom He will, as it is written, He is then equal in power and free in respect of His will. And thus is the Unity maintained, forasmuch as God’s power consists in that the Godhead is proper to each Person, and freedom lies not in any difference, but in unity of will.

113. The apostles, being storm-tossed in the sea, as soon as they saw the waters leaping up round their Lord’s feet, and beheld His fearless footsteps on the water, as He walked amid the raging waves of the sea, and the ship, which was beaten upon by the waves, had rest as soon as Christ entered it, and they saw the waves and the winds obeying Him, — then,

though as yet they did not believe in their hearts they believed Him to be God's true Son, saying, "Truly Thou art the Son of God."

114. To the same effect the confession of the centurion, and others who were with him, when the foundations of the world were shaken at the Lord's Passion, — and this, heretic, thou deniest! The centurion said, "Truly this was the Son of God." "Was" said the centurion — "Was not" says the Arian. The centurion, then, with bloodstained hands, but devout mind, declares both the truth and the eternity of Christ's generation; and thou, O heretic deniest its truth, and makest it matter of time! Would that thou hadst imbued thy hands rather than thy soul! But thou unclean even of hand, and murderous of intent, seekest Christ's death, so far as in thee lies, seeing that thou thinkest of Him as mean and weak; nay, and this is a worse sin, thou, albeit the Godhead can feel no wound, still wouldst do thy diligence to slay in Christ, not His Body, but His Glory.

115. We cannot then doubt that He is very God, Whose true Godhead even executioners believed in and devils confessed. Their testimony we require not now, but it is withal greater than your blasphemies. We have called them in to witness, to put you to the blush, whilst we have also cited the oracles of God, to the end that you should believe.

116. The Lord proclaimeth by the mouth of Isaiah: "In the mouth of them that serve Me shall a new name be called upon, which shall be blessed over all the earth, and they shall bless the true God, and they who swear upon earth shall swear by the true God." These words, I say, Isaiah spake when he saw God's Glory, and thus in the Gospel it is plainly said that he saw the Glory of Christ and spoke of Him.

117. But hear again what John the Evangelist hath written in his Epistle, saying: "We know that the Son of God hath appeared, and hath given us discernment, to know the Father, and to be in His true Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. He is very God, and Life Eternal." John calls Him true Son of God and very God. If, then, He be very God, He is surely uncreate, without spot of lying or deceit, having in Himself no confusion, nor unlikeness to His Father.

CHAPTER 18

The errors of the Arians are mentioned in the Nicene Definition of the Faith, to prevent their deceiving anybody. These errors are recited, together with the anathema pronounced against them, which is said to have been not only pronounced at Nicaea, but also twice renewed at Ariminum.

118. CHRIST, therefore, is "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten of the Father, not made; of one substance with the Father."

119. So, indeed, following the guidance of the Scriptures, our fathers declared, holding, moreover, that impious doctrines should be included in the record of their decrees, in order that the unbelief of Arius should discover itself, and not, as it were, mask itself with dye or face-paint. For they give a false color to their thoughts who dare not unfold them openly. After the manner of the censor's rolls, then, the Arian heresy is not discovered by name, but marked out by the condemnation pronounced, in order that he who is curious and eager to hear it should be preserved from falling by knowing that it is condemned already, before he hears, it set forth to the end that he should believe.

120. "Those," runs the decree, "who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that before He was born He was not, and who say that he was made out of nothing, or is of another substance or οὐσια, or that He is capable of changing, or that with Him is any shadow of turning, — them the Catholic and Apostolic Church declares accursed."

121. Your sacred Majesty has agreed that they who utter such doctrines are rightly condemned. It was of no determination by man, of no human counsel, that three hundred and eighteen bishops met, as I showed above more at length, in Council, but that in their number the Lord Jesus might prove, by the sign of His Name and Passion, that He was in the midst, where His own were gathered together. In the number of three hundred was the sign of His Cross, in that of eighteen was the sign of the Name Jesus.

122. This also was the teaching of the First Confession in the Council of Ariminum, and of the Second Correction, after that Council. Of the

Confession, the letter sent to the Emperor Constantine beareth witness, and the Council that followed declares the Correction.

CHAPTER 19

Arius is charged with the first of the above-mentioned errors, and refuted by the testimony of St. John. The miserable death of the Heresiarch is described, and the rest of his blasphemous errors are one by one examined and disproved.

123. Arius, then, says: "There was a time when the Son of God existed not," but Scripture saith: "He was," not that "He was not." Furthermore, St. John has written: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God." Observe how often the verb "was" appears, whereas "was not" is nowhere found. Whom, then, are we to believe? — St. John, who lay on Christ's bosom, or Arius, wallowing amid the out-gush of his very bowels? — so wallowing that we might understand how Arius in his teaching showed himself like unto Judas, being visited with like punishment.

124. For Arius bowels also gushed out — decency forbids to say where — and so he burst asunder in the midst, falling headlong, and besmirching those foul lips wherewith he had denied Christ. He was rent, even as the Apostle Peter said of Judas, because he bought a field with the price of evil-doing, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." It was no chance manner of death, seeing that like wickedness was visited with like punishment, to the end that those who denied and betrayed the same Lord might likewise undergo the same torment.

125. Let us pass on to further points. Arius says: "Before He was born, the Son of God was not," but the Scripture saith that all things are maintained in existence by the Son's office. How, then, could He, Who existed not, bestow existence upon others? Again, when the blasphemer uses the words "when" and "before," he certainly uses words which are marks of time. How, then, do the Arians deny that time was ere the Son was, and yet will have things created in time to exist before the Son, seeing

that the very words, “when,” “before,” and “did not exist once,” announce the idea of time?

126. Arius says that the Son of God came into being out of nought. How, then, is He Son of God — how was He begotten from the womb of the Father — how do we read of Him as the Word spoken of the heart’s abundance, save to the end that we should believe that He came forth, as it is written, from the Father’s inmost, unapproachable sanctuary? Now a son is so called either by means of adoption or by nature, as we are called sons by means of adoption. Christ is the Son of God by virtue of His real and abiding nature. How, then, can He, Who out of nothing fashioned all things, be Himself created out of nothing?

127. He who knows not whence the Son is hath not the Son. The Jews therefore had not the Son, for they knew not whence He was. Wherefore the Lord said to them: “Ye know not whence I came;” and again: “Ye neither have found out Who I am, nor know My Father,” for he who denies that the Son is of the Father knows not the Father, of Whom the Son is; and again, he knows not the Son, because he knows not the Father.

128. Arius says:” [The Son is] of another Substance.” But what other substance is exalted to equality with the Son of God, so that simply in virtue thereof He is Son of God? Or what right have the Arians for censuring us because we speak, in Greek, of the οὐσία, or in Latin, of the Substantia of God, when they themselves, in saying that the Son of God is of another “Substance,” assert a divine Substantia.

129. Howbeit, should they desire to dispute the use of the words “divine Substance” or “divine Nature,” they shall easily be refuted, for Holy Writ oft-times hath spoken of οὐσία in Greek, or Substantia in Latin, and St. Peter, as we read, would have us become partakers in the divine Nature. But if they will have it that the Son is of another “Substance,” they with their own lips confute themselves, in that they both acknowledge the term “Substance,” whereof they are so afraid, and rank the Son on a level with the creatures above which they feign to exalt Him.

130. Arius calls the Son of God a creature, but “not as the rest of the creatures.” Yet what created being is not different from another? Man is not as angel, earth is not as heaven, the sun is not as water, nor light as

darkness. Arius' preference, therefore, is empty — he hath but disguised with a sorry dye his deceitful blasphemies, in order to take the foolish.

131. Arius declares that the Son of God may change and swerve. How, then, is He God if He is changeable, seeing that He Himself hath said: "I am, I am, and I change not"?

CHAPTER 20

St. Ambrose declares his desire that some angel would fly to him to purify him, as once the Seraph did to Isaiah — nay more, that Christ Himself would come to him, to the Emperor, and to his readers, and finally prays that Gratian and the rest of the faithful may be exalted by the power and spell of the Lord's Cup, which he describes in mystic language.

132. Howbeit, now must I needs confess the Prophet Isaiah's confession, which he makes before declaring the word of the Lord: "Woe is me, my heart is smitten, for I, a man of unclean lips, and living in the midst of a people of unclean lips, have seen the Lord of Sabaoth." Now if Isaiah said "Woe is me," who looked upon the Lord of Sabaoth, what shall I say of myself, who, being "a man of unclean lips," am constrained to treat of the divine generation? How shall I break forth into speech of things whereof I am afraid, when David prays that a watch may be set over his mouth in the matter of things whereof he has knowledge? O that to me also one of the Seraphim would bring the burning coal from the celestial altar, taking it in the tongs of the two testaments, and with the fire thereof purge my unclean lips!

133. But forasmuch as then the Seraph came down in a vision to the Prophet, whilst Thou, O Lord, in revelation of the mystery hast come to us in the flesh, do Thou, not by any deputy, nor by any messenger, but Thou Thyself cleanse my conscience from my secret sins, that I too, erstwhile unclean, but now by Thy mercy made clean through faith, may sing in the words of David: "I will make music to Thee upon a harp, O God of Israel, my lips shall rejoice, in all my song to Thee, and so, too, shall my soul, whom Thou hast redeemed."

134. And so, O Lord, leaving them that slander and hate Thee, come unto us, sanctify the ears of our sovereign ruler, Gratian, and all besides into whose hands this little book shall come — and purge my ears, that no stains of the infidelity they have heard remain anywhere. Cleanse thoroughly, then, our ears, not with water of well, river, or rippling and purling brook, but with words cleansing like water, clearer than any water, and purer than any snow — even the words Thou hast spoken — "Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow."

135. Moreover, there is a Cup, wherewith Thou dost use to purify the hidden chambers of the soul, a Cup not of the old order, nor filled from a common Vine, — a new Cup, brought down from heaven to earth, filled with wine pressed from the wondrous cluster, which hung in fleshly form upon the tree of the Cross, even as the grape hangs upon the Vine. From this Cluster, then, is the Wine that maketh glad the heart of man, uplifts the sorrowful, is fragrant with, pours into us, the ecstasy of faith, true devotion, and purity.

136. With this Wine, therefore, O Lord my God, cleanse the spiritual ears of our sovereign Emperor, to the end that, just as men, being uplifted with common wine, love rest and quietness, cast out the fear of death, have no feeling of injuries, seek not that Which belongs to others, and forget their own; and so he, too, intoxicated with thy wine, may love peace, and, confident in the exultation of faith, may never know the death of unbelief, and may display loving patience, have no part in other men's profanities, and hold the faith of more account even than kindred and children, as it is written: "Leave all that thou hast, and come, follow Me."

137. With this Wine, also, Lord Jesus, purify our senses, that we may adore Thee, and worship Thee, the Creator of things visible and invisible. Truly, Thou canst not fail of being Thyself invisible and good, Who hast given invisibility and goodness to the works of Thy Hands.

BOOK 2

INTRODUCTION

Twelve names of the Son of God are recounted, being distributed into three classes. These names are so many proofs of the eternity not only of the Son, but of the Father also. Furthermore, they are compared with the twelve stones in the High Priestbreastplate, and their inseparability is shown by a new distribution of them. Returning to the comparison with the High Priest's breastplate, the writer sets forth the beauty of the woven-work and the precious stones of the mystic raiment, and the hidden meaning of that division into woven-work and precious stones, which being done, he expounds the comparison drawn by him, showing that faith must be woven in with works, and adds a short summary of the same faith, as concerning the Son.

1. ENOUGH hath been said, as I think, your sacred Majesty, in the book preceding to show that the Son of God is an eternal being, not diverse from the Father, begotten, not created; we have also proved, from passages of the Scriptures, that God's true Son is God, and is declared so to be by the evident tokens of His Majesty.

2. Wherefore, albeit what hath already been set forth is plentiful even to overflowing for maintaining the Faith — seeing that the greatness of a river is mostly judged of from the manner in which its springs rise and flow forth — still, to the end that our belief may be the plainer to sight, the waters of our spring ought, methinks, to be parted off into three channels. There are, then, firstly, plain tokens declaring essential inherence in the Godhead; secondly, the expressions of the likeness of the Father and the Son; and lastly, those of the undoubtable unity of the Divine Majesty. Now of the first sort are the names "begetting," "God," "Son," "The Word;" of the second, "brightness," "expression," "mirror," "image;" and of the third, "wisdom," "power," "truth," "life."

3. These tokens so declare the nature of the Son, that by them you may know both that the Father is eternal, and that the Son is not diverse from

Him; for the source of generation is He Who is, and as begotten of the Eternal, He is God; coming forth from the Father, He is the Son; from God, He is the Word; He is the radiance of the Father's glory, the expression of His substance, the counterpart of God, the image of His majesty; the Bounty of Him Who is bountiful, the Wisdom of Him Who is wise, the Power of the Mighty One, the Truth of Him Who is true, the Life of the Living One. In agreement, therefore, stand the attributes of Father and Son, that none may suppose any diversity, or doubt but that they are of one Majesty. For each and all of these names would we furnish examples of their use were we not constrained by a desire to maintain our discourse within bounds.

4. Of these twelve, as of twelve precious stones, is the pillar of our faith built up. For these are the precious stones — sardius, jasper, smaragdite, chrysolite, and the rest, — woven into the robe of holy Aaron, even of him who bears the likeness of Christ, that is, of the true Priest; stones set in gold, and inscribed with the names of the sons of Israel, twelve stones close joined and fitting one into another, for if any should sunder or separate them, the whole fabric of the faith falls in ruins.

5. This, then, is the foundation of our faith — to know that the Son of God is begotten; if He be not begotten, neither is He the Son. Nor yet is it sufficient to call Him Son, unless you shall also distinguish Him as the Only-begotten Son. If He is a creature, He is not God; if He is not God, He is not the Life; if He is not the Life, then is He not the Truth.

6. The first three tokens, therefore, that is to say, the names "generation," "Son," "Only-begotten," do show that the Son is of God originally and by virtue of His own nature.

7. The three that follow — to wit, the names "God," "Life," "Truth," reveal His Power, whereby He hath laid the foundations of, and upheld, the created world. "For," as Paul said, "in Him we live and move and have our being;"' and therefore, in the first three the Son's natural right, in the other three the unity of action subsisting between Father and Son is made manifest.

8. The Son of God is also called the "image" and "effulgence" and "expression" [of God], for these names have disclosed the Father's

incomprehensible and unsearchable Majesty dwelling in the Son, and the expression of His likeness in Him. These three names, then, as we see, refer to [the Son’s] likeness [to the Father].

9. We have yet the operations of Power, Wisdom, and Justice left, wherewith, severally, to prove [the Son’s] eternity.

10. This, then, is that robe, adorned with precious stones; this is the amice of the true Priest; this the bridal garment; here is the inspired weaver, who well knew how to weave that work. No common woven work is it, whereof the Lord spake by His Prophet: “Who gave to women their skill in weaving? ‘ No common stones again, are they — stones, as we find them called, “of filling;” for all perfection depends on this condition, that there be nought lacking. They are stones joined together and set in gold — that is, of a spiritual kind; the joining of them by our minds and their setting in convincing argument. Finally Scripture teaches us how far from common are these stones, inasmuch as, whilst some brought one kind, and others another, of less precious offerings, these the devout princes brought, wearing them upon their shoulders, and made of them the “breastplate of judgment,” that is, a piece of woven work. Now we have a woven work, when faith and action go together.

11. Let none suppose me to be misguided, in that I made at first a threefold division, each part containing four, and afterwards a fourfold division, each part containing three terms. The beauty of a good thing pleases the more, if it be shown under various aspects. For those are good things, whereof the texture of the priestly robe was the token, that is to say, either the Law, or the Church, which latter hath made two garments for her spouse, as it is written’ — the one of action, the other of spirit, weaving together the threads of faith and works. Thus, in one place, as we read, she makes a groundwork of gold, and afterwards weaves thereon blue, and purple, with scarlet, and white. Again, [as we read] elsewhere, she first makes little flowerets of blue and other colors, and attaches gold, and there is made a single priestly robe, to the end that adornments of diverse grace and beauty, made up of the same bright colors, may gain fresh glory by diversity of arrangement.

12. Moreover (to complete our interpretation of these types), it is certain that by refined gold and silver are designated the oracles of the Lord,

whereby our faith stands firm. “The oracles of the Lord are pure oracles, silver tried in the fire, refined of dross, purified seven times.” Now blue is like the air we breathe and draw in; purple, again, represents the appearance of water; scarlet signifies fire; and white linen, earth, for its origin is in the earth. Of these four elements, again, the human body is composed.

13. Whether, then, you join to faith already present in the soul, bodily acts agreeing thereto; or acts come first, and faith be joined as their companion, presenting them to God — here is the robe of the minister of religion, here the priestly vestment.

14. Faith is profitable, therefore, when her brow is bright with a fair crown of good works. This faith — that I may set the matter forth shortly — is contained in the following principles, which cannot be overthrown. If the Son had His origin in nothing, He is not Son; if He is a creature, He is not the Creator; if He was made, He did not make all things; if He needs to learn, He hath no foreknowledge; if He is a receiver, He is not perfect; if He progress, He is not God. If He is unlike (the Father) He is not the (Father’s) image; if He is Son by grace, He is not such by nature; if He have no part in the Godhead, He hath it in Him to sin.” There is none good, but Godhead.”

CHAPTER 1

The Arian argument from S. <411018>*Mark 10:18, “There is none good but one, that is, God,” refuted by explanation of these words of Christ.*

15. THE objection I have now to face, your sacred Majesty, fills me with bewilderment, my soul and body faint at the thought that there should be men, or rather not men, but beings with the outward appearance of men, but inwardly full of brutish folly — who can, after receiving at the hands of the Lord benefits so many and so great, say that the Author of all good things is Himself not good.

16. It is written, say they, that “There is none good but God alone.” I acknowledge the Scripture — but there is no falsehood in the letter; would

that there were none in the Arians' exposition thereof. The written signs are guiltless, it is the meaning in which they are taken that is to blame. I acknowledge the words as the words of our Lord and Savior — but let us bethink ourselves when, to whom, and with what comprehension He speaks.

17. The Son of God is certainly speaking as man, and speaking to a scribe, — to him, that is, who called the Son of God "Good Master," but would not acknowledge Him as God. What he believes not, Christ further gives him to understand, to the end that he may believe in God's Son not as a good master, but as the good God, for if, wheresoever the "One God" is named, the Son of God is never sundered from the fullness of that unity, how, when God alone is said to be good, can the Only-begotten be excluded from the fullness of Divine Goodness? The Arians must therefore either deny that the Son of God is God, or confess that God is good.

18. With divinely inspired comprehension, then, our Lord said, not "There is none good but the Father alone," but "There is none good but God alone," and "Father" is the proper name of Him Who begets. But the unity of God by no means excludes the Godhead of the Three Persons, and therefore it is His Nature that is extolled. Goodness, therefore, is of the nature of God, and in the nature of God, again, exists the Son of God — wherefore that which the predicate expresses belongs not to one single Person, but to the [complete] unity [of the Godhead].

19. The Lord, then, doth not deny His goodness — He rebukes this sort of disciple. For when the scribe said, "Good Master," the Lord answered, "Why callest thou Me good?" — which is to say, "It is not enough to call Him good, Whom thou believest not to be God." Not such do I seek to be My disciples — men who rather consider My manhood and reckon Me a good master, than look to My Godhead and believe Me to be the good God."

CHAPTER 2

The goodness of the Son of God is proved from His works, namely, His benefits that He showed towards the people of Israel under the Old Covenant, and to Christians under the New. It is to one's own

interest to believe in the goodness of Him Who is one's Lord and Judge. The Father's testimony to the Son. No small number of the Jewish people bear witness to the Son; the Arians therefore are plainly worse than the Jews. The words of the Bride, declaring the same goodness of Christ.

20. HOWBEIT, I would not that the Son should rely on the mere prerogative of His nature and the claims of peculiar rights of His Majesty. Let us not call Him good, if He merit not the title; and if He merit not this by works, by acts of lovingkindness, let Him waive the right He enjoys by virtue of His nature, and be submitted to our judgment. He Who is to judge us disdains not to be brought to judgment, that He may be "justified in His saying, and clear when He is judged."

21. Is He then not good, Who hath shown me good things? Is He not good, Who when six hundred thousand of the people of the Jews fled before their pursuers, suddenly opened the tide of the Red Sea, an unbroken mass of waters? — so that the waves flowed round the faithful, and were walls to them, but poured back and overwhelmed the unbelievers.

22. Is He not good, at Whose command the seas became firm ground for the feet of them that fled, and the rocks gave forth water for the thirsty? so that the handiwork of the true Creator might be known, when the fluid became solid, and the rock streamed with water? That we might acknowledge this as the handiwork of Christ, the Apostle said: "And that rock was Christ."

23. Is He not good, Who in the wilderness fed with bread from heaven such countless thousands of the people, lest any famine should assail them, without need of toil, in the enjoyment of rest? — so that, for the space of forty years, their raiment grew not old, nor were their shoes worn, a figure to the faithful of the Resurrection that was to come, showing that neither the glory of great deeds, nor the beauty of the power wherewith He hath clothed us, nor the stream of human life is made for nought?

24. Is He not good, Who exalted earth to heaven, so that, just as the bright companies of stars reflect His glory in the sky, as in a glass, so the choirs

of apostles, martyrs, and priests, shining like glorious stars, might give light throughout the world.

25. Not only, then, is He good, but He is more. He is a good Shepherd, not only for Himself, but to His sheep also, "for the good shepherd layeth down his life for his sheep." Aye, He laid down His life to exalt ours — but it was in the power of His Godhead that He laid it down and took it again: "I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself."

26. Thou seest His goodness, in that He laid it down of His own accord: thou seest His power, in that He took it again — dost thou deny His goodness, when He has said of Himself in the Gospel, "If I am good, why is thine eye evil?" Ungrateful wretch what doest thou? Dost thou deny His goodness, in Whom is thy hope of good things — if, indeed, thou believest this? Dost thou deny His goodness, Who hath given us what "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard"?

27. It concerns my interest to believe Him to be good, for "It is a good thing to trust in the Lord." It is to my interest to confess Him Lord, for it is written: "Give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good."

28. It is to my interest to esteem my Judge to be good, for the Lord is a righteous Judge to the house of Israel. If, then, the Son of God is Judge, surely, seeing that the Judge is the righteous God and the Son of God is Judge, [it follows that] He who is Judge and Son of God is the righteous God.

29. But perchance thou believest not others, nor the Son. Hear, then, the Father saying: "My heart hath brought forth out of its depth the good Word." The Word, then, is good — the Word, of Whom it is written: "And the Word was with God, and the Word was God." If, therefore, the Word is good, and the Son is the Word of God, surely, though it displease the Arians, the Son of God is God. Let them now at least blush for shame.

30. The Jews used to say: "He is good." Though some said: "He is not," yet others said: "He is good," — and ye do all deny His goodness.

31. He is good who forgives the sin of one man; is He not good Who has taken away the sin of the world? For it was of Him that it was said:

"Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him Who taketh away the sin of the world."

32. But why do we doubt? The Church hath believed in His goodness all these ages, and hath confessed its faith in the saying: "Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth; for thy breasts are better than wine;" and again: "And thy throat is like the goodliest wine." Of His goodness, therefore. He nourisheth us with the breasts of the Law and Grace, soothing men's sorrows with telling them of heavenly things; and do we, then, deny His goodness, when He is the manifestation of goodness, expressing in His Person the likeness of the Eternal Bounty, even as we showed above that it was written, that He is the spotless reflection and counterpart of that Bounty?

CHAPTER 3

Forasmuch as God is One, the Son of God is God, good and true.

33. YET what think ye, who deny the goodness and true Godhead of the Son of God, though it is written that there is no God but One? For although there be gods so-called, would you reckon Christ amongst them which are called gods, but are not, seeing that eternity is of His Essence, and that beside Him there is none other that is good and true God, forasmuch as God is in Him; whilst it follows from the very nature of the Father, that after Him there is no other true God, because God is One, neither confounding [the Persons of] the Father and Son, as the Sabellians do, nor, like the Arians, severing the Father and the Son. For the Father and the Son, as Father and Son, are distinct persons, but they admit no division of their Godhead.

CHAPTER 4

The omnipotence of the Son of God, demonstrated on the authority of the Old and the New Testament.

34. SEEING, then, that the Son of God is true and good, surely He is Almighty God. Can there be yet any doubt on this point? We have already

cited the place where it is read that “the Lord Almighty is His Name.” Because, then, the Son is Lord, and the Lord is Almighty, the Son of God is Almighty.

35. But hear also such a passage as you can build no doubts upon: “Behold, He cometh,” saith the Scripture, “with the clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they which pierced Him, and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn because of Him. Yea, amen. I am Alpha and Omega, saith the Lord God, Who is, and Who was, and Who is to come, the Almighty.” Whom, I ask, did they pierce? For Whose coming hope we but the Son’s? Therefore, Christ is Almighty Lord, and God.

36. Hear another passage, your sacred Majesty, — hear the voice of Christ. “Thus saith the Lord Almighty: After His glory hath He sent me against the nations which have made spoil of you, forasmuch as he that toucheth you is as he that toucheth the pupil of His eye. For lo, I lay my hand upon them which despoiled you, and I will save you, and they shall be for a spoil, which made spoil of you, and they shall know that the Lord Almighty hath sent Me.” Plainly, He Who speaks is the Lord Almighty, and He Who hath sent is the Lord Almighty. By consequence, then, almighty power appertains both to the Father and to the Son; nevertheless, it is One Almighty God, for there is oneness of Majesty.

37. Moreover, that your most excellent Majesty may know that it is Christ which hath spoken as in the Gospel, so also in the prophet, He saith by the mouth of Isaiah, as though foreordaining the Gospel: “I Myself, Who spake, am come,” that is to say, I, Who spake in the Law, am present in the Gospel.

38. Elsewhere, again, He saith: “All things that the Father hath are Mine.” What meaneth He by “all things”? Clearly, not things created, for all these were made by the Son, but the things that the Father hath — that is to say, Eternity, Sovereignty, Godhead, which are His possession, as begotten of the Father. We cannot, then, doubt that He is Almighty, Who hath all things that the Father hath (for it is written: “All things that the Father hath are Mine”).

CHAPTER 5

Certain passages from Scripture, urged against the Omnipotence of Christ, are resolved; the writer is also at especial pains to show that Christ not seldom spoke in accordance with the affections of human nature.

39. ALTHOUGH it is written concerning God, “Blessed and only Potentate,” yet I have no misgiving that the Son of God is thereby severed from Him, seeing that the Scripture entitled God, not the Father by Himself, the “only Potentate.” The Father Himself also declares by the prophet, concerning Christ, that “I have set help upon one that is mighty.” It is not the Father alone, then, Who is the only Potentate; God the Son also is Potentate, for in the Father’s praise the Son is praised too.

40. Aye, let some one show what there is that the Son of God cannot do. Who was His helper, when He made the heavens, — Who, when He laid the foundations of the world? Had He any need of a helper to set men free, Who needed none in constituting angels and principalities?

41. “It is written,” say they: “‘My Father, if it be possible, take away this cup from Me.’ If, then, He is Almighty, how comes He to doubt of the possibility?” Which means that, because I have proved Him to be Almighty, I have proved Him unable to doubt of possibility.

42. The words, you say, are the words of Christ. True — consider, though, the occasion of His speaking them, and in what character He speaks. He hath taken upon Him the substance of man, and therewith its affections. Again, you find in the place above cited, that “He went forward a little further, and fell on His face, praying, and saying: Father, if it be possible.” Not as God, then, but as man, speaketh He, for could God be ignorant of the possibility or impossibility of aught? Or is anything impossible for God, when the Scripture saith: “For Thee nothing is impossible”?

43. Of Whom, howbeit, does He doubt — of Himself, or of the Father? Of Him, surely, Who saith: “Take away from Me,” — being moved as man is moved to doubt. The prophet reckons nothing impossible with God. The prophet doubts not; think you that the Son doubts? Wilt thou put God

lower than man? What — God hath doubts of His Father, and is fearful at the thought of death! Christ, then, is afraid — afraid, whilst Peter fears nothing. Peter saith: “I will lay down my life for Thy sake.” Christ saith: “My soul is troubled.”

44. Both records are true, and it is equally natural that the person who is the less should not fear, as that He Who is the greater should endure this feeling, for the one has all a man’s ignorance of the might of death, whilst the other, as being God inhabiting a body, displays the weakness of the flesh, that the wickedness of those who deny the mystery of the Incarnation might have no excuse. Thus, then, hath He spoken, yet the Manichaean believed not; Valentinus denied, and Marcion judged Him to be a ghost.

45. But indeed He so far put Himself on a level with man, such as He showed Himself to be in the reality of His bodily frame, as to say, “Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt,” though truly it is Christ’s especial power to will what the Father wills, even as it is His to do what the Father doeth.

46. Here, then, let there be an end of the objection which it is your custom to oppose to us, on the ground that the Lord said, “Not as I will, but as Thou wilt;” and again, “For this cause I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me.”

CHAPTER 6

The passages of Scripture above cited are taken as an occasion for a digression, wherein our Lord’s freedom of action is proved from the ascription to the Spirit of such freedom, and from places where it is attributed to the Son.

47. LET us now, for the present, explain more fully why our Lord said, “If it be possible,” and so call a truce, as it were, while we show that He possessed freedom of will. Ye deny — so far are ye gone in the way of iniquity — that the Son of God had a free will. Moreover, it is your wont to detract from the Holy Spirit, though you cannot deny that it is written: “The Spirit doth breathe, where He will.” “Where He will,” saith the

Scripture, not “where He is ordered.” If, then, the Spirit doth breathe where He will, cannot the Son do what He will? Why, it is the very same Son of God Who in His Gospel saith that the Spirit has power to breathe where He will. Doth the Son, therefore, confess the Spirit to be greater, in that He has power to do what is not permitted to Himself?

48. The Apostle also saith that “all is the work of one and the same Spirit, distributing to each according to His will.” “According to His will,” mark you — that is, according to the judgment of a free will, not in obedience to compulsion. Furthermore, the gifts distributed by the Spirit are no mean gifts, but such works as God is wont to do, — the gift of healing and of working deeds of power. While the Spirit, then, distributes as He will, the Son of God cannot set free whom He will. But hear Him speak when He does even as He will: “I have willed to do Thy will, O my God;” and again: “I will offer Thee a freewill offering.”

49. The holy Apostle later knew that Jesus had it in His power to do as He would, and therefore, seeing Him walk upon the sea, said: “Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come to Thee over the waters.” Peter believed that if Christ commanded, the natural conditions could be changed, so that water might support human footsteps, and things discrepant be reduced to harmony and agreement. Peter asks of Christ to command, not to request: Christ requested not, but commanded, and it was done — and Arius denies it!

50. What indeed is there that the Father will have, but the Son will not, or that the Son will have, but the Father will not? “The Father quickeneth whom He will,” and the Son quickeneth whom He will, even as it is written. Tell me now whom the Son hath quickened, and the Father would not quicken. Since, however, the Son quickeneth whom He will, and the action [of Father and Son] is one, you see that not only doeth the Son the Father’s will, but the Father also doeth the Son’s. For what is quickening but quickening through the passion of Christ? But the passion of Christ is the Father’s will. Whom, therefore, the Son quickeneth, He quickeneth by the will of the Father; therefore their will is one.

51. Again, what was the will of the Father, but that Jesus should come into the world and cleanse us from our sins? Hear the words of the leper: “If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean.” Christ answered, “I will,” and

straightway health, the effect, followed. See you not that the Son is master of His own will, and Christ’s will is the same as the Father’s. Indeed, seeing that He hath said, “All things that the Father hath are Mine,” nothing of a certainty being excepted, the Son hath the same will that the Father hath.

CHAPTER 7

The resolution of the difficulty set forth for consideration is again taken in hand. Christ truly and really took upon Him a human will and affections, the source of whatsoever was not in agreement with His Godhead, and which must be therefore referred to the fact that He was at the same time both God and an.

52. THERE is, therefore, unity of will where there is unity of working; for in God His will issues straightway in actual effect. But the will of God is one, and the human will another. Further, to show that life is the object of human will, because we fear death whilst the passion of Christ depended on the Divine Will, that He should suffer for us, the Lord said, when Peter would have detained Him from suffering: “Thou savorest not of the things which be of God, but the things which be of men.”

53. My will, therefore, He took to Himself, my grief. In confidence I call it grief, because I preach His Cross. Mine is the will which He called His own, for as man He bore my grief, as man He spake, and therefore said, “Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.” Mine was the grief, and mine the heaviness with which He bore it, for no man exults when at the point to die. With me and for me He suffers, for me He is sad, for me He is heavy. In my stead, therefore, and in me He grieved Who had no cause to grieve for Himself.

54. Not Thy wounds, but mine, hurt Thee, Lord Jesus; not Thy death, but our weakness, even as the Prophet saith: “For He is afflicted for our sakes” — and we, Lord, esteemed Thee afflicted, when Thou grievedst not for Thyself, but for me.

55. And what wonder if He grieved for all, Who wept for one? What wonder if, in the hour of death, He is heavy for all, Who wept when at the

point to raise Lazarus from the dead? Then, indeed, He was moved by a loving sister's tears, for they touched His human heart, — here by secret grief He brought it to pass that, even as His death made an end of death, and His stripes healed our scars, so also His sorrow took away our sorrow.

56. As being man, therefore, He doubts; as man He is amazed. Neither His power nor His Godhead is amazed, but His soul; He is amazed by consequence of having taken human infirmity upon Him. Seeing, then, that He took upon Himself a soul He also took the affections of a soul, for God could not have been distressed or have died in respect of His being God. Finally, He cried: "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" As being man, therefore, He speaks, bearing with Him my terrors, for when we are in the midst of dangers we think ourself abandoned by God. As man, therefore, He is distressed, as man He weeps, as man He is crucified.

57. For so hath the Apostle Paul likewise said: "Because they have crucified the flesh of Christ." And again the Apostle Peter saith: "Christ having suffered according to the flesh." It was the flesh, therefore, that suffered; the Godhead above secure from death; to suffering His body yielded, after the law of human nature; can the Godhead die, then, if the soul cannot?" "Fear not them," said our Lord, "which can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul." If the soul, then, cannot be killed, how can the Godhead?

58. When we read, then, that the Lord of glory was crucified, let us not suppose that He was crucified as in His glory. It is because He Who is God is also man, God by virtue of His Divinity, and by taking upon Him of the flesh, the man Christ Jesus, that the Lord of glory is said to have been crucified; for, possessing both natures, that is, the human and the divine, He endured the Passion in His humanity, in order that without distinction He Who suffered should be called both Lord of glory and Son of man, even as it is written: "Who descended from heaven."

CHAPTER 8

Christ's saying, "The Father is greater than I," is explained in accordance with the principle just established. Other like sayings

are expounded in like fashion. Our Lord cannot, as touching His Godhead, be called inferior to the Father.

59. IT was due to His humanity, therefore, that our Lord doubted and was sore distressed, and rose from the dead, for that which fell doth also rise again. Again, it was by reason of His humanity that He said those words, which our adversaries use to maliciously turn against Him: "Because the Father is greater than I."

60. But when in another passage we read: "I came out from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father," how doth He go, except through death, and how comes He, save by rising again? Furthermore, He added, in order to show that He spake concerning His Ascension: "Therefore have I told you before it come to pass, in order that, when it shall have come to pass, ye may believe." For He was speaking of the sufferings and resurrection of His body, and by that resurrection they who before doubted were led to believe — for, indeed, God, Who is always present in every place, passes not from place to place. As it is a man who goes, so it is He Himself Who comes. Furthermore, He says in another place: "Rise, let us go hence." In that, therefore, doth He go and come, which is common to Him and to us.

61. How, indeed, can He be a lesser God when He is perfect and true God Yet in respect of His humanity He is less — and still you wonder that speaking in the person of a man He called the Father greater than Himself, when in the person of a man He called Himself a worm, and not a man, saying: "But I am a worm, and no man;" and again: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter."

62. If you pronounce Him less than the Father in this respect, I cannot deny it; nevertheless, to speak in the words of Scripture, He was not begotten inferior, but "made lower," that is, made inferior. And how was He "made lower," except that, "being in the form of God, He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God, but emptied Himself;" not, indeed, parting with what He was, but taking up what He was not, for "He took the form of a servant."

63. Moreover, to the end that we might know Him to have been "made lower," by taking upon Him a body, David has shown that he is

prophesying of a man, saying: "' What is man, that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, but that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels." And in interpreting this same passage the Apostle says: "For we see Jesus, made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor because that He suffered death. in order that apart from God He might taste death for all."

64. Thus, the Son of God was made lower than, not only the Father, but angels also. And if you will turn this to His dishonor; [I ask] is then the Son, in respect of His Godhead, less than His angels who serve Him and minister to Him? Thus, in your purpose to diminish His honor, you run into the blasphemy of exalting the nature of angels above the Son of God. But "the servant is not above his master." Again, angels ministered to Him even after His Incarnation, to the end that you should acknowledge Him to have suffered no loss of majesty by reason of His bodily nature, for God could not submit to any loss of Himself, whilst that which He has taken of the Virgin neither adds to nor takes away from His divine power.

65. He, therefore, possessing the fullness of Divinity and glory, is not, in respect of His Divinity, inferior. Greater and less are distinctions proper to corporeal existences; one who is greater is so in respect of rank, or qualities, or at any rate of age. These terms lose their meaning when we come to treat of the things of God. He is commonly entitled the greater who instructs and informs another, but it is not the case with God's Wisdom that it has been built up by teaching received from another, forasmuch as Itself hath laid the foundation of all teaching. But how wisely wrote the Apostle: "In order that apart from God He might taste death for all," — lest we should suppose the Godhead, not the flesh, to have endured that Passion!

66. If our opponents, then, have found no means to prove [the Father] greater [than the Son], let them not pervert words unto false reports, but seek out their meaning. I ask them, therefore, as touching what do they esteem the Father the greater? If it is because He is the Father, then [I answer] here we have no question of age or of time — the Father is not distinguished by white hairs, nor the Son by youthfulness — and it is on these conditions that the greater dignity of a father depends." But "father" and "son" are names, the one of the parent, the other of the child — names

which seem to join rather than separate; for dutifulness inspires no loss of personal worth, inasmuch as kinship binds men together, and does not rend them asunder.

67. If, then, they cannot make the order of nature a support for any questioning, let them now believe the witness [of Scripture]. Now the Evangelist testifies that the Son is not lower [than the Father] by reason of being the Son; nay, he even declares that, in being the Son, He is equal, saying, "For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause, that not only did He break the Sabbath, but even called God His own Father, making Himself equal to God."

68. This is not what the Jews said — it is the Evangelist who testifies that, in calling Himself God's own Son, He made Himself equal to God, for the Jews are not presented as saying, "For this cause we sought to kill Him;" the Evangelist, speaking for himself, says, "For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause." Moreover, he has discovered the cause, [in saying] that the Jews were stirred with desire to slay Him because, when as God He broke the Sabbath, and also claimed God as His own Father, He ascribed to Himself not only the majesty of divine authority in breaking the Sabbath, but also, in speaking of His Father, the right appertaining to eternal equality.

69. Most fitting was the answer which the Son of God made to these Jews, proving Himself the Son and equal of God. "Whatsoever things," He said, "the Father hath done, the Son doeth also in like wise." The Son, therefore, is both entitled and proved the equal of the Father — a true equality, which both excludes difference of Godhead, and discovers, together with the Son, the Father also, to Whom the Son is equal; for there is no equality where there is difference, nor again where there is but one person, inasmuch as none is by himself equal to himself. Thus hath the Evangelist shown why it is fitting that Christ should call Himself the Son of God, that is, make Himself equal with God.

70. Hence the Apostle, following this revelation, hath said: "He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God." For that which a man has not he seeks to carry off as a prey. Equality with the Father, therefore, which, as God and Lord, He possessed in His own substance, He had not as a spoil wrongfully seized. Wherefore the Apostle added [the words]:

"He took the form of a servant." Now surely a servant is the opposite of an equal. Equal, therefore, is the Son, in the form of God, but inferior in taking upon Him of the flesh and in His sufferings as a man. For how could the same nature be both lower and equal? And how, if [the Son] be inferior, can He do the same things, in like manner, as the Father doeth? How, indeed, can there be sameness of operation with diversity of power? Can the inferior ever work such effects as the greater, or can there be unity of operation where there is diversity of substance?

71. Admit, therefore, that Christ, as touching His Godhead, cannot be called inferior [to the Father]. Christ speaks to Abraham: "By Myself have I sworn." Now the Apostle shows that He Who swears by Himself cannot be lower than any. Thus he saith, "When God rewarded Abraham with His promise, He swore by Himself, forasmuch as He had none other that was greater, saying, Surely with blessing will I bless thee, and with multiplying will I multiply thee." Christ had, therefore, none greater, and for that cause sware He by Himself. Moreover, the Apostle has rightly added, "for men swear by one greater than themselves," forasmuch as men have one who is greater than themselves, but God hath none.

72. Otherwise, if our adversaries will understand this passage as referred to the Father, then the rest of the record does not agree with it. For the Father did not appear to Abraham, nor did Abraham wash the feet of God the Father, but the feet of Him in Whom is the image of the man that shall be. Moreover, the Son of God saith, "Abraham saw My day, and rejoiced." It is He, therefore, Who sware by Himself, [and] Whom Abraham saw.

73. And how, indeed, hath He any greater than Himself Who is one with the Father in Godhead? Where there is unity, there is no dissimilarity, whereas between greater and less there is a distinction. The teaching, therefore, of the instance from Scripture before us, with regard to the Father and the Son, is that neither is the Father greater, nor hath the Son any that is above Him, inasmuch as in Father and Son there is no difference of Godhead parting them, but one majesty.

CHAPTER 9

The objection that the Son, being sent by the Father, is, in that regard at least, inferior, is met by the answer that He was also sent by the Spirit, Who is yet not considered greater than the Son. Furthermore, the Spirit, in His turn, is sent by the Father to the Son, in order that Their unity in action might be shown forth. It is our duty, therefore, carefully to distinguish what utterances are to be fitly ascribed to Christ as God, and what to be ascribed to Him as man.

74. I HAVE no fears in the matter of that commonly advanced objection, that Christ is inferior because He was sent. For even if He be inferior, yet this is not so proved; on the other hand, His equal title to honor is in truth proved. Since all honor the Son as they honor the Father, it is certain that the Son is not, in so far as being sent, inferior.

75. Regard not, therefore, the narrow bounds of human language, but the plain meaning of the words, and believe facts accomplished. Bethink you that our Lord Jesus Christ said in Isaiah that He had been sent by the Spirit. Is the Son, therefore, less than the Spirit because He was sent by the Spirit? Thus you have the record, that the Son declares Himself sent by the Father and His Spirit. "I am the beginning," He saith, "and I live for ever, and My hand hath laid the foundations of the earth, My right hand hath made the heaven to stand abidingly;" and further on: "I have spoken, and I have called; I have brought him, and have made his way to prosper. Draw ye near to Me, and hear these things: not in secret have I spoken from the beginning. When they were made, I was there: and now hath the Lord and His Spirit sent Me." Here, indeed, He Who made the heaven and the earth Himself saith that He is sent by the Lord and His Spirit. Ye see, then, that the poverty of language takes not from the honor of His mission. He, then, is sent by the Father; by the Spirit also is He sent.

76. And that you may gather that there is no separating difference of majesty, the Son in turn sends the Spirit, even as He Himself hath said: "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send you from My Father — the Spirit of truth, who cometh forth from My Father." That this same Comforter is also to be sent by the Father He has already taught, saying,

"But the Comforter, that Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name." Behold their unity, inasmuch as whom God the Father sends, the Son sends also, and Whom the Father sends, the Spirit sends also. Else, if the Arians will not admit that the Son was sent, because we read that the Son is the right hand of the Father, then they themselves will confess with respect to the Father, what they deny concerning the Son, unless perchance they discover for themselves either another Father or another Son.

77. A truce, then, to vain wranglings over words, for the kingdom of God, as it is written, consisteth not in persuasive words, but in power plainly shown forth. Let us take heed to the distinction of the Godhead from the flesh. In each there speaks one and the same Son of God, for each nature is present in Him; yet while it is the same Person Who speaks, He speaks not always in the same manner. Behold in Him, now the glory of God, now the affections of man. As God He speaks the things of God, because He is the Word; as man He speaks the things of man, because He speaks in my nature.

78. "This is the living bread, which came down from heaven." This bread is His flesh, even as He Himself said: "This bread which I will give is My flesh." This is He Who came down from heaven, this is He Whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into this world. Even the letter itself teaches us that not the Godhead but the flesh needed sanctification, for the Lord Himself said, "And I sanctify Myself for them," in order that thou mayest acknowledge that He is both sanctified in the flesh for us, and sanctifies by virtue of His Divinity.

79. This is the same One Whom the Father sent, but "born of a woman, born under the law," as the Apostle hath said. This is He Who saith: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me; wherefore He hath anointed Me, to bring good tidings to the poor hath He sent Me:" This is He Who saith: My doctrine is not Mine, but His, Who sent Me. If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself." Doctrine that is of God, then, is one thing; doctrine that is of man, another; and so when the Jews, regarding Him as man, called in question His teaching, and said," How knoweth this man letters, having never learnt?" Jesus answered and said, "My doctrine is not Mine," for, in

teaching without elegance of letters, He seems to teach not as man, but rather as God, having not learned, but devised His doctrine.

80. For He hath found and devised all the way of discipline, as we read above, inasmuch as of the Son of God it hath been said: “This is our God, and none other shall be accounted of in comparison with Him, Who hath found all the way of discipline. After these things He was seen on earth, and conversed with men.” How, then, could He, as divine, not have His own doctrine — He Who hath found all the way of discipline before He was seen on earth? Or how is He inferior, of Whom it is said, “None shall be accounted of in comparison with Him”? Surely He is entitled incomparable, in comparison of Whom none other can be accounted of — yet so that He cannot be accounted of before the Father. Now if men suppose that the Father is spoken of, they shall not escape running into the blasphemy of Sabellius, of ascribing the assumption of human nature to the Father.

81. Let us proceed with what follows. “He who speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory.” See the unity wherein Father and Son are plainly reveled. He who speaks cannot but be; yet that which He speaks cannot be solely from Him, for in Him all that is, is naturally derived from the Father.

82. What now is the meaning of the words “seeketh his own glory”? That is, not a glory in which the Father has no part — for indeed the Word of God is His glory. Again, our Lord saith: “that they may see My glory.” But that glory of the Word is also the glory of the Father, even as it is written: “The Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father.” In regard of His Godhead, therefore, the Son of God so hath His own glory, that the glory of Father and Son is one: He is not, therefore, inferior in splendor, for the glory is one, nor lower in Godhead, for the fullness of the Godhead is in Christ.

83. How, then, you ask, is it written, “Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son?” He Who saith these words needs to be glorified, say you. Thus far you have eyes to see; the remainder of the Scripture you have not read, for it proceeds: “that Thy Son may glorify Thee.” Hath ever the Father need of any, in that He is to be glorified by the Son?

CHAPTER 10

The objection taken on the ground of the Son's obedience is disproved, and the unity of power, Godhead, and operation in the Trinity set forth, Christ's obedience to His mother, to whom He certainly cannot be called inferior, is noticed.

84. In like manner our adversaries commonly make a difficulty of the Son's obedience, forasmuch as it is written: "And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient even unto death." The writer has not only told us that the Son was obedient even unto death, but also first shown that He was man, in order that we might understand that obedience unto death was the part not of His Godhead but of His Incarnation, whereby He took upon Himself both the functions and the names belonging to our nature.

85. Thus we have learnt that the power of the Trinity is one, as we are taught both in and after the Passion itself: for the Son suffers through His body, which is the earnest of it; the Holy Spirit is poured upon the apostles: into the Father's hands the spirit is commended; furthermore, God is with a mighty voice proclaimed the Father. We have learnt that there is one form, one likeness, one sanctification, of the Father and of the Son, one activity, one glory, finally, one Godhead.

86. There is, therefore, but one only God, for it is written: "Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve." One God, not in the sense that the Father and the Son are the same Person, as the ungodly Sabellius affirms — but forasmuch as there is one Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. But where there is one Godhead, there is one will, one purpose.

87. Again, that thou mayest know that the Father is, and the Son is, and that the work of the Father and of the Son is one, follow the saying of the Apostle: "Now may God Himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you." Both Father and Son are named, but there is unity of direction, because unity of power. So also in another place we read: "Now may our Lord Himself, Jesus Christ, and God and our Father, Who hath loved us, and given us eternal consolation, and good hope in

grace, console and strengthen your hearts.” How perfect a unity it is that the Apostle presents to us, insomuch that the fount of consolation is not many, but one. Let doubt be dumb, then, or, if it will not be overcome by reason, let the thought of our Lord’s gracious kindliness bend it.

88. Let us call to mind how kindly our Lord hath dealt with us, in that He taught us not only faith but manners also. For, having taken His place in the form of man, He was subject to Joseph and Mary. Was He less than all mankind, then, because He was subject? The part of dutifulness is one, that of sovereignty is another, but dutifulness doth not exclude sovereignty. Wherein, then, was He subject to the Father’s law? In His body, surely, wherein He was subject to His mother.

CHAPTER 11

The purpose and healing effects of the Incarnation. The profitableness of faith, whereby we know that Christ bore all infirmities for our sakes, — Christ, Whose Godhead revealed Itself in His Passion; whence we understand that the mission of the Son of God entailed no subservience, which belief we need not fear lest it displease the Father, Who declares Himself to be well pleased in His Son.

89. LET us likewise deal kindly, let us persuade our adversaries of that which is to their profit, “let us worship and lament before the Lord our Maker.” For we would not overthrow, but rather heal; we lay no ambush for them, but warn them as in duty bound. Kindliness often bends those whom neither force nor argument will avail to overcome. Again, our Lord cured with oil and wine the man who, going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves; having forborne to treat him with the harsh remedies of the Law or the sternness of Prophecy.

90. To Him, therefore, let all come who would be made whole. Let them receive the medicine which He hath brought down from His Father and made in heaven, preparing it of the juices of those celestial fruits that wither not. This is of no earthly growth, for nature nowhere possesseth this compound. Of wondrous purpose took He our flesh, to the end that He might show that the law of the flesh had been subjected to the law of

the mind, He was incarnate, that He, the Teacher of men, might overcome as man.

91. Of what profit would it have been to me, had He, as God, bared the arm of His power, and only displayed His Godhead inviolate? Why should He take human nature upon Him, but to suffer Himself to be tempted Under the conditions of my nature and my weakness? It was right that He should be tempted, that He should suffer with me. to the end that I might know how to conquer when tempted, how to escape when hard pressed. He overcame by force of continence, of contempt of riches, of faith; He trampled upon ambition, fled from intemperance, bade wantonness be far from Him.

93. This medicine Peter beheld, and left His nets, that is to say, the instruments and security of gain, renouncing the lust of the flesh as a leaky ship, that receives the bilge, as it were, of multitudinous passions. Truly a mighty remedy, that not only removed the scar of an old wound, but even cut the root and source of passion. O Faith, richer than all treasure-houses; O excellent remedy, healing our wounds and sins!

92. Let us bethink ourselves of the profitableness of right belief. It is profitable to me to know that for my sake Christ bore my infirmities, submitted to the affections of my body, that for me, that is to say, for every man, He was made sin, and a curse, that for me and in me was He humbled and made subject, that for me He is the Lamb, the Vine, the Rock, the Servant, the Son of an handmaid, knowing not the day of judgment, for my sake ignorant of the day and the hour.

94. For how could He, Who hath made days and times, be ignorant of the day? How could He not know the day, Who hath declared both the season of Judgment to come, and the cause? A curse, then, He was made not in respect of His Godhead, but of His flesh; for it is written: “Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.” In and after the flesh, therefore, He hung, and for this cause He, Who bore our curses, became a curse. He wept that thou, man, mightest not weep long. He endured insult, that thou mightest not grieve over the wrong done to thee.

95. A glorious remedy — to have consolation of Christ! For He bore these things with surpassing patience for our sakes — and we forsooth cannot

bear them with common patience for the glory of His Name! Who may not learn to forgive, when assailed, seeing that Christ, even on the Cross, prayed, — yea, for them that persecuted Him? See you not that those weaknesses, as you please to call them, of Christ's are your strength? Why question Him in the matter of remedies for us? His tears wash us, His weeping cleanses us, — and there is strength in this doubt, at least, that if you begin to doubt, you will despair. The greater the insult, the greater is the gratitude due.

96. Even in the very hour of mockery and insult, acknowledge His Godhead. He hung upon the Cross, and all the elements did Him homage. The sun withdrew his rays, the daylight vanished, darkness came down and covered the land, the earth trembled; yet He Who hung there trembled not. What was it that these signs betokened, but reverence for the Creator? That He hangs upon the Cross — this, thou Arian, thou regardest; that He gives the kingdom of God — this, thou regardest not. That He tasted of death, thou readest, but that He also invited the robber into paradise, to this thou givest no heed. Thou dost gaze at the women weeping by the tomb, but not upon the angels keeping watch by it. What He said, thou readest: what He did, thou dost not read. Thou sayest that the Lord said to the Canaanitish woman: "I am not sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," thou dost not say that He did what He was besought by her to do.

97. Thou shouldst hereby understand that His being "sent" means not that He was compelled, at the command of another, but that He acted, of free will, according to His own judgment, otherwise thou dost accuse Him of despising His Father. For if, according to thine expounding, Christ had come into Jewry, as one executing the Father's commands, to relieve the inhabitants of Jewry, and none besides, and yet before that was accomplished, set free the Canaanitish woman's daughter from her complaint, surely He was not only the executor of another's instruction, but was free to exercise His own judgment. But where there is freedom to act as one will, there can be no transgressing the terms of one's mission.

98. Fear not that the Son's act displeased the Father, seeing that the Son Himself saith: "Whatsoever things are His good pleasure, I do always," and "The works that I do, He Himself doeth." How, then, could the Father

be displeased with that which He Himself did through the Son? For it is One God, Who, as it is written, "hath justified circumcision in consequence of faith, and uncircumcision through faith."

99. Read all the Scriptures, mark all diligently, you will then find that Christ so manifested Himself that God might be discerned in man. Misunderstand not maliciously the Son's exultation in the Father, when you hear the Father declaring His pleasure in the Son.

CHAPTER 12

Do the Catholics or the Arians take the better course to assure themselves of the favor of Christ as their Judge? An objection grounded on [<199001>]*Psalm 90:1 is disposed of, it being shown that when the Son is invited by the Father to sit at His right hand, no subjection is intended to be signified — nor yet any preferment, in that the Son sits at the Father's right hand. The truth of the Trinity of Persons in God, and of the Unity of their Nature, is shown to be proved by the angelic Trisagion.*

100. HOWBEIT, if our adversaries cannot be turned by kindness, let us summon them before the Judge. To what Judge, then, shall we go? Surely to Him Who hath the Judgment. To the Father, then? Nay, but "the Father judgeth no man, for He hath given all judgment to the Son." He hath given, that is to say, not as of largess, but in the act of generation. See, then, how unwilling He was that thou shouldst dishonor His Son — even so that He gave Him to be thy Judge.

101. Let us see, then, before the judgment which hath the better cause, thou or I? Surely it is the care of a prudent party to a suit to gain first the favorable regard of the judge. Thou dost honor man, — dost thou not honor God? Which of the two, I ask, wins the favor of the magistrate — respect or contempt? Suppose that I am in error — as I certainly am not: is Christ displeased with the honor shown Him? We are all sinners — who, then, will deserve forgiveness, he who renders worship, or he who displays insolence?

102. If reasoning move thee not, at least let the plain aspect of the judgment move thee! Raise thine eyes to the Judge, see Who it is that is seated, with Whom He is seated, and where. Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father. If with thine eyes thou canst not perceive this, hear the words of the prophet: “The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand.” The Son, therefore, sitteth at the right hand of the Father. Tell me now, thou who holdest that the things of God are to be judged of from the things of this world — say whether thou thinkest Him Who sits at the right hand to be lower? Is it any dishonor to the Father that He sits at the Son’s left hand? The Father honors the Son, and thou makest it to be insult! The Father would have this invitation to be a sign of love and esteem, and thou wouldst make it an overlord’s command! Christ hath risen from the dead, and sitteth at the right hand of God.

103. “But,” you object, “the Father said.” Good, hear now a passage where the Father doth not speak, and the Son prophesies: “Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power.” This He said with regard to taking back to Himself His body — to Him the Father said: “Sit Thou at My right hand.” If indeed you ask of the eternal abode of the Godhead, He said — when Pilate asked Him whether He were the King of the Jews — “For this I was born.” And so indeed the Apostle shows that it is good for us to believe that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, not by command, nor of any boon, but as God’s most dearly beloved Son. For it is written for you: “Seek the things that are above, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God; savor the things that are above.” This is to savor the things that be above — to believe that Christ, in His sitting, does not obey as one who receives a command, but is honored as the well-beloved Son. It is with regard, then, to Christ’s Body that the Father saith: “Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.”

104. If, again, you seek to pervert the sense of these words, “I will make Thine enemies Thy footstool,” I answer that the Father also bringeth to the Son such as the Son raiseth up and quickeneth. For “No man,” saith Christ, “can come to Me, except the Father, Which hath sent Me, draw him, and I will raise him up at the last day.” And you say that the Son of God is subject by reason of weakness — the Son, to Whom the Father bringeth men that He may raise them up in the last day. Seemeth this in

your eyes to be subjection, I pray you, where the kingdom is prepared for the Father, and the Father bringeth to the Son and there is no place for perversion of words, since the Son giveth the kingdom to the Father, and none is preferred before Him? For inasmuch as the Father rendereth to the Son, and the Son, again, to the Father, here are plain proofs of love and regard: seeing that They so render, the One to the Other, that neither He Who receiveth obtaineth as it were what was another's, nor He That rendereth loseth.

105. Moreover, the sitting at the right hand is no preferment, nor doth that at the left hand betoken dishonor, for there are no degrees in the Godhead, Which is bound by no limits of space or time, which are the weights and measures of our puny human minds. There is no difference of love, nothing that divideth the Unity.

106. But wherefore roam so far afield? Thou hast looked upon all around thee, thou hast seen the Judge, thou hast remarked the angels proclaiming Him. They praise, and thou revilest Him! Dominations and powers fall down before Him — thou speakest evil of His Name! All His Saints adore Him. but the Son of God adores not, nor the Holy Spirit. The seraphim say: "Holy, Holy, Holy!"

107. What meaneth this threefold utterance of the same name "Holy"? If thrice repeated, why is it but one act of praise? If one act of praise, why a threefold repetition? Why the threefold repetition, unless that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in holiness? The seraph spake the name, not once, lest he should exclude the Son; not twice, lest he should pass by the Holy Spirit; not four times, lest he should conjoin created beings [in the praise of the Creator]. Furthermore, to show that the Godhead of the Trinity is One, he, after the threefold "Holy," added in the singular number "the Lord God of Sabaoth." Holy, therefore, is the Father, holy the Son, holy likewise the Spirit of God, and therefore is the Trinity adored, but adores not, and is praised, but praises not. As for me, I will rather believe as the seraphim, and adore after the manner of all the principalities and powers of heaven.

CHAPTER 13

The wicked and dishonorable opinions held by Arians, Sabellians, and Manichaeans as concerning their Judge are shortly refuted. Christ's remonstrances regarding the rest of His adversaries being set forth, St. Ambrose expresses a hope of milder judgment for himself.

108. LET us proceed, then, with your accusations, and see how you gain the favor of your Judge. Speak now, speak, I say, and tell Him: "I consider Thee, O Christ, to be unlike Thy Father; "and He will answer: "Mark, if thou canst, mark, I say, and tell Me wherein thou holdest Me to differ."

109. Say again: "I judge Thee to be a created being;" and Christ will reply: "If the witness of two men is true, oughtest thou not to have believed both Me and My Father, Who hath called Me His Son?"

110. Then you will say: "I deny Thy [perfect] goodness;" and He will answer: "Be it unto thee according to thy faith; so will I not be good to thee."

111. "That Thou art Almighty, I hold not;" and He will answer, in turn: "Then can I not forgive thee thy sins."

112. "Thou art a subject being." Whereto He will reply: "Why, then, dost thou seek freedom and pardon of Him Whom thou thinkest to be subject as a slave?"

113. I see your accusation halt here. I press you not, forasmuch as I myself know my own sins. I grudge you not pardon, for I myself would obtain indulgence, but I would know the object of your prayers. Look, then, whilst I recite before the Judge your desires. I betray not your sins, but look to behold your prayers and wishes set forth in their order.

114. Speak, therefore, those desires, which all alike would have granted to them. "Lord, make me in the image of God." Whereto He will answer: "In what image? The image which thou hast denied?"

115. "Make me incorruptible." Surely His reply will be: "How can I make thee incorruptible, I, Whom thou callest a created being, and so wouldst

make out to be corruptible? The dead shall rise purified from corruption — dost thou call Him corruptible Whom thou seest to be God?”

116. “Be good to me.” “Why dost thou ask what thou hast denied [to Me]? I would have had thee to be good, and I said ‘ Be ye holy, for I Myself am holy,’ and thou settest thyself to deny that I am good? Dost thou then look for forgiveness of sins? Nay, none can forgive sins, but God alone. Seeing, then, that to thee I am not the true and only God, I cannot by any means forgive thee thy sins.”

117. Thus let the followers of Arius and Photinus speak. “I deny Thy Godhead.” To whom the Lord will make answer: “‘The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God’ Of whom, think you, is this said? — of Jew or Gentile, or of the devil. Whosoever he be of whom it is said, O disciple of Photinus, he is more to be borne with, who held his peace; thou, nevertheless, hast dared to lift up thy voice to utter it, that thou mightest be proved more foolish than the fool. Thou deniest My Godhead, whereas I said, ‘Ye are gods, and ye are all the children of the Most Highest?’ And thou deniest Him to be God, Whose godlike works thou seest around thee.”

118. Let the Sabellian speak in his turn. “I consider Thee, by Thyself, to be at once Father and Son and Holy Spirit.” To whom the Lord: “Thou hearest neither the Father nor the Son. Is there any doubt on this matter? The Scripture itself teaches thee that it is the Father Who giveth over the judgment, and the Son Who judges. Thou hast not given ear to My words: ‘I am not alone, but I and the Father, Who sent Me.’”

119. Now let the Manichaean have his word. “I hold that the devil is the creator of our flesh.” The Lord will answer him: “What, then, doest thou in the heavenly places? Depart, go thy way to thy creator. ‘My will is that they be with Me, whom my Father hath given Me.’ Thou, Manichaean, holdest thyself for a creature of the devil; hasten, then, to his abode, the place of fire and brimstone, where the fire thereof is not quenched, lest ever the punishment have an end.”

120. I set aside other heretical — not persons, but portents. What manner of judgment awaits them, what shall be the form of their sentence? To all these He will, indeed, reply, rather in sorrow than in anger: “O My

people, what have I done unto thee, wherein have I vexed thee? Did I not bring thee up out of Egypt, and lead thee out of the house of bondage into liberty?”

121. But it is not enough to have brought us out of Egypt into freedom, and to have saved us from the house of bondage: a greater boon than this, Thou hast given Thyself for us. Thou wilt say then: “Have I not borne all your sufferings? Have I not given My Body for you? Have I not sought death, which had no part in My Godhead, but was necessary for your redemption? Are these the thanks I am to receive? Is it this that My Blood hath gained, even as I spake in times past by the mouth of the prophet: ‘What profit is there in My Blood, for that I have gone down to corruption?’ Is this the profit, that you should wickedly deny Me — you, for whom I endured those things?”

122. As for me, Lord Jesus, though I am conscious within myself of great sin, yet will I say: “I have not denied Thee; Thou mayest pardon the infirmity of my flesh. My transgression I confess; my sin I deny not. If Thou wilt Thou canst make me clean. For this saying, the leper obtained his request. Enter not, I pray, into judgment with Thy servant. I ask, not that Thou mayest judge, but that Thou mayest forgive.”

CHAPTER 14

The sentence of the Judge is set forth, the counter-pleas of the opposers are considered, and the finality of the sentence, from which there is no appeal, proved.

123. WHAT verdict do we look for from Christ? That do I know. Do I say, what verdict will He give? Nay, He hath already pronounced sentence. We have it in our hands. “Let all,” saith He, “honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father, Who hath sent Him. “

124. If the sentence please you not, appeal to the Father, cancel the judgment that the Father hath given. Say that He hath a Son Who is unlike Him. He will reply: “Then have I lied, I, Who said to the Son, ‘Let us make man in Our image and likeness.’”

125. Tell the Father that He hath created the Son, and He will answer: “Why, then, hast thou worshipped One Whom thou thoughtest to be a created being?”

126. Tell Him that He hath begotten a Son Who is inferior to Himself, and He will reply: “Compare Us, and let Us see.”

127. Tell Him that you owed no credence to the Son, whereto He will answer: “Did I not say to thee, ‘This is My well-beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him’?” What mean these words “hear ye Him,” if not “Hear Him when He saith: ‘All things that the Father hath are Mine’”? This did the apostles hear, even as it is written: “And they fell upon their faces, and were greatly afraid.” If they who confessed Him fell to the earth, what shall they do who have denied Him? But Jesus laid His hand upon His apostles, and raised them up — you He will suffer to lie prone, that ye may see not the glory ye have denied.

128. Let us look to it, then, forasmuch as whom the Son condemneth, the Father condemneth also, and therefore let us honor the Son, even as we honor the Father, that by the Son we may be able to come to the Father.

CHAPTER 15

St. Ambrose deprecates any praise of his own merits: in any case, the Faith is sufficiently defended by the authoritative support of holy Scripture, to whose voice the Arians, stubborn as the Jews, are deaf. He prays that they may be moved to love the truth; meanwhile, they are to be avoided, as heretics and enemies of Christ.

129. THESE arguments, your Majesty, I have set forth, briefly and summarily, in the rough, rather than in any form of full explanation and exact order. If indeed the Arians regard them as imperfect and unfinished, I indeed confess that they are scarce even begun; if they think that there be any still to be brought forward, I allow that there be well-nigh all; for whereas the unbelievers are in uttermost need of arguments, the faithful have enough and to spare. Indeed, Peter’s single confession was abundant to warrant faith in Christ: “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;”

for it is enough to know His Divine Generation, without division or diminution, being neither derivation nor creation.

130. This, indeed, is declared in the books of Holy Writ, one and all, and yet is still doubted by misbelievers: “For,” as it is written, “the heart of this people is become gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes have they darkened, lest ever they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand in their heart.” For, like the Jews, the Arians’ wont is to stop their ears, or make an uproar, as often as the Word of salvation is heard.

131. And what wonder, if unbelievers doubt the word of man, when they refuse to believe the Word of God? The Son of God, as you will find it written in the Gospel, said: “Father, glorify Thy Name,” and from heaven was heard the voice of the Father, saying: “I have both glorified it, and again will glorify.” These words the unbelievers heard, but believed not. The Son spake, the Father answered, and the Jews said: “A peal of thunder answered Him;” others said: “An angel spake to Him.”

132. Paul, moreover, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, when by the Voice of Christ he received the call of grace, several companions journeying with him at the same time, alone said that he had heard Christ’s Voice. Thus, your sacred Majesty, he who believes, hears — and he hears, that he may believe, whilst he who believes not, hears not, nay, he will not, he cannot hear, lest he should believe!

133. As for me, indeed, would that they might have a will to hear, that they might believe — to hear with true love and meekness, as men seeking what is true, and not assailing all truth. For it is written that we pay no heed to “endless fables and genealogies, which do rather raise disputes than set forward the godly edification, which is in faith. But the aim of the charge is love from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, whence some have erred and betaken themselves to empty babbling, desirous of being teachers of the law, without understanding the words they say, nor the things whereof they speak with assurance.” In another place also the same Apostle saith: “But foolish and ignorant questionings do thou avoid.”

134. Such men, who sow disputes — that is to say, heretics — the Apostle bids us leave alone. Of them he says in yet another place, that "certain shall depart from the faith, giving heed to deceitful spirits, and the doctrines of devils."

135. John, likewise, saith that heretics are Antichrists, plainly marking out the Arians. For this [Arian] heresy began to be after all other heresies, and hath gathered the poisons of all. As it is written of the Antichrist, that "he opened his mouth to blasphemy against God, to blaspheme His Name, and to make war with His saints," so do they also dishonor the Son of God, and His martyrs have they not spared. Moreover, that which perchance Antichrist will not do, they have falsified the holy Scriptures. And thus he who saith that Jesus is not the Christ, the same is Antichrist; he who denies the Savior of the world, denies Jesus; he who denies the Son, denies the Father also, for it is written; "Every one which denieth the Son, denieth the Father likewise."

CHAPTER 16

St. Ambrose assures Gratian of victory, declaring that it has been foretold in the prophecies of Ezekiel. This hope is further stayed upon the emperor's piety, the former disasters being the punishment of Eastern heresy. The book doses with a prayer to God, that He will now show His mercy, and save the army, the land, and the sovereign of the faithful.

136. I MUST no further detain your Majesty, in this season of preparation for war, and the achievement of victory over the Barbarians. Go forth, sheltered, indeed, under the shield of faith, and girt with the sword of the Spirit; go forth to the victory, promised of old time, and foretold in oracles given by God.

137. For Ezekiel, in those far-off days, already prophesied the minishing of our people, and the Gothic wars, saying: "Prophesy, therefore, Son of Man, and say: O Gog, thus saith the Lord — Shalt thou not, in that day when My people Israel shall be established to dwell in peace, rise up and come forth from thy place, from the far north, and many nations with thee, all riders upon horses, a great and mighty gathering, and the valor of many

hosts? Yea, go up against my people Israel, as clouds to cover the land, in the last days."

138. That Gog is the Goth, whose coming forth we have already seen, and over whom victory in days to come is promised, according to the word of the Lord: "And they shall spoil them, who had been their despoilers, and plunder them, who had carried off their goods for a prey, saith the Lord. And it shall be in that day, that I will give to Gog" — that is, to the Goths — "a place that is famous, for Israel an high-heaped tomb of many men, of men who have made their way to the sea, and it shall reach round about, and close the mouth of the valley, and there [the house of Israel shall] overthrow Gog and all his multitude, and it shall be called the valley of the multitude of Gog: and the house of Israel shall overwhelm them, that the land may be cleansed."

139. Nor, furthermore, may we doubt, your sacred Majesty, that we, who have undertaken the contest with alien unbelief, shall enjoy the aid of the Catholic Faith that is strong in you. Plainly indeed the reason of God's wrath has been already made manifest, so that belief in the Roman Empire was first overthrown, where faith in God gave way.

140. No desire have I to recount the deaths, tortures, and banishments of confessors, the offices of the faithful made into presents for traitors. Have we not heard, from all along the border, — from Thrace, and through Dacia by the river, Moesia, and all Valeria of the Pannonians, — a mingled tumult of blasphemers preaching and barbarians invading? What profit could neighbors so bloodthirsty bring us, or how could the Roman State be safe with such defenders?

141. Enough, yea, more than enough, Almighty God, have we now atoned for the deaths of confessors, the banishment of priests, and the guilt of wickedness so overweening, by our own blood, our own banishment — sufficiently plain is it that they, who have broken faith, cannot be safe. Turn again, O Lord, and set up the banners of Thy faith.

142. No military eagles, no flight of birds, here lead the van of our army, but Thy Name, Lord Jesus, and Thy worship. This is no land of unbelievers, but the land whose custom it is to send forth confessors — Italy; Italy, ofttimes tempted, but never drawn away; Italy, which your

Majesty hath long defended, and now again rescued from the barbarian. No wavering mind in our emperor, but faith firm fixed.

143. Show forth now a plain sign of Thy Majesty, that he who believes Thee to be the true Lord of Hosts, and Captain of the armies of heaven; he who believes that Thou art the true Power and Wisdom of God, no being of time nor of creation, but even as it is written, the eternal Power and Divinity of God, may, upheld by the aid of thy Might Supreme, win the prize of victory for his Faith.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

Statement of the reasons wherefore the matters, treated of shortly in the two former, are dealt with more at length in the three later books. Defense of the employment of fables, which is supported by the example of Holy Writ, wherein are found various figures of poetic fable, in particular the Sirens, which are figures of sensual pleasures, and which Christians ought to be taught to avoid, by the words of Paul and the deeds of Christ.

1. FORASMUCH as your most gracious Majesty had laid command upon me to write for your own instruction some treatise concerning the Faith, and had yourself called me to your presence and encouraged my timidity, I, being as one on the eve of battle, composed but two books only, for the pointing out of certain ways and paths by which our faith progresses.

2. Seeing, however, that certain malicious minds, bent on sowing disputes, have not yet exhausted the force of their assaults, whilst your gracious Majesty's pious anxiety calls me to further labors, inasmuch as you desire to try in more things him whom you have proved in a few, I am resolved to deal somewhat more particularly with the matters whereof I have already treated in a few words, lest it should be thought, not that I have advanced those propositions in quietness and confidence, but that I, having asserted them, doubted and so abandoned their defense.

3. Again, seeing that we spoke of the Hydra and Scylla (I. vi. 46), and brought them in by way of comparison, to show how we must beware, whether of the ever-renewed outgrowths of infidelity, or the ill-omened shipwrecks made upon its shallows, if any one holds that such embellishments of an argument, borrowed from the romances of poets, are unlawful, and, from lack of opportunity to speak evil of my faith, assails something in my language, then let him know that not only phrases but complete verses of poetry have been woven into the text of Holy Writ.

4. Whence, for instance, came that verse, “His offspring truly are we,” whereof Paul, by prophetic experience, taught, makes use? The course of prophetic speech avoids neither the Giants nor the Valley of the Titans, and Isaiah spake of sirens and the daughters of ostriches. Jeremiah also hath prophesied concerning Babylon, that the daughters of sirens shall dwell therein, in order to show that the snares of Babylon, that is, of the tumult of this world, are to be likened to stories of old-time lust, that seemed upon this life’s rocky shores to sing some tuneful song, but deadly withal, to catch the souls of youth, — which the Greek poet himself tells us that the wise man escaped through being bound, as it were, in the chains of his own prudence. So hard a thing, before Christ’s coming, was it esteemed, even for the stronger, to save themselves from the deceitful shows and allurements of pleasure.

5. But if the poet judged the enticement of worldly pleasure and license destructive of men’s minds and a sure cause of shipwreck, what ought we to think, for whom it hath been written: “Train not the flesh in concupiscence”? And again: “I chastise my body and bring it into servitude, lest whilst I preach to others, I myself become a castaway.”

6. Truly, Christ won salvation for us, not by luxury but by fasting. Moreover, it was not to obtain favor for Himself, but to instruct us, that He fasted. Nor yet did He hunger because He was overcome by the weakness of the body, but by His hunger He proved that He had verily taken upon Himself a body; that so He might teach us that He had taken not only our body, but also the weaknesses of that body, even as it is written: “Surely He hath taken our infirmities and borne our sicknesses.”

CHAPTER 2

The incidents properly affecting the body which Christ for our sake took upon Him are not to be accounted to His Godhead, in respect whereof He is the Most Highest. To deny which is to say that the Father was incarnate. When we read that God is one, and that there is none other beside Him, or that He alone has immortality, this must be understood as true of Christ also, not only to avoid the sinful heresy above-mentioned (Patripassianism), but also because

the activity of the Father and the Son is declared to be one and the same.

7. It was a bodily weakness, then, that is to say, a weakness of ours, that He hungered; when He wept, and was sorrowful even unto death, it was of our nature. Why ascribe the properties and incidents of our nature to the Godhead? That He was even, as we are told, “made,” is a property of a body. Thus, indeed, we read: “Sion our mother shall say: ‘He is a man,’ and in her He was made man, and the Most High Himself laid her foundations.” “He was made man,” mark you, not “He was made God.”

8. But what is He Who is at once the Most High and man, what but “the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus Who gave Himself as a ransom for us”? This place indeed refers properly to His Incarnation, for our redemption was made by His Blood, our pardon comes through His Power, our life is secured through His Grace. He gives as the Most High, He prays as man. The one is the office of the Creator, the other of a Redeemer. Be the gifts as distinct as they may, yet the Giver is one, for it was fitting that our Maker should be our Redeemer.

9. Who indeed can deny that we have plain evidence that Christ is the Most High? He who knows otherwise makes the sacrament of Incarnation to be the work of God the Father. But that Christ is the Most High is removed beyond doubt by what Scripture hath said in another place, concerning the mystery of the Passion: “The Most High sent forth His Voice, and the earth was shaken.” And in the Gospel you may read: “And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare His ways.” Who is “the Highest”? The Son of God. He, then, Who is the Most High God is Christ.

10. Again, whilst God is everywhere said to be One God, the Son of God is not separated from this Unity. For He Who is the Most High is alone, as it is written: “And let them know that Thy Name is the Lord: Thou alone art Most High over all the earth.”

11. And so the adversaries’ injurious conclusion is rejected with contempt and disgrace, which they drew from the Scripture speaking of God: “Who alone hath immortality and dwelleth in light unapproachable; for these

words are written of God which Name belongs equally to Father and to Son.

12. If, indeed, wheresoever they read the Name of God, they deny that there is any thought of the Son [as well as the Father], they blaspheme, inasmuch as they deny the Son's Divine Sovereignty, and they shall appear as though they shared the sinful error of the Sabellians in teaching the Incarnation of the Father. Let them, indeed explain how they can fail to interpret in a sense blasphemous to the Father the words of the Apostle: "In Whom ye did also rise again, by faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead." Let them also take warning from what follows of what they are running upon — for this is what comes after: "And though ye were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He quickened us with Him, pardoning us all our offenses, blotting out the handwriting of the Ordinance, which was opposed to us, and removed it from our midst, nailing it to His Cross, divesting Himself of the flesh."

13. We are not, then, to suppose that the Father Who raised the flesh is alone [God]; nor, again, are we to suppose the like of the Son, Whose Bodywas raised again. He Who raised, did surely also quicken; and He who quickened, also pardoned sins; He who pardoned sins, also blotted out the handwriting; He Who blotted out the handwriting, also nailed it to the Cross: He who nailed it to the Cross, divested Himself of the flesh. But it was not the Father Who divested Himself of the flesh; for not the Father, but, as we read, the Word was made flesh. You see, then, that the Arians, in dividing the Father from the Son, run into danger of saying that the Father endured the Passion.

14. We, however, can easily show that the words treat of the Son's action, for the Son Himself indeed raised His own Body again, as He Himself said: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again." And He Himself quickens us together with His Body: "For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth Whom He will." And He Himself hath granted forgiveness for sins, saying, "Thy sins be forgiven thee." He too hath nailed the handwriting of the record to His Cross, in that He was crucified, and suffered in the body. Nor did any divest Himself of the flesh, save the Son of God, Who invested Himself

therewith. He, therefore, Who hath achieved the work of our resurrection is plainly pointed out to be very God.

CHAPTER 3

That the Father and the Son must not be divided is proved by the words of the Apostle, seeing that it is befitting to the Son that He should be blessed, only Potentate, and immortal, by nature, that is, and not by grace, as even the angels themselves are immortal, and that He should dwell in the unapproachable light. How it is that the Father and the Son are alike and equally said to be "alone."

15. When, therefore, you read the Name "God," separate neither Father nor Son, for the Godhead of the Father and the Son is one and the same, and therefore separate them not, when you read the words "blessed and only Potentate," for the words are spoken of God, even as you may read: "I charge thee before God, Who quickeneth all things." Christ also indeed doth quicken, and therefore the Name of God is meetly given both to the Father and to the Son, inasmuch as the effect of their activity is in agreement. Let us go on to the words following: "I Charge thee," he says, "before God, Who quickeneth all things, and Jesus Christ."

16. The Word is in God, even as it is written: "In God will I praise His Word." In God is His Eternal Power, even Jesus; in [speaking of] God, therefore, the Apostle hath witnessed to the unity of the Godhead, whilst by the Name of Christ he hath witnessed to the sacrament of the Incarnation.

17. Furthermore, to show that he hath spoken of the Incarnation of Christ, he added: "Who bore witness under Pontius Pilate with the good confession," [I charge thee] "keep undefiled the commandment, until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, Which in His own good time the blessed and only Potentate shall manifest, the King of kings and Lord of lords, Who alone hath immortality, and dwelleth in light unapproachable, Whom no man hath seen, nor can see." Those words, then, are written with regard to God, of which Name the dignity and truth are common to [both the Father and] the Son.

18. Why, then, should there be no thought of the Son in this place, seeing that all these things hold good of the Son also? If they do not so, then deny His Godhead, and so mayest thou deny what is proper to be said of God. His Blessedness cannot be denied, Who bestows blessings, for “Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven.” He cannot but be called “Blessed,” Who hath given us wholesome teaching, even as it is written: “Which is according to the Gospel of the beauty of the Blessed God.” His Power cannot be denied, of Whom the Father saith: “I have laid help upon One that is mighty.” And who dare refuse to acknowledge Him to be immortal, when He Himself bath made others also immortal, as it is written of the Wisdom of God: “By her shall I possess immortality.”

19. But the immortality of His Nature is one thing, that of ours is another. Things perishable are not to be compared to things divine. The Godhead is the one only Substance that death cannot touch, and therefore it is that the Apostle, though knowing both the [human] soul and angels to be immortal, declared that God only had immortality. In truth, even the soul may die: “The soul that sinneth, it shall die,” and an angel is not absolutely immortal, his immortality depending on the will of the Creator.

20. Do not hastily reject this, because Gabriel dies not, nor Raphael, nor Uriel. Even in their nature there is a capacity of sin, though not one of improvement by discipline, for every reasonable creature is exposed to influences from without itself, and liable to judgment. It is on the influences which work upon us that the award of judgment, and corruption, or advance to perfection, do depend, and therefore Ecclesiastes saith: “For God shall bring all His work to judgment.” Every creature, then, has within it the possibility of corruption and death, even though it do not [at present] die or commit sin; nor, if in anything it deliver not itself over to sin, hath it this boon of its immortal nature, but of discipline or of grace. Immortality, then, that is of a gift is one thing: immortality without the possibility of change is another.

21. Do we deny the immortality of Christ’s Godhead, because He tasted death for all in the flesh? Then is Gabriel better than Christ, for Gabriel never died, but Christ gave up the ghost. But the servant is not above his Lord, and we must discern the weakness of flesh from the eternity of Godhead. Christ’s Death had its source in the flesh, immortality is of the

nature of Christ’s sovereignty. But if the Godhead brought it to pass that the flesh saw not corruption, the flesh being surely by nature liable to corruption, how could the Godhead itself have died?

22. And how is it that the Son dwelleth not in light unapproachable, if He is in the bosom of the Father, if the Father is Light, and the Son also is Light, because God is Light? Or, if we suppose some other light, beside the Light of the Godhead, to be the unapproachable Light, is, then, this Light better than the Father, so that He is not in that Light, Who, as it is written, is both with the Father and in the Father? Let men, therefore, not exclude the thought of the Son, when they read only of “God” — and let them not exclude that of the Father, when they read of “the Son” only.

23. On earth, the Son is not without the Father, and thou thinkest that the Father is without the Son in heaven? The Son is in the flesh — (when I say “He is in the flesh” or “He is on earth,” I speak as though we lived in the days whose story is in the Gospel, for now we no longer know Christ “after the flesh”) — He is in the flesh, and He is not alone, as it is written: “And I am not alone, because the Father is with Me,” and think you that the Father dwells alone in the Light?

24. Lest you should regard this argument as mere speculation take this sentence of authority. “No man,” saith the Scripture, “hath seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father; He hath revealed Him.” How can the Father be in solitude, if the Son be in the bosom of the Father? How doth the Son reveal Him, Whom He seeth not? The Father, then, exists not alone.

25. Observe now what the “solitude” of the Father and of the Son is. The Father is alone, because there is no other Father; the Son is alone, because there is no other Son; God is alone, because the Godhead of the Trinity is One.

CHAPTER 4

We are told that Christ was only “made” so far as regards the flesh. For the redemption of mankind He needed no means of aid, even as He needed none in order to His Resurrection, whereas

others, in order to raise the dead, had need of recourse to prayer. Even when Christ prayed, the prayer was offered by Him in His capacity as human; whilst He must be accounted divine from the fact that He commanded (that such and such things should be done). On this point the devil's testimony is truer than the Arians' arguments. The discussion concludes with an explanation of the reason why the title of "mighty" is given to the Son of Man.

26. It is now sufficiently made plain that the Father is not God in solitude, without the Son, and that the Son cannot be thought of as God alone, without the Father, for it is in respect of His flesh that we read that the Son of God was "made," not in respect of His generation from God the Father.

27. Indeed, in what sense He was "made" He has declared by the mouth of the holy patriarch, saying: "For My soul is filled with sorrow to overflowing, and My life hath drawn near unto hell. I have been counted with them that go down into the pit; I have been made as a man free, without help, amongst the dead." Here, then, we read: "I have been made as a man," not "I have been made as God;" and again: "My soul overfloweth with sorrows." "My soul," mark you, not "My Godhead." He was "made" in so far as that was concerned wherein He was due to hell, wherein He was reckoned with others, for the Godhead admits of no likeness which may be ground for classing it with others. Yet mark how the majesty of Godhead shows itself in Christ, even in that flesh which was appointed to death. Although He was "made" as a man, and "made" as flesh, yet He was made free amongst the dead, "free, without help."

28. But how can the Son say here that He was without help, when it has already been said: "I have laid help upon One that is mighty"? Distinguish here also the two natures present. The flesh hath need of help, the Godhead hath no need. He is free, then, because the chains of death had no hold upon Him. He was not made prisoner by the powers of darkness, it is He Who exerted power amongst them. He is "without help," because He Himself, the Lord, hath by no office of messenger or ambassador, but by His own might, saved His people. How could He, Who raised others to life, require any help in order to raise His own body?

29. And though men also have raised the dead, still they did this not of their own power, but in the Name of Christ. To ask is one thing, to command is another; to obtain is different from bestowing.

30. Elijah, then, raised the dead, but he prayed — he did not command. Elisha raised one to life after laying himself upon the dead body, in accordance with its posture; and, again, the very contact of Elisha’s corpse gave life to the dead, that the prophet might foreshow the coming of Him, Who, being sent in the likeness of sinful flesh, should, even after His burial, raise the dead to life.

31. Peter, again, when he healed Aeneas, said: “In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise and walk.” Not in his own name, but in the Name of Christ. But “rise” is a command; on the other hand, it is an instance of confidence in one’s right, not an arrogant claim to power, and the authority of the command stood in the effective influence of the Name, not in its own might. What answer, then, make the Arians? Peter commands in the Name of Christ, — this on the one hand: on the other, they will have it that the Son of God did not command, but requested.

32. We read, they objected, of His uttering a prayer. But take note of the difference. He prays as Son of Man, He commands as Son of God. Will you not ascribe unto the Son of God what even the devil has ascribed? Will you accuse yourselves of greater wickedness than Satan’s? The devil saith: “If Thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread.” Satan saith “command,” you say “entreat.” The devil believes that, at the word of God’s Son, the nature of an elementary substance may be exchanged for that of a composite one; you think that, unless the Son of God prefers a request, even His Will cannot be done. Again, the devil thinks that the Son of God is to be esteemed from His power, you that He is to be esteemed from His infirmity. The devil’s temptations are more tolerable than the Arians’ disputings.

33. Let us not, then, be troubled if we find the Son of Man entitled “mighty” in one place, and yet in another, that the Lord of glory was crucified. What might is greater than sovereignty over the powers of heaven? But this was in the hands of Him Who ruled over thrones, principalities, angels; for, although He was amongst the wild beasts, as it is written, yet angels ministered to Him, that you may perceive the

difference between what is proper to the Incarnation, and what is proper to Sovereignty. So far as His flesh is concerned, then, He endures the assault of wild beasts; in regard of His Godhead, He is adored by angels.

34. We have learnt, then, that He was made man, and that His being made must be referred to His manhood. Furthermore, in another passage of Scripture, you may read: “Who was made for Him of the seed of David,” that is to say, in respect of the flesh He was “made” of the seed of David, but He was God begotten of God before the worlds.

CHAPTER 5

Passages brought forward from Scripture to show that “made” does not always mean the same as “created;” whence it is concluded that the letter of Holy Writ should not be made the ground of captious arguments, after the manner of the Jews, who, however, are shown to be not so bad as the heretics, and thus the principle already set forth is confirmed anew.

35. At the same time, becoming does not always imply creation; for we read: “Lord, Thou art become our refuge,” and “Thou hast become my salvation.” Plainly, here is no statement of the fact or purpose of a creation, but God is said to have become my “refuge” and have turned to my “salvation,” even as the Apostle hath said: “Who became for us Wisdom from God, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption,” that is, that Christ was “made” for us, of the Father, not created. Again, the writer has explained in the sequel in what sense he says that Christ was made Wisdom for us: “But we preach the Wisdom of God in doctrine of mystery, which Wisdom is hidden, foreordained by God before the existence of the worldfor our glory, and which none of the princes of this world knew, for had they known they would never have crucified the Lord of glory.” When the mystery of the Passion is set forth, surely there is no speaking of an eternal process of generation.

36. The Lord’s Cross, then, is my wisdom; the Lord’s Death my redemption; for we are redeemed with His precious blood, as the Apostle Peter bath said. With His blood, then, as man, the Lord redeemed us, Who also, as God, hath forgiven sins.

37. Let us not, therefore, lay snares as it were in words, and eagerly seek out entanglements therein; let us not, because misbelievers make out the written word to mean that it means not, set forth only what this letter bears on the face of it, instead of the underlying sense. This way went the Jews to destruction, despising the deep-hidden meaning, and following only after the bare form of the word, for “the letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive.”

38. And yet, of these two grievous impieties, to ascribe to the Godhead what is true only of manhood is perchance more detestable than to attribute to spirit what belongs only to letter. The Jews feared to believe in manhood taken up into God, and therefore have lost the grace of redemption, because they reject that on which salvation depends; the Arians degrade the majesty of Godhead to the weakness of humanity. Detestable as are the Jews, who crucified the Lord’s flesh, more detestable still do I hold them who have believed that the Godhead of Christ was nailed to the Cross. So one who ofttimes had dealings with Jews said: “An heretic avoid, after once reproving him”

39. Nor, again, are these men careful to avoid doing dishonor to the Father, in their impious application of the fact, that Christ was “made” Wisdom for us, to His incomprehensible generation, that transcends all limits and divisions of time; for, leaving it out of account that dishonor done to the Son is an insult to the Father, they do even carry their blasphemy in assault upon the Father, of Whom it is written: “Let God be made truthful, but every man a liar.” If indeed they think that the Son is spoken of, they do not foreclose against His generation, but in that they rest on the authority of this text they do confess that which they reject, namely, that Christ is God, and true God.

40. It would be a lengthy matter were I to pass in review each several place where we read of His being “made,” not indeed by nature, but by way of gracious dispensation. Moses, for example, saith: “Thou art made my Helper and Protector, to save me;” and David: “Be unto me for a God of salvation, and an house of refuge, that Thou mayest save me;” and Isaiah: “He is become an Helper for every city that is lowly.” Of a surety the holy men say not to God: “Thou hast been created,” but “By Thy grace Thou art made a Protector and Helper unto us.”

CHAPTER 6

In order to dispose of an objection grounded on a text in St. John, St. Ambrose first shows that the Arian interpretation lends countenance to the Manichaeans; then, after setting forth the different ways of dividing the words in this same passage, he shows plainly that it cannot, without dishonor to the Father, be understood with such reference to the Godhead as the Arians give it, and expounds the true meaning thereon.

41. WE have no reason, therefore, to fear the argument which the Arians, in their reckless manner of expounding, use to construct, showing that the Word of God was "made," for, say they, it is written: "That which has been made in Him is life."

42. First of all, let them understand that if they make the words "That which has been made" to refer to the Godhead, they entangle themselves in the difficulties raised by the Manichaeans, for these people argue: "If that which has been made in Him is life, then there is something which has not been made in Him, and is death," so that they may impiously bring in two principles. But this teaching the Church condemns.

43. Again, how can the Arians prove that the Evangelist actually said this? The most part of those who are learned in the Faith read the passage as follows: "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that has been made." Others read thus: "All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." Then they proceed: "What has been made," and to this they join the words "in Him;" that is to say, "But whatsoever is has been made in Him." But what mean the words "in Him"? The Apostle tells us, when he says: "In Him we have our being, and live, and move."

44. Howbeit, let them read the passage as they will, they cannot diminish the majesty of God the Word, in referring to His Person, as subject, the words "That which was made," without also doing dishonor to God the Father, of Whom it is written: "But he who doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they are wrought in God." See then — here we read of man's works being wrought in God, and yet

for all that we cannot understand the Godhead as the subject of them. We must either recognize the works as wrought through Him, as the Apostle’s affirmation showeth that “all things are through Him, and were created in Him, and He is before all, and all things exist together in Him,” or, as the witness of the text here cited teaches us, we ought to regard the virtues whereby the fruit of life eternal is gained, as wrought in God — chastity, piety, devoutness, faith, and others of this kind, whereby the will of God is expressed.

45. Just as the works, then, are the expression of the will and power of God the Father, so are they of Christ’s, even as we read: “Created in Christ in good works;” and in the psalm: “Peace be made in Thy power;” and again: “In wisdom hast Thou made them all.” “In wisdom hast Thou made,” mark you — not “Thou hast made wisdom;” for since all things have been made in wisdom, and Christ is the Wisdom of God, then this Wisdom is plainly not an accident, but a substance, and an everlasting one, but if the Wisdom hath been made, then is it made in a worse condition than all things, forasmuch as it could not, by itself, be made Wisdom. If, then, being made is oftentimes referred to something accidental, not to the essence of a thing, so may creation also be referred to some end had in view.

CHAPTER 7

Solomon’s words, “The Lord created Me,” etc., mean that Christ’s Incarnation was done for the redemption of the Father’s creation, as is shown by the Son’s own words. That He is the “beginning” may be understood from the visible proofs of His virtuousness, and it is shown how the Lord opened the ways of all virtues, and was their true beginning.

46. HEREBY we are brought to understand that the prophecy of the Incarnation, “The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works,” means that the Lord Jesus was created of the Virgin for the redeeming of the Father’s works. Truly, we cannot doubt that this is spoken of the mystery of the Incarnation, forasmuch as the Lord took upon Him our flesh, in order to save the works of His hands from the

slavery of corruption, so that He might, by the sufferings of His own body, overthrow him who had the power of death. For Christ's flesh is for the sake of things created, but His Godhead existed before them, seeing that He is before all things, whilst all things exist together in Him.

47. His Godhead, then, is not by reason of creation, but creation exists because of the Godhead; even as the Apostle showed, saying that all things exist because of the Son of God, for we read as follows: "But it was fitting that He, through Whom and because of Whom are all things, after bringing many sons to glory, should, as Captain of their salvation, be made perfect through suffering." Has he not plainly declared that the Son of God, Who, by reason of His Godhead, was the Creator of all, did in after time, for the salvation of His people, submit to the taking on of the flesh and the suffering of death?

48. Now for the sake of what works the Lord was "created" of a virgin, He Himself, whilst healing the blind man, has shown, saying: "In Him must I work the works of Him that sent Me." Furthermore He said in the same Scripture, that we might believe Him to speak of the Incarnation: "As long as I am in this world, I am the Light of this world," for, so far as He is man, He is in this world for a season, but as God He exists at all times. In another place, too, He says: "Lo, I am with you even unto the end of the world."

49. Nor is there any room for questioning with respect to "the beginning," seeing that when, during His earthly life, He was asked, "Who art Thou?" He answered: "The beginning, even as I tell you." This refers not only to the essential nature of the eternal Godhead, but also to the visible proofs of virtues, for hereby hath He proved Himself the eternal God, in that He is the beginning of all things, and the Author of each several virtue, in that He is the Head of the Church, as it is written: "Because He is the Head of the Body, of the Church; Who is the beginning, first-begotten from the dead."

50. It is clear, then, that the words "beginning of His ways," which, as it seems, we must refer to the mystery of the putting on of His body, are a prophecy of the Incarnation. For Christ's purpose in the Incarnation was to pave for us the road to heaven. Mark how He says: "I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God." Then, to give you to

know that the Almighty Father appointed His ways to the Son, after the Incarnation, you have in Zechariah the words of the angel speaking to Joshua clothed in filthy garments: “Thus saith the Lord Almighty: If thou wilt walk in My ways and observe My precepts.” What is the meaning of that filthy garb save the putting on of the flesh?

51. Now the ways of the Lord are, we may say, certain courses taken in a good life, guided by Christ, Who says, “I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.” The way, then, is the surpassing power of God, for Christ, is our way, and a good way, too, is He, a way which hath opened the kingdom of heaven to believers. Moreover, the ways of the Lord are straight, as it is written: “Make Thy ways known unto me, O Lord.” Chastity is a way, faith is a way, abstinence is a way. There is, indeed, a way of virtue, and there is a way of wickedness; for it is written: “And see if there be any way of wickedness in me.”

52. Christ, then, is the beginning of our virtue. He is the beginning of purity, Who taught maidens not to look for the embraces of men, but to yield the purity of their bodies and minds to the service of the Holy Spirit rather than to a husband. Christ is the beginning of frugality, for He became poor, though He was rich. Christ is the beginning of patience, for when He was reviled, He reviled not again, when He was struck, He did not strike back. Christ is the beginning of humility, for He took the form of a servant, though in the majesty of His power He was equal with God the Father. From Him each several virtue has taken its origin.

53. For this cause, then, that we might learn these divers virtues, “a Son was given us, Whose beginning was upon His shoulder.” That “beginning” is the Lord’s Cross — the beginning of strong courage, wherewith a way has been opened for the holy martyrs to enter the sufferings of the Holy War.

CHAPTER 8

The prophecy of Christ’s Godhead and Manhood, contained in the verse of Isaiah just now cited, is unfolded, and its force in refuting various heresies demonstrated.

54. THIS beginning did Isaiah see, and therefore he says: “A Child is born, a Son is given to us,” as also did the Magi, and therefore worshipped they, when they saw the little One in the stable, and said: “A Child is born,” and, when they saw the star, declared, “A Son is given to us.” On the one hand, a gift from earth — on the other, a gift from heaven — and both are One Person, perfect in respect of each, without any changeableness in the Godhead, as without any taking away from the fullness of the Manhood. One Person did the Magi adore, to one and the same they offered their gifts, to show that He Who was seen in the stall was the very Lord of heaven.

55. Mark how the two verbs differ in their import: “A Child is born, a Son is given.” Though born of the Father, yet is He not born, but given to us, forasmuch as the Son is not for our sakes, but we for the Son’s. For indeed He was not born to us, being born before us, and the maker of all things created: nor is He now brought to life for the first time, Who was always, and was in the beginning; on the other hand, that which before-time was not is born to us. Again we find it thus recorded, how that the angel, when he spoke to the shepherds, said that He had been born: “Who is this day born to us a Savior, Who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David.” To us, then, was born that which was not before — that is, a child of the Virgin, a body from Mary — for this was made after man had been created, whereas [the Godhead] was before us.

56. Some manuscripts read as follows: “A Child is born to us a Son is given to us;” that is to say, He, Who is Son of God, is born as Mary’s child for us, and given to us. As for the fact that He is “given,” listen to the prophet’s words: “And grant us Thy salvation.” But that which is above us is given: what is from heaven is given: even as indeed we read concerning the Spirit, that “the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given unto us.”

57. But note how this passage is as water upon fire to a crowd of heresies. “A Child is born to us,” not to the Jews; “to us,” not to the Manichaeans; “to us,” not to the Marcionites. The prophet says “to us,” that is, to those who believe, not to unbelievers. And He indeed, in His pitifulness, was born for all, but it is the disloyalty of heretics that hath brought it to pass that the birth of Him Who was born for all should not profit all. For the

sun is bidden to rise upon the good and the bad, but to them that see not there is no appearance of sunrise.

58. Even as the Child, then, is born not unto all, but unto the faithful: so the Son is given to the faithful and not to the unbelieving. He is given to us, not to the Photinians; for they affirm that the Son of God was not given unto us, but was born and first began to exist amongst us. To us is He given, not to the Sabellians, who will not hear of a Son being given, maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same. Unto us is He given, not unto the Arians, in whose judgment the Son was not given for salvation, but sent over subject and inferior, to whom, moreover, He is no "Counselor," inasmuch as they hold that He knows nought of the future, no Son, since they believe not in His eternity, though of the Word of God it is written: "That which was in the beginning;" and again: "In the beginning was the Word." To return to the passage we set before us to discuss. "In the beginning," saith the Scripture, "before He made the earth, before He made the deeps, before He brought forth the springs of water, before all the hills He begat Me."

CHAPTER 9

The preceding quotation from Solomon's Proverbs receives further explanation.

59. PERCHANCE you will ask how I came to cite, as referring to the Incarnation of Christ, the place, "The Lord created Me," seeing that the creation of the universe took place before the Incarnation of Christ? But consider that the use of holy Scripture is to speak of things to come as though already past, and to make intimation of the union of two natures, Godhead and Manhood, in Christ, lest any should deny either His Godhead or His Manhood.

60. In Isaiah, for example, you may read: "A Child is born unto us, and a Son is given unto us;" so here also [in the Proverbs] the prophet sets forth first the creation of the flesh, and joined thereto the declaration of the Godhead, that you might know that Christ is not two, but One, being both begotten of the Father before the worlds, and in the last times created of

the Virgin. And thus the meaning is: I, Who am begotten before the worlds, am He Who was created of mortal woman, created for a set purpose.

61. Again, immediately before the declaration, “The Lord created Me,” He says, “I will tell of the things which are from eternity,” and before saying, “He begat,” He premised, “In the beginning, before He made the earth, before all hills.” In its extent, the preposition “before” reaches back into the past without end or limit, and so “Before Abraham was, I am,” clearly need not mean “after Adam,” just as “before the Morning Star” need not mean “after the angels.” But when He said “before,” He intended, not that He was included in any one’s existence, but that all things are included in His, for thus it is the custom of Holy Writ to show the eternity of God. Finally, in another passage you may read: “Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, Thou art from everlasting to everlasting.”

62. Before all created things, then, is the Son begotten; within all and for the good of all is He made; begotten of the Father, above the Law, brought forth of Mary, under the Law.

CHAPTER 10

Observations on the words of John the Baptist (<430130>John 1:30), which may be referred to divine fore-ordinance, but at any rate, as explained by the foregoing considerations, must be understood of the Incarnation. The precedence of Christ is mystically expounded, with reference to the history of Ruth.

63. BUT [say they] it is written: “After me cometh a Man, Who is made before me, because He was before me;” and so they argue: “See, He Who was aforetime is ‘made.’” Let us take the words by themselves. “After me cometh a Man.” He, then, Who came is a Man, and this is the Man Who “was made.” But the word “man” connotes sex, and sex is attributed to human nature, but never to the Godhead.

64. I might argue: The Man [Christ Jesus] was in pre-existence so far as His body was foreknown, though His power is from everlasting — for both the Church and the Saints were foreordained before the worlds began.

But here I lay aside this argument, and urge that the being made concerns not the Godhead, but the nature of the Incarnation, even as John himself said: “This is He of Whom I said: After me cometh a Man, Who was made before me.”

65. The Scripture, then, having, as I showed above, discovered the twofold nature in Christ, that you might understand the presence of both Godhead and Manhood, here begins with the flesh; for it is the custom of Holy Writ to begin without fixed rule sometimes with the Godhead of Christ, and descend to the visible tokens of Incarnation; sometimes, on the other hand, to start from its humility, and rise to the glory of the Godhead, as oftentimes in the Prophets and Evangelists, and in St. Paul. Here, then, after this use, the writer begins with the Incarnation of our Lord, and then proclaims His Divinity, not to confound, but to distinguish, the human and the divine. But Arians, like Jew vintners, mix water with the wine, confounding the divine generation with the human, and ascribing to the majesty of God what is properly said only of the lowliness of the flesh.

66. I have no fears of a certain objection they are likely to put forward, namely, that in the words cited we have “a man” — for some have, “Who cometh after me.” But here, too, let them observe what precedes. “The Word,” it is said, “was made flesh.” Having said that the Word was made flesh, the Evangelist added no mention of man. We understand “man” there in the mention of “flesh,” and “flesh” by the mention of “man.” After the statement made, then, that “the Word was made flesh,” there was no need here to particularly mention “man,” whom he already intended by using the name “flesh.”

67. Later on, St. John uses the lamb, that “taketh away the sins of the world,” as an example; and to teach you plainly the Incarnation of Him, of Whom he had spoken before, he says: “This is He of Whom I said before: After me cometh a Man, Who is made before me,” to wit, of Whom I said that He was “made” as being man, not as being God. However, to show that it was He Who was before the worlds, and none other, that became flesh, lest we should suppose two Sons of God, he adds: “because He was before me.” If the words “was made” had referred to the divine generation, what need was there that the writer should add this, and repeat himself? But, having first said, with regard to the Incarnation only, “After me

cometh a Man, Who is made before me," he added: "because He was before me," because it was needful to teach the eternity of [Christ's] Godhead; and this is the reason why St. John acknowledged Christ's priority, that He, Who is His own Father's eternal Power, may be presented as on that account duly preferred.

68. But the abounding activity of the spiritual understanding makes it a pleasing exercise to sally forth and drive into a corner the Arians, who will understand the term "made" in this passage, not of the manhood, but of the Godhead [of Christ]. What ground, indeed, is left for them to take their stand upon, when the Baptist has declared that "after me cometh One Who is made before me," that is, Who, though in the course of earthly life He comes after me, yet is placed above the degree of my worth and grace, and Who has title to be worshipped as God. For the words "cometh after me" belong to an event in time, but "was before me" signify Christ's eternity; and "is made before me" refer to His pre-eminence, forasmuch as, indeed, the mystery of the Incarnation is above human deserving.

69. Again, St. John Baptist also taught in less weighty language what ideas they were he had combined, saying: "After me cometh a Man, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear," setting forth at least the more excellent dignity [of Christ], though not the eternity of His Divine Generation. Now these words are so fully intended of the Incarnation, that Scripture hath given us, in an earlier book, a human counterpart of the mystic sandal. For, by the Law, when a man died, the marriage bond with his wife was passed on to his brother, or other man next of kin, in order that the seed of the brother or next of kin might renew the life of the house, and thus it was that Ruth, though she was foreign-born, but yet had possessed a husband of the Jewish people, who had left a kinsman of near relation, being seen and loved of Boaz whilst gleaning and maintaining herself and her mother-in-law with that she gleaned, was yet not taken of Boaz to wife, until she had first loosed the shoe from [the foot of] him whose wife she ought, by the Law, to have become.

70. The story is a simple one, but deep are its hidden meanings, for that which was done was the outward betokening of somewhat further. If indeed we should rack the sense so as to fit the letter exactly, we should almost find the words an occasion of a certain shame and horror, that we

should regard them as intending and conveying the thought of common bodily intercourse; but it was the foreshadowing of One Who was to arise from Jewry — whence Christ was, after the flesh — Who should, with the seed of heavenly teaching, revive the seed of his dead kinsman, that is to say, the people, and to Whom the precepts of the Law, in their spiritual significance, assigned the sandal of marriage, for the espousals of the Church.

71. Moses was not the Bridegroom, for to him cometh the word, “Loose thy shoe from off thy foot,” that he might give place to his Lord. Nor was Joshua, the son of Nun, the Bridegroom, for to him also it was told, saying, “Loose thy shoe from off thy foot,” test, by reason of the likeness of his name, he should be thought the spouse of the Church. None other is the Bridegroom but Christ alone, of Whom St. John said: “He Who hath the bride is the Bridegroom.” They, therefore, loose their shoes, but His shoe cannot be loosed, even as St. John said: “I am not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe.”

72. Christ alone, then, is the Bridegroom to Whom the Church, His bride, comes from the nations, and gives herself in wedlock; aforetime poor and starving, but now rich with Christ’s harvest; gathering in the hidden bosom of her mind handfuls of the rich crop and gleanings of the Word, that so she may nourish with fresh food her who is worn out, bereaved by the death of her son, and starving, even the mother of the dead people, — leaving not the widow and destitute, whilst she seeks new children.

73. Christ, then, alone is the Bridegroom, grudging not even to the synagogue the sheaves of His harvest. Would that the synagogue had not of her own will shut herself out! She had sheaves that she might herself have gathered, but, her people being dead, she, like one bereaved by the death of her son, began to gather sheaves, whereby she might live, by the hand of the Church — the which sheaves they who come in joyfulness shall carry, even as it is written: “Yet surely shall they come with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.”

74. Who, indeed, but Christ could dare to claim the Church as His bride, whom He alone, and none other, hath called from Libanus, saying: “Come hither from Libanus, my bride; come hither from Libanus”? Or of Whom else could the Church have said: “His throat is sweetness, and He is

altogether desirable"? And seeing that we entered upon this discussion from speaking of the shoes of His feet, — to Whom else but the Word of God incarnate can those words apply? "His legs are pillars of marble, set upon bases of gold." For Christ alone walks in the souls and makes His path in the minds of His saints, in which, as upon bases of gold and foundations of precious stone the heavenly Word has left His footprints ineffaceably impressed.

75. Clearly we see, then, that both the man and the type point to the mystery of the Incarnation.

CHAPTER 11

St. Ambrose returns to the main question, and shows that whenever Christ is said to have "been made" (or "become"), this must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to certain limitations. In this sense several passages of Scripture — especially of St. Paul — are expounded. The eternal Priesthood of Christ, prefigured in Melchizedek. Christ possesses not only likeness, but oneness with the Father.

76. WHEN, therefore, Christ is said to have been "made," to have "become," the phrase relates, not to the substance of the Godhead, but often to the Incarnation — sometimes indeed to a particular office; for if you understand it of His Godhead, then God was made into an object of insult and derision inasmuch as it is written: "But thou hast rejected thy Christ, and brought Him to nought; thou hast driven Him to wander;" and again: "And He was made the derision of His neighbors." Of His neighbors, mark you — not of them of His household, not of them who clave to Him, for "he who cleaveth to the Lord is one Spirit;" he who is neighbor doth not cleave to Him. Again, "He was made a derision," because the Lord's Cross is to Jews a stumbling-block, and to Greeks is foolishness: for to them that are wise He is, by that same Cross, made higher than the heavens, higher than angels, and is made the Mediator of the better covenant, even as He was Mediator of the former.

77. Mark how I repeat the phrase; so far am I from seeking to avoid it. Yet take notice in what sense He is "made."

78. In the first place, “having made purification, He sitteth on the right hand of Majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels.” Now where purification is, there is a victim; where there is a victim, there is also a body; where a body is, there is oblation; where there is the office of oblation, there also is sacrifice made with suffering.

79. In the next place, He is the Mediator of a better covenant. But where there is testamentary disposition, the death of the testator must first come to pass, as it is written a little further on. Howbeit, the death is not the death of His eternal Godhead, but of His weak human frame.

80. Furthermore, we are taught how He is made “higher than the heavens.” “Unspotted,” saith the Scripture, “separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; not having daily need, as the priests have need, to offer a victim first for his own sins, and then for those of the people. For this He did by sacrificing Himself once and for all.” None is said to be made higher, save he who has in some respect been lower; Christ, then, is, by His sitting at the right hand of the Father, made higher in regard of that wherein, being made lower than the angels, He offered Himself to suffer.

81. Finally, the Apostle himself saith to the Philippians, that “being made in the likeness of man, and found in outward appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient even unto death.” Mark that, in regard whereof He is “made,” He is made, the Apostle saith, in the likeness of man, not in respect of Divine Sovereignty, and He was made obedient unto death, so that He displayed the obedience proper to man, and obtained the kingdom appertaining of right to Godhead.

82. How many passages need we cite further in evidence that His “being made” must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to some particular dispensation? Now whatsoever is made, the same is also created, for “He spake and they were made; He gave also the word, and they were created.” “The Lord created me.” These words are spoken with regard to His Manhood; and we have also shown, in our First Book, that the word “created” appears to have reference to the Incarnation.

83. Again, the Apostle himself, by declaring that no worship is to be rendered to a created existence, has shown that the Son has not been created, but begotten, of God. At the same time he shows in other places

what there was in Christ that was created, in order to make plain in what sense he has read in Solomon's book: "The Lord created Me."

84. Let us now review a whole passages in order. "Seeing, then, that the sons have parts of flesh and blood, He too likewise was made to have part in the same, to the end that by death He might overthrow him who had the power of death." Who, then, is He Who would have us to be partakers in His own flesh and blood? Surely the Son of God. How, save by means of the flesh, was He made partaker with us, or by what, save by bodily death, brake He the chains of death? For Christ's endurance of death was made the death of Death. This text, then, speaks of the Incarnation.

85. Let us see what follows: "For He did not indeed [straightway] put on Him the nature of angels, but that of Abraham's seed. And thus was He able to be made like to His brethren in all things throughout, that He might become a compassionate and faithful Prince, a Priest unto God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people; for in that He Himself suffered He is able also to help them that are tempted. Wherefore, brethren most holy, ye who have each his share in a heavenly calling, look upon the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus, regard His faithfulness to His Creator, even as Moses was in his house." These, then, are the Apostle's words.

86. You see what it is in respect whereof the writer calls Him created.: "In so far as He took upon Him the seed of Abraham;" plainly asserting the begetting of a body. How, indeed, but in His body did He expiate the sins of the people? In what did He suffer, save in His body — even as we said above: "Christ having suffered in the flesh"? In what is He a priest, save in that which He took to Himself from the priestly nation?

67. It is a priest's duty to offer something, and, according to the Law, to enter into the holy places by means of blood; seeing, then, that God had rejected the blood of bulls and goats, this High Priest was indeed bound to make passage and entry into the holy of holies in heaven through His own blood, in order that He might be the everlasting propitiation for our sins. Priest and victim, then, are one; the priesthood and sacrifice are, however, exercised under the conditions of humanity, for He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and He is a priest after the order of Melchizedek.

88. Let no man, therefore, when he beholds an order of human establishment, contend that in it resides the claim of Divinity; for even that Melchizedek, by whose office Abraham offered sacrifice, the Church doth certainly not hold to be an angel (as some Jewish triflers do), but a holy man and priest of God, who, prefiguring our Lord, is described as "without father or mother, without history of his descent, without beginning and without end," in order to show beforehand the coming into this world of the eternal Son of God, Who likewise was incarnate and then brought forth without any father, begotten as God without mother, and was without history of descent, for it is written: "His generation who shall declare?"

89. This Melchizedek, then, have we received as a priest of God made upon the model of Christ, but the one we regard as the type, the other as the original. Now a type is a shadow of the truth, and we have accepted the royalty of the one in the name of a single city, but that of the other as shown in the reconciliation of the whole world; for it is written: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself;" that is to say, [in Christ was] eternal Godhead: or, if the Father is in the Son, even as the Son is in the Father, then Their unity in both nature and operation is plainly not denied.

90. But how, indeed, could our adversaries justly deny this, even if they would, when the Scripture saith: "But the Father, Who abideth in Me, even He doeth the works;" and "The works that I do, He Himself worketh"? Not "He also doeth the works," but one should regard it as similarity rather than unity of work; in saying, "The things that I do, He Himself doeth," the Apostle has left it clear that we ought to believe that the work of the Father and the work of the Son is one.

91. On the other hand, when He would have similarity, not unity, of works, to be understood, He said: "He that believeth in Me, the works which I do, shall he do also." Skillfully inserting here the word "also," He hath allowed us similarity, and yet hath not ascribed natural unity. One, therefore, is the work of the Father and the work of the Son, whether the Arians please so to think or not.

CHAPTER 12

The kingdom of the Father and of the Son is one and undivided, so likewise is the Godhead of each.

92. I WOULD now ask how they suppose the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be divided, when the Lord hath said, as we showed above: “Every kingdom divided against itself shall be speedily overthrown.”

93. Indeed, it was to debar the impious teaching of Arian enmity that Saint Peter himself asserted the dominion of the Father and the Son to be one, saying: “Wherefore, my brethren, labor to make your calling and election sure, for so doing you shall not go astray, for thus your entrance into the eternal realm of God and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ shall be granted with the greater abundance of grace.

94. Now, if it be thought that Christ’s dominion alone is spoken of, and the place be therefore understood in such sense that the Father and the Son are regarded as divided in authority — yet it will be still acknowledged that it is the dominion of the Son, and that an eternal one, and thus not only will two kingdoms, separate, and so liable to fail, be brought in, but, furthermore, inasmuch as no kingdom is to be compared with God’s kingdom, which they cannot, however greatly they may desire to, deny to be the kingdom of the Son, they must either turn back upon their opinion, and acknowledge the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be one and the same; or they must ascribe to the Father the government of a lesser kingdom — which is blasphemy; or they must acknowledge Him, Whom they wickedly declare to be inferior in respect of Godhead, to possess an equal kingdom, which is inconsistent.

95. But this [their teaching] squares not agrees not, holds not [with its premises]. Let them confess, then, that the kingdom is one, even as we confess and prove, not indeed on our own evidence, but upon testimony vouchsafed from heaven.

96. To begin with, learn, from further testimonies [of Scripture], how that the kingdom of heaven is also the kingdom of the Son: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, that there are some amongst those which stand here with us, who shall not taste death, until they see the Son of Man coming into His

kingdom." There is therefore no room for doubt that the kingdom appertaineth to the Son of God.

97. Now learn that the kingdom of the Son is the very same as the kingdom of the Father: "Verily, I say unto you that there be some of those which stand around us, who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God coming in power." So far, indeed, is it one kingdom, that the reward is one, the inheritor is one and the same, and so also the merit, and He Who promises [the reward].

98. How can it but be one kingdom, above all when the Son Himself hath said of Himself: "Then shall the righteous shine like the sun in the kingdom of My Father"? For that which is the Father's, by fitness to His majesty, is also the Son's, by unity in the same glory." The Scripture, therefore, hath declared the kingdom to be the kingdom both of the Father and of the Son.

99. Now learn that where the kingdom of God is named, there is no putting aside of the authority either of the Father or of the Son, because both the kingdom of the Father and the kingdom of the Son is included under the single name of God, saying: "When ye shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God." Do we deny that the prophets are in the kingdom of the Son, when even to a dying robber who said, "Remember me, when Thou comest into Thy kingdom," the Lord made answer: 'Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with Me in paradise." What, indeed, do we understand by being in the kingdom of God, if not the having escaped eternal death? But they who have escaped eternal death see the Son of Man coming into His kingdom.

100. How, then, can He not have in His power that which He gives, saying: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven"? See the gulf between [the one and the other]. The servant opens, the Lord bestows; the One through Himself, the other through Christ; the minister receives the keys, the Lord appoints powers: the one is the right of a giver, the other the duty of a steward.

101. See now yet another proof that the kingdom, the government, of the Father and the Son is one. It is written in the Epistle to Timothy: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the government of God, our Savior,

and Christ Jesus, our Hope." One, therefore, the kingdom of the Father and the Son is plainly declared to be, even as Paul the Apostle also asserted, saying: "For know this, that no shameless person, none that is impure, or covetous (which meaneth idolatry), hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." It is, therefore, one kingdom, one Godhead.

102. Oneness in Godhead the Law hath proved, which speaks of one God, as also the Apostle, by saying of Christ; "In Whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." For if, as the Apostle saith, all the fullness of the Godhead, bodily, is in Christ, then must the Father and the Son be confessed to be of one Godhead; or if it is desired to sunder the Godhead of the Son from the Godhead of the Father, whilst the Son possesses all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, what is supposed to be further reserved, seeing that nothing remains over and above the fullness of perfection? Therefore the Godhead is one.

CHAPTER 13

The majesty of the Son is His own, and equal to that of the Father, and the angels are not partaken, but beholders thereof.

103. NOW, we having already laid down that the Father and the Son are of one image and likeness, it remains for us to show that They are also of one majesty. And we need not go far afield for proof, inasmuch as the Son Himself has said of Himself: "When the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His majesty." Behold, then, the majesty of the Son declared! What lacketh He yet, Whose uncreated majesty cannot be denied? Majesty, then, belongeth to the Son.

104. Let our adversaries now hold it proved beyond doubt that the majesty of the Father and of the Son is one, forasmuch as the Lord Himself hath said: "For he who shall be ashamed of Me and of My words, of Him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He cometh in His majesty and His Father's, and the majesty of the holy angels." What is the force of the words "and the majesty of the holy angels," but that the servants derive honor from the worship of their Lord?

105. The Son, therefore, ascribed His majesty to His Father as well as to Himself, not, indeed, in such sort that the angels should share in that majesty on equal terms with the Father and the Son, but that they should behold the surpassing glory of God; for truly not even angels possess a majesty of their own, after the manner in which Scripture speaks of the Son: “When He shall sit upon the throne of His majesty,” but they stand in the presence, that they may see the glory of the Father and the Son, in such degrees of vision as they are either worthy of or able to bear.

106. Furthermore, the God-given words themselves declare their own meaning, that you may understand that glory of the Father and the Son not to be held in common with them by angels, for thus they run: “But when the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him.” Again, to show that His Father’s majesty and glory and His own majesty and glory are one and the same, our Lord Himself saith in another book: “And the Son of Man shall confound him, when He shall come in the glory of His Father, with the holy angels.” The angels come in obedience, He comes in glory: they are His retainers, He sits upon His throne: they stand, He is seated — to borrow terms of the daily dealings of human life, He is the Judge: they are the officers of the court. Note that He did not place first His Father’s divine majesty, and then, in the second place, His own and the angels’, lest He should seem to have made out a sort of descending order, from the highest to lower natures. He placed His own majesty first, and then spoke of His Father’s, and the majesty of the angels (because the Father could not appear lower than they), in order that He might not, by placing mention of Himself between that of His Father and that of the angels, seem to have made out some ascending scale, leading from angels to the Father through increase of His own dignity; nor, again, be believed to have, contrariwise, shown a descent from the Father to angels, entailing diminution of that dignity. Now we who confess one Godhead of the Father and the Son suppose no such order of distinction as the Arians do.

CHAPTER 14

The Son is of one substance with the Father.

108. AND now, your Majesty, with regard to the question of the substance, why need I tell you that the Son is of one substance with the Father, when we have read that the Son is the image of the Father's substance, that you may understand that there is nothing wherein, so far as Godhead is regarded, the Son differs from the Father.

109. In virtue of this likeness Christ said: "All things that the Father hath are Mine." We cannot, then, deny substance to God, for indeed He is not unsubstantial, Who hath given to others the ground of their being, though this be different in God from what it is in the creature. The Son of God, by Whose agency all things endure, could not be unsubstantial.

110. And therefore, the Psalmist saith: "My bones are not hidden, which Thou didst make in secret, and my substance in the underworld." For to His power and Godhead, the things that before the foundation of the world were done, though their magnificence was [as yet] invisible, could not be hidden. Here, then, we find mention of "substance."

111. But it may be objected that the mention of His substance is the consequence of His Incarnation. I have shown that the word "substance" is used more than once, and that not in the sense of inherited possessions, as you would construe it. Now, if it please you, let us grant that, in accordance with the mystic prophecy, the substance of Christ was present in the underworld — for truly He did exert His power in the lower world to set free, in the soul which animated His own body, the souls of the dead, to loose the bands of death, to remit sins.

112. And, indeed, what hinders you from understanding, by that substance, His divine substance, seeing that God is everywhere, so that it hath been said to Him: "If I go up into heaven, Thou art there; if I go down into hell, Thou art present."

113. Furthermore, the Psalmist hath in the words following made it plain that we must understand the divine substance to be mentioned when he saith: "Thine eyes did see My being, [as] not the effect of working;"

inasmuch as the Son is not made, nor one of God’s works, but the begotten Word of eternal power. He called Him “ἀχατέργαστον,” meaning that the Word neither made nor created, is begotten of the Father without the witnessing presence of any created being. Howbeit, we have abundance of testimony besides this. Let us grant that the substance here spoken of is the bodily substance, provided you also yourself say not that the Son of God is something effected by working, but confess His uncreated Godhead.

114. Now I know that some assert that the mystic incarnate form was uncreated, forasmuch as nothing was done therein through intercourse with a man, because our Lord was the offspring of a virgin. If, then, many have, on the strength of this passage, asserted that neither that which was brought forth of Mary was produced by creative operation, dare you, disciple of Arius, think that the Word of God is something so produced?

115. But is this the only place where we read of “substance”? Hath it not also been said in another passage: “The gates of the cities are broken down, the mountains are fallen, and His substance is revealed”? What, does the word mean something created here also? Some, I know, are accustomed to say that the substance is substance in money. Then, if you give this meaning to the word, the mountains fell, in order that some one’s possessions of money might be seen.

116. But let us remember what mountains fell, those, namely, of which it hath been said: “If ye shall have faith as a grain of mustard seed ye shall say to this mountain: Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea!” By mountains, then, are meant high things that exalt themselves.

117. Moreover, in the Greek, the rendering is this: “The palaces are fallen.” What palaces, save the palace of Satan, of whom the Lord said: “How shall His kingdom stand?” We are reading, therefore, of the things which are the devil’s palaces as being very mountains, and therefore in the fall of those palaces from the hearts of the faithful, the truth stands revealed, that Christ, Son of God, is of the Father’s eternal substance. What, again, are those mountains of bronze, from the midst of which four chariots come forth?

118. We behold that height, lifting up itself against the knowledge of God, cast down by the word of the Lord, when the Son of God said: “Hold thy peace, and come forth, thou foul spirit.” Concerning whom the prophet also said: “Behold, I am come to thee, thou mount of corruption!”

119. Those mountains, then, are fallen, and it is revealed that in Christ was the substance of God, in the words of those who had seen Him: “Truly Thou art the Son of God,” for it was in virtue of divine, not human power, that He commanded devils. Jeremiah also saith: “Make mourning upon the mountains, and beat your breasts upon the desert tracks, for they have failed; forasmuch as there are no men, they have not heard the word of substance: from flying fowl to beasts of burden, they trembled, they have failed.”

120. Nor has it escaped us, that in another place also, setting forth the frailties of man’s estate, in order to show that He had taken upon Himself the infirmity of the flesh, and the affections of our minds, the Lord said, by the mouth of His prophet: “Remember, O Lord, what My substance is,” because it was the Son of God speaking in the nature of human frailty.

121. Of Him the Scripture saith, in the passage cited, in order to discover the mysteries of the Incarnation: “But Thou hast rejected, O Lord, and counted for nought — Thou hast cast out Thy Christ. Thou hast overthrown the covenant made with Thy Servant, and trampled His holiness in the earth.” What was it, in regard whereof the Scripture called Him “Servant,” but His flesh? — seeing that “He did not hold equality with God as a prey, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made into the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man.” So, then, in that He took upon Himself My nature, He was a servant, but by virtue of His own power He is the Lord.

122. Furthermore, what meaneth it that thou readest: “Who hath stood in the truth (substantial) of the Lord?” and again: “Now if they had stood in My truth, and had given ear to My words, and had taught My people, I would have turned them from their follies and transgressions”?

CHAPTER 15

The Arians, inasmuch as they assert the Son to be "of another substance," plainly acknowledge substance in God. The only reason why they avoid the use of this term is that they will not, as Eusebius of Nicomedia has made it evident, confess Christ to be the true Son of God.

123. HOW can the Arians deny the substance of God? How can they suppose that the word "substance" which is found in many places of Scripture ought to be debarred from use, when they themselves do yet, by saying that the Son is "ἑτεροούσιος," that is, of another substance, admit substance in God?

124. It is not the term itself, then, but its force and consequences, that they shun, because they will not confess the Son of God to be true [God]. For though the process of the divine generation cannot be comprehended in human language, still the Fathers judged that their faith might be fitly distinguished by the use of such a term, as against that of "ἑτεροούσιος," following the authority of the prophet, who saith: "Who hath stood in the truth (substantia) of the Lord, and seen His Word?" Arians, therefore, admit the term "substance" when it is used so as to square with their blasphemy; contrariwise, when it is adopted in accordance with the pious devotion of the faithful, they reject and dispute against it.

125. What other reason can there be for their unwillingness to have the Son spoken of as "ὁμοούσιος," of the same substance, with the Father, but that they are unwilling to confess Him the true Son of God? This is betrayed in the letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia. "If," writes he, "we say that the Son is true God and uncreate, then we are in the way to confess Him to be of one substance (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father." When this letter had been read before the Council assembled at Nicaea, the Fathers put this word in their exposition of the Faith. because they saw that it daunted their adversaries; in order that they might take the sword, which their opponents had drawn, to smite off the head of those opponents' own blasphemous heresy.

126. Vain, however, is their plea, that they avoid the use of the term, because of the Sabellians; whereby they betray their own ignorance, for a being is of the same substance (ὁμοούσιος) with another, not with itself. Rightly, then, do we call the Son "ὁμοούσιος" (of the same substance), with the Father, forasmuch as that term expresses both the distinction of Persons and the unity of nature.

127. Can they deny that the term "οὐσία" is met with in Scripture, when the Lord has spoken of bread, that is, "ἐπιούσιος," and Moses has written "ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος"? What does "οὐσία" mean, whence comes the name, but from "οὖσα ἀεί," "that which endures for ever? For He Who is, and is for ever, is God; and therefore the Divine Substance, abiding everlastingly, is called οὐσία. Bread is ἐπιούσιος, because, taking the substance of abiding power from the substance of the Word, it supplies this to heart and soul, for it is written: "And bread strengtheneth man's heart."

128. Let us, then, keep the precepts of our forefathers, nor with rude and reckless daring profane the symbols bequeathed to us. That sealed book of prophecy, whereof we have heard, neither elders, nor powers, nor angels, nor archangels, ventured to open; for Christ alone is reserved the peculiar right of opening it. Who amongst us dare unseal the book of the priesthood, sealed by confessors, and long hallowed by the testimony of many? They who have been constrained to unseal, nevertheless have since, respecting the deceit put upon them, sealed again; they who dared not lay sacrilegious hands upon it, have stood forth as martyrs and confessors. How can we deny the Faith held by those whose victory we proclaim?

CHAPTER 16

In order to forearm the orthodox against the stratagems of the Arians, St. Ambrose discloses some of the deceitful confessions used by the latter, and shows by various arguments, that though they sometimes call the Son "God," it is not enough, unless they also admit His equality with the Father.

129. Let none fear, let none tremble; he who threatens gives the advantage to the faithful. The soothing balms of deceitful men are poisoned — then

must we be on our guard against them, when they pretend to preach that they do deny. Thus were those aforetime, who lightly trusted to them, deceived, so that they fell into the snares of treachery, when they thought all was good faith.

130. “Let him be accursed,” say they, “who says that Christ is a creature, after the manner of the rest of created beings.” Plain folks have heard this, and put faith in it, for, as it is written, “the simple man believes every word.” Thus have they heard and believed, being taken in by the first sound thereof, and, like birds, eager for the bait of faith, have not noted the net spread for them, and so, pursuing after faith, have caught the hook of ungodly deceit. Wherefore “be ye wise as serpents,” saith the Lord, “and harmless as doves.” Wisdom is put foremost, in order that harmlessness may be unharmed.

131. For those are serpents, such as the Gospel intends, who put off old habits, in order to put on new manners: “Putting off the old man, together with his acts, and putting on the new man, made in the image of Him Who created him.” Let us learn then, the ways of those whom the Gospel calls the serpents, throwing off the slough of the old man, that so, like serpents, we may know how to preserve our life and beware of fraud.

132. It would have been sufficient to say, “Accursed be he who saith that Christ is a created being.” Why, then, Arian, dost thou mingle poison with the good that is in thy confession, and so defile the whole body of it? For by addition of “after the manner of the rest of created beings,” you deny not that Christ is a being created, but that He is a created being like [all] others — for created being you do entitle Him, albeit you assign to Him dignity transcending the rest of creation. Furthermore, Arius, the first teacher of this ungodly doctrine, said that the Son of God was a perfect created being, and not as the rest of created beings. See you, then, how that you have adopted language bequeathed you from your father. To deny that Christ is a being created is enough: why add “but not as the rest of beings created”? Cut away the gangrened part, lest the contagion spread — it is poisonous, deadly.

133. Again, you say sometimes that Christ is God. Nay, but so call Him true God, as meaning, that you acknowledge Him to possess the fullness of the Father’s Godhead — for there are gods, so called, alike in heaven or

upon earth. The name “God,” then, is not to be used as a mere manner of address and mention, but with the understanding that you affirm, of the Son, that same Godhead which the Father hath, as it is written: “For as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son also to have life in Himself;” that is to say, He hath given it to Him, as to His Son, through begetting Him — not by grace, as to one indigent.

134. “And He hath given Him power to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man.” Note well this addition, that you may not take occasion, upon a word, to preach falsehood. You read that He is the Son of Man; do you therefore deny that He accepts [the power given]? Deny God, then, if all things proper to God are not given to the Son, for whereas He has said, “All things that the Father hath are Mine,” why not acknowledge that all the properties and attributes of Divinity are in the Son [as they are in the Father]? For He who saith, “All things that the Father hath are Mine,” what does He except as having not?

135. Why is it that you recount “with insistence” and in such sincere language, Christ’s raising the dead to life, walking upon the waters, healing the sicknesses of men? These powers, indeed, He has given to His bondsmen to display as well as Himself. They do the more arouse my wonder when seen present in men, forasmuch as God hath given them power so great. I would hear somewhat concerning Christ that is His distinctly and peculiarly, and cannot be held in common with Him by created beings, now that He is begotten, the only Son of God, very God of very God, sitting at the Father’s right hand.

136. Wheresoever I read of the Father and Son sitting side by side, I find the Son always upon the right hand. Is that because the Son is above the Father? Nay, we say not so; but He Whom God’s love honors is dishonored by man’s ungodliness. The Father knew that doubts as concerning the Son must needs be sown, and He hath given us an example of reverence for us to follow after, lest we dishonor the Son.

CHAPTER 17

An objection based on St. Stephen's vision of the Lord standing is disposed of, and from the prayers of the same saint, addressed to the Son of God, the equality of the Son with the Father is shown.

137. THERE is just one place, in which Stephen hath said that he saw the Lord Jesus standing at the right hand of God. Learn now the import of these words, that you may not use them to raise a question upon. Why (you would ask) do we read every where else of the Son as sitting at the right hand of God, but in one place of His standing? He sits as Judge of quick and dead; He stands as His people's Advocate. He stood, then, as a Priest, whilst He was offering to His Father the sacrifice of a good martyr; He stood, as the Umpire, to bestow, as it were, upon a good wrestler the prize of so mighty a contest.

138. Receive thou also the Spirit of God, that thou mayest discern those things, even as Stephen received the Spirit; and thou mayest say, as the martyr said: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God." He who hath the heavens opened to him, seeth Jesus at the right hand of God: he whose soul's eye is closed, seeth not Jesus at the right hand of God. Let us, then, confess Jesus at God's right hand, that to us also the heavens may be opened. They who confess otherwise close the gates of heaven against themselves.

139. But if any urge in objection that the Son was standing, let them show upon this passage that the Father was seated, for though Stephen said that the Son of Man was standing, still he did not further say here that the Father was sitting.

140. Howbeit, to make it more abundantly clear and known that the standing implied no dishonor, but rather sovereignty, Stephen prayed to the Son, being desirous to commend himself the more to the Father, saying: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Again, to show that the sovereignty of the Father and of the Son is one and the same, he prayed again, saying, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." These are the words that the Lord, in His own Passion, speaks to the Father, as the Son of Man — these the words of Stephen's prayer, in his own martyrdom to the Son of God. When the

same grace is sought of both the Father and the Son, the same power is affirmed of each.

141. Otherwise, if our opponents will have it that Stephen addressed himself to the Father, let them consider what, on their own showing, they affirm. We indeed are unmoved by their arguments; howbeit, let them, to whom the letter and sequence is all important, take notice that the first petition is addressed to the Son. Now we, even on their understanding of the passage, prove from it the unity of the Father's and the Son's majesty; for when the Son is addressed in prayer as well as the Father, the equality which the prayer assigns points to unity in action. But if they will not allow that the Son was addressed with the title "Lord," we see that they do indeed seek to deny that He is Lord.

142. Seeing, however, that so great a martyr's crown has been brought forth, let us abate the eagerness of disputation, and bring to-day's discourse to a close. Let us sing the praises of the holy martyr, as is fitting always after a mighty conflict — the martyr bleeding indeed from the enemy's blows, but rewarded with the crown bestowed by Christ.

BOOK 4

CHAPTER 1

The marvel is, not that men have failed to know Christ, but that they have not listened to the words of the Scriptures. Christ, indeed, was not known, even of angels, save by revelation, nor again, by His forerunner. Follows a description of Christ's triumphal ascent into heaven, and the excellence of its glory over the assumption of certain prophets. Lastly, from exposition of the conversation with angels upon this occasion, the omnipotence of the Son is proved, as against the Arians.

1. ON consideration, your Majesty, of the reason wherefore men have so far gone astray, or that many — alas! — should follow diverse ways of belief concerning the Son of God, the marvel seems to be, not at all that human knowledge has been baffled in dealing with superhuman things, but that it has not submitted to the authority of the Scriptures.

2. What reason, indeed, is there to wonder, if by their worldly wisdom men failed to comprehend the mystery of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden, that mystery of which not even angels have been able to take knowledge, save by revelation?

3. For who could by force of imagination, and not by faith, follow the Lord Jesus, now descending from the highest heaven to the shades below, now rising again from Hades to the heavenly places; in a moment self-emptied, that He might dwell amongst us, and yet never made less than He was, the Son being ever in the Father and the Father in the Son?

4. Even Christ's forerunner, though only in so far as representing the synagogue, doubted concerning Him, even he who was appointed to go before the face of the Lord, and at last sending messengers, enquired: "Art Thou He that should come, or do we look for another?"

5. Angels, too, stood spellbound in wonder at the heavenly mystery. And so, when the Lord rose again, and the heights of heaven could not bear the glory of His rising from the dead, Who of late, so far as regarded His flesh, had been confined in the narrow bounds of a sepulcher, even the heavenly hosts doubted and were amazed.

6. For a Conqueror came, adorned with wondrous spoils, the Lord was in His holy Temple, before Him went angels and archangels, marveling at the prey wrested from death, and though they knew that nothing can be added to God from the flesh, because all things are lower than God, nevertheless, beholding the trophy of the Cross, whereof "the government was upon His shoulder," and the spoils borne by the everlasting Conqueror, they, as if the gates could not afford passage for Him Who had gone forth from them, though indeed they can never o'erspan His greatness — they sought some broader and more lofty passage for Him on His return — so entirely had He remained undiminished by His self-emptying.

7. However, it was meet that a new way should be prepared before the face of the new Conqueror — for a Conqueror is always, as it were, taller and greater in person than others; but, forasmuch as the Gates of Righteousness, which are the Gates of the Old and the New Testament, wherewith heaven is opened, are eternal, they are not indeed changed, but raised, for it was not merely one man but the whole world that entered, in the person of the All-Redeemer.

8. Enoch had been translated, Elias caught up, but the servant is not above his Master. For "No man hath ascended into heaven, but He Who came down from heaven;" and even of Moses, though his corpse was never seen on earth, we do nowhere read as of one abiding in celestial glory, unless it was after that the Lord, by the earnest of His own Resurrection, burst the bonds of hell and exalted the souls of the godly. Enoch, then, was translated, and Elias caught up; both as servants, both in the body, but not after resurrection from the dead, nor with the spoils of death and the triumphal train of the Cross, had they been seen of angels.

9. And therefore [the angels] descrying the approach of the Lord of all, first and only Vanquisher of Death, bade their princes that the gates should be lifted up, saying in adoration, "Lift up the gates, such as are princes

amongst you, and be ye lifted Up, O everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.”

10. Yet there were still, even amongst the hosts of heaven, some that were amazed, overcome with astonishment at such pomp and glory as they had never yet beheld, and therefore they asked: “Who is the King of glory?” Howbeit, seeing that the angels (as well as ourselves) acquire their knowledge step by step, and are capable of advancement, they certainly must display differences of power and understanding, for God alone is above and beyond the limits imposed by gradual advance, possessing, as He does, every perfection from everlasting.

11. Others, again, — those, to wit, who had been present at His rising again, those who had seen or who already recognized Him, made reply: “It is the Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.”

12. Then, again, sang the multitude of angels, in triumphal chorus: “Lift up the gates, O ye that are their princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.”

13. And back again came the challenge of them that stood astonished: “Who is that King of glory? For we saw Him having neither form nor comeliness; if then it be not He, who is that King of glory?”

14. Whereto answer they which know: “The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory.” Therefore, the Lord of Hosts, He is the Son. How then do the Arians call Him fallible, Whom we believe to be Lord of Hosts, even as we believe of the Father? How can they draw distinctions between the sovereign powers of Each, when we have found the Son, even as also the Father, entitled “Lord of Saboath”? For, in this very passage, the reading in many copies is: “The Lord of Sabaoth, He is the King of glory.” Now the translators have, for the “Lord of Sabaoth,” rendered in some places “the Lord of Hosts,” in others “the Lord the King,” and in others “the Lord Omnipotent.” Therefore, since He Who ascended is the Son, and, again, He Who ascended is the Lord of Sabaoth, it surely follows that the Son of God is omnipotent!

CHAPTER 2

None can ascend to heaven without faith; in any case, he who hath so ascended thither will be cast out wherefore, faith must be zealously preserved. We ourselves each have a heaven within, the gates whereof must be opened and be raised by confession of the Godhead of Christ, which gates are not raised by Arians, nor by those who seek the Son amongst earthly things, and who must therefore, like the Magdalene, be sent back to the apostles, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. Scriptures are cited to show that the servant of the Lord must not diminish aught of his Master's honor.

15. WHAT shall we do, then? How shall we ascend unto heaven? There, powers are stationed, principalities drawn up in order, who keep the doors of heaven, and challenge him who ascends. Who shall give me passage, unless I proclaim that Christ is Almighty? The gates are shut, — they are not opened to any and every one; not every one who will shall enter, unless he also believes according to the true Faith. The Sovereign's court is kept under guard.

16. Suppose, however, that one who is unworthy hath crept up, hath stolen past the principalities who keep the gates of heaven, hath sat down at the supper of the Lord; when the Lord of the banquet enters, and sees one not clad in the wedding garment of the Faith, He will cast him into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, if he keep not the Faith and peace.

17. Let us, therefore, keep the wedding garment which we have received, and not deny Christ that which is His own, Whose omnipotence angels announce, prophets foretell, apostles witness to, even as we have already shown above.

18. Perchance, indeed, the prophet hath spoken of His entering in not only with regard to the gates of the universal heaven; for there be other heavens also where-into the Word of God passeth, whereof it is said: "We have a great Priest, a High Priest, Who hath passed through the heavens, Jesus,

the Son of God." What are those heavens, but even the heavens whereof the prophet sayeth that "the heavens declare the glory of God"?

19. For Christ standeth at the door of thy soul. Hear Him speaking. "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man open to Me, I will come in to him, and I will sup with him, and he with Me." And the Church saith, speaking of Him: "The voice of my brother soundeth at the door."

20. He stands, then — but not alone, for before Him go angels, saying: "Lift up the gates, O ye the princes." What gates? Even those of the which the Psalmist sings in another place also: "Open to me the gates of righteousness." Open, then, thy gates to Christ, that He may come into thee — open the gates of righteousness, the gates of chastity, the gates of courage and wisdom.

21. Believe the message of the angels: "Be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in, the Lord of Sabaoth." Thy gate is the loud confession made with faithful voice; it is the door of the Lord, which the Apostle desires to have opened for him, as he says: "That a door of the word may be opened for me, to proclaim the mystery of Christ."

22. Let thy gate, then, be opened to Christ, and let it be not only opened, but lifted up, if, indeed, it be eternal and not condemned to ruin; for it is written: "And be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors." The lintel was lift up for Isaiah, when the seraph touched his lips and he saw the Lord of Sabaoth.

23. Thy gates shall be lifted up, then, if thou believest the Son of God to be eternal, omnipotent, above and beyond all praise and understanding, knowing all things, both past an d to come, whilst if thou judgest Him to be of limited power and knowledge, and subordinate, thou liftest not up the everlasting doors.

24. Be thy gates lifted up, then, that Christ may come in unto thee, not such a Christ as the Arians take Him to be — petty, and weak, and menial — but Christ in the form of God, Christ with the Father; that He may enter such as He is, exalted above the heaven and all things; and that He may send forth upon thee His holy Spirit. It is expedient for thee that thou shouldst believe that He hath ascended and is sitting at the right hand of the Father, for if in impious thought thou detain Him amongst things

created and earthly, if He depart not for thee, ascend not for thee, then to thee the Comforter shall not come, even as Christ Himself hath told us: “For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send Him unto you.”

25. But if thou shouldst seek Him amongst earthly beings, even as Mary of Magdala sought Him, take heed lest He say to thee, as unto her: “Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended unto My Father.” For thy gates are narrow — they give me no passage — they cannot be lifted up, and therefore I cannot come in.

26. Go thy way, therefore, to my brethren — that is, to those everlasting doors, which, as soon as they see Jesus, are lifted up. Peter is an “everlasting door,” against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. John and James, the sons of thunder, to wit, are “everlasting doom.” Everlasting are the doors of the Church, where the prophet, desirous to proclaim the praises of Christ, says: “That I may tell all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.”

27. Great, therefore, is the mystery of Christ, before which even angels stood amazed and bewildered. For this cause, then, it is thy duty to worship Him, and, being a servant, thou oughtest not to detract from thy Lord. Ignorance thou mayest not plead, for to this end He came down, that thou mayest believe; if thou believest not, He has not come down for thee, has not suffered for thee. “If I had not come,” saith the Scripture, “and spoken with them, they would have no sin: but now have they no excuse for their sin. He that hateth Me, hateth My Father also.” Who, then, hates Christ, if not he who speaks to His dishonor? — for as it is love’s part to render, so it is hate’s to withdraw honor. He who hates, calls in question; he who loves, pays reverence.

CHAPTER 3

The words, “The head of every man is Christ... and the head of Christ is God” misused by the Arians, are now turned back against them, to their confutation. Next, another passage of Scripture, commonly taken by the same heretics as a ground of objection, is called in to show that God is the Head of Christ, in so far as Christ

is human, in regard of His Manhood, and the unwisdom of their opposition upon the text, "He who planteth He who watereth are one," is displayed. After which explanations, the meaning of the doctrine that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and that the faithful are in Both, is expounded.

28. NOW let us examine some other objections raised by the Arians. It is written, say they, that "the head of every man is Christ, and the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God." Let them, if they please, tell me what they mean by this objection — whether to join together, or to dissociate, these four terms. Suppose they mean to join them, and say that God is the Head of Christ in the same sense and manner as man is the head of woman. Mark what a conclusion they fall into. For if this comparison proceeds on the supposed equality of the terms of it, and these four — woman, man, Christ, and God — are viewed together as in virtue of a likeness resulting from their being of one and the same nature, then woman and God will begin to come under one definition.

29. But if this conclusion be not satisfactory, by reason of its impiety, let them divide, on what principle they will. Thus, if they will have it that Christ stands to God the Father in the same relation as woman to man, then surely they pronounce Christ and God to be of one substance, inasmuch as woman and man are of one nature in respect of the flesh, for their difference is in respect of sex. But, seeing that there is no difference of sex between Christ and His Father, they will acknowledge then that which is one, and common to the Son and the Father, in respect of nature, whereas they will deny the difference lying in sex.

30. Does this conclusion content them? Or will they have woman, man, and Christ to be of one substance, and distinguish the Father from them? Will this, then, serve their turn? Suppose that it will, then observe what they are brought to. They must either confess themselves not merely Arians, but very Photinians, because they acknowledge only the Manhood of Christ, Whom they judge fit only to be placed on the same scale with human beings. Or else they must, however contrary to their leanings, subscribe to our belief, by which we dutifully and in godly fashion maintain that which they have come at by an irapious course of thought, that Christ is indeed, after His divine generation, the power of God, whilst

after His putting on of the flesh, He is of one substance with all men in regard of His flesh, excepting indeed the proper glory of His Incarnation, because He took upon Himself the reality, not a phantom likeness, of flesh.

31. Let God, then, be the Head of Christ, with regard to the conditions of Manhood. Observe that the Scripture says not that the Father is the Head of Christ; but that God is the Head of Christ, because the Godhead, as the creating power, is the Head of the being created. And well said [the Apostle] “the Head of Christ is God;” to bring before our thoughts both the Godhead of Christ and His flesh, implying, that is to say, the Incarnation in the mention of the name of Christ, and, in that of the name of God, oneness of Godhead and grandeur of sovereignty.

32. But the saying, that in respect of the Incarnation God is the Head of Christ, leads on to the principle that Christ, as Incarnate, is the Head of man, as the Apostle has clearly expressed in another passage, where he says: “Since man is the head of woman, even as Christ is the Head of the Church;” whilst in the words following he has added: “Who gave Himself for her.” After His Incarnation, then, is Christ the head of man, for His self-surrender issued from His Incarnation.

33. The Head of Christ, then, is God, in so far as His form of a servant, that is, of man, not of God, is considered, But it is nothing against the Son of God, if, in accordance with the reality of His flesh, He is like unto men, whilst in regard of His Godhead He is one with the Father, for by this account of Him we do not take aught from His sovereignty, but attribute compassion to Him.

34. But who can with a good conscience deny the one Godhead of the Father and the Son, when our Lord, to complete His teaching for His disciples, said: “That they may be one, even as we also are one.” The record stands for witness to the Faith, though Arians turn it aside to suit their heresy; for, inasmuch as they cannot deny the Unity so often spoken of, they endeavor to diminish it, in order that the Unity of Godhead subsisting between the Father and the Son may seem to De such as is unity of devotion and faith amongst men, though even amongst men themselves community of nature makes unity thereof.

35. Thus with abundant clearness we disprove the objection commonly raised by Arians, in order to loosen the Divine Unity, on the ground that it is written: “But he who planteth and he who watereth are one.” This passage the Arians, if they were wise, would not quote against us; for how can they deny that the Father and the Son are One, if Paul and Apollos are one, both in nature and in faith? At the same time, we do grant that these cannot be one throughout, in all relations, because things human cannot bear comparison with things divine.

36. No separation, then, is to be made of the Word from God the Father, no separation in power, no separation in wisdom, by reason of the Unity of the Divine Substance. Again, God the Father is in the Son, as we ofttimes find it written, yet [He dwells in the Son] not as sanctifying one who lacks sanctification, nor as filling a void, for the power of God knows no void. Nor, again, is the power of the one increased by the power of the other, for there are not two powers, but one Power; nor does Godhead entertain Godhead, for there are not two Godheads, but one Godhead. We, contrariwise, shall be One in Christ through Power received [from another] and dwelling in us.

37. The letter [of the unity] is common, but the Substance of God and the substance of man are different. We shall be, the Father and the Son. [already] are, one; we shall be one by grace, the Son is so by substance. Again, unity by conjunction is one thing, unity by nature another. Finally, observe what it is that Scripture hath already recorded: “That they may all be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee.”

38. Mark now that He said not “Thou in us, and we in Thee,” but “Thou in Me, and I in Thee,” to place Himself apart from His creatures. Further He added: “that they also may be in Us,” in order to separate here His dignity and His Father’s from us, that our union in the Father and the Son may appear the issue, not of nature, but of grace, whilst with regard to the unity of the Father and the Son it may be believed that the Son has not received this by grace, but possesses by natural right of His Sonship.

CHAPTER 4

The passage quoted adversely by heretics, namely, "The Son can do nothing of Himself," is first explained from the words which follow; then, the text being examined, word by word, their acceptation in the Arian sense is shown to be impossible without incurring the charge of impiety or absurdity, the proof resting chiefly on the creation of the world and certain miracles of Christ.

39. AGAIN, another objection that the Arians bring up, denying that the Power of the Father and the Son can be one and the same, is rested on His saying: "Verily, verily, I say unto you; the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He hath seen the Father doing." And therefore they affirm that the Son has done nothing of Himself, and can do nothing, save what He hath seen the Father doing.

40. O wise foreknowledge of the arguments of unbelievers, which made further provision of means whereby to answer questions, by adding the words that follow: "For whatsoever the Father doeth, the same doeth the Son also, in like fashion," for this indeed is the sequel. Why, then, is it written: "The Son doeth the same things," and not "such like things," but that thou mightest judge that in the Son there is unity in the Father's works, not imitation of them?

41. But to put their proofs in turn upon trial: I would have them answer the question, whether the Son sees the works of the Father. Does He see, I ask, or not? If He sees them, then He also does them; if He does them, let heretics cease to deny the omnipotence of Him Whom they confess able to do all things that He has seen the Father doing.

42. But what are we to understand by "hath seen"? Has the Son any need of bodily eyes? Nay, if they will affirm this of the Son, they will make out in the Father also a need of bodily activity, in order that the Son may see that which He Himself is to do.

43. Furthermore, what mean the words: "The Son can do nothing of Himself"? Let us put this question, and debate it. Now is there anything impossible to God's Power and Wisdom? These, observe, are names of the Son of God, Whose Might is certainly not a gift received from another, but

just as He is the Life, not depending upon another's quickening action, but Himself quickening others, because He is the Life; so also He is Wisdom, not as one that is ignorant acquiring wisdom, but making others wise from His own store; so, too, He is Power, not as having through weakness obtained increase of strength, but being Himself Power, and bestowing power upon the strong.

44. How, then, does Power assert, as it were, under oath: "Verily, verily I say unto you," which means: "Of a truth, of a truth, I tell you"? Truly, then, Thou speakest, Lord Jesus, and dost affirm, repeating indeed thy solemn declaration, that Thou canst do nothing, save what Thou hast seen the Father doing. Thou didst make the universe. Did Thy Father then make another universe, for Thee to take as a model? So must Thy blasphemers confess that there are two, or a multitude of universes, as philosophers affirm, and thus also entangle themselves in this heathen error, or, if they will follow the truth, let them say that what Thou hast made, Thou didst make, without any pattern.

45. Tell me, Lord, when Thou sawest Thy Father incarnate, and walking upon the sea, for I know not, I hold it impious to believe this thing of the Father, knowing that Thou only hast taken our flesh upon Thee. When sawest Thou the Father at a marriage-feast, turning water into wine? Nay, but I have read that Thou alone art the only Son, begotten of the Father. I have been taught that Thou alone, in the mystery of the Incarnation, wast born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin. The things, then, which we have cited as Thy doings, the Father did not, but Thou alone, without guidance of any work done by Thy Father, for the purchase of the world's salvation with Thy Blood, didst come forth spotless from the Virgin's womb.

46. When they say, "The Son can do nothing of Himself," they indeed except nothing, so that one blasphemer has even said: "He cannot make even a gnat," mocking with so headstrong profanity and with insolence so overweening the majesty of Supreme Power; yet perhaps they may think the mystery of Thine Incarnate Life a needful exception. But say, Lord Jesus, what earth the Father made without Thee. For without Thee He made no heaven, seeing that it is written: "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established."

47. But neither did the Father make the earth without Thee, for it is written: “All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made.” For if the Father made aught without Thee, God the Word, then not all things were made by the Word, and the Evangelist lies. Whereas if all things were made by the Word, and if by Thee all things begin to be, which before were not, then surely Thou Thyself, of Thyself, hast made what Thou didst not see made by the Father; though perchance our adversaries may have recourse to that theory of Plato, and place before Thee the ideas supposed by philosophers, which, indeed, we know have been exploded by philosophers themselves. On the other hand, if Thou Thyself hast of Thyself made all things, vain are the assertions of the unbelieving, which ascribe progress in learning to the Maker of all, Who of Himself supplies the teaching of His craft.

48. But if heretics deny that either the heavens or the earth were made by Thee, let them take heed into what a gulf they are by their own madness hurling themselves, seeing that it is written: “Perish the gods, which have not made heaven and earth.” Shall He then perish, O Arian, Who has found and saved that which had perished? But to purpose.

CHAPTER 5

Continuing the exposition of the disputed passage, which he had begun, Ambrose brings forward four reasons why we affirm that something cannot be, and shows that the first three fail to apply to Christ, and infers that the only reason why the Son can do nothing of Himself is His Unity in Power with the Father.

49. In what sense can the Son do nothing of Himself? Let us ask what it is that He cannot do. There are many different sorts of impossibilities. One thing is naturally impossible, another is naturally possible, but impossible by reason of some weakness. Again, there are things which are rendered possible by strength, impossible by unskilfulness or weakness, of body and mind. Further, there are things which it is impossible to change, by reason of the law of an unchangeable purpose, the endurance of a firm will, and, again, faithfulness in friendship.

50. To make this clearer, let us consider the matter in the light of examples. It is impossible for a bird to pursue a course of learning in any science or become trained to any art: it is impossible for a stone to move in any direction, inasmuch as it can only be moved by the motion of another body. Of itself, then, a stone is incapable of moving, and passing from its place. Again, an eagle cannot be taught in the ways of human learning.

51. It is, to take another example, impossible for a sick man to do a strong man's work; but in this case the reason of the impossibility is of a different kind, for the man is rendered unable, by sickness, to do what he is naturally capable of doing. In this case, then, the cause of the impossibility is sickness, and this kind of impossibility is different from the first, since the man is hindered by bodily weakness from the possibility of doing.

52. Again, there is a third cause of impossibility. A man may be naturally capable, and his bodily health may allow of his doing some work, which he is yet unable to do by reason of want of skill, or because his rank in life disqualifies him; because, that is, he lacks the required learning or is a slave.

53. Which of these three different causes of impossibility, think you, which we have enumerated (setting aside the fourth) can we meetly assign to the case of the Son of God? Is He naturally insensible and immovable, like a stone? He is indeed a stone of stumbling to the wicked, a cornerstone for the faithful; but He is not insensible, upon Whom the faithful affection of sentient peoples are stayed. He is not an immovable rock, "for they drank of a Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ." The work of the Father, then, is not rendered impossible to Christ by diversity of nature.

54. Perchance we may suppose some things were made impossible for Him by reason of weakness. But He was not weakly Who could heal the weaknesses of others by His word of authority. Seemed He weak when bidding the paralytic take up his bed and walk? He charged the man to perform an action of which health was the necessary condition, even whilst the patient Was yet praying a remedy for his disease. Not weak was the Lord of hosts when He gave sight to the blind, made the crooked to stand upright, raised the dead to life, anticipated the effects of medicine at our prayers, and cured them that besought Him, and when to touch the fringe of His robe was to be purified.

55. Unless, peradventure, you thought it was weakness, you wretches, when you saw His wounds. Truly, they were wounds piercing His Body, but there was no weakness betokened by that wound, whence flowed the Life of all, and therefore was it that the prophet said: “By His stripes we are healed.” Was He, then, Who was not weak in the hour when He was wounded, weak in regard of His Sovereignty? How, then, I ask? When He commanded the devils, and forgave the offenses of sinners? Or when He made entreaty to the Father?

56. Here, indeed, our adversaries may perchance enquire: “How can the Father and the Son be One, if the Son at one time commands, at another entreats?” True, They are One; true also, He both commands and prays: yet whilst in the hour when He commands He is not alone, so also in the hour of prayer He is not weak. He is not alone, for whatsoever things the Father doeth, the same things doeth the Son also, in like manner. He is not weak, for though in the flesh He suffered weakness for our sins yet that was the chastisement of our peace upon Him, not lack of sovereign Power in Himself.

57. Moreover, that thou mayest know that it is after His Manhood that He entreats, and in virtue of His Godhead that He commands, it is written for thee in the Gospel that He said to Peter: “I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.” To the same Apostle, again, when on a former occasion he said, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” He made answer: “Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.” Could He not, then, strengthen the faith of the man to whom, acting on His own authority, He gave the kingdom, whom He called the Rock, thereby declaring him to be the foundation of the Church? Consider, then, the manner of His entreaty, the occasions of His commanding. He entreats, when He is shown to us as on the eve of suffering: He commands, when He is believed to he the Son of God.

58. We see, then, that two sorts of impossibility furnish no explanation, inasmuch as the Power of God can be neither insensible nor weakly. Will you then proffer the third kind [as an account of the matter], namely, that He can do nothing, just as an unskilled apprentice can do nothing without his master’s instructions, or a slave can do nothing without his Lord. Then

didst Thou speak falsely, Lord Jesus, in calling Thyself Master and Lord, and Thou didst deceive Thy disciples by Thy words: “Ye call Me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am.” Nay, but Thou, O Truth, wouldst never have deceived men, least of all them whom Thou didst call friends.

59. Yet if our enemies sunder Thee from the Creator, as being unskilled, let them see how they affirm that skill was lacking to Thee, that is to say, to the Divine Wisdom; for all that, however, they cannot divide the unity of substance that Thou hast with the Father. It is not, indeed, by nature, but by reason of ignorance, that the difference exists between the craftsman and the unskilled; but neither is handicraft attributable to the Father, nor ignorance to Thee, for there is no such thing as ignorant wisdom.

60. Therefore, if insensibility is no attribute of the Son, and if neither weakness, nor ignorance, nor servility, let unbelievers put it to their minds for meditation that both by nature and sovereignty the Son is One with the Father, and by its working His power is not at cross-purpose with the Father, inasmuch as “all things that the Father hath done, the Son doeth likewise,” for no one can do in like fashion the same work that another has done, unless he shares in the unity of the same nature, whilst he is also not inferior in method of working.

61. Yet I would still enquire what it is that the Son cannot do, unless He see the Father doing it. I will take the fool’s line, and propound some examples drawn from things of a lower world. “I am become a fool; ye have compelled me.” What indeed is more foolish than to debate over the majesty of God, which rather occasions questionings, than godly instruction which is in faith. But to arguments let arguments reply; let words make answer to them, but love to us, the love which is in God, issuing of a pure heart and good conscience and faith unfeigned. And so I stickle not to introduce even the ludicrous for the confutation of so vain a thesis.

62. How, then, does the Son see the Father? A horse sees a painting, which naturally it is unable to imitate. Not thus does the Son behold the Father. A child sees the work of a grown man, but he cannot reproduce it; certainly not thus, again, does the Son see the Father.

63. If, then, the Son can, by virtue of a common hidden power of the same nature which He has with the Father, both see and act in an invisible manner, and by the fullness of His Godhead execute every decree of His Will, what remains for us but to believe that the Son, by reason of indivisible unity of power, does nothing, save what He has seen the Father doing, forasmuch as because of His incomparable love the Son does nothing of Himself, since He wills nothing that is against His Father's Will? Which truly is the proof not of weakness but of unity.

CHAPTER 6

The fourth kind of impossibility is now taken into consideration, and it is shown that the Son does nothing that the Father approves not, there being between Them perfect unity of will and power.

64. The Son, moreover, — to consider now our fourth premise, — is not self-assertive, for He, the Divine Assessor, hath done nought that is not in agreement with His Father's Will. Further, the Father hath seen the things that the Son made, and pronounced them very good; for so it is written in Genesis: "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good."

65. Now, did the Father say on that occasion, "Let there be such light as I Myself have made," or "Let there be light" — light having as yet not existed; or did the Son ask what sort of light the Father made? Nay, the Son made light, according to His own Will, and so far in accordance with the Father's good pleasure, that He approved. It is of new, original work by the Son that the place speaks.

66. Again, if, as Arian, expositions of the Scriptures make out, it is a discredit to the Son to have made what He saw, whereas the Scriptures present Him as having made what He [before] saw not, and to have given being to things which as yet were not, what should they say of the Father, Who praised that He had seen, as though He could not have foreseen the things that were to be made?

67. The Son, therefore, sees the Father's work in like manner as the Father sees the Son's, and the Father praises not the work as one would praise

work of another’s doing, but recognizes it as His own, for “whatsoever things the Father hath done, the same doeth the Son, in like manner.” [So was it written, that] you might understand one and the same work to be the work both of the Father and of the Son. And thus the Son does nothing save what is approved of by the Father, praised by the Father, willed by the Father, because His whole Being is of the Father; and He is not as the created being, which commits many faults, ofttimes offending the Will of its Creator, in lusting after and falling into sin. Nought, then, is of the Son’s doing, save what is pleasing to the Father, forasmuch as one Will, one Purpose, is Theirs, one true Love, one effect of action.

68. Furthermore, to prove to you that it comes of Love, that the Son can do nothing of Himself save what He hath seen the Father doing, the Apostle has added to the words, “Whatsoever the Father hath done, the same things doeth the Son also, in like manner,” this reason: “For the Father loveth the Son,” and thus Scripture refers the Son’s inability to do, whereof it testifies, to unity in Love that suffers no separation or disagreement.

69. But if the inseparableness of the Persons in Love rest, as it truly does, upon [identity of] nature, thou surely they are also inseparable, for the same reason, in action, and it is impossible that the work of the Son should not be in agreement with the Father’s Will, when what the Son works, the Father works also, and what the Father works, the Son works also, and what the Son speaks, the Father speaks also, as it is written: “My Father, Who dwelleth in Me, He it is that speaketh, and the works that I do He Himself doeth.” For the Father appointed nought save by the exercise of His Power and Wisdom, forasmuch as He made all things wisely, as it is written: “In wisdom hast Thou made them all” and likewise, God the Word made nought without the Father’s participation.

70. Not without the Father does He work; not without His Father’s Will did He offer Himself for that most holy Passion, the Victim slain for the salvation of the whole world; not without His Father’s Will concurring did He raise the dead to life. For example, when He was at the point to raise Lazarus to life, He lifted up His eyes and said, “Father, I thank Thee, for that Thou hast heard Me. And I knew that Thou dost always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude that standeth round I spake, that they may

believe that Thou hast sent Me," in order that, though speaking agreeably to His assumed character of man, in the flesh, He might still express His oneness with the Father in will and operation, in that the Father hears all and sees all that the Son wills, and therefore also the Father sees the Sondoings, hears the utterances of His Will, for the Son made no request, and yet said that He had been heard.

71. Again, we cannot suppose that the Father hears not all, whatsoever the Son's will resolves; and to show that He is always heard by the Father, not as a servant, not as a prophet, but as Son, He said: "And I knew that Thou dost always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude which standeth round I spake, that they may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

72. It is for our sakes, therefore, that He renders thanks, lest we should suppose that the Father and the Son are one and the same Person, when we hear of one and the same work being wrought by the Father and the Son. Further, to show us that His rendering of thanks had not been the tribute due from one wanting in power, that, on the contrary, He, as Son of God, ever claimed for Himself the possession of divine authority, He cried, "Lazarus, come forth." Here, surely, is the voice of command, not of prayer.

CHAPTER 7

The doctrine had in view for enforcement is corroborated by the truth that the Son is the Word of the Father — the Word, not in the sense in which we understand the term, but a living and active Word. This being so, we cannot deny Him to be of the same Will, Power, and Substance with the Father.

73. To return, however, to what we had in hand before, and finish the task set before us. The Son, as the Word. carries out His Father's Will. Now, a word, as we understand and use it, is an utterance. There are syllables and sounds, which, however, are not at variance with the thought of our mind, and what we apprehend and are affected by inwardly we give token of by the testimony of the spoken word, which, as it were, works [for us]. But the words we speak have no direct efficacy in themselves, it is the Word of

God alone, which is neither an utterance, nor an “inward concept,” as they call it, but works efficaciously, is living, and has healing power.

74. Wouldst thou know what is the nature of the Word — hear the Scriptures. “For the Word of God is living and mighty, yea, working effectually, sharp and keener than any the sharpest sword, piercing even to the sundering of soul and spirit, of limbs and marrow.”

75. Hearest thou, then, the Word of God, and wilt separate Him from the Father’s Will and Power? Thou hearest Him called the living Word, the healing Word — seek not then to compare Him with the word of our mouth; for if the word we utter, through it have not eyes to see, nor ears to hear, yet speaks, and still the knowledge of what it speaks is wrought by virtue of hidden mysteries of man’s nature, how can he escape the charge of blasphemy, who requires that some sort of bodily vision and hearing shall go along with the Godhead in the Word of God, and thinks that the Son can do nothing of Himself, save what He shall have seen the Father doing, though (as we have said) there is in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit the same Will, both to do and not to do, and the same Power, by reason of unity in the same substance.

76. But if, though men are, as a rule, different in respect of their thoughts and feelings, they yet agree as to the meaning of a single proposition, what ought we to think as concerning the Father and the Son of God, seeing that in the Substance of the Godhead there is that is imitated by human love?

77. Let us, however, suppose — as our adversaries would have it — that the Son does, as it were, copy the pattern of that which He has seen His Father doing. But even this, we must confess, means that He is of the same substance, for none can completely imitate the working of another, unless he be one with him in the same nature.

CHAPTER 8

The heretical objection, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, because He cannot beget a Son, is turned back upon the authors of it. From the case of human nature it is shown that whether a person begets offspring or not, has nothing to do with his power. Most of

all must this be true since, otherwise, the Father Himself would have to be pronounced wanting in power. Whence it follows that we have no right to judge of divine things by human, and must take our stand upon the authority of Holy Writ, otherwise we must deny all power either to the Father or to the Son.

78. There is a fool's demurrer, your Majesty, which certain persons are given to raising, in order to show the Father and the Son to be not equal together, saying that the Father is Almighty, because He hath begotten the Son, but that the Son is not Almighty, because He hath not been able to beget.

79. But see how wild is their blasphemy, how their philosophers' logic confutes itself. For the raising of this question must lead either to their confessing with their own mouths that the Son is co-eternal with the Father, or, if they impose a beginning upon the Son's existence, to their assigning of necessity a beginning to the Father's power. When, therefore, they deny that the Son is Almighty, they are on the road to assert — which is impious — that the Father began to be Almighty by help of the Son.

80. For if the Father is Almighty by reason of begetting the Son, then, certainly, either the Son is co-eternal with the Father, because if the Father is eternally Almighty, then the Son also is eternal, or, if there was a time when there was not an eternal Son, there was by consequence a time when there was not an Almighty Father. For when they would make out that there was a time when the Son began to be, they are sliding back into [the error of] saying that the Father's Power also has not been from everlasting, but began to be in consequence of the generation of the Son. So, in their desire to do dishonor to the Son of God, they do so increase His honor as to seem to make Him, contrary to all right belief, the source of His Father's Power, though the Son saith, "All things that the Father hath are Mine" — that is to say, not the things which He has bestowed upon the Father, but which He has received from the Father, by right as the Son Whom the Father has begotten.

81. And therefore we do declare the Son to be Eternal Power; if, then, His Power and Godhead be eternal, surely His Sovereignty is eternal also. He, then, who dishonors the Son dishonors the Father, and is an enemy and

offender against duty and love. Let us honor the Son, in Whom the Father is well pleased, for it is the Father's pleasure that praise be given to the Son, in Whom He Himself is well pleased.

82. Let us, however, make answer to the conclusion they strive to establish; but we seem to have sought, in pursuit of a personal appeal, to escape from the difficulty of treating the question before us. The Father, they say, has begotten a Son; the Son has not. What proof is this that they are not equal? To beget is the Father's natural function, as a Father, and no necessary outcome of His Sovereign Power. Furthermore, dutiful regard places persons on an equality with each other, and does not sunder them. Again, our own experience of what holds good amongst us frail mortals teaches us that it may frequently happen that weak men have sons, whilst stronger men have not; that slaves have children, whilst their masters are childless; and that the poor beget offspring, whilst rich men are unblessed with any.

83. But if our adversaries say that this too may be the result of infirmity, inasmuch as men may desire to beget children, but be unable to do so; then, though things divine are not to be judged of and determined by things human, yet let them understand that with men also, as with God, whether one has children or no, is not dependent upon or derived of his authoritative power, but upon the personal attributes of a father, and that begetting lies not in the power of our will, but is contingent upon our qualities of body; for if it were a matter of sovereign authority, then the mightier king would have the greater number of sons. To have sons, then, or to be childless, therefore, is not in necessary connection or relation to sovereign authority. Is it, then, so with nature?

84. If you [my Arian adversaries] regard what you object as natural weakness, and rely upon examples taken from the nature of mankind, remember that the Father's nature is the same as the Son's, and therefore you do either confess the Son to be a true Son, and dishonor the Father in the Person of the Son, by reason of Their unity in one and the same Nature (for as the Father is by Nature God, so also is the Son; whereas the Apostle says that the "gods many" are not so by nature, but are only so called); or, if you deny Him to be a true Son, that is to say, possessing the

same Nature, then He is not begotten, and if the Son is not begotten, the Father did not beget Him.

85. The conclusion we come at, therefore, on the line of your persuasion, is that God the Father is not Almighty, because He could not beget, if He did not beget the Son, but created Him. But forasmuch as the Father is Almighty, He being, as you hold, the Almighty in so far as He is the only Author of Being, then surely He has begotten His Son, and not created Him. Howbeit, we ought to believe His word before yours. He says: "I have begotten," and that more than once, witnessing to Himself as begetting.

86. It is no sign, then, of infirmity, whether of nature or authority, in Christ, that He has not begotten, for to beget, as we have already said ofttimes, bears no relation to supremacy of authority, but to a personal property in a nature. For if the Omnipotence of the Father is thereby constituted, that He hath a Son, then He might have been more Almighty had He begotten more Sons.

87. Then is His power exhausted in the begetting of One? Nay, but I will show that Christ also hath sons, whom He begets every day, but with that generation, or rather regeneration, which is related to personal authority rather than nature, for adoption is the exercise and bestowal of authority, and generation the manifestation of a property, as Scripture itself hath taught us: for John saith that "He was in this world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came to His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, to them which believe in His Name."

88. We say, therefore, that it is the function and exercise of His Authority that He has made us sons of God, whereas the oracles of God discover that His generation is in relation to personal attribute, for the Wisdom of God saith: "I came forth out of the mouth of the Most High," that is to say not of compulsion, but free, not under bond of authority, but born in a hidden birth, according to personal powers of Supreme Sovereignty and rightfulness of authority. Again, concerning the same Wisdom, Which is the Lord Jesus, the Father saith in another place: "Out of the womb I begat Thee, before the morning star."

89. Now this He said, not to make us think of a bodily womb, but to show that true generation is His proper activity, for if we understand the words as speaking of generation from a body, then [we imply] the Father Almighty conceived and brought forth in travail. But far be it from us that we should make this weak bodily frame the measure of God’s greatness. The word “womb” represents the hidden mystery, the inner sanctuary of the Father’s being, into which neither angels nor archangels nor powers nor dominations, nor any created nature, hath been able to enter. For the Son is always with the Father, and in the Father — with the Father, by virtue of the distinction, without division, proper to the Eternal Trinity; in the Father, by reason of the essential unity of the Divine Nature.

90. What room here, then, for one to sit in judgment upon the Godhead, to call in question the Father and the Son, — the One for begetting, the Other for not begetting. No man condemns his servant or handmaid for begetting (or bearing) offspring; but those Arians condemn Christ for not begetting — they do condemn Him, for they privately pass sentence of condemnation upon Him, when they take from His glory and dignity. The question, why they have not begotten offspring, does not lead those who are joined in marriage into loss of their love, or denial of each other’s merits, but the Arians, because Christ hath not begotten a Son, make light of His sovereignty.

91. Why, ask they, is the Son not a Father? Because, on the other side, the Father is not a Son. Why has not Christ begotten? Even because the Father is not begotten. Yet the Son stands none the lower, because He is not a Father; nor the Father, because He is not a Son, for the Son said: “All things that the Father hath are Mine” — so truly is generation involved in the Father’s personal attributes, and comes not by mere right of sovereignty.

92. The Substance of the Trinity is, so to say, a common Essence in that which is distinct, an incomprehensible, ineffable Substance. We hold the distinction, not the confusion of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; a distinction without separation; a distinction without plurality; and thus we believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as each existing from and to eternity in this divine and wonderful Mystery: not in two Fathers, nor in two Sons, nor in two Spirits. For “there is one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and

we in Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him." There is One born of the Father, the Lord Jesus, and therefore He is the Only-begotten. "There is also One Holy Spirit," as the same Apostle hath said. So we believe, so we read, so we hold. We know the fact of distinction, we know nothing of the hidden mysteries; we pry not into the causes, but keep the outward signs vouchsafed unto us.

93. O monstrous wickedness, that they who have no power over their own procreation should claim and usurp power to enquire into the Divine Generation! Let them deny, them, that the Son is equal to the Father, forasmuch as He hath not begotten; let them deny that the Son is equal to the Father, because He hath a Father! But if they talked after this fashion about men, who sometimes desire to beget sons, yet cannot, we should call it an insult, just as we should so call it, if of two men, one having sons and the other childless, the latter were said to be inferior to the former on that ground. So monstrous also, I say, does it seem, in regard simply to men, that one should therefore be esteemed the more lightly because he hath a father. Peradventure, indeed, the Arians suppose that Christ is in the position of one in a family, and frets because He is not set free and independent of His Father's authority, and is not empowered to administer the estate. But Christ is not under tutelage; nay, rather has He abolished all tutelage.

94. How then, let them tell us, would they have these things to be? — a true generation, the true Son begotten of God the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father, or of another substance? If they say "begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of God," well and good, for then they acknowledge the Son as begotten of the Substance of the Father. If, then, they are of one Substance, surely they are also of one sovereign Power. Whereas, if the Son is begotten of another substance, how can the Father be Almighty, and the Son not Almighty? For what advantage hath God, if He have made His Son of another substance, when confessedly the Son, on His part, hath of another substance made us sons of God? The Son, therefore, is either of one Substance with the Father, or of one sovereign Power.

95. Our adversaries' question, then, falls flat, because they cannot judge Christ — or rather, because He is clear, when He is judged. They are

worthy, however, to be condemned upon their own sentence, who raise this question against us, for if the Son be therefore not equal to the Father, because He hath not begotten a Son, then by all means let them who sow discussions of this kind confess, if they have not children, that their very servants are to be preferred before themselves, inasmuch as they cannot be the equals of those who have children — whereas, if they have children, let them regard the merit thereof as due not to themselves, but of right to their sons.

96. The objection, then, holds not together, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, by reason of the Father having begotten the Son, whilst the Son has begotten no Son of Himself, for the spring: begets the stream, though the stream begets no spring out of itself, and light begets radiance, and not radiance light, yet the nature of radiance and light is one.

CHAPTER 9

Various quibbling arguments, advanced by the Arians to show that the Son had a beginning of existence, are considered and refuted, on the ground that whilst the Arians plainly prove nothing, or if they prove anything, prove it against themselves, (inasmuch as He Who is the beginning of all cannot Himself have a beginning), their reasonings do not even hold true with regard to facts of human existence. Time could not be before He was, Who is the Author of time — if indeed at some time He was not in existence, then the Father was without His Power and Wisdom. Again, our own human experience shows that a person is said to exist before he is born.

97. Now that our opponents have failed to maintain their objection against the truth of His Son's equality with the Father, on the ground of His Generation, let them see that their well known device of controversy, their stock misrepresentation, is frustrated. Their common use is to propound this riddle: "How can the Son be equal with the Father? If He is a Son, then before He was begotten He was not in existence. If He was in existence, why was He begotten?" And men who advance difficulties raised by Arius yet sturdily deny that they are Arians.

98. Accordingly, they demand our answer, intending, if we say, “The Son existed before He was begotten,” to meet us with a subtle retort, that “If so, then, before He was begotten, He was created, and there is no difference between Him and the rest of created beings, for He began to be a creature before He began to be the Son.” To which they add: “Why was He begotten, when He was already in existence? Because He was imperfect, and in order that He might afterwards be made more perfect?” Whilst if we reply that the Son did not exist before He was begotten, they will immediately reply: “Then by being begotten He was brought into existence, not having existed before He was begotten,” so as to lead on from this to the conclusion that “the Son existed, when He did not exist.”:

99. But let those who propound this difficulty and endeavor to enwrap the truth in a cloud tell us themselves whether the Father exerts His power of begetting within or without limits of time. If they say “within limits of time,” then they will attribute to the Father what they object against the Son, so as to make the Father seem to have begun to be what He was not before. If their answer is “without such limits,” then what is left them but to resolve for themselves the problem they have propounded, and acknowledge that the Son is not begotten under limits and conditions of time, since they deny that the Father so begets?

100. If the Son, then, is not begotten within limits of time, we are free to judge that nothing can have existed before the Son, Whose being is not confined by time. If, indeed, there was anything in being before the Son, then it instantly follows that in Him were not created all things in heaven or in earth, and the Apostle is shown to have erred in so setting it down in his Epistle, whereas, if before He was begotten there was nothing, I see not wherefore He, before Whom none was, should be said to have been after any.

101. With the consideration whereof we must join another most blasphemous objection of theirs, which covers a subtle purpose to confuse the sense and understanding of simple folk. They ask whether everything that comes to an end had also at any time a beginning. If they are told that what has an end also had a beginning, then they return to the charge with the question whether the Father has ceased to beget His Son. This by our consent being granted them, they conclude that the generation of the Son

had a beginning. The which if you allow, it seems to follow that if the Generation had a beginning, it appears to have begun in Him Who was begotten; so that one, who had not existed before, may be called "begotten" — their intent being to close the inquiry by laying down as conclusive that there was a time when the Son existed not.

102. Besides this, there are other vain objections, such as persons of their glibness of tongue would readily urge. If, say they, the Son is the Word of the Father, then He is called "begotten," inasmuch as He is the Word. But then since He is the Word, He is not a work. Now the Father has spoken "in divers manners," whence it follows that He has begotten many Sons, if He has spoken His Word, not created it as a work of His hands. O fools, talking as though they knew not the difference between the word uttered and the Divine Word, abiding eternally, born of the Father — born, I say, not uttered only — in Whom is no combination of syllables, but the fullness of the eternal Godhead and life without end!

103. Follows another blasphemy, whereby they enquire whether it was of His own free will, or on compulsion, that the Father begat [His Son], intending, if we say, "Of His own free will," that we should appear as though we acknowledged that the Father's Will preceded the [Divine] Generation, and to answer that there being something that preceded the existence of the Son, the Son is not co-eternal with the Father, or that He, like the rest of the world, is a being created, forasmuch as it is written, "He hath made all things, as many as He would," though this is spoken, not of the Father and the Son, but of those creatures which the Son made. Whereas if we answered that the Father begat [His Son] on compulsion, we should seem to have attributed infirmity to the Father.

104. But in the eternal Generation there is no foregoing condition, neither of will, nor of unwillingness, and therefore I can neither say that the Father begat of His free Will, nor yet that He begat on compulsion, for to beget depends not upon possibility as determined by will, but rather appears to stand in a certain right and property of the hidden being of the Father. For just as the Father is not good because He wills to be so, or is compelled to be so, but is above these conditions — is good, that is, by nature, — even so the putting forth of His generative power is neither of will nor of necessity.

105. Yet let us grant their proposal, Granted that the Generation depends on the Will of Him Who generates; when do they say that this act of will took place? If it was in the beginning, then, plainly; the Son was in the beginning. If the Will is eternal, then the Son also is eternal. If the Will began to exist, then God the Father, as He was, was so displeased with Himself, that He made a change in His condition, that is to say, without His Son He was displeasing to Himself; in His Son He began to be well pleased.

106. To follow out the consequences thereof. If the Father conceived, after the manner of human nature, a desire to beget, then did He also pass through all the experiences which befall men before the birth takes place — but we find that generation is not determined merely by will, but is an object of wish.

107. Thus do they betray their own ungodliness, who would have it that Christ's generation had a beginning, in order that it may seem, not that true begetting of the Word abiding, but the utterance of words that pass and are forgotten, and that by intrusion of [the premise of] a multitude of sons, they may [be warranted to] deny Christ's personal possession of the divine attributes, to the end that He may be regarded as neither the only-begotten nor the first-begotten Son; and lastly, that given the belief that His existence had a beginning, it may also be deemed as appointed to have an end.

108. But neither had the Son of God any beginning, seeing that He already was at the beginning, nor shall He come to an end, Who is the Beginning and the End of the Universe; for being the Beginning, how could He take and receive that which He already had, or how shall He come to an end, being Himself the End of all things, so that in that End we have an abiding-place without end? The Divine Generation is not an event occurring in the course of time, and within its limits, and therefore before it time is not, and in it time has no place.

109. Again, their aimless and futile question finds no loophole for entry, even when directed upon the creation itself; nay, indeed, temporal existences appear, in certain cases, to admit of no division of time. For instance, light generates radiance, but we can neither conceive that the radiance begins to exist after the light, nor that the light is in existence

before the radiance, for where there is a light, there is radiance, and where there is radiance there is also a light; and thus we can neither have a light without radiance, nor radiance without light, because both the light is in the radiance, and the radiance in the light. Thus the Apostle was taught to call the Son “the Radiance of the Father’s Glory,” for the Son is the Radiance of His Father’s light, co-eternal, because of eternity of Power; inseparable, by unity of brightness.

110. If then we can neither understand the mystery of, nor dissociate, these created objects in the sky above us, which we see, can we comprehend Him Whom we see not, Who is above every created existence, God, as He is in the very Holy of Holies of His own Generation? Can we make time a barrier between Him and the Son, when all time is the creation of the Son?

111. Let them cease therefore, and say no more that before He was begotten the Son was not. For the word “before” is a mark of time, whereas the Generation is before all times, and therefore that which comes after aught comes not before it, and the work cannot be before the maker, seeing that necessarily objects made take their commencement from the craftsman who makes them. How can the customary action of any created object be regarded as existing prior to the maker of it, whilst all time is a creation, and every creation has taken its being from its creator?

112. I would, therefore, further examine our opponents, who esteem themselves so cunning, and have them make good the application of their theory to human existence, seeing that they use it to disparage the glory of God’s Existence, and keep far away from any confession of an inscrutable mystery in the Divine Generation. I would have them find ground for their objection in the facts of human generation. Of God’s Son they assert that before He was begotten He was not, — that is to say, they say this of the Wisdom, the Power, the Word of God, Whose Generation knows nothing prior to itself. But if, as they would have us believe, there was a time when the Son existed not (the which it is blasphemy to affirm), then there was a time when God lacked the fullness of Divine Perfection, if afterwards He passed through a process of begetting a Son.

113. To show them, however, the weakness and transparency of their objection, though it has no real relation to any truth, divine or human, I

will prove to them that men have existed before they were born. Else, let them show that Jacob, who whilst yet hidden in the secret chamber of his mother's womb supplanted his brother, had not been appointed and ordained, ere ever he was born; let them show that Jeremiah had not likewise been so, before his birth, -Jeremiah, to whom the message comes: "Before I formed thee in thy mother's womb, I knew thee; and before thou camest forth from the belly, I sanctified thee, and appointed thee for a prophet amongst the nations." What testimony can we have stronger than the case of this great prophet, who was sanctified before he was born, and known before he was shaped?

114. What, again, shall I say of John, of whom his holy mother testifies that, whilst he yet lay in her womb, he perceived in spirit the presence of his Lord, and leaped for joy, as we remember it to be written, his mother saying: "For lo, as soon as the voice of the salutation entered mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy." Was he, then, who prophesied, in existence or not? Nay, surely he was — surely he was in being who worshipped his Maker; he was in being who spake in his mother's womb. And so Elisabeth was filled with the spirit of her son, and Mary sanctified by the Spirit of hers, for thus you may find it recorded, that "the babe leaped in her womb, and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost."

115. Consider the proper force of each word. Elisabeth was indeed the first to hear the voice of Mary, but John was first to feel His Lord's gracious Presence. Sweet is the harmony of prophecy with prophecy, of woman with woman, of babe with babe. The women speak words of grace, the babes move hiddenly, and as their mothers approach one another, so do they engage in mysterious converse of love; and in a twofold miracle, though in diverse degrees of honor, the mothers prophesy in the spirit of their little ones. Who, I ask, was it that performed this miracle? Was it not the Son of God, Who made the unborn to be?

116. Thus your objection fails of reconcilement with the truths of human existence — can it attain thereto with divine mysteries? What mean you by your principle that "before He was begotten He was not"? Was the Father engaged for some time in conception, so that certain epochs passed away before the Son was begotten? Was He, like women, in travail of birth, so that just this travail? What would you? Why seek we to pry into

divine mysteries? The Scriptures tell me the necessary effects of the Divine Generation, not how it is done.

CHAPTER 10

The objection that Christ, on the showing of St. John, lives because of the Father, and therefore is not to be regarded as equal with the Father, is met by the reply that for the Life of the Son, in respect of His Godhead, there has never been a time when it began; and that it is dependent upon none, whilst the passage in question must be understood as referring to the His human life, as is shown by His speaking there of His body and blood. Two expositions of the passage are given, the one of which is shown to refer to Christ's Manhood, whilst the second teaches His equality with the Father, as also His likeness with men. Rebuke is administered to the Arians for the insult which they are seeking to inflict upon the Son, and the sense in which the Son can be said to live "because of" the Father is explained, as also the union of life with our the divine Life. A further objection, based upon the Son's prayer that He may be glorified by the Father, is briefly refuted.

118. THERE are not a few who raise this further objection, that it is written: "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, liveth also by Me." "How," ask they, "is the Son equal with the Father, when He has said that He lives by the Father?"

119. Let those who oppose us on this ground tell us first what the Life of the Son is. Is it a life bestowed by the Father upon one lacking life? But how could the Son ever fail to possess life, He Himself being the Life, as He says, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life."' Truly, His life is eternal, even as His power is eternal. Was there a time, then, when (so to speak) Life possessed not itself?

120. Bethink you what is read this day concerning the Lord Jesus, that "He died for our sakes, to the end that whether we wake or whether we sleep, we may live with Him." He Whose Death is Life, is not His Godhead Life, seeing that the Godhead is Life eternal?

121. But is His Life truly in the Father's power? Why, He showed that even His bodily life was not in the power of any other, as we have it on record: "I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and again I have power to take it. This commandment have I received of My Father."

122. Is His divine Life then to be regarded as depending upon the power of another, when His bodily life was subject to no other power but His own? For it would have been the power of another, but for the Unity of power. But just as He gives us to understand that His laying down His life was done of His own power, and of His free Will, so also He teaches us, in laying it down in obedience to His Father's command, the unity of His own with the Father's Will.

123. If, then, there has neither been slime when the Life of the Son took a commencement, nor any power to which it has been subjected, let us consider what His meaning was when He said: "Even as the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father"? Let us expound His meaning as best we can; nay, rather let Him expound it Himself.

124. Take notice, then, what He said in an earlier part of His discourse. "Verily, verily, I say unto you." He first teaches thee how thou oughtest to listen. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye shall have no life in you." He first premised that He was speaking as Son of Man; dost thou then think that what He hath said, as Son of Man, concerning His Flesh and His Blood, is to be applied to His Godhead?

125. Then He added: "For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink [indeed]." Thou hearest Him speak of His Flesh and of His Blood, thou perceivest the sacred pledges, [conveying to us the merits and power] of the Lord's death, and thou dishonorest His Godhead. Hear His own words: "A spirit hath not flesh and bones." Now we, as often as we receive the Sacramental Elements, which by the mysterious efficacy of holy prayer are transformed into the Flesh and the Blood, "do show the Lord's Death."

126. Then, alter calling on us to take notice that He speaks as Son of Man, and frequent repeated mention of His Flesh and His Blood, He adds: "Even as the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, he also liveth by Me." How then do they suppose that we are to understand these words? — for the comparison can be shown as a double one. The first comparison being after the following manner: "Even as the living Father hath sent Me, I live by the Father;" the second: "Even as the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so also he that eateth Me, he too liveth by Me."

127. If our adversaries choose the former, the meaning is this, that, "as I am sent by the Father and am come down from the Father, so (in accordance therewith) I live by the Father." But in what character was He sent, and came down, save as Son of Man, even as He Himself said before: "No man hath ascended into heaven, save He that hath come down from heaven as Son of Man." Then, just as He was sent and came down as Son of Man, so as Son of Man He lives by the Father. Furthermore, he that eateth Him, as eating the Son of Man, doth himself also live by the Son of Man. Thus, He has compared the effect of His Incarnation to His coming.

128. But if they choose the second method, do we not infer both the equality of the Son with the Father, and His likeness to men, together, though in clear mutual distinction? For what is the meaning of the words, "Even as He Himself liveth by the Father, so we also live by Him," but that the Son so quickeneth a man, as the Father hath in the Son quickened human nature? "For as the Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will," as the Lord Himself hath already said.

129. Thus the equality of the Son to the Father is established simply upon unity in the action of quickening, since the Son so quickeneth as the Father doth. Acknowledge therefore the eternity of His Life and Sovereignty. Again, our likeness with the Son is discovered, and a certain unity with Him in the flesh, because that, like as the Son of God was quickened in the flesh by the Father, so also is man quickened; for thus it is written, that as God raised Jesus Christ from the dead, so we also, as men, are quickened by the Son of God.

130. According to this interpretation, then, immortality is not only applied to our condition by grace of bounty, but is also proclaimed as the property of Godhead — the latter, because it is the Godhead which quickeneth; the former, because manhood is quickened in Christ.

131. But if any would apply the force of either comparison to Christ’s Godhead, then the Son of God is put on one footing with men, so that the Son of God lives by the Father just as we live by the Son of God. But the Son of God bestows eternal life by free gift, we cannot so do. If then He be placed on a level with us, He too does not bestow this gift. Let Arius’ disciples then have the due reward of their faith — which is, not to obtain eternal life of the Son.

132. I would now go further. If our opponents are pleased to apply the teaching of this passage to the principle of the eternity of the Divine Substance, let them hear a third exposition: Does not our Lord plainly appear to say that as the Father is a living Father, so too the Son also lives?-and who can but observe that here we must understand a reference to unity of Life, forasmuch as the same Life is the Life of the Father and the Life of the Son? “For as the Father hath Life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son also to have Life in Himself.” He hath given — by reason of unity with Him. He hath given, not to take away, but that He may be glorified in the Son. He hath given, not that He, the Father, might keep guard over it, but that the Son might have it in possession.

133. But the Arians think that they must oppose hereto the fact that He had said, “I live by the Father.” Of a certainty (suppose that they conceive the words as referring to His Godhead) the Son lives by the Father, because He is the Son begotten of the Father, — by the Father, because He is of one Substance with the Father, — by the Father, because He is the Word given forth from the heart of the Father, because He came forth from the Father, because He is begotten of the “bowels of the Father,” because the Father is the Fountain and Root of the Son’s being.

134. But peradventure they may urge: “If you hold that the Son, in saying, ‘And I live by the Father,’ spoke of the unity of life subsisting between the Father and the Son, does it not follow that He discovered the unity of life between the Son and mankind in saying that ‘he that eateth Me, the same liveth by Me’?”

135. Even so. Just as I confess the unity of celestial Life subsisting in Father and Son by reason of the unity of the substance of the Godhead, so too, save as concerns the prerogatives of the Divine Nature or those which are the effect of the Incarnation of our Lord, I affirm of the Son a participation of spiritual life with us by virtue of the unity of His Manhood with ours, for "as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly." Further, even as in Him we sit at the right hand of the Father, not in the sense that we share His throne, but that we rest in the Body of Christ — even as, I say, we have part in Christ's session by reason of corporal unity, so too we live in Christ by reason of unity of our bodies with His Body.

136. Not only, then, have I no fears of the text, "I live by the Father," but I should have none, even though Christ had said, "I live by help of the Father.

137. Now another objection commonly urged by them starts from the text: "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, to the end that His Son may be glorified by Him." But not only is the Son glorified through the Father and by the Father, as it is written: "Glorify Me, Father;" and again: "Now hath the Son of Man been glorified, and God hath been glorified in Him, and God glorifieth Him," but the Father also is glorified through the Son and by the Son, for Truth hath said: "I have glorified Thee upon earth."

138. Even as the Son, therefore, is glorified through the Father, so too He lives by the Father. There are some who have been led by consideration of these words to the supposition that [the Greek] "δόξα" means "opinion, belief," rather than "glory," and therefore have interpreted as follows: "I have given thee a δόξα upon earth, I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do, and now, O Father, give me a δόξα" that is to say: "I have taught men so to believe concerning Thee, as to know that Thou art the true God; do Thou also establish in them, concerning Me, the belief that I am Thy Son, and very God."

CHAPTER 11

The particular distinction which the Arians endeavored to prove upon the Apostle's teaching that all things are "of" the Father and "through" the Son, is overthrown, it being shown that in me passage cited the same Omnipotence is ascribed both to Father and to Son, as is proved from various texts, especially from the words of St. Paul himself, in which heretics foolishly find a reference to the Father only, though indeed there is no diminution or inferiority of the Son's sovereignty proved, even by such a reference. Finally, the three phrases, "of Whom," "through Whom," "in Whom," are shown to suppose or imply no difference (of power), and each and all to hold true of the Three Persons.

139. NOW we come to that laughable method, attempted by some, of showing a difference of Power to subsist between Father and Son, on the strength of apostolic testimony, it being written "But for us there is One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him, and One Lord, Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him." It is urged that no small difference in degree of Divine Majesty is signified in the affirmation that all things are "of" the Father, and "through" the Son. Whereas nothing is clearer than that here a plain reason is given of the Omnipotence of the Son, inasmuch as whilst all things are "of" the Father, none the less are they all "through" the Son.

140. The Father is not "amongst" all things, for to Him it is confessed that "all things serve Thee." Nor is the Son reckoned "amongst" all things, for "all things were made by Him," and "all things exist together in Him, and He is above all the heavens." The Son, therefore, exists not "amongst" but above all things, being, indeed, after the flesh, of the people, of the Jews, but yet at the same time God over all, blessed for ever, having a Name which is above every name, it being said of Him, "Thou hast put all things in subjection under His feet." But in making all things subject to Him, He left nothing that is not subject, even as the Apostle hath said. But suppose that the Apostle's words were intended with reference to the Incarnate Lord; how then can we doubt the incomparable majesty of His Divine Generation?

141. Certain it is, then, that between Father and Son there can be no difference of Power. Nay, so far is such difference from being present, that the same Apostle has said that all things are "of" Him, by Whom are all things, as followeth: "For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things."

142. Now if, as they suppose, it is the Father alone Who is spoken of, it cannot be that He is at once Omnipotent because all things are of Him, and not Omnipotent because all things are through Him. On their own showing, then, they will declare the Father lacking in Power, and not Omnipotent, or at the least they will be confessing with their own mouth, all against their will though it be, the Omnipotence of the Son as well as of the Father.

143. Howbeit, let them decide whether they will understand this affirmation as made concerning the Father. If they do so decide then all things are "through" Him also. If they decide that it is the Son Who is spoken of, then all things are "of" Him as well as "of" the Father. But if all things are "through" the Father also, then surely there is no argument for diminishing from the honor due to the Son; and if all things are "of" the Son, the Son must be honored in like manner as the Father is.

144. In case our opponents should suspect that we are taking advantage of some intrusion of a single spurious verse into the text, let us review the whole passage. "O depth of the riches of God's wisdom and knowledge!" exclaims the Apostle, "how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counselor? Or who hath been first to give unto Him, and shall be recompensed? For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever!"

145. Who, then, think they, is here spoken of — the Father or the Son? If it be the Father — then we answer that the Father is not the Wisdom of God, for the Son is. But what is there that is impossible to Wisdom, of Whom it is written: "Seeing that she is almighty and abiding, she maketh all things new in herself"? We read of Wisdom, then, not as approaching, but as abiding. Thus have you the authority of Solomon to teach you of the Omnipotence and Eternity of Wisdom, and of her Goodness as well, for it is written: "But malice overcometh not Wisdom."

146. But to purpose. “How unsearchable,” saith the Apostle, “are His judgments!” Now if “the Father hath given all judgment to the Son,” it seems that the Father ∑ points to the Son as Judge.

147. But now, to show us that He is speaking of the Son, not of the Father, St. Paul proceeds: “Who was first in giving to Him?” For “the Father hath given to the Son,” but it was as acknowledging the rights of Him Whom He has begotten, not by way of largess. Therefore, it being undeniable that the Son has received at the hands of the Father, as it is written, “All things have been given unto Me of My Father,” yet, in saying, “Who was first in giving to Him?” the Apostle has not denied that the Son has received gifts of the Father, by virtue of His Nature, but he has indeed shown that, of Father and Son, Neither can be said to be before the Other, forasmuch as, albeit the Father has given gifts unto the Son, yet He has not so bestowed them as upon one that began to be after Him; because the uncreate and incomprehensible Trinity, Which is of One Eternity and Glory, admits neither difference of time nor degree of precedence.

148. If, however, we hold ourselves more bound to observe those Greek manuscripts which show “τίς προσέδωχεν αὐτῳ” it is clear that He to Whom nothing can be added is not unequal to Him Who is perfect and complete. Therefore, if this passage from the Apostle, in its entirety, is better understood with reference to the Son, we see that we must also believe concerning the Son, that all things are of Him, even as it is written: “For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.”

149. Be it so, nevertheless, that they suppose the passage to be intended of the Father, then let us call to mind that even as we read of all things being of Him, so too we read of all things being through Him, that is to say, the authority of the Father and of the Son is extended over the whole created universe. And, though we have already proved the Omnipotence of the Son by the Omnipotence of the Father, still — forasmuch as they are ever bent upon disparagement — let them consider that they disparage the Father as well as the Son. For if the Son be limited in might, because all things are through Him, do we say further, that the Father likewise is limited, because all things are through Him also?

150. But to bring them to understand that these phrases involve no difference, I will once again show that it is the same person, “of” whom

anything is, and “through” whom anything is, and that we read of things being related in both these ways to the Father. For we find: “Faithful is God, through Whom ye were called into the fellowship of His Son.” Let our adversaries weigh the meaning of the Apostle’s words. We are called “through” the Father — they raise no controversy: we are created “through” the Son — and this they have set down as a mark of inferiority. The Father has called us into fellowship with His Son, and this truth we, as in duty bound, devoutly receive. The Son has created all things, and Arius’ followers imagine that here they have not the decree of a free Will, but a forced service, slavishly performed!

151. Again, to obtain fuller understanding that, forasmuch as we are called through the Father into fellowship with His Son, there is no difference of Power in the Father and the Son, [note that] the fellowship itself has its beginning of the Son, as it is written: “For from His fullness have we all received,” though, if we follow the Greek text of the Gospel, we ought to render “of His fullness.”

152. See, then, how there is fellowship both through the Father and of the Son, and yet not a different fellowship, but one and the same. “And that our fellowship be with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ.”

153. Observe, further, that Scripture speaks of our having one fellowship not only “of” the Father and the Son, but also “of” the Holy Spirit. “The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” saith the Apostle, “and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.”

154. Now, I ask, wherein does He, through Whom are all things, appear less than He, of Whom are all things? Is it because He is declared to be the Worker? But the Father also works, for He is true who said, “My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.” Therefore, even as the Father worketh, so worketh the Son also; and so He Who worketh is not limitary in power nor abject, for the Father also worketh; which being so, that which is common to the Son with the Father, or even which the Son has by the Father, ought not to be the less esteemed, lest heretics further dishonor the Father in the Person of the Son.

155. Not to be passed over for silencing the disputings of Arian misbelief are those words of the same Saint John, which he set down in another

Scripture: “If ye know that He is just, know that he which doeth righteousness is born of Him.” But who is righteous, save the Lord, Who loveth righteousness? Or whom — as the foregoing texts warn us — have we to assure us of everlasting life, if we have not the Son? If, therefore, the Son of God hath promised us everlasting life, and He is righteous, surely we are born “of” Him. Else, if our adversaries deny that we are born of the Son by grace, they likewise deny His righteousness.

156. Thou must therefore believe that all things are of the Son of God [even as of God the Father, for even as God is the Father of all, so likewise is the Son the Author and Creator of all. We see, then, the vanity of this their questioning, forasmuch as it holds good of the Son [as of the Father], that “of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.”

157. We have shown how all things are “of” Him, and likewise how all things are also “through” Him. Who then doubts that all things are “in” Him, when another Scripture saith: “For in Him are all things founded, that are in the heavens, and in Him they were created, and He is before all things, and all things consist in Him”? (<510116>Colossians 1:16). Of Him, then, thou hast grace; Himself thou hast for thy Creator; in Him thou findest the foundation of all things.

CHAPTER 12

The comparison, found in the Gospel of St. John, of the Son to a Vine and the Father to a husbandman, must be understood with reference to the Incarnation. To understand it with reference to the Divine Generation is to doubly insult the Son, making Him inferior to St. Paul, and bringing Him down to the level of the rest of mankind, as well as in like manner the Father also, by making Him not merely to be on one footing with the same Apostle, but even of no account at all. The Son, indeed, in so far as being God, is also the husbandman, and, as regards His Manhood, a grape-cluster. True statement of the Father’s pre-eminence.

158. There is yet another Scripture, which our opponents commonly object against us, in order to prove their division of the Godhead of the Father from the Godhead of the Son, namely, our Lord’s words in the

Gospel: “I am the true Vine and My Father is the Husbandman.” The vine and the husbandman, say they, are of different natures, and the vine is in the power of the husbandman.

159. Thus, then, ye would have us believe that the Son, as touching His Godhead, is like to a vine, so that without a vine-dresser He is nothing, and may be neglected or even rooted up. Thus ye juggle up a lie from the letter of the Scripture which sayeth that our Lord called Himself the Vine, intending thereby the mystery of His Incarnation. Howbeit, if ye are bent on it that we dispute upon the letter, I too confess, yea, I proclaim, that the Son called Himself the Vine. For woe be to me, if I deny the pledge of the salvation of His people!

160. How then do you purpose to understand the truth that the Son of God called Himself the Vine? If you interpret the saying with respect to the Substance of His Godhead, and if you suppose such a diversity of Godhead between the Father and the Son as there is of nature between a husbandman and a vine, you do double insult both to Father and to Son — to the Son, because if, as you affirm, He is, as touching His Godhead, beneath a husbandman, then must He on the same showing be esteemed lower than the Apostle Paul, forasmuch as Paul indeed called himself a husbandman, as we find it written: “I have planted, Apollos hath watered: but God hath given the increase.” Will you have Paul, then, to be better than the Son of God?

161. Thus far the one insult. As for the other, it lies herein, that if the Son is the Vine in respect of His eternally-begotten Person, then, He having said: “I am the Vine, ye are the branches,” that divinely-begotten One appears to be of one substance with us. But” who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord?” as it is written; and again, in the Psalms: “For who is there among the clouds that shall be equal to the Lord? Or who among the sons of God shall be like unto God.”

162. Moreover, ye disparage not only the Son, but the Father also. For if the term “husbandman” is to comprehend in its designation all the prerogative of the Father’s Sovereignty, then, seeing that Paul too is a husbandman, you set the Apostle, to whom you deny that the Son is equal, on an even footing with the Father.

163. Again, it being written, “But neither he which planteth is anything, nor he that watereth; but God, Who giveth the increase,” you will rest the fullness of the Father’s Majesty in a name which, as you see, stands for weakness. For if he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but it is God, Who giveth the increase [Who is all], observe what your blasphemy intends — even to expose the Father to contempt under the title of a husbandman, and to demand another God to provide the increase of the Father’s labor. Wickedly, therefore, do they think to extol the Dignity of God the Father by this use of the term “husbandman,” in which God the Father is brought down to the level of man, as being designated by a common title.

164. Yet what wonder if, as ye heretics would have it, the Father is to be exalted above a Son Whose Godhead differs not a whir from the common condition of mankind? If ye suppose the Son to have been entitled the Vine with respect to His Godhead, then do ye esteem Him not only as liable to corruption and subject to changes of wind and weather, but even as partaking of manhood only, forasmuch as the Vine and its branches are of one nature, so that the Son of God appears, not to have taken upon Him our flesh, through the mystery of Incarnation, but to have altogether sprung into being from the flesh.

165. But I will indeed openly confess that His flesh, though born in a new and mysterious birth, was yet of the same nature with ours, and that this is the pledge of our salvation, not the source of the Divine Generation. He indeed is the Vine, for He bears my sufferings, whensoever manhood, hitherto frail, leans on Him and so matures with plenteous fruit of renewed devotion.

166. Yet if the husbandman’s power allure thee, tell me, prithee, who it was that spake in the prophet, saying: “O Lord, make it known to me, that I may know; then saw I their thoughts. I was led as a harmless lamb to the slaughter and knew it not: they took counsel together against me, saying, Come, let us throw wood into his bread.” For if the Son here speaks of the mystery of His coming Incarnation — for it were blasphemy to suppose that the words are spoken concerning the Father — then surely it is the Son Who speaks in an earlier passage: “I have planted thee as a fruitful vine — how art Thou become bitter, and a wild vine?”

167. And thus thou seest that the Son also is the husbandman, — the Son, of one Name with the Father, one work, one dignity and Substance. If, then, the Son is both Vine and Husbandman, plainly we infer the meaning of the Vine with regard to the mystery of the Incarnation.

168. But not only has our Lord called Himself a Vine — He has also given Himself, by the voice of the prophet, the title of a Grape-cluster — even when Moses, at the command of the Lord, sent spies to the Valley of the Cluster. What is that valley but the humility of the Incarnation and the fruitfulness of the Passion? I indeed think that He is called the Cluster, because that from the Vine brought out of Egypt, that is, the people of the Jews, there grew a fruit for the world's good. No man, truly, can understand the Cluster as a token of the Divine Generation — or if there be any who so understand it, they leave no conclusion open but that we should believe that Cluster to have sprung from the Vine: And thus in their folly they attribute to the Father that which they refuse to believe of the Son.

169. But if there be now left no room for doubt that the Son of God is called the Vine with respect and intention to His Incarnation, you see what hidden truth it was to which our Lord had regard in saying, "The Father is greater than I." For after this premised, He proceeded immediately: "I am the true Vine, and My Father is the Husbandman," that you might know that the Father is greater in so far as He dresses and tends our Lord's flesh, as the husbandman dresses and tends his vines. Further, our Lord's flesh is that which could increase in stature with age, and be wounded through suffering, to the end that the whole human race might rest guarded from the pestilent heat of the pleasures of this world, under the shadow of the Cross whereon Its limbs are spread.

BOOK 5

PROLOGUE

Who is a faithful and wise servant? His reward is pointed out in the case of Peter, as also in the case of Paul. Ambrose, being anxious to follow Paul's guidance, wished this book to be added to the others, for it could not be included in the preceding one. The subject for discussion is then stated, and the reason for such a discussion given. He must needs be pardoned, for usury is to be demanded from every servant for the money which has been entrusted to him. Their faithfulness is the usury desired in his own case. He will be happy if he may hope for a reward; but he does not look so much for the recompense of the saints, as for exemption from punishment. He urges all to seek to merit this.

1. "WHO, then, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Not worthless is this servant: some great one ought he to be. Let us think who he may be.

2. It is Peter, chosen by the Lord Himself to feed His flock, who merits thrice to hear the words: "Feed My little lambs; feed My lambs; feed My sheep." And so, by feeding well the flock of Christ with the food of faith, he effaced the sin of his former fall. For this reason is he thrice admonished to feed the flock; thrice is he asked whether he loves the Lord, in order that he may thrice confess Him, Whom he had thrice denied before His Crucifixion.

3. Blessed also is that servant who can say: "I have fed you with milk and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it." For he knew how to feed them. Who of us can do this? Who of us can truly say: "To the weak became Ins weak, that I might gain the weak"?

4. Yet he, being so great a man, and chosen by Christ for the care of His flock, so as to strengthen the weak and to heal the sick, — he, I say, rejects forthwith after one admonition a heretic from the fold entrusted to him, for fear that the taint of one erring sheep might infect the whole flock with a spreading sore. He further bids that foolish questions and contentions be avoided.

5. How, then, shall we act, being but ignorant dwellers set amongst these fresh tares in the old-standing harvest field? If we are silent, we shall seem to be giving way; and if we contend against them, there is the fear that we too shall be held to be carnal. For it is written of matters of this sort, which beget strife: "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all, apt to teach, patient, with moderation instructing those that oppose themselves." And in another place: "If any man is contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Church of God." For this reason it was our intention to write somewhat, in order that our writings might without any din answer the impiety of heretics on our behalf.

6. And so we prepare to commence this our Fifth Book, O Emperor Augustus. For it was but right that the Fourth Book should end with our discussion on the Vine, lest otherwise we should seem to have overloaded that book with a tumultuous mass of subjects, rather than to have filled it with the fruit of the spiritual vineyard. On the other hand, it was not seemly that the gathering of the vintage of the faith should be left unfinished, whilst there was still all abundance of such great matters for discussion.

7. In the Fifth Book, therefore, we speak of the indivisible Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (omitting, however, a full discussion on the Holy Ghost), being urged by the teaching of the Gospel to let out on interest to human minds the five talents of the faith entrusted to these five books being as it were the principal; lest perhaps when the Lord comes, and finds His money hidden in the earth, He may say to me: "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I do not sow; and gather where I have not strawed; thou oughtest therefore to have put My money to the exchangers, that at My coming I might have received Mine Own," or as it stands in another book: "And I," it says, "at My coming might have received it with usury."

8. I pray those to pardon me, whom the boldness of such a lengthy address displeases. The thought of my office compels me to entrust to others what I have received. “We are stewards of the heavenly mysteries.” We are ministers, but not all alike. “But,” it says, “even as the Lord gave to every man, I have planted; Apollos watered; but God gave the increase.” Let each one then strive that be may be able to receive a reward according to his labor. “For we are laborers together with God,” as the Apostle said; “we are God’s husbandry, God’s building.” Blessed therefore is he who sees such usury on his principal; blessed too is he who beholds the fruit of his work; blessed again is he “who builds upon the foundation of faith, gold, silver, precious stones.”

9. Ye who hear or read these words are all things to us. Ye are the usury of the money-lender, — the usury on speech, not on money; ye are the return given to the husbandman; ye are the gold, the silver, the precious stones of the builder. In your merits lie the chief results of the labors of the priest; in your souls shines forth the fruit of a bishop’s work; in your progress glitters the gold of the Lord; the silver is increased if ye hold fast the divine words. “The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire; proved on the earth, purified seven times.” Ye therefore will make the lender rich, the husbandman to abound in produce; ye will prove the master-builder to be skillful. I do not speak boastfully; for I do not desire so much my own advantage as yours.

10. Oh that I might safely say of you at that time: “Lord, Thou gavest me five talents, behold I have gained five other talents;” and that I might show the precious talents of your virtues! “For we have a treasure in earthen vessels.” These are the talents which the Lord bids us spiritually to trade with, or the two coins of the New and the Old Testament, which that Samaritan in the Gospel left for the man robbed by the thieves, for the purpose of getting his wounds healed.

11. Neither do I, my brethren, with greedy desires, long for this, so that I may be set over many things; the recompense I get from the fact of your advance is enough for me. Oh that I may not be found unworthy of that which I have received! Let those things which are too great for me be assigned to better men. I demand them not! Yet mayest Thou say, O Lord:

"I will give unto this last, even as unto thee." Let the man that deserves it receive authority over ten cities.

12. Let him be such an one as was Moses, who wrote the Ten Words of the Law. Let him be as Joshua, the son of Nun, who subdued five kings, and brought the Gibeonites into subjection, that he might be the figure of a Man of his own name Who was to come, by Whose power all fleshly lust should be overcome, and the Gentiles should be converted, so that they might follow the faith of Jesus Christ rather than their former pursuits and desires. Let him be as David, whom the young maidens came to meet with songs, saying: "Saul hath triumphed over thousands, David over ten thousands."

13. It is enough for me, if I am not thrust out into the outer darkness, as he was, who hid the talent entrusted to him in the earth so to speak, of his own flesh. This the ruler of the synagogue did, and the other rulers of the Jews; for they employed, the words of the Lord, which had been entrusted to them, on the ground as it were of their bodies; and, delighting in the pleasures of the flesh, sunk the heavenly trust as though into the pit of an overweening heart.

14. Let us then not keep the Lord's money buried and hidden in the flesh; nor let us hide our one talent in a napkin; but like good money-changers let us ever weigh it out with labor of mind and body, with an even and ready will, that the word may be near, even in thy mouth and in thy heart.

15. This is the word of the Lord, this is the precious talent, whereby thou art redeemed. This money must often be seen on the tables of souls, in order that by constant trading the sound of the good coins may be able to go forth into every land, by the means of which eternal life is purchased. "This is eternal life," which Thou, Almighty Father, givest freely, that we may know "Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent."

CHAPTER 1

How impious the Arians are, in attacking that on which human happiness depends. John ever unites the Son with the Father,

especially where he says: “That they may know Thee, the only true God, etc.” In that place, then, we must understand the words “true God” also of the Son; for it cannot be denied that He is God, and it cannot be said He is a false God, and least of all that He is God by appellation only. This last point being proved from the Apostle’s words, we rightly confess that Christ is true God.

16. WHEREFORE let the Arians observe, how impious they are in calling in question our hope and the object of our desires. And since they are wont to cry out on this point above all others, saying that Christ is distinct from the only and true God, let us confute their impious ideas so far as lies in our power.

17. For on this point they ought rather to understand, that this is the benefit, this the reward of perfect virtue, namely, this divine and incomparable gift, that we may know Christ together with the Father, and not separate the Son from the Father; as also the Scriptures do not separate them. For the following tells rather for the unity than for the diversity of the Divine Majesty, namely, that the knowledge of the Father and of the Son gives us the same recompense, and one and the same honor; which reward no man will have but he that has known both the Father and the Son. For as the knowledge of the Father procures eternal life, so also does the knowledge of the Son.

18. Therefore as the Evangelist forthwith at the outset joined the Word with God the Father in his devout confession of faith, saying: “And the Word was with God;” and here too, in writing the words of the Lord: “That they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent,” he has undoubtedly, by thus connecting Them, bound together the Father and the Son, so that no one may separate Christ as true God from the majesty of the Father, for union does not dissever.

19. Therefore in saying, “That they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent,” he put an end to the Sabellians, and has also put the Jews out of court, — those at any rate who heard him speak; so that the former might not suppose the Same to be the Father as the Son, which they might have done if he had not added also Christ, and that the latter might not sever the Son from the Father.

20. But, I ask, why do they not think we ought to gather and understand this from what has been already said; that as he has declared the Father to be only, true God, so we may understand Jesus Christ also to be only, true God? For it could not be expressed in any other way, for fear he might seem to be speaking of two Gods. For neither do we speak of two Gods; and yet we confess the Son to be of the same Godhead with the Father.

21. May we ask, therefore, on what grounds they think a distinction is made in the Godhead, and whether they deny Christ to be God? But they cannot deny it. Do they deny Him to be true God? But if they deny Him to be true God, let them say whether they declare Him to be a false God, or God by appellation only. For according to the Scriptures the word "God" is used either of the true God, or by appellation only, or of a false God. True God as the Father; God by appellation as the saints; a false God like the demons and idols. Let them say then how they will acknowledge and describe the Son of God. Do they suppose the name of God to have been falsely assumed; or was there in truth merely an indwelling of God within Him, as it were by appellation only?

22. I do not think they can say the name was falsely assumed, and so involve themselves in the open wickedness of blasphemy; lest they should betray themselves on the one hand to the demons and idols, and on the other to Christ, by insinuating that the name of God was falsely given to Him. But if they think He is called God because He had an indwelling of the Godhead within Him, — as many holy men were (for the Scripture calls them Gods to whom the word of God came), — they do not place Him before other men, but think He is to be compared with them; so that they consider Him to be the same as He has granted other men to be, even as He says to Moses: "I have made thee a God unto Pharaoh." Wherefore it is also said in the Psalms: "I have said, ye are gods."

23. This idea of these blasphemers Paul puts aside; for he said: "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth." He said not: "There be gods," but "There be that are called gods." But "Christ, as it is written, "is the same yesterday and to-day." "He is," it says; that is, not only in name but also in truth.

24. And well is it written: "He is the same yesterday and to-day," so that the impiety of Arius might find no room to pile up its profanity. For he, in

reading in the second psalm of the Father saying to the Son, "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee," noted the word "to-day," not "yesterday," referring this which was spoken of the assumption of our flesh to the eternity of the divine generation; of which Paul also says in the Acts of the Apostles: "And we declare unto you the promise which was made to our fathers: for God has fulfilled the same to our children, in that He hath raised up the Lord Jesus Christ again, as it is written in the second psalm: Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee." Thus the Apostle, filled with the Holy Ghost, in order that he might destroy that fierce madness of his, said: "The same, yesterday, today, and for ever." "Yesterday" on account of His eternity; "today" on account of His taking to Himself a human body.

25. Christ therefore is, and always is; for He, Who is, always is. And Christ always is, of Whom Moses says: "He that is hath sent me." Gabriel indeed was, Raphael was, the angels were; but they who sometime have not been are by no means with equal reason said always to be. But Christ, as we read, "was not it is, and, it is not, but, it is was in Him." Wherefore it is the property of God alone to be, Who ever is.

26. Therefore if they dare not say He is God by appellation, and it is a mark of deep impiety to say He is a false God, it remains that He is true God, not unlike to the true Father, but equal to Him. And as He sanctifies and justifies whom He will, not by assuming that power from without Himself, but having within Himself the power of sanctification, how is He not true God? For the Apostle called Him indeed true God, Who according to His nature was God, as it is written: "Howbeit then, when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them, who by nature were not gods;" that is, who could not be true gods, for this title by no means belonged to them by nature.

CHAPTER 2

Since it has been proved that the Son is true God, and in that is not interior to the Father, it is shown that by the word solus (alone) when used of the Father in the Scriptures, the Son is not excluded; nay, that this expression befits Him above all, and Him alone. The

Trinity is alone, not amongst all, but above all. The Son alone does what the Father does, and alone has immortality. But we must not for this reason separate Him from the Father in our controversies. We may, however, understand that passage of the Incarnation. Lastly the Father is shut out from a share in the redemption of men by those who would have the Son to be separated from Him.

27. We have fully demonstrated by passages of Scripture, in the earlier books, that Christ is true, yea, very true God. Therefore if Christ, as it has been taught, is true God, let us enquire why they desire to separate the Son from the Father, when they read that the Father is the only true God.

28. If they say that the Father alone is true God, they cannot deny that God the Son alone is the Truth; for Christ is the Truth. Is the Truth then something inferior to Him that is true, seeing that according to the use of terms a man is called true from the word "truth," as also wise from wisdom, just from justice? We donor deem it so between the Father and the Son. For there is nothing wanting to the Father, because the Father is full of truth; and the Son, because He is the Truth, is equal to Him that is true.

29. But that they may know, when they see the word "alone," that the Son is in no wise to be separated from the Father, let them remember it was said by God in the Prophets: "I stretched forth the heavens alone." The Father certainly did not stretch them forth without the Son. For the Son Himself, Who is the Wisdom of God, says: "When He prepared the heavens I was present with Him." And Paul declares that it was said of the Son: "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands." Whether therefore the Son made the heavens, as also the Apostle would have it understood, whilst He Himself certainly did not alone spread out the heavens without the Father; or as it stands in the Book of Proverbs: "The Lord in wisdom hath rounded the earth, in understanding hath He prepared the heavens;" it is proved that neither the Father made the heavens alone without the Son, nor yet the Son without the Father. And yet He who spread out the heavens is said to be alone.

30. To show indeed how plainly we must understand the expression "alone" of the Son (although we may never believe that He did anything

without the knowledge of the Father), we have here also another passage, where it is written: “Which alone spreadeth out the heavens, and walketh as it were on a pavement over the sea.” For the Gospel of the Lord has taught us that it was not the Father but the Son that walked upon the sea, when Peter asked Him, saying, “Lord, bid me come unto Thee.” But even prophecy itself gives proof of this. For holy Job prophesied of the coming of the Lord; of Whom he said in truth that He would vanquish the great Leviathan, and it was done. For that dread Leviathan that is, the devil, He smote, and struck down, and laid low in the last times by the adorable Passion of His own Body.

31. The Son therefore is only and true God for this also is assigned to the Son as His sole right. For of no created being can it be accurately said that he is alone. How can he to whom fellowship in creation belongs be separated from the rest, as though he were alone? Thus man is seen to be a rational being amongst all earthly creatures, yet he is not the only rational being; for we know that the heavenly works of God also are rational, we confess that angels and archangels are rational beings. If then the angels are rational, man cannot be said to be the only rational being.

32. But they say that the sun can be said to be alone, because there is no second sun. But the sun himself has many things in common with the stars, for he travels across the heavens, he is of that ethereal and heavenly substance, he is a creature, and is reckoned amongst all the works of God. He serves God in union with all, blesses Him with all, praises Him with all. Therefore he cannot accurately be said to be alone, for he is not set apart from the rest.

33. Wherefore since no created being can be compared with the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Which is alone, not amongst all, but over all (our declaration concerning the Spirit being meanwhile held back); as the Father is said to be the only true God, because He has nothing in common with others; so also is the Son alone the Image of the true God, He alone is the Hand of the Father, He alone is the Virtue and Wisdom of God.

34. Thus the Son alone does what the Father does; for it is written: “Whatsoever things I do, He doth.” And since the work of the Father and of the Son is one, it is well said of the Father and the Son, that God

worked alone; wherefore also when we speak of the Creator, we own both the Father and the Son. For assuredly when Paul said, “Who served the creature more than the Creator,” he neither denied the Father to be the Creator, from Whom are all these things, nor yet the Son, through Whom are all things.

35. And it does not seem out of agreement with this that it is written: “Who alone hath immortality.” For how could He not have immortality Who has life in Himself? He has it in His nature; He has it in His essential Being; and He has it not as a temporal grace, but owing to His eternal Godhead. He has it not by way of a gift as a servant, but by peculiar fight of His Generation, as the co-eternal Son. He has it, too, as has the Father. “For as the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself.” As He has it, it says, so He has given it. Thou hast learnt already how He gave it, that thou mayest not think it to be a free gift of grace, when it is a secret of His generation. Since, then, there is no divergence of life between the Father and the Son, how can it be supposed that the Father alone has immortality, whilst the Son has it not?

36. Wherefore let them understand that in this passage the Son is not to be separated from the Father, Who is the only true God. For they cannot prove that the Son is not the only and true God, especially as here also it may be gathered, as I have said, that Christ too is true and only God; or the passage may at least be understood partly in reference to the Godhead of the Father and the Son, and partly to the Incarnation of Christ: for knowledge is not perfect unless it confesses Jesus Christ from eternity to be only-begotten God, true Son of God, and, according to the flesh, begotten of a Virgin. Which also this very Evangelist has taught us elsewhere, saying: “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God.”

37. Lastly, the whole of our passage teaches us that it is not improper in this verse to understand a reference to the sacrament of the Incarnation. For thus it is written: “Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son.” When, therefore, He states that the hour is come, and prays to be glorified, how can one suppose Him to have spoken but only in accordance with the assumption of our flesh? For the Godhead has no fixed moments of time, nor does eternal light stand in need of glorification. Therefore in the only

true God, Who is the Father, we also understand the only true Son of God to be in accordance with the unity of the Godhead. And in the name of Jesus Christ, which He received when born of the Virgin, we acknowledge the sacrament of the Incarnation.

38. But if they wish to separate the Son, when they read that the Father is the only true God, I suppose that when they read of the Incarnation of the Son: "This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which is become the head of the corner;" and further: "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved;" then they imagine the Father is to be cut off from the benefit of imparting salvation to us. But there is neither salvation without the Father, nor eternal life without the Son.

CHAPTER 3

To the objection of the Arians, that two Gods are introduced by a unity of substance, the answer is that a plurality of Gods is more likely to be inferred from diversity of substance. Further, their charge recoils upon themselves. Manifold diversity is the reason why two men cannot be said to be one man, though all men are called individually man, where a unity of nature is referred to. There is one nature alone in them, but there is wholly a unity in the Divine Persons. Therefore the Son is not to be severed from the Father, especially as they dare not deny that worship is due to Him.

39. But the Arians maintain the following: If you say that, as the Father is the only true God, so also is the Son, and confess that the Father and the Son are both of one substance, you introduce not one God, but two. For they who are of one substance seem not to be one God but two Gods. Just as two men or two sheep or more are spoken of, but a man and a sheep are not spoken of as two men or two sheep, but as one man and one sheep.

40. This is what the Arians say; and by this cunning argument they attempt to catch the more simple-minded. However if we read the divine Scriptures we shall find that plurality occurs rather amongst those things which are of a diverse and different substance, that is, ἑτερούσια. We have this set forth in the books of Solomon, in that passage in which he

said: “There are three things impossible to understand, yea, a fourth which I know not, the track of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the path of a ship in the sea, and the way of a man in his youth.” An eagle and a ship and a serpent are not of one family and nature, but of a distinguishable and different substance, and yet they are three. On the testimony of Scripture, therefore, they learn that their arguments are against themselves.

41. Therefore, in saying that the substance of the Father and of the Son is diverse and their Godhead distinguishable, they themselves assert there are two Gods. But we, when we confess the Father and’ the Son, in declaring them still to be of one Godhead, say that there are not two Gods, but one God. And this we establish by the word of the Lord. For where there are several, there is a difference either of nature or of will and work. Lastly, that they may be refuted on their own witness, two men are mentioned: But though they are of one nature by right of birth, yet in time and thought and work and place, they are apart; and so one man cannot be spoken of under the signification and number of two; for there is no unity where there is diversity. But God is said to be one, and the glory and completeness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is thus expressed.

42. Such, indeed, is the truth of unity that, when the nature alone of human birth or of human flesh is indicated, one man is the term used for the many, as it is written “The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me;” that is, not the one person of a man, but the one flesh, the one frailty of human birth. It added also: “It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in man.” Here, too, it did not denote one particular man, but a universal condition. Then, immediately after it added, speaking of many: “It is better to put confidence in the Lord than to put confidence in princes.” Where man is spoken of, as we have already said, there the common unity of the nature, which exists between all is indicated; but where the princes are mentioned, there is a certain distinction between their different powers.

43. Amongst men, or in men, there exists a unity in some one thing, either in love, or desire, or flesh, or devotion, or faith. But a universal unity, that embraces within itself all things agreeably to the divine glory, is the property of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit alone.

44. Wherefore the Lord also, in pointing out the diversity that exists among men, who have nothing in common that can tend towards the unity of an indivisible substance, says: “In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true.” But though He had said, “The testimony of two men is true,” when He came to the testimony of Himself and His Father, He said not: “Our testimony is true, for it is the testimony of two Gods;” but: “I am One that bear witness of Myself, and the Father that sent Me beareth witness of Me.”, Earlier He also says: “If I judge, My judgment is true; for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent Me.” Thus, both in one place and the other, He indicated both the Father and the Son, but neither implied the plurality, nor severed the unity of their divine Substance.

45. It is plain, then, that whatsoever is of one substance cannot be severed, even though it be not single, but one. By singleness I mean that which the Greeks call μονοτής. Singleness has to do with a person; unity with a nature. That those things which are of a different substance are Wont to be called, not one alone, but many, though already proved on the testimony of the prophet, the Apostle himself has stated in so many words, saying: “For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth.” Dost thou see, then, that those who are of different substances, and not of the verity of one nature, are called “gods”? But the Father and the Son, being of one substance, are not two Gods, but “One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things.” “One God,” he says, “and one Lord Jesus;” and above: “One God, not two Gods;” and then: “One Lord, not two Lords.”

46. Plurality, therefore, is excluded, but the unity is not destroyed. But as, on the one hand, when we read of the Lord Jesus, we do not dissociate the Father, as I have already said, from the prerogative of ruling, because He has that in common with the Son; so, on the other hand, when we read of the only true God, the Father, we cannot sever the Son from the prerogative of the only true God, for He has that in common with the Father.

47. Let them say what they feel or what they think, when we read: “Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve.” Do they think Christ should not be worshipped, and that He Ought not to be

served? But if that woman of Canaan who worshipped Him, merited to gain what she asked for, and the Apostle Paul, who confessed himself to be the servant of Christ in the very outset of his letters, merited to be an Apostle "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ;" let them say what they think should follow. Would they prefer to join with Arius in a league of treachery, and so show, by denying Christ to be the only true God, that they consider He should neither be worshipped nor served? Or would they sooner go in company with Paul, who in serving and worshipping Christ did not disown in word and heart the only true God, Whom he acknowledged with dutiful service?

CHAPTER 4

It is objected by heretics that Christ offered worship to His Father. But instead it is shown that this must be referred to His humanity, as is clear from an examination of the passage. However, it also offers fresh witness to His Godhead, as we often see it happening in other actions that Christ did.

48. BUT if any one were to say that the Son worships God the Father, because it is written, "Ye worship ye know not what, we know what we worship," let him consider when it was said, and to whom, and to whose wishes it was in answer.

49. In the earlier verses of this chapter it was stated, not without reason, that Jesus, being weary with the journey, was sitting down, and that He asked a woman of Samaria to give Him drink; for He spoke as man; for as God He could neither be weary nor thirst.

50. So when this woman addressed Him as a Jew, and thought Him a prophet, He answers her, as a Jew who spiritually taught the mysteries of the Law: "Ye worship ye know not what, we know what we worship." "We," He says; for He joined Himself with men. But how is He joined with men, but according to the flesh? And to show that He answered as being incarnate, He added: "for salvation is of the Jews."

51. But immediately after this He put aside His human feelings, saying: "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall

worship the Father.” H e said not: “We shall worship.” This He would certainly have said, if He had a share in our obedience.

52. And when we read that Mary worshipped Him, we ought to learn that it is not possible for Him under the same nature both to worship as a servant, and to be worshipped as Lord; but rather that as man He is said to worship among men, and that as Lord He is worshipped by His servants.

53. Many things therefore we read and believe, in the light of the sacrament of the Incarnation. But even in the very feelings of our human nature we may behold the Divine Majesty. Jesus is wearied with His journey, that He may refresh the weary; He desires to drink, when about to give spiritual drink to the thirsty; He was hungry, when about to supply the food of salvation to the hungry; He dies, to live again; He is buried, to rise again; He hangs upon the dreadful tree, to strengthen those in dread; He veils the heaven with thick darkness, that He may give light; He makes the earth to shake, that He may make it strong; He rouses the sea, that He may calm it; He opens the tombs of the dead, that He may show they are the homes of the living; He is made of a Virgin, that men may believe He is born of God; He feigns not to know, that He may make the ignorant to know; as a Jew He is said to worship, that the Son may be worshipped as true God.

CHAPTER 5

Ambrose answers those who press the words of the Lord to the mother of Zebedee’s children, by saying that they were spoken out of kindness, because Christ was unwilling to cause her grief. Ample reason for such tenderness is brought forward. The Lord would rather leave the granting of that request to the Father, than declare it to be impossible. This answer of Christ’s, however, is not to His detriment, as is shown both by His very words, and also by comparing them with other passages.

54. “HOW,” they say, “can the Son of God be the only true God, like to the Father, when He Himself said to the sons of Zebedee: ‘Ye shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand or on My left, is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My

Father'?" This, then, is, as you desire, your proof of divine inequality; though in it you ought rather to reverence the Lord's kindness and to adore His grace; if, that is, you could but perceive the deep secrets of the virtue and wisdom of God.

55. For think of her who, with and for her sons, makes this request. It is a mother, who in her anxiety for the honor of her sons, though somewhat unrestrained in the measure of her desires, may for all that yet find pardon. It is a mother, old in years, devout in her zeal, deprived of consolation; who at that time, when she might have been helped and supported by the aid of her able bodied offspring, suffered her children to leave her, and preferred the reward her sons should receive in following Christ to her own pleasure. For they when called by the Lord, at the first word, as we read, left their nets and their father and followed Him.

56. She then, somewhat yielding to the devotion of a mother's zeal, besought the Savior, saying: "Grant that these my two sons may sit the one on Thy right hand, the other on Thy left in Thy kingdom." Although it was an error, it was an error of a mother's affections; for a mother's heart knows no patience. Though eager for the object of her desires, yet her longing was pardonable, for she was not greedy for money, but for grace. Not shameless was her request, for she thought not of herself, but of her children. Contemplate the mother, reflect upon her.

57. But it is nothing wonderful if the feelings of parents for their children seem nothing to you, who think the love of the Almighty Father for His only-begotten Son a trifling matter. The Lord of heaven and earth was ashamed (to speak as accords with the assumption of our flesh and the virtues of the soul) — He was ashamed, I say, and, to use His own word, disturbed, to refuse a share even in His own seat to a mother making request for her sons. You maintain sometimes that the proper Son of the eternal God stands to give service, at other times you would have His co-session to be as that of an attendant, that is, not because there is a oneness of majesty, but because it is the order of the Father; and you deny to the Son of God, Who is true God, that which He plainly was unwilling to refuse to men.

58. For He thought of the mother's love, who solaced her old age with the thought of her sons' reward, and, though harassed with a mother's longings, endured the absence of those dearest pledges of her love.

59. Think also of the woman, that is, the weaker sex, whom the Lord had not yet strengthened by His own Passion. Think, I say, of a descendant of Eve, the first woman, sinking under the inheritance of unrestrained passion, which had been passed on to all; one, too, whom the Lord had not yet redeemed with His own Blood, and from whom He had not yet washed out in His Blood the desire implanted in the hearts of all for unbounded honor even beyond what is right. Thus the woman offended owing to an inherited tendency to wrong.

60. And what wonder if a mother should strive to win preference for her children (which is far better than if she had done it for herself), when even the Apostles themselves, as we read, strove amongst themselves, as to who should have the preference?

61. The physician, therefore, ought not to wound a mother who has been deprived of all, nor a suffering mind, with shameful reproaches, lest when the request had been made and had been proudly denied, she should grieve over the condemnation of her petition as being unreasonable.

62. Lastly, the Lord, Who knew that a mother's affection is to be honored, answered not the woman, but her sons, saying: "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of?" When they say: "We are able," Jesus says to them: "Ye shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it is prepared of My Father."

63. How patient and kind the Lord is; how deep is His wisdom and good His love! For wishing to show that the disciples asked for no slight thing, but one they could not obtain, He reserved His own peculiar rights for His Father's honor, not fearing to detract aught from His own rights: "Who thought it not robbery to be equal with God;" and loving, too, His disciples (for "He loved them," as it is written, "unto the end"), He was unwilling to seem to refuse to those whom He loved what they desired; He, I say, the good and holy Lord, Who would rather keep some of His

own prerogative secret, than lay aside aught of His love. “For charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not, and seeketh not her own.”

64. Lastly, that you may learn it was no sign of weakness, but rather of tenderness, that He said: “It is not Mine to give to you;” note that when the sons of Zebedee make the request without their mother, He said nothing about the Father; for thus it is written: “It is not Mine to give to you, but those for whom it has been prepared.” So the Evangelist Mark has stated it. But when the mother makes this request on her sons’ behalf, as we find it in Matthew, He says: “It is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My Father.” Here He added: “of My Father,” for a mother’s feelings demanded greater tenderness.

65. But if they think that by saying, “For whom it hath been prepared of My Father,” He assigned greater power to His Father, or detracted aught from His own; let them say whether they think there is any detraction from the Father’s power, because the Son in the Gospel says of the Father: “The Father judgeth no man.”

66. But if we think it impious to believe that the Father has handed over all judgment to the Son in such wise that He has it not Himself, — for He has it, and cannot lose what the Divine Majesty has by its very nature, — we ought to consider it equally impious to suppose that the Son cannot give what either men can merit, or any creature can receive; especially as He Himself has said: “I go unto My Father, and whatsoever ye shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do.” For if the Son cannot give what the Father can give, the Truth has lied, and cannot do what the Father has been asked for in His name. He therefore did not say: “For whom it has been prepared of My Father,” in order that requests should be made only of the Father. For all things which are asked of the Father, He has declared that He will give. Lastly, He did not say: “Whatsoever ye shall ask of Me, that will I do;” but: “Whatsoever ye shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do.”

CHAPTER 6

Wishing to answer the above-stated objection somewhat more fully, he maintains that this request, had it not been impossible in itself, would have been possible for Christ to grant; especially as the Father has given all judgment to Him; which gift we must understand to have been given without any feature of imperfection. However, he proves that the request must be reckoned amongst the impossibilities. To make it really possible, he teaches that Christ's answer must be taken in accordance with His human nature, and shows this next by an exposition of the passage. Lastly, he once more confirms the reply he as given on the impossibility of Christ's session.

67. I ASK now whether they think the request made by the wife and sons of Zebedee was possible or impossible to human circumstances, or to any created being? If it was possible, how is it that He Who made all things which were not had not the power of granting a seat to His apostles on His right hand and on His left? or how was it that He, to Whom the Father gave all judgment, could not judge of men's merits?

68. We know well in what way He gave it; for how did the Son, who created all things out of nothing, receive it as though in want? Had He not the judgment of those whose natures He had made? The Father gave all judgment to the Son, "that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." It is not therefore the power of the Son, but our knowledge of it, that increases; nor does what is learnt by us add aught to His being, but only to our advantage; so that by knowing the Son of God, we may have eternal life.

69. As, then, in our knowledge of the Son of God His honor, but our profit, not His, is concerned; if any one thinks that the power of God is augmented by that honor, He must also believe that God the Father can receive augmentation; for He is glorified by our knowledge of Him, as is the Son: as it is written on the word of the Son: "I have glorified Thee upon the earth." Therefore if that which was asked for was at all possible, it certainly was in the power of the Son to grant it.

70. Let them show, if they consider it possible, who of men or of other created beings sits either on the right hand or the left of God. For the Father says to the Son: “Sit Thou on My right hand.” Therefore if any one sits on the right hand of the Son, the Son is found to be sitting (to speak in human wise) between Himself and the Father.

71. A thing impossible for man, then, was asked of Him. But He was unwilling to say that men could not sit with Him; seeing that He desired His divine glory should be veiled, and not revealed before He rose again. For before this, when He had appeared in glory between His attendants Moses and Elias, He had warned His disciples that they should tell no man what they had seen.

72. Therefore if it was not possible for men or other created beings to merit this, the Son ought not to seem to have less power because He gave not to His apostles, what the Father has not given to men or other created beings. Or else let them say to which of them He has given it. Certainly not to the angels; of whom Scripture says that all the angels stood round about the throne. Thus Gabriel said that he stands, as it says: “I am Gabriel that stand before God.”

73. Not to the angels, then, has He given it, nor to the elders who worship Him that sitteth; for they do not sit upon the seat of majesty, but as the Scripture has said, round about the throne; for there are four and twenty other seats, as we have it in the Revelation of John: “And upon the seats four and twenty elders sitting.” In the Gospel also the Lord Himself says: “When the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” He did not say that a share in His own throne could be given to the apostles, but that there were those other twelve thrones; which, however, we ought not to think of as referring to actual sitting down, but as showing the happy issue of spiritual grace.

74. Lastly, in the Book of the Kings, Micaiah the prophet said: “I saw the Lord God of Israel sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing around Him, on His right hand and on His left.” How then, when the angels stand on the right hand and on the left of the Lord God, when all the host of heaven stands, shall men sit on the right hand of God or on His left, to whom is promised as a reward for virtue likeness to the angels, as

the Lord says: “Ye shall be as the angels in heaven?” “As the angels,” He says, not “more than the angels.”

75. If, then, the Father has given nothing more than the Son, the Son certainly has given nothing less than the Father. Therefore the Son can in no wise be less than the Father.

76. Suppose, however, that it had been possible for men to obtain what was desired; what does it mean when He says: “But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you”? What is “Mine”? Above He said: “Ye shall drink indeed of My cup;” and again He added: “It is not Mine to give to you.” Above He said “Mine,” and again lower down He said “Mine.” He made no change. And so the earlier passages tell us why He said “Mine.”

77. For being asked by a woman as man to allow her sons to sit on His right hand and His left, because she asked Him as man, the Lord also as though only man answered concerning His Passion: “Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of?”

78. Therefore because He spoke according to the flesh of the Passion of His Body, He wished to show that according to the flesh He left behind Him an example and pattern to us of the endurance of suffering; but that according to His position as man He could not grant them fellowship in the throne above. This is the reason why He said: “It is not Mine;” as also in another place He says: “My doctrine is not Mine.” It is not, He says, spoken after my flesh; for the words which are divine belong not to the flesh.

79. But how plainly He showed His tenderness for His disciples, whom He loved, saying first: “Will ye drink of My cup?” For as He could not grant what they sought, He offered them something else, so that He might mention what He would assign to them, before He denied them anything; in order that they might understand that the failure lay more in the equity of their request to Him, than in the wish of their Lord to show kindness.

80. “Ye shall indeed drink of My cup,” He says; that is, “I will not refuse you the suffering, which My flesh will undergo. For all that I have taken on Myself as man, ye can imitate. I have granted you the victory of suffering, the inheritance of the cross. ‘But to sit on My right hand and on

My left is not Mine to give to you.”’ He did not say, “It is not Mine to give,” but: “It is not Mine to give to you;” meaning by this, not that He lacked the power, but that His creatures were wanting in merit.

81. Or take in another way the words: “It is not Mine to give to you,” that is. “It is not Mine, for I came to teach humility; it is not Mine, for I came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister; it is not Mine, for I show justice, not favor.”

82. Then, speaking of the Father, He added: “For whom it has been prepared,” to show that the Father also is not wont to give heed merely to requests, but to merits; for God is not a respecter of persons. Wherefore also the Apostle says: “Whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate.” He did not predestinate them before He knew them, but He did predestinate the reward of those whose merits He foreknew.

83. Rightly then is the woman checked, who demanded what was impossible, as a special kind of privilege from Him the Lord, Who of His own free gift granted not only to two apostles, but to all the disciples, those things which He had adjudged to be given to the saints; and that too without a prayer from any one, as it is written: “Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

84. Therefore, although we may think the demand to have been possible, there is no room for false attacks. However, when I read that the seraphim stand, how can I suppose that men may sit on the right hand or the left of the Son of God? The Lord sits upon the cherubim, as it says: “Thou that sittest upon the cherubim, show myself.” And how shall the apostles sit upon the cherubim?

85. And I do not come to this conclusion of my own mind, but because of the utterances of our Lord’s own mouth. For the Lord Himself later on, in commending the apostles to the Father, says: “Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given Me be with Me where I am.” But if He had thought that the Father would give the divine throne to men, He would have said: “I will that where I sit, they also may sit with Me.” But He says: “I will that they be with Me,” not “that they may sit with Me;” and “where I am,” not “as I am.”

86. Then follow the words: “That they may see My glory.” Here too He did not say: “that they may have My glory,” but “that they may see” it. For the servant sees, the Lord possesses; as David also has taught us, saying: “That I may see the delight of the Lord.” And the Lord Himself in the Gospel has revealed it, stating: “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” “They shall see,” He says; not “They shall sit with God upon the cherubim.”

87. Let them therefore cease to think little of the Son of God according to His Godhead, lest they should think little also of the Father. For he who believes wrongly of the Son cannot think rightly of the Father; he who thinks wrongly of the Spirit cannot think rightly of the Son. For where there is one dignity, one glory, one love, one majesty, whatsoever thou thinkest is to be withdrawn in the case of any one of the Three Persons, is withdrawn from all alike, For that can never have completeness which thou canst separate and divide into various portions.

CHAPTER 7

Objection is taken to the following passage: “Thou hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.” To remove it, he shows first the impiety of the Arian explanation; then compares these words with others; and lastly, takes the whole passage into consideration. Hence he gathers that the mission of Christ, although it is to be received according to the flesh, is not to His detriment. When this is proved he shows how the divine mission takes place.

88. There are some, O Emperor Augustus, who in their desire to deny the unity of the divine Substance, strive to make little of the love of the Father and the Son, because it is written: “Thou hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.” But when they say this, what else do they do but adopt a likeness of comparison between the Son of God and men?

89. Can men indeed be I loved by God as the Son is, in Whom the Father is well-pleased? He is well-pleasing in Himself; we through Him. For those in whom God sees His own Son after His own likeness, He admits through His Son into the favor of sons. So that as we go through likeness unto

likeness, so through the Generation of the Son are we called unto adoption. The eternal love of God’s Nature is one thing, that of grace is another.

90. And if they start a debate on the words that are written: “And Thou hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me,” and think a comparison is intended; they must think that the following also was said by way of comparison: “Be ye merciful, as your Father Which is in heaven is merciful;” and elsewhere: “Be ye perfect, as My Father Which is in heaven is perfect.” But if He is perfect in the fullness of His glory, we are but perfect according to the growth of virtue within us. The Son also is loved by the Father according to the fullness of a love that ever abideth, but in us growth in grace merits the love of God.

91. Thou seest, then, how God has given grace to men, and dost thou wish to dissever the natural and indivisible love of the Father and the Son? And dost thou still strive to make nothing of words, where thou dost note the mention of a unity of majesty?

92. Consider the whole of this passage, and see from what standpoint He speaks; for thou hearest Him saying: “Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.” See how He speaks from the standpoint of the first man. For He begs for us in that request those things which, as Man, He remembered were granted in paradise before the Fall, as also He spoke of it to the thief at His Passion: “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, today shall thou be with Me in paradise.” This is the glory before the world was. But He used the word “world” instead “men,” as also thou hast it: “Lo! the whole world goeth after Him;” and again “That the world may know that Thou hast sent Me.”

93. But that thou mightest know the great God, even the life-giving and Almighty Son of God, He has added a proof of His majesty by saying: “And all Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine.” He has all things, and dost thou turn aside the fact that He was sent, to wrong Him?

94. But if thou dost not accept the truth of His mission according to the flesh, as the Apostle spoke of it, and dost raise out of a mere word a decision against it, to enable thee to say that inferiors are wont to be sent by superiors; what answer wilt thou give to the fact that the Son was sent to men? For if thou dost think that he who is sent is inferior to him by

whom he is sent, thou must learn also that an inferior has sent a superior, and that superiors have been sent to inferiors. For Tobias sent Raphael the archangel, and an angel was sent to Balsam, and the Son of God to the Jews.

95. Or was the Son of God inferior to the Jews to whom He was sent? For of Him it is written: “Last of all He sent unto them His only Son, saying, They will reverence My Son.” And mark that He mentioned first the servants, then the Son, that thou mayest know that God, the only-begotten Son according to the power of His Godhead, has neither name nor lot in common with servants. He is sent forth to be reverenced, not to be compared with the household.

96. And rightly did He add the word “My,” that we might believe He came, not as one of many, nor as one of a lower nature or of some inferior power, but as true from Him that is true, as the Image of the Father’s Substance.

97. Suppose, however, that he who is sent is inferior to him by whom he is sent. Christ then was inferior to Pilate; for Pilate sent Him to Herod. But a word does not prejudice His power. Scripture, which says that He was sent from the Father, says that He was sent from a ruler.

98. Wherefore, if we sensibly hold to those things which be worthy of the Son of God, we ought to understand Him to have been sent in such a way that the Word of God, out of the incomprehensible and ineffable mystery of the depths of His majesty, gave Himself for comprehension to our minds, so far as we could lay hold of Him, not only when He “emptied” Himself, but also when He dwelt in us, as it is written: “I will dwell in them.” Elsewhere also it stands that God said: “Go to, let us go down and confound their language.” God, indeed, never descends from any place; for He says: “I fill heaven and earth.” But He seems to descend when the Word of God enters our hearts, as the prophet has said: “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.” We are to do this, so that, as He Himself promised, He may come together with the Father and make His abode with us. It is clear, then, how He comes.

CHAPTER 8

Christ, so far as He is true Son of God, has no Lord, but only so far as He is Man; as is shown by His words in which He addressed at one time the Father, at another the Lord. How many heresies are silenced by one verse of Scripture! We must distinguish between the things that belong to Christ as Son of God or as Son of David. For under the latter title only must we ascribe it to Him that He was a servant. Lastly, he points out that many passages cannot be taken except as referring to the Incarnation.

99. WHEREFORE also it is plain how He calls Him Lord, Whom He knew as Father. For He says: "I confess to Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth." First Wisdom spoke of His own Father, and then proclaimed Him Lord of creation. For this reason the Lord shows in His Gospel that no lordship is exercised where there is a true offspring, saying: "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He? They say unto Him, The son of David. Jesus saith to them, How then doth David in spirit call Him Lord, saying: The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit Thou on My right hand"? Then he added: "If David in spirit then call Him Lord. how is He his son? And no man was able to answer Him a word."

100. With what care did the Lord provide for the faith in this witness because of the Arians! For He did not say: "The spirit calls Him Lord," but that "David spake in spirit;" in order that men might believe that as He is his, that is, David's son according to the flesh, so also He is his Lord and God according to His Godhead. Thou seest, then, that there is a distinction between the titles that are used of relationship and of lordship.

101. And rightly did the Lord speak of His own Father, but of the Lord of heaven and earth; so that thou, when thou readest of the Father and the Lord, mayest understand it is the Father of the Son, and the Lord of Creation. In the one title rests the claim of nature, in the other the authority to rule. For taking on Himself the form of a servant, He calls Him Lord, because He has submitted to service; being equal to Him in the form of God, but being a servant in the form of His body: for service is the due of the flesh, but lordship is the due of the Godhead. Wherefore also the Apostle says: "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of

glory," that is, terming Him God of the adoption of humanity but the Father of glory. Did God have two Sons, Christ and Glory? Certainly not. Therefore if there is one Son of God, even Christ, Christ is Glory. Why dost thou strive to belittle Him who is the glory of the Father?

102. If then the Son is glory, and the Father is glory (for the Father of glory cannot be anything else than glory), there is no separation of glories, but glory is one. Thus glory is referred to its own proper nature, but lordship to the service of the body that was assumed. For if the flesh is subject to the soul of a just man as it is written: "I chastise my body and bring it into subjection;" how much more is it subject to the Godhead, of Which it is said: "For all things serve Thee"?

103. By one question the Lord has shut out both Sabellians and Photinians and Arians. For when He said that the Lord spoke to the Lord, Sabellius is set aside, who will have it that the same Person is both Father and Son. Photinus is set aside, who thinks of Him merely as man; for none could be Lord of David the King, but He Who is God, for it is written: "Thou shalt worship the Lord 'thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." Would the prophet who ruled under the Law act contrary to the Law? Arius is set aside, who hears that the Son sits on the right hand of the Father; so that if he argues from human ways, he refutes himself, and makes the poison of his blasphemous arguments to flow back upon himself. For in interpreting the inequality of the Father and the Son by the analogy of human habits (wandering from the truth in either case), he puts Him first Whom he makes little of, confessing Him to be the First, Whom he hears to be at the right hand. The Manichaean also is set aside, for he does not deny that He is the Son of David according to the flesh, Who, at the cry of the blind men, "Jesus, Thou Son of David, have mercy on us,"' was pleased at their faith and stood and healed them. But He does deny that this refers to His eternity, if He is called Son of David alone by those who are false.

104. For "Son of God" is against Ebion, "Son of David," is against the Manichees; "Son of God" is against Photinus, "Son of David" is against Marcion; "Son of God" is against Paul of Samosata, "Son of David" is against Valentinus; "Son of God" is against Arius and Sabellius, the inheritors of heathen errors. "Lord of David "is against the Jews, who

beholding the Son of God in the flesh, in impious madness believed Him to be only man.

105. But in the faith of the Church one and the same is both Son of God the Father and Son of David. For the mystery of the Incarnation of God is the salvation of the whole of creation, according to that which is written: “That without God He should taste death for every man;” that is, that every creature might be redeemed without any suffering at the price of the blood of the Lord’s Divinity, as it stands elsewhere: “Every creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption.”

106. It is one thing to be named Son according to the divine Substance, it is another thing to be so called according to the adoption of human flesh. For, according to the divine Generation, the Son is equal to God the Father; and, according to the adoption of a body, He is a servant to God the Father. “For,” it says, “He took upon Him the form of a servant.” The Son is, however, one and the same. On the other hand, according to His glory, He is Lord to the holy patriarch David, but his Son in the line of actual descent, not abandoning aught of His own, but acquiring for Himself the rights that go with the adoption into our race.

107. Not only does He undergo service in the character of man by reason of His descent from David, but also by reason of His name, as it is written: “I have found David My Servant;” and elsewhere: “Behold I will send unto you My Servant, the Orient is His name. And the Son Himself says: “Thus saith the Lord, that formed Me from the womb to be His servant, and said unto Me: It is a great thing for Thee to be called My Servant. Behold I have set Thee up for a witness to My people, and a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.” To whom is this said, if not to Christ? Who being in the form of God, emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant. But what can be in the form of God, except that which exists in the fullness of the Godhead?

108. Learn, then, what this means: “He took upon Him the form of a servant.” It means that He took upon Him all the perfections of humanity in their completeness, and obedience in its completeness. And so it says in the thirtieth Psalm: “Thou hast set my feet in a large room. I am made a reproach above all mine enemies. Make Thy face to shine upon Thy servant.” “Servant” means the Man in whom He was sanctified; it means

the Man in whom He was anointed; it means the Man in whom He was made under the law, made of the Virgin; and, to put it briefly, it means the Man in whose person He has a mother, as it is written: “O Lord, I am Thy Servant, I am Thy Servant, and the Son of Thy hand-maid;” and again: “I am cast down and sore humbled.”

109. Who is sore humbled, but Christ, Who came to free all through His obedience? “For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.” Who received the cup of salvation? Christ the High Priest, or David who never held the priesthood, nor endured suffering? Who offered the sacrifice of Thanksgiving?

110. But that is insufficient; take again: “Preserve My soul, for I am holy.” Did David say this of himself? Nay, He says it, Who also says: “Thou wilt not leave My soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption.” The Same then says both of these.

111. He has added further: “Save Thy Servant;” and, further on: “Give Thy strength to Thy servant, and to the Son of Thy handmaid;” and, elsewhere, that is, in Ezekiel: “And I will set up one Shepherd over them, and He shall rule them, even My Servant David. He shall feed them, and He shall be their Shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My Servant David a prince among them.” Now David the Son of Jesse was already dead. Therefore he speaks of Christ, Who for our sakes was made the Son of a handmaiden in the form of man; for according to His divine Generation He has no Mother, but a Father only: nor is He the fruit of earthly desire, but the eternal Power of God.

112. And so, also, when we read that the Lord said: “My time is not yet full come;” and: “Yet a little while I am with you;” and: “I go unto Him that sent Me;” and: “Now is the Son of Man glorified;” we ought to refer all this to the sacrament of the Incarnation. But when we read: “And God is glorified in Him, and God hath glorified Him;” what doubt is there here, where the Son is glorified by the Father, and the Father is glorified by the Son?

113. Next, to make clear the faith of the Unity, and the Union of the Trinity, He also said that He would be glorified by the Spirit, as it stands:

"He shall receive of Mine, and shall glorify Me." Therefore the Holy Spirit also glorifies the Son of God. How, then, did He say: "If I glorify Myself, My glory is nothing." Is then the glory of the Son nothing? It is blasphemy to say so, unless we apply these words to His flesh; for the Son spoke in the character of man, for by comparison with the Godhead, there is no glory of the flesh.

114. Let them cease from their wicked objections which are but thrown back upon their own falseness. For they say, it is written: "Now is the Son of Man glorified." I do not deny that it is written: "The Son of Man is glorified." But let them see what follows: "And God is glorified in Him." I can plead some excuse for the Son of Man, but He has none for His Father; for the Father took not flesh upon Himself. I can plead an excuse, but do not use it. He has none, and is falsely attacked. I can either understand it in its plain sense, or I can apply to the flesh what concerns the flesh. A devout mind distinguishes between the things which are spoken after the flesh or after the Godhead. An impious mind turns aside to the dishonor of the Godhead, all that is said with regard to the littleness of the flesh.

CHAPTER 9

The saint meets those who in Jewish wise object to the order of the words: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," with the retort that the Son also is often placed before the Father; though he first points out that an answer to this objection has been already given by him.

115. WHY is it that the Arians, after the Jewish fashion, are such false and shameless interpreters of the divine words, going indeed so far as to say that there is one power of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, since it is written: "Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost"? And why do they make a distinction of divine power owing to the mere order of words?

116. Though I have already given this very witness for a unity of majesty and name in my former books, yet if they make this the ground of debate, I can maintain on the testimony of the Scriptures that the Son is mentioned

first in many places, and that the Father is spoken of after Him. Is it therefore a fact that, because the name of the Son is placed first, by the mere accident of a word, as the Arians would have it, the Father comes second to the Son? God forbid, I say, God forbid. Faith knows nothing of such order as this; it knows nothing of a divided honor of the Father and the Son. I have not read of, nor heard of, nor found any varying degree in God. Never have I read of a second, never of a third God. I have read of a first God, I have heard of a first and only God.

117. If we pay such excessive regard to order, then the Son ought not to sit at the right hand of the Father, nor ought He to call Himself the First and the Beginning. The Evangelist was wrong in beginning with the Word and not with God, where he says: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.” For, according to the order of human usage, he ought to name the Father first. The Apostle also was ignorant of their order, who says: “Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of Go;” and elsewhere: “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost.” If we follow the order of the words, he has placed the Son first, and the Father second. But the order of the words is often changed; and therefore thou oughtest not to question about order or degree, in the case of God the Father and His Son, for there is no severance of unity in the Godhead.

CHAPTER 10

The Arians openly take sides with the heathen in attacking the words: “He that believeth on Me, believeth not on Me,” etc. The true meaning of the passage is unfolded; and to prevent us from believing that the Lord forbade us to have faith in Him, it is shown how He spoke at one time as God, at another as Man. After bringing forward examples of various results of that faith, he shows that certain other passages also must be taken in the same way.

118. Last of all, to show that they are not Christians, they deny that we are to believe on Christ, saying that it is written: Me that believeth on Me, believeth not on Me, but on Him that sent Me.” I was awaiting this confession; why did you delude me with your quibbles? I knew I had to

contend with heathens. Nay, they indeed are converted, but ye are not. If they believe, that the sacrament [of Baptism] is safe; ye have received it, and destroyed it, or perchance it has never been received, but was unreal from the first.

119. It is written, they say: “He that believeth on Me, believeth not on Me, but on Him that sent Me.” But see what follows, and see how the Son of God wishes to be seen; for it continues: “And he that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me,” for the Father is seen in the Son. Thus, He has explained what He had spoken earlier, that he who confesses the Father believes on the Son. For he who knows not the Son, neither knows the Father. For every one that denies the Son has not the Father, but he that confesses the Son has both the Father and the Son.

120. What, then, is the meaning of “Believeth not on Me”? That is, not on that which you can perceive in bodily form, nor merely on the man whom you see. For He has stated that we are to believe not merely on a man, but that thou mayest believe that Jesus Christ Himself is both God and Man. Wherefore, for both reasons He says: “I came not from Myself;” and again: “I am the beginning, of which also I speak to you.” As Man He came not from Himself; as Son of God He takes not His beginning from men; but “I am,” He says, “Myself ‘the beginning of which also I speak to you.’ Neither are the words which I speak human,’ but divine.”

121. Nor is it right to believe that He denied we were to believe on Him, since He Himself said: “That whosoever believeth on Me should not abide in darkness;” and in another place again: “For this is the will of My Father that sent Me, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have eternal life;” and again: “Ye believe in God, believe also in Me.”

122. Let no one, therefore, receive the Son without the Father, because we read of the Son. The Son hath the Father, but not in a temporal sense, nor by reason of His passion, nor owing to His conception, nor by grace. I have read of His Generation, I have not read of His Conception. And the Father says: “I have begotten;” He does not say: “I have created.” And the Son calls not God His Creator in the eternity of His divine Generation, but Father.

123. He represents Himself also now in the character of man, now in the majesty of God; now claiming for Himself oneness of Godhead with the Father, now taking upon Him all the frailty of human flesh; now saying that He has not His own doctrine, and now that He seeks not His own will; now pointing out that His testimony is not true, and now that it is true. For He Himself has said: “If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true.” Later on He says: “If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true.”

124. And how is Thy testimony, Lord Jesus, not true? Did not he who believed it, though he hung upon the cross, and paid the penalty for the crime he owned to, cast aside the deserts of the robber and gain the reward of the innocent?

125. Was Paul deceived, who received his sight, because he believed; which sight he had lost, before he believed?

126. And did Joshua, the son of Nun, err in recognizing the leader of the heavenly host? But after he believed, be forthwith conquered, being found worthy to triumph in the battle of faith. Again, he did not lead forth his armed ranks into the fight, nor did he overthrow the ramparts of the enemy’s walls, with battering rams or other engines of war, but with the sound of the seven trumpets of the priests. Thus the blare of the trumpet and the badge of the priest brought a cruel war to an end.

127. A harlot saw this; and she who in the destruction of the city lost all hope of any means of safety, because her faith had conquered, bound a scarlet thread in her window, and thus uplifted a sign of her faith and the banner of the Lord’s Passion; so that the semblance of the mystic blood, which should redeem the world, might be in memory. So, without, the name of Joshua was a sign of victory to those who fought; within, the semblance of the Lord’s Passion was a sign of salvation to those in danger. Wherefore, because Rahab understood the heavenly mystery, the Lord says in the Psalm: “I will be mindful of Rahab and Babylon that know Me.”

128. How, then, is Thy testimony not true, O Lord, except it be given in accordance with the frailty of man? For “every man is a liar.”

129. Lastly, to prove that He spoke as man, He says: “The Father that sent Me, He beareth witness of Me.” But His testimony as God is true, as He Himself says: “My record is true: for I know whence I come, and whither I go, but ye know not whence I come, and whither I go. Ye judge after the flesh.” They judge then not after the Godhead but after the manhood, who think that Christ had not the power of bearing witness.

130. Therefore, when thou hearest: “He that believeth, believeth not on Me;” or: “The Father that sent Me, He gave Me a commandment;” thou hast now learnt whither thou oughtest to refer those words. Lastly, He shows what the commandment is, saying: “I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself.” Thou seest, then, what is said so as to show He had full power to lay down or to take up His life; as He also said: “I have power to lay it down, and I have power again to take it up. This commandment have I received of My Father.”

131. Whether, then, a command, or, as some Latin manuscripts have it, a direction was given, it was certainly not given to Him as God, but as incarnate man, with reference to the victory He should gain in undergoing His Passion.

CHAPTER 11

We must refer the fact that Christ is said to speak nothing of Himself, to His human nature. After explaining how it is fight to say that He hears and sees the Father as being God, He shows conclusively, by a large number of proofs, that the Son of God is not a creature.

132. Are we indeed to bring the Son of God to such a low estate that He may not know how to act or speak, except as He hears, and are we to suppose that a fixed measure of action or of speech is assigned to Him, because it is written: “I speak not of Myself,” and, further on: “As the Father hath said unto Me, even so I speak”? But those words have reference to the obedience of the flesh, or else to the faith in the Unity. For many learned men allow that the Son hears, and that the Father speaks to the Son through the unity of their Nature; for that which the Son, through

the unity of their will, knows that the Father wills, He seems to have heard.

133. Whereby is meant no personal duty, but an indivisible sentence of co-operation. For this does not signify any actual hearing of words, but the unity of will and of power, which exists both in the Father and in the Son. He has stated that this exists also in the Holy Spirit, in another place, saying, “For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak,” so that we may learn that whatsoever the Spirit says, the Son also says; and whatsoever the Son says, the Father says also; for there is one mind and one mode of working in the Trinity. For, as the Father is seen in the Son, not indeed in bodily appearance, but in the unity of the Godhead, so also the Father speaks in the Son, not with a voice of earth, not with a human sound, but in the unity of Their work. So when He had said: “The Father that dwelleth in Me, He speaketh; and the works that I do, He doeth;” He added: “Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me; or else believe Me for the very work’s sake.”

134. This is what we understand according to the whole course of the holy Scriptures; but the Arians, who will not think of God the things that be right, may be put to silence by an example just suited to their deserts; that they may not believe everything in carnal fashion, since they themselves do not see the works of their father the devil with bodily eyes. So the Lord has declared of their fellows the Jews, saying: “Ye do what ye have seen your father doing;” though they are reproved not because they saw the work of the devil, but because they did his will, since the devil unseen works out sin in them in accordance with their own wickedness, We have written this, as the Apostle did, because of the folly of these traitors.

135. But we have sufficiently proved by examples from Scripture that it is a property of the unity of the divine majesty that the Father should abide in the Son, and that the Son should seem to have heard from the Father those things which He speaks. How else can we understand the unity of majesty than by the knowledge that the same deference is paid to the Father and the Son? For what can be better put than the Apostle’s saying that the Lord of glory was crucified?

136. The Son then is the God of glory and the Lord of glory, but glory is not subject to creatures; the Son therefore is not a creature.

137. The Son is the Image of the Father's Substance; but every creature is unlike that divine Substance, but the Son of the Father is not unlike God; therefore the Son is not a creature.

138. The Son thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but no creature is equal with God, the Son, however, is equal; therefore the Son is not a creature.

139. Every creature is changeable; but the Son of God is not changeable; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

140. Every creature meets with chance occurrences of good and evil after the powers of its nature, and also feels their passing away; but nothing can pass away from or bring addition to the Son of God in His Godhead; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

141. Every work of His God will bring into judgment; but the Son of God is not brought into judgment; for He Himself judges; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

142. Lastly, that thou mayest understand the unity, the Savior in speaking of His sheep says: "No man is able to pluck them out of My hand. My Father Which gave them to Me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of My Father's hand. I and My Father are one."

143. So the Son gives life as does the Father. "For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will." So the Son raises up as does the Father: so too the Son preserves as does the Father. He Who is not unequal in grace, how is He unequal in power? So also the Son does not destroy, as neither does the Father. Therefore lest any one should believe there were two Gods, or should imagine a diversity of power, He said that He was one with His Father. How can a creature say that? Therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

144. It is not the same thing to rule as to serve; but Christ is both a King and the Son of a King. The Son of God therefore is not a servant. Every creature, however, gives service. But the Son of God, Who makes servants become the sons of God, does not give service. Therefore the Son of God is not a servant.

CHAPTER 12

He confirms what has been already said, by the parable of the rich man who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom; and shows that when the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father, we must not regard the fact that the Father is said to put all things in subjection under Him, in a disparaging way. Here we are the kingdom of Christ, and in Christ's kingdom. Hereafter we shall be in the kingdom of God, where the Trinity will reign together.

145. Is divine fashion has He represented that parable of the rich man, who went to a far-off country to receive a kingdom, and to return, thus describing Himself in the substance of the Godhead, and of His Manhood. For He being rich in the fullness of His Godhead, Who was made poor for us though He was rich and an eternal King," and the Son of an eternal King; He, I say, went to a foreign country in taking on Him a body, for He entered upon the ways of men as though upon a strange journey, and came into this world to prepare for Himself a kingdom from amongst us.

146. Jesus therefore came to this earth to receive for Himself a kingdom from us, to whom He says: "The kingdom of God is within you." This is the kingdom which Christ has received, this the kingdom which He has delivered to the Father. For how did He receive for Himself a kingdom, Who was a King eternal? "The Son of Man therefore came to receive a kingdom and to return." The Jews were unwilling to acknowledge Him, of whom He says: "They which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them."

147. Let us follow the course of the Scriptures. He Who came will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father; and when He has delivered up the kingdom, then also shall He be subject to Him, Who has put all things in subjection under Him, that God may be all in all. If the Son of God has received the kingdom as Son of Man, surely as Son of Man also He will deliver up what He has received. If He delivers it up as Son of Man, as Son of Man He confesses His subjection indeed under the conditions of the flesh, and not in the majesty of His Godhead.

148. And dost thou make objections and contemn Him, because God has put all things in subjection under Him, when thou hearest that the Son of Man delivers up the kingdom to God, and hast read, as we said in our earlier books: “No man can come to Me, except the Father draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day”? If we follow it literally, see rather and notice the unity of honor each gives to other: The Father has put all things in subjection under the Son, and the Son delivers the kingdom to the Father. Say now which is the greater, to deliver up, or to raise up to life? Do we not after human fashion speak of the service of delivering up, and the power of raising to life? But both the Son delivers up to the Father, and also the Father to the Son. The Son raises to life, and the Father also raises to life, Let them create the fiction of a blasphemous division where there is a unity of power.

149. Let the Son then deliver up His kingdom to the Father. The kingdom which He delivers up is not lost to Christ, hut grows. We are the kingdom, for it was said to us: “The kingdom of God is within you.” And we are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father; as it is written: “No man cometh to the Father, but by Me.” When I am on the way, I am Christ’s; when I have passed through, I am the Father’s; but everywhere through Christ, and everywhere under Him.

150. It is a good thing to be in the kingdom of Christ, so that Christ may be with us; as He Himself says: “Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.” But it is better to be with Christ: “For to depart and be with Christ is far better.” Though we are under sin in this world, Christ is with us, that “by the obedience of one man many may be made just.” And if I escape the sin of this world, I shall begin to be with Christ. And so He says: “I will come again, and receive you unto Myself;” and further on: “I will that where I am, there ye may be also with Me.”

151. Therefore we are now under Christ’s rule, whilst we are in the body, and are not yet stripped of the form of a servant, which He put upon Him, when He “emptied Himself.” But when we shall see His glory, which He had before the world was, we shall be in the kingdom of God, in which are the patriarchs and prophets, of whom it is written: “When ye shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God;” and shall thus acquire a deeper knowledge of God.

152. But in the kingdom of the Son the Father also reigns; and in the kingdom of the Father the Son also reigns: for the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and in whomsoever the Son dwells, in him also the Father dwells; and in whomsoever the Father dwells, in him also the Son dwells, as it is written: “Both I and My Father will come to Him, and make Our abode with Him.” Thus as there is one dwelling, so also there is one kingdom. Yea, and so far is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son but one, that the Father receives what the Son delivers, and the Son does not lose what the Father receives. Thus in the one kingdom there is a unity of power. Let no one therefore sever the Godhead between the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER 13

With the desire to learn what subjection to Christ means after putting forward and rejecting various ideas of subjection, he runs through the Apostlewords; and so puts an end to the blasphemous opinions of the heretics on this matter. The subjection, which is shown to be future, cannot concern the Godhead, since there has always been the greatest harmony of wills between the Father and the Son. Also to that same Son in His Godhead all things have indeed been made subject; but they are said to be not yet subject to Him in this sense, because all men do not obey His commands. But after that they have been made subject, then shall Christ also be made subject in them, and the Father’s work be perfected.

153. BUT if the one name and right of God belong to both the Father and the Son, since the Son of God is also true God, and a King eternal, the Son of God is not made subject in His Godhead. Let us then, Emperor Augustus, think how we ought to regard His subjection.

154. How is the Son of God made subject? As the creature to vanity? But it is blasphemous to have any such idea of the Substance of the Godhead.

155. Or as every creature is to the Son of God, for it is rightly written: “Thou hast put all things in subjection under His feet”? But Christ is not made subject to Himself.

156. Or as a woman to a man, as we read: “Let the wives be subject to their husbands;” and again: “Let the woman learn in silence in all subjection”? But it is impious to compare a man to the Father, or a woman to the Son of God.

157. Or as Peter said: “Submit yourselves to every human creature”? But Christ was certainly not so subject.

158. Or as Paul wrote: “Submitting yourselves mutually to God and the Father in the fear of Christ”? But Christ was not subject either in His own fear, nor in the fear of another Christ. For Christ is but one. But note the force of these words, that we are subject to the Father, whilst we also fear Christ.

159. How, then, do we understand His subjection? Shall we review the whole chapter which the Apostle wrote, so as to give no appearance of having falsely withheld anything, or of having weakened its force with intention to deceive? “If in this life only,” he says, “we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But if Christ is risen from the dead, He is the first-fruits of them that sleep.” Ye see how he discusses the question of Christ’s Resurrection.

160. “‘ For since by one man,’” he says, “came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But each one in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ’s, who have believed in His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have put down all rule and authority and power. For He must reign until He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death; for He hath put all things under His feet. But when He saith, all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted Which did put all things under Him. But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.” Thus also the same Apostle said to the Hebrews: “But now we see not yet all things put under Him.” We have heard the whole of the Apostle’s discourse.

161. How, then, do we speak of His subjection? The Sabellians and Marcionites say that this subjection of Christ to God the Father will be in such wise that the Son will be re-absorbed into the Father. If, then, the subjection of the Word means that God the Word is to be absorbed into the Father; then whatsoever is made subject to the Father and the Son will be absorbed into the Father and the Son, that God may be all and in all His creatures. But it is foolish to say so. There is therefore no subjection through re-absorption. For there are other things which are made subject, those, that is to say, which are created, and there is Another, to Whom that subjection is made. Let the expounders of a cruel re-absorption keep silence.

162. Would that they too were silent, who, as they cannot prove that the Word of God and Wisdom of God can be re-absorbed, attribute the weakness of subjection to His Godhead, saying that it is written: “But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him.”

163. We see, then, that the Scripture states that He is not yet made subject, but that this is to come: Therefore now the Son is not made subject to God the Father. In what, then, do ye say that the Son will be made subject? If in His Godhead, He is not disobedient, for He is not at variance with the Father; nor is He made subject, for He is not a servant, but the only Son of His own proper Father. Lastly, when He created heaven, and formed the earth, He exercised both power and love. There is therefore no subjection as that of a servant in the Godhead of Christ. But if there is no subjection then the will is free.

164. But if they think of this as the subjection of the Son, namely, that the Father makes all things in union with His will, let them learn that this is really a proof of inseparable power. For the unity of Their will is one that began not in time, but ever existed. But where there is a constant unity of will, there can be no weakness of temporal subjection. For if He were made subject through His nature, He would always remain in subjection; but since He is said to be made subject in time, that subjection must be part of an assumed office and not of an everlasting weakness: especially as the eternal Power of God cannot change His state for a time, neither can the right of ruling fall to the Father in time. For if the Son ever will be changed

in such wise as to be made subject in His Godhead, then also must God the Father, if ever He shall gain more power, and have the Son in subjection to Himself in His Godhead, be considered now in the meantime inferior according to your explanation.

165. But what fault has the Son been guilty of, that we should believe that He could hereafter be made subject in His Godhead? Has he as man seized for Himself the right to sit at His Father's side, or has He claimed for Himself the prerogative of His Father's throne, against His Father's will? But He Himself says: "For I do always those things that please Him." Therefore if the Son pleases the Father in all things, why should He be made subject, Who was not made subject before?

166. Let us see then that there be not a subjection of the Godhead, but rather of us in the fear of Christ, a truth so full of grace, and so full of mystery. Wherefore, again, let us weigh the Apostle's words: "But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him: that God may be all in all." What then dost thou say? Are not all things now subject unto Him? Are not the choirs of the saints made subject? Are not the angels, who ministered to Him when on the earth." Are not the archangels who were sent to Mary to foretell the coming of the Lord? Are not all the heavenly hosts? Are not the cherubim and seraphim, are not thrones and dominions and powers which worship and praise Him?

167. How, then, will they be brought into subjection? In the way that the Lord Himself has said. "Take My yoke upon you." It is not the fierce that bear the yoke, but the humble and the gentle. This clearly is no base subjection for men, but a glorious one: "that in the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things beneath; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father." But for this reason all things were not made subject before, for they had not yet received the wisdom of God, not yet did they wear the easy yoke of the Word on the neck as it were of their mind. "But as many as received Him," as it is written, "to them gave He power to become the sons of God."

168. Will any one say that Christ is now made subject, because many have believed? Certainly not. For Christ's subjection lies not in a few but in all.

For just as I do not seem to be brought into subjection, if the flesh in me as yet lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, although I am in part subdued; so because the whole Church is the one body of Christ, we divide Christ as long as the human race disagrees. Therefore Christ is not yet made subject, for His members are not yet brought into subjection. But when we have become, not many members, but one spirit, then He also will become subject, in order that through His subjection "God may be all and in all."

169. But as Christ is not yet made subject, so is the work of God not yet perfected; for the Son of God said: "My meat is to do the will of My Father that sent Me, and to finish His work." What manner of doubt is there that the subjection of the Son in me is still in the future, in whom the work of the Father is unfinished, because I myself am not yet perfect? I, who make the work of God to be unfinished, do I make the Son of God to be in subjection? But that is not a matter of wrong, it is a matter of grace. For in so far as we are made subject, it is to our profit, not to that of the Godhead, that we are made subject to the law, that we are made subject to grace. For formerly, as the Apostle himself has said, the wisdom of the flesh was at enmity with God, for "it was not made subject to the law," but now it is made subject through the Passion of Christ.

CHAPTER 14

He continues the discussion of the difficulty he has entered upon, and teaches that Christ is not subject but only according to the flesh. Christ, however, whilst in subjection in the Flesh, still gave proofs of His Godhead. He combats the idea that Christ is made subject in This. The humanity indeed, which He adopted, has been so far made subject in us, as ours has been raised in that very humanity of His. Lastly, we are taught, when that same subjection of Christ will take place.

170. However, lest anyone should cavil, see what care Scripture takes under divine inspiration. For it shows to us in what Christ is made subject to God, whilst it also teaches us in what He made the universe subject to Himself. And so it says: "Now we see not yet all things put under Him."

For we see Jesus made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death. It shows therefore that He was made lower in taking on Him our flesh. What then hinders Him from openly showing His subjection in taking on Him our flesh, through which He subjects all things to Himself, whilst He Himself is made subject in it to God the Father?

171. Let us then think of His subjection. “Father,” He says, “if Thou be willing, remove this cup from Me; nevertheless not My will but Thine be done.” Therefore that subjection will be according to the assumption of human nature; as we read: “Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death.” The subjection therefore is that of obedience; the obedience is that of death; the death is that of the assumed humanity; that subjection therefore will be the subjection of the assumed humanity. Thus in no wise is there a weakness in the Godhead, but there is such a discharge of pious duty as this.

172. See how I do not fear their intentions. They allege that He must be subject to God the Father, I say He was subject to Mary His Mother. For it is written of Joseph and Mary: “He was subject unto them.” But if they think so, let them say how the Deity was made subject to men.

173. Let not the fact that He is said to have been made subject work against Him, Who receives no hurt from the fact that He is called a servant, or is stated to have been crucified, or is spoken of as dead. For when He died He lived; when He was made subject He was reigning; when He was buried He revived again. He offered Himself in subjection to human power, yet at another time He declared He was the Lord of eternal glory. He was before the judge, yet claimed for Himself a throne at the right hand of God, as Judge forever. For thus it is written: “Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.” He was scourged by the Jews, and commanded the angels; He was born of Mary under the law; He was before Abraham above the law. On the cross He was revered by nature; the sun fled; the earth trembled; the angels became silent. Could the elements see the Generation of Him Whose Passion they feared to see? And will they uphold the subjection of an adorable Nature in Him, in Whom they could not endure the subjection of the body?

174. But since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are of one Nature, the Father certainly will not be in subjection to Himself. And therefore the Son will not be in subjection in that in which He is one with the Father; test it should seem that through the unity of the Godhead the Father also is in subjection to the Son. Therefore, as upon that cross it was not the fullness of the Godhead, but our weakness that was brought into subjection, so also will the Son hereafter become subject to the Father in the participation of our nature, in order that when the lusts of the flesh are brought into subjection the heart may have no care for riches, or ambition, or pleasures; but that God may be all to us, if we live after His image and likeness, as far as we can attain to it, through all.

175. The benefit has passed, then, from the individual to the community; for in His flesh He has tamed the nature of all human flesh. Thus, according to the Apostle: "As we have borne the image of the earthly, so also shall we bear the image of the heavenly." This thing certainly cannot come to pass except in the inner man. Therefore, "laying aside all these," that is those things which we read of: "anger, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication;" as he also says below: "Let us, having put off the old man with his deeds, put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created Him."

176. And that thou mightest know that when he says: "That God may be all in all," he does not separate Christ from God the Father, he also says to the Colossians: "Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all." So also saying to the Corinthians: "That God may be all and in all," he comprehended in that the unity and equality of Christ with God the Father, for the Son is not separated from the Father. And in like manner as the Father worketh all and in all, so also Christ worketh all in all. If, then, Christ also worketh all in all, He is not made subject in the glory of the Godhead, but in us. But how is He made subject in us, except in the way in which He was made lower than the angels, I mean in the sacrament of His body? For all things which served their Creator from their first beginning seemed not as yet to be made subject to Him in that.

177. But if thou shouldst ask how He was made subject in us, He Himself shows us, saying: "I was in prison, and ye came unto Me; I was sick, and

ye visited Me: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto Me.” Thou hearest of Him as sick and weak, and art not moved. Thou hearest of Him in subjection, and art moved, though He is sick and weak in Him in whom He is in subjection, in whom He was made sin and a curse for us.

178. As, then, He was made sin and a curse not on His own account but on ours, so He became subject in us not for His own sake but for ours, being not in subjection in His eternal Nature, nor accursed in His eternal Nature. “For cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.” Cursed He was, for He bore our curses; in subjection, also, for He took upon Him our subjection, but in the assumption of the form of a servant, not in the glory of God; so that whilst he makes Himself a partaker of our weakness in the flesh, He makes us partakers of the divine Nature in His power. But neither in one nor the other have we any natural fellowship with the heavenly Generation of Christ, nor is there any subjection of the Godhead in Christ. But as the Apostle has said that on Him through that flesh which is the pledge of our salvation, we sit in heavenly places, though certainly not sitting ourselves, so also He is said to be subject in us through the assumption of our nature.

179. For who is so mad as to think, as we have said already, that a seat of honor is due to Him at the right hand of God the Father, when that is granted to Christ according to the flesh by the Father of His Generation, even a seat of a heavenly and equal power? The angels worship, and dost thou attempt to overthrow the throne of God with impious presumption?

180. It is written, thou sayest, that “when we were dead in sins, He hath quickened us in Christ, by Whose grace ye are saved, and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. I acknowledge that it is so written; but it is not written that God suffers men to sit on His right hand, but only to sit there in the Person of Christ. For He is the foundation of all, and is the head of the Church, in Whom our common nature according to the flesh has merited the right to the heavenly throne. For the flesh is honored as having a share in Christ Who is God, and the nature of the whole human race is honored as having a share in the flesh.

181. As we then sit in Him by fellowship in our fleshly nature, so also He, Who through the assumption of our flesh was made a curse for us (seeing

that a curse could not fall upon the blessed Son of God), so, I say, He through the obedience of all will become subject in us; when the Gentile has believed, and the Jew has acknowledged Him Whom he crucified; when the Manichaean has worshipped Him, Whom he has not believed to have come in the flesh; when the Arian has confessed Him to be Almighty, Whom he has denied; when, lastly, the wisdom of God, His justice, peace, love, resurrection, is in all. Through His own works and through the manifold forms of virtues Christ will be in us in subjection to the Father. And when, with vice renounced and crime at an end, one spirit in the heart of all peoples has begun to cleave to God in all things, then will God be all and in all.

CHAPTER 15

He briefly takes up again the same points of dispute, and shrewdly concludes from the unity of the divine power in the Father and the Son, that whatever is said of the subjection of the Son is to be referred to His humanity alone. He further confirms this on proof of the love, which exists alike in either.

182. Let us then shortly sum up our conclusion on the whole matter. A unity of power puts aside all idea of a degrading subjection. His giving up of power, and His victory as conqueror won over death, have not lessened His power. Obedience works out subjection. Christ has taken obedience upon Himself, obedience even to taking on Him our flesh, the cross even to gaining our salvation. Thus where the work lies, there too is the Author of the work. When therefore, all things have become subject to Christ, through Christ’s obedience, so that all bend their knees in His name, then He Himself will be all in all. For now, since all do not believe, all do not seem to be in subjection. But when all have believed and done the will of God, then Christ will be all and in all. And when Christ is all and in all, then will God be all and in all; for the Father abides ever in the Son. How, then, is He shown to be weak, Who redeemed the weak?

183. And lest thou shouldst by chance attribute to the weakness of the Son, that it is written, that God hath put all things in subjection under Him; learn that He has Himself brought all things into subjection to

Himself, for it is written: “Our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body according to the working, whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself.” Thou has learnt, therefore, that He can subdue all things unto Himself according to the working of His Godhead.

184. Learn now how He receives all things in subjection according to the flesh, as it is written: “Who wrought in Christ, raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, above principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under His feet.” According to the flesh then all things are given to Him in subjection; according to which also He was raised from the dead, both in His human soul and His rational subjection.

185. Many nobly interpret that which is written: “Truly my soul will be in subjection to God;” He said soul not Godhead, soul not glory. And that we might know that the Lord has spoken through the prophet of the adoption of our human nature, He added: “How long will ye cast yourselves upon a man?” As also He says in the Gospel: “Why do ye seek to kill Me, a man?” And He added again: “Nevertheless they desired to refuse My price, they ran in thirst, they blessed with their mouth, and cursed with their heart.” For the Jews, when Judas brought back the price, would not receive it, running on in the thirst of madness, for they refused the grace of a spiritual draught.

186. This is the reverent interpretation of subjection, for since this is the office of the Lord’s Passion, He will be subject in us in that in which He suffered. Do we ask wherefore? That “neither angels, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature may separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.” we see then, from what has been said, that no creature is excepted; but that every one, of whatever kind it may be, is enumerated among those he mentioned above.

187. At the same time, we must also think of the words which, after first saying “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?” he wrote next: “Neither death, nor life, nor any other creature can separate us from the

love of God, which is in Christ Jesus." we see, then, that the love of God is the same as the love of Christ. Thus it was not without reason that he wrote of the love of God, "which is in Christ Jesus," lest otherwise thou mightest imagine that the love of God and of Christ was divided. But there is nothing that love divides, nothing that the eternal Godhead cannot do, nothing that is unknown to the Truth, or deceives Justice, or escapes the notice of Wisdom.

CHAPTER 4

The Arians are condemned by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David: for they dare to limit Christ knowledge. The passage cited by them in proof of this is by no means free from suspicion of having been corrupted. But to set this right, we must mark the word "Son." For knowledge cannot fail Christ as Son of God, since He is Wisdom; nor the recognition of any part, for He created all things. It is not possible that He, who made the ages, cannot know the future, much less the day of judgment. Such knowledge, whether it concerns anything great or small, may not be denied to the Son, nor yet to the Holy Spirit. Lastly, various proofs are given from which we can gather that this knowledge exists in Christ.

188. WHEREFORE we ought to know that they who make such statements are accursed and condemned by the Holy Spirit. For whom else but the Arians in chief does the prophet condemn, seeing that they say that the Son of God knows neither times nor years. For there is nothing which God is ignorant of; and Christ, yea the most high Christ, is God, for He is "God over all."

189. See how horrified holy David is at such men, in limiting the knowledge of the Son of God. For thus it is written: "They are not in the troubles of other men, neither will they be scourged with men; therefore their pride has laid hold on them; they are covered with their wickedness and blasphemy; their iniquity hath stood forth as it were with fatness; they have passed on to the thoughts of their heart." Truly he condemns those who think that divine things are to be regarded in the light of the thoughts of the heart. For God is not subject to arrangement or order;

seeing that we do not perceive even those very things, which are common among men and often occur in the history of the human race, to turn out always after the arrangement of some stated rule, but often to happen suddenly in some secret and mysterious manner.

190. “They have thought,” he says, “and have spoken wickedness. They have spoken wickedness against the Most High. They have set their mouth against heaven.” We see then that he condemns, as guilty of wicked blasphemy, those who claim for themselves the fight to arrange the heavenly secrets after the semblance of our human nature.

191. And they have said: “How hath God known? And is there knowledge in the Most High?” Do not the Arians echo this daily, saying that all knowledge cannot exist in Christ? For He, they say, stated that He knew not the day nor hour. Do they not say, how did He know, while they maintain that He could not know anything but what He heard and saw, and apply by a blasphemous interpretation that which concerns the unity of the divine Nature to weaken His power?

192. It is written, they say: “But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only.” First of all the ancient Greek manuscripts do not contain the words, “neither the Son.” But it is not to be wondered at if they who have corrupted the sacred Scriptures, have also falsified this passage. The reason for which it seems to have been inserted is perfectly plain, so long as it is applied to unfold such blasphemy.

193. Suppose however that the Evangelist wrote thus. The name of “Son” embraces both natures. For He is also called Son of Man, so that in the ignorance attached to the assumption of our nature, He seems not to have known the day of the judgment to come. For how could the Son of God be ignorant of the day, seeing that the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are hidden in Him?

194. I ask then, whether He had this knowledge by reason of His Being, or by chance? For all knowledge comes to us either through nature, or by learning. It is supplied by nature, as for instance to a horse to enable it to run, or to a fish to enable it to swim. For they do this without learning. On the other hand, it is by learning that a man is enabled to swim. For he could

not do so unless he had learnt. Since therefore nature enables dumb animals to do and to know what they have not learnt, why shouldst thou give an opinion on the Son of God, and say whether He has knowledge by instruction or by nature? If by instruction, then He was not begotten as Wisdom, and gradually began to be perfect, but was not always so. But if He has knowledge by nature, then He was perfect in the beginning, He came forth perfect from the Father; and so needed no foreknowledge of the future.

195. He therefore was not ignorant of the days; for it does not fall to the lot of the Wisdom of God to know in part and in part to be ignorant. For how can He who made all things be ignorant of a part, since it is a less thing to know than to make. For we know many things which we cannot make, neither do we all know things in the same way but we know them in part. For a countryman knows the force of the wind and the courses of the stars in one way — the inhabitant of a city knows them in another way — and a pilot in yet a third way. But although all do not know all things, they are said to know them; but He alone knows all things in full, Who made all things. The pilot knows for how many watches Arcturus continues, what sort of a rising of Orion he will discover, but he knows nothing of the connection of the Vergiliae and of the other stars, or of their number or names, as does He "Who numbers the multitude of stars, and calleth them all by their names;" Whom indeed the power of His work cannot escape.

196. How then do you wish the Son of God to have made these things? Like a signet ring which does not feel the impression it makes? But the Father made all things in wisdom, that is, He made all things through the Son, who is the Virtue and Wisdom of God. But it befits such Wisdom as that to know both the powers and the causes of His own works. Thus the Creator of all things could not be ignorant of what He did — or be without knowledge of what He had Himself given. Therefore He knew the day which He made.

197. But thou sayest that He knows the present and does not know the future. Though this is a foolish suggestion, yet that I may satisfy thee on Scriptural grounds, learn that He made not only what is past, but also what is future, as it is written: "Who made things to come." Elsewhere too Scripture says: "By whom also He made the ages, who is the brightness of

His glory and the express Image of His Person.” Now the ages are past and present and future. How then were those made which are future, unless it is that His active power and knowledge contains within itself the number of all the ages? For just as He calls the things that are not as though they were,so has He made things future as though they were. It cannot come to pass that they should not be. Those things which He has directed to be, necessarily will be. Therefore He who has made the things that are to be, knows them in the way in which they will be.

198. If we are to believe this about the ages, much more must we believe it about the day of judgment, on the ground that the Son of God has knowledge of it, as being already made by Him. For it is written: “According to Thine ordinance the day will continue.” He did not merely say “the day continues,” but even “will continue,” so that the things which are to come might be governed by His ordinance. Does He not know what He ordered? “He who planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye shall He not see?”

199. Let us however see if by chance there may be some great thing, which could be beyond the knowledge of its Creator; or at least let them choose whether they will think of something great and superior to other things, or something very little and mean. If it is very little and mean, it is no loss, to speak after our fashion, to know nothing of worthless and petty things. For as it is a sign of power to know the greatest things, it seems rather to be a sign of inferior work to look upon what is worth less. Thus He is freed from fastidiousness, yet is not deprived of His power.

200. But if they think it a great and important thing to know the day of judgment: Let them say what is greater or better than God the Father. He knows God the Father, as He Himself says: “No man knoweth the Father but the Son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.” I say, does He know the Father and yet not know the day? So then ye believe that He reveals the Father, and yet cannot reveal the day?

201. Next because you make certain grades, so as to put the Father before the on, and the Son before the Holy Spirit, tell me whether the Holy Spirit knew the day of judgment For no thing is written of Him in this place. You deny it entirely. But what if I show you He knew it? For it is written: “But God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth

all things, yea the deep things of God.” Wherefore, because He searches the deep things of God, since God knows the day of judgment, the Spirit also knows it. For He knows all that God knows, as also the Apostle states, saying: “For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him, even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.” Take heed therefore lest either by denying that the Holy Spirit knows, you should deny that the Father knows; (For the things of God, the Spirit of God also knows, but the things which the Spirit of God does not know, are not the things of God). Or by confessing that the Spirit of God knows, what you deny that the Son of God knows, you should put the Spirit before the Son in opposition to your own declaration. But to hesitate on this point is not only blasphemous but also foolish.

202. Now consider how knowledge is acquired, and let us show that the Son Himself proved that He knew the day. For what we know we make clear either by mention of time or place or signs or persons, or by giving their order. How then did He not know the day of judgment Who described both the hour and the place of judgment, and the signs and the cases?

203. And so thou hast it: “In that hour he which shall be on the housetop let him not come down to take his goods out of his house, and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back.” To such a point in the future did He know the issues of dangers, that He even showed the means of safety to those in danger.

204. Could the Lord be ignorant of a day Who Himself said of Himself that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath?

205. He has also elsewhere marked out a place, when He said to His disciples who were showing Him the building of the temple, “Do ye see all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down.”

206. When questioned also about a sign by His disciples, He answered: “Take heed that ye be not deceived. For many shall come in My name, saying I am Christ;” and further on He says: “and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and terrors from heaven,

and there shall be great signs." Thus He has described both persons and signs.

207. In what manner He tells that the armies will surround Jerusalem, or that the times of the Gentiles are to be fulfilled, and in what order, — all this is disclosed to us by the witness of the Gospel words. Therefore He knew all things.

CHAPTER 17

Christ acted for our advantage in being unwilling to reveal the day of judgment. This is made plain by other words of our Lord and by a not dissimilar passage from Paul's writings. Other passages in which the same ignorance seems to be attributed to the Father are brought forward to meet those who are anxious to know why Christ answered His disciples, as though He did not know. From these Ambrose argues against them that if they admit ignorance and inability in the Father, they must admit that the same Substance exists in the Son as in the Father; unless they prefer to accuse the Son of falsehood; since it belongs neither to Him nor to the Father to deceive, but the unity of both is pointed out in the passage named.

208. But we ask for what reason He was unwilling to state the time. If we ask it, we shall not find it is owing to ignorance, but to wisdom. For it was not to our advantage to know; in order that we being ignorant of the actual moments of judgment to come, might ever be as it were on guard, and set on the watch-tower of virtue, and so avoid the habits of sin; lest the day of the Lord should come upon us in the midst of our wickedness. For it is not to our advantage to know but rather to fear the future; for it is written: "Be not high-minded but fear."

209. For if He had distinctly stated the day, he would seem to have laid down a rule of life for that one age which was nearest to the judgment, and the just man in the earlier times would be more negligent, and the sinner more free from care. For the adulterer cannot cease from the desire of committing adultery unless he fears punishment day by day, nor can the robber forsake the hiding places in the woods where he dwells, unless he

knows punishment is hanging over him day by day. For impurity generally spurs them on, but fear is irksome to the end.

210. Therefore I have said that it was not to our advantage to know; nay, it is to our advantage to be ignorant, that through ignorance we might fear, through watchfulness be corrected, as He Himself said: “Be ye ready, for ye know not at what hour the Son of Man cometh.” For the soldier does not know how to watch in the camp unless he knows that war is at hand.

211. Wherefore at another time also the Lord Himself when asked by his Apostles (Yes, for they did not understand it as Arius did, but believed that the Son of God knew the future. For unless they had believed this, they would never have asked the question.) — the Lord, I say, when asked when He would restore the kingdom to Israel, did not say that He did not know, but says: “It is not for you to know the times or years, which the Father hath put in His own power.” Mark what He said: It is not for you to know! Read again, “It is not for you.” ‘For you,’ He said, not “for Me,” for now He spoke not according to His own perfection but as was profitable to the human body and our soul. “For you therefore He said, not “for Me.”

212. Which example the Apostle also followed: “But of the times and seasons, brethren,” he says, “ye have no need that I write unto you.” Thus not even the Apostle himself, the servant of Christ, said that he knew not the seasons, but that there was no need for the people to be taught; for they ought ever to be armed with spiritual armor, that the virtue of Christ may stand forth in each one. But when the Lord says: “Of the times which the Father hath put in His own power,” He certainly cannot be without a share in His Father’s knowledge, in whose power He is by no means without a share. For power grows out of wisdom and virtue; and Christ is both of these.

213. But you ask, why did He not refuse His disciples as one who knew, but would not say; and, why did He state instead that neither the angels nor the Son knew?’ I too will ask you why God says in Genesis: “I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry that is come unto Me. And if not, that I may know.” Why does Scripture also say of God: “And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men builded.” Why also does the prophet say in the

Book of the Psalms: “The Lord looked down upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and that did seek God”? Just as though in one place, if God had not descended, and in the other, if He had not looked down, He would have been ignorant either of men’s work or of their merits.

214. But in the Gospel of Luke also thou hast the same, for the Father says: “What shall I do? I will send My beloved Son; it may be that they will reverence Him.” In Matthew and in Mark thou hast: “But He sent His only Son, saying: they will reverence My Son;” In one book He says: “It may be that they will reverence My Son;” and is in doubt as though He does not know; for this is the language of one in doubt. But in the two other books He says: “They will reverence My Son;” that is, He declares that reverence will be shown.

215. But God can neither be in doubt, nor can He be deceived. For he only is in doubt, who is ignorant of the future; and he is deceived, who has predicted one thing, whilst another has happened. Yet what is plainer than the fact that Scripture states the Father to have said one thing of the Son, and that the same Scripture proves another think to have taken place? The Son was beaten, He was mocked, was crucified, and died. He suffered much worse things in the flesh than those servants who had been appointed before. Was the Father deceived, or was He ignorant of it, or was He unable to give help? But He that is true cannot make a mistake; for it is written: “God is faithful Who doth not lie.”. How was He ignorant, Who knows all? What could He not do, Who could do all?

216. Yet if either He was ignorant, or had not power (for you would sooner agree to say that the Father did not know than own that the Son knows), you see from this very fact that the Son is of one Substance with the Father; seeing that the Son like the Father (to speak in accordance with your foolish ideas) does not know all things, and cannot do all things. For I am not so eager or rash in giving praise to the Son as to dare to say that the Son can do more than the Father; for I make no distinction of power between the Father and the Son.

217. But perhaps you say that the Father did not say so, but that the Son erred about the Father. So now you convict the Son not only of weakness, but also of blasphemy and lying. However if you do not believe the Son

with regard to the Father, neither may you believe Him with regard to that. For if He wished to deceive us in saying that the Father was in doubt as though He knew not what would take place, He wished also to deceive us about Himself in saying that He did not know the future. It would be far more endurable for Him to stretch the veil of ignorance in front of that which He does of His own accord, than that He should seem to be deluded by a result contrary to what He had foretold in the things He had declared of His Father.

218. But neither is the Father deceived not does the Son deceive. It is the custom of the holy Scriptures to speak thus, as the examples I have already given, and many others testify, so that God feigns not to know what He does know. In this then a unity of Godhead, and a unity of character is proved to exist in the Father and in the Son; seeing that, as God the Father hides what is known to Him, so also the Son, Who is the image of God in this respect, hides what is known to Him.

CHAPTER 18

Wishing to give a reason for the Lord's answer to the apostles, he assigns the one received to Christ's tenderness. Then when another reason is supplied by others he confesses that it is true; for the Lord spoke it by reason of His human feelings. Hence he gathers that the knowledge of the Father and the Son is equal, and that the Son is not inferior to the Father. After having set beside the text, in which He is said to be inferior, another whereby He is declared to be equal, he censures the rashness of the Arians in judging about the Son, and shows that whilst they wickedly make Him to be inferior, He is rightly called a Stone by Himself.

219. We have been taught therefore that the Son of God is not ignorant of the future. If they confess this, I too — that I may now answer why He declared that neither angels, nor the Son, but only the Father knows — call to mind His wonted love for His disciples also in this passage, and His grace, which by its very frequency ought to have been known to all. For the Lord, filled with deep love for His disciples, when they asked from Him what He thought unprofitable for them to know, prefers to seem

ignorant of what He knows, rather than to refuse an answer. He loves rather to provide what is useful for us, than to show His own power.

220. There are, however, some not so faint-hearted as I. For I would rather fear the deep things of God, than be wise. There are some, however, relying on the words: “And Jesus increased in age and in wisdom and in favor with God and man,” who boldly say, that according to His Godhead indeed He could not be ignorant of the future, but that in His assumption of our human state He said that He as Son of Man was in ignorance before His crucifixion. For when He speaks of the Son, He does not speak as it were of another; for He Himself is our Lord the Son of God and the Son of a Virgin. But by a word which embraces both, He guides our mind, so that He as Son of Man according to His adoption of our ignorance and growth of knowledge, might be believed as yet not fully to have known all things. For it is not for us to know the future. Thus He seems to be ignorant in that state in which He makes progress. For how does He progress according to His Godhead, in Whom the fullness of the Godhead dwells? Or what is there which the Son of God does not know, Who said: “Why think ye evil in your hearts?” How does He not know, of Whom Scripture says: “But Jesus knew their thoughts”?

221. This is what others say, but I — to return to my former point, where I stated it was written of the Father: “It may be they will reverence My Son,” — I think indeed this was written in order that the Father, as He was speaking of men, might also seem to have spoken with human feelings. But still more am I inclined to think that the Son Who went about with men, and lived the life of man, and took upon Him our flesh, assumed also our feelings; so that after our ignorance He might say He knew not, though there was not anything He did not know. For though He seemed to be a man in the reality of His body, yet was He Life, and Light, and virtue came out of Him, to heal the wounds of the injured by the power of His Majesty.

222. Ye see then that this matter has been solved for you, since the saying of the Son is referred to the assumption of our state in its fullness, and it was thus written concerning the Father, in order that you might cease to cavil at the Son.

223. There was nothing then of which the Son of God was ignorant, for there was nothing of which the Father was ignorant. But if the Son was ignorant of nothing, as we now conclude, let them say in what respect they wish Him to seem to be inferior. If God has begotten a Son inferior to Himself, He has granted Him less. If He has granted Him less, He either wished to give less, or could only give less. But the Father is neither weak nor envious, seeing that there was neither will nor power before the Son. For wherein is He inferior, Who has all things even as the Father has them? He has received all things from the Father by right of His Generation, and has shown forth the Father wholly by the glory of His Majesty.

224. It is written, they say: “For the Father is greater than I.” It is also written: “He thought it not robbery to be equal with God” It is written again that the Jews wished to kill Him, because He said He was the Son of God, making Himself equal with God. It is written: “I and My Father are one.” They read “one” they do not read “many.” Can He then be both inferior and equal in the same Nature? Nay, the one refers to His Godhead, the other to His flesh.

225. They say He is inferior: I ask who has measured it, who is of so overweening a heart, as to place the Father and the Son before his judgment seat to decide upon which is the greater? “My heart is not haughty nor are mine eyes raised unto vanity,” says David. King David feared to raise his heart in pride in human affairs, but we raise ours even in opposition to the divine secrets. Who shall decide about the Son of God? Thrones, dominions, angels, powers? But archangels give attendance and serve Him, cherubim and seraphim minister to Him and praise Him. Who then decides about the Son of God, on reading that the Father Himself knows the Son, but will not judge Him. “For no man knoweth the Son, but the Father.” “Knoweth” it says, not “judgeth.” It is one thing to know, another to judge. The Father has knowledge in Himself. The Son has no power superior to Himself. And again: “No man knoweth the Father, but the Son;” and He Himself knows the Father, as the Father knows Him.

226. But thou sayest that He said He was inferior, He said also He was a Stone. Thou sayest more and yet dost impiously attack Him. I say less and with reverence add to His honor. Thou sayest He is inferior and confessest Him to be above the angels. I say He is less than the angels, yet

do not take from His honor; for I do not refute His Godhead, but I do proclaim His pity.

CHAPTER 19

The Saint having turned to God the Father, explains why he does not deride that the Son is inferior to the Father, then he declares it is not for him to measure the Son of God, since it was given to an angel — nay, perhaps even to Christ as man — to measure merely Jerusalem. Arius, he says, has shown himself to be an imitator of Satan. It is a rash thing to hold discussions on the divine Generation. Since so great a sign of human generation has been given by Isaiah, we ought not to make comparisons in divine things. Lastly he shows how carefully we ought to avoid the pride of Arius, by putting before us various examples of Scriptures.

227. To Thee now, Almighty Father, do I direct my words with tears. I indeed have readily called Thee inapproachable, incomprehensible, inestimable; but I dared not say Thy Son was inferior to Thyself. For when I read that He is the Brightness of Thy glory, and the Image of Thy Person, I fear lest, in saying that the Image of Thy Person is inferior, I should seem to say that Thy Person is inferior, of which the Son is the Image; for the fullness of Thy Godhead is wholly in the Son. I have often read, I freely believe, that Thou and Thy Son and the Holy Spirit are boundless, unmeasurable, inestimable, ineffable. And therefore I cannot appraise Thee so as to weigh Thee.

228. But be it so, that I desired with a daring and rash spirit to measure Thee? From whence, I ask, shall I measure Thee, The prophet saw a line of flax with which the angel measured Jerusalem. An angel was measuring, not Arius. And he was measuring Jerusalem, not God. And perchance even an angel could not measure Jerusalem, for it was a man. Thus it is written: “I raised mine eyes and saw and beheld a man, and in his hand there was a line of flax.” He was a man, for a type of the body that was to be assumed was thus shown. He was a man, of whom it was said: “There cometh a man after me, Whose shoe’s latchet I am not worthy to unloose.” Therefore Christ in a type measures Jerusalem. Arius measures God.

229. Even Satan transforms himself into an angel of light; what wonder then if Arius imitates his Author in taking upon himself what is forbidden? Though his father the devil did it not in his own case, that man with intolerable blasphemy assumes to himself the knowledge of divine secrets and the mysteries of the heavenly Generation. For the devil confessed the true Son of God, Arius denies Him.

230. If, then, I cannot measure Thee, Almighty Father, can I without blasphemy discuss the secrets of Thy Generation? Can I say there is anything more or less between Thee and Thy Son when He Himself Who was begotten of Thee, says: "All things which the Father hath are Mine." Who has made Me a judge and a divider of human affairs? This the Son says, and do we claim to make a division and to give judgment between the Father and the Son? A right feeling of duty avoids arbiters even in the division of an inheritance. And shall we become arbiters, to divide between Thee and Thy Son the glory of the uncreated Substance?

231. "This generation," it says, "is an evil generation. It seeketh a sign, and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet." A sign of the Godhead then is not given, but only of the Incarnation. Thus when about to speak of the Incarnation the prophet says: "Ask thee a sign." And when the king had said: "I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord," the answer was: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive." Therefore we cannot see a sign of the Godhead, and do we seek a measure of it? Alas! woe is me! we impiously dare to discuss Him, to Whom we cannot worthily pray!

232. Let the Arians see to what they do. I have unlawfully compared Thee, O Father, with Thy works in saying that Thou art greater than all. If greater than Thy Son, as Arius maintains, I have judged wickedly. Concerning Thee first will that judgment be. For no choice can be made except by comparison, nor can anyone be put before another without a decision being first given on Himself.

233. It is not lawful for us to swear by heaven, but it is lawful to judge about God. Yet Thou hast given to Thy Son alone judgment over all.

234. John feared to baptize the flesh of the Lord, John forbade Him, saying: "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?" And shall I bring Christ under my judgment.?

235. Moses excuses himself from the Priesthood, Peter is for avoiding the obedience demanded in the Ministry; and does Arius examine even the deep things of God? But Arius is not the Holy Spirit. Nay, it was said even to Arius and to all men: “Seek not that which is too deep for thee.”

236. Moses is prevented from seeing the face of God; Arius merited to see it in secret. Moses and Aaron among His Priests. Moses who appeared with the Lord in glory, that Moses then saw only the back parts of God in appearance; Arius beholds God wholly face to face! But” no one,” it says, “can see My face and live.”

237. Paul also speaks of inferior beings: “We know in part and we prophesy in part.” Arius says: “I know God altogether and not in part.” Thus Paul is inferior to Arius, and the vessel of election knows in part, but the vessel of perdition knows wholly. “I know,” he says, “a man, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knoweth, how he was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words.” Paul carried up to the third heaven, knew not himself; Arius rolling in filth, knows God. Paul says of himself: “God knows;” Arius says of God: “I know.”

238. But Arius was not caught up to heaven, although he followed him who with accursed boastfulness presumed on what was divine, saying: “I will set my throne upon the clouds; I will be like the Most High.” For as he said: “I will be like the Most High,” so too Arius wishes the Most High Son of God to seem like himself, Whom he does not worship in the eternal glory of His Godhead, but measures by the weakness of the flesh.

ON THE MYSTERIES

INTRODUCTION

The writer explains in the commencement of this treatise that his object was to set forth, for the benefit of those about to be baptized, the rites and meaning of that Sacrament, as well as of Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist. For all these matters were treated with the greatest reserve in the Early Church, for fear of profanation by the heathen, and it was the custom, as in the case of the well-known Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, to explain them to the catechumens during the latter part of Lent.

Treatises of this kind possess therefore a special interest, as in them we find clearly stated the full teaching of the Church at the time when those addresses which have come down to our times were drawn up.

St. Ambrose goes through and explains the greater part, first of the rites usual at the time of solemn baptism, pointing out the deep truths and mysteries underlying these outward things. He then treats Confirmation, referring to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; and lastly, speaks of the Holy Eucharist, especially setting forth the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Some writers in and since the sixteenth century have endeavored to prove that this treatise has been falsely attributed to St. Ambrose, but there can be no real doubt on the matter, as is conclusively shown by the Benedictine Editors, and now universally admitted. The treatise was composed for use during Lent, but in what year cannot be fixed, possibly, from reference made to the treatise De Patriarchis, about A.D. 387.

THE BOOK OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

CONCERNING THE MYSTERIES.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose states that after the explanations he has already given of holy living, he will now explain the Mysteries. Then after giving his reasons for not having done so before, he explains the mystery of the opening of the ears, and shows how this was of old done by Christ Himself.

1. WE have spoken daily upon subjects connected with morals, when the deeds of the Patriarchs or the precepts of the Proverbs were being read, in order that being taught and instructed by these you might grow accustomed to enter the ways of the ancients and to walk in their paths, and obey the divine commands; in order that being renewed by baptism you might hold to that manner of life which beseems those who are washed.

2. The season now warns us to speak of the Mysteries, and to set forth the purport of the sacraments, which if we had thought it well to teach before baptism to those who were not yet initiated, we should be considered rather to have betrayed than to have portrayed the Mysteries. And then, too, another reason is that the light itself of the Mysteries will shed itself with more effect upon those who are expecting they know not what, than if any discourse had come beforehand.

3. Open, then, your ears, inhale the good savor of eternal life which has been breathed upon you by the grace of the sacraments; which was signified to you by us, when, celebrating the mystery of the opening, we said, “Epphatha, which is, Be opened,” that whosoever was coming in quest of peace might know what he was asked, and be bound to remember what he answered.

4. Christ made use of this mystery in the Gospel, as we read, when He healed him who was deaf and dumb. But He touched the mouth, because he who was healed was dumb and was a man, as regards one point that he might open his mouth with the sound of the voice given to him; as regards the other point because that touch was seemly towards a man, but would have been unseemly towards a woman.

CHAPTER 2

What those who were to be initiated promised on entering the Church, of the witnesses to these promises, and wherefore they then turned themselves to the East.

5. After this the Holy of holies was opened to you, you entered the sanctuary of regeneration; recall what you were asked, and remember what you answered. You renounced the devil and his works, the world with its luxury and pleasures. That utterance of yours is preserved not in the tombs of the dead, but in the book of the living.

6. You saw there the deacon, you saw the priest, you saw the chief priest [i.e. the bishop]. Consider not the bodily forms, but the grace of the Mysteries. You spoke in the presence of the angels, as it is written: “For the priest’s lips keep knowledge, and they seek the law at his mouth, for he is the angel of the Lord Almighty.” There is no place for deception nor for denial. He is an angel who proclaims the kingdom of Christ and eternal life. He is to be esteemed by you not according to his appearance, but according to his office. Consider what he delivered, reflect upon the rule of life he gave you, recognize his position.

7. You entered, then, that you might discern your adversary, whom you were to renounce as it were to his face, then you turned to the east; for he who renounces the devil turns to Christ, and beholds Him face to face.

CHAPTER 3

St. Ambrose points out that we must consider the divine presence and working in the water and the sacred ministers, and then brings forward many Old Testament figures of baptism.

8. WHAT did you see? Water, certainly, but not water alone; you saw the deacons ministering there, and the bishop asking questions and hallowing. First of all, the Apostle taught you that those things are not to be considered "which we see, but the things which are not seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." For you read elsewhere: "That the invisible things of God, since the creation of the world, are understood through those things which have been made; His eternal power also and Godhead are estimated by His works." Wherefore also the Lord Himself says: "If ye believe not Me, believe at least the works." Believe, then, that the presence of the Godhead is there. Do you believe the working, and not believe the presence? Whence should the working proceed unless the presence went before?

9. Consider, however, how ancient is the mystery prefigured even in the origin of the world itself. In the very beginning, when God made the heaven and the earth, "the Spirit," it is said, "moved upon the waters." He Who was moving upon the waters, was He not working upon the waters? But why should I say, "working"? As regards His presence He was moving. Was He not working Who was moving? Recognize that He was working in that making of the world, when the prophet says: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their strength by the spirit of His mouth." Each statement rests upon the testimony of the prophet, both that He was moving and that He was working. Moses says that He was moving, David testifies that he was working.

10. Take another testimony. All flesh was corrupt by its iniquities. "My Spirit," says God, "shall not remain among men, because they are flesh." Whereby God shows that the grace of the Spirit is turned away by carnal impurity and the pollution of grave sin. Upon which, God, willing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood and bade just Noah go up into the ark. And he, after having, as the flood was passing off, sent forth first a raven which did not return, sent forth a dove which is said to have returned

with an olive twig. You see the water, you see the wood [of the ark], you see the dove, and do you hesitate as to the mystery?

11. The water, then, is that in which the flesh is dipped, that all carnal sin may be washed away. All wickedness is there buried. The wood is that on which the Lord Jesus was fastened when He suffered for us. The dove is that in the form of which the Holy Spirit descended, as you have read in the New Testament, Who inspires in you peace of soul and tranquillity of mind. The raven is the figure of sin, which goes forth and does not return, if, in you, too, inwardly and outwardly righteousness be preserved.

12. There is also a third testimony, as the Apostle teaches us: "For all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized to Moses in the cloud and in the sea." And further, Moses himself says in his song: "Thou sentest Thy Spirit, and the sea covered them." You observe that even then holy baptism was prefigured in that passage of the Hebrews, wherein the Egyptian perished, the Hebrew escaped. For what else are we daily taught in this sacrament but that guilt is swallowed up and error done away, but that virtue and innocence remain unharmed?

13. You hear that our fathers were under the cloud, and that a kindly cloud, which cooled the heat of carnal passions. That kindly cloud overshadows those whom the Holy Spirit visits. At last it came upon the Virgin Mary, and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, when she conceived Redemption for the race of men. And that miracle was wrought in a figure through Moses. If, then, the Spirit was in the figure, is He not present in the reality, since Scripture says to us: "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

14. Marah was a fountain of most bitter water: Moses cast wood into it and it became sweet. For water without the preaching of the Cross of the Lord is of no avail for future salvation, but, after it has been consecrated by the mystery of the saving cross, it is made suitable for the use of the spiritual layer and of the cup of salvation. As, then, Moses, that is, the prophet, cast wood into that fountain, so, too, the priest utters over this font the proclamation of the Lord's cross, and the water is made sweet for the purpose of grace.

15. You must not trust, then, wholly to your bodily eyes; that which is not seen is more really seen, for the object of sight is temporal, but that other eternal, which is not apprehended by the eye, but is discerned by the mind and spirit.

16. Lastly, let the lessons lately gone through from the Kings teach you. Naaman was a Syrian, and suffered from leprosy, nor could he be cleansed by any. Then a maiden from among the captives said that there was a prophet in Israel, who could cleanse him from the defilement of the leprosy. And it is said that, having taken silver and gold, he went to the king of Israel. And he, when he heard the cause of his coming, rent his clothes, saying, that occasion was rather being sought against him, since things were asked of him which pertained not to the power of kings. Elisha, however, sent word to the king, that he should send the Syrian to him, that he might know there was a God in Israel. And when he had come, he bade him dip himself seven times in the river Jordan.

17. Then he began to reason with himself that he had better waters in his own country, in which he had often bathed and never been cleansed of his leprosy; and so remembering this, he did not obey the command of the prophet, yet on the advice and persuasion of his servants he yielded and dipped himself. And being forthwith cleansed, he understood that it is not of the waters but of grace that a man is cleansed.

18. Understand now who is that young maid among the captives. She is the congregation gathered out of the Gentiles, that is, the Church of God held down of old by the captivity of sin, when as yet it possessed not the liberty of grace, by whose counsel that foolish people of the Gentiles heard the word of prophecy as to which it had before been in doubt. Afterwards, however, when they believed that it ought to be obeyed, they were washed from every defilement of sin. And he indeed doubted before he was healed; you are already healed, and therefore ought not to doubt,

CHAPTER 4

That water does not cleanse without the Spirit is shown by the witness of John and by the very form of the administration of the sacrament. And this is also declared to be signified by the pool in

the Gospel and the man who was there healed. In the same passage, too, is shown that the Holy Spirit truly descended on Christ at His baptism, and the meaning of this mystery is explained.

19. THE reason why you were told before not to believe only what you saw was that you might not say perchance, This is that great mystery "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man." I see water, which I have been used to see every day. Is that water to cleanse me now in which I have so often bathed without ever being cleansed? By this you may recognize that water does not cleanse without the Spirit.

20. Therefore read that the three witnesses in baptism, the water, the blood, and the Spirit, are one, for if you take away one of these, the Sacrament of Baptism does not exist. For what is water without the cross of Christ? A common element, without any sacramental effect. Nor, again, is there the Sacrament of Regeneration without water: "For except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Now, even the catechumen believes in the cross of the Lord Jesus, wherewith he too is signed; but unless he be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive remission of sins nor gain the gift of spiritual grace.

21. So that Syrian dipped himself seven times under the law, but you were baptized in the Name of the Trinity, you confessed the Father. Call to mind what you did: you confessed the Son, you confessed the Holy Spirit. Mark well the order of things in this faith: you died to the world, and rose again to God. And as though buried to the world in that element, being dead to sin, you rose again to eternal life. Believe, therefore, that these waters are not void of power.

22. Therefore it is said: "An angel of the Lord went down according to the season into the pool, and the water was troubled; and he who first after the troubling of the water went down into the pool was healed of whatsoever disease he was holden." This pool was at Jerusalem, in which one was healed every year, but no one was healed before the angel had descended. Because of those who believed not the water was troubled as a sign that the angel had descended. They had a sign, you have faith; for them an angel

descended, for you the Holy Spirit; for them the creature was troubled, for you Christ Himself, the Lord of the creature, works.

23. Then one was healed, now all are made whole; or more exactly, the Christian people alone, for in some even the water is deceitful. The baptism of unbelievers heals not but pollutes. The Jew washes pots and cups, as though things without sense were capable of guilt or grace. But do you wash this living cup of yours, that in it your good works may shine and the glory of your grace be bright. For that pool was as a type, that you might believe that the power of God descends upon this font.

24. Lastly, that paralytic was waiting for a man. And what man save the Lord Jesus, born of the Virgin, at Whose coming no longer the shadow should heal men one by one, but the truth should heal the whole. He it is, then, Whose coming down was being waited for, of Whom the Father said to John the Baptist: "Upon Whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizeth with the Holy Spirit." And John bare witness of Him, and said: "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove and abiding upon Him." And why did the Spirit descend like a dove, but in order that you might see, that you might acknowledge, that that dove also which just Noah sent forth from the ark was a likeness of this dove, that you might recognize the type of the sacrament?

25. Perhaps you may object: Since that was a real dove which was sent forth, and the Spirit descended like a dove, how is it that we say that the likeness was there and the reality here, whereas in the Greek it is written that the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove? But what is so real as the Godhead which abides for ever? Now the creature cannot be the reality, but only a likeness, which is easily destroyed and changed. So, again, because the simplicity of those who are baptized ought to be not in appearance but in reality, and the Lord says: "Be ye wise as serpents and simple as doves." Rightly, then, did He descend like a dove, in order to admonish us that we ought to have the simplicity of the dove. And further we read of the likeness being put for the reality, both as regards Christ: "And was found in likeness as a man;" and as regards God the Father: "Nor have ye seen His likeness."

CHAPTER 5

Christ is Himself present in Baptism, so that we need not consider the person of His ministers. A brief explanation of the confession of the Trinity as usually uttered by those about to be baptized.

26. Is there, then, here any room left for doubt, when the Father clearly calls from heaven in the Gospel narrative, and says: “This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased”? When the Son also speaks, upon Whom the Holy Spirit showed Himself in the likeness of a dove? When the Holy Spirit also speaks, Who came down in the likeness of a dove? When David, too, speaks: “The voice of the Lord is above the waters, the God of glory thundered, the Lord above many waters”? When Scripture testifies that at the prayer of Jerubbaal, fire came down from heaven, and again, when Elijah prayed, fire was sent forth and consecrated the sacrifice.

27. Do not consider the merits of individuals, but the office of the priests. Or, if you look at ‘the merits, consider the priest as Elijah. Look upon the merits of Peter also, or of Paul, who handed down to us this mystery which they had received of the Lord Jesus. To those [of old] a visible fire was sent that they might believe; for us who believe, the Lord works invisibly; for them that happened for a figure, for us for warning. Believe, then, that the Lord Jesus is present at the invocation of the priest, Who said: “Where two or three are, there am I also.” How much where the Church is, and where His Mysteries are, does He vouchsafe to impart His presence!

28. You went down, then (into the water), remember what you replied to the questions, that you believe in the Father, that you believe in the Son, that you believe in the Holy Spirit. The statement there is not: I believe in a greater and in a less and in a lowest person, but you are bound by the same guarantee of your own voice, to believe in the Son in like manner as you believe in the Father; and to believe in the Holy Spirit in like manner as you believe in the Son, with this one exception, that you confess that you must believe in the cross of the Lord Jesus alone.

CHAPTER 6

Why they who come forth from the layer of baptism are anointed on the head; why, too, after baptism, their feet are washed, and what sins are remitted in each case.

29. AFTER this, you went up to the priest, consider what followed. Was it not that of which David speaks: "Like the ointment upon the head, which went down to the beard, even Aaron's beard"? This is the ointment of which Solomon, too, says: "Thy Name is ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved Thee and drawn Thee." How many souls regenerated this day have loved Thee, Lord Jesus, and have said: "Draw us after Thee, we are running after the odor of Thy garments," that they might drink in the odor of Thy resurrection.

30. Consider now why this is done, for "the eyes of a wise man are in his head;" therefore the ointment flows down to the beard, that is to say, to the beauty of youth; and therefore, Aaron's beard, that we, too, may become a chosen race, priestly and precious, for we are all anointed with spiritual grace for a share in the kingdom of God and in the priesthood.

31. You went up from the font; remember the Gospel lesson. For our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel washed the feet of His disciples. When He came to Simon Peter, Peter said: "Thou shalt never wash my feet." He did not perceive the mystery, and therefore he refused the service, for he thought that the humility of the servant would be injured, if he patiently allowed the Lord to minister to him. And the Lord answered him: "If I wash not thy feet, thou wilt have no part with Me." Peter, hearing this, replies: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." The Lord answered: "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet but is clean every whit."

32. Peter was clean, but he must wash his feet, for he had sin by succession from the first man, when the serpent overthrew him and persuaded him to sin. His feet were therefore washed, that hereditary sins might be done away, for our own sins are remitted through baptism.

33. Observe at the same time that the mystery consists in the very office of humility, for Christ says: "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed

your feet; how much more ought you to wash one another's feet." For, since the Author of Salvation Himself redeemed us through His obedience, how much more ought we His servants to offer the service of our humility and obedience.

CHAPTER 7

The washing away of sins is indicated by the white robes of the catechumens, whence the Church speaks of herself as black and comely. Angels marvel at her brightness as at that of the flesh of the Lord. Moreover, Christ Himself commended His beauty to His Spouse under many figures. The mutual affection of the one for the other is described.

34. AFTER this white robes were given to you as a sign that you were putting off the covering of sins, and putting on the chaste veil of innocence, of which the prophet said: "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed, Thou shalt wash me and I shall be made whiter than snow." For he who is baptized is seen to be purified both according to the Law and according to the Gospel: according to the Law, because Moses sprinkled the blood of the lamb with a bunch of hyssop; according to the Gospel, because Christ's garments were white as snow, when in the Gospel He showed forth the glory of His Resurrection. He, then, whose guilt is remitted is made whiter than snow. So that God said by Isaiah: "Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow."

35. The Church, having put on these garments through the layer of regeneration, says in the Song of Songs: "I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem." Black through the frailty of her human condition, comely through the sacrament of faith. And the daughters of Jerusalem beholding these garments say in amazement "Who is this that cometh up made white?" She was black, how is she now suddenly made white?

36. The angels, too, were in doubt when Christ arose; the powers of heaven were in doubt when they saw that flesh was ascending into heaven. Then they said: "Who is this King of glory?" And whilst some said "Lift up your gates, O princes, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the

King of glory shall come in." In Isaiah, too, we find that the powers of heaven doubted and said: "Who is this that cometh up from Edom, the redness of His garments is from Bosor, He who is glorious in white apparel?"

37. But Christ, beholding His Church, for whom He Himself, as you find in the book of the prophet Zechariah, had put on filthy garments, now clothed in white raiment, seeing, that is, a soul pure and washed in the layer of regeneration, says: "Behold, thou art fair, My love, behold thou art fair, thy eyes are like a dove's," in the likeness of which the Holy Spirit descended from heaven. The eyes are beautiful like those of a dove, because in the likeness of a dove the Holy Spirit descended from heaven.

38. And farther on: "Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are shorn, which are come up from the pool, which all bear twins, and none is barren among them, thy lips are as a cord of scarlet." This is no slight praise. First by the pleasing comparison to those that are shorn; for we know that goats both feed in high places without risk, and securely find their food in rugged places, and then when shorn are freed from what is superfluous, The Church is likened to a flock of these, having in itself the many virtues of those souls which through the layer lay aside the superfluity of sins, and offer to Christ the mystic faith and the grace of good living, which speak of the cross of the Lord Jesus.

39. The Church is beautiful in them. So that God the Word says to her: "Thou art all fair, My love, and there is no blemish in thee," for guilt has been washed away. "Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, from the beginning of faith wilt thou pass through and pass on," because, renouncing the world, she passed through things temporal and passed on to Christ. And again, God the Word says to her: "How beautiful and sweet art thou made, O love, in thy delights! Thy stature is become like that of a palm-tree, and thy breasts like bunches of grapes."

40. And the Church answers Him, "Who will give Thee to me, my Brother, that didst suck the breasts of my mother? If I find Thee without, I will kiss Thee, and indeed they will not despise me. I will take Thee, and bring Thee into the house of my mother; and into the secret chamber of her that conceived me. Thou shalt teach me." You see how, delighted with the gifts of grace, she longs to attain to the innermost mysteries, and to

consecrate all her affections to Christ. She still seeks, she still stirs up His love, and asks of the daughters of Jerusalem to stir it up for her, and desires that by their beauty, which is that of faithful souls, her spouse may be incited to ever richer love for her.

41. So that the Lord Jesus Himself, invited by such eager love and by the beauty of comeliness and grace, since now no offenses pollute the baptized, says to the Church: “Place Me as a seal upon thy heart, as a signet upon thine arm;” that is, thou art comely, My beloved, thou art all fair, nothing is wanting to thee. Place Me as a seal upon thine heart, that thy faith may shine forth in the fullness of the sacrament. Let thy works also shine and set forth the image of God in the Whose image thou wast made. Let no persecution lessen thy love, which many waters cannot quench, nor many rivers drown.

42. And then remember that you received the seal of the Spirit; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the spirit of holy fear, and preserved what you received. God the Father sealed you, Christ the Lord strengthened you, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in your heart, as you have learned in the lesson from the Apostle.

CHAPTER 8

Of the mystical feast of the altar of the Lord. Lest any should think lightly of it, St. Ambrose shows that it is of higher antiquity than the sacred rites of the Jews, since it was foreshadowed in the sacrifice of Melchisedech, and far better than the manna, as being the Body of Christ.

43. The cleansed people, rich with these adornments, hastens to the altar of Christ, saying: “I will go to the altar of God, to God Who maketh glad my youth;” for having laid aside the slough of ancient error, renewed with an eagle’s youth, it hastens to approach that heavenly feast. It comes, and seeing the holy altar arranged, cries out: “Thou hast prepared a table in my sight.” David introduces the people as speaking, where he says: “The Lord feedeth me, and nothing shall be wanting to me, in a place of good pasture hath He placed me. He hath led me forth by the water of refreshment.”

And later: “For though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for Thou art with me. Thy rod and Thy staff have comforted me. Thou hast prepared in my sight a table against them that trouble me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and Thy inebriating cup, how excellent it is!”

44. We must now pay attention, lest perchance an y one seeing that what is visible (for things which are invisible cannot be seen nor comprehended by human eyes), should say, “God rained down manna and rained down quails upon the Jews,” but for the Church beloved of Him the things which He has prepared are those of which it is said: “That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him.” So, lest any one should say this, we will take great pains to prove that the sacraments of the Church are both more ancient than those of the synagogue, and more excellent than the manna.

45. The lesson of Genesis just read shows that they are more ancient, for the synagogue took its origin from the law of Moses. But Abraham was far earlier, who, after conquering the enemy, and recovering his own nephew, as he was enjoying his victory, was met by Melchisedech, who brought forth those things which Abraham reverently received. It was not Abraham who brought them forth, but Melchisedech, who is introduced without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days, nor ending, but like the Son of God, of Whom Paul says to the Hebrews: “that He remaineth a priest for ever,” Who in the Latin version is called King of righteousness and King of peace.

46. Do you recognize Who that is? Can a man be king of righteousness, when himself he can hardly be righteous? Can he be king of peace, when he can hardly be peaceable? He it is Who is without mother according to His Godhead, for He was begotten of God the Father, of one substance with the Father; without a father according to His Incarnation, for He was born of a Virgin; having neither beginning nor end, for He is the beginning and end of all things, the first and the last. The sacrament, then, which you received is the gift not of man but of God; brought forth by Him Who blessed Abraham the father of faith, whose grace and deeds we admire.

47. We have proved the sacraments of the Church to be the more ancient, now recognize that they are superior. In very truth it is a marvelous thing that God rained manna on the fathers, and fed them with daily food from heaven; so that it is said, “So man did eat angels’ food.” But yet all those who ate that food died in the wilderness, but that food which you receive, that living Bread which came down from heaven, furnishes the substance of eternal life; and whosoever shall eat of this Bread shall never die, and it is the Body of Christ.

49. Now consider whether the bread of angels be more excellent or the Flesh of Christ, which is indeed the body of life. That manna came from heaven, this is above the heavens; that was of heaven, this is of the Lord of the heavens; that was liable to corruption, if kept a second day, this is far from all corruption, for whosoever shall taste it holly shall not be able to feel corruption. For them water flowed from the rock, for you Blood flowed from Christ; water satisfied them for a time, the Blood satiates you for eternity. The Jew drinks and thirsts again, you after drinking will be beyond the power of thirsting; that was in a shadow, this is in truth.

49. If that which you so wonder at is but shadow, how great must that be whose very shadow you wonder at. See now what happened in the case of the fathers was shadow: “They drank, it is said, of that Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now these things were done in a figure concerning us.” You recognize now which are the more excellent, for light is better than shadow, truth than a figure, the Body of its Giver than the manna from heaven.

CHAPTER 9

In order that no one through observing the outward part should waver in faith, many instances are brought forward wherein the outward nature has been changed, and so it is proved that bread is made the true body of Christ. The treatise then is brought to a termination with certain remarks as to the effects of the sacrament, the disposition of the recipients, and such like.

50. Perhaps you will say, "I see something else, how is it that you assert that I receive the Body of Christ?" And this is the point which remains for us to prove. And what evidence shall we make use of? Let us prove that this is not what nature made, but what the blessing consecrated, and the power of blessing is greater than that of nature, because by blessing nature itself is changed.

51. Moses was holding a rod, he cast it down and it became a serpent. Again, he took hold of the tail of the serpent and it returned to the nature of a rod. You see that by virtue of the prophetic office there were two changes, of the nature both of the serpent and of the rod. The streams of Egypt were running with. a pure flow of water; of a sudden from the veins of the sources blood began to burst forth, and none could drink of the river. Again, at the prophet's prayer the blood ceased, and the nature of water returned. The people of the Hebrews were shut in on every side, hemmed in on the one hand by the Egyptians, on the other by the sea; Moses lifted up his rod, the water divided and hardened like walls, and a way for the feet appeared between the waves. Jordan being turned back, returned, contrary to nature, to the source of its stream. Is it not clear that the nature of the waves of the sea and of the river stream was changed? The people of the fathers thirsted, Moses touched the rock, and water flowed out of the rock. Did not grace work a result contrary to nature, so that the rock poured forth water, which by nature it did not contain? Marsh was a most bitter stream, so that the thirsting people could not drink. Moses cast wood into the water, and the water lost its bitterness, which grace of a sudden tempered. In the time of Elisha the prophet one of the sons of the prophets lost the head from his axe, which sank. He who had lost the iron asked Elisha, who cast in a piece of wood and the iron swam. This, too, we clearly recognize as having happened contrary to nature, for iron is of heavier nature than water.

52. We observe, then, that grace has more power than nature, and yet so far we have only spoken of the grace of a prophet's blessing. But if the blessing of man had such power as to change nature, what are we to say of that divine consecration where the very words of the Lord and Savior operate? For that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by the word of Christ. But if the word of Elijah had such power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not the word of Christ have power to change the

nature of the elements? You read concerning the making of the whole world: “He spake and they were made, He commanded and they were created.” Shall not the word of Christ, which was able to make out of nothing that which was not, be able to change things which already are into what they were not? For it is not less to give a new nature to things than to change them.

53. But why make use of arguments? Let us use the examples He gives, and by the example of the Incarnation prove the truth of the mystery. Did the course of nature proceed as usual when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If we look to the usual course, a woman ordinarily conceives after connection with a man. And this body which we make is that which was born of the Virgin. Why do you seek the order of nature in the Body of Christ, seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself was born of a Virgin, not according to nature? It is the true Flesh of Christ which crucified and buried, this is then truly the Sacrament of His Body.

54. The Lord Jesus Himself proclaims: “This is My Body.” Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the Body is signified. He Himself speaks of His Blood. Before the consecration it has another name, after it is called Blood. And you say, Amen, that is, It is true. Let the heart within confess what the mouth utters, let the soul feel what the voice speaks.

55. Christ, then, feeds His Church with these sacraments, by means of which the substance of the soul is strengthened, and seeing the continual progress of her grace, He rightly says to her: “How comely are thy breasts, my sister, my spouse, how comely they are made by wine, and the smell of thy garments is above all spices. A dropping honeycomb are thy lips, my spouse, honey and milk are under thy tongue, and the smell of thy garments is as the smell of Lebanon. A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed.” By which He signifies that the mystery ought to remain sealed up with you, that it be not violated by the deeds of an evil life, and pollution of chastity, that it be not made known to thou, for whom it is not fitting, nor by garrulous talkativeness it be spread abroad amongst unbelievers. Your guardianship of the faith ought therefore to be good, that integrity of life and silence may endure unblemished.

56. For which reason, too, the Church, guarding the depth of the heavenly mysteries, repels the furious storms of wind, and calls to her the sweetness of the grace of spring, and knowing that her garden cannot displease Christ, invites the Bridegroom, saying: “Arise, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, and let my ointments flow down. Let my Brother come down to His garden, and eat the fruit of His trees.” For it has good trees and fruitful, which have dipped their roots in the water of the sacred spring, and with fresh growth have shot forth into good fruits, so as now not to be cut with the axe of the prophet, but to abound with the fruitfulness of the Gospel.

57. Lastly, the Lord also, delighted with their fertility, answers: “I have entered into My garden, My sister, My spouse; I have gathered My myrrh with My spices, I have eaten My meat with My honey, I have drunk My drink with My milk.” Understand, you faithful, why He spoke of meat and drink. And there is no doubt that He Himself eats and drinks in us, as you have read that He says that in our persons He is in prison.

58. Wherefore, too, the Church, beholding so great grace, exhorts her sons and her friends to come together to the sacraments, saying: “Eat, my friends, and drink and be inebriated, my brother.” What we eat and what we drink the Holy Spirit has elsewhere made plain by the prophet, saying, “Taste and see that the Lord is good, blessed is the man that hopeth in Him.” In that sacrament is Christ, because it is the Body of Christ, it is therefore not bodily food but spiritual. Whence the Apostle says of its type: “Our fathers ate spiritual food and drank spiritual drink,” for the Body of God is a spiritual body; the Body of Christ is the Body of the Divine Spirit, for the Spirit is Christ, as we read: “The Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord.” And in the Epistle of Peter we read: “Christ died for us.” Lastly, that food strengthens our heart, and that drink “maketh glad the heart of man,” as the prophet has recorded.

59. So, then, having obtained everything, let us know that we are born again, but let us not say, How are we born again? Have we entered a second time into our mother’s womb and been born again? I do not recognize here the course of nature. But here there is no order of nature, where is the excellence of grace. And again, it is not always the course of nature which brings about conception, for we confess that Christ the Lord

was conceived of a Virgin, and reject the order of nature. For Mary conceived not of man, but was with child of the Holy Spirit, as Matthew says: “She was found with child of the Holy Spirit.” If, then, the Holy Spirit coming down upon the Virgin wrought the conception, and effected the work of generation, surely we must not doubt but that, coming down upon the Font, or upon those who receive Baptism, He effects the reality of the new birth.

TWO BOOKS CONCERNING REPENTANCE

INTRODUCTION

THESE two books were written against the Novatian heresy, which took its name, and to a considerable extent its form, from Novatus, a priest of the Church of Carthage, and Novatian, schismatically consecrated bishop of Rome. It was the outcome of a struggle which had long existed in the Church upon the question of the restitution to Church privileges of those who had fallen into grievous sin, and the possibility of their repentance.

The severest ground was taken by the Novatians, who were condemned successively by many councils, which maintained the power of the Church to admit those guilty of any sin whatsoever to repentance, and prescribed various rules and penalties applicable to different cases. The heresy, however, lasted for some time, becoming weaker in the fifth century, and gradually fading away as a separate body with a distinctive name. "Novatianism, in the tests which it used, its efforts after a perfectly pure communion, its crotchety interpretations of Scripture, and many other features, presents a striking parallel to many modern sects." [See *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Blunt, Sects and heresies, Ceillier, II.]

St. Ambrose, in writing against the Novatians, seems to have had some recent publication of their in his mind, which is now unknown. He begins by commending gentleness, a quality singularly wanting in the sect; speaks of the power committed to the Church of forgiving the greatest sins, and points out how God is more inclined to mercy than to severity, and refutes the arguments of the Novatians based on certain passages of repentance, and the necessity of confessing one's sins, St. Ambrose meets the Novatian arguments based on <580604>Hebrews 6:4-6, from which they inferred the impossibility of restoration; and on St. <401231>Matthew 12:31, 32, our Lord's words concerning sin against the Holy Spirit.

As regards the date of this treatise, it must have been somewhat before the exposition of <193701>Psalm 37, which refers to it, but there is nothing else which can be taken as a certain guide. Possibly the Benedictine Editors are right in assigning it to about A.D. 384.

Some few persons, probably on doctrinal grounds, have been led to question the authorship of this treatise, but it is quoted by St. Augustine, and there has never been any real doubt on the subject.

TWO BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

CONCERNING REPENTANCE

BOOK 1

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose writes in praise of gentleness, pointing out how needful that grace is for the rulers of the Church, and commended to them by the meekness of Christ. As the Novatians have fallen away from this, they cannot be considered disciples of Christ. Their pride and harshness are inveighed against.

1. If the highest end of virtue is that which aims at the advancement of most, gentleness is the most lovely of all, which does not hurt even those whom it condemns, and usually renders those whom it condemns worthy of absolution. Moreover, it is the only virtue which has led to the increase of the Church which the Lord sought at the price of His own Blood, imitating the lovingkindness of heaven, and aiming at the redemption of all, seeks this end with a gentleness which the ears of men can endure, in presence of which their hearts do not sink, nor their spirits quail.

2. For he who endeavors to amend the faults of human weakness ought to bear this very weakness on his own shoulders, let it weigh upon himself, not cast it off. For we read that the Shepherd in the Gospel carried the weary sheep, and did not cast it off. And Solomon says: “Be not overmuch righteous;” for restraint should temper righteousness. For how shall he offer himself to you for healing whom you despise, who thinks that he will be an object of contempt, not of compassion, to his physician?

3. Therefore had the Lord Jesus compassion upon us in order to call us to Himself, not frighten us away. He came in meekness, He came in humility, and so He said: “Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.” So, then, the Lord Jesus refreshes, and does not shut out nor east off, and fitly chose such disciples as should be interpreters of the Lord’s will, as should gather together and not drive away the people of God. Whence it is clear that they are not to be counted amongst the disciples of Christ, who think that harsh and proud opinions should be followed rather than such as are gentle and meek; persons who, while they themselves seek God’s mercy, deny it to others, such as are the teachers of the Novatians, who call themselves pure.

4. What can show more pride than this, since the Scripture says: “No one is free from sin, not even an infant of a day old;” and David cries out: “Cleanse me from my sin.” Are they more holy than David, of whose family Christ vouchsafed to be born in the mystery of the Incarnation, whose descendant is that heavenly Hall which received the world’s Redeemer in her virgin womb? For what is more harsh than to inflict a penance which they do not relax, and by refusing pardon to take away the incentive to penance and repentance? Now no one can repent to good purpose unless he hopes for mercy.

CHAPTER 2

The assertion of the Novatians that they refuse communion only to the lapsed agrees neither with the teaching of holy Scripture nor with their own. And whereas they allege as a pretext their reverence for the divine power, they really are contemning it, inasmuch as it is a sign of low estimation not to use the whole of a power entrusted to one. But the Church rightly claims the power of binding and loosing, which heretics have not, inasmuch as she has received it from the Holy Spirit, against Whom they act presumptuously.

5. But they say that those should not be restored to communion who have fallen into denial of the faith. If they made the crime of sacrilege the only exception to receiving forgiveness, they would be acting harshly indeed, and, as it would seem, would be in opposition to the divine utterances

only, while consistent with their own assertions. For when the Lord forgave all sins, He made an exception of none. But since, as it were after the fashion of the Stoics, they think that all sins are equal in gravity, and assert that he who has stolen a common fowl, as they say, no less than he who has smothered his father, should be for ever excluded from the divine mysteries, how can they select those guilty of one special offense, since even they themselves cannot deny that it is most unjust that the penalty of one should extend to many?

6. They affirm that they are showing great reverence for God, to Whom alone they reserve the power of forgiving sins. But in truth none do Him greater injury than they who choose to prune His commandments and reject the office entrusted to them. For inasmuch as the Lord Jesus Himself said in the Gospel: “Receive ye the Holy Spirit whosesoever sins ye forgive they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained,” Who is it that honors Him most, he who obeys His bidding or he who rejects it?

7. The Church holds fast its obedience on either side, by both retaining and remitting sin; heresy is on the one side cruel, and on the other disobedient; wishes to bind what it will not loosen, and will not loosen what it has bound, whereby it condemns itself by its. own sentence. For the Lord willed that the power of binding and of loosing should be alike, and sanctioned each by a similar condition. So he who has not the power to loose has not the power to bind. For as, according to the Lord’s word, he who has the power to bind has also the power to loose, their teaching destroys itself, inasmuch as they who deny that they have the power of loosing ought also to deny that of binding. For how can the one be allowed and the other disallowed? It is plain and evident that either each is allowed or each is disallowed in the case of those to whom each has been given. Each is allowed to the Church, neither to heresy, for this power has been entrusted to priests alone. Rightly, therefore, does the Church claim it, which has true priests; heresy, which has not the priests of God, cannot claim it. And by not claiming this power heresy pronounces its own sentence, that not possessing priests it cannot claim priestly power. And so in their shameless obstinacy a shamefaced acknowledgment meets our view.

8. Consider, too, the point that he who has received the Holy Ghost has also received the power of forgiving and of retaining sin. For thus it is written: “Receive the Holy Spirit: whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.” So, then, he who has not received power to forgive sins has not received the Holy Spirit. The office of the priest is a gift of the Holy Spirit, and His right it is specially to forgive and to retain sins. How, then, can they claim His gift who distrust His power and His right?

9. And what is to be said of their excessive arrogance? For although the Spirit of God is more inclined to mercy than to severity, their will is opposed to that which He wills, and they do that which He wills not; whereas it is the office of a judge to punish, but of mercy to forgive. It would be more endurable, Novatian, that thou shouldst forgive than that thou shouldst bind. In the one case thou wouldst assume the right as one who rarely offended; in the other thou wouldst forgive as one who had fellow-feeling with the misery of sin.

CHAPTER 3

To the argument of the Novatians, that they only deny forgiveness in the case of greater sins, St. Ambrose replies, that this is also an offense against God, Who gave the power to forgive all sins, but that of course a more severe penance must follow in case of graver sins. He points out likewise that this distinction as to the gravity of sins assigns, as it were, severity to God, Whose mercy in the Incarnation is overlooked by the Novatians.

10. But they say that, with the exception of graver sins, they grant forgiveness to those of less weight. This is not the teaching of your father, Novatian, who thought that no one should be admitted to penance, considering that what he was unable to loose he would not bind, lest by binding he should inspire the hope that he would loose. So that your father is condemned by your own sentence, you who make a distinction between sins, some of which you consider that you can loose, and others which you consider to be without remedy. But God does not make a distinction, Who has promised His mercy to all, and granted to His priests the power

of loosing without any exception. But he who has heaped up sin must also increase his penitence. For greater sins are washed away by greater weeping. So neither is Novatian justified, who excluded all from pardon; nor are you, who imitate and, at the same time, condemn him, for you diminish zeal for penance where it ought to be increased, since the mercy of Christ has taught us that graver sins must be made good by greater efforts.

11. And what perversity it is to claim for yourselves what can be forgiven, and, as you say, to reserve to God what cannot be forgiven. This would be to reserve to oneself the cases for mercy, to God those for severity. And what as to that saying: "Let God be true but every man a liar, as it is written, That Thou mightest be justified in Thy words, and overcome when Thou art judged"? In order, then, that we may recognize that the God of mercy is rather prone to indulgence than to severity, it is said: "I desire mercy rather than sacrifice." How, then, can your sacrifice, who refuse mercy, be acceptable to God, since He says that He wills not the death of a sinner, but his correction?

12. Interpreting which truth, the Apostle says: "For God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us." He does not say "in the likeness of flesh," for Christ took on Himself the reality not the likeness of flesh; nor does He say in the likeness of sin, for He did no sin, but was made sin for us. Yet He came "in the likeness of sinful flesh;" that is, He took on Him the likeness of sinful flesh, the likeness, because it is written: "He is man, and who shall know Him?" He was man in the flesh, according to His human nature, that He might be recognized, but in power was above man, that He might not be recognized, so He has our flesh, but has not the failings of this flesh.

13. For He was not begotten, as is every man, by intercourse between male and female, but born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin; He received a stainless body, which not only no sins polluted, but which neither the generation nor the conception had been stained by any admixture of defilement. For we men are all born under sin, and our very origin is in evil, as we read in the words of David: "For lo, I was conceived in wickedness, and in sin did my mother bring me forth." Therefore the flesh of Paul was a

body of death, as he himself says: “Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” But the flesh of Christ condemned sin, which He felt not at His birth, and crucified by His death, so that in our flesh there might be justification through grace, in which before there had been pollution by guilt.

14. What, then, shall we say to this, except that which the Apostle said: “If God is for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all, how has He not with Him also given us all things? Who shall lay a charge against the elect? It is God Who justifieth, who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Who died, yea, Who also rose again, Who is at the right hand of God, Who also maketh intercession for us.” Novatian then brings charges against those for whom Christ intercedes. Those whom Christ has redeemed unto salvation Novatian condemns to death. Those to whom Christ says: “Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am gentle,” Novatian says, I am not gentle. On those to whom Christ says: “Ye shall find rest for your souls, for My yoke is pleasant and My burden is light,” Novatian lays a heavy burden and a hard yoke.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose proceeds with the proof of the divine mercy, and shows by the testimony of the Gospels that it prevails over severity, and he adduces the instance of athletes to show that of those who have denied Christ before men, all are not to be esteemed alike.

15. ALTHOUGH what has been said sufficiently shows how inclined the Lord Jesus is to mercy, let Him further instruct us with His own words, when He would arm us against the assaults of persecution. “Fear not,” He says, “those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, but rather fear Him Who can cast both body and soul into hell.” And farther on: “Every one, therefore, who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father, Who is in heaven, but he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father, Who is in heaven.”

16. Where He says that He will confess, He will confess “every one.” Where He speaks of denying, He does not speak of denying “every one.” For, whereas in the former clause He says, “Every one who shall confess

Me, him will I confess," we should expect that in the following clause He would also say, "Every one who shall deny Me." But in order that He might not appear to deny every one, He concludes: "But he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny." He promises favor to every one, but He does not threaten the penalty to every one. He makes more of that which is merciful. He makes less of what is penal.

17. And this is written not only in that book of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, which is written according to Matthew, but it is also to be read in that which we have according to Luke, that we might know that neither had thus related the saying by chance.

18. We have said that it is thus written. Let us now consider the meaning. "Every one," He says, "who shall confess Me," that is to say, of whatever age, of whatever condition he may be, who shall confess Me, he shall have Me as the Rewarder of his confession. Whereas the expression is, "every one," no one who shall confess is excluded from the reward. But it is not said in like manner, "Every one who shall deny shall be denied," for it is possible that a man overcome by torture may deny God in word, and yet worship Him in his heart.

19. Is the case the same with him who denies voluntarily, and with him whom torture, not his own will, has led to denial? How unfit were it, since with men credit is given for endurance in a struggle, that one should assert that it had no value with God! For often in this world's athletic contests the public crown together with the victors even the vanquished whose conduct has been approved, especially if perchance they have seen that they lost the victory by some trick or fraud. And shall Christ suffer His athletes, whom He has seen to yield for a moment to severe torments, to remain without forgiveness?

20. Shall not He take account of their toil, Who will not cast off for ever even those whom He casts off? For David says: "God will not cast off for ever," and in opposition to this shall we listen to heresy asserting, "He does cast off for ever"? David says: "God will not for ever cut off His mercy from generation to generation, nor will He forget to be merciful." This is the prophet's declaration, and there are those who would maintain a forgetfulness of mercy on God's part.

CHAPTER 5

The objection from the unchangeableness of God is answered from several passages of Scripture, wherein God promises forgiveness to sinners on their repentance. St. Ambrose also shows that mercy will e more readily accorded to such as have sinned, as it were, against their will, which he illustrates by the case of prisoners taken in war, and by language put into the mouth of the devil.

21. BUT they say that they make these assertions in order not to seem to make God liable to change, as He would be if He forgave those with whom He was angry. What then? Shall we reject the utterances of God and follow their opinions? But God is not to be judged by the statements of others, but by His own words. What mark of His mercy have we more ready at hand than that He Himself, through the prophet Hoses, is at once merciful as though reconciled to those whom in His anger He had threatened? For He says: “O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee, or what shall I do unto thee, O Judah? Your kindness,” etc. And further on: “How shall I establish thee? I will make thee as Admah, and as Zeboim.” In the midst of His indignation He hesitates, as it were, with fatherly love, doubting how He can give over the wanderer to punishment; for although the Jew deserves it, God yet takes counsel with Himself. For immediately after having said, “I will make thee as Admah and as Zeboim,” which cities, owing to their nearness to Sodom, suffered together in like destruction, He adds, “My heart is turned against Me, My compassion is aroused, I will not do according to the fierceness of Mine anger.”

22. Is it not evident that the Lord Jesus is angry with us when we sin in order that He may convert us through fear of His indignation? His indignation, then, is not the carrying out of vengeance, but rather the working out of forgiveness, for these are His words: “If thou shalt turn and lament, thou shall be saved.” He waits for our lamentations here, that is, in time, that He may spare us those which shall be eternal. He waits for our tears, that He may pour forth His goodness. So in the Gospel, having pity on the tears of the widow, He raised her son. He waits for our conversion, that He may Himself restore us to grace, which would have continued with us had no fall overtaken us. But He is angry because we have by our sins

incurred guilt, in order that we may be humbled; we are humbled, in order that we may be found worthy rather of pity than of punishment.

23. Jeremiah, too, may certainly teach when he says: “For the Lord will not cast off for ever; for after He has humbled, He will have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies, Who hath not humbled from His whole heart nor cast off the children of men.” This passage we certainly find in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and from it, and from what follows, we note that the Lord humbles all the prisoners of the earth under His feet, in order that we may escape His judgment. But He does not bring down the sinner even to the earth with His whole heart Who raises the poor even from the dust and the needy from the dunghill. For He brings not down with His whole heart Who reserves the intention of forgiving.

24. But if He brings not down every sinner with His whole heart, how much less does He bring down him with His whole heart who has not sinned with his whole heart! For as He said of the Jews: “This people honoreth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me,” so perhaps He may say of some of the fallen: “They denied Me with their lips, but in heart they are with Me. It was pain which overcame them, not unfaithfulness which turned them aside.” But some without cause refuse pardon to those whose faith the persecutor himself confessed up to the point of striving to overcome it by torture. They denied the Lord once, but confess Him daily; they denied Him in word, but confess Him with groans, with cries, and with tears; they confess Him with willing words, not under compulsion. They yielded, indeed, for a moment to the temptation of the devil, but even the devil afterwards departed from those whom he was unable to claim as his own. He yielded to their weeping, he yielded to their repentance, and after making them his own lost those whom he attached when they belonged to Another.

25. Is not the case such as when any one carries away captive the people of a conquered city? The captive is led away, but against his will. He must of necessity go to foreign lands, does not willingly make the journey; he takes his native land with him in his heart, and seeks an opportunity to return. What then? When any such return, does any one urge that they should not be received; with less honor indeed, but with readier will, that the enemy may have nothing with which to reproach them? If you pardon

an armed man who was able to fight, do you not pardon him in whom faith alone waged the battle?

26. If we were to enquire what is the opinion of the devil concerning those who have fallen after this sort, would he not probably reply: “This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me? For how can he be with me who does not depart from Christ? Without any cause do they appear to honor me who keep the doctrine of Jesus, and I thought that they would teach mine. They condemn me all the more when they forsake me after trial. Indeed Jesus is more glorified in these, when He receives them on their return to Him. All the angels rejoice, for in heaven there is greater joy over one sinner that repents, than over ninety and nine just persons who need not repentance. I am triumphed over in heaven and on earth. Christ loses nothing when they who came to me with weeping return with longing to the Church, and I am in danger even as regards my own, who will learn that in reality there is nothing here where men are led on by present rewards, but that there must be very much there where groans and tears and fasts are preferred to my feasts.”

CHAPTER 6

The Novatians, by excluding such from the banquet of Christ, imitate not indeed the good Samaritan, but the proud lawyer, the priest, and the Levite who are blamed in the Gospel, and are indeed worse than these.

27. Do you then, O Novatians, shut out these? For what is it When you refuse the hope of forgiveness but to shut out? But the Samaritan did not pass by the man who had been left half dead by the robbers; he dressed his wounds with oil and wine, first pouring in oil in order to comfort them; he set the wounded man on his own beast, on which he bore all his sins; nor did the Shepherd despise His wandering sheep.

28. But you say: “Touch me not.” You who wish to justify yourselves say, “He is not our neighbor,” being more proud than that lawyer who wished to tempt Christ, for he said “Who is my neighbor?” He asked, you deny, going on like that priest, like that Levite passing by him whom you ought to have taken and tended, and not receiving them into the inn for

whom Christ paid the two pence, whose neighbor Christ bids you to become that you might show mercy to him. For he is our neighbor whom not only a similar condition has joined, but whom mercy has bound to us. You make yourself strange to him through pride, in vain puffing up yourself in your carnal mind, and not holding the Head. For if you held the Head you would consider that you must not forsake him for whom Christ died. If you held the Head you would consider that the whole body, by joining together rather than by separating, grows unto the increase of God by the bond of charity and the rescue of a sinner.

29. When, then, you take away all the fruits of repentance, what do you say but this: Let no one who is wounded enter our inn, let no one be healed in our Church? With us the sick are not cared for, we are whole, we have no need of a physician, for He Himself says: “They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick”

CHAPTER 7

St. Ambrose, addressing Christ, complains of the Novatians, and shows that they have no part with Christ, Who wishes all men to be saved.

30. SO, then, Lord Jesus, come wholly to Thy Church, since Novatian makes excuse. Novatian says, “I have bought a yoke of oxen,” and he puts not on the light yoke of Christ, but lays upon his shoulders a heavy burden which he is not able to bear. Novatian held back Thy servants by whom he was invited, treated them contemptuously and slew them, polluting them with the stain of a reiterated baptism. Send forth, therefore, into the highways, and gather together good and bad, bring the weak, the blind, and the lame into Thy Church. Command that Thy house be filled, bring in all unto Thy supper, for Thou wilt make him whom Thou shalt call worthy, if he follow Thee. He indeed is rejected who has not the wedding garment, that is, the vestment of charity, the veil of grace. Send forth I pray Thee to all.

31. Thy Church does not excuse herself from Thy supper, Novatian makes excuse. Thy family says not, “I am whole, I need not the physician,” but it says: “Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be

saved.” The likeness of Thy Church is that woman who went behind and touched the hem of Thy garment, saying within herself: “If I do but touch His garment I shall be whole.” So the Church confesses her wounds, but desires to be healed.

32. And Thou indeed, O Lord, desirest that all should be healed, but all do not wish to be healed. Novatian wishes not, who thinks that he is whole. Thou, O Lord, sayest that Thou art sick, and feelest our infirmity in the least of us, saying: “I was sick and ye visited Me.” Novatian does not visit that least one in whom Thou desirest to be visited. Thou saidst to Peter when he excused himself from having his feet washed by Thee: “If I wash not thy feet, thou wilt have no part with Me.” What fellowship, then, can they have with Thee, who receive not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saying that they ought not to remit sins?

33. And this confession is indeed rightly made by them, for they have not the succession of Peter, who hold not the chair of Peter, which they rend by wicked schism; and this, too, they do, wickedly denying that sins can be forgiven even in the Church, whereas it was said to Peter: “I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven.” And the vessel of divine election himself said: “If ye have forgiven anything to any one, I forgive also, for what I have forgiven I have done it for your sakes in the person of Christ.” Why, then, do they read Paul’s writings, if they think that he has erred so wickedly as to claim for himself the right of his Lord? But he claimed what he had received, he did not usurp that which was not due to him.

CHAPTER 8

It was the Lord’s will to confer great gifts on His disciples. Further, the Novatians confute themselves by the practices of laying on of hands and of baptism, since it is by the same power that sins are remitted in penance and in baptism. Their conduct is then contrasted with that of our Lord.

34. It is the will of the Lord that His disciples should possess great powers; it is His will that the same things which He did when on earth should be done in His Name by His servants. For He said: “Ye shall do greater things than these.” He gave them power to raise the dead. And whereas He could Himself have restored to Saul the use of his sight, He nevertheless sent him to His disciple Ananias, that by his blessing Saul’s eyes might be restored, the sight of which he had lost. Peter also He bade walk with Himself on the sea, and because he faltered He blamed him for lessening the grace given him by the weakness of his faith. He Who Himself was the light of the world granted to His disciples to be the light of the world through grace. And because He purposed to descend from heaven and to ascend thither again, He took up Elijah into heaven to restore him again to earth at the time which should please Him. And being baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire, He foreshadowed the Sacrament of Baptism at the hands of John.

35. And in fine He gave all gifts to His disciples, of whom He said: “In My Name they shalt cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall do well.” So, then, He gave them all things, but there is no power of man exercised in these things, in which the grace of the divine gift operates.

36. Why, then, do you lay on hands, and believe it to be the effect of the blessing, if perchance some sick person recovers? Why do you assume that any can be cleansed by you from the pollution of the devil? Why do you baptize if sins cannot be remitted by man? If baptism is certainly the remission of all sins, what difference does it make whether priests claim that this power is given to them in penance or at the font? In each the mystery is one.

37. But you say that the grace of the mysteries works in the font. What works, then, in penance? Does not the Name of God do the work? What then? Do you, when you choose, claim for yourselves the grace of God, and when you choose reject it? But this is a mark of insolent presumption, not of holy fear, when those who wish to do penance are despised by you. You cannot, forsooth, endure the tears of the weepers; your eyes cannot bear the coarse clothing, the filth of the squalid; with proud eyes and

puffed-up hearts you delicate ones say with angry tones, “Touch me not, for I am pure.

38. The Lord said indeed to Mary Magdalene, “Touch Me not,” but He Who was pure did not say, “because I am pure.” Do you, Novatian, dare to call yourself pure, whilst, even if you were pure as regards your acts, you would be made impure by this saying alone? Isaiah says: “O wretched that I am, and pricked to the heart; for that being a man, and having unclean lips, I dwell also in the midst of a people having unclean lips,” and do you say, “I am clean,” when, as it is written, not even an infant of a day old is pure? David says, “And cleanse me from my sin,” whom for his tender heart the grace of God often cleansed; are you pure who are so unrighteous as to have no tenderness, as to see the mote in your brother’s eye, but not to consider the beam which is in your own eye? For with God no one who is unjust is pure. And what is more unjust than to desire to have your sins forgiven you, and yet yourself to think that he who entreats you ought not to be forgiven? What is more unjust than to justify yourself in that wherein you condemn another, whilst you yourself are committing worse offenses?

39. Then, too, the Lord Jesus when about to consecratethe forgiveness of our sins replied to John, who said: “I ought to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me? Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness.” And the Lord indeed came to a sinner, though indeed He had no sin, and desired to be baptized, having no need of cleansing; who, then, can tolerate you, who think there is no need for you to be cleansed by penance, because you say you are cleansed by grace, as though it were now impossible for you to sin?

CHAPTER 9

By collating similar passages with <090302>*1 Samuel 3:25, St. Ambrose shows that the meaning is not that no one shall intercede, but that the intercessor must be worthy as were Moses and Jeremiah, at whose prayers we read that God spared Israel.*

40. BUT you Say, It is written: “If a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him?” First of all, as I already said before, I might allow you to

make that objection if you refused penance to those only who denied the faith. But what difficulty does that question produce? For it is not written, “No one shall entreat for him;” but, “Who shall entreat?” that is to say, the question is, Who in such a case can entreat? The entreaty is not excluded.

41. Then you have in the fifteenth Psalm “Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon Thy holy hill?” It is not that no one, but that he who is approved shall dwell there, nor does it say that no one shall rest, but he who is chosen shall rest. And that you may know that this is true, it is said not much later in the twenty-fourth Psalm: “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place?” The writer implies, not any ordinary person, or one of the common sort, but only a man of excellent life and of singular merit. And that we may understand that when the question is asked, Who? it does not imply no one, but some special one is meant, after having said “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?” the Psalmist adds: “He that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not lift up his mind unto vanity.” And elsewhere it is said: “Who is wise and he shall understand these things?” And in the Gospel: “Who is the faithful and wise steward, whom the Lord shall set over His household to give them their measure of wheat in due season?” And that we may understand that He speaks of such as really exist, the Lord added: “Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when He cometh shall find so doing.” And I am of opinion that where it is said, “Lord, who is like unto Thee?” it is not meant that none is like, for the Son is the image of the Father.

42. We must then understand in the same manner, “Who shall entreat for him?” as implying: It must be some one of excellent life who shall entreat for him who has sinned against the Lord. The greater the sin, the more worthy must be the prayers that are sought. For it was not any one of the common people who prayed for the Jewish people, but Moses, when forgetful of their covenant they worshipped the head of the calf. Was Moses wrong? Certainly he was not wrong in praying, who both merited and obtained that for which he asked. For what should such love not obtain as that of his when he offered himself for the people and said: “And now, if Thou wilt forgive their sin, forgive; but if not, blot me out of the book of life.” We see that he does not think of himself, like a man full of fancies and scruples, whether he may incur the risk of some offense, as

Novatian says he dreads that he might, but rather, thinking of all and forgetful of himself, he was not afraid test he should offend, so that he might rescue and free the people from danger of offense.

43. Rightly, then, is it said: “Who shall entreat for him?” It implies that it must be such an one as Moses to offer himself for those who sin, or such as Jeremiah, who, though the Lord said to him, “Pray not thou for this people,” and yet he prayed and obtained their forgiveness. For at the intercession of the prophet, and the entreaty of so great a seer, the Lord was moved and said to Jerusalem, which had meanwhile repented for its sins, and had said: “O Almighty Lord God of Israel, the soul in anguish, and the troubled spirit crieth unto Thee, hear, O Lord, and have mercy.” And the Lord bids them lay aside the garments of mourning, and to cease the groanings of repentance, saying: “Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction. and clothe thyself in beauty, the glory which God hath given thee for ever.”

CHAPTER 10

St. John did not absolutely forbid that prayer should be made for those who “sin unto death,” since he knew that Moses, Jeremiah, and Stephen had so prayed, and he himself implies that forgiveness is not to be denied them.

44. SUCH intercessors, then, must be sought for after very grievous sins, for if any ordinary persons pray they are not heard.

45. So that point of yours will have no weight, which you take from the Epistle of John, where he says: “He who knows that his brother sinneth a sin not unto death, let him ask, and God will give him life, because he sinned not unto death. There is a sin unto death: not concerning it do I say, let him ask.” He was not speaking to Moses and Jeremiah, but to the people, who must seek another intercessor for their sins; the people, for whom it is sufficient they entreat God for their lighter faults, and consider that pardon for weightier sins must be reserved for the prayers of the just. For how could John say that graver sins should not be prayed for, when he had read that Moses prayed and obtained his request, where there had been willful casting off of faith, and knew that Jeremiah also had entreated?

46. How could John say that we should not pray for the sin unto death, who himself in the Apocalypse wrote the message to the angel of the Church of Pergamos? “Thou hast there those that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitans. Repent likewise, or else I will come to thee quickly.” Do you see that the same God Who requires repentance promises forgiveness? And then He says: “He that hath ears let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches: To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna.”

47. Did not John himself know that Stephen prayed for his persecutors, who had not been able even to listen to the Name of Christ, when he said of those very men by whom he was being stoned: “Lord, lay not this sin to their charge”? And we see the result of this prayer in the case of the Apostle, for Paul, who kept the garments of those who were stoning Stephen, not long after became an apostle by the grace of God, having before been a persecutor.

CHAPTER 11

The passage quoted from St. John’s Epistle is confirmed by another in which salvation is promised to those who believe in Christ, which refutes the Novatians who try to induce the lapsed to believe, although denying them pardon. Furthermore, many who had lapsed have received the grace of martyrdom, whilst the example of the good Samaritan shows that we must not abandon those in whom even the faintest amount of faith is still alive.

48. Since, then, we have spoken of the general Epistle of St. John, let us enquire whether the writings of John in the Gospel agree with your interpretation. For he writes that the Lord said: “God so loved this world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that every one that believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life.” If, then, you wish to reclaim any one of the lapsed, do you exhort him to believe, or not to believe? Undoubtedly you exhort him to believe. But, according to the Lord’s words, he who believes shall have everlasting life. How, then, will you

forbid to pray for him, who has a claim to everlasting life? since faith is of divine grace, as the Apostle teaches where he speaks of the differences of gifts, for “to another is given faith by the same Spirit.” And the disciples say to the Lord: “Increase our faith.” He then who has faith has life, and he who has life is certainly not shut out from pardon; “that every one,” it is said, “that believeth on Him should not perish.” Since it is said, Every one, no one is shut out, no one is excepted, for He does not except him who has lapsed, if only afterwards he believes effectually.

49. We find that many have at length recovered themselves after a fall, and have suffered for the Name of God. Can we deny fellowship with the martyrs to these to whom the Lord Jesus has not denied it? Do we dare to say that life is not restored to those to whom Christ has given a crown? As, then, a crown is given to many after they have lapsed, so, too, if they believe, their faith is restored, which faith is the gift of God, as you read: “Because unto you it hath been granted by God not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer in His behalf.” Is it possible that he who has the gift of God should not have His forgiveness?

50. Now it is not a single but a twofold grace that every one who believes should also suffer for the Lord Jesus. He, then, who believes receives his grace, but he receives a second, if his faith be crowned by suffering. For neither was Peter without grace before he suffered, but when he suffered he received a second gift. And many who have not had the grace to suffer for Christ have nevertheless had the grace of believing on Him.

51. Therefore it is said: “That every. one that believeth in Him should not perish.” Let no one, that is, of whatever condition, after whatever fall, fear that he will perish. For it may come to pass that the good Samaritan of the Gospel may find some one going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, that is, falling back from the martyr’s conflict to the pleasures of this life and the comforts of the world; wounded by robbers, that is, by persecutors, and left half dead; that good Samaritan, Who is the Guardian of our souls (for the word Samaritan means Guardian), may, I say, not pass by him but tend and heal him.

52. Perchance He therefore passes him not by, because He sees in him some signs of life, so that there is hope that he may recover. Does it not seem to you that he who has fallen is half alive if faith sustains any breath

of life? For he is dead who wholly casts God out of his heart. He, then, who does not wholly cast Him out, but under pressure of torments has denied Him for a time, is half dead. Or if he be dead, why do you bid him repent, seeing he cannot now be healed? If he be half dead, pour in oil and wine, not wine without oil, that may be the comfort and the smart. Place him upon thy beast, give hint over to the host, lay out two pence for his cure, be to him a neighbor. But you cannot be a neighbor unless you have compassion on him; for no one can be called a neighbor unless he have healed, not killed, another. But if you wish to be called a neighbor, Christ says to you: “Go and do likewise.”

CHAPTER 12

Another passage of St. John is considered. The necessity of keeping the commandments of God may be complied with by those who, having fallen, repent, as well as by those who have not fallen, as is shown in the case of David.

53. LET us consider another similar passage:” He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life, but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.” That which abideth has certainly had a commencement, and that from some offense, viz., that first he not believe. When, then, any one believes, the wrath of God departs and life comes. To believe, then, in Christ is to gain life, for “he that believeth in Him is not judged.”

54. But with reference to this passage they allege that he who believes in Christ ought to keep His sayings, and say that it is written in the Lord’s own words: “I am come a light into this world, that whosoever believeth in Me may not abide in darkness. And if any man hear My word and keep it, I judge him not.” He judges not, and do you judge? He says, “that whosoever believeth on Me may not abide in darkness,” that is, that if he be in darkness he may not remain therein, but may amend his error, correct his fault, and keep My commandments, for I have said, “I will not the death of the wicked, but the correction.” I said above that he that believeth on Me is not judged, and I keep to this: “For I am not come to judge the world, but that the world may be saved through Me.” I pardon willingly, I

quickly forgive, "I will have mercy rather than sacrifice," because by sacrifice the just is rendered more acceptable, by mercy the sinner is redeemed. "I come not to call the righteous but sinners." Sacrifice was under the Law, in the Gospel is mercy. "The Law was given by Moses, grace by Me."

55. And again further on He says: "He that despiseth Me, and receiveth not My words, hath one that judgeth him." Does he seem to you to have received Christ's words who has not corrected himself? Undoubtedly not. He, then, who corrects himself receives His word, for this is His word, that every one should turn back from sin. So, then, of necessity you must either reject this saying of His, or if you cannot deny it you must accept it.

56. It is also necessary that he who leaves off sinning must keep the commandments of God and renounce his sins. We ought not, then, to interpret this saying of him who has always kept the commandments, for if this had been His meaning He would have added the word always, but by not adding it He shows that He was speaking of him who has kept what he has heard, and what he heard has led him to correct his faults; he has then kept what he has heard.

57. But how hard it is to condemn to penance for life one who even afterwards keeps the commandments of the Lord, let Him teach us Himself Who has not refused forgiveness. Even to those who do not keep His commandments, as you read in the Psalm: "If they profane My statutes and keep not My commandments, I will visit their offenses with the rod and their sins with scourges, but My mercy will I not take from them." So, then, He promises mercy to all.

58. Yet that we may not think that this mercy is without judgment, there is a distinction made between those who have paid continual obedience to God's commandments, and those who at some time, either by error or by compulsion, have fallen. And that you may not think that it is only our arguments which press you, consider the decision of Christ, Who said: "If the servant knew his Lord's will and did it not, he shall be beaten with many stripes, but if he knew it not, he shall be beaten with few stripes." Each, then, if he believes, is received, for God "chasteneth every son whom He receiveth," and him whom He chasteneth He does not give over

unto death, for it is written: “The Lord hath chastened me sore, but He hath not given me over unto death.”

CHAPTER 13

They who have committed a “sin unto death” are not to be abandoned, but subjected to penance, according to St. Paul. Explanation of the phrase “Deliver unto Satan.” Satan can afflict the body, but these afflictions bring spiritual profit, showing the power of God, Who thus turns Satan’s devices against himself.

59. Lastly, Paul teaches us that we must not abandon those who have committed a sin unto death, but that we must rather coerce them with the bread of tears and tears to drink, yet so that their sorrow itself be moderated. For this is the meaning of the passage: “Thou hast given them to drink in large measure,” that their sorrow itself should have its measure, lest perchance he who is doing penance should be consumed by overmuch sorrow, as was said to the Corinthians: “What will ye? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness?” But even the rod is not severe, since he had read: “Thou shalt beat him indeed with the rod, but shalt deliver his soul from death.”

60. What the Apostle means by the rod is shown by his invective against fornication, his denunciation of incest, his reprehension of pride, because they were puffed up who ought rather to be mourning, and lastly, his sentence on the guilty person, that he should be excluded from communion, and delivered to the adversary, not for the destruction of the soul but of the flesh. For as the Lord did not give power to Satan over the soul of holy Job, but allowed him to afflict his body, so here, too, the sinner is delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the serpent might lick the dust of his flesh, but not hurt his soul.

61. Let, then, our flesh die to lusts, let it be captive, let it be subdued, and not war against the law of our mind, but die in subjection to a good service, as in Paul, who buffeted his body that he might bring it into subjection, in order that his preaching might become more approved, if the law of his flesh agreed and was consonant with the law of his flesh. For the flesh dies when its wisdom passes over into the spirit, so that it no longer has a taste

for the things of the flesh, but for the things of the spirit. Would that I might see my flesh growing weak, would that I were not dragged captive into the law of sin, would that I lived not in the flesh, but in the faith of Christ! And so there is greater grace in the infirmity of the body than in its soundness.

62. Having explained Paul's meaning, let us now consider the words themselves, in what sense he said that he had delivered him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, for the devil it is who tries us. For he brings ailments on each of our limbs, and sickness on our whole bodies. And then, too, he smote holy Job with evil sores from the feet to the head, because he had received the power of destroying his flesh, when God said: "Behold, I give him up unto thee, only preserve his life." This the Apostle took up in the same words, giving up this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

63. Great is the power, great is the gift, which commands the devil to destroy himself. For he destroys himself when he makes the man whom he is seeking to overthrow by temptation stronger instead of weak, because whilst he is weakening the body he is strengthening his soul. For sickness of the body restrains sin, but luxury sets on fire the sin of the flesh.

64. The devil is then deceived so as to wound himself with his own bite, and to arm against himself him whom he thought to weaken. So he armed holy Job the more after he wounded him, who, with his whole. body covered with sores, endured indeed the bite of the devil, but felt not his poison. And so it is well said of him, "Thou shalt draw out the dragon with an hook, thou wilt play with him as with a bird, thou shall bind him as a boy doth a sparrow, thou shalt lay thine hand upon him."

65. You see how he is mocked by Paul, so that, like the child in prophecy, he lays his hand on the hole of the asp, and the serpent injures him not; he draws him out of his hiding-places, and makes of his venom a spiritual antidote, so that what is venom becomes a medicine, the venom serves to the destruction of the flesh, it becomes medicine to the healing of the spirit. For that which hurts the body benefits the spirit.

66. Let, then, the serpent bite the earthy part of me, let him drive his tooth into my flesh, and bruise my body; and may the Lord say of me: “I give him up unto thee, only preserve his life.” How great is the power of Christ, that the guardianship of man is made a charge even to the devil himself, who always desires to injure him. Let us then make the Lord Jesus favorable to ourselves. At the command of Christ the devil himself becomes the guardian of his prey. Even unwillingly he carries out the commands of heaven, and, though cruel, obeys the commands of gentleness.

67. But why do I commend his obedience? Let him be ever evil that God may be ever good, Who converts his ill-will into grace for us. He wishes to injure us, but cannot if Christ resist him. He wounds the flesh but preserves the life. And then it is written: “Then shall the wolves and the lambs feed together, the lion and the ox shall eat straw, and they shall not hurt nor destroy in My holy mountain, saith the Lord.” For this is the sentence of condemnation on the serpent: “Dust shall be thy food.” What dust? Surely that of which it is said: “Dust thou art, and into dust shall thou return.

CHAPTER 14

St. Ambrose explains that the flesh given to Satan for destruction is eaten by the serpent when the soul is set free from carnal desires. He gives, therefore, various rules for guarding the senses, points out the snares laid for us by means of pleasures, and exhorts his hearers not to fear the destruction of the flesh by the serpent.

68. THE serpent eats this dust, if the Lord Jesus is favorable to us, that our spirit may not sympathize with the weakness of the flesh, nor be set on fire by the vapors of the flesh and the heat of our members. “It is better to marry than to burn,” for there is a flame which burns within. Let us not then suffer this fire to approach the bosom of our minds and the depths of our hearts, lest we burn up the covering of our inmost hearts, and lest the devouring fire of lust consume this outward garment of the soul and its fleshy veil, but let us pass through the fire. And should any one fall into the fire of love let him leap over it and pass forth; let him not bind to

himself adulterous lust with the bands of thoughts, let him not tie knots around himself by the fastenings of continual reflection, let him not too often turn his attention to the form of a harlot, and let not a maiden lift her eyes to the countenance of a youth. And if by chance she has looked and is caught, how much more will she be entangled if she gazes with curiosity.

69. Let custom itself teach us. A woman covers her face with a veil for this reason, that in public her modesty may be safe, That her face may not easily meet the gaze of a youth, let her be covered with the nuptial veil, so that not even in chance meetings she might be exposed to the wounding of another or of herself, though the wound of either were indeed hers. But if she cover her head with a veil that she may not accidentally see or be seen(for when the head is veiled the face is hidden), how much more ought she to cover herself with the veil of modesty, so as even in public to have her own secret place.

70. But granted that the eye has fallen upon another, at least let not the inward affection follow. For to have seen is no sin, but one must be careful that it be not the source of sin. The bodily eye sees, but let the eye of the heart be closed; let modesty of mind remain. We have a Lord Who is both strict and indulgent. The prophet indeed said: “Look not upon the beauty of a woman that is all harlot.” But the Lord said: “Whoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” He does not say, “Whosoever shall look hath committed adultery,” but “Whosoever shall look on her to last after her.” He condemned not the look but sought out the inward affection. But that modesty is praiseworthy which has so accustomed itself to close the bodily eyes as often not to see what we really behold. For we seem to behold with the bodily sight whatever meets us; but if there be not joined to this any attention of the mind, the sight also, according to what is usual in the body, fades away, so that in reality we see rather with the mind than with the body.

71. And if the flesh has seen the flame, let us not cherish that flame in our bosoms, that is, in the depths of the heart and the inward part of the mind. Let us not instill this fire into our bones, let us not bind bonds upon ourselves, let us not join in conversation with such as may be the cause to

us of unholy fires. The speech of a maiden is a snare to a youth, the words of a youth are the bonds of love.

72. Joseph saw the fire when the woman eager for adultery spoke to him. She wished to catch him with her words. She set the snares of her lips, but was not able to capture the chaste man. For the voice of modesty, the voice of gravity, the rein of caution, the care for integrity, the discipline of chastity, loosed the woman’s chains. So that unchaste person could not entangle him in her meshes. She laid her hand upon him; she caught his garment, that she might tighten the noose around him. The words of a lascivious woman are the snares of lust, and her hands the bonds of love; but the chaste mind could not be taken either by snares or by bonds. The garment was cast off, the bonds were loosed, and because he did not admit the fire into the bosom of his mind, his body was not burnt.

73. You see, then, that our mind is the cause of our guilt. And so the flesh is innocent, but is often the minister of sin. Let not, then, desire of beauty overcome you. Many nets and many snares are spread by the devil. The look of a harlot is the snare of him who loves her. Our own eyes are nets to us, wherefore it is written: “Be not taken with thine eyes.” So, then, we spread nets for ourselves in which we are entangled and hampered. We bind chains on ourselves, as we read: “For every one is bound with the chains of his own sins.”

74. Let us then pass through the fires of youth and the glow of early years; let us pass through the waters, let us not remain therein, lest the deep floods shut us in. Let us rather pass over, that we too may say: “Our soul has passed over the stream,” for he who has passed over is safe. And lastly, the Lord speaks thus: “If thou pass through the water, I am with thee, the rivers shall not overflow thee.” And the prophet says: “I have seen the wicked exalted above the cedars of Libanus, and I passed by, and lo, he was not.” Pass by things of this world, and you will see that the high places of the wicked have fallen. Moses, too, passing by things of this world, saw a great sight and said: “I will turn aside and see this great sight,” for had he been held by the fleeting pleasures of this world he would not have seen so great a mystery.

75. Let us also pass over this fire of lust, fearing which Paul — but fearing for us, inasmuch as by buffeting his body he had come no longer to fear for

himself — says to us: “Flee fornication.” Let us then flee it as though following us, though indeed it follows not behind us, but within our very selves. Let us then diligently take heed lest while we are fleeing from it we carry it with ourselves. For we wish for the most part to flee, but if we do not wholly cast it out of our mind, we rather take it up than forsake it. Let us then spring over it, lest it be said to us: “Walk ye in the flame of your fire, which ye have kindled for yourselves.” For as he who “takes fire into his bosom burns his clothes,” so he who walks upon fiery coals must of necessity burn his feet, as it is written: “Can one walk upon coals of fire and not burn his feet?”

76. This fire is dangerous, let us then not feed it with the fuel of luxury. Lust is fed by feastings, nourished by delicacies, kindled by wine, and inflamed by drunkenness. Still more dangerous than these are the incentives of words, which intoxicate the mind as it were with a kind of wine of the vine of Sodore. Let us be on our guard against abundance of this wine, for when the flesh is intoxicated the mind totters, the heart wavers, the heart is carried to and fro. And so with regard to each that precept is useful wherein Timothy is warned: “Drink a little wine because of thy frequent infirmities.” When the body is heated, it excites the glow of the mind; when the flesh is chilled with the cold of disease the spirit is chilled; when the body is in pain, the mind is sad, but the sadness shall become joy.

77. Do not then fear if your flesh be eaten away, the soul is not consumed. And so David says that he does not fear, because the enemy were eating up his flesh but not his soul, as we read: “When evil-doers come near upon me to eat up my flesh, my foes who trouble me, they were weakened and fell.” So the serpent works overthrow for himself alone, therefore is he who has been injured by the serpent given over to the serpent that he may raise up again him whom he cast down, and the overthrow of the serpent may be the raising again of the man. And Scripture testifies that Satan is the author of this bodily suffering and weakness of the flesh, where Paul says: “There was given unto me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I should not be exalted.” So Paul learned to heal even as he himself had been made whole.

CHAPTER 15

Returning from this digression, St. Ambrose explains what is the meaning of St. Paul where he speaks of coming "with a rod or in the spirit of meekness." One who has grievously fallen is to be separated, but to be again restored to religious privileges when he has sufficiently repented. The old leaven is purged out when the hardness of the letter is tempered by the meal of a milder interpretation. All should be sprinkled with the Church's meal and fed with the food of charity, lest they become like that envious elder brother, whose example is followed by the Novatians.

78. THAT faithful teacher, having promised one of two things, gave each. He came with a rod, for he separated the guilty man from the holy fellowship. And well is he said to be delivered to Satan who is separated from the body of Christ. But he came in love and with the spirit of meekness, whether because he so delivered him up as to save his soul, or because he afterwards restored to the sacraments him whom he had before separated.

79. For it is needful to separate one who has grievously fallen, lest a little leaven corrupt the whole lump. And the old leaven must be purged out, or the old man in each person; that is, the outward man and his deeds, he who among the people has grown old in sin and hardened in vices. And well did he say purged, not cast forth, for what is purged is not considered wholly valueless, for to this end is it purged, that what is of value be separated from the worthless, but that which is cast forth is considered to have in itself nothing of value.

80. The Apostle then judged that the sinner should then at once be restored to the heavenly sacraments if he himself wished to be cleansed. And well is it said "Purge," for he is purged as by certain things done by the whole people, and is washed in the tears of the multitude, and redeemed from sin by the weeping of the multitude, and is purged in the inner man. For Christ granted to His Church that one should be redeemed by means of all, as she herself was found worthy of the coming of the Lord Jesus, in order that through One all might be redeemed.

81. This is Paul's meaning which the words make more obscure. Let us consider the exact words of the Apostle: "Purge out," says he, "the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened." Either that the whole Church takes up the burden of the sinner, with whom she has to suffer in weeping and prayer and pain, and, as it were, covers herself with his leaven, in order that by means of all that which is to be done away in the individual doing penance may be purged by a kind of contribution and commixture of compassion and mercy offered with manly vigor. Or one may understand it as that woman in the Gospel teaches us, who is a type of the Church, when she hid the leaven in her meal, till all was leavened, and the whole could be used as pure.

82. The Lord taught me in the Gospel what leaven is when He said: "Do ye not understand that I said not concerning bread, Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees?" Then, it is said, they understood that He spake not of bread, but that they should beware of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees. This leaven, then — that is, the doctrine of the Pharisees and the contentiousness of the Sadducees — the Church hides in her meal, when she softened the hard letter of the Law by a spiritual interpretation, and ground it as it were in the mill of her explanations, bringing out as it were from the husks of the letter the inner secrets of the mysteries, and setting forth the belief in the Resurrection, wherein the mercy of God is proclaimed, and wherein it is believed that the life of those who are dead is restored.

83. Now this comparison seems to be not unfitly brought forward in this place, since the kingdom of heaven is redemption from sin, and therefore we all, both bad and good, are mingled with the meal of the Church that we all may be a new lump. But that no one may be afraid that an admixture of evil leaven might injure the lump, the Apostle said: "That ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened;" that is to say, This mixture will render you again such, as in the pure integrity of your innocence. If we thus have compassion, we are not stained with the sins of others, but we gain the restoration of another to the increase of our own grace, so that our integrity remains as it was. And therefore he adds: "For Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us;" that is, the Passion of the Lord profited all, and gave redemption to sinners who repented of the sins they had committed.

84. Let us then keep the feast on good food, doing penance yet joyful in our redemption, for no food is sweeter than kindness and gentleness. Let no envy towards the sinner who is saved be mingled with our feasts and joy, lest that envious brother, as is set forth in the Gospel, exclude himself from the house of his Father, because he grieved at the reception of his brother, at whose lasting exile he was wont to rejoice.

85. And you Novatians cannot deny that you are like him, who, as you say, do not come together to the Church because by penance a hope of return had been given to those who had lapsed. But this is only a pretense, for Novatian contrived his schism through grief at his loss of the episcopal office.

86. But do you not understand that the Apostle also prophesied of you and says to you: “And ye are puffed up and did not rather mourn, that he who did this deed might be taken away from among you”? He is, then, wholly taken away when his sin is done away, but the Apostle does not say that the sinner is to be shut out of the Church who counsels his cleansing.

CHAPTER 16

Comparison between the apostles and Novatians. The fitness of the words, “Ye know not what spirit ye are of,” when applied to them. The desire of penance is extinguished by them when they take away its fruit. And thus are sinners deprived of the promises of Christ, though, indeed, they ought not to be too soon admitted to the mysteries. Some examples of repentance.

87. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle forgave sins, by what authority do you say that they are not to be forgiven? Who has the most reverence for Christ, Paul or Novatian? But Paul knew that the Lord was merciful. He knew that the Lord Jesus was offended more by the harshness of the disciples than by their pitifulness.

88. Furthermore, Jesus rebuked James and John when they spoke of bringing down fire from heaven to consume those who refused to receive the Lord, and said to them: “Ye know not whose spirit ye are of; for the

Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them." To them, indeed, He said, "Ye know not whose spirit ye are of," who were of His spirit; but to you He says, "Ye are not of My spirit, who hold not fast My clemency, who reject My mercy, who refuse repentance which I willed to be preached by the apostles in My Name."

89. For it is in vain that you say that you preach repentance who remove the fruits of repentance. For men are led to the pursuit of anything either by rewards or results, and every pursuit grows slack by delay. And for this reason the Lord, in order that the devotion of His disciples might be increased, said that every one who had left all that was his, and followed God, should receive sevenfold more both here and hereafter. First of all He promised the reward here, to do away with the tedium of delay, and again hereafter, that we might learn to believe that rewards will also be given to us hereafter. Present rewards are then an earnest of those hereafter.

90. If, then, any one, having committed hidden sins, shall nevertheless diligently do penance, how shall he receive those rewards if not restored to the communion of the Church? I am willing, indeed, that the guilty man should hope for pardon, should seek it with tears and groans, should seek it with the aid of the tears of all the people, should implore forgiveness; and if communion be postponed two or three times, that he should believe that his entreaties have not been urgent enough, that he must increase his tears, must come again even in greater trouble, clasp the feet of the faithful with his arms, kiss them, wash them with tears, and not let them go, so that the Lord Jesus may say of him too: "His sins which are many are forgiven, for he loved much."

91. I have known penitents whose countenance was furrowed with tears, their cheeks worn with constant weeping, who offered their body to be trodden under foot by all, who with faces ever pale and worn with fasting bore about in a yet living body the likeness of death.

CHAPTER 17

That gentleness must be added to severity, as is shown in the case of St. Paul at Corinth. The man had been baptized, though the

Novatians argue against it. And by the word “destruction” is not meant annihilation but severe chastening.

92. WHY do we postpone the time of pardon for those who have mortified themselves, who during life have done themselves to death? “Sufficient,” says St. Paul, “to such a one is this punishment which is inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise, ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.” If the punishment which is inflicted by the many is sufficient for condemnation, the intercession which is made by many is also sufficient for the remission of sin. The Master of morals, Who both knows our weakness and is the interpreter of the will of God, wills that comfort should be given, lest sorrow through the weariness of long delay should swallow up the penitent.

93. The Apostle then forgave him, and not only forgave him, but desired that love to him should again grow strong. He who is loved receives not harshness but mercy. And not only did he himself forgive him only, but willed that all should forgive him, and says that he forgave for the sake of others, lest many should be longer saddened on account of one. “To whom,” says he, “ye have forgiven anything, I forgive also, for I also have forgiven for your sakes in the person of Christ, for we are not ignorant of his devices.” Rightly can he be on his guard against the serpent who is not ignorant of his devices, of which there are so many to our detriment. He is always desirous to do harm, always desirous to circumvent us, that he may cause death; but we ought to take heed lest our remedy become an occasion of triumph for him; for we are circumvented by him, if any one perish through overmuch sorrow, who might be set free by pitifulness.

94. And that we may know that this person was baptized, he added: “I wrote to you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators, not altogether with fornicators of this world.” And farther on he adds: “But now I write unto you not to keep company if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator.” Those whom he has joined together under one penalty, he willed to attain together to forgiveness. “If any be such,” he says, “with him not to eat.” How severe he is with the obstinate, how indulgent to those who seek. Against those

rises up in arms the injury done to Christ, whilst the calling upon Christ aids these.

95. But lest any one be perplexed because it is written: “I have delivered such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, and should say: How can he attain forgiveness whose whole flesh has perished, seeing that it is evident that man was redeemed both in body and soul, and is saved in both and that neither the soul without the body, nor yet the body without the soul, since both are united by their fellowship in the deeds that have been done, can be without fellowship either in punishment or in reward? Let this suffice for an answer to him. That “destruction” does not mean the complete annihilation of the flesh, but its chastening. For as he who is dead to sin lives to God, so the allurements of the flesh perish, and the flesh dies to its lusts, in order that it may live again to purity and to other good works.

96. And what more suitable example can we take than one from our common mother? For the earth itself, from which we are all taken, when it is not worked and cultivated, seems to be desert; and the field dies to the vines or olive-trees with which it was planted, and yet it does not lose its own nutritive power, which is, as it were, its life. And then later, when cultivation begins once more, and the seed is sown for which the land seems suitable, it breaks forth again more fruitful than before with its products. It is not, then, anything so strange if our flesh is said to die, and yet is understood to be subdued rather than annihilated.

BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose gives additional rules concerning repentance, and shows that it must not be delayed.

1. ALTHOUGH in the former book we have written many things which may tend to the more perfect practice of repentance, yet inasmuch as a great deal more may be added, we will continue the repast so as not to seem to have relinquished the provisions of our teaching only half consumed.

2. For repentance must be taken in hand not only anxiously, but also quickly, lest perchance that father of the house in the Gospel who planted a fig-tree in his vineyard should come and seek fruit on it, and finding none, say to the vine-dresser: “Cut it down, why doth it cumber the ground?” And unless the vine-dresser should intercede and say: “Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it and dung it, and if it bear fruit — well; but if not let it be cut down.”

3. Let us then dung this field which we possess, and imitate those hard-working farmers, who are not ashamed to satiate the land with rich dung and to scatter the grimy ashes over the field, that they may gather more abundant crops.

4. And the Apostle teaches us how to dung it, saying: “I count all things but dung, that I may gain Christ,” and he, through evil report and good report, attained to pleasing Christ. For he had read that Abraham, when confessing himself to be but dust and ashes, in his deep humility found favor with God. He had read how Job, sitting among the ashes, regained all that he had lost. He had heard in the utterance of David, how God “raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill.”

5. Let us then not be ashamed to confess our sins unto the Lord. Shame indeed there is when each makes known his sins, but that shame, as it were, ploughs his land, removes the ever-recurring brambles, prunes the thorns, and gives life to the fruits which he believed were dead. Follow him

who, by diligently ploughing his field, sought for eternal fruit: “Being reviled we bless, being persecuted we endure, being defamed we entreat, we are made as the offscouring of the world.” If you plough after this fashion you will sow spiritual seed. Plough that you may get rid of sin and gain fruit. He ploughed so as to destroy in himself the last tendency to persecution. What more could Christ give to lead us on to the pursuit of perfection, than to convert and then give us for a teacher one who was a persecutor?

CHAPTER 2

A passage quoted by the heretics against repentance is explained in two ways, the first being that <580604>*Hebrews 6:4 refers to the impossibility of being baptized again; the second, that what is impossible with man is possible with God.*

6. BEING then refuted by the clear example of the Apostle and by his writings, the heretics yet endeavor to resist further, and say that their opinion is supported by apostolic authority, bringing forward the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: “For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, should if they fall away be again renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and put Him to open shame.”

7. Could Paul teach in opposition to his own act? He had at Corinth forgiven sin through penance, how could he himself speak against his own decision? Since, then, he could not destroy what he had built, we must assume that what he says was different from, but not contrary to, what had gone before. For what is contrary is opposed to itself, what is different has ordinarily another meaning. Things which are contrary are not such that one can support the other. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle spoke of remitting penance, he could not be silent as to those who thought that baptism was to be repeated. And it was right first of all to remove our anxiety, and to let us know that even after baptism, if any sinned their sins could be forgiven them, lest a false belief in a reiterated baptism should

lead astray those who were destitute of all hope of forgiveness. And secondly, it was right to set forth in a well-reasoned argument that baptism is not to be repeated.

8. And that the writer was speaking of baptism is evident from the very words in which it is stated that it is impossible to renew unto repentance those who were fallen, inasmuch as we are renewed by means of the layer of baptism, whereby we are born again, as Paul says himself: “For we are buried with Him through baptism into death, that, like as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we, too, should walk in newness of life.” And in another place: “Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created after God.” And elsewhere again: “Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle,” because the eagle after death is born again from its ashes, as we being dead in sin are through the Sacrament of Baptism born again to God, and created anew. So, then, here as elsewhere, he teaches one baptism. “One faith,” he says, “one baptism.”

9. This, too, is plain, that in him who is baptized the Son of God is crucified, for our flesh could not do away sin unless it were crucified in Jesus Christ. And then it is written that: “All we who were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death.” And farther on: “If we have been planted in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection, knowing that our old man was fastened with Him to His cross.” And to the Colossians he says: “Buried with Him by baptism, wherein ye also rose again with Him.” Which was written to the intent that we should believe that He is crucified in us, that our sins may be purged through Him, that He, Who alone can forgive sins, may nail to His cross the handwriting which was against us. In us He triumphs over principalities and powers, as it is written of Him: “He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself.”

10. So, then, that which he says in this Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is impossible for those who have fallen to be “renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and putting Him to open shame,” must be considered as having reference to baptism, wherein we crucify the Son of God in ourselves, that the world may be by Him crucified for us, who triumph, as it were, when we take to ourselves the likeness of His death,

who put to open shame upon His cross principalities and powers, and triumphed over them, that in the likeness of His death we, too, might triumph over the principalities whose yoke we throw off. But Christ was crucified once, and died to sin once, and so there is but one, not several baptisms.

11. But what of the passage wherein the doctrine of baptisms is spoken of? Because under the Law there were many baptisms or washings, he rightly rebukes those who forsake what is perfect and seek again the first principles of the word. He teaches us that the whole of the washings under the Law are done away with, and that there is one baptism in the sacraments of the Church. But he exhorts us that leaving the first principles of the word we should go on to perfection. “And this,” he says, “we will do, if God permits,” for no one can be perfect without the grace of God.

12. And indeed I might also say to any one who thought that this passage spoke of repentance, that things which are impossible with men are possible with God; and God is able whensoever He wills to forgive us our sins, even those which we think cannot be forgiven. And so it is possible for God to give us that which it seems to us impossible to obtain. For it seemed impossible that water should wash away sin, and Naaman the Syrian thought that his leprosy could not be cleansed by water. But that which was impossible God made to be possible, Who gave us so great grace. In like manner it seemed impossible that sins should be forgiven through repentance, but Christ gave this power to His apostles, which has been transmitted to the priestly office. That, then, has become possible which was impossible. But, by a true reasoning, he convinces us that the reiteration by any one of the Sacrament of Baptism is not permitted.

CHAPTER 3

Explanation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in which St. Ambrose applies it to refute the teaching of the Novatians, proving that reconciliation ought not to be refused to the greatest offender upon suitable proof of repentance.

13. And the Apostle does not contradict the plain teaching of Christ, Who set forth, as a comparison of a repentant sinner, one going to a foreign country after receiving all his substance from his father, wasted it in riotous living, and later, when feeding upon husks, longed for his father's bread and then gained the robe, the ring, the shoes, and the slaying of the calf, which is a likeness of the Passion of the Lord, whereby we receive forgiveness.

14. Well is it said that he went into a foreign country who is cut off from the sacred altar, for this is to be separated from that Jerusalem which is in heaven, from the citizenship and home of the saints. For which reason the Apostle says: "Therefore now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God."

15. "And," it is said, "wasted his substance." Rightly, for he whose faith halts in bringing forth good works does consume it. For, "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." And faith is a good substance, the inheritance of our hope.

16. And no wonder if he was perishing for hunger, who lacked the divine nourishment, impelled by the want of which he says: "I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him: Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee." Do you not see it plainly declared to us, that we are urged to prayer for the sake of gaining the sacrament? and do you wish to take away that for the sake of which penance is undertaken? Deprive the pilot of the hope of reaching port, and he will wander uncertainly here and there on the waves. Take away the crown from the athlete, and he will fail and lie on the course. Take from the fisher the power of catching his booty, and he will cease to cast the nets. How, then, can he, who suffers hunger in his soul, pray more earnestly to God, if he has no hope of the heavenly food?

17. "I have sinned," he says, "against heaven, and before thee." He confesses what is clearly a sin unto death, that you may not think that any one doing penance is rightly shut out from pardon. For he who has sinned against heaven has sinned either against the kingdom of heaven, or against his own soul, which is a sin unto death, and against God, to Whom alone is said: "Against Thee only have I sinned, and done evil before Thee."

18. So quickly does he gain forgiveness, that, as he is coming, and is still a great way off, his father meets him, gives him a kiss, which is the sign of sacred peace; orders the robe to be brought forth, which is the marriage garment, which if any one have not, he is shut out from the marriage feast; places the ring on his hand, which is the pledge of faith and the seal of the Holy Spirit; orders the shoes to be brought out, for he who is about to celebrate the Lord's Passover, about to feast on the Lamb, ought to have his feet protected against all attacks of spiritual wild beasts and the bite of the serpent; bids the calf to be slain, for "Christ our Passover hath been sacrificed." For as often as we receive the Blood of the Lord, we proclaim the death of the Lord. As, then, He was once slain for all, so whensoever forgiveness of sins is granted, we receive the Sacrament of His Body, that through His Blood there may be remission of sins.

19. Therefore most evidently are we bidden by the teaching of the Lord to confer again the grace of the heavenly sacrament on those guilty even of the greatest sins, if they with open confession bear the penance due to their sin.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose turns against the Novatians themselves another objection concerning blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, showing that it consists in an erroneous belief, proving this by St. Peter's words against Simon Magus, and other passages, exhorting the Novatians to return to the Church, affirming that such is our Lord's mercy that even Judas would have found forgiveness had he repented.

20. But we have heard that you are accustomed to bring forward as an objection that which is written: "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come." By which quotation the whole of your assertion is destroyed and done away, for it is written: "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven

unto men.” Why, then, do you not remit them? Why do you bind chains which you do not loose? Why do you tie knots which you do not unfasten? Forgive the others, and deal with those who you think are bound for ever by the authority of the Gospel for sinning against the Holy Spirit.

21. But let us consider the case of those whom the Lord so binds, going back to the words before the passage quoted, that we may understand it more clearly: The Jews were saying: “This man doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, prince of the devils.” Jesus replied: “Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand; for if Satan casteth out Satan, he is divided against himself, how then shall his kingdom stand? But if I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out?”

22. Now we see plainly here that the words are expressly used of those who were saying that the Lord Jesus cast out devils through Beelzebub, to whom the Lord gave that answer, because they were of the heritage of Satan, who compared the Savior of all to Satan, and attributed the grace of Christ to the kingdom of the devil. And that we might know that He was speaking of this blasphemy, He added: “O generation of vipers, how can ye speak good, being yourselves evil?” He says, then, that those who thus speak attain not to forgiveness.

23. Then, when Simon, depraved by long practice of magic, had thought he could gain by money the power of conferring the grace of Christ and the infusion of the Holy Spirit, Peter said: “Thou hast neither part nor lot in this faith, for thy heart is not right with God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord, if per-chance this thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee, for I see that thou art in the bond of iniquity and in the bitterness of gall.” We see that Peter by his apostolic authority condemns him who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit through magic vanity, and all the more because he had not the clear consciousness of faith. And yet he did not exclude him from the hope of forgiveness, for he called him to repentance.

24. The Lord then replies to the blasphemy of the Pharisees, and refuses to them the grace of His power, which consists in the remission of sins, because they asserted that His heavenly power rested on the help of the devil. And He affirms that they act with satanic spirit who divide the

Church of God, so that He includes the heretics and schismatics of all times, to whom He denies forgiveness, for every other sin is concerned with single persons, this is a sin against all. For they alone wish to destroy the grace of Christ who rend asunder the members of the Church for which the Lord Jesus suffered, and the Holy Spirit was given us.

25. Lastly, that we may know that He is speaking of those who destroy the unity of the Church, we find it written: “He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathered not with Me, scattereth.” And that we might know that He is speaking of these, He at once added: “Therefore I say unto you, every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men.” When He says, “Therefore say I unto you,” is it not evident that He intended the words following to be laid to heart by us beyond the others? And He rightly added: “A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, but a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruits,” for an evil association cannot produce good fruits. The tree, then, is the association; the fruits of the good tree are the children of the Church.

26. Return, then, to the Church, those of you who have wickedly separated yourselves. For He promises forgiveness to all who are converted, since it is written: “Whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved.” And lastly, the Jewish people who said of the Lord Jesus, “He hath a devil,” and “He casteth out devils through Beelzebub,” and who crucified the Lord Jesus, are, by the preaching of Peter, called to baptism, that they may put away the guilt of so great a wickedness.

27. But what wonder is it if you should deny salvation to others, who reject your own, though they lose nothing who seek for penance from you? For I suppose that even Judas might through the exceeding mercy of God not have been shut out from forgiveness, if he had expressed his sorrow not before the Jews but before Christ. “I have sinned,” he said, “in that I have betrayed righteous blood.” Their answer was: “What is that to us, see thou to that.” What other reply do you give, when one guilty of a smaller sin confesses his deed to you? What do you answer but this: “What is that to us, see thou to that”? The halter followed on those words, but the punishment is all the more severe, the smaller the sin is.

28. But if they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet, and said: “I, even I, am He that blotteth out transgressions, and I will not remember, but do thou remember, and let us plead together. “

CHAPTER 5

As to the words of St. Peter to Simon Magus, from which the Novatians infer that there was no forgiveness for the latter, it is pointed out that St. Peter, knowing his evil heart, might well use words of doubt, and then by some Old Testament instances it is pointed out that “perchance” does not exclude forgiveness. The apostles transmitted to us that penitence, the fruits of which are shown in the case of David. St. Ambrose then adduces the example of the Ephraimites, whose penitence must be followed in order to gain the divine mercy and the sacraments.

29. THE Novatians bring up a question from the words of the Apostle Peter. Because he said, “if perchance,” they think that he did not imply that forgiveness would be granted on repentance. But let them consider concerning whom the words were spoken: of Simon, who did not believe through faith, but was meditating trickery. So too the Lord to him who said, “Lord, I will follow Thee withersoever Thou goest,” replied, “Foxes have holes.” For e knew that the man’s sincerity was not wholly perfect. If, then, the Lord refused to him who was not baptized permission to follow Him, because He saw that he was not sincere, do you wonder that the Apostle did not absolve him who after baptism was guilty of deceit, and whom he declared to be still in the bond of iniquity?

30. But let this be my answer to them. As to myself, I say that Peter did not doubt, and I do not think that so great a question can be bucked by the questionable interpretation of a single word. For if they think that Peter doubted, did God doubt, Who said to the prophet Jeremiah: “Stand in the court of the Lord’s house, and thou shall give an answer to all Judah, to those who come to worship in the Lord’s house, even all the words which I have appointed for thee to answer them. Keep not back a word,

perchance they will hearken and be converted." Let them say, then, that God also knew not what would happen.

31. But ignorance is not implied in that word, but the common custom of holy Scripture is observed, in order to simplicity of utterance. Inasmuch as the Lord says also to Ezekiel: "Son of man, I will send thee unto the house of Israel, to those who have angered Me, both themselves and their fathers, unto this day, and thou shall say unto them, Thus saith the Lord, if perchance they will hear and be afraid." Did He not know that they could or could not be converted? So, then, that expression is not always a proof of doubt.

32. Lastly, the wise men of this world, who stake all their reputation on expressions and words, do not everywhere use the Latin word forte, "perchance," or its Greek equivalent τάχα, as an expression of doubt. And so they say that their earliest poet used the words,

... ἦ τάχα χήρη... ἔσομαι,

which is, "I shall soon be a widow;" and the passage goes on:

Ötάχα γάρ σε κατακνέουσιν᾽ Αχαιοὶ πάντες εφορμηθέντες.

But he had no doubt that when all were Joining in the attack one might well be laid low by all.

33. But let us use our own instances rather than foreign ones. You find in the Gospel that the Son Himself says of the Father (when He had sent His servants to His vineyard, and they had been slain), that the Father said, "I will send My well-beloved Son, perchance they will reverence Him." And in another place the Son says of Himself: "Ye know neither Me nor My Father; for if ye knew Me, ye would perchance know My Father also."

34. If, then, Peter used those words which were used by God without any prejudice to His knowledge, why should we not assume that Peter also used them without prejudice to his belief? For he could not doubt concerning the gift of Christ, Who had given him the power of forgiving sins; especially since he was bound not to leave any place for the craftiness of heretics who desire to deprive men of hope, in order the more easily to insinuate into the despairing their opinion as to the reiteration of baptism.

35. But the apostles, having this baptism according to the direction of Christ, taught repentance, promised forgiveness, and remitted guilt, as David taught when he said: “Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin.” He calls each blessed both him whose sins are remitted by the font, and him whose sin is covered by good works. For he who repents ought not only to wash away his sin by his tears, but also to cover and hide his former transgressions by amended deeds, that sin may not be imputed to him.

36. Let us, then, cover our falls by our subsequent acts; let us purify ourselves by tears, that the Lord our God may hear us when we lament, as He heard Ephraim when weeping, as it is written: “I have surely heard Ephraim weeping.” And He expressly repeats the very words of Ephraim: “Thou hast chastised me and I was chastised, like a calf I was not trained.” For a calf disports itself, and leaves its stall, and so Ephraim was untrained like a calf far away from the stall; because he had forsaken the stall of the Lord, followed Jeroboam, and worshipped the calves, which future event was prophetically indicated through Aaron, namely, that the people of the Jews would fall after this manner. And so repenting, Ephraim says: “Turn Thou me, and I shall be turned, for Thou art the Lord my God. Surely in the end of my captivity I repented, and after I learned I mourned over the days of confusion, and subjected myself to Thee because I received reproach and made Thee known.”

37. We see how to repent, with what words and with what acts, that the days of sin are called “days of confusion;” for there is confusion when Christ is denied.

38. Let us, then, submit ourselves to God, and not be subject to sin, and when we ponder the remembrance of our offenses, let us blush as though at some disgrace, and not speak of them as a glory to us, as some boast of overcoming modesty, or putting down the feeling of justice. Let our conversion be such, that we who did not know God may now ourselves declare Him to others, that the Lord, moved by such a conversion on our part, may answer to us: “Ephraim is from youth a dear son, a pleasant child, for since My words are concerning him, I will verily remember him,

therefore have I hastened to be over him; I will surely have mercy on him, saith the Lord."

39. And what mercy He promises us, the Lord also shows, when He says further on: "I have satiated every thirsty soul, and have satisfied every hungry soul. Therefore, I awaked and beheld, and My sleep was sweet unto Me." We observe that the Lord promises His sacraments to those who sin. Let us, then, all be converted to the Lord.

CHAPTER 6

St. Ambrose teaches out of the prophet Isaiah what they must do who have fallen. Then referring to our Lord's proverbial expression respecting piping and dancing, he condemns dances. Next by the example of Jeremiah he sets forth the necessary accompaniments of repentance. And lastly, in order to show the efficacy of this medicine of penance, he enumerates the names of many who have used it for themselves or for others.

40. But if they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet and said: "I, even I, am He that blotteth out thy transgressions, and I will not remember, but do thou remember that we may plead together." "I," He says, "will not remember, but do thou remember," that is to say, "I do not recall those transgressions which I have forgiven thee, which are covered, as it were, with oblivion, but do thou remember them. I will not remember them because of My grace, do thou remember them in order to correction; remember, thou mayest know that the sin is forgiven, boast not as though innocent, that thou aggravate not the sin, but thou wilt be justified, confess thy sin." For a shamefaced confession of sins looses the bands of transgression.

41. You see what God requires of you, that you remember that grace which you have received, and boast not as though you had not received it. You see by how complete a promise of remission He draws you to confession. Take heed, lest by resisting the commandments of God you

fall into the offense of the Jews, to whom the Lord Jesus said: “We piped to you and ye danced not; we wailed and ye wept not.”

42. The words are ordinary words, but the mystery is not ordinary. And so one must be on one’s guard, lest, deceived by any common interpretation of this saying, one should suppose that the movements of wanton dances and the madness of the stage were commended; for these are full of evil in youthful age. But the dancing is commended which David practiced before the ark of God. For everything is seemly which is done for religion, so that we need be ashamed of no service which tends to the worship and honoring of Christ.

43. Dancing, then, which is an accompaniment of pleasures and luxury, is not spoken of, but spiritually such as that wherewith one raises the eager body, and suffers not the limbs to lie slothfully on the ground, nor to grow stiff in their accustomed tracks. Paul danced spiritually, when for us he stretched forward, and forgetting the things which were behind, and aiming at those which were before, he pressed on to the prize of Christ. And you, too, when you come to baptism, are warned to raise the hands, and to cause your feet wherewith you ascend to things eternal to be swifter. This dancing accompanies faith, and is the companion of grace.

44. This, then, is the mystery. “We piped to you,” singing in truth the song of the New Testament, “and ye danced not.” That is, did not raise your souls to the spiritual grace. “We wailed, and ye wept not.” That is, ye did not repent. And therefore was the Jewish people forsaken, because it did not repent, and rejected grace. Repentance came by John, grace by Christ. He, as the Lord, gives the one; the other is proclaimed, as it were, by the servant. The Church, then, keeps both that it may both attain to grace and not cast away repentance, for grace is the gift of One Who confers it; repentance is the remedy of the sinner.

45. Jeremiah knew that penitence was a great remedy, which he in his Lamentations took up for Jerusalem, and brings forward Jerusalem itself as repenting, when he says: “She wept sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks, nor is there one to comfort her of all who love her. The ways of Sion do mourn.” And he says further: “For these things I weep, my eyes have grown dim with weeping, because he who used to comfort me is gone far from me.” We notice that he thought this the bitterest addition to

his woes, that he who used to comfort the mourner was gone far from him. How, then, can you take away the very comfort by refusing to repentance the hope of forgiveness?

46. But let those who repent learn how they ought to carry it out, with what zeal, with what affection, with what intention of mind, with what shaking of the inmost bowels, with what conversion of heart: “Behold,” he says, “O Lord, that I am in distress, my bowels are troubled by my weeping, my heart is turned within me.”

47. Here you recognize the intention of the soul, the faithfulness of the mind, the disposition of the body: “The elders of the daughters of Sion sat,” he says, “upon the ground, they put dust upon their heads, they girded themselves with haircloth, the princes hung their heads to the ground, the virgins of Jerusalem fainted with weeping, my eyes grew dim, my bowels were troubled, my glory was poured on the earth.”

48. So, too, did the people of Nineveh mourn, and escaped the destruction of their city. Such is the remedial power of repentance, that God seems because of it to change His intention. To escape is, then, in your own power; the Lord wills to be entreated, He wills that men should hope in Him, He wills that supplication should be made to Him. Thou art a man, and wiliest to be asked to forgive, and dost thou think that God will pardon thee without asking Him?

49. The Lord Himself wept over Jerusalem, that, inasmuch as it would not weep itself, it might obtain forgiveness through the tears of the Lord. He wills that we should weep in order that we may escape, as you find it in the Gospel: “Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves.”

50. David wept, and obtained of the divine mercy the removal of the death of the people who were perishing, when of the three things proposed for his choice he selected that in which he might have the most experience of the divine mercy. Why do you blush to weep for your sins, when God commanded even the prophets to weep for the people?

51. And, lastly, Ezekiel was bidden to weep for Jerusalem, and he took the book, at the beginning of which was written “Lamentation, and melody, and woe,” two things sad and one pleasant, for he shall be saved in the

future who has wept most in this age. “For the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the heart of fools in the house of feasting.” And the Lord Himself said: “Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh.”

CHAPTER 7

An exhortation to mourning and confession of sins for Christ is moved by these and the tears of the Church. Illustration from the story of Lazarus. After showing that the Novatians are the successors of those who planned to kill Lazarus, St. Ambrose argues that the full forgiveness of every sin is signified by the odor of the ointment poured by Mary on the feet of Christ; and further, that the Novatian heretics find their likeness in Judas, who grudged and envied when others rejoiced.

52. LET us, then, mourn for a time, that we may rejoice for eternity. Let us fear the Lord, let us anticipate Him with the confession of our sins, let us correct our backslidings and amend our faults, lest of us too it be said: “Woe is me, my soul, for the godly man is perished from the earth, and there is none amongst men to correct them.”

53. Why do you fear to confess your sins to our good Lord? “Set them forth,” He says, “that thou mayest be justified.” The rewards of justification are set before him who is still guilty of sin, for he is justified who voluntarily confesses his own sin; and lastly, “the just man is his own accuser in the beginning of his speaking.” The Lord knows all things, but He waits for your words, not that He may punish, but that He may pardon. It is not His will that the devil should triumph over you and accuse you when you conceal your sins. Be beforehand with your accuser: if you accuse yourself, you will fear no accuser; if you report yourself, though you were dead you shall live.

54. Christ will come to your grave, and if He finds there weeping for you Martha the woman of good service, and Mary who carefully heard the Word of God, like holy Church which has chosen the best part, He will be moved with compassion, when at your death He shall see the tears of many and will say: “Where have ye laid him?” that is to say, in what condition of guilt is he? in which rank of penitents? I would see him for

whom ye weep, that he himself may move Me with his tears. I will see if he is already dead to that sin for which forgiveness is entreated.

55. The people will say to Him, “Come and see.” What is the meaning of “Come”? It means, Let forgiveness of sins come, let the life of the departed come, the resurrection of the dead, let Thy kingdom come to this sinner also.

56. He will come and will command that the stone be taken away which his fall has laid on the shoulders of the sinner. He could have removed the stone by a word of command, for even inanimate nature is wont to obey the bidding of Christ. He could by the silent power of His working have removed the stone of the sepulcher, at Whose Passion the stones being suddenly removed many sepulchers of the dead were opened, but He bade men remove the stone, in very truth indeed, that the unbelieving might believe what they saw, and see the dead rising again, but in a type that He might give us the power of lightening the burden of sins, the heavy pressure as it were upon the guilty. Ours it is to remove the burdens, His to raise again, His to bring forth from the tombs those set free from their bands.

57. So the Lord Jesus, seeing the heavy burden of the sinner, weeps, for the Church alone He suffers not to weep. He has compassion with His beloved, and says to him that is dead, “Come forth,” that is, “Thou who liest in darkness of conscience, and in the squalor of thy sins, as in the prison-house of the guilty, come forth, declare thy sins that thou mayest be justified. “For with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.”

58. If you have confessed at the call of Christ the bars will be broken, and every chain loosed, even the stench of the bodily corruption be grievous. For he had been dead four days and his flesh stank in the tomb; but He Whose flesh saw no corruption was three days in the sepulcher, for He knew no evils of the flesh, which consists of the substances of the four elements. However great, then, the stench of the dead body may be, it is all done away so soon as the sacred ointment has shed its odor; and the dead rises again, and the command is given to loose his hands who till now was in sin; the covering is taken from his face which veiled the truth of the grace which he had received. But since he has received forgiveness, the

command is given to uncover his face, to lay bare his features. For he whose sin is forgiven has nothing whereof to be ashamed.

59. But in the presence of such grace given by the Lord, of such a miracle of divine bounty, when all ought to have rejoiced, the wicked were stirred up and gathered a council against Christ, and wished moreover to kill Lazarus also. Do you not recognize that you are the successors of those whose hardness you inherit? For you too are angry and gather a council against the Church, because you see the dead come to life again in the Church, and to be raised again by receiving forgiveness of their sins. And thus, so far as in you, you desire to slay again through envy those who are raised to life.

60. But Jesus does not revoke His benefits, nay, rather He amplifies them by additions of His liberality, He anxiously revisits him who was raised again, and rejoicing in the gift of the restored life, He comes to the feast which His Church has prepared for Him, at which he who had been dead is found as one amongst those sitting down with Christ.

61. Then all wonder who look upon him with the pure gaze of the mind, who are free from envy, for such children the Church has. They wonder, as I said, how he who yesterday and the day before lay in the tomb is one of those sitting with the Lord Jesus.

62. Mary herself pours ointment on the feet of the Lord Jesus. Perchance for this reason on His feet, because one of the lowliest has been snatched from death, for we are all the body of Christ, but others perchance are the more honorable members. The Apostle was the mouth of Christ, for he said,” Ye seek a proof of Christ that speaketh in me.” The prophets through whom He spake of things to come were His month, would that I might be found worthy to be His foot, and may Mary pour on me her precious ointment, and anoint me and wipe away my sin.

63. What, then, we read concerning Lazarus we ought to believe of every sinner who is converted, who, though he may have been stinking, nevertheless is cleansed by the precious ointment of faith. For faith has such grace that there where the dead stank the day before, now the whole house is filled with good odor.

64. The house of Corinth stank, when it was written concerning it: “It is reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles.” There was a stench, for a little leaven had corrupted the whole lump. A good odor began when it was said: “If ye forgive anything to any one I forgive also. For what I also have forgiven, for your sakes have I done it in the person of Christ.” And so, the sinner being set free, there was great joy in that place, and the whole house was filled with the odor of the sweetness of grace. Wherefore the Apostle, knowing well that he had shed upon all the ointment of apostolic forgiveness, says: “We are a sweet savor of Christ unto God in them that are saved.”

65. At the pouring forth, then, of this ointment all rejoice; Judas alone speaks against it. So, too, now he who is a sinner speaks against it, he who is a traitor blames it, but he is himself blamed by Christ, as he knows not the remedy of the Lord’s death, and understands not the mystery of that so great burial. For the Lord both suffered and died that He might redeem us from death. This is manifest from the most excellent value from His death, which is sufficient for the absolution of the sinner, and his restoration to fresh grace; so that all may come and wonder at his sitting at table with Christ, and may praise God, saying: “Let us eat and feast, for he was dead and is alive again, had perished and is found.” But any one devoid of faith objects: “Why does He eat with publicans and sinners?” This is his answer: “They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick.”

CHAPTER 8

In urging repentance St. Ambrose turns to his own case, expressing the wish that he could wash our Lord’s feet like the woman in the Gospel, which is a great pattern of penitence, though such as cannot attain to it find acceptance. He prays for himself, especially that he may sorrow with sinners, who are better than himself. Those for whom Christ died are not to be contemned.

66. Snow, then, your wound to the Physician that He may heal it. Though you show it not, He knows it, but waits to hear your voice. Do away your

scars by tears. Thus did that woman in the Gospel, and wiped out the stench of her sin; thus did she wash away her fault, when washing the feet of Jesus with her tears.

67. Would that Thou, Lord Jesus, mightest reserve for me the washing off from Thy feet of the stains contracted since Thou walkest in me! O that Thou mightest offer to me to cleanse the pollution which I by my deeds have caused on Thy steps! But whence can I obtain living water, wherewith I may wash Thy feet? If I have no water I have tears, and whilst with them I wash Thy feet I trust to cleanse myself. Whence is it that Thou shouldst say to me: “His sins which are many are forgiven, because he loved much”? I confess that I owe more, and that more has been forgiven me who have been called to the priesthood from the tumult and strife of the law courts and the dread of public administration; and therefore I fear that I may be found ungrateful, if I, to whom more has been forgiven, love less.

68. But all are not able to equal that woman, who was deservedly preferred even to Simon, who was giving the feast to the Lord; who gave a lesson to all who desire to gain forgiveness, by kissing the feet of Christ, washing them with her tears, wiping them with her hair, and anointing them with ointment.

69. In a kiss is the sign of love, and therefore the Lord Jesus says: “Let her kiss Me with the kisses of her mouth.” What is the meaning of the hair, but that you may learn that, having laid aside all the pomp of worldly trappings, you must implore pardon, throw yourself on the earth with tears, and prostrate on the ground move pity. In the ointment, too, is set forth the savor of a good conversation. David was a king, yet he said: “Every night will I wash my bed, I will water my couch with tears.” And therefore he obtained such a favor, as that of his house the Virgin should be chosen, who by her child-bearing should bring forth Christ for us. Therefore is this woman also praised in the Gospel.

70. Nevertheless if we are unable to equal her, the Lord Jesus knows also how to aid the weak, when there is no one who can prepare the feast, or bring the ointment, or carry with her a spring of living water. He comes Himself to the sepulcher.

71. Would that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to come to this sepulcher of mine, O Lord Jesus, that Thou wouldst wash me with Thy tears, since in my hardened eyes I possess not such tears as to be able to wash away my offense. If Thou shalt weep for melshall be saved; if I am worthy of Thy tears I shall cleanse the stench of all my offenses; if I am worthy that Thou weep but a little, Thou wilt call me out of the tomb of this body and will say: “Come forth,” that my meditations may not be kept pent up in the narrow limits of this body, but may go forth to Christ, and move in the light, that I may think no more on works of darkness but on works of light. For he who thinks on sins endeavors to shut himself up within his own consciousness.

72. Call forth, then, Thy servant. Although bound with the chain of my sins I have my feet fastened and my hands tied; being now buried in dead thoughts and works, yet at Thy call I shall go forth free, and shall be found one of those sitting at Thy feast, and Thy house shall be filled with precious ointment. If Thou hast vouchsafed to redeem any one, Thou wilt preserve him. For it shall be said, “See, he was not brought up in the bosom of the Church, nor trained from childhood, but hurried from the judgment-seat, brought away from the vanities of this world, growing accustomed to the singing of the choir instead of the shout of the crier, but he continues in the priesthood not by his own strength, but by the grace of Christ, and sits among the guests at the heavenly table.

73. Preserve, O Lord, Thy work, guard the gift which Thou hast given even to him who shrank from it. For I knew that I was not worthy to be called a bishop, because I had devoted myself to this world, but by Thy grace I am what I am. And I am indeed the least of all bishops, and the lowest in merit; yet since I too have undertaken some labor for Thy holy Church, watch over this fruit, and let not him whom when lost Thou didst call to the priesthood, to be lost when a priest. And first grant that I may know how with inmost affection to mourn with those who sin; for this is a very great virtue, since it is written: “And thou shall not rejoice over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction, and speak not proudly in the day of their trouble.” Grant that so often as the sin of any one who has fallen is made known to me I may suffer with him, and not chide him proudly, but mourn and weep, so that weeping over another I may mourn for myself, saying, “Tamar hath been more righteous than I.”

74. Perchance a maiden may have fallen, deceived and hurried away by those occasions which are the sources of sins. Well, we who are older sin too. In us, too, the law of this flesh wars against the law of our mind, and makes us captives of sin, so that we do what we would not. Her youth is an excuse for her, I now have none, for she ought to learn, we ought to teach. So that “Tamar hath been more righteous than I.”

75. We inveigh against some one’s covetousness, let us call to mind whether we ourselves have never done anything covetously; and if we have, since covetousness is the root of all evils, and is working in our bodies like a serpent secretly under the earth, let each of us say: “Tamar hath been more righteous than I.”

76. If we have been seriously moved against any one, a layman may act hastily for a smaller matter than a bishop. Let us ponder that with ourselves and say, He who is reproved for quick temper is more righteous than I. For if we thus speak, we guard ourselves against this, that the Lord Jesus or one of His disciples should say to us: “Thou beholdest the mote in thy brother’s eye, but beholdest not the beam which is in thine own eye. Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.”

77. Let us, then, not be ashamed to say that our fault is more serious than that of him whom we think we must reprove, for this is what Judah did who reprimanded Tamar, and remembering his own fault said: “Tamar is more righteous than I.” In which saying there is a deep mystery and a moral precept; and therefore is his offense not reckoned to him, because he accused himself before he was accused by others.

78. Let us, then, not rejoice over the sin of any one, but rather let us mourn, for it is written: “Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, because I have fallen, for I shall arise; for if I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me, I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He maintain my cause, and execute judgment for me, and bring me forth to the light. and I shall behold His righteousness. Mine enemy, too, shall see it and shall be covered with confusion, which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God? Mine eyes shall behold her, and she shall be for treading down as the mire in the streets,” And this not unreservedly, for he who rejoices at the fall of another rejoices at the

victory of the devil. Let us, then, rather mourn when we hear that one has perished for whom Christ died, Who despises not even the straw in time of harvest.

79. O that He may not cast away this straw at His harvest, the empty stalks of my produce; but may He gather it in, as is said by some one: "Woe is me, for I am become as one that gathereth straw in harvest, and grape gleanings in the vintage," that He may eat of the firstfruits at least of His grace in me, though He approve not the later fruit.

CHAPTER 9

In what way faith is necessary for repentance. Means for paying our debts, in which work, prayer, tears, and fasting are of more value than money. Some instances are adduced, and St. Ambrose declares that generosity is profitable, but only when joined with faith; it is, moreover, liable to certain defects. He goes on to speak of some defects in repentance, such as too great haste in seeking reconciliation, considering abstinence from sacraments all that is needed, of committing sin in hope of repenting later.

80. So, then, it is fitting for us to believe both that sinners must repent and that forgiveness is to be given on repentance, yet still as hoping for forgiveness as granted upon faith, not as a debt, for it is one thing to earn, and an other presumptuously to claim a right. Faith asks for forgiveness, as it were, by covenant, but presumption is more akin to demand than to request. Pay first that which you owe, that you may be in a position to ask for what you have hoped. Come with the disposition of an honest debtor, that you may not contract a fresh liability, but may pay that which is due of the existing debt with the possessions of your faith.

81. He who owes a debt to God has more help towards payment than he whets indebted to man. Man requires money for money, and this is not always at the debtor's command. God demands the affection of the heart, which is in our own power. No one who owes a debt to God is poor, except one who has made himself poor. And even if he have nothing to sell, yet has he wherewith to pay. Prayer, fasting, and tears are the

resources of an honest debtor, and much more abundant than if one from the price of his estate offered money without faith.

82. Ananias was poor, when after selling his land he brought the money to the apostles, and was not able with it to pay his debt, but involved himself the more. That widow was rich who cast her two small pieces into the treasury, of whom Christ said: “This poor widow hath cast in more than they all.”For God requires not money but faith.

83. And I do not deny that sins may beldiminished by liberal gifts to the poor, but only if faith commend what is spent. For what would the giving of one’s whole property benefit without charity?

84. There are some who aim at the credit of generosity for pride alone, because they wish thereby to gain the good opinion of the multitude for leaving nothing to themselves; but whilst they are seeking rewards in this life, they are laying up none for the life to come, and having received their reward here they cannot hope for it there.

85. Some again, having, through impulsive excitement and not after long consideration, given their possessions to the Church, think that they can claim them back. These gain neither the first nor the second reward, for the gift was made thoughtlessly, its recall sacrilegiously.

86. Some repent of having distributed their property to the poor. But they who are doing penance must not repent of this, lest they repent of their own repentance. For many seek for penance through fear of future punishment, being conscious of their sins, and having received their penance are held back by fear of the public entreaties. These persons seem to have sought for repentance for their evil deeds, but to exercise it for their good ones.

87. Some seek penance because they wish to be at once restored to communion. These wish not so much to loose themselves as to bind the priest, for they do not put off the guilt from their own conscience, but lay it on that of the priest, to whom the command is given: “Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine;” that is to say, that partaking of the holy Communion is not to be allowed to those polluted with impurity.

88. And so one may see those walking in other attire, who ought to be weeping and groaning because they had defiled the robe of sanctification and grace; and women loading their ears with pearls, and weighing down their necks, who had better have bent to Christ than to gold, and who ought to be weeping for themselves, because they have lost the pearl from heaven.

89. There are, again, some who think that it is penitence to abstain from the heavenly sacraments. These are too cruel judges of themselves, who prescribe a penalty for themselves but refuse the remedy, who ought to be mourning over their self-imposed penalty, because it deprives them of heavenly grace.

90. Others think that license is granted them to sin, because the hope of penitence is before them, whereas penitence is the remedy, not an incentive to sin. For the salve is necessary for the wound, not the wound for the salve, since a salve is sought because of the wound, the wound is not wished for on account of the salve. The hope which is put off to a future season is but feeble, for every season is uncertain, and hope does not outlive all time.

CHAPTER 10

In order to do away with the feeling of shame which holds back the guilty from public penance, St. Ambrose points out the advantage of prayers offered by the whole Church, and sets forth the example of saints who have sorrowed. Then, after reproving those who imagine that penance may be often repeated, he points on the difficulty of repentance, and how it is to be carried out.

91. Can any one endure that you should blush to entreat God, when you do not blush to entreat a man? That you should be ashamed to entreat Him Who knows you fully, when you are not ashamed to confess your sins to a man who knows you not? Do you shrink from witnesses and sympathizers in your prayers, when, if you have to satisfy a man, you must visit many and entreat them to be kind enough to intervene; when you throw yourself at a man's knees, kiss his feet, bring your children, still unconscious of guilt, to entreat also for their father's pardon? And you

disdain to do this in the Church in order to entreat God, in order to gain for yourself the support of the holy congregation; where there is no cause for shame, except indeed not to confess, since we are all sinners, amongst whom he is the most praiseworthy who is the most humble; he is the most just who feels himself the lowest.

92. Let the Church, our Mother, weep for you, and wash away your guilt with her tears; let Christ see you mourning and say, “Blessed are ye that are sad, for ye shall rejoice.” It pleases Him that many should entreat for one. In the Gospel, too, moved by the widow’s tears, because many were weeping for her, He raised her son. He heard Peter more quickly when He raised Dorcas, because the poor were mourning over the death of the woman. He also forthwith forgave Peter, for he wept most bitterly. And if you weep bitterly Christ will look upon you and your guilt shall leave you. For the application of pain does away with the enjoyment of the wickedness and the delight of the sin. And so while mourning over our past sins we shut the door against fresh ones, and from the condemnation of our guilt there arises as it were a training in innocence.

93. Let, then, nothing call you away from penitence, for this you have in common with the saints, and would that such sorrowing for sin as that of the saints were copied by you. David, as it were, “ate ashes for bread, and mingled his drink with weeping,” and therefore now rejoices the more because he wept the more: “Mine eyes ran down,” he said, “with rivers of water.”

94. John wept sore, and, as he tells us, the mysteries of Christ were revealed to him. But that woman who, when she was in sin and ought to have wept, nevertheless rejoiced, and covered herself with a robe of purple and scarlet, and adorned herself with much gold and precious stones, now mourns the misery of eternal weeping.

95. Deservedly are they blamed who think that they often do penance, for they are wanton against Christ. For if they went through their penance in truth, they would not think that it could be repeated again; for as there is but one baptism, so there is but one course of penance, so far as the outward practice goes, for we must repent of our daily faults, but this latter has to do with lighter faults, the former with such as are graver.

96. But I have more easily found such as had preserved their innocence than such as had fittingly repented. Does any one think that that is penitence where there still exists the striving after earthly honors, where wine flows, and even conjugal connection takes place? The world must be renounced; less sleep must be indulged in than nature demands; it must be broken by groans, interrupted by sighs, put aside by prayers; the mode of life must be such that we die to the usual habits of life. Let the man deny himself and be wholly changed, as in the fable they relate of a certain youth, who left his home because of his love for a harlot, and, having subdued his love, returned; then one day meeting his old favorite and not speaking to her, she, being surprised and supposing that he had not recognized her, said, when they met again, “It is I.” “But,” was his answer, “I am not the former I.”

97. Well then did the Lord say: “If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me.” For they who are dead and buried in Christ ought not again to make their conclusions as though. living in the world. “Touch not,” it is said, nor attend to those things which tend to corruption by their very use, for the very customs of this life corrupt integrity.”

CHAPTER 11

The possibility of repentance is a reason why baptism should not be deferred to old age, a practice which is against the will of God in holy Scripture. But it is of no use to practice penance whilst still serving lusts. These must be first subdued.

98. Good, then, is penitence, and if there were no place for it, every one would defer the grace of cleansing by baptism to old age. And a sufficient reason is that it is better, to have a robe to mend, than none to put on; but as that which has been repaired once is restored, so that which is frequently mended is destroyed.

99. And the Lord has given a sufficient warning to those who put off repentance, when He says: “Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” We know not at what hour the thief will come, we know not whether our soul may be required of us this next night. God cast Adam out

of Paradise immediately after his fault; there was no delay. At once the fallen were severed from all their enjoyments that they might do penance; at once God clothed them with garments of skins, not of silk.

100. And what reason is there for putting off? is it that you may sin yet more? Then because God is good you are evil, and “despise the riches of His goodness and long-suffering.” But the goodness of the Lord ought rather to draw you to repentance. Wherefore holy David says to all: “Come, let us worship and fall down before Him, and mourn before our Lord Who made us.” But for a sinner who has died without repentance, because nothing remains but to mourn grievously and to weep, you find him groaning and saying: “O my son Absalom I my son Absalom!” For him who is wholly dead mourning is without alleviation.

101. But of those who as exiles and banished from their ancestral homes, which the holy law of Moses had assigned them, will be entangled in the errors of the world, you hear him saying: “By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion.” He sets forth the wailings of those who have fallen, and shows that they who are living in this condition of passing time and changing circumstances ought to repent, after the example of those who, as a reward for sin, had been led into miserable captivity.

102. But nothing causes such exceeding grief as when any one, lying under the captivity of sin, calls to mind whence he has fallen, because he turned aside to carnal and earthly things, instead of directing his mind in the beautiful ways of the knowledge of God.

103. So you find Adam concealing himself, when he knew that God was present, and wishing to be hidden when called by God with that voice which wounded the soul of him who was hiding: “Adam, where art thou?” That is to say, Wherefore hidest thou thyself? Why art thou concealed? Why dost thou avoid Him, Whom thou once didst long to see? A guilty conscience is so burdensome that it punishes itself without a judge, and wishes for covering, and yet is bare before God.

104. And so no one in a state of sin ought to claim a right to or the use of the sacraments, for it is written: “Thou hast sinned, be still.” As David says in the Psalm lately quoted: “We hanged our harps upon the willows

in the midst thereof;” and again: “How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?” For if the flesh wars against the mind, and is not subject to the guidance of the Spirit, that is a strange land which is not subdued by the toil of the cultivator, and so cannot produce the fruits of charity, patience, and peace. It is better, then, to be still when you cannot practice the works of repentance, lest in the very acts of repentance there be that which afterward will need further repentance. For if it be once entered upon and not rightly carried out, it obtains not the result of a first repentance and takes away the use of a later one.

105. When, then, the flesh resists, the soul must be intent upon God, and if results do not follow, let not faith fail. And if the enticements of the flesh come upon us, or the powers of the enemy attack us, let the soul keep in submission to God. For we are then specially oppressed when the flesh yields. And some there are who trouble heavily the wretched soul, seeking to deprive it of all protection. To which case the words apply: “Ruse it, ruse it, even to the foundations.”

106. And David, pitying her,, says: “O wretched daughter of Babylon.” Wretched indeed, as being the daughter of Babylon, when she ceased to be the daughter of Jerusalem. And yet he calls for a healer for her, and says: “Blessed is he who shall take thy little ones and dash them against the rock.” That is to say, shall dash all corrupt and filthy thoughts against Christ, Who by His fear and His rebuke will break down all motions against reason, so as, if any one is seized by an adulterous love, to extinguish the fire, that he may by his zeal put away the love of a harlot, and deny himself that he may gain Christ.

107. We have then learned that we must do penance, and this at a time when the heat of luxury and sin is giving way; and that we, when under the dominion of sin, must show ourselves God fearing by refraining, rather than allowing ourselves in evil practices. For if it is said to Moses when he was desiring to draw nearer: “Put off thy shoes from off thy feet,” how much more must we free the feet of our soul from the bonds of the body, and clear our steps from all connection with this world.

NOTE ON THE PENITENTIAL DISCIPLINE OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

It was always believed in the Church that the power of binding and loosing had been entrusted by our Lord to His apostles, and by them handed on to their successors in the ministry. The earlier practice would seem to have been short and simple: exclusion from Communion, some outward discipline, not always continued for a long period, and reconciliation on true repentance, these matters being decided by the bishop at his discretion. Gradually the practice became more systematized, various periods of discipline were prescribed for various sins, and the time for this discipline was lengthened.

There were three parts in the discipline of Penitence as a whole:

1. Confession, ἐξομολόγησις, a term used frequently of the whole course.

2. Penance, properly so called, i.e. the mortifications, fasting, etc., prescribed.

3. Reconciliation, performed solemnly by the bishop, often at Easter.

The confession was probably in private to the bishop, who determined whether any public confession should be made or not. But as only great sins — at first, idolatry, adultery, and murder (peccata mortalia) — were punished by outward penance, it was clear that the sin must have been very grievous.

The Montanists taught that the Church had not power to forgive great sins, and this led to clearing the doctrine, and from the middle of the third century, even those who had lapsed into idolatry were admitted to penance.

Hermas already says: τοῖς δούλοις τοῦθεοῦ μέτανοιά ἐστι μία Mand. iv. 1. And this rule seems to have been maintained as regards the formal penance and reconciliation, not as implying doubt of possible forgiveness, but as a matter of discipline, and this rule deprived those who fell a second time from communion at least till their deathbed.

For this public penance the Greek words are μετάνοια and ἐξομολόγησις; the Latin, penitentia and frequently exomologesis. As the

word penitentia includes not merely sorrow for sin and change of heart, but also penance, or the penalty inflicted by authority, and is used in such phrases as penitentiam agere or facere, it has been necessary in the translation of the De Penitentia to vary the English terms, and to use sometimes repentance, sometimes penance.

For further information on this subject, the reader is referred specially to the Articles, Buss-Disciplin, in the Freiburg Kirchen-Lexikon, by Wetzer and Welte; and to those on Exomologesis, Penitence, and Reconciliation, in the Dict. of Christian Anti quities, where other authorities and references will be found.

CONCERNING VIRGINS

INTRODUCTION

THE state of Virginity is undoubtedly commended in holy Scripture, both by our Lord and St. Paul, but learned men have differed in their opinions as to the original customs and rules observed by virgins in the earliest ages. Some suppose that from the very beginning it was the custom for them to make a solemn profession of the virgin life, and to live together in common. Others consider that their vow were private, and they lived sometimes together, sometimes in the homes of their parents. Others, again, believing that there was no more than a simple purpose on the part of the virgins signified by the veil, and the simplicity of their dress, attribute the first commencements of community life to St. Ambrose himself.

The first opinion is hardly tenable as regards any profession which was notorious. Statements in the earlier Acts of Martyrs are to be regarded with suspicion, as so much of this class of writings is spurious. The utterances also of Fathers and Councils hardly establish anything on this point more than on the second mentioned above.

There would seem to have been some who publicly, like Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose, made their profession, and formally received the veil at the hands of the Bishop; and others, equally steadfast in purpose, whose vow of virginity was made in private. Of the former, those living in Milan, hardly seem to have led a life in common, but at Bologna [I. 60] they did. The terms, vow, taking the veil, and profession, were in use in St. Ambrose’s day, as at present.

It would appear, then, that the from the days of the apostles there were some who devoted themselves to God in a life of chastity, and that later on the promise or vow was made in the presence of others—the bishops, clergy, and friends. These virgins lived at home with their parents, whilst the times of persecution endured, making it practically impossible for them to live elsewhere. Common life amongst them would seem to have

commenced in the East, and St. Athanasius, when, seeking refuge from the Arians, he came to Rome, introduced the custom to the Western Church.

St. Ambrose worked vigorously in this direction, not only in his own diocese, but in neighboring provinces, and even in Africa. Early in his episcopate he addressed his flock on the subject, and at the request of his sister, Marcellina, gathered up his teaching in the following three books.

In the first book he treats of the dignity of Virginity, and states his reason for writing. As he commences his addresses on the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Agnes, he takes her story as the subject of the earlier part of the treatise, and shows how, amongst the Jews, and even amongst the heathen, the grace of virginity was shadowed forth, and eventually proclaimed by the coming of our Lord. He then warns parents, especially widows, not to prevent their daughters from hearing addresses on this subject, and touches on the number of those who came even from great distances to receive the veil at Milan.

In the second book, speaking of the character and manner of life of virgins, he does this, as he says, by adducing examples and instances, preferably to laying down a code of rules. He speaks of Thecla, patron saint of Milan, a disciple of St. Paul, and other virgins.

In the third book he goes through a summary of the address given by Pope Liberius, when Marcellina received the veil at his hands, before a large congregation. Some cautions are introduced by St. Ambrose against excessive austerity, and instead of some outward acts, prayer and the practice of interior virtues are recommended. The subject of certain virgins who had committed suicide rather than lose their chastity is dwelt upon in answer to a question of Marcellina.

The writer himself states that this treatise was composed in the third year of his episcopate, A.D. 377, and it is quoted with approval by St. Jerome, *Ep.* XXII. 22 and XLVIII. 14 [Vol. VI. of this series, and St. Augustine, *de doct. Christ.* IV.

THREE BOOKS OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN,

CONCERNING VIRGINS

TO MARCELLINA, HIS SISTER

BOOK 1

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose, reflecting upon the account he will have to give of his talents, determines to write, and consoles himself with certain examples of God's mercy. Then recognizing his own deficiencies desires that he may be dealt with like the fig-tree in the Gospel, and expresses a hope that words will not fail him in his endeavor to preach Christ.

1. IF, according to the decree of heavenly truth, we have to give account of every idle word which we have spoken, and if every servant will incur no small blame when his Lord returns, who, either like a timid money-lender or covetous owner, has hidden in the earth the talents of spiritual grace which were entrusted to him in order that they might be multiplied by increasing interest, I, who, although possessed of but moderate ability, yet have a great necessity laid on me of making increase of the sayings of God entrusted to me, must rightly fear lest an account of the profit of my words be demanded of me, especially seeing that the Lord exacts of us effort, not profit. Wherefore I determined to write something, since, too, my words are listened to with greater risk to modesty than when they are written, for a book has no feeling of modesty.

2. And so distrusting indeed my own ability, but encouraged by the instances of divine mercy, I venture to compose an address, for when God willed even the ass spoke. And I will open my mouth long dumb. that the angel may assist me also, engaged in the burdens of this world, for He can do away with the hindrances of unskilfulness. Who in the ass did away those of nature. In the ark of the Old Testament the priest’s rod budded; with God it is easy that in Holy Church a flower should spring from our knots also. And why should we despair that God should speak in men, Who spoke in the thorn bush? God did not despise the bush, and would He might give light also to my thorns. Perhaps some may wonder that there is some light even in our thorns; some our thorns will not burn; there will be some whose shoes shall be put off their feet at the sound of my voice, that the steps of the mind may be freed from bodily hindrances.

3. But these things are gained by holy men. Would that Jesus would cast a glance upon me still lying under that barren fig-tree, and that my fig-tree might also after three years bear fruit. But whence should sinners have so great hope? Would that at least that Gospel dresser of the vineyard, perhaps already bidden to cut down my fig-tree, would let it alone this year also, until he dig about it and dung it, that he may perchance lift the helpless out of the dust, and lift the poor out of the mire. Blessed are they who bind their horses under the vine and olive, consecrating the course of their labors to light and joy: the fig-tree, that is, the tempting attraction of the pleasures of the world, still overshadows me, low in height, brittle for working, soft for use, and barren of fruit.

4. And perhaps some one may wonder why I, who cannot speak, venture to write. And yet if we consider what we read in the writings of the Gospel, and the deeds of the priests, and the holy prophet Zacharias is taken as an instance, he will find that there is something which the voice cannot explain, but the pen can write. And if the name John restored speech to his father, I, too, ought not to despair that although dumb I may yet receive speech, if I speak of Christ, of Whom, according to the prophet’s word: “Who shall declare the generation?” And so as a servant I will announce the family of the Lord, for the Lord has consecrated to Himself a family even in this body of humanity replete with frailty.

CHAPTER 2

This treatise has a favorable beginning, since it is the birthday of the holy Virgin Agnes, of whose name, modesty, and martyrdom St. Ambrose speaks in commendation, but more especially of her age, seeing that she, being but twelve years old, was superior to terrors, promises, tortures, and death itself, with a courage wholly worthy of a man.

5. AND my task begins favorably, that since to-day is the birthday of a virgin, I have to speak of virgins, and the treatise has its beginning from this discourse. It is the birthday of a martyr, let us offer the victim. It is the birthday of St. Agnes, let men admire, let children take courage, let the married be astounded, let the unmarried take an example. But what can I say worthy of her whose very name was not devoid of bright praise? In devotion beyond her age, in virtue above nature, she seems to me to have borne not so much a human name, as a token of martyrdom, whereby she showed what she was to be.

6. But I have that which may assist me. The name of virgin is a title of modesty. I will call upon the martyr, I will proclaim the virgin. That panegyric is long enough which needs no elaboration, but is within our grasp. Let then labor cease, eloquence be silent. One word is praise enough. This word old men and young and boys chant. No one is more praiseworthy than he who can be praised by all There are as many heralds as there are men, who when they speak proclaim the martyr.

7. She is said to have suffered martyrdom when twelve years old. The more hateful was the cruelty, which spared not so tender an age, the greater in truth was the power of faith which found evidence even in that age. Was there room for a wound in that small body? And she who had no room for the blow of the steel had that wherewith to conquer the steel. But maidens of that age are unable to bear even the angry looks of parents, and are wont to cry at the pricks of a needle as though they were wounds. She was fearless under the cruel hands of the executioners, she was unmoved by the heavy weight of the creaking chains, offering her whole body to the sword of the raging soldier, as yet ignorant of death, but ready for it. Or if she were unwillingly hurried to the altars, she was ready to stretch forth

her hands to Christ at the sacrificial fires, and at the sacrilegious altars themselves, to make the sign of the Lord the Conqueror, or again to place her neck and both her hands in the iron bands, but no band could enclose such slender limbs.

8. A new kind of martyrdom! Not yet of fit age for punishment but already ripe for victory, difficult to contend with but easy to be crowned, she filled the office of teaching valor while having the disadvantage of youth. She would not as a bride so hasten to the couch, as being a virgin she joyfully went to the place of punishment with hurrying step, her head not adorned with plaited hair, but with Christ. All wept, she alone was without a tear. All wondered that she was so readily prodigal of her life, which she had not yet enjoyed, and now gave up as though she had gone through it. Every one was astounded that there was now one to bear witness to the Godhead, who as yet could not, because of her age, dispose of herself. And she brought it to pass that she should be believed concerning God, whose evidence concerning man would not be accepted. For that which is beyond nature is from the Author of nature.

9. What threats the executioner used to make her fear him, what allurements to persuade her, how many desired that she would come to them in marriage! But she answered: “It would be an injury to my spouse to look on any one. as likely to please me. He who chose me first for Himself shall receive me. Why are you delaying, executioner? Let this body perish which can be loved by eyes which I would not.” She stood, she prayed, she bent down her neck. You could see the executioner tremble, as though he himself. had been condemned, and his right hand shake, his face grow pale, as he feared the peril of another, while the maiden feared not for her own. You have then in one victim a twofold martyrdom, of modesty and of religion. She both remained a virgin and she obtained martyrdom.

CHAPTER 3

Virginity is praised on many grounds, but chiefly because it brought down the Word from heaven, and hence its pursuit, which existed in but few under the old covenant, has spread to countless numbers.

10. AND now the love of purity draws me on, and you, my holy sister, even though not speaking in your silent habit, to say something about virginity, test that which is a principal virtue should seem to be passed by with only a slight reference. For virginity is not praiseworthy because it is found in martyrs, but because itself makes martyrs.

11. But who can comprehend that by human understanding which not even nature has included in her laws? Or who can explain in ordinary language that which is above the course of nature? Virginity has brought from heaven that which it may imitate on earth. And not unfittingly has she sought her manner of life from heaven, who has found for herself a Spouse in heaven. She, passing beyond the clouds, air, angels, and stars, has found the Word of God in the very bosom of the Father, and has drawn Him into herself with her whole heart. For who having found so great a Good would forsake it? For "Thy Name is as ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved Thee, and drawn Thee." And indeed what I have said is not my own, since they who marry not nor are given in marriage are as the angels in heaven. Let us not, then, be surprised if they are compared to the angels who are joined to the Lord of angels. Who, then, can deny that this mode of life has its source in heaven, which we don't easily find on earth, except since God came down into the members of an earthly body? Then a Virgin conceived, and the Word became flesh that flesh might become God.

12. But some one will say: "But Elijah is seen to have had nothing to do with the embraces of bodily love." And therefore was he carried by a chariot into heaven, therefore he appeared glorified with the Lord, and therefore he is to come as the forerunner of the Lord's advent. And Miriam taking the timbrel led the dances with maidenly modesty. But consider whom she was then representing. Was she not a type of the Church, who as a virgin with unstained spirit joins together the religious gatherings of the people to sing divine songs? For we read that there were virgins appointed also in the temple at Jerusalem. But what says the Apostle? "These things happened to them in a figure, that they might be signs of what was to come." For the figure is shown in few, the life exists in many.

13. But in truth after that the Lord, coming in our flesh, joined together the Godhead and flesh without any confusion or mixture, then the practice of the life of heaven spreading throughout the whole world was implanted in

human bodies. This is that which angels ministering on earth signified should come to pass, which ministry should be offered to the Lord with the service of an unstained body. This is that heavenly service which the host of rejoicing angels spoke of for the earth, We have, then, the authority of antiquity from of old, the fullness of the setting forth from Christ Himself.

CHAPTER 4

The comeliness of virginity never existed amongst the heathen, neither with the vestal virgins, nor amongst philosophers, such as Pythagoras.

14. I CERTAINLY have not this in common with the heathen, nor in regard to it am I associated with barbarians, nor practice it with other animals, with whom, although we breathe one and the same vital air, and have a common condition of an earthly body, and from whom we differ not in the mode of generation, in this point alone we nevertheless avoid the reproach of likeness, that virginity is aimed at by the heathen, but when consecrated it is violated, it is attacked by barbarians, and is unknown to others.

15. Who will allege to me the virgins of Vesta. and the priests of Pallas? What sort of chastity is that which is not of morals, but of years, which is appointed not for ever, but for a term! Such purity is all the more wanton of which the corruption is put off for a later age. They teach their virgins ought not to persevere, and are unable to do so, who have set a term to virginity. What sort of a religion is that in which modest maidens are bidden to be immodest old women? Nor is she modest who is bound by law, and she immodest who is set free by law. O the mystery! O the morals! where chastity is enforced by law and authority given for lust! And so she is not chaste, who is constrained by fear; nor honorable, who is hired for a price; nor is that modesty which, exposed to the daily importunity of lascivious eyes, is attacked by disgraceful looks. Exemptions are bestowed upon them, prices are offered them, as though to sell one’s chastity were not the greatest sign of wantonness. That which is promised for a price is given up for a price; is made over for a price; is

considered to have its price. She who is wont to sell her chastity knows not how to redeem it.

16. What shall I say of the Phrygian rites, in which immodesty is the rule, and that too of the weaker sex? What of the orgies of Bacchus, where the mystery of the rites is an incentive to lust? Of what sort can the lives of priests be, then, where the adulteries of the gods are matters of religion. So then they have no sacred virgins.

17. Let us see whether perchance the precepts of philosophers have formed any, for they are wont to claim the teaching of all virtues. A certain Pythagorean virgin is spoken of in story, whom a tyrant was endeavoring to compel to reveal the secret, and lest it should be possible even in her torments for revelation to be extorted from her, she bit off her tongue and spat it in the tyrant's face, that he who would not make an end of questioning might not have aught to question.

18. But that same virgin, so constant in mind, was overcome by lust, though she could not be overcome by torments. And so she who could keep the secret of her mind could not conceal the shame of her body. She overcame nature, but observed not discipline. How she would desire that her speech had existed as a defense of her chastity! So she was not unconquered on every side, for although the tyrant could not find out that which he sought, yet he did find what he sought not.

19. How much stronger are our virgins, who overcome even those powers which they do not see; whose victory is not only over flesh and blood, but also over the prince of this world, and ruler of this age! In age, Agnes indeed was less, but in virtue greater, triumphing over more, more constant in her confidence; she did not destroy her tongue through fear, but kept it for a trophy. For there was nothing in her which she feared to betray, since that which she acknowledged was holy, not sinful. And so the former merely concealed her secret, the latter bore witness to the Lord, and confessed Him in her body, Whom her age did not yet suffer to confess.

CHAPTER 5

Heaven is the home of virginity, and the Son of God its Author, Who though He was a Virgin before the Virgin, yet being of the Virgin took the Virgin Church as His bride. Of her we have all been born. Some of her gifts are enumerated. Her daughters have a special excellence in that virginity is not a matter of precept, and that it is a most powerful help in the pursuit of piety.

20. It is the custom in encomiums to speak of country and parentage of the subject, that the greatness of the offspring may be enhanced by mention of the father. Now I, who have not undertaken to praise but to set forth virginity, yet think it to the purpose to make known its country and its parent. First, let us settle where is its country. Now, if one's country be there where is the home of one's birth, without doubt heaven is the native country of chastity. And so she is a stranger here, but a denizen there.

21. And what is virginal chastity but purity free from stain? And whom can we judge to be its author but the immaculate Son of God, Whose flesh saw no corruption, Whose Godhead experienced no infection?. Consider, then, how great are the merits of virginity. Christ was before the Virgin, Christ was of the Virgin. Begotten indeed of the Father before the ages, but born of the Virgin for the ages. The former was of His own nature, the latter is for our benefit. The former always was, the latter He willed.

22. Consider, too, another merit of virginity. Christ is the spouse of the Virgin, and if one may so say of virginal chastity, for virginity is of Christ, not Christ of virginity. He is, then, the Virgin Who was espoused, the Virgin Who bare us, Who fed us with her own milk, of whom we read: "How great things hath the virgin of Jerusalem done! The teats shall not fail from the rock, nor snow from Lebanon, nor the water which is borne by the strong wind." Who is this virgin that is watered with the streams of the Trinity, from whose rock waters flow, whose teats fail not, and whose honey is poured forth? Now, according to the Apostle, the rock is Christ. Therefore, from Christ the teats fail not, nor brightness from God, nor the river from the Spirit. This is the Trinity which waters their Church, the Father, Christ, and the Spirit.

23. But let us now come down from the mother to the daughters. “Concerning virgins,” says the Apostle, “I have no commandment of the Lord.” If the teacher of the Gentiles had none, who could have one? And in truth he had no commandment, but he had an example. For virginity cannot be commanded, but must be wished for, for things which are above us are matters for prayer rather than under mastery. “But I would have you,” he says, “be without carefulness. For he who is without a wife is careful for the things which are the Lord’s, how he may please God. And the virgin taketh thought for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and in spirit. For she that is married taketh thought for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.”

CHAPTER 6

St. Ambrose explains that he is not speaking against marriage, and proceeds to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the single and married state.

24. I AM not indeed discouraging marriage, but am enlarging upon the benefits of virginity. “He who is weak,” says the Apostle, “eateth herbs.” I consider one thing necessary, I admire another. “Art thou bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Art thou free from a wife? Seek not a wife.” This is the command to those who are. But what does he say concerning virgins? “He who giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well, and he who giveth her not doeth better.” The one sins not if she marries, the other, if she marries not, it is for eternity. In the former is the remedy for weakness, in the latter the glory of chastity. The former is not reproved, the latter is praised.

25. Let us compare, if it pleases you, the advantages of married women with that which awaits virgins. Though the noble woman boasts of her abundant offspring, yet the more she bears the more she endures. Let her count up the comforts of her children, but let her likewise count up the troubles. She marries and weeps. How many vows does she make with tears. She conceives, and her fruitfulness brings her trouble before offspring. She brings forth and is ill. How sweet a pledge which begins

with danger and ends in danger. which will cause pain before pleasure! It is purchased by perils, and is not possessed at her own will.

26. Why speak of the troubles of nursing, training, and marrying? These are the miseries of those who are fortunate. A mother has heirs, but it increases her sorrows. For we must not speak of adversity, lest the minds of the holiest parents tremble. Consider, my sister, how hard it must be to bear what one must not speak of. And this is in this present age. But the days shall come when they shall say: “Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare.” For the daughters of this age are conceived, and conceive; but the daughter of the kingdom refrains from wedded pleasure, and the pleasure of the flesh, that she may be holy in body and in spirit.

27. Why should I further speak of the painful ministrations and services due to their husbands from wives, to whom before slaves God gave the command to serve? And I mention these things that they may comply more willingly, whose reward, if approved, is love; if not approved, punishment for the fault.

28. And in this position spring up those incentives to vice, in that they paint their faces with various colors, fearing not to please their husbands; and from staining their faces, come to think of staining their chastity. What madness is here, to change the fashion of nature and seek a painting, and while fearing a husband’s judgment to give up their own. For she is the first to speak against herself who wishes to change that which is natural to her. So, while studying to please others, she displeases herself. What truer witness to thy unsightliness do we require, O woman, than thyself who art afraid to be seen? If thou art beautiful, why hidest thou thyself? If unsightly, why dost thou falsely pretend to beauty, so as to have neither the satisfaction of thy own conscience, nor of the error of another? For he loves another, thou desirest to please another. And art thou angry if he love another, who is taught to do so in thy own person? Thou art an evil teacher of thy own injury.

29. And next, what expense is necessary that even a beautiful wife may not fail to please? Costly necklaces on the one hand hang on her neck, on the other a robe woven with gold is dragged along the ground. Is this display purchased, or is it a real possession? And what varied enticements of perfumes are made use of! The ears are weighed down with gems, a

different color from nature is dropped into the eyes. What is there left which is her own, when so much is changed? The married woman loves her own perceptions, and does she think that this is to live?

30. But you, O happy virgins, who know not such torments, rather than ornaments, whose holy modesty, beaming in your bashful cheeks, and sweet chastity are a beauty, ye do not, intent upon the eyes of men, consider as merits what is gained by the errors of others. You, too, have indeed your own beauty, furnished by the comeliness of virtue, not of the body, to which age puts not an end, which death cannot take away, nor any sickness injure. Let God alone be sought as the judge of loveliness, Who loves even in less beautiful bodies the more beautiful souls. You know nothing of the burden and pain of childbearing, but more are the offspring of a pious soul, which esteems all as its children, which is rich in successors, barren of all bereavements, which knows no deaths, but has many heirs.

31. So the holy Church, ignorant of wedlock, but fertile in bearing, is in chastity a virgin, yet a mother in offspring. She, a virgin, bears us her children, not by a human father, but by the Spirit. She bears us not with pain, but with the rejoicings of the angels. She, a virgin, feeds us, not with the milk of the body, but with that of the Apostle, wherewith he fed the tender age of the people who were still children. For what bride has more children than holy Church, who is a virgin in her sacraments and a mother to her people, whose fertility even holy Scripture attests, saying, “For many more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath an husband”? She has not an husband, but she has a Bridegroom, inasmuch as she, whether as the Church amongst nations, or as the soul in individuals, without any loss of modesty, she weds the Word of God as her eternal Spouse, free from all injury, full of reason.

CHAPTER 7

St. Ambrose exhorts parents to train their children to virginity, and sets before them the troubles arising from their desire to have grandchildren. He says however that he does not forbid marriage, but rather defends it against heretics who oppose it. Still setting

virginity before marriage, he speaks of the beauty of their spouse, and of the gifts wherewith He adorns them, and applies to these points certain vetoes of the Song of Songs.

32. YOU have heard, O parents, in what virtues and pursuits you ought to train your daughters, that you may possess those by whose merits your faults may be redeemed. The virgin is an offering for her mother, by whose daily sacrifice the divine power is appeased. A virgin is the inseparable pledge of her parents, who neither troubles them for a dowry, nor forsakes them, nor injures them in word or deed.

33. But some one perhaps wishes to have grandchildren, and to be called grandfather. In the first place, such a one gives up what is his own, while seeking what is another's, and is already losing what is certain, while hoping to gain what is uncertain; he gives away his own riches, and still more is asked for; if he does not pay the dowry, it is exacted; if he lives long, he becomes a burden. This is to buy a son-in-law, not to gain one who would sell a sight of their daughter to her parents. Was she borne so long in her mother's womb in order that she might pass under the power of another? And so the parents take the charge of setting off their virgin that she may so be the sooner removed from them.

34. Some one may say, Do you, then, discourage marriage? Nay, I encourage it, and condemn those who are wont to discourage it, so much so, that indeed I am wont to speak of the marriages of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel, and other women of old time, as instances of singular virtues. For he who condemns marriage, condemns the birth of children, and condemns the fellowship of the human race, continued by a series of successive generations. For how could generation succeed generation in a continual order, unless the gift of marriage stirred up the desire of offspring? Or how could one set forth that Isaac went to the altar of God as a victim of his father's piety, or that Israel, when yet in the body, saw God, and gave a holy name to the people while speaking against that whereby they came into being? Those men, though wicked, have one point at any rate, wherein they are up-proved even by the wise persons, that in speaking against marriage they declare that they ought not to have been born.

35. I do not then discourage marriage, but recapitulate the advantages of holy virginity. This is the gift of few only, that is of all. And virginity

itself cannot exist, unless it have some mode of coming into existence. I am comparing good things with good things, that it may be clear which is the more excellent. Nor do I allege any opinion of my own, but I repeat that which the Holy Spirit spake by the prophet: “Blessed is the barren that is undefiled.”

36. First of all, in that which those who purpose to marry desire above all things, that they may boast of the beauty of their husband, they must of necessity confess that they are inferior to virgins, to Whom alone it is suitable to say: “Thou art fairer than the children of men, grace is poured on Thy lips.” Who is that Spouse? One not given to common indulgences, not proud of possessing riches, but He Whose throne is for ever and ever. The king’s daughters share in His honor: “At Thy right hand stood the queen in a vesture of gold, clothed with variety of virtues. Hearken, then, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear, and forget thine own people and thy father’s house; for the king hath desired thy beauty, for He is thy God.”

37. And observe what a kingdom the Holy Spirit by the witness of the divine Scriptures has assigned to thee — gold, and beauty; gold, either because thou art the bride of the Eternal King, or because having an unconquered mind, thou art not taken captive by the allurements of pleasures, but rulest over them like a queen. Gold again, because as that metal is more precious when tried by fire, so the appearance of the virginal body, consecrated to the Divine Spirit, gains an increase of its own comeliness, for who can imagine a loveliness greater than the beauty of her who is loved by the King, approved by the judge, dedicated to the Lord, consecrated to God; ever a bride, ever unmarried, so that neither does love suffer an ending, nor modesty loss.

38. This is indeed true beauty, to which nothing is wanting, which alone is worthy to hear the Lord saying: “Thou art all fair, My love, and no blemish is in thee. Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon. Thou shalt pass and pass through from the beginning of faith, from the top of Sanir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions, from the mountains of the leopards.” By which references is set forth the perfect and irreproachable beauty of a virgin soul, consecrated to the altars of God, not moved by perishable things amidst the haunts and dens of

spiritual wild beasts, but intent, by the mysteries of God, on being found worthy of the Beloved, Whose breasts are full of joy. For “wine maketh glad the heart of man.”

39. “The smell of thy garments,” says He, “is above all spices.” And again: “And the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.” See what progress thou settest forth, O Virgin. Thy first odor is above all spices, which were used upon the burying of the Savior, and the fragrance arises from the mortified motions of the body, and the perishing of the delights of the members. Thy second odor, like the odor of Lebanon, exhales the incorruption of the Lord’s body, the flower of virginal chastity.

CHAPTER 8

Taking the passage concerning the honeycomb in the Song of Songs, he expounds it, comparing the sacred virgins to bees.

40. LET, then, your work be as it were a honeycomb, for virginity is fit to be compared to bees, so laborious is it, so modest, so continent. The bee feeds on dew, it knows no marriage couch, it makes honey. The virgin’s dew is the divine word, for the words of God descend like the dew. The virgin’s modesty is unstained nature. The virgin’s produce is the fruit of the lips, without bitterness, abounding in sweetness. They work in common, and their fruit is in common.

41. How I wish you, my daughter, to be an imitator of these bees, whose food is flowers, whose offspring is collected and brought together by the mouth. Do imitate her, my daughter. Let no veil of deceit be spread over your words; let them have no covering of guile, that they may be pure, and full of gravity.

42. And let an eternal succession of merits be brought forth by your mouth. Gather not for yourself alone (for how do you know when your soul shall be required of you?), lest leaving your granaries heaped full with corn, which will be a help neither to your life nor to your merits, you be hurried thither where you cannot take your treasure with you. Be rich then, but towards the poor, that as they share in your nature they may also share your goods.

43. And I also point out to you what flower is to be culled, that one it is Who said: “I am the Flower of the field, and the Lily of the valleys, as a lily among thorns,” which is a plain declaration that virtues are surrounded by the thorns of spiritual wickedness, so that no one can gather the fruit who does not approach with caution.

CHAPTER 9

Other passages from the Song of Songs are considered with relation to the present subject, and St. Ambrose exhorting the virgin to seek for Christ, points out where He may be found. A description of His perfections follows, and a comparison is made between virgins and the angels.

44. Take, then, O Virgin, the wings of the Spirit, that you may fly far above all vices, if you wish to attain to Christ: “He dwelleth on high, but beholdeth lowly things;” and His appearance is as that of a cedar of Lebanon, which has its foliage in the clouds, its roots in the earth. For its beginning is from heaven, its ending on earth, and it produces fruit very close to heaven. Search diligently for so precious a flower, if perchance you may find it in the recesses of your breast, for it is most often to be enjoyed in lowly places.

45. It loves to grow in gardens, in which Susanna, while walking, found it, and was ready to die rather than it should be violated. But what is meant by the gardens He Himself points out, saying: “A garden enclosed is My sister, My spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed;” because in gardens of this kind the water of the pure fountain shines, reflecting the features of the image of God, test its streams mingled with mud from the wallowing places of spiritual wild beasts should be polluted. For this reason, too, that modesty of virgins fenced in by the wall of the Spirit is enclosed lest it should lie open to be plundered. And so as a garden inaccessible from without smells of the violet is scented with the olive, and is resplendent with the rose, that religion may increase in the vine, peace in the olive, and the modesty of consecrated virginity in the rose. This is the odor of which the patriarch Jacob smelt when he heard his father say: “See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which is full.” For although

the field of the holy patriarch was full of almost all fruits, the other brought forth its crops with greater labor, the latter flowers.

46. To work, then, O Virgin, and if you wish your garden to be sweet after this sort, enclose it with the precepts of the prophets: “Set a watch before thy mouth, and a door to thy lips,” that you, too, may be able to say: “As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my Beloved among the sons. In His shadow I delighted and sat down, and His fruit was sweet to my palate. I found Him Whom my soul loved, I held Him and would not let him go. My beloved came down into His garden to eat the fruit of His trees. Come, my Beloved, let us go forth into the field. Set me as a signet upon Thine heart, and as a seal upon Thine arm. My Beloved is white and ruddy.” For it is fitting, O Virgin, that you should fully know Him Whom you love, and should recognize in Him all the mystery of His Divine Nature and the Body which He has assumed. He is white fittingly, for He is the brightness of the Father; and ruddy, for He was born of a Virgin. The color of each nature shines and glows in Him. But remember that the marks of His Godhead are more ancient in Him than the mysteries of His body, for He did not take His origin from the Virgin, but, He Who already existed came into the Virgin.

47. He Who was spoiled by the soldiers, Who was wounded by the spear, that He might heal us by the blood of His sacred wounds, will assuredly answer you (for He is meek and lowly of heart, and gentle in aspect): “Arise, O north wind, and come, O south, and blow upon My garden, that My spices may flow out.” For from all parts of the world has the perfume of holy religion increased, and the limbs of the consecrated Virgin have glowed. “Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem.” So it is not the beauty of the perishable body, which will come to an end with sickness or old age, but the reputation for good deserts, subject to no accidents and never to perish, which is the beauty of virgins.

48. And since you are worthy to be compared not now with men but with heavenly beings, whose life you are living on earth, receive from the Lord the precepts you are to observe: “Set Me as a signet upon thine heart, and as a seal upon thine arm;” that clearer proofs of your prudence and actions may be set forth, in which Christ the Figure of God may shine, Who, equaling fully the nature of the Father, has expressed the whole which He

took of the Father's Godhead. Whence also the Apostle Paul says that we are sealed in the Spirit; since we have in the Son the image of the Father, and in the Spirit the seal of the Son. Let us, then, sealed by this Trinity, take more diligent heed, lest either levity of character or the deceit of any unfaithfulness unseal the pledge which we have received in our hearts.

49. But let fear secure this for the holy virgins, for whom the Church first provided such protection, who, anxious for the prosperity of her tender offspring, herself as a wall with breasts as many towers, increases her care for them, until, the fear of hostile attack being at an end, she obtains by the care of a mother's love peace for her vigorous children. Wherefore the prophet says: "Peace be on thy virtue, and abundance in thy towers."

50. Then the Lord of peace Himself, after having embraced in His strong arms the vineyards committed to Him, and beholding their shoots putting forth buds, with glad looks, tempers the breezes to the young fruits, as Himself testifies, saying: "My vineyard is in My sight, a thousand for Solomon, and two hundred who keep the fruit thereof."

51. Above it is said: "Sixty strong men round about its offspring, armed with drawn swords, and expert in warlike discipline," here there are a thousand and two hundred. The number has increased, where the fruit has increased, for the more holy each is, the more is he guarded. So Elisha the prophet showed the hosts of angels who were present to guard him; so Joshua the son of Nun recognized the Captain of the heavenly host. They, then, who are able also to fight for us are able to guard the fruit that is in us. And for you, holy virgins, there is a special guardianship, for you who with unspotted chastity keep the couch of the Lord holy. And no wonder if the angels fight for you who war with the mode of life of angels. Virginal chastity merits their guardianship whose life it attains to.

52. Why should I continue the praise of chastity in more words? For chastity has made even angels. He who has preserved it is an angel; he who has lost it a devil. And hence has religion also gained its name. She is a virgin who is the bride of God, a harlot who makes gods for herself. What shall I say of the resurrection of which you already hold the rewards: "For in the resurrection they will neither be given in marriage, nor marry, but shall be," He says, "as the angels in heaven." That which is promised to us is already present with you, and the object of your prayers is with you; ye

are of this world, and yet not in this world. This age has held you, but has not been able to retain you.

53. But what a great thing it is that angels because of incontinence fell from heaven into this world, that virgins because of chastity passed from the world into heaven. Blessed virgins, whom the delights of the flesh do not allure, nor the defilement of pleasures cast down. Sparing food and abstinence in drink train them in ignorance of vices, seeing they keep them from knowing the causes of vices. That which causes sin has often deceived even the just. In this way the people of God after they sat down to eat and drink denied God. In this way, too, Lot knew not, and so endured his daughters' wickedness. So, too, the sons of Noah going backward covered their father's nakedness, which he who was wanton saw, he who was modest blushed at and dutifully hid, fearful of offending if he too saw it. How great is the power of wine, so that wine made him naked which the waters of the deluge could not.

CHAPTER 9

Finally, another glory of virginity is mentioned, that it is free from avarice. St. Ambrose, addressing his sister, reminds her of the great happiness of those who are free from those troubles as to luxury and vanity which come upon those who are about to marry.

WHAT then? What happiness it is that no desire of possessions inflames you! The poor man demands what you have, he does not ask for what you have not. The fruit of your labor is a treasure for the needy, and two mites, if they be all one has, are wealth on the part of the giver.

54. Listen, then, my sister, from what you escape. For it is not for me to teach nor for you to learn what you ought to guard against, for the practice of perfect virtue does not require teaching, but instructs others. You see how like she is to the litters at processions, who lays herself out to please, attracting to herself the look and gaze of all; less beautiful is she because she strives to please, for she displeases the people before she pleases her husband. But in you the rejection of all care for splendor is far more becoming, and the very fact that you do not adorn yourselves is an ornament.

55. Look at the ears pierced with wounds, and pity the neck weighed down with burdens. That the metals are different does not lighten the suffering. In one case a chain binds the neck, in another a fetter encloses the foot. It makes no difference whether the body be loaded with gold or with iron. Thus the neck is weighed down and the steps are hindered. The price makes it no better, except that you women are afraid lest that which causes you suffering be lost. What is the difference whether the sentence of another or your own condemn you? Nay, you, even more wretched than those, are condemned by public justice, since they desire to be set free, you to be bound.

56. But how wretched a position, that she who is marriageable is in a species of sale put up as it were to auction to be bid for, so that he who offers the highest price purchases her. Slaves are sold on more tolerable conditions, for they often choose their masters; if a maiden chooses it is an offense, if not it is an insult. And she, though she be beautiful and comely, both fears and wishes to be seen; she wishes it that she may sell herself for a better price; she fears lest the fact of her being seen should itself be unbecoming. But what absurdities of wishes and fears and suspicions are there as to how the suitors will turn out, lest a poor man may beguile her, or a rich one contemn her, lest a handsome suitor mock her, lest a noble one despise her.

CHAPTER 11

St. Ambrose answers objections made to the uselessness of his exhortations in favor of virginity, and brings forward instances of virgins especially in various places he mentions, and speaks of their zeal in the cause.

57. Some one may say, you are always singing the praises of virgins. What shall I do who am always singing them and have no success? But this is not my fault. Then, too, virgins come from Placentia to be consecrated, or from Bononia, and Mauritania, in order to receive the veil here. You see a striking thing here. I treat the matter here, and persuade those who are elsewhere. If this be so, let me treat the subject elsewhere, that I may persuade you.

58. What is it, then, that even they who hear me not follow my teaching, and those who hear me follow me not? For I have known many virgins who had the desire, but were prevented from going forward by their mothers, and, which is more serious, mothers who were widows, to whom I will now address myself. For if your daughters desired to love a man, they could, by law, choose whom they would. Are they, then, who are allowed to choose a man not allowed to choose God?

59. Behold how sweet is the fruit of modesty, which has sprung up even in the affections of barbarians. Virgins coming from the most distant on this and that side of Mauritania desire to be consecrated here; and though all the families be in bonds, yet modesty cannot be bound. She who mourns over the hardship of slavery avows an eternal kingdom.

60. And what shall I say of the virgins of Bononia, a fertile band of chastity, who, forsaking worldly delights, inhabit the sanctuary of virginity? Not being of the sex which lives in common, attaining in their common chastity to the number of twenty, and fruit to an hundredfold, leaving their parents' dwelling they press into the houses of Christ, as soldiers of unwearied chastity; at one time singing spiritual songs, they provide their sustenance by labor, and seek with their hands supplies for their liberality.

61. But if the attraction of searching for virgins has grown strong (for they beyond others follow up the search and watch for purity), they follow up their hidden prey with the greatest perseverance to its very chambers; or, if the flight of any one shall have seemed more free, one may see them rise on the wing, hear the rustling of their feathers, and the bursting of applause; so as to surround the one on wing with a chaste band of modesty, until rejoicing in that fair companionship, forgetful of her father's house, she enters the regions of modesty and the fenced-in home of chastity.

CHAPTER 12

It is very desirable that parents should encourage the desire for the virgin life, but more praiseworthy when the love of God draws a maiden even against their will. The violence of parents and the loss

of property are not to be feared, and an instance of this is related by St. Ambrose.

62. It is a good thing, then, that the zeal of parents, like favoring gales, should aid a virgin; but it is more glorious if the fire of tender age even without the incitement of those older of its own self burst forth into the flame of chastity. Parents will refuse a dowry, but you have a wealthy Spouse, satisfied with Whose treasures you will not miss the revenues of a father's inheritance. How much is poverty to chastity superior to bridal gifts!

63. And yet of whom have you heard as ever, because of her desire for chastity, having been deprived of her lawful inheritance? Parents speak against her, but are willing to be overcome. They resist at first because they are afraid to believe; they often are angry that one may learn to overcome; they threaten to disinherit to try whether one is able not to fear temporal loss; they caress with exquisite allurements to see if one cannot be softened by the inducement of various pleasures. You are being exercised, O virgin, whilst you are being urged. And the anxious entreaties of your parents are your first battles. Conquer your affection first, O maiden. If you conquer your home, you conquer the world.

64. But suppose that the loss of your patrimony awaits you; are not the future realms of heaven a compensation for perishable and frail possessions? For if we believe the heavenly message, "there is no one who has forsaken house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive sevenfold more in this present time, and in the world to come shall have everlasting life." Entrust your faith to God, who entrust your money to man; lend to Christ. The faithful keeper of the deposit of your hope pays the talent of your faith with manifold interest. The Truth does not deceive, Justice does not circumvent, Virtue does not deceive. But if you believe not God's word, at least believe instances.

65. Within my memory a girl once noble in the world, now more noble in the sight of God, being urged to a marriage by her parents and kinsfolk, took refuge at the holy altar. Whither could a virgin better flee, than thither where the Virgin Sacrifice is offered? Nor was even that the limit of her boldness. She, the oblation of modesty, the victim of chastity, was

standing at the altar of God, now placing upon her head the right hand of the priest, asking his prayers, and now impatient at the righteous delay, placing the top of her head under the altar. “Can any better veil,” she said, “cover me better than the altar which consecrates the veils themselves? Such a bridal veil is most suitable on which Christ, the Head of all, is daily consecrated. What are you doing, my kinsfolk? Why do you still trouble my mind with seeking marriage? I have long since provided for that. Do you offer me a bridegroom? I have found a better. Make the most you can of my wealth, boast of his nobility, extol his power, I have Him with Whom no one can compare himself, rich in the world, powerful in empire, noble in heaven. If you have such an one, I do not reject the choice; if you do not find such, you do me not a kindness, my relatives, but an injury.”

66. When the others were silent, one burst forth somewhat roughly: “If,” he said, “your father were alive, would he suffer you to remain unmarried?” Then she replied with more religion and more restrained piety: “And perchance he is gone that no one may be able to hinder me. Which answer concerning her father, but warning as to himself, he made good by his own speedy death. So the others, each of them, fearing the same for himself, began to assist and not to hinder her as before, and her virginity involved not the loss of the property due to her, but also received the reward of her integrity. You see, maidens, the reward of devotion, and do you, parents, be warned by the example of transgression.

BOOK 2

CHAPTER 1

In this book St. Ambrose purposes to treat of the training of virgins, using examples rather than precepts, and explains why he does so in writing rather than by word of mouth.

1. Is the former book I wished(though I was not able) to set forth how great is the gift of virginity, that the grace of the heavenly gift might of itself invite the reader. In the second book it is fitting that the virgin should be instructed and, as it were, be educated by the teaching of suitable precepts.

2. But, inasmuch as I am feeble in advising and unequal to teaching(for he who teaches ought to excel him who is taught), lest I should seem to have abandoned the task I have undertaken, or to have taken too much upon myself, I thought it better to instruct by examples than by precepts; for more progress may be made by means of an example, inasmuch as that which has been already done is considered to be not difficult, and that which has been tried to be expedient, and that which has been transmitted in succession to us by a kind of hereditary practice of ancestral virtue to be binding in religion.

3. But if any one rebukes me for presumption, let him rather rebuke me for zeal, because I thought that I ought not to refuse even this to the virgins who asked it of me. For I preferred rather to run the risk of periling my own modesty, than not to fulfill the wish of those whose pursuits even our God favors with kindly approbation.

4. Nor can the mark of presumption be set on my task, since, when they had those from whom they could learn, they sought my good-will rather than my teaching, and my zeal may be excused, since when they had the guidance of a martyr for the observance of discipline, I did not think it superfluous if I could turn the persuasion of my discourse into an

allurement to profession. He who teaches with facility restrains fault with severity; I, who cannot teach, entice.

5. And because many who were absent desired to have the use of my discourse, I compiled this book, in order that holding in their hands the substance of what my voice had uttered to them, they might not think that he whom they were holding failed them. But let us go on with our plan.

CHAPTER 2

The life of Mary is set before virgins as an example, and her many virtues are dwelt upon, her chastity, humility, hard life, love of retirement, and the like; then her kindness to others, her zeal in learning, and love of frequenting the temple. St. Ambrose then sets forth how she, adorned with all these virtues, will come to meet the numberless bands of virgins and lead them with great triumph to the bridal chamber of the Spouse.

6. LET, then, the life of Mary be as it were virginity itself, set forth in a likeness, from which, as from a mirror, the appearance of chastity and the form of virtue is reflected. From this you may take your pattern of life, showing, as an example, the clear rules of virtue: what you have to correct, to effect, and to hold fast.

7. The first thing which kindles ardor in learning is the greatness of the teacher. What is greater than the Mother of God? What more glorious than she whom Glory Itself chose? What more chaste than she who bore a body without contact with another body? For why should I speak of her other virtues? She was a virgin not only in body but also in mind, who stained the sincerity of its disposition by no guile, who was humble in heart, grave in speech, prudent in mind, sparing of words, studious in reading, resting her hope not on uncertain riches, but on the prayer of the poor, intent on work, modest in discourse; wont to seek not man but God as the judge of her thoughts, to injure no one, to have goodwill towards all, to rise up before her elders, not to envy her equals, to avoid boastfulness, to follow reason, to love virtue. When did she pain her parents even by a look? When did she disagree with her neighbors? When did she despise the lowly? When did she avoid the needy? Being wont only to go to such

gatherings of men as mercy would not blush at, nor modesty pass by. There was nothing gloomy in her eyes, nothing forward in her words, nothing unseemly in her acts, there was not a silly movement, nor unrestrained step, nor was her voice petulant, that the very appearance of her outward being might be the image of her soul, the representation of what is approved. For a well-ordered house ought to be recognized on the very threshold, and should show at the very first entrance that no darkness is hidden within, as our soul hindered by no restraints of the body may shine abroad like a lamp placed within.

8. Why should I detail her sparseness of food, her abundance of services — the one abounding beyond nature, the other almost insufficient for nature? And there were no seasons of slackness, but days of fasting, one upon the other. And if ever the desire for refreshment came, her food was generally what came to hand, taken to keep off death, not to minister to comfort. Necessity before inclination caused her to sleep, and yet when her body was sleeping her soul was awake, and often in sleep either went again through what had been read, or went on with what had been interrupted by sleep, or carried out what had been designed, or foresaw what was to be carried out.

9. She was unaccustomed to go from home, except for divine service, and this with parents or kinsfolk. Busy in private at home, accompanied by others abroad, yet with no better guardian than herself, as she, inspiring respect by her gait and address, progressed not so much by the motion of her feet as by step upon step of virtue. But though the Virgin had other persons who were protectors of her body, she alone guarded her character; she can learn many points if she be her own teacher, who possesses the perfection of all virtues, for whatever she did is a lesson. Mary attended to everything as though she were warned by many, and fulfilled every obligation of virtue as though she were teaching rather than learning.

10. Such has the Evangelist shown her, such did the angel find her, such did the Holy Spirit choose her. Why delay about details? How her parents loved her, strangers praised her, how worthy she was that the Son of God should be born of her. She, when the angel entered, was found at home in privacy, without a companion, that no one might interrupt her attention or disturb her; and she did not desire any women as companions, who had the

companionship of good thoughts. Moreover, she seemed to herself to be less alone when she was alone. For how should she be alone, who had with her so many books, so many archangels, so many prophets?

11. And so, too, when Gabriel visited her, did he find her, and Mary trembled, being disturbed, as though at the form of a man, but on hearing his name recognized him as one not unknown to her. And so she was a stranger as to men, but not as to the angel; that we might know that her ears were modest and her eyes bashful. Then when saluted she kept silence, and when addressed she answered, and she whose feelings were first troubled afterwards promised obedience.

12. And holy Scripture points out how modest she was towards her neighbors. For she became more humble when she knew herself to be chosen of God, and went forthwith to her kinswoman in the hill country, not in order to gain belief by anything external, for she had believed the word of God. “Blessed,” she said, “art thou who didst believe.” And she abode with her three months. Now in such an interval of time it is not that faith is being sought for, but kindness which is being shown. And this was after that the child, leaping in his mother’s womb, had saluted the mother of the Lord, attaining to reason before birth.

13. And then, in the many subsequent wonders, when the barren bore a son, the virgin conceived, the dumb spake, the wise men worshipped, Simeon waited, the stars gave notice. Mary, who was moved by the angel’s entrance, was unmoved by the miracles. “Mary,” it is said, “kept all these things in her heart,” Though she was the mother of the Lord, yet she desired to learn the precepts of the Lord, and she who brought forth God, yet desired to know God.

14. And then, how she also went every year to Jerusalem at the solemn day of the Passover, and went with Joseph. Everywhere is modesty the companion of her singular virtues in the Virgin. This, without which virginity cannot exist, must be the inseparable companion of virginity. And so Mary did not go even to the temple without the guardianship of her modesty.

15. This is the likeness of virginity. For Mary was such that her example alone is a lesson for all. If, then, the author displeases us not, let us make

trial of the production, that whoever desires its reward for herself may imitate the pattern. How many kinds of virtues shine forth in one Virgin! The secret of modesty, the banner of faith, the service of devotion, the Virgin within the house, the companion for the ministry, the mother at the temple.

16. Oh! how many virgins shall she meet, how many shall she embrace and bring to the Lord, and say: "She has been faithful to her espousal, to my Son; she has kept her bridal couch with spotless modesty." How shall the Lord Himself commend them to His Father, repeating again those words of His: "Holy Father, these are they whom I have kept for Thee, on whom the Son of Man leant His head and rested; I ask that where I am there they may be with Me." And if they ought to benefit not themselves only, who lived not for themselves alone, one virgin may redeem her parents, another her brothers. "Holy Father, the world hath not known Me, but these have known Me, and have willed not to know the world."

17. What a procession shall that be, what joy of applauding angels when she is found worthy of dwelling in heaven who lived on earth a heavenly life! Then too Mary, taking her timbrel, shall stir up the choirs of virgins, singing to the Lord because they have passed through the sea of this world without suffering from the waves of this world. Then each shall rejoice, saying: "I will go to the altar of God; to God Who maketh my youth glad;" and, "I will offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay my vows unto the Most High."

18. Nor would I hesitate to admit you to the altars of God, whose souls I would without hesitation call altars, on which Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body. For if the virgin's body be a temple of God, what is her soul, which, the ashes, as it were, of the body being shaken off, once more uncovered by the hand of the Eternal Priest, exhales the vapor of the divine fire. Blessed virgins, who emit a fragrance through divine grace as gardens do through flowers, temples through religion, altars through the priest.

CHAPTER 3

St. Ambrose having set forth the Virgin Mary as a pattern for life, adduces Thecla as a model for learning how to die. Thecla suffered not from the beasts to whom she was condemned, but on the contrary received from them signs of reverence. He then proceeds to introduce a more recent example.

19. Let, then, holy Mary instruct you in the discipline of life, and Thecla teach you how to be offered, for she, avoiding nuptial intercourse, and condemned through her husband's rage, changed even the disposition of wild beasts by their reverence for virginity. For being made ready for the wild beasts, when avoiding the gaze of men, she offered her vital parts to a fierce lion, caused those who had turned away their immodest looks to turn them back modestly.

20. The beast was to be seen lying on the ground, licking her feet, showing without a sound that it could not injure the sacred body of the virgin. So the beast reverenced his prey, and forgetful of his own nature, put on that nature which men had lost. One could see, as it were, by some transfusion of nature, men clothed with savageness, goading the beast to cruelty, and the beast kissing the feet of the virgin, teaching them what was due from men. Virginity has in itself so much that is admirable, that even lions admire it. Food did not induce them though kept without their meal; no impulse hurried them on when excited; anger did not exasperate them when stirred up, nor did their habits lead them blindly as they were wont, nor their own natural disposition possess them with fierceness. They set an example of piety when reverencing the martyr; and gave a lesson in favor of chastity when they did nothing but kiss the virginfeet, with their eyes turned to the ground, as though through modesty, fearing that any male, even a beast, should see the virgin naked.

21. Some one will say: "Why have you brought forward the example of Mary, as if any one could be found to imitate the Lord's mother? And why that of Thecla, whom the Apostle of the Gentiles trained? Give us a teacher of our own sort if you wish for disciples." I will, therefore, set before you a recent example of this sort, that you may understand that the Apostle is the teacher, not of one only, but of all.

CHAPTER 4

A virgin at Antioch, having refused to sacrifice to idols, was condemned to a house of ill-fame, whence she escaped unharmed, having changed clothes with a Christian soldier. Then when he was condemned for this, she returned and the two contended for the prize of martyrdom, which was at last given to each.

22. THERE was lately at Antioch a virgin who avoided being seen in public, but the more she shrank from men's eyes, the more they longed for her. For beauty which is heard of but not seen is more desired, there being two incentives to passion, love and knowledge — so long as nothing is met with which pleases less; and that which pleases is thought to be of more worth, because the eye is not in this case the judge by investigation, but the mind inflamed with love is full of longing. And so the holy virgin, lest their passions should be longer fed by the desire of gaining her, professed her intention of preserving her chastity, and so quenched the fires of those wicked men, that she was no longer loved, but informed against.

23. So a persecution arose. The maiden, not knowing how to escape, and afraid lest she might fall into the hands of those who were plotting against her chastity, prepared her soul for heroic virtue, being so religious as not to fear death, so chaste as to expect it. The day of her crown arrived. The expectation of all was at its height. The maiden is brought forward, and makes her twofold profession, of religion and of chastity. But when they saw the constancy of her profession, her fear for her modesty, her readiness for tortures, and her blushes at being looked on, they began to consider how they might overcome her religion by setting chastity before her, so that, having deprived her of that which was the greatest, they might also deprive her of that which they had left. So the sentence was that she should either sacrifice, or be sent to a house of ill-fame. After what manner do they worship their gods who thus avenge them, or how do they live themselves who give sentence after this fashion?

24. And the virgin, not hesitating about her religion, but fearful as to her chastity, began to reflect, What am I to do? Each crown, that of martyrdom and that of virginity, is grudged me to-day. But the name of virgin is not acknowledged where the Author of virginity is denied. How

can one be a virgin who cherishes a harlot? How can one be a virgin who loves adulterers? How a virgin if she seeks for a lover? It is preferable to have a virgin mind than a virgin body. Each is good if each be possible; if it be not possible, let me be chaste, not to man but to God. Rahab, too, was a harlot, but after she believed in God, she found salvation. And Judith adorned herself that she might please an adulterer, but because she did this for religion and not for love, no one considered her an adulteress. This instance turned out well. For if she who entrusted herself to religion both preserved her chastity and her country, perhaps I, by preserving my religion, shall also preserve my chastity. But if Judith had preferred her chastity to her religion, when her country had been lost, she would also have lost her chastity.

25. And so, instructed by such examples, and at the same time bearing in mind the words of the Lord, where He says: “Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, shall find it,” she wept, and was silent, that the adulterer might not even hear her speaking, and she did not choose the wrong done to her modesty, but rejected wrong done to Christ. Consider whether it was possible for her to suffer her body to be unchaste, who guarded even her speech.

26. For some time my words have been becoming bashful, and fear to laud on or describe the wicked series of what was done. Close your ears, ye virgins! The Virgin of God is taken to a house of shame, But now unclose your ears, ye virgins, The Virgin of Christ can be exposed to shame, but cannot be contaminated. Everywhere she is the Virgin of God, and the Temple of God, and houses of ill-fame cannot injure chastity, but chastity does away with the ill-fame of the place.

27. A great rush of wanton men is made to the place. Listen, ye holy virgins, to the miracles of the martyr, forget the name of the place. The door is shut within, the hawks cry without; some are contending who shall first attack the prey. But she, with her hands raised to heaven, as though she had come to a house of prayer, not to a resort of lust, says: “O Christ, Who didst tame the fierce lions for the virgin Daniel, Thou canst also tame the fierce minds of men. Fire became as dew to the Hebrew children, the water stood up for the Jews, of Thy mercy, not of its own nature. Susanna knelt down for punishment and triumphed over her adulterous accusers,

the right hand withered which violated the gifts of Thy temple; and now thy temple itself is violated; suffer not sacrilegious incest, Thou Who didst not suffer theft. Let Thy Name be now again glorified in that I who came here for shame, may go away a virgin!"

28. Scarcely had she finished her prayer, when, lo! a man with the aspect of a terrible warrior burst in. How the virgin trembled before him to whom the trembling people gave way. But she did not forget what she had read. "Daniel," said she, "had gone to see the punishment of Susanna, and alone pronounced her guiltless, whom the people had condemned. A sheep may be hidden in the shape of this wolf. Christ has His soldiers also, Who is Master of legions. Or, perchance, an executioner has come in. Fear not, my soul, such an one makes martyrs. O Virgin! thy faith has saved thee."

29. And the soldier said to her: "Fear not, sister, I pray you. I, a brother, am come hither to save life, not to destroy it. Save me, that you yourself may be saved. I came in like an adulterer, to go forth, if you will, as a martyr. Let us change our attire, mine will fit you, and yours will fit me, and each for Christ. Your robe will make me a true soldier, mine will make you a virgin. You will be clothed well, I shall be unclothed even better that the persecutor may recognize me. Take the garment which will conceal the woman, give me that which shall consecrate me a martyr. Put on the cloak which will hide the limbs of a virgin, but preserve her modesty. Take the cap which will cover your hair and conceal your countenance. They who have entered houses of ill-fame are wont to blush. When you have gone forth, take care not to look back, remembering Lot's wife, who lost her very nature because she looked back at what was unchaste, though with chaste eyes. And be not afraid lest any part of the sacrifice fail. I will offer the victim to God for you, do you offer the soldier to Christ for me. You have served the good service of chastity, the wages of which are everlasting life; you have the breastplate of righteousness, which protects the body with spiritual armor, the shield of faith with which to ward off wounds, and the helmet of salvation, for there is the defense of our salvation where Christ is, since the man is the head of the woman. and Christ of the virgin.

30. Whilst saying this he put off his cloak. This garment has been up to this time suspected of being that of a persecutor and adulterer. The virgin offered her neck, the soldier his cloak. What a spectacle that was, what a

manifestation of grace when they were contending for martyrdom in a house of ill-fame! Let the characters be also considered, a soldier and a virgin, that is, persons unlike in natural disposition, but alike by the mercy of God, that the saying might be fulfilled: “Then the wolves and the lambs shall feed together.” Behold the lamb and the wolf not only feed together but are also offered together. Why should I say more? Having changed her garment, the maiden flies from the snare, not now with wings of her own, seeing she was borne on spiritual wings, and(a sight which the ages had never seen) she leaves the house of ill-fame a virgin, but a virgin of Christ.

31. But they who were looking with their eyes, yet saw not, raged like robbers for prey, or wolves for a lamb. One who was more shameless went in. But when he took in the state of the matter with his eyes, he said, What is this? A maiden entered, now a man is to be seen here. This is not the old fable of a hind instead of a maiden, but in truth a virgin become a soldier. I had heard but believed not that Christ changed water into wine; now He has begun also to change the sexes. Let us depart hence whilst we still are what we were. Am I too changed who see things differently from what I believe them to be? I came to a house of ill-fame, and see a surety. And yet I go forth changed, for I shall go out chaste who came in unchaste.

32. When the affair was known, because a crown was due to such a conqueror, he was condemned for the virgin who was seized for the virgin, and so not only a virgin but a martyr came forth from the house of ill-fame. It is reported that the maiden ran to the place of punishment, and that they both contended for death. He said: “I am condemned to death, the sentence let you go free when it retained me.” And she replied: “I did not choose you as my surety on pain of death, but as a guarantee for my chastity. If chastity be attacked, my sex remains; if blood is sought, I desire none to give bail for me, I have the means to pay. The sentence was pronounced on me, which was pronounced for me. Undoubtedly, if I had offered you as security for my debt, and in my absence the judge had assigned your property to the creditor, you would share the sentence with me, and I should pay your obligations with my patrimony. Were I to refuse, who would not judge me worthy of a shameful death? How much more am I bound where there is a question of death? Let me die innocent, that I may not die guilty. In this matter there is no middle course; to-day I shall either be guilty of your blood or a martyr in my own. If I came back quickly,

who dares to shut me out? If I delayed, who dares acquit me? I owe a greater debt to the laws who am guilty not only of my own flight, but also of the death of another. My limbs are equal to death, which were not equal to dishonor. A virgin can accept a wound who could not accept contumely. I avoided disgrace, not martyrdom. I gave up my robe to you; I did not alter my profession. And if you deprive me of death, you will not have rescued but circumvented me. Beware, pray, of resisting, beware of venturing to contend with me. Take not away the kindness you have conferred on me. In denying me the execution of this sentence, you are setting up again the former one. For the sentence is changed for a former one. If the latter binds me not, the former one does. We can each satisfy the sentence if you suffer me to be slain first. From you they can exact no other penalty, but her chastity is in danger with a virgin. And so you will be more glorious if you are seen to have made a martyr of an adulteress. than to have made again an adulteress of a martyr."

33. What do you think was the end? The two contended, and both gained the victory, and the crown was not divided, but became two. So the holy martyrs, conferring benefits one on the other, gave the one the impulse and the other the result to their martyrdom.

CHAPTER 5

The story of the two Pythagorean friends, Damon and Pythias, is related by St. Ambrose, who points out that the case mentioned in the last chapter is more praiseworthy. A comparison is instituted between the treatment of their gods by heathen without any punishment, and Jeroboam's irreverence with its punishment.

34. AND the schools of the philosophers laud Damon and Pythias — the Pythagoreans — to the skies, of whom one, when condemned to death, asked for time to set his affairs in order. whereupon, the tyrant, in his cunning, not supposing that such could be found, asked for a bondsman who should suffer the penalty if the other delayed his return. I do not know which act of the two was the more noble. The one found the bondsman, the other offered himself. And so while he who was condemned met with some delay, the bondsman with calm countenance did not refuse

death. As he was being led forth his friend returned, and offered his neck to the axe. Then the tyrant, wondering that friendship was dearer to philosophers than life, asked himself to be received into friendship by those whom he had condemned. The grace of Virtue was so great that it moved even a tyrant.

35. These things are worthy of praise; but are inferior to our instance. For those two were men, with us one was a virgin, who had first to be superior to her sex; those were friends, these were unknown to each other; those offered themselves to one tyrant, these to many tyrants; and these more cruel, for in the former case the tyrant spared them, these slew them; with the former one was bound by necessity, with these the will of each was free. In this, too, the latter were the wiser, that with those the end of their zeal was the pleasure of friendship, with these the crown of martyrdom, for they strove for men, these for God.

36. And since we have mentioned that man who was condemned, it is fitting to add what he thought of his gods, that you may judge how weak they are whom their own followers deride. For he, having come into the temple of Jupiter, bade them take off the fillet of gold with which his image was crowned, and to put on one of wool instead, saying that the golden fillet was cold in winter and heavy in summer. So he derided his God as being unable to bear either a weight or cold. He, too, when he saw the golden beard of Aesculapius, bade them remove it, saying that it was not fit for the son to have a beard when the father had none. Again, he took away the golden bowls from the images which held them, saying that he ought to receive what the gods gave. For. said he, men make prayers to receive good things from the gods, and nothing is better than gold; if, however, gold be evil, the gods ought not to have it; if it be good, it is better that men should have it who know how to use it.

37. Such objects of ridicule were they, that neither could Jupiter defend his garment, nor Aesculapius his beard, for Apollo had not yet begun to grow one; nor could all those who are esteemed gods keep the golden bowls which they were holding, not fearing the charge of theft so much as not having any feeling. Who, then, would worship them, who can neither defend themselves as gods nor hide themselves as men?

38. But when in the temple of our God, that wicked king Jeroboam took away the gifts which his father had laid up, and offered to idols upon the holy altar, did not his right hand, which he stretched out, wither, and his idols, which he called upon, were not able to help him? Then, turning to the Lord, he asked for pardon, and at once his hand which had withered by sacrilege was healed by true religion. So complete an example was there set forth in one person, both of divine mercy and wrath when he who was sacrificing suddenly lost his right hand, but when penitent received forgiveness.

CHAPTER 6

St. Ambrose, in concluding the second book, ascribes any good there may be in it to the merits of the virgins, and sets forth that it was right before laying down any severe precepts to encourage them by examples, as is done both in human teaching and in holy Scripture.

39. I, WHO have been not yet three years a bishop, have prepared this offering for you, holy virgins, although untaught by my own experience, yet having learnt much from your mode of life. For what experience could have grown up in so short a time of being initiated in religion? If you find any flowers herein, gather them together in the bosom of your lives. These are not precepts for virgins, but instances taken from virgins. My words have sketched the likeness of your virtue, you may see the reflection of your gravity, as it were, in the mirror of this discourse. If you have received any pleasure from my ability, all the fragrance of this book is yours. And since there are as many opinions as there are persons, if there be anything simple in my treatise let all read it; if anything stronger, let the more mature prove it; if anything modest, let it cleave to the breast and tinge the cheeks; if there be anything flowery, let the flowery age of youth not disdain it.

40. We ought to stir up the love of the bride, for iris written: “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.” At bridal feasts we ought to adorn the hair at least with some ornaments of prayer, for it is written: “Smite the hands together, and strike with the foot.” We ought to scatter roses on those

uninterrupted bridals. Even in these temporal marriages the bride is received with acclamation before she receives commands, lest hard commands should hurt her, before love cherished by kindness grows strong.

41. Horses learn to love the sound of patting their necks, that they may not refuse the yoke, and are first trained with words of enticement before the stripe of discipline. But when the horse has submitted its neck to the yoke, the rein pulls in, and the spur urges on, and its companions draw it, and the driver bids it. So, too, our virgin ought first to play with pious love, and admire the golden supports of the heavenly marriage couch on the very threshold of marriage, and to see the door-posts adorned with wreaths of leaves, and to taste the delight of the musicians playing within; that she may not through fear withdraw herself from the Lord’s yoke, before she obeys His call.

42. “Come, then, hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, thou shalt pass and pass through.” This verse must be often repeated by us, that at least being called by the words of the Lord, she may follow if there be any who will not trust the words of man. We have not formed this power for ourselves, but have received it; this is the heavenly teaching of the mystic song: “Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth, for Thy breasts are better than wine, and the odor of Thy ointments is above all spices. Thy name is as ointment poured forth.” The whole of that place of delights sounds of sport, stirs up approval, calls forth love. “Therefore,” it continues, “have the maidens loved Thee and have drawn Thee, let us run after the odor of Thy ointments. The King hath brought me into His chamber.” She began with kisses, and so attained to the chamber.

43. She, now so patient of hard toil, and of practiced virtue, as to open the bars with her hand, go forth into the field, and abide in strongholds, at the beginning ran after the odor of the ointment; soon when she is come into the chamber the ointment is changed. And see whither she goes: “If it be a wall,” it is said, “we will build upon it towers of silver.” She who sported with kisses now builds towers that, encircled with the precious battlements of the saints, she may not only render fruitless the attacks of the enemy, but also erect the safe defenses of holy merits.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose now goes back to the address of Liberius when he gave the veil to Marcellina. Touching on the crowds pressing to the bridal feast of that Spouse Who feeds them all, he passes on to the fitness of her profession on the day on which Christ was born of a Virgin, and concludes with a fervent exhortation to love Him.

1. INASMUCH as I have digressed in what I have said in the two former hooks, it is now time, holy sister, to reconsider those precepts of Liberius of blessed memory which you used to talk over with me, as the holier the man the more pleasing is his discourse. For he, when on the Nativity of the Savior in the Church of St. Peter you signified your profession of virginity by your change of attire (and what day could be better than that on which the Virgin received her child?) whilst many virgins were standing round and vying with each other for your companionship. “You,” said he, “my daughter, have desired a good espousal. You see how great a crowd has come together for the birthday of your Spouse, and none has gone away without food. This is He, Who, when invited to the marriage feast, changed water into wine. He, too, will confer the pure sacrament of virginity on you who before were subject to the vile elements of material nature. This is He Who fed four thousand in the wilderness with five loaves and two fishes.” He could have fed more; if more had been there to be fed, they would have been. And now He has called many to your espousal, but it is not now barley bread, but the Body from heaven which is supplied.

2. To-day, indeed, He was born after the manner of men, of a Virgin, but was begotten of the Father before all things, resembling His mother in body, His Father in power. Only-begotten on earth, and Only-begotten in heaven. God of God, born of a Virgin, Righteousness from the Father, Power from the Mighty One, Light of Light, not unequal to His Father; nor separated in power, not confused by extension of the Word or enlargement as though mingled with the Father, but distinguished from the

Father by virtue of His generation. He is your Brother, without Whom neither things in heaven, nor things in the sea, nor things on earth consist. The good Word of the Father, Which was, it is said, “in the beginning,” here you have His eternity. “And,” it is said,” the Word was with God.” Here you have His power, undivided and inseparable from the Father. “And the Word was God.” Here you have His unbegotten Godhead, for your faith is to be drawn from the mutual relationship.

3. Love him, my daughter, for He is good. For, “None is good save God only.” For if there be no doubt that the Son is God, and that God is good, there is certainly no doubt that God the Son is good. Love Him I say. He it is Whom the Father begat before the morning star, as being eternal, He brought Him forth from the womb as the Son; He uttered him from His heart, as the Word. He it is in Whom the Father is well pleased; He is the Arm of the Father, for He is Creator of all, and the Wisdom of the Father, for He proceeded from the mouth of God; the Power of the Father, because the fullness of the Godhead dwelleth in Him bodily. And the Father so loved Him, as to bear Him in His bosom, and place Him at His right hand, that you may learn His wisdom, and know His power.

4. If, then, Christ is the Power of God, was God ever without power? Was the Father ever without the Son? If the Father of a certainty always was, of a certainty the Son always was. So He is the perfect Son of a perfect Father. For he who derogates from the power, derogates from Him Whose is the power. The Perfection of the Godhead does not admit of inequality. Love, then, Him Whom the Father loves, honor Him Whom the Father honors, for “he that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father,” and “whoso denieth the Son, hath not the Father.” So much as to the faith.

CHAPTER 2

Touching next upon the training of a virgin, he speaks of moderation in food and drink, and of restraint upon the impulses of the mind, introducing some teaching upon the fable of the death and resurrection of Hippolytus, and advises the avoidance of certain meats.

5. BUT sometimes even when faith is to be relied upon, youth is not trusted. Use wine, therefore, sparingly, in order that the weakness of the body may not increase, not for pleasurable excitement, for each alike kindles a flame, both wine and youth. Let fasts also put a bridle on tender age, and spare diet restrain the unsubdued appetites with a kind of rein. Let reason check, hope subdue, and fear curb them. For he who knows not how to govern his desires, like a man run away with by wild horses, is overthrown, bruised, torn, and injured.

6. And this is said to have happened to a youth for his love of Diana. But the fable is colored with poet's tales, that Neptune, stirred with grief at his rival being preferred, sent madness upon his horses, whereby his great power might be set forth in that he overcame the youth, not by strength, but by fraud. And from this event a yearly sacrifice is celebrated for Diana, when a horse is offered at her altar. And they say that she was a virgin, and (of which even harlots would be ashamed) yet could love one who did not love her. But as far as I am concerned let their fables have authority, for though each be criminal, it is yet a less evil that a youth should have been so enamored of an adulteress as to perish, than that two gods should, as they relate, contend for committing adultery, and that Jupiter avenged the grief of his daughter who played the harlot on the physician who cured the wound of him who had violated Diana in the woods, a most excellent huntress, no doubt, not of wild beasts, but of lust: yet also of wild beasts, so that she was worshipped naked.

7. Let them ascribe, then, to Neptune the mastery over madness, in order to fix on him the crime of unchaste love. Let them ascribe to Diana the rule over the woods, wherein she dwelt, so as to establish the adultery which she practiced. Let them ascribe to Aesculapius the restoration of the dead so long as they confess that when struck by lightning he himself escaped not. Let them also ascribe to Jupiter the thunderbolts which he did not possess, so that they witness to the disgrace with which he was laden.

8. And I think that one should sparingly eat all kinds of food which cause heat to the limbs, for flesh drags down even eagles as they fly. But within you let that bird of which we read, "Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's," holding its course on high, swift in its virgin flight, be ignorant of

the desire for unnecessary food. The gathering of banquets and salutations must be avoided.

CHAPTER 3

Virgins are exhorted to avoid visits, to observe modesty, to be silent during the celebration of the Mysteries after the example of Mary. Then after narrating the story of a heathen youth, and saying of a poet, St. Ambrose relates a miracle wrought by a holy priest.

9. I WILL, too, that visits amongst the younger, except such as may be due to parents and those of like age, be few. For modesty is worn away by intercourse, and boldness breaks forth, laughter creeps in, and bashfulness is lessened, whilst politeness is studied. Not to answer one who asks a question is childishness, to answer is nonsense. I should prefer, therefore, that conversation should rather be wanting to a virgin, than abound. For if women are bidden to keep silence in churches, even about divine things, and to ask their husbands at home, what do we think should be the caution of virgins, in whom modesty adorns their age, and silence commends their modesty.

10. Was it a small sign of modesty that when Rebecca came to wed Isaac, and saw her bridegroom, she took a veil, that she might not be seen before they were united? Certainly the fair virgin feared not for her beauty, but for her modesty. What of Rachel, how she, when Jacob’s kiss had been taken, wept and groaned, and would not have ceased weeping had she not known him to be a kinsman? So she both observed what was due to modesty, and omitted not kindly affection. But if it is said to a man: “Gaze not on a maid, lest she cause thee to fall,” what is to be said to a consecrated virgin, who, if she loves, sins in mind; if she is loved, in act also?

11. The virtue of silence, especially in Church, is very great. Let no sentence of the divine lessons escape you; if you give ear, restrain your voice, utter no word with your lips which you would wish to recall, but let your boldness to speak be sparing. For in truth in much speaking there is abundance of sin. To the murderer it was said: “Thou hast sinned, be silent,” that he might not sin more; but to the virgin it must be said, “Be

silent lest thou sin.” For Mary, as we read, kept in heart all things that were said concerning her Son, and do you, when any passage is read where Christ is announced as about to come, or is shown to have come, not make a noise by talking, but attend. Is anything more unbecoming than the divine words should be so drowned by talking, as not to be heard, believed, or made known, that the sacraments should be indistinctly heard through the sound of voices, that prayer should be hindered when offered for the salvation of all?

12. The Gentiles pay respect to their idols by silence, of which this instance is given: As Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, was sacrificing, the sleeve of a barbarian lad who was lighting the lamp for him caught fire and burnt his body, yet he remained without moving and neither betrayed the pain by a groan, nor showed his suffering by silent tears. Such was the discipline of reverence in a barbarian lad that nature was subdued. Yet he feared not the gods, who were no gods, but the king. For why should he fear those who if the same fire had caught them would have burnt?

13. How much better still is it where a youth at his father’s banquet is bidden not to betray by coarse gestures his unchaste loves. And do you, holy virgin, abstain from groans, cries, coughing, and laughter at the Mystery. Can you not at the Mystery do what he did at a banquet? Let virginity be first marked by the voice, let modesty close the mouth, let religion remove weakness, and habit instruct nature. Let her gravity first announce a virgin to me, a modest approach, a sober gait, a bashful countenance, and let the march of virtue be preceded by the evidence of integrity. That virgin is not sufficiently worthy of approval who has to be enquired about when she is seen.

14. There is common story how, when the excessive croaking of frogs was resounding in the ears of the faithful people, the priest of God bade them be silent, and show reverence to the sacred words, and then at once the noise was stilled. Shall then the marshes keep silence and not the frogs? And shall irrational animals re-acknowledge by reverence what they know not by nature? While the shamelessness of men is such, that many care not to pay that respect to the religious feelings of their minds, which they do to the pleasure of their ears.

CHAPTER 4

Having summed up the address of Liberius, St. Ambrose passes on to the virtues of his sister, especially her fasts, which however he advises her to moderate to some extent, and to exercise herself in other matters, after the example which he adduces. Especially he recommends the Lord's Prayer, and the repetition of Psalms by night, and the recitation of the Creed before daylight.

15. After such a fashion did Liberius of holy memory address you, in words beyond the reality of practice in most cases, but coming short of your performance, who have not only attained to the whole of discipline by your virtue, but have surpassed it in your zeal. For we are bidden to practice fasting, but only for single days; but you, multiplying nights and days, pass untold periods without food, and if ever requested to partake of some, and to lay aside your book a little while, you at once answer: "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word of God." Your very meals consisted but of what food came to hand, so that fasting is to be preferred to eating what was repugnant; your drink is from the spring, your weeping and prayer combine, your sleep is on your book.

16. These kings were suited to younger years, whilst he was ripening with the gray hairs of age; but when a virgin has gained the triumph over her subdued body, she should lessen her toil, that she may be preserved as teacher for a younger age. The vine laden with the fruitful branches of full growth soon breaks unless it be from time to time kept back. But whilst it is young let it grow rank, and as it grows older be pruned, so as not to grow into a forest of twigs, or die deprived of life by its exceptive produce. A good husbandman by tending the soil keeps the vine in excellent order, protects it from cold, and guards it from being parched by the mid-day sun. And he works his land by turns, or if he will not let it lie fallow, he alternates his crops, so that the fields may rest through change of produce. Do you too, a veteran in virginity, at least sow the fields of your breast with different seeds, at one time with moderate sustenance, at another with sparing fasts, with reading, work, and prayer, that change of toil may be as a truce for rest.

17. The whole land does not produce the same harvest. On one side vines grow on the hills, on another you can see the purple olives, elsewhere the scented roses. And after leaving the plough, the strong husbandman with his fingers scrapes the soil to plant the roots of flowers, and with the rough hands wherewith he turns the bullocks striving amongst the vines, he gently presses the udders of the sheep. The land is the better the more numerous are its fruits. So do you, following the example of a good husbandman, avoid cleaving your soil with perpetual fastings as if with deep ploughings. Let the rose of modesty bloom in your garden, and the lily of the mind, and let the violet beds drink from the source of sacred blood. There is a common saying, “What you wish to perform abundantly, sometimes do not do at all.” There ought to be something to add to the days of Lent, but so that nothing be done for the sake of ostentation, but of religion.

18. Frequent prayer also commends us to God. For if the prophet says, “Seven times a day have I praised Thee,” though he was busy with the affairs of a kingdom, what ought we to do, who read: “Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation”? Certainly our customary prayers ought to be said with giving of thanks, when we rise from sleep, when we go forth, when we prepare to receive food, after receiving it, and at the hour of incense, when at last we are going to rest.

19. And again in your bed-chamber itself, I would have you join psalms in frequent interchange with the Lord’s prayer, either when you wake up, or before sleep bedews your body, so that at the very commencement of rest sleep may find you free from the care of worldly matters, meditating upon the things of God. And, indeed, he who first found out the name of Philosophy itself, every day before he went to rest, had the flute-player play softer melodies to soothe his mind disturbed by worldly cares. But he, like a man washing tiles, fruitlessly desired to drive away worldly things by worldly means, for he was, indeed, rather besmearing himself with fresh mud, in seeking a reward from pleasure, but let us, haying wiped off the filth of earthly vices, purify our utmost souls from every defilement of the flesh.

20. We ought, also, specially to repeat the Creed, as a seal upon our hearts, daily, before light, and to recur to it in thought whenever we are in fear of

anything. For when is the soldier in his tent or the warrior in battle without his military oath?

CHAPTER 5

St. Ambrose, speaking of tears, explains David's saying, "Every night washlmy couch with my tears," and goes on to speak of Christ bearing our griefs and infirmities. Everything should be referred to His honor, and we ought to rejoice with spiritual joy, but not after a worldly fashion.

21. AND who can now fail to understand that the holy prophet said for our instruction: "Every night will I wash my couch and water my bed with my tears"? For if you take it literally for his bed, he shows that such abundance of tears should be shed as to wash the bed and water it with tears, the couch of him who is praying, for weeping has to do with the present, rewards with the future, since it is said: "Blessed are ye that weep, for ye shall laugh;" or if we take the word of the prophet as applied to our bodies, we must wash away the offenses of the body with tears of penitence. For Solomon made himself a bed of wood from Lebanon, its pillars were of silver, its bottom of gold, its back strewn with gems. What is that bed but the fashion of our body? For by gems is set forth the splendor of the brightness of the air, fire is set forth by the gold, water by silver, and earth by wood, of which four elements the human body consists, in which our soul rests, if it do not exist deprived of rest by the roughness of hills or the damp ground, but raised on high, above vices, supported by the wood. For which reason David also says: "The Lord will send him help upon his bed of pain." For how can that be a bed of pain which cannot feel pain, and which has no feeling? But the body of pain is like the body of that death, of which it is said: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

22. And since I have inserted a clause in which mention is made of the Lord's Body, lest any one should be troubled at reading that the Lord took a body of pain, let him remember that the Lord grieved and wept over the death of Lazarus, and was wounded in His passion, and that from the wound there went forth blood and water, and that He gave up His Spirit.

Water for washing, Blood for drink, the Spirit for His rising again. For Christ alone is to us hope, faith, and love — hope in His resurrection, faith in the layer, and love in the sacrament.

23. And as He took a body of pain, so too He turned His bed in His weakness. for He converted it to the benefit of human flesh. For by His Passion weakness was ended, and death by His resurrection. And yet you ought to mourn for the world but to rejoice in the Lord, to be sad for penitence but joyful for grace, though, too, the teacher of the Gentiles by a wholesome precept has bidden to weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice.

24. But let him who desires to solve the whole difficulty of this question have recourse to the same Apostle. “Whatsoever ye do,” says he, “in word or deed, do all in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God the Father by Him.” Let us then refer all our words and deeds to Christ, Who brought life out of death, and created light out of darkness. For as a sick body is at one time cherished by warmth, at another soothed by cool applications, and the variation of remedies, if carried out according to the direction of the physician, is healthful, but if done in opposition to his orders increases the sickness; so whatever is paid to Christ is a remedy, whatever is done by our own will is harmful.

25. There ought then to be the joy of the mind, conscious of right, not excited by unrestrained feasts, or nuptial concerts, for in such modesty is not safe, and temptation may be suspected where excessive dancing accompanies festivities. I desire that the virgins of God should be far from this. For as a certain teacher of this world has said: “No one dances when sober unless he is mad.” Now if, according to the wisdom of this world, either drunkenness or madness is the cause of dancing, what a warning is given to us amongst the instances mentioned in the Divine Scriptures, where John, the forerunner of Christ, being beheaded at the wish of a dancer, is an instance that the allurements of dancing did more harm than the madness of sacrilegious anger.

CHAPTER 6

Having mentioned the Baptist, St. Ambrose enters into a description of the events concerning his death, and speaks against dancing and the festivities of the wicked.

26. AND since we must not cursorily pass by the mention of so great a man, let us consider who he was, by whom, on what account, how, and at what time he was slain. A just man, he is put to death by adulterers, and the penalty of a capital crime is turned off by the guilty on to the judge. Again the reward of the dancer is the death of the prophet. Lastly (a matter of honor even to all barbarians), the cruel sentence is given in the midst of banqueting and festivities, and the news of the deadly crime is carried from the banquet to the prison, and then from the prison to the banquet. How many crimes are there in one wicked act!

27. A banquet of death is set out with royal luxury, and when a larger concourse than usual had come together, the daughter of the queen, sent for from within the private apartments, is brought forth to dance in the sight of men. What could she have learnt from an adulteress but loss of modesty? Is anything so conducive to lust as with unseemly movements thus to expose in nakedness those parts of the body which either nature has hidden or custom has veiled, to sport with the looks, to turn the neck, to loosen the hair? Fitly was the next step an offense against God. For what modesty can there be where there is dancing and noise and clapping of hands?

28. "Then," it is said, "the king being pleased, said unto the damsel, that she should ask of the king whatsoever she would. Then he swore that if she asked he would give her even the half of his kingdom." See how worldly men themselves judge of their worldly power, so as to give even kingdoms for dancing. But the damsel, being taught by her mother, demanded that the head of John should be brought to her on a dish. That which is said that "the king was sorry," is not repentance on the part of the king, but a confession of guilt, which is, according to the wont of the divine rule, that they who have done evil condemn themselves by their own confession. "But for their sakes which sat with him," it is said. What is more base than that a murder should be committed in order not to

displease those who sat at meat? “And,” it follows, “for his oath’s sake.” What a new religion! He had better have forsworn himself. The Lord therefore in the Gospel bids us not to swear at all, that there be no cause for perjury, and no need of offending. And so an innocent man is slain that an oath be not violated. I know which to have in the greatest horror. Perjury is more endurable than are the oaths of tyrants.

29. Who would not think when he saw some one running from the banquet to the prison, that orders had been given to set the prophet free? Who, I say, having heard that it was Herod’s birthday, and of the state banquet, and the choice given to the damsel of choosing whatever she wished, would not think that the man was sent to set John free? What has cruelty in common with delicacies? What have death and pleasure in common? The prophet is hurried to suffer at a festal time by a festal order, by which he would even wish to be set free; he is slain by the sword, and his head is brought on a platter. This dish was well suited to their cruelty, in order that their insatiate savageness might be feasted.

30. Look, most savage king, at the sights worthy of thy feast. Stretch forth thy right hand, that nothing be wanting to thy cruelty, that streams of holy blood may pour down between thy fingers. And since the hunger for such unheard-of cruelty could not be satisfied by banquets, nor the thirst by goblets, drink the blood pouring from the still flowing veins of the cut-off head. Behold those eyes, even in death, the witnesses of thy crime, turning away from the sight of the delicacies. The eyes are closing, not so much owing to death, as to horror of luxury. That bloodless golden mouth, whose sentence thou couldst not endure, is silent, and yet thou fearest. Yet the tongue, which even after death is wont to observe its duty as when living, condemned, though with trembling motion, the incest. This head is borne to Herodias: she rejoices, she exults as though she had escaped from the crime, because she has slain her judge.

31. What say you, holy women? Do you see what you ought to teach, and what also to unteach your daughters? She dances, but she is the daughter of an adulteress. But she who is modest, she who is chaste, let her teach her daughter religion, not dancing. And do you, grave and prudent men, learn to avoid the banquets of hateful men. If such are the banquets, what will be the judgment of the impious?

CHAPTER 7

In reply to Marcellina, who had asked what should be thought of those who to escape violence killed themselves, St. Ambrose replies by narrating the history of Pelagia, a virgin, with her mother and sister, and goes on to speak of the martyrdom of the blessed Sotheris, one of their own ancestors.

32. As I am drawing near the close of my address, you make a good suggestion, holy sister, that I should touch upon what we ought to think of the merits of those who have cast themselves down from a height, or have drowned themselves in a river, lest they should fall into the hands of persecutors, seeing that holy Scripture forbids a Christian to lay hands on himself. And indeed as regard; virgins placed in the necessity of preserving their purity, we have a plain answer, seeing that there exists an instance of martyrdom.

33. Saint Pelagia lived formerly at Antioch, being about fifteen years old, a sister of virgins, and a virgin herself. She shut herself up at home at the first sound of persecution, seeing herself surrounded by those who would rob her of her faith and purity, in the absence of her mother and sisters, without any defense, but all the more filled with God. “What are we to do, unless,” says she to herself, “thou, a captive of virginity, takest thought? I both wish and fear to die, for I meet not death but seek it. Let us die if we are allowed, or if they will not allow it, still let us die. God is not offended by a remedy against evil, and faith permits the act. In truth, if we think of the real meaning of the word, how can what is voluntary be violence? It is rather violence to wish to die and not to be able. And we do not fear any difficulty. For who is there who wishes to die and is not able to do so, when there are so many easy ways to death? For I can now rush upon the sacrilegious altars and overthrow them, and quench with my blood the kindled fires. I am not afraid that my right hand may fail to deliver the blow, or that my breast may shrink from the pain. I shall leave no sin to my flesh. I fear not that a sword will be wanting. I can die by my own weapons, I can die without the help of an executioner, in my mother’s bosom.”

34. She is said to have adorned her head, and to have put on a bridal dress, so that one would say that she was going to a bridegroom, not to death. But when the hateful persecutors saw that they had lost the prey of her chastity, they began to seek her mother and sisters. But they, by a spiritual flight, already held the field of chastity, when, as on the one side, persecutors suddenly threatened them, and on the other, escape was shut off by an impetuous river, they said, what do we fear? See the water, what hinders us from being baptized? And this is the baptism whereby sins are forgiven, and kingdoms are sought. This is a baptism after which no one sins. Let the water receive us, which is wont to regenerate. Let the water receive us, which makes virgins. Let the water receive us, which opens heaven, protects the weak, hides death, makes martyrs. We pray Thee, God, Creator of all things, let not the water scatter our bodies, deprived of the breath of life; let not death separate our obsequies, whose lives affection has always conjoined; but let our constancy be one, our death one, and our burial also be one.

35. Having said these words, and having slightly girded up the bosom of their dress, to veil their modesty without impeding their steps, joining hands as though to lead a dance, they went forward to the middle of the river bed, directing their steps to where the stream was more violent, and the depth more abrupt. No one drew back, no one ceased to go on, no one tried where to place her steps, they were anxious only when they felt the ground, grieved when the water was shallow, and glad when it was deep. One could see the pious mother tightening her grasp, rejoicing in her pledges, afraid of a fall test even the stream should carry off her daughters from her. “These victims, O Christ,” said she, “do I offer as leaders of chastity, guides on my journey, and companions of my sufferings.”

37. But who would have cause to wonder that they had such constancy whilst alive, seeing that even when dead they preserved the position of their bodies unmoved? The water did not lay bare their corpses, nor did the rapid course of the river roll them along. Moreover, the holy mother, though without sensation, still maintained her loving grasp, and held the sacred knot which she had tied, and loosed not her hold in death, that she who had paid her debt to religion might die leaving her piety as her heir. For those whom she had joined together with herself for martyrdom, she claimed even to the tomb.

38. But why use instances of people of another race to you, my sister, whom the inspiration of hereditary chastity has taught by descent from a martyred ancestor? For whence have you learnt who had no one from whom to learn, living in the country, with no virgin companion, instructed by no teacher? You have played the part then not of a disciple, for this cannot be done without teaching, but of an heir of virtue.

39. For how could it come to pass that holy Sotheris should not have been the originator of your purpose, who is an ancestor of your race? Who, in an age of persecution, borne to the heights of suffering by the insults of slaves, gave to the executioner even her face, which is usually free from injury when the whole body is tortured, and rather beholds than suffers torments; so brave and patient that when she offered her tender cheeks to punishment, the executioner failed in striking before the martyr yielded under the injuries. She moved not her face, she turned not away her countenance, she uttered not a groan or a tear. Lastly, when she had overcome other kinds of punishment, she found the sword which she desired.

CONCERNING WIDOWS

INTRODUCTION

THE writer informs us himself at the beginning of his treatise that he felt moved by the example of St. Paul, after speaking about virgins, to continue with the subject of widows. But there was also another matter in his own diocese which touched him personally, and caused him at once to take up the matter. A certain widow who had several daughters, some married already and others marriageable age, began to think of a second marriage for herself. St. Ambrose, partly for her own sake, partly that it might not be supposed that he had in any was advised the step, published the following treatise.

In the first place he affirms that the profession of widowhood comes very close to that of virginity, and is to be esteemed far above the married state. He proves this by the testimony of St. Paul and by his description of one who is a widow indeed; also by many examples taken both from Old and New Testament. Having mentioned St. Peter's wife's mother, he turns more particularly to the widow for whose sake he is writing, though he avoids mentioning her name, pointing out how really empty and insufficient are all the reasons she is setting before herself for marrying again. The marriage bond is, indeed, he says, holy and good, and the married and single are as various kinds of flowers in the field of the Church. There is, however, more corn produced than lilies, more that is married than virgins. He points out that widowhood has been held in dishonor by idolaters alone, for which reason it may well be held in honor by Christians. St. Ambrose does not condemn a second marriage, though placing widowhood before it, as being bound to aim at leading those committed to his loving care to the highest possible degree of perfection.

The treatise was written not long after that concerning Virgins, that is, soon after A.D. 377.

THE TREATISE OF ST. AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

CONCERNING WIDOWS

CHAPTER 1

After having written about virgins, it seemed needful to say something concerning widows, since the Apostle joins the two classes together, and the latter are as it were teachers of the former, and far superior to those who are married. Elijah was sent to a widow, a great mark of honor; yet widows are not honorable like her of Sarepta, unless they copy her virtues, notably hospitality. The avarice of men is rebuked, who forfeit the promises of God by their grasping.

1. SINCE I have treated of the honor of virgins in three books, it is fitting now, my brethren, that a treatise concerning widows should come in order; for I ought not to leave them without honor, nor to separate them from the commendation belonging to virgins, since the voice of the Apostle has joined them to virgins, according to what is written: "The unmarried woman and the virgin careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit." For in a certain manner the inculcation of virginity is strengthened by the example of widows. They who have preserved their marriage bed undefiled are a testimony to virgins that chastity is to be preserved for God. And it is almost a mark of no less virtue to abstain from marriage, which was once a delight, than to remain ignorant of the pleasures of wedlock. They are strong in each point, in that they regret not wedlock, the faith of which they keep, and entangle not themselves with wedded pleasures, lest they appear weak and not able to take care of themselves.

2. But in this particular virtue is contained also the prizes of liberty. For: "The wife is bound as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband fall

asleep she is freed: let her marry whom she will, only in the Lord. But she will be happier if she so abide, after my judgment, for I think I also have the Spirit of God.” Evidently, then, the Apostle has expressed the difference, having said that the one is bound, and stated that the other is happier, and that he asserts not so much as the result of his own judgment, as of the infusion of the Spirit of God; that the decision should be seen to be heavenly, not human.

3. And what is the teaching of the fact that at that time when the whole human race was afflicted by famine and Elias was sent to the widow? And see how for each is reserved her own special grace. An angel is sent to the Virgin, a prophet to the widow. Notice, farther, that in one case it is Gabriel, in the other Elisha. The most excellent chiefs of the number of angels and prophets are seen to be chosen. But there is no praise simply in widowhood, unless there be added the virtues of widowhood. For, indeed, there were many widows, but one is preferred to all, in which fact it is not so much that others are called back from their pursuit as that they are stimulated by the example of virtue.

4. What is said at first makes the ears attentive, although the simplicity itself of the understanding has weight to attract widows to the pattern of virtue; since each seems to excel, not according to her profession, but her merit, and the grace of hospitality is not lost sight of by God, Who, as He Himself related in the Gospel, rewards a cup of cold water with the exceeding recompense of eternity, and compensates the small measure of meal and oil by an unfailing abundance of plenty ever coming in. For if one of the heathen has said that all the possessions of friends should be common, how much more ought those of relatives to be common! For we are relatives who are bound into one body.

5. But we are not bound by any prescribed limit of hospitality. For why do you think that what is of this world is private property when this world is common? Or why do you consider the fruits of the earth are private, when the earth itself is common property? “Behold,” He said, “the fowls of the air, they sow not, neither do they reap.” For to those to whom nothing is private property nothing is wanting, and God, the master of His own word, knows how to keep His promise. Again, the birds do not gather together, and yet they eat, for our heavenly Father feeds them.

But we turning aside the warnings of a general utterance to our private advantage, God says: “Every tree which has in it the fruit of a tree yielding seed shall be to you for meat, and to every beast, and to every bird, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth.” By gathering together we come to want, and by gathering together we are made empty. For we cannot hope for the promise, who keep not the saying. It is also good for us to attend to the precept of hospitality, to be ready to give to strangers, for we, too, are strangers in the world.

6. But how holy was that widow, who, when pinched by extreme hunger. observed the reverence due to God, and was not using the food for herself alone, but was dividing it with her son, that she might not outlive her dear offspring. Great is the duty of affection, but that of religion brings more return. For as no one ought to be set before her son, so the prophet of God ought to be set before her son and her preservation. For she is to be believed to have given to him not a little food, but the whole support of her life, who left nothing for herself. So hospitable was she that she gave the whole, so full of faith that she believed at once.

CHAPTER 2

The precepts of the Apostle concerning a widow indeed are laid down, such as, that she bring up children, attend to her parents, desire to please God, show herself irreproachable, set forth a ripeness of merits, have been the wife of one man. St. Ambrose notes, however, that a second marriage was not condemned by St. Paul, and adds that widows must have a good report for virtue with all. The reasons why younger widows are to be avoided, and what is meant by its being better to marry than to burn. St. Ambrose then goes on to speak of the dignity of widows, shown by the fact that any injury done to them is visited by the anger of God.

7. So, then, a widow is not only marked off by bodily abstinence, but is distinguished by virtue, to whom I do not give commandments, but the Apostle. I am not the only person to do them honor, but the Doctor of the Gentiles did so first, when he said: “Honor widows that are widows indeed. But if any widow have children or nephews, let her first learn to

govern her own house, and to requite her parents." Whence we observe that each inclination of affection ought to exist in a widow, to love her children and to do her duty to her parents. So when discharging her duty to her parents she is teaching her children, and is rewarded herself by her own compliance with duty, in that what she performs for others benefits herself.

8. "For this," says he, "is acceptable with God." So that if thou, O widow, carest for the things of God, thou oughtest to follow after that which thou hast learnt to be well pleasing to God. And, indeed, the Apostle somewhat farther back, exhorting widows to the pursuit of continence, said that they mind the things of the Lord. But elsewhere, when a widow who is approved is to be selected, she is bidden not only to bear in mind but also to hope in the Lord: "For she that is a widow indeed," it is said, "and desolate, must hope in God, and be instant in supplications and prayers night and day." And not without reason does he show that these ought to be blameless, to whom, as virtuous works are enjoined, so, too, great respect is paid, so that they are honored even by bishops.

9. And of what kind she ought to be who is chosen the description is given in the words of the teacher himself: "Not less than threescore years old, having been the wife of one man." Not that old age alone makes the widow, but that the merits of the widow are the duties of old age. For she certainly is the more noble who represses the heat of youth, and the impetuous ardor of youthful age, desiring neither the tenderness of a husband, nor the abundant delights of children, rather than one who, now worn out in body, cold in age, of ripe years, can neither grow warm with pleasures, nor hope for offspring.

10. Nor in truth is any one excluded from the devotion of widowhood, if after entering upon a second marriage, which the precepts of the Apostle certainly do not condemn as though the fruit of chastity were lost, if she be again loosed from her husband. She will have, indeed, the merit of her chastity, even if it be tardy, but she will be more approved who has tried a second marriage, for the desire of chastity is conspicuous in her, for the other old age or shame seems to have put an end to marrying.

11. Nor yet is bodily chastity alone the strong purpose of the widow, but a large and most abundant exercise of virtue. "Well reported of for good

works, if she have brought up children; if she have lodged strangers; if she have washed the saints' feet; if she have ministered to those suffering tribulation; if, lastly, she have followed after every good work." You see how many practices of virtue he has included. He demands, first of all, the duty of piety; secondly, the practice of hospitality and humble service; thirdly, the ministry of mercy and liberality in assisting; and, lastly, the performance of every good work.

12. And he, therefore, that the younger should be avoided, because they are not able to fulfill the requirements of so high a degree of virtue. For youth is prone to fall because the heat of various desires is inflamed by the warmth of glowing youth, and it is the part of a good doctor to keep off the materials of sin. For the first exercise in training the soul is to turn away sin, the second to implant virtue. Yet, since the Apostle knew that Anna, the widow of fourscore years, from her youth was a herald of the works of the Lord, I do not think that he thought that the younger should be excluded from the devotion of widowhood, especially as he said: "It is better to marry than to burn." For certainly he recommended marriage as a remedy, that she who would else perish might be saved; he did not prescribe the choice that one who could contain should not follow chastity, for it is one thing to succor one who is falling, another to persuade to virtue.

13. And what shall I say of human judgments, since in the judgments of God the Jews are set forth as having offended the Lord in nothing more than violating what was due to the widow and the rights of minors? This is proclaimed by the voices of the prophets as the cause which brought upon the Jews the penalty of rejection. This is mentioned as the only cause which will mitigate the wrath of God against their sin. if they honor the widow, and execute true judgment for minors, for thus we read: "Judge the fatherless, deal justly with the widow, and come let us reason together, saith the Lord." And elsewhere: "The Lord shall maintain the orphan and the widow." And again: "I will abundantly bless her widow." Wherein also the likeness of the Church is foreshadowed. You see, then, holy widows, that that office which is honored by the assistance of divine grace must not be degraded by impure desire.

CHAPTER 3

St. Ambrose returns to the story of the widow of Sarepta, and shows that she represented the Church, hence that she was an example to virgins, married women, and widows. Then he refers to the prophet as setting forth Christ, inasmuch as he foretold the mysteries and the rain which was to come. Next he touches upon and explains the twofold sign of Gideon, and points out that it is not in every one's power to work miracles, and that the Incarnation of Christ and the rejection of the Jews were foreshadowed in that account.

14. To return to what was treated of above, what is the meaning of the fact that when there was a very great famine in all the land, yet the care of God was not wanting to the widow, and the prophet was sent to sustain her? And when in this story the Lord warns me that He is about to speak in truth, He seems to bid my ears attend to a mystery. For what can be more true than the mystery of Christ and the Church? Not, then, without a purpose is one preferred amongst many widows. Who is such an one, to whom so great a prophet who was carried up into heaven, should be guided, especially at that time when the heaven was shut for three years and six months, when there was a great famine in the whole land? The famine was everywhere, and yet notwithstanding this widow did not want. What are these three years? Are they not, perchance, those in which the Lord came to the earth and could not find fruit on the fig-tree, according to that which is written: "Behold, there are three years that I came seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none."

15. This is assuredly that widow of whom it was said: "Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not, break forth and cry, thou that availest not with child; for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her who hath an husband." And well is she a widow of whom it is well said: "Thou shalt not remember thy shame and thy widowhood, for I am the Lord Who make thee." And perchance therefore is she a widow who has lost her Husband indeed in the suffering of His body, but in the day of judgment shall receive again the Son of Man Whom she seemed to have lost. "For a short time have I forsaken thee," He says, in order that, being forsaken, she may the more gloriously keep her faith.

16. All, then, have an example to imitate, virgins, married women, and widows. And perchance is the Church therefore a virgin, married, and a widow, because they are one body in Christ. She is then that widow for Whose sake when there was a dearth of the heavenly Word on earth, the prophets were appointed, for there was a widow who was barren, yet reserved her bringing forth for its own time.

17. So that his person does not seem to us of small account, who by his word moistened the dry earth with the dew of heaven, and unlocked the closed heavens certainly not by human power. For who is he who can open the heavens except Christ, for Whom daily out of sinners food is gathered, an increase for the Church? For it is not in the power of man to say: "The barrel of meal shall not waste, and the cruse of oil shall not fail, until the day on which the Lord shall send rain on the earth," For though it be the rule of the prophets to speak thus, the voice is in truth that of the Lord. And so it is stated first: "For thus saith the Lord." For it is of the Lord to vouch for a continuance of heavenly sacraments, and to promise that the grace of spiritual joy shall not fail, to grant the defenses of life, the seals of faith, the gifts of virtues.

18. But what does this mean: "Until the day on which the Lord shall send rain on the earth"? except that He, too, "shall come down like rain upon a fleece, and like the drops that water the earth." In which passage is disclosed the mystery of the old history where Gideon, the warrior of the mystic conflict, receiving the pledge of future victory, recognized the spiritual sacrament in the vision of his mind, that that rain was the dew of the Divine Word, which first came down on the fleece, when all the earth was parched with continual drought, and by a second true sign, moistened the floor of all the earth with a shower, whilst dryness was upon the fleece.

19. For the prescient man observed the sign of the future growth of the Church. For first in Judges the dew of the divine utterance began to give moisture (for "in Jewry is God known"), whilst the whole earth remained without the dew of faith. But when Joseph's flock began to deny God, and by venturing on various enormous offenses to incur guilt before God, then when the dew of the heavenly shower was poured on the whole earth, the people of the Jews began to grow dry and parched in their own unbelief,

when the clouds of prophecy and the healthful shower of the Apostles watered the holy Church gathered together from all parts of the world. This is that rain, now condensed from earthly moisture, now from mountain mists, but diffused throughout the whole world in the salutary shower of the heavenly Scriptures.

20. By this example, then, it is shown that not all can merit the miracles of divine power, but they who are aided by the pursuits of religious devotion, and that they lose the fruits of divine working who are devoid of reverence for heaven. It is also shown in a mystery that the Son of God, in order to restore the Church, took upon Himself the mystery of a human body, casting off the Jewish people, from whom the counselor and the prophet and the miracles of the divine benefits were taken away, because that as it were by a kind of national blemish they were not willing to believe in the Son of God.

CHAPTER 4

By the example of Anna St. Ambrose shows what ought to be the life of widows, and shows that she was an example of chastity at every age. From this he argues that there are three degrees of the same virtue, all of which are included in the Church, and sets forth several examples in Mary, in Anna, and in Susanna. But, he adds, the state of virginity is superior to either of the others, but that a widow ought to take greater care for the preservation of her good name.

21. Scripture then teaches as how much grace is conferred by unity, and how great is the gift of divine blessing in widows. And since such honor is given them by God, we must observe what mode of life corresponds thereto; for Anna shows what widows ought to be, who, left destitute by the early death of her husband, yet obtained the reward of full praise, being intent not less on the duties of religion than on the pursuit of chastity. A widow, it is said, of fourscore and four years, a widow who departed not from the temple, a widow who served God night and day with fastings and with prayers.

22. You see what sort of person a widow is said to be, the wife of one man, tested also by the progress of age, vigorous in religion, and worn out in body, whose resting-place is the temple, whose conversation is prayer, whose life is fasting, who in the times of day and night by a service of unwearied devotion, though the body acknowledge old age, yet knows no age in her piety. Thus is a widow trained from her youth, thus is she spoken of in her age, who has kept her widowhood not through the chance of time, nor through weakness of body, but by large-heartedness in virtue. For when it is said that she was for seven years from her virginity with her husband, it is a setting forth that the things which are the support of her old age began in the aims of her youth.

23. And so we are taught that the virtue of chastity is threefold, one kind that of married life, a second that of widowhood, and the third that of virginity, for we do not so set forth one as to exclude others. These result each in that which belongs to each. The training of the Church is rich in this, that it has those whom it may set before others, but has none whom it rejects, and would that it never could have any! We have so spoken of virginity as not to reject widowhood, we so reverence widows as to reserve its own honor for wedlock. It is not our precepts but the divine sayings which teach this.

24. Let us remember then how Mary, how Anna, and how Susanna are spoken of. But since not only must we celebrate their praises but also follow their manner of life, let us remember where Susanna, and Anna, and Mary are found, and observe how each is spoken of with her special commendation, and where each is mentioned, she that is married in the garden, the widow in the temple, the virgin in her secret chamber.

25. But in the former the fruit is later, in virginity it is earlier; old age proves them, virginity is the praise of youth, and does not need the help of years, being the fruit of every age. It becomes early years, it adorns youth, it adds to the dignity of age, and at all ages it has the gray hairs of its righteousness, the ripeness of its gravity, the veil of modesty, which does hinder devotion and increases religion. For we see by what follows that holy Mary went every year with Joseph to Jerusalem on the solemn day of the Passover. Everywhere in company with the Virgin is eager devotion and a zealous sharer of her chastity. Nor is the Mother of the Lord puffed

up, as though secure of her own merits, but the more she recognized her merit, the more fully did she pay her vows, the more abundantly did she perform her service, the more fully did she discharge her office, the more religiously did she perform her duty and fill up the mystic time.

26. How much more then does it beseem you to be intent on the pursuit of chastity, t you leave any place for unfavorable opinion who have the evidence of your modesty and your behavior alone. For a virgin, though in her also character rather than the body has the first claim, puts away calumny by the integrity of her body, a widow who has lost the assistance of being able to prove her virginity undergoes the inquiry as to her chastity not according to the word of a midwife, but according to her own manner of life. Scripture, then, has shown how attentive and religious should be the disposition of a widow.

CHAPTER 5

Liberality to the poor is recommended by the example of the widow in the Gospel, whose two mites were preferred to the large gifts of the rich. The two mites are treated as mystically representing the two Testaments. What that treasure is for which we are taught to offer, after the example of the wise men, three gifts, or after that of the widow, two. St. Ambrose concludes the chapter by an exhortation to widows to be zealous in good works.

27. In the same book, too, but in another place, we are taught how fitting it is to be merciful and liberal towards the poor, and that this feeling should not be checked by the consideration of our poverty, since liberality is determined not by the amount of our possessions, but by the disposition of giving. For by the voice of the Lord that widow is preferred to all of whom it was said: “This widow hath cast in more than all.” In which instance the Lord characteristically teaches all, that none should be held back from giving assistance through shame at his own poverty, and that the rich should not flatter themselves that they seem to give more than the poor. For the piece of money out of a small stock is richer than treasures out of abundance, because it is not the amount that is given but the amount

that remains which is considered. No one gives more than she who has left nothing for herself.

28. Why do you, rich woman, boast yourself by comparison with the poor, and when you are all loaded with gold, and drag along the ground a costly robe, desire to be honored as though she were inferior and small in comparison with your riches, because you have surpassed the needy with your gifts? Rivers too overflow, when they are too full, but a draught from a brook is more pleasant. New wine foams while fermenting, and the husbandman does not consider as lost that which runs over. While the harvest is being threshed out, grains of corn fall from the groaning floor; but though the harvests fail, the barrel of meal wastes not, and the cruse full of oil gives forth. But the draught emptied the casks of the rich, while the tiny cruse of oil of the widow gave abundance. That, then, is to be reckoned which you give for devotion, not what you cast forth disdainfully. For in fine, no one gave more than she who fed the prophet with her children's nourishment. And so since no one gave more, no one had greater merit. This has a moral application.

29. And considering the mystical sense, one must not despise this woman casting in two mites into the treasury. Plainly the woman was noble who in the divine judgment was found worthy to be preferred to all. Perchance it is she who of her faith has given two testaments for the help of man, and so no one has done more. Nor could any one equal the amount of her gift, who joined faith with mercy. Do you, then, whoever you are, who exercise your life the practice of widowhood, not hesitate to cast into the treasury the two mites, full of faith and grace.

30. Happy is she who out of her treasure brings forth the perfect image of the King. Your treasure is wisdom, your treasure is chastity and righteousness, your treasure is a good understanding, such as was that treasure from which the Magi, when they worshipped the Lord, brought forth gold, frankincense, and myrrh; setting forth by gold the power of a king, venerating God by the frankincense, and by myrrh acknowledging the resurrection of the body. You too have this treasure if you look into yourself: "For we have this treasure in earthen vessels." You have gold which you can give, for God does not exact of you the precious gift of shining metal, but that gold which at the day of judgment the fire shall be

unable to consume. Nor does He require precious gifts, but the good odor of faith, which the altars of your heart send forth and the disposition of a religious mind exhales.

31. From this treasure, then, not only the three gifts of the Magi but also the two mites of the widow are taken, on which the perfect image of the heavenly King shines forth, the brightness of His glory and the image of His substance. Precious, too, are those hardly earned gains of chastity which the widow gives of her labor and daily task, continually night and day working at her task, and by the wakeful labor of her profitable chastity gathering treasure; that she may preserve the couch of her deceased husband unviolated, be able to support her dear children, and to minister to the poor. She is to be preferred to the rich, she it is who shall not fear the judgment of Christ.

32. Strive to equal her, my daughters: "It is good to be zealously affected in a good thing." "Covet earnestly the best gifts" The Lord is ever looking upon you, Jesus looks upon you when He goes to the treasury, and you think that of the gain of your good works assistance is to be given to those in need. What is it, then, that you should give your two mites and gain in return the Lord's Body? Go not, then, empty into the sight of the Lord your God, empty of mercy, empty of faith, empty of chastity; for the Lord Jesus is wont to look upon and to commend not the empty, but those who are rich in virtues. Let the maiden see you at work, let her see you ministering to others. For this is the return which you owe to God, that you should make your return to God from the progress of others. No return is more acceptable to God than the offerings of piety.

CHAPTER 6

Naomi is an instance of a widow receiving back from her daughter-in-law the fruits of her own good training, and is a token that necessary support will never fail the good widow. And if her life appears sad, she is happy, since the promises of the Lord are made to her. St. Ambrose then touches upon the benefits of weeping.

33. Does the widow Naomi seem to you of small account, who supported her widowhood on the gleanings from another's harvest, and who, when

heavy with age, was supported by her daughter-in-law? It is a great benefit both for the support and for the advantage of widows, that they so train their daughters-in-law as to have in them a support in full old age, and, as it were, payment for their teaching and reward for their training. For to her who has well taught and well instructed her daughter-in-law a Ruth will never be wanting who will prefer the widowed life of her mother-in-law to her father's house, and if her husband also be dead, will not leave her, will support her in need, comfort her in sorrow, and not leave her if sent away; for good instruction will never know want. So that Naomi, deprived of her husband and her two sons, having lost the offspring of her fruitfulness, lost not the reward of her pious care, for she found both a comfort in sorrow and a support in poverty.

34. You see, then, holy women, how fruitful a widow is in the offspring of virtues, and the results of her own merits, which cannot come to an end. A good widow, then, knows no want, and if she be weary through age, in extreme poverty, yet she has as a rule the reward of the training she has given. Though the nearest to herself have failed, she finds those not so near akin to cherish their mother, revere their parent, and by the trifling gifts for her support desire to gain the fruit of their own kindness, for richly are gifts to a widow repaid. She asks food and pays back treasures.

35. But she seems to spend sad days, and to pass her time in tears. And she is the more blessed in this, for by a little weeping she purchases for herself everlasting joys, and at the cost of a few moments gains eternity. To such it is well said: "Blessed are ye that weep, for ye shall laugh." Who then would prefer the deceitful appearances of present joys to the pleasure of future freedom from anxiety? Does he seem to us an insignificant authority, the elect forefather of the Lord after the flesh, who ate ashes as it were bread, and mingled his drink with weeping, and by his tears at night gained for himself the joy of redemption in the morning? Whence did he gain that great joy except that he greatly wept, and, as it were, at the price of his tears obtained the grace of future glory for himself.

36. The widow has, then, this excellent recommendation, that while she mourns her husband she also weeps for the world, and the redeeming tears are ready, which shed for the dead will benefit the living. The weeping of the eyes is fitted to the sadness of the mind, it arouses pity, lessens labor,

relieves grief, and preserves modesty, and she no longer seems to herself so wretched, finding comfort in tears Which are the pay of love and proofs of pious memory.

CHAPTER 7

By the example of Judith is shown that courage is not wanting in widows; her preparation for her visit to Holofernes is dwelt upon, as also her chastity and her wisdom, her sobriety and moderation. Lastly, St. Ambrose, after demonstrating that she was no less brave than prudent, sets forth her modesty after her success.

37. BUT bravery also is usually not wanting to a good widow. For this is true bravery, which surpasses the usual nature and the weakness of the sex by the devotion of the mind, such as was in her who was named Judith, who of herself alone was able to rouse up from utter prostration and defend from the enemy men broken down by the siege, smitten with fear, and pining with hunger. For she, as we read, when Holofernes, dreaded after his success in so many battles, had driven countless thousands of men within the walls; when the armed men were afraid, and were already treating about the final surrender, went forth outside the wall, both excelling that army which she delivered, and braver than that which she put to flight.

38. But in order to learn the dispositions of ripe widowhood, run through the course of the Scriptures. From the time when her husband died she laid aside the garments of mirth, and took those of mourning. Every day she was intent on fasting except on the Sabbath and the Lord’s Day and the times of holy days, not as yielding to desire of refreshment, but out of respect for religion. For this is that which is said: “Whether ye eat or drink, all is to be done in the name of Jesus Christ,” that even the very refreshment of the body is to have respect to the worship of holy religion. So then, holy Judith, strengthened by lengthened mourning and by daily fasting, sought not the enjoyments of the world regardless of danger, and strong in her contempt for death. In order to accomplish her stratagem she put on that robe of mirth, wherewith in her husband’s lifetime she was wont to be clothed, as though she would give pleasure to her husband, if

she freed her country. But she saw another man whom she was seeking to please, even Him, of Whom it is said: “After me cometh a Man Who is preferred before me.” And she did well in resuming her bridal ornaments when about to fight, for the reminders of wedlock are the arms of chastity, and in no other way could a widow please or gain the victory.

39. Why relate the sequel? How she amongst thousands of enemies, remained chaste. Why speak of her wisdom, in that she designed such a scheme? She chose out the commander, to ward off from herself the insolence of inferiors, and prepare an opportunity for victory. She reserved the merit of abstinence and the grace of chastity. For unpolluted, as we read, either by food or by adultery, she gained no less a triumph over the enemy by preserving her chastity than by delivering her country.

40. What shall I say of her sobriety? Temperance, indeed, is the virtue of women. When the men were intoxicated with wine and buried in sleep, the widow took the sword, put forth her hand, cut off the warrior’s head. and passed unharmed through the midst of the ranks of the enemy. You notice, then, how much drunkenness can injure a woman, seeing that wine so weakens men that they are overcome by women. Let a widow, then, be temperate, pure in the first place from wine, that she may be pure from adultery. He will tempt you in vain, if wine tempts you not. For if Judith had drunk she would have slept with the adulterer. But because she drank not, the sobriety of one without difficulty was able both to overcome and to escape from a drunken army.

41. And this was not so much a work of her hands, as much more a trophy of her wisdom. For having overcome Holofernes by her hand alone, she overcame the whole army of the enemies by her wisdom. For hanging up the head of Holofernes, a deed which the wisdom of the men had been unable to plan, she raised the courage of her countrymen, and broke down that of the enemy. She stirred up her own friends by her modesty, and struck terror into the enemy so that they were put to flight and slain. And so the temperance and sobriety of one widow not only subdued her own nature, but, which is far more, even made men more brave.

42. And yet she was not so elated by this success, though she might well rejoice and exult by right of her victory, as to give up the exercises of her widowhood, but refusing all who desired to wed her she laid aside her

garments of mirth and took again those of her widowhood, not caring for the adornments of her triumph, thinking those things better whereby vices of the body are subdued than those whereby the weapons of an enemy are overcome.

CHAPTER 8

Though many other widows came near to Judith in virtue, St. Ambrose proposes to speak of Deborah only. What a pattern of virtue she must have been for widows, who was chosen to govern and defend men. It was no small glory to her that when her son was over the host he refused to go forth to battle unless she would go also. So that she led the army and foretold the result. In this story the conflicts and triumphs of the Church, and her spiritual weapons, are set forth, and every excuse of weakness is taken from women.

43. AND in order that it may not seem as if only one widow had fulfilled this inimitable work, it seems in no Way doubtful that there were many others of equal or almost equal virtue, for good seed corn usually bears many ears filled with grains. Doubt not. then, that that ancient seed-time was fruitful in the characters of many women. But as it would be tedious to include all, consider some, and especially Deborah, whose virtue Scripture records for us.

44. For she showed not only that widows have no need of the help of a man, inasmuch as she, not at all restrained by the weakness of her sex, undertook to perform the duties of a man, and did even more than she had undertaken. And, at last, when the Jews were being ruled under the leadership of the judges, because they could not govern them with manly justice, or defend them with manly strength, and so wars broke out on all sides, they chose Deborah, by whose judgment they might be ruled. And so one widow both ruled many thousands of men in peace, and defended them from the enemy. There were many judges in Israel, but no woman before was a judge, as after Joshua there were many judges but none was a prophet. And I think that her judgeship has been narrated, and her deeds described, that women should not be restrained from deeds of valor by the

weakness of their sex. A widow, she governs the people; a widow, she leads armies; a widow, she chooses generals; a widow, she determines wars and orders triumphs. So, then, it is not nature which is answerable for the fault or which is liable to weakness. It is not sex, but valor which makes strong.

45. And in time of peace there is no complaint, and no fault is found in this woman whereas most of the judges were causes of no small sins to the people. But when the Canaanites, a people fierce in battle and rich in troops, successively joined them, showed a horrible disposition against the people of the Jews, this widow, before all others, made all the preparations for war. And to show that the needs of the household were not dependent on the public resources, but rather that public duties were guided by the discipline of home life, she brings forth from her home her son as leader of the army, that we may acknowledge that a widow can train a warrior; whom, as a mother, she taught, and, as judge, placed in command, as, being herself brave, she trained him, and, as a prophetess, sent to certain victory.

46. And lastly, her son Barak shows the chief part of the victory was in the hands of a woman when he said: "If thou wilt not go with me I will not go, for I know not the day on which the Lord sendeth His angel with me." How great, then, was the might of that woman to whom the leader of the army says, "If thou wilt not go I will not go." How great, I say, the fortitude of the widow who keeps not back her son from dangers through motherly affection, but rather with the zeal of a mother exhorts her son to go forth to victory, while saying that the decisive point of that victory is in the hand of a woman!

47. So, then, Deborah foretold the event of the battle. Barak, as he was bidden, led forth the army; Jael carried off the triumph, for the prophecy of Deborah fought for her, who in a mystery revealed to us the rising of the Church from among the Gentiles, for whom should be found a triumph over Sisera, that is, over the powers opposed to her. For us, then, the oracles of the prophets fought, for us those judgments and arms of the prophets won the victory. And for this reason it was not the people of the Jews but Jael who gained the victory over the enemy. Unhappy, then, was that people which could not follow up by the virtue of faith the enemy,

whom it had put to flight. And so by their fault salvation came to the Gentiles, by their sluggishness the victory was reserved for us.

48. Jael then destroyed Sisera, whom however the band of Jewish veterans had put to flight under their brilliant' leader, for this is the interpretation of the name Barak; for often, as we read, the sayings and merits of the prophets procured heavenly aid for the fathers. But even at that time was victory being prepared over spiritual wickedness for those to whom it is said in the Gospel: "Come, ye blessed of My Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." So the commencement of the victory was from the Fathers, its conclusion is in the Church.

49. But the Church does not overcome the powers of the enemy with weapons of this world, but with spiritual arms, "which are mighty through God to the destruction of strongholds and the high places of spiritual wickedness." And Sisera's thirst was quenched with a bowl of milk, because he was overcome by wisdom, for what is healthful for us as food is deadly and weakening to the power of the enemy. The weapons of the Church are faith, the weapons of the Church are prayer, which overcomes the enemy.

50. And so according to this history a woman, that the minds of women might be stirred up, became a judge, a woman set all in order, a woman prophesied, a woman triumphed, and joining in the battle array taught men to war under a woman's lead. But in a mystery it is the battle of faith and the victory of the Church.

51. You, then, who are women have no excuse because of your nature. You who are widows have no excuse because of the weakness of your sex, nor can you attribute your changeableness to the loss of the support of a husband. Every one has sufficient protection if courage is not wanting to the soul. And the very advance of age is a common defense of chastity for widows; and grief for the husband who is lost, regular work, the care of the house, anxiety for children, frequently ward off wantonness hurtful to the soul; while the very mourning attire, the funeral solemnities, the constant weeping, and grief impressed on the sad brow in deep wrinkles, restrains wanton eyes, checks lust, turns away forward looks. The sorrow of

regretful affection is a good guardian of chastity, guilt cannot find an entrance if vigilance be not wanting.

CHAPTER 9

To an objection that the state of widowhood might indeed be endurable if circumstances were pleasant, St. Ambrose replies that pleasant surroundings are more dangerous than even trouble; and goes to show by examples taken from holy Scripture, that widows may find much happiness in their children and their sons-in-law. They should have recourse to the Apostles, who are able to help us, and should entreat for the intercessions of angels and martyrs. He touches then on certain complaints respecting loneliness, and care of property, and ends by pointing out the unseemliness of a widow marrying who has daughters either married already or of marriageable age.

52. YOU have learnt, then, you who are widows, that you are not destitute of the help of nature, and that you can maintain sound counsel. Nor, again, are you devoid of protection at home, who are able to claim even the highest point of public power.

53. But perhaps some one may say that widowhood is more endurable for her who enjoys prosperity, but that widows are soon broken down by adversity, and easily succumb. On which point not only are we taught by experience that enjoyment is more perilous for widows than difficulties, but by the examples in the Scriptures that even in weakness widows are not usually without aid, and that divine and human support is furnished more readily to them than to others, if they have brought up children and chosen sons-in-law well. And, finally, when Simon's mother-in-law was lying sick with violent fever, Peter and Andrew besought the Lord for her: "And He stood over her and commanded the fever and it left her, and immediately she arose and ministered unto them."

54. "She was taken," it is said, "with a great fever, and they besought him for her." You too have those near you to entreat for you. You have the Apostles near, you have the Martyrs near; if associated with the Martyrs in devotion, you draw near them also by works of mercy. Do you show

mercy and you will be close to Peter. It is not relationship by blood but affinity of virtue which makes near, for we walk not in the flesh but in the Spirit. Cherish, then, the nearness of Peter and the affinity of Andrew, that they may pray for you and your lusts give way. Touched by the word of God you, who lay on the earth, will then forthwith rise up to minister to Christ. “For our conversation is in heaven, whence also we look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.” For no one lying down can minister to Christ Minister to the poor and you have ministered to Christ. “For what ye have done unto one of these,” He says, “ye have done unto Me.” You, widows, have then assistance, if you choose such sons-in-law for yourselves, such patrons and friends for your posterity.

55. So Peter and Andrew prayed for the widow. Would that there were some one who could so quickly pray for us, or better still, they who prayed for the mother-in-law, Peter and Andrew his brother. Then they could pray for one related to them, now they are able to pray for us and for all. For you see that one bound by great sin is less fit to pray for herself, certainly less likely to obtain for herself. Let her then make use of others to pray for her to the physician. For the sick, unless the physician be called to them by the prayers of others, cannot pray for themselves. The flesh is weak, the soul is sick and hindered by the chains of sins, and cannot direct its feeble steps to the throne of that physician. The angels must be entreated for us, who have been to us as guards; the martyrs must be entreated, whose patronage we seem to claim for ourselves by the pledge as it were of their bodily remains. They can entreat for our sins, who, if they had any sins, washed them in their own blood; for they are the martyrs of God, our leaders, the beholders of our life and of our actions. Let us not be ashamed to take them as intercessors for our weakness, for they themselves knew the weaknesses of the body, even when they overcame.

56. So, then, Peter’s mother-in-law found some to pray for her. And you, O widow, find those who will pray for you, if as a true widow and desolate you hope in God, continue instant in supplications, persist in prayers, treat your body as dying daily, that by dying you may live again; avoid pleasures, that you, too, being sick, may be healed. “For she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.”

57. You have no longer any reason for marrying, you have some to intercede for you. Say not, “I am desolate.” This is the complaint of one who wishes to marry. Say not, “I am alone.” Chastity seeks solitude: the modest seek privacy, the immodest company. But you have necessary business; you have also one to plead for you. You are afraid of your adversary; the Lord Himself will intervene with the judge and say: “Judge for the fatherless, and justify the widow.”

58. But you wish to take care of your inheritance. The inheritance of modesty is greater, and this a widow can guard better than one married. A slave has done wrong. Forgive him, for it is better that you should bear with another’s fault than expose it. But you wish to marry. Be it so. The simple desire is no crime. I do not ask the reason, why is one invented? If you think it good, say so; if unsuitable, be silent. Do not blame God, do not blame your relatives, saying that protection fails you. Would that the wish did not fail! And say not that you are consulting the interests of your children, whom you are depriving of their mother.

59. There are some things permissible in the abstract, but not permissible on account of age. Why is the bridal of the mother being prepared at the same time with that of the daughters, and often even afterwards? Why does the grown-up daughter learn to blush in the presence of her mother’s betrothed rather than her own? I confess that I advised you to change your dress, but not to put on a bridal veil; to go away from the tomb, not to prepare a bridal couch. What is the meaning of a newly-married woman who already has sons-in-law? How unseemly it is to have children younger than one’s grand-children!

CHAPTER 10

St. Ambrose returns again to the subject of Christ, speaking of His goodness in all misery. The various ways in which the good Physician treats our diseases, and the quickness of the healing if only we do not neglect to call upon Him. He touches upon the moral meaning of the will, which he shows was manifested in Peter’s mother-in-law, and lastly points out what a minister of Christ and

specially a bishop ought to be, and says that they specially must rise through grace.

60. BUT let us return to the point, and not, while we are grieving over the wounds of our sins, leave the physician, and whilst ministering to the sores of others, let our own go on increasing. The Physician is then here asked for. Do not fear, because the Lord is great, that perhaps He will not condescend to come to one who is sick, for He often comes to us from heaven; and is wont to visit not only the rich but also the poor and the servants of the poor. And so now He comes, when called upon, to Peter's mother-in-law. "And He stood over her and rebuked the fever, and it left her, and immediately she arose and ministered unto them." As He is worthy of being remembered, so, too, is He worthy of being longed for, worthy, too, of love, for His condescension to every single matter which affects men, and His marvelous acts. He disdains not to visit widows, and to enter the narrow rooms of a poor cottage. As God He commands, as man He visits.

61. Thanks be to the Gospel, by means of which we also, who saw not Christ when He came into this world, seem to be with Him when we read His deeds, that as they, to whom He drew near, borrowed faith from Him, so may He, when we believe His deeds, draw near to us.

61. Do you see what kinds of healing are with Him? He commands the fever, He commands the unclean spirits, at another place He lays hands on them. He was wont then to heal the sick, not only by word but also by touch. And do you then, who burn with many desires, taken either by the beauty or by the fortune of some one, implore Christ, call in the Physician, stretch forth your right hand to Him, let the hand of God touch your inmost being, and the grace of the heavenly Word enter the veins of your inward desires, let God's right hand strike the secrets of your heart. He spreads clay on the eyes of some that they may see, and the Creator of all teaches us that we ought to be mindful of our own nature, and to discern the vileness of our body; for no one can see divine things except one who through knowledge of his vileness cannot be puffed up. Another is bidden to show himself to the priest, that he may for ever be free from the scales of leprosy. For he alone can preserve his purity, both of body and soul, who knows how to show himself to that priest, Whom we have received

as an Advocate for our sins, and to Whom is plainly said: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.”

63. And be not afraid that there will be any delay in healing. He who is healed by Christ has no hindrances. You must use the remedy which you have received; and as soon as He has given the command, the blind man sees, the paralytic walks, the dumb speaks, the deaf hears, she that has a fever ministers, the lunatic is delivered. And do you, then, who ever after an unseemly fashion languish for desire of anything, entreat the Lord, show Him your faith, and fear no delay. Where there is prayer, the Word is present, desire is put to flight, lust departs. And be not afraid of offending by confession, take it rather as a right, for you who were before afflicted by an intense disease of the body will begin to minister to Christ.

64. And in this place can be seen the disposition of the will of Peter’s mother-in-law, from which she received for herself, as it were, the seed corn of what was to come, for to each his will is the cause of that which is to come. For from the will springs wisdom, which the wise man takes in marriage to himself, saying: “I desire to make her my spouse.” This will, then, which at first was weak and languid under the fever of various desires, afterwards by the office of the apostles rose up strong to minister unto Christ.

65. At the same time it is also shown what he ought to be who ministers to Christ, for first he must be free from the enticements of various pleasures, he must be free from inward languor of body and soul, that he may minister the Body and Blood of Christ. For no one who is sick with his own sins, and far from being whole, can minister the remedies of the healing of immortality. See what thou doest, O priest, and touch not the Body of Christ with a fevered hand. First be healed that thou mayest be able to minister. If Christ bids those who are now cleansed, but were once leprous, to show themselves to the priests, how much more is it fitting for the priest himself to be pure. That widow, then, cannot take it ill that I have not spared her, since I spare not myself.

66. Peter’s mother-in-law, it is written, rose up and ministered to them. Well is it said, rose up, for the grace of the apostleship was already furnishing a type of the sacrament. It is proper to the ministers of Christ

to rise, according to that which is written: “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead.

CHAPTER 11

Having shown that the pretexts usually alleged for second marriages have no weight, St. Ambrose declares that he does not condemn them, though from the Apostle’s words he sets forth their inconveniences, though the state of those twice married is approved in the Church, and he takes occasion to advert to those heretics who forbid them. And he says that it is because the strength of different persons varies that chastity is not commanded, but only recommended.

67. I say, then, that widows who have been in the habit of giving neither are in want of their necessary expenses, nor of help, who in very great dangers have often guarded the resources of their husbands; and further, I think that the good offices of a husband are usually made up for to them by sons-in-law and other relatives, and that God’s mercy is more ready to help them, and therefore, when there is no special cause for marrying, the desire of so doing should not exist.

68. This, however, I say as a counsel, we do not order it as a precept, stirring up the wills of widows rather than binding them. for I do not forbid second marriages, only I do not advise them. The consideration of human weakness is one thing, the grace of chastity is another. I say more, I do not forbid second, but do not approve of often repeated marriages, for not everything is expedient which is lawful: “All things are lawful to me,” says the Apostle, “but all things are not expedient.” As, also, to drink wine is lawful, but, for the most part. it is not expedient.

69. It is then lawful to marry, but it is more seemly to abstain, for there are bonds in marriage. Do you ask what bonds? “The woman who is under a husband is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead she is loosed from the law of her husband.” It is then proved that marriage is a bond by which the woman is bound and from which she is loosed. Beautiful is the grace of mutual love, but the bondage is more constant. “The wife hath not power of her own body, but the

husband.” And lest this bondage should seem to be rather one of sex than of marriage, there follows: “Likewise, also, the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.” How great; then, is the constraint in marriage, which subjects even the stronger to the other; for by mutual constraint each is bound to serve. Nor if one wishes to refrain can he withdraw his neck from the yoke, for he is subject to the incontinence of the other. It is said: “Ye are bought with a price, be not ye servants of men.” You see how plainly the servitude of marriage is defined. It is not I who say this, but the Apostle; or, rather. it is not he, but Christ, Who spoke in him. And he spoke of this servitude in the case of good married people. For above you read: “The unbelieving husband is sanctified by his believing wife; and the unbelieving wife by her believing husband. And further on: “But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not bound in such cases.” If, then, a good marriage is servitude, what is a bad one, when they cannot sanctify, but destroy one another?

70. But as I exhort widows to keep the grace of their gift, so, too, I incite women to observe ecclesiastical discipline, for the Church is made up of all. Though it be the flock of Christ, yet some are fed on strong food, others are still nourished with milk, who must be on their guard against those wolves who are hidden in sheep’s clothing, pretending to all appearance of continence, but inciting to the foulness of incontinence. For they know how severe are the burdens of chastity, since they cannot touch them with the tips of their fingers; they require of others that which is above measure, when they themselves cannot even observe any measure, but rather give way under the cruel weight. For the measure of the burden must always be according to the strength of him who has to bear it; otherwise, where the bearer is weak, he breaks down with the burden laid upon him; for too strong meat chokes the throats of infants.

71. And so as ill a multitude of bearers their strength is not estimated by that of a few; nor do the stronger receive their tasks in accordance with the weakness of others, but each is allowed to bear as great a burden as he desires, the reward increasing with the increase of strength; so, too, a snare is not to be set for women, nor a burden of continence beyond their strength to be taken up, but it must be left to each to weigh the matter for herself, not compelled by the authority of any command, but incited by increase of grace. And so for different degrees of virtue a different reward

is set forth, and one thing is not blamed that another may be praised; but all are spoken of, in order that what is best may be preferred.

CHAPTER 12

The difference between matters of precept and of counsel is treated of; as shown in the case of the young man in the Gospel, and the difference of the rewards set forth both for counsels and precepts is spoken of.

72. MARRIAGE, then, is honorable, but chastity is more honorable, for "he that giveth his virgin ill marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better. That, then, which is good need not be avoided, but that which is better should be chosen. And so it is not laid upon any, but set before him. And, therefore, the Apostle said well: "Concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my counsel." For a command is issued to those subject, counsel is given to friends. Where there is a commandment, there is a law; where counsel, there is grace. A commandment is given to enforce what is according to nature, a counsel to incite us to follow grace. And, therefore, the Law was given to the Jews, but grace was reserved for the elect. The Law was given that, through fear of punishment, it might recall those who were wandering beyond the limits of nature, to their observance, but grace to incite the elect both by the desire of good things, and also by the promised rewards.

73. You will see the difference between precept and counsel, if you remember the case of him in the Gospel, to whom it is first commanded to do no murder, not to commit adultery, not to bear false witness; for that is a commandment which has a penalty for its transgression. But when he said that he had fulfilled all the commandments of the Law, there is given to him a counsel that he should sell all that he had and follow the Lord, for these things are not imposed as commands, but are offered as counsels. For there are two ways of commanding things, one by way of precept, the other by way of counsel. And so the Lord in one way says: "Thou shalt not kill," where He gives a commandment; in the other He says: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast." He is, then, not bound by a commandment to whom the choice is left.

74. And so they who have fulfilled the commandments are able to say: "We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do." The virgin does not say this, nor he who sold all his goods, but they rather await the stored-up rewards like the holy Apostle who says: "Behold we have forsaken all and followed Thee, what shall we have therefore?" He says not, like the unprofitable servant, that he has done that which was his duty to do, but as being profitable to his Master, because he has multiplied the talents entrusted to him by the increase he has gained, having a good conscience, and without anxiety as to his merits he expects the reward of his faith and virtue. And so it is said to him and the others: "Ye which have followed Me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, shall also yourselves sit upon twelve thrones, judging the tribes of Israel." And to those who had faithfully preserved their talents He promises rewards indeed, though smaller saying: "Because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things. Good faith. then, is due, but mercy is in the rewards. He who has kept good faith has deserved that good faith should be kept with him; he who has made good profit, because he has not sought his own benefit, has gained a claim to a heavenly reward.

CHAPTER 13

St. Ambrose, treating of the words in the Gospel concerning eunuchs, condemns those who make themselves such. Those only deserve praise who have through continence gained the victory over themselves, but no one is to be compelled to live this life, as neither Christ nor the Apostle laid down such a law, so that the marriage vow is not to be blamed, though that of chastity is better.

75. So, then, a commandment to this effect is not given, but a counsel is. Chastity is commanded entire continence counseled. "But all men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mothers womb," in whom exists a natural necessity not the virtue of chastity. "And there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs," of their own will, that is, not of necessity. "And there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men...." And, therefore, great is the grace of continence in them, because it is the will, not

incapacity, which makes a man continent. For it is seemly to preserve the gift of divine working whole. And let them not think it too little not to be impeded by the inclination of the body, for if the reward for going through that conflict is taken from their reach, the matter of sin is also removed, and though they cannot receive the crown, no more can they be overcome. They have other kinds of virtues by which they ought to commend themselves if their faith be firm, their mercifulness abundant, avarice far from them, grace abundant. But in them there is no fault, for they are ignorant of the act of sin.

76. The case is not the same of those who mutilate themselves, and I touch upon this point advisedly, for there are some who look ripen it as a holy deed to check by the evil violence of this sort. And though I am not willing to express my own opinion concerning them, though decisions of our forefathers are in existence; but then consider whether this tends not rather to a declaration of weakness than to a reputation for strength. On this principle no one should fight lest he be overcome, nor make use of his feet, fearing the danger of stumbling, nor let his eyes do their office because he fears a fall through lust. But what does it profit to cut the flesh, when there may be guilt even in a look? “For whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already with her in his heart.” And likewise she who looks on a man to lust after him commits adultery. It becomes us, then, to be chaste, not weak, to have our eyes modest, not feeble.

77. No one, then, ought, as many suppose, to mutilate himself, but rather gain the victory; for the Church gathers in those who conquer, not those who are defeated. And why should I use arguments when the words of the Apostle’s command are at hand? For you find it thus written: “I would that they were mutilated who desire that you should be circumcised.” ∑ For why should the means of gaining a crown and of the practice of virtue be lost to a man who is born to honor, equipped for victory? how can he through courage of soul mutilate himself? “There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake.”

78. This, however, is not a commandment given to all, but a wish set before all. For he who commands must always keep to the exact scope of the commandments, and he who distributes tasks must observe equity in

looking into them, for: “A false balance is abomination to the Lord.” There is, then, an excess and a defect in weight, but the Church accepts neither, for: “Excessive and defective weights and divers measures, both of them are alike abominable in the sight of the Lord.” There are tasks which wisdom apportions, and apportions according to the estimate of the virtue and strength of each. “He that is able to receive it let him receive it.”

79. For the Creator of all knows that the dispositions of each are different, and therefore incited virtue by rewards, instead of binding weakness by chains. And he, the teacher of the Gentiles, the good guide of our conduct, and instructor of our inmost affections, who had learnt in himself that the law of the flesh resists the law of the mind, but yields to the grace of Christ, he knows, I say, that various movements of the mind are opposed to each other; and, therefore, so expresses his exhortations to chastity, as not to do away with the grace of marriage, nor has he so exalted marriage as to check the desire of chastity. But beginning with the recommendation of chastity, he goes on to remedies against incontinence, and having set before the stronger the prize of their high calling, he suffers no one to faint by the way; approving those who take the lead so as not to make little of those who follow. For he, himself, had learnt that the Lord Jesus gave to some barley bread lest they should faint by the way, and administered His Body to others, that they might strive for the kingdom.

80. For the Lord Himself did not impose this commandment, but invited the will, and the Apostle did not lay down a rule, but gave a counsel. But this not a man’s counsel as to things within the compass of man’s strength, for he acknowledges that the gift of divine mercy was bestowed upon him, that he might know how faithfully to set first the former, and to arrange the latter. And, therefore, he says: “I think,” not, I order, but, “I think that this is good because of the present distress.”

81. The marriage bond is not then to be shunned as though it were sinful, but rather declined as being a galling burden. For the law binds the wife to bear children in labor and in sorrow, and is in subjection to her husband, for that he is Lord over her. So, then, the married woman, but not the widow, is subject to labor and pain in bringing forth children, and she only that is married, not she that is a virgin, is under the power of her husband. The virgin is free from all these things, who has vowed her affection to the

Word of God, who awaits the Spouse of blessing with her lamp burning with the light of a good will. And so she is moved. by counsels, not bound by chains.

CHAPTER 14

Though a widow may have received no commandment, yet she has received so many counsels that she ought not to think little of them. St. Ambrose would be sorry to lay any snare for her, seeing that the field of the Church grows richer as a result of wedlock, but it is absolutely impossible to deny that widow-hood, which St. Paul praises, is profitable. Consequently, he speaks severely about those who have proscribed widowhood by law.

82. But neither has the widow received any command, but a counsel; a counsel, however, not given once only but often repeated. For, first, it is said: “It is good for a man not to touch a woman.” And again: “I would that all men were even as I myself;” axed once more: “It is good for them if they remain even as I;” and a fourth time: “It is good for the present distress.” And that it is well pleasing to the Lord, and honorable, and, lastly, that perseverance in widowhood is happier, he lays down not only as his own judgment, but also as an aspiration of the Holy Spirit. Who, then, can reject the kindness of such a counselor? Who gives the reins to the will, and advises in the case of others that which he has found advantageous by his own experience, he who is not easy to catch up, and is not hurt at being equaled. Who, then, would shrink from becoming holy in body and spirit, since the reward is far above the toil, grace beyond need, and the wages above the work?

83. And this, I say, not in order to lay a snare for others, but that as a good husbandman of the land entrusted to me, I may see this field of the Church to be fruitful, at one time blossoming with the flowers of purity, at another time strong in the gravity of widow-hood, and yet again abounding with the fruits of wedlock. For though they be diverse, yet they are the fruits of one field; there are not so many lilies in the gardens as ears of corn in the fields, and many more fields are prepared for receiving seed than lie fallow after the crops are gathered in.

84. Widowhood is, then, good, which is so often praised by the judgment of the apostles, for it is a teacher of the faith and a teacher of chastity. Whereas they who honor the adulteries and the shame of their gods appointed penalties for celibacy and widowhood; that zealous in pursuit of crimes they might punish the study of virtues; under the pretext, indeed, of seeking increase of the population, but in reality that they might put an end to the purpose of chastity. For the soldier, when his time is ended, lays aside his arms, and leaving the rank which he held, is dismissed as a veteran to his own land, that he may obtain rest after the toils of a laborious life, and cause others to be more ready to undergo labor in the hope of future repose. The laborer, too, as he grows too old, entrusts the guiding of the plough to others, and worn out by the toil of his youth, enjoys in his old age that which his foresight has cared for, still ready to prune the vine rather than to press the grapes, so as to check the luxuriance of early life, and to cut off with his pruning knife the wantonness of youth, teaching, as it were, that blessed fruitfulness is to be aimed at even in the vine.

85. In like manner the widow, as a veteran, having served her time, though she lays aside the arms of married life, yet orders the peace of the whole house: though now freed from carrying burdens, she is yet watchful for the younger who are to be married; and with the thoughtfulness of old age she arranges where more pains would be profitable, where produce would be more abundant, which is fitted for the marriage bond. And so, if the field is entrusted to the elder rather than to the younger, why should you think that it is more advantageous to be a married woman than a widow? But, if the persecutors of the faith have also been the persecutors of widowhood, most certainly by those who hold the faith, widowhood is not to be shunned as a penalty, but to be esteemed as a reward.

CHAPTER 15

St. Ambrose meets the objection of those who make the desire of having children an excuse for second marriage, and especially in the case of those who have children of their former marriage; and points out the consequent troubles of disagreements amongst the

children, and even between the married persons, and gives a warning against a wrong use of Scripture instances in this matter.

86. PERHAPS, however, it may seem good to some that marriage should again be entered upon for the sake of having children. But if the desire of children be a reason for marrying, certainly where there are children, the reason does not exist. And is it wise to wish to have a second trial of that fruitfulness which has already been tried in vain, or to submit to the solitude which you have already borne? This is the case of those who have no children.

87. Then, too, she who has borne children, and has lost them (for she who has a hope of bearing children will have an intenser longing), does not she, I say, seem to herself to be covering over the deaths of her lost children by the celebration of a second marriage? Will she not again suffer what she is again seeking? and does she not shrink at the graves of her hopes, the memories of the bereavements she has suffered, the voices of the mourners? Or, when the torches are lit and night is coming on, does she not think rather that funeral rites are being prepared than a bridal chamber? Why, then, my daughter, do you seek again those sorrows which you dread, more than you look for children whom you no longer hope for? If sorrow is so grievous, one should rather avoid than seek that which causes it.

88. And what advice shall I give to you who have children? What reason have you for marrying? Perhaps foolish light-mindedness, or the habit of incontinence, or the consciousness of a wounded spirit is urging you on. But counsel is given to the sober, not to the drunken, and so my words are addressed to the free conscience which is whole in each respect. She that is wounded has a remedy, she that is upright a counsel. What do you intend to do then, my daughter? Why do you seek for heirs from without when you have your own? You are not desiring of children, for you have them, but servitude from which you are free. For this true servitude, in which love is exhausted, which no longer the charm of virginity, and early youth, full of holy modesty and grace, excites; when offenses are more felt, and rudeness is more suspected, and agreement less common, which is not bound fast by love deeply rooted by time, or by beauty in its prime of youth. Duty to a husband is burdensome, so that you are afraid to love

your children and blush to look at them; and a cause of disagreement arises from that which ordinarily causes mutual love to increase the tender affections of parents. You wish to give birth to offspring who will be not the brothers but the adversaries of your children. For what is to bring forth other children other than to rob the children which you have, who are deprived alike of the offices of affection and of the profit of their possessions.

89. The divine law has bound together husband and wife by its authority, and yet mutual love remains a difficult matter. For God took a rib from the man, and formed the woman so as to join them one to the other, and said: "They shall be one flesh." He said this not of a second marriage but of the first, for neither did Eve take a second husband, nor does holy Church recognize a second bridegroom. "For that is a great mystery in Christ and in the Church. Neither, again, did Isaac know another wife besides Rebecca, nor bury his father, Abraham, with any wife but Sarah."

90. But in holy Rachel there was rather the figure of a mystery than a true order of marriage. Notwithstanding, in her, also, we have something which we can refer to the grace of the first marriage, since he loved her best whom he had first betrothed, and deceit did not shut out his intention, nor the intervening marriage destroy his love for his betrothed. And so the holy patriarch has taught us, how highly we ought to esteem a first marriage, since he himself esteemed his first betrothal so highly. Take care, then, my daughter, lest you be both unable to hold fast the grace of marriage, and also increase your own troubles.

THE LETTERS OF ST. AMBROSE

Of the 91 Epistles considered genuine by the Benedictine Editors, sixty-three are referred by them to fairly certain dates, and a large number of these would well be worth translation, throwing as they do so clear a light on the events of St. Ambrose's life, and in many cases on the history of the period. Only a few are here presented to the reader.

Perhaps some others might have been better selected, but if they were to be so few, it seemed as if these would give the best general impression of the indomitable energy and fearless constancy of the great Bishop.

SELECTIONS FROM THE

LETTERS OF ST. AMBROSE

MEMORIAL OF SYMMACHUS,

THE PREFECT OF THE CITY

Symmachus in the name of the heathen members of the Senate asks that the Altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian, should be restored in the Senate House, and that oaths should be taken there as of old. He argues that the example of former Emperors should be followed as to the things which they retained, not which their abolished. Rome expects this of them, and no injury can accrue to the treasury in consequence, whereas it is unjust to confiscate legacies to the Vestal Virgins and ancient rites.

THERE was a determined move on the part of Symmachus, Prefect of the city, and other heathen to regain the observances of their religion. He was perhaps the leading man of the day at Rome, equally renowned as a statesman, a scholar, and an orator. In A.D. 382 he headed a deputation of

the Senate to the Emperor Gratian to request the replacement of the Altar of Victory in the Senate House, and the restoration of their endowments to the Vestal Virgins and the colleges of priests. There was a counter-petition on the part of the Christian senators forwarded through Pope Damasus, and Gratian refused to receive the deputation. In 384 the attempt was repeated, and these letters or memorials have to do with this application to Valentinian II., the brother of Gratian, who was now Emperor of the West; this attempt was also foiled.

It would seem that he took part in missions for the same purpose to Theodosius after the defeat of Maximus, and to Valentinian II. in A.D. 392, and again unsuccessfully. In the next year, Eugenius, who had been made Emperor by Flavian and Arbogastes, restored the Altar of Victory, which however was finally removed by Theodosius after the defeat of Eugenius and Arbogastes. Probably Symmachus made a final attempt in 403 or 404, but fruitlessly. [See Dict. Christ. Biog. s.v. Symmachus.]

The statue and Altar of Victory in question had been first removed by Constantius, son of Constantine, when at Rome, A.D. 356, but were restored by Julian with other heathen symbols and rites. Valentinian I. tolerated them, but possibly(at any rate for some time), as St. Ambrose says, did so in ignorance [Ep. XVII. 16]. They were once more removed by Gratian, and then the action of Symmachus comes in. It may be mentioned that though a heathen he was on intimate terms with Damasus, St. Ambrose, and many leading Christians.

The three Epistles or rather “Memorials” which follow refer to this part of the death-struggle of paganism.

EPISTLE 17

This Epistle was written when Symmachus sent his memorial to Valentinian II. St. Ambrose presses on the Emperor the consideration that it is his business to defend religion, and not superstition. The memorial was sent without the adhesion of the Christian senators, and therefore did not represent that body. He warns Valentinian that if he accedes to the request he will incur the

censures of the Church, besides acting in a manner derogatory to the memory of his father and brother.

Ambrose, Bishop, to the most blessed Prince and most Christian Emperor Valentinian.

1. As all men who live under the Roman sway engage in military service under you, the Emperors and Princes of the world, so too do you yourselves owe service to Almighty God and our holy faith. For salvation is not sure unless everyone worship in truth the true God, that is the God of the Christians, under Whose sway are all things; for He alone is the true God, Who is to be worshipped from the bottom of the heart; for "the gods of the heathen," as Scripture says, "are devils,"

2. Now everyone is a soldier of this true God, and he who receives and worships Him in his inmost spirit, does not bring to His service dissimulation, or pretense, but earnest faith and devotion. And if, in fine, he does not attain to this, at least he ought not to give any countenance to the worship of idols and to profane ceremonies. For no one deceives God, to whom all things, even the hidden things of the heart, are manifest.

3. Since, then, most Christian Emperor, there is due from you to the true God both faith and zeal, care and devotion for the faith, I wonder how the hope has risen up to some, that you would feel it a duty to restore by your command altars to the gods of the heathen, and furnish the funds requisite for profane sacrifices; for whatsoever has long been claimed by either the imperial or the city treasury you will seem to give rather from your own funds, than to be restoring what is theirs.

4. And they are complaining of their losses, who never spared our blood, who destroyed the very buildings of the churches. And they petition you to grant them privileges, who by the last Julian law denied us the common right of speaking and teaching, and those privileges whereby Christians also have often been deceived; for by those privileges they endeavored to ensnare some, partly through inadvertence, partly in order to escape the burden of public requirements; and, because all are not found to be brave, even under Christian princes, many have lapsed.

5. Had these things not been abolished I could prove that they ought to be done away by your authority; but since they have been forbidden and

prohibited by many princes throughout nearly the whole world, and were abolished at Rome by Gratian of august memory, the brother of your Clemency, in consideration of the true faith, and rendered void by a rescript; do not, I pray you, either pluck up what has been established in accordance with the faith, nor rescind your brother's precepts. In civil matters if he established anything, no one thinks that it ought to be treated lightly, while a precept about religion is trodden under foot.

6. Let no one take advantage of your youth; if he be a heathen who demands this, it is not right that he should bind your mind with the bonds of his own superstition; but by his zeal he ought to teach and admonish you how to be zealous for the true faith, since he defends vain things with all the passion of truth. I myself advise you to defer to the merits of illustrious men, but undoubtedly God must be preferred to all.

7. If we have to consult concerning military affairs, the opinion of a man experienced in warfare should be waited for, and his counsel be followed; when the question concerns religion, think upon God. No one is injured because God is set before him. He keeps his own opinion. You do not compel a man against his will to worship what he dislikes. Let the same liberty be given to you, O Emperor, and let every one bear it with patience, if he cannot extort from the Emperor what he would take it ill if the Emperor desired to extort from him. A shuffling spirit is displeasing to the heathen themselves, for everyone ought freely to defend and maintain the faith and purpose of his own mind.

8. But if any, Christians in name, think that any such decree should be made, let not bare words mislead your mind, let not empty words deceive you. Whoever advises this, and whoever decrees it, sacrifices. But that one should sacrifice is more tolerable than that all should fall. Here the whole Senate of Christians is in danger.

9. If to-day any heathen Emperor should build an altar, which God forbid, to idols, and should compel Christians to come together thither, in order to be amongst those who were sacrificing, so that the smoke and ashes from the altar, the sparks from the sacrilege, the smoke from the burning might choke the breath and throats of the faithful; and should give judgment in that court where members were compelled to vote after swearing at the altar of an idol(for they explain that an altar is so placed for this purpose,

that every assembly should deliberate under its sanction, as they suppose, though the Senate is now made up with a majority of Christians), a Christian who was compelled with a choice such as this to come to the Senate, would consider it to be persecution, which often happens, for they are compelled to come together even by violence. Are these Christians, when you are Emperor, compelled to swear at a heathen altar? What is an oath, but a confession of the divine power of Him Whom you invoke as watcher over your good faith? When you are Emperor, this is sought and demanded. that you should command an altar to be built, and the cost of profane sacrifices to be granted.

10. But this cannot be decreed without sacrilege, wherefore I implore you not to decree or order it, nor to subscribe to any decrees of that sort. I, as a priest of Christ, call upon your faith, all of us bishops would have joined in calling upon you, were not the report so sudden and incredible, that any such thing had been either suggested in your council, or petitioned for by the Senate. But far be it from the Senate to have petitioned this, a few heathen are making use of the common name. For, nearly two years ago, when the same attempt was being made, holy Damasus, Bishop of the Roman Church, elected by the judgment of God, sent to me a memorial, which the Christian senators in great numbers put forth, protesting that they had given no such authority, that they did not agree with such requests of the heathen, nor give consent to them, and they declared publicly and privately that they would not come to the Senate, if any such thing were decreed. Is it agreeable to the dignity of your, that is Christian, times, that Christian senators should be deprived of their dignity, in order that effect should be given to the profane will of the heathen? This memorial I sent to your Clemency’s brother, and from it it was plain that the Senate had made no order about the expenses of superstition.

11. But perhaps it may be said, why were they not before present in the Senate when those petitions were made? By not being present they sufficiently say what they wish, they said enough in what they said to the Emperor. And do we wonder if those persons deprive private persons at Rome of the liberty of resisting, who are unwilling that you should be free not to command what you do not approve, or to maintain your own opinion?

12. And so, remembering the legation lately entrusted to me, I call again upon your faith. I call upon your own feelings not to determine to answer according to this petition of the heathen, nor to attach to an answer of such a sort the sacrilege of your subscription. Refer to the father of your Piety, the Emperor Theodosius, whom you have been wont to consult in almost all matters of greater importance. Nothing is greater than religion, nothing more exalted than faith.

13. If it were a civil cause the right of reply would be reserved for the opposing party; it is a religious cause, and I the bishop make a claim. Let a copy of the memorial which has been sent be given me, that I may answer more fully, and then let your Clemency's father be consulted on the whole subject, and vouchsafe an answer. Certainly if anything else is decreed, we bishops cannot contentedly suffer it and take no notice; you indeed may come to the church, but will find either no priest there, or one who will resist you.

14. What will you answer a priest who says to you, "The church does not seek your gifts, because you have adorned the heathen temples with gifts. The Altar of Christ rejects your gifts, because you have made an altar for idols, for the voice is yours, the hand is yours, the subscription is yours, the deed is yours. The Lord Jesus refuses and rejects your service, because you have served idols, for He said to you: 'Ye cannot serve two masters.' The Virgins consecrated to God have no privileges from you, and do the Vestal Virgins claim them? Why do you ask for the priests of God, to whom you have preferred the profane petitions of the heathen? We cannot take up a share of the errors of others."

15. What will you answer to these words? That you who have fallen are but a boy? Every age is perfect in Christ, every age is full of God. No childhood is allowed in faith, for even children have confessed Christ against their persecutors with fearless mouth.

16. What will you answer your brother? Will he not say to you, "I did not feel that I was overcome, because I left you as Emperor; I did not grieve at dying, because I had you as my heir; I did not mourn at leaving my imperial command, because I believed that my commands, especially those concerning divine religion, would endure through all ages. I had set up these memorials of piety and virtue, I offered up these spoils gained from the

world, these trophies of victory over the devil, these I offered up as gained from the enemy of all, and in them is eternal victory. What more could my enemy take away from me? You have abrogated my decrees, which so far he who took up arms against me did not do. Now do I receive a more terrible wound in that my decrees are condemned by my brother. My better part is endangered by you, that was but the death of my body, this of my reputation. Now is my power annulled, and what is harder, annulled by my own family, and that is annulled, which even my enemies spoke well of in me. If you consented of your own free will, you have condemned the faith which was mine; if you yielded unwillingly, you have betrayed your own. So, too, which is more serious, I am in danger in your person.

16. What will you answer your father also? who with greater grief will address you, saying, "You judged very ill of me, my son, when you supposed that I could have connived at the heathen. No one ever told me that there was an altar in the Roman Senate House, I never believed such wickedness as that the heathen sacrificed in the common assembly of Christians and heathen, that is to say that the Gentiles should insult the Christians who were present, and that Christians should be compelled against their will to be present at the sacrifices. Many and various crimes were committed whilst I was Emperor. I punished such as were detected; if any one then escaped notice, ought one to say that I approved of that of which no one informed me? You have judged very ill of me, if a foreign superstition and not my own faith preserved the empire."

17. Wherefore, O Emperor, since you see that if you decree anything of that kind, injury will be done, first to God, and then to your father and brother, I implore you to do that which you know will be profitable to your salvation before God.

THE MEMORIAL OF SYMMACHUS,

PREFECT OF THE CITY

Symmachus addresses his memorial in the name of the Senate, nominally to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius, and

Arcadius, though really to the first of these alone, who was sole Emperor of the West. The memorial sets forth a request that the old religion should be restored, and the Altar of Victory again erected in the Senate House, that the ancient customs might be observed. The example of the late emperors should be followed in what they maintained, not in what they did away. The treasury Would suffer no loss, whilst it is unjust that the Vestal Virgins and priests should be deprived of ancient legacies, a sacrilege which the gods punished by a famine. The memorial is drawn up with consummate skill, both in what is brought forward and in what is left unsaid.

1. AS soon as the most honorable Senate, always devoted to you, knew that crimes were made amenable to law, and that the reputation of late times was being purified by pious princes, it, following the example of a more favorable time, gave utterance to its long suppressed grief, and bade me be once again the delegate to utter its complaints. But through wicked men audience as refused me by the divineEmperor, otherwise justice would not have been wanting, my lords and emperors, of great renown, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, victorious and triumphant, ever august.

2. In the exercise, therefore, of a twofold office, as your Prefect I attend to public business, and as delegate I recommend to your notice the charge laid on me by the citizens. Here is no disagreement of wills, for men have now ceased to believe that they excel in courtly zeal, if they disagree. To be loved, to be reverenced, to be esteemed is more than imperial sway. Who could endure that private disagreement should injure the state? Rightly does the Senate censure those who have preferred their own power to the reputation of the prince.

3. But it is our task to watch on behalf of your Graces. For to what is it more suitable that we defend the institutions of our ancestors, and the rights and destiny of our country, than to the glory of these times, which is all the greater when you understand that you may not do anything contrary to the custom of your ancestors? We demand then the restoration of that condition of religious affairs which was so long advantageous to the state. Let the rulers of each sect and of each opinion be counted up; a late one practiced the ceremonies of his ancestors, a later did not put them

away. If the religion of old times does not make a precedent, let the connivance of the last do so.

4. Who is so friendly with the barbarians as not to require an Altar of Victory? We will be careful henceforth, and avoid a show of such things. But at least let that honor be paid to the name which is refused to the goddess — your fame, which will last for ever, owes much and will owe still more to victory. Let those be averse to this power, whom it has never benefited. Do you refuse to desert a patronage which is friendly to your triumphs? That power is wished for by all, let no one deny that what he acknowledges is to be desired should also be venerated.

5. But even if the avoidance of such an omen were not sufficient, it would at least have been seemly to abstain from injuring the ornaments of the Senate House. Allow us, we beseech you, as old men to leave to posterity what we received as boys. The love of custom is great. Justly did the act of the divine Constantius last but for a short time. All precedents ought to be avoided by you, which you know were soon abolished. We are anxious for the permanence of your glory and your name, that the time to come may find nothing which needs correction.

6. Where shall we swear to obey your laws and commands? by what religious sanction shall the false mind be terrified, so as not to lie in bearing witness? All things are indeed filled with God, and no place is safe for the perjured, but to be urged in the very presence of religious forms has great power in producing a fear of sinning. That altar preserves the concord of all, that altar appeals to the good faith of each, and nothing gives more authority to our decrees than that the whole of our order issues every decree as it were under the sanction of an oath. So that a place will be opened to perjury, and this will be determined by my illustrious Princes, whose honor is defended by a public oath.

7. But the divine Constantius is said to have done the same. Let us rather imitate the other actions of that Prince, who would have undertaken nothing of the kind, if any one else had committed such an error before him. For the fall of the earlier sets his successor right, and amendment results from the censure of a previous example. It was pardonable for your Grace's ancestor in so novel a matter to fail in guarding against blame. Can

the same excuse avail us if we imitate what we know to have been disapproved?

8. Will your Majesties listen to other actions of this same Prince, which you may more worthily imitate? He diminished none of the privileges of the sacred virgins, he filled the priestly offices with nobles, he did not refuse the cost of the Roman ceremonies, and following the rejoicing Senate through all the streets of the eternal city, he contentedly beheld the shrines with unmoved countenance, he read the names of the gods inscribed on the pediments, he enquired about the origin of the temples, and expressed admiration for their builders. Although he himself followed another religion, he maintained its own for the empire, for everyone has his own customs, everyone his own rites. The divine Mind has distributed different guardians and different cults to different cities. As souls are separately given to infants as they are born, so to peoples the genius of their destiny. Here comes in the proof from advantage, which most of all vouches to man for the gods. For, since our reason is wholly clouded, whence does the knowledge of the gods more rightly come to us, than from the memory and evidence of prosperity? Now if a long period gives authority to religious customs, we ought to keep faith with so many centuries, and to follow our ancestors, as they happily followed theirs.

9. Let us now suppose that Rome is present and addresses you in these words: “Excellent princes, fathers of your country, respect my years to which pious rites have brought me. Let me use the ancestral ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live after my own fashion, for I am free. This worship subdued the world to my laws, these sacred rites repelled Hannibal from the walls, and the Senones from the capitol. Have I been reserved for this, that in my old age I should be blamed? I will consider what it is thought should be set in order, but tardy and discreditable is the reformation of old age.”

10. We ask, then, for peace for the gods of our fathers and of our country. It is just that all worship should be considered as one. We look on the same stars, the sky is common, the same world surrounds us. What difference does it make by what pains each seeks the truth? We cannot attain to so great a secret by one road; but this discussion is rather for persons at ease, we offer now prayers, not conflict.

11. With what advantage to your treasury are the prerogatives of the Vestal Virgins diminished? Is that refused under the most bountiful emperors which the most parsimonious have granted? Their sole honor consists in that, so to call it, wage of chastity. As fillets are the ornament of their heads, so is their distinction drawn from their leisure to attend to the offices of sacrifice. They seek for in a measure the empty name of immunity, since by their poverty they are exempt from payment. And so they who diminish anything of their substance increase their praise, inasmuch as virginity dedicated to the public good increases in merit when it is without reward.

12. Let such gains as these be far from the purity of your treasury. Let the revenue of good princes be increased not by the losses of priests, but by the spoils of enemies. Does any gain compensate for the odium? And because no charge of avarice falls upon your characters, they are the more wretched whose ancient revenues are diminished. For under emperors who abstain from what belongs to others, and resist avarice, that which does not move the desire of him who takes it, is taken solely to injure the loser.

13. The treasury also retains lands bequeathed to virgins and ministers by the will of dying persons. I entreat you, priests of justice, let the lost right of succession be restored to the sacred persons and places of your city. Let men dictate their wills without anxiety, and know that what has been written will be undisturbed under princes who are not avaricious. Let the happiness in this point of all men give pleasure to you, for precedents in this matter have begun to trouble the dying. Does not then the religion of Rome appertain to Roman law? What name shall be given to the taking away of property which no law nor accident has made to fail. Freedmen take legacies, slaves are not denied the just privilege of making wills; only noble virgins and the ministers of sacred rites are excluded from property sought by inheritance. What does it profit the public safety to dedicate the body to chastity, and to support the duration of the empire with heavenly guardianship, to attach the friendly powers to your arms and to your eagles, to take upon oneself vows efficacious for all, and not to have common rights with all? So, then, slavery is a better condition, which is a service rendered to men. We injure the State, whose interest it never is to be ungrateful.

14. And let no one think that I am defending the cause of religion only. for from deeds of this kind have arisen all the misfortunes of the Roman race. The law of our ancestors honored the Vestal Virgins and the ministers of the gods with a moderate maintenance and just privileges. This grant remained unassailed till the time of the degenerate money-changers, who turned the fund for the support of sacred chastity into hire for common porters. A general famine followed upon this, and a poor harvest disappointed the hopes of all the provinces. This was not the fault of the earth, we impute no evil influence to the stars. Mildew did not injure the crops, nor wild oats destroy the corn; the year failed through the sacrilege, for it was necessary that what was refused to religion should be denied to all.

15. Certainly, if there be any instance of this evil, let us impute such a famine to the power of the season. A deadly wind has been the cause of this barrenness, life is sustained by trees and shrubs, and the need of the country folk has betaken itself once more to the oaks of Dodona. What similar evil did the provinces suffer, so long as the public charge sustained the ministers of religion? When were the oaks shaken for the use of men, when were the roots of plants torn up, when did fertility on all sides forsake the various lands, when supplies were in common for the people and for the sacred virgins? For the support of the priests was a blessing to the produce of the earth, and was rather an insurance than a bounty. Is there any doubt that what was given was for the benefit of all, seeing that the want of all has made this plain?

16. But some one will say that public support is only refused to the cost of foreign religions. Far be it from good princes to suppose that what has been given to certain persons from the common property can be in the power of the treasury. For as the State consists of individuals, that which goes out from it becomes again the property of individuals. You rule over all; but you preserve his own for each individual; and justice has more weight with you than arbitrary will. Take counsel with your own liberality whether that which you have conferred on others ought to be considered public property. Sums once given to the honor of the city cease to be the property of those who have given them, and that which at the commencement was a gift, by custom and time becomes a debt. Any one is therefore endeavoring to impress upon your minds a vain fear, who asserts

that you share the responsibility of the givers unless you incur the odium of withdrawing the girls.

17. May the unseen guardians of all sects be favorable to your Graces, and may they especially, who in old time assisted your ancestors, defend you and be worshipped by us. We ask for that state of religious matters which preserved the empire for the divine parent of your Highnesses, and furnished that blessed prince with lawful heirs. That venerable father beholds from the starry height the tears of the priests, and considers himself censured by the violation of that custom which he willingly observed.

18. Amend also for your divine brother that which he did by the counsel of others, cover over the deed which he knew not to be displeasing to the Senate. For it is allowed that legation was denied access to him, lest public opinion should reach him. It is for the credit of former times, that you should not hesitate to abolish that which is proved not to have been the doing of the prince.

EPISTLE 18

Reply of St. Ambrose to the Memorial of Symmachus, in which after complimenting Valentinian he deals with three points of the Memorial. He replies to his opponent's personification of Rome in a singularly tilling manner, and proves that the famine spoken of by Symmachus had nothing to do with the cessation of heathen rites.

AMBROSE, Bishop, to the most blessed prince and most gracious Emperor Valentianus, the august.

1. Since the illustrious Symmachus, Prefect of the city, has sent petition to your Grace that the altar, which was taken away from the Senate House of the city of Rome, should be restored to its place; and you, O Emperor, although still young in years and experience, yet a veteran in the power of faith, did not approve the prayer of the heathen, I presented a request the moment I heard of it, in which, though I stated such things as it seemed necessary to suggest, I requested that a copy of the Memorial might be given to me.

2. So, then, not being in doubt as to your faith, but anxiously considering the risk, and sure of a kindly consideration, I am replying in this document to the assertions of the Memorial, making this sole request, that you will not expect elegance of language but the force of facts. For, as the divine Scripture teaches, the tongue of wise and studious men is golden, which, gifted with glittering words and shining with the brilliancy of splendid utterance as if of some rich color, captivates the eyes of the mind with the appearance of beauty and dazzles with the sight. But this gold, if you consider it carefully, is of value outwardly but within is base metal. Ponder well, I pray you, and examine the sect of the heathen, their utterances, sound, weighty, and grand, but defend what is without capacity for truth. They speak of God and worship idols.

3. The illustrious Prefect of the city has in his Memorial set forth three propositions which he considers of force: that Rome, as he says, asks for her rites again, that pay be given to her priests and Vestal Virgins, and that a general famine followed upon the refusal of the priests' stipends.

4. In his first proposition Rome complains with sad and tearful words, asking, as he says, for the restoration of the rites of her ancient ceremonies. These sacred rites, he says, repulsed Hannibal from the walls, and the Senones from the Capitol. And so at the same time that the power of the sacred rites is proclaimed, their weakness is betrayed. So that Hannibal long insulted the Roman rites, and while the gods were fighting against him, arrived a conqueror at the very walls of the city. Why did they suffer themselves to be besieged, for whom their gods were fighting in arms?

5. And why should I say anything of the Senones, whose entrance into the inmost Capitol the remnant of the Romans could not have prevented, had not a goose by its frightened cackling betrayed them? See what sort of protectors the Roman temples have. Where was Jupiter at that time? Was he speaking in the goose?

6. But why should I deny that their sacred rites fought for the Romans? For Hannibal also worshipped the same gods. Let them choose then which they will. If these sacred rites conquered in the Romans, then they were overcome in the Carthaginians; if they triumphed in the Carthaginians, they certainly did not benefit the Romans.

7. Let, then, that invidious complaint of the Roman people come to an end. Rome has given no such charge. She speaks with other words. “Why do you daily stain me with the useless blood of the harmless herd? Trophies of victory depend not on the entrails of the flocks, but on the strength of those who fight. I subdued the world by a different discipline. Camillus was my soldier, who slew those who had taken the Tarpeian rock, and brought back the standards taken from the Capitol; valor laid those low whom religion had not driven off. What shall I say of Attilius [Regulus], who gave the service of his death? Africanus found his triumphs not amongst the altars of the Capitol, but amongst the lines of Hannibal. Why do you bring forward the rites of our ancestors? I hate the rites of Neros. Why should I speak of the Emperors of two months,’ and the ends of rulers closely joined to their commencements. Or is it perchance a new thing for the barbarians to cross their boundaries? Were they, too, Christians in whose wretched and unprecedented cases, the one, a captive Emperor, and, under the other, the captive world made manifest that their rites which promised victory were false. Was there then no Altar of Victory? I mourn over my downfall, my old age is tinged with that shameful bloodshed. I do not blush to be converted with the whole world in my old age. It is undoubtedly true that no age is too late to learn. Let that old age blush which cannot amend itself. Not the old age of years is worthy of praise but that of character. There is no shame in passing to better things. This alone was common to me with the barbarians, that of old I knew not God. Your sacrifice is a rite of being sprinkled with the blood of beasts. Why do you seek the voice of God in dead animals? Come and learn on earth the heavenly warfare; we live here, but our warfare is there. Let God Himself, Who made me, teach me the mystery of heaven, not man, who knew not himself. Whom rather than God should I believe concerning God? How can I believe you, who confess that you know not what you worship?

8. By one road, says he, one cannot attain to so great a secret. What you know not, that we know by the voice of God. And’ what you seek by fancies, we have found out from the very Wisdom and Truth of God. Your ways, therefore, do not agree with ours. You implore peace for your gods from the Emperors, we ask for peace for the Emperors themselves from Christ. You worship the works of your own hands, we think it an offense

that anything which can be made should be esteemed God. God wills not that He should be worshipped in stones. And, in fine, your philosophers themselves have ridiculed these things.

9. But if you deny Christ to be God, because you believe not that He died (for you are ignorant that death was of the body not of the Godhead, which has brought it to pass that now no one of those who believe dies), what is more thoughtless than you who honor with insult, and disparage with honor, for you consider a piece of wood to be your God. O worship full of insult! You believe not that Christ could die, O perversity rounded on respect!

10. But, says he, let the altars be restored to the images, and their ornaments to the shrines. Let this demand be made of one who shares in their superstitions; a Christian Emperor has learnt to honor the altar of Christ alone. Why do they exact of pious hands and faithful lips the ministry to their sacrilege? Let the voice of our Emperor utter the Name of Christ alone, and speak of Him only, Whom he is conscious of, for, "the King's heart is in the hand of the Lord." Has any heathen Emperor raised an altar to Christ? While they demand the restoration of things which have been, by their own example they show us how great reverence Christian Emperors ought to pay to the religion which they follow, since heathen ones offered all to their superstitions.

11a. We began long since, and now they follow those whom they excluded. We glory in yielding our blood, an expense moves them. We consider these things in the place of victories, they think them loss. Never did they confer on us a greater benefit than when they ordered Christians to be beaten and proscribed and slain. Religion made a reward of that which unbelief thought to be a punishment. See their greatness of soul! We have increased through loss, through want, through punishment; they do not believe that their rites can continue without contributions.

11. Let the Vestal Virgins, he says, retain their privileges. Let those speak thus, who are unable to believe that virginity can exist without reward, let those who do not trust virtue, encourage by gain. But how many virgins have the promised rewards gained for them? Hardly are seven Vestal Virgins received. See the whole number whom the fillets and chaplets for the head, the dye of the purple robes, the pomp of the litter surrounded by

a company of attendants, the greatest privileges, immense profits, and a prescribed time of virginity have gathered together.

12. Let them lift up the eyes of soul and body, let them look upon a people of modesty, a people of purity, an assembly of virginity. Not fillets are the ornament of their heads, but a veil common in use but ennobled by chastity, the enticement of beauty not sought out but laid aside, none of those purple insignia, no delicious luxuries, but the practice of fasts, no privileges, no gains; all things, in fine, of such a kind that one would think them restrained from enjoyment whilst practicing their duties. But whilst the duty is being practiced the enjoyment of it is aroused. Chastity is increased by its own sacrifices. That is not virginity which is bought with a price, and not kept through a love of virtue; that is not purity which is bought by auction for money, which is bid for a time. The first victory of chastity is to conquer the desire of wealth, for the pursuit of gain is a temptation to modesty. Let us, however, lay down that bountiful provision should be granted to virgins. What an amount will overflow upon Christians! What treasury will supply such riches? Or if they think that gifts should be conferred on the Vestals alone, are they not ashamed that they who claimed the whole for themselves under heathen Emperors should think that we ought to have no common share under Christian Princes?

13. They complain, also, that public support is not considered due to their priests and ministers. What a storm of words has resounded on this point! But on the other hand even the inheritance of private property is denied us by recent laws, and no one complains; for we do not consider it an injury, because we grieve not at the loss. If a priest seeks the privilege of declining the municipal burdens, he has to give up his ancestral and all other property. If the heathen suffered this how would they urge their complaint, that a priest must purchase the free time necessary for his ministry by the loss of all his patrimony, and buy the power to exercise his public ministry at the expense of all his private means; and, alleging his vigils for the public safety, must console himself with the reward of domestic want, because he has not sold a service but obtained a favor.

14. Compare the cases. You wish to excuse a decurio, when it is not allowed the Church to excuse a priest. Wills are written on behalf of

ministers of the temples, no profane person is excepted, no one of the lowest condition, no one shamelessly immodest, the clergy alone are excluded from the common right, by whom alone common prayer is offered for all, and common service rendered, no legacies even of grave widows, no gifts are permitted. And where no fault can be found in the character, a penalty is notwithstanding imposed on the office. That which a Christian widow has bequeathed to the priests of a temple is valid, her legacy to the ministers of God is invalid. And I have related this not in order to complain, but that they may know what I do not complain of; for I prefer that we should be poorer in money than in grace.

15. But they say that what has been given or left to the Church has not been touched. Let them also state who has taken away gifts from the temples, which has been done to Christians, If these things had been done to the heathen the wrong would have been rather a requital than an injury. Is it now only at last that justice is alleged as a pretext, and a claim made for equity? Where was this feeling when, after plundering the goods of all Christians, they grudged them the very breath of life, and forbade them the use of that last burial nowhere denied to any dead? The sea restored those whom the heathen had thrown into it, This is the victory of faith, that they themselves now blame the acts of their ancestors whose deeds they condemn. But what reason is there in seeking benefits from those whose deeds they condemn?

16. No one, however, has denied gifts to the shrines, and legacies to the soothsayers, their land alone has been taken away, because they did not use religiously that which they claimed in right of religion. Why did they not practice what we did if they allege our example? The Church has no possessions of her own except the Faith. Hence are her returns, her increase. The possessions of the Church are the maintenance of the poor. Let them count up how many captives the temples have ransomed, what food they have contributed for the poor, to what exiles they have supplied the means of living. Their lands then have been taken away, not their rights.

17. See what was done, and a public famine avenged, as they say, the sad impiety that what was before profitable only for the comfort of the priests began to be profitable to the use of all. For this reason then, as they say,

was the bark shipped from the copses, and fainting men's mouths supped up the unsavory sap. For this reason changing corn for the Chaonian acorn, going back once more to the food of cattle and the nourishment of wretched provisions, they shook the oaks and solaced their dire hunger in the woods. These, forsooth, were new prodigies on earth which had never happened before, while heathen superstition was fervent throughout the world! When in truth before did the crop mock the prayers of the grasping husbandman with empty straw, and the blade of corn sought in the furrows fail the hope of the rustic crew?

18. And from what did the Greeks derive the oracles of their oaks except from their thinking that the support of their sylvan food was the gift of heavenly religion? For such do they believe to be the girls of their gods. Who but heathen people worshipped the trees of Dodona, when they gave honor to the sorry food of the woodland? It is not likely that their gods in anger inflicted on them as a punishment that which they used when appeased to confer as a gift. And what justice would there be if, being grieved that support was refused to a few priests, they denied it to all, since the vengeance would be more unbearable than the fault? The cause, then, is not adequate to bring such suffering on a failing world, as that the full-grown hope of the year should perish suddenly while the crops were green.

19. And, certainly, many years ago the lights of the temples were taken away throughout the world; has it only now at length come into the mind of the gods of the heathen to avenge the injury? And did the Nile fail to overflow in its accustomed course, in order to avenge the losses of the priests of the city, whilst it did not avenge its own?

20. But let it be that they suppose that the injuries done to their gods were avenged in the past year. Why have they been unnoticed in the present year? For now neither do the country people feed upon tom up roots, nor seek refreshment from the berries of the wood, nor pluck its food from thorns, but joyful in their prosperous labors, while wondering at their harvest, made up for their fasting by the full accomplishment of their wishes; for the earth rendered her produce with interest.

21. Who, then, is so unused to human matters as to be astonished at the differences of years? And yet even last year we know that many provinces

abounded with produce. What shall I say of the Gauls which were more productive than usual? The Pannonias sold corn which they had not sown, and Phaetia Secunda experienced harm of her own fertility, for she who was wont to be safe in her scarcity, stirred up an enemy against herself by her fertility. The fruits of the autumn fed Liguria and the Venetias. So, then, the former year did not wither because of sacrilege, and the latter flourished with the fruits of faith. Let them too deny if they can that the vineyards abounded with an immense produce. And so we have both received a harvest with interest and possess the benefit of a more abundant vintage.

22. The last and most important point remains, whether, O Emperors, you ought to restore those helps which have profiled you; for he says: ‘ Let them defend you, and be worshipped by us.’ This it is, most faithful princes, which we cannot endure, that they should taunt us that they supplicate their gods in your names, and without your commands, commit an immense sacrilege, interpreting your shutting your eyes as consent. Let them have their guardians to themselves, let these, if they can, protect their worshippers. For, if they are not able to help those by whom they are worshipped, how can they protect you by whom they are not worshipped?

23. But, he says, the rites of our ancestors ought to be retained. But what, seeing that all things have made progress towards what is better? The world itself, which at first was compacted of the germs of the elements throughout the void, in a yielding sphere, or was dark with the shapeless confusion of the work as yet without order, did it not afterwards receive (the distinction between sky, sea, and earth being established), the forms of things whereby it appears beautiful? The lands freed from the misty darkness wondered at the new sun. The day does not shine in the beginning, but as time proceeds, it is bright with increase of light, and grows warm with increase of heat.

24. The moon herself, by which in the prophetic oracles the Church is represented, when first rising again, she waxes to her monthly age, is hidden from us in darkness, and filling up her horns little by little, so completing them opposite to the sun, glows with the brightness of clear shining.

25. The earth in former times was without experience of being worked for fruits; afterwards when the careful husbandman began to Lord it over the fields, and to clothe the shapeless soil with vines, it put off its wild disposition, being softened by domestic cultivation.

26. The first age of the year itself, which has tinged us with a likeness to itself as things begin to grow, as it goes on becomes springlike with flowers soon about to fall and grows up to full age in fruits at the end.

27. We too, inexperienced in age, have an infancy of our senses, but changing as years go on, lay aside the rudiments of our faculties.

28. Let them say, then, that all things ought to have remained in their first beginnings, that the world covered with darkness is now displeasing, because it has brightened with the shining of the sun. And how much more pleasant is it to have dispelled the darkness of the mind than that of the body, and that the ray of faith should have shone than that of the sun. So, then, the primeval state of the world as of all things has passed away, that the venerable old age of hoary faith might follow. Let those whom this touches find fault with the harvest, because its abundance comes late; let them find fault with the vintage, because it is at the close of the year; let them find fault with the olive, because it is the latest of fruits.

29. So, then, our harvest is the faith of souls; the grace of the Church is the vintage of merits, which from the beginning of the world flourished in the Saints, but in the last age has spread itself over the people, that all might notice that the faith of Christ has entered minds which were not rude (for there is no crown of victory without an adversary), but the opinion being exploded which before prevailed, that which was true is rightly preferred.

30. If the old rites pleased, why did Rome also take up foreign ones? I pass over the ground hidden by costly building, and shepherds’ cottages glittering with degenerate gold. Why, that I may reply to the very matter which they complain of, have they eagerly received the images of captured cities, and conquered gods, and the foreign rites of alien superstition? Whence is the pattern for Cybele washing her chariots in a stream counterfeiting the Almo? Whence were the Phrygian bards, and the deities of unjust Carthage always hateful to the Romans? And her whom the Africans worship as Celestis, the Persians as Nitra, and the greater number

as Venus, according to a difference of name, not a variety of deities. So they believed that Victory was a goddess, which is certainly a gift, not a power; is granted and does not rule, results from the aid of legions not the power of religions. Is that goddess then great whom the number of soldiers claims, or the event of battle gives?

31. They ask to have her altar erected in the Senate House of the city of Rome, that is where the majority who meet together are Christians! There are altars in all the temples, and an altar also in the temple of Victories. Since they take pleasure in numbers they celebrate their sacrifices everywhere. To claim a sacrifice on this one altar, what is it but to insult the Faith? Is it to be borne that a heathen should sacrifice and a Christian be present? Let them imbibe, he says, let them imbibe, even against their will, the smoke with their eyes, the music with their ears, the ashes with their throats, the incense with their nostrils, and let the dust stirred up from our hearths cover their faces though they detest it. Are not the baths, the colonnades, the streets filled with images sufficient for them? Shall there not be a common lot in that common assembly? The faithful portion of the senate will be bound by the voices of those that call upon the gods, by the oaths of those that swear by them. If they oppose they will seem to exhibit their falsehood, if they acquiesce, to acknowledge what is sacrilege.

32. Where, says he, shall we swear obedience to your Grace’s laws and decrees? Does then your mind, which is contained in the laws, gain assent and bind to faithfulness by heathen ceremonies? The faith is attacked, not only of those who are present but also of those who are absent, and what is more, O Emperors, your faith, too, is attacked, for you compel if you command. Constantius of august memory, though not yet initiated in the sacred Mysteries, thought that he would be polluted if he saw that altar. He commanded it to be removed, he did not command it to be replaced. The removal has the authority of an act, the restoration has not that of a command.

33. Let no one flatter himself because he is absent. He who joins himself to others in mind is more present than he whose assent is given by bodily presence. For it is more to be united in mind than to be joined in body. The Senate has you as the presidents who convene the assembly, it comes

together for you; it gives its conscience to you, not to the gods of the heathen; it prefers you to its children, but not to its faith. This is a love to be desired, this is a love greater than any dominion, if faith which preserves dominion be secure.

34. But perhaps it may move some that if this be so, a most faithful Emperor has been forsaken, as if forsooth the reward of merits were to be estimated by the transitory measure of things present. For what wise man is ignorant that human affairs are ordered in a kind of round and cycle, for they have not always the same success, but their state varies and they suffer vicissitudes.

35. Whom have the Roman temples sent out more prosperous than Cneius Pompeius? Yet, when he had encompassed the earth with three triumphs, defeated in battle, a fugitive from war, and an exile beyond the bounds of his own empire, he fell by the hand of an eunuch of Canopus.

36. Whom has the whole land of the East given to the world more noble than Cyrus, king of the Persians? He too, after conquering the most powerful princes who opposed him, and retaining them, when conquered, as prisoners, perished, overthrown by the arms of a woman. And that king who was acknowledged to have treated even the vanquished with honor, had his head cut off, placed in a vessel full of blood, and was bidden to be satiated, being thus subject to the mocking of a woman's power. So in the course of that life of his like is not repaid by like, but far otherwise.

37. And whom do we find more devoted to sacrificing than Hamilcar, leader of the Carthaginians? Who, having offered sacrifice between the ranks during the whole time of the battle, when he saw that his side was conquered, threw himself into the fire which he was feeding, that he might extinguish even with his own body those fires which he had found to profit him nothing.

38. What, then, shall I say of Julian? Who, having credulously trusted the answers of the soothsayers, destroyed his own means of retreat. Therefore even in like cases there is not a like offense, for our promises have deceived no one.

39. I have answered those who provoked me as though I had not been provoked, for my object was to refute the Memorial, not to expose

superstition. But let their very memorial make you, O Emperor, more careful. For after narrating of former princes, that the earlier of them practiced the ceremonies of their fathers, and the later did not abolish them; and saying in addition that, if the religious practice of the older did not make a precedent, the connivance of the later ones did; it plainly showed what you owe, both to your faith, viz., that you should not follow the example of heathen rites, and to your affection, that you should not abolish the decrees of your brother. For if for their own side alone they have praised the connivance of those princes, who, though Christians, yet in no way abolished the heathen decrees, how much more ought you to defer to brotherly love, so that you, who ought to overlook some things even if you did not approve them in order not to detract from your brother's statutes, should now maintain what you judge to be in agreement both with your own faith, and the bond of brotherhood.

EPISTLE 20

St. Ambrose relates to his sister the events at Milan connected with the demand of the Arians for a basilica, and how the people rose up in opposition. Then that on the second day the basilica had been occupied by soldiers, who however fraternized with the Catholics. He gives a sketch of his address, comparing their trials to those of Job, more particularly those caused by his wife, and other cases owing to women. Though the basilica was surrendered, he himself had been threatened by a notary, but this did not trouble him. He adapts the story of Jonah to the present circumstances, relates the joy, of the people at recovering their church, Valentiuian's words to his courtiers, and the behavior of Calligonus to himself. The date of the letter is Easter, A.D. 385.

1. SINCE in almost all your letters you enquire anxiously about the Church, you shall hear what is taking place. The day after I received your letter, in which you said you were troubled by dreams, the pressure of heavy troubles began to be felt. And this time it was not the Portian basilica, that is the one outside the walls, which was demanded, but the new basilica, that is the one within the walls, which is larger.

2. First of all some great men, counselors of state, begged of me to give up the basilica, and to manage that the people should make no disturbance. I replied, of course, that the temple of God could not be surrendered by a Bishop.

3. On the following day this answer was approved by the people in the Church; and the Prefect came there, and began to persuade us to give up at least the Portian basilica, but the people clamored against it. He then went away implying that he should report to the Emperor.

4. The day after, which was Sunday, after the lessons and the sermon, when the Catechumens were dismissed, I was teaching the creed to certain candidates in the baptistery of the basilica. There it was reported to me that they had sent decani from the palace, and were putting up hangings, and that part of the people were going there. I, however, remained at my ministrations, and began to celebrate mass.

5. Whilst offering the oblation, I heard that a certain Castulus, who, the Arians said, was a priest, had been seized by the people. Passers-by had come upon him in the streets. I began to weep bitterly, and to implore God in the oblation that He would come to our aid, and that no one’s blood be shed in the Church’s cause, or at least that it might be my blood shed for the benefit not of my people only, but also for the unbelievers themselves. Not to say more, I sent priests and deacons and rescued the man from violence.

6. Thereupon the heaviest sentences were decreed, first upon the whole body of merchants. And so during the holy days of the last week of Lent, when usually the bonds of debtors are loosed, chains were heard grating, were being placed on the necks of innocent persons, and two hundred pounds’ weight of gold was required within three days’ time. They replied that they would give as much or twice as much, if demanded, so that only they might preserve their faith. The prisons were full of trades-people.

7. All the officials of the palace, that is the recorders, the commissioners, the apparitors of the different magistrates, were commanded to keep away from what was going on, on the pretense that they were forbidden to take part in any sedition; many very heavy penalties were threatened against men of position, if they did not surrender the basilica. Persecution was

raging, and had they but opened the floodgates, they seemed likely to break out into every kind of violence.

8. The Counts and Tribunes come and urged me to cause the basilica to be quickly surrendered, saying that the Emperor was exercising his rights since everything was under his power. I answered that if he asked of me what was mine, that is, my land, my money, or whatever of this kind was my own, I would not refuse it, although all that I have belonged to the poor, but that those things which are God's are not subject to the imperial power. "If my patrimony is required, enter upon it, if my body, I will go at once. Do you wish to cast me into chains, or to give me to death? it will be a pleasure to me. I will not defend myself with throngs of people, nor will I cling to the altars and entreat for my life, but will more gladly be slain myself for the altars."

9. I was indeed Struck with horror when I learnt that armed men had been sent to take possession of the basilica, lest while the people were defending the basilica, there might be some slaughter which would tend to the injury of the whole city. I prayed that I might not survive the destruction of so great a city, or it might be of the whole of Italy. I feared the odium of shedding blood, I offered my own neck. Some Gothic tribunes were present, whom I accosted, and said, "Have you received the gift of Roman rights in order to make yourselves disturbers of the public peace? Whither will you go, if things here are destroyed?"

10. Then I was desired to restrain the people; I answered that it was in my power not to excite them; but in God's hands to quiet them. And that if they thought that I was urging them on, they ought at once to punish me, or that I ought to be sent to any desert part of the earth they chose. After I had said this, they departed, and I spent the whole day in the old basilica, and thence went home to sleep, that if any one wanted to carry me off he might find me ready.

11. Before day when I left the house the basilica was surrounded by soldiers. It is said that the soldiers had intimated to the Emperor that if he wished to go forth he could do so; that they would be in attendance, if they saw him go to join the Catholics; if not that they would go to the assembly which Ambrose had convened.

12. None of the Arians dared to go forth, for there was not one among the citizens, only a few of the royal family, and some of the Goths. And they as of old they made use of their wagons as dwellings, now make the Church their wagon. Wherever that woman goes, she carries with her all assemblage.

13. I heard that the Basilica was surrounded by the groaning of the people, but whilst the lessons were being read, I was informed that the new Basilica also was full of people, that the crowd seemed greater than when they were all free, and that a Reader was being called for. In short, the soldiers themselves who seemed to have occupied the Basilica, when they knew that I had ordered that the people should abstain from communion with them, began to come to our assembly. When they saw this, the minds of the women were troubled, and one rushed forth. But the soldiers themselves said that they had come for prayer not for fighting. The people uttered some cries. With great moderation, with great instancy, with great faithfulness they begged that we would go to that Basilica. It was said, too, that the people in that Basilica were demanding my presence.

14. I then commenced the following address. You have heard, my children, the reading of the book of Job, which, according to the appointed order and season, is being gone through. By experience the devil also knew that this book would be explained, in which all the power of his temptations is shown and made clear, and so to-day he roused himself with greater vigor. But thanks be to our God, who has so established you with faith and patience. I had mounted the pulpit to praise Job alone, and I have found in you all Jobs to praise. In each of you Job lives again, in each the patience and valor of that saint has shone forth again. For what more resolute could have been said by Christian men, than what the Holy Spirit has to-day spoken in you? We request, O Augustus, we do not fight, we do not fear, but we request. This beseems Christians both to wish for peace and tranquillity, and not to suffer constancy of faith and truth to be checked by fear. For the Lord is our Leader, "Who is the Savior of them that hope in Him."

15. But let us come to the lessons before us. You see that permission is given to the devil, that the good may be tested. The evil one envies all progress in good, he tempts us in divers way. He tried holy Job in his

possessions, in his children, in pain of body. The stronger is tried in his own person, the weaker in that of another. And he was desirous of carrying off my riches which I possess in you, and wished to dissipate this patrimony of your tranquillity. And he strove to deprive me of yourselves also, my good children, for whom I daily renew the Sacrifice, you he endeavored to involve in the ruin as it were of a public disturbance. I have then already been assailed by two kinds of temptation. And perhaps because the Lord our God knows me to be too weak, He has not yet given him power over my body. Though myself may desire it, though I offer myself, He deems me yet it may be unequal to this conflict, and exercises me with divers labors. And Job did not begin with that conflict but finished with it.

16. But Job was tried by accumulated tidings of evils, he was also tried by his wife, who said, "Speak a word against God and die." You see what terrible things are of a sudden stirred up, the Goths, armed men, the heathen, the fines of the merchants, the sufferings of the Saints. You observe what was commanded, when the order was given "surrender the Basilica;" that is "speak a word against God and die. And not only, speak against God," but, Do something against Him. For the command was, surrender the altars of God.

17. So, then, we are prepared by the imperial commands, but are strengthened by the words of Scripture, which replies: "Thou hast spoken as one of the foolish." That temptation then is no light one, for, we know that those temptations are more severe which arise through women. For even Adam was overthrown by Eve, whereby it came to pass that he erred from the Divine commandments. And when he recognized his error, feeling the reproach of a guilty conscience, he would fain have hidden himself, but he could not be hidden, and so God said to him: "Adam, where art thou?" that is, what wast thou before? where hast thou now begun to be? Where had I placed thee? Whither hast thou wandered? Thou ownest that thou art naked because thou hast lost the robe of a good faith. Those are leaves with which thou now seekest to veil thyself. Thou hast rejected the fruit, thou desired to hide under the leaves of the Law, but thou art betrayed. Thou hast desired to depart from the Lord thy God for the sake of one woman, therefore thou fleest from Him Whom thou soughtest before to

see. Thou hast chosen to hide thyself with one woman, to forsake the Mirror of the world, the abode in Paradise, the grace of Christ.

18. Why should I relate that Jezebel, also persecuted Elisha after a bloodthirsty fashion? or that Herodias caused John the Baptist to be slain? Individuals persecuted individuals; but for me, whose merits are far inferior, the trials are all the harder. My strength is less, but I have more danger. Of women change follows on change, their hatreds alternate, their falsehoods vary, elders assemble together, wrong done to the Emperor is made a pretense. What is then the reason of such severe temptation against me, a mere worm; except that they are attacking not me but the Church?

19. At last the command was given: Surrender the Basilica. My reply was, it is not lawful for me to surrender it, nor advantageous for you, O Emperor, to receive it. By no right can you violate the house of a private person, and do you think that the House of God may be taken away. It is asserted that everything is lawful for the Emperor, that all things are his. My answer is: Do not, O Emperor, lay on yourself the burden of such a thought as that you have any imperial power over those things which belong to God. Exalt not yourself, but if you desire to reign long, submit yourself to God, It is written: “The things which are God’s to God, those which are Caesar’s to Caesar.” The palaces belong to the Emperor, the churches to the Bishop. Authority is committed to you over public, not over sacred buildings. Again the Emperor was stated to have declared: I also ought to have one Basilica. My answer was: It is not lawful for you to have it. What have you to do with an adulteress? For she is an adulteress who is not joined to Christ in lawful wedlock.

20. Whilst I was treating on this matter, tidings were brought me that the royal hangings were taken down, and the Basilica filled with people, who were calling for my presence, so I at once turned my discourse to this, and said: How high and how deep are the oracles of the Holy Spirit! We said at Matins, as you, brethren, remember, and made the response with the greatest grief of mind: “O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance,” And in very deed the heathen came, and even worse than the heathen came; for the Goths came, and men of different nations; they came with weapons and surrounded and occupied the Basilica. We in our

ignorance of Thy greatness mourned over this, but our want of foresight was in error.

21. The heathen are come, and in very truth are come into Thine inheritance, for they who came as heathen have become Christians. Those who came to invade Thine inheritance, have been made coheirs with God. I have those as protectors whom I considered to be adversaries. That is fulfilled which the Prophet sang of the Lord Jesus that “His dwelling is in peace,” and “There brake He the horns of the bows, the shield, the sword and the battle.” For whose girl is this, whose work is this but Thine, Lord Jesus? Thou sawest armed men coming to Thy temple; on the one hand the people wailing and coming in throngs so as not to seem to surrender the Basilica of God, on the other hand the soldiers ordered to use violence. Death was before my eyes, lest madness should gain any footing whilst things were thus. Thou, O Lord, didst come between, and madest of twain one. Thou didst restrain the armed men, saying, If ye run together to arms, if those shut up in My temple are troubled, “what profit is there in My blood.” Thanks then be unto Thee, O Christ. No ambassador, no messenger, but Thou, O Lord, hast saved Thy people, “Thou hast put off my sackcloth and girded me with gladness.”

22. I said these things, wondering that the Emperor’s mind could be softened by the zeal of the soldiers, the entreaties of the Counts, and the supplication of the people. Meanwhile I was told that a notary had been sent to me, to bring me orders. I retired a little, and he intimated the order to me. What were you thinking of, he said, in acting against the Emperor’s decree? I replied: I do not know what has been decreed, and I have not been informed of what has been unadvisedly done. He asked: Why did you send priests to the Basilica? If you are a tyrant I wish to know it, that I may know how to prepare against you. I replied by saying that I had done nothing hastily regarding the Church. That at the time when I heard that the Basilica was occupied by soldiers, I only gave freer utterance to groans, and that when many were exhorting me to go thither, I said: I cannot surrender the basilica, but I may not fight. But after I heard that the royal hangings had been taken away, when the people were urging me to go thither, I sent some priests; that I would not go myself, but said, I believe in Christ that the Emperor himself will treat with us.

23. If these acts looked like tyranny, that I had arms, but only in the Name of Christ, that I had the power of offering my own body. Why, I said, did he delay to strike, if he thought me a tyrant? That by ancient right imperial power had been given by bishops, never assumed, and it was commonly said that emperors had desired the priesthood, rather than priests the imperial power. That Christ withdrew lest He should be made a king. That we had our own power; for the power of a bishop was his weakness. "When I am weak," says the Apostle, "then I become strong." But let him against whom God has not stirred up an adversary beware lest he make a tyrant for himself. That Maxim us did not say that I was the tyrant of Valentinian, he complained that by the intervention of my legation he had been unable to cross over into Italy. And I added that priests had never been tyrants, but had often suffered from them.

24. We passed that whole day in sadness, but the imperial hangings were cut by boys in derision. I could not return home, because the soldiers who were guarding the basilica were all around. We repeated Psalms with the brethren in the smaller basilica of the Church.

25. On the following day the Book of Jonah was read according to custom, after the completion of which I began this discourse. A book has been read, brethren, in which it is foretold that sinners shall be converted. Their acceptance takes place because that which is to happen is looked forward to at present. I added that the just man had been willing even to incur blame, in order not to see or denounce the destruction of the city. And because the sentence was mournful he was also saddened that the gourd had withered up. God too said to the prophet: "Art thou sad because of the gourd?" and Jonah answered: "I am sad." And the Lord then said, that if he grieved that the gourd was withered, how much should He Himself care for the salvation of so many people. And therefore that He had put away the destruction which had been prepared for the whole city.

26. And without further delay, tidings are brought that the Emperor had commanded the soldiers to retire from the basilica, and that the sums which had been exacted of the merchants should be restored. How great then was the joy of the whole people! how just their applause! and how abundant their thanks! And it was the day on which the Lord was delivered up for us, on which penance is relaxed in the Church. The

soldiers vied with each other in bringing in these tidings, rushing to the altars, giving kisses, the mark of peace. Then I recognized that God had smitten the early worm that the whole city might be preserved.

27. These things were done, and would that all was at an end! but the Emperor's words full of excitement foreshadow future and worse troubles. I am called a tyrant, and even more than a tyrant. For when the Counts were entreating the Emperor to go to the Church, and said that they were doing this at the request of the soldiers, he answered: If Ambrose bade you, you would deliver me up to him in chains. You can think what may be coming after these words. All shuddered when they heard them, but he has some by whom he is exasperated.

28. Lastly, too, Calligonus, the chief chamberlain, ventured to address me in peculiar language. Do you, said he, whilst I am alive treat Valentinian with contempt? I will take your head from you. My reply was, God grant you to fulfill your threat; for then I shall suffer as bishops do, you will act as do eunuchs. Would that God might turn them away from the Church, let them direct all their weapons against me, let them satisfy their thirst with my blood.

LETTER 21

St. Ambrose excuses himself for not having gone to the consistory when summoned, on the ground that in matters of faith no one but bishops could rightly judge, and that he was not contumacious because he would not suffer wrong to be done to his own order. And he adds that Auxentius would perhaps choose as judges either Jews or unbelievers, that is, persons hostile to Christ. He says further that he is willing to discuss the matters in dispute at a synod, and that he would have told the Emperor his word of mouth what he is now writing, but that his fellow bishops and the people would not suffer him to do so.

Ambrose, Bishop, to the most gracious Emperor and blessed Augustus, Valentinian.

1. Dalmatius, the tribune and notary, summoned me by the orders of your Clemency, as he asserted, demanding that I should also choose judges, as Auxentius had done. He did not mention the names of those who had been asked for, but he added that there was to be a discussion in the consistory, and that the judgment of your piety would give the decision.

2. To this I make, as I think, a suitable answer. No one ought to consider me contumacious when I affirm what your father of august memory not only replied by word of mouth, but also sanctioned by his laws, that, in a matter of faith, or any ecclesiastical ordinance, he should judge who was not unsuited by office, nor disqualified by equity, for these are the words of the rescript. That is, it was his desire that priests should judge concerning priests. Moreover, if a bishop were accused of other matters also, and a question of character was to be enquired into, it was also his will that this should be reserved for the judgment of bishops.

3. Who, then, has answered your Clemency contumaciously? He who desires that you should be like your father, or he that wishes you to be unlike him? Unless, perhaps, the judgment of so great an Emperor seems to any persons of small account, whose faith has been proved by the constancy of his profession, and his wisdom declared by the continual improvement of the State.

4. When have you heard, most gracious Emperor, that laymen gave judgment concerning a bishop in a matter of faith? Are we so prostrate through the flattery of some as to be unmindful of the rights of the priesthood, and do I think that I can entrust to others what God has given me? If a bishop is to be taught by a layman, what will follow? Let the layman argue, and the bishop listen, let the bishop learn of the layman. But undoubtedly, whether we go through the series of the holy Scriptures, or the times of old, who is there who can deny that, in a matter of faith, — in a matter I say of faith, — bishops are wont to judge of Christian emperors, not emperors of bishops.

5. You will, by the favor of God, attain to a riper age, and then you will judge what kind of bishop he is who subjects the rights of the priesthood to laymen. Your father, by the favor of God a man of riper age, used to say: It is not my business to judge between bishops. Your Clemency now says: I ought to judge. And he, though baptized in Christ, thought himself

unequal to the burden of such a judgment, does your Clemency, who have yet to earn for yourself the sacrament of baptism, arrogate to yourself a judgment concerning the faith, though ignorant of the sacrament of that faith?

6. I can leave it to be imagined what sort of judges he will have chosen. since he is afraid to publish their names. Let them simply come to the Church, if there are any to come; let them listen with the people, not for every one to sit as judge, but that each may examine his own disposition, and choose whom to follow. The matter is concerning the bishop of that Church: if the people hear him and think that he has the best of the argument, let them follow him, I shall not be jealous.

7. I omit to mention that the people have themselves already given their judgment. I am silent as to the fact that they demanded of your father him whom they now have. I am silent as to the promise of your father that if he who was chosen would undertake the bishopric there should be tranquillity. I acted on the faith of these promises.

8. But if he boasts himself of the approval of some foreigners, let him be bishop there from whence they are who think that he ought to receive the name of bishop. For I neither recognize him as a bishop, nor know I whence he comes.

9. And how, O Emperor, are we to settle a matter on which you have already declared your judgment, and have even promulgated laws, so that iris not open to any one to judge otherwise? But when you laid down this law for others, you laid it down for yourself as well. For the Emperor is the first to keep the laws which he passes. Do you, then, wish me to try how those who are chosen as judges will either come, contrary to your decision, or at least excuse themselves, saying that they cannot act against so severe and so stringent a law of the Emperor?

10. But this would be the act of one contumacious, not of one who knew his position. See, O Emperor, you are already yourself partially rescinding your law, would that it were not partially but altogether! for I would not that your law should be set above the law of God. The law of God has taught us what to follow; human laws cannot teach us this. They usually extort a change from the fearful, but they cannot inspire faith.

11. Who, then, will there be, who when he reads that at one instant through so many provinces the order was given, that whoever acts against the Emperor shall be beheaded, that whoever does not give up the temple of God shall at once be put to death; who, say, is there who will be able either alone or with a few others to say to the Emperor: I do not approve of your law? Priests are not allowed to say this, are then laymen allowed? And shall he judge concerning the faith who either hopes for favor or is afraid of giving offense?

12. Lastly, shall I myself choose laymen for judges, who, if they upheld the truth of their faith, would be either proscribed or put to death, as that law passed concerning the faith decrees? Shall I then expose these men either to denial of the truth or to punishment?

13. Ambrose is not of sufficient importance to degrade the priesthood on his own account. The life of one is not of so much value as the dignity of all priests, by whose advice I gave those directions, when they intimated that there might perchance be some heathen or Jew chosen by Auxentius, to whom I should give a triumph over Christ, if I entrusted to him a judgment concerning Christ. What else pleases them but to hear of some insult to Christ? What else can please them unless(which God forbid) the Godhead of Christ should be denied? Plainly they agree well with the Arian who says that Christ is a creature, which also heathen and Jews most readily acknowledge.

14. This was decreed at the Synod of Ariminum, and rightly do I detest that council, following the rule of the Nicene Council, from which neither death nor the sword can detach me, which faith the father of your Clemency also. Theodosius, the most blessed Emperor, both approved and follows. The Gauls hold this faith, and Spain, and keep it with the pious confession of the Divine Spirit.

15. If anything has to be discussed I have learnt to discuss it in church as those before me did. If a conference is to be held concerning the faith, there ought to be a gathering of Bishops, as was done under Constantine, the Prince of august memory, who did not promulgate any laws beforehand, but left the decision to the Bishops. This was done also under Constantius, Emperor of august memory, the heir of his father’s dignity. But what began well ended otherwise, for the Bishops had at first

subscribed an unadulterated confession of faith, but since some were desirous of deciding concerning the faith inside the palace, they managed that those decisions of the Bishops should be altered by fraud. But they immediately recalled this perverted decision, and certainly the larger number at Ariminum approved the faith of the Nicene Council and condemned the Arian propositions.

16. If Auxentius appeals to a synod, in order to discuss points concerning the faith(although it is not necessary that so many Bishops should be troubled for the sake of one man, who, even if he were an angel from heaven, ought not to be preferred to the peace of the Church), when I hear that a synod is gathering, I, too, will not be wanting. Repeal, then, the law if you wish for a disputation.

17. I would have come, O Emperor, to your consistory, and have made these remarks in your presence, if either the Bishops or the people had allowed me, but they said that matters concerning the faith ought to be treated in the church, in presence of the people.

18. And I wish, O Emperor, that you had not given sentence that I should go into banishment whither I would. I went out daily. No one guarded me. You ought to have appointed me a place wherever you would, for I offered myself for anything. But now the clergy say to me, “There is not much difference whether you voluntarily leave the altar of Christ or betray it, for if you leave it you will betray it.”

19. And I wish it were clearly certain to me that the Church would by no means be given over to the Arians. I would then willingly offer myself to the will of your piety. But if I only am guilty of disturbance, why is there a command to invade all other churches? I would it were established that no one should trouble the churches, and then I could wish that whatever sentence seems good should be pronounced concerning me.

20. Vouchsafe, then, O Emperor, to accept the reason for which I could not come to the consistory. I have never learned to appear in the consistory except on your behalf, and I am not able to dispute within the palace, who neither know nor wish to know the secrets of the palace.

21. I, Ambrose, Bishop, offer this memorial to the most gracious Emperor, and most blessed Augustus Valentinian.

SERMON AGAINST AUXENTIUS ON THE GIVING UP OF THE BASILICAS

To calm the anxiety of the people over the imperial decree, he lays his answer before them, and adds that he did not go to the consistory, because he was afraid of losing the basilica. Then, first challenging his opponents to a discussion in the church, he says that he is not terrified at their weapons; and also, after recalling his answer on the subject of the sacred vessels, declares that he is ready for the contest. The will of God, he maintains, cannot be frustrated, nor can His protection be overcome, yet He is ready too to suffer in His servants. Since he has not already been taken before this, it is plain that the heretics are causing this disturbance for no reason whatever. Next, after applying Naboth's history and Christ's entry into Jerusalem to the present state of affairs, he censures Auxentius' cruel law, answers the Arians' objections, and states that he will gladly discuss the matter in the presence of the people. Auxentius, he adds, has been already condemned by the pagans, whom he had chosen to sit as judges, as he had been condemned by Paul and by Christ. The heretic had forgotten the year before, when he had made the same appeal to Caesar; and the Arians, in stirring up ill-will against the servants of Christ, are much worse than the Jews: for the Church does not belong to Caesar, but displays the image of Christ. Then adding to these a few more words on his answer and his hymns, he declares that he is not disobedient, that the Emperor is a son of the Church, and that Auxentius is worse than a Jew,

1. I SEE that you are unusually disturbed, and that you are closely watching me. I wonder what the reason is? Is it that you saw or heard that I had received an imperial order at the hands of the tribunes, to the effect that I was to go hence, whither I would, and that all who wished might follow me? Were you afraid that I should desert the Church and forsake you in fear for my own safety? But you could note the message I sent, that the wish to desert the Church had never entered my mind; for I feared the Lord of the universe more than an earthly emperor; and if force were to drag me from the Church, my body indeed could be driven out, but not my

mind. I was ready, if he were to do what royal power is wont to do, to undergo the fate a priest has to bear.

2. Why, then, are you disturbed? I will never willingly desert you, though if force is used, I cannot meet it. I shall be able to grieve, to weep, to groan; against weapons, soldiers, Goths, my tears are my weapons, for these are a priest's defense. I ought not, I cannot resist in any other way; but to fly and forsake the Church is not my way; lest any one should suppose I did so from fear of some heavier punishment. You yourselves know that I am wont to show respect to our emperors, but not to yield to them, to offer myself freely to punishment, and not to fear what is prepared for me.

3. Would that I were sure the Church would never be given over to heretics. Gladly would I go to the Emperor's palace, if this but fitted the office of a priest, and so hold our discussion in the palace rather than the church. But in the consistory Christ is not wont to be the accused but the judge. Who will deny that the cause of faith should be pleaded in the church? If any one has confidence let him come hither; let him not seek the judgment of the Emperor, which already shows its bias, which clearly proves by the law that is passed that he is against the faith; neither let him seek the expected goodwill of certain people who want to stand well with both sides. I will not act in such a way as to give any one the chance of making money out of a wrong to Christ.

4. The soldiers around, the clash of the arms wherewith the church is surrounded, do not alarm my faith, but they disquiet me from fear that in keeping me here you might meet with some danger to your lives. For I have learnt by now not to be afraid, but I do begin to have more fear for you. Allow, I beg you, your bishop to meet his foes. We have an adversary who assails us, for our adversary "the devil goeth about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour," as the Apostle said. He has received, no doubt, he has received(we are not deceived, but warned of this) the power to tempt in this wise, lest I might perhaps by the wounds of my body be drawn away from the earnestness of my faith. You have read how the devil tempted holy Job in these many ways, and how at last he sought and obtained power to try his body, which he covered with sores.

5. When it was suggested that I should give up the vessels of the Church, I gave the following answer: I will willingly give up whatever of my own property is demanded, whether it is estates, or house, or gold, or silver — anything, in fact, which is in my power. But I cannot take aught away from the temple of God; nor can I give up what I have received to guard and not to give up. In doing this I am acting for the Emperor's good, for it would neither be right for me to give it up, nor for him to receive it. Let him listen to the words of a free-spoken bishop, and if he wishes to do what is best for himself, let him cease to do wrong to Christ.

6. These words are full of humility, and as I think of that spirit which a bishop ought to show towards the Emperor. But since "our contest is not against flesh and blood, but also"(which is worse) "against spiritual wickedness in high places," that tempter the devil makes the struggle harder by means of his servants, and thinks to make trial of me by the wounds of my flesh. I know, my brethren, that these wounds which we receive for Christ's sake are not wounds that destroy life, but rather extend it. Allow, I pray, the contest to take place. It is for you to be the spectators. Reflect that if a city has an athlete, or one skilled in some other noble art, it is eager to bring him forward for a contest. Why do you refuse to do in a more important matter what you are wont to wish in smaller affairs? He fears not weapons nor barbarians who fears not death, and is not held fast by any pleasures of the flesh.

7. And indeed if the Lord has appointed me for this struggle, in vain have you kept sleepless watch so many nights and days. The will of Christ will be fulfilled. For our Lord Jesus is almighty, this is our faith: and so what He wills to be done will be fulfilled, and it is not for us to thwart the divine purpose.

8. You heard what was read to-day: The Savior ordered that the foal of an ass should be brought to Him by the apostles, and bade them say, if any one withstood them: "The Lord hath need of him." What if now, too, He has commanded that foal of an ass, that is, the foal of that animal which is wont to bear a heavy burden, as man must, to whom is said: "Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you, for it is easy;" what if, I say, He has commanded that foal to be brought to Him now, sending forth those apostles, who, having put

off their body, wear the semblance of the angels unseen by our eyes? If withstood by any, will they not say: The Lord hath need of him? If, for instance, love of this life, or flesh and blood, or earthly intercourse(for perhaps we seem pleasing to some), were to withstand them? But he who loves me here, would show his love much more if he would suffer me to become Christ's victim, for "to depart and be with Christ is much better, though to abide in the flesh is more needful for you." There is nothing therefore for you to fear, beloved brethren. For I know that whatever I may suffer, I shall suffer for Christ's sake. And I have read that I ought not to fear those that can kill the flesh. And I have heard One Who says: "He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."

9. Wherefore if the Lord wills, surely no one will resist. And if as yet He delay my struggle, what do you fear? It is not bodily guardianship but the Lord's providence that is wont to fence in the servant of Christ.

10. You are troubled because you have found the double doors open, which a blind man in seeking his chamber is said to have unfastened. In this you learn that human watchfulness is no defense. Behold! one who has lost the gift of sight has broken through all our defenses, and escaped the notice of the guards. But the Lord has not lost the guard of His mercy. Was it not also discovered two days ago, as you remember, that a certain entrance on the left side of the basilica was open, which you thought had been shut and secured? Armed men surrounded the basilica, they tried this and the other entrance, but their eyes were blinded so that that could not see the one that was open. And you know well that it was open many nights. Cease, then, to be anxious; for that will take place which Christ commands and which is for the best.

11. And now I will put before you examples from the Law. Eliseus was sought by the king of Syria; an army had been sent to capture him; and he was surrounded on all sides. His servant began to fear, for he was a servant, that is, he had not a free mind, nor had he free powers of action. The holy prophet sought to open his eyes, and said: "Look and see how many more are on our side than there are against us." And he beheld, and saw thousands of angels. Mark therefore that it is those that are not seen rather than those that are seen that guard the servants of Christ. But if they guard you, they do it in answer to your prayers: for you have read

that those very men, who sought Eliseus, entered Samaria, and came to him whom they desired to take. Not only were they unable to harm him, but they were themselves preserved at the intercession of the man against whom they had come.

12. The Apostle Peter also gives you an example of either case. For when Herod sought him and took him, he was put into prison. For the servant of God had not got away, but stood firm without a thought of fear. The Church prayed for him, but the Apostle slept in prison, a proof that he was not in fear. An angel was sent to rouse him as he slept, by whom Peter was led forth out of prison, and escaped death for a time.

13. And Peter again afterwards, when he had overcome Simon, in sowing the doctrine of God among the people, and in teaching chastity, stirred up the minds of the Gentiles. And when these sought him, the Christians begged that he would withdraw himself for a little while. And although he was desirous to suffer, yet was he moved at the sight of the people praying, for they asked him to save himself for the instruction and strengthening of his people. Need I say more? At night he begins to leave the town, and seeing Christ coming to meet him at the gate, and entering the city, says: Lord, whither goest Thou? Christ answers: I am coming to be crucified again. Peter understood the divine answer to refer to his own cross, for Christ could not be crucified a second time, for He had put off the flesh by the passion of the death which He had undergone; since: “In that He died, He died unto sin once, but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God.” So Peter understood that Christ was to be crucified again in the person of His servant. Therefore he willingly returned; and when the Christians questioned him, told them the reason. He was immediately seized, and glorified the Lord Jesus by his cross.

14. You see, then, that Christ wills to suffer in His servants. And what if He says to this servant, “I will that he tarry, follow thou Me,” and wishes to taste the fruit of this tree? For if His meat was to do the will of His Father, so also is it His meat to partake of our sufferings. Did He not, to take an example from our Lord Himself, — did He not suffer when He willed, and was He not found when He was sought? But when the hour of His passion had not yet come, He passed through the midst of those that sought Him, and though they saw Him they could not hold Him fast. This

plainly shows us that when the Lord wills, each one is found and taken, but because the time is put off, he is not held fast, although he meets the eyes of those who seek him.

15. And did not I myself go forth daily to pay visits, or go to the tombs of the martyrs? Did I not pass by the royal palace both in going and returning? Yet no one laid hands on me, though they had the intention of driving me out, as they afterwards gave out, saying, Leave the city, and go where you will. I was, I own, looking for some great thing, either sword or fire for the Name of Christ, yet they offered me pleasant things instead of sufferings; but Christ’s athlete needs not pleasant things but sufferings. Let no one, then, disturb you, because they have provided a carriage, or because hard words, as he thinks them, have been uttered by Auxentius, who calls himself bishop.

16. Many stated that assassins had been despatched, that the penalty of death had been decreed against me. I do not fear all that, nor am I going to desert my position here. Whither shall I go, when there is no spirit that is not filled with groans and tears; when throughout the Churches Catholic bishops are being expelled, or if they resist, are put to the sword, and every senator who does not obey the decree is proscribed. And these things were written by the hand and spoken by the mouth of a bishop who, that he might show himself to be most learned, omitted not an ancient warning. For we read in the prophet that he saw a flying sickle. Auxentius, to imitate this, sent a flying sword through all cities. But Satan, too, transforms himself into an angel of light, and imitates his power for evil.

17. Thou, Lord Jesus, hast redeemed the world in one moment of time: shall Auxentius in one moment slay, as far as he can, so many peoples, some by the sword, others by sacrilege? He seeks my basilica with bloody lips and gory hands. Him to-day’s chapter answers well: “But unto the wicked said God: Wherefore dost thou declare My righteousness?” That is, there is no union between peace and madness, there is no union between Christ and Belial. You remember also that we read to-day of Naboth, a holy man who owned his own vineyard, being urged on the king’s request to give it up. When the king after rooting up the vines intended to plant common herbs, he answered him: “God forbid that I should give up the

inheritance of my fathers." The king was grieved, because what belonged by right to another had been refused him on fair grounds, but had been unfairly got by a woman's device. Naboth defended his vines with his own blood. And if he did not give up his vineyard, shall we give up the Church of Christ?

18. Was the answer that I gave then contumacious? For when summoned I said: God forbid that I should give up the inheritance of Christ. If Naboth gave not up the inheritance of his fathers, shall I give up the inheritance of Christ? And I added further: God forbid that I shall give up the inheritance of my fathers, that is, the inheritance of Dionysius, who died in exile in the cause of the faith; the inheritance of the Confessor Eustorgius, the inheritance of Mysocles and of all the faithful bishops of bygone days. I answered as a bishop ought to answer: Let the Emperor act as an emperor ought to. He must take away my life rather than my faith.

19. But to whom shall I give it up? Today's lesson from the Gospel ought to teach us what is asked for and by whom it is asked. You have heard read that when Christ sat upon the foal of an ass, the children cried aloud, and the Jews were vexed. At length they spoke to the Lord Jesus, bidding Him to silence them. He answered: "If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out." Then on entering the temple, He cast out the money-changers, and the tables, and those that sold doves in the temple of God. That passage was read by no arrangement of mine, but by chance; but it is well fitted to the present time. The praises of Christ are ever the scourges of the unfaithful. And now when Christ is praised, the heretics say that sedition is stirred up. The heretics say that death is being prepared for them, and truly they have their death in the praises of Christ. For how can they bear His praises, Whose weakness they maintain. And so to-day, when Christ is praised, the madness of the Arians is scourged.

20. The Gerasenes could not bear the presence of Christ; these, worse than the Gerasenes, cannot endure the praises of Christ. They see boys singing of the glory of Christ, for it is written: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise." They mock at their tender age, so full of faith, and say: "Behold, why do they cry out?" But Christ answers them: "If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out," that is, the stronger will cry out, both youths and the more mature will cry out,

and old men will cry out; these stones now firmly laid upon that stone of which it is written: “The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.”

21. Invited, then, by these praises, Christ enters His temple, and takes His scourge and drives the money-changers out of the temple. For He does not allow the slaves of money to be in His temple, nor does He allow those to be there who sell seats. What are seats but honors? What are the doves but simple minds or souls that follow a pure and clear faith? Shall I, then, bring into the temple him whom Christ shuts out? For he who sells dignities and honors will be bidden to go out. He will be bidden to go out who desires to sell the simple minds of the faithful.

22. Therefore, Auxentius is cast out. Mercurius is shut out. The portent is one, the names are two! That no one might know who he was, he changed his name so as to call himself Auxentius, because there had been here an Arian bishop, named Auxentius. He did this to deceive the people over whom the other had had power. He changed his name, but he did not change his falseness. He puts off the wolf, yet puts on the wolf again. It is no help to him that he has changed his name; whatever happens he is known. He is called by one name in the parts of Scythia, he is called by another here. He has a name for each country he lives in. He has two names already, and if he were to go elsewhere from here, he will have yet a third. For how will he endure to keep a name as a proof of such wickedness? He did less in Scythia, and was so ashamed that he changed his name. Here he has dared to do worse things, and will he be ready to be betrayed by his name wherever he goes? Shall he write the death warrant of so many people with his own hand, and yet be able to be unshaken in mind?

23. The Lord Jesus shut a few out of His temple, but Auxentius left none. Jesus with a scourge drove them out of His temple, Auxentius with a sword; Jesus with a scourge, Mercurius with an axe. The holy Lord drives out the sacrilegious with a scourge; the impious man pursues the holy with a sword. Of him you have well said to-day: Let him take away his laws with him. He will take them, although he is unwilling; he will take with him his conscience, although he takes no writing; he will take with him his soul inscribed with blood although he will not take a letter inscribed with ink. It

is written: “Juda, thy sin is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond, and it is graven upon thy heart,” that is, it is written there, whence it came forth.

24. Does he, a man full of blood and full of murder, dare to make mention to me of a discussion? He who thinks that they whom he could not mislead by his words are to be slain with the sword, giving bloody laws with his mouth, writing them with his hand, and thinking that the law can order a faith for man to hold. He has not heard what was read to-day: “That a man is not justified by the works of the law,” or “I, through the law, am dead to the law, that I may live unto God,” that is, by the spiritual law he is dead to the carnal interpretation of the law. And we, by the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, are dead to this law, which sanctions such perfidious decrees. The law did not gather the Church together, but the faith of Christ. For the law is not by faith, but “the just man lives by faith.” Therefore, faith, not the law, makes a man just, for justice is not through the law, but through the faith of Christ. But he who casts aside his faith and pleads for that the claims of the law, bears witness that he is himself unjust; for the just man lives by faith.

25. Shall any one, then, follow this law, whereby the Council of Ariminum is confirmed, wherein Christ was said to be a creature. But say they: “God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law.” And so they say “made,” that is, “created.” Do they not consider these very words which they have brought forward; that Christ is said to have been made, but of a woman; that is, He was “made” as regards his birth from a Virgin, Who was begotten of the Father as regards His divine generation? Have they read also to-day, “that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us”? Was Christ a curse in His Godhead? But why He is called a curse the Apostle tells us, saying that it is written: “Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree,” that is, He Who in his flesh bore our flesh, in His body bore our infirmities and our curses, that He might crucify them; for He was not cursed Himself, but was cursed in thee. I So it is written elsewhere: “Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us, for He bore our sins, that he might destroy them by the Sacrament of His Passion.”

26. These matters, my brethren, I would discuss more fully with him in your presence; but knowing that you are not ignorant of the faith, he has avoided a trial before you, and has chosen some four or five heathen to represent him, if that is he has chosen any, whom I should like to be present in our company, not to judge concerning Christ, but to hear the majesty of Christ. They, however, have already given their decision concerning Auxentius, to whom they gave no credence as he pleaded before them day by day. What can be more of a condemnation of him than the fact, that without an adversary he was defeated before his own judges? So now we also have their opinion against Auxentius.

27. And that he has chosen heathen is rightly to be condemned; for he has disregarded the Apostle’s command, where he says: “Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints? Do ye not know the saints shall judge the world?” And below he says: “Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you, who can judge between heathen? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.” You see, then, that what he has introduced is against the Apostle’s authority. Do you decide, then, whether we are to follow Auxentius or Paul as our master.

28. But why speak of the Apostle, when the Lord Himself cries through the prophet: “Hearken unto Me, My people, ye who know judgment, in whose heart is My law.” God says: “Hearken unto Me, My people, ye that know judgment.” Auxentius says: Ye know not judgment. Do you see how he condemns God in you, who rejects the voice of the heavenly oracle: “Hearken unto Me, My people,” says the Lord. He says not, “Hearken, ye Gentiles,” nor does He say, “Hearken, ye Jews.” For they who had been the people of the Lord have now become the people of error, and they who were the people of error have begun to be the people of God; for they have believed on Christ. That people then judges in whose heart is the divine, not the human law, the law not written in ink, but in the spirit of the living God; not set down on paper, but stamped upon the heart. Who then, does you a wrong, he who refuses, or he who chooses to be heard by you?

29. Hemmed in on all sides, he betakes himself to the wiles of his fathers. He wants to stir up ill-will on the Emperor’s side, saying that a youth, a

catechumen ignorant of the sacred writings, ought to judge, and to judge in the consistory. As though last year when I was sent for to go to the palace, when in the presence of the chief men the matter was discussed before the consistory, when the Emperor wished to seize the basilica, I was cowed then at the sight of the royal court, and did not show the firmness a bishop should, or departed with diminished claims. Do they not remember that the people, when they knew I had gone to the palace, made such a rush that they could not resist its force; and all offered themselves to death for the faith of Christ as a military officer came out with some light troops to disperse the crowd? Was not I asked to calm the people with a long speech? Did I not pledge my word that no one should invade the basilica of the church? And though my services were asked for to do an act of kindness, yet the fact that the people came to the palace was used to bring ill-will upon me. They wish to bring me to this now again.

30. I recalled the people, and yet I did not escape their ill-will, which ill-will, however, I think we ought rather to tempt than fear. For why should we fear for the Name of Christ? Unless perchance I ought to be troubled because they say: “Ought not the Emperor to have one basilica, to which to go, and Ambrose wants to have more power than the Emperor, and so refuses to the Emperor the opportunity of going forth to church?” When they say this, they desire to lay hold of my words, as did the Jews who tried Christ with cunning words, saying: “Master, is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not?” Is ill-will always stirred up against the servants of God on Caesar’s account, and does impiety make use of this with a view to starting a slander, so as to shelter itself under the imperial name? and can they say that they do not share in the sacrilege of those whose advice they follow?

31. See how much worse than the Jews the Arians are. They asked whether He thought that the right of tribute should be given to Caesar; these want to give to Caesar the right of the Church. But as these faithless ones follow their author, so also let us answer as our Lord and Author has taught us. For Jesus seeing the wickedness of the Jews said to them: Why tempt ye Me? show Me a penny. When they had given it, He said: “Whose image and superscription hath it?” They answered and said: Caesar’s. And Jesus says to them: “Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” So, too, I say to these

who oppose me: Show me a penny. Jesus sees Caesar’s penny and says: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s. Can they in seizing the basilicas of the church offer Caesar’s penny?

32. But in the church I only know of one Image, that is the Image of the unseen God, of Which God has said: “Let us make man in Our image and Our likeness;” that Image of Which it is written, that Christ is the Brightness of His glory and the Image of His Person. In that Image I perceive the Father, as the Lord Jesus Himself has said: “He that seeth Me seeth the Father.” For this Image is not separated from the Father, which indeed has taught me the unity of the Trinity, saying: “I and My Father are One,” and again: “All things that the Father hath are Mine.” Also of the Holy Spirit, saying that the Spirit is Christ’s, and has received of Christ, as it is written: “He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you.”

33. How, then, did we not answer humbly enough? If he demand tribute, we do not refuse it. The lands of the Church pay tribute. If the Emperor wants the lands, he has the power to claim them, none of us will interfere. The contributions of the people are amply sufficient for the poor. Do not stir up ill-will in the matter of the lands. Let them take them if it is the Emperor’s will. I do not give them, but I do not refuse them. They ask for gold. I can say: Silver and gold I do not ask for. But they stir up ill-will because gold is spent. I am not afraid of such ill-will as this. I have dependents. My dependents are Christ’s poor. I know how to collect this treasure. On that they may even charge me with this crime, that I have spent money on the poor I and if they make the charge that I seek for defense at their hands, I do not deny it; nay, I solicit it. I have my defense, but it consists in the prayers of the poor. The blind and the lame, the weak and the old, are stronger than hardy warriors. Lastly, gifts to the poor make God indebted to us, for it is written: “He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to God.” The guards of warriors often do not merit divine grace.

34. They declare also that the people have been led astray by the strains of my hymns. I certainly do not deny it. That is a lofty strain, and there is nothing more powerful than it. For what has more power than the confession of the Trinity which is daily celebrated by the mouth of the whole people? All eagerly vie one with the other in confessing the faith,

and know how to praise in verse the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. So they all have become teachers, who scarcely could be disciples.

35. What could show greater obedience than that we should follow Christ's example, "Who, being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself and became obedient even unto death?" Accordingly He has freed all through His obedience. "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous." If, then, He was obedient, let them receive the rule of obedience: to which we cling, saying to those who stir up ill-will against us on the Emperor's side: We pay to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's. Tribute is due to Caesar, we do not deny it. The Church belongs to God, therefore it ought not to be assigned to Caesar. For the temple of God cannot be Caesar's by right.

37. That this is said with respectful feeling for the Emperor, no one can deny. For what is more full of respect than that the Emperor should be called the son of the Church. As it is said, it is said without sin, since it is said with the divine favor. For the Emperor is within the Church, not above it. For a good emperor seeks the aid of the Church and does not refuse it. As I say this with all humility, so also I state it with firmness. Some threaten us with fire, sword, exile; we have learnt as servants of Christ not to fear. To those who have no fear, nothing is ever a serious cause of dread. Thus too is it written: "Arrows of infants their blows have become."

37. A sufficient answer, then, seems to have been given to their suggestion. Now I ask them, what the Savior asked: "The baptism of John, was it from heaven or men?" The Jews could not answer Him. If the Jews did not make nothing of the baptism of John, does Auxentius make nothing of the baptism of Christ? For that is not a baptism of men, but from heaven, which the angel of great counsel has brought to us, that we might be justified to God. Wherefore, then, does Auxentius hold that the faithful ought to be rebaptized, when they have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, when the Apostle says: "One faith, one baptism"? And wherefore does he say that he is man's enemy, not Christ's, seeing that he despises the counsel of God and condemns the baptism which Christ has granted us to redeem our sins.

LETTER 22

St., Ambrose in a letter to his sister gives an account of the finding of the bodies of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, and of his addresses to the people on that occasion. Preaching from Psalm xix., he allegorically expounded the “heavens “to represent the martyrs and apostles, and the “day” he takes to be their confession. They were humbled by God, and then raised again. He then gives an account of the state in which their bodies were found, and of their translation to the basilica. In another address he speaks of the joy of the Catholics and the malice of the Arians who denied the miracles that were being wrought, as the Jews used to do, and points out that their faith is quite different from that of the martyrs, and that since the devils acknowledge the Trinity, and they do not, they are worse than the very devils themselves.

To the lady, his sister, dearer to him than his eyes and life, Ambrose Bishop.

1. As I do not wish anything which takes place here in your absence to escape the knowledge of your holiness, you must know that we have found some bodies of holy martyrs. For after I had dedicated the basilica, many, as it were, with one mouth began to address me, and said: Consecrate this as you did the Roman basilica. And I answered: “Certainly I will if I find any relics of martyrs.” And at once a kind of prophetic ardor seemed to enter my heart.

2. Why should I use many words? God favored us, for even the clergy were afraid who were bidden to clear away the earth from the spot before the chancel screen of SS. Felix and Nabor. I found the fitting signs, and on bringing in some on whom hands were to be laid, the power of the holy martyrs became so manifest, that even whilst I was still silent, one was seized and thrown prostrate at the holy burial-place. We found two men of marvelous stature, such as those of ancient days. All the bones were perfect, and there was much blood. During the whole of those two days there was an enormous concourse of people. Briefly we arranged the whole in order, and as evening was now coming on transferred them to the basilica of Fausta, where watch was kept during the night, and some

received the laying on of hands. On the following day we translated the relics to the basilica called Ambrosian. During the translation a blind man was healed.I addressed the people then as follows:

3. When I considered the immense and unprecedented numbers of you who are here gathered together, and the gifts of divine grace which have shone forth in the holy. martyrs, I must confess that I felt myself unequal to this task, and that I could not express in words what we can scarcely conceive in our minds or take in with our eyes. But when the course of holy Scripture began to be read, the Holy Spirit Who spake in the prophets granted me to utter something worthy of so great a gathering, of your expectations, and of the merits of the holy martyrs.

4. “The heavens,” it is said, “declare the glory of God.” When this Psalm is read, it occurs to one that not so much the material elements as the heavenly merits seem to offer praise worthy of God. And by the chance of this day’s lessons it is made clear what “heavens” declare the glory of God. Look at the holy relics at my right hand and at my left, see men of heavenly conversation, behold the trophies of a heavenly mind. These are the heavens which declare the glory of God, these are His handiwork which the firmament proclaims. For not worldly enticements, but the grace of the divine working, raised them to the firmament of the most sacred Passion, and long before by the testimony of their character and virtues bore witness of them, that they continued steadfast against the dangers of this world.

5. Paul was a heaven, when he said: “Our conversation is in heaven.” James and John were heavens, and then were called” sons of thunder”; and John, being as it were a heaven, saw the Word with God. The Lord Jesus Himself was a heaven of perpetual light, when He was declaring the glory of God, that glory which no man had seen before. And therefore He said: “No man hath seen God at any time, except the only-begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him.” If you seek for the handiwork of God, listen to Job when he says: “The Spirit of God Who hath made me.” And so strengthened against the temptations of the devil, he kept his footsteps constantly without offense. But let us go on to what follows.

6. “Day,” it is said, “unto day uttereth speech.” Behold the true days, where no darkness of night intervenes. Behold the days full of life and eternal brightness, which uttered the word of God, not in speech which passes away, but in their inmost heart, by constancy in confession, and perseverance in their witness.

7. Another Psalm which was read says: “Who is like unto the Lord our God, Who dwelleth on high, and regardeth lowly things in heaven and in the earth?” The Lord regarded indeed lowly things when He revealed to His Church the relics of the holy martyrs lying hidden under the unnoted turf, whose souls were in heaven, their bodies in the earth: “raising the poor out of the dust, and lifting the needy from the mire,” and you see how He hath “set them with the princes of His people.” Whom are we to esteem as the princes of the people but the holy martyrs? amongst whose number Protasius and Gervasius long unknown are now enrolled, who have caused the Church of Milan, barren of martyrs hitherto, now as the mother of many children, to rejoice in the distinctions and instances of her own sufferings.

8. Nor let this seem at variance with the true faith: “Day unto day uttereth the word;” soul unto soul, life unto life, resurrection unto resurrection; “and night unto night showeth knowledge;” that is, flesh unto flesh, they, that is, whose passion has shown to all the true knowledge of the faith. Good are these nights, bright nights, not without stars: “For as star differeth from star in brightness, so too is the resurrection of the dead.”

9. For not without reason do many call this the resurrection of the martyrs. I do not say whether they have risen for themselves, for us certainly the martyrs have risen. You know — nay, you have yourselves seen — that many are cleansed from evil spirits, that very many also, having touched with their hands the robe of the saints, are freed from those ailments which oppressed them; you see that the miracles of old time are renewed, when through the coming of the Lord Jesus grace was more largely shed forth upon the earth, and that many bodies are healed as it were by the shadow of the holy bodies. How many napkins are passed about! how many garments, laid upon the holy relics and endowed with healing power, are claimed! All are glad to touch even the outside thread, and whosoever touches will be made whole.

10. Thanks be to Thee, Lord Jesus, that at this time Thou hast stirred up for us the spirits of the holy martyrs, when Thy Church needs greater protection. Let all know what sort of champions I desire, who are able to defend, but desire not to attack. These have I gained for you, O holy people, such as may help all and injure none. Such defenders do I desire, such are the soldiers I have, that is, not soldiers of this world, but soldiers of Christ. I fear no ill-will on account of them, the more powerful their patronage is the greater safety is there in it. And I wish for their protection for those very persons who grudge them to me. Let them come, then, and see my attendants. I do not deny that I am surrounded by such arms: "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will boast in the Name of the Lord our God."

11. The course of divine Scripture relates that Elisha, when surrounded by the army of the Syrians, told his servant, who was afraid, not to fear; "for," said he, "they that be for us are more than those against us;" and in order to prove this, he prayed that the eyes of Gehazi might be opened, and when they were opened, he saw that numberless hosts of angels were present. And we, though we cannot see them, yet feel their presence. Our eyes were shut, so long as the bodies of the saints lay hidden. The Lord opened our eyes, and we saw the aids wherewith we have been often protected. We used not to see them, but yet we had them. And so, as though the Lord had said to us when trembling, "See what great martyrs I have given you," so we with opened eyes behold the glory of the Lord, which is passed in the passion of the martyrs, and present in their working. We have escaped, brethren, no slight lead of shame; we had patrons and knew it not. We have found this one thing, in which we seem to excel those who have gone before us. That knowledge of the martyrs, which they lost, we have regained.

12. The glorious relics are taken out of an ignoble burying-place, the trophies are displayed under heaven. The tomb is wet with blood. The marks of the bloody triumph are present, the relics are found undisturbed in their order, the head separated from the body. Old men now repeat that they once heard the names of these martyrs and read their titles. The city which had carried off the martyrs of other places had lost her own. Though this be the gift of God, yet I cannot deny the favor which the Lord Jesus

has granted to the time of my priesthood, and since I myself am not worthy to be a martyr, I have obtained these martyrs for you.

13. Let these triumphant victims be brought to the place where Christ is the victim. But He upon the altar, Who suffered for all; they beneath the altar, who were redeemed by His Passion. I had destined this place for myself, for it is fitting that the priest should rest there where he has been wont to offer, but I yield the right hand portion to the sacred victims; that place was due to the martyrs. Let us, then, deposit the sacred relics, and lay them up in a worthy resting-place, and let us celebrate the whole day with faithful devotion.

14. The people called out and demanded that the deposition of the martyrs should be postponed until the Lord's day, but at length it was agreed that it should take place the following day. On the following day again I preached to the people on this sort.

15. Yesterday I handled the verse, "Day unto day uttereth speech," as my ability enabled me; to-day holy Scripture seems to me not only to have prophesied in former times, but even at the present. For when I behold your holy celebration continued day and night, the oracles of the prophet's song have declared that these days, yesterday and to-day, are the days of which it is most opportunely said: "Day unto day uttereth speech;" and these the nights of which it is most fittingly said that "Night unto night showeth knowledge." For what else but the Word of God have you during these two days uttered with inmost affection, and have proved yourselves to have the knowledge of the faith.

16. And they who usually do so have a grudge against this solemnity of yours; and since because of their envious disposition they cannot endure this solemnity, they hate the cause of it, and go so far in their madness as to deny the merits of the martyrs, whose deeds even the evil spirits confess. But this is not to be wondered at since such is the faithlessness of unbelievers that the confession of the devil is often more easy to endure. For the devil said: "Jesus, Son of the living God, why art Thou come to torment us before the time?" And the Jews hearing this, even themselves denied Him to be the Son of God. And at this time you have heard the devils crying out, and confessing to the martyrs that they cannot bear their sufferings, and saying, "Why are ye come to torment us so severely?" And

the Arians say: “These are not martyrs, and they cannot torment the devil, nor deliver any one, while the torments of the devils are proved by their own words, and the benefits of the martyrs are declared by the restoring of the healed, and the proof of those that are loosed.

17. They deny that the blind man received sight, but he denies not that he is healed. He says: I who could not see now see. He says: I ceased to be blind, and proves it by the fact. They deny the benefit, who are unable to deny the fact. The man is known: so long as he was well he was employed in the public service; his name is Severus, a butcher by trade. He had given up his occupation when this hindrance betel him. He calls for evidence those persons by whose kindness he was supported; he adduces those as able to affirm the truth of his visitation whom he had as witnesses of his blindness. He declares that when he touched the hem of the robe of the martyrs, wherewith the sacred relics were covered, his sight was restored.

18. Is not this like that which we read in the Gospel? For we praise the power of the same Author in each case, nor does it be a work or a gift, since He confers a gift in His works, and works in His gift. For that which He gave to others to be done, this His Name effects in the work of others. So we read in the Gospel, that the Jews, when they saw the gift of healing in the blind man, called for the testimony of his parents, and asked: “How doth your son see?” when he said: “Whereas I was blind, now I see.” And in this case the man says, “I was blind and now I see.” Ask others if you do not believe me; ask strangers if you think his parents are in collusion with me. The obstinacy of these men is more hateful than that of the Jews, for the latter, when they doubted, at least asked his parents; the others enquire in secret and deny in public, incredulous not as to the work, but as to its Author.

19. But I ask what it is that they do not believe; is it whether any one can be aided by the martyrs? This is the same thing as not to believe Christ, for He Himself said: “Ye shall do greater things than these.” How? By those martyrs whose merits have been long efficacious, whose bodies were long since found? Here I ask, do they bear a grudge against me, or against the holy martyrs? If against me, are any miracles wrought by me? by my means or in my name? Why, then, grudge me what is not mine? If it be against the martyrs (for if they bear no grudge against me, it can only be

against them), they show that the martyrs were of another faith than that which they believe. For otherwise they would not have any feeling against their works, did they not judge that they have not the faith which was in them, that faith established by the tradition of our forefathers, which the devils themselves cannot deny, but the Arians do.

21. We have to-day heard those on whom hands were laid say, that no one can be saved unless he believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; that he is dead and buried who denies the Holy Spirit, and believes not the almighty power of the Trinity. The devil confesses this, but the Arians refuse to do so. The devil says: Let him who denies the Godhead of the Holy Spirit be so tormented as himself was tormented by the martyrs.

22. I do not accept the devil's testimony but his confession. The devil spoke unwillingly, being compelled and tormented. That which wickedness suppresses, torture extracts. The devil yields to blows, and the Arians have not yet learned to yield. How great have been their sufferings, and yet. like Pharaoh, they are hardened by their calamities! The devil said, as we find it written: "I know Thee Who Thou art, Thou art the Son of the living God." And the Jews said: "We know not whence He is." The evil spirits said to-day, yesterday, and during the night, We know that ye are martyrs. And the Arians say, We know not, we will not understand, we will not believe. The evil spirits say to the martyrs, Ye are come to destroy us. The Arians say, The torments of the devils are not real but fictitious and made-up tales. I have heard of many things being made up, but no one has ever been able to feign that he was an evil spirit. What is the meaning of the torment we see in those on whom hands are laid? What room is there here for fraud? what suspicion of pretense?

23. But I will not make use of the voice of evil spirits in support of the martyrs. Their holy sufferings are proved by the benefits they confer. These have persons to judge of them, namely, those who are cleansed, and witnesses, namely, those who are set free. That voice is better than that of devils, which the soundness of those utters who came infirm; better is the voice which blood sends forth, for blood has a loud voice reaching from earth to heaven. You have read how God said: "Thy brother's blood crieth unto Me." This blood cries by its color, the blood cries by the voice of its effects, the blood cries by the triumph of its passion. We have acceded to

your request, and have postponed till to-day the deposition of the relics which was to have taken place yesterday.

LETTER 40

St. Ambrose begs Theodosius to listen to him, as he cannot be silent without great risk to both. He points out that Theodosius though God-fearing may be led astray, and points out that his decision respecting the restoration of the Jewish synagogue is full of peril, exposing the bishop to the danger of either acting against the truth or of death. The case of Julian is referred to, and the reasons given for the imperial rescript are met, especially by the plea that the Jews had burnt many churches. St. Ambrose touches on the temple of the Valentinians, whom he declares to be worse than heathen, and points out what a door would be opened to the calumnies of the Jews and a triumph over Christ Himself. The Emperor is lastly warned by the example of Maximus not to take the part of Jews or heretics, and is urged to clemency.

Ambrose, Bishop, to the most clement prince, and blessed Emperor, Theodosius the Augustus.

1. I am continually harassed by almost incessant cares, most blessed Emperor, but I have never been in such anxiety as at present, since I see that I must take heed that there be nothing which may be ascribed to me savoring even of sacrilege. And so I entreat you to listen with patience to what I say. For, if I am unworthy to be heard by you, I am unworthy to offer for you, who have been entrusted by you with your vows and prayers. Will you not yourself hear him whom you wish to be heard for you? Will you not hear him pleading his own cause whom you have heard for others? And do you not fear for your own decision, lest by thinking him unworthy to be heard by you, you make him unworthy to be heard for you?

2. But it is neither the part of an emperor to refuse liberty of speech, nor of a priest not to say what he thinks. For there is nothing in you emperors so popular and so estimable as to appreciate freedom in those even who are in subjection to you by military obedience. For this is the difference

between good and bad princes, that the good love liberty, the bad slavery. And there is nothing in a priest so full of peril as regards God, or so base in the opinion of men, as not freely to declare what he thinks. For it is written: “I spoke of Thy testimonies before kings, and was not ashamed;” and in another place: “Son of man, I have set Thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, in order,” it is said, “that if the righteous doth turn from his righteousness, and commit iniquity, because thou hast not given him warning,” that is, hast not told him what to guard against, “the memory of his righteousness shall not be retained, and I will require his blood at thine hand. But if thou warn the righteous that he sin not, and he doth not sin, the righteous shall surely live because thou hast warned him, and thou shalt deliver thy soul.”

3. I had rather then, O Emperor, have fellowship with you in good than in evil, and therefore the silence of the priest ought to displease your Clemency, and his freedom to please you. For you are involved in the risk of my silence, but are aided by the benefit of my freedom. I am not, then, officiously intruding in things where I ought not, nor interfering in the affairs of others. I am obeying the commands of God. And I do this first of all out of love for you, good-will toward you, and desire of preserving your well-doing. If I am not believed in this, or am forbidden to act on this feeling, I speak in very truth for fear of offending God. For if my peril would set you free, I would patiently offer myself for you, though not willingly, for I had rather that without my peril you might be acceptable to God and glorious. But if the guilt of silence and dissimulation on my part would both weigh me down and not set you free, I had rather that you should think me too importunate, than useless and base. Since it is written, as the holy Apostle Paul says, whose teaching you cannot controvert: “Be instant, in season, out of season, reprove, entreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine.”

4. We, then, also have One Whom it is even more perilous to displease, especially since even emperors are not displeased when every one discharges his own office, and you patiently listen to every one making suggestions in his own sphere, nay, you rebuke him if he act not according to the order of his service. Can this, then, seem to you offensive in priests, which you willingly accept from those who serve you; since we speak not what we wish, but what we are bidden? For you know the passage: “When

ye shall stand before kings and rulers, take no thought what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Who speaketh in you." And if I were speaking in state causes, although justice must be observed even in them, I should not feel such dread if I were not listened to, but in the cause of God whom will you listen to, if not to the priest, at whose greater peril sin is committed? Who will dare to tell you the truth if the priest dare not?

5. I know that you are Godfearing, merciful, gentle, and calm, having the faith and fear of God at heart, but often some things escape our notice. "Some have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge." And I think that we ought to take care lest this also come upon faithful souls. I know your piety towards God, your lenity towards men, I myself am bound by the benefits of your favor. And therefore I fear the more, I am the more anxious; lest even you condemn me hereafter by your own judgment, because through my want of openness or my flattery you should not have avoided some fault. If I saw that you sinned against me, I ought not to keep silence, for it is written: "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him at first, then chide him sharply before two or three witnesses. If he will not hear thee, tell the Church." Shall I, then, keep silence in the cause of God? Let us, then, consider what I have to fear.

6. A report was made by the military Count of the East that a synagogue had been burnt, and that this was done at the instigation of the Bishop. You gave command that the others should be punished, and the synagogue be rebuilt by the Bishop himself. I do not urge that the Bishop's account ought to have been waited for, for priests are the calmers of disturbances, and anxious for peace, except when even they are moved by some offense against God, or insult to the Church. Let us suppose that that Bishop was too eager in the matter of burning the synagogue, and too timid at the judgment-seat, are not you afraid, O Emperor, lest he comply with your sentence, lest he fail in his faith?

7. Are you not also afraid, lest, which will happen, he oppose your Count with a refusal? He will then be obliged to make him either an apostate or a martyr, either of these alien to the times, either of them equivalent to persecution, if he be compelled either to apostatize or to undergo martyrdom. You see in what direction the issue of the matter inclines. If

you think the Bishop firm, guard against making a martyr of a firm man; if you think him vacillating, avoid causing the fall of one who is frail. For he has a heavy responsibility who has caused the weak to fall.

8. Having, then, thus stated the two sides of the matter, suppose that the said Bishop says that he himself kindled the fire, collected the crowd, gathered the people together, in order not to lose an opportunity of martyrdom, and instead of the weak to put forward a stronger athlete. O happy falsehood, whereby one gains for others acquittal, for himself grace! This it is, O Emperor, which I, too, have requested, that you would rather take vengeance on me, and if you consider this a crime, would attribute it to me. Why order judgment against one who is absent? You have the guilty man present, you hear his confession. I declare that I set fire to the synagogue, or at least that I ordered those who did it, that there might not be a place where Christ was denied. If it be objected to me that I did not set the synagogue on fire here, I answer, it began to be burnt by the judgment of God, and my work came to an end. And if the very truth be asked, I was the more slack because I did not expect that it would be punished. Why should I do that which as it was unavenged would also be without reward? These words hurt modesty but recall grace, lest that be done whereby an offense against God most High may be committed.

9. But let it be granted that no one will cite the Bishop to the performance of this task, for I have asked this of your Clemency, and although I have not yet read that this edict is revoked, let us notwithstanding assume that it is revoked. What if others more timid offer that the synagogue be restored at their cost; or that the Count, having found this previously determined, himself orders it to be rebuilt out of the funds of Christians? You, O Emperor, will have an apostate Count, and to him will you entrust the victorious standards? Will you entrust the laburnum, consecrated as it is by the Name of Christ, to one who restores the synagogue which knows not Christ? Order the laburnum to be carried into the synagogue, and let us see if they do not resist.

10. Shall, then, a place be made for the unbelief of the Jews out of the spoils of the Church, and shall the patrimony, which by the favor of Christ has been gained for Christians, be transferred to the treasuries of unbelievers? We read that Of old temples were built for idols of the

plunder taken from Cimbri, and the spoils of other enemies. Shall the Jews write this inscription on the front of their synagogue: “The temple of impiety, erected from the plunder of Christians”?

11. But, perhaps, the cause of discipline moves you, O Emperor. Which, then, is of greater importance, the show of discipline or the cause of religion? It is needful that judgment should yield to religion.

12. Have you not heard, O Emperor, how, when Julian had commanded that the temple of Jerusalem should be restored, those who were clearing the rubbish were consumed by fire? Will you not beware lest this happen now again? For you ought not to have commanded what Julian commanded.

13. But what is your motive? Is it because a public building of whatever kind has been burnt, or because it was a synagogue? If you are moved by the burning of a building of no importance (for what could there be in so mean a town?), do you not remember, O Emperor, how many prefects’ houses have been burnt at Rome, and no one inflicted punishment for it? And, in truth, if any emperor had desired to punish the deed sharply, he would have injured the cause of him who had suffered so great a loss. Which, then, is more fitting, that a fire in some part of the buildings of Callinicum, or of the city of Rome, should be punished, if indeed it were right at all? At Constantinople lately, the house of the bishop was burnt and your Clemency’s son interceded with his father, praying that you would not avenge the insult offered to him, that is, to the son of the emperor, and the burning of the episcopal house. Do you not consider, O Emperor, that if you were to order this deed to be punished, he would again intervene against the punishment? That favor was, however, fittingly obtained by the son from the father, for it was worthy of him first to forgive the injury done to himself. That was a good division in the distribution of favor, that the son should be entreated for his own loss, the father for that of the son. Here there is nothing for you to keep back for your son. Take heed, then, lest you derogate aught from God.

14. There is, then, no adequate cause for such a commotion, that the people should be so severely punished for the burning of a building, and much less since it is the burning of a synagogue, a home of unbelief, a house of impiety, a receptacle of folly, which God Himself has

condemned. For thus we read, where the Lord our God speaks by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah: “And I will do to this house, which is called by My Name, wherein ye trust, and to the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh, and I will cast you forth from My sight, as I cast forth your brethren, the whole seed of Ephraim. And do not thou pray for that people, and do not thou ask mercy for them, and do not come near Me on their behalf, for I will not hear thee. Or seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah?” God forbids intercession to be made for those.

15. And certainly, if I were pleading according to the law of nations, I could tell how many of the Church’s basilicas the Jews burnt in the time of the Emperor Julian: two at Damascus, one of which is scarcely now repaired, and this at the cost of the Church, not of the Synagogue; the other basilica still is a rough mass of shapeless ruins. Basilicas were burnt at Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, and in almost every place in those parts, and no one demanded punishment. And at Alexandria a basilica was burnt by heathen and Jews, which surpassed all the rest. The Church was not avenged, shall the Synagogue be so?

16. Shall, then, the burning of the temple of the Valentinians be also avenged? But what is but a temple in which is a gathering of heathen? Although the heathen invoke twelve gods, the Valentinians worship thirty-two Aeons whom they call gods. And I have found out concerning these also that it is reported and ordered that some monks should be punished, who, when the Valentinians were stopping the road on which, according to custom and ancient use, they were singing psalms as they went to celebrate the festival of the Maccabees, enraged by their insolence, burnt their hurriedly-built temple in some country village.

17. How many have to offer themselves to such a choice, when they remember that in the time of Julian, he who threw down an altar, and disturbed a sacrifice, was condemned by the judge and suffered martyrdom? And so the judge who heard him was never esteemed other than a prosecutor, for no one thought him worthy of being associated with, or of a kiss. And if he were not now dead, I should fear, O Emperor, that you would take vengeance on him, although he escaped not the vengeance of heaven, outliving his own heir.

18. But it is related that the judge was ordered to take cognizance of the matter, and that it was written that he ought not to have reported the deed, but to have punished it, and that the money chests which had been taken away should be demanded. I will omit other matters. The buildings of our churches were burnt by the Jews, and nothing was restored, nothing was asked back, nothing demanded. But what could the Synagogue have possessed in a far distant town, when the whole of what there is there is not much; there is nothing of value, and no abundance? And what then could the scheming Jews lose by the fire? These are artifices of the Jews who wish to calumniate us, that because of their complaints, an extraordinary military inquiry may be ordered, and a soldier sent, who will, perhaps, say what one said once here, O Emperor, before your accession: "How will Christ be able to help us who fight for the Jews against Christ, who are sent to avenge the Jews? They have destroyed their own armies, and wish to destroy ours."

19. Further, into what calumnies will they not break out, who by false witness calumniated even Christ? Into what calumnies will not men break out who are liars, even in things belonging to God? Whom will they not say to have been the instigators of that sedition? Whom will they not assail, even of those whom they recognize not, that may gaze upon the numberless ranks of Christians in chains, that they may see the necks of the faithful people bowed in captivity, that the servants of God may be concealed in darkness, may be beheaded, given over to the fire, delivered to the mines, that their sufferings may not quickly pass away?

20. Will you give this triumph over the Church of God to the Jews? this trophy over Christ's people, this exultation, O Emperor, to the unbelievers? this rejoicing to the Synagogue, this sorrow to the Church? The people of the Jews will set this solemnity amongst their feast-days, and will doubtless number it amongst those on which they triumphed either over the Amorites, or the Canaanites, or were delivered from the hand of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, or of Nebuchodonosor, King of Babylon. They will add this solemnity, in memory of their having triumphed over the people of Christ.

21. And whereas they deny that they themselves are bound by the Roman laws, and repute those laws as criminal, yet now they think that they

ought to be avenged, as it were, by the Roman laws. Where were those laws when they themselves set fire to the roofs of the sacred basilicas? If Julian did not avenge the Church because he was an apostate, will you, O Emperor, avenge the injury done to the Synagogue, because you are a Christian?

22. And what will Christ say to you afterwards? Do you not remember what He said by the prophet Nathan to holy David? “I have chosen thee the youngest of thy brethren, and from a private man have made thee emperor. I have placed of the fruit of thy seed on the imperial throne. I have made barbarous nations subject unto thee, I have given thee peace, I have delivered thine enemy captive into thy power. Thou hadst no corn for provision for thine army, I opened to thee the gates, I opened to thee their stores by the hand of the enemies themselves. Thy enemies gave to thee their provisions which they had prepared for themselves. I troubled the counsels of thy enemy, so that he made himself bare. I so lettered the usurper of the empire himself and bound his mind, that whilst he still had means of escape, yet with all belonging to him, as though for fear lest any should escape thee, he shut himself in. His officer and forces on the other element, whom before I had scattered, that they might not join to fight against thee, I brought together again to complete thy victory. Thy army, gathered together from many unsubdued nations, I bade keep faith, tranquillity, and concord as if of one nation. When there was the greatest danger lest the perfidious designs of the barbarians should penetrate the Alps, I conferred victory on thee within the very wall of the Alps, that thou mightest conquer without loss. Thus, then, I caused thee to triumph over thy enemy, and thou givest My enemies a triumph over My people.”

23. Is it not on this account that Maximus was forsaken, who, before the days of the expedition, hearing that a synagogue had been burnt in Rome, had sent an edict to Rome, as if he were the upholder of public order? Wherefore the Christian people said, No good is in store for him. That king has become a Jew, we have heard of him as a defender of order, and Christ, Who died for sinners, soon tested him. If this was said of words, what will be said of punishment? And then at once he was overcome by the Franks and the Saxons, in Sicily, at Siscia, at Petavio, in a word everywhere. What has the believer in common with the unbeliever? The instances of his unbelief ought to be done away with together with the unbeliever himself.

That which injured him, that wherein he who was conquered offended, the conqueror ought not to follow but to condemn.

24. I have, then, recounted these things not as to one who is ungrateful, but have enumerated them as rightly bestowed, in order that, warned by them, you, to whom more has been given, may love more. When Simon answered in these words the Lord Jesus said: “Thou hast judged rightly.” And straightway turning to the woman who anointed His feet with ointment, setting forth a type of the Church, He said to Simon: “Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins which are many are forgiven, since she loved much. But he to whom less is forgiven loveth less.” This is the woman who entered into the house of the Pharisee, and cast off the Jew, but gained Christ. For the Church shut out the Synagogue, why is it now again attempted that in the servant of Christ the Synagogue should exclude the Church from the bosom of faith, from the house of Christ?

25. I have brought these matters together in this address, O Emperor, out of love and zeal for you. For I owe it to your kindnesses (whereby, at my request, you have liberated many from exile, from prison, from the extreme penalty of death) that I should not fear even offending your feelings for the sake of your own salvation (no one has greater confidence than he who loves from his heart, certainly no one ought to injure him who takes thought for him); that I may not lose in one moment that favor granted to every priest and received by me for so many years; and yet it is not the loss of favor which I deprecate but the peril to salvation.

26. And yet how great a thing it is, O Emperor, that you should not think it necessary to enquire or to punish in regard to a matter as to which up to this day no one has enquired, no one has ever inflicted punishment. It is a serious matter to endanger your salvation for the Jews. When Gideon had slain the sacred calf, the heathen said, The gods will themselves avenge the injury done to them. Who is to avenge the Synagogue? Christ, Whom they slew, Whom they denied? Will God the Father avenge those who do not receive the Father, since they have not received the Son? Who is to avenge the heresy of the Valentinians? How can your piety avenge them, seeing it has commanded them to be excluded, and denied them permission to meet together? If I set before you Josiah as a king approved of God, will you condemn that in them which was approved in him?

27. But at any rate if too little confidence is placed in me, command the presence of those bishops whom you think fit, let it be discussed, O Emperor, what ought to be done without injury to the faith, If you consult your officers concerning pecuniary causes, how much more just is it that you should consult the priests of God in the cause of religion.

28. Let your Clemency consider from how many plotters, how many spies the Church suffers. If they come upon a slight crack, they plant a dart in it. I speak after the manner of men, but God is feared more than men, Who is rightly set before even emperors. If any one thinks it right that deference should be paid to a friend, a parent, or a neighbor, I am right in judging that deference should be paid to God, and that He should be preferred to all. Consult, O Emperor, your own advantage, or suffer me to consult mine.

29. What shall I answer hereafter, if it be discovered that, by authority given from this place, Christians have been slain by the sword, or by clubs, or thongs knotted with lead? How shall I explain such a fact? How shall I excuse it to those bishops, who now mourn bitterly because some, who have discharged the office of the priesthood for thirty and many more years, or other ministers of the Church, are withdrawn from their sacred office, and set to discharge municipal duties? For if they who war for you serve for a stated time of service, how much more ought you to consider those who war for God. How, I say, shall I excuse this to the bishops, who make complaint concerning the clergy, and write that the Churches are wasted by a serious attack upon them?

30. I was desirous that this should come to the knowledge of your Clemency. You will, when it pleases you, vouchsafe to consider and give order according to your will, but exclude and cast out that which troubles me, and troubles me rightly. You do yourself whatever you order to be done, even if he, your officer, do not do it. I much prefer that you should be merciful, than that he should not do what he has been ordered.

31. You have those for whom you ought yet to invite and to merit the mercy of the Lord in regard to the Roman Empire; you have those for whom you hope even more than for yourself; let the grace of God for them, let their salvation appeal to you in these words of mine. I fear that you may commit your cause to the judgment of others. Everything is still unprejudiced before you. On this point I pledge myself to our God for

you, do not fear your oath. Is it possible that that should displease God which is amended for His honor? You need not alter anything in that letter, whether it be sent or is not yet sent. Order another to be written, which shall be full of faith, full of piety. For you it is possible to change for the better, for me it is not possible to hide the truth.

32. You forgave the Antiochians the insult offered to you; you have recalled the daughters of your enemy, and given them to be brought up by a relative; you sent sums of money to the mother of your enemy from your own treasury. This so great piety, this so great faith towards God, will be darkened by this deed. Do not you, then, I entreat, who spared enemies in arms, and preserved your adversaries, think that Christians ought to be punished with such eagerness.

33. And now, O Emperor, I beg you not to disdain to hear me who am in fear both for yourself and for myself, for it is the voice of a Saint which says: “Wherefore was I made to see the misery of my people?” that I should commit an offense against God. I, indeed, have done what could be done consistently with honor to you, that you might rather listen to me in the palace, lest, if it were necessary, you should listen to me in the Church.

LETTER 41

St. Ambrose in this letter to his sister continues the account of the matters contained in his letter to Theodosius, and of a sermon which he subsequently delivered before the Emperor, with the result that the Emperor, when St. Ambrose refused to offer the Sacrifice before receiving a promise that the objectionable order should be revoked, yielded.

THE BROTHER TO HIS SISTER.

1. YOU were good enough to write me word that your holiness was still anxious, because I had written that I was so, so that I am surprised that you did not receive my letter in which I wrote word that satisfaction had been granted me. For when it was reported that a synagogue of the Jews and a conventicle of the Valentinians had been burnt by Christians at the instigation of the bishop, an order was made while I was at Aquileia, that

the synagogue should be rebuilt, and the monks punished who had burnt the Valentinian building. Then since I gained little by frequent endeavors, I wrote and sent a letter to the Emperor, and when he went to church I delivered this discourse.

2. In the book of the prophet it is written: “Take to thyself the rod of an almond tree.” We ought to consider why the Lord said this to the prophet, for it was not written without a purpose, since in the Pentateuch too we read that the almond rod of Aaron the priest, after being long laid up, blossomed. For the Lord seems to signify by the rod that the prophetic or priestly authority ought to be straightforward, and to advise not so much what is pleasant as what is expedient.

3. And so the prophet is bidden to take an almond rod, because the fruit of this tree is bitter in its rind, hard in its shell, and inside it is pleasant, that after its likeness the prophet should set forth things bitter and hard, and should not fear to proclaim harsh things. Likewise also the priest; for his teaching, though for a time it may seem bitter to some, and like Aaron’s rod be long laid up in the ears of dissemblers, yet after a time, when it is thought to have dried up, it blossoms.

4. Wherefore also the Apostle says: “What will ye, shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and in the spirit of gentleness?” First he made mention of the rod, and like the almond rod struck those who were wandering, that he might afterwards comfort them in the spirit of meekness. And so meekness restored him whom the rod had deprived of the heavenly sacraments. And to his disciple he gave similar injunctions, saying: “Reprove, beseech, rebuke.” Two of these are hard, one is gentle, but they are hard only that they may soften; for as to suffering from excess of gall, bitter food or drink seems sweet, and on the other hand sweet food is bitter, so where the mind is wounded it grows worse under the influence of pleasurable flattery, and again is made sound by the bitterness of correction.

5. Let thus much be gathered from the passage of the prophet, and let us now consider what the lesson from the Gospel contains: “One of the Pharisees invited the Lord Jesus to eat with him, and He entered into the Pharisee’s house and sat down. And behold a woman, who was a sinner in the city, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee’s house,

brought an alabaster box of ointment, and standing behind at His feet, began to wash His feet with her tears.” And then he read as far as this place: “Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace.” How simple, I went on to say, is this Gospel lesson in words, how deep in its counsels! And so because the words are those of the “Great Counselor,” let us consider their depth.

6. Our Lord Jesus Christ judged that men could more readily be bound and led on to do the things that are right by kindness than by fear, and that love avails more than dread for correction. And so, when He came, being born of a Virgin, He sent forth His grace, that sin might be forgiven in baptism in order to make us more grateful to Himself. Then if we repay Him by services befitting men who are grateful, He has declared in this woman that there will be a reward for this grace itself to all men. For if He had forgiven only our original debt, He would have seemed more cautious than merciful, and more careful for our correction than magnificent in His rewards. It is only the cunning of a narrow mind that tries to entice, but it is fitting for God that those whom He has invited by grace He should lead on by increase of that grace. And so He first bestows on us a gift by baptism, and afterwards gives more abundantly to those who serve Him faithfully. So, then, the benefits of Christ are both incentives and rewards of virtue.

7. And let no one be startled at the word “creditor.” We were before under a hard creditor, who was not to be satisfied and paid to the full but by the death of the debtor. The Lord Jesus came, He saw us bound by a heavy debt. No one could pay his debt with the patrimony of his innocence. I could have nothing of my own wherewith to free myself. He gave to me a new kind of acquittance, changing my creditor because I had nothing wherewith to pay my debt. But it was sin, not nature, which had made us debtors, for we had contracted heavy debts by our sins, that we who had been free should be bound, for he is a debtor who received any of his creditor’s money. Now sin is of the devil; that wicked one has, as it were, these riches in his possession. For as the riches of Christ are virtues, so crimes are the wealth of the devil. He had reduced the human race to perpetual captivity by the heavy debt of inherited liability, which our debt-laden ancestor had transmitted to his posterity by inheritance. The

Lord Jesus came, He offered His death for the death of all, He poured out His Blood for the blood of all.

8. So, then, we have changed our creditor, not escaped wholly, or rather we have escaped, for the debt remains but the interest is canceled, for the Lord Jesus said, “To those who are in bonds, Come out, and to those who are in prison, Go forth;” so your sins are forgiven. All, then, are forgiven, nor is there any one whom He has not loosed. For thus it is written, that He has forgiven “all transgressions, doing away the handwriting of the ordinance that was against us.” Why, then, do we hold the bonds of others, and desire to exact the debts of others, while we enjoy our own remission? He who forgave all, required of all that what every one remembers to have been forgiven to himself, he also should forgive others.

9. Take care that you do not begin to be in a worse case as creditor than as debtor, like the man in the Gospel, to whom his Lord forgave all his debt, and who afterwards began to exact from his fellow-servant that which he himself had not paid, for which reason his master being angry, exacted from him, with the bitterest reproaches, that which he had before forgiven him. Let us, therefore, take heed lest this happen to us, that by not forgiving that which is due to ourselves, we should incur the payment of what has been forgiven us, for thus is it written in the words of the Lord Jesus: “So shall My Father, Which is in heaven, do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother.” Let us, then, forgive few things to whom many have been forgiven, and understand that the more we forgive the more acceptable shall we be to God, for we are the more well pleasing to God, the more we have been forgiven.

10. And, finally, the Pharisee, when the Lord asked him, “which of them loved him most,” answered, “I suppose that he to whom he forgave most.” And the Lord replied. “Thou hast judged rightly.” The judgment of the Pharisee is praised, but his affection is blamed. He judges well concerning others, but does not himself believe that which he thinks well of in the case of others. You hear a Jew praising the discipline of the Church, extolling its true grace, honoring the priests of the Church; if you exhort him to believe he refuses, and so follows not himself that which he praises in us. His praise, then, is not full, because Christ said to him: “Thou hast rightly judged,” for Cain also offered rightly, but did not divide rightly, and

therefore God said to him: “If thou offerest rightly, but dividest not rightly, thou hast sinned, be still.” So, then, this man offered rightly, for he judges that Christ ought to be more loved by Christians, because He has forgiven us many sins; but he divided not rightly, because he thought that He could be ignorant of the sins of men Who forgave the sins of men.

11. And, therefore, He said to Simon: “Thou seest this woman. I entered into thine house, and thou gavest Me no water for My feet, but she hath washed My feet with her tears.” We are all the one body of Christ, the head of which is God, and we are the members; some perchance eyes, as the prophets; others teeth, as the apostles, who have passed the food of the Gospel preached into our breasts, and rightly is it written: “His eyes shall be bright with wine. and his teeth whiter than milk.” And His hands are they who are seen to carry out good works, His belly are they who distribute the strength of nourishment on the poor. So, too, some are His feet, and would that I might be worthy to be His heel! He, then, pours water upon the feet of Christ, who forgives the very lowest their offenses, and while delivering those of low estate, yet is washing the feet of Christ.

12. And he pours water upon the feet of Christ, who purifies his conscience from the defilement of sin, for Christ walks in the breast of each. Take heed, then, not to hare your conscience polluted, and so to begin to defile the feet of Christ. Take heed lest He encounter a thorn of wickedness in you, whereby as He walks in you His heel may be wounded. For this was why the Pharisee gave no water for the feet of Christ, that he had not a soul pure from the filth of unbelief. For how could he cleanse his conscience who had not received the water of Christ? But the Church both has this water and has tears. For faith which mourns over former sins is wont to guard against fresh ones. Therefore, Simon the Pharisee, who had no water, had also, of course, no tears. For how should he have tears who had no penitence? For since he believed not in Christ he had no tears. For if he had had them he would have washed his eyes, that he might see Christ, Whom, though he sat at meat with Him, he saw not. For had he seen Him, he would not have doubted of His power.

13. The Pharisee had no hair, inasmuch as he could not recognize the Nazarite; the Church had hair, and she sought the Nazarite, Hairs are counted as amongst the superfluities of the body, but if they be anointed,

they give forth a good odor, and are an ornament to the head; if they be not anointed with oil, are a burden. So, too, riches are a burden if you know not how to use them, and sprinkle them not with the odor of Christ. But if you nourish the poor, if you wash their wounds and wipe away their filth, you have indeed wiped the feet of Christ.

14. “Thou gavest Me no kiss, but she from the time she came in hath not ceased to kiss My feet.” A kiss is the sign of love. Whence, then, can a Jew have a kiss, seeing he has not known peace, nor received peace from Christ when He said: “My peace I give you, My peace I leave you.” The Synagogue has not a kiss, but the Church has, who waited for Him, who loved Him, who said: “Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth.” For by His kisses she wished gradually to quench the burning of that long desire, which had grown with looking for the coming of the Lord, and to satisfy her thirst by this gift. And so the holy prophet says: “Thou shalt open my mouth, and it shall declare Thy praise.” He, then, who praises the Lord Jesus kisses Him, he who praises Him undoubtedly believes. Finally, David himself says: “I believed, therefore have I spoken;” and before: “Let my mouth be filled with Thy praise, and let me sing of Thy glory.”

15. And the same Scripture teaches you concerning the infusion of special grace, that he kisses Christ who receives the Spirit, where the holy prophet says: “I opened my mouth and drew in the Spirit.” He, then, kisses Christ who confesses Him: “For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” He, again, kisses the feet of Christ who, when reading the Gospel, recognizes the acts of the Lord Jesus, and admires them with pious affection, and so piously he kisses, as it were, the footprints of the Lord Jesus as He walks. We kiss Christ, then, with the kiss of communion: “Let him that readeth understand.”

16. Whence should the Jew have this kiss? For he who believed in His coming, believed not in His Passion. For how can he believe that He has suffered Whom he believes not to have come? The Pharisee, then, had no kiss except perchance that of the traitor Judas. But neither had Judas the kiss; and so when he wished to show to, the Jews that kiss which he had promised as the sign of betrayal, the Lord said to him: “Judas, betrayest

thou the Son of Man with a kiss?" that is, you, who have not the love marked by the kiss, offer a kiss. You offer a kiss who know not the mystery of the kiss. It is not the kiss of the lips which is sought for, but that of the heart and soul.

17. But you say, he kissed the Lord. Yes, he kissed Him indeed with his lips. The Jewish people has this kiss, and therefore it is said: "This people honoreth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me." So, then, he who has not faith and charity has not the kiss, for by a kiss the strength of love is impressed. When love is not, faith is not, and affection is not, what sweetness can there be in kisses?

18. But the Church ceases not to kiss the feet of Christ, and therefore in the Song of Songs she desires not one but many kisses, and like Holy Mary she is intent upon all His sayings, and receives all His words when the Gospel or the Prophets are read, and "keeps all His sayings in her heart." So, then, the Church alone has kisses as a bride, for a kiss is as it were a pledge of espousals and the prerogative of wedlock. Whence should the Jew have kisses, who believes not in the Bridegroom? Whence should the Jew have kisses, who knows not that the Bridegroom is come?

19. And not only has he no kisses, but neither has he oil wherewith to anoint the feet of Christ, for if he had oil he would certainly, before now, soften his own neck. Moses says: "This people is stiff-necked," and the Lord says that the priest and the Levite passed by, and neither of them poured oil or wine into the wounds of him who had been wounded by robbers; for they had nothing to pour in, since if they had had oil they would have poured it into their own wounds. But Isaiah declares: "They cannot apply ointment nor oil nor bandage."

20. But the Church has oil wherewith she dresses the wounds of her children, lest the hardness of the wound spread deeply; she has oil which she has received secretly. With this oil Asher washed his feet as it is written: "A blessed son is Asher, and he shall be acceptable to his brothers, and shall dip his feet in oil." With this oil, then, the Church anoints the necks of her children, that they may take up the yoke of Christ; with this oil she anointed the Martyrs, that she might cleanse them from the dust of this world; with this oil she anointed the Confessors, that they might not yield to their labors, nor sink down through weariness; that

they might not be overcome by the heat of this world; and she anointed them in order to refresh them with the spiritual oil.

21. The Synagogue has not this oil, inasmuch as she has not the olive, and understood not that dove which brought back the olive branch after the deluge. For that Dove descended afterwards when Christ was baptized, and abode upon Him, as John testified in the Gospel, saying: "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and He abode upon Him." But how could he see the Dove, who saw not Him, upon Whom the Spirit descended like a dove?

22. The Church, then, both washes the feet of Christ and wipes them with her hair. and anoints them with oil, and pours ointment upon them, because not only does she care for the wounded and cherish the weary, but also sprinkles them with the sweet odor of grace; and pours forth the same grace not only on the rich and powerful, but also on men of lowly estate. She weighs all with equal balance, gathers all in the same bosom, and cherishes them in the same lap.

23. Christ died once, and was buried once, and nevertheless He wills that ointment should daily be poured on His feet. What, then, are those feet of Christ on which we pour ointment? The feet of Christ are they of whom He Himself says: "What ye have done to one of the least of these ye have done to Me." These feet that woman in the Gospel refreshes, these feet she bedews with her tears; when sin is forgiven to the lowliest, guilt is washed away, and pardon granted. These feet he kisses, who loves even the lowest of the holy people. These feet he anoints with ointment, who imparts the kindness of his gentleness even to the weaker. In these the martyrs, in these the apostles, in these the Lord Jesus Himself declares that He is honored.

24. You see how ready to teach the Lord is, that He may by His own example provoke you to piety, for He is ready to teach when He rebukes. So when accusing the Jews, He says: "O My people, what have I done to thee, or wherein have I troubled thee, or wherein have I wearied thee? Answer Me. Is it because I brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee from the house of bondage?" adding: "And I sent before thy face Moses and Aaron and Miriam." Remember what Balaam conceived against thee, seeking the aid of magic art, but I suffered him not to hurt

thee. Thou wast indeed weighed down an exile in foreign lands, thou wast oppressed with heavy burdens. I sent before thy face Moses and Aaron and Miriam, and he who spoiled the exile was first spoiled himself. Thou who hadst lost what was thine, didst obtain that which was another's, being freed from the enemies who were hedging thee in, and safe in the midst of the waters thou sawest the destruction of thine enemies, when the same waves which surrounded and carried thee on thy way, pouring back, drowned the enemy. Did I not, when food was lacking to thee passing through the desert, supply a rain of food, and nourishment around thee, whithersoever thou wentest? Did I not, after subduing all thine enemies, bring thee into the region of Eshcol? Did I not deliver up thee Sihon, King of the Amorites (that is, the proud one, the leader of them that provoked thee)? Did I not deliver up to thee alive the King of Ai, whom after the ancient curse thou didst condemn to be fastened to the wood and raised upon the cross? Why should I speak of the troops of the five kings which were slain in endeavoring to deny thee the land given to thee? And now what is required of thee in return for all this, but to do judgment and justice, to love mercy, and to be ready to walk with the Lord thy God?

25. And what was His expostulation by Nathan the prophet to King David himself, that pious and gentle man? I, He said, chose thee the youngest of thy brethren, I filled thee with the spirit of meekness, I anointed thee king by the hand of Samuel, in whom I and My Name dwelt. Having removed that former king, whom an evil spirit stirred up to persecute the priests of the Lord, I made thee triumph after exile. I set upon thy throne of thy seed one not more an heir than a colleague. I made even strangers subject to thee, that they who attacked might serve thee, and wilt thou deliver My servants into the power of My enemies, and wilt thou take away that which was My servant's, whereby both thyself wilt be branded with sin, and My adversaries will have whereof to rejoice.

26. Wherefore, O Emperor, that I may now address my words not only about you, but to you, since you observe how severely the Lord is wont to censure, see that the more glorious you are become, the more utterly you submit to your Maker. For it is written: "When the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into a strange land, and thou shalt eat the fruits of others, say not, My power and my righteousness hath given me this, for the Lord thy God hath given it to thee;" for Christ in His mercy hath

conferred it on thee, and therefore, in love for His body, that is, the Church, give water for His feet, kiss His feet, so that you may not only pardon those who have been taken in sin, but also by your peaceableness restore them to concord, and give them rest Pour ointment upon His feet that the whole house in which Christ sits may be filled with thy ointment, and all that sit with Him may rejoice in thy fragrance, that is, honor the lowest, so that the angels may rejoice in their forgiveness, as over one sinner that repenteth, the apostles may be glad, the prophets be filled with delight. For the eyes cannot say to the hand: “We have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet, Ye are not necessary to me.” So, since all are necessary, guard the whole body of the Lord Jesus, that He also by His heavenly condescension may preserve your kingdom.

27. When I came down from the pulpit, he said to me: “You spoke about me.” I replied: “I dealt with matters intended for your benefit.” Then he said: “I had indeed decided too harshly about the repairing of the synagogue by the bishop, but that has been rectified. The monks commit many crimes.” Then Timasius the general began to be over-vehement against the monks, and I answered him: “With the Emperor I deal as is fitting, because I know that he has the fear of God, but with you, who speak so roughly, one must deal otherwise.”

28. Then, after standing for some time, I said to the Emperor: “Let me offer for you without anxiety, set my mind at ease.” As he continued sitting and nodded, but did not give an open promise, and I remained standing, he said that he would amend the edict. I went on at once to say that he must end the whole investigation, lest the Count should use the opportunity of the investigation to do any injury to the Christians. He promised that it should be so. I said to him, “I act on your promise,” and repeated, “I act on your promise.” “Act,” he said, “on my promise.” And so I went to the altar, whither I should not have gone unless he had given me a distinct promise. And indeed so great was the grace attending the offering, that I felt myself that that favor granted by the Emperor was very acceptable to our God, and that the divine presence was not wanting. And so everything was done as I wished.

LETTER 51

Addressed to the Emperor Theodosius after the massacre at Thessalonica. St. Ambrose begins by stating his reasons for not having met the Emperor on his return to Milan. He then mentions the sentiments of the bishops with regard to the slaughter at Thessalonica, and points out that repentance for that deed is necessary to obtain forgiveness and a victory over the devil, the instigator to that crime. St. Ambrose could not offer the sacrifice in the Emperor's presence, and, as truly loving the Emperor, grieves and yet hopes.

1. THE memory of your old friendship is pleasant to me, and I gratefully call to mind the kindnesses which, in reply to my frequent intercessions, you have most graciously conferred on others. Whence it may be inferred that I did not from any ungrateful feeling avoid meeting you on your arrival, which I had always before earnestly desired. And I will now briefly set forth the reason for my acting as I did.

2. I saw that from me alone in your court the natural right of hearing was withdrawn, so that I was deprived also of the office of speaking; for you were frequently troubled because certain matters which had been decided in your consistory had come to my knowledge. I, therefore, am without a part in the common privilege, since the Lord Jesus says: "That nothing is hidden, which shall not be made known." I, therefore, as reverently as I could, complied with the imperial will, and took heed that neither yourself should have any reason for displeasure, when I effected that nothing should be related to me of the imperial decrees; and that I, when present, either should not hear, through fear of all others, and so incur the reputation of connivance, or should hear in such a fashion that my ears might be open, my utterance prevented, that I might not be able to utter what I had heard lest I should injure and bring in peril those who had incurred the suspicion of treachery.

3. What, then, could I do? Should I not hear? But I could not close my ears with the wax of the old fables. Should I utter what I heard? But I was bound to be on my guard in my words against that which I feared in your commands, namely, lest some deed of blood should be committed. Should I

keep silence? But then my conscience would be bound, my utterance taken away, which would be the most wretched condition of all. And where would be that text? If the priest speak not to him that erreth, he who errs shall die in his sin, and the priest shall be liable to the penalty because he warned not the erring.

4. Listen, august Emperor. I cannot deny that you have a zeal for the faith; I do confess that you have the fear of God. But you have a natural vehemence, which, if any one endeavors to soothe, you quickly turn to mercy; if any one stirs it up, you rouse it so much more that you can scarcely restrain it. Would that if no one soothe it, at least no one may inflame it! To yourself I willingly entrust it, you restrain yourself, and overcome your natural vehemence by the love of piety.

5. This vehemence of yours I preferred to commend privately to your own consideration, rather than possibly raise it by any action of mine in public. And so I have preferred to be somewhat wanting in duty rather than in humility, and that other, should rather think me wanting in priestly authority than that you should find me lacking in most loving reverence, that having restrained your vehemence your power of deciding on your counsel should not be weakened. I excuse myself by bodily sickness, which was in truth severe, and scarcely to be lightened but by great care. Yet I would rather have died than not wait two or three days for your arrival. But it was not possible for me to do so.

6. There was that done in the city of the Thessalonians of which no similar record exists, which I was not able to prevent happening; which, indeed, I had before said would be most atrocious when I so often petitioned against it, and that which you yourself show by revoking it too late you consider to be grave, this I could not extenuate when done. When it was first heard of, a synod had met because of the arrival of the Gallican Bishops. There was not one who did not lament it, not one who thought lightly of it; your being in fellowship with Ambrose was no excuse for your deed. Blame for what had been done would have been heaped more and more on me, had no one said that your reconciliation to our God was necessary.

7. Are you ashamed, O Emperor, to do that which the royal prophet David, the forefather of Christ, according to the flesh, did? To him it was told how the rich man who had many flocks seized and killed the poor

man’s one lamb, because of the arrival of his guest, and recognizing that he himself was being condemned in the tale, for that he himself had done it, he said: “l have sinned against the Lord.” Bear it, then, without impatience, O Emperor, if it be said to you: “You have done that which was spoken of to King David by the prophet. For if you listen obediently to this, and say: “I have sinned against the Lord,” if you repeat those words of the royal prophet: “O come let us worship and fall down before Him, and mourn before the Lord our God. Who made us,” it shall be said to you also: “Since thou repentest, the Lord putteth away thy sin, and thou shalt not die,”

8. And again, David, after he had commanded the people to be numbered, was smitten in heart, and said to the Lord: “I have sinned exceedingly, because I have commanded this, and now, O Lord, take away the iniquity of Thy servant, for I have transgressed exceedingly.” And the prophet Nathan was sent again to him, to offer him the choice of three things, that he should select the one he chose — famine in the land for three years, or that he should flee for three months before his enemies, or mortal pestilence in the land for three days. And David answered: “These three things are a great strait to me, but let me fall into the hand of the Lord, for very many are His mercies, and let me not fall into the hands of man.” Now his fault was that he desired to know the number of the whole of the people which was with him, which knowledge he ought to have left to God alone.

9. And, we are told, when death came upon the people, on the very first day at dinner time, when David saw the angel smiting the people, he said: “I have sinned, and I, the shepherd, have done wickedly, and this flock, what hath it done? Let Thine hand be upon me, and upon my father’s house.” And so it repented the Lord, and He commanded the angel to spare the people, and David to offer a sacrifice, for sacrifices were then offered for sins; sacrifices are now those of penitence. And so by that humbling of himself he became more acceptable to God, for it is no matter of wonder that a man should sin, but this is reprehensible, if he does not recognize that he has erred, and humble himself before God.

10. Holy Job, himself also powerful in this world, says: “I hid not my sin, but declared it before all the people.” His son Jonathan said to the fierce

King Saul himself: “Do not sin against thy servant David;” and: “Why dost thou sin against innocent blood, to slay David without a cause?” For, although he was a king, yet he would have sinned if he slew the innocent. And again, David also, when he was in possession of the kingdom, and had heard that innocent Abner had been slain by Joab, the leader of his host, said: “I am guiltless and my kingdom is guiltless henceforth and for ever of the blood of Abner, the son of Ner,” and he fasted for sorrow.

11. I have written this, not in order to confound you, but that the examples of these kings may stir you up to put away this sin from your kingdom, for you will do it away by humbling your soul before God. You are a man, and it has come upon you, conquer it. Sin is not done away but by tears and penitence. Neither angel can do it, nor archangel. The Lord Himself, Who alone can say, “I am with you,” if we have sinned, does not forgive any but those who repent.

12. I urge, I beg, I exhort, I warn, for it is a grief to me, that you who were an example of unusual piety, who were conspicuous for clemency, who would not suffer single offenders to be put in peril, should not mourn that so many have perished. Though you have waged battle most successfully, though in other matters, too, you are worthy of praise, yet piety was ever the crown of your actions. The devil envied that which was your most excellent possession. Conquer him whilst you still possess that wherewith you may conquer. Do not add another sin to your sin by a course of action which has injured many.

13. I, indeed, though a debtor to your kindness, for which I cannot be ungrateful, that kindness which has surpassed that of many emperors, and has been equaled by one only; I, I say, have no cause for a charge of contumacy against you, but have cause for fear; I dare not offer the sacrifice if you intend to be present. Is that which is not allowed after shedding the blood of one innocent person, allowed after shedding the blood of many? I do not think so.

14. Lastly, I am writing with my own hand that which you alone may read. As I hope that the Lord will deliver me from all troubles, I have been warned, not by man, nor through man, but plainly by Himself that this is forbidden me. For when I was anxious, in the very night in which I was preparing to set out, you appeared to me in a dream to have come into the

Church, and I was not permitted to offer the sacrifice. I pass over other things, which I could have avoided, but I bore them for love of you, as I believe. May the Lord cause all things to pass peaceably. Our God gives warnings in many ways, by heavenly signs, by the precepts of the prophets; by the visions even of sinners He wills that we should understand, that we should entreat Him to take away all disturbances, to preserve peace for you emperors, that the faith and peace of the Church, whose advantage it is that emperors should be Christians and devout, may continue.

15. You certainly desire to be approved by God. “To everything there is a time,” as it is written: “It is time for Thee, Lord, to work.” “It is an acceptable time, O Lord.” You shall then make your offering when you have received permission to sacrifice, when your offering shall be acceptable to God. Would it not delight me to enjoy the favor of the Emperor, to act according to your wish, if the case allowed it? And prayer by itself is a sacrifice, it obtains pardon, when the oblation would bring offense, for the one is a sign of humility, the other of contempt. For the Word of God Himself tells us that He prefers the performance of His commandments to the offering of sacrifice. God proclaims this, Moses declares it to the people, Paul preaches it to the Gentiles. Do that which you understand is most profitable for the time. “I prefer mercy,” it is said, “rather than sacrifice.” Are they not, then, rather Christians in truth who condemn their own sin, than they who think to defend it? “The just is an accuser of himself in the beginning of his words.” He who accuses himself when tie has sinned is just, not he who praises himself.

16. I wish, O Emperor, that before this I had trusted rather to myself, than to your habits. When I consider that you quickly pardon, and quickly revoke your sentence, as you have often done; you have been anticipated, and I have not shunned that which I needed not to fear. But thanks be to the Lord, Who willeth to chastise His servants, that He may not lose them. This I have in common with the prophets, and you shall have it in common with the saints.

17. Shall I not value the father of Gratian more than my very eyes? Your other holy pledges also claim pardon. I conferred beforehand a dear name on those to whom I bore a common love. I follow you with my love, my

affection, and my prayers. If you believe me, be guided by me; if, I say, you believe me, acknowledge what I say; if you believe me not, pardon that which I do, in that I set God before you. May you, most august Emperor, with your holy offspring, enjoy perpetual peace with perfect happiness and prosperity.

LETTER 57

St. Ambrose informs the Emperor Eugenius why he was absent from Milan. He then proceeds to reprove him for his conduct with regard to heathen worship. This was, he says, the reason why he did not write sooner, and he promises that for the future he will treat him with the same freedom as the other emperors.

AMBROSE, Bishop, to the most gracious Emperor Eugenius.

1. The cause of my departure was the fear of the Lord, to Whom, so far as I am able, I am accustomed to refer all my acts, and never to turn away my mind from Him, nor to make more of any man than of the grace of Christ. For I do no one an injury, if I set God before all, and, trusting in Him, I am not afraid to tell you emperors my thoughts, such as they are. And so I will not keep silence before you, O Emperor, as to things respecting which I have not kept silence before other emperors. And that I may keep the order of the matters, I will go through, one by one, the things which have to do with this matter.

2. The illustrious Symmachus, when prefect of the city, had memorialized the Emperor Valentinian the younger of august memory, requesting that he would command that what had been taken away should be restored to the temples. He performed his part in accordance with his zeal and his religion. And I also, as Bishop, was bound to recognize my part. I presented two petitions to the Emperors, in which I pointed out that a Christian man could not contribute to the cost of the sacrifices; that I indeed had not been the cause of their being abolished, but I certainly did urge that they should not be decreed; and lastly, that he himself would seem to be giving not restoring those sums to the images. For what he had not himself taken away, he could not, as it were, restore, but of his own will to grant towards the expenses of superstition. Lastly, that, if he did it, either he

must not come to the Church, or, if he came, he would either not find a priest there, or he would find one withstanding him in the Church. Nor could it be alleged in excuse that he was a catechumen, seeing that catechumens are not allowed to contribute to the idols' expenses.

3. My letters were read in the consistory. Count Bauto, a man of the highest rank of military authority was present, and Rumoridus, himself also of the same dignity, addicted to the worship of the gentile nations from the first years of his boyhood. Valentinian at that time listened to my suggestion, and did nothing but what the rule of our faith required. And they yielded to his officer.

4. Afterwards I plainly addressed the most clement Emperor Theodosius, and hesitated not to speak to his face. And he, having received a similar message from the Senate, though it was not the request of the whole Senate, at length assented to my recommendation, and so I did not go near him for some days, nor did he take it ill, for he knew that I was not acting for my own advantage, but was not ashamed to say in the sight of the king that which was for the profit of himself and of my own soul.

5. Again a legation sent into Gaul from the Senate to the Emperor Valentinian of august memory could procure nothing; and then I was certainly absent, and had not written anything at that time to him.

6. But when your Clemency took up the reins of government it was afterwards discovered that favors of this kind had been granted to men, excellent indeed in matters of state but in religion heathens. And it may, perhaps, be said, august Emperor, that you did not make any restitution to temples, but presented gifts to men who had deserved well of you. But you know that we must constantly act in the cause of God, as is often done in the cause of liberty, also not only by priests, but also by those who are in your armies, or are reckoned in the number of those who dwell in the provinces. When you became Emperor envoys requested that you would make restitution to the temples, and you did not do it; others came a second time and you resisted, and afterwards you thought fit that this should be granted to those very persons who made the petition.

7. Though the imperial power be great, yet consider, O Emperor, how great God is. He sees the hearts of all, He questions the inmost conscience,

He knows all things before they happen, He knows the inmost things of your breast. You do not suffer yourselves to be deceived, and do you desire to conceal anything from God? Has not this come into your mind? For although they acted with such perseverance, was it not your duty, O Emperor, to resist with still greater perseverance because of the reverence due to the most high and true and living God, and to refuse what was an offense against His holy law?

8. Who grudges your having given what you would to others? We are not scrutinizers of your liberality, nor envious of the advantages of others, but are interpreters of the faith. How will you offer your gifts to Christ? Not many but will put their own estimate on what you have done, all will do so on your intentions. Whatever they do will be ascribed to you; whatever they do not do, to themselves. Although you are Emperor, you ought to be all the more subject to God. How shall the ministers of Christ dispense your gifts?

9. There was a question of this sort in former times, and yet persecution itself yielded to the faith of our fathers, and heathendom gave way. For when in the city of Tyre the quinquennial game was being kept, and the intensely wicked King of Antioch had come to witness it, Jason appointed officers of sacred rites, who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred didrachms of silver from Jerusalem, and give them to the sacrifice of Hercules. But the fathers did not give the money to the heathen, but having sent faithful men declared that that money should not be spent on sacrifices to the gods, because it was not fitting, but on other expenses, And it was decreed that because he had said that the money was sent for the sacrifice of Hercules, it ought to be taken for that for which it was sent; but, because they, who had brought it, because of their zeal and religion, pleaded that it should not be used for the sacrifice, but for other expenses, the money was given for the building of ships. Being compelled they sent it, but it was not used for sacrifice, but for other expenses of the state.

10. Now they who had brought the money might, no doubt, have kept silence, but would have done violence to their faith, because they knew whither the money was being carried, and therefore they sent men who feared God to contrive that what was sent should be assigned, not to the temple, but to the cost of ships. For they entrusted the money to those

who should plead the cause of the sacred Law, and He Who absolves the conscience was made judge of the matter. If they when in the power of another were so careful, there can be no doubt what you, O Emperor, ought to have done. You, at any rate, whom no one compelled, whom no one had in his power, ought to have sought counsel from the priest.

11. And I certainly when I then resisted, although I was alone in resistance, was not alone in what I wished, and was not alone in what I advised. Since, then, I am bound by my own words both before God and before all men, I felt that nothing else was allowable or needful for me but to act for myself, because I could not well trust you. I kept back and concealed my grief for a long time; I thought it not right to intimate anything to anybody, now I may no longer dissemble, nor is it open to me to keep silence. For this reason also at the commencement of your reign I did not reply when you wrote to me, because I foresaw that this would happen. Then at last, when you required a letter, because I had not written a reply, I said: This is the reason that I think this will be extorted from him.

12. But when a reason for exercising my office arose, I both wrote and petitioned for those who were in anxiety about themselves, that I might show that in the cause of God I felt a righteous fear, and that I did not value flattery above my own soul; but in those matters in which it is fitting that petitions should be addressed to you. I also pay the deference due to authority, as it is written: “Honor to whom honor is due, tribute to whom tribute.” For since I deferred from the bottom of my heart to a private person, how could I not defer to the Emperor? But do you who desire that deference be paid to you suffer us to pay deference to Him Whom you are desirous to be proved the Author of your power.

LETTER 61

St. Ambrose explains his absence from Milan on the arrival of the Emperor Theodosius after his victory over Eugenius, and after expressing his thankfulness for that success he promises obedience to the Emperor’s will, and while commending his piety urges him to be merciful to the conquered.

AMBROSE, to the Emperor Theodosius.

1. You thought, most blessed Emperor, so far as I gathered from your letter, that I kept away from the city of Milan, because I believed that your cause was forsaken by God. But I was not so wanting in foresight, nor so unmindful in my absence of your virtue and merits, as not to anticipate that the aid of Heaven would be with your piety, with which you would rescue the Roman Empire from the cruelty of a barbarian robber, and the dominion of an unworthy usurper.

2. I therefore made haste to return thither, as soon as I knew that he, whom I thought it right to avoid, was now gone, for I had not deserted the Church of Milan, entrusted to me by the judgment of God, but avoided the presence of him who had involved himself in sacrilege. I returned, therefore, about the Calends of August, and have resided here since that day. Here, too, O Augustus, your letter found me.

3. Thanks be to our Lord God, Who responded to your faith and piety, and has restored the form of ancient sanctity, suffering us to see in our time that which we wonder at in reading the Scriptures, namely, such a presence of the divine assistancein battle, that no mountain heights delayed the course of your approach, no hostile arms were any hindrance.

4. For these mercies you think that I ought to render thanks to the Lord our God, and being conscious of your merits, I will do so willingly, Certainly that offering will be acceptable to God which is offered in your name, and what a mark of faith and devotion is this! Other emperors, immediately upon a victory, order the erection of triumphal arches, or other monuments of their triumphs; your Clemency prepares an offering for God, and desires that oblation and thanksgiving should be presented by the priests to the Lord.

5. Though I be unworthy and unequal to such an office and the offering of such acknowledgments, yet will I describe what I have done. I took the letter of your Piety with me to the altar. I laid it upon the altar. I held it in my hand whilst I offered the Sacrifice; so that your faith might speak by my voice, and the Emperor’s letter discharge the function of the priestly oblation.

6. In truth, the Lord is propitious to the Roman Empire, since He has chosen such a prince and father of princes, whose virtue and power,

established on such a triumphant height of dominion, rests on such humility, that in valor he has surpassed emperors and priests in humility. What can I wish? What can I desire? You have everything, and therefore I will endeavor to gain the sum of my desires. You, O Emperor, are pitiful, and of the greatest clemency.

7. And for yourself, I desire again and again an increase of piety, than which God has given nothing more excellent, that by your clemency the Church of God, as it delights in the peace and tranquillity of the innocent, so, too, may rejoice in the pardon of the guilty. Pardon especially those who have not offended before. May the Lord preserve your Clemency. Amen.

LETTER 62

St. Ambrose excuses himself for having omitted an opportunity of writing to the Emperor, but is now sending a letter by the hands of a deacon, requesting forgiveness for some of Eugenius' followers who had sought the protection of the Church, especially in consideration of the miraculous aid which had been vouchsafed to the Emperor.

Ambrose, to the Emperor Theodosius.

1. Although I lately wrote to your Clemency even a second time, it did not seem to me that I had responded sufficiently to the duty of intercourse by answering as it were in turn, for I have been so bound by frequent benefits from your Clemency, that I cannot repay what I owe by any services, most blessed and august Emperor.

2. And so just as the first opportunity was not to be lost by me, when, through your chamberlain, I was able to thank your Clemency and to pay the duty of an address, especially lest my not having written before should seem to have been owing to sloth rather than necessity, so, too, I had to seek some manner of rendering to your Piety my dutiful salutations.

3. And rightly do I send my son, the deacon Felix, to bear my letter, and, at the same time, to present to you my duty, in my place, and also a

memorial on behalf of those who have fled to the Church, the Mother of your Piety, seeking mercy. I have been unable to endure their tears without anticipating by my entreaty the coming of your Clemency.

4. It is a great boon that I ask, but I ask it from him to whom the Lord has granted great and unheard-of things, from him whose clemency I know, and whose piety I have as a pledge. For your victory is considered to have been granted to you after the ancient manner, and with the old miracles, a victory such as was granted to holy Moses, and holy Joshua, son of Nave, and Samuel, and David, not by human calculations, but by the outpouring of heavenly grace. Now we expect an equal amount of gentleness with that by virtue of which so great a victory has been gained.

EPISTLE 63

Limenius, Bishop of Vercellae, having died, the see remained long vacant owing to domestic factions. St. Ambrose, therefore, as Exarch, writes to the Christians at Vercellae, and commences by reference to the speedy and unanimous election of Eusebius, a former Bishop, and reminds them of the presence of Christ as a reason for concord, He refers next to two apostate monks, Sarmatio and Barbatianus, and inveighs against sensuality, which degrades men below the beasts. Thence he passes to the virtues required in a bishop, referring again to Eusebius, and to Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, comparing the clerical and monastic lives, and ends with exhortations to Christian virtue. The letter seems to have been written A.D. 396.

Ambrose, a servant of Christ, called to be a Bishop, to the Church of Vercellae, and to those who call on the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Grace be fulfilled unto you in the Holy Spirit from God the Father and His only-begotten Son.

1. I am spent with grief that the Church of God which is among you is still without a bishop, and now alone of all the regions of Liguria and Aemilia, and of the Venetiae all the and other neighboring parts of Italy needs that care which other churches were wont to ask for themselves from it; and what is a greater source of shame to myself, the tension amongst you

which causes the obstacle is laid to my charge. Now since there are dissensions among you, how can we decree anything, or you elect, or anyone agree to undertake this office amongst those who are at variance which he could hardly sustain amongst those who are at unity.

2. Is this the training of a confessor, are these the offspring of those righteous fathers who, as soon as they saw, approved of holy Eusebius, whom they had never known before, preferring him to their fellow-citizens, and he was no sooner amongst them than he was approved, and much more when they had observed him. Justly did he turn out so great a man, whom the whole Church elected, justly was it believed that he whom all had demanded was elected by the judgment of God. It is fitting then that you follow the example of your parents, especially since you who have been instructed by a holy confessor ought to be so much better than your fathers, as a better teacher has taught and instructed you, and to manifest a sign of your moderation and concord by agreeing in your request for a Bishop.

3. For if according to the Lord's saying, that which two shall have agreed upon on earth concerning anything which they shall ask, shall be done for them, as He says, by My Father, Who is in heaven, for: "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them, how much less, where the full congregation is gathered in the Name of the Lord. Where the demand of all is unanimous, ought we to doubt that the Lord Jesus is there as the Author of that desire, and the Hearer of the petition, the Presider over the ordination, and the Giver of the grace?

4. Make yourselves then to appear worthy that Christ should be in your midst. For where peace is, there is Christ, for Christ is Peace; and where righteousness is, there is Christ, for Christ is Righteousness. Let Him be in the midst of you, that you may see Him, lest it be said to you also: "There standeth One in the midst of you, Whom ye see not." The Jews saw not Him in Whom they believed not; we look upon Him by devotion, and behold Him by faith.

5. Let Him therefore stand in your midst, that the heavens, which declare the glory of God, may be opened to you, that you may do His will, and work His works. He who sees Jesus, to him are the heavens opened as they were opened to Stephen, when he said: "Behold I see the heavens

opened and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.” Jesus was standing as his advocate, He was standing as though anxious, that He might help His athlete Stephen in his conflict, He was standing as though ready to crown His martyr.

6. Let Him then be standing for you, that you may not be afraid of Him sitting; for when sitting He judges, as Daniel says: “The thrones were placed, and the books were opened, and the Ancient of days did sit.” But in the ◁198101▷eighty-first [second] Psalm it is written: “God stood in the congregation of gods, and decideth among the gods.” So then when He sits He judges, when He stands He decides, and He judges concerning the imperfect, but decides among the gods. Let Him stand for you as a defender, as a good shepherd, lest the fierce wolves assault you.

7. And not in vain is my warning turned to this point; for I hear that Sarmatio and Barbatianus are come to you, foolish talkers, who say that there is no merit in abstinence no grace in a frugal life, none in virginity, that all are valued at one price, that they are mad who chasten their flesh with fastings, that they may bring it into subjection to the spirit. But if he had thought it madness, Paul the Apostle would never himself have acted thus, nor written to instruct others. For he glories in it, saying: “But I chasten my body, and bring it into bondage, lest, after preaching to others, I myself should be found reprobate.” So they who do not chasten their body, and desire to preach to others, are themselves esteemed reprobates.

8. For is there anything so reprobate as that which excites to luxury, to corruption, to wantonness, as the incentive to lust, the enticer to pleasure, the fuel of incontinence, the firebrand of desire? What new school has sent out these Epicureans? Not a school of philosophers, as they themselves say, but of unlearned men who preach pleasure, persuade to luxury, esteem chastity to be of no use. They were with us, but they were not of us, for we are not ashamed to say what the Evangelist John said. But when settled here they used to fast at first, they were enclosed within the monastery, there was no place for luxury, the opportunity of mocking and disputing was cut off.

9. This these dainty men could not endure. They went abroad, then when they desired to return they were not received; for I had heard many thinks which necessitated my being cautious; I admonished them, but effected

nothing. And so boiling over they began to disseminate such things as made them the miserable enticers to all vices. They utterly lost the benefit of having fasted; they lost the fruits of their temporary continence. And so now they with Satanic eagerness envy the good works of others, the fruit of which themselves have failed to keep.

10. What virgin can hear that there is no reward for her chastity and not groan? Far be it from her to believe this easily, and still more to lay aside her zeal, or change the intention of her mind. What widow, when she learnt that there was no profit in her widowhood, would choose to preserve her marriage faith and live in sorrow, rather than give herself up to a happier condition? Who, bound by the marriage-bond, if she hear that there is no honor in chastity, might not be tempted by careless levity of body or mind? And for this reason the Church in the holy lessons, and in the addresses of her priests, proclaims the praise of chastity and the glory of virginity.

11. In vain, then, does the Apostle say: "I wrote to you, in an Epistle, not to mingle with fornicators;" and lest perchance they should say, We are not speaking of all the fornicators of the world, but we say that he who has been baptized in Christ ought not now to be esteemed a fornicator, but his life, whatever it is, is accepted of God, the Apostle has added "Not at all [meaning] with the fornicators of this world," and farther on, "If any that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one not even to eat. For what have I to do with judging them that are without?" And to the Ephesians: "But fornication, and all uncleanness, and covetousness let it not even be named among you, as becometh saints." And immediately he adds: "For this ye know, that no immodest person, nor unclean, nor covetous, which is an idolator, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." It is clear that this is said of the baptized, for they receive the inheritance, who are baptized into the death of Christ and are buried together with Him, that they may rise again with Him. Therefore they are heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ: heirs of God, because the grace of Christ is conveyed to them; joint-heirs with Christ, because they are renewed into His life; heirs also of Christ; because to them is given by His death as it were the inheritance of the testator.

12. These then ought to take heed to themselves who have that which they may lose, rather than they who have it not. These ought to act with greater care, these ought to guard against the allurements of vice, or incentives to error, which arise chiefly from food and drink. For “the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.”

13. Epicurus himself also, whom these persons think they should follow rather than the apostles, the advocate of pleasure, although he denies that pleasure brings in evil, does not deny that certain things result from it from which evils are generated; and asserts in fine that the life of the luxurious which is filled with pleasures does not seem to be reprehensible, unless it be disturbed by the fear either of pain or of death. But how far he is from the truth is perceived even from this, that he asserts that pleasure was originally created in man by God its author, as Philomarus his follower argues in his Epitomae, asserting that the Stoics are the authors of this opinion.

14. But Holy Scripture refutes this, for it teaches us that pleasure was suggested to Adam and Eve by the craft and enticements of the serpent. Since, indeed, the serpent itself is pleasure, and therefore the passions of pleasure are various and slippery, and as it were infected with the poison of corruptions, it is certain then that Adam, being deceived by the desire of pleasure, fell away from the commandment of God and from the enjoyment of grace. How then can pleasure recall us to paradise, seeing that it alone deprived us of it?

15. Wherefore also the Lord Jesus, wishing to make us more strong against the temptations of the devil, fasted when about to contend with him, that we might know that we can in no other way overcome the enticements of evil. Further, the devil himself hurled the first dart of his temptations from the quiver of pleasure, saying: “If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones become bread.” After which the Lord said: “Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word of God;” and would not do it, although He could, in order to teach us by a salutary precept to attend rather to the pursuit of reading than to pleasure. And since they say that we ought not to fast, let them prove for what cause Christ fasted, unless it were that His fast might be an example to us. Lastly, in His later words He

taught us that evil cannot be easily overcome except by our fasting, saying: “This kind of devils is not cast out but by prayer and fasting.”

16. And what is the intention of the Scripture which teaches us that Peter fasted, and that the revelation concerning the baptism of Gentiles was made to him when fasting and praying, except to show that the Saints themselves advance when they fast. Finally, Moses received the Law when he was fasting; and so Peter when fasting was taught the grace of the New Testament. Daniel too by virtue of his fast stopped the mouths of the lions and saw the events of future times. And what safety can there be for us unless we wash away our sins by fasting, since Scripture says that fasting and alms do away sin?

17. Who then are these new teachers who reject the merit of fasting? Is it not the voice of heathen who say, “Let us eat and drink?” whom the Apostle well ridicules, when he says: “If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.” That is to say, What profited me my contention even unto death, except that I might redeem my body? And it is redeemed in vain if there is no hope of the resurrection. And, consequently, if all hope of the resurrection is lost, let us eat and drink, let us not lose the enjoyment of things present, who have none of things to come. It is then for them to indulge in meats and drinks who hope for nothing after death.

18. Rightly then does the Apostle, arguing against these men, warn us that we be not shaken by such opinions, saying: “Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners. Be ye righteously sober and sin not, for some have no knowledge of God.” Sobriety, then, is good, for drunkenness is sin.

19. But as to that Epicurus himself, the defender of pleasure, of whom, therefore, we have made frequent mention in order to prove that these men are either disciples of the heathen and followers of the Epicurean sect or himself, whom the very philosophers exclude from their company as the patron of luxury, what if we prove him to be more tolerable than these men? He declares, as Demarchus asserts, that neither drinking, nor banquets, nor offspring, nor embraces of women, nor abundance of fish, and other such like things which are prepared for the service of a

sumptuous banquet, make life sweet, but sober discussion. Lastly, he added that those who do not use the banquets of society in excess, use them with moderation. He who willingly makes use of the juices of plants alone together with bread and water, despises feasts on delicacies, for many inconveniences arise from them. In another place they also say: It is not excessive banquets, nor drinking which give rise to the enjoyment of pleasure, but a life of temperance.

20. Since, then, philosophy has disowned those men, is the Church not to exclude them? Seeing, too, that they, because they have a bad cause, frequently fall foul of themselves by their own assertions. For, although their chief opinion is that there is no enjoyment of pleasure except such as is derived from eating and drinking, yet understanding that they cannot, without the greatest shame, cling to so disgraceful a definition, and that they are forsaken by all, they have tried to color it with a sort of stain of specious arguments; so that one of them has said: Whilst we are aiming at pleasure by means of banquets and songs, we have lost that which is infused into us by the reception of the Word, whereby alone we can be saved.

21. Do not they by these various arguments show themselves to us as differing and disagreeing one with the other? And Scripture too condemns them, not passing over those whom the Apostle refuted, as Luke, who wrote the book as a history, tells us in the Acts of the Apostles, “And certain also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers disputed with him. And some said, What does this babbler mean? And others said, He seemeth to be a setter forth of new gods.”

22. Yet from this hand too the Apostle did not go forth without success, since even Dionysius the Areopagite together with his wife Damaris and many others believed. And so that company of most learned and eloquent men showed themselves overcome in a simple discussion by the example of those who believed. What then do those men mean, who endeavor to prevent those whom the Apostle has gained, and whom Christ has redeemed with His own blood? asserting that the baptized ought not to give themselves to the discipline of the virtues, that revelings injure them not, nor abundance of pleasures; that they are foolish who go without them, that virgins ought to marry, bear children, and likewise widows to

repeat that converse with man which they have once experienced with ill results; and that even if they can contain, they are in error who will not again enter the marriage bond.

23. What then? Would you have us put off the man in order to put on the beast, and stripping ourselves of Christ, clothe ourselves or be superclothed with the garments of the devil? But since the very teachers of the heathen did not think that honor and pleasure could be joined together, because they would seem thus to class beasts with men, shall we as it were infuse the habits of beasts into the human breast, and inscribe on the reasonable mind the unreasoning ways of wild beasts?

24. And yet there are many kinds of animals, which, when they have lost their fellow, will not mate again, and spend their time as it were in solitary life; many too live on simple herbs, and will not quench their thirst except at a pure stream; one can also often see dogs refrain from food forbidden them, so that they close their famishing mouths if restraint is bidden them. Must men then be warned against that wherein brutes have learned not to transgress?

26. But what is more admirable than abstinence, which makes even the years of youth to ripen, so that there is an old age of character? For as by excess of food and by drunkenness even mature age is excited, so the wildness of youth is lessened by scanty feasts and by the running stream. An external fire is extinguished by pouring on water, it is then no wonder if the inward heat of the body is cooled by draughts from the stream, for the flame is fed or fails according to the fuel. As hay, straw, wood, oil, and such like things are the nourishment which feeds fire, if you take them away, or do not supply them, the fire is extinguished. In like manner then the heat of the body is supported or lessened by food, it is excited by food and lessened by food. Luxury then is the mother of lust.

27. And is not temperance agreeable to nature, and to that divine law, which in the very beginning of all created things gave the springs for drink and the fruits of the trees for food? After the Flood the just man found wine a source of temptation to him. Let us then use the natural drink of temperance, and would that we all were able to do so. But because all are not strong the Apostle said: “Use a little wine because of thy frequent infirmities.” We must drink it then not for the sake of pleasure, but

because of infirmity, and therefore sparingly as a remedy, not in excess as a gratification.

28. Lastly, Elijah, whom the Lord was training to the perfection of virtue, found at his head a cake and a cruse of water; and then fasted in the strength of that food forty days and forty nights. Our fathers, when they passed across the sea on foot, drank water not wine. Daniel and the Hebrew children, fed with their peculiar food, and with water to drink, overcame, the former the fury of the lions; the latter saw the burning fire play around their limbs with harmless touch.

26. And why should I speak of men? Judith, in no way moved by the luxurious banquet of Holophernes, carried off the triumph of which men's arms despaired, solely in right of her temperance; delivered her country from occupation and slew the leader of the expedition with her own hands. A clear proof both that his luxury had enervated that warrior, terrible to the nations, and that temperance made this woman stronger than men. In this case it was not in her sex that nature was surpassed, but she overcame by her diet. Esther by her fasts moved a proud king. Anna, who for eighty-four years in her widowhood had served God with fasts and prayers day and night in the temple, recognized Christ, Whom John, the master of abstinence, and as it were a new angel on earth, announced.

30. O foolish Elisha, for feeding the prophets with wild and bitter gourds! O Ezra forgetful of Scripture, though he did restore the Scriptures from memory! foolish Paul, who glories in fastings, if fastings profit nothing.

31. But how should that not be profitable by which our sins are purged? And if you offer this with humility and with mercy, your bones, as Isaiah said, shall be fat, and you shall be like a well-watered garden. So, then, your soul shall grow fat and its virtues also by the spiritual richness of fasting, and your fruits shall be multiplied by the fertility of your mind, so that there may be in you the inebriation of soberness, like that cup of which the Prophet says: "Thy cup which inebriates, how excellent it is!"

32. But not only is that temperance worthy of praise which moderates food, but also that which moderates lust. Since it is written: "Go not after thy lusts, and deny thy appetite. If thou givest her desires to thy soul, thou wilt be a joy to thine enemies;" and farther on; "Wine and women

make even wise men to fall away;" So that Paul teaches temperance even in marriage itself; for he who is incontinent in marriage is a kind of adulterer, and violates the law of the Apostle.

33. And why should I tell how great is the grace of virginity, which was found worthy to be chosen by Christ, that it might be even the bodily temple of God, in which as we read the fullness of the Godhead dwelt bodily. A Virgin conceived the Salvation of the world, a Virgin brought forth the life of all. Virginity then ought not to be left to itself, seeing that it benefited all in Christ. A Virgin bore Him Whom this world cannot contain or support. And when He was born from His mother's womb, He yet preserved the fence of her chastity and the inviolate seal of her virginity. And so Christ found in the Virgin that which He willed to make His own, that which the Lord of all might take to Himself Further, our flesh was cast out of Paradise by a man and woman and was joined to God through a Virgin.

34. What shall I say concerning the other Mary, the sister of Moses, who as leader of the women passed on foot the straits of the sea? By the same gift Thecla also was reverenced by the lions, so that the unfed beasts stretched at the feet of their prey prolonged a holy fast, and harmed the virgin neither with wanton look nor claw, since virginity is injured even by a look.

35. Again, with what reverence for virginity has the holy Apostle spoken: "Concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give my counsel, as having obtained mercy of the Lord." He has received no commandment, but a counsel, for that which beyond the law is not commanded, but is rather advised by way of counsel. Authority is not assumed but grace is shown, and this is not shown by anyone, but by him who obtained mercy from the Lord. Are then the counsels of these men better than those of the apostles? The Apostle says, "I give my counsel," but they think it right to dissuade any from cultivating virginity.

36. And we ought to recognize what commendation of it the prophet, or rather Christ in the prophet, has uttered in a short verse; "A garden enclosed," says He, "is My sister, My spouse, a garden enclosed, a sealed fountain." Christ says this to the Church, which he desires to be a virgin, without spot, without a wrinkle. A fertile garden is virginity, which can

bear many fruits of good odor. A garden enclosed, because it is everywhere shut in by the wall of chastity. A sealed fountain, because virginity is the source and origin of modesty, having to keep inviolate the seal of purity, in which source the image of God is reflected, since the purity of simplicity agrees also with chastity of the body.

37. And no one can doubt that the Church is a virgin, who also in the Epistle to the Corinthians is espoused and presented as a chaste virgin to Christ. So in the first Epistle he gives his counsel, and esteems the gift of virginity as good, since it is not disturbed by any troubles of the present time, nor polluted by any of its defilements nor shaken by any storms; in the later Epistle he brings a spouse to Christ, because he is able to certify the virginity of the Church in the purity of that people.

38. Answer me now, O Paul, in what way thou givest counsel for the present distress. "Because he that is without a wife is careful," he says, "for the things of the Lord, how he may please God." And he adds, "The unmarried woman and the virgin think of the things of the Lord, that they may be holy in body and spirit." She has then her wall against the tempests of this world, and so fortified by the defense of divine protection she is disturbed by none of the blasts of this world. Good then is counsel, because there is advantage in counsel, but there is a bond in a commandment. Counsel attracts the willing, commandment binds the unwilling. If then anyone has followed counsel, and not repented, she has gained an advantage; but if she has repented, she has no ground for blaming the Apostle, for she ought herself to have judged of her own weakness; and so she is responsible for her own will, inasmuch as she bound herself by a bond and knot beyond her power to bear.

39. And so like a good physician, desiring to preserve the stability of virtue in the strong, and to give health to the weak, he gives counsel to the one, and points out the remedy to the others: "He that is weak eateth herbs," let him take a wife; he that has more power let him seek the stronger meat of virtue. And rightly he added: "For he who being steadfast hath settled in his own heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath determined this in his own heart, to keep his own virgin, doeth well. So then both he who giveth his own virgin in marriage, doeth well; and he that giveth her not in marriage, doeth better. A woman

is bound by the law, for so long a time as her husband liveth. But if her husband have fallen asleep, she is freed, let her marry whom she will, only in the Lord. But she will be more happy if she abide as she is, after my counsel, for I think that I also have the Spirit of the Lord.” This is to have the counsel of God, to search diligently into all things, and to advise things that are best, and to point out those that are safest.

40. A careful guide points out many paths, that each may walk along the one which he prefers and considers suitable to himself, so long as he comes upon one by which he can reach the camp. The path of virginity is good, but being high and steep requires the stronger wayfarers. Good also is that of widowhood, not so difficult as the former, but being rocky and rough, it requires more cautious travelers. Good too is that of marriage; being smooth and even it reaches the camp of the saints by a longer circuit. This way is taken by most. There are then the rewards of virginity, there are the merits of widowhood, there is also a place for conjugal modesty. There are steps and advances in each and every virtue.

41. Stand therefore firm in your hearts, that no one overthrow you, that no one be able to make you fall. The Apostle has taught us what it is “to stand,” that is what was said to Moses: “The place whereon thou standest is holy ground;” for no one stands unless he stand by faith, unless he stands fixed in the determination of his own heart. In another place also we read: “But do thou stand here with Me.” Each sentence was spoken by the Lord to Moses, both “Where thou standest is holy ground,” and “Stand here with Me,” that is, thou standest with Me, if thou stand firm in the Church. For the very place is holy, the very ground is fruitful with sanctity and fertile with harvests of virtues.

42. Stand then in the Church, stand where I appeared to thee, where I am with thee. Where the Church is, there is the most solid resting place for thy mind, there the support of thy soul, where I appeared to thee in the bush. Thou art the bush, I am the fire; the fire in the bush, I in the flesh. Therefore am I the fire, that I may give light to thee, that I may consume thy thorns, that is, thy sins. and show thee My grace.

43. Standing firm then in your hearts, drive away from the Church the wolves which seek to carry off prey. Let there be no sloth in you, let not your mouth be evil nor your tongue bitter. Do not sit in the council of

vanity; for it is written, “I have not sat in the council of vanity.” Do not listen to those who speak against their neighbors, lest whilst you listen to others, you be stirred up yourselves to speak against your neighbors, and it be said to each of you “Thou satest and spakest against thy brother.”

44. Men sit when speaking against others, they stand when they praise the Lord, to whom it is said: “Behold now, praise the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord, ye that stand in the house of the Lord.” He who sits to speak of the bodily habit, is as it were loosened by ease, and relaxes the energy of his mind. But the careful watchman, the active searcher, the watchful guardian, who keeps the outposts of the camp, stands. The zealous warrior, too, who desires to anticipate the designs of the enemy, stands in array before he is expected.

45. “Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.” He who stands does not give way to detraction, for it is the tales of those at ease in which detraction is spread abroad, and malignity betrayed. So that the prophet says: “I have hated the congregation of the malignant, and will not sit with the ungodly.” And in the thirty-sixth Psalm, which he has filled with moral precepts, he has put at the very beginning: “Be not malignant amongst the malignant, neither be envious of those who do iniquity.” Malignancy is more harmful than malice, because malignancy has neither pure simplicity nor open malice, but a hidden ill-will. And it is more difficult to guard against what is hidden than against what is known. For which reason too our Savior warns us to beware of malignant spirits, because they would catch us by the appearance of sweet pleasures and a show of other things, when they hold forth honor to entice us to ambition, riches to avarice, power to pride.

46. And so both in every action, and especially in the demand for a bishop, by whom [as a pattern] the life of all is formed malignity ought to be absent; so that the man who is to be elected out of all, and to heal all, may be preferred to all by a calm and peaceful decision. For “the meek man is the physician of the heart.” And the Lord in the Gospel called Himself this, when He said: “They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.”

47. He is the good Physician, Who has taken upon Him our infirmities, has healed our sicknesses, and yet He, as it is written, honored not Himself to

be made a High Priest, but He Who spake to Him. The Father said: “Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.” As He said in another place: “Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.” Who, since He was the type of all future priests, took our flesh upon Him, that “in the days of His flesh He might offer prayers and supplications with a loud voice and tears; and by those things which He suffered, though He was the Son of God, might seem to learn obedience, which He taught us, that He might be made to us the Author of Salvation?” And at last when His sufferings were completed, as though completed and made perfect Himself, He gave health to all, He bore the sin of all.

48. And so He Himself also chose Aaron as priest, that not the will of man but the grace of God should have the chief part in the election of the priest; not the voluntary offering of himself, nor the taking it upon himself, but the vocation from heaven, that he should offer gifts for sins who could be touched for those who sinned, for He Himself, it is said, bears our weakness. No one ought to take this honor upon himself but they are called of God, as was Aaron, and so Christ did not demand but received the priesthood.

49. Lastly, when the succession derived through family descent from Aaron, contained rather heirs of the family than sharers in his righteousness, there came, after the likeness of that Melchisedech, of whom we read in the Old Testament, the true Melchisedech, the true King of peace, the true King of righteousness, for this is the interpretation of the Name, “without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life,” which also refers to the Son of God, Who in His Divine Generation had no mother, was in His Birth of the Virgin Mary without a father; begotten before the ages of the Father alone, born in this age of the Virgin alone, and certainly could have no beginning of days seeing He “was in the beginning.” And how could He have any end of life, Who is the Author of life to all? He is “the Beginning and the Ending.” But this also is referred to Him as an example, that a priest ought to be without father and without mother, since in him it is not nobility of family, but holiness of character and pro-eminence in virtue which is elected.

50. Let there be in him faith and ripeness of character, not one without the other, but let both meet together in one with good works and deeds. For which reason the Apostle Paul wishes that we should be imitators of them, who, as he says, “by faith and patience” possess the promises made to Abraham, who by patience was found worthy to receive and to possess the grace of the blessing promised to him. avid the prophet warns us that we should be imitators of holy Aaron, and has set him amongst the Saints of God to be imitated by us, saying: “Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among those that call upon His Name.”

51. A man clearly worthy to be proposed that all should follow him was he, for when a terrible death on account of the rebels was spreading over the people, he offered himself between the dead and the living, that he might arrest death, and that no more should perish. A man truly of priestly mind and soul, who as a good shepherd with pious affection offered himself for the Lord’s flock. And so he broke the sting of death, restrained its violence, refused it further course. Affection aided his deserts, for he offered himself for those who were resisting him.

52. Let those then who dissent learn to fear to rouse up the Lord, and to appease His priests. What! did not the earthquake swallow up Dathan, Abiron, and Korah because of their dissension? For when Korah, Dathan, and Abiron had stirred up two hundred and fifty men against Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from them, they rose up against them and said: “Let it suffice you that all the congregation are holy, every one, and the Lord is amongst them.”

53. Whereupon the Lord was angry and spoke to the whole congregation. The Lord considered and knew those that were His, and drew His saints to. Himself; and those whom He chose not, He did not draw to Himself. And the Lord commanded that Korah and all those who had risen up with him against Moses and Aaron the priests of the Lord should take to themselves censers, and put on incense, that he who was chosen of the Lord might be established as holy among the Levites of the Lord,

54. And Moses said to Korah: “Hear me, ye sons of Levi: Is this a small thing unto you, that God hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, and brought you near to Himself, to minister the service of the Tabernacle of the Lord.” And farther on, “Seek ye the priesthood also, so

that thou and all thy congregation are gathered against the Lord. And what is Aaron that ye murmur about him?”

55. Considering, then, what causes of offense existed, that unworthy persons desired to discharge the offices of the priesthood, and therefore were causing dissensions; and were murmuring in censure of the judgment of God in the choice of His priest, the whole people were seized with a great fear, and dread of punishment came upon them all. But when all implore that all perish not for the insolence of few, those guilty of the wickedness are marked out; and two hundred and fifty men with their leaders are separated from the whole body of the people; and then the earth with a groan cleaves asunder in the midst of the people, a deep gulf opens, the offenders are swallowed up, and are so removed from all the elements of this world, as neither to pollute the air by breathing it, nor the heavens by beholding them, nor the sea by their touch, nor the earth by their sepulchers.

56. The punishment ceased, but the wickedness ceased not; for from this very thing a murmuring rose among them that the people had perished through the priests. In His wrath at this, the Lord would have destroyed them all, had He not been moved first by the prayers of Moses and Aaron, and afterwards also at the intervention of His priest Aaron (the humiliation of their forgiveness being thereby greater), He willed to give their lives to those whose privilege they had repudiated.

57. Miriam the prophetess herself, who with her brothers had crossed the straits of the sea on foot, because, being still ignorant of the mystery of the Ethiopian woman, she had murmured against her brother Moses, broke out with leprous spots, so that she would scarcely have been freed from so great a plague, unless Moses had prayed for her. Although this murmuring refers to the type of the Synagogue, which is ignorant of the mystery of that Ethiopian woman, that is the Church gathered out of the nations, and murmurs with daily reproaches, and envies that people through whose faith itself also shall be delivered from the leprosy of its unbelief, according to what we read that: “blindness in part has happened unto Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved.

58. And that we may observe that divine grace rather than human works in priests, of the many rods which Moses had received according to the

Tribes, and had laid up, that of Aaron alone blossomed. And so the people saw that the gift of the Divine vocation is to be looked for in a priest, and ceased from claiming equal grace for a human choice though they had before thought that a similar prerogative belonged to themselves. But what else does that rod show, but that priestly grace never decays, and in the deepest lowliness has in its office the flower of the power committed to it, or that this also is referred to in mystery? Nor do we think that it was without a purpose that this took place near the end of the life of Aaron the priest. It seems to be shown that the ancient people, full of decay through the oldness of the long-continued unfaithfulness of the priests, being fashioned again in the last times to zeal in faith and devotion by the example of the Church, will again send forth with revived grace its flowers dead through so many ages.

59. But what does this signify, that after Aaron was dead, the Lord commanded, not the whole people, but Moses alone, who is amongst the priests, to clothe Aaron’s son Eleazar with the priest’s garments, except that we should understand that priest must consecrate priest, and himself clothe him with the vestments, that is, with priestly virtues; and then, if he has seen that nothing is wanting to him of the priestly garments, and that all things are perfect, should admit him to the sacred altars. For he who is to supplicate for the people ought to be chosen of God and approved by the priests, lest there be anything which might give serious offense in him whose office it is to intercede for the offenses of others. For the virtue of a priest must be of no ordinary kind, since he has to guard not only from nearness to greater faults, but even the very least. He must also be prompt to have pity, not recall a promise, restore the fallen, have sympathy with pain, preserve meekness, love piety, repel or keep down anger, must be as it were a trumpet to excite the people to devotion, or to soothe them to tranquillity.

60. It is an old saying: Accustom yourself to be consistent, that your life may set forth as it were a picture, always preserving the same representation which it has received. How can he be consistent who at one time is inflamed by anger, at another blazes up with fierce indignation, whose face now burns, and now again is changed to paleness, varying and changing color every moment? But let it be so, let it be natural for one to be angry, or that there is generally a cause, it is a man’s duty to restrain

anger, and not to be carried away like a lion by fury, so as not to know to be quieted, not to spread tales, nor to embitter family quarrels; for it is written: “A wrathful man diggeth up sin” He will not be consistent who is double-minded; he cannot be consistent who cannot restrain himself when angry, as to which David well says: “Be ye angry and sin not.” He does not govern his anger, but indulges his natural disposition, which a man cannot indeed prevent but may moderate. Therefore even though we are angry, let our passion admit only such emotion as is according to nature, not sin contrary to nature. For who would endure that he should not be able to govern himself, who has undertaken to govern others?

61. And so the Apostle has given a pattern, saying that a bishop must be blameless, and in another place: “A bishop must be without offense, as a steward of God, not proud, not soon angry, not given to wine, not a striker, not greedy of filthy lucre.” For how can the compassion of a dispenser of alms an the avarice of a covetous man agree together?

62. I have set down these things which I have been told are to be avoided, but the Apostle is the Master of virtues, and he teaches that gainsayers are to be convicted with patience, who lays down that one should be the husband of a single wife, not in order to exclude him form the right of marriage (for this is beyond the force of the precept), but that by conjugal chastity he may preserve the grace of his baptismal washing; nor again that he may be induced by the Apostle’s authority to beget children in the priesthood; for the speaks of having children, not of begetting them, or marrying again.

63. And I have thought it well not to pass by this point, because many contend that having one wife is said of the time after Baptism; so that the fault whereby any obstacle would ensue would be washed away in baptism. And indeed all faults and sins are washed away; so that if anyone have polluted his body with very many whom he has bound to himself by no law of marriage, all the sins are forgiven him, but if any one have contracted a second marriage it is not done away; for sin not law is loosed by the layer, and as to baptism there is no sin but law. That then which has to do with law is not remitted as though it were sin, but is retained. And the Apostle has established a law, saying: “If any man be without reproach the husband of one wife.” So then he who is without blame the

husband of one wife comes within the rule for undertaking the priestly office; he, however, who has married again has no guilt of pollution, but is disqualified for the priestly prerogative.

64. We have stated what is according to the law, let us state in addition what is according to reason. But first we must notice that not only has the Apostle laid down this rule concerning a bishop or priest, but that the Fathers in the Nicene Council added that no one who has contracted a second marriage ought to be admitted amongst the clergy at all. For how can he comfort or honor a widow, or exhort her to preserve her widowhood, and the faith pledged to her husband, which he himself has not kept in regard to his former marriage? Or what difference would there be between people and priest, if they were bound by the same laws? The life of a priest ought to excel that of others as does his grace, for he who binds others by his precepts ought himself to keep the precepts of the law.

65. How I resisted my ordination, and lastly, when I was compelled, endeavored that it might at least be deferred, but the prescribed rule did not prevail against the popular eagerness. Yet the Western Bishops approved of my ordination by their decision, the Eastern by an example of the same kind. And yet the ordination of a neophyte is forbidden, lest he should be lifted up by pride. If the ordination was not postponed it was because of constraint, and if humility suitable to the priestly office be not wanting, where there is no reason blame will not be imputed to him.

66. But if so much consideration is needed in other churches for the ordination of a bishop, how much care is required in the Church of Vercellae, where two things seem to be equally required of the bishop, monastic rule and church discipline? For Eusebius of holy memory was the first in Western lands to bring together these differing matters, both while living in the city observing the rules of the monks, and ruling the Church with fasting and temperance. For the grace of the priesthood is much increased if the bishop constrain young men to the practice of abstinence, and to the rule of purity; and forbid them though living in the city, the manners and mode of life of the city.

67. From such a rule sprang those great men, Elijah, Elisha, John the son of Elizabeth, who clothed in sheepskins, poor and needy, and afflicted with

pain, wandered in deserts, in hollows and thickets of mountains, amongst pathless rocks, rough caves, pitfalls and marshes, of whom the world was not worthy. From the same, Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, who were brought up in the royal palace, were fed meagerly as though in the desert, with coarse food, and ordinary drink. Rightly did those royal slaves prevail over kingdoms, despise captivity, shaking off its yoke, subdue powers, conquer the elements, quench the nature of fire, dull the flames, blunt the edge of the sword, stop the mouths of lions; they were found most strong when esteemed to be most weak, and did not shrink from the mockings of men, because they looked for heavenly rewards; they did not dread the darkness of the prison, on whom was shining the beauty of eternal light.

68. Following these, holy Eusebius went forth out of his country, and from his own relatives, and preferred a foreign wandering to ease at home. For the faith also he preferred and chose the hardships of exile, in conjunction with Dionysius of holy memory, who esteemed a voluntary exile above an Emperor’s friendship. And so these illustrious men, surrounded with arms, closed in by soldiers, when torn away from the larger Church, triumphed over the imperial power, because by earthly shame they purchased fortitude of soul, and kingly power; they from whom the band of soldiers and the din of arms could not tear away the faith subdued the raging of the brutal mind, which was unable to hurt the saints. For, as you read in Proverbs, “the king’s wrath is as the wrath of a lion.”

69. He confessed that he was overcome when he asked them to change their determination, but they thought their pen stronger than swords of iron. Then it was unbelief which was wounded so that it fell, not the faith of the saints; they did not desire a tomb in their own country, for whom was reserved a home in the heavens. They wandered over the whole earth, “having nothing and yet possessing all things.” Wherever they were sent, they esteemed it a place full of delights, for nothing wanting to them in whom the riches of faith abounded. Lastly, they enriched others, being themselves poor as to earthly means, rich in grace. They were tried but not killed, in fasting, in labors, in watchings, in vigils. Out of weakness they came forth strong. They did not wait for the enticements of pleasure who were satiated by fasting; the burning summer did not parch those whom

the hope of eternal grace refreshed, nor did the cold of icy regions break them down, whose devotion was ever budding afresh with glowing devotion; they feared not the chains of men whom Jesus had set free; they desired not to be rescued from death, who expected to be raised again by Christ.

70. And at last holy Dionysius requested in his prayers, that he might end his life in exile, for fear that he might, if he returned home, find the minds of the people or the clergy disturbed through the teaching or practice of the unbelievers, and he obtained this favor, so that he bore with him the peace of the Lord with a quiet mind. Thus as holy Eusebius first raised the standard of confessorship, so blessed Dionysius in his exile gave up his life with honor higher even than martyrs.

71. Now this patience in holy Eusebius grew strong by the discipline of the monastery, and from the custom of hard endurance he derived the power of enduring hardships. For who doubts that in stricter Christian devotion these two things are the most excellent, the offices of the clergy and the rule of the monks? The former is a discipline which accustoms to courteousness and good morals, the latter to abstinence and patience; the former as it were on an open stage, the latter in secret; the one is visible, the other hidden. And so he who was a good athlete said: “We are made a spectacle to this world and to Angels.” Worthy indeed was he to be gazed upon by Angels, when he was striving to attain the prize of Christ, when he was striving to lead on earth the life of Angels, and overcome the wickedness of spirits in heaven, for he wrestled with spiritual wickedness. Rightly did the world gaze upon him, that it might imitate him.

72. The one life, then, is on the open arena, the other hidden as in a cave; the one is opposed to the confusion of the world, the other to the desires of the flesh; the one subdues, the other shuns the pleasures of the body; the one was more agreeable, the other more safe; the one ruling, the other restraining itself, in order to be wholly Christ’s, for to the perfect it is said: “He who will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me.” Now he follows Christ who is able to say: “It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth ill me.”

73. Paul denied himself, when, knowing that chains and tribulations awaited him in Jerusalem, he willingly offered himself to danger, saying:

"Nor do I count my life dear to myself, if only I can accomplish my course, and the ministry of the Word, which I have received of the Lord Jesus." And at last, though many were standing round, weeping and beseeching him, he did not change his mind, so stern a censor of itself is ready faith.

74. The one then contends, the other retires; the one overcomes incitements, the other flees from them; by the one the world is triumphed over, the other rejoices over it; to the one the world is crucified, or itself is crucified to the world, to the other it is unknown; the one endures more frequent temptations, and so has the greater victory, the other falls less often, and keeps guard more easily.

75. Elijah himself too, that the word spoken by his mouth might be confirmed, was sent by the Lord to hide himself by the brook Cherith. Ahab threatened, Jezebel threatened, Elijah was afraid and rose up, and then "went in the strength of that spiritual meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God;" and entered into a cave and rested there; and afterwards was sent to anoint kings. He was then inured to patience by dwelling in solitude, and, as though fed to the fatness of virtue by the homely food, went on more strong.

76. John, too, grew up in the desert, and baptized the Lord, and there first practiced constancy, that afterwards he might rebuke kings.

77. And since in speaking of holy Elijah's dwelling in the desert, we have passed by without notice the names of places which were not given without a purpose, it seems well to go back to what they signify. Elijah was sent to the brook Cherith, and there the ravens nourished him, bringing him bread in the morning, for it "strengthens man's heart." For how should the prophet be nourished except by mystical food? At evening flesh was supplied. Understand what you read, for Cherith means "understanding," Horeb signifies "heart" or "as a heart," Beersheba also is interpreted "the well of the seventh," or "of the oath."

78. Elijah went first to Beersheba, to the mysteries and sacraments of the divine and holy Law, next he is sent to the brook, to the stream of the river which makes glad the City of God. You perceive the two Testaments of the One Author; the old Scripture as a well deep and obscure, whence you

can only draw with labor; it is not full, for He Who was to fill it was not yet come, Who afterwards said: “I am come not to destroy but to fulfill the Law.” And so the Saint is bidden of the Lord to pass over to the stream, for he who has drunk of the New Testament, not only is a river, but also “from his belly shall flow rivers of living water,” rivers of understanding, rivers of meditation, spiritual rivers, which, however, dried up in the times of unbelief, lest the sacrilegious and unbelieving should drink.

79. At that place the ravens recognized the Prophet of the Lord, whom the Jews did not recognize. The ravens fed him, whom that royal and noble race were persecuting. What is Jezebel, who persecuted him but the Synagogue, vainly fluent, vainly abounding in the Scriptures, which it neither keeps nor understands? What ravens fed him but those whose young call upon Him, to whose cattle He gives food as we read; “to the young ravens that call upon Him.” Those ravens knew whom they were feeding, who were close upon understanding, and brought food to that stream of sacred knowledge.

80. He feeds the prophet, who understands and keeps the things that are written. Our faith gives him sustenance, our progress gives him nourishment; he feeds upon our minds and senses, his discourse is nourished by our understanding. In the morning we give him bread, who, being placed in the light of the Gospel, bestow on him the settled strength of our hearts. By these things he is nourished, by these he is strong, with these he fills the mouths of those who fast, to whom the unbelief of the Jews supplied no food of faith. To them every prophetic utterance is but fasting diet, the interior richness of which they do not see; empty and thin, such as cannot fatten their jaws.

81. Perhaps they brought him flesh in the evening, as it were stronger food, such as the Corinthians, whose minds were weak, could not take, and were therefore fed by the Apostle with milk. So, stronger meat was brought in the evening of the world, in the morning bread. And so, because the Lord commanded this food to be supplied, that word of prophecy may be suitably addressed to Him in this place: “Thou wilt give joy in the outgoings of morning and evening;” and, farther on: “Thou hast prepared their food, for so is its preparation.”

82. But I think that enough has been said of the Master, let us now go on to the lives of the disciples, who have given themselves to His praise and celebrate it with hymns day and night. For this is the service of the Angels, to be always occupied in the praises of God, to propitiate and entreat the Lord with frequent prayers. They attend to reading, or occupy their minds with continual labors, and separated from the companionship of women, afford safe protection to each other. What a life is this, in which is nothing to fear, much to imitate! The pain of fasting is compensated by tranquillity of mind, is lightened by practice, aided by leisure, or beguiled by occupation; is not burdened with worldly cares, nor occupied with uncongenial troubles, nor weighed down with the distractions of the city.

83. You perceive what kind of teacher must be found for the preservation or teaching of this gift, and we can find him, if you assist by unanimity, if you forgive one another should any one think himself injured by another. For it is not the only kind of justice, not to injure him who has not injured us, but also to forgive him who has most injured us. We are often injured by the fraud of another, by the guile of a neighbor; do we consider it a mark of virtue, to avenge guile by guile, or to repay fraud by fraud? For if justice is a virtue it should be free from offense, and should not repel wickedness by wickedness. For what virtue is it that the same thing should be done by you which you yourself punish in another? That is the spreading of wickedness not its punishment, for it makes no difference whom one injures, whether a just man or an unjust, seeing one ought not to injure anyone. Nor does it make any difference in what way one bears ill will, whether from a desire of revenging oneself, or from a wish to injure, since in neither case is ill will free from blame. For to bear ill will is the same thing as to be unjust, and so it is said to thee: “Bear not ill will amongst those that bear ill will, and emulate not those that do unrighteousness;” and above; “I have hated the congregation of them that bear ill will.” He clearly comprehends all and makes no exception, he lays hold of ill will and asks not the cause.

84. But what better pattern can there be than that of Divine justice? For the Son of God says: “Love your enemies;” and again: “Pray for those that persecute you and speak against you.” So far does He remove the desire of vengeance from the perfect that He commands charity towards those who injure them. And since He had said in the Old Testament: “Vengeance is

Mine, I will repay." He says in the Gospel, that we are to pray for those who have injured us, that He Who has said that He will avenge, may not do so; for it is His will to pardon at your desire with which according to His promise He agrees. But if you seek for you know that the unjust is more severely punished by his own convictions than by judicial severity.

85. And since no one can be without some adversities, let us take care that they do not happen to us through our own fault. For no one is more severely condemned by the judgment of others, than a foolish man, who is the cause of his misfortunes, is condemned by his own. For which reason we should decline matters which are full of trouble and contention, which have no advantage, but cause hindrances. Although we ought to take care not to have to repent our decisions or acts. For it is the part of a prudent man to look forward, so as not often to have to repent, for never to repent belongs to God alone. But what is the fruit of righteousness, but tranquillity of mind? Or what is to live righteously but to live with tranquillity? Such as is the pattern of the master, such is the condition of the whole house. But if these things are requisite in a house, how much more in the Church, "where we, both rich and poor, bond and free, Greek and Scythian, noble and common, are all one in Christ Jesus."

86. Let no man suppose that because he is rich, more deference is to be paid him. In the Church he is rich who is rich in faith, for the faithful has a whole world of riches. What wonder is it if the faithful possesses the world, who possesses the inheritance of Christ, which is of more value than the world? "Ye were redeemed with the Precious Blood," was certainly said to all, not to the rich only. But if you will be rich, obey him who says: "Be ye holy in all your conversation." He is speaking not to the rich only but to all; for He judges without respect of persons, as the Apostle His faithful witness says. And therefore says he: "Spend the time of your sojourning here," not in luxury, or fastidiousness, nor haughtiness of heart, but in fear. On this earth you have time not eternity, do you use the time as those who must pass hence.

87. Do not trust in riches; for all such things are left here, faith alone will accompany you. And righteousness indeed will go with you if faith has led the way. Why do riches entice you? "Ye were not redeemed with gold and silver," with possessions, or silk garments, "from your vain conversation,

but with the precious Blood of Christ. “He then is rich who is an heir of God, a joint heir with Christ. Despise not the poor man, he has made you rich.” This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him.” Do not reject a poor man, Christ when He was rich became poor, and became poor because of you, that by His poverty He might make you rich. Do not then as though rich exalt yourself, He sent forth His apostles without money.

88. And the first of them said: “Silver and gold have I none.” He glories in poverty as though shunning contamination. “Silver and gold,” he says, “I have none,” — not gold and silver. He knows not their order in value who knows not the use of them. “Silver and gold have I none,” but I have faith. I am rich enough in the Name of Jesus, “which is above every name.” I have no silver, neither do I require any; I have no gold, neither do I desire it, but I have what you rich men have not, I have what even you would consider to be of more value, and I give it to the poor, namely that I say in the Name of Jesus: “Be strengthened, ye weak hands, and ye feeble knees.”

89. But if you will be rich, you must be poor. Then shall you in all things be rich, if you are poor in spirit. It is not property which makes rich, but the spirit.

90. There are those who humble themselves in abundance of riches, and they act rightly and prudently, for the law of nature is sufficiently rich for all, according to which one may soon find what is more than enough; but for lust any abundance of riches is still penury. Again, no one is born poor but becomes so. Poverty then is not in nature but in our own feelings, and so to find oneself rich is easy for nature, but hard for lust. For the more a man has gained the more he thirsts for gain, and burns as it were with a kind of intoxication from his lusts.

91. Why do you seek for a heap of riches as though it were necessary? Nothing is so necessary as to know that this is not necessary. Why do you throw the blame on the flesh? It is not the belly in the body but avarice in the mind which makes a man insatiable. Does the flesh take away the hope of the future? Does the flesh destroy the sweetness of spiritual grace? Does the flesh hinder faith? Is it the flesh which attributes any weight to vain opinions as it were to insane masters? The flesh prefers frugal

moderation, by which it is freed from burdens, is clothed with health, because it has laid aside its care and has obtained tranquillity.

92. But riches themselves are not blameable. For “the ransom of a man’s life are his riches,” since he that gives to the poor redeems his soul. So that even in these material riches there is place for virtue. You are like steersmen in the vast sea. If a man steers his course well, he quickly passes over the sea so as to attain to the port, but one who knows not how to direct his property is drowned together with his freight. And so it is written: “The wealth of rich men is a most strong city.”

93. And what is that city but Jerusalem which is in heaven, in which is the kingdom of God? This is a good possession which brings eternal fruit. A good possession which is not left here, but is possessed there. He who possesses this says: “The Lord is my portion.” He says no, My portion stretches and extends from this boundary to that. Nor does he say, My portion is amongst such and such neighbors, except perchance amongst the apostles, amongst the prophets, amongst the saints of the Lord, for this is the righteous man’s portion. He does not say, My portion is in the meadows, or in the woods, or the plains, except perchance those wooded plains in which the Church is found, of which it is written: “We found it in the wooded plains.” He does not say, My portion consists of herds of horses, for “a horse is a vain thing for safety.” He does not say, My portion consists of herds of oxen, asses, or sheep; except perchance he reckons himself amongst those which know their Owner, and wishes to company with the ass which does not shun the cribs of Christ; and that Sheep is his portion which was led to the slaughter, and that Lamb which was dumb before the shearer, and opened not His mouth, in Whose humiliation judgment has been exalted. Well does he say “before the shearer,” for He laid aside what was additional, not His own essence, on the cross, when He laid aside His Body, but lost not His Divinity.

94. It is not then everyone who can say, “The Lord is my portion.” The covetous man cannot, for covetousness draws near and says: Thou art my portion, I have thee in subjection, thou hast served me, thou hast sold thyself to me with that gold, by that possession thou hast adjudged thyself to me. The luxurious man says not: Christ is my portion, for luxury comes and says: Thou art my portion, I made thee mine in that

banquet, I caught thee in the net of that feast, I hold thee by the bond of thy gluttony. Dost thou not know that thy table was more valued by thee than thy life? I refute thee by thine own judgment, deny if thou canst, but thou canst not. And in fine thou hast reserved nothing for thy life, thou hast spent it all for thy table. The adulterer cannot say: “The Lord is my portion;” for lust comes and says: I am thy portion, thou didst bind thyself to me in the love of that maiden, by a night with that harlot thou hast come under my laws and into my power. The traitor cannot say: “Christ is my portion,” for at once the wickedness of his sin rushes on him and says: He is deceiving Thee, Lord Jesus, he is mine.

95. We have an example of this, for when Judas had received the bread from Christ the devil entered into his heart, as though claiming his own property, as though retaining his right to his own portion, as though saying: He is not Thine but mine; clearly he is my servant, Thy betrayer, plainly he is mine. He sits at table with Thee, and serves me; with Thee he feasts, but is fed by me; from Thee he receives bread, from me money; with Thee he drinks, and has sold Thy Blood to me. And he proved how truly he spoke. Then Christ departed from him, Judas also himself left Jesus and followed the devil.

96. How many masters has he who has forsaken the One! But let us not forsake Him. Who would forsake Him Whom they follow bound with chains indeed, but chains of love, which set free and do not bind, those chains in which they who are bound boast, saying: “Paul the bondservant of Jesus Christ, and Timothy.” It is more glorious for us to be bound by Him, than to be set free and loosed from others. Who then would flee from peace? Who would flee from salvation? Who would flee from mercy? Who would flee from redemption?

97. You see, my sons, what has been the end of those who followed these things, how being dead they yet work. Let us study to gain the diligence of those the glory of whose virtues we admire, and what we praise in others, let us silently recognize in ourselves. Nothing effeminate, nothing feeble attains to praise. “The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.” The fathers ate the lamb in haste. Faith hastens, devotion is quick, hope is active, it loves not objections of the mind, but to pass from fruitless ease to the fruits of toil. Why do you put off till

tomorrow? You can gain to-day; and must guard against not attaining the one and losing the other. The loss even of one hour is no slight one, one hour is a portion of our whole life.

98. There are young persons who desire quickly to attain to old age, so as no longer to be subject to the will of their elders; and there are also old men who would wish if they could to return again to youth. And I approve of neither desire, for the young, disdainful of things present, as it were ungratefully desire a change in their way of living, the old wish for its lengthening, whereas youth can grow old in character, and old age grow green with action. For it is discipline as much as age which brings amendment of character. How much the more then ought we to raise our hopes to the kingdom of God, where will be newness of life, and where will be a change of grace not of age!

99. Reward is not obtained by ease or by sleep. The sleeper does no work, ease brings no profit, but rather loss. Esau by taking his ease lost the blessing of the first-born, for he preferred to have food given to him rather than to seek it. Industrious Jacob found favor with each parent.

100. And yet although Jacob was superior in virtue and favor, he yielded to his brother’s anger, who grieved that his younger brother was preferred to him. And so it is written: “Give place to wrath,” lest the wrath of another draw you also into sin, when you wish to resist, and to avenge yourself. You can put away sin both from him and from yourself, if you think well to yield. Imitate the patriarch who by his mother’s counsel went far away. And who was the mother? Rebecca, that is, Patience. For who but Patience could have given this counsel? The mother loved her son, but preferred that he should be cut off from herself rather than from God. And so because the mother was good, she benefited both her sons, but to the youngest she gave a blessing which he could keep; yet she preferred not one son to the other as sons; but the active to the easy-going, the faithful to the unbelieving.

101. And so since he was separated from his parents through piety not on account of impiety, he talked with God, he increased in riches, in children, and in favor. Nor was he elated by these things when he met his brother; but humbly bowed down to him, not indeed considering him the pitiless, the furious, the degenerate, but Him Whom he reverenced in him. And so

he bowed down seven times, which is the number of remission, for he was not bowing down to man, but to Him Whom he foresaw in the Spirit, as hereafter to come in human flesh to take away the sins of the world. And this mystery is unfolded to you in the answer given to Peter, when he said: “If my brother trespass against me how often shall I forgive him? Until seven times? “: You see that remission of sins is a type of that great Sabbath, of that rest of everlasting grace, and therefore is given by contemplation.

102. But what is the meaning of his having arranged his wives and children and all his servants, and ordered that they should bow down to the earth? It was certainly not to the element of earth, which is often filled with blood, in which is the workshop of all crimes, which often is rough with huge rocks, or broken cliffs, or barren and hungry soil, but as to that Flesh which is to be for our salvation. And perchance this is that mystery which the Lord taught, when He said: “Not only seven times, but even seventy times seven.”

103. Do you then forgive injuries done to you that you may be children of Jacob. Be not provoked as was Esau. Imitate holy David, who as a good master left us what we should follow, saying: “Instead of loving me they spake against me, but I prayed,” and when he was reviled, he prayed. Prayer is a good shield, wherewith contumely is kept away, cursing is repelled and often is turned back on those who utter it, so that they are wounded by their own weapons. “Let them curse,” he says, “but bless Thou.” The curse of man is to be sought for, which procures the blessing of the Lord.

104. And for the rest, most dear brethren, consider that Jesus suffered without the gate, and do you go forth out of this earthly city, for your city is Jerusalem which is above. Let your conversation be there, that you may say: “But our conversation is in heaven.” Therefore did Jesus go forth out of the city, that you going out of this world may be above the world. Moses alone, who saw God, had his tabernacle without the camp when he talked with God; and the blood indeed of the victims which were offered for sin, was brought to the altar, but the bodies were burnt without the camp; for no one placed amidst the evil of this world can lay aside sin, nor

is his blood accepted of God, except he go forth from the defilement of this body.

105. Love hospitality, whereby holy Abraham found favor, and received Christ as his guest, and Sarah already worn with age gained a son; Lot also escaped the fire of the destruction of Sodom. You too can receive Angels if you offer hospitality to strangers. What shall I say of Rahab who by this means found safety?

106. Compassionate those who are bound with chains, as though bound with them. Comfort those in sorrow; for, “It is better to go into the house of mourning than into the house of rejoicing.” From the one is gained the merit of a good work, from the other a lapse into sin. Lastly, in the one case you still hope for the reward, in the other you have already received it. Feel with those who are afflicted as if also afflicted with them.

107. Let a wife show deference, not be a slave to her husband; let her show herself ready to be ruled not coerced. She is not worthy of wedlock who deserves chiding. Let a husband also guide his wife like a steersman, honor her as the partner of his life, share with her as a joint heir of grace.

108. Mothers, wean your children, love them, but pray for them that they may long live above this earth, not on the earth but above it, for there is nothing long-lived on this earth, and that which lasts long is but short and very frail. Warn them rather to take up the Cross of the Lord than to love this life.

109. Mary, the mother of the Lord stood by her Son’s Cross; no one has taught me this but the holy Evangelist St. John. Others have related how the earth was shaken at the Lord’s passion, the sky was covered with darkness, the sun withdrew itself; that the thief was after a faithful confession received into paradise. John tells us what the others have not told, how the Lord fixed on the Cross called to His mother, esteeming it of more worth that, victorious over His sufferings, He rendered her the offices of piety, than that lie gave her a heavenly kingdom. For if it be according to religion to grant pardon to the thief, it is a mark of much greater piety that a mother is honored with such affection by her Son. “Behold,” He says, “thy Son”.... “Behold thy mother.” Christ testified from the Cross, and divided the offices of piety between the mother and

the disciple. The Lord made not only a public but also a private testament, and John signed this testament of His, a witness worthy of so great a Testator. A good testament not of money but of eternal life, which was written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, Who says: “My tongue is the pen of a quickly writing scribe.”

110. Nor was Mary below what was becoming the mother of Christ. When the apostles fled, she stood at the Cross, and with pious eyes beheld her Son’s wounds, for she did not look for the death of her Offspring, but the salvation of the world. Or perchance, because that “royal hall” knew that the redemption of the world would be through the death of her Son, she thought that by her death also she might add something to the public weal. But Jesus did not need a helper for the redemption of all, Who saved all without a helper. Wherefore also He says: “I am become like a man without help, free among the dead.” He received indeed the affection of His mother, but sought not another’s help.

111. Imitate her, holy mothers, who in her only dearly beloved Son set forth so great an example of maternal virtue; for neither have you sweeter children, nor did the Virgin seek the consolation of being able to bear another son.

112. Masters, command your servants not as being below you in rank, but as remembering that they are sharers of the same nature as yourselves. Servants, serve your masters with good will, for each ought patiently to support that to which he is born, and be obedient not only to good but also to froward masters. For what thanks has your service if you zealously serve good masters? But if you thus serve the froward also you gain merit; for the free also have no reward, if when they transgress they are punished by the judges, but this is their merit to suffer without transgressing. And so you, if contemplating the Lord Jesus you serve even difficult masters with patience, will have your reward. Since the Lord Himself suffered, the just at the hand of the unjust, and by His wonderful patience nailed our sins to His Cross, that he who shall imitate Him may wash away his sins in His Blood.

113. In fine, turn all to the Lord Jesus. Let your enjoyment of this life be with a good conscience, your endurance of death with the hope of immortality, your assurance of the resurrection through the grace of Christ;

let truth be with simplicity, faith with confidence, abstinence with holiness, industry with soberness, conversation with modesty, learning without vanity; let there be soberness of doctrine, faith without the intoxication of heresy. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

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THE

COPTIC VERSION

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

IN THE NORTHERN DIALECT

OTHERWISE CALLED

MEMPHITIC AND BOHAIRIC

WITH

INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL APPARATUS, AND LITERAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION

VOLUME IV

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

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IN THE NORTHERN DIALECT

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ⲈⲠⲒ(Ⲥ)ⲦⲞⲖⲎ ⲒⲀⲔⲰⲂⲞⲤ.

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ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲃ̅ ⲁⲛ ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲃ̅ ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϫⲟⲗ
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Inscription. ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ, A_1: ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ, GO: ⲕⲁⲑⲟ(ⲕⲉⲟⲩ, A_2)ⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟ(ⲱ, A_2)ⲗⲏ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ, (A_2)FS: ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲱⲥ, B^a: ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ, NT: ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (om. K) ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲁ̅, ΓK: ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ϯϩⲟⲩⲓϯ 'the first' ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ, P.

EPISTLE (OF) JAMES.

I. James, (the) servant of God and our Lord Jesus Christ,
to the twelve *tribes* who are in the dispersion, *hail.* 2 Be
in all joy, my brethren, if ye should fall into various *temp-
tations*; 3 knowing that the *proof* of your faith worked
[a] *patience.* 4 But [the] *patience*—let a complete work
be in it (sc. patience), that ye may be complete and sound,
and that ye may not be deficient of anything. 5 But if
there is one among you deficient of wisdom, let him *ask*
from God, who giveth to all *simply*, reproaching not; and
it shall be given to him. 6 But let him *ask* in [a] faith,
doubting not. For he who doubteth was as the waves
of the sea, the wind taking them and bringing them. 7 For

---

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Kihak.' ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. ff vg syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲙ̅ⲫⲩⲗⲏ] ⲛ̅ⲫ., A_2. ⲉⲧⲭⲏ] om. ⲭⲏ, FS. ⲭⲉⲣⲉ] $L^g T^t$ A B^a ΓGNOPT 18. 26: ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ, FKS. 2 -ⲣⲁⲟⲩⲟ] A: -ⲟⲩⲱ, $L^g T^t$ &c. 3 ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB*C KLP al fere omn $cat^{2\,txt}$ $et^{3\,com}$ s vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲟⲩϩⲩⲡ.] ⲉⲩϩ., FNT. 4 ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲥ] pref. ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ, K. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ 1°] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ, A_2*. ϫⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲕ . . . ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ] om. O homeot. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲣϩ] -ϫⲟⲗϩ, A_2* by error. 5 ⲇ(ⲧ, P)ⲉ] om. T. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛ] L^g A B^a GP 18. 26: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, FS: ⲙ̅, T^t $Γ^r$ KNOT. ⲫϯ] position cf. ? Gr. A ff vg. ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲡⲗⲱⲥ] pref. ⲛ̅, FS. ⲛ̅ϥϣⲱ(ⲟ, L^g $Γ^r$ FGKPT 18)ϣϥ] L^g $A_{1,2}{}^c$ B^a FKS 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t ΓGN OPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^g A B^a FGKPS 18. 26: om. T^t $Γ^r$ NOT. ⲉⲩⲉϯ] ⲉⲩϯ, $Γ^r$ O. ⲛⲁϥ] + ⲁⲛ 'not,' $Γ^r$ O. 6 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲛ̅ϥⲟⲓ] T^t ANOT $18^{i.ii}$: ⲛⲉϥⲟⲓ, $Γ^r$: ⲉϥⲟⲓ, L^g B^a FGKPS 26, single negative. ⲃ̅ 1°] pref. ⲛ̅, A_2. ⲁϥⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲓ, B^a FKS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̅-ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] $L^g T^t$ A B^a GP 18. 26: om. S*: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFKNOS^{ug}T.

$A_{1,2}$ B^a Γ F G K N O P S T
Hunt 18, 1-8, 1-12
Hunt 26, 1-8

ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁϭⲓ ϩⲗⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ⳾ 8 ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲃ︦ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ϩⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ |
ρλβ β 9 Ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲑⲉ-
ⲃⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϭⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ 10 ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ ϥⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ. 11 ⲁϥϣⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲣⲏ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧϣⲟⲩⲓⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉϥϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ ⲁⲥϥⲟⲣϥⲉⲣ ⳾ ⲡⲥⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ
ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϥⲛⲁⲗⲱⲙ ⳾
γ ✝ 12 Ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧϥ ⳾

Ⲃ.

δ 13 Ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ. ⲫϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ϥⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ
ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϥⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ. 14 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲛ-
ⲥⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ 15 ⲓⲧⲁ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲥϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ-
ⲃⲟⲕⲓ ϣⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛϫⲱⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁϥϫⲫⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
ε 16 Ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ. 17 ⲧⲁⲓⲟ

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7 ⲛⲁϥ] om. B^a. ϩⲗⲓ] L^gAB^aΓFKOST: pref. ⲛ̀, T^tGNP 18. 26; cf. Gr. ABC^2KLP al pler ff vg syr^{utr} aeth Cyr &c. ⲙ̀ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ . . . 8 ⲃ︦ ⲟⲩⲁⲧ] om. N*. 8 ⲇⲉ] $L^g$$T^tAB^a$GNP 18. 26: om. ΓFKOST.
Hunt 18, 9–12 ⲉⲧⲟⲓ] om. T. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥⲉⲙ.] ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲥ., B^a. 9 ⲇⲉ] om. P. 10 ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ] L^gAGP $18^{ii.iiic}$: ⲛ̀ϧ., T^tΓFKNOST: ⲉϩ., B^a. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ] om. ⲙ̀, FS. ϥⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ] om. ϥ, A_1: ⲉⲁϥⲥ., B^a 18: -ⲥⲓ, K. 11 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. G*. ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛ] ⲛⲓⲕ., N: om. art.,

let not that man think to himself, that he will take any-
thing from the Lord; 8 but the man who doubteth is
unsteady on all his ways. 9 But let the brother who is in
humble (position) boast himself in his exaltation: 10 but the
rich in his humiliation: because as a flower of [a] grass he
will pass (away). 11 For (the) sun arose with the *scorching
heat* and dried the grass; and its flower fell off, but (the)
beauty of its face perished: thus also the rich in all his
ways will wither. 12 *Blessed* is the man who will endure
in a *temptation*, because, should he be a chosen (one), he
will receive the crown of (the) life, which he promised to
them who will love him.

13 Let not any one say, being *tempted*, that it is God
who *tempteth* me: for God *tempteth* not in evil things, but
he (pron.) *tempteth* not any one: 14 but each one is being
(ⲉⲩ) *tempted* by his own *lust* drawing him and enticing
him. 15 *Then* the *lust* should it conceive bringeth forth (the)
sin: but (the) sin should it be completed begetteth (the)
death. 16 Go not astray, my brethren, my beloved. 17 All

18^{ii}. ⲁⲥϥ.] ⲉⲥϥ., S. ⲡⲥⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] A$_{1.2}$ (pref. ⲟⲩ): ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡ(ⲡⲉϥ, P)ⲥⲁⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄Ϯ., T^{t}FS. ⲡⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲡⲉϥⲙ., OS. 12 ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲙ.] cf.? Gr. KLP al mu. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] om. ⲛ̄, Γ*. ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ (om. ⲉⲣ, F*) ⲟⲩ.] ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ., A$_{1}$. ⲡⲱⲛϦ] ⲡⲓⲱⲛϦ, GP. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵAB a^{scr*} ff arm. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] om. B^{a}: + ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' T^{t}, cf. Gr. (C)KLP al pler &c. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 13 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of the Fast, (later) the fourth Sunday of the month Amshīr.' Hunt 26, i. 13–21; ii. 13–15 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲡ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS 18. 26: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ., ΓOT: ⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ., N by error. ϥⲉⲣⲡ. 1°] L^{g}A$_{1}$B^{a}ΓFS 26: ⲉϥⲉⲣ., GK^{r}NPT 18: ⲉⲣ., T^{t}A$_{2}$O. ϥⲉⲣⲡ. 2°] L^{g}AB^{a}FS 18. 26: ⲛ̄ϥ., T^{t}ΓGK^{r}NOPT. 14 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GK^{r}NOPT 18. 26^{i}: ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲡ., Γ: ϥⲉⲣⲡ., FS 26^{ii}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. B^{a}GK^{r}P 18. ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲕ] ⲉⲩⲥ., K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^{t}ΛΓKO 26$^{i.\,ii}$: om. L^{g}B^{a}FGNPST 18. ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲡⲥⲉⲡ] ⲉⲩⲥ., K: -ⲃⲥⲉⲃ, 26^{i}. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ 4°] om. B^{a}. 15 ϣⲁⲥⲙⲉⲥ] -ⲙⲁⲥ, T: -ⲙⲓⲥ, A$_{2}$. ϣⲁϥϫⲫⲟ] -ⲫⲉ, K. 16. 17 ⲧⲁⲓⲟ] ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲟ, S. Hunt 18, 16–21

ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϩⲁⲡⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ·
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϣⲓⲃϯ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ ⲉⲁⲥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ [18] ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁϥϫⲫⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⳾ |
ϛ [19] Ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ. ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲓⲏⲥ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲉϥϩⲟⲣϣ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥϩⲟⲣϣ ⲉϥⲛⲁ-
ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
ζ [20] Ⲡϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲙⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ [21] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲭⲁ ⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲩϣ ⳾ ϣⲉⲡ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉϥⲣⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⳾

Ⲅ.

η [22] Ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥ-
ϭⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲁⲛ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ-
ϩⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ. [23] ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾
ⲉⲁϥϯ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϫⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲗ. [24] ⲁϥϯ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲱⲃϣ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ [25] ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. 26. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉⲛ., 26. ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ 'it cometh,' FS. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲛⲓ., NPT. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] T^tAK: ⲓⲉ 'or,' $L^g B^a$ΓFGNOPST 18. 26. ⲉⲁⲥⲥⲓⲛⲓ] L^gAB^aΓKNO 26: ⲁⲥⲥ., T^tGP: ⲉⲁⲥⲣⲓⲕⲓ 'declined,' FS. [18] ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] A 26: pref. ⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁϥϫⲫⲟⲛ] pref. ⲉ, FS. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ] -ⲟⲛⲧ, A_2*. [19] ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] A: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., $L^g T^t B^a$ΓFGKNOPST 26; for

good gifts and all complete *gifts* are from above, coming
below from the Father of the lights, with whom there is
not change, *nor* a form of a shadow which passed. 18 He
wished, he begat us in (the) word of the truth, to cause
us to be a *firstfruit* of his creatures. 19 But we know,
my brethren, my beloved. But let every man be in haste
about to hear, slow about to speak, slow about to be angry.
20 For (the) anger of (the) man worketh not the righteous-
ness of God. 21 Therefore lay down all filthiness and (the)
abundance of [the] malice, in [a] meekness receive the word,
newly grown up, for which it is possible to save your souls.
22 Be doers of the word, and not listeners only, otherwise
ye are deceiving your own selves. 23 He who is a listener of
the word, and not a worker, [this] was like to a man who
beheld (the) face of his birth in a mirror: 24 for he beheld
it, and he went away, and immediately he forgat the manner
(of man) which he was being. 25 But he who gazed at (the)

'know' cf. Gr. ABC 73. 83. ff vg arm syr p mg, for 2° pres. indic. cf. vg. ⲇⲉ 1°] T t AΓO 26: om. L g B a FGKNPST. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵBCP* 83. m 64 ff vg: om. T t P, cf. Gr. KLP 2 al pler cat syr utr arm aeth &c. ⲉϥϩⲟⲣϣ 1°] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ] om. ⲉϥ, A_2*. 20 ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ(ⲣ, ⲧ)ⲉⲣ, NPT. 21 F mg 'the second Sunday of the Fast.' ⲉϥⲣⲏⲧ] ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲧ, K. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯ.] L g T t &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCKP &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯ., A_1 uncertain: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲯ., P, cf. Gr. L al plus 15. F mg 'the end (of the lection).' 22 F mg S mg 'the first Sunday of Tūt.' ϣⲱⲡⲓ] L g AB a FKPS 26, cf. Gr. h 105. k scr harl arm: +ⲇⲉ, ΓGNOT 18, cf. Gr. rell (exc. 9. 18). ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ] -ⲓⲣⲓ, P*. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ] position cf.? Gr. B a scr Thphyl ff vg syr utr arm aeth. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] A: om. L g T t &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., K. 23 ⲫⲏ] cf.? Gr. A om. ὅτι: +ⲅⲁⲣ, T t N, cf. syr sch. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭ.] A 26: om. ⲛ̄, L g T t &c. ⲡⲉ 1°] trs. after ⲥⲁϫⲓ, ΓFOS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ.] L g T t AB a ΓKNOT 18. 26: om. ⲟⲩ, FS: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ., GP. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. FS: ⲛⲉ, T. ⲉⲁϥϯ] ⲁϥϯ, FKS. ⲡϩⲟ] ⲡⲓϩⲟ, NP. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. 25 ⲇⲉ] om. T.

Hunt 18, 22–27
Hunt 26, i. ii. 22–25

ⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲱⲃϣ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ. ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
θ † 26 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲟⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲛ̄ϥϭⲓϫⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ϩⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲉⲫⲗⲏⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲉⲙϣⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲓ ⳾
ι 27 Ⲡⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⳾
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲙ-
ρλγ ⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳾| ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ-
ⲁϭⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

Ⲇ.

ια Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲭⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̇ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ϩⲟ ⳾ 2 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩϣϭⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲧⲏⲃ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲥⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩϩⲏⲕⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲥⲁⲑⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲣⲓ
ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⳾
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ ϩⲱϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ

ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ] A$_1$: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. K. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] cf. ? vg syr^{sch} et ^{p} c.* arm ar^e. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣ] A 26: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ., L^{g}T^t &c.; for om. οὗτος cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 29. 68. 73. ff vg syr^{sch} ar^e. ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩ.] ⲉϥⲉⲣ., K: ⲁϥⲉⲣ., FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGNPST 18. 26: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ., Γ: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ., O: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥ-ⲓⲣⲓ, K. 26 ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. CP 13. 31. ff vg syr^{sch} aeth: om. P, cf. Gr. ℵABKL al fere omn cat^9 syr^p arm &c. ⲡⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP h 27. 29. 66** 68. 73. m^{64} ff vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϥϭⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}GP 18: ⲉϥϭⲓ, FS single negative. ϫⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ]

law which is complete of the freedom, and stayed in it,
he is not (a) forgetful hearer, but (ⲇⲉ) (a) doer of the work,
this (one) shall be *blessed* in that which he doeth. 26 But
he who thinketh that he is a server (of God), *bridling* not
his tongue, but (ⲇⲉ) he deceived his heart, (the) service of
this (one) is vain. 27 But the pure service and unstained
with God and the Father is this, to visit the *orphans* and
the *widows* in their tribulation, to keep himself unspotted
from the *world.*

II. My brethren, have not[a] the faith of (the) glory of our
Lord Jesus Christ in a respect of persons. 2 For if a man
cometh into your *synagogue* wearing a gold ring on his
finger, in (a) splendid raiment, but a poor (man) also entereth
in (an) unwashed raiment; 3 and ye look upon him who
weareth the splendid raiment, and say: 'Thou, sit thee here
in a good place'; and ye say to the poor man also: 'Thou,

[a] Lit. 'put not by you.'

-ⲛⲟⲥ, Lg. -ⲗⲁⲥ] -ⲗⲁⲟⲥ, NT. 27 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. 8pe m 34 ff arm syrp c.* Epiph. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Ba. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. Ba, cf. Gr. 99. 126. 177* 13lect 14lect gsor m 34 &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲭⲏⲣⲁ] om. Ba 18: om. ⲛⲓ, T. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., Ba: ⲛ̄ϩ., K. ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩ.] ϧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϩ., F: ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩ., S. -ⲁϭⲛⲓ] -ϭⲛⲓ, Lg. Fmg 'the end (of the lection).'

1 Fmg Smg 'the second Sunday of the Fast.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛ., LgTt &c. 2 ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ.] ⲛ̄ⲧ., ΓN. ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] LgTtAΓFKOS 26i: ⲉⲟⲩ., BaGNPT 18. 26ii. ⲟⲩϣϭ(om. N)ⲟⲩⲣ] ϣϭ., FKS. ⲇⲉ] om. F 26ii. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] LgTtABaFGPS 18. 26i: pref. ⲉϥ, ΓKNOT 26ii. 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] LgTtAΓFKOS 26, cf. Gr. ℵAKL 13. 31. 40. al fere omn cat vg syrsch aeth &c.: om. BaGNPT 18. ⲉⲧⲉϯϩ.] ⲉϯϩ., TtNT. -ϫⲟⲥ 1°] AΓ 26i, cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 65. 67. 69. 76. 133. ascr jscr ff fu harl syrp arm &c.: +ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' LgTtBaFGKNOPST Hunt 18. 26ii, cf. Gr. KLP al pler vg syrsch aeth cat &c. ⲛⲁⲕ] A 26i: om. LgTt &c. ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ] om. ⲛ̄, 26. -ϫⲟⲥ 2° &c. (ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩ., Ba)] -ϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ ϩⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ 'look on the poor also and say,' K. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ 2°] om. K.

Hunt 18, 1–5
Hunt 26, i. 1–4; ii. 1–13

ϩⲁⲙⲙⲏⲛ ⲓⲉ ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲭⲁ ⲛⲓϭ̅ⲁ̅ⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾
ιβ 4 Ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲁ ⲟⲩϣⲓⲃϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ ⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 5 ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⳾ ⲙⲏ ⲫϯ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲑⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧϥ ⳾
ιγ 6 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉϣ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲓⲣⲁ-
ⲙⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾
7 ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ |
8 Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲫⲏⲣ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ 9 ⲓⲥϫⲉ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉϩⲟ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲟϩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲃⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ 10 ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ-
ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϩⲉⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
11 ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲣⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ
ⲟⲛ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⳾

ϩⲁⲙⲙⲏⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ΑΓFGKOS 26: ⲥⲁⲙ(om. N)ⲛⲏ, B^{a}NPT 18. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ C^{2}KLP al pler cat syr^{sch} aeth &c. ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. B^{3}P 13. 27. 29. 68. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} d^{scr} syr^{p} arm syr^{sch}. ⲫⲙⲁ &c.] cf.? Gr. ℵ BCKLP al fere omn cat ff arm Cyr. -ⲭⲁ] -ⲕⲁ, NT. 4 ⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲁ] ⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲁ, K; cf. Gr. ℵAB^{2}C 13. 14. 36. 38. 68. 69. 73. 95** 113. a^{scr} c^{scr} $al^{2\,scr}$ cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Cyr &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] AK: ⲛ̄ϧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲉϧ., FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}ΑΓFKOS 26: om. $T^{t}B^{a}$GNPT 18. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧ., 26^{ii}: ⲉⲁⲣ., $T^{t}B^{a}$GNT 18. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ]
Hunt 18, 5-13 ⲛ̄ϩ., K. 5 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ] A_{1}: ⲁⲛ ⲁ(ⲉ, Γ)ϥⲥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.:
Hunt 26, iii. 5-8 ⲁϥⲥ., 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. $A^{2}C^{2}$KLP al $plus^{70}$ cat ff

stand there or sit here at (the) place of putting the
feet.' [4] Did you not put a distinction among yourselves,
and ye become judges of (lit. in) evil thoughts? [5] Hear, my
brethren, my beloved; was not God choosing the poor of
the *world*, rich in the faith, and *heirs* of the kingdom, which
he promised to them who will love him? [6] But ye dis-
honour the poor (man). Is it not the rich who tyrannise
you? And they (are those) who draw you to places of giving
judgement. [7] Are not they (those) who blaspheme the good
name which was called over you. [8] If *indeed* ye fulfil the
royal *law* according to the *Scriptures*: 'Thou shalt love thy
neighbour as thyself,' ye do *well*: [9] if ye respect persons, ye
work (the) sin; (the) *law* convicting you *as transgressors*
of the *law*. [10] For he who will keep (the) *law*, and fall in
one (commandment), became *guilty* of them all. [11] For he
who said: 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' he (pron.) again
said: 'Thou shalt not kill.' If thou committest not

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syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲫⲏ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣ.] pref. ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣ 'fellow,' FS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] + ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ 'God,' FS: ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, NT. [6] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉϣ] ⲁⲧ., FS 26: -ϣⲉ(ⲁ, NT)ϣϥ, Γ*G^{c}NOPT. ⲡⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ] pref. ⲙ̄, O. -ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲱⲟⲩ] T^{t}AB^{a}G 18. 26: -ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲓ, L^{g}ΓFKNOST: -ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ, P. ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ] ⲉⲩⲥ., K. [7] ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'ye,' FS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, A_2*K. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, O. [8] ⲙⲉⲛ] +ⲟⲩⲛ, FS. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲱⲕ] ⲧⲉⲛϫ., A_2, 1° person: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, 26^{ii}. ⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] cf. Gr. 27. 29. vg: ϯⲅ., K, cf. Gr. rell. ⲉⲕⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ] ⲉⲕⲙ., P. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁ] A 26^{iii}: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓFGKNOPST 18. 26^{ii}: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, B^a. [9] ⲓⲥϫⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FKNST 26: +ⲇⲉ, ΓGOP 18. ⲉϥⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., ΓG. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃ.] AB^{a}FKS: pref. ϩⲁⲛ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟ-ⲙⲟⲥ] $A_{1.2}$*: om. L^{g}T^t &c. [10] ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] A: +ⲧⲏⲣϥ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr. and for position cf.? Gr. C 31. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϩⲉⲓ] A: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] +ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲉϥϣ., N: ⲛⲁϥϣ., FS. [11] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲣ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ., B^a. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲟⲛ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] A: ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ, L^g &c.: ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ, T^t.

ⲒⲤⲭⲉ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲁⲛ⳹ ⲕϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲕϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲟⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ⳹ 12 ⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳹ ϩⲱⲥ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ⳹ 13 ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲛⲁⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ⳹ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲛⲁⲓ
ⲅⲁⲣ ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ⳹

Ⲉ.

ιδ 14 Ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡϩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲟⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ⳹ ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲁϭⲛⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ⳹ 15 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲇⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ⳹ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲃⲏϣ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩϣⲁⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧϧⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳹ 16 ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ϧⲙⲟⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲓ⳹
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲛ̀ⲧⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ⳹ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲛⲟⲩ⳹ 17 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ
ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ϥⲙⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲁⲣⲓ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ. |
ρλⲁ ιε 18 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϥⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ⳹ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ

ⲕⲟⲓ] A_2B^a: ⲟⲓ, A_1: ϫⲉⲕⲟⲓ, L^g: ⲇⲉ ⲕⲟⲓ, T^t &c.: ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕⲟⲓ, O; for tense cf. Gr. ℵABC 15. 45. 70. 98* cat. ⲕϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] ⲉⲕϧ., 26. ⲁⲕϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲉⲕⲉϣ., K. ⲉⲕⲟⲓ] ⲁⲕⲟⲓ, B^a. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ., K. 12 ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲛ., FS. 13 ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ 'his mercy,' T. ⲫⲛⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ] T^tA, cf. arm: ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ, ΓO, for δέ cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$A 13. 40. 73. 83. 101. ff vg syr^p &c.: ⲫⲛⲁⲓ, L^gB^aGKNPST 18. 26, cf. Gr. ℵ*BCKL h al longe plu cat syr^{sch}. ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ] tense cf. Gr. ℵBKL al pler cat &c. K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 14 ⲡϩⲛⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. $ℵAC^2KL$ al fere omn cat &c. ϫⲟⲥ] position cf. Gr. AC 56. ff m^{34} vg. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ] pref. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, FS 26^{ii} Cons. ⲛⲁϩϯ 1°] A 26: pref. ⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ] L^gT^tAΓGNOPT 18. 26^i: ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲧ., B^aFKS 26^{ii}.

Hunt 18, 14–26
Hunt 26, i. 14–23; ii. 14–20
Cons. 14–23

adultery, but killest, thou became *transgressor* of the *law*.
12 Speak thus and do thus, *as* about to be judged through
(the) *law* of the freedom. 13 For the judgement is without
mercy to him who showed (lit. did) not the mercy: for
(the) mercy boasteth itself over [the] judgement.

14 What is (the) profit, my brethren, if one say: 'I have
faith,' but he hath not works? Is it possible that [the] faith
should save him without the works? 15 But if there is
a brother or a sister naked, and in want of (the) food of the
day, 16 and one of you indeed (ⲇⲉ) say to them: 'Go in [a]
peace, be warmed and satisfied'; and yet (ⲇⲉ) ye give not
to them for (the) *need* of the *body*; what is the profit?
17 Thus [the] faith also, if there is not work in it, is dead
by itself. 18 But (ⲁ) one will say: 'Thou (pron.) hast
[a] faith, but I (pron.) have works: show to me thy faith

ⲁ(ⲉ, P^c: +ⲧ, L^gFS) ϭⲛⲉⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] L^gAB^{a}FP^{c}S 18. 26. Cons.:
ϫⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ, KO: om. T^{t}ΓGNP*T. 15 ⲇⲉ] A 26,
cf. Gr. ACKL al longe plu vg syr^p &c.: om. L^gT^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵB 5. 6.
13. 27. 29. 31. 36. 40. 73. 99. 105. 133. d^{scr} cat ff m^{34} arm. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ]
AFKNST 18. 26: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, L^gT^{t}B^{a}ΓGOP Cons. ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ] pref.
ⲛ̄, O: -ⲥⲱⲛⲓ, FS. ⲉⲩⲃⲏϥϣ] om. ⲉⲩ, K. ⲉⲩϣⲁⲧ] ⲁⲩϣ.,
Cons. ⲧϧ̀ⲣⲉ] om. ⲧ, A$_2$FPS Cons. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲙ̀ⲛⲓ., ΓKO
26 Cons. 16 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] L^gAΓNO, cf. Gr. ℵB &c.:
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ, B^{a}GKP 18 Cons., cf. Gr. A 13. 27. 73. 133.
d^{scr} syr^{sch} aeth^{utr}: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ, FS 26: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ,
T^t. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. 26^{ii}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϯ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣ., F^{c}KS,
3° sing. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲣⲓⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲧϧ̀ⲣⲉ '(the) food,' K.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ, Cons.: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'of the
day,' 26. ⲡⲓϩⲏⲟⲩ] L^gAΓFKNOST: ⲡϩ., T^{t}B^{a}GP 18. 26. Cons.;
cf. Gr. ℵAC^{2}KL al omn^{vid} cat &c. 17 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,
Cons. ϩⲱⲃ] ϩⲏⲟⲩ 'gain,' FS. ϧ̀ⲁⲡⲓ] ϧ̀ⲁ, FS. 18 ϥⲛⲁ- Hunt 18, 18–23
ϫ(ⲩ, N)ⲟⲥ] L^gA$_1$ΓO^{c}P 18. 26: ⲛⲁϫ., A$_2$N: ⲉϥⲛⲁϫ., K: ⲁϥ-
ⲛⲁϫ., B^{c}FGO*ST Cons.: ⲁϥϫ., B^a*. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ(+ⲛ̄, 26)ⲧⲁⲕ]
L^gT^{t}AFS 26: ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉⲕ, B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18 Cons. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁϩϯ]
L^gAF^{c}KS 26: om. ⲛ̄, T^{t}B^{a}Γ^{c}F*GNOPT 18: om. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ, Γ*. ⲇⲉ
twice] A 26: ϩⲱ 'also,' L^gT^t &c. twice. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ] -ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ,
T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOT 18. 26. Cons.

ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩϯ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ
ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲁⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ 19 ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲭ̀ⲛⲁϩϯ
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ ⳼ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲕⲣⲁ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳼ ⲛⲓⲕⲉ-
ⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲥⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⳼
20 ⲭⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲱ ⲫ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳼ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⳼
ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳼
21 Ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⳼ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ ⲁⲛ
ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳼ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⳼ 22 ⲭⲛⲁⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ϫⲱⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⳼
23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳼ ϫⲉ ⲁϥ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲉⲫϯ ⳼ ⲁⲩⲟⲡⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳼ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡϣⲫⲏⲣ
ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳼
ⲓⲋ 24 Ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲑⲙⲁⲓⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲁⲛ ⳼ 25 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲣⲁⲁⲃ
ϯⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ ⳼ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳼ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϣⲉⲡ ⲛⲓϫⲏⲣ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳼ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲥϯⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳼ 26 ⲙ̀-
ⲫ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⳼ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅

ⲙⲁ . . . ϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] om. B^{a} homeot. ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP h 8. 13. 25. 31. 56. 68. 69. 73. 78** 83. 90. 142. a^{scr} ff vg syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 13. 69. 73. 83. a^{scr} c^{scr} ff vg syr^{utr} arm. -ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ] cf. ? Gr. ACKL al pler vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲡⲁⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. AKLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. 19 ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ] L^{g}AΓFNOST 26 : +ⲇⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GKP 18. ⲭⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲕⲛ., T^{t}G. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ] ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ, T ; order cf. ? Gr. ℵA 68. vg syr^{sch} arm $aeth^{pp}$ Cyr. ⲕⲣⲁ] ⲭⲣⲁ, ΓFS Cons. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ, FS. ϩⲱⲟⲩ] om. 26. 20 ⲭⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲕ., G. ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}, cf. Gr. 100. 106* 123. 130. arm. ϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAC^{2}KLP al pler cat vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm^{usc} aeth &c. 21 ⲙⲏ] om. 26 : ⲙⲉⲛ, Cons. ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩ.] B^{a}K : ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑ., L^{g}A &c. : ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., T^{t}G 26 : ⲉⲧⲁⲩ.,

without the works, but I (pron.) will show to thee my faith from my works.' 19 Thou (pron.) believest that God is one; thou doest *well*: the *demons* also believe, and they tremble. 20 But thou wishest to know, O (the) man, who art vain, that [the] faith *without* the works is dead.

21 Abraam our father was he not justified from the works, having offered Isaak his son upon the altar? 22 Thou seest that [the] faith was working with the works, and in the works [the] faith was completed; 23 and the *Scripture* was fulfilled: 'Abraam believed God; it was reckoned to him for [a] righteousness'; and he was called '(the) friend of God.' 24 Ye see that the man was to be justified from the works, and not from [the] faith alone. 25 Thus again Raab the *harlot*—was not she justified from the works, having received the spies, and she helped them out by another way? 26 For as the *body without* the

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FPS Cons. -ⲑⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ] -ⲑⲁⲙⲙⲓⲟϥ, ST. ⲁⲛ] om. NT. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛ] L^{g}AΓGOP 18. 26: ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲛ, NT: ⲉⲧⲁϥ-ⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄, $T^{t}B^{a}$FKS Cons. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] A 26: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓFKNO ST Cons.: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ, B^{a}GP 18. 22 ⲭⲛⲁⲩ] ⲕⲛ., G. ϧⲉⲛ] A: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 23 ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] A 26: +ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ 'which saith,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϫⲉⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲁⲃ.] ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ, FS Cons.; cf. ? Gr. L 69. a^{sor} c^{scr} ff vg rell. ⲁⲩⲟⲡⲥ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$GKNT 18. 26: ⲉⲁⲩ., P: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFOS Cons. ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙ., B^{a}: ⲉⲩⲙ., F^{c}S 18. 26. ⲡϣⲫⲏⲣ] om. ⲡ, NST. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ⲉⲫϯ, B^{a}. 24 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP h al plus[10] cat ff vg syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{utr}$ Thphyl. Hunt 18, 24–26 ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲑⲙ.] ⲉⲩⲛ., B^{a}GP 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉ] om. B^{a} 18: om. ⲛⲉ, FS. 25 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. ? Gr. C syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲟⲛ] cf. ? Gr. C 5. 6. 13. 76. vg^{cle} tol syr^{sch} arm: +ⲇⲉ, ΓFNS. ⲣⲁⲁⲃ] ⲣⲁⲭⲁⲃ, K. ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩ.] $T^{t}B^{a}$KT: ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑ., $L^{g}A\Gamma^{c}$NO 18: ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., FS: ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., GP. -ⲑⲙⲙⲁ(ⲁⲙ, FST)ⲓⲟⲥ] $L^{g}T^{t}A_{2}B^{a}$FGK NOPST 18: -ⲑⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟ, A_{1}: -ⲑⲙⲙⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ, Γ. ⲁⲥϣⲉⲛ] -ⲏⲛ, AB^{a}. ⲛⲓϫⲏ(ⲉ, FS 18*)ⲣ] cf. Gr. CK^{mg}L al[15] ff syr^{sch} $et^{p\,mg}$ arm ar^{e} aeth. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AGP 18: ϩⲓ, B^{a}ΓFKNOST. 26 ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. ℵACKLP al omn^{vid} vg syr^{p} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ] om. ⲙ̄, G^{c}. ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ]

ϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ
ⲛⲓϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾

Ⲅ̅.

ιζ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣ . . . , R

Ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯⲥ̀ⲃⲱ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ. | ²ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲛ̀ϥϩⲓⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϭⲓⲭⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾
³Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϯⲭⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲑⲱⲣ ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ ⁴ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲉϫⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲙⲁⲓⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϣⲧ ϣⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲓⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϯ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ⁵ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ
ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾ ϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾
⁶ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ ϩⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲡⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾

ιη Ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲭⲏ ⲉϧ̀ⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

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cf. Gr. 13. 31. 73. 78** cat: ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, NT. ϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ 1°] ⲁϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ, ΓNT.

Hunt 18, 1–5 . . . ⲛⲓϣϯ Hunt 26, 1–12

¹ F^mg S^mg 'the first Sunday of Hatūr, the third Sunday of Abīb, the third Sunday of the Fast.' ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ] ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ, FS^c pres.; for 2° pers. cf. Gr. 73. vg Aug^ioh 57. ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ] A: ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀(om. K)ϩⲁⲡ 'a great judgement,' L^gT^t &c. ² ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. B^a. ⲫⲏ] +ⲅⲁⲣ, T^tB^aGNPT 18. 26: +ⲇⲉ, R. ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ, 26 plural. ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ] A: +ⲡⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉϭⲓ] ⲉϯ, B^a. ⲭ(K, O)ⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ] -ⲛⲟⲥ, L^gPT. ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ] AB^aK 18. 26: ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲥⲱⲙⲁ, L^gT^tΓFGNOPRST. ³ ⲓⲥϫⲉ] AK 18. 26: +ⲇⲉ, L^gT^t &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABCKL al^25 ff vg &c. εἰ δέ. ⲧⲉⲛϯ-ⲭⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ (as above exc. O)] L^gAB^aR 18. 26: -ϭⲓⲭⲁⲗ., FS:

spirit is dead, thus [the] faith also without the works is dead.

III. Be not many teachers, my brethren, knowing that ye will receive a judgement. 2 For we all stumble many times. He who stumbleth not in a word, this is a *perfect* man, it being possible for him to *bridle* the whole *body*. 3 If we put (lit. give) *bridle* to the mouths of the horses, (it is) for them to obey us, and we drive their whole *body*. 4 Behold the ships which are so great, driven by rough winds, are guided (lit. brought) by a little helm, whither the steersman will wish to direct (lit. give) his course. 5 Thus also the tongue is a little *member*, and it speaketh great things[a]. Behold, a little fire burneth a whole *wood*. 6 The tongue also is a fire, (the) ornament[b] of (the) *iniquity*. The tongue is[c] among the *members*, and it defileth the whole

[a] Lit. 'greatnesses.' [b] κόσμος apparently mistranslated. [c] Literal translation of καθίσταται.

-ϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫ(ⲕ, ⲟ)., T^tΓGKNOPT. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲑ.] ⲉⲛⲓ., B^a. ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ(+ⲕⲉ, FS)-
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ] L^gT^t &c.: ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲧⲏⲣϥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ, A by error.
4 ⲛⲓⲉϫⲏⲟⲩ] A: ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉϫ., L^gT^t. ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲧ.] om. ⲉⲧⲉ, R:
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲧ., FS. ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, (Γ)FKORS: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, Γ*.
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ 1°] A: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^gT^t &c. ⲑⲏ(+ⲛ, A_2*NT)ⲟⲩ]
position cf.? Gr. ℵBCKP al^{15} cat ff m^{65} vg Dam. ϣⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ] A_1Γ
KO: +ⲇⲉ, $L^gT^tA_2B^a$FGNPRST 18. 26. ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲏ] -ⲉ, B^aΓKNRT 18.
ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲁ, ⲟ)ϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲟⲩ., A_2*: ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ,
B^a by error. 5 ϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲉϥⲥ., T^tKNT 18. 26. ϥⲣⲱ(ⲟ, 26)ⲕϩ] Hunt 18,
AΓOR 26: ⲉϥⲣ., L^gT^t &c. 6 ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ ϩⲱϥ] cf.? Gr. $ℵ^c$ABC ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ
KLP &c. καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα. ⲡⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ] L^gAB^aFKST: ⲉⲡⲥ., T^tΓGN ... 5–12
OPR 18. 26. ⲧ(ⲇ, B^a)ⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ] ϯ., P. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵA
BCK 27. 43. 65. 73. 102. 133. c^{scr} ff m^{65} vg syr^{sch} syr^{ptxt} arm &c.
ϫⲏ] A: ϥϫⲏ, L^gT &c.: ⲉϥϫⲏ, 26. ⲉϩ̀ⲣⲏⲓ] AΓO: ⲛ̄ϩ̀.,
L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ] ⲛⲉⲛⲙ. 'our members,' FKS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥ(om. FS)ϩⲓⲁϭⲛⲓ] L^gT^tAFGS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩ., P: ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥϩ., 18; cf. Gr. ℵ*: ϥϩⲓⲁϭⲛⲓ, ΓKNORT 26, cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$

ϥϩⲓⲁϭⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ ϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ⲧⲣⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲅⲉⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⳾
ιθ 7 ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲁ-
ⲗⲁϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϭⲁⲧϥⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲇⲁⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲥⲉϭⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾
8 ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ϣⲑⲣⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϭⲛⲉϫⲱϥ. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
9 Ⲁⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲛϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾
ρλε ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ | ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
10 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲟ ⲣⲱ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
κ Ⲡⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳾
κα 11 Ⲙⲏϯ ϣⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲃⲉⲃⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧϩⲟⲗϫ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲑⲙⲟⲗϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱ
κβ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⳾ †12 Ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛϫⲱⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲃⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉⲑⲙⲟⲗϩ ⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ ⳾

ⲍ.

κγ 13 Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ.

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rell. ϥ(ⲉϥ, BᵃGP 18)ⲣⲱ(ⲟ, BᵃP 26)ⲕϩ 1°] LᵍABᵃGPT 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TᵗΓFKNORS 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭ., 26. ϥⲣⲱ(ⲟ, BᵃP 26)ⲕϩ 2°] ⲉϥⲣ., KNT 18: +ϥ, Γᶜ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. K.
Hunt 26, 7–12 7 ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓϭ.] om. ⲛⲉⲙ, OR. ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ] ⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ, 18. ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲇⲁⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ] ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ, A₁* (mg نسخة ⲇⲁ). ⲥⲉϭⲛⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭ., G: ⲉⲩϭⲛⲟⲛ, K. ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯ] om. K homeot. 8 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ &c.] Tisch. classes this with Gr. L al pler, but cites translation without 'hominum,' which is expressed by ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ. ⲟⲩⲁⲧ(ⲑ, Bᵃ)ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ(ⲏ, TᵗT)] cf. Gr. ℵABP Dam ff. ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ] ⲉϥ-

body; it burneth the *wheel* of the birth, and it burneth by
the Geenna. 7 For all *natures* of the *beasts* and the
birds and the creeping things and those which are in the
seas are *tamed,* and are subject to the *nature* of [the]
humanity: 8 but the tongue itself there is not any man who
can make it subject; it is an unsettled (thing), being evil,
being full of poison of (the) death. 9 We blessed God and
the Father by it; and from it we revile [the] men, whom
God made like to him: 10 from the same mouth come forth
the blessing and the cursing. That which is not right
to be, my brethren, (is it) that these things should be thus.
11 Doth the fountain pour forth that which is sweet and
that which is salt from the same one opening? 12 Is it
possible, my brethren, for the fig-tree that it should produce
olives, or a vine that it should produce figs? Thus that
which is sweet shall not produce a salt water.
13 Who is wise and understanding among you? Let him

ⲙⲁϩ, P. 9 ⲁⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ] ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ, FS. ⲉ (om. T^t) ⲫϯ]
$L^g T^t$AFKS 26, cf. Gr. KL al pler cat vg syr^p &c.: ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, B^aΓGNO
PRT 18, cf. Gr. ℵABCP 4* 13. ff syr^{sch} arm Cyr &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°]
om. K: +ⲉ, N. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] A 26: ⲛ̄ϧ(ϩ, KP)ⲣⲏⲓ, $L^g T^t$ &c.
ⲉⲛϩⲱⲟⲩϣ] A: ⲧⲉⲛϩ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣ., T^t
GP 26. 10 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, R. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲟ(ⲱ, T^tFS 26)]
AKR: ⲡⲓⲣⲟ, $L^g T^t B^a$ΓFGNOPST 18: ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ, 26. ⲣⲱ]
ⲣⲟ, FS. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲓ] ⲡⲥ., Γ: ⲡⲓⲥⲁϩⲟϥ, S. ⲡⲉⲧ (om. G*)-
ⲥϣⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ, A. ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ] $L^g AB^a$ΓFKORS 26: ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ,
T^tGP 18: om. ϫⲉ, NT. ⲡⲉ] om. B^aNT. 11 ⲙⲏ(ⲉ, N)ϯ] AB^a
ΓNOT 18: ⲙⲏⲧⲓ, $L^g T^t$FGPRS 26: ⲓⲙⲏⲧⲓ, K by error. ⲡⲉⲑ-
ⲙⲟⲗϩ] $L^g AB^a$OP 18: ⲡⲉⲧⲙ., T^tΓFGKNRST 26; position
cf. Gr. (exc. 14* 16. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} aeth &c.). ⲡⲁⲓ] om. O. ⲣⲱ] om. B^a.
12 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵC^2KLP al pler cat ff vg $syr^{sch\,et\,p}$ c.* aeth
Cyr &c.: +ⲁⲛ, K. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ] $A_1{}^*{}_2$ 26^i: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϣ, $L^g T^t A_1{}^{mg}$ ('a copy') F
NOST 26^{ii}: ⲛⲉϣ, B^aΓGK^cPR 18; Tisch. classes this phrase with
Gr. KLP &c., but 'fonti' is not expressed, therefore it is nearer Gr.
ℵABD &c. ⲡⲉⲑ.] as above exc. PS 18. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lec- Hunt 18, 13–18
tion).' 13 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Bābah.' ⲛⲓⲙ] +ⲇⲉ, Hunt 26, 13–16
P 18. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] om. ⲉⲧ, 26.

ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲩϣ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⳿
14 Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϫⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲛϣⲁϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳿
ⲛⲉⲙ ϣϭⲛⲏⲛ ⳿ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳿
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϫⲉⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ϧⲁ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳿ 15 ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ
ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ[⳿] ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡϣⲱⲓ ⳿
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲑⲁⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ⲯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲏ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲟⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⳿
16 Ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϫⲟϩ ⳿ ⲓⲉ ϣϭⲛⲏⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ.
ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳿ 17 ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡϣⲱⲓ
ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳿ ⲓⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲧⲉ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲕⲏⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳿ ⲉⲥⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⳿ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲁⲧϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳿
ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲃⲓ ⲧⲉ ⳿
18 Ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳿ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳿
...ⲣⲏⲛⲏ, R ϣⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳿ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϯ-
ϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳿
κδ 1 Ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲑⲱⲛ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉ |
ⲙ̀ⲗⲁϧ ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲑⲱⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ. ⲙⲏ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳿ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲩ-
ⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⳿ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲏⲕ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳿
2 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⳿

-ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ] -ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ 'show me,' FKS. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, R. ⲡⲉϥϫⲓⲛ.] ⲟⲩϫⲓⲛ., K indefinite. 14 ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛϯⲟⲩ, 26. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲓⲉ 'or,' FS. ϣ (om. B^{a}) ϭⲛⲏⲛ] T^{t}A$_{1}$*$_{2}$ B^{a}G^{c}NPRT 18: pref. ⲟⲩ, L^{g}A$_{1}^{mg}$('a copy') ΓFG*KOS 26. ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̀ϧ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵ 4. 16. 27. 29. 66** 106. al^{3scr} ff s vg syr^{utr} arm Antioch. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^{t}AΓKNORT 26: om. L^{g} B^{a}FGPS 18. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ. &c.] om. ⲛ̀, K, cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ syr^{sch}). ϧⲁ] ⲉ, FS. 15 -ⲥⲃⲱ] L^{g}AΓFKORS 26: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}GN PT 18. ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ . . . ⲙ̀ⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ, F^{c}S. ⲧⲉ 1°] A 26: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲧⲉ 2°] ⲇⲉ, AB^{a}FS 26. ⲙ̀ⲯⲩ-

show to us his works from his good walk (of life) in [a]
meekness of [a] wisdom. 14 But if there is bitter jealousy
among you and strife in your hearts, boast not yourselves
and speak (not) falsehood against the truth. 15 This wis-
dom was not coming down from above, but (ⲁ) is that of
(the) earth, *psychic*, *demon*-form. 16 For where there is
jealousy or strife, (the) confusion is there and every evil
work. 17 But the wisdom which is from above, first *indeed*
it is pure, *then* it is *peacemaking*, it is *fair*, full of mercy,
and good fruit, it is not self-judging, it is not hypocritical.
18 But (the) fruit of [the] *peace* and [the] righteousness
is sown in [a] *peace* to them who make [the] *peace*.
IV. Whence is coming *war*, and whence is coming dispute
among you? Is it not from these, from your *pleasures*
which are armed in your *members*? 2 Ye *lust*, and ye have
not: ye kill, and ye are jealous, it is not possible for you

ⲭⲓ(ⲏ, A_2)ⲕⲏ] ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ, Γ: ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟ, R. ⲛ̄(ⲛ, R)ⲥⲙⲟⲩ] ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ, 26: ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲩ, FS^c. 16 ϫⲟϩ] pref. ⲟⲩ, FS. ⲓⲉ] A 26: ⲛⲉⲙ, L^{g}T^t &c. ϣϭⲛⲏⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩ, Γ: ϭϣⲛ., T. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ 1°] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, K 18. ⲁ(ⲉ, FS 26)ⲣⲉ . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲁϥⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣⲕ; cf. Gr. BCKLP al pler cat ff s vg syr^p arm aeth &c. 17 ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, S. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ] A: +ⲧ(ⲇ, Γ*)ⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ] om. ⲛ̄, KR: +ϫⲉ, S. ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲥ ⲧⲉ] A: om. ⲧⲉ, FS: +ⲉⲥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ 'upright,' L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲥⲙⲉϩ] ⲥⲙ., FS. ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ] pref. ⲟⲩ, O. ⲟⲩⲁⲧ . . . ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ] om. O*. ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧϣ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 3. 5. 13. 57. 69. 98* a^{scr} s ff vg syr^p arm Did &c. 18 ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ] A: om. L^{g}T^t &c.: ϯϩ. ⲡⲉ, B^a 18. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. K al plu cat Oec: om. B^a 18. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩ.] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ, O.

1 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓKN 26: om. B^{a}FGPST 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲑⲱⲛ] om. N. ⲙ̄ⲗⲁϧ] ⲉⲙⲗ., T^{t}G. ⲛⲏⲟⲩ] om. P*. ⲑⲱⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 5. 13. 31. 36. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} cat ff m^{93} syr^p arm^{gb} &c.: om. 26, cf. Gr. KL al pler s vg syr^{sch} aeth Oec. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲏⲕ] om. ⲛⲏ, T^{t}B^{a}GNP 18. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϧ., L^{g}T^t &c. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ 1°] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, GPT 18*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ 1°] AB^{a}KP* 26: -ⲱⲧⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}Γ^c &c.

Hunt 18, 1–6 . . . ϩⲙⲟⲧ

Hunt 26, 1–3

ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟϩ. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϣⲁϣⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣϭⲛⲏⲛ ⳾
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 3 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ ⳾
κε ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲩⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲟ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 4 ⲛⲓⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ϯⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϫⲁϫⲓ
ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲫϯ ⳾
5 Ϣⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲗⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ϥϭⲓϣ-
ϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
6 ϥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲧ.
κϛ Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ϥϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲑⲉⲃⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
ϥⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳾
κζ 7 Ⲙⲁϭⲛⲉϫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϥⲉⲫⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
8 ϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲫϯ ⲉϥⲉϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϩⲏⲧ ϧⲁ ⲛⲓϩⲏⲧ ⲃ̅ ⳾ 9 ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲣⲓϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-

ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ 2°] AN 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣϭⲛⲏⲛ] A 26: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟ(ⲱ, FS)ⲛⲧ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡ.] A 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ 3°] cf. Gr. ℵP 5. &c. ff vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] as above exc. ΓP -ⲱⲧⲉⲛ. 3 ϫⲉ] A 26: + ⲟⲩⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ] ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ 'not well,' K: ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ, S*. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] A 26: ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ 'in,' L^{g}T^t &c. 4 ⲛⲓⲛ(om. Γ*)ⲱⲓⲕ] cf.? Gr. ℵ* A B 13 item *μοιχοί* exprimentibus ff vg syr^{sch} aeth^{utr} arm. ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ABKLP al pler ff syr^p &c. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϫⲁϫⲓ] cf.? Gr. LP &c. *ἔχθρα*. ⲧ(ⲇ, AB^{a}FS)ⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ] AO:

to obtain: ye strive, ye *make war*; and ye have not, because
that ye *ask* not. 3 Ye *ask*, and ye receive not, because ye
ask badly, That from your *pleasures* ye may spend.
4 [The] adulterers, ye know not that the friendship of the
world is [an] enmity of God. But he who wisheth to be
friend unto the *world* will become enemy unto God. 5 Or
(ϣⲁⲛ) know ye not that the *Scripture* saith, In vain, or in
[an] *envy*, the spirit which dwelleth in us yearneth? 6 But
he giveth [a] great grace. Therefore he saith: 'God
opposeth the proud, but to them who are humble he will
give [a] grace.' 7 Subject yourselves *then* to God, but
oppose the *devil*; he shall flee from you. 8 Draw near to
God; he shall draw near to you. Cleanse your hands,
[the] sinners; cleanse your hearts, (ye) double-minded[a].
9 Be *miserable*, and mourn, and weep: your laughter—let it

[a] Lit. 'under the two hearts.'

ⲧⲉ ⲉ(ⲙ̄ⲙ̄, K)ⲫϯ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵ vg syr^{sch} &c. ⲇⲉ] A:
ⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr.: om. FS, cf. Gr. L 13. 27. 29. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} al
plus^{20} &c. ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲟⲩⲱϣ] AGP: ⲉⲑⲛⲁ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲕ., FS. 5 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] AB^{a}FKS: ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ 'think,' 18: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ, L^{g}NOPT: ⲁⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ, T^{t}ΓG. ⲁⲛ] AFKS: om. L^{g}T^{t}B^a &c. ⲓⲉ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ] for joining with ϫⲱ &c., cf. ? Gr. A 4. 10. 11. 14. 15. 16. 21.
38. &c. ⲫⲏ] om. K. 6 ϥϫⲱ] AB^{a}ΓFKOS: ⲉϥϫⲱ, L^{g}T^{t}G
NPT 18. ϥϯ 2°] ⲉϥϯ, T^{t}FNST. ϥⲛⲁϯ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. F^{mg} 'the
end (of the lection).' 7 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Bābah, the Hunt 18, 7–11
fourth Sunday of the Fast, the fourth Sunday of Misry.' ϯ ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ... ⲛⲟ-
ℵAB 13. 31. 40. 42. 57. 69. 70. 177. a^{scr} c^{scr} al plus^{30} ff vg syr^p &c. ⲙⲟⲥ 2°
ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] om. 26^{ii}. ⲉϥⲉⲫⲱⲧ] L^{g}T^{t}AFNST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Hunt 26,
B^{a}ΓGKOP 18. 26. 8 ϧⲱⲛⲧ] + ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, FS. ⲉϥⲉ- i. 7–17; ii. 7–10
ϧⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲛⲧ] L^{g}AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18. 26.
ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ 1°] -ⲃⲟ, T^{t}ΓGP, thus again. ϫⲓϫ ... ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ] om.
O homeot. ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ 2°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓKO 26. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲣⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓFKOS 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GNPT 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲣⲓⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. BKLP al pler ff vg &c.: om. ⲣⲓⲙⲓ, 26^{ii}.

ⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲕⲉⲙ ⳹
ρλϛ κη † 10 Ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲃⲓⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲉⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ.

Ⲏ.

κθ 11 Ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⳹
ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲕϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲓⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⳹ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⳹
λ 12 Ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲑⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯ-
ϩⲁⲡ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲟ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳹ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ϧⲁ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲡⲉⲕϣⲫⲏⲣ ⳹
λα 13 Ⲁⲅⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲓⲉ
ⲣⲁⲥϯ ⳹ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲓⲉⲃϣⲱⲧ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙϩⲏⲟⲩ ⳹ 14 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⳹
λβ Ⲁϣ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ ⳹ ⲁϥⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲱⲓϣ
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲓⲧⲁ ϣⲁϥ-
ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳹ 15 ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ

ⲉⲩϩⲏⲃⲓ] ⲉⲟⲩϩⲏⲃⲓ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GKP 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣ.] $L^{g}T^{t}$AΓFKOS 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GNPT 18. ⲉⲩⲟⲕⲉⲙ] L^{g}A FS: ⲉⲩⲱⲕⲉⲙ, T^{t} &c.: ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲕⲉⲙ, B^{a}. 10 ⲙ̀ⲫϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ AB^{a}GKP 18. 26: ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, ΓFNOST. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲉⲥ] T^{t}A 26^{ii}: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϭⲉⲥ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓFKNO 26^{i}: ⲉϥⲉϭⲉⲥ, GP 18.

Hunt 18, 11–17 / Hunt 26, 11–12

11 ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] +ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'that they should not judge you,' A_2K. ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. 38. 69. 93. 105. a^{sor} c^{sor} h^{sor} syr^{utr} &c. ⲓⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{12} vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ 1°] ⲡⲉϥⲛ., B^{a}. ⲁϥϯϩⲁⲡ] ⲉϥ., FS: ϥ., P. ⲇⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ AΓKNT 18: om. B^{a}FGPS 26. ⲕϯ] L^{g}AΓFKNS 26^{ii}: ⲁⲕϯ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ GOPT 18. 26^{i}. ⲁⲛ] trs. before ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛ., K. 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥ-

turn to [a] mourning, and your joy to [a] sadness. 10 Humi-
liate yourselves before God, that he may exalt you.
11 Speak not against (ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ) one another, my brethren. For
he who speaketh against his brother, or is judging his
brother, spoke against the *law*, and he judged the *law*: but
if thou judgest the *law*, then, thou art not a doer of the
law, but (ⲁ) a judge. 12 For one is the *lawgiver* and judge,
for whom it is possible to save and to destroy: who art
thou, namely thou (lit. he), who judgest thy neighbour?
13 *Go to* now ye (lit. they) who say: 'To-day or to-morrow
we shall (lit. will) go to this *city* and spend a year there,
and trade and find gain,'—14 they who know not what will
happen on the (lit. his) morrow. For what is your life?
It was as a vapour, appearing *for* a little, *then* it perisheth.
15 Instead ye (should) say: 'If the Lord should wish, and we

ϯϩⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{60} cat ff m^{44} floriac luxov vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Did &c. ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FKS 26^{i}, cf. Gr. minusc sat mu syr^{ptxt} arm Oec: ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ, Γ*: ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ, Γ^{c}NT 18. 26^{ii}: ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ, GOP, cf. Gr. rell. ⲡⲉⲕϣⲫⲏⲣ] T^{t}AB^a 26: ⲡⲉϥϣ., L^{g}ΓFGKNOPST 18; cf.? Gr. ℵA BP al^{16} ff m^{44} floriac vg syr^{utr} arm &c. 13 ⲫⲟⲟⲩ] AΓ 26: pref. ⲙ̅, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲓⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵB 13. 27. 29. 40. 69. al sat mu ff vg syr^{sch} aeth &c.: ⲛⲉⲙ, B^a, cf. Gr. AKLP al^{60} fere cat syr^p arm Cyr &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϣⲉ &c.] cf.? Gr. ℵABP al sat mu ff vg Cyr. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}FN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓGOPST 18. 26: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ, K. ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲙⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵBP 36. ff vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] T^{t}AB^{a}ΓGKNO 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}FPST 18. 14 ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. P 68: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ(+ⲥⲉ, 26)ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, FS 26. ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁϣ.] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣ., Γ; cf.? Gr. ℵKL al pler cat ff vg syr^{sch} &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲣ.] ⲉⲛ., ΓNOT. ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}AKLP al pler vg syr^{sch} &c.: om. O 26, cf. Gr. ℵ*B c^{sor} syr^p arm aeth^{ro}. ⲡⲉ] om. N. ⲁ(ⲉ, B^a)ϥⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ] AB^a: ⲁ(ⲉ, 26)ϥⲉⲣⲙ̅, L^{g}T^t &c.; cf.? Gr. L al sat mu ff vg &c. ἐστιν. -ⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. A 13. vg: +ⲅⲁⲣ, ΓO, cf. Gr. BKLP al pler cat ff syr^p arm &c. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A 26: +ϥ, 18: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲓⲧⲁ] cf.? Gr. 36. 38. 69. a^{sor} c^{sor} h^{scr} fu tol harl syr^p. 15 ⲉⲫⲙⲁ] om. ⲉ, B^a.

Hunt 18, 13–17

ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲓⲉ ⲫⲏ. 16 ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϩⲓⲛϩⲟ ⳾ ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
λγ 17 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⲉⲁⲓϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ϣⲧⲉⲙⲁⲓϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾
λδ 1 Ⲁⲅⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ 2 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲁ ⲧϩⲟⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ 3 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲁⲧ ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲟⲩ|ϣⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ ⳾
λε 4 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲫⲃⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥϧ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϥⲏϫ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϥⲱϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϭⲁⲓⲱⲥϧ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲉ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⳾ 5 ⲁⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲁⲛⲟⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲁⲛϣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳾
ⲉⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ ⳾ 6 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϥϯ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⳾
λϛ 7 Ϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϣⲁ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^aP. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ] cf.? Gr. KL al longe plu cat Cyr &c.: om. ⲛ̀, FS: ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲱⲛϧ, K, cf.? Gr. ℵABP al^{15} ff. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ] cf. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth Cyr, for future indic. cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{15} 38. 40. 95. 126. 177. 13^{lect} &c. 16 ϯⲛⲟⲩ] AKO: +ⲇⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ] ⲧⲉⲛϣ., A_2* by error. ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ, FS. ϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ] pref. ⲡ, FS. ⲇⲉ] ΑΓΟ, cf. Gr. al pauc: ⲅⲁⲣ, $L^g T^t B^a$ GNPT 18. 26, cf. Gr. al pauc: om. FKS, cf. Gr. rell. 17 ⲫⲏ] AK: +ⲟⲩⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c.: +ⲇⲉ, ΓΟ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲁⲓϥ] om. NT homeot. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

live, we shall (lit. will) do this or that.'
16 Now ye boast
yourselves in your arrogancies: but all such boastings are
evil.
17 He who knoweth a good (thing) to do it, and
doeth it not, it is a sin to him.
V. *Go to* now, [the] rich,
weep, crying out for your *miseries* which come upon you.
2 Your wealth corrupted, your clothes (the) moth ate.
3 Your
gold and your silver rusted; and their rust will be to you
for a witness, and it will eat up (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ) your *flesh* (plur.)
as a fire. Ye gather up in last days.
4 Behold, (the)
hire of the *labourers* who reaped your *fields*, which was
defrauded by you, crieth out: and the voices of the reapers
went into (the) ears of the Lord Sabaōth.
5 Ye were in
delight upon (the) earth, and ye are luxurious; and ye
nourish your hearts unto (the) day of (the) slaughter.
6 Ye
judged, and ye kill the righteous (one); he opposeth you
not.
7 Be longsuffering, my brethren, until (the) *coming*

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1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Bābah': K^{mg} تقرا فى الاحد الخامس 'it is read on the fifth Sunday.' ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲟⲓ] AFKP^{mg} ('a copy') S: ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲱⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱϣ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉϫⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ABKLP al pler ff syr^{p} Cyr &c.: om. N, cf. Gr. ℵ 5. 8. 25. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth. 2 ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲃⲱ(ⲟ, K)ⲥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓKO. 3 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓO. ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: pref. ϥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲟⲩ (om. N)-ⲙⲉⲧ., NT: ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ, K: -ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ, Γ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B^{a}GP 18. ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛⲓⲉϩ., K, definite. 4 ⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ] ⲁⲣⲅ., A$_{2}$OST: -ⲅⲁⲅⲁⲥ, N. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱⲣⲁ] L^{g}AΓFKOS: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲧ., T^{t}B^{a}GNPT 18. ϥⲱϣ] ⲉϥⲱϣ, K. ⲛⲓ(ⲏ, S)ϭⲁⲓⲱⲥϧ] -ⲟⲥϧ, P. 5 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ] AB^{a}G: ⲁⲣ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., F^{o}KNOST. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] L^{g}AFKOS: om. T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNPT 18, cf. Gr. A 73 (Cyr). ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] A: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. -ϣⲁⲛϣ] L^{g}AFOS: -ϣⲁⲛⲉϣ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNPT 18. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩ.] T^{t}A: om. ⲛ̄, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ϧⲉⲛⲛ., K; cf. Gr. ℵ*ABP 13. 81. ff m^{97} vg &c. 6 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲁⲡ] L^{g}AΓNOT 18: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., T^{t}B^{a}FGKPS. ϯϩⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ] om. O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ: om. T^{t}FGKNPST 18. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧ.] L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϧ., B^{a}ΓNT.

Hunt 18, 1–7 . . . ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅

ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲉϥϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϧⲁⲉ ⳾ 8 ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ
ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

θ.

λζ 9 Ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϥⲓⲁϩⲟⲙ ϧⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥ-
λη ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ † 10 Ϭⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥ-
ϣⲉⲛϧⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ
λθ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ † 11 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
ρλζ μ Ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉϯϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ | ⲓⲱⲃ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲛⲑⲙⲁϧⲧ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲡⲉ.
μα 12 Ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲛⲁϣ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕⲉⲁⲛⲁϣ ⲕⲉⲁⲛⲁϣ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲁϩⲁ ⲁϩⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⳾

Hunt 26, 7–8 7 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓ] om. ⲡⲓ, B^{a}. ⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] ϥϫ., ΓF*O 26. ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ 'good,' K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^{t}A 26: om. L^{g} &c. ϥⲱⲟⲩ] A 26: ⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A 26: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϣⲁⲧⲉϥϭⲓ] ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥϭⲓ, T^{t}GNP. ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ] cf. Gr. ℵ 9. ff
Hunt 18, 8–15 syr^{pmg} &c. 8 ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. ABKP al pler ff am demid harl syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. K. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩ., FS
Hunt 18, 9–15 singular. ϯⲡⲁⲣ.] ⲧⲡ., FKS. 9 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Baūnah': F^{mg} وتقرا الاحد الخامس اذا يتفق في اشهر الثانية 'and it is read the fifth Sunday when it happens in the second set of months': S^{mg} والاحد

of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman is looking out forward
to the precious fruit of (the) earth, and he is longsuffering for
it, until he receive the first fruit and the last. 8 Be ye also
longsuffering, and confirm your hearts; because the *coming*
of the Lord drew near.

9 Murmur[a] not against one another, my brethren, that ye
be not judged: behold, the judge standeth at the doors.
10 Take a pattern for you, my brethren, of [the] suffering
and [the] longsuffering of the *prophets*, who spoke in (the)
name of the Lord. 11 Lo, we *call them blessed* who endure.

Ye heard of the *patience* of Jōb, and ye saw the finishing
of the Lord, that the Lord is very full of pity, and is long-
suffering. 12 First *indeed* of everything, my brethren,
swear not, *neither* by (the) heaven, *nor* by (the) earth, *nor*
any other oath: but let your word be a yea yea, nay nay,

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[a] Lit. 'groan' or 'sigh.'

الخامس من الاشهر الثانية 'and the fifth Sunday of the second set of months.' ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. A 13. d^{sor} syr^{sch} &c.; position cf. ? Gr. ℵL al pler syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥ.] cf. Gr. (exc. minusc pauc). 10 ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵKL al pler cat syr^{sch} &c.; position cf. ? Gr. (exc. minusc pauc). ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣ.] L^{g}AΓFKOS 18^{c}: ⲟⲩⲙ., $T^{t}B^{a}$ (om. ⲣⲉϥ) GNPT 18* indefinite. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBP 5. 15. 18. 24. 29. 31. 32. 36. 38. 47. 69. 73. 99. 101. 106. 17^{lect} 18^{lect} a^{sor} al^{2sor} cat ff vg arm &c. 11 ϩⲏ(ⲉ, A_2)ⲡⲛⲉ] +ⲓⲥ, ΓG*. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 5. 7. 8. 9. 40. 69. 73. a^{sor} ff vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$ΓFGOS: ⲁⲣ., T^{t}KNPT 18. -ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] L^{g}AΓFKOS: +ⲧⲁⲣ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GNPT 18. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄, T. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$ΓFOS: ⲁ(ⲉ, P)ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., GKNPT 18. 12 ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣ(om. P)ⲡ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFS: om. ⲛ̄, B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18. ⲙⲉⲛ] A: ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ABLP al pler ff vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] om. B^{a}. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, T^{t}NT. ⲕⲉ 1°] om. B^{a}. ⲕⲉⲁⲛⲁϣ 2°] om. T^{t}. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 8. 25. 33^{mg} vg aeth. ⲇ(ⲧ, N)ⲉ] om. B^{a}. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. 13. ff vg. ϧⲁⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 8. 13. 25. 27. 29. 36. ff vg syr^{utr} $aeth^{utr}$ &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' Hunt 18, 12–15

μβ [13]Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϭⲓϧⲓⲥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ⳾
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲯⲁⲗⲓⲛ⳾ [14]ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ϣⲱⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ-
ⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉϫⲱϥ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲥϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲉϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳾ [15]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉϥⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳾

μγ Ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

μδ [16]Ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ⳾

με Ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲑⲙⲏⲓ⳾ ⲉⲥⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ⳾

μϛ [17]Ⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏϯ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ⳾
ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ϩⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥϩⲱⲟⲩ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲅ̅ϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲋ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ⳾
[18]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲟⲛ⳾ ⲁ ⲧⲫⲉ ϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ-
ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲣⲱⲧ ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ. |

[19]Ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳾
ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ⳾ [20]ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ

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[13] ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. B^a. ⲫⲏ] + ⲇⲉ, T^tΓNOT. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ] ⲡⲉⲧ, FKS. [14] ⲇⲉ] L^gAΓFOS: om. $T^t B^a$GKNPT 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲉϫⲱϥ] cf. Gr. $\aleph^c$ABKLP &c. ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲥϥ] cf. Gr. ℵAKL al pler vg &c. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵAKLP al pler cat ff vg arm rell &c. [15] ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ] A: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲫⲛⲁϩϯ, $L^g T^t B^a$FKS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲏ (ⲡⲓ, N) ⲉⲑ (ⲧ, G) ⲛⲁϩϯ 'of him who believeth,' ΓGNOPT 18. ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑ (ⲧ, G) ⲙⲟⲕϩ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲕϩ, Γ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. P. ⲕⲁⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓNOT. ⲉϣⲱⲡ] om. B^a. ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ] ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲓⲣⲓ, B^aP. ϩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲛⲟⲃⲉ, ΓFOS. ⲉⲩⲉⲭⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. P 7. 31. 73. j^{scr} &c.

that ye may not be (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) under a judgement. 13 But
if there is one suffering among you, let him *pray*. He who
is in delight of heart, let him *sing praise*. 14 But if there is
one sick among you, let him call the *presbyters* of the *church*;
and let them pray over him, having anointed him with [an]
oil in (the) name of the Lord: 15 and (the) prayer of (the)
faith shall save him who is pained, and the Lord shall
raise him (up); *Even* if he committed sins, they shall be
forgiven him. 16 Confess[a] *then* your sins to one another,
and pray for one another, *that* ye may be healed. There is
a great power in (the) *prayer* of the righteous (man), which
worketh. 17 Elias was also a man, suffering as we, and
he prayed a *prayer* for (the) heaven not to rain: and it
rained not upon the earth for three years and six months.
18 And he prayed again, (the) heaven gave a rain, and (the)
earth sprouted, it gave its fruit. 19 My brethren, if one
among you should go astray from the truth, and one make
him return; 20 let him who will make return a sinner from

[a] Lit. 'manifest.'

16 ⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABKP 5. 7. 8. 33** 36. 69. 73. 177. a^{scr} c^{scr} g^{scr} cat vg syr^{p}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] A_1: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.; cf. ? Gr. ℵABP 5. 6. 13. 33^{mg} 43. 65. 69. 73. a^{scr} c^{scr} d^{scr} ff vg syr^{p} ἁμαρτίας; for ὑμῶν cf. Gr. L 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} ff vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ] ⲉⲛ., K. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFNOST: +ⲅⲁⲣ, B^{a}GKP 18. 26. 17 ⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB^{3}KLP rell. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ] L^{g}A 26: ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ., FS: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ, Γ^{mg}: om. $T^{t}B^{a}\Gamma^{*}$GKNOPT 18. ϩⲱⲟⲩ 1°] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FNS 18. 26: +ϩⲓ(ⲉ, K)ϫⲉⲛⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, T^{t}ΓGKOPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϩⲱⲟⲩ] om. N. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] AB^{a}ΓFNOST 26: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$GP 18: om. K. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] om. K. ⲅ̄ϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}A_1$ΓFGNOPT 18: ⲅ̄, A_2B^{a}KS 26. 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] +ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ (om. ⲟⲛ), B^{a}GKP 18. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ, ΓOT; position cf. ? Gr. ℵA 13. 73. ff vg syr^{sch}. 19 ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABKP h al^{25} cat s ff vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$ΓFKNOST 26, cf. Gr. ABKLP al pler s ff vg syr^{p} aeth Did &c.: pref. ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ '(the) way of,' T^{t}GP 18, cf. Gr. ℵ 5. 7. 8. 13. 22. 36. 40^{mg} 65. d^{scr} j^{scr} syr^{sch} arm. 20 ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏ] $T^{t}AB^{a}$FGKOS 18. 26: ϫⲉⲫⲏ, L^{g}ΓNPT. Hunt 18, 26, 16–20

ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲛⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϩⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾

Ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲧⲓⲭ ⲧ̄ⲡ̄ ⲕ̦ⲗ ⲑ̄

ϧⲉⲛ] $L^g A B^a F G P S$ 18. 26: ϩⲁ, T^t Γ K N O T. ϫⲉ] T^t L^g &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲯ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉϥⲯ., FS; cf. Gr. ℵ A P 5. 7. 8. 36. 73. cat s vg syr^{utr} arm^{cdd} aeth Did Cyr &c. ϥⲛⲁϩⲱⲃ 26: ⲉϥⲉϩ., L^g &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲉⲛ] om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, G^c.

(the) way of his *error* know, that he will save his *soul* from (the) death, and he will cover over many sins.

(Of) James (the) Epistle. Stichoi 350, Chapters 9.

Subscription. ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ, G; cf. Gr. A 40. 67. 177.: ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲧⲓⲭ(ⲟⲥ, A_2) ⲧ̅ⲡ̅ ⲕ͵(+ⲉ, A_2)ⲗ ⲑ̅, A_1 (2 at beginning): ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲱⲥ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'was finished' ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲧ̅ ⲕ͵ⲉⲗ ⲑ̅, K: ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲏ̅ ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ϫ̅ϫ̅ϭ̅, FS: A_2 NOPT have Arabic, B^a Γ have no subscription. For 9 chapters cf. Gr. B.

ⲠⲈⲦⲢⲞⲨ ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦⲞⲖⲎ ⲁ̅.

ⲠⲈⲦⲢⲞⲤ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲧⲡ
ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓ ⲡϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲧⲅⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲧⲕⲁⲡⲡⲟⲇⲟⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲃⲏⲑⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ 2 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲱϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϫϧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ
β ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ †ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲉⲩⲉⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
γ 3 Ϥⲥⲙⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲁϥϫⲫⲟⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ 4 ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϭⲱϧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲗⲱⲙ. |
ρλη δ Ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ 5 ϧⲁ ⲛⲏ

Inscription. ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ (C, (A_2)ΓP) ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅, $A_{1(2)}$ΓGP, cf. Gr. ℵAC 13. al pauc: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ (C, S) ⲁ̅, FKS: ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲁ̅, O: ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲓⲁ, N: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅ ⲡⲁⲛϫⲱϫ 'the chief' ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'of the apostles,' B^a: ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 'of the holy catholic (Epistles),' T.

Hunt 18, 1–6 1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Abīb,' 'the first Sunday of Baūnah.' ...ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] trs. before ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, ΓFNP. ⲉⲧϣⲟ(ⲱ, T)ⲡ] om. ϣⲟⲡ, B^a.

OF PETER (THE) EPISTLE 1.

I. Peter, (the) *apostle* of Jesus Christ, to the elect who are
in (the) foreign (land) among the dispersion of Pontos, (the)
Galatia, (the) Kappodokia, [the] Asia and [the] Bēthania,
2 according to a foreknowledge of God the Father, in the
sanctification of the *spirit*, unto a redemption and a sprink-
ling of (the) blood of Jesus Christ our Lord: (The) grace
and the *peace* shall be multiplied to you. 3 Blessed is
God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according
to (the) abundance of his mercy begat us into a *hope* of life
through (the) rising of Jesus Christ from them who are dead,
4 into an *inheritance* incorruptible and unpolluted and un-
fading: Kept for you in the heavens, 5 namely they who

ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., FNOST. ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ] ⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲥ, A_2Γ. -ⲧⲓⲁ
. . . ⲕⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ). ⲧⲕⲁⲡⲡ(om. A_2)ⲟⲇⲟⲕⲓⲁ] AG:
ⲧⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁⲇⲟⲕⲓⲁ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ϯⲃⲏⲑⲁⲛⲓⲁ] AB^aFKPS 18^c:
-ⲃⲏⲑⲩⲛⲓⲁ, T^t: -ⲃⲩⲑⲏⲛⲓⲁ, T: -ⲃⲓⲑⲏⲛⲓⲁ, ΓO: -ⲃⲩⲑⲓⲛⲓⲁ,
N, cf. Gr. 13: -ⲃⲩⲑⲩⲛⲓⲁ, G: -ⲃⲓⲑⲩⲛⲓⲁ, L^g. 2 -ϣⲟⲣⲡ]
-ϭⲱⲣⲡ 'revelation,' K. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ, P. ⲉⲩⲥⲱϯ] A:
ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ 'unto an obedience,' $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϫϧ] ⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟϫϧ, FK. ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲡⲓⲥ., T^tGOS*. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A: om. $L^g T^t$ &c.
ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓϩ., $T^t B^a$N: ⲡⲓϩ. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'to you,' O. ϯϩⲓ-
ⲣⲏⲛⲏ] ⲧϩ., FKS. ⲉⲩⲉⲁϣⲁⲓ] L^gAΓGO 18: ⲉⲩⲁϣ., B^aFS:
ⲉⲩⲉϣ., NPT: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁϣ., K. 3 S^{ms} 'the sixth Sunday of **Hunt 26, 3-5**
Pentecost.' ⲫϯ] pref. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' T^tGP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ] . . . ⲫϯ
om. N: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t, cf. s syr^{sch} ar^e aeth. ⲁϥϫⲫⲟⲛ] -ⲟⲩⲛ, NT. **Hunt 26,**
ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ] cf.? Gr. 9. 46. demid luxov syr^{utr}. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] $L^z T^t$AB^aG 4 ⲉⲩⲁ-
KP 18. 26: ϧⲉⲛ, ΓFNOST. 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] om. B^aGP18. ⲁⲧ- ⲣⲉϩ . . .
ⲗⲱⲙ] ⲁⲑ., B^aNOP 18. ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲩⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ, O: ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ, -8 . . . ⲉⲣ-
GP. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCKLP al longe plu cat s vg syr^{utr} arm. ⲟϥ 2°

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ∻
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ∻ ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ∻
ⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ ∻ 6 ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ∻
ⲉ ⲒⲤϪⲈ ⲥϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ∻ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ 7 ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ∻ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲉⲥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲃ ∻ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ ∻
ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ∻ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ-
ϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ∻ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ∻
ⲋ 8 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ∻ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁ-
ⲡⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ∻ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ∻
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. ⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁϣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϣⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲟⲩ ∻ 9 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ∻ ⲫⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ∻
ⲍ 10 Ⲑⲉⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲕⲱϯ ∻ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ-
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ..., ⲧⲏⲥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϧⲟⲧϧⲉⲧ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ-
R ⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ϧⲁ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻
11 ⲉⲩϧⲟⲧϧⲉⲧ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ϧⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ. 12 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ

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5 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲓⲥ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣⲱⲓⲥ, FS. ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩϫ., B^{a}ΓNOT. ⲉϥⲛⲁϭ.] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1}$c$_{2}$ΓFKNST 26: ϥⲛⲁ., B^{a}GP 18. ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓ., B^{a}FS 18. 6 ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ] cf.? s vg syr^{sch} ar^{e} &c.: + ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ, NT. ⲡⲣⲟⲥ] A 26: ⲛ̀, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙ., T^{t}G. ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ] om. K. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲣ., K. ϩⲁⲛⲡⲓⲣ.] ⲛⲓⲡⲓ., 26, definite. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲟ, FS. 7 ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] AK 26: om. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲥ.] L^{g}T^{t}B^{a} FGKPS 18. 26: ϯⲙⲉⲧⲥ., ΓNOT. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲇ.] ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲇ., B^{a}. ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS 18. 26: om. ΓKNOT, cf. Gr. 40. 60. 98^{mg} 99. 117.

Hunt 18, 6 ⲒⲤϪⲈ... -9

are watched over in [a] power of God through (the) faith
unto a salvation (ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ) prepared, about to be revealed in
the last times; 6 that in which ye will be glad *for* a little
(while) now: If it is right that ye should be grieved in
temptations of many kinds; 7 that (the) choiceness of your
faith may be more precious than the gold which will perish,
but being *proved* through [a] fire; that ye may be found in
[a] praise and [a] glory and [an] honour in the revelation of
Jesus Christ. 8 Him whom ye know not, ye *love*; him
(ⲫⲁⲓ) now ye see not, but ye believe him. Be glad in an
unspeakable joy which was glorified: 9 receiving (the) end
of your faith, (the) salvation (ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ) of your *souls*.
10 For concerning this salvation the *prophets* sought; and
they searched, they who *prophesied* of (ϧⲁ) the grace which
was in you; 11 searching after the time which the *spirit* of
Christ spake in them, (they) having witnessed before of
(ϧⲁ) the pains of Christ, and the glories which come after
these (things): 12 they to whom it was revealed, that they

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1 lect. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲱⲟⲩ . . . ⲧⲁⲓⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al[20] cat vg syr^p arm &c. 8 ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. AKLP al longe plu cat Clem Euth &c. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] om. K. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] L^gAFGPS 18: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ, $T^t B^a$ΓKNOT: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ, 26. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ, B^a, 1° person. ⲇⲉ] om. B^a. ⲁⲧϣⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^tA: om. ϣ, L^g &c. ⲉⲁϥϭⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g T^t B^a$FGKPS 18: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲓ, ΓNOT. 9 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϭⲓ, B^a. ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲱⲕ] ⲉⲙⲡ., Γ: ⲉⲡϫ., B^a: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫ., NT. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵACKLP al fere omn cat s vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ, F*, cf. Gr. 96. 180. Or$^{int\ 1.\ 95}$ ἡμῶν. ⲫⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] pref. ⲙ̄, K. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯ., $Γ^c$. 10 ⲫⲁⲓ] Hunt 18. 10–12
ⲡⲁⲓ, $Γ^c$KP 18 (ⲉⲑⲃⲁⲓ, A_2*). ⲧⲏⲥ . . . ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ] om. O* homeot. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, O. 11 ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉ, T^tGP. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ 'was,' K. ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ] $L^g T^t$AFKNPS: ⲉⲁϥ., B^aΓGORT 18. ⲛⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩ(om. NT)ϩ] ⲛⲓⲉⲙ., T^tG. ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ, FPS. 12 ⲛⲏ] pref. ⲙⲏ, O.

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ÷ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ÷ ⲛⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ÷ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ|ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ÷ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ÷ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷

B.

η 13 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲉⲕ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϯⲡⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ÷ ⲁⲣⲓϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅
θ 14 ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ÷ †Ⲉⲣⲉ-
. . . ⲥⲱ- ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ÷ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉⲙ, R ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϣⲟⲣⲡ. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ÷ 15 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲟⲩ-
ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ. ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϧⲉⲛ
ϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ÷ 16 ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ϫⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ϯⲟⲩⲁⲃ ÷
ι 17 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯϩⲁⲡ ÷ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧ-
ϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉϩⲟ ÷ ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ÷ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ÷
ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ ÷ ⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ÷
18 Ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ÷ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲧ ÷ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ. 19 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲧ

ϫⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ] ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ, G. -ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲓⲛ] AB^{a}ΓGNOP^{c}T: -ⲟⲛⲓⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}FKRS. ⲇⲉ] om. ΓNOT. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵA BCLP al^{50} cat vg syr^{p} aeth^{utr} Cyr. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧ., K: + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ 2°] ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ, 18.

were doing it not for themselves, but they were *ministering* them to you, these things which were now shown to you through them who preached good tidings to you in a holy *spirit* sent from (the) heaven; the things which there are *angels desiring* to see.

13 Therefore, girding yourselves upon the loins of your heart, watching perfectly, *hope* for the grace which will be
brought to you in the revelation of Jesus Christ; 14 as
children of (the) obedience. Not conforming yourselves to (lit. in) the former *lusts* which ye were doing in an ignor-
ance: 15 but (ⲁ) as he who called you is *holy*, be ye also
holy in all (your) walk (of life); 16 for it is written: 'Be
ye holy; because I also am holy.' 17 And if him, who will judge without respect of persons each one according to his works, ye are to call 'Our Father,' walk in the time
of your sojourn in [a] fear. 18 Knowing that ye were not redeemed in [a] gold and [a] silver, which will corrupt, from your vain walk, which your fathers delivered to you;
19 but (ⲁ) ye were redeemed through a precious blood, as (of)

ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] cf. ? Gr. ℵCKLP al pler cat &c. 13 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Tūt.' ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲉ(ⲏ, B^{a}O*T)ⲕ] AFKS 26: ⲁⲣ., O: ⲉⲁⲣ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGPRT 18. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] L^{g}AFKS 26: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOPRT 18. ⲛⲓ] om. O. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, FS. 14 ⲁⲛ] om. 26. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩ., K. ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑ.] ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑ., FS, indefinite. ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲣ., FS. 15 ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ] om. FS. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] om. FS. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKS 18. 26: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}Γ GNOPT. 16 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. GP 18. 26. ⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] +ⲅⲁⲣ, A (by error) 26: +ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ 'in the Scriptures,' FS. ϫⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. B 31. 70. syr^{utr}. ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ϯⲟⲩⲁⲃ] cf. ? Gr. ABCK LP al pler cat &c.: om. T: om. ϩⲱ, FS. ϯⲟⲩⲁⲃ] cf. ? Gr. A^{2}C KLP al omn^{vid} cat m vg rell &c. 17 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FKS. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯ] ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁϯ, K. ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϫ.] -ⲑϫ., B^{a}. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ] ⲉⲣ., FKS. ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲡⲥ., GP. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲟϯ] ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϯ, FS by error. 18 ⲛⲉⲙ] A: ⲓⲉ 'or,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲏ] ⲫⲏ, ΓNO*T, cf. ? Gr. ℵ*, singular. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ, K. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛ, FPS.

Hunt 18, 26, 13–16

Hunt 18, 17–21

ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳹
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲑⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲃ ⲡⲭ︦ⲥ︦. 20 ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⳹
ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛϧⲁⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
21 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲫϯ ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳹ |
ρλθ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⳹ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⳹ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳹

Ⲅ.

ια 22 Ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲃⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳹
ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹
23 ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲉⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲓⲛⲥⲓϯ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ-
ⲧⲁⲕⲟ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ιβ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⳹ † 24 Ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⳝ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁⲥⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲁϥϣⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲉϥϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ ⳹
ιγ 25 ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ϣⲟⲡ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳹ † Ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ.

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20 ⲉ(om. A_2)ⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ*C*). ⲙⲉⲛ] om. FS. ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩ.] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ., A_2 by error. ⲧⲕⲁⲧ.] ⲑⲕ., K. ⲇⲉ] om. B^a. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FKS. ⲛϧⲁⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 13. 15. 27. 36. 64. 65. 137. d^{scr} cat syr^{utr} Cyr. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., FS. ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] trs. before ⲉⲛϧⲁⲉ, B^a, for ὑμᾶς cf. Gr. ℵBCKLP al pler cat vg &c. 21 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵCKLP al pler cat syr^{utr} &c. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] L^gT^tA: -ⲇⲉ, B^a &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ] ⲛ., T^tG. F^{mg} 'the end
Hunt 18, 22–25 (of the lection).' 22 F^{mg} K^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Bābah.' ⲉⲁⲣⲉ-
...ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., O. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯ.] A_1: ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧ., L^gT^t &c.

a lamb without spot and without stain, Christ, 20 foreknown
indeed from (the) *foundation* of the *world*, but manifested
unto (the) last of the times because of you, 21 who believe
God through him who raised him from them who are dead,
and he glorified him, so *that* your faith and your *hope* may
be in God.
22 Having purified your *soul* in (the) obedience of the truth
into an unfeigned love of brethren in a pure heart, love one
another perseveringly: 23 having been born not of (ϧⲉⲛ) a
sowing, which will corrupt, but (ⲁ) in an incorruption through
the word of God, who liveth and who abideth. 24 Because all
flesh was (plur.) as [a] grass, and all its glory was as a flower
of [a] grass. The grass dried, and its flower fell away;
25 but the word of the Lord abideth for ever. But this

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plural. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., FS: om. K. ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲡⲓⲥ., K. ⲧ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 27. 73. vg syr^{utr} arm^{usc} aeth^{utr} ar^{e} Clem. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵ*CKLP rell omn^{vid} cat tol syr^{sch} &c. ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., FNS. 23 ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ . . . ⲁⲛ] ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ, G: ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ . . . ⲁⲛ, P. ⲟⲩϫⲓⲛⲥⲓⲧ̀] cf. Gr. BKLP al omn^{vid} vg rell Did Cyr. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ] L^{g}T^{t} AFS: ⲉϥⲛⲁ., ΓGNOPT 18: ϥⲛⲁ., B^{a}· ⲉⲥⲛⲁ., K. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . . . ⲧⲁⲕⲟ] om. FS homeot. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, K. ⲉⲧⲟ(ⲱ, T^{t}ΓNT) ⲛϧ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓNOT. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵABC h 13. 27. 29. 66** 73. 142. fu demid harl syr^{p} arm Did Cyr &c. 24 ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏⲧ̀] ⲁ.ⲩⲉⲣⲙ̄., B^{a}K: om. ⲁⲩ, P; cf. ? Gr. (ℵ*) BCKLP al pler vg^{cle} am^{2} fu demid tol syr$^{p\,mg}$ arm^{zoh} aeth^{utr} Did &c. ⲁⲩⲙ̄ . . . ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲃⲉⲛ 1°] om. S*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FS. ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉϥ., K, masc., cf. Gr. ℵ*; for possessive cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABC h 5. 7. 9. 15. 69. 73. 137. a^{sor} cat vg syr^{utr} aeth^{utr} Did &c. ⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲫ.] A: ⲁϥⲙ̄., L^{g} &c.: ⲁϥⲉⲣⲙ̄., T^{t}K: ⲙ̄ⲫ., B^{a}GP.
ⲁϥϣⲱⲟⲩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B^{a}GP 18. ⲧⲉϥ- Hunt 18 i,
ϩⲣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. CKLP al pler cat vg^{cle} demid harl tol aeth^{utr} Eus &c. 25 ⲫⲁⲓ . . . –ii. 4
25 ⲇⲉ 1°] T^{t}AΓNOT: + ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ, L^{g}B^{a}FGKPS 18. ⲫⲁⲓ] F^{mg} K^{mg} Hunt 18 ii, 26,
(+ 'it is read on the night') S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Abīb.' ⲇⲉ 2°] 25 ⲫⲁⲓ . . . –ii. 6
L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GNOPT 18^{c}: om. Γ*FKS 18*.

1 ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲭⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹
2 ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⳹ ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲣⲟϥ ϭⲓϣϣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳹
ιδ 3 ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙϯⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳹
4 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⳹
ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟϣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳹ ϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ
ⲇⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳹ 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲱⲛⲓ
ⲉⲩⲟⲛϧ | ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲏⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳹ ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ ⳹ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⳹
ⲉⲩϣⲏⲡ ⲙ̄ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳹
ιε † 6 Ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳹ ϫⲉ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ
ϯⲛⲁⲭⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ⲥⲓⲱⲛ ⳹ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ϫⲱϫ
ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲕϩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϭⲓ-
ιϛ ϣⲓⲡⲓ ⳹ † 7 Ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲁ
ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⳹
. . . , R ιζ Ⲛⲓⲁⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲟϣϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⳹ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱϫ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲕϩ ⳹
8 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲣⲟⲡ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲁⲛ-

Cons. MS. 1–12 — 1 ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲁⲣ., Cons. ⲭⲱ] + ⲟⲩⲛ, T^{t} A$_{2}$. ⲙⲉⲧϣⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. B syr^{sch} Clem &c. ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf.? Clem syr^{sch} &c. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. * &c. 2 ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲣⲟϥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K^{o}, cf. Gr. 3. 32. 43. 69. 99. 101. 133. 1^{lect} a^{scr} al$^{2\,scr}$ am tol syr^{p} arm Cyr &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓ, Cons., 1° person. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, Cons.; cf. Gr. ℵABCKP al^{60} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth ar^{e} Clem
Hunt 18 iii, 3–6 — Cyr &c. 3 ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g} by error. 4 ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲏⲟⲩ, 26, 1° person. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKPS 18. 26: -ⲱⲛϧ, T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟϣ] A: -ⲱϣ, 26: ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟ(ⲱ, T^{t}NT)ϥ, L^{g} T^{t} &c. ϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ] AΓ: ϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ, T^{t} B^{a} N

is the word which was proclaimed among you. II. Having
laid down all *malice*, and all subtlety, and all hypocrisy,
and all *envy*, and all *slander*, 2 as young children lately
(ϯⲛⲟⲩ) born, yearn after the milk *reasonable* and without
subtlety, that ye may grow in it into [the] salvation.
3 If ye tasted that the Lord is *kind*: 4 to whom ye come,
the living stone, rejected *indeed* by [the] men, but he is chosen
with (ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ) God, and he is precious: 5 and ye also are as
living stones, building yourselves a *spiritual* house, for a
holy priesthood, for (the) offering *spiritual* sacrifices, accept-
able to God through Jesus Christ. 6 Because it is written
in the *Scripture*: 'Lo, I shall (lit. will) lay in Siōn a chosen
stone, as head of corner: and he who believeth him shall not
be ashamed.' 7 The preciousness[a] *then* was to you, namely
they who believe. But (to) the unbelievers indeed (pron.)
the stone which they who build rejected, this became a head
of corner, 8 and a stone of stumbling, and a *rock* of *offence*—

[a] Or 'honour.'

OT $18^{i.\,ii}$: ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ, L^gFGKPS 18^{iii} 26. ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] A: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ, L^gT^t &c. ϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] AB^aΓNOT 26: ⲉϥⲧ., L^gT^t &c. 5 ⲉⲩⲟⲛϧ] L^gAB^aGOP 18^{ii} 26: -ⲱⲛϧ, T^tΓ FNST $18^{i.\,iii}$ Cons.: ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ, K. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱⲧ] ⲉⲣⲉⲕⲱⲧ, K^o. ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ] $L^gT^tAB^aGP^o$ 18. 26 Cons.: ⲉⲩⲙ., ΓFK NOST; cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 7. 15. 27. 29. 36. 66** 68. 73. 106. cat tol arm $aeth^{utr}$ Eus Cyr &c. ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] om. B^a. ⲉⲡϫⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲡϫⲓⲛⲓ, A by error. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. GP Cons. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϩⲓ, S*. F^{mg} K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 6 ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. (unc. al): +ⲅⲁⲣ, B^aP 18. ϧⲉⲛ ϯ] cf. Gr. KLP al longe plu cat &c. ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ, FKS Cons. plural. ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ] -ⲥⲟⲧⲡ, B^aΓ; position cf. Gr. BC 31. arm Cyr &c. ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲕϩ] A 26: +ⲉ(om. GP)ϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ, L^g &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. ΓFNOST. 7 ⲁϥϣⲟ(ⲱ, T^t)ⲡ] ϥϣ., FKS: ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ, NT. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, N. ⲛⲓⲁⲑ(ⲧ, F^cKS)ⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵBC 68. 69. a^{scr} (vg). ⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ] cf. ? Gr. $ℵ^c$ABC^{*vid} 9. 19** 25. 39. 73. 100. 127. c^{scr} Oec. ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ] ⲉⲑⲕ., B^a. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲱϫ] ⲉⲩϫ., R. 8 ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] om. FK. Hunt 18, 6–8

ⲇⲁⲗⲟⲛ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲓϭⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϯⲙⲁϯ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ⳾
ιη ϯ 9 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ⳾
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ⳾ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ⳾ ⲟⲩϣⲗⲱⲗ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ⳾ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ⳾ 10 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ⳾
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ. ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳾

Ⲇ.

ιθ 11 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
...ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ, R ⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛϣⲉⲙⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲣⲕⲓⲕⲟⲛ⳾
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲏⲕ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ⳾ 12 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ |
ρⲙ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ⳾
κ 13 Ⲙⲁϭⲛⲉϫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳾ ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ⳾
14 ⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾ ⲉⲩϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡϣⲓϣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧ-

ⲁⲧϯ.] ⲁⲑϯ., B^{a}. 9 ⲇⲉ] om. G. ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧⲡ] $AB^{a}\Gamma$: ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ] $T^{t}AB^{a}FKPS$ Cons.: ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ, $L^{g}\Gamma GNORT$. ϣⲗⲱⲗ] A: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ] A_1: ⲉⲩⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ, $L^{g}T^{t}KPR$: ⲉⲩⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟ, $B^{a}FGS$: ⲉϥⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟ, Cons.: ⲉⲟⲩⲑⲉⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ, A_2: ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲛϧⲟ 'life-giving,' ΓNOT. ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] -ⲡⲟⲥ, B^{a}. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: -ⲟⲛϩ, A_1c_2. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. FS. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] om. B^{a}. ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲡⲓⲟⲩ., P. 10 ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ] ⲉⲣ., FS: ⲉⲁⲣ., R. ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ] om. ⲟⲩ, Γ*. ⲛⲏ 2°] +ⲇⲉ, P. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ-

they who will stumble at the word, not consenting to that
in which they were also placed[a]. 9 But ye are a chosen
race, a kingdom, a priesthood, a holy nation, a *people* justi-
fied[b], *that* ye might manifest the *virtues* of him who called
you from (the) darkness into his light, which is wonderful:
10 who were not a *people* once, but now ye become a *people*
of God; they who were not to have mercy shown to them,
but now mercy was shown to you.
11 My beloved, I pray you as sojourners and strangers,
avoid the *fleshly lusts* which are armed against the *soul.*
12 Let your walk (of life) be serviceable among the *Gentiles,*
that if they spoke against you as evil doers, judging
(lit. seeing) from your good works they may glorify God
in (the) day of [the] visitation. 13 Be subject to every
creation of human origin[c] because of the Lord: 14 *whether*
(the) king *as* exalted, *or* the *governors as* sent through
him, for a taking vengeance on the evil doers, but for a

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[a] Construction misunderstood; lit. 'to that in which they made the placing them also.' [b] Probably the frequent mistake of ⲑⲙⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ for ⲑⲁⲙⲙⲓⲟⲥ; see 1 Tim. iii. 13. [c] Lit. 'of the humanity.'

ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ] AB^{a}: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲁⲛ 2°] + ⲡⲉ, B^{a}FKS. ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ 2°] om. O. 11 ϩ (ϣ, A_1) ⲁⲛϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ, K: ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ, P^{mg}. ϩⲉ (ⲁ, P) ⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ACLP al^{25} syr^{utr} aeth^{utr} Did Cyr &c. ϩⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, FS; cf.? Gr. C* 27. Did. 12 ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] position cf. Gr. KLP al^{30} syr^{sch} &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] om. F. ⲉϥϣⲱⲡ] om. K. ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] $T^{t}A_1\Gamma^{*}$GO: ⲉⲩⲥ., $L^{g}A_2B^{a}$NPT Cons.: ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲥ., Γ^{o} FKS. ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GP Cons.: ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ, O. ϧⲉⲛ] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, T^{t}GP Cons. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. 57** 69. 137. a^{scr} syr^{utr} arm Cyp. ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] A: ⲡⲓⲉϩ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 13 ⲙⲁϭ (ϣ, T) ⲛⲉϫⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲙⲁϣⲁⲛⲉϫ., A_2; cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 31. 73. am fu demid tol arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲓ] position cf.? Gr. C 31. syr^{p} Eus Did &c. ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ] ϥϭ., B^{a}. 14 ⲛⲓϩⲏⲅ.] ⲟⲩϩ., K sing. def. ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ] ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ, FS. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ] om. FS. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲓϣ] cf. Gr. ℵAB KL h al^{30} vg m^{90} syr^{sch} et$^{p\,txt}$ arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁ 1°] AFKS: ⲙ̄-

ϩⲱⲟⲩ. ⲉⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ. 15 ϫⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ∻ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ∻
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ∻
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲕⲁϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ∻ 16 ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉⲙ-
ϩⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻
κα Ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲗⲩⲙⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ∻
κβ 17 Ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ. ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ-
ⲣⲓⲧⲥ ∻ ⲁⲣⲓϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ. ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓⲉ
ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ∻
κγ 18 Ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ̀ⲛⲟ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ̀ⲥⲉⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲟϯ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ∻ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲏⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲉⲧ-
ⲕⲱⲗϫ ∻ 19 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲡⲉ ∻ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏϫⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲙ̀ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ
ⲉϥϭ̀ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ∻ 20 ⲁϣ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ∻
ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩϯⲕⲉϩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ∻
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ∻ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ̀ⲓ ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ∻ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ | ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ. 21 ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲉⲫⲁⲓ ∻

ⲡⲓⲥⲁ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁ 2°] T^{t}AFK: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁ, L^{g}ST &c. (B^{a} om. ⲥⲁⲙ). ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ] AK: ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. (pref. ⲡⲓ, NT). 15 ⲉⲓⲣⲓ] L^{g}T^{t} &c. P^{mg} ('another copy'), cf. Gr. rell: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, K, cf. Gr. C 7. 27. 29. 31. al$^{2\ scr}$ Thphyl syr^{utr}: ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, B^{a}P^{c}: ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛ., T^{t}GP*. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ] AB^{a}KP: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲑ., T^{t}FS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ, L^{g}: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϣⲑ., G: ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙϯ, ΓNOT. ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] AB^{a}FKS: pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓGNOPT. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲕⲁϯ] A: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲧⲕⲁϯ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ] A: pref. ⲉⲣⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁⲛ] om. A$_{1}$B^{a}T by error before ⲛ̄. ⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ] ⲁⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ, A, also ver. 18. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ] position cf. ? Gr. ALP al pler cat m^{90} vg &c.

praise of good doers. 16 Because this is (the) wish of God: to
do the good; that ye may shut out (ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ) (the) ignorance
of the senseless men: 16 as free; and having the freedom,
Not as a *covering* of [the] *malice*, but (ⲁ) as servants of
God. 17 Honour all. Love the love of brethren. Fear God.
Honour (the) king. 18 [The] servants being subject to your
masters in all fear; not only the *good* (and) *equitable*, but
(ⲁ) also the others who are perverse. 19 For this is accept-
able[a], [but] if because of [a] *conscience* of God there is one
(who) will undergo[b] griefs, wrong being done to him. 20 For
what is the praise, if ye commit sin, and being buffeted,
ye are longsuffering? But (ⲁ) (if) doing the good and suffer-
ing ye endure, [for] this is acceptable with[c] God; 21 for ye
were called to this. Because Christ also suffered for us,

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[a] Lit. 'a grace.' [b] Lit. 'receive to him in griefs.' [c] Lit. 'a grace through.'

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18 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Misry.' -ϭⲛⲟ] AB^{a}*K: -ϭⲛⲟⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓⲥⲉⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ harl tol Dam syr^{sch}. ϩⲟϯ] pref. ⲟⲩ, T^{t}N. ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ] L^{g}AFKS: pref. ⲛ̅, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGNOPT 18. ⲉⲧⲕⲱ(ⲟ, ΓT 18)ⲗϫ] AΓFKPST 18: ⲛⲓⲉⲧ(ⲑ, B^{a})-ⲕⲱ(ⲟ, $B^{a}N^{c}$O)ⲗϫ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$GNO. 19 ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵAB KLP &c. ⲇⲉ] AB^{a}FS: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓGKNOPT 18. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ] ⲙ̅ⲫϯ, NT; cf. Gr. ℵA^{2}BKLP al pler vg m^{89} aeth Dam. ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡ] om. ⲛⲁ, B^{a}FS. ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ] AK: ⲛ̅ϧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϩⲁⲛⲙ̅(ⲉⲙ, T^{t}G)ⲕⲁⲩϩ] -ⲕⲁϩ, A 18: ⲟⲩⲙ̅., FS singular. ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⲉϥ-ϭⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϭⲏⲟⲩ, K by error. 20 ⲅⲁⲣ] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉ] +ⲇⲉ, K. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛ.] A: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲩϯⲕⲉϩ] ⲉⲩⲉϯ., T^{t}: ⲁⲩϯ., K. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf.? Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ 5. 15. 18. 27. 31. 66** 69. 97. a^{sor} c^{sor} o^{sor} al^{6} &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] ⲁⲣ., T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] T^{t}AΓKNOT: om. $L^{g}B^{a}$FGPS 18. ⲙ̅(ⲉⲙ, T^{t}G)-ⲕⲁϩ] ⲙ̅ⲕⲁⲩϩ, T^{t}ΓN^{c}T. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] cf.? Gr. 5. 31. 33. 97. o^{sor} vg &c. ⲅⲁⲣ] T^{t}A, cf. Gr. A 13. 73. k^{sor} al^{10} &c.: om. L^{g} &c., cf. Gr. ℵBCKLP al longe pler cat vg m^{89} syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: trs. after ϩⲙⲟⲧ, K. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. FS. 21 ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲙⲉϥ 'he was called,' FS.

Hunt 18, 18–23

κδ Ϫⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϩⲱϥ ⲁϥϭⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ. ⲁϥⲥⲱϫⲡ
ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ
ⲡⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓ ⳾ 22 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲭⲣⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⳾ 23 ⲉⲩ-
ϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉϥϭⲓ-
ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ϩⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ 24 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
κε Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⳾
25 ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⳾
κϛ 1 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩϭⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯⲙⲁϯ
ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲓⲛ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙϩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϭⲛⲉ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ 2 ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲛ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⳾ 3 ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲉⲃ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲗⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϥⲱⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲓⲉⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̄ϯϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲗ-

ϩⲱϥ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 3. 68. 73. 101). ⲁϥϭⲓⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, T^tG)-ⲕⲁϩ] cf. Gr. ABC^{vid}KLP al pler vg syr^p aeth &c. ⲉϫⲱⲛ...ⲛⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. 2. 4. 18. 45. 47. 69. 93. 99. 105. 137. d^{sor} al aliq syr^{sch} &c. ⲁϥ-ⲥⲱϫⲡ] L^gAFKNPS 18: ⲉϥⲥ., $T^t$$B^a$ΓGOT. ⲟⲩϩⲩⲡⲟⲅⲣⲁ-ⲙⲙⲱ(ⲟ, T^t B^aΓNOT)ⲛ] ϩⲓⲛ., N. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲙ., O. 22 ⲭⲣⲟϥ] $L^g$$T^tAB^a$GP 18: pref. ⲟⲩ, ΓFKOST. ϧⲉⲛⲣⲱϥ] AB^a 18: pref. ⲭⲏ, $L^g$$T^t$ &c. (FS ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ). 23 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ϩⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ] om. K. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, T^tGP. 24 ⲛⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲃⲓ] $L^g$$T^t$$\Gamma^o$ &c., cf. Gr. (exc. B): om. ⲛⲉⲛ, Γ*; for om. *αὐτός* cf. syr^{sch} &c. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, ΓNOT. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^tA: ⲉϫ., L^g &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] obs. Gr. ℵ* om. *ἐν*. ⲉⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩ] + ⲙⲉⲛ, K. ϩⲁ] ϧⲁ, T^t. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲱ(ⲟ, T^tN)ⲛϧ] + ⲇⲉ, T^tΓNOT.

he left to us an *example*, that we might walk after his
footsteps: 22 he who committed not sin, *nor* was subtlety
found in his mouth: 23 being reviled, he was not reviling;
suffering, he was not being angry; but he was giving him-
self to the judgement of the true judge: 24 he who bare up
our sins upon the tree[a] through his *body*, that we, having
died from [the] sins, might live to [the] righteousness.

He through whose wound ye were healed. 25 For ye were
being as sheep going astray, but (ⲁ) ye return now to your
shepherd and (the) *bishop* of your *souls*. III. Thus also
[it is] the women being subject to their husbands; if there
are some who consent not to the word, through the walk
(of life) of the women that they may be gained without
word; 2 seeing your walk (of life) chaste in [a] fear.
3 Among these let not the ornament be (that) which is out-
ward, of the broideries of plaiting of the hair (plur.), and
the broideries of gold, or in a [b] wearing of adorned raiment;

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[a] Lit. 'wood.' [b] Lit. 'raiment of putting on them being adorned.'

ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ, K. 25 ⲡⲉ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲉⲩⲥⲱ(ⲟ, P)ⲣⲉⲙ] ⲛ̄ⲥ., N. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧ.] ⲉⲣ., FPS. ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕ.] ⲡⲓⲉⲡ., FKPS. K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

1 ⲡⲉ] A_1: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲓⲕⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ] cf.? Gr. 96. b^{scr} vg syr^{utr}: om. ⲕⲉ, K; definite, cf. Gr. $\aleph^c$CKLP al omn^{vid} cat &c. ⲉⲩϭⲡⲟ] AKNOT: ⲉⲩϭⲡⲟⲛ, $L^gT^tB^a$ΓFGPS. ⲓⲥⲭⲉ &c.] A_1, cf. Gr. B 57. 69. 104. arm &c.: pref. ϩⲓⲛⲁ, L^g &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. K. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩ, A_1. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲡⲥ., FS. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, B^a. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. minusc plu cat &c. ⲁϭⲛⲉ] A_1B^aΓFNOST: ⲁⲧϭ., $L^gT^tA_2$GP: om. ? K. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ 'through it,' T: ⲉϭⲛⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ 'to subject them,' K. 2 ⲉ(ⲁ, FS)ⲩⲛⲁⲩ] cf.? Gr. $\aleph^*$ a^{sor}: ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ, O. ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏ. 'honoured,' K. 3 ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ . . . ⲁⲛ] A_1B^aFK^cS: trs. ⲁⲛ after ϣⲱⲡⲓ, $L^gT^tA_2$ΓGNPT. ⲡⲓⲉⲃ 1°] ϩⲁⲛⲓⲉⲃ, GP: +ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲁⲕⲩⲛⲑⲟⲩⲛⲟⲛ, B^a. ⲛ̄ϩⲱ(ⲟ, K)ⲗⲕ . . . ⲓⲉⲃ 2°] om. NT homeot.: ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲗⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ &c., FS; for ⲛⲉⲙ cf. Gr. ℵABKLP al omn^{vid} syr^p rell &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ(ⲡ, FS)ⲓϥⲱ(ⲟ, B^a)ⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABKLP &c. ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲗⲥⲱⲗ]

ⲥⲱⲗ ⳾ 4 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲧ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲩϣ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫ̀ϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⳾
κζ 5 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ |
ρμα ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲫ̀ϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩϭⲛⲟ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϩⲁⲓ. 6 ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲣⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⳾
ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅. ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϣⲉⲣⲓ
ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ-
(κη) ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲁⲛ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ ⳾ 7 ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲉϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲑⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓ-
ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⳾

Ⲉ.

κθ 8 Ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ϭⲓϧⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲓ-
ⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ϣⲁⲛⲑⲙⲁϧⲧ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲉⲃⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ 9 ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲛⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲉⲧⲥ., K: ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲗⲥⲉⲗ, T. 4 ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ] ⲉⲑϩ., B^{a}. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] pref. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}B^{a}GP. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}A$_1$B^{a}GP: pref. ⲛ̀ϩ(ϧ, S)ⲣⲏⲓ, A$_2$FKNOST. ⲉⲧ(ⲑ, B^{a}) ϩⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. Gr. B vg &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ 'which is honoured before,' K. 5 ⲡⲉ 1°] trs. after ⲥⲛⲟⲩ, GP: om. ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ] om. ⲛ̀, FKNOS: ⲛⲉⲛⲓϩ., B^{a}. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, FS: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ] AΓFNOST: ⲉⲛⲁⲩ., T^{t}K:

4 but (ⲁ) the man which is hidden in the heart, in the incorruptibility of the *spirit* which is tranquil and meek, that which is before God of many kinds[a]. 5 For thus it was once with the holy women, they were *hoping* in God, they were adorning themselves, being subject to their husbands: 6 [for] as Sarra, obeying Abraam, calling him 'my lord,' she whose daughters ye were, doing the good, and not fearing any fear. 7 Thus also [the] husbands, dwelling with them, knowing that the women are a *weak vessel*, honouring them, *as* being fellow-*heirs* with you of (ⲉ) the grace of (the) life of many kinds, that ye be not hindered in your *prayers*. 8 But finally, being all of one thought, being fellow-sufferers, being of brotherly love, tenderhearted, being humble: 9 and not giving an evil for an evil, *nor* a reviling for a reviling, but that which is contrary, blessing; because ye were called unto

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[a] *πολύτελες* apparently not understood.

ⲉⲩⲉⲣ., $L^g B^a$GP. ⲉⲫϯ] cf. ? Gr. ABC 13. 15. 27. 36. 69. 104. a^{scr} c^{sor} d^{sor} cat &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] A: om. $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲩϭⲛⲟ ⲛ̄] $L^g A_1$ΓG: -ϭⲛⲉ ⲛ̄, NT: -ϭⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̄, $T^t A_2 B^a$FKPS: -ϭⲛⲉ, O. 6 ⲅⲁⲣ] A: om. $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] ⲛ̄, OT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] A: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ] om. ⲛ̄, T^t. 7 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] ⲫ., A_2°. ⲟⲛ] om. ΓNOT. ⲛⲓ 1°] cf. Gr. (exc. B). -ϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ] L^gA: ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, T^t &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, K. ⲡⲉ] om. FS: ⲛⲉ, K. ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣ] om. B^a. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] L^gA: om. T^t &c. ⲉⲛⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., K: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲟ &c.] ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ., T^tGKP; cf. Gr. ℵAC^2 4. 5. 7. 8. 57** 68. 69. a^{scr} c^{sor} &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ϫⲉ] ϫⲉ ϩⲓⲛⲁ, B^aGP: om. ϫⲉ, O. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲡ.] cf. ? Gr. B syr^{sch}. 8 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Misry.' ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲛ, ΓO. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ] om. N. ⲛ̄ϭⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϭⲓ, NT. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ 3°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t B^a$GP. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲉⲃⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al $plus^{30}$ am fu demid syr^{utr} arm Clem &c. 9 ⲁⲛ] om. $A_2{}^* B^a$: T has text confused. ϧⲁⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ] om. $A_2{}^*$. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲟⲩϣ 1°] pref. ⲉ, T^tN. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲃ., $A_2{}^*$. ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABCK h 13. 15* 22. 27. 29. vg m^{16} syr^{sch} et^{ptxt} arm aeth &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

λ 10 Ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲫⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟϥ ⳾ 11 ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ.
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϭⲟϫⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲥ ⳾ 12 ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲉϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁϣϫ ⲥⲉⲣⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⳾ ⲡϩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉϫⲉⲛ | ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

λα 13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣϯⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ. ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲁⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϣⲁⲛⲉⲣⲣⲉϥϫⲟϩ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ. 14 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲓⲥϫⲉ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉϭⲓⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲓⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ. ⲧⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ-
ϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲥϩⲏ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ. 15 ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳾

ⲋ.

λβ Ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲃϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ †ⲉⲩⲁⲡⲟ-
λγ ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
16 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲩϣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ
ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩϭⲓϣⲓⲡⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ
ϧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧϭⲓⲁⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

λδ 17 Ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ.

Hunt 26, 10–15 ...ϩⲏⲧ

10 A_2^{mg} مزمور داود 'the psalm of David.' ⲅⲁⲣ] om. FS. ⲟⲩ-ⲱⲛϧ] L^g ΑΓΝΟΤ: ⲡⲱⲛϧ, $T^t B^a$ FGKPS 26. ⲉⲛⲁⲩ] pref. ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲓ 'to think,' FS. ⲡⲉ̀ϥⲗⲁⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ KLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟϥ] ⲛ̅ⲭ., L^gFGPS. 11 ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-ⲣⲓⲕⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵC^2KLP al pler cat vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ] A 26: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ 'and do,' $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥ.]

this thing, that ye might *inherit* the blessing. 10 For he
who wisheth to love [a] life, and to see good days, let him
refrain his tongue from the evil, and his lips, not to speak
[a] subtlety. 11 Let him turn aside from the evil: let him
do the *good*; let him seek for [a] *peace*, and pursue it.
12 Because (the) eyes of the Lord look upon (ⲉϫⲉⲛ) the
righteous, and his ears incline to their prayer; but (the)
face of the Lord (is) against (ⲉϫⲉⲛ) them who do the evil.

13 And who will be able to give pain to you, if ye should
be zealous of the good? 14 But (ⲁ) if ye even suffer for
[the] righteousness, blessed are ye. But their fear, fear it
not, *nor* be troubled. 15 But the Lord Christ sanctify him
in your hearts.

Being prepared always for [a] *defence* to all who will ask
you a word concerning the *hope* which is in you, 16 but (ⲁ) in [a]
meekness and [a] fear: having a good *conscience*; that they
may be ashamed who speak against you as evil doers, and who
calumniate your good walk in Christ. 17 For it is good

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om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, G P 26. 12 ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ] cf.? Gr. ℵABC*KLP h al plus[60] arm &c. ⲥⲉϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] om. ⲥⲉ, K: ⲉϫⲟⲩϣⲧ, NT. ⲥⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲣⲁⲕⲓ] ⲥⲉⲣⲓⲕⲓ, T[t]A_2. ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ] ⲛⲟⲩⲧ., L[g]Γ plural. 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙⲕ., T[t]G. ϣⲁⲛ] om. K. ⲣⲉϥϫⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 3. 5. 7. 13. 17. 27. 29. 33[mg] 40. 66** 68. 69. 73. 96** 101. 137 a[sor] c[sor] d[sor] Clem &c. 14 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ] pref. ⲁ, 26: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄, FS. ⲡⲕⲉϭⲓⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, T G)ⲕⲁϩ] pref. ⲣⲉϥ, K: om. ⲡⲕⲉϭⲓ, B[a]. ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵACKP al fere omn cat vg rell Clem &c. 15 ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. Hunt 18,
ℵABC 7. 13. 33[mg] 69. 137. a[sor] c[sor] vg syr[utr] arm Clem. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] 15 ⲉⲣⲉ-
F[mg] S[mg] 'it is read the day of the Ascension': S[mg] وعيد للحيواناما 'and ⲧⲉⲛ…
the feast of the living creatures'?. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵBC 5. -17
13. 18. 27. 29. 68. 69. 73. 104** 137. a[scr] c[sor] al[2scr] cat vg m[88] arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩ., NT. ⲉⲧ] om. A_1. 16 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 7. 13. 27. 29. 43. 69. 73. a[sor] c[sor] 1[leot] vg syr[p] arm Clem &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵACKLP al pler cat tol harl syr[sch](et p) aeth &c. ⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧ.] om. ⲥⲁⲙ, A_2O*. 17 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] L[g]AΓFNOST: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, T[t]B[a]GK[r]P 18.

λε ⲒⲤⲬⲈ ϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲗⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϭⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧ-
λϛ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ † 18 Ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲬ̅Ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲟϫⲓ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾
λζ Ⲉⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ϥⲟⲛϧ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
λη ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ † 19 Ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣ-
ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁϥϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
λθ † 20 Ⲏⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁⲥϭⲓϩⲟ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
μ Ⲫϯ ⳾ † Ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁ-
ρμβ ⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ
ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲏ̅ ⲙ̀ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲡⲉ.
21 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁⲛⲁϩⲉⲙ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲱ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲛϫⲓⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̀Ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲬ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 22 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲩ-
ϭⲛⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲉ-
ⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ ⳾

ⲓⲥⲭⲉ] Fmg الحيوانات 'the living creatures': Smg للحيوانات 'of' or 'to' &c. ϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲁϥ., FS: ⲟⲩⲱϣ, A_2. -ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙⲕ., TtG. ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ] ⲛ̀ϩ., N. Fmg 'the end (of the lection).'
Hunt 18, 18–22 18 ϩⲱϥ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ). ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAC 5. 7. 11. 13. 27. 29. 68. 69. 73. 137. 1lect asor ksor vg syrutr arm aeth Did Cyr &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵC*vid L 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 60. 73. 106. csor 1lect cat Did: om. K*, cf. Gr. BKP al longe plu am fu tol Cyr &c. ⲇⲉ] LgAFS: om. TtBaΓGKNOPT 18. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵcACKL al longe plu cat vg syrpmg Petr Did Cyr &c. ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ] ⲉ., FKS. ⲉⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ, O. ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] cf. Gr. minusc vix mu Epiph &c. 19 ϧⲉⲛ 1°] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ, Γ*NOT. 20 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ]

that ye should do the good, If the *will* of God wisheth, and
ye should suffer, than doing the evil. 18 Because Christ also
died once because of (the) sin for us, [but] the righteous for
the wicked, that he might bring us in to God. Having died
indeed in (the) *flesh*, but he liveth in the *spirit*; 19 in this
he went, he preached good tidings to the *spirits* also who
were in the prison; 20 they who were disobedient once, *when*
the longsuffering of God was indulgent[a] in the days of Nōe,
who made an *ark*, through which (a) few were saved from
the water, that is to say, eight *souls*. 21 Thus ye also now,
he will save you in a *type* of[b] a baptism, not a laying down
of a filthiness of (the) *flesh*, but (ⲁ) in a good *conscience* for
(the) praying to God, through (the) resurrection of Jesus
Christ; 22 who is (ϫⲏ) on the right hand of God, having
gone to (the) heaven: *angels* and *authorities* and powers
were subjected to him.

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[a] Lit. 'received face,' an expression for 'respect of persons'; cf. Acts xxv. 17. [b] The MSS. read ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ and ⲛ̄, which may be corruptions from ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, the sign of the subject of the sentence.

ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ, Γ. ϩⲟⲧⲉ] ϩⲟⲇⲉ, A: ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲥϭⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ., T^{t}FGS. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] ⲉⲁϥⲑ., B^{a}FS 18. ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, T^{t})ϩⲁⲛ.] $L^{g}T^{t}$A: ⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲁⲛ, B^{a}: ⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, FST)ϩⲁⲛ, ΓFGKNOPST 18. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ] A: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ, K: ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. K. ⲛⲉ] om. P. 21 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ . . . ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 2. 17. 25. 31. 67. 76. 101. b^{scr} c^{scr} o^{scr} vg syr^{utr} arm Did &c. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] om. S*, cf. Gr. 4. 97. 104. a^{scr} syr^{sch} arm. ϥⲛⲁⲛⲁϩⲉⲙ] ϥⲛⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ, T^{t}T by error. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFGKPS 18: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ., B^{a}ΓNOT. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϧ., ΓG*. ⲁⲛ] om. B^{a}. ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ] ϯⲥ., P. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ⲉⲫϯ, B^{a}. 22 ⲉⲧⲫⲉ] L^{g}AΓFKNST: pref. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ 'up,' $T^{t}B^{a}$GOP 18. ⲁ(ⲉ, T^{t}NT)ⲩϭⲛⲉ] L^{g}AB^{a}P 18: ⲉⲁⲩϭ., FGKS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓNOT. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

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μα Ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲕ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ 2 ⲉⲛ-
ϫⲓⲛⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲛϧ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲓϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾
μβ 3 Ⲕⲏⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ-
ⲕⲏⲛ..., R ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϭⲱϧⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩ-
ⲙⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲓϧⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲭⲉⲣⲭⲉⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲃⲟϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⳾ 4 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲟϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ. 5 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ.
μγ 6 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲣⲉϥⲙⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉ|ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾
μδ 7 Ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ϫⲉⲙⲕⲁϯ
με ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲣⲱⲓⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ. † 8 Ϣⲟⲣⲡ

Hunt 18, 1–5 Hunt 26, 1–11 1 Fmg ابو بفام 'Abu Bafām,' احد الشعانين 'the Sunday of the branches,' 'the third Sunday of Hatūr': Smg 'the third Sunday of Hatūr,' ابو بفام لل الشعانين 'Abu Bafām, the Sunday of the branches,' عيد ماري جرجس 'the feast of St. George.' ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ, K. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙ., TtG. ϧⲉⲛⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ] cf. ? Gr. KP al plu cat vg &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵcAKLP al pler syrp arm aeth Did Epiph Cyr &c. ϧⲉⲕ(ⲛ, ⲧ)] ϧⲏⲕ, TtBaG. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲙⲟⲧ] LgTtABaΓGO 18. 26: ⲉⲛⲁⲓ., FKPS: om. NT. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟϥ] -ϭⲟ, Lg. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ] cf. Gr. 4** 80. 99. 105. 14lect bscr** gscr: ⲉⲃ. ϧⲉⲛ, NT.

IV. Christ *then* having suffered in (the) *flesh* for us, [and]
ye also arm yourselves in this form; because he who suffered
in (the) flesh recovered himself from (the) sin; ² so as not to
remain any more in *lusts* of man, but (ⲁ) to spend (the)
rest of his life in (the) *flesh* in (the) wish of God. ³ For
the time which was passed was sufficient for you doing (the)
wish of the *Gentiles*, walking in pollutions and *lusts*, and
drunkennesses of many kinds, and revellings and defilements
and many profane *idolatries*: ⁴ that is to say, they who think
it strange[a] that ye run not with them into the same effusion
of [the] dissoluteness, blaspheming: ⁵ they who will give
account to him who is prepared to judge them who are
alive and them who are dead. ⁶ For therefore were good
tidings preached also to the dead, that they *indeed* might be
judged according to [the] men in (the) flesh, but might live
according to God in the *spirit*. ⁷ But (the) end of all
things drew near: be[b] understanding *then*, and watch in
the *prayers*: ⁸ but first of all things let [the] *love* be con-

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[a] Lit. 'which is that which they are strange in it, that ye' &c. Literal rendering of ἐν ᾧ ξενίζονται. [b] Lit. 'find.'

ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ*AOKLP. ² ⲉⲡⲭⲓⲛⲑⲉⲣⲉϥ] A: ⲉⲡⲭⲓⲛ-ⲧⲉϥ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲭⲉ] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲓϥ] ⲉⲧⲉϥⲁⲓϥ, B^a. ³ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 14. 18. 19. 25. 27. 32. 38. 57. 69. 104. 113. 114. Hunt 26, 3-6
127. a^{scr} c^{scr} 8^{pe} al plus⁵ aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ⲉⲡⲓⲥ., ΓO; cf. Gr. ℵABC 4* 5. 13. 14. 29. 38. 73. 93. 113. 137. a^{scr} h^{scr} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth ar^e Clem. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ 'walking,' N*. ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. ΓO: ⲉϧ., T. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲟ] $L^g A B^{a*}$FKNS 26: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ, $T^t B^{ac}$ΓGOP 18. ⲙ̄ⲃⲟϯ] ⲛ̄ⲃ., Γ. ⲙⲉⲧϣⲁⲙϣⲉ] -ⲉⲙϣⲉ, $T^t A_2$NT. ⁴ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, O. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟⲓ, O^o. ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ABC²LP al pler vg syr^p &c. ⁵ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯ] pref. ⲛ̄, K. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] -ⲱⲛϧ, ΓGOS. ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉⲧⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ, ΓN. ⁶. ⁷ ⲁϥ- Hunt 18, 6-8
ϧⲱⲛⲧ] ⲛⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ, NT. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ] $L^g T^t A B^a$ΓGN Hunt 26, 7-11 . . .
OPT, cf. Gr. KLP al pler cat &c.: ϯⲡ., FKRS 18. 26. ⁸ ϣⲟⲣⲡ] ⲧⲱⲧⲥ
ϣⲱⲣⲡ, FS. Hunt 18, 8-11

ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲥⲙⲏⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϣⲁⲥ-
ϩⲱⲃⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
μϛ 9 Ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲭⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ ⳾
10 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ ⳾
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ϧⲁⲣⲓ ϧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⳾
μζ 11 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ϩⲱⲥ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ-
ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ
. . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, R

Ⲏ.

μη 12 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲉⲁϥ-
ϫⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ 13 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲣⲁϣⲓ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲉϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ⳾ 14 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲉϣⲱϣ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲣⲙⲅ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̀|ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. KLP al fere omn cat m[16] vg^{cle} fu demid syr^{p} &c. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. Γ. ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲛ̀ⲛ., FS. ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ 2°] cf. ? Gr. minusc permu Cyr &c. ϣⲁⲥϩⲱⲃⲥ] pref. ⲉ, T^{t}G; cf. ? Gr. ABK al fere[45] cat vg syr^{utr} arm Clem Cyr &c. 10 ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] pref. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ, FS^{mg}. ϧⲁⲣⲓ] om. N: ϧⲁⲣⲟⲓ, S. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ] om. K: pref. ⲉⲧⲟⲓ, 26. 11 ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲉⲧⲥ., 18*. ⲉⲧⲉ] T^{t}ΓGKNPT 18: ⲉⲧⲁ, L^{c}AB^{a}FORS 26.

tinuous in you one to another, because [the] *love* covereth
over many sins. 9 Be hospitable one towards another,
without murmuring: 10 each one (of you) according to the
grace which he received, ministering in it among yourselves,
as good *stewards* of the grace of God of many kinds.
11 He who will speak, *as* words of God: he who will
minister, *as* from a power which God will prepare: that in
all things God may be glorified through Jesus Christ,
whose is the glory unto age of all the ages. Amēn.
12 My beloved, think it not strange[a] in the burning which
will happen among you for a *trial* to you, as a strange
thing which befell[b] you. 13 But (ⲁ) as being fellow-sufferers
of Christ rejoice, that in the revelation also of his glory ye
may rejoice in [a] gladness. 14 But if ye are reproached in
(the) name of the Lord, blessed are ye, because (the spirit ⲫⲁ)
of the glory and the power and the *spirit* of God rested itself

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[a] Lit. 'make not yourselves strange.' [b] Lit. 'found.'

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϭⲓ] ⲉⲧ., B^a. ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] A: +ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ 'and the
strength,' L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ(ⲛ, T)ⲓⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] AT:
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, L^gT^tΓNOS, cf. Gr. unc.: om. B^aFGKPR 18. 26,
cf. Gr. 11. 14. 31. 37. 38. 69. 99. 137. a^{sor} c^{sor} h^{sor} am syr^p arm^{ed}.
12 ϧⲉⲛ 1°] ⲉ, ΓO. ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓⲣ.] A 26: ⲉⲩⲛ., L^g &c.: ⲉⲩⲉⲣ- Hunt 26, 12–14
ⲛⲓⲣ., T^tN. 13 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ] T^tAP^{mg} ('another copy'): ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ, L^g &c. ⲉ(ⲛ̄, Γ)ⲛⲓ(H, S)ⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, T^tG)ⲕⲁⲩϩ] $L^gT^tB^a$
ΓFGOPS 26: -ⲕⲁϩ, AKN. ⲡⲓⲕⲉ.] L^gAΓFNOST 26: om. ⲕⲉ,
T^tB^aGKP. 14 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ] T^tAB^aGP 26: om. ⲇⲉ, L^gΓFKNO
ST. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, L^gT^t &c. ⲫⲁ(+ⲓ, A_1)ⲡⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲓ, S. ⲛⲉⲙϯϫⲟⲙ] cf. ? Gr. AP 4. 5. 7. 8. 13. 14. 27. 29. 33^{mg} 36.
43. 46. 57** 68. 69. 73. 81. 98^{mg} 99. 100. 106. 126^{mg} 127. 137. a^{scr} c^{sor}
al^5 cat vg syr^p arm aeth Ath Did &c.: trs. ⲫⲁϯϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ, K. ⲁϥⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛ] -ⲉⲙ., T^tGNP. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ
AB 3. 4* 13. 17. 27. 29. 65. 66** 68. 69. 73. 76. 101. 137. a^{sor} c^{sor} d^{sor} vg
syr^{sch} $et^{p\,txt}$ arm $aeth^{utr}$ ar^e &c.: O^{mg} وجد فى نسخة قبطى 'found in a
Coptic copy,' ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲥⲉϫⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ-
ⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϥϭⲓⲱⲟⲩ 'according to them indeed he is blasphemed,

μθ [15] Ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϣⲉⲛⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⲓⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⁘ ⲓⲉ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ-
ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⁘ ⲓⲉ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲓⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲫⲱϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⁘
[16] ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲥ ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲓⲡⲓ ⁘
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⁘
ν [17] Ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ. ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⁘ ⲓⲉ ⲁϣ ⲡⲉ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⁘ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⁘ [18] ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ ϥⲛⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⁘
ⲓⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ
ⲑⲱⲛ ⁘
να [19] Ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϭⲓⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ
ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ
ⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ.

ⲑ.

νβ Ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϯϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ̅ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̅ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ [2] ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ

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according to you he is glorified,' cf. Gr. KLP al longe plu am harl tol
Hunt 26, 15–17 syr^{p} c.* &c. [15] ⲇⲉ] om. FS 26. ⲓⲉ 1°] A: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ, 26. ϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ . . . ⲣⲉϥ] om. T homeot. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ, K. -ⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] -ϫⲱϣⲧ, S. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲫⲱϥ] A 26: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲫ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. [16] ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, B^{a}. ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ] ⲭⲣⲏ., T^{t}B^{a}FGKT 26: ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲏ., P, for ⲭⲣⲏ. cf. Gr. ℵ*. -ⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲓ(ⲱ, N)ⲡⲓ] -ⲑⲣⲉϥϭⲓϣⲓⲡⲓ, FK 26: -ⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲓϭⲓⲡⲓ, S. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ] pref. ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ, FS^{mg}; cf. Gr. ℵAB 5. 13. 27. 29. 31. 65. 66** 68. 73. 99. 103. 137. vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Cyr &c. [17] ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥ., FS; cf.? Gr. BKLP al pler &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉ] A 26: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁϥⲛⲁⲉⲣ] ϥⲛⲁⲉⲣ, 26: ⲁϥⲉⲣ, ΓΚΟ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. K.

upon you. 15 But let not one of you suffer either as a
murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a looker
after that which is not his: 16 but if *as Christian*, let him
not be ashamed; but let him glorify God in this name.
17 Because it is (the) time for the judgement to begin
from (the) house of God: if it was to begin from us first,
then what is (the) end of them who are disobedient to the
Gospel of God? 18 If the righteous scarcely will be saved,
then where appeared the sinner and *godless*? 19 *Where-*
fore let them who suffer according to the wish of God commit
their souls unto God the faithful creator in (the) doing the
good.

V. The *presbyters* who are among you, I beseech you, I
your fellow *presbyter*, and witness of the sufferings of Christ,
and sharer of the glory which will be revealed. 2 Tend
the flock which is among you of God, taking their visitation

ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A*BKLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} aeth^{pp} arm &c. ⲛ̄ϣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲣⲡ] ⲉⲣⲛ̄ϣ., N: ⲉⲣϣ., T. ⲡϫⲱⲕ] ⲡⲓϫ., P. ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ, K. 18 ⲓⲥϫⲉ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ϥⲛⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] L^gAGPS*: ⲁ(ⲉ, B^a)ϥⲛⲁ., T^tB^aΓFK NOS^cT. ⲓⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ.] ⲓⲉⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ., S*; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB^2et^{8}KLP al fere omn vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c.; for order cf. Gr. 69. 177. a^{sor} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏ(ⲉ, N S)ⲥ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aGP. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲛϩϥ] A: ϥⲛⲁ., $L^gT^tB^a$GKPS: ⲁϥⲛⲁ., ΓFNOT. ⲑⲱⲛ] ⲉⲑⲱⲛ, T^tB^aNT: ⲛ̄ⲑ., O. 19 ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] -ⲇⲉ, AB^aKP. ⲉⲧϭⲓ] ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲓ, B^a. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙ., T^tG. ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 9. 13. 73. d^{sor} vg arm aeth Ath. ϧⲉⲛⲡϫⲓⲛ.] ⲉⲛ., K: pref. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^tNT; cf. Gr. ℵBKLP al pler cat &c.

1 ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ.] cf. Gr. KLP al longe plu cat syr$^{p\,txt}$ &c. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵKLP al fere omn vg m^{59} syr^{utr} Cyr &c. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] T^tA: ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'them,' L^g &c. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] pref. ⲉ, ΓO. ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲥ... ϣⲫⲏⲣ] om. B^a homeot. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲉⲛⲓ., FS. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩϩ] ⲉⲙⲕ., T^tG, thus ver. 10. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, T^tNT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] L^gT^tAB^aFGPS: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ, ΓNOT: ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ, K. 2 ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ, S*: ⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, B^a. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. AKLP al pler cat vg m^{59} syr^p arm aeth &c.:

ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓⲣ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧϥ
ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⳾ 3 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ ⳾ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓϫⲱϫ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲛ̅ⲁⲑ-
ⲗⲱⲙ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ. |
νγ 5 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲙⲁϭⲛⲉϫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ ⳾
ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲗ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ
ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ϥϯ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϭⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ϥϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲑⲉⲃⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
νδ 6 Ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲃⲓⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲁ ϯϫⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϭⲉⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ 7 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲟⲩⲁϩϥ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲗⲓⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
8 ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓⲛⲩⲙⲫⲓⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲉϥϩⲉⲙϩⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲉϥⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲉⲙⲕ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾ 9 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓϧⲓⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲡϫⲱⲕ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

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om. ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩ, F. ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩ . . . ϭⲓ] om. T* homeot. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] om. A_2*. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ] om. ⲟⲩ, T^tKNPS*. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ AP 5. 7. 8. 13. 25. 27. 29. 31. 33^{mg} 40. 57** 60. 68. 69. 73. 98. 99. 137. a^{scr} vg syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBKP al pler cat vg syr^p &c.: om. FS*. 3 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] A: +ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ 'as,' L^gT^t &c. ϫⲉ] om. P. ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] ⲕⲗⲓⲣ., S*. 4 -ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, T^t)ⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] T^tA: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^g &c. ⲁⲑⲗⲱⲙ] ⲁⲧⲗ., FNT. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. 31. &c. 5 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A BKLP al longe plu vg. ϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ] A_1B^aΓFGKPS: -ϣⲏⲣⲓ, $L^gT^tA_2$NOT. ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ g^{scr}. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ &c.]

not in [a] violence, but (ⲇⲉ) in a wish of heart according to
God, *nor* in [a] greediness, but (ⲇⲉ) in [a] readiness of heart;
3 *nor* that ye are being lords over the *heritages*, but (ⲇⲉ)
be *examples* to the flock. 4 And if the chief shepherd should
appear ye will receive the unfading crown of (the) glory.

5 Thus, [the] young men, be subject to the old men. But
(ⲇⲉ) all of you clothe yourselves with humility of heart
towards one another: because God opposeth the proud;
he giveth [a] grace to the humble. 6 Humiliate yourselves
under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in
(the) time of the visitation. 7 Cast[a] all your care on him;
because he *careth* for you. 8 Be watchful and be *sober*;
because your enemy the *devil* walketh as a lion, roaring,
seeking to swallow up (some) one. 9 That one ye shall[b] resist,
being firm in the faith, knowing these very troubles:
the completion of these (is) for your brethren who are in

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[a] Lit. 'add.' [b] Reading ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲟϩⲓ.

ⲉⲛ., N S* T. ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B 13. 27. 29. 68. 81. vg m^{69} syr^{sch} arm &c. ϥϯ 2°] A: ⲉϥϯ, K: + ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}K$ &c. 6 ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ 1°] + ⲟⲩⲛ, T^{t}Γ? KNT. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ 2°] position cf. ? Gr. 69. 137. a^{scr} c^{scr} d^{scr} &c. ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥ., ΓP. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. AP 5. 13. 19** 25. 33. 40. 68. 73. 96^{mg} 126^{mg} vg m^{69} syr^{p} c.* arm aeth &c. 7 ⲟⲩⲁϩϥ] om. ϥ, P. ⲥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲗ.] ⲥⲉⲉⲣ., B^{a}KS. -ⲙⲉⲗⲓⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$FKNPT: ⲙⲉⲗⲓ, ΓGSO. 8 ⲁⲣⲓ(ⲉⲣⲉ, T)-ⲛⲩ(ⲓ, S)ⲙⲫⲓⲛ] T^{t}APS: ⲁⲣⲓⲛⲓ(ⲏ, B^{a}GK; ⲩ, N)ⲫⲓⲛ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓF GKNOT. ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$L 13. 31. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} al permu vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃ.] ⲡⲇ., O; cf. ? Gr. 13. ϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉϥⲙ., $T^{t}B^{a}$GP. ⲉⲙⲕ] ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲕ, B^{a}GP: ⲉⲙ, T^{t} by error; cf. Gr. ℵK LP &c. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] pref. ⲕⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}S^{c}T$. 9 ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ, K. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟϩⲓ] A: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟϩⲓ, K: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲟϩⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲓⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲫⲛ., T^{t}NT. ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓϧⲓⲥⲓ] ϫⲉⲛⲁⲓϧ. 'that these,' K. ⲛⲁⲓ 2°] om. $T^{t}B^{a}$: pref. ⲛ̄, NT. ⲡ(om. K)ϫⲱⲕ] AΓKO: +ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: om. ⲛ̄, AB^{a}FGR. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] om. ⲉⲧ, K. ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵB.

10 Ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ· ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ· ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ· ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅· ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲡ ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ· ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ
ⲉϥⲉⲥⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲥⲉⲙⲛⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ·
ⲉϥⲉϯϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ· ⲉϥⲉϩⲓⲥⲉⲛϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ·
11 ⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ·
νε 12 Ⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲥ·
ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ· ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ· ⲉⲓϯⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ· ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ· 13 Ⲥϣⲓⲛⲓ
ⲣⲙⲇ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ|ϯϣⲫⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲧⲡ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲃⲁⲃⲩ-
ⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ· 14 ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥⲡⲁ-
ⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ·
ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅·

Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ̅ ⲥⲧⲩ^{χ} ⲧ̅ⲛ̅ ⲕⲉ^{λ} ⲑ̅

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10 ⲇⲉ] om. GP. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲉⲙⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABLP al^{50} cat demid syr^{p} arm aeth Thphyl: -ⲑⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ, FS, cf. Gr. K al plu vg syr^{sch} Did &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. AKLP al pler vg syr^{sch} syr^{p} c.* arm aeth Did &c. ⲉⲁⲣ.] ⲁⲣ., NT. -ϣⲉⲡ] -ϭⲓ, GP. ⲉϥⲉ-(om. B^{a})ⲥⲉⲃⲧⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al fere^{25} vg arm aeth^{utr}. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ 2°] cf. Gr. KLP al pler cat syr^{p} c.* aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲥⲉⲙⲛⲉ(ⲏ, S) ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] A: ⲉϥⲉⲥ., Γ: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥ., L^{g}T^{t}FGKPST: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-ⲥⲉⲃⲧⲉ, B^{a} by error: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ, R: om. NO homeot. ⲉϥⲉϩⲓ &c.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, R; cf. Gr. ℵKLP al omn^{vid} cat syr^{p} arm &c. 11 ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. 5. 13. 31. 69. 137. 163. a^{scr} c^{scr}* arm (syr^{sch}); for ἡ δόξα cf. Gr. ℵKLP &c. ϣⲁⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲛⲉϩ] -ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, T^{t}FNT; cf. Gr. B 36. 99. arm: + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ 'of the ages,' R, cf. Gr. ℵAKLP al fere omn cat vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. 12 ⲥⲓⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲥ(ⲛ, A_2)] cf. Gr. ℵAKLP &c.: ⲥⲓⲗⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ, B^{a}. ⲉⲓϯ] om. ϯ, Γ. ⲉⲓ(+ⲉ, B^{a})-ⲉⲣⲙ.] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟϩⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ.,

the world. 10 But God of all grace, who called you into
his eternal glory in Christ Jesus, having suffered a little,
he (pron.) shall perfect you, and he shall establish you, he
shall encourage you, he shall lay foundation for you. 11 His is
the strength and the glory for ever. Amēn. 12 I wrote
to you through Silouanos, our *faithful* brother, *as* I think
in few (words) encouraging, witnessing that this is the grace
of God in [a] truth, this in which ye stand. 13 Saluteth
you the fellow-chosen (fem.) who is in Babylōn, and Markos
my son. 14 *Salute* one another in a kiss of [the] *love*. (The)
peace to you all who are in Christ.

Of Petros I. Stichoi 350, Chapters 9.

GP. 13 ⲥϣⲓⲛⲓ] ⲥⲉϣ., KO*S. ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯϣⲫⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̄] $L^gT^tA_1B^a$ ΓGOPT: -ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄, A_2N: -ϯϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̄, FS: -ⲛⲓϣⲫⲏⲣ, K; cf. Gr. ABKLP al fere omn fu syr^p aeth Or Eus &c. sine ἐκκλησία. ⲛ̄ⲥⲟ-(ⲱ, FKS)ⲧⲡⲓ] ΓFGNOPST: ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲧⲡ, $L^gT^tB^a$: ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲧⲡ, $A_1{}^c{}_2$K. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] om. ⲉⲧ, A_2GP. ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ] ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲗⲟⲛ, N: ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲩⲗⲱⲛ, S: ΓO tr. بابل 'Bābil,' AB^aKNP بابلون 'Bābilūn'; B^aK add مصر 'Masr,' NO^c add بمصر 'at Masr' (Masr is Cairo or Egypt). 14 ⲟⲩⲫⲓ] + ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 'holy,' T^tK. ⲧϩⲓⲣ.] ϯϩ., K: -ϩⲏⲣ., A_2: -ⲣⲓⲛⲏ, S: -ⲣⲏⲛⲓ, T. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'with you,' FKS. ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄] $A_1{}^*{}_2$, cf. Gr. AB 13^{vid} 36. cat fu demid harl syr^{sch} aeth: + ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄, L^gT^t $A_1{}^{mg}$ &c., cf. Gr. ℵKLP al pler vg syr^p arm &c.: + ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, $A_1{}^{mg}$ ('a copy')FS, cf. Gr. ℵKLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c.

Subscription. ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲁ̄, A, cf. Gr. ℵAB: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥ-ⲧⲟⲗⲏ, G: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (om. K) ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ(ⲥ, K) ⲁ̄ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'was finished,' FKS: ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲣ(ⲟⲥ) ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡ̄ⲁ̄, O: ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲧ̄ⲡ̄ ⲕ,ⲉⲗ ⲑ̄, $A_{1(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲧ̄ⲕ̄ⲉ̄ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲑ̄ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲡ̄ⲉ̄, G: ⲕⲗ ⲋ̄ ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲧ̄ⲕ̄ⲉ̄, O: ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭ ⲡ̄ⲉ̄ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲍ̄, FS; obs. Gr. B capitula η′, Euth στίχων νη′; A_2NPT have Arabic; B^aΓ no subscription.

ⲠⲈⲦⲢⲞⲨ ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦⲞⲖⲎ Ⲃ̅.

ⲤⲒⲘⲰⲚ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲫⲃⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲩⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 2 ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
β Ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 3 ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲁ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲭⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ
ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲓⲛϫⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲑⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ
4 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ

Inscription. ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ (ⲥ, N) ⲉ (om. T) ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ Ⲃ̅ (+ϯ, T), $A_{1(2)}$ B^aΓGNT, cf. Gr. O 13: ⲡⲣ(ⲟⲥ) ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ Ⲃ̅, O: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ (ⲥ, FS) Ⲃ̅, FKS: ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ Ⲃ̅, P.

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Hatūr,' وتقرى في حد الرفاع 'and it is read on the Sunday before Lent.' ⲤⲒⲘⲰⲚ] cf. Gr. B 5. 13. 31. 40. 69. 105. 137. a^{sor*} c^{sor} al^{12} vg &c. ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ.] ⲡⲓⲁ., T^t. ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ] ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲓ, B^a: om. ⲛ̀, FS. ϧⲉⲛϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A: pref. ⲛ̀ϧ(ϩ, FKS)ⲣⲏⲓ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] AΓO: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ (ⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, T)] cf. Gr. minusc nonnullis ? syr^{bodl} arm^{cdd} aeth.

OF PETER (THE) EPISTLE 2.

I. Simōn Petros, (the) servant and (the) *apostle* of Jesus Christ, to them who are *equal* in honour with us in (the) faith, which was allotted[a] to us in the righteousness of our God and our *saviour* Jesus Christ our Lord: 2 (the) grace and the *peace* may they be multiplied to you, In (the) knowledge of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ: 3 *since* all things became ours (lit. to us) in the power of his deity, (tending) towards (the) life, and [the] *godliness*, which was given to us freely, through (the) knowledge of him who called us into his glory and [the] *virtue*; 4 and through these great (and) precious glories which were given to us as gifts, that through these ye might become sharers of (the) *nature* of the

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[a] Lit. 'reckoned,' but ⲱⲡ means 'a lot' and ϩⲓⲱⲡ 'to cast lots.'

ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 2 ⲛϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓϩ., B^{a}OPT. ϯϩⲓ(ⲏ, s)ⲣ.] ⲧϩ., FKS. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., FKS. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] AFOS, cf. Gr. 69. 137. 163. a^{scr} c^{scr} m^{87} et^{94} syr^{b} et^{p} &c.: ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKNPT, cf. Gr. ℵAL 5. 8. 15. 18. 68. 73. 98. 99. 100. 105. 177** al $plus^{10}$ cat arm aeth ar^{e} $Thphyl^{txt}$. 3 ⲛⲁⲛ 1°] + ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲟ 'for gift,' O. ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ] ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., T^{t}ΓG NO. ⲛⲁⲛ 2°] om. FS. ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ] om. B^{a}FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ] -ⲑⲁϩⲉⲙⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ 'called you,' B^{a}. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ] AK: ϧⲉⲛⲡ., $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓFGNOPST: ⲉⲛ., T^{t}; for possessive cf. Gr. ℵACP 13. 15. 25. 36. 66** 68. 69. 73. 80. 137. 163. a^{scr} c^{scr} cat m^{87} et^{94} vg Did &c.; for a preposition cf. Gr. BKL al longe plu &c. ϯⲁⲣⲉⲧⲏ] ⲧⲉϥⲁⲣ., FS possessive. 4 ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲛⲓⲛ., K. ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] position cf. ? Gr. ACP 5. 13. 31. 68. vg syr^{b} cat Did &c. Hunt 26, 4-8

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ζ ¹²Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲕⲉⲡⲉⲣ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⳾
¹³ϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ. ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲫⲟⲥⲟⲛ ϯϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⳾ ¹⁴ⲉⲓⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ|-
ⲣⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
η ¹⁵ϯⲛⲁⲓⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲱⲓⲧ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ¹⁶ϩⲁⲛϣϥⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
θ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ¹⁷ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϯⲙⲁϯ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾
ι ¹⁸Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲛϫⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾

Hunt 13, 12–18

12 F^{mg}? S^{mg} 'the fifth (Sunday) of Abīb': S^{mg} وفى ثالث عشر مسرى عيد التجلى 'and on the thirteenth of Misry, the feast of the Transfiguration.' ϯⲛⲁ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 25. 27. 29. 126. vg arm aeth. ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ] position cf. Gr. A al sat mu vg $syr^{b}et^{p}$ aeth Oec ; for order also cf. Gr. 69. a^{scr} c^{scr} &c. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] -ϣⲱⲛ, T^{t}. 13 ⲅⲁⲣ] A: ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓGKNOPT 18: om. B^{a}FS. ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, ΓO. ⲉⲫⲟⲥⲟⲛ] ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲛ, G 18. ϯϣⲟⲡ] ⲉϯϣ., FS: ⲛ̀ϯϣ., N. ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ] ⲫⲁⲓ., FS. ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ(ⲉ, FKPS)ⲥ] T^{t}AKO*: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ, L^{g} &c. ⲉϧ(ϩ, A)ⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϧ., T^{t}ΓFST. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. BCKLP al fere omn &c. 14 ⲡ(ⲫ, O)ⲁⲓⲙⲁ] T^{t}AKO: ⲡⲁⲙⲁ, L^{g} &c. ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ] ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ, T^{t}G, 1° singular: ⲧⲁⲙⲟ, P.

12 Therefore I shall (lit. will) remind you always concerning
these things, *although* ye know, and ye are confirmed in the
truth which is. 13 For I think that it is a righteous work,
this which I think, that *as long as* I am in this dwelling-
place I shall stir in[a] you a remembrance ; 14 knowing that
this dwelling-place will be dissolved quickly, according as
also our Lord Jesus Christ showed to us. 15 But I shall
(lit. will) hasten myself always, that ye may remember these
things after my departure. 16 It was not crafty fables which
we walked after, (when) we showed to you (the) power and
(the) *coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, but (ⲇ) we were eye-
witnesses of the greatness of that (one): 17 he received [an]
honour and [a] glory from the Father; and a voice came
to him of this kind by the exceeding[b] great glory: 'This is
my Son, my beloved, this for whom I was well pleased.'
18 And this voice we heard, coming from (the) heaven,

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[a] Lit. 'raise you in.' [b] Lit. 'which is great.'

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15 ϯⲡⲁⲓⲏⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ABCKLP al pler vg &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ, A_2 by error. 16 -ϣϥⲱ] A: + ⲅⲁⲣ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃ] Γᵐᵍ &c.: -ⲁⲃ, K: -ⲁⲃⲉ, Γ*GOPS 18*. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ]
TᵗAO: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, NT)ⲛ, LᵍΓNT: ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲛ, K: ⲉⲧⲁⲛ, Bᵃ
FGPS 18. ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙⲱ(ⲟ, K)ⲧⲉⲛ] AK: pref. ⲉ, LᵍTᵗ &c.
ⲉⲧϫⲟⲙ] ⲛ̄ⲧϫ., K: ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ, ΓO. ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ]
AΓO: om. ⲉ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'and our Saviour' &c., 18. ⲁⲛ.] ⲛ̄., A_2Bᵃ. ⲉⲣⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥ., Γ: ⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲩ 'foreseers,' Oᶜ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧ(ⲑ, N)ⲛⲓϣϯ]
ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, FS. 17 ⲁϥϭⲓ] AP: +ⲅⲁⲣ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲫⲓⲱⲧ]
A_1*$_2$: pref. ⲫϯ, LᵍTᵗA_1ᵐᵍ ('a copy') &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] om. Bᵃ.
ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲡⲁⲓⲛ. 'this' &c., FS. ⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲑⲛⲁⲁϥ] ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ
'good,' Oᶜ. ⲫⲁⲓ (om. A_1*) ⲡⲉ] position cf. Gr. ℵACKL al omnᵛⁱᵈ vg
rell &c. ⲫⲁⲓ 2°] A, cf. Gr. 13. 24. 32. 37. 69. 177* aˢᶜʳ lˢᶜʳ syrᵖ om.
ἐγώ: +ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, LᵍTᵗ &c. 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. K. ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ] A:
pref. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲧⲫⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA. ⲉⲛⲭⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲭⲏ, Bᵃ 18:
ⲉⲩⲭⲏ, S. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P; position
cf. ? Gr. ℵAC³KLP al fere omn cat &c.

ια 19 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲑⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ϧⲏⲃⲥ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲭⲁⲕⲓ.
ϣⲁⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟⲩ-
ⲱⲓⲛⲓ ϣⲁϥϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲫⲓⲣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ.

(Ⲅ.)

ιβ 20 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ϣⲟⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 21 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
ιγ 1 Ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ|ϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲱ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲛⲏⲃ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲟⲡⲟ ⲉⲩϫⲱⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧϭⲓ

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19 F^{mg} ‘the third Sunday of Büünah.’ ⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣ.] A: ⲁϥⲧ., KO: ϥⲧ., L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] $L^gT^tAB^aFGKS$: ⲡⲥ., ΓNOT: ⲛⲓⲥ., P plural. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] AΓK: ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ, L^gT^t &c. ϩⲑⲏⲧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲛ̀, ΓGNP. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩ.] ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣ., G. ϣⲁ(+ⲛ̀, B^a)ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] -ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ, A_2. ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵP 13. 31. 68. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲫⲓⲣⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tNT. F^{mg} ‘the end (of the lection).’

Hunt 26, 20–21 20 ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ., G: ⲁⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓ, T^tK imperative. ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] ϯⲅ., Γ. ϣⲟⲡ(+ⲥ, FS) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] T^tAΓO 26: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^g &c. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] T^tA 26: ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, L^g &c. 21 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] A 26: ⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] L^gAFS 26: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣ., T^tB^aΓGKNOPT. ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲁⲩ., 26. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. BCKP 13. 22. 31. 68. 69. 100. 127. 137. a^{scr} c^{scr} cat syr^p Did &c.

being with him on the holy mountain. 19 And the word of
the *prophets* is for us firm, this to which ye do *well* to
attend (lit. observing), as a lamp shining in a place of dark-
ness, until is manifested the day, and the light ariseth and
breaketh forth in your hearts.

20 But first knowing this, that all *prophecies* of the *Scrip-
tures*—their explanation was being made not for[a] themselves
alone. 21 For *neither* by (ϧⲉⲛ the) wish of man was a *prophecy*
brought at a time, but (ⲁ) men spake by (ϧⲉⲛ the) wish of
God in the holy *spirit*. II. There were false *prophets* also
among the *people*, as also false teachers will be among you;
they (ⲛⲁⲓ) who will bring in a *heresy* of perdition, and deny-
ing (the) lord who bought them, bringing to themselves a quick
perdition. 2 And many shall[b] draw after their defilements;
and through them (the) way of the truth shall be blasphemed.
3 And in wrongdoings with (ⲙ̄) *feigned* word they shall

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[a] Lit. 'by' or 'through.' The other reading 'in' or 'from. [b] This and the two following are probably strong futures of which ⲉ has fallen out.

ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCKLP al plus[60] Did &c.; for om. ἁγίοι cf. Gr. BP 66** 68. 69. 137. a[scr] syr[p] arm. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] A 26: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., B[a]FGOPS.

1 ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: +ⲇⲉ, L[g]T[t] &c. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ] AK: om. ⲕⲉ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛ̄ϧ(ϩ, T[t]A[2]FS)ⲣⲏⲓ . . . ⲛⲟⲩϫ] om. A[1] homeot. ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] om. B[a]. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓ] T[t]A: ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓ, L[g] &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲉⲣ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩ., S. ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲱ 1°] -ⲕⲱ, B[a]ΓGS 18: om. A[2]. ⲛⲏⲃ] +ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ, O[mg]. ⲉⲩϫⲱ(ⲟ, T)ⲗ] ⲉⲩϫⲱⲕ, FS. ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ, K. ⲁⲅⲱ 2°] ⲁⲕⲱ, B[a]ΓGN PT 18. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] L[g]T[t]AΓKNO*T 26: om. B[a]FGPS 18: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, O[mg]. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ] ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲅⲁⲣ, O[mg]. ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲕ] L[g] AB[a]FGPS 18. 26: ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲕ, T[t]ΓKNOT: ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ 'these walking,' O[mg]. ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCKLP al longe plu cat vg syr[b] et[p] arm aeth Thphyl. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L[g]T[t]AΓKNOT 26: om. B[a]FGPS 18. ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵ*BCKLP al pler vg syr[b] et [p] arm &c. 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] L[g]T[t]AΓKNOT 26: om. B[a]FGPS 18.

Hunt 18, 1–3

Hunt 26, 2–4

ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲉⲃϣⲱⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ
ϥⲕⲟⲣϥ ⲁⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱ ⲛⲁϩⲓⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ιδ ϯ 4 ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϯⲁⲥⲟ ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲛⲟⲃⲓ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟ-
ⲫⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛϩⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲉⲣⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ιε 5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϯⲁⲥⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
ⲁϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲗⲩⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳾ 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲇⲟⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲅⲟⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲁϥⲣⲟⲕ-
ϩⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ-
ⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾
7 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲗⲱⲧ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲉⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲱϥ. 8 ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ.
ις 9 Ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲉⲃ] ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲓⲉⲃ, P. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] position cf. ? Gr. 31. ϥⲕⲟⲣϥ] ⲁϥⲕⲱⲣϥ, P: ⲛⲁⲕⲱⲣϥ, FS: ϥⲛⲁⲕ., K: ⲉϥⲛⲁⲕ., 26. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] LgTtΑΓΚΝΟΤ: om. BaFGPS 18. -ⲁⲅⲱ] -ⲕⲱ,
Hunt 18, 4–8 ΓG. ⲛⲁϩⲓⲛⲓⲙ] ABa 26: ⲥⲛⲁϩ., LgTt &c. 4 ⲓⲥϫⲉ] LgTt AGKP(S): +ⲅⲁⲣ, BaΓFNOT. ⲫϯ] +ⲅⲁⲣ, S. ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., Γ. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] AK 26: pref. ⲛⲏ, LgTt &c. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ] cf. ? Gr. KLPvid al omnvid cat syrb etp arm Did Cyr &c. ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲣⲧ.] ⲡⲧ., ΓO. ⲉⲛϩⲁⲡ] ⲙ̄ⲡϩ., Ba 26: ⲉⲛⲓϩ., K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] A: om. LgTt &c. ⲉⲣⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵA 5. 13. 25. 33. 65. 73. vg syrb etp c.* Cyr &c. 5 ⲡⲱⲉ (H, T)] ⲉⲡⲱⲉ, Tt. ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲏ̄] om.

make trade of you: they (ⲛⲁⲓ) whose judgement from (the)
beginning is not done away, and their perdition will not
slumber. [4] If God spared not the *angels* who sinned, but (ⲁ)
in bonds of *gloom* in the Tartaros gave them to be kept for
(the) judgement and to be punished. [5] And the *ancient*
world he spared not, but (ⲁ) Nōe the eighth *herald* of [the]
righteousness he kept, he brought a *flood* upon the *world* of
the *ungodly*; [6] and the *cities* also Sodoma and Gomorra he
burnt, he *condemned*, and he set them for an example of
the *ungodly* who will be; [7] and the righteous Lōt he saved,
being injured by their evil example of their defiling walk
(of life); [8] for in [a] viewing and [a] hearing the righteous
(man) was dwelling among them day by day, and they were
paining a *soul* of a righteous (man) in *lawless* works.
[9] For the Lord knoweth (how) to save the *godly* from the

ⲡⲓ, A_2: om. ⲙⲁϩ, T. ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲛⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ 'the righteous ones,' NT. ⲁϥⲁⲣⲉϩ] pref. ⲉ, NT. ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ] T^tAB^aGP 18: pref. ⲉ, L^gΓFNOST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ., K. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲗⲩ(ⲏ, ΓO)ⲥⲙⲟⲥ] L^gT^tAΓ*FKNOT: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲗⲩⲙⲟⲥ 'with a water of flood,' $B^aΓ^{mg}$GPS 18. ⲛⲓⲁ-ⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] +ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟϥ 'he destroyed it,' B^aGP 18. [6] ⲁϥⲣⲟⲕ-ϩⲟⲩ (om. S)] pref. ⲉ, L^gFS; cf. Gr. BC* 27. 29. 66** 68. ⲁϥⲉⲣ-ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ] L^gA^aΓKO: pref. ⲉ, T^tB^aFGNPST 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ] A: ⲉⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲓⲁ., T^tNS; cf. ? Gr. BP 69. 137. a^{sor}. [7] ⲗⲱⲧ] ⲗⲱⲑ, P, cf. Gr. B* am fu. ⲉⲩϭⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉϭⲓ, NT. ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ] ⲟⲩⲥ., FS: ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩⲧ, T. ⲉⲧϩ . . . ⲉⲧⲥ.] ⲉⲑ . . . ⲉⲑ., B^a. [8] ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲥ] $A_{1.2}^{mg}$: -ⲟⲙⲥ, L^gT^t &c.: -ⲱⲥ, A_2*. ⲉⲛⲁϥ-ϣⲟ(ⲱ, A_2)ⲡ] L^gA: om. ⲉ, B^aΓGKOPT 18: ⲛⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ, T^tN: ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ, FS. ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, A_1 by error; for article cf. Gr. (exc. B). ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^aFGPS 18. ⲛⲁⲩϯ] ⲁⲩϯ, A_2^{mg} ('another copy') $Γ^{mg}$. ⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, T^tG)ⲕⲁϩ] + ⲡⲉ, B^a. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲯ., A_2^{mg}('another copy')$Γ^{mg}$. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A: om. ⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑ., A_2^{mg} ('another copy'). ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] Hunt 18, 9–13
om. ϩⲁⲛ, Γ*FS. [9] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲩⲥ.] ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲩⲥ., T^t. ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ...ϫⲟⲛⲥ
T^tA_2 &c.: ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥ., $L^gA_1B^a$ΓO, cf. ? Gr. $ℵ^c$ABCKLP al pler vg syr^b Hunt 26, 9–12

ιζ Ⲛⲓⲟϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲁⲡ
ⲉⲉⲣⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. |
ιη ρμε [10] Ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲟϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁⲛ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲥ-
ⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲁⲛ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲩϩⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ [11] ⲉⲫⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣϯ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲁⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ϧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ιθ [12] Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲫⲩⲥⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡϥⲱϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲉⲙⲓ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
[13] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲃⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲩ-
ⲇⲟⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁϭⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
[14] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲕⲏⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ

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arm aeth &c. *πειρασμοῦ*: the absence of the article may render the plural, cf. Gr. ℵ* &c., but the first syllable ⲛⲓ may also be confused with ⲛⲓ the def. art. sing. ⲉϥⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ] A 26: ⲉϥⲁⲣ., B^{a}K: ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ . . . ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ] om. S. [10] ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ] L^{g}ΑΓFNST 26: + ⲇⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}GKOP 18. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑ(Ⲧ, ΓG)] om. ⲛⲏ, A$_1$*: pref. ⲛ., Γ. ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲫ.] A: om. ⲛ̀, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲧⲥⲁⲣ(+ⲁ, N)ⲝ] ϯⲥ., K: ⲥ., T^{t}N. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲣ., GKP. ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑ.] cf. Gr. OP 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 15. 18. 26. 27. 29. 36. 37. 68. a^{sor} cat syr$^{b et p}$ &c. ⲉⲧⲥⲟϥ] A: ⲉⲩⲥⲱ(ⲟ, B^a 18)ϥ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c.] L^{g}T^{t}ΑΓΚΝ OT 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ then -ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ + ⲇⲉ, B^{a}GP 18. ϯⲙⲉⲧ.] L^g &c.: ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧ., K: ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧ., T^{t}A. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, N. [11] ⲉⲫⲙⲁ] om. 26: om. ⲉ, Γ. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, FNS. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟⲓ, K. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲙϯ] T^{t}ANT 26: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ., L^g &c.: ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ, K by error. ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ] T^{t}ΑΓΚΟΡ*Τ 26: ⲛⲟⲩϫ., L^{g}B^{a}FGNP^{c}S 18. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}ΑΓΝΟΤ 26: ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲓ,

temptations, But the unjust he shall keep for (the) day of (the) judgement to punish them. 10 Much *more* those who walk after[a] (the) *flesh* in defiling *lusts* and *despising* [the] dominion; *daring* [the] *stubbornness*, they tremble not before the glories, blaspheming; 11 instead of which the *angels* being great in [a] might and [a] power bring not a blaspheming judgement against them. 12 But these indeed (pron.) are like to speechless beasts, being *natural* (things) for (the) destruction and (the) extermination; blaspheming in these things which they know not, in their destruction they shall be destroyed; 13 and they shall receive (the) reward of their wrongdoing, making [the] delight which is in the day (a) pleasure, being as spot and for a stain, delighting in their *deceits*, and delighting with you, (they) being shepherds to them(selves); 14 having eyes full of adultery, and an unceasingness of (the) sin, bringing to them-

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[a] Lit. 'behind.'

B^{a}FGPS 18: ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ, K. ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ] ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ &c., FS: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ, K; cf. Gr. A 9. 13. 18. 40. 65. 68. 69. 73. 103. 137. 180. a^{scr} d^{scr} vg syr^{b}et$^{p\,txt}$ aeth^{utr} ar^{e} Ephr. 12 ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ). ⲥⲉⲉⲣ.] T^{t}A 26: ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ., B^{a}FGPS 18: ⲁⲩⲉⲣ., ΓO: ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣ., L^{g}KNT; cf. ? Gr. ℵA^{2}KL 13. 38. 42. 57. 68. 73. 177. 180. al$^{9\,scr}$ al plus^{25} cat syr^{p}et^{b} &c. ⲁⲧⲥ.] ⲁⲑⲥ., B^{a}. ⲉϩⲁⲛⲫⲩⲥⲓⲕⲟ(ⲱ, GP^{c})ⲛ ⲡⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵA^{2}KL 13. 38. 42. 57. 68. &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲣ.] ⲛ̄ϩ., K. ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}C^{2}KL al pler cat m^{97} vg syr^{b} &c. 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉϭⲓ] T^{t}A: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g} &c.; cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}ACKL al omn^{vid} vg m^{97} aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲫ.] ⲉⲫ., T^{t}G. ⲡⲟⲩϭⲓ] ⲛⲟⲩ., GP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲑⲱ(ⲟ, A)ⲗⲉⲃ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GKP. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. K. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ (om. ⲛⲟⲩ, NT) ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏ] T^{t}A$_{1}^{c}_{2}$K: ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ. by error, L^{g} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵA*CKLP al omn^{vid} cat syr^{p} arm &c. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ] ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩ., FK: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ., N. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] A$_{1}$: om. L^{g}T^{t}A$_{2}$ &c. 14 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, GNPT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲛⲱⲓⲕ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA 63. 68. 73. vg m^{97} syr^{b}et^{p} &c. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲕⲏ(ⲁ, N)ⲛ] cf. Gr. 13. 27. 40. 68. 105. b^{scr} k^{scr} al^{10} vg syr^{b}et^{p} &c. ⲉⲩ(+ⲉ, K)ⲓⲛⲓ . . . ⲛⲟⲃⲓ] om. B^{a} homeot.

ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳹
κ Ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲛ ⳹
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲅⲩⲙⲛⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳹ ⲉϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϩⲟⲩⲓ ⳹
15 ⲉⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ. ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲁⲙ ⳹
ⲫⲁⲃⲟⲥⲟⲣ. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲫⲃⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ 16 ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳹ ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄|ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳹ ⲁⲥⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳹ 17 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲑ-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϥ ⲉⲩϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛϫⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧϫⲉⲙⲥ ⳹
κ (2) 18 Ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲉⲫⲗⲏⲟⲩ [⳹] ⲉⲩϭⲟⲥⲓ. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕ ⳹ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳹ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⳹ 19 ⲉⲩⲱϣ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙϩⲉ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϭⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ ϥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁϥ ⳹ 20 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-

ⲁⲩⲱ] ⲁⲕⲱ, ΓGS*: ⲁⲭⲱ, FS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tNT. ⲟⲩ.] ϩⲁⲛ., T^tNT. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲁϩⲟ(ⲁ, Γ*)ⲩ] ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲩ, FS by error. ⲛ(om. A_2*)ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ, $Γ^{mg}$NO^{mg}T.

Hunt 18, 14 ⲉⲩⲉⲣ –17

ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁϫ.] ⲥⲉⲧⲁϫ., NT: ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲧⲁϫ., K. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲛ̄ⲧ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ, NT. ⲉϥⲉⲣ(om. N)ⲅ(K, GP: ⲗ, B^a)ⲩⲙ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲣ., FS: -ⲅⲩⲙⲛⲁ(om. T)ⲍⲁⲣⲉⲥⲑⲉ, NT. ⲟⲩϭⲓ] T^tAK: ⲛϭⲓ, L^g &c.; cf. Gr. unc. al plus[60] vg $syr^b et^p$ arm &c. ⲉϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., K: +ⲇⲉ, T^tT. ⲛⲉ] om. K. 15 ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] cf. Gr. unc. al longe plu cat. ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ] ⲛⲁⲩⲥ., ΓP: ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥ., 18. ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] $L^g T^t$AΓKO 18: ⲁⲩⲙ., B^aFGNPST. ϧⲉⲛⲫ.] A: ϩⲓⲫ., $L^g T^t$&c. ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲗ.] ⲛ̄ⲃ., T^tΓ. ⲃⲟⲥⲟ(ⲉ, B^a GP 18)ⲣ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ACKLP al pler cat vg syr^p aeth: ⲃⲁⲅⲱⲣ, K. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, GP. 16 ⲁϥϭⲓ] A: +ⲇⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧ.] om. ⲙⲉⲧ, B^a. ⲉⲟⲩⲉ-

selves [a] quick perdition; there are many (who) will follow
their sins. Deceiving *souls* which are not firm; having
a heart *exercised* in [a] wrongdoing; being children of (the)
curse; 15 having left the straight road, they went astray,
having walked in (the) road of Balaam he of Bosor, he (ⲫⲁⲓ)
who loved (the) reward of (the) *iniquity*; 16 he received
a reproof of his *lawlessness*, a speechless ass answered with
a voice of man, she prevented (the) foolishness of the *prophet*.
17 These are the fountains waterless, and mists driven along
by a tempest; these for whom was kept (the) darkness of (the)
blackness. 18 Uttering [in] exalted vanities, being servants
in evil *lusts* of (the) flesh (to[a]) them who escaped a little, and
they walked in an *error*; 19 promising to them a freedom,
being servants themselves of (the) corruption; for he by (ⲉ)
whom any one is conquered, he is servant to him. 20 For

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[a] The reading seems corrupt; see variants, but no MS. has ⲛ̄ before ⲛⲏ.

(+ⲟⲩ, A_2^{mg} 'another copy')ⲱ] $L^g A_{1.2}$*: ⲉⲩⲉⲱ, FS: ⲟⲩⲉⲱ, B^a
18: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ⲟⲩⲉ(+ⲃ, Γ*)ⲱ, T^tΓGNOPT. ⲁⲧⲥ.] ⲁⲑⲥ., B^a.
ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] + ⲛⲁϥ, K. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ* (vg) Eus &c.
ⲁⲥⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ] pref. ⲉ, K. ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧ.] ⲟⲩⲙ., P. 17 ⲛⲉⲙ]
cf. Gr. ℵABCP 5. 7. 8. 9. 13. 15. 27. 29. 40. 68. 73. 137. al^{10} cat vg syr^p
aeth ar^e &c. ϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϥ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: -ⲛⲓϥⲓ, OS: om. ϩⲁⲛ, A.
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲑⲏⲟⲩ] +ϩⲁⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥ(ⲱⲟⲩ) 'straying stars,' O. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲧⲁ-
ⲣⲉϩ, A. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, K. ⲉⲛⲭⲁⲕⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲛⲭ., FS.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲭⲉⲙⲥ] ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲭ., B^aFS 18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ, O;
cf. Gr. ℵB vg syr^b et^p $aeth^{ro}$ om. *εἰς αἰῶνα*: + ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ, K^{mg}, cf. Gr. AC
LP al omn^{vid} cat $aeth^{pp}$ &c. 18 ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲉⲫ.] om. ϩⲁⲛ, P: Hunt 18, 18–22
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ., FS singular. ⲉⲩ(ⲧ, O*)ϭⲟⲥⲓ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: -ϭⲟϫⲓ, A
18. ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕ] AB^aΓFGK^rOPS: + ⲉⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ, $L^g T^t$ (tr. and they
run): + ⲥⲉⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ, NT. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] $L^g T^t$AΓNOT: ⲛ̄, B^aFGK^r
PS 18. ⲉⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲩⲥⲱ(O, B^a)ϥ, $L^g T^t$ &c., cf. Gr. ℵABC
KL al plu cat. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ] cf. ? Gr. KLP al pler cat &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$AB 8. 9. 13. 19^{mg} 25. 73. 142. 180. vg syr^b et^p aeth.
ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^aFGPS 18. ⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲩ., KNP. ⲟⲩⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ]
ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲗ. 'their errors,' T^tAGKP^c. 19 ⲅⲁⲣ] ⲇⲉ, K. ϥⲟⲓ] T^tA
B^aΓKNOT: ⲉϥⲟⲓ, L^gFGPS 18; cf. Gr. ℵ* B aeth.

ⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϭⲗⲉⲙⲗⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ.
ⲥⲉⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲟⲩ-
ϧⲁⲉⲩ ⲉⲩⲧϩⲟ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⳾
κα [21] Ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ-
ⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ [22] ⲁⲥⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲫⲙⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲟⲓⲙⲓⲁ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲱⲣ ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲛⲉϥ-
ϣⲓϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲉϣⲱ ⲁⲥϫⲟⲕ-
ⲙⲉⲥ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲥⲥⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥⲗⲱⲓϩⲓ ⳾

Ⲗ.

κβ Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲑⲁⲓ ϩⲏⲇⲏ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ϯ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲓⲥ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ
ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ [2] ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ρμζ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲏⲣ ⳾ [3] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲁⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϧⲁⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⳾

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[20] ϧⲉⲛ 1°] ϩⲁ, B^{a}. ⲡⲓⲥⲱϥ] AB^{a}: ⲛⲓⲥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵACLP 5. 16. 22. 27. 46. 68. 73. 100. 127. 180. a^{sor} al 2^{sor} vg syr^{b}et^{p} arm aeth &c.; for om. καὶ σωτ. cf. Gr. L 19. 21. 67. f^{sor} aeth &c. ⲇⲉ] om. ΓO. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϭ.] AΓKO: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭ., N: ⲥⲉϭ., T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. NT. ⲛⲟⲩϧⲁⲉⲩ] ⲛⲟⲩϧⲁⲉ, FS: ⲛⲓϧⲁⲉⲩ, NT: ⲛⲓϧⲁⲁ (om. O) ⲏⲟⲩ, Γ*O. ⲉⲩⲧϩⲟ] $L^{g}A_{1,2}$*: ⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ, FS: ⲉⲩⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ, A_{2}^{mg} (‘another copy’): ⲉⲁⲩⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ, P^{mg}: ⲉⲁⲩⲧϩⲟ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKOP* 18: ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ, NT. ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁ(ⲉ, P^{mg})ϯ] L^{g}AP^{mg}(‘another copy’): ⲉⲛⲟⲩϩ., A_{2}^{mg} (‘another copy’) B^{a}FS 18: ⲉⲛⲓ (ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ, P*) ϣⲟⲣⲡ, T^{t}ΓGNO P*T: ⲉⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲣⲡ, K. [21] ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a}FG*KPS 18: pref.

if having escaped from the defilement of the *world* into (the) knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, [but] they *again* are entangled among these, they will be conquered, and their last (states) will be worse for them than the first (states).

21 For it is good for them (if) they knew not (the) way of [the] righteousness, than having known it, that they should return from the holy *commandment* which was delivered to them.
22 For the *proverb* came true about them: 'A dog turned to his own vomit; and a sow (which) was washed, *again* rolled in her mire' (plur.).

III. My beloved, this *now* is (the) second *epistle* which I write to you; these in which I shall raise (up) your sincere heart
2 to remember in a remembrance the words which the holy *prophets* said from (the) first, and the *commandment* of the *apostles* of our Lord and our *saviour*.
3 But know this first, that in the last days mockers shall

ⲛⲉ, LgΓGmgNOT, cf. ? Gr. ℵBCKL al pler vg m46 Cyr &c. ⲛⲉ] om. K. -ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ] LgTt &c.: -ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ, A. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥ., K. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ, K; cf. ? Gr. BC(KL)P al plu &c. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. BCKLP al pler cat &c. ἐκ: ϩⲁ, BaFS, cf. ? Gr. ℵA 5. 8. 13. 69. 137. 180. ascr Cyr &c. ἀπό. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P. 22 ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. vg Cyr Dam Aug. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲣ] TtAK 18: -ⲟⲣ, Lg &c. ⲉⲛⲉϥϣ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ., Γ: ⲉⲛⲉϥ., O°. ⲁⲥϫⲟ(ⲱ, Ba)ⲕⲙⲉⲥ] ⲉⲁⲥϫ., K. ⲁⲥⲥ(om. FGS)ⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲣ] ⲁⲥⲥⲕⲉⲣⲕⲱ(ⲟ, FS)ⲣⲥ, BaFS 18. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., K.

1 Fmg Smg 'the fifth Sunday of the Fast, it is read on the fifth Sunday,' Hunt 18, 1–7
اذا تفق فى الاسهر الاولة 'when it occurs in the first months': Smg معرر عن Hunt 26, 1–12
ذلك من يعقوب حسب الدلال 'it is permitted (to read) from James ... ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅
instead of this according to the directory.' ⲧⲉⲑⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ϯ &c.] TtA: trs. ⲧⲉ after ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ, Lg &c.: om. ⲧⲉ, K 26. ⲃ̅ϯ] ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ, ΓO. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., NT. 2 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ] pref. ⲛⲏ, ΓO. ϣⲟⲣⲡ] ϩⲏ, K. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, Ba. ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] om. K*; for om. ὑμῶν cf. ? Gr. 29. harl*. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] +ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, T. ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ(ⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, BaP)] +ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, FGKPS, cf. aeth. 3 ⲇⲉ] ⲅⲁⲣ ⲇⲉ, TtN. ⲁⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, TtNT. ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, T. ⲛⲓ . . . ϧⲁⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC2 5. 7. 20* 68. 69. 96. 103. 137. 180. asor al4 sor vg arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣ.]

ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⁘ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲑⲱⲛ ϯⲉⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϫⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⁘ 5 ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲉⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘
κγ ⲫⲁⲓ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲥⲉϣⲟⲡ
ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ. 6 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲏ ⁘ ⲁϥϫⲱⲗⲕ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⁘
7 ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲣⲱ ⁘ ⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ϯⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⁘
κδ † 8 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲃϣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲁ-
ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ. ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⁘
κε 9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲛⲁⲱⲥⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⁘
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲱⲥⲕ ⁘
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲛ̀ϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ

ⲉϥⲥⲱⲃⲓ, A; cf. Gr. K L al pler &c.: pref. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲃⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCP 5. 8. 9. 19^{mg} 27. 29. 36. 40. 68. 73. 106. cat vg syr^{b} et ^{p} aeth &c.: om. Γ*: om. ⲣⲉϥ, G. ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉⲙ., FS. 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AΓNOT: om. B^{a}FGKPS 18. 26. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] cf. Gr. 69. 137. a^{sor} syr^{b}et^{p}. ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ] ⲛ̀ⲕ., B^{a}. 5 ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ] ⲡⲁⲓϩ., 26. ⲫⲁⲓ] A: pref. ⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲉⲡⲁⲓ, 26: pref. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ, B^{a}. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ] L^{g}ANT: om. ⲟⲩ, FS: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ., $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGOP 18. 26: ⲡⲉϯⲟⲩⲁϣϥ, K. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] L^{g}AΓKNT: ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ FGOPS 26; obs. Gr. CP om. art. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. 26. ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲙ., FS. ⲛⲉⲙ (ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}) ⲉⲃⲟⲗ . . . ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. B^{a} homeot.; obs. syr^{p} habet c.*. 6 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ, K 26. ⲁ] om. NT. ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ϥϫⲱ(ⲟ, B^{a}FKS 26)ⲗⲕ] om. ⲁϥ, O. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̀ϧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: om. 26. ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ . . . 7 ϧⲉⲛ 1°] om. T* homeot.

come walking according to their *lusts*, 4 and saying: 'Where was the *promise* of his coming? For since our fathers slept all these things remain thus since (the) *beginning* of the creation.' 5 For they are ignorant of the thing. This (ignorance) is that which they also wish, (ignorance) that the heavens exist from (the) beginning, and (the) earth from [a] water and through [a] water stood by (ϧⲉⲛ the) word of God; 6 these (sc. waters) because of which the *world* of that time was submerged in [a] water and it perished; 7 but the present heavens and the earth in the same word are treasured up[a] for (ϧⲉⲛ the) fire, being kept unto (the) day of the *judgement*, and (the) perdition of the *ungodly* men. 8 But of this be not forgetful, my beloved, that one day with the Lord (is) as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. 9 And the Lord will not delay about (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) the *promise*, as some think that he will delay; but (ⲁ) was

[a] Lit. 'thrown into.'

ⲟⲩⲟϩ] A: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ (+ⲥ, P)] ⲉϥⲧ., GT^{mg}: ⲉⲁϥⲧ., K. 7 ⲇⲉ] om. A_2. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., Γ. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., K. ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲡⲓⲥ., T^tN 26. ⲣⲱ] cf. Gr. ABP 27. 29. 69. 127. a^{scr}* al vix mu vg arm Did &c. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. ? Gr. C*P 7. 15. 26. 27. 29. 68. 106*. ⲡⲭⲣⲱⲙ] L^gT^tAΓN 18: ⲡⲓⲭ., B^aFGKOPST 26. ⲉⲛⲉϩⲟ(ⲱ, B^a)ⲟⲩ] ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉϩ., B^aG 18: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲉϩ., P: om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲕ.] ⲛ̄ϯ., ΓO. ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ] ⲕⲣⲏ., FKT. ⲧⲁⲅⲱ] L^gA: ⲧⲁⲕⲟ(ⲱ, GT 18), T^tB^aΓFGKNO (pref. ⲡ) PST 18. 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., 18. ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] -ⲉⲥ, NS. 8 ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄] om. B^a. Hunt 18, i. 8–9
9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^t &c.: om. L^gFS. ϥⲛⲁⲱⲥⲕ 1°] cf. ? Gr. P. ⲉⲧⲉ] T^tA Hunt 26, ii. 8–10
B^aGKP 18. 26: +ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, Γ*) ⲛ, L^gΓFNOST. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. Hunt 18, ii. 9–13
ⲟⲛ, N: om. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, T. ⲙⲉⲩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩ, T^t: +ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, FS. ϥⲛⲁⲱⲥⲕ 2°] ⲛⲁ., NT (om. ⲁ): ϥⲱⲥⲕ, 26ii. ⲁϥⲱⲟⲩ] L^gA_1ΓF GS: ⲉϥ., P^{mg} 18: ϥⲱⲟⲩ, $T^tA_2B^a$KNT 26: ⲱⲟⲩ, O. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. BCKLP al pler cat arm &c.: ϧⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS, obs. Gr. rell διά; for ὑμᾶς cf. Gr. ℵABCP 5. 7. 9. 13. 27. 31. 33. 40. 46. 73. 104. 113. 114* 117* 127. 137. c^{scr} m^{31} vg $syr^{bet\,p}$ arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] L^gAB^aΓFNOST 26: om. ⲛ̄, GKP 18, single negative.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ.
κϛ 10 Ⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̀Ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ-
κζ ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⁘ ϯⲪⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ | ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ-
ⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲱⲕϩ ⁘ 11 ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲥⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛϫⲓⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩ-
ⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⁘
12 Ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲓⲏⲥ ⁘ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
ϯⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ 13 ϩⲁⲛⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⁘ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⁘
ⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲙⲏⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⁘

ϩⲗⲓ] cf. ? Gr. P 13. 43. 98. 99. m[31] am tol corb[2] arm &c. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] LgA1.2cBaFGN 18. 26: ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ, TtΓOT: ϥⲟⲩⲱϣ, KP. ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲓ] A, obs. Gr. ℵ *πάντες*: ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓ, LgTt &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧ.] ⲉⲟⲩⲙ., Ba. 10 ⲇⲉ] ⲅⲁⲣ, BGP 18ii: om. K. ⲛ̀ϫⲉ] om. Lg. ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲉϩ., N; cf. ? Gr. ℵAKLP al pler &c. ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 5. 13. 25. 27. 29. 39. 40. 66** 68. 142. 180. kscr m[37] vg syr[b] arm aeth Cyr &c. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, GP 18ii. ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ] A 26ii: ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ, LgTt &c.: ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ, S 26i; 'in which.' ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ABC 13. al plu cat Cyr: +ⲙⲉⲛ, TtN, cf. Gr. ℵ 8. 13. 36. 180. al[2]scr Cyr &c. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ] Tt &c.: om. ⲟⲩ, LgFKO*PS. ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ] AK 26ii: +ⲇⲉ, LgTtBaΓGNOPT 26i 18: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲧ., FS. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ] LgTtABaFGKPS 18: ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ, 26: ⲉⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕϩ 'having been burned,' ΓNOT: trs. after ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, BaGP 18. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ] TtABaΓGNOPT 18. 26: ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗ, LgFKS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FKS, cf. Gr. ℵ Cyr. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., FS; cf. Gr. CP 31. 68. ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] ϩⲱⲃ

longsuffering to you, not wishing that any should perish, but (ⲁ) wishing that all should come to [a] *repentance.*

10 But (the) day of the Lord shall come as a thief: this (day) through which the heavens will pass away violently[a]: the *elements* will be burned, they will be dissolved; and (the) earth and the works which are in it shall be burned. 11 All these things, *then*, being about to be dissolved, in what manner was it being meet that ye should walk in holy walks (of life) and *godlinesses.* 12 Gazing out in [an] haste forward to the day of the *coming* of the Lord, that (ⲫⲁⲓ) through which the heavens will be burned and come to an end[b], and the *elements* will be burned and be dissolved. 13 New heavens and a new earth according to his *promises* we look out for; these in which the righteousness dwelleth.

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[a] Lit. 'in a rush.' [b] Lit. 'give end out.'

ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'all things,' 26. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲱⲕϩ] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ., K; cf. Gr. AL al pler cat vg[cle] demid tol syr[ptxt] aeth Cyr. 11 ⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAKL al longe plu cat vg syr[b] &c.: om. 26. ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ] ⲉⲩⲉⲃ., 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ[c]ACKLP al pler vg syr[b]et[p] &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ, FKS, cf. Gr. ℵ* 5. 23. 25. 95. 99. 104. 177. c[scr] al[2scr] 14[lect] &c. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, 26: -ⲉⲥ, NS. 12 ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] L[g]T[t]AFNPST: ⲡⲉϩ., B[a]ΓG(K)O 18. 26: trs. ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, K. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲡ.] ⲛ̄ϯⲡ., GP 18: om. B[a]. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. CP 27. 29. 39. 66** 68. 98** 100. d[scr] m[37] vg[cle] &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ, FS, cf. Gr. rell &c. F[mg] 'the end (of the lection).' ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. 22. 40. 105. 177. d[scr] k[scr] Oec. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. T. ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ] om. ⲛⲓ, A_2*. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕϩ 2°] L[g]T[t]AΓNOT 26: ⲉⲁⲩⲣ. 'having been burned,' B[a]FGPS 18: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣ., K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] A: om. L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲗ] L[g]AΓKNOT: ⲥⲉⲛⲁ., T[t]B[a]FGPS 18; cf. ? Gr. CP 7. 15. 16. 18. 25. 26. 36. 40. 42. 46. 57. 100. 137. cat &c.; obs. 13. praem λυόμενα. 13 ϩⲁⲛⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ] AB[a]: +ⲇⲉ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩ . . . ⲃⲉⲣⲓ] om. N homeot.: om. ⲟⲩ, B[a]. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵBCKLP omn[vid] cat vg arm syr[b]et[p] Cyr[txt] &c. ⲛⲉϥⲉ(ⲁ, ST)ⲛ.] cf. Gr. ℵA 5. vg arm syr[p] Cyr &c.

Ⲉ.

κη ¹⁴ Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲭⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲑⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲑⲟ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳾
¹⁵ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲛⲥ
ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲁϥⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ¹⁶ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ϣⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲥⲧⲣⲉⲃⲗⲟⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ. |
ⲣⲙⲏ ¹⁷ Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱ-
ⲣⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
¹⁸ Ⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾

Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ Ⲃ̄ ⲥⲧⲓⲭ ⲥ̄ ⲕⲉⲗ ⲉ̄

Hunt 18, 14–18 ¹⁴ S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of month Amshīr.' ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ, K: ⲥⲟⲙⲥ, B^{a} 18. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, N. ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] T^{t}A: ⲛⲁϥ, L^{g} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲑⲟ] T^{t}AB^{a}: om. L^{g} &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩⲣ., FS: om. K. ¹⁵ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A(K), cf. Gr. P 15. 18. 26. 36. 40. 47. syr^{b} arm ar^{e} &c.: ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅, L^{g} &c.: + ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, FS: + ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, K. ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}NT: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, T^{t}ΓGOP 18: ⲉⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, FKS. ⲛⲁϥ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABCKP al plus 10 cat vg syr^{b}et^{p} &c. ⲁϥⲥϧ.] ⲁⲩⲥ., A_2 by error. ¹⁶ ϧⲉⲛ] AB^{a}GO:

14 Therefore, my beloved, (since) we are gazing out forward
to these, hasten yourselves to be found without spot with
him, and without stain before him in [a] *peace*. 15 And the
longsuffering of the Lord reckon it to you for [a] salvation,
according as also our *beloved* brother Paul, according to the
wisdom which was given to him, wrote to you: 16 as also
in all his *epistles*, speaking in them concerning these (things);
these in which some (things) are difficult to know (what they
mean); these which the foolish and they who are not firm,
distort as (the) rest of the *Scriptures*; who will draw them-
selves to (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) their own perditions. 17 Ye, *then*, my
brethren, foreknowing, keep yourselves, *lest by any means*
ye go astray in (the) *error* of the foolish, and fall from your
own firmness. 18 But grow in [the] grace and (the) know-
ledge of our Lord and our *saviour* Jesus Christ, whose is the
glory from now and unto age of the ages. Amen.

Of Petros Epistle 2. Stichoi 200, Chapters 5.

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pref. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^gΓ: pref. ⲛ̄ϧ., FKPS 18: pref. ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^t(ϧ) NT. ⲡⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲛⲓⲉⲡ., K. ⲉ(ⲉⲁ, FS)ϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲁϥⲥ., K. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., GP 18. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ . . . ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] om. S* homeot. ⲛⲁⲓ 2°] om. L^g. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, L^gΓKNOT. ⲙⲟⲕϩ] ⲉⲩⲙ., NT. ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲉⲙⲓ, B^a. ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ] ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲅⲣ.] A(FS): ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲅⲣ., L^gT^t &c. ⲥⲟⲕⲟⲩ] ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩ, NT. ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲅ(K, B^aG 18)ⲱ] L^gAB^aFGKPS 18: ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲕⲱ, ΓNOT. 17 ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ, O. ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛ. 'our &c.,' B^aFS 18. -ⲉⲣϣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲣⲡ] om. ⲉⲣ, B^{a*}NT. ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ] ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲥ, T^t. ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ] om. ⲧ, A_1*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ] A: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., L^gT^t &c. 18 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, K. ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡϩ., N. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ . . . ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, B^a?: -ⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅-, FPST. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϯⲛⲟⲩ] obs. Gr. K 10. 24. 41. 53. n sor om. *καί*. ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ] T^tAGKP 18: ϣⲁ(+ⲉ, B^aNS*)ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, L^gB^aΓFNS*T. ⲛⲓ-ⲉⲛⲉϩ] T^tAGKP: ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, L^gΓF^oNS*T 18: ⲡⲉⲛⲉϩ, B^aF*: O confused text. K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' ⲁⲙⲏⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵACKLP al pler vg syr^b et^p arm.

Subscription. ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲃ̄, A_1G, cf. Gr. 40. n scr al: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲃ̄ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (was finished), F: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ ⲃ̄ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, K: ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲃ̄ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, O: ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲃ̄ϯ (the second) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ (of our father) ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ (in peace of God) ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, S.

ⲅⲓⲭ (+ⲟⲥ, A_2) ⲥ̄ ⲕ/ⲉⲗ ⲉ̄, $A_{1(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲥ̄ⲕ̄ⲉ̄ (by error) ⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲇ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ (small) ⲕ̄ⲏ̄, G: ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲓ̄ⲁ̄? ⲕⲗ ⲇ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲕ̄ⲏ̄, O: ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲕ̄ⲏ̄ ⲕ/ⲉⲗ ⲇ̄, FS: ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲇ̄ ⲅⲩⲭⲟⲛ ⲕ̄ⲏ̄, K; for ⲇ̄ cf. Euthalius (ap Zac.); A_2NPT have abic; B[a]Γ have no subscription.

ⲒⲰⲀⲚⲚⲞⲨ ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦⲞⲖⲎ Ⲃ̅.

ⲪⲎ ⲈⲦϢⲞⲠ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϧⲏ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ϫⲉⲙϫⲱⲙϥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ
ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲁ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩ-
ⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ 3 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲇⲉ
ⲥⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. | 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛ-

Inscription. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ (ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, P) ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲃ̅, $A_{1(2)}$ΓGP, cf. Gr. ℵ: (ϯ, B^a) ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ (ⲏⲥ, K: ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, S) ⲃ̅, B^aFKNS: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ, T: ⲡⲣ(ⲟⲥ) ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲃ̅, O.

Hunt 18, 1–4

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] AK: ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ, $L^g T^t B^a$ΓFGPST 18: ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲱⲡ, O: ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ, N. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ, F present: om. ⲛⲁⲩ, Γ* by error. ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ, S* sing. by error. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^a 18. ϫⲉⲙϫⲱⲙϥ] L^gAB^aGNOST: ϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙϥ, T^tΓFKP 18. 2 ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ 1°] ⲡⲱⲛϧ, ΓO. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ twice] A: -ⲱⲛϩ,

OF JOHN EPISTLE 1.

I. That which was (ⲉⲧ) from (the) beginning, that which
we heard, that which we saw with (ⲛ̄) our eyes, that which
we gazed at, and our hands handled, concerning the word of
(the) life: 2 and the life was manifested, and we saw it, and
we witness, and we show to you the eternal life, that which
was (ⲉⲧ) with (ϩⲁ)[a] the Father, and it was manifested to
us; 3 that which we saw and we heard we proclaim
to you, that ye also—that there may be a fellowship to
you with us; but our fellowship is (ⲥϫⲏ) with the Father
and his Son Jesus Christ. 4 And these things we write
to you, that your joy may be complete. 5 And this is the

[a] Rendering *πρός*, but usually implying motion to a person.

L^gT^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aFPS 18^r. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] A: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ, K. ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ] om. K. ⲫⲏ] L^gAΓFKNOST: pref. ϫⲉ, T^tB^aGP 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aGP 18. 3 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ, B^aFNT present. ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ] A: ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥ., L^gT^t &c.: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., S. ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] cf. Gr. KL al pler cat vg $syr^{p\ txt}$ Dionys &c. ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. K, cf. syr^{sch}. ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ] L^gAB^aFGKPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓNOT. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC^3 KL al pler cat syr^{sch} aeth Did &c. ⲥϫⲏ] L^gAΓFNOST: ⲁⲥϫⲏ, T^tB^aGKP 18. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 31. am* Aug. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] pref. ⲛ̄, A_2. 4 ⲧⲉⲛⲥϧⲁⲓ] L^gT^tAB^aFG(pref. ⲉ)KP 18: ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ, ΓNOST sing. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. A^{corr}CKL al fere omn cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ] cf. Gr. ACKP al plu vg^{cle} demid syr^p
arm aeth &c. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B^aGP 18. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ] cf. ? Gr. A Hunt 18, 5–7
13. al vix mu cat vg syr^{sch} et $^{p\ mg}$. ⲡⲓⲱϣ] cf. Gr. (ℵ*)CP 13. 31. 40. 69. 70. 73. 137. a^{scr} al vix mu syr^p &c. ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓ.] L^gT^tAB^aGKN

ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̅ⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
β 6 Ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲛ-
ϫⲉⲙⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾
7 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ϩⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
γ 8 Ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 9 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϥⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲭⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
10 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ϣⲟⲡ
δ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾ † 1 Ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲛ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾

PT 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFOS. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] om. ⲟⲩ 1°, B^{a}ST. ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ] position cf. ? Gr. B 13. 31. syr^{sch} aeth &c. 6 ⲉϣⲱⲡ] cf. Gr. (exc. A). ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ] L^{g}AΓFNS: -ⲛ ⲛ̅-, T^{t}B^{a}GKOPT 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛⲙ.] ⲧⲉⲛⲙ., S. ⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ.] A: ⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. 7 ⲉϣⲱⲡ] AKO, cf. Gr. 29. 66** harl*: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] A: ⲉⲧⲉϥϣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲡ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ, P. -ⲛⲧⲁⲛ] AB^{a}: -ⲛ ⲛ̅-, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: om. S. ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. A*^{vid} tol &c.). ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A, cf. Gr. ℵBCP 29. 69* a^{scr} fu syr^{sch} et p^{txt} arm aeth^{ro} Clem &c.: +ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. AKL al pler cat vg syr^{p} c.*

promise which we heard from him; we proclaim it to you,
that God is [a] light, and there is not any darkness in him.
6 If we should say that we have a fellowship with him,
and are walking in the darkness, we are saying false, and we
do not (the) truth: 7 if we should walk in the light, as he also
walketh in the light, we have a fellowship with one another,
and (the) blood of Jesus his Son will cleanse us from all sin.
8 If we should say that we have not sin, we deceive our-
selves, and (the) truth is not in us. 9 If we should confess
our sins, he is faithful and is righteous that he should forgive
us our sins, and he will cleanse us from all wrongdoing. 10 If
we should say that we sinned not, we make him false, and
his word is not in us. II. My children, these things I write
to you, that ye may not sin. And if one should sin, we have
the *paraclete* with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:
2 and he is (the) redemption of our sins; but not concerning
ours only, but (ⲁ) also concerning those of the whole *world*.

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aeth^{pp} &c. ϥⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲛ] cf. ? Gr. 5. 6. 7. 29. 66** 106. 13^{lect} 14^{lect} al$^{2 sor}$ &c. 8 ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲟⲩⲑⲙ., O: ⲛ̄ⲑ., PS. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵBL al pler syr^{p} aeth &c. 9 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] trs. before ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ, S: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, F. -ϩⲟⲧ] -ϩⲱⲧ, S. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. K. -ϫⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. ℵC 5. 26. 68. 69. 98. a^{sor} j^{sor} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^{g}: -ϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'forgive them to us,' K. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] L^{g}ANST 26: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓFGKOP. ⲛ̄ϭⲓ] L^{g}ANT 26: ϩⲁ(+ⲛ, S)ϭⲓ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓFGKOPS. 10 ⲉϣⲱⲡ] +ⲇⲉ, B^{1}P. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ., FPS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] +ϫⲉ, K. Hunt 26, 8–10

1 ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ] pref. ⲉ, $A_{1.2}$GP. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. A_{2}*P. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FKS. ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ, 26. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ] L^{g}AΓFS: -ⲛ ⲛ̄-, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲛ] -ⲧⲟⲥ, T^{t}FS. ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄] +ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲟϩ 'our Lord and,' K. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. NT. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] om. B^{a}: +ϩⲱϥ, O. ⲡⲉ] position cf. ? Gr. A 68. 180. vg syr^{sch} Eus &c. ⲛⲟⲩⲛ] ⲟⲩⲛ, T^{t} by error. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲉⲛ] T^{t}AFKOS 26: -ⲧⲟⲩ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓGNPT; cf. ? Gr. B 1. 21. 33. 37. 66* 80* 101* al pauc &c. ⲁⲛ] om. A_{1} by error. Hunt 26, 1–4

ⲉ ³Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⁘
ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⁘ ⁴ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ
ⲣⲙⲑ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⁘ ⁵ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⁘ ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ. ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⁘ ⁶ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ
ϫⲉ ϯϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲏ
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ϩⲱϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⁘

Ⲃ.

ϛ ⁷Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̅ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉϯⲥϧⲁⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⁘
ⲑⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⁘ ϯⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ
ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⁘ ⁸ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ
ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̅ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲉϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ.
ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ζ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲫⲙⲏⲓ ⁘ ϩⲏⲇⲏ ϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ † ⁹Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϯϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲁϥⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ
ϣⲁ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⁘ ¹⁰ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⁘
ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⲥⲕⲁⲛⲇⲁ-

Hunt 18, 3–6

³ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 18. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] AFS 26: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, L^g T^t B^a ΓGKNOPT 18. ⲉⲛⲉϥ] om. NT, also ver. 4. ⁴ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 18. 25. 27. 33** 65. 66** 68. 69. 98. 101. 177. 180. a^scr d^scr j^scr 57^lect syr^utr &c. ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] AΓFKNT 18. 26: pref. ⲟⲩ, L^g T^t B^a GO PS. ϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲱⲡ, S, also ver. 5. ϧⲉⲛⲫⲁⲓ] ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ 'in him,' B^a FKS 18, cf. Gr. 19. g^scr. ⁵ⲫⲏ] A: +ⲇⲉ, L^g T^t &c. ⲉⲑⲛⲁ-ⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ, B^a 18, cf. ? Gr. K 13. 100. 142. c^scr 57^lect. ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] pref. ⲁ, ΓNT. ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ] -ⲏⲕ, N. ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ-ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ, K; position cf. ? Gr. P 31 (aeth). ϧⲉⲛⲫⲁⲓ 2°] pref. ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ, K: om. P. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] AΓFKOS: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ,

[3] And in this we shall (lit. will) know that we knew him,
if we should keep his *commandments*. [4] He who saith:
'I knew him,' and kept not his *commandments* is false,
and (the) truth is not in this (one): [5] he who will keep his
word, *truly* the *love* of God was completed in this (one).
In this we shall (lit. will) know that we are in him: [6] he who
saith: 'I abide (ϣⲟⲡ) in him,' ought as he walked to walk
also thus.

[7] My beloved, (it is) not a new *commandment* which I
write to you, but (ⲁ) it is an old *commandment*, this which
ye were having from (the) beginning, the old *commandment*,
the word which ye heard. [8] *Again*, (it is) a new *command-
ment* which I write to you, this in which there is [a] truth
and in you, because the darkness will pass away, the true
light *now* shineth. [9] He who saith: 'I am in the light,'
and he hateth his brother was in the darkness until now.
[10] He who *loveth* his brother abode (ϣⲟⲡ) in the light, and there

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$L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$GNPT 18. [6] ϯϣⲟⲡ] ϥϣⲟⲡ, K, 3° person. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣ., GP 18. ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ, N. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] om. L^{g}: +ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ 'in him,' FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲙ.] ⲉⲧⲉϥⲙ., P. ϩⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵCKP al pler cat syr^{p} arm &c. [7] F^{mg} S^{mg} فى الاحد الجديد اول الخمسين 'on the new Sunday, the first of Pentecost,' also 'the third Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{20} cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ., B^{a}. ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁⲥ 2°] +ⲧⲉ, FS. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] A: +ⲡⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 5. 13. 27. 29. 39. 40. 65. 68. 81. 180. d^{scr} j^{scr} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. [8] ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ., B^{a}. ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ] +ⲡⲉ, K. ⲑⲏ . . . ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, K. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ] pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, NT; position cf. ? Gr. (exc. A). ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵBCKL al longe plu cat vg syr^{sch} et p^{txt} arm aeth &c.: ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ, K, cf. Gr. AP &c. ϫⲉ] F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Misry.' ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ قد مضت, K. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϩⲏⲇⲏ] -ⲇⲉ, NS. ϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲉⲣ., FOS. [9] ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FKS: ⲉϥⲙ., T^{t}G 18: ⲁϥⲙ., ΓNOPT. ϣⲁ] om. K. [10] ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] ϥϣ., K. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓ . . . ϣⲟⲡ] om. N homeot.

Hunt 18, i. 7–14; ii. 7–15

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ⲗⲟⲛ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳹ 11 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ
ⲁϥϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ
η ⲉⲑⲱⲛ ⳹ †ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲑⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⳹
θ 12 ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⳹ 13 ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ
ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ. |
ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ 14 ⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⳹ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳹ ⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⳹
ⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲣ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⳹
ι 15 Ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ
ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲁⲛ ⳹
ια 16 Ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ. ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩ-
ⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓ-
ⲃⲁⲗ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϩⲓⲛϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⳹
ⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳹ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳹ 17 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳹
ιβ 18 Ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲧϧⲁⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅

ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵAC 5. 105. j^{scr} m^{17} syr^{sch} &c. 11 ⲫⲏ] +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓOT. ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ . . . ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^{a}O*: ϥⲙ. &c., K^{o} over erasure. ⲛ̀ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ] A: om. ⲛ̀, L^{g}T^{t} &c. single negative: ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ, S: ϥⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ, K^{c}. ϫⲉⲁϥⲙ.] ϫⲉϥⲙ., P. ⲉⲑⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲑ., T^{t}N. ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲕⲓ] om. P by error. 12 ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲛⲁϣ. 'my children,' P; cf. ? Gr. 1. 10. 40. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲁ] cf. ? am 'remittentur.' ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. L 31. 68.

is not *occasion of stumbling* in him. 11 He who hateth his
brother was in the darkness, and he walked in the darkness,
and he knoweth not whither he walked. Because the dark-
ness blinded his eyes. 12 I write to you, [the] children
(ϣⲏⲣⲓ), because your sins will be forgiven you because of his
name. 13 I write to you, [the] fathers, because ye know him
who is from (the) beginning. I write to you, [the] young
men, because ye conquer the *evil* (one). 14 I wrote to you,
[the] children (ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ), because ye know the Father. I
wrote to you, [the] fathers, because ye know him who is
from (the) beginning. I wrote to you, [the] young men,
because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth (ϣⲟⲡ)
in you, and ye conquered the *evil* (one). 15 Love not the
world, *nor* the things which are in the *world*. But if one
should love the *world*, the *love* of the Father is not in him.

16 Because everything which is in the *world*, the *lust* of
the *flesh*, and the *lust* of the eyes, and the arrogancy of this
life, these are not from the Father, but (ⲁ) they are from the
world. 17 And the world will pass away, and its *lust*; but he
who doeth (the) wish of God will abide for ever. 18 [The]
children (ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ), it is (the) last hour: and according as

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99. a^{sor} j^{sor} k^{sor}). ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. A_2 18*. 13 ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ 2°] cf. Gr. K al sat mu arm^{cdd} Oec &c. ⲡⲟⲛⲏ(ⲓ, N)ⲣⲟⲥ] -ⲣⲟⲛ, NT. 14 ϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ] -ϣⲏⲣⲓ, NS (twice) T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ] cf. Gr. (exc. B). ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲣⲟ] L^gT^tAFGKNPST: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ., B^aΓO 18. 15 ⲇⲉ] om. ΓK. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] -ⲡⲓ, S. ⲫⲓⲱⲧ] L^gT^tAΓG^oNPT 18, cf. Gr. ℵBKLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c.: ⲫϯ, B^a*FG*KO, cf. Gr. AC 3. 13. 43. 65. 58^{lect} d^{sor} harl $aeth^{utr}$: ⲫϯ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ, S, cf.? Gr. 15. 18. 26. 36. τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. ϣⲟⲡ] position cf.? Gr. P &c. 16 ⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲛⲭⲁⲓ] ϩⲱⲃ, K. ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 1°] ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'this world,' O. ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲱⲧ] L^gT^tAΓFNST: ϧⲉⲛⲫⲓⲱⲧ, B^aGOP 18: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲫⲓⲱⲧ, K. 17 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^gT^tAΓFKNOST: om. B^aGP 18. ⲧⲉϥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 5. 13. &c.). ⲇⲉ] om. KS*. ϥⲛⲁ.] om. ϥ, P. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 18 ⲧϧⲁⲉ(ⲏ, T)] ⲧϧⲁⲓⲏ, B^aΓ. ϫⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵBCKP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} $aeth^{pp}$ &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓ.] ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲓ., FKS; cf.? Gr. $ℵ^c$AKL Hunt 18, 15–19

ⲛⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ.
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧϧⲁⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ.
19 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ⳾ ⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ⳾
ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ⳾

Ⲅ.

ιγ 20 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲑⲱϩⲥ
ρπ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾
21 Ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲥⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ. 22 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ⳾ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧϫⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾
ϥϫⲱⲗ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲉϣⲏⲣⲓ⳾ 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧϫⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁⲛ⳾
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ.
ιδ 24 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ϩⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ-
ϣⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ

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al pler cat &c. -ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] -ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓNO. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}A B^{a}GNPT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓKO: +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲧⲓ(ϯ, S)ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] -ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}NO. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲁⲓ, O. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲉⲙⲓ, NT. ⲧϧⲁⲉ] same exc. G (H). 19 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, K: +ⲇⲉ, O. ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] pref. ⲁ, A$_2$. ⲁⲛ 1°] om. P. ⲛⲉ-ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] A: pref. ⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] AK: + ⲅⲁⲣ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, P. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ 3°] A: + ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲡⲉ, K: + ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ, T; for position of ⲡⲉ &c. cf.? Gr. BC 69. 137. a^{sor} syr^{sch} et ^{p} aeth^{utr} &c.
Hunt 18, 20–23 ⲁⲛ 2°] om. B^a. 20 F^{mg}S^{mg} 'the last Sunday of Pentecost.' ϩⲱ-

ye heard that the *antichrist* is coming, now, lo, many *anti-*
christs came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ); in this we shall (lit. will) know, that
it is (the) last hour. 19 They came (ⲉⲧⲁⲩ) from us, but (ⲁ)
they are not from us; had they been from us, they would
have abode with us: but (ⲁ) that they might be manifested
that all are not from us.

20 And ye also have an anointing from the holy (one), and
ye know all things. 21 I wrote (ⲉⲧⲁⲓ) not to you, because
ye know not (the) truth, but (ⲁ) because ye know it, that all
false (ones) are not from (the) truth. 22 Who is the false (one)
except him who denieth that Jesus is [not] Christ? This is
the *antichrist*, because he who denieth (the) Father, denieth
also the Son. 23 And every one who denieth the Son hath not
the Father also: he who confesseth the Son hath the Father
also. 24 Ye also—let that which ye heard from (the)
beginning abide in you. But if that which ye heard from
(the) beginning should abide in you, ye also shall abide in

ⲧⲉⲛ] om. T, cf. Gr. B. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] A: -ⲧⲱⲧⲉⲛ, L^gT^t &c.: -ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ., T^tKNOT 18: + ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ACKL al pler vg syr^p arm aeth Did &c. 21 ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ] A, single negative: ⲛⲉⲧ., L^gT^tFGKNPST: ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ., B^aΓO. ϫⲉ 2°] FPS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] -ⲟϥ, B^aK. ϫⲉ 3°] AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t(B^a) &c.: om. B^a. ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A: ϧⲉⲛⲑ., L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲉ] om. B^aG 18. 22 ⲉⲧϫⲱⲗ] ⲉⲑϫ., B^a. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. FS. -ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] T^t &c.: -ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^gΓO. ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ] A: om. ϫⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. T. ϥϫⲱⲗ] ⲁϥϫⲱⲗ, FS. ϣⲏⲣⲓ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^tAΓNOT: om. L^gB^aFGKPS 18. ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ 1°] ⲡⲓⲕⲉϣⲏⲣⲓ 'the son also,' FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. K. ⲫⲏ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] $L^gT^tA_2B^a$ΓFGKNOPST 18; cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{35} fere cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Or Eus Cyr &c.: om. A_1 (ⲁⲛ being out of the line gives some indication of the omission being homeot.), cf. Gr. KL al plu &c. 24 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] L^gAFS; cf. Gr. ℵABCP 13. 27. 29. 66** 68. 69. 76. 81. 14^{lect} 57^{lect} a^{scr} vg syr^p arm Cyr: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c., cf. syr^{sch}. ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲇⲉ] AK: ⲉϣ. ⲅⲁⲣ, T^tB^aGP 18: ⲉϣⲱⲡ, L^gΓFNOST. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϩⲏ 2°] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ vg^{cle} harl syr^{sch}. Hunt 18, 24–27

ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾
25 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
ιε 26 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ
ις ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ. † 27 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲱϩⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ-
ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ϥϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲣⲱ ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ. ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ
ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ιζ 28 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ. ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏ-
ⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϭⲓϣⲓⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ | 29 ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ιη 1 Ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲏ ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ
ιθ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⳾ † Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ

ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϣ.] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣ., A_2K. ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲓⲱⲧ] cf.? Gr. B vg &c. om. ἐν: trs. ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ, K, cf.? Gr. ℵ 4. 5. 38. 68. 80. 96. 104. c^{scr} h^{scr} syr^{sch} aeth. 25 ⲫⲁⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] L^gT^tΑΓΝΟΡΤ: om. B^aFGKS 18. ⲛⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵACKLP al fere omn cat vg^{cle} demid harl tol syr^{utr} &c.: + ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ, αὐτός, K. ⲉⲛⲉϩ] + ⲡⲉ, 18. 26 ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ(ⲑ, B^a)ⲥ.] ⲡⲉⲧⲥ., Γ singular. 27 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Kīhak, the second Sunday in Pentecost.' ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FS. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] T^tAB^aΓKNT 18: + ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'also,' L^gFGOPS. ⲡⲓⲑⲱϩⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. B 10**). ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛϭ., A by error. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, P: om. G 18. ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABCP 5. 13. 31. 68. d^{scr*} vg arm aeth Ath Did Cyr &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ] T^tAΓO: om. ⲛ̄, L^g &c. indicative. ⲭⲣⲓⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲭ., ΓO. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ &c.] ⲉ(ⲁⲓ, A_2)ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄(om. A_2)ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ &c., $T^t A_1$ by error. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. (exc. B

the Son and the Father. 25 This is the promise which he
himself promised to us, the eternal life. 26 These things
I wrote to you concerning them who lead you astray. 27 And
ye—the anointing which ye received of him abideth in you;
and ye *need* not (me) to write to you; or that one should
teach you; but (ⲁ) as the same *spirit* teacheth you concern-
ing all things, and is true; it is not false: according as it[a]
instructed you, abide in it[a]. 28 And now also, my children
(ϣⲏⲣⲓ), abide in him; that, if he should be manifested, ye
will have (ϭⲓ) [a] *boldness*, and will not be ashamed from
him in his *coming*. 29 If ye should see that he is righteous,
know that every one who doeth [the] righteousness was
(ⲉⲧⲁⲩ) born from him. III. See how great *love* the
Father gave to us, that we should be called 'The children

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[a] Or 'he . . . him.'

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25. &c.). ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲣⲱ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲓ &c., K: ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ &c., B^a F S 18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ &c., N: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ &c., O; cf. Gr. A K L al longe plu &c.: om. ⲣⲱ, G P, cf.? Gr. ℵ B C P al fere 20 cat vg syr^p arm aeth^utr Ath Did Cyr &c.; for *πνεῦμα* cf. Gr. ℵ* 25. 81. aeth^utr &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] L^g T^t A K N O T: om. B^a Γ F G P S 18. ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲙⲉⲑⲛ.] L^g A F S: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t B^a Γ G K N O P (T) 18. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] L^g A F S, cf. Gr. A &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t B^a Γ G K N O P T 18, cf. Gr. rell. ϣⲱⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C P 5. 7. 8. 11. 27. 29. 40. 68. 81. 137. a^sor d^sor vg syr^utr arm aeth. 28 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. F S 18. ⲟⲛ] T^t A: om. L^g &c. ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. K h 22. 37. 40. 56. b^sor l^sor syr^sch aeth. ⲁϥϣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C P 5. 13. 26. 27. 29. 36. d^sor arm. -ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^g T^t &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ] T^t A: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ, L^g F G P S: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ, B^a Γ N O T 18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ, K, 1° person. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙ.] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^g T^t &c. ϧⲉⲛ] A: pref. ⲛ̄ϧ (ϩ, B^a G P 18) ⲣⲏⲓ, L^g T^t &c. 29 -ⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. A K L P al plu cat aeth^utr. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. B K L al pler cat am harl tol syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, N T. Hunt 18, 28—III. 1

1 ⲙ̄ (ⲛ̄, L^g Γ) ⲙⲁⲓⲏ] L^g T^t A Γ^mg N O^mg T: ⲛ̄ⲣⲏϯ 'sort,' B^a Γ* F G K O* P S 18. ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲥ] A: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ., L^g T^t &c. ϫⲉ 2°] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, Γ O*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ (K, N T) ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C P 5. 6. 7. 8. 13. 15. 18. 22. 25. 26. 27. 29. 36. 66** 68. 69. 81. 137. a^scr cat vg syr^sch et p arm^cdd aeth &c. K^mg اخر الفصل 'the end of the chapter.' ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] F^mg

ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⳾

ⲗ.

κ ²Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲁϣ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ. ³ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ-
ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ϣⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
κα ⁴Ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲁⲛⲟ-
ⲙⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⁵ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲏ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲉⲗ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ
ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⁶ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⳾
κβ ⁷Ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲥⲉⲣⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⁸ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ. ϫⲉ
κγ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⳾ †Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ

S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Ṭūbah.' ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ A B C al sat mu cat vg syr^{utr} arm^{edd} aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥ., B^{ac} by error.

Hunt 26, 2–5 ² ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥ, 26. -ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ twice] A 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ] ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ, A: ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉⲣ, 26: ⲁⲛⲉⲣ, B^{a}. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. K L al pler cat syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲁϥϣⲁⲛ.] AK 26: pref. ⲉϣⲱⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] $L^{g}A_{1}c_{2}B^{a}$FGKNST 26: ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ-ⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t}ΓO: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ, P. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲓ, N S.

Hunt 18, 3–8 ³ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] AK 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓϩ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲓϩ., A_{2}. ...ϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] A 26, cf.? Gr. 31: + ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ 'on him,' i.e. the Lord, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϣⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ] ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧ. 'let him purify himself,' K. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] AK 26: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⁴ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. ϯⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ] ⲧⲕⲉⲁⲛ., K: ⲧⲁⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ,

of God': we are such (lit. some). Therefore the *world*
knoweth us not, because it knew not him.

2 My beloved, now we (are) children of God, and it is not
yet manifested of what kind we were to be; but we know
that, should he be manifested, we shall (lit. will) be like
him[a]; because we see him according as he is. 3 Every one
who hath this *hope*, purifieth himself in him, according as
he (ⲫⲏ) is pure. 4 Every one who doeth (the) sin, doeth
also [the] *lawlessness*: for (the) sin is (the) *lawlessness*.
5 And we know that he (ⲫⲏ) was (ⲉⲧⲁ) manifested, that he
might take away the sins; and (the) sin is not in him.
6 Every one who abideth (ϣⲟⲡ) in him sinneth not: every
one who doeth (the) sin saw not him, *nor* knew him.

7 [The] children (ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ), let not any one lead you
astray: he who doeth [the] righteousness is righteous,
according as he (ⲫⲏ) is righteous. 8 But he who doeth (the)
sin is from the *devil*; because the *devil* sinneth from (the)

[a] Lit. 'his kind.'

B^a by error. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] L^{g}T^{t}AΓKNOT: om. B^a(F)GP(S) 18. ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] A 26: + ⲇⲉ, FS; cf. ? Gr. ℵ 40. 98. tol arm &c.: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr. ABCKLP al pler vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A 26: ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] pref. ϫⲉ, T^{t}B^a GP 18. ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. ABP 5. 13. 27. 66** 81. am fu demid harl tol syr^p arm aeth^{utr} &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ aeth. 6 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲁⲛ, K. ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲣ|ⲛⲟⲃⲓ, O. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ] AΓKNOT: ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}FGS 18. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲥ., G. 7 ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ACP 5. 13. 27. 29. syr^{pmg} &c. ⲫⲏ 1°] pref. ϫⲉ, K. ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, O. ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ 1°] ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, A_2S*: om. NT homeot. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ... ⲡⲉ] om. K. 8 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AGNP: ⲡⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ, ΓO: ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ, K; cf. Gr. A 25. 68. k^{scr} tol arm aeth &c.: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ, B^{a}FST 18, cf. Gr. rell. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] K^{mg} نقرا رابع حد توت 'it is read the fourth Sunday of Tūt,' S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Tūt.'

ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ· ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲣⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ|ⲃⲉⲗ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.
9 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ· ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲟϫ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ ϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲉⲣ-
ⲛⲟⲃⲓ· ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ. 10 ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ· ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ·
κδ Ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ· ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ· ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ·
κε 11 Ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ϩⲏ. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ.
κϛ †12 Ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲓⲛ· ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ.
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ· ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ⲛⲁⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ· ⲛⲁⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲛ ⲛⲉ·
κζ 13 Ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ. 14 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ· ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ· ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ· 15 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϧⲁⲧⲉⲃⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲡⲉ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲃⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ· ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ·

ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] -ⲟⲛϩ, O. 9 ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ 1°] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS^{o}T$: ⲙ̀ⲫϯ, ΓNOS*. ⲟⲩϫⲣⲟϫ] om. ⲟⲩ, Γ. ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ, FS. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ 2°] as above exc. NS. 10 ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲁⲓ, T. ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲫϯ . . . ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] om. N homeot. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ . . . ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. harl tol syr^{sch} et $^{p\,txt}$ aeth &c. ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf.? Gr. ACKP h al fere ^{20} &c. τὴν δικ. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] pref. ⲛ̀, GNPT. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AKNT: ⲙ̀ⲫϯ, B^{a}ΓFGOPS. ⲡⲉ] om. NO. 11 ⲡⲓⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵCP 27. 29. 40. 66** 69. 99. a^{sor} n^{sor} al mu syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{utr}$ Cyr &c. ⲫⲏ] om. B^{a}FS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] pref. ϫⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$G. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉⲛⲉⲛ., FS, 1° person: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ-

beginning. Therefore (the) Son of God was manifested, that
he might pull down the works of the *devil.* 9 Every one
who was born from God sinneth not, because there is a seed
of his abiding (ϣⲟⲡ) in him: and it is not possible for him
to sin, because he was born from God. 10 In this are mani-
fested the children of God, and the children of the *devil.*

Every one who doeth not (the) righteousness is not from
God, and he who loveth not his brother. 11 Because this
is the promise which ye heard from (the) beginning, that
ye should love one another: 12 not according as Kain, who
was (ⲡⲉ) from the evil (one), and he killed his brother.
Why killed he him? Because his works were being evil,
but those of his brother were *righteous.* 13 But wonder
not, my brethren, if the *world* hateth you. 14 We (pron.)
know that we removed from (the) death into (the) life
because we *love* the brethren. He who *loveth* not abode
in (the) death. 15 Every one who hateth his brother is a
murderer: and we know that no murderers have[a] eternal

[a] Lit. 'every . . . not.'

ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ. (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ., B^{a}), B^{a}GP. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 12 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., K. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, S. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲟⲩ] AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: + ⲁϣ ⲛ̄ⲣⲏϯ 'in what manner,' K. ⲁϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] A: ⲁϥϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ϫⲉ] pref. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ, K. ⲛⲁⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ, FKS: om. ⲛⲁⲩ, Γ. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. K. ⲛⲁⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, B^{a}: + ⲛⲉ, GNT: + ⲡⲉ, P: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ, K. ⲛⲉ] ⲡⲉ, B^{a}O: ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ, A$_{1}$ by error.
13 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ] T^{t} Hunt 18, 26, 13-16
AB^{a}GPS 18: om. ⲇⲉ, ΓFKNOT; cf. Gr. ABC^{corr}KL al pler vg syr^{p} &c. ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. KL al longe plu syr^{utr} &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉ] ϫⲉ, FKS. ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ] ⲁϥⲙ., O. 14 ϫⲉ] + ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 'we,' B^{a}. ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP 18. 26: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲥ. 'our' &c., ΓFNOST, cf. Gr. ℵ 68. 58^{lect} syr^{sch}. ⲫⲏ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, BGP 18. ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲉⲣ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣ, K. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 27. 29. vg arm &c. ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] ⲉϥϣ., O. 15 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 26. ⲉⲑⲙⲟⲥϯ] ⲁϥⲙ., O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^{a}GP 18. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] A:

κη 16 Ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲫⲏ ⲭⲱ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ
ⲥⲉⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ-
ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ |
17 Ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧ-
ϣⲁⲛⲑⲙⲁϧⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲡⲱⲥ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾

Ⲉ.

κθ 18 Ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉⲛⲙⲉⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲗⲁⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
λ † 19 Ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲑⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⳾ 20 ϫⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ
ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓⲛⲱⲥⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲉ Ⲫϯ
ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ
λα ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ † 21 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓⲛⲱⲥⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ Ⲫϯ ⳾ 22 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓⲧϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲣⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲙ̀ⲑⲟ. 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ

ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ 'in him,' L^gT^t &c. 16 ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ] -ⲱⲛ, NT. ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] L^gT^tΑΓFNO 26: + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ 'of God,' B^aGKP 18, cf. Gr. 52. vg arm^{ed} et^{cdd} &c. ϫⲉ ⲁⲫⲏ (ⲉ, S) ⲭⲱ] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲱ 'he who laid,' K. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲯ.] ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲯ., K plural. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] pref.
Hunt 18, 17–20 ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ (om. P), B^aGP 18. 17 ⲇⲉ] L^gT^tΑΓNOT: om. B^aFGK PS 18. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁϥ] L^gΑΓFS: -ⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ, T^t &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] om. ΓO. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ] AK: ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲛϧ, L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲕ., FS. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ] ⲙ̀ⲡ., B^a. -ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ] -ⲉⲣⲛ̀ⲭ., B^aΓO. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧ.] ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧ., ΓO. اخر الفصل 'the end of the chapter,' K. 18 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second

life abiding (ϣⲟⲡ) in them. 16 In this we knew [the]
love, that he (ⲫⲏ) laid (down) his *life* for us: and we also
ought to lay (down) our *lives* for one another. 17 But
he who hath a life of this *world*, and seeth his brother
having *need*, and shutteth up his tender mercies from him,
how will the *love* of God abide in him?

18 My children, let us not love in (the) word, *nor* in (the)
tongue; but (ⲁ) in (the) deed and [the] truth. 19 In this
we shall (lit. will) know that we (are) from [the] truth, and
we shall (lit. will) persuade ourselves before him. 20 Because
if our heart should *condemn* us, God is greater than our
heart, and he knoweth all things. 21 My beloved, if our
heart should not *condemn* us, we have [a] *boldness* with
God; 22 and that which we shall (lit. will) *ask*, we shall
(lit. will) receive of him, because we keep his *commandments*,
and we do that which is pleasing before him. 23 And this
is his *commandment*, that we should believe (the) name

Sunday of Ṭūbā.' ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. KL al longe plu vg syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲫⲗⲁⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ABCKL al plu &c. ϧⲉⲛⲡϩⲱⲃ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCLP al plu arm Clem &c. 19 ϧⲉⲛⲫⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. AB 40. d^{sor} al^{5} vg syr^{p} Clem: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K, cf. Gr. ℵCKLP al longe plu cat syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] cf.? Gr. ℵABCP 6. 7. 15. 18. 22. 27. 29. 33. 36. 40. 66** 68. 69. 137. a^{sor} j^{sor} cat arm Clem &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲑⲱⲧ] AΓ: -ⲑⲉⲧ, L^{g} &c.: -ⲑⲏⲧ, T^{t}NT. ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. A*B 66* syr^{sch} aeth &c. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 20 ⲉϣⲱⲡ] om. B^{a}. ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] + ϣⲱⲡ, B^{a}. ⲅⲓⲛⲱⲥⲕⲓⲛ] -ⲅⲓⲛ, K 18: ⲕⲓⲛ-, B^{a}. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ...21 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] om. G* homeot.: trs. ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲉ, K; for om. ὅτι cf. Gr. A 13. 33. 34. 63. d^{sor} vg arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] om. ⲛ̄, A$_2$. 21 ⲉϣⲱⲡ] om. K^{o}. ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ] ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ, B^{a}G^{mg}^{o}K^{o} 18. ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵCKL al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAKL al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ] -ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, GP 18. 22 ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓⲧϥ] cf. ? vg syr^{p} &c. 'accipiemus.' ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ, FKS future. ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ, GP. ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲣ.] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲑⲟ] + ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'always,' K. 23 ⲑⲁⲓ] ⲧⲁⲓ, L^{g}. Hunt 18, 21–24

ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲁⲛ ⳾
24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ϥϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ϩⲱϥ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ.
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⳾

Ⲇ.

λβ Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲁⲣⲓⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲉ ⲓⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̀ⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ρπβ ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ 2 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ | ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̀ϯ ⳾
λγ Ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⳝ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϥϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ-
ⲙⲟⲥ [⳾] ϩⲏⲇⲏ. 4 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ.

ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵBCKL al pler vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. P. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̀ⲫ., FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥ . . . ⲛⲁⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ 'the commandments which he gave to us,' K. ⲛⲁⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ, FS; cf. Gr. ℵABC al mu cat vg &c. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABCKL al pler vg syr^{utr} rell &c.: om. FS, cf. Gr. ℵ* 18. 38. 80. 95** 137. c^{sor} al^{2sor} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° . . . ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] om. A homeot. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. FS. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS 18: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, ΓNOT: ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, K. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] A: ϧⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲁⲛ] position cf.? Gr. ℵK 22. 25. 31. 34. 38. 42. 57. 68. 69. 80. 137. a^{sor} al plus^{10} vg syr^{utr} arm Ath Cyr &c.: + ϩⲙⲟⲧ ἐχαρίσατο, K. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

Hunt 18, 1-3 1 S^{mg} البرمون للميلاد 'the end of the fast of the Nativity.' ⲓⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}A

of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, according
as he gave *commandment* to us. 24 And he who will keep
his commandments abideth in him; and he also abideth in
him. And in this we shall (lit. will) know that he abideth
in us through the *spirit* which he gave to us.

IV. My beloved, believe not every *spirit*, but (ⲁ) *prove*
the *spirits*, whether they are of God: because many *false*
prophets went to the *world*. 2 In this we shall (lit. will)
know the *spirit* of God: Every *spirit* which *confesseth*
that Jesus Christ came in (the) *flesh* is of God: 3 and every
spirit which confesseth[a] not Jesus is not of God. And
this is the *antichrist* whom ye heard that he cometh; and
now he is in the *world already*. 4 Ye are children (ϣⲏⲣⲓ)
from God, and ye conquered them: because greater is he

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[a] Or 'manifesteth.'

ΓGNP 18: om. B^{a}FKO^{c}ST. ⲛⲉ] ⲡⲉ, A$_2$N*. ⲯⲉⲩⲇ(ⲧ, GT)ⲟⲡⲣ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFKNST: -ⲙ̅ⲡⲣ., G(O)P: + ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϫ 'false,' O. 2 ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ] L^{g}AFS, cf. ? Gr. ℵ* 9. 14* 69. a^{sor} arm: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ, T^{t}B^{a}GKO^{c}P 18: ⲉ(+ⲁ, T)ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ, ΓO* NT; cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}ABCL al sat mu syr^p aeth^{utr} &c. ⲫϯ] + ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ 'and the spirit of the error,' O. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙ.] A: ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲟⲙ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. ⲟⲩ, N. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] A$_{1.2}$^{o}: ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ, L^{g}T^t &c. 3 ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] pref. ⲟⲩ, A$_1$ by error. ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲉⲧⲉϥ., B^a single negative: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛϥ., F^{c}S. Trs. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲛ, F^{c}S. ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. vg^{cle} fu harl tol syr^{utr} arm^{odd} mu aeth &c. Tisch. classes these with Gr. AB h 13. 27. 29. 69. a^{sor} &c. τὸν Ἰησοῦν: + ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, KO, cf. Gr. K al plus^{30} am demid arm^{ed} &c. ⲁⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. AB 27. 29. vg aeth^{ro} &c. om. ἐν σάρκι &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] L^{g}AGKP: pref. ⲛ̅, T^{t}B^{a}ΓFNOST 18. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ, T^{t}K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}AΓKNOT: om. B^{a}FGPS 18. ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓ̈ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] AGKPS(T): -ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}B^a(om. ⲡⲓ)Γ(N)O 18: + ⲡⲉ, NT. -ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] AB^{a}K 18: -ⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉϥ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓFGNOPST. ϥϧⲉⲛ] ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ, GP 18. ϩⲏⲇⲏ] om. K. 4 ϩⲁⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 31. c^{sor} al pauc. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ] ⲙ̅ⲫϯ, T^{t}NT. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲣⲟ] ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ., FKS: ⲁⲧⲉⲛϭ., T by error. ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ] + ⲉ, FS. Hunt 18, 4–6.

5 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲥⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 6 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ ⳾
λδ 7 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ. ϫⲉ ϯⲁ-
ⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ 8 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲡⲉ ⳾
9 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ 10 ⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
λε ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⳾ † Ⲟⲩⲭ ⲟⲧⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ |
λϛ 11 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲁ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳾
ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
12 ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲉϩ. ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛ-
ϣⲁⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾

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5 ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 1°] L^{g}AFS: + ⲡⲉ 'are,' $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKNOPT 18. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ . . . ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 2°] om. A_2 homeot.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B^{a}GP 18. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ, K. 6 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, NT: + ⲇⲉ, ΓKO. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 2°] om. 18. ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] pref. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ αὐτός, K. ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲟⲩ.] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩ., K single negative. ⲡⲉ] om. KN. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥ. 'heard not,' FNST. ϧⲉⲛⲫⲁⲓ] cf. Gr.
Hunt 18 i, 26, 7–10 A vg. ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲫ︦ϯ︦ 'God,' B^{a}GP 18. 7 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth
Hunt 18, ii. 7–14 Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲙ̄ⲫ︦ϯ︦] $L^{g}T^{t}$ANT: ϧⲉⲛⲫ︦ϯ︦, B^{a}ΓFGKOPS 18. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$GKP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFNOST 18. ⲉⲧⲉⲣ-

who is in you, than he who is in the *world*. [5] They
(are) from the *world*: therefore they speak from the *world*,
and the *world* heareth them. [6] We are of God: he who
knoweth God heareth us; he who is not of God heareth
not us. In this we shall (lit. will) know the *spirit* of the
truth, and the *spirit* of the *error*. [7] My beloved, let us
love one another: because the *love* is of God; every one who
loveth was (ⲉⲧⲁⲩ) born from God, and he knoweth God.
[8] He who *loveth* not knew not God; because God is [a] *love*.
[9] In this the *love* of God was manifested in[a] us, because God
sent his *only* Son to the *world*, that we might live through him.
[10] The *love* is in this. *Not that* we (pron.) loved God, but (ⲁ)
that he (pron.) loved us, and he sent his Son for a redemption of our sins. [11] My beloved, if God loved us thus, we
also ought to love one another. [12] God no one saw ever: if
we should love one another, God abideth in us, and his *love*

[a] The strengthened form which is usually translated 'in.'

ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. A). ϧⲉⲛ] om. S*. ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲉϥⲥ., 26. [8] ⲫⲏ] L^{g} A Γ F K N O S T: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} B^{a} G P 18. ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲣ., K. ⲁⲛ] om. F S (18) 26: + ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ, 18. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] + ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ 'of God,' A_2. [9] ⲁ (ⲉ, P)] om. O. ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] T^{t}A 26: ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^{g} B^{a} Γ F G K N O S T: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, P. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. B^{a}O. ⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ., N. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ] trs. after ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ, B^{a} 18: om. F K S, cf. Gr. 15 &c. om. ὁ θεός. [10] ⲁ (ⲉ, T^{t} G P) ⲣⲉ … ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ 'this is the love,' K; for om. τοῦ θεοῦ cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ). ϫⲉ] om. K 26. ⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ] -ⲣⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ, Γ O: ⲁϥⲙⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ, T: + ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ, 26. ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ 'the sins,' 26. [11] -ⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ] as above exc. B^{a}. ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ϩⲱⲛ] ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛⲁⲛ, O: om. ϩⲱⲛ, Γ: ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲛ, P: ⲥ. ⲛⲁⲛ ϩⲱⲛ, T^{t} B^{a} G K. [12] ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛ] L^{g} T^{t} A F N S T: ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ, B^{a} Γ G K O P 18. ϫⲏⲕ] pref. ⲉⲥ, K. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ, B^{a} F S 18; position cf. Gr. K L al pler cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.

13 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ϩⲱϥ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϯ
λς ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ † 14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

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λη 15 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲡⲉ
ⲫϯ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ϩⲱϥ ϥϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫϯ ⳾ 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾
ⲉϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾
ϥϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫϯ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
17 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉϥϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ 18 ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲟϯ ϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁⲥϩⲓ
ϯϩⲟϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯϩⲟϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ. ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⳾ ϥϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾ 19 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϫⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⳾
λθ 20 Ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾

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13 ϧⲉⲛⲫⲁⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, KNT. ϥϣⲟⲡ] ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ, 18: ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ, P. ⲁϥϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKPS 18: ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ, T^{t}ΓNOT. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 14 ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP 18: ⲁⲛⲉⲣ., ΓFNOST. ⲫⲓⲱⲧ] ⲫϯ 'God,' K. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ] ⲟⲩⲟϩϥ, A_1 by error. ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GK^{c}NP: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩϫ., ΓO: ⲉⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, T: ⲉⲩⲥⲱϯ, FS.
Hunt 18, 15–19 15 ⲡⲉ] om. N: + ⲫⲁⲓ 'this,' FS. ϥϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲟⲡ, P: ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ, N. 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B^{a}FGKP*S 18. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ . . . ⲁⲛⲛⲁϩϯ &c.] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲛ. &c., K: ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲛ(om. F)ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ, FS; for preterite cf. Gr. (exc. A 13. am tol).

is completed in us. 13 In this we shall (lit. will) know that
we abide in him, and he also abideth in us, because he gave
to us from his *spirit*. 14 And we (pron.) saw and we witness
that the Father sent his Son for [a] salvation of the *world*.
15 He who will *confess* that Jesus is (the) Son of God,
God abideth in him, and he also abideth in God. 16 And
we (pron.) knew and we believed the *love* of God, which
is in us. God is [a] *love*; and he who abideth in [the] *love*
abideth in God, and God abideth in him. 17 In this [the]
love was completed with us, that we might find [a] *boldness*
in the day of the *judgement*; because according as he (ⲫⲏ) is
(ϣⲟⲡ), thus we also (are) in the *world*. 18 There is not fear in
[the] *love*: but (ⲁ) the completed *love* casteth [the] fear out,
because [the] fear hath [a] *punishment*; but he who feareth
is not completed in [the] *love*. 19 We (pron.) love God,
because he (pron.) loved us first. 20 But if one saith:

ⲉ(ⲛ̄, N)ⲧⲉⲛϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧ., FKS. ⲫϯ 2°] pref. ϫⲉ, FS. ⲡⲉ] om. O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. K. ϥϣⲟⲡ] T^tΑΓΚΝΟΤ: ⲁϥϣ., $L^g B^a$FGPS. ϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵBKL al fere^{50} syr^p arm &c. 17 ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲫϯ, FS, cf. Gr. 96. al pauc vg^{cle} &c. ϫⲱⲕ] ϫⲏⲕ, L^gGP. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ &c.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ 'that we might walk, having a boldness,' FS. ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, B^aGK 18. ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ] ⲕⲣⲏ., FGKS. ϫⲉ] om. K. ⲉⲧⲉϥϣⲟⲡ &c.] ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ &c., P: ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲏ(ⲡⲓ, S)ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ, FS. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏ] + ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ 'in this world,' K. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. B^aGP 18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] AFS: -ⲡⲁⲓ-, L^g &c.: ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ 'in him,' K. 18 ⲉⲧ(ⲑ, B^a)ϫⲏⲕ] ⲉⲥϫ., P: ϫⲏⲕ, Γ. ϯϩⲟϯ 1°] ϩⲟϯ, O. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°...ϩⲟϯ 3°] om. B^a. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉ, K. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] om. K. ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ, FKS^c. 19 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBKL al longe plu cat syr^p arm &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲓ &c.] ⲁⲛⲙⲉⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ 'we knew that himself first loved us,' FS. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ 13. 33. 34. 68. 69. 91. 137. a^{scr} c^{scr} d^{scr} vg^{cle} demid harl tol syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] cf. Gr. ℵB KL al pler cat harl syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. 20 ⲇⲉ] T^tAGP 18: om. L^g &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲟⲥ] ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲟⲥ, FS. Hunt 18, 20—V.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲣⲡⲅ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲫϯ | ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲁϥϣ-
ϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧϥ ⳾ 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲁⲓ[⳾]ⲉⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ ⳾
1 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲙⲉⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ϥⲙⲉⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ 2 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾
μ Ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ 3 ⲑⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲥⲉϩⲟⲣϣ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 4 ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ϣⲁϥϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾

Ⲏ.

μα 5 Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϭⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ
ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⳾ 6 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ

ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲉϥⲙⲟⲥϯ] ϥⲙⲟⲥϯ, B^{a}ΓFKOS. ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ &c.] ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϥⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ 'if seeing his brother he loveth him not,' F^{c}S. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛ., T^{t}F*NT. ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ, B^{a}. ⲡⲱⲥ &c.] ⲡⲱⲥ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧϥ 'how God whom he seeth not, is it possible for him to love?' F^{c}S. ⲛⲁϥϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ] A_1: pref. ϥ, $L^{8}T^{t}$ &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧϥ] ⲉⲙⲉⲛ., FKS. 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^{a}GP 18. ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲛ(ⲛ̅, B^{a})ⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲛⲧ., FS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ, K: ⲉⲧⲁⲛϭ̅ⲓ 'which we received,' FS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] pref. ϫⲉ, FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ] ⲉⲑⲙⲉⲓ, FS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ, A_2*. ⲡⲉϥⲕⲉ] om. ⲕⲉ, B^{a}ΓGOP 18.

'I love God,' and is hating his brother, he is false: for he
who loveth not his brother whom he seeth, God whom he
saw not, *how* will he be able to love him? 21 And this *com-*
mandment we have from him, that he who *loveth* God should
love his brother also. V. Every one who believeth that
Jesus (is) Christ is born[a] from God: and every one who
loveth him who begat[b] loveth also him who was begotten[b]
from him. 2 In this we shall (lit. will) know that we *love*
the children of God: If we should love God, and do his
commandments. 3 For this is [the] love of God, that we
should keep his *commandments*; and his *commandments*
are not burdensome. 4 Because every one who was born from
God conquereth the *world*: and this is the conquest which
conquered the world, even[c] our faith.

5 But who is he who is conquering the *world*, except him
who believeth that Jesus is (the) Son of God? 6 This is he
who came through [a] water and [a] blood and [a] *spirit*,

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[a] Lit. 'a birth.' [b] Lit. 'are . . . born.' [c] Lit. 'it is.'

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1 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A: +ⲡⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉ] om. FS. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ] ⲙ̅ⲫϯ, Γ: +ⲡⲉ, F. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. GP. ⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAKLP al pler cat vg^{cle} harl syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: om. B^{ac}. 2 ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] L^gT^tANT: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, B^a &c. ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲙ̅ⲛⲓϣ., FKS, cf. arm. ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̅, K. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅] cf. Gr. B (5. 17.) 27. 29. (33. 34.) 64. 65. 69. 106. 15^{lect} a^{sor} d^{sor} g^{sor} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. 3 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. GKPS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] pref. ϫⲉ, FS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛ(ϥ, S*)ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ] FS 18, cf. Gr. ℵK LP al pler cat tol cav &c. 4 ϧⲉⲛ] L^gT^tAB^aFGPS 18: ⲙ̅, ΓK NOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. KS. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ] om. S. ⲡⲓϭⲣⲟ] +ⲇⲉ, FO^{mg} a copy'(S). ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲣⲟ] om. NOP*. ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] +ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ, FO^{mg} 'a copy'S. ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABKP al plu cat vg &c. 5 S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Ṭūbā.' ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ(B)KP 13. 29. 66** Hunt 26, 5-13
68. 69. a^{sor} al $fere^{15}$ cat cav demid tol syr^p arm Cyr &c.: om. 26, cf. Gr. AL al plu vg &c. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. K. ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅] +ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, FS, obs. Gr. 13. 56. arm^{odd}. ⲡⲉ 2°] A: trs. after ⲫϯ, L^gT^t &c.: om. B^a. 6 ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ] om. P: om. ⲫⲏ, K. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ, B^aO.

ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳹ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁⲧϥ ⲁⲛ ⳹ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳹ 7 ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲅ̅
ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳹ 8 ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲅ̅ ⲥⲉϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳹
μβ 9 Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳹
μγ 10 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ |
ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲁⲛ ⳹ ⲁϥⲁⲓϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳹ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫ̅ϯ̅ ϧⲁ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳹
11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫ̅ϯ̅. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛϧ
ⲁϥϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳹ 12 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳹
ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ
ⲁⲛ. ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁⲛ ⳹
μδ 13 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳹
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹
με † 14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̅-

ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] om. ⲟⲩ, T; cf. Gr. ℵAP 6. 7. 13. 15. 18. 25. 29. 30. 33. 34. 36. 39. 66** 69. 80. 98. 101. 137. a^{scr} al pauc cav tol syr^{p} &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABL al plu arm Cyr &c. ⲛⲉⲙ 3°] om. FS. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] cf. Gr. ABLP &c.: om. ϧⲉⲛ, K 26, cf. Gr. ℵK al plu vg &c.: -ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ, T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ⲛⲉⲙ, B^{a}K. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] L^{g}AFGNST 26: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ., T^{t}ΓO: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ., P: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲉⲧ., B^{a}K. 7 ⲅ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ 69. a^{scr}). ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABKLP al plus^{180} lect. omn. syr^{sch} syr^{p} arm aeth^{utr} arr sl Clem Or Dion^{alex} Ath Did Epiph Cyr &c. 8 ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲡⲥ., T. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ, L^{g}B^{a}GP. 9 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the

Jesus Christ; not in the water only, but (ⲁ) also in the water and in the blood. And the *spirit* is (that) which witnesseth, because the *spirit* is the truth. 7 Because three are they who witness, 8 the *spirit* and the water and the blood: and the three are in one. 9 If we receive the witness of [the] men, the witness of God is greater: because (ϫⲉ) this is the witness of God, that (ϫⲉ) he witnessed of his Son. 10 He who believeth (the) Son of God, the witness of God is in him: he who believeth not (the) Son of God made him false; because he believed not the witness, which God witnessed of his Son. 11 And this is the witness, that God gave to us an eternal life, and this life was in his Son. 12 He who hath (the) Son hath (the) life; he who hath not (the) Son of God hath not (the) life. 13 These things I wrote to you, that ye might know that ye have an eternal life, ye (lit. they) who believe (the) name of the Son of God. 14 And this is the *boldness* which we have toward him, that,

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fourth Sunday of Ṭūbā.' ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ 1°] om. ⲙⲉⲧ, A_2*. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ...ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ 2°] om. S homeot. ϯⲙⲉⲧ. 2°] pref. ⲓⲉ, B^aG P. ⲧ(ⲇ, B^a)ⲉ] trs. after ϩⲟⲩⲟ, FKS. ϫⲉ 1°] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ A B 5. 6. 13. 27. 29. 34. 66** vg arm Cyr &c. 10 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲫϯ] cf. Gr. A al plus[12] vg aeth^{utr}. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲛ.] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛ., FS 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t B^a$GP. ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄] L^gAB^aFKS 26, cf. 56. arm: om. T^tΓGNO PT, cf. Gr. ℵBKLP al longe plu cat syr^{sch} et$^{p\,txt}$ Cyr &c. 11 ⲛⲁⲛ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵAKLP al pler cat vg syr^{sch} arm. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ] L^gAB^aFGKPS 26: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ, T^tΓNOT, definite. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, A_2* N. 12 F^{mg} 'the sixth Sunday of the Fast.' ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ] +ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, T^tS, cf. Gr. 8. 25. 34. 69. a^{scr}. ⲫⲏ 2°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aGP 18. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] om. F*GPS* 18, cf. vg^{cle} &c. ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁⲛ] om. NT. 13 S^{mg} 'the sixth Sunday of the Fast.' ⲁⲓⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB h 5. 6. 13^{vid} 29. 66** 81. 142. 162. vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{utr} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] A 26: -ⲱⲧⲉⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c.: om. ⲛ̄, FS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] om. K. ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ] position cf. ? Gr. AB al sat mu cat vg syr^{p} &c. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛ.] pref. ϧⲁ 'namely,' FS; cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}A 5. 6. 13. 29. 66** vg aeth arm^{mg}. ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲡϣ., O.

Hunt 18, i. ii. 12–15

Hunt 26, 13–21

ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⁘
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⁘ [15] ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⁘ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ-
ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⁘ [16] ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⁘ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⁘
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ
ⲉϥϭⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲓϫⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⁘
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⁘ [17] ϭⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲡⲉ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉϥϭⲓ
ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⁘
[18] Ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⁘ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ϣⲁϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲟ-
ⲣⲛⲁ ⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲙⲁϥ ⁘ [19] ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ | ϫⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲁϥⲭⲏ ϧⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
μϛ [20] Ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲓ. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏ-
ⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ

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[14] ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, K. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ.] cf. ? Gr. 13. δ: ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧ. 'all things,' K. ⲟⲩⲱϣ ϣⲁϥ.] ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁϥ., A_2. ⲉⲣⲟⲛ] ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲛ, FS. [15] ⲟⲩⲟϩ... ⲉⲣⲟⲛ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Bᵃ 26: ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ &c., K, cf. Gr. ℵᶜBKLP &c. ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ] ϧⲉⲛⲫⲏ, FS. -ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] -ⲉⲙⲓ, FS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ] LᵍTᵗABᵃΓ(FS): -ⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛ, GKNOPT 18. 26: +ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ, FS. [16] ⲉϣⲱⲡ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, BᵃGP 18. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ] ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ, FS. ⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABKLP al pler cat &c. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥ., Lᵍ. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲁϥⲉⲣⲛ., A_2. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ] cf. ? Gr. A. ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ 1°] ⲉϥϭⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ, ΓᵐᵍFS: ⲙ̅ⲫⲙⲟⲩ, TᵗΓ*NO* 18. 26. ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 1°] om. FS. ⲉⲩⲉϯ] ⲉϥⲉϯ, P. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ] +ⲛ̅ⲉⲛⲉϩ, FS. ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲫⲙⲟⲩ] ⲙ̅ⲫⲁ ⲙ̅ⲫⲙⲟⲩ, Bᵃ: om. ⲙ̅, GP: ⲉϥϭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲙⲟⲩ, FS. ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 2°] om. ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ (om. ⲟⲛ, FS) ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉϥ(+ⲉ, Oᵐᵍ)ϭⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛ

Hunt 18, 16–18

(of) that which we shall (lit. will) ask according to his wish,
he heareth us: 15 and if we should see that he heareth us, of
that which we shall (lit. will) *ask*, we know that we have
our *petitions* which we shall (lit. will) *ask* of him. 16 If one
see his brother sinning a sin which is not unto (the) death,
let him ask, and [a] life shall be given to him (for) those who
sin not of (the sin unto the) death. There is sin leading (ϭⲓ)
to (the) death: I was not meaning that (sin), that he should
pray concerning it. 17 All wrongdoing is (the) sin, and there
is sin not leading to (the) death. 18 We know that every
one who was born from God sinneth not; but (ⲁ) the being
born (ⲙⲓⲥⲓ) from God keepeth him, and the *evil* (one)
toucheth him not. 19 But we know that we are from God,
and the whole *world* lay (ϫⲏ) under the evil (one).

20 But we know that (the) Son of God came, and he gave
to us a knowledge, that we might know the *true* God; and

ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉϥⲉ (om. B^{a}) ϭⲓ, B^{a}GP. ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ 2°] L^{g}AO^{o}: ⲙ̄ⲫⲙⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c. ϫⲉⲣⲉ] ϫⲉⲉⲣ, P. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ] om. ⲁⲛ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲧ(ⲛ, N)ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲧ., 26, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} arm, 2° pers. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ] ⲉϫⲱϥ, B^{a}. 17 ⲫⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲡⲉ, GKP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, A$_{1}$*FS. ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., B^{a}ΓFOS. -ⲙⲟⲩ] A$_{1}$*$_{2}$ 26, cf. 13. 69* vg syr^{p} arm aeth^{ro}: + ⲁⲛ 'not,' L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1}^{c}$ &c., cf. Gr. rell. 18 ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, FS. ϫⲉ] ⲇⲉ, FS. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ] ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, ΓNOT. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ, FS. 19 ⲇⲉ] T^{t}AGKP, cf. Gr. 104. c^{sor}: om. L^{g} &c. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] A &c.: ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ, L^{g}T^{t}FS. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. 26. ⲁϥϫⲏ] ⲉϥϫⲏ, B^{a} 26. ϧⲁ] L^{g}AB^{a}FNST 26: ϧⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓGKOP. 20 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵBK al sat mu &c.: om. B^{a}, cf. Gr. LP al^{9} aeth^{utr} &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏ(ⲓ, A$_{1}$N)ⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϯ 1°] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP 26, cf. Gr. A 5. 6. 7. 8. 13. 17. 27. 40. 66** 69. 80. 81. 98^{mg} 99. 106. a^{scr} d^{scr} al fere^{15} vg arm^{usc} aeth Ath Did &c.: om. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϯ, ΓNOT, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}BKLP al plu: ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ, FS, cf. Gr. ℵ* &c. τὸ ἀληθινόν. ⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS, cf. ? Gr. 34. m^{7} vg &c. ϧⲉⲛ] P^{mg} ('another copy'): ϧⲁ, P*. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ] ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲁϥϧⲉⲛⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ 'in the life, and this life was in his Son,' FS.

ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ· ⲛⲉⲙ
μζ ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ· † 21 Ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲓⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ.

Ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅ ⲥⲧⲓ^{χ} ⲧ̅ⲁ̅ ⲕ,ⲉ^{λ} ⲏ̅

ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵBKLP al pler cat m^8 demid tol syr^{utr} arm aeth Ath Did &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ 2°] -ⲑⲓⲛⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛ., A$_2$*: ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲫⲙⲏⲓ, FS. ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ] cf. ? Gr. minusc ut^{vid} pauc. 21 ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 1. 13. 27. 29. 34. 65. 66** 68. d^{sor} am demid tol syr^{utr} arm aeth. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

we are in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the *true* God,
and the eternal life. 21 My children, keep yourselves from
the *idols.*

Of John Epistle 1. Stichoi 301, Chapters 8.

Subscription. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅, $A_{1(2)}$G, cf. Gr. 106. al: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ̅, FS, cf. Gr. P. ⲥⲧⲓⲭ (+ⲟⲥ, A_2) ⲧ̅ⲁ̅ ⲕ,ⲉⲗ ⲏ̅, $A_{1(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲧ̅ⲁ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲑ̅ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙ̅ⲋ̅, G: ⲕ,ⲉⲗ ⲋ̅ ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲍ̅, FS. A_2B^aKNO PT have Arabic; Γ has no subscription.

ⲒⲰⲀⲚⲚⲞⲨ ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦⲞⲖⲎ Ⲃ̅.

ⲠⲒⲠⲢⲈⲤⲂⲨⲦⲈⲢⲞⲤ ⲛ̀ϯⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲓ. ⲛⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
2 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
3 Ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾
4 Ⲁⲓⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϯϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉϯⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲑⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛ̀ⲧⲟ|ⲧⲉⲛ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ
ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ.

Inscription. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ (ⲏⲥ, A_2: ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, F) ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ Ⲃ̅ (+ϯ, G), $A_{1(2)}B^{a}ΓFGS$, cf. Gr. 13. 72. 78. 96. 104. al: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ Ⲃ̅(+ϯ, N), KNT(ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲃ̅ϯ), cf. Gr. P 96. k^{scr}: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅ Ⲃ̅ ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ, P: ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲓⲱ-ⲁⲛⲟⲩ Ⲃ̅, O.

[1] S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of the month Amshīr,' ويقرى في اعياد العدرى

OF JOHN EPISTLE 2.

The *presbyter* to the chosen *lady* and her children, they
whom I (pron.) love in [a] truth; and not I only, but
(ⲇⲉ) also all who knew the truth; 2 because of the truth
which abideth in us, and it shall be with us for ever.
3 (The) grace, (the) mercy, (the) *peace* shall be with us from
God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, (the) Son
of the Father, in [a] truth and [a] *love*. 4 I rejoiced
greatly, having found (certain) of thy children walking in
[a] truth, according as we received *commandment* from the
Father. 5 And now I beseech thee, *lady*, not as that (it is)
a new *commandment* which I write to thee, but (ⲇⲉ) this
which we were having from (the) beginning, that we should
love one another. 6 And this is [the] *love*, that we should walk

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'and it is read on the feasts of the Virgin.' ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲱⲧⲡ] -ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲓ, O: +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, T; cf. Gr. 73. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ℵBKP al pler vg syr^{p} arm aeth: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, NT. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. NT. 3 ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ, OT. ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ(Ι, T)] ϯϩ., ΓO. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBLP al sat mu cat am syr^{b} aeth &c.: ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS, cf. Gr. K al plu vg syr^{p}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ 1°] cf.? Gr. ℵ* 11. 18. 19. 32. 40. 57. 68. 98. 105. 126. c^{sor}. ⲫϯ] om. N*. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$FGKPS: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, ΓNOT, cf. Gr. ℵKLP al pler cat tol syr^{p} arm &c. ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲱⲧ] ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲓⲱⲧ, B^{a}. 4 ⲉⲧⲁⲓϫⲓⲙⲓ] AB^{a}GP: ϫⲉⲁⲓϫⲓⲙⲓ 'that I found,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ ΓFKNOST. ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧ., B^{a}NT. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲫⲓⲱⲧ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲫⲓⲱⲧ, N. 5 ϯϯϩⲟ] ⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲟ 'we beseech,' G. ⲉⲣⲟ] ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, FS masculine: om. P. ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ] position cf.? Gr. ℵA 5. 13. 31. 68. d^{sor} vg &c. ⲁⲛ] om. B^{a}. ⲉⲣⲁⲅⲁⲡⲁⲛ ⲛ̄] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$GK NPT: ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ, ΓFOS. 6 ϩⲓⲛⲁ 1°] om. K.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ჻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ჻ 7 ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ჻ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅჻ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ჻ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲓⲡⲗⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅჻
β 8 Ⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ჻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲧⲁⲕⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲭⲉ ⲉϥϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 9 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲏ჻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲟϩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅჻ ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲉ჻ ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟϩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅჻ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ჻
10 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ჻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ
ⲁⲛ჻ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲗϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣϫⲟⲥ
ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲭⲉⲣⲉ჻ 11 ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲭⲉⲣⲉ჻ ϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ჻
12 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ჻
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [჻] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲱⲙ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲁ. ϯⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ჻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲣⲟ჻
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲓ 2°] A: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] om. B^{a}K, order cf. Gr. ℵLP al pler vg^{cle} arm &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵAK 13. 31. 73. al mu cat vg arm. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ] AFS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙ.., L^{g}T^t &c.; cf. Gr. K 13. al mu cat vg arm om. ἵνα. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. B^a. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] A: ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ 'in it,' L^{g}T^t &c. 7 ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲩⲓ ⲉ] cf. ? Gr. KLP al plu &c. ⲛ̀ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϫⲉ] L^g AB^a: ϫⲉ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, T^{t}ΓFGKNOPST. ⲡⲉ] om. S. ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] AGKOPS: -ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓFNT 26. 8 ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲧⲁⲕⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ* et^c AB 5. 13. 40. 66** 68. 73. 137. d^{scr} f^{scr} j^{scr} al fere^{15} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA 5. 13. 40. 66** 68. 73. 137. d f j^{scr} cat vg syr$^{b et p txt}$ arm aeth &c. 9 ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ] A: ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲙ.., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲧϩⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 98^{mg} am fu harl aeth &c. προάγων. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. NT. ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}KNT

Hunt 26, 8–11

according to his *commandments*. And this is the *command-*
ment, that according as ye heard from (the) beginning that
we should walk in it. 7 Because many *deceivers* went to the
world, they who *confess* not Jesus Christ, that he came in
(the) *flesh*. This is the *deceiver* and the *antichrist*. 8 Look
out for (ⲉ) yourselves, that ye may not lose that which ye
worked, but (ⲁ) that ye may receive a complete reward.
9 Every one who walketh onward, and stayeth not in the
doctrine of Christ, is godless: but he who will stay in
the doctrine of Christ, he (ⲫⲁⲓ) hath the Father and (the)
Son. 10 He who cometh to you, and is bringing not this
doctrine, take him not up into house, *nor* say to him 'Hail.'
11 For he who will say to him 'Hail' shareth in his evil
works. 12 Having many things to write to you, [but]
I wished not through [a] paper and [an] *ink*; for I *hope*
to see you, and to speak to you mouth to mouth, that your

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26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 2°] cf. Gr. KLP al pler cat aeth &c.: om. ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, FS at end of line probably by error, cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 27. 29. 66** 68. vg syr^{ptxt} arm &c. ⲫⲁⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}GK. ⲫⲓⲱⲧ . . . ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ] order cf. Gr. ℵBKLP al pler cat vg^{cle} syr^{b}et^{p} arm aeth &c. 10 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}NT: om. T^{t}ΓFGKOP*S 26. ⲉϥⲓⲛⲓ] AB^{a}K: ⲛ̄ϥⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ ⲁⲛ] T^{t}AB^{a}KNT: ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ, L^{g}ΓFGOPS 26. ⲉⲏⲓ] + ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'with you,' K. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, P. 11 ⲫⲏ . . . ⲭⲉⲣⲉ] om. G*S homeot. ⲅⲁⲣ] L^{g}T^{t} AFNT 26: om. B^{a}ΓG^{mg}KOP. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABLP al plu cat m^{63} vg syr^{b}et^{p} &c. ϥⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲓ, B^{a}GP. ⲉⲛⲉϥϩ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϩ., T^{t}GNP. 12 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A^{2}BKLP al pler cat vg &c.: ⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ, K, cf. Gr. ℵ*A* 27. 29. 61. 64. 180. o^{scr}. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] + ⲙⲉⲛ, NT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ] T^{t}ANT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., K: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., L^{g}B^{a}ΓFGOPS. ϫⲱⲙ] ϫⲟⲙ, F*N. ⲙⲉⲗⲁ] ⲙⲁ., A_2*N: ⲙⲏ., F*. ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. A 5. 13. 27. 29. 66** 73. d^{scr} al^{10} cat vg arm aeth^{utr}. ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲓ ϩⲁⲣ. 'to come to you,' K, cf. Gr. KLP et longe plu cat tol syr^{b} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ, L^{g} by error. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣ.] cf. Gr. AB 5. 13. 27. 29. 65. 66** 68. 69. 73. 101. 104. c^{scr} al^{8} vg aeth^{utr}.

13 сеϣіиі еро ихеиіϣнрі ите тесωиі етсотп ⁘

Ιωаииот епістохн Β стіχ ξε κε λ Δ |

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13 итетесωиі] итесωиі, BaT: итетемат ('moth O*. етс (om. N) отп] A Γ N O T: -ωтп, LgTt &c.; for om. cf. Gr. ℵABP 5. 13. 27. 29. 68. 73. 99. dscr vgole am demid har arm aethro &c.

joy may be complete. [13] The children of thy sister who
is chosen salute thee.

Of John Epistle 2. Stichoi 65, Chapter 1.

Subscription. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲃ̅, A_1G, cf. Gr. L: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲱⲁ̅ ⲃ̅, F, cf.? Gr. P 79. 126. ⲥⲧⲓⲭ(+ⲟⲥ, A_2) ⲝ̅ⲉ̅ ⲕ,ⲉⲗ ⲁ̅, $A_{1\,(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲝ̅ⲉ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲁ̅ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲃ̅, G, cf. Gr. B capitula β̅, cf. Euth κεφ. 1. B[a]NOPT have Arabic; ΓKS have no subscription.

ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ ..., R

ⲠⲒⲠⲢⲈⲤⲂⲨⲦⲈⲢⲞⲤ ⲛ̀ⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲫⲏ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ
2 ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⳾ 3 ⲁⲓⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟϣⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ 4 ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛϯ ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
5 Ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲕⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ. 6 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ϧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

Inscription. Ⲓ (ⲁ, S) ⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ (ⲏⲥ, A_2) ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ Ⲅ̅ (+ ϯ, G), $A_{1(2)}$ B^aΓFGS, cf. Gr. C 13. 42. 78. 80. 96. 100. 104. 105. al: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (om. N) ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ (om. N: pref. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, T: ⲓⲱⲁ̅, P) Ⲅ̅ (+ ϯ, NT), KNPT: ⲡⲣ(ⲟⲥ) ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲟⲩ Ⲅ̅, O.

Hunt 18, 26, 1-8

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Amshīr, and the fifth Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ] ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ, R*: ⲁⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ, T. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] om. 26. 2 ⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲉⲣⲉ, FS. ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲡⲉⲕⲙ., T^t B^aFO 18, singular. ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ] ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ, B^aGPT* 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] om. B^a 26. ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̀ⲫ., A_2 by error. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ (om. O) ⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ, B^a 26: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙ., NT. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲯ.] T^tA:

OF JOHN EPISTLE 3.

The *presbyter* to Gaios the *beloved*, he whom I (pron.) love
in [a] truth. 2 My beloved, I pray concerning all things
for thy ways to be straight, and that thou mayest be in
health, according as (the) ways of thy *soul* are straightened.
3 I rejoiced greatly, the brethren having come and having
witnessed unto thy truth, according as thou (pron.) walkest
in [a] truth. 4 For I have not grace greater than this, that
I may hear concerning my children, that they walk in
[a] truth. 5 [The] *beloved*, (it is) a *faithful* work which
thou doest, working among the brethren, and this among
the strangers; 6 these who witnessed unto thy *love* before

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲕⲯ., L^g &c. 3 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Bashons.' ⲁⲓⲣⲁϣⲓ] $A_{1.2^o}$(*ⲁⲣⲓⲁϣⲓ) B^aGKOPR 18. 26, cf. Gr. ℵ 4. 5. 6. 13. 25. 65. 100. d^{sor} vg arm aeth: +ⲅⲁⲣ, L^gT^tΓFNS, cf. Gr. ABCKLP al pler $syr^{b\ et\ p}$ &c. ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϣⲱ, 18. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] om. ⲉⲧ, 26. ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ, B^a. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ, K. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ] om. K, cf. Gr. A 37. 4 ϩⲙⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. B 7. 35. vg &c. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. B^a. ⲉⲫⲁⲓ] L^gT^tA B^aGKNPRT 18. 26, cf. Gr. 27. 29. 31. 40. 66** 68. 69. 73. d^{sor} al fere[10] syr^b &c.: ⲉⲛⲁⲓ, ΓFOS, cf. Gr. rell vg syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲛⲓϣ., A_2*N. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵC^2KLP al fere omn^{vid} cat &c. 5 ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, NT: ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ 'a work true and faithful,' 26. ⲉⲕⲉⲣϩ.] ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲣϩ., GOP. ⲛ̄ϧ(ϩ, GP 18°)ⲣⲏⲓ] om. ΓO. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 17. 27. 29. 33. 66** 68. 81. 97. 126^{mg} vg $syr^{b\ et\ p}$ arm aeth. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf.? vg. ϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] -ⲙⲟ, singular, P. 6 ⲛⲁⲓ 1°] ⲛⲏ, GP. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] R: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗ., L^g &c. by error.

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲭⲛⲁⲁⲓⲥ ⲉⲕⲧⲫⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⳹ 7 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϭ̅ⲓ ϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲑⲛⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⳹
8 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲉⲡ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ
ⲉϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳹
β 9 Ⲁⲕⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲧⲣⲉ-
ⲫⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲓⲉⲣϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϥϣⲱⲡ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⳹ 10 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲓϣⲁⲛⲓ ⳹ ϯⲛⲁⲑⲣⲉϥ-
ⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳹
ⲉϥⲉⲣⲫⲗⲟⲓⲁⲣⲓⲛ | ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̅-
ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲕⲏⲛ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ϥϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ϥⲭⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥⲥⲓϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳹
11 ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉⲛⲑⲱⲛⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳹
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲡⲉ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲫϯ ⳹
12 Ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲇⲏⲙⲏⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⳹ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧ-

ⲭⲛⲁⲁⲓⲥ] ⲕⲛⲁⲁⲓⲥ, TᵗG: ⲉⲕⲛ., K; cf. Gr. ℵABKLP &c. ⲉⲕⲧⲫⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧⲫⲱⲟⲩ, LᵍTᵗ &c.; cf. ? Gr. ℵA BKLP &c. ⲉⲩⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ] ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ, ΓG. 7 ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] A 18ᶜ. 26: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, LᵍTᵗ &c.: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, Bᵃ: ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, N. ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCKLP al plu cat am fu syr$^{p\,txt}$ arm &c. ϩⲗⲓ] pref. ⲛ̀, NT. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛ.] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., BᵃOP: ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., Gᵐᵍ; cf. ? Gr. 5. 13. 29. 118. d^{sor} al^{5}. ⲉⲑⲛⲓⲕⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{12} fu tol: ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ, Gᵐᵍ, cf. Gr. KLP al longe plu vg^{cle} am demid. 8 ⲟⲩⲛ] ϩⲱⲛ 'also,' K 26. ⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ] ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ, 26. ⲛⲁⲓ] LᵍTᵗ AGKNOᶜPRT 26: ⲛⲓ, BᵃΓFO*S 18. ⲉⲣⲟⲛ] LᵍTᵗ &c.: ⲟⲛ, A 26. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ, Oᵐᵍ ('a copy'). ⲛ̀(ⲉⲛ, F)ⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ] ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ, Γ. ⲉϯⲙⲉⲑ.] ⲛ̀ϯ., GO*. 9 ⲁⲕⲥϧⲁⲓ] ⲁⲓⲥϧ., TᵗGK. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 7. 68. arm. ⲇⲓⲟⲧⲣⲉⲫⲏⲥ] -ⲟⲫⲏⲥ, K: -ⲏⲫⲏⲥ, FS:

their *churches*, these whom thou wilt do well (in) escorting
worthily of God; 7 for they went forth by (ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ) the name,
taking not anything from the *Gentiles*. 8 We *then* ought to
receive such, that we may be fellow-workers with the truth.
9 Thou wrotest a thing to the *church*: but (ⲇⲉ) Diotrephēs,
the lover of being first among them, receiveth us not.
10 Therefore, should I come, I shall (lit. will) cause him to
remember his works which he doeth, prating against us in
evil words: and he is not content with these (things), *neither*
doth he himself receive the brethren, and them who wish to
receive them he letteth not, and he is casting them out of the
church. 11 My beloved, imitate not the evil, but (ⲇⲉ) the
good. He who doeth the good is from God: but he who
doeth the evil saw not God. 12 Dimētrios was witnessed
unto by all, and by (the) truth: and we (pron.) witness,

ϯⲟⲩⲣⲁⲫⲏⲥ, T: ϯⲟⲩⲑⲣⲉⲫⲏⲥ, B^{a*}. ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲓ] ⲛⲙⲁⲓ, A_2: +ⲛ̄, K. ϥϣⲱ(ⲟ, $T^tA_2B^aF^*NS^*$)ⲡ] pref. ⲛ̄, ΓK°O: ⲛⲉϥϣⲟⲡ, F*S*. 10 ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] +ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ 'evil,' O. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, GP. ⲉϥⲉⲣ.] ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣ., B^a. ⲫⲗⲟⲓⲁⲣⲓⲛ] $A_{1.2}^{mg}$ΓFORS: ⲫⲗⲏⲟⲩⲓⲁⲣⲓⲛ, A_2^*: ⲫⲗⲓⲁⲣ., B^a: ⲫⲗⲩⲁⲣ., L^gT^tGKNPT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ, 3° pers., A by error. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛⲓⲥ., R. ⲡⲟⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NS)ⲣⲟⲛ] -ⲟⲥ, T^tGP. ϥⲕⲏ(ⲁ, A_2^*)ⲛ] $A_{1.2}$°K: ⲉϥⲕ., T^tG: ⲁϥⲕ., P: pref. ⲛ̄, L^g &c. ϥ(ⲉϥ, B^a)ϣⲱⲡ] -ⲟⲛ, FGPS°. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, B^aKR. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵABKLP al pler cat am fu $syr^{p\ txt}$ aeth &c. ϥϫⲱ] $L^gT^tAB^a$NT: ⲉϥϫ., GKP: ⲛ̄ϥϫ., ΓFORS double negative. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲥⲓϯ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥⲥⲓϯ, ΓFNORT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϥⲥⲓϯ, S by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ABCKLP al plu &c. 11 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ] ⲡⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ, R. ϧⲉⲛⲫϯ] ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, ΓFOS. ⲇ(ⲧ, A_2)ⲉ] cf. Gr. L 31. a^{sor} al mu tol arm aeth &c.: om. KN, cf. Gr. ℵABCKP h al longe plu cat d vg syr^p. 12 ⲛ̄ⲇ.] ⲉⲇ., L^g: ⲇ., B^a: ϧⲁⲇ., K. ⲇⲓⲙⲏⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ] $T^tA_1c_2$GKNOPRT: ⲇⲏⲙ., L^gΓFS: -ⲓⲧⲣⲓⲟ, B^a: -ⲉⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ, FS. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ 1°] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, K. ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. A*C &c.). ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. K. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] +ϩⲱⲛ 'also,' R. ⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al $plus^{20}$ cat d vg arm: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ 'we know,' K, cf. Gr. 14** 38. 93. 104. 180. al^{3scr}. ϫⲉ] om. F*.

ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓ ⲧⲉ⳹ 13 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲉⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ⳹ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ
ⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲕⲁϣ⳹ 14 ϯⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲣⲟ⳹ 15 ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲁⲕ⳹
Ⲥⲉϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓϣⲫⲉⲣ⳹ ϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲓϣⲫⲉⲣ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
...ⲣⲁⲛ, R ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ⳹

Ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗ Ⲅ̅ ⲥⲧⲓ^{χ} ϥ̅ ⲕⲉ^{λ} ⲁ̅

ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}GKR: ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ, L^{g}ΓFNOPST. 13 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ] T^{t}AB^{a}GP: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛϯ, L^{g}ΓFKNORST preterite. ⲛⲁⲕ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{10} d vg syr^{b} et ^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲡⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNRST: om. GKOP. ⲛ̄ϯ.] om. ⲛ̄, KNT. ⲛⲁⲕ 2°] position cf. ? Gr. A 13. 73. d vg syr^{b} et ^{p}. Trs. ⲕⲁϣ ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲙⲉ(ⲁ, A_2*)ⲗⲁ, K. 14 ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧ] ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧ(ⲩ, S)ⲟⲩ, Γ*F(S). ⲉⲣⲟⲕ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵKLP al pler cat &c. ⲛ̄ⲣⲟ] ⲉⲣⲟ, A_1*. 15 ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ] pref.

and thou knowest that our witness is true. 13 Having many
things to write to thee, [but (ⲁ)] I wish not to write to thee
with [an] *ink* and a reed: 14 but I *hope* immediately to see
thee, and that we may speak to one another, mouth to mouth.
15 (The) *peace* to thee. The friends salute thee. Salute
the friends according to their names.

Of John Epistle 3. Stichoi 90, Chapter 1.

ⲉ, FS. ⲛⲓϣⲫⲉⲣ 1°] AB^aR: -ⲏⲣ, L^gT^t &c. ϣⲓⲛⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲛⲓϣⲫⲉⲣ 2°] $A_{1.2}{}^{o}B^aR$: -ⲏⲣ, $L^gT^tA_2{}^*$ΓFGNOPST: ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ 'the brethren,' K.

Subscription. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (om. A_1) ⲅ̅ (+ϯ, ΓFS), A_1ΓFGS, cf. Gr. C 40. ⲥⲧⲓⲭ (+ⲟⲥ, A_2) ϥ̅ ⲕⲉⲗ ⲁ̅, $A_{1(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ϥ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲁ̅ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲅ̅, G: ⲥⲧⲩⲭ (+ⲟⲥ, Γ) ⲡ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲁ̅, ΓFS. A_2B^aKNOPT have Arabic; Euth. has κεφ. ι.

ⲒⲞⲨⲆⲀⲤ ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦⲞⲖⲎ.

ⲒⲞⲨⲆⲀⲤ ⲪⲂⲰⲔ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕⲱ-
ⲃⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲑⲁ-
ϩⲉⲙ ⳾ 2 ⲫⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ |
ⲣⲛⲉ 3 Ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉϯⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⳾
ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϯⲛⲟⲙϯ
ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲅⲱⲛⲓⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳾
4 Ⲇⲩⲥⲁϧⲙⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓϩⲁⲡ
ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩϣⲓⲃϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲛⲏⲃ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲩϫⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 5 ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ-

Inscription. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ, A_1ΓP: ⲓ. ⲉ. ⲁ̄, B^a: ⲓ. ⲉ. ⲁ̄ ⲍ̄, G; cf.? Gr. AOK 13. 104. 105. al: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, K: ⲉ. ⲓ. ⲁ̄, FS: ⲉ. ⲓ. ⲍ̄, T; cf.? Gr. 96: ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ 'the brother of the Lord,' A_2: ⲡⲣ(ⲟⲥ) ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, O.

Hunt 26, 1–5 1 ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABL al plu vg $syr^b et^p$ arm aeth Or &c. ⲡⲥⲟⲛ] ⲡⲓⲥ., O. ⲛⲏ(ⲓ, A_2OT) ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 5. 33** 68. 73. 98^{mg} 126^{mg} 163. vg $syr^b et^p$ arm Or &c. 2 ⲧϩⲓⲣ.] ϯϩ., O 26. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ(ⲓ, S)] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁϣⲁⲓ]

(OF) JUDE (THE) EPISTLE.

Jude, (the) servant of Jesus Christ, but (the) brother
of James, to them who were loved in God the Father, and
they were kept for (ⲛ̄) Jesus Christ, they who are called.
2 May (the) mercy and (the) *peace* and the *love* be multiplied
to you. 3 My beloved, all *diligence* (it is) which I give
(lit. do them) writing to you concerning your salvation
together. It was *necessary* for me to write to you to encourage (you), that ye should *strive* in the faith which was
once delivered to you, namely the *saints*. 4 For men
slipped themselves in among us, concerning whom it was
before written unto this judgement, being *ungodly*, changing
the grace of our Lord into [a] defilement, and denying (the)
only Master, our Lord Jesus Christ. 5 I wish you to know

ⲉⲩⲉⲁϣⲁⲓ 'they shall be multiplied,' 26. 3 ⲉⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ] LgTtAΓ KNOT 26: ⲉⲓⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ, Ba: ⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ, FS: ⲉⲓϯⲥϧⲁⲓ, GP. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. 6. 7. 25. 31. 56. vg Eph. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ] om. K. ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ] ⲁⲓⲉⲣ., Ba: + ⲅⲁⲣ, S. ⲉϯⲛⲟⲙϯ] AFS: ⲉⲓϯⲛ., LgTt&c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., A_2: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., K. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ] ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ, (Ba) GOP: transpose after ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ, Ba 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛ, K. 4 ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ &c.] transpose after ⲉⲣⲟⲛ, TtΓN. ⲉⲛⲁⲓϩⲁⲡ] ⲉⲛⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ 'thing,' K 26: ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲡⲁⲓϩ. 'concerning &c.,' Ba. ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] -ⲉⲥ, NS*. ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ] TtAΓKOT: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ., N: ⲉⲩⲥ., LgBaFGPS 26. ⲫⲛⲏⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄.] cf. Gr. ℵABC al[26] cat vg arm aeth Eph Did Cyr &c. ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄] om. BaFS. ⲉⲩϫⲱⲗ] ⲉⲧϫ., BaF: ⲥⲉϫⲱⲗ, 26. 5 ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ] ABaFS, cf. Gr. 36 &c.: + ⲇⲉ, LgTtΓGKNOPT 26. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉ(+ⲧⲉ, Ba)ⲛⲉⲙⲓ] ABa 26: ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉ(+ⲧⲉ, F)ⲛⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ, LgTtΓFGKN OPST 26. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄] LgABaFGPS 26: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-

ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ. ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲁ̀ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲙⲁϩⲥⲟⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲃ̅ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
β ⁶ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ. ⲁϥⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲁ ⲡⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ
ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
⁷ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲇⲟⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲅⲟⲙⲟⲣⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲭⲏ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ⁸ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ-
ⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲫⲱⲣ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲉϣⲱϣϥ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ. ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ.
γ ⁹ Ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ
ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ | ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ⳾
¹⁰ Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲉϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ

ⲉⲙⲓ ⲉ (om. NT), T^{t}ΓKNOT; cf. ? Gr. ABC^{2} 5. 6. 7. 13. 15. 17. 18. 27. 29. 36. 45. 66** 68. 73. 163. c^{scr} d^{scr} cat vg syr^{b}et^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2} 6. 7. 13. 27. 29. 68. 163. vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ] order cf. ? Gr. ℵ 68. tol syr^{b}et^{p} arm Did &c.: om. ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ 26, cf. Gr. 163. Lcif. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. AB 6. 7. 13. 29. 66** vg aeth^{utr} arm$^{ed\ mg}$ &c. ⲫⲙⲁϩ] pref. ϧⲉⲛ, K. ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲛⲁϩϯ 'who were unbelieving,' K. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲱⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲧ., P. ⁶ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ] ϩⲓⲛⲁⲕⲉ, A$_{2}$ by error: om. ⲕⲉ, FKS. ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] AO, cf. ? Gr. ℵBCKL al pler cat m^{46} syr^{b} arm aeth^{utr} &c.: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. A 54. 137. f^{scr} vg syr^{p} &c. ⲁⲩⲭⲱ] T^{t}AFKOS: ⲁⲩⲭⲁ, B^{a}: ⲉⲁⲩⲭⲱ, L^{g}ΓGN(P)T.

(ⲉⲙⲓ), *though* ye know (ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ) all things, that once Jesus
saved his *people* from (the) land of Khēmi[a]; but (the) second
time, them who believed not he destroyed. 6 Angels also
(who) kept not their *beginning*, but (ⲁ) they left their place
of dwelling, he kept them in under (the) darkness in eternal[b]
bonds unto the judgement of the great day. 7 As Sodoma
and Gomorra, and the other cities which were around them,
having *fornicated* as these, and they went after[c] other *flesh*
(plur.), they are set for an example of the eternal fire, about
to receive a judgement. 8 Thus also these others defile their
flesh in (the) dreaming of dreams[d], but reject [the] dominion;
the glories they blaspheme. 9 But Michaēl the *archangel*,
speaking (lit. saying) against the *devil*—he was speaking con-
cerning (the) *body* of Moses—*dared* not to bring a blasphemous
judgement upon him, but (ⲁ) he said: 'The Lord shall *rebuke*
thee.' 10 But these blaspheme [in] the things *indeed* which
they know (ⲉⲙⲓ) not: but the things which they know

[a] Egypt. [b] Lit. 'of age,' thus again. [c] *ὀπίσω*.
[d] Different words in the Coptic.

ⲁϥⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲁϥ., FS. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ... ϫ(K, N)ⲁⲕⲓ] ⲉⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ 'evil' ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲫⲟⲥ, O^{mg} ('a copy'). ϧⲉⲛϩⲁⲛ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. 7 ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 13. 65. 68. 163. 180. syr^{b} et ^{p} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^a. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲝ] ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ 'strange flesh,' K: om. ⲕⲉ, FS. ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ &c.] ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏ 'in an evil example of their ungodliness,' O^{mg} ('a copy'). ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓ.] ⲉⲡⲓ., K^o. ⲉⲩⲛⲁϭⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉϭⲓ, FS: ⲉϭⲓ, K. 8 ⲟⲛ] om. O. ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲉ] ⲛⲓⲕⲉ, ΓO. ⲥⲉⲥⲱϥ] AB^aFKOS: +ⲙⲉⲛ, L^gT^t ΓGNPT. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲉ., Γ. ⲡⲫⲱⲣ] om. ⲡ, B^aFS. ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲥⲉϣⲱϣϥ] A: om. ϥ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ] $A_{1.2}{}^{o}F$ KS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aGP: +ⲇⲉ, L^gT^tΓNOT. 9 ⲙ. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵACKL rell omn^{vid} cat &c.: om. ⲇⲉ, A_2. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] L^gT^tΓKN OT: ⲉϥⲥ., B^aFGPS. ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ] ⲡⲓⲥ., T^t. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBCL al mu cat &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲓⲙⲁⲛ] -ⲩⲙⲁⲛ, FKPS. 10 ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ] ⲭⲉⲁ, G. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, K. ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲕⲱ(O, N)ⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲕⲟⲥ, FS. ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ] ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲟⲃⲓ, S*.

ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲕⲏⲟⲩⲧ⳹ 11 ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ϩⲓ ⲫⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲓⲛ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲣⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲃⲉϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲁⲙ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲕⲟⲣⲉ⳹
12 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁϭⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ⳹
ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳹ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϩⲟϯ⳹
ϩⲁⲛϭⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲑⲏⲟⲩ ϭⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ϩⲁⲛϣϣⲏⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲑⲓⲛⲟⲡⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ̅ⲃ̅ ⲉⲁⲩϥⲟϫⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ⳹ 13 ϩⲁⲛ-
ϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲓⲥⲫⲏⲓϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲓⲡⲓ⳹ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ⳹ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϫⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧϫⲉⲙⲥ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ⳹

Ⲃ.

δ 14 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϧⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁϩ̅ⲍ̅
ⲁϥⲉⲣ..., R ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ
ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥ⳹ 15 ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳹
ε †Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-

ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}NT. ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲕⲏⲟⲩⲧ] -ⲕⲱⲟⲩⲧ, P. 11 ⲫⲃⲉϫⲉ] ⲡⲃ., T: ⲃⲉϫⲉ, A_2*. ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲁⲙ] -ⲗⲁⲙ, B^{a}: ⲫⲁⲗ., O. ϧⲉⲛϯ.] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛϯ., O. ⲕⲟⲣⲉ] ⲕⲟⲣⲏ, P: +ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲭⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϩⲓⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ 'upbraiding murmurers, walking according to their lusts,' FO^{mg}S, cf. ? Gr. ℵ* O^{2}. 12 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABKL rell cat vg syr^{b}et^{p} arm &c. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABL 13. 27. 29. al^{10} cat syr^{b}et^{p} &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵBKL al pler cat vg syr^{b}et^{p} arm aeth &c.; cf. also for ὑμῶν ℵBCKL al omn^{vid} cat syr^{p} aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. O 6. 27. 42. 57. 98^{mg} al fere^{10} arm. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ] A: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲛⲏ ⲉⲣⲉ, O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉ(ⲁ, NT)ϥⲓⲛⲓ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, KO. ⲡⲑⲓⲛⲟ(+ⲩ, S)ⲡⲟⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ] ⲡϭⲓⲛⲟ., Γ(K): ⲡⲑϭⲓⲛⲟ., NT: om. ⲡⲉ, K. ⲉⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ] om. ⲉ, FS. ⲉⲁⲩϥⲟϫⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲱϫⲟⲩ, FS. 13 F^{mg} S^{mg} الملاك ميخايل 'the angel

(ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ) *naturally*, as beasts without speech, in these they
are corrupted. 11 Woe to them! because they walked on (the)
road of Kain, and they rushed along[a] (the) error of (the) reward
of Balaam, and they perished in the *contradiction* of Kore.
12 These are they who are spots in your *love-feasts*, delighting
with you, being shepherds to themselves in fearlessness; they
are clouds without water, and with (the) wind taking them
and bringing them; they are fruitless trees of (the) *autumn*,
having died twice, having been plucked up with their root;
13 they are *wild* waves of the sea, foaming out a shame;
they are stars astray, for whom is kept (the) darkness of
(the) eternal blackness.

14 But also against these *prophesied* the seventh from Adam,
Enōch, saying: 'Lo, the Lord came in myriads of holy
angels of his, 15 executing a judgement against all; and to
reprove all the *ungodly* concerning all of their works of

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[a] Lit. 'shed themselves through.'

Michael.' ⲛⲉ 1°] trs. before ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, T[t]ΓNT. ⲉⲩϩⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉϩⲓ, B[a]. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ] AB[a]: ⲉⲛⲟⲩϣ., O: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϣ., L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲣⲉⲙ] -ⲱⲣⲉⲙ, T[t]FKS. ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲁⲩⲁ (ⲉ, NT) ⲣⲉϩ, ΓNOST. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, FOS. ⲉⲛϫ.] ⲛ̄ⲛϫ., N. ϫⲉⲙⲥ] ϫⲉⲙⲧⲥ, O. ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCL al plus[35] cat &c. 14 F[mg]S[mg] 'the second Sunday of Abīb, and the second Sunday of Hatūr, and the third Sunday of Amshīr.' ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, T. ⲉⲛⲱϫ] ⲁⲛ., N: -ⲟϫ, T. ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲓⲥ ⲁⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ 'lo, came the Lord,' O. ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃ] T[t]AFS, cf. Gr. al arm: ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ, O°: ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲃ, L[g]B[a]ΓGKNO*PT, cf. Gr. C al mu syr[p] aeth &c. 15 ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ] T[t]AΓKNT: ⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲓ fut., B[a]GP 18: ⲉⲓⲣⲓ, O: ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ, L[g]FS, infinitive. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, ΓNO*T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. O. ⲉⲥⲟϩⲓ] ⲉϥⲥⲟϩⲓ, R. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (ℵ)ABC al plus[20] cat vg syr[b] et [p] arm aeth &c.: ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'every soul,' FS, cf. Gr. ℵ &c. ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 1°] cf. ? Gr. ABKLP al longe plu vg &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩ. &c.] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩ. &c., ΓNOT; cf. ? Gr. ABKL al longe plu vg syr[p] aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ &c.] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳿ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳿ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϫⲣ., FS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] pref.

Hunt 18, 14–16

ⲉⲣⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲧ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ
ⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳾
ϛ 16 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲭⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϥⲓⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉϩⲁⲛϩⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲏⲟⲩ.
ζ † 17 Ⲛⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ | ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ρπζ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 18 ϫⲉ
ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛϧⲁⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⳾
19 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲏ
η ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ † 20 Ⲛⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲣⲁϯ ⳾ ⲕⲉⲧ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ.
21 ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾
ⲉⲛϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
22 Ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ-

ⲛⲏ, R. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ.] om. ⲛⲏ, R. ⲛⲉ (ⲁ, ⲟ) ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ, K: ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ, R. 16 ⲛⲓ (ⲏ, ⲧ)-ⲣⲉϥⲭ.] A B^{a} Γ K N T: ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲭ., G O P 18: ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥⲭ., L^{g} F S. ϥⲓⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ] ϩⲓ., S. ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ] + ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ, K, cf. ? Gr. OLP al fere^{20} &c. ⲣⲱⲟⲩ] pref. ⲉⲣⲉ, ΓNOT. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ . . . ϩⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲛ̀ϩⲟ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉϩⲁⲛϩⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲟⲩϩⲏⲟⲩ, FS. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ] A$_{1.2}$°B^{a}R: ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϩ., L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ (om. AB^{a}FKS 18) ⲉ] AB^{a}FS 18: ⲉⲩⲉⲣϣ.,
Hunt 26, 17–21 K: ⲉⲩⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ (om. R) ⲛ̀, L^{g}T^{t}ΓGNOPR. 17 ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}GP. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'of our Lord,' &c., FS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ &c.] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ 'these which he said to his apostles,' FS. 18 ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ . . . ⲡⲉ] ϫⲉⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ, FS. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. K 4. 108. 127. &c.). ⲡⲉ] om. ΓFG*KNST 26. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. AC K L^{mg} P al certe pler cat vg syr^{b} et ^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲉ (om. A$_{2}$B^{a}G*KP) ⲛ-

ungodliness in which they were *ungodly*, and concerning all the hard things which they spake against him, being *ungodly* sinners.'
16 These are the quarrelsome murmurers, walking according to their *lusts*, and their mouths speak in excess, admiring (men's) persons because of gain.
17 But ye, my beloved, remember the words which were spoken from (the) first by the *apostles* of our Lord Jesus Christ;
18 that they were saying to you, that at (the) end of the times deceivers shall come, walking according to the *lusts* of their *ungodlinesses*.
19 These are they who separate, *psychic*, in whom there is not *spirit*.
20 But ye, my beloved, build yourselves in your holy faith, praying in the holy *spirit*.
21 Let us keep ourselves in [a] *love* of God, looking out forward to the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto an eternal life.
22 Some *indeed* reproving, *distinction* being made

ϧⲁ(+ⲓ, B^{a})ⲉ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC 5. 6. 7. 8. 13. 15. 18. 22. 27. 29. 33. 36. 66** 73. 106. 180. cat &c.: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϧⲁⲉ 'in the last times,' FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. 6. 7. 15. 17. 18. 26. 27. 29. 36. 66** 68. 106. 126^{mg} 130. Cyr &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲓ] ⲉⲩⲓ, G; cf. ℵ^{c}AC^{2} 5. 6. 7. 8. 13. 22. 26. 29. 33. 36. 66** 73. 81. 126. 130. 180. cat vg aeth Did Cyr &c. ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥ.] ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ., K, definite. ⲉⲣϩⲁⲗ] ⲥⲱⲃⲓ 'mockers,' FS. ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲓⲑ.] AΓKNORT 26: ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲑ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}FGPS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥ.] ⲧⲟⲩⲙ., B^{a}K 26: ⲟⲩⲙ., T^{t}N: ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ, FS. 19 ⲉⲧⲫⲟⲣϫ] AB^{a}ΓRT: -ⲱⲣϫ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABKLP al fere^{50} cat fu syr^{b} et ^{p} arm aeth Did Cyr &c. ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲓ(ⲏ, NT)ⲕⲟⲥ] -ⲕⲱⲥ, AB^{a}ΓGNORT: om. ⲙ̄, (B^{a})GOPR. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ] om. FS. 20 ⲇⲉ] om. Γ 18. ⲕⲉⲧⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Hunt 18, 20–25
Gr. ℵABC 5. 13. 68. 73. 163. d^{sor} vg syr^{p} aeth &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 1°] ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, P twice: ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲟϫ 'sound,' R. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ]+ⲇⲉ, FS. 21 ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. BC*^{vid} syr^{b} et^{p}: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS, cf. ? Gr. ℵAKL al fere omn cat vg aeth &c. ⲉⲛϫⲟⲩ(ⲱ, NS)ϣⲧ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫ., FS. 22 ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] AFPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ(+ⲉ, O)ⲥⲟϩⲓ] cf. Gr. AC* 5. 6. 7. 13. 17. 27. 29. 33. 40. 66** 73. 98^{mg} 101. 126. 130. 163. vg arm aeth^{utr} &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] -ⲧⲉⲛ, L^{g} by error. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ] ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲓ-

ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⁘ 23 ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⁘ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ⁘
θ Ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ⁘
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲛ̀ϯⲕⲉϣⲑⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲁⲣⲝ⁘ 24 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲗⲁϯ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϩⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ⁘
25 Ⲫϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ
. . . ϧⲁϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, K ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ⁘

Ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲁ̅ ⲥⲧⲓⲭ° ϥ̅ ⲕⲉ^λ ⲃ̅

ⲔⲀⲐⲞⲖⲒⲔ° ⲈⲠⲒⲤⲦ°ⲖⲎ ⲍ̅ ⲈⲚⲒⲢⲎⲚⲎ ⲦⲰ ⲔⲰ̅
ⲤⲦⲒ^Ⲭ ⲆⲨ̅ Ⲕ^ⲖⲈ ⲀⲨ̅

ⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ, N: ⲇⲟⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ, A_2. 23 ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ (om. ⲇⲉ, R: ⲙⲉⲛ, B^a) . . . ⲭⲣⲱ(ⲉ, N)ⲙ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC 5. 6. 7. 13. 17. 27. 29. 40. 66** 73. 101. 126. 130. 163. &c. vg arm syr^p aeth &c. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. NT homeot. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O: om. L^g. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ] A, cf. Gr. rell: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲭ., L^gT^t &c., cf.
Hunt 26, d^{sor} τοῦ π. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ 2° (ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ, FS) . . .
ϩⲁⲛ 2° 23–25 ϩⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 5. 6. 7. 13. 17. 27. 29. 40. 66** 73. 101. 126. 130. 163. vg arm aeth &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'bringing them,' GNO*T; also Γ^{mg} giving three renderings—تشبهون بهم 'being like them,' تجلبوهم 'drawing them,' تقدموهم 'presenting them.' ⲛ̀ⲁϭⲛⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲁϭⲛⲓ, B^a by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] AB^aR 18: ⲉ. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, L^gFOS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, $T^t\Gamma$GKNPT. 24 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, KR 26: ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ 'but God,' FS. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ, K. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBCL al sat mu cat vg syr^b et ^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲗⲁϯ . . . ⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ

about them; [23] but some saving, snatching them from a
fire; But some having mercy upon in [a] fear, hating
even the garment which is with (ⲛ̅) spot from the *flesh*.
[24] But he for whom it is possible to keep you without stum-
bling, and to set you up before his glory, being without
spot in [a] gladness— [25] God alone our *saviour*, through
Jesus Christ our Lord, the glory is his, and the greatness, and
the strength, and the authority, before all the ages, and now
and unto age of the ages, Amēn.

Ioudas Epistle 1. Stichoi 90, Chapters 2.

Catholic Epistles 7 in *peace* of the Lord. Stichoi 1400, Chapters 33.

ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁϩⲉⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ 'being confirmed he shall present you holy in a gladness,' FS. ⲉⲧⲁϩⲟⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AGP: -ⲱⲧⲉⲛ, B^{a}ΓKNORT. [25] ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 6. 7. 13. 17. 27. 29. 40. 56. 66** 68. 73. 160. 163. vg syr^{b} et ^{p} arm &c.: +ⲡⲉ, P. ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ] -ⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, P. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ... ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCL al fere^{25} cat vg syr^{b} et ^{p} &c.: trs. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ before ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, B^{a}GP 18. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧⲛ.] cf. Gr. KLP al pler cat vg^{cle} syr^{b} aeth &c.: om. ⲛⲉⲙ, KR, cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{10} am fu demid tol syr^{p} arm &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] AB^{a}K 18: om. ⲛⲉⲙ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ϧⲁϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] A (B^{a} ⲧⲏⲣϥ): ϧ. ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCL al^{15} cat vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ] om. ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, R. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] T^{t}A$_{1}$B^{a}GPR: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, L^{g}NT: om. K: +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, A$_{2}$ΓNOT 26. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ] T thrice. FS have a different version of 25 ⲫϯ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϧⲁϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ 'God our *saviour*, who is holy, the glory to him by Jesus Christ our Lord, and the *grace* and the strength and the *authority* before all the age and now and unto age. Amēn.'

Subscription. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ (+ⲁ̅, A$_{1}$), A$_{1}$ΓGT, cf. ? Gr. A: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, FS, cf. Gr. 80. 126. ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲟ(+ⲥ, A$_{2}$) ϥ̅ ⲕⲉⲗ (ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲁⲱ, A$_{2}$) ⲃ̅, A$_{1(2)}$: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲝ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ

(om. ⲉⲟⲛ, T) ⲃ̅, ΓT: ⲕ/ⲉⲗ ⲃ̅ ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲑ̅, FS: ⲥⲧⲩ
ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲃ̅ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲍ̅, G; for capita β' cf. Gr. B. A
OP have Arabic.

Subscription to all the Catholic Epistles.

ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲍ̅ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲏ(ⲓ, T)ⲛⲏ ⲧ
(+ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, ΓGT), $A_{1.2}$ΓGT: ⲁⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'finished

ⲉⲡⲓⲥ. ⲍ̅ ⲉ. ⲧ. ⲕ. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, O. ⲥⲧⲓⲭ (+ⲟⲥ, A_2) ⲁ̅,ⲩ̅ ⲕ,ⲉⲗ (ⲕⲁⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ, A_2) ⲗ̅ⲅ̅, $A_{1.2}$ (ⲁ̅ⲅ̅): ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲁ̅,ⲩ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁ-ⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲗ̅ⲉ̅ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲣ̅ⲡ̅ⲍ̅, G: ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ (om. ⲟⲥ, O) ⲁ̅,ⲧ̅ⲕ̅ ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲕ̅ⲍ̅, ΓΟΤ. B[a]P have Arabic. FKNS have no subscription.

[a] ⲠⲢⲀⲜⲒⲤ ⲦⲞⲚ ⲀⲄⲒⲞⲚ ⲀⲠⲞⲤⲦⲞⲖⲞⲚ.

ⲠⲒϨⲞⲨⲒⲦ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲓϥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲱ ⲑⲉⲟⲫⲩⲗⲗⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲁⲓ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϯⲥⲃⲱ ⳾ [2] ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ
ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
[3] Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲛϧ ⳾ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⳾ [4] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥϩⲟⲛ-
ϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲑ-
ⲙⲉϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ ⳾ [5] ϫⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥϯⲱⲙⲥ

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[a] This is the subscription of A_1 and the inscription of A_2. A_1 has only an Arabic inscription ابركسيس 'Abraksīs,' with which also the pages are signed.

Inscription. ⲡⲣⲁⲝⲓⲥ (A_2B^aGP: -ⲝⲉⲱⲛ, ΓNOT: -ⲝⲓⲟⲛ, FKS) ⲧⲱⲛ (ΓGNOT: -ⲟⲛ, A_2B^aFKPS) ⲁⲅⲓⲟ(ⲱ, ΓO)ⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲛ (+ⲓ̅, GP: +ⲁⲣⲭⲏ, A_2), A_2B^aΓFGKNOP ST. A_1 has no inscription; for *πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων* cf. Gr. (A^2EGH) a^{scr} k^{scr} al &c.

L*T' $A_{1,2}$ B^a ΓFGKNOP ST Hunt 18, 1-8

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ] T wrote a capital ϩ which N mistook and wrote ⲁ. ⲑⲉⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲫⲩⲗⲗⲉ(ⲁ, T)]

ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES.

I. The first treatise (ⲥⲁϫⲓ) *indeed* I made concerning all things, O Theophylle, amongst those which Jesus began[a] to do [them] and to teach, 2 until the day (in which), having charged the *apostles* through the holy *spirit*, those whom he chose, he was taken away to (the) heaven. 3 These to whom he manifested himself alive after having suffered, in many signs, through forty days manifesting himself to them, and speaking to them concerning the kingdom of God: 4 and eating with them, he ordered them not to depart from Jerusalem, but (ⲁ) to stay for the promise of the Father, which ye heard from me: 5 because Iōannēs *indeed* baptised

[a] Lit. 'threw his hand.'

A_1: -ⲫⲩⲗⲉ, A_2: -ⲫⲓⲗⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. ? Gr. BD. ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] $L^gT^tA_1{}^c{}_2FS$: ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ, B^aΓGKNOPT 18. 2 ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, NPT; the Greek order of words is kept, and the Coptic idiom requires *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου* to be joined with the preceding words. ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ] position cf. Gr. (exc. D syr^{sch} et^{pmg} &c.). 3 ⲉϥⲟⲛϧ] -ⲱⲛϧ, B^aΓS. ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, T)ϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, G)ⲕⲁϩ] ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 'after causing him to suffer,' B^a 18. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. 4 ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. e** vg Beda syr^{sch} arm (aeth). ⲁϥϩⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲛϩⲉⲛ] L^gT^tAB^aΓFNST: ⲛⲁϥϩ., GKP 18, cf. ? Gr. E 7. b^{sor} d^{sor} al pauc Eus Euth. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, T; position cf. ? Gr. ℵBD 1. 13. 31. 33. 61. al omn^{vid} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Eus Euth &c. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, O*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ 'from him,' F*S. 5 ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. BD): ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, P. ⲁϥϯ] ⲉϥϯ, NT.

ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲙⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾
6 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲭⲛⲁⲧⲫⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓ̅ⲥ̅ⲗ̅. |
ⲣⲛⲑ 7 Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉϩⲁⲛ-
ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲭⲁⲩ
ϧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⳾ 8 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲓ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲁ ⲁⲩⲣⲏϫϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
β 9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲁⲩϥⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡ-
ϣⲱⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩϭⲏⲡⲓ ⲁⲥϣⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϩⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⳾ 10 ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲃ̅ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ ⳾ 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫ-
ⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ ⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ
ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲙⲥ . . . ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] cf. Gr. $\aleph^{c}$ACE 1. 13. 31. al pler vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Or Cyr Euth &c. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] L^{g}AFGKPS 18: ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, $T^{t}B^{a}$O: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, NT: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ; the form with ⲉⲑ. usually follows the noun with definite article. ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AΓFKNO ST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GP 18. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ &c.] cf. ? Gr. (exc. D* &c.). 6 ⲙⲉⲛ] ⲇⲉ, T^{t}K. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ, NT. ⲉⲡⲓ̅ⲥ̅ⲗ̅] ⲉⲓ(ⲏ, N)ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ 'to Jerusalem,' NT. 7 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^{g}AFS, cf. Gr. B* syr^{sch} arm^{zoh}: + ⲇⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGNOPT 18, cf. Gr. ℵA 1. 13. 31. 33. 61. al omn^{vid} vg syr^{p}, item cf. Gr. C arm^{codd}: + ⲟⲩⲛ, K, cf. Gr. B^{3}. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] obs. Gr. E vg &c. ⲓⲉ] ⲛⲉⲙ, K. 8 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϭⲓ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ(+ⲉ, A_1)ϭⲓ, A.

in [a] water, but ye (pron.) will be baptised in [a] holy
spirit: after not many days these (things) happened.
6 They *indeed then* having assembled were asking him,
saying: 'Lord, in this time wilt thou restore the kingdom
to Israel?' 7 He said to them: 'It is not yours to know
times or seasons (ⲥⲏⲟⲩ), these which the Father put under
his authority. 8 But (ⲇ) ye shall receive [a] power, if the
holy *spirit* should come upon you: and ye will be to me
witness in Jerusalem, and all [the] Ioudea and (the) Samaria,
and unto the (lit. his) end of (the) earth.' 9 And having
said these things, as they gaze, he was lifted up; and a cloud
received him from their eyes. 10 But they were [as] staring
one at another (lit. one) of them, as he goeth (lit. he walking) up to (the) heaven. Behold, two men stood with
them in white raiment; 11 and they said, [The] men, [the]
Galileans, why stand ye gazing up to (the) heaven? This is
Jesus who has been taken away up from you: this also is as

ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ] ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ, O*. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] LgTtΑΓΝΟΤ: ⲉϩ., BaGKP 18: om. FS. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϣ.] pref. ⲛ̄, O. ⲛⲏⲓ] cf.? Gr. E 1. 13. 31. 33. 61. al omn^{vid} &c. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲟⲩⲇ.] cf. Gr. A C* D 27. 29. 38. 40. 61. 69* al$^{8 scr}$ &c. ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵADE &c. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ &c.] cf. Gr. (exc. D &c.). ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲁⲩⲥ., FS. ⲟⲩϭ(ϣ, T)ⲏⲛⲓ] ⲓⲥ(ⲟⲥ, A_2*) ⲟⲩϭ̀ⲏⲛⲓ, A_2^{mg} ('another copy'). ⲁⲥϣⲟⲡϥ] ⲛⲁⲥϣ., N. 10 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ] TtA: ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ, FS*: ⲛ̄ⲉ(O, P*)ⲩⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ, LgBaΓGNOPcT: ⲉⲩⲓⲟⲣ., K. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲃⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A: om. LgTt &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] LgABaGP: ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ, TtΓF KNOST. ϩⲏⲛⲡⲉ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, LgTt &c. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲃ̄] pref. ⲟⲩ, OT. ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ] A: ⲛⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ, LgTt &c. ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, BaFKS. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ] LgAΓGP: + ⲡⲉ, NOT. ϩⲁⲛϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 27. 29. 61. 81. vg syr^{sch} arm Eus Epiph &c. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ, FO: ⲉⲩⲱ(O, N)ⲃϣ, SN. 11 ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 'to them,' O. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, BaG. ⲛⲓⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲅ., P: ⲅⲁⲗ(+ⲗ, N)ⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ, NT. ⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲁϧⲟ., BaFS. ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ 1°] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, BaGP. ⲉⲧⲫⲉ 1°] ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ, K. ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ 2°] AGK, cf. Gr. D 33** tol pp^{lat} aliq &c.:

ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
γ 12 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲛⲓϫⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛⲧ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⳾
13 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ
ⲉϥⲥⲁⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲃⲁⲣⲑⲟ-
ⲗⲟⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲁⲗ-
ⲫⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲭⲟϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ
ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⳾ |
14 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾

B.

δ 15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ. ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ϩⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲣ̅ⲕ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾
16 Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

+ⲉⲧⲫⲉ, $L^g T^t B^a$ΓFNOPST. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] AB^aGP: ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ, $L^g T^t$ ΓFKNOST. K^{mg} اخرة 'the end (of the lection).' 12 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ] -ϩⲓ, FKS. ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] $L^g A_1 B^a$FS: pref. ⲫⲏ, $T^t A_2$ΓGKN PT: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ, O. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛⲧ] A_1: ⲉϥϧ,, $L^g T^t$ A_2 &c. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] om. FGKS. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ, Γ*: ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ 'walking,' $Γ^c$K. 13 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^a(G): ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲟⲧⲉ, $L^g T^t$ΓFNOPST: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉ] om. ⲉⲧ, G. ⲁⲩϣⲉ (+ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, P) ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] position cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$DE al pler tol syr^{utr} arm^{zoh} &c. ⲉϥⲥⲁⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ, FS. ⲉⲛⲁϥ-ϣⲟⲡ] A_1: ⲉⲛⲁⲩϣ., $L^g T^t A_2$ &c. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲏⲥ, B^a, cf. Gr. BD: ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, T; position cf. Gr. ℵABCD 61. 96. vg syr^{sch} arm^{usc} aeth &c. ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲥ 1°] $L^g T^t$AFGPS, cf. Gr. D: pref.

he is coming, as ye saw him going (lit. walking) up to (the)
heaven. 12 *Then* they returned to Jerusalem from the
mountain which is called 'That of the olives,' which is near
to Jerusalem a *sabbath* journey[a]. 13 *Then*, having gone in,
they went up to a room (lit. place) aloft, where was abiding
Petros with (ⲛⲉⲙ) Iōannēs, Iakōbos and (ⲛⲉⲙ) Andreas,
Philippos and Thōmas, Bartholomeos and Mattheos, Iakōbos,
he of Alpheos, and Simōn the zealot, and Ioudas, he of
Iakōbos. 14 But all these (were) continuing together for (ⲉ)
the *prayer*, with (ⲛⲉⲙ) women, and (ⲛⲉⲙ) Maria (the)
mother of Jesus, and (ⲛⲉⲙ) his brethren.
15 And in these days Petros rose in (the) midst of the
brethren, but there were many assembled together who were
to be numbered (lit. make) a hundred (and) twenty names:
he said, 16 [The] men, [the] brethren, it is necessary that

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[a] Lit. 'of a sabbath of walking.'

ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' B^aΓKNOT, cf. Gr. rell. ⲫⲓⲗⲓ(ⲩ, O)ⲡⲡⲟⲥ] pref. ⲛⲉⲙ, K. ⲃⲁ(O, G)ⲣⲑ.] pref. ⲛⲉⲙ, K. ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲉⲟⲥ] cf. ? Gr. AB^3CE al omn^{vid} rell: om. ⲧ, F*. ⲁⲗⲫⲉⲟⲥ] ⲁⲗⲫⲁⲉⲟⲥ, B^a. -ⲭⲟϩ] -ⲕⲟϩ, N. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ] ⲓⲱⲇⲁⲥ, S. ⲫⲁ 2°] + ⲥⲟⲛ 'brother,' O. 14 ⲇⲉ] AP: om. $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ] A: ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲏⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*DE h 14* 61. 81. 142. 177. vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵACD al plu &c. ⲛⲉⲙ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵAC*D 25. 104. 106** 118. vg arm aeth &c. 15 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϧ(ϩ, B^a)ⲣⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 1. 13. 31. 40. 61. al omn^{vid} fu demid syr^{utr} aeth rell &c. ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] $L^g T^t A B^a$ΓKP: + ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ, FGNOT: ⲛⲓⲉϩ. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ, S. ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABC* 8. 13. 163. 12^{leot} 40^{leot} vg arm aeth. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲟⲩⲛ, N. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. CD^2 16. vg e d^2 syr^{utr} arm &c.: om. K, cf. aeth $Thphyl^a$. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ] T^tAGO*P: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ, $L^g B^a$ΓFKNST: + ϩⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ 'one with another,' O^{mg} ('a copy'). ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲉⲣ] $T^t A_1$: ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ, A_2: ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲣ, L^g &c. ⲣ̄ⲕ] cf. ? Gr. D. ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. E). ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^gAΓGNOT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t B^a$FKP^oS. 16 ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] A: ⲛⲉⲛⲥ. 'our brethren,' $L^g T^t$ &c.; K^{tr} التلاميذ 'the disciples,' الاخوة ق 'Coptic, the brethren.' ϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ] $L^g T^t$AGS, cf. ? Gr. D* d vg arm^{cod} &c.: om. ⲡⲉ, B^aΓFKNOPT.

ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϭⲁⲩⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄. 17 ϫⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲏⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲡ ⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ 18 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲃⲉⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ. ⲁϥⲕⲱϣ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ[⳾]ⲫⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⳾
ϵ †ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲭⲉⲗⲇⲁⲙⲁⲅ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾ 20 ⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲓ
ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

Ϫⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲃⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥϣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉϥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ. ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥ-
ⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϭⲓⲧⲥ.

ϛ 21 ϩⲱϯ ⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ 22 ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ ϣⲁⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ

ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵABC* h 5. 14* 25. 61. 69. 81. 104. 163. 1^{lect} vg arm aeth Or Eus Did Ath &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. K. ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] cf. Gr. al mu. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ] ⲓⲱⲇⲁⲥ, S. ϭⲁⲩ] ϣⲁⲩ, O*P. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] ΑΓGNOT: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, $T^{t}B^{a}$FKPS: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, L^{g}. 17 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵA BCDE h 13. 25. 27. 29. 61. 69. 81. 142. 163. vg Eus &c. ⲡⲓⲱⲡ] ⲡⲓⲟⲡ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AGP: om. ⲙ̄, B^{a}ΓFKNO ST. 18 ⲁϥϣⲱ(ⲟ, A_2)ⲡ] ⲛⲁϥϣⲱⲡ, Γ: ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ, F. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲛⲁϥ, FS. ⲫⲃⲉⲭ(ⲕ, ⲧ)ⲉ] cf. ? Gr. minusc vix mu $Thphyl^{b}$. ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. D syr^{p} c.* $aeth^{utr}$ Eus &c.). ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. GP. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}A: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲁϥⲕⲱϣ] ANOT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓFGKPS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. T. 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c.] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ABCE al pler vg syr^{utr} rell Eus &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥ. &c. 'and it became manifested &c.,' K: ⲁⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ

the *Scripture* should be fulfilled, which the holy *spirit* said
before from the mouth of David concerning Ioudas who
guided them who overpowered Jesus. 17 Because he was
being numbered amongst us, and the lot came to him [a] of the
heritage of this *ministry.* 18 This (man) *indeed then* bought
a field from (the) reward of (the) iniquity; and he fell upon
his face, he burst in the (lit. his) midst, and all that (plur.)
which was inside him was poured out. 19 And he was mani-
fest to all who dwelt in Jerusalem; *so that* they call (the)
name of that field in their language 'Acheldamag,' which
(is) the field of the blood. 20 For it is written in (the) book
of the *Psalms*: 'Let his habitation be desolate, and let
there not be him who dwelleth in it. His *bishopric* let
another take.' 21 It is necessary *then*, among the men who
came in among us, in all the time which our Lord Jesus came
in and came out over us, 22 having begun from the baptism
of Iōannēs until the day (in) which he was taken away up

[a] Cf. Luke i. 9.

ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'the thing was manifested in all Jerusalem,' O^{mg}. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ(+ϥ, S*)] A: ⲁ(ⲉ, K)ϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ(+ϥ, S^{o}) ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, O*: om. B^{a}(O^{mg}). ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. B*. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}FGPS: -ⲇⲉ, AB^{a}ΓKNOT. ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲁⲛ, FS. ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄] om. B^{a}K. ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵB*D. ⲁⲭⲉⲗⲇⲁⲙⲁⲅ] T^{t}AG: om. ⲁ 1°, K: ⲁⲭⲁ., L^{g}PS: ⲁⲭⲁⲗⲇⲁⲙⲁⲕ, B^{a}: ⲁⲭⲉⲗⲇⲁⲙⲁⲭ, ΓFO, cf. Gr. ℵA 40. 61.: ⲟⲩⲁⲭⲁⲗⲇⲉⲙⲁⲅ, T: ⲁⲭⲉⲗⲇⲁⲭⲙⲁ, N. 20 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲯ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲯ., ΓNOT. ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. 31* 34. 43. 61. al^{10} fere &c.). ⲫⲏ] ⲡⲓ, NS. ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, F. ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲉⲣⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ, ΓNOT, obs. Gr. E 1. 13. 31. al pler Eus λάβοι. 21 ϩⲱϯ] ϩⲱⲧⲓ, FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*ABC*D^{2} 61. vg &c. ⲁϥⲓ] AΓFNOT: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}GKPS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. G. ϩⲓϫⲱⲛ(ⲙ, S)] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲉϫⲱⲛ, ΓNOT. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] A: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 22 ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ., Γ. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ] om. B^{a}G.

ⲣⲝ ⲉⲡⲓ|ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⁘ ϧⲁ ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⁘ 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲃ̅ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲥ ⁘
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛϥ ϫⲉ ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲑⲓⲁⲥ.
24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
Ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲧⲡϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲓⲃ̅ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ 25 ⲉϭⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲁ-
ⲣⲁⲃⲉⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⁘ 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲑⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲡϥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲓ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⁘
ϛ 1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲉⲛ-
ⲧⲏⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏ ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⁘
2 ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⁘ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⁘
ⲉⲛⲁⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ. 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲫⲏϣ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘

ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲡⲁⲓⲉϩ. ‘this day,’ T^{t}K. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ] AB^a: +ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ‘to (the) heaven,’ L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲩ, N. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ] position cf. ? Gr. E 1. 13. al pler syr^{utr} arm Thphyl. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, FOS. 23 ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ] L^{g}AΓFKNOST: ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., T^{t}B^{a}GP. ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ] -ⲏⲃ, N. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] om. T. ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲃⲃⲁⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 1. 40. 61. 80. 95. al: ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ, S*, cf. Gr. D tol aeth. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ.] ⲡⲉⲧ., ΓNOT. ⲙⲁⲑⲓⲁⲥ and ver. 26] AB^a, cf. Gr. B*D sah^{fragm} (ed^{woid}): ⲙⲁⲧⲑⲓⲁⲥ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵAB^{3}CE rell. 24 ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ] ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ, K. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] A: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ., T^t: ⲉⲧⲥ., L^g &c. ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲏⲧ] ⲉⲛϩ., FS: ⲛⲓϩⲏⲧ, B^a. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] L^{g}AP: ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, T^{t}ΓGNOT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ‘add,’ B^{a}FKS. ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ] L^{g}T^{t}AGOP: om. ⲙ̀, B^{a}ΓFKNST. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲧⲡϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] position cf. ? Gr. (exc. minusc ut vdtr pauc &c.). ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, T^{t}ΓN. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓGNOPT: om. B^{a}FKS, obs.

from us, that one of these should witness with us of his
resurrection. 23 And they set up two, Iōsēph who is called
'Barsabbas,' who was named 'Ioustos,' and Mathias. 24 And
having prayed, they said: 'Lord, thou (art) he who know-
eth (the) heart of all, manifest him whom thou chosest from
these two one, 25 to take (the) place of this *ministry* and this
apostleship which Ioudas *transgressed*, having gone to his
place which is his.' 26 And they gave *lot* for them; the
lot came upon Mathias; he was counted with the eleven
apostles. II. And the day of the Pentēcostē having been
fulfilled, they were all assembling in a place. 2 Suddenly
there came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) a sound from (the) heaven as a wind
rushing[a], and it filled all (the) house in which they were
sitting. 3 And there appeared to them as tongues of fire,

[a] Lit. 'they bringing it by force.'

D^{gr*}. 25 ⲉⲫ.] AΓO: ⲙ̄ⲫ., L^gT^t &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ] cf. Gr. ABC*D vg &c. ⲛ̄(ⲉ, ⲣ)ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ] L^gT^tAΓGNOT: ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ, B^aFKS. ⲧⲁⲓ 2°] ϯ, FS. ⲑⲏ] A: ⲑⲁⲓ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ., Γ. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲉ(ⲁ, NT)ⲛⲓⲛ] AK: + ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ 'from,' $L^gT^tB^a$ΓGNOPT: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'from,' FS; obs. Gr. ἀφ' (exc. E &c. ἐξ). ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ] ⲓⲱ., S. ⲉⲁϥϣⲉ] A: ⲉϣⲉ 'to go,' L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ &c.] ⲉⲫⲙⲁ &c., ΓNOT; cf. Gr. ℵBDE &c. 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲕⲗ. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] om. O*, added with tr. as ق 'Coptic.' ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB CD^2 5. 7. 13. 25. 61. 81. 100. 173^{mg} vg aeth &c. ⲁⲡⲓⲕⲗ.] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] A: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^gT^t &c. ⲙⲁⲑⲓⲁⲥ] AB^a: ⲙⲁⲧⲑ., L^gT^t &c. ⲁⲩⲟⲡϥ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c.

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the last Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. &c. (exc. d e vg syr^{sch} ar^e arm aeth &c.). ϯⲡⲉⲛⲧ (I, FS).] ⲧⲏⲡⲉⲛⲧ., NT: om. ϯ, K. ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. &c. (exc. D, syr^{sch} ar^e aeth) this word renders ὁμοῦ &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ*E 163 &c.). 2 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲑⲏⲟⲩ] ⲑⲏⲟϥ, NT. ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲏⲓ] L^gAB^aΓG*NOPT: ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲏⲓ, T^tFG^cKS, making 'the house' subject. ⲉⲛⲁⲩϩ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩ., O*. 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf.? Gr. ℵB 15. 18. 61. syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ] -ϩϥ, N. ⲁⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] ⲉⲩϩ., FS; plur., cf. Gr. ℵ*D^{gr} syr^{utr} &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] $L^gT^tAB^a$GP: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, ΓFKNOST.

4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⳾ 5 Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ | ⲛ̀ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϣⲗⲱⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲉ-
ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⳾
ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⳾ 7 ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 8 ⲡⲱⲥ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾
9 Ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲑⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲗⲁⲙⲓ-
ⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ ⳾
ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲕⲁⲡⲡⲟⲇⲟⲕⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ 10 ϯⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲡⲁⲙ-
ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯⲗⲩⲃⲏ ⳾ ⲑⲏ
ⲉⲧϩⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ 11 ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲉⲙ-

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4 ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, Γ(ⲉ̅ⲑ̅)NOT. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] T^{t}A: ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟ- (om. ⲧⲟ, S: ⲧⲟⲩ, N)ⲧⲟⲩ, L^{g} &c. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ . . . ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] om. B^{a}. ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ] T^{t}A: ⲉⲛⲁϥϯ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. C^{3}E al pler tol syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] + ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, GP(ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅), cf. Gr. E vg aeth. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ] -ⲟϥ, NT: ⲉⲣⲟⲩ, FS. 5 ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B^{a}. ⲉⲩϣⲟⲡ] position cf. Gr. C syr^{sch}. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} BCDE al omn^{vid}. ϣⲗⲱⲗ] A$_{1}$: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, L^{g}T^{t}A$_{2}$ &c. 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ (om. ⲇⲉ, FS) ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲁⲓ] L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ 'but having heard this,' K. ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ, FS. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ . . . ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. ADEI^{vid} al plu arm. ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] L^{g}AΓFS: ⲛⲁⲩⲥ., T^{t}B^{a}GKNOPT. ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲓ] AK: + ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'their own,' L^{g}T^{t}, cf. Gr. ℵABCEI &c. 7 -ⲧⲱⲙⲧ] AF: -ⲟⲙⲧ, L^{g} &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ* et ^{c}ACEI 1. 13. 40. 61. al sat

divided; and they sat upon each of them. 4 And they all
were filled with [a] holy *spirit*, and they began[a] to speak
other tongues, according as the *spirit* gave to them to utter.
5 But there were some dwelling in Jerusalem, men, *Jews*,
devout, from all nations which are under (the) heaven.
6 But this sound having come (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), the multitudes were
assembled, and they were confounded, because each was
hearing them speaking in his (lit. their) language. 7 But
they were all being amazed, wondering, saying: 'Are *not*
all these who speak *Galileans*? 8 *How* hear we (pron.) each
of us in our language in which we were begotten?

'9 The *Parthians* and the *Medes* and the *Elamites*, and they
who dwell in [the] Mesopotamia, [the] Ioudea and [the]
Kappodokia, Pontos and [the] Asia, 10 [the] Phrikia and
[the] Pamphilia, Chēmi[b] and the parts of [the] Lybē, that
which is near (ϩⲓ) the parts of [the] Kyrinnē, and the
Romans who are among us, 11 the *Jews* and the strangers,

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[a] Lit. 'added their hand.' [b] Egypt.

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mu vg syr^{utr} arm. ⲡⲉ] om. FST. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵA
BC* 26. 61. vg aeth &c. ⲟⲩϫⲓ] cf. Gr. B: ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, A_2* (^{mg} 'an-
other copy' ⲟⲩϫⲓ): ⲟⲩϫⲟϯ 'not that,' K. ⲁⲛ] om. FGS. ⲛⲉ]
position cf. vg. 8 ⲡⲱⲥ] AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ]
L^{g}T^{t} AFGKPS: + ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ 'we all,' E^{a}ΓNOT. ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ 1°]
ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ, A_1N. ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲥⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. D^{gr}* vg^{ole} demid am fu.
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲫⲟⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBC*DE^{2} &c. 9 ⲙⲏⲇⲟⲥ] -ⲧⲟⲥ,
FS. ⲉⲗⲁⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲁⲗ., B^{a}KO*: -ⲧⲟⲥ, N. ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁ-
ⲙⲓⲁ] -ⲇⲁⲙⲓⲁ, K: -ⲇⲟⲙⲓⲁ, FPS. ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲟⲇⲟⲕⲓⲁ] AFS:
ⲕⲁⲡⲡⲁ., L^{g}T^{t} &c.: -ⲧⲟⲕⲓⲁ, T. ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ] ⲡⲟⲛⲇⲟⲥ, N.
10 ⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ] ABᵃK: ⲫⲣⲩⲕ., FS: ⲫⲣⲓⲅ., T^{t}N: ⲫⲣⲩⲅ., L^{g}ΓGO
PT. -ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲁ] ANT: -ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲗⲩⲃⲏ] ⲗⲩⲃⲓ, T^{t}:
ⲗⲏⲃⲓ, N: ⲗⲓⲃⲏⲛⲏ, FS. ⲗⲩⲃⲏ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯ] om. A_2* homeot.
ⲛⲓⲥⲁ 2°] ⲛⲁⲥⲁ, A_1FNS. ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲏ] A_1FKS: ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲏ, T^{t}
A_2G, cf. Gr. 61: ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲛⲏ, ΓNOT: ⲕⲩⲣⲏⲛⲏ, L^{g}B^{a}P. ⲛ̄ϭⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲛ] -ⲧⲟⲩ, T. 11 -ϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] -ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ, GP:

ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾
12 Ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ 13 ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲉⲣϣⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁϩ
ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲃⲣⲓⲥ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ
η ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲑⲁϧⲓ ⳾ † 14 Ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ· ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲓ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ |
ⲣⲝⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϭⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ 15 ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲑⲁϧⲓ ⳾ ⲁϫⲡ̅ⲅ̅ϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⳾ 16 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲓⲱⲏⲗ ⳾
17 Ϫⲉ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾
⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲫⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
⳾ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ
⳾ ⲉϩⲁⲛϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲫⲱⲣ
⳾ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ 18 ⲕⲉⲅⲉ ⲉⲓⲉⲫⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
⳾ ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕⲓ ⳾

-ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ, S*. ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ΑΓFNOST: ⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏⲥ, LgTtBaG KP. ⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟ(ⲁ, O)ⲥ] obs. Gr. D ἄραβοι. ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ] ⲛⲉⲛⲗⲁⲥ 'our tongues,' FS: ⲛⲉⲛⲗⲁⲥ 'our tongue,' K. 12 -ⲧⲱⲙⲧ] TtF KS: -ⲧⲟⲙⲧ, Lg &c. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. FS. ⲉ(ⲁ, S)ⲩⲓⲟ(ⲱ, FKS)-ⲣⲉⲙ] LgABaGP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TtΓFKNOST. ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] LgTtAFGKPS: ⲉ, BaΓNOT. 13 ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ(om. ⲉⲣ, O)-ϣⲉⲣϣⲓ] ⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲉⲣϣⲓ, GP. ⲁ] om. G* P. ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. D. ⲉⲙⲃⲣⲓⲥ] ⲉⲙⲃⲣⲏⲥ, P: ⲙ̅ⲃ̅., FS: ⲉⲙⲣⲓⲥ, O. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ-ⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ . . . ⲑⲁϧⲓ] A: om. LgTt &c. 14 Fmg Smg الاحد الخامس اذا اتفق في الشهر الاول 'the fifth Sunday when it occurs in the first (six)

the *Cretans* and the *Arabians*, we hear them speaking in
tongues the great things[a] of God.' 12 But they were all
amazed, staring one at another, saying: 'What is this which
happened?' 13 But others were deriding, saying: 'These
filled themselves with new wine,' but others were saying:
'These are drunken.' 14 But Petros stood (up) with the
eleven also, he lifted up his voice, he answered them,

[The] men, [the] *Jews* and all they who dwell in Jerusalem, let this be manifested to you, and listen to my words.
15 For (it is) *not* as ye (pron.) think, that these are drunken;
for it is the third hour of the day; 16 but (ⲇⲉ) this is that
which he said through the *prophet* Iōēl: 17 'It shall come
to pass in the last days, said God, I shall pour out from
my *spirit* upon all *flesh*; and your sons and your daughters
shall *prophesy*; and your young men shall see *visions*; and
your old men shall dream dreams[b]; 18 *and even* I shall pour
out from my *spirit* upon my servants and my handmaids

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[a] Lit. 'the greatnesses.' [b] Different words in the Coptic.

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months': F^{mg} واحد النسى 'and the Sunday of the intercalary days': K^{mg} و نقرفى النسى 'and it is read &c.' ⲛⲓⲕⲉ] om. ⲕⲉ, K. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] +ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ 'saying,' FS, cf. Gr. C arm. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣ.] ⲛⲏⲧϣ., O: ⲛⲓ ⲉⲧϣ., NS. -ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] +ϥ, A_2. 15 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. O. ⲁⲛ] om. L^{g}FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., T^t: ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., B^a: ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., L^{g}FS. ⲅ̄ϯ] ⲅ̄, B^{a}GP: ⲙ̄ⲡⲅ̄ϯ, K. ⲅⲁⲣ] trs. after ⲁϫⲛ, K: om. FS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓKNOT: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓ., B^{a}FGPS. ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉ, FS. 16 ⲫⲏ] om. FKS. ⲓⲱⲏⲗ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEIP al omn^{vid} vg &c. 17 ϫⲉ] for om. *καί* cf.? Gr. D syr^{sch} &c. ϧⲉⲛ ... ϧⲁⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵADEIP al pler vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCIP al pler syr^{utr} arm &c.: ⲡ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' FS, cf. Gr. DE 105. vg &c. ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] ⲡⲁⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, S by error. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, FS. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲣⲓ] om. T*. ⲉⲩⲉⲫⲱⲣ] ⲉⲩⲉⲫⲟⲣ, FN. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD^2 h 13. 27. 40. 61. al^{30} fere Epiph: ⲉϩ., G, cf. Gr. EP al permu &c. 18 ⲕⲉⲅⲉ] ⲥⲉⲅⲉ, NT by error.

⳹ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟ-
⳹ⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⳹ 19 ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ
⳹ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ
⳹ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ
⳹ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⳹ 20 ⲫⲣⲏ ⲉϥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ
⳹ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳹ ⲙ̀-
⳹ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩ-
⳹ⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹ 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
⳹ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉϥⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⳹
θ 22 Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲁ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲏϯ ⳹
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳹
23 Ⲫⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲑⲏⲛϣ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ |
ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳹ ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲛ-
ϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϣϥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳹ 24 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⳹
ⲉⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲕϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ ⳹ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳹
25 Ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲅⲁⲣ ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ

ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ(ϥ, N)] AB^{a}GP: ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓFKNOST, plural. 19 ⲉⲓⲉϯ] L^{g}AΓFOST: ⲉⲓϯ, N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}GKP. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ] om. ⲛ̀, T^{t}GK. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ] L^{g}AFKS: ⲙ̀ⲡ., T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOPT. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., FKOS. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ] om. N. 20 ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}Γ^{mg}O^{mg} ('a copy') &c.: ϣⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ 'until it come,' Γ*O*. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. Trs. ⲛ̀ⲧ(ϫ, S*)ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ after ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. K. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, FS: om. ⲛ̀, B^a. F^{mg}K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'
Hunt 18, 22–28
22 ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣ.] ⲛⲓⲥⲣ., A$_1$B^{a}FNOPT; cf. Gr. A(B^3)CDP &c. -ⲗ(+ⲗ, P)ⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. P minusc ut vdtr omn. ⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ] T^{t}A(B^a)K* 18: ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ, L^{g}ΓFGK^{c}NOPST: om. ⲛⲁⲓ, B^a. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] om. S. ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. rell: -ⲟⲣ., S*, cf. Gr. ℵ*D*. ⲉⲁⲫϯ] ⲉⲁϥ

in that day; and they shall *prophesy.* 19 I shall give
wonders in (the) heaven above, and signs upon (the) earth
below; [a] blood, and [a] fire, and a blackness of *smoke.*
20 (The) sun shall be removed, it shall become darkness;
and the moon shall become blood, before the great and
manifest[a] day of the Lord come. 21 And it shall be to
every one who will pray (the) name of the Lord, (that) he
shall be saved.' 22 [The] men, [the] *Israelites*, hear these
my words, Jesus the Nazōreos, a man whom God manifested
unto you in powers and signs and wonders, which God
did through him in your midst according as ye (pron.)
know. 23 This (man), in the ordained counsel and the
foreknowledge of God, having (ⲉⲁⲧ.) delivered into (the)
hands of the *lawless*, ye crucified (ⲉⲁⲣ.) and ye killed (ⲁⲣ.).
24 This whom God raised (up), having loosed the pangs of
Amenti: because it was not possible that he should be overpowered by it. 25 For David saith of (ⲉ) him: 'I foresaw

[a] Lit. 'which is manifest.'

'he,' B^{a}*. ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, F)ⲛϩϥ] position cf.? Gr. AD*EP al plu syr^{utr} &c. ⲡⲉ] T^{t}AP: om. L^{g} &c. ϧⲉⲛϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ] A: pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$FGKPS 18: pref. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, ΓNOT. ϫⲟⲙ . . . ϩⲁⲛ] om. T homeot. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ] position cf.? Gr. E $al^{2\,scr}$ vg^{cl} aeth &c. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*DE 15. 18. 25. 27. 29. 31. 40. 61. 73. 96. am fu demid syr^{sch} arm aeth Eus Ath &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] -ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ 'hear,' G. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ, B^{a} by error. 23 ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, P. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϣ., P. ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓϥ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AK: ⲁⲧⲉⲧ., B^{a}ΓFG NOPST 18; cf. Gr. ℵ*ABC* 25. 27. 29. 40. 61. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth Ath &c. ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. C^{3}EP al plu vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲉⲁⲣ.] ⲁⲣ., B^{a}FGOPS 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲟⲑ.] T^{t}AK: ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., $L^{g}B^{a}$FGPS 18: ⲁⲧⲉⲧ., ΓNOT; obs. Gr. aorist. 24 ⲉⲧⲁ] om. ⲉⲧ, FS. ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ] cf. Gr. D d e vg ar^{e} &c. ϣϫⲟⲙ] +ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ 'for him,' FS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓGNPT 18: -ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, T^{t}FKOS. 25 ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. (exc. E 15. 18): om. B^{a} 18. ϥϫⲱ] $L^{g}T^{t}A_{1}B^{a}$ΓFGPS 18: ⲉϥϫⲱ, KNOT: ⲁϥϫⲱ, A_{2}. ⲁⲓⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ] -ϣⲱⲣⲡ, T^{t}NS.

÷ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ÷
÷ⲉϥⲭⲏ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲕⲓⲙ÷
÷[26] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ
÷ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ÷ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲝ
÷ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ÷ [27] ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱϫⲡ
÷ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ÷ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϯ
÷ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ÷ [28] ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ
÷ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ÷ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ÷ ⲉⲕⲉ-
÷ⲙⲁϩⲧ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲟ÷
ι [29] Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ÷ ⲥϣⲉ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ÷ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ
ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥϥ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉϥⲙ̀ϩⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ ϣⲁⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲟⲩ÷
[30] ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ÷
ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁϣ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲁϥ÷ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ÷ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥϯⲡⲓ÷ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ÷ [31] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ϣⲟⲣⲡ÷ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅÷
ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟϫⲡϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ÷ [32] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ÷ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ.
ια [33] Ⲉⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ÷ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲣⲝⲃ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ÷ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ | ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲱⲧ÷
ⲁϥⲫⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ

ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] L^gAFS: ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, $T^t B^a$ΓGKOPT 18: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, N. ⲉϥⲭⲏ] ϥⲭⲏ, T. [26] ⲉⲧⲓ] ⲉϯ, FS: ⲉⲧⲉ, N. ⲛⲉⲙ] $L^g T^t$AΓGNOPT: om. B^aFKS 18. ⲥⲁⲣⲝ] ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲝ, N. [27] ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲱ(ⲟ, NT)ϫⲡ] T^t &c.: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲥ., L^g. [28] ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] $L^g T^t$AB^aFGKPS 18: ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'thou showedst them,' ΓNOT. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ] AKNT 18: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ, $L^g T^t B^a$ΓFGOPS. [29] ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲥ., G. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟ(A: ⲱ, $L^g T^t$ &c.)ⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] trs. after ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ, K. ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ] + ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲧ 'father,' A_1^{mg}FKS. ⲙ̀ϩⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙϩⲁⲩ, Γ. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] ANOT: pref. ϣⲟⲛ, Γ: pref. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ, $L^g B^a$FGPS: pref.

the Lord before me always; being at my right hand, that
I may not be moved: 26 therefore my heart was delighted,
and my tongue was glad; *moreover* my *flesh* also shall dwell
in [a] *hope*: 27 because thou shalt not leave my *soul* in
Amenti, *neither* shalt thou give the holy one of thine to
see (the) corruption. 28 The ways of (the) life thou manifest-
edst to me, thou shalt fill me with (ⲛ̄) delight with (ⲛⲉⲙ)
thy face.' 29 [The] men our brethren, it is lawful to speak
to you openly concerning our *patriarch* David, that he died,
and he was embalmed, and his sepulchre (is) among us until
to-day. 30 Being *then* a *prophet*, and knowing that in an
oath God sware to him from (the) fruit of his loins to make
one[a] sit upon his *throne*; 31 having seen *then* from (the) first,
he spake concerning (the) *resurrection* of Christ, that he left
him not in Amenti, *nor* did his *flesh* see (the) corruption.
32 This [is] Jesus whom God raised (up), this to whom all we
(pron.) are witness. 33 Having been exalted at the right
hand of God, he received the promise of the holy *spirit*
from the Father, he poured out this which ye (pron.) see and

[a] Lit. 'him.'

ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}K. ⲉⲫⲟⲟⲩ] +ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ, Γ. 30 ⲉϥ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] T^{t}B^{a}ΓFGKNO: ϥⲥ., L^{g}AP: ⲁϥⲥ., T: ⲉϥⲉⲥ., S. ϫⲉ] om. G*. ⲛⲁϥ] L^{g}AB^{a}GP: +ϫⲉ, T^{t}ΓFKNOST. ⲧⲉϥ-ϯⲡⲓ] ⲧⲉⲕ., GO, 2° person. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϩ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCD^{2} h 61. 95. 142. 12^{lect} vg syr^{sch} arm aeth Cyr &c. ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲉⲕⲑ., O, 2° person. 31 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟ(ⲱ, FS)ϫⲡϥ] om. ϥ, FGS; for οὐ cf. Gr. EP al plu syr^{utr} &c.; for om. ἡ ψ. αὐ. cf. Gr. ℵABC* D 61. 76. 81. vg syr^{sch} aeth ar^{e} &c. 32 ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ 'from them who are dead,' FS. 33 ⲉⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ] ϫⲉⲁϥϭ. 'that he hath' &c., K. -ϭⲓⲥⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}GKP 18: +ⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}ΓFNOST. ⲁϥϭⲓ] A: ⲉⲁϥϭⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] om. B^{a} 18. ⲁ(ⲉ, B^{a})ϥⲫⲱⲛ] L^{g}T^{t} &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GP 18: +ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ 'on us,' B^{a} 18, obs. Gr. D* d add ὑμεῖν. ⲫⲁⲓ . . . ⲉⲣⲟϥ . . . ⲉⲣⲟϥ] cf. Gr. (exc. E demid tol syr^{sch} et$^{p\,txt}$ ar^{e} &c.). ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*D^{2} 10* 15. 18. 27. 29. 36. 61. 81. 127. 130. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁⲧⲉⲧ., B^{a}: Hunt 18, 33–36

ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘ 34 ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ϫⲉ ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ 35 ϣⲁϯϫⲁ ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲓ ⲥⲁⲡⲉ-
ιβ ⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϭ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⁘ † 36 Ⲁⲥⲫⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ ⁘ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲁⲓϥ
ⲛ̄ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲓϥ ⲛ̄ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϣϥ ⁘
ιγ 37 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⁘
ιδ 38 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲙⲥϥ
ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲛϫⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ιε ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⁘ † 39 Ⲫⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱϣ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲟⲩ-
ⲏⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲑⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⁘
40 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϧⲱⲛϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲧⲁⲓ-
ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲗϫ ⁘ 41 ⲡⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉⲛ

ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., F°S; for om. *καί* cf. Gr. (exc. B D 81 arm zoh). ⲉⲣⲟϥ 1°] +ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ 'and ye know him,' FS. 34 ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲇ̅, O, cf.? Gr. ACEP. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] Lg Tt ABa FGKPS 18: ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲧⲫⲉ] A: ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ 'the heavens,' Lg Tt &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] A: +ⲇⲉ, Lg &c.: +ϫⲉ, Tt. ϥϫⲱ] A: ⲉϥϫⲱ, Lg Tt &c. Hunt 18, 36–38 36 ⲁⲥⲫⲁⲗⲱⲥ] -ⲗⲟⲥ, T 18 i* ii*: -ⲗⲁⲥ, Ba. ⲡⲏⲓ] Lg Tt &c.: pref. ⲛⲁ 'they of,' Γc FS; for article cf.? Gr. CD c scr. ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. minusc mu syr sch aeth &c. ⲁϥⲁⲓϥ 1°] om. Tt FKS. ⲛ̄ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲓϥ] om. NT. ⲛ̄ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] ABa ΓKNOPT 18: ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, Lg FS. ⲫϯ] ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, Lg. ⲫⲁⲓ 1°] ⲫⲏ, S*. ⲫⲁⲓ 2°] ⲫⲏ, FKS. 37 ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] for *εἶπον* cf. Gr. ABC(E)P al pler &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K, cf. Gr. E 19. 61. ⲡⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲛ̄] om. FS. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ] Lg Tt ΑΓΝΤ: ⲡⲉⲧ.,

ye hear. 34 For David went not up to (the) heaven: he
himself saith: 'The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my
right hand, 35 until I put thine enemies below thy feet."'
36 *Assuredly then* let the whole house of Israel know, that
God made him Lord and he made him Christ. This [is] Jesus,
this whom ye (pron.) crucified. 37 But having heard, their
heart was pained, they said to Petros and (the) rest of the
apostles: 'What is that which we shall (lit. will) do, [the]
men, our brethren?' 38 But Petros said to them: '*Repent*,
and let each of you receive baptism[a] unto (the) name of
Jesus Christ unto (the) forgiveness of your sins; and ye
will receive the *free gift* of the holy *spirit*. 39 For yours
is the promise, and your fathers, and all who are far off,
whom the Lord our God will call.' 40 But in many other
words he was witnessing to them, and he was entreating
them, saying: 'Save yourselves from this perverse *genera-
tion*.' 41 They *indeed then* who received the word were

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[a] Lit. 'baptise him.'

B^{a}FGKOPS^{c} 18; cf. ? Gr. D al plu Cyr^{br}. 38 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Ṭūbah,' S^{mg} يعرعلى عدد ιδ حسب الدلال 'it may be used for number 14 according to the directory.' ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. ? Gr. EP al pler syr^{p} &c. ⲙⲁⲣⲉ] L^{g}AB^{a}GP 18: om. T^{t}ΓFKNOST. ⲟⲙⲥϥ] L^{g}A: ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ(+ⲥ, ⲛ)ⲟⲙⲥϥ, T^{t} &c. ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAEP al omn^{vid} &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al pler vg^{cle} fu demid tol aeth &c.: om. ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, FS, cf. syr^{sch} Ir^{int}. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 40. 61. 96. vg &c. 39 ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] $A_{1,2}$*: ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ 'your children,' $L^{g}T^{t}A_{2}^{mg}$ &c. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. KT. ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲫϯ 'God,' ΓNO: om. T. ⲡⲁⲑⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ] om. ⲡⲁ, OP. 40 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AGP: ⲛ̄ϩ., B^{a}ΓFKNOST. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D^{gr} k^{sor}. ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁϥⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ 'he was persuading them,' FS. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD 61. al $fere^{15}$ vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ϩⲁ] L^{g}AΓFNST: ϧⲉⲛ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GKOP. ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲗϫ] AB^{a}ΓNO^{c}T: -ⲱⲗϫ, $L^{g}T^{t}$FGKO*PS. 41 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉⲡ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABCD 19. 61. vg aeth Clem &c.

ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲙⲥⲟⲩ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲅ̅ ⲛ̅ϣⲟ
ⲙ̅ⲯⲩⲭⲏ⁘
ιϛ 42 Ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ιζ Ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲫⲱϣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲕ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ⁘ 43 ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥϣⲟⲡ
ⲙ̅ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⁘ |
ιη Ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ⁘
ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅⁘ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲟϯ ⲛⲁⲥϣⲟⲡ
ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ⁘
ιθ 44 Ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ⁘ 45 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩ-
ϩⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁⲩⲫⲱϣ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⁘ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ. 46 ⲛⲁⲩ-
κ ⲙⲏⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ⁘ †Ⲉⲩⲫⲱϣ
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲏⲓ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ⁘ 47 ⲉⲩⲥ-

ⲁⲩⲟⲙⲥⲟⲩ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓKNPT: +ⲉ(ϧⲉⲛ, G)ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'in or unto (the) name of Jesus Christ,' GO: +ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲡⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ 'unto (the) name of Jesus Christ unto (the) forgiveness of our sins,' FS. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, KP)ϩ] ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ 'they added them,' FS. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. EP al pler &c.
Hunt 26, 42–45 ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲅ̅] ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛ(om. B^aP)ⲁⲩⲅ̅ 'about 3,' B^aG. 42 ⲛ(om. A_1)ⲁⲩⲙⲏⲛ] ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ, FS, closer rendering of Gr. ⲉϯⲥⲃⲱ] ⲉϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙϯⲥⲃⲱ, 26. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡ.] ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲁⲡ., Γ. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲓ.] ⲛⲉⲙⲑⲙⲉⲧ. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ., F^c: ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲙⲉⲧ. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ., S^c; cf.? d vg. ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲕ] ⲛⲓⲱⲓⲕ, P. ϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ] $L^gT^tAB^a$GKP 26: ⲛⲓⲛ., ΓFNOST, plural. 43 ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲟϯ 'and a great fear,' FS^c. ⲛⲁⲥϣⲟⲡ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCD 96** vg syr^{utr}: ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS^c, cf. Gr. EP 1. 13. 31. 61. &c. ⲙ̅ⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲯⲩⲭⲏ, FS^c, by error for ⲉϫⲉⲛⲯ. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵB 61. ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲡⲉ, ΓFNOS; position cf.? Gr. AC syr^{sch} aeth. ϧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr.

baptised: and there were added to them on that day three thousand *souls*. [42] But they were continuing in (ⲉ) the teaching of the *apostles*, And the fellowship of the breaking of the bread, and the *prayer*. [43] But a fear was being to every *soul*. But many signs and wonders were being done through the *apostles* in Jerusalem: but a great fear was being upon them all. [44] But all who believed were being in a place; and all things were being to them in common[a]; [45] and they were selling their fields and *possessions*; and they were dividing them among all, according as each one had *need*. [46] But they were continuing daily in (ⲉ) the temple, breaking [a] bread in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) house, and they were taking [a] food in [a] gladness and a pure heart, [47] blessing God, having [a] grace with all the *people*.

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[a] Lit. 'in a fellowship.'

ℵACE 8. 13. 18. 19. 33. 34. 36. 40. 43* 96. 105. vg syr^{sch} &c. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ &c.] L^gT^tΑΓGKOP: om. ⲇⲉ, B^aNT 26: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ, FS; cf. ? Gr. ℵAC 40^{mg} al^{10} vg cat^{ox}. ⲛⲁⲥϣⲟⲛ 2°] + ⲡⲉ, B^aΓ: ⲁⲥϣⲟⲛ, A_2. ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ] L^gAFKP 26: -ⲡⲉ, S: trs. ⲡⲉ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧ., ΓN^oT: om. ⲡⲉ, T^tB^aGO. [44] ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ &c.] cf. ? Gr. BEP al pler syr^p arm &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ'B h 4. 18. 19. 25. 36. 42. 46. 57. 69. 130. 177. 180. f^{scr} al^5 arm aeth &c. ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ] + ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'they were being all of one heart,' G: ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ 'they were being of one heart,' FS. ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲛ] ⲉⲛⲁⲩϣⲟ(ⲱ, S*)ⲛ, FS. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ] AB^aK: om. ⲡⲉ, L^gT^t &c. [45] ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. FS. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ] L^gT^t A_1(A_2 om. ⲡⲉⲧⲉ)B^aGKP 26: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ, ΓNOT: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ, FS. ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ] ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲡ̄(om. O)ⲭⲣⲓⲁ, ΓNOT. [46] ⲇⲉ] A, cf. Gr. 3. 103^{mg}: + ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ 'together,' L^g &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ] L^gT^tA: om. ⲡⲉ, B^aΓG(K)NOPT: trs. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ, K: trs. ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏ(+ⲓ, S)ⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ, FS. ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] A: ϧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲓ., L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲩⲫⲱϣ] ⲛⲁⲩⲫⲱϣ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲓⲕ 'the loaves,' P. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] A: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓ] ⲉⲩϭⲓ, FS. ⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ] ⲧϧ., K: ⲧⲟⲩϧ. 'their food,' F. [47] ⲉⲩⲥ-

ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϥϯ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ. ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁϥⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ϩⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⳾

Ⲅ̄.

κα Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲁⲭⲡ̄ⲑ̄ϯ ⳾
2 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϭⲁⲗⲉ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲛⲉϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲭⲁϥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ
ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾
3 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
4 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾
5 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ |
ⲣⲝⲅ 6 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛ̀ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϯϯ

ⲙⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ, B^{a}. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] -ⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ, B^{a}GP. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] om. F*. ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ] om. ⲟⲩ, G. ϣⲁϥⲟⲩⲟϩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ AO: ⲛⲉϣⲁϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, K)ϩ, GKP: ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, F)ϩ, B^{a}ΓF NT: ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, S. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ, FKS: om. T. ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] ⲉϣⲁⲩ., FS. ϩⲓⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ] T^{t}AO: ϩⲓⲫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ, L^{g} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABCG 61. vg arm aeth. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} الخامس من ابيب 'the fifth of Abīb.' ⲇⲉ] om. A_2. ⲑ̄ϯ] ⲑ̄, B^{a}. 2 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ... (ⲇⲉⲛⲉ, B^{a}GP) ... ⲉϥⲟⲓ] sufficiently expresses *ὑπάρχων*. ⲫⲁⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GP. ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩ(ϥ, B^{a})ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}Γ^{c}$FGKP: ⲛⲉ ϣⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ, AΓ*NOT. ⲫⲣⲟ] ⲡⲓⲣⲟ, K. ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲩⲗⲏ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯⲡ., G(K)P.

But the Lord addeth to them who are being saved daily,
together.

III. But Petros and Iōannēs were going up to the temple
at (the) hour of the *prayer* of the ninth hour[a]. 2 But there
was a man, being lame from[b] (the) womb of his mother.
This (man) they were wont to carry (lit. raise) daily and
lay him at (the) door of the *gate* of the temple which is
called '(the) beautiful,' for him to receive an alms from
them who go into the temple. 3 This (man) having seen
Petros and Iōannēs going into the temple was praying them,
wishing to receive an alms from them. 4 But Petros looked at
him, with Iōannēs, he said: 'Look at us.' 5 But he (pron.)
was thinking that he was to receive an alms from them.
6 But Petros said to him: '[A] silver and [a] gold are (lit. is)
not to me; but that which I have I give to thee. In (the)

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[a] Lit. 'hour nine.' [b] Lit. 'from being in.'

ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] AB^aGP: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙ., FKS: ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙ., L^gT^tΓNOT. ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲏ] ⲥⲧⲁⲓⲏ, G: ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲉ, FKS: ⲧⲥⲁⲏ, ΓNT: ⲧⲥⲓⲁⲉ, P. ⲙⲉⲑⲛ.] ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., B^aΓNT. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲏ] L^gA_2ΓGKNOPT: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ, T^tA_1: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ, FS^c. 3 ⲫⲁⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, F. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓ̄ⲱ̄ⲁ̄, T. ⲉⲩⲛⲁ] ϫⲉⲁⲩⲓ 'that they came,' K. ⲛⲁϥ(ⲩ, A_1)ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. D reg syr^{sch} aeth: ⲛⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'was gazing at them,' FS. ⲉϭⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. D P h al^{70} &c.). ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, N; cf. Gr. E. 4 ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲉϥⲥ., N. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ 'they said to him,' FKS. 5 ⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ] A: ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ 'he gazed at them, thinking,' L^g &c.: ⲁϥⲥ. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ, T^t. ϫⲉ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] order cf. Gr. E 42. 103. (reg) arm. ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲁϭⲓ] L^gAΓNT: ϫⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲓ, T^tB^aGK: ⲇⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲓ, O: ϫⲉϥϭⲓ, P: ⲉϭⲓ, FS, closer rendering. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ] T^tA: ⲟⲩⲛ̄ϫⲁⲓ, L^gOT: ⲟⲩⲉⲛϫ., B^aΓFGKNPS. 6 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡ.] order cf. Gr. ACG vg &c. ⲛⲁϥ] $L^gT^tA_1B^a$FGKPS: om. A_2ΓNOT. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲓⲉ 'or,' FS. ⲛ̄ϥϣⲟⲡ] om. ⲛ̄, K: -ⲱⲡ, T^tN. ⲛⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ] ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ, F*: ⲛⲁⲛ, S*. ⲁⲛ] + ⲡⲉ, K, then ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ written twice, at end and beginning of lines.

ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱ-
ⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲟϣⲓ. 7 ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥ-
ϫⲓϫ ⁘ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⁘
Ⲛ̅ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϭⲟⲡ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⁘ 8 ⲁϥϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ
ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉϥϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϯ ⁘
κβ 9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲉϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϯ. 10 ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⁘
ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉϥϣⲁⲧⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ ⁘
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲁⲓⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃⲏ
ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⁘
κγ 11 Ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ. ⲁϥⲫⲱⲧ
ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⁘ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲧⲟⲁ ⁘
ⲑⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲑⲁⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲩ-
ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⁘
κδ 12 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ. ⲓⲉ ⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⁘ ϩⲱⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛ-

ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] om. FGS. ⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ] for ⲣⲉⲟⲥ cf. Gr. C. ⲧⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲛⲕ] cf. Gr. ACEGP al omn^{vid} reg vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲙⲟϣⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}K. 7 ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}GKP: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, FS: ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ] A: + ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCG 15. 18. 36. 61. reg vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̅ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ϧⲉⲛϯ., T^{t}K. ⲛⲓϭⲟ(ⲱ, K)ⲡ] ⲛⲓϣⲱⲡ, FS. 8 ⲁ(ⲉ, T^{t}B^{ac}GN)ϥϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: om. FS. ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ] ⲛⲁϥⲟϩⲓ, K: ⲉϥ., NP. ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲛⲁϥⲙ., L^{g}B^{a}GP: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲙ., ΓKNOT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲙ. ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲁϥϣⲉ] ⲛⲁϥϣⲉ, FS: ⲉϥ., NT. ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ and + ⲡⲉ, K. ⲉ(ⲁ, S)ϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ] L^{g}A, cf. Gr. A (D reg): pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓFGKNOPST, cf. Gr. ℵBCEP
Hunt 18, 9–11 al omn^{vid} cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. 9 ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁϥⲛⲱⲟⲩ, Γ*. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] position cf. Gr. EP al pler &c. ⲉϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ] AΓFKNOST:

name of Jesus Christ the Nazōreos, rise, walk.' 7 But he
caught hold of his hand, he raised him (up). But imme-
diately his *soles* and the ankle bones of his feet were made
firm. 8 He sprang up, he stood, he walked; and he went into
the temple with them, walking, springing up, blessing God.
9 And all the *people* saw him, walking, praising God: 10 but
they were knowing him, that this is he who was sitting
needing alms at the beautiful *gate* of the temple: they all
were filled with [a] fear and [an] astonishment over this
which happened. 11 But he caught hold of Petros and
Iōannēs: all the *people* ran off to them at the *porch* which
is called 'that of Solomōn,' being in [a] fear. 12 But Petros
having seen, answered the *people*. [The] men, [the] *Israelites*,
because of what[a] wonder ye at this? Or why look ye at

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[a] Usually rendered 'why,' but thus here to show difference from the following 'why.'

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pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^gT^tB^a$GP. 10 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 15. 18. 19. 61. cat e reg vg &c.: om. FS. ⲡⲉ 1°] L^gT^tAFP: om. B^aΓGKNOST. ⲫⲁⲓ 1°] cf. Gr. BDEP al pler arm syr^p &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] cf.? Gr. 40. 101. &c. ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ] ⲙⲉⲑ(ⲧ, ST)ⲛⲁⲏⲧ, FS. ϯⲥⲁⲓⲏ] -ⲓⲉ, B^aFKS. ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] A: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃⲏ] L^gT^t &c.: -ⲃⲓⲏ, A_1P^{mg} ('another copy'): ⲧⲱⲙⲧ, A_2^{mg} ('another copy'). ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲉϩⲣ., L^gT^t &c. ⲫⲁⲓ 2°] A: ⲫⲏ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] AFS: +ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ, L^gT^t &c. 11 ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] A: ⲉϥⲁⲙ., B^aΓFKNOST 18: ⲉⲁϥⲁⲙ., L^gT^tG: ⲉⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, P; cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al^{20} vg syr^{utr} arm. ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ] position cf.? Gr. EP al pler. ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ] T^tA: ϧⲁ, L^g &c.: ϩⲁ, FS. ⲑⲏ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲉⲩⲛ̀ϧ(ϩ, FS)ⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, N. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 12 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ] + ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'them,' FS: om. ⲇⲉ and + ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, T^t. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ (ⲱⲟⲩ, FS)] + ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ 'said,' FS. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] +ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'all,' S. ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣ.] ⲛⲓⲥⲣ., B^aFGOS; cf. Gr. ℵB^3 CD^{gr}P &c. ⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. B^3CDEP al omn^{vid}. ⲓⲉ 1°] om. G. ⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲛ] -ⲟⲧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ] L^gAB^aFGKPS: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., T^tΓNOT. ϩⲱⲥ ϫⲉ] ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, T^tK.

ϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲁⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲙⲟϣⲓ.
κε [13]ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫϯ
ⲛ̅ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ
κϛ ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲁϥϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
κζ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓϥ ⳾ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲗϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲁ ⲫⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ
ϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ [14]ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲑ-
ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. |
Ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲭⲁ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⳾ [15]ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ [16]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲙ̅ⲑⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
κη [17]ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲉⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲱⲛ ⳾ [18]ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϥⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ϣⲉⲡⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳾
κθ [19]Ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲧ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ-

ⲓⲉ 2°] L^{c}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS: ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' ΓKNOT. -ⲉⲩ(ⲁ=ⲉ=ⲉⲩ, T)ⲥⲉⲃⲏ(ⲉ, NS*)ⲥ] cf. am fu demid colb syr^{p} aeth ar^{p} &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲫⲁⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ^{o}FGOPS: ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲡⲁⲓ, T^{t}Γ*KNT; cf. Gr. E e
Hunt 18, 13 ⲫϯ 4° -16 vg &c. [13] ⲫϯ 2° and 3°] cf. Gr. ℵACD 15. 18. 25. 36. 130. 17^{lect} cat vg arm aeth ar^{e} Did &c. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ 'of the fathers,' A$_{2}$*. ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] for om. μέν cf. Gr. D 1. 13. 31. al vix mu &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ . . . ⲁⲧ.] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓϥ, B^{a}*. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲗϥ] AK: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫ., T^{t}B^{a}FGPS 18: ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫ., ΓNOT: ⲉⲧⲁⲣ., L^{g}; the idiom requires the expression of the object.

us, *as though* in our power or our *piety* we did this to cause
this (man) to walk? [13] God of Abraam and God of Isaak
and God of Iakōb, God of our fathers glorified his servant
(lit. child) Jesus; He (ⲫⲁⲓ) whom ye (pron.) gave (up);
ye denied him before Pilatos: he *indeed* having decided[a] to
release him; [14] but ye (pron.) denied the holy, the righteous.

Ye ask to be released to you a man (a) murderer; [15] but
(the) *author* of (the) life ye kill, this whom God raised from
them who are dead; this to whom we (pron.) witness. [16] And
in (the) faith of his name, this (man) whom ye see and ye
know,—his name (is) that which cured him, and the faith,
(which) is through him, gave to him the soundness before
you all. [17] But now, my brethren, I know that ye did it
in [an] ignorance, as also your *rulers*. [18] But God fulfilled
thus the things which he said since (the) first from the
mouth of all his *prophets* for his Christ to suffer.

[19] *Repent then* and return for your sins to be wiped away,

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[a] Lit. 'given judgement.'

ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB³CEP &c. ⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. Gr. 43. syr^{utr} add *αὐτόν*. [14] ⲇⲉ] om. Γ. ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲗϥ] A: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ] L^gAFS: ⲉⲁⲣⲉⲧ., T^t &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ] ⲑⲣⲟⲩ, A_2. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. O 18*. [15] ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ] ⲁⲣⲟⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ, N. ⲇⲉ] om. B^aGP. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ] T^tAFGS 18: pref. ⲉ, $L^g B^a$ΓKNOPT, relative particle. [16] ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ϩ. ϧ., ΓNOT; for prep. cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ACDEP al pler &c., for *ἐν* cf. Gr. 119. de vg &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] pref. ⲉ, FS. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ.] ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ., S 18. ⲧⲁⲗ(om. 18)ϭⲟϥ] A$B^a Γ^{mg}$GO^{mg}('another copy')P 18: ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟϥ 'made him firm,' $L^g T^t$ Γ*FKNO*ST. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] A: pref. ⲉⲧⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c., relative particle. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. B^a 18. ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] AB^a 18: ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ
'this &c.,' $L^g T^t$ &c.: ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩ. + ⲫⲁⲓ, F. [17] ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] AK: Hunt 18, 17–21
ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛ. 'our &c.,' $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥ] L^gAK: ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., $T^t B^a$FGPS 18: ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲧⲉⲧ., ΓNOT. [18] ⲛⲉϥⲡⲣ.] cf. Gr. P al plu aeth^{ro}. ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲉϥⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, L^g; cf. Gr. ℵBCDE 3. 15. 18. 25. 27. 36. 43. 61. 65. 66** c^{sor} vg arm syr^{utr} aeth^{pp} &c. [19] ⲟⲩⲛ] $L^g T^t$A$B^a Γ^c$FGKS: om. Γ*NOPT.

ϥⲱϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲃⲟⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ 20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁϣϥ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ 21 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϣⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁ
ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
λ 22 Ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲫϯ ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲏϯ. ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ 23 ⲉⲥⲉ-
ρξⲇ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄|ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉϥⲱϯ
ⲛ̄ϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾
λα ϯ 24 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ 25 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲫϯ ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲏⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲣⲟϫ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ 26 ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲱ-

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] trs. after ⲛⲟⲃⲓ, K. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ, A_1: ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛ., FS by error. 20 ⲉ(ⲁ, A_2)ϥⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ] ⲉϥⲧ., K. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. AC 61. al plu cat vg syr^{sch} aeth &c. 21 ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, FOS. ⲡⲉ] T^{t}AP: om. L^{g} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲫ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄(om. O)ϩⲱⲃ] ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲏϩⲱⲃ, K. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] A: +ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 'holy,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. (ⲉ̄ⲑ̄, ΓNT); for om. *πάντων* cf. Gr. ℵABCD h 27. 61. 81. 105. 127. 142. 163. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛⲡⲉⲛⲉϩ] position cf. Gr. P al plu syr^{utr}. 22 ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ABCD 1. 2. 4. 13. 38. 47. 56. 61. $al^{7\,scr}$ al mu cat: ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S*. ⲙⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 15. 18. 25. 33. 34. 36. 42* 61. al^{10} cat vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲁϥϫⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲥ] ⲉϥϫⲱ

that times of refreshment may come to you from before (the)
presence (lit. face) of the Lord; 20 and he shall send to you
him whom he foreordained, Jesus Christ: 21 this whom the
heavens must receive until (the) time of restoration of all
things, which (plur.) God spake from the mouth of his
prophets since (the) age (began). 22 Mōysēs *indeed* said:
'The Lord God shall raise a *prophet* to you from your
brethren (of) them like me; hearken to him according to
all things which he will say to you. 23 But it shall be to
every *soul* who will not hearken to that *prophet*—that soul
shall be wiped away from her *people*.' 24 And all the *prophets*
since Samuēl, and those who came after him, spake and
proclaimed concerning these days. 25 But ye are (the) sons
of the *prophets*, and the *covenant* which God established
with our fathers, saying to Abraam: 'All the *families* of
(the) earth shall become blessed in thy seed.' 26 First *indeed*
God raised his servant (lit. child) to you, he sent him to

ⲙ̅ⲙⲙⲟⲥ, O; cf. Gr. ℵABC 15. 18. 36. 61. 130. 12^{leot} vg syr^{sch}. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] om. FS. ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. B 60 &c. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛ̀ⲁϫ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛ., NT. 23 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲛⲁ., ΓNOT: ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥ., FS. ⲉⲩⲉϥⲱϯ] ⲉⲥⲉϥ., T^{t} by error: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, O. ⲉⲩⲉϥ ... ⲙⲙⲙⲁⲩ] om. A_2 homeot. ⲛ̄ϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ⲙ̄-ⲯⲩⲭⲏ, S*. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] cf. Gr. D vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ, N: ⲧⲏⲣϥ, T. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ, ΓNOT. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] cf. Gr. (exc. C^{2} al vix mu Cosm). ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] T^{t}AB^{a}K: +ⲛⲁⲓ, L^{g}ΓFGNOPST. 25 ⲇⲉ] T^{t}AGK: om. L^{g}B^{a}ΓFNOPST. ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. al plus^{25} cat &c.: ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛϣ., K, copula expressed. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] L^{g}AGKP: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲡ., T^{t}B^{a}ΓFNOST. ⲉⲧⲁ] pref. ⲑⲏ, B^{a}. ⲫϯ] position cf. ? Gr. BD &c. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ*CDP 1. 13. 31. al pler vg syr^{utr} arm^{ed} aeth &c.: ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲓⲟϯ, ΓNOT, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABE &c. ϧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, ΓNOT; cf. Gr. unc. &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁ] ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲓⲱⲧ 'fatherhood,' TK. 26 ⲙⲉⲛ] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲁ ... ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ] L^{g}AFGPS: ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ, T^{t}ΓKNOT: ⲁ ... ⲁϥⲧ., B^{a}. ⲫϯ] position cf. ? Gr. ADEP 1. 13. 61. al pler vg syr^{p} &c. ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵBCDE 61. vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ, O: om. ⲉ, FS.

ⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ϩⲉⲛϥ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
λβ 1 Ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ 2 ⲉⲩϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ϯⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ϯⲉⲃⲟⲗ
λγ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ † 3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩ-
ϫⲓϫ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲁ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ ϩⲏⲇⲏ ϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ 4 ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉ̄ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ ⳾
λδ 5 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅. 6 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲫⲁ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾
7 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϯ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾

ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, N. ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲡ.] cf. Gr. 5. 27. 29. al^5 αὐτοῦ, Gr. C* 13. 66** αὐτῶν.

Hunt 18, 1–4 1 ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ &c.] om. ⲇⲉ, FNST. ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP: +ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ, Γ(N)O(T), obs. Gr. DE reg syr^{sch}et^{pmg} ar^e &c. add τὰ ῥ. ταῦτα vel ταῦτ. τ. ῥ. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲏⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵADEP 1. 13. 31. 61. al pler reg vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩ(om. NP)ⲥ] plural, cf. syr^{utr} ar^e. 2 ⲡⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓGNPT 18: om. FKOS. ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] L^{g}T^{t}AGKP: ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, B^{a}ΓFNOST 18. ϯ (om. L^{g}T^{t}FS)ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE^{gr} 1. 13. 61. al vix mu cat vg syr^{utr} &c.: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, K. ⲡⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ 'the dead,' F. 3 ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩ.] ⲁⲩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩ, K. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] L^{g}AΓFNOST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}GKP 18;

bless you, that each one of you might depart from his evil
things. IV. But as they speak to the *people* the priests
and the *captains* of the temple and the *Sadducees* rose upon
them, 2 objecting that they were teaching the *people*, and they
were proclaiming in Jesus the *resurrection* [the] from them
who are dead. 3 And they put forth (lit. brought) their hands
upon them, they threw them into ward[a] until the morrow:
already evening had come. 4 But many from them who
heard the word believed; and (the) number of the men
who believed came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) to be five thousand. 5 But
it came to pass, the morrow having come (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), (that) the
rulers and their *presbyters* and the scribes assembled in
Jerusalem; 6 and Anna and Kaiapha, the *chief priests*, and
Iōannēs and Alexandros, and all who were from (the)
kindred of the *chief priest*[b]. 7 And having set them in
their midst they were asking them: 'In what power, or

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[a] Lit. '(the) keeping them.' [b] Derived form with ⲙⲉⲧ.

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for add *αὐτούς* cf. Gr. ACE 13. 15. 31. 40. al^{10} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲁⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ] A: +ⲅⲁⲣ, L^{g}T^t &c. 4 ⲇⲉ] ⲅⲁⲣ, K. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ 'of God,' T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^{a}GP 18. ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: ⲁⲥϣ., L^{g}T^t &c., singular: om. FS. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲏⲡⲓ] om. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, FS. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉ̄] ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉ̄, FS. 5 ⲉⲧⲁ . . . ϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ 'on the (lit. his) morrow,' K. ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ &c.] cf. Gr. D. ⲛⲓⲁⲣϫⲱⲛ] AK, cf. ? Gr. D 3. 95* syr^{sch} aeth: ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣϫ. (ⲟⲩⲉⲣϫ., N) 'their rulers,' L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲁϧ] A, cf. Gr. above: ⲛ(om. N)ⲟⲩⲥⲁϧ, L^{g}T^t &c. ϧⲉⲛⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄] cf. ? Gr. ABDE 61. al^{25} fere cat &c.: om. K. 6 ⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲕⲁ(ⲉ, T)ⲓⲁⲫ(ⲡ, N*)ⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣϫⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ] A: ⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲣϫⲓ(ⲏ, B^{a}KS^c)ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ (om. N) ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲫⲁ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ . . . ⲇⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. EP 1. 13. 31. al pler &c.). ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙⲉⲧ.] ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧ., A$_2$*FS. 7 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓKNOT: ⲁⲩⲧ. 'they set them,' B^{a}FGPS. ⲡⲉ] T^{t}A: om. L^g &c. ϫⲉ] ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ . . . ⲁϣ] om. FN ST. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, B^{a}ΓGKOP: om. L^{g}FNST. ⲁ(ⲉ, K)ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ &c.] order cf. ? Gr. ABDP al pler vg &c.

λε 8 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲙⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⁘ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⁘ 9 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⲉⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲃ ϫⲉ
λϛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⁘ † 10 Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⁘ ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϣϥ ⁘ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⁘ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙ̀ⲑⲟ
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟϫ ⁘
λζ 11 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲟϣϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⁘ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϫⲱϫ ⲛ̀ⲗⲁⲕϩ ⁘
12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ
ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟ-
ϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⁘
λη 13 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲉ ⁘ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲓⲇⲓⲱⲧⲏⲥ
λθ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲡⲉ ⁘ † Ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀-
ⲣⲝⲉ ⲙⲱⲟⲩ | ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ ⁘ 14 ⲡⲓⲕⲉ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ

Hunt 18, 8–10 8 ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ 'a spirit,' FPS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ, FS, the correct form after indef. art. ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ] pref. ϫⲉ, S. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ.] ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲣ. 'their &c.,' F*S; cf. Gr. ℵAB vg aeth Cyr &c.; for om. ἀκούσατε cf. Gr. (exc. E 15. 18. 37. cat^{72} vg^{cle} colb syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth &c.). 9 ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓ(Ⲏ, B^{a}S*)ⲛⲓⲛ] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲣ., G future: ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲕⲣⲓⲛⲓⲛ, K: ⲥⲉϯϩⲁⲡ, FS^{mg}. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ] ⲉⲣⲟⲛ, FS^{mg}. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ] ϩⲱⲃ, B^{a}: ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'every work,' S. ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉ, TN. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲁⲓ, FS. ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] +ϣⲱⲡⲓ 'became,' FGO('a copy')S. 10 ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ] ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ, GP indef.: +ⲟⲩⲛ, ΓΝΟ. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t}&c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A, cf. am aeth^{ro} ar^{p}:
Hunt 18, 11–14 +ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, L^{g}T^{t} &c. -ⲙ̀ⲑⲟ] T^{t}AK: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^{g} &c. 11 ⲛⲏ

in what name do ye (pron.) this?' 8 *Then* Petros was filled
with the holy *spirit*, he said to them: [The] *rulers* of the
people, and [the] *presbyters*, 9 if we (pron.) to-day are *ex-*
amined concerning a good deed which was done to a feeble
man, as to (ϫⲉ) by (ϧⲉⲛ) whom this man was cured;
10 let the deed be manifest to you all, and all the *people* of
Israel, that in (the) name of Jesus the Nazōreos, this whom
ye (pron.) crucified, this whom God raised from them who
are dead, in this (one) standeth this (man) before you cured.
11 This is the stone which was despised by you the builders,
this became a chief corner (stone). 12 And there is not another
in whom is being (the) salvation, *nor* is there another name
below (the) heaven which was given to [the] men in which
they must be saved. 13 But having seen the *boldness* of
Petros and Iōannēs, and having known that they were men
who[a] knew not writing, and were *unlearned*, they were
wondering; but they were knowing them, that they
were being with Jesus. 14 But the man also they were

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[a] Lit. 'they.'

ⲉⲧ(ⲑ, FK)ⲕⲱⲧ] cf. ? Gr. E P al longe plu &c. 12 ϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ,
FS. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al plus^{35} cat^{74} syr^{p} &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}. ⲙ̄ⲙ-
ⲙⲟⲛ ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲛ] order cf. ? Gr. D^{gr} syr^{sch} aeth Did &c. ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE al sat mu vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Did Cyr &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. D 117. 163. reg vg &c. ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ 'this,' B^{a}GP 18.
ⲉⲧⲉϩⲱϯ] ⲉⲧϩ., T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] cf. ? syr^{sch} aeth Did.
ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., T. 13 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKS: ⲉⲩ(om. B^{a})- Hunt 26, 13–16 . . . ⲓⲗⲏⲙ
ⲛⲁⲩ, B^{a}ΓGNOPT 18. 26, present. ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏ(ⲩ, T*: ⲓ, T^{c})ⲥⲓⲁ]
ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ, B^{a}ΓFGKPS 18. 26. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛ.] cf. Gr. (exc. D^{gr}).
ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. K. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ 'having seen,' 26.
ⲛⲉⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥ.] om. ⲛⲉ, FGPS. ϩ(om. N)ⲁⲛ.] L^{g}AFNOST 26: pref.
ϫⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKP 18. ⲓ(om. Γ*GPN)ⲇⲓ(ⲏ, 18*)ⲱⲧⲏⲥ] ⲩⲇ., Γ^{c}:
ⲏⲇ., K. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ] pref. ⲉ, Γ^{c}S. ⲡⲉ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}A
ΓFNOST 26: om. B^{a}GKP 18. 14 ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. P
al pler cat^{75} arm &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] + ⲡⲉ, K.

ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ⳾
μ 15 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ
16 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾ ⲟⲧⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅⳾ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉϫⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ 17 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ⳾
ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲛⲟϣⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
μα ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ⳾ † 18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϯⲥⲃⲱ ϧⲉⲛ
μβ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅⳾ † 19 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ⳾ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⲙⲁϩⲁⲛ. 20 ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾
μγ 21 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟϣⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ
μδ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ⳾ † Ϫⲉ

ⲇⲉ 2°] A 26: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ] ⲉϩ., B^{a}FS: om. K. ⲡⲉ] om. A_2*. 15 ⲇⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$ΓKNOT: om. FGPS 26, cf. Gr. D^{gr} c^{sor} syr^{sch} aeth. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] A 26: ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'to cause &c.,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] tense cf.? Gr. ℵABEP al $plus^{40}$ reg vg syr^{sch} &c. 16 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] om. B^{a}. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ] ⲡⲉⲧ., B^{a}FKS; cf. Gr. D^{gr}P al plu e reg vg &c. ⲛⲁⲓⲣ.] ⲛⲓⲣ., NT. ⲟⲧⲓ] ⲟⲩⲧⲓ, FS: ϩⲱⲧⲓ, K. ⲙⲉⲛ] AO: om. ΓNT: +ⲅⲁⲣ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ FGKPS 26: +ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ, ΓN(O)T. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] AB^{a}T: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ 1°] $L^{g}AB^{a}$GP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲉϫⲱⲗ] ⲉϫⲟⲗϥ 'to deny it,' FS. 17 ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ] obs. Gr. E reg syr^{pmg} Lcif *τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα*, syr^{sch} 'fama haec.' ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] om. B^{a}, cf. syr^{sch}.

seeing standing with them cured; but they were not being
able to resist them in anything. 15 But having commanded
that they should put (lit. throw) them out of the council,
they were speaking to one another, 16 saying: 'What shall
(lit. will) we do to these men? *That indeed* a sign was
done through them which is manifest, all who dwell in
Jerusalem know: it is not possible for us to deny. 17 But
(ⲁ) that the thing may not spread abroad further among
the *people*, let us threaten them, that they speak not to any
man in this name.' 18 And having called them they ordered
them not to utter at all, *nor* to teach in (the) name of Jesus.
19 But Petros and Iōannēs said to them, If it is righteous
before God to hearken to you rather than God, judge ye:
20 for it is not possible for us (pron.) not to speak the things
which we saw and which we heard. 21 But they (pron.)
having threatened them, released them; they found no pre-
text against them concerning the manner of *punishing* them,

ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ] A: trs. before ϧⲉⲛ 1°, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABE
al plu &c.: om. B^{a}. ⲛⲟϣⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 25. 40. 105. 127. 163.
vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϣ., L^{g} &c.
ⲛⲉⲙϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀., P: ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ-
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀., ΓNOT. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ] A: trs. before ⲛⲉⲙ &c., L^{g}
T^{t} &c. 18 ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. P 1. 31. al plu d syr^{sch} aeth &c.
ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ] cf.? Gr. ℵ^{c}AEP al omn^{vid} &c.: om. ⲡ, O, cf.? Gr. ℵ*B.
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS. 19 ⲇⲉ] om. GP. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] A: pref. Hunt 26, 19–22
ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ 'they answered,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] position cf.
Gr. ℵABDE 5. 13. 69. 104. 105. 12^{lect} al^{6} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.
ⲓⲥϫⲉ] AB^{a}GP: pref. ϫⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}Γ^{c} &c.: om. Γ*. ⲟⲩⲙ. ⲧ(ⲇ, G)ⲉ]
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙ., FS^{c}: ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓ ⲧⲉ, K. ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ . . .
ⲫϯ] om. T*. 20 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. K 26. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ] ⲁⲛⲥ.,
FS. 21 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲟϣⲛⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓGP: om. ⲉⲧ, T^{t}FKNOS:
ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲟϣⲛⲟⲩ, T by error. ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 'and,' K.
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀] cf. Gr. (exc. 100. &c.): om. ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀, K, cf. Gr. 100. 105. 127.
k^{scr} vg syr^{sch} Lcif. ⲗⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲓϫⲓ] cf. Gr. D syr^{sch}. ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ] A
26: ⲫⲣⲏϯ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲙ̀ⲫⲣ., F; obs. Gr. E 18 om. τό.

ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲫ̅ϯ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ.
μϵ [22] Ⲛⲉⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ-
ϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ |
μϛ [23] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲓ ϣⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉ-
ⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
μζ † [24] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ϩⲁ ⲫ̅ϯ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲏⲃ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̅ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ [25] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[⳾] ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̅-
ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ. ϩⲁⲛ-
⳾ ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⳾
⳾ [26] ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
⳾ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅
⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
μη [27] Ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
μθ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲑⲁϩⲥϥ ⳾ † Ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾
[28] ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓϫ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕ-

ⲫ̅ϯ] + ⲡⲉ, 26. [22] ⲛⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ] ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣ, NST. ⲙ̅ⲙ̅] A: ⲉⲙ̅, 26: ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅, $L^{g}B^{a}$FKPS: ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲙ̅ (ⲉϩ̅ⲙ̅, G), $T^{t}\Gamma$ GNOT. ⲉⲧⲁ] cf. ? Gr. BD. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲡⲓ, FKOS: ⲡⲁ, B^{a}T by error. ϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̅] A 26: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, G.
Hunt 18, 23–28 [23] ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}K. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲟⲩ] $T^{t}AP^{c}$: -ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ, L^{g} &c.: ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ, B^{a}G 18. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙ., T; cf. ? Gr. 13. ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] A: ϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ 'said,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. [24] ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. E syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ] trs. before ϩⲁ, B^{a}GP 18, cf. ? Gr. 31. 105. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] $L^{g}A\Gamma$GP 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}B^{a}$FKNOST. ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ] cf. Gr. ℵAB am fu demid &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕⲑ.] AB^{a}: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲑ., $L^{g}T^{t}\Gamma$GKNOPT 18: ⲁⲕⲑ., FS. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., $B^{a}KOP^{c}$ 18. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] AK: pref. ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.

because of the *people*; because all were glorifying God
because of that which was done. 22 The man had been
more than forty years (old), on whom this signal work of
curing was done. 23 But having been released, they came
unto them of their own, they showed to them all things
which the *chief priests* and the *presbyters* did to them.
24 But having heard, they lifted up their voice toward God
together, they said: 'Our Master, thou (art) he who made[a]
(the) heaven and (the) earth, the sea and all things which
are in it: 25 he who said in the holy *spirit* from the mouth
of our father David concerning thy servant (lit. child):
"Why cried out *Gentiles*? *Peoples meditated* empty things.
26 The kings of (the) earth stood (up), the *rulers* also assembled
together to oppose the Lord and his Christ." 27 For in
[a] truth assembled in this *city* upon thy servant (lit. child)
Jesus whom thou anointedst, Ērōdēs and Pontios Pilatos,
with (ⲛⲉⲙ) other *Gentiles* and *peoples* of Israel, 28 to do
all things which thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to

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[a] Coptic 2° person.

ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] A: ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'in them,' FS: ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀(om. N)ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 25 ⲫⲏ . . . ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 13. 15. 27. 29. 36. 38. 12^{lect} cat &c. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GP$: ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ, $\Gamma K^{c}N^{c}OT$: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕϫⲟⲥ, FS, 2° person. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ] ⲛ̀, ΓNT, for om. τ. π. ἡ. cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} Did. ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ] $T^{t}A$: ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ, L^{g} &c.: ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲟⲩ 'his &c.,' NT. ⲁⲩⲱϣ] ⲉⲩⲱϣ, P. ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ] AFKS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲁⲛ] ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲙ., P. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ.] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}\Gamma GKP$: ϧⲉⲛϩ., FNOST. 26 ⲛⲓⲕⲉ.] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ] ⲛⲁⲩⲑ., T. ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] $A_{1}B^{a}NP$: ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲥ̅, T^{t} &c. 27 ϧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ(ϥ, A_{2}*)ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBDE al plus[25] vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Eus Cyr &c. -ⲁⲗⲟⲩ] A: +ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ (ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P) 'holy,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ, FS. ⲛ̀ϫⲉ] om. K. ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ] -ⲧⲏⲥ, ΓNOT. ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ] ⲡⲉⲛⲧ., A_{2}. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. B*). ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] om. N. ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. E 3. 33. &c.). 28 ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. $ℵA^{2}DE^{gr}P$ al

ⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ. 29 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
ⲙⲏⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ 30 ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲛⲑⲣⲉⲕⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ
ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅. 31 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ν Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲣⲝⲋ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ|ⲫϯ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

ⲗ.

να 32 Ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ.
νβ Ⲛⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉϥϩⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲁ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲡⲉ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϣⲫⲏⲣ ⳾
νγ † 33 Ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ
ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϯ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳾ ϧⲁ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ-
ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲁϥϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾
νδ 34 Ⲛⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ. ⲛⲏ

Hunt 18, 29–32 pler cat[80] e[2] vg syr[utr] aeth &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. FS. [29] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, B[a]FGPS 18. ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ] ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ, K[o] singular. ⲙⲏⲓⲥ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] A: + ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲁϫⲓ 'thy word,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] position cf. ? Gr. (exc. D[gr]E vg &c.). [30] ϫⲓⲛ(+ⲉ, B[a])ⲑⲣⲉⲕ . . . ⲧⲉⲕ.] L[g]T[t] &c.: -ⲑⲣⲉⲛ (G) . . . ⲧⲉⲛ., ΓNOT, 1° plural. ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ] L[g]AFS: ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ, T[t] &c. ⲧⲉⲕϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. (exc. AB &c.). ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲟⲩ] A: pref. ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ '(the) name of,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] om. FKS. [31] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 2°] L[g]T[t]AB[a]GKOP 18: om. ΓFNST. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] L[g]T[t]AΓGNOPT: ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅,

be done. 29 And now, Lord, look upon their angers: give
to thy servants to speak in all boldness, 30 in (the) stretching
forth thy hand for healings and signs and wonders, to be
done through thy holy servant (lit. child) Jesus.' 31 And
having prayed, the place in which they were being assembled
was shaken. And they all were filled with the holy
spirit, and they were speaking the word of God in a great
boldness.

32 But the multitudes who believed were being of one
heart and one *soul*. There was not any one saying of
any of his *goods* that they were his own; but (ⲁ) all things
were being to them in common[a]. 33 But in [a] great power
were the *apostles* giving [the] witness of (the) *resurrection* of
Jesus Christ our Lord: but [a] great grace was being upon
all. 34 For there was not he who had *need* among them:

[a] Lit. 'in a fellowship.'

B^aFKS 18, indefinite. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉϥ., FKS 18; position cf. ? Gr. EP al pler vg &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^tAB^aK 18: ⲁⲩⲥ., L^gΓFGNOPST. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄] T^tA: ⲟⲩ, L^g &c. ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ] -ⲣⲓⲥⲓⲁ, N. 32 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵABD* arm &c. ⲛⲉⲙ . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 96. arm &c.: om. B^aK*. ⲛⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] A, cf. Gr. E: om. ⲛⲉ, FS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g$$T^t$$B^a$ΓFGKNOPST 18. ⲛⲉ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲗⲓ] T^tA: ⲉ(ⲛ, K)ⲟⲩⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, B^a)ϫⲁⲓ, L^g &c. ⲛⲉϥϩⲩⲡ.] cf. Gr. P 1. 4. 40. 101. 106. al[20] fere &c. -ϫⲟⲛⲧⲁ] -ϫⲱ-, FS. ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲉ] T^tA: ⲫⲱⲓ ⲛⲉ, L^gΓFGKNOPST: ⲫⲱϥ ⲛⲉ, B^a 18. ϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS. 33 ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, $L^g$$T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲟ(ⲱ, L^gN)ⲙ] position cf. ? Gr. EP al pler &c. ⲛⲁⲣⲉ . . . ϯ] $L^g$$A_1$FS: ⲛⲁⲣⲉ . . . ⲛⲁⲩϯ, T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄] T^tA: ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ &c., L^g; cf. Gr. 15. 18. 36. vg^{cle}: ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄, GKP, cf. Gr. ℵA am fu demid: ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄, FS, cf. Gr. e^{sor} syr^{sch}: ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄, NT: ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ(om. Γ)ⲟ̄ⲥ̄, B^aΓO 18. ⲇⲉ 2°] $L^g$$T^t$$A_1^{c}{}_2$$B^a$FGKPS 18: om. A_1*? ΓNOT. ⲛⲁϥϩⲓ.] L^gAΓFNOST: ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓ., $T^t$$B^a$GKP 18. ⲛⲉ] $L^g$$T^t$AFKS: om. B^aΓGNOPT 18. 34 ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣϫ.] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϫ., T^t.

Hunt 18, 33–35

ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 35 ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
νε 36 Ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲇⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛϥ ϫⲉ ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲩ-
ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡϯϩⲟ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲓⲧⲏⲥ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 37 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ
ⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
1 Ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱϥ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥⲁⲡⲫⲓⲣⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⳾ 2 ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ
ⲁϥⲱⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[⳾] ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ
ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 3 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁ|ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲙⲁϩ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕϫⲉⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲱⲗⲓ

ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] A: + ⲓⲉ ⲏⲓ 'or house,' ΓNOT: pref. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g} &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲧⲓ(ⲏ, Γ)ⲙⲏ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲧ. 'the prices,' L^{g}ΓFGKNOPST 18: ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲧ. 'their &c.,' B^{a}. ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲏ(ⲓ, N), L^{g} &c.: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, O. ⲉϣⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] T^{t}A: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓFGNOPST preterite: ⲉⲧⲟⲩϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, K. 35 ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AB^{a}GKP 18: ⲉⲩϫⲱ, FS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓNOT. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧ.] A: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.
Hunt 26, 36—V. 2 ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ] om. ⲉⲣ, A. 36 ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ (ⲃ, N)] cf. Gr. (exc. P 1. 13. 31. al plu syr^{p} &c.). ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛϥ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'who is called,' K. ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁⲃⲁⲥ] ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ, B^{a}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. ℵABEP h 1. al^{36} &c. ⲫⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ] L^{g}A 26: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩ., T^{t}FS: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩ(ϥ, N)., ΓN: ⲡⲉⲧⲉϣ., B^{a}GKOPT. -ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ] + ⲡⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKNPT. ⲙ̀ⲡϯϩⲟ] L^{g}A 26: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϯϩⲟ, FOS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲟ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKNPT. ⲉⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ, B^{a} (ⲉⲟⲩ) FS.

for they who had fields were selling them; they were bringing (the) *price* of the things which are sold; 35 they were laying them at the feet of the *apostles*: but they were giving to each that of which he had *need*. 36 But Iōsēph, who was named 'Barsabas,' from the *apostles*, which is being interpreted[a] '(the) son of (the) consolation,' being a *Levite*, *Cypriote* in his *race*, 37 having (a) field, he sold it, he brought the *money*[b], he laid it[b] at (the) feet of the *apostles*. V. But a man also whose name is Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a field for its *price*; 2 his wife knowing, he took away by stealth from the *price* of the field, but he brought a *part*, he laid it[b] at the feet of the *apostles*. 3 But Petros said to him: 'Ananias, why did *Satan* fill thy heart to say falsehood to the holy *spirit*, and to take away by stealth from

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[a] Lit. 'which is that which they are wont to interpret.' [b] Plural.

ⲗⲉⲩⲓ(ⲏ, ⲣ)ⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲡⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ] + ⲡⲉ, ΓNOT. 37 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] -ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ, O. ⲓⲟϩⲓ] L^gAFNST 26: pref. ⲟⲩ, $T^t B^a$ΓGKOP. ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲛⲓⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ] ⲛⲉϥⲭ., FS possessive. ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ] -ⲭⲁϥ, FS. ⲛⲉⲛϭ. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ] ⲛⲓϭ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ, K.

1 ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ] position cf. ? Gr. AD 31. 134. al$^{2\,sor}$ cat vg &c. ⲥⲁⲡⲫ] cf. Gr. ABP al pler d e* &c. ⲓⲣ.] cf. Gr. ℵ* et$^{\circ}$ D^2E 13. 103.: ⲩⲣ., K. -ⲣⲁ] cf. Gr. BD al plus^{30} cat &c. ϧⲁⲧⲉϥⲧⲓⲙⲏ] A 26: om. $L^g T^t$ &c. 2 ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ . . . ⲓⲟϩⲓ] A 26 (ⲕⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ): ⲁϥⲱ(ⲟ, B^a)ⲗⲓ ⲛ̄(+ⲟⲩ, GP)ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛϯⲧ(ⲁ, B^a)ⲓⲙⲏ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ (om. S) ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ, $L^g B^a$FGKP: ⲁϥⲱⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ, ΓNOT: ⲁϥⲱⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ϭ. ⲉⲃ. ϧⲉⲛϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ, T^t; for *γυν. αὐτοῦ* cf. Gr. EP al pler d vg syr^{utr} aeth. ⲁϥⲓⲛ(ⲣ, O*)ⲓ ⲇⲉ] T^tA 26: om. ⲇⲉ, L^g &c. ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ] AG: ⲁϥⲭⲁϥ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ 'before,' ΓNOT. 3 ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. E 26. vg^{cod} syr^{sch} et^p c.* aeth &c.: om. B^a. ⲁ(ⲉ, NT)- Hunt 26, 3-5
ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ] L^gAFS: -ⲛⲓⲁ, T^t &c. ⲁ] om. A_2FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲱⲗⲓ] $L^g T^t A B^a$GKP 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFNOST; for 2° pers. expressed cf. Gr. DP 31. 38. 95. 96. al plus^{25} &c.

ⲛ̀ϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ ⳾ 4 ⲙⲏ
ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲏⲓϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁϥⲭⲏ ⲁⲛ ϧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲁ ⲡⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲕ-
ϫⲉⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲫϯ ⳾
νϛ 5 Ⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⳾
ⲁϥϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
6 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲩϫⲟⲗϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲑⲟⲙⲥϥ ⳾ 7 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲅ̅ϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲥⲕⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ 8 ⲡⲉϫⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓϩⲁⲧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲁϩⲁ ϧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⳾ 9 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ ϯⲙⲁϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ
ⲛⲓϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲱⲙⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϩⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲥⲉϫⲏ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϥⲓϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲱⲓ ⳾
10 ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲁⲥϩⲓ
ⲡⲉⲥⲑⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
νζ Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲥ ⲉⲥⲙⲱ-

ϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ] ϯⲇ., B^a. ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ, A. 4 ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ] ϥϣ., FS 26. ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] ϥϣⲟⲡ ?, FS: om. K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, T. ϫⲉ] L^gT^tAB^aΓNOT 26: om. FGKPS. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲭⲁ] T^tA: ⲁⲕⲭⲁ, L^g &c. ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ] AFGKPS 26: ⲧⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ, $L^gT^tB^a$ΓNOT. ⲁⲛ 3°] trs. before ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓ, P. ⲉⲫϯ] om. ⲉ, K. 5 ⲉⲛⲁⲓ 1°] trs. before ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, 26. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] om. 26. ⲁϥϩⲓ] om. ⲁϥ, FS. ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ] A 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] A_1: om. $L^gT^tA_2$ &c. ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀] om. K. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ 2°] L^gT^tAFS 26, cf. Gr. EP al pler syr^p arm &c.: om. B^aΓGKNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵ*ABD 15. 27. 29. 37. 100. 117. k^{scr} cat vg syr^{sch} $aeth^{pp}$ ar^e &c. 6 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] A: +ⲇⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲁⲩϫⲟⲗϥ] L^gAFKOS: -ⲱⲗϥ, T^tB^aΓGNPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. Fr. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ 'having taken him away,' B^a. ⲁⲩⲑⲟⲙⲥϥ] ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲙⲥϥ, A_2: -ⲟⲩⲙⲥϥ, N. 7 ⲇⲉ] om. T. ⲅ̅ϯ] ⲅ̅, B^aK. ⲉⲥⲕⲓ] ⲥⲕⲓ, FS.

the *price* of the field? 4 Abiding, was it not abiding to
thee? And having sold it, was it (ϫⲏ) not under thine
authority? Why then puttest thou this thing in thy heart,
having said falsehood not to man but (ⲁ) to God?' 5 But
Ananias hearing these words fell, he expired[a]. But a great
fear came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) upon all who heard these (things). 6 The
young men (ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ) rose, they wrapped him round, and
having brought him out, they buried him. 7 But it happened
(that), nearly three hours having passed, his wife came in,
not knowing that which happened. 8 Petros said to her:
'Say to me whether (ϫⲉ) ye sold the field for this[b] silver.'
But she said: 'Yea, for this[b].' 9 But Petros said to her:
'Why was this thing agreed upon by (ϧⲉⲛ) you to *tempt*
the *spirit* of the Lord? Behold the feet of them who buried
thy husband are at the doors, they will carry thee out also.'
10 But she fell at his feet, she expired. The young men
(ϧⲉⲗϣ.) having come in, found her dead; having taken

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[a] Lit. 'he threw his breath (ⲑⲏⲟⲩ).' [b] Plural.

ⲧⲉϥ(K, S)ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] A: ⲧⲉϥⲕⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ 'his wife also,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] A: ⲛⲁⲥⲥ., P: ⲛ̄ⲉⲥⲥ., T^{t}: ⲉⲥⲥ., L^{g}B^{a}ΓG^{o}KNO: ⲁⲥⲥ., FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] AB^{a}: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 8 ⲡⲉϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGPS, cf. Gr. 15. 17. 73. arm om. δέ: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓNOT: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, K; for 'said' cf. Gr. DE vg^{cle} syr^{sch} aeth &c.; for δέ cf. Gr. ℵABDP al pler cat vg syr^{p} &c. ⲛⲁⲥ] cf.? Gr. P al longe plu vg &c. ϧⲁ ⲧ̣^{o} &c.] ϧⲉⲛ &c., P; order cf.? Gr. D^{gr} &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟ(ⲱ, S^{mg})ⲥ . . . ⲛⲁⲓ] om. S*: +ϩⲁⲧ, FS^{mg}. 9 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. Gr. A al pler syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲛⲁⲥ] om. NT. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ, ΓNOT. ⲛⲓϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ] ⲛⲉⲛϭ., O. -ⲑⲱⲙⲥ] -ⲟⲙⲥ, FS. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϥⲓϯ] AO: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. G. 10 ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ] A; cf. Gr. (exc. D syr^{sch} aeth &c.): +ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: +ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, FS by error. ⲁⲥϩⲓ(ⲉⲓ, T)ⲡⲉⲥⲑⲏⲟⲩ] ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲑ., T: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ 'and she died,' K: +ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ 'in,' B^{a}. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] L^{g}AOPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNT. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'out,' B^{a}. ϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ] ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ lit. 'children,' ΓNOT. ⲉⲥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ]

ⲟⲩⲧ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ⳾ 11 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ⳾
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ⳾

Ⲉ.

νη 12 Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ρξζ ϣⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ | ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲧⲟⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲗⲟ-
ⲙⲱⲛ⳾
13 Ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲱϫⲡ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲣⲧⲟⲗ-
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲙϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ 14 ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϩϯ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲛϣ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ⳾
νθ 15 Ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲓ[⳾] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲛⲓ-
ⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲭⲁⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϭⲗⲟϫ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ ⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ 16 ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅⳾ ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲓ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲛ̀ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳾
ξ 17 Ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩ-

ⲥⲙ., S. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗⲥ] AS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. K. ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥ] $A_{1}{}^{c}{}_{2}$: ⲁⲩⲑⲟⲙⲥ (om. NT) 'they buried her,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 11 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGKNOPT: +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. GK. ⲉϫⲉⲛ 2°] om. ΓNOT, cf. Gr. A &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 12 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Abīb.' ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. (exc. B syr^{sch} aeth). ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. unc. &c.: ⲁⲩϣ., O, cf.? Gr. 4. 13. 14. h^{scr} al mu &c. ϣⲟⲡ ⲡⲉ (om. ⲉ, F: ϣⲟⲡⲓ, S)] om. ⲡⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅] om. K, cf. Gr. 133.

Hunt 18, 12–16

her away, they laid her by her husband. [11] A great fear came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) upon all the *church*, and on all who heard these (things).

[12] But through (the) hands of the *apostles* many signs and wonders were being done among the *people*; and they all were assembling together at the *porch* of Solomōn.

[13] But among the rest no one *dared* join himself to them, but (ⲁ) the *people* were exalting them; [14] but *the more* were adding themselves to the Lord, believers[a], many men and women. [15] *So that* they brought out them who were sick into (ϩⲓ) the *streets*, and laid them upon beds and resting-places, that as Petros is to pass by, *at the least* his shadow may come upon one of them. [16] But the multitudes of the *cities* which were around Jerusalem were coming, bringing them who were sick, and them who were vexed with the *unclean spirits*: but all these are cured through them. [17] But the *chief priest* rose, and all they who were with him, which (is) (the) *sect* of the *Sadducees*; they were

[a] Lit. 'believing.'

12 ^{lect} k^{scr} aeth: ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ 'great,' B^{a} 18. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϧ., B^{a} 18. ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ] T^{t}A: ϧⲁ 'under,' L^{g} &c. [13] ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] AB^{a}G: ⲛ̄ϩ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] A: pref. ⲛⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ϩⲗⲓ] pref. ⲛ̄, FS. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] AO: pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. [14] ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}ABGNOPT 18: -ⲁϩ, T^{t}: -ⲱϩ., Γ^{o}K: -ⲱⲛϩ 'were manifesting,' FS. [15] ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}G: -ⲇⲉ, A &c.; for om. *καί* cf. ? Gr. 100. 163. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. 18*. ϩⲓ] AΓFNOST: ϧⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}GK: ⲉ, B^{a}P 18*; cf. ? Gr. ℵABΓ^{2} (E d am demid 'in') 5. 13. 36. 40. 69. 96. 100. 105. 127. 163. k^{scr} al^{5} cat^{90} vg^{ole} fu &c. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲥ.] L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ϥⲛⲁⲥ., Γ*NT: ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲥⲓⲛⲓ 'if he should pass by,' FS. -ⲥⲓⲛⲓⲱ (om. A$_{2}$)ⲟⲩ] T^{t}A: -ⲥⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ, A$_{1}$ by error. ⲧⲉϥϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. E 33. 66*^{vid} vg arm syr^{utr} &c. ⲓ] om. ANQT by error: ⲓⲉ, B^{a} by error. [16] ⲇⲉ 1°] A: +ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: +ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, P; cf. Gr. D^{gr}* d syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. om. *καί* pri. ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. DEP al pler demid arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}AΓGKOT: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}FNPS. ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁ(ⲉ, S)ⲣⲧⲟⲛ] om. G. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] trs. after ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, FS. [17] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ] om. T^{t} by error. ⲉⲧⲉ- Hunt 18, 17–21
ⲧ(om. T)ϩⲉⲣ(ⲗ, T*)ⲉⲥⲓⲥ] + ⲧⲉ, B^{a}ΓNO (T om. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) 18: . . ., ⲡⲉ

ⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϫⲟϩ ⳾ [18] ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲁ ⳾
ξα [19] Ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ. ⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ [20] ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣ-
ⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲱⲛϧ ⳾ [21] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ξβ Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ | ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ-
ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛϩ
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
[22] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ
[23] ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛϩ ⳾ ⲉϥϣⲟⲧⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ.
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ⳾
ξγ [24] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ. ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾
ξδ [25] Ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ

ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲧⲉ, N by error. [18] ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ] L^gAFPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t B^a$ΓGKNOS 18 Fr. ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. EP 1. 13. 31. al pler syr^p &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. L^gFKPS. ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ, Fr.; for ⲉ cf. ? Gr. E &c. ⲛ̀] om. B^aFKS 18. ⲇⲏ(ⲓ, FST)ⲙⲟ-(ⲱ, FKS)ⲥⲓⲁ] $L^g T^t$AB^aFGKPS 18: -ⲓⲟⲛ, ΓNOT. [19] F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Hatūr, the third Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲇⲉ] om. ΓNO. ⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^gAB^aFG KS 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓNOPT. [20] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] L^gAB^aFG* KPS 18: ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓⲥ. 'these &c.,' T^tΓG^cN(O)T: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲁⲓⲥ., O. [21] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] om. B^a 18. ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣ.] A: pref. ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛⲁⲩϯ] AP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. (ⲁⲩ., ΓNO^{mg}T). ⲡⲉ] om.

Hunt 18, ⲉⲧⲁ-ϥⲓ..., 21–25

filled with jealousy; 18 they put forth (lit. brought) their hands upon the *apostles*, and they put them into the common prison [a]. 19 But an *angel* of the Lord opened the doors of the prison in the night, he brought them out, he said to them: 20 'Go ye, speak in the temple to the *people* all the words of this life.' 21 But having heard, they (rose) early, they went to the temple, they were teaching. But the *chief priest* having risen, and all they who were with him, they assembled to the council, and all the elders of (the) sons of Israel, and they sent to the prison-house [b] to bring them. 22 But the *officers* having come, found them not in the prison; but having returned, they showed to them, 23 saying: 'We found *indeed* the prison-house shut in all security, and the keepers standing at the doors; but (these) having been opened, we found not any within.' 24 But the *captains* of the temple and the *chief priests* having heard these words, were being amazed concerning them, as to (ϫⲉ) what was this which happened. 25 But one came, he

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[a] Lit. 'to the keeping them *publicly*.' [b] Lit. 'place of binding.'

P. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] A: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ 'having come,' L^{g}T^{t} &c.; obs. Gr. D ἐγερθέντες after σὺν αὐτῷ; F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Abīb.' ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ, G. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}FPS. 22 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] position cf.? Gr. 15. 18. Chr, also ℵAB 38. 40. 69. 96. 100. 105. 113. 163. al^{2scr} vg aeth &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. P. 23 ⲙⲉⲛ] L^{g} T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. E^{gr} P al pler cat^{92} vg &c.: om. OP, cf. Gr. ℵABD h 17. 26. 105. 17^{lect} e arm syr^{utr} aeth. ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵA BDEP al longe plu cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ] A: ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABD 31. 96. cat d e am fu demid syr^{sch}. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ] A: ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ(ⲟ, NP)ⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 1° plur. ⲛ̄ϧⲟⲩⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFGNO^{c}T: ⲉϧ., KO*PS. 24 ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩ(om. S)ⲥ] T^{t}AΓGKO*S, cf.? syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth: ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓ., L^{g}B^{a}FNO^{c}P. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABD 15. 18. 33. 36. 69. 81. 100. 163. c^{scr} cat^{92} vg arm &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ] AK: -ⲟⲙⲧ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ] L^{g}A$_{2}$ΓFKOP: -ⲉⲧⲟⲩ, T^{t}A$_{1}$B^{a}G NST. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. B^{a} 18. ⲡⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲁⲫⲁⲓ, G. 25 ⲇⲉ] om. K. ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. (exc. minusc vix mu cat^{92} arm^{cdd} &c.).

ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾
ⲥⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾ 26 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏ-
ⲅⲟⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ
ⲁⲛ. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϩⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
[ξδ] 27 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ
28 ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲁⲛϩⲟⲛ-
ϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϯⲥⲃⲱ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲃⲱ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ
ⲉⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⳾
ξε 29 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ |
ⲣⲝⲏ ξϛ 30 Ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲁϣϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲉ ⳾ 31 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥϭⲁⲥϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ.
ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲭⲱ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ 32 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲛ̅ⲥⲱϥ ⳾

ⲉⲧⲁⲣ.] pref. ⲛⲉ, G. 26 ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡ(ⲛ, A)ⲓⲥ.] L^g(A)P: om. ⲛⲁϥ, B^{a}ΓGNOT: ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥ., FKS: ⲁⲩ. +ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, T^t. ⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ]+ⲇⲉ, FPS. ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ] L^{g}AFPS: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOT. ⲡⲉ] trs. after ⲗⲁⲟⲥ, GK. ⲙⲏⲡⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲥ
Hunt 18, 27–29 ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϩⲓ] ϫⲉⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩϩⲓ, FS; cf.? Gr. ℵBDE 5. 13. 40. 96. 27 ⲁϥ-ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲇⲉ, P. 28 ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲉⲩϫⲱ, NT. ϫⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKOPS: om. B^{a}ΓGNT 18. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ABdvg &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] T^{t}AGK: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲑ., L^{g}B^{a}ΓFNOPST 18. ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉϣⲧⲉⲩ, A_1 by error. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] A, cf. Gr. D*d: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t&c.: +ⲓⲥ, FS. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] A:

showed to them: 'Behold, the men whom ye put in the
prison stand in the temple, teaching the *people*.' 26 *Then*
the *captain* went with the *officers*, they brought them, not
by force; for they were fearing the *people lest by any means*
they should stone them. 27 But having brought them, they
set them in the council. The *chief priest* asked them, 28 say-
ing: 'In an order we ordered you not to teach in this name:
lo, ye filled all Jerusalem with your teaching; and ye think to
bring (the) blood of this man upon us.' 29 Petros answered
and the *apostles*, they said: 'We ought to hearken to God
rather than [the] men. 30 God of our fathers raised Jesus.
This (one) upon whom ye (pron.) put forth[a] your hands,
having hanged him on a tree[b]: 31 this (one) God exalted as
prince[c], as *saviour* with[d] his right hand, to give [a] *repen-
tance* to Israel, and (the) forgiveness of sins. 32 And we
(pron.) in him are witness of these very words: but God
gave the holy *spirit* to them who hearken to him.'

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[a] Lit. 'brought.' [b] Lit. 'wood.' [c] Lit. 'first.' [d] Strengthened form, used also of time and space.

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om. $\mathrm{L^gT^tA^{tr}}$ &c. ⲉⲛⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] A: ⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲥ., $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$ &c.: ⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥ., PS. ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓ, K. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. O. 29 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] $\mathrm{L^gA_{1.2}}$(ⲱⲟⲩ) $\mathrm{B^a}$FKPS: + ⲇⲉ, $\mathrm{T^t}$ΓGNOT. ϫⲉ] $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$AFKPS: om. $\mathrm{B^a}$ΓGNOT 18. ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ 'that we should &c.,' $\mathrm{F^o}$S. $\mathrm{F^{mg}}$ 'the end (of the lection).' 30 $\mathrm{F^{mg}\ S^{mg}}$ 'the third Sunday of Hatūr.' ⲫϯ] $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$A$\mathrm{B^a}$ΓFS 18: + ⲇⲉ, GKNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵA. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ] A: -ⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅, $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$ &c. ⲉⲁⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲁϣϥ] $\mathrm{L^gT^tA_1B^a}$ΓGNOPT: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., $\mathrm{A_2}$: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., FKS. 31 ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$ &c. ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ, P. ⲡϫⲱ] ⲡⲓϫⲱ, P. 32 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲁⲛ.] + ⲅⲁⲣ, FS. ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ] A, cf. ? Gr. B: om. $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$ &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵAD* 18. 25. 26. 34. 40. 104. 106. 137. 163. 177* $\mathrm{3^{pe}\ g^{scr}\ h^{scr}}$ d vg $\mathrm{syr^{sch}}$ $\mathrm{arm^{gb}}$ Did &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ] position cf. Gr. ℵ$\mathrm{D^{gr}}$EHP al $\mathrm{omn^{vid}\ vg^{cle}}$ fu demid $\mathrm{syr^p}$ &c. ⲛⲁⲓ 2°] om. P. ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫϯ, $\mathrm{L^gT^t}$ &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵABD* 31. 33. 40. 69. 100. 105. 163. 180. vg d $\mathrm{syr^{sch}}$ arm aeth Did &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ 'his &c.,' GK; for om. ὁ cf. Gr. B 17. 73. $\mathrm{F^{mg}}$ 'the end (of the lection).'

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ξζ 33 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩϧⲣⲁϫⲣⲉϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲁϫϩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϧⲟⲑ-
ⲃⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ. 34 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϯ-
ϩⲁⲡ⳾ ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ.
ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲓ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ. 35 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ⳾ ⲙⲁϩⲑⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ⳾
36 ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲑⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ⳾ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ⳾
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲩ̅ ⲛ̄ⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ
ⲑⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲉϩⲁⲛϩⲗⲓ⳾
ξη 37 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲅⲁⲗⲓ-
ⲗⲉⲟⲥ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲥⲉⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓϫⲉⲧ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ
ⲑⲏⲧ | ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ⳾ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾

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33 ⲉⲛⲁⲓ(ⲩ, A_2*)] TᵗA$_{1.2}$°, cf. Gr. E 28. 137. 180. vg syr·sch et p c.* &c.: + ⲥⲁϫⲓ, FS: om. Lᵍ &c. ⲁⲩϧⲣⲁϫⲣⲉϫ] TᵗABᵃΓKNOT: ⲛⲁⲩϧ., LᵍFGPS. ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ABEᵍʳ al[14] cat arm aeth &c. ⲡⲉ] TᵗA: om. Lᵍ &c. 34 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] AP: + ⲇⲉ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ϧⲉⲛ] A 26: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 'from,' LᵍTᵗ &c., cf. Gr. Dᵍʳ E ar·p. ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲣ.] TᵗABᵃΓGNOT: pref. ⲉ, LᵍFKPS 26. ⲡⲉ 1°] LᵍTᵗAFKPS 26: om. BᵃᶜΓGNOT. ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗ.] ⲅⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗ., T; ⲅⲁⲙⲗ., A_2. ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϯ] Lᵍ &c.: pref. ⲉ, TᵗBᵃGK. ⲡⲉ 3°] TᵗABᵃΓNOPT 26: ⲇⲉ, LᵍFS: om. GK. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, Γ*NT by error: ϧⲉⲛ 'in,' BP. ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓ.] ϥⲧ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, A_2FS. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. FS. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ] LᵍABᵃFGKPS 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TᵗΓNOT. ⲉϩⲓ] A 26: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲓ, LᵍBᵃFGPS: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ, TᵗK(+ⲛ̄): ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB

Hunt 26, 34–36

33 But having heard these (things) they gnashed their teeth
at them, and they were wishing to kill them. 34 One rose (up)
in the council, he was a *Pharisee* whose name was Gamaliēl,
he was a teacher of the *law* honoured by all the *people*. He
commanded to put (lit. throw) the men forth for a little.
35 He said to them: '[The] men, [the] *Israelites*, give heed
to yourselves concerning these men, as to (ϫⲉ) what it is
which ye do. 36 For before these days rose one called (ϫⲉ)
Theutēs, saying that I am (he). Four hundred of men in
number followed him, and he having been killed, all who
were obeying him were overthrown, having become nothing.
'37 After this rose Ioudas the *Galilean* in the days of the
enrolment, and he drew many after (lit. behind) him, and he
also perished; all who were obeying him were overthrown.

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80. vg arm &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] A 26: ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABDE al plus^{12} vg syr^{utr} aeth. 35 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^gAFKPS 26: +ⲇⲉ, T^tB^aΓGNOT, cf. Gr. C 13. 58. e syr^p. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] om. T. ϫⲉ 1°] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓP 26: om. FGKNOST. ⲡⲓⲥⲣ.] A_1B^aFOPST: ⲡⲓⲓⲥⲣ., $L^gT^tA_2$ΓGKN 26. -ⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ] -ⲓⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ, T; for -ιται cf. Gr. HP al omn^{vid}. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ.] ⲡⲉⲧ., B^aFGKOS. ⲁⲓϥ] +ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ 'to them,' T^t. 36 ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ] -ⲱϥ, G. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ] T^tA 26: om. L^g &c. ⲑⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ] A_1^c(ⲉ, o. e.)$_2B^a$FGO*S: ⲑⲉⲩⲇⲁⲥ, Γ: ⲑⲉⲩⲇⲏ(ⲉ, 26)ⲥ, L^gT^tKNO^cPT 26. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA*BCHP al plu vg syr^p arm Eus &c. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c.; for verb cf. ? Gr. 15. 18. 36. &c. ⲛ̄ⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. ? Gr. DHP al pler vg^{ole} am &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧ.] $L^gT^tAB^a$GKP 26: ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧ. ⲇⲉ, FS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϧ., ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ (pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t) . . . ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲑⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ, FS. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ, S: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣ., L^gT^t &c. ⲉϩⲁⲛ] L^gAB^aFGKOS^c: ⲛ̄ϩ., T^tΓNPS*T 26. 37 ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ] ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, FS. ⲡⲓⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ] om. K. ϯⲉⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ] A: ϯⲁ(ⲉ, G)ⲡⲟ(+ⲩ, O)ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ, $L^gT^tB^a\Gamma^c$ &c.: ϯⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ, Γ*. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] L^g &c.: +ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ, T^t. ⲡⲓⲭⲉⲧ] ⲡⲁⲓⲭ., T^tB^aKP. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] AΓNOT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^gT^tB^a$FGKPS. ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ] A: ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ, L^gT^t &c.

ξθ 38 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϯϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ϩⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲭⲁⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲡⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ
ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 39 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲏ-
ⲡⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϫⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾

ο 40 Ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ-
ϯⲥⲃⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
41 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲩⲣⲁϣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲁ ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ
ⲛ̀ϣⲟϣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⳾

οα 42 Ⲛⲁⲩϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲭⲱ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓ
ⲉⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̀ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

ⲋ.

οβ Ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲉⲙⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⳾

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38 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ] A: ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ, T^t: ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀, L^g &c. ϫⲉ 2°] om. G. ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. HP al^{40} fere &c.). ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. ⲟⲩ, GK. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] $L^gT^tAB^aKOP$: om. ⲛⲓ, ΓFGNST. ⲡⲉ] om. O. ⲓⲉ 2°] A: om. L^gT^t &c. 39 ⲓⲥϫⲉ] A: ⲓⲥ|ⲇⲉ, Γ*: ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ, $L^gT^tB^a\Gamma^c$ &c.: ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. ⲟⲩ, K. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ &c.] cf. Gr. AHP al plu fu syr^p aeth &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ] T^tA, cf. ? Gr. C* H P al longe plu vg^{cle} demid syr^{sch} &c.: ⲉⲃⲟ(ⲱ, L^gP)ⲗ ⲟⲩ 'to overthrow them,' L^g &c., cf. Gr. ℵABC²DE al $plus^{12}$ cat am fu syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲙⲏ(ⲉ, A_1)ⲡⲟⲧⲉ] T^tA: ⲙⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲡⲱⲥ, L^g &c. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϫⲉⲙ] L^gA: ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲣϫⲉⲙ, P; for om. *καί* cf. Gr. D* 163. d syr^{utr}: ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉϫⲉⲙ, T^t &c.

'38 And now, I say to you, withdraw from these men, and
release them: because if this counsel or this work is from
[the] men, then it will be overthrown. 39 If it is from God,
it is not possible for you to overthrow it, *lest haply* ye be
found opposers of God.' 40 They hearkened to him; they
called the *apostles*; they beat them; they ordered them not
to teach in (the) name of Jesus; they released them. 41 They
(pron.) *indeed then* were walking (away) rejoicing, from (the)
presence (lit. face) of the council, because they were made
worthy to be dishonoured for this name. 42 They were
being in the temple daily, and they cease not teaching in
(ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) house, proclaiming Jesus Christ.

VI. But in these days the *disciples* having been multiplied,
there was a murmuring of the Greeks against the *Hebrews*,
because they were not attending to the daily ministry of

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40 ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] A: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., O. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}GK. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. E d. ⲁⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t GK. ϯⲥⲃⲱ] T^{t}A: ⲥⲁϫⲓ 'speak,' L^g &c.: ⲥⲁϫⲓ ϫⲉ, P. ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.; for add *αὐτούς* cf. Gr. DEHP al omn^{vid} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. 41 ⲛⲁⲩ(ϥ, A$_1$)ⲙⲟϣⲓ] A: + ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̄ϣⲟ(+ⲩ, T^{t}GKNS)ϣⲟⲩ] AB^a: ⲣⲱ ⲉϣ., L^{g}Γ NOPT: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣ., T^{t}K: ⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣ., FGS. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ] T^{t}A$_{1.2}$^{a} ΓKNOT: ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ 'the name,' L^{g}A$_2$*B^{a}FGPS, cf. Gr. ℵABCDHP al^{12} syr^{sch} arm &c. 42 ⲉⲣⲫⲉ(ⲏ, S)ⲓ] AFS: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. ? Gr. D 26. 105. e vg &c. ⲡⲉ] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲱ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}FPS, obs. Gr. 31. 126. a^{scr} om. *καί*. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] + ⲡⲉ, K^o. ⲉⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ] ⲁⲩϯ., S. ⲉ(ⲁ, GOPT)ⲩϩⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^g T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲓⲏⲥ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. (E)HP al plu^{vid} am tol aeth^{ro}: ⲙ̄ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄, B^a, cf. Gr. ℵAB al plus^{30} cat^{98} vg syr^p &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

1 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] AK: ⲛ̄ϩ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] AΓNT: +ⲉⲧⲉⲙ- Hunt 18,
ⲙⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. ? Gr. O^3 47* 73. vg. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁϣⲁⲓ] om. ⲉⲧ., FS. 1–5 ...ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓ., K: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓ., FS. ⲟⲩⲃⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_1$B^{a}P: ⲛⲉⲙ 'with,' A$_2$?FGKO^{o}S: ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲃⲉ, ΓNT. ϩⲉⲃⲣ.] ⲉⲃ., GO. ⲡⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲡϣ., L^g &c. ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲏⲣⲁ] ⲛⲓⲭ. 'the &c.,' P.

2 Ⲁ ⲡⲓⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ÷ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲣⲁⲛⲁⲛ
ⲁⲛ ÷ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ÷
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ÷ 3 ϫⲉⲙⲛϣⲓⲛⲓ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ÷ ⲛ̀ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ÷ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ρξθ ϯⲭⲣⲓⲁ ÷ 4 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲣⲱϥⲧ | ⲉϯⲡⲣⲟⲥ-
ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ÷
ογ † 5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲣⲁⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ÷ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲣⲟⲭⲱⲣⲟⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲛⲱⲣ ÷
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲓⲙⲱⲛ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲁ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲟ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ÷ ⲡⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉⲙⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ÷ 6 ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ÷ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁ ϫⲓϫ
ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ÷ 7 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲁⲓⲁⲓ ÷
ⲁⲥⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ︦ⲗ︦ⲏ︦ⲙ︦
ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ÷ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲏⲃ ÷
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ÷
οδ 8 Ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ϫⲟⲙ
ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣ-

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2 ⲁ] om. T^tGK. ⲇⲉ] T^tAΓGKOT: om. $L^g B^a$FNPS, cf. Gr. D^{gr*} &c. ⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^gAΓFPS: ⲁⲩⲙ., (T^t)B^a(GK)NOT 18. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] T^tAK, cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} aeth &c.: om. L^g &c.: +ϫⲉ, FS. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ] ϩⲉ., F. 3 ⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. CEHP al omn^{vid} vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. A 13. &c.). ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲙ.] ⲁⲩ., Γ. ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ] -ⲟϩ, T. ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅] $L^g A_2 B^a$FKO: ⲡⲓⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅, T^t: ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅, A_1ΓGNPST; for om. ἁγίου cf. Gr. ℵBC^{2vid}D 137. 180. am fu luxov ar^e &c. ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ] pref. ⲟⲩ, K. ϯⲭⲣⲓⲁ] A: ⲧⲁⲓⲭ., $L^g T^t$ &c. 4 ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲣ.] cf. ? Gr. EH 13. 31. 40. al $plus^{30}$ &c. ⲡⲓϣ.] $L^g T^t$AP: ⲡϣ., B^a &c. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FOS. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ, ΓNO*T. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] L^gAKP: + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $T^t B^a$ΓFGNOST.

their *widows*. 2 But the twelve *apostles* called the multi-
tude of the *disciples*, they said to them, The thing is not
pleasing to us to leave the word of God, and minister at
(ⲛ̄) *tables*. 3 Make (lit. find) inquiry *then*, our brethren, for
seven men from you, witnessed unto, full of (the) *spirit* and
wisdom, that we may put them over the *need*; 4 and (ⲇⲉ) we
(pron.) may have leisure for the *prayer*, and the ministry of
the word. 5 And the word pleased[a] the whole multitude:
and they chose Stephanos from them, he was a man full of
(the) faith and the holy *spirit*, and Philippos, and Prochōros,
and Nicanōr, and Timōn, and Parmena, and Nikolaos, the
stranger, native of (the) Antiochia. 6 Having set these before
the *apostles*, and having prayed, they laid hand upon them.
7 And the word of God grew; (the) number of the *disciples*
was multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; but a great multitude
of the priests hearkened to (the) faith. 8 But Stephanos,
full of grace and power, was doing great signs and wonders

[a] Lit. 'was pleasing to them before the &c.'

ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. G. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] T^tA: om. ΓGKNO 18: Hunt 18,
om. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, $L^g B^a$FPST. ⲡⲉ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲡⲣⲟ(om. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2^c
ⲣⲟ, T)ⲭⲱⲣⲟⲥ] AΓFNOST, cf. Gr. E al aliq $syr^{p\,mg\,gr}$: -ⲭⲟⲣⲟⲥ, ...-7
$L^g T^t B^a$GKP. ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲉⲛⲁ] $L^g T^t B^a$GK, cf. Gr. D^{gr*}: -ⲁⲛⲁ,
O*: -ⲏⲛⲁ, ΓFO^oST: -ⲱⲛⲁ, A_1: -ⲟⲛⲁ, P: ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛⲁ, A_2.
ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁ(+ⲙ, N)ⲟⲥ] ⲛⲓⲕ., FNS. 6 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ-
ϩⲱⲟⲩ] T^tA: ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲧ., L^g &c.: ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉⲛⲁⲓ, FS; cf. ? Gr.
D^{gr} syr^{sch} ar^e. 7 ⲁ . . . ⲁⲓⲁⲓ] L^gAB^aP 18: ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ, FKS:
ⲁ(ⲉ, N) . . . ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ, T^tΓGNOT. ⲁⲥⲁϣⲁⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,
$L^g T^t$ &c.: +ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ, G. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲙ., B^a.
ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ] trs. after ⲁⲥⲁϣⲁⲓ, K. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,
T^t. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., FS. ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] for plural cf. Gr.
(exc. AE &c.). 8 ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵABD al $plus^{20}$ cat^{101} vg
arm ar^e &c. ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ] ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, Γ*O*. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ . . . ϫⲟⲙ]
$L^g T^t$AB^aP: ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ, ΓG(K)NOT:

ⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ ⳹ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳹
[9] ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲓ-
ⲃⲉⲣⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙ-
ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲧⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳹
ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳹ [10] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ-
ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳹
ⲟⲉ [11] Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ
ⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ [12] ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϧ ⳹ ⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲟⲩ|ⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϩⲟⲗⲙⲉϥ ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ϯϩⲁⲡ [13] ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹
Ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ϥϫⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲛⲟ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ [14] ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⳉⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹ ϥⲛⲁϣⲓⲃϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳹
[15] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϯϩⲁⲡ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳹ [1] ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲇⲉ

ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ, FS. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] TᵗA: om. Lᵍ &c. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ, K. [9] ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲙ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲁⲩⲙ., TᵗNT by error: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙ., FS. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA 5. 13. 33. 40. 45. 47. 96* k^sor &c. ⲗⲓⲃⲉⲣⲧ.] ⲗⲩ., K: ⲓⲗⲓⲃ., N: ⲗⲓⲃⲓⲧ., T. ⲛⲓⲕⲩ(ⲓ, T)ⲣ.] TᵗA &c.: ⲛⲓⲕ., Lᵍ. -ⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ] Tᵗ &c.: -ⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ, Lᵍ. ⲣⲉⲙ-ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ] ⲣⲉϥⲕⲟϯ, NT. ⲧⲕⲩ(ⲓ, Lᵍ P)ⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ] ϯⲕⲩ., K. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. AD* 12^lect d). [10] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϣ.] om. ϣ, FS. ⲛ̄ϯ] Tᵗ &c.: ⲉϯ, LᵍFPS. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥⲥ.] ⲉⲛⲁϥⲥ., FS. [11] ⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ] ABᵃP: ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, Tᵗ: ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄, LᵍΓFGKNOST. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] TᵗAFS: om. Lᵍ &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ] cf. ? Gr.

and powers among the *people*. 9 But (there) rose (up) some from the *synagogue*, whom they call the *Libertines* and the *Cyrenians* and the men of Rakoti[a] and the men of (the) Kylikia and [the] Asia, questioning (lit. seeking) with Stephanos. 10 And they could not oppose the *wisdom* and the *spirit* in which he was speaking. 11 *Then* came men, saying: 'We (pron.) heard him saying words of blasphemy at (ⲉ) Mōysēs and God.' 12 But they moved the *people* and the *presbyters* and the scribes; they rose, they carried him off, they brought him into the council, 13 they set up false witnesses, saying: 'This man ceaseth not, saying words against this holy place and the *law*: 14 for we heard him saying, that Jesus the Nazōreos himself will overthrow this holy place, he will change the *customs* which Mōysēs delivered to us.' 15 They who sat in the council, having all gazed upon him, saw his face as (the) face of an *angel*. VII. But the *chief priest* said to him: 'Are these (things)

[a] Alexandria.

ℵ* 5. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁ, B^aK. ⲉⲙⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲩⲥⲏⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ., B^a. 12 ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., KO: ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓ., B^a: +ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'all,' T^tGK. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ] om. A_2*. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲁϧ] L^g AB^aGKP: trs. before ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲡ., T^tΓFNOST. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] AB^aPT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t(ⲟⲩⲱ)ΓGKNO: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ., L^gFS. ⲁⲩϩⲟⲗⲙⲉϥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ] L^gAB^aFPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓGKNOT; for add *αὐτόν* cf. Gr. A e^{scr} syr^{sch} et^p c. ob. aeth. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ 'their &c.,' B^aP. 13 ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ] AFS: +ⲇⲉ, $L^g$$T^t$ &c., cf. ? Gr. H 13. 40. 96. e &c. ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ (om. S)] om. ⲙⲉⲧ, $B^a$$\Gamma^{mg}GKO^{mg}$. ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ϫⲉ] $L^g$$T^tAB^a$FKPS: om. ΓGNOT. ⲉϥϫⲱ] position cf. Gr. ℵBC 40. 69. 96. cat^{102} vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD 27. 29. 81. 105. 142. 163. vg syr^{utr} ar^e &c. ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ] cf. Gr. BC al sat mu cat tol syr^{utr} &c.: ⲡⲓⲙⲁ, FS, cf. Gr. ℵADEHP al $plus^{45}$ vg luxov arm aeth &c. 14 ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ] ⲡⲓⲙⲁ, A_2*FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̄ⲑ̄, Γ. ϥⲛⲁϣⲓⲃϯ] L^gAP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛ.] ⲛ̄ⲥ., S*. 15 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g$$T^t$ &c. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] om. K. ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅ.] ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅ., NT.

Hunt 18, 15—VII. 4 ...ϫⲁⲣⲡⲁⲛ

ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲟⲛ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾
ος 2 Ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ⳾
οζ Ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ⳾
ⲉϥⲭⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ-
ⲧⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛ 3 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾
4 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲗⲇⲉⲟⲥ⳾
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲑⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲑ-
ⲃⲉϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ϯⲛⲟⲩ⳾
5 ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲥⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩϭⲁⲗⲟϫ⳾ ⲁϥⲱϣ
ⲉⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϫⲣⲟϫ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱϥ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ⳾|
ρο οη 6 Ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲣⲟϫ
ⲉⲣⲣⲉⲙⲛ̅ϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̅ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲃⲱⲕ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲩ̅
ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ⳾ 7 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϣⲗⲱⲗ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲉⲣⲃⲱⲕ
ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲓⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫϯ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ⳾

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1 ⲁⲛ] ⲙⲏ, FS; cf.? Gr. ℵABC &c. sine ἄρα. ϣⲟⲛ] ϣⲱⲛⲓ, T^tG. ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, S. 2 ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, FS. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] $L^g T^t A B^a \Gamma^{mg}$ G N P T 18 : ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ, Γ*FKOS. ⲫϯ] F^{mg} S^{mg}* يقرى يوم الصعود 'it is read on the day of the Ascension and on the first Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̅ϩⲣ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ] -ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ, Γ: -ⲇⲁⲙⲓⲁ, K: -ⲇⲟⲙⲓⲁ, FPS. 3 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] L^gAFPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t B^a$ ΓGKNOT 18. ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲁϩⲓ . . . ϧⲉⲛ] om. K. ⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ]

thus?' 2 But he (pron.) said, [The] men, our brethren
and our fathers, hear: God of (the) glory manifested
himself to our father Abraam, being in [the] Mesopotamia,
before that he dwelt in Charran, 3 he said to him: 'Come
from thy land and from thy *kindred*, come to the land
which I shall (lit. will) show to thee.' 4 *Then* he came
from (the) land of the *Chaldeans*, he dwelt in Charran: but
from there, after his father died, he removed to dwell in this
land, this on which ye (pron.) now dwell. 5 He gave not
to him an *inheritance* in it, *not even* a step of a foot: he
promised to give it to him in a possession, and (to) his seed
after him, but he had not son. 6 But God spake thus:
'Thy seed shall be sojourners in a strange land, and they
shall make them servants, and they shall afflict them four
hundred years. 7 And the nation to which they will be
servants I (pron.) shall judge, said God, and after these
(things) they shall come out, they shall serve me in this

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cf. Gr. B*CDEP al. ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*DE 5. 40. 133. 4 ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓϫ.] $L^gT^tA_{1.2}$? B^aGKP 18: ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϫ., ΓFNOST. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS, cf. ? Gr. D^{gr}*. ⲑⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ] ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ 'our father,' NS*T. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ] om. ⲁϥ, S. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: ⲁϥⲑⲣⲉϥϣ. 'he caused him &c.,' L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲡ] ⲛ̅ⲧ., G: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣ., FS. 5 ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϯ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲁϥⲱϣ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲏⲓϥ . . . ⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] om. NT. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] ⲉⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ, B^a. 6 ⲇⲉ] om. ΓNOT. ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ABCDEP al pler tol arm syr^p &c. ⲡⲉⲕϫⲣⲟϫ] cf. Gr. ℵ 15. 18. 27. 36. vg^{six} syr^{sch} aeth. ⲉⲣⲣⲉⲙ.] pref. ⲉ, B^a. ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ, P. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B^a. ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁⲓϥ, GK. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲧϩ.] ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲧϩ., FS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧϩ., OT. ⲧ(ⲑ, N)ϩⲉⲙⲕⲱⲟⲩ] ⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, K; cf. ? Gr. C al pauc syr^{sch} et p c. ob. add αὐτό. ⲛ̅ⲩ̅] om. ⲛ̅, G. 7 ϣⲗⲱⲗ] A: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ] cf.? Gr. ACD^{gr} 26. 96. &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] L^gAB^aΓNOPT: ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, T^tFGKS. ⲡⲉϫⲉⲫϯ] cf. Gr. DEHP al omn^{vid} d vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲓ] ⲉⲩⲓ, N. ⲉⲩⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ, GK: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^a.

οθ 8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁϥϫⲫⲉ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩⲃⲏⲧϥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
π Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲁϥϫⲫⲉ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⳾ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲁϥϫⲫⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⳾ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓ-
ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲁⲩϫⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲫϯ ⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾
10 ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁϥ
ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾
πα 11 Ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲛ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲭⲁⲛⲁⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ 12 ⲁϥⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉϯ ⲥⲟⲩⲟ [⳾] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⳾
13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲥⲟⲡ ⲃ̄ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ
ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⳾ 14 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾ |
πβ Ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟ̄ⲉ̄ ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⳾
πγ 15 Ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ

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8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS; F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ] ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲁϥϫⲫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. E syr^{sch}. ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ 2°] A(S): pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲁϥϫⲫⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ] AKP: ⲁϥϫⲫⲉⲛⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.; cf. syr^{sch}. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧ.] ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧ. ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ] ⲛ̄ⲓⲱ., FNS. ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1.2}$?: ⲉϧ., B^{a}Γ &c.: ⲛ̄ϧ., N. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. 10 ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ] ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ, L^{g}G. ⲁϥϯ] L^{g}AK: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲛⲁϥ] om. K*, cf. Gr. A. ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ] om. ⲟⲩ, O. ⲁϥⲭⲁϥ] L^{g}AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩ-

very place.' [8] And he gave to him a *covenant* of (the)
circumcision: and thus he begat Isaak, and he circumcised
him in the eighth day. And Isaak begat Iakōb, Iakōb
begat the twelve *patriarchs.* [9] And the *patriarchs* were
jealous of Iōsēph, they sold him into Chēmi[a]; and God was
being with him. [10] He saved him from all his *afflictions*;
he gave to him [a] grace and [a] *wisdom* before Pharaō
(the) king of Chēmi; he made him *governor* over Chēmi
and over all his house. [11] But a famine came over all
Chēmi and Chanaan, and a great *affliction*: and our fathers
were not finding corn. [12] But Iakōb heard that they sell
corn in Chēmi; he sent our fathers first. [13] And in the
second time Iōsēph manifested himself to his brethren; and
(the) *race* of Iōsēph was made known[b] to Pharaō. [14] But
Iōsēph sent, he called Iakōb his father and all his
kindred, Amounting[c] to seventy-five *souls.* [15] But
Iakōb came down to Chēmi; and he died, he and our

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[a] Egypt. [b] Lit. 'manifested itself.' [c] Lit. 'up in.'

ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ] AF: -ⲱ-, S: ⲏⲩ., ΓΝΤ: ϩⲏⲩⲟⲩ (om. O) ⲙ., LgTt &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. FS. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] om. S. ⲉϫⲉⲛ 2°] A: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, LgTt &c.; cf. Gr. ℵACE3r 14* 20. 25. 26. 27. 40. 69. 96. 100. 105. 120. 163. 177* gscr vg syrutr. 11 ⲉϫⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, LgΓNOPS. ⲭⲏⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC(Dgr) 81. vg syrsch. ⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ] as verse 10, exc. G. 12 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FGKS. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. DHP al pler &c. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. 13 ϧⲉⲛ] om. P. ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩ] TtAΓGK: ⲫⲙⲁϩ, Lg &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] LgA: trs. Tt &c. ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ] cf. Gr. (BC)DHP al pler. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ 2°] om. ⲁϥ, FGKS. ⲉⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., LgBaK. 14 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ] position cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al plus10 vg arm. ⲧⲉϥⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲓ (cf. Gr. E) ⲁ] cf. Gr. DE al pm vgcle tol syrsch aeth. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, BaNOPT: ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, LgTtΓFGKS. ϧⲉⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲉ̄ . . . 15 ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. N* homeot. ⲙ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ] position cf. Gr. DH 1. 5. 31. 32. 38. 40. 57. 69. 96. 105. 113. 137. 163. 180. cscr cat110. 15 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. BH al plu arm &c.

ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ
ⲉⲥⲩⲭⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲭⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙ̀ϩⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲟⲡϥ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲙⲱⲣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲥⲩⲭⲉⲙ. 17 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲡⲁⲅ-
ⲅⲉⲗⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲱⲣⲕ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⳾
ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲁϥⲁϣⲁⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾
πδ 18 Ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϥⲥⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⳾ 19 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥϫⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲗⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲧⲁⲛϧⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
[πδ] 20 Ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲓⲥⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣϥ ⲛ̀ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⳾
21 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲥⲟⲗϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧϣⲉⲣⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ ⳾ 22 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ
ⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥϫⲟⲣ ⲡⲉ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
πε 23 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾

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16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS: ⲁⲩⲟⲩ. ⲇⲉ, F. -ⲃⲉϥ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FKPS$: -ⲃⲟⲩ, ΓGNOT. ⲉⲥⲩⲭ(ⲥⲉⲕ, N)ⲉⲙ] ⲛ̀ⲥ., FGS. ⲁⲩⲭⲁϥ] -ⲁⲩ, GNOPT; pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GKNOPT. ⲙ̀ϩⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙϩ., G. ϧⲁ] $T^{t}AB^{a}$ΓNOT: ϧⲉⲛ, L^{g}FGKPS. ⲧⲓⲙⲏ] -ⲙⲓ, S. ⲉⲙⲙⲱⲣ] $L^{g}AB^{a}FGPS$: ⲉⲙⲙⲙⲱⲣ(ⲛ, O), T^{t}ΓKNOT; for -μώρ cf. Gr. ℵABCDH al plus[10] cat &c. ϧⲉⲛ-ⲥⲩⲭⲉⲙ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ* BC 15. 18. 66. 69. 96. 100. 105. 163. cat arm.
Hunt 18, 17–22 17 ⲇⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AΓNOT: om. B^{a}FGKPS 18. ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ] cf. ? Gr. 31. d. ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥ., ΓKOP; obs. Gr. A *καιρός*. ⲱⲣⲕ] cf. Gr. HP 31. 61. al pler syr^{sch} et p txt &c. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ] trs. after ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ, FS. ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS: + ⲇⲉ, G. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ 'the multitude,' FS. ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] A: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ] T^{t}AΓ: ⲛ̀ϧ., L^{g} &c. 18 ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ.]

fathers. 16 And they removed him to Sychem, they laid
him in the sepulchre which Abraam bought for a *price* of
silver from (the) sons of Emōr in Sychem. 17 But according
as (the) time of the *promise* concerning which God sware
to Abraam approached, the *people* grew and was strengthened,
it multiplied in Chēmi. 18 Until rose another king over
Chēmi, knowing not Joseph. 19 This (one) dealt craftily[a]
with (ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ) our *race*, he afflicted our fathers, to make
them cast out their little children (so as) not to keep them
alive. 20 But in that time Mōysēs was born; he was
exceeding *fair*[b]; this (one) was nourished three months in
(the) house of his father. 21 But having been cast out, (the)
daughter of Pharaō took him away. 22 And Mōysēs was
taught all wisdom of the men of Chēmi; he was being
strong in his words and his works. 23 But forty years
of time having been completed, it came upon his heart

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[a] Lit. 'found a wisdom.' [b] Lit. 'fair to God.'

L^gΑΓΝΟΡΤ: ϣⲁⲧⲉϥ., T^tB^aFGKS 18. ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ 'a king,' O. ⲉϫⲉⲛⲭⲏⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al[20] cat vg syr^{sch} $et^{p\,mg}$ arm aeth. ⲛ̀ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲛ̀|ⲉϥⲥ., G: ⲉⲛϥⲥ., 18. 19 ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ϥⲧϩ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aP 18. ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ACEHP al omn^{vid} vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ] ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩ 'he caused them,' FS. 20 ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩ., L^gB^aFNPS 18. ⲇⲉ] om. GO. ⲡⲉ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲧ.] om. ⲟⲩ, ΓNT. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲩ, Γ. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉϥ., T^tG; cf. Gr. DE al plu cat vg &c. 21 ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ] A_1: + ⲁⲥϣⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲛⲟⲩϣϥ (om. S^c) ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲩϣⲏ(ⲉ, K)ⲣⲓ 'she nourished him for her for a son,' L^gΓFNPS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϣ &c. ⲉⲩ (ⲉⲟⲩ, T^tA_2G) ϣ. 'and she &c.,' $T^tA_2B^a$ GK(ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ)OT 18. 22 ⲉⲥⲃⲱ] A: ϧⲉⲛⲥⲃⲱ, L^gT^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵACE al pauc vg^{cod} &c. ⲛⲁϥϫⲟⲣ] A_1: +ⲇⲉ, $L^gT^tA_2$ &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵABCHP al fere omn cat e arm &c. ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲉϥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCDH 61. al[40] cat e &c.; for possessive cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al plus[15] vg syr^{sch} arm aeth: om. O* homeot. $F^{mg}S^{mg}$ 'the end (of the lection).' 23 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Kīhak,' S^{mg} later 'the first Sunday of the month Tubā.' ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲙ̀] ⲛ̀ⲙ̀, B^a: -ϩⲙ̀, O. ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛ̀] om. K. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛ, N: ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, Γ* by error. ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ] ⲛⲉϥϩⲏⲧ, NT plur.

ⲡⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾ 24 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲩϭⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̅-
ⲣⲟⲁ ⲡϣⲓϣ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⲙ̅|ⲙⲟϥ. ⲁϥϧⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ. 25 ⲉⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲁϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛⲁϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
[πε] ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁϯ ⳾ † 26 Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ
ⲉϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲙ̅ⲗⲁϧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϩⲱⲧⲡ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ 27 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧϭⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⳾
ⲓⲉ ⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ. 28 ⲙⲏ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉⲧ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲕϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̅-
ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϥ ⳾ 29 ⲁϥⲫⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲣⲉⲙⲛ̀ϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲇⲓⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲫⲉ
ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲃ̅ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
πϛ 30 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲛⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ 31 ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓ-
ϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧϥ ⳾
ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾

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24 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲩϭⲓ] L^{g}ΑΓFNOPST: ⲉϥϭⲓ, T^{t}B^{a}GK. ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ] L^{g}A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧϩ., FS. ⲁϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] A: ⲉⲁϥ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. 25 ⲉⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ] A: ⲛⲁϥⲙ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ADEHP al omn^{vid} tol syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] ⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, B^{a}. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr.
Hunt 18, 26–29 ℵABCD 31. 40. 61. 96. cat vg arm. 26 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] pref. ⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. EP al plu vg arm. ⲉϩⲁⲛ] ⲛ̀ϩ., P 18. ⲉⲩⲙ̅ⲗⲁϧ] ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲗ., B^{a}G 18. ⲛⲁϥϩⲱⲧⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵBCD al^{10} e vg syr^{utr}. ⲡⲉ] om. FP. ⲉⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ (ⲓ, NT)] T^{t} &c.:

to visit his brethren, (the) sons of Israel. 24 But having
seen one being wronged, he had compassion, he avenged
him who was being afflicted, he killed the man of Chēmi.
25 But he was thinking that his brethren will understand that
God will give [a] salvation to them through him. But they
(pron.) understood not. 26 But on the morrow he manifested
himself to others who were disputing, and he was reconciling
them for [a] *peace*, saying: 'Ye are men (and) brethren, why
do ye wrong to one another?' 27 But he who did wrong to
his neighbour denied him, saying: 'Who made (ϫⲁⲕ) thee
ruler or judge over us? 28 Wishest thou (pron.) to kill me,
as thou killedst the man of Chēmi yesterday?' 29 But Mōysēs
fled at (ϧⲉⲛ) this word; he was a sojourner in (the) land of
Madiam, where he begat two sons. 30 But forty years
having been completed, an *angel* manifested himself to him
in (the) desert of (the) mountain of Sina in a flame of fire upon
a *bush*. 31 But Mōysēs having seen the *vision*, wondered:
but being about to come to behold it, a voice of the Lord

ⲉⲩϩ., $L^g B^a$ FGPS 18^c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. HP al longe plu cat[113] syr[p] aeth. ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ⲛ̄, A_2. 27 ⲇⲉ] om. G. ⲉⲧϭⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ, O. ⲡⲉ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲓⲉ] $L^g T^t$AΓFGKNST: ⲓⲉ ⲛ̄, O; cf. Gr. E demid: ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' B^aP 18. 28 ⲙⲏ] ϣⲁⲛ, GK. ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ] T^tA: ⲁⲕ., L^g &c. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̄-ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ, B^aP 18. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϥ] position cf. Gr. A. 29 ⲁϥⲉⲣ] L^gA: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, $Γ^r$NOPT. 30 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ, $L^g T^t$ &c.: ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-ϫⲱⲕ, G. ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ] ⲡⲓϣ., T^tK. ⲥⲓⲛⲁ] ⲥⲩⲛⲁ, B^a. ⲁⲅⲅⲉ-ⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 61. 81. vg: + ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'of the Lord,' B^a, cf. Gr. DEHP al pler syr[utr] arm aeth &c. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϣⲁϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲱⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵBDHP 1. 13. 31. 61. al plu syr[p] arm aeth &c. 31 ⲙⲱⲩ-ⲥⲏⲥ] ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S* also verses 32, 35, 36, 40, 44. ⲉⲡⲓϩⲟⲣⲁ (O, ΓF Hunt 18. 31–35
GNPST) ⲙⲁ] obs. Gr. A om. ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. ABC 13. al permu vg &c. ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, T^tGK. ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] T^tA, cf. arm &c.: om. L^g &c.; om. *πρὸς αὐτόν*, cf. Gr. ℵAB 15. 18. 27. 29. 36. 40. 61. 69. 105. 163. am fu demid syr[p] &c.

32 ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⳾
πζ Ⲁϥⲥⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲧⲟⲗ-
ⲙⲁⲛ ⲉϯ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⳾
πη 33 Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲃⲱⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ | ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ
ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ ⳾
34 Ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲥ
⳾ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲟⲩϥⲓⲁ-
⳾ ϩⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲛⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
πθ Ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲏⲙⲓ.
ϟ 35 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲣⲉϥϯ-
ϩⲁⲡ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲣⲉϥⲥⲱϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ 36 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ϟα Ⲉⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ [⳾] ⲛ̀ϣⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⲛ̀ⲙ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾

Η.

ϟβ 37 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅
ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲏϯ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⳾

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32 ⲡⲉ] cf. Gr. E d vg^{cle} arm &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ ⲫϯ] om. S* homeot. ⲛⲉⲙⲫϯ . . . ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ] cf. Gr. DEHP al pler vg aeth &c. ⲁϥⲥⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ] S^{mg} 'may be used on (يدور) the third Sunday of Kīhak.' ⲇⲉ] om. OPS*. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}FKS. 33 ⲃⲱⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] L^{g}T^{t}AFS: ⲃⲟ(ⲱ, ΓKPT 18)ⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲟⲩⲓ, B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18; for om. *σου* cf. Gr. (exc. C* syr^{utr} aeth). ϩⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, L^{g} &c. ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓFG*NOST: ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ, B^{a}G^{c}KP 18; cf. ? Gr. ℵABCD^{2} 61. 34 ⲡⲟⲩϥⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵACEHP

came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), saying: 32 'I am God of thy fathers, God of
Abraam and God of Isaak and God of Iakōb.' But Mōysēs
trembled, he *dared* not to behold him. 33 But the Lord said
to him: 'Loose the shoe from thy feet: for the place upon
which thou standest is a holy ground. 34 In a seeing I saw
(the) affliction of my *people* which are in Chēmi; and I
heard their groaning, I came down to save them. But
now come that I may send thee up to Chēmi.' 35 This
is Mōysēs whom they denied, saying: 'Who made (ϫⲁⲕ)
thee *ruler* or judge over us?' But this (one) God sent as
ruler and redeemer by (ϧⲉⲛ) (the) hand of the *angel*, he
who manifested himself to him in the *bush*, 36 he who brought
them out, Having done signs and wonders in (the) land of
Chēmi, and the sea of Shari, and in (the) desert forty years.
37 This is Mōysēs who said to (the) sons of Israel: 'God
shall raise a *prophet* to you from your brethren of (them)

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al fere omn vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲁⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} G K P. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲕ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCDE 61. 69* 105. 163. c^{scr} cat &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲉϧ., L^{g} T^{t} &c.: om. O. 35 F^{mg} S^{mg} (يعرر) 'the third Sunday in Kīhak.' ⲡⲉ] AB^{a}ΓFNOST 18: ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$GP: ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ, K. ⲓⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFKS: ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' B^{a}ΓGNOPT 18. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵCDE 13. 15. 18. 26. 33. 34. 36. 43. 46. 61. 69. 100. 103. 105. al cat^{117} $syr^{sch\,et\,p}$ c.* arm aeth &c. ⲇⲉ] A: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟϥ] ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ 'raised him,' FS. ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ* ACHP al pler vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ϧⲉⲛⲧϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. ℵHP al longe plu cat d syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲫⲏ . . . ⲃⲁⲧⲟⲥ] om. T. ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ, B^{a} S* 18. 36 ⲫⲏ] T^{t}AGK: ⲫⲁⲓ, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ . . . ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ] added in lower margin, A_{1}^{mg}. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. D^{gr} al mu^{vid} e** vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] A: pref. ϧⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲉⲙϧ. ⲡϣ.] om. ⲛⲉⲙ, P*. ⲙ̅] ϩⲙ̅, GO. 37 ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] pref. ⲫⲏ, T^{t}K. ⲫ︦ϯ︦] cf. Gr. ℵABD 61. vg aeth: pref. ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ 'the Lord,' T^{t}GK, cf. Gr. CEHP al pler cat syr^{p} arm &c.; for om. ὑμῶν cf. Gr. ℵABCD 61. al $plus^{10}$ vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦, FS, cf. Gr. 163. 180. syr^{p} &c. ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ] ⲉϥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ, K. ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ] cf. ? Gr. CDE al plu cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.

ϥⲅ 38 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ 39 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩϫⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩ-
ϩⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲏⲙⲓ ⳾
ϥⲇ 40 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲣⲱⲛ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲱⲕ ϧⲁϫⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲏⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁϥ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ 41 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ
ⲣⲟⲃ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⳾ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⳾
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ ⳾ † 42 ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ
ⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ϩⲁⲛϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⳾
⳾ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄
⳾ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̄ⲗ̄ ⳾ 43 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ
⳾ ⲛ̄ϯⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲙⲟⲗⲟϫ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲣⲏⲫⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-

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38 ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣ.] A: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ., L^{g} &c.: om. ⲡⲉ, FS^{o}. ϩⲓ] A: ϧⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥ., FGS. ⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲧ., T^{t}Γ. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] AK: ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲓⲟϯ 'our fathers also,' L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ] A: ⲉⲩⲱ(ⲟ, B^{a}G 18)ⲛϧ 'living,' L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}FG KS 18: ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ 'which live,' ΓNOPT. ⲉⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ, O by error. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵB 36. (43.) al ? cat^{119}. 39 ⲁⲩϫⲁϥ] + ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ (ⲥⲱϥ, P*), FP^{mg} 'another copy' S. ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ, K. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC 40. 96* cat &c. ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. HP al^{60} syr^{p} aeth^{pp} &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲉϧ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉϫⲏⲙⲓ] ⲛ̄ϫ., N. 40 ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] ⲑⲁⲓⲙⲓⲟ, A$_{1}$ by error. ⲥⲱⲕ] A: ⲙⲟϣⲓ 'walk,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. ΓNOT. ⲡⲉ 1°] L^{g}AΓNOT: ϫⲉ 'namely,' T^{t}B^{a}FGKS 18: om. P. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ] ⲁϥⲉⲛⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̄ⲗ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'he brought the sons of

like me, hearken to him.' 38 This (is) he who was in the
church on (the) desert with the *angel* who spake to him
upon (the) mountain of Sina and our fathers. This (one)
who received words of life to give them to you. 39 This
to whom our fathers wished not to hearken, but (ⲁ) they
put him (aside), and they returned in their heart up to
Chēmi. 40 Saying to Aarōn: 'Make for us gods, those
(lit. these) which will go[a] before us: for this [is] Mōysēs
who brought us from (the) land of Chēmi, we know not
what it is which happened to him.' 41 And they made for
them a calf in those days, and they offered a sacrifice to the
idol, and they delighted in the works of their hands. 42 But
God turned them to minister to the *host* of (the) heaven,
according as it is written on (the) book of the *prophets*:
'Did ye offer to me slain beasts[b] and sacrifices on (the)
desert forty years, (the) house of Israel? 43 And ye took
the *tabernacle* of Moloch, and the star of your god Rēphan,

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[a] Lit. 'draw.' [b] Lit. 'slaughters.'

Israel out,' G. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ] L^gT^tAGK: ⲧⲉⲛⲥ. ⲁⲛ, B^aΓNOPT 18, single negative: ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ, FS. ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ(ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧ, B^aK 18)ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] L^gT^t &c.: ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ (for ⲉⲧⲁⲟⲩ) ϣⲱⲡⲓ, A. 41 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ] trs. after ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ, K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° and 3°] om. F. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣ., ΓNOT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ.] ⲉⲡⲓ., P. ⲓⲇⲱⲗ.] ⲩⲇⲱⲗ., B^a. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓϩ.] ⲉϫⲉⲛⲛⲓϩ., B^a 18. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϫⲓϫ 'of their hand,' T*. 42 ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ] AΓ*O*, cf.? Gr. C: ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ, $L^gT^tB^a\Gamma^{mg}$(tr. رجع) F GKNO^{mg}PST 18. ⲇⲉ] om. B^a 18. ⲉ(ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ, FS)ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] A: pref. ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'he gave them,' L^gT^t &c. ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵCEHP &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., ΓNOT. ⲛⲏⲓ] om. (F) PS*. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] T^tAΓ: ⲉϩ., L^g &c.: +ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ 'to me,' FS^{mg}. ϩⲓⲛϣ.] ⲉⲛϣ., NT. ⲙ̄] ϩⲙ̄, GO. 43 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^a. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., B^aFGS^o. ⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ] ⲥⲕⲏⲛⲏ, L^gG, thus again. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵACEHP al pler vg syr^p aeth &c. ⲣⲏⲫⲁⲛ] AΓNOS^oT: ⲣⲉ., $L^gT^tB^aF^c$(letter erased before ⲁ.) GKPS*, cf. Gr. ($ℵ^c$A) CE al^{10} cat syr^{utr} &c.

∻ ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲃ
∻ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ.
ⲗⲋ 44 Ϯⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ∻ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϮ ϩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ∻ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϮ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ-
ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ∻
ⲉⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ∻
45 ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗⲥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲥ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϮ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ∻ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϮ ∻ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ∻ 46 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ∻ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲉⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ∻ 47 ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲁϥⲕⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ∻ 48 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϭⲟⲥⲓ
ϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̀ϫⲓϫ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϮ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ∻
49 Ϫⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ∻ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲙⲁ
∻ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ∻ ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ⲏⲓ ⲫⲏ | ⲉⲧⲉ-
∻ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ∻ ⲓⲉ ⲁϣ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲙⲁ
∻ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ∻ 50 ⲙⲏ ⲧⲁϫⲓϫ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲥ-
∻ ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ∻
ⲗⲍ 51 Ⲛⲓⲛⲁϣϯⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉ-

ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲃ] A_1: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}A_{2}$ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS.
Cons. MS. 44–55 ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁ] cf. Gr. D* &c. ⲃⲁⲃ.] ⲧⲃ., P. 44 ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCD²HP 61. al⁶⁰ e am* fu luxov &c. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϮ] A: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϮ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲙ̀ⲫ . . . ⲟⲩⲁϩ] om. NT by error. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲙ̀, Γ. ⲉⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ] om. F by error: om. C, S: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ 'having fashioned it,' Cons. ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ] ⲧⲏⲡⲟⲥ, K. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] cf. ? Gr. $D^{gr}E^{gr}$H al⁸ cat. 45 ⲑⲁⲓ] ⲑⲏ, S. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲥ] om. ⲉ, ΓNOT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣ., Cons. ⲓⲏ(ⲉ, Cons.)ⲥⲟⲩ] ⲓ(om. G*)ⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ, $L^{g}G^{c}$ KO. ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲁⲙ., FKS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. S*. ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ] ϧ . . . ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛ, F: ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ, G, cf. Gr. D^{gr}: ϩⲁⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛ, Cons. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] ⲛ̀ⲇ., G. 46 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ] AGK Cons.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,

the *figures* which ye made to worship them. I shall remove
you to the parts of Babylōn.' 44 The *tabernacle* of the
witness which[a] our fathers were having on (the) desert—
as he commanded who (ⲉⲧ) spake to Mōysēs, to make it
according to the *figure* which he saw. 45 This, which having
received, our fathers with Iēsou took away in with them
in (to) the possession of the *nations*, whom God cast out
before (the) face of our fathers, until the days of David;
46 who found [a] grace before God. He *asked* to make a
dwelling-place for the God of Iakōb: 47 but Solomōn built
a house for him. 48 But (ⲁ) the highest[b] was not dwelling
in fabrics of hand, according as the *prophet* saith: 49 '(The)
heaven is my *throne*, but (the) earth is (the) footstool[c] of my
feet. What house (is) that which ye will build for me, saith the
Lord, or what is (the) place of my resting-place? 50 Did not
my hand make all these things?' 51 [The] stiff-necked

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[a] ἦν mistaken for ᾗν. [b] Lit. 'he who is exalted.' [c] Lit. 'place of establishing.'

L^{g}T^t &c. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ACEP al omn^{vid} cat vg syr^{utr} arm
aeth &c. ⲛ̅ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓⲁⲕ., O. 47 ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ] cf. Gr.
BDEHP al omn^{vid}. ⲁϥⲕⲉⲧ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP: ⲁϥⲕⲱ(O, S)ⲧ ⲛ̅,
ΓFNOST Cons. 48 ⲡⲉⲧϭⲟⲥⲓ] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϭ̅., T^t. ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_1$ B^{a}KP Cons.: ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲛⲕ, A$_2$ΓFGNOST.
ⲛ̅ϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 27. 29. 40. 61. 73. 163. vg syr^{utr} aeth &c.
ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ, G. 49 ⲡⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. D d vg. ⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] Hunt 18,
cf. ? Gr. D d &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ, 49 ⲁϣ...
T^{t}ΓNOT Cons., cf. Gr. B syr^{sch} aeth: ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ, G. ⲡⲉ 2°] T^{t}AΓ –53
FGNOPST Cons.: om. L^{g}B^{a}K. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ] A: ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ.,
T^t: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ, L^{g}B^{a}ΓNOT: ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ, FGKS:
om. ⲫⲏ, P. ⲡⲉ 3°] cf. ? Gr. D 5. 13. 45. 96. k^{sor} &c. ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ]
AB^{a}ΓFGPS 18: ⲙ̅ⲧⲟⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}KNOT. 50 -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ] -ⲙⲓⲟ ⲉ,
P: -ⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̅, O. ⲛⲁⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵBH 13. 61. al pler vg
syr^{utr} &c. F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 51 ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉϩⲏⲧ]
A: om. ⲕⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵ 7. 27. 29. 66^{mg} 105. 163. o^{sor} syr^{sch}.

ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲙⲙⲁϣϫ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲉⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ. 52 ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ
ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲏⲓϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾
ϥη ⲟ̄ϯ 53 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲑⲱϣ
ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ϥθ 54 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲛϣⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ-
ϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϧⲣⲁϫⲣⲉϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁϫϩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ 55 ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾ 56 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓ-
ⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾ 57 ⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁϣϫ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩϭⲟϫⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ 58 ⲁⲩ-
ϩⲓⲧϥ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-

ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲙⲙⲁϣϫ] om. ⲕⲉ, K. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ] ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ, Cons. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, P. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲉⲓⲟϯ] om. ⲕⲉ, N. 52 ⲛⲓⲙ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ 'our fathers,' Γ*FS Cons. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ 'them,' B^{a}Γ*(ⲥⲱϥ ^{mg})O*(ⲥⲱϥ added above) 18. ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] ϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ] om. NT: ⲉⲛϫ. &c., T^{t}G: ⲙ̄ⲛⲓϫ., FS: -ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ, Cons. 53 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ] ⲛⲁⲣ., NT. ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] ⲉⲁⲅⲅ., K. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g} T^{t} &c. 54 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, L^{g}; cf. ? Gr. D^{gr} 33. &c. ⲛⲁⲩϣ.] ⲁⲩϣ., B^{a}FS Cons. -ϣⲟⲛϣⲉⲛ] L^{g}AB^{a}FS Cons.: -ϣⲟⲛϣⲉⲃ, K: -ϣⲟⲃϣⲉⲃ, T^{t}ΓGNOPT. ⲛⲁⲩϧⲣ.] ⲁⲩ., Cons. ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁϫϩⲓ] cf. Gr. E al fere^{10} syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲉϫⲱϥ]

and uncircumcised in both their heart and their ears[a], ye
(pron.) always oppose the holy *spirit*: as even (ⲕⲉ) your
fathers, so (lit. and) also ye. 52 Which of the *prophets* did not
your fathers persecute? And they killed them who before
proclaimed (the) coming of the righteous one; this whom
ye (pron.) gave (up) and ye kill him. 53 Ye (pron.) receive the
law as (ⲉ) ordinances of *angels*[b], ye kept it not. 54 But
having heard these (things) they were being cut[c] to their
heart, and they were gnashing their teeth upon him. 55 But
Stephanos, full of the holy *spirit* and (the) faith, looked up
to (the) heaven, he saw (the) glory of God, and Jesus stand-
ing on the right hand of God, 56 and he said: 'Lo, I see the
heavens opened, and (the) Son of (the) man standing on
the right hand of God.' 57 They all cried out in a great
voice; they stopped their ears, and they ran all together
upon him; 58 they cast him outside of the city; they stoned
him: and the witnesses laid down their garments at the

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[a] Lit. 'in their heart also and their ears also.' [b] Or 'angel ordinances.' [c] The verb seems usually to mean 'to sharpen.'

ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ, FS by error. 55 ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ] om. ΓO*. ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ] +ⲇⲉ, ΓO*(NT). ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲛⲁϩϯ] A: trs. ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛⲉⲙ &c., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., cf. Gr. ℵ 4** 7. 15. 18. 66** 105. 106. 163. o^{sor} cat^{128} syr^{sch} ar^{e}. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ 1°] ⲉⲫϯ, ΓNT. ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ] ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ, B^{a}ΓG. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ 2°] ⲉⲫϯ, Γ. 56 ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ] +ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 'my Lord Jesus,' S*. ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲙ̅ⲫϯ, GS*. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ] position cf. Gr. ℵ*ACE 31. 40. 96. cat^{128} m^{4} vg^{cle} demid syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c. 57 ⲁⲩⲱϣ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. GK. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 2°] L^{g}AP: om. T^{t} &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: pref. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ 'with a rush,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 58 ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ] AF: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.; for *αὐτόν* cf. Gr. A 5. 13. 25. 66. 106. k^{sor} vg syr^{sch} syr^{p} c. ob. &c. -ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] A: -ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉϫⲱϥ] for *αὐτόν* cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} et ^{p} c.* aeth. ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ] ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲙ., FS. ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 61. al mu^{vid} cat^{180} &c. ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ] ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ, $Γ^{mg}$NO^{mg}('a copy')T.

ϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ [59] ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ρογ ⲁⲩϩⲓ|ⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϥϯϩⲟ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ϣⲉⲡ ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ.
[60] ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲕⲉⲗⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⳾
ρ † [1] Ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥϯⲙⲁϯ ⲡⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⳾
ρα Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓ-
ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ [2] ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ϩⲟϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϩⲡⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾
ρβ [3] Ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉϥⲛⲁ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥⲱϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ-
ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾ [4] ⲛⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾
ργ [5] Ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾
ρδ † [6] Ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲛⲏ

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[59] ⲉϥϯϩⲟ] + ⲇⲉ, P. ⲉϥϫⲱ] L^{g} AΓFNOPST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}B^{a}$GK. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. C &c.). [60] ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ] AFOS, cf. Gr. D^{gr*}: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲁ(ⲉ, ⲟ)ϥⲱϣ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} GK. ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ] AB^{a}GK: + ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ 'saying,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓFNO PST, cf. Gr. D vg m^{24}. ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲛ 'thou laidest not,' O. ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲃⲓ, B^{a}ΓFO*PS by error. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. -ϫⲟϥ] -ϫⲟⲥ, O by error.

[1] ⲡⲉ] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲁ.ⲥ., B^{a}FS: om. ⲇⲉ, OP. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ &c.] A: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ &c. 'in that day,' L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ 2°] A: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] + ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'all,' FS. ⲇⲉ 3°] cf. Gr. $BCD^{gr}EHP$ al^{50} cat syr^{p} Eus &c.

foot of a young man, his name being Saulos. 59 And they
stoned Stephanos, beseeching, saying: 'Lord Jesus, receive my
spirit.' 60 He threw himself upon his knees, he cried out
in a great voice: 'Lord, thou shalt not reckon this sin to
them.' But having said this, he slept. VIII. But Saulos
was consenting to his being killed. But at that time
happened a great *persecution* against the *church* which was
in Jerusalem. But all were scattered to the *countries* of
[the] Ioudea and (the) Samaria save the *apostles* only.
2 But devout men took away Stephanos, and they made
a great wailing over him. 3 But Saulos was fighting[a]
against the *church*, going into the houses, dragging off men
and women, casting them to (the) prison. 4 They *indeed*
then who were scattered were passing (along) preaching
good tidings of the word. 5 But Philippos having come
into a *city* of (the) Samaria proclaimed the word of God.
6 The multitudes together were giving heed to the things

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[a] Lit. 'was giving.'

ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ D E al. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ] T^tA: om. L^g &c.
2 ⲇⲉ] om. NT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅]
A: ⲁⲩⲉⲣ, L^g &c.: ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ, T^t by error. 3 ⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] ⲉⲕⲗ., Hunt 18, 3–8
B^a. ⲉⲛⲏⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲏⲓ, N. ⲉϥϣⲱϣϯ] -ⲟϣϯ, FK: -ⲱϣⲛϯ, NT.
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. F. ⲉϥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] ⲁϥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ, L^gP. ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ]
+ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, FS^{mg}. ⲡϣⲧⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲕⲟ] L^gAΓGNT 18: ⲡⲓϣ.,
B^aKOPS*: ⲛⲓϣ., FS^o plural. 4 ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥ.] ⲉⲛⲓⲥ., N. -ⲥⲁϫⲓ]
+ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ 'of God,' OS, cf. Gr. E 47** vg syr^{sch} arm^e aeth. 5 S^{mg} 'the
fourth Sunday of the month Amshīr.' ⲇⲉ] om. Γ*. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ.,
NOT. ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. CDEHP al pler &c. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$
CDE. ⲁϥϩⲓ.] A: ⲛⲁϥϩ., $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲱⲓϣ] AB^a 18: +ⲛⲱⲟⲩ,
L^gFGKPS: + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, T^tNOT: + ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, Γ*: + ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, Γ^c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ] AF: ⲙ̅ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'Christ,'
$L^g T^t B^a$ΓGNOPST: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'in Christ,' K. 6 ⲛⲁⲩϯ
ⲛ̅ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ] L^gAB^aF(+ⲡⲉ)PS: ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ, BS 18:
ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̅ϩ(ⲉ, N)ⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ, T^tΓGKNOT; cf. Gr. ℵABCD^2 61.
al^{15} cat e vg syr^p. ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲡⲓⲙ., O. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ, FS^c.

ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ∻ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲛ-
ⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩ ∻ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲁϥ-
ⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ∻ 7 ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ∻ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϣⲏⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄|ϭⲁⲗⲉ ∻ ⲛⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ∻ 8 ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁϣⲓ ∻
ρε ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ∻ † 9 Ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ∻ ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁϫⲱ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ∻ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲗⲱⲗ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ∻
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ∻ 10 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ∻ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ∻ ϫⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ
ⲧⲉ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ∻ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ∻ 11 ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ∻ ⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ϩⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϩⲓⲕ. 12 ϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⲉϥϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ∻
ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ρϛ ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ∻ ⲉⲩϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ∻ † 13 Ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱϥ

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7 ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ &c.] Tisch. classes this with πολλῶν Gr. HP al pler arm &c. ⲇⲉ] A: ⲅⲁⲣ, LgTt &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] TtA: om. Lg &c. ⲉⲧⲉ] A: ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ, LgTt &c., imperfect. ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵA BCDE 13. 15. 33. 34. 36. 40. 43. 47. 61. 69. 78. 96. 105. 133. 142. 163. 180. kscr 8pe cat arm. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ] TtA: om. ϩⲁⲛ, Lg &c.; cf. Gr. E 13. syrp &c. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲁⲗⲉ] A: ϩⲁⲛϭⲁⲗⲉ(ⲏ, NO*T: ⲏⲟ, Γ*?)ⲩ, LgTt &c. 8 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 40. 61. al8 cat &c.: om. K. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. ? Gr. DEHP al pler vgcle syrp arm &c. 9 ⲇⲉ] om. Γ. ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ] ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ, K. ⲛⲁϥϣⲟ(ⲱ, G)ⲡ] ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲡ, FS. ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲡⲉ] om. FS: om. ⲡⲉ, BaOP. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ] cf.? Dgr* vg. ϣⲗⲱⲗ] A: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, LgTt &c. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. GK. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] + ⲛⲁ, GK. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr.

which Philippos was saying, in (the) hearing and seeing the
signs which he was doing. 7 But many of them who (had)
the *unclean spirits* with them, (the spirits) were coming
from them, crying out in a great voice: but many also
paralysed, and some being lame, he was curing [them].
8 But a great joy happened in that *city*. 9 But a man, his
name being Simōn, was being before in that *city*, being
a sorcerer, putting all the nation of (the) Samaria beside
itself[a], saying: 'I (am) a great (one).' 10 But to this (man)
all were giving heed, the small and the great, saying:
'This is the power of God, that which is called "the great."'
11 They all were giving heed to him, because he had spent
a great *time* deceiving them in his magic (plur.). 12 *When*
they believed Philippos preaching good tidings to them of
the kingdom of God and (the) name of Jesus Christ, men and
women were coming to be baptised[b]. 13 But Simōn also

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[a] Lit. 'removing.' [b] Lit. 'being baptised.'

ℵCDEP. 10 ⲇⲉ] L^g AFS^o: om. T^t &c. ⲛⲁⲩϯ] L^g AB^a Γ FNOS^c T: pref. ⲉ, T^t GKPS*. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al sat mu vg syr^utr aeth^ro &c. ⲡⲉ] L^g T^t AFGKS: om. B^a ΓNOPT. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ϣⲁ 'from their little ones unto,' L^g (pref. ϫⲉ) T^t &c. ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] A: ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ 'their great ones,' L^g T^t &c. ⲉⲧⲟ(ⲁ, T)ⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC DE 13. 27. 29. 40. 61. 66** 96. 105. 133. vg syr^p arm aeth^ro &c. ϯⲛⲓϣϯ] om. ϯ 1°, F*. 11 ⲛⲁⲩϯ] + ⲇⲉ, T^t ΓNOT. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] trs. before ⲛⲁϥ, F. ⲛⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ] L^g T^t AGK: ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣ, P: ⲁϥⲉⲣ, B^a ΓFNOST. ⲡⲉ] A: om. L^g T^t &c. ⲛⲉϥⲙⲉⲧϩ.] T^t AK: ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧϩ., L^g &c. 12 ϩⲟⲧ(ⲇ, N)ⲉ] AP: + ⲇ(ⲧ, N)ⲉ, L^g T^t &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] T^t A: om. L^g &c. ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧ.] A: ⲉⲑⲃⲉϯ 'concerning the &c.,' L^g T^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 34. 36. 61. vg syr^utr arm aeth. ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 'of the Lord Jesus,' GK. ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ . . . ⲱⲙⲥ] A: ⲛⲁⲩ(ϥ, N)ϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ (+ ⲇⲉ, FS^o) ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ, L^g T^t &c.

ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲏⲛ
ⲉⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ∻ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ ∻ ⲉⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣ-
ⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲡⲉ ∻

ⲑ.

ρζ 14 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ
ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ϫⲉ ⲁ ϯⲕⲉⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ϣⲉⲡ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ∻ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ. 15 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ∻ ⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ∻ 16 ⲛⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲡⲉ ∻
ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ∻ 17 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲁϫⲓϫ
ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ∻|
ρη 18 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ροⲁ ⲭⲁϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ∻ ⲥⲉϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ∻ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ 19 ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ∻ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁ [∻] ⲡⲁⲓⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ϩⲱ ∻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲫⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁⲭⲁϫⲓϫ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ∻ 20 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕ-
ϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ∻ ϫⲉ ϯⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉϫⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ. 21 ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ⲧⲟⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ∻ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ∻ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ∻

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13 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ] T^tA: ⲁϥⲛ., L^g &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥ (ⲛⲁϥ, O)ϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲏⲛ] ⲛⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲙⲏ(ⲉ, A_1)ⲛ 'was continuing,' A: ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ. ⲛⲁϥϣ. ⲉϥⲙⲏⲛ, T^t. ⲉⲛⲓ.] A: ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲓ., T^t: ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲁⲛ., $L^g B^a$GKOS: ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ., ΓNPT: ⲉϩⲁⲛ., F. ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ] position cf. Gr. ℵABCD 13. 31. 36. 61. k^{scr} al vix mu vg syr^{sch} arm $aeth^{utr}$ &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ] T^tA: ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛ., L^g &c.: ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ, F*; for ⲛⲓϣϯ cf. Gr. ℵABCD 13. 31. 61. k^{scr} al cat vg syr^{sch}. ⲉⲩϣ.] ⲉⲧ., FS. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ] A: ⲛⲁϥⲧⲟ(ⲱ, FS^c)ⲙⲧ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲡⲉ] om. B^a. 14 ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄] cf. Gr. D. ϯⲕⲉⲥⲁⲙ (om. ⲁⲙ, G)ⲁ.] ϯ(ⲧⲓ, P)ⲕⲉ(ⲁ, NT)ⲧ-

Hunt 18, 14–17

having believed and having been baptised was continuing with Philippos, seeing the signs and the great powers being done through him, he was wondering.

14 But the *apostles* who were in Jerusalem having heard that [the] Samaria also received the word of God, sent Petros and Iōannnēs unto them: 15 these having come thither were praying for them that they might receive the holy *spirit*: 16 for he had not yet come upon any (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ) of them: but *rather* they were being baptised unto (the) name of the Lord Jesus. 17 *Then* they laid hand upon them, and they were receiving the holy *spirit*. 18 But Simōn having seen that through the laying hand of the *apostles* they receive the holy *spirit*, brought to them *money*, 19 saying: 'Give this authority to me also, that he, upon whom I shall (lit. will) lay hand, may receive the holy *spirit*.' 20 But Petros said to him: 'Thy silver with thee shall be unto (the) destruction, because thou thoughtest to get for thee through *money* the *free gift* of God. 21 Part shall not be to thee *nor lot* in this word: for thy heart

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ⲥⲁⲙⲁ., A_2B^aNPT. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵCDE 1^{scr*} al. ⲉⲣⲟⲥ] ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, FS^c. 15 ⲛⲁⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., B^aGK: om. S*. ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ] L^gABΓ(F)S* 18: ⲁⲩⲧ., T^tGKNOPT: +ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, FS^{mg}. 16 ⲅⲁⲣ] AB^aP 18: +ⲡⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] AB^aΓKNOPT 18: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, L^gT^tFGS. ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ] A: ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓ] L^gT^tAFGKPS: ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩϭⲓ, B^aΓNOT 18. ⲡⲉ] om. FS. 17 ⲁⲩⲭⲁ] L^gT^tAFKPS, cf. ? Gr. ℵA(B)D^2 15. 18. 27. 29. 36. 40. 61. 66** 69. 95. 105. 163. o^{sor} cat Eus Did Cyr: ⲛⲁⲩⲭ(K, N)ⲁ, B^aΓGNOT 18, cf. ? Gr. D*EHLP al longe plu &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, F. 18 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al $plus^{25}$ cat &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ, FS. ⲥⲉϭⲓ] ⲥⲉϯ 'they give,' T^tGK. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P; cf. Gr. ACDEHLP al omn^{vid} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. 19 ⲫⲏ ⲉϯ] $L^gT^tA_1B^a$: ⲡⲉϯ, ΓFGKNO PST: ⲡⲓ ⲉϯ, A_2. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P. 20 ⲛⲁϥ] om. B^a. ϫⲉ 1°] om. G. ⲉϥⲉϣ.] ⲉⲣⲉϣ., NT: ⲉⲩⲉϣ., FS. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] $L^gT^t\Gamma^{mg}O^{mg}$('a copy') &c.: ϣⲉ 'go,' Γ*O*. ϩⲁⲛⲭⲣⲏ(ⲁ, N)ⲙⲁ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, O. 21 ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] + ⲫⲁⲓ, P. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. T, cf. Gr. D* 177*.

22 Ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲑⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ-
ⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. 23 ϯⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ϣⲁϣⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
24 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲁ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⳾ 25 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ̄ϯ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⳾ ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾

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ρθ 26 Ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲁⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲅⲁⲍⲁ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩϣⲁϥⲉ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 27 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲑⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲙⲛ̄ϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲛ|-
ⲇⲁⲕⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲟⲩⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲁⲩϣ. ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁϥϫⲏ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲅⲁⲍⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. ⲛⲉⲁϥⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⳾ 28 ⲛⲉⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲇⲉ
ⲡⲉ ⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲱϣ ⲡⲉ
ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲏⲥⲁⲏⲁⲥ ⳾ 29 ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲇⲉ

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22 ϧⲉⲛ] T^{t}A: ϩⲓ, L^{g}FP*S: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, P^{c}: ϩⲁ, B^{a}ΓGKNOT. ⲧⲉⲕⲕ.] ⲡⲉⲕⲕ., T^{t} by error. ⲑⲁⲓ] om. FS. ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 27. 29. 40. 61. 66** 76. 96. 137. 180. k^{scr} o^{scr} syr^{p} arm &c. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲁ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲁ, L^{g} &c. 23 ϯⲛⲁⲩ] AP*: +ⲅⲁⲣ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲭⲟⲗⲏ] -ⲗⲉ, B^{a}. ⲛ̄(ⲉⲛ, FS)ϣⲁϣⲓ] L^{g}AFS: om. ⲛ̄, T^{t} &c. 24 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] AΓP: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ] -ⲙⲉⲱⲛ, S. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 1°] A: ⲉϧ., T^{t}: om. L^{g} &c. ϩⲁ] T^{t}A: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g} &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] om. B^{a}. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] ϧⲉⲛⲛⲏ, FS. 25 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] cf.? Gr. ABCDEH al plu &c. ⲫ̄ϯ] cf. Gr. A al^{7} demid

is not right before God. 22 *Repent then* from this thy
wickedness, and pray the Lord; perhaps this thought of
thy heart will be forgiven thee. 23 I see thee in a *gall*
of a bitterness, and a bond of (the) *iniquity*.' 24 Simōn
answered, he said: 'Pray ye (pron.) for me to (ϩⲁ) the
Lord, that none of the things which ye said shall come upon
me.' 25 They *then indeed*, having witnessed and having
spoken the word of God, returned to Jerusalem: to many
villages of the *Samaritans* they were preaching good tidings.
26 But an *angel* of the Lord spake to Philippos, saying:
'Arise, go at (the) hour of midday upon the road which thou
comest from Jerusalem to Gaza: this is a desert.' 27 And
he arose, he went: and behold, a man, (an) Ethiopian eunuch,
(a) powerful (man) of (ⲛ̅) Kandakēs, of (ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ) the queen of
the Ethiopians. This (man) was being over all her *treasure*;
he had come to worship in Jerusalem. 28 But he had returned,
sitting in his *chariot*, and he was reading in the *prophet*
Ēsaēas. 29 But the *spirit* said to Philippos: 'Go, join thyself

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syr^{sch} arm. ⲉⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] AB^a: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] AB^aKP: +ⲇⲉ, $L^g T^t$ΓFGNOST, cf. ? Gr. D. ⲛ̅ϯⲙⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲓⲙⲓ, ΓFNOT: ⲛ̅ⲧⲓⲙⲏ, S. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ, FS. -ⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵE al. ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓ] ⲁⲩϩⲓ, K. 26 ⲇⲉ] om. ΓN. ⲙⲁϣⲉ] Hunt 26, 26–39
L^gAB^aFKPS 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓGNOT. ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ 'which cometh,' L^gFS, cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ*). ⲡⲉ] om. FS. 27 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] -ⲱⲛⲁϥ, T^t by error. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. G. ⲛ̅ⲣⲉⲙ] ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙ, B^aGP: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙ, T^t. ⲛ̅ⲕ(ⲭ, T*)ⲁⲛ.] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲛ., T^tGK. -ⲇⲁ(ⲉ, T)ⲕⲏⲥ] -ⲧⲁⲕⲏⲥ, A. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯⲟⲩⲣⲱ] ⲛ̅ϯ-ⲟⲩⲣⲱ, G: ϯⲟⲩⲣⲱ, K. ⲛⲁϥⲭⲏ] T^tAΓG(+ⲡⲉ)K: pref. ⲉ, $L^g B^a$FNOPST 26. ⲛⲉⲁϥⲓ] ⲁϥⲓ, Γ; cf. ? Gr. ℵ*AC*D* vg &c.: pref. ⲫⲁⲓ 'this,' NOT. ⲡⲉ] trs. after ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ, P. 28 ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. BC e syr^p &c.: om. FS. ⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] cf. Gr. D* 13^{sch} 34. 38. 40. 95. 96. 98** vg. ϩⲓ 1°] A 26: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ℵ^{c}B CEHLP al plu cat syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] T^tA 26: om. L^q &c. ϩⲓ 2°] ϧⲉⲛ, ΓNOT. ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] om. ⲡⲓ, A_2*B^a; position cf. ? Gr. (exc. C 31. &c.). ⲏⲥⲁⲏⲁⲥ] ⲏⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ, ΓGN* ?. 29 ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] +ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅ 'holy,' P.

ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲟⲙⲕ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ-
ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⳾ 30 ⲁϥϭⲟϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥⲱϣ ⳾ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲏⲥⲁⲏⲁⲥ ⳾
Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲱϣ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. 31 ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϭⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ
ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ 32 ⲫⲙⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧ-
ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥⲱϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
Ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲡϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ
⳾ ⲉⲧϧⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⲁⲛ
⳾ ⲡⲉ. 33 ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲉ-
⳾ ⲃⲓⲟ ⳾ ⲧⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲱⲛϧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
34 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ϯϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ϣⲁⲛ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾
ρι 35 Ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ
ⲛ̄ϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓ-
ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳾ 36 ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳾
ροє ⲁⲩⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ | ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ϫⲉ
ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ
ⲉϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⳾

ϫⲉ . . . 30 ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ] om. T homeot. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲡⲓ, FS. 30 ⲁ(ⲉ, NO)ϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tFPS. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] om. 26. ϩⲓ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ 'from,' Γ. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] position cf. ? Gr. EHLP 61. al pler syr^p &c. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] A 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^g &c. ⲛⲁϥ] T^tAFOS 26: om. $L^g$$B^a$ΓGKNPT. ϫⲉ] om. FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲕ(+ⲟⲩ, T)ⲱϣ] ⲉⲧⲁⲕ., FOPS. 31 ⲡⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. E 105. o^{sor} syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. E. ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲗ.] ⲛ̄ⲫ., G. 32 ⲫⲙⲁ] pref. ⲉ, O. ⲇⲉ] ⲧⲉ, N. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥⲱϣ] ⲉⲛⲁϥ., $L^g$$B^a$FPS. ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ] $L^g$$A_1^c$(ⲩ o.e.)$B^a$FPS: ⲉⲁⲩⲛⲁ., T^t: ⲉⲁⲩ., GKO 26:

to this *chariot.*' 30 But Philippos ran, he heard him reading
in the *prophet* Ēsaēas. He said to him: 'Knowest thou
then the things which thou readest?' 31 But he (pron.) said:
'*How* is it possible for me to know, unless one guide me?'
But he prayed Philippos that he should get up and sit with
him. 32 But (the) place which was written, which he was
reading, was this, As a sheep will be brought to (the)
slaughter, and as a lamb voiceless before him who sheareth
it, thus he openeth not his mouth: 33 his judgement was
taken away in his humiliation: but his *generation* who will
be able to speak; because his life will be taken away from
upon (the) earth? 34 But the eunuch answered, he said
to Philippos: 'I beseech thee show me concerning whom
this *prophet* saith this, concerning himself or concerning
another.' 35 But Philippos opened his mouth, he began
to preach good tidings to him of Jesus from this *Scripture.*
36 But *as* they were journeying[a] on the road they came
upon [a] water. The eunuch saith: 'Behold, [a] water!
What is it which stoppeth me from being baptised?'

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[a] Lit. 'walking.'

ⲁⲩ., ΓNT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ⲛⲉⲙ, FKS 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] L^gAFKS 26: pref. ⲉϥϫⲏ 'put,' T^tB^aΓGNOPT. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧ.] ⲡⲉⲧϧ., G: ⲡⲓ ⲉⲧ., N. ⲡⲉ 2°] T^tA: om. L^g &c. 33 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] L^gT^tA B^aGKP 26: ⲛ̄ϩ., ΓFNOST. ⲡⲉϥⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ] cf. Gr. CEHLP al pler cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. EHLP al omn^{vid} tol arm &c. ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲥ.] T^tAΓ: ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲛⲁϣⲥ., L^g &c. -ⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲫⲓⲣⲓ 'declare,' FS. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., L^gT^tNPT. 34 ⲇⲉ] om. KNPT. ⲙⲁ(ⲉ, T)ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ 'to show to me,' N. ⲉⲣⲉ] ⲁⲣⲉ, T^tB^aGKO. ⲡⲁⲓ] L^gT^tA$B^a$$Γ^o$(*+ⲟⲩ)&c.: ⲫⲁⲓ, S. 35 ⲁϥⲉⲣϩ.] L^gAP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. 36 ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ] L^gA ΓFGNO*ST 26: ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, T^tB^aKO^{mg}: ϩⲟⲧⲉ, P. ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣ(ⲙ, A_1)ⲓ] ⲉϥⲙ., G singular. ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲁϥⲓ, G singular. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] AK 26: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉϫⲉ] A 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲟⲩ(ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^a)ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ] L^gT^tA(B^a)ΓNOPT: ⲡⲉⲧⲧ., FGKS 26. 37 omitted by all the collated MSS., cf. Gr. ℵABCHLP 13. 61. al plus^{80} am* fu syr^{sch}etp^{txt} aeth^{utr} &c.

ρια 38 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲃ̅ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡ-
ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯⲱⲙⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾
39 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̅ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϫⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉϥⲣⲁϣⲓ ⳾
ριβ 40 Ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟ́ⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲍⲱⲧⲟⲥ. ⲛⲁϥⲕⲱϯ
ⲡⲉ ⲉϥϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ϣⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾

ⲒⲆ.

ριγ Ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ 2 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧϥ
ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ [⳾] ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲥⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
ριδ 3 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲇⲁ-
ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ
ⲁϧⲟⲕ ⲉⲕϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲓ. 5 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲏ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ

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38 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° &c.] ⲁϥ. ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ, K: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, G. ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ] ϩⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁ, T. ⲙ̅ⲡⲃ̅] L^{g}A$_1$B^{a}ΓGKNPT: ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲃ̅, A$_2$FOS: ⲡⲃ̅, T^t; position cf.? Gr. E 137. 180. c^{sor} k^{sor} syr^p &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. 39 ⲇⲉ] om. 26. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. B^{a}GP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϫⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϫⲉⲙⲁϥ, A: om. ϫⲉ, O: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, P 26. ⲅⲁⲣ] AN: +ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ϩⲓ] om. N. 40 ⲁⲍⲱ(ⲟ, G)ⲧ(ⲇ, S)ⲟⲥ] pref. ⲟⲩ, P. ⲛⲁϥⲕⲱϯ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE 61.

Hunt 18, 1-6 1 ⲉⲧⲓ] om. FS, cf. Gr. ℵ* 24. 26. 78. 126. l^{scr}. ⲛⲉⲙϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ]

38 And he commanded to stop the *chariot*: and they came
down to the water, both Philippos and the eunuch; and he
baptised him. 39 But having come up from the water
a *spirit* of the Lord carried off Philippos; and the eunuch
saw him no more; for he was journeying[a] on his road
rejoicing. 40 But Philippos was found in Azōtos: he was
going about, preaching good tidings in all the *cities*, until
he came to Kesaria.

IX. But Saulos, *still* full of anger and murder of the *disci-
ples* of the Lord, came unto the *chief priest*; 2 he *asked* for
letters from him to Damaskos unto the *synagogues*; that
those, whom he will find, being of the way[b], the men and
the women, he might bind and bring into Jerusalem.

3 But having journeyed[c], it came to pass (that), having
approached Damaskos, suddenly shone upon him a light
from (the) heaven, 4 and, having fallen upon the earth,
he heard a voice saying to him: 'Saoul, Saoul, why perse-
cutest thou me?' 5 But he said: 'Who (art) thou, Lord?' But
he (pron.) said: 'I am Jesus whom thou (pron.) persecutest:

[a] Lit 'walking.' [b] Lit. 'road.' [c] Lit. 'walked.'

ⲛⲉⲙⲉϧ., T^tA: ⲛ̄ϧ., NT. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑ.]. $L^g T^t$AP: ⲉⲛⲓⲙ.,
B^a &c. ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ] ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ, P. ⲁϥⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ,
P. ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭ.] ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭ., FS plural. 2 ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲉ (om. A) ⲡⲓⲥ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ] L^gAB^{a}ΓFGKPS; cf. ? Gr. ℵ: trs. after ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ, T^tNOT.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] -ⲧⲟⲩ, FKS. ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕ.] ⲛ̄ⲇ., FS. ϣⲁⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ] om. B^a 18. ϩⲓⲛⲁ &c.] ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ, FS by error. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁ.,
A_2NT: ⲉⲧⲉϥ., B^a. ⲉⲛⲁⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛⲉ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: om. ⲉ, AN; cf. ?
Gr. BCEHLP al pler: om. ⲛⲉ, B^a. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ]
om. NT, tr. habet. 3 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉϥⲙ., ΓNOT pres. ϧⲉⲛ-
ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ] om. A_2. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩⲣ., L^gG: om. NT. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ]
om. ⲟⲩ, $L^g T^t$FS. 4 ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲉⲓ] ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ, FS. ⲉϫⲉⲛ]
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, T^tΓNOT. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., G. ⲁϧⲟⲕ] -ⲟⲩⲕ, T.
ⲉⲕϭⲟϫⲓ] T^tA: ⲕϭⲟϫⲓ, L^g &c. 5 ⲇⲉ 1°] ϫⲉ, T: om. FNS.
ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. Gr. ℵ 43. 61* 105. 137. arm: + ⲛⲁϥ, T^tP,
cf. Gr. E 11. 27. 29. 66** o^{scr}. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] AΓFNOPST 18, cf. Gr. ℵBH

ⲉⲧⲉⲕϭ̄ⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⳾ 6 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲓϥ ⳾ |
ριε 7 Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 8 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲁ-
ⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ-
ⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ 9 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱ ⳾

ⲒⲂ.

ριϛ 10 Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ
ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ 11 ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲡⲓϧⲓⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲕⲱϯ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⳾ 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ

LP al pler cat vg syr^{ptxt} arm Or &c.: + ⲡⲓⲛⲁ(ⲟ, B^{a})ⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t} B^{a}GK, cf.? Gr. ACE 8. 25. 12^{lect} demid syr^{sch} et^{p} c.* ar^{e} aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲕϭ̄ⲟϫⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲕϭ̄., S. 6 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEHLP al omn^{vid} cat am* et** syr^{sch} et$^{p\,txt}$ arm^{zoh} &c. ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] A: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉⲩⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}GK 18: ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ, L^{g}ΓFNOPST weaker form. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ] + ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, 18. ⲙ̄ⲡ(ⲙ, T)ⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ, T^{t}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲓϥ] ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲁⲓϥ 'to do,' Γ. 7 ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ., T^{t}GK. ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}GK. ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ] A: -ⲟⲙⲧ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉ(ⲁ, G^{o})ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] AFS: + ⲙⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ] T^{t}A: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g} &c. conjunctive. ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ] A: ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉ(+ⲉ, ΓNT)ϩⲗⲓ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNO^{c}PT: ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ, L^{g}FS.

6 but (ⲁ) rise, go into the *city*; that which is right that thou
should do shall be spoken to thee.' 7 But the men who were
walking with him were standing, being amazed, hearing the
voice though (ⲉ) they were not seeing any one. 8 But Saulos
having risen from upon the earth, his eyes were opening, but
he was not seeing any one; but they caught hold of his
hand, they took him away into Damaskos. 9 He spent three
days there, he seeth not, he ate not, *nor* drank.

10 But there was a *disciple* in Damaskos, his name being
Ananias; but the Lord said to him in a *vision*: 'Ananias.'
But he (pron.) said: 'Lo, I, Lord.' 11 But the Lord said to
him: 'Arise, go to the street which is called "that which is
straight," seek in (the) house of a *Jew* for him whose
name is Saulos, the man of Tharsos: lo, he prayed[a]; 12 and

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[a] ⲉⲧⲁϥ is used in sentences beginning with ⲅⲁⲣ, which is read by other MSS.

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8 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] T^{t}A: ⲁϥⲧ., L^{g} &c. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. K. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, NT. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS: ⲡⲕ., T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲡⲉ 1°] A: ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ, T^{t}: ⲙⲉⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲉ(ⲛ̄, FS)ϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ] ⲁⲛ ⲉ (om. O) ⲉϩⲗⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKOS: ⲉⲩⲁ(ⲉ, N)-ⲙⲁϩⲓ, B^{a}ΓGNPT. ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ] ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ 'they brought,' B^{a}P. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲇⲉ, F. 9 ⲁϥⲉⲣ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲅ̄] ⲉ̄, FS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}GKP. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}: ⲇⲉ, FS by error. 10 F^{mg}S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Tūt.' Hunt 18, 10–18 ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑ.] om. ⲟⲩ, B^{a}. ⲇⲉ 1°] +ⲡⲉ, B^{a}GP 18. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁ (ⲟ, ΓFNPT)ⲙⲁ] position cf. ? Gr. H LP al pler tol syr^{sch} et ^{p} arm &c. ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ 2°] L^{g}AFOS: -ⲛⲓⲁ, T^{t}B^{a}GKNPT 18: -ⲛⲓⲉ, Γ. ⲇⲉ 3°] om. O. 11 ⲧⲱⲛⲕ] cf. Gr. B fu syr^{utr} vg^{ed} aeth. ⲕⲱϯ] L^{g} A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, T^{t}: ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, L^{g} &c. ⲡⲉ] ϫⲉ, FKS. ⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ] AΓFKPS: ⲧⲁⲣ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}GNOT 18. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] AFS: +ⲅⲁⲣ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ] A: ⲉⲧⲉϥ., T^{t}: ⲉϥⲧ., L^{g}FOS: ϥⲧ., B^{a}ΓKP 18: ⲉϥⲉⲧ., G: ⲧⲱⲃϩ, NT. 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}P 18: ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ 'for when Saulos is praying he saw,' K. ϧⲉⲛ-

ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ⳾ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ. ⲁϥⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲭⲁ ⲡⲉϥϫⲓϫ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲗ⳾
13 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓ-
ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ︦ⲗ︦ⲏ︦ⲙ︦. 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲉⲙⲁ ⲟⲛ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ
ⲉⲥⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ.
ριζ 15 Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲁ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ρος~ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ︦ⲗ︦. | 16 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁ-
ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ⳾
ριη 17 Ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲏⲓ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁ ⲡⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ⳾ ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ⲓ︦ⲏ︦ⲥ︦ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲓ⳾
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕ-
ⲙⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ⳾ 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ
ϩⲁⲛⲕⲏⲕⲥ⳾ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ

ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ] T^tA, cf. Gr. BC 163. 12^{leot}: om. L^g &c., cf. Gr. ℵA 61. vg aeth^{utr}. ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ] position cf.? Gr. HLP al pler syr^{utr} aeth^{pp}. ⲁϥⲓ] ⲉⲁϥⲓ, T^tGK. ⲁϥⲭⲁ] LAFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲡⲉϥϫⲓϫ] for plural cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}BE vg aeth^{ro} arm. ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] $L^g T^t$A B^aKPT: ⲉϫⲱϥ(ⲟⲩ, NT), ΓFGNOS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, Γ*O*. 13 ⲇⲉ] FNS. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, T^tG. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] A: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] A: ⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧ.] ⲛⲓ., FS: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., N. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] position cf.? Gr. HLP al pler syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ︦ⲑ︦ⲩ︦, PS. ϧⲉⲛ] L^gAB^aΓ*FG KPS: pref. ⲉⲧ 'who are,' $T^t \Gamma^{mg}$NOT. 14 ⲕⲉ] om. GK. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] T^t &c.: -ⲧⲁϥ, $L^g A_2$P: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ, Γ: pref. ⲉ, 18. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩ., N. 15 ⲇⲉ] AN: +ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' $L^g T^t$ &c. ϫⲉ 1°] om. T^t. ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲧⲡ] A: ⲉϥⲥⲱ(ⲟ, ΓN)ⲧⲡ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛⲏⲓ

he saw a man in a *vision*, his name being Ananias; he came
in, he laid his hands upon him that he might see.' 13 But
Ananias answered: 'Lord, I heard concerning this man by
many, concerning all the evil things which he did to the
saints of thine in Jerusalem. 14 And in this place also he
hath authority from the *chief priests* to bind all who pray
to thy name.' 15 But the Lord said: 'Go, because this is
a chosen *vessel* for me, being about to bear my name before
the *Gentiles*, and the kings, and (the) sons of Israel: 16 for
I (pron.) shall (lit. will) show to him all the pains which
he will receive for my name.' 17 But Ananias went, and
he entered the house, he laid his hands on him, he said:
'Saoul, my brother, the Lord Jesus (is) he who sent me,
he who manifested himself to thee on the road on which
thou comest, that thou mightest see, and be filled with
[a] holy *spirit*.' 18 And quickly fell from his eyes scales;

ⲡⲉ] order cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler arm &c. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_1$ B^{a}ΓGNOPT 18: ⲁϥⲛⲁ., A$_2$: ϥⲛⲁ., K: ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ 'he rose,' FS. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, K. ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. BC* &c. ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] -ⲉⲣⲓ, Γ. 16 ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩϩ] ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ, K: ⲉⲙⲕⲁⲩϩ, G^o. ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϭ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛ., S. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., ΓNOT. 17 ⲇⲉ] om. FKS. ⲁϥϣⲉ] +ⲛⲁϥ, B^{a}P 18. ⲁϥⲭⲁ] L^{g}AFS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲉϫⲱϥ] ϩⲓϫ., G; position cf. Gr. C aeth. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, G. ϫⲉ] om. T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ] +ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ, S. ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] position cf. ? am syr^{utr} ar^e aeth^{pp}. ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}P 18: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ., T^{t}ΓGNOT: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥ., K: ⲁϥ., FS. ⲫⲏ] AB^{a}FGKS 18: pref. ϣⲁⲣⲟⲕ 'unto thee,' L^{g}T^{t}ΓNOPT. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲛϩϥ] -ⲟⲩⲱ(O, NT)-ⲛϩ, ΓFNT. ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲡⲙ., A$_2$*. ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲏⲟⲩ] L^{g}A$_1$B^{a}Γ KNOPT 18: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲕⲛ., T^{t}G: ⲉⲛⲁⲕⲛ., FS: ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ, A$_2$ by error. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ] A: ϫⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲛ̄(om. F) ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲛ., FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟϩ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩ-ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄] ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄, T^{t}ΓNOT definite. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, N^{mg}O: ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, PT: om. N*. 18 ⲁⲩ(ⲓ, N)ϩⲉⲓ] ⲉⲩϩ., S. ⲕⲏⲕⲥ] ⲕⲉⲕⲥ, FKP. ⲙ̄(ⲉ, ΓO)ⲃⲟⲗ] AGK: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}Γ^r &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵC^2 40; for om. *παραχρῆμα* cf. Gr. ℵABC*HP 61. al plus^{45} cat vg syr^{sch} arm^{ed}.

ⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⁘ 19 ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ ⲁϥϫⲉⲙ-
ϫⲟⲙ ⁘
ριθ Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⁘ 20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥ-
ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⁘
ρκ 21 Ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣ-
ⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ ⁘ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⁘

ⲒⲄ.

ρκα 22 Ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲁϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁ-
ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ρκβ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ † 23 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⁘ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲟⲑ̀ⲃⲉϥ ⁘ 24 ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⁘ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ. | 25 ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ
ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲣϩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ
ρκγ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲃⲓⲣ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⁘ † 26 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ

Hunt 18, 19 ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ . . . -21

19 ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲓ, FS. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 61. al^{12} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ.] ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛ., A by error. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. HLP 1. 4. 31. 177. al^{25} &c. add ὄντων: om. ⲉⲧ, O. 20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲁϥϩⲓ] AO, cf. ? Gr. E: ⲛⲁϥϩⲓ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. -ⲱⲓϣ] + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}. ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. al^{15} cat vg syr^{utr} arm^{ed} $aeth^{ro}$ &c. 21 ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ] T^{t}AFKS: -ⲧⲟⲙⲧ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓGNOPT 18. ⲡⲉ 1°] T^{t}AΓNT: om. $L^{g}B^{a}$FGKOPS 18. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ, L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲑ.] ⲉⲧϣⲑ., FS. ϧⲉⲛⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. BCEHLP

he saw, and he rose; he was baptised. 19 Having received
[a] food, he was strengthened[a]. But he was some (ϩⲁⲛ)
days with the *disciples* who were in Damaskos. 20 And
immediately he proclaimed Jesus in the *synagogues*, that
this is (the) Son of God. 21 But all were being amazed
who heard, saying: 'Is not this he who was troubling them
who prayed to this name in Jerusalem? And he came to
this place for this thing, that he might bind them and take
them up unto the *chief priests*.'
22 But Saulos *rather* was increasing in strength[b], and
he was troubling the *Jews* who were in Damaskos,
showing to them, that this is Christ. 23 But many days
having been completed, the *Jews* took counsel that
they might kill him. 24 But to Saulos was shown their
counsel; but they were keeping the *gates* by the day
and the night, that they might kill him. 25 But the
disciples took him away by night, they let him down in
a basket from upon the wall. 26 But having come into

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[a] Lit. 'he found power.' [b] Lit. 'coming to find power.'

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al pler &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲧ (ϩ, T^t)ⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^a 18. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ]
om. B^a 18. 22 S^{mg} الاحد التالت من شهر توت 'the third Sunday of Hunt 26, 22–25
the month of Tūt,' K^{mg} يقرا باله توت 'it is read on the third of Tūt.'
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ] om. K. ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇ.] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ* B). ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ]
$L^g A_1$ F S 18. 26: ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ 'who dwelt in,' T^t &c. ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ]
ⲁϥⲧ., P. 23 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ] -ϫⲟⲕ, T. ⲁⲩⲉⲣ] ⲉⲩⲉⲣ, N:
ⲁϥⲉⲣ, A_2*FS. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ] ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ, 26.
24 ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, B^a F K S, cf. Gr. H (61* ?) tol &c. ⲇⲉ 1°]
L^g A B^a P 26: om. T^t &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] A B^a G N O T 26: + ⲡⲉ, $L^g T^t$ Γ F K
P S; Tisch. incorrectly classes these with Gr. δὲ καί. ⲡⲩⲗⲏ] ⲡⲓⲗⲏ,
T. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] T^t A F K S 26: ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ, $L^g B^a$ G P: ⲟⲡⲱⲥ, Γ N T:
ⲟⲡⲟⲥ, O. 25 ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ] cf. Gr. E H L P al pler cat vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm
$aeth^{pp}$ &c. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] A 26: ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. N T.
ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ] ⲛⲓⲥ., T^t. 26 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C 40. 61. 81. vg
syr^{sch} $aeth^{ro}$ &c.

ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲛⲁϥϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲙϥ
ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 27 ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲁ-
ⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲛϥ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲁϣ ⲛ̅ⲣⲏϯ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲁϣ ⲛ̅ⲣⲏϯ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ-
ⲕⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 28 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϧⲉⲛ
ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲁ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 29 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓ-
ⲛⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾ 30 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⳾
ρκδ 31 ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯϩⲟϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾

ⲉⲓ(ⲏ, S)ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] + ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, $T^{t}A_{2}$, cf. ? Gr. HLP 13. al pler syr^{p} arm aeth^{pp} &c.; for *εἰς* cf. Gr. ℵABC 61. al sat mu cat &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲙϥ] ⲉⲧⲟⲙⲧ 'to unite me,' G. ⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ 'with the,' FS. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. K. ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲟⲩⲧ . . . ⲡⲉ] om. N homeot. 27 ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] $L^{g}AB^{a}P$: ⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, T^{t}ΓFGKNOST. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ 1°] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̅ⲁϣ] ⲟⲩⲁϣ, S. ϧⲉⲛ] AK: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. A &c.). 28 ϧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. H al sat mu &c. ⲡⲉ] om. FGS. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ-ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'in with them coming out,' L^{g}ΓFGNOST: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B^{a}KP. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ(ⲟ, K)ⲛϩ(+ϥ, S) ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ, FS)] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 15. 40. 61. 177.

Jerusalem, he was trying to join himself to the *disciples*: and they all were fearing him, and they trust him not that he is a *disciple*. [27] But Barnabas caught hold of him, he brought him unto the *apostles*, he spake to them in what manner he saw the Lord on the road; and that he spake to him; and in what manner he spake boldly[a] in Damaskos in (the) name of Jesus. [28] And he was being in Jerusalem, going in and out with them, speaking boldly in (the) name of the Lord Jesus: [29] but he was speaking, he was questioning the Greeks; but they (pron.) were wishing to lay (lit. bring) their hands upon him to kill him. [30] But the brethren having known (it), brought him to Kesaria, they sent him into Tharsos. [31] The *church indeed then* of all [the] Ioudea and [the] Galilea and (the) Samaria had [a] *peace*, being edified and continuing in the fear of the Lord, and they were going on (lit. coming) growing in the consolation of the holy *spirit*.

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[a] Lit. 'manifested himself,' thus again.

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cat fu arm aeth[ro]: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K, cf. Gr. EHLP al pler vg syr[utr] aeth[pp] &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] T[t]AS[c], cf. Gr. ℵ[c]HLP al longe plu aeth[pp] &c.: om. L[g] &c., cf. Gr. ℵ*ABE 40. 69. 100. 163. 12[lect] vg syr[p] arm aeth[ro]. [29] ⲡⲉ] om. B[a]P. ⲛⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ] A: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] cf. ? Gr. A &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. G. ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅] ⲉⲉⲛ, G. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, G. [30] ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ] pref. ⲉ, P. ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵCE &c.: om. G. ⲁⲩⲟⲩ.] L[g]AKT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t] &c. ⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ] AFGKOPS: ⲧⲁⲣ., L[g]T[t]B[a]ΓNT. [31] ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 13. 14* 15. Hunt 18, 31–35
18. 27. 29. 36. 40. 61. 68. 81. 105. cat vg syr[sch] arm aeth ar[e] Dion[alex] &c.: Cons. MS. 31–42
ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗ., FS, cf. Gr. (E)HLP al longe plu syr[p] ar[p] &c. ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ, P: om. ⲟⲩⲛ, B[a]. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯⲓⲟⲩⲇ.] ⲛⲉⲙϯ., G. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵE. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ, L[g]FPS. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] trs. before ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϩ., FS. ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲧ] om. K. ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ] A: ⲉ(ⲁ, G)ⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ 'walking,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, Cons. ⲛ̅ⲁⲓⲁⲓ] A: ⲛ̅ⲁϣⲁⲓ 'multiply,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, T: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, A_2PS: + ⲡⲉ, Cons.: K[ms] 'the end (of the lection).'

ⲒⲆ.

ρκε 32 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲓ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ ⳹ 33 ⲁϥϫⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⳹ ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲏ̅ ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳹ ⲉϥ-
ϣⲧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϭⲗⲟϫ ⳹ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥϣⲏⲗ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ ⳹ |
ροζ 34 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲁ ϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳹ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲫⲱⲣϣ ϧⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⳹
ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ. 35 ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⳹
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳹

ⲒⲈ.

ρκϛ 36 Ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲛ̅ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲑⲁ ⳹ ⲑⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉⲥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϯ-
ϭⲁϩⲥⲓ ⳹ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̅ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ 37 ⲁⲥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⳹ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲛⲓ
ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⳹
Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲕⲙⲉⲥ ⲇⲉ ⳹ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ-
ⲥⲁⲛϣⲱⲓ ⳹ 38 ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥϧⲉⲛⲧ

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32 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. Cons. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] T^tA: ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ 'upon them,' $L^g B^a$FKOPS 18. Cons.: ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ, ΓGNT. ⲉⲧϣⲟ(ⲱ, L^g)ⲡ ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ, Γ*GO*. ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 33. 34. 68. 33 ⲁϥϫⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ] L^gAB^aKP 18: ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲣ., FS: ⲉϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̅., Cons.: ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅., T^tΓGNOT. ⲇⲉ 1°] A: om. $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲛⲉⲁ] ⲁⲛⲉⲁⲥ, K; position cf.? Gr. ℵABCE 31. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 163. 177. k^{sor} cat vg &c. ⲉϥϣⲧ.] ⲉϥϣⲑ., FS. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. FGS. 34 ϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ] $L^g A_1$ΓNOT 18. Cons.: ⲉϥⲧ., T^t: ⲁϥⲧ., $A_2 B^a$FG(K)PS: ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟⲕ, K. ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A: ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, $L^g T^t$ &c., cf. Gr. (exc. A &c.): ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, K, cf. Gr. A 15. 18. 36. 40. 68. cat vg arm aeth &c. ⲫⲱⲣϣ] L^gA: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ] A: + ⲇⲉ, FS:

32 But it came to pass as Petros was about to pass through
all the brethren, (that) he came unto the *saints* who dwelt
in Lydda. 33 But he found a man there, his name being
Enea, having spent eight years prostrate upon a bed; but
he (ⲫⲁⲓ) was [being] paralysed. 34 But Petros said to
him: 'Enea, Christ Jesus healeth thee: rise, make thy bed[a].'
Immediately he rose. 35 But all they who dwelt in Lydda
and Sarōn saw him, they who turned to the Lord. 36 But
in Ioppē there was a female *disciple*, her name being
Tabitha, who is interpreted and called 'the Gazelle'; she
(ⲑⲁⲓ) was being full of *good* work and the alms which she
was doing. 37 But it came to pass in those days (that)
she sickened, she died. But having washed her, they laid
her in the upper place. 38 But Lydda was being near to

[a] Lit. 'spread under thee.'

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ, L^{g}T^t &c. 35 ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧ, Cons. ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 33. 34. 40. 68. 96.: ⲗⲩⲇⲁ, A$_1$, cf. ? Gr. P 31* 57. al λύδαν. ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲛ] ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲛ, FS^c: ⲥⲁⲣⲱⲛⲛⲁ, Cons. ⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ϩⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, Cons. F^{mg} K^{mg}? S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Tūt.' 36 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲇⲉ] om. NT 18*?. ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ(ⲉ, N)] L^{g}T^{t}A$_2$B^{a}ΓGNOP^{c}T 18: ⲓⲟⲡⲏ, A$_1$F KP*S Cons. ⲛ̄ⲥϩ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] L^{g}AFS: + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOT 18. Cons.: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ, P. ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲑⲁ] ⲧⲁⲡ., A$_1$: ⲉⲧ., B^a; cf. Gr. ℵAEHL al pler &c. ταβιθά. ⲑⲏ] om. Γ. ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉⲥ] A: ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}FGKO^{c}PS 18. Cons.: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩ., ΓNO*T. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS 18. Cons.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲉϩ] ⲉⲛ., G^c: ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟϩ, FS. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] + ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, B^{a}FS Cons. ⲛ̄ⲁⲩ.] position cf. ? Gr. BCE 13. 31. 40. cat m^{81} vg &c. ⲙⲉⲑⲛ.] L^{g}AB^{ac}FKPS Cons.: ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., T^{t}B^a*ΓGNOT 18. 37 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. O. ⲁⲥⲙⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K Cons. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲕⲙⲉⲥ] om. ⲉⲧ, FS Cons. ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Cons. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥ.] cf. Gr. ACE 38. 40. 68. 69. 93. 100. 105. 113. al^{3scr} cat Or: ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲉⲧⲥ., Cons.: ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲉϥⲥ., K; cf. Gr. ℵBHLP 1. 13. 31. 61. al pler Chr. 38 ⲗⲩⲇⲇⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A: ⲗⲓⲇⲇⲁ, OT. ⲇⲉ] om. OT. ⲛⲁⲥϧⲉⲛⲧ] ⲉⲥϧ., FS.

Hunt 18, 36–42

ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⲡⲉ⳹ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ⳹
ϫⲉ ϥⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳹ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲃ̅ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ⳹ ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣϭⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲛ⳹ 39 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳹ ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹
Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡϣⲱⲓ⳹
ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ⳹ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲓϣⲑⲏⲛ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲉⲥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲉⲥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ρκζ ⲛ̅ϫⲉϯϭⲁϩⲥⲓ⳹ † 40 Ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ. ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲕⲉⲗⲓ ⲁϥ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ⳹ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳹ ϫⲉ
ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲑⲁ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ⳹
Ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲁⲗ⳹ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ⳹ 41 ⲁϥϯⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁ-
ϩⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ⳹ |
Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲭⲏⲣⲁ⳹
ⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲟⲛϧ⳹ 42 ⲁ ⲡⲁⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲇⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩ-
ρκη ⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳹ † 43 Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̅ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲕϣⲁⲣ⳹

ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ(ⲉ, A$_1$*B^a)] L^{g}T^{t}A^o &c.: ⲓⲟⲡⲏ, FGKS Cons. ⲡⲉ] om. B^{a}FGKPS Cons. ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ, B^a: ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ, FS. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ, B^{ao}Γ^{o}FKOST 18. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲃ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. HLP al^{55} &c.). ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ] om. S. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ] A: om. L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉ(ⲁ, P)ⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ] ⲉⲧ., G. ϭⲛⲁⲩ] ϣⲛⲁⲩ, FS. ϩⲁⲣⲟⲛ] ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ, FS^o; cf. Gr. ℵABC*E 40. 61. 81. m^{81} vg. 39 ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲁϥⲓ 'he came,' L^g &c. ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟ] L^{g}A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉ(ⲁ, OP)ⲩⲧ., T^t &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲧ., FS. ⲉⲥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ] A: ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲑ., L^{g}T^{t}ΓFGNOS^{o}T Cons.: ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲑ., B^a K P 18. ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, T^t: + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, FS Cons. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, P. 40 ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] A: ⲉⲧⲁϥϩ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] A: pref. ⲇⲉ,

Ioppē: the *disciples then*, having heard that Petros is there,
sent two men to him, saying, (and) praying him: 'Delay not
to come to us.' 39 But Petros arose, he walked with them.

But he having come, they took him away into the upper
place; all the *widows* stood by him weeping, showing to him
the coats and the garments (which) the Gazelle (was) making,
being with them. 40 Petros put (lit. threw) them all out;
having thrown himself upon his knees, he prayed; having
turned himself to the *body*, he said: 'Tabitha, rise.' But
she (pron.) opened her eyes; but having seen Petros, she sat
(up). 41 But he helped her[a], he made her stand. But
having called the *saints* and the *widows*, he presented her
to them alive. 42 But this work was manifested in all
Ioppē: and many believed the Lord. 43 But he abode
many days in Ioppē with one 'Simōn' the tanner.

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[a] Lit. 'gave her hand.'

L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABE⅃P 61. al pler cat &c.: om. K. ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ] L^{g}A, cf. Gr. L P al longe plu syr^{p} arm aeth &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18. Cons., cf. Gr. ℵABCE 3. 15. 25. 40. 61. 68. 69. 95* 105. 106. cat^{169} syr^{sch} &c.: om. ⲉⲧ, FS. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}A Cons.: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲕ., KP 18. Cons.: om. ⲉⲧ, B^{a}. ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲑⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵACELP &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲥ &c.] ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁⲥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. 41 ⲁϥϯⲧⲟⲧⲥ(ϥ, FS) ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ., FS, cf. ? Gr. A m^{82} syr^{sch} aeth δούς τε: +ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ 'his hand,' T^{t}. ⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟⲥ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., N: +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all,' Cons.^{o}. ⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟ(ⲱ, NT)ⲥ 2°] +ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ, FS Cons. ⲉⲥⲟⲛϧ] -ⲱⲛϧ, T^{t}Γ FST Cons. 42 ⲡⲁⲓϩ. ⲇⲉ] ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ, KO. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 31. 40. 61. 69. m^{82} vg arm aeth. ⲁ(ⲉ, ⲟ)ⲩⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ 'turned,' B^{a}K 18. F^{mg}K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 43 om. verse, K*. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] om. ⲛ̄, ΓNT. ϧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ] A: trs. before ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: om. FS, cf. Gr. L. ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ] ⲥⲩ., ΓNT. ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲕϣⲁⲣ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GKP: ⲟⲩⲃ. ⲡⲉ, FS: ⲉⲟⲩⲃ., ΓNOT.

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ρκθ Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲡⲩⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϯϩⲩ-
ⲇⲁⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⳾ 2 ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ
ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ 3 ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟ-
ⲣⲁⲙⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁⲩ
ⲛ̅ⲁϫⲡ̅ⲑ̅ ⳾ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲉ ⳾
4 Ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⳾
5 ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ 6 ⲫⲁⲓ ϥϫⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲕϣⲁⲣ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾

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1 Fmg Smg ميخائيل الملاك 'the angel Michael.' ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. P al longe plu vg syrutr arm aeth &c. ⲇⲉ] + ⲡⲉ, P: om. FST. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵE. ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗ.] ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲓⲗ., NPST. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ⲥⲡⲩⲣⲁ] AΓ: ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲁ, LgTtFGKP: ⲥⲡⲏⲣⲁ, BaNOST. ϯ (om. FS) ϩⲩⲇⲁⲗⲓⲕⲏ] AFS: ϯϩⲓⲧ., LgGOP: ϯϩⲩⲧⲁ-ⲗⲓ(ⲏ, NT)ⲕⲏ, TtBaΓKNT. 2 ⲧⲏⲣϥ] A: om. LgTt &c. ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 18. 26. 40. 61. 81. cat171 vg syrsch arm aeth &c. ⲉϥ(ⲁϥ, T: ⲉⲁϥ, G)ⲧⲱⲃϩ] LgA: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Tt &c. 3 ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, K. ϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ] -ⲟⲙⲁ, ΓFGST. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] TtA: -ⲱⲛϩ, Lg &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ . . . ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] A: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲁϫⲡ̅ⲑ̅ϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ ⲉⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, Lg(Tt &c.). ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ(ϥ, NT)ⲁⲅⲅ.] A: ⲉⲟⲩ., TtBaΓGNOT: ⲟⲩ., LgFKPS. ⲫϯ] ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, FS. ⲁϥϣⲉ] TtAGS: + ⲛⲁϥ, FS: ⲉⲁϥϣⲉ, LgBaΓFNOPT: ⲁϥⲓ, K. ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, G. ϧⲉⲛⲫⲛⲁⲩ] A: ⲙ̅ⲫ., LgTt &c.; for om.

X. But there was a man in Kesaria, his name being Kornēlios, being a *centurion* from the *band* which is called 'the *Italian*[a],' [2] being *pious*, fearing God with all his house, doing much alms to all the *people*, praying to God always. [3] He saw in a *vision* manifestly an *angel* of God: he went in unto him in (the) ninth hour: he said to him, 'Kornēlie.'

[4] But he (pron.) having gazed at him, having been in [a] fear, said: 'What is (ϣⲟⲛ) it, Lord?' But he said to him: 'Thy *prayers* and thine alms came up for a remembrance before God. [5] Now *then* send men to Ioppē; let them call one "Simōn," who is called "Petros." [6] He (lit. this) lodgeth with (ⲉ) one "Simōn" the tanner, whose[b]

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[a] Hydalikē. [b] Lit. 'this who.'

ὡσεί, ὡς, cf. Gr. 3. 65. 67. c^{sor} d^{sor} arm; for a preposition cf. Gr. ℵAB CE al^{26} cat syr^{utr} &c. ⲑ̅] TᵗAB^{a}GK: ⲑ̅ϯ, L^{g}ΓFNOPST; also +ⲙ̅(ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, G)ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'of the day,' L^{g}Tᵗ &c. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^{g}A FS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Tᵗ &c. ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲉ] TᵗAB^{a}GK: ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏ(ⲓ, PT)-ⲗⲓ(ⲏ, T)ⲟⲥ, L^{g}ΓFNOPST. [4] ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] A: ⲁϥϣ., Tᵗ ΓFGNOST: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣ., L^{g}B^{a}KP. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ 1°] +ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' K. ⲟⲩ] om. T. ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧϣ., ΓNO. -ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ] L^{g}AFKOPS: ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., TᵗB^{a}ΓGNT. ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲣ] TᵗA: ⲉⲩⲉⲣ, L^g &c. ⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ] + ⲛⲁⲕ 'to thee,' A_1^{mg}FS. [5] ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 'up,' FS; position cf. Gr. ℵABCE 31. 61. 69. 105. 180. d vg syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ] ⲓⲟⲡⲏ, KS. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ] L^{g}A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}FS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TᵗΓGKNOPT. ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ABC 7. 15. 18. 32. 36. 42. 57. 61. 69. 105. cat vg syr^{pmg} arm. ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ] ⲥⲩⲙ., ΓNT. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩϯ, Γ by error. [6] ϥϫⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNP: ⲉϥϫ(ϭ, K)., TᵗFGKST: ⲁϥϫ., O. ⲫⲁⲓ 2°] ⲫⲏ, FS. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓFNOPST, cf. Gr. ℵAB CELP h 13. 31* 61. al^{80} am fu tol syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c.: +ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲓ ϥⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'this who, if he should come, will speak to thee words these in which thou wilt be saved, thou and all thy house,' TᵗG(om. ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ)K, cf. Gr. 4^{mg} 8. 26. 27. 73. 81.

ρλ 7 Ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾
ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
8 ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲣ-
ⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⳾
ρλα 9 Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ |
ροη ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲉⲛⲉⲫⲱⲣ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩ-
ⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁϫⲡ̄ⲋ̄. 10 ⲛⲉⲁϥϩⲕⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲃϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ 11 ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ
ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⳾
12 ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓϥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲧ ⲧⲏ-
ⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϭⲁⲧϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ϣⲱⲧ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⳾ 14 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲣ ⲡ̄ϭ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛϫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ ⲉϥϭⲁϧⲉⲙ ⲓⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲟϥ ⳾

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7 ⲛⲁϥ] AFS: + ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. al^{15} d vg syr^{sch} arm ar^{e} aeth. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ] cf. Gr. LP al pler cat d vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥ.] om. ⲛ̄, T. ⲉⲑⲙⲏⲛ] ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲙⲏⲛ, K. 8 ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉ] L^{g}A, cf. Gr. 33. d &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲉ, S. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 40. 61.

Hunt 26, 9–14 9 ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] T^{t}AFKS 26, cf. ? Gr. ℵAEL 4. 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 36. 40. 61. 66** 68. 69. 100. 105. 133. 163. 180. al^{5} cat: + ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ (I, NT), L^{g} B^{a}Γ(ⲛ̄. ⲛ. ⲉⲧ)GNOPT, cf. ? Gr. BCP al plu &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ AB^{a}KP 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓF(G)NOST. -ϧⲱⲛⲧ] + ⲇⲉ, G. -ⲡⲟ(+ⲩ, N)ⲗⲓⲥ] -ⲃⲁⲕⲓ, G. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ⲉ, P. ⲡⲓϫⲉⲛⲉⲫ.] ⲡϫ., $T^{t}B^{a}$KP. ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲣ.] ⲉⲡⲣ., P. ⲋ̄] + ⲡⲉ, 26. 10 ⲛⲉⲁϥϩⲕⲟ] om. ⲛⲉ, 26. ⲇⲉ 1°] $L^{g}AFS^{o}$ 26: ⲅⲁⲣ, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲉ] om. K. ⲛⲁϥ-ⲟⲩⲱϣ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AΓK 26: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥ., B^{a}FGS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲁϥ., NOPT. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ] + ⲡⲉ, K. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲃϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 13.

house is by the sea.' 7 The *angel* who spake to him
having gone, he called two servants of his and a *pious*
soldier from them who waited upon him; 8 having said all
things before them he sent them to Ioppē. 9 But on the
(lit. his) morrow (as they were) walking in the way, and
having approached the *city*, Petros went up on the housetop
to *pray* at the sixth hour. 10 But he had been hungry, he
was wishing to eat: but as they prepare for him, a trance
came upon him; 11 he saw (the) heaven opened. And
a *vessel* let down as a great sheet[a] of four *corners*; 12 being
in it all the quadrupeds and the creeping things of (the)
earth and the birds of (the) heaven. 13 And a voice came
(ϣⲱⲡⲓ) to him: 'Rise, *Peter*, slay and eat.' 14 But Petros
said: 'Not so, Lord; because I never ate anything unclean

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[a] Lit. 'garment of linen.'

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40. 61. al plus^{15} cat d am fu demid Or. ⲁϥⲓ] A 26 (+ⲇⲉ), cf. aeth: ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ 'became,' $L^gT^tB^a$(+ⲇⲉ)Γ &c., cf. Gr. ℵABC 40. 61. al fere^{15} cat Or Did. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲧⲱ(ⲟ, KN)ⲙⲧ] position cf. Gr. C &c. 11 ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^aKP. ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ] om. ⲟⲩ, G. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] ⲉϥϫⲱ, T^tΓ; this renders *καθιεμένην*, ch. xi. 5. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2}E h 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 40. 61. 68. 69. 100. 105. 163. 180. c^{sor} cat vg syr^{utr} ar^e arm aeth^{utr} Or. ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲱⲥ] -ⲟⲥ, ΓNT. ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲩ, A_1. ⲛ̄(om. A_2*)ⲇ̄] ⲙ̄ⲇ̄, B^aFGKS: ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲇ̄, T^t without any collated MS. 12 ⲉⲩϫⲏ] ⲉⲩϫⲱ, FS. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϧ., L^gT^t &c.: ⲉϧ., B^aFS: om. Γ*. ⲛⲓϥ-ⲧⲉⲫⲁⲧ] L^gT^tAB^aG(ϥⲧⲏⲟⲩ)P 26, cf. Gr. ℵABC^2 33. 40. 61. 105. 163. 180. d vg syr^{sch} arm Clem Or &c.: ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ, ΓFKNOST, cf. ? aeth. ⲛⲓϭⲁⲧϥⲓ] cf. Gr. LP al pler Clem &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] position cf. Gr. ℵABCE 5. 7. 13. 26. 27. 29. 40. 61. 66** 69. 81. 105. o^{scr} vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} Clem Or &c. ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ] cf. Gr. C*E LP al pler Clem &c. 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° &c.] ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ, FS^c. ⲧⲱⲛⲕ &c.] cf. vg syr^{utr} &c. 14 ϫⲉ 2°] om. K. ⲉⲛⲉϩ] A 26: trs. before ⲛ̄ⲉⲛϫⲁⲓ, T^tB^aΓGKNOPT: om. L^gF^cS. ⲉϥϭ. &c.] A 26: trs. ⲉϥⲥ. ⲓⲉ (ⲉⲓ, Γ) ⲉ(ⲁ, NPT)ϥϭ., L^gT^t &c. ⲉϥⲥⲟϥ] AB^a: -ⲱϥ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ, Γ*NT.

15 Ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲁϩ-
ⲥⲟⲛ ⲃ̅ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ
ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣϭⲁϧⲙⲟⲩ. 16 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϣⲁ
ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ
ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
ρλβ 17 Ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ
ⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲁⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ 18 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϥϫⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⳾
ρλγ ϯ 19 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲥⲉⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲕ ⳾ 20 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲃ̅ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⳾

Ⲓⲍ.

ρλδ 21 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ ⳾
ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ρλε ϯ 22 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁ-
ⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾

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15 ⲟⲛ] ⲇⲉ, B^aP. ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ] ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ, P. ϯⲥⲙⲏ] AG: ⲟⲩ(ϥ, NT)ⲥ., L^gT^t &c. ⲇⲉ] L^gAFKS: om. T^tB^aΓGNOPT. 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] A, cf. Gr. 15. 36. cat d syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} &c.: +ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ, $L^gT^tB^a$FKS: +ⲉⲩⲑⲓⲥ, ΓGNO*PT; cf. Gr. ℵABCE^{gr} 61. 81. vg syr$^{p\,mg}$ aeth^{ro}. 17 ϩⲱ(ⲟ, ΓNOT)ⲥ ⲇⲉ] ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, T^tB^aK. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩ.] ϧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓϩ., O. ⲡⲓϩ.] L^gAB^aFOS: ⲡⲁⲓϩⲟⲣⲁ(O, NT), T^tΓGKNPT. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ] om. ⲓⲥ, FS; cf. Gr.

or defiled.' 15 *Again* came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) to him the voice (the)
second time: 'The things which God cleansed do not thou
(pron.) indeed (ⲇⲉ) make them unclean.' 16 But this was
done even (ϣⲁ) three times, and the *vessel* was taken away
up to (the) heaven. 17 But *as* Petros was thinking in
himself what was (ⲡⲉ) the *vision* which he saw, behold,
the men whom Kornēlios sent, having asked for (the) house
of Simōn, stood at the *porch.* 18 Having called, they were
asking: 'Doth Simōn who is called "Petros" lodge here?'
19 But as Petros was meditating in himself concerning the
vision, [but] the *spirit* said to him: 'Lo, three men seek
for thee: 20 but (ⲁ) rise, go down, and walk with them,
doubting not: because it is I who sent them.'

21 But Petros having come down unto the men, said: 'Lo, it
is I whom ye seek for; what is the thing concerning which
ye came?' 22 But they (pron.) said: 'Kornēlios the *centurion*
is a righteous man and fearing God, being witnessed unto

ℵAB 36. 40. 61. 69. 105. cat^{180} vg syr^{sch} arm &c. -ⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ] -ⲛⲓⲗ., PT. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ ... ⲥⲓ(ⲩ, NO)ⲙⲱⲛ] om. K. ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ] -ⲗⲟⲛ, N: -ⲗⲏ, P: ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛⲡⲩⲡⲓⲗⲱⲛ, B^{a}. 18 ⲉⲧ (om. ⲉⲧ, G)ⲁⲩ(ϥ, NT)ⲙⲟⲩϯ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲡⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKS: om. B^{a}ΓGNOPT. ⲁⲛ] ϩⲁⲣⲁ, FS. ϥϫ.] ⲉϥϫ., FKPS. 19 ⲉϥⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲥ., FKPS. -ⲣⲁⲙⲁ] -ⲣⲟ., NT. ⲡⲛⲁ] + ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ, O. ⲇⲉ 2°] L^{g}AB^{a}FK: om. T^{t}ΓGNOPST. ⲛⲁϥ] cf.? Gr. ℵAC 31. 40. 61. 180. m^{sor} cat^{181} vg arm^{sb}. ⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵACE 13. 61. al vg syr^{sch} et ^{pmg} aeth Did &c. ⲥⲉⲕⲱϯ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵB 61): om. ⲥⲉ, FS. 20 ⲧⲱⲛⲕ] cf. Gr. D* vg^{cle} demid syr^{utr}. ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲓ] ⲉⲕⲟⲓ, FKS. ⲃ̄] AG: +ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ 'of anything,' L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲁⲛ] trs. before ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ, FKS. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ] ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ, L^{g}B^{a}FPS. 21 ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. H al mu). ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] Hunt 18, 21–24
+ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, FS. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] om. FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}AB^{a}FO*S: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓGKNO^{c}PT. -ⲕⲱϯ] -ⲓ 'come,' Γ. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ, ΓNOPT, 3° person. 22 ⲡⲉ] AG: trs. before ⲛ̄ⲑ., T^{t}NOT: om. L^{g}B^{a}ΓFKPS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉ(ⲁ, S)ϥ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}KP 18. 22 ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ] ⲛⲁϥ, FS^{c}. ⲡⲓϣⲗⲟ(ⲱ, K)ⲗ] ⲡϣ., 18. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, T.

Ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲕ. 23 ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁϥϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾

ρλϛ Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⳾ 24 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

ρλζ Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲥⲩⲅⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥϣⲫⲏⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲉⲟⲛ ⳾

ρλη 25 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϯ-
ⲙⲁϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⳾
26 ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲧⲱⲛⲕ. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ 27 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ-
ϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⳾
28 Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲟϯ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲟⲙϥ ⲓⲉ
ⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗⲟⲫⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁ
ροθ ⲫϯ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ | ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ

ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AGNOPT: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B^{a}FKS 18. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ] $L^{g}AB^{a}\Gamma G^{o}$NOPT 18: + ⲉⲓ 'to come,' T^{t}K: + ⲉⲉⲛⲕ 'to bring thee,' FS. ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] AS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓFGKNOPT 18. ⲉϩⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ, GS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲕ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲕ, FS. 23 ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ] A, cf. Gr. al pauc arm: + ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓFGNOST 18: + ⲟⲩⲛ, KP. ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] pref. ⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 29. 40. 61. 66** 133. 142. d^{sor} al pauc vg syr^{sch} aeth. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGS. ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ 'they brought,' P by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] AK: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲓⲟⲡⲡ (om. S) ⲏ (ⲉ, N)] pref. ⲛⲁ 'they of,' B^{a}P 18. 24 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] pref. ⲉ, ΓGNOPT. ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCD^{gr}E 40. 61. 69. 105. 163. 180. vg syr^{p} &c. ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲁⲩⲓ, G; for plur. cf. Gr. ℵACEHLP al pler syr^{sch} et $^{p\,mg}$ arm &c. ⲕⲉ(ⲁ, P*)ⲥⲁ] cf. Gr. D 31. 68. 133. &c. om. τήν. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵACDE. ⲇⲉ 2°]

by all the nation of the *Jews*. It was shown to him by
a holy *angel* to send for thee into his house, to hear words
from thee.' 23 He called them in, he received them. But
on the[a] morrow he rose, he came forth with them, and other
brethren from Ioppē came forth with him. 24 But on the
morrow they came into Kesaria. But Kornēlios was expect-
ing them. And he[b] called his *kinsfolk* and his *near*
neighbours. 25 But it came to pass (that) Petros having
come in, Kornēlios met him; he threw himself down at his
feet, he worshipped. 26 But Petros raised him, saying:
'Rise; I also am a man.' 27 And he went in, he spake to
them: and he found many assembled. 28 He said to them:
'Ye (pron.) know that it is unlawful for a man (being a)
Jew to join himself to or to walk with an *alien*; and (yet)
to me (pron.) God showed, not to say of any man that he

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[a] Lit. 'his,' thus again. [b] Lit. 'but having.'

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om. KP. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ, P. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ] T^{t}A: ⲁϥⲙ., FKS: ⲉⲁϥ., $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓGNOPT 18. ⲇⲉ 3°] A: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲉϥⲥⲩⲅ (ⲛ, 18) ⲅ.] ⲡⲉϥⲥ., P. ⲛⲉⲙ] om. 18. ϣⲫⲏⲣ] ϣⲫⲉⲣ, B^{a}. ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲉⲟⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲕ., A_2: ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲟⲛ, K: -ⲕⲏⲟⲛ, B^{a}GT.
25 ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NP)ⲗⲓⲟⲥ] -ⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ, L^{g}. ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ] cf. Gr. 29. 43. 66** 68. 69. 105. 120. 177** 12^{lect} al^{3scr} vg &c. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ 'worshipping him,' FS. Hunt 26, 25–28
26 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 1°] A: +ⲅⲁⲣ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., cf. Gr. E &c. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 2°] om. K. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] +ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲏϯ, T^{t}K(P tr.)S, cf. ? Gr. D*E d $aeth^{utr}$.
27 ⲁϥϣⲉ] +ⲛⲁϥ, F. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. K. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] L^{g}AFPS: ⲉϥⲥ. &c., $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGNOT. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] ϩⲁⲛⲙ., B^{a}FPS. ⲉⲁⲩⲑ.] ⲁⲩⲑ., KO.
28 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] A_1 26: +ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}A_2$ &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, FS. ⲃⲟϯ] ⲃⲟⲩϯ, T^{t}NT. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲣ., K. ⲉⲧⲟⲙϥ] om. ⲉ, K. ⲓⲉⲉ] ⲉⲓⲉ, A_1FS. ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲫⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ., NT: -ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥ, GP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ, P: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}. ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. BC(D)HLP 13. 31. 61. al pler syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉϣϫⲉⲙ, K.

ϥϭⲁϧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϥⲥⲟϥ ⳾ 29 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ-
ⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲓⲛ ϯϣⲓⲛⲓ
. . . ⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⳾ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ, F ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ ⳾

ρλθ 30 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ϥⲧⲟⲩ ⲫⲟⲟⲩ
ϣⲁ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲁⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲁϫⲡ̀ⲑ̄ϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲏⲓ ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ ⳾ 31 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏⲗⲓⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀-
ⲫϯ ⳾ 32 ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ϥϫⲁⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲃⲁⲕϣⲁⲣ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ 33 ⲛ̀ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱ̀ⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲕ. ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⳾
ⲉⲛⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲑⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⳾

IH.

ρμ 34 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ϯⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓϩⲟ ⲁⲛ

ϥϭⲁϧ.] ⲉϥϭ., T^{t}G. ϥⲥⲟϥ] AB^{a}: -ⲱϥ, L^{g}P: ⲉϥⲥⲱϥ, T^{t} &c. 29 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 1°] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, G. ⲁⲛ] om. FS. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲁⲛⲧ(ⲛ̀ⲧ, N) . . . ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ] om. GT homeot. ⲟⲩⲛ] om. FS. ϫⲉ] om. K. ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ] T^{t}A: ⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϫⲓ 'what word,' L^{g} &c.: om. ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ, K. ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] A: ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. 30 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ] A: ⲟ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, F^{r}S. ⲓⲥϥⲧⲟⲩⲫⲟⲟⲩ] A: ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϥⲧⲟⲩⲫⲟⲟⲩ (om. NST), L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛⲇ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, P: ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϥⲧⲟⲩⲫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉϩ., B^{a}. ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲃϩ] cf. Gr. ℵA*BC 27. 61. 81. 163. vg arm aeth &c. ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲁⲩ] om. F^{r}S. ⲛ̀ⲁϫⲡ] cf. Gr. HP al pler vg &c. ⲑ̄ϯ] ⲑ̄, B^{a}G. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: om.

is unclean or defiled. 29 Therefore I came, ye having sent
for me, I made not *objection*; I ask *then* concerning what
thing ye sent for me?' 30 And Kornēlios said: 'Four days
ago until this hour I was praying at (the) ninth hour in
my house: behold, a man stood before me in [a] white
raiment, 31 and he said: "Kornēlie, thy *prayer* was heard,
and thine alms were remembered before God. 32 Send *then*
into Ioppē; let them call Simōn who is called 'Petros,' he
(ⲫⲁⲓ) lodgeth at (the) house of Simōn the tanner by the sea."
33 Now *then* I sent for thee; but thou (pron.) didst *well*
having come. Now we (pron.) all are here, being (ϫⲏ)
before God, to hear all the things which the Lord ordained
to thee.'

34 But Petros having opened his mouth, said: 'In [a]

K. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] L^{g}T^{t}AF^{r}KS : om. B^{a}ΓGNOPT. ⲉⲥ(ϥ, O*)ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] -ⲱⲃϣ., KO*P. 31 ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] om. F^{r}S. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲏⲓ, P; cf. tol syr^{sch} et^{p} c.* aeth. ⲕⲟⲣⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NP)ⲗⲓⲉ(ⲁ, N)] -ⲗⲓⲟⲥ, L^{g}B^{a*}? F^{r}PS. ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] pref. ⲉ, F^{r}T. ⲧⲉⲕⲡ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}: ⲛ̄ⲉⲕ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c.: om. O*. ⲙⲉⲑⲛ.] ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., B^{a}ΓT. 32 ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] pref. ϯⲛⲟⲩ 'now,' K. ⲟⲩⲛ] om. F^{r}KS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. O. ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ] -ⲡⲉ, Γ: ⲓⲟⲡⲏ, KPS. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AF^{r}S: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}KP: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ(ⲙ, ΓG)ⲙⲟⲩϯ, ΓGNOT. ⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ...ⲙⲟⲩϯ] om. F^{r}ST homeot. ϥϫ(ϭ, G*)ⲁ(ⲉ, F^{r})ⲗⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉϥ., T^{t}F^{r}GKS. ⲃⲁⲕϣⲁⲣ] -ⲁⲣⲁ, N. ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛⲫⲓⲟⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 3. 15. 18. 36. 61. 81. 93* 180. vg aeth^{ro}. 33 ⲛ̄ϯⲛⲟⲩ] A: ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲟⲩⲛ] om. B^{a}KS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲕ] ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ, K: ϧⲁⲣⲱⲕ, T^{t}. ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. D e. ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲁⲓⲥ, B^{a}. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] AF^{r}: + ⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}B^{a}KPS: + ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲧⲉⲛ-(ⲙ, A$_{1}$)ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛϫⲏ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓF^{r}GKS: ⲧⲉⲛϫⲏ ⲙ̄-ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ, B^{a}P: ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛϫⲏ, NOT. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD^{2}EHLP al omu^{vid} cat syr^{p} arm^{zoh} &c. ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉ, K. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 36. 40. 61*^{treg} 69. 137. 180. 12^{lect} c^{scr} cat vg syr^{p} arm: ⲫϯ, G, cf. Gr. DHLP al pler syr^{sch} &c. ⲑⲁϣ.] pref. ⲛⲁ, K. 34 F$^{r\,mg}$ S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Hatūr,' K^{mg} في عيد ... يب 'the festival of the cross'?. ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ] ⲉⲣⲱϥ, N; position cf. Gr. D am aeth^{utr}; for add *αὐτοῦ* cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}ACE 18. 26. 36. 68. 69. 103. 108. al$^{3\,scr}$ al aliq cat^{185} vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ.] pref. ⲛ̄, ΓNOT. Hunt 18, 34–44

ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ [35]ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϣⲗⲱⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲉϯ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ϥϣⲏⲡ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ.
ρμα [36]Ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̄ⲗ̄ ⳾ ⲉϥϩⲓ-
ϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄.
ρμβ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ. † [37]Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϯ|ⲅⲁⲗⲓ-
ⲗⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ [38]ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲑ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϩⲥϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲫϯ ⲭⲏ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ρμγ [39]Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲟⲩϣⲉ..., ⲁⲩⲁϣϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲉ. [40]ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ
F ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩ̄ⲅ̄ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ
ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [41]ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲧ-
ⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ϧⲁ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲥⲱ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲙⲉⲛ-
ⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ.
[42]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ

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[35] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] om. A_2*. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] T^tA: ⲛ̄ϧ., L^g &c. ϣⲗⲱⲗ] AK: -ⲟⲗ, $L^g T^t$ &c. [36] ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ(ⲟ, S)ⲣⲡ &c.] for om. ⲅⲁⲣ cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2vid}EHLP al pler d vg rell &c.; for om. ὃν cf. Gr. $ℵ^a$ AB 61. m tol d vg arm $aeth^{utr}$ Ath. ⲉϥϩⲓ] ⲉϩⲓ, K infinitive. [37] ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ] for om. γάρ cf. Gr. ℵBCEHLP al omn^{vid} syr^{utr} rell &c. ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲁ] -ⲗⲁⲁ, N. ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] -ⲱϣ, A_1. ⲓⲱⲁⲛ.] ⲓⲱⲁ, P. [38] ⲛⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲑ] cf. Gr. ℵBCDEP al permu vg &c. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄] cf. ? Gr. EL al pauc. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧ] cf. ? Gr. $ℵ^c$ABCE

truth I see that God is not a respecter of persons: 35 but
(ⲁ) in every nation (he) who feareth him, and who worketh
the righteousness is accepted with him. 36 He sent his word
to (the) sons of Israel preaching good tidings of [a] *peace*
through Jesus Christ, he (ⲫⲁⲓ) is the Lord of all. 37 Ye (pron.)
know the word which came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) in all [the] Ioudea,
having begun from [the] Galilea, after the baptism which
Iōannēs proclaimed. 38 Jesus the *Nazarene*, according as
God anointed him in a holy *spirit* and [a] power: he (ⲫⲁⲓ)
who came to do the good, and healing every one over whom
the *devil* had power, because God was being with him.

39 And we (pron.) are witness of all things which he did
in (the) *country* of the *Jews* and in Jerusalem. He whom
they killed, and they hanged him on a *tree*[a]. 40 This (one)
God raised in the third day, and he gave him to manifest
himself, 41 not to all the *people*, but (ⲁ) to the witnesses
whom God chose before, that is us, namely we (ⲛⲏ) who
ate and we drank with him after he rose from them who are
dead. 42 And he ordered us to proclaim to the *people*, and to

[a] Lit. 'wood.'

HLP al pler &c. ⲉϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ] L^{g}T^{t}AF^{r}P: ⲉⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ, ΓGKNO ST infinitive: ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ 'to save,' B^{a} 18. ⲇⲓⲁⲃ.] ⲇⲓⲉⲃ., S. ⲉϫⲱϥ] L^{g}A: ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c. 39 ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] om. K. ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler vg arm^{gb} &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] ⲉϩ., F^{r}KS. ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. ℵACEHLP al pler cat^{187} am arm &c. ⲫⲏ] A: ⲫⲁⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.; for om. *καί* cf. Gr. minusc mu vg^{cle} fu syr^{sch} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B^{a}KP 18. 40 ⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁ, FS: ⲉⲁ, G. ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ 'from them who are dead,' K. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}C 31. ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲛϩϥ] ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, B^{a}P 18. 41 ⲁⲛ] om. FS. ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉⲩ] ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣ., FS. ⲛⲏ] om. FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. C &c.). ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. N. ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] cf. Gr. exc. (DE &c.). 42 ⲫⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. BCD^{gr}E^{gr}(L) 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 100. 105. 137. 163. k^{sor} syr^{utr}. ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉ, NT.

ⲑⲁϣϥ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
ρμδ 43 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
44 Ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ 45 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁ ϯⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ρπ ⲁⲥⲫⲱⲛ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
46 ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾
ρμε Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ 47 ϫⲉ ⲙⲏⲧⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϣ-
ⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲛ ⳾ 48 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟⲙⲥⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅.
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
ρμϛ 1 Ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ
ϣⲉⲡ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ρμζ 2 Ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
ⲁⲩϭⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲃⲓ

ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ, FS. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] ⲉⲧⲱⲛϧ, ΓS^{mg}. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ] om. S*. 43 ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ, FKST. ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ] +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 2°, FS. ⲡⲭⲱ] ⲡⲓⲭⲱ, GKNOT. ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ] ⲛⲉⲛⲛ., NS, 1° person. K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 44 ⲉⲧⲓ] ⲉϯ, S; cf. Gr. (exc. P^2 &c.). ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲁϥⲥ., T. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, PT: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ. ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, B^a 18?. 45 ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ] -ⲟⲙⲧ, L^{g}T^{t}KNP*. ⲛⲓ] ⲛⲏ, T^t. ⲡⲥⲉⲃⲓ] ⲡⲓⲥ., T. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'out,' FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] position cf. ?

witness, that this is he whom God ordained judge of (ⲉ) them who are alive and them who are dead. 43 This of whom all the *prophets* witness, that (ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ) through his name all who believe him should receive (the) forgiveness of their sins.' 44 As Petros was *yet* speaking these words, the holy *spirit* came upon all who heard the word. 45 And they of (the) circumcision, the *faithful* who came with Petros, were amazed, because the *free gift* of the holy *spirit* was poured out upon the *Gentiles* also. 46 For they were hearing them speaking in tongues, and exalting God. *Then* Petros answered: 47 'Is it possible for any to forbid the water, that these should not be baptised, these who received the holy *spirit* as we also (did)?' 48 But he commanded them to baptise them in (the) name of Jesus Christ. *Then* they besought him to abide with them some days. XI. But the *apostles* and the brethren who were in [the] Ioudea heard that the *Gentiles* received the word of God. 2 *When* Petros went into Jerusalem, they of (the) circumcision

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Gr. BD 40. vg &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., L^{g}. ⲕⲉ] om. K. 46 ⲡⲉ] om. GKNOT. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄, P. ⲗⲁⲥ] pref. ⲕⲉ 'other,' FS. ⲉⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ] ⲁⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ, A$_2$N : ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ, FS imperfect. 47 ⲙⲏⲧⲓ] ⲙⲏϯ, NOPT. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲗⲓ &c.] position cf.? Gr. (E) 40. 69. 95. 180. cat^{191} Epiph^{cat} syr^{utr}. ⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ] pref. ⲉ, KS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, G. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, ΓT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏϯ] cf.? Gr. ℵAB 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 38. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 113. 137. 180. al$^{4\,scr}$ al pauc cat &c. 48 ⲇⲉ] cf.? Gr. ℵBE 13. 18. 33. 34. 37. 40. 61. 68. 180. d^{scr} cat^{191} syr^{p}. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 15. 18. 29. 40. 61** 68. 69. 105. 163. 180. al$^{3\,scr}$ al^{6} am fu tol demid syr^{p} arm &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] + ⲡⲉ, K.

1 ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] T^{t}AB^{a}: ⲉⲧ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲓⲉⲑ.] A : ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑ. 'the Gentiles also,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. 2 F^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Ṭūbah,' S^{mg} اول عيد الحيوانات 'the beginning (of the lection). The festival of the living creatures,' F^{mg}? the same. ϩⲟⲧⲉ] L^{g}A$_1$*$_2$FPS : + ⲇⲉ, T^{t} A$_1$^{c} &c., cf. Gr. ℵABE 15. 18. 25. 40. 61. 105. 163. 180. 12^{lect} cat vg arm. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf.? Gr. ℵAB 40. 61. ⲁⲩϭⲓ] ⲉⲩϭⲓ, P. Hunt 26, a–8

3 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϣⲉ ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲥⲉⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ρμη 4 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ 5 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲁⲓϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ
ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲉⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ. 6 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲙⲥ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲑⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃ-
ⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϭⲁⲧϥⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
7 Ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ϣⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲱⲙ. |
8 Ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲱⲣ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛ-
ϫⲁⲓ ⲉϥϭⲁϧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲟϥ ϣⲉ ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲓ
ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ 9 ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲁϩ-
ⲥⲟⲛ ⲃ̅ ⳾ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣϭⲁϧⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
10 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϣⲁ ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϥⲓ
ⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾

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3 ⲁⲕϣⲉ] + ⲛⲁⲕ, 26; position cf. Gr. ℵABD 38. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 113. 121. 180. al[2scr] cat[192] vg arm aeth &c.; for 2° person cf. Gr. ℵADEHP al pler vg arm[usc] aeth &c. ϣⲁ] $L^g T^t A B^a$ FPS: ϩⲁ, ΓG NOT: ⲉ, K. 4 F^{mg} 'read on the fourth Sunday of Bashons.' ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ] om. K. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϫⲓ '(began) to speak,' K: ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ 'speaking,' F. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] $T^t A B^a$: ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, L^g &c.; for om. *καθεξῆς* cf. Gr. L* 4*. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲛⲁϥϫⲱ 'he was &c.,' K. 5 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] pref. ϫⲉ, KS 26. ⲛⲁⲓ] $L^g A_1 B^a$ FKOS: + ϫⲏ, $T^t A_2^c$ ΓGNP 26: ⲁⲓϫⲏ, T. ⲓⲟⲡⲡ(om. S 26)ⲏ] position cf. ? Gr. D. ⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⲉⲟⲩ] om. FKS. ϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ] -ⲟⲙⲁ, ΓNT. ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ϥⲛ., FS. ϩⲃⲱⲥ] -ⲟⲥ, B^a. ⲉ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] $L^g A_1 B^a$ FGKO^cPS: ⲛ̀ϧ., $T^t A_2$ ΓNO*T. ⲛ̀ⲇ̅] ⲙ̀ⲇ̅, B^aFS. ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ] ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ, K: ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ 'unto us,' S. 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲉⲛⲁⲓ., FS. ⲛⲁⲓϯ ⲛ̀] om. ⲛ̀, K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ, 26: ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ, FS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ, K by error. ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ]

pleaded against him, 3 saying: 'Thou wentest in unto men
uncircumcised, and thou atest with them. 4 But Petros
having begun, was speaking to them, saying, 5 I (pron.) was
being in Ioppē the *city*, *praying*: and I saw in a trance
a *vision*, a *vessel* as a great sheet[a] coming down, let down
by (ⲛ̄) four *corners* from (the) heaven; and it came unto
me. 6 This having gazed at, I was giving heed; and I saw
the beasts of (the) earth, and the *wild beasts*, and the creep-
ing things, and the birds of (the) heaven. 7 But I heard
a voice also, saying: 'Rise, *Peter*, slay and eat.' 8 But
I said: 'Not so, Lord, because never did anything unclean
or defiled go into my mouth.' 9 But the voice answered (the)
second time from (the) heaven, saying: 'The things which
God cleansed do not thou (pron.) make them unclean.'
10 But this was done even (ϣⲁ) three times: and everything

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[a] Lit. 'garment of linen.'

LgABaF(K)PS: +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, K: ⲛⲓϥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲧ 'the quadrupeds,' TtΓ GNOT 26. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲛⲓⲕ., G. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲑⲏ(ⲓ, NT)ⲣⲓⲟⲛ] om. Ba: trs. after ϭⲁⲧϥⲓ, K. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ (om. N) ϭⲁⲧϥⲓ] trs. after ⲧⲫⲉ, K. 7 ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 25. 27. 29. 33. 34. 40. 61. 69. 105. osor vg: om. ⲇⲉ, FS: ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩ, K. ⲉⲥϫⲱ] ⲉⲕϫⲱ, Γ*S by error. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] A 26: +ⲛⲏⲓ 'to me,' LgTt &c. ⲧⲱⲛⲕ] cf. ? Gr. Dgr* vg. ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, So: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ, NT. ϣⲱⲧ] +ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ 'it,' Ba. 8 ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ, 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄(ⲉⲛ, S)ⲉⲛⲭⲁⲓ] Tisch. classes this with 'praem *πᾶν*,' but obs. Epiph libere[147] *οὐδὲν κοινόν*. ⲉϥϭⲁϧⲉⲙ] ⲛ̄ϭⲁϧⲉⲙ, P. ⲉ(ⲁ, P)ϥⲥⲟϥ] A: ⲉϥⲥⲱϥ, LgTt &c. ⲉⲣⲱⲓ] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ, FNS. 9 ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] ⲁϥ., A_1*O. ⲇⲉ] om. KNO; for om. *μοί* cf. Gr. ℵAB 15. 18. 32. 36. 40. 61. 105. 163. 180. cat vg armuso. ϯⲥⲙⲏ] TtABaFS: ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ, Lg &c. indefinite; position cf. ? Gr. ℵAHLP 61. al pler vg &c. ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] TtABa, cf. Gr. 13. 106. 177** al2sor: om. Lg &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ] + ⲇⲉ, FKS. 10 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, G*, cf. Gr. H: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ, K. ⲁⲩϥⲓ] position cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 40. 61. 69. 96. 105. 163. 180. cat vg syrp arm aeth: ⲁϥⲓ 'came,' FS.

ρμθ 11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲥ ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾
ρν 12 ϯⲠⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ
ρνα ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲃ̅ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⳾ ϯⲀⲩⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓⲕⲉⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛϣⲉ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ 13 ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ
ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ
ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲡⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ. 14 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾
ρνβ 15 Ⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⳾ 16 ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥϯⲱⲙⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲙⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
17 ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳾ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲩⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϯ-
ⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛ-
ρπⲁ ⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ | ⲙ̀ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳾
18 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

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11 ϯⲟⲩ(om. ⲟⲩ, N)ⲛⲟⲩ] A: pref. ⲛ̀, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲭⲏ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] ⲉϧ., G. ⲉⲁⲩⲧ.] om. ⲉ, O. -ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ] -ⲧⲁⲱⲟⲩ, A$_1$G. ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}PS: ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ, T^{t}ΓFGKNOT. -ⲣⲓⲁ(ⲉ, K)] cf. Gr. ℵAE.
Hunt 26, 12 ⲛⲏⲓ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABD 61. vg. ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲓ] ⲉⲕⲟⲓ, FKS single
12 ⲁⲩⲓ... negative. ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲉⲥ̅] ⲛⲁⲓⲕ., T^t. ⲁⲛϣⲉ] L^{g}AB^{a}FPS: ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
–15 ... ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϣⲉ, T^{t}ΓGKNOT. 13 ⲇⲉ] cf.? Gr. ℵABD 18. 33. 36. 38. 40. 61. 68. 93. 96. 105. 113. 180. 3^{pe} al$^{2\,scr}$ al pauc cat vg syr^p &c.: om. 26. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ, FS. ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ] AB^{a}GK 26: ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ, S: ⲉⲁϥ., L^{g}T^{t}ΓFNOPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FK. ⲉϥϫⲟⲥ] A: ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓFGNOPST: ⲉⲁϥ., K: ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ, 26. ϫⲉ 1°] for om. ⲛⲁϥ cf. Gr. ℵAB 61: ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ, T^{t}S, cf. Gr. DEHLP al pler vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲉⲓⲟ(ⲟⲓ, N)ⲡⲡ(om. 26)ⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵABD

was carried again another time to (the) heaven. 11 And
behold, immediately three men stood at (the) door of the house
in which I was being, having been sent to me from Kesaria.
12 But the *spirit* said to me: 'Go with them, doubting not
anything.' But these six brethren also came with me; and
we went into (the) house of the man. 13 But he showed to us
how he saw the *angel* in his house, standing and saying:
'Send to Ioppē, and call Simōn who is called "Petros";
14 he (ⲫⲁⲓ) will speak to thee words, those (lit. these) in
which thou and all thy house will be saved.' 15 But I
having begun to speak, the holy *spirit* came upon them, as
he came upon us at first. 16 But I remembered (the) word
of the Lord, how he was saying: 'Iōannēs *indeed* baptised
in [a] water; but ye (pron.) will be baptised in [a] holy
spirit. 17 If *then* God gave to them the *equal free gift*,
who believed the Lord Jesus Christ as we also (did), who
(was) I indeed (ⲇⲉ) to stop God?' 18 But having heard

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61. al plus^{30} cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. 26. ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ] ⲥⲩ., O: -ⲙⲟⲛ, N. 14 ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁ, S. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ] om. FS. 15 ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 1°] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}KOP: ⲉϧ., ΓFGNST. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, P: ⲉ̄ⲑ̄, T. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}P: +ϩⲱⲛ, ΓGKNOT: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲛ, FS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 2°] ⲉϧ., FGOS. ⲉϫⲱⲛ] AB^{a}ΓFNOST: +ϩⲱⲛ 'also,' L^{g}T^{t}G(K)P. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 16 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. O. ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲱ] om. ⲉ, T^{t}. ϫⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c} 27. 29. 38. 40. 68. 69. 93. 100. 105. 113. al^{3scr} al &c. ⲙⲉⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙ, A_1 by error. ⲁϥϯ] ⲉϥϯ, T^{t}N. ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] +ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ, K. 17 ⲁ] om. K. ⲁϥϯ] ϯ, FS. ϩⲩⲥⲟⲥ] ϩⲓⲥⲟⲥ, L^{g}G. ⲛ̄ϯⲇⲱⲣⲉⲁ] T^{t}A: om. ϯ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲓⲙ] om. F*S. ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AFPS, cf. Gr. EHLP al plu syr^{p} &c.: ϫⲉ 'then,' B^{a}GKNOT: om. Γ, cf. Gr. ℵABD 7. 13. 14. 15. 18. 25. 27. 36. 37. 38. 40. (61.) 68. 69. 76. 99. 100. 105. 163. 180. al^{4scr} al pauc cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth Did &c. ⲉⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ] pref. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ 'was it possible for me,' P. 18 ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ, N: om. S*. ⲁ(ⲉ, S)ⲩⲭⲁ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS, cf. ? Gr. ℵBD^{2} 40. 59* 61. 68. 69* 180. al^{2scr} al pauc vg syr^{utr} aeth &c.: ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲁ, T^{t}ΓGNOT, cf. ? Gr. AEHLP al pler cat arm &c.

ⲁⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ· ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲁ
ⲫϯ ⲁϥϯ ⲛ̅ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ·

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ρνγ 19 Ⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲓ ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯ-
ⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ· ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲛϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ· ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ· 20 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ· ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ· ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ· ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ· ⲉⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅·
21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ·
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧ-
ⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅·
ρνδ 22 Ⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ϣⲉ ϣⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲁϣϫ ⲛ̅ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ·
ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̅-
ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ϣⲁ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ· 23 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ·
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲣⲁϣⲓ·
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϯⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲧ
ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ· ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟϩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅. 24 ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ· ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ.
ρνε Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩϥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏϣ·

ϩⲁⲣⲁ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABD 40. 61. 65. 133. k^{scr}. ⲁ] om. FKST. ⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ] position not before ἔδωκεν, cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler syr^{utr} aeth^{pp}. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 19 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Tūt.' ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, F^{c}: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲗⲥⲉⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, S. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 'because of,' K. ϩⲓ] ⲉϩⲓ, FS. ⲧⲁⲛϯ] AO: ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓ, L^{g} &c. -ⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵEL. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲗⲓ] ⲛ̅ϩⲗⲓ, P. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] om. B^{a}. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. D vg. 20 ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ] om. NT. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲩⲣ.] ⲛⲓⲕ., T^{t}: om. ϩⲁⲛ, FS. -ⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ] T^{t}AΓFGKNOPST, cf. ? Gr. H: -ⲣⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ, L^{g} B^{a}. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] cf. Gr.

these things they held their peace, and they glorified God, saying: '*Then* God gave the *repentance* to the *Gentiles* also unto (the) life.'
19 They *indeed then* who were scattered since the tribula-
tion which happened at (the time of) Stephanos came even
unto [the] Phoinikē and Kypros and (the) Antiochia, and
spake to none the word except the *Jews* only. 20 But there
were some from them, *Kyprian* men, and some *Kyrinnean*,
these having come to (the) Antiochia were speaking to the
Greeks, proclaiming the Lord Jesus. 21 And (the) hand of
the Lord was being with them: but a great multitude
believed, and they turned to the Lord. 22 But the word
went unto (the) ears of the *church* which was in Jerusa-
lem concerning them: and they sent Barnabas unto (the)
Antiochia. 23 He (ⲫⲁⲓ) having come, and having seen
the grace of God, rejoiced; and was encouraging all in [the]
exhortation to stay in the Lord: 24 because he was a *good*
man, full of the holy *spirit* and (the) faith. And a great

ℵABDEL^{all} 61. al plus^{20} cat^{197} syr^{p} aeth &c. -ϫⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}DEHLP al pler cat fu syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}AD* c^{sor} arm Eus syr^{utr} aeth &c. 21 ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}ΓFGKNOST. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ, G: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, F. ⲙ̄ⲙⲏϣ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ 'signs,' S by error. ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ] ϣⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ, S. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}KPS: om. ΓFGNOT. 22 ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲙⲁϣϫ] ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁ., NT: ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲙ., S. ⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] ⲉⲕⲗ., B^{a}. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. AD HLP al pler cat. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. ? Gr. ℵABD 15. 27. 36. 40. 61. 105. 180. cat. ϣⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 61. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth. -ϫⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. E. 23 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a} 18: ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, ΓFGKNOPST. ⲛⲁϥϯ] ⲁϥϯ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, F(om. ⲟⲩ)S. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. B 40. vg &c. 24 ⲛⲉ] + ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, T: om. A_2*. ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ] -ⲑⲟⲛ, FS^{c}. ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ] L^{g}A_1B^{a}FPS 18: ϥⲙ., K: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A_2ΓG(K)NOT. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, T. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩϥ] ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ 'manifested itself,' G. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GP 18: ⲉ, ΓFKNOST.

Hunt 18, 22–26 . . . ϫⲓⲁ 1°

ρνϛ † 25 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⁘
26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉⲙϥ ⲁϥⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓ-
ⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⁘
ρνζ Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⁘
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲏϣ ⁘ ⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ|ⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⁘ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⁘
ρνη 27 Ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲧ-
ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⁘ 28 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲁϥϯⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ϩⲃⲱⲛ ⁘ ⲉϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓ ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ ⁘
29 ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⁘ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙⲉϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⁘ ⲁϥⲑⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⁘ 30 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓϥ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⁘

Ⲕ.

ρνθ Ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ
ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ

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25 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ] L^gT^tAB^{a}PS: ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ, ΓGKNOT; cf. Gr. ℵAB 36. 69. 100. 180. am* fu demid syr^{sch} arm &c.: ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ, F, cf.? vg^{cle} am^2 aeth. ⲉ] AB^{a}FP 18: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲛ̀, S. ⲑⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ] AFKPS: ⲧⲁⲣ., L^gT^t &c. ⲉϥ-ⲕⲱϯ] pref. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ, S by error. ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲩ., Hunt 26, 26 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ... -28 KO. 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉⲙϥ] + ⲇⲉ, F; for αὐτόν cf. Gr. HPL al longe plu syr^{sch} et ^{p} c. ob. arm aeth &c. ⲁϥⲉⲛϥ] cf. Gr. EHLP al plu syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. B^{a}S* 18. -ⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵE. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. 26. ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler arm aeth &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] -ⲣⲟⲩ, F. ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ] trs. after -ⲥⲓⲁ, 26. ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] AB^a: +ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ] L^gAB^{a}S:

multitude followed the Lord. 25 But having come to Tharsos,
seeking for Saulos; 26 and having found him, he brought
him into (the) Antiochia. But it came to pass (that)
having spent a whole year, assembling in the *church*, they
taught a great multitude: but the *disciples* who were in
(the) Antiochia were named first 'the *Christians*.' 27 But
in those days came *prophets* from Jerusalem to (the)
Antiochia. 28 But one from them rose, his name being
Agabos, he signified through the holy *spirit* a great famine
about to happen over the whole *world*, which is that which
happened at (the time of) Klaudios. 29 But the *disciples*,
according as each one had means[a], each of them decided[b]
for [a] *ministry* to send to the brethren who dwelt in [the]
Ioudea; 30 this having done, to send (it) to *presbyters*[c]
through Barnabas and Saulos.

XII. But in that time Ērōdēs (the) king brought his hand

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[a] Lit. 'was being filled.' [b] Lit. 'ordained.' [c] Or 'to send *presbyters*.'

ⲉⲁⲩϯ., F: ⲛⲁⲩϯ., GP 26: ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ., T^{t}ΓKNOT(om. ϯ). ⲇⲉ 2°] om. 26. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFS: ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ, P: ϧⲉⲛ, GKNOT. ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ] T^{t}AΓGKNPT, cf. Gr. ℵ* 61: ⲭⲣⲏⲥϯ., 26: ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧ., L^{g}B^{a}FOS. 27 -ⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. E.
28 ⲇⲉ] om. FS 26. ⲁϥϯⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ϥⲙ., NT; cf. ? Gr. ℵAEHLP al omn^{vid} cat syr^{utr} &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P. ⲉϥⲛⲁϣ.] ϥⲛⲁ., FP 26. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] A: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲫⲏ ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ, O; cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 33. 34. 40. 61. 105. 133. 12^{lect} vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 40. 61. vg arm aeth &c. 29 ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ, F. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ 2°] om. K. ⲙⲉϩ] A: ⲫⲉϩ 'reached,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁϥⲑⲱϣ] ⲁⲩⲑ., T. ⲉⲟⲩⲇⲓ.] L^{g}AB^{a}PS: ⲉⲩⲇⲓ(ϯ, O)., T^{t}ΓFGKNOT. -ⲕⲱⲛⲓⲁ] T^{t}AΓ: -ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] -ⲣⲡⲥ, K: -ⲣⲡⲟⲩ, P: +ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, F. 30 ⲫⲁⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, K. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓϥ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ, A by error. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ 'they sent it,' FS. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣ.] ϩⲁ ⲛⲓⲡⲣ. 'to the &c.,' FS; obs. Gr. 34. om. πρός. ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲩ., S.

1 ⲇⲉ] om. Γ. ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ] -ⲧⲏⲥ, NOT, thus verse 6. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] position cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ 66 &c.). ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲓⲛⲓ, F. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. FS. Hunt 18, 1–10

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϯⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾
²ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ⳾ ³ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲣⲁⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉϭⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲉ-
ⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲕⲱⲃ⳾
⁴ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲟⲡϥ ⲁϥⲭⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ⳾
ⲉⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾ ⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲥⲭⲁ⳾ ⁵ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ⳾
ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ϩⲁ
ⲫϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ⳾ |
ρξ ⁶ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲣⲡⲃ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳾
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲃ̄⳾ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲃ̄ϯ⳾
ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ⳾ ⁷ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁϥⲓ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲏⲓ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲥⲫⲓⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ⳾
ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ⳾ ⁸ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲙⲟⲣⲕ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲩⲛⲇⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ⳾
ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϫⲟⲗϩⲕ⳾

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1}$B^{a}P S: om. A$_{2}$ΓFGKNOT. ²ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϧ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}P, cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} aeth &c.: ⲁϥϧ. ⲇⲉ, ΓFGKNOT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϧ. ⲇⲉ, S, obs. Gr. 76. 177** g^{sor} &c. ἀν. δὲ καί. ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ] ϧⲉⲛⲧ., F. ³ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABE 61. al plus[10] cat vg luxov &c. ϫⲉ] om. FS. ϭⲱⲡⲓ] ϭⲓ 'take,' FS. ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ADE 61. al plus[40] cat &c. ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ] ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ, T^{t}GK: om. FS. ⁴ⲫⲁⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS, obs. Gr. (exc. D) ὃν καί. -ϭⲟⲡϥ] -ϣⲟⲡϥ, FT. ⲁϥⲭⲁϥ] -ⲭⲏ, Γ. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. E^{gr} 19^{lect}. ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] A &c.: -ⲧⲟϥ, T: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ (ⲧϥ, N), L^{g}T^{t}N. ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ, FS: ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛ̄ⲇ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ, B^{a} 18. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ, N.

upon some from the *church* to give pain to them. 2 And
he killed Iakōbos (the) brother of Iōannēs with (the) sword.
3 But having seen the thing was pleasing to the *Jews*, he
went on (lit. added) to arrest Petros also. But the days
were (those) of the unleavened (plur.). 4 Him (ⲫⲁⲓ) having
arrested, he put in the prison, having delivered him to four
bands of soldiers to keep him, thinking to bring him up
to the *people* after the Pascha. 5 Petros *indeed then* was
being kept in the prison: but the *church* was *praying*
for him greatly to God. 6 But *when* Ērōdēs was about
to bring him up, in that night Petros was sleeping between
two soldiers, bound with two *chains*: but there were keepers
at the doors keeping the prison. 7 And behold, an *angel*
of the Lord came, and a light shone in the house: but
having shaken (the) side of Petros, he raised him (up),
saying: 'Rise quickly.' And the *chains* fell from his hands.
8 But the *angel* said to him: 'Gird thyself, and put (lit. give)
thy *sandal* to thy foot.' But he did thus. And he said:

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5 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FPS 18: ⲇⲉ, ΓGKNOT. ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣ] AB^{a}FS 18: ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓGKNOPT. ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲉⲩⲭⲏ, O. ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FPS: om. ΓGKNOT. ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ] om. S?: ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ 'up,' KO. ϩⲁ] T^{t} &c.: ϧⲁ, L^{g}. ϯⲉⲕⲕ(om. B^{a})ⲗ.] L^{g}AB^{a}(F)S 18: ⲛⲓ ⲉⲕ., T^{t}ΓGKNOPT: +ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'all,' F. 6 ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ &c.] om. ⲇⲉ, GP: ⲉϥ (om. FS) ⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ ⲇⲉ, B^{a}FS 18. ⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, $A_{1.2}$*. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲩ(ⲏ, FKS)ⲥⲓⲥ] ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛϩ., B^{a} 18^{II}. ⲃ̄ϯ] ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ, B^{a}G 18. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ] AO* (om. ⲛ̄): ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. ? Gr. D e. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲛⲓⲣⲟ, T^{t}Γ: ⲛⲓⲣⲟ, L^{g} &c. singular. ⲉⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ, B^{a}. 7 ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, F*S. ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ, F*: ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, S. ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ] +ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ 'walk after me,' F. 8 ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ] L^{g}AB^{a}PS, cf. ? Gr. BDEH 34. 36. 40. 96. 100. 103. 105, a^{scr} c^{scr} al cat vg syr^{p} &c.: om. T: om. ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓFGKNO. ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲩ(ⲉ, FNST 18^{II})ⲛⲇ(ⲧ, FS)ⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ] AFKS 18^{II}: ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲩ(ⲉ, NT)ⲛⲇⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲁϥ, L^{g}T^{t}NT. ϫⲟⲗϩⲕ] ϫⲟⲗⲕϩ, NT: ϫⲟⲗⲕ, Γ*.

Hunt 18 II, 6-9

ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϩⲃⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⳾ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ
ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [⳾] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ. ⲛⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ
ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ.
ρξα 10 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϯⲡⲩⲗⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. ⲑⲁⲓ
ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϧⲓⲣ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ
ρξβ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾ † 11 Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓⲉⲙⲓ ⲧⲁⲫⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾
ρξγ 12 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲑⲙⲁⲩ |
ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣ-
ⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳾
13 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲱⲗϩ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕⲓ
ⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲁϥ. ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲣⲱⲇⲏ. 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ

ϩⲃⲱⲥ] ϩⲃⲟⲥ, G 18. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, F. ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓFPS 18: ⲁϥ., B^{a}GKNOT. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}EHLP al pler vg syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲛⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ] ⲛⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ, A$_{2}$. ⲁⲛ] + ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥ] L^{g}A$_{1.2}^{c}$B^{a}FS: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥ, T^{t}NO: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲁϥ, ΓGKPT. ⲇⲉ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ, T^{t}ΓNOT; cf. Gr. (exc. D &c.). ϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ] -ⲣⲟⲙⲁ, ΓNT. ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ, T^{t}ΓGKNOPT: ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥ, 18. 10 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. FG. ϧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}A: ⲙ̄, B^{a}P 18: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, ΓFGKNOST. ⲉϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FPS 18: ϧⲉⲛϯ, ΓGKNOT. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧⲥ, K. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] trs. after ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ (ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ, FS), T^{t}KNOT.

'Fold thee with thy garment, and walk after me.' 9 And having come out, he was walking after him; and he was not knowing that (it was) true which was being done through the *angel*, but he was thinking that (it was) a *vision* which he saw. 10 But having passed from the first place of keeping and the second, they came to the iron *gate* which cometh out to the *city*; this opened to them of itself: but having come out, they passed (through) one of the streets; and immediately the *angel* went from him. 11 But Petros having come to himself[a], said: 'Now I know (ⲁⲓ) truly that the Lord sent his *angel* and he saved me from (the) hand of Ērōdēs, and all (the) expectation of the *people* of the *Jews*.'

12 But having seen, he went to (the) house of Maria (the) mother of Iōannēs who is called 'Markos,' the place in which many were assembling, *praying*. 13 But Petros having knocked at (the) door of the *porch*, a young maid-servant came out to answer to him, her name being Rōdē. 14 And having known (the) voice of Petros, from [the] joy

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[a] Lit. 'his heart having come to him.'

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11 ⲉⲣⲟϥ] position cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler arm syr^{p} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}P$ 18: om. ΓFGKNOST. ⲁϥⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲧ] -ⲛⲉϩⲙ., A_2. ⲧϫⲓϫ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FPS$ 18: ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ, ΓGKNOT plural. ⲡⲥⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲙⲥ] ⲡⲓⲥ., T^{t}Γ. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FS$ 18: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ(ⲫ, K)ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̅, ΓGKNOT: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, P. 12 ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. A 13. 15. 18. 33. 34. 36. 40. 47. 48. 61. 104. 106. 133. 163. 8^{pe} $al^{3\,sor}$ cat e. ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲑ. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ] ⲉⲑ. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ, S: ⲉⲑ. ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ, F. ⲉⲩ (om. FS) ⲉⲣⲡⲣ.] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$(F)K P(S) 18. 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓGNOT. 13 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲱ(ⲟ, T)ⲗϩ] cf. Gr. ℵABDLP 61. al^{10} vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ] ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ, 18*. ⲫⲣⲟ] ⲡⲓⲫⲣⲟ, T. ⲛ̅ϫ(ⲧ, A)ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ] T^{t}A, cf. Gr. EH al pler cat vg^{ms} ap Ln syr^{p} &c.: om. L^{g} &c. ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] cf. ? Gr. ℵB^{corr} 3: ⲁⲥⲓ ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲣⲱⲇⲏ] $L^{g}T^{t}AFGKP$ 26, cf. Gr. E al^{12} cat arm; ⲣⲟⲇⲏ, B^{a}ΓNOT 18: ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏ, S. 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26.

Hunt 18, 11–17

Hunt 26, 12–15

ⲡⲓⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲑⲱⲙ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϭⲟϫⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲟϩⲓ
ⲉ̀ⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⁘ [15] ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲗⲟⲃⲓ ⁘ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ-
ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ. ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⁘
ρξδ [16] Ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲏⲛ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲗϩ ⲡⲉ. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⁘
[17] ⲁϥϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉ̀ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ϫⲉ ⲭⲁⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁϣ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⁘ ⲁ Ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲛϥ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⁘
ρξε Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥϣⲉ
ⲉ̀ⲕⲉⲙⲁ ⁘
ρξς [18] Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲉ̀ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⁘ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩϣ-
ⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ
ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⁘ [19] ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϫⲉⲙϥ ⁘
ⲁϥϯⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⁘ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ
ⲉ̀ϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ
ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ [20] ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲉϥϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲓⲇⲱⲛ ⁘ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ. |
ρπγ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲉⲧ ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ

ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ., FS. ϣⲑⲱⲙ] AST 26: -ⲟⲙ, L^{g} T^{t} &c.: ⲣⲟ, B^{a} 18, cf. ? Gr. E. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁⲥⲧ., G. ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ] om. ⲡⲓ, P*. [15] ⲡⲉ 1°] A: om. L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧϣ., T^{t}: ⲉⲧϣ., ΓNO: ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ, T. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] AB^{a}Γ*FGKPS 18. 26, cf. Gr. (exc. D &c.): +ⲛⲁⲥ, L^{g}T^{t} Γ^{mg}NOT, cf. ? Gr. D syr^{sch} ar^{e} &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. B^{a}; position cf. ? Gr. DEHLP 61. al omn^{vid} &c. [16] ⲡⲉ] A: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, GK: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ, ΓOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] A, cf. ? Gr. D: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁⲩⲧⲱ(ⲟ, T^{t}FKNS)ⲙⲧ] A &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^{t}. [17] ⲁϥϭ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥϭ., K. ⲇⲉ] om. GK. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, P. ϫⲉⲭⲁ] ⲉϫⲁ 'to hold,' T^{t}F

she opened not the gate, but having run in, she showed to
them that Petros stood at the *porch*. 15 But they (pron.)
said to her: 'Thou art mad.' But she (pron.) was affirming
that thus it was. But they (pron.) said: 'It is his *angel*.'
16 But Petros was continuing knocking: but having opened,
and having seen him, they were amazed. 17 But he beckoned
to them with his hand: 'Hold your peace.' And he spake
before them in what manner the Lord brought him from
the prison. But he said to them: 'Show to Iakōbos and
the brethren these things.' And having come forth, he went
to another place. 18 But the day having come (ϣⲱⲡⲓ),
there was no small trouble among the soldiers as to (ϫⲉ)
what *then* (is) that which happened to Petros. 19 Ērōdēs
having sought for him, and having found him not, he
tortured[a] the keepers, he commanded to kill them. And
having come from [the] Ioudea into Kesaria, he abode there.
20 But he was being in [a] wrath, opposing them of Tyros
and Tsidōn: but they came together unto him. And
having persuaded Plastos, who was (ϫⲏ) over the *chamber*

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[a] Lit. 'gave pain.'

NS. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. B D E H L P al pler cat syr^{sch} aeth &c.
ⲛ̄ⲁϣ] om. ⲛ̄, FNOS. ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲫϯ, ΓGNOT. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. ? Gr. D H
L P al pler cat syr^{p} &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ (ⲩ, S)] trs. before ⲛⲉⲙ, FS. ⲁϥϣⲉ]
AB^{a} 18: + ⲛⲁϥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 18 ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: ⲛⲁϥ-
ϣⲟⲛ, T^{t}ΓFGKNOST. ⲟⲩϣⲑ. . . . ⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̄ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ 'a great stir,' FS, cf. Gr. 15. 18. 36. 180. syr^{sch} ar^{e} arm.
ⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩⲏⲓ, FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣ.] L^{g}AB^{a}F^{o}GKPS: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥ.,
T^{t}ΓNOT. 19 ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ] A: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ]
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ, O. ⲛⲓ (+ⲁ, B^{a}) ⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ, G.
ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. D^{gr} arm syr^{utr} aeth^{pp}. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE.
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. A vg &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. vg arm. 20 ⲡⲉ]
AB^{a}P: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 33. 34. 40. 61. 133. 142. vg
syr^{sch} aeth ar^{e} &c. ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲛ] ⲉⲙⲃ., Γ^{o}G. ⲉϥϯ] ⲉϯ, A_1.
ⲧⲥⲓⲇⲱⲛ] ⲧⲥⲩ., B^{a}FOPS. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛ] om. Γ*GK. ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲑⲉ(ⲏ, L^{g}T^{t}FOS^{o}T)ⲧ ⲡϩ.] -ⲙ̄ⲡϩ., FS*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Γ.

ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲁⲛϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ
ρξζ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ † 21 Ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲑⲏϣ ⳾ ⲁ ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ϯ
ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
22 ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲑⲁⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⳾ 23 ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁϥϣⲁⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϯⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣϭⲓϥⲉⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
24 ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁϣⲁⲓ ⳾

ⲔⲀ.

ρξη 25 Ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ϯⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲉⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛϥ ϫⲉ
ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ 1 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲛϯ-
ⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲣ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡⲓⲕⲩⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏ ⲡⲓϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̀ϣⲁⲛϣ

ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲓⲧ.] ⲡⲕ., FS. -ⲧⲱⲛ] -ⲧⲟⲛ, B^{a}KT. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ(om. A$_{1}$Γ)-ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲙ̀ⲡ., L^{g}FPS. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ] om. ϫⲉ, O*. ⲭⲱⲣⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. E 13. 33. 34). ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̀] ϧⲉⲛ, O, cf. ? Gr. D 40. 105. 21 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲏⲣⲱ(O, N)ⲇ(T, O)ⲏⲥ] + ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ '(the) king,' FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ADEHLP al pler cat^{210} syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FPS: om. Γ*: ϩⲓ, Γ^{c}GKNOT. ⲃⲏⲙⲁ] ⲃⲩⲙⲁ, S. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}Γ. 22 ⲛⲁϥⲱϣ] ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ, B^{a}. ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] AB^{a}: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩ, L^{g}Γ^{c}FPS. 23 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲁⲟⲩ] ⲉⲟⲩ, Γ*S*T: ⲛⲟⲩ, N. ⲁϥϣⲁⲣⲓ] T^{t}A: om. ⲁϥ, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲫⲙⲁ] ⲙ̀ⲫ., Γ NT: ⲫ., P. ⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. DEHLP al plus^{35} &c. ⲉⲣϭⲓϥⲉⲛⲧ] AK

of (the) king, they were *asking* [a] *peace*, because that their
country was being nourished from his kingdom. 21 But
on a day ordained Ērōdēs clothed himself with a kingly
raiment, and having sat on the *judgement seat* was speaking
to them. 22 But the multitude was crying out, saying:
'This is a voice of god, and it is not that of man.' 23 But
immediately an *angel* of the Lord smote him, because that
he glorified not God: and having been eaten of worms, he
died. 24 But the word of God grew and was going on
(lit. coming) multiplying.

25 But Barnabas and Saulos returned from Jerusalem,
having completed the *ministry*, having brought Iōannēs also
who was named 'Markos.' XIII. But there were *prophets*
and teachers in the *church* of (the) Antiochia, Barnabas, and
Simōn who is called 'Niker,' and Loukios the *Kyrinnean*,

(ⲉⲣϫⲓϥ.): ⲉⲣϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϥ., T^t: ⲉⲣϫ(ⲩ, P*)ⲓ ⲛ̄ϥ., L^g &c. 24 ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵADEHLP al omn^{vid} syr^{utr} arm &c.: ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, B^aFOS, cf. Gr. B vg (aeth). ⲛⲁϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ &c.] ⲁϥⲁϣⲁⲓ, K: ⲛⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ, B^a. ⲛ̄ⲁϣⲁⲓ] AB^aGNT: ⲁϣⲁⲓ, Γ: + ⲡⲉ, L^gT^tFOPS. 25 F^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Būūnah.' ⲇⲉ] om. T*. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. A 13. 27. 29. 69. 3^{pe} 8^{pe} al sat mu syr^{sch} et p^{txt} arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ] + ⲇⲉ, FS^c. ⲇⲓ(ϯ, S)ⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, GNOT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] trs. before ⲛ̄ϯ, FS. ⲡ(om. O)ⲕⲉ] cf. Gr. D^2EHLP 61. al pler syr^p aeth &c. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] A_1B^aΓG: + ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'with them,' $L^gT^tA_2$FKNOPST. ⲫⲏ (ⲫⲁⲓ, K) ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲣⲉⲛϥ] pret. cf. Gr. BDEHLP &c.: ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'who is called,' P, pres. cf. Gr. ℵA &c.

1 ⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] ⲉⲕⲗ., B^a. ⲧⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲛϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ; for om. *τινες* cf. Gr. ℵABD 33. 40. 61. 68. 69. 100. 105. 12^{lect} a^{scr} vg syr^{sch} aeth. ⲃⲁⲣⲛ.] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲥⲓ(ⲩ, T)ⲙⲱⲛ] L^gT^tAKT: ⲥⲓ(ⲩ, ΓN)ⲙⲉⲱⲛ, B^aΓFGNOPS. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ] L^gT^tAFKOS: ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ, B^aΓGNPT. ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲣ] AFKS: ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲣ, L^gT^t &c. ⲕⲩ(ⲓ, NT)ⲣⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ] T^t &c.: ⲕⲩⲣⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ, L^g. ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏ] om. ⲛⲉⲙ, B^aΓNOPT. ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏ] ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ, G*K. ⲡⲓϣⲫⲏⲣ] ⲡϣⲫⲏⲣ, GK.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
² ⲉⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⳾
Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ-
ⲑⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ³ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁϫⲓϫ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ |
ρξθ ⁴ Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲥⲉⲗⲉⲩⲕⲓⲁ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
...ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ. ⁵ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
F ⲉⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙⲓⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦
ρο ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ †Ⲛⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡⲕⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲙϣⲓ.
ροα ⁶ Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾ ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲁⲫⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁⲩϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲭⲱ ⲙ̀ⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ ⳾ ⁷ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁϥ-
ⲭⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲃⲁⲣ-
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⳾ ⁸ ⲛⲁϥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ

ⲧⲉ(ⲁ, A$_2$)ⲧⲣⲁⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a}NPT, cf. Gr. ℵ* &c.: ⲧⲉ(ⲁ,S)ⲧⲣⲉⲁⲣⲭⲏ(ⲉ,Γ)ⲥ, ΓFGKOS^o: ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ, L^g. ² ⲇⲉ] om. GK, ⲉ(ⲁ, S)ⲩⲉⲣⲛ.] A: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] +ⲇⲉ, P. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, PT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] FS. ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] L^g T^{t}AB^{a}FKPS: ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, ΓGNOT, cf. m^{10}; G^{mg} من هنا يدعى بولس الى اخر الكتاب 'from here he is called Būlus to the end of the book.' ³ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲛ.] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKOPS^o: om. ⲉⲧ, T^{t}ΓNT. ⲁⲩⲭⲁ] AB^{a}FPS: pref. ⲉⲧ, GK: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ] T^{t}A: ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ, L^g &c., cf. Gr. E vg syr^{sch} et ^{p} c. ob. &c. ⁴ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 15. 18. 36. 40. 61. 69* 100. 105. 180. a^{scr} cat d e vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P; position cf. Gr. EHLP al pler vg &c. ⲉⲥⲉⲗ.] ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲗ., ΓNT: ⲥⲉⲗ., A$_2$; cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2}D 40. 61. 66. 69. 105. 133. 180. 12^{lect} al^2 ^{scr} cat^{213} Did &c. -ⲕⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAC^{2}DE d^{scr}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}P, cf. Gr. D^{gr} 64: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t&c., cf.? Gr. ℵABCEH al plu &c.: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙ., FS, cf.? Gr. LP

and Manaē the foster-brother[a] of Ērōdēs the Tetraarchēs, and
Saulos. 2 But as they are ministering to the Lord, *fasting*,
The holy *spirit* said: 'Separate to me Barnabas and
Saulos for the work to which I called them.' 3 *Then* having
fasted and having prayed, they laid hand upon them, and
they sent them away. 4 They (pron.) *indeed, then,* having
been sent by the holy *spirit*, went into Seleukia; from there
they sailed to Kypros. 5 And having come to Salaminē,
they were proclaiming the word of God in the *synagogues*
of the *Jews*: but Iōannēs also was being with them, being
minister. 6 But having passed (through) the whole *island*
even unto Paphou, they found a man, sorcerer, *false prophet*,
Jew, his name being Bariēsou, 7 who (ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉ) was being with
the *proconsul* Sergios Paulos, an understanding man. But
he (ⲫⲁⲓ) called Barnabas and Saulos, he was seeking to
hear the word of God. 8 But Elymas the sorcerer was

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[a] Lit. 'the sharer of nourishing.'

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40. 61. 68. 126. 177. al plus^{20} d syr$^{p\,mg}$ &c. ⲉⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵA BCD 13. 40. 61. 68. 69. 99. 101. 105. 106. 180. 12^{lect} 14^{lect} al$^{2\,scr}$ &c. 5 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] ⲁⲩⲓ, O. ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙⲓⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵAEL 61. al: -ⲙⲓⲛⲁ, T*, cf. d e am fu: -ⲙⲏⲛⲏ, S*: -ⲙⲓⲛⲓ, N. ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] cf. Gr. (exc. D, L 61. al^{10} fere). ⲡⲕⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ] ⲡⲕⲉⲇⲉ ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, P; cf. ? Gr. (exc. E). ⲉϥⲟⲓ] om. O. 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲩ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] cf. Gr. Hunt 18, 6–12
ℵABCDE 61. al fere^{20} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ϯⲡⲓⲥⲓⲇⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ (om. F^{c}) 'but having passed by all the Pisidia,' FS. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲡⲁⲫⲟⲩ] -ⲫⲟⲥ, P. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB CD 6. 8. 13. 14* 15. 18. 61. 66. 68. 69. 76. 100. 105. 180. k^{scr} o^{scr} am syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲙ̅ⲯ . . . ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] om. K. -ⲇⲟ(ⲇⲱ, 18: ⲧⲟⲩ, T)ⲡⲣ.] -ⲇ(ⲧ, P)ⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣ., B^{a}OPS. ⲃⲁ(ⲉ, P)ⲣⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩ] -ⲓⲉⲥⲟⲩ, T^{t}GK; cf. Gr. ℵ 40. 96. 105. vg syr$^{p\,txt}$ arm &c. 7 ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲏ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓGNOT: om. ⲉ, B^{a}F^{r}KPS 18. ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑ.] ⲡⲁⲛⲑ., O*. -ⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ] -ⲑⲓ., F^{r}S: -ⲑⲏ., N: -ⲧⲩ., T. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ] ⲉϥ., T. ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a}P 18: ⲡ., L^{g}ΓF^{r}GKN OST. ⲛⲁϥⲕⲱϯ] + ⲡⲉ, F^{r}S. 8 ⲇⲉ] om. F^{r}S.

ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲉⲗⲩⲙⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲭⲱ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾ ⲉϥⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲫⲉⲛϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲩ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ⳾ 9 ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 10 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳾ ⲱ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾
ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲡⲓϫⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲕⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ⳾ ⲉⲕⲫⲱⲛϩ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦⳾ 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲙ̀ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦ ⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲕ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̀ⲭⲛⲁⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ ⲁⲛ ϣⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩϩⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲕⲓ⳾ ⲛⲁϥ-
ⲕⲱϯ ⲉϥϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾
ροβ 12 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲣⲡⲁ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣ|ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲃⲱ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦⳾

ΚΒ.

ρογ 13 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲫⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲁⲙ-
ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ⳾ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓ︦ⲗ︦ⲏ︦ⲙ︦⳾ 14 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲣⲅⲏ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ϯⲡⲓⲥⲓⲇⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ-
ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ⳾ 15 ⲙⲉⲛ-
ⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟ-

ⲉ(om. $A_1{}^*{}_2$)ⲗⲩⲙⲁⲥ] $L^gT^tA_1{}^cB^aP$ 18: -ⲓⲙⲁⲥ, ΓF^{r}GKNOST. -ⲟⲩⲁϩⲉⲙ] + ⲡⲉ, F^{r}S. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. F^{r}S. 9 ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉⲑ︦ⲩ︦, PT: ⲉϥ., G; all collated MSS. omit *ἀτενίσας εἰς αὐτόν*. 10 ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ] -ⲙⲟϩ, O. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 2°] om. B^a, cf. Gr. D* d* arm &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲇ.] $L^gT^tAB^aF^rPS$: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲇ., ΓGKNOT. ⲑⲙⲏⲓ] L^gAF^rS: ⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏ., T^t &c. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 3°] om. B^a. ⲛ̀ⲕⲭⲱ] ⲉⲛⲕ., B^a. 11 ⲙ̀ⲡ︦ⲟ︦ⲥ︦] om. P*. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] $L^gAB^aF^rPS$ 18: ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}ΓGKNOT. ⲉⲕⲟⲓ] om. F^{r}S. ⲙ̀ⲃ.] ⲛ̀ⲃ., B^a.

opposing them, for his name is interpreted (was) thus, seeking to pervert the *proconsul* from (the) faith; [9] but Saulos, who is Paulos, having been filled with (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ) the holy *spirit*, [10] said, O he who is full of (ⲛ̄) all subtlety and all evil, (the) son of the *devil*, the enemy of all righteousness, ceasest thou not perverting the straight ways of the Lord? [11] And now, behold, (the) hand of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing (the) sun unto a season. And immediately came upon him a mistiness and a darkness; he was going about asking for him who will help him[a]. [12] *Then* the *proconsul* having seen that which was done, believed; he wondered at the teaching of the Lord.

[13] But they of Paulos and Barnabas having come from Paphou, came to Pergē of [the] Pamphilia. But Iōannēs separated from them, he returned into Jerusalem. [14] But they (pron.), having come from Pergē, went to (the) Antiochia of [the] Pisidia; and having come to the *synagogue* on the day of the *sabbaths*, they sat. [15] But after

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[a] Lit. 'give his hand.'

ⲛ̄ϫ(K, G)ⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲛϫ., B^{a} 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, P. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏ] AG: ⲉⲫⲣⲏ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲗ, F^{r}S. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] cf. ? Gr. (ℵ C 61) D d vg syr^{sch} aeth. ⲁϥⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}F^{r}OPS 18: ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ϥϩⲉⲓ, T^{t}ΓGK NT. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., T^{t}ΓGKNT. ⲛⲁϥⲕⲱϯ] L^{g}A: + ⲡⲉ, F^{r}S: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOPT 18. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ] L^{g}T^{t}ANT: ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁ, P: ⲡⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ, B^{a}ΓF^{r}G*KOS 18. ϯⲧⲟⲧϥ] ϯⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ, K. [12] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] om. ⲉⲧ, O. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣ.] ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥϣ., B^{a}GP 18. ⲁϥⲉⲣϣ.] AF^{r}: ⲉϥ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. [13] ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a}K 18, cf. ? syr^{sch} ar^{e}: om. L^{g}ΓF^{r}GNOPST. Hunt 18, 13-23
-ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲁ] -ⲫⲩ., L^{g}B^{a}K 18. [14] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, S. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲡⲓⲥⲓⲇⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. DEHLP al omn^{vid} vg arm rell &c.: om. ϯ, NT. ⲉϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*BC 61. 104.: pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ 'in,' T^{t}F^{r}S, cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}D EHLP al pler &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ (+ ⲡⲓ, S) ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ (om. F^{r}) ⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'of the Jews on this day,' F^{r}S. ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃ.] ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲃ., T^{t}. [15] ⲇⲉ] om. NT.

ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ
ϩⲁⲣⲱ- ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩ..., F ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲟϥ ⳾
ροδ 16 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ 17 ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲡⲁⲣⲟⲓⲕⲓⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲱⲃϣ ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ.
18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ϩⲓ ⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⳾ 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲣⲱϧⲧ ⲛ̀ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲗⲱⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲁⲛⲁⲁⲛ ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟ-
ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ 20 ⲛ̀ⲩ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲉⲛ-
ⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁϥϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϣⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ
ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫϯ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲕⲓⲥ | ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾
ροε 22 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ
ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ

ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥⲩⲛ.] ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲩⲛ., L^{g} B^{ao} G: ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ, F^{r} S. ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] L^{g} T^{t} A F S; cf. ? Gr. ℵABCD* 13. 61. al[15] d vg syr^{sch}: om. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B^{a} Γ K N O P 18; cf. ? Gr. D^{gr2} E H L P al longe plu syr^{p} arm aeth &c.: om. ⲟⲛ, G T. ⲡⲉ] om. B^{a} 18: ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ, F S. ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. DELP al pler &c. ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] Hunt 18, 16–23 ⲡⲁⲓⲗ., B^{a} 18. 16 ⲉⲧⲁϥϭ.] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭ., B^{a} conjunctive. -ϭⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲣⲉⲙ] L^{g} A B^{a} F S: + ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'to them,' T^{t} Γ G K N O P T. ⲛⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏ.] A$_{1.2?}$ B^{a} K P S T: ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲁⲏ., Γ: ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏ., L^{g} T^{t} F G N O 18; cf. Gr. ABCHLP &c. ⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. ? Gr. DEHLP &c. ⲛⲏ] ⲛⲓ, A$_{2}$ Γ N. ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] A B^{a} 18: om. L^{g} T^{t} &c. ⲫϯ] ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, O. 17 ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. B 40. vg aeth. ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅] cf. Gr. ℵA

the reading of the *law* and the *prophets* the *rulers of the*
synagogue sent to them, saying, [The] men, our brethren, he
who hath a word of exhortation among you unto the *people*,
say it. 16 But Paulos having risen, and having beckoned
with his hand, said, [The] men, [the] *Israelites*, and they
who fear God among you, hear. 17 God of the *people* of
Israel chose our fathers and he exalted the *people* in the
sojourn in (the) land of Khēmi, and with an exalted arm
he brought them out of it. 18 And he nourished them forty
years time in (the) desert. 19 And having hurled (out) seven
nations in (the) land of Chanaan, hè caused them to *inherit*
their land 20 four hundred years: and after these things he
gave *judges* until Samouēl the *prophet*. 21 And from there
they *asked* for a king: and God gave to them Saoul (the)
son of Kis, a man from (the) *tribe* of Beniamin, forty years.
22 And having removed him, he raised (up) David to them
as king; this concerning whom he witnessed having said:
'I found David (the) son of Iesse, a man according to my

BCD 13. 15. 29. 36. 40. 61. 69. 100. 105. a^{sor} g^{sor} al vix mu cat vg arm aeth. ⲁϥϭⲓⲥⲓ] ⲉϥⲉϭⲓⲥⲓ, T: ⲁϥϭⲓ, B^{a}. ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲓⲕⲓⲁ] -ⲧⲓⲁ, ΓO. 18 ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ] for om. ὡς cf. Gr. DE vg syr^{sch}; for ἐτροφοφόρησεν cf. Gr. AC*E 13. 24** 68. 78*^{mg} 93. 100. 105. 142. l^{sor*} d syr^{sch} et $^{p\,txt}$ arm aeth^{utr} ar^{e} &c. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄] om. ⲛ̄, A$_2$: ⲛ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲙ̄, GO. 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. (exc. B 61). ⲉⲧⲁϥⲣ.] om. ⲉⲧ, FS. ϣⲗⲱⲗ] AK: -ⲟⲗ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲭⲁⲛ.] ⲕⲁⲛ., T. ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩ] ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ 'to cause,' FS. ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBD* 13. 40. 61. om. αὐτοῖς. 20 ⲛ̄(ⲙ̄ⲙ̄, 18)ⲩ ⲛ̄] ⲛ̄ⲩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄, L^{g}; ⲛ̄ omitted by all collated MSS. perhaps because of the following ⲛ̄; position cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 15. 18. 36. 40. 61. 137. cat vg arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲁϥϯ] + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 'to them,' FS, cf. Gr. E 14* syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏⲥ, O. 21 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ, B^{a}. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ] om. ⲛ̄, A$_2$O. ⲕⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. EHLP al omn^{vid}: ⲧⲓⲥ, FS: ⲕⲏⲥ, P. ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. DEHP al pler. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄] ⲛ̄(ⲙ̄ⲙ̄,*)ϩⲙ̄ⲙ̄, G^{o}. 22 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] + ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲫⲁⲓ 'after this,' K. ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] pref. ⲛ̄, FS: ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲇ̅ twice, G. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ℵABD. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ, G^{c} 18. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, FS. ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] ⲁϥϫⲱⲥ, F^{r}S. ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. B*

ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡϫⲣⲟϫ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
ροϛ 24 Ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ϧⲁϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾

ⲔⲄ.

ροζ 25 Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̀ϯⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲉϯⲟⲩⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϭ̅ⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾
ροη 26 Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ.
ροθ 27 Ⲛⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲁⲩ-
ϫⲟⲕⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 28 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ
ρπ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾ † 29 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲁⲩ-
ρπε ϫⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲉ | ⲁⲩϫⲁϥ
ⲛ̀ϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙ̀ϩⲁⲩ ⳾ 30 ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ 31 ⲫⲁⲓ

Ath^{odd}). 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] AB^{a} 18: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓGKN OT: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^{g}FPS. ⲡϫⲣⲟϫ] ⲛⲓϫⲣⲟϫ, B^{a}Γ. ⲁ] ⲙ̀, FS. ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ, K; cf. Gr. ℵABEHLP 61. al fere^{60} vg aeth Ath &c. ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ(ⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, P) ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCEP 15. 18. 40. 61. 69. 100. 105. al sat mu vg syr^{utr} arm Ath &c.: om. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, G. 24 ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ., P. ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] ϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, FS. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] om. K.

heart, this (one) who will do all things which I will.’ 23 And from (the) seed of this (one) God according to a promise brought to Israel a *saviour*, Jesus. 24 Iōannēs having first proclaimed before his entrance a baptism of *repentance* to all the *people* of Israel.

25 But Iōannēs having completed his *course* was saying, ‘Who think ye that I (am)? For I am not (he), but (ⲁ) lo, coming after me (is) he whose shoe of his feet I am not worthy to unloose.’ 26 [The] men, our brethren, [the] sons of (the) *race* of Abraam, and they who fear God among you, [ye] to whom was sent the word of this salvation. 27 For they who dwell in Jerusalem and their *rulers* also of this were ignorant, and also (of) the voices of the *prophets*, these which are read *on* every *sabbath*, having judged (him), having fulfilled them, 28 and having not found any cause of (the) death in him, they *asked* Pilatos to kill him. 29 But having fulfilled all things which were written concerning him, they put him down from the tree (lit. wood), they put him within a sepulchre. 30 But God raised him from them who are dead, 31 he (ⲫⲁⲓ)

ⲱⲙⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄] om. F. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥ̄ⲗ̄] ⲙ̄ⲡ., K: om. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, T^{t}ΓGNT; cf. Gr. (exc. 68. 104). 25 F^{mg} S^{mg} ‘the first Sunday of Tūt.’ ⲇⲉ] om. B^{a}. ⲡⲓⲙ̄] cf. Gr. CDEHLP al pler vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲅⲁⲣ] A: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ϥⲛ., B^{a}FGKS. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ] AB^{a}FK PS: ⲉⲙ̄ⲡ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 26 ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] ϧ. ⲧⲉⲛⲑ., S, cf. Gr. (exc. AD 61): om. B^{a}. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. CEHLP al pler vg syr^{sch} et p^{txt} arm aeth &c. 27 ϧⲉⲛⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABDHLP al plu cat^{221}. ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲏ, FS. ⲉⲁⲩⲭⲟⲕⲟⲩ] L^{g}APS: om. ⲉ, T^{t} &c. 28 ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄] om. K. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] cf. Gr. D vg syr^{p} c.* $aeth^{utr}$. ⲡⲓⲗ.] cf. Gr. (exc. BD). 29 ⲇⲉ] om. NT. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲱⲃ, B^{a} 18 by error. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ] position cf. ? Gr. B syr^{sch}. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓ, FS. ⲁⲩⲭⲁϥ 2°] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FP 18: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓGKNOST, cf. Gr. D* d. ⲛ̄ϧⲟⲩⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFGNT: ⲉϧ., B^{a}ΓKOPS 18. ⲟⲩⲙ̄-(ⲉⲙ̄, ΓGO)ϩⲁⲩ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}$FPS 18: ⲡⲓ., ΓGKNOT. 30 ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ] -ⲛⲟϥ, A_{1}*. 31 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧ] renders the Greek rela- Hunt 18, 26–33

ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ϣⲁ
ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾
ρπα 32 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱϣ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ ⳾ 33 ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ϫⲟⲕϥ
ρπβ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ † Ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⲙ̀ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲓϫⲫⲟⲕ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
ρπγ 34 Ⲟⲧⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
ρπδ Ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ ⳾ 35 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲙⲁ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ.
ρπε 36 Ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲁϥ-
ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲁϥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲭⲁϥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡ-
ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾ 37 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
ρπϛ 38 Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲥⲉϩⲓⲱⲓϣ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϣⲭⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ 39 ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ.

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tive, not οὗτος as cited by Tisch. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (ℵ)AC(D) 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 180. al plus[10] cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{ro} &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲙ̀] om. G. 32 ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. NT. ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ (om. ⲛⲓ, A_1) ⲓⲟϯ] ⲉⲧⲁⲫϯ ⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ (I, S) ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ 'which God promised to the fathers,' FS. 33 ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS 18: ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϣ., L^{g}ΓNOPT, Tisch. cites 'sah αὐτῶν, item Bed^{retra} 141 ex Gr.' ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ,

who manifested himself many days to them who came with
him from [the] Galilea into Jerusalem, these now who
witness to him unto the *people*. 32 And we (pron.) preach
good tidings to you, of the promise which was made to
(lit. in) the fathers, 33 that God fulfilled this to the children,
having raised Jesus; as it is written in the second *psalm*:
'Thou art my son, I begat thee to-day.' 34 But *that* he
raised him from them who are dead, (and) he will no more
return to (the) corruption, He said thus: 'I shall give
to you the holy (things) of David which are sure.' 35 There-
fore again he saith in another place: 'Thou shalt not give
to the holy (one) of thine to see (the) corruption.' 36 For
David *indeed* in his *generation* was serving the counsel
of God, he fell asleep, and he was laid with his fathers,
and he saw (the) corruption: 37 but he whom God raised
saw not (the) corruption. 38 Let the thing *then* be mani-
fested to you, [the] men, our brethren, that through this
(man) is proclaimed to you (the) forgiveness of your sins:
and from all the things in which ye could not be justified in
(the) *law* of Mōysēs, 39 [but] in this (one ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ) all who

FS. ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ . . . ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ] cf. syr^{sch}, aeth, Gr. ELP al pler vg syr^{p}. 34 ⲟⲧⲓ] ⲟⲩⲇⲓ, N: ⲟⲩⲧⲓ, S. ϫⲉ 1°] om. ϫⲉ, FPS. ϥⲛⲁ] L^{g}AFKPS: ⲛ̄ϥⲛⲁ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOT, double negative. ⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ] ⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟϥ, FS. ⲉⲓⲉϯ] + ⲇⲉ, B^{a}: ⲉⲓ, G: ϯⲛⲁϯ, FS. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ (ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, P)] ⲛⲉⲑ., FKS. 35 ⲟⲛ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓFP: om. T^{t}GKNOT: ⲟⲩⲛ, S. ϥϫⲱ] ⲉϥϫ., O: ⲁϥϫ., NT: ⲛⲁϥϫ., FS. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄, P. 36 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the first Sunday of the month Bābah.' ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., F. ⲛⲁϥϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: ⲁϥϣ., T^{t} &c. 38 ⲟⲩⲛ] om. FGKO*. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS; position cf. ? Gr. BCDELP al pler vg &c. ⲥⲉϩⲓ] ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲓ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲱ . . . ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ] om. NT homeot. ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. BC^{3}(D)ELP al omn^{vid} vg^{cle} tol syr^{utr} arm aeth^{ro} &c. ϩⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1.2}$, FS: ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟ, B^{a}ΓGKNO^{c}PT. ⲫ(ⲡ, N)ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ELP al pler &c. 39 ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ] + ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'him,' F, cf. Gr. I. -ⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ] -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ, NT.

ρπζ 40 Ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ. |
41 Ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲧ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲓⲣⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
ρπη 42 Ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲝⲓⲟⲓⲛ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
ρπθ 43 Ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲃⲱⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ Ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⳾

ⲔⲀ.

ρϟ 44 Ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲭⲉ-
ⲇⲟⲛ ⲁ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ. 45 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲟϩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱ

Hunt 18, 40–43

40 ⲟⲩⲛ] om. FS. ⲉϫⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ACEILP al pler vg syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ] AP: ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1}$B^{a}ΓFGKN(ⲛ̄ⲡ̄)OPT (om. ⲛⲓ): ⲡⲓⲡⲣ., A$_{2}$S. 41 ⲁⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲛⲁⲩ, FS. ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲧ] A: ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲕⲧⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGKNOPT: ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲥⲑⲉ, FS. ϫⲉ 2°] om. P. ϯⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ] ϯⲓⲣⲓ, B^{a}; cf. h h^{scr*} om. ἐγώ. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ] ⲛ̀ϩ., FS. ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ] cf. Gr. CEILP al pler cat demid aeth^{utr} &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] AB^{a}FS: ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ, T^{t}GK: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁϩϯ, L^{g}NP: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ, ΓOT. 42 ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABCDEI 13. 61. a^{scr} al^{20} cat vg syr^{sch} et p arm &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁ(om. ΓNT)ⲝⲓⲟⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. B ἠξίουν; for om. τὰ ἔθνη cf. Gr. ℵA(B)CD(E)I al plus^{20} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ] AO (tr. معهم 'with them,' ليس في القبطي بهذا اللام '"this word" is not in the Coptic'): +ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ

believe will be justified. 40 See, *then*, *lest by any means*
that which he said in the *prophets* come upon you: 41 ‘See,
[the] *despisers*, and wonder and turn yourselves, because
I shall (lit. will) do a work in your days, a work which
ye believe not, if one should declare it to you.’ 42 But
coming forth, they were *thinking right* that they should
speak on the next *sabbath* [a]. 43 But the *synagogue* having
been dismissed, many of the *Jews*, and they who were *devout*
among the strangers, walked after Paulos and Barnabas (who
were) persuading them to abide in the grace of God.
44 But on the next *sabbath almost* the whole *city* assembled
to hear the word of God. 45 But the *Jews* having seen the
multitudes, were filled with jealousy, and they were opposing
the things which Paulos was saying, (and) blaspheming.

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[a] Lit. here and below ‘the other sabbath which cometh.’

ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ‘to them these words,’ $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., for *ταῦτα* cf. Gr. ℵABCD EL al plu vg rell &c. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ] ⲛⲉⲙϧ. ⲛⲓ, 18 : ⲛ. ϧ. ⲛⲓ, B^{a}. 43 ⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ, FS. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] A: ϩⲁⲛⲙ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NS) ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉ(ⲏ, Γ)ⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ, G; cf. Gr. (exc. E syr^{utr}): om. O*. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ] om. O*. ⲛⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] AB^{a} 18: + ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ (+ⲛ, T^{t}NT)ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ‘those who were speaking to them,’ $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓFGNOST: + ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ &c. ‘and those &c..’ P: + ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ, K; for *αὐτοῖς* cf. Gr. ℵABCDI 61. al sat mu cat &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$P: ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟϩⲓ ‘to cause them to stay,’ T^{t}ΓGKNOT: om. ϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS. ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ, B^{a} 18. F^{mg} ‘the end (of the lection).’ 44 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ϩⲣ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵACD 13. 61. al sat mu e vg. ⲕⲉ] om. FS. ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBC*DE^{2}ILP 61. al longe plu &c. *ἐρχομένῳ*: om. B^{a}. ⲥϫⲉ(ⲏ, N)ⲇⲟⲛ] -ⲱⲛ, FKST. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] -ⲣⲟⲩ, T. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛⲓⲥ., 18 plural. ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. B*CELP al longe plu vg^{cle} demid syr^{utr} arm &c. 45 ⲛ̄ϫⲉ . . . ⲙⲏϣ] ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, F by error. ϫⲱ] cf. Gr. CDILP al pler cat &c.; for om. *ἀντιλέγοντες* cf. Gr. ℵABCL 5. 7. 8. 13. 15. 18. 27. 33. 34. 36. 61. 65. 68. 69. 73. 100. 105. 180. $al^{3\,scr}$ al pauc cat vg syr^{sch} aeth arm. Hunt 18, 44–47

ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ⳾ 46 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲉⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲡ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾
ρϥα 47 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲭⲁⲕ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ⳾ ϣⲁ ⲁⲩⲣⲏϫϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
48 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲣⲁϣⲓ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ⳾ |
ρϥβ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲑⲏϣ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ
ρπϛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ⳾ *
ρϥγ 49 Ⲛⲁⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ⳾ 50 ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲛϣⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏ-
ⲙⲱⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲑⲱϣ⳾ 51 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲛⲉϩ ⲡϣⲱⲓϣ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ρϥδ ⲉⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ⳾ † 52 Ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉϩ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ⳾

ⲉⲩϫⲉ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, F. 46 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. EILP al pler syr^{utr} &c. ⲛⲉ] om. FS: ⲉⲛⲉ, O. ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲉⲟⲛ] AB^{a}ΓKNST 18: ⲁⲛⲁⲅ-ⲕⲏⲟⲛ, L^{g}T^{t}FGOP. ⲡⲉ] om. G. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵ*BD* 180. cat^{228} syr^{p} &c.: + ⲇⲉ, B^{a}ΓGO 18, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ (ⲛ̄, T^{t}) ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. O*. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] + ⲅⲁⲣ, FS. 47 ⲫⲁⲓ &c.] ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁϥϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ, FS. ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲁⲛ, G. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄, ΓNT. ϫⲉ] pref. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ 'according as it is written,' FS, cf. aeth. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] AB^{a}T 18: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩ., ΓOP: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲛⲓ, N: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, G: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}FKS. ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ϩⲁⲛⲉⲑ., P. ⲉⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a} 18: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩ., L^{g} &c.: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, FS. 48 ⲫϯ] cf.
Hunt 18, 48-52 Gr. BD^{gr}E^{gr} 26. 27. 29. 73. 97. 137. 180. 8^{pe} arm &c. ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ]

46 But Paulos and Barnabas were emboldened[a], they said:
'It was *necessary* to speak to you first the word of God.
Since ye cast it away from you, and ye reckon yourselves
not to be worthy of the eternal life, lo, we shall (lit. will)
turn to the *Gentiles.*
47 For this is as the Lord ordered
us: "I put thee for a light of the *Gentiles,* to be for a
salvation unto the end of the earth."'
48 But the *Gentiles*
having heard, rejoiced, and they were glorifying the word
of God. And all they who were ordained to the eternal
life believed.
49 But they were going about with the
word of the Lord in all the *country.*
50 But the *Jews* were
instigating the *devout* women, and those of *honourable
estate,* and the first (men) of the *city,* and they raised a
persecution against Paulos and Barnabas, and they cast
them away from their boundaries.
51 But they (pron.)
shook off (the) dust of their feet against (lit. upon) them,
they came into Ikonion.
52 But the *disciples* were being
full of joy and the holy *spirit.*

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[a] Lit. 'manifested them.'

ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ, FS. ⲉⲧⲑⲏ(ⲉ, N)ϣ] ⲧⲉⲑⲏϣ, L^g, misprint. ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., FN. 49 ⲇⲉ] $L^gT^tAB^aFP$: om. ΓGK NOST, cf. Gr. 12^{lect} syr^p. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲙ̄, T^tFS: pref. ⲛⲉ, (T^L)ΓG KNO(S)T. ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲫϯ 'God,' G 18*. 50 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲛⲁⲩϣⲟⲛϣⲉⲛ] L^gA; ⲁⲩϣ., FS: -ϣⲟⲃϣⲉⲃ, T^tB^aΓGKNOPT 18. ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ] + ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ (ⲏ, F), FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ] ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲥ., P. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏ(ⲓ, Γ)ⲙⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ELP al pler vg aeth &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] $L^gT^tAB^aFPS$ 18: om. ΓGKN OT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L^gAB^aFPS 18: om. T^tΓGKNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° ... ⲑⲱϣ] om. F. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] om. S. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ.] ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩ., G singular. -ⲑⲱϣ] -ⲟϣ, B^aK 18*. 51 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, F. ⲛϣⲱⲓϣ] ⲛⲓϣ., KS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϭ.(ϣ., N)] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ., K; cf. Gr. DELP al pler syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] $T^tA_{1.2}^{mg}B^aP$ 18: om. L^g &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 1°] om. B^a 18. ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ] L^gAB^aFKPS: ⲉⲓⲕ., T^t: ⲟⲓⲕ., ΓGNOT. 52 om. verse, A_2. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵCDELP 61. al pler syr^p arm &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉϩ] ⲁⲩⲙ., L^gKT*. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, N^c: ⲉ̄ⲑ̄, ΓT: om. N*.

ⲔⲈ.

ρϛε ⲀⲤϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲣⲱ
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩ-
ⲇⲁⲓ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳹ ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ⳹
ρϛϛ 2 Ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ-
ⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑ-
ⲛⲟⲥ⳹ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ. 3 ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳹
ρϛζ Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ⳹ ⲉϥϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ
ρϛη ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ⳹ † 4 Ⲁϥ-
ⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ⳹ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ⳹ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ-
ⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.
5 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲟϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉϣⲟϣⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲉⲧ
ⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳹| 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲗⲩⲕⲁⲟⲛⲓⲁ⳹ ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲡⲉⲣⲓⲭⲱⲣⲟⲥ. 7 ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ
ρϛθ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ⳹ † 8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧ-
ϫⲟⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ⳹ ϧⲉⲛ ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ⳹
ⲛⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϭⲁⲗⲉ⳹ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲛⲉϫⲓ

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1 Fmg 'the second Sunday of Būūnah.' ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ] ⲛⲓⲕ., A_2: ⲛⲓⲓⲕ., Bac: ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ, P: ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ, NT. ⲣⲱ] om. A_2. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ] ABa(ⲛⲉⲥⲥ.): ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ, FS: ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ, LgTt &c. ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ] ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ, LgTt. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϩϯ, FS. ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀] om. F. 2 ⲇⲉ] om. FST. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C 13. 61. al fere 20 cat &c. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] LgTt &c.: -ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ, A. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. 3 ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. E syrsch et p c. ob. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] TtAΓ: -ⲱⲛϩ, Lg &c.

Hunt 18, 2–4

XIV. But it came to pass in Ikonion according to the
same manner that they went into the *synagogue* of the *Jews*,
and spake thus so that a great multitude believed of the
Jews and the Greeks. 2 But the *Jews* who were dis-
obedient arose, and they gave pain to the *souls* of the
Gentiles concerning the brethren. 3 They *indeed then* spent
a great *time* there, speaking openly[a] in (the) name of the
Lord. He (ⲫⲁⲓ) who witnessed for (the) word of his
grace, giving signs and wonders to be done through their
hands. 4 But the multitude of the *city* was divided. Some
indeed were being with the *Jews*, but others were being with
the *apostles*. 5 But the *Gentiles* having run with (ⲛⲉⲙ) the
Jews and (ⲛⲉⲙ) their *rulers* also to insult them and to stone
them, 6 they having seen, fled into the *cities* of Lykaonia,
Lystra, and Terbē, and the *region round about*. 7 They
were preaching good tidings there. 8 And there was a
man impotent in his feet in Lystra; he was sitting, being
lame since he was (ⲉϥ) in (the) womb of his mother; he

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[a] Lit. 'manifesting themselves.'

ϧⲉⲛⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] $L^g AB^a FPS$: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, GKO: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, $T^t Γ$: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, NT. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, T^t. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ*A syr^sch. ⲉϥϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABDEP 4. 21. 133. al plus^60 cat vg syr^utr. 4 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. P. ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲛⲓⲙ., Γ. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] $L^g AB^a P$: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ 2°] $L^g T^t AP$: om. B^a &c. 5 ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉ] Hunt 18, 5–10
ⲛⲓⲕⲉ, P: om. ⲕⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. A_2. ⲉⲥⲉⲧⲱⲛⲓ] ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, FS. ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^t. 6 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲗⲩⲕⲁⲟⲛⲓⲁ] ⲗⲉⲕ., FS: ⲗⲓⲕ., K: -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, GKNOT: -ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ, P. ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ] ⲗⲓⲥ., S: ⲗⲁⲥ., A_2*. ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ] ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲣ., A_2: ⲧⲩⲣ., FS. 7 ⲛⲁⲩϩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^g FPS$. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] om. FS. ⲡⲉ] $L^g T^t AΓFS$: om. B^a &c. 8 F^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ, $F^o S$. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] ⲛ̄, FS. ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu (69. a^scr ὤν) &c. add ὑπάρχων.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ Ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⳾ 10 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲕϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ.
σ 11 Ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϭⲓⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲉⲧⲗⲩⲕⲁⲱⲛ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ
ⲉⲣⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⳾
12 ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲉⲩⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ 13 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥⲭⲏ ϧⲁϫⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾
ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϣⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⳾
14 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲫⲱϧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϭⲟϫⲓ
ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 15 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲡⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲣⲡⲍ ⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲉⲛϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ | ⲉϩⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲉⲫⲗⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲕⲉⲧ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ

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9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] AB^a 18, cf. Gr. E 40. 68. syr^p aeth: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] L^gAB^aFPS 18, cf. Gr. ℵADEHL 13. 61. al $plus^{30}$ cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c.: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, T^tΓGKNOT. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. T^t. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ] $A_{1.2?}$: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ 'having seen,' L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲁϩϯ] pref. ⲟⲩ, B^aO. 10 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' $T^tA_2^{mg}$FS. ⲥⲙⲏ] + ⲛⲁϥ, A_2. ϫⲉ] om. A_2*, cf. Gr. ⲧⲱⲛⲕ] $L^gT^tA_1B^a$ΓGK*NPT 18: + ϯϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ϫⲉ(om. ϫⲉ, O) ϧⲉⲛⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀(om. O) ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϫⲉ (om. ϫⲉ, FOS), A_2FK^{mg}OS, cf. for the addition, with variants, Gr. CDE al $fere^{25}$ cat syr^{sch} et p^{mg} arm. ⲟϩⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS. ⲛⲁϥϭⲓⲫⲉⲓ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ PT 18, cf. ? Gr. HLP al plu syr^{utr} arm &c.: ⲁϥϭ̅., ΓFGKNOS, cf. ? Gr.

walked not ever. 9 And this (man) heard Paulos speaking.
But he (pron.) having gazed at him, and having known
that there was faith in him to be saved, 10 he said in a
great voice: 'Arise, stand upon thy feet.' And he was
springing up, and he was walking. 11 The multitudes
indeed then having seen that which Paulos did, lifted up their
voice in (ⲙ̄) *Lykaonian*, saying: 'The gods became as the
men, they came down unto us.' 12 They were calling *indeed*
Barnabas '[the] Zeus,' but Paulos '[the] Ermēs,' *since* he
(pron.) was *chief* of the word. 13 But the priest of [the]
Zeus, who was being before the *city*, brought calves and
crowns up to the *porches*, he was wishing to slay, with
the multitude. 14 But the *apostles* Barnabas and Paulos
having heard, rent their garments, they ran unto the multi-
tude, crying out, 15 saying: '[The] men, why do ye these
(things)? We also are men, men of passion like you, preach-
ing good tidings to you, to depart from the vanities and

ℵABC(D) 61. al fere^{25} cat vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L^{g}AB^{a}FS: om. T^{t} &c.,
cf. Gr. B*. ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ] A: +ⲡⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 11 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ] Hunt 18, 11–18
T^{t}AB^{a} 18: om. ⲙⲉⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ &c.] ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲓϥ, FS. ⲗⲩⲕⲁⲱⲛ] -ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ, B^{a}. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] om. ⲙ̄,
ΓNT. ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲉⲩⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$N: ⲁϥⲓ, A_{1}. 12 ⲙⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr C^{3}EH
LP al pler syr^{p} &c. ϫⲉ 2°] om. P. ⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥ] -ⲉⲥ, N. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ]
-ⲇⲉ, S. ⲉⲧⲟⲓ] A: ⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩⲙ.] ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲅ.,
O: ⲛ̄ⲏⲅ., B^{a} 18: -ⲅⲟⲙ., ST; cf. ? Gr. C*D 45. 46. c^{scr}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ]
ⲉ, 18*. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲡⲥ., P̈. 13 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler syr^{p} &c.:
om. S. ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ, FS. ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓ(ⲏ, A_{2})ⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*D 15. 18.
33. 34. 36. 40. 61. 69. 105. 113. 180. 12^{lect} a^{scr} cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth.
ⲁϥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲓ, A_{1}*(mg ⲛⲓ نسخة 'a copy'). ⲭⲗⲟⲙ] -ⲱⲙ, ΓNT.
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ] AFS: ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ, L^{g}B^{a}GP: ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓKNOT.
ⲛⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱ(ⲟ, T^{t}N)ⲛ] AB^{a}FPS 18: ⲛⲓⲡ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓGKNOT. ⲡⲉ]
om. FGKS. ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] AB^{a}P 18: ⲛⲓⲙ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓFGKNOST.
14 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, A_{1}. ϣⲁ] L^{g}AB^{a}P 18: ϩⲁ, T^{t}ΓFGK
NOST. ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ, FS. ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS.
15 ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲓ, FS singular. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 1°] +ⲅⲁⲣ, FS. ϩⲓϣⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ] ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ, B^{a} 18. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, G. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ.] AΓO:
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲙ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}FPS 18: om. T^{t}ΓGKNOT.

ⲉⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ⳹ 16 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ⳹ ⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ϩⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲱⲓⲧ⳹ 17 ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲭⲁϥ
ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ⳹ ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ⳹
ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ⳹ ⲉϥⲧⲥⲓⲟ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ⳹
σα 18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲑⲣⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ϩⲉⲣⲓ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϣⲱⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳹
σβ 19 Ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ. ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲩϩⲓ-
ⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ⳹ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ⳹
20 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ⳹ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
σγ ⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ⳹ † Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ⳹ 21 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ϯ-
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲛϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ⳹ 22 ⲉⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ⳹ ⲉⲩϯⲛⲟⲙϯ

ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] L^{g}T^{t}A &c.: -ⲱⲛϧ, NOST. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] T^{t}AFGK: ⲡⲓⲕ., L^{g}B^{a}ΓNOPST 18. ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] ⲛⲓ, S*. 16 ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩ., GK. ⲁϥⲭⲱ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKPS 18: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲭⲱ 'who let,' T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ] om. P. 17 ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}ABC* 13. 61* 12^{lect} a^{scr} &c. ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ, FPS 18. ⲁϥϯ] AFS: ⲉϥϯ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}A B^{a}FS 18, cf. syr^{sch}: ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓGKNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵ*BCDEHLP al fere^{40} cat m^{69} flor syr^{p} arm &c. ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲙⲟⲩϩⲱⲟⲩ, A_2. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ] ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲥⲏⲟⲩ, FS. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵ*BCDE 61. al^{25} m^{69} flor am fu demid tol syr^{p} arm &c. 18 ⲉⲩⲭⲱ . . . ⲁⲩ.] ⲉϥ . . . ⲁϥ., B^{a} 18: ⲉϥ
Hunt 26, 19-22 . . . ⲁⲩ., S. ⲙⲟ(ⲟⲩ, S)ⲩⲓⲥ] cf. ? Gr. D. 19 ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲇⲉ] cf.

to turn to the living God, he who made (the) heaven and
(the) earth and the sea, and all things which are in them:
16 he who was in the *generations* which passed (by); he let
all the *nations* walk in their ways. 17 *And yet* he let not
himself be (ⲉϥⲟⲓ) without witness, doing good things, he
gave to them rains from (the) heaven and fruitbearing times,
satiating your hearts with food and delight.' 18 And saying
these (things) *scarcely* they caused the multitude to be quiet
(so as) not to slay to them. 19 But *Jews* went from (the)
Antiochia and Ikonion, they persuaded the multitudes, they
stoned Paulos, and they dragged him outside of the *city*,
thinking that he died. 20 But as the *disciples* were around
him, having risen, he came into the city. And on the
(lit. his) morrow he came forth with Barnabas into Terbē.
21 But having preached good tidings in that *city*, and having
taught a great multitude, they returned into Lystra and
Ikonion and (the) Antiochia, 22 confirming the *souls* of the

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Gr. ℵABHLP al plu vg syr^sch et p txt aeth &c. ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲧϩ.] A: -ⲑⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩ., P: -ⲑⲉ(ⲏ, ΓNOT)ⲧⲛϩ., Tᵗ &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲑⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛϩ., FSᶜ. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ, FS. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲱⲛⲓ] ABᵃP: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, LᵍTᵗΓGKNOT 26: ⲉϩⲓⲱ(ⲟ, S)ⲛⲓ 'to stone,' FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] LᵍTᵗABᵃP: om. Γ &c. ⲁⲩⲱ(ⲟ, FS)ϣϯ] ⲉⲩ., ΓO. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] pref. ϣⲁ, P. 20 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ] ⲁⲩ., P. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. P 26. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] position cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler vg &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ] ⲁϥⲧ., FS. ⲇⲉ 2°] ABᵃKN: om. LᵍTᵗΓFGOPST 26. ⲁϥⲓ] + ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'with them,' FS. ⲉϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ] ⲛ̄ϯ., A_2: ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, 26. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] LᵍAS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ, BᵃΓNOPT 26: ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ, TᵗK: ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ, 26: ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ, G: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ, F. ⲁϥⲓ] om. FS: ⲁⲩⲓ, A_2. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. FS?. 21 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵᶜBCL 61. al fere omn cat &c. Hunt 18, 21–23
ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. DE 40. 96.: om. K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. G 26. ϯⲥⲃⲱ] +ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. O. ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ] cf. ? Gr. D 93. 113. h^sor &c. om. τὴν. ⲛⲉⲙ ... ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. DHLP al longe plu e &c. ⲓⲕⲟⲛ.] ⲓⲕⲱⲛ., F. 22 ⲉⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ABEHLP al pler cat239 d fu tol &c.: ⲁⲩⲧ., KP 26: ⲉⲧⲧ., FS. ⲉ(ⲁ, 26)ⲩ(+ⲉ, P)ϯⲛⲟⲙϯ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, P.

ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟϩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ ϩⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ
ⲉϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ⳾
σδ 23 Ⲁⲩⲭⲁϫⲓϫ ⲇⲉ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ | ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾

ⲔⲄ.

σε 24 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲓⲥⲓⲇⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϯⲡⲁⲙⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ
25 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲣⲅⲏ⳾
ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲁⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ
σϛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲕϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ † 27 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫϯ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾ 28 ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ⳾
σζ 1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩ-
ⲇⲉⲁ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ. 2 ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ

ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26. ⲉⲣⲟⲛ] +ⲡⲉ, 26. ⲉϣⲉ] ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛϣⲉ, FS. ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧ.] ⲛ̀ϯ., T. 23 ⲇⲉ] $L^{g} T^{t} A B^{a}$ Γ N O T 18: om. FGKPS. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}: ⲉ, B^{a}. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲕⲕ.] ⲕ. ϯⲉⲕⲕ., S by error; position cf.? Gr. EHLP al pler syr^{p} aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. 27. 29. 68. 103. $al^{2 scr}$. ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ] ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩⲭⲁⲧⲉⲛ, A_1: ⲁⲩⲭⲁϧ., F. 24 F^{mg} 'the second Sunday of Babah: it is read on the first Sunday of Ṭūbah.' ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D: ϫⲉ, F. ϯⲡⲁⲙⲫⲩ(ⲓ, GNOT)ⲗⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵBCE 13. 40. 61. 68. 73. 98. 180. cat. 25 ⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. BDHLP al pler aeth &c.: + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ 'of God,' O, cf. Gr. E. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲉⲣⲅⲏ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$BCDEHLP al pler &c.: ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ, GK

disciples, encouraging them to stay in the faith, and that
through much tribulation we must go into the kingdom of
God. 23 But they laid hand upon *presbyters* for them
in every (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *church*; and having prayed in *fastings*,
they committed them to the Lord, whom they believed.
24 But having passed (through) [the] Pisidia, they came
to [the] Pamphylia. 25 And having spoken the word in
Pergē, they came into Attalia; 26 and from there they sailed
to (the) Antiochia, the place in which they were given in
the grace of God for (ⲉ) the work which they completed.
27 But having come, and having assembled the *church*, they
were showing to them concerning all things which God
did with them; and that he opened a door of (the) faith
to the *Gentiles*. 28 But they abode there with the *disciples*
not a little time. XV. And some having come from
[the] Ioudea, were teaching the brethren, that if ye should
not be circumcised according to (the) *custom* of Mōysēs it
is not possible for you to be saved. 2 But no little trouble

(tr. برجه, برجى Bargah, Bargī, also K قبطى دربة 'Coptic Darbah'). ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., B^a. ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAB*CDE al$^{4\ matth}$ 180 cat^{240}: ⲁⲧⲇⲁⲗⲓⲁ, P: ⲁⲧϩⲓⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ ايطاليا Aiṭālyā, O ?, cf. aeth አጣልያ Aṭālyā. 26 ⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲩⲉⲣ., A$_2$. ϯⲟϫⲓⲁ] A: ⲧⲓⲟϫⲓⲁ, L^{g}T^t &c.; cf. Gr. ℵE. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] om. Γ*G*K. ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡϩ., B^a. 27 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑ.] ⲁⲩⲑ., FS. ⲛ̄ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] L^{g}AB^{a}FK PS: ⲉϯ., T^{t}ΓGNOT. ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 15. 18. 33. 34. 40. 61. cat syr^{sch}. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] AB^{a}P: ⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. T homeot. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, F*. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ] position cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵD &c.). ϫⲉ] om. FS. ⲣⲟ] ⲣⲱ, T^t. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., B^a. 28 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler syr^{utr} &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

1 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲣ., P. ⲧⲥⲩⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NT)ⲑⲓⲁ] om. ⲧ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓNT. ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBCEH 61. al sat mu: ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S, cf. Gr. ADLP. 2 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵBC D^{gr}L 4. 15. 18. 26. 33. 34. 36. 61. 69. 73. 100. 105. 180. al$^{3\ scr}$ cat &c. ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ] cf. Gr. E 68. vg: + ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲏⲥⲓⲥ 'and a great questioning,' FS^{mg}, cf. ? Gr. rell.

ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲁⲩ-
ⲑⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ
ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⳹
3 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲫⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳹ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁϣⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. |

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στη 4 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲛⲁϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ-
ⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲫϯ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ.
σθ 5 Ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϩⲉ-
ⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲥϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲩⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϩⲟⲛ-
ϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳹
σι 6 Ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ-
ⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳹
σια 7 Ⲉⲧⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲍⲏⲧⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⳹ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ

ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ] om. F. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ... ⲁⲩⲑⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲡ.] A_1(tr. وقوم منهم 'and certain of them,' mg نسخة و اخرين معهم 'a copy "and others with them"')$_2$Bᵃ: ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ (obs. D[gr] σὺν αὐτοῖς) ⲁⲩⲑⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲡ. ⲛⲉⲙⲃⲁⲣⲛ. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛ ... ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'with them, they ordained Paulos and Barnabas and others from them,' L[g]T[t]Γ GKNOT: ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛ ... ⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ (om. ⲁⲩⲑⲱϣ), P. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ.] cf. Gr. C 180. cat. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. E e. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, T[t]Bᵃ NOST. ⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ] ⲍⲉⲧ., P: ⲍⲏⲇ., S. [3] ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲛⲁⲩⲥ., F. ⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓ(ⲏ, ⲟ)ⲕⲏ] ⲫⲱ., FS. ⲧⲥⲁⲙ.]

having happened to Paulos and Barnabas and others of
them, they ordained Paulos and Barnabas to go unto the
apostles and the *presbyters* who were in Jerusalem to see
concerning this *question*. 3 They (pron.) *indeed then* having
been escorted by the *church*, passed through [the] Phoinikē
and (the) Samaria, speaking concerning (the) return of the
Gentiles: and they were making a great joy with all the
brethren.
4 But having come into Jerusalem, they of the *church*
and the *apostles* and the *presbyters* received them; but
they showed to them all things which God did with
them. 5 But some from (the) *sect* of the *Pharisees* who
believed arose, saying: 'It is right that they should circumcise them, and to order to keep (the) *law* of Mōysēs.' 6 But
the *apostles* and the *presbyters* assembled to see concerning
this word. 7 But a great *questioning* having happened,
Petros stood, he said to them, [The] men, our brethren,

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cf. ? Gr. D H 1. 3. 23. 25. 31. 47. 56. 98. 99. 100. 8^{pe} al$^{4 scr}$ &c. -ⲣⲓⲁ]
cf. Gr. ℵCDEH. ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}NOPT: ⲁⲩⲥ., T^{t}ΓFGKS.
ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ.] ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ., FS. 4 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the third Sunday of Hunt 18,
(month, S) Bābah': K^{mg} 'it is read the third . . .' ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., T^t: 4–12 Hunt 26,
om. NT. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. ? Gr. ℵCDEHLP al pler cat &c. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] 4–9
om. 26. ⲇⲉ 2^c] om. FS 26. ⲉϩⲱⲃ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKOPS 18. 26: ...ⲛⲉⲙ-ⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ, ΓGNT: ⲉⲑⲃⲉϩ., B^a. ⲉⲧⲁⲫϯ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ 'which he,'
FS. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, S*. 5 ⲁⲩⲧ(ⲑ, A$_2$*)ⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AO:
ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t}A$_2^{mg}$ ('another copy') &c. ⲇⲉ] om. 26: ϫⲉ, P.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲫ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲫ., ΓNOT. ⲥϣⲉ] ⲉⲥϣⲉ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲩ-
ⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ] A$_{1.2}$^{c} B^a 18: ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲃ. 'to &c.,' L^{g}T^{t}ΓFKNOPST:
ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩ., G 26. ⲉϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ] om. G (not tr.) K. ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr.
ℵBCEH al plu: ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S, cf. Gr. ADLP al plu. 6 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr.
ℵADEHLP al pler cat syr^{utr} arm &c.: om. NPT 26. ⲡⲁⲓ] F^{c}S^c &c.:
ⲫⲁⲓ, F*S*: ⲛⲓ, T. 7 ⲇⲉ] om. 26. ⲍⲏⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ] AFK: ⲍⲉⲇ.,
S: ⲍⲏⲧ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOT 18. 26: ⲍⲉⲧ., P; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 13. 15. 33.
34. 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 100. 104. 105. al$^{2 scr}$. ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ] AB^a
18: ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ 'rose,' L^{g}T^{t}ΓFGKNOPST 26. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] pref.
ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] +ⲇⲉ, K.

ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ∻ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲓ ∻ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ ∻
8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲏⲧ ⲫϯ ∻ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ∻ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲭⲁ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲓⲃϯ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥ-
ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ∻ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ∻
10 ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ∻
ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲃⲉϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲙⲟϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ-
ⲧⲏⲥ ∻ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ∻ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ. 11 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ∻ ⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ∻ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ∻
σιβ 12 Ⲁϥⲭⲁⲣⲱϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉ̀ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ∻ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ∻

KH.

σιγ 13 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ∻
σιδ 14 Ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ∻
ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ. 15 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲥⲉϯⲙⲁϯ

ϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] for ὑμῖν cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 40. 61. 69. 105. al mu cat^{244} arm^{gb} &c. ⲉ(ⲙ, 26) ⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}GP 18. 26: ⲉⲛⲓⲥ., T^{t}ΓF KNOST. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲩ.] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲩ., B^{a} 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}Γ^{mg} FO^{mg}PS 18: om. 26: ϩⲓⲛⲁ, Γ*GKNO*T. 8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. 26. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥ., T^{t} 26. ϩⲏⲧ] + ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}(F)P(S) 18. 26: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS: ⲉⲁϥϯ, T^{t}ΓGKNOT. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 2°] cf. ? Gr. CEHLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] ⲉⲡⲓ., N. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ]

ye (pron.) know that since the *early* days God chose among you from my mouth to cause the *Gentiles* to hear (the) word of the *Gospel*, and believe. 8 And God, he who knoweth the hearts, witnessed to them, and he gave to them the holy *spirit*, as he gave to us also; 9 and he put not any difference between us and them, having cleansed their hearts in the faith. 10 Now *then* why *tempt* ye God, to place a yoke on (the) shoulders of the *disciples*, this which not our fathers *nor* we (pron.) could bear? 11 But (ⲁ) through the grace of our Lord Jesus we believe that we shall be saved[a], according as the others. 12 But all the multitude was silent, and they were hearing Barnabas and Paulos speaking of all the signs and the wonders which God did among the *Gentiles* through them.

13 But after they were silent, Iakōbos answered, saying, [The] men, our brethren, hear me: 14 Symeōn spake how[b] at (ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ) first God visited, to take a *people* from the *Gentiles* in his name. 15 And with this agree the words of

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[a] Lit. 'to be saved.' [b] Or 'according as.'

LgABaP 18: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ, TtΓFGKNOST 26. ϩⲱⲛ] ABa 18: trs. after ⲛⲁⲛ, LgTt &c.: om. 26. 9 ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., K: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, G. ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲡⲉϥⲛ., O. 10 ϣϫⲉⲙ.] LgAFS: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛϣϫⲉⲙ., TtBaΓGKNOPT 18. ⲛ̄(ⲉⲛ, G)ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ, TtK: ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, BaP 18. 11 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. NP. ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲫϯ 'God,' O (tr. ربنا 'our Lord'). ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A1BaΓPT 18, cf. Gr. ℵABEHLP 61. al plus60 am fu demid tol syrp aethro &c.: + ⲡ̀ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, LgTtA2FGKNOS, cf. Gr. CD 13. 31. al sat mu cat vgcle syrsch arm aethpp &c. ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ, 18mg. Fmg 'the end (of the lection).' 12 ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲁⲩ., TtN: ⲉϥ., FS. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ.] om. ⲛⲓ, O. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ.] LgTtABaFKPS 18: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., ΓGNOT. 13 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛⲓⲥⲛ., FGS. ⲉⲣⲟⲓ] TtABaΓmgFOPS 18: om. LgΓ*GKNT. 14 ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ . . . ϣⲟⲣⲡ] om. N*: ⲥⲓ., O: -ⲉⲟⲛ, Nc: ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ, LgFPST. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲉϥ., S. ϣⲟⲣⲡ] ϣⲱ., ST. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al plus15 cat248 vg syrutr arm &c. 15 ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲁⲓ, N: om. FS.

Hunt 18, 13–18

ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲥ̀ϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
16 Ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲉⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉⲕⲱⲧ
⳾ ⲛ̀ϯⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏ
⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲉⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲟⲥ
⳾ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⳾ 17 ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ Ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
⳾ ⲡⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲏ
⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ Ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ 18 ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
σιε 19 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯϯϩⲁⲡ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⳾ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲁϩϧⲓⲥⲓ ⳾
ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 20 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣⲱⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱϫϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
σις ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ † 21 Ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲓϣ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
σιζ 22 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ-
ρπθ ⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲡ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
ⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⳾
σιη Ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ 23 ⲉⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ

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16 ϫⲉ] $L^gT^tAB^aP$ 18: om. ΓFGKNOST. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. L^gFS. ⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ] ⲥⲕⲏ., G. ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ(ⲉ, ⲧ)ⲥ] om. K. 17 ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] ϩⲱⲡⲟⲥ, S: ⲟⲡⲱⲥ, ΓNOT. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ.] L^gAB^aFKPS 18: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., T^tΓGNOT. ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ] ⲙ̀ⲡ., B^a 18. ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD 61. al plus[12] vg aeth &c. 18 ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, T^tΓNOT)ⲛϩ] T^tAΓGKNOST: ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^gB^aFP 18; cf. Gr. ℵBC 18.27.29.36.61.63.65.69.100.105.133.180. arm[zoh] &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, A_1. 19 ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ (ⲓ, ⲛ)] AG: ⲉⲛⲏ, L^gT^t&c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] (T^t)AB^aGKNOT: pref. ⲉⲫϯ 'to God,' L^gΓFPS. ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] +ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲁⲫϯ 'up to God,' T^t. 20 ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ] ⲓⲇⲟⲗⲱⲛ, S. ϯⲡⲟⲣ.] L^gAB^aFPS: ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲣ., T^tΓGKNOT.

the *prophets*; according as it is written: 16 ‘After these things
I shall return, and I shall build the *tabernacle* of David,
which was fallen; and the things which were overturned
of it I shall build: and I shall (lit. will) set it up: 17 *that*
(the) rest of [the] men may seek for the Lord, and all the
Gentiles upon whom my name was called, saith the Lord,
he who caused these things 18 to be manifest since (the) age.’
19 Therefore I (pron.) give judgement, not to molest them
who will turn from the *Gentiles*; 20 but (ⲁ) to send to
them, to cause them to depart from things slain for *idols*, and
[the] *fornication*, and things strangled, and the dead blood
(plur.). 21 For Mōysēs since the *early generations* hath them
who proclaim him in every (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) *city* in the *synagogues*, being read on (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) every *sabbath*. 22 *Then* it
seemed good to the *apostles* and the *presbyters* with (ⲛⲉⲙ)
the whole *church* to choose men from them, to send them to
(the) Antiochia with (ⲛⲉⲙ) Paulos and Barnabas; Ioudas,
who is called ‘Barsabbas,’ and Silas, *chief* men among the
brethren: 23 having written through them, The *apostles* and
the *presbyters* to the brethren who are in (the) Antiochia

-ⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵE al. ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟ(ⲱ, ⲕ)ϥ] ⲛⲓⲥ., Tᵗ. ⲉⲑⲙ.] ⲉⲧⲙ., ΓN. 21 ⲙⲱⲩ(+ⲓ, ⲛ)ⲥⲏⲥ] ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S, cf. Gr. AEᵍʳ LP al longe plu. ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ] ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ‘the days,’ G (tr. الايام) K (tr. الاجيال ‘the generations’). ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁϥ] -ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ, FNOST. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ . . . ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] om. Bᵃ homeot. ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ] -ⲅⲓ, N.
22 Fᵐᵍ ‘the second (or third) Sunday of Ṭūbah,’ ‘the festival of the (24) elders.’ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ] ⲉϩⲁⲛ, P. -ⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵE, thus verse 23. ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ &c.] ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, 26. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ., TᵗKS 26: ⲇⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ., F. ⲃⲁⲣⲥⲁ(ⲉ, ⲛ)ⲃⲃⲁⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEHLP 61. al plus[12] am &c. ϩⲩⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ] ⲏⲅ., Bᵃ: ϩⲏⲅ., T: -ⲅⲟⲙ., A_2N: -ⲅⲱⲙ., S. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] om. Bᵃ: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, 26. 23 ⲉⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ &c.] ⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ &c., TᵗGKP; cf. Gr. ℵ*AB vg aethʳᵒ. ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧ.] pref. ⲛ̄, Tᵗ. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] LᵍABᵃΓFGKOPS 26, cf. ? Gr. ℵ*ABCD 13. 61. vg armᵘˢᵒ Ath &c.: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ‘and the brethren,’ TᵗNT, cf. Gr. ℵᶜEHLP al pler &c. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ] ABᵃG: ⲉⲧⲭⲏ

Hunt 26, 22–23

ϯⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ ∻ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ∻ ⲭⲉⲣⲉ ∻
σιθ 24 Ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ∻ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩϣⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻
ⲉⲩⲫⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ∻ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ∻ 25 ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲇⲟⲕⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲛ ∻
ⲉⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ∻ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ ∻
ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ∻
σκ 26 Ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅. 27 ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ∻ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ∻
σκα 28 Ⲁⲥⲣⲁⲛⲁϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ϩⲱⲛ ∻ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲁϩⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ ∻ 29 ⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓϣⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ∻
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ [∻] ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱϫϩ ∻
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ∻ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ.
ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ. |
σκβ 30 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ∻ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
ⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ∻ ⲁⲩϯ
ⲛ̄ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ∻ 31 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ∻

ϧⲉⲛ, ΓNOT 26: ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ, L^{g}FKPS. ⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ] ⲕⲓⲗ., T. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ] om. ⲛⲉⲙ, NT. ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ 2°] pref. ⲛ̄, T^{t}ΓG NOT. ⲭⲉⲣⲉ] ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉ, T^{t}GK. 24 ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ A B^{a}GKP: pref. ⲁ (ⲉ, N), ΓFNOST. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. FG. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}AFKS^{c}: ϧⲉⲛ·ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵ* 31* &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ACDEP al fere omn vg syr^{utr} $aeth^{pp}$ &c.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, K, cf. Gr. HL: ⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FS, cf.? Gr. ℵ*B arm $aeth^{ro}$ Ath &c., item a^{scr}*. ⲁⲩϣⲑⲉ (O, FS) ⲣ-ⲧⲉⲣ] -ⲑⲉⲣ, ΓGKNOT. ⲉⲩⲫⲱ (O, P) ⲛϩ] ⲁⲩⲫ., A_2? S. ⲯⲩⲭⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 61. vg $aeth^{ro}$ &c. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$A

and [the] Kylikia and [the] Syria, the brethren who are of[a]
the *Gentiles*, *hail*: 24 *Since* we heard that some from us
having come forth troubled you, perverting your *souls* in
words, these which we said not; 25 it *seemed good then* to us,
having come together[b], to choose men to send them to you
with (ⲛⲉⲙ) our *beloved* Barnabas and Paulos, 26 Men
who gave their *soul* for (the) name of our Lord Jesus Christ.
27 But we sent Ioudas and Silas, they also shall show to you
the same things through (the) word. 28 For it pleased the
holy *spirit* and us also, not to put more *burden* upon you *ex-
cept* these of (ϧⲉⲛ) *necessity*. 29 Keep yourselves from them,
the things slain for *idols*, and the dead blood (plur.), and things
strangled, and [the] *fornications*; keeping yourselves from
these and doing[c] well. Farewell. 30 They (pron.) *indeed
then* having been dismissed, came to (the) Antiochia; and
having assembled the multitude, they gave the *epistle*. 31 But

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[a] Lit. 'the from.' [b] Lit. 'to a place at once.' [c] Or 'that ye may do.'

B[a]ΓFPS: ϩⲁⲛϫⲓⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ, GKNOT. 25 ⲉ(om. B[a])ⲁⲛⲓ] L[g]T[t]
AB[a]FPS: ⲉⲓ 'to come,' ΓGKNOT. ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲟⲥ] -ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲥ, NO.
26 ⲉⲁⲩϯ] ⲁⲩϯ, P. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ] AP, cf. Gr. D &c.: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲯ.
'their souls,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., OT: ⲛ̄ϧ., N. F[mg] 'the end
(of the lection) of the (24) elders.' 27 ⲇⲉ] om. B[a]P 18: ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ, K. Hunt 18, 27–31
ⲣⲱ] ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, FPS* by error. ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ] L[g]AB[a]ΓOP 18: ⲛⲓⲥ., T[t]F
GKNST. 28 ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ; position cf. ? Gr.
ℵAB 13. 33. 34. 61. 73. k[sor] Clem &c. 29 ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟ(ⲱ, FKS*)ϥ]
ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ, T[t]. ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] om. O: ⲉⲧⲙ., NT. ⲛⲓⲱϫϩ]
cf. Gr. ℵ*A*BC 61. 137. Clem Or &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲣ.] T[t]AΓGKNOT:
ϯⲡ., L[g]FPS. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ] L[g]T[t]AB[a]GP 18: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ-
ⲣⲉϩ (om. ⲣⲉϩ, NT) ΓNOT: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉϩ, FKS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ.] ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., B[a]P 18. ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲥ] om. ⲛ̄, Γ*N
OT. ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩ, Γ*O*P. 30 ⲁⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. EHLP al
longe plu syr[utr] &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ, FS: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., KP.
ⲛ̄ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ] pref. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 'to them,' FS: + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, K.
31 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱϣ] +ⲥ 'it,' B[a]KS 18. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. GNT.

32 Ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉϥⲟϣ ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲧⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 33 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩ-
ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ ϣⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⳾
σκγ 35 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ Ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
σκδ ⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⳾ † Ⲉⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩϩⲓϣⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ ⳾

ⲔⲐ.

σκε 36 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄Ⲃⲁⲣ-
ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ-
ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 37 Ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ-
ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ 38 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲝⲓⲟⲓⲛ ϫⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲁⲙⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⳾ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲟⲗϥ ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲱⲟⲩ. 39 ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ

Hunt 18, 32–35

32 ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ] AGNOT: + ⲇⲉ, L[g]T[t]B[a]ΓFKPS 18, cf. Gr. D[gr]P al certe permu e vg syr[p] &c. ϩⲁⲛ . . . ⲛⲉ] L[g]AB[a]FGPS 18: ⲛⲉϩⲁⲛ . . . ⲛⲉ, K: ⲛⲉϩⲁⲛ . . . ϩⲱⲟⲩ, T[t]: ⲉϩⲁⲛ . . . ⲛⲉ, ΓOT: ⲉϩⲁⲛ . . . ϩⲱⲟⲩ, N. ⲁⲩⲑⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲧⲡ] -ⲏⲧ ⲛ̄, S. 33 ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ] ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲓ, F. ϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ] AB[a] 18: ϩ. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, T[t]: ϩ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲓⲥⲛ. ϫⲉ ⲭⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲉ, L[g]FPS: ϩ. ⲉ. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛ. ϫⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲉ, ΓGNOT: ϩ. ⲉ. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ, K. ϣⲁⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCD al[15] cat vg aeth[ro] &c.: ϣⲁⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅, K, for ἀποστ. cf. Gr. EHLP al pler syr[utr] arm &c. 34 om. verse, L[g]AB[a]FGNOPST 18, cf. Gr. ℵA BEHLP 61. al[60] fere am fu demid syr &c.: ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'but Silas wished to remain

having read, they rejoiced for the consolation. 32 Ioudas
and Silas, (who) were *prophets* also, through many a word
consoled the brethren and assured them. 33 But having
spent some (ⲟⲩ) *time* with them, they were dismissed in
[a] *peace* to go unto them who sent them. 35 But Paulos
and Barnabas abode in (the) Antiochia, teaching and preach-
ing good tidings, with many others, of the word of God.

36 But after some days said Paulos to Barnabas: 'Let us
return and visit our brethren in (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) every city, those
in which we proclaimed the word of the Lord, to see (ϫⲉ)
what happened to them.' 37 But Barnabas was wishing to
take away Iōannēs also with them, who is called 'Markos.'
38 But Paulos was *thinking good* that him who separated
from them since (the) Pamphylia, and who came not with
them to the work, they should not (ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ) take with them.
39 But [an] anger arose (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), *so that* they separated from

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in that place,' T^{t}ΓK, cf.? Gr. C D 13. al mu vg^{cle} tol syr^{p} c.* arm aeth^{utr} &c.
35 ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲛⲁⲩϣⲱ(ⲟ, F)ⲡ ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ] + ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ 'there,' FS. ⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ] L^{g}AB^{a}FPS 18: ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ, T^{t}ΓGNOT: ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ, K. ⲫϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFS 18, cf. syr^{soh} arm: ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' GKNOPT. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 36 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Bābah.' Hunt 26, 36–38
ⲇⲉ] om. N S. ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲣⲛ.] position cf.? Gr. DEHLP al pler syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] A, cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu aeth &c.: ⲛⲓⲥⲛ., L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al^{20} vg syr^{utr} arm. ⲛⲏ] om. GO. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲫϯ 'God,' 26. ϫⲉ 2°] pref. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ 'that we may know,' 26. ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟ(ⲱ, ΓNOT)ⲡ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKPS 26: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧϣ., T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, P. 37 ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] cf.? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 61. al^{20} cat &c. ⲕⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. 137. al plus^{20} cat vg syr^{p} arm &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ, T^{t}FGKS 26. 38 ϫⲉϫⲁⲥ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ^{c}FGKOPS 26: om. ϫⲉ, T^{t}Γ*NT. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ] L^{g}AB^{a}P 26: pref. ⲡⲉ, T^{t}: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ, ΓNOT: ⲡⲉⲧ, FGKS. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, T^{t}FS. ⲧⲡⲁⲙⲫ.] AB^{a}FGKS 26: ϯⲡ., L^{g}T^{t}Γ NOT: ⲡ., P. -ⲩⲗⲓⲁ] -ⲓⲗⲓⲁ, FGNT 26. ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ.] om. ⲉⲧⲉ, 26. ⲓ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'forth,' 26. 39 ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABD 33. 34. 40. 61. vg. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}N : -ⲇⲉ, A &c.

ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⁘ Ⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ
ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲙ̀Ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⁘
σκϛ † 40 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̀Ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
σκζ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⁘ † 41 Ⲛⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ
ρϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲉϥ-
ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⁘ 1 ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲛⲁϥⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ Ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⁘ ⲛ̀Ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏ ⁘
ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲡⲉ ⁘ 2 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⁘ 3 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲗϥ ⲁϥ-
ⲥⲟⲩⲃⲏⲧϥ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲡⲉ ⁘ 4 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲇⲉ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲛⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲙⲛⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ
ⲓⲗⲏⲙ̅ ⁘ 5 ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲁϣⲁⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⁘
σκη 6 Ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲭⲱⲣⲁ

ⲇⲉ 2°] A B^aP, cf. Gr. H al pauc &c.: ⲙⲉⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ] -ϩⲱⲓⲧ, S. 40 ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ] L^gΓFGKNOST: ⲉⲁϥⲧ., T^tP: ⲁϥⲧ., AB^a. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ] T^t &c.: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, L^gFPS. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ, A. Ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. CEHLP al pler vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm &c. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, FS. 41 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. L^g. ϧⲉⲛ] T^tAB^aP: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, ΓFGKNOST. ⲧⲥⲩ(ⲓ, S)ⲣⲓⲁ] L^gA B^aFP: ϯ., T^tΓKNOST: ⲧⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ, G. ⲧⲕⲩ(ⲓ, N)ⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ] AB^a: ϯ., $L^g T^t$ &c.; cf. Gr. BD cat^{260} &c. ⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ] ⲁϥⲧ., PN. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

1 ⲉⲧⲕⲉ.] cf.? Gr. AB 6. 7. 13. 18. 31. 36. 40. 68. 137. 180. a^{scr} syr^{ptxt}: om. ⲕⲉ, FS, cf. Gr. ℵCDEHLP al pler vg syr^{sch} et ^{pmg} aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. CDEHLP al pler cat &c. ⲓⲥ] $L^g T^t$AB^aF

one another; but Barnabas took Markos, he sailed to Kypros;
40 but Paulos chose Silas, he came forth, having been delivered
to the grace of God by the brethren. 41 But he was passing
through (the) Syria and (the) Kylikia confirming the *churches*.
XVI. But he came into (the) Terbē also and Lystra: and lo,
a *disciple* was being there, his name being Timotheos, (the)
son of a believing *Jewess*; but his father was a Greek.
2 Concerning this (man) were witnessing the brethren who
were in Lystra and Ikonion. 3 Him (ⲫⲁⲓ) Paul wished to
come forth with him; and having taken him away, he
circumcised him, because of the *Jews* who were in that
place: for they all were knowing that his father was a
Greek. 4 But going round among the *cities* they were delivering to them to keep the decrees which were established
by the *apostles* and the *presbyters* who were in Jerusalem.
5 The *churches indeed then* were going on (lit. coming) being
confirmed in the faith, and they were going on (lit. coming)
multiplying in their number daily. 6 But they passed

GPS: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, Γ^c(ⲟⲩ added) KNOT. ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲏ] A$_{1.2}$^{c}B^{a}F GS^c: ⲛⲁϥ., L^{g}T^{t}P: ⲉϥ., ΓKNOT. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB CDE 61. al fere[25] cat vg syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] + ⲇⲉ, K. 2 ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] pref. ⲉ, K. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ] ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ, FS: ϧ. ⲡⲉ, G. ⲓⲕⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ] ⲓⲕⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ, FGS; cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵE &c.): ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛ., T. 3 ϧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGOPS: ⲙ̄ⲙ, ΓKNT. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, P: om. FS. ϫⲉ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 15. 18. 31. 33. 34. 40. 68. 69. 105. 180. a^{scr} cat &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] L^{g}AKO: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ, T^t: ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ, B^{a}ΓGNPT: ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ 'a light,' FS by error. 4 ⲛⲁⲩϯⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] A$_1$*B^{a}G*: ⲛⲁⲩϯⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}A$_1$^{mg}(ⲛⲟ نسخة 'a copy (has) ⲛⲟ(ⲙⲟⲥ)') tr. يوصّوهم ان يحفظوا الوصايا 'they ordered them to keep the orders' G^o &c.: ⲉⲩϯⲛⲟ., K. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ.] L^{g}AB^{a}FGS: pref. ⲛⲏ, T^{t}ΓKNOPT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ . . . ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ '(which) the apostles (settled),' FGS. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ.] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler &c. ⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler &c. 5 ⲛ̄ⲁϣⲁⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, FS. 6 ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 61. al[20] cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ] AG: ⲫⲣⲩ(ⲩⲣ, FS)ⲕⲓⲁ, T^{t}FKS: ⲫⲣⲩ(ⲩⲣ, N)ⲅⲓⲁ, L^g &c. ϯⲭⲱⲣⲁ] cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler &c.: om. ϯ, O,

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲅⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ 7 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲉ
ⲉϯⲃⲏⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
σκθ 8 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲁⲥ. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩ-
ϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲱⲛ
ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ | ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲛ
ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾
σλ 10 Ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲓ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲫϯ ⲑⲁϩⲙⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
σλα 11 Ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲣⲱⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲛϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲙ ⲉⲥⲁⲙⲟⲑⲣⲁⲕⲏ ⳾ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲛⲉⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲫⲓ-
ⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ϯϩⲟⲩⲓϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲧⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲗⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲛ-
ϣⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾

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cf. ? Gr. ℵABCD 13. 33. 34. 35. 61. &c. ⲅⲁⲗ.] ⲕⲁⲗ., G. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, B^{a}, position cf. ? Gr. 4. al ? vg arm &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ] cf. Gr. D m^{10} vg^{cle} syr^{sch} aeth^{pp} &c.: om. G. 7 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 15. 18. 27. 40. 61. al plus^{20} cat^{264} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth Epiph Did &c. ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ] ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁ 'to the parts,' FGS. ⲉϯ.] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCD al^{30} fere cat Epiph Did Cyr &c. ⲃⲏⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ] AS: ⲃⲏⲑⲁⲛⲓⲁ, F: ⲃⲏⲑⲩⲛⲓⲁ, L^{g}T^{t}GP^{o}: ⲃⲏⲑⲓⲛⲓⲁ, KP*: ⲃⲩⲑⲏⲛⲓⲁ, B^{a}ΓNOT. ⲡⲉ] AB^{a}: om. L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKOPS, cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2}DE 13. 15. 31. 33. 36. 40. 61* 73. 40^{lect} cat vg syr^{utr} arm^{cdd} aeth^{utr} Did Cyr &c.: ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' ΓNT, cf. Gr. C* demid. 8 ⲙⲩⲥⲓⲁ] ⲙⲏ., B^{a}: ⲙⲉ., S: ⲙⲓ., O. 9 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲁⲩ-ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, NT: -ⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B^{a}; position cf. ? Gr. ACD*HLP al pler cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁ(ⲟ, NT)ⲙⲁ] om. ⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t}. ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] cf. Gr. ℵCEHLP 61. al pler &c. ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲱⲛ] -ⲱⲛⲓ, O: -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, FS. ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. D*E 3. 47. 95* 103. aeth,

through [the] Phrikia and the *country* of [the] Galatia, the
holy *spirit* having prevented them from (ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ) speaking
the word of God in [the] Asia. 7 But having come into the
places of [the] Mysia, they were trying to go to [the]
Bēthenia; and the *spirit* of Jesus was not allowing them.
8 But having passed from [the] Mysia, they came into Trōas.
9 And a *vision* was manifested to Paulos in the night; a
man of Makedōn standing, praying him, saying: 'Come to
(the) Makedonia, *help* us.' 10 But *when* we saw the *vision*
we immediately sought for coming to (the) Makedonia, considering that God called us to preach good tidings to them.
11 But having come from Trōas, we went quickly to Samothrakē: but (on) the (lit. his) morrow we came into Neapolis;
12 and from there we came to Philippois, which [it] is the
first (city) of the district of (the) Makedonia, a *colony city*:

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om. τις ἦν. ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃϩ] cf. Gr. DHLP 31. al plu arm &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ] cf. d fu al laohm. ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲕⲁ., P: -ⲇⲱ., FGK. ⲁⲣⲓ . . . 10 ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] om. S homeot. 10 ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ] LgAΓFGNOT: -ⲧⲉ, TtBaK: ϩⲟⲧⲉ, P. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ] A: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, LgTt &c., 3° singular. ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] ⲥⲁⲧⲱ., K. ⲁⲛⲕⲱϯ] ⲛⲁⲛⲕⲱϯ, ΓNPo: ⲛⲁⲩⲕⲱϯ, P*, 3° plural. ⲓ ⲉⲑ.] om. ⲓ ⲉ, FKP: om. ⲉ, Γ; for τήν cf. Gr. DH al·longe plu cat &c. ⲉⲛⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ] ⲁϥϯ, TtG; cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 18. 33. 34. 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 163. 180. asor 1sor cat265 vg &c. 11 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ, P*, 3° plural. ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵADE 13. 31. 33. 34. 40. 61. 68. vg syrpmg &c.: om. K. ⲧⲣⲱ(om. N)ⲁⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 31. 33. 40. 61. 73. 137. 180. csor cat &c. ⲉⲥⲁⲙⲟ.] ⲛ̄ⲥ., TtN. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCELsil 13. 15. 18. 31. 40. 61. 105. al5sor cat syrp. 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE 13. 15. 18. 25. 31. 33. 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 133. 163. 180. ascr cat vg syrsch aeth &c. ϥⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲓⲥ] LgA_1oBaΓFGKoOSoT: ϥⲓ(ⲩ, A_2)ⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ, TtA_1*$_2$K*NPS*. ⲧ(ⲇ, S)ⲉ] LgTtABaFGKPS: ⲡⲉ, ΓNOT. ϯϩⲟⲩⲓϯ] om. ϯ, NT. ϯⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] om. P homeot. ⲑ(ⲧ, T)ⲙⲁⲕ.] cf. Gr. BDHLP al pler &c. -ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲇⲱ., BaFK. ⲕⲟⲗⲱ(ⲟ, G)ⲛⲓⲁ] LgTtA: ⲕⲁⲗ., BaΓFGKNOPST; cf. Gr. ℵAB*CDELP al sat mu &c. ⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲡ] LgABaΓFGNOPST: ⲛⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ, TtK. ⲇ(ⲧ, N)ⲉ] om. K. ⲡⲉ] om. FGPS.

σλβ 13 Ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ⁘
ⲁⲛⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ⁘ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ⁘

σλγ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⁘ 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ ⲗⲩⲇⲓⲁ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛϭⲏϫⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲑⲩⲁⲧⲏⲣⲱⲛ⁘ ⲉⲥⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ⁘
ⲑⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲫϯ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϩⲏⲧ⁘ ⲉϯϩⲑⲏⲥ ⲉⲛⲏ
ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⁘

σλδ 15 Ⲉⲧⲁⲥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲓ⁘ ⲁⲥϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ
ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲡⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⁘ ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲏⲓ. ϣⲱⲡⲓ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲥϭⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ⁘

ⲗ.

σλε 16 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲛⲁ ⲉϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲣϥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ | ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲥϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣ-
ⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥϭⲓⲥⲉⲩ⁘ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥϣⲓⲛⲓ⁘ 17 ⲑⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ⁘ ⲛⲁⲥⲱϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲉ-
ⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧϭⲟⲥⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲓϣ

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13 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D 13. 33. 68. 105. 106. al³ ˢᵒʳ e syrᵖ &c. ⲛⲓ (om. N)-ⲥⲁⲃⲃ.] ⲛⲓⲥ., Tᵗ. ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] TᵗABᵃFGS, cf. Gr. EHLP al pler syrᵖ arm aethʳᵒ &c.: ⲡⲩⲗⲏ, LᵍΓKNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵABCD 13. 40. 61. 69. 105. aˢᵒʳ vg &c. ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ] cf. ? Gr. D 96. 104. 142. lˢᵒʳ &c. ⲉⲛⲁ (ⲉ, A_2) ⲛ-ⲙⲉⲩⲓ &c.] LᵍABᵃΓFGPS: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁ (ⲉ, NT) ⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ, TᵗKNOT; cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 40. 61. aethʳᵒ &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲁⲛⲥ., FGS. 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] + ⲓⲥ 'lo,' K: om. FGS. ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, FGS. ⲧⲉ] ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲑⲩⲁ (om. K) ⲧⲏ-ⲣⲱ (ⲟ, A_2FS) ⲛ] TᵗAFS: -ⲧⲓⲣⲱⲛ, LᵍΓNO: -ⲧⲩⲣⲱⲛ (om. K), BᵃGPT. ⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲏⲥⲑⲉ, NPT. ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] pref. ⲉ, FS: ⲉⲥⲥ., G. ⲁ] ⲉⲧⲁ, Γ: ⲧⲉ ⲁ, FGS: ⲇⲉ ⲁ, O. ⲫϯ] A:

but we were abiding in that *city* some days. 13 But on
the day of the *sabbaths* we came outside of the *city* by the
river, the place (of which) we were thinking that there would
be [a] *prayer* there. And having sat, we were speaking
to the women who came forth. 14 And a woman, her name
being Lydia, being a seller (ⲥⲁ) of purple, of a *city* called
(ϫⲉ) Thyatērōn, *worshipping* God, was hearing. This (one)
God opened her heart, to attend to the things which Paulos
was saying. 15 But having been baptised, and her house,
she besought us, saying: 'If ye reckoned me *faithful* to the
Lord, come into my house, abide.' And she took us by force.
16 But it came to pass (that) as we were going to the
prayer a young maidservant, there being a *spirit* of divination[a] with her, met us, she (ⲑⲁⲓ) who was giving much
profit to her masters, being (a) diviner. 17 She (ⲑⲁⲓ) having
walked after Paulos and us, was crying out, saying: 'These
men are servants of most high[b] God; these who proclaim

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[a] Lit. 'inquirer.' [b] Lit. 'who is exalted.'

ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, $L^g T^t$ &c. ϩⲑⲏⲥ] -ⲉⲥ, S. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛⲛⲏ, N: om. K. ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉ, B^a. ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ 'it,' K. 15 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲓ] + ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'all,' FGOS, cf. Gr. D 43. 69. a[sor] aeth[utr] &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲏ] -ⲧⲟⲥ, P: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲡ., K: ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥ., FS. ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, G. ⲁⲥϭⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ] $L^g A_{1.2}$°? B^aFNOPT: -ⲓⲧⲉⲛ, $T^t A_2$*? ΓGKS. 16 S^{mg} سابع شهر هتور عيد الشهيد مارى جرجس 'the seventh of the month Hatūr, the festival of the martyr Saint George.' ⲉⲛⲛⲁ] ΓNOT: ⲛ̅ⲛⲁϯ, AB^a: ⲉⲛⲛⲁϯ, $L^g T^t$FGKPS. ⲉϯ] L^gΓGNOT: ⲛ̅ϯ, $T^t AB^a$KP: ϯ, FS; cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 18. 40. 61. 68. 103. 105. 163. 180. cat Or &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] AB^aP: ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ] + ⲡⲉ, A_2P. ⲉⲛⲁⲥϯ] $L^g T^t$AFGS: om. ⲉ, B^aΓKNOPT. ⲛ̅ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲣⲅⲁⲥⲓⲁ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣⲅ., B^a. ⲣⲉϥϣⲓⲛⲓ 2°] -ϭⲓⲛⲓ, N. 17 ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲟϣⲓ] $L^g AB^a$ΓFNOST: ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲙ., T^tG: ⲛⲁⲥⲙ., KP. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲛ, T^tK. ⲛⲁⲥⲱϣ] ⲉⲥⲱϣ, K. ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] ⲉⲧϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, FS.

ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ÷ 18 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ÷
Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϯϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ÷ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ ÷
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ÷
σλϛ 19 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉⲥϭ̄ⲓ̄ⲥⲉⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ÷ ⲁⲩⲁ-
ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ÷ ⲁⲩⲱϣϯ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϯⲁⲅⲟⲣⲁ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ÷
20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ÷
ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲥⲉϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ÷ ⲉϩⲁⲛ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ÷ 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲉⲕⲁϩⲥ ÷ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
σλζ ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ÷ † 22 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲩⲫⲱϧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ÷ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲉ-
ⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲃⲱⲧ ÷ 23 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ϣⲁϣ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ
ⲉⲁⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲧϥ ÷ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ.
[σλη] 24 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭ̄ⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ-
ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϭ̄ⲁ̄ⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲉⲡⲓϣⲉ.|
σλη 25 Ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲁϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ÷ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ

ⲡⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBDE^{gr} al sat mu cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} &c. 18 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. F*, cf. Gr. H. ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ, ΓΤ. ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ] om. K. ⲇⲉ 2°] B^{a}FS. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ] ⲁϥⲕ., FS. ⲫⲣⲁⲛ] cf.? Gr. DHLP al pler &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ . . . ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. N homeot. ⲛ̄ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] AB^{a}P: ϧⲉⲛϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 19 ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ] ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ, B^{a}: om. G. ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ] ⲧϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ, G by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGPS: ⲉ. ϧⲉⲛϯ, T^{t}K: ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϯ, Γ: ⲥ. ⲉϯ, NOT. 20 ϩⲁ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: ϣⲁ, T^{t} &c. ϫⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AF GKS: om. B^{a}ΓNOPT. ⲉϩⲁⲛ.] ϫⲉϩⲁⲛ. 'because &c.,' T^{t}G.

to you a way of salvation.' [18] But this she was doing many days. But Paulos, having been grieved, and having turned to the *spirit*, said: 'I order thee in (the) name of Jesus Christ to come out of her.' And he came out in that hour. [19] But her masters, having seen that the *hope* of their profit came out of her, laid hold on Paulos and Silas; they dragged them away to the *marketplace* unto the *rulers*. [20] And having brought them to the *captains*, they said: 'These men trouble our *city* being *Jews*: [21] and they proclaim to us other customs, these which it is not lawful for us to receive *nor* to do, being *Romans*.' [22] And the multitude rose upon them; and the *captains* rent their garments, they *commanded* that they should beat them with (the) staff. [23] Having given to them many stripes, they cast them to the prison, having ordered the jailor[a] to keep them securely. [24] This (man) having received an order of this kind, cast them into the inner prison, and he secured their feet to the wood. [25] But at midnight Paulos and Silas, *praying*, were blessing God: they

[a] Lit. 'the keeper of the place of binding.'

21 ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲕⲁϩⲥ] $L^g T^t B^a$ΓKNOPT: ϩⲁⲛⲕⲁϩⲥ, A_2^{mg} ('another copy'): ϩⲁⲛⲕⲁⲥ (tr. عادات 'customs'), $A_{1,2}$*: ϩⲁⲛⲥⲩ(ⲉⲩ, F^oS)-ⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ, FGS. ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲥϣⲉ] AΓKNT: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥϣⲉ, $L^g T^t B^a$ FGOPS, double negative. ⲉ(over erasure, A_1^c)ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] om. ⲉ, T^tKN. ⲣⲱ(O, S)ⲙⲉⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲉ, T^tFGS. 22 ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ] -ⲅⲟⲥ, NP. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕ.] ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲕ., P. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] $L^g T^t$AB^aFGS: ⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ 'to beat,' ΓNOPT: ⲉϩⲓ 'to beat,' K. ⲡϣⲃⲱⲧ] ⲡⲓϣ., L^gOPS. 23 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ(om. ⲟⲩ, N)ⲙⲏϣ] $L^g T^t$A: om. ⲛ̄, B^a &c. ⲛ̄ϣⲁϣ] A_1: pref. ⲇⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c., cf. Gr. B 40. 61. e. ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ] T^tAB^aGOP: ⲡϣ., L^gΓFKNST. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛϩ] om. FS. 24 ⲫⲁⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS, cf. Gr. D^{gr}. ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁϥⲟⲧ-ⲡⲟⲩ 'he shut them' (tr. القاهما 'he threw them'), G. ⲉⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ] om. T homeot.: ⲉⲡϣ. &c., T^tO. ⲉⲡⲓϣⲉ] ⲉⲡϣⲉ, K: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲉ, G. 25 F^{mg} ابو بقام 'Abū Baḳām.' ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϫ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓ., K. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣ.] L^gAB^aFGPS: ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡ., T^tΓKNOT. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲩⲥ., T^tFGS.

ⲉϥϯ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ⳾
26 ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ⳾ ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲉⲛϯ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛϩ⳾ ⲛ̀ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.
σλθ 27 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲉϩⲥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛϩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϣ-
ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ⳾ ⲁϥⲑⲱⲕⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉϥⲛⲁ-
ϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛϩ⳾
28 ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲧⲉⲛⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳾
σμ 29 Ⲁϥϭ̀ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲁϥϭ̀ⲟϫⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲑⲉⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ⳾ 30 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁϭ̀ⲥⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲁⲓϥ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ.
31 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ⳾ 32 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ. 33 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲟⲕⲙⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣϧⲱⲧ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭ̀ⲓⲱⲙⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ⳾

ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] A: + ⲇⲉ, LgTt &c. ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ] AGK: ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛϩ, LgTt &c. 26 ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ] AKO: +ⲇⲉ, LgTt &c. ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ] -ⲧⲉ, LgTt. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 61. al fere[20] cat syr[p] &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. S homeot. 27 ⲇⲉ] om. Γ. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲛ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛ, F. ⲉϥⲛⲁ] om. ⲉϥ, FS° by error. ϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ] + ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ, FS. ⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ] ⲁϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ, FS°. 28 ⲇⲉ] om. NT. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] position cf.? Gr. B 40. 180. cat[275] vg syr[sch] &c. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] position cf.? Gr. AB d am fu tol. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. ΓKNOT. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] AB[a]ΓKNOT: ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ, LgTtFGPS.

who were bound were hearing them: [26] suddenly happened
a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the place of
binding were moved: but immediately all the doors were
opened; and all the bands of theirs were loosed. [27] But
the jailor having woke, and having seen the doors of the
prison open, drew his sword, being about to kill himself,
thinking that they who were bound fled. [28] But Paulos
cried out in a great voice, saying: 'Do not any evil to
thyself: for we are all here.' [29] But he took a light;
he ran in, and having been in a trembling, cast himself
down at the feet of Paulos and Silas; [30] and having brought
them out, he said to them: 'My masters, what ought I to do
that I may be saved?' [31] But they (pron.) said: 'Believe
the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house.'
[32] And they spake to him the word of the Lord, him and all
his house. [33] And he took them away in that hour of the
night, he washed their wounds; and he was baptised, he and

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29 ⲁϥϭⲓ] ⲁϥϭⲟϫⲓ 'he ran,' K. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] AG*S: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ., L^gT^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, N by error. ⲁϥϭⲟϫⲓ] -ϣⲟϫⲓ, N. ⲥⲑⲉⲣ(om. N)ⲧⲉⲣ] T^tAB^aFGKPS: ϣⲑ., L^g: ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲑ. 'a great trembling,' ΓNOT. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] A: om. L^gT^t &c. ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ] ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ, FGO('a copy')S, cf.? Gr. D* d vg syr^p c. ob. &c. 30 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. P. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} aeth: om. B^aΓK, cf. Gr. (exc. D). ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲙⲡϣⲁ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ., ΓNOT. 31 ⲒⲎⲤ̅] cf. Gr. ℵAB 2. 13. 30. 61. 100. vg &c. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ] om. O. ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ] +ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'all,' FG*?S, cf. Gr. E al^{16} arm aeth. 32 om. verse, FS homeot. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ*B). ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] AGO: om. L^g T^t &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] cf.? Gr. ℵABCD 13. 15. 18. 33. 34. 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 180. cat vg &c. 33 ⲛⲓⲉϫ.] ⲛⲓϫ., A_1. ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣϧⲱⲧ] AB^a: ⲛⲓⲉⲣϧⲟ(ⲱ, NOT)ⲧ &c., L^gT^tΓKNOPT: ⲛⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ 'the wound,' FGS. ⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] A: ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ 'immediately' ⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ, T^t: ⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ, L^gB^a FGPS: ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ, ΓKNOT. ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ] A, obs. Gr. 40: ⲛⲏ ⲉ(ⲡⲉⲧ, B^a)ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all those who were his,' L^gT^t &c.

σμα 34 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁ | ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲁ-
ρϥβ ⲡⲉⲍⲁ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
σμβ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲫϯ ⳾ † 35 Ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲭⲁ ⲛⲓ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
36 Ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲉϥ-
ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛϩ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ
ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲭⲁ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⳾
37 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲡϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲛ ⳾
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 38 ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⳾ 39 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
ⲁⲩϧⲱⲛϫ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲁⲩϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
σμγ ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ † 40 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣ-
ⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲇⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩϯⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾

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34 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. C 13. 15. 18. 33. 36. 40. cat syr^{p}. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵADEHL al pler vg rell. ⲁϥⲭⲁ] + ϧⲁ, FS. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. E vg syr^{sch} arm. ⲛⲁϥⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}KP, cf. Gr. C^{*vid} DP al plus^{40} e syr^{utr} &c.: ⲁϥⲑ., ΓFGNOST, cf. Gr. ℵABC^{2}E^{gr}HL 61. al plu cat vg arm aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] om. O. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. K. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., P. 35? ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ, A_2 by error. ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲩⲥ] -ⲅⲟⲥ, B^{a}NO. ⲣⲁⲃⲇⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ] -ⲧⲟⲩ., FO: -ⲧⲟⲭ., P*: ⲣⲁⲛⲇ., K: ⲣⲁⲛⲧ., S. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] om. G. 36 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡ., T^{t}: ⲉⲛ., ΓN. ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAEHLP 13. 31. 40. 61. al pler cat d vg syr^{utr} &c. ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] ⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ 'command,' FGS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ . . . ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ]

all his house. 34 But having brought them into his house,
he put a *table* before them, and was being glad and all his
house, having believed God. 35 But the day having come
(ϣⲱⲡⲓ), the *captains* sent *lictors*, saying: 'Release those
men.' 36 But the jailor showed to Paulos these words:
'The *captains* sent that ye should be released: now *then*
come forth, go in [a] *peace.*' 37 But Paulos said to them:
'Having beaten us *publicly*, being *Roman* men, (when) also
we are not condemned, they cast us to (the) prison; and
they cast us (pron.) out secretly. Nay, but (ⲁ) let them
come themselves and bring us out.' 38 The *lictors* showed
to the *captains* these words: but they feared, having heard
that they were *Romans.* 39 And having come, they entreated
them, and having brought them out, they besought them
to go out of their *city.* 40 But having come out of the
prison, they went into (the) house of Lydia, and having
seen, they comforted the brethren, and they came forth.

L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS*: ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲁⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ 'after you to let you go,'
ΓKNOT. ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲟⲛ, NPS. 37 ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄] om. ⲛ̄, B^{a}GKP 18. Hunt 18, 37-39
ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲁ] ⲇⲓ., FNST: -ⲱⲥⲓⲁ, FKS. ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ] om. ⲉ, KO.
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄] om. FOS. ⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲉ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲛ]
ⲉⲛ., FKS: ⲉ|ⲙⲛ., 18. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓNOT: -ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ,
B^{a}FGKPS 18. ⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ] A 18: ⲉⲛⲓϣ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ]
om. P. ⲥⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] T^{t}AΓ: pref. ϯⲛⲟⲩ 'now,' L^g &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°]
om. P. 38 ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ . . . ⲣⲟⲩ(om. OP)ⲥ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉ . . . ⲣⲟⲩⲥ, FGS, cf. Gr. ℵE^{gr} syr^{sch} aeth^{utr}. ⲇⲉ 1°]
cf. Gr. ABDHLP al omn^{vid} vg arm &c.: om. T^{t}GK, cf. syr^p. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ.]
ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ., FS. -ⲇⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ] -ⲇⲟⲭⲟⲥ, P. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr.
ℵAB 15. 18. 31. 40. 61. 69. al fere^{10} cat. 39 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ]
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ, FGOS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FGS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲁⲩ., FGS. ⲁⲩϯϩⲟ(ⲱⲟⲩ, NT)] AB^{a}FG 18, cf. ? Gr. E syr^{sch}:
ⲛⲁⲩϯ., L^{g}T^{t}ΓKNOPST. 40 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲉⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲗⲩⲇⲓⲁ]
T^{t}AB^{a}Γ^c: ϣⲁⲗⲩ(ⲁⲩ, N)ⲇⲓⲁ 'unto Lydia,' L^{g}Γ*FGKNOPST.
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ . . . ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 40. 61. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. P*: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B^{a}FGS.

ⲖⲀ.

σμδ Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲙⲫⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲡⲟⲗ-
ⲗⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾
2 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ | ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ϣⲁ ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⳾
3 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥϫⲱ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ϩⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϭⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉϥⲟϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉ-
ⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
σμε ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ϯ 5 Ⲁⲩϫⲟϩ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩ-
ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲟⲣⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲉⲧ
ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⳾
σμϛ 6 Ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲱϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ

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1 F^mg S^mg 'the fourth Sunday of Hatūr': F^mg 'the third Sunday of Būūnah.' ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ] AK: +ⲇⲉ, L^g T^t &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ⲁⲙⲫⲓⲡ.] ⲙ̀ⲫ., T: ⲁⲙⲫⲩⲡ., P. ϯⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗ.] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 32. 40. 61. 68. 105. 180. a^scr cat^274 &c. ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁ.] ⲑⲉⲥⲁ., FKS: ⲑⲁⲥⲁ., T. ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 40. 61. 180. 12^lect cat arm. 2 ϯⲥⲩⲛⲏ(ⲓ, F*)ⲑⲓⲁ] L^g T^t AΓKNOPT: ⲧⲥ., F^c GS: ⲟⲩⲥ., B^a. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙ̀ⲡ., FGS. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] A, cf. Gr. HLP al pler e vg arm aeth &c.: ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ, L^g T^t &c., cf. Gr. rell. ⲛⲓⲅ.] ϯⲅ., FGS. 3 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, T^t G)ⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] T^t AB^a G: ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^g ΓFKNOPST. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FS. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲁϥϫⲱ, ΓNT. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. 4. 16. 23. al^10. ϩⲱϯ(ⲧⲓ, G)] A_1 B^a FGS: +ⲡⲉ, L^g

XVII. Having passed through [the] Amphipolis and [the] Apollōnia, they came to Thessalonikē, the place in which there was a *synagogue* of the *Jews*: ²but according to the *custom* of Paulos, he went in unto them, and he was speaking to them from the *Scriptures* for (ϣⲁ) three *sabbaths*, ³manifesting and putting (it) before them, that Christ must suffer and rise from them who are dead, and that Jesus Christ is this, this whom I (pron.) proclaim to you. ⁴And some indeed (ⲇⲉ) from them believed, and there were numbered with (ⲉ) Paulos and Silas a great multitude of them who worship of the Greeks, women also (ⲇⲉ) of the first (rank) not few. ⁵But the *Jews* were jealous, and they took men, evil, of the *baser sort*, and having assembled a multitude they troubled the *city*, and they came at (the) house of Iassōn seeking for them that they might bring them out to the multitude. ⁶But having not found them, they dragged Iassōn out and other brethren unto the *rulers* of the *city*,

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T^tA_2ΓKNOPT. ϭⲓ] A: ϣⲉⲛ, L^gT^t &c. ⲙ̄ⲕ.] ⲉⲙⲕ., G. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. FS. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙ.] ⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲙ., A_2. ϫⲉ 2°] om. B^a. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵ 38. vg^cle syr^sch arm^codd, item E 32. 177. 180. al^3 scr al pauc cat &c. ⲉϯϩⲓ] ⲁϯϩⲓ, N: ⲁⲓϯϩⲓ, T. ⁴ⲟⲩⲟϩ ... ⲇⲉ 1°] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ..., T^tΓKNOT: ... ⲇⲉ, L^gB^aFGPS. ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. E 13. 38. 40. 106. 137. c^scr e vg. ⲁⲩⲱⲡ] -ⲟⲡ, FS. ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡ., T^tΓ. ⲉϥⲟϣ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABDE 13. 31. 61. al^15 cat vg arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] $A_{1,2}$°B^a, cf. ? Gr. ℵBEH LP al pler syr^utr arm aeth &c.: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲟⲩ., L^gT^t &c., cf. ? Gr. AD 13. 40. 61. vg. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲁⲛ] + ⲛⲉ, FS. ⁵ⲁⲩ(ⲉⲩ, $Γ^r$)ϫⲟϩ ... ϭⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 15. 18. 25. 27. 29. 33. 34. 36. 40. 61. 66. 81. 96. 105. cat vg syr^utr arm aeth^pp. ⲁⲅⲟⲣⲣⲉⲟⲥ] A: ⲁⲅⲟⲣⲉⲟⲥ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲁⲅⲟⲣⲑⲟⲥ, S. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲉⲧ] L^gB^aFG PS: -ⲏⲧ, A: ⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲉⲧ, K: ⲁⲩ (om. ⲁⲩ, O)ⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ, T^tΓN (O)T. ⲁⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ, B^a. ⲉϩⲣⲉ(ⲏ, P)ⲛ] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ, FKS. ⲡⲏⲓ] ⲡⲓⲏⲓ, P. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲛⲟⲩ] $T^tA_{1,2}$°: ⲉ(om. NT)ⲉⲛⲟⲩ 'to bring them,' L^g &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] cf. aeth^pp. ⁶ⲁⲩⲱϣϯ] cf. ? Gr. DE 45. 99. 104. 105. 137. al^2 scr &c. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ.] cf. Gr. E &c.: ⲛⲓ. 'the brethren,' K.

ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ: ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϣⲟⲡ ⲧⲁⲓ:
σμζ [7] ⲉⲁ ⲓⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ ϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ: †Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲉϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲕⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅:
[8] ⲁⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ. [9] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲓⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲥⲱϫⲡ
ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ:
σμη [10] Ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ:
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲉⲣⲟⲓⲁ: ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ: ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁ-
ρϥγ ⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ.| [11] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲩ-
ⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲉ: ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ:
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉⲡ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩⲧϥ
ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ: ⲉⲩϧⲟⲧϧⲉⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ: ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ:
[12] ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ:
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ:
ⲛ̀ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ: ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ:
σμθ [13] Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ:
ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲕⲉⲃⲉⲣⲟⲓⲁ: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ: ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲕⲉⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ:
ⲉⲩⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ:
[14] ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ: ⲁⲩⲥⲱϫⲡ

ⲉⲩⲱϣ] ⲁⲩ., P. [7] ⲛⲓϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] om. K. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ &c.] order cf.? Gr. E. ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ.] om. K. [8] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ.] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ., G. [9] ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲓ] ⲁⲩϭⲓ, K. ⲛⲓⲕⲉ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: Hunt 26, 10–12 ⲛⲕⲉ, ΓNOPT. [10] ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] +ⲙⲉⲛ, K; obs. Gr. (exc. D &c.) *τόν τε* Π. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. P. ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲣϩ] cf. Gr. ℵBD 13. 25. 31. 40. 68. 69. 73. 105. 180. a^{scr} cat Petr &c. [11] ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉ] ⲇⲉ, B^{a}FS: ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲛⲏ, K. ⲛⲉ 2°] ⲛⲏ, A$_{1}$: om. K. ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ(ⲓ, N)]

crying out: 'These are they who troubled the *world*, and
they are present (ϣⲟⲡ) here; 7 whom Iassōn received. And
all these oppose the decrees of (the) king, saying that there
is (ϣⲟ̣ⲡ) another king, Jesus.' 8 But they troubled the
multitude and the *rulers* of the *city* hearing these (things).
9 And having taken what is right from Iassōn and the rest
also, they released them. 10 But the brethren immediately
escorted Paulos and Silas by night into Beroia: but they
(pron.) having come thither, went into the *synagogue* of the
Jews. 11 But these were (more) *noble* than they who were
in Thessalonikē: these having received the word in all
readiness of heart, (were) searching daily in the *Scriptures*
whether these things were thus. 12 Many *indeed then* from
them believed; and some also from the Greeks, women of
honourable state, and men also not a few. 13 But the
Jews of Thessalonikē having known that Paulos proclaimed
in (the) Beroia also the word of God, came to that place
also, moving the multitudes, troubling them. 14 *Then* imme-
diately the brethren escorted Paulos to make him go toward

-ⲕⲏⲥ, G: ⲑⲉⲥⲁ., FKST, cf. Gr. H. ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ] om. 26. ⲁⲛ] ⲁ, 26: ⲛ̄, N: ϩⲁⲣⲁ, FGS. 12 ⲙⲉⲛ] om. Γ*NT. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛ . . . ⲭⲏ(ⲩ, B^a)ⲙⲱⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲕⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲉϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲉ 'and women also from the Greeks, being honourable women,' 26. ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] T^t A B^a G: ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ(ⲏ, S)ⲛ 'also Greeks,' L^g &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩ., P: ⲛⲓϩ., G. ⲁⲛ] + ⲛⲉ, S^c 26. 13 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲑ.] ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ 'who were in,' T^t. ⲑ(ⲧ, Γ)ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ] ⲑⲁⲥⲥⲁⲗ., A_1 B^{a}P*. ϧⲉⲛⲧⲕⲉ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲉ., ΓGNOT. ⲛⲓⲕⲉ.] om. ⲕⲉ, T^{t}FGKS. ⲉⲩⲕⲓⲙ] ⲉⲧⲕⲓⲙ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ] AK: ⲉⲛⲓ., L^{g}T^t &c.; cf. Gr. rell: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., FS: ⲉⲡⲓ., G; cf. Gr. H. ⲉⲩϣ.] ⲁⲩϣ., FS; cf.? Gr. ℵABD 4^{mg} 13. 15. 18. 31. 40. 61. 69. 105. 137. 180. al fere^{15} cat vg syr^{utr} arm. 14 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. A_2*. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] L^g A B^a FS, cf. Gr. D al^{10} aeth &c.: ϣⲁ ⲉϫⲉⲛ 'as far as to,' T^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵA BE 13. 25. 27. 40. 61. 66** 81. 105. vg syr^{sch}. ⲁⲩⲥⲱϫⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵB 3. 25. 61. 69. 105. 133. a^{sor} c^{sor}, item E 31. 33. 68. &c.: ⲁϥⲥⲱϫⲡ, FS.

ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⳹
σν † 15 Ⲏⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲧⲫⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲁⲥ.
σνα Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ̀ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉϭⲓⲛⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲛ̣ⲏⲟⲩ ⳹
ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲓⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ
ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳹

ⲖⲂ.

σνβ 16 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲁⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲉϥⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̅ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳹ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲟϣ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧϣⲁⲙ-
ϣⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ. 17 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁ-
ⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲉⲧⲉϥϣⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲓ
ϩⲓ ϯⲁⲅⲟⲣⲁ ⳹
18 Ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⳹ | ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲏϥ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϫⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⳹
Ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ-
ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⳹ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲁϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲛⲁⲥ-
ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⳹ 19 ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳹ ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲓⲟⲡⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ

ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. DHLP al longe plu vg arm &c.: om. FS. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. H. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ 'he left there Silas &c.,' FS. 15 ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲧⲫⲟ] $T^{t}AB^{a}$: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲫⲉ, L^{g} &c.: ⲁⲩⲧⲫⲉ, FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] $T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS$: om. L^{g}ΓKNOT. ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. . ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲁⲥ] A (18 verse 16): ⲁⲑⲉⲛⲛ., B^{a}: ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲁⲥ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c.: ⲁⲑⲉⲛⲁⲥ, T: ⲑⲏⲛⲁⲥ, K. ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲗⲏ, B^{a}N. ⲉϭⲓⲛⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}OP$: -ⲙⲡϣ., ΓK: ⲉⲛϭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ, NT: ⲉϫⲉⲙⲡϣⲓⲛⲓ, FGS. ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ &c.] T^{t}A: ⲛ̅(ⲉ, ⲕ)ⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ &c., L^{g} &c. ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}P$: ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ, ΓFGKNOST. ⲁⲩϣⲉ] pref.

the sea: but Silas and Timotheos were left there. 15 But
they who escorted Paulos brought him into Athēnnas.

And having received *commandment* to give message to the brethren Silas and Timotheos, that they might come to him quickly, they came forth, they went (away).

16 But Paulos was being in Athēnnas looking out for them.
But his *spirit* was angered within him, seeing the *city*
abounding with idolatry. 17 He was speaking *indeed then*
in the *synagogue* to (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) the *Jews*, and them who *worship*,
and all who assemble daily in the *marketplace*. 18 But
some from the *Epicurean* and the *Stoic philosophers* were
encountering him; and others were saying: 'What wisheth
to say this *babbler*?' But others were saying that he is
a proclaimer of strange *demons*: because he was proclaiming
to them Jesus and his *resurrection*. 19 But they laid hold
of him, they brought him into the Ariopagos, saying: 'It is

ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓNT. 16 F^{mg} احد للجديد اول للخمسين 'the Sunday of the new, the first of Pentecost,' S^{mg} يوم النازول : الاحد للجديد 'the day of the descent: the new Sunday.' ⲛⲁϥϧⲉⲛ] L^{g}AΓKNOPT: ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ, B^{a} 18: ⲛⲁϥϫⲏ ϧⲉⲛ, T^{t}: ⲉϥϫⲏ ϧⲉⲛ, FGS. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ, O. ⲙⲉⲧϣ.] ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϣ., P. 17 ⲟⲩⲛ] om. FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇ.] T^{t}AB^{a} 18: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇ., ΓFGKOPST: ⲛⲉⲙⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, L^{g}N. ⲉⲧⲉϣⲁⲩⲑ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲉⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲑ., ΓNT: ⲉϣⲁⲩⲑ., O. ϩⲓϯ.] ⲉϯ., FGS. ⲁⲅⲟⲣⲁ] -ⲱⲣⲁ, G. 18 ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. ? Gr. E al mu vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c.: + ⲙⲉⲛ, G: ⲙⲉⲛ, S. -ⲣⲓⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB*DE 25. 61. c^{scr} k^{scr} (al^{vid}). ⲛⲓⲥⲧ.] cf. Gr. DHLP al longe plu &c. ⲥⲧⲟⲓϫⲟⲥ] ⲥⲧⲟⲓⲕⲟⲥ, L^{g}ΓNOT; for στοι. cf. Gr. ℵADEHLP^{vid} 2. 13. 25. 27. 30. 35. 68. al cat^{284} &c. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ] A: + ⲟⲛ, B^{a}: ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ] ϫⲱ, O. ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥ.] L^{g}AFKS 18: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϥ., T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOPT. ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ] L^{g}T^{t}AFKS: -ⲙⲁⲗ., B^{a}ΓGNOPT. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. FOPS. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}AEH 1. 13. 31. 61. al plus^{30} vg syr^{sch} &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] T^{t}A: om. L^{g} &c. ⲧⲉϥⲁⲛ.] cf. Gr. 14. 27. 29. 68. 69. 105. 106. a^{scr} syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth^{pp} &c. 19 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. B 13. 15. 18. 61. cat: om. P. ⲁⲣⲓⲟ(om. S)-ⲡⲁⲅⲟⲥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵADE al aliq am fu.

Hunt 18, 16–18

ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ [20] ⲕⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲙⲁϣϫ ⳾
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
συγ [21] Ⲛⲓⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲉⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲱϥⲧ ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⳾
συδ † [22] Ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲓⲟⲡⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓ-
ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓϧ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ. [23] ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲛⲓ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲓϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲥ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯϩⲓⲱⲓϣ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ [24] ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲣⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̀ϫⲓϫ. [25] ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲣϥⲇ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ|ϩⲁⲛϫⲓϫ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϥⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲧϯ

ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙ.] ϣϫⲟⲙⲙ., Lg. ϫⲉⲧⲁⲓ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲓ., FS.
ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ] trs. before ⲧⲁⲓ, O: om. ⲟⲩ, K. [20] ⲕⲓⲛⲓ] A: +ⲅⲁⲣ,
LgTt &c. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥ.] om. ϩⲁⲛ, F*. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. DE syr^utr.
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣ] TtAKNOT: +ⲟⲩⲛ, LgBaΓrFGPS. ⲉⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲙⲓ,
NP*T. [21] ⲁⲑⲏ(ⲉ, FS)ⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ] ABaΓFNOST: ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ,
LgTtGKP. ⲉϩⲗⲓ] ⲉⲉϩⲗⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲡⲉ] om. Ba. ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ,
G; cf. Gr. EHLP 1. 13. 31. 61. al pler cat syr^sch aeth &c. ⲉϩⲱⲃ]
Hunt 18, 22–31 cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 25. &c. [22] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] trs. after ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲡⲁⲅⲟⲥ,
G; for *ἀρίου* cf. Gr. ℵADE. ⲁ(ⲉ, F)ⲑⲏ(ⲓ, N)ⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ] 18 &c., as
verse 21 exc. O. ϫⲉ] om. G. ⲓϧ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ; O*: pref. ⲓⲇⲱ-
ⲗⲟⲛ|ⲛⲉⲙ, T. ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲟ] ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲟ, G: ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, T by error.
[23] ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲛⲓ] LgABaGP: ⲉⲓⲛⲓ, F: ⲉⲓⲥⲓ, S: ⲉⲧⲁⲓ(ⲩ, NT)ⲥⲓⲛⲓ, TtΓ

possible for us to know what this new doctrine is, which thou
speakest. 20 Thou bringest strange words into our ears:
we wish to know what these (things) are.' 21 But all the
Athenians and the strangers who came thither were spending
their time in nothing, except to speak and hear (a) new
thing. 22 But Paulos stood in (the) midst of the Ariopagos,
he said: '[The] men, [the] *Athenians*, by (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) everything
I see [you] that ye are worshippers of demons more (than
others). 23 For passing by, and having seen the things which ye
worship, I found an altar, (and) written upon it, "God whom
we know not." Him *then* whom ye *worship*, (and) ye know
him not, this (one) I (pron.) proclaim to you: 24 God who
made the *world* and all things which are in it, this is the
Lord of (the) heaven and (the) earth. He was not dwelling
in temples formed by hand; 25 *nor* were hands of man wont
to serve him, having no *need* of anything, he (pron.) it is

KNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. ΓFNOST. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ 'I saw,' ΓNOT: ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ 'seeing,' FS. ϣⲏ(ⲉ, ⲕ)ⲟⲩⲓ] ϣⲏⲃⲓ, ΓO. ⲉ(om. ⲕ)ⲥⲥϭⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉϥⲥϭ., L^gFGOS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲥ] ϩⲓϫⲱⲥ, FGS: ⲛ̄ϩ. ϩ., P: om. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, O. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AB^aΓNOPT 18: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, $L^g$$T^t$GK: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., FS. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ.] pref. ⲛ̄, P double negative. ⲉϯϩⲓ.] pref. ⲡⲉ, FGS. 24 ⲫϯ] AB^a 18: ⲫϯ ⲫⲏ, $L^g$$T^t$ΓKNOPT: ⲫϯ ⲇⲉ, G: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ 'but this,' FS. ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉⲛⲓ.] L^gAB^aΓNO^oP 18: ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛⲓ., T^tFGKO*S. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. Γ* by error. ⲡⲉ] om. OP. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 13. 31. 40. 61. 68. 69. 105. 133. 180. 12 leet a sor k sor (vg m) cat syr utr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲉ, $L^g$$T^t$K. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., B^aP 18. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ] $T^t$$A_1$$B^a$K: ⲙⲟⲛⲕ, L^g A_2 &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲓϫ] ϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ 'hand of man,' FS. 25 ⲁⲛ 1°] om. B^a. ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABD 61. al plus[15] cat e vg Clem &c. ἀνθρωπίνων. ⲛ̄ϥⲉⲣ(ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥ, A_1) ⲭⲣⲓⲁ] -ⲉⲣⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲁ, ΓNT. ⲛ̄(ⲉ, ⲕ)ϩⲗⲓ] AB^aP(+ⲁⲛ) 18: trs. before ⲁⲛ 2°, $L^g$$T^t$ΓFGKNOST. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ] + ⲅⲁⲣ, L^gFGPS. ⲡⲉⲧϯ] L^gAB^aΓGP: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧϯ, T^tKNOT: ⲉⲧϯ, FS.

ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲛⲓϥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ 26 ⲉⲁϥ-
ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ
ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⁘
στε Ⲉⲁϥⲑⲱϣ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲑⲏϣ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲑⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⁘ 27 ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ
ⲫϯ ⁘ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲅⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲟⲙϫⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
ϫⲉⲙϥ. ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓ[⁘]ϥⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⁘ 28 ⲁⲛⲱⲛϧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲛⲕⲓⲙ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛϣⲟⲡ ⁘
στς Ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲡⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ. 29 ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⁘ ⲓⲉ
ϩⲁⲧ ⁘ ⲓⲉ ⲱⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲱⲧϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲓⲉ ⲙⲟⲕ-
ⲙⲉⲕ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫϯ ⁘
στζ † 30 Ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲉⲙⲓ ⲁϥϫⲁⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫϯ. ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⁘
ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ 31 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲉⲙⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉ-

ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲛⲓϥⲓ] om. G. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] A$_1$B^a 18, cf. Gr. 13. syr^{sch} ar^e: +ⲛⲉⲙϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'and all things,' L^{g}T^{t}ΓGKNOP, cf. Gr. ℵ* et ^{c}ABDE al plus^{10} cat^{293} vg syr^p aeth^{utr} arm Clem &c.: +ϧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ 'in all places,' A$_2$FS, cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu &c. κατὰ πάντα. 26 ⲉⲁϥⲑ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑ., KP. -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ(ⲟ, N)ϣⲗⲟⲗ] AB^{a}ΓNOT 18: -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ϣ., L^{g}FGKPS: -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲛ̀ϣ., T^t. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ... ϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. A$_2$*. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 14* 27. 29. 40. 61. 96. e^{sor} vg aeth^{pp} Clem. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛⲡϩⲟ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ, ΓNT: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ] cf. ? Gr. D* al vix mu Cosm προτεταγμένους. ⲡⲓⲑⲱϣ] AB^a 18: ⲛⲓⲑ., L^{g}T^t &c. plural. 27 ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABHL 61. al plus^{36} cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ϫⲉ] om. K. ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲅⲉ] L^{g}AB^a 18: ϩ. ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓFKNOPST: ϩⲁⲣⲁ, G. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲟⲙϫⲉⲙ] L^{g}T^{t}ΓFGKNOPST 18: ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ, AB^a by error. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϫⲉⲙϥ] cf. Gr. ℵBEHLP 61. al pler tol syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲕⲉⲧⲟⲓ] cf. Gr. AE Clem. ϥⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}P 18: ⲛ̀ϥ., ΓKNOT double negative: ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ, T^{t}FGS. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ 2°]

who giveth (the) life and (the) breath to all: 26 having made
all nations of [the] men from one, to cause them to dwell
upon (the) face of all (the) earth. Having ordained times
ordained from (the) first, and the ordinance of their dwell-
ing; 27 to cause them to seek for God, that *haply* they will
feel after him and find him, *although* he is not far from each
one of us: 28 for we lived in him and we moved and we
existed. As some also[a] from the *poets* which are among
you said: "For we (are) his *offspring*." 29 We being an
offspring then of God, ought not to cause ourselves to think
of gold, or silver, or stone graven[b] by *art* or imagination
of man that God was like to them. 30 The times *indeed* of
the ignorance God let (pass) away; but now he proclaimeth
to [the] men to cause all to *repent* in all places: 31 accord-

[a] Or 'others.' [b] Lit. 'of sculpture.'

om. ⲛⲓ, L^g. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵA^{corr}*BDEHP al pler vg rell Clem Did &c. 28 ⲁⲛⲱ(ⲟ, B^a)ⲛϧ ⲅⲁⲣ] ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ 'for we,' K*(+ϧ,°)P. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, P. ⲁⲛⲕⲓⲙ . . . ⲁⲛϣⲟⲛ] ⲉⲛ . . . ⲉⲛ., T^tFGS: ⲛ̄ . . . ⲛ̄., N. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ . . . ⲛⲓ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ 'some,' F*S. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] $L^g$$T^tAB^a$$F^{mg}$GP 18: om. ΓF*KNOST. ⲡⲟⲓⲧⲏⲥ] AB^a: ⲡⲟⲏⲧⲏⲥ, 18: ⲡⲟⲓⲏⲧⲏⲥ, L^g T^tΓK^oN(IO)OPT: ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ, F^oS by error. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. B 33. 68. 95. 96. 105. 137). ⲁⲛⲟⲛ] + ⲡⲉ, FGS. ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ] ϫⲉⲛⲟⲥ, N. ⲅⲁⲣ 2°] om. GS. 29 ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ] om. ⲉ, FKS. ⲥϣⲉ] L^gA$B^a$$\Gamma^o$FGS 18: ⲛ̄ⲥϣⲉ, T^tΓ*KOT double negative: ⲛ̄ⲥϣⲉ, omitting ⲁⲛ, N: ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ, P. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲙⲉⲩⲓ] T^tAB^a 18: ⲉⲙⲉⲩⲓ, L^g &c. ⲛⲟⲩⲃ . . . ϩⲁⲧ . . . ⲱⲛⲓ] L^gAB^aFGPS 18: ⲟⲩⲛ . . . ⲟⲩϩ . . . ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ, T^tKO: ⲟⲩⲛ . . . ⲟⲩϩ . . . ⲱⲛⲓ, ΓN(ⲟⲩⲛⲓ)T. ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲧϩ] ⲉⲩⲫⲱⲧϩ, P. ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ] -ⲛⲓ, G: -ⲛⲁ, A_2*. ⲓⲉⲙⲟⲕ.] ⲓⲉⲟⲩⲙⲟⲕ., B^a; for ἤ cf. Gr. D^{gr} Did &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲟⲩ, Γ*T by error. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫϯ] L^g T^t &c. 'God (was like)': ⲉⲫϯ, A. 30 ⲛⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ, A_1 FT by error. ⲙⲉⲛ] ⲙⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ, FGS: ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙⲉⲛ, P. ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ] + ⲛⲁⲛ 'to us,' FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. O. ⲇⲉ] om. ΓNT. ϥϩⲓ] ⲉϥϩⲓ, L^gFKPS. 31 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf.? Gr. ℵABDE al fere[20] Ath Cyr &c. ⲁϥⲥⲉⲙⲛⲉ] ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲉⲙⲛⲉ, B^a: ⲁϥ-

ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲁϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁϣϥ ⳾ ⲉⲁϥϯ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾
σνη 32 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⳾ 33 ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏϯ ⳾
σνθ 34 Ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲓⲟⲡⲁ-
ⲅⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲇⲁⲙⲁ-
ⲣⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲖⲄ.

σξ Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲏⲥ ⲁϥⲓ
ⲉⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ 2 ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲁϥⲓ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯϩⲩⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲏ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ
3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϣ-
ⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ

ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲛ̄, P. ⲉϥⲛⲁϯ] $L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS$ 18: ⲉϯ., ΓKNOT, cf. Gr. D &c. ⲉϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩ(om. NOT)ⲙⲉⲛⲏ(ⲓ, NOS)] + ⲧⲏⲣⲥ, T^{t}ΓKNOT. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ] $L^{g}AB^{a}FGPS$: trs. before ⲉϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩ., T^{t}Γ: om. KNOT. ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥⲩ(ⲓ, S) ⲛⲏ, FGS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, K. 32 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙ.] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲙ. 'from them who are dead,' FGS. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ, G. ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲃⲓ] AB^{a}: ⲛⲁⲩⲥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲣⲟⲕ] + ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ, T^{t}. 33 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] ⲫⲁⲓ., N. ⲟⲛ] om. P. 34 ⲇⲉ] om. ΓNT. ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲏ, FS. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] $T^{t}AB^{a}$: ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ,

ing as he established a day, in which he will judge the *world*
in [a] righteousness through the man whom he ordained;
having given assurance[a] to all, having raised him from them
who are dead.' 32 But having heard 'The *resurrection* of
the dead,' some *indeed* mocked; but others said: 'We shall
hear thee concerning this.' 33 And thus again Paulos came
from their midst. 34 But men who believed joined them-
selves to him; these among whom were being Dionēsios the
Ariopagitēs, and a woman, her name being Damaris, and
others with them.

XVIII. After these (things), having come from Athēnnēs,
he came to Korinthos. 2 He found a *Jew*, his name being
Akyllas, who was a *Pontian* in his *race*, having come
immediately from [the] Hytalia, and Priskylla his wife,
because Klaudios had commanded to cause all the *Jews* to
depart from Rōmē. He came unto them; 3 and he abode
with them, because that he was a fellow *crafts*man of his;

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[a] Lit. '(the) faith.'

L^g &c.: ⲛⲁⲣⲉ, K. ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲏ.] ⲧⲟⲛ., T. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, L^gB^aFPS; for ἦν cf. Gr. 2. 30. 32. 43. 68. 104. 177. al^{2scr}. ⲁⲣⲓⲟ] cf. e am fu al. -ⲡⲁⲅⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. B*D): -ⲅⲏⲧⲏⲥ, B^aN. ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲣⲓⲥ] ⲧⲁⲙ., FS.

1 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Būūnah.' ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 69. 97. a^{scr} vg arm: +ⲇⲉ, O, cf. Gr. EHLP al pler cat syr^p &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] ⲁϥⲓ, FS; cf. Gr. ℵBD 13. vg: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, K, cf. Gr. AEHLP al pler cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲛⲏ(ⲁ, B^a)ⲥ] AB^a: ⲁⲑⲏⲛⲁ(ⲏ, P)ⲥ, L^gT^t &c. ⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ] ⲕⲟⲣⲟⲛⲑⲟⲥ, B^a.
2 ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ] L^gAB^aP: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ., T^tΓKNOT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥ., FGS. ⲣⲁⲛ . . . ⲡⲉϥ] om. N homeot. ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ] T^tAGS, cf. Gr. 31. g^{scr}: ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲁⲥ, L^g &c. ϩⲩⲧ(ⲇ, G*)ⲁⲗⲓⲁ] ϩⲓⲧ., L^gB^aNP. ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ] AB^aFGKS: -ⲕⲓⲗⲗⲁ, L^gT^tΓNOPT. ⲡⲉ 3°] om. FS. ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ] ⲕⲗⲁϥⲇ., NT: -ⲧⲓⲟⲥ, S.
3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣ.] L^gT^tAB^aP: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓFGKNOST; tense cf.? Gr. E^{gr}HL al^{12} syr^p &c. ϫⲉ] + ⲛⲉ, T^tΓFGKNOS. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵ*B &c.

ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲡⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ⳾
σξα ⁴ Ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲃ-
ⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ⳾
σξβ ⁵ Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲥⲓⲗⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲏⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ⳾ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲡⲬ̄Ⲥ̄
ⲡⲉ Ⲓ̄Ⲏ̄Ⲥ̄. ⁶ ⲉⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩ-
ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁϥⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲫⲉ⳾ ϯⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲉϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾
⁷ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲓⲧⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ⳾
ρϥε ⲉϥⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ⳾ | ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲟⲙⲓ
ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ⳾ ⁸ ⲕⲣⲓⲥⲡⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥⲩⲛⲁ-
ⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ⳾
σξγ † ⁹ Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ-
ϩⲟϯ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲭⲁⲣⲱⲕ⳾ ¹⁰ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯϫⲏ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲧⲱⲛϥ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲕ ⲉϯⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁⲕ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ

ⲡⲉ 2°] ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'with them,' FS. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. G. ⲣⲉϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ] -ⲓⲟ ⲉ, G°O. ⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ] ⲥⲕⲏ., Lg ΓFOT. ϧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ (I, G)] cf.? Gr. ℵABELP al fere 20 &c.: ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ, TtN*: om. K. ⁴ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] A: ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ, LgTt &c.: ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ, K. ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ] LgAGPc: ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ, TtΓ NOT: om. ⲡⲉ, B*(K): om. ⲇⲉ, FP*S. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FS. ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲱⲧ] A: ⲛⲁϥⲑ., LgTt &c. ⲡϩⲏⲧ] ⲛⲓϩ., P. ⁵ ⲙⲁⲕⲉ(ⲁ, S*)ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, BaGK. ⲛⲁϥⲙⲏⲛ] -ⲙⲉⲛ, ΓS. ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ 1°] LgABaP: om. ⲇⲉ, TtΓKNOT: om. ⲡⲉ, FGS. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲡⲥ., K; cf. Gr. ℵABDE 13. 40. 73. 137. 142. cscr vg syr sch et p txt aeth utr arc &c. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲙ.] ⲁϥⲉⲣⲙ., P. ⲡⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵA

and they were working, for they were makers of *tents* in
their *craft*. 4 But they were speaking in the *synagogue*
on every *sabbath*, and they were persuading the *Jews* and
the Greeks. 5 But Silas and Timotheos having come from
(the) Makedonia, [but] Paulos was persevering in the word,
witnessing to the *Jews* that Jesus is Christ. 6 But they
opposing him and blaspheming, he shook out his garments;
he said to them: 'Your blood upon your head; I (pron.) am
clean: henceforth I shall go to the *Gentiles*.' 7 And having
removed from there, he came to (the) house of one, his name
being Titos, this (was) a *believer*, *worshipping* God, whose[a]
house was adjoining to the *synagogue*. 8 But Krispos, the
ruler of the synagogue, believed the Lord with his whole house;
and many from the *Korinthians* hearing were believing and
were being baptised. 9 But the Lord said to Paulos through
a *vision* in the night: 'Fear not, but (ⲁ) speak, and hold
not thy peace: 10 because I (pron.) am with thee, and no one
shall rise upon thee to give pain to thee: because I have

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[a] Lit. 'this who his house.'

BD 4** 13. 25. 27. 29. 40. 68. 69. al plus^{20} cat^{301} vg syr$^{sch\ et\ p}$ c.* arm aeth &c. 6 ⲛ (o.e., A_1) ⲉϥϩⲃⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. D 14* 27. 29. 31. al plus^{12} vg^{cle} tol syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ (om. N)] A_1: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲛⲓ.] ϣⲁⲛⲓ., O. 7 ⲁϥⲓ ⲉ.] cf. ? Gr. BD^{2}EHLP al pler cat syr$^{p\ txt}$ &c. ⲧⲓⲧⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵE 7. 15. 36. 81. cat vg arm &c. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ] A: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲓⲟⲩⲧⲟⲥ, S: ⲫⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥ-ⲧⲟⲥ 'he of Ioustos,' L^{g}T^{t} &c.: om. K, cf. Gr. 2. 30.: text confused, N. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ 'and he was a godly man,' G. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ, B^{a}. 8 ⲕⲣⲓⲥ-ⲡⲟⲥ] ⲭ., T^{t}N: ⲕⲣⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ, ΓF: ⲕⲓⲣⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ, S. ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ.] ⲡⲁⲣⲭ., FS: -ⲭⲓ., G. ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ] -ⲓⲟⲥ, L^{g}ΓNOT. ⲡⲉ] om. ΓNT. 9 ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲁⲙⲁ] -ⲣⲟⲙⲁ, NPT: -ⲣⲙⲁ, F*. ϧⲉⲛ-ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT 26: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϫ., T^{t}GK: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉϫ., FS; position cf. Gr. E(H)LP al pler syr^{p} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FOS 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲭⲁ.] -ϧⲁ., S. 10 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., ΓNT: om. FS. ϫⲉ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGPS 26: om. ΓKNOT. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ

Hunt 26 i. ii, 9–11

ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ 11 ⲁϥ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲋ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲉϥϯ-
ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾

ⲗⲇ.

σξδ 12 Ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉϯⲁⲭⲁⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ 13 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
14 Ⲉϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ
ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲱ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ. 15 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ
ϩⲁⲛⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲱϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲣⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⳾
σξε 17 Ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲥⲑⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥⲩⲛⲁ-
ⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲗⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
σξϛ 18 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ

ⲛ̀ⲧ.] ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ, $L^g B^a$P: + ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ, FGS. 11 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 15. 18. 31. 33. 36. 40. 68. 105. a^{scr} c^{scr} cat e vg syr^{utr}: om. P. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲣ., O. 12 ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱ(ⲟ, FS)ⲛ] L^gAFKPS: ⲅⲁⲗⲗⲓⲱ(ⲟ, $T^t B^a$GOT)ⲛ, $T^t B^a$ΓGNOT. ⲇⲉ] om. NT. ⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ] -ⲑⲟⲥ, Γ. ⲉϯⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲭⲁⲓⲁ] ⲛ̀ϯ., P: -ⲭⲓⲁ, A_1K. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] position cf. Gr. B. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ] ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ 'laid hold on,' K^c. ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ] L^gAB^aP: ⲉⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ, T^tΓG KNOT: ⲉϫⲉⲛⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ, FS. 13 ⲫⲁⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. DE HLP al pler cat vg &c. ⲉⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲏⲥⲑⲉ, Γ: ⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ, FGS. 14 ⲉϥⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱ(o.e., A_1: ⲟ, O*)ⲛ] $Γ^{mg}$ &c.: ⲉϥⲟⲩ., K:

a great *people* in this *city*.' 11 But he sat a year and six
months, teaching among them the word of God.

12 But Galiōn being *proconsul* of [the] Achaia, the *Jews*
came together upon Paulos, and they brought him to the
place of the judgement, 13 saying: 'This (man) persuadeth
[the] men to *worship* God contrary (ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ) to the *law*.'

14 But Paulos being about to open his mouth, Galiōn said
to the *Jews*: 'If there were wrongdoing or *wicked* villany[a],
O [the] *Jews*, *well*: I would *bear* with you: 15 but if they
are *questions* concerning a word and names and your *law*
ye shall take care (of it) yourselves; I (pron.) wish not to
be judge of these (things).' 16 And he cast them away from
the *judgement seat*. 17 But they all laid hold on Sōsthenēs,
the *ruler of the synagogue*; they beat him before the *judge-
ment seat*. And it was not being a *care* to Galiōn concern-
ing any of these (things). 18 But Paulos having abode yet
(ⲕⲉ) many days with the brethren, *took leave* of them; he
sailed to (the) Syria, Priskylla being with him and Akyllas;

[a] Lit. 'evil work.'

ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩ., Γ*O*. ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ] as verse 12 exc. T[t] O -ⲗⲓⲱⲛ: +ⲇⲉ, P. ⲉⲛⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 13. 18. 27. 29. 40. 68. 69. 104. 105. 133. 137. al plus[10] cat &c. om. οὖν: om. K: ϫⲉⲛⲉ, FPS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. G. ϭⲓ] A: pref. ⲟⲩ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲛ] -ⲣⲟⲥ, K: -ⲓⲣⲟⲛ, S. ⲁⲛⲉϫⲉⲥⲑⲉ] ⲁⲛⲁϫ., FG[o]PS: ⲉⲛⲁϫ., T. 15 ⲇⲉ] om. FGKS. ϩⲁⲛⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABD[gr 2]E[gr] al fere[15] vg syr[utr] arm &c. ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ 'words,' FGS. ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ] L[g]AB[a]FGOPS: ⲛ̄ϯ., T[t]ΓKNT double negative; cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. vg &c. ⲁⲛ] trs. before ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, G. ⲉⲉⲣⲣⲉϥϯ.] ⲉⲣⲣ., FS: ⲉⲉⲣϯ., Γ*. 16 ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] A: ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'he drove them,' L[g]T[t] &c. 17 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB e[scr*] vg ar[e]. ⲥⲱⲥⲑⲉⲛⲏⲥ] ⲥⲟⲥⲑ., B[a]. ⲡⲓⲁⲣϫ.] ⲡⲁⲣϫ., O. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] ⲁⲩϩⲓ, B[a]. -ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲥⲑⲉ] L[g]T[t]AΓKP: -ⲓⲥⲑⲉ, B[a]FGNOST. ⲁⲛ] L[g]T[t]AGKP: +ⲡⲉ, B[a]ΓFNOST. ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲱⲛ] as verse 14. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] L[g]T[t]AB[a]FGPS: ⲛ̄, ΓKNOT. 18 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ, A[1]. ⲛ̄ⲕⲉ.] ϧⲉⲛⲕⲉ., FS. ⲁⲡⲟⲇⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ] AK: ⲁⲡⲟⲧ., L[g]T[t] &c. ⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ] ⲥⲓⲣⲓⲁ, O. ⲉⲥⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] ⲉϥⲛ., B[a]: ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ, NT. ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕ...ⲉⲁϥ]

ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲁϥϣⲉⲛ ϫⲱϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲛ-
ⲭⲣⲉⲉⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲁϥϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⁘
19 Ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲉϫⲡ ⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘
ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⁘
ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⁘ 20 ⲉⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⁘ 21 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲇⲁ-
ⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲧ ϩⲁⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲉ ⲫϯ ⁘
σξζ Ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘ 22 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁ-
ⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛ̀ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⁘
σξη Ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⁘ 23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ
ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲙⲁ ⁘ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲅⲁⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϯⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲉϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘

ⲖⲈ.

σξθ 24 Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲗⲗⲏⲥ
ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘

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om. S. ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ] AGT: -ⲕⲩⲗⲁ, ΓN: ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲕⲩⲗⲁ, O: ⲡⲣⲩⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ, F: ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲓⲗⲗⲁ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}KP. ⲁ(ⲉ, F)ⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ] -ⲗⲗⲁ, ΓFKNO. ⲉⲁϥϣⲉⲛ] ⲉⲁϥϫⲉϥ, B^{a}. ϧⲉⲛⲕ(ⲅ, ΓO)ⲉⲛⲭⲣⲉⲉⲥ] -ⲟⲥ, T^{t}: -ⲁⲥ, P: -ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲥ, A$_{2}$; position cf. ? Gr. DEH LP al pler syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲡⲉ] om. B^{a}P. 19 ⲁϥⲓ . . . ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] om. B^{a}, obs. syr^{sch} ar^{e}. ⲁϥⲓ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler vg syr^{p} aeth^{ro} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AFGS: om. ΓKNOPT. ⲛⲏ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲡⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, S. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. ? Gr. D 14* 32. k^{scr} vg syr^{sch}. 20 ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] cf. Gr. D^{gr} ^{2}L 31** 66. 98. 177. al^{5scr} arm &c. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. DEHLP al pler syr^{sch} et ^{p} c. ob. &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ.] pref. ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ 'but he indeed,' T^{t}FGS. 21 ⲁϥⲉⲣ . . . ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler syr^{p} &c. ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 14* 15. 36. 69. 105. 180. a^{scr} (vg) arm aeth^{ro}. ϯⲛⲁⲕⲟⲧⲧ] cf.

having shorn his head in Kenchrees: for he was being in
a *vow*. 19 But he came to Ephesos, and he left those
there: but he (pron.) having gone into the *synagogue* was
speaking to the *Jews*. 20 But they praying him that he
should spend a great time with them, he wished not; 21 but
(ⲁ) he *took leave* of them, having said: 'I shall (lit. will)
return to you in the will of God.' But he sailed from
Ephesos. 22 But having come into Kesaria, and having
saluted the *church*, He came into (the) Antiochia. 23 And
having spent [a] time there, he came forth, passing *from*
place (to place) of the *country* of [the] Galatia and [the]
Phrikia, confirming all the *disciples*.

24 But there was a *Jew*, his name being Apellēs, being
a man of Rakoti[a] in his *race*, being a *notable* man, who
came to stay at Ephesos; being powerful in the *Scriptures*.

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[a] Alexandria.

Gr. ℵAB(D)E 13. 20. 36. 40. 103. a^{scr} cat^{309} (vg) arm aeth. ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] AB^aFKPS, cf. Gr. D: + ⲟⲛ, $L^gT^t\Gamma^oGNOT$. ⲫϯ] L^gT^tA B^aFGPS: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the Lord,' ΓKNOT. ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ] pref. ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ 'Priskylla and Akyllas, he left them in Ephesus,' K, obs. Gr. 97. 137. syr^{sch} $et^{p\ mg}$: S^{mg} فى العربى لم يوجد فى القبطى فاما اقلوس و فريسقلا فانه خلفهما فى افسس 'in the Arabic; it is not found in the Coptic, "So as for Aḳlūs and Frīsḳlā, he left them in Ephesus."' ⲇⲉ] om. GP. 22 ⲇⲉ] om. B^a Hunt 18, 22–26
OP 18. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 1°] om. Γ. ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵADE. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 2°] ⲉϧ., $T^t\Gamma$: om. NT. 23 ⲉϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲥ., ΓFS. ϯⲭⲱⲣⲁ] T^t AΓ: ⲧⲕ., L^g &c. ϯⲩ(ⲕ, ⲅ)ⲁⲗ.] ⲧⲩ., FS^o: ⲧⲕ., G. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲫⲣⲓⲕⲓⲁ] AGKS: -ⲡⲓⲩⲓⲁ, $T^t\Gamma NOT$: -ⲣⲩⲩⲓⲁ, L^gP: -ⲣⲩⲕⲓⲁ, F: om. B^a. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 24 ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] ⲓⲟⲩⲇ., $A_2{}^c\Gamma NT$. ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ] om. Γ: om. ⲇⲉ, P: om. ⲡⲉ, FGKNOST. ⲁⲡⲉⲗⲗⲏ(ⲁ, Ⲧ)ⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 15. 180. arm. ⲉⲟⲩ(ⲉⲁϥ, NT)ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲡⲉ, G. ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲙⲟⲥ] A: ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲟⲥ, $B^a\Gamma P$: ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥ, NT: ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲓⲕⲟⲥ, L^gT^tK: ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲗⲟⲅⲓⲟⲥ, FS: ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲗⲟⲅⲓⲙⲟⲥ, GO; A tr. منطيقى 'eloquent.'

ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⳾ 25 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥϧⲏⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ
ⲣϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱ|ⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ 26 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲣⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ
σο ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ † 27 Ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϯⲁⲭⲁⲓⲁ
ⲁⲩϯⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲧ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
σοα ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲟⲡϥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ † Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥⲣⲓ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳾ 28 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲟϩⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ϫⲉ
ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾
σοβ 1 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲗⲗⲏⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛϣⲱⲓ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲓ ⲉⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ-

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25 ⲫⲁⲓ] Lg A Ba P 18: + ⲇⲉ, Tt ΓFGKNOST. ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] Tt A Ba ΓGKNO?PT 18: om. ⲛⲉ, Lg: ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣ., FS. ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲓⲛ] ⲕⲁⲧ., GK. ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., G. ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄] ⲫϯ 'God,' GO. ⲉϥϧⲏ(ⲉ, Ba)ⲙ] Lg A Ba OP 18: ϥϧⲏ(ⲉ, G)ⲙ, FGS: ⲛⲁϥϧⲏ(ⲉ, T)ⲙ, Tt ΓKNT. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABDEL 13. 36. 38. 40. 67** 68. 69. 73. 93. 105. 137. al[3 scr] al pauc cat vg syr[utr] arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] Tt A Ba ΓFS: ⲛ̄ⲓⲱ., Lg &c.: ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲱ̄ⲁ̄, PT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ] Lg AFS: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲧϥ, Ba: trs. before ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, Tt (Ba) ΓGKNOPT 18. 26 ⲇⲉ] cf. syr[p] aeth[ro]. ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ] Lg Tt A Ba KOP: ⲛⲉⲁϥ., ΓF*GS: ⲛⲁϥ., NT. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, O. ϯⲥⲩⲛ.] Lg Tt A Ba ΓK?OT 18: ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛ., FGPS: ⲥⲩⲛ., N. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥ., FGS. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] A: pref. ⲇⲉ, Lg Tt &c. ⲡⲣⲓ(ⲩ, FS 18)ⲥⲕⲩ(ⲓ, Lg Tt O)ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ] position cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. vg aeth. ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲗⲁ] $A_{1.2}$c ΓFKN

25 This (man) had been *instructed* in (ϵ) the way of the
Lord; and being fervent in the *spirit*, he was speaking and
he was teaching in [an] accuracy concerning Jesus, only the
baptism of Iōannēs being (that) which he knoweth.
26 But
this (man) began to speak boldly[a] in the *synagogue*. Pris-
kylla and Akylla having heard him, received him, and they
showed to him in [an] accuracy the way of God.
27 But
he wishing to come forth to [the] Achaia, the brethren
incited him, they wrote to the *disciples* that they should
receive him. But this (man) having come, was very profit-
able to them who believed through the grace.
28 He was
confuting the *Jews* in [an] assurance, manifestly showing to
them from the *Scriptures* that Jesus is Christ.

XIX. But it came to pass, Apellēs being in Korinthos,
[but] that Paulos having passed by the places which were
above, came[b] to Ephesos, and having found *disciples*,

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[a] Lit. 'manifest him.' [b] Obs. attempt to render the construction of the accusative with the infinitive.

ST: ⲁⲕⲩⲗⲁ, OP: -ⲩⲗⲁⲥ, L^g: -ⲩⲗⲗⲁⲥ, T^tG 18. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGS. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ] ⲉⲁⲩ., F: ⲉⲁϥ., S: ⲁϥ., NT. ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] AB^aO 18: ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲡⲓ. 'concerning &c.,' L^gT^t &c. ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 31. 40. 42. 57. 68. 73. 97. 137. 180. 12^{lect} c^{sor} k^{sor} am fu tol syr^p arm &c. 27 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩ., FGS. ⲁⲩϯ] om. ϯ, K. ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲧ] -ⲟⲩⲱⲧ, FGT: -ⲟⲩⲧ, S. ⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ] ⲉⲁⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ, G. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ] pref. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ 'the brethren and,' G. ϫⲉ] om. G. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩ.] om. ⲟⲩ, FS. 28 ⲛⲁϥⲥⲟϩⲓ] A: + ⲇⲉ, FGS: + ⲅⲁⲣ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A_1: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^gT^t &c.; ⲟⲩ fallen out before ⲟⲩ. ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ] ⲉⲁϥ., O^c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. G. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] L^gAΓFGS: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, T^tB^aKNOPT.

1 ⲕⲟⲣⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ] $L^gT^tA_{1.2}$ ('another copy') &c.: ⲕⲟⲣⲓⲥⲑⲟⲥ, A_2*. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. B^a. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲛ] L^gT^t &c.: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲉⲙ, A_1B^a: ⲁϥⲙⲉϣⲧ, FGS. ⲛⲓⲙⲁ] ⲛⲓⲥⲁ, FGS. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲓ] cf. Gr. BHL al longe plu vg rell &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ] A: ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ, L^gT^t &c.; cf.? Gr. DEHLP al pler &c.

ⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ 2 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϭ̅ⲓ̅
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ⳹ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ⳹
Ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲣⲱ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϣⲟⲡ⳹
3 ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲥ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩ⳹
ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ⳹
4 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥ-
ϯⲱⲙⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲉⲑ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉ⳹ 5 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅⳹
6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲁϫⲓϫ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲁϥⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ | ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ⳹
σογ Ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲗⲁⲥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ-
ⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ⳹ 7 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅
σοδ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳹ † 8 Ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲛⲁ-
ⲅⲱⲅⲏ⳹ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲅ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲟⲧ⳹
ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ⳹ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
σοε ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅⳹ † 9 Ⲉⲧⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲣⲛⲁϣⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ⳹ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ⳹

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2 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^gAB^aFPS, cf. Gr. DEHLP al pler cat syr^p arm &c.: +ⲇⲉ, T^tΓGKNOT, cf. Gr. 105. ⲁⲛ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ.] ⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲧ., B^a: ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧ., P: ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲣⲉⲧ., FGS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅, B^aP. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] AK: +ⲛⲁϥ, $L^g T^t$ &c.; cf. Gr. HL(P) al pler vg^{cle} demid syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] T^tAFKPS*T: om. ⲟⲩ, $L^g B^a$ΓGNOS^c. 3 ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAE 13. 33. 34. 73. 12^{lect} k^{scr} vg. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^gAFS, cf. Gr. ℵABDE al $fere^{20}$ cat vg arm syr^p: + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, $T^t B^a$ΓGKNOPT, cf. Gr. HLP al pler syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ] +ⲟⲩⲛ, B^aΓNOT. ⲉⲟⲩ] ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩ, FS. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. T. ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲉ, FS by error: +ⲛⲁϥ, T^t. ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] AFKS: ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, $L^g T^t B^a$GP: ⲉⲡⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄, Γ: ⲡⲱⲙⲥ ⲛ̄, NOT. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, A_2: +ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛϭⲓⲧϥ, O. 4 ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, T. ⲙⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler syr^p aeth &c. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙⲥ 'in a bap-

[2]he said to them: 'Did ye receive the holy *spirit*, having
believed?' But they (pron.) said: 'But (ⲁ) *neither* heard
we even (ⲣⲱ) that there is (ϣⲟⲡ) a holy *spirit*.' [3]But he
(pron.) said: 'Unto what did they baptise you?' But they
(pron.) said: 'The baptism of Iōannēs.' [4]But Paulos said:
'Iōannēs *indeed* gave baptism in a water of *repentance* to
the *people*, saying that (ϩⲓⲛⲁ) they should believe him who
was coming after him, that is to say, Jesus.' [5]But having
heard, they were baptised unto (the) name of the Lord Jesus.
[6]And Paulos having laid hand on them, the holy *spirit*
came upon them. But they were speaking in (the) tongue,
and they were *prophesying*. [7]But they (pron.) all were
being (ⲉⲣ) twelve men. [8]But having gone into the *syna-
gogue* he was speaking boldly[a] three months, speaking and
persuading them concerning the kingdom of God. [9]But
some having become hardhearted, being disobedient, speak-

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[a] Lit. 'manifesting.'

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tism,' FKS. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] A: pref. ϫⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] $L^g A B^a$ FGPS: ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛ., T^tΓNOT: ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛ., K. ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲁ, S)] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, NPT. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 25. 40. vg syr^p $aeth^{ro}$ &c.
[5] ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] A_2^{mg} ('another copy') &c.: ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, A_2*?: ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, A_2^c; obs. Gr. (D) 64. 137. syr^{sch} ar^e $aeth^{pp}$ &c. add χριστοῦ.
[6] ϫⲓϫ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB(D)HP 1. 31. 47. 65. 100. 101. 126. al^{2scr} al pauc &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., K. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, A_2P. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D^{gr} 25. o^{scr} e: + ⲡⲉ, B^a. ⲫⲗⲁⲥ] $L^g A B^a$ΓNO (Π)PT: ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ 'tongues,' T^tFGKS. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ] -ⲧⲉⲃⲓⲛ, S. [7] ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ, L^gP: om. T. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ] AB^aΓKNOP: ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲙ̄., $L^g T^t$T by error: ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̄., FS: ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̄., G. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, FGS. [8] ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ] $L^g T^t A$ B^aFGPS: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ 'having come,' ΓKNOT. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] cf. Gr. BD 12^{lect} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth.
[9] ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲛ, A_1. ⲛⲁϣⲧϩⲏⲧ] ⲛⲁϣⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ, A_2. ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲡ|ⲙⲱⲓⲧ, B^a; cf. Gr. (exc. E (5. 8. 73) vg^{cle} &c.). ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄] ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ, FGS. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ, P plural.

ⲁϥⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ-
ⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
σος Ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲭⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲩⲣⲁⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 10 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲃ̅ϯ ⳾
ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾
ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⳾

ⲖⲄ.

σοζ 11 Ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 12 ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ
ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϭⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲇⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲓⲙⲓⲕⲓⲛ-
ⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϫⲁⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓϣⲱⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ ⳾
σοη 13 Ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓ-
ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲉⲝⲟⲣⲕⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲉϫⲉ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ
ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ
ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
σοθ 14 Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲁ
ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲓ. |

ⲁϥⲫⲱⲧ] ⲉϥⲫ., Bᵃ: ⲉⲁϥⲫ., Γ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] LᵍABᵃKP: ⲥⲁ-ⲃⲟⲗ, TᵗΓFGNOST. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] +ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, G. ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ &c.] ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛϯⲥⲭⲟⲗⲏ &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲛⲓ, FGS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲩ(ϯ, BᵃFS: ⲧⲓ, Gᶜ)ⲣⲁⲛⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 27. 29. 81. fu tol syr^{sch}. 10 ⲛⲁϥⲣⲁ] ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, FS. ⲃ̅ϯ] AFKOPS: ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ, LᵍTᵗBᵃΓ GNT. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] LᵍTᵗP: -ⲇⲉ, A &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, K.
Hunt 181. ii. 26, 11-13 ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABDE al plus[15] cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth. 11 F^{mg} 'the fourth Sunday of Abīb.' ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D^{gr*} 38. 106. a^{scr} h^{scr} syr^{p} &c. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲫϯ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ, A; position cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler vg^{cle} syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲁⲛ] +ⲛⲉ, K 26. 12 ϩⲱⲥⲇⲉ] A &c.: -ⲧⲉ, LᵍTᵗ.

ing evil of (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ) the way before the multitude, he fled from them, having separated the *disciples*, Speaking daily in the *school* of Tyrannos. 10 But this he was doing two years; *so that* all who dwelt in [the] Asia heard the word of the Lord, the *Jews* and the Greeks.

11 But God was doing mighty works[a] not few through (the) hands of Paulos: 12 *so that* they took *handkerchiefs* and *aprons* from his *body* and laid them upon those who were sick, and the sicknesses were wont to go from them, and the evil *spirits* were coming out. 13 But some from the *Jews* who went about as (ⲛ̄) *exorcists* took in hand to say (the) name of the Lord Jesus over them who (had) the evil *spirits* upon them, saying: 'I adjure you by (ⲛ̄) Jesus, whom Paulos proclaimeth.' 14 But there were seven sons of one 'Skeva,' being a *Jew*, *chief priest*, doing this.

[a] Lit. 'powers.'

ⲥⲓⲙⲓⲕⲩⲛⲑ.] ⲥⲩⲙ., K 26: -ⲕⲏⲛ., G: -ⲕⲓⲛ., T. ϩⲓ] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, T^{t}B^{a}OP. ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩϣⲉ] A: om. ⲛⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ] ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, K 26. ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉⲩϩ., G. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 3°] cf. Gr. ℵABDE al plus[15] cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth: + ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ 'from them,' 26, cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c. 13 ⲇⲉ] om. GPS: + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, FS. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. DL al plu &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. (D)HLP al plu syr^{p} arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲝⲟⲣⲩ.] ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲣⲝ., G: -ⲱⲩⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ, P. ⲉϫⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ] L^{g}B^{a}ΓKPT: ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ, N: ⲉϫⲉⲛⲫⲣⲁⲛ, T^{t}A: ⲉϫⲉⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲁⲛ, O 26: ⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲁⲛ, G: ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲁⲛ, FS. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 1°] om. G. ⲉϫⲉⲛ . . . ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] om. A$_{2}$. ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ, A$_{1}$ by error: ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ, 26. ϯⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 13. 25. 33. 35. 40. 73. 105. vg arm: ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟ, K, cf. Gr. HLP al pler cat syr^{utr} arm^{cdd} aeth &c. ⲛ̄(om. F)ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ 2°] T^{t}AB^{a}FGS 18. 26: ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅, L^{g}ΓKNOPT, cf. Gr. ℵ*. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧ, O: ⲉⲧⲁ, T 26. 14 ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲣⲓ, A; position cf.? Gr. (D)HLP al pler &c. Hunt 18, 14–17 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. B(D)E^{gr} 36. 180. vg^{sixt} demid syr^{sch} arm: ⲛ̄ϫⲉ., FS. ⲉⲟⲩ(om. ⲟⲩ, K)ⲓⲟⲩⲇ.] A: + ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ] cf.? Gr. ℵAB 13. 14* 15. 18. 105. 180. a^{scr}.

ρϥζ 15 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ϯⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⳾
16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲃⲏϣ
ⲉⲣⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲫⲏϧ ⳾ 17 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭ̄ⲥ̄ⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾

σπ 18 Ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ 19 ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲡⲉⲣⲓⲉⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ ⲁⲩ-
ⲣⲟⲕϩⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϥⲓ
ⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲉⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲁ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ. 20 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲁϥⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ.

σπα 21 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲁⲥ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉ-
ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲭⲁⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⳾
ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲑⲣⲓϣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ϩⲱϯ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲏ ⳾

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15 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] AO: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 14* 15. 18. 27. 31. 33. 34. 36. 40. 68. 69. 73. 105. 106. 137. 180. a^{sor} c^{sor} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵ*ADHLP al pler cat e vg &c. ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. N. 16 ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] AG: ⲉϩⲣ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. Gr. DHLP al pler syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲣⲉ, 18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, O*. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟ̄ⲥ̄] cf.? Gr. ℵ^{c}ABDE^{gr} 13. 33. 34. 40. 68. 69. 137. c^{sor} arm^{gb} &c.; for singular cf. Gr. ℵBD &c. ⲉⲩⲥⲟ(ⲱ, s)ⲡ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABD al^{15} cat vg arm syr^{p} &c. ἀμφοτέρων. ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}OP: -ⲇⲉ, A &c. -ⲫⲱⲧ] -ⲫⲏⲧ, O. ⲉⲩⲃⲏϣ] om. K. 17 ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] AB^{a}: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, K.

15 The evil *spirit* answered, he said to them: 'Jesus I know
(ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ), and Paulos also I know (ⲉⲙⲓ), but who are ye?'
16 And the man with whom the evil *spirit* (was) threw
himself upon them, he mastered them together, he prevailed
over them, *so that* they fled from that house naked with
their heads wounded[a]. 17 But this became manifested to all
the *Jews* and the Greeks, who dwelt in Ephesos; and a fear
came upon them all, and (the) name of the Lord Jesus Christ
was going on (lit. coming) being exalted. 18 But many (sing.)
from them who believed were coming, confessing, and saying
their works. 19 But many (plur.) among them who were
doing *curious arts*, having brought their books, burnt them
before all: and they took count of their *prices*, having found
them being there fifty[b] thousand of silver. 20 But thus
mightily grew (the) word of the Lord and it prevailed.
21 But these (things) having been completed, Paulos pur-
posed[c] in his *spirit* that, should he pass throughout (the)
Makedonia and [the] Achaia, he might go to Jerusalem,
having said: 'After my going there, I must see also Rōmē.'

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[a] Lit. 'rent.' [b] Lit. 'five of ten thousand.' [c] Lit. 'put it.'

ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. G. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., ΓNOT. ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'our Lord,' B^a 18. ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] AB^aK 18: om. L^gT^tΓFGNOPST. 18 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D 15. 18. 36. 40. 68. cat. ⲡⲉ] ⲇⲉ, G. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] + ⲛⲁⲕ 'to thee,' S. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGS. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] ⲁⲩϫⲱ, FT. 19 ϧⲉⲛ] AB^a 18: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ] $L^gT^tAB^aFG$ PS 18: ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., ΓKNOT. ⲉⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ] om. ⲉ, T^tFGKS. -ϫⲱⲙ] -ϫⲟⲙ, NS. ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̅, L^g. ⲱⲡ] L^gT^tAΓFGKPS: ⲡⲱⲡ, B^aNOT 18. ⲉⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ] T^tA: ⲁⲩϫ., L^g &c. ⲛ̅ⲑⲃⲁ] pref. ⲛ̅ϣⲟ 'thousand,' A_2. 20 ⲇⲉ] AB^aP 18: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ°HLP al pler cat am arm aeth &c. 21 ⲭⲁⲥ] position cf. ? Gr. D. ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBHL &c. ⲛ̅ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] ⲉⲑⲙ., B^a: -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, FGKP. ϯⲁⲭⲁⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ADE 13. 69. 105. al[4] sor. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] A 18: ⲉⲙⲁⲩ 'thither,' L^gT^t &c. ϩⲱϯ] L^gAB^aFPS 18: + ⲡⲉ, T^tΓG(ⲧⲓ)KN OT. ⲕⲉ] ⲕⲏ, FS.

Hunt 18, 18–22

22 Ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲃ̅ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

ⲗⲍ̅.

σπβ 23 Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲟⲩϣ-
ⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳾
24 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲇⲓⲙⲏⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲕ-
ϩⲁⲧ ⳾ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲛⲕ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲉⲣⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ϯⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̅ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ-
ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 25 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲣⲅⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡⲕⲱϯ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓϫⲓⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϫⲫⲉϩⲛⲟⲩ
ϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲛ ⳾ 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ-
ⲁⲧⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲭⲉⲇⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⳾ ⲁ
ⲫⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̅ϫⲓϫ ⳾
27 Ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲕⲩⲛ-
ⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟϩⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ

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22 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] -ⲱⲣⲡⲟⲩ 'sent them,' FS. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. GK. ⲑⲙⲁⲕ.] cf. Gr. ABDHLP al longe plu &c.: -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, FGKP*S. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] A_1B^{a}FGKPS 18: ϧⲁ, A_2: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓNOT. ⲉⲣⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ] ⲁⲣⲁⲥ., B^{a}: ⲁⲣⲓⲥ., GP: ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲥ., FNOS: ⲓⲁⲣ., T: trs. before ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲓⲙ., T^{t}GK. ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] AB^{a}ΓNOPT 18: Hunt 26, 23–25 ⲥⲛⲟⲩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$FGKS. K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).' 23 F^{mg} 'the first Sunday of Mesry.' ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ] AB^{a}FGKS 26: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓNOPT. 24 ⲇⲓⲙⲏⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FGKPS: ⲇⲓⲙⲉⲧ., 26: ⲧⲓⲙⲉⲧ., T: ⲇⲏⲙⲉⲧ., ΓNO: ⲇⲉⲙⲉⲧ., T^{t}. ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲕ.] ⲉⲟⲩ., G. ϩⲁⲧ 1°] $L^{g}AB^{a}$ΓOP: +ⲡⲉ, T^{t}FGKNST 26. ⲉϥⲙⲟⲛⲕ] -ⲟⲩⲛⲕ, B^{a}KT 26. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯ.] ⲛ̅ϯ., G. -ⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ] -ⲇⲉ., B^{a}. ⲛⲁϥϯ] +ⲇⲉ, ΓNT. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ] T^{t}A

22 But he sent two to (the) Makedonia among them who serve him, Timotheos and Erastos, but he (pron.) spent a *time* in [the] Asia.

23 But at that time happened no small trouble concerning the way. 24 For one, his name being Dimētrios, a silver-smith forming silver temples of [the] Artemis, was giving much of work to the *craftsmen* not few. 25 He, having assembled these with the *workmen* also who were occupied with these (things), said: '[The] men, ye know that from this business cometh (ϣⲟⲡ) the getting of gain to us. 26 And ye see and ye hear, that *not only* indeed (ⲇⲉ) Ephesos, but (ⲁ) *almost* in all [the] Asia this "Paulos" turned away a great multitude, saying that these are not gods which are made through formings of hand. 27 *Not only* will this *trade* become to us for a *danger* to cause us to come to

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B^{a}ΓNOT: ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ, L^{g}FGKPS 26. ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵA BD 13. 31. 68. 103. k^{scr} cat vg arm aeth &c. -ⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. BD). ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ. 3°] $T^{t}AB^{a}$ΓNOT 26: ⲉϩ., L^{g}FGKPS. ⲁⲛ] AB^{a}ΓNOT: + ⲛⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$FGKPS 26. 25 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥ.] $L^{g}AB^{a}$: ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇ(ⲧ, T)ⲉ ⲁϥ., T^{t} &c. ⲉⲣⲅ.] ⲁⲣⲅ., ΓPT. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, FS, cf. Gr. D syr^{sch} aeth. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ.] pref. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'ye,' 26, cf. Gr. f^{scr} (arm). ϧⲉⲛ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FPS: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓGKNOT. ⲧⲁⲓϫⲓⲛ] om. FS. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲉⲧ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲙⲉⲧ., G. ϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ, FS. ⲛⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 13. 18. 26. 36. 40. 68. 105. c^{scr} al^{5} vg arm &c. 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FGKS. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] trs. before ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ, FS, cf. Gr. D syr^{sch}. ⲇⲉ] ⲧⲉ, FOPS. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵB EHP al longe plu d vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲥϫⲉⲇⲟⲛ] ⲥⲕⲉⲇ., T: -ⲏⲇⲟⲛ, P: ϫⲉⲇ., N: ⲥϫⲉⲕⲟⲛ, A: -ⲱⲛ, GK. ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲁⲓ, FS. ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲃ] ⲁϥⲟⲩ., ΓNOPT. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉ.] ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲑ., L^{g}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩ (om. A_2) ⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲓϫ] A: ϩⲁⲛϫⲓϫ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϫⲓϫ] + ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, FS, cf. Gr. 33. 34. 100. 137. $al^{3\,scr}$ syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth &c. 27 ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ] A, cf. Gr. E^{gr}: + ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. $ℵD^{gr\,2}$ vg: ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ, G. ⲛⲁⲛ] ⲁⲛ, FS by error. ⲉⲟⲩⲕⲩⲛⲇ.] T^{t}AGK: ⲉⲩⲕ., L^{g} &c. ⲕⲩⲛⲇⲓⲛ.] ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛ., ΓNOT?. ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] -ⲏⲓ, NS.

ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϯ ϯⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲡϥ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲉϩⲗⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲟⲣϣⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾
ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ
ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
σπγ 28 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⳾
29 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⳾
ρϥη ⲁⲩϭⲟϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ | ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⳾
ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲁⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲣⲓⲥ-
ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲉⲙⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉⲛϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 30 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
σπδ 31 Ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ
ⲉⲩϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉϥⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ
ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲉⲁⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ 32 ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⳾
ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ. ⲛⲉⲁ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲅⲁⲣ ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ
ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⳾
σπε 33 Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ ⲁϥϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ. 34 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ

ⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ] -ⲙⲏⲥ, N: ⲉⲣⲧⲁ., P: ⲉⲣⲧⲏ., T. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲡϥ] T^{t}A: ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲡϥ, L^{g} &c.; cf. Gr. ADE 73. vg &c. ⲉϩⲗⲓ] om. ⲉ, FGS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABEP al plu syr^{utr} arm &c. -ϣⲟⲣϣⲉⲣ] -ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ 'disturbed,' FGS. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 1°] om. FGKS. ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ] -ⲙⲏⲛⲓ, S: -ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲛⲓ, N. ⲉⲣⲥⲉⲃⲉ(ⲏ, B^{a})ⲥⲑⲉ] ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ, FGKS. 28 ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ, N; cf. Gr. D vg arm. 29 ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 40. vg arm: trs. after ⲛ̄ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ, FGKS. ⲛ̄ϣⲑ.] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}(D*)E 13. al sat mu. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D^{gr} 21. 31. 41. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟⲓ, B^{a}GKP.

[a] reproof; but (ⲁ) the temple also of the great goddess
[the] Artemis will be no more reckoned anything, and her
greatness will be overthrown, this which all [the] Asia and
all the *world worshippeth.'* 28 But having heard these
(things), and having been filled with anger, they were crying
out, saying: '[The] Artemis of them of Ephesos is great.'
29 And the *city* was filled with trouble: but all ran hurriedly
together to the *theatre*; they carried off Gaios and Aristar-
chos, being *Makedonians*, they came on travel[a] with Paulos.
30 But Paulos wishing to go into the multitude, the *disciples*
were not letting him. 31 But some also[b] from the *rulers*
of [the] Asia, being friends to him, sent to him, beseeching
him not to give himself to the *theatre.* 32 Others *indeed then*
were crying out saying another thing: for the *assembly* was
troubled; and the most of them knew not why they were
assembled. 33 But from the multitude the *Jews* brought
out Alexandros. Alexandros beckoned to them with his
hand, wishing to make *defence* to the multitude. 34 But
having known that he is a *Jew*, there arose (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) one

[a] Lit. 'to (the) strange.' [b] Or 'others.'

ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛ] trs. before ϧⲉⲛ, ΓNOT. ⲉⲡⲓⲑ.] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑ., N.
ⲁⲩϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ] ⲉⲁⲩϩ., G. ⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ] ⲁⲅ., T. ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲓ] $L^g A_{1.2}$
('another copy') FS: ⲛⲉⲉⲁⲩⲓ, $T^t B^a$ΓGKNP: ⲉⲁⲩⲓ, OT: ⲁⲩⲓ,
A_2*. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙ̅ⲡ., ΓNT. 30 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲁϥⲟⲩ.,
FS. ⲇⲉ] om. G. 31 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ] Γ^{mg} &c.: ϯⲡⲟ-
ⲗⲓⲥ, Γ*O: ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲥⲓⲁ, N (tr. من روسا المدينة اسيا 'of the chiefs
of the city Āsyā') T. ⲉⲩϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ] om. O. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲉ]
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̅, ΓO*. 32 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ] AB^aP: ⲙⲉⲛ, T^t:
ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ, G: ⲇⲉ, L^gΓFKNOST. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] + ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ, T^tO.
ⲛ̅ⲕⲉ.] ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ., P. ⲛⲉ] joined to ⲁϯ., B^aG. ⲉⲕⲕⲗ. ⲅⲁⲣ]
ⲉⲕ. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ, B^a. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGS. ⲁⲛ] $L^g AB^a$ΓNOPT: +ⲡⲉ,
T^tFGKS. 33 ⲁⲗⲉⲝ. 2°] A: + ⲇⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c.: -ⲧⲣⲟⲥ, S.
ⲁϥϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ] -ⲟⲣⲉⲙ, A_1*. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] + ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all,' F*:
trs. after ϫⲓϫ, G. ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅ.] + ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ, P. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ]
om. P. 34 ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] ⲓⲟⲩⲇ., NT. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲛ,
O; cf. ? Gr. D vg.

ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘
35 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ϩⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁ-
ⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲅⲁⲣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲱⲕⲉⲣ[⁘]ⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲟⲡⲉⲧⲏⲥ.
36 ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⁘
Ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ ⁘ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ | ⲛ̅ϩⲱⲃ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲓⲁⲓ ⁘
37 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲙ-
ⲡⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲁⲗⲡⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲥⲉϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⁘
38 Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲓⲙⲏⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⁘
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲟⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲑⲩ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ ϣⲟⲡ ⁘ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⁘
39 Ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏ-
ⲥⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.
40 ⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲩⲛⲇⲩⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⁘
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩ., FS. ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] T[t]AB[a]Γ: ⲃ̅ϯ, L[g]FGKNOPST. ⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ] -ⲙⲓ, A_1*: ⲁⲣⲧⲁ., N: ⲉⲣⲧⲁ., P. 35 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲅⲣ.] position cf. ? Gr. B 31. 130. -ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ] -ⲁⲙⲁⲧ., FKS. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, T[t]NT. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓ] om. ΓO*. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] plural, cf. Gr. ℵABE al plus[15] cat[325] vg syr[sch] ar[e] arm &c.; article, cf. Gr. 40. al aliq. ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲥ.] ⲉⲧⲉϥ., G* single negative. ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] position cf. ? Gr. E &c. ⲥⲟⲓ] ⲥⲉⲟⲓ, ΓFS. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲱⲕ.] ⲛⲉⲱⲕ., ΓNOPT: ⲛⲉⲟⲕ., FK: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲕ., S: -ⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ, B[a]. ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅(om. GK)ⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ] ϯⲛ. ϯⲁⲣⲧ., K; cf. Gr. ℵABDE al[20] cat vg syr[utr] &c. ⲇⲓⲟⲡⲉⲧⲏⲥ] L[g]T[t]ΓFNOT: -ⲡⲉ(ⲓ, A_1)ⲇ., AB[a]GKPST. 36 ϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] A: ϯ(om. Γ)ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ(ϥ, B[a]) ⲛ̅, L[g]T[t]ΓNOPT: ϯⲟⲩⲃⲉ, FGKS. ⲟⲩⲛ 2°] L[g]AB[a]FS: ⲇⲉ, T[t]GK: om. ΓNOPT. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛϣ., K by error. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ, P. 37 ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ]

shout from all, about two hours, crying out: '[The] Artemis
of them of Ephesos is great.' 35 But the *town clerk* having
caused the multitude to be quiet, said: '[The] men, [the]
Ephesians, [for] who among [the] men (is there) who
knoweth not (the) *city* of the *Ephesians*, that it is *temple-*
keeper of the great Artemis and the Diopetēs? 36 No one
then opposeth these (things). It is worthy *then* that ye
should be sedate and do not anything lightly. 37 For ye
brought these men hither, *neither* are they temple-robbers,
nor do they blaspheme your gods. 38 If *then* Dimētrios
and the *craftsmen* also who are with him have a word
against any one, the *law courts* will be held (ⲓⲛⲓ), and there
is (a) proconsul, let them implead one another. 39 But if
ye seek for another matter, in the *regular assembly* it shall
be decided. 40 For we are *even* in *danger* to be *accused*
concerning the trouble of to-day, there being no pretext with

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AB^{a}: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ] trs. after ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, Γ. ⲉⲙ-
ⲛⲁⲓ] $T^{t}AB^{a}\Gamma GP$: ⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲓ, cf. $L^{g}NOT$; cf. Gr. D $syr^{p\,mg}$ arm: om.
FKS. ⲛⲉ] om. G. ⲥⲉϫⲉ] $L^{g}AB^{a}\Gamma NOPT$: pref. ⲛ̄, $T^{t}FGKS$
double negative. ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] for 2° plural cf. Gr. E^{gr}*HLP al
pler cat vg syr^{p} $aeth^{ro}$ &c.: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ, O^{c}, cf. Gr. (exc. 23. 26.
33. 34. 105. 133. al $fere^{5}$ &c. τὸν θεόν): ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ, O*, for feminine
and 1° plural cf. Gr. ℵABD$E^{gr\,2}$ 13. 32. 36. 40. 66** 76. 105. $al^{8\,ser}$ e syr^{sch}
arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c. 38 ⲟⲩⲛ] AB^{a}: pref. ⲙⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲇⲓⲙⲏ-
ⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ] $L^{g}A_{1}FGKP$: -ⲟⲛ, A_{2}: ϯⲙⲏ., S: ⲇⲩⲙⲏⲧ., B^{a}:
ⲇⲏⲙⲓ., ΓNT: ⲇⲏⲙⲏ., O, cf. Gr.: ⲇⲉⲙⲉⲧ., T^{t}. ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧ.]
cf. Gr. (exc. BD). ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] $T^{t}A\Gamma KNOT$: ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧ.,
$L^{g}B^{a}FGPS$. ϧⲁ] ϩⲁ, T. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲅ. 'these &c.,'
FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FKS. ⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡ.] -ⲑⲓⲡ., K. ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ]
T^{t} &c.: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ., $L^{g}FS$. 39 ⲇⲉ] om. FGKS. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲱϯ]
ⲉⲣ., S. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAD^{gr}HLP al plu e vg syr^{utr}
aeth arm &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ, A by error. 40 ⲕⲩⲛⲇⲓⲛ.]
ⲕⲩⲛⲇⲏⲛ., B^{a}: ⲕⲩⲛⲇⲩⲛ., T: ⲕⲏⲛⲇⲩⲛ., ΓN(O). ⲉⲣⲟⲛ]
om. FNS. ⲡⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ 1°] ⲫⲁⲓ 'this &c.,' ΓNOT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ]
ⲉⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ, B^{a}. ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄] om. FS: om. ⲛ̄, O.

ⲛ̀ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ⲉϯⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ ϧⲁ ⲡⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ. [41] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾

ⲖⲎ.

σπϛ Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲑⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯⲛⲟⲙϯ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ [2] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯⲛⲟⲙϯ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉϥⲟϣ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϯⲉⲗⲗⲁⲥ ⳾
[3] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲅ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾
Ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ
ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ [4] ⲛⲁϥ-
ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲥⲱⲥⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲩⲣⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲃⲉⲣⲟⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲇⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲓⲥ-
ⲣϥⲑ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲉⲕⲟⲩⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲅⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ
ⲇⲉ ⲧⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ [5] ⲛⲁⲓ

ϣⲟ(ⲱ, T^{t})ⲛ] ϣⲱⲛⲓ, P. ⲑⲁⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFGKS: ⲑⲏ 'that,' B^{a}Γ NOPT. ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ, cf. Gr. DE al permu cat vg &c.: ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ, T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. ℵABHLP al fere[45] vg^{cd} syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ϯⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ] ϯⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ, FS. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 15. 18. 25. 31. 33. 36. 40. 68. 73. 133. 137. 180. d^{sor} k^{sor} cat arm &c. ϧⲁ] AB^{a}ΓK O^{c}PT: ϧⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$FGNS. ⲡⲓϣⲑ. 2°] AB^{a}T: ⲫⲁⲓ ϣⲑ., T^{t}N: ⲡⲁⲓϣⲑ., L^{g} &c.: + ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲟⲟⲩ 'of to-day,' FS. [41] ⲛⲁⲓ] om. P. ⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲛ̀] ⲁϥⲭⲁ, FGKS.

Hunt 18, 1–6 [1] F^{mg} 'the sixth Sunday of Pentecost,' 'the second Sunday of Mesry.' ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵBE 13. 14* 15. 16. 31. 36. 40. 68. (69. 98^{mg} 105. a^{sor}) 180. cat $aeth^{ro}$ &c.: ⲟⲩ. ⲛ̀, K*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] AB^{a}ΓNOPT 18: om. $L^{g}T^{t}$FGKS. ⲁϥϯⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf.? Gr. ℵABDE &c. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡ.] ⲉⲉⲣ., $Γ^{r}$. ⲉϣⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AB^{a}NOT 18: ⲁϥϣⲉ, GK:

which[a] it is possible for us to give *account* for the trouble.'
41 And having said these (things), he dismissed the *assembly*.
XX. But after the trouble was ended, Paulos sent for the
disciples and comforted them, he *saluted* them, he came
forth to go to (the) Makedonia. 2 Having passed through
that place and having comforted them in many a word, he
came to [the] Ellas. 3 But having spent three months there,
an evil plan was made concerning him by the *Jews*. Being
about to come to (the) Syria, a plan was made to return
through (the) Makedonia. 4 But Sōsipatros of Pyrrus the man
of Beroia was with him; but (of) them of Thessalonikē, Aris-
tarchus and Sekounthos; and Gaios the man of Terbē, and
Timotheos; but they of [the] Asia, Tychikos and Trophē-
mus. 5 But these having been before us, stayed for us in

[a] Lit. 'this concerning which.'

om. ΓFPS. ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] cf. ? Gr. AHP al plu &c. 2 ⲉⲧⲁϥ(ⲩ, P)ⲥⲓⲛⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, AB^{a}. ⲛⲓⲙⲁ] L^{g}A$_{1}$B^{a}FGOS: ⲛⲓⲙⲁ, T^{t}A$_{2}$ΓKNPT 18. ϯⲉⲗⲗⲁⲥ] ϯⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥ, T. 3 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. D 27. 38. e. ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ] om. FS. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ(ⲥ, S)] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 13. 38. 69. 113. 180. al^{2} ^{sor} cat. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS 18: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄, ΓNOT: ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, P. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓNT: ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ, O. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. GK. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. B^{3}HLP al pler syr^{pmsgr} &c. ϧⲉⲛⲑⲙ.] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ 'through,' B^{a}P 18. 4 ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AG^{o}: om. ΓKNOT: om. ⲇⲉ, B^{a}G*P 18: om. ⲡⲉ, FS; for om. ἄχρί &c. cf. Gr. ℵB 13. vg aeth^{utr} ar^{e}. ⲥⲱ(O, N 18)ⲥⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 4* 25. 40. 47. 57** 68. 96. 101. c^{scr} al plus^{10} demid arm ar^{e} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲩ(ⲓ, Γ: ⲉ, FKS)ⲡ-ⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE al plus^{30} cat vg syr^{pmg} arm &c. ⲛⲁⲑ.] ⲛⲉⲑ., A$_{1}$: ⲛⲓⲑ., A$_{2}$: -ⲑⲁⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲩⲛ., P: -ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ., B^{a}: -ⲑⲉⲥⲁ-ⲗⲟⲛ., FKS 18: -ⲑⲏⲥⲥ., N. ⲥⲉⲕⲟⲩⲛⲑⲟⲥ] AB^{a}P 18: ⲥⲉⲕⲟⲩ(om. S)ⲛ(om. N)ⲧⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓFKOT: ⲥⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲥ, G. ⲧⲉⲣⲃⲏ] ⲇⲉⲣⲃⲏ, ΓN. ⲧⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲥ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}KP 18: ⲇⲩ., G: ⲧⲩⲭⲩ., O: ⲧⲓⲭⲓⲕⲟⲥ, ΓFNST. ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏⲙⲟⲥ] T^{t}AΓP 18*: -ⲫⲓⲙⲟⲥ, L^{g} &c.: ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲟⲥ, B^{a}.

ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲣⲱⲁⲥ.
σπζ [6] Ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧϣⲉⲙⲏⲣ ∻
ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲓⲥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲓ
ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲉ̄ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ∻
σπη [7] Ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ
ⲉⲫⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ ∻ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ∻ ⲛⲁϥⲫⲱⲣϣ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲁ ⲧⲫⲁϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ∻
[8] Ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ∻ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛϣⲱⲓ ∻ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ∻
[9] ⲛⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲟⲩϣⲧ ∻ ⲉϥⲟⲃϣ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ∻ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⲥⲟⲕϥ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ∻ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲓ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϥⲓⲧϥ ⲉϥ-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ∻
[10] Ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ∻ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲗϫϥ ⲉϧⲏⲧϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ. ⲧⲉϥⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ∻
[11] ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲱϣ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲕ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉⲙϯⲡⲓ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ
ϣⲁⲧⲉ ⲫⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁϥⲓ

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5 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 27. 29. 33. 40. 68. 105. 137. 163. a^{scr} c^{scr} syr^{p} &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ(om. ⲉⲣ, NT)ϣⲟⲣⲡ] cf. Gr. B^{3}D al sat mu e vg syr^{utr} arm aeth. ⲧⲣⲱⲁⲥ] ϯⲧ., Γ. 6 ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩ., O. ⲛⲓⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲧϣⲉ(ⲁ, NT)ⲙⲏⲣ] ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧϣⲉⲙⲏⲣ, L^{s}. ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲓⲥ]-ⲡⲟⲥ, A$_{2}$*F*NPST*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] om. FGKS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 2°] L^{s}AB^{a}P 18: om. T^{s} &c. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] AB^{a} 18: om. L^{s}T^{s} &c. 7 F^{ms} الاحد الخامس اذا اتفق فى اشهر الثانية ‘the fifth Sunday when it occurs in the second (half of) the months’: F^{ms} S^{ms} ‘the third Sunday of Amshīr.’ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄, B^{a}FGST. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲑ.] cf. ? Gr. ℵABDE al^{20} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲓ] ⲉϥ. ⲇⲉ, FGS: ϥ. ⲇⲉ, K. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣ.] L^{s}T^{s}AFKPST: ⲙ̄ⲡ., B^{a}ΓGNO. ⲇⲉ 2°]

Trōas. 6 But we (pron.) after the days of the unleavened
(plur.) sailed from Philippois, and we came unto them to
Trōas in[a] five (days), and we abode there with them seven
days. 7 But on (the) first (lit. one) of the *sabbaths*, we
having assembled to break [a] bread, Paulos was speaking
to them, being about to come forth on the (lit. his) morrow;
but he was spreading out the word unto midnight. 8 But
there were many *lamps* in the upper place, the place in
which they were being assembled. 9 But a young man was
sitting, his name being Eutychos, upon the window, forgetting (himself) in a deep (lit. great) sleep; but as Paulos was
speaking, the sleep overcame[b] him more, he fell down from
(ϧⲉⲛ) the third storey, and he was taken up dead. 10 But
Paulos came down, he threw himself upon him, and having
embraced him, he said: 'Trouble not; for his *life* (is) in him.'
11 But having gone up, and having broken the bread, and
having tasted, he prolonged[c] the word until (the) light came

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[a] Lit. 'at (ⲙ̄) our five.' [b] Lit. 'drew him.' [c] Lit. 'drew.'

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cf. Gr. 15. 18. 23. 36. 68. 180. cat syr^p &c.: om. FG^{o}KS, cf. Gr. D^{gr}. 8 ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. minusc non ita mu aeth^{ro} &c. 9 ⲡⲉ 1°] om. FGKS. ⲉⲩⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ] ⲉⲩⲧⲓⲭ., FPST. ⲡⲓϣⲟⲩϣⲧ] T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFGKNOT: -ⲟϣⲧ, L^{g}PS. ⲉϥⲟⲃϣ] +ⲇⲉ, FS: ⲁϥ., P. ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ^{r}PS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}FGKN(ⲉϥ)OT. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] AB^{a}ΓNO*T: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^{g}T^{t}FGKO^{o}PS. ϯ(om. N)ⲙⲁϩ-ⲅ̅ϯ] AGP: -ⲅ̅, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲓ] ⲙ̄(ⲛ̄, K)ⲃⲁϩⲙⲓ, FKS. ⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ] ⲁϥⲙ., Γ. 10 ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] AB^{a}FGKPS: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲗϫϥ] ⲁϥⲙ., FGKS; for pronoun cf. Gr. C 27. 36. 38. 66** 69. 105. 180. a^{sor} al pauc cat syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲉϧⲏⲧϥ] ⲛ̄ϧ., T^{t}GS. 11 ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, N)-ϥⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲱϣ] cf. Gr. (exc. B). ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲓⲕ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ABCD* 13. &c.: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ, FS, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}D^{2}EHLP al pler cat &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲉⲙ] ⲁϥϫⲉⲙ, FGKS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ 'speaking,' ΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓ ... ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FO*S homeot.: om. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ, ΓNT.

ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳹ 12 ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲱⲛϧ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲑⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳹ |
σπθ 13 Ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲁⲥⲥⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲉⲛⲑⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲁϥϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ
σϟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳹ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⳹ † 14 Ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϯⲙⲁϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲁⲛⲓ
ⲉⲙⲓⲗⲓⲧⲓⲛⲏ. 15 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛϯⲙⲁϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲟⲥ. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲁ-
ⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲥⲁⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛⲓ
ⲉⲙⲓⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⳹ 16 ⲛⲉⲁϥⲑⲱϣ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳹
ⲉⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲱⲥⲕ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ. ⲛⲁϥⲓⲏⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲉⲣ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲡⲉⲛⲧⲏ-
ⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳹

ⲗⲑ.

σϟα 17 Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲓⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ
ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳹
18 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲓ ⲉϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱ-

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12 ⲉϥⲱ(ⲟ, B^aPS)ⲛϧ] ⲛ̄ϥⲱⲛϧ, ΓNT ⲙⲉⲧⲑⲁⲧϩⲏⲧ] ⲙⲉⲧϫⲁⲣϩⲏⲧ, FS. ⲁⲛ] + ⲧⲉ, $A_1^c B^a$. F^{mg} 'the end (of the
Hunt 18, 13–16 lection).' 13 ⲛ̄ϣⲟ(ⲱ, FKS)ⲣⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵB^3CL al sat mu &c. ⲁⲛⲓ] ⲁⲩⲓ, T, 3° pers. ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲥ] ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲛ, S; cf. Gr. ℵABCDEH al pler vg arm &c. ⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, B^a)ⲑⲱ(ⲏ, T^tGK)ϣ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] om. FS: -ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲉ, T^tΓNOT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] L^gAB^aΓOP: ⲉⲡⲓ., T^tFGKNST. ⲛⲉⲁϥϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ] ⲉⲁϥ., ΓNOT 18. ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧ., Γ. ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲧϥ] ⲉⲣ., G. 14 ⲇⲉ] om. O, cf. Gr. C^{*vid}. ⲁⲥⲥⲟ(ⲱ, A_2)ⲥ] $L^g T^t$ &c.: ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲟ(ⲱ, A_1)ⲥ, A_1F* by error. ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗⲟⲛ 'he took us on board,' G^{*mg} نسخة ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ حملناه وهو صحيح 'a copy "we took him on board" and it is correct.' ⲙⲓⲗⲓⲧⲓⲛⲏ] A: ⲙⲏⲗ., ΓNOT: ⲙⲏⲗⲏⲧⲓⲛⲏ, T^t: ⲙⲩⲗⲏⲧⲓⲛⲏ, L^g: ⲙⲓⲗⲏⲧ., G: ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧ., FKS: ⲙⲩⲧⲓⲗⲓⲛⲏ, P: ⲙⲓⲧⲩⲗⲓⲛⲏ, B^a, cf. Gr. AE al^{2scr}: ⲙⲓⲧⲩⲗⲏⲛⲏ, 18. 15 ⲡⲉϥⲣ.]

forth, and thus he came forth. 12 But they brought the
boy alive, and they received no little consolation. 13 But
we (pron.) went before on board the ship, we came into Assos
arranging[a] to take in[b] Paulos at that place: for he had
ordered us thus, being about to walk on foot. 14 But having
met (ϯⲙⲁϯ) with us in Assos, we tock him in, we came
to Militinē. 15 But on the morrow we sailed from there, we
came opposite (ϯⲙⲁϯ) Chios, but in the evening we came
to Samos; afterwards we came to Milētos. 16 For Paulos
had ordained to sail past[c] Ephesos, *that* he might not delay
in [the] Asia, for he was hasting, that, if it were possible,
he might spend (the) day of the Pentēcostē in Jerusalem.
17 But from Milētos he sent to Ephesos, he called the
presbyters of the *church*. 18 But they having come unto
him, he said to them: 'Ye (pron.) know, since the first day
(in) which I came to [the] Asia, in what manner I was with

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[a] Lit. 'ordaining.' [b] Lit. 'place.' [c] Lit. 'from.'

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pref. ⲉ, OP. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. K. ⲁⲛϯⲙⲁϯ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT 18: ⲁⲛⲓ 'we came,' T^{t}FGKS. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNOPT, cf. Gr. B 15. 19. 73. cat: ⲉ(om. FKS)ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ 'on his morrow,' FGKS. ⲇⲉ 2°] + ⲟⲛ 'also,' T^{t}FGKS. ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱϥ] AB^{a}ΓN OT 18: -ⲥⲱⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}FGKPS; for om. *καί* &c. cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 18. 37. 69. 73. 180. a^{scr} vg arm aeth^{pp}; for om. copulam cf. aeth^{pp}. ⲙⲓⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ(ⲛ, B^{a*})] L^{g}AB^{ao}NPT 18: ⲙⲓⲗⲓⲧⲟⲥ, ΓG: ⲙⲏⲗⲓⲧⲟⲥ, T^{t}O: ⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧⲟⲥ, FKS. 16 ⲡⲉ(ⲏ, A$_1$)ⲁϥⲑⲱ(ⲏ, FKS)ϣ] cf.? Gr. ℵABC*DE 13. 14** 15. 36. 68. 69. 73. 105. 180. a^{scr} cat vg syr^p arm. ⲅⲁⲣ 1°] + ⲡⲉ, FKS. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ, FS. ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] ϩⲱⲡⲟⲥ, S: ⲟⲡⲱⲥ, ΓOT: ⲱⲡⲱⲥ, N. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] om. T^{t}FGKS. ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄] ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, ΓNOT: ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, G by error. ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲏⲕⲟⲥⲧⲏ] ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲩⲕ., ΓN: ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕ., P. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. ℵAE 13. 40. 105. 12^{lect} 58^{lect} a^{scr} c^{scr}. 17 ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ] ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, O. ⲙⲓⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ] as verse 15 exc. ⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧ., T: ⲙⲏⲗⲓⲧ., G^{o}N 18. Hunt 18, 17–21
18 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ, Γ*O* singular. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ] ϣⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ, Γ*O* plural; for om. *ὁμοῦ* &c. cf. Gr. ℵBCHLP al fere omn cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ϫⲉ 2°] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, S. ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲁⲓϣⲟⲡ, FS.

ⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲁϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾ 19 ⲉⲓⲟⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲃⲱⲕ ⲙ̀Ⲡ⳪ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲉⲃⲓⲟ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲉⲣⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ 20 ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩⲉⲡ ϩⲗⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲛⲟϥⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϣⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ. 21 ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲇⲏⲙⲟ-
ⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓ-
ⲛⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ
ⲉⲡⲉⲛ⳪ Ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ Ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

C σζβ 22 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛϩ ϧⲉⲛ | ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾
ϯⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾
23 Ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ. 24 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ϯϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ϣⲁϯϫⲱⲕ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲓⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ Ⲡ⳪
Ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⳾

σζγ 25 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
...ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲏ
K ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲓϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ⳾ 26 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ

ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ 'the &c.,' FS. 19 ⲉⲓⲟⲓ] ⲉⲓ, B^{a}: ⲉϥⲟⲓ, NT by error. ⲙ̀Ⲡ⳪] om. ⲙ̀, FS. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲉⲣⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 13. 40. 68. 80. 81. 137. 142. 180. vg syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth^{pp} &c. 20 ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲓ(ⲉ, B^{a}*)ϩⲉⲡ] om. ⲉⲧⲉ, FKS. ⲟⲩⲉϣⲉⲛ] ⲟⲩϣⲉⲛ, K. 21 ⲉⲓⲉⲣ] ⲉⲉⲣ, FS. ⲛ̀ⲇⲏ(ⲓ, FST)ⲙⲟ(ⲱ, FKS)ⲥⲓⲁ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓGNOT: om. ⲛ̀, B^{a}FKPS 18. ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] om. ⲛⲓ, S. ⲉⲡⲉⲛ⳪] L^{g}T^{t}AP: ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛ⳪, B^{a} 18: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛ⳪, NO^{c}T: ⲉⲡ⳪, ΓFGKO*S, cf. Gr. E. Ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ Ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵAC(D)E 13. 15. 18. 27. 29. 31. 36. 40. 68. 69. 105. al permu cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} &c. 22 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] position cf. ? Gr. DHLP al pler am tol syr^{utr} Did &c.

you in all this time; 19 being servant to the Lord in all
humbleness of heart, and tears, and the *trials* which came
upon me, in the evil plans of the *Jews*: 20 how I hid not
anything of (ϧⲉⲛ) the things which were profitable, without
showing them to you, and teaching you, 21 witnessing *publicly*
and *in every* house to the *Jews* and the Greeks [the] *repen-*
tance toward (ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ) God, and the faith in (ⲉ) our Lord Jesus
Christ. 22 And now, lo, I (pron.) being bound in the *spirit*
shall (lit. will) go to Jerusalem, I know not that which will
befall[a] me in it. 23 *Except that* the holy *spirit* witnesseth
to me *in every city*, saying: "Bonds and *afflictions* stay
for thee." 24 But (ⲁ) my *life* I put it not, that it is precious
to me, in any account[b], until I complete my *course* and the
ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to witness
to the *Gospel* of the grace of God. 25 And now, lo, I (pron.)
know that ye see my face no more, all ye, they among whom
I was passing, proclaiming the kingdom of God. 26 There-

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[a] Lit. 'come in upon.' [b] Lit. 'word.'

ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛϩ] AGS*: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓNOPS^{o}T: ϯⲥⲱⲛϩ, FK. ϯⲛⲁ.] pref. ϫⲉ, O^{o}. ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}. ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AB^{a}: ⲛ̅ϯⲥ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. double negative. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ] A: ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ(ⲓ, N) ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, G)ⲛⲁⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOPT: ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ 'which come,' FKS. ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ] ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲁⲓ, NP^{c}. 23 ⲡⲗⲏⲛ] AFGS: +ϫⲉ 'that,' L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓKNOPT. ϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGK: ⲉϥⲉⲣⲙ., P: ⲉⲣⲙ., ΓNOST; cf. ? Gr. ℵ*BCDHLP al pler cat e vg Did &c. ⲛⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al plus^{30} cat^{333} vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} Ath Did &c. ⲛⲁⲕ] cf. syr^{sch} ar^{e} arm aeth^{utr}. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ] ⲛⲓⲥⲛ., P definite. ⲑⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ] -ⲓⲛ, A_2. 24 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ . . . ⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*BCD^{2} ar^{e} aeth^{utr} arm &c. ϯⲭⲱ] ϯϫⲱ, K. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS; cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 40. 81. cat vg syr^{sch} ar^{e} aeth^{utr} &c. ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲕⲱⲛⲓⲁ, G. ⲑⲏ] om. FGKS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, T^{t}B^{a}ΓNT. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, FS: ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, B^{a}. ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}P: ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲙ., ΓFGKNOST. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉⲩ.] ⲉⲡⲓ., P. 25 ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] AB^{a}*G: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ 'ye will see,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟ] trs. after ϫⲉ, G. ⲉⲓϩⲓ.] ⲉϩⲓ., FOST. ⲛ̅ϯ.] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϯ., NT. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler vg syr^{sch} arm^{treg} aeth &c.: om.

ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ÷ ϫⲉ ϯⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ÷ 27 ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩⲟⲡⲧ ÷ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ÷
σλδ 28 Ⲙⲁϩⲑⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲧⲁ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ÷ ⲭⲁ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ÷ ⲉⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ÷ ⲑⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲫⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ÷
σλε 29 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϯⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲑⲣⲓϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛϣ ⲉⲩϩⲟⲣϣ ÷
ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲁϯⲁⲥⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ ÷ 30 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲩⲫⲱⲛϩ ÷ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲛϩⲏⲟⲩ ÷
σλϛ 31 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ÷ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲓ |
ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲅ̅ϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲁⲧⲟⲧ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲓϯⲥⲃⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ ÷ 32 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ϯϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲧ ÷
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲱϣ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϯⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲃⲱⲟⲩ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ÷
σλζ 33 Ⲟⲩϩⲁⲧ ÷ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ÷ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ÷ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ÷ 34 ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ-

ΓFNOST, cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 15* 36. 180. cat syr^{p} arm^{gb} &c. 26 ⲡⲁⲓⲉϩ.] ⲫⲁⲓ., N. ϩⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, B^{a}. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ] cf. Gr. E 33. 68. 105. al plus^{10} vg^{cd} syr^{utr} arm^{cdd} aeth &c. 27 ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩⲟⲡⲧ] -ϩⲱⲡⲧ, NT: -ϩⲟⲡ, B^{a}: -ϩⲱⲃ, O*: -ϩⲱⲛ, °. ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}AEHLP al pler syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲙ̀ⲫϯ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ, B^{a}: ⲉⲫϯ, A$_2$. 28 ⲙⲁϩⲑⲏⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 15. 36. 81. 180. o^{scr} cat vg arm aeth &c.: + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲟϩⲓ] ⲉⲡⲓ., FS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, T. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ] ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, FS. ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ⲙⲟⲛⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. AC*DE 13. 15. 18. 36^{txt} 40. 69. 73. 81. 95* 130. 156. 163. 180. 58^{lect} a^{scr} cat

fore, I witness to you in this very[a] day that I (pron.) am
pure from the blood of you[b] all. 27 For I hid *not* myself so
as not to show to you (the) whole wish of God. 28 Take
heed to yourselves and all the flock, in which the holy *spirit*
put you as *overseers*, to feed the *church* of the Lord, which
he got through his own blood. 29 But I (pron.) know that
after my going (away) grievous wolves will come in to you,
they will not spare the flock; 30 and men will rise from
among you, saying perverse words, for them to draw the
disciples after them. 31 Therefore *then* watch yourselves,
remembering that I spent three years, I ceased not by the day
and the night admonishing each one of you in tears. 32 And
now I commit you to the Lord and (the) word of his grace, for
which it is possible to establish and to give *inheritance*
among all them who were sanctified. 33 [A] silver or [a]
gold or a garment I *coveted* not them of any one. 34 Ye (pron.)

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[a] Lit. 'of (the) day.' [b] Lit. 'your blood.'

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syr$^{\text{p mg}}$ arm Ath Did &c.: ⲫϯ 'God,' G, cf. Gr. ℵB 4. 22. 23. 25. 27. 46. 65. 66* 68. 84. 89. 154. 162. 12^{lect} vg syr$^{\text{p txt}}$ syr$^{\text{lect vat}}$ Cyr Orsies &c. ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟ(+ⲩ, A_2)ϥ] om. ⲡⲉϥ, O*. 29 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}. ϯⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC* D 13. 15. 36. 68. 69. 105. 163. 180. a^{scr} cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩϩⲟⲣϣ] -ⲱⲣϣ, PS*. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁϯ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FK^{r}S: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯ., GP: ⲥⲉⲛⲁϯ., ΓNOT single negative. ⲁⲥⲟ] ⲁⲥⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, G. 30 ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AB^{a}FGS: -ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓK^{r}
NOPT. ⲉⲩⲫⲱⲛϩ] -ⲟⲛϩ, B^{a}GP. 31 ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] T^{t}A: Hunt 18, 31–35
om. L^{g} &c. ⲁⲓⲉⲣ] om. FS?. ⲅ̄ϯⲛ̄] T$^{\text{t}}A_2$ΓGOT: ⲅ̄ⲛ̄ϯ, A_1 by error: ⲅ̄ⲛ̄, L^{g}B^{a}FK^{r}(N)PS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. DE al plus^{20} vg syr^{utr} arm^{odd} aeth^{utr} Orsies &c. ϧⲉⲛ . . . 32 ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. T* homeot. 32 ϯϫⲱ] ϫⲱ, FS: ϯⲛⲁϫⲱ, K^{r}P. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱ-ⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABD 13. 33. 34. 68. 81. vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} ar^{e} Orsies &c. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. B 33. 68. ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ] A_1B^{a}ΓGNOT 18: ⲡⲓⲥ., L^{g}T$^{\text{t}}A_2$FK^{r}PS. ⲉⲑⲱ(ⲟ, F)ϣ] for om. ὑμᾶς cf. Gr. (exc. DE 14* 29. 66** 69. 76. 81. 105. 163. al^{5} syr^{sch} aeth Orsies &c.). ϯ.] cf. Gr. ℵABDE 25. vg. ⲕⲗⲏⲣ.] cf. ? Gr. DHLP al pler. ϧⲉⲛ] ϧⲁ, FS. 33 ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ] ⲛⲟⲩⲃ, K^{r}. ϩⲃⲱⲥ] pref. ϭⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] obs. Gr. 97. d^{scr} add τούτων. 34 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. unc

ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁϫⲓϫ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲓⲁ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ. 35 ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲱⲃ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϣϣⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲟⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϯ-
ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲉϯ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲉϭⲓ ⳾

σϛη 36 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲉⲗⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳾ 37 ⲁϥ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲛⲁϩⲃⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲫⲓ ⲉⲣⲱϥ ⳾ 38 ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲙ̀-
ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥ-
ϫⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁϩⲟ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲫⲟ
ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⳾

Ⲕ.

σϛθ Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲕⲱ ⳾ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲇⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁ ⳾ 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲣϫⲓⲛⲓⲟⲣ ⲉϯⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏⲓ |

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al pler cat m[82] vg syr[p] arm aeth[pp] &c.: + ⲇⲉ, T[t](F)G(S), cf. Gr. minusc pauc[vid] &c. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ.] ⲧⲉⲛⲥ., FS. ⲛⲁϫⲓϫ ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. syr[sch]: om. ⲛⲁⲓ, G, cf. Gr. D[gr]. ⲁⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] ⲉⲩϣ., GNS. ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲭⲣⲓⲁ] AB[a] 18: ⲉⲧⲁ., FS: ⲛ̀ⲛⲁ., L[g]T[t]ΓGK[r]NOPT. 35 ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FGS. ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAEHLP &c. ⲛ̀(ⲉⲛ, GK[r]P)-ϧⲟⲥⲓ] -ϧⲓⲥⲓ, T[t]FGS: ⲉϧⲓⲥⲓ, O. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϯ (om. N)] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛϯ, B[a] 18, 2° person. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲫ.] T[t]AB[a]18: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ., L[g] &c. 1° person; obs. Gr. A*D* om. τε. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ., G singular, cf. Gr. (LP al plus[35]) 38. 40. 57. 69. al plus[5] vg arm aeth. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] L[g]T[t]AB[a]FK[r]PS 18: ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅, ΓGNOT. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] + ⲡ̀ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, G. ⲧⲉ] ⲇⲉ, A: ⲡⲉ, G: om. FS. ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ] position cf. Gr. unc al

know that these my hands ministered to my *need*, and (to)
them who were with me. 35 I showed to you all things, that
it is right to toil thus and help them who are weak, and for
you to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he (pron.)
said: "It is a *blessedness rather* to give than to receive." '

36 And having said these (things), he threw himself on his
knees with them all; they *prayed*. 37 But there was a great
weeping of all of them; and they threw themselves upon
(the) neck of Paulos, and they kissed his mouth, 38 grieving
most concerning the word which he said, that they will see
his (lit. my) face no more. But they were escorting him
toward the ship.

XXI. But it came to pass (that) having put to sea, we
separated from them, we sailed with straight course[a], we
came into Kō; but on the (lit. his) morrow we came to
Rodos, and from there we came to Patara: 2 and having
found a ship being about to cross over to [the] Phoinikē,

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[a] Lit. 'being straight.'

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longe plu cat m^{82} vg syr^{p} arm &c.: om. FGS. 36 ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, Hunt 18, 36—XXI. 3
G. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡ.] A_1: ⲉⲩ., A_2 18: ⲁϥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 37 ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ]
position cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲇⲉ] om. $GK^{r}O$.
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩ., ΓGNT: om. O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] $T^{t}AB^{a}K^{r}$ 18: om. $L^{g}Γ$
FGNOP?ST. ⲉⲣⲱϥ] $L^{g}AB^{a}F^{o}PST$ 18: ⲉⲣⲟϥ, $T^{t}Γ^{r}GK^{r}NO$.
38 ⲉⲩⲟⲓ] ⲉϥ., $Γ^{r}P$. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, $B^{a}K^{r}T$ 18)ⲕⲁϩ] om. ⲛ̄, P.
ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ] -ⲧⲉ, A_2. ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲓϫⲟϥ 'which I
said,' FS. ⲥⲉⲛⲁ.] pref. ⲛ̄, T^{t} double negative: ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ,
FGS. ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲫⲟ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲧⲫⲱ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉϫⲉⲛ]
$L^{g}AB^{a}GK^{r}P$ 18: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, $T^{t}Γ$NOT: ⲉ, FS.

1 ⲁⲛⲫⲱⲣϫ] ⲉⲁⲛⲫ., $L^{g}K^{r}P$. ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ] T^{t}AFGS 18:
ⲛ̄ⲥ., L^{g} &c.: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, P. ⲕ(ϫ, T*)ⲱ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al $plus^{50}$
cat &c. ⲡⲉϥⲣ.] ⲉⲡ., T^{t}. ⲉⲣⲟⲇⲟⲥ] ⲉⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ, FS: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉⲣⲱⲇⲟⲥ, G; cf. Gr. CD 40. 68. &c. om. *τήν*. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c.]
ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ, FGS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$NOT: +ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
'there,' $T^{t}Γ FGK^{r}PS$ (om. ⲓ). ⲉϥⲛⲁ.] ϥⲛⲁ., G.

ca ⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ 3 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲁⲛⲥⲟϫⲡⲥ ⲥⲁϫⲁϭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲥⲩ-
ⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
τ Ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⳾ ⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲗⲟⲩⲓⲛ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ 4 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲛ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲍ̅ ⲛ̅ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
τα 5 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲙⲟϣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲧⲫⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ ϣⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̅ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲗⲓ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ. 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⳾
τβ 7 Ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲓ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲗⲉⲙⲁⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁ-
ⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉ-
ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
τγ 8 Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⳾
ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ 9 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϥ

ⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲛ̅ϫ., F*S. 3 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AG: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ, B^a 18, 3° pers.: ⲉⲧⲁⲛ(om. S)ⲓ 'having come,' ΓFK^{r}NOPST. ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. E. ⲥⲁϫⲁϭⲏ] -ϫⲓϭⲏ, A$_1$: -ϭⲁϫⲏ, Γ*?. ⲁⲛⲓ] cf.? Gr. ℵABE 13. 34. vg syr^p aeth^{utr}. ⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛⲁϩⲓ, G: ⲛⲁⲣⲉϩⲓ, FS. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥ] om. ⲙ̅, FGS. ⲗⲟⲩⲓⲛ] ⲗⲩⲓⲛ, G.
Hunt 18, 4–7 . . . ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙⲁⲩ 'thither,' B^{a}NT 18. 4 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*E al plus 15 cat vg &c. ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCE al sat mu cat &c. ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, B^a. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}K^{r}P 18: trs. before ⲁⲛϣ., FGS: om. T^{t}ΓNOT, cf. Gr. AEL 68. 73. 103. k^{scr} &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] combines the two Gr. readings. ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] + ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅ 'holy,' B^a. ⲑⲣⲉϥ.] om. B^a 18: ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥ., ΓNO. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. 18. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅]

we went on board; we put off. 3 But having seen Kypros,
we left it on the left hand, we sailed to (the) Syria, and we
came to Tyros: For the ship was being about to unlade[a]
its freight there. 4 But having found the *disciples*, we abode
there with them seven days, these who were saying to Paulos
through the *spirit* not to go into Jerusalem. 5 But it came
to pass (that) having completed the days, we came forth, we
walked (away), all of them escorting us, with women also
and their children, unto outside of the *city*: and we threw
ourselves upon our knees upon the shore, we *prayed*, 6 and
we *took leave* from one another, we went on board the ship,
but they returned to their own. 7 But we (pron.) sailed
from Tyros, we came into Ptolemais, and having saluted
the brethren, we abode with them a day. 8 But on the
(lit. his) morrow having come forth, we came to Kesaria, and
having gone into (the) house of Philippos the preacher of
good tidings, being one from the seven, we abode with him.
9 But this (man) had four daughters, *virgins*, *prophesying*.

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[a] Lit. 'cast.'

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cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu Did &c. 5 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] trs.
after ϫⲱⲕ, FS. ⲉⲩⲧⲫⲟ] -ⲱ, FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 3°] om. P. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ.]
$T^{t}AB^{a}P$ 18: om. ⲕⲉ, $L^{g}\Gamma FGK^{r}NOST$. ⲁⲛϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] AOP 18:
ⲁⲛϩⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ, $T^{t}B^{a}\Gamma NT$: ⲁⲛϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ, K^{r}: ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ,
$L^{g}FGS$. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] $T^{t}A^{o}_{1.2}B^{a}$ 18: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉⲗⲓ] ⲛⲉⲕ-
ⲕⲉⲗⲓ, A_2. ⲁⲛⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲛⲉⲣ., P. -ⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲭⲏⲥⲑⲉ, T.
6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] $T^{t}AB^{a}\Gamma NOT$ 18, cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler: om. $L^{g}FGK^{r}PS$,
cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 18. 40. 69. 73. 105. 133. a^{sor} d^{sor} cat. ⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ]
ⲉⲡϫⲟⲓ, $B^{a}O$. ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., P. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ(ⲓ, N),
ΓNT. -ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ] -ⲛⲱⲟⲩ, $T^{t}A_{1}{}^{o}{}_{2}$. 7 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣ.] om. ⲉⲣ, FS*.
-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲥⲡⲁⲍ., FS: ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ, G. 8 F^{mg} 'the Hunt 26, 8–10
third Sunday of Mesry.' ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] pref. ⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲇⲉ] om. P.
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCE al^{30} cat d vg syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c. ⲁⲛⲓ]
cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE al plu cat d vg syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{utr}$. ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf.
Gr. ℵAEP* &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ] om. ⲉ, 26. ⲡⲉ] om. FS. 9 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ(ⲉ, A_2)ϥ] -ⲟⲛⲧⲁϥ, $B^{a}G$: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄(om. F)ⲧ., FO.

ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲉⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟ-
τδ ⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⳾ † 10 Ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
τε Ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲅⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⳾ 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲱⲗⲓ ⲛ̀|ϯⲍⲱⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩ-
ⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾
Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑ-
ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲟϫϧ ⳾
ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲟⲛϩϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 12 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
ⲡⲁⲛϯϩⲟ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
13 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϯⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ
ⲉⲥⲟⲛϩⲧ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ 14 ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲑⲱⲧ ⲁⲛϫⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲉⲛϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾

ⲘⲆ.

τϛ 15 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛ-
ⲡⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ 16 ⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏ-

ⲛ̀(ⲙ̀, BᵃS)ⲇ̅ &c.] for order cf. vg^cle aeth^ro: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲇ̅, N. Hunt 18, 10-12 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲡⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲡⲣ., K^rP. 10 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ABCH 4* 13. 15. 18. 36. 37. 66. k^scr cat vg syr^sch et^p txt. ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲣ.] ⲉⲩⲡⲣ., A₂*. 11 ⲍⲱⲛⲏ] ⲍⲟⲛⲏ, S*: ⲍⲱⲛⲓ, N. ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲣ] ⲁϥⲙⲟⲣϥ 'he girded himself,' FGS; for om. τε cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al plus 20 cat &c. ϫⲓϫ . . . ϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ] cf. Gr. A al permu aeth &c. ⲛⲁⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, FS. ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ., BᵃN. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ]

10 But we having abode there many days, One came from
[the] Ioudea, being a *prophet*, his name being Agabos. 11 And
having come unto us, he took away the *girdle* of Paulos,
he bound his hands and his feet, he said: 'These (things)
are they which the holy *spirit* saith: "The man, whose is
this girdle, the *Jews* will thus bind in Jerusalem, and will
deliver him to (the) hands of *Gentiles*."' 12 But we having
heard these (things), were beseeching, we and the brethren of
that place, for him not to go to Jerusalem. 13 *Then* answered
Paulos: 'What do ye, weeping and paining my heart? For
not only to be bound, but (ⲁ) I (pron.) am prepared to die
in Jerusalem for (the) name of the Lord Jesus.' 14 But he
having not been persuaded, we held our peace, saying: 'Let
the will of the Lord be done.'

15 But after these days having prepared ourselves, we were
going to Jerusalem. 16 But some from the *disciples* came
with us from Kesaria, having brought him with whom we

ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, P. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ.] ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ (om. N) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ., KrN. ⲡ(ⲫ, O)ⲁⲓⲙⲟϫϧ] ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩϫϧ 'the &c.,' FS. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩ., 18. 12 ⲡⲉ] ⲇⲉ, FSc. ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] A1,2c Ba 18: ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, LgTt &c.: ϯⲡ., NT. ⲑⲣⲉϥ] ⲑⲣⲉⲛ, FS: ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥ, A2P. Bamg الآخرة 'the end.' 13 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ . . . ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC* Hunt 18, 13–17
et 2 E 13. 15. 16. 18. 31. 73. 81. cat vg syrsch arm. ϫⲉ] LgTtABaΓKr NPT, cf. Gr. BCHLP al longe plu syrp: pref. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, FGOS, cf.? Gr. ℵAE 7. 13. 25. 27. 29. 33. 34. 69. 81. 97. 105. 180. al5 scr vg syrsch are arm aeth. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] LgAFGPS: ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ., Ba: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ., TtΓKrNO?T. -ⲣⲁ] -ⲓⲣⲓ, FGS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, G. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲓⲙⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣ., O. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ΓN(O)T: ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ., O. ϧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf.? Gr. ℵ*. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'our Lord,' BaFS 18. 14 ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁϥ] position cf.? Gr. DHLP al pler &c. 15 Fmg الرفع د . . . '(the Sunday) before the fast, the fourth Sunday of Amshīr.' ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲛⲁⲛⲛⲁ] cf.? Gr. ℵcABEHL2P al pler &c.: ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ, Ba singular: ⲛⲁⲛ, A, 'going' omitted. ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c. 16 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. G. ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE: pref. ϯ, Tt. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2° . . . ⲓⲛⲓ] om. S.

ⲧⲏⲥ⳹ ⲉⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϫⲱⲓⲗⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲑⲏ-
ⲧⲏⲥ. [17]ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ⳹ [18]ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ϣⲁ ⲓⲁⲕⲱ-
ⲃⲟⲥ. ⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳹ [19]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
cβ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ⳹ ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳹
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ⳹ [20]ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
τζ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲁⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ⳹ †Ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲭⲛⲁⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ
ⲛ̅ⲑⲃⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲭⲟϩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ⳹
[21]ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲕ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲕϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳹ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ⳹ ⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲩⲃⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ⳹ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛ-
ⲏⲑⲓⲁ. [22]ⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲓ.
[23]ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϫⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ⳹
τη Ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳹ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ-
ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ. [24]ϭⲓ̅ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲕ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϭⲉ ⲇⲁⲡⲁⲛⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳹

ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, ΓNOT. ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ] L^{g}AGK^{r}P 18*: ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲛ, B^{a} 18^{c}, cf. Gr. D^{gr*} wtst d fu tol: ⲓⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ, T^{t}ΓFNOT, cf. ? Gr. ℵ demid vg^{sixt}: ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ, S. ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ &c.] ⲟⲩⲕ. + ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓNO^{c}T: ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ, FGS. [18] ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] pref. ⲉ, NOT. ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. BCHLP al pler cat de vg &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. ? Gr. D*d. [19] -ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ] -ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ, FS by error. ⲛⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] AB^{a}Γ NOT: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}FGK^{r}PS. ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛⲏⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ, FST. [20] ⲁⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵD &c.: ⲛⲁⲩϯ., ΓGNOT, cf. Gr. ABCEH LP al omn^{vid} cat vg &c. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEL al^{30} cat vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. 1^{scr} &c.: om. L^{g}FPS, cf. ? Gr. CD al^{35} syr^{p} &c. ⲭⲛⲁⲩ] ⲕⲛⲁⲩ, G. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲛⲉ, P. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

should (lit. will) lodge, one 'Nassōn,' a *Kyprian*, an *early*
disciple. 17 But having come into Jerusalem, the brethren
received us in [a] joy. 18 But on the (lit. his) morrow Paulos
came with us unto Iakōbos; but all the *presbyters* came to
him. 19 And having *saluted* them, he was narrating to them
one by one the things which God did among the *Gentiles*
through his *ministry*. 20 But they (pron.) having heard,
glorified God. But they said to him: 'Thou seest, our
brother, how many ten thousands there are from the *Jews*
who believed; and all are zealots for (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) the *law*: 21 but
they were shown concerning thee, that thou teachest the
Jews who are among the *Gentiles* to depart from Moses,
saying: "Circumcise not your children, *nor* walk according
to the *customs*. 22 What, then? They will *certainly* hear
that thou camest. 23 This *then* do which we shall (lit. will)
say to thee." We have four men who have a *vow* to be
paid[a]; 24 take these, purify thyself with them, and pay
expense for them, that they may shave their head: and all

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[a] Lit. 'from, by, or through them.'

ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu (pauci τῶν ἰουδ.) syr^{p} arm &c. ⲛⲉ] om. FK^{r}S : trs. after ⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, G. 21 ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. AD*E 13. d vg. -ϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ] -ϩⲉⲛ, L^{g}K^{r}PT. ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBCEH al mu : ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S, cf. Gr. ADLP al plu. ⲉⲕϫⲱ] ⲉⲩϫⲱ, L^{g} by error. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣ] om. FS by error. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] T^{t} AB^{a}: ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ, L^{g} &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ] -ⲓⲑⲩⲁ, T: ⲛⲓⲕⲁϩⲥ, L^{g}F GO^{c}S. 22 ⲟⲩ ϫ(ⲇ, F)ⲉ] A(F)GS: + ⲡⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓK^{r}NOPT. ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲥ] AFPST: -ⲱⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGK^{r}NO. ⲡⲁⲛⲧ.] + ⲅⲁⲣ, T^{t}ΓNOT. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. BC* 15. 36. 73. 137. 180. syr^{p} aeth^{utr} &c. 23 ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲟⲛ, P. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ] ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁ., FS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ., T^{t}NOPT: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲇ] om. ⲛ̄, FGS: ⲙ̄ⲇ, B^{a}. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] T^{t}AΓO: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ, L^{g} &c. 24 ϭⲉ] AB^{a}ΓFGK^{r}OPST: ϭⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}N. ⲇⲁⲡⲁⲛⲏ] ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲛⲏ, G: ⲇⲁⲡⲁⲛⲓ, N. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ, T^{t}: ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, G*.

ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲉⲕ ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲕ ⁘ ϩⲁⲛϩⲗⲓ ⲡⲉ ⁘
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉ ⲕϯⲙⲁϯ ϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⁘
τθ † 25 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲉⲁⲛϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓϣⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱϫϩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⁘ 26 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ ⁘ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛ̄ϯⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲱⲣⲁ ⁘ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⁘ |

ⲚⲂ.

τι 27 Ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲁⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⁘ 28 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲛ ⁘
Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲉϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲉⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲉⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲏⲕ, FS: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲉⲕ, G. ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCDE al[15] &c.: ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲓ, A_2GNS*T. ϫⲉ ⲡⲏ] ⲉⲡⲏ, G. ϩⲱⲕ] om. NT. ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ] position cf. Gr. ℵAB CDE 13. 31. 40. 68. 69. 105. 137. 180. a^{scr} c^{scr} cat vg syr^{p} &c. 25 ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] cf. Gr. BD^{gr} 40. 1^{scr} syr^{p} arm. ⲉⲁⲛϯϩⲁⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 81. vg syr^{sch} ar^{e}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ] for ἀπό, cf. ? Gr. E syr^{utr}. ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟ(ⲱ, FS)ϥ] article (sing.) cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c.: +ⲉⲑⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ 'dead,' FS. ⲡⲓⲱϫϩ] article (sing.) cf. Gr. 31. 40. 99. 1^{scr} &c. 26 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] pref. ⲁ, K^{r}. ⲁϥϭⲓ] ⲁⲩϭⲓ, P* by error. ⲉⲑ(Ⲧ, G)ⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf.? Gr. 21. 31. 41. ἐρχομένῃ: ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that,' Γ*O*: ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ, $Γ^{mg}$. ⲉϥⲟⲩ-

shall know that the things which were said concerning thee
are nothing; but (ⲁ) that thou also agreest to keep the *law.*
25 But concerning the *Gentiles* who believed, we (pron.) sent,
having judged to cause them to keep themselves from the
things slain to *idols*, and the blood (plur.), and the things
strangled, and the *fornication.*' 26 *Then* Paulos took the
men; on the day which cometh he purified himself with
them; he went into the temple, manifesting the completion
of the days of the purification, until they brought the *offering*
of each one of them for each one[a].

27 But the seven days being about to be completed, the
Jews of [the] Asia, having seen him being in the temple,
troubled all the multitude, and they laid[b] their hands upon
him, 28 saying: '[The] men, [the] *Israelites*, *help*. This is
the man who opposeth the *people* and the *law* and this place,
teaching all in every place: but *further* also having brought
Greeks into the temple, [and] he defiled the holy place.'

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[a] Lit. 'for him.' [b] Lit. 'brought.'

ⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] LᵍAKʳP: om. Tᵗ &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ.] ⲉⲡⲓ., Bᵃ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. Lᵍ. ⲛ̄ϯⲡ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲡ., LᵍF PS. ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲱⲣⲁ] ABᵃΓGKʳOT: -ⲟⲣⲁ, LᵍTᵗFNPS. ⲉϫⲱϥ] ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ, ΓNOT. Fᵐᵍ 'the end (of the lection).' 27 ⲉⲩⲛⲁϫⲱⲕ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ., 26, preterite. ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ, ΓᵐᵍOᵐᵍ ('a copy'). ⲉϥϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] om. 26: om. ⲉϥ, G. ⲁⲩϣⲑ.] ⲁϥϣⲑ., Tᵗ. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. FS 26. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., FGS. ⲉϩ. ⲉϫⲱϥ] position cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu &c. 28 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] A: ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'crying out,' Lᵍ &c.: ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃ. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, Tᵗ 26. ⲛⲓ(om. BᵃP)ⲓⲥⲣⲁⲏⲗⲓⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. B³CEHLP &c. ⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓ(ⲏ, N)ⲛ] + ⲉⲣⲟⲛ 'us,' TᵗKʳOP. ⲉⲧϯ] ⲉϥϯ, P. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲡⲓ, O. ⲉⲧⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉ, LᵍKʳ by error; cf. Gr. 25. 40. al pauc δέ: om. ⲇⲉ, KʳP, cf. Gr. D 31. 68. ⲉⲁϥⲉⲛⲟⲩ] ABᵃGKʳP 18: ⲁϥ., LᵍTᵗΓNOT 26: ⲛⲁϥ., FS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26.

Hunt 18, 27–34
Hunt 26, 27–31

ⲁϥⲥⲱϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ· 29 ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲩ· ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ· ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ· ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ· ϫⲉ
ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲗϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ·
30 Ⲁⲥⲕⲓⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ· ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲕϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ. 31 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ·
ⲁⲛⲓ . . ., Ⲁⲡⲓϣⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ· ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
K ϯⲥⲡⲓⲣⲁ· ϫⲉ ⲁⲥϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅·
32 ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲁϥϭⲟϫⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ· ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ· ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲗⲟϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ·
33 Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ·
ⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛϩϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲃ̅ϯ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ
cr ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ·
34 ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ·
τια Ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲡⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ· ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ. 35 ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ

ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] AB^aΓNOT 18: ⲉⲡⲓ., K^rP: ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓ., L^gT^tFGS. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, B^aK^rP: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, FS. 29 ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣ(om. ⲉⲣ, NT)-ϣⲟⲣⲡ &c.] ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ., A_2*FS; cf. Gr. ℵABCDE &c. ⲡⲉ] om. 26: trs. after ⲛⲁⲩ, B^a 18. ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲛⲁⲩ, T^tΓNOT. ⲧⲣⲟⲫⲏ.] T^tAGK^rP 26: -ⲫⲓ., L^gB^aFST: -ⲫⲩ., ΓNO. ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] + ⲡⲉ, ΓNT. ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ] pref. ⲉ, T^tFGS. 30 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩ . . . ⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ (+ ⲧⲏⲣϥ 'all,' G) ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲩϭⲟϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ, G) ⲇⲉ, FGS. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om. T^tΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁ(om. L^g)ⲙⲁϩⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, T^t. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁ . . . 31 ϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'and they beat him,' 26. ⲁⲩⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ] AΓ: om. ⲙⲁ, L^gT^t &c.

29 For they had before seen Trophēmos with him in the *city*,
the *Ephesian*; this (man) they were thinking that Paulos
took away into the temple. 30 But the whole *city* was
moved, and there happened a running together of all the
people; and having overpowered Paulos, they drew him out of
the temple, and immediately the doors were shut. 31 But as
they are seeking to kill him, The news went up to the
chiliarchos of the *band*, that the whole of Jerusalem was
troubled. 32 But immediately he took soldiers and *centu-
rions*, he ran upon them. But they (pron.) having seen the
soldiers and the chiliarchos, ceased beating Paulos. 33 *Then*
the chiliarchos having approached, laid hold on him, and
he commanded him to be bound with two *chains*; and he
was asking who he is, and what he did. 34 But others were
crying out saying another thing. But having not been
able to know the certainty because of the tumult, he com-
manded to take him away into the *castle*. 35 But *when* he

ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ] $L^gT^tA\Gamma^c$FGOPS 26: ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩ, B^aK^rNT 18.
31 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ] ⲉⲩϣⲓⲛⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. $D^{gr\,2}$HLP al pler
cat vg syr^p arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϧ.] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧ., FS. ⲇⲉ 2°] L^gT^tAFGS:
om. B^aΓKNOPT 18. 26. ϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄] L^gT^tAO: -ⲏⲓ ⲉ,
ΓNPT: om. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, B^a 18: ⲫⲟϩ ϣⲁ, $FGKS^o$: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϣⲁ,
26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲥⲡⲓ(ⲩ, ΓOT)ⲣⲁ] om. 26. ⲁⲥϣ.] cf. Gr. $\aleph^c$EHLP al
fere omn cat d e syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲥ] om. FGKS: trs. after ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅,
26. ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ., NT. 32 ⲇⲉ 1°] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ . . . ϭⲟϫⲓ] om. T. ⲉⲛⲓ . . . ⲭ̄ⲟⲥ] ⲉⲛⲓⲭ. ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ, FS. ⲉⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] ⲉϩ. 'to beat,' A_2*FS. ⲉⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲗⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡ., FS. 33 ⲉⲧⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ] ⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ, NOT.
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛϩϥ] ⲉⲥⲟⲛϩϥ, NOT. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗ.] ⲉϩ., G: -ϩⲩⲗⲏ.,
P: -ⲗⲉⲥⲓⲥ, K: -ⲏⲥⲓⲥ, FS. ⲃ̄ϯ] $A\Gamma^r$FGKPS: ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ, $L^gT^tB^a$
NOT. ϫⲉ 2°] om. $FGKS^o$. ⲡⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ] L^gAB^aFS: ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲧⲁϥ., T^tΓGKNOPT. 34 ⲛⲁⲩⲱϣ] ⲁⲩ., P. ⲉⲩϫⲱ]
+ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, T^t. ϩⲱⲃ] + ϧⲉⲛⲡ(ⲛ, N)ⲓⲙⲏϣ 'in the multi-
tude,' A. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲓ] L^gAB^aΓFNOST: ⲉⲉⲙⲓ, T^tG
KP. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 'and,' FS. ⲟⲗϥ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, A_2: Hunt 18, 35-40 . . . ⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲉⲛϥ 'bring him,' FS. 35 ⲇⲉ] om. G.

ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲧⲉⲣ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙ-
ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ÷ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡϭⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ÷ 36 ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ÷ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲓⲧϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ÷
τιβ 37 Ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲡⲉϫⲉ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϫⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ÷ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ÷ ϫⲉ
ⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ ÷ 38 ϩⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ
ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛ̅ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ÷ ⲉⲧϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕϭⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̅ϣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ÷ 39 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙ-
ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ÷ ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙⲙ̅ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲕⲓ ÷ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ÷ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ÷
τιγ 40 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲧⲉⲣ ÷ ⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ÷ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲭⲁ-
ⲣⲱϥ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ÷ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙ-
τιδ ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ÷ † 1 Ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ-
ⲅⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̅ⲧⲏⲓ | ϣⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ÷ 2 ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ϧⲉⲛ

ⲛⲓⲧⲱ(+ⲣ, A_2)ⲧⲉⲣ] ⲛⲓⲧ., B^{a} 18 singular. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] +ⲟⲩ, 18. ⲡϭⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}GK 18: ⲛⲓϭⲓ, L^{g}ΓFNOPST. ⲙⲏϣ] +ⲙ̅ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ 'with iron,' G (tr. بالحديد) K. 36 ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ, G plural. ⲉⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵABE^{gr} al plus^{20} cat vg^{cod} (ap Lachm) syr$^{:ch}$ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] +ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ 'saying,' FS. 37 ⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. 15. 16. 18. 27. 36. 38. 93. 105. 113. 137. al^{6scr} al^{5} syr^{p} &c.: om. GK. ⲁⲛ] trs. after ⲛⲏⲓ, T^{t}: ⲙⲏ, GK. 38 ⲉⲧϧⲁ.] A: ⲉⲧⲉϧ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̅ϣⲟ] ⲛ̅ⲩ̅ 'four hundred,' GK (mg في العربي اربعة الف رجل 'in the Arabic four thousand men'), cf. Gr. 43. ⲥⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ] ⲥⲩⲕ., T: ⲃⲓⲕ., G. 39 ⲛⲁϥ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}

was mounting the stairs, it came to pass that the soldiers carried him because of (the) violence of the multitude; [36] for the multitude of the *people* were walking after him, crying out: 'Take him away there.' [37] But as they are about to bring him into the *castle*, Paulos said to the chiliarchos: 'Is it lawful for me to say anything to thee?' But he (pron.) said to him: 'Knowest thou indeed (ⲡⲱ) Greek? [38] Art thou not *then* the man of Chēmi[a] who before these days madest tumults, and thou tookest four thousand men of the *Assassins* out to (the) desert?' [39] But Paulos said to him: 'I *indeed* (am) a man, *Jew*, a man of Tarsos, of [the] Kylikia, a citizen of a city which is not inconspicuous: I pray thee *then* to command me that I may speak to this *people*.' [40] But he having commanded him, Paulos standing upon the stairs waved (ⲕⲓⲙ) his hand against the *people*; but a great silence[b] having been made, he cried out in the language of *Hebrew*, saying: XXII. '[The] men, [the] brethren, and [the] fathers, hear my *defence* which is mine unto you now.' [2] But having heard that he answered them in the language of

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[a] Egypt. [b] Lit. 'hold mouth.'

FGPS: om. ΓKNOT. ϫⲉ] om. T^tΓNOT. ⲟⲩⲣⲉⲙ] ⲉⲩⲣⲉⲙ, G. ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ] ⲑ., FKG*PS. ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲃ., B^a: om. ⲙ̄, FKS. ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A: ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, B^aKP 18: ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲟⲩⲛ] $L^gT^tAB^aP$: ⲇⲉ, FGKNOST: om. Γ, cf. Gr. L 1. 19. 20* 40. e^{scr} syr^{sch}. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕ] T^tA: om. L^g &c. ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲗ., A_2*N. [40] F^{mg} 'the first Sunday of the Fast': S^{mg} 'it is read on the fifth Sunday in Pentecost.' ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, FGKS 26. ⲉⲧⲁ] ⲉⲧ, NO*. ⲇⲉ 2°] L^gT^tAFGKPS 26: om. B^aΓNOT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] + ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, O. ϩⲉⲃⲣⲉ(ⲓ, ⲛ)ⲟⲥ] ⲉⲃ., ΓNOT. Hunt 26, 40—XXII. 1

[1] F^{mg} 'the fifth Sunday of Pentecost.' ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] $T^tAB^a\Gamma^{mg}NO^{mg}$ ('a copy') PT 18. 26: ⲛⲉⲛ. 'our &c.,' L^gΓ*FGKO*S. [2] ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] $L^gT^tAB^a$FGKPS 18: ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'called them,' ΓNOT 26; tense cf. ? Gr. L. 15. 18. 27. 29. 36. 40. 69. 73. 105. 137. 180. $al^{5\,scr}$ cat syr^p e. Hunt 18, 1–5

ϯⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ÷ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩ-
ϫⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ.
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ÷ 3 ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ÷ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲩ-
ⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ÷ ⲉⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲉⲛϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲛ̀ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ ÷ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ
ⲉⲡⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ÷ ⲉⲓⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϫⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ÷ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲧⲉⲛ ÷
ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ÷
4 ⲉⲁⲓϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ϣⲁⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ÷
Ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲉⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ÷ 5 ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣ-
ϫⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ-
ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ÷ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ÷
ⲧⲓⲉ Ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲕⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ÷ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϯ ⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ. 6 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲓ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲱϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲣⲓ ÷ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲟϯ ÷
ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ÷ 7 ⲁⲓϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ÷ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲁϧⲟⲕ ⲕϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ ÷

ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ] ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ, FS. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. 18. 26. ⲁⲩϫⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$A 26: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ, B^{a}Γ(tr. ق قمّوا وسكتوا وجد في هذا النسخ فقط سكتوا 'Coptic, "they came up, they kept silence," it was found in this copy only')FGKOP 18: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛ̀ϫ., N: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓϫ., S: ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫ., T. 3 ϫⲉ] om. ΓNOT 26. ⲙⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler syr^{p} $aeth^{utr}$ &c.: pref. ⲛⲓ, T. ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧ] A: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙ., P 26: ⲉⲁⲩⲙ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ] ⲑ., P: -ⲱⲥ, K. ⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕ.] ⲕⲓⲗⲓⲕ., 18. ⲉⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲧ] ⲁⲩϣ., FS. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] AFGKS, cf. Gr. 104. c^{sor} h^{sor*}: pref. ⲇⲉ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ B^{a}ΓNOPT. ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗ.] ⲅⲁⲙⲙⲁⲗ., P. ⲉⲡⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ] AB^{a} 18: ⲉⲛⲓⲧ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. plural. ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲛⲛ., T: ⲛⲓⲛ., S.

Hebrew, [but] they held their peace *the more*. And he said:
3 'I *indeed* am a man, Jew, I was born in Tarsos of [the]
Kylikia, having been brought up[a] in this *city*, at (the) feet
of Gamaliēl, he (ⲫⲁⲓ) who taught me accurately[b] (the) *law*
of our fathers, I being a zealot for God according as all ye
(pron.) also are being to-day, 4 having persecuted this way even
unto (the) death. Binding men and women, casting them
to (the) prison. 5 As the *chief priest* witnesseth to me, and
all the *presbyters*: from whom having received *epistle* unto
the brethren, [But] I was going to Damaskos, to bring
others who were there bound into Jerusalem, that they might
give pain to them. 6 But it happened, that as (I was) walking
and having approached Damaskos about midday, suddenly
shone upon me a great light from (the) heaven. 7 But I fell
down, and I heard a voice saying to me: "Saoul, Saoul, why

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[a] Lit. 'nourished.' [b] Lit. '(the) accuracy of.'

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] AB[a] 18. 26: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., L[g]FGKOS: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛ., T[t]: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., ΓNPT. ⲉⲓⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲓ, FS by error. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, FS 26. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ] om. FGS. 4 ⲉⲁⲓϭⲟϫ(ⲥ, Γ*)ⲓ] L[g]T[t]AB[a] FGS 18: ⲁⲓϭ., Γ[c]KNOPT: ⲉⲓϭ., 26. ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] ⲛⲁⲙ., F: ⲙⲁⲙ., S. ⲉⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] ⲉϩ., T. ⲡϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ] AK[o]P 18: ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ, L[g]T[t] &c.; cf. ? Gr. D 18. 24. 96. 142. 180. cat, singular. 5 ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭ.] ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲁⲣⲭ., B[a] 18. ⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ, P; cf. ? Gr. ℵAEHLP al pler cat vg syr[utr] arm aeth &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. S. ⲛⲏ] ⲛⲁⲓ, 26; cf. Gr. D 3. fu (al[lachm]) syr[sch] aeth om. *καί*. ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ] L[g]T[t]AB[a]Γ[mg]O[mg] ('a copy') 18[o]26: ⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, FS)ⲧⲟⲗⲏ, Γ*FGKO*PS 18*: ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ, NT. ϣⲁ] ⲛ̄, OP. ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲇⲉ] T[t]AB[a] 18: om. ⲇⲉ, L[g] &c.: ⲛⲁⲓϩⲏⲗ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉⲇ(ⲧ, S)ⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ] ⲛⲇ., T[o]. ⲉⲓⲛⲓ] L[g]AK: ⲉⲓⲓⲛⲓ, T[t]O[o] &c.: ⲉⲓⲉⲓⲛⲓ, 26: ⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓ, O*. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ] L[g]T[t]AB[a]Γ[mg]FGNS 18. 26: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, Γ*KOP: ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, T. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛϩ] T[t]AGKNT 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, L[g]B[a]ΓFOPS 18. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. FS. 6 F[mg] 'the first Sunday of Amshīr.' ⲇⲉ] om. N. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. G. ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ.] ⲧ., O. ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱϯ] ⲉⲡⲕ., K. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩ.] ⲉϥ., T. 7 ⲁⲓϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, O. ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] om. S. ⲁϩ̀ⲟⲕ] -ⲱⲕ, G. ⲕϭⲟ(ⲓ, N)ϫⲓ] ⲉⲕϭ., FGS 26.

8 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲫⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⁘ 9 ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲉ-
ⲥⲇ ⲙⲏⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ | ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⁘
10 Ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲛⲏⲓ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲙⲁϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ-
ⲕⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲧⲓⲋ 11 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ. ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ-
ϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ. ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⁘
12 Ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ. 13 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ
ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲗ. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ϩⲱ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘
14 Ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲕ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲣⲱϥ. 15 ϫⲉ ⲭⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ ⁘ 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ ⁘ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ϭⲓⲱⲙⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲕⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⁘

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8 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. P. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'my Lord,' K. ⲇⲉ 2°] trs. after ⲛⲏⲓ, T^{t}N ; cf. Gr. D 18. 27. 105. al^{3scr} : om. 26. ⲛⲏⲓ] om. Γ*K. ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍ.] ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲛⲁⲍ., T^{t}N. 9 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. ΓNT. ⲉⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ, Γ: ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲛⲁⲩ, NT. ⲙⲉⲛ] ⲇⲉ, K. ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABH 3. 13. 33. 40. 95* 98^{mg} 100. vg syr^{sch} arm ar^{e}. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. P. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ., T^{t}. 10 ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁ] $L^{g}AB^{a}F$ GS: ⲡⲉ ⲉϯ., T^{t}ΓKNOPT. ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ 'but he,' K. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ] position cf. ? Gr. E. ⲛⲁⲕ 2°] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FGKS: +ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, T^{t}ΓNOPT. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] om. K. 11 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ]

persecutest thou me?" 8 But I (pron.) answered: "Who
(art) thou, Lord?" But he said to me: "I am Jesus the
Nazōreos, he whom thou (pron.) persecutest." 9 But they who
were being with me were seeing *indeed* the light, but they
heard not (the) voice of him who spake to me. 10 But I said:
"What shall (lit. will) I do, Lord?" But the Lord said to
me: "Rise, go into Damaskos; and it will be spoken to thee
there concerning all things which were ordained for thee
to do." 11 But it came to pass, that (ⲇⲉ) as I saw not
for (the) glory of that light, they who were with me laid
hold of my hand; I came to Damaskos. 12 But one, called
(ϫⲉ) Ananias, a man devout according to the *law*, all the
Jews who dwelt there witnessing to him, 13 [but] having
come unto me, and having stood, he said to me: "Saoul,
my brother, see." But I also in that hour gazed at him.
14 But he (pron.) said: "God of our fathers chose thee
before to know his will, and to see the righteous (one), and
to hear a voice from his mouth. 15 Because thou wilt be for
him witness with all men concerning the things which thou
sawest and which thou heardest. 16 And now what wilt
thou do? Rise, be baptised and wash thee from thy sins,

L^{g}AB^{a}ΓKO*PS: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, F: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, G: ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 'because of,' T^{t}NO^{mg} ('a copy') T. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FGS. ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ] ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ 'who walked &c.,' FOS. 12 ⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ] om. ⲉϥ, NT: ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ., T^{t}FGS. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABEP al sat mu vg syr^{sch}. 13 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ, NT. ⲇⲉ 1°] T^{t}AB^a: om. L^g &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. B^{a}FS. ϩⲱ(+ϯ, FS)] L^{g}T^{t}A(B^{a}F)G(S): om. ΓKNOPT. ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ, P*. 14 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲏⲓ, B^{a}GOP, cf. Gr. 28. c^{sor} d syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] ⲛⲓⲓ(om. S)ⲟϯ 'the &c.,' K*S. ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲕ] AS: ⲥⲟⲧ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉϩⲛⲁϥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ., P. 15 ⲛⲁϥ] om. L^g. 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. FGS. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲟⲩ, Γ*KNT. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ.] AB^{a}GK: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ., L^{g}T^{t}Γ^{c}FNOPST. ϭⲓ] pref. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ, FGS. ϫⲟⲕⲙ.] ϫⲱⲕⲙ., FS. ⲉⲕⲧⲱⲃϩ] ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲱⲃϩ, GO. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABE al plus 10 cat d vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. F^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

τιζ 17 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲕⲟⲧⲧ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩ-
ⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲙⲧ ⳾
18 ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ
ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ |
ϭⲓⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧ ⳾
19 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
τιη ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⳾ † 20 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲫⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲛⲁⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ
ⲉⲓϯⲙⲁϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲛⲁⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲙⲟϣⲓ. ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲕ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ
ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
τιθ 22 Ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϭ̅ⲓ̅ⲥⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
ϥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲱⲛϧ ⲁⲛ ⳾
23 Ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲥⲓϯ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲧ ϣⲱⲓϣ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲏⲣ ⳾ 24 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϭ̅ⲓ̅ⲧϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲡⲁ-
ⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϯⲙ̅ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ

Hunt 18, 17–21; Hunt 26, 17–25 i, 17–20 ii. iii

17 ⲇⲉ] om. ΓP. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26, cf. Gr. 104. d &c. ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲁⲥϣ., FS. ⲧⲱⲙⲧ] ⲧⲟⲙⲧ, K 26^{i}. 18 ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}FS; cf. Gr. ℵ 18. 36. 180. cat^{361} d. ⲛⲏⲓ] om. L^{g}. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ] $A_{1.2}$°B^{a}K 18: ⲓⲱⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ (+ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, O) ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ, L^{g}ΓNOPT: ⲓⲏⲥ ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, 26: ⲓⲏⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ, T^{t}FGS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. 26^{ii}. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϭ̅ⲓ̅] ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭ̅ⲓ̅, FGS. ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ, A_1: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲙ., FGS. ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧ] +ϧⲉⲛⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅, FGOS. 19 ϩⲱ] om. K: pref. ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] om. 26. ⲥⲉⲉⲙⲓ] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ, O: ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲓ, K. ⲛⲁⲓϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ: ⲁⲓϩ., (FS): pref. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, T^{t}FG(ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ)KOS: +ⲡⲉ, NOPT. ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅ.] L^{g}AB^{a}FGS 26: +ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓKNOPT. 20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. 26. ϩⲟⲧⲉ] +ⲇⲉ, $26^{i.ii}$. ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲫⲱⲛ] ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁⲫⲱⲛ, T^{t}G. ⲙ̅ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲛ̅ⲥⲛⲟϥ, 26?.

praying to his name." 17 But it came to pass (that) having
returned to Jerusalem, and *praying* in the temple, I was
in a trance; 18 I saw him saying to me: "Come quickly
from Jerusalem, because they will not receive witness from
thee concerning me." 19 I also said: "Lord, they (pron.)
know that I was casting to (the) prison, and I was beating[a] *in* (every) *synagogue* them who believed thee: 20 and
when they were about to shed (the) blood of Stephanos the
martyr I also was standing, consenting, and I was keeping
the garments of them who were killing him." 21 And he
said to me: "Go (lit. walk): because I (pron.) will send thee
to distant *Gentiles*."' 22 But they were hearing him unto
this word; and they lifted up their voice, saying: 'Take
away such an one from (the) earth: for he is not worthy
of living.' 23 But (as they are) crying out, and throwing
(off) their garments, and throwing dust to the *air*, 24 the
chiliarchos *commanded* them to take him into the *castle*,
having told (ϫⲟⲥ) them to give pain to him with *scourges*,

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[a] Lit. 'casting,' as usual.

ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 68). ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲣⲧ.] ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧ., NT: ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̅ⲣ̅, P. ⲛⲁⲓⲟϩⲓ] ⲁⲓⲟϩⲓ, B[a] 18. ⲉⲓϯⲙⲁϯ] ⲉⲁⲓϯ., T[t]: ⲉⲛⲓϯⲙ., N by error; cf. Gr. ℵAB(D)E 40. vg aeth[utr]. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABDE al sat mu cat vg &c.: om. FGS, cf. Gr. HLP al fere[45] syr[p] &c. ⲉⲛⲁⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] T[t]A₁: ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁϧ., B[a] 18: ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧ., L[g] &c. 21 ϫⲉ 2°] + ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ 'lo,' FS. ϯⲛⲁ.] ϯ., O. ⲉϩⲁⲛ.] ⲛ̅ϩ., FS: ϩⲁⲛⲓⲕⲉ. 'also unto the &c.,' 26. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ] om. 26. 22 ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, 26. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. GK. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. 26. ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ] A₁: ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ 'of this kind,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲁⲛ] + ϫⲉ ἔτι, 18. 23 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. (exc. ABC syr[sch] aeth). ⲥⲓϯ . . . ⲉⲩ] om. O* homeot. ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. E vg syr[utr] aeth: + ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ 'together,' 26. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FGS 26. 24 ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭ.] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲭ. '(he commanded) the chiliarch,' FS. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϭ̅ⲓ̅ⲧϥ] position cf. Gr. ℵABC DE al mu vg syr[utr] arm aeth &c. ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] om. 26. Hunt 18, 22–24

ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲥⲉⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾
τκ 25 ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲟⲗⲕϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϧⲱⲕ ⲡⲉϫⲉ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁϥⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϥⲉⲣ ⲡⲕⲉ-
ϩⲱⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲅⲟⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
τκα 26 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ
ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ. ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ 27 ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲱ-
ce ⲙⲉⲟⲥ | ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϩⲁ ⳾
τκβ 28 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲛⲏⲓ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⳾
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲁⲥⲧ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ. 29 ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϯⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ
ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱ-
ⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲛϩϥ ⳾
τκγ 30 Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁϥ-

ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅ (om. G) ⲝ] ⲟⲩⲙ., P singular: ϯⲙⲁⲥⲧ., T def. sing. ⲥⲉⲱϣ] -ⲟϣ, T. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩ., L^{g}N. 25 ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ] AB^a: ϩⲱⲥ ⲇⲉ, L^{g}ΓFGNPST: ϩⲱ(ⲟ, 26)ⲥⲧⲉ, T^{t}KO 26. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭ.] ⲉⲛⲁⲩϭ., T; plural cf. Gr. ℵABCDE &c. ϧⲉⲛⲛ(ⲡ, FGS)ⲓϧⲱⲕ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., ΓKNOPT: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓϧⲟⲕ, 26. ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] position cf. arm. ⲉⲛⲁϥⲟϩⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟϩⲓ, 26. ⲛ̀ϥⲉⲣ.] ⲛ̀ⲡⲣⲉϥⲉⲣ., FS^c(*+ⲙ). ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲁⲡ] ⲉⲡϩ., FGKS. ⲁⲛ] om. K. ⲡⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ] ⲙ̀ⲡ., K: ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲥϣⲉ, NOT. ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ, FGS. ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲅⲟⲓⲛ] ⲙⲉⲥⲧ., N: -ⲅⲓⲟⲛ, A_2. 26 ⲁϥϣⲉ] +ⲛⲁϥ, FS. ϣⲁ...ⲁϥ(ⲉϥ, Γ)ⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉⲡⲓⲭ., FGS. ⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE al^{10} cat vg syr^{utr} arm. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕ] AB^a: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] A: ⲡⲁⲓⲣ. 'this &c.,' L^{g}T^t &c. 27 ⲁϥⲓ] AB^{a}ΓKOP: ⲁⲓⲓ, N by error: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}FGS. ⲇⲉ 1°] om.

that he might know concerning what cause they cry out thus
upon him. 25 But *when* they strained him in the thongs,
Paulos said to the *centurion* who was standing (by): 'A man,
Roman, not even condemned, it is lawful for you to *scourge*
him.' 26 But the *centurion* having heard, went unto the
chiliarchos, he showed to him, saying: 'What wilt thou do?
For the man is a *Roman*.' 27 But the chiliarchos came unto
him; he said to him: 'Say to me that thou (art) a *Roman*.'
But he (pron.) said: 'Yea.' 28 The chiliarchos answered:
'I (pron.) bought this *citizenship* for me with a great[a]
sum.' But Paulos said: 'I (am one) who was born in it.'
29 Immediately *then* they departed from him who give pain
to him: and the chiliarchos feared, having known that he
was a *Roman*, and that he bound him. 30 But on the
(lit. his) morrow, wishing to know the certainty why the

[a] Lit. 'a multitude.'

NO. ϫⲉ 2°] L^gT^tAB^aFGKOS: om. ΓNPT. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ] + ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ, Γ(G)OP; cf. ? Gr. ℵABCDEH al fere^{40} cat am fu tol syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: pref. ⲁϩⲁ, FGS, obs. Gr. LP al plu vg^{cle} demid &c. praem εἰ. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ] ⲡⲉϫⲉ, G. 28 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] L^gAB^aF KOS, cf. Gr. AL 40. 96. 142. arm &c.: + ⲇⲉ, T^tΓGNPT, cf. Gr. ℵB CE 4. 13. 15. 18. 36. 69. al^{3scr} cat syr^p. ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓ.] ⲡⲓⲭⲁⲗⲓ., A_2, thus verse 29. ϫⲉ 1°] pref. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, B^a. ϣⲱⲡ] ϣⲟⲡ, T. ⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAEL. ⲛⲏⲓ] om. B^a. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, FPST. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 2°] om. K. 29 ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲟⲛ, P: om. K. ⲁⲩϩⲉⲛⲟⲩ] AB^a: pref. ⲁⲩⲗⲟ(+ⲩ, NT)ϫⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ(ⲁⲩ, FS: ⲉ, K)ϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ 'they ceased beating (K 'to beat') Paul,' L^gT^t &c. ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] om. L^g. ⲉⲧϯⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] L^gAB^aFS: ⲉⲛⲁⲩϯⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, G)ⲕⲁϩ 'who were giving pain,' T^tΓGKNOPT. ⲁ . . . ⲭⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 21. 32. 40. 42. 57* 99. om. δέ. ⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ] L^gT^tA B^aFGKS: + ⲇⲉ, ΓNOPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. FGS. ⲁϥⲥⲟⲛϩϥ] A_1FGS: ⲛⲉⲁϥ, L^gT^t &c. 30 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] T^tAB^aFGKS: pref. ⲉ, L^gΓNOPT. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] L^gAΓFGOS: ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ, T^tB^a KNPT. ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅ.] ⲉⲣⲕⲏⲧ., P: om. ⲉⲣ, A_2*. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲛⲓ., O: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., NT. ⲁϥⲃⲟⲗϥ] + ⲇⲉ, B^a; cf. Gr. ℵABCE

ⲃⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ⳾

ⲚⲄ.

(τκδ) Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ
ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ⳾ ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩ-
ⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϣⲁⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳾ 2 ⲡⲓⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲣⲱϥ⳾ 3 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲫϯ
ⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾ ϯϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲟϣϫ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲛⲓⲁ⳾ ⲕⲉⲣⲡⲕⲉϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉⲕϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ⳾ 4 ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϩⲱⲟⲩϣ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ⳾ 5 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾
ⲥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ | ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲁⲟⲥ⳾
τκδ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ⳾ † 6 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ⳾
ⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓ-
ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯ-
ϩⲁⲡ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ⳾

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al fere[15] vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{ro} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥ.] ⲉⲁϥ., FGKS. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. HLP al longe plu aeth^{utr} &c. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE al plus[20] cat vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲁϥⲉⲛ] ⲁⲩⲉⲛ, B^{a}Γ OP. ⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟϥ] ⲁⲩⲧ., P. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] AB^{a}: ϧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏϯ 'in their midst,' L^{g}T^{t} &c.

Hunt 26, 1–11 1 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥ.] ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ., T by error. ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛⲓⲥ., FS 26. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩ., FGKS. ⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ] AFS 26: -ⲇⲩⲥⲓⲥ, NT: -ⲇⲏⲥⲓⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}(pref. ⲟⲩ)B^{a}ΓGKOP. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ (ⲛⲏⲟⲩ, N)] om.

Jews accused him, he loosed him, and he commanded to come the *chief priests* and all the council, and he brought Paulos down, he set him among them.

XXIII. But Paulos having gazed at the council, said, [The] men, our brethren, in all good (plur.) *conscience* I (pron.) *lived before* God up to this day. ² But the *chief priest* Ananias commanded them who stood by him to strike[a] on his mouth. ³ *Then* said Paulos to him: 'God will strike thee thus, [the] wall which is smeared with *white*; thou sittest even judging me according to the *law*, and thou commandest to strike me contrary to the *law*.' ⁴ But they who stood (by) said: 'Thou reviledst the *chief priest* of God.' ⁵ But Paulos said: 'I was not knowing, my brethren, that he is *chief priest*: for it is written, "A *ruler* of thy *people* thou shalt not say evil against."' ⁶ But Paulos having known that there is a *part* (of them) *indeed* belonging to the *Sadducees*, but the other *part* belonging to the *Pharisees*, he cried out in the council, [The] men, our brethren, I (am) a *Pharisee*;

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[a] Lit. 'throw,' thus again.

K. ⲉⲣ(+ⲁ, T^{t}NT) ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉⲥⲑⲉ] AΓG 26: -ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲑⲉ, L^{g} &c.
ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ⲉⲫϯ, G. ² ⲇⲉ] ϫⲉ, N. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ] om. Γ*P.
ϧⲉⲛ] AB^{a} 26: pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ³ ⲛⲁϥ] position cf. ?
Gr. C vg^{cle} syr^{sch} aeth post εἶπεν. ⲕⲉⲣ. 1°] ⲁⲕⲉⲣ., FS. ⲉⲕϯ.]
ⲉⲁⲕϯ., FS. ⲕⲉⲣ. 2°] ⲉⲕⲉⲣ., T^{t}G. -ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ] -ⲕⲉⲗⲓⲛ, B^{a}.
⁵ ϫⲉ 1°] om. O. ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AΓ^{v}: +ⲁⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲅⲁⲣ
ϫⲉ 3°] cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 37. k^{sor} &c. ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ] ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ,
G. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϫⲉ, O. ⁶ ⲇⲉ 1°] om. FS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] Hunt 26, 6–8
om. 26: pref. ⲛⲉ, P. ⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕ(ⲟⲕ, A_2T).] trs. with ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ
1°, 26, cf. Gr. 38. 69. 105. 113. a^{sor} h^{sor}. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. K 26. ⲡⲉ
. . . ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ 2°] om. T homeot. ⲉⲫⲁ 2°] A: om. ⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.,
thus again. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. 26. ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT:
ⲛⲓⲥⲛ., T^{t}FGKS. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 1°] + ⲇⲉ, G. ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ] A:
+ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ '(the) son of Pharisee,' L^{g}T^{t}FGKPS^{o}T:
+ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫ. 'a son of Pharisee,' B^{a}ΓNO 26; for φαρισαίου cf. ?

ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲥⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⳾
7 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲫⲱⲣϫ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⳾ 8 ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ
τκε ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ † 9 Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲙ̀-
ⲗⲁϧ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲙ̀-
τκϛ ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ † Ⲓ̈Ⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾

ϤⲀ.

τκζ 10 Ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ϩⲟϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϥⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⳾
11 Ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϫⲉⲙⲛⲟⲙϯ ⳾
ⲥϛ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅
ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲏ ⳾

Gr. EHLP al pler syr^{p} arm aeth, but the absence of article may denote plural, cf. Gr. rell. ⲟⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ] Ⲧϩ., P: +ⲇⲉ, FGKS. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 2° cf. Gr. (exc. B &c.). 7 ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟϥ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}AE al^{17} vg syr^{sch} &c. ⲫ . . . ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇ.] cf. Gr. ABCHLP al plu cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c.; for τῶν σαδδ. cf. Gr. HL al plu cat. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲫ . . . ⲙⲏϣ] om. 26^{1}. ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . 8 ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ] om. N homeot. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ] ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ, O. 8 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ] om. ⲅⲁⲣ, FKS: ⲇⲉ, 26^{11}. ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] pref. ⲟⲩ, P. ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.

concerning a *hope* and a *resurrection* of the dead I (pron.)
am judged. 7 But he having said this, there happened
a tumult between the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*: and the
multitude was divided. 8 For the *Sadducees indeed* say that
there is not *resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit,* but the
Pharisees confess them both[a]. 9 But a great noise happened,
and some from the *Pharisees* rose, they disputed, saying:
'We find nothing of evil in this man. If a *spirit* spake to
him or an *angel.*'

10 But a great tumult having happened, the chiliarchos
feared *lest by any means* Paulos should be carried (off) by
them, he *commanded* the *soldiery* that they should go up and
snatch him from their midst, and bring him into the *castle,*

11 But in the night which cometh the Lord stood by him,
he said: 'Take courage; as thou witnessed concerning me
in Jerusalem, thus thou must also witness concerning me in

[a] Lit. 'together.'

9 ⲁϥϣ.] ⲁⲩϣ., S. ⲇⲉ] om. B^aG^*K 26. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AG: -ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c.: -ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲱⲟⲩ, N by error. ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. AE 13. 25. vg. ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲗⲁϧ] ⲁⲩⲉⲙⲙϧ., G: ⲉⲩⲙ̄., PT. ⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ] pref. ⲛ̄, GKS. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] ϧⲁ, FS 26. ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 40. 61. 66** vg arm aeth syr^p (syr^{sch} ar^e) &c. 10 ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄] om. FS: om. ⲟⲩ, OP*. ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 14* 15. 18. 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 73. 105. 130. 137. 180. 12^{lect} a^{scr} c^{scr} cat &c. ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ] -ⲟⲥ, NS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϥⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ., B^aF^*ST. ⲁϥⲉⲣ.] ⲁⲩⲉⲣ., O. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲓ, 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] $L^gAB^a\Gamma NOPT$: -ϩⲟ(ⲱ, T^t)ⲗⲙⲉϥ, T^tFGKS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. B^a. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛϥ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. B 31). ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ 2°] AB^a: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, L^g &c.: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^t. 11 ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'that,' 26. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ] ⲉϫⲱϥ, FGKS: ⲛⲁϩϯ, NT by error. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] + ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' FKS 26. ϫⲉ(O, ΓN)ⲙⲛⲟⲙϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABC*E al^{10} vg syr^p arm^{cdd} (syr^{sch} ar^e $aeth^{utr}$) &c. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] A_1B^aFS: +ⲅⲁⲣ, L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ., ST* by error. ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] ⲫⲁⲓⲣ., S. ϩⲱϯ] ϩⲱⲧⲓ, G. ⲟⲛ] om. T: ⲡⲉ, FGK. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ.] ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕ., K. ⲣⲱⲙⲏ] ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, NS. F^{mg} K^{mg} 'the end (of the lection).'

12 Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϥϣ-
ⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲱ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 13 ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁϣ ⳾ 14 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲓ
ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲑⲉⲙⲁ ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛ ⳾
ⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙϫⲉⲙϯⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ. 15 ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ ⳾ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛϥ ϣⲁⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ
ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾
ⲧⲕⲏ 16 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉϯϫⲟⲣϫⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙ-
ⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 17 ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ-
ϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲭⲓ-
ⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉϫⲟϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾
18 ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲛϥ ϣⲁ ⲡⲓⲭⲓ-
ⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾

Hunt 26, 12–25

12 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. (exc. B c^{scr} syr^{utr} aeth): om. FS. ⲁⲩⲑ. ⲛ̀ϫⲉ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 61. al^{15} cat arm aeth. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲕⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}A B^{a}ΓOPT(ⲁϥ): ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲣⲕⲱⲟⲩ, N by error: ⲁⲩⲱⲣⲕ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ, T^{t}FGKS. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ABEH LP al longe plu cat vg syr$^{p\,mg}$ aeth &c.: om. 26, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}C 4* 37. 38. 40. 56. 66. 69. 73. 93. 105. 113. al$^{5\ scr}$ syr^{sch} et $^{p\,txt}$ arm ar^{e} &c. 13 ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNOT: om. P: ⲅⲁⲣ, FGKS 26. ⲉⲙ̅] ⲛ̅ⲙ̅, FS 26. ⲣⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲙⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}P: + ⲡⲉ, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁϣ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}Γ NOP: ⲡⲓ., FG*KST 26. 14 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲓ] ⲛⲁⲩⲓ, G: ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲓ, FS by error. ϫⲉ] AB^{a}FGS 26 : om. L^{g}T^{t}ΓKNOPT. ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲑⲉ(ⲏ, P)ⲙⲁ] ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁϣ 'an oath,' FGO^{mg}('a copy')S. ⲁⲛⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛ] L^{g}O^{mg}('a copy') &c.: ⲁⲛⲱⲣⲕ 'we sware,' FGS. ϩⲗⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNO*PT 26: +ⲛ̀ⲱⲓⲕ, T^{t}FGKO^{mg}('a copy')S. ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛϧ.] ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛϧ., GO. 15 ⲟⲩ(om. ⲟⲩ, G)ⲟⲛϩ] A: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.:

Rōmē.' 12 But the day having come (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), the *Jews*
assembled, they adjured themselves, saying (that they would)
not eat *nor* drink until they killed Paulos. 13 But they
were being more than forty men, they who made this oath.
14 These came unto the *chief priests* and the *presbyters*, they
said: 'In an anathema we adjured ourselves not to taste
anything until we kill Paulos: 15 now *then* make known[a] to
the chiliarchos, with the council, *that* he may bring him unto
you *as* that ye may know accurately concerning him: but
we (pron.) before that he approacheth you, are prepared to
kill him.' 16 But (the) son of (the) sister of Paulos having
heard of the plot, he came, he went in to the *castle*, he
showed to Paulos. 17 But Paulos called one of the *centurions*,
he said: 'Take this young man in unto the chiliarchos; for
he hath a thing to say to him.' 18 He (pron.) *indeed then*
took him; he brought him unto the chiliarchos, and he said:
'The prisoner Paulos called me, he told[b] me, To bring

[a] Lit. 'manifest.' [b] Lit. 'said it to.'

ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ 'send,' 26. ⲉⲡⲓⲭ. (ⲭⲁⲣⲓ., A_2*)] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲭ., FS: ϩⲁⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ 'to the elders,' 26. ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] ⲟⲡⲱⲥ, ΓNPT; om. *αὔριον*, cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 14* 15. 36. 61. 69. 73. 105. 130. 180. cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲉⲛϥ] ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲓ 'that they should come,' 26. ϩⲱⲥ] ϩⲟⲥ, 26. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ] A: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲙⲓ, 26: ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ, L^gT^t &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥ.] ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲉϥ., 26. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] cf. syr^{sch} et ^{p} c.*: ⲉⲣⲟⲛ 'to us,' K. 16 ϯⲭⲟⲣⲭⲥ] ⲡⲓⲭ., P. ⲁϥϣⲉ] om. T. 17 ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧ.] ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧ., F*K. ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ] + ⲛⲁϥ, P. -ϣⲓⲣⲓ] -ϣⲏⲣⲓ, NS. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] Γ^{mg} &c.: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁϥ ⲛ̅, O^{mg}: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, KNO*T: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, Γ*. ⲉⲭⲟϥ] AK: ⲉϥ(ϥ, F*S)ⲛⲁⲭⲟϥ(ⲥ, P) 'about to say,' L^gT^t &c. 18 ⲟⲩⲛ] om. P. ⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ] om. G*: + ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ 'in,' O. ⲁ(ⲉ, S)ϥⲉⲛϥ] + ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, ΓNPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] AB^a: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ] + ⲛⲁϥ 'to him,' ΓNOPT. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ] A_1FGKS^c: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^gT^t &c.: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲥ., T^t. ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] trs. before ⲡⲉⲧ., T^tFGKS^c. ⲁϥⲭⲟⲥ] L^gAB^aFGKPS: pref. ⲉ, T^tΓNO*T. ⲛⲏⲓ] om. ΓNO*T.

Ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲕ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ-
ⲧⲉϥ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉϫⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲕ⳾ 19 ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲛ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ⳾ ⲛⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϫⲟϥ ⲛⲏⲓ⳾
20 Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲙⲛⲏⲧⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲃϩⲕ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲥϯ⳾ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ϯϩⲁⲡ⳾ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ⳾ 21 ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ
ⲑⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉ̅ⲙ̅ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲱⲣϫ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲁⲣⲕⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉϣ-
ⲧⲉⲙⲥⲱ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲕ⳾ 22 ⲡⲓⲭⲓ-
ⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲭⲁ ⲡⲓϧⲉⲗϣⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲉⲁϥ-
ϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ
ⲉⲛⲁⲓ⳾
τκθ 23 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉ̅ⲃ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲟⲥ⳾ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲃⲧⲉ ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ⳾
ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲉ ϣⲁ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟ̅ ⲛ̄ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉⲩⲥ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥϩⲓⲗⲟⲩⲭⲏ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁϫⲡ̅ⲅ̅
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ. 24 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ϣⲁ ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ

ⲡⲁⲓϧ.] ⲡⲓϧ. 'the &c.,' Γ*. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] AB^{a}ΓNOT: ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧ., L^{g}(T^{t} ⲛ ⲛ̄)FGKPS. 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}: om. ΓFGKNOPST. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ.] ⲁϥⲉⲣ., FGKOS. ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁ] ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁ, ΓNO^{o}PT. ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ., T^{t}ΓG: ⲉⲧⲉⲕ., K. 20 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] AB^{a}FKS: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t}ΓGNOPT. ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲙⲛⲏⲧⲥ] ⲁⲩⲥⲩⲙⲛ., N. ⲧⲟⲃϩⲕ] ⲧⲱⲃϩⲕ, T^{t}: om. ⲕ, K. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲓⲛⲓ &c.] order cf. ? Gr. L 137. c^{sor} vg^{cle} syr^{utr} arm. ϩⲱⲥ] AB^{a}: +ϫⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲕ(ⲕ, G: ⲭ, T^{t}ΓFKS)ⲛⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ*ABE HLP 10* 13. 28. 40. 61. 97. 101. al fere^{20} aeth &c.: ⲉⲛⲛⲁ, T, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} 3. 18. 20** 36. 66** 68. 73. 98^{mg} 104* 105. 137. 180. al mu cat &c. vg

this young man in unto thee, having a thing to say to thee.'
19 But the chiliarchos seized hold of his hand, and having
withdrawn apart alone, he was asking him: 'What (is) it
which thou wishest to say to me?' 20 But he said: 'The
Jews settled to pray thee to-morrow, *that* thou should bring
Paulos to the council, *as* thou wilt know concerning him
accurately. 21 Thou *then* be not persuaded by them: for there
are more than forty men from them lying in wait for him;
these who adjured one another not to eat *nor* to drink until
they kill him: and now they are prepared, looking out for
the promise about to be from thee.' 22 The chiliarchos *then*
dismissed the young man, having ordered him not to say
to any one that thou showedst to me these (things). 23 And
he called two from the *centurions*; he said to them: 'Prepare two hundred soldiers, *that* they may go unto Kesaria,
and seventy *horsemen*, and two hundred *spearmen*, from (the)
third hour of the night, 24 and may take beasts also, that they
may mount Paulos, and bring him safe[a] unto Phylix the

[a] Lit. 'save him.'

syr^{utr} arm. 21 ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ, FGKS. ϩⲟⲩⲟ] pref. ⲛ̄, T^tP. ⲉⲙ̄ⲙ̄] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙ̄, ΓG. ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ 'year,' A_2N* by error. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] -ⲧⲉⲛ, K, 1° person. ⲉⲩⲭⲱⲣϫ] -ⲟⲣϫ, FGKS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣⲕⲉ] L^gT^tAB^aΓNOPT: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲣⲕ, FGKS. ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ., T^tGK: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩ, FS. ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩ.] ϣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ., O. ⲉⲩϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] -ⲱϣⲧ, S. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. FS. 22 ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥ.] ⲛⲁϥ., P. ⲉⲁϥϩⲟⲛ.] ⲁϥϩ., FKPS. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. syr^{utr}. ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ] ⲉϩⲗⲓ, G. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ] om. KS. 23 ⲉⲃ̄] cf. Gr. 73. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth. ⲥ̄ 1°] ⲱ̄, A_1*B^aΓN: ⲃ̄ϣⲉ, O*: om. T^t. ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] ⲟⲡⲱ(ⲟ, NS)ⲥ, ΓNOPT. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE. ⲛⲉⲙⲟ̄] ⲛ̄ⲟ̄, A_2. ϩⲓⲡⲉⲩⲥ] L^gAB^a: ϩⲩⲡⲡⲉⲩⲥ, G: ϩⲩⲡⲉⲩⲥ, T^t &c. ⲥ̄ 2°] ⲱ̄, ΓN: ⲡ̄ 'eighty,' K^c. -ϩⲓ(ⲩ, F)ⲗⲟⲩⲭⲏ] -ⲕⲏ, FS. ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄] om. P. ⲅ̄] ⲅ̄ϯ, ΓNOPT. 24 ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭⲓ] AB^aFGKS: +ⲇⲉ, L^gT^t ΓNOPT. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ] om. ⲕⲉ, T^tG. ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ] -ⲃⲛⲏ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲧ., FGKS. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] ⲫⲓ., B^aT.

ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ⳾ 25 ⲁϥⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾
26 ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲅⲉ-
ⲙⲱⲛ ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⲭⲉⲣⲉ⳾
27 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩ-
ⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ⳾ ⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ
ⲥⲍ ⲁⲓⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲉⲙⲓ | ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾
28 ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉϯⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ⳾ ⲁⲓⲉⲛϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ.
29 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϫⲉⲙϥ ⲉⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ϩⲁⲛⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲉϥⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̀ⲫⲙⲟⲩ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲕⲗⲏⲙⲁ⳾
τλ 30 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉϥ-
ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳾
ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ⳾ ⲉⲁⲓϩⲟⲛϩⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟ-
ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ⳾
τλα 31 Ⲏⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ⳾ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϣ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲁⲛⲧⲓ-
ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ⳾ 32 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲓⲡⲉⲩⲥ⳾
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ⳾ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ.

ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ] ϩⲓ., T: -ⲟⲛ, N. 25 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥ] om. ⲉ, K: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲥ, B^{a}F. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] om. ΓNOPT. 26 ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ] -ⲧⲓⲟⲥ, B^{a}S. ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁ] A: ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}FS: ⲗⲓⲥⲓⲁⲥ, B^{a}ΓOT: ⲗⲉⲥⲓⲁⲥ, K: ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲟⲥ, G: ⲗⲓⲥⲓⲟⲥ, P: ⲗⲓⲥⲙⲁⲥ, N. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}: ⲡⲓ., ΓGKNOPT: ⲛ̀., FS. ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}A$_{1}$B^{a}GKOP: ⲛ̀ⲏⲅⲉ(ⲏ, Γ*)ⲙⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲛ, Γ^{c}NT: ⲛ̀ϩⲩⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ, A$_{2}$: ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ, FS. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] pref. ⲙ̀, FS. 27 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGKS. ⲁⲓϣⲉ] + ⲛⲏⲓ, B^{a}. ⲁⲓⲛⲁϩⲙⲉϥ] cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu &c. ⲡⲉ] om. N. 28 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. HLP 13. 31. 61. al pler e syr^{p} arm &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., Γ^{r}: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ., OPT: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ., N. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] om. FKS. ⲁⲓⲉⲛϥ] cf. Gr. B^{mg}EHLP al pler cat vg &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ⲉ, O. ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ] ⲡⲓⲙⲁ, K. 29 ⲉⲩϫⲉⲙ] ⲁⲩ., FS. ⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ] ⲍⲉⲧⲏⲙⲁ, P. ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲛ., S*. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABEH al plu vg syr^{p} arm &c.: om. G, cf. Gr. LP 27. 28. 30. 38. 40. 61. 104. 113.

governor.' 25 But he wrote a *letter* having a *form* thus,
26 Klaudios Lysia to the *most excellent governor* Phylix, hail.
27 This man the *Jews* seized, and as they are thinking to
kill him, I went with the *soldiery*; I saved him, having
known that he is a *Roman.* 28 But wishing to know the
cause concerning which they found fault with him, I brought
him to (ⲉϫⲉⲛ) their council: 29 whom[a] I found found fault
with concerning *questions* of their *law,* but I found not sin in
him worthy of (the) death or bonds for an offence[b]. 30 But
having been shown concerning an evil plan which would be
made against this man by them, immediately I sent him to
thee, having ordered his *accusers* to speak with thee.
31 The soldiers *indeed then,* according to that which was
ordained them, took away Paulos by night, having brought
him to Antipatris. 32 But on the (lit. his) morrow they let
the *horsemen* go with him; they returned to the *castle.*

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[a] Lit. 'this who.' [b] Lit. 'of (ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ) a *charge.*'

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126. 137. al^{20} $al^{5\,scr}$ &c. ⲉϥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ] ⲉϥⲉⲙⲡ., L^gΓGN. 30 ⲉϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 15* 36. 40. 61. 68. 69. 73. 105. 137. 180. 40^{lect} a^{scr} c^{scr} cat (vg) syr^p arm &c. om. ὑπὸ τῶν ἰουδαίων. ϧⲁ] ϧⲉⲛ, B^a. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] A, cf. Gr. ℵAE 13. 40. 61. 68. 69. 73. 105. 40^{lect} a^{scr} c^{scr} arm syr^p &c.: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲥⲁⲧⲟ(+ⲩ, S)ⲧ] -ⲧⲟⲧⲧ, G; cf. Gr. BH(L)P al pler cat syr^{sch} &c. ($A_{1.2}$ combine the two Greek readings). ⲡⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. E syr^{sch}. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA 13. 40. &c. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ] cf. Gr. AB 13. am fu $aeth^{ro}$. 31 ⲙⲉⲛ] om. FG*KS. ⲡⲉⲧⲁ(ⲟ, A_2*)ⲩ.] $L^gT^tA_{1.2}{}^c$ B^aP: ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., ΓNOT: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ., FGKS. ⲑⲁϣ] $A_{1.2}{}^c$: +ϥ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛ̅ϫ(ϩ, N)ⲱⲣϩ] cf.? Gr. ℵABE 13. 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. 180. cat &c. ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ] L^gAFKS: ⲁⲩ., T^tB^aΓGNOPT. ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ] $L^gT^tB^a$ΓGNOPT: ϯⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲥ, AFKS; G^{mg} الى انطبطرس 'to Anṭbṭrs,' نسخة اول المعمل 'a copy "the first of the province."' 32 ⲡⲉϥⲣ.] L^gT^tAB^aΓFGKS: pref. ⲉ, NOPT. ⲁⲩϫⲱ] ⲁϥϫⲱ, FS singular. ϩⲓⲡⲉⲩⲥ] ϩⲩⲡⲉⲩⲥ, B^aΓFS: ϩⲓⲡⲉⲩⲥ, G: ϩⲩⲡⲓⲉⲥ, K. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲉ] cf.? Gr. ℵABE 11. 13. 27. 29. 61. 64. 80. 97. 126. c^{scr}.

33 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ϯ-
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲉ-
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⳾
34 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
ⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁϣ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ
ⲡⲉ ⳾
35 ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⳾ ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ
ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉⲕⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ-
ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲉⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ ⳾

ⲘⲐ.

τλβ Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲉ̄ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲉⲣⲏⲧⲱⲣ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲣⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ | ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
2 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏ-
ⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲉⲣⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲥϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲥⲟϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕϥⲓⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ
3 ⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲥⲑⲉ
ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ.
. . . 4 Ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϣⲧⲉⲙⲧⲁϩⲛⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⳾
ⲧⲱⲃϩ- ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲙ̄, K ⲟⲩϣⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲏⲥ ⳾

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33 ⲕⲉ(ⲁ, G*)ⲥⲁ(ⲉ, P)ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ, FS: ⲁⲩϯ, KT. ⲡⲕⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲡ., T^{t}. 34 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABE 11. 13. 15. 18. 23. 29. 36. 40. 61. 66** 68. 73. 96. 105. 142. 180. cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth ar^{e} &c. ⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲓ] ⲛⲁϥϣ., B^{a}. ⲁϣ . . . ϧⲉⲛ] om. T homeot. ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. B^{3}EHLP &c.: ⲁⲡ., FKPS. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. FKS. ⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕ.] ⲕⲓⲗ., B^{a}T. ⲡⲉ 2°] ⲇⲉ, P; cf. Gr. ℵ*A 68. 35 ϩⲟⲧⲁ(ⲉ, NS)ⲛ] cf. Gr. 37. 101. 137. cat vg^{cle} fu tol syr^{utr} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. HLP

33 But those (lit. these) having come to Kesaria, and having
given the *epistle* to the *governor*, they presented Paulos also
to him. 34 But he having read the *letter*, asked from what
province he is; and having known that he is from [the]
Kylikia, 35 I shall hear thee, he said, *whenever* should come
thine *accusers*: and he commanded to keep him in the pre-
tōrion of Ērōdēs. XXIV. But after five days came up the
chief priest Ananias with (ⲛⲉⲙ) *presbyters*, and also an
orator, called (ϫⲉ) Tertyllos: these having come, made known
to the *governor* against Paulos. 2 But he having been called,
Tertyllos began to *accuse* him, saying, Abundant *peace*
happens through thee, and establishment (plur.) is happening
to this *nation* through thy providence 3 on all sides, and in
all places, we accept thee, *most excellent* Phylix, in all thanks-
giving. 4 But that I may not hinder thee the more, I pray

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al pler cat vg syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] position cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. c^{scr} k^{scr} vg arm &c. ⲏⲣⲱⲇⲏⲥ] -ⲧⲏⲥ, N.

1 F^{mg} 'the third Sunday of the Fast': K^{mg} S^{mg} يقرا في الاحد الخامس من الاسهر الاول 'it is read on the fifth Sunday of the first (six) months.' ⲇⲉ] om. N: trs. after ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ, T^{t}. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. FKS. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, N by error. ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ] trs. before ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭ., FKS: -ⲛⲓⲁ, ΓNPT. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃ.] L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵABE 5. 6. 7. 8. 13. 15. 27. 29. 31. 36. 40. 68. 73. 81. 105. 137. 180. c^{scr} k^{scr} cat vg syr^{p} arm &c.: om. K. ⲣⲏⲧⲱⲣ] ⲣⲉ., 26. ⲧⲉⲣⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}Γ: -ⲧⲓⲗ-ⲗⲟⲥ, FGKNOPST: -ⲧⲓⲗⲟⲥ, 26. ⲛⲁⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, P. ⲁⲩⲓ] om. K. ⲁⲩⲟⲩ (om. ⲟⲩ, NT) ⲱ (ⲟ, $A_1{}^{c}{}_2$ 26) ⲛϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNOPT 26: ⲁⲩ-ⲥⲉⲙⲓ 'caused to know,' FGKS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏ (ⲩ, A_2)] AFKS 26: ⲉⲡⲓϩ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓGNOPT. 2 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓGOP: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙ., FKNST singular. ⲥϣⲟⲡ] AFGK: ⲉⲥϣⲟ (ⲱ, T^{t}N) ⲡ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓNOPT: ⲉϣⲱⲡ, S. ⲉⲥⲟϣ] -ⲱϣ, L^{g}PS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. ΓNT. ϩⲁⲛ] om. 26. 3 ⲥⲁⲥⲁ] A_1 26: + ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲧⲉⲛϣⲱⲡ] -ⲟⲡ, ΓO 26: -ⲱⲡⲓ, NT. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] -ⲁⲝ, A_2: ⲫⲓ., O 26: ⲫⲓⲗⲝ, N: ⲫⲏⲗⲓⲝ, B^{a}. 4 ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNPT: om. FGKOS 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, GKO: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ, FS plural. ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ] + ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲕⲏⲥ] ⲟⲩⲙ., FS. Hunt 26. 1–9

5 ⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲗⲟⲓⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉϥⲕⲓⲙ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ⳾ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ⳾
6 Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲥⲱϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁ-
ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ⳾ 8 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ⳾ ⲁⲕϣⲁⲛ-
ϧⲉⲧϧⲱⲧϥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏ-
ⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ⳾ 9 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾
τλγ 10 Ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ. ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲕ
ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲡⲁⲓ-
ϣⲗⲱⲗ ϯⲛⲁⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲓ⳾ 11 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ⳾
ⲤⲎ 12 Ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ | ⲉⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ⳾ 13 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ

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5 ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲡⲓⲣ. 'the &c.,' 26. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$ FS: ⲉϩ., T^{t}ΓGK^{r}NOPT; cf. Gr. ℵABE 5. 7. 8. 13. 15. 40. 61. 68. 73. 105. 106. cat vg &c. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] om. ϣⲟⲡ, FGS. ⲉⲧϩⲉ-ⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ] AB^{a}FGS 26: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϩ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓK^{r}NOPT. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲁⲍ.] A 26: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲛ., B^{a}: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲍ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 6 ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲱⲛⲧ] ⲁϥϭ., FS. ⲉⲥⲱϥ] ⲛ̀ⲥ., N. ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛ., P. ⲙ̀-ⲙⲟϥ] om. verse. The end of verse 6 and verse 7 are omitted by all the collated MSS., cf. Gr. ℵAB(C)HLP al plus 40 am* fu tol. 8 ⲉⲉⲙⲓ] om. K^{r}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABHLP al pler vg &c. ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ] om. FS, cf. Gr. A*. ⲁⲕϣⲁⲛ] ⲁⲛϣ., A_2 by error. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ... ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ] om. NT: ϧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓ &c., 26: ... ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣ, T^{t}G. 9 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁ (ⲟ, 26) ϩⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, FGS 26: ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ 'answered,' B^{a}. ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇ., FS. ϣⲟⲡ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ, P.
Hunt 26, 10–12 10 ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] L^{g}AFS 26: + ⲇⲉ, $T^{t}B^{a}$ΓGK^{r}NOPT, cf. Gr. HLP al

thee to hear me concisely in thy *fairness*. 5 For we found
this *pestilent* man, moving troubles to all the *Jews* who are
in the *world*, being (a) first (man) for (the) *sect* of the
Nazōreos: 6 Who[a] tried to defile the temple even: and
we laid hold on him. 8 This (man) from whom it is possible
for thee thyself to know, shouldest thou examine him con-
cerning these things in which we *accuse* him. 9 The *Jews*
added their word[b] that these things were thus. 10 Paulos
answered, the *governor* having beckoned to him to speak,
Knowing thee since (ⲓⲥ) many years being judge to this
nation, I shall (lit. will) answer in delight of heart for
myself. 11 It being possible for thee to know, that not more
than twelve days have passed since I went into Jerusalem
to worship; 12 *Neither* found they me in the temple
speaking to (any) one, *nor* troubling a multitude, *nor* in the
synagogues, nor in city. 13 *Nor* is it possible for them to

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[a] Lit. 'this who.' [b] Lit. 'them.'

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pler cat e vg syr^{p} &c. ϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ] $L^g T^t A_1 B^a$ ΓFGP 26: ϩⲓⲅ., A_2: ϩⲩⲅ., S: ⲏⲅ., ΓNOT: ⲩⲅ., K^r. ⲓⲥⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲙⲡⲓ] trs. before ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ, B^aFGS. ⲉⲡⲁⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ, P. ϣⲗⲱ́ⲗ] A 26: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ (om. S) ⲛⲟϥ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵA BE 5. 7. 13. 15. 25. 36. 40. 61. 68. 73. 105. 133. 137. 180. c^{sor} d^{sor} cat vg arm &c. ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ] om. 26. 11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲉ] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲓ̄ⲃ̄] L^gAΓ*FS 26, cf. Gr. ℵABEHLP al plus^{60} cat &c.: pref. ⲉ 'than,' $T^t B^a Γ^o$GK^rNOPT, cf. Gr. minusc mu &c. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] + ⲛⲏⲓ, $Γ^{mg}$O 26. ⲉⲓ̄ⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABEH al^{20} fere cat syr^{sch} aeth &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] om. K^r. 12 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫ.] L^gAFGS: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓK^rNOPT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫ., B^a. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 2°] T^tAB^a: ⲓⲉ, L^gFGS 26: om. ΓK^rNOPT. ⲉⲓϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ] om. ⲉⲓ, 26: ⲉⲓⲉϣⲑ., G. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] L^gA$B^a Γ^r$FGS: ⲛⲓⲙⲏϣ, $T^t K^r$NPT: ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ, O: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., 26. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 3° . . . ⲅⲱⲅⲏ(ⲅⲓ, NS)] -ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁ., K^rP: om. 26. 13 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] L^gAB^aFGS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓ K^rNOPT.

ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟⲓ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ 14 ϯⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϫⲉ
ϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓⲟϯ ⲉⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
ⲡⲓⲥ . . ., 15 Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲫϯ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲕ ⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁϫⲱⲥ ϯⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ
ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾
ⲧⲗⲇ 16 Ⲏ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲥⲕⲓⲛ ϩⲱ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϭⲣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲫϯ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲧⲗⲉ 17 Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥ-
ⲫⲱⲣⲁ ⳾ 18 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲧ ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲁⲛ
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲁⲛ ⳾ 19 ϩⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲥⲥϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲓ
ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ. 20 ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϫⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ

ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 1°] A &c., cf. Gr. ℵABEL al longe plu cat vg syr^utr arm: +ϧⲁⲣⲟⲓ, L^g T^t (no collated MS.), cf. Gr. HP 4. 27. 29. 56. 66* 69. 78. 80. 96. 97. 98. 100. 104. 106. 142. al^4 scr &c. ⲉⲧⲁϩⲉ . . . ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 2°] om. N homeot. ⲛⲁⲓ 2°] L^g AB^a Γ, cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu cat syr^p aeth &c.: ⲛⲁⲕ 'to thee,' T^t FGK^r OPST, cf. Gr. ℵABE 4. 13. 27. 29. 31. 36. 40. 61. 64. 65. 68. 73. 105. 177. al^5 scr vg syr^sch arm. ϧⲁⲣⲟⲓ] ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'in them,' O. ϯⲛⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. 3. 30. k^scr aeth). 14 ⲇⲉ] T^t AB^a: om. L^g &c. ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓ, O. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲓ, FGS: ⲉⲧⲉⲛ, T by error. ⲙ̀ⲫϯ] ⲉⲫϯ, G. ⲉⲓⲛⲁϩϯ] om. N. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ, Γ. ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, T^t N. ϧⲉⲛ] T^t AB^a: ϩⲓ, L^g &c. ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲙ.] ⲡⲟⲩⲛ. 'their &c.,' P. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲡⲣ.] cf. Gr. ℵ^c AHLP al plur^30 vg arm aeth^utr &c. 15 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀(ⲉⲛ, B^a)ⲧⲏⲓ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ, FGS.

establish these (things), these of which they *accuse* me now.
14 But I confess this to thee, that according to this way
which these say that (it is a) *sect*, I worship thus (the) God
of my fathers, believing all the things which are written in
the *law* and the *prophets*: 15 Having a *hope* toward (ⲉ)
God, which these also look out for, the *resurrection* about to
be for the just and the wrongdoers. 16 In this I shall
(lit. will) *exercise* (myself) also for there to be to me a *con-
science* offenceless before God and before [the] men always.
17 But after (lit. from) many years I came to do alms to my
nation, and *offerings*: 18 these in which they found me purified
in the temple, not with a multitude *nor* with a tumult:
19 but certain (ϩⲁⲛ) *Jews* from [the] Asia, they (lit. these)
who ought to have come before thee and *accuse*, If they
have a thing against (ⲛⲉⲙ) me. 20 Otherwise let these

ⲉⲫϯ] cf. ? Gr. ABEHL al pler &c. *εἰς*: ϩⲁⲫϯ, FGKS, cf. ? Gr. ℵC 68. 69. a^{sor} &c. *πρός*. ⲥⲟⲙⲥ] $L^gT^tAB^a$FGKS: ϫⲟⲩϣⲧ, ΓNOPT. ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 40. 61. 68. k^{sor} vg arm &c. ⲣⲉϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ] $L^gT^tAB^a$FGKS: ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ 'sinner,' ΓNOPT. 16 ⲛ̄ϩ(ⲁ̅, OT)ⲣⲏⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, T^tG, cf. Gr. HP al plu. ϯⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲥⲕⲓⲛ] A: ϯⲉⲣ., L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE al sat mu vg &c. ⲥⲩⲛⲏⲇⲉⲥⲓⲥ] AP: -ⲏⲥⲓⲥ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] om. ⲛⲓ, S. ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲟⲩ] om. A_2*, cf. ? Gr. 32. 42. 57* 137. 17 ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] L^gAB^aΓNOPT: ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ, T^tFGKS. ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ] A: ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲓⲓⲣⲓ, L^gT^tFGKS: ⲉⲓⲓⲣⲓ (omitting 'I came'), ΓNOPT: ⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲓ (omitting ⲓⲣⲓ, ⲁⲛ 'not' many years), B^a; for position of ⲁⲓⲓ cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler syr^{utr} aeth &c. ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲏⲧ] ⲙⲉⲧⲛ., B^aΓNT. ⲛⲁⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲑ., K. ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲱⲣⲁ] AB^a: -ⲫⲟⲩ., N: -ⲫⲟ., L^gT^t &c. 18 ⲟⲩϣⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ] om. ⲟⲩ, S. 19 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 18* 29. 31. 36. 40. 61. al mu cat syr^p &c. ⲛⲁⲥ(om. ΓNPT)ⲥϣⲉ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓNOPT: ⲛⲁⲥⲙ̅(ⲉⲙ, G)ⲡϣⲁ, FGKS; tense cf. ? Gr. ℵABCEP 13. 61. c^{sor} e^{sor} al sat mu cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B^a. ⲓⲥϫⲉ] + ⲇⲉ, A_2*. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩ, G. 20 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ, G^o: ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ, FKS. ⲛⲁⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FG^oKS. ⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEHLP al^{70} cat syr^{sch} arm &c. ⲛ̄ϭⲓ] om. ⲛ̄, NT.

ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧ ∻ ⲉⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ ∻ 21 ⲓⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ∻ ⲑⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟϣⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ∻ ⲉⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ∻ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁ|ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ∻
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲥⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻
τλϛ 22 Ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ. ⲉⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡ
ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ∻
ⲉⲓⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ∻ 23 ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ∻ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϯⲙ̀-
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϣⲉϣⲧ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲏⲧϥ ∻
τλζ 24 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲇⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ∻ ⲁϥ-
ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲭ︦ⲥ︦ ⲓ︦ⲏ︦ⲥ︦ ∻ 25 ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲉⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ∻ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲟϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲙⲟϣⲓ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ∻
ⲁⲓϣⲁⲛϭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ∻ ϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲕ ∻
26 ⲁⲙⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϯ

ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲁϥ] ⲉⲩϫ., S. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧ] cf. Gr. CEHLP al pler cat vg syr[utr] arm &c. 21 ⲓⲉ] om. FG?KS. ⲧⲁⲓ . . . ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] om. G homeot. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟϣⲥ] ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲱϣ, FS. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 31. 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. al[2 scr] cat vg &c. ⲉⲣⲁⲧ] +ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϯϩⲁⲡ 'in the place of judgement,' FKOS. ϫⲉ] om. G*. ϩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ABC 13. 31. 40. 61. 65. 73. syr[sch] aeth[utr]. 22 ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 14* 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. 142. c[scr] vg syr[sch] syr[p] arm &c. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] ⲫⲩⲗⲏⲝ, B[a]. ⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ] ⲁϥ., B[a]. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] om. L[g]. ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥ] L[g]T[t]AGK(om. ⲗⲩ): ⲗⲓⲥ., B[a]ΓFNOPST. 23 ⲉⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ.] L[g]T[t]AB[a]GK: ⲁϥ., ΓF NOPST; cf. Gr. ℵABCEP 13. 36. 40. 61. 66** 68. 99. 100. 137. al[3 scr] cat syr[p] arm &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ] A: ⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ 'to keep,' L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. al plus[10] cat vg syr[p] arm &c. ⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ] ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ, ΓG. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. 31. ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ] AB[a]K: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲏ, L[g]T[t] &c. ⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲏⲧϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 14. 61. 68. 73. 105.

themselves say what wrongdoing they found in me, standing in the council, 21 (other) than concerning this one saying (ⲥⲙⲏ), this which I cried out among them standing, 'Concerning (the) *resurrection* of the dead I (pron.) am judged to-day before (ϩⲓ) you.' 22 But Phylix put them off[a], knowing accurately concerning them of the way, having said: 'If Lysias the chiliarchos should come up, I shall know concerning you.' 23 And he (part.) commanded the *centurion* who kept him, [but] to give indulgence[b] to him, and not to hinder any of his friends[c] from (ⲉ) ministering to him. 24 But after some days Phylix came with Drousilla his wife being a *Jewess*; he sent for Paulos, and heard him concerning the faith in (ⲉ) Christ Jesus, 25 speaking to him concerning [the] righteousness, and [the] *temperance*, and the judgement which will be: but Phylix having been in [a] fear answered: 'Go away[d], now; but should I have (lit. take) a time, I shall (lit. will) send for thee.' 26 But *withal* he was *hoping* that

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[a] Lit. 'threw them behind.' [b] Lit. 'rest.' [c] Lit. 'they who were his own.' [d] Lit. 'walk.'

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vg syr[utr] arm ar[e]. F[mg] 'the end (of the lection).' 24 ϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁⲓⲉϩ., 26. ⲇⲉ] om. N 26. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] ⲫⲏ., B[a]: -ⲗⲩⲝ, K: ⲫⲓ., NT 26. ⲇⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲗⲗ(om. A_2)ⲁ] A 26: ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲗⲗⲁ, L[g]T[t] &c. (Γ tr. اتروسلا 'Atrūslā,' [mg] دروسلا 'Drūslā'): ⲧⲣⲟⲩⲥⲩⲗⲗⲁ, G. ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ*E al sat mu vg syr[utr] arm. ⲧⲉ] ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ . . . ⲁ(ⲉ, S)ϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉⲁⲥⲧⲟⲃϩϥ ϫⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ 'having prayed that she might see Paulos to hear,' 26, cf. syr[p mg] bohem. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T[t]AB[a]: om. L[g] &c. ⲉⲡ︦ⲭ︦ⲥ︦] ⲙ̄ⲡ︦ⲭ︦ⲥ︦, K: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ︦ⲭ︦ⲥ︦, 26. ⲓ︦ⲏ︦ⲥ︦] cf. Gr. ℵ*BEL 31. 61. al[45] cat vg syr[p] (arm aeth) &c. 25 ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] T[t]ANST: ⲁϥⲥ., 26: +ⲇⲉ, L[g]B[a]ΓFGKOP. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] -ⲃⲏ, B[a]. ϯⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲅⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ] ⲡⲓⲉⲅⲕ., 26. ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf.? Gr. HLP al pler τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. A_2*. ⲁⲓϣⲁⲛϭ(ϣ, NT)ⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄] L[g]AB[a]ΓNO*PT: ⲁⲓϣⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ 'should I find,' T[t]FGKO[mg]S: ⲁⲓϣⲁⲛϭⲓ ⲛ̄, 26. 26 ⲁⲙⲁ] AB[a]FGKS 26: ϩⲁⲙⲁ, L[g]T[t]ΓNOPT. ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲛⲁϥ.] trs. before ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ., 26. Hunt 26, 24–26

ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲭⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾

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τλη 27 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁϥϭⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⲡⲟⲣⲕⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲇⲉ ⲉϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ⲁϥⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲛϩ ⳾
1 Ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉϯⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲅ̅
ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲥⲑ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ 2 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ | ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ 3 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⳾
ⲉⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϫⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉϧⲟⲑ-
ⲃⲉϥ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⳾ 4 ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥ-
ⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ 5 ⲛⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲓ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀(om. Γ)ⲧⲉϥⲭⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler cat aeth^{pp} &c. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] ⲁϥ., FS. ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] -ϫⲉ, B^a. 27 ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNOT: ⲃ̅ϯ, FGKPS. ⲇⲓⲁⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ] AGS: -ⲇⲟⲭⲟⲥ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ] ⲫⲓ., NT. ⲡⲟⲣⲕⲓⲟⲥ] -ⲧⲓⲟⲥ, G: ⲡⲟⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ, N: ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲓⲟⲥ, FS. ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ] ⲫⲥ̅., G. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲁϥ., FGKS. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ° 13. 40. 61** 68. 105. 137. al^{26} e vg syr^{utr} &c.: om. FGKS. ⲁϥⲥⲱϫ(ⲧ, S)ⲡ] ⲉϥⲥ., B^a. ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡ., P. ⲉϥⲥⲟⲛϩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}GK O^{c}P: -ⲱⲛϩ, ΓFNO*ST.

1 ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ, FGKS. ⲉϯⲉ(ⲁ, K)ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ* A(B)). ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛ, A_1*(mg ⲥⲁ نسخة 'a copy')$_2$ Γ*.

Paulos will give *money* (plur.) to him; and thus that he might release him. Therefore he was sending for him many times, speaking to him.

27 But two years having been completed, Phylix received a *successor*, Porkios Phēstos; but Phylix, wishing to give a favour to the *Jews*, left Paulos bound. XXV. Phēstos *then* having come to the *province*, after three days went into Jerusalem from Kesaria. 2 The *chief priests* and the first (men) of the *Jews* made known to him concerning Paulos, and they were beseeching him, 3 *asking* a favour against him, *that* he might send for him to bring him into Jerusalem; laying wait[a] to kill him on the way. 4 Phēstos *then* answered, that Paulos is kept in Kesaria, but he (pron.) is thinking to go thither quickly. 5 They *then*, he said, for whom it is possible among you, let them come down with me; if there is an evil thing in this man, let them *accuse*

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[a] Lit. 'doing subtlety.'

ⲁϥϣⲉ] ⲁϥⲓ 'came,' FGKS. 2 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲙⲓ, GKS. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] AB^{a}P: om. O: +ⲇ(ϫ, S)ⲉ, L^{g}T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. EHLP al plu syr^{p} arm &c. ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCEL al^{25} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}FGKS: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., T^{t}: +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ 'of the people,' ΓNOPT. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] AB^{a}: ϧⲁ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 3 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ] ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣ., FKS. ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ] cf.? Gr. (exc. C &c.). ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ] ⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ⲡⲱ(ⲟ, N)ⲥ, ΓNOPT. ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ] L^{g}ΓFNOPT: ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ, S: ⲉⲓⲣⲓ, AB^{a}: ϫⲉⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ, G: ϫⲉⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲓ, K: ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ, T^{t}. 4 ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler cat &c. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE. 5 ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. ⲉⲧⲉ, P. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] A: ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩ., FKS: om. G. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩ, G. ϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ (ϧⲁ, FGS) ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf.? Gr. 5. 6. 7. 8. 27. 36. 43. 98. 106. 180. al^{3sor} ἄτοπον ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ; item 31. 42. 57. 66** 68. 69. 81. 97. 99. 137. al^{3sor} cat^{382} syr^{sch} et^{p} &c. ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ ἄτοπον. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT: ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ, T^{t} FGKS.

6 ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲏ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲓ̄ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⳾
τλθ Ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ-
ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ 7 ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̄ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲉⲩϩⲟⲣϣ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄-
ⲡⲟⲩϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ 8 ⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣ-
ⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ 9 ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲣϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲭⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲉϭⲓϩⲁⲡ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ 10 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϯⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ
ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⳾
11 ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϯϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲣ|ϩⲗⲓ
ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ ⳾ ⲉϥⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ϯⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲧⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲁⲓ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

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6 ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ . . . ⲁⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲓ̄] cf. Gr. ℵABC 6. 7. 8. 13. 15. 27. 29. 31. 36. 37. 61. 65. 66** 68. 73. 105. 133. e vg arm &c.: om. ⲁⲛ, G, cf. Gr. E^{gr} 19** 25. 40. 66* 80. 96. a^{scr}* (al ?) syr^{p}**. ⲏ̄] ⲉⲏ̄, T^{t}B^{a}G: ⲛ̄ⲏ̄, S. ⲁϥ(ⲩ, B^{a})ⲓ] A: +ⲉϧ(ϩ, FGKS)ⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE 61. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] ⲡⲉϥ., FGKS. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. 37. 56: om. GK, cf. Gr. (exc. A c^{scr}). ⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] T^{t}A: ⲉϥ., P: ⲉⲧⲁϥ., L^{g} &c. ϩⲓ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, P. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}FGKS. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ &c.] Tisch. cites this with Gr. L *ἀχθῆναι τὸν Παῦλον*, but the construction is different. 7 ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, FGKS; cf. Gr. ℵABC(E)L 5. 7. 13. 15. 18. 29. 36. 40. 61. 65. 66** 68. 73. 105. 180. 40^{lect} al$^{3\,scr}$ (ex his 13. 18. 29. 40. 61. 68. 105. al ? *αὐτῷ*) cat vg syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩ., G. ⲉⲩⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁⲩ., FS. ⲉⲩϩⲟ(ⲱ, PS)ⲣϣ] om. GK. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱϥ] cf. Gr. L 17. 18. 68. syr^{sch} arm^{cdd} (aeth). ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ] om. FGKS. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩⲟ,

him. 6 But having been among them not more than eight
days or ten, he came to Kesaria. But on the (lit. his)
morrow he sat on the *judgement seat*, he commanded to bring
Paulos. 7 But he having come, the *Jews* stood against him,
having come down from Jerusalem, bringing many heavy
charges upon him, these which they could not establish,
8 Paulos *defending himself*: '*Neither* sinned I against (the)
law of the *Jews*, *nor* the temple, *nor* (the) king.' 9 But
Phēstos, wishing to be gracious[a] to the *Jews*, answered; he
said to Paulos: 'Wishest thou to go to Jerusalem to be
judged there with them concerning these (things)?' 10 But
Paulos said: 'I stand at (ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ) the *judgement seat* of (the)
king, the place in which I ought to be judged: but to the
Jews I did not any wrong, as thou also knowest perfectly[b].
11 If *then* I do wrong, and if I did any work worthy of (the)
death, then I *refuse* not to die. But if there is (ϣⲟⲡ)
not anything in the things which these *accuse* me, it is not

[a] Lit. 'do grace.' [b] Lit. 'exceedingly.'

S. 8 ⲉϥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟ.] ⲁϥ., A_2. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 17. 31. 40. 61. 68. 73. 81. 137. c^{sor} vg^{cle} syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] L^gAB^aΓNOPT: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., T^tFGKS. ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] $T^tA_1{}^{*}{}_2B^a$F GKS: pref. ⲉ, $L^gA_1{}^c$ΓNOPT. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] $T^tA_1{}^{*}{}_2{}^cB^a$FGK^cS^c: pref. ⲉ, $L^gA_1{}^c$ΓNOP(ⲡⲓ)T. 9 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABCE 13. 31. 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. c^{sor} k^{sor} cat am fu demid tol syr^{utr} arm &c. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] $L^gT^tAB^a$FGKS: om. ΓNO*PT. ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] AB^aΓNOPT: pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, L^gT^tGK: pref. ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, FS. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ] AB^aN: ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧ 'before me,' L^gT^tΓFGKOPST. 10 ϯⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ*(B) 31. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, B^aFS. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲣⲟ, FS. ⲉⲧⲥϣⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉⲥ(+ⲥ, B^a)ϣⲉ, B^aFGKS. ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩϯ] AB^a: ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϯ, L^gT^t &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ] ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ, G. ⲇⲉ 2°] A: ⲅⲁⲣ, L^gB^aΓFNOPST: om. T^tGK. ⲛ̅ϩⲗⲓ] om. K. 11 ⲟⲩ(+ⲟ, B^a)ⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE^{gr} 61. al^{12} cat arm &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉ 2°] om. FGKS. ⲁⲓⲉⲣ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉⲣ 'and I did not,' FS. ϩⲗⲓ &c.] ϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ϩⲗⲓ, G*. ⲉϥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ] ⲉϥⲉⲙⲡ., T^tGNT: ⲉϥⲉⲉⲙⲡ., Γ. ⲓⲉ] AB^a: om. L^gT^t &c. ⲉⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ '(the) death,' B^a. ⲇⲉ] om. G. ϣⲟ(ⲱ, S)ⲡ] +ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧ 'in me,' K. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣ.] cf. Gr. 16. 23. 37. 100. syr^{sch} ar^e. ⲉⲣⲟⲓ] A: om. K: +ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, L^gT^t &c.

ϩⲗⲓ ⲧⲏⲓⲧ ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ ÷ ϯⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ÷ 12 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲟⲛ ÷ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲁⲕⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲕⲉϣⲉ ϣⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ÷
τμ 13 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ÷ ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲟ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲓⲕⲏ ÷ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲉ-
ⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁ ÷ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ÷ 14 ⲉⲧ-
ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ÷ ⲁ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ
ϫⲁ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ÷
Ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲛϩ ÷ ⲉⲁϥⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲩⲗⲓⲝ ÷ 15 ⲉⲧⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ÷ ⲁⲩⲟⲩ-
ⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ-
ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ÷ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ ÷ 16 ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱϩⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲓϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ÷ ⲉϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ ÷ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ-
ⲧⲟⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ-
ϫⲉⲙ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ ÷
τμα 17 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ÷ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲓϩⲟ
ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ÷ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁϩ-
ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ÷ 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁ

ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩ., Γ. 12 ⲁⲫ. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$ΓNOPT: ⲫ. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ, T^{t}FGKS. ⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲟⲛ] -ⲗⲟⲥ, K: -ⲃⲱⲗ-, F^{o}P: -ⲗⲱⲛ, NS: -ⲃⲱⲗⲟⲩⲛ, T: -ⲗⲓⲟⲛ, B^{a}. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ] +ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, B^{a}: +ϫⲉ, FS. ϣⲁ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFGKS: ϩⲁ, B^{a}:
Hunt 26, 13–22 ⲙ̄, ΓNOPT. 13 $F^{mg}S^{mg}$ 'the fourth Sunday of the (holy, S) Fast.' ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥ., 26. ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ] -ⲟⲥ, FS: ⲅⲁⲣⲡⲡⲁⲥ, N. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ . . . ⲁⲩⲉⲣ] om. O* homeot. -ⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAE. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ] cf.? Gr. ℵABE^{gr}HLP 13. 31. 68. 105. 180. al[15] aeth[utr]. 14 ⲁⲫⲏⲥ(v. 22 om. Γ*N)ⲧⲟⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲩⲥⲧⲟⲥ, FS. ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ] AB^{a}: pref. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, L^{g}ΓFGKS: ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ, T^{t}NOPT 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] om. G. ⲉϥⲥⲟⲛϩ] AK 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] $L^{g}AB^{a}$FGKS 26: + ⲙ̄, T^{t}:

possible for any to grant me to them, I *appeal* to (the) king.'
12 *Then* Phēstos spake to the *council*; he answered, Thou
appealedst to (the) king, thou shalt go unto (the) king.

13 But some days having passed, Agrippas (the) king and
Bernikē *came to stay* at Kesaria; they *saluted* Phēstos.
14 But having spent many days there, Phēstos laid (the)
matter of Paulos before (the) king, saying: There is a man
bound, having been left by Phylix: 15 but I having gone into
Jerusalem, the *chief priests* and the *presbyters* of the *Jews*
spoke openly (of him)[a], *asking* against him a *sentence*.
16 But I responded to them, saying that it is not a *custom*
of the *Romans* to give up[b] a man, before that the *accusers*
stand before him whom they *accuse*, and he find place of
giving his *defence* concerning the fault. 17 They having
come *then* with me to this place, I made not any delay[c];
but on the (lit. his) morrow I sat on the *judgement seat*,
I commanded to bring the man. 18 And this (man), the

[a] Lit. 'manifested themselves.' [b] Or 'grant.' [c] Lit. 'receive face,' an expression for 'respect of persons,' cf. 1 Pet. iii. 20.

ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄, Γ(om. ⲙ̄)NOPT. ⲫⲩⲗ.] ⲫⲏ., B^a: ⲫⲓ., S. 15 ⲉⲧⲁⲓϣⲉ] om. ϣⲉ, K. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲙⲓ, F^cGKS. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛ] ⲁⲩ., 26. ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ] AFKOS 26: -ⲇⲓⲕⲏ, L^g T^t &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 7. 13. 17. 25. 27. 29. 40. 66** 73. 105. &c. 16 ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱϩⲉⲙ] -ⲟϩⲉⲙ, B^aP. ⲉⲓϫⲱ] ⲓⲉϫⲱ, A_1 by error. ⲟⲩⲥⲩ(ⲏ, N)ⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ] AB^a: pref. ⲛ̄(ⲁⲛ, 26), $L^g T^t$ &c. double negative. ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲙⲟⲧ, 26; cf. Gr. ℵABCE 7. 13. 17. 25. 27. 29. 40. 61. 66** c^{sor} vg $syr^{p\ txt}$ arm aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩ., 26. ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧ.] $L^g T^t A B^a$FGKS 26: ⲛⲉϥ. 'his &c.,' ΓNOPT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. (exc. BE^{gr}). ⲛ̄ϯ] AB^a 26: ⲉϯ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲁⲡⲟⲗ . . . ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ] om. ⲡⲟⲗ . . . ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ, NT. ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ] ⲡⲉϥ. 'his &c.,' 26. 17 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. B 5. 32. 40. 42. 46. 57. 81. 95* 97. ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ] ⲙ̄ⲡ., T: ⲉⲡⲓ., FS. ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] $L^g A B^a$FGKS 26: ⲉⲡⲉϥ., T^tΓNOPT. ⲇⲉ] om. G. ϩⲓ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, T^t. ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲁϩ] $L^g A B^a$FGKS 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tΓNOPT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] $L^g T^t A B^a$ΓKNOT: ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣ., FGPS 26. 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] AB^a: om. $L^g T^t$ &c.

ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ϫⲉ ⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 19 ϩⲁⲛⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ |
CI ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϥⲟⲛϧ ⳾ 20 ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲙⲧ
ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲍⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲭⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϯϩⲁⲡ
ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
21 Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϣⲁϯⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ 22 Ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ
ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ϩⲱ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ. ⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲉⲕⲉ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾

(ⲨⲄ.)

τμβ 23 Ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲉⲣ-
ⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϭⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ

ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, FGKS 26. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ 'not any pretext,' 26. ϧⲉⲛ] ϧⲁ, 26. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABC 13. 31. 61. 180. vg &c. ⲉϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ] AB^a 26: ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲙ., L^gFGKS: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓⲙ., T^tΓNOPT. ϫⲉ] om. G. ⲥⲉϩⲱⲟⲩ] cf.? Gr. $ℵ^c$BE 61. 100. 40^{lect}, plural. 19 ⲍⲏⲧ.] ⲍⲉⲧ., P. ⲟⲩⲛ] A: ⲇⲉ, L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] A: ⲛⲁⲩ, L^gGKO 26: ⲉⲛⲁⲩ, B^aΓF NPST: ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ, T^t. ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩ] L^gAB^aΓFGKNOPST: ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ, 26. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 1°... ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓNOPT: ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲡⲟⲩϣⲉⲙϣⲓ 'concerning their ministry,' FGKS. ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ, 26. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] +ⲉⲣⲟϥ, 26. ϥⲟⲛϧ] ϥⲱⲛϧ, ΓNT. 20 ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲙⲧ] T^tA: ⲉⲓⲧⲟ(ⲱ, L^gP)ⲙⲧ, L^g &c. ⲛⲁⲓⲍⲏⲧ(ⲁ, P)ⲏⲙⲁ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓNOPT: ⲛⲓⲍ., GK 26: ⲡⲓⲍ., FS. ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEL 3. 7. 13. 17. 18. 25. 31. 36. 38. 40. 45. 46. 61. 68. 69. 73. 93. 95. 96. 105. 113. 142. 180. $al^{3 scr}$ cat syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.

accusers having stood against him, were bringing no pretexts
among those of which I (pron.) think that they are evil;
19 *questions then* they had [a] between them and him concerning
a doctrine of demons of theirs, and concerning one, called
(ϫⲉ) Jesus, who died, this (man) whom Paulos was saying that
he is alive. 20 But I (pron.) was being amazed concerning
these *questions* of these (things); I was saying: 'Wilt thou [b]
go to Jerusalem, and be judged there concerning these
(things)?' 21 Paulos having *appealed* to (the) king I kept
him for (the) knowledge of (the) king, I *commanded* to keep
him until I send him to (the) king. 22 But Agrippas said
to Phēstos: 'I was wishing also to hear the man.' [For]
to-morrow, he said, thou shalt hear him.
23 On the (lit. his) morrow *then*, Agrippa having come and
Bernikē, with (ⲛⲉⲙ) a great *pomp*, and they having gone into
the place of audience, with (ⲛⲉⲙ) *chiliarchs* and (ⲛⲉⲙ) great

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[a] Lit. 'to them,' ⲟⲩⲛ, read only by A, may have been ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, and ⲛⲱⲟⲩ corrupted from ⲧⲱⲟⲩ. [b] Lit. 'if thou wishest.'

ⲛⲁⲓϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓOP: + ⲛⲁϥ ⲡⲉ, 26: ⲛⲁⲓϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ, T^t: ⲁⲓϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ, FGKS: ϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ, N by error. ϫⲟⲩⲱϣ] ⲕⲟⲩ., G. ⲉⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (cf. Gr. LP al pler)] pref. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, 26. 21 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] A: +ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲣⲉ (om. FS) ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ] ⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ, K. ⲙ̅ (ⲉ, G) ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] A: pref. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲡ(+ⲓ, P)ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ 'to be kept to the knowing,' L^{g}T^t &c.: +ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ, Γ. ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] AB^a: om. L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ . . . ⲉⲣⲟϥ 2°] om. Γ*. 22 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ 1°] cf. Gr. CEHLP 61. al pler cat vg^{cle} (syr^{sch}) et^p arm aeth &c. ⲡⲉ] om. G. ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] AB^a: ⲡⲁⲓⲣ. 'this &c.,' L^{g}T^t &c. ⲣⲁⲥⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: om. ⲅⲁⲣ, ΓNOPT 26, cf. ? Gr. ℵAB vg. 23 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲧ] L^{g}A$_1^c{}_2$B^{a}ΓFG KS 26: pref. ⲉ, T^{t}NOPT. ⲟⲩⲛ] ⲇⲉ, FGS: ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ, B^{a}K. Hunt 26, 23-24
ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ] A$_1$*B^a: -ⲡⲁⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}A$_1^c$ &c. ⲃⲉⲣⲛ.] ⲃⲁⲣⲛ., S. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] ϧⲉⲛ, 26. ⲉⲧⲁⲩ.] ⲉⲧⲁϥ., FS. ϩⲁⲛϫ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 3. 13. 40. 42. 61. 65. 68. 95* 105. 137. c^{sor} k^{sor}: ⲡⲓϫ., 26. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ] cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler cat syr^p &c.

ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳹
24 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲫⲁⲓ ⳹
ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲙⲓ
ⲛⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲕⲉⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲱϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⳹
25 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉϥⲙ̄-
ⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓ-
ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳹ ⲁⲓϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡϥ ⳹ 26 ⲫⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁⲥϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ.
Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲉⲛϥ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ |
ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ ϩⲟⲡⲱⲥ
ⲉⲁⲕϣⲉⲛϥ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ⳹ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁⲥϧⲏⲧϥ ⳹
27 ϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳹
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲥⲩⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ-
ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲉⲧϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ 1 Ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲕ ⳹
τμγ Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲉⲣ-

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24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. FGKS. ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ] A_1* B[a]: -ⲡⲁⲥ, L[g] T[t] A_1[c] &c. ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ] om. ⲉⲑ, B[a]*. ⲥⲉⲙⲓ] L[g] A_1 S: ⲁⲩⲥ., T[t] &c., for plur. cf. ? Gr. (exc. BH 25. 40. 105). ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅] cf. Gr. E[gr] 40. ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲫⲁⲓ, ΓNOT. ⲙⲁ] + ⲟⲛ 'also,' 26. ⲉⲩⲱϣ] ⲁⲩ., 26. ϫⲉϥ.] ϫⲉⲉϥ., Γ. ⲛ̄ⲱ(ⲟ, L[g] P)ⲛϧ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲙⲟⲩ 'of the death,' 26. 25 ⲁⲓⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ[c] ABCE 8. 17. 40. 61. 68. 73. 105. vg syr[sch] arm. ⲉϥⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ] T[t] AB[a] FKPS: ⲉϥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ, L[g] ΓGNOT. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 17. 40. 68. 73. 105. vg &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ.] L[g] T[t] AB[a] Γ NPT: ⲁϥⲉⲣ., FGKOS. ⲉⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, S*)ⲣⲡϥ] cf. ? Gr. EHLP al pler syr[p] &c. 26 ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁ. 1°] AB[a]: ⲫⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁ., L[g] &c.: ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁ., T[t]. ⲙ̄(ⲉ, ⲟ)ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅] om. ⲙ̄, ΓNT; cf. Gr. 5. 7. 8. 15. 18. 25. 27. 29. 36. 68. 98[mg] 105. 180. e[scr] cat arm aeth[pp] syr[p] c.* et[mg] &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] A: om. L[g] T[t] &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T[t] AGK: om. L[g] &c. ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ] L[g] AΓS: -ⲡⲁⲥ, T[t] &c. ϩⲟⲡⲱ(ⲟ, NS*)ⲥ] L[g] T[t] A

men of the *city*, and Phēstos having *commanded*, they brought Paul. 24 And Phēstos said: '(The) king Agrippa and all the men who are with us, ye see this (man): concerning him all the multitude of the *Jews* pleaded with me in Jerusalem and in this place also, crying out that he is not worthy to live any longer. 25 But I (pron.) knew him, that he did not anything worthy of (the) death: but he (ⲫⲁⲓ) himself (ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ) having *appealed* to (the) king, I decided[a] to send him. 26 Concerning whom[b] there is not that which I shall (lit. will) write of certainty to my lord (the) king,

Therefore I brought him before you, and *especially* before thee, (the) king Agrippa, *that* thou having enquired of him, I might find that which I shall (lit. will) write. 27 For I think that it is a thing unreasonable to send the prisoner (and) not to *signify* his charges also which concern him.' XXVI. But Agrippas said to Paulos: 'Thou art commanded to speak for thyself.'

Then Paulos stretched out his hand, he made *defence*

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[a] Lit. 'judged.' [b] Lit. 'this concerning &c.'

B^aFGKS: ⲟⲡⲱⲥ, ΓNOPT. ⲉⲁⲕϣⲉⲛϥ] A: ⲁⲕϣⲁⲛⲉⲛϥ 'shouldest thou ask him,' L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉϯⲛⲁⲥϧⲏⲧϥ] AB^a: ⲫⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁ., L^gT^t &c.; cf. Gr. ℵABC 5. 7. 13. 17. 61. 105. syr^p &c. 27 ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ 'unfair,' $Γ^{mg}O^{mg}$; for ⲡⲉ = εἶναι cf. Gr. 31. 40. ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡ.] A_1: ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲡ., A_2: ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̄, L^gT^t &c. ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ] AB^aF^cK: ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛϩ, $L^gT^tF^*$GST: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛϩ, ΓNOP. ⲉⲣⲥⲩⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ] $L^gT^tAB^a$ΓO: ⲉⲣⲥⲩ-(ⲉ, G)ⲙⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ, FGKNPST.

1 ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲥ., T. ⲉϫⲱⲕ] F^{mg}'the end (of the lection).' ⲁϥ- Hunt 26 i. ii,
ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ] -ⲧⲱⲛ, GK 26^1. ⲁ(ⲉ, T^tN)ϥⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ] ⲧⲟⲧⲉ... 1–6
ⲁϥⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ, 26^1; position cf. Gr. ℵABCE 13. 15. 18. 31. 40. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ... 1–3
61. 66. 68. 73. 99. 133. 180. 13^{lect} 14^{lect} k^{sor} cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth &c.: ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ 'saying,' GK: + ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ,

ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⳾ [2]ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲙⲁ-
ⲣⲓⲕⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ ⳾
ϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟ-
ⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̅ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲕ [3]ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲉⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲏ-
ⲧⲏⲙⲁ. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⳾
[4]Ⲡⲁϫⲓⲛⲱⲛϧ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϩⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾
ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
[5]ⲉⲩⲉⲣϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲓ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲡϣⲱⲓ
ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ϯϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛ-
ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲁⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲙ̅ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ [6]ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ϯⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲉⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
[7]ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ϯⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲙ̅ⲫⲩⲗⲏ
ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϯⲙⲁϯ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲥⲉϫⲉⲙⲙⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓ
ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⳾ [8]ⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲑⲛⲁϩϯ ⲧⲉ ⳾
ⲙⲁϩⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ
ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾

FO(om. ϫⲉ)S. [2] ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ] ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲉⲙ, 26^{1}. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] T^{t}AB^{a} 26: ⲉⲣⲟⲓ 'with me,' L^{3} &c. ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲟⲩ, FKS. ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] AB^{a}: om. ⲙ̅, L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ] AB^{a}Γ GT: -ⲡⲁⲥ, L^{3}T^{t}FKNOPS. ϯⲙⲉⲩⲓ] om. FKS. ⲉ(ⲁ, 26^{1})ⲓ-ⲛⲁⲉⲣⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲥⲑⲉ] position cf. ? Gr. minusc mu. [3] ⲉⲕⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] om. ⲉ, G. ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏ(ⲓ, G)ⲑⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. A 17. 25. aeth^{utr}: ⲛ̅ϯⲥ., L^{g}. ⲛⲟⲩⲍⲏ(ⲉ, 26^{1})ⲧⲏⲙⲁ (G^{mg} 'a copy')] ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲏⲙⲁ, G*; for om. ἐπιστάμενος cf. Gr. ℵ* BEHLP al pler vg. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕ.] cf. ? Gr. CH LP al pler syr^{sch} &c.: om. O. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕⲥ. 'that thou may,' 26^{1}. ⲙⲉⲧⲣ̅ⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ] ϯϩⲉⲑⲛϥ 'attentively,' 26. [4] ⲡⲁϫⲓⲛⲱⲛϧ] A: +ⲙⲉⲛ, B^{a}: +ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.

2 concerning all things with which the *Jews* find fault with
him to (the) king Agrippa, I think that I (am) *happy,*
being about to make *defence* to-day before thee: 3 *especially*
as thou knowest the *customs* of the *Jews* and their *questions*:
therefore I pray thee to hear me longsufferingly. 4 My living
from my youth, which was from (the) beginning among my
nation in Jerusalem, all the *Jews* know; 5 knowing me before
from (this time) upward, should they wish to witness,

That according to the *sect* which is strict[a] of our service
I lived as *Pharisee.* 6 And now concerning (the) *hope* of
the promise which was made to our fathers by God I stand
being judged, 7 that is to say this *hope* (as to) which the
twelve *tribes* were serving continually in the day and the
night, wishing to[b] attain unto it. Concerning this *hope,*
(the) king, the *Jews* find fault with me. 8 Why is it in-
credible[c], judge[d] in yourselves, if God will raise the dead?

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[a] Lit. 'accurate.' [b] Lit. 'to cause their hand.' [c] Lit. 'what is unbelief.' [d] Imperative because *κρίνεται* was mistaken for *κρίνετε*.

ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϩⲏ] om. 26. ⲡⲁⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ 'this &c.,' A_1KO. ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϧ., T; for om. *τε* cf. Gr. CHLP 13. 61. al pler vg syr^{p} arm aeth &c. ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAC^{2}HLP al pler cat &c. 5 ⲉⲩⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ., 26. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ 'him,' 26. ϯϩⲉⲣ.] om. ϯ, P: ϯⲕⲁϩⲥ 'the custom,' K. 6 ⲧϩⲉⲗ.] ⲧⲁϩ. 'my hope,' P. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCE 61. al plus^{35} cat vg syr^{utr} arm aeth &c.: ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ, L^{g}P, cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu &c. ϯⲟϩⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, T. 7 ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲣⲉ, N. ϯⲓ̅ⲃ̅] T^{t} &c.: ⲧⲉⲛⲓ̅ⲃ̅ 'our twelve,' L^{g}NPT. ϧⲉⲛ] AB^{a}: pref. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ (ⲧⲟⲩ, N) 'in it,' L^{g}T^{t} &c. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ, FS. ⲉⲣⲟⲥ] ⲉⲣⲟⲓ 'to me,' P by error. ⲧⲁⲓϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ] +ⲇⲉ, P. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] A: trs. after ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c., position and without *ἀγρίππα* cf. Gr. ℵBCEI 13. 17. 61. 65. 68. 73. 133. 180. vg arm &c. ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. minusc mu arm^{edd}. 8 ⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲧ (om. ⲙⲉⲧ, O) ⲁⲑ (ⲧ, KNST) ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲧⲉ] -ϯ ⲡⲉ, O: om. ⲧⲉ, FS.

τμδ 9 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲩϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲛⲁ-
ⲍⲱⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ 10 ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲛⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⳾ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲓϯⲱⲡ
ϧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ 11 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲓϯⲙ̀-
ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲇⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲓϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲃⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϣⲁⲓϭⲟϫⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲕⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
τμε 12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲓ-
ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⳾ 13 ⲉⲓϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲁϣⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϥⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ 14 ⲉⲧⲁⲛϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ
ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉ-
ⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲗ ⲁϧⲟⲕ ⲕϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥⲛⲁϣⲧ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲉϯϣⲉⲛⲫⲁⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓ ⳾ 15 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ

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9 ⲉⲣⲟⲓ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, A_2. ⲉⲉⲣ] T^t &c.: ϫⲉ ⲉⲉⲣ, P: ⲉⲣ, L^g. ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] ⲉ, KT: ⲙ̀, FS. 10 ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲁⲓϥ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲓϥ, G, 3° person by error. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] AB^a; pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c., cf. Gr. BHLP al pler &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, PT: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, Γ. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEIL 13. 31. 40. 61. 105. al plus[20] cat vg: om. ΓNOPT, cf. Gr. HP al plu &c. ⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., P. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] T^tAB^a: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ, L^gΓGKOP: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, FNST. ⲉⲩϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] ⲉϧ., A. ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] AFPS: pref. ⲇⲉ, $L^gT^tB^a$ΓGKNOT, cf. Gr. H 21. 99. 105. 137. al$^{2\,scr}$ e syr^p &c. 11 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ] AB^a: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^gT^t &c. ⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱ(ⲟ, S)ⲅⲏ] pref. ⲟⲩ, P. ⲉⲓ(ⲓⲉ, N)ϯⲙ̀(ⲉⲙ, T^tGO)ⲕⲁϩ] L^gAB^aΓNPT: ⲛⲁⲓϯ, T^tFKS: ⲁⲓϯ, G: ⲛ̀ϯ, O by error. ⲇⲉ] om. FS. ⲉⲓϧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲁⲓϧⲉⲛ, FS. ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲃⲓ] ⲟⲩⲃⲓⲗⲓ, G: ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲃⲓ, FS. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] L^gAB^aFGS: om. T^tΓKNOPT. ϣⲁⲓ-

9 I *indeed then* was thinking for myself to do many things
which oppose (the) name of Jesus the Nazōreos. 10 This which
I did in Jerusalem; many among the saints I (pron.) cast
into the prisons, having received the authority from the
chief priests; (as) they were killing them I (ϣⲁⲓ) gave vote
against them 11 *in* every synagogue; giving pain to them many
times, I was forcing them to blaspheme; but in [an] excess
being in a madness towards them, I (ϣⲁⲓ) persecuted them
even unto the *cities* also which are outside. 12 And in
these (things) journeying[a] to Damaskos with an *authority*
and (ⲛⲉⲙ) commandment of the *chief priests*, 13 [but] being
on the road at midday I saw, (the) king, a light from (the)
heaven brighter than (the) sun, it came upon me and them
who were with me. 14 But we all having fallen upon the
earth, I heard a voice saying to me in the language of
Hebrew: 'Saoul, Saoul, why persecutest thou me? It is
a hard thing for thee to kick against goads.' 15 But I (pron.)

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[a] Lit. 'walking.'

ϭⲟϫⲓ] ⲉⲓϭ., GK: ⲛⲁⲓϭⲟϫⲓ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, F. ⲉⲛⲓ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., N. 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] AB^a, cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler syr^{sch} &c.: om. L^{g}T^t &c., cf. Gr. ℵABCEI 13. 40. 61. 105. al^{10} cat vg syr^p arm aeth &c. ⲉⲓⲙⲟϣⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲟⲩⲁϩ.] pref. ⲟⲩ, B^{a}GO. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭ.] cf. Gr. ℵABEI 40. 61. 68. 17^{lect} c^{scr} vg syr^{sch} arm: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓ., G, cf. ? Gr. CHLP al pler cat syr^p aeth &c. 13 ⲉⲓϩⲓ] ⲉⲩϩⲓ, O^{mg} ('a copy'). ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., GK. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] T^{t}AΓOP: ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, B^a: ⲉⲟⲩⲱ(O, N)ⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g}FGKNST. ⲁϥⲓ] AGKO: ⲉⲁϥⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓFNPST. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϧ., GK. ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓFNO*PT: ⲉⲧ(ⲑ, S)ⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ 'who walked with me,' T^{t}GKO^{mg}S. 14 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. CHLP al pler &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., T^{t}ΓF*NT. ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] pref. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲟϯ 'from the fear,' T^{t}FGKS; obs. Gr. 137. syr$^{p\,mg}$. ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ(ⲱ, A$_2$)ⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCEI 15. 17. 18. 25. 28. 31. 36. 40. 61. 68. 73. 98^{txt} 105. 133. 180. 14^{lect} 17^{lect} cat vg syr^{utr} aeth^{pp}. ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉⲃ.] ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃ., ΓNT. ⲕϭⲟϫⲓ] ⲉⲕϭ., T^{t}FGKS. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] om. T.

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡϭ︦ⲥ︦ ⁘ ⲡϭ︦ⲥ︦ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⁘ 16 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲉ|ϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲕϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⁘
Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲧⲡⲕ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ϩⲩⲡⲉⲣⲉⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ. 17 ⲉⲓⲉⲛⲁϩⲙⲉⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉϯⲛⲁ-
ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲕ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ 18 ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ-
ⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲫϯ ⁘
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
. . . ⲙⲓⲁ, G ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ
τμϛ ⲡⲓⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⁘ † 19 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘
20 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉ-
ⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲫϯ ⁘ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⁘
τμζ 21 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲁⲩϭⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ

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15 ⲡϭ︦ⲥ︦ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCEIL 15. 18. 31. 40. 61. 105. 137. al plus[12] cat vg (syr^sch) et^p arm &c. ⲛⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. E syr^sch aeth^pp. 16 ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ABᵃ: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, LᵍTᵗ &c. ⲥⲟⲧⲡⲕ] ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲕ, TᵗKNO: ⲥⲟⲛⲧⲕ, T. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩ . . . ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕ] om. A_2*. ⲛⲏⲓ] $A_{1.2}$^mg Bᵃ: trs. before ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩ., TᵗFGKOS: om. LᵍΓNPT. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ] ABᵃᶜΓGNOPᶜST: ⲉⲧⲉⲕ., LᵍTᵗBᵃ*FKP*; cf. Gr. ℵAC²EHILP al pler vg aeth^pp &c. ⲉϯⲛⲁ] ⲉϯ, PS. 17 ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ, FS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABE^gr I 13. 25. 40. 61. k^scr l^scr fu &c.: om. FS, cf. Gr. CHLP al longe plu cat e vg &c. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] cf. Gr. unc al longe plu syr^utr arm aeth^pp &c. ϯⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲕ] om. K, Bᵃ: ⲉϯⲟⲩⲛⲁ., NT by error; for future cf. Gr. HIP* al plus[12] demid &c. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABᵃ: ϩⲁⲣ., LᵍTᵗ &c. 18 ϩⲁⲡⲭ(ⲕ, NT)ⲁⲕ(ⲭ, N)ⲓ] A_1ᶜ$_2$Bᵃ: ϧⲉⲛ., LᵍTᵗΓNOPT: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲭ., FGKS. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

said: 'Who (art) thou, Lord?' But the Lord said to me:
'I am Jesus, whom thou (pron.) persecutest. 16 But (ⲇⲉ)
rise, stand upon thy feet. For therefore I manifested myself
to thee, to choose thee as an *officer* for me, and that thou
mayest witness to the things which thou sawest, those in
which I shall (lit. will) manifest myself to thee; 17 I shall
save thee from the *people* and from the *Gentiles*, those to
whom I (pron.) shall (lit. will) send thee, 18 to open their eyes,
to cause them to return from (the) darkness into (the) light,
and from (the) authority of *Satan* to God, to cause them to
receive (the) forgiveness of their sins, and an *inheritance*
among them who are sanctified in the faith of (ⲉ) me.'
19 Therefore, (the) king Agrippa, I could not be disobedient
to the vision[a] of (the) heaven: 20 but (ⲇⲉ) to them who
were in Damaskos first and Jerusalem, and all (the) country
of [the] Ioudea, and the *Gentiles*, I proclaimed to cause them
to *repent* and to cause them to return to God, to do works
worthy of the *repentance*. 21 Therefore the *Jews* laid hold
on me in the temple, they were trying to lay (lit. bring)

[a] Lit. 'see.'

ϩⲁ 2°] cf. Gr. ϹEL 36. 40. 68. 69. 105. 106. 137. 189. 12^{lect} a^{scr} c^{scr}
cat &c. ⲡⲉⲣϣ.] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓFKOPST: ⲡⲓⲉⲣϣ., T^{t}GN. ⲉⲫϯ]
ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, Γ. ⲡϫⲱ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FGKS: ⲡⲓϫ., ΓNOPT. ⲉⲣⲟⲓ]
pref. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ 'in,' FS. 19 F^{mg} S^{mg} 'the fifth Sunday of the Fast.' Hunt 26.
ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}NOT: -ⲡⲁⲥ, FKPS 26. 20 ⲇⲁ- 19–29
ⲙⲁⲥⲕ.] ⲧ., S: ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲕ., N. ⲛⲉⲙⲓⲗ̄ⲏⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵBHLP
al pler &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAB tol. ⲁⲓϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] AB^{a}
26: ⲁⲓϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.; for past tense cf. ? Gr. ℵABE
61. al sat mu^{vid} cat &c. ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ(ⲛⲟⲓⲁ, T) . . . ⲫϯ ⲉ]
om. N. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ, B^{a}. ⲉⲓⲣⲓ] AB^{a}:
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓⲣⲓ, ΓN^{c}OPT: ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}G^{r}K: ⲉⲩⲓ, FS. ⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ]
ⲉⲩⲉⲙ., L^{g}ΓG^{r}NOT. 21 ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}AEHP al pler &c.
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. A 73. 137. a^{scr*} c^{scr} arm. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr.
ABHLP al longe plu &c. ⲛⲁⲩϭⲱⲛⲧ] ⲁⲩϭ., P. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ]
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ, FS.

ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⳾ 22 ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ϣⲁⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϯϫⲉ ϩⲗⲓ
ⲁⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾
23 ⲒⲤϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ϥⲛⲁϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ |
τμη 24 Ⲏⲁⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲓⲃ ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲗⲓⲃⲓ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⳾ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̄ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲑⲣⲉⲕⲗⲓⲃⲓ ⳾ 25 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ϯⲗⲟⲃⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲛⲏ
ⲉϯϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 26 ϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉϯⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲑⲏⲧ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲃϣ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲛ
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲕⲥ ⳾ 27 ⲭⲛⲁϩϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲭⲛⲁϩϯ.
28 ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ
ⲭⲛⲁⲑⲉⲧ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳾

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22 ⲁⲓϭⲓ] ⲁⲓϭⲉ, T. ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] L^g T^t S &c., cf. Gr. (exc. ABE al plu). 23 ⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] L^g AFS: ⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲛⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ, T^t B^a ΓG^r KNPT 26: ⲣⲉⲙϣⲉⲛ., O. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FS. ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧ.] ϯⲁ., P. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲣⲉϥ., T. ϥⲛⲁϩⲓ.] ⲛⲁϥϩⲓ., ΓNT, imperfect. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] AFKOS^c T: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, L^g T^t B^a ΓG^r NP. 24 ⲛⲁⲓ] A: + ⲇⲉ, L^g T^t &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲉϥⲥⲁϫⲓ 'speaking,' 26. ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, L^g P*. ⲁⲕⲗⲓⲃⲓ] A: -ⲗⲟⲃⲓ, L^g T^t &c. ⲑⲣⲉⲕⲗⲓ(ⲟ, FG^r S)ⲃⲓ] L^g AB^a (pref. ⲉ)FG^r KS 26: ⲁⲩⲑⲣ., T^t ΓNOPT. 25 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] L^g AB^a F G^r K: ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, S?: ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, Γ: ⲡⲉϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, N^c OPT: ⲡⲉϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ, T^t; for *παῦλος* cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 15. 18. 25. 36. 40. 61. 65. 68. 73. 105. 180. 40^lect d^sor cat vg arm syr^sch

their hand upon me. 22 But having received a *help* from God, I stood until to-day, witnessing to [a] small and [a] great, not saying anything except those which the *prophets* say and Mōysēs, that they will happen: 23 If Christ is a sufferer, if he is first from (the) *resurrection* of the dead, he will proclaim a light to the *people* and the *Gentiles*.

24 As he is saying these (things), Phēstos said in a great voice: 'Thou wast mad, O Paul[a], the much learning (lit. of writing) caused thee to be mad.' 25 But Paulos said: 'I am not mad, *most excellent* Phēstos[a]; but (ⲁ) words of [the] truth and [the] *piety* (are) those which I say. 26 For the king also knoweth concerning these things, to whom[b] I am bold (in) speaking; for I am persuaded that none of these (things) escape his notice; for this was not done in a corner. 27 Thou believest, (the) king Agrippas, the *prophets*; I know that thou believest.' 28 But Agrippas said to Paulos: '(With) even a little thou wilt persuade me to make myself

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[a] Greek vocative. [b] Lit. 'this to whom.'

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aeth^{pp} &c.; for om. δέ, cat am syr^{sch}. ⲫⲏ(ⲉ,26)ⲥⲧⲉ(ⲏ, 26)] -ⲧⲟⲥ, G^r OP. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙ.] ⲛ̄ϯⲙ., FS. ϯⲙⲉⲧⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ] A: ϯⲙⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'wisdom,' L^gT^t &c. ⲛⲏ ⲉϯ.] T^tAG^r: ⲡⲉ ⲉϯ., B^aFS: ⲡⲉ ⲉϯ., L^gΓKNOPT: ⲡⲉϯ., 26. 26 ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ, G^rS*. ⲉϯⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^gT^t &c.; for om. καί cf. Gr. B 25. arm. ⲑⲏⲧ] L^gT^tAFPS: +ⲁⲛ, B^aΓG^rKNOT. ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ . . . ⲁⲛ 1°] L^gT^tAF(ⲱⲃ)KPS(ⲱⲃ): ⲛⲁⲱⲃϣ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, 26: om. ⲁⲛ, B^aΓG^r(ⲱⲃ)NOT (26). ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲫⲁⲓ] ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲫⲁⲓ, 26. ⲁⲛ 2°] L^gAB^aFS: trs. after ϣⲱⲡⲓ, T^tΓG^rKNOPT. ⲉⲗⲕⲥ] ⲉⲗⲝ, FKS. 27 ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ, Γ*NT by error. ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ] T^tAB^aFKS 26: ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁ, L^gΓG^rNOPT. ϫⲉ] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, Γ*S. 28 ⲇⲉ] om. N. ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. Gr. EHLP al pler cat tol syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ϫⲉⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] om. B^a. ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] + ⲡⲉ, G^r: +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⳉⲛⲁⲑⲉ(ⲏ, OPT)ⲧ] ⳉⲁⲑⲏⲧ, 26. ⲉⲁⲓⲧ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 13. 17. 40. 61. syr$^{p\,mg}$. ⲛ̄(ⲉⲛ, S)ⳉⲣⲏⲥⲧ.] T^tAΓFG^rKOPT 26, cf. Gr. ℵ*: ⲛ̄ⳉⲣⲓⲥⲧ., L^gB^aNS.

(τμη) 29 Ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ⳾ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ
ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲏϯ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉϯⲟⲓ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ⳾ ϩⲱ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ⳾

τμθ 30 Ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲓⲕⲏ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾
31 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲛ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ϥⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̅ϩⲱⲃ
ⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾ ⲉϥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲓⲉ
ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ⳾

τν 32 Ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲭⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲉⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ.

ⲔⲌ.

τνα Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ | ⲉϯϩⲩ-
ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ⳾ ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱ-
ⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲟⲩⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲥⲡⲓⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲥⲧⲏ⳾ 2 ⲁⲛⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲟⲩ-
ϫⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ
ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲑⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ ⲡⲓ-

Hunt 18, 29–32

29 ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler syr^{sch} arm aeth &c. ⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 5. 13. 40. 61. 105. k^{scr} vg syr^{utr}. ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟ(+ⲩ, S)ⲛⲟⲛ] om. ⲟⲩ, AP: ⲙⲙⲟⲛ, Γ. ⲛ̅ⲑⲟⲕ] ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ, ΓNT. ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣ., A_2B^{a}G^{r}O*S 18. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̅ⲫⲣ., FG^{r}KS: om. T. ϩⲱ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: om. ΓNOPT 26. ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩϩ] AB^{a}G^{r}KO* 18. 26: ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲛ. 'these &c.,' L^{g}T^{t}ΓFNO^{c}PST. 30 ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵAB 36. 61. 68. 73. 103. 142. 180. vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} ar^e item 13. &c. 81. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. 13. 14* 17. 40. 105. c^{scr} syr^p &c.: om. B^a. ϩⲏⲅⲉ.] ϩⲏⲅⲏ., N: ϩⲩⲅ., ST. ⲃⲉⲣⲛⲓⲕⲏ] ⲃⲏⲣⲛ., B^a. 31 ϥⲉⲣ] ⲉϥⲉⲣ, T^t. ϩⲗⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA 13. 31. 40. 61. 68. k^{scr} vg. ⲉϥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ] AB^{a}FKPS 18: ⲉϥⲉⲙⲡ., L^{g}T^{t}ΓG^{r}NOT; position

Chrēstianos.' 29 But Paulos said: 'I pray to God both
(ⲛⲉⲙ) in [a] little and (ⲛⲉⲙ) in [a] great, *not only* thou,
but (ⲁ) also (ⲛⲉⲙ) all who hear me to-day for them to
become in my manner, in the manner in which I also am,
save my bonds.' 30 But (the) king rose, and the *governor*
and Bernikē and they who sat with them: 31 and having
withdrawn, they were speaking to one another, saying: 'This
man doeth not any deed worthy of (the) death or bonds.'
32 But Agrippas said to Phēstos: 'It was possible to release
this man, if he had not *appealed* to (the) king.'

XXVII. But it came to pass (that), it having been decided
for us to sail to [the] Hytalia, he delivered Paulos and other
prisoners to a *centurion*, his name being Ioulios, from the
band of Sabastē. 2 But we went on board a ship *Andra-
mantinean*, about to sail to the places of [the] Asia, we put
to sea, being with us Aristarchos also of (the) Makedonia,

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cf. ? Gr. A c^{sor} cat. 32 ⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲁ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲁ 'that they might &c.,' FS. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲡⲓⲣ. 'the man,' T. ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲕⲁⲗ.] ⲉⲛⲓⲅ., 18.

1 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯ] L^{g}T^{t}AΓK: ⲉⲧⲁϥϯ, B^{a}FG^{r}NOPST, cf. Gr. A 6. Hunt 26, 1–2
8. 40. 69. a^{sor} demid syr^{sch} ar^e &c. ⲉⲑ(om. A$_1$)ⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ] T^{t}AB^a: ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ. 'that we should sail,' L^{g}ΓFG^{r}K(N)OPST. ϩⲩⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ] -ⲇ., P: ϩⲓⲧ., B^{a}G^r. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛϩ] -ⲱⲛϩ, B^{a}FKST. ⲉⲧⲟⲧϥ] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲕ.] ⲉⲟⲩⲉⲕ., P. -ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] cf. ? Gr. 137. c^{sor} al^3 cat &c. -ρχῳ. ⲥⲡⲓⲣⲁ] ⲥⲡⲏ.. NPT. ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲥⲧⲏ] AKP: ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲥ., S*: + ⲥ, F*: ⲥⲉⲃⲉⲥⲧⲏ, N: ⲥⲉⲃⲁⲥ., L^g &c. 2 ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓNPT 26: om. FG^{r}KOS. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲁⲙⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲉⲟⲥ] A: -ⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ, B^a: -ⲙⲓⲛⲧⲏⲛⲛ., Γ^o: -ⲙⲩⲛⲧⲉⲛ., G^r: -ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ, K: -ⲙⲉⲛⲇⲓⲛ., 26: ⲁⲛⲇ(ⲧ, S)ⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲟⲥ, FS: ⲁⲇⲣⲁⲙⲩⲛⲧⲏⲛⲉⲟⲥ, L^{g}O, cf. ? Gr. 13. 68: ⲁⲇⲣⲁⲙⲓⲛⲧⲏ., Γ*N: ⲁⲇⲣⲁⲙⲩⲛⲧⲉ., T: ⲁⲇⲣⲁⲙⲩⲛⲧⲓⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ, T^t: ⲁⲩⲇⲣⲁⲙⲩⲛⲧⲏ., P. ⲉϥⲛⲁ.] ϥⲛⲁ., P; for singular cf. Gr. ℵAB 13. 14* 15. 18. 40. 60. 68. 69. 137. al plus^{20} cat am syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} ar^e. ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 13. 25. 40. 61. 68. 69. 73. 105. a^{scr} arm &c. ⲛⲓⲕⲉ] ⲛⲕⲉ, ΓFNOPST: om. 26. ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲟⲛⲓⲁ] -ⲕⲁ., T: -ⲱⲛⲓⲁ, FGKS.

ⲣⲉⲙⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⳾ 3 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲥⲩ-
ⲇⲱⲛ ⳾
τνβ Ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲓⲟⲩⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ϣⲁ
ⲡⲉϥϣⲫⲏⲣ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϥⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ ⳾
τνγ 4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ
ϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. 5 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲗⲁⲅⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϯⲡⲁⲙⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲗⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⳾ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲉϯϩⲩ-
ⲧⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ 7 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲱⲥⲕ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲟⲅⲓⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲛⲓⲇⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϥⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ϯⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⳾ 8 ⲙⲟⲅⲓⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲭⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲗⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲥϧⲉⲛⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲗⲁⲥⲉⲁ ⳾
τνδ 9 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
CIΓ ϩⲏⲇⲏ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ | ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲉⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲁ

ⲑⲉⲥⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ] ⲑⲁⲥⲥ., F*S: ⲑⲉⲥⲁ., K 26: -ⲗⲗ., N: -ⲗⲟⲩⲛ., P. 3 ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ] LgABaFGrKS: pref. ⲉ, TtΓNOPT. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵcL 25. 31. 40. 61. ksor vg &c.: om. O. ⲧ(om. N)ⲥⲩⲇⲱⲛ] ⲧⲥⲓⲇ(ⲧ, F)., LgFPST. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ 'with us,' Gr. ⲛⲁϥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, Gr. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥ . . . ⲡⲉϥ] om. T. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲉ] TtABaGrK: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲉ 'that he might go,' LgΓFNOPS. ⲡⲉϥϣⲫⲏ(ⲉ, Ba)ⲣ] ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛ̄ϣⲫ. 'his own friends,' FS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϥⲓ] -ⲏϥⲓ, NS. ⲡⲉϥⲣ.] pref. ⲙ̄, FS. 4 ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] ϧⲉⲛ, Ba. 5 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] TtAΓ: om. Lg &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲗ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., GrK. ⲟⲩⲧⲱϥ] -ⲱⲛϥ, A1: -ⲟϥ, FS. ⲛ̄ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥ] ABa: ⲛ̄(ⲉ, P)ϯⲕⲩ(ⲓ, N)ⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ, LgTt &c. ⲛⲉⲙϯ . . . ⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ] om. T homeot., obs. aethpp om. καὶ παμφυλίαν. ϯⲡⲁⲙⲫⲩⲗⲓⲁ] om. ϯ, O: ϯⲡⲁⲙⲫⲓⲗⲓⲁ, BaN(O). ⲁⲛⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 25. vg. ⲗⲩ(ⲓ, OPS)ⲥⲧⲣⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵA vg armmg &c. ϯⲕⲩⲗⲓⲕⲓⲁ]

the native of Thessalonikē. 3 But on the (lit. his) morrow
we came to (the) Sydōn. But Ioulios did [a] kindness[a]
with Paulos; he commanded him to go unto his friends,
that they might take care of him. 4 And having put to
sea from there, we sailed along Kypros, because that the
wind was opposing us. 5 But having sailed away to the *sea*
which is between Kypros and [the] Pamphylia, we came to
Lystra of [the] Kylikia. 6 And the *centurion* found a ship
there of Rakoti[b], about to sail to [the] Hytalia; he placed
us on it. 7 But having delayed in sailing many days, and
having *scarcely* come off Chnidos, the wind not letting us,
[but] we sailed along [the] Krētē off Salmonē; 8 having
scarcely left it, we came to a place called 'the good *har-bours*'; [but] a *city* called (ϫⲉ) Lasea was being near to
them. 9 But great *time* having passed, and *already* it

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[a] Lit. 'philanthropy,' cf. xxviii. 2. [b] Alexandria.

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cf. am demid &c. 6 -ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c. ϫⲓⲙⲓ] L^gA$B^a$$Γ^oFG^r$KS: ⲁϥϫ., T^tΓ*NOPT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] om. ΓNPT, cf. Gr. 37. 56. ⲉϥⲛⲁⲉⲣ.] ϥⲛ., K. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗⲟⲛ] ⲉϥⲧ., S*: ⲉⲁϥⲧ., T. 7 ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ] $L^g$$T^t$AΓNST: ⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ, B^aF G^rKOP. ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲥ] ⲙⲱ., G^r: ⲙⲟⲕ., NO*. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ] $L^g$$T^t$A B^a(pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ): ⲁⲛⲓ, ΓFG^rKNOPST. ⲛ̄ⲭⲛⲓⲇⲟⲥ] T^tA$B^a$$G^r$ KO: ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲓⲇⲟⲥ, L^g: ⲛ̄ⲕⲛⲩ., FS: ⲛ̄ⲉⲭⲛ., P: ⲛ̄ⲓⲭⲛ., ΓNT. ⲛ̄ϥϫⲱ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, T. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FG^rS. ϯⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ] $L^g$$T^tAB^a$(both om. ϯ)K: ϯⲕⲣⲓ., ΓF$G^r$(om. ϯ) &c.: ϯⲕⲓⲣⲓⲧⲏ, O. ⲥⲁⲗⲙⲟⲛⲏ] ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙⲱⲛⲏ, B^a: ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙⲓⲛⲏ, G^rK, cf. arm. 8 ⲙⲟ(ⲱ, G^r)ⲅ(ⲕ, O)ⲓⲥ] AB^a: + ⲇⲉ, $L^g$$T^t$ &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲁ] ⲉⲟⲩ., P. ⲗⲩⲙⲏⲛ] -ⲉⲛ, P. ⲗⲁⲥⲉⲁ] cf. Gr. B 21. 31. 45. 61. 73: ⲗⲁⲥⲁⲉ, K: ⲗⲉⲥⲉⲁ, FS. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26. Hunt 26, i. 9-10; ii. 9-12 . . . ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏ ⲁⲛ] trs. after ⲡⲗⲉⲓⲛ, 26, see below. ϫⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲉⲓⲛ] T^tA $B^a$$G^r$K: ϫⲉ ⲛ̄(ⲁⲛ, T)ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲉⲓⲛ ⲡⲉ, L^gΓNOPT: ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲡⲉ, F: ϫⲉ ⲁ(ⲉ, °)ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲏⲛ, S*: ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲡⲗⲏⲓ(+ⲛ, i°: ⲉⲓⲛ, ii)ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ, 26 i. ii. ⲛⲉⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ] AB^a: ϩⲏⲇⲏ ⲛⲉ(ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ for ϩ . . . ⲉ, T)ⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ, L^gΓNOPT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲇⲏ ⲛⲉⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ

ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲁ ϯⲕⲉⲛⲏⲥ-
ⲧⲓⲁ ⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲧⲓⲉ Ⲛⲁϥϯⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ [10] ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϯⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲱϣ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲥⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉ-
ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲓⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ⳾
ⲧⲓⲋ [11] Ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲁϥⲑⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲉⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ [12] ⲉⲛϥⲥ-
ⲙⲟⲛⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲗⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲭⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲭⲁⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲝ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁⲭⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ ⳾ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲡⲉ ⳾
[13] Ⲉϥⲛⲓϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲑⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩ-
ϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲭⲁ ϯⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ. [14] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲥⲕ ⲇⲉ ⳾ ⲁϥⲛⲓϥⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲕⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ [15] ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-

ⲥⲱ(ⲟ, G^{r})ⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ, T^{t}G^{r}K: ϩⲏⲇⲏ ⲛⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, F: ⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, S: ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲡⲉ, 26. ⲛⲉⲁϯⲕⲉ.] T^{t}AB^{a}G^{r}K: ⲁϯⲕⲉ., L^{s}ΓFNOP(om. ⲕⲉ)ST 26. ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁ] + ⲅⲁⲣ, 26. ⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ] om. ⲡⲉ, G^{r}. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FGKS 26^{ll}: ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 'them,' 26. [10] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] om. 26. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ϫⲉ, K 26^{ll}. ϯⲛⲁⲩ] ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ, A$_{2}$ by error. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] L^{s}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ, ΓNOPT. ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ] om. ⲟⲩ, A by error. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ] om. ⲙ̄, ΓKNT 26^{ll}. ⲛⲉⲛⲕⲉ.] ⲕⲓⲛⲉ. 'also the,' FKS. [11] -ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. minusc mu. ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲛⲁϥⲑⲏⲧ] pref. ⲉ, G^{r}. ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ] + ⲡⲉ, G^{r}K 26. ⲛⲁⲩⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥ] -ⲓⲣⲟⲥ, N. [12] ⲉⲛϥⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ] ⲛ̄ϥ., L^{s}FKS: ⲉⲛⲥ., G^{r}: ⲛ̄ⲥ., 26. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁⲭⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ] ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ, K: ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣ., G^{r}: + ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲗⲩⲙⲏⲛ, 26. ⲁⲡⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲟ]

was no longer (the) time of *sailing*, for the ship had gone
out of her course, because that the *fast* also had passed.

But Paulos was exhorting, 10 saying to them, [The] men,
I see that an injury and much loss will happen, *not only*
of the ship and the freight, but (ⲁ) also our *lives*, in this
voyage. 11 But the *centurion* was trusting to the steers-
man and the *shipowner* rather than the things which Paulos
was saying. 12 But the *harbour* not being (well) placed for
us to *winter in*, most of them made a plan to put out from
there, that perhaps they could *reach* Phoinix to *winter in*,
a *harbour* of [the] Krētē, looking westward, being a place
of Chōra. 13 But a south wind blowing, they were think-
ing that they will be able to establish their purpose[a], they
put to sea from Assōs, they left [the] Krētē. 14 But a high
wind, which is called 'Eurakylōn,' delayed not, it blew
against us. 15 But it having carried off the ship, as (ⲉⲧⲉ)

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[a] Lit. 'the first ordinance which they made.'

ⲁⲛϩ., 26. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABL 13. 18. 40. 61. 68. 105. 180. al^{25} cat vg syr^{sch} arm &c. ϫⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: om. ΓNOPT 26. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣϫ.] ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫ., B^a: ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣϫ., FKS. ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧ.] L^{g}AB^{a}FG^{r}S: ⲉⲉⲣ., T^{t}ΓKNOPT: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧ., 26. ⲫⲟⲓⲛⲓⲝ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}G^r: ⲫⲟⲛ., K: ⲫⲩⲛ., ΓFNOPST. ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁⲭ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, K. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲗ.] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗ., K. ϯⲕⲣⲏ(ⲓ, B^{a}NOPT 26)ⲧⲏ] om. ϯ, P. ⲛⲓⲥⲁ] AB^{a}G^{r}K: ⲛⲓ., L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ] L^{g}AB^{a}FG^{r}KST: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}ΓNOP. 13 ⲟⲩⲑⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}NOP: ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ, T: ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯⲟⲩⲑ, S: ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯⲛ̄ⲑ., F. ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ] pref. ⲉ, K: +ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲛⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ] -ⲱⲣⲡ, S. ⲑⲱϣ] ⲑⲟϣ, K. ⲁⲩϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ] ⲁⲛϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲇⲉ, FS. ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲥ] T^{t}A: ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲥ, L^{g}ΓKPT: ⲁⲥⲟⲥ, G^r: ⲉⲥⲟⲥ, N: ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲟⲥ, O: ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲥ, B^a: ⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ, F^{c}S: ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲱⲛ, F*. ⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ] ⲕⲣⲓ., B^{a}ΓFP. 14 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲕ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓNOPT: ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ 'after a little,' T^{t}FG^{r}KS. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] AB^{a}ΓFG^{r}KNOPST: om. L^{g}T^t. ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ] ⲉⲣⲟⲛ, G^{r}K. ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩⲑⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ 'a south wind,' ΓNOPT. ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ, T^{t}FG^{r}KS. ⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙ., ΓNOPT. ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲕⲩⲗⲱⲛ] L^{g}A$_1$B^{a}NOT, cf. Gr. ℵ

ϫⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛϯⲧⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⳾
τνζ 16 Ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲫⲱⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲁ ⳾ ⲙⲟⲅⲓⲥ ⲁⲛϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲉⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ
ⲛ̄ϯϧⲉⲗⲙⲉϩⲓ ⳾ 17 ⲑⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ | ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ
ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲉⲓ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯⲥⲓⲣⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲭⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛⲗⲱ-
ⲓⲗⲓ ⳾ 18 ⲉⲣⲉ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲫⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ ⳾
ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲃⲟⲣⲃⲉⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ ⳾ 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ
ⲛⲓⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
20 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲣⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲛϩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲁⲥϣⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
ϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛ̀ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾ 21 ⲥϣⲟⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲑⲟⲩ̀ⲱⲙ ⳾
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲏϯ

AB*: -ⲏⲗⲱⲛ, T^{t}: ⲉⲁⲩⲣ., Γ: ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲕⲕⲩⲗⲱⲛ, A$_{2}$: ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲁ-ⲕⲩⲗⲱⲛ, P: ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲁⲕⲏⲗⲱⲛ, G^{r}K: ⲉⲩⲧⲣⲁⲕⲉⲗⲟⲛ, FS; G^{r} tr. طوفوسيفوس 'Ṭūfūsīfūs,' ^{mg} نسخة اودرقايون 'a copy Audrḳāyūn.' 15 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ] ⲉⲛ., G^{r}. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϯ] T^{t}AB^{a}: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϣϯ, L^{g}ΓNOPT: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛϣϯ (om. S), FG^{r}KS^{c}.

Hunt 26, 16–20 . . . ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ

16 ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲫⲱⲧ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲫⲟϩ 'having reached,' 26. ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ] ⲉⲩ., ΓNOT. ⲉⲣⲟⲥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, A by error. ⲕ(ⲭ, B^{a})ⲗⲁⲩ(ⲧ, K)-ⲇⲁ(ⲉ, P)] cf. Gr. ℵ*(A) 13. 40. 61. 66^{mg} 105. 137. syr^{p} et$^{mg\ gr}$ ar^{e} arm, item 25. c^{scr*} 12^{lect} similiter HLP al pler &c. ⲙⲟ(ⲱ, G^{r})ⲅⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. 40; position cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler cat syr^{utr} aeth^{pp} &c.: +ⲇⲉ, G^{r}. ⲁⲛϣϫ.] pref. ⲉ, 26. ⲉⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲁ., K. ⲛ̄ϯϧ.] ⲉϯϧ., B^{a}. ϧⲉⲗⲙⲉϩⲓ] +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ 'of the ship,' 26. 17 ⲑⲁⲓ] ⲑⲏ, P. ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ(om. S)ⲣ] L^{g}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: ⲉⲙ., T^{t}ΓNOPT 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉ 'it,' 26. ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲟϯ] T^{t}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}NOT 26: ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ. 'having &c.,' P: ⲉⲛⲉⲣ., L^{g}FKS, 1° plural. ⲇⲉ] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲉⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ 'that we should come,' B^{a}. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. FS. ϯⲥⲓⲣⲧⲏⲥ] A: ⲥⲩⲣⲧⲓⲥ, L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}G^{r}: ⲥⲩⲣⲇⲓⲥ, ΓFNOPST: ⲥⲁⲣ-ⲇⲓⲥ, K: ⲥⲁⲣⲧⲓⲥ, 26. ⲁⲛⲭⲱ] ⲁⲩⲭⲱ, FK. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲕ.]

they could not oppose the wind, we gave up[a], we were
driven. 16 But having fled to an *island* which is called
'Klauda,' *scarcely* could we secure the boat: 17 this having
been taken away, they were making *help*, girding the ship;
but fearing *lest by any means* they should fall into the Sirtēs,
we lowered the *gear*, and thus we floated along[b]. 18 But as
a tossing[c] was rocking[d] us exceedingly, [but] on the (lit. his)
morrow they were tossing out (the freight): 19 and on the
third day they put (lit. cast) their hand on (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ) the *gear*
(plur.) of the ship, they threw them out. 20 But as appear
not (the) sun and the stars for many days, no small tempest
being that which was happening, *at length* all our *hope* for
us to be saved had gone. 21 But a long (time of) not eating
happens. *Then* stood Paulos in their midst, he said:

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[a] Lit. 'gave our hand.' [b] Lit. 'swam.' [c] ⲃⲟⲗ perhaps for ⲟⲩⲃⲟⲣ. [d] Lit. 'turning.'

ⲉⲛ., Lg. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. Ba. ⲛⲁⲓⲣ.] ⲫⲁⲓⲣ., N: ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲱ, S*. ⲁⲛⲗⲱⲓⲗⲓ] ⲁⲛϩⲗ., LgGrNT; cf. Gr. 15. 18. 20. 36. cat syrsch are. 18 ⲉⲣⲉⲃⲟⲗ] -ⲱⲗ, FKS 26: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, Γ. ⲇⲉ 1°] ϫⲉ, TtNP. ⲫⲟⲛϩ] LgTtABaNO: ⲫⲱⲛϩ, GrK: ⲫⲟⲛ, ΓPT: ⲫⲟϩ, FS 26. ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ ⲇⲉ] LgTtAFGrKS 26: ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲥϯ (om. ⲇⲉ), BaΓN OPT. ⲛⲁⲩ (om. Ba) ⲃⲟⲣⲃⲉⲣ] LgTtA1Ba &c.: ⲁⲩⲃ., A2: ⲁⲛⲃ., 26, 1° person: ⲛⲁⲛⲃ., Gr. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. FKS. ⲡⲉ] om. Ba 26: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛ 'the freight,' FKS. 19 ϧⲉⲛⲫⲙⲁϩ] ϧⲉⲛ-ⲛⲓⲙⲁϩ, S: ⲛⲓⲙⲁϩ, F*. ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] LgTtAFGrS: om. BaΓKN OPT. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟ (om. ⲧⲟ, P) ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲁ, 26c. ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB*et3C 5. 8. 13. 15. 18. 27. 36. 40. 61. 66** 68. 73. 96. 105. 180. 12lect al8scr cat s vg arm. 20 ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] TtABaN(T) 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, LgΓP: ⲛ̄(ⲉⲛ, Gr)ϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, FGrKS double negative. ⲇⲉ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, Γ* 26. ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲛϩ &c.] ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁϥϣⲟⲡ, Gr. ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟ(ⲱ, S*)ⲡ, FKS. ⲛⲉⲁⲥϣⲉ] A1: ⲛⲁⲥ., LgTt &c. ⲡⲉ 2°] TtABaΓNOT: om. LgFGrKPS. 21 ⲥϣⲟⲡ] LgAFS: ⲉⲥϣⲟⲡ, BaΓGrKNOPT: ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡ, Tt. ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler cat syrp &c. ⲙⲉⲧⲁ-ⲑⲟⲩⲱⲙ] -ⲁⲧ., GrKP. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] om. FS.

ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳹
ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲓ⳹ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙϫⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲕⲣⲏⲧⲏ⳹ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙϩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓϣⲱϣ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲥⲓ⳹ 22 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ϯϧⲱⲛϫ
ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳹ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳹ ⲥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲛ⳹ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ
ⲉⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ⳹
τνη 23 Ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲫⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ 24 ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲣ-
ⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ ϩⲱϯ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲧⲁϩⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲛⲁϩ-
ⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̅ϩⲙⲟⲧ⳹
τνθ 25 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ ϯⲛⲁϩϯ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲉⲫϯ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ⳹
ⲥⲓⲁ 26 ϩⲱϯ ⲅⲁⲣ | ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ⳹
τξ 27 Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲓ̅ⲁ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ⳹ ⲉⲛϫⲏ ⲥⲁⲛⲓ-
ϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ⳹ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ⳹ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲁϣⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ⳹ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲛⲉϥ⳹ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲩϧⲱⲛⲧ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲭⲱⲣⲁ⳹ 28 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧ-
ⲁⲩⲥⲓϯ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̅ϯⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥ⳹ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲕ̅ ⲛ̅ϩϥⲟⲧ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹

Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱϣ⳹ ⲁⲩⲥⲓϯ ⲛ̅ϯⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ⳹ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲓ̅ⲉ̅ ⲛ̅ϩϥⲟⲧ. 29 ⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲇⲉ

ϫⲉ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AFG^{r}KS: om. B^{a}ΓNOPT. ⲛⲁⲥⲙ̅ⲡ.] ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲙⲡ., ΓNO^{o}T. ϯⲕⲣⲏ(ⲓ, NT)ⲧⲏ] om. ϯ, B^{a}, cf.? Gr. H d^{sor} om. τῆς. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲉⲙ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛϫ., F*G^{r}, 1° person. ϩⲛⲟⲩ] + ⲁⲛ, FKS. 22 ϯϧ.] ϯⲛⲁϧ., P. ⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}FG^{r}S (ⲟⲩⲱ): pref. ⲉ, $T^{t}Γ^{o}$ (* om. ⲟⲩ) KNOPT. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ] $L^{g}T^{t}$AB^{a}FKST: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥ, ΓG^{r}NOP. 23 ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ A_{2}^{mg} ('another copy') &c.: ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ 'him,' $A_{1,2}$*. ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}: om. FS: ϧⲉⲛⲡ., T^{t}(K)NOPT: trs. after ⲫϯ, K. ⲛ̅ϫⲉ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ, L^{g}. ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅ.] position cf. Gr. HLP al pler s vg &c. ⲫϯ] ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ 'my God,' FKS. ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲫⲱϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯ.] for ἐγώ cf. Gr. ℵAC² 40. 68. 12^leot vg arm &c.: ... ⲉϯ, T^{t}NOPT: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉϯ., K. 24 ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ] ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ,

'Ye ought *indeed*, O [the] men having obeyed me, not to
have put to sea from [the] Krētē and gain this injury and
this loss. 22 And now again I entreat you, be longsuffering,
for one *life* from you will not be lost except only the ship.
23 For stood by me in this night an *angel* of God,
whose I am, and I worship him, 24 saying: "Fear not,
O Paulos[a], thou must be set before (the) king: and lo, all
they who sail with thee I granted them to thee." 25 There-
fore, [the] men, be glad of heart, for I believe God, that it
(lit. they) will be as it was spoken to me. 26 For we must
come upon an *island*. 27 But fourteen nights having passed
(ϣⲱⲡⲓ), we are rolling among the waves[b] in the Andrias.'
But at midnight [but] the sailors were thinking that they ap-
proached a *country*: 28 and having thrown down the *sounding
line*, they found twenty fathoms of water. But having
done a short distance, they threw the *sounding line* down,
they found fifteen fathoms. 29 But fearing *lest by any means*

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[a] Greek vocative. [b] Lit. 'put toward the wave.'

O: ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲏ, FS. ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̅ⲙ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}G^{r}NP: ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ,
FKS: ⲛⲁϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙ, Γ^o(om. ⲣⲉⲛ, *). ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] om. ΓP.
ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] A: ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'they gave them,' B^a: ⲁ(ⲉ, S)ⲫϯ
ⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'God gave them,' L^{g}T^t &c. 25 ϫⲉ] om. FS. ⲥⲉⲛⲁ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFKS 26: ⲥⲛⲁϣ., G^{r}OP: ⲥⲛⲉϣ., NT. ⲙ̅ⲙ-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣ., G^r. 26 ⲅⲁⲣ] A: ⲇⲉ, L^{g}T^t &c. 27 A$^{2\,mg}$ Hunt 26, 27–37
'it is read for the sixth Sunday of the holy Fast.' ⲇⲉ 1°] om. FS.
ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'day,' KS^c. ⲡⲓϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ] A: ⲡϭ(ϫ, S^o)ⲗⲁ,
L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓFKOPS*T, 'hither and thither': ϭⲗⲁ, N: ⲡⲓϭⲗⲁϩ,
26: ⲡⲥⲁ, G^r. ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲁⲥ] ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲥ, 26: ⲙⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲁⲥ, FS.
ⲇⲉ 2°] L^{g}AN^{o}OPT 26: ϫⲉ, N*: om. T^{t}B^{a}ΓFG^{r}KS. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲉϫ.]
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., T^{t}FK 26. ⲇⲉ 3°] AFKS: om. L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}ΓG^{r}NOPT 26.
ⲁⲩϧⲱⲛⲧ] cf. ? Gr. 137. c^{sor} *προσεγγίζειν* syr^{sch} et ^{p}. 28 ⲛ̅ϯ-
ⲃ(ⲡ, A)ⲟⲗⲓⲥ] om. ΓG^{r}P 26. ϩϥⲟ(ⲱ, K)ⲧ &c.] ϩϥⲱⲧ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲁⲩ, FS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 26. ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] AG^{r}OP:
om. ⲟⲩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲁⲩⲥⲓϯ] pref. ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ, T^{t}K: pref. ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ
ⲟⲛ, FS. ⲛ̅ϯⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥ] T^{t}AB^a: om. L^{g}ΓFG^{r}KNOPST 26. 29 ⲇⲉ]
cf. Gr. ℵC 13. 61. 12^{lect} c^{sor} vg syr^p &c.

ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϩⲉⲓ ⲉ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϣⲧ ⳾
ⲁⲩϩⲓ ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗ ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ 30 ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲇⲉ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲛⲉϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲭⲱ
ⲛ̀ϯⲥⲕⲁⲫⲏ ⲉ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⳾ ϩⲱⲥ
ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲁⲧϩⲏ ⳾
τξα 31 Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓ-
ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲟϩⲓ ϩⲓ
ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⳾
32 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲛⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ϯⲥⲕⲁⲫⲏ ⲁⲩⲭⲁⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲥϩⲉⲓ ⳾ 33 ϣⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉ-
τξβ ϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ † Ⲛⲁϥⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲕⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲙ
ϩⲗⲓ ⳾

34 Ⲑⲉⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϯⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲣⲉ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲉⲡⲉ-
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩϥⲱⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲛ ⳾ |

35 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ ⲁϥϣⲉⲡϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲁϣϥ ⲁϥⲉⲣϩⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⳾ 36 ⲉⲧⲁ

ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler cat &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϩⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA BCHLP al plus^{60} cat vg syr^{utr} ar^{e} &c. ⲉ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC 13. 25. 40. 61. 68. 105. c^{scr} &c. *κατά*. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ] ϩⲁⲙⲙⲁ, Γ*. ⲛⲁⲩⲧⲱⲃϩ] L^{g}AB^{a}Γ^{c}NOPT 26: +ⲇⲉ, T^{t}Γ*FG^{r}KS. ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] om. ⲡⲓⲉ, S*. 30 ⲇⲉ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}G^{r}KO 26: om. ΓFNPST. ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲧ] L^{g}T^{t}A: ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲫ. 'for fleeing,' B^{a}ΓKNOPT: ⲉⲫⲱⲧ 'to flee,' FG^{r}S 26. ϩⲁⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}*: ϧⲉⲛ, T^{t}ΓKNOPT: ϩⲓ, B^{ac}FG^{r}S 26. ϩⲱⲥ] ϩⲟⲥ, 26. ϫⲉ] ⲇⲉ, O. ⲉⲩⲛⲁϩ.] L^{g}T^{t}ANOP*: ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩ., B^{a}ΓFG^{r}KST. ϩⲁⲛⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, 26. ⲥⲁⲧϩⲏ] AB^{a} 26: ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 31 ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲕ.] ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓ., FS. -ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 133. 177* c^{scr} k^{scr} &c. ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ] ⲛⲓⲙ., A$_{1}$. ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ.] ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ., P.

we should fall on reefs[a], they cast four anchors at the stern
of the ship, they were praying for it to be the day. 30 But
the sailors, seeking that they might flee from the ship, let
down the *boat* to the sea in pretence *as* that they are going
to cast anchors from the fore(ship). 31 Paulos said to the
centurion and the soldiers, Unless these stay on the ship
it is not possible for you to be saved. 32 *Then* the soldiers
broke away the ropes of the *boat*, they let her fall. 33 Until
the day came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), Paulos was persuading them all that
they should take some (ⲟⲩ) food, saying: 'Lo, fourteen days
ye completed, looking out, ye ate not anything. 34 There-
fore I pray you to take your food: for this is (the) first (thing)
unto your health; for a hair of (the) head of one of you
will not perish.' 35 But having said these (things), he took
a loaf, he gave thanks to God before all, and having broken
it, he began to eat. 36 But the heart of all of them having

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[a] Lit. 'hard places.'

ⲟϩⲓ] position cf. Gr. $\aleph^{c}$ABCHLP al pler arm aeth^{pp} &c. ϩⲓ] ϧⲉⲛ, $L^{g}T^{t}$K. ⲛⲓϫⲟⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓϫ., ΓNPT. 32 ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ] pref. ⲁ, G^{r}; position cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler arm &c. 33 ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] L^{g}AB^{a}FKS: + ⲇⲉ, T^{t}ΓG^{r}NOPT. ϣⲱⲡⲓ] + ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ (+ ⲇⲉ, K) ϣⲱⲡⲓ, KS. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. ΓO*P. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ., Γ*. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭⲓ] $L^{g}T^{t}$A$B^{a}$$\Gamma^{c}FG^{r}$KS: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ(om. N)ϭⲓ, ΓNOPT. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ., Γ*NOPT. ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲕⲟⲩ] ⲉⲣ., FS 26: ⲉⲁⲣ., G^{r}. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲁⲣ., B^{a}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. 26. -ⲟⲩⲉⲙ] -ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄, T^{t}K. 34 ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ.] ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛ., ΓG^{r}NOPT: ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲉ., 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲣⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ, T^{t}K. ϥϣⲟⲡ] ⲁϥ-ϣⲱⲡⲓ, 26. ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ] -ⲱⲣⲡ, NS. ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ . . . ⲅⲁⲣ] om. B^{a}; for 2° person cf. Gr. ℵBCH 61. al longe plu cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲟⲩϥⲱⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, O. ⲛ̄(ⲉ, B^{a})ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲫⲉ] -ⲧⲁⲁⲫⲉ, G^{r}: -ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲫⲉ 'our &c.,' 26: ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲉ, O*. ϥⲛⲁ.] pref. ⲛ̄, P double negative. -ⲧⲁⲕⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 13. 15. 17. 18. 31. 33. 36. 40. 61. 68. 180. cat vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} ar^{e} &c. ⲁⲛ] om. B^{a}. 35 ⲁϥϭⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 40. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄, B^{a}: ⲙ̄ⲙ̄, 26. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲫⲁϣϥ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ(om. S)ⲫⲁϣⲟⲩ 'broken them,' FS: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲫ., 26.

ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ
τξγ ⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϧⲣⲉ ⳾ 37 Ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲛⲁⲩϩⲓ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲥ̅ⲟ̅ⲋ̅ ⲡⲉ ⳾
τξδ 38 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯϧⲣⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ. ⲉⲩⲥⲓϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ.
τξε 39 Ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲗⲡⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁ-
ϣⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ 40 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϥⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲩⲭⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾
ⲁⲙⲁ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲭⲁ ϫⲱⲟⲩ[⳾] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲓⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲥⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲛⲓϥⲓ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲭⲣⲟ ⳾ 41 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲣϣ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ
ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⳾
ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̀ϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲁⲛ ⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ ⳾
τξϛ 42 Ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
ϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲏⲃⲓ

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36 ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] trs. before ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ, FKS: om. O. 37 ⲇⲉ] om. P. ⲉⲛⲁⲩ(om. ⲛⲁⲩ, 26) &c.] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABC 13. 31. 40. 61. 68. 105. 137. k^{scr} cat vg arm &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ] ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀, FKS: ⲛⲁⲩ, 26. ⲥ̅(ⲱ, A_1B^a)ⲟ̅ⲋ̅] $L^gT^tAB^a$(Γ tr^o)FG^rKPS, cf. Gr. ℵCH LP al pler vg syr^{utr} arm $aeth^{pp}$: ⲣ̅ⲟ̅ⲋ̅, Γ(tr*)NOT. ⲡⲉ] ⲛⲉ, 26: om. B^aFKS. 38 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲓ(ⲩ, N)] -ⲥⲓⲛⲓ, ΓF* by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲉ, K by error. ϯϧⲣⲉ] cf. Gr. HLP 3. 4. 21. 31. 42. 95* 96. 99. 101. 104. 106. 126. 177. 12^{lect} al^{3scr} &c. ⲛⲁⲩⲑⲣⲟ] $T^tAB^aFG^r$ KS 26: ⲁⲩⲑ., L^gΓNOPT. ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲁⲓ] ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲁⲥ, A_1: ⲁⲥⲓⲁⲓ, 26. ⲡⲉ] om. ΓNOPT. ⲉⲩⲥⲓϯ] ⲉⲩϯ, FS: ⲁⲛⲥⲓϯ, 26. 39 ⲇⲉ 1°] om. A_2OP. ⲇⲉ 2°] om. FS. ⲛ̀ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩ] + ⲡⲉ, FS. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕ.] ⲉⲟⲩ., FG^rKS. ⲕⲟⲗⲡⲥ] AB^aFG^rOPS 26: ⲕⲟⲗⲡⲟⲥ, L^gT^tΓK NT. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] L^gAB^aΓNOPT: ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, T^tFG^rKS 26. ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵBC 3. 5. 6. 8. 13. 15. 18. 25. 31. 68. 73. 105. 180. k^{scr} cat vg syr^{utr} arm. ⲇ(ⲧ, N)ⲉ 3°] + ⲡⲉ, 26: om. T^t. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϣⲛ., G^r; cf. Gr. B*C arm. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ] om. 26.

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been glad, they also took their food. 37 But all the *souls*
who were being in the ship were making two hundred (and)
seventy-six. 38 But having been satisfied with the food,
they were causing the ship to lighten, throwing the wheat
to the sea. 39 But *when* the day came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ), they knew
not the land; but they were observing a bay, having (lit.
being) a shore in it: but they were considering that perhaps
they would be able to save the ship thither. 40 And having
lifted the anchors, they were letting them (go) in the sea,
but *at the same time* they loosed the heads of the rudders;
and having hoisted the *foresail* to the wind which blew,
they put in to the shore. 41 But having fallen on (ⲉ) a place,
being of two *seas*, they ran the ship aground thither; and
the fore(part) of it *indeed* was fixed, it stayed, not moving,
but the hinder (part) of it was destroyed by (the) violence
of the waves. 42 But the soldiers made a plan, that they
should kill the prisoners, *lest by any means* one should swim

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ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ, ΓN. 40 ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] om. 26. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ 'their,' T. ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲱ] $A B^{a} P^{o}$: ⲁⲩ., $L^{g} T^{t}$ &c. ⲁⲙⲙⲁ] $A B^{a*}$? G^{r}K 26: ϩⲁⲙⲙⲁ, $L^{g} T^{t}$ &c.: ϩⲁⲛⲙⲁ, FS. ⲇⲉ] $T^{t} A B^{a} G^{r} K P^{o}$: om. L^{g}ΓFNOP*ST. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 2°] om. FG^{r}KS 26. ⲉⲧⲁⲩ.] ⲁⲩ., FG^{r}KS. -ⲥⲟ(ⲱ, FG^{r}KS)ⲥⲓ] -ϭ̄ⲓⲥⲓ, 26. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ &c.] ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲃⲱ(ⲟ, K)ⲗ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟ, FKS. ⲉⲑⲛⲓϥⲓ] $L^{g} A B^{a}$ FG^{r}KS 26: ⲉⲛⲁϥⲛⲓϥⲓ, T^{t}ΓN OPT. ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉ] $L^{g} A B^{a}$FKS: ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄, T^{t}: ⲁ(ⲉ, $Γ^{r}$)ⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲉ, $Γ^{r}$OPT: ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲙ̄, G^{r}N 26; these three probably are a literal rendering of Gr. *κατεῖχον*. 41 ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁ] ⲉⲩⲙⲁ, FG^{r}KS. ⲛ̄ⲑⲁⲗ.] om. ⲛ̄, T^{t}. ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] $L^{g} T^{t} A B^{a}$ΓG^{r} NOT: ⲃ̄ϯ, FKPS 26. ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲩ, G^{r}. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. 26. ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ] ⲉⲧϩⲏ, G^{r}: om. ϩⲓ, FKS: pref. ⲁⲩ, 26. ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, P; cf. ? Gr. ℵBCLP al pler. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, FS: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, $Γ^{r}$ 26: ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 'because of,' B^{a}. ⲛϭⲓ] ⲛⲓϭⲓ, B^{a} 26. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓϩⲱⲓⲙⲓ(ϩⲓⲱⲙⲓ, A_2*N)] $L^{g} T^{t} A B^{a}$FG^{r}KS 26: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., ΓNOPT; cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$CHLP al omn^{vid} cat syr^{utr} $aeth^{pp}$ &c. 42 ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ] ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛϩ, KP. ⲛⲏ(ⲉ, B^{a}FKPS*)ⲃⲓ] ⲙⲉⲩⲓ, G^{r} by error.

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲫⲱⲧ. 43 ⲡⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ÷ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲉⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲁϥϣⲁϣⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲣⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ÷

Ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲃⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲟⲣⲡ
cιe ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟ ÷ 44 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲉⲥⲱϫⲡ | ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ
ϩⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥ ÷ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ϩⲓ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲕⲉⲉⲛⲭⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲟⲓ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟ ÷

τξζ 1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ÷ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ϣⲁⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̀ϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧⲓⲛⲏ ÷
τξη 2 Ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ ÷
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲱϫⲉⲃ ÷ 3 ⲁϥⲕⲟⲧϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ÷
ⲁϥϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲗⲉⲃϣ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϧⲙⲟⲙ ÷
ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁϫⲱ ÷ ⲁⲥϫⲉⲕϩ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ÷
4 ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲉϥⲁϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ÷ ⲛⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ
ⲡⲉ ÷ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ÷ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲛ ⲭⲁϥ ⲉⲱⲛϧ ÷

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43 -ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. HLP al pler &c. ⲇⲉ 1°] om. Ms. ? ⲙ̀-ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ] position cf. Gr. ℵBCHLP &c. ⲇⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. C 13. 40. 61. 96. 105. 137. c^{sor} syr^{p}: om. FS. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ . . . ϥⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ, S. ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲟ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ., T. 44 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. 26. ⲡⲕⲉ] ⲡⲓⲕⲉ, ΓOPT: ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉ, N. ⲥⲱϫⲡ] ⲥⲉⲡⲓ, FKS. ϩⲓ 1°] om. G^{r}. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, K. ⲧⲏ(ⲉ, NT)ⲣⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}A B^{a}FGNT: -ⲣⲟⲩ, ΓKOPS, 3° person.: om. 26.

Hunt 18, 1–6 Hunt 26, 1–4 1 ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c.] ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ, 26. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ] om. FS, cf. Gr. 15. 27. 36. 76. 180. ⲁⲛⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC* 13. 61. 68. 137. 8^{pe} c^{sor}* vg syr^{utr} arm aeth^{pp} ar^{e}. ϣⲁⲩⲙ.] pref. ⲉ, 18?. ⲛ̀ϯ-ⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ] A: ⲉϯⲛ., L^{g}T^{t} &c. ϫⲉ . . . 2 ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ] om. P*. ⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧⲓⲛⲏ] L^{g}AB^{a}G^{r}P^{mg} 18° 26, cf. ? Gr. B* 12^{lect} syr$^{p\,mg\,gr}$ arm

and flee. 43 But the *centurion,* wishing to save Paulos,
hindered them from doing their plan: But he commanded
those for whom it was possible that they should support
themselves on the sea, and swim first to the shore: 44 and
the rest also, some *indeed* on *boards,* but others on pieces also
of the ship. And thus it happened for us all to come safe
(ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ) to the shore.

XXVIII. And having been saved, *then* we knew that
that *island* is called 'Melitinē.' 2 But the *barbarians* of
that place were doing a kindness with us not a little: for
having kindled a fire, they received us all, because of the
rain which was happening, and because of the cold. 3 But
Paulos turned himself, he found a quantity of rubbish, and
he threw (ⲉⲧⲁϥ) it (plur.) to the fire, and from the heat
came out a viper, it bit his hand. 4 But the *barbarians*
having seen the *wild beast* hanging to his hand, they were
saying to one another: '*Certainly* this man is a murderer,
this (one) whom, after having been saved from the sea, his

μελιτήνη: ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲧⲓⲛⲏ, Γ(tr. ملطية 'Mlṭiyah') FNOST: ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲧⲓⲛⲏ, T^{t} K 18*. 2 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵHLP al pler cat vg arm &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ] AB^{a}G^{r}KNOP^{mg}T 18. 26: om. L^{g}T^{t}ΓFS. ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ] ⲁⲩ., T^{t}GKS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ . . . ⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ, T^{t}: ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲁⲛ, G^{r}KS. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. 26. ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ] T^{t}AB^{a} 18: ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, 26: om. L^{g} &c., cf. Gr. A &c. ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲁ, T)ⲛⲁϥ.] ⲉⲛⲁϥ., 26. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 2°] om. 26, cf. Gr. ℵ* 3. 35. 95. 96. 100. vg. 3 ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: ϩⲁⲛⲙ., ΓNOPT. ⲗⲉⲃϣ] ⲗⲓⲃϣ, O. ⲉⲡⲓϫ.] AB^{a}: ⲉϫⲉⲛⲡⲓ., L^{g}T^{t}ΓNOPT 18. 26: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛⲡⲓ., FG^{r}KS. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a} 18: om. Γ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] +ⲇⲉ, FS. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] L^{g}T^{t}A: ϧⲉⲛ, B^{a} &c. ⲁϫⲱ] ⲁϫⲟ, FKS. ⲁⲥϫ.] ⲁⲕϫ., FS by error. 4 ⲇⲉ] om. K. ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ] +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ 'of that place,' L^{g}: +ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓ. &c., P. ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] position cf. Gr. 61. 64. 95. 96. &c. -ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] -ⲑⲓⲣ., T: -ⲣⲟⲛ, Γ*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ] position cf. Gr. HLP al pler arm &c. ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ] -ⲧⲟⲥ, OT. ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥ.] pref. ⲛⲉ, FKS 26. ⲫⲁⲓ . . . ⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] ϫⲉⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲑⲣⲉϥⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, FKS^{c}. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲟϩⲉⲙ] ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛ., G^{r}: ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛ., NO.

τξθ 5 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲛⲉϩ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
το 6 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲉⲩⲓ ϫⲉ ϥⲛⲁⲫⲱϫⲓ ⳾ ⲓⲉ
ϥⲛⲁϩⲉⲓ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲕ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲁϩⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϯ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ |
τοα 7 Ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲓⲟϩⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲛⲏ-
ⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲧ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁϥϣⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲧϣⲁⲛϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲛ̀ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ 8 ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲓⲟⲥ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛ-
ϧⲙⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϣⲁⲛⲙⲁϧⲧ ⲉϥϣⲧⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ϧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁ ⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ
ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟϥ ⳾
τοβ 9 Ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲡⲥⲱϫⲡ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣⲱⲛⲓ ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 10 ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲉⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾

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5 ⲙⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ] pref. ⲇⲉ, K: pref. ϫⲉ, A$_2$*: ⲇⲉ, G^{r}P. ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] ⲑⲩ., NT. 6 ϥⲛⲁⲫ(ϥ, B^a).] ⲁϥⲛⲁ., Γ*G^{r}NOT. ⲓⲉ] om. G^r. ϥⲛⲁϩⲉⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϩⲉⲓ, FG^{r}KS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲱⲥⲕ] ⲉⲧⲁϥ., T^t. ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲙⲥ] ⲁⲩ., F*P: ⲉⲁⲩ., S. ϩⲱⲃ] ϩⲉⲃ, A$_2$*. ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲉ] cf. ? Gr. 13. 31. 38. 56. 69. 105. al^{3scr} cat syr^{utr} &c.

Hunt 26, 7–8 7 ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] ⲛⲓⲙⲁ, ΓO plural. ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀] om. FS. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩ.] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FKS 26: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ., ΓG^{r}NOPT. ⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ] + ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ 'that,' 26. ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲓⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 5. 7. 25. 61. vg &c.: ⲡⲟⲡⲗⲓⲟⲥ, P. ⲉⲧⲁϥϭ.] L^{g}AB^a: ⲁϥϭ., T^t &c. -ϭⲓⲧⲧⲉⲛ] -ϭⲓⲧⲉⲛ, B^a?FG^r KS. ⲙⲉⲧϣⲁⲛ(ⲙ, FS)ϣⲉⲙⲙⲟ] T^{t}AB^{a}ΓFKS: ⲙⲉⲧ-

judgement letteth him not live.' 5 He (pron.) *indeed then*
shook the *wild beast* to the fire, no evil happened to him.
6 But they (pron.) were thinking that he will swell[a] or will
fall immediately and die: but having waited, gazing at
him, and having seen that no evil thing seized him, they
turned themselves immediately, saying that he was a god.
7 But in that place there were many fields of the first
(man) of the *island*, his name being Pouplios: this (man)
having taken us up, received us in a love of hospitality three
days. 8 But it came to pass (that) the father of Pouplios
having been sick in fevers and dysenteries was prostrate
under them. But this (man)—Paulos went in unto him,
he *prayed*, he laid his hands upon him, he healed him.
9 But this having been done, (the) rest who were in the
island, with whom there was sickness, were coming unto him
and he was healing them. 10 But these honoured us in great
honour, and when we were about to be brought from there,
they prepared for us that of which we had *need*.

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[a] Or 'burst.'

ϣⲉⲛϣ., L^{g}NOPT 26: ⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓϣⲉⲙϣⲓ, G^{r}. ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩ., T; position cf. ? Gr. ℵAHLP 61. al pler cat &c. 8 ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲗⲓⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 5. 7. 25. 61. vg: ⲡⲟⲡⲗ., T. ϩⲁⲛϧⲙ.] om. ϩⲁⲛ, B^{a}. ϣⲁⲛⲙⲁϧⲧ] AΓ^{o}G^{r}: ϣⲁⲛⲑⲙ., FS 26^{c}: ϣⲉⲛⲙ., L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}KNOPT 26*. ⲉϥϣⲧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] -ϣⲑⲏⲟⲩⲧ, S. ⲫⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] ⲫⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ, T: ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ, Γ. ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, O. ⲛⲉ(ⲁ, A$_{2}$*P*)ϥϫⲓϫ] om. ⲛⲉϥ, 26. ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: ⲉϫⲱϥ, ΓNOPT 26. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗϭⲟϥ] -ϭⲟ, N. 9 ⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABI 13. 40. 61. 105 al plus^{10} syr^{p} &c. ⲡⲥⲱϫⲡ] cf. Gr. B om. *καί*. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ] position cf. Gr. ℵABI 13. 31. 40. 61. 105. 8^{pe} k^{scr} vg &c. ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] L^{g}A$_{1.2}^{c}$B^{a}FG^{r}K: ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, S: ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, T^{t}ΓNOPT. 10 ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟⲛ] ⲛⲁⲩⲧ., O: ⲉⲩⲧ., T: ⲉⲧ., N. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ] cf. ? syr^{sch} et^{p} 'inde.' ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲃⲧ.] ⲉⲩ., FS. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲭⲣ(om. A$_{1}$)ⲓⲁ] om. ⲉⲣ, B^{a}: -ⲉⲣⲡ̄(ⲉⲛ, O)ⲭⲣⲓⲁ, ΓO.

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τογ 11 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲅ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⲁⲛⲓ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲣⲁⲕⲟϯ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲇⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ∻ ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁⲭⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲏ-
ⲥⲟⲥ∻ 12 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲥⲓⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲥⲁⲥ∻ ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ∻ 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ∻ ⲁⲛⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲏⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϫⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲑⲟⲩⲣⲏⲥ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲃ̅ ⲉⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲗⲟⲩⲥ∻
14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ∻ ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲧ
ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲏ∻
τοδ 15 Ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ |
cιϲ~ ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲁⲡⲡⲓⲟ-
ⲫⲟⲣⲟⲩ∻ ⲛ̀ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲣⲛⲱⲛ. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϫⲁⲣϩⲏⲧ∻
τοε 16 Ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲏ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ-
ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ∻ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ∻
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ∻
τοϛ 17 Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ

Hunt 26, 11–31

11 F^{mg} احد الشعانين 'the Sunday of the (palm) branches.' ⲁⲛⲓ ϩⲓ] ⲁⲛⲓ ⲉϩⲓ, B^{a}: ⲁⲛϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ϩⲓ, G^{r}T*?. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ] A: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ, L^{g}T^{t} &c.: ⲟⲩⲙ., 26. ⲉⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲁⲣⲁ-ⲭ(ⲕ, T)ⲓⲙⲁⲍⲓⲛ ϧⲉⲛϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}NOP^{c}T 26: ⲉⲁ-ϥⲉⲣⲭ. ϧ., Γ: ⲉⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ 'having put in at &c.,' K: om. L^{g}. 12 ⲁⲛⲙⲟⲛⲓ] L^{g}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}NOPT: ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, T^{t}F KS 26. ⲉ(ⲛ̄, T^{t})ⲥⲓⲣⲁⲕⲟⲩⲥⲁⲥ] T^{t}AB^{a} 26: ⲉ(ⲛ̄, N)ⲥⲩⲣ., L^{g}ΓF G^{r}NOPT: ⲉⲥⲁⲣ., KS. ⲛ̄ⲅ̅] position cf. ? Gr. 137. 13 ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ] om. G^{r}. ⲣⲏ(ⲉ, F)ⲅⲓⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. BL &c.): -ⲱⲛ, FK: ⲣⲉⲅⲱⲣⲛ, S*: ⲣⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ, NT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. G^{r}. ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] +ⲇⲉ, P. ⲁϥⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲙⲁϩⲓ] ⲉϥ., B^{a}G^{r}. ⲉϫⲱⲛ] T^{t}AB^{a}G^{r}K 26: ⲉϩ-ⲣⲁⲛ, NOT: om. L^{g}ΓFPS. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲃ̅.] ⲉⲛ., L^{g}FKPS. ⲡⲟⲛ-ⲧⲓⲟⲗⲟⲩⲥ] ⲡⲟⲛϯ., K: ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲗⲟⲥ, P: ⲡⲟⲛⲧⲓⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ, N:

11 But after three months we came in a ship of Rakoti [a],
being on it a sign of Dioskoros [b], which *wintered* in the
island. 12 And we put in at Sirakousas, we abode there
three days. 13 And having come from there we *reached*
Rēgion: and after a day a south wind was strong with us [c],
we came the second day [d] to Pontiolous; 14 and having found
the brethren there, they persuaded us to abide with them
seven days: and thus we came to Rōmē. 15 But the
brethren who (were) there having heard concerning us, came
to meet us even unto Appiophorou, and (ⲛ̅) Three Tabernōn:
but Paulos having seen them, gave thanks to God, and took
courage. 16 But *when* we went into Rōmē, he commanded
Paulos to abide alone with the soldier who kept him.
17 But it came to pass after three days (that) he called the

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[a] Alexandria. [b] Indefinite plural. [c] Lit. 'in upon us.' [d] Lit. 'on our two.'

ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲗⲟⲩⲥ, F: ⲡⲉⲛϯⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲥ, S. 14 ⲁⲛϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ.] $T^{t}AB^{a}$ 26: -ϫⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲓ., L^{g}: ⲁⲛϫⲉⲙⲛⲓ., Γ &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙⲁⲩ, ΓNT. ⲁⲩⲑⲉ(ⲏ, A)ⲧ(ⲛ, 26)ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ] om. K. ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ] ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ, K. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] ⲫⲁⲓⲣ., N. ⲣⲱⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. AI 13. 38. 40. 96. 137. 8^{pe} $al^{5\,scr}$ &c.; position cf. Gr. AI 13. 38. 40. 61. 68. 96. 105. 8^{pe} $al^{3\,scr}$ vg syr^{sch}. 15 ⲉⲑⲃⲏ(ⲉ, NS)ⲧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. 100 om. τά. ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] cf. ? Gr. HLP al pler cat &c.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, 26, cf. ? Gr. ℵABI 17. 25. 40. 61. 12^{lect} 8^{pe}. ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, 26. ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ϣⲁⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, 26. ⲁⲡⲡⲓⲟⲫⲟⲣⲟⲩ] ⲁⲡⲡⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲟⲥ, FS: ⲁⲡⲡⲓⲫⲟⲣⲟⲩ, PT. ⲛ̅ⲅ̅] AB^{a}: ⲛⲉⲙⲅ̅ 'and three,' $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲧⲁⲃⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲣⲛⲱ(ⲟ, B^{a})ⲛ] ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲣⲛⲓⲱⲛ, G^{r}: ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲣⲛⲟ(ⲱ, F)ⲛ, FK: ⲧⲁⲃⲓⲛⲱⲛ, S. 16 ϩⲟⲧⲉ] ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ, FKS. ⲇⲉ] om. $G^{r}P$ 26. ⲉⲧⲁⲛϣⲉ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵABI 5. 6. 7. 13. 31. 40. 61. 105. 8^{pe} d^{scr} syr^{sch} arm $aeth^{pp}$ ar^{e}. ⲣⲱⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ABHIP al pler. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲁϩ] $T^{t}AG^{r}P$ 26: ⲁⲩ(om. T)ⲟⲩⲁϩ, $L^{g}B^{a}$ΓFKNOST, cf. ? Gr. ℵABI 13. 40. 61. 12^{lect} vg $syr^{p\,txt}$ arm ar^{e} &c. ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ] ⲛⲓ., G^{r} plural. ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ] ⲉⲧϣⲣⲱⲓⲥ, FS. 17 ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABI 13. 15. 18. 25. 36. 40. 61. 68. 81. 105. 137. 12^{lect} k^{scr} cat vg syr^{p} arm: +ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, K, cf. Gr. ῾HLP al pler syr^{sch} $aeth^{pp}$ &c.

ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲓϯ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲓⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲑⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲛϩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ 18 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ϧⲉⲧϧⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲭⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ
ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧ ⳾
19 Ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲏ
ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁϣⲗⲱⲗ ⳾
20 ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾ ϯⲥⲟⲛϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓϩⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⳾
τοζ 21 Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ
ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲓⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⳾ |
22 Ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲝⲓⲟⲓⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓϩⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⳾
ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲉⲅⲓⲛ
ⲉⲑⲃⲏⲧⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ 23 ⲁⲩϯⲛⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲉϯⲝⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ

ⲉⲙⲁⲩ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS: ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ 'unto him,' 26: om. ΓNOPT. ⲛⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, FKS, cf. ? Gr. 61. εἶπεν. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] pref. ϫⲉ, FKS; position cf. Gr. ℵABI 3. 13. 40. 61. 68. 95. 103. 105. 137. 12^{lect} 8^{pe} c^{scr} vg syr^{p} arm &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉⲣ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣ, Γ. ⲉϩⲣⲁϥ ⲙ̀] ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ, FKS. ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] T^{t}AB^{a}KNT 26: ⲛⲓⲓⲟϯ 'the &c.,' L^{g}ΓFG^{r}OPS. ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧ] -ⲧⲉⲓⲧ, S*. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩⲣ., K. 18 ⲛⲁⲓ] + ⲇⲉ, T^{t}FKS. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲉⲧϧⲱⲧ] -ⲟⲧⲧ, K: -ⲟⲧ, N. ⲉⲭⲁⲧ] ⲉⲕⲁⲧ, T. ⲡⲉ] om. Γ. ⲉⲧⲓⲁ] AB^{a}ΓG^{r}NOPT 26: ⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ, L^{g}T^{t}FKS. ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ] AB^{a}O: ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ, ΓNT: ⲥϣⲟⲡ, T^{t}K: ϣⲟⲛ, L^{g}FPS: om. G^{r}. 19 ⲇⲉ] om. O. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓ, P. ϫⲉ] om. P. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲉ, 26.

first (men) of the *Jews* who were there: but they having come thither, he was saying to them, I, [the] men, our brethren, did not anything in opposition[a] to the *people* or the *customs* of our fathers, I was bound, from Jerusalem I was delivered to (the) hands of the *Romans*: 18 these having examined (me), were wishing to release me, because they found not any *cause* of (the) death being in me.

19 But, the *Jews* making *objection*, it was *necessary* for me to *appeal* to (the) king, not as that there is anything of *accusation* to make against my nation. 20 Because of this reason, *then*, I was praying to see you, and to speak to you: for concerning (the) *hope* of Israel I am bound by this *chain*. 21 But they (pron.) said to him: 'To us (pron.) *neither* came writing from [the] Ioudea, *nor* came one from the brethren and showed to us or said an evil word against thee. 22 But we *think right* to hear from thee the things which thou thinkest: for concerning this *sect* the thing is manifest to us, that *objection* is made concerning it in every place.' 23 But they appointed to him

[a] Lit. 'opposing.'

ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅ.] om. ⲛ̄, FS. ⲡⲁϣⲗⲱ(A 26: ⲟ, L^{g} &c.)ⲗ] L^{g}T^{t}AP 26: ⲡⲁⲓϣⲗ. 'this &c.,' B^{a}Γ(and tr.)FG^{r}KNOST. 20 ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ] +ⲡⲉ, FKS. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ(ⲏ, N) 2°] pref. ϫⲉ, 26. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. G^{r}S. ϯⲥⲟⲛϩ] T^{t}AB^{a}ΓG^{r}KN 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}FOPST. ϩⲁⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ] AB^{ao}G^{r}: -ⲏⲥⲓⲥ, L^{g}T^{t} &c. 21 ⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ] om. ⲓ, L^{g}NO^{o}(* ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛ)T by error. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲉⲁ] AB^{a} 26: + ⲉⲑⲃⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲧⲕ 'concerning thee,' L^{g}T^{t} &c., position cf. ? Gr. AP^{vid} 13. 103. 105. vg aeth^{pp} &c. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^{t}AB^{a}: ϩⲱⲃ, L^{g} &c. 22 ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲁⲝⲓⲟⲓⲛ] ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲃϩ 'we pray,' FKS. ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵL 4. 38. 40. 104. al^{2scr}. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] T^{t}AFS: ⲉⲛⲏ, L^{g}B^{a}ΓG^{r}KNOPT 26. ⲉⲧⲉⲕ-(O^{o} 'a copy')ⲙⲉⲩⲓ] ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙ., ΓO*P. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ] cf. Gr. 23. 25. 37. 56. 104. 106. 8^{pe} al^{2scr} om. *μέν*. ⲅⲁⲣ] trs. after ϩⲱⲃ, 26; obs. Gr. L a^{scr}* om. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] -ⲱⲛϩ, FKPS. ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗ.] ⲁⲛϯⲗ., FS. 23 ϯⲛⲉⲓ] ϯⲛⲏⲓ, S*T. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲉⲟⲩ., B^{a}G^{r}NOT. ⲉϯ-ⲉⲝⲉⲛⲓⲁ] T^{t}A$_{1}$FKOPS 26: ⲉϯⲝⲉⲛⲓⲁ, L^{g}B^{a}ΓG^{r}T: ⲛ̄ϯⲝ., N: ⲉⲝⲉⲛⲓⲁ, A$_{2}$.

ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾
ⲉϥⲑⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲓⲥ-
ϫⲉⲛ ϣⲟⲣⲡ ϣⲁ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ ⳾
24 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲑⲏⲧ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩⲛⲓ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ 25 ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϯⲙⲁϯ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ
ⲁ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̀ⲏⲥⲁⲏⲁⲥ
ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ 26 ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲙⲟϣⲓ ϣⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ
⳾ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲕⲁϯ ⳾
⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ
⳾ 27 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲙⲟⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾
⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲣⲱϣ ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁϣϫ
⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
⳾ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ-
⳾ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲕⲁϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲕⲟ-
⳾ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲥⲓⲍ 28 Ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲫϯ | ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ

ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] AB^{a} 26: ⲛⲁϥⲥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲙ.] ⲁϥ., 26. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c., cf. Gr. L 18: om. Γ. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ, A_2S. ⲉⲑⲃⲉⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] cf. ? Gr. (exc. L 31. al plu &c. praem τά). ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBL 1. 13. 38. 42. 47. 61. 65. 98. 100. 106. 126. 177. al^{3scr} &c.: ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ, S, cf. Gr. AH 31. al plu &c. ϣⲟⲣⲡ] A: ϣⲱⲣⲡ, $L^{g}T^{t}$ &c. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. NOPT. ⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲱ] A_2B^{a}: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁϥϫⲱ, L^{g}ΓN PT 26: ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ, $A_1{}^{r}FG^{r}$KOS: ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱ, T^{t}. ⲛⲁⲩⲟⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲓ, O. ⲁⲧⲛⲁϩϯ] $A_1{}^{r}{}_2FG^{r}$KNST: ⲁⲑⲛ., $L^{g}T^{t}B^{a}$ΓOP 26. 25 ⲇⲉ] trs. after ϯⲙⲁϯ, K; cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ABHLP al pler syr^{p} &c.: om. B^{a}. ⲁϥⲭⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, P. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲛⲁϥϫⲱ, 26^{c}. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ] $T^{t}A_1{}^{*}{}_2B^{a}$: om. L^{g} &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, PT. ⲥⲁϫⲓ] $AB^{a}FG^{r}$ KS: ⲁϥⲥ., $L^{g}T^{t}$ΓNOPT 26. ⲏⲥⲁⲏⲁⲥ] -ⲓⲁⲥ, Γ. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°]

a day, they came unto him to the *lodging,* being many: and he declared to them, witnessing to them concerning the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, from (the) *law* of Mōysēs and the *prophets*, from early unto
evening. 24 And some *indeed* were being persuaded by the things which he was saying; but others were being
unbelieving. 25 But disagreeing amongst themselves, Paulos dismissed them, saying one word to them: ‘*Well* spake the holy *spirit* through Ēsaēas the *prophet* to your fathers,
26 saying: “Go [a] unto this *people,* say to them: ‘In a hearing ye shall hear, and ye shall not understand; in a seeing ye shall see, and ye shall not see.’
27 For (the) heart of this *people* thickened, and they were heavy for (the) hearing in their ears, and they shut their eyes, *lest by any means* they might see with their eyes, and hear in their ears, and understand in their heart, and return, and I heal them.”
28 Let the thing be manifest to you, that God sent his

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[a] Lit. ‘walk.’

ⲟⲩⲃⲉ, K. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 3. 4. 13. 16. 23. 25. 33. 40. 43. 46. 61. 80. 95. 104. 105. k^{scr} syr^{sch} Did &c.: ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟϯ, B^a, cf. Gr. HLP al longe plu cat s vg arm aeth^{pp} &c. 26 ϫⲉ 1°] om. G^r. ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] L^{g}T^{t}AB^{a}FG^{r}KS 26: ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ, ΓNOPT. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥ., A$_2$. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] AB^a: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ] AB^{a}G^r: ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲁⲩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ⲉⲛⲁⲩ, Γ*. 27 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲙⲧ, FS. ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲥ, N: ⲡⲓⲗ., T. ⲁⲩϩⲣⲱϣ] A 26: -ⲟϣ, L^{g}T^t &c.: -ⲣⲱⲟⲩϣ, T: -ϩⲟⲣϣ, S. ϧⲉⲛ (om. B^a) ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁϣϫ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵA 13. 27. 36. 65. 66** 104. 105. 180. al^{3scr} tol syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ 2°] ϧⲉⲛ (om. T) ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ, ΓNOT. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁϣϫ 2°] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ., G^{r}K. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁϯ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, FG^{r}KS. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲟ(ⲱ, ⲟ)ⲧⲟⲩ] AB^a 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, L^{g}T^t &c.: ϯϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ, F 26: ϯϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ, S. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲱⲧⲟⲩ, Γ^{r}S. 28 ⲡⲓϩⲱⲃ] AG^r: ϯⲟⲩⲛ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, L^{g}T^t &c. ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ] pref. ⲁϥ, 26.

ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ. ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⁘
30 Ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉϥϣϭⲟⲣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ
31 ⲉϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲛ̀ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘
ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ Ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ϣⲱϣⲧ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⁘

ⲠⲢⲀⲜⲒⲤ ⲦⲞⲚ ⲀⲄⲒⲞⲚ ⲀⲠⲞⲤⲦⲞⲖⲞⲚ ⲈⲚ ⲒⲢⲎⲚⲎ ⲦⲰ Ⲕ̅Ⲱ̅ ⲀⲘⲎⲚ

ⲤⲦⲒ^ϫ ,Ⲃ̅Ⲱ̅ Ⲕⲉ^ⲗ Ⲙ̅Ⲏ̅

ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ] -ⲧⲉⲣ, N^c: ⲡⲉϥⲥ̅ⲱ̅ⲣ̅, G^rO. ϧⲉⲛⲛⲓ.] AB^a: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., ΓNOPT: ⲉⲛⲓ., $L^gT^tFG^rKS$ 26. ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ] AB^aΓNOT 26: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $L^gT^tFG^rKPS$. ⲟⲛ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, A_1 by error: ⲟⲩⲛ, B^a: om. P. 29 Verse omitted by all collated MSS., cf. Gr. ℵ A B E 13. 40. 61. 68. 1 lect s am fu demid 96 lat syr odd ar e arm zoh aeth pp. 30 ⲁϥϣ.] ⲉϥϣ., G^r. ⲇⲉ] L^gAB^aΓNPT 26, cf. Gr. ℵABE 13. 40. 61. 68. 142. 12 lect c sor vg syr p txt arm: + ⲛ̀ⲭⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ, T^tFG^rKOS, cf. Gr. HLP al pler (105.) cat tol syr sch et p c.* aeth pp &c. ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] AB^a: ⲃ̅ϯ, L^gT^t &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. K. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ] ⲉϥⲟⲩⲉ(ⲏ, G^r)ϩ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ, G^rK: om. ΓO. ⲉ(om. O)ⲡⲉϥϣ-ϭⲟⲣ] $A_{1.2}$*O: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲉϥϣϭⲟⲣ, B^aΓNT 26: ⲉⲡϣϭⲟⲣ, L^gFPS: ϧⲁⲡⲉϥϣϭⲟ(+ⲩ, 10)ⲣ, G^rK: ⲉ(ⲁ, A_2^{mg})ϥⲟⲩⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲉϥϣ-ϭⲟⲣ, $T^tA_2^{mg}$ 'another copy.' ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] om. G^rK.

saviour among the *Gentiles*, they (pron.) also (are they) who
will hear.' 30 But he abode two whole years in the place
which he took for his own hired house, and he was receiv-
ing all who come in unto him, 31 proclaiming the kingdom
of God, and teaching all in boldness[a] concerning the Lord
Jesus Christ, and there was not any hindering him.

Acts of the holy apostles in peace of the Lord. Amēn.
Stichoi 2800, Chapters 48.

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[a] Lit. 'manifesting.'

ⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] T^tAΓKT 26: -ϣⲱⲡ, $L^g B^a$FG^rNOPS. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] pref. ⲉⲣⲟϥ 'to him,' FS. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ] om. 26. 31 ⲫϯ] ⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ, A_2. ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ] A 26: -ⲱⲛϩ, $L^g T^t$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] $L^g T^t$AB^aP: om. ΓF G^rKNOST 26. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABEHLP al pler vg syr^{sch} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] T^tA 26: om. L^g &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ] ⲛⲉ-ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ, ΓNOT. ϣⲱϣⲧ] ϣⲟϣⲧ, FKS. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] $L^g A_{1(2)} B^a$FG^rKNPS 26: + ⲡⲉ, T^tΓNOT: A_2 begins a new sentence Ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'But the word of the Lord.'

Subscription. ⲡⲣⲁⲝⲓⲥ (ⲡⲣⲁⲝⲉⲱⲛ, FS) ⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲥ-ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲛ (cf. Gr. AEHL 1. 101. 126. a^{scr} al mu) ⲉⲛⲓ (om. A_2) ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲱ ⲕ̅ⲱ̅ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, $A_{1.2}$FS. ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲟⲥ (om. ⲟⲥ, A_1) ⲃ̅ⲱ̅, cf. Niceph (chronogr. compendiar.) $\beta\omega'$. ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ (ⲕⲉⲗ, A_1) ⲙ̅ⲏ̅, $A_{1.2}$: ⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲉⲟⲛ ⲟ̅ⲍ̅ (obs. am lxx fu lxxiiii) ⲥⲧⲩⲭⲟⲛ (altered from ⲙ, F) ⲧ̅ⲟ̅ⲍ̅, FS. G^rNT have Arabic: B^aΓKOP have no subscription, cf. Gr. minusc mu.

ϮⲀⲠⲞⲄⲀⲖⲨⲮⲒⲤ ⲦⲞⲨ ⲀⲄⲒⲞⲨ ⲒⲰⲀⲚⲚⲞⲨ.

ϮⲀⲠⲞⲄⲀⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ
ⲁ ⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⳾ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ|ⲥⲉⲙⲡ-
ϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⳾
2 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ |
Restored 3-8 . . . ⲛ̀ϫⲉ
3 Ϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲱϣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲥ. ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁϥ-
ϧⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
4 Ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲛ̀ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ϧⲉⲛ
ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

Inscription. ϯⲁⲡⲟⲕ(ⲅ, ⲧ)ⲁⲗⲓ(ⲩ, ⲧ)ⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ, GT: ⲁ̀ⲡⲟ̆ⲕ(ⲅ, ⲁ)ⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ, AN, cf. Gr. 50: ϯⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ, H: ϯⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩ, D: ϯⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓⲱ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ (holy) ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, F: ϯⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ (which he saw) ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ, Cr: ϯⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱ̅ⲁ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅ-

THE REVELATION OF THE HOLY IŌANNĒS.

I. The *revelation* of Jesus Christ, which God gave to
him, to show to his servants the things which must
happen quickly: and he signified them. Having sent
them through his *angel* to his servant Iōannēs.
2 He who witnessed to the word of God, and the witness
of Jesus Christ, to[a] the things which he saw.
3 Blessed are they who read, and they who hear the
words of this *prophecy*, and who keep the things which
are written on it: for the time approached. 4 Iōannēs
to the seven *churches* which are in [the] Asia: (the) grace

[a] Or 'even the things.'

ⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ (the beloved) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲏⲃ (our Master), Z: BE have lost the first page.

1 ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗ.] ADFH: ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗ., T^{t}B^{r}C^{r}GNTZ. ⲉⲛⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ, C^{r}HZ. T^{t}AB^{r}C^{r}DF GHNTZ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲙ., FT. ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ] ⲁϥⲧ., T^{c}Z*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ] A: ⲉⲡⲉϥ., C^{r}D^{mg}: ⲡⲉϥ. 'his &c.,' without preposition, T^{t}B^{r}D*FGHNTZ. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, C^r.
2 ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲛⲏ, B^{r}C^{r}D*FGHTZ; cf. Gr. ℵABCP al fere[50] vg syr arm aeth Dion &c. 3 ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ . . . ⲛⲏ] cf. Victorin; obs. G tr. has singular and gloss has plural. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ (ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, FG: ⲓ̅ⲱ̅, B^r) ⲗⲉⲅⲓ(ⲉ, Z), inserted as a heading, B^{r}DFGHZ. ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] cf. Gr. ACP al pler vg syr &c. ⲧⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. 7. 16. vg^{cle} am demid harl syr arm^{cdd} Victorin: ⲧⲁ 'my,' A^r*. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵC.
4 ⲛⲏ 1°] om. C^{r}D*H^{c}Z. ⲉⲧϫⲏ 1°] om. ϫⲏ, H*. ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓϩ., A^{r}T. ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ] ⲧϩ., C^{r}H. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP &c.

ⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ̅ⲍ̅ ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
5 Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥ-
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲡⲓϣⲁⲙⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
..., E ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ |
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϫⲟⲕⲙⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾
...ⲟⲩⲏⲃ, 6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ
E ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾
ⲋ 7 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϭⲏⲡⲓ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
..., C ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲟⲕⲥϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾
8 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲫⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱ ϯⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
Ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ|ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁ-
ⲧⲱⲣ ⳾
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ 9 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛ-
..., B ϣⲫⲏⲣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϧⲉⲛ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
ⲍ Ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ|ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ

ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ANZ*: ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲏ ⲉⲑ., T^{t}C^{r}DF^{mg}G^{mg}HT: om. B^{r}F*G*. ⲉⲧϫⲏ 2°] cf. Gr. P. 1. (36). 38. 49. al mu^{vi} &c. 5 ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲙ̅ⲣ̅, A^{r}B^{r}T. ⲡⲓϣⲁⲙⲙⲓⲥⲓ] A^{r}B^{r}O^{r}DF^{o}G^{o}HN^{o}T: ⲡⲓϣ., F*G*: ⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲓ, T^{t}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{50} vg syr &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ] A^{r}DHN: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., T^{t}B^{r}O^{r}EFGTZ. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ(+ⲧ, EFG*T)ⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. P 1. 28. 36. 79. 91. 92^{mg} 96. 99. al vg &c. ⲁϥ(om. ⲁϥ, A^{r}*)ϫⲟ(ⲱ, A^{r})ⲕ-ⲙⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. BP al longe plu vg aeth^{utr} &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAC 1. 12. 28* 36. 38. 79. 92^{mg} 99. &c. ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 1. 12. 16. &c.). ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϩ., A^{r}N. 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. D.

to you and [the] *peace* from him who is, and who was being,
and who (ⲡⲉⲑ) cometh; And from the seven *spirits*
which are before the *throne*; 5 And from Jesus Christ
the *witness*, the *faithful*, the firstborn of the dead, and (the)
ruler of all the kings of (the) earth. He who loved us,
and he washed us from our sins in his blood. 6 And he
made us a kingdom of priesthood[a] to God his Father; whose
is the glory and the might for ever. Amēn. 7 Lo, he it
is who cometh with the clouds; and they all shall see him
—every eye, and they who pierced him; and they all shall
see him—the *tribes* of (the) earth. Amēn. 8 I am the
alpha and the ō(mega), the *beginning* and the end: Saith
the Lord God, he who is, he who was being, and he who
cometh, the *Almighty*. 9 I am Iōannēs your brother, and
your partner in the tribulations, because the kingdom and
thy endurance were in Jesus. I was being in the *island*,

[a] Or 'even priesthood,' or 'a priesthood kingdom.'

ⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲙⲓⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBP al pler vg^{ole} demid lipss &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*AC al^{50} syr &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲃ] cf. ? syr 'sacerdotale.' ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ] pref. ⲙ̄, T. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ] om. G*. ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ] cf. Gr. AP 9. 28. 79. 97. 99. &c. 7 ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲉⲑⲛ., C. ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] G tr. على 'upon' (gloss مع 'with'), cf. Gr. C Ephr. ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ 1. 12. &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 1°] A^rB^rDFGHTZ: om. T^tCN. -ⲑⲟⲕⲥϥ] -ⲑⲟⲝϥ, A^rB^rH: -ⲑⲟⲝⲥϥ, N. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ] for 'see' obs. $Prim^{com}$; probably confusion from ὄψονται and κόψονται. ⲛⲓⲫⲩⲗⲏ] +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, A^rF^o. 8 ⲁⲗⲫⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al $fere^{35}$ lipss al^{lachm} Clem Al &c. ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] ⲙⲉⲛ, T^t by error. ϯⲁⲣⲭⲏ . . . ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] for addition cf. Gr. (ℵ* 1. 35. 87. 92^{mg} al mu^{vi}) 28. 36. 49. 79. 80, these latter have the articles. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] A: pref. ⲛⲉⲙ, T^t &c.: om. Z*. 9 ⲡⲉ] om. C. ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ] ⲓ̄ⲱ̄ⲁ̄, T. ⲛⲓϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ] ⲛⲓϩ., T. ϫⲉ &c.] A tr. لان الملك والتمسك هما بيسوع 'because the kingdom and the holding on are in Jesus.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ] $T^tA^oCD^o$EGHTZ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲕ, A*BD*FN. ⲁⲩϧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲩϧⲉⲛ 'being in,' B. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵ*CP 38. am fu demid tol lips Or. ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, BCH.

ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲑⲙⲱ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
10 Ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲩ-
ⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛϩⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⳾ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ |
11 Ϫⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ ⳾
Ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲙⲩⲣⲛⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲣ-
ⲅⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲑⲩⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲇⲉⲗⲫⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲟⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾
ⲁⲓ..., E (H) 12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲫⲟⲛϩⲧ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϯⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ | ⲑⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲫⲟⲛϩⲧ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾
13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲓ
ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲙⲏⲣ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲟϫϧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾
14-20 ... ⲛ̀ⲗⲩϫ restored, A
14 Ⲧⲉϥⲁⲫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲡⲉϥϥⲱⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲣⲧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲓⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲥⲉⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾
15 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟⲗⲓ-
ⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉϥⲫⲟⲥⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲡⲁⲑⲙⲱ] ⲡⲁⲑⲙⲟⲥ, BZ*?. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧ.] cf. Gr. AC 1. 4. 9. 28. 31. 34. 35. 37. 38. 48. 79. 87. vg Dion &c. ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵ^{oc}B al pler lips syr arm aeth &c. 10 ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] AD^{o}FG*N: ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, T^{t}BCD*G^{c}HTZ. ⲛ̀(om. BCD*F*)ⲥⲁⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛϩⲏ(ⲉ, N)ⲓ] position cf.? Gr. ℵCP al plu vg &c. 11 ϫⲉ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABC al fere^{60} vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲡⲏ] cf. Gr. 34. 35. 38. 87. &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲥⲟⲑⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'which thou wilt see,' CH*. ⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] pref. ⲉ, B. ϩⲓ] AC^{mg}D^{mg}G^{mg}N: ⲉ, T^{t}BC*D*G* &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ] A*N, cf. Gr. ℵ*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{c} &c. ⲛ̀ϯⲍ̅] T^{t}AD FGNT: ⲉϯⲍ̅, BCHZ. ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛϯⲁⲥⲓⲁ] cf. vg^{cle} arm^{uso} ar^{e}. ⲥⲙⲩⲣⲛⲁ] ⲥⲙⲉⲣⲛⲁ, FG*; for C cf. Gr. (A)BCP rell. Tabulated arrangement, DG. ⲡⲉⲣⲅⲁⲙⲱⲛ] -ⲙⲟⲛ, N: -ⲙⲟⲥ, B.

which is called 'Pathmō,' because of the word of God and
the witness of Jesus Christ. 10 I was being in a *spirit* in
the day of the Kyriakē. And I heard behind me a great
voice, as of a *trumpet*, saying to me: 11 The things which
thou wilt hear write on a book, send them to the seven
churches which are [in] the Asia, That is to say Ephesos,
and Smyrna, and Pergamōn, and Thyatēra, and Sardis, and
Philadelphia, and Laodikia. 12 And I turned myself, I saw
the voice which was speaking to me. And having turned
myself, I saw seven *lampstands* of gold; 13 and in (the) midst
of the *lampstands* a likeness of a son of man, being clothed
with a *garment down to the foot*, and girt upon his breasts[a]
with a girdle of gold. 14 But his head and his hair being
white as [a] white wool, and [a] *snow*; and his eyes are
as a flame of fire; 15 and his feet as [a] *burnished brass*,
being refined in a fire; and his voice as (the) voice of many

[a] Lit. 'joints.'

ⲑⲩ(ⲏ, H)ⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ] cf. ? Gr. B: -ⲇⲓⲣⲁ, FG*, cf. ? Gr. AC; for -*ρα* cf. ? Gr. ℵ al pler &c. ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲥ] -ⲧⲓⲥ, B. ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲇⲉ(ⲁ, Z)ⲗⲫⲓⲁ] ABHN: ⲫⲩⲗ., T^{t} &c.; for -*ία* cf. Gr. ℵABCP 7. 28. 32. 90. 91. 93. 98. 100. al. ⲗⲁⲟⲇⲓ(ⲩ, O)ⲕⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵAC 8* 28. 100. &c. 12 ⲁⲓⲫⲟⲛϩⲧ] ⲁⲓⲫⲱⲛϩ, B. ⲉⲛⲁⲥ(om. T^{t})ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ] ADEFGHNT: ⲉⲧⲉⲛ|ⲛⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ., B; cf. Gr. ℵBC al fere^{50} &c.: ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟ(ⲱ, Z)ⲥ ⲉⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ 'which I was hearing speaking to me,' C^{o}Z^{o}. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲫⲟⲛϩⲧ] om. ⲧ, N: ⲁⲓⲫ., H*. ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ 2°] ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ, NT. ⲉⲍ̄] ⲉϯⲍ̄, B. 13 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ACP 1. 12. 28. 38. 45. 100. am* syr arm^{gb} ar^{e} aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩϣ.] ⲛ̄ϣ., B ?. ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲧ(ⲇ, A^{c}N)ⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲧⲏⲣⲓ, B. ⲉ(ϩⲓ, G^{c})ϫⲉⲛⲡⲉϥⲙⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ϯ] trs. after ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟ(+ⲩ, FT)ϫϧ(ϧϫ, B) ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ, FGT. 14 ϥⲱⲓ] ϥⲟⲓ, GT. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] DFG: -ⲱⲃϣ, T^{t}NT: ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ, B: ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁϣ, A^{r*}C: ⲉⲩ(om. Z*)ⲟⲩⲃⲁϣ, A^{ro}HZ^{c}. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] DEFG^{c}T: -ⲱⲃϣ, T^{t}A^{r}CG*HNZ: ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ, B; obs. Ir^{int} 'lana alba.' ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲭⲓⲱⲛ] obs. Cyp Prim nil nisi 'aut nix.' 15 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲁ(ⲟ, EFG*)ⲗ.] ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲗ., B. ⲉϥⲫⲟⲥⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ 16. 46. 69. 88. (al ?) vg syr aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ] T^{t}BDG^{mg}HNZ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ, A^{r}C: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ, EF

ⲑ [16] Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲟⲩⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟ ⲃ̅ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲙ. [17] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϭⲁ-
ⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ |
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϧⲁⲉ ⳾ [18] ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲱⲛϧ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϣⲟϣⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ ⳾
ⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ|ⲙⲉⲛϯ ⳾ [19] ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁ-
. . . ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
B
[20] Ⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲓ ⲧⲁϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲍ̅
ⲛ̀ⲗⲩⲭ|ⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾
Ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲕ-
ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⳾

Ⲃ.

Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲉⲫⲉ-
ⲥⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ | ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓ-
ⲛⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲗⲩ-
ⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾

G*T; obs. Ir^{int} om. *πολλῶν*. [16] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}BCP al pler &c. ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ (om. ϫⲓϫ, A^{r}*) ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ] cf. Gr. B Ir^{int}. ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ &c. [17] ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧⲧ (+ⲉ, T)] T^{t}A^{rc}EFGT: ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧ, A^{r}*BCDHNZ. ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ] T^{t}A^{r}C EFG*H*NTZ: ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, BDG^{mg}H^{mg} (نسخة الأصل 'original copy'). ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. BN. ϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{cc} 1. 28. 91. 92. 96. al vix mu &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] A^{r}*BCD*FG*T, cf. Gr. ℵABCP al fere^{50} vg syr arm aeth &c.: + ⲛⲏⲓ 'to me,' T^{t}A^{rc}D^{mg}G^{mg}HNZ, cf. Gr. 1. al vix mu aeth. [18] ⲫⲏ] A^{r}BCHZ, cf. Gr. ℵ*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,

waters. 16 There were[a] seven stars in his right hand: and
a sword of two edges[b] coming from his mouth; and his face
shining as (the) sun in his power. 17 And *when* I saw him,
I cast myself down before his feet; and I was as one dead.

And he placed his right hand upon me, saying: 'Fear
not, I am the first and the last, 18 he who liveth; and I died,
and lo, I live unto age of the age, and the keys of (the)
death were being with me (ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧ), and (of) Amenti. 19 Write
then the things which thou wilt see, they (pron.) which will
happen after these (things). 20 The mystery of the seven
stars, which thou sawest on my right hand, and the
seven *lampstands* of gold. The seven stars are the seven
angels of the seven *churches*: and the seven *lampstands*
which thou sawest are seven *churches*.'

II. Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Ephesos: 'These
are the things which he saith, in whose right hand are the
seven stars, he who walketh in (the) midst of the seven

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[a] Lit. 'being.' [b] Lit. 'casting with two mouths,' thus again.

TᵗDEFGNT. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] -ⲱⲛϧ, H. ϯⲱ(ⲟⲩ, N)ⲛϧ] ϯⲟⲛϧ, B. ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] Aʳ*BCEFG*HNT: ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, TᵗAʳᵒD GᵒZᶜ; for om. ἀμήν cf. Gr. ℵ*ACP 36. 38. vg arm aeth[utr] Or &c. ⲫⲙⲟⲩ] TᵗBDEFGHNTZ: ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ '(the) abyss,' AʳC. ⲛⲁⲩϫⲏ (om. ϫⲏ, B)] Tᵗ(B)CDN: ⲁⲩϫⲏ, AʳEFGHTZ. 19 ⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al fere[50] vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ] ACDN: ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ, TᵗEFGHT: ⲉⲧⲁⲕ., BZ. 20 A tr. اما السبع كواكب 'as for the seven stars,' gloss مترجمة اخرا اما سر السبع كواكب 'another translation, as for the mystery &c.' ϩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBCP al omn[vi] &c.: ϧⲉⲛ, HZ, cf. Gr. A &c. ⲛⲉ 1°] position cf. ? Gr. 97. vg &c.: om. H*, cf. Gr. ℵ*. ϯⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲕⲗ.] TᵗAᵒ &c.: ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗ., A*. ϯⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗ.] ⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲗ., D: + ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ 'of gold,' Z; for order cf. ? Gr. ℵ 38. 91. al plu &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. P 1. 14[mg] 79. 91. 92[mg] 93. al mu[vi] &c.

1 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBP al omn[vid] arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 16. vg m[105] Prim. ⲛⲉ] om. F. ϫⲓϫ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ* 35. 87. arm &c.

2 ϫⲉ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕϧⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉϥⲁⲓ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ | ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϩⲁⲛ-
ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲉ ⳾
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲕϥⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕϧⲓⲥⲓ ⳾
4 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϣⲟⲣⲡ
ⲁⲕⲭⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲕ ⳾ |
ⲓⲃ 5 Ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲕϩⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓ-
ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁ-
ⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ ⳾
ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲕϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾
6 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲥϯ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ϩⲱ | ⲉϯⲙⲟⲥϯ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
7 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ |

Ⲅ.

(ⲓⲅ) 8 Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲥⲙⲩⲣⲛⲁ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

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2 ⲡⲉⲕϧⲓ(ⲏ, ⲍ)ⲥⲓ] ACD^{c}F^{o}HZ: ⲡⲉⲕϧ., T^{t}D*EF*GNT; cf. Gr. ℵB al plu lips aeth &c. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. A aeth^{ro}. ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲏ] T^{t}ADF^{mg}G^{mg}HNZ: ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ, CEF*G*: ⲛⲏ, T; D tr. twice قوم اوليك = ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ, gloss ليس في بعض النسخ 'not in some copies.' ⲛⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ^{cc}B al fere^{50} vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϩⲁⲛ.] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ., F^{o}: ⲛⲉϩⲁⲛ., CEF*G*. ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ] A(tr.)D F^{c}G^{mg}HZ^{c}: ⲁⲕϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ 'thou foundest them,' T^{t}A(gl.)CEF*G*NT.

lampstands of gold: 2 "I know thy works, and thy toils
and thine endurance, that it is not possible for thee to bear
an evil (one). And thou *triedst* some who say of them-
selves, that they are *apostles*, and they are not such (lit. some),
and they were found being false *apostles*. 3 And [an] endur-
ance thou hast, and thou didst bear with these because of my
name, and thou wast not weary. 4 But I have against
thee, that thou didst leave thy first *love*. 5 Remember *then*
how thou didst fall, and *repent*; otherwise I come to thee,
and move thy *lampstand* from its place, unless thou *repent*.
6 But (ⲁ) this thou hast, that thou hatedst the works of the
Nikolaitēs[a], those which I also hate." 7 He who hath ear
to hear, let him hear what it is which the *spirit* saith to
the *churches*: He who will overcome, I shall give to him
that he may eat from the tree of (the) life which is in the
midst of the *Paradise* of my God.' 8 Write to the *angel*
of the *church* of Smyrna: 'These are the things which saith

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[a] MS. 'Kolaitēs,' the first syllable being confused with the definite article.

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3 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ . . . ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲕ] position cf. Gr. ℵ^cABC al^40 vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕϥⲁⲓ] ϥⲁⲓ 'bear,' A*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϧⲓⲥⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al fere^50 syr aeth &c. 4 ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲏⲓ] A: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧ., T^t &c. 5 ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP vg aeth^utr &c. ⲛⲁⲕ] ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ, EFG*T: D gloss 'not in some copies,' cf. Gr. 12. 96. arm aeth. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲙ] ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲙ, A*. ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ] T^tAD* G^mgN: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ., CEF^cHZ: ⲛ̄ϯⲗ. 'the &c.,' D^mgF*G*T. 6 ⲫⲁⲓ] ⲫⲏ, D*EGT. ⲁⲕⲙⲟⲥϯ] AZ: ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲥϯ, H: ⲕⲙ., T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲓ(ⲏ, ⲧ)ⲧⲏⲥ] tr. قولايدس kūlāïdas, gloss اهل الجهل 'the people of the ignorance,' H: tr. قلايدس, gloss الجهل 'the ignorance,' G. ϩⲱ] ϩⲱⲟⲩ, A. 7 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] om. F*. ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. lips al^lachm. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉ, CEFG*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲙ] T^tG^mg &c.: ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥ., EFG*. ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛ.] cf. Gr. (ℵ^ccP) 1. 28. 35. 36. 49. 79. 91. 92^mg 96. al arm &c. ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. B al plus^45 vg syr aeth &c. 8 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*EFG*NT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tA^cCD G^mgHZ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲉⲕ.] ⲛ̄ϯⲉⲕ., HZ^c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲩⲣⲛⲁ] cf. vg aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲉ(ⲁ, N)ϥϫ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫ., Z^c.

ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϧⲁⲉ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱⲛϧ⳾
9 Ϫⲉ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧ-
ϩⲏⲕⲓ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ⳾ |
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ
..., B ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ. ⲉϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ
ⲧⲉ⳾
10 Ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁⲩϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁϭⲓ-
ⲧⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ϥⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ
(ⲓⲇ) ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ⳾ | ⲉⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉ-
ϩⲉϫϩⲉϫ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲓ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳾ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲕⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ
ϣⲁⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲓⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ⳾
11 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ|ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϭⲓⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅⳾

ⲇ.

12 Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲣ-
ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲃ̅⳾
(ⲓⲉ) 13 Ϫⲉ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕ|ϣⲟⲡ ⲑⲱⲛ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ
...ⲑⲣⲟ, B ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

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9 ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ &c.] cf. Gr. ACP 19. 47. vg aeth^{utr} &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕϩ.] ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩ., HZ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al plus^{50} &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ABC al^{40} syr &c., but the version is different: ϧⲉⲛ, EF*, cf. ? Gr. P &c. ϫⲉ 2°] AEFG*NT: + ⲁⲛⲟⲛ 'we,' T^{t}BCD ('not in some copies')G^{ms}HZ. ⲛⲉ 1°] om. CDHZ: ⲓⲉ, B. ⲁⲛ] om. G* by error. ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ] ⲡⲥⲁⲇ., B. ⲧⲉ] om. C: ⲛⲉ, D^{ms}N*, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}. 10 ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣϩⲟϯ] cf. Gr. ABC 8. 38. 49.

the first and the last, he who died and he lived : 9 "I know
thy tribulation and thy poverty; but (ⲇⲉ) thou (art) rich.

And I found not one[a] from those who say of themselves
that they are *Jews,* being not such (lit. some), but (ⲇⲉ) being
a *synagogue* of *Satan.* 10 Fear not the pains which thou
wilt receive: behold, the *devil* will cast some from you to the
prison, that ye may be *tried* and afflicted for ten days. Be
thou faithful even unto (the) death, and I shall (lit. will)
give to thee the crown of (the) life." 11 He who hath ear
to hear, let him hear what it is which the *spirit* saith to the
churches. For to him, who will overcome, shall not be
done violence (by) the second death.'

12 Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Pergamōs: 'These
are the things which he saith who hath the sword which
striketh[b] with two edges: 13 "I know where thou dwelledst, the place in which is the *throne* of *Satan*: and thou

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[a] Mistaken for ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ 'the blasphemy.' [b] Lit. 'casteth.'

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95. arm &c.: + ⲟⲩⲛ, B. ⲛⲓⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, DZ)ⲕⲁⲩϩ] -ⲕⲁϩ, B. ϥⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] position cf. ? Gr. 38. 95. syr arm aeth. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ.] ⲉϩⲁⲛ., H. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ &c.] position cf. ? Gr. ABCP al^{45} vg syr arm aeth &c.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, EFG*. ⲉⲡⲓ (om. B) ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ] om. C*. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲉϫϩⲉϫ] A*CDFN: -ϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ, $T^t A^o$EGT: -ϩⲉϫϩⲱϫ, B; cf. ? Gr. A 36. &c. ἔχητε: ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ(ⲟ, Z^o)ϫϩⲉϫ, HZ, cf. ? Gr. ℵB al pler vg arm &c. ἕξετε. ⲙ̄ⲓ̄] ⲛ̄ⲓ̄, B: ⲓ̄, FG*. ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., N: ⲉⲙⲟⲩ, B. 11 ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲛ, E*. ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. lips. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓ, CEFG*: ⲡⲉ, N. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. EF*G*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϭⲓⲧϥ] T^tABCD^{mg}EFG*NZ: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϭ., D*G^{mg}HT. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ] T^tA*BD*G^{mg}HNTZ: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ 'in the death,' A^{mg}C D^{mg}EFG*. 12 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*NT?: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t A^{mg}$ &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲣⲅⲁⲙⲱⲥ] AF^o: -ⲙⲟⲥ, T^tB$D^o G^o$HNTZ: -ⲙⲱⲛ, CEF*G*: -ⲙⲟⲛ, D*; for genitive cf. vg &c. ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱ, N. 13 ⲧ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 38. vg $aeth^{utr}$ &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ACFGHTZ: ⲡⲑⲣ., T^tBDEN. ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ] AD*G^oH NZ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲥ., T^tCD^{mg}EFG*T. ⲭⲏ] om. F*. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] AC D*HNZ: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, $T^t D^{mg}EF^o$GT: om. F*.

ⲁⲕⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϫⲉⲗ ⲡⲁ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲕϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ ⳾
ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁ|ⲛⲁⲥ
ϣⲟⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ 14 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲕⲉ-
ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄-
ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲁⲙ ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲕ ⳾ ⲉϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲁⲛ-
ⲇⲁⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ
ϣⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲓⲉ 15 Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ | ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⳾ 16 ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲣⲱⲓ ⳾
17 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ |
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲙⲁⲛ- ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲗ
ⲛⲁ..., B ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ
ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ
ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓⲧϥ ⳾

ⲁⲕⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] T[t]AD[mg]F[c]G[mg]H[mg]NT : ⲁⲕⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ, CD*E F*G*H*Z. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϫⲉⲗ] -ϫⲱⲗ, T[t]. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] cf. Gr. AC 91. al ? vg &c. ϧⲉⲛ] A*D*H*N : pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, T[t]A[mg] &c. ⲁⲕϯ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲉⲛ] for om. *αἷς* cf. ? Gr. AC vg &c., A gloss 'correct: in the days in which they killed Watibash, my martyr, the faithful with you.' ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 12. 36. ar[e]: ⲡⲓⲙ̅ⲣ̅, T. ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵBP al pler vg aeth &c. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ.] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al pler vg syr arm &c. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] pref. ϧⲉⲛ 'in,' F. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ, DH. ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ] position cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al fere[50] vg arm &c. 14 ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] om. ⲕⲉ, C. ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ] trs. before ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ., EFGT. ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] for om. *ὅτι* cf. Gr. C am fu harl* tol lips al[lachm] syr &c., but the version is different. ⲫⲏ] ⲫⲁⲓ,

laidest hold on my name and deniedst not my faith. And
in the days thou opposedst[a] the *martyr* the *faithful*, he
whom they killed with you, the place in which *Satan*
dwelleth. 14 But (ⲁ) I have a few names also against thee
who lay hold on (the) teaching of Balaam; He who
taught Balak to cast a *stumblingblock* before (the) sons of
Israel, to eat (things) slain for *idols*, and to *commit forni-
cation*. 15 Thus thou also hast (one who) is laying hold
on (the) teaching of the Nikolaitēs[b]. 16 *Repent then*: and
I come to thee quickly; and I fight with them with (ϧⲉⲛ)
the sword of my mouth." 17 He who hath ear to hear,
let him hear what it is which the *spirit* saith to the *churches*.
For he who will overcome, I shall give to him from the
hidden manna; and I shall give to him a white stone (ⲁⲗ),
And in the stone being a new name written [upon it]: no
one saw it except him who received it.'

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[a] Confusion of ἀντίπας and ἀντεῖπας. [b] MS. 'Kolaitōn.'

EFGT. ⲉⲧⲁϥϯⲥⲃⲱ] cf. Gr. B 6. 7. 14. 29. 31. 38. 87. 91–97. al plus[30] arm &c. ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲕ] cf. Gr. ℵ°AP al pler vg &c.: ⲃⲁⲗⲁⲁⲕ, F, cf. BC al pauc fu al[lachm]. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲁⲛⲇ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲕ., Z plural. ⲉⲟⲩⲱ(ⲉ, H)ⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 36. 38. 49. 79. 91. 98. al aliq vg arm syr &c. 16 ϩⲱⲕ] A*CD*N: pref. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ 'thou,' T[t]A[mg]D[mg] &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ] ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ, EF*G*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲕⲟ(om. E: ⲁ, FGT)-ⲗⲁⲓⲧⲱⲛ] G tr. غالبة الشعوب 'conquering the peoples,' gloss قلياطية ḳalyāṭiyah: -ⲧⲏⲥ, C; cf. ? Gr. ABC al[30] arm, the first syllable is the same as the Coptic plural sign; for om. ὁμοίως cf. Gr. 38. aeth. 16 ⲟⲩⲛ] cf. Gr. ABC al fere[45] arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 1°] A*N: ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲛ 'otherwise,' T[t]A[mg]C &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲛ, D[mg] 'ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲛ not in some copies.' ϯⲥⲏϥⲓ] ACD*NZ: ⲧⲥ., T[t]D[mg]EFGHT. 17 ⲉⲥⲱ-ⲧⲉⲙ] cf. lips. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉ, C: ⲉⲧⲉ, EF*. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. G*Z. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 6. 8. 29. 31. 36. 38. 41. 47. 51. 82. 92[txt] 93. 94. 95. 97. al plus[15] vg aeth[utr] &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ 36. 91. arm syr &c. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] T[t]AD[mg]EFGHTZ: ϩⲓ, BCD*N. ⲡⲓⲁⲗ] ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲗ, EF*G: ⲡⲓⲓⲁⲗ, B: ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ, T. ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] om. ⲟⲩ, B: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ, E*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. 46. 88. εἶδεν: ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲙⲓ 'no one knoweth'?; A gloss يعرفه 'correct: knoweth it.'

Ⲉ.

ⲓⲍ 18 Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ | ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲑⲩⲁ-
ⲧⲏⲣⲁ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲡ̀ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲭ̀ⲣⲱⲙ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲙ̀ⲫ̀ⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟⲗⲓ-
ⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
19 Ϫⲉ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕ|ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲧⲉⲕϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⳾
20 Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ
ϫⲉ ⲓⲉⲍⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲟⲩⲡ̀ⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϯⲥ̀ⲃⲱ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲥⲱ-
ⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ |
ⲓⲏ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⳾
21 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭ̀ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣ-
ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⳾
22 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲉⲛϭⲗⲟϫ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲛⲱⲓⲕ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ ⳾ | ⲉϣⲱⲛ
ⲁⲥϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾ 23 ⲛⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲓ ϯⲛⲁ-
ϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫ̀ⲙⲟⲩ ⳾

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18 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^t A^o$ B &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲑ (O, B)ⲩ(H, H)-ⲁⲧ(Ⲁ, T^tEFGTZ)ⲏⲣⲁ] for -τη- cf. Gr. BP 79. 93. 94. al: -ⲓⲣⲁ, DEFGTZ, for -τι- cf. Gr. AC &c.; for -ρα cf. ? Gr. 14; for genitive cf. vg aeth &c. ⲛ̀ϫⲉ . . . Ⲫϯ] om. D*. ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ . . . ⲟⲓ] om. N homeot. Ⲫⲏ] pref. ⲛ̀ϫⲉ, H^{mg}. ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ] cf. Gr. ℵBCP al fere omn syr arm aeth &c. ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲟ.] ⲭⲟⲗⲕⲟ., BEFG*. ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ] +ⲉϥⲫⲟⲥⲓ 'refining,' G^{mg} H (gloss زايد 'addition') Z. 19 ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩ̀ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ] om. cop apud Wtst, cf. Gr. 12. Epiph.[456 petav]. ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲅ. . . ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩϯ . . . ⲡⲉⲕϣ.] possessive cf. aeth, order of. Gr. (exc. 1. 32. 51. 90. 95. &c.); tabulated arrangement, DZ. ⲧⲉⲕϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. ABCP

18 Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Thyatēra: 'These
are the things which saith (the) Son of God, He whose eyes
are as a flame of fire, and his feet as [a] *burnished brass*:
19 "I know thy works, and thy *love* and thy faith and thy
ministry and thy *patience*, and thy last works which are
greater than the first. 20 But (ⲁ̀) I have against thee, that
thou allowedst the woman 'Iezabel,' who saith, that she is
(lit. I am) a *prophet* and teacher; and is leading astray my
servants to *commit fornication*, and to eat from the things
slain for *idols*. 21 And I gave a *time* to her, that she might
repent; and she wisheth not to *repent* of her *fornication*.
22 Lo, I will put (lit. give) her into (the) bed, and them who
commit adultery with her, into a great tribulation: unless
she *repent*. 23 I shall (lit. will) kill her sons with (ϧⲉⲛ)

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al pler vg syr aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲁⲉⲧ] cf. Gr. exc. 1. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲩ] AD* G^{mg} (tr. افضل) NT: ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉⲩ 'good,' T^{t}BCD^{c}EFG* (tr. خيرا) HZ. ⲉⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ] -ⲓϯ, T. 20 ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ABCD*F*N: pref. ⲉ, T^{t}D^{c} EF^{c}GHTZ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ] cf. Gr. ABCP al^{60} fere am fu demid tol harl lips al^{lachm} syr aeth &c. ⲁⲕⲭⲱ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c} 26. 36. arm &c. ἀφῆκας. ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵCP 1. 7. 36. 38. 95. al vg arm aeth &c. ⲓⲉⲍⲁⲃⲉⲗ] ⲉⲓⲉⲍ., B; for βελ cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}ABCP 1. al^{40} &c. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] cf. ? Gr. BP 7. 36. 87. 96* &c. ⲉⲥⲥ(om. ⲥ)ⲱⲣⲉⲙ] T^{t}A BCD*F^{c}G^{c}HNZ: ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ 'and they deceive,' T: ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲃⲓ 'mocking,' ED^{mg}F*G*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ. 'the &c.,' D^{c}E F*G^{c}. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] T^{t}AD^{mg1}N: om. BD*: ⲛⲉⲙ, CD^{mg11}EFGHTZ. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ] T^{t}ABD*HN: ⲉⲩⲱⲙ, CGTZ: ⲟⲩⲱⲙ, EF; position cf. ? Gr. (exc. 1. 36. &c.). 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° &c.] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. arm). ⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ] AD*N: pref. ⲛ̄(ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ, H), T^{t}B &c. double negative. ⲉⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧ.] T^{t}ABD*N: ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧ., CD^{mg}EFGH TZ. ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵA. 22 ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] cf. Gr. exc. 1. arm. ϯⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓⲥ] tense cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}(B)P 38. al pauc vg^{cle} &c.; obs. Tert 'dabo': ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲏⲓⲥ 'having given her,' B. ⲉⲡϭ.] ⲉⲡⲓϭ., T. ⲉϣⲱⲡ] +ⲇⲉ, H^{c}. ⲉⲣ(om. ⲉⲣ, B)ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ] A*N: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ 'from her works,' T^{t}A$^{mg\ tr}$BCDEFGHTZ, cf. Gr. ℵB CP 6. 7. 14. 19. 29. 31. 35. 38. 49** 87. 91–6. al plus^{80} am fu harl* tol lips omn^{lachm} syr &c. 23 ⲛⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. A.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲕ
ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲟⲧϧⲉⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϭⲗⲱⲧ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉϥϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
ⲓⲑ [24] Ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ϯϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ | ϧⲁ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲩⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲛϣⲱⲕ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
Ⲛ̀ϯⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
[25] ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ϣⲁϯ ⳾
[26] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲁϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϣⲁⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
[27] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲃⲱⲧ ⲙ̀-
ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲩⲥ ⳾
ⲉϥⲉϧⲉⲙϧⲱⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
[28] Ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ϩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲕ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲛⲁϥ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉϣⲁϥϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
. . . ⲙⲁϣϫ, E [29] Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

Ⲅ.

Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲥⲁⲣ-
ⲇⲓⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ | ⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲕⲟⲛϧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲕⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾

ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲓ, F. ⲉⲓϯ] A*D^{c}ET: ⲉⲓⲉϯ, T^{t}A^{c}FGHZ: ⲉⲧϯ 'who giveth,' BCD*N. ⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. B 38. vg^{cle} lips tol al arm &c. [24] ϧⲁⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. 92^{mg} vg^{cle} arm &c.). ⲑⲩⲁⲧⲏⲣⲁ] the same as ver. 18 exc. B: ϯⲁ.,T: -ⲇⲏ(ⲓ,ⲏ)ⲣⲁ, F*HZ:

(the) death. And all the *churches* shall know, that I am he
who searcheth the hearts and the reins; and I am giving to
each one according to his works. 24 But to you (pron.)
I say, namely (the) rest of them who are in Thyatēra, they
who have not this teaching, who knew not (the) depth of
Satan, as they say;— I shall (lit. will) not cast another
burden upon you. 25 *But* that which ye have, lay hold on it
until I come. 26 And he who will overcome, and who will
keep my works unto the end (lit. out), I shall give to him
an authority over the *nations*: 27 And he shall rule[a] them
with (ϧⲉⲛ) a staff of iron; as a potter's *vessel* he shall
crush them. 28 As I also received from my Father; and
I shall give to him the star which riseth in the morning."

29 He who hath ear to hear, let him hear what it is which
the *spirit* saith to the *churches*.'

III. Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Sardis: 'These
are the things which he saith who hath (ϫⲏ &c.) the seven
spirits of God, and the seven stars: "I know thy works,
that thou hast a name of the health that thou art alive:

[a] Lit. 'tend,' reading ⲉϥⲉⲙⲟⲛⲓ.

-ⲧⲩⲣⲁ, B; for -τη- cf. Gr. BP, for -τι- cf. Gr. AC. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ] ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲁⲓⲥⲃⲱ, G*H: ⲉⲧⲁⲓ., EF. ⲛⲏ 3°] cf. Gr. (exc. vg^{cle}). ⲉⲛϣⲱⲕ] T^{t}ABCD*N: ⲙ̅ⲡϣ., D^{c}E?FGHTZ. ⲛ̅ϯⲛⲁϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] om. ⲛ̅, C single negative; tense cf. Gr. ℵ(B 1. 82.) 14. 49. 91. 92. al vg &c. ⲁⲛ 2°] trs. after ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ, B. 25 ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ.] T^{t}ABCDF^c G^{c}N: ⲡⲉⲧ., EF*G*HTZ. ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑ.] ABD*N: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑ., T^{t}C &c. ϣⲁϯⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵACP &c. 26 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B, cf. Gr. 7. 16. 38. 69. 98. &c. ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, B)ⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. N homeot. 27 ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ] T^{t}ABD*: om. ⲙ̅, N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CD^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲉϥⲉϧ.] cf. Gr. BP al^{60} fere vg syr aeth &c. 28 ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ, CZ. 29 ⲡⲉ] om. C.

1 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c. ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲥ] -ⲇⲏⲥ, H: ⲥⲁⲧⲏⲥ, N*. ⲫⲏ] ⲡⲓ, T. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕ] ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕ, FG*. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ] trs. before ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ., B. ϫⲉ 4°] cf. Gr. ℵACP al plu &c. ⲕⲟⲛϧ] ABDHNZ: ⲕⲱⲛϧ, T^{t}CEFGT.

² Ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲣⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲭⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲉⲙ
ⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁ|ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾
³ Ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲕϭⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾
Ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲕϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕ-
ϣⲧⲉⲙⲣⲱⲓⲥ ⳾ ϯⲛⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ.
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲭⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲱⲕ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ |
⁴ Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲣ-
ⲇⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛϩ-
ⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲅⲁⲣ ⳾
⁵ Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲩⲉϯ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛ-
ϭⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉⲗϫ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ |
ⲕⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
⁶ Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

ⲍ.

⁷ Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓ|ⲗⲁ-

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² ⲙⲁⲧⲁϫⲣⲉ] om. ⲙⲁ, D^{c}('not in some copies')FG*H; cf. Gr. ℵABCP al plu &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ (G tr. لا, gloss والا) ⲭⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ] for 2° person cf. Gr. B 2. 6. 8. 14. 91. al plus[20]; for ἀποθανεῖν cf. Gr. ℵACP 1^{mg} al mu vg syr arm aeth &c., but the version is different. ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] om. ⲛⲉⲕ, B. ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al[50] vg syr aeth &c. ³ ⲟⲩⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ 14 aeth &c.). ϫⲉ] om. H*. ⲡⲱⲥ] over erasure, A^{c}. ⲁⲕϭⲓ] ⲁⲕϩⲉⲓ 'thou fellest,' C. ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ tr. ضللت 'thou wentest astray,' A. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲉϩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 38. 87. 91. 96. al vg syr &c.: om. BDZ*, cf. $aeth^{utr}$. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CD^{c}F*G*HNZ*. ⲉϣⲱⲡ... ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*: om. F*; cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$ &c. ⲉϣⲱⲡ] A*B CD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}A^{c}D^{mg}$FGHTZ. ⲟⲩⲛ 2°] T^{t}ABCDEN:

and thou art dead. 2 Be thou *then* watchful, and confirm
(the) remainder; otherwise thou wilt die: because I found
not thy works fulfilled with my God. 3 Remember *then*
how thou receivedst and thou heardest; and keep, and *repent*.
Unless *then* thou *repent* and watch I shall (lit. will) come
as a thief, and thou wilt not know the hour in (ⲙ̄) which
I come upon thee. 4 But (ⲁ) I have a few names in
Sardis, these which polluted not their garments with woman:
and they shall walk with me in white garments; for they
are worthy. 5 He who will overcome thus, they shall
clothe him with white vestures; and they shall not blot out
their name from the book of (the) life: I shall confess their
name before my Father, and before his *angels*." 6 He
who hath ear to hear, let him hear what it is which the
spirit saith to the *churches*.'
7 Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Philadelphia: 'These

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om. FGHTZ; obs. Gr. 36. δέ. ϯⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. ACP 1. 12. 28. fu demid harl* tol lips omn^laochm arm aeth &c. ϫⲛⲁⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵB 2. 7. 8. 14. 29. 35. 38. al20 vg &c. ⲁⲛ] om. B (tr. ولا, 'and not'). ⲉϫⲱⲕ] om. H*. 4 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. al^vi arm &c.). ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] AC D*N, cf. Gr. (exc. 1); position cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 38. al sat mu vg arm syr aeth &c.: pref. ⲕⲉ, TtBDmgEF*GHTZ, cf. ? Gr. 1. ⲛⲁⲓ] classed by Tisch. with οἱ οὐκ, but is ambiguous. ⲛⲉⲙⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] cf. aeth. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. BD*. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙ, Z. ϩⲁⲛϩⲃ.] om. ϩⲁⲛ, F. ϩⲃⲱⲥ] ϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ, BC. 5 ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ*AC al20 vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲉϯϩⲓ] A*Dmg: ⲉϥⲉϯϩⲓ, TtA1mg &c.: ϯⲛⲁϩⲓ, Cr; cf. ? Gr. (exc. C). ϩⲁⲛϭⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ] Tt &c.: ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲱⲥ, C: ⲟⲩϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ, D*GmgT. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ 1°] ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ 'their &c.,' CDcF*HZ. ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ] A: ⲡϫ., Tt &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ] TtAmg &c.: ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϧ, A*N. ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ] A*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TtAc &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ 2°] TtA BCD*GcNT: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ 'their names,' DmgFG*H: ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ, Z. ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄] ABCD*FmgGmgNT: pref. ⲙ̄, Tt: om. Dmg ('not in some copies') F*G*H*Z. 6 ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉ, C. 7 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*N, cf. Gr. 38. &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TtAmg &c. ⲫⲓⲗ.] AN: ⲫⲩⲗ., Tt &c.

ⲇⲉⲗⲫⲓⲁ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϣⲟϣⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⁘
8 ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁϩϯ ⁘ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ
κγ ⲓⲥ | ⲁⲓϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⁘ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ
ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕϫⲉⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘
9 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ
ⲛⲉ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⁘ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉϫⲉ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⁘
Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲉⲓⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲕ ⁘
ⲙ̀- ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϭⲁ-
ⲡⲉⲙ- ⲗⲁⲩϫ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ
ⲑⲟ..., E ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲕ ⁘
10 Ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⁘
κδ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ | ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ
ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲟ
ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲉⲣⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘
11 ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⁘
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⁘

-ⲇⲉⲗⲫⲓⲁ] -ⲧⲉⲗⲫⲓⲁ, B; for -*ία* cf. Gr. unc al mu, for genitive cf. vg &c.; A tr. فيلدلفيا, gloss محب الاخوة 'the love of the brothers.' ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ACN: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑ. (ⲉⲑⲩ, T), T^t &c.; position cf. ? Gr. BCP al fere omn vg syr arm aeth Or &c. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ, B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲏⲓ] cf. aeth. ⲛ̀ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] ⲛ̀ⲇⲁⲇ, H; cf.? Gr. AC 38; obs. refertur etiam a Gb 'abyssi' cop. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵ). ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ 1°] A*BCDN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg}FGHTZ. ⲛⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ] A*CDN: ⲛⲁⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ, B, cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{40} fere Or &c.: ⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ, T^{t}A^{c}FGHTZ, cf. Gr. 1. 6. 31. 36. 49. 92^{mg} al vg arm

are the things which saith the holy, the true, he who hath
the keys of (the) house of David, he who will open, no one
will shut; and should he shut, no one will open: 8 “I know
thy works and thy faith, behold, I set (lit. gave) before thee an
opened door; it is not possible that any should shut it;
because thou hast a little power, and thou keptest my word,
and thou deniedst not my name. 9 Lo, I will give to thee
from the *synagogue* of *Satan* them who say that they are
Jews, and they are not such (lit. some), but (ⲁ) they say
falsehood. Lo, I shall cause them to come, and I shall
cause them to worship thee; and they shall cast themselves
down before thy feet; and all shall know that it is I who
loved thee. 10 Because thou keptest my word and my
patience, therefore I also kept thee from the *trial*, which will
come upon the whole multitude, to *try* all who are upon (the)
earth. 11 I come quickly: lay hold on that which thou

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syr &c.; for om. *αὐτήν* cf. Gr. ℵACP al mu vg arm syr Or &c. ⲁϥ-ϣⲁⲛϣⲑ(ⲧ, N)ⲁⲙ] ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲙⲁϣ., G*. ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ] A*FG*, cf. Gr. ℵB al^{40} fere Or &c.: ⲛⲁϣⲟⲩⲱⲛ ‘will be able &c.,’ T^{t} &c. 8 ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] pref. ϫⲉ, B. ⲓⲥ] T^{t}ABD*F^{c}N: om. CD^{c}F*GHTZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲑⲟ] trs. after ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ, D^{c}, obs. Gr. 95. Or *θύρ. ἐνώπιόν σου.* ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ]-ⲣⲱ, A^{c}F^{c}. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ . . . ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] cf.? Gr. ℵABCP al^{50} vg syr arm aeth Or &c. ϣⲑⲁⲙ] ACDFG*NT: pref. ⲙⲁ, T^{t}BG^{c}HZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. BDN. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕϫⲉⲗ] ABCDFGHN: -ϫⲁⲗ, T: -ϫⲱⲗ, T^{t}Z. 9 ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] A*BD*N: +ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, T^{t}A^{c}CD^{mg}F^{c}GHTZ. ϯⲛⲁϯ] cf.? vg aeth &c. ⲛⲏ] pref. ⲛ̄, BD*. ⲥⲉϫⲉ(om. ϫⲉ, F*T)-ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ] +ⲛⲉ, BT. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ] om. F*G*T. ⲉⲩⲉϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ . . . ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. T homeot. ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. 15. 36. vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] cf. Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ.] ABNZ: ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ., T^{t} &c. 10 ϩⲱ] T^{t}ABCF^{c}G^{c}NZ: om. DE F*G*HT. ⲉⲣⲟⲕ] om. A*. ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ] om. ⲡⲓ, A*Z*. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t}DH*. ⲡⲓⲑⲟ] A*CD*G^{mg}H*?N: ⲡⲓⲑⲁ-ⲙⲓⲟ, B tr. A gloss i (gloss ii ‘correct: the inhabited’) على المخلوقين ‘upon the created’ (plur.) H*?: ⲡⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ, T^{t}A^{c}D^{mg}EFG*TZ^{c}: ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ, H^{c}. ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ABCD*N: ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, T^{t}D^{mg} EFGHTZ. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, T^{t}CD. 11 ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al^{50} fere am tol omn^{lachm} syr ar^{e} &c. ϩⲗⲓ] om. A*D*.

12 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲓⲉⲁⲓϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲓ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉⲥϧⲉ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ ⲑⲏ
ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⳾
13 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲕⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ | ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾

H.

14 Ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲗⲁⲟⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ |
15 Ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕϩⲟⲣϣ ⲁⲛ
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕϧⲏⲙ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩϩⲱϫ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲃⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣ ⳾
16 Ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲉⲗϩⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲩϧⲉⲙⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩϩⲱϫ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϯⲛⲁϣⲁⲧⲕ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϩⲑⲏⲓ ⳾ |
ⲕⲉ~ 17 Ϫⲉ ⲕϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲙⲓ ⲁⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ

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12 ⲉⲓⲉⲁⲓϥ] ABCD*N: ϯⲛⲁⲁⲓϥ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHTZ, weak form. ⲛ̀ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲗ(om. B)ⲟⲥ] ABCDN: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲧ., T^{t}EFGHTZ^{c}. ⲡⲏⲓ] A gloss مقصورة 'Sah. sanctuary.' ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁ.] T^{t}AF^{c}N: ⲙ̀ⲡⲁ., BC DEF*GHTZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B. ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*ACP 1. 12. 15. 25. 28. 37. 40. 45. ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲧⲫⲉ] om. N* homeot. ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg^{cle} am (al pler) syr aeth &c.: ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ, EFG*T, cf. Gr. B al^{30} fu arm. 13 ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉⲧⲉ, F*: om. ⲡⲉ, C. 14 ⲥϧⲁⲓ] A*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c. ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] om. F*. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲗⲁⲟⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ] for genitive cf. vg arm syr aeth &c.; for -*κία* cf. Gr. ℵAC 7. 94. &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲙⲏⲛ] om. ⲡⲓ, F*, cf. vg. ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲙ̅ⲣ̅, T; cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ* aeth).

hast, that no one take thy crown. 12 He who will over-
come, I shall make him *pillar* in (the) house of my God, and
he shall not come out any more. And I shall write (the)
name of my God upon him, and (the) name of the new city of
my Father, Jerusalem which cometh down out of (the) heaven
from my God, and my new name." 13 He who hath ear to
hear, let him hear what it is which the *spirit* saith to the
churches.'

14 Write to the *angel* of the *church* of Laodikia: 'These
are the things which saith the Amēn, the *witness*, the *faith-
ful* and the *true*, (the) *beginning* of the creation of God.

15 "I know thy works, that *neither* art thou cold, *nor* art
thou hot. Would that thou wert being as (ⲙ̄ⲙ̄) cold water
or thou wert boiling. 16 Because thus thou art as (ⲙ̄ⲙ̄) water
lukewarm, *neither* art thou as (ⲙ̄ⲙ̄) hot water, *nor* as (ⲙ̄ⲙ̄)
cold water, therefore[a] I will vomit thee out of my heart.

17 Because thou sayest, that I (am) rich, and I have *need*
of nothing; and thou knowest not that thou (art) weak and

[a] Lit. 'otherwise.'

ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ABCD*N, cf. Gr. ℵABCP al pler vg m^{31} arm aeth &c.: om. T^{t}D^{mg}('not in some copies')EFGHTZ. ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓ(ⲩ, D)ⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵC 2.: ⲛ̄ⲁⲗ., C, cf. Gr. ABP al pler &c. ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ aeth). 15 ϯⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] pref. ϫⲉ, B. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 1°] om. D*. ⲕϧⲏⲙ] om. K, F. ⲡⲉ] om. B. ⲛⲁⲕⲃⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣ] + ⲡⲉ, T^{t}. 16 ϫⲉ ⲡ(ⲫ, N)ⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵ: ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϫⲉ, T^{t}. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP &c. ⲕⲟⲓ 2°] cf.? Gr. ℵ^{c}. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩϧⲉⲙⲓ] ABC D*N: -ϧⲏⲙ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHTZ; position cf. Gr. ℵBC 1. al^{40} fere syr arm &c. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 2°... ⲁⲛ] om. B homeot. ⲕⲟⲓ 3°] cf.? Gr. ℵ*. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛϩⲑⲏ(+ⲕ, A^{c})ⲓ] A*BN: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲑⲏⲓ, D*G^{c}HT: ⲉϩ. ϧⲉⲛϩⲑⲏⲕ, D^{mg}: ⲉϩ. ⲛ̄ϩⲑⲏⲕ, CEFG*Z, obs. Gr. ℵ* *παῦσε τοῦ στόμ. σου*: ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲣⲱⲓ 'from my mouth,' T^{t}. 17 ⲕϫⲱ] ⲉⲕϫⲱ, EGT. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. AC 1. 6. 28. 31. 35. 38. 48. 79. 87. 95. al mu^{vi} vg syr &c. ⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ] ⲉⲣⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲁ, DN. ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ] A*: + ⲁⲛ, T^{t}A^{c}BCDF^{c}N: ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲗⲓ, EF*GHTZ. ⲕⲉⲙⲓ] pref. ⲛ̄, B, double negative.

ⲟⲩϫⲱⲃ ∻ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩϣⲁⲧ-
ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲕⲓ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲕⲃⲏϣ ∻
18 ϯⲉⲣⲥⲩⲙⲃⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲩⲛ ∻ ⲉϣⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ ∻ ⲉϥⲫⲟⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ∻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ∻
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲉⲩⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲙⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲕ ∻
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡϣⲓⲡⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲕⲃⲱϣ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲏⲓϥ
ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ ∻ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ∻
ⲕⲍ 19 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲏ ⲉϣⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧⲟⲩ ∻ | ϣⲁⲓⲥⲁϩⲱⲟⲩ ∻
ϣⲁⲓϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ϫⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲛⲉϥ ∻
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ∻
20 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϯⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ∻ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϯⲕⲱⲗϩ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲛⲏⲓ ∻ ϯⲛⲁϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ∻ |
21 Ⲫⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ∻ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ∻ ϩⲓ ⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲣⲟ ∻
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ∻
22 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ∻ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ∻

Θ.

ⲕⲏ Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ | ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ
ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ∻ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ∻ ⲉⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ∻

ⲟⲩϫⲱⲃ] cf. ? Gr. ℵCP 1. 14..28. 36. 47. 79. 90. 92. 95. al &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲗ.] ABD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}CD^{mg}EFGHTZ$. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. C. ⲟⲩϣⲁⲧⲙⲉⲑ.] ⲟⲩϣⲁⲑⲙⲉⲧ., BH. ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲕⲓ] ABCD*NZ*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHTZ^{mg}$. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 4°] T^{t}ABN: om. C &c. ⲉⲕⲃⲏϣ] ACN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. 18 ⲟⲩⲛ] trs. before ⲛⲁⲕ, B; cf. Gr. 38. demid lips. ⲉϣⲉⲛ] -ⲱⲛ, B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧ]

(ⲛ̅) *miserable*, and thou (art) a poor and blind beggar, being
naked: 18 I *counsel* thee *then* to buy [a] gold from me,
refined in [a] fire, that thou mayest become rich; And
clothe thyself with splendid garments, that (the) shame of
thy nakedness be not manifested; and give *eyesalve* to thine
eyes, that thou mayest see. 19 For I—them whom I love
I reprove, I chasten them. Be zealous *then* for the good, and
repent. 20 For lo, I stand at the door, and I knock: he
who will hear and open the door to me, I shall (lit. will)
go in with him, and eat with him, and he with me. 21 For
he who will overcome I shall (lit. will) give to him to sit with
me on my *throne*, as I overcame, and I sat with my Father
on his *throne*." 22 He who hath ear to hear, let him hear
what it is which the *spirit* saith to the *churches*.'

IV. But after these (things) I saw. Behold, a door being
opened in (the) heaven, and the first voice, which was speaking
to me, which I heard as (the) voice of a *trumpet* speaking

+ϥ, D*; position cf. Gr. B 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 38. al^{30} fere &c. ϩⲃⲱⲥ] ϩⲉⲃⲥⲱ, EFG*. ⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲟⲩⲣⲓ (om. Z) ⲟⲛ] AF^{c}? Z: ⲕⲟⲗ., D^{mg}N: ⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ, T^{t}BEF*GH^{c}TZ^{mg} ('another copy'), cf. Gr. 1. &c.: ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲣ., CD*, cf. Gr. AP 36. 49. 91. 92^{mg} 95. 98. al mu^{vi} &c.: ⲕⲟⲩⲗⲗⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ, H*. ⲙⲏⲓϥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAC(P) al &c. 19 ϣⲁⲓϯⲥⲃⲱ] A*CD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg}BD^{mg} &c. 20 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. B. ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ] T^{t}ABCN: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, D: ⲉϫⲉⲛ (om. F), EFGHTZ. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ] A*C: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, T^{t}A^{c} &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲟ] om. B: trs. after ⲛⲏⲓ, H. ϯⲛⲁϣⲥ] A*D^{mg} ('not in some copies') N: +ⲛⲏⲓ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c.; for om. *καί* cf. Gr. AP 1. 7. 28. 36. 38. 79. al vg m^{32} arm syr aeth Or &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. BCD*. 21 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. D. ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] T^{t}AD^{mg}EFGH*NTZ: ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϩ., BC D*H^{mg}, conjunctive. ⲡⲁⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲓⲑ. 'the &c.,' D^{mg}F*G*. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ] A &c.: ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣ., T^{t}Z. ⲉⲧⲁⲓϭⲣⲟ] A*H*: pref. ϩⲱ 'also,' T^{t}A^{mg} &c. 22 ⲟⲩ] om. F*. ⲡⲉ] om. C.

1 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CF^{mg}. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ] ACD^{mg}N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}F^{c}: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥ, BD*EF*GHTZ. ⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲙⲏ] T^{t}ACD* F^{mg}G^{mg}HNZ: om. BD^{mg} ('not in some copies') EF*G*T. ⲉⲥϫⲱ] cf.? Gr. ℵ^{c}P 1. 38. 49. 79. 91. 92^{mg} al &c. ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ] +ⲛⲏⲓ 'to me,' B.

Ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ
ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⁘ |
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ
ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲓⲣⲓⲥ
ⲉⲥⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕ-
ⲇⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲕⲑ 4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲕ︦ⲇ︦ | ⲛ̅ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲱϯ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕ︦ⲇ︦ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲉⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲕⲧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩⲁⲛϭⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲭⲗⲟⲙ
ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⁘
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ϩⲁⲛ|ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏϫ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̅ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⁘
ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
ⲫ︦ϯ︦ ⲡⲉ ⁘
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲙ ⲙ̅ⲃⲁϫⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⁘
ⲗ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ | ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇ̅
ⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲙ̅ⲃⲁⲗ ⁘ ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓⲫⲁ-
ϩⲟⲩ ⁘
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⁘ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓ] ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲓ, T^{t}D. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] T^{t}ACD*N : om. BD^{mg}EF GHTZ. ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣ.] ⲉⲧⲛ., B. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] cf. ? Gr. P. 1. 7. al sat mu vg^{cle} demid arm aeth &c.: om. B, cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al^{25} am fu harl tol lips omn^{lachm} syr &c. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, D. ⲉϥϧⲉⲛ... 3 ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ 1°] om. C* homeot. 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ &c.] Tisch. classes this with 1. &c., but the Coptic appears to have a different version ; obs. Gr. ℵ in ver. 2 has ὁ ἐπί. ϩⲓ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, B. ⲛⲁϥⲟⲓ] cf. vg : ⲛⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ, T^{t} 'was like.' ⲡⲉ] om. BH. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲥ.] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲥ., B. ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲛⲟⲥ(ⲛ, C*)] cf. Gr. P 1. 36. &c.: om. ⲟⲩ, (B)EF*G*Z. ϯⲓⲣⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$BP al fere omn vg syr &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ 2°] T^{t}A &c.: ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ, N. ⲉϥⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ 'being like,' T^{t}. ⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕⲇ(ⲧ, B)ⲟⲥ] ABCEFHN: -ⲅⲇⲟⲥ,

to me, saying: 'Come up hither, and let me (ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ) show
to thee the things which will happen after these.' 2 And
I became in the *spirit*: and I saw. Behold a *throne*, being
in (the) heaven, 3 and he who sat on (the) *throne* was being
in light of iaspis and a sardinos: and the iris encircling
the *throne* being of light of smarakdos. 4 And there
are (ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ) twenty-four *thrones* set (ϫⲏ) around the *throne*,
and twenty-four *presbyters* sitting upon the *thrones*, clad in
white vestures and crowns of gold upon[a] their heads. 5 And
were coming from the *throne* lightnings and voices and
thunders. And seven *lamps* of fire encircling the *throne*,
which are the seven *spirits* of God. 6 And there is
(ⲉϥϫⲏ) before the *throne* as a sea of glass being like to
a christalos. And in (the) midst of the *throne* there are
(ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ) four *living-beings* full of eyes before and behind.
7 And the first *living-being* like to a lion, and the second

[a] Lit. 'given to.'

T^{t}DGTZ. 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}AP 1. al sat mu vg arm aeth &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] om. ⲉ, G*: ⲛⲉⲟⲩ., B. ⲕ̅ⲇ̅ 1°] cf. Gr. B 1. 93. 95. 98. al &c. ⲉⲩϫⲏ] om. D*: om. ⲉⲩ, B: ⲉⲧϫⲏ, T. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲕⲱϯ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ., N. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] cf. Gr. ABP al plus^{40} vg syr aeth &c. om. *εἶδον*. ⲕ̅ⲇ̅ 2°] cf. Gr. AP 1. 38. al plus^{10} &c. om. *τούς*; position cf. Gr. BP al pler vg rell &c. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵB al pler &c. ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟⲓ, E*F. ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲫ.] ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ., B: ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩ., CNZ. 5 ⲛⲁⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. 7. vg^{cle} demid tol lips &c. ϩⲁ] ϩⲓ, CF. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲙⲏ] position cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus^{40} vg arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ] om. ⲉⲩ, F*. ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ., B; cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 36. 38. al vix mu vg arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲍ̅] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}AP 1. 14. 28. 36. 38. 79. 91. 92$^{txt et mg}$ al &c. 6 ⲉϥϫⲏ] ϥϫⲏ, EFGT. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] om. N^c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] A*BD^{mg}N, cf. Gr. (exc. 7. 40. 46. add *αὐτοῦ*): +ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥϯ 'of God,' T^{t}A^{mg}CD*EFGHTZ. ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{60} fere vg syr ar^e &c. ⲙ̅ⲃ.] ⲛ̅ⲁⲃ., T^t &c. ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲓ, CD^{mg}EF*G*H. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓ(ⲏ, B).] ⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲓ., EF*G*H. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 28. 29. 30. 98. harl* arm^{zoh} om. *καὶ κύκλῳ* &c. ⲇ̅] ⲍ̅, B by error. ϩⲓⲧϩⲏ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, T^{t}N (but om. ⲙ̅ⲃⲁⲗ). 7 ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ 1°] T^{t}AB$^{(4)}$DG$^{c(4)}$NT: ⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ, C$^{(4)}$EFG*$^{(4)}$H$^{(4)}$Z.

ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ ⳹ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲥⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⳹ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ | ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⳹ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁϧⲱⲙ ⲉϥϩⲏⲗ ⳹
8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲉⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳹
ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲉⲃ ⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲙ̀-
ⲃⲁⲗ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳹
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⳹ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹
ⲗⲁ Ϫⲉ ϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳹ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ|ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳹
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉϣⲁⲛ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲓϣⲉⲛϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳹ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ
ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ | ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳹
. . . ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓ, B 10 Ϣⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕ̅ⲇ̅ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⳹ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳹
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϣⲁⲩϫⲱ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹ 11 ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ
ⲗⲃ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳹ | ⲉϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⳹
Ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲁⲕⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉ-
ⲧⲉϩⲛⲁⲕ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⳹

ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ 3°] cf. ? Gr. ℵ 35. ⲙ̀ⲡϩⲟ . . . ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. arm[zoh] aeth. ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲇ̅] cf. Gr. ℵ A P al sat mu vg syr &c. ⲁϧⲱⲙ] -ⲟⲙ, EFGTZ. 8 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. vg syr &c.: ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲡⲓⲋ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'the four beasts having six wings each,' T[t]. None of the collated MSS. read here 'having six wings,' obs. Gr. 31. 91. aeth om. ἔχων &c. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲓⲉⲃ] T[t]A*BCD*EN: +ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲋ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛϩ 'and each one six wings,' A[mg]D[mg] ('in some copies') FGHTZ; A gloss صر ولكل واحدٍ منهم ستة اجنحة 'Sah. and to each of them six wings.' C (om. T)ⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ] ⲥⲁϧⲣⲏⲓ, C: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, E.

living-being like to a calf, and the third *living-being* like
to (the) face of a son of man, and the fourth *living-being*
like to an eagle flying. 8 And each one of them—all over[a]
them, from their claws inside of them, being full of eyes.
And they were resting themselves not in (ⲙ̄) the day and
the night, saying: 'Is holy, is holy, is holy the Lord God,
the *Almighty*, he who is, and he who was being, and he
who cometh.' 9 And if the four *living-beings* should give
this glory and this honour and this thanksgiving to him who
sitteth upon the *throne*, he who liveth unto age of the age,
10 Fall down upon their face the twenty-four *presbyters*, and
they worship before him who liveth unto age of the age.
And they lay their crowns down before the *throne*, saying:
11 'Thou (art he) who is worthy, the Lord our God, to receive
the glory and the honour and the power. Because thou
(pron.) createdst all things, and thy will was done, and they

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[a] Lit. 'encircling.'

ⲙ̄(ⲛ̄, B)ⲃⲁⲗ] + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲋ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϩ, D^{mg}. ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛ, T^t. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] T^tA DG^cHNTZ: ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓ., BCEFG*. ϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ &c.] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$AP 1. 7. 8. 14. 28. 29. 31. 92. 94. 95. al^{20} fere vg syr arm^{usc} aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] om. ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, B. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] position cf. Gr. 17. 31. 36. 38. 49** 94. lips &c.: om. B. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ] T^tABD*: ⲛⲉⲙ &c., CD^{mg}EFGHTZ: om. N, cf. aeth. 9 ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] ⲡⲁⲓⲇ̄., C: ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲍⲱⲟⲛ, EF^cG: ⲡⲓⲍ., F*. ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ] ⲡⲓⲧ., G*. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] ⲉⲧⲱⲛϧ, H. ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] cf. ? Gr. ABP al pler vg syr aeth arm^{edd} &c. 10 ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ] ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ, D*. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, T^tGZ. ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ] ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟ, H plural. ⲕ̅ⲇ̅] cf. Gr. B 1. 7. 28. 92. 95. 96. 98. al mu. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϣⲁⲩ.] A*DHN: pref. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ, T^tA^{mg}BCEFG('not in some copies')TZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ 1°] om. D^{mg}N. ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧ., C. 11 ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. ? Gr. P. 7. al $fere^{10}$ vg aeth &c. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] Tisch. classes this with ἦσαν by error, the version being different, G gloss ق ومشيتك كانت 'Coptic, and thy will was.'

¹ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲥⲁϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲧⲟⲃ ⲛ̄ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⳾
² Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ ⲉϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⳾
³ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲗⲅ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲉⲣⲟϥ..., ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
B ⁴ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲙ-
ⲡϣⲁ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳾
⁵ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ
ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ |
Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁϥϭⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⳾ ⲉⲁ-
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⳾

Ⲓ.

⁶ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ-
ⲗⲇ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ | ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲉϥϧⲉⲗϧⲱⲗ ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲍ̄
ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳾
⁷ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲁϥⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲟⲩⲓ-
ⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ | ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾

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¹ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] ADN: + ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, TᵗBCEFGHZ; cf. Gr. BP al[40] arm aeth &c. ² ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al[40] fere &c. ϫⲉ] TᵗA* BDᵐᵍN: ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ, AᵐᵍCD*EFGHTZ. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ] AC*N: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛ, EFG*: ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, TᵗDᵐᵍGᶜTZ: ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, D*H. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, C. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ, Z. ³ ϧⲉⲛⲧⲫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 28. 36. 47. 49. 51. 87. 91. al mu vg arm aeth Or &c. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] om. E*H*; for οὐδέ cf. ? Gr. AP &c. thrice. ⁴ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵP 1. 12. 28[2] 36. syr arm aeth. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] obs. Gr. 1. armᶜᵈᵈ aeth πολλοί:

were created.' V. And I saw on the right hand[a] of him
who sat upon the *throne* a book written inside and outside
(of it), and sealed with seven seals. 2 And I saw a strong
angel proclaiming in a great voice: 'Who is worthy to open
this book, and open its seals?' 3 And no one was able
in (the) heaven *nor* upon (the) earth *nor* below (the) earth
to open the book, *nor* to see it. 4 And they all were
weeping, because no one was worthy to open the book, *nor*
to see it. 5 And one from the *presbyters* came to me, he
said to me: 'Weep not. Lo, the lion from (the) *tribe* of
Iouda, from (the) root of David, overcame to open the book
and its seals.'

6 And I saw in (the) midst of the *throne* and the four
living-beings, and in (the) midst of the *presbyters*, a lamb
standing, slaughtered, having[b] seven horns and seven eyes,
which are the seven *spirits* of God which were sent down
upon all the earth. 7 And he came, he took away the
book from (the) right hand of him who sat upon the *throne*.

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[a] Not 'on the hand,' but 'by the side.' [b] Lit. 'being to him set on his head.'

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om. B, cf. Or Are Hil, tr. وكانوا يبكون كلهم 'and they all were weeping,' E tr. F tr. فبكيت 'so I wept.' ⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ] T[t]ADNTZ : ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ, BC EFGH. ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ] AN : ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, BC : ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, T[t]DEFGH TZ; cf. Gr. ℵBP al[40] vg syr arm[uso] aeth Or &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] om. F*. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ] ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ, B. ⲁϥⲓ] ⲓ, CD. ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ] ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ, BDN : ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ, A* ?. ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ] cf. ℵAP 1. 7. 28. 36. 38. 49. 51. 79. 91. al vg aeth Or &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲱ(ⲟ, T)ⲙ] ⲉⲡⲓⲭ., T[t]. ⲡⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. ABP 1. al[50] fere am fu tol harl omn[lachm] arm[odd] syr aeth Or om. λῦσαι. 6 ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵBP 1. al[45] lips syr arm aeth. ⲉϥϭⲉⲗ.] cf. Gr. 31. 50. 95. arm &c. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, N. ⲡⲓⲍ] cf. Gr. ℵB al pler vg[cle] am** demid tol harl** al[lachm] lipss syr arm &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ] position cf. Gr. (exc. 1. al ?). ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA 1. 38. 49. 79. al ? &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] T[t]AC : ⲡⲕ., B &c. 7 ⲁϥⲓ] om. T. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲙ] cf. Gr. 1**[mg] 7. 36. al ? am** lips tol syr &c.

[8] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲕ̅ⲇ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ
λε ⲛ̀ⲥⲑⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥ|ⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓ-
ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳾
[9] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲱⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲇⲏ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲕⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲉϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲱⲗⲕ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲕϣⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾
[10] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
[11] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲱϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾
λϛ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲛⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲓ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ ⳾
[12] Ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ϥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲗϧⲱⲗ ⳾ ⲉϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϯ-

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[8] ⲕ̅ⲇ̅] cf. Gr. B 1. 7. 8. 38. 92. 93. 95. 96. 97. 98. al. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ, D. ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲑⲁⲣⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al[40] syr arm aeth[utr] ar[e] &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, H*Z[c]. ϩⲁⲛⲫⲩ(ⲓ, BN)ⲁⲗⲏ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, D[mg]EF*: ⲟⲩⲫ., G*. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵ[c]ABP 1. 28. 36. 38. 47. 49. 51. 79. 91. 96. al &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ] A*E: pref. ⲛⲉ, T[t]A[c]CDN: + ⲛⲉ, BFGHT: pref. and + ⲛⲉ, CD. [9] ⲟⲩϩⲱⲇⲏ] T[t]ABCFH[c]NZ: ⲟⲩⲱⲇⲏ, DEGT: ⲟⲩϩⲱⲥ 'a praise,' H*. ⲉϭⲓ] ⲛ̀ϭⲓ, CD*: om. F*. ⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲱⲗⲕ] T[t]ABCF*ḢNZ: -ⲟⲗⲕ, DEF[c]GT. ⲁⲕϣⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBP 1. al longe plu &c. ⲫϯ] vocative; A tr. ايها الاله 'O God,' صر يا الهنا 'Sah. O our God'; Tisch. classes cop with 1. harl* &c. omitting τῷ θεῷ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] T[t]A[c] &c.: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, A*. ⲫⲩⲗⲏ] ϣⲗⲟⲗ, D*. ⲗⲁⲥ]

8 And he having taken the book, the four *living-beings*
and the twenty-four *presbyters* threw themselves down before
the lamb, Having each of them a *harp*, and *vials* of gold
full of incense, which (are) the *prayers* of the *saints*. 9 And
they were praising in a new *song*, saying: 'Thou art worthy
to take the book, and to open its seals: because thou wast
slaughtered, and thou bought us for God in thy blood from
every *tribe* and every tongue and every nation and every
people. 10 And thou madest them for our God a kingdom
and priests; and they shall reign upon the earth.' 11 And
I saw, and I heard (the) voice of many *angels* around the
throne and the *living-beings* and the *presbyters*; and their
number was ten thousands of ten thousands and thousands
of thousands; 12 Saying in a great sound: 'Worthy is
the lamb who was slaughtered to take the power and the

T^{t}ABCN: ⲗⲁⲟⲥ, EFGTZ: ⲫⲩⲗⲏ, D: ϣⲗⲟⲗ, H. ⲛⲉⲙ
ϣⲗⲟⲗ] ⲟⲩ|ϣⲗⲟⲗ, B: ⲛⲉⲙⲗⲁⲥ, D*H. ⲛⲉⲙⲗⲁⲟⲥ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] T^{t}AN: om. BCDH: ⲛⲉⲙⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, EFGTZ.
10 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. C. ⲁⲕⲑⲁⲙⲓⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 1. al^{60} fere am
syr arm aeth^{utr} &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. (exc. A om.): om. ⲙ̅,
EFG: ⲱ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ, T vocative. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵA
vg &c. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲃ] om. H*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ (ⲉⲉⲣ, Z)]
om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, EFGT; tense cf. Gr. ℵP 1. 2. 4. 5. 6. 8. 30. 31. 32. 36. 47.
49. 50. 79. 82. 87. 91. 96. 98. al^{10} fere am fu harl tol lips omn^{lachm} &c.
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, EFH. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., BEFGH. 11 ⲉⲧⲥ-
ⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. AB*P 1. 14. 49. 79. al vix mu vg arm aeth &c. ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉ-
ⲗⲟⲥ] over erasure, A^{c}. ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲓ ⲛⲉ] ACD^{mg}F^{c}NZ: ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲏⲛⲓ, D*G^{c}H^{c}(T): ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲓ ⲛⲉ, B: ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲓ, T^{t}F*G*H*:
ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲛⲓ, D^{mg}. ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛⲉ] ACD*N:
ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ⲑⲃⲁ ⲛⲉ, T^{t}EFGHZ: ϩⲁⲛ|ⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ⲑⲃⲁ ⲛⲉ,
B: ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ⲑⲃⲁ, T. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ]
A: ⲛⲉⲙ . . . ⲛⲉⲙ (om. ⲛⲉⲙ, F^{c}) ϩⲁⲛ., D^{mg}EF*: ⲛⲉⲙ-
ϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ ⲛ̅ϣⲟ, BHTZ*: ϩⲁⲛϣⲟ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛϣⲟ, D*N:
ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲁⲛϣⲟ ⲛ̅ϣⲟ ⲛⲉ, T^{t}(om. ⲁⲛ)CG. 12 ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ]
+ϫⲉ, T by error. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓϩ.] ⲙ̅ⲛⲓϩ., B.

ⲭⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ | ϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲛϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ
λζ ⲉⲧ|ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲫⲱⲕ
ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁ-
ⲙⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾

ⲒⲆ.

14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ ⳾
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⳾
1 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ | ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⳾ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩϩⲑⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⳾
λη ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ | ⲟⲩⲫⲓϯ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲁϥⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϭⲣⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲣⲟ ⳾

ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] $A^{*}BD^{mg}G^{mg}N$: ⲛ. ϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ 'the riches,' $T^{t}CD^{*}EF^{*}G^{*}TZ$: om. H: +ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ, A^{mg}; A gloss صر الغنا والعز 'Sah. riches and might': ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁ. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩ., F^{mg}. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] om. $D^{mg}EF^{*}G^{*}T$. 13 ⲥⲱⲛⲧ] A gloss صر الحيوانات 'Sah. the living creatures.' ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ] $ABCD^{*}G^{*}HNT$: ⲛⲉⲧ., EF: ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ., $T^{t}D^{mg}G^{mg}Z$; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 31. 38. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 97. 98. al[20] tol &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 1°] $ABD^{mg}EFGN$: pref. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ, $T^{t}CD^{*}HTZ$; for prep. cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus[35] vg syr &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] $T^{t}ABG^{*}NZ$: ⲡⲓⲕ., $CDEFG^{c}HT$; cf. Gr. ℵ 12. 14. 33. 47. 95. fu arm; A gloss صر الارض وما تحت 'Sah. the earth and what is under.' ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡϧⲉⲛ] $T^{t}AD^{mg}F^{c}NTZ$, cf. ? Gr. A 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 31. 51. 92. 93. 94. 95. 97. 98. al plus[25] &c.: ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ, $BCD^{*}EF^{*}GH$, cf. ? Gr. ℵ 28. 38. 47. 79. syr arm aeth &c.; for prep. and τά cf. Gr. ℵ vg syr. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] trs. after ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, B: om. $EF^{*}G^{*}$, cf.

kingdom and the *wisdom* and the honour and the glory
and the blessing.' 13 And every creature which is in (the)
heaven and upon (the) earth, and those which are in the sea,
and all those which (are) in them— [And] I heard them
saying to him who sitteth upon the *throne*: 'The blessing is
thine and the glory and the honour and the strength unto
age of the ages.'
14 And the four *living-beings* are saying: 'Amēn.' And
the *presbyters* threw themselves upon their face, they wor-
shipped. VI. After these (things) I saw, *when* the lamb
opened one of the seals: I heard one of the four *living-beings*
saying as (the) voice of a thunder: 'Come.' 2 And I saw.
Behold, a white horse, and he who sat upon it, having a bow:
and a crown was given to him. He came forth conquering,

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arm. ⲛ̀ⲫ̀ⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲣ., B. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] T^{t}ACEFG* NZ, cf. Gr. ℵB 30. 34. 35. 36. 87. 98. &c.: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, BDG^{c}HT, cf. Gr. AP &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓ, B. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲑ., B. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] AN: trs. after ⲧⲁⲓⲟ, T^{t} &c.: om. F*. ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] AD: ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, T^{t} &c.; om. ἀμήν cf. Gr. ℵAP 7. 35. 87. 94. al vix mu vg syr arm &c. 14 ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̀, EF. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] cf. ? Gr. B al^{35} fere &c. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 6. 14. 28. 36. 38. 79. &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥ.] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. al^{50} fere am fu tol al^{lachm} &c. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲩϩ., T. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] AD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c.; om. addition cf. Gr. ℵA BCP 1. al^{50} fere am fu demid harl* tol lips omn^{lachm} syr arm^{zoh} aeth &c.

1 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] ABN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ϩⲟⲧⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 6. 7. 28. 38. 79. 91. al demid syr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ] om. ϩⲓⲏⲃ, H*. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓ] A^{c}(ⲛ̀, over erasure)BEFGHT: ⲉⲟⲩⲓ, T^{t}CDNZ. ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲧⲉⲃⲥ] cf. Gr. P 1. 6. 28. 31. 79. al arm &c. ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. 7. 36. &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̀, EG; cf. ? Gr. ℵ* 91. om. ἐκ. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ] + ⲛⲏⲓ 'to me,' B. ϫⲉ] obs. Gr. A add λέγοντος. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ACP 1. 2. 10. 17. 18. 28. 36. 37. 38. 47. 49. 79. 91. 96. am arm ar^{e} &c.: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t} without any collated MS. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 36. al sat mu vg^{cle} am harl** lips al^{lachm} arm aeth &c. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲓⲥ] om. H. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ] -ⲟⲃϣ., BD. ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] A gloss ص الراكب 'Sah. the rider.' ⲁϥⲓ] AD^{mg}N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲁϥⲓ . . . ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. E? injured. ⲁϥϭⲣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵ.

³ Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳿ ⲁⲓⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ ⳿ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⳿ ⁴ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ. ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩϩⲑⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳿ |
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳿ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲱⲗⲓ
ⲛ̄ϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳿ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⳿
⁵ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ϯ ⲁⲓⲥⲱ-
λθ ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳿ | ϫⲉ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⳿
Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩϩⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲙⲉ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ
ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳿ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲁϣⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳿
⁶ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲥⲛⲁϣⲧ ⳿ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳿ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϧⲱⲙ
ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳿ |
Ϫⲉ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲛⲓϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲅ̄ϯ
ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲛⲓϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⳿ ϧⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲑⲉⲣⲓ ⳿ ⲡⲓⲛⲉϩ ⲇⲉ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳿
⁷ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⳿ ⲁⲓⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⳿
ⲙ ⁸ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ | ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲑϩⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⳿

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³ ⲇⲉ] om. D*. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ] T^tA*EFGNT: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ϯ, A^{mg}CHZ: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄, BD; cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 6. 12. 34. 35. 49. 87. vg &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲍ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., T. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ABCP 1. 2. 6. 7. 8. 14. 16. 28. 29. 31. 36. 38. 49. 51. 91. 92. 93. 95. 96. 97. 98. al plus[20] am fu omn^{lachm} syr arm : ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, T^tZ*, cf. Gr. ℵ &c. ⁴ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ? ℵ 34. 35. &c.: om. T^t. ⲁϥⲓ] ABN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CDEFGHTZ^c. ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲩⲁ(ⲱ, N)ⲛ] ABDEFGH NT: pref. ⲉϥⲟⲓ, T^tCZ. ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] ABCN: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ, EFG*: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ, T^tDG^cHTZ^c; cf. Gr. ABP 1. 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 31. 87. 92. 94* 95. al[30] fere &c. ⲛⲁϥ 1°] cf. Gr. (exc. $ℵ^c$A 31). ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. $ℵ^c$A 7. 16. 39. 46. &c.). ϩⲓⲛⲁ] cf. Gr. B al[40] fere arm aeth &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ . . . ⲛⲁϥ 2°] om. D^{mg} ما بين

and he conquered. 3 But he having opened the second
seal, I heard the second *living-being* saying: 'Come.' 4 And
I saw. A horse of colour of fire all (over) came forth.

And to him who sat upon it was given to take away
the *peace* from all (the) earth; that they might slaughter
one another: and a great sword was given to him. 5 And
he having opened the third seal, I saw the third *living-being*
saying: 'Come.' And I saw. Behold, a black horse;
and he who sat upon it having a balance in his hand.

6 And I heard a harsh voice in (the) midst of the four
living-beings as (the) voice of an eagle, saying: 'A measure
of wheat for a *stater*, and three measures of barley for a
stater; but the oil and the wine *hurt* them not.' 7 And
he having opened the fourth seal, I heard the fourth *living-being*
saying: 'Come.' 8 And I saw. Behold, a grey[a]

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[a] Lit. 'green.'

العلامتين ليس في بعض النسخ 'between the two marks is not in some of the copies.' ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] position cf. ? Gr. A aeth. 5 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ϯ] ABEFGHT: -ⲅ̄, T^tCDN; cf. ? Gr. (exc. 1. 36. 38. al &c.). ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] T^tABN: ⲉ(ⲙ̄, T)ⲡⲓⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄, CDEFGHTZ. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ACP &c.: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, T^t, cf. Gr. ℵB &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 28. 36. 47. 49. 79. 91. al mu: om. T^t, cf. Gr. B &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲙⲉ] ABHN: -ⲙⲏ, T^t &c. ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] ⲉϫⲱϥ, G. 6 ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. B al pler syr arm aeth &c. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲥϧⲉⲛ, B. ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̄, E^cG. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϧⲱⲙ] cf. aeth: om. B, cf. Gr. &c. ⲟⲩϫⲁⲛⲓϫⲓ] T^tABD^cN: -ⲛⲁϫⲓ, C: -ⲫⲓ(ⲁ, H)ϫⲓ, D*EFGHTZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B. ⲅ̄ϯ] T^tABD^{mg}N: ⲅ̄, C &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲛⲓϫⲓ] as above exc. -ⲫⲓ, CH. 7 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲇ̄] cf. ? Gr. (exc. 38. &c.). ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲍ.] T^tABCN: ⲉⲡⲓⲍ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲇ̄, DEFGHTZ; cf. Gr. BCP al^{40} $vg^{odd\ aliq\ lachm}$ syr &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. 1). ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ACP 1. 7. 28. 36. 38. 49. 79. 91. 96. al am fu al^{lachm} arm ar^e &c.: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ, T^t, cf. Gr. ℵB &c. 8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 28. 36. 49. 79. 91. 92. 94. 96. al am fu al^{lachm} syr arm &c.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ⳾ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ
ⲫⲙⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉϥⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲉ̄ⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾ ⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲕⲟ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲛⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲉ̄⳾ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ
ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ⳾ ⲉⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲱⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲥ-
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳾
ⲙⲁ 10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ | ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ϫⲉ ϣⲁⲑⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲏⲃ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ⳾ ⲕϯϩⲁⲡ ⲁⲛ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙ-
ⲡϣⲓϣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲁⲩϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩ⳾
ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲟⲩϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏϯ⳾
12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲁϩⲋ̄
ⲙⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ | ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ⳾

ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al pler vg rell &c. ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ] A*N: pref. ⲉ, T^{t}A^{c} &c. ⲫⲙⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵC 16* 37. 49. 95. 96. om. art.). ⲉϥⲥⲱⲕ] cf. ? Gr. 1. 28. 49. 79. 91. 96. al &c. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. B al plus^{40} vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲣⲉ] ⲫⲣⲉ, H. ⲡⲓϩⲕⲟ] ⲡϩ., CDEFGT. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓϩⲟϫ.] A*D^{mg}F^{mg}: ⲫⲙⲟⲩ '(the) death,' T^{t}A^{mg}BCD*EF* GHTZ: ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲡϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ, N̦. 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] AD^{mg}EFG*HTZ: +ϩⲟⲧⲉ, T^{t}BCD*G^{mg}N. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲉ̄] position cf. ? Gr. ℵ* 14. 92. vg^{cle} demid lips tol al. ⲉⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., T^{t}A^{c}CD^{mg}N. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵP 1. 10. 12. 17. 36. 37. 46. 49. 91. 96. arm aeth^{ro} &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧ.] A: pref. ⲛⲏ 'they,' T^{t} &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. A tol &c. ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 36. 38. 47. 79. al vg &c.: +ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

horse; and he who sat upon it, his name is (the) death; and
all Amenti drawing after him. And authority was given to
him over the fourth part of (the) earth, to kill them with
(ϧⲉⲛ the) sword and the famine and the tribulation and
the *wild beasts* of (the) earth. 9 And he having opened
the fifth seal, I saw below the altar the *souls* of the men
who were slaughtered because of the word of God, and the
witness which they were having. 10 And they cried in
a great voice, saying: 'How long yet, our Master, he who
is holy, the true, judgest thou not and takest vengeance for
our blood from them who dwell upon (the) earth?' 11 And
to each of them was given a white *robe*; and it was said
to them, that they should rest themselves yet (ⲕⲉ) a little
time, until were fulfilled their fellow servants and their
brethren who will be killed also like them. 12 And I saw
when he opened the sixth seal, a great earthquake hap-

ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ 'of Jesus Christ,' F*. cf. Gr. 34. 35. 87. &c. 10 ⲁⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{40} fere &c. ϧⲉⲛ . . . ⲥⲙⲏ] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 29. al mu &c. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] ⲉⲥϫⲱ, B fem. sing. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲡⲉⲑ., B: ⲫⲏ ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, T. ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ] cf. Gr. 1. 30** 87. al syr &c.; for om. καί cf. Gr. 35. ⲕϯϩⲁⲡ] ϫⲛⲁϯϩⲁⲡ, B, cf. ? sunt etiam qui κρινεῖς &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ] T^{t}ACNZ: ⲛ̄ⲧ(ϫ, E)ⲉⲡⲉⲛ., BDEFGHT. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC al^{40} &c. ἐκ. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., T. 11 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 7. 14. 16. 35. 36. 38. 49. 51. 79. 87. 91. 92. 96. al^{10} am demid al^{lachm} syr aeth &c.; for αὐτῶν cf. Gr. 28. &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al^{50} syr Clem &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱ(ⲟ, BD)ⲃϣ] -ϣⲓ, BC. ⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛ] ABCEFGHT: ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ, T^{t}DNZ. ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] order cf. ? Gr. (ℵ)ABCP al omn^{vi} vg^{cle} demid harl syr aeth^{pp} &c.; for μικρόν cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 38. 51. 79. al vg syr arm aeth^{ro} &c. ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲟⲩ.] cf. Gr. B &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] A*BD*N: -ⲛⲟⲩ + ⲕⲉ-, T^{t}A^{c}D^{mg}EFGHTZ: om. C; G tr. has 2° plur. thrice. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏϯ] cf. ? Gr. 29. 38. tol arm aeth, doubtful because ϩⲱⲟⲩ precedes. 12 ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲁϩ̅ⲋ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲃⲥ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲛ̄ϯ(om. Z)ⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩ̅ⲋ̅, BCD*EFGHTZ. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ &c.] T^{t}A*B: pref. ⲁ, A^{c}C &c. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] T^{t}ABF^{c}: ⲉϥϣ., N: ϣⲱⲡⲓ, CDEF*GHTZ.

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲏ ⲁϥⲭⲙⲟⲙ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̅-
ϥⲱⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩϥⲟⲣϥⲉⲣ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲃⲱ
ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ⲑⲏⲟⲩ ϥⲟⲣϥⲉⲣ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲥ-
ⲃⲏϣ ⳾ |
14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲕⲓⲙ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⳾
15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓ-
ϫⲱⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙϩⲉⲩ
ⲙⲅ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ | ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲡⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲏⲃ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲭⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ϩⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲭⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ
ⲡϩⲟ ⳾ ⲙ̅ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾ |
17 ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ
ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥⲙⲑⲟ.

ⲒⲂ.

Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲇ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϥⲧⲟⲩ ⲗⲁⲕϩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϥⲧⲟⲩ ⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ-

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ⲁϥⲭⲙⲟⲙ] -ϧⲙⲟⲙ, EFG*Z*?: ⲁϥⲉⲣⲭⲁⲙⲏ, T^{t}. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲱⲕ] AT: -ⲥⲟⲕ, T^{t} &c.: om. ⲟⲩ, E. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{40} vg syr arm aeth &c. 13 ⲁⲩϥⲟⲣϥⲉⲣ] ⲁⲩⲃⲟⲣⲃⲉⲣ, B thus again. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲧⲫⲉ] cf. vg^{cle} harl &c. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}AN: ⲉϧ., ODEFGHTZ; cf. Gr. ℵ 47. &c.: om. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, B, cf.? Gr. rell. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. ⲁ] AFGN: ⲉⲁ, T^{t}BODEHTZ. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲥⲃⲏϣ] -ⲛⲉϥ., T: -ⲃⲉϣ, BD^{c}: ⲛ̅ⲃⲉϣ, D*; A gloss صورقها 'Sah. her leaf,' ق عريها 'Coptic, her nakedness.' 14 ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲗ] ⲁⲩ.,

pened; and (the) sun was blackened as a sackcloth of hair;
and all the moon became blood; 13 And the stars shook
down from (the) heaven upon the earth as a fig-tree (when)
a great wind shakes (down) her unripe figs. 14 And (the)
heaven is being rolled up as a scroll[a]; and every mountain
and every island were moved from their place. 15 And all
the kings of (the) earth and the *chiliarchs* and the rich and
the strong and every servant and all the freemen hid them-
selves in the caves and the holes of the *rocks*. 16 And they
say to the *rocks* and the mountains: 'Fall upon us, and hide
us from (the) face of him who sitteth upon the *throne*, and
from before the anger of the lamb. 17 Because the great day
of his anger came. For whom is it possible to stand before
him?'

VII. But after these (things) I saw four *angels* standing
upon the four corners of (the) earth, laying hold on the four

[a] Lit. 'book.'

D^{c}EFH. ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ] ACD*NZ: ⲛⲟⲩ., T^{t}BD^{c}EFGH: ⲟⲩ., T; A gloss صر مواضعهم 'Sah. their places.' 15 ⲛⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ] position cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{40} vg syr arm aeth; om. *καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες*. ⲛⲓϫⲱⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. unc. &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 2°] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}P 1. 28. 38. 49. 91. 96. al arm &c. ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲡⲟⲩ] -ⲃⲟⲩ, CGH*TZ. ⲛⲓⲃⲏⲃ] T^{t}ABCDF^{c}HN: ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲃ, EF*GT: ⲟⲩ., Z. ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ] T^{t}A*BCD*G^{mg}HN(Z): ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ '(the) earth,' A^{mg}D^{mg}EFG*T. 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϫⲱ . . . ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ] om. B homeot. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] T^{t}ANZ: ⲉϧ., B &c. ⲭⲟⲡⲧⲉⲛ] ⲭⲟⲃⲧⲉⲛ, C. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲡϩⲟ] A gloss صر قدام 'Sah. before.' ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ] T^{t}ACDF^{mg}G^{mg}H^{c}NZ: ϩⲁⲧϩⲏ, EF*G*H*T: ϩⲁ, B. ⲙ̄ⲛⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ] ⲙ̄ⲡϫ., CD: om. ⲙ̄, (B)EF^{mg}HT. 17 ⲛ̄ⲧ(ϫ, B)ⲉ ⲡⲉϥϫⲱⲛⲧ] ⲡϫⲱⲛⲧ '(the) &c.,' EFG*.

1 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, A^{c}, for *καί* obs. Gr. (exc. AC vg). ⲛⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. P 1. 28. 36. 47. 79. 92. 95. al vg syr arm &c.: ⲫⲁⲓ 'this,' A^{c}BD^{c}N, cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{40} aeth &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 1°] AD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^{t} &c.: ϩⲓ, C. ϥⲧⲟⲩ 1°] ⲇ̄, Z^{c}. ⲑⲏⲟⲩ 1°] cf. Gr. 38. ar^{e} &c.

ⲙⲇ ϣⲧⲉⲙ|ⲛⲓϥⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ÷ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ÷ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ÷
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲉⲁϥⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏ ÷ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲟⲩⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ÷|
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ÷
ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ 3 ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ÷
Ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ÷ ϣⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲃ ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ÷|
ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ÷
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲃⲟⲩ ÷
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲃⲟⲩ ÷
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅ ÷
5 ⲁ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
ⲃ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲃⲏⲛ ÷| ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
ⲅ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲇ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
6 ⲇ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲉⲫⲑⲁⲗⲓⲙ. ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
ⲉ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲛ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
...ⲧⲫⲩ- 7 ⲋ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
ⲗⲏ ⲛ̄, B ⲍ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲗⲉⲩⲓ ÷| ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
ⲙⲋ ⲏ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲓⲥⲁⲭⲁⲣ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷
8 ⲑ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲃⲟⲩⲗⲱⲛ ÷ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ÷

ⲛⲓⲑⲏⲟⲩ] for article obs. Gr. C 14. 26. 92. 93. 95. 98. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 2°] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, BEFH. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABN: ⲛⲓⲕ., Tᵗ &c. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ-ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] om. N. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 3°] AD*: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, Tᵗ &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 4°] AD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, Tᵗ &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 5°] AD*EFGHNT: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, TᵗBCZ. ⲛⲓϣϣⲏ(ⲉ, N*)ⲛ] cf. syr arm aeth. 2 ⲉⲁϥⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 1. arm: ⲁϥⲓ 'he came,' BEF*G*HT. ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. A 90.: ⲡⲓⲙⲁ., Tᵗ, cf. Gr. rell. ⲟⲩⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ] om. ⲟⲩ, A*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. EF*G*H. ⲁϥⲱϣ] cf. Gr. (exc. AP &c.). ⲟⲩⲃⲉ] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 'concerning,' DᵐᵍEF*G*. ⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ(ⲙ, B)] -ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲓⲛ,

winds, that the winds might not blow upon (the) earth, *nor* upon the sea, *nor* upon the rivers, *nor* upon the trees.

2 And I looked, I saw another *angel* having come from the places of rising of (the) sun, having a *seal* of the living God.

And he cried out in a great shout towards the four *angels*, to whom it was given to *hurt* the earth and the sea, 3 saying to them: '*Hurt not* the earth and the sea and the trees, until ye seal the servants of God in (ⲉ) their forehead.'

4 And I heard (the) number of them who were sealed in (ⲉ) their forehead, an hundred forty four thousand, they who were sealed from all the *tribes* of (the) sons of Israel.

5 1. From (the) *tribe* of Iouda twelve thousand.
2. From (the) *tribe* of Roubēn twelve thousand.
3. From (the) *tribe* of Gad twelve thousand.
6 4. From (the) *tribe* of Ephthalim twelve thousand.
5. From (the) *tribe* of Dan twelve thousand.
7 6. From (the) *tribe* of Symeōn twelve thousand.
7. From (the) *tribe* of Levi twelve thousand.
8. From (the) *tribe* of Isachar twelve thousand.
8 9. From (the) *tribe* of Zaboulōn twelve thousand.

A; A gloss صر يهلكوا 'Sah. to destroy.' ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. 3 ⲙ̄ⲙ̄-ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣ.] om. ⲉⲣ, G*H; A gloss صر تفسدوا 'Sah. corrupt not.' ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] cf. ? Gr. A 37. 38. 41. 42. vg^{ole} arm harl** lips omn^{lachm} &c.: ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, B, cf. Gr. rell. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] T^{t}AN: ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, B &c. ϣⲁⲧⲉ-ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉ(ⲏ, FHZ)ⲃ] ACEFGHNT: ϣⲁⲛⲧ., T^{t}DZ: ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩ-ⲧⲉⲃ, B 3° person, ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. 28. 47. 90. 95. lips arm^{treg} aeth. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧ., N: -ⲧⲉⲛϩ 'wing,' tr. جباههم 'their faces,' B also verse 4. 4 ⲣⲙ̄ⲇ̄] cf. Gr. B 1. al sat mu. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, C. ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲛⲓϣ., B. 5–8 ⲓ̄ⲃ̄] cf. Gr. BP al permu Or. Tabulated arrangement, all MSS.; numerals, AD. 5 ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ] -ⲁⲥ, T^{t}: -ⲁⲓ, N. ⲛ̄ϣⲟ 1°] ABCDHNZ: + ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲃ 'sealed,' T^{t}EFGT. ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲃⲏⲛ . . . ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ] om. N. 6 ⲛ̄ⲉⲫⲑⲁⲗⲓⲙ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲫ., H; for -λίμ cf. Gr. AB 6. 9. 14** 30. 92** 93. al^{vi} &c. 7 ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲱⲛ] ⲥⲓⲙ., EFGT. ⲗⲉⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ABCP rell. ⲓⲥⲁ-ⲭⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. BC 1. al pler fu al^{lachm}.

ⲓ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲣ ⳾ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ ⳾
ⲓⲁ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⳾ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ ⳾
ⲓⲃ Ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ ⳾ | ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ ⳾
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ.

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9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏϣ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϭⲓⲏⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁ-
ⲙⲍ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲏⲗ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⲉⲣⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ ⳾
10 Ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉ-
ⲛⲉⲙ 2° ⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾
. . . , B Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ ⳾ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ
12 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾ |
ⲙⲏ Ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⳾
ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ-
ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ

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8 ⲁⲥⲥⲏⲣ] ACDF°G°NTZ°: -ⲉⲣ, T^{t}BEF*G*: -ⲓⲣ, H. ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲁⲙⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBC al pler. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲓⲛ] for 'sealed' twice (vv. 5 and 8) cf. Gr. ℵABCP 6. 14. 29. 35. 38. 49. 51. 87. 92–98. al plus[25] fu &c.: for 'sealed' once (v. 8) cf. aeth. 9 ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] om. H*. ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ &c.] cf. Gr. A vg aeth &c. om. καὶ ἰδού; for case cf. ? Gr. A vg aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϩⲗⲓ] ⲛ̀ϩⲗⲓ, C. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ] T^{t}ACD*EN, cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 14. 36. 92. al vix mu: ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'them,' D°FGH TZ°; the idiom requires the expression of the object. ϣⲗⲟⲗ] -ⲱⲗ,

10. From (the) *tribe* of Assēr twelve thousand.
11. From (the) *tribe* of Iōsēph twelve thousand.
12. From (the) *tribe* of Beniamin twelve thousand who were *sealed.*

9 And after these (things) I saw a great multitude; it is
not possible for any one to number it, from every nation and
every *tribe* and every *people* and every tongue, standing
(plur.) before the *throne* and before the lamb, vested in white
robes, having (lit. being) harps in their hands; 10 Crying
out in a great voice, saying: 'The salvation is of (ⲫⲁ) our
God, he who sitteth upon the *throne*, and (of) the lamb.'

11 And all the *angels* were standing before the *throne* and
the *presbyters* and the four *living-beings*; And they
threw themselves down upon their face before the *throne*,
and they worshipped God, 12 saying: 'Amēn. The bless-
ing, and the glory, and the *wisdom*, and the thanksgiving,
and the honour, and the power are of (ⲛⲁ) our God unto age
of the age. Amēn.' 13 And one from the *presbyters*
answered, he said to me: 'Who are these who are clothed

DN. ⲫⲩⲗⲏ . . . ⲗⲁⲟⲥ] TᵗABCDN: ⲗⲁⲟⲥ . . . ⲫⲩⲗⲏ, EFGHTZ. ⲛⲉⲙⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. C*. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡ., Tᵗ. ⲉⲩⲭⲏⲗ] ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲗϩ, D*. ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] TᵗABDN: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, CEFGHTZ. ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] om. ϩⲁⲛ, EFG*T; A tr. ضوأ 'light,' gloss i, انوار 'lights,' gloss ii, صر سعف 'Sah. palm branches.' ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ] TᵗABDN: ⲛ̄ϩ., C &c. 10 ⲉⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. 1. al ? arm &c. ⲫⲁⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. ? Gr. A 38. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] TᵗABCD*HNZ: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, DᵐᵍFGT. 11 ⲛⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ] ⲁⲩⲟϩⲓ, H*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg &c. ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲣ̅] ACDFGHNZ: ⲛⲓⲡ̅ⲣ̅, TᵗBET. ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̄, EᶜFG. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] AD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, Tᵗ &c. ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ] cf. Gr. 1. aeth &c.: ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟ, H, cf. Gr. rell. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] TᵗABCDN: ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ, EFGTZ: ⲁⲩⲟⲩ., H. 12 ϫⲉⲁⲙⲏⲛ] om. N, cf. vgᵐˢ. ⲡⲓϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓϩⲙⲟⲧ 'the grace,' EG*T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, Tᵗ(B)CDᶜHN plural: om. F*: +ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, B. 13 ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] pref. ⲡⲓ, Z. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲁ, T.

ⲛⲁⲓϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ | ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲑⲱⲛ⳾ 14 ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲟϫϩⲉϫ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲣⲱϧⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲫⲉⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ⳾ |
ⲙⲑ 15 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲥⲉϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲫ̅ϯ̅⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ⳾
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ⳾ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ
ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾
16 Ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲕⲟ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲃⲓ ϫⲉ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ-
ϧⲓⲥⲓ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ ϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ ⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲕⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ⳾
17 Ϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ
ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϭⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ
ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ϥⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲙⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ⳾

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ⲛ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ | ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩ̅ⲍ̅⳾ ⲁ
ⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ϣⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓ̅ⲍ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ

ϩⲃⲱⲥ] AN: pref. ϭⲓ, T^{t} &c. 14 ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ] ACDN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲁⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵBCP al fere^{40} vg syr &c.: ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅, D*, cf. Gr. A 1. al ? vg$^{cdd\ aliq\ lachm}$ aeth^{utr} arm &c. ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ] AB EFG*HNT: ⲡⲉⲧⲥ., T^{t}CDG^{c}Z. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B. ⲁⲩⲫⲉⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲧⲫ., DG^{c}HTZ; cf.? Gr. ℵAP 1. 10. 12. 19. 37. 46. 49. 79. 91. 96.; A gloss صرو تقدسوا 'Sah. and they were sanctified.' ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] T^{t}ABDGHTZ: ⲡⲥ., CEFN. 15 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. C. ⲥⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ] ⲉⲩϣ., C. ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] ⲡⲓⲉⲣ. 'the &c.,' C^{r}Z^{c}. ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ . . . ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] om. F* homeot. ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ] ABCD*N: ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϧ. 'himself (is he) who &c.,' T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHTZ. 16 ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲕⲟ] ABCD*HN: pref. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGTZ; cf. Gr.

with these white garments, and whence came they?' [14] I said to him: 'My Lord, thou (art he) who knoweth them.'

And he said to me: 'These are they who come from the great tribulations, and they washed their *robes* and made them glorious in the blood of the lamb. [15] Therefore they are before the *throne* of God; and they serve him in his temple, in the day and the night: and he who sitteth upon the *throne* shall overshadow them. [16] They shall not hunger, *nor* shall they thirst any more, *neither* shall they toil, *neither* shall shadow come over them, *nor* any (lit. every) *heat*: [17] Because the lamb which is before the *throne* himself is walking with them, and he shall guide them unto (ⲉϫⲉⲛ) the fountain of water of life: and God shall wipe every tear from their eyes.'

VIII. And he having opened the seventh seal, a sound[a] was made in (the) heaven unto an hour. [2] And I saw the

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[a] ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ has been confused with ϫⲁⲣⲱϥ 'silence.'

ℵ 36. vg syr arm aeth &c. ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al pler vg syr aeth &c.: om. CH*, cf. Gr. P 1. 34. 35. 36. 38. 40. 87. arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϧⲓⲥⲓ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] om. F*. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϧⲏⲓⲃⲓ &c.] A gloss صر والشمس و للحر الجميع لا يقع عليهم 'Sah. and the sun and all heat shall not fall upon them.' [17] ⲉϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] AD^mg^N: ⲉⲑ(ⲧ, B)ⲛⲁⲁ (om. D*)-ⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, BD°EFGHT: ⲡⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙ., TᵗCZ; tense cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 6. 7. 14. 28. 30. 36. 38. 49** 51. 79. 92. 96* al vg syr arm aeth &c.; A gloss صر يرعاهم 'Sah. shall tend them.' ⲉϥⲉϭⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 14. 28. 36. 38. 51. 79. 92. al vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABP al plus[40] vg arm aeth[utr] &c. ζωῆς. ⲉⲣⲉⲫϯ ϥⲱϯ] AD*G°HN: ⲉⲣⲉⲫϯ ⲉϥⲉϥⲱϯ, TᵗZ: ⲉⲣⲉⲫϯ ϥⲉⲧ, BC: ⲉϥⲉϥⲱϯ, D^mg ('not in some copies') FG*T. ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲙⲏ] om. ⲛ̄, BC: ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ, Tᵗ, cf. Gr. 14. plural. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ 28. 47. 49. 50. 79. 92. al vg[cle] lipss &c.

[1] ⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ] A^mg صر سكوت 'Sah. silence.' ϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. Z by error. ϣⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ, B. [2] ⲉⲧϫⲏ] AD^mg^N: pref. ⲛⲏ, Tᵗ &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B.

ⲙ̄ⲫϯ⳹ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ⳹
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲓ⳹ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ⳹| ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲑⲟⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳹ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣ-
ϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ⳹
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ |
ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲥⲑⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ⳹ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳹ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ⳹
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ⳹
ⲁϥⲙⲁϩϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ⳹ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲙⲏ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏϫ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ⳹
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳹ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲅⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳹ ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲟⲩ⳹ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗ-
ⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ⳹|
ⲛⲃ 7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳹ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲗ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ
ⲉⲩⲙⲟϫⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ
ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲣⲉⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲣⲉⲧ̄

ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] trs. after ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ, EF°GHTZ: trs. after ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, F*. ⲛ̄ⲍ̄] ⲍ̄, EF. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ] F° &c.: + ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, F*. 3 ⲁϥⲓ] om. Z*. ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲛ] ⲗⲩ., DEFT; A gloss صر بخورات كثيرة مع 'Sah. much incense (plur.) with.' ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ABCD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, TᵗD°EFGHTZ. 4 ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ &c.] 'went up'; A gloss صر ارفع 'Sah. caused to rise.' ⲛⲓⲥⲑⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] om. N. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣ.] A: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓⲡⲣ. 'which (is) the prayers,' Dᵐᵍ: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲡⲣ. 'with' or

seven *angels* who were before God, standing; and seven
trumpets were given to them. 3 And another *angel* came;
he stood by the altar, having a *censer* of gold: and much
incense was given to him, that he might give it (plur.) along
with (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ) the *prayers* of all the *saints* upon the golden
altar, that which was before the *throne*. 4 And the smoke
of the incense of the *prayers* of all the *saints* went up from
(the) hand of the *angel*, he who was before God. 5 And
the *angel* took the *censer* of gold, he filled it with the fire
of the altar, and he cast it down upon the earth; and there
happened thunders and voices and lightnings and an earth-
quake. 6 And the seven *angels*, they who had the seven
trumpets, prepared themselves that they might *sound*.
7 And the first *angel sounded*, and there happened a hail
(lit. stone) and a fire mingled in the blood, and they were
cast upon the earth. And (the) third part of the earth was

'and the prayers,' T^t &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. D^{mg}EF*G*. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] T^{t}ABCD*NZ: ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲑⲟ 'who is before him,' D^{mg}: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙⲑⲟ 'of God who is before him,' EFGHT. 5 ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ. ⲁϥϭⲓ] T^{t}AN: ⲁⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ. ϭⲓ, B &c. ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲛ] ⲗⲩⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ, BE?F. ⲁϥⲙⲁϩϥ (om. B*)] AB^{c}CDN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}EFGHTZ. ⲡⲓϫⲣⲱⲙ] ⲛⲓϫ., N plural. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. C. ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ... ⲥⲙⲏ... ⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏϫ] order cf. Gr. ℵB 6. 8. 14. 29. 31. 35. 87. al^{20} vg arm &c. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲉⲧ.] ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧ., B singular. ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ] ϩⲁⲛⲙ., Z plural. 6 ⲡⲓⲍ] T^{t}ABCDNT: pref. ⲁ, EFGHZ. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ABP al pler &c.: om. ⲛⲏ, D*, cf. ? Gr. ℵ 36. &c. ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲅⲟⲥ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ, B &c. ⲁⲩⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲟⲩ] -ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ, G*H. ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲣ (om. ⲉⲣ, BG*) ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲥ., (B)C. 7 ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 1. 28. 36. 38. 79. 98. al vg arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲟϫⲧ] AN: -ⲟⲩϫⲧ, T^t &c.: ⲉϥⲙⲟ(+ⲩ, EFG)ϫⲧ, CEFG*. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al fere^{40} vg &c.: ⲛⲉⲙ 'with,' CD*, cf. Gr. 1. al demid harl* &c. ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] AD^{mg}: ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ, N: ⲟⲩⲥ., T^t &c. indefinite. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] om. F* homeot. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫ(ⲡⲓ, C twice) ⲣⲉⲩ̅ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ (om. D) ⲕⲁϩⲓ &c.] T^{t}A &c., cf. Gr. ℵABP al

ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ |
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⳾
8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ.
ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲙⲟϩ ⳾
ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩ-
ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲅ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲯⲩⲭⲏ | ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϫⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲟⲩ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϥⲙⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ
ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓ|ⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲁⲯⲓⲛⲑⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲛϥ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲛϣⲁϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲛ-
ϣⲁϣⲓ ⳾
ⲛⲇ 12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉⲣ|ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏ ⲁϥⲙⲓϣⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲓⲓⲟϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲅ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⳾
Ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ

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fere^{50} vg syr arm aeth &c.: om. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲣⲉⲅ̄, T, cf. Gr. I. 35.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲣⲉⲅ̄ⲡⲣⲉⲅ̄ &c. (omitting ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕ. ⲛ.), B. ⲁϥⲣⲱⲕϩ 2°] trs. after ⲉⲧ (ⲑ, BCD) ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ, B. 8 ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] pref. ⲁ, EFG*. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] A*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} ('correct') &c. ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵAP I. al mu vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ] ⲅ̄ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ, N. 9 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ] T^{t}ABD*F^{c}NZ: ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛⲧ, CD^{mg}EF*GHT. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] T^{t}ABD*F^{mg}N: ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ, CD^{mg}EF*GHTZ. ⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ABD*N: pref. ⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c.; cf. ? aeth.

burnt, and (the) third part of the trees, and it burnt all green
grass. 8 And the second *angel sounded*: as (it were) a
great mountain of fire burning was cast down to the sea.

And (the) third part of the sea became blood; 9 and (the)
third part of all the creatures which were in the sea died,
those in which there was *soul* of life; and (the) third part
of the ships perished. 10 And the third *angel sounded*,
and a great star, burning as a *torch* of fire, fell down from
(the) heaven. And it fell on (the) third part of the rivers,
and the fountains of water; 11 and (the) name of the star
is called[a] Apsinthion. And (the) third part of the waters
became bitter as an alloē; and many of the men died of
the waters, because they became bitter. 12 And the fourth
angel sounded, and (the) third part of the sun was struck[b],
and (the) third part of the moon, and (the) third part of the
stars; that they might become dark, and that their third
part might not shine in the day and the night. Thus also.
13 And I saw, and I heard an eagle in (the) midst of (the)

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[a] Lit. 'say, Apsinthion to name it.' [b] Lit. 'fought.'

ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ] om. ⲁⲩ, E. 10 ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] pref. ⲁ, EF. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. C. ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ] om. D^{mg}. ⲉϥⲙⲟϩ] ϥⲙ., G. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] om. F*. ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] ⲉϥⲙⲟϩ 'burning,' B. ⲫⲣⲉ] ⲡⲓⲣⲉ, C. 11 ϫⲉ 1°] ⲡⲉ, C: om. D^{mg}. ⲁⲯⲓ(ⲩ, CD^{mg}HZ)ⲛⲑⲓⲟⲛ (cf. Gr. ℵ* &c.) ⲉⲣⲉⲛϥ] ⲁⲯ. ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ 'Aps. is his name,' D^{mg}. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉ . . . ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲏ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ, T^tBD^{mg}. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, F^c)ϣⲁϣⲓ 1°] T^tANT: ⲁⲩⲉⲣϣ., BEF*G*H: ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, C)ϣⲁϣⲓ, CZ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗⲟⲏ(ⲛ, T)] -ⲱⲏ, G*: -ⲱⲓ, CEF*. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲉⲛ(ⲛ̄, CF^c)ϣⲁϣⲓ 2°] om. ⲉⲛ, D*EF* G*TZ. 12 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏ] AN: ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏ, T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ] om. ⲛⲓ, N. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ(ⲟⲩ, T^t)ϣⲧⲉⲙ &c.] cf. ? Gr. B al^{35}. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲉⲅ̄] ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲏ 'their sun,' EFG*. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲉϩ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩ., B. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ] (NT join to ⲟⲩⲟϩ as A) om. B. 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] T^tA BD*N: + ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ 'thus,' B: om. CD^cEFGHTZ. ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] + ⲇⲉ, CZ: om. F*.

ⲉⲟⲩⲁϧⲱⲙ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ | ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ ⲉϥϣⲱϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘
Ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅ-
ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⁘
1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⁘
ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
ϣⲟϣⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯϣⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⁘
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ϯϣⲱϯ ⁘ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲱ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲣⲏ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲡⲓⲁⲏⲣ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯϣⲱϯ ⁘
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϩⲁⲛϣϫⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭ̣ⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϭ̄ⲗⲏ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣ-
ϣⲓϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘
ⲡⲋ 4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ | ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥ-
ⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϣϣⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲉⲛⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ
ⲁⲛ ⁘
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙϧⲟⲑ-
ⲃⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯ ⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛ̄|ⲉ̄
ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲧϩⲉⲙ-
ⲕⲟ ⁘ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲕϩ ⁘ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧ-

ⲉⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. ℵP. ⲁϧⲱⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al[35] fere vg syr aeth &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] T^tAN̦: trs. before ϧⲉⲛ, B &c.: om. F*. ⲟⲩⲟⲓ 3°] om. B, cf. Gr. 1. syr aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] cf. ? Gr. AP 1. 7. al sat mu &c.: om. ϣⲟⲡ, EFG*T. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., BO. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉⲑⲃⲉ 'because of,' O. ⲛⲓⲥⲙⲏ] ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ, O. ⲡⲓⲅ̄] AN: ⲡⲓ(ⲉ, ⲍ)ⲕⲉⲅ̄, CFGHTZ: ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲅ̄, T^tBDE. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣ., B.

heaven, crying out in a great voice, saying: 'Woe, woe, woe, to them who dwell upon the earth, from (the) remainder of the voices of the three *angels*, they who will *sound*!'

IX. And the fifth *angel sounded*, and I saw a star fallen
from (the) heaven upon the earth: and they gave to him the
keys of the pit of (the) abyss. 2 And the smoke of the pit
went up as (the) smoke of a great furnace. And (the) sun
and the *air* became dark from the smoke of the pit.
3 And locusts came upon the earth from the smoke; and
authority was given to them, as the scorpions who have
authority upon (the) earth. 4 And it was said to them
not to *hurt* the herbage (plur.) of (the) earth, *nor* every tree,
nor every green thing, except the men on whose forehead
was not the *seal* of God. 5 And it was given to them that
they should not kill them, but (ⲁ) that they might give pain
to them five months; and the pain of their torment shall

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1 ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ̄] pref. ⲁ, EFG*. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}AD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, B &c.; cf. ? Gr. 38. 97. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. ϯϣⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲫ.] A: ϯϣ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫ., T^{t}B &c.: ⲧϣⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲫ., D^{mg}N. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵB al plus[30] am harl* tol* aeth^{utr} arm &c. for om. καὶ ἤνοιξεν &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯϣ . . . ϫⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ 2°] om. B, cf. Gr. 1. 35. 41. 87. ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ 2°] ADN: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϫ., T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] ABDN: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩ., T^t &c.; cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 28. 79. al mu vg arm aeth &c. ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲱ(ⲟ, EF)] ABCD*EF*G*N: ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϯϩⲣⲱ(ⲟ, T), T^{t}D^{c}G^{mg}HTZ: ϣⲱϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲟ, F^c by error. 3 ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, CD. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. ⲡⲓϫⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ] ⲡϫⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯϣⲱϯ, B. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] T^{t}ANZ: ⲡⲓⲕ., B &c. 4 ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣ.] A*D^{mg}N: ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣ., T^{t}A^{mg} &c. ⲉⲛϫⲁⲓ] ⲛ̄ϫ., B. ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 6. 7. 8. 14. al[40] syr arm aeth &c. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ] om. ⲛⲏ, CD^{mg}EF*G*. ϯⲥ(+ⲓ, F)ⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲥ] om. ϯ, T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al pler vg syr aeth &c. ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. B al pler vg^{cle} fu demid lipss al syr arm aeth &c. 5 ϩⲓⲛⲁ 2°] T^{t}ABCDNZ: om. EFGHT. ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ABCEFG HNT: ⲡⲓⲉⲙⲕ., T^{t}DZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ] A: ⲙ̄ⲡⲧϩ., D:

ϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛϭⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲉϥϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲉⲕϩ [⳾]
ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾

ⲒⲐ.

6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲡⲍ ϫⲉⲙϥ ⳾ | ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲉⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϣϫⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲑⲱⲣ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϥⲧⲟⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾|
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲭϩⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϥⲱⲓ ⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲛⲓϩⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⳾
9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛϩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛϧⲉⲗⲓⲃϣ ⲙ̄-
ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛϩ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ |
ⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛϩⲑⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲥⲉⲃ-
ⲧⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϭⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⳾
11 Ⲉϥϫⲏ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ | ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧϩ., T[t] &c.: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ 'the pain,' C. ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛ-ϫⲉⲕϩ] ABD[mg]N: ⲁⲥϣⲁⲛ., T[t] &c.: ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲛ̄, C. [6] ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̄ϧⲣ., BD. ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲉϩ., C. ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲕⲱϯ] T[t]AD[mg]N: om. ⲉⲩⲉ, B: ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲕⲱϯ, CD*EFGH[c]TZ; obs. Gr. 2. 8. &c. ζητοῦσιν. ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲛ] +ⲅⲁⲣ, B. ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ] T[t]ABDN: ⲙ̄ⲫ., CEFGHTZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ] om. T. ⲉϥⲉⲫⲱⲧ] cf. Gr. B al pler vg &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ, D[mg]GT. ϩⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ] T[t]ABCD*N: ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, D[mg]EFGHTZ. [7] ⲡⲥⲙⲟⲧ] ACEFGT: ⲡⲓⲥ., T[t]BDHNZ. ⲉⲡ-ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ] ⲉⲡⲓⲡ., T[t]TZ. ⲉϥⲧⲟⲓ] ⲧⲟⲓ, D*. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ 2°] om. B. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲟⲓ, B; cf. ? Gr. ℵAP &c. ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ., A*:

become painful as the torment of scorpions, if they should
sting a man.
6 And in those days the men shall seek for (the) death, and
they shall not find it: they shall *desire* (the) death, and (the)
death shall flee from them. 7 And (the) form of those
locusts—they are being like to the horses prepared for (the)
war, having (lit. being) a crown put (lit. given) upon (the)
head of each of them, being of colour of gold. And their
face is being like to (the) face of men; and their teeth being
like [as] to those of the lions; 8 and their hair being like to
that of the women; 9 and their wings as breastplates of
iron. And the sound of their wings as (the) sound of
chariots of horses prepared for (the) *war*. 10 And there
are tails to them as the scorpions, and stings; and their
authority is being in their tail to *hurt* the men five
months. 11 (The) king is being over them, the *angel* of

ⲛ̄ⲁϣⲁⲛ, A^{c}. ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ] ⲁϥ., CEFG*. ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] A D^{mg} F^{mg}NZ^{o}: ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ, C: ⲉ(ⲁ, EF*)ⲩⲟⲛⲓ, T^{t}BEF*GHT: ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ, D*. 8 ⲟⲛⲓ] ⲟⲓ, C: ⲉⲩⲟⲓ, DHZ^{o}. ⲙ̄ⲫⲁⲛⲓϩ.] ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲓϩ. 'as those of &c.,' CZ. 9 ϧⲉⲗⲓⲃϣ] ϧⲉⲗⲗ., T^{t}. ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛ] ϩ. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛ, B: om. H. ⲉⲡⲡ.] ⲉⲡⲓⲡ., T^{t}. 10 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲥⲏ(o. e., A^{c})ⲧ] A*N (pref. ⲉ): ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲧ, CD*: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲁⲧ, B; cf. Gr. (exc. 38): ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟ(om. G*)ⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲏⲧ, $T^{t}$$A^{c}$$D^{o}$EFGHTZ, cf. Gr. 38. vg &c.: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲥⲁⲧ, D^{mg}. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ 'being like,' BCD*, cf.? Gr. BP al fere omn &c.: +ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ, Z. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϭⲗⲏ] A*: ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲓϭⲗⲏ 'to those of the scorpions,' T^{t} &c. ϩⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus[35] syr ar^{e} &c. ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ &c.] Tisch. classes this with Gr. uncials &c. (exc. 1. 36. 47. 79. al &c.). ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] AN: ⲛ̄ϧ., T^{t} &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ] ACD*EG*Z: -ⲥⲁⲧ, BN: ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ, $T^{t}$$D^{o}FG^{o}$HT. ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ] -ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲓⲛ, A. ⲛ̄ⲉ̄] om. ⲛ̄, B. 11 ⲉϥⲭⲏ] AD*: ⲁϥⲭⲏ, N: ⲉⲁϥⲭⲏ, B; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al (ἔχουσιν, ἔχουσαι): pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}$$A^{c}CD^{mg}$EFGHTZ, cf. Gr. P 1. al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ] position cf. ? Gr. AP. 1. 14. 28. 36. 79. 92. al vg &c.: -ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟ 'their king,' CEFG*. ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ(A)P 1. 7. 14. 28. 36. 79. al mu &c.

ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ⳾
ⲙⲁⲅⲉⲇⲱⲛ⳾ ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ⳾
12 Ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ⳾ ⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲓ⳾
Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ 13 ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲋ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲣ-
ⲡⲑ ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲃ⳾
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ⳾
14 ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲋ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲃⲉⲗ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ
ⲉϯ|ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲉⲧ̅
ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲩⲡⲡⲓⲕⲟⲛ
ⲑⲃⲁ ⲃ̅⳾ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲓ
17 ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ⳾
ⲝ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓ|ϩⲑⲟⲣ ϧⲉⲛ ϯϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛϧⲉⲗⲓⲃϣ
ⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲩⲁⲕⲓⲛⲑⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲑⲏⲛ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϩⲑⲱⲣ⳾
ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩⲓ⳾

ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ] ⲫⲙⲟⲩ tr. الموت '(the) death,' B; A gloss ص الموت 'Sah. the death.' ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ] A*N: ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉ., T^{t}A^{c} &c. ⲡⲉ] ⲡⲓ, EF: ϫⲉ, CZ. ⲙⲁⲅⲉⲇⲱⲛ] T^{t}ADHN: ⲙⲁⲕ., BCEFGTZ. ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛ] ACD^{mg}EFG*HNTZ: pref. ⲇⲉ, B; cf. ? Gr. B al^{40} (vg) syr &c.: pref. ϧⲉⲛϯ and om. ⲙ̅, T^{t}D*G^{mg}. 12 ⲓⲥ] AF^{c}: om. T^{t} &c. ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ϥⲛ., BN. ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̅] cf. Gr. 7.: -ⲥⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t}. ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ] AD*N, connection, and om. *καί*, cf. Gr. ℵ: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ 'and it came to pass,' T^{t} &c. 13 ⲁⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲋ̅] ⲡⲓⲙ., D*. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡ.] ⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡ., CEF*G*H. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. EFG*. ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. ? Gr. 38. arm, om. *μίαν*. ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A 28. 79. am fu harl lips tol omn^{lachm} syr aeth &c. 14 ⲉϥϫⲱ] ABDN, cf. Gr. ℵA(B al^{30} &c.): ⲉⲥϫⲱ, T^{t}CEFGHTZ, cf. Gr. (ℵ^{c})P 1. 7. 28. 35. 36. 38. 49. 79. 87. 91. al &c. ⲋ̅] ⲍ̅, C.

(the) abyss, whose name in *Hebrew* is Magedōn, which they
interpret in Greek, 'He who destroyeth.' [12] The first woe
passed: behold is coming the second woe. After these
things [13] the sixth *angel sounded*, and I heard a voice from
the horns of the altar of gold which is before the *throne* of
God, [14] saying to the sixth *angel*, he who had the *trumpet*:
'Loose the four *angels*, who are prepared for (ⲉ) the hour
and the day and the month and the year, that they might
kill (the) third part of the men.' [16] And (the) number of
the *army* of the *horsemen* was twice[a] ten thousand of ten
thousands. I heard their number [17] thus. And I saw the
horses in the *vision*, and those who sit upon them, clothed
with breastplates of fire and a hyakinthinon and sulphur
(plur.): and (the) head of the horses as (the) head of lions.

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[a] Lit. 'two.'

ⲡⲓⲇ̄] pref. ⲙ̄ⲙ, Tᵗ by error. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. G*. [15] ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ] all the collated MSS. omit the addition given by Tattam, ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲃⲟⲗⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲇ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 'those whom they bound to a great river Euphrates, [15] and they loosed them the four angels'; A alone has note صعيدى خاصة للستة الملايكة الدين بيديهم الستة الابواق حلوا الاربعة ملايكة المربوطين على نهر الفرات الاعظم فحُلوا 'peculiar to the Sa'idic: to the six angels in whose hands (were) the six trumpets, Loose the four angels bound upon the great river Al Frāt; and they were loosed.' ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. 28. 38. 49. 79. 91. 96.: trs. after ⲁⲃⲟⲧ, B. ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ] ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ 'and the night,' H*. [16] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧ.] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., C. ⲡⲓϩⲩⲡⲡⲓⲕⲟⲛ] -ϩⲓⲡ., EFGT: ⲡⲓⲓⲡ., B: ⲡⲓⲩⲡ., D*: ⲛⲓⲓⲡ., C; cf. ? Gr. ℵABP 1. 7. 14. 28. 31. 36. 38. 49ᵐᵍ 79. 92. al &c. ⲑⲃⲁ ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ϩ (om. B) ⲁⲛⲑⲃⲁ] cf. Gr. (ℵ) 1** 28. 79. alᵛⁱ &c. ⲛⲉ] om. B. ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ADᵐᵍN, cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. al plus⁴⁰ am fu demid tol lips omnˡᵃᶜʰᵐ syr arm &c.: +ⲅⲁⲣ, Tᵗ &c. [17] ⲉⲛ(ⲡ, Z)ⲓϩⲑⲟⲣ] ANZ: -ⲱⲣ, TᵗB &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., C: ⲉⲟⲩϩⲑⲱⲣ, B sing.: trs. after ϩⲟⲣⲁⲥⲓⲥ, TᵗCD*EFGHTZ. ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ] ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ, B. ϩⲩⲁⲕⲓⲛⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ] ϩⲓⲁ., GTZ: -ⲕⲩⲛ., BCEFGHT: -ⲑⲩⲛⲟⲛ, D. ϩⲁⲛⲑⲏⲛ] AD*: ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲛ, Tᵗ &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲉ] ⲧⲁ over erasure, Aᶜ: ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲫⲉ, Dᵐᵍ. ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ-

Ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ⳾ |
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲛ⳾ [18] ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ⳾ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲫⲣⲉⲅ̅
ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯ-
ⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲛ⳾ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾
[19] Ⲡⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲑⲱⲣ⳾ ⲡⲁϥϫⲏ ϧⲉⲛ
ϩ̅ⲁ̅ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ⳾ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ | ⲡⲁϥ-
ⲟⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϩϥⲱ ⲉⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲁⲓ⳾ ⲡⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲉ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲃⲟⲧ⳾
[20] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲉⲣ-
ϧⲱⲧ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲓϫ⳾ | ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲧⲉⲙ-
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓϧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ⳾
Ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲃ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲁⲧ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲙⲧ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓϣⲉ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ⳾ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ⳾
[21] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϧⲱ-
ϩ̅ⲃ̅ ⲧⲉⲃ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲓⲕ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱϥ⳾
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ⳾

ⲒⲄ.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ⳾ ⲉⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϭⲏⲡⲓ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ

ⲙⲟⲩⲓ] $T^t A^{mg}$(correct)BCN: ⲙⲟⲩⲓ, A*: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲓ 'of the lions,' DEFGHTZ. ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲟⲩ] A*: ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ, $T^t A^c$ &c. ⲇⲉ] T^tABD*$F^c G^{mg}$HNZ: om. CD^{mg}EF*G*T. ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲛ] ϩⲁⲛⲑⲏⲛ, N: ⲑⲏⲛ, Z. [18] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 1°] $T^t A^{mg}$ &c.: om. A*: om. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B, obs. Gr. 1. al? ὑπό. ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 38. al? &c.). ⲫⲣⲉ] ⲫⲣⲏ, F. ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ] om. Z*. ⲛⲉⲙϯⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ] A*D(N): ⲡⲓⲭⲣ., $T^t A^c$ &c.; for om. ἐκ cf. Gr. ℵAB

But coming from their mouths are [a] fire and [a] smoke
and [a] sulphur. 18 And from these three plagues died (the)
third part of the men, from the fire and the smoke and the
sulphur, those which come from their mouths. 19 For
(the) authority of the horses was being in their mouths and
their tail: for their tail was being like to serpents having
heads. And in this they were *hurting* the men five
months. 20 And (the) remainder of the men died not in
these plagues, *nor* did they *repent* from the works of their
hands, that they should not worship the demons, and the
idols, The gold[a] and the silver and the brass and
the wood and the stone, for which it is not possible to see,
nor to hear, *nor* to walk. 21 And they *repented* not from
their murders, *nor* from their magic potions, *nor* from their
fornications and their defilements, *nor* from their thefts.

X. And I saw another strong *angel*, who came from (the)

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[a] Plur., thus again.

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7. 8. 14. 29. 38. 79. al[35] fere am fu demid lips harl* tol omn[lachm] aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲑⲏⲛ] ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ 'the truth,' B by error; for om. ἐκ cf. Gr. ℵABC al[40] fere vg aeth &c. ⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. 28. 36. 38. 79. vg[cle] lipss &c.: om. CD[mg]EFG*. 19 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓϩⲉⲱⲣ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϩⲉ., B: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲉ., D*. ⲛⲉⲙⲡ(ⲛ, D[c]G[c]HT)ⲟⲩⲥⲏ(ⲁ, B again)ⲧ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 36. &c.); A gloss صر وادنابها 'Sah. and their tails.' ⲛⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ] ⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ, F. ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ACN: ⲛ̄ϧ., T[t] &c. ⲫⲁⲓ] ABD[mg]N: ⲛⲁⲓ, T[t]CD*EF GHTZ; A gloss صر وبهم 'Sah. and in them.' ⲡⲉ 2°] T[t]ADN: trs. after ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, BCEFGHTZ. 20 ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ] A*D*H*N: pref. ⲉⲧⲉ 'who,' T[t]A[c] &c. ⲉⲣϧⲱⲧ] AN: -ⲟⲧ, T[t] &c. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 14. 30** 36. 38. 92. al vix mu vg syr &c. ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃ. 'their &c.,' F. ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲃ] pref. ⲛⲉⲙ, EFG*. ⲛⲉⲙ-ⲛⲓϩⲟⲙⲧ] cf. Gr. uncials &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓϣⲉ] position cf. Gr. ℵ. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ] om. D[mg]. 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] ABDNZ[mg]: ⲟⲩⲇⲉ, T[t]CEFGHTZ*. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 2°] ⲛ̄, EF. ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ[c] CP *-νίας*.

1 ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅ.] cf. Gr. ℵAC 35. 36. 38. 87. al non ita mu vg sah syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲁϥⲓ] om. ⲉ, D*.

ϯⲓⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲭⲏ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲫⲉ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ
ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ⳾ 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲭⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲟϫ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ⳾ ⲧⲉϥϫⲁϭⲏ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
ⲍ̅ⲅ̅ 3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ⳾ ⲙ̀-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲉϥϩⲉⲙϩⲉⲙ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϣ
ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ⳾ ⲁ ϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ⳾
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲍ̅
ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ. ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ. ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲧⲟⲃⲟⲩ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲣⲥϧⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ⳾
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲍ̅ⲇ̅ 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱⲣⲕ ⲙ̀|ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ⳾
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ 7 ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ

ϯⲓⲣⲓⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ* et^c A B C al^{35} &c. ⲉⲥⲭⲏ] T^t A B D N Z: ⲥⲭⲏ, C E F G H T. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^t A B C D N: ⲉϫ., E F G H T Z. ⲉϥⲟⲓ] om. D: + ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ 'of light,' B. ⲉⲩⲟⲓ] T^t A D* G^c N T: ⲁⲩⲟⲓ, F^c: om. B C D^{mg} E F G* H Z. ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲗⲟⲥ] ⲥⲧⲩⲗⲟⲥ, T^t; cf. Gr. (exc. 38. &c.). 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] om. B, cf. Gr. 38. ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] A D* N: pref. ⲉ, T^t &c.; cf. ? Gr. ℵ A B C P al plus^{30} syr &c. ⲟⲩϫⲱⲙ] A D^{mg} N, cf. Gr. A: + ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ 'open,' T^t A^{mg} B C D* &c., cf. Gr. rell; for *βίβλιον* cf. ? Gr. B al^{35} &c. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] T^t A N: ⲛ̀ϩ., B &c. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ] cf. Gr. (exc. C). ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ twice] T^t A D N: ⲉϫ., B &c. ⲧⲉϥϫⲁϭⲏ] -ϫϭⲏ, A^c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 2°] A* B: pref. ⲇⲉ, T^t A^c &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., T^t. 3 ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. F*. ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲣ.] ⲉϧ., N. ⲁⲩϯ . . . 4 ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ] om. B* homeot. (omission added in margin except ⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ): om. ⲁⲩ, C D E F* G* H doubtful because

heaven clothed with a cloud; and the iris being upon his
head; and his face being as (the) sun; and his feet being as
pillars of fire; 2 and there is a book in his hand. And
he put his right foot upon the sea, his left upon the earth.
3 And he cried out in a great voice, as a lion roaring: and
he having cried out, the seven thunders gave their voice.
4 And I heard the things which the seven thunders said;
I was about to write them also. And I heard a voice
from (the) heaven, saying to me: 'Seal them, write not the
things which the seven thunders spake.' 5 And the *angel*
whom I saw standing upon the sea and upon the earth
stretched his right hand up to (the) heaven, 6 and he sware
by (ⲙ̄) him who liveth unto age of the age; He who
created (the) heaven and the earth and the sea and all things
which are: That time shall be no longer; 7 in the day of

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of preceding ⲁⲓ, H has ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲩϯ; A gloss صر تكلموا السبع رعود بلغاتهم 'Sah. spoke the seven thunders their words.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ 7. &c.). 4 ⲉⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲍ̄ &c.] T^{t}ADN: ⲉⲧⲁ(ⲉ, F*)ϯⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ, CEFGHTZ; obs. Gr. ℵ 37. 79. &c. καὶ ὅσα. ⲛⲏⲓ] cf. vg^{cle} demid: om. B, cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al plus^{40} am fu harl &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] T^{t}ABCD*F^{c}HNZ*: ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ 'which she &c.,' D^{mg}EF*GTZ^{c}. 5 ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] om. F*N*. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ, BZ*. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄] ACE FG*N: om. ⲛ̄, T^{t}G^{c}H*TZ: ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ, BH^{c}: ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲛ, D^{c}: -ⲥⲱⲧⲱⲛ, D*. ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ] A*BD^{mg}N: ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ, A^{c}(gloss صر بيده اليمين 'Sah. with his right hand')EFGT: ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ, T^{t}: ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ, Z; cf. ? Gr. (exc. A &c.): ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ, CD*, cf. Gr. A 1. 36. al ? vg &c. 6 ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*B al^{35} &c. ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] ⲛⲓⲉ., B; A gloss صر الابدين 'Sah. the ages.' ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] T^{t}ABCHN: ⲡⲕ., DE FGTZ. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ, B singular. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] A*: pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ 'in them,' T^{t}A^{mg} &c.; for om. καὶ τά &c. cf. aeth; A gloss cut gives the additions as Sahidic. ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ . . . ϫⲉ] cf. ? Gr. 1. 79. vg^{ole} &c. 7 ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] AD*N: ⲛⲓ., T^{t} &c.; D gloss ق يوم 'Coptic day.'

ϯⲥⲙⲏ ÷ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ-
ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ÷ |
Ⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ÷
ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϩⲓⲱⲓϣ ÷ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ
ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ÷
8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ÷
ⲛⲁⲥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ
ⲝⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲏⲛ ÷ | ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲓϫ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ÷
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ÷
ϫⲉ ⲙⲁ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲛⲏⲓ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ
ϭⲓⲧϥ ⲛⲁⲕ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲛⲉϫⲓ ⲉⲣϣⲁϣⲓ ÷
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ | ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲕ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲓⲱ ÷
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲓϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲓ ÷
ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲓⲱ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ ⲁ
ⲧⲁⲛⲉϫⲓ ⲉⲣϣⲁϣⲓ ÷
11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ϩⲱϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ÷
ⲝⲋ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣ | ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲟⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛϣⲗⲟⲗ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ÷
1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲁϣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲃⲱⲧ
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲛⲕ ϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ Ⲫϯ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ

ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ.] ABD*N: pref. ⲉϣⲱⲛ 'if,' T^{t}CD^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. ? Gr. 10. &c., no Gr. has *γάρ*; tense cf. Gr. ℵACP al fere^{40} syr^{cdd} &c.; A gloss صر ويكمل سر الله 'Sah. and is finished the mystery of God.' ϩⲓⲱⲓϣ] A &c.: + ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, T^{t}HZ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] cf. vg Prim 'per.' ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] T^{t}ABDF^{mg}N: ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫ., CEF*GHTZ. 8 ⲡⲉ] om. BC. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ] cf. ? Gr. AC. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ] om. BD^{mg}EF*G*. ϧⲉⲛⲧϫⲓϫ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B, cf. Gr. 36. vg &c.; A gloss صر من 'Sah. from.' ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 1°] T^{t}ABCD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, D^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] ⲫⲙⲟⲩ, A* ?. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 2°] ⲉϫⲉⲛ,

the voice of the seventh *angel,* should he *sound.* For the
mystery of God was completed as he proclaimed through his
servants the *prophets.* 8 And the voice which I heard from
(the) heaven was speaking to me, saying: 'Go, take the open
book, that which is in (the) hand of the *angel,* who standeth
upon the sea and upon the earth.' 9 And I went unto the
angel; I said to him: 'Give the book to me.' And he said
to me: 'Take it to thee; and it shall make thy belly bitter,
and it shall be sweet in thy mouth as [a] honey.' 10 And
I took the book from (the) hand of the *angel*; and it was
sweet in my mouth as [a] honey: and having eaten it my
belly was bitter. 11 And they said to me: 'Thou must
also *prophesy* over *peoples* and nations and tongues and
many kings.' XI. And they gave a reed of gold to me,
being a staff, saying to me: 'Rise, measure the temple of

T^{t}D^{mg}. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., BN. 9 ⲁⲓϣⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ϩ(ϣ, A*D°)ⲁ] ⲁⲓϣⲉⲛ, D* by error. ⲡⲉϫⲏⲓ] ABCD*EFG*HNZ°: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}D^{mg}G^{mg}T. ⲙⲁ] cf. Gr. P 1. 28. 36. 38. 49. 51. 79. 91. 96. al ? &c. ϭⲓⲧϥ ⲛⲁⲕ] ABDEFGHNT: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ 'and eat it,' T^{t}C°Z; A gloss صر خُذه وكله 'Sah. take it and eat it.' ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲑ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, C°. 10 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ] cf. ? Gr. ℵB al^{30} fere &c. ⲧϫⲓϫ] T^{t}A &c.: ⲛⲉⲛϫⲓϫ '(the) hands,' CEF° (ϫⲓϫ added) G*. ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] AD^{mg}N: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ 'and I ate it,' T^{t}D*EF°GHTZ: + ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲟⲙϥ, BO. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 87.: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, D. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ.] position cf. ? Gr. AB 36. ⲉⲣϣⲁϣⲓ] ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲁϣⲓ, BO. 11 ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ] ABDE*FG^{mg}HNZ, cf. Gr. ℵAB al^{30} am* harl &c.: ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ, T^{t}CE° G*T, cf. Gr. P 1. 28. 31. 38. 47. 49. 51. 79. 91. 96. al^{vi} vg^{ole} am** fu al plu syr arm aeth &c.; A gloss صر وقال 'Sah. and he said.' ϩⲱϯ] ϩⲟϯ, GT. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲉⲣ., N: ⲉⲉⲣ., BO, different construction. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛϣⲗⲟⲗ] -ⲱⲗ, CEFGTZ; cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 31. 36. 38. 47. al vg &c. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ] om. G*: -ⲗⲁⲟⲥ, T by error. ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ] ACD^{mg}N: ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ, T^{t} &c.

1 ⲉϥⲟⲓ] A*BD*N: ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ 'being like,' T^{t}A°CD^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϣ. 'their &c.,' A°FZ. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] ⲉϥϫⲱ, T; for an addition cf. Gr. ℵ*et°AP 1. al plus^{35} am fu harl tol lips omn^{laohm} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ] T^{t}ABCD*G°HNZ: om. D^{mg}EFG*T.

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ | ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ²ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲁⲩⲗⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ϩⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϣⲓⲧⲥ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲉϩⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⳾
³Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲓⲉϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲃ̄ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ
ⲝⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲝ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉ|ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲟⲕ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
⁴Ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ϯⲃⲱ ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲓⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲗⲩⲭⲛⲓⲁ
ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲭⲏ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⁵ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲁⲓϥ ⳾

Ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ⳾

⁶Ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏ-
ⲧⲓⲁ ⳾
ⲝⲏ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲟⲛ | ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲫⲟⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲁⲣⲓ
ⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] ANT: ⲉⲑ., T^{t} &c. ²ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ] cf. Gr. ABP al pler vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] A tr. البربا 'al birbā,' gloss الهيكل خ a copy, 'al haikal.' ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ, FH; obs. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$A &c. ἔξωθεν, Gr. B al plu ἔξω. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϣⲓⲧⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϭⲓⲧⲥ, BT. ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ] ⲁⲓⲧ., AD*F^{c}N. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲩ̅, T. ⲉⲩⲉϩⲱⲙⲓ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃ̄] om. ⲛ̄, C; cf. Gr. 1. al mu μγ'. ³ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ.] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, C. ⲥ̄] ⲱ̅ '200,' CDEF: ⲱ̅ '800,' N: ϣⲏⲧ '200,' B. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲝ̄] ABCDFG^{c}HTZ: ⲝ̄, T^{t}EG*: om. N by error. ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] om. N by error. ⁴ⲥⲛⲟⲩϯ twice] T^{t}A*N: ⲃ̄ϯ, A^{c} &c.: ⲃ̄, E 1°: trs. 1° after ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲓⲧ, H. ⲉⲧⲭⲏ] T^{t}AB$D^{mg}F^{mg}$N, cf.? Gr. ABCP 1. al longe plu &c. *αἱ*: om. CD*EF*GHTZ, cf.? Gr. ℵ 6. 7. 14. 31. 32. 34. 35. 47. 48. 87. 92. 95. &c. om. *αἱ*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al plus[40] vg syr &c. ⁵ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩ (om. B) ⲁϣϥ ⳾ (A; rest om.) ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ (⳾, B) ⲉⲩⲉⲁⲓϥ] ABCD^{c}EFGHNTZ: om. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ, D*:

God, and the altar, and them who worship in it; [2] and the
court which is outside of the temple leave (lit. cast) it out,
measure it not; because it was given to the *nations*, and the
holy city; they shall trample in it forty-two months:
[3] And I shall give to my two witnesses: they shall *pro-
phesy* a thousand, two hundred and sixty days, clothed with
sackcloth. [4] These are[a] the two olive-trees and the two
lampstands, which are (ϫⲏ) standing before the Lord:
[5] and that which they wish they (pron.) shall do[b]. A fire
shall come from their mouth; it shall eat up (ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ) their
enemies: and he who wisheth to *hurt* them, thus shall be
killed (plur.). [6] Because they have authority to shut (the)
heaven, that the rain may not come upon the earth all the
days of their *prophecy*. And they have authority also over
the waters, to cause them to turn and become blood; and
to smite (the) earth with every plague which they (pron.)

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[a] Lit. 'this is.' [b] The translation has والذى يريداه هما يفعلاه 'and that which they two wish, they two will do it.'

ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ ⲉⲉⲣⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'he who wished [it] to injure them,' T^t. ⲟⲩϫⲣⲱⲙ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲉϥⲉⲓ] T^tAB D^{mg}N, cf. Gr. 14. 92. vg &c.: ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ 'which cometh,' D*EFGHTZ. ϧⲉⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ] T^tAB$D^{mg}F^o$N: ⲛ̄, CD*EF*GHTZ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ] obs. Gr. 38. ὅστις; order cf. ? Gr. ℵ. ⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲛ] ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲓⲛ, A^o. -ϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ] A$D^{mg}F^o$: -ⲃⲉϥ 'him,' T^t &c. [6] ⲉϣⲑⲁⲙ] ⲉϣⲧⲉⲙ, B by error; order cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 36. 49. 79. al mu vg syr arm &c. ⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. (exc. 1. al pauc &c.). ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] AN: ⲉϧ., T^t &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. 1. &c. vg fu &c. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. C. ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ABC &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^tAD^{mg}: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, B &c. ⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲉⲡⲓⲕ., T^tHZ. ϧⲉⲛⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. al^{40} fere syr arm aeth; position cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 36. 38. 49. 51. 79. al vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ] T^tCD*G^oN: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁϣϥ, AB; cf. ? Gr. (12) 14. 36. 97.: ⲉϣⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ, D^{mg}EFG*HZ, customary tense sometimes = future, ∴ cf. ? Gr. uncials al pler &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϣϥ 'and they wished,' T.

⁷ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⁘
Ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⁘
ⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϭⲣⲟ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉϥⲉϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ⁘
⁸ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⁘ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓϣⲑⲏϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⁘ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲥⲟⲇⲟⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⁘
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉϣ ⲡⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⁘
ⲝⲑ ⁹ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲩⲗⲏ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲉϫⲟⲩϣⲧ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲫⲁϣⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲁ ϩⲗⲓ ⁘ ⲉⲭⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ̄-
ϩⲁⲩ ⁘
¹⁰ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ|ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲇⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲃ̄ ⁘
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘
ⲟ ¹¹ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲅ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⁘ | ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲫⲁϣⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⁘ ⲉϥⲉϣⲉ

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⁷ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] A*: + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, $T^t A^c$ &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] pref. ⲧⲟⲧⲉ, CZ. ⲇⲉ] om. H. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] position cf. ? Gr. 1. 36. al vix mu &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] om. C*: added without ⲟⲩⲟϩ, C^{mg}. ⲉϥⲉϧ.] ABN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⁸ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ] AD*EFNT, cf. ? Gr. ABC al^{35} arm aeth &c.: ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ, T^tBCD^cGHZ, cf. ? Gr. ℵP 1. 35. 36. 38. 49. 79. 87. 91. al vg syr &c. ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ] ABF^{mg}N: om. ⲉϥⲉ, T^tCDEF*GH ('not in some copies') TZ^c; cf. Gr. $ℵ^{cc*}$ 28. 37. 43. 79. ⲡⲓϣⲑⲏϩ] ABD*E: ⲡϣⲑⲏϩ, N: ⲡⲓ(ⲉ, F)ϣⲑⲉϩ, CF: ⲛⲓϣⲑⲉϩ, $T^t D^c$GHTZ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯ] ⲛ̄ϯ, D*. ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϣϯ, HZ. ⲙ̄(om. N)ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ] -ⲱⲥ, BCDEFH. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲭⲏⲙⲓ] ABCDEFGHNTZ: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ, T^t. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉϣ] A*D^{mg}N: -ⲁϣ, T^t

wish. 7 And if they should complete the witness of their
prophecy: [But] the *wild beast* which cometh up from
(the) abyss shall make a war with them, and he shall over-
come them, he shall kill them. 8 And their *body* shall be
on the street of the great city which is called *spiritually*
"Sodoma of Khēmi[a]," the place in which their Lord was
crucified. 9 And they shall see their *body* (they) of every
tribe and every *people* and every tongue and every nation,
they shall look upon their *bodies* three days and a half;
and they shall not let any lay their *bodies* in the sepulchre.
10 And they all shall rejoice who dwell upon the earth over
them, and they shall be delighted. And they shall send
gifts to one another, saying: "These are the two *prophets* who
tormented them who dwell upon the earth." 11 And it
shall come to pass after three days and a half, and a *spirit*

[a] Egypt.

A^{c} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} 1. 7. 12. 14. 34. 35. 36. 87. 92. lips &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ*: 1. al ?). 9 ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ] cf. ? vg arm aeth &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ] A B C D* E F G* N, cf. ? Gr. ℵ A B C al plus^{35} arm aeth &c.: ⲛⲟⲩⲥ., T^{t}D^{c}(F tr.)G^{c}H T Z, cf. ? Gr. P 1. 28. 36. 38. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. al vg syr &c.: ⲛⲟⲩⲙ̅ϩⲁⲩ 'their sepulchre,' D^{mg}. ⲫⲩⲗⲏ . . . ⲗⲁⲟ(om. G*)ⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ vg^{cle}: ⲗⲁⲟⲥ . . . ⲫⲩⲗⲏ, B, cf. Gr. rell. ⲗⲁⲥ] B^{c} corrected from ⲗⲁⲟⲥ. ⲉⲩⲉϫⲟⲩϣⲧ] ⲉⲩϫ., D*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ] T^{t}A D E F(tr.) G H T Z: ⲡⲟⲩ., B C N. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲫⲁϣⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ A C P 28. 30* 37. 49. 51. 79. 95. al syr arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩ.] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲉϫⲁ] A D*: ⲉϫⲱ ⲛ̅, T^{t} &c. ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ] ⲡⲟⲩ., C(F tr.)N. ⲛⲓⲙ̅ϩⲁⲩ] A G^{mg}N: ⲛⲓⲙ̅ϩ., T^{t} &c. 10 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁϣⲓ] cf. Gr. 38. vg aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ twice] A &c.: ⲡⲕ., T^{t}B C D 1° T. ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ] cf. Gr. B 6. 7. 8. 14. al pler vg syr &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B C; tense cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}A C 1. al mu^{vi} vg^{cle} am fu al pler syr &c. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] ⲡⲓⲡⲣ., N. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ] T^{t}A D N: om. ⲛⲏ, B(C)E F G H T Z. ⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁ(ⲓ, D*)ⲛⲓⲍ(C, N)ⲓⲛ] ⲓ ⲉⲉⲣⲃ 'come to torment,' C. 11 ⲅ̅] cf. Gr. ℵ P 1. 14. 28. 35. 36. 37. 38. 40. 49. 91. 96. arm vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B C; A gloss من قبل هى الحياة مِن 'Sah. the life is from before.' ⲉϥⲉϣⲉ] ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ 'shall be,' C.

ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲛⲟⲩϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲉⲓ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ | ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ
ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲙⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ
ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϭⲏⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲁϫⲓ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉ
ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲣⲉⲩ̅ ⲛ̀ϯ-
ⲟⲁ ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ | ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲁⲩⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲟϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
14 Ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ
ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲅ̅ ϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾

Ⲓⲍ.

15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥ|ⲉⲣⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ̊ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕ̅ⲇ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧϫⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲟⲃ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ | ⲉⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲓ-

ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵB al^{30} vg &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ] cf. Gr. 38.: ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ, E*. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}ACD^{mg}N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, BD*EFGHTZ. ⲉⲥⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. 38. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ABCD^{mg}N: ⲉϩ., T^{t}D*EFGHTZ. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ] AD^{mg}: ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t}N: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲩ, BCD*EFGHTZ. 12 ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}B al^{35} syr$^{ed\ p.}$ ar^{e} &c. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 28. &c.). ⲉⲙⲛⲁⲓ] T^{t}AD: ⲙ̀ⲛⲁⲓ, BCEFGHNTZ. ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 2°] om. C. ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t}DN. 13 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ 1°] A^{c}BDN: ⲛ̀ϩⲣ., T^{t}A* ? &c. ϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ]

of God shall go into them, and they shall stand upon their
feet, and a great fear shall come upon them who see them.'
12 And I heard a great voice from (the) heaven, saying to
them: 'Come up hither.' And they went up to (the) heaven
in a cloud; and their enemies shall see them. 13 And in
that hour shall be a great earthquake. And the third part
of the city fell; and seven thousand of names of men died in
the earthquake; and (the) remainder were full of fear, and
they glorified the God of (the) heaven. 14 The second woe
passed; and behold, the third woe cometh quickly. 15 And
the seventh *angel sounded*; and great voices came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ)
from (the) heaven, saying: '(The) kingdom of the *world*
became of the Lord our God, and his Christ: and he shall
reign unto age of the age.' 16 And twenty-four *presbyters*
who are before God, sitting upon the *thrones*, threw them-

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cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 36. 95. al vix mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲣⲉ] A gloss صر كانت 'Sah. there was.' ⲫⲣⲉⲧ̅] cf. Gr. B. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ 2°] T^{t}ADN: ⲛ̀ϩ., C &c.: om. B. ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ] om. D^{mg} 'not in some copies.' ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ . . . ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. N: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. 14 ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ 1°] T^{t}ABD* F^{c}N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ, CD^{mg}EF*GHTZ. ⲃ̅] ⲥⲛⲁⲩ, T^{t}. ⲁϥⲥⲓⲛⲓ] T^{t}ABCD*F^{c}G^{mg}N (مضى), cf. ? Gr. ℵ 28. 79. &c.: ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ 'happened,' D^{mg}EF*G* (قد كان) HTŻ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲓⲥ] T^{t}ADF*N: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CEGHTZ; om. ἰδού, cf. Gr. 6. 7. 33. 35. 46. fu; for 'and' cf. vg^{cle} am al syr &c.: ⲓⲥ, B. ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϩⲅ̅ (ⲡⲙⲁϩⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲓ, CEFGHTZ) ϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (ℵ)ACP 1. 28. 36. 79. al vix mu &c.: ϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϩⲅ̅, B. 15 ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲍ̅ &c.] T^{t}ABCD*N: ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ. ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϩⲍ̅, D^{mg}EFG HTZ. ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲁⲑ., B &c.; cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 7. al ?). ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] om. EF*H*, cf. Gr. 28. &c. ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ] T^{t}ABD^{mg}G^{c}Z: om. ⲁⲥ, CD*EFG*HT. ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅, B. ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲁϥ., B, obs. Gr. 14. &c. *βασιλεύει*: ⲉⲩⲉ., EFG^{c}. ⲡⲓ (ⲛⲓ, D*G^{c}) ⲉⲛⲉϩ] AD^{mg}N: + ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. ℵ 12. 18. 38. 40. vg^{cle} demid tol arm^{usc}. 16 ⲕ̅ⲇ̅] A, cf. Gr. ℵ*A: pref. ⲡⲓ, T^{t} &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}BCP al omn^{vi} &c.; for numerals cf. Gr. B 1. 7. al plus^{10}. ⲉⲧⲭⲏ] cf. ? Gr. ℵCP al longe pln &c. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. al vg arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] cf. Gr. AP 1. 7. 14. 36. 38. 91. 92. al arm &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛⲓ., N.

ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ [17] ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟ-
ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϯϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲕⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ | [18] ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉⲕϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲕⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲉϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϯⲙ̀ⲫⲃⲉϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲅ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾ | ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
[19] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲕⲩ-
ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏϫ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛϧⲁ-
ⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ | ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲛ-
ⲙⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫⲉ ⳾
[1] Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲥϫⲟⲗϩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ ⲉϥⲧⲟⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲥⲁⲫⲉ
ⲙ̀ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ [2] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
ⲟⲇ ⲉⲥϯⲛⲁⲕϩⲓ | ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲕϩ ⲉⲥⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⳾

ⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ] T^{t}ABD*EFGNT: ⲛⲟⲩ., CD^{c}HZ. ⲙ̀ⲫϯ 2°] pref. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ 'before,' B. [17] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲛⲏⲟⲩ, E; cf. ? Gr. 28. 36. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. al vg^{cle} lips arm^{usc} &c. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ^{ca}ABP al certe pler vg rell &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, D*, cf. Gr. ℵ*C fu. [18] ϫⲉ . . . ϫⲱⲛⲧ] om. T homeot. ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲥ., B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯⲕⲣⲏ(ⲓ, T^{t})ⲥⲓⲥ] T^{t}ABDF^{c}HNT: ⲛ̀ϯ., CEF*GZ. ⲉϯϩⲁⲡ] T^{t}ABDHNZ: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ 'of the judgement,' CEFGT. ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ.] T^{t}ADHNZ: ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ., B: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., CEFGT. ⲉϯⲙ̀] ABCD^{c}HNZ: ⲙ̀ϯ., D*: ⲉⲕⲉϯ. 'thou shalt &c.,' T^{t}GT: ⲉⲓⲉϯ., EF. ⲛⲓϣϯ] A*, cf. ? Gr. A: + ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c. ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ] T^{t}ABCD*EN: ⲉⲧ(+ⲧ, F)ⲁⲕⲟ 'to destroy,' FGHTZ. ⲉⲕⲉ . . .

selves upon their face, they worshipped God, 17 saying: 'We
give thanks to thee, Lord God, the *Almighty*, he who is, and
he who was being, and thou comest, Because thou tookest
the power, and thou reignedst. 18 And the *nations* were
angry, because thine anger came, and (the) time of the *judge-
ment*, to judge the dead, and to give (the) reward of thy
servants to them, The *prophets*, and the *saints*, and all
them who fear thy name; the small and the great; thou
shalt destroy them who destroy the earth.' 19 And the
temple of God was opened in (the) heaven; and the *ark* of
the *covenant* appeared in the temple; and there happened
lightnings and thunders and voices and earthquakes and
stones (ⲁⲗ) of heaven. XII. And behold, a great sign
manifested itself in (the) heaven. A woman arrayed with
(the) sun, and the moon below her feet, a crown being put
(lit. given) on her head of twelve stars: 2 and being with
child, crying out, travailing, being in pain, about to bring

ⲕⲁϩⲓ] om. D^{mg} ('not in some copies'). ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ] om. N*Z*. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., C. 19 ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ] ABD*F^{mg}('a copy')N: ϧⲉⲛ, H*; cf. Gr. ℵBP al pler &c.: ⲉⲧϧⲉⲛ, T^{t}CD^{mg}EF*GH^{mg} TZ, cf. ? Gr. AC 14. 35. 38. 87. 92. 95. arm &c. ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] A*: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, A^{c})ⲛϩⲥ, T^{t} &c.: -ⲟⲛϩ, H. ϯⲕⲩⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ] A tr. سفينة, gloss تلبوت. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲇⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ] cf. vg^{cod} ar^{e} &c. ⲛⲉⲙ-ϩⲁⲛⲥⲙⲏ] position cf. Gr. 14. 28. 36. 38. 79. 87. 97. syr &c.: om. N*, cf. Gr. 6. 31. &c. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. 34. 35. 87. &c.

1 ⲓⲥϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] ABN: ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉⲓⲥ, T^{t}CD* &c.: om. ⲓⲥ, D^{mg}. ⲁⲟⲩ... ⲁϥ.] A$D^{mg}$$F^{o}$N: ⲁⲟⲩ...ⲁⲥ., B: ⲟⲩ...ⲁϥ., T^{t}CD*EF*GHTZ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, T^{t}N)ⲛϩ] A &c.: ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱ(ⲟ, T)ⲛϩ, F*G*: ⲁⲥⲟⲩ-ⲟⲛϩⲥ, B. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] $T^{t}$$A^{mg}$ &c.: ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ 'up,' A^{o}(o. e.)CN: ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ, B. ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ, B by error. ⲉⲥϫⲟⲗϩ] -ⲱⲗϩ, EF. ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ] A*N: ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ϥⲥⲁ., T^{t} &c.; obs. Gr. 38. adds ἦν. ⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ] A*BD*N: pref. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ 'being,' $T^{t}$$A^{mg}CD^{mg}$EFGHTZ. ⲉϥⲧⲟⲓ] T^{t}ABD*F^{o}NZ: om. ⲉϥ, CD^{mg}EF*GHT. ⲙ̄ⲓ̄ⲃ̄] om. ⲙ̄, CEFG*. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B. ⲉⲥⲙ̄(ⲉⲙ, DNT)ⲃⲟⲕⲓ] ⲉⲥϯ-ⲛⲁϫ(?)ϩⲓ 'travailing,' B. ⲉⲥⲱϣ] cf. ? Gr. ABP al pler vg^{cle} lips syr arm. ⲉⲥϯⲛⲁⲕϩⲓ] om. B. ⲉⲥⲙⲟⲕϩ] T^{t}AB &c.: + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, T.

3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲓⲥ
ⲟⲩⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲉ
ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲭⲗⲟⲙ⳾ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ⳾ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉϥⲥⲁⲧ ⲁϥⲱϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲉⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲛ̄ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉϣⲱⲛ ⲁⲥϣⲁⲛⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ϣⲏⲣⲓ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲙⲕϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ⳾
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲟⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲃⲱⲧ | ⲙ̄-
ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ϩⲁ ⲫϯ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ⳾ 6 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲁⲥ-
ⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲡϣⲁϥⲉ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲫϯ ⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧϥ
ⲛⲁⲥ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲟ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ⳾
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ
ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥ-
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ 8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲟⲩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉϯ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲁ ⲙⲁ
ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲟϛ 9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ⳾ | ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲟϥ

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3 ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛϩϥ] T^{t}A &c.: ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ, BEF*G*. ϧⲉⲛ] T^{t}ABCDN: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, EFGHTZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. D^{mg}EF*G*H. ⲛ̄ⲁ (om. A$_{1}$) ⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭ.] ABD*N: pref. ⲉϥⲟⲓ 'being,' T^{t} &c.; cf. ? Gr. B C al^{30} syr aeth^{pp} ar^{e} &c.; position cf. ? Gr. ℵ B C al^{35} &c.; A gl. صركبير احمر 'Sah. great red.' ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] T^{t}ADN: pref. ⲉ, A^{c} &c. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ 1°] om. ⲉ, B. ⲍ̄ 2°] position cf. ? Gr. uncials &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫ., D*EFH. 4 ⲡⲉϥ.] T^{t}A*BDN: pref. ⲁ, A^{c}CEFGH^{o}(ⲁϥ, H*)TZ. -ⲥⲁⲧ] A^{c}BD^{mg}N: -ⲥⲉⲧ, T^{t}A*D*G^{c}HT^{c}Z: -ⲥⲏⲧ, CEFG*T. ⲁϥⲱ (ⲟ, DTZ) ϣϯ] T^{t}ABDF^{mg}HNZ: om. ⲁϥ, CEF*G*T*. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^{t}AGNT: ⲉϫ., BCDEFHZ. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] AN: ⲡⲓⲕ., T^{t}BCD &c. ⲡⲓ(+ⲁ, F)ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲟϩⲓ] T^{t}ABDF^{c}N: ⲁ . . .

forth. 3 And another sign manifested itself in (the) heaven;
and lo, a *dragon* of colour of fire, it is very great, having (lit.
being to him) seven heads and ten horns, there being seven
crowns upon his heads: 4 and his tail dragged away (the)
third part of the stars of (the) heaven and it cast them down
upon (the) earth. And the *dragon* stood before the woman,
that, if she should bring forth the son, the *dragon* might
swallow him. 5 And she brought forth the son[a]: this is he
who will rule[b] the *nations* with (ϧⲉⲛ) a staff of iron. And
the child was carried away up to God, and to his *throne.*
6 And the woman fled to (the) desert, to the place which
God prepared for her, that they might nourish her there
a thousand and two hundred (and) ninety days. 7 And
a great war took place in (the) heaven: Michaēl and his
angels to war against the *dragon.* And the *dragon* warred
against them and his *angels*; 8 and he prevailed not against
them in fighting[c] them: and they put not place for him
any more up in (the) heaven. 9 And the *dragon* was cast

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[a] Lit. 'the son (or child) male.' [b] Lit. 'tend.' [c] Lit. 'to give with,' the regular phrase for 'to fight.'

ⲟϩⲓ, CEF*GHTZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ &c.] A gloss صر عن يمين الامراة التى تريد ان تلد 'Sah. on the right of the woman who wished to bear.' -ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] A*BD*N: + ⲑⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥⲓ 'who is about to bear,' T^{t}A^{mg}CD^{mg}E FGHTZ. ⲉϣⲱⲡ] T^{t}ACD*NZ: om. BD^{mg}EFGHT. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] A gloss and verse 5 صر ابنها 'Sah. her son.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲙⲕϥ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲙⲕϥ, T^{t}. 5 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ 1°] A tr. الولد, gloss الابن خ 'the boy,' 'a copy, the son.' ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABC al pler vg &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ 2°] ⲙ̄ⲡϣ., T^{t}. ⲛⲉⲙ] T^{t}A &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T. ϩⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{40} vg rell &c. 6 ⲥ̄] T^{t}ABEFGHTZ: ⲱ̄, C: ϣⲉⲛⲧ, D: ⲱ, N, cf. ? Gr. 14. ⲛ̄ϥ] A: ⲛⲉ(om. G*)ⲙϥ̄, T^{t}BCD EFG^{c}HTZ: om. CN. 7 ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] AN: pref. ⲁ, T^{t} &c. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] AN: om. ⲁϥ, T^{t} &c. ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ] ⲙⲏ., BCFN. ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ] ABCD*EFGNTZ: ⲉⲩⲃ., D^{c}H: ⲁⲩⲃ., T^{t}. ⲁϥⲃⲱⲧⲥ] ⲛⲁϥⲃ., C. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{40} vg syr &c. 8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ] cf. Gr. A al plus^{30} aeth &c.: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ, B. ⲉϯ] om. ⲉ, F. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. 6. 7. 8. al plus^{30} aeth &c. ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲛ., BC^{c}. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲉ, EF*G*. 9 ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲟϥ] ABDN, cf. Gr. ℵ 1. &c.: ⲛⲓ-

ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳹
ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⳹
ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳹ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲕⲉ-
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳹
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ ⳹
ϧⲉⲛ | ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹
Ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⳹
Ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ
ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲟⲍ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳹ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ | ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⳹
11 Ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩϭⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⳹ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ-
ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲏⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲣⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ϣⲁⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⳹
12 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ |
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϩⲁⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁ-
ⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳹
ⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳹
13 Ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ
ⲟⲏ ⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳹ ⲁϥ|ϭⲟϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳹ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ-
ⲙⲓⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳹

ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ, $T^{t}H^{mg}$; cf. Gr. rell: ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ, CEFG TZ: ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ, H*. ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ] A*: ⲡⲓⲁⲣ., $T^{t}A^{c}$BDEFH^{mg} N(ⲏⲱⲥ)Z: ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ, CH*: ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ, GT. ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ] A*: pref. ϫⲉ, $T^{t}A^{c}$. ⲡⲥⲁⲧ.] ⲡⲥⲁⲇ., B. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] A gloss صر المسكونة كلها طرحوه على الارض وطرحوا ملايكته معه 'Sah. the whole inhabited (earth), they cast him upon the earth, and they cast his angels with him.' ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] A: ⲉⲡⲕ., T^{t} &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲕ., T. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] AD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] om. ⲕⲉ, B. 10 ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ] ACDN: ⲉⲡ., T^{t} &c. ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] position cf.? Gr. ℵABCP al^{35} vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ] ⲡⲟⲩ.,

(out), the great serpent, (the) *ancient*, he who is called the *devil Satan*, he who led astray the whole *world*; he was cast below the earth: his *angels* also were cast below with him.

10 And I heard a great voice up in (the) heaven, saying: ‘Now happened the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ.

Because the *accuser* of our brethren was cast to the earth, he who *accused* before God in the day and the night.

11 Because they (pron.) overcame him because of (the) blood of the lamb, and because of (the) blood of their *witness*, for they loved not their *life* even unto (the) death.

12 Therefore delight yourselves, [the] heavens, and they who dwell in them. Woe to the earth and the sea: because the *devil* came below to you, there being a great wrath in him; knowing that only (ⲕⲉ) a little while (it is) which he hath.’

13 But the *dragon*, having seen that he was cast to (the) earth, pursued the woman who brought forth the son[a].

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[a] Lit. ‘the son male.’

F*. ⲡⲓⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ] ⲛⲓ., Tᵗ. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵABCP al[40] &c. ⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. A). ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] TᵗADF*: ⲉⲡⲕ., B &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲕ.] AH*: ⲉϣⲁϥⲉⲣ., Tᵗ &c. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. 1. 14. 28. 79. 90. 92. 98. arm aeth &c. 11 ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ). ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ twice] ⲡⲓⲥ., HZ; A gloss 1° صر كلمة ‘Sah. word.’ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉ.] TᵗA°(ⲧⲟⲩ, o. e.) &c.: ⲉⲧⲟⲩ, B (? om. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ). ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ] ⳁ, T. ϫⲉ 2°] TᵗB &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, A*: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϫⲉ, A°. ⲧⲟⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ] ⲡⲟⲩⲯ., B plur.; A tr. انفوسهم marked صر ‘Sah. their lives,’ gl. ‘Coptic their life.’ ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ] ⲙ̄ⲫ., N. 12 ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. A 1. 28. 30** 36. 47. 49. 79. 91. 95. al arm &c.; A gloss صر يفرحن السموات ‘Sah. the heavens shall rejoice.’ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ] +ⲇⲉ, CZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ &c.] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. al ? &c.). ϩⲁ.] ϣⲁ., CD. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃⲟⲛ] ACEFGHTZ: ⲛ̄ⲉⲙ., TᵗBDN. ⲉϥⲉⲙⲓ] ⲉϥⲉⲉⲙⲓ, HZ. ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] om. ⲕⲉ, C. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ] ACD*N: pref. ⲡⲉ, B: ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ(+ⲛ̄, DᵐᵍH)ⲧⲁϥ, TᵗDᵐᵍEFGHTZ. 13 ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲏⲣⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ, E.

14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲡⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϩ ⲃ̅ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲁϧⲱⲙ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϩⲱⲗ ⲉⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ⳾
ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲫⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϣⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲫⲁϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ |
ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ ⳾
15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ ⲁϥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲙ̄-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯ-
ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲙⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓⲁⲣⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲫⲁ-
ϩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ |
ⲟⲑ 17 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾

IH.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ | ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲓ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲇ̅ ⲛ̄ⲭⲗⲟⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲁⲡ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾

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14 ⲛ̄ⲡⲓϣϯ . . . ⲃ̅] ABCDEFHN: ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛ ⲛⲓϣϯ &c., T^{t}G TZ; cf. Gr. ℵB al pler &c.; if ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϣϯ of the other reading = ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-ⲛⲓϣϯ, cf. Gr. rell. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϩ ⲃ̅] ABCD*N: ⲃ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϩ, T^{t} D^{mg} EFGHTZ. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Prim 'quasi.' ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ] ⲛ̄, BCD. ⲟⲩⲁ-ϧⲱⲙ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ. ⲉⲫⲙⲁ] ABDN: ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ, T^{t}CEFGHTZ; cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 6. 26. 27. 28. 32. 36. 79. 94. 95. al vg syr arm aeth &c.; A gloss صر موضعها الذى تربا فيه 'Sah. her place in which &c.' ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ABN: pref. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, T^{t}CD &c. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ] T^{t}ABCD $F^{mg}$$G^{mg}$HTZ: om. EF*G*N*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ] ABN: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ., T^{t} &c. 15 ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ] AD^{mg}N: ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ, T^{t}EFGHT: ⲁⲡⲓⲇⲣ., BCD*Z^{c}. ⲁϥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] om. ⲁϥ, BCD*. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] om. D*. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲣⲟ] om. ⲟⲩ, B. ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ] A gloss صر لكى يعرقها 'Sah. that it might drown her.' 16 ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] T^{t}AN: pref. ⲁ, BCD EFGHTZ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ] T^{t}AF^{c}N: om. ⲁϥ, B &c. ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ]

14 And two great wings were given to her as those of an
eagle, that the woman might fly to (the) desert, to (the) place
(in) which[a] she will be nourished a time and times and (the) half
of a time from (the) face of the serpent. 15 And the serpent
cast from his mouth as (it were) a river of water behind the
woman. 16 And (the) earth opened its mouth, it swallowed
the river of water which the *dragon* cast forth behind the
woman. 17 And the *dragon* was angry with (ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ) the
woman, and went to make a war with (the) remainder of
(the) *seed* of the woman, they who keep the *commandments*
of God and the witness of Jesus.

XIII. And I stood upon the sand of the sea; I saw a
wild beast coming up in the sea, there being ten horns upon
him, and seven heads, there being four crowns upon his horns,

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[a] The usual redundant pronoun is omitted.

ⲉⲣⲟϥ, N. ⲁϥⲟⲙⲕ] -ⲱⲙⲕ, T^tNZ: ⲁϥⲱⲕ, B. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ, Z. ϩⲓⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ] AD^mgN: ⲥⲁⲫ., T^t &c.: ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲫ., Z; A gloss صر من فيه 'Sah. from his mouth.' 17 ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ &c.] T^tABCDN: ⲁⲡⲓⲇⲣ. ϫⲱⲛⲧ, EFGHTZ. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^tAD^mgN: ⲉϫ., BCD*G^mgTZ; cf. ? Gr. ℵABP 1. al omn^vi &c.: ⲉ, E?FG*H, cf.? Gr. C &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° . . . ⲛⲉⲙ] om. N: om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, C. ⲉⲓⲣⲓ] ABCDG^cHZ: ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ 'was making,' T^t: ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ 'made,' EFG*: ⲁϥⲉ̄ⲓⲣⲓ, T. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲙ̄] ⲛⲉⲙ, B. ⲡ(+ⲉ, FT)ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ . . . ⲛⲏ] ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ 'her seed and those,' T^t. ⲉⲛⲓ(ⲏ, G*)ⲉⲛⲧ.] ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧ., EF. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ] T^tABCD*HNZ: ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, D^mgEFGT. ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄] +ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄, C, cf. vg^cle tol lips &c.

1 ⲁⲓⲟ(+ⲩ, A°)ϩⲓ] cf. Gr. BP al fere omn ar^e &c.; for chapter beginning cf. Gr. 36. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 1°] T^tABCD^mgN: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, D*EFGHTZ. ⲡⲓϣⲱ] ⲡⲓϣⲟ, D*. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ, C. ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ 2°] ABD*N: ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, CD^mg: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉ., T^tD^cEFGHTZ. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 2°] T^tABCNT: ⲉϫ., DEFGHZ. ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵCP 1. 28. 79. 95. al aliq fu demid lips tol arm aeth &c. ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲛ̄ⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, Z: ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ, C; A gloss صر واسم تجديف مكتوبا على رؤوسه 'Sah. and a name of blaspheming written upon his heads.' ϩⲓ] A*BN: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, A°CD*Z: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^tEFGHT: ⲉ, D^c. ⲛⲉϥⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ] ⲛⲉϥⲁⲫⲉ, D^mg.

2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ÷ ⲛⲁϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲇⲁⲗⲓⲥ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ÷ | ⲉⲩⲙ̄-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ ÷ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲱϥ ⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱϥ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ ÷
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ÷ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ϩⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲫⲉ ÷ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ ⲙ̄ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ÷ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ÷ | ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ÷
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ÷ ⲥⲁⲫⲁϩⲟⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ÷ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ÷ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ÷
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ÷
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲣⲱϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϫⲱ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ÷ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃ̄
ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ÷
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ ⲉϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲫϯ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϣⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ÷ 7 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϭⲣⲟ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ÷
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ | ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ÷
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ÷ ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ÷ 8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ

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2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. C. ⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] $T^{t}AD^{*}F^{mg}G^{c}HNZ^{mg}$: om. ⲉⲩ, $BCD^{mg}EF^{*}G^{*}TZ^{*}$. ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ] om. ⲛⲁ, B. ⲉⲣⲉⲣⲱϥ] AB D^{mg}('not in some copies')N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱϥ] $T^{t}A$ $D^{mg}EFGT$: om. ⲟⲩ, $BCD^{*}HNZ$. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ] cf. Gr. ABCP al pler vg aeth arm &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] om. B. 3 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] $T^{t}ADG^{c}HNT^{c}Z$: om. ⲉ, $BCEFG^{*}T^{*}$. ⲟⲩ(ⲉⲩ, T^{t})ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] om. ⲟⲩ, B. ϩⲓ] ABN: ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, CD: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, $T^{t}EFGHTZ$; A gloss صر وليدى رووسه كمن قد ضربت بضربة الموت 'Sah. and his heads had (a wound) as of one who was struck with a stroke of death.' ⲁⲫⲉ] $AD^{mg}N$: ⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ, $T^{t}CD^{*}EFGHTZ$: ⲧⲁⲡ 'horn,' B. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϧⲟⲗϧⲉⲗ

there being a name written on his heads. [2] And the *wild
beast* which I saw was being like to a *leopard*, and his feet
being as those of a bear, his mouth being like to a mouth
of a lion. And the *dragon* gave his power to him, and
his *throne*, and a great authority. [3] And there is being a
wound[a] on his heads as of a slaughtering of (the) death, and
the wound of his death was healed. And all (the) earth
wondered behind the *wild beast*; [4] and they worshipped the
wild beast, saying: 'Who is like to this *wild beast*? And
who (is he) for whom it is possible to war with him?'

[5] And a mouth[b] was given to him to say great blasphemies,
and authority was given to him to war forty-two months.

[6] And he opened his mouth to blaspheme God, and to
blaspheme his name, and his *tabernacle*, and them who dwell
in (the) heaven. [7] And it was given to him to make a war
with the *saints*, and to overcome them. And authority was
given to him over all the *tribes*, and every tongue, and every
nation: [8] and they all shall worship him, they who dwell

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[a] The same word as for 'plague.' [b] Lit. 'his mouth.'

ⲙ̄] ABCEFG*N: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ 'of a wound,' DG^{mg}HTZ. ⲙ̄-
ⲫⲙⲟⲩ] ADG^{mg}NZ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ, T^{t}CEFG*HT: ⲉⲫⲙⲟⲩ, B.
ⲁϥⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ] T^{t}ABCD*G^{mg}HNTZ; cf. Gr. ℵBP al pler &c.:
ⲁⲩⲉⲣ., D^{mg}EFG*; cf. ? Gr. A(C) 1. 12. 28. 36. 79. &c. ⲧⲏⲣϥ] om.
T. [4] ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1° &c.] cf. Gr. 1. 29. ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲓ] ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲛⲓ, H. ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲁⲓⲑ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., D*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. 10. 12. 14. 17. 28.
35. 36. 37. 38. 42* 47. 49. 79. 87. 91. 92. 95. 96. vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ]
ϥⲃⲱⲧⲥ 'he warreth,' B. [5] ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. D*. ⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ]
cf. ? Gr. 14. 92. ar^{e}. ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲃ̄] ⲛ̄ϩⲙ̄ⲃ̄, B; cf. Gr. B 28. 36. 79. al &c.
[6] ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ, N by error. ⲉϫⲉ 1°] ⲛ̄ϫⲉ, T. ⲉⲫϯ] om. ⲉ,
EFG*. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^{c}$B*P 1. al mu vg syr^{odd} arm &c.
ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲉϩ., NZ. [7] ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°... ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵB 1^{**mg}
al pler vg aeth (syr) &c. ⲉⲓⲣⲓ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵB al^{30} fere syr aeth &c.
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉϭⲣⲟ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϭ., B. ⲁⲩϯ] ⲉϯ 'to give,' Z. ⲛⲉⲙ-
ⲗⲁⲥ] cf. Gr. 1. 36. 49. 91. al arm &c. ϣⲗⲟⲗ] -ⲱⲗ, C.

ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳿ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⳿ ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲛ
ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳿ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ-
ⲡⲃ ϧⲉⲗϧⲟⲗϥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲑⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⳿ ⲙ̀|ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⳿
9 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲙⲁϣϫ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⳿
10 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϫⲙⲁⲗⲱⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϣⲉ ⳿
Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ ⳿ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ ⳿
Ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯϩⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⳿ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳿ | ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⳿

ⲒⲐ.

11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳿ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⳿
ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳿ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩ-
ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⳿
12 ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁϥⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳿ ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥ-
ⲙ̀ⲑⲟ ⳿ |
ⲡⲅ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳿
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⳿ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ⳿
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⳿ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲑⲣⲉ ⲟⲩ-
ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳿ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳿ |
14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉ-

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8 ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫ., D^mg EF. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., HTZ. ⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵ P 95. al plu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ABC al[40] syr &c. τὸ ὄνομα, Gr. ℵ* 95. syr arm αὐτῶν. ϩⲓ] ⲙ̅, D*. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲟⲗϥ] AC: -ⲱⲗϥ, T^t &c. ⲑⲕⲁⲧⲁⲃ.] ⲧⲕ., T^t. 9 ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] cf. ? lips[6]**. 10 ϧⲉⲛ] ABCDN: ⲉ, HZ: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ, T^t EFGHT. ⲟⲩⲉ (om. BH) ϫⲙ.] ⲧϫⲙ., D. ⲉⲑ (ⲧ, B) ⲛⲁϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ] cf. ? Gr. BCP 1. 7. 26. 36. 38. 49. 87. 91. 96. al &c.: -ϧⲟⲑⲃⲉϥ 'kill him,' G^c HTZ. ⲇⲉ] T^t ABDG^c NTZ: om. CEF G* H. 11 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ACDNZ: ⲉⲟⲩ., T^t EFGHT: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B. ⲃ̅ &c.] T^t AN: ⲧⲁⲡ ⲃ̅, BCDEFGHTZ. ⲡⲉ] om. B. ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲓ] ABCD^mg N: ⲉϥⲟ (ⲱ, D*) ⲛⲓ, T^t D* EFGHTZ. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩ.]

upon (the) earth, they whose name is not written on (the)
book of (the) life of the lamb, he who was slaughtered from
(the) *foundation* of the *world*. 9 He who hath ear to hear,
let him hear. 10 He who will go in a *captivity*, let him
go. He who will kill with (the) sword, they will kill him
with the sword. But he who hath [the] *patience* and [the]
faith of the *saints*, blessed is he.

11 And I saw another *wild beast* coming up from (the) earth,
there were being two horns upon him, being like to a lamb,
and speaking as a *dragon*. 12 All his authority was as the
first *wild beast*; he was doing it before him. And he
caused (the) earth and them who dwell on it (to) worship
the first *wild beast*, whose wound of his death was cured.

13 And he shall do signs, that he may cause a fire to come
down from (the) heaven upon (the) earth before [the] men.
14 And he shall lead astray them who dwell upon (the) earth

ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩϩ. 'to those of &c.,' C. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B. ⲉⲩⲥⲁϫⲓ] AB D^{mg}N: ⲉϥⲥ., CD*EFGH: ⲁϥⲥ., T: ϥⲥ., Z^c: ⲛⲁϥⲥ., T^t. 12 ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϣ.] AFN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲁϥⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ] AB: ⲁϥⲉⲣⲙ̄., T^tD^{mg}N: ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ 'he gave,' CD^cEFGHTZ: ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓϥ, D*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ 1°] T^tABDN: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑ. ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ, CEFGHTZ, cf.? Gr. 14. ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ] ABDHN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tCG^cTZ; tense cf. Gr. 38. vg syr arm aeth &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, EFG*. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABN: +ⲧⲏⲣϥ, T^t &c. ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ] T^tAD*N: ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ, BCD^{mg}EFGHTZ; position cf.? Gr. C 14. 92. al vg &c. ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] ABCD*N: ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ, Z^c; cf.? Gr. ℵ: ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ, $T^tD^cG^c$HT: ⲁⲩⲟⲩ., EFG*. ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] T^tABN: ⲡⲓⲉⲣ., CDEFGHTZ. 13 ⲉϥⲉⲓⲣⲓ] T^tAN, cf. Gr. 35. 87. &c.: ⲛⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, B &c., cf.? Gr. 31. vg (exc. fu) aeth &c. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] ABD*N: pref. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ, T^tCD^{mg}EFGHTZ; position cf.? Gr. ℵACP 1. 35. 38. 87. al vg syr &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲑⲣⲉ . . . ⲓ] cf.? Gr. ℵP 1. 95. al vix mu syr &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲧⲫⲉ] om. N; A gloss من السماءٔ ما في نسخة الاصل وانما هى في بعض نسخ القبطى 'from heaven, not in the copy of the original, and it is only in some Coptic copies.' ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] AN: ⲉϫ., T^t &c.; cf.? Gr. B 2. 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 31. 38. 91. 92. al[20] fere &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] AB: ⲡⲓⲕ., T^t &c.

ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲛⲓⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ⲉⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾
Ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱⲛϧ |
ⲡⲁ 15 ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϯ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ·ⲉϯϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ-
ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁ-
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϩⲏⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙ-
ϩⲉⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⳾ | ⲉϥⲉϣⲟⲗϩⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩ-
ϫⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ⳾
17 Ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡ ⲓⲉ ⲉϯ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣⲱⲗϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏ-
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲡⲉ 18 Ϯⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲏⲧ | ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϥⲓⲱⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉϥⲏⲡⲓ ⲭ̄ⲝ̄ϛ̄ ⲡⲉ ⳾

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14 ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABCDN: ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ., B. ⲉⲁϥⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ] T^{t}AD*F^{c}HN: ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ 'to do them,' BCD^{c}EF*GTZ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] om. T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ] ABCN: -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲉ, T^{t}D: -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ, EFGHTZ. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] ANT: ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] ABN: ⲡⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ] ABN: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲥ., T^{t} &c.; cf. Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. 15 ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ] A*: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓϥ, F: ⲟ. ⲁϥⲧⲏⲓⲥ, H. ⲛⲁϥ] cf. Gr. ℵBP** al omn^{vi} &c. ⲉϯⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄] order cf. ? Gr. ℵAP 1. al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉϯϩ.] T^{t}A &c.: ⲛ̄ϯϩ., DHZ. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ 1°] ABD HZ: ϩⲓⲕ., T^{t} &c.; A gloss صرلكي صورة الوحش تنطق ويثبتها 'Sah. that the image of the beast should speak and confirm it.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲑ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑ., B; cf. Gr. C 14. 16. 28. 31. 79. syr &c. for om. ἵνα &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] T^{t}ACDF^{c}N: ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ, EF*GHTZ.

because of the signs which were given to him, having done
them before the *wild beast*. Saying to them who dwell
upon the earth, that they should make *image* to the *wild*
beast, in whom is (the) wound of (the) sword, and he lived.
15 It was given to him to give *spirit* to the *image* of the *wild*
beast, and to kill them who will not worship the *wild beast*
and his *image*. 16 And he shall cause all the small, and
the great, and the rich, and the poor, and the freemen,
and the servants—he shall mark them in their right hand
and their forehead; 17 That no one shall be able to buy
or to sell except him on whom there is mark of the *wild*
beast put (lit. given), or his name, or (the) number of his
name. 18 The wisdom (is) here. He who hath mind [a]
let him reckon (the) number of the *wild beast*; for it is
(the) number of a man: and his number is six hundred
and sixty-six.

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[a] Lit. 'heart.'

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16 ⲉ(ⲁ, T)ϥⲉⲑⲣⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} vg: ⲉϥⲑ., Z. ⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲟⲓ] ⲣⲁ-ⲙⲙⲁⲟ, Z. ⲧⲟⲩϫⲓϫ] cf. Gr. 38. 97. ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵACP al plus^{30} arm aeth &c.: ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛϩ 'their wings,' B. 17 ϩⲓⲛⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ*C 6. 28. 32. 79. 96. tol syr &c. ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲛ] ABCDN: ⲉϣ., T^{t}EFGHTZ. ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲧⲉ|ⲟⲛ, A: ⲉⲧⲉ, D. ϣⲱⲗϩ] ABN: -ⲟⲗϩ, T^{t} &c.: pref. ⲡⲓ, D: + ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ, B. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲑ.] ⲙ̄ⲛⲑ., BC. ⲧⲟⲓ] T^{t}ABDF^{c}HNZ: om. CEF*GT. ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ] om. B. ⲓⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵ 36. 38. 18 ϯⲥⲃⲱ] ABN: ⲉ(ⲁ, CD*)ⲣⲉϯⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ, T^{t}CD^{c}EFGHTZ. ϩⲏⲧ] ⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ, T^{t}; cf. Gr. ℵ^{cc}ABCP al fere^{40} arm &c.; translation of verse 18 erased, B. ⲱⲡ] A*B*: ⲡⲱⲡ, T^{t}A^{c} &c.: ⲡⲓⲱⲡ, F. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲑ.] ⲙ̄ⲛⲑ., BC. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲣ., C. ⲧⲉ] ABCD*N: ⲡⲉ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGH^{c}TZ: ⲛⲉ, H*. ⲕⲏⲓ 3°] A gloss اسم صر 'Sah. name.' ⲭ̄ⲝ̄ⲋ̄] cf. Gr. B 1. 6. 14. 28. 30. 32. 35. 36. 38. 49. 79. 91. 96. 97. al mu &c.: pref. ⲛ̄, T^{t}. ⲛⲉ] cf. ? Gr. CP 1. 10. 18. 28. 37. 38. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. am fu lipss omn^{lachm} syr &c.: om. F* Z, cf. Gr. AB al^{35} fere vg^{cle} demid tol aeth &c.

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Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ⳾ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲥⲓⲱⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ⳾ ⲉⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲓⲱⲧ⳾|
ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟ̀ⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ⳾ ⲟ̀ⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥⲙⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ⳾
3 Ⲉⲩϩⲱⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲗⲏ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ⳾ |
ⲡⲋ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϫⲉⲙ-
ϫⲟⲙ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲉϯϩⲱⲗⲏ ⲉ̀ⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲡⲓⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ϣⲟ⳾ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾
4 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ⳾ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁϣⲉ
ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ⳾
Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳾
ⲛ̀ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ⳾
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ϩⲗⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾
ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ⳾

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ⲡⲍ 6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉϥ|ϩⲏⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲫⲉ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾

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1 ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al[30] syr Or &c. ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA(B) CP 1. 79. al plus[10] Or &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^tACDN: ⲉϫ., BEFGHTZ. ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ] +ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ 'holy,' B. ⲥⲓⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. C). ⲛⲉⲙ . . . ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg aeth Or &c. ⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲇ̅] T^tA*BDN: pref. ⲡⲓ, A^cCEFGHTZ; cf. Gr. B 1. al plu &c. ⲡⲉϥ... ⲫⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. P 1. al ?). ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] T^tAN: om. ⲉϥ, B &c. ⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] ⲧⲉⲛϩ 'wing,' B. 2 ⲧⲫⲉ] A gloss صر كصوت مياه كثيرة وكصوت 'Sah. as the sound of many waters and as the sound.' ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲟⲑⲙⲉⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al pler vg syr Or &c. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ 2°] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 91. al ? &c.). ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] A*B(om. ⲉⲣ)

XIV. And I saw the lamb standing upon the mountain
of Siōn, and an hundred forty-four thousand being (ⲭⲏ)
with him; his name and (the) name of his Father being
written on their forehead. 2 And I heard a voice from
(the) heaven, as a great thunder: and the voice which I
heard (was) as harpers, 3 Praising in a new *song* before
the *throne*, and before the four *living-beings*, and the *pres-
byters*: and no one was able to know the *song* except the
hundred forty-four thousand, they who were bought from
(the) earth. 4 These are they who polluted not their
garments with woman; for they are *virgins*: these are they
who walk with the lamb to the place to which he will
go. These are they who were bought from [the] men,
firstfruit to God and the lamb. 5 And no falsehood was
found in their mouths, for they are cleansed.

6 And I saw another *angel* flying in (the) midst of (the)
heaven, having an eternal *Gospel*, preaching good tidings to

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CDF^{mg}G^{mg}HNZ: ⲛ̅ϩⲁⲛⲕⲩⲑⲁⲣⲁ 'of harps,' T^{t}A^{mg}EF*G*T; A gloss صر مقيثرين يقيثروا بقيثاراتهم 'Sah. harpers harping with their harps.' 3 ϧⲉⲛ 1° &c.] cf.? Gr. ℵ B P al^{40} syr aeth arm Or &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ 1°] + ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, C. ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̅ 2°] om. BEF*G*: pref. ⲙ̅, T^{t}: ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̅ⲑⲟ ⲙ̅, Z by error. ⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̅, EF*. ϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ] A*N: pref. ϣ, T^{t}A^{c} &c. ⲛⲓⲣⲙ̅ⲗ̅ⲁ̅] cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵ^{c} 7. 28. 32* 93. om. *αἱ*), for numerals cf. Gr. B al mu. 4 ⲛⲁⲓ thrice] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CEFGT. ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ] cf. Tert Hier. ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡⲁⲣ (ⲑ above), T. ⲅⲁⲣ] om. B by error. ⲛⲉ 3°] cf. Gr. B al pler fu al^{lachm} syr &c. ⲉⲑⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲧⲙ., BN. ⲛⲁϥ] T^{t}ACN: om. BDEFGHTZ. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] T^{t}ABD^{mg}N: + ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ, CD*EFGHTZ. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ.] om. ⲛⲏ, EFG*. -ϣⲟⲡⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 35. 36. 79. 87. 95. al vg arm aeth Or. ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ] obs. Gr. ℵ* praem *ἐν*. 5 ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ] position cf.? Gr. B 2. 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. 30. 31. 32. 35. 38. al^{20} aeth^{utr} &c. ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. al pauc^{vid} &c.). ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. ℵ B al fere omn vg^{cle} am** demid harl* tol lips syr arm aeth Or &c. 6 ⲕⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{cc}ACP 49. 51. 79. 91. 95. al mu^{vi} vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉϥϩⲏⲗ] -ⲉⲗ, T^{t}. ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅ.] ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅ., AN. ⲛ̅ⲉⲛⲉϩ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϩ, B. ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧϥ] pref. ⲭⲏ 'put,' B.

ⲉϥϩⲓϣⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲗⲟⲗ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ 7 ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ |
Ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲁⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁϥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲡ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

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8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ |
ⲡⲏ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲧⲟⲃϥ ⳾ ⲉ|ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲓⲉ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳾ 10 ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲑⲏⲧ
ⲛ̄ⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲫⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥ-
ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉ-
ⲡⲑ ⲗⲟⲥ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾ 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓ-

ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. 38. 97. ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. A 14. 28. 79. 92. al &c.; صر الجالسين 'Sah. they who sit.' ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABON: ⲡⲓⲕ., T^{t}DEFGH TZ. ⲛⲉⲙϣⲗⲟⲗ] cf. Gr. 1. 28. 36. 79. al &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲫⲩⲗⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. B. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. C^{o}. ⲗⲁⲟⲥ . . . ⲗⲁⲥ] AN: ⲗⲁⲥ . . . ⲗⲁⲟⲥ, T^{t} &c. 7 ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. A). ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABCD*N: ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ, $T^{t}D^{mg}$EFGHTZ. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 28. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. al am fu syr arm Or &c. ⲛⲁϥ] position cf. ? Gr. 28. 38. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲉⲧⲉ, Z. ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲑ.] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 35. 36. 49. 91. 95. 96. al &c. -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲉ] AN: -ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̄, T^{t} &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ADHNZ: ⲡⲓⲕ., T^{t} &c. ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] A gloss صر وينابيع المياه 'Sah. and the fountains of the waters.' 8 ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲃ̄] position cf. ? Gr. $\aleph^{cc}$CP 6. 9. 10. 17. 18. 28. 37. 40. 46. 49. 79. 91. 96.

them who dwell upon (the) earth, and every nation, and every
tribe, and every *people*, and every tongue; 7 saying in a great
sound: 'Fear God, and give glory to him; because the
hour of his judgement came; and worship him who made
(the) heaven, and (the) earth, and the sea, and the waters.'
8 And another, second, *angel* walked after him, saying:
'Babylōn the great fell: from (the) wine of (the) wrath of
her *fornication* all the *nations* fell.' 9 And another, third,
angel walked after them, saying: 'He who will worship the
wild beast and his *image*, and will seal himself on his
forehead or his hand—10 he (it is) who will drink from
the wine of (the) wrath of God, which is mingled, *un-mixed* wine in the cup of his anger. And they shall be
tormented in [a] fire and [a] sulphur before the *angels*, and
before the lamb: 11 and the smoke of their torment shall go

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al ? syr arm &c. ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ] A*BCDGNT, cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}BC al plus^{30} aeth &c.: ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ, T^{t}A^{mg}EFHZ, Gr. AP 1. 28. 36. 37. 47. 49. 79. 91. 95. al^{vi} vg m^{110} syr arm &c. ϯⲛⲓϣϯ] +ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}BP al plus^{30} m^{110} &c. ⲡⲏⲣⲡ] ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ, B. ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] ADEFGHNTZ: ⲡⲓⲉⲙ(ⲙ̅, BCZ)ⲃⲟⲛ, T^{t}BC. -ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}BC al. ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲩϩⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} 12. &c. ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲛⲓ., A. 9 ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲟⲩ] T^{t}AD*F^{c}HNTZ, cf. Gr. rell: ⲛ̅ⲥⲱϥ, BCD^{mg}EF*G, cf. Gr. A &c. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ⲉⲥϫⲱ, N feminine. ⲫⲏ] BH: ⲛⲏ 'they,' T^{t} &c.: ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ 'to them,' D^{mg}. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] T^{t}ABDEFGH^{c}NT, cf. ? Gr. 38.: ⲉⲑⲟⲩ., CH*Z; position cf. ? Gr. (exc. 1. al ?). ⲛⲉⲙ] ⲓⲉ 'or,' B. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] AEFHNTZ: ϩⲓⲕ., T^{t}BCDG. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] ⲓⲉ, B. -ⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] -ⲧⲉⲛϩ 'wing,' B. ⲓⲉ] T^{t}ABD^{mg}N: ⲛⲉⲙ, CD*EFGHTZ. 10 ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲥⲱ] ⲉϥⲉⲥⲱ, B. ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] for ⲡⲉⲙ. &c. see verse 8 exc. FZ. ⲡ. ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] A*DN; om. T: ⲡ. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲫϯ, T^{t}A^{c} &c.: ⲡ. ⲙ̅ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ 'the indignation of the Lord,' B, obs. Gr. 14. 38. 92. *αὐτοῦ*. ⲛ̅ⲏⲣⲡ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲏⲣⲡ 'with (the) wine,' B. ⲛ̅ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟ(ⲱ, H)ⲛ] ABD^{mg}HN: +ⲉϥⲟⲛϩ 'living,' T^{t}CD*EFG ('it is not in some copies') TZ. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] A*BD*, cf. Gr. ℵBCP al pler vg rell &c.: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, T^{t}A^{c} &c., cf. Gr. A 7. 16. 39. -ⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ] -ⲃⲁⲥⲓ., D. ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. A 26. m^{56} vg^{ms}; A gloss صر القديسين 'Sah. the holy.' ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] ⲙ̅ⲡ., T^{t}: om. D*. 11 ⲡ(ⲛ, N)ⲓⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ] ⲛⲓ-

ⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⳾ ⲉϥⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ
ϣⲁⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ-
ϣⲱⲗϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⳾ |
12 Ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ-
ⲛⲁϩϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ-
ϥ ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ | ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⳾
Ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϧⲓⲥⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ϧⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲱⲛϧ ⳾
14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩϭⲏⲡⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀-
ⲡϣⲱⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϯϭⲏⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲉϥⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲗⲟⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳾
15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾
ⲉϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ϥⲁ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϯϭⲏⲡⲓ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲥϧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲱⲥϧ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲥⲓ

ⲭⲣⲱⲙ 'the fire,' G*. ⲉϥⲉϣⲉ] ⲉϥϣⲉ, Z; position cf. vg^{cle} lips arm &c. ϣⲁⲉⲃⲟⲗ] AN: ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ, D*: ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ 'unto age of the age,' T^{t}B &c., cf. Gr. C 1. 7. 14. 28. 79. 92. &c. ϫⲉ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CEFG*: om. BD^{mg}. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ] ABD*N: ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛ-ⲧⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c. ⲙ̀ⲧⲟⲛ] ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ, T^{t}. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲏ] ABCD*N: ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ, T^{t}D^{c}EFGHTZ. ⲉⲑⲛⲁ] ⲉⲧⲛⲁ, B. ⲫⲏ] T^{t}ABD^{mg} G^{c}NTZ: ⲛⲏ, CD*G*H: ⲛⲁ, EF. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲱ(ⲟ, CEFZ)ⲗϩ] ⲙ̀ⲡϣ., CN, obs. Gr. 1. &c. om. *τό*. 12 ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ] om. ⲇⲉ, T; A gloss

up for ever. Because there is not rest there in the day
and the night for them who will worship the *wild beast*, and
his *image*, and who will receive the mark of his name.
12 But he who will endure with the *saints*, they (are they)
who will keep the *commandments* of God, and the faith of
Jesus Christ.' 13 And I heard another great sound from
(the) heaven, saying: 'Blessed are the dead in the Lord,
should they rise henceforth. The *spirit* saith that (ϩⲓⲛⲁ)
they may rest themselves, henceforth from their toils of their
works, (which) shall follow (lit. walk after) them; and that he
may guide them down to a fountain of water of life.' 14 And
I saw a white cloud; and above upon the cloud one is sitting,
being like to a son of man, there being a crown of gold upon
him, there being a sharp[a] sword in his hand. 15 And
another *angel* came from the temple, crying out in a great
sound, saying to him who sat upon the cloud: 'Send thy

[a] Lit. 'throwing,' thus again.

صر هذا هو موضع صبر القديسين 'Sah. this the place of the patience of the
saints.' ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ.] A D*H N Z: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ. 'of the,' T^{t}B C D^{mg}E F G T.
ⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵ A B C P al^{40} vg syr aeth &c ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅] cf. Gr. 28. 79. &c.:
ϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧϥ 'blessed is he,' A^{o}B F^{c}. 13 ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲓϣϯ] A B
F^{mg}N: ⲉⲟⲩⲛ., T^{t}C D E F* G H T Z. ⲉϥϫⲱ &c.] position cf. Gr.
(exc. ℵ 38. &c.); om. *μοί*, cf. Gr. ℵ A B C P al^{35} am fu lips omn^{lachm}
syr aeth &c. ϫⲉⲱⲟⲩ] A*N: pref. ϫⲉⲥϧⲁⲓ 'Write,' $T^{t}A^{mg}$
(خ 'a copy') &c. ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] A $D^{mg}F^{mg}G^{mg}$N T: ⲁⲩ-
ϣⲁⲛⲙⲟⲩ 'should they die,' T^{t}B C D* E F* G* H Z^{c}. ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛϯ-
ⲛⲟⲩ 1°] cf. Gr. P 91. 96. 97. al sat mu. ϥϫⲱ] cf. Gr. ℵ* om. *ναί*.
ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ] om. T. ⲛⲟⲩϧⲓⲥⲓ] ⲟⲩϧⲓⲥⲓ 'a toil,' E G*. ⲉⲩⲉ-
ⲙⲟϣⲓ] ⲉⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ, D*: ⲉϥⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ, B singular: ⲉⲑⲙ. 'who
walk,' G*. ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ] T^{t}A D^{mg}N: ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'with them,' B &c.
ⲉϧ(ϩ, A* ?)ⲣⲏⲓ] $A^{o}D^{o}$N: ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ, T^{t} &c. 14 ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ]
-ⲟⲃϣ, T^{t}B D N. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] A B D* N: ⲉϫ., T^{t}C &c. ⲉϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ]
A B D N: ⲛⲁϥϩ. 'was sitting,' T^{t}C &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. C 6. 7.
38. al sat mu &c. ⲉ(om. G^{c}T)ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] A B D* N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c.;
A gloss صر وفى يده منجل حاد 'Sah. and in his hand a sharp sickle.'
15 ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] position cf. ? Gr. 1. ⲱⲥϧ] ⲟⲥϧ, B. ⲁⲥⲓ] cf. Gr.
ℵ A B C P al plus^{35} vg rell &c.

ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲥϧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ 16 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϯϭⲏⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉϥⲱⲥϧ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾

ⲔⲄ.

17 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ | ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉⲥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣ-
ϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ |
ϥⲃ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϭⲉⲗ
ⲡⲓⲥⲙⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
19 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲉⲗ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲱⲧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲙ-
ⲃⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾
20 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϩⲱⲙⲓ | ⲛ̀ϯϩⲣⲱⲧ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ϯϩⲣⲱⲧ ⳾
ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲑⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲭ̅ ⲛ̀ⲥⲧⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⳾
1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ ϧⲉⲛ
(ϥⲅ) ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ | ⲡⲓⲍ̅
ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾

ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] A: ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, Tt &c. 16 ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 1°] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, E. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ 2°] TtABCDHN: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, EFGTZ. ⲡⲓ (om. N) ⲕⲁϩⲓ] +ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱⲥϧⲥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ 'and the earth they reaped it,' Tt by error; A gloss صر فحصد الارض 'Sah. and the earth was reaped.' 17 ⲉⲁϥⲓ] A: ⲁϥⲓ, Tt &c. ⲧⲫⲉ] A gloss صرمن الهيكل الذى فى السماء وبيده منجل حاد 'Sah. from the sanctuary which is in heaven, and in his hand a sharp sickle' (thus again). 18 ⲁϥⲓ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. A am fu &c.). ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣ.] om. ⲟⲩ, B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ] TtABDN: trs. before

reaping (hook) and reap; because the hour of (the) reaping of
the earth came.' 16 And he who sat upon the cloud sent his
reaping (hook) upon the earth.

17 And (there was) another *angel* who came from (the)
heaven having a sharp sword. 18 And another *angel* came
from the altar having an authority over (lit. of a) fire. And
he called in a great sound to him who had the sharp sword,
saying: 'Send thy sharp sword and gather the cluster of
vine of (the) earth.' 19 And the *angel* struck[a] his sword
into the earth, and he gathered the vine of (the) earth, and
he cast it into the great winepress of (the) wrath of God.

20 And he trode the winepress outside of the city; and a
blood came out of the winepress unto the *bridles* of the horses,
a thousand and six hundred *stadia*. XV. And I saw an-
other great sign up in (the) heaven, being wonderful; seven
angels having the seven last plagues; because in them was
completed the wrath of God.

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[a] Lit. 'threw.'

ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, CE?FGHTZ. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. 6. 7. 8. 14. 29. al[20] &c. ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. CP al pler *κραυγῇ*. ⲉⲫⲏ] ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ, CZ: ⲫⲏ, B. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ϥϫⲱ, F. ϭ(altered A[c])ⲉⲗ] A[c]BD*N: ϭⲱⲗ ⲙ̀(ⲛ̀), T[t] &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲙⲁϩ] ⲛ̀ⲓ., T[t]D[mg]EFGT; A gloss صر عناقيد كرمة الارض لان عنبها قد بلغ 'Sah. the bunches of the vine of the earth because her grapes have ripened.' 19 ϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀] ϩⲓ, BD*; A gloss صر فارسل 'Sah. and he sent.' ⲉⲛⲕⲁϩⲓ] A*BD*: ⲛ̀ⲛ., N; cf. ? Gr. ABCP al fere omn &c.: ⲉϫⲉⲛⲛⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ, T[t]A[c]CD[mg]EFGHTZ, cf. ? Gr. ℵ 38. 97. ⲁϥϭⲉ(ⲁ, N)ⲗ] ABD*N: ⲁϥϭⲱⲗ ⲙ̀, T[t]CD[mg]EFGHTZ. ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ] ACN: ⲛⲓⲙⲁϩⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ, T[t] &c.: ⲛⲓⲥⲙⲉϩⲛ̀ⲁⲗⲟⲗⲓ 'the grapes,' B. ⲉϯⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲛ̀ϯ., Z. ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] ABDN: ⲛⲓⲙ̀-(ⲉⲙ, T[t])ⲃⲟⲛ, T[t] &c. ⲙ̀ⲫϯ] ABD*N: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫϯ, T[t] &c. 20 -ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] T[t]ABCDN: -ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, EFGNTZ. ϫⲁⲗⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ] ⲕⲁⲗ., T. ⲛⲓϩ.] ⲛⲓϩ., A*. ϣⲟ . . . ϫ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ[c]ACP &c.

1 ⲉⲕⲉ] ⲛ̀ⲕⲉ, Z: ⲉⲟⲩ, C. ⲉⲛϣⲱⲓ] ⲙ̀ⲛ., BCZ. ⲛⲓⲍ] om. ⲛⲓ, D*. ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ] om. A*. ⲛ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ABN: ⲛ̀ϧ., T[t] &c. ⲛⲓ-ⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] ⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ, CFGHTZ: ⲛⲓⲙ̀ⲛⲃⲟⲛ, B.

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²Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲭⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⁘
ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭ̀ⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲧⲏⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⁘ | ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲁⲭⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⁘ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲩⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⁘
³Ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲛ̄ϯϩⲱⲇⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ
ⲡⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⁘ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲕϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄
ϥⲁ ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛ|ⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⁘
Ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉ ⁘ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⁘
⁴Ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⁘ |

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⁵Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ. ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ
ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘
⁶Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣ-
ⲫⲉⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ϥⲉ ϩⲁⲛϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲩ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⁘ | ⲉⲩⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲉⲩ-
ⲙⲏⲣ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩϯⲡⲓ ⁘ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲙⲟϫϧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⁘

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² ⲁⲃⲁⲭⲏⲓⲛⲓ] ⲃⲁⲭ., A*?: ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲭ., C. ⲉϥⲙⲟⲩϫⲧ] -ⲟϫⲧ, CN. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛⲉⲙ 'with,' D^mg. ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ &c.] order cf. Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg syr aeth arm^cdd &c. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] ϩⲓⲕ., CGHZ. ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲏⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al plus 35 vg syr arm aeth &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T^tABD^mgHN: ⲉϫ., CD*EFGTZ. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] ⲡⲓⲓⲟⲙ, BCD^mgN. ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] T^tAD^mgN: ⲉⲟⲩ., B &c. ⲭⲏ] om. BD. ³ ⲉⲩϫⲱ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ &c.; A gloss صر يسبحون تسبحة موسى عبد اللهِ وتسبحة الخروف 'Sah. they sing the song of Musa the servant of God and the song

2 And I saw as (it were) a sea of glass mingled with a fire;
and all they who overcame the *wild beast*, and his *image*,
and (the) number of his name, standing upon the sea of
glass having *harps* of God: 3 Singing the *song* of the
lamb and Mōyses the servant of God, saying: 'Great are
thy works and they are wonderful, Lord God, the *Almighty*,
the righteous. All thy ways are truth, (the) king of the
nations. 4 Who (is he) who shall not fear thee, Lord,
and glorify thy name? Because all the *nations* shall come
and worship thy name; because thine ordinances (lit. truths)
were manifested.'
5 And after these (things) I saw. Lo, the temple of the
tabernacle of the witness up in (the) heaven was opened.
6 And the seven *angels* came out of the temple, they who
had the seven plagues, being clothed with garments of linen,
glorious, bound upon their loins with girdles of gold.

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of the lamb.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ 'of God,' B. ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵAB 1. al[30] fere &c. ⲡⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 28. 38. 91. 96. al[10] &c.: om. D[mg]EF*G*T. ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲱⲓⲧ] AB D*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t] &c.; A gloss صر وطرقك بارة وعادلة 'Sah. and thy ways righteousness and equity.' ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. CEF*G*. ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ[c]ABP 1. 6. 7. 8. 14. al plus[40] aeth arm &c. 4 ⲛⲓⲙ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CEG*, cf. Gr. 36. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲉϥ.] ⲉⲧⲉⲛϥ., EGH. ⲉⲣϩⲟϯ] ABCD*N: + ⲁⲛ, T[t]D[mg]EFGHTZ double negative; om. σε, cf. Gr. ABCP 1. 12. 14. 36. 43. 47. 79. 92. am fu demid tol omn[lachm] aeth arm &c. ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅] cf. ar[e]. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ 1°] T[t]A BD[mg]N: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ 'his &c.,' CD*EFGHTZ, cf. ar[e]; A gloss صر لانك انت وحدك القدوس والبار 'Sah. for thou only art the holy and the righteous.' ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. al sat mu vg arm syr aeth &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ 2°] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣ., D[mg]. 5 ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ] cf. ? vg &c. ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ] ABCD*N: ⲉⲡ., T[t] &c. 6 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. G*. ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 1. 7. 28. 29. 36. 43. 47. 79. 94. 95. al vg syr aeth arm &c. ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵBP 7. 14. 18. 36. 92. 97. al pler vg[cle] syr arm &c. ⲉⲩⲫⲟⲣⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al plus[30] am fu demid lips[5] tol omn[lachm] syr &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B, cf. Gr. 32** al ? vg[cle] lipss[4.6.] arm aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲣ] cf. Gr. 1. ⲉⲭⲉⲛ] ϩⲓϫ., T[t]CD[mg]; cf. ? Gr. 28. 79. ⲧⲟⲩϯ (ⲧⲓ, B) ⲛⲓ] ABD*F[mg](ϯⲓ) 'a copy,' HN: ⲙⲉⲥ-

7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲁϥϯ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϯⲍ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾ ⲉⲩ-
ⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⳾
ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⳾ |
8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ-
ⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ϣϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲛⲁⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ϥⲉ̅ 1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⳾ | ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲙⲁϣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉϣ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲙ-
ⲃⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥ-
ϫⲉϣ ⲧⲉϥⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲟⲩ-
ϣⲁϣⲓ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲃ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⳾
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾
ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲁⲟⲩⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲯⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ |
(ϥⲍ) 4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲓⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲥⲛⲟϥ ⳾

ⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ 'breast,' T^{t}CD^{mg}EF*GTZ; A gloss صر صدورهم 'Sah. their breasts.' 7 ⲇ̅ ⲛ̀] om. ⲛ̀, EFG. ϯⲍ̅] ⲍ̅, T^{t}. ⲡⲓⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ] ⲡⲓⲉⲙⲃ., T^{t}DZ. ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] T^{t}ABDG^{o}HNZ: ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, CEF G*T. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ 12. 28. 46. 8 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. B al[30] &c. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲣϧⲟ(ⲱ, N)ⲧ] ABCD^{mg}N: -ⲛⲓⲉⲣ., T^{t}D* EFGHTZ.

1 ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ] position cf. ? Gr. ABC 8. 13. 14. 31. 43. 92. al plus[10] &c. ⲧⲫⲉ] cf. Gr. 13. demid tol lips ar^{e}. ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] A gloss صر السبع ملايكة 'Sah. the seven angels.' ϫⲉϣ] ABDN: ϫⲱ(ⲉ, T^{t}E)ϣ ⲛ̀, T^{t}CE FGHZ^{c}: om. T; om. *καί*, cf. Gr. 1. 7. 12. 28. 36. 49. 79. al fere[10] lips

7 And one from the four *living-beings* gave to the seven
angels the seven *vials* of gold, full of the wrath of God who
liveth unto age of the ages. Amēn. 8 And the temple was
filled with the smoke of the glory of God, and with his
power; and no one was able to come into the temple, until
these plagues of the seven *angels* were completed.

XVI. And I heard a great voice from (the) heaven, saying
to the *angels*: 'Go, pour your *vials* of (the) wrath of God
below.' 2 And the first *angel* went, he poured his *vial* on the
earth; and an evil sore came (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) in the men, they who
were sealed for the *wild beast,* and they who worshipped his
image. 3 And the second *angel* poured his *vial* on the
sea; and it became blood as that of a dead man; and every
soul which liveth died in the sea. 4 And the third *angel*
poured his *vial* on the rivers and the fountains of water;

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arm &c. ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛ] T^{t}T &c.; om. ἔπτα, cf. Gr. P 1. 28. 49. 79. 91. 96. al aeth &c. ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ] A*BCD*G^{mg}HN: ⲉⲡⲑⲟⲛⲧ (?), A^{c} (tr. المزوجة 'the mingled') EFG*T: ⲉⲡⲑⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ 'in (the) likeness' (?), D^{mg}: ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲡⲑⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ (tr. المزوجة), T^{t}. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲛ̄, G^{c}. ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲃ., CFG*HTZ. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] A(B)D*EFGHNTZ: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ, T^{t}CD^{mg}: +ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ 'who liveth,' B. 2 ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 12. 28. 33. 35. 36. 79. 87. vg^{cod} et^{sixt} arm aeth &c. ⲁϥⲭⲉϣ] AD*: ⲁϥϣ, N by error: ⲁϥⲭⲱϣ ⲛ̄, T^{t} &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. 1. 28. 49. 79. 91. 96. al &c. ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲕ., B. ⲟⲩϣⲁϣⲓ] A^{c}D^{mg}EF^{c}GT: ⲟⲩϣⲁ(ⲱ, B)ϣ, T^{t}A*BCD*HNZ^{c}. ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. A arm aeth &c. ⲛⲏ 1°] T^{t}AD*G^{c}HNTZ: om. BCD^{mg}EFG*. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] T^{t}ABHNTZ: ϩⲓⲕ., CDEFG. 3 ⲁ(ⲉ, N)ⲡⲓ.] AF^{c}N: om. ⲁ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. B al pler vg^{cle} syr arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] ⲟⲩ, A by error. ⲉⲧⲟⲛϧ] T^{t}ABD*F^{mg}G^{mg}HNTZ, cf. Gr. ℵBP 1. 7. 28. 38. 91. 96. al &c.: om. CD^{mg}EF*G*, cf. Gr. 6. 8. 14. al^{30} &c. ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ] trs. after ⲫⲓⲟⲙ, B. ϧⲉⲛ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵBP al pler vg arm &c. om. τά. ⲫⲓⲟⲙ] ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'the waters,' CEFG*: +ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ, T. 4 ⲁⲡⲓ.] AN: om. ⲁ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 1. 35. 36. 38. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. al lips vg^{sixt} syr arm &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ 18. 31. vg &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 10. 43. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. &c.: +ⲉϫⲉⲛ, B, cf. ? Gr. 18. 31. vg.

5 Ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ. |
6 Ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲫⲟⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲁⲕϯ ⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲥⲱ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⳾
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁⲛ̀ⲉⲣϣⲱⲟⲩϣⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ Ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ Ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲑ-
ⲙⲏⲓ. ⲛⲉⲕϩⲁⲡ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉ ⳾
ϥⲏ 8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲇ̅ | ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲫⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲉⲣ-
ⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⳾
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ [⳾] | ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲉϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̀Ⲫϯ ⳾
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲉ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲫⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲭⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩ-
ⲟⲩⲟϫⲟⲩⲉϫ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⳾
ϥⲑ 11 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ | ⲉⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙ̀ⲕⲁϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩϩ-
ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲧϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾

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5 ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] A*BD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t] &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ.] ⲙ̀ⲡⲓ., T. ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ⲡⲓⲙ., Z. ⲫⲏ 1°] pref. Ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅, T[t]G*, cf. vg[cle] lips[4.6.] aeth. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲛⲁϥ.] T[t]AD*G[mg]HTZ: ⲛⲁϥ., BCD[mg] EFG*N. ϫⲉ] T[t]A[c] &c.; for om. ὁ ὅσιος cf. aeth; A gloss صر القدوس 'Sah. the holy.' 6 ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] AG: ⲡⲥ., T[t]BCDF[c]HNTZ[c], cf. ? Gr. ABCP al fere omn &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] AF[c]HZ: ⲛ̀, B?CDE?GN?T: om. T[t] by error. ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ (ⲙ̀ⲣ̅, F[mg]G[mg])] ABDF[mg]('a copy') G[mg]HNZ: ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ, T[t]CEF*G*T; A gloss صر القديسين 'Sah. the saints.' ⲁⲕϯ] A*D*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t]A[mg]BCD[mg] &c. ⲥⲛⲟϥ] pref. ⲛ̀,

and they became blood. [5] I heard the *angel* of the waters,
saying: 'Thou (art) righteous, he who is, and he who was
being, because thou judgedst these. [6] Because they shed
the blood of the *martyrs* and the *prophets*, thou gavest blood
to them to drink; because they are worthy.' [7] And I heard
the altar, saying: 'Yea, Lord God, the *Almighty*, the righteous,
all thy judgements are true.' [8] And the fourth *angel*
poured his *vial* on (the) sun; and it was given to him to
make *heat* on [the] men with (ϧⲉⲛ) a great *heat*. [9] And
the men were *scorched*; and they blasphemed (the) name of
God who hath authority over these plagues; and they
repented not to glorify God. [10] And the fifth *angel*
poured his *vial* on the *throne* of the *wild beast*; and his
kingdom became dark; and they were gnawing their tongues
from the pain; [11] and they blasphemed God of (the) heaven
from the pain, and from their works: and they *repented*

D. ⲭⲉ 2°] cf. aeth. [7] ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] A*BCD*HN, cf. Gr. ℵACP al plus^{40} fu al^{lachm} syr arm &c.: pref. ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 'a voice from,' T^{t}A^{mg}D^{mg}EFGTZ, cf. Gr. 36. aeth^{pp}. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ABCD*HN: ⲉⲥϫ., T^{t}D^{mg}EFGTZ. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] T^{t}AD^{mg}F^{mg}GHN: om. BCD*E F*TZ?. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] T^{t}ABCD*HNZ: ϩⲁⲛϩⲁⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲓ 'judgements of truth,' D^{mg}EFGT. [8] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵ 1. 6. 28. 35. 36. 38. 49. 79. 91. 96. al mu vg^{cle} lips$^{4.6.}$ demid arm &c. ⲛⲁϥ] ⲛⲱⲟⲩ 'to them,' B. ⲉⲉⲣⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ] ABD*N: ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲉⲣⲕ., T^{t} &c. ϧⲉⲛ] ⲛ̄, B. [9] ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. H. ⲁⲩϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ] T^{t}A^{c}D*N: ⲉⲩϫ., B; cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 36. 38. 79. 95. al vg arm aeth &c.: + ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ 'the men,' CD^{mg}EFGTZ, cf. Gr. B al^{40} syr &c.: om. H*. ⲉϥⲫⲣⲁⲛ] ABCDEFHN: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^{t}GTZ. ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ] -ⲛⲛ̄ⲧ., Z. ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. BC 1. al longe plu &c. ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] -ⲱⲧ, B. ⲱⲟⲩ] pref. ⲟⲩ, T. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] T^{t}ABD*G^{mg}HNZ: ⲛⲁϥ 'him,' CD^{mg}EFG*T. [10] ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. (1). 35. 36. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. al vg^{cle} lips$^{4.6.}$ arm &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] T^{t}ABCD*H NTZ: ⲡⲑ., EFG. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲙ̄, D^{mg}EFGT. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲁⲥ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩⲗⲁⲥ 'upon their &c.,' EFG*. ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲡⲓⲉⲙ., T^{t}D: ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩϩ, B. [11] ⲁⲩϫⲉ] ⲛⲁⲩϫⲉ, B. ⲉⲫϯ . . . ⲫⲉ] om. N. ⲡⲓⲙ̄ⲕⲁϩ] ⲡⲓⲉⲙ., T^{t}D. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2° . . . ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ] om. B.

12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲋ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲟⲩⲓ | ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲥⲟⲃϯ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲱⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ-
ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲅ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲣ ⲉⲩⲥⲱϥ ⳾ | ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϫⲣⲟⲩⲣ ⳾ 14 ϩⲁⲛⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲓϧ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗⲉ-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛ-
ⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⳾
15 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϭⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ | ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲣⲱⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ
ⲉⲛⲉϥϩⲃⲱⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉϥⲃⲏϣ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥϣⲓⲡⲓ ⳾
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲙⲁⲕⲉⲇⲱⲛ ⳾
17 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲁϥⲭⲱϣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ⲣⲁ ⲫⲩⲁⲗⲏ ⳾ | ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲏⲣ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉϣ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ
ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾
18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϩⲁⲛϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲉⲧⲉⲃⲣⲏϫ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲛⲙⲉⲛ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϣⲱⲡⲓ |

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12 ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 28. 35. 36. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. al vg^{cle} lips$^{4.6.}$ demid arm &c. ⲫⲓⲁ(ⲉ, Ⲍ)ⲣⲟ] ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲟ, EFGT. ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲫⲣⲁⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. AC 1. 14. 28. 35. 79. 87. 95. al &c.: om. ⲡⲓ, T, cf. Gr. ℵBP 2. 6. 7. 13. 29. 30. 31. 32. 36. 37. 38. 43. 49. 91. 93. 94. 96. 97. 98. al plus^{10} &c. ⲡⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. 1. 12. 36. &c. ⲉⲧⲥⲁ] ABCD*F^{mg} ('a copy') H NZ: ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲁ, T^{t}D^{mg}EF*GT. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ] cf. ? Gr. A 1. 6. 28. 38. 49. 79. 91. 96. &c. 13 ⲛⲉⲙ 1° ⲉⲃⲟⲗ... ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] om. H, cf. Gr. 36. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] T^{t}ACN: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲱ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲡ., T: ⲙ̀ⲯⲉ(ⲁ, Ⲍ)ⲩⲇⲟ(ⲱ, EFG) ⲙ̀ⲡⲣ., BDEFGHZ. ⲉⲩⲥⲱϥ]

not from their evil works. [12] And the sixth *angel* poured
his *vial* on the river, the great, the Euphratēs. And the
water was dried up, that the way of the kings who are at
the risings of (the) sun might be prepared. [13] And I saw
from the mouth of the *dragon*, and from the mouth of the
wild beast, and from the mouth of the *false prophet* three
unclean *spirits* as frogs; [14] for they are *spirits* of demons,
doing signs [from] among the kings of (the) earth, to assem-
ble them for (the) *war* of the great day of God, the *Almighty*.
[15] Lo, I come as a thief. Blessed is he who will watch and
keep his garments, that he may not walk naked, and they
see his shame. [16] And he gathered them to a place called
in *Hebrew* 'Ermakedōn.' [17] And the seventh *angel* poured
his *vial* on the *air*; and he cried a great sound out of the
temple from the *throne*, saying: 'It was done.' [18] And
there happened thunders, and voices, and lightnings; and

-ⲟϥ, B. ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1**). [14] ⲉⲩⲓⲣⲓ] T^tABD*N: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩ., CD^{mg}EFGHZ: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩ., T. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] obs. Gr. ἃ ἐκπορεύεται. ⲉⲛⲡⲟⲗ.] ABDN(ⲟⲩ): ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗ., T^t &c.; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al plus[30] &c. ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. Gr. ℵA 14. 38. 92. 95. vg arm aeth &c.; position cf. ? Gr. A 95. [15] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧϥ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩ, B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙ] om. ϣⲧⲉⲙ 'not,' CD*. [16] ⲉⲩⲙⲁ] AD*N: ⲉⲟⲩ., B; cf. Gr. ℵ 14. 92. syr: ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁ, T^tCD^{mg}EFGHTZ, cf. Gr. AB 1. al pler arm &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] ABN: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙ., T^t &c. ⲙⲉⲧϩⲉⲃ.] ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲃ., N. ⲉⲣⲙⲁ(ⲉ, T)ⲕ(cf. Gr. 14. 92)ⲉ-(ⲁ, T)ⲇⲱⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵA 1. 7. 35. 36. 38. 47. 49. 79. 87. 91. 95. al mu &c.: om. ⲉⲣ, EFG*, cf. Gr. B al[25]. [17] ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ 1. 28. 35. 36. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. al vg^{cle} demid $lips^{4.6.}$ arm aeth &c. ⲉϫⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al[35] &c. ⲁϥⲉϣ] A^{oi}BCD*N: -ⲱϣ, $T^t$$A^{oii}$ D^{mg} &c.; A gloss صر فخرج 'Sah. and went forth.' ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. Gr. ℵB al pler vg syr arm $aeth^{utr}$ &c. ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. (ℵ) A 10. 14. 92. 95. vg syr ar^e $aeth^{utr}$ &c. ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] T^tABHN: ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑ., CDET: ⲙ̀ϩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑ., FGZ. [18] ϧⲁⲣ...ⲥⲙⲏ...ⲥⲉⲧ.] ABN: ϧⲁⲣ ... ⲥⲉⲧ ... ⲥⲙⲏ, T^t &c. ⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀] om. C. ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵA 1. 14. 28. 36. 49. 51. 79. 91. 92. 95. 96. al mu vg syr aeth &c.

ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲣⲏϯ⳹ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹
19 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉ̅ⲅ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲓ⳹
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ⳹
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ⳹ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲉⲥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ⳹ ⲉϯ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲫⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲣⲃ ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ | ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ⳹
20 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲁ⳹
21 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲁⲗ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛϫⲓⲛϭⲱⲣ ⲛ̀ϣⲓ⳹ ⲁⲩⲓ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳹ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲫϯ⳹ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗ ⲉⲧⲟϣ ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ⳹ |

ⲔⲌ̅.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓ̅ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳹
ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯ̅ⲍ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⳹
Ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲡϩⲁⲡ⳹ ⲛ̀ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̀-
ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ⳹ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲱⲟⲩ⳹ 2 ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ
ⲣⲅ ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ | ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ⳹
ⲁⲩⲑⲓϧⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ⳹
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳹
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲗⲧ ⲉⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲟⲥ⳹ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ⳹ | ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍ̅
ⲛ̀ⲁⲫⲉ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲓ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡ⳹ 4 ⲟⲩⲟϩ

ⲣⲱⲙⲓ] ABCD^{mg}EFG*N, cf.? Gr. A 38. arm aeth, or cf. Gr. ℵB 12. 14. 36. 79. 92. &c.: pref. ⲛⲓ, T^{t}D*G^{c}HTZ, cf. Gr. 1. 7. 8. al pler &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲛⲓⲕ., CDTZ. 19 ⲉ̅ⲅ̅] T^{t}ABDG^{c}: ⲛ̀ⲅ̅, CZ: ⲉ̅ⲅ̅ϯ, N: ⲅ̅, EFG*HT. ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲕⲓ] T^{t}ABD*N: ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, CD^{mg}EFG HTZ. ⲁⲩⲉⲣ.] ⲁⲥⲉⲣ., T^{t} by error. ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] T^{t}ADN: ⲡⲓⲙ̅., BCEFGHTZ. 20 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B. 21 ⲁⲩⲓ] AB D*N: ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ 'fell down,' T^{t}CD^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲉϫⲉⲛ]

a great earthquake happened: there was not any (ⲟⲩⲟⲛ)
like it since man was upon (the) earth. [19] And the great
city became into three parts, and the cities of the *nations*
fell. And Babylōn, the great, was remembered before God,
to give to her the cup of wine of (the) wrath of the anger.

[20] And all *islands* fled; and the mountains found not their
place. [21] And (hail) stones as of talents in weight (ϣⲓ)
came from (the) heaven upon the men; and the men blas-
phemed God from the plague of the hail (lit. stone) which
was very great.

XVII. And one from the seven *angels*, they who have the
seven *vials*, came; and he spake to me, saying: 'Come, that
I may show to thee (the) judgement of the great *harlot* who
sitteth upon many waters; [2] she with whom the kings of
(the) earth sinned; and they *committed fornication*; they
who dwell upon (the) earth were drunken with (the) wine of
her *fornication*.' [3] And he took me away to (the) desert
in the (lit. a) *spirit*: and I saw a woman sitting upon a *wild
beast, scarlet*, full of names of blasphemy, there being seven
heads upon him, and ten horns. [4] And the woman was being

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, N. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̂] TᵗABD*Gᵐᵍ('the Arabic copy')HNZ: ⲛⲉⲙ 'and,' CDᵐᵍEFG*T.

[1] ⲁϥⲓ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B, cf. Gr. A. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al[40] vg syr arm &c. ⲛ̄ϯⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲛ., TᵗDᵐᵍ: ⲉϯⲛ., T. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] TᵗABCDN: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, EFGHTZ. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ] TᵗABCDNZ: ⲟⲩⲙ., EFGHT; cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 12. 28. 33. 35. 36. 79. 87. 95. arm &c. [2] ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABCD*N: + ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all,' TᵗDᵐᵍEFGHTZ. ⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩ] om. B, cf. Gr. ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ] ADN: trs. after ⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ, TᵗCE'FGHTZ: + ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ, B. ⲁⲩⲑⲓϧⲓ] ADN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TᵗB &c. ⲡⲏⲣⲡ] TᵗABDN: ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ, CEFGHTZᶜ. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABCN: ⲡⲓⲕ., Tᵗ &c.; order cf. Gr. 1. al ? aeth. [3] ⲉⲛϣⲁϥⲉ] om. H*. ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄] ABCD*EFG*N: ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄, TᵗDᶜGᶜHTZ, definite. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] TᵗABDGᵐᵍNTZ: om. CEFG*H. ⲉⲥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] om. F. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ACHN: ⲉϫ., Tᵗ &c. ⲍ̄] pref. ϩⲁⲛ, CZ, indef. article.

ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲭⲟⲗϩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ϭⲏϫⲓ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲕⲕⲟⲥ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲓⲉⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲏⲓ⁘
Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲫⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲥϫⲓϫ⁘ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ |
ⲣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲱϥ⁘ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ⁘
5 Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ⁘ ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲥⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ⁘ ϫⲉ
ⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲑⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲑⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϥϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⁘
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ⁘ ⲉⲥⲑⲁϧⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ⁘ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ⁘
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲉⲣ-
ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ⁘ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧϥⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⁘
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯ̅ⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲫⲉ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲓ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡ⁘ |
ⲣⲉ 8 Ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥϣⲟⲡ
ⲁⲛ⁘ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉϥⲛⲁ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲡ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲛ ϩⲓ
· ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ⁘
Ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲡϣⲁ | ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲛⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ⁘ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲩϣⲧ

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4 ⲛⲁⲥⲭⲟⲗϩ] T[t]ABD*N: ⲛⲁⲥⲭⲏⲗ, C: ⲉⲥⲭⲏⲗ, D[mg]EFGH TZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ A 1. 7. 36. 38. 43. al vg syr arm &c. ϧⲉⲛ-ⲫ(ⲛ, G[mg]T)ⲛⲟⲩⲃ] T[t]A[c]('a copy')BCD* (E tr. F tr.) G[mg]HNTZ: ϧⲉⲛ-ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ 'in (the) abyss,' A*(and tr.)D[mg]EF by error: om. G*. ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ] ⲡⲱⲛⲓ, C. ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲃ 2°] position cf. ? Gr. ℵAB plus[30] vg syr arm aeth &c. ϧⲉⲛⲧⲉⲥϫⲓϫ] om. D*, D[mg] adds with اصل 'original.' ⲛⲓⲥⲱϥ] ADN: ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ 'the blood,' plur., B: ⲛⲓϭⲱϧⲉⲙ 'the uncleannesses,' T[t]CEFGHTZ. ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵ al. ⲛⲉⲙⲡ(+ⲓ, CHZ)-ⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ] cf. Gr. ℵ syr[codd aliq]; A gloss صر اصحاب الارض 'Sah. the possessors of the earth.' 5 ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ACD*N: pref. ⲉϥ, T[t]B &c. ϩⲓ] ⲉ, B. ⲑⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ] om. ⲑ, EFG*. 6 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ 1°] cf. Gr. A 1. 7. 28. 30. 31. 32** 36. 47. 49. 79. 87. al mu vg &c.

arrayed in a garment of purple and [a] *scarlet*, and gilded[a]
with (the) gold and the precious stone and pearls: There
being a cup of gold in her hand, full of defilement of the
defilements of her *fornication* with (the) whole earth:
5 There being a name written on her forehead, 'The *mystery*
of (the) Babylon, (the) mother of the *fornicators* and the
abominable of (the) earth.' 6 And I saw a woman drunken
with the blood of the *saints*, and with (the) blood of the
martyrs of Jesus; and I wondered. 7 And the *angel* said
to me: 'Why wonderedst thou? I (pron.) shall (lit. will) show
to thee the *mystery* of the woman, and the *wild beast* which
beareth her, that upon which are the seven heads and the
ten horns. 8 The *wild beast* which thou sawest, being,
and it is not, coming up from the abyss, and going to (the)
destruction. And all who dwell upon (the) earth shall
wonder, they whose name is not written on (the) book of
(the) life. Since (the) beginning of creation of the *world*,

[a] Lit. 'sewn with gold.'

ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ] ADT: ⲡⲥ., T[t] &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ . . . ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ (ⲙ︦ⲣ︦, T)] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ, B. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAP al mu vg rell &c. ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲡⲓⲥ., DT. ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅] ABD*N: + ⲡ̅ⲭ̅ⲥ̅, T[t] &c., cf. Prim. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B; om. ἰδὼν αὐτήν, cf. Gr. 14. 92. ⲁⲓⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ] A*BDHN: + ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϣⲫⲏⲣⲓ 'in a great wonder,' T[t]A[mg]CEFG ('not in the original copy') TZ. 7 ⲛⲏⲓ] om. D*, D[mg] adds with اصل 'original.' ϯⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ] cf. ? Gr. AB al[25] vg[cle] syr arm aeth &c. ⲫⲏ] T[t]ABCD*HN: ⲫⲁⲓ 'this,' D[mg]EFGTZ. ϩⲓϫⲱϥ] ABD*N: ⲉⲣⲟϥ, T[t]CD[mg]EFGHTZ. ⲡⲓ̈] om. ⲡⲓ, F. 8 ⲉϥϣⲟⲡ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥϣⲟⲡ] T[t]AN: ϥϣⲟⲡ . . . ⲉϥϣ., C: ϥϣ . . . ϥϣ., DEFGHTZ: ⲉϥϣ . . . ⲛϥϣ., B. ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ϥⲛ., C. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. B. ⲉϥⲛⲁ] T[t]ABGNT: ϥⲛⲁ, CDEFHZ. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] T[t]ABCDNZ: ⲉϫ., FGHT; cf. Gr. ℵAP i. al sat mu syr arm &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., DFGHTZ. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. AB 8. 14. 29. 38. al[25] syr &c. ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲥϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, F. ϩⲓ] ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ, B. ⲡϫⲱⲙ] om. ⲡ, A by error. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ] T[t]AB D[mg]N: ⲙ̄ⲡ., CD*EFGHTZ. ⲡϣⲁ] ⲡϫⲓⲛ, D[mg]. ⲉⲩϫⲟⲩ(ⲱ, N)ϣⲧ] ABD*N: ⲉⲩⲉϫ., T[t]CD[mg]EFGHTZ.

ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ ⳾
9 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲕⲁϯ ⳾ ⲉϯⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉ
ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 10 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲣⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲉ̄ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϫⲉⲧ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⳾ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉϥⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲓ
ϥⲛⲁⲟϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⳾
11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϩⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲍ̄ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ϥⲛⲁ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⳾
12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲓ̄ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲡⲉ ⳾ |
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ-
ⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾
13 Ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⳾ ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ-
ⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾
ⲣⲍ 14 Ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾ | ⲉϥϭ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⳾
15 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ

ϫⲉϥϣⲟⲡ] cf. Gr. ℵ A P 1. al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲁⲛ] ⲉϥϣ. ⲁⲛ, CZ. ⲁϥϩⲉⲓ] cf. ar^{e}. 9 ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ] A: om. ⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ] A, cf. Gr. 14. 92.: ϫⲉⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, T^{t} &c.: ⲍ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ, BD*N. ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] ACD*N: om. Z: + ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T^{t} &c. ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ] T^{t}ABCDN: ⲉϫ., EFGHTZ. 10 ⲡⲉ] om. C; position cf. ? Gr. ℵ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°] cf. ? Gr. 1. al^{vi} lips^{4} arm: om. CEFGT; cf. Gr. rell. ⲡⲓϫⲉⲧ] + ⲇⲉ, C, cf. ? Gr. 96. aeth &c. ϥϣⲟⲡ] ABDG^{c}N: ⲛⲁ(ⲉ, Z)ϥϣⲟⲡ, T^{t}EFG*HTZ: ⲛ̄ϥϣⲟⲡ, C: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϣ., T. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. EF*G*. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] ⲟⲩ 1° over erasure, A^{c}. 11 ⲉⲛⲁϥϣⲟⲡ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϥ., N. ⲛ̄ϥϣⲟⲡ] om. ⲛ̄, ABDN single negative. ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ] for om. καί cf. ? Gr. ℵ tr. A هو ايضا ملاك 'is also an angel,' gloss صرهو الثامن وواحد 'Sah. is the

they are looking at the *wild beast*, because it is, and it is
not, and it fell. 9 He who hath mind[a] and [a] wisdom let
him understand: the seven heads being mountains, upon
which the woman is sitting; 10 these are seven kings: the
five fell, and the other is not, and the other one was not yet;
and if he should come, he will stay a little (time). 11 And
the *wild beast* which was being, and it is not, is himself an
eighth[b] from the seven; and he will go to (the) destruction.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings; these
who received not yet an authority as kings for an hour,
having followed the *wild beast*. 13 These have one *mind*
and an authority; they will give their power to the *wild*
beast. 14 These shall war with the lamb, he overcoming
them, because he is Lord of the lords and (the) King of the
kings; and they who are called[c] with him, and the chosen,
and the *faithful*.' 15 And he said to me: 'The waters which

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[a] Lit. 'heart.' [b] Reading ⲟⲩⲁⲟⲟⲥ for ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ. [c] Lit. 'invited.'

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eighth and one.' ϩⲱϥ] cf. ? Gr. AP 1. al sat mu vg &c. αὐτός. ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ] om. F*. 12 ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ, F. ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩϭⲓ] T[t]ACD*HNZ, cf. Gr. ℵ[c]BP 1. al fere omn vg syr arm aeth &c.: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϭⲓ 'received not,' BD[mg]EFGT, cf. Gr. A fu. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ] ABDG*HN: pref. ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉ (om. T[t]) ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲉϭⲓ 'the kingdom but they shall receive,' CEFG[mg] ('not in the original copy') TZ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲟⲩ, B. ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] A*: ⲙⲉⲛⲛ̄ⲥⲁ, T[t]BCDG[mg]HNTZ: om. ⲙⲉⲛ, A[mg] EFG*. 13 ⲟⲩⲟ (om. E) ⲛ] T[t]A*BCDFG[c]NT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, A[c]E F[c]G*HZ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ] position cf. ? Gr. B al[30] &c. ⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ] + ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, B; cf. Gr. AB al[25] arm &c. ⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲙ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t]. ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓⲥ] cf. ? Gr. 18. 79. vg[cle] fu demid tol lipss al[lachm] &c. 14 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲃ] T[t]AD[mg]: om. BCD*EFG HNTZ. ⲉϥϭⲣⲟ] AN: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲃ ⲉϥⲉϭⲣⲟ 'and the lamb shall conquer,' T[t]BCDEFGHTZ. 15 ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲉⲕ., T, thus also verse 18.

ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϩⲁⲛ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̀ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ. |
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓ̄ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲑⲏ-
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲉⲥⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ⳾ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ ⲙ̄-
ⲙⲟⲥ⳾ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲁⲥ ⲉⲥⲃⲏϣ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲝ⳾
ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲕϩⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ⳾
17 Ⲫϯ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁϥϯⲏⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲏⲧ⳾ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥ-
ρη ⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ|ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲙⲏ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ⳾ ⲉϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ⳾ ϣⲁ-
ⲧⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ⳾
18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ⳾ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ
ⲧⲉ. ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉⲥ ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ⳾ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓ-
ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ⳾ |

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Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲟⲩ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ⳾ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ρθ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄|ⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲓϧ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ

ⲛ̀ⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ABD*HN: + ⲛⲉⲙϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲥ 'and tongues,' T^t C D^{mg} EFGTZ; A gloss صر واسباط ولغات 'Sah. and tribes and languages.' 16 ⲛⲉⲙ] cf. Gr. ℵABP I. al^{45} am fu demid tol $lips^5$ omn^{lachm} syr aeth &c.; A gloss صر الوحش 'Sah. of the beast.' ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B, cf. Gr. ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲁⲥ] ⲛ̀ⲥⲉϫⲁϥ, B: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲁⲥ, C; cf. ? Gr. B^{mg} al^{30} &c. ⲉⲥⲃⲏϣ] ⲉⲥϣⲏϥ 'desolate,' B. ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲁⲣⲝ] ⲛⲉⲥⲥ., T sing. ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, ⲏ)ⲙⲟⲩ] ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩ., B. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲕϩⲥ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ., B. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. ? Gr. A al pler &c. ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲙ] ⲡⲭ., C. 17 ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ] AN: ⲉϧ., T^t &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲅⲛ.] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲥ., D*EFG*. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B. ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵ*BP al pler syr aeth &c. ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] A*, cf. Gr. 79.: ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ., T^tA^c &c., cf. Gr. (exc. A). 18 ⲙ̄-

thou sawest, upon which the woman is sitting, are *peoples* and
many *nations*. 16 And the ten horns which thou sawest,
and the *wild beast*, these shall hate the *harlot*, they will
desolate her, they will make (ϫⲁⲥ) her naked, and her
flesh (plural) they shall eat, they shall burn her in the fire.
17 For God gave it into their heart to do his *mind*, and
for them to be in one *mind*, to give a kingdom to the
wild beast, until are completed the words of God. 18 And
the woman whom thou sawest is the great city, which hath
kingdom over all the kingdoms of (the) earth.'

XVIII. After these things I saw another *angel*, who came
from (the) heaven, having a great authority; and (the) earth
was enlightened from his face and his glory. 2 And he
cried out in a great sound: 'Babylon the great city fell; and
became resting place of the demons, and abode of every

ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] T^{t}BACD*N: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, D^{mg}EFGHTZ; A gloss صر فيها ملك ملوك 'Sah. in her is dominion of kings.' ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉⲥⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ] T^{t}ABCD*F^{mg} ('a copy') HNZ: ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱ 'which is queen,' CD^{mg}EF*GT. ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABF^{mg} ('a copy')N, cf. Gr. ℵ: ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ 'the kings,' T^{t}CDEF*GHTZ.

1 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] ADN, cf. Gr. ℵABP al fere^{30} syr &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. 1. 7. al sat mu vg arm aeth &c. ⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅ.] cf. Gr. ℵA BP al plus^{30} vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ] T^{t}ABD*HN: ⲉⲁϥⲓ, CEFGHT: ⲁϥⲓ, D^{mg}Z. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] AN: pref. ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ 'down,' T^{t} &c. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ⲡⲓⲕ., C: pref. ⲁ, CD^{mg}EFG*H. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] T^{t}AD*NZ: om. ⲁϥ, BCD^{mg}EFG*HT. 2 ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. AP 9. 36. 37. 42. 49. 79. 91. 96. am fu demid lips$^{5.6.}$ omn^{laohm} &c. ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. ? Gr. (ℵ)A(B)P al pler vg$^{odd\ pler}$ syr arm aeth &c. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABCD*N: ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHTZ. ϫⲉ] AD HN, cf. Gr. P: pref. ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, T^{t}BCGTZ: pref. ϫⲉ ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ 'He saith,' EF. ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵB al^{30} arm^{zoh} aeth^{utr} &c. ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. B 14. 92. &c.). ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, D^{mg}: om. ⲙ̄, C. ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ] ABD^{mg}N: ⲙ̄ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ 'resting place,' T^{t}CD*EFGHTZ. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϧ] ABD^{mg}N: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ, T^{t} &c., cf. Gr. P al pler &c. ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄] om. EF*G*. ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵBP al fere omn vg rell &c.

ⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲥⲱϥ ⲙ̀-
ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ ⳾
3 Ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣ-
ⲛⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ | ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣ-
ⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲟϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⳾
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾
ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ
ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϭⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ρι ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⳾ 5 ϫⲉ ⲁⲩ|ⲧⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ϣⲁⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ Ⲫϯ
ⲉⲣⲫⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲥϭⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⳾
6 Ⲙⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲥϯϣⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲕⲟⲃⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲁ-
ⲫⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ⲕⲟⲃϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾
7 Ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲥ|ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ
ⲙⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁ-
ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲉⲓⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲣⲱ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲭⲏⲣⲁ
ⲁⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳾
8 Ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-

ⲉⲧⲥⲱ(ⲟ, B)ϥ] + ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^tCEFGT. ⲙ̀ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲟⲩ] AC D^{mg}EFHNZ: -ⲧⲱⲟⲩ, T^tBD*GT. 3 ⲡⲉⲙⲃⲟⲛ] ABDN: ⲡⲓⲙ̀(ⲉⲙ, T^tF)ⲃⲟⲛ, T^tEFGHTZ; position cf. ? Gr. P 1. 35. 36. 37. 47. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. arm $aeth^{pp}$ &c. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ] T^tABD*F G^{mg}HNZ: om. D^{mg}EG*T, cf. Gr. A am fu tol $lips^{5.6.}$ omn^{laohm} $aeth^{ro}$ &c.: trs. before ⲡⲓⲙ̀ⲃⲟⲛ, C, cf. Gr. ℵB al longe plu vg^{cle} demid $lips^4$ syr &c. ⲁⲩϩⲉⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC 7. 14. 92. al $plus^{10}$ aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲙ-ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ] om. F*. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 2°] T^tAD^{mg}FG^{mg}NT: om. BCD* EG*HZ. ⲛⲏ] om. C. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] AD*N: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^t &c. ⲛⲓ-ϣⲟϯ] ABCDN: ⲛⲓϣⲱϯ, T^t &c. ⲡⲉⲥϫⲉⲣ.] ⲛⲉⲥ., D^cF. 4 ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] cf. arm. ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 32. 49. 79. 91. 95. 96. al vg m^{110} arm syr &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ] position cf. ? Gr. AB al pler vg m^{110} syr arm &c. ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲗⲁⲟⲥ] om. ⲛⲁ, G*. ϩⲓⲛⲁ] AD^{mg}N: ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ, D*: pref. ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ(+ϣⲧⲉⲙ,

unclean spirit, and abode of every bird unclean (and)
hateful. 3 Because from (the) wrath of the wine of her
fornication all the *nations* fell; and all the kings of (the)
earth, they who *committed fornication* with her; and the
merchants of (the) earth became rich from her luxury.'
4 And I heard a voice from (the) heaven, saying: 'Come
out of her, those of my *people*, that ye may not receive of
her plagues. 5 Because her sins joined themselves to her
even unto (the) heaven: and God remembered her wrong-
doings. 6 Give to her as she recompensed; and double
them to her according to her works: in her cup as she
mixed it, double it to her. 7 The glory in which she was,
and the luxury—give it to her of grief and mourning;
because she saith in her heart, that I shall (lit. will) sit
being a queen; and I am not a *widow*; and I shall not
see mourning. 8 Therefore in one day her plagues shall

HZ)ⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃⲓ (+ⲟⲩⲟϩ, B) 'lest ye be sharers of her sins,' T^{t}BCEFGHT: pref. ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃⲓ, D*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙϭⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲣϣⲫⲏⲣ, EFG*: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲧⲉⲙⲓ, N. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲉⲣϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ 'her murders,' D^{mg} ('not in some of the copies neither Coptic nor Arabic') G*; position cf. aeth &c.
5 ⲁⲩⲧⲟ(+ⲩ, N)ⲙⲟⲩ] AD*HNZ, cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. 53^{txt} al^{40} m^{110} (vg) syr arm &c.: ⲁⲩⲫⲟϩ 'reached,' T^{t}BCD^{mg}EFGT, cf. vg &c.; A gloss صر لان خطاياها ارتفعت 'Sah. because her sins were raised up.'
6 ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ 1°] T^{t}AD*N: ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ, CD^{mg}EFGHTZ: ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ 'thus,' B. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, B: ⲛⲁⲥ, H*; cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{40} m^{110} am fu demid tol al^{lachm} syr aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] T^{t}ABCD*G^{mg}NT(ⲟⲩ)Z: om. D^{mg}EFG*H, cf. Gr. ℵ. ⲕⲟⲃⲟⲩ] ⲃⲱⲃⲟⲩ, B. ⲛⲁⲥ 2°] cf. Gr. P 1. 7. 31. (38). 91. al mu syr aeth &c. ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲫⲟⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵB 7. 8. 14. 29. 38. al plus^{20}. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ 2°] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ, BFGHT. ⲕⲟⲃϥ] ⲕⲱⲃϥ, B. 7 ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ] A*D*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg}B &c. ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲕⲁϩ] ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲕ, CEF. ⲥϫⲱ] ABHN: ⲉⲥϫⲱ, T^t &c. ϫⲉ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al fere^{40} &c.: om. CEFG*, cf. Gr. 1. al vix mu m^{110} vg &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] AD*N: ⲟⲩⲇⲉ(H, Z), T^{t}BCD^{mg}EFGHTZ. 8 ⲉⲩⲉⲓ] T^{t}ABCDG^{c}HNTZ: ⲁⲩⲓ 'came,' EFG*.

ⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲟⲩϩⲕⲟ ⳹

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥⲉⲣⲱⲕϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲣⲱⲙ ⳹ ϫⲉ ϥϫⲟⲣ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⳹ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳹ 9 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲉϩⲡⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⳹ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩ-
ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲣ-
ⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ ⳹ |

Ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϫⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥ-
ⲣⲱⲕϩ ⳹ 10 ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⳹ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ
ⲧϩⲟϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⳹ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳹
ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳹ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳹ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲡ ⳹

ⲣⲓⲃ 11 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓϣⲟϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ | ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⳹ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ-
ϩⲏⲃⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲉⲡ
ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⳹ 12 ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳹
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲧ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲉⲛⲥ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϭ̄ⲏϫⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲗⲟⲥⲓⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲟⲕⲕⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲛ ⳹ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⳹

Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⳹

Ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲟⲙⲧ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲙⲁ-
ⲣⲟⲛ ⳹ 13 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲩⲛⲁⲙⲱⲛⲟⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲑⲟⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲟϫⲉⲛ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ

ⲡⲓϫⲣⲱⲙ] ⲡϫ., CEF: ⲟⲩϫ., G*. ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫ̅ϯ̅] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}B CP al pler m^{110} syr arm &c. 9 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al plus^{30} vg syr arm &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲉϩⲡⲓ] ABD*N: ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣϩⲏⲃⲓ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHT: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CZ. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 2°] AN: ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ 'with her,' T^{t} &c.: ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ, C: ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ, B. ⲁⲩϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ] A gloss صر وبذخوا معها 'Sah. squandered with her.' ⲇⲉ] T^{t}AD^{mg}NZ: om. BCD*EFGHT. ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛ] ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲛ, T^{t} by error. 10 ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ] ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ, B. ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ] ADH: pref. ⲑ, T^{t}BCEFGNTZ, cf. ? Gr. 35. 49. 87. &c. ⲉⲧϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣ] A^{c}CN: + ϫⲉ 'because,' T^{t}A*?B &c. ϧⲉⲛ] T^{t}A^{c} &c., cf. ? Gr. 1. 38. al arm &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ACD*N: + ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'one,' T^{t}BD^{mg}EFGHTZ.

come, [a] death and [a] mourning and [a] famine. And she
shall be burnt in the fire; because strong is the Lord God,
he who judged her. 9 And all the kings of (the) earth, they
who all *committed fornication* with her, and they were
luxurious, shall weep, they shall wail over her. But if
they should see the smoke of her burning, 10 they shall stand
afar off, because of (the) fear of her torment, saying: "Woe
to her, woe to her, the great *city* Babylon, the *city* which
was luxurious, in one hour came her fall." 11 And the
merchants of (the) earth shall weep, they shall mourn over her,
because no one will buy of them their *freights*, 12 their *freight*
of gold and their *freight* of silver, and the precious stones,
and the *pearls* and the fine linen, and purple and olosirikon
and *scarlet*, and every *vessel* of *ivory*, And every vessel
from the precious woods, and every *thyine* wood, And
brass, and iron, and *marble*; 13 and *cinnamon*, and incense,
and ointment, and *frankincense*, and wine, and oil, and

ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲡ] T^{t}ABCD*F^{o}G^{c}HNTZ: ⲡⲉⲥϩⲉ(ⲏ, FG)ⲓ 'thy fall,' D^{mg} EF*G* (ق سقوطها 'Coptic, her fall'). 11 ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ.] cf. ? Gr. B al^{35} vg &c.: ⲉⲩⲣ . . . ⲉⲩⲉⲣ, Z ? by error. ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵCP &c. ⲛⲁϣⲉⲡ] AN: -ϣⲱⲡ, T^{t}B &c. ⲡⲟⲩⲅⲟ(ⲱ, H)ⲙⲟⲥ] AB(ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ)D*HN: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲟⲙⲟⲥ, CZ: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ., T^{t}D^{mg}EFGT. 12 ⲅⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ⲙⲟⲥ 2°] ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲥ, B. ⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ] T^{t}ADG^{o}HNTZ, cf. ? Gr. CP: ⲱⲛⲓ, BC: ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ, EFG^{o}: ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ 'their &c.,' G*; cf. ? Gr. rell. ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] ⲉϥⲧ., BC. ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲅ.] AN, cf. ? Gr. ℵACP 35. 87. 95. syr: ⲙⲁⲣⲅ., BCEFG*: ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲅ., T^{t}DG^{o}HTZ, cf. ? Gr. B al pler vg arm aeth &c. ⲛⲓϣⲉⲛⲥ] ADHZ, cf. ? Gr. ℵ: ϣⲉⲛⲥ(ϣ, G*), BCEFG*N: ⲡⲓϣⲉⲛⲥ, T^{t}G^{o}T, cf. ? Gr. rell. ϭⲏϫⲓ] ABCEFG*N(ϣⲓϫⲓ): ⲛⲓϭ., DHZ, cf. ? Gr. ℵCP 7. 35. 95. al &c.: ⲡⲓϭ., T^{t}G^{o}T, cf. ? Gr. B 1. 6. 8. 14. 29. al plus^{30} &c. ⲟ(+ⲩ, N)ⲗⲟⲥⲓⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ] ABNZ: ⲟⲥⲓⲣ., C: ⲟⲗⲓⲥ., D^{mg}G^{mg}: ⲟⲗⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ⲥⲟⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ, T^{t}EFG*(T): ⲛⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓⲕⲟⲛ, D*H. ⲡⲉⲙⲕⲟⲕⲕⲓⲛⲟⲛ] T^{t}ABD*G^{mg}HNZ: -ⲕⲓⲕⲟⲛ, D^{o}T: om. CEFG*. ⲛ̄ⲉⲗ . . . ⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ] om. G*: om. ⲛ̄, T. ⲛⲓϣⲉ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBCP al omn^{vi} syr arm &c. *ξύλου*. Tabulated arrangement, AZ. 13 ⲕⲩⲛⲁⲙⲱⲛⲟⲛ] -ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ, T^{t}. ⲡⲉⲙⲥⲑⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩϥⲓ] for om. *καὶ ἄμωμον* cf. Gr. ℵ^{c}B 1. al plu vg^{cle} demid arm &c. ⲗⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ] ⲗⲩ., EF.

ριⲅ ⲏⲣⲡ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲧⲙⲉⲇⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲑⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ 14 ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⳾ ⲁⲩϣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲫⲓⲣⲓ | ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁⲣⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉϣⲟϯ ⳾
15 Ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⳾
ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧϩⲟϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲥⲧϩⲉⲙⲕⲟ ⳾
Ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣϩⲏⲃⲓ 16 ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ
ριⲇ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ | ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ϫⲟⲗϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣⲉⲛⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϭⲏϫⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲕ-
ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
17 Ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲥϣⲱϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲉⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲓⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⳾
18 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲥⲣⲱⲕϩ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲕⲁϩⲓ

ⲥⲧⲙⲉⲇⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ] ⲥⲧⲙⲓⲇ., D*: ⲥⲧⲙⲓⲧ., C; ⲥⲓⲙⲉⲇ., B D^{mg}. ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲏ] position cf. Gr. ℵ A C P al sat mu vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲛⲉⲙϩⲑⲟ] A gloss صر وبغال وابل ومراكب وعبيد 'Sah. and mules and camels and carriages and slaves.' 14 ⲛⲉⲙⲥⲡ(ⲫ, C)ⲟⲣⲁ] ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ, F^{c}: ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲛ., E F*. ϯⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] om. F*: -ⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄, D*. ϩⲁⲣⲟ] ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ 'from her,' D^{mg}E T thus again. ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲓ] A B D* G* H N Z^{c}, cf. Gr. 95.: ⲛⲓⲕⲉⲛⲓ 'the &c.,' T^{t} C D^{mg} E F G^{c} T. ⲛⲉⲫⲓⲣⲓ] A D^{mg} N: ⲛⲉⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ 'thy potions,' T^{t} C D* F G^{c} H Z: ⲛⲉⲥⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ 'her &c.,' D^{mg} E F T: ⲛⲉⲫⲁϧⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all thy potions?,' B. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵ 7. 8. 10. 11. 16. 35. 37. 39. 49. 87. 91. 96. vg syr aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉϣⲟϯ] T^{t} A B D G^{c} H N Z: ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲓϣⲟϯ, T: ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲛⲉϣⲟϯ, C G*: ⲙ̄ⲡ . . . ⲛⲓϣⲟϯ, E F; order cf. Gr.

symedalion of wheat, and beast and sheep and horse, and
body and *soul* of man, 14 and *harvest*[a] of the *desire* of the
soul—they went from thee, and all thy fatness and thy
splendour perished from thee, and thy merchants shall not
find them any more; 15 Because these are they who
became rich from thee: standing afar off because of
(the) fear of her torment, They shall weep, they shall
mourn, 16 saying: "Woe to thee, woe to thee, the great *city*,
which is arrayed in the fine linen and the purple and
the *scarlet*, sewn with gold and the costly stone and the
pearl. 17 Because in an hour this great richness was
desolated." And every pilot of the sea, and every one who
saileth in the sea, are standing afar off, 18 And crying out,
seeing the smoke of her burning, saying: "Who is like to
this great city?" 19 And they placed earth on their head,

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[a] Reading ⲟⲡⲱⲣⲁ for ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ.

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87. al aeth^{utr}. 15 ⲙ̅ⲙⲟ] ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ 'from her,' G*T; A gloss صر منها 'Sah. from her': ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, EF. ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ] AB*NT*: ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ 'shall stand,' T^{t}B^{c} &c. ⲡⲉⲥⲧϩ.] ⲡⲉⲧϩ. 'thy &c.,' C. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲓⲙⲓ] T^{t}ABDF^{c}HNZ, cf. ? syr: ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ, CEF*GT. ⲉⲩⲉ-(om. CEZ)ⲉⲣϩ.] AN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c.; cf. ? syr. 16 ⲉⲩϫⲱ] cf. Gr. ℵABC al^{20} syr arm. ⲟⲩⲟⲓ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵACP al sat mu vg rell &c.: +ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ, B, cf. Gr. 35. 87. ϯⲛⲓϣϯ] position cf. ? Gr. 38. ⲉⲧϫⲟⲗϩ (om. A*)] A^{c}BD*: -ϫⲏⲗϩ, T^{t}EN: -ϫⲏⲗ, CD^{mg} FGHTZ. ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲕⲕⲓⲛⲟⲛ] T^{t}ABCD*N: ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲕⲕⲟⲥ, D^{mg}EFGH TZ. ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲃ] cf. ? Gr. ABCP al^{30} &c. ⲉⲛⲁϣⲉ] T^{t}ACD^{c}N: ⲉⲑⲛⲁϣⲉ, BD*EFGHTZ. ⲛ̅(ⲛ, A)ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛϥ] -ⲱⲛϥ, B. ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁⲣⲅ.] cf. Gr. ℵACP 95. aeth &c.: ⲡⲓⲙ., Z, cf. Gr. B al fere omn vg syr arm &c. 17 ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ] ⲛ̅ϧ., T^{t}. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] om. ⲟⲩ, A: +ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'one,' D^{mg}; A gloss صر واحدة 'Sah. one.' ⲣⲉϥⲉⲣϩⲉⲙⲓ] pref. ⲛ̅, A. ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲱⲧ] -ϩⲟⲧ, EF. ⲉⲩⲟϩⲓ] AN: ⲉⲩⲉⲟϩⲓ 'shall stand,' T^{t} &c. 18 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B, cf. And^{p}. ⲉⲩⲱϣ] ABZ: ⲁⲩⲱϣ, N: ⲉⲩⲉⲱϣ, T^{t}CDEFGHT. ϫⲣ(om. F*)ⲉⲙⲧⲥ] cf. Gr. (exc. A 10. vg &c.). ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲓ] cf. Gr. C vg &c. ⲙ̅ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] T^{t}AC D*N: ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, BD^{mg}EFGHTZ.

ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲏⲃⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ |
ⲣⲓⲉ Ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲉϫⲛⲟⲩ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥ-
ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲥϣⲱϥ ⳾
20 Ⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟ-
ⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
21 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ ⳾ ⲁϥⲉϣ ⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲗ[⳾] ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ⲱⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏ-
ⲭⲁⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲁϥⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲣϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅-
ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲉⲓ ⲥⲛⲁϩⲉⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲉ-
ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ |
ⲣⲓⲋ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̅ⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̅ⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲥ ϫⲉ ⳾ 22 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾
Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲅⲝ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ϧⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⳾
Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϧⲏϯ
ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ | ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̅ϧⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⳾ 23 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲃⲥ ⳾
ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̅ϧⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⳾

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19 ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ: ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ, H by error. ⲉⲩⲱϣ] ⲁⲩⲱϣ, B, cf. ? Gr. AC 35. &c. ⲛⲉⲙ] T^{t}A &c.: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, H: om. EFG*. ⲉⲩⲉⲣϩⲏ(ⲉ, CN)ⲃⲓ] ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ., H. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] cf. Gr. ℵAC 1. 35. 87. 95. al vg^{cle} fu demid tol lips^{4} &c. ⲟⲩⲟⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ 26. 29. 36. 37. 40. 41. 42. 95. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 2°] om. B. ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ] T^{t}ABCDG^{c}NTZ: ⲁⲩⲉⲣ., H: ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣ., EFG*. ⲛ̅ϩⲣⲏⲓ] AB &c.: ⲛ̅ϧ., T^{t}. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ] ACDN: + ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ 'one,' T^{t}BEFGHTZ. 20 ⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲧⲫⲉ] ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ 'you,' D*H. ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ . . . ⲛⲉⲙ 2°] om. N. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲡ.] cf. Gr. ℵABP al fere^{40} am fu lips^{5} syr aeth &c. ⲁ ⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] T^{t}ABCDENZ: om. ⲁ, FGHT. ⲫϯ] om. D*. ⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ] ABN: ϣⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ, T^{t}EFGTZ: ⲓⲣⲓ, CDH; A gloss صر قد قفى

crying out, weeping and mourning, saying: "Woe to her, the
great *city*, from whom were made rich they whose ships are
in the sea, having been made rich from her preciousness,
because in an hour she was desolated."
20 Delight thee,
(the) heaven over her, and all the *saints*, and the *apostles*
and the *prophets*; Because the Lord God judged (ⲓⲣⲓ)
your judgement on (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀ⲙ) her.
21 And a strong *angel*
cried out a sound, and he took away a great *mill*[a] stone,
he tossed it into the sea, saying: "Thus in a fall will fall
Babylon. And she will be thrown down to the great
lake; and the great city shall not be found any more;
22 *nor*
(the) sound (ⲥⲙⲏ) of a harp. And a singer and a
trumpet shall not be heard, being in thee any more. And
no (ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ) *craftsman* shall be found in thee any more;
nor (the) sound (ⲥⲙⲏ) of *mill* shall be heard in thee any
more;
23 *nor* a light of lamp shall shine in thee any more;

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[a] μηχανή.

قضاكم فيها 'Sah. hath judged your judgement in her.' 21 ⲁ] om. CH*. ⲉϥϫⲟⲣ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{ca}BCP al fere omn vg arm aeth &c. ⲁϥⲉϣ] AC D*N: ⲁϥⲱϣ, TtDmgEFGHTZ: ⲉϥⲉϣ, B. ⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ] AB CD*HN: ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧ. 'a great sound,' DmgEFGT: ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϧ., TtZ. ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲭⲁⲛⲏ] ⲙ̀ⲙⲓⲭ., C: ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲭ., HZ. ⲁϥⲃⲉⲣⲃⲟⲣϥ] -ⲱⲣϥ, BDHNZ. ⲉϥϫⲱ] ϥϫⲱ, B. ⲥⲛⲁϩⲉⲓ] TtABCDmgGmgNT: ⲁⲥϩⲉⲓ 'fell,' D*EFG*HZ. ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ] ABHN: pref. ⲑ, TtCDEFGTZ; A gloss مصر المدينة العظمى بابل 'Sah. the great city Bābel.' ⲛ̀ⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲛⲓϣϯ] om. N homeot. 22 ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] AB: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, CDmgHNT: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ, D*GmgZ: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲑⲁⲣⲁ, TtEFGc. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩⲣⲉϥϫⲱ] ABD*N: ⲛ̀ⲣⲉϥϫⲱ, TtCDmgEFGHTZ. ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲓⲧⲏⲥ] ⲧⲉⲭⲛⲏ (ⲓ, DG*), DmgEFG*; cf. ? Gr. ℵA. ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉⲙ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩ. 'was not heard,' B. ⲛ̀ϧⲏϯ ϫⲉ 2°] om. T. ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲥⲙⲏ 2° &c.] cf. Gr. ABCP al pler vg &c. ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲱⲛ] A*: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲗⲟ (ⲱ, CZ) ⲛ, TtAmg ('the original copy') &c. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] ⲉⲣⲟⲥ, CZ. 23 ⲟⲩⲇⲉ 1°] AD*NZc: ⲟⲩⲟϩ, TtBCDmgEFGHT. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲃⲥ] ABDNc: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲟⲩϧ., TtCEF GHTZ.

Ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩϣⲉ-
ⲗⲉⲧ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏϯ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-
ⲛⲉϣⲟϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ |
ριζ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲛⲓϣϯ ⳾
Ϫⲉ ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓ-
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ
ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲟⲗⲟⲩ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
1 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ | ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲉϥⲟϣ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲩ-
ϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϫⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲉ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥϩⲁⲡ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉ ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲁⲡ ⲙ̀ⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉϯⲛⲓϣϯ |
ριη ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϭⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲡϣⲓϣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⳾
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲉⲥⲭⲣⲉⲙⲧⲥ ⲉϥⲉϣⲉ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲕ̅ⲇ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩ-
ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲇ̅ ⲛ̀ⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ
ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲩϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ ⳾
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲥϫⲱ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ

ⲧⲥⲙⲏ] pref. ⲉ, B. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲡⲁ(+ⲓ, C)ⲧϣ.] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧ., BC: ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲧ., F*. ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩϣ.] ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣ., C. ⲉⲣⲟϥ] T^{t}AD* F^{c}N: ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ, BCD^{mg}EF*GHTZ plural. ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲉϣⲟϯ] Tisch. wrongly cites cop for ὅτι pri. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ.] ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓ., T^{t}G by error. ⲛ̀ϧⲣⲏⲓ] ABCDHNZ: ⲛ̀ϩ., T^{t}EFGT. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. D. ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] cf. Gr. ℵACP 1. 38. 79. al pauc &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲉⲗϧⲟ-ⲗⲟⲩ] A: -ϧⲱⲗⲟⲩ, T^{t} &c. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ⲉϫⲉⲛ, BEFH. ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ] ABCN: ⲡⲓⲕ., T^{t}DEFGHTZ.

1 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] AD^{mg}N, cf. Gr. ℵABCP al^{35} vg syr &c.: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲓ 'and it came to pass,' T^{t}BCD*EFGHTZ. ⲙ̀-

Nor (the) voice of a bridegroom and a bride shall thy
merchants and the kings of (the) earth and the great men[a]
hear in thee any more. Because in thy potions all the
nations were led astray. 24 And (the) blood of the *prophets*
and the *saints* was found in her, and all who were slaugh-
tered upon (the) earth." ' XIX. After these (things) I heard
as a great sound of a vast multitude in (the) heaven, saying:
'Allēlouia; [the] salvation and [the] glory and [the] honour
and [the] power are of (ⲛⲁ) our God, because his judgements
are true: 2 And in a righteous judgement he judged the
great harlot; and he took (the) vengeance of (the) blood of his
servants from her.' 3 And (the) second (time) they[b] said:
'Allēlouia.' And her smoke shall go up unto age of the age.
4 And the twenty-four *presbyters* threw themselves down,
and the four *living-beings*, and they worshipped God, he who
sitteth upon the *throne*, saying: 'Amēn. Allēlouia.' 5 And
a voice came from the *throne*, saying: 'Bless our God, all

[a] Lit. 'the greatnesses.' [b] Lit. 'he said.'

ⲫⲣⲏϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP al longe plu vg &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABCP al fere^{30} am fu demid tol lipss omn^{laohm} syr aeth arm &c. ⲉⲩϫⲱ] cf. Gr. ℵABCP 1. al fere^{40} vg &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲧⲁⲓⲟ] cf. Gr. 1. 36. al &c. ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. 36. 47. vg syr arm aeth &c. 2 ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲏ] A gloss (cut) صر هذه التى افسدت ... بزناها 'Sah. this is she who corrupted...with her fornication.' ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲡⲉⲥⲛ., N: ⲡⲓⲥⲛ., T. ϩⲓⲧⲟⲧⲥ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ, BCD*EFGHTZ. 3 ⲫⲙⲁϩⲃ̄] AD^{mg}N: ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲃ̄, B: ⲫⲙⲁ(ⲉ, Z)ϩⲥⲟⲡ ⲃ̄ 'the second time,' T^{t}CD*EFG^{c}HTZ. ⲁϥϫⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. B al plus^{25} &c. ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] ABCD*EFG*N: ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, T^{t}D^{c}G^{c}HTZ. 4 ⲡⲓⲕ̄ⲇ̄] position cf. ? Gr. AB 14. 36. 79. 90. 91. 92. 94. demid tol lipss arm aeth &c., numerals cf. Gr. B 1. al fere^{15} fu al &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲇ̄] om. ⲡⲓ, AN: om. C. ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲟⲛ] om. ⲛ̄, EFG: om. C*; obs. Gr. ℵ* om. ζῶα. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. B. ⲫϯ] om. F*. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] ϩⲓ, B. ⲉⲩϫⲱ ... 5 ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] om. F* homeot. ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ] ⲁ̄ⲗ̄, T. 5 ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ] pref. ϧⲉⲛ, B by error; A gloss صر وخرجت اصوات 'Sah. and there went out voices.' ⲁⲥⲓ] om. G*. ϩⲁ] AD^{mg}N, cf. ? Gr. ABC al^{25} &c.: ϧⲉⲛ, T^{t} &c., cf. ? Gr. ℵP 1. 31. 32. 36. 47. 48. 49. 79. 91. 93. 96. al mu &c.

ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣϩⲟϯ ϧⲁⲧⲉϥϩⲏ ⁘ |
ριθ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⁘
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ ⁘
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛϣ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲛ-
ϧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲓ ⲉⲩϫⲟⲣ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲏ-
ⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡ̅ⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛ|ⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁ-
ⲧⲱⲣ ⁘
7 Ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲣⲁϣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲉⲗⲏⲗ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ-
ϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲡⲓϩⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⁘
8 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲥ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϯ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲥ ⁘ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ-
ϣⲉⲛⲥ ⲉϥⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⁘ ⲡⲓϣⲉⲛⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲑ-
ⲙⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⁘ |
ρκ 9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⁘ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ⁘
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓϩⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⁘ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲣ ⁘ ϫⲉ |
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩϣⲫⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕ-
ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ Ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫ̅ϯ̅ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ Ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲓ ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⁘

ⲛⲉⲙ 1°] cf. Gr. AB al omn^{vi} vg rell &c.: om. B, cf. Gr. ℵCP. ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 49. al &c.). 6 ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ 1°] ⲉⲫ., N. ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ '(the) voice,' D^{mg} 'the original (copy)': om. H*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] om. H*. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ 2°] cf. Gr. (exc. A 6. 12. 94). ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ABCD*N: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛⲛⲓϣϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ 'of great waters,' T^{t}D^{mg}EF* &c.: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲙ̄ⲙ., F^{mg}. ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲛϧ.] ACD^{mg}N: ⲛⲉⲙⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛϣ ⲛ̄ϧ. 'and as the voice of many &c.,' T^{t}B &c. ⲉⲩϫⲟⲣ] A gloss صر عظيم كثيرة 'Sah. very great.' ⲁⲗⲗⲏⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ] ⲁ̅ⲗ̅, HT. ⲫ̅ϯ̅] om. F*, cf. Prim; om. ἡμῶν cf. Gr. A 1. 49. 95. al arm

his servants, and they who fear him, the small and the
great. 6 And I heard as a great voice of a great multitude,
and as (the) voice of many waters, and (the) voice of strong
thunders, saying: 'Allēlouia. The Lord God, the *Almighty*
reigned. 7 Let us rejoice and be glad, and glorify him;
because the marriage-feast of the lamb came, and his bride
was (ⲉⲧⲁⲩ) prepared for him. 8 And it was given to her,
that she should clothe herself with a fine-linen, glorious,
pure: for the fine-linen is the righteousness (plur.) of the
saints.' 9 And he said to me: 'Write, "Blessed are they
who are called to the *supper* of the lamb."' And he said
to me: 'These words are true (words) of God.' 10 And
I fell before his feet, I worshipped him; and he said to
me: 'Not so, because I (am) a fellow-servant of thine and
thy brethren, they who have the witness of Jesus.

Worship God; for the witness of Jesus is the *spirit* of
the truth.'

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aeth &c. 7 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛϯⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. ℵcAP 11. 36. 79). ⲡⲓϩⲟⲛ (om. B)] ACEF: ⲡϩⲟⲛ, Tt &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓϩ.] ACZ: ⲙ̄ⲛⲓϩ., Tt &c. 8 ⲉϥⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 7. 91. 95. am fu demid luxov lips4 allachm &c.: pref. ⲉϥⲥⲁϯ 'sewn,' B. ⲅⲁⲣ] +ⲡⲉ, C. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ] AD*EF*G*H*, cf. allachm om. ἐστί: pref. ⲡⲉ, TtDmgFcGmgHc?NTZ, cf. Gr. 1. al mu vg &c.: +ⲡⲉ, B, cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus30 syr &c. 9 ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ, GT. ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲑⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ] ⲉⲧⲑⲁϩⲉⲙ, F*?: -ⲑⲁϩϩⲉⲙ, B*: -ⲑⲁϩϩⲉⲩ, Bc both by error. ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ*P 1. 16. 36. 39. 79. &c. om. τοῦ γάμου. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ 2°] cf. Gr. (exc. ℵ* 6. 11. 36. 38. 98). ⲡⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 1. 38. 49. 79. 91. &c.: om. D: +ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ 'and the word,' Bmg; A gloss صر ثم قال لى ان هذا الكلام الذى اقوله و هو كلام الله 'Sah. then he said to me, these words which I say (are true) and are the words of God.' 10 ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ] obs. Gr. P 79. &c. καὶ προσεκύνησα; A gloss صر لكى اسجد 'Sah. that I might worship.' ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲣ] ⲙ̄ⲫϯ, T* by error; A gloss صر انظر 'Sah. look.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ . . . ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ] om. T* homeot. ⲡⲉ] om. B. ϯⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A gloss صر النبوة 'Sah. the prophecy.'

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11 Ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⁘ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏⲛ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ρκα ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩϩⲉⲑⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ
ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ⁘ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓ-
ⲕⲉⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ ⁘
12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲟⲛⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϣⲁϩ ⲛ̅ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⁘
ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲏϣ ⲛ̅ⲭⲗⲟⲙ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲁⲫⲉ ⁘ ⲉⲟⲩ-
ⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ | ⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⁘ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ϣϫⲟⲙ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⁘ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⁘
13 Ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ ⁘ ⲉϥⲛⲟϫϧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ ⁘
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⁘ 14 ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ⁘ ϧⲉⲛ
ρκβ ϩⲁⲛϩⲑⲱⲣ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ ⁘ | ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛϣⲉⲛⲥ ⲉⲩ-
ⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲧⲟⲓ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⁘ 15 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ϫⲉⲟⲩⲥⲏϥⲓ ⲉⲥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⁘ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥ-
ϣⲁⲣⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲉϥⲉⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̅ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϣⲃⲱⲧ
ⲙ̅ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ ⲉϥⲉϩⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̅ϯϩⲣⲱⲧ
ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ | ⲡⲓⲏⲣⲡ ⲙ̅ⲡϫⲱⲛⲧ ⁘ ⲙ̅ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁ-
ⲧⲱⲣ ⁘
16 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥϩⲃⲱⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ

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11 ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ] A*CDN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{mg} &c. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ] AC: -ⲟⲃϣ, T^{t} &c.: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲱ, B)ⲃϣ, BG*. ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. (ℵ) B al pler vg syr aeth &c. ⲁϥϯ] A: ⲉϥϯ, T^{t}BEFGHTZ: ϥϯ, CDN. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϩⲁⲡ] om. ⲙ̅ⲡⲓ, CD*. 12 ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] AC D*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^{t} &c. ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵ*AP 1. 7. 31. 36. 47. 48. 79. al vg arm &c. ⲛ̅ⲑⲟϥ] T^{t}AD^{mg}N: ⲉⲣⲟϥ, BCD*EFGHTZ. 13 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ACD^{c}N: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉ., T^{t}EFGHTZ: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, D*. ⲟⲩϩⲃⲱⲥ] om. ⲟⲩ, B: -ⲟⲥ, E*FN. ϩⲓⲱⲧϥ] ACD*N: pref. ⲧⲟⲓ 'given,' T^{t}BD^{mg}EFG HTZ. ⲉϥⲛⲟϫϧ] T^{t}ACDNZ: -ⲛⲟⲩϫϧ, BEF^{c}GHT; cf. Gr. ℵ^{co}P 32. 35. 36. 87. 95. vg &c.; A gloss مر مصبوغ 'Sah. dyed.' ϧⲉⲛ] cf.? Gr. 6. 31. 32. 33. 48. &c. ⲡⲥⲛⲟϥ] ⲡⲓⲥ., HT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om.

11 After these (things) I saw (the) heaven opened; and I saw
a white horse. And he who sitteth upon him, being called,
'The *faithful* and the true'; and he gave the judgement in [a]
righteousness. 12 And his eyes were being like to a flame
of fire; having (lit. being) many crowns upon his head;
having a name written, it is not possible that any one should
know it except him only. 13 Having (lit. being) a garment
on him sprinkled with (ϧⲉⲛ) (the) blood: and being called,
'(The) word of God.' 14 And the *army* was (lit. were) walking
after him with (ϧⲉⲛ) white horses, being clothed in fine linen
(plur.), glorious. 15 And a sharp[a] sword cometh from their
mouths, that he may smite the *nations* with (ϧⲉⲛ) it.

And he (pron.) shall rule[b] them with (ϧⲉⲛ) a staff of iron: and he (pron.) shall tread the winepress of the wine of (the) anger of God, the *Almighty.* 16 And a name is (lit. being)

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[a] Lit. 'casting.' [b] Lit. 'tend.'

BD*. ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. 1. 31. 36. 48. 49. 79. 91. al vg^{ole} am tol lips^{5} al^{lachm} &c.: ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟⲩϯ, GTZ; A gloss صر اسمه 'Sah. his name.' ⲡⲥⲁϫⲓ] ABDN: ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ, T^{t} &c. ⲙ̄ⲫϯ] ABD*N: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ, T^{t}CD^{mg}EFGHTZ. 14 ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ] AN: ⲛⲓⲥⲧ., T^{t} &c.; om. ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ cf. arm; A gloss صر الذين في السما 'Sah. which are in heaven.' ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϧϣ] -ⲟϧϣ, B: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟϧϣ, C. ϩⲁⲛϣⲉⲛⲥ] T^{t}ABD^{mg}EFG*N: ϩⲁⲛϩϧⲱⲥ, CD*G^{mg}HZ: ϩⲁⲛϩϧⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲉⲛⲥ, T. 15 ⲥⲏⲏⲟⲩ] AFGH: ⲉⲥⲏⲏⲟⲩ, T^{t}BCDᴱTZ: ⲥⲉⲏⲏⲟⲩ, N by error. ⲣⲱⲟⲩ] ABCD*F^{c}G^{mg}HNTZ: ⲣⲱϥ 'his mouth,' T^{t}D^{mg}EF*G*; A gloss صر فيه 'Sah. his mouth.' ⲉⲥϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAP 1. 36. 38. 79. al am fu demid omn^{lachm} arm aeth^{pp} &c. ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] T^{t}A* &c.: ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ., A^{c}. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ 1°] om. EF*G*. ⲉϥⲉⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ] ⲉϥⲁⲙ., CN. ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲱⲛⲧ] A*D*N, cf. syr Cyp Prim: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲙ(ⲡⲓⲙ̄, BEFGHTZ: ⲡⲉⲙ, A^{c}C D^{mg}N)ϧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϫⲱⲛⲧ 'of the indignation of the anger,' T^{t}A^{c}B CD^{mg}EFGHTZ; om. καί cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus^{35} vg arm aeth &c. 16 ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ] ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ 'the name,' H, cf. Gr. 1. al pauc^{vi} &c. ⲡⲉϥϩϧⲱⲥ] T^{t}ADFHZ: -ⲟⲥ, BCEGNT.

ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲱϫ ⁘ ϫⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⁘

ⲔⲐ.

17 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲫⲣⲏ ⲉϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ |
ⲣⲕⲅ Ϫⲉ ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲏⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ ⁘ ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲡ-
ⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲫϯ ⁘
18 Ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⁘ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϫⲱⲣⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ | ⲛⲓϩ-
ⲑⲱⲣ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙϩⲉⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ⁘
19 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ ⲉⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓϩⲑⲟ
ⲣⲕⲇ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⁘
20 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⁘
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ-
ⲙⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲙ̄ⲑⲟ ⁘
Ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏ-
ⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ | ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ ⁘
ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲃ̄ ⲉⲩⲟⲛϧ ⲉϯⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ

ⲡⲉϥⲁⲗⲱ(ⲟ, FN)ϫ] ⲧⲉϥ., T[t]: ⲛⲉϥ., T plural; om. ἐπί cf. Gr. ℵ. 17 ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲅⲅ.] cf. Gr. ℵ 36. arm &c. ϧⲉⲛ 1°] A gloss ص على 'Sah. upon.' ⲉϥⲱϣ] ABCNZ: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T[t]DEFGHT. ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. ? Gr. ℵB 2. 7. 14. 16. 92. al fere[10]. ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ] om. ⲛⲓ, Z. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ . . . ⲙⲏϯ] om. H*. ⲛ̄ⲧⲫⲉ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲉ, H. ⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al[45] &c. ϧⲉⲛⲡⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus[35] &c.: om. N. ⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ] ⲇⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲛ, B. 18 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ, B 1° person. ⲭⲓⲗⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ]

written on his garment and his thigh, '(The) King of the kings, and the Lord of the lords.'

17 And I saw another *angel* standing in (the) sun; crying out in a great sound, saying: 'All [the] birds which fly in (the) midst of (the) heaven, come, assemble in the great *supper* of the Lord God; 18 That ye may eat the *flesh* (plur.) of the kings, and the *flesh* of the *khiliarchs*, and the *flesh* of the strong, and the *flesh* of the horses, and those who sit upon them, and the *flesh* of the freemen, and the servants, and the small, and the great. 19 And I saw the *wild beast* and the kings of (the) earth, and their *armies*, assembled to make a *war* with him who sitteth on the white horse and his *army*. 20 And the *wild beast* was seized, and those who were with him, and the *false prophet*, who did the signs among them before him. Having bound them who received the seal of the *wild beast* and them who worship his *image*, they cast them down, both alive, to the *lake* which burneth with fire and

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AD^mg^N: -ϫoc, T^t^B &c. ⲛⲉⲙ 2°... ϫⲱ(o, A^c^)pi] om. H*. ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ 4°] ⲛⲥ., E singular. ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] A gloss صر الراكبين 'Sah. the riders.' ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲙϩⲉⲧ] cf. Gr. 1. arm &c. om. πάντων. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲃⲱⲕ] cf.? Gr. 1. 6. al aliq &c. nec exprimunt τε vg syr arm aeth. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. B 9. 14. 30. 36. 38. 47. 92. 98). ⲛⲉⲙ-ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ] cf.? Gr. ℵAP 1. 35. 36. 48. 79. 87. 95. al mu vg rell &c.; for the article cf.? Gr. ℵ 95. 19 ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧ.] cf. Gr. ℵBP al pler vg rell &c.: ⲛⲓⲥⲧ. 'the armies,' B; A gloss صر ملوكه وعساكره 'Sah. and his kings and his armies.' ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲧ] ⲉⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ, D^mg^. ⲟⲩ-ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. P 1. 6. al sat mu &c. ⲛⲟⲩⲱ(o, D)ⲃϣ] A gloss صر اشهب 'Sah. dazzling.' 20 ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] ABCDN: pref. ⲙ̄, T^t^EFGHTZ. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ] cf. Gr. A 34. 41. ⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟ(+ⲙ̄, T^t^ &c.)ⲡⲣ(om. T^t^)ⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] ABCN. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥ-ⲙ̄ⲑⲟ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ, T. ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲛϩ] AOD^mg^EFG*N: ⲉⲁϥ-(ⲩ, GT)ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ 'having led astray,' BG^mg^HT: ⲉⲧⲁϥ(ⲩ, Z)-ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ, T^t^Z: ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ, D*. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] AN: ϩⲓⲕ., T^t^ &c.; cf. Gr. exc. B. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. 36. 38. &c.). ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲃ̄] T^t^AN: ⲙ̄ⲛⲃ̄, B &c. ⲉⲩⲟⲛϧ] T^t^ADN: -ⲱⲛϧ, BCEFG HT: ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ, Z.

ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲑⲏⲛ. 21 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲓ
ⲁⲩϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲏϥⲓ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ
ⲡⲓϩⲑⲟ ⳾ ⲑⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲛⲓϩⲁⲗⲁϯ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⳾ |

ⲗ.

ⲣⲕⲉ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡϣⲟϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲗⲏⲥⲓⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⳾
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲟϥ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲁⲣ-
ⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⳾ |
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲛϩϥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ 3 ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ
ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ ⳾ ⲁϥⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ ⲉⲣⲱϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃ ⲥⲁⲛϣⲱⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾
Ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥϣⲧⲉⲙⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩ-
ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ
ⲣⲕⲋ ⲛⲁⲓ ϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟⲗϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ | ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
4 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲁⲛⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲁⲩϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ-
ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϧⲟⲑⲃⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲧⲉϥ|ϩⲩ-
ⲕⲱⲛ ⳾
Ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩϭ̅ⲓ̅ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϥⲧⲉⲃⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲟⲩϫⲓϫ ⳾ ⲁⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ-
ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡ̀ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ

ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ] ABD*N: ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ, T^{t}CD^{mg}EFGHTZ; A gloss صر النار الموقدة بالكبريت 'Sah. the fire burning with sulphur.' ⲑⲏⲛ] pref. ⲟⲩ, B; cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{30} &c. 21 ϧⲉⲛ 1°] ⲛ̀, C. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. C. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ] ABCD^{mg}N: ⲁⲩⲥⲓ 'were satiated,' T^{t}D*EFGHTZ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. EFG*.

1 ⲉⲁϥⲓ] ⲁϥⲓ, B. ⲙ̀ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲛ., D. ϩⲁⲗⲏⲥⲓⲥ] -ⲗⲩⲥⲓⲥ, B: -ⲗⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ, N. ϧⲉⲛ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵ 38. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°]

sulphur. 21 And (the) remainder were killed with (the) sword
of him who sitteth on the horse, which came out of his mouth;
and all the birds of (the) heaven ate of their *flesh*.

XX. And I saw an *angel*, having come down out of (the)
heaven, having (the) key of (the) abyss and a great *chain* in
his hand. 2 And he laid hold on the *dragon*, the serpent,
the *ancient*, who is the *devil*, *Satan*, and he bound him a
thousand years. 3 He cast him into (the) abyss, he shut its
mouth, and sealed above him[a]. That he might not lead
astray the *nations*, until the thousand years were completed.
And after these (things) he must be loosed yet (ⲕⲉ) a little
time. 4 And I saw thrones; having sat upon them, judge-
ment was given to them concerning the *souls* of them who
were killed because of the witness of Jesus, and the word of
God, and they who worshipped not the *wild beast nor* his
image. And they who received not his seal on (ⲉ) their
forehead and their hand lived with him, and they reigned
with Christ a thousand years. 5 And (the) remainder of the

[a] Or 'it.'

om. EF*G*H. ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲉⲟⲥ] AD*N: ⲛ̄ⲁⲣ., T^{t}BCD^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓ., T; cf. Gr. ℵ 14. 38. 79. 97. &c. ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ] ⲡⲥⲁⲇⲁⲛ, B; cf. Gr. ℵA 1. 31. 79. 95. al vg arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 2°] om. B. 3 ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ] A*CGN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, $T^{t}$$A^{mg}$ &c. ⲁϥⲙⲁϣⲑⲁⲙ] ABCDN: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}EFGHTZ. ⲉⲣⲱϥ] ACDEFG^{c}NT: ⲛ̄ⲣⲱϥ, T^{t}BTZ: ⲉⲣⲟϥ, G*, cf. ? Gr. 1. al $pauc^{vi}$ aeth 'add *αὐτόν*. ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃ] ABN: -ⲟⲃ, T^{t} &c. -ⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ] -ⲥⲟⲣⲉⲙ, EFG; om. *ἔτι* cf. Gr. 1. 14. 40. aeth. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, 2°] cf. Gr. 1. al mu vg^{cle} $lips^{6}$ demid arm aeth &c.: om. B, cf. Gr. ℵAB al $fere^{20}$ am fu tol $lips^{4.5.}$ omn^{lachm} &c. ϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ(ⲱ, BH)ⲗϥ] ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ 'they shall loose him,' D*: ϩⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗϥ, D^{mg}. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. C. 4 ⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ] pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, CZ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲏ] om. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ, B. ⲡⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] pref. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ, B. ϩⲩⲕⲱⲛ] ANT: ϩⲓⲕ., T^{t} &c. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. 1. 49. 79. 91. al tol $lips^{4}$ arm aeth &c. add *αὐτῶν*. ⲟⲩϣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵA 1. 12. 32. 34. 49. 79. 91. 96. arm &c. 5 ⲟⲩⲟϩ . . . ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. AB al sat mu vg

ⲡⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ϣⲁⲧⲟⲩ-
ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲑⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ |
ⲣⲕⲍ ϯⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ ⳾
6 Ϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ-
ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲉϥ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ
ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ ⳾
Ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϫⲉⲙ ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϫⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅ ⳾ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲉ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ | ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲃ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⳾
7 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲡⲓϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲙ-
ⲡⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲉⲗ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⳾
8 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ
ⲣⲕⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϥⲧⲟⲩ ⲗⲁⲕϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ | ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
Ⲅⲱⲅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁ̅ⲅⲱⲅ ⲉⲩⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲓ ⲟⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ⳾
9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ϯⲟⲩⲏϣⲥⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲉϯⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩ|ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛ
ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩ ⳾
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲩ-
ϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ
ⲛ̀ⲑⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ

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arm aeth &c.; for *καί* cf. Gr. B 1. 12. 16. 31. 38. 49. al plus[10] demid lips[4**] &c. ⲡ(ⲛ, N)ⲓϣⲟ] ⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ 'the first,' T by error. [6] ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ] om. ⲟⲩ, EFGT. ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ] ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩϯ, B. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] ABN: ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ, T[t] &c. ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲉϫⲱϥ] thus all the collated MSS., ⲛⲁⲓ and ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲉϫⲱϥ and ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ having been confused, Gr. (exc. 14. 29. 79. 92. &c.) has plural. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅] position cf. ? Gr. 1. 49. 79. al[vi] &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. C. ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲉⲩⲉⲣ., BN, cf. ? Gr. A present. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵB 14. 18. 38. 47. 53[mg] 92. syr: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲟ, H, cf. Gr. A al pler arm &c. [7] ⲟⲩⲟϩ]

dead lived not until the thousand years were completed.
This is the first *resurrection*. 6 Blessed is he and a *saint*
of God who hath a *part* in the first *resurrection*. Over these
the second death shall not have (lit. find) authority[a]. But
(ⲁ) they shall be priests of God and Christ, and they shall
reign with him the thousand years. 7 And if the thousand
years should be completed, *Satan* shall be loosed out of the
prison. 8 And he shall lead astray the servants and the
nations in the four corners of (the) earth. Gōg and (M)agōg
shall be gathered to the *war*; these whose number is as the
sand of the sea. 9 And they came up over the breadth of
(the) earth; and they encircled the *camp* of the *saints* and
the new[b] city. And a fire came out of (the) heaven from
God, it consumed them. 10 And the *devil* who leadeth them
astray was cast down to the *lake* of fire which burneth with
(ⲛ̄) sulphur, the place in which are the *wild beast* and the

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[a] The text adds 'over him.' [b] ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ perhaps confused with ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ 'beloved.'

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om. C. ⲉϣⲱⲡ &c.] cf. ? Gr. ℵA al fere^{20} vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲉⲗ] ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙ, C. 8 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ] ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ. 'his servants,' C. ⲡⲓ(ⲉ, N)ϥⲧⲟⲩ] ABCD*N: + ⲑⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ 'winds of,' T^{t}D^{mg}(om. ⲛ̄)EF GHTZ. ⲅⲱⲅ] cf. ? Gr. ℵ* om. τόν. ⲁ̄ⲅⲱⲅ] tr. وماجوج 'wa mājūj': ⲙⲁⲅⲱⲅ, T^{t}; om. τόν cf. Gr. ℵ*A 1. 79. &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩ] -ⲱⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ, T^{t}; cf. Gr. AB al pler syr &c. ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲟⲗ.] ⲉⲡⲡⲟⲗ., B; cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al^{30} &c. ⲧⲟⲩⲏⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al plus^{25}. ⲟⲓ] om. CDF*. -ϣⲟ] ADEF*GT: -ϣⲱ, T^{t}BCF^{o}HNZ. 9 ⲁⲩⲓ] AB CD^{mg}HN: ⲉⲩⲉⲓ 'they shall come,' T^{t}D*EFGZ: ⲉⲕⲉⲓ 'thou shalt come,' T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲫϯ] T^{t}AD*EG^{mg}NT^{mg}: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫϯ, F^{mg}: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲫϯ, BC^{o}Z; cf. ? Gr. B al plus^{25} arm ar^{e} &c.: om. D^{mg}F*G*T*, cf. Gr. A 12. 18. 79. lips^{4} &c. 10 ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲣⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. T. ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] om. B. ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ] ABD^{mg}N: ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ, T^{t}CD*EFGHTZ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲛ] cf. Gr. ABP 1. al sat mu &c.: + ⲛⲉⲙⲭⲣⲱⲙ 'and fire,' B. ⲡⲓⲙⲁ &c.] cf. Gr. ℵ 1. 91. al fu demid tol arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲯⲉⲩⲇⲟⲡⲣ.] ABCEFGN: -ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ., T^{t}DHTZ(om. ⲡⲓ).

ρκθ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ∻ ϣⲁ|ⲉⲛⲉϩ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ∻
11 Ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̄ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓϫⲱϥ ∻ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲫⲱⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲁⲧϩⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲫⲉ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ-
ϫⲉⲙ ⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ∻
12 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ∻ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲛⲓϣϯ ∻ ⲉⲩ|ⲟϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛϫⲱⲙ ∻
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉϫⲱⲙ ∻ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲡⲉ.
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ ⲉⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ∻ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏ
ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲛⲓϫⲱⲙ ∻ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ∻
ρλ 13 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲫⲓⲟⲙ ϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ | ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ ∻ ⲁⲩϯ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϯϩⲁⲡ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ∻
14 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲁⲙⲉⲛϯ ∻ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ
ⲉϯⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ ϩⲓ ⲑⲏⲛ ∻ 15 ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲉⲙϥ | ⲉϥⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲙ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ∻ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϯⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ ∻

ⲖⲀ.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ∻ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩⲓ
ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ∻ ϯⲫⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲁⲩϣⲉ
ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ∻ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲓⲟⲙ ϫⲉ ∻
2 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲓⲗⲏ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ∻

ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ] T^{t}ADG^{m3}HNTZ : ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ., BCEFG*. ⲛⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] ⲡⲓ., BCEFG* singular; A gl. صر ويعذبوهم ليلا ونهارا 'Sah. and they shall punish them night and day.' ⲡⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] ⲛⲓ., T. 11 ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] AN : pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ] -ⲱⲃϣ, T^{t}BCH : ⲉϥⲟⲃϣ, A*; position cf. ? Gr. ℵABP al^{25} vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ] ⲉⲛⲁϥϩ. 'who was &c.,' C. ⲧⲫⲉ] position cf. ? Gr. ℵABP al pler vg syr &c. 12 ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ] position cf. Gr. B (4. 26. 31. 32. 48.) m^{39} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{40} vg m^{39} syr aeth arm &c. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ] ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛϩ 'were manifested,' BT. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ] ⲁⲩⲟⲩ., C plural. ⲕⲉϫⲱⲙ] order cf. ? Gr. ℵ^{c}ABP al plus^{30} vg

false prophet; and they were *tormented* in the days and
the nights unto age of the age. 11 I saw a great white
throne, and him (ⲫⲏ) who sat upon it, from before whose
face (the) earth fled away, and (the) heaven; and place of theirs
was not found. 12 And I saw all the dead, the small and
the great, standing before the *throne*; and books were opened.

And another book was opened, which is that of (the) life.
And the dead were judged out of the things which were
written on the book, according to their works. 13 And the
sea gave the dead who were in it; and (the) abyss and
Amenti gave the dead which were in them: and they were
judged according to their works. 14 And (the) abyss and
Amenti were cast into the *lake* of fire which burneth with
(ϩⲓ) sulphur. 15 And he who was not found written on (the)
book of (the) life was cast[a] to the lake of fire.

XXI. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the
first heaven and the earth went (away); and there is not sea
any more. 2 And I saw the city which is holy, new

[a] Lit. 'they cast them.'

m[39] &c.; A gl. صر فتحت ايضا صحفه للحياة 'Sah. was opened also the book of the life.' ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛⲛⲏ] ⲉⲛⲏ, D. ϩⲓ] ⲉ, B. 13 ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥ. &c. 1°] order cf. Gr. ℵABP al[30] m[39] vg syr aeth &c. ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ] T[t] ABCDHN: pref. ⲁ, EFGTZ. ⲁⲩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵBP 1. al fere omn vg rell &c. ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ] AN: ⲉⲧⲉⲛϧ(ϩ, B)ⲣⲏⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ, T[t] &c.; order cf. Gr. ℵABP al[30] &c. 14 ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲛ] ⲫⲙⲟⲩ '(the) death,' C. ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] om. B. ⲉⲑⲙⲟϩ] ABCD*N: ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ, T[t] D[mg] EFGHTZ. ϩⲓⲑⲏⲛ] AN: ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲛ 'with sulphur,' T[t] &c.; for om. οὗτος . . . ἐστίν cf. Gr. 1. 18. 31. 41. 42. 94. 97. arm[zoh] &c.; also for om. ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός cf. Gr. 1. 18. 31. 41. 42. 94. al vg[cle] lips[6] arm &c. 15 ⲡϫⲱⲙ] ⲡⲓϫ., D. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϧ, BC. ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ, T[t].

1 ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ] cf. Gr. 13. 29. arm &c.; A gl. صر الاول 'Sah. the first.' ⲁⲩϣⲉ] cf. Gr. (ℵA)B 8. 9. 13. 29. 30. 32. 38. 92. 94. 97. al fere[15] &c. 2 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. al plus[40] am fu tol demid al[lachm] syr arm aeth &c. ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] position cf. vg[cle] lipss al[lachm].

ρλα ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ ⳾
ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲗⲥⲱⲗ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ⳾
3 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ ⲛ̀ⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲫⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⳾ ϫⲉ ⲓⲥ ϯⲥⲕⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲥⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ. | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲫϯ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ 4 ⲉϥⲉϥⲉⲧ
ⲉⲣⲙⲏ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ
ⲙⲟⲩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϩⲏⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ ϧⲓⲥⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲓϩⲟⲩⲁϯ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲛⲓ ⳾ |
ρλβ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
5 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ⳾ ϫⲉ
ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲃⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⳾ ⲥⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉ ⳾
6 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓ|ⲁⲗⲫⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓⲱ ϯⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲏ
ⲉⲑⲛⲁϯ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲃⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲟⲩⲙⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ϫⲓⲛϫⲏ ⳾
7 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϭⲣⲟ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲓⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲑⲟϥ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ
ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛ̀ϣⲏⲣⲓ ⳾
ρλγ 8 Ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲉⲣϣⲗⲁϩ | ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲁⲧ-

ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ] pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, C; position cf. Gr. ℵAB al plus^{25} vg syr aeth &c. ϣⲉⲗⲉ(ⲏ, H)ⲧ] ⲛⲁ(E, Z)ⲧϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ 'bridegroom,' EF GTZ by error. ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ] ⲉⲡⲉⲥ., C. [3] ⲓⲥ] om. T. ⲉⲥⲭⲏ] T^{t}ACD*NZ: ⲥⲭⲏ, B: ⲥⲉⲭⲏ, D^{mg}EFGHT. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. B. ⲉⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟⲥ] T^{t}ACD*N: ⲉⲩⲗ., D^{mg}EFGHTZ: ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲗ., B; for singular cf. Gr. BP al^{35} vg syr aeth arm &c. ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲟⲩ] ABC D^{mg}N; position cf. Gr. ℵP 1. 31. 32. 47. 49. 79. 91. 96. al mu aeth &c.: ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϯ 'to them as God,' T^{t}D*EFGHTZ, for *θεός* cf. Gr. AP 79. al vg syr &c.; A gl. صر والرب هو يكون لهم الاها 'Sah. and the Lord himself shall be to them as God.' [4] ⲉϥⲉ.] ADN: pref.

Jerusalem, coming down out of (the) heaven from God, pre-
pared as a bride adorned for her husband. 3 And I heard
a great voice out of (the) heaven, saying: 'Lo, the *tabernacle*
of God is being with [the] men, and he shall dwell with
them, and they also shall be to him for a *people*. And
God himself shall be (ϣⲱⲡⲓ) with them: 4 he shall wipe every
tear from their eyes; and death shall not be any more, *nor*
mourning, *nor* cry. Toil shall not be any more, *since* the
first things passed away; lo, all things will become new.'

5 And he who sitteth on the *throne* said to me: 'Lo, I shall
(lit. will) make all things new.' And he said to me:
'Write these words, they are faithful and they are true.'

6 And he said to me: 'I am the alpha and the ō, the
beginning and the end: I am he who will give to him who
is thirsty of the fountain of water of life freely. 7 He
who will overcome shall *inherit* these things; and I shall
be to him as God, and he (pron.) shall be to me as son.

8 But they who will be doubtful, and the unbelieving, and

ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} &c. -ϥⲉⲧ] -ϥⲱϯ, T^{t}; cf. Gr. ℵ(B) P al^{35} syr arm aeth &c. om. ὁ θεός. ⲉⲣⲙⲏ] pref. ⲛ, F* : ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲏ, T^{t} by error. ⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵ 38. 47. al ? &c. ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ (om. ⲟⲩ, B)] pref. ⲟⲩ, CZ. ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ . . . ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] om. H*. 5 ϩⲓ] ABCD*N: ⲉϫⲉⲛ, T^{t} D^{mg}EFGHTZ. ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ] position cf.? Gr. ℵAP 35. 37. 38. 49. 79. 87. 91. 96. vg &c.; A gl. صر هوذا انا اخلق كل شي جديدا 'Sah. behold I create all things new.' ⲛⲏⲓ 2°] cf. Gr. ℵP 1. al plur vg^{ole} fu lipss arm aeth &c. ⲥⲉ(ⲉⲥⲉ, C^{r}) ⲛϩⲟⲧ] position cf. Gr. ℵAB al^{25} vg syr aeth &c. 6 ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} aeth luxov Tich om. γέγοναν. ⲡⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. A 38. 39. vg &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲫⲁ] om. ⲡⲓ, T; cf. Gr ℵA BP al fere^{15} &c. ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ] A*BCD^{mg}N: +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, T^{t}A^{c}D*EFGH TZ. ⲡⲉ 2°] om. EFG*T. ⲫⲏ 1°] om. B. ⲙ̄ⲫⲏ] om. αὐτῷ cf.? Gr. ℵAP al sat mu vg syr arm &c. ⲙ̄ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ] om. D*. ⲛ̄ϫⲓⲛϫⲏ] ⲛ̄ϫⲓⲛⲱⲛ, B. 7 ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲛ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 7. 9. 17. 37. 38. 47. 49. 79. 91. al vg syr arm aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om B. ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲓ] T^{t}ABCD*F^{c}NT: ⲉⲟⲩϣ., D^{mg}Z: ⲉⲩϣ., EF*GH. 8 ⲛⲓ(ⲏ, AT)-ⲁ(ⲉ, T)ⲧ(ⲑ, EFT) ⲛⲁϩϯ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 49* 79. al pauc^{vi} m^{37} vg arm &c.

ⲛⲁϩϯ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϥϩⲏⲧ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϧⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲃ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓϧ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ⳹
Ⲡⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲗⲩⲙⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ-
ⲭⲣⲱⲙ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲑⲏⲛ⳹ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅
ⲡⲉ⳹

ⲖⲂ.

9 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ | ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ϯⲍ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲓⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ⳹ ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲍ̅ ⲛ̀ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ϧⲁⲉ⳹ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ⳹ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉϯϣⲉ-
ⲗⲉⲧ⳹ ⲧⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ⳹
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲗⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲣⲗⲇ ⲛ̀ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ⳹ | ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅⳹ ⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ
ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲫϯ⳹ 11 ⲑⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲑⲙⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲱⲟⲩ⳹
Ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ⳹ ⲙ̀-
ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ⳹ ⲉϥⲟⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟⲥ⳹ 12 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲥ | ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϥϭⲟⲥⲓ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲙ̀ⲡⲩ-
ⲗⲱⲛ⳹
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ⳹ ϩⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ⳹ ⲛⲉⲙ
ϩⲁⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̀ϯⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲙ̀ⲫⲩⲗⲏ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲥ̅ⲗ̅⳹

ⲛⲓϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓϧ] -ϣⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ‘idolaters,’ D^{mg}. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓ-ⲭⲣⲱⲙ] ⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲱⲙ, B. ⲉⲧⲉ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ, EF. ⲙ̀ⲙⲁϩⲃ̅] position cf. ? Gr. ℵAB al plus[25] vg m[37] syr arm &c. 9 ⲁϥⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵ &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1°] om. Z; obs. Gr. 1. 35. 38. 79. 87. &c. om. ἐκ. ⲡⲏ] om. CEF*G*. ϯⲍ̅] for article cf. Gr. ℵ* et^{c}AP 1. 7. 35. 49. 87. al &c. ⲉⲩⲙⲉϩ] om. B. ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ, B by error. ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ] om. ⲛ̀, EFG*. ⲉϯ.] AD: ⲛ̀ϯ., T^{t}B &c.; order cf. Gr. ℵAP 33. 35. 38. 87. vg syr aeth arm &c. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲓϩ.] T^{t}AD^{mg} F^{mg}N: ⲙ̀ⲡⲓϩ., BCD*EF*GHTZ. 10 ⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] T^{t}A*CHZ: ⲟⲩⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, A^{c}BDEFGNT. ⲉⲡϣⲱⲓ] ⲉⲡϣⲁϥⲉ ‘to (the) desert,’ B:

the abominable, and the murderers, and the *fornicators*,
and the worshippers of demons, and the liars— Their *part*
shall be in the *lake* of the fire and the sulphur, which is the
second death.'
9 And one from the seven *angels* came, they who had the
seven *vials*, filled with the seven last plagues; he spake to
me, saying: 'Come that I may show to thee the bride, (the)
wife of the lamb.' 10 And he took me away in the *spirit*
up on a great mountain, being high: he showed to me the
city which is holy, Jerusalem, coming down out of (the)
heaven from God, 11 she which is holy, which is filled with (ⲛ̄)
glory. But her light is being of a precious stone[a], as a light
of precious iaspis, being of christalos. 12 Having a great wall,
being high; and the twelve *gates*. And the twelve *angels*
at the *gates*; and names written, being (the) name of the

[a] Reading ⲱⲛⲓ for ⲱⲓⲛⲓ.

trs. before ϧⲉⲛ, D. ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ] ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ, B. ⲉϯ-ⲃⲁⲕⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al plus[25] vg syr aeth &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉ̅ⲑ̅, F: ⲉ̅ⲑ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅, HT. ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲫϯ] T^t D^mg (أصل 'the original copy') &c.: om. D*: pref. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B. 11 ⲛ̄ⲱⲟⲩ] A*CD^mgN: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ 'of light,' T^tA^mgBD*T: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, Z: ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, EFG*H. ⲇⲉ] for conjunction cf. Gr. 1. 7. al mu vg^cle demid lips^4. 6. arm aeth &c. ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄] om. EFG^cH. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ(+ⲟⲩ, D^mgT)ⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ABCD*N: +ⲡⲉ, T^tEFGHTZ. ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ . . . ⲉϥ(ⲧ, H)ⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] A: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, D^mgEG*NT*: ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ 'of a stone,' T^tD*G^mgT^c &c.; A gl. صر وضوها يشبة نور حجر الجوهر الكريم 'Sah. and her brilliance is like the light of a stone of precious jewel.' ⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲓ(ⲏ, Z)ⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟ(+ⲩ, T)ⲥ] -ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ, T^t. 12 ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲥ] ACEGT: om. ⲛ̄, T^t &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲓϣϯ] ⲉⲟⲩ., B. ⲙ̄-ⲙⲁⲩ] ⲉⲙⲁⲩ, B. ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲓ̄ⲃ̄] AF^c: ⲛⲉⲙⲓ̄ⲃ̄, T^t &c., cf. And^p καί omitting ἔχουσα; for numerals cf. Gr. B al, also for ⲅ̄. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓ(om. ⲡⲓ, Z)ⲓ̄ⲃ̄ . . . ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ] cf. Gr. (exc. A fu al^lachm syr). ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ] om. ⲉ, CEFG*HT; cf. ? Gr. AB al^30 vg syr &c. τὰ (A al^12) ὀνόματα; A gl. صر وعليهم اسامى مكتوبة 'Sah. and upon them names written.' ⲛⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. P. 1. 7. 49. 91. 96. al.

¹³ Ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲓⲉⲃⲧ ⲅ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ ⲥⲁⲣⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲅ̄ ⲙ̄-
ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾ |
ρλε Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲙⲉⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲅ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲙϩⲓⲧ ⲅ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⳾
¹⁴ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛϯ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓⲱⲧⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ-
ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
¹⁵ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ | ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϣ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲛⲉⲥϣⲑⲟⲙ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⳾ ¹⁶ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ
ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲅⲱⲛⲟⲛ ⲧⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϣⲓⲏ ⳾ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏϣⲥⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲁϥϫⲉⲙⲥ ⲉⲥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ⳾ |
ρλϛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲁⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϣⲓⲏ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏϣⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲉⲥϭⲓⲥⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲩⲥⲟⲥ ⳾
¹⁷ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⳾ ⲁⲩϫⲉⲙϥ ⲉϥⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲇ̄
ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ⳾ ⲡϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾
¹⁸ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲕⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⳾
Ϯϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛϯ ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ | ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲉ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲃⲁϫⲏⲓⲛⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾
¹⁹ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓⲥⲉⲛϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲧ
...ⲟⲩⲧ,ⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲱⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⳾

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13 ⲥⲁⲡⲉⲓⲉⲃⲧ] cf. ? Gr. ℵAP 1. 32. 38. 79. &c. ⲥⲁⲣⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. 1. al fu demid tol lips[4] al[laobm] &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°, ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] cf. Gr. (exc. 1. &c.): om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 1°, EFHT, cf. Gr. 1. &c. ⲡⲉⲙⲉⲛⲧ] ACDN: pref. ⲥⲁ, T[t] &c.; A gl. صر الشرق ... بحري ... الغرب ... اليمين 'Sah. the east . . . north . . . west . . . south,' cf. Gr. A am. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯ.] ⲛ̄ϯ., EF* GH[mg]T: om. H*. 14 ⲓ̄ⲃ̄] numerals cf. Gr. ℵB al. ⲫⲣⲁⲛ] cf. ? Gr. 7. al[vi] lips[6] aeth &c. om. *δώδεκα*. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓ(om. ⲡⲓ, Z)ⲓ̄ⲃ̄] numerals cf. Gr. ℵB al. 15 ⲟⲩⲕⲁϣ] cf. Gr. 1. 79. al[vi] arm &c.: A gl. صر بيده قصبة القياس 'Sah. in his hand the reed of the measure.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϣⲓ] -ϭⲓ, B*G*. ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧ] ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧ, G*, cf. Gr. ℵAP &c. (Gr. B al[50] fere om.). 16 ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲅⲱⲛⲟⲛ] -ⲕⲱⲛⲟⲛ, EFGHT. ⲧⲉ] ⲡⲉ, B. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] om. BC. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥϣⲓⲏ] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲏ, BG*. ⲟⲛ] cf. ? Gr. A al[vi] syr arm aeth &c.: om. C, cf. Gr. ℵBP al plus[35] &c. ⲁϥϣⲓ] ⲁϥϭⲓ, H. ⲉⲥⲟⲓ] om. C.

twelve tribes of (the) sons of Israel. 13 On the east three
gates, on the south of her three *gates*, And (the)
west of the *city* three *gates*, and on the north three
gates. 14 And the wall of the *city* having twelve founda-
tions, and written upon them (the) name of the twelve
apostles of the lamb. 15 And he who spake to me hath[a]
a reed of gold, that he might measure the city and her
gates and her walls. 16 And the city was a *square*, and as
is her length thus also is her breadth. And he measured
the city, he found her being twelve thousand *stadia* of
length; and her breadth and her height are being *equal*.
17 And her wall was measured, it was found making
a hundred forty-four thousand measures[b] of a man, that
is to say, of (ⲫⲁ) an *angel*. 18 And (the) circuit of the wall—
The foundation[c] was being as an iaspis. And the city
was being worked (ⲛ̅ⲓⲉⲃ) with pure gold as [a] pure glass.
19 And the foundations of the wall of the city (are) built
from every precious stone.

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[a] Lit. 'having.' [b] Lit. '(the) measure.' [c] Lit. 'the laying foundation.'

ⲙ̅ⲓ̅ⲃ̅] ⲛ̅ⲓ̅ⲃ̅, B: cf. Gr. B 1. 35. al. ⲛ̅ϣⲟ] om. F, tr. habet. ⲡⲉⲙ-ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲩⲏϣⲓ] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲥ., EFGHT: om. B. ⲡⲉⲥϭⲓⲥⲓ] -ϣⲓⲥⲓ, T*. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩϩⲩⲥⲟⲥ] ADmg Fc N: ⲛ̅ϩ., Tt BCD* E F* GHT: ϩ., Z; A gl. صر والمدينة كانت مربعة وطولها متساوى مع عرضها 'Sah. and the city was square, and her length equal with her breadth.' 17 ⲁⲩϣⲓ] ⲁⲩϭⲓ, B*; cf. Gr. ℵ A P al sat mu vg rell &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟⲃⲧ] ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲃⲧ, T. ⲣ̅ⲙ̅ⲇ̅] cf. Gr. B 1. 7. al mu. ⲛ̅ϣⲓ] ACDN: pref. ⲙ̅, Tt &c. ⲡⲉ] om. C. 18 ⲡⲕⲱϯ] pref. ⲙ̅, B; A gl. صر وحصنها من حجر المها 'Sah. and her fort (was) of the stone of the crystal.' ϯϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ (+ϯ, Ac) ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲛϯ] A* BCc DN: ϯⲥⲉⲛϯ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ 'the first foundation,' EFGHTZ: ⲛ̅ϯⲥⲉⲛϯ ϩ., Tt. ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲓ 1°] for ἦν cf. Gr. B al certe pler &c. ⲡⲉ] trs. before ⲙ̅ⲫⲣ. 1°, B: om. C. ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ 1°] + ⲡⲉ, B. ⲙ̅ⲫⲣⲏϯ . . . ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ 2°] om. C. ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲭⲏⲓⲛⲓ] AEFGHTZ: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲃ., Tt CDN: ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲁⲃ. + ⲡⲉ, B. 19 ⲟⲩⲟϩ] cf. Gr. ℵ* 1. 7. 35. 49. 79. al mu vgole tol lips4. 6. syr arm aeth &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲉⲛϯ] pref. ⲛ̅, T. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. C. ⲱⲛⲓ] ⲛⲓⲱⲛⲓ, F.

ϯⲥⲉⲛϯ ⲛ̀ϩⲟⲩⲓϯ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲃ̄ϯ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲡⲫⲓⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲉ ⳾ |
ρλζ ϯⲙⲁϩⲅ̄ϯ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲭⲏⲇⲱⲛ ⲧⲉ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲇ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕⲇⲟⲥ ⳾
20 ϯⲙⲁϩⲉ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲇⲟⲛⲓⲝ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲋ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲍ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲗⲓⲑⲟⲥ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲏ̄ ⲟⲩⲃⲩⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲑ̄ϯ ⲟⲩⲇⲟⲡⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲓ̄ϯ ⲟⲩϩⲩ|ⲁⲕⲩⲛⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲓ̄ⲁ̄ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲥⲟⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲥ ⳾
ϯⲙⲁϩⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲟⲩⲁⲙⲉⲑⲓⲧⲟⲥ ⳾
21 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓ̄ⲃ̄ ⲙ̀ⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓϣⲑⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲃⲁⲭⲏⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⳾
ρλη 22 ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾
Ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲫϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
23 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣⲛ̀ⲭⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲡⲓⲟϩ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾
Ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉⲥ-
ϧⲏⲃⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ. |
24 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲙⲟϣⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉ-

ⲡⲉ] om. E. Tabulated arrangement in all the collated MSS.: cursive numerals for each stone, D. ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ] ⲟⲩⲁⲥⲡⲓⲥ, BEG. ⲃ̄ϯ] ⲃ̄, D. ⲥⲁⲡⲫⲓ (cf. Gr. BP) ⲣⲟⲥ] ⲥⲁⲫ., F*. ⲅ̄ϯ] ⲅ̄, D, numerals throughout, Gr. ℵ. ⲕⲁⲣⲭⲏⲇⲱⲛ] ACEGHZ, cf. Gr. 35.: -ⲧⲱⲛ, DF: -ⲇⲟⲛ, T[t]: ⲕⲁⲗϣⲏⲇⲱⲛ, B: ⲕⲁⲣⲭⲱⲇⲉⲛ, N. ⲥⲙⲁⲣⲁⲕ (ⲅ, T[t]CG) ⲇⲟⲥ] ABC[c]EFGN: + ⲧⲉ, T[t]C*DHZ. [20] ⲥⲁⲣ (added, E) ⲇⲟⲛⲓⲝ] cf. ? Gr. ℵBP &c.: + ⲧⲉ, T[t]DHZ: + ⲇⲉ, B. ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲛⲟⲛ] ABCEFGN, thus throughout: + ⲧⲉ, T[t]DHZ, thus throughout; cf. am al[lacbm] tol 'sardinus.' ⲭⲣⲓ (ⲏ, C) ⲥⲟⲗⲓⲛⲑⲟⲥ] -ⲗⲓⲑⲟⲥ, B. ⲃⲩⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ] cf. Gr. 49.: ⲃⲓⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ, EF

The first foundation was an iaspis.
The second is a sapphiros.
The third is a karchēdōn.
The fourth a smarakdos.
20 The fifth a sardonix.
The sixth a sardinon.
The seventh a chrisolinthos.
The eighth a byrillos.
The ninth a dopation.
The tenth an hyakynthinon.
The eleventh a kysoparasos.
The twelfth an amethitos.
21 And the twelve *gates* of pearl, each one. And the street
of the city is [a] pure gold, as [a] glass making light. 22 And
I saw not temple in her. For the Lord God the *Almighty*
is her temple, and the lamb. 23 And the city was not
having *need* of (the) sun, *nor* the moon, that they might
make light in her. For (the) glory of God enlightened her,
and her lamp is the lamb. 24 And the *nations* shall walk

GH, cf. am. ϯⲙⲁϩⲑ̄ϯ] AB^{c}EGN: -ⲑ̄, T^{t}B*CDFHZ. ⲗⲟⲡⲁ-ⲧⲓⲟⲛ] AC: ⲗⲟⲡⲁⲗⲓⲟⲛ, T^{t}BEGHZ: ⲧⲟⲡⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ, DN; obs. Gr. ℵ*: ⲗⲁⲡⲟⲗⲓⲟⲛ, F. ϯⲙⲁϩⲓ̄ϯ] T^{t}AEFGN: -ⲓ̄, BCD HZ. ϩⲩⲁⲕⲩⲛⲑⲓⲛⲟⲛ] T^{t}ABCDH: -ⲕⲓⲛⲑ., EFGNZ. ⲕⲩⲥⲟ-ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲥ] A: ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲡⲣⲁⲥⲟⲥ, BC: ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲟⲥ, N: ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲡⲁⲣⲥ(om. G*)ⲟⲥ, EFG^{c}HZ: ⲭⲣⲩⲥⲟⲡⲁⲣⲥⲟⲥ, T^{t}D. ⲁⲙⲉ(ⲁ, N*)ⲑⲓⲧⲟⲥ] AEF*G*: ⲁⲙⲉⲑⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, T^{t}BCDF^{c}G^{c}H N^{c}Z. 21 ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ 1°] om. ⲛ̄, F*. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ 2°] AZ*: om. ⲛ̄, T^t &c. ⲁⲃⲁⲭⲏⲓⲛⲓ] ⲃⲁⲭ., CEFG*H. 22 ⲅⲁⲣ] om. BEF. ⲫϯ] A gl. صر الله الرب 'Sah. God the Lord.' ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓϩⲏⲃ] om. C*, added in mg with 'correct.' 23 ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲛ̄ⲭⲣⲓⲁ] ABN: -ⲉⲣⲭ., T^t &c. ⲡⲉ 1°] om. B. ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲥ] pref. ⲛ̄ϧⲣⲏⲓ, HZ; cf. Gr. ℵ^c 49. 91. 96. al vg; A gl. صر عليها 'Sah. upon her.' ⲡⲱⲟⲩ] ABCDEFN: ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ, T^{t}GHZ; order cf. Gr. ℵ*et^{c}AP al mu vg rell &c. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲉϥ., F. 24 ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c.] cf.? Gr. ℵABP al plus^{40} vg syr arm aeth &c.

ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ. ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩⲓ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾
25 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϣⲑⲁⲙ ⳾ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲩ ⳾
ρλθ 26 Ⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ | ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲟⲩ-
ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ 27 ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ ϩⲗⲓ ⲉϥⲥⲱϥ ϣⲉ
ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̀ϩⲁⲛⲥⲱϥ ⳾ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ
ⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏ-
ⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
1 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲱⲛϧ ⳾
ⲉϥ|ⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⳾
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⳾
2 ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥϣⲑⲉϩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲓⲁⲣⲟ ⲥⲁⲙ-
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
Ⲟⲩϣϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⳾ ⲉϥⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ϧⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲃⲟⲧ ⳾
ρμ Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲓϫⲱⲃⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ | ⲡⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲫⲁϧⲣⲓ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ 3 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲱϥ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϩⲓⲏⲃ ⲉⲩⲉ-
ϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ϫⲉⲛ-
ϫⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
Ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⳾ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ ⳾

ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] ABCDmgEFG*N: + ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'all,' TtD*GoHZ. ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. (exc. B al fere 25). ⲛⲉⲙϯⲧⲓⲙⲏ] ACD*Gmg HNZ: ⲛⲉⲙⲧⲟⲩⲧⲓⲙⲏ, B, cf. ? Gr. ℵAP al mu vg aeth arm: ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓⲙⲏ 'their honours,' TtDmgEFG*. 25 ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ] -ⲗⲏ, D. ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩϣⲑⲁⲙ] ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁϣ., EFG. ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉϩ.] A*DN: pref. ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ, TtCE(F)GHZ: + ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ, AmgF, cf. arm aeth. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ] Ao(ⲛⲉ, o. e.): ⲛ̀ⲛⲉ, Tt &c. ⲉ(om. CDEFGHZ)ϫ(ϩ, N*)ⲱⲣϩ] ACN: + ⲅⲁⲣ, Tt &c. 26 om. B, cf. Gr. I. ⲉⲩⲉⲓ] A: ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲓ 'they shall bring,' Tt &c. ⲛⲉⲙ 1o] Ao: ⲙ̀, TtA* &c. 27 ⲉϥⲥⲱϥ] -ⲟϥ, B. ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. (exc. BP I. al sat mu &c.). ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲑⲛ.] TtA

by (lit. from) her light; and the kings of (the) earth shall bring (the) glory of the *nations* and the *honour* into her.
25 And her *gates* shall not be shut in the day: and night shall not be there. 26 The *nations* shall come with their glory and (ⲛⲉⲙ) their honour into her. 27 Anything defiled shall not enter her, and they who make defilements: falsehood shall not come into her: but only[a] they who are written on the book of (the) life of the lamb. XXII. And I was shown a river of water of life, glorious as a christallon, coming from the *throne* of God and the lamb. 2 In (the) midst of her street, and the river on this side and on that[b], A tree of (the) life, bringing the twelve fruits forth, one for a month. And the leaves of the tree (are) for an healing (the) eyes of the *nations*. 3 And no[c] defilement shall be any more, And the *throne* of God and the lamb shall be in her; and (the) anger shall not be. But (ⲇⲉ) the

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[a] Lit. 'except them.' [b] Lit. 'on this side.' [c] Lit. 'every . . . not.'

BCD^{mg}EFG*N: ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϩⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲑⲛ., D*G^{mg}HZ. ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ] A^{o} &c. ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ] AN: ⲡϫ., T^{t}B &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲛϧ] T^{t}ABCDN: ⲙ̄ⲡ., EFGHZ.

1 ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ] ⲁϥ., T^{t}; A gl. صر واورانى 'Sah. and he showed me.' ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲁⲣⲟ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al fere^{30} vg syr aeth ar^{e} &c. ⲉϥⲫⲟⲣⲓ] +ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲓ(ⲏ, Z)ⲥⲧⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ] AN: -ⲁⲗⲟⲛ, D: -ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ, T^{t}: -ⲁⲗⲟⲥ, BCEFGHZ. 2 ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϣⲑⲉϩ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥϣϧ., G^{o}. ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲁ(ⲏ, G^{o})ⲓ . . . ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲁⲓ] cf. ? Gr. (ℵ^{o}) 1. 35. 49. 79. 91. al &c.: ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲏ . . . ⲥⲁⲙⲛⲁⲓ, CD*HZ, cf. ? Gr. AB al^{30} syr arm &c. ⲟⲩϣϣⲏⲛ] A*CD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t} A^{mg} &c. ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲓ̄ⲃ̄] AZ: ⲙ̄ⲓ̄ⲃ̄, T^{t} &c. ⲟⲩⲁⲓ] cf. ? Gr. 1. al pauc^{vi} &c. ϧⲁⲣⲁ] ABCD*N: ⲕⲁⲧⲁ, T^{t}D^{mg}EFGHZ. ⲛⲓϫⲱⲃⲓ] ⲛⲉⲛϫⲱⲃⲓ, B. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓϣ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϣ., B. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲫ.] ⲉϥⲉⲣ., AD^{mg}F^{mg}(N). ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ] A: ⲉⲛⲉⲛ., T^{t} &c. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ] A*BC: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓ., T^{t}A^{o} &c. 3 ϫⲉ] cf. Gr. ℵ^{o}ABP al plu vg syr aeth &c. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 2°] ϫⲉ, D^{mg}EF*G*HZ. ⲉⲩⲉϣⲱⲡⲓ] om. ⲉⲩⲉ, G*.

⁴ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲟ | ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲓ
ⲧⲟⲩⲧⲉϩⲛⲓ ⳾
⁵Ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϫⲉ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲣⲏ ⳾
ϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲫϯ ⲉϥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉ-
ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⳾
ⲣⲙⲁ ⁶Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ | ⲥⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ ⳾ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲛⲉ ⳾
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲫϯ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾
ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϥⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲉ-
ⲃⲓⲁⲓⲕ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙ̀ⲡϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱ-
ⲗⲉⲙ ⳾
ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⁷Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ |
1°..., T Ϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲓⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̀ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ-
ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾
⁸Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟϩ
ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾ ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ
ⲣⲙⲃ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲛϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ | ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲙⲟ
ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⳾
⁹Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫⲱⲣ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩϣⲫⲏⲣ
ⲙ̀ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲕ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⳾

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⁵ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲱⲣϩ] ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ ϫⲱⲣϩ, BFG*H. ϫⲉ 1°] cf. Gr. ℵAP 2. 19. 35. 68. vg syr &c. ⲛ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲭⲣⲓⲁ] cf. Gr. A vg &c. ⲛ̀(+ⲟⲩ, C)ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, B. ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲧⲥ] ACD^{mg}EF G*N, cf. ? fu om. λύχνου: ⲛ̀ϧⲏⲃⲥ 'of lamp,' T^{t}BD*G^{c}HZ. ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] ABDF^{mg}: ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ, T^{t}CEF*GHNZ. ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲫⲣⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵAP 1. 11. 12. 31. 32. (35). 38. 48. 49. 79. 91. 96. al mu vg syr aeth &c. ϫⲉ 2°] om. B. ⲉϥⲉ(om. Z)ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵABP 1. 12. 42. al^{30} vg^{cle} demid lips^{4} fu al^{lachm} &c. ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ] cf. ? Gr. BP al fere omn &c. ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ] ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ, B by error. ⁶ ⲥⲉⲛϩⲟⲧ] om. C, D^{mg}. ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ] A*BCD*N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}A^{c}D^{mg}EF GHZ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ 3°] om. C. ⲫϯ] om. B. ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ] cf. Gr. ℵABP al^{35} vg syr &c. ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲉ] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉ 'he showed,' D*

servants of God shall serve him: 4 and they shall see his face:
and his name (is) on their forehead. 5 Night shall not
be any more, *nor* shall they have *need* of a light in her, *nor*
a light of (the) sun; because the Lord God shall enlighten
them, and they shall reign unto age of the age. 6 And
he said to me: 'These words are faithful, and they are holy,
they are true. And the Lord God of the *spirits* of the
prophets sent his *angel* to show to his servants the things
which must happen quickly. 7 Lo, I come, lo, I come
quickly. Blessed is he who will keep the words of this
prophecy of this book.' 8 I am Iōannēs, he who saw and
he who heareth these (things). *Then* having heard and
having seen these (things) I threw myself down before (the)
feet of the *angel*, who showed to me these (things). 9 And
he said to me: 'Not so! I (am) a fellow-servant of thine,
and thy brethren the *prophets*, and those who will keep the

FG*. ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ] ⲉⲧⲉⲥⲙ̅ⲡϣⲁ, DmgFG*. ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩϣⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̅ϫⲱⲗⲉⲙ] om. D*. 7 ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ 1°] cf. Gr. 1. 35. 38. 79. 91. al mu demid &c. om. *καί*. ϩⲏⲡⲡ (om. A) ⲉϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ 2°] TtAD*GmgHNZ: om. BCDmgEFG*T (ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ); A gl. صعيدى وبعض القبطى ليس بكرر هوذا انا اتى سريعاً '(in) Sahidic and some of the Coptic there is no repetition of "Lo, I come quickly."' ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] om. N. ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ] ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ 'the &c.,' B. 8 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ . . . ⲫⲏ 1°] cf. am fu lips[6]: ⲁⲫⲏ, B. ⲓⲱⲁⲛ.] ⲓ̅ⲱ̅ⲁ̅, TZ. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ] ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ, B. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] TtACDN: ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥ., EFGHTZ: ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥ., B; position cf. Gr. ℵ (1). 31. 32. 33. 48. 79. al aeth &c.; A gl. صر سامع والناظر 'Sah. hearer and the looker.' ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] om. F. ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ] ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ, Ac DmgN. ⲉⲛⲁⲓ 2°] om. H. ⲁⲓϩⲓⲧⲧ] ACNZ: ⲁⲓ(ⲩ, B)ϩⲓⲧ, Tt &c. ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ] TtABCD*N: ϧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ, DmgEFGHTZ. ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲛϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ &c.] ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ 'of the angels,' B. -ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲓ] -ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲓ, B. 9 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] TtABCDmgN, cf. Gr. ℵAB 1. al[35] am fu demid tol lips[5.6]. omn[laohm] syr aeth &c.: pref. ϫⲉ 'because,' D*EFGHTZ, cf. ? vg[cle] lips[4] arm &c.

ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾
ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ ⳾
10 Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲧⲉⲃ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
. . . ⲧⲁⲓ|ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⳾ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ
ϫⲱⲙ, T ⲁϥϧⲱⲛⲧ ⳾
11 Ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ϫⲟⲛⲥ ⲟⲛ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧ-
ⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ ⳾
Ⲡⲓⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ ⳾ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⳾ ⲙⲁ-
ⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ ⳾
ⲣⲙⲅ 12 Ϩⲏⲡⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⳾ ⲡⲁ|ⲃⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲏⲓ ⳾
. . . ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
ⲡⲉϥϩ-ⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ, E 13 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲫⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲱ ⳾ ϯⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲛⲉⲙ
ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⳾
14 Ϣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⳾ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ-
ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⳾ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ ϣⲱⲡⲓ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ
ⲡⲓϣϣⲏⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⳾ |
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲩⲉϣⲉ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲡⲩ-
ⲗⲱⲛ ⳾
15 ⲡⲓⲟⲩϩⲱⲣ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲙⲁ-
ⲅⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⳾
ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓϣⲁⲙϣⲉⲓϧ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲓⲣⲓ
ⲛ̄ϯⲙⲉⲑⲛⲟⲩϫ ⳾
16 Ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲉⲉⲣ-
ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ..., T ⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ[⳾]|ⲥⲁϫⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ϯⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲣⲙⲇ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⳾ ⲉϣⲁϥϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ ⳾
17 ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⳾ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯϣⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⳾

ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲏ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al plur vg rell &c. ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓⲥ. 'these &c.,' B. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ] ABCDEFHN*TZ, cf. Gr. rell am fu lips[5] demid tol omn[lachm] syr aeth: pref. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓ (ⲛⲁⲓ, G) ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ, T[t] G, cf. Gr. 38. vg[cle] lips[4. 6.] arm &c. 10 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] om. N. -ϫⲱⲙ] +ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲫϯ 'worship God,' B. ⲅⲁⲣ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al fere[25] vg syr arm &c. 11 ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲑⲱⲗⲉⲃ] ACDN: +ⲟⲛ, T[t] &c. ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲑⲙⲁⲓⲟϥ (-ⲑⲁⲙⲓⲟϥ, B)] A (tr. [illegible]) &c., cf. Gr. 38. 79. vg[cle] lips[5. 6.] &c. ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ] ⲉⲧ., A: ⲉ̄ⲑ̄ⲩ̄, H: ⲉ̄ⲑ̄, F. ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟϥ] ⲧⲟⲩⲃ over erasure, A[c]. 12 ϯⲛⲏⲟⲩ] ϯⲛⲟⲩ 'now,' B by error. ⲡⲁⲃⲉⲭⲉ] A*CD[mg]N: pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ,

words of this book. Worship God.' [10] And he said to
me: 'Seal not the words of this *prophecy* of this book; for
the time approached. [11] He who doeth wrong, let him do
wrong still: he who is polluted, let him be polluted: The
just, let him justify himself: he who is holy, let him sanctify
himself. [12] Lo, I come quickly. My reward with me.
I shall (lit. will) give to each one according to his works.
[13] I am the alpha and the ō, the *beginning* and the end.
[14] Blessed are all who will do his *commandments*, that
their authority may be over the tree of (the) life. And
they shall go into the city by[a] the *gate*. [15] But the dogs (are)
outside, and the *sorcerers*, and the *fornicators*, and the mur-
derers, and the worshippers of demons, and all who do [the]
falsehood. [16] I am Jesus: I sent my *angel* to witness to
you these words in all the *churches*. I am the root and the
race of David, and the star which riseth in the morning,
[17] and *spirit* and the bride. And they say: "Come." And

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[a] Lit. 'from.'

TᵗAᵐˢ &c.; A gl. صر الاجر 'Sah. the reward.' ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲓ] om. ⲙ̄, N. ⲕⲁⲧⲁ &c.] cf. Gr. 79. vg &c. [13] ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ] cf. ? vgᶜˡᵉ demid fu* tol lipss alˡᵃᶜʰᵐ arm aeth &c. ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲫⲁ] cf. Gr. ℵA al[12] &c. ϯ . . . ⲡⲓ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al plu &c. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. C. [14] ⲛⲏ] om. BCDᵐˢ. ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓ ⲛ̄] TᵗAGᵐˢ &c.: ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ 'will keep,' BFG*. ⲛⲉϥⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ] cf. Gr. B al pler syr arm &c.; A gl. صر طوباهم الذين انقوا لباسهم 'Sah. blessed are they who purified their garments.' ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣϣ.] ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲣϣ., B by error. ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ] TᵗABCDN: ⲉϫ., FGHZ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ] ⲛ̄ⲛ., H*. ⲉⲩⲉϣⲉ] ⲉⲩⲉⲓ 'shall come,' CZ. ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] om. B. ϧⲉⲛ] ACDN: ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ, TᵗBFGHZ. ⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ] ACDᵐˢN: ⲛⲓⲡ., TᵗBFGHZ: ⲡⲩⲗ., D*. [15] ⲇⲉ] cf. lips[5] &c. ⲛⲓⲫⲁⲣⲙⲁⲅⲟⲥ] TᵗA &c.: ⲛⲓ-ⲫⲣⲁⲅⲙⲟⲥ, B: trs. after ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ, G. [16] ⲙ̄-ⲡⲁⲁⲅⲅ.] ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅ. 'the &c.,' B. ϧⲉⲛ] cf. Gr. A 18. 21. 38. 79. vg &c. ϯⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ &c.] ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲛⲟⲩⲛⲓ, FG*T. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ] ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ, B. [17] ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅] AN: pref. ⲡⲓ, TᵗBCDFGHTZ.

Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲱ-
ⲧⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⁘
Ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲃⲓ | ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲓ ⁘ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲁ-
ⲣⲉϥϭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ ⲛ̄ϫⲓⲛϫⲏ ⁘
18 Ϯⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲓ-
ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⁘
Ϫⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫϯ ⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ
ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ ⁘ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ ϩⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ-
ϫⲱⲙ ⁘ |
ⲣⲙⲉ 19 Ⲫⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲑⲛⲁϫⲱϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⁘ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⁘ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲫϯ
ⲉϥⲉⲉⲗ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲡⲱⲛϧ ⁘ ⲛⲉⲙ ϯⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ
ϩⲓ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ ⁘
20 Ϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉⲫⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⁘ ϫⲉ
ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ ⁘ ⲟⲩⲟϩ | ⲥⲉⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ ⁘
. . . Ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡ̄ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⁘ 21 ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ
ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ, ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⁘ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ⁘ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⁘
F

ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲉϫⲱ] om. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, T^{t}: ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲥϫⲱ, Z. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩϫⲟⲥ] ABD*G^{mg}N: ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲥ 'let him say,' T^{t}CDFG* HTZ. ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϣ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al[35] am tol lips[5.6.] al[lachm] aeth &c. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al fere[40] &c. indefinite. ⲛ̄ⲱⲛϧ] om. H*. [18] ⲁⲛⲟⲕ] ABCD*G*N, cf. ℵAB al fere[40] m[83] am fu demid lips[5] omn[lachm] syr arm &c.: pref. ⲇⲉ, $T^{t}D^{mg}FG^{mg}$ HTZ. ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲛ] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, C: ⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B. ⲛⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ] ⲛⲁⲓⲥ. 'these &c.,' B. ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ(ⲏ, ⲧ)ⲉⲣϧⲟⲧ] T^{t}ABCDG^{o}HNTZ, cf. Gr. ℵA al longe plu m[83] vg syr aeth &c.: ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲉⲣ., FG*. [19] ⲇⲉ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓϫⲱⲙ] trs. after ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ, C, cf. Gr. 79. 94. m[83] lips[4] &c. ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲓⲁ] marked, because omitted in transl., G. ⲉϥⲉⲉⲗ] T^{t}ACDNZ: ⲱⲗⲓ ⲙ̄, BFGHT; cf. Gr. ℵAB al[20] vg m[83] &c. ⲡϫⲱⲙ] cf. vg[cle] fu lips[4. 5.] al[lachm] &c.; A gl. صر شجرة 'Sah. tree.' ⲛⲉⲙϯ (om. F*).] cf. Gr. A 10. 38. om. ἐκ. ⲉⲧⲥϧⲏⲟⲩⲧ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al fere[40] syr arm aeth. [20] ϥϫⲱ] +ⲅⲁⲣ, B. ϫⲉⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲓ] cf.? Gr. ℵ* add. εἶναι. ⲟⲩⲟϩ] om. B. ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲗⲉⲙ] cf.? Gr. ℵ om. ἀμήν. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ] cf. Gr. ℵAB al plus[10] vg syr arm aeth &c.; A gl. صرتعال يا ربنا يسوع نعمة ربنا يسوع تكون مع جميع

he who heareth, let him[a] say: "Come." And he who thirsteth,
let him come. He who wisheth, let him take [a] water of life
freely. 18 I (pron.) witness to all who hear the words of
this *prophecy* of this book, That he who will add to them,
God will add to him[a] the plagues which are written on this
book. 19 But he who will cut off from the words of this
book of this *prophecy*, God shall take away his *part* from
(the) book of (the) life and the holy city which are written
on this book.' 20 He who witnesseth these (things) saith:
'They will happen and they come quickly[b].' Come our
Lord Jesus Christ 21 upon all the *saints* unto age of the ages.
Amēn.

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[a] Lit. 'them.' [b] The text is probably corrupt.

القديسين امين 'Sah. Come, O our Lord Jesus. The grace of our Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amīn.' ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄] cf. Gr. ℵ^{c} 4. 11. 13. 20. 31. 32. 38. 48. 55. 79. 94. arm ar^{e} &c. 21 ⲉϫⲉⲛ &c.] ABCDFG HNTZ: pref. ⲛϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ '(the) grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' T^{t}. ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ] T^{t}ABCN: ⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ, DGH TZ. ⲁⲙⲏⲛ] cf. ? Gr. ℵB al fere omn^{vi} vg syr arm aeth &c.: +ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, B.

Subscription. Ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ ⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲕ̄ⲉ̄ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲥⲧⲩⲭ ⲁ̄ⲱ̄, C, cf. Ccd^{lat} Parisinus, qui Wetstenio est bibl. Reg. 3561: Ⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲩ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲉⲛ ⲏⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲧⲱ ⲕ̄ⲱ̄ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ, B. AGHN have Arabic, E is imperfect, DFT have none, cf. Gr. B 7. 30. 38. 47. 48. 49. 50. 90. 91. 94. 96. 97. al plu, Z has ⲥⲩⲛ ⲑⲉⲱ ⲓⲥ̄ⲭ̄ⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϯ ⳾ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ϯⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ. Ⲁϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϫⲱⲙ ⲁⲡⲟⲅⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⲓ̄ⲱ̄ⲁ̄ ⲡⲓⲑⲉⲟⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⳾ ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲡⲉⲛⲥ̄ⲱ̄ⲣ̄

ⲁⲙⲏⲛ 'With God (the) strong. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. This is our God. I glorify Thee, Amēn. He finished the book, Revelation (of) Iōa(nnēs) the theologos (and) evangelistēs the beloved of our Lord Jesus Christ, in *peace* of God, our *Saviour*. Amēn.'

Translation of beginning of restored Version in MS. J_1, vol. iii, pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

2 He who gave *covenant* before upon the tongue of prophets in (lit.
from) the holy book, 3 he manifested his Son, whom he begat (ⲙⲁⲥ)
from the body in his nurselings of David. 4 And he (pron.) was made
known a son of God in the power and the holy spirit, in the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from those who are dead, 5 who gave to us
the grace and the apostleship among (lit. from) all the nations, but only
(ⲁ) they who heard and they received the believing (ⲛⲁϩϯ) on his
name. 6 And ye also among them (who) were called in Jesus Christ
unto all men (ⲣⲱⲙⲏ mistaken for ⲣⲱⲙⲓ men), 7 among the
beloved of God who called them holy. (The) peace and the grace to you from (ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ) God the Father and from (ϧⲉⲛ) Jesus Christ
our Lord. 8 Have not I (pron.) given thanks to my God already (ⲁϥϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ) in Jesus Christ for you because your faith (lit. thou believedst you) was manifested in the whole world (oikomenē), and it witnessed to me of God, he whom I serve?

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

page number, t(ext), n(otes), tr(anslation), line number.

49 n 6 trs. cf. &c. after L^g &c.; adding om. *καί* | 97 n 1 dele ϯⲥϧⲁⲓ &c. | 98 n 9 dele for position &c. | 105 n 15 B^a | 108 n 5 trs. cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ &c. after 3°] and trs. cf. Gr. ℵ* &c. after FS in the same line | 113 n 16 ⲉⲙⲙⲓ | 115 n 8 trs. ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛ &c. (omitting]) after &c.: in line 7 | 116 n 5: ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅, B^aK for ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c. | n 7 dele : ⲟⲩⲟϩ &c. | 118 n 3 26; cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ &c. *ἴδωμεν* | 119 n 6 ⲁⲛ] $L^g T^t A_1^c$ &c., cf. Gr. unc. &c.: om. $A_1{}^*{}_2$ 26, cf. Gr. 13 &c. for ⲙⲙⲟⲩ] &c. | 124 n 10 ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ for ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϭⲓ | 214 t 12 ⲉⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲓ | 217 n 16 &c.; for possessive cf. &c. | 219 n 1 O*, for om. *στεφ.* cf. Gr. | 222 n 2 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ 1° | 225 n 3 B^a | 227 n 14 cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ | 234 n 3 L^g | n 6 om. FNS | 241 n 6 trs. ^{36} before F^{mg} in line 5 | 243 n 15 LP al pler syr^{utr} &c. for ℵ &c. | 245 n 3 $T^t B^a$GK &c. | 253 n 5 ⲛ for ⲛ̅ | 256 n 3 dele 2° | 261 n 17–19 dele all reference to Gr. | 268 n 6 exc. ℵ* D &c. | 270 n 5 2°] | B 12^{lect} &c. for (exc. D &c.) | 271 tr 10 (things) | n 15 dele pref. ⲟⲩⲟϩ, Γ | 279 n 12 after O. add ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫ.] cf. Gr. CDEHLP &c. | n 13 after O. add ⲡϣⲏⲣⲓ] cf. ? Gr. D 34 | 281 n 5 S; for S, | 291 tr 12 *porch* | 293 n 1 L^gA | n 17 trs. cf. Gr. &c. after ϯ] | n 19 P, cf. Gr. C &c. | 312 n 3 om. B^aFS | 315 n 13 dele &c. | 331 n 7 syr^{sch} for Gr. 2. 30. | 345 n 14 T; cf. Gr. ℵ for om. *πεῖσας* | 357 n 11 after K. add ϣⲁϯ] cf. Gr. $ℵ^c$ | 371 tr 7 But the news | 397 n 10 came,' cf. Gr. A) | 403 n 18 dele ⲉⲧ . . . ar^e | 422 n 9 cf. Gr. (exc. $ℵ^c$ &c.): ⲛⲓⲕⲉ. 'also the' | 430 n 4 ⲱ̿ | 447 n 16 ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧⲕ | 462 n 11 , for ; | 464 n 8 B; for B, | 475 n 6 Gr. ℵ | 476 t 11 [✢] | n 10 ⲙ̅ⲫϯ] dele 'vocative' | n 11 Tisch. wrongly | 499 n 16 A* | 502 n 7 ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲓ | 504 t 22 ⲥⲛⲟⲩ | n 5 A* | 507 n 20 for om. | 508 n 7 *μβ′* | 509 n 1 that which they wished

HOMOSEXUALITY
AND
ORDINATION OF WOMEN

BY
H.H. POPE SHENOUDA III

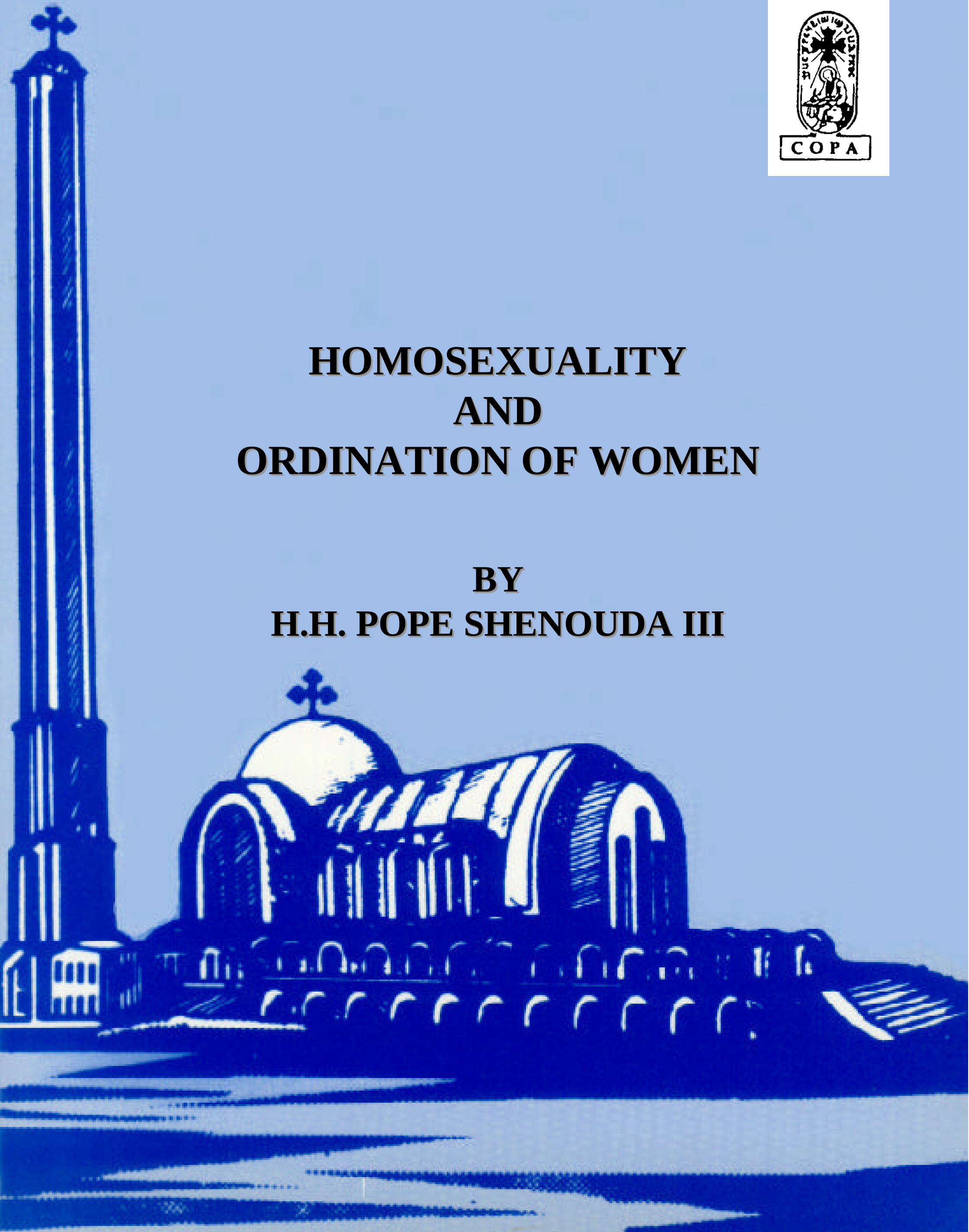

COPTIC ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE

ORDINATION OF WOMEN
&
HOMOSEXUALITY

BY
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H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

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INTRODUCTION

The authentic views of the Coptic Orthodox Church on the two controversial subjects of 'The Ordination of Women' and 'Homosexuality' have been clearly and authoritatively expressed by His Holiness Pope Shenouda III in two lectures given on the 26th of November 1990. A great number of clergymen from various churches heard His Holiness give evidence from the Holy Bible and from tradition relating these two subjects, to which the Orthodox Church is gravely opposed..

Fuad H. Megally, PhD.

THE FIRST LECTURE

HOMOSEXUALITY

I am very glad to have the opportunity to speak to the ministers of the Church of England. I mean, to speak to the angels of the Church and the ministers of our Lord; those who were mentioned in the Book of Revelation as stars in the right hand of our Lord.

I thank God that He has given me the opportunity to speak to those to whom the Lord said: *"You shall be witnesses to Me." (Acts 1:8). 'Witnesses to Me'*, that means, witnesses to the truth; to the Holy Bible; to the commandments of God; and to what the Holy Spirit has passed on to the Churches.

I want to speak to you about numerous things, and if you would like a discussion about a particular issue, I am willing to discuss it with you.

The Holiness Of The Church

The first matter is the holiness of the Church. In the holy Creed we say: "We believe in one holy Church". This holy Church is Apostolic and Universal. In the Apostolic age, **all believers were called saints.** A believer in the teachings of the Bible means a saint, because we are sanctified with faith,

sanctified in baptism, sanctified in the holy Chrism, and sanctified by the work of the Holy Spirit in our hearts.

We are not merely human beings, we are temples of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is abiding in us, as it is written in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapters 3 and 6. As temples of the Holy Spirit, we should have communion with the Holy Spirit. The work of a believer is not simply the work of an individual, but rather the work of the Holy Spirit itself in that person, who is a temple of the Holy Spirit.

We are also the image of God, and we project to the world the image of God. The world sees in our conduct and in our behaviour what demonstrates that we are really children of God.

At the beginning of the Epistles of Saint Paul to the Romans, he writes: *"Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated to the gospel of God.. to all who are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints"* (Rom. 1: 1,7). Also, in another Epistle, he writes: *"To the church of God which is at Corinth, to those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints"* (1Cor. 1: 2). Further still, in the Second Epistle, he says: *"To the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in all Achaia "* (2Cor. 1: 1).

When he writes to Ephesus, he sends his greetings to all the saints in Ephesus, and to the Philippians he does the same. Again, when he writes to the Hebrews, for example, in chapter 3, he writes to those who are called to the Divine Call, who are also saints.

If we are supposed to be saints, then how must we behave, and, more importantly, how can we convey that holy Image to the world?

In the Apostolic age, not everyone was allowed to enter the Church. Only those who were worthy could attend the holy Eucharist and partake in the Blood and Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. This holy life is what we are called to, because we are the children of a holy Father. Saint Peter speaks about this point and says: *"...as obedient children, not conforming yourselves to the former lusts, as in your ignorance; but as He who called you is holy, you also be holy in all your conduct, because it is written, 'Be holy, for I am holy '"* (1Pet. 1: 14-16), and this was written in Leviticus (Lev. 11: 44).

Holy people do not live in the lust of the flesh, but they behave according to the Spirit.

A holy person has two characteristics. The first is that his flesh is guided by the spirit; by his human spirit. And the second is that his spirit, his human spirit, is guided by the Spirit of God. So the Spirit of God is guiding the whole person; guiding both the spirit and the body, and hence that person should be holy in spirit and in body.

Let me read some verses from chapter 8 of the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans about the body and the spirit. The holy Apostle says: *"There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus, who do not walk according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit"* (Rom. 8: 1). And in verse 5, he says: *"For those who live according to the flesh set*

their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the Spirit, the things of the Spirit. For to be carnal minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, nor indeed can be" (Rom. 8: 5-7). And then he says: *"... if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness "* (Rom. 8: 10). Then he says: *"Therefore, brethren, we are debtors- not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh. For if you live according to the flesh you will die; but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body, you will live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God"* (Rom. 8:12-14). Here, Saint Paul depicts the sons of God as those who are led by the Spirit of the Lord.

Let me now venture to speak about a subject that is rather contentious, and is currently quite outspread, and that needs the grace of our Lord to be overcome; this subject of homosexuality. I am sorry to even have to speak about this issue, it should not be a matter of discussion.

Homosexuality Is Against Nature

Homosexuality is against nature because sexual relations are permitted only within the confines of marriage, and marriage is only permitted between a man and a woman, male and female. Hence, any sexual conduct outside these confines can only be described as an abnormality; an act against nature.

When our Lord Jesus Christ discussed the issue of Homosexuality with the scribes and Pharisees, as written in the

Gospel of Saint Matthew chapter 19 and the Gospel of Saint Mark chapter 10, He said: *"From the beginning.. God 'made them male and female '"*, man and woman. This is the proper way of nature and the will of our Lord form the beginning of creation.

But when people behaved according to the lust of the flesh in the Old Testament, they received severe punishment from God, as at the time of the Flood when only the pure, the eight people in Noah's Ark, were saved, and all others perished. Also the people of Sodom, who were unclean, were burned with fire. They also behaved according to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the body; they were unclean in their spirit.

Homosexuals Shall Not Enter The Kingdom Of Heaven

Carnal people cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. We read this in the Book of Revelation, chapter 21, where it speaks about the heavenly Jerusalem and says: *"But there shall by no means enter it anything that defiles, or causes an abomination"* (Rev. 21: 27).

Homosexuals Were Punished By Death

We read that homosexuality is a kind of abomination which in the Old Testament was punishable by death. If we, for example, read Leviticus, chapter 18, verse 22, God says: *"You shall not lie with a male as with a woman. It is an abomination."* And also in the Book of Leviticus, chapter 20, verse 13, *"If a man lies with a male as he lies with a woman, both of them have*

committed an abomination. They shall surely be put to death. Their blood shall be upon them."

Homosexuality Condemned In The New Testament

Of course, the New Testament is no less pure than the Old Testament. So we find at least four examples against homosexuality. In Romans chapter one, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians chapter 6, in the Epistle of Saint Jude, and in the Epistle to Timothy. I will now read some of these verses to remind us of the teachings of the Holy Bible.

Example (1)

In Romans chapter one, it is written: *"For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who suppress the truth in unrighteousness."* How is the wrath of God revealed? Verse 24 says: *"Therefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, in the lusts of their hearts, to dishonour their bodies among themselves." 'Gave them up'*, this means that the grace of God has left them, that they were forsaken to their own uncleanness to dishonour their bodies. In such abnormality they debase the flesh.

The honour of the body is to be the temple of the Holy Spirit. But if it is abused then it is a dishonour to the body. *"For this reason God gave them up to vile passions. For even their women exchanged the natural use for what is against nature. Likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman,*

burned in their lust for one another, men with men committing what is shameful, and receiving in themselves the penalty of their error which was due" (Rom. 1: 26,27).

In his Epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul also spoke about the debased minds, and about things which are not fitting. So, when he says: *'exchanged the natural use for what is against nature'*, it means that homosexuality is against nature. Furthermore, he says that it is an act of uncleanness, an act that dishonours of the body and that is worthy of punishment. Thus, according to the teachings of Saint Paul, homosexuality is not only an act against nature, as was created by our Lord, it is shameful and abominable.

Example (2)

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 6, the Apostle says: *"Do not be deceived. Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor homosexuals, nor sodomites... will inherit the kingdom of God"* (1Cor. 6: 9). None of these will inherit the kingdom of God.

As for living in the Spirit and not according to the flesh, he also says: *"Flee sexual immorality. Every sin that a man does is outside the body, but he who commits sexual immorality sins against his own body"* (1Cor. 6: 18). What is meant by 'his own body'? It means that he is sinning against the temple of the Holy Spirit. The Apostle says: *"... do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have from God, and you are not your own?"* (1Cor. 6: 19).

Your body is not your own; your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit.

When a person sins against his body, it means that he is separating himself from the Holy Spirit. Light and darkness cannot exist together in one place. From the beginning God separated light from darkness (Gen. 1). Therefore, we cannot have the Holy Spirit abiding in our body if we sin against it by what is shameful.

The Apostle says: *"...glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are God's"* (1Cor. 6: 20), meaning that both the body and the spirit belong to God, and hence should be glorified. Also, in chapter 3 he adds: *"Do you not know that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone defiles the temple of God, God will destroy him. For the temple of God is holy, which temple you are"* (1Cor. 3: 16,17).

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 6, the Apostle also says: *"Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a harlot? Certainly not!"* (1Cor. 6: 15). We are the members of Christ because we are His body and His bones. Saint Paul says: *"It is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me"* (Gal. 2: 20). **So, if Christ lives in us, how can we abuse our bodies in such ways, how can we defile the members of Christ, the temple of the Holy Spirit?** How can we abuse and dishonour the holy image of God by living in the lust of the flesh? This is against holy life and against chastity.

Example (3)

In his Epistle, Saint Jude says: *"...as Sodom and Gomorra, and the cities around them in a similar manner to these, having given themselves over to sexual immorality and gone after strange flesh, are set forth as an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire"* (Jude 7).

Example (4)

In the First Epistle to Timothy, the Apostle says: *"...knowing this: that the law is not made for a righteous person, but for the lawless and insubordinate, for the ungodly and for sinners, for the unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for fornicators, for sodomites"* (1Tim. 1: 9,10). Saint Paul includes 'sodomites', or homosexuals, among the murderers, the lawless and the ungodly.

Hence, this sin was condemned in both the Old and the New Testaments. So, can we disobey God in order to please some sinners? Is it not better to show them the right way than to let them lose their sanctity and be punished in eternal life? Or let them depend on the Church making this matter lawful?

Homosexuality Is Against Health

I think that in our present day, our Lord God has given us a grand warning in the form of AIDS. A warning to those who

subject their bodies to such defilement. Unfortunately people are no longer fearful, even of such a dreadful disease.

Homosexuality Is Against ManHood

How can a person who is used as a woman be called a man? He is deprived of his manhood and is not considered to be a man any longer.

Homosexuality Is Against the Good Name of Christianity

What may be said of Christianity in its supreme ideology? Christianity teaches the sublime ideas of spirituality. How can other religions have any idea about this spiritual life if they know that there is homosexuality in the Church and that the Church is discussing whether it is wrong or right?

Church life should be a life of holiness. A holy person is a member of the Church, but the unholy is not a member of the Church at all. And this is what was mentioned in the Book of Acts, chapter 2, verse 47, where it is written: *"And the Lord added to the church daily those who were being saved"*. The Lord added to the Church those who were being saved because the Church is a congregation of Saints; an abundance of holiness.

Homosexuality Is Against the Holy Sacraments

What can we say about the renewal of life in Christianity if such defilement exists inside the Church? How can we say that we received the new life? ... the renewal of life? ... the new birth? What kind of new birth have we received if we have such defilement among our members? What can we say about salvation? What kind of salvation is it? About baptism, what kind of baptism is it? What can we say about holy Chrism when we are faced with such defilement?

Homosexuality is against the Sacrament of Marriage, and it is also against self-control. People who suffer homosexuality should be ashamed. If they knew the meaning of spiritual life, they could not confess that they are homosexuals. It is quite inconceivable that anyone can lose their sense of shame and openly confess to being homosexuals. It is even more unbelievable is that such people ask for their human rights as homosexuals.

Rights For Homosexuals

What rights are there for homosexuals? **Their only right is to be led to repentance.** But to live in such defilement of the body, in such dishonour of the body, in such abomination and sin, and then ask for their so called human rights unthinkable! Furthermore, being encouraged and defended by some of the members of the Church, they ask to be ordained priesthood, while still practising homosexuality, this is simply beyond belief!

Homosexual Priests

What may members of the congregation say when they know that their priest is homosexual, and that he holds the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ?

How can a homosexual priest lead the congregation to holy life without having repented, without having confessed, without changing his life? If he cannot repent how can he guide others to repentance? If he cannot control himself, how can he guide others to such control? If he cannot enjoy the beauty of holy life, how can he speak about holy life? **If he leads a carnal life, how can he guide others to live a spiritual life?**

What will be said about the teachings of Christianity if such abominations take place in the Church itself?

Homosexuality and Love

It is claimed that homosexuality is simply love between man and man. No, my brothers, love should be spiritual and pure. We love others in purity. We love others in the Spirit. And loving others should not be against our love for God, because our Lord Jesus Christ said *'He who loves father, son, wife, sister, or brother, more than Me, is not worthy of me, is not worthy to be My disciple.'* We cannot love any other person more than our Lord Jesus Christ. Every love which we have should be love in the Lord. We love in the Lord, not outside, not against.

It is not love, but lust, and there is a great difference between love and lust. The word 'love' is not suitable for such

a relation, because in the Gospel, we say *'God is love.'* How can we say 'Homosexuality is love'? It is not love, it is a physical lust, lust of the flesh, and a lust which should be corrected.

If a man loves another man, can he abuse the man whom he loves? Is this love or destruction? If a man really loves another man, can he lead this man to lose his eternity and be punished in eternal life? Is it love to make another lose his image, the image of God?

Homosexual by Nature

Another excuse given is that such a person is born that way. If he is born that way, we need to heal him, to purge him, to correct him, to pray for him, to guide him to repentance, to cure him medically and spiritually. But not to say to him: "Alright, we accept you as a member of the Church and give you the Body and Blood of our Lord." It cannot be said that a person is homosexual by nature. Surely, it is the result of a traumatic experience in life, and this can be corrected.

We have in the history of the Church many saints who were fornicators before being saints, before repentance, and they were corrected. They were not homosexuals, but they were fornicators; the same sin but not abnormal. Saint Augustine is a good example. Saint Moses the Black is another example. Saint Pelagia is another example, and there are many others, and through the grace of God, through the work of pastoral care, they were corrected. We cannot accept homosexuality, for if we do, it means that we allow such an abomination, it

means that we permit that person to remain in sin and not repent. Moreover, it means that homosexuals have rights, one of which is to be ordained as priests.

The Spiritual Way of Pleasing Others

We cannot flatter people at the expense of the commandment of God. May I read you one or two verses from the First Epistle to the Galatians: *"For do I now persuade men, or God? Or do I seek to please men? For if I still pleased men, I would not be a bondservant of Christ"* (Gal. 1: 10). If 1 go on pleasing men in contradiction with the commandment of God, then I will not be the servant of Christ.

If I want to please men in a correct way, then I should guide them to repentance. This is the spiritual way of pleasing others, not to let them stay in sin and perish.

What is the benefit in pleasing other if such pleasure leads to condemnation? In the heavenly kingdom, in the kingdom of God, no person who lives in defilement is allowed to enter. No fornicators, nor sodomites, may enter the kingdom of our Lord, as is clearly expressed in the teachings of Saint Paul, Saint Jude, Saint Peter, and many others?

Once I read a book written by one of the clergymen -I do not want to say, one of the bishops- defending homosexuality. He began to attack Saint Paul and say that he is abnormal. Can we please men to the extent where we speak against Apostles? Against a person that was elected by God Himself in a

miraculous apparition, and chosen to be the Apostle for the Gentiles; to be our Apostle, for we were Gentiles. Is it acceptable that we try to please men, even if it means going against the teachings of the Lord?

I now return to the first words I said to you. I said I am happy, I am glad, to be among the persons who are chosen to witness to the Lord. Our Lord said: *"But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be witnesses to Me."* As for homosexuals, He said that without repentance, they will perish. This judgement of our Lord was repeated twice in the chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel, chapter 13, verses 3 and 5. It is written: *"I tell you, no; but unless you repent you will all likewise perish"* (v. 3), and in verse 5: *"I tell you, no; but unless you repent you will all likewise perish."*

So, can we say to such sinners, to whom our Lord said: *"...unless you repent you will all likewise perish",* 'no, no, no, we will find excuses for you. The Church loves you and wants to search for excuses, so that you may remain in sin and not perish?' It is not within our power, I repeat, it is not within our power to justify sins, or to please sinners. Instead, we should be trying to guide them to repentance.

The Way to Repentance

Initially, a person who sins may be embarrassed, and cannot confess to this abomination. However, if that person openly declares his homosexuality, and begins to seek his rights as a homosexual, without seeking repentance, and even goes so far as to ask to be ordained priesthood, then this is an outrage.

However, if we make it clear to that person that such actions are sinful and against the will of God, then perhaps his conscience may act against him, always condemning him and reproaching him: ‘You should repent. You must change your ways’.

The Authority Of Clergymen

In the Gospel of Saint Matthew, chapter 18, our Lord Jesus Christ gave His servants, the Apostles, the priests, authority, saying: *“I say to you whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven”* (Matt. 18: 18). Whatever you bind or loose should be according to the Bible, in harmony with the teachings of the Bible, in obedience to the commandments of God, but whatever you bind or loose against the Bible will not be accepted. How? If we read the Epistle to the Galatians, chapter 1, verses 8 and 9, we find some very fearful words. It is written: *"But even if we (the Apostles), or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel to you than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed'* (Gal 1:8). This is also repeated in verse 9, "If anyone preaches any other gospel to you than what you have received, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1:9).

Our duty as Clergymen is to guide people through the commandments of God. We have no power, nor any authority, to give declare laws against the laws of God. So, why did our Lord give us authority, and how can this authority to bind and loose be explained? Perhaps we can find an explanation in what was written in the prophecy of Malachi, chapter 2, verse 7: *"For the lips of a priest should keep*

knowledge, and people should seek the law from his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts" (Mal 2:7). People take the law of the Lord from the priest's mouth because, when it comes to God's teachings, he is more knowledgeable than any other member of the congregation. He is the teacher; the guide. So he binds according to the law of God which he knows quite well, and he looses according to the law of God, and never in contradiction, as Saint Paul said: *"If we, or an angel from heaven..."* As Saint Basil of Caesaria Cappadocia said: *"Saint Paul dared to anathematize angels."*

The Grave Responsibility Of The Clergy

What then should we say to people? There is a commandment given by God in the Old Testament. It is repeated twice in the same prophecy of Ezekiel, in chapter 3, and again in chapter 33. May I read you some of the words said by God to Ezekiel: "Son of man, I have made you a watchman (to watch people) for the house of Israel; therefore hear a word from My mouth, and give them warning from Me: When I say to the wicked, *'You shall surely die,' and you give him no warning, nor speak to warn the wicked from his wicked way, to save his life,* ***that same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will require at your hand"*** (Ezek. 3: 17,18).

We are pastors. How can we suffer that the blood of these wicked persons who will perish be required from us? We should warn them and say to them: "This way leads you to destruction". And at the same time God says: *"Yet, if you warn the wicked, and he does not turn from his wickedness, nor from*

his wicked way, he shall die in his iniquity; but you have delivered your soul' (Ezek. 3: 19).

The same words are also mentioned in chapter 33, because our Lord God wants to emphasise this point. *"So you, son of man: I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel, therefore you shall hear a word from My mouth and warn them for Me. When I say to the wicked, 'O wicked man, you shall surely die!' and you do not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity,. but his blood I will require at your hand"* (Ezek. 33: 7,8).

We must fear such condemnation. We must warn the wicked and say to them: 'This is the way of death. If you walk according to the flesh you will die; you should obey the commandments of God.' If we love our children in a spiritual way we should guide them to repentance; we should try to purge them, to cleanse them, to heal them, to save them, not to justify their sins. This is not good for them nor for us. They will perish and their blood will be required at our hands.

The following are some of the questions asked by members of the congregation and the answers given by His Holiness:

Question 1

We repeat in the Nicene Creed, I believe in one holy Catholic Apostolic Church". As the Catholic and Apostolic

Church is divided, how can we claim it to be holy? How can holiness and division go together?

Of course this is a tragedy, and for this reason we are trying to work toward Christian unity. We are trying to be one in faith, and one in theology and in doctrine. Our Lord God does not accept this division because in the Gospel of Saint John chapter 10, which we call the chapter of the Good Shepherd, it is clear that He wants the Church to be one flock, for One Shepherd, and this Shepherd is our Lord Jesus Christ. And also in Saint John's Gospel, chapter 17, He asks the Father for His disciples, for the whole Church, to be one, saying: *"...that they may be one just as We are one."* There is no unity more mystical than the unity between the Father and the Son. Of course, separation and division is not a holy matter and for this reason, we are working for the unity of the Church.

Question 2

While we are alive, is it not possible to enjoy bodily pleasures without hurting others, while striving for spiritual ascendancy?

For this reason we said that this bodily pleasure, according to your expression, is enjoyed in marriage and between male and female, but not against nature, not against the commandment of God. As we enjoy bodily pleasures in eating food and delicacies, and control ourselves in the days of fasting, a person may also enjoy bodily pleasures to a certain extent, not to be against his spirit, not to be against the commandment of God,

not to be against nature, not to be against purity of heart, and many pleasures are given to us, but not abnormal pleasures.

Question 3

How can we bring healing to people of homosexual tendency who wish to be healed of that tendency and to walk the way of holiness? How may we help them?

The first point on which I spoke was that the Church cannot say that their wrong way is acceptable, this is against the essence of the teachings the Bible. We cannot pass their acts as acceptable behaviour, and excuse them for supposedly being born that way. Sin is sin, whatever the reasons are.

In order to help them, firstly say to them: "This is a sin. This is an abomination", and then let them enjoy the spiritual life. A person who tastes the sweetness of spiritual life may leave such a way of abomination. Because people are always occupied with worldly matters, they do not give time for prayer, for contemplation, for spiritual songs, for reading the Bible, for reading spiritual books, so their spirits become very weak, and such weak spirits cannot resist temptation. If we try to strengthen their spirits, to let them practise spiritual ways, as I said, they get better.

Also, we must pray for them, fast for them, celebrate Holy Masses for them, we must try to help them by using all spiritual means. If there is a situation that requires medical treatment, then let them try it. But, whatever the circumstances, we

cannot justify their sins. It is not within our authority as clergymen or pastors.

Question 4

Does the Church see the sexual desire in marriage between husband and wife as lust or good appetite?

Saint Augustine said that it is something attractive from nature to help the act. First marriage was for giving birth to children and to let the world continue, but if there is nothing attractive in such a matter, perhaps people will not have sexual intercourse. As with food, if food is not delicious and of good appetite (I may use appetite here for food), people will not eat and they will die. So God put something attractive in the nature of these matters in order that the act may be completed. But some people who have full love for God may not practise such matters very frequently.

There is something said by Saint Paul in the seventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he said: *"Do not deprive one another except with consent for a time, that you may give yourselves to fasting and prayer, and come together again so that Satan does not tempt you because of your lack of self-control"* (1Cor. 7: 5). And at the beginning he said that when we practise fasting we need self-control to abstain from food. At the same time, if a person, if a husband or wife, can be away from the other partner, in order to practise fasting and prayer in a useful way for the spirit, it should be in consent. The two should approve of the matter, if not, we cannot cause offence for the other partner; this will not be "with consent".

You cannot take everything that your body craves. Solomon, the wisest person, said that he gave himself all kinds of pleasure, and what was the conclusion? I will read what Solomon said: *"Whatever my eyes desired I did not keep from them. I did not withhold my heart from any pleasure"* (Eccl. 2: 10). And what was the end? It was against him and he found that *"all was vanity and grasping for the wind"* (Eccl. 2: 11). A person may take from the pleasures of the world to a certain extent, yet self-control from time to time.

Question 5

How should we relate our Lord's assurance that the wheat and tares will continue together until the end, to the stress on all members of the Church being called to be saints?

Of course, the tares are not members in the Church. The wheat are the elect and the tares are the work of the devil, as our Lord God explained this parable in the thirteenth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, saying that the wheat is the work of God and the tares the work of the devil.

There is sin and there is holy life. Of course, we cannot say that the kingdom of God covers the whole world, but the work of the Church is to have plenty of wheat and to guide the tares to be wheat if possible. This is our duty; to correct others. But of course our Lord Jesus Christ spoke about the tares in this parable as the persons who will perish (not to be corrected). But in the Church we have only wheat.

The Church in its identity is a group of saints worshipping God together. They are holy vessels in which the Holy Spirit works. The definition of the Church is people who are the image of God, who are the true sons of God, who always keep the image of God, have communion with the Holy Spirit, and lead holy lives. These are the true members of the Church; tares are not the true members of the Church.

Question 6

Can we suggest that different branches of one whole may not be evil but that they may all be partakers of God's truth?

Of course we should distinguish between evil and good. There are many kinds of good ways, as for example, marriage and virginity. They are two holy ways which guide to God. But we cannot say that chastity and fornication are two ways which guide to God. Of course not. There may be a kind of variety but inside holiness and not outside holiness, and this is acceptable.

For this reason we have different branches in the holy Church, as for example when Saint Paul spoke about the gifts of the Holy Spirit in chapter 12 of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. He said there are different gifts but the Spirit is one. In the Church there are Apostles, there are teachers, there are priests, there are prophets, there are ordinary persons. All these may be different in rank, but all of them are holy.

You say "may all be partakers of God's truth". Partakers of God's truth inside holiness and not outside holiness. Our Lord God said that the good earth may give thirty, sixty and one hundred. These are degrees, but all of them are fruitful and good, although they vary. But as for the plants which were surrounded by thorns and withered away, we cannot say they were good, nor was the land from which the seeds were taken by sparrows.

Question 7

If a homosexual goes to the church and repents and abstains from homosexual activity, how is he viewed in the eyes of God if desires about men remain?

I want to say that sometimes repentance may take steps. The first step of repentance is to abstain from the action of sin. Sometimes the person abstains from the action of sin and at the same time still has the desire. He is now clean in flesh but not clean in spirit.

The second step is to change his mind and change his desires. In the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 12, the Apostle says: *"I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. And do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind"* (Rom. 12: 1). A person may have another concept, another idea, another way of thinking about the world. He does

not look at sin as pleasure but as defilement. He may change his mind, and in changing his mind he may change his desires also. It may take steps.

The first step of repentance is to leave sin, not to do it. But the perfection of repentance is to hate sin, and sin will not be suitable for the person's new nature in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Our great teacher Saint John the Apostle said that the son of God cannot sin: cannot, because he is the son of God. His nature has changed. This is the renewal of life. **As pastors, our work is to guide people toward the renewal of their life,** to stress on a new point, to give them practice in spiritual life. Day by day they find spiritual life not only acceptable but also favourable and **they find their pleasure in God, their pleasure in spiritual life.**

Question 8

Does the Coptic Church have a view on the use of artificial contraception?

Yes, we accept it if it is not a way of abortion. This means if it is used to avoid, rather than terminate, a pregnancy. However, once a pregnancy has occurred, than it is a sin to abort the baby, even if its age is only one hour. So, it is acceptable only to prevent pregnancy.

THE SECOND LECTURE

THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN

The first point on which I want to speak to you is our respect to the Holy Bible. Of course, everyone may say that they respect the Holy Bible, but in practice this is not always the case.

Our Respect to the Holy Bible

Many people depend on their minds more than they depend on the verses of the Bible. They depend on their intelligence, on their own understanding, not on the Bible. We are ready to have the Bible as the basis of our dogma, the basis of our theology, and see what the Bible says. If we read for example the Book of Proverbs, chapter 3, verse 5, it is written: *"Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and lean not on your understanding."* (Pro 3:5).

People may differ in their understanding, therefore, we may find many dogmas and many different concepts of theology. This warning is repeated in chapter 14, verse 12: *"There is a way that seems right to a man but its end is the way of death"* (Pro 14:12) and the same verse is found in chapter 16, verse 25: *"There is a way that seems right to a man but its end is the way of death."* (Pro. 16:25).

A person may think that his mind is sound, that his understanding of theology is suitable for him, but this may at a

certain times, be in contradiction with Biblical teachings. **We should respect the Bible more than our minds.** This was the commandment of God since the beginning.

For example, if we read what our Lord God said to Joshua, the disciple of Moses, who came after him, we find Him saying: *"This Book of the Law shall not depart from your mouth, but you shall meditate in it day and night, that you may observe to do according to all that is written in it. For then you will make your way prosperous, and then you will have good success"* (Josh. 1: 8).

And it is mentioned many times that Moses did according to what the Lord had commanded him. And in the Sermon on the Mount, in Saint Matthew's Gospel, chapter 5, verse 17, our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us not to add and not to omit, and gave a punishment for this. And as I said in my first lecture, quoting from the Epistle to the Galatians, chapter 1, verses 8 and 9, the holy Apostle says: *"But even if we (the Apostles), or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel to you than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed"* (Gal. 1:8-9) (and in other translations, "let him be anathematised").

We have to respect the Bible and its teaching. I say this because once I heard some scholars saying: "Oh, the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis are mythology. The story of Jonah the Prophet is mythology. Some of the prophecies of Ezekiel are mythology". **People began to subject the Holy Bible to their minds instead of subjecting their minds to the Holy Bible.** What they accept will be alright. If not, they will

not respect what they do not accept in the Holy Bible. So their respect to the Holy Bible is not as it should be.

Some people may say: "Oh, this is written in the Old Testament. We do not accept it. We accept only what is written in the New Testament". **How can we refuse the words of God in the Old Testament?**

Once I was discussing some points with one of the hierarchies of the church, and I quoted verses from Saint Paul, he said to me: "Oh, this is what was said by Saint Paul and not by our Lord Jesus Christ". Then I asked him: "Are the words of Saint Paul inspired or not?" He thought and said: "Yes, they are inspired". Then I said: "Then these are the words of God inspired by the Holy Spirit".

Let us read two verses which may be useful to us. In the Second Epistle to Timothy, chapter 3, verses 15 and 16, it is written: *"...and that from childhood you have known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make you wise for salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."* (2Ti 3:15-16) And also Saint Peter said that these Books of the Scriptures are spoken by holy men led by the Holy Spirit.

Dogmas and theology need a spirit of humility. The humble person does not put himself higher than the Holy Scripture. To accept or not to accept, to omit or not to omit, is not humility. As I said earlier, some people, when they notice that the Holy Scriptures are against homosexuals, they attack the Holy Scriptures in order to defend homosexuality. If they see that

the Holy Scriptures do not allow ordination of women, they are ready to attack the teachings of the Bible in order to please women.

Now I would like to deal with the subject of the ordination of women. First, as an introduction, I want to say that **women are our mothers, our sisters, and to us, our spiritual daughters. We respect them, we love them, we pray for them,** and we give them responsibilities in the Church.

Women In The Coptic Church

In the Coptic Church we have thousands of women as Sunday School teachers. In Cairo alone we have between ten to fifteen thousand females as Sunday School teachers. In our Seminary and Coptic Institute we have four ladies teaching in the Seminary: one teaches the Old Testament, another the Hebrew Language, and two teach the history of the Church. In every church we have women organising and supervising social activities. We also have women in many of the councils of churches. They have many responsibilities.

Women In The Holy Bible

The responsibilities of women were given to them from the beginning. We can mention many prophetesses. Miriam the sister of Moses was a prophetess. Deborah the Judge of Israel was a prophetess, Huldah was a prophetess. Anna, at the time of the birth of our Lord, was a prophetess. They may be

prophetesses, no problem. They may be queens, such as Esther who was a queen and she was a saviour for a whole nation. This is all right, a wise woman who could save her nation. We know that Mary Magdalene was delegated by our Lord Jesus Christ to announce the happy news of the Resurrection to the eleven Apostles.

Many women gave their houses to be churches in the Apostolic Age. Among them was Saint Mary the mother of Saint Mark the Evangelist. Her house became a church. This is mentioned in the Book of Acts (Acts 12: 12). Also the house of Aquila and Priscilla and Lydia as is mentioned in chapter 16 of the Epistle to the Romans.

Many women ministered to the Lord. They served Him, and some of these women were mentioned in the eighth chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel: *"Now it came to pass, afterward, that He went through every city and village, preaching and bringing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with Him, and certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities - Mary called Magdalene, out of whom had come seven demons, and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others who provided for Him from their substance"* (Luke. 8: 1-3).

They were servants of God. Beside the Cross of our Lord, women were the majority, there was only one man, Saint John the Evangelist, and the rest were women.

Priesthood In The Holy Bible

Women may be full of love and emotion, and if they devote their love and emotion to Christ they can be very helpful. **But in spite of this we cannot find in the whole Bible one single example of a woman being a priest.** Perhaps God called women for other responsibilities. Priesthood is a Divine call and it is quite obvious in the Holy Bible that women were called for many, many responsibilities, but not for priesthood.

The first priesthood was the priesthood of the great patriarchs of the church: Father Abraham, Father Noah, Father Isaac, Father Jacob. All these were men. The second kind of priesthood was the priesthood of Melchizedek, who was mentioned in Genesis, chapter 14, and in Hebrews chapter 7, and the priesthood of Aaron and his sons. All of them were men. **There was not a single woman priest in all of the Old Testament.** If God had wanted it, all right. Who can prevent God?

The firstborn children who were sanctified to God before choosing the priesthood of Moses, Aaron and the sons of Aaron- were all men. When the Lord Jesus Christ chose the twelve Apostles to be the first priests or archpriests, or the first bishops or ecumenical bishops, they were all men. And the first bishops consecrated by them were also men.

Priesthood in Church Tradition

Throughout history there is not one example of a female priest. Not one example in Bible, nor in Tradition, and we have to trace and follow the teaching of the Bible, because the Christian life is a life handed down from one generation to another generation. For example, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians chapter 11, when Saint Paul spoke about the Eucharist, he said: *"For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you"* (1Cor. 11: 23).

God delivered dogmas, theology and rites to the Apostles, and the Apostles delivered them to their disciples, to the first bishops, and they delivered them to another generation, until these dogmas reached our day. For this reason, Saint Paul said to his disciple Timothy, who was the Bishop of Ephesus, *"And the things that you have heard from me among many witnesses, commit these to faithful men who will be able to teach others also"* (2Tim. 2: 2). Teaching was handed down from Saint Paul to Timothy, and from Timothy to faithful men, and from these faithful men to others.

This is the Tradition, the Apostolic Tradition, which we received from the age of the Apostles, throughout all ages, till now. **And, of course, if God had wanted to call women for priesthood, He would have done so, in the same way as He called women to be prophetesses.**

The Church is a collection of the members of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every member performs a certain duty. We cannot say that all members are the same. Every member in the

Body of our Lord has its dignity, its respect, its work, its importance. We cannot say that all members may be heads, all may be eyes, may be arms, may be hearts! We cannot say this. **If a woman is not called to be the head, perhaps she is called to be the heart, and no difference.**

Every member has its own work in the Church, and this also is what was said by the Apostle when he was speaking about the gifts of the Holy Spirit. We may read the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 12: *"But now indeed there are many members, yet one body. And God has appointed these in the church: first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of hearings, helps, administrations, varieties of tongues. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Do all have gifts of hearings?"* (1Cor. 12: 20, 28-30). But God gave every member its own work.

Men and women cannot be rivals in a certain responsibility. Women can perform many duties which are useful in the church, but they were not called for priesthood. We are not to be blamed for this because this is not our teaching, it is the Biblical teaching. If you can find one single example in the Bible, whether in the Old Testament or in the New Testament, we are ready to accept it. We are not against the words of God. **We accept the words of God. But we cannot add new teachings.**

Who Is The Head?

Then, who does the New Testament say is the head, man or woman? This is mentioned in Ephesus, chapter 5, and many times in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. *"I want you to know that the head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is man. For man is not from woman, but woman from man. Nor was man created for the woman, but woman for the man. For this reason the woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head, because of the angels"* (1Cor. 11: 3, 8-10).

Man and woman co-operate together, but man is the head of woman. If woman is headed by man in the house, can she be the head of all the congregation in the church, among whom is her husband who is her head? Or may she say to him: ‘You are my head in the house, but I am your head in the church?’ I do not know how to find a solution for this problem.

Also, the priest represents our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Virgin Mary And Priesthood

If women were called to priesthood, the first woman in the world would have been the Virgin Mary. **No woman in the world is more holy than Saint Mary.** And no woman in the whole world is more worthy- if it is a matter of worthiness- than the Virgin Mary. And Saint Mary the Virgin did not claim to be a priest. She was the spiritual mother of all the Apostles, but she did not claim to be a priest.

Deaconesses and Serving the Altar

Not only is this concerning priesthood, but also the work of deacons in serving the altar. When the Apostles consecrated the seven first deacons, what did they say? They said: *"Therefore, brethren, seek out from among you seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business"* (Acts 6: 3). In the history of the Church, we may find some Deaconesses, not for the service of the altar, but for social service or educational service or for discipline or for helping the priest in matters concerning women in the holy Sacraments, but not for serving the altar, not for the Holy Eucharist, not to baptise, nothing of the sort.

In the First Epistle to Timothy, chapter 2, verses 11-15, **Saint Paul does not permit women to teach men in the church.** In the Coptic Church we let women teach children or other women or girls in Sunday School, but they do not teach men.

I am sorry, I do not want women to be displeased, but this is the Holy Bible. It is not a problem: it is how to give certain gifts to certain people. **It is not being against women, but it is a matter of classifying the gifts of God.**

Now I return to Romans, chapter 12, regarding this matter, to read and see what the Holy Bible says to us: *"For I say, through the grace given to me, to everyone who is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, as God has dealt to each one a measure of faith. For as we have many members in one body, but all the members do not have the same function, so we, being many,*

are one body in Christ, and individually members of one another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, let us use them: if prophecy, let us prophesy in the proportion to our faith; or ministry..." (Rom. 12: 3-6), and then it goes on to describe every kind of ministry. Of course women have ministries in the church, not priesthood, but many other kinds of work and responsibilities.

In the First Epistle to Timothy, the Apostle says: *"Let a woman learn in silence with all submission. And I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man, but to be in silence"* (1Tim 2: 11,12). That means that the work of prayer in the Liturgy is the work of the priest. She may attend silently and not teach men or have authority over men.

Women And The Priest's Work

There are many things in the work of the priest which may not be suitable for women, for example, baptising men. How can a woman baptise men? It is not easy. If she is a bishop and ordains priests, that means that these priests will be subordinate to her, under her authority, under her hierarchy or jurisdiction. **This is contradictory to the teaching of the Holy Bible.** The Holy Anointment, how can she anoint men? How about the periods in which a woman cannot enter the church, or it is not easy for her to work, if she is a priest and pregnant in the ninth month or eighth month, or when she gives birth and must stay at home. I do not want to enter into such detail, but many other points concerning women may not help her work constantly in the church.

Church Sacraments Delivered To Men

When our Lord Jesus Christ delivered the Sacraments of the Church, He did not deliver these Sacraments to women.

For example, when He delivered Priesthood, as is mentioned in Saint John's Gospel, chapter 20, verses 21 to 23, He gave this authority to the eleven Apostles: *"Then Jesus said to them (to the eleven Apostles) again, 'Peace to you! As the Father has sent Me, I also send you.' And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.'"* (John 20:21-23) He gave this to the Apostles, to the Eleven, not to any women.

When He gave them the Sacrament of Baptism, if we read for example Saint Matthew's Gospel, chapter 28, verse 16: *"Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, to the mountain which Jesus had appointed for them. And when they saw Him, they worshipped Him; but some doubted. Then Jesus came and spoke to them, saying, 'All authority has been given to Me in heaven and on earth. Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the age'"* (Matt. 28: 16-20). **He gave the authority of baptising and teaching to the Eleven.** He did not call all the women- although many women were very holy and were serving Him, as mentioned in Luke chapter 8, and those who followed Him to the Cross. But He said this to the Eleven.

And also of the Eucharist, Saint Paul said: "*For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you*" (1Cor. 11: 23). He received this Sacrament from the Lord. This Sacrament was also given by the Lord to the Eleven after the departure of Judas. He said to them, ***"Do this in remembrance of Me."*** He said to them: *"... teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you"*, meaning what they were taught by our Lord Jesus Christ, and this also was for the Eleven. And He appeared to them for forty days and spoke to them about the mysteries of the kingdom of God, about all things concerning the kingdom of God, this also was to the eleven Apostles.

I think it is better for a woman to remain a woman, to work in services, and handle responsibilities which are more suitable for a woman. A bird may sing a sweet song on a tree and a lion may roar in the forest. If the bird tries to be a lion, it is not suitable. It is more beautiful for the bird, for the sparrow or the pigeon, to sing a sweet song and than to roar like a lion. And if the lion tries to sing like the bird it will not be acceptable. **Let women be in the service of women, and man in the service of man**.

Responsibilities of Women

A woman has great responsibilities. Among these responsibilities, I may mention, is having **pastoral care for children in order to prepare a new generation for the Church.** One of our problems is that women have no time to care for their children.

I can mention a holy woman in history and that is Jochebed the mother of Moses. Due to the teaching given by this holy woman to her son Moses -Moses lived in the palace of Pharaoh when he was three, four or five years old and lived the rest of the 40 years among many pharaonic worships and many idols- Moses became not only a man of faith but a hero of faith. How? **Because of the teaching of his holy mother who instilled faith in him during his childhood.**

If women take care of their children they prepare for us the priests of the Church. The priests of the Church of course were once children, and if children are well prepared, well taught and well instructed in religious teachings, by their mothers, then women will **have prepared priests without being themselves priests.**

The following are some of the questions asked by members of the congregation and the answers given by His Holiness:

Question 1

In the Church, what is the status of a bishop who ordains women? Is he still a true bishop?

In our Church no bishops ordain women. I think in all the Orthodox Churches no bishops ordain women, and I think also in the Catholic Church no bishops ordain women. I am only speaking about what we are taught from the Bible.

I also wish to say that ordaining women caused a kind of division and separation here in the Church. What benefit could the Church take from ordaining women; only conflict among the priests and bishops. Many dioceses refused to ordain women or to accept women ordained by other bishops.

There is another point I wish to mention very frankly and very openly. I am sorry to say these words, but please excuse me. The Church may try to please women by ordaining them as priests, and this is what happened here. After this, being a priest was no longer sufficient for women, they wanted to be bishops. After being ordained as bishops, it was still insufficient. Then, women began to ask the question: Is God a Man or a Woman? Of course gender is not found in Divinity. But they began to say: "Why do we say: 'Our Father who art in heaven?' Why do we not say 'Our Mother?'" And this was a problem in many meetings of the World Council of Churches, and some tried to compromise and say 'Our Parent who art in heaven'. If we try to trace all the verses in which God is mentioned as Father in the Bible, we'll find so many! This suggestion means that we have to change the Bible!

If we change the Bible, what will be said of us by other religions? They will say that this Book is not the Book of God; you are trying to make alterations, and these are not the words inspired by the Holy Spirit in the Holy Bible!

Question 2

What advice would you give to an Anglican priest should the General Synod agree to ordain women to priesthood?

I wish and pray that this may not happen. That is what I can say. We are friends of the Anglican Church and we do not want to have any division or separation in the Church for the sake of the good of the Church. We pray that this may not happen.

Question 3

Nowadays many people question the exact inspiration of certain parts of the Bible. What do you say against this?

I want to say openly that criticisms of Biblical teachings have had many defects. Let me give you an example, and I say this because we live in non-Christian countries and know the impression which takes place:a professor in a theological college may teach the Gospels, he begins to teach the Gospel of Saint John, and in his study he may say: "Oh, who was the author of Saint John's Gospel? Was he one of the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ or another John who lived in the second century?" and finally he may conclude that it was another John.

Then it may be said to us: "You do not know your Bible: whether it was written by God, by the Holy Spirit, by Jesus Christ, by the disciples or by other people in the second century..." These points of criticism may be used against Christianity and published on a large scale. You know for example, that Dedacht, who had a great discussion in America with a Christian priest, took nearly all his points from this style of biblical criticism. Many points are taken to attack Christianity. If you say that some parts of the Bible are mythology, non-Christians may take this point and say: ‘Here is

a witness from the Christians, from the leaders of Christianity, from the priests, that this is mythology.'

My brothers, take great care when you publish such books and put in your mind the effect, the impression and the reaction to such things. Now they question the inspiration of some Books of the Bible. This means that the matter is doubtful, because it is a matter of argument whether it is inspired or not. This means that the Tradition which we received from the Apostles is under discussion: I mean the Tradition concerning the Holy Books of the Bible which we received from the Ecumenical Councils is also under discussion; not yet accepted. Is this good for the faith of the common people? If it is accepted to a certain extent for seminaries or students of theology, can this be accepted by all common people to look at their Holy Bible as a doubtful Book? What is the benefit?

Once a student said: "I was full of faith, and for this reason I went to a seminary to be a scholar, and after some years I lost my faith, because everything which I accepted in a spiritual way began to be taken as a questionable matter, a matter of criticism, whether to accept or not". And what happened? Christianity began to be a kind of philosophy, not a simple religion as Saint Paul said.

I want to read you some verses from Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. Although he was a great scholar at his time and studied at the feet of Gamaliel the great professor of his generation, what did Saint Paul say? He said: "And my speech and my preaching were not with persuasive words of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith should not be in the wisdom of men but in the power

of God. However, we speak wisdom among those who are mature, yet not the wisdom of this age, nor of the rulers of this age, who are coming to nothing" (1Cor. 2: 4-6). And he also says, in the same chapter: *"These things we also speak, not in words which man's wisdom teaches but which the Holy Spirit teaches, comparing spiritual things with spiritual"* (1Cor. 2: 13).

Saint Paul was the most educated Apostle at his time. **But he did not use the wisdom of the world. He used simplicity. He used the words of the Holy Spirit.** But now we are trying to use the wisdom of the world or the wisdom of men. What about the respect of the Bible? We try to criticise the Bible. **We try to subject the Bible to our minds, not to surrender to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.**

Once a person pointed at his head and said: "That was the fruit from which Adam was forbidden to eat. It was the tree of knowledge". Adam knew many things which were profitable to him, but he wanted also to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He knew only the knowledge of good, then he began to know the knowledge of evil; to suspect everything, to doubt everything. It is as if theology is philosophy, and not good philosophy, but philosophy of doubts! In our seminaries, should we give our people the spirit of the Bible, or stress on criticism of the Bible?

Question 4

In the Holy Eucharist, the priest takes the Holy Body and Blood of Jesus in his hands. The Blessed Virgin Mary took Jesus in her hands. Why should another woman not be allowed to take the Body and Blood of Jesus?

Women are allowed to take the Body and Blood of Jesus in their mouths, not only in their hands- inside them. And when we say that the Virgin Mary was holding Jesus in her hand, **this was not a kind of Eucharist. This was motherhood. There is great difference between motherhood and priesthood.** This is one thing and that is something else. A holy woman may have our Lord Jesus Christ appearing to her, but this is not the Eucharist. We should put an exact definition for everything.

When the Virgin Mary was holding our Lord Jesus Christ in her hands, was she performing or officiating a matter of Priesthood or Eucharist? As for the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, all the congregation takes of the Body and Blood. There is no discrimination between women and men. All of them partake in the Holy Communion; no difference. The Eucharist is how to pray that this Prosphora, this holy bread, may be transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into His Blood. But this was not happening with our Lady Saint Mary- it was something else.

Question 5

How would you explain Saint Paul's words about woman for man and not man for woman?

He is speaking about the story of creation, because man was created first and then woman was created afterwards to help him, to be a good helper equivalent to him, because man and woman before God are equals. Man is not preferred nor woman but the deeds of every person may put him first or last. Before God, in their deeds, they are equal. But in their properties, in their responsibilities, they are different. Men do not ask: Why do we not give birth to children? Everyone is in his own position.

Question 6

Is there not a sense in which all Christians are priests? How does this sort of priesthood differ from ordaining priesthood?

We are all priests in the spiritual meaning, as David the Prophet said: *"...the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice"* (Ps. 14: 1). And it was said: *"the sacrifice of thanksgiving, the sacrifice of spiritual singing."* This is a kind of spiritual priesthood, not the priesthood of the Holy Mysteries. *"Let my prayer be set before You as incense"* (Ps. 141: 2), is this priesthood? This may be said by a woman or a man. This is the spiritual meaning, not the literal meaning of priesthood, which is serving the altar and officiating the Holy Mysteries of the Church.

Question 7

Why do some Churches refuse to give the Holy Eucharist to Christian children under 13 years until they are confirmed?

In our Church we give Holy Communion to any child, and we also give the holy Chrism to the child from the beginning of his life, just after Baptism. I think this is only known in the Catholic Church. We give the Body and Blood of our Lord to the child from the very beginning of his life, after Baptism.

Thank you for listening, and I am happy to be among you. I am in need for your prayers, all of you, to return to my country safely and carry on my responsibilities.

My best wishes to the Anglican Church, its bishops and its priests, wishing for this Church all prosperity.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit One god Amen

The authentic views of the Coptic Orthodox Church on the two controversial subjects of 'The Ordination of Women' and 'Homosexuality' have been clearly and authoritatively expressed by His Holiness Pope Shenouda III in two lectures given on the 26th of November 1990.

A great number of clergymen from various churches heard His Holiness give evidence from the Holy Bible and from tradition relating these two subjects, to which the Orthodox Church is gravely opposed..

Inspirations of
The Passion-Week, and
The Holy Christian Pasch (Easter)

ESTABLISH YOUR KINGDOM WITHIN ME, O HOLY RESURRECTION!

April 1998

Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty
St. George's Coptic Orthodox Church

Translated by
Dr. Emile Bishay
St. Marina Coptic Orthodox Church
So. Orange County, California

THE BELIEVER.S SOUL
AND
THE EVENTS OF THE HOLY PASCHA

- ✞ With every Paschal (Holy) Week, the believer's soul gets to touch Christ who is the desire of her heart, and she finds in Him her life, her satisfaction, her joy, her resurrection, and her glory.
- ✞ She sees on **Palm Sunday** her Christ raising a new kingdom, and founding within it a divine new city, and a new alter.
- ✞ On **Paschal (Holy) Monday,** she sees her Christ, the Vinedresser, setting up His paradise inside her, instead of the fruitless fig tree.
- ✞ On **Paschal (Holy) Tuesday,** she throws herself in the bosom of her Heavenly Groom, who has prepared His heavens a wedding chamber for her.
- ✞ On **Paschal (Holy) Wednesday,** she sees Him as her advocate who bears for her the intrigue of the wicked people; removing all deceit, so we can enjoy His honest and sincere nature.
- ✞ On **Maundy Thursday,** she sees her Master serving her. He offers her His broken body and His shed blood to purify her completely.
- ✞ On **Good Friday,** she watches the cross and sees Him stretching His arms to embrace her, with all the believers, and enter with them to His Father's bosom. He reconciles the soul with the peoples, and with the Heavenly Father; and unifies the earthly and the heavenly creations.
- ✞ On **Bright Saturday,** the soul darts to Hades, to find its bolts broken, and to see the Savior carrying the plunder on His shoulders. This plunder are the souls of those who died hoping for His salvation. They dart joyously to the open-gated Paradise.
- ✞ On **Easter Sunday,** she enjoys Him as a the Conqueror of her battle against darkness and the grave. He gives her victory over

Inspirations of Palm Sunday

WELCOME TO THE WONDERFUL LAMB WITHIN MY INMOST

✞ The prophets saw You over the ages.. Your Divine promise was fulfilled:
Behold, the Kingdom of God is within you.
Zechariah saw You entering Jerusalem in Your wonderful procession;
He shouted, *"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion,*
shout, O daughter of Jerusalem".
Let my soul shout within me, praising with the heavenly orders:
Come in ! O lowly King, who rides on a donkey, a colt, the foal of a donkey.
Welcome to Your procession in my inmost soul.
The shepherds entered with a procession of sheep,
Tens-of -thousand over tens-of-thousand are sold to be kept in the Israelites' homes,
They slaughter them, and eat them. They are consumed,.. they do not come back!
Not a single sheep can enter my heart.
You are the Wonderful Lamb of God!
You enter my Jerusalem, not to ask me to pay a price,
But You pay my price, and own me.
You enter my inmost, and You offer Your blood as a price to set me free from Satan's bondage!
Dwell in my heart all the days of my expatriation, thus You keep me in Your Father's bosom forever!
You are slaughtered on the cross, thus You slaughter all the Powers of Darkness!
You are killed, and You rise killing my death!
I partake Your offered body, and I live with You in our glories.
I welcome You, O Lamb who offers forgiveness, life and glory!
Every slaughtered lamb, suffers his final destination at the hands

✞ Drive out from within me those who sell doves and the moneychangers,
Cast away from me all what defiles Your holy temple.
Reign over my inmost, Your wonderful temple!

PRACTICE YOUR DIVINE WORK IN YOUR TEMPLE

✞ In my inmost there lay multitude of blind, lame and deaf ... and many sick people !
Let every soul which lost her wellness through sin, enter with You.
Grant her vision and hearing, and open her mouth so she can praise You !
Yes, because of sin they hated me.
Let them enter with You in my inmost where they can find You, O healer of souls and bodies !

✞ Why should I ask from others ?
I am also sick !
Open my insight, so I can see You; a King reigning over me !
Grant me the spiritual ears to hear,
so I can hear Your voice, and fulfil Your will !
Grant me an inner mouth, which never ceases to praise You.
Sharing the celestials their joyful shouts !

✞ Grant me holy feelings,
So my heart would move to a truthful alter,
where the frankincense of mercy is burnt,
and everybody smells its fragrant aroma within me !

Inspirations of Pascal Monday

HE PLANTED ME, A FRUITFUL PARADISE.

✞ **In Palm Sunday** Christ entered Jerusalem a King. His Royal Palace was not Solomon's stone Temple, but the souls of those who believed; the living stones.

He said to His disciples; " Destroy this temple, and within three days I will build another." ... He has established His kingdom in us, and has deviated our hearts to His Royal Palace by the strength of His resurrection.

✞ **In Pascal Monday** the readings are concentrated on the fig tree which Christ cursed and it withered away. The prophetic readings talk about the destruction of the Israelite fields .... Finally, they present to us the words of Christ the Lord: *"Most assuredly, I say unto you , unless a grain of wheat falls into the ground and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it produces much grain."* Jn. 12:24

✞ It was necessary that He plucks up the fruitless trees of our field, to plant Himself in us 'the grain of wheat', then he establishes a new field, or a garden instead of the lost paradise !

LET MY BELOVED ENTER HIS GARDEN

✞ You desired to eat from the fig tree,
But You found in it nothing to eat.
With one word You cursed it, and it withered away, and was plucked up !

✞ Say a word, and every unproductive, fruitless thing in me would be plucked up.
Instead of the fruitless fig tree,
Plant the tree of Your cross.

✞ How come I see You hungry through my poor brethren!?
You have nothing to eat, You have no place to rest Your head!
The walls of my heart are aching!!!
You made me lack nothing,
and I offered You nothing of what You have given me.
Curse the fig tree which is in me!

✞ Sew in me wheat and barley, so men and beasts can eat together!
Plant in me vines, fig trees and pomegranates,
so everybody can drink of the grape juice.
Everybody eats from Your fruits ...

✞ Yes, as You entered Jerusalem, in the promised land,
enter my inner Jerusalem.
Make Your promised land in my inmost.
Enter with Your people from the wilderness to my inmost.
I will lack nothing!

WOE UNTO ME, I LOST MY PARADISE.

✞ For me You established the Garden of Eden,
I should have enjoyed it with my parents, Adam and Eve!
But, unwisely, I surrendered the paradise to the enemy, and lost it. Behold, all prophets inherited my lost paradise

✞ Zephaniah heard my God's voice saying:
"I will consume man and beast;
I will consume the birds of the heavens, the fish of the sea." (Zeph.1:2)
Joel the prophet saw the swarms of locust invading my paradise, and he shouted,
"What the chewing locust left, the swarming locust has eaten;
What the swarming locust left, the crawling locust has eaten;
And what the crawling locust left, the consuming locust has

AN ETERNAL WEDDING

- ✞ In the events of **Palm Sunday**, we see our Christ King of Kings, making of each soul a queen and a throne at the same time. She sits with the King of Kings, and bears His kingdom within her. He establishes His Royal Palace within her inmost .. and an everlasting kingdom of joy.
- ✞ In the events of **Paschal Monday**, the Divine Vinedresser plucks up every tree which His Father did not plant in the soul. He uproots the unfruitful fig tree, and plants His cross, a tree of life. The soul becomes a heavenly paradise, flooded with gifts, and in it run brooks of life-giving waters. Our Christ rejoices over this paradise of His. He calls on His heavenly friends to eat, drink, rejoice and exult over the delicious fruit of the Spirit inside the souls of the believers.
- ✞ But in the events of **Paschal Tuesday**, our Christ presents Himself a Heavenly Groom betrothing the soul which has already received her certificate of divorce by reason of her adultery. She was expelled from the heavenly wedding home. Now her Groom declares Himself, not out of boasting, but to bestow His features on her, and to prepare her as a heavenly bride, a queen who has the right to the heaven of heavens,.. to sit on the right-hand side of the King. She continues to be joyous. Her wedding never ceases, and she never ages nor becomes bored. On this day, Jesus met with the Pharisees and the Sadducees who came and *"plotted how they might entangle Him in His talk"* (Mt.22:15-40). They proved that they were not worthy for the eternal matrimonial life; especially that the Sadducees

THE NEW MATRIMONIAL HOME

✞ Why am I seeing You crying over my Jerusalem?
The one who kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to her !
Instead of receiving Your friends and Your messengers, O Groom,
She killed, and she stoned...
It was changed from a matrimonial home, into a den for violence and injustice.

✞ Demolish what is inside of me,
My old Jerusalem,
Erect of me a new Jerusalem,
The new matrimonial home

✞ You come to me to gather me like a little chick under the compassionate mother's wing
Under Your wing I find refuge,
There I settle and be comfortable
There I meet You, as in a matrimonial home.

✞ I see You extending Your arms on the cross,
Like the chicken's wings, under which I would be warmed;
And enjoy the love and tenderness which I am missing from everyone.

✞ You promised me; "here "no one stone be left here upon another, that shall not be thrown down."
You promised to hug me under Your wings.
Let the old matrimonial house be demolished, will all memories of infidelity,
and edify for me, under Your wings, the new home,
the home of eternal wedding!

The Son of the Heavenly King is asking my hand to unite with Him! (Mt. 22:2)

✞ You are amazing in Your humility (Mt. 25:35)
Which groom appears hungry to his bride,
Asking her a piece of bread?!
You are the One who feeds all creation,
But You ask for a material piece of bread,
You are the Bread who descended from heaven.. The satisfying bread of the angels!

✞ You appear thirsty, asking for water from a bucket,
You, O Creator of springs, and Giver of the Living Water!

✞ You appear as a stranger, so Your bride would shelter You,
While You fill heavens and earth with Your Divinity!

✞ Your appear naked, for Your bride to clothe You
While You clothe Your creation with Your glory.

✞ You present Yourself as a sick man asking her to visit You,
You are the One who gives the wellness,
Heavenly Healer, and Divine Remedy who cures the soul!

✞ You are not ashamed to call Yourself a prisoner,
And ask Your bride to visit You.
And, in fact, You are the freedom giver,
You undo all bonds, and crush the bolts of Hades!

✞ You are amazing in Your modesty, O Groom,
You consider all little needy ones as Your brothers.
You call me with my brothers: “Come you blessed of My Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” !

Inspirations from Pascal Wednesday

THE MERCIFUL GUARDIAN

✞ The adulterous woman looked around, and found no merciful heart which would have compassion for her. She found nobody to care for her or tend her. many desired her beauty and offered her money to satisfy the lust of their flesh in selfishness. Others were disgusted of her, and avoided touching her lest they should be defiled; but their thoughts had the same weakness. She discovered her Living Redeemer in the house of Simon the Pharisee. She sold all her possessions and bought a fragrant oil to anoint His feet. She came speaking with her tears when her tongue could not express her feelings. She gained what the Pharisee could not gain.

✞ This was what an unknown woman did; but the disciple who was entrusted with the money box, made of the love of money his trustee. He was not satisfied with all the money which was in the box, so he entered the temple, not to offer a sincere spiritual worship, but to commit the worst crime of infidelity known to mankind. He asked for the price of a slave to sell his Creator, and led the procession of thieves to deliver his Savior with a kiss!

WHO CAN SHEPHERD ME LIKE YOU?

✞ You are my Living Guardian,
Who is going to love me and care for me like You?!
Your grace attracts me out of the house of sin,
Guides me to the way, O the Way.
I will sell all my possessions,
To offer a pure fragrant oil of love to You!

You paid her debt,
But Your disciple misused Your love and Your gentleness!

✞ You bowed down and washed his feet,
but he did not give his heart to You to wash it!
Grant me to bow down with the woman who was a sinner,
And wash Your feet with Your immaculate blood!

✞ Let me look for You, and run after You,
And find You, even in the Pharisee’s house.
You who fills heaven and earth with Your Divinity.

✞ Grant me to seek You with her,
But I am in need of Your grace to attract me to You

✞ Grant me not to busy myself with my outer clothes,
Like the Pharisee who busied himself with his Pharisees’ clothes.
Lest You be in my house and I couldn’t see You,
Just like the blind Pharisee.
Grant me humility,
That You would clear my insight, and I would meet with You!

✞ Two persons busied themselves with their clothes,
one of the Old Testament, and the other of the New Testament.
Let me not be the third one!

✞ The Pharisee busied himself with his Pharisaism,
and Judas busied himself with his discipleship’s outer clothes.
But the woman busied herself with her inmost soul,
and she enjoyed the dwelling of the Lord Christ in her.

YOU TOOK THE LAST PLACE OF THE SERVANTS’ LINES LORD OF EVERYONE

✞ It is not strange that Your disciple priced You with the price of a slave,

Inspirations of Maundy Thursday

AT THE END OF THE SLAVES' ROWS

✞ Christ the Lord approaches the believer's soul on **Palm Sunday** as the King of Kings, to make of her a queen and a Royal Throne.

On **Paschal Monday** He presents Himself as the Vinedresser who makes of her His fruitful paradise.

On **Paschal Tuesday** He approaches her as the Heavenly Groom and carries her to His eternal bridal room.

On **paschal Wednesday** He appears as the Guardian of the soul. He rushes her out of the house of sin, and admits her into Himself, redeemed with His blood, together with the woman who was a sinner, who had poured the fragrant oil of her love over His feet; while the Pharisee rejected the Lord from being his Guardian. Judas, the unfaithful disciple, did the same thing.

On **Maundy Thursday** the Lord Jesus Christ approaches the believer's soul as her Servant. Moreover, He would rather occupy the last place of the servants' row, willingly!

✞ This was what tugged St. Paul's heart; when he saw the Creator of heavens and earth had willingly taken the shape of a slave. He, then, said: " Who, being in the form of God, did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a servant, and coming in the likeness of men; And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself and become obedient to the point of death, even the death of the cross." (Phil.2:6-8)

✞ What a difference between the slavery of servants, which denotes crushing and humiliation of the soul; and the 'slavery' of the Master of Everyone, who, through His love occupied a place at the end of the servants' row, to request, not only from the masters, but also from the servants, to extend their feet and allow

With Your slavery You showed me how great is freedom,
Not the selfish, proud freedom; but the freedom of enslaving myself to others.
With You I wash others' feet, suffer, and others find comfort.
I die, and all live!

✞ I could wish that I myself were deprived of world's freedom, so my brethren would enjoy Your freedom.
Grant me to experience the sweetness of washing the feet,
And the glory of self-denial for the sake of others!

✞ When are You going to carry me to the servants' lines?
I cannot hope for their last line.
I will not force myself to Your position, O the Wonderful One in His humility and love.
Embrace me, so I would unite with You, and gain the servants' glory!

GRAFT ME IN YOU, O VERITABLE VINE

✞ Your love brought You down to slavery,
You practiced the servants' task with the joy of Your goodness!
You admitted me to the banquet of Your flesh and blood.
I take them and abide in You, and You in me.
You wanted to graft me in You, O Veritable Vine.
Your blood flows in my inmost soul's veins.

✞ I abide in You and desire slavery, even for my adversaries.
I desire to die for every soul for which You, O my Savior, had died.

✞ Before You were led to slaughter,
You broke with Your hands Your body, and offered Your blood, a Sacrifice of love!
The Sacrifice of the cross is the subject of Your joy,
It is the act of Your love, O You who became a Slave for me!

Because You, Your Father, and Your Holy Spirit are with me!

✞ Your changed solitude from a psychological disease
to a joyous union with You! Welcome to solitude.
It became a Divine present and gift,
I am not worthy to have it!

I SHOULD COME FORTH WITH YOU, NOT WITH THEM!

✞ From the Father You have come forth to me,
So You would accompany me all my life,
And carry me, with Your cross, to Your Father's bosom!

✞ But the masses came out against You as against a robber,
They came out as from their father, Satan,
to hunt You, and cast You outside their camp.
to raise You over the 'wood of shame',
and admit You among the dead!
Grant me to come out with You, not with them!
To come forth to every soul,
in love-filled humility,
And not in the spirit of haughtiness, which is full of unjustness!
Let me accompany You, O Divine love,
And I would find no place for me among the revolting mob!

✞ You came forth to me to save me from judgment,
And they came out against You, to submit You to trial.
They condemned You, O Righteous One, to die,
But You interceded for me, a sinner, and considered me righteous.
You were counted with the sinners instead of me,
And counted me with the heavenly factions!
Great is Your love,
And great is Your redeeming intercession on my behalf!

THE GREATEST INTERCESSOR

✞ The events of the week presented Lord Christ as the King of Kings, the Vinedresser, the Groom, the Living Guardian and the Servant. He thus satisfies all the needs of the believer's soul.

✞ The events of this day present our Christ as the Greatest Intercessor. The One whom the believers long waited for His coming since Adam's and Eve's transgression. Everyone was saying with the psalmist: "My soul faints for Your salvation.. My eyes fail from seeking Your word."

✞ This day's events are the center of all history. This day occupied the Divine thought before the foundation of the world. Because of this day the Logos incarnated. The eyes and hearts of the heavenly factions, [If we can say so,] were following the events of this day, discovering the mystery of the wonderful Divine love. The believers of the Old Testament were in Hades, silently moving with every movement, while the mysteries of the events and of the Law and prophesies were revealed to them!

✞ Let my soul bow down to Your Holy Spirit. Let me share the heavenly and the believers their occupation in You, O Savior of the world.

✞ Grant me to go down to Hades, not to dwell in it, or to be preoccupied with it, but to congratulate my fathers and my mothers and all those who preceded me, when they move with their hearts in a procession following the silent Logos, who is accepting the pain and the crucifixion for the joy that was set before Him.

but my bowels are ablaze when I behold Your crucifixion, O my Son and my God."
Let me listen to You with my mother, Eve, and Saint Mary, saying:
"Your cross demolished all the Powers of Darkness,
Through You the head of the serpent is crushed under my feet
And I live with the spirit of conquest and victory!

✞ I see you, father Abraham, rejoicing.
Now the secret of your son's, Isaac's, sacrifice has been better revealed to you!
He offered Isaac a sacrifice of thanksgiving in Hades saying:
"How did You allow me to carry the fire-wood of the burnt offering
And be a type of You, O Carrier of the wood of the cross,
And be tied down to be offered as a type of You, O Unique Offering!

✞ Grant my will in You to be a priest, and my life to be a burnt-offering.
Smell all my deeds, my words and my thoughts a thanksgiving sacrifice, which is accepted to You!

✞ O my soul, do not be disturbed with Joseph,
because the aging Jacob has laid his right hand on Ephraim's head, who is the younger, and his left hand on Menesseh's head, who is the firstborn (Gen. 48)
I will not take hold of my father, Jacob's hand saying:
"Not so, my father.."
because he will tell me; "I know, my son, I know."
Your hands took the shape of the cross...
I also know with you, father Jacob.
I knew that the cross is the source of every blessing to all my children.
Let me bow, with all my being, under my God's hand,

But I see heaven and earth were getting ready for that day from the beginning of creation!
Behold my whole life is considered nothing but a preparation for the joy of this redemption and its blessings!

✞ I wonder, what did the myriad of priests do in Hades,
Now that they had found out that all the mysteries of their services and rites were revealed on that day?!
How many birds were slain to smear their blood on other living birds, which were set free to fly,
to declare the healing of lepers.
Now, not a bird, but You, O Incarnate Word, shed Your blood,
and rose from the dead to carry with You every soul whom You had purified by the blood of Your cross.
You fly with her, not in the air, but to the heart of heaven.
and You admit her into Your Father's bosom.
I can see You clearly, my Savior, in all the rituals of my worship, and in all my proceedings!
What can I say?
In all events, with every believer, in every prayer,
Your cross appears to me!
Verily, Your apostle says, "..before whose eyes Jesus Christ was clearly portrayed among you as crucified."
May the portrait of Your cross never leave my sight,
and never disappear from my thoughts!

LET ME ACCOMPANY ALL YOUR PROPHETS ON THEIR WAY TO THE CRUCIFIXION

✞ Let me accompany all Your prophets,
When they assemble to meditate Your deeds, and walk with them to the cross.
David the king and prophet, my father, saw You and said, "Why do the nations rage, and the people plot a vain thing?!

✞ Why are you amazed, O Zacharaiah the prophet?
You saw the darkness had covered the face of the earth.
It was ashamed of its creator, who was hanged on the cross.
You did not know whether night time had already come.
It was the sixth hour!
Or was it day time? Darkness had covered the face of the earth!
Let Your cross dwell in my heart!
There will be no day or night.
My inmost soul will be ashamed of what my sins have done to You!
Darkness has ruled over my life, but only temporarily.
Rise, O Sun of Righteousness,
And enlighten my interior with the Joy of Your resurrection.

✞ Elisha became sad when an ax head fell in water,
But the ax head floated on the surface!
My soul has sunk in raging waters.
Throw Your cross into my life, then I shall rise over the waters of the world!
Through the cross You descended into Hades, to raise me to Your paradise!

✞ I ask You importunately; let me join all Your prophets,
and walk with them in the procession of Your cross.
Then I will rejoice my conquest over the powers of injustice.
I will enjoy life and resurrection.

Inspirations of Bright Saturday

OUR CHRIST IS TAKING SPOILS

✞ Our Christ became our Greatest Advocate, who interceded to His Father on our behalf, and reconciled us with Him. Through commending His Soul, and His descending to Hades, He broke its bolts, and carried away from it all the souls of those who had died in patient expectation of His salvation. These were the spoils that He carried to His Father.

✞ He is the Chief Commander who comes leading His church's procession, dashing into the den of Satan and enters Hades where he lives. It was not possible for the evil one to hold Him there, or for the powers of Hades to imprison Him, or for the sepulchre to hold Him.

WHERE ARE THE BOLTS OF HADES?!

✞ You carried the soul of the thief with You to Your paradise.
You smashed the bolts of Hades,
And opened the gates of paradise to humanity!

✞ Tell me, O Greatest Commander!
How did the Myriad of the believers' souls receive You?
They long waited for Your arrival.
They did not try to come close to the bolts of Hades.
They were extremely weak,
tied down as prisoners, with no power or ability!

✞ Now they renewed the hymns of resurrection, which they had enchanted during their expatriation here on earth.
They received You, O Greatest Savior, with songs of conquest!

Inspirations of Easter Sunday
- The Feast of the Holy Resurrection

WHO COULD GET ME OUT OF MY GRAVE?

✞ You called upon me through the prophet Ezekiel:
"Come out of your graves, O my people."
How can I come out of my grave?
Who will give me life, so I can rise?
Who will untie my bandages?
Who can open the door my grave?

✞ You alone have the power to lay Your life down,
And have the power to take it again!
You offered Your body up to death, but it was not capable to hold You.
You were risen, my Savior, in might!

✞ Let me unite with You, and rise with You.
All my bodily will, which was limiting my freedom, will dissolve.
The door of my grave will open, and I shall run away from its darkness.

✞ My heart became unclean, and full of darkness.
You turn graves into holy places, and produce light out of darkness.
Say a word, and my nature would change from corruption to incorruption,
From humiliation to glory with You, from weakness to the experience of Your power.

✞ I became a prisoner of my ego,
I became like a dead man in his grave.
I want to get out of my grave, out of my selfishness,
I want to carry Your love to everyone.

Or are they the arrows of Your love for me?
You are the Divine Arrow...
Aim into my heart, and I will shout:
“I am wounded by love!”

WHO IS GOING TO ROLL AWAY THE STONE FOR US?

✞ Every new morning my soul shouts:
Who is going to roll away the stone for me?
My inner mouth wants to enchant the joyous hymn of resurrection!
Send Your angels to roll away for the stone of my grave.
But only You can grant me resurrection!
My sin kills me every day, but Your resurrection gives me life!

COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH
Diocese of Sydney and affiliated Regions
Pope Shenouda III Coptic Theological College
Sydney- Australia

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

According to the rites of
The Coptic Orthodox
Church

By

Rev. Fr. Tadros El-Bakhoumi

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, King of Kings and Lord of lords

**THE BEHOLDER OF GOD
MARK THE EVANGELIST
SAINT AND MARTYR**

H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

His Grace Bishop Daniel
Bishop of Sydney and Affeliated Regions

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

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RITUAL THEOLOGY I

INTRODUCTION

We will introduce our course on Ritual Theology by reference to two verses of our Lord, recorded in the Gospel of St. John:

> "*God is Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth*" (John 4:24)

> "*It is the Spirit Who gives life; the flesh profits nothing. The words that I speak to you are spirit, and they are life.*" (John 6:63)

These verses encourage us to study the rituals of the Holy Church, not as a dry academic exercise, but in spirit and as life – indeed, as a life to live.

Before beginning it is necessary to make one point very clear. As I discuss the rituals of the Holy Church, whether the rituals of the Holy Mass as one of the Sacraments, or the rituals of the church herself which were delivered to us by the fathers the apostles from generation to generation; You will detect significant differences in what I shall teach about the rituals of the Holy Coptic Orthodox Church and those of other Christian denominations, such as the Roman Catholic or Anglican Churches. What I shall do is to inform you of the rituals as they have been defined and practised by tradition within the Church herself; a tradition which has been passed down from the Holy Apostles, who received it at the hands of our Lord Himself. This tradition has been thoroughly passed down from one generation to another – thus the rituals of the Church have a direct relationship to the Holy Bible and to the Apostolic Fathers from the first centuries of Christianity. We know from the four gospels that the Lord spent about three and half years teaching His twelve disciples and apostles everything; and also from the Book of Acts that the Lord after His holy resurrection spent forty days appearing to His holy apostles informing them about all what concerns the church edification (Acts 1: 3).

It is important initially to discuss the term Ritual Theology itself in a little more detail. It is significant that in Arabic the term for 'theology' ('el-lahout') incorporates both the terms 'divinity' and 'theology'. Thus when we discuss Ritual Theology we should be careful to include both these senses in our understanding of the term. It follows that, with a prior knowledge of the Arabic, we can extend the traditional meaning of 'theology' in English.

Traditionally theology (from 'Theos' in Greek which means 'God', and 'logos' which means the 'word', or 'study of') has meant the study of all things pertaining to God. When we add the additional meanings from Arabic we can infer that 'theology' is both the 'science' of the study of God, and also the (presence of the) divinity of God Himself. Thus when we speak of Ritual Theology we are studying both the theology of the rituals of the Holy Church, and also, through this study, we can simply understand and learn of theological understandings and spiritual meanings seen in the rituals practised.

The science of theology is so broad that it has tended to be separated into various related disciplines. At the root, or the base, of these divisions is systematic theology (sometimes

termed ‘theoretical theology’), which is the branch of theology that deals with God Himself, His characteristics and attributes, as well as the systematic study of the theological underpinnings of the Holy Trinity. Related to this study are the smaller, but still very significant, strands of theology: dogmatic; spiritual; moral; pastoral etc. Each of these branches of study is concerned with how we may understand God’s revelation to us and how we may reach a true knowledge of Him. Naturally this study is founded upon the Holy Bible which is the core of tradition, and which is the foundation from which we may verify the teachings and authority of the Church itself. It follows that our study will be based very firmly upon the biblical traditions of our Fathers.

When we examine the rituals of the Holy Church we are not concerned solely with studying them in themselves (their order, their practices etc), nor even with penetrating the spiritual depths and meaning which underpin these rituals (while this is very important to our life in the church), but more than any other motivation we are trying to find the presence of God in these ritual procedures. It follows that, as we examine the ceremonies of the Church we shall be trying to determine exactly what point the Holy Spirit, through the Church, is trying to make clear to us. In other words, we shall be attempting to come close to the rituals of the Church in order to find which particular concept and fact is embodied in each ritual, thus we can determine whether one specific practice refers to the Father Himself, or to our Lord Jesus Christ, and if the latter, which ones refer to His Incarnation, His life, His Crucifixion, His Burial, His Resurrection from the dead, His Ascension and so on. Thus our goal is to examine the rituals so as to understand the practice (its meaning and spiritual significance) and thereby how we may relate this understanding to Christ our Lord, and thus to come closer to Him.

From the above we can attempt a fuller definition of the aims of studying Ritual theology, to gain an understanding of the theology and divinity of the rituals of the Holy Church, to find God in the praises offered to Him from within the Church herself and ideally to discover that this knowledge will lead me to God Himself.

It seems that many people understand that the word ‘ritual’ means not much more than the ‘order’ of the Church’s services. Thus some will say that a study of the Church rituals is simply a study of how they are done, and the order in which they are completed. It is true, in fact, to say that the order of the rituals is very important as the rituals were designed by the Holy Spirit to lead us ever-increasingly towards perceiving God, and to have Him embodied in our minds, eyes and understanding. It is significant that a simple man or woman, uneducated in the study of theology, will, if he or she simply follows the rituals and practices in full with the understanding which this engenders, be led towards God and will develop an appreciation for the fundamental theological teachings of the Church. Nevertheless, this is one of the profound beauties of our Church – that, whilst the simple will experience God through the rituals of the Church, those who wish to study the practices of the Church more deeply will be amply rewarded for their trouble.

A study of the rituals of the Church will reveal how the Holy Spirit has arranged the services throughout the year to reveal a deep and abiding knowledge of the story of Christianity itself, of Christ Himself, and for the sacrifice he made to redeem us all following the Fall of mankind. The round of rituals of the whole Coptic year will reinforce our understanding of the whole of Christ’s life in the flesh on Earth for our salvation; His Incarnation, life, Crucifixion, death and His holy Resurrection. The rituals also teach us about the establishment of our beloved Church here on earth through our Redemption by the blood of

our Saviour on the Cross. Indeed, as we contemplate in the struggling Church on earth, our minds are drawn heavenward to a vision of the other half of the Church, which is the Victorious Church in Paradise. For the Church on earth is but one part of the Church, the Body of Christ is comprised of that part which struggles in its earthly life here, as well as that part which is victorious in Paradise and all are bound together in the one Body.

The rituals, arranged by the Holy Spirit, raise our souls, step by step, towards this victorious Church. It is through the practices of the Church that all the faithful desire Heaven and strive towards achieving it. The believer, who lives the life of the Church through her rituals, will live in the depths of our Lord Jesus Christ and will be led gradually to unity in Christ Himself. Indeed, this may explain to us why our Lord Jesus Christ would attend the synagogue every Saturday with the Jews. He did not go because he needed to, of course, but simply in order to teach us that without a Church and her rituals, we cannot survive in Christ or, ultimately, in God Himself.

What is Ritual Theology all about?

Though in the time available to us I shall try to cover as much as I am able with regard to the science of theology, and all that, which pertains to it, I doubt that we will be able to cover all that it contains. But at least you will have an idea of the subject, and of its sub-sections. Thus when you come to examine ritual theology you will be aware that it contains pure theology, pure tradition, pure Bible study and pure spirituality which you can clearly discern for yourselves once you practise the rituals with understanding.

Ritual Theology covers such subjects as:
The church building itself and the spiritual nature of ecclesiastical architecture.
The furnishings and interior of the church building
The functions of the furnishings and ritual objects
The study of iconography and iconology (i.e. the theology of the icons)
The design of the exterior and interior of the church building itself
The essential areas of the interior (The Iconstasis, the Baptistry, the Sanctuary etc)
The origins and study of the function of these portions of the church building
The ceremonial practices of the Sacraments
The church hymnody and hymnology (the study of the Church tunes, hymns etc)
The origin and foundation of Coptic hymnody, as well as their construction
The spirituality and theology of the various Feasts of the Coptic Year
The fixed calendar of Feasts, as well as ‘variable’ Feasts
The categories of service books of the Church
The hidden mystery of the order of the readings of the Church etc.

Whenever you visit a Church you will be aware of the readings of the Holy Mass, the Gospel of evening incense raising (‘vespers’), the Gospel of morning incense raising (‘matins’), the Pauline Epistle, the Catholicon, the Praxis (Acts) as well as the Gospel of the Mass etc. Have you ever wondered why each reading has been chosen by the Holy Spirit for a particular day, and how they are related to one another? Why is it that some of these praises are mixed together in particular ways and at particular times? What about the different praises offered at specific times such as Pentecost, and the rules which govern their use? Have you ever wondered about the oils used in the Church, for instance, or any other of the materials employed in the Sacraments, or indeed what conditions apply to the offering of certain materials? To be honest, a course such as this one could easily be divided into five or six

sections, and each section turned into a course of its own. Nevertheless we will examine each in as much detail as time allows and, by means of these notes, coupled with those you have each taken from the seminars, you may leave with a much improved knowledge of the rituals of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

Why do we need to study Ritual Theology?

There are many reasons why we, especially, need to study the rituals of our Holy Church. It is quite true to say that of all the Christian churches in the world, ours has maintained the rituals which were used by our ancestors in the Faith many centuries ago – indeed, even from the beginning of Christianity. So we should examine the ceremonial practices of our Church to put us in tune with the worship, which has gone on in the Coptic Church without change from its very beginnings.

It is also true to suggest that it is likely that our Church conducts some of the longest services of any Christian denomination. A knowledge of the theological meanings which underlie the rituals will enhance our enjoyment of these long services and mean that you, like me, will never find the long services boring. Indeed, I find that I enjoy the long services very much and that they are truly rewarding – so much so that I wish I could go back to the monastery where we used to pray the Holy Mass in its fuller form, which is much longer again. And we did it every day! At the moment you attend the English Mass here and feel that it is long – much longer than the services of the Anglican or the Roman Catholic churches – but you would be shocked to learn that the Coptic Mass which you attend is in fact half, or even less than half, of the full proper Coptic Mass which is prayed in Coptic with its original tunes. In fact here I am speaking about the basic liturgy of St. Basil, which we use today, but if we were to pray the Mass of St. Gregory, with its distinct long tunes in Coptic, you would find that from the recitation of the Creed until the end of the Mass would take at least four hours. And this does not include everything that came before the Creed.

I should confess that out of curiosity this year and last year I have examined the newspapers, such as the ‘Leader’ or the local newspapers during Easter time (here I am using the terms you know, though I should like to call ‘Good Friday’ by its correct name of ‘The Holy Great Friday’, and ‘Easter’ by the proper term ‘The Feast of the Resurrection’ and ‘Christmas’ by the term ‘The Feast of the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ’), and I have discovered that the longest service on the whole page is two hours, whilst as you well know, ours goes from 8am through until 6pm. And even so, we are pushing to finish everything in time! And what about the vigil of Joyous Saturday? It seems that no-one else but us does this service any more. For myself, I know that in church we start at 10:30pm and do not finish until 6:30 or 7am, whilst in the monastery we would begin at 10pm and not finish until 8am! In fact, I once attended the vigil, or overnight watch, at Deir El-Muharraq (the Monastery of the Holy Virgin) in upper Egypt. There we read the entire book of the Apocalypse, or Revelation, in Coptic and then repeated it in Arabic!

From the above we must recognise that our Coptic Orthodox church is indeed a unique one. On some occasions, I have met with various ministers and priests from other churches and they have often been shocked when I explain the length and nature of our services. I have sometimes felt that they must think that we are not from here at all, but from another planet! Some years ago, when Barry Unsworth was State Premier, we would conduct with him and various religious leaders a monthly prayer breakfast in the Rockdale region. In the other churches it was the habit to begin eating and, after 25 minutes of eating, we would then pray

for 5 minutes (some with food still in their mouths!). When it came to my turn to host the prayer breakfast, I began with a prayer before eating, which surprised many. When I began with ‘In the Name of the Father, and the Son … etc’ a large number were amazed and thought it was some sort of heresy as they had never prayed that way before. This might indicate to you just how far many of the other Christian denominations have strayed from their origins.

From my experience as a father of Confession for many young people, it has come to my attention that they are often accused by others of being part of a Church, which is ‘too strict’ and has ‘much too long rituals’ which ‘are not understood by the faithful’. This is an accusation which is still made. It is to address this accusation that we have begun studying this course in the rituals of the Holy Coptic Orthodox Church, so that this generation may be well able to answer such erroneous beliefs for themselves and, in so doing, follow the instructions of St. Peter who told us to:

> “*…sanctify the Lord God in your hearts, and always be ready to give defense to everyone who asks you a reason for the hope that is in you …*” (1 Peter 3:16)

It is for this reason that I shall begin this study of the rituals of the Holy Church with an examination of their sources, in fact, I have not needed to go beyond the writings from the Holy Apostolic Fathers up to the First Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325. Before this time the Church was undivided so this should be sufficient proof that our Church was not following anything unoriginal or false, or indeed was just a continuation of the Old Testament worship and priesthood. The result of this survey of the sources from the earliest centuries of Christianity will prove that we are following the Lord Jesus Christ in truth and ‘in the Spirit’ just as the Holy Bible has informed us. In this context it might be interesting to remember the story of Naboth the Jezreelite (1 Kings 21:1-13) who refused to sell his inheritance of land to his neighbour king Ahab. For this loyalty to the inheritance of his ancestors Naboth was killed. This is a moral lesson for us all, particularly those who have so easily abandoned the traditions and faith of our Fathers.

The Linguistic Origin of the term ‘Ritual’

The English word ‘Ritual’ is a translation of the Coptic word of ‘Taxis’. This word refers to the order or rite of the practices and services of the Church, and from it comes the Arabic word ‘Tux’. From this term we can understand that the word, in its fullness, refers to the rites or rituals or order of things to be done, so this course on ritual theology will comprise a study of the rites of the Church with special regard for their theology and tradition, belief and spirituality which are their foundation. To aid you in your research of this field there is a set of notes on this topic which I found amongst the previous notes for this course. In fact these notes, detailing the philosophical and psychological roots of ritual, are based upon the writings of His Grace Bishop Gregorios, which were published over thirty years ago. These introductory notes are of benefit, and I advise students to study them.

Our traditional Church and other denominations

Here I should like to emphasis our response to an accusation to which I alluded to earlier – an accusation sometimes made by other Christian denominations whose experience of us is limited – which suggests that the Coptic Church is still living in the Old Testament (or indeed, within the Old Dispensation). This subject could be studied at length but I shall restrict myself to the following:

1. It is entirely and abundantly clear from the New Testament that our Lord did not cancel or expunge (destroy) the Old Testament, but that He came to earth in order to fulfil the promise and the symbols of the Old Testament.

2. The rituals of the Old Testament were not dry, lifeless or empty as some claim, but were in fact very deep, rich and alive expressions of worship. Indeed whoever studies the Old Testament closely will find that our Lord Jesus Christ is continually prefigured in its pages (ie He is alluded to in the fullest possible symbolic sense). As we study the rituals of the Church we will appreciate the continuity of the Old and New testaments which both meet in one center; that is OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. When we examine the rituals of Christian Baptism, we will come to a full understanding of its theological profundity, and then more fully appreciate the sacramental act of Baptism, which exists at the very beginning of the Holy Bible in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis. If we study diligently the books of the Old Testament, as well as the rituals, practices and instructions which they contain, we will be led easily to Jesus Christ, as we will be able to perceive that throughout these books we will encounter many extraordinary symbols of the our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. The symbolic rituals of the Old Testament were not swept away by Our Lord, but were fulfilled and reinvigorated by Him. He did not cancel or end these rituals, but renewed their spiritual meaning in a way which gave them clarity and richness. The rituals which He thus renewed confirm that He is the fulfilment of Old Testament expectation, so they have become spiritually significant and enlivened by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Therefore the rituals of the Church are a continuation of the rituals of the Old Testament, but because they are empowered by the Holy Spirit in a profoundly spiritual sense they provide for us a means of salvation. We should remember that our Lord, Who created us and Who knows we live in limited flesh, also knows that we are affected by the physical world around us. It follows, that He has provided rituals for us as He knows that their practice influences and motivates us, and moves us deeply inside. For this reason He instituted the rituals of the Old Testament and continued them, in a wholly spiritual way, in the New Testament.

4. To suggest that the Old Testament is one thing, and the New Testament is another, or to say that they have no linkage between them, is simply wrong. The Holy Bible is comprised of two sections, an Old and a New Testament, with one leading as a natural progression to the other. In actual fact, we can understand the Bible most effectively in the following way: Open a book., imagine that on one side you have the Old Testament with all of its rites and practices and on the other side you have the New Testament with the establishment of the Church and all of her rites and practices. In a basic and simple way we can see that both of them lead to our Lord Jesus Christ, and for anyone to suggest that we follow the Old Testament alone is an indication that perhaps they do not understand the Bible at all. (see illustration next page)

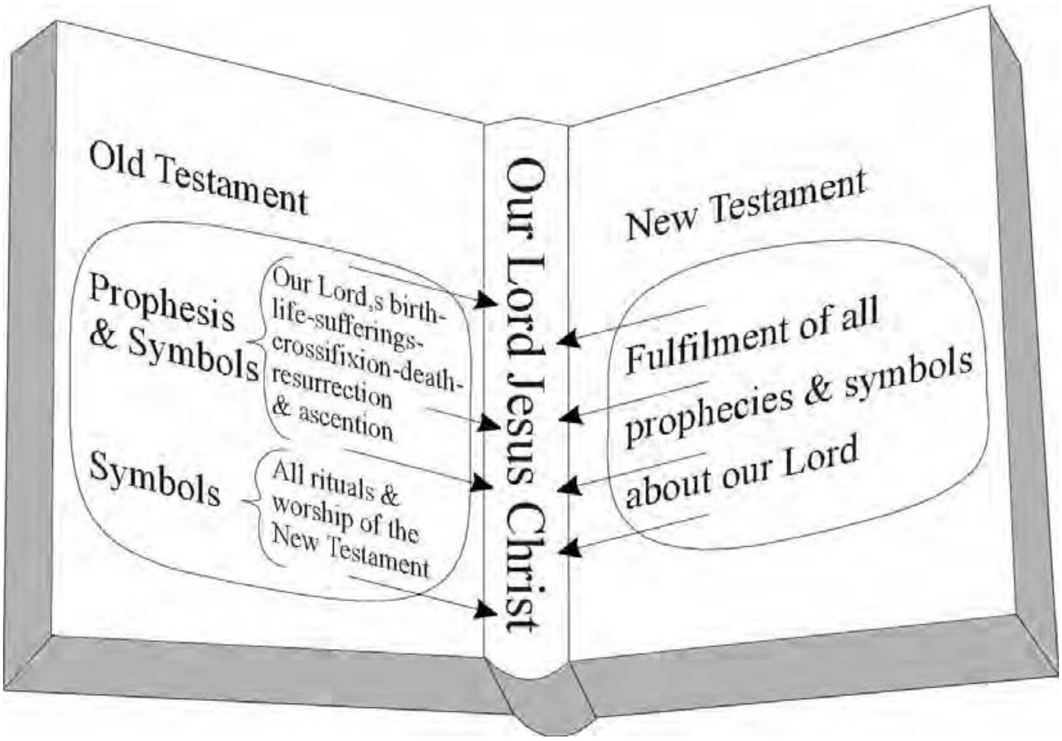

5. The thing that makes the Old Testament highly important in the life of the Church is that God Himself ordered all that was done in it. As you all know there is a verse in the Holy Bible which tells us that the Holy Bible is the book of God, and all what is in it is inspired by the Holy Spirit to the holy men to write it. Further, we are told that God is the same as He was yesterday, today and tomorrow. He never changes. How then can we expect that the multitude of rites and forms of worship, which He instituted in the Old Testament, and described in minute detail to Moses, are now somehow cancelled or made redundant? Has God changed His mind? Certainly not! If it is the same God Whom we worship today, as they did during the Old Testament times, then surely He requires of us similar worship and rites.

I just wished to mention to you these answers to the accusation that we are a Church of the Old Testament as you may well be faced with similar questions and opinions in your life as a teacher or servant. During our study we will return again and again to the origins of the worship and rites of the Old Testament in order to come to a fuller understanding about how these practices of Old and New have been united in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION ONE

Introduction

1. It is now time to turn to the sources of the rituals, as well as to their theological foundation. The sources of the rituals of the Church are as follows:
2. The Holy Bible
3. The Books of the Holy Apostles
4. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers
5. The writings of the disciples of the Holy Apostles, the first generation after the Apostolic Fathers
6. The writings of the Fathers of the Church, her scholars and teachers, during the first four centuries before the Council of Nicea in 325, which have great relevance as they come from the period in which the Churches of the world were united in Christ.
7. The Books of the Church which detail the orders of service. The oldest is named "The Order of the Holy Church of God", a very large book which is kept in the Patriarchal Library in Egypt. There are other smaller books which further explain the rituals of the Church.

We shall study these sources for ritual from a couple of perspectives:

1. The importance of these resources as references with undoubted merits
2. Assessing the order of importance of these sources, and to ascertain which parts contain commentary or instruction on ritual.

Another important area for study is the depiction of rituals within the Holy Bible itself. As this is an extremely broad and profound topic, it requires a great deal of examination and so we may select this field of investigation as an assignment topic.

The importance of the resources which support rituals

The ancient resources that contain materials relating to rituals are of the greatest importance for the Holy Church and its ritual life for the following reasons:

1. The origins of the rites of the Church are portrayed within their historical context;
2. What valuable spiritual insights into faith and theology which these early resources offer.

The Historical Context

1. The first of these ancient resources which chronicle the ritual life of the Church are the two books of the Holy Apostles which are filled with their teachings. They are known by the names The Didascalia and The Didache. They were completed by the Holy Apostles after the Holy Spirit descended upon them in the upper room of Zion, the room belonging to the family of St. Mark which was used by our Lord for the Last Supper. It must be remembered that all of the Apostles' words and teachings were directed by the Holy Spirit, as we can determine from Acts 15:28:

> "*For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us to lay upon you no greater burden that these necessary things*."

We will begin our study of the sources of rituals from the writings of the Holy Fathers who lived and wrote before the First Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325, they are often called the Ante-Nicene Fathers. The importance of these writings can be ascertained from their historical importance as documents which chronicle the earliest times of the Christian Church. They begin with the writings and canons of the Holy Apostles which were written following a couple of extraordinary important events. In the first place these writings comprise the materials which our Lord taught directly to the Apostles during His Life among us on earth. In the second place (though no less importance) come the writings which come from the period during which the Lord stayed with the Apostles following His Resurrection from the dead. As it is written in the Book of Acts, our Lord spent 40 days with the Apostles following His Resurrection and during this time He taught them all manner of things pertaining to the Church and to the Kingdom of God and heaven. We might well ask ourselves where these writings are recorded? When we go through the gospels thoroughly we may well find 25 or 26 occasions where these private teachings are mentioned, yet the substance of them is never recorded in words. In fact when we come to the end of the Gospels, (i.e. to the end of the Gospel of St. John) we discover that the Blessed Apostle suggests to us that if all the things which our Lord Jesus Christ both did and taught to His Apostles were to have been recorded, then the world itself would not be enough to contain the books written. Where are these writings then? Surely they are of prime importance?

To answer these questions we must remember the so-called "Paraclete" chapters of the Gospel of St. John (ie John 14-17). In these chapters, which are always read in full in the very first hour of the evening of the Holy Great Friday during the Holy Pascha, our Lord told the Holy Apostles that when the Holy Spirit comes, "He will teach you all things, and bring to you remembrance all things that I said to you" (John 14:26). It follows that when the Holy Spirit had come upon them, and their minds were filled with the remembrance of all of our Lord's teachings, they recorded them very carefully in words as instructions and canons so that the Church would be organised and its rituals administered exactly according to the wishes which our Lord expressed to His Apostles.

In fact, if we examine the Book of Acts, Chapter 15, we will find a mention about the very first ecumenical council of the Church, the so-called Jerusalem Council, comprising of the Holy Apostles themselves, and conducted in the year 50 after our Lord. The Apostles sat together and prayed and then discussed a number of matters pertaining to the Church. Their conclusions were written down for all of the congregations to see. This letter contained the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us …" (Acts 15:28) which indicates to us that everything they said, as well as everything they wrote, was completed under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and thus in accord with the will of God.

2. The second generation of writings from which we can learn much with regard to the rituals of the Holy Church are those of the Apostolic Fathers, who themselves were the direct disciples of the Holy Apostles. These Holy Fathers lived with the Apostles and were taught directly by them. This established the chain of teaching whereby the words and instructions of our Lord Himself were delivered intact from one generation to the next. It is wrong, then, to deny the genuineness of these writings, particularly when we consider that this 'chain of transmission' was spoken of directly by St. Paul, who tells his disciples that what he has given them, they must also give to others – on the condition that they are honest people who are able to keep the faith and deliver it to the holy

Apostolic Fathers – to transmit the teachings of the Apostles to the next generation, and the process would continue.

The period of the Apostolic Fathers covers the time from around the year 50/60 A.D. (ie the period following the period of the martyrdom of the first Apostles) until about 90/100 A.D. We should remember that the last Apostle to die was St. John the Beloved who reposed in the Lord in the year 104 A.D., the only Apostle not to have been called to a martyr's death. Thus we can here see a cross-over between the period of the Apostles and the first generation of Apostolic Fathers who were taught by them. This process continues to the present day with the elders of the Church teaching those who are junior to them in the Faith. So it was that the third generation of Holy Fathers are those we call the Ante-Nicene Fathers (those who wrote before the First Council, and who received their instructions in a direct line from the Apostles and Apostolic Fathers, and so on).

It is important here to observe that we have further cause to believe categorically all things taught to us by the Apostolic and Ante-Nicene ("post-Apostolic") Fathers. We must remember that these Fathers lived in very dangerous times and underwent much persecution at the hands of both the Roman and the Jewish authorities. In fact we know that many of the Jews wanted to destroy everything to do with Christianity from a very early period. In fact if we examine Acts 5:28 we notice that the Jewish authorities arrested the Apostles and forcibly reminded them that they did not wish to hear the name of Jesus Christ and that the Apostles were not allowed to preach – indeed, the Apostles were beaten for their evangelising. It is important to recognise then that the writings of the Apostles and early Fathers were not written as an individual today may write a book (that is for enjoyment), but were written under severe persecution. It is no exaggeration to say that these writings were penned in the authors' blood, because the Fathers practised every word they wrote and were martyred as a result. The price of these writings was the lives of the Fathers, their possessions, their honour, their dignity, and in fact their very existence as human beings.

- The inherent difficulties in studying the material

Another point to emphasise in our examination of the early writings of the Church Fathers is that the references to ritual and the ceremonial practices of the Church may be scattered through many books, with a sentence here and there which relates to ritual, so we have to be patient and conscientious in examining the sources to discover all of the relevant material. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. The difficulty which exists in describing and explaining the rituals of the Church, as well as the mystery of the Sacraments, to those who are pagans and do not understand the language used.

   An example of this difficulty is evident when we read the passage about Nicodemus in the Gospel of St. John, chapter 3. Nicodemus was a teacher of the law, aware of the Old Testament in detail, a prominent person amongst the Jews and he knew St. John the Baptist, yet even he could not understand the significance of Baptism. How much more difficult it would be then for a pagan who knows nothing of the Jewish tradition of the Old Testament, to understand such a thing. Imagine if I took a pagan and showed him some water and said that I, as a priest, could pray over the water and by washing him with it grant to him a new nature. It is certain he would not understand anything I was saying. Thus the brave early Church Fathers had to contend with great ignorance and employed terms with which people identified. It could not have been easy!

2. The difficult circumstances within the early Church

The situation which the Church faced was very hard and challenging and they were often misunderstood. For example, we know that when we begin the Mass with the offertory we are offering a sacrifice. We also know that the priest who officiates at the service is called “to receive the sacrifice” on behalf of the congregation. Well, in the early times, when many of the pagans heard this they thought that a human sacrifice was being offered, so sometimes the pagans or the civil authorities or the army attacked the Church to stop such a sacrifice. This is just one amongst many misunderstandings with which the early Fathers had to deal.

3. In the early centuries, the Church was understandingly hesitant about new-believers. The Fathers were concerned that those who knew a little about Christianity, but did not accept Christ in their hearts, might go out and tell others what they knew, and that what they said would be misinterpreted.

   In fact in the early centuries unbelievers (the unbaptised) were kept for three or more years under instruction in the Faith, and they were not allowed to attend the Mass of the Faithful and were told to leave the Mass after the Creed and the first Prayer of Reconciliation. In proof of this, you might like to examine the writings of some Holy Fathers like St. Ignatius of Lyons or St. Polycarp of Smyrna, both of whom were disciples of St. John the Beloved. In their sermons, which we have copies of today, and which were delivered after the Gospel while the catechumens (the unbaptised persons who were taking instruction in the Faith) are still present in the church; the fathers at the end of the sermon used to ask them to leave the church. For the catechumens here, the fathers’ speeches were as if ‘under a veil, under a cover’ and the fathers always used terms such as ‘there are many other things which I will tell you when we are alone’. The meaning of this is clear, that much more would be revealed when the baptised members of the Church were together alone. Thus we can see how the Fathers of the Church kept much of their teachings for the baptised members of the congregation and did not let it get into the hands of the ignorant for fear that Christian teachings may be misrepresented or twisted. They remembered clearly the words of our Lord that we are not to throw our pearls or our precious things before swine and dogs, as they may trample them underfoot and destroy them. The Church was rightly very cautious and thus was able to keep her rites and ceremonies correct and properly administered. For this reason it requires a well-educated person to read the writings of the early Fathers in order to extract from them what there is to know about rituals, ritual theology, tradition and so on. So it often happens that one line or one paragraph will contain small amounts of information for the interested reader.

- **Why are the writings of the Apostles and the Apostolic Fathers of such importance?**
- No-one can doubt the references in Holy Scripture, that is, the Holy Bible, which refer to ritual practice. Equally no-one can doubt the authenticity and authority of the writings and canons of the holy apostles. The area of contention for some, exists in the period following the apostolic fathers. Though we employ many of the writings of the post-apostolic fathers, and those who wrote after the first council at Nicea, within the Church, when we discuss the rituals and teachings of the Church, we normally rely heavily on the writings of the Pre-Nicene Fathers (ie pre-325 AD). The reasons for this are as follows:

1. The period which stretched from the Holy Apostles to the First Council was one in which Christendom (the universal Christian Church) was one in Faith, and all teachings and practices were common. In fact, if you were to have attended a Mass anywhere in the

Christian world at the time before Nicea, you would have discovered that all things were identical in matters of Faith. The rituals, the dates of celebrating the fasts and feasts, the construction of the Holy Mass, and the rest, were all common in the doctrine of the Faith. The only differences were to be found in culture and language. In fact, the most obvious sign of the differences in culture was the hymnody of each Church (ie the hymns and chants used in services). As we know the hymns of the Church contain within themselves the spiritual, theological, and traditional teachings of the Church, but they may well be chanted in tunes to match the culture of the people involved. In Egypt, for example, the people inherited the wondrous tunes from the era of the Pharoahs which they particularly loved and which they applied to the hymns of the Church. In other areas, such as Europe, you would find a very different culture and so the tunes would be equally different, and equally specific to the place and people, though the teachings would be identical.

2. During this early period the Church was still establishing herself in a hostile environment and her services were being held in secret, often underground or in caves. This secret worship was conducted, not to avoid persecution, but so the various forms of persecution would not spoil the Sacraments or the reverence given to them. Further, during this time, the Church was growing towards its gradual completion in writings and so forth for, though the Church was established fully in the time of the Apostles, the Apostolic and Pre-Nicene Fathers made sure to record all that they knew and experienced in order to pass it onto future generations. We should remember St. Paul informing his disciple St. Timothy to keep and to pass-on everything he has learned to good and faithful disciples that it may be maintained. We should here remember the concluding passage from the Prayer for the Congregation of the Holy Saints from the liturgy which states that just as it was, so shall it be from generation to generation.

3. In this period the majority of the most terrible heresies and heretics appeared in the Church; up to 90-95% of the major heresies in the history of the Church. The heretics could not, or chose not to, understand the high values and standards required by true Christianity; they were caught between wishing to appear as true Christians (and leaders to other Christians) and the desire to continue their lives as they had before conversion. As a result they chose to force the two paths into one instead of undergoing a true spiritual conversion; often this resulted in terrible heresy. A heresy is a wrong understanding or a wrong teaching about the faith and the teachings or practices of the Church. Against such heretics the whole Church came together in unity, led by the Holy Spirit and the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ. The entire Church argued and debated against these heretics and answered them with strong and irrefutable proofs from the Bible in order to maintain the purity of the original teachings from our Lord and the Apostles. From this period we might remember that during the First Ecumenical Council held in Nicea in 325, King Constantine, the first Christian king, attempted to count the bishops as they entered and departed from the council room. As the bishops entered, he counted 318; as they were seated he counted 319. He repeated the exercise a number of times and was confused – he then asked the head of the council to explain the dilemma. The head stated that the extra person was in fact our Lord Jesus Christ Who had said that where 2 or 3 were gathered in His Name, He would be in their midst. This presence of our Lord amidst the deliberations indicates the value of the writings of the Pre-Nicene Fathers.

4. An important means of determining the validity and truthfulness of the writings of the Pre-Nicene Fathers is to notice the humility and reverence with which each of them wrote. Regularly they would refer to the Fathers who had come before them as the real authorities. Thus St. Athanasius the Apostolic used regularly to refer to the Fathers who lived before him in the second generation of Christianity. This is an indication of the holiness of a man who, though only 19 years old and a deacon at the time of the First Ecumenical Council, was the one voice who spoke above all of the bishops and who drafted the Creed. Yet he, in humility, referred to the writings of the Fathers who preceded him. The same is true for Pope St. Dioscoros who constantly referred to St. Cyril, the 24th in the order of the Patriarchs with the words, "Our holy father St. Cyril said …".

Spiritual Insights

Aside from what these early writings offer us in terms of their historical value as testimonials to the activities of early Church, we need also to study their value as repositories of faith and theology.

1. These writings were not produced simply in order to publish books or to fill libraries or even to please kings and emperors, but they were completed by holy men who knew before they began that they must write of the Church in all her strength and glory, even though the price might not be measured by money but by their own blood.

2. These holy men suffered greatly in their writings in terms of financial, emotional and physical loss. They often paid not only with their possessions and all of their honour and dignity, but also with their blood simply so as to pass on to others the faith which had been delivered unto them. There are many examples. St. Timothy, a young deacon in Egypt, was beaten to death by the Arians as he wished to prevent them using the holy alter and Sanctuary for their sacrifices.

3. As we read the writings of these holy fathers we can detect the depth of their understanding and we can notice that their eyes have been raised to heaven as their hands write. We feel the bravery and purity of their writing as they are prepared to write what needs to be written regardless of the potential for physical harm and danger which stands over them.

4. One of the values of these writings, especially the Fathers of the first generations after the Council of Chalcedon in 415 A.D. (in which the Church was divided into two), is that we can recognise that the number of our Orthodox believers grew, even under strict and terrible persecution from the hands of opposing Christians. This growth was attributable to the insistence of the early Fathers that the teachings of the earliest times be recorded and passed on from one generation to the next.

All of the above points emphasise to us the very real historical, spiritual and theological value of the resources of the early Church as contained in the writings of the Early Fathers. We should incorporate what they have to teach us into our lives and apply these teachings just as we do the teachings of the Holy Bible.

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION TWO

Biblical References for The Rituals

Introduction

We will now examine in depth a very important topic for Sacramental Theology that is the Biblical origins of the rituals of the Church. We will touch in this section the Biblical references to rituals, and when we come to the explanation of the rituals there we shall refer regularly to the Holy Bible in every instance. We should remember that every single word in the Mass has a biblical precedent and reference. In passing, we can wonder at those who deny or reject the rituals which we employ with the excuse that such rituals are not mentioned in the New Testament. Often people accuse us of using practices which are from the Old Testament and that our Lord came to 'cancel' such way of worship. In the last lecture I explained the extraordinary unity and oneness of both the Old and New testaments in our Lord Jesus Christ and that the two are united in one centre which is Him. Both are very clearly pointing to our Lord Jesus Christ.

If we examine the first chapters of the Holy Bible we will notice that the rituals of the Church are there explained physically, ritually, theologically and in terms of tradition. We notice that God Himself explained the order of worship in every detail down to the most minute. Anyone who studies these passages in detail will notice that in each of these rituals there is a strong symbolism of our Lord Jesus Christ. Each of these practices, including such small details as numbers, is a reminder of our Lord Himself and, as such, is established by God that we might constantly aim towards the target of Salvation in order to reach heaven at the end and be with our Lord.

Some Examples of Rituals in the Holy Bible

Firstly The Old Testament

A. Genesis

1. Baptism

Have you noticed that in the very first two verses of the Bible are explained some of the sacraments of the Church in full detail? What is the first Sacrament of the Church? Baptism. Baptism is the door to the church.

A superficial understanding of Baptism is that the priest comes to Church in the morning and fills a huge basin with water. Then the family comes with the child to be baptised and the priest immerses the child in that water. The child then becomes a Christian. But the reality is that; through the prayers with rituals pracitsed by an officiated priest, the Holy Spirit comes upon the water and makes it a holy material for the work of the Holy Spirit. When the catechumen comes, there are prayers by the priest which are prayed on the person with oil-anointing and rituals. Then that person is immersed into the water with certain prayers recited; the person comes out of the water having been transferred from darkness to light. We believe that by this, the person receives the new nature in Christ our Lord. We also

believe that the baptised person becomes a spiritual bride for our Lord Jesus Christ, and accordingly is luminous with spiritual light (which is why we dress the person in white clothing). We are further reminded that this person will now start to grow and enjoy the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

It is really amazing to find this practice mentioned above is explained in the first three verses of the whole Bible (Genesis 1: 1-3). Referring to these three verses in depth, we begin to understand the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. The verses say that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and that the earth was without form and was void. The Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters and then God said, *'Let there be light'*. There was light and then God saw that the light was good. After this God began the creation of the visible order (fruitful plants and trees etc). Let us understand that in the beginning earth was fully covered with water and there was darkness over it and it was void. But the Spirit of God hovered over the waters and, after God's command, light appeared. These verses refer directly to the person being baptised. For every person is born in sin and his physical body is originally made of the earth. Referring to (psalm 51:5) it states that every human is born in sin and iniquity. In addition, the Bible always symbolises the life of sin by darkness, because the sinner is away from our Lord Who is the True Light; and also at the birth of our Lord to save us from sin, it was said about Him that He is "a light shining upon those who are in darkness and the shadows of death" (Luke 1: 79). So by this any new born person until he is baptised is in darkness and also is without form and void (as originally we should be in the image and likeness of God which we lost by sin). When this person comes to baptism and is immersed inside the water, here he is like the earth in (Genesis 1:1 -3) which was void and without form, in darkness and covered by the water. Return to the person, and to verse 3 in Genesis 1; as after the Holy Spirit hovered over the waters and God ordered light, it became so and the earth started to take its beautiful form. Exactly the same happens to the baptised; while he is inside the water, with the prayers of the priest, the Holy Spirit is doing the same to him to change him from darkness to light and to be on the beautiful image and likeness of our Lord. And that is why we say that he had the new nature in our Lord Jesus Christ.

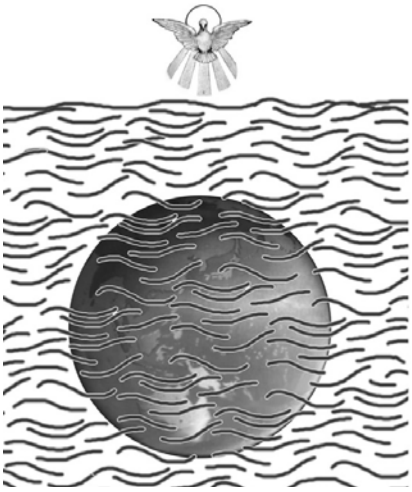

The earth was void, in darkness, covered by the water and the Spirit of God hovering on the face of the waters (Genesis 1: 1-3)

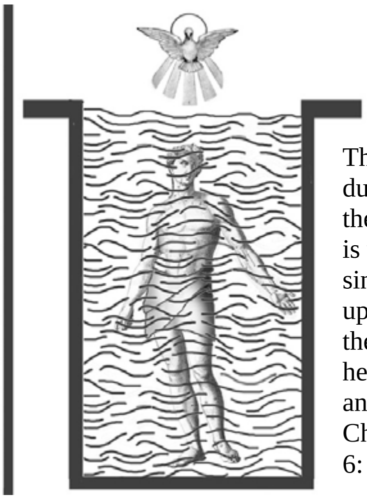

The person (made of the dust of the earth) under the water before baptism is void and in darkness of sin – with the Holy Spirit upon the water through the sacramental prayer, he gets the new nature and lives in the light of Christ our Lord (Romans 6: 2-5 & John 8: 12)

Continuing in Genesis chapter 1, we find that after the water dispersed from the face of the earth, the earth produced the beautiful fruitful plants. The same happens to the baptised person, that after baptism he is anointed with the Holy Chrism through which the Holy Spirit dwells inside him. Then the baptised partakes of the Body and Blood of the Lord to abide in the Lord. This changes the life of that person (especially if he was and adult) and starts to live in Christ and show the fruits of the Holy Spirit in his life. By this, he becomes a light for others through his good works (refer to Matthew 5: 16).

You see from this explanation that the whole ritual practice of the first sacrament (baptism), and even the growth of the person's spiritual life through his continuous practice of the other sacraments of the church, is explained simply in the first few verses in the first chapter of the whole Bible. This can answer the people who say that there are no rituals in the Bible. This claim of theirs shows that they do not understand the Bible in depth; as the Lord said *"You are mistaken, not knowing the scriptures nor the power of God*" (Matthew 22: 29). The Lord also commanded us to "search the books" (John 5: 39)

It is also amazing that John the Baptist was baptising with immersing people in the waters of the Jordan. He always used to tell them that he is just baptising with water; but after him is coming Who will baptise them with the water and the Spirit (he means our Lord Jesus Christ). This is another proof for a ritual sacramental practice which is carried in the New Testament but mentioned in the Old Testament, in the same first few verses of Genesis chapter 1 as explained before.

Another beautiful understanding we can find in the same verses of Genesis 1, which appears to be telling in a simple way the story of the creation, but looking more deeply into them we find another beautiful spiritual meaning that applies on the life of a Christian person who is really growing in Christ our God. When the person arises from the water he or she begins to live in the light of Christ and is worthy to accept Christ inside him or her. And just as following the Creation of the Light, God made fruits and every living thing, so too the newly baptised member of the Church walks into a new creation and will begin to grow within himself the fruits of the Holy Spirit. As he grows in Christ he will begin to preach to others and will thus yield inside himself the seeds of the faith and spread it amongst others upon the earth. So too, just as the birds are created to fly in the heavens, so too after baptism are we supposed to fly spiritually above the material desires of this earth. Here we see that the first two verses of Genesis echo our lives as new Christians and the creation and recreation (through baptism) have parallels, just as do the Old and New Testaments – one cannot exist 'in Light' without the other.

The above is just one example of a Biblical origin of one of our rituals, explained theologically and in terms of tradition. Here are others;

2. The day of the Lord

If we continue reading within the first chapter, we notice that after the six days of Creation, God rested on the seventh. I am sure that you will all agree with me that God does not require rest, or that he suffers from tiredness or toil! Yet this teaches us from the very beginning that there is a day of the Lord and that the true rest is in the Lord Himself. The spiritual meaning of rest is that we rest in the Lord by abiding in Him, attending the church and having Holy Communion. Also as much as we can to spend the rest of the day in spiritual practices (prayers, reading, spiritual meetings etc…). This is another very important dogmatic teaching for our traditions of the church; by asking all the believers as much as it is possible to sanctify and keep the day of the Lord (the Sunday) to the Lord Himself.

3. The necessity of sacrifice for forgiveness

As we read Genesis chapter three which documents the fall of Adam and Eve, we will discover the very first roots of the tradition and rituals of salvation by the sacrifice of blood. We know that Adam and Eve disobeyed God, they discovered their nakedness and had the feelings of shame and embarrassment. They took leaves from a fig tree to cover their nakedness which did not work. Our merciful God, after confronting them with their sin, covered them with tunics of animal skin (Genesis 3: 21). Stopping here with a deeper look into this incident; to make tunics of animal skin, an animal should be slaughtered; and this is the way of animal sacrifice of the whole Old Testament. It is as if here God is telling from the very beginning that the forgiveness of sin will not take place without a blood sacrifice. You see with me that this is a very early telling about how the Lord will save us by offering Himself a True Sacrifice slaughtered on the cross to pay the punishment of our sins.

There is something that makes me wonder here about some other churches who replaced the ritual liturgy prayers and the Holy Communion with just a loaf of normal bread put on table. Then they sit down singing some songs and reading some sections of the New Testament, and then everyone eats a piece of that loaf with some juice or soft drink. Where is this practice from what we explained about the sacrifice of blood to forgive the sin, and about the lengthy chapters in the book of Leviticus explaining the different sacrifices? Also where this practice of theirs stands in front of what the Lord said to His disciples in the upper room of Zion "for My Flesh is food indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed. He who eats My Flesh and drinks My Blood abides in Me and I in him" (John 6: 55,56). You all see in our holy Orthodox Church, how great and respected is the sacrament of Holy Communion; in which the officiated priest prays on the bread and wine and the Holy Spirit comes to convert them to the Body and Blood of our Lord. Also the priest gives the Body and Blood of the Lord only to the baptised believers and who are ready and worthy for it – here many conditions apply.

4. Another symbol for the necessity of sacrifice

In Genesis chapter four we notice the mention of the building of an altar and the offering of sacrifice. Abel offered a lamb, slaughtered as a full sacrifice. Cain offered an offering of fruits of the earth. God rejected Cain's sacrifice and accepted Abel's to indicate that the only acceptable sacrifice (the only thing able to cover sin) was a blood sacrifice. The sign of the acceptance of this sacrifice was by fire coming down from heaven to burn the offering. This is a very early reference to one of our rituals which is mentioned again later in the Book of Leviticus, where a burnt offering must be fully burned in the fire and the Lord will smell within its smoke a 'sweet aroma' and be pleased with the sacrifices of His people.

This means that God made it clear to Adam and Eve that the only way He wants sacrifice for forgiveness of sin is slaughtering an animal. It is obvious here that Adam has delivered this information to his children Cain and Abel. Abel who obeyed, God accepted his offering, while God rejected the disobedient offering (Cain). This simply is the tradition which means orders from God Himself delivered from generation to generation.

5. Lessons from Noah's ark

a) <u>Baptism</u> –

Noah's ark itself gives us another symbol of baptism, for the 8 people inside were fully immersed in water, given that the ark was surrounded by the waters and was being heavily

rained upon from above. After being delivered from their immersion and enclosure in water, the 8 people were born into a new life. This meaning is reiterated in St. Paul's letter to the Romans, chapter six and also in the epistle of St. Peter. Here it is important to remember that sometimes people justify the ritual of full immersion in Orthodox baptism solely by referring to our Lord's Baptism in the Jordan. Though this is true, it is necessary to recollect that, from the very beginning of the Holy Bible full immersion has been signified and performed, as we see from the first pages of the Old Testament. I will put here the verses of St Peter's letter as an example for this strong relationship between the Old and New testaments (1Peter 3: 18-22)

"*for Christ also suffered once for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive by the Spirit,*
by whom also He went and preached to the spirits in prison,
who formerly were disobedient, when once the Divine longsuffering waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being prepared, in which a few, that is eight souls, were saved through water.
There is also an antitype which now saves us – that is baptism (not the removal of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers having been made subject to Him."

b) Building of the church –

The ark also is a very clear symbol of building the church. God Himself did not just ask Noah to build an ark, but told him details of exact dimensions of the ark. God specified the height, the width, the material to be used and how to be done. A deep study of this description needs easily two hours to understand it, as it is full of spiritual meaning to the way we build our churches now. This in itself gives us an understanding why we in our church are very specific in the way the church is constructed and built with many fine details inside it. Every single detail in this aspect is referred to a biblical reference and for a spiritual meaning which we will explain later.

c) The importance of sacrifice (Holy Communion) in our lives –

In Genesis chapter 9, you find that just as Noah had come out of the ark, he built an altar and offered an animal sacrifice which is symbol to Holy Communion. This teaches us how important is the continuous practice for the sacraments of the church in our lives, especially those necessary sacraments for salvation (baptism, confirmation, holy communion and repentance & confession).

d) Another lesson of tradition

It is amazing here to notice in the same chapter 9, it says black and white that Noah offered from "the clean animals". If you search your Bible, you will find that the mention of the law of clean and unclean animals had started only in the book of Leviticus chapter 11. This was in the days of Moses the prophet which was more than a thousand years after Noah. The question here is how would Noah know about this unless it was a tradition ordered by God delivered to Adam then from Adam to generation after generation.

6. More symbols of Holy Communion in the lives of Abraham and Isaac his son

a) We recollect that wherever Abraham travelled he had with him his altar. And wherever he settled the first thing he used to do was to build the altar and offer an animal

sacrifice which again reinforces the importance of Holy Communion in the believer's life.

b) When Abraham went for the war to save his nephew Lot, at his return, he met with Melchizedek. Research in the Bible we find for Melchicedek no origin, no father or mother and no roots. He was simply called the High Priest of God and the King of Peace (King of Salem). Of course related to him is the priesthood and the Kingdom of God. Even though Abraham, the father of fathers, was a Patriarch, nevertheless he placed Melchizedek upon a level higher than himself and indeed Abraham offered him 10% of his material goods. Melchizedek accepted Abraham's tithe and, in return, blessed him and gave him bread and wine; this indicates that Melchizedek is a symbol of Christ who is the real King of Peace and the real High Priest, and Who accepts our 10% in money, health, time and service for His Holy Church. From this we see that the officiated priest who is the servant of God; on behalf of God, accepts our 10% for the church and in exchange, the priest does not offer money or presents or the like, but will give the most valuable thing in return; the Precious Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and blesses us. This practice which is taking place in our daily lives in the church, has been stated in Genesis since that early time (the time of Abraham and Melchizedek)

c) As we read further we notice God called Abraham to offer his only beloved son as a sacrifice on the mountain. Abraham obeyed and Isaac carried the wood of the altar on his shoulders, to the appointed mountain. There, Abraham built the altar, tied his son Isaac and placed him on it to offer him a sacrifice. You will notice that they reached the appointed mountain on the third day of their travels and that the Lord saved Isaac and returned him alive with his father. We should also notice that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself carried the wood of the cross to offer Himself a sacrifice on our behalf up on the mountain at Golgotha. However, He arose from the dead on the third day and achieved victory over death which had ensnared us because of our sin.

From this we see that the symbol of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ and his resurrection on the third day was given very early in the Holy Bible.

7. Symbol to the consecration of the holy altar

Reading in Genesis 28 when Jacob was fleeing from his brother Esau and after he walked long distance, he felt tired and slept on a stone under his head. He saw in a dream the ladder extending from earth to heaven and the angels of the Lord are ascending and descending upon it. The Lord Himself from heaven spoke to him to assure him with the blessing and protection and that He will grant this land to Jacob and his children. Jacob awoke up and he was frightened and said "how reverend is this place, this is nothing but the house of God". He prayed and poured oil on the stone and called the place Bethel, which means the house of God. Then he vowed that he will worship the Lord all his life and pay his ten percent to the Lord God from all what God will provide him.

This is simply the origins of the ritual of consecrating a new altar in the church. As for the reverence that Jacob felt in this incident, I can here give a personal witness; I was blessed to accompany his Holiness Pope Shenouda in every place he went to during all his visits to Sydney. I attended the consecration of all the altars in the new churches. In every single one of them, at the end of the prayer when his Holiness pours the Holy Oil (El-mayroun). There is a real feeling of reverence that I cannot describe in words.

From this you can see that since that very early time God has put in the Holy Bible about the altar in the house of God and its consecration.

I would like here to highlight also another point, that Jacob vowed to pay ten percent of all what God will provide him. Searching the Bible thoroughly, you will find that this commandment of the ten percent was not mentioned as a written commandment in the Bible. It mentioned only that when Abraham met with Melchizedek in Genesis 14, he offered him ten percent of the goods. The first written commandment about the ten percent, was in the book of Leviticus given Moses in the law (Leviticus 27: 30), this was about 500 years after the time of Jacob. This again confirms the existence of the tradition delivered through the fathers from generation to generation and its importance is by no means less than the importance of the biblical verses.

B. Exodus

1. The lamb of Passover

Following the same plan of God that salvation is only through bloodshed, if we go to Exodus chapter 11 & 12, we will find it tells about the lamb of Passover. God informed Moses about the Passover in very fine detail. If we study these details, we will find ourselves looking at our Lord Jesus Christ the True Lamb Who offered Himself as a true, eternal and divine sacrifice on the cross for the salvation of all. As the lamb of Passover saved the first born of all the Jews from destruction by the angel and saved the whole nation of Israel from the slavery of Pharaoh, so our Lord Jesus Christ saved us by His sacrifice and blood-shed from the pangs of death and from the devil who is imprisoning us (imprisoning the living with the bonds of sin and the departed in hades).

The biblical understanding here is that Pharaoh who was enslaving the Israelites was a symbol to the devil who was enslaving us by sin, and the only way for us to be saved was through the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was symbolised by the lamb of the Passover. Here we note that the Passover which was an essential part of the Jewish life of worship is simply a symbol for Holy Communion, which is also the most essential part of the Christian life of worship. Also, studying the details or the rituals of the lamb of Passover, we find that it is very much similar to the rituals of the sacraments of Holy Communion. Furthermore, we can see this more clearly, knowing that our church always celebrates every year the Holy Great Thursday (in which the Lord established the sacrament of Holy Communion) on the same day of the Jewish Passover.

2. Another symbol for Baptism

Looking to the order of salvation that God performed with the Israelites, giving them freedom from the slavery of Pharaoh, we find that God ordered them to paint the top and 2 sides of the door frames of their homes with the blood of the lamb; and to eat the lamb in haste. After the angel killed the first-born of the Egyptians, they let the Israelites leave Egypt. The Israelites departed from Egypt in haste, however when they had reached the shore of the Red Sea, Pharaoh regretted letting them go and went after them with his army. God miraculously made the Israelites cross the Red Sea and studying the details of this crossing, you will find that the water was underneath them (the Lord prepared a land for them to walk on in the middle of the sea, and parted the water above it. There was water underneath that land), on their right and left, and the cloud was on top of them i.e. they were fully surrounded with water from all sides. As soon as he Israelites crossed, God made the water return back and Pharaoh with his army drowned in the bottom of the sea.

In the above, we find a very strong symbol for baptism and how baptism saved us from the slavery of the devil: inside the water in the basin of baptism is our Lord crushing the devil

with His blood which He shed on the cross (just as Pharaoh died under the water). The Lord crushed the devil by the cross, with His blood He wipes away the sins of the baptised.

Another beautiful spiritual understanding from the ritual of baptism can be gained by understanding the reasons behind the place chosen for the baptism to take place in the Coptic Orthodox church. The baptism basin is always placed in the north-western corner of the church building with 2 doors, one western door leading to outside the church and another eastern door opening inside the church, leading towards the sanctuary. This is because the person coming to be baptised enters the church from outside through the western door with his/her back to the world outside (his/her old life). Between the 2 doors is the basin of baptism itself, inside the room – crossing the baptism he/she becomes a believer and gains a new nature in Christ and goes through the eastern door towards the sanctuary. This is exactly like the Israelites leaving Egypt, symbolising the person to be baptised leaving the world behind them, crossing the Red Sea (symbol to baptism), and becoming freed from Pharaoh (symbol of the devil), going towards the wilderness where God ordered Moses to build the tabernacle of God – a symbol of the church.

3. A symbol for the church building

After the Israelites settled in the desert out of Egypt, the first order from God to Moses was to build the tabernacle in the middle of their tents that God may dwell in their midst. If we read Exodus 25, 26 & 27, we find something really wonderful – how much God went into detail about everything in the tabernacle. He gave details about the materials, the fabrics, the rings of the curtains, the type and dimensions of the wooden poles that go through the curtains etc.

Someone may ask: why did God need to go into these fine details and talk about them in long chapters of the Holy Bible? The answer is that these details are full of meanings and symbols which God planned to lift up to a spiritual level in the New Testament. As I said previously, the New Testament is exactly like the Old Testament lifted up spiritually by the Holy Spirit.

From chapters 35 to 39 you will read about the tabernacle, its construction, dimensions and the way to consecrate it. It is the very first House of God. We notice in chapter 40, how much was the awe and reverence that overwhelmed Moses himself after he finished the consecration. This awe and reverence was to the extent that Moses himself could not enter the tabernacle as the cloud covered it and the glory of the Lord filled His house (Leviticus 40: 35).

4. Symbols for the priests' clothes and services

Going further to Exodus chapter 28 we encounter the special vestments and dress of the priesthood to be worn during services. And you find that God had given full details about the fabrics and different materials used in making the priesthood vestments that are very much similar to what is used in the church of the New Testament. As we examine this dress style we encounter a full range of symbols that remind us both of our Lord Jesus Christ and also of the true function of the priesthood in the New Testament Church. We can see the origins of what the priest and particularly the bishops (and notably the Patriarch) wear now. If you examine the dress you will notice how much the style of vestments tells us about the role of the Patriarch, bishops and priests in being our advocates and trying hard to prepare us for heaven.

5. Symbols for the rituals of ordaining a priest, consecrating an altar

In chapter 29 we notice the ordination of a priest which is just like we do now, also in chapter 30 we read of the consecration of an altar. In these chapters, and those following, we see the Lord giving exact instructions to Bezalel and others as to how exactly to make and fashion the items for worship and the tabernacle, from the colours to the materials to the styles, and so on.

Here I would like to say, if God Himself instituted these rituals, and He is 'the same yesterday, today and forever, then why would He change these rituals or cancel those of the old in favour of the new?

C. Leviticus

Searching through the book of Leviticus, you find a lot of ritual practices and the way of worship in the house of God (the tabernacle), which is the church now. We will mention from them the following:

1. The first five chapters of Leviticus explain in detail the five sacrifices, which are for us an indication of the true life of a Christian who carries his life in the Lord from the altar in the Church to the altar in his home to the altar in his heart.

2. In chapter eight you will notice the consecration of a priest, just as we still do it.

3. In chapter nine are listed the offering for sacrifice and how they should be prepared and completed.

4. In chapter 10 are listed the punishments for doing wrong, which we still have in the Church. They also tell us how the priest should behave and act and how the Lord reacts to any wrong action.

5. In chapter 11 the Lord lists the animals, birds and fish which are accepted as clean animals for sacrifice and food. Often when people read this chapter, they simply list which animals are good for sacrifice and which are not. I should say that it took me seven weeks, with one hour per week, to explain what is the spiritual meaning of these animals, birds and fish is in our lives with Christ. I told the people that our Lord would never include in the Bible simple words that had no meaning or words that are simply for story-telling; so they were surprised just how long it took to explain the animals for sacrifice and the depth of the spiritual meaning which each carry for our lives in Christ.

Finding the sacrifice of our Lord on the cross in the book of Leviticus

I would like now to highlight the first point mentioned above, and its relationship to the cross and how we can understand what the Lord fulfilled on our behalf by His cross.

The Lord fulfilled the 5 sacrifices mentioned in the first point in His Body on the cross. The following is a brief explanation. The 5 sacrifices were the sacrifice of burnt offering, the sacrifice of grain offering, the sacrifice of peace offering, the sacrifice of trespass, and the sacrifice of sin.

See diagram where sacrifices are drawn in the shape of a cross, connecting the 5 offerings fulfilled by the Lord on the cross.

Relationship between the five offerings (Sacrifices) of the Old Testament and the Cross of Our Lord

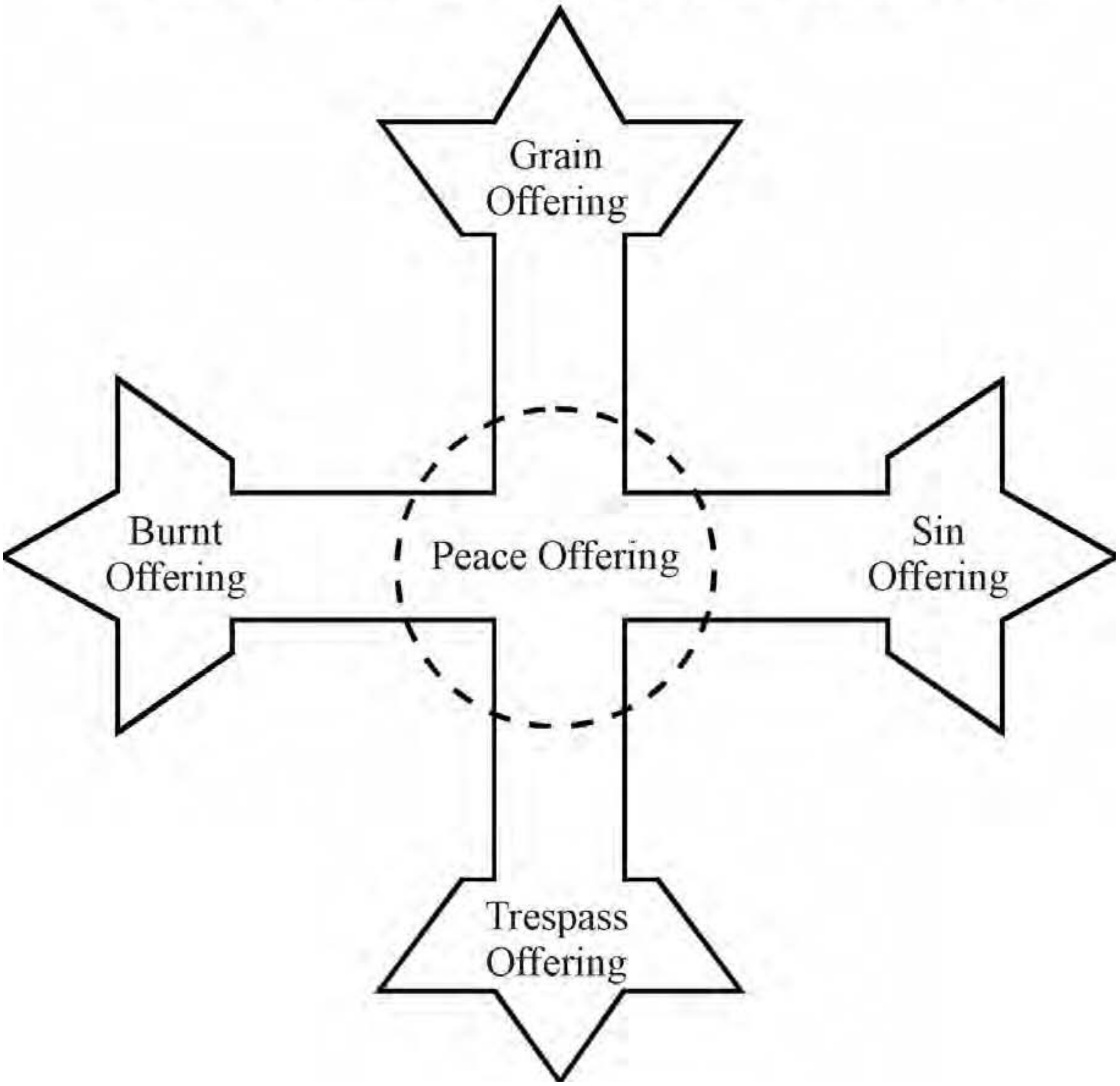

The sin offering is drawn on the left of the cross and the burnt offering on the right. As explained in the book of Leviticus, the Lord smells the burnt offering as a smell of pleasure and is happy with His people. Hence the cross transfers me form sin (left) to make me a cause of pleasure for my heavenly Father.

At the bottom of the cross is the trespass offering. The devil made all mankind trespass against God from the beginning, and on the cross the Lord crushed the devil under His feet and under the cross. This is also symbolised by the drawing showing the skull of Adam under the cross and the Lord's Blood coming down on it to wipe away the trespass that Adam did against God Himself. Only Christ's eternal sacrifice could achieve this.

At the top of the cross is the grain offering which symbolises The Lord's Body which He offered as a sacrifice on our behalf and gave us to eat his Flesh and Blood in Holy Communion for salvation in the form of bread and wine. By fulfilling these 4 sacrifices, and giving them to us in the form of His Body, we live in peace as St Paul said in Ephesians 4.

The Lord is our peace. The sacrifice of peace is drawn in the middle of the cross representing the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, Who is in the middle giving us peace. We can see that the rituals in the Old Testament are still valid and fulfilled in the Lord in a spiritual way that we can benefit from. In the New Testament, the Lord grants us His peace not through offering sacrifices in the morning and evening as the Levites did, but through repentance, confession and partaking of the Holy Communion.

D. Numbers

When we arrive at the book of Numbers, we learn about the journey of the people of Israel through the wilderness after leaving Egypt until the arrival in Canaan. This symbolically represents our lives as individuals and as the Church. Following baptism, which the Israelites experienced symbolically as they journeyed through the Red Sea, the story tells us how we should live in preparation for our lives in the true Promised land which is heaven. This journey tells us much about the activities of the devil and how we may answer him.

1. Another symbol of the cross in the book of Numbers

In 1 Corinthians 1: 18, St Paul says: “For the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God”. This means that the word of the cross to the unbelievers is foolishness but for us the believers means the power of God with us because, without the cross there is no salvation to any one of us. There is no salvation for us unless during our sojourning in this earth we have the cross constantly in front of our eyes. St Paul said: “I have painted in front of you our Lord Jesus Christ and Him crucified”. The Lord also said: if anyone wants to be my disciple, he/she should deny his/herself and carry the cross and follow me.

We note that Jacob before his departure in Egypt said blessings to eleven of his sons, and instead of Joseph, he blessed Joseph’s sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. This is because later, in the time of Moses, God specified the tribe of the Levites to be His, leaving only 10 tribes (not counting Joseph and the Levites). By adding to them Joseph’s sons, they become 12 again.

The Lord ordered the twelve tribes to travel through the desert *in the shape of the cross* (3 tribes on each side and the arc of the covenant which carries the manna in the middle. The manna here symbolises the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which we receive in the church - the true Manna, the living Manna). And He said to them, whenever you journey, you journey in this form. In the middle, were the Levites blowing the trumpets loudly, which when sounded the tribes start moving in this order and when blown again, the tribes stop again in this order. If one could look down onto them from a plane, one would see a very big cross, made of about 2 million people moving the journey through the wilderness (our sojourning as strangers in the world) until they reach Canaan the land of promise (symbol to heavenly Jerusalem).

Sometimes I meet with churches from other denominations and I am the only one who does the sign of the cross! The cross is our life. The cross for those who do not believe is foolishness but for us it is the power of God with us.

2. God is always the same, God of orders and rituals in His worship

This book further tells us about God’s characteristic of order and not of confusion. So this book, and the whole of the Bible, explains how God has put an order for His Church; priesthood, the diaconate (deacon-ship) and the laity (the congregation). In such a way, God

has ordered that those of one group should not interfere with another. During the time of the Book of Numbers, God would act immediately to stop wrongdoing – there was an incident where three men, Abiram, Dathan and Korah wanted to raise themselves from their level of deacon-ship to that of the priesthood (they were jealous of Moses and Aaron). So they created a big scene. In an instant God opened the mouth of the earth and swallowed them together with their followers. 250 people were swallowed up.

God was so specific about roles in His house, so our church is also very specific about the roles of her patriarch, bishop, priest, deacon and so on. We never allow anyone to jump his role. You find that God does the same and is very specific about things to be done in a certain way and any mistake made, He used to punish on the spot. This is the importance of the rituals. For instance the book of Leviticus tells us "Then Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, each took his censer and put fire in it, put incense on it, and offered profane fire before the Lord, which He had not commanded them. So fire went out from the Lord and devoured them, and they died before the Lord." (Leviticus 10: 1,2). So as we can see, because Nadab and Abihu, the first 2 sons of Aaron the high priest, who worked in the altar in the house of the Lord, did their services in the wrong way, immediately fire came from the altar and burned them in a moment. We are more lenient now in the church, but God stores for everyone the wages of their deeds.

On another occasion one of the Israelites committed a sin and entered the house of the Lord, so a priest took a spear and killed him and God agreed because the priest had a zeal for the house of God and took revenge for the Holiness of God. Nowadays we do not do this but we try to teach people to respect the altar.

Another example was when king David was returning the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem after being absent for a long time. The Ark was carried on a carriage with 2 oxen. Uzzah "put out his hand to the ark of God and took hold of it, for the oxen stumbled. Then the anger of the Lord was aroused against Uzzah, and God struck him there for his error; and he died there by the ark of God" (2 Samuel 6: 6, 7). Uzzah was worried the ark may fall so just for a minute he supported it. However, this was against God's command, as he was not allowed to touch the Ark because he was not a priest (He was a Levite assisting the priest). Therefore, immediately God killed him. Even David became very upset that God did so, but God ordered things to be this way, so they had to happen this way. Now in this century people cancel rituals, and follow no orders or practices. If God Himself wants those rituals and in the above examples has made sure they are perfectly kept, how can we dare cancel the rituals that God has ordered?

Fasting

An examination of the Old Testament informs us everything about fasting: the periods of fasting, the reasons for fasting, about public and private fasting, and even which foods to eat whilst fasting. God tells us about boiled beans, and the right seeds to be eaten in Ezekiel 4:9-11. In this passage we are given the correct foods for fasting, and we should note that there are no meat or dairy products! We should also remember the young men in the Book of Daniel who were taken to Babylon and offered all that was on the king's table. They refused, and stated that they were fasting and not eating meat. The Lord rewarded them for their steadfastness and gave them a better appearance than all those who ate from the king's table.

Another point is that fasting was the very first commandment ever from God to mankind. The first sin of the whole world was a sin of breaking fasting. God said to Adam you have all

these trees with all their fruits to eat of, but do not eat from this one tree in the middle of the garden, isn't this fasting? Eat this and don't eat that. The first sin was breaking this order of fasting.

These are just a few selections from the Old Testament. It requires a great deal of time to analyse the Books in detail and to find all of the references to our rituals which are contained therein, particularly if we are looking for the theology, spirituality, applicability to the individual's life and also the strength of Church tradition. This is the process which we should undergo if we are aiming to cross the seas of this world and to arrive in the Heavenly Jerusalem and the True Canaan.

In answer to those who level criticisms at the Church that it is a Church of the Old Testament, etc, we should always remember that God is unchangeable and that those commands which He gave us in depth in the Old Testament are to be observed now in their spiritual depth. It is simply not feasible that God would have made such commands, in the most minute detail, and punish with severity those who transgressed these commands, and then all of a sudden completely change His mind and cancel them.

The New Testament

A. Gospels and Acts

It is very clear from a reading of the Gospels that our Lord Jesus Christ perfected all of the rituals of the Old Testament in Himself. He fulfilled them all, He submitted to them all and He fully respected the priesthood even though He, being God, knew of the corruption of the priesthood at the time. Nevertheless, He still gave them respect, a pure respect, given their office as priests. He showed respect even when He needed to confront them with their mistakes and to show their errors strongly. We should remember that when He cured the man born with leprosy, He told him to go and show himself to the priest and offer the due offering which was required from anyone who was healed of leprosy, which he should offer to be declared by the priest that he is cleansed and healed.

He also told the people that they should look with respect at the priests who sit on the thrones of Moses and Aaron, and to listen to their teachings. Nevertheless He did say that the people should not look at their deeds or actions, even though they may be corrupt, the people should learn from them.

We notice, too, that our Lord Jesus Christ is a God of order just as we noticed in the Old Testament. When, after the Sermon on the Mount, He miraculously blessed the five loaves and two fish, and then again later when He blessed the seven loaves and a few fish in the second miracle of multiplication, He said for the people to sit in groups of 50. This was, of course, of little importance to our Lord personally, but He is a God of Order, everything here has meaning – even the number 4000 and 5000 have meanings which can touch our lives.

Even when our Lord rose from the dead, every detail has a spiritual significance and tells us about the order He requires of His creation. When the two Apostles, St. John and St. Peter, rushed to the tomb after St. Mary Magdalene had told them that she had met the Risen Lord, they found the tomb empty. We would expect that the risen Lord would have left the shroud and cloths lying where they had fallen, but no. Instead they found that the cloths were folded neatly and in place. Our God is a God of order.

He appeared to His disciples for the 40 days following His Resurrection and the Book of Acts tells us that these appearances were made to teach the Apostles and disciples all they needed to know about the arrangements of the Church and of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The same is true with regard to the conversion of St. Paul. The Lord appeared to Saul who later became St Paul the apostle, He caused him to be blind. Saul was shocked and terrified and in great fear asked “what do You want me to do Lord?”. The Lord may have said go and preach my name; but this did not happen. The Lord said to him go to Ananias the apostle in Damascus and he will tell you what to do. We notice here that as the Lord has appointed the apostles, He left the full authority for them to direct St Paul. Ananias the apostle baptised St Paul and instructed him. St Paul spent three years in the desert with the Lord Jesus Christ and when he was ready to serve the Lord sent him to the apostles in Jerusalem and he met with those whom he called the pillars of the apostles (James, Peter and John). St Paul as he mentioned in his epistle, showed them the gospel he was going to preach (basically explained to them his faith and what his knowledge was) and they gave him the right hand of the ministry. This act is equal to the ordination and the appointment of the bishop, priest and different clergical levels.

Another example of our Lord’s emphasis on order is to be found in the story of the raising of Lazarus from the dead. Our Lord asked people to roll away the stone from the tomb and then He ordered Lazarus to arise from the dead. Then He asked His disciples to loose him from the burial coverings. This last point has great significance; what does death result from? Death is the result of sin which we allow to conquer us and through that we are under the rule of Satan the devil. So if sin is the cause of our death, then it is symbolised by the burial coverings that were tying Lazarus in the tomb. And who can remove these ties, but the Lord Himself? It is He who is able to forgive our sins and who is able to raise us up from the death caused by sin. He can untie me; absolve me. This power he also gave to the Apostles that they might loosen the ties of sin which bind us. We repeat this statement in the Absolution, after every Confession, at the end of vespers and during the Holy Mass: ‘You Oh Lord gave authority to the Apostles, to bind and unbind the chains of injustice on the earth…’. The priest himself had no personal authority to forgive sin or to raise the dead, but his power comes solely from God. Just as the Lord raised Lazarus and gave him a new life unfettered by the bonds which held him captive to death, so too the priest, being authorised by the Lord Jesus Christ, can loosen the bonds of sin and set the captive of sin free and allow him or her to practice a renewed life once more. And this takes place at the end of an honest confession with repentance.

B. Epistles

When we read the letters of St. Paul the Apostle, particularly his letters to the Corinthians, we notice that he has written down the rituals of the Church to be followed. In the epistles we see how St. Paul used his priestly authority to bind and unbind, to absolve and deny absolution. In the first letter he expels a sinner from the Church community for a full year and in his second letter he relies on his authority as an Apostle to allow the sinner back into the fold so that he might not be consumed or swallowed by the devil; this is an absolution.

There are those who deny priestly authority and say that if we choose to confess, then we should do it straight to God alone, not with the agency of the priesthood, forget that God made it very clear that he wished it to be so. Some people will then say ‘Get us obvious

verses'; the verses are there for those who choose to study the Scriptures with understanding and not simply learn them by rote (as proof texts) or simply read them superficially.

St. Paul also mentioned in this letter about how he expected the Church order to be conducted in services and the like. He noted that women should cover their heads in the Church and this practice we have not changed. Many Churches have forgotten this practice, but it is Biblical so why should it be dismissed? St. Paul, in the same letter, said that he did not like men to wear their hair long as women do – this too we teach. Also we do not allow women to raise their voices in the Church, even if a woman want to ask something; we suggest that a woman remains quiet and asks her husband when she returns home, or ask someone in authority away from the service itself.

St. Paul praised the Corinthians for their order in services; he said that everything should be kept in its place and ordered. In the English texts of the bible it uses the word 'discipline', but a better word is the original 'tuxus' which means order or rituals. In 1 Thessalonians he made warnings against those who walk to act without order (1 Thessalonians 5:14); in 2 Thessalonians 3:6-7, after his first warning, he suggested that he faithful should avoid any brother who walks or acts without order. Indeed he wrote to the disciple of the Church there in the same order as St. Paul had delivered unto him and also to ordain priests for them (here is an ordination in the New Testament).

If we read the Book of Revelation we notice a very thorough set of order, movements and writings. The same is true for Isaiah's vision of heaven which itself is very ordered and calm, everything done step by step and with ordered explanations for everything. This reminds us of the passage in Genesis 28 when Jacob was fleeing from before the face of his brother Esau and after he slept overnight in the wilderness on a stone and had himself an appearance of the Lord, he arose in the morning and poured some oil over the stone and declared how sacred the place was and would remain. This is the same ritual which we employ today and when we need to consecrate an altar; we pour oil and we pray.

I will give here some references to read which clearly tell that God teaches us orders, rites and rituals. They may be translated in the wrong way in the English Bible. But in them all we notice that St Paul is giving clear instructions about order and rituals to be practised. Even more than this, St Paul said "any brother who does not follow this order stop him".
<u>The references are:</u>

1 Cor 14: 26-40

Col 2: 5

1 Thess 5: 14

2 Thess 3: 6, 7, 11

Note: you might notice in the English translation using the word “elders” instead of priests, which is the order they use in the protestant and Anglican church, while the origin of the word is priest.

Conclusion

These very few examples prove the Biblical origin of all of the rituals practised within the Holy Church so that we shall each be ready and able to offer an explanation to anyone who questions us about rituals which we use in the practice of the Church. It is also worth mentioning that the Coptic Orthodox Church is perhaps the Church truest to the model of ritual life which is portrayed for us in the Scriptures. Our Church is distinguished in many rituals and I might dare to say that it is the most loyal to the Biblical tradition.

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION THREE

In the previous sections we had an introduction about the sources for ritual theology and the proofs from the Holy Bible about the importance of the rituals in the worship of God. Rituals are not something originating from the Old Testament only, they were continued in the New Testament and the church life.

In this section we will start talking about the body of the course itself. We will start with divisions of ritual theology, or as we spoke before, finding theology in the rituals practiced in the church.

The subject of ritual theology is divided into three main sections: -

1. ***Historical basis***
2. ***Theoretical or systematic basis***
3. ***Practical basis***

Historical

This follows up the history of an individual or particular ritual of those practised in the Holy Church. In it we are tracking that ritual, when and how it started, and the stages it has gone through until it settled on what we practice in the Church today. However, we have to emphasise the fact that all these rituals originated from what God ordered in the Old Testament, which was continued in the New Testament, but with spiritual practices and understanding.

<u>Example: Baptism</u>

In the apostles time, the church was at her beginning, there were no churches built etc… so baptism took place in rivers or lakes in an open place that is available. Then eventually by building churches they started to build a basin for baptism.

The apostles had the authority from the Lord so that by laying their hands on the person baptised or a substance, they give the Holy Spirit or call on the Holy Spirit to work in the substance or place or person. They were aware that their time will not continue more than few years and they will be martyred or departed. Hence, they made the Holy oil of Myron (or the oil of christening used in the sacrament of confirmation, or the Holy Chrism), so that when used to anoint by the bishop or priest it does the same work as the laying of the hands of the apostles.

After St Peter's sermon which touched the hearts of many (3000), the apostles first prayed on the water to be consecrated and through their prayer and apostolic authority the Holy Spirit came upon the water at that instant, and then they baptised the people and by laying their hands on the baptised people they received the Holy Spirit. Then the apostles prayed another prayer on the water so that it went back to its previous state.

After the apostolic time, it was the case of building the church and the baptismal font, then the bishop puts the Holy oil of Chrism that the apostles gave to the church and by this blessing, the baptistery is consecrated and ready to be used.

During a baptism, through the prayer of the bishop or the priest on the water the Holy Spirit comes on the water to consecrate it and make it ready for the person to be baptized in it.

At the end of the baptism, with another prayer of the priest or the bishop the water returns to its original state and is drained into a certain container underground, with holes around its side that the water goes directly to the bottom underground and not in the sewerage.

If you read the Gospel of St John Chapter 5 when the Lord went to the pool of “Bethesda” and there was a man who had been lying there for 38 years with infirmity. The Lord said to him “do you want to be made well”, he said “yes Sir but I have no- one to put me into the pool”, as an angel came once a year to stir the water, and the first one who comes into the water is healed from the disease he had, then the water turns to its origin. The angel is a symbol to the bishop or the priest of the church as in the book of Revelations the Lord spoke a message to “the angel of the church”, like the Angel of the church of Smyrna and so on.

By the prayers of the priest the water is changed by the Holy Spirit, and after the priest finishes and prays again the water comes normal as when the angel stirred the water and the first one in, was healed. In the Old Testament sickness was punishment for sin and being healed was forgiveness from sin. And you know that the Lord always for every person presented to him used to say firstly your sins are forgiven. Then take your bed and go. And when the disciples saw the blind man who was born blind with the Lord, they said to Him, Who has sinned him or his parents that he was born blind.

This is just to give you some understanding of the rituals in the Bible as they are hidden like a treasure.

The above is an example of what is meant by historical view of the subject which talks about our rituals, how they started and developed to what they are now and why; and the biblical and theological understanding of it as I explained in this example of baptism.

Theoretical

States the theories or the principles of the Church, the main target of Christianity, the architectural theories of building the Church, inside and out, different parts of the Church items and objects used in the Church and why. (Why is it built like this and not that, the vestments of the priest and deacons, the different ranks, the covering and veils used, the different substances used (oils, incense, candles etc…), the different vessels used (e.g. censor, oil lamp etc…) we refer to history, theology, tradition, Bible and Spirituality to explain why).

Practical

The practical side of that subject. It deals with the details of how to practice every section of a sacrament or service in the church. You notice a lot of movement for the priest and for the deacons. A person who recently joined the church, standing among the congregation in the church, will notice practices of bowing down at different times, and other events. This is what will be explained in this section (as much as time allows us). The explanation will cover two sides:

A. Details of the rituals, what are they?

B. The grounds for these rituals - spiritual, biblical, dogmatic, theological and traditional grounds of these practices (are they just some movements to be practised during the prayer, to show off, or are they grounded and based on the Bible and spiritual understandings and meanings. This sub-section also gives the reason for the order of prayers, order of the mass, order of the praises, order of the Holy Passion week, order of the Pentecost, the 50 days, the great holy fast etc

This can be a very long section, as it talks about the whole church life. To be honest with you, not many people in the church, in general, know all these details. This course should be at least 2 or 3 courses if not 4, but we will explain as much as the scope of this course allows us.

We will try here to understand some main items that we see every week in the church, for you to understand it and to know what it is all about. And we will also study the church as a building in another section - then we will see if we have enough time to deal with the historical part.

To study the practical side, we will firstly study the different types or orders of the church rituals that are practiced in the church life and what do they mean. We will divide them into 4 main subsections:

a) daily rituals
b) the periodical/occasional rituals
c) rituals of different services needed for the believers
d) celebratory rituals

a) <u>Daily rituals</u>

Mainly concerns the rituals that are practised every day in the life of the Church (the general public Church where the congregation meet to worship the Lord, the small unit of the Church ie. my home and the smallest unit of the Church ie. myself as a believer and as a member of the Body of Christ). This includes the daily rituals eg. The “Agpia” (book of prayers of the hours – containing selections of psalms and the gospels) and the praises which are performed in my own life and the Church, the raising of incense (which can sometimes be prayed without a Mass), and the most important of all the Holy Mass, which the Holy Fathers said could be practised every day, as is the habit in the monasteries. The daily rituals apply for the whole church being the Body of Christ our Lord, concerning the liturgical life of the church for the congregation. It also applies on the individual being a member of the church or a member of the Body of Christ our Lord. Here it includes the person’s practice of the daily spiritual life according to the guidance of his/her confession father, and this applies to the individuals whether of the clergy or laymen.

b) <u>The Periodical/Occasional rituals</u>

These study the rituals of the service that are practised only once or very occasionally throughout the year and which fall at exact times throughout the year.

Eg. The rituals of the Lordly Feasts (7 great and 7 small and two other feasts which are ritually like Lordly Feasts), the rituals of the month of “Koiak”, the rituals of the Holy Great Fasting, the 3 masses of the water (El-Lakan) which comes in Epiphany, the Great Thursday of covenant and the Apostles feast.

c) <u>The rituals of different services needed for the believers.</u>

The service of the rituals conducted according to the needs of the Congregation, (conducted when only needed). This includes 5 of the sacraments – Baptism, Confirmation, Repentance, Confession, unction of the sick, marriage and the blessing of homes. There is even a ritual prayer called “Abo Tarbo” for the person bitten by a rabid dog (a dog which has rabies), which you may have not heard about before. It was used frequently in Egypt in the old times and is sometimes used in our days. If a wild dog bites someone it might kill him and this is a special prayer to help that person (it is found in the books of the church). We mention this to demonstrate how the church, being a mother (and that why I like to refer to the church as “her” and not “it”) caters for all the needs of her children. The church to us is not the building, it is the intellectual, logical and internal service offered by her servants, to satisfy all the needs of her children the believers. In the praises before the evening incense raising, there are

sections of praise arranged on the sections of the Saturday "Theotoki", in one of them there is a verse which says "the church is a mother, her vessels are always full, her children are thirty and hungry but she always feeds them and satisfies them". When you hear this and hear that even when a wild dog bites someone, (which is very common in Egypt, in the old times and even now in some villages in upper Egypt) the church cares for and helps him/her, you feel that the church is a real mother caring for everything. Moreover, in the mass we even pray for the vegetation, plants, for rain, for the rivers, for the winds, for someone travelling, for everything… The church is like a mother looking after all the needs of her children.

d) <u>Celebratory rituals</u>

These are special rituals concerning the general Church as a whole; used for the service and order of the Church running and hierarchy. This is performed according to the need, it is usually an additional celebration with several rites that are added at certain times during the Holy Mass, eg. Ordination of Patriarchs, Bishops, priests, deacons, consecrating churches, altars, preparing and consecrating the holy "Myron" etc.

Note: what you see nowadays during consecration of the church when the Bishop or Pope comes is only consecrating the altar and icons painted on wood or on the wall. This takes 1.5 hours. Consecrating a church takes 7 hours. When this happens no one can enter the church with shoes, and in certain occasions women cannot enter the Church at all. This is what happens in the monasteries. We will not be able to explain the details of these rituals in this course.

The Ritual books used in the Church

The ritual books of the church fall under 6 groups; all are in the same level of importance and are used in the rites of the Church the whole year through. The first five groups should necessarily be available in every Church. The 6th group is only kept in the Patriarchate Library, and some of the books of the 6th group exist with the Bishops for certain uses in the parishes (but not all of them).

1. Divine books
2. Books to serve at the altar
3. Books of public reading to address the congregation
4. Books of praises
5. Books of celebratory services
6. Books of general Church service and order (this is a special group to be kept in the Patriarchate library only, and some of them are also kept with eth Bishops of the Church).

1. The Divine Books

The word "divine" gives the impression that these books are directly from God, like the Holy Bible. They are continuously used in the church life and in the personal life of the individual believers (e.g. at home).

a) These are both Testaments of the Holy Bible, used in the meetings, Sunday School meetings, the services of the Church;

b) The book of the "Agpia" which means "the prayers of the hours". Its main frame is the psalms and sections form the Gospels plus some added prayers (91% is from the Holy Bible, it is divine);

c) The book containing the 151 Psalms, used in the 1st procession of the overnight watch of "Apocalypsis" (the joyous Saturday overnight watch), it is wrapped in a white veil and carried by the priest in a procession around the whole Church at the beginning of the overnight watch prayers.

2. The Books for service at the altar

Mainly the books which concern the Holy Mass, the Holy offering (the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ). This group includes:

a) Holy Liturgy (of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril). There are other Masses like the Mass of St. John the Beloved and St. James (added to the book containing the liturgies of Saints Basil, Gregory, Cyril are the anaphora of St. John the Beloved and St. James etc). There was a book of secret prayers, which was kept aside on the altar for the Priest, but is now included in the book of the Holy Liturgy.

b) The book of the services of the deacons containing all the different responses by the deacons who serve inside the sanctuary in different occasions. It also contains all the hymns prayed by the congregation (led by the deacons who serve outside the sanctuary) in all occasions and feasts.

c) The book of praises before incense raising and during the Holy Communion time. And other praises which some people call songs, however I don't like to use this word, in the church life they are called "praises" (in Arabic "Tarateel". These praises are different from hymns which are called "El-Alhann". They are like verses of poetry that rime). This book contains praises sometimes used during the praises before the incense raising "vespers" or in the early morning incense raising and the praises at the end of the mass during the Holy Communion. It is a big book that covers the whole year.

3. Books of public reading to address the congregation

Some are used during the Holy Mass, others are used at different times.

a) The different "Katameroses" (meaning explained later) which cover the readings of all the Masses all over the whole year and the passion week.

b) The "Synaxarium" – tells the biography of the saint of each day of the Coptic Year and any important events in the history of the church that occurred on that day. According to the rituals of the church, it is NOT read in Passion Week, the 50 days after the Resurrection and the 7 great Lordly feasts.

c) The "Difnar" – is a book that throws some light (without details) on the life of the Saint or the church event celebrated on that day, with a glorification. It is used at the end of each day's midnight praises (at the conclusion of "Theotoki"). The "Difnar" is replaced by a special commentary for : the Sundays of the Holy Great Fasting, Sundays of the 50 days after the Resurrection, all of the Great Lordly feasts and some of the small Lordly feasts, and the feasts of St. Mary.

d) The Book of "Mayamer" – this is hardly used, it is a sort of contemplation of one of the Fathers in a certain occasion, and mainly used for the 3 great Lordly feasts and some of the small ones, and also on some of the days of the Passion week (But this is very rarely used).

e) The book of sermons of the Holy Fathers eg. St Athanasius the apostolic, St. John Chrysostom, St. Shenouti the Archmandrite and other fathers. Some of these sermons are read in Passion Week and on other occasions.

f) The books of explanation or commentaries (for some feasts or events of the year). Eg. after the Gospel in Epiphany, at the end of every hour in Passion week, and after the feast of the Great Resurrection.

4. Books of praises

The first is called the "**Psalmodeia"** from the word "Psalmos" which is like the English word Psalm (this is the origin of the word which means prayers chanted in verses). Some of them are taken from the psalms of the prophet David and some of them from the Fathers of the church.

There are two main books of "Psalmodeias" to serve over the whole year (the yearly "psalmodeia" and the "psalmodeia" for the month "Koiak" which covers the 4 weeks before the feast of the birth of Christ).

a) The second group of books, are the books of "Epsalies". These are special books for additional sections to be added in the praises for special occasions like the feast of the birth of Christ, the feast of baptism of Christ, the holy great fasting, Palm Sunday, the feast of the cross, the feast of the resurrection and the feasts of saints and martyrs. These added sections, are called "Epsalies", which means chanting in poetry to Praise Our Lord Jesus Christ or in exalting St Mary or one of the saints (from the original Coptic word "Epsalia").

   There is a special book for the preparation day of the birth of Christ and the day itself, and for the preparation day for Epiphany and the day itself.

   There is a book for the "Epsalies" of the Holy Great Lent and its commentaries and it also contains the order and the readings of the procession of the Holy Cross. (There are 3 processions of the Holy Cross, and they should all be conducted during the early raising of incense).

   The book of "Epsalies" of feasts and saints. It basically gives 2 or more "Epsalies" for every single feast and for many of the saints.

b) The book of Spiritual praises that are used at the end of the mass, glorifications etc.

c) The books for different church services needed by the believers and the books of glorifications for angels and saints.

d) The book that includes the prayers of these 4 sacraments: Baptism (this includes the prayer for the water; prayer for the woman; prayer for the catechumen; the prayer for the washing of the child after 7 days (from birth); and the commandments to be read on the godparents), Confirmation, Unction of the sick, engagement and the different Marriage prayers (for first marriages and second marriages which are due to death or divorce), prayer for "Abo Tarbo", and the different prayers for funerals.

e) The book for Glorification of St. Mary, Angels and Saints

f) The book of blessing new homes and properties.

g) The books kept in the Patriarchate Library, only a few of them are kept with the Bishops. These are:

h) The book of consecrations which contains the rituals for: laying foundation stones for new churches and consecration of altars, the book of consecration for the whole church building from inside, the book for consecrating the vessels used for the mass, the icons, and ordaining priests and deacons in all their ranks (this book is also kept with all the Bishops)

ii) The book of ordination of monks and nuns – the Bishop will only have this if there is a monastery in his parish (also in monasteries and convents).

iii) Both of these books should be in the Patriachate library and added to them are;

iv) The book for ordaining Patriarchs, Enthronement of the Patriarch (if a Patriarch is chosen from amongst the monks he will be ordained a Patriarch, but if he was a bishop before, it will be a prayer of Enthronement only), and for ordaining Bishops and Metropolitans

v) The book for consecrating Churches

vi) The book for consecrating Altars

vii) The book for the Holy Chrism/Myron (prayers during preparing the Myron oil).

Different types of 'Katameroses' used in the church

Now, we will go to the third group of these six groups of books. The main book in this group is the book we call in Coptic "Katameroc" which is simply in English the "portion" of readings allotted to each day. "Katameroc" is equal to the Greek word in Coptic letters "Kathyn-mermin". Some letters in the origin Greek will be different. "Kata" means "according to" & "meroc" means "the portion or what belongs to". So katameros means "according to what belong to everyday" or originally if you hear the word "kata eheo meros" it means what belongs to that day's readings or according to that day what are the readings. People usually say "katamaros" as they used to hear it but the right pronunciation is "katameros".

This book includes the readings of the vespers, matins and mass (Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistle, reading of the Acts which we call "Epraxis" (from the Greek word "Eprax" which means a story) and readings of the main Psalm and Gospel of the mass.

To understand why the church chose specific readings for specific days we require a long detailed study. The church arranged the readings for the whole year in a frame, inspired by the Holy Spirit in an amazing way, to go in two lines, vertical and horizontal, and it covers in a round frame the event of the day, and a target of a period e.g. the Great Holy Fasting, the 50 days of joy after the resurrection, the period of St Mary Fasting and so on. It is really amazing to understand, but for now we'll at least gain an idea about the book of "katameros". There are several different books of "katameros" used in the church:

1. "Katameros" of Sundays
2. "Katameros" of days
3. "Katameros" of Holy great fasting
4. "Katameros" of Passion Week
5. "Katameros" of Holy Joyous 50 days

These are the main "katameroses", which we use according to the time of the year they cover. All of them provide 6 main readings for every single Mass or Liturgy, three of them are comprised of 2 sections. What does this mean? The basic ground for the "katameros" is to provide reading of Vespers, Matins and the Mass. The readings in part are as follow:

1) Vespers has selected verses from one or more psalms and a Gospel
2) Matins has selected verses from psalms and a Gospel
3) Main Mass has
   a) Pauline, which is part of one of St Paul's 14 epistles.
   b) Catholicon e.g. one of the universal letters, the letter of St James, St Peter, St John and St Jude.

c) Acts part of the book of Acts, which has the story of the 12 Apostles, called “Epraxis”. The word “Eprax” means story

d) The main Psalm and Gospel of the Mass.

The “Katameros” of the Holy Great Fasting is quite different from the others. It adds some other readings from the Old Testament in a certain order, which we will talk about later. It still provides the same six sections like the other “katameros” plus additional readings. The order of readings for the fast of Nineveh is the same as that of the holy great fasting. Although Jonah fasted 3 days in the belly of the Great Fish, it was not voluntary, he was forced. However, the people of Nineveh fasted willingly for repentance and forgiveness of sins, and God forgave them. For this reason the fast is preferably called the fast of Nineveh (instead of the fast of Jonah).

We will return to the 5 books of “katameros” mentioned above.

- No 1 and No 2 are the most used books in the church life over the whole year
- No 3 is used only in 58 days of the year
- No 4 is used only in 6 days of the year
- No 5 is used only in 50 days of the year

So No. 3,4,5 are used in 115 days of the year, and the other 250 days are covered by the other 2 books.

The “katameros” of the days provides the readings of all the days, the 250days that are not covered by No. 3,4,5 except Sundays. Because we do not know in which day of the month Sunday will come, there is “katameros” of Sundays (No.1) which covers only Sundays. It covers some of the feasts but not all. This book employs a system called “borrowing”, where readings of other days are borrowed, so that they match the event celebrated that day e.g. Ecumenical council, feast of St Mary, feast of Archangel Michael and other archangels, feast of the martyrs etc... For example, for the feasts of the apostles, the church selected readings that match with the lives of the apostles and repeats them every time we have a feast of a disciple or an apostle. The same for feasts of the archangels etc...

This is the system of borrowing the readings. But the Lordly feasts are special, each one has its own readings included in the yearly day “katameros” except for resurrection, Pentecost, Palm Sunday and the Great Thursday. While the book of Sundays covers all the Sundays of the year, except the period of the Holy Great Fasting, the Passion Week and the Holy Joyous 50 days. These three occasions move from year to year according to the Jewish Passover because we always feast of the resurrection of the Lord the Sunday following the Jewish Passover according to what happened in the days of the Lord Himself. The Jewish Passover changes from one year to the other depending on the moon of the month.

The period of the holy great fasting, the Passion Week and the fifty joyous days after the resurrection, always comes in the period of the months ‘Baramhat’, ‘Baramouda’ and half of the month ‘Amshir’. So we will find the Katameros of Sunday covering all the Coptic year *except* this period, which is skipped, because the church does not repeat the event in different books.

The Sundays’ readings have been put in order in a certain way, horizontal and vertical to cover how the Lord saved me in an amazing order. But it is too much to be covered in such a course. It is very deep to understand how the Holy Spirit guided the fathers to select all these readings with such deep meanings.

Detailed explanation about the "katameros" of the Holy Great Fasting and Passion Week

In the Holy Great fasting, I prefer this name rather than the lent. We will divide the readings of the Holy Great fasting into two main sections:

1. Saturdays and Sundays
2. Days from Monday to Friday plus the 3 days of fasting of the people of Nineveh and their repentance.

By the way those three days of the Nineveh was not in the church life from the beginning, they were added in the middle, one of the Patriarchs was from Assyrian origin used to fast those 3 days and did not fast the 7days preparation before the 40 days, so it was a bit of disagreement between the Patriarch on one side, and the bishops and the other congregation on the other side. So they have come to a resolution that the church will fast the three days of Nineveh and he fasts the 7 days of the preparation, this how it is started around the third century.

The three days of the fasting of the Nineveh and their rituals are practiced the same as the 40 days of the Holy Great fasting. This based on that the Lord fasted the 40 days abstaining from food and drink and also the people of Nineveh fasted for three days without food or drink, that's why the church considered them at the same level like the Holy Great fasting.

As we are talking about the period of the holy great fasting, also the hymns and all sections of the praises before vespers and the midnight praises are different on Saturdays and Sundays from the ones used form Monday to Friday in the great holy fasting. Also the three days of Nineveh are the same tunes like the praises from Monday to Friday. This is just very brief and will be detailed in the section for hymns.

Returning to the books of the readings in the Holy Great fasting, we do not pray the evening incense raising or vespers except Saturday only. But from Monday to Friday if we have a mass every day, we will not have vespers. On Sunday evening, we have something called "the Sunday evening service". In it, there is thanksgiving prayer, a reading of the Gospel and a commentary. Sadly, this is hardly practised lately, but at least you now know how the early church was.

The reason why we do not have evening incense raising or vespers from Monday to Friday during the holy great fasting, is that the abstaining from food and drink on those days should continue until 5 pm, and the holy masses should end by the same time. The origin from the Jewish system is that the new day of the church life starts from the sunset of the day before. Hence, finishing the mass at 5 pm is very close to the beginning of the new day, which means we cannot pray vespers. That is why you notice that in the masses of those days of the fasting we pray the "Agpia" prayers till the 12th hour. From this explanation, you will find another difference in the "Katameros" of the holy great fasting, that there is no readings for vespers of the masses from Monday to Friday.

Another difference in the "Katameros" of the holy great fasting is that before the gospel of the morning incense raising there are some prophecies and sections of the Old Testament added, which differ in their number and length from day to another. This involves some special rituals which are not practised in the normal early morning incense raising for the normal days of the year.

Another thing we have to know that the period of the Holy Great fasting and the 50 days after the resurrection and before the Pentecost is divided into weeks e.g. the first week, second week, third week etc… Always the Sunday comes after the days (e.g. we'll be having Monday of the

first week till the Saturday of the first week, then we have the first Sunday, and so on…)
So always the days precedes Sunday in the same week, because Sunday crowns the week or collects the week.

We find also something amazing about how the readings in the "Katameros" of the Holy Great Fasting have been selected and put together. The readings form a complete theme going on steps from week to another. We find that every single week is centred around a target which is part of the main theme of the whole fasting period. The target of each week is highlighted in the readings of the Sunday. Deeply understanding it, you find that the readings of the Sunday for each week is the centre of the week and also crowns its readings with highlighting the target of that week. The targets of the seven weeks of the holy great fasting go along in steps from first week to the last fulfilling the theme of the whole fasting period. By this you feel that the Holy Spirit has guided the fathers in selecting those readings to be like a spiritual trip taking the believer from the first Sunday to the end, stepping up gradually until the conclusion of the holy fasting fulfilling the spiritual theme targeted; and amazingly you find that the spiritual meanings of the palm Sunday and the Sunday of the Holy Resurrection perfects the spiritual understanding of the theme fulfilled in the period of the holy great fasting.

The readings included in the Katameros of the Holy Great Fasting

Readings of Sundays	Readings of Saturdays	Readings of the days from Monday to Friday & also the three days of Ninevah	Readings of the Feast of Jonah
For every Sunday the Katameros contains the following readings: 1. Psalm and Gospel for Vespers 2. Psalm and Gospel for Early Morning Incense Raising 3. Pauline Epistle 4. Catholicon Epistle 5. The Acts 6. Psalm and Gospel of the Holy Mass 7. Psalm and Gospel of the Evening of the Sunday	The readings for Saturdays include the following: 1. Prophecies for early morning (not usually read) 2. Psalm and Gospel for Early Morning Incense Raising 3. Pauline Epistle 4. Catholicon Epistle 5. The Acts 6. Psalm and Gospel of the Holy Mass Note: The last Saturday of the Great Fasting is Lazarus Saturday which	For every mass of these days the readings include: 1. Prophecies for early morning 2. Psalm and Gospel for Early Morning Incense 3. Pauline Epistle 4. Catholicon Epistle 5. The Acts 6. Psalm and Gospel of the Holy Mass Note: There is no readings for Vespers as they are not prayed in the days of the Great Fasting.	The readings for the mass of Jonah's Feast include: 1. Psalm and Gospel for Early Morning Incense Raising (there is no Vespers) 2. Pauline Epistle 3. Catholicon Epistle 4. The Acts 5. Psalm and Gospel for the Holy Mass Note: Its hymns and order follow the normal year rituals.

	follows the normal year rituals.		

The Katameros of the Passion Week

The "Katameros" of the Passion Week contains readings of the hours of the Holy Passion Week, which most people follow and attend. It is based on hours; the system of the hours is: five hours in the morning and five hours in the evening. On the Palm Sunday, the ninth and eleventh hours are prayed with the same passion week system and always prayed before the five evening hours of that day (which is the evening of the Monday of the holy Pascha)

As we explained before, that the day in the church life starts from the sunset of the day before. The same will be in the prayers of the holy Pascha, so if we are starting the prayer on Monday morning, we say "the first hour of the Monday morning", and so on, the third, sixth, ninth and eleventh. When we start the evening service, we say "the first hour of the evening of the Tuesday of the holy Pascha" and so on to the eleventh hour.

Also on the Palm Sunday, after finishing the Holy Communion with the joyous tunes of the Palm Sunday, being a great Lordly feast; the priest does not conclude as usual but he closes the curtain of the sanctuary and starts praying the general funeral for all the congregation. This funeral is prayed as we cannot conduct any service different from the hours of the holy Pascha. So, just in case someone dies during the Passion week, that person had already attended the funeral. His body in the coffin attends one of the hours of the holy Pascha, and some of the water that attended the general funeral and is kept in the church is sprinkled on his body and then he is buried.

On the Holy Great Thursday, the readings of the morning hours, are divided on the service of that day. The readings of the first hour is included in a certain order during the morning incense raising. Then the basin used for the "lakan" is filled with water to attend the prayers of the third, sixth and ninth hours. Then the prayers of the "Lakan" are conducted, then the holy mass; at the end of it, the curtain of the sanctuary is closed and the eleventh hour of that day is prayed during Holy Communion.

The Holy Great Friday, being the main day of the Pascha, all the gospels of its hours are prayed from the four gospels; i.e. the hours of the evening and the whole Friday are explaining the steps of the crucifixion of our Lord; each single event of them is read from the four gospels. Only the first hour of the evening of the Holy Friday, its four gospels are all taken from the gospel of St John the Evangelist, and are called the sections of the Holy Spirit "the Paraclete". The morning hours of the Holy Great Friday itself, are six hours and have a certain order different from the normal hours of the Holy Pascha. They go from the first hour to the twelfth hour which is prayed in the first chorus with opening the curtain of the sanctuary and taking away all the black flags. The twelfth hour is concluded by the burial service. Then the psalms are read until psalm 150.

Then comes the resurrection, there is a special "katameors" (for the Holy fifty days), which starts with the readings of the Resurrection Sunday and goes along until the Sunday of the Pentecost when the Holy Spirit descended upon the holy apostles like tongues of fire. The readings of this "Katameros" of the fifty days is based on a similar system of weeks as explained for the "Katameros" of the holy great fasting. But we should note here that the readings of all the fifty days have no additions like the ones of the great fasting. They go like the normal year days (psalm and gospel for vespers, psalm and gospel of early morning incense, pauline epistle, catholicon epistle, acts and psalm and gospel for the mass).

There are other books that are used in different services according to the need of the believers, which also contain some readings selected from the Bible. Those books are considered books of service and are not from the group of "Katameros" books.

Those books are:

1. The prayer of the Absolution of the women after giving birth
2. Prayers for baptising a new believer
3. The prayer of the water after 7 days (prior to a child's baptism)
4. The prayers for weddings
5. The sacrament of Holy Unction (Anointment of the sick)
6. The book of Pentecost afternoon {Prayer of "El-Sagda" (the kneeling down)}
7. The prayers for funerals
8. The prayers of the 3 masses of "Lakan"
9. The prayer of blessing new homes and properties

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION FOUR

This section is divided into two main subsections:

a) The structure of the Holy Mass (Liturgy) with its different sections
b) Hymnology - study of different hymns in the church worship life

A. The structure of the Holy Mass (Liturgy)

The Holy Liturgy is divided into:

- The service of the evening incense which contains “Agpia” prayer, praises, and incense raising.
- Midnight praises which contains “Agpia” prayer, praises and the priest’s absolution
- The service of the early morning incense, which contains “Agpia” prayer, early morning “Zoxologies” and incense raising.
- The service of the offertory : 1) Preparation and offertory
  2) Mass of the catechumen
  3) Mass of the believers

This is what we call the Holy Mass, it shows you how much you miss if you only attend part of it. We will briefly explain them all.

First section: the service of morning and evening incense.

It starts with the prayers of the “Agpia” (this word is derived from the Greek word “agp” which means “hour”. Hence, the “Agpia” means “prayers of the hours”).

The Agpia

The “Agpia” has 7 hours plus one hour for the Monks (the prayer of the veil of the day). Any one can pray the veil prayer but it is long so the Monks usually are the only ones who pray it because they have dedicated their lives to the Lord. The book of “Agpia” has morning, 3rd, 6th, 9th, 11th, 12th, veil of the day, and midnight prayer, which is comprised of 3 services and a conclusion.

Each hour of the “Agpia” has:

- Introduction: Our Father, Thanksgiving prayer, Psalm 50
- Psalms
- Gospel
- Sections of prayers after the Gospel followed by:
- the Trisagion (Holy God, Holy Almighty...), Our Father…
- Hail to ST Mary
- The Beginning of the Creed – “We honour you mother of true light”
- The Creed
- Lord have mercy 41 times
- Holy, Holy, Holy
- Absolution
- Concluding prayer

In the morning and in the evening we add other prayers, which are: the section starting with "let us praise with the angels…" in the morning; and the section starting with "Lord by your grace protect us…" in the evening. This is the main frame of the hourly prayers of the "Agpia". The only prayer which is slightly different is the midnight prayer.

In the church life, we fulfill the seven hours' prayers in the one-day service. The mass and the preparation for it starts from the eve of the day e.g. the Sunday mass starts with vespers on Saturday night where some of the "Agpia" prayers are prayed, and the rest of them are prayed the next day in the mass. By the end of the Mass we should have prayed the seven hours. For example, on Saturday we go to church in the late afternoon. We start by praying the 9th, 11th and 12th hour prayers, then the praises before the raising of incense (vespers), followed by the incense raising. Then we pray the midnight prayer of the "Agpia", followed by the midnight praise. In the following morning we pray the morning prayer from the "Agpia" (first hour) then the raising of incense, then section 1 of the mass starting with the 3rd and 6th hours. By this, the seven hours of the "Agpia" have been completed in the full service of the one day.

Incense Raising

The evening incense raising is known by the word **"Vespers"**, and the morning incense raising is known by the word **"Matins".**

I would like to highlight here, that in recent times the majority of the congregation neglects attending the incense raising not realising its great importance being a part of the Holy Mass. The church guided by the Holy Spirit, have put the service of the incense raising on Biblical understanding according to the verse: "*Let my prayer be set before You as incense, the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice*." (Ps 141:2)

To easily understand the structure of the incense raising service (evening or morning), I will put it in a diagram (see diagram next page).

Diagram explaining the structure of the incense raising service

Incense Raising

1- Have mercy upon us, the Lord's prayer, Thanksgiving prayer

2- Verses of the Cymbals

3- Litanies: Departed, Sick, travelers, offerings
(not all of them are used at one time)

4- The "Zoxologies", the Creed

5- the beginning of the Creed, the Creed

6- O God Have mercy upon us, response (Lord have Mercy 3 times in its tune)

7- Litany of the Gospel

8- Gospel reading

9- Gospel response

10- Litanies after the gospel

11- conclusion

Introduction

We notice something here, at the very beginning of incense raising when the priest starts by opening the curtain of the sanctuary; he begins by saying "*Have mercy upon us O God the Father the Almighty…*". Also this is the beginning of any other service conducted in the church. There is a beautiful deep spiritual meaning in it, which I felt I have to stop at it before explaining the sections of incense raising. Also we notice that even in the personal prayers at home there is something similar in meaning but not in the same wording with which the believer starts his "Agpia" prayer at home.

Some of the spiritual meanings in this beginning are:

1. "Have mercy upon us" is just asking Him to allow us to call Him, to talk to Him, pray to Him because, any time you pray, God inclines His ear to listen to you. He is surrounded by the praises of the Cherubim, the Seraphim, and all the hosts of Angels; but every time we pray He listens. It is great love and mercy from Him to listen to us, considering our many sins. If God will look to our sins He will never be pleased to listen to us or even look upon us, as in (Isaiah 1: 15). And we know that none of us is without sin at any moment of life. That is why it is very befitting to start by asking Him to have mercy upon us before we raise our faces and lift our voices in front of Him, especially standing in front of His Holy altar.

2. Just after this beginning ("Have mercy upon us O God…"), the priest to announces all to pray "Our Father who art in heaven…". God made us His children and granted us to call Him "Father". Calling God our Father in the Old Testament did not exist, it has started from our Lord when He said "When you pray say "Our Father Who art in Heaven…". So through His mercy and by His incarnation to redeem us and renew our nature which was corrupted, we can say Our Father. So the order here is going spiritually perfect, that we firstly ask His mercy, then secondly we dare to call Him "Our Father…".

3. After praying "Our Father…", the priest starts the prayer of thanksgiving. Here it is following the beautiful spiritual order which is: with His mercy upon us, we dared to call Him Father, so we feel that we have to thank Him for this. Hence, the prayer of thanksgiving comes in place. We notice in the prayer of thanksgiving that we thank our God "on every condition, for every condition and in every condition". Here, no matter what circumstances we are in, it is enough for us to feel that He accepted me as a son or daughter, and I dare to call Him Father. This in itself is worth a lot of thanks, no matter what condition we are in.

This is to give you just a little taste of the spirituality hidden behind the rituals, and why the church fathers, guided by the Holy Spirit, put the sections of the prayers in that very order.

Explaining the parts of the incense raising mentioned above.

We can stop at each section explaining it ritually, and also deeply understanding it spiritually. I think that the time of that course will not be sufficient for this, so here I will explain only ritually in brief the sections of incense raising.

1. The priest enters the sanctuary, kneels before the altar and kisses it, and takes the cross from on the altar. Standing outside in front of the royal door, he opens the curtain of the sanctuary from left to right, with the cross in his hand and while praying "have mercy upon us O God…". Then he announces to all the Lord's prayer, then prays the prayer of thanksgiving with its responses.

2. The deacons outside leading the congregation chant the "verses of cymbals". During that the priest enters the sanctuary with the right foot, the deacon brings the censor and the priest puts in it five spoons of incense and raises the incense around the altar with the ritual order then stands at the middle of the royal door and raises the incense in front of it in the ritual order, then waits in his place until the deacons finish the verses of cymbals.

3. The priest starts the litanies. Always in vespers he prays only the litany of the departed (there is an opinion to pray the litany of the sick in vespers of the great Lordly feasts). In the mornings of all Saturdays, only the litany of the departed is prayed; as our Lord was in the tomb on the Saturday morning. In the other days of the week, the priest prays two litanies. The first is fixed, which is the litany of the sick. The second one varies; in all joyous days, Sundays and normal days without fasting, the litany of oblation is prayed after the litany of the sick. In the days of the holy Great Fasting (except for Saturdays and Sundays), the litany of the travellers is prayed. In all other fasting days away from the great fasting and three days of Nineveh, if the oblations (the bread for the offertory) are present in the church, we pray the litany of oblations after the litany of the sick; if not, we pray the litany of the travellers instead.

4. After the litanies, the priest raises the incense with which we call "the full procession of incense" around the altar and the whole church in its usual order. During that the deacons leading the congregation pray together the "Zoxologies" for St Mary, archangel Michael, the apostles, St Mark the apostle and any choice of heavenly hosts, martyrs and saints according to the individual church order.

5. The priest standing in the middle of the "royal door", announces to all reciting the beginning of the Creed then the Creed. During this, he is holding the cross in his hand and the deacon prepares for him three lit candles to hold them with the cross.

6. While the deacons are chanting the conclusion of the Creed in its tune, the priest with the cross and three candles in his right hand, silently signs the cross towards the south, west and north. Then standing towards the east, he starts praying "Have mercy upon us…" with its known tune while lifting up both his hands. (In the incense raising of the two feasts of the cross and the Palm Sunday, there should be a big wooden cross adorned with palms or roses and fitted with three candles. Here,

the priest holds this cross while praying “God have mercy upon us…” instead of the altar cross with the three candles.)

After the priest finishes this prayer, he stays in his place with the cross and candles in his right hand until the deacons finish chanting “Lord have mercy” three times in its tune.

7. While the priest is in his place, after the deacons chant “Lord have mercy” three times, the priest starts the litany of the gospel and he signs the congregation with the cross and the three candles when saying “peace be with you all”. Then, he gives the cross and the candles to the deacon who is ready with the censor and the box of incense, he takes the censor from the deacon, signs the box of incense and puts one spoon of incense in the censor and starts praying the litany of the gospel.

vers. Some one sick, some one traveling, and any movement even to work for 10 min

8. At the end of the litany of the gospel, the priest turns around the altar while offering incense with the deacon in front of him carrying the gospel and the cross until he reaches the royal door and starts praying the usual introduction for reading the Holy Gospel while raising incense and then the gospel is read. It is always the order that the highest rank present at the time in the church reads the gospel. (The patriarch, or the bishop, or the priest if none of them is present).

9. At the end or reading the gospel, the response for the gospel is chanted by the deacons leading the congregation. We should note here that there is a fixed response for the normal yearly days while there are different responses for different feasts and occasions.

10. The priest is ready in the middle of the royal door, holding the censor in his right hand while the deacons are chanting the response for the gospel. After it, the priest prays “the litanies after the gospel”, which are called the small litanies (the litany for the peace of the church; the litany for the patriarch; the litany for the place; the litany for the waters, the rains, the plants and the winds of the heaven; and the litany for the congregation).

11. By the end of the litanies, the priest announces to all the Lord’s prayer while he enters the sanctuary, prays the two first absolutions for “the Son”, then he takes the cross from on the altar, goes outside at the royal door facing east (preferable to be kneeling) he prays the third absolution, then the deacon chants the concluding hymn and the priest says the blessing and sends the people in peace.

B. Hymnology

The order of the Hymns in the Holy Church

The hymnody (the hymns) in the Holy Church are a very deep and profound matter; you can never fully understand its depth. It covers the whole Coptic year with all its different occasions, services, celebrations and rituals. The Coptic Church is really a unique church in her hymnology, and you can easily feel the Holy Spirit guiding the church in distributing the hymns around the year with the different tunes which really match the occasion and really stir the feeling of the human soul.

In general, the hymns of the Church are grouped according to:

1. The tune of the hymn and
2. The system or group of the hymn.

The structure of the Hymnology of the Church

1. The hymns of the Holy Masses and occasions and other Church services submit to one of these main tunes:

a) Normal year days
b) Joyful tunes
c) Sad tunes

2. The sections of the Holy Mass which the priest prays from the beginning of the prayer of reconciliation till the end submit to 3 main tunes, which depend on the Liturgy itself:
   a) Liturgy of St. Basil
   b) Liturgy of St. Gregory
   c) Liturgy of St. Cyril

3. All the parts of the praises and the 2 hymns of the first 2 sections of the Mass of the Believers (which follow the creed), which are entitled ASPASMOS fall under these two systems or groups of hymnology.
   a) “Watos”
   b) “Adam’

(ASPASMOS means ‘peace by exchanging a kiss’ in Coptic. The “Aspasmos” hymns are the ‘rejoice Oh Mary’ and ‘Oh Lord of hosts’. The hymn ‘rejoice Oh Mary’ is under the heading of “Aspasmos” because God reconciled us to Himself and united us to be one in Him, so we have to reconcile with each other. The second hymn ‘Oh Lord of hosts, look down on your vine’ is also called “Aspasmos” because it is a prayer of reconciliation to us, as He is looking upon us after we had been in enmity because of sin before our Lord Jesus Christ saved us. Without having peace we cannot start the “Anaphora” (which is a Greek word meaning the offertory). This is the beginning of the real consecration of the Sacrament in order that we may have Him inside us. (We cannot partake of His Body and Blood without Love towards one another and His love to us).

The word “Adam” refers to the first word in the first verse in Coptic for the “Theotokia” of Monday. Monday is the middle day of the three days where we use the tunes “Adam” (Sunday, Monday and Tuesday). So it was taken to apply on the tunes used in the praises of those days. This has been taken with the understanding that the “Theotokia” is the main or core section of the daily praises.

The word “Watos” is also the first word in the first verse in Coptic for the Thursday “theotokia”, which is again the middle day of the days for the tunes “Watos” in praises (Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday).

There is a deep spiritual understanding here concerning the two words ‘Watos’ and ‘Adam’. The first verse in the Thursday “Theotokia” starting with the word “Watos” indicated the first symbol for the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ to save us, which is the bush seen by Moses which was full of fire but never burning, as a symbol to St Mary who had the divinity inside her womb without burning her. While the first verse of the Monday “Theotokia” starting with the word “Adam”, refers to the pleasure of God to save Adam, returning him to his rank by salvation through God’s incarnation.

4. Explanation for the order of Tasbeha
   a) The sections of ‘Tasbeha’ or of ‘praises’ (like the 4 “hoases” and the introductions) have only 1 tune the whole year. Only the 4th “hoas” changes slightly during the month of “Koiak”.

   b) The “Theotokia” of midnight praises falls under the two sections ‘Adam’ and ‘Watos’ and each of them in its system has a fixed tune the whole year, with only a slight change during the month of “Koiak”.

(The "Epsalies" of all the days also fall under the two systems 'Adam Epsalies' and 'Watos" "Epsalies". Note: that the tunes of both the "Adam" and "Watos Epsalies" change from the normal tune to a different tune in the joyous days and also in the month of "Koiak".)

The other sections of the praises (the congregation of the saints, the doxologies, the "lobsh" of the "Theotokia", the conclusion of the "Theotokia", the responses of the gospels during the mass, and psalm 150 at the end of the mass during Holy Communion) have 6 different tunes as follows:

i. Yearly
ii. Joyous
iii. Month of "Koiak"
iv. The Holy Great Fasting (Monday to Friday)
v. The Holy Great Fasting (Saturday to Sunday)
vi. Palm Sunday and the feasts of the cross.

5. In some occasions like the month of "Koiak", or the joyous Saturday, or the Great Holy Fasting Midnight praises; or the Midnight praises of the preparation day and the great Lordly feasts, we add sections to the Midnight praises, and sometimes they have different tunes, but they never change the basic order of the Midnight praises main sections.

The verses of cymbals

i) They are prayed during incense raising (evening or early morning) after the Prayer of Thanksgiving. Also some other verses of cymbals are prayed in some services like weddings and funerals. They are chanted in 3 different tunes:

a) The normal year tune
b) The joyous tune which applies to the special verses for the Lordly Feasts, or the joyous occasion we are in, then turns to the normal yearly tune for the rest of the verses.
c) Only for the three great Lordly Feasts (The birth of Christ, the baptism of Christ and the resurrection) there is an additional section taken from the beginning of the early morning "Zoxologies" prayed in its special joyous tune, then the verses of the feast are prayed, then the necessary verses of the saints of the church in their normal yearly tune. Then we conclude with the verses of the hymn "ep-ouro" (O king of peace…) in the same yearly tune. (This is known in the church terminology by "the seven tunes").

ii) During the Holy Great Fasting and the three days of Ninevah's fasting, we pray vespers only on Saturdays and likewise on the evening of the feast of the cross which falls during the fast, and on the evening of the feast of annunciation (if it comes during the fast). According to this the verses of cymbals are prayed only in the evenings of the above mentioned days and in the early morning incense raising of the Saturdays, Sundays, the feast of the cross and the feast of annunciation if it falls during the fasting. For the rest of the days of the holy great fasting and the three days of Ninevah's fasting we do not pray verses of cymbals in the early morning incense raising, but its is replaced by chanting the word "kirie-eleyson" = "Lord have mercy in a special long tune.

iii) In the "Adam" and "Watos" days, the verses of cymbals are the same except for the introduction being different by 2 verses in the "Watos" and 3 or 5 verses for the 'Adam'. The difference is in words only while keeping the same tune.

6. The two Feasts of the Cross are not considered Lordly feasts, but they are treated like the Lordly feasts; this means that the Mass and the praises are prayed in the Joyous tunes (so are the procession, the responses to the Gospels and Psalm 150 during the Holy Communion). The sections of the Midnight Praises with changeable tunes follow the 6th tune (for Palm Sunday and the Feasts of the Cross, see above #4).

7. a) The general services (Baptism, Unction of the sick, funerals, blessing new homes etc) submit to the tune of that time of the year.

   b)The engagements and weddings are always prayed according to the joyous tune no matter what time of year we are in (but they should not be performed during the fasting days)

8. Passion Week, which is from the 9th hour of Palm Sunday till the verses of the psalm during Holy communion of the Joyous Saturday, has its own tunes that differ or repeat according to the hour and the day of the Passion week. There are readings of a psalm and gospel and then after it psalm 22 is chanted in a special tune that is used only on joyous Saturday.

9. The glorifications that are prayed during the feasts of saints, and in different occasions, fall under the original tune of the hymn or the way of the glorification according to its occasion and some verses at its end are prayed in the tune of Palm Sunday. Note that the tunes of glorification for the saints are constant throughout the year regardless of the time of year.

The structure of "Tasbeha"

"Tasbeha" prepares the Church and the believers to receive Christ the king who is coming in the Holy Mass. The "Tasbeha" is like the Old Testament which leads to the New Testament (the Holy Mass). The Old Testament tells us about Christ whom we knew. The "Tasbeha" tells us about Christ whom we will receive. That is why "Tasbeha" is always prayed outside the altar, and the curtain is closed. "Tasbeha" is very rich in Theology, Rituals, tradition and Spirituality.

"Tasbeha" praises are divided into 3 main praises of "Tasbehas".

1. The vespers praises – prayed before the evening incense raising

2. The midnight praises, to be prayed before the "Tasbeha" of the early incense raising

3. The praises of the early morning (which precede the early morning incense raising).

'Epsalmodeia' comes from the 'Epsal' – which means 'praises which are chanted' and 'odeia' – which means 'the book from which we get the praises'.

Hoas – this is a Coptic word which means Praise.

The Epsalia is a group of verses chanted in tune and always ordered in an alphabetical order according to the Coptic alphabet.

Zoxologia – is a Greek word composed of two sections; Zoxa which means Glory and Logia which means blessing. So as a whole it means a glorification for a blessing.

Theotokia – this is a Greek word. Theotokos is the mother of God, so the Theotokia is that which is about the mother of God.

Lobsh – this is a Coptic word which means explanation. It always follows the Theotokia to highlight the meanings.

Difnar – Its original word is 'antephenar'. This is a Greek word which means history explained in a way which glorifies the Saint or the occasion.

<u>1. The Evening Praises before Evening Incense Raising</u>

1. It starts with the prayers of the 9th, 11th and 12th hours from the 'Agpia' (which is the share of vespers in praying the whole seven hours of the 'Agpia' in completion of the full service of the one day, as explained in section 3).

2. After the 'Agbia' prayers, we pray the Hymn of 'ni ethnos teerou' which means ' all you nations'.

3. The fourth 'Hoas'. The end of 'ni ethnos teerou' leads you to the hymn of the fourth 'Hoas'.

4. The 'Epsali(s)'. On Saturday and Sunday we have two 'Epsalies' (one for St Mary and the original 'Epsali' for our Lord Jesus Christ). From Monday to Friday, we have only one main 'Epsali' for our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. The 'Theotokia'.

6. The 'Lobsh' of the day.

7. The conclusion of the day's 'Theotokia'.

Note: In some occasions, like the Saturday of the Great Fasting, the 1st four Saturdays after the Great Feast of the Resurrection, and all the feasts of St. Mary (the memorial feasts on the 21st of the month and the memorial days of the 29th of 'Baramhat' for the Annunciation), there is a commentary that is read between the 'Lobsh' and the conclusion of the day's service.

2. Midnight Praises

It should be prayed after Midnight (3am) but it is prayed after Vespers here in Australia.

The structure of the midnight praises

1. It starts with praying the 3 services of Midnight prayers in the 'Agpia' :

2. The beginning of the Midnight Praises, which is composed of 2 sections, one permanent: 'Ten thino' (arise children of light) and 'tennav' (we look at the resurrection of our Lord). 'Tennav' is prayed in all the 50 days after the resurrection, and then only on Sundays until the fourth Sunday of 'Hatour' (Because we then start 'Koiak').

3. 1st 'Hoas': the praise of Moses the prophet and his sister Miriam the prophetess after they crossed the Red Sea

4. 2nd 'Hoas' which is psalm 136 chanted in verses.

5. 3rd 'Hoas' – here we get all the creation to share with us in praising the Lord. The last two verses and the words 'hoas erof ari ho chasf' have a long tune which can be prayed (takes about 10 minutes). The tune that ends the 3rd 'Hoas' leads into the 'Epsali' of the 3 young men.

6. 'Epsali' of the 3 young men

7. The praise of the 3 young men, also called the introduction to the congregation of the saints.

8. The congregation of the Holy Saints. Note the order of the congregation of the holy Saints according to our church rites is:
   - St. Mary
   - The Heavenly Hosts

- The Patriarchs; Abraham, Isaac and Jacob
- The Great prophets
- John the Baptist with the 144, 000 virgins of the Revelation
- The Apostles
- The Martyrs
- The Confessors
- The Saints of wilderness and cross bearers
- The Ecumenical council fathers (like Sts. Athanasius, Dioscoros, Cyril)
- The Kings and Queens involved in Church life (like Sts. Constantine and Helena)
- Concluding general verse
- The patriarch and the bishop of the diocese.

This is the order we always use whenever we glorify the Saints (in 'Tasbeha', in the Holy Mass, in 'Zoxologies', in Glorifications, for the order of placing icons on the 'Iconostatsis') We say 'ari-epresvevin' (intercede on our behalf) for St. Mary, the Heavenly Hosts and for St. John the Baptist (because he was called the angel coming before the Lord) and the 144, 000 virgins because they were seen in Revelation which is related to Heaven. Therefore we say 'ari presvevin' for anyone who is heavenly or called in heaven like an angel. We say 'toabh em epchoise' (pray to the Lord on our behalf) for any saint who completed his struggle on earth and his soul is in paradise.

The Midnight Praises then continue as following:

9. The 'Zoxologies' (in the same order as for the congregation of Saints). The 'Zoxology' highlights the actions of the saint in a few verses. Its tune is the same as that of the last 2 verses of the Congregation of the Saints. If the doxologies are prayed in the 3 'Adam days' then 3 verses are added to the end of the 'watos' 'theotokia'.

10. The fourth 'Hoas' follows the 'Zoxology'. Its tune is constant throughout the year except for a slight variation during the month of 'Koiak', and there is an addition to the third section (starting with "eph-eranaph") in the midnight praise during the month of 'Koiak'.

11. The 'Epsali' or 'Epsalis' (which is the praise of the day). On Saturday and Sunday, there is always an 'Epsali' for St. Mary and for our Lord Jesus Christ. On the other days of the week, there is only an 'Epsali' for our Lord Jesus Christ. If a Lordly feast falls on a day from Monday to Friday, the 'Epsali' of the feast replaces the 'Epsali' of the day. If the occasion for the Lord is on a Saturday or a Sunday, the 'Epsali' of the occasion replaces the 'Epsali' for St. Mary, but we still pray the 'Epsali' for the Lord. There is one occasion where 3 'Epsalies' are prayed: during the Apostles fasting we pray the 'Epsali' for St Mary, then the Apostles then the 'Epsali' for the Lord. Note: There is a book which contains the 'Epsalis' for the saints, which can be prayed optionally, and if the feast of that saint falls on a Saturday or Sunday then we will be having three 'Epsalies'.

12. The 'Theotokia' of the day (which is about St. Mary the mother of God).

13. The 'Lobsh' is a contemplation or some additional meaning for the verses of the 'Theotokia' to end it. It is always followed by the reading of the 'Difnar' or the commentary, then the conclusion of the 'Theotokia'. In the praises of Saturday and Sunday, the 'Lobsh' takes a different name but it is the same thing.

14. The 'Difnar'

15. The conclusion of 'Theotokia'

16. The Beginning of the Creed and the Creed

17. The petitions with ‘Lord, have mercy’

18. Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts …

19. The Lord’s prayer

20. If the midnight praises are prayed in their proper timing and it joins the mass, then after the Lord’s prayer, the priest prays the absolution of priests, then they start praying the first hour of the ‘Agpia’ (the morning prayer). Then they continue with the early morning ‘Zoxologies’, start the early morning incense raising which leads to the holy mass.

Note: If we are praying midnight praises for Sunday, the second ‘Hoas’ will be straight after the 1st ‘Hoas’. If we’re praying midnight praises for any other day, we take the sections 7,8,9 of the Sunday ‘Theotoki’ in between. These sections start with a reading from the Gospel of St. Luke: ‘Lord, now you are letting your servant depart in peace…’, then continues up to the end of the ninth section of the Sunday
’Theotoki’. Then they pray the 2nd ‘Hoas’.

<u>3. The Early morning praise</u>

1. Morning prayer from ‘Agbia’

2. Early morning doxologies – these have a permanent tune over the whole year, and it starts with a nice section which tells about our relationship with God, then some verses for the Saints. The only change in the tune is during the three great Lordly feasts (The Birth of Christ, the Baptism of Christ and the Resurrection). These ‘Zoxologies’ are prayed in their certain tune as explained before.

The Conclusion. This is always the conclusion of ‘Adam Theotoki’, which starts with ‘nek nai ou Panouti’ (Your mercies oh God).

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION FIVE

The Church Building between the Old and New Testaments:

The church, the house of God is the place where God meets with His people. This is a Biblical statement by God Himself when He indicated to Moses the prophet "build Me a holy place to dwell in the midst of my people" (Exodus 25: 8).

Looking to the construction of the churches in the New Testament compared to that of the tabernacle given by God to Moses in the Old Testament; you find them very similar. The house of God built by Solomon the king is exactly the tabernacle that Moses constructed, but in a real building of stones. As God is He Himself the same yesterday, today and tomorrow, you find our churches have almost the same shape and interior design as the tabernacle in the Old Testament but in a way to match the life of the New Testament. The changes here have taken place in the light of salvation with which our Lord Jesus Christ shone upon us. (See diagram)

The tabernacle was kept in the middle of Israel in the Old Testament (because God instructed them

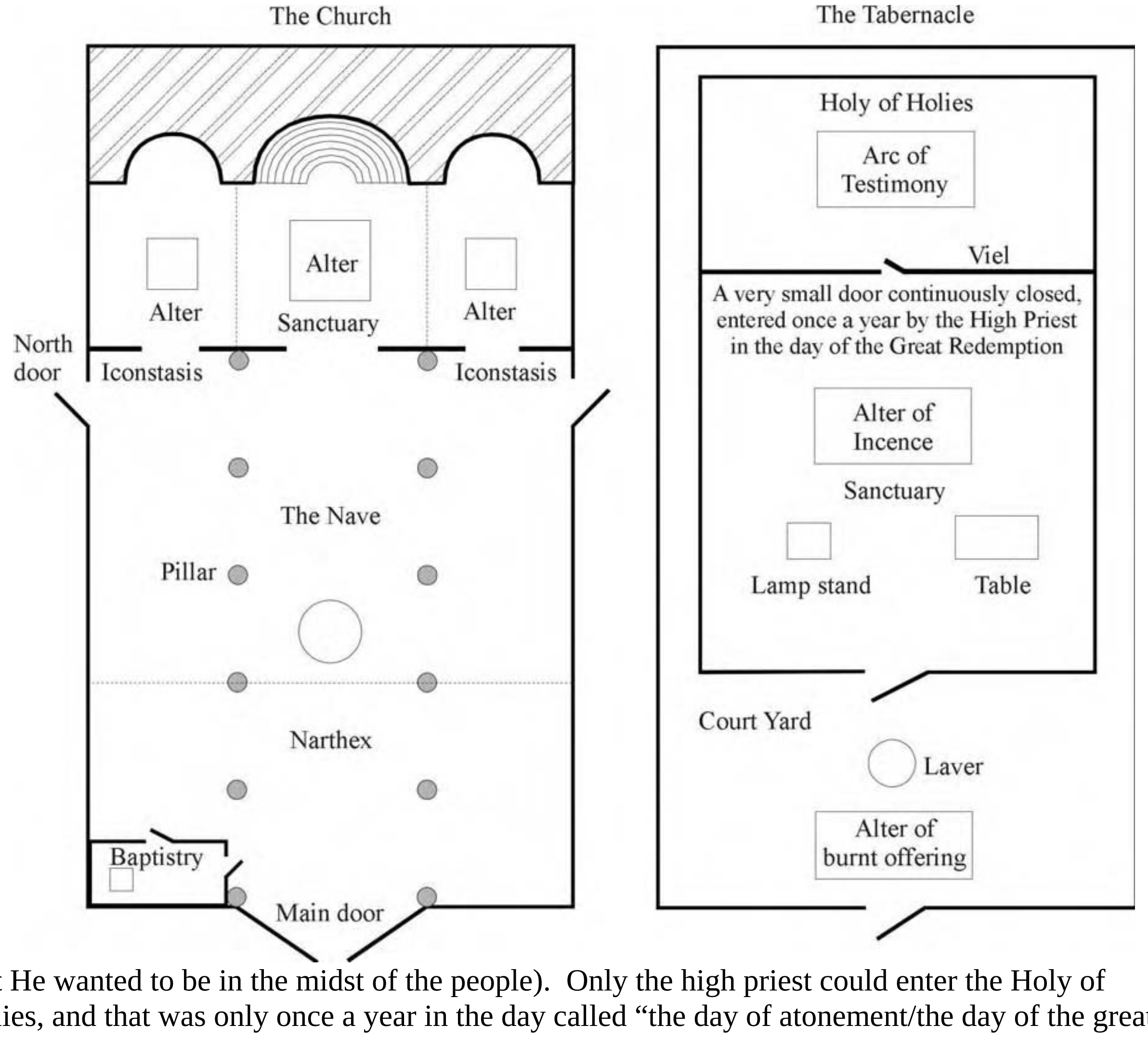

that He wanted to be in the midst of the people). Only the high priest could enter the Holy of Holies, and that was only once a year in the day called "the day of atonement/the day of the great redemption" (Leviticus 16).

Why do we build the Church of the New Testament facing the East?

1. It was prophesied about our Lord Christ that He is the sun of righteousness and that healing is in His wings (Malachi 4:2). This is repeated in Luke 1:76-80 ('to give light to those who are in darkness').

2. Our Lord Jesus Christ saved us through his blood, and opened paradise to us, and the paradise was towards the east if the whole Earth.

3. The Lord in His incarnation for our salvation, came to us in the middle east, and it was prophesied about St. Mary His mother that she is adored in the east. The Lord entered and came out of it (the east), and the door is shut and sealed as always (Ezekiel 44:12) "Then He brought me back to the outer gate of the sanctuary which faces toward the *east*, but it was shut. And the Lord said to me, "This gate shall be shut; it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter by it, because the Lord God of Israel has entered by it; therefore it shall be shut".

4. When the Lord ascended to heaven, he ascended towards the East, and He will come back to us from the east, and this could be understood by relating the verses Matthew 24:27, Acts 1:11 and Zechariah 14:4 together. It was also said that His coming will be like lightning which appears from the east. ***Matthew 24: 27*** *"For as the lightning comes from the east and flashes to the west, so also will the coming of the Son of Man be."* ***Acts 1: 10-11*** *"And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as He went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, who also said, "Men of Galilee, why do you stand gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you saw Him go into heaven."* ***Zechariah 14: 4*** *"And in that day, His feet will stand on the Mount of Olives, which faces Jerusalem on the east."*

5. The appearance of the sun from the east is the announcing of a start of a new day in our life. We have had our birth and a new day for our life in Christ, and every time we enter Church hoping to look to Him being our sun, our east and our new life, hoping to grow up with Him until we are fully with Him in paradise.

6. Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified on the cross on Golgotha looking to the west. His crucifixion is the centre of Christianity and our salvation. Our preaching is centred around preaching the Lord and Him crucified [1 Corinthians 1:23 : "*but we preach the Lord crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Greeks foolilshness*", (1 Corinthians 2:2) : "*For I determined not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ, and Him crucified*", (Galations 3:1) : "*O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was clearly portrayed among you as crucified*"]. **To strengthen our struggle for salvation, we look to the East to see Him crucified.**

7. The star that led the three wise-men (the kings of the east) to witness the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them in the east and led them to where the Lord was born in Judea, in the Middle East. This was to announce that the church of the New Testament will embrace both the people of the Old Testament (the Jews) and the rest of the entire, world who were called the gentiles, represented here by the three wise-men of the East. This is to indicated that the Lord came to save the whole world as He Himself said "*And other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they will hear My voice; and there will be one flock and on shepherd*" (John 10: 16).

8. The Holy Bible mentions in many sections that the glory of the Lord God comes from the East as in the following verse "*and behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east*." (Ezekiel 43: 2)

9. During the capture of Israel to Babylon, and Daniel the prophet was among those captured, he insisted not to worship the idols. He was strong in his faith that he chose to worship his God not secretly but openly. It says in the Bible that he used to open the windows of his room and stand praying towards the east. (Daniel 6: 1-10)

10. All the Holy Fathers of the Early Church prayed towards the east. For example, St Arsenius, the teacher of the kings' children, when he came to the desert of Egypt and became a monk, he used to stand at sunset and continue praying, his prayer increasing in depth to the extent that he did not feel time except when the sun came up and hit his eyes. This indicates that he as well as all the holy fathers inherited from generation to generation, since the apostolic era, to pray towards the east.

Here we mention that it is historically recorded that both the building of churches and the prayers of all Christians all around the world was towards the east, before the division of the church in the year 451.

B. Why should we stand while praying inside the Church?

A simple study throughout the Holy Bible will reveal many verses that indicate the necessity of standing during prayer. Here, we will mention some of them.

1 Kings 17:1	Elijah told Ahab he was standing before the Lord of Hosts.
Isaiah 6:14	When he went up and saw the throne of God, he saw all the hosts standing before the Lord
Ezekiel 2:1-2	The same thing is reported
Luke 18:12	The Pharisee and the tax collector are both reported as having stood before God to pray
Mark 11:25	The Lord says whenever you stand for prayer, you pray like so (the Lord's prayer)

C. The Use Of Incense In The Church

<u>Spiritual meanings and Biblical proofs behind using incense in the Church</u>

1. Biblical References

   a) In the very first church established by Moses the prophet according to the order and detailed directions of God Himself, Moses was clearly instructed to use incense in the worship : "*You shall make an altar to burn incense on; you shall make it of acacia wood*" (Exodus 30: 1-7)

   b) The Lord ordered Aaron the high priest through Moses that offering incense is a compulsory commandment to be done eternally over the generations : "*Aaron shall burn on it sweet incense every morning; when he tends the lamps, he shall burn incense on it. And when Aaron lights the lamps at twilight, he shall burn incense on it, a perpetual incense before the Lord throughout your generations*" (Exodus 30: 7-8)

   c) The Protestants say that incense was used in the Old Testament to cover the offensive smell from the burnt sacrifices, but if you read Exodus 27, (which explains the altar of the burnt offering), Exodus 29, (which explains how to offer the burnt sacrifice), and Exodus 30, which describes the altar of the incense inside the sanctuary, you will find that

incense is raised at a different time to that of the sacrifices. This refutes their claims that incense was used to cover the smell of burnt sacrifices.

d) When the people of Israel upset the Lord God by their rebellious acts and God brought a plague against them which caused massive death, Moses instructed Aaron to rush with a censor full of incense, and where Aaron reached and raised incense the plague stopped. This indicates the importance and power of incense raising during prayer (Numbers 16:41-50).

e) To realise how important the offering of incense was, in Numbers 8, when the sons of Aaron offered the incense incorrectly, they were consumed by fire. And in Leviticus 16, when Korah, Dathan and Abiram forced themselves to offer incense while they were not allowed to, God punished them - the earth opened and swallowed them with their families.

f) To answer the claim of the other churches that incense was used in the Old Testament only, let them look to the book of Malachi in which the Lord Himself indicates that incense shall be offered all the time, under the sun, in glorification of His Holy Name: "*for from the rising of the sun, even to its going down, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; in every place incense shall be offered to My name, and a pure offering; for My name shall be great among the nations*" (Malachi 1: 11).

g) We all hope to go to heaven, and in heaven, St. John the beloved saw incense being offered by the twenty-four priests before the throne of the almighty God. He mentioned that all the prayers of the people on earth is raised before God by the censors in the hands of the twenty-four priests. The raising of incense is mentioned more than once in the book of revelation and the church arranged in the rituals of the overnight watch of the holy great Saturday, that every time the incense rasing is mentioned the priest stands and takes the censor and raises incense.

At the time when the priest goes around the church raising incense, if you look up, you will see a cloud of incense. This reminds us of the spiritual meanings behind the usage of incense in the church during prayer.

h) The clouds have been used in the Bible to express spiritual understandings that relate to our beliefs and salvation. Some examples for this are:

- in the Old Testament the Lord expressed His happiness with His people by appearing in a heavy cloud as in **Exodus 24:15-16** : "*Then Moses went up into the mountain, and a cloud covered the mountain. Now the glory of the Lord rested on Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days. And on the seventh day He called to Moses out of the midst of the cloud.*"
  Leviticus 16:2,13 "And the Lord said to Moses: "Tell Aaron your brother not to come at just any time into the Holy Place inside the veil, before the mercy seat which is on the ark, lest he die; for I will appear in the cloud above the mercy seat."
  1 K**ings 8:10,12** (when the ark was brought into the temple) *"And it came to pass, when the priests came out of the holy place, that the cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not continue ministering because of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord"*

- it was written in Isaiah 19: 1 that the Lord will be riding on a cloud and coming to Egypt.

- in Hebrews 12, St Paul describes the holy saints and martyrs by the expression of "Cloud of witnesses" : "*Therefore we also, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of*

witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily ensnares us, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us"
(Hebrews 12: 1).

- Matthew 17: 1-8 during the transfiguration of Our Lord, a luminous cloud covered them and God the Father witnessed for His Son through the cloud etc…

Spiritual benefits of using incense

1. It is a symbol of sacrifice, because the incense burns over the hot coals and offers a beautiful smell. We raise incense in the church to remember that our beloved Lord Jesus Christ offered Himself a pure sacrifice on the cross. His good Father smelled His sacrifice on the cross as an aromatic incense and was pleased to forgive our disobedience : **Ephesians 5: 2** "And walk in love, as Christ also has loved us and given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling aroma."

2. At the birth of our Lord, incarnating for our salvation, the wise men from the east offered Him gifts, one of them was frankincense. This was to make it clear that our Lord is coming to offer Himself a sacrifice like the incense burnt on the coals to please His Father on our behalf.

3. From the understandings above, St Paul taught the believers that they should present themselves as a beautiful aroma smelled by others to witness for our Lord **2 Corinthians 2: 14** *"Now thanks be to God who always leads us in triumph in Christ, and through us diffuses the fragrance of His knowledge in every place"*. Each time we see incense raised in the church and smell its aroma, we remember that this is the way we should present ourselves, as true Christians, before others.

4. Knowing the great sacrifice our Lord offered for our salvation, all the apostles, and after them the holy fathers of the church, offered themselves as a burnt sacrifice in serving the sheep of Christ. When we are in the church seeing and smelling the incense, we remember that we should always be ready to serve Christ in any way to the extent of sacrificing and offering ourselves as burnt offerings.

5. As when the incense put on the coals is fully consumed by the fire to give the smell, so all the martyrs and the monastic fathers offered their whole lives as a pure offering for the Lord and the whole church smelled the aroma of their virtues and sacrifice.

   - All these 5 spiritual meanings are highlighted in the following verses : **Heb 12:1-3**

"Therefore we also, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily ensnares us, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us,
looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and has sat down at the right hand of the throne of God.
For consider Him who endured such hostility from sinners against Himself, lest you become weary and discouraged in your souls".

Applicable spiritual benefits for our lives from the use of incense in the church.

As we mentioned, the cloud is one of the symbols of the Lord's appearance among us. Also, we remember the Lord is among us when we see the incense (He was in the midst of the people in the tabernacle on the Old Testament through the incense). We as believers should know that as the incense is raised, we should raise our eyes and minds up and remember the heavenly throne and the 24 priests with the incense, and the angels and the incense, and raise our thoughts and understanding towards heaven (because we are humans, the physical action affects our souls). As the incense is used to purify and adorn us with its nice smell, we should remember that this should be used throughout our lives as a means to prepare our souls for Christ our Saviour, referring to Songs of Solomon 3:6 "who is this coming out of the wilderness, like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all the merchant fragrant powders?".

Understanding the Rituals involved in the Church Building

The Church Building

The building of the church in the New Testament is based on the tabernacle, and later the temple built by king Solomon, in the Old Testament. Its shape and interior are almost the same, but in a way to match the life of the New Testament.

Since the old times, it has been the practice to build the church either like an ark (a big ship), or in the shape of a circle, or in the shape of a cross.

- The circle basically symbolises God, who has no beginning and no end. Very few churches have been built in the shape of a circle. There is one in Old Cairo, another in Alexandria, and one in America. I think that is all, or may be just one or two more.

- The cross is our life. The Lord granted us salvation through His crucifixion. Again the churches built in the shape of the cross are not many. One of them is our church in Canberra. If you look down from a plane you will see that it is exactly in the shape of a cross, with a big dome in the middle and four vaults coming out of it.

- The majority of churches are built in the shape of a big ship. This originated from understanding Noah's ark. During the flood, only the people inside the ark were saved, and they formed the new life/world after the flood.

Likewise, the church is the ship in which we are safe from all the troubles of the sea. In the Holy Bible, the world is usually symbolised by the sea, with its tumultuous, unpredictable waves and troubles.

This is the main understanding behind building the church in the shape of a ship. There are many other meanings concerning the ranks of the church and people who work in the ship but the time is not enough to cover them.

At the end of the church are the minarets. There can be one or two, carrying the cross. They resemble the raft of a ship. They are built very high carrying the cross, so that the believers on their way to the house of God are attracted to look up to the cross and heaven. Hence, they know they are coming to a place that is part of heaven, and that in the church we live to attain or achieve heavenly life until we are worthy to be taken up to heaven.

The old churches were divided into what we call choruses or sections. The sanctuary, then the first section which is the deacons' area, then the second chorus or section which is the (laymen) area, and finally a separate area in the back of the church called the third chorus or the third section or the "chorus of the repentant". The church in the early days was very strong. She really lifted her

children up to heavenly life, and made it clear that the church is the house of God to which befits holiness, nothing unholy should be in.

This is why the third chorus was used for those who committed a sin and according to their confession father were punished by being prohibited from having Holy Communion. They were only allowed to come and attend the service in the third section, in tears and doing "Metanias" (kneeling down), seeking repentance from their sins, until they finished a period of time allocated and then they were allowed to join the second or the middle chorus of the church with the believers.

Also, in our church there is a rank of "Epi diacon" or "Subdeacon". One of his roles in the early church was to announce and make sure that the people who were not going to receive Holy Communion, leave the church after the Creed is prayed (which comes after the Bible readings and the sermon) and to close the church doors before the beginning of what we call "The anaphora" or "the mass of the believers". All those who attended the last section of the mass had to share the Body and the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. No one was allowed to stay in the church while not partaking of the Body of the Lord at the end of the Mass. We lost a lot from our old church recently.

The Dome

In the original design of a Coptic church building, there are two domes. A larger dome in the middle of the church and another on top of the altar. The dome in the middle of the church can be translucent/transparent, letting light shine through, in order to give the impression of heaven, as the church is heaven on earth; or it can be made of ceramic etc… The dome contains icons from inside. It either contains :

The icon of the Lord Jesus with His arms outstretched, looking down at His people (representing the Lord who is the real shepherd of His people caring for them), or

Different icons in a circle around the dome (as in pictures below). In some old churches they put the icons of the 12 apostles. Alternatively, there are the icons of the 4 evangelists; archangel Michael, the announcer of the resurrection; archangel Gabriel, the announcer of the birth of the Lord; the Chalice and the Holy Bread; and 4 crosses surrounding them. The way these pictures are set is as follows: one half of the circle has two crosses on both ends of the two evangelists + archangel Michael + the Chalice; and the other contains the other two evangelists + archangel Gabriel + the Holy Bread.

Explaining the icons of the middle dome of the church and their symbolic meaning:

The four Evangelists are those who told us about our Lord Jesus Christ and His salvation. We notice that under each of the evangelists is drawn one of the four incorporeal creatures (of the rank of the Cherubim) who were seen by St John the Beloved in his revelation carrying the throne of God.

– under the picture of St Matthew the evangelist is drawn one of the four incorporeal creatures with the face of a man with six wings and full of eyes. This is because St Matthew wrote his gospel showing our Lord as the man who incarnated for our salvation.

- under St Mark the evangelist is drawn the lion with six wings and full of eyes. This symbolises his gospel which was written to the Romans, showing our Lord Jesus Christ as the strong king. Also, St Mark starts his Gospel with the verse saying “The voice of one crying in the wilderness”.

- Under St Luke is the ox with six wings and full of eyes, as St Luke was the one who talked the most about sacrifices and offerings and related the Old Testament to the New Testament. He showed the priesthood work of the Lord being the high priests for us all.

under St John is the eagle with six wings and full of eyes. St John’s gospel is the most theological of the gospels. He was taken up to heaven and saw the revelation. He was in his letter and in his Gospel straight to the point in proving the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He wrote his Gospel after he came back from Patmos (where he was on exile), and after seeing the revelation. He came back to find the church was confused about the divinity of our Lord, so he wrote to prove the divinity of our Lord, and started by saying: “In the beginning was the word, and the word was God and the word was with God”. Then he started to talk about the divinity. St John in his Gospel mentioned some miracles not mentioned in the other of the three Gospels to highlight the divinity of the Lord.

The four Incorporeal Creatures also are the carriers of the throne of God who as if pleading on behalf of all mankind about humans, about wild animals, about field’s animals, about birds, about all creation.

Archangel Gabriel is the one who announced the birth of the Lord and the birth of John the Baptist. He is the angel of the annunciation. Archangel Michael was the one who announced the resurrection of the Lord. And these are the two most important events: the birth of the Lord for our salvation, and His resurrection accomplishing or fulfilling or finishing our salvation.

The Bread and the Chalice or the Orbana and the chalice are drawn because the sacrament of the Eucharist (or Holy Communion) is the most important of the sacraments. Our Lord died for our sake and gave us His Body and Bood in the form of bread and wine. This was prophesied about in the Old Testament, the book of Genesis, when Melchizedek met with Abraham and received from Abraham 10%, and gave him bread and wine as a symbol for communion.

Finally the four crosses surrounding the icons. The Cross is our life in the church. The Cross is our salvation, the Cross is everything for us in our church. As you might see the Cross is always in the beginning, the end, and the middle of the prayers. It is always in the priest’s hand.

Hence to sum up why specifically those icons are chosen to be in the middle dome of the church : it is as if the Lord is saying to us “I came down from heaven for your salvation, and my birth was announced by archangel Gabriel. My life and sayings were detailed to you by my evangelist apostles. I was crucified and I rose from the dead to complete your salvation, and my resurrection was announced to you by archangel Michael. Finally, I leave for you my Holy Body and Blood, so that you may abide in Me and I in you, and so that you may have life within you. All these blessings you now have were through My Blood which was shed on the cross.

Some details about our rituals, the church interior, and the order of the mass through questions and answers.

Is there any order for the place of the wine and the Bread (which become the Body and Blood of our Lord)?

The blood is always on the right side of the bread. Our Lord’s blood gashed to us from His pierced right side. So when I, as a believer am standing towards the east, the chalice will be on the right.

Also in the Holy Mass, it is very important for the deacon to know that the one carrying the little bottle of the wine, should be on the right hand side of the priest.

Does it matter which dome has the icons, the one in the middle of the church or the one above the altar.

Yes, the dome in the middle is the one that can have icons. The dome on the top of the altar should give the impression or impact of heaven when you look to it, as we say in the prayer of the "Agpia" of the third hour "Whenever we stand in Your Holy sanctuary, we are considered as those standing in heaven". The holy sanctuary is heaven. This is because it contains the Holy Throne of God, where God Himself is present during the sacrament of the Eucharist with His holy angels filling the altar. Many fathers have seen angels and saints in the altar, and some of them have seen the Holy Spirit coming down on the bread and wine at the moment of conversion to the Body and Blood of the Lord. Also, if you notice at the end of the mass, Abouna says loudly "O angel of this sacrifice, lifting up our praise to the Lord, ask Him to forgive us our sins" and he sprinkles the water. We call this in our rituals letting or giving permission to the angel of the sacrifice to go back to heaven. Hence, the dome above the altar should only give the impression of heaven and should not have icons on it.

The Iconostasis (the icon holder at the front of the church) divides the church into the church in heaven and the church on earth. From the Iconostasis towards the west, it is the church on earth; and from the iconostasis to the east, it is the church in heaven. The iconostasis itself, carrying the icons of the Lord and the victorious saints, presents what we call "the victorious church". Hence, when we, the struggling church on earth, look up to the saints who finished their struggle and see how luminous they are in heaven, we are encouraged in our struggle.

Furthermore, the correct order of the church does not allow any icons in the altar except the icon of our Lord Jesus Christ sitting on His throne, on the eastern wall of the altar. This icon is called the "Pantocrator", which means "the almighty God, in whose hands are all things, and who is controlling everything". Some churches will have in the altar on the ground a lot of icons for St Mary, Pope Kyrillos, Archangel Michael, etc…this is incorrect.

On the other hand, the dome in the middle of the church can have different types of paintings that ritually suit the middle dome of the church.

The church is a real model of the Tabernacle, which the Lord ordered Moses to build in a certain detail.

God asked Moses to do a dome in the Holy of Holies to be symbol of heaven, and in it was the ark of covalent signifying the presence of God and the two Cherubim covering it. And if you remember the last thing from the Lord to the holy apostles, on the Mount of Olives, when He ascended to heaven: He was with them on the mountain and suddenly after talking to them, they saw Him ascending up to heaven. Before disappearing He said to them I am going to prepare a place for you that I come to take you, that where I am you will be. After this, the Lord was taken up, and a cloud received them from their site. They kept looking up for sometime, so their eyes were up to heaven where the Lord went and will come back to take them. Then two angels came to them and said "Men of Galilee, why do you stand gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you saw Him go into heaven" (Acts 1: 11)

Questions about icons on the 'Iconostasis'

The icon of the Last Supper

This icon is always in the top part of the Iconostas. There is a very important note here. The icons of the last supper in which you see the 12 apostles, and a lot of plates and food are

incorrect as this does not depict the last supper but the Jewish Passover. Our Lord completed the Law on our behalf (e.g. was circumcised, sacrifices were offered for Him at 40 days etc…), so He had the Jewish Passover, but afterwards, He removed everything from the table and put the bread and wine. In the Jewish Passover the Lord said one of the disciples will betray Him. Everyone asked "is it I?" and Peter pointed to John the beloved to ask the Lord and He said "It is He whom I shall give a piece of bread when I have dipped it" (Jn 13: 26). This was still the Jews Passover. The Lord dipped and gave Judas and the Bible says that at that moment a devil entered him or the devil possessed him. By the end of the Jews Passover, the Lord said the Judas "what you are going to do, do quickly". So Judas left. The "Dedascalia" of the holy apostles describes the event. As the Lord was starting to give St Peter His Body and Blood, Judas started to leave. Hence, in the true icon should be the eleven apostles and Judas leaving, and you notice that Judas looks smaller in size, and a bit dark carrying his bag of silver. So this is the true icon of the last super, how it should be in the church. Some put the 11 without Judas at all, we don't mind this. But to have the 12 that is wrong, to have the 12 with many plates is wrong as well.

The Crucifix

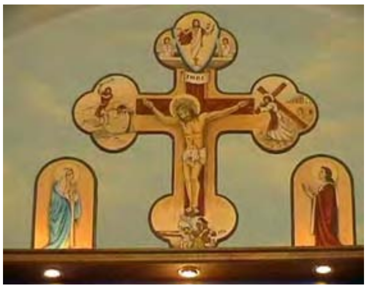

Always on top of the last supper will be the crucifix. And if there is a space higher, we should put the resurrection. Here because of the space, we cleverly drew on the cross everything : the main stages of the crucifix, the whipping and carrying of the cross; in the bottom is the Lord being brought down from the cross for burial; and at the top is the Lord rising from the dead and two angles who were at the tomb (when the apostles came after the resurrection), who said "He is not here He has risen". In the middle is always the cross with St Mary on the right (because in psalm 45 it says "The queen sat at the right hand O king"), and St John the beloved on the left (he was the only disciple who went to the crucifixion, and the Lord said to him "This is your mother, this is your son.")

Question about the skull which is sometimes put under the cross

It is possible to have the skull under the cross, as one of the Holy Father in the church said that the place in Golgotha where the Lord was crucified is the place where Adam skull was lying (this is not definite) to signify the Blood of the Lord wiping the sin of Adam. This should be taken as a contemplation, not as a fact, because if we say the Blood of the Lord will be specified or contained in a little area to wipe away the sin of Adam, it means you are limiting the eternal infinite Blood of the Lord. And it might be also taken as a heresy that unless we attend or we are under the Cross we are not saved, but the Blood of the Lord was shed on the cross for salvation for all mankind, from Adam and Eve to the last person before the second coming of the Lord. One drop of the Blood of our Lord is enough to save the whole world. So it might be a sort of meditation, contemplation, spiritual thinking, but should not be taken literally.

Why do we put the snake under the cross?

The snake (or serpent) is what he devil used to deceive Adam and Eve and we say that on the cross the Lord crushed the devil, and since the sin. The promise of salvation was given by God, since the time she sinned and was given the punishment. God said that the Son of the woman (He said of the woman only, as our Lord was conceived from the Holy Spirit, without a man) crush the head of the serpent. The Lord on the cross crushed the devil. The snake drawn under the cross is a symbol of this.

There are some icons of the cross which contain all the details of the crucifixion and betrayal e.g. the rooster, nails, the silver, the dice (to signify the lots cast on the Lord's clothes). These should be used at home and not in church or on the iconostasis.

Icons of the 12 apostles

These are placed in the top part of the iconostasis, 6 icons on each side of the icon of the last supper. The order of three of them is fixed.

St John the Beloved is always next to the Lord on His left. He was leaning on the bosom of the Lord in the last supper. He leaned from the left side of the Lord where His heart is.

St Peter is next to the Lord, from the right. He was always with the Lord in some private events and he was always the first to respond/answer/act. Also from the events of the last supper when the Lord spoke about His betrayal, he couldn't ask the Lord, but motioned to St John the beloved to ask the Lord. He was sitting on the right side of the Lord opposite St John the beloved.

St Matthias is always put on the right side to symbolise the fact that he was chosen by the guidance of the Holy Spirit to replace Judas Iscariot after the ascension of the Lord. Likewise, when we do the sign of the cross, we move our hand from forehead to abdomen then from left to right. This signifies that through the salvation on the cross and the work of the Holy Spirit in us we were moved from the left, which is the weak and sinful side, to the right, which is the side of power and righteousness. This is why anything done by the Holy Spirit is put on the right.

The icons of the rest of the disciples can be put in any order, or in the order of their names in the Holy Bible.

What about St Paul and St Mark?

In some churches they put St mark in the bottom right side. Some churches put St Mark the apostle in the top on one side, and St Paul on the other side. This will confuse the people as it will make a total of 7 + 7 equal 14. So we prefer to leave the top for the 12, because their number was pointed to in the old testament: e.g. 12 tribes, 12 wells of water when they were travelling in the wilderness (and 70 palm trees representing the 70 apostles). So we have to keep the number. But for sure St Paul is a great apostle and he did a lot and even said "I have laboured more than all of them" which is true.

Some questions about processions

All the processions of the church, either the procession during in incense raising (e.g. for a saint), or procession during mass for any occasion (e.g. resurrection), go from **left to right**. The only exceptions are:

1. One procession the priest makes during raising of incense. This goes from right to left as in the book of acts it was said that the church was growing and increasing in numbers, kept and supported by the right hand of the Lord.

2. A procession done only once a year, during the first hour of the Holy Great Thursday (during passion week). This is not a procession of worship but is a procession to condemn or reject the evil deed that Judas Iscariot did when he betrayed his master our Lord Jesus Christ.

Questions about the features of the icon of St Mary on the Iconostasis

Location: always on the right side of the main or royal door of the altar, or the sanctuary.

She is carrying the Lord, and she is clearly on His right side, which should not be drawn in a vague, inexact way.

The icon of St marry or any other icon, have their specific features of what they should contain which are derived from theological and Biblical understandings. This is detailed in the study of iconology, which we will not get into in this course. But the main feature is that St Mary is on the right side of the Lord as the Bible says “at Your right hand stands the queen” (Psalm 45).

Questions about the icon of St John the Baptist on the Iconostasis

This icon is on the left of the main altar door. The main features which it should have are:

The Lord is fully immersed in the water. This should be very clear and not drawn in a vague way.

The fish drawn around the Lord point to the fact that the Lord chose His disciples who were fishermen and said to them “follow Me and I will make you fishers of men”.

There should be exactly 4 fish, not more or less. Four fish to signify that the gospel will be preached to the 4 corners of the earth before the Lord’s second coming. The Lord came to us from heaven to our world. As we said previously, the world is symbolised by the sea. He came to fish us from the sea of the world.

Some people put a snake under the Lord’s feet, we don’t mind, but we prefer to put the snake under the cross, not in the baptism. The snake can be put in the icon of baptism as baptism is a symbol of (burial) and death with the Lord. And inside the baptism, the Lord crushed the devil for each one of us, and removes from us the punishment of death. Also in baptism, we are in newness of life, as St Paul explained clearly to the Romans in Chapter 6 from verse 2 to verse 10.

There is no specific number of angels that needs to be drawn in this icon.

The dove symbolising the Holy Spirit should be drawn with a bit of light coming down from heaven, to symbolise the moment when God the Father said “This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, listen to Him”. The feast of Epiphany which means “divine appearance” is the only occasion in the life of the Lord on earth where the whole Holy Trinity became manifest at one time.

Questions about the icons of archangels Michael and Gabriel

Always next to St Mary, will be the Angles in order. Many people put Archangel Gabriel as he announced to her the birth of our Lord. But in the origin it should be archangel Michael then Gabriel, because archangel Michael is the chief of the heavenly and the one who announced the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is considered a greater event than the annunciation of His birth. And in the book of Daniel in the Old Testament when Archangel Gabriel was sent to Daniel to explain the prophesy but was prevented by the devil (referred to as the prince of Persia) until Michael came and helped him (Then he [archangel Gabriel] said “Do not fear, Daniel, for from the first day that you set your heart to understand, and to humble yourself before your God, your words were heard; and I have come because of your words. But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me twenty-one days; and behold, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me”. (Daniel 10: 12-14)

In the church here because of limited space, we put the icon of archangel Michael next to St Mary and archangel Gabriel on the other side, in order to be able to put the icons of the church patron saints (St Bakhomios and St shenouda) one on each side in a symmetrical way (but if space is available it should be the icon of St Mary, then archangel Michael followed by archangel Gabriel, on the same side).

Another icon that is always put on the iconostasis is that of St Mark the apostle which is usually put on the left side after the archangels. (Again if we have a space, the proper order would be archangel Michael, archangel Gabriel , St mark the apostle and then the patron saints. No other saint icons should be put on the iconostasis).

Question about altars which have wooden doors.

The wooden doors have been put on the altars only in the early church because of persecution at the time, as there were frequent attacks on the monasteries and churches by the Barbarians, pagans or Muslims. Hence, when it was felt an attack was coming, the door was quickly shut to allow the priest to quickly eat the Body and the Blood of the Lord to protect them from the non-believers. Hence, the door was not for the priests or deacons to protect themselves, they were always ready for martyrdom, but in order that the holy sacrament, the Body and the Blood of the Lord may be protected. Nowadays, since attacks on churches are relatively rare, there is no longer a need for the wooden doors to the altar, and only a curtain should be there. The curtain has a meaning – in the Old Testament instead of the iconostasis and curtain, was a very strong wall from top to bottom, with only a tiny door in the middle of the wall. No-one entered through it except the high-priest only once a year in the day of “redemption” or atonement (see Leviticus 16). He could only enter with the blood of a sacrifice for the whole congregation. He had a rope tied to his waist because if anything happened to him inside, no one was allowed (and no-one dared) to enter, and he had to be pulled out by the rope. All this was to show that there was enmity between God and the people (sin is enmity to God), there was a wall between heaven and earth.

However, when our Lord was on the cross, this veil and separation between heaven and earth was destroyed. This is why we have the curtain, so that when we open it we show that the people now have access to the heavenlies, to the holy of holies; as St Paul explained in (Ephesians 2: 16-18) “And He came and preached peace to you who were far off and to those who were near, for through Him we both have access by one Spirit to the Father”.

The altar door at El-Sourian Monastery

There is a very high wooden door for the altar of the church of St Yeh-ness (John) Kama in El-Sorian monatery. Is called the door of the prophecies. And this door has 6 stages, telling about the stages since the church started till before the coming of the Lord in a prophetic way. But this is not the usual door in any altar.

The design drawn on the curtain

The Cross can be drawn. However a more preferred design is one where the following is drawn. The holy “Corbana” (holy bread used for the mass): on it is a big cross in the middle, in the very true old Coptic design, symbolising our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. Around the Lord are 12 crosses symbolising the 12 disciples who carried the cross, following the example of their teacher our Lord Jesus Christ (as He said “he who wants to be my disciple, let him carry His cross and follow Me”). Also there are circles symbolising the nails and the piercing of His side. 3 holes on the right = the crown of thorns + the piercing of His right side + right hand nail. And on the left will be the left hand nail and the nail for the feet (one nail in two feet together).

Written in a circle around the ‘corbana’, in Coptic, is “ Agios O Theos, Agios Yes-sheros, Agios Athanatos”, which means Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal who never dies. (This design is also that of the stamp which is stamped in the middle of the ‘Corban’ we use in the mass.)

Then there are grapes and wheat drawn to show our offering which the Lord humbly accepts from our hands and sanctifies into His Holy Body and Blood.
Hence, to summarise, the curtain tells about our Lord Jesus Christ Son of God, who came to save us to be crucified for our sake to give us His Body and Blood. Hence, the believer walking into the church sees this curtain which tell him/her about what is behind it in the sanctuary.

This design was made on a one to one scale and was sent to St Demiana Nunnery who made it. After they made it (in 1996), metropolitan Bishoy was very impressed by it that he took it to the Pope who likewise liked it very much and placed it at the front of the exhibition for the 100 year anniversary for the theological college.

The curtain should be only one, not split into two. It should be opened from left to right to show that through the sanctuary of the Lord we were moved from the left to the right side.

The Altar

The altar should be made of very costly marble, no matter the expense, as it carries the Body and Blood of our Lord. On it, is engraved the cross, the ‘corbana’ and the wheat, and the chalice and the grapes.

The entire altar symbolises the throne or the tomb of our Lord. It can either be a cubic or rectangular like a tomb.

Even though the altar looks very beautiful, it should not be left uncovered, but should be covered at all times with a red cover, as it symbolises the cross on which our God sacrificed Himself and shed His Blood for my salvation. Also, it should be covered in red because it is replacing the copper altar of the Old Testament, on which animal sacrifices were offered on behalf of the people for their sins. The church is always about humility, the beauty of the queen is from the inside (Psalm 45).

There is a second cover on top of the altar coming down to about 40cm from all sides. This is red all year except on the feast of resurrection and the holy 50 days, when it is white(as these are the most joyous days celebrating the fulfilment of our salvation in the resurrection).

On the altar as you all know we have the ark in which the chalice is placed, and while the ark is not in use, it always should be covered with small square veil. The arc is consecrated with the holy Myron oil and should not be touched without a veil by anyone except the priest.

The arc itself should have fixed icons, and then optional icons. The fixed icons are 1. the icon of the Lord Jesus Christ with the chalice and bread (and preferably 2 or more of his disciples as a symbol for the rest of the disciples who attended the last supper). 2. the icon of St Mary on the right. The chalice can have 4 or 6 faces. On the other faces should be the icons of archangel Michael, St Mark and the patron saints, as these are the main characters for this church.

The ark is a symbol of the ark of covenant in which was placed the vessel of Mana and the ten commandments.

Covering the altar when not in service

The altar should always be covered if not being used. This is taken from the Tabernacle in the Old Testament “Then you shall bring the ark of the testimony in there (Holy of Holies), behind the veil. The veil shall be a divider for you between the holy place and the Most Holy. You shall put the

mercy seat upon the ark of the Testimony in the Most Holy. And you set a cover on the ark of the Testimony in the Most Holy" (Exodus 26: 33-34). The altar should only be exposed during the service, and also during the service you notice that either Abouna (the priest) or the deacons are standing around the altar, you can hardly see any thing. And even when Abouna is giving the Holy Body, a deacon stands in front of the chalice carrying the Blood with a candle.

The meaning of the two candles on the altar

The two candles on the altar are a symbol to the 2 angels who appeared in the tomb of the Lord after his resurrection. Hence, they should only be two.

The Holy Plate

If the altar is not consecrated, we can put a holy plate on it (which is consecrated with the Myron oil) to be able to pray the mass on it. After the mass, it is removed. However, if an altar is consecrated it does not need a holy plate.

We do not concentrate a wooden altar, because it may be broken. As it is consecrated, it should be permanent. The very first consecrated altar we know about, was described in Genesis 28 when Jacob was fleeing Esau his brother, and spent the night at (what was later called) Bethel. He saw in a dream a ladder from earth to heaven and saw the Lord standing above it, and he when he awoke he said "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven" (Gen 28: 17). "He took a stone that he had put at his head, set it up as a pillar, and **poured oil on top** of it". This is why we consecrate the altar by pouring oil and it should be from a stone or marble, or something that does not erode, decay or breaking.

Explanation for the icon of our Lord, 'The Pantokrator', covering the eastern wall of the sanctuary (The fathers called this eastern wall in the sanctuary "the bosom of the Father")

This icon incarnates what St John the Beloved has seen in heaven in the revelation. It is rare of its kind, as it has almost everything St John talked about in his revelation.

You see the Lord on His throne, under Him the earth and the different planets, because it says in the psalms "The earth is your foot stool." And He is always dressed in red, because it was said about Him that he was like the one all in red from the blood He shed for us.

Around His throne is the rainbow as St John saw it in the revelation and also because since He destroyed the world in Noah's time, He promised not to destroy it again and made the rainbow as a sign to remind Him not to destroy the world again.

Around the Lord are the sun and the moon, and they don't look shiny at all, because the Lord is the sun of righteousness in front of whom they look dim. The Lord will be our Light in the heavenly Jerusalem, there will be no need for the sun or the moon, or any other light.

The Alpha and Omega are the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, symbolising that the Lord is the beginning and end, he has no beginning and no end.

The 4 incorporeal creatures, each one has 6 wings and is full of eyes.

The 24 priests, if you count they are 12 an 12 around the throne, carrying in their hands censors (but not like the sensors we use with chains, the original word describes censors which are held in the hand)

The 7 Archangels, Michael in the middle and Gabriel always with the olive branch in his hand, then the next will be Raphael, Sureal, Sadakeal, Saratheael and Ananeal.

In the bottom there are 7 oil lamps which symbolise the seven 7 spirits of God which he saw and the 7 sacraments of the church.

The icon is surrounded with clouds that are gradually getting lighter, giving the impression of heaven.

There is always a light (an oil lamp) in front of the Lord which should be lit 24 hours a day. This is for the following reasons:

1. Because He is the light of the world
2. It is in the east, symbolising the star that appeared in the east to lead the wise-men to the Lord.
3. It symbolises the grace of the Holy Spirit, the oil that is enlightening our lives

Hence, when one looks at this icon, one feels as though in heaven with John the evangelist, with the entire heaven in front of him. These are the features of the icon which is placed on the eastern wall of the church (the "bosom of the Father", and it should be the only icon in the altar. The only other alternative is the icon of the Lord Jesus Christ sitting on His throne.

Why is the Cross drawn around the Lord in the icon of the Pantokrator?

In psalm 96 (the first psalm prayed in the ninth hour) there is a verse (which is unfortunately omitted in the English translation but is there in the original languages and in the Arabic translation) that says "say among the nations the Lord has reigned on a piece of wood" symbolising the Lord saving us and defeating Satan and sin on the wood of the cross. The Lord was also seen by St John the beloved in his revelation as a slaughtered lamb.

What is the meaning of the ostrich egg placed at the door of the altar?

It is put there for 2 main reasons:

1. From tradition, it is said that when Pontis Pilot reported the resurrection of the Lord to Caeser, he couldn't understand it. So Mary Magdalene took an egg and went to Caeser and said "how does the new bird come out of its egg? If it has life it breaks out of the egg. Can you imagine that the little bird God created can have life to come out of the egg, and the Lord Himself God can't come out of the tomb". And he understood it.

2. But the ostrich egg was chosen because the ostrich covers its egg with sand and unceasingly looks at it with great concentration in order to protect it. This is to remind the believers to concentrate on the east, on the altar, and not to look around.

3. Also that God has his eye on us the whole year.

Why do we have candles in front of the icons of saints?

As the candle is consumed to give light to us, so have the saints given their lives up for our Lord Jesus Christ and became an example and a light to us.

Some spiritual meanings hidden in the design of the Coptic Cross

Each limb of the cross has 3 ends. This is to symbolise the Holy Trinity in one. Also, with the four limbs of the cross, we will have 12 ends to symbolise the 12 disciples. Around the cross is written "Eesos Pikhristos, Eyos Theos" = Jesus Christ Son of God. The 4 limbs of the cross show that the Lord's salvation has spread to the 4 corners of the earth (also the rays of light coming out of the cross symbolise the spread of the light of the gospel to the whole world).

Explanation for the large metal cross which is on a stand, with a little flag, inside the altar

We should have this cross always ready, to be used in processions. The flag is red all the year, except in the holy 50 days of the resurrection, when it is white, and during passion week when it is black (same with the altar cover which is red the whole year except during the holy 50's when it is white and passion week when it is purple).

This cross is always at the front of any procession done in the church (e.g. resurrection, for saints, funerals etc…). The church is highlighting that the cross if our lives as St Paul said in 1 Corinthian 1:18 "For the message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God". I am saying this because in all Protestant churches and lately in some Catholic churches the cross has disappeared from the church life, which is unfortunately very sad.

Explanation of the symbols related to the eagle

The eagle is symbol to St John and his gospel. St John was the most theological of the apostles, and he wrote his gospel after seeing the revelation in the island of Patmos, because he found some people were confused about the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He talked about the divinity of the Lord, about high theological matters that are above understanding. This is why the eagle was chosen to symbolise his gospel, because the eagle flies up higher than any other bird. Also St John was taken high up to heaven while still in the body but in a spiritual way, and saw heavenly matters that cannot be uttered.

Also as the eagle has very sharp eye-sight being able to see from very high distances, so did St John the beloved have a very sharp spiritual eye. He was able to feel the presence of the Lord when He stood on the shore at the Sea of Tiberias while they were trying to catch some fish, and He said to St Peter "It is the Lord". St John was the first of all the disciples to feel the presence of the Lord in this case.

Another meaning behind the eagle is that it symbolises how God cares for us, because the eagle is one of the birds that greatly cares for its children. It protects its children under its wings, and when they start growing up, it carries them on it wings high up and leaves them in the air that they can practise flying. It follows them with its eyes very closely, so that as soon as it feels they are not coping, it carries them again with its wings. Likewise the Lord does with us when He nourishes us spiritually in a gradual way. He also said to the people of Israel when He brought them out of Egypt: "*The Lord your God who goes before you, He will fight for you, according to all He did for you in Egypt before your eyes, **and in the wilderness where you saw how the Lord your God carried you, as a man carries his son**, in all the way you went until you came to this place*" (Deutronomy 1: 33)

Baptism

The correct design for the baptism room: The baptism room should be always in the northern western side of the whole church and it has 2 doors, one door opening to outside and another door opening to the inside of the church. Hence, the new believer enters through the outside door to the

baptism room, is baptised, and then enters the church through the other door. The lost sheep, enter through the baptism room and become of the sheep of Christ. In the prayers over the person to be baptised we pray saying “make him/her a sheep in Your flock for Your eternal kingdom”. As the Lord said in John 3, “unless the person is born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of God”. Nicodemus asked him “how can a person re-inter his mother’s womb and be born again?”, but Christ meant the womb of the church, the mother of the believers.

We use special towels for baptism, which are kept in the church. This is because these towels are filled with the holy water and the holy Myron oil. A deacon washes them by hand in a certain basin and the water is poured either in running water in the sea or under a tree where no body sets his foot on it. The water of the baptismal font should not be drained in the usual sewage. Traditionally, it should be underground (so in this church the baptismal font drains into a large barrel underground with holes in it, that the water may be absorbed gradually. In the prayer prayed on this holy water we say at the end “let this water go back to the bottom of the earth”

The water that is consecrated in one day, can be used in baptising any number of people in the same day, or on for a few days (not more than 3-5 days), if there is a necessity or need for this.

After consecrating the water, the first person to be baptised should be a male. If this is not the case and there is a female to be baptised first after consecrating the water, the priest should drop a cross (plastic, or any material not affected by water) in the water after consecrating it before baptising a female.

Also baptism should be in a closed room and not in an open area. This is because the baptism basin itself, is considered to be an altar consecrated with prayers and the Holy Oil (Myron), and even the prayer of consecrating the water, is almost very much similar to the holy mass in its structure, but in different wording to match the baptism. So it is befitting to have the baptism basin in a closed room to protect it, as you protect the altar inside the sanctuary with special orders.

The baptism basin is usually built in a round shape, as through the baptism the person receives the new nature, that entitles him to be united with our Lord Jesus Christ, our eternal God; and always the circle symbolises the eternity of God, as a circle has no beginning and no end.

RITUAL THEOLOGY I

SECTION SIX

Sunday – The Day of The Lord

The day of the Lord is the day of Resurrection, Sunday replaced Saturday as the day of the Lord. Since the beginning of the Church, when it was in the hands of the Apostles, we have celebrated the Sunday. In Acts 20:7, St. Paul said they broke the bread on the first day (which is a Sunday). The Lord also arose early on Sunday morning, and He appeared 5 times on that Sunday. He also appeared on the following Sunday when He showed Himself to Thomas. The Lord appeared 10 times altogether, 7 of those appearances were on a Sunday 5 on the first Sunday, once on the next Sunday and once on a different Sunday to the 500).

In the book of Didache (the teachings of the Holy Apostles), they said "you believers ought to get together on the day of the Lord and break the bread offering, the Eucharist". There is a letter from St. Barnabas (not in the Bible) that says we ought (as we learnt from the Lord) to keep the 8th day and celebrate the Eucharist on that day. Many of the Apostolic Fathers (like St. Eustinus – Justin the martyr), St Clement of Alexandria, Origen the scholar, the apostolic constitution, (that the main celebration for the church life is Sunday but they did not forbid celebrating the Eucharist on Saturday if needed) inform us of the early Church's practice of gathering on Sundays. The start of the Church was on a Sunday (the day of Pentecost). St. Severus wrote that "as we received from all the generations of the Holy Fathers, to celebrate the Eucharist on the first day of the week".

The reason why the church replaced Saturday with Sunday in the New Testament

We know from the Old Testament that the Lord created the whole universe (heavens and earth) in six days and God rested on the seventh day, blessed and sanctified the seventh day, which is 'the Sabbath' (Genesis 2: 1-3).

Of-course God did not feel tired and needed rest after the creation; as God is always working according to what the Lord said "My Father is always working and I also am always working" (John 5: 17). God created Adam and Eve, and all their means of comfort and rest. Indeed, their most important form of 'rest' was from sin; they felt no desire. They lived in peace with the animals as the king and queen, and they lived in full peace with God. In fact, Adam and Eve have been enjoying being present with God daily. This was "the rest" of the Lord, He rested when He saw Adam living in the paradise, in full comfort and enjoying the love of God and His daily presence with Adam, and also covered by the grace of God which made Him free from the passions of sin, added to Adam's full authority on all creation that made him living in peace with all the animals. When Adam sinned, the rest of the Lord was broken, because Adam whom He had created was destined for Hades. God was waiting for his rest to be renewed by salvation from sin for humanity, by overcoming the effect of the sin, but this would only happen by the death and resurrection of the Lord. That is why God performed miracles on the Saturday, to explain that the rest on Saturday came through the mercy of God, by saving Adam and His descendants from the effect of sin. That's why He used to heal people on Saturday and always before healing the person He tells him/her "your sins are forgiven". He told them "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27). He performed many miracles on Saturday (Matthew 12 and Luke 6 – the man with the withered hand), Mark 2 & 3 and Luke 13 (the woman with the bent back), Luke 14 (healing another man), he healed the man at the Bethesda pool in John 5, He opened the eyes of a blind man in John 9 on Saturday, and He cast out a demon from a man on a Saturday (Mark 1).

The true rest is a spiritual rest. Originally, Saturday was a full day of worship, and also physical rest from work (described in Leviticus and Numbers). So the Lord not only meant physical rest on that day, but also to make us consecrated and worshipping the Lord on that day. As explained above, the Lord's real rest was seeing Adam living in the paradise in full peace, both physically and spiritually. When, however, Adam sinned, this rest was broken, and there was a strict rule instructing people not to work, not to be busy with the world and to at least try to do something spiritual on that day, in preparation for the day of full rest which comes with the salvation by the Resurrection of Christ our Lord. That's why Sunday became the real day of rest, because through His Body and Blood given to us by His Resurrection, we'll be admitted to heaven, which is the true eternal rest without disturbance.

If you consider the mass of the believers, you'll remember "for every time you eat of this bread, and drink of this cup you preach my death, confess my resurrection and remember me till I come.". This means that this Body and Blood which are given to you through His death and resurrection will lead you to abide in Him until he comes to take you to be with Him eternally. Immediately after the response of the congregation, the priest prays to call the Holy Spirit to come upon the bread and wine to convert them to the Body and Blood of our Lord. That's why the Sunday of the resurrection, on which the Lord perfected His victory over the devil, the sin and death, and granted us His Body and Blood to grant us unity with Him until we are glorified with Him, becomes the main day of service and worship.

The Holy Church, led by the Holy Spirit recognises that the day of the Lord became the main day of worship, but the Church also did not cancel what was revealed before, that is the importance of Saturday, as Christ said "I did not come to destroy the law, but to complete it." So the church reminds the believers to keep Saturday as a joyful day by not fasting in it and not allowing prostrations in it and in the Holy Great Fasting it treats the rituals of Saturday like those of Sunday, whereas the other days are treated differently. The Church relates this to the understanding that Sunday is the beginning of the creation of the heavenly powers, and Saturday is the day after the completion of the creation. By means of our Lord's Resurrection, Sunday is a commemoration of His returning us to our original rank, and an acknowledgement that through Him we now know the way back to heaven that we might regain that which we lost through sin. Also, by celebrating the Holy Mass on Sundays, we feel we are in heaven joining in with Heavenly creation in praise, the same Heavenly powers which were created on the first day of Creation, that is, Sunday.

Also with the count of days, Saturday being the seventh, Sunday will be the eighth day and always number 8 is symbol to life after death, meaning eternal life, which was only opened to us through the resurrection of our Lord, after He was crucified and died on our behalf.

Biblical and Historical proofs for making Sunday the day of the Lord

1. Genesis 1 said that "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and God said let there be light, and it was". This was the first day. The fathers agreed that this was the day the angels were created, and the beginning of all of the further creation. Therefore Sunday was the creation of the Heavenly powers and Hosts. In the mass, we are as if in heaven, and we are sharing the praises with the heavenly powers. In the 3rd hour prayer, we pray: "whenever we stand in your Holy temple, we are considered as those who abide in heaven". The relationship is that the creation of the Heavenly powers was on a Sunday, in the mass we are partly experiencing heaven on earth as, through the Mass we take His Body and Blood and unite to Him until we reach Him in Heaven. So it is befitting to consider the mass of Sunday as the main mass in the whole week being the day of the Lord.

2. St. Severus stated that the Lord was born on a Sunday, and the Lord, the Sun of righteousness who shone upon those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death,

so by His birth on Sunday, He shone upon us for salvation from the darkness of sin, as the sun shines and scatters darkness away.

3. He was circumcised on the 8th day, which is the next Sunday. And circumcision in the Old Testament, meant that this person is of the people of God and it was symbol to baptism in the New Testament which grants the person the new birth in our Lord Jesus Christ.

4. He entered Jerusalem on a Sunday as a King (He reigns over our hearts as we experience Him in holy communion).

5. He arose on the Sunday and He confirmed His resurrection by letting Thomas touch His body on the following Sunday.

6. He sent the Holy Spirit on a Sunday, and the Church started that day with 3000 being baptised. (1000 is always the number of Heaven, and the 3 is the Holy Trinity) so the Church takes us to Heaven under the faith of the Holy Trinity.

7. St. Severus added that the general resurrection of the second coming will be on Sunday.

8. Acts 20:7, 1 Corinthians 16:2,Chapter 14 of the Didache, and Chapters 10, 31 and 38 of the Didascalia all mention that Sunday is a Holy day. The Apostolic Constitution has a section by Clement that mentions this also, and chapter 36 says Bishops should be ordained on a Sunday as it is the day of the Lord. Canon 21 in the council of Elvira (convened in 306A.D.) and another council in Illiberis, Spain also mentions Sunday as a Holy Day. Constantine issued a royal decree in 321 A.D. that Sunday should be a Holy day and that no one should work but attend worship in the Church. King Theodosius the Small, reaffirmed it in 425 A.D., and again the two kings in their own countries, Leon and Antinimius, reaffirmed it in their royal decrees of 469 A.D. Many other fathers also spoke about Sunday as a Holy day (St. Athanasius, St. Theophorus and St. Augustine).

Spiritual understanding of Sunday being the day of the Lord?

It is not intended to be a physical rest, as much as giving ourselves time to feel the day of our Lord, and we have to be with the Lord on that day by attending the Holy Mass, and sharing as much as possible in the Body and Blood of Christ, and using the rest of the day in as spiritual way as possible.

The church never recommends that her members work for money on Sunday. Some of the Holy Fathers even taught that neglecting sanctifying the day of the Lord leads to perishing: “cursed is he who does not sanctify the day of the Lord”. The Church tries as hard as possible to get them to do spiritual work on Sunday. The holy fathers advised that after the holy mass we should keep the rest of the day for spiritual work, for reading the Holy Bible and spiritual books. The great blessing is to read the Bible to somebody who needs it and to nourish them spiritually. St Macarius the Great after the service would rush the brothers in the monastery to flee. They would say “we are already in the wilderness, where should we flee to?” and he would say “quickly go to your own cells for the worship of the Lord”. St Arsenius used to do the same thing, and so did many other fathers.

Sunday and fasting

Since the church started after the feast of the Pentecost, she has forbidden her children from fasting on Sundays (by abstaining from food after the holy mass) because it is a joyful day of the Lord. (The mass starts with “Hallelulia, this is the day of the Lord”). St. Athanasius the Apostolic 296AD said we learned from our Holy Fathers the Apostles that we should not fast by abstaining from food on Sunday. Also, in the council of Gangra (325-382 AD) it was said that anyone who fasts on Sunday would be excommunicated. This was confirmed in the local council of Sargossa (380AD).

That's why, when the day of the preparation before the 2 great Lordly feasts, the birth of Christ and Epiphany falls on a Monday, we don't fast by abstaining from food on the Sunday, as the usual for the day of preparation before the great Lordly feast (el-Baramon). Neither do we fast on Saturday as well, as the Lord's Day in the Old Testament. Hence replace them both with the Friday, and in this case, the preparation becomes 3 days. With the same understanding, if the feast comes on Sunday, the preparation will be 2 days. Many fathers also spoke about not fasting on Sunday, like St. Dioscoros, Tertullian, St. Athanasius, Pope Theophilus the 23rd Patriarch of Alexandria, St. Augustine etc.

Sunday and kneeling down in prayer

We kneel down on Saturday and Sunday for reverence before the Holy altar, not for repentance. So we don't do the metanias (means prostrations) of fasting, as on normal days, at the start of the "Agpia" prayer, just as we do not do them for the 50 days of celebration following the Resurrection. Many fathers wrote about this, such as Pope Peter the seal of martyrs; St. Basil the great in 230 AD; the first council of Nicea 325 AD, Canon 19, and the canon of Ibn El-Sebaa, one of the church scholars who collected the cannons of the church in His book "The precious pearl in the sciences of the Church".

The commemoration of the deceased on Sundays

There is nothing wrong with mentioning the names of the departed on the Sunday, but we never use the sad tune for the commemoration of the saints.

The relationship between the Sundays of the year and the Holy Resurrection

Here we divide the Sundays of the year into 3 groups.

1. The 8 Sundays of the 50 joyful days between the Resurrection and the Pentecost. On those 8 Sundays, we mention the Resurrection, we celebrate a procession for the Resurrection (even the Sunday between Ascension and Pentecost). As we also do during the weekdays. We never fast or do 'metanias', we say'je aftonf' (you have Risen), and we do pray the same hymns in all those 50 days.

2. The Sundays from Pentecost to fourth Sunday of 'Hatour', we continue treating the Sunday responses like the Sunday of the 50 days after the resurrection. For the first Sunday of the Coptic month 'Koiak', as it falls during the fasting preceding the Birth of Christ (the Advent), we stop saying "je ak-tonk" (You have risen) in the responses and start saying "je ak-I", meaning 'You have come', and this continues until the feast of the resurrection and repeats as explained.

3. The 6 Sundays of the Holy Great Fasting. The hymns are changed, we don't use "alleluia vai pe" (this is the day the Lord has made) because we are fasting with the Lord in order to receive that day. So we pray "alleluja je ef mevi" (means "Alleluia, the thought of man". And we pray 'ti shori' instead of 'tai shori'. "The golden censor" replaces "the censor of pure gold"). We also pray the other hymns that are relevant to the great fasting.

The readings of various occasions that come on Sundays

1. If a Lordly feast comes on a Sunday, we read its readings instead of the original readings of that Sunday.

2. The two feasts of the cross are treated like the Lordly feasts. If it falls on a Sunday, the reading of the feast of the cross replaces the reading originally set for that Sunday.

3. If in a Coptic month come 5 Sundays, always the 5th Sunday has a special reading. But if the memorial feast of annunciation (the 29th of the Coptic month) falls on the 5th Sunday of the month, here the reading of the feast of the annunciation will replace the reading of the 5th Sunday.

References:

1. The Holy Bible

2. The Canons and writings of the holy apostles (Didachia, Dedascalia)

3. The writings of the early apostolic fathers (first century and first half of second century). Found in the volumes of ‘Ante-Nicene Fathers’

4. The decisions and resolutions of the three ecumenical councils recognised by our church (Nicea 325 A.D., Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431). Found in the volumes of ‘Post-Nicene Fathers’

5. An old manuscript named ‘The order of the church of God’

6. The precious pearls in explaining the rituals of the church’ (an old Arabic reference in more than 1000 pages)

7. ‘The precious pearl in the sciences of the church’ (another old Arabic reference)

8. ‘Manaret el-Akdaas’ (in explaining the rituals of the church and the Holy Mass).

9. ‘The church, the house of God’. Father Tadros Yakoub Malaty.

10. ‘Mesbah el-zolma’ in explaining the rituals.

11. ‘The valuable treasure’ in the church orders.

‘The desire of souls in the order of rituals’

THE ORTHODOX CONCEPT
BOOK 4

SAINT MARY IN THE ORTHODOX CONCEPT

FR. TADROS Y. MALATY

The Orthodox Concept
Book 4

SAINT MARY

In The Orthodox Concept

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ST. VIRGIN MARY CHURCH,
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Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ King of Kings and Lord of lords

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H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

This book, originally, was a set of lectures held in St. Virgin Mary Coptic Orthodox Church, Melbourne, in 1975, and was published in our "weekly Bulletin" for the help of our Sunday - School teachers.

I am deeply indebted to Miss Marlene Butler for her sincere help and to the staff of Ormond College Library.

Fr. TADROUS Y. MALATY

Feast of St. Anthony the Great,
January 30, 1978

1 ST. MARY'S VIRGINITY

PERPETUAL VIRGINITY

2 THEOTOKOS OR THE MOTHER OF GOD

3 OUR NEW EVE

4 FULL OF GRACE

5 OUR MEDIATRIX

6 ST. MARY THE MODEL OF VIRGINS

7 ST. MARY & THE CHURCH

8 ST. MARY IN THE COPTIC RITE

1. ST. MARY IN THE DAILY HYMNS
2. ST. MARY IN THE KEYAHK'S HYMNS
3. TYPES AND SYMBOLS OF ST. MARY IN THE COPTIC HYMNS
4. ST. MARY IN THE COPTIC LITURGIES
5. ST. MARY IN THE FESTIVAL CEREMONIES
6. ST. MARY IN THE CANONICAL HOURS
7. ST. MARY IN THE ETHIOPIAN LITURGIES
8. FEASTS OF ST. MARY IN THE COPTIC CHURCH
9. ST. MARY'S ASSUMPTION

We the Copts[1], are very honoured that the Holy Family visited our land. Our spiritual love towards the Saviour Jesus Christ and His mother is deep-rooted in our hearts, and appears in our daily life.

We love St. Mary, the Virgin and mother of God, through whom we discover the nature of her Son as the Incarnate Son of God. Her life speaks of God's redeeming deed, and explains man's role in attaining the heavenly life by the divine grace.

St. Mary is our sister, who became an archetype of the Church, receiving a universal maternity to man. She loves the whole world, longing for the perfect salvation of every body.

This is the spirit of the whole treatise which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, sustained by the Holy Scripture, the Patristic thought and our church liturgies, I hope to discuss.

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(1) Christians of Egypt

Awake, o my harp, your chords,
in praise of the Virgin Mary!
Lift up your voice and sing
the wonderful history of this Virgin,
the daughter of David,
who gave birth to the Life of the world!

St. Ephram the Syrian

1 ST. MARY'S VIRGINITY

Aaron's rod, in fact, is Mary.
It is a type of her virginity. She conceived and bore the Son of the Most High, the Word, without human seed.

Theotokia[(1)] of Sunday.

Biblical Reality

The virginity of St. Mary is not a matter of her own private life, but rather a 'biblical reality', which belongs with our faith in Jesus Christ. For when the Word of God was Incarnated, He was not particular about the kind of place where he would be cradled, or the clothes He would wear, or the food He would eat; but He was definitely very particular about the Virgin who was to be His mother[(2)] .

The prophet Isaiah gives us a prophetic sign of the Virginal Birth.

[(1)] Theotokia is a hymn praises St. Mary the Theotokos "Mother of God"
[(2)] J. B. Carol: Mariology, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 51

“Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and bear a
Son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel.”

Here the text refers to St. Mary the virgin mother of Emmanuel, directly and literally. It is very accurate, describes St. Mary’s state as being virgin and engaged at the same time. For the Hebrew term used for “virgin” is ‘almah’ and not ‘betulah’ nor ‘*issa’*. The word ‘almah’ means a virgin maiden who may be engaged, while ‘betulah’ means a virgin who is not engaged. The word ‘issa’ means a married lady.

If the Scripture uses the word ‘issa’, it does not signify an extraordinary miracle about to be performed by God. (Isaiah 7:10,11), for the married woman can conceive and bear a son. If it uses the word ‘betulah’, it does not describe the state of St. Mary, who was engaged to St. Joseph. But it uses the word ‘almah’, which fits her state accurately, as a virgin and engaged to St. Joseph who protected her and became a faithful witness of her chastity, leaving no chance for any doubts or suspicion.

It is worth noting that this word ‘almah’ is etymologically used in this sentence to mean the continuation of the state of virginity, and for this reason it has been translated ‘the virgin’, and not ‘a virgin’, to describe the Emmanuel's mother as the virgin even after her child's birth.

Another prophet confirms St. Mary's perpetual virginity, as he says:

“*When he brought me back the way of the gate of the*
outward sanctuary which looked towards the east,
it was shut.
Then the Lord said to me:
This gate shall be shut,

it shall not be opened,
and no man shall pass through it,
because the Lord, the God of Israel,
has entered by it,
therefore it shall be shut.
It is for the prince;
the prince himself shall sit in it...”

(Ezk. 44: 1-3).

This sealed eastern gate is a figure of St. Mary's perpetual virginity.[1] For the Lord alone entered her womb, and this gate was never opened to another; its seals were not broken.

In this effect the Coptic Church sings the following hymn:
“Ezekiel witnessed and told us:
I have seen an eastern gate.
The Lord, the Saviour entered it,
and it remains shut as it was before”.[2]

One of the titles given to the Virgin Mary in the Byzantine rite is: “Hail O unique gate, through which only the Word passed”.[3]

Virginity & Christology

The Virginal Birth which happened once, never to be repeated, is a proof of our faith in Jesus Christ, that He is not of this world, but from on high, the Son of God. This is what the

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(1) Schaefera Brossart: The Mother of Jesus in the Holy Scriptures, p. 63 f.
(2) Psalia (Adam) for Sunday.
(3) Akathistos (not sitting) hymn, is sung on the fifth Saturday of the Lent

angel Gabriel proclaimed to St. Mary herself when she asked him: “How can this come about, *since I do not know man?!”*, “ the Holy Spirit will come upon you ” , the angel answered, “and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and so the Child will be called Son of God” (Luke 1: 34, 35). Subsequently, this Virginal Birth formed a principal element in all the creeds of the Early Church, not because it says something about St. Mary, but rather because it reveals the Person and Nature of Jesus Christ.

For example, the Creed of St. Hippolytus (c. 215) states:

“Do you believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.....?”[1]

This argument was used also by the early Christian apologists, such as St. Justin and Athenagoras, in their defence on behalf of Christianity.

St. Ignatius of Antioch (m. 110 A.D.), preached this Virginal Birth as one of the great Christological (dealing with Christ) mysteries, which were loudly proclaimed to the world in his time:

“The virginity of Mary,
her childbirth,
and also the death of the Lord”.

These were hidden from the prince of the world. Three mysteries loudly proclaimed but wrought in the stillness of God.[2]

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(1) The Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus 21:15
(2) St. lgnatius: Epist. Ad Ephes. 19:1

In brief, this doctrine “the Virginal Birth” in fact is the outward sign of the mystery of Incarnation. For it affirms that Jesus Christ who is the real son of a real mother, was not conceived of human seed, but of the Holy Spirit. Although the Son of Man, He has no hereditary sin, but stands at the Head of a new human race.[1]

Virginity and Our Salvation

1. God comes to us, born of a virgin and conceived not of human seed. He unites Himself with us (humanity), not because of our human efforts or merits, but rather as a divine grace bestowed on us. It is the free gift of love which only comes from God.

In other words, St. Mary's virginity is, therefore, a sign of man's poverty and his inability to work out his own salvation; to bring into being One who can save him.[2]

2. St. Mary's virginity does not mean that we have to be passive in our spiritual life. For God did not force *Himself* in St. Mary's womb, nor did she conceived Him unwillingly, but played an active role. God asked her to accept! The Divine Incarnation was realized by the free grace of God, but she herself humbly accepted obedience.

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[1] John McHaugh: The Mother of Jesus in the N.T., N.Y. 1975, p. 339
[2] Max Thurian: Mary, Mother of all Christians, N.Y. 1964. p. 32

3. Jesus Christ was born of the *"Virgin"*, the archetype of the New Church, to declare the *heavenly nature* of the Kingdom which made its appearance with Christ, for virginity is the law of the heavens, while marriage occurs only in the present world.

Marriage with its effect - "the procreation of children" - ensures the continuity of human life on earth; for the succession of new generations. But in heaven, no one dies, subsequently there is no need of marriage or bringing forth children for the continuity of the heavenly kingdom…. Virginity is the state of all the creatures there.

Now, St. Mary's virginity at the Incarnation of God's Son, means establishing the heavenly kingdom among the human race. People of God are called to new life; they have to practice the heavenly life (virginity) in their hearts, minds and souls, through their fellowship with God in Jesus Christ, the Virgin Bridegroom. This is the nature of the Church in the New Testament, of which the Virgin Mary is the first and ideal member.

Virginal Birth & Spiritual Birth

In the Coptic Church the Lord's Nativity (Christmas) is correlated with His Baptism (Epiphany), and in the early centuries these two Lord's feasts were celebrated in one day. For at Christmas the Lord took on what was ours, i.e., our humanity, while at his Epiphany the Church hidden in Jesus Christ received what was His own, i.e., His relation to the Father. He became Son of Man, and we became sons of God.

This reality is declared in the following Church hymn:
"He took what was ours,
and bestowed on us what was His own;
may we praise Him and glorify Him".

This correlation between the Lord's Virginal Birth according to the flesh and our spiritual birth, is paralleled by the divine Incarnation, in the holy womb of the virgin. For, there, the Lord took His body, which 'mystically' is the Church united with Him. There the bride (Church) is created to he united with Her Divine Bridegroom.

To this effect Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople (c. 429) says[(1)] :

"The holy Mary is the workshop of the union of natures,
the market place of the salutary exchange,
the bridal chamber wherein the Word espoused flesh".

To this effect I excerpt some quotations from the sayings of the Fathers:

* Chastely Christ opened the chaste womb, so that thence man also might similarly be reborn.

St. Irenaeus[(2)]

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(1) Encomium on holy Mary, Theotokos 1:1
(2) Adv. Hear. 4:33:11. PG 7:1080

* Those who proclaimed Him Emmanuel, born of the Virgin, (Isa.7: 14) proclaimed also the union of the Word of God to His handiwork,
"because the Word will become flesh,
and the Son of God will become the Son of man, the Pure one opening purely that pure womb, which generate men into God…"

St. Irenaeus[(1)]

* Christ opened the silent, spotless and fruitful womb of the Holy Church, for the birth of God's people. *St. Ambrose* [(2)]

* Your divine birth, O Lord, gave birth to all creatures....
Mankind gave birth to You in the body;
and You gave birth to mankind in spirit….
Praise to You, who became a Child,
to make all things new!

St. Ephram the Syrian[(3)]

* As Christ appropriated a body taken from a woman and was engendered by her according to the flesh, He recapitulated in Himself the generation of man.

St. Cyril of Alexandria[(4)]

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(1) Ibid 4 : 33 : 12 PG 7 : 1181
(2) Com. On Luke 2:57 PG 15:1573
(3) Hymn 3 on Nativity
(4) PG 76 : 23

* We affirm that the Only Begotten Son became man (oikonomia)…. so that, horn of a woman according to the flesh, He might recapitulate in Himself the human race .... and by the flesh united to Him, He might incorporate all in Himself .

St. Cyril of Alexandria[1]

* From on high came the divine Word, and in your (St.Mary's) holy womb reformed Adam (new creation in Christ).

St. Gregory the Wonder-Worker[2]

* The Son of God has become the Son of David; do not doubt that you, a son of Adam, may become the son of God.

If God had stooped to such an extreme depth, He has not done so in vain, but to raise us to a sublime height.

He was born of flesh that you might be born again according to the spirit!

He was born of a woman that you might become a child of God.

St. John Chrysostom[3]

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(1) PG 76:15-18
(2) PG 10:1151
(3) In Mat., hom. 2.2

* The Son of God made Himself man, that we
might welcome Him as a member of our own family,
and despite our sins we might be born again to hope….

* We have fled far away from our Teacher,
leaving behind the grace He offered us; and what does
this Master in His mercy?
He pursues the fugitive to bring him back.

He approaches him not clothed in majesty but with a lowly aspect adopted in Mary's womb, and in that guise becomes his familiar and his friend, making Himself a servant with us that we may became masters with Him.

Theodosius of Ancyra[1]

St. Mary's Virginity & Spiritual Virginity

In the Old Testament a virgin, without hope of marriage and motherhood, was in the same position as the childless woman, a sad state and a sign of God's wrath.

In the New Testament, the Virgin, for the first and last time, gave birth to the Messiah, i.e., her virginity is no longer a matter of shame since it has become fruitful by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Virginity became a sign of the intimacy between God and man. For this reason St. Paul calls the Church "Christ's Virgin". And in the book of Revelation the unnumbered crowd of God's elect are represented by 144,000 virgins who "follow the Lamb whithersoever He goes" (14: 4, 5).

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(1) In Sanctam Delporem, hom 4

On this account, virginity is correlated with sanctity, but not in the way that every virgin is considered as a holy one, and every holy person must be a virgin, lest we devalue the Christian marriage which is holy. What we mean is that the literal virginity is merely a sign of the spiritual one. Virginity - in its essence - is the total consecration to God and permanent union with Him in Jesus Christ. It is a virginity of soul, heart, mind, senses and desires, which Christians can receive by the Holy Spirit who sanctifies our bodies, souls and spirits, preparing us for the eternal wedding feast.

* (Virginity) is honoured not for itself, but
because it is dedicated to God.

St. Augustine[(1)]

* (Virginity) is a necessary door to a holier life......
It is the channel which draws down the Deity to share man's state, it creates wings for man's desire to rise to heavenly things, and it is a bond of union between the Divine and the human, by its mediation bringing into harmony these existence's so widely divided.....

* It has been proven as well that this union of the soul with the incorruptible Deity can be accomplished in no other way than by attaining the greatest possible purity - a state which, being like God, will enable one to grasp that state of virginity which reflects the purity of God like a mirror in which one's own image becomes moulded with beauty at the touch and sight of the Archetype of all beauty….

St. Gregory of Nyssa[(2)]

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(1) De Sacr. Virginitate 8. PL 40:400

(2) De Virginitate 2, 11

* *(Sermon on Christmas Day)*
On this day the virginal birth is celebrated by the virgin church ….
The virginity which Christ desires in the heart of the Church He assured first in the body of Mary.
But the Church can only he virginal if she has a spouse, to whom she can give herself entirely, and He is the Virgin's Son.

St. Augustine(1)

* Your virginity should be something spiritual.
There cannot be many in the Church who are physically virgins,
but spiritually everyone of the faithful should be a virgin…..
Watch therefore, watch o my soul, and guard your own virginity.

* Christ's mother is a virgin,
and likewise is His bride, the Church…

St. Ambrose(2)

* Your example is now the life of Mary, from which shines forth, as from a mirror, all the beauty of Chastity and the pattern of every virtue….

St. Ambrose(3)

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(1) Serm. 178:4 PL 38:1005
(2) De Virginibus 1:5:22 PL 16:195
(3) Ibid 2:2:6 PL 16:208

Perpetual Virginity

Emmanuel, whom you had brought forth, preserved you in incorruption, and kept your virginity sealed!

Theotokia of Saturday 7:2

Did St. Mary remain a virgin while giving birth to Jesus?- This question was raised early perhaps from the first century, and many orthodox and apocryphal works discuss this question.

Early Apocryphal Documents

There are three early apocryphal documents, of the second century, affirming St. Mary's perpetual virginity:

1. In "the Ascension of Isaiah" we read that, "her womb was found the same as before she had conceived".[1]

2. According to the "Odes of Solomon", she travailed and brought forth a son without incurring pain.[2]

3. The "protoevangelium of James" relates that a woman called Salome "made trial of St. Mary's virginity soon after Jesus' birth".[3]

If we leave aside the details mentioned in these documents they in fact reveal a strong current of popular opinion

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(1) R. H. Charles: The Ascension of Isaiah, London 1900, p. 74-76

(2) Odes of Solomon 19:8 (3) Protoevangelium of James 18 - 20

in the second century, that St. Mary did not cease to be a virgin in giving birth to the Lord.

The Patristic Thought

It is believed that St. Peter of Alexandria (m. 311 A.D.) is the first known witness to St. Mary's title "αειπαρθενος"(1) i.e, "ever-virgin", as he said :(2)

"Jesus Christ….. was born according to the flesh from our holy and glorious lady, Mother of God "θεοτοκος" and ever-virgin "αειπαρθενος" Mary".

He is not the first Father who believes in St. Mary's perpetual virginity, i.e., before Christ's birth (ante-portum), in childbirth (in portum) and afterwards (post-portum).

In the second century, St. Irenaeus takes Isaiah 66:7, where the prophet foretells a remarkable repopulation of Jerusalem through Mother Zion and interprets it as spoken of the Virgin Mary who gave birth to a man child in unique fashion, without birth bangs. "Also concerning His birth, the same prophet (Isaiah) says in another place: "Before she who was in labour brought forth, and before pains of labour came, there came forth delivered a man child. He proclaimed this unlooked

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(1) Hilda Graef: Mary, A History of Doctrine & Devotion, London 1963, vol. 1, ch. 2

(2) St. Peter of Alexandria: Frag 7. PG 18:517

- for an extraordinary childbirth of the Virgin[1] , thus affirming her virginity.

In Egypt St. Clement states that St. Mary continued as a virgin, refusing the assumption that she became a woman owing to the birth of her Son[2] .

Origen affirms St. Mary's perpetual virginity in his homilies on Leviticus[3] . In another place he says: [4]

"A certain tradition has come to us to this effect…. Mary, after giving birth to the Saviour, went in to adore and stood in that place for virgins (in the Temple). Those who knew that she had borne a son tried to keep her away, but Zachary said to them: She is worthy of the place of virgins, for she is still a virgin".

"It would have been unbecoming to attribute to anyone other than Mary the title of 'The First of Virgins'."

St. Athanasius used the expression "aeiparthenos"[5] and St. Didymus the Blind proclaimed her virginity "in partu and post partum" and addressed her as the aeiparthenos[6] .

Hereafter I cite some quotations from the sayings of the Fathers concerning St. Mary's perpetual virginity:

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(1) St.Irenaeus:Demonstratis apostolicae praedications, 54. (Pat. Orientalis 12:701); Carol, vol. 2, p. 104, 105
(2) Stromata, lib 7:16
(3) In Lev. 8:2 PG 12:493f
(4) Com. In Mat. 25
(5) Contra Arianos 2:70
(6) Quasten: Patrology, vol. 3, p. 99

* We are ignorant of many things, as for instance, how the Infinite is in a womb, how He that contains all things is carried, and born, by a woman, how the Virgin gives birth and continues a Virgin?

St. Chrysostom[1]

* The womb of the holy virgin, which ministered to an immaculate birth did not annul the virginity, nor did the virginity impede so great a birth.

St. Gregory of Nyssa[2]

* Only Christ opened the closed gates of her virginal womb, and yet the gates remained unfailingly closed.

St. Jerome[3]

* Although the door was shut, Jesus entered into the sepulchre that was Mary, which was new and hewn in hardest rock, no one either before and afterwards was laid. She is a “garden closed, a fountain sealer” (Cant. 4:12).

She is the eastern gate, which Ezekiel speaks of (14:2), as always shut and full of light; which, closing on itself, brings forth from itself the Holy of Holies; whereby the order of Melchisdech, enters in and goes out.

Let them tell me how Jesus entered when the doors were closed and I will answer how holy Mary is both

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(1) Ibid. p. 476. Hom. In Matt. 4:3
(2) De Virginitate 19
(3) Epist. to Pammachius 49 (48): 21

mother and virgin; virgin after childbirth, and mother before she married.

St. Jerome[1]

* If in His birth her virginity had been destroyed from that moment He would not have been born of a virgin, and the whole Church would falsely have proclaimed, which God forbid, that He was born of the Virgin Mary.

St. Augustine[2]

* Just as (the Lord) made His entrance when the doors were closed, in the same way did He come forth from the Virgin's womb, because this virgin really and truly gave birth without pain.... Her virginity remained safe and sound.

St. Ephram the Syrian[3]

* The Lord Jesus would never has chosen to he born of a virgin if He had ever judged that she would be so incontinent as to contaminate with the seed of human inter-course the birthplace of the Lord's body, that court of the Eternal King!

Bishop Siricius[4] (392)

* O marvellous mystery! Mary was virgin after marriage, virgin after conception and remained virgin after child-birth .

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(1) Dialogue against Pelagianos

(2) Enchiridion ad Laurentium 34. PG 40:249 Ancient Christian Writings, vol. 3, p. 42

(3) Explanatis evangelli concordantis, ch 2:6, 8.

(4) Epist to Anysius Bishop of Thessalonica

Finally if anything had been better than virginity, the Son of God would rather have given that to His mother, whereas He gave her to rejoice in the honour of divine virginity.

Fr. Zeno of Verona[1] *(d.* 372)

* (In his comparison between the Lord's birth and His resurrection, St.Ephram describes the birth in the following terms) :

When the glorious Spouse wished to go forth,
He left the virginal organs asleep, so that they should not feel His going forth.

St. Ephram the Syrian[2]

* Nature no longer acknowledges a virgin after childbirth, but grace made her parent and kept her virgin, grace made her mother and did not violate her virginity….

O earth unsown that flowered forth fruit that saves!
O virgin who surpasses Eden's garden of delights!..

The virgin is made more glorious than paradise. For paradise was cultivated by God, but Mary cultivated God Himself according to the flesh, willing as He was to be united to man's nature.

Fr. Theodotus of Ancyra[3] (432)

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(1) Trectatus 1:5:3

(2) St. Ephram Syri Hymni et Sermones, ed. T. 1. Lemy, vol. 2, p. 573-6 K. McNamara: Mother of the Redeemer, N.Y., 1960 p. 114

(3) On the Nativity of our Saviour 2, Palmer p, 52

Vow of Virginity

According to the apocryphal work "protoevangelium" of James, which reflects the popular trends of second century, St. Mary was born of Joachim and Anne, when they were already old. The mother vowed that she would serve the Lord all her life.

At the age of three, she was presented to the Temple, where she was nourished by angels. According to the Coptic tradition the Marian feast of "her presentation to the Temple" is celebrated on the third of Keiahk", in which we remember the Child Mary as a virgin lives among the virgins. We sing the following two hymns:

"At the age of three,
you were presented to the Temple, O Mary.
You came as a dove,
and the angels hurried to you".
"She was among the virgins,
praising and giving hymns with them,
when she entered the Temple in glory
and honour."

At the age of twelve, the priests assembled to discuss what they had to do with Mary as she should leave the Temple. They called twelve men from the tribe of Judah and deposited their rods at the Temple. On the next day, the high-priest Abiathar brought the rods and gave each one his rod. As St. Joseph stretched his hand to receive his rod, immediately a dove went forth from its top, whiter than snow and most beautiful, and fluttering a long time among the pinnacles of the temple, until at last it flew towards the heavens. Then all the people

congratulated the old man, saying “You become blessed in your old age, father Joseph, in that God has shown you fit to receive Mary”.

St. Joseph, at first refused because of his age, but then obeyed when the priests threatened him with the wrath of God[1] .

Marriage or Betrothal !!

According to the Jewish tradition, the nuptial consists of two steps: betrothal and marriage proper. After certain financial arrangements, the couple were betrothed to one another in the house of the bride. The betrothal was in every respect equivalent to our marriage except without any sexual relationship. The betrothed woman was called the man’s wife; and she became widow if her betrothed died, and she claimed the financial settlement accorded to a wife when widowed or divorced. In case of infidelity she was liable to the same punishment as an adulterous wife. Like a wife she could not be dismissed without a bill of divorce.

If the betrothed woman had not been married previously, she usually waited a year before the second step, the marriage proper, was taken[2] .

Now, we can understand why St. Mary was called “St. Joseph’s wife”, although they were betrothed and not married.

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(1) Protoevangelium of James, 8, 9

(2) W. L. Strack & P. L Billenbeck: Kommentar Zum Neuen Testamentaus Talmud und Midrasi, Munchen, 1924, vol. 2, p. 377-394

Someone might ask if there was an agreement between St. Mary and St. Joseph to live in virginity even after the second step of marriage was taken?

St. Augustin confirms this in his comment on St. Mary's question to the angel: "How shall this be since I know not man!?" (Luke 1:34), saying[1] :

"Surely she would not say that, unless she had previously vowed her virginity to God" and intended to keep it.

Objection

Helvidius, in the fourth century, used the sentence of St. Matthew 1:25 "and he did not know her till she brought forth her firstborn Son", to indicate that the gospel opposed the perpetual virginity of St. Mary, as Jesus was her firstborn Son Who had other brothers, also sons of Mary.

St. Jerome answered: "It is the custom of the Scriptures to designate with the title "*firstborn*" not one who subsequently has brothers or sisters, but one who is born first". *(See: Exod. 34: 19-20)*[2] As St. Jerome stated so trenchantly, from scriptural sources, "Every only child is a firstborn child but not every firstborn is an only child".[3]

Likewise, the expression "he did not know her until she brought forth her firstborn Son" by no means necessarily implies

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(1) St. Augustine: De Sacra Virginitate 4. PL 45:398

(2) St. Jerome: In Mat. PL 26:26

(3) St. Jerome: Adversus Helvidium de Perpetua Virginitate Beatae Mariae. PL 23:202. J. B. Carol: Mariology, vol. 2, p. 233.

that St. Joseph "Knew her" after the birth of Christ. For the term "until" does not in any way prejudicate what may happen in the future. For example, when the Scripture states "No son was born to Michol, the daughter of Saul *until* her dying day", it does not mean that she bore a son after her death.

The Brothers of Jesus

Around the year 382 A.D. Helvidius wrote a book asserting that after the birth of Jesus, Joseph and Mary consummated their marriage, and that Mary later gave birth to other children, "the brothers of Jesus" mentioned in the Gospel. This book has not survived, but its arguments are well-known because of St. Jerome's reply to it.

A few years later, the same idea was put forward by Jovinianus[1] and Bonosus, bishop of Naissus in Yugoslavia[2]

They refer to the expression mentioned in the Gospel "brothers of Jesus" (Mark 6:33), (Mat. 13:55, 56).

The Great Origen says, "No one whose opinion on Mary is sound would claim that she had any child save Jesus". What, then, does the Gospel mean by the words "the brothers of Jesus"?

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[1] Jovinianus died c. 405, an unorthodox monk, condemned twice: in Rome under Siricius (390) and in Milan under Ambrose (391). He denied that virginity as such was a higher state than marriage. He also teaches that fasting has no greater merit than thankful eating, and there is no inequality based on status in life in heavenly reward, and that those who receive baptism in full faith cannot be led again into sin. St. Jerome wrote two books against him, and St. Augustine did the same.

[2] He was deposed after the Council of Capua (391).

1. The Epiphanian View

The writer of the apocryphal work “Protoevangelium of James”, in defending the virginity of St. Mary, referred to “the brothers of Jesus” as sons of St. Joseph from a previous marriage. Some Coptic, Syrian and Greek documents followed the same idea.

Even some great Fathers did the same, such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hegesippus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Hilary of Potiers, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Ambrose, and Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus who advocated this idea warmly so that it was attributed to him.(1)

Nevertheless, this idea is rejected by some theologians for the following reasons:

A. If these brothers of Jesus were in fact older than Jesus, having born of an earlier marriage, why are they not mentioned in the Infancy narratives, especially the escape to Egypt?

B. The impression left by the Gospel (Luke 2:41-52) concerning the story of Jesus in the temple is that even twelve years after Jesus’ birth, the Holy Family consists of the three persons only.

C. St. Matthew refers to Jesus as the heir of Joseph, the son of David; but if there were other older brothers of Jesus, (sons of Joseph) Jesus would not have been his heir.

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(1) McHaugh: The Mother of Jesus in the N.T., ch. 7

D. If Jesus had brothers, He would leave His mother in their home and would not trust her to St. John.

2. St. Jerome's View

St. Jerome replies that the term "brothers" is used in the Holy Scripture for:

A. Blood brotherhood.
B. Common nationality.
C. The close relatives.
D. Friendship.

In the case of the Lord's brothers, the third meaning applies. Abraham called his brother's son, Lot, his brother (Gen. 13:8), and Laban used the same term for his son-in-law (Gen. 29:15).

It is well-known that at that time cousins were called brothers, for they often lived under one roof in one large family. Until today the same term is used in some villages in Upper Egypt, where they feel very ashamed when a person does not call his cousin "brother". In the Aramic language all these types of relationships were referred to simply as "brothers".

According to St. Jerome's theory, the brothers of Jesus were the sons of St. Mary of Clopas, the wife of Alphaeus and the sister of Virgin Mary (John 19:25).

2 THEOTOKOS

OR

THE MOTHER OF GOD

St. Mary’s Maternity in the Bible

The Holy Scripture witnesses to St. Mary’s motherhood of the Son of God, for it calls her Son “God” (John 20:28).

At the annunciation, angel Gabriel speaks of the Child St. Mary is to conceive as “the Son of the Most High”, “the Holy One” and the “Son of God”.

When St. Mary entered the house of her kinswoman St. Elizabeth and greeted her, the babe maturing within her womb leaped for joy (Luke 1:41, 44) and she was filled with the Holy Spirit who led her to understand the mystery of the Divine Incarnation. The old woman, St. Elizabeth, wife of a priest and pregnant with a great prophet, belittled herself before the poor young orphan girl, as she discovered St. Mary her Lord’s mother. She said: “How did this happen to me, that my Lord’s mother should visit me?!” (Luke 1:43).

While the whole world knew nothing about the annunciation to St. Mary, St. Elizabeth declared St. Mary’s motherhood of her Lord in the absence of any external sign of this divine event.

The wonder is, that all these marvellous things happened just as St. Elizabeth listened to St. Mary's greeting, for the Son of God who was dwelling in her holy womb, spoke through her mouth and acted through her life.

St. Mary's Motherhood in the Early Church

Through the Church's combat with heresies, the dogma of St. Mary's motherhood has been developed and declared, to emphasize two Christological facts:

A. Jesus was genuinely born of St. Mary. He was not a phantom, but took on real flesh from a real mother.

B. Jesus Christ born of St. Mary is the eternal Son of God, who has no beginning.

1. Gnosticism

Most of Gnostic systems were based on the distinction between the "Demiurge or the Creator God" and the supreme remote and unknowable Divine Being. In some systems the creations of the material universe is believed to result from the fall of Sophia (wisdom); this creation is viewed as evil.

Usually, they divide men into two or three classes:

A. The spiritual men (pneumatics), receive a spark of divine spiritual substance, and through "gnosis" (knowledge) and the rites associated with it this

spiritual element is returned to its home in Divine Being.

B. Other people who are fleshly or material, (hylics) engrossed in matter, and given over to eternal perdition.

C. Some gnostics add a third intermediate class "the psychics" after (1 Cor. 2:14). They are other Christians who are not gnostics, and they attain only the middle realm of the Demiurge (Creator God) through faith and good deeds.

The function of Christ was to come as the emissary of the supreme God, bringing "gnosis". As a Divine Being He neither assumed a properly human body nor died(1). They refused to accept that the Redeemer became flesh, or was born of a woman.

One of the Gnostic forms was the '*Docetism*', a heresy that threatened the young church. The Greek word 'dokein' means "to seem" or "appear to be". The docetists believed that Jesus Christ was not a real man but seemed to be so and to have a body, but simply passed through the Virgin without being fashioned of her substance.

According to St. Irenaeus,(2) Saturninus (c.120) "declared that the Saviour was unborn, incorporeal and without form….. For to marry and bear children, he says, is of Satan".

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(1) Oxford Dict. of the Christian Church, p. 573

(2) Against Hear. 1:24:2 PG 7:674-5

Valentinus (2nd century) also taught that Christ united himself with the man Jesus who "was born through Mary and not of Mary"(1) . He passed through her as through a channel.

Marcion's doctrine is: Jesus did not have a human soul nor an earthly body. He was not born of Mary, but appeared suddenly in Judea with imaginary flesh, a full-grown man ready to enter immediately upon his ministry(2) .

Appeles conceded genuine flesh to Christ, but a celestial body. It came down from heaven into this world, and not of Mary.

The Fathers of the Church, such as St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen warned the Christians against such doctrines and many of them took up openly with those heretics, emphasizing St. Mary's real motherhood, with the aim of declaring the mystery of Incarnation, the real humanity of Christ.

St. Ignatius wrote to the Christians of Trallia:

"Stop your ears therefore when anyone speaks to you who stands apart from Jesus Christ, *from David's scion and Mary's Son, who was really born...*"(3)

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(1) Origen: In Epist. ad Galatus. PG 14:1298
(2) Origen: In Epist. ad Titum. PG 13:1304
(3) Ad Trallianos 9, 10 PG 5:681

2. Manichaeism

Its founder is Mani, Manes or Manichaeus, of the third century.

Mane's system was a radical offshoot of the Gnostic traditions of East Persia. It was based on a supposed primeval conflict between light and darkness, God and matter. The object of the practice of religion was to realise the particles of light which Satan had stolen from the world of Light and imprisoned in man's brain, and that Jesus, Buddha, the Prophets and Manes had been sent to help in this task.

The appearance of Adam was a counterplot to retain Light imprisoned, through reproduction. Jesus, "the Brilliant Light" redeemed him by a vision(1) . The religious practices of abstaining from eating meat and of abnegating the sexual life are the means of continuing the process of gradual liberation.

It is no wonder that the Manichaeans assumed that Jesus Christ was in no sense the Child of Mary.

St. Alexander, Pope of Alexandria, defends the true humanity of Christ and hence the true motherhood of St. Mary, against the gnostics and manichaeans.

St. Athanasius did the same, saying: "The body of the Lord was real ... because it was the same as ours, for Mary is our sister"(2) .

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(1) Oxford Dict. of the Christian Church, p. 864 J.D. Douglas: Dict. of the Christian Church, p. 624

(2) St. Athanasius: Epist. to Epictetus 7

St. Ambrose also states: "The Virgin had something of her own which she transmitted; the mother did not give Him something foreign (to her), but she conferred on Him what was of her own flesh, indeed in an unusual way, but by a normal function. For the Virgin had flesh, which she conferred on the fruit".[(1)]

3. Arianism

Contrary to the Gnostics and Manichaeans the Arians deny that Jesus, the Son of Mary, is the Uncreated Son of God, one with the Father in the divine essence. They deny Christ's divinity and subsequently St. Mary's motherhood to God.

For this reason, the Alexandrian Fathers such as SS. Peter, Alexander and Athanasius gave to St. Mary the title "θεοτοκος" (Mother of God), on confronting Arianism.

In his encyclical letter to the bishops (c. 319), St. Alexander announces the deposition of Arius and made the first indisputable use of the title Theotokos, as he writes[(2)] :

"After this we know of the resurrection of the dead, the first fruit of which was our Lord Jesus Christ who in very deed, and not in appearance merely carried a body born of Mary, Mother of God (Theotokos)".

The word "Theotokos" flows from his pen so naturally, his use of it is so nonchalant, that it leaves an impression of

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(1) St. Ambrose: De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacraments 104

(2) Epist. and Alexandrum Constant 12. PG 18:568

everyday usage, long established and uncontroverted[(1)] .

St. Athanasius, in his controversy with Arianism, stresses that Christ is born of the Father but took His humanity from "the unploughed earth"[(2)], ever-virgin[(3)] and Theotokos[(4)] .

St. Ambrose of Milan, wrote the Christmas hymn which he taught his people to strengthen their faith in Jesus Christ, the true God, and their combat against the Arians:

"Come, Redeemer of the nations,
show forth the birth of the Virgin.
Let all the world marvel, such a birth befitted God!"

4. The Nestorianism

In the Basilica of the Theotokos, St. Cyril of Alexandria preached before the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.), saying:

"Hail.... to Mary, Mother of God,
majestic treasure of the whole world,
the lamp unquenchable,
the crown of virginity,
the sceptre of Orthodoxy,
the indestructible temple,
the dwelling of the Illimitable,
Mother and Virgin ..

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(1) J.B. Carol: Mariology, vol. 2, p. 120
(2) Or. 2:7 PG 26:161 B
(3) Or. 2:70 PG 26:292 B
(4) Or. 3:14 PG 26:349 C.

Hail to You, who contained Him, Who cannot be contained in your holy virginal womb"[1] .

In fact, the controversy which raged between St. Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius was not centred upon the title of St. Mary "Theotokos" in itself, but was based on Christological concepts.

The circumstances which led to the intervention of St. Cyril in the Nestorian controversy must be briefly told[2] .

It was on April 10, A.D. 428, that Nestorius, a priest of Antioch and disciple of Theodore was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople. He used the term Christokos (mother of Christ) for St. Mary, and not Theotokos. The battle lines were clearly drawn when one of his priests "Anastasius", whom he took with him from Antioch, preached before him in December 428, saying:[3]

"Let no one call Mary "Theotokos", for Mary was but a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman".

This teaching Nestorius publicly approved, and he himself preached a course of sermons in which he drew a plain distinction between the man Jesus, born of Mary, and the Son of God Who dwelt in him. There were two distinct persons in Christ, the Son of Mary and the Son of God, who were united

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(1) Schwartz: Acts conciliorum oecumenicorum 1, 1, 2 p. 102 Palmer: Mary In the Documents of the Church, p. 50

(2) T. H. Bindly: The Oecumenical Docum. of the Faith, London 1899, p. 99

(3) Socrates: H.E. 7:32

not hypostatically but only morally. Christ should be called not God, but "God-bearer" (Theoporon), in much the same way as the saints can be called, because of the divine grace given to them. Subsequently, Mary was not the mother of God, but the man Jesus in whom the God-head dwelt.

Nestorius and his followers criticised the Wisemen for their kneeling to the Child Jesus, and preached that the divinity was separated from the humanity at the moment of Crucifixion.

The matter came to St. Cyril, Pope of Alexandria, who took occasion in his annual paschal letter (A.D. 429), without any personal reference to Nestorius, to state the doctrine of the Incarnation in the clearest and simplest terms:- namely that the real, true and perfect manhood in Christ was united to His divinity in one divine Person. Again, four months later, he wrote another letter to the monks on the same subject. These letters coming to the notice of Nestorius stirred him to great wrath, and he engaged one Photius to answer them[(1)] .

St. Cyril sent two letters to Nestorius in which he explains the nature of Christ, as the Incarnate Son of God, one Person..... and declared St. Mary's right to be called "Theotokos".

In his second letter he writes:

"We do not say that the nature of the Word became flesh by undergoing transformation, nor that it was transformed into an entire man of soul and body ; rather we say that the Word,

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(1) W. P. Du Bose: The Ecumenical Councils, Edinburgh 1897 Introduction (1).

in an indescribable and incomprehensible manner personally (hypostatically) united to It flesh animated by a rational soul and thus became man and was called Son of Man…."

Nor was He first born of the Holy Virgin as an ordinary man, in such a way that the Word only afterwards descended upon Him; rather He was united (with flesh) in the womb itself....

For this reason the (Holy Fathers) confidently called the Holy Virgin "Theotokos"; not meaning that the nature of the Word or His Godhead received its beginning from the Holy Virgin, but that, inasmuch as His rationally animated body, to which the Word was personally united, was born of her, He is said to have been born after the flesh.

I have thus written to you out of the love which I have in Christ, and I beseech you as a brother and "charge you before Christ and the elected angels", thus to think and teach with us, that the peace of the churches may be preserved and the bond of unanimity and love between the priests of God may remain unbroken"(1) .

Afterwards a local council was held at Alexandria, and a synodical letter was sent to Nestorius, clarifying the same doctrines mentioned in St. Cyril's letters, and concluding with "The Twelve Articles or Anathemas".

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(1) Denzinger - Banwart: Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum, ed. 24-25 by Umberg, Barcelona, 1948, p. 111a

The first anathema is: "If anyone does not confess that Emmanuel is God in truth and the Holy Virgin on this ground is the Theotokos, having brought forth after the flesh the Word of God, who became flesh - let him be an anathema".

In June 22, 431 the Third Ecumenical Council was held at Ephesus, over which St. Cyril presided. Nestorius was deposed and excommunicated, St. Cyril's second letter to Nestorius was read, his twelve anathemas were confirmed, the Christological doctrine of Nestorius condemned and the title "Theotokos" solemnly recognized.

St. Mary's Motherhood & the Incarnation

Fr. John Damascene summed up our belief in the "Theotokos" by saying, "This name contains the whole mystery of the Incarnation"(1).

St. Gregory Nazianzus declared the necessity of giving St. Mary her right of motherhood, as a result of our belief in the divine Incarnation:

"If anyone does not accept Holy Mary as Theotokos, he is cut off from deity".

If anyone should say that Christ passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not fashioned in a way that is divine as well as human.... he is equally godless.

If anyone should say that he was fashioned and only afterwards did God dwell in him, he also is condemned.

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(1) De fide Orthodoxa, lib 3, 12. PG 94:1029

If anyone should speak of the Son of God the Father as different from the son of Mary, and not the same person, so shall he forfeit his share in adoption ....”.[(1)]

Through the Incarnation, St. Mary did not give her Son His divine personality and nature, but, as St. Cyril clarifies, this in no way diminishes the rightfulness of her title. Other mothers, too, do not confer souls and personalities on their sons, yet they are no less truly mothers, not only of the flesh, but really of the human person, created by God, that subsists in this flesh. So, St. Mary is the Mother of Jesus who is God.[(2)]

Someone perhaps asks:

Why, instead of descending from heaven without a human body, or at least with a heavenly body formed by the hand of God, did the Word of God choose to be born of a mother? (Gal. 4:4)

1. By taking flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God became not a merely man but a member of human race, a descendant of Adam, of the seed of Abraham and of the royal line of David. Through His true sonship to St. Mary, He integrated Himself with the humblest realities of our human existence….[(3)]

Through St. Mary’s motherhood our blood ran in His veins to be shed by Him for the remission of our sins.

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(1) Epistola 101. PG 37:117-180. Palmer, p. 9.
(2) Rene Laurentin: Queen of Heaven, 1961, p. 94
(3) McNamara: Mother of the Redeemer, p. 71

2. Through the Virgin's motherhood of God, the Redeemer united in Himself the two parties to be reconciled: God and man. He, as the Perfect High Priest and Mediator, willed to save us from within; not as a stranger, but as a Brother.

3. St. Augustine states that if the Son of God refused to be incarnated in the womb of the Virgin, women would despair as if they are defiled creatures. His sonship to St. Mary restored that sex and declared the goodness of all creatures.

Her Motherhood & The Word of God

> St. Augustine states:
> "Mary conceived in her mind before she conceived in her body".[1]

Indeed St. Mary is blessed for she was chosen as the Mother of the Word of God, but before she bore Him physically she had borne Him spiritually through her faith. She was a typical hearer of the Word; listening to it; obeying it, keeping and pondering it in her heart.

In the words of St. Augustine[2] , "Mary's motherhood would have been of no profit to her if she had not joyfully borne Christ in her heart".

The Soul's maternity:

St. Mary, as the mother of God, represents the Church, whose members spiritually bear God in their hearts. The holy

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(1) Sermon 215:4
(2) De Scare Virginitate 3. PL 40:398

Fathers of the Church look to the spiritual life of the Christian after baptism as the growth of Christ Himself within their motherly hearts[1] .

* Just as an infant is formed in the womb, so it seems to me that the Word of God is in the heart of a soul, which has received the grace of baptism, and thereafter perceives within itself the word of faith ever more glorious and more plain.

* It would be wrong to proclaim the Incarnation of the Son of God from the Holy Virgin without admitting also His Incarnation in the Church…. Everyone of us must, therefore, recognize His coming in the flesh by the pure Virgin; but at the same time we must recognize His coming in the spirit of each one of us.

Origen[2]

* 'That which happened to the stainless Mary, when the fullness of the Godhead which was in Christ shone out through her, is also fulfilled in every soul that leads, as a rule, a virgin life. No longer, indeed, does the Master come with bodily presence: "we know Christ no longer according to the flesh" (2 Cor. 5:6) - but spiritually He dwells in us and brings His Father with Him, as the Gospel somewhere tells.

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(1) Hugo Rahner: Our Lady and the Church, p. 72

(2) Hom. on Exod. 10:4, De Sargiusga 8:2

* This birth comes from God. And it is fulfilled everytime the immortality of the spirit is conceived in the living substance of a man's heart: for then he is giving birth to wisdom, to justice, to holiness and to utter purity. Thus every Christian can become the mother of Him who is essentially all these things. For our Lord Himself says: Whosoever shall do the will of my Father in heaven, is my mother (Mk 3:35, Mt. 12:50).

St. Gregory of *Nyssa)*[(1)] .

* (Every Christian) conceives God in his heart.

St. Augustine[(2)] .

* Like the blessed Mary, who was of such purity that she deserved to be the Mother of God, you too can be a mother of the Lord.

St. Jerome[(3)]

* When the soul then begins to turn to Christ, she is addressed as "Mary"; that is, she receives the name of the woman who bore Christ in her womb; for she has become a soul who, in a spiritual sense, gives birth to Christ.

* Watch that you do the will of the Father, so that you may be the Mother of Christ.

St. Ambrose[(4)]

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(1) De Virginitate 2, 13. PG 46:324, 380

(2) Sermon 181:4

(3) Epist. to Eustochium 22:8

(4) De Virginitate 4:20, PL 16:271; Com. on Luke 10:25. PL 15:1810

* He is above all the Mother of Christ, who preaches the truth; for he gives birth to our Lord, who brings Him into the hearts of his hearers.
And he is the Mother of Christ, who through his words inspires a love of our Lord in the spirit of his neighbour.

Pope Gregory (the Great)[1]

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Hear this, o shepherds of the Churches,
O shepherds of God;
All through time the angel comes down and announces to you that today and every day the Redeemer is born,
that is Christ the Lord!

Origen[2]

* The Church is in labour and travail, until Christ is formed and horn within us, so that everyone of the saints, in so far as he shares in Christ, is Christ born again.

Methodius[3]

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(1) Hom 3 on the Gospels
(2) Hom on Luke 12
(3) Symposion 8:8

3 OUR NEW EVE

Hail to Mary,
the Mother of all the living,
we ask you to intercede on our behalf.

Theotokia of Tuesday.

New Eve:

The Church calls St. Mary, "the mother of all the living", "mother of the New Life" and "the Second Eve".

Eve lost the meaning due to her name:- "mother of every living" (Gen. 3:20), - for by her disobedience to God she obtained only death for her children instead of life, and became the mother of the dead. Her daughter, St. Mary, took her place; for by her faith, obedience and humility she became, through the Holy Spirit, the mother of "Life". She offered to Adam's children the "Tree of life" to eat, and thereby live forever.

Through the mystery of the divine Incarnation St. Mary became "the mother of the Head of the mystical body and also the Mother of its members, as St. Augustine says".[(1)] She received universal motherhood to all the believers.

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(1) De Sancta Virginitate 6. PL 40:399

The holy Fathers consider St. Mary's holy womb as the bridal chamber, the meeting place where the heavenly Bridegroom is united mystically with the Bride, i.e. the whole Church. There we accept Christ, her Son, as our Bridegroom and the Firstborn Brother; and we accept St. Mary, His mother, as our own mother.

* The Word is joined to flesh;
the Word is wedded to flesh,
and the bridal chamber of this exalted marriage
is your womb.

Let me repeat, the bridal chamber of this exalted marriage between the Word and the flesh is your womb, whence "He, the Bridegroom, goes forth from His bridal chamber".

St. Augustine [(1)]

* God the Father arranged the nuptials for God, His Son, when, in the womb of the Virgin, He united Him to humanity, when He willed that He who is God before all the ages should, at the end of the ages, become Man…

He united the Holy Church to Him, through the mystery of the Incarnation.

Now, the bridal chamber of this Bridegroom was the womb of the Virgin Mother. That is why the Psalmist says, "He has set His tabernacle in the sun: and He is as a Bridegroom coming out of His bridal chamber"

[(1)] On the birthday of John the Baptist 5 PL 38:1319

(Ps. 18:6). And it was as a Bridegroom is in fact that He came forth from His bridal chamber, because to unite the Church to Himself, the Incarnate God went forth from the inviolate womb of the Virgin.

Pope Gregory (the Great)[(1)]

This relation between the New Eve and all believers is declared officially by the Second Adam on the Cross, when He says to the New Eve, “Woman, behold your son!”, and to His believers “John, behold your mother!”

Through the Cross we received our New Eve from God. In this effect Tertullian says:

“God knew that it is not good for man to be alone, and He knew how good it would be for him to have a woman with him, first Mary and then the Church”.[(2)]

We received St. Mary as our New Eve, to say with Adam to our God: “New Eve, the woman whom you gave me to be my helpmate, gave me to eat from the Tree of Life, i.e., the Cross of her Son!”

Origen sees that every perfect Christian can, like St. John, receive from the Crucified Son, St. Mary as his own mother. He explains the words “Behold, Your Son!”, “Whoever is perfect, no longer lives only himself, but Christ also lives in him. Since Christ lives in him, it is said to Mary of him: “Behold, Your Son, Christ!”[(3)]

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(1) Hom. on the Gospels 2:38:3 PL 76:1283

(2) Adv. Marcion 2:4 PL 2:289

(3) Origen: In Evengelium Joannis, 1, Praefatio 6 PG 14:32

Eve - St. Mary Parallel:

It is possible that the remote origins of the "Eve - St. Mary parallel" may be traced far back to Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis, in Asia Minor, at the turn of the first century[1] .

At the second century, St. Justine the Martyr (c. 165) draw attention to this Eve - St. Mary parallel in his dialogue with Trypho, as he says:

"(The Son of God) became man through the Virgin, that the disobedience caused by the serpent might be destroyed in the same way it had originated….".

For Eve, an undefiled virgin, conceived the word of the serpent and brought forth disobedience and death. But the Virgin Mary, filled with faith and joy when the angel Gabriel announced to her the glad tidings that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her and the Most High would overshadow her, and that therefore the Holy One born would be the Son of God....., that she replied: Let it be done to me according to your word (Luke 1.35).[2]

It is clear that St. Justine's thought - in the above-mentioned parallel - is focused not on St. Mary, but on the Saviour, her Son.

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(1) The passage in question occurs in a fragment of Victorinus of Pettau (De Fabrica mundi, ng C.S.E.L. 49:8) as he states that "the angel Gabriel brought the good tidings to Mary on the day (6th day) whereon the serpent seduced Eve". Carol: Mariology, vol. 2, p. 88, 89

(2) Dial. 100. PG 6:709-712, 959. 1176

St. Irenaeus (c. 172), the father of Mariology, had developed the above-mentioned passage, that the Eve - St. Mary analogy combined, for the first time, with a theology:[1]

"Just as Eve, while wife of Adam, was still a virgin…. and became by her disobedience the cause of death of herself and of the whole human race; so Mary too, espoused yet a virgin, became by her obedience the cause of salvation of both herself and the whole human race….

The knot of Eve's disobedience was loosened by Mary's obedience. For what the Virgin Eve had bound in unbelief, the Virgin Mary loosened through faith…" .[2]

According to St. Irenaeus, St. Mary has a distinctive function in God's plan towards our salvation. For she offered her free consent to God, i.e., her obedience, issued through her faith.… He also calls her "Eve's Advocate":

"Whereas Eve had disobeyed God, Mary was persuaded to obey God, that the Virgin Mary might become the Advocate of the Virgin Eve....."

Similarly, Tertullian, writes in his book "The Flesh of Christ":

"For into Eve, as yet a virgin, the word of the devil had crept, to erect an edifice of death.

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(1) Carol: Mariology, vol. 2, p. 89

(2) Adv. Haer 3:31:1, 5:19:1

Thus, through a virgin, the Word of God was introduced to set up a structure of life.

What had been lost by one sex, was by the same sex restored and saved.

Eve had believed the serpent;

Mary believed Gabriel.

That which one destroyed by unbelief the other set straight, by believing….

God, therefore, sent down into the Virgin's womb His Word, our good Brother, to blot out the memory of evil…..".[1]

The Alexandrian Teacher, Origen alludes to St. Mary as restoring the womankind the honour it had lost through Eve's sin; in this way woman "finds salvation in childbearing[2] (1 Tim. 2:I5). He also says:

> "The joy trumpeted by Gabriel to Mary destroyed the sentence of sorrow levelled by God against Eve".[3]

"Just as sin began with the woman and then reached the man, so too the good tidings had their beginning with the women (Mary and Elizabeth).[4]

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(1) De Carne Christi 17:5
(2) Lucan Hom. 7
(3) lbid 6
(4) Ibid. 8

In the fourth century, Zeno of Verona, mentioned this parallel but in a new sense, "Because the devil had wounded and corrupted Eve, creeping in by persuasion through her ear, Christ's entering Mary's ear, eliminates all vices from the heart. He cures the wound of the woman when He is born by the Virgin".(1)

St. Ephram, who said: "This harp of the Holy Spirit never sings sweeter songs than when it has set its strings to sing the praises of Mary"(2), developed the Eve - St. Mary Parallel, saying:

"In her virginity Eve clothed herself with leaves of ignominy.

Your mother has clothed herself in virginity with the garment of glory, which is sufficient for all.

A piece of clothing (i.e., the body) she has given to Him who clothes all….

With the eye Eve perceived the beauty of the tree,
and the advice of the slay one was fashioned in her mind….

With the ear Mary perceived the Invisible One, who came in the voice.

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(1) Tralctatus 1:13:10
(2) Acta apostolicae sedis. commentarium of ficiale, Rome 1920, 12, p. 467

She conceived in her womb the Power that came to her body”.(1)

He also says:

“Let Eve, our first mother, now hear and come to me.
Let her lift up her head that was bent low under the garden’s shame.

Let her uncover her face and give thanks to you,
because you have taken away her confusion.
Let her bear the voice of perfect peace, because her daughter has paid her debt”.(2)

“The serpent and Eve dug a grave and thrust the guilty Adam into hell, but Gabriel came and spoke with Mary,
and thereupon was laid open the mystery
whereby all the dead are raised again”.(3)

“God’s Eden is Mary;
in her there is no serpent that harms....,
no Eve that kills,
but from her springs the Tree of Life that restores the exiles of Eden”.(4)

The insight of those Fathers is repeated in the writing of SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Epiphanius of Salamis and others, from which I quote the following passages:

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(1) On Nativity 35 : 17
(2) Hymns on Blessed Mary, 19:19, 20. T. J. Lamy: Sancti Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones, Mechlin,vol. 2, p. 621-625. T. Livius: The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries, London 1893. p. 430f. Palmer. p. 10
(3) On the Annunciation of the Mother of God, hymn 3:20. Palmer 21
(4) On the Annunciation…, hymn 3 : 30

* Eve is called Mother of the human race, but Mary, Mother of Salvation.

St. Ambrose[1]

* After the Virgin conceived and had born her Son for us… the curse was dissolved: death through Eve, life through Mary!

St. Jerome[2]

* Mary was included in Eve, but it was only when Mary came that we knew who Eve was!

St. Augustine[3]

* Eve looks to Mary, and her very name, “mother of all the living” is a mysterious presage of the future, for “Life” itself was born of Mary, whence she became more fully “the mother of all the living”.

Nor can we apply the passage: “I will put enmities between you and the woman” (Gen. 3:15) as to Eve alone; it received its true fulfilment when that Holy and Unique One came, born of Mary without human seed…

St. Epiphanus of Salamis[4]

* The woman found her advocate in a woman.

St. Gregory of Nyssa[5]

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(1) Epist. 63.33. PL 16:1250
(2) Epist. 22:21. PL 22:408
(3) Sermon 102
(4) Panarion 3:2:78. PG 42:728
(5) On Cant. Cant., Hom 13. PG 44:1052

4 FULL OF GRACE

Mystery of Rejoice:

On the Annunciation the angel Gabriel greeted St. Mary with the words:

"Hail
full of grace,
the Lord is within you,
blessed are you among women".

It was not an ordinary greeting, i.e., "Good Day", nor did it mean "peace" or "shalom", but had the full meaning of "rejoice". For the Greek word for Hail is "χαιρε", and the verb form of it "χαιρω" is found eighty times in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament. About half are translated "rejoice", and the other half are used to refer to the joy of God's people at some striking act done by God for their salvation .[1]

In the Old Testament, some prophets addressed the same greeting to the "Daughter of Zion", asking her to rejoice greatly and shout aloud, proclaiming the Messianic deliverance.

"Sing aloud, O daughter of Zion!…..
Rejoice (charie), exult with all your heart,
O daughter of Jerusalem!…..

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(1) McHaugh, p. 39

The Lord your God is in your midst.

Zephaniah 3:14.17

Rejoice (charie) heart and soul,
daughter of Zion!….
for you, I come and I will dwell (shakan) in the
midst of you…..

Zechariah 9:9f.

Now, the angel invites the true daughter of Zion, St. Mary, to inner., heartfelt joy, because of the dwelling (shakan) of the Messiah, her Savior and God, within her, and because of her motherhood of God's Son.

This mystery of rejoicing which St. Mary received at the moment of the divine Incarnation, is declared clearly throughout the whole Coptic liturgies, hymns and arts; a matter which we will discuss in the last chapter.

St. Mary's holiness:

The idea of St. Mary's holiness is related to our conception of her motherhood to God, her perpetual virginity, her personal friendship to believers, and her status as a symbol of the Holy Church.

1. We already see St. Mary's motherhood to God as the fruit of marriage between God's free grace and man's faithful

submission and obedience to God. God, miraculously intervenes to realize the divine Incarnation as a free gift offered from Him to men. (Luke 1: 28-35).

By free divine grace, St. Mary gains preparatory perfection in spirit and body to enable her to receive Him. The divine grace sanctified St. Mary, so that she could become the True holy of holies in whom God dwells and the second heaven, the Mother of "Life, Light and the Holy One".

The Virgin, on man's behalf, submitted to God's message and His act. (Luke 1:38).

At the moment of Incarnation St. Mary received a unique perfection, by the actual Presence of God's Son, the Author of Grace.

* Truly, she alone is said to be full of grace, who alone obtained the grace which no one else had gained; that of being filled with Author of grace.

St. Ambrose[(1)]

* Hail, full of grace!
For grace is bestowed on individuals by portions,
but on Mary it was bestowed in all its plenitude!

Fr. Peter Chrysologus

* Mary carried Fire in her hands,
and embraced Flame with her arms.
To the Flame she gave her breasts to suck,
to the Nourisher of all she gave of her milk.

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(1) Expositio avengelii secundum Lucan, lib. 3:9. PL 15:1556

Who can possibly tell of her?!

St. Ephram the Syrian[1]

* Clothed with divine grace as with a garment,
her soul filled with a divine wisdom,
in heart she was wedded to God;
she received God in her womb…

Theodosius of Ancra[2]

This idea - the correlation between St. Mary's holiness and her maternity to God - is clarified in the Coptic hymns, which give her many names, to express the Theotokos' holiness:

"Hail to the new heaven,
from which the Sun of Righteousness shines,
the Lord of all mankind!"

On the Christmas Liturgy[3]

"Hail to Mary,
the beautiful dove,
who brought forth God, the Word!

On the Holy week [4]

* You became more higher than heaven,
and more honourable than earth and all the creatures thereon,
for you became the mother of the Creator!"

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(1) Hymns on Blessed Mary 18:27. Palmer, p. 17
(2) On the Holy Nativity of Christ 11 PG 77:1427
(3) Spasmos (kiss), Is sung after the prayer of Reconciliation
(4) The conclusion of the Prayers at night.

*	No other being became the Mother of God; and Although you are an inhabitant of the Earth, you became the mother of the Creator!

(Baralax) of the hymn of Blessing

2. Her perpetual virginity also is correlated with her holiness, as it appears in the Alexandrian treatises on Virginity.

"She was a virgin", says St. Ambrose, "not only in body but also in spirit, whose pure mind was never spoiled by any deceit".[1]

3. The orthodox believer feels the holiness of St. Mary not only as a doctrine which he has learned from the books, but as a fruit of personal friendship with St. Mary in his daily life. The Coptic believer feels that she is his own mother, the holy Queen in heaven, who asks for his salvation. She is the holy mother who longs for the holiness of her sons.

4. Lastly, St. Mary is holy as far as she, as the "Daughter of Zion", full of grace, symbolizes the Holy Church. She also symbolizes the Bride of Christ, His mystical body and the spiritual institution founded by the Lord and filled with the Holy Spirit[2] .

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(1) De Virg. 2:7

(2) Max Thurian: Mary, Mother of all Christians, 1964. ch. 2

St. Mary & Actual Sins:

Some Fathers do not believe her to be without faults, such as St. Irenaeus, Origen, St. John Chrysostom…. but these opinions do not represent the widespread mariological tradition in the Early Church.

The Church members believe that St. Mary's holiness is unique, and that it surpasses heavenly creatures:- even the Cherubim and the Seraphim….

She passed all her life in holiness, as the True Ark of the Covenant, which was made of incorruptible wood laid in by gold inside and outside.(1)

The following are some quotations from the writings of the Fathers to this effect.

* I do not propose to have a single question raised on the subject of sin in regard to the Holy Virgin Mary, out of respect for the Lord.

  St. Augustine(2)

* How could I paint the picture of this marvellous, beautiful one, with ordinary colour….. too exalted and too glorious is the image of her beauty.....
  She was wise and filled with the love of God ....

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(1) Theotokia of Sunday

(2) Palmer, p. 33; Carol: Mariology, vol. 1, p. 17

She was never defiled by bad desires, had remained from childhood steadfastly just and has always walked along the right way without fault or stumbling…

St. Jacob of Sarug[1] (451-521)

* The Word of the Father came forth from His Bosom,
and in another He put on a body.
From one Bosom He came forth to another.
These pure *bosoms* were filled with Him.
Blessed is He who dwells in us.

St. Ephram the Syrian [2]

St. Mary & The Original Sin:

The Orthodox Church, whose love towards St. Mary is deeprooted, considers her more holy than all the heavenly creatures, whilst a natural member of the human race. We do not however, set her apart from the human race by assuming that she was born without original sin, as if she was born not of human seed.

This reality is declared in the following Theotokia: [3]

"How deep is God's abundance and wisdom,
that the womb under judgement
brought forth children by incurring pain;
she became a fountain of immortality,
bringing forth Emmanuel without human seed,
so that He might destroy corruption of our nature".

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(1) Ode on the Blessed Virgin Mary, lines 60, 138, 143
(2) Lamy 2:743; Livius 435
(3) For Thursday

Thus, the Church makes a distinction between St. Mary's life before and after the moment of divine Incarnation.

In another Theotokia we say: [(1)]

"The Holy Spirit filled you completely,
filled every part in your soul and body,
O Mary, the mother of God".

St. Mary, herself declared her joy to God, her Saviour… for indeed she was in need of salvation.

To this effect St. Ambrose says: [(2)]

"When the Lord wanted to redeem the world, He began His work with Mary, that she, through whom salvation was prepared for all, should be the first to draw the fruit of salvation from the Son".

St. Augustine also says: [(3)]

"Mary sprang from Adam, and died in consequence of sin; Adam died in consequence of sin; and the flesh of the Lord, sprang from Mary, and died to destroy sin".

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(1) For Saturday
(2) Exp. in Luc 2:17
(3) W. J. Burghardt: The Testimony of the Patristic Age concerning Mary's death. Maryland 1957, p.11

Lastly this Orthodox Concept preserved our Church from any exaggeration or confusion between Christ and His Mother. No Orthodox theologian calls St. Mary “Coredemptrix”, and no worship is offered to her, but only veneration and praise….

In other words, in the Orthodox Church there is an accurate line that divides Christ from St. Mary, His Mother.

5 OUR MEDIATRIX

The Concept of Intercession

In our Orthodox Church, we cannot accept any mediator between God and people, except Jesus Christ, the sole High Priest of the heavens, and the Sacrifice by whose blood we receive the reconciliation and remission of sins. There is no other name under heaven by whom we can be saved except that of Jesus Christ. (Acts 4:12).

Perhaps one may ask: if that is the case why is it in the Church rites that believers ask for the intercession of St. Mary and the prayers of the Saints? Are there any evangelical texts that prove the Saints' intercession?

Truly, the Gospel in its spirit and texts, aims at bringing man to the experience of divine life, that it, divine love. This means that the person puts aside his own-self, so that by the Holy Spirit he offers his whole life for the salvation of his fellow brethren. In other words the evangelical life is but an intermediary life, during which the believer does his best, through his deeds and prayers, to see that everybody is glorified in the bosom of God.

This is precisely the concept of "intercession". As the soul moves closer to God, in a deeper union with Jesus Christ it becomes more attached to others, and hence prays for them, asks for their salvation.

That is what St. Macarius meant when he said that no man can obtain salvation outside his relationship with others. “We all pray for one another. Parents exhort their children, are solicitous for their salvation and pray for them. We are as St. Paul once said, ‘God’s co-adjutors’. Each of us is an intermediary, a mediator of grace for others”. (1)

Looking to our Lord Jesus Christ we can establish the positive response that He has given to the intercession of people and their petitions for others. For instance, He healed the paralytic for the sake of those who brought him. (Mat. 9:2). He also healed the centurion’s servant because of the petition of his master (Mat. 8:5) and the daughter of the Canaanite woman’s madness in response to the cries of her mother. God, the lover of man, gives generously, longs to see us like Him, love the others and ask for them more than for ourselves.

On the other side, which follows directly from the above, it is evident that the evangelical love is always associated with a true humbleness. This implies that in our mind, we feel we are not worthy to pray for others, but rather we ask them to pray for us.

For instance St. Paul, knowing that he was called by God Himself for the ministry of the word through visions and revelations, still asked for the prayers of his people, so that the Lord may grant him the ability to preach.

We then wonder, was the apostle inferior, not to ask God directly to give him what he wanted? Certainly not, but he felt the need to share love and humility with other people.

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(1) Karl Rahner: Mary, Mother of The Lord, P. 96

Once again we may wonder, if human intercession between the Communion of the Saints does actually exist on earth, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, then surely it is even more valid for those who enter Paradise, that they do not cease in praying for their brethren!! If, while on earth, tied down under the burden of flesh, they ask more for the others than for themselves, then how intense would their prayers be for those who are still living, when they are close to the author of Love Himself!

In brief, the intercession of Saints in our Orthodox concept confirms the effectiveness of the saving deeds of God in the life of every believer, and substantially rejects any ideas of worshipping Saints. It declares the unity of the Church, as members of one body, all members suffering if one is hurt, and pleased at the honour of others. (1 Cor. 12:26, 27).

The Mystery of Her Intercession:

From the above, we see that if we give importance to the principle of intercession in general, then how much more effective would be the prayers of the Mother of God for the salvation of Her children and brethren!!

We have seen Her receive the motherhood of the Incarnate Son of God and become Mother of His flesh, i.e. His Church. This motherhood is not merely an honourable title but a responsibility for unceasing work. That is what Simean The Elder has prophesized about the Virgin saying “and a sword will pierce your own soul too”. (Luke 2:35).

The motherhood of Virgin Mary, which was started initially upon the free grace of God, who chose Her among all mankind, was verified by Her faith in the word and promises of God…. That has made Her a superior member of the body of Christ who responds to the need of the other members, seeking the salvation of everybody.

Limits of Her Intercession:

In the story of the wedding of Cana of GaIilee, we can realize the limits of the intercession of the Mother and Virgin Mary. For she asked her Son: “they have no wine!!”. Of course the Lord was aware of that, and surely he does not need to he reminded of the needs of his children or be told about it.... But our Lord Jesus, who is full of love, is pleased to see the mutual feelings of love in his mother and his children.

Her request was only made once, but he answered “woman, why turn to me? My hour has not come yet”. The Lord’s reply signifies the intercession of the Virgin Mary:

First*:* It shows clearly the trust of his mother in Him, for she did not repeat her request, but with every assurance and confidence she said to the people “Do whatever He tells you”. She was positive that her Son would answer her request for His children.

Second: Through her conversation with the people of the wedding we can visualize her role in intercession. Certainly it is not giving worship to her personality, but to her ability to direct our hearts, to secretly carry out the commandment of her Son to “Do whatever He tells you”.

Let us ask for Her prayers and intercessions that we may be able to fulfil the commandment of Her Son. Thus through Her motherhood to the Lord, we can be saved by the grace of the Blood of Her Begotten Son.

6 ST. MARY

THE MODEL OF VIRGINS

The Fathers of Alexandria represent two Mariological trends: the theological and the ascetical. Every time the waves of martyrdom were calmed, ascetism was favoured by the Egyptians in its place, the men usually preferring to live in the desert, while girls lived in the houses of virgins in the cities. It was natural that St. Mary should be presented to those girls as the great example after which to form themselves. She was depicted by the virgins as the "Virgin of virgins" and their patroness.

In the second century, the Great Origen says, "It would be unseemly to have to attribute to someone other than the virgin the first-fruits of Christian virginity".[(1)]

St. Alexander of Alexandria, in an address reproduced by his successor St. Athanasius, tells the virgins: "You have, as an example, the conduct of Mary, who is the type and image of the life that is proper to heaven (i.e. virginity)".[(2)]

St. Athanasius in his "letter to virgins" preserved in Coptic, represents St. Mary as the model of virgins, describing her life not as it appears in the Holy Bible, but as the model of a virgin's life as he says:

"Mary was a pure virgin, with a harmonious disposition.

She loved good works...

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(1) Origen: In Mat. Com. 10:17 PG 13:878a

(2) Hilda Graef: Mary, A History of Doct. and Devotion, London 1963. p. 50

She did not want to be seen by men; but she asked God to examine her...

She remained continually at home, living a retired life and imitating a honey-bee...

She generously distributed to the poor what was left over from the work of her hands….

She prayed solitarily to God, for two things: not to let a bad thought take root in her heart, and to grow neither bold nor hard of heart.....

Her speech was calm and her voice was low...

She wanted to make progress everyday; and she did so.

When she rose in the morning, she endeavoured to make her works more new than those she had already done....

She was not afraid of death, but rather was sad, and sighted everyday that she had not yet crossed the threshold of heaven".[1]

St. Ambrose, referring to St. Athanasius' letter to virgins, gives a beautiful picture of the Virgin Mary as a model of

(1) Letter to Virgins 89-91

the virgins[1] , in his work “De Virginibus”.[2] He praised St. Mary for her humility, her silence or moderation in speech, her retirement, her virginal solicitude to keep an unsullied reputation, her modesty, her assiduity in reading the Scripture, her respect for others, her industry and, in a special way, for her faith and devotion.

He rightly concluded his treatise, “Have, then, before your eyes, as an image, the virgin life of Mary, from whom as from a mirror shines forth the brightness of chastity and the form of virtue”.

St. Gregory of Nazianzus in his oration delivered at Constantinople in 379 A.D. relates how St. Justina, the martyr and virgin, facing death with the magician Cyprian, whom she had converted, invoked, as protector of her virginity, Christ, her Bridegroom, and prayed to Virgin Mary as a “virgin in a danger”. She looked to her as a patroness of virgins.[3]

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(1) C. W. Newmann: The Virgin Mary in the works of St. Ambrose, Switzerland 1962, P.38. Lefort: Athanase, Ambroise et Chenoute, “Sur La Virginite” in Museon. Vol. 48, 1935, p. 55-13

(2) Book 2

(3) Oratione 24:19 PG 35:1180c

7 ST. MARY & THE CHURCH

The "Theotokia of Thursday" states:

"She offered God the Creator, the Word of the Father, the paste of the human race.

He was incarnated of her, without alteration.
She brought Him forth as a Child,
and He was called Emmanuel".

At the moment of the Annunciation St. Mary used her own free will to submit, and through her, God realized His divine plan of unity with us, giving Himself to be one with us. According to the words of St. Augustine, the holy womb of St. Mary became the bridal chamber of an exalted marriage between the Word and the Flesh. There He united the Church, His body, to Himself, and thus the Church realized her mystical existence to the full.

Now we can understand the words spoken by St. Ephram the Syrian: "Mary was the mother earth that brought forth the Church".

Moreover, as a result of this hypostatic union between the Word's divinity and humanity, St. Mary received another kind of spiritual unity between God and herself; a union of the redeemed person with the Redeemer, which all the Church is summoned to receive.

St. Mary received this grace of unity with God, as a representative, in a way, of the Universal Church; and as the first member of the church, she is its ideal and superior member. For this reason she received the highest grace.

St. Mary, A Type of the Church:

The principal hymn recited daily at the Marian Month (of Keyahk) before the Feast of Christmas, consists of a lot of selected verses from the Book of Psalms, praising the Church as being the holy dwelling place of the Incarnate God. It is not without meaning that the Church is praised all the Marian month, for what St. Mary received it was on behalf of the whole Church.

St. Ephram the Syrian attributes to the Church what is St. Mary's own, saying:

"Blessed are you, O Church.
For of you Isaiah in his prophetic song of joy says:
Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son.
O hidden mystery of the Church"![1]

The Alexandrian Pope, St. Cyril links St. Mary with the Church as he says:

"Let us praise with songs of joy Mary the ever-virgin,
who herself is clearly the holy Church,
together with the Son and most chaste Spouse !
To God be praise for ever!"[2]

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(1) Hymns on Nativity 5:5.
(2) Sermon 4, addressed at the Council of Ephesus. PG 77:996

St. Ambrose asserts that she is "a type of the Church",[1] and St. Augustine states that "Mary is a part of the Church, a holy member, an excellent member, the most eminent member, whilst still a member of the whole body".[2]

In fact, the whole dimension of St. Mary's life can be seen as a beautiful icon of the Universal Church. Here are some examples:

1. At the Annunciation, St. Mary's joy and hymn singing were - according to St. Irenaeus[3] - prophet actions which she practised in the name of the Church. St. Jacob of Sarug (446) offers the same idea in other words: "The wise Virgin was the mouth of the Church, and she heard the explanation for the creation of the whole world".

2. Mary's visitation to her kinswoman Elizabeth is a symbol of the Church missionaries throughout the whole world. For the Church, like St. Mary, the Daughter of Zion, a poor Virgin, a handmaid of the Lord, full of grace and spiritually bearing the Word of God, must be consumed with the desire to communicate to her relatives, the human race, proclaiming God's salvation. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings, who publishes peace.... who says to Zion: Your God reigns" (Isa. 52:7) .

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(1) In Lucan 2:7 PL 15:1555
(2) Sermon 25 De Verbis Evangelli Mat. PL 46:938
(3) Ad. Haer 3:10:2, 3 PG 873f

St. Ambrose refers to this missionary visitation, saying, that she sings the Magnificat, hastening through the hill-country of Judea, and is thus a symbol of the Church striding through the hills of centuries.[(1)]

3. St. Mary's identification with the Church - according to St. Ambrose - is completed under the Cross:

> "You will be a son of thunder, if you are a son of the Church.
> May Christ also say to you from the wood of the Cross: Behold your mother!
> May He also say to the Church:
> Behold Your Son; for then you will begin to be a son of the church, when you see Christ victorious on the Cross".

The Analogy between St. Mary & The Church:

1. St. Mary and the Church are both mother and virgin at the same time, each one conceived by the Holy Spirit without human seed, giving birth to the unblemished Son. St. Mary is the mother of the Divine Word, whom she generated according to His humanity, and the Church is the mother of her members, whom she generates through baptism to participate in Christ's life.

In this effect, St. Augustine says: "As Mary gave birth to Him who is your Head, so the Church gives birth to you. For the Church also is both mother and virgin: mother in the womb of

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(1) De Instit. Virginis 14:87

our love, virgin in her inviolate faith. She is mother of many nations who yet are one body, just as Virgin Mary is the mother of Many, but also of the One".[(1)]

St. Mary is literally and spiritually a virgin, while the Church can he called a virgin in that it has never adulterated the faith, but has always remained true to Christ's teaching.

2. The Church has the same title as St. Mary, i.e. "New Eve". For St. Mary gave birth to the "Incarnate Son" who bestows life on the believers, while the Church is the mother of those believers who receive "Life" through unity with their Head, the Incarnate God.

3. Similar to St. Mary, the Church is "the handmaid of the Lord". For she should be as a humble handmaid, denying all the efforts, which result from man's power, and thus becoming a sign of the pure grace of God, who seeks us out in the humility of our human condition in order to lead us to the glory of His Kingdom.[(2)]

4. Both St. Mary and the Church are called "holy one".

St. Hippolytus interprets the blessing offered by Moses:- "Through God's blessing his land shall remain his own and be blessed with the dew of heaven" (Deut. 33:13) - as a prophecy of St. Mary's holiness; for she is the blessed land who received the Word of God coming down like heavenly dew. He also states that this prophecy refers to the Church's holiness, saying: "It can also said of the Church, for she is blessed by the Lord as a

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(1) Sermon 25 : 8

(2) Max Thurian P.59

holy land and as a paradise of bliss. The dew is the Lord, the Saviour Himself.[1]

5. The mediation of St. Mary is a typical church function. For - the triumphant and militant members of the Church - have to imitate St. Mary, praying unceasingly, for the renewal of the whole world in Jesus Christ.

[1] Blessings of Moses 15.

8 ST. MARY

IN

THE COPTIC[1] RITE

It is too difficult to give an account of the prominent place of St. Mary in the Coptic Church in this short treatise. For St. Mary is commemorated and invoked in every daily hymn and liturgy, and even in every canonical hour, day and night. Various Marian feasts are celebrated yearly and monthly, and there are also Lord's feasts in which we honour her with the Lord (such as the feasts celebrating Annunciation, Christmas, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt, the First Miracle Jesus made in Cana of Galilee etc....). Her icons have special characteristics and a certain order in the Coptic Church building[2] . The richness and beauty of the antiphones, and the tones of the Coptic Marian hymns, are truly amazing, especially those of the Marian month (Keyahk), before Christmas.

1. St. Mary in the Daily hymns

The Coptic Church gives special attention to hymning as an expression of the heavenly nature which she gained through her unity with the Risen Christ. From the first centuries she has

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(1) Coptic Church is the Church of Egypt, or the Church of Alexandria.

(2) See our book: The Church, House of God, Melbourne 1977.

inspired hymns for every day of the week, offered as a loving sacrifice by the believers and as a method for raising their hearts to heaven, preparing them all the week to participate in the Eucharistic liturgy. These simple and lovely hymns were used also to teach the people the Orthodox beliefs and to protect them from heresies. The daily assemble of the local Church to sing hymns preserves the unity of the Church.

Every daily hymn consists of: the Lord's Prayer, Prayer of Thanksgiving, Psalms, passages from the Holy Scriptures, Four "howces" (means "hymns") and ("Lobsh" means "explanation") , Theotokia of the day (hymn giving praise to St. Mary the Theotokos) etc. .....

Characteristics of the Theotokias:

1. Through the Theotokias the people repeat the name "Mary" as a sign of the close friendship with her and their deep desire to call her by name.

This name "Mary" was borne by only one person in the Old Testament, the sister of Moses and Aaron (Exod. 5:20f; Num. 12:1-5…..)

There are different explanation for the etymology of the name "Mary"[(1)] :

[(1)] Carol: Mariology, vol. 1, p. 411 f

A. As the names “Moses” and “Aaron” are purely Egyptian, it is possible that their sister received an Egyptian name “Meri-Yam”, which consists of two words:

“Meri” is the perfect passive participle of the Egyptian verb “Mr” (to love), i.e., it means “beloved”.
“Yam”, was used for the Hebrew Divine Name “Yahwah”.
Then “Meriam” means “the Beloved of God”(1)

B. The ancient rabbis saw in Mary’s name a symbol of Israel’s bitter servitude in Egypt. Mary means “bitterness” (Hebrew Merur). They state that her name was born of the Egyptians’ hard treatment of the Jews.(2)

C Some early Christian writers see that the Hebrew word “Maryam” consists of two words:

“Mar” means “bitter”,
“Yam” means “Sea”.
It means “bitter of sea” or “Myrrh of Sea”.

D. Others see that it is the feminine gender of the Aramic word “Mar” (Master), i.e., it means “Lady”.

2. The Theotokias use an enormous number of titles for St.Mary, taken from her various offices and privileges, such as:

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(1) F. Zorell: Was bedeutet den Name Maria? in Zeitchen - fur Kathol. Theol., 30 (1906) p. 356-360.

(2) J. Levy: Neuhebraisches und chaldaishes worterbuch uber die Talmudin und Midrashim (Leipzig, 1876-1889) S.U. Merur.

“Second dome, holy of holies, golden vessel of manna, golden lamp-stand, golden censer.

My lady, holy, undefiled, true virgin, beautiful dove, holy flower, precious stone,

Theotokos, mother of Emmanuel, mother of the Refuge, mother of the Holy One, mother of the Master, mother of the Beloved, mother of Jesus Christ, mother of God’s Son, rejoiced of Eve, joy of the generations, boast of Jude, preaching of Moses, friend of Solomon, daughter of Joachim”.(1)

“Burning bush seen by Moses, uncultivated field that has produced the Fruit of Life, treasure which Joseph bought and found with a Pearl hidden in it, she who gave suck to the Feeder of every body, Rational mount (of Sinai), and mount which Daniel saw,

perfect, chaste,
rejoiced of angels,
mother of Christ, mother of all living”.(2)

“Second heaven, eastern gate, Jerusalem - the city of our Lord, rational paradise,

pure bride of the Pure Bridegroom,
incorruptible, unblamed, chosen vessel,
handmaid,
factory of the inseparable unity
(between His divinity and His humanity”.(3)

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(1) Theotokia of Sunday
(2) Theotokia of Tuesday
(3) Theotokia of Wednesday

"Glory of all the virgins, new heaven, the
Woman of the Book of Revelation 12".[1]
"Mediatrex".[2]

3. The Theotokias are very rich with the types and symbols of St. Mary, mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, together with simple and deep theological explanations from the point of view of St. Mary's offices, privileges and relation to the Holy Trinity, to the heavenly hosts, to the believers and to the whole human race.

4. Through these hymns, the church clarifies the mystery of Incarnation, the mystery of our salvation and many aspects of the Christological theology:

"God, the Word, became Man without separations!
He is one of two:
The holy and incorruptible divinity, who is one with the Father;
and the pure human being, not of human seed, equal to us…"

Theotokia of Sunday.

He is still God,
came to us and became Son of Man !
He is the True God, Who
came and redeemed us !

Theotokia of Thursday.

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[1] Theotokia of Thursday
[2] Theotokia of Friday

5. There is no need to state that these Theotokias have an eschatological aspect, for it is the expression of the Coptic Church for her life. They explain the Old Testament rites and actions as symbols and types of the mystery of Incarnation in view of the heavenly kingdom. As an example, the conclusions of the Theotokias of Wednesday to Saturday (Batis)[1] is:

> "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who bears the sins of the world, may You consider us of your sheep who will be at your Right Hand !
> That on your fearful second advent, we will not hear the terrible voice:
> "I do not know you!"
> But will be worthy of bearing the full, joyful voice of your mercy, saying aloud:
> Come, you whom my Father has blessed, take, for your heritage, eternal life, for ever. The martyrs will come with their sufferings, and the righteous with their virtues.
>
> The Son of God will come in His glory and
> His Father's glory,
> and reward each one according to his deeds…."

6. These Theotokias are in fact liturgical hymns, preparing us spiritually to participate in the Eucharistic Liturgy and receive the Communion, the True Manna, the body and blood of Jesus Christ, Son of St. Mary.

7. Their title "Theotokia" declares that the principal and theological foundation of the Coptic devotion to St. Mary in

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[1] Certain tone for these days

these hymns is “her motherhood to God (θεοτοκος)” beside other theological bases, i.e., her perpetual virginity and her close friendship with her relatives the whole human race.

8. In all our genuine Marian texts and hymns the Church makes a clear distinction between Jesus Christ to whom worshipping is due, and St. Mary to whom veneration is due.

According to the words of St. Epiphanus of Salamis, in Cyprus, “Let Mary be honoured, but let the Lord be worshipped!”[(1)]

St. Ambrose gives a warning in this respect: “Undoubtedly, the Holy Spirit, too, must be adored when we adore Him, who is incarnated of the Holy Spirit. But let no one apply this to Mary, for she was the temple of God, not the God of the temple. And therefore He alone is be adored, who worked in the temple”.[(2)]

9. These Theotokias provoke us to repent:
“Your mercies, O my God, are innumerous....
May You, my Lord, not remember the sins I have committed, nor count my transgressions!
For You chose the publican, saved the adulteress and remembered the thief who was at Your Right Hand.
May You teach me, a sinner, repentance....”
Conclusion of Theotokia (Adam)[(3)]

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(1) Adv. Haer 79:9
(2) De Spiritu Sancto 3:79f
(3) Certain tone for the days: Sunday, Monday and Tuesday

2. St. Mary in the Keyahk's hymns

As we celebrate Christmas on 29th of Keyahk, the whole month (before Christmas) is devoted to hymning many Marian hymns, added to the daily hymns, as a preparation for Christmas.

In this month - which we can call the Marian Month -the believers in Egypt assemble in evening of every Saturday and remain in the church giving hymns until the end of the Eucharistic Liturgy of Sunday.

The Characteristics of the Keyahk's hymns:

Beside those characteristics of the "Theotokias" which we have already mentioned, these Keyahk's hymns have the following characteristics:

1. If we eliminate the hymns which were introduced lately by someone who had no theological knowledge, the keyahkal hymn is truly a heavenly symphony, praises not only St. Mary as the mother of God, but also the whole Church as being the holy dwelling place of the Incarnate God. In other words, through the incarnation of God's Son in the holy womb of St. Mary we see Him dwelling in our souls by the sanctification of His Holy Spirit.

2. These hymns have a social trend, every member is praising God, not individually but through all God's saints, through His membership of the One Church. "I praise you in the midst of the great community (Church)" (Ps. 22:22).

For this reason many hymns are devoted to praise some saints also, as if they assemble with us to give hymns to the Incarnate God, the Saviour of the human race.

3. Types and Symbols of St. Mary in the Coptic Hymns

1. The Tabernacle:

The Theotokia of Sunday calls St. Mary "the second dome, the holy of holies at the Tabernacle etc."

At the Annunciation, angel Gabriel said, "the power of the Most High shall overshadow (episkiazein) you" (Luke 1:35). The same verb "episkiazein" (in Hebrew "shakan" means "dwelling"), was used for the Tabernacle, where God was dwelling among His people, and at the moment of Christ's transfiguration, where the Lord was present among two of His prophets and three of His disciples, a cloud covering them in shadow.

According to the book of Exodus (40:35) Moses was not able to enter the tabernacle because the Lord abode (shakan) in it and the glory of the Lord filled it. Thus, St. Mary is the True Tabernacle, where God Himself dwelt among His people.

If Moses was unable to enter it because of God's glory, who can enter the mystery of St. Mary who bore God Himself in her holy womb?!

“Who can declare: how honourable is the dome
(tabernacle) of Moses, who made it at Mount of Sinai?!
O Mary, the Virgin,
You are assimilated to the tabernacle!
You are the true dome,
wherein God dwells!”

Theotokia of Sunday.

2. The Ark of the Covenant:

St. Mary is assimilated to the Ark of the Covenant, made of incorruptible wood, inlaid with gold inside and out...

“And You, Mary, also put on the glory of divinity inside and out”.

Theotokia of Sunday.

The Ark of the Covenant, representing the presence of God, remained three months at the house of Obed-edom before David brought it to his house (2 Sam. 6); and St. Mary, who bore the Lord Himself, remained also three months at the town of Judea.

The bearing of the Ark simulated the joy of the people and caused David to make joyous leaps, dancing before the Lord (2 Sam. 6, 1 Chron. 15:29); and the arrival of St. Mary simulated the joy of Elizabeth and caused the baby, John the Baptist, to leap within his mother’s womb. The verb “leap” (skirtan) used in (St. Luke 1:41, 44) is the same used for David’s joy before the Ark, and it is used in the Holy Scripture to indicate the leaps of

joy which accompany the coming of the Lord (Ps. 114:4, 6; Wisdom 9:9; Mal. 4:2) and for heavenly joy (Luke 6:23).

St. Mary, the True Ark of God, became the cause of the rejoicing for all creatures:

> "Hail, the Theotokos, the rejoiced of Angels!"
>
> *Theotokia* of Tuesday.

> "They offered honour to you,
> O city of God,
> for you became the dwelling place of those who are rejoicing!"
>
> *Theotokia of Wednesday.*

3. The Cover of the Ark:

The cover of the Ark was called in Hebrew "Sekina" which means "dwelling place", for it represents God's seat of mercy, overshadowed by two Cherubim. God appeared between the Cherubim in blue (symbol of heaven), and from there He used to speak to Moses.

St. Mary is this cover, a type of the Church, where God sits on His Throne of mercy among His people, and it is filled with His heavenly creatures:

> "Two icons of Cherubim, made of gold,
> overshadow the cover continuously, with their wings.

They overshadow the holy of holies, in the second dome!
Thousands and ten thousands (of angels) overshadow
you also,
O Mary!
They praise their Creator,
who dwelt in your womb,
who took our likeness...”

Theotokia of Sunday

4. The Vessel of Manna:

“You are the pure golden vessel of Hidden Manna,
wherein is the Bread of Life,
which came down from heaven and granted Life
to the whole world…..
He came out from the Father,
and you have born Him immaculately,
He gave us His precious Body and Blood,
that we may live for ever!”

Theotokia of Sunday

In the Old Testament God fed His people with Manna, but then He also gave us the Rational Manna, he who descended from heaven into the Virgin’s womb. The Lord Himself says, “Your fathers ate manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the Bread which comes from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living Bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this Bread, he shall live forever: and the Bread that I will give is my Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world”. (John 6:49-51).

It is noteworthy that St. Mary was not merely a vessel but the Hidden Manna received from her body…

5. The Golden Lamp-stand:

"You are the pure golden lamp-stand, that bears the ever-lightened Lamp.

He is the unapproachable Light of the world….,
who was incarnated of you without adulteration…..
All heavenly choirs cannot be compared with you,
O golden lamp-stand…
He who dwelt in your womb O Mary the Virgin, gives light to every body in the world!
He is the Sun of Righteousness,
whom you bore,
and Who healed our sins…."

Theotokia of Sunday

St. Mary became superior to all heavenly creatures because of the True Light she bore. He shines, and no creature can behold His essence!

6. The Burning Bush:

"The bush which Moses saw in the wilderness,
was flaming,
but its branches were not consumed;
it is a type of Mary the spotless Virgin.
For the Word of God came and He was incarnated of her.
The Fire of His Divinity did not consume her womb,

and she was virgin even after her childbirth.

Theotokia of Thursday

The bush was not only unconsumed, but also grew green and blossomed beautifully (Exod.3:1-3). In the Armenian rite we find the same idea:

"You, who was inflamed by the Sun like the bush, but was not consumed, gave to men the Bread of Life, and interceded for us that Christ might blot out our sins".

For Benediction.

St. Ephram also says, "She bore Christ in her virginal womb as the bush on Mount of Horeb bore God in its flame."

Pope Theodosius of Alexandria mentions the words of Christ addressed to His Father concerning His mother at the moment of her death, saying:

"Receive from me, O my Gracious Father,
the bush which received the Fire of Divinity and was not consumed.

I offer You, O my Father, a royal gift today, even the soul of my Virgin Mother."(1)

7. Aaron's Rod:

"You are truly more superior than Aaron's rod,
You are full of grace"
What is the rod, but "Mary"!?

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(1) The Falling Asleep of Mary 6:18

The rod is a symbol of her virginity.
She conceived and brought forth the Son of the Most
High - the Word Himself - without human seed".

Theotokia of Sunday

The lifeless rod blossomed forth (Num. 17:8) as a symbol of St. Mary who brought forth "Life".

8. Jacob's Ladder:

"You are the ladder seen by Jacob,
which is fixed on earth.
It rose very high to heaven,
and the angels were descending on it !"

Theotokia of Tuesday

9. The Rational Mount:

"The living Word of God came down on the Mount of Sinai, to give the Law…..

He also came down within you, O rational mount!…."

"He is the Stone which was cut from the Mount seen
by Daniel.
No human hand touched Him.
The Word of the Father came down and was incarnated
of the Virgin without human seed, to save us....."

Theotokia of Tuesday

Other Types and Symbols:

The daily hymns mention other types and symbols of St. Mary, such as: Aaron's censer, Ezekiel's gate, Noe's Ark, God's city, light cloud on which God sits (Isa 19: 1), New Jerusalem etc.…

4. St. Mary in The Coptic Liturgies

Marian texts and hymns have a prominent place in our liturgies. Their theological meanings and tones are well ordered to fit various occasions.

We give examples for the place of the Marian texts in some Coptic liturgies:-

1. The Eucharistic Liturgy:

A. Before the offertory, the following Marian hymn is sung:

"Hail, Mary the Queen,
she looks like an unseedy vine, which is uncultivated,
though the Bunch of Life was found in it!….

The Son of God, the truly Almighty,
came down and was incarnated of the Virgin….

You found favour, O Bride,
many persons honoured you,
for the Word of the Father was incarnated of you!

You are the high tower,
wherein the Pearl was found…."

Truly this hymn is very suitable, for the church is prepared for the offertory and the priest has to choose the "Lamb" i.e., the heavenly King, while he is standing by the royal door, i.e., the door of heaven. St. Mary, in this hymn, is called the Queen, to remind us that the heavenly King, her Son, gave His life up on our behalf, that we might become one with the Queen sitting on the Right Hand of the King.

She is also called the Bride, to remind us that the Eucharistic Liturgy, represents the mystery of union between the Heavenly Bridegroom and the Church. It represents mystery of the spiritual matrimony between the Crucified Christ and our souls!

She is also called the "high tower", for she could enter heaven by the merit of her Son's blood, waiting for us there!

Lastly this hymn is the hymn of the mystery of Incarnation realized in the holy womb of St. Mary, the mystery which leads us to receive the holy Body and Blood of the Lord!

B. At the incensation, the people sing the following hymn:

"This is the censer of pure gold,
containing the ambergris,
that was entrusted to the hands of Aaron the Priest,
to offer incense over the altar".

On fasting days they say:

"The Virgin is the gold censer;
our Savoir is its ambergris;
She bore Him, who saved us and forgave our sins" -

And on the period of Great Lent:-

"You are the pure gold censer,
containing the Blessed Coal Fire!"

These hymns state that incensing is a symbol of the mystery of Incarnation, for the Incarnate God offered Himself as a sweet fragrant sacrifice, acceptable by the Father, for our sake.

According to the Ethiopian rite, at the incensation of St. Mary's Icon, the priest says:

"You are the gold censer, which bore the live Coal Fire...
Blessed be He…. who was incarnated of you.
Who offered Himself to His Father for incense and acceptable offering".

And on going outside the Iconostasis (Icon-stand), the priest also says:

The censer is Mary;
the incense is He who was in her womb,
which is fragrant, the incense is He whom she bore,
He came and saved us,
the fragrant ointment,
Jesus Christ......".

C. At the incensation of St. Mary's Icon, the Coptic priest says the following three texts:

"Rejoice[1] , O beautiful dove,
which has borne God, the Word, for us.
We give you salutation with Angel Gabriel saying:
Rejoice (Hail), You are full of grace,
the Lord is with you".
"Hail (rejoice), O Virgin, the true queen,
Hail, the Glory of our race.
You have borne Emmanuel, for us".
"May we ask you to remember us, O faithful mediatrex,
with our Lord Jesus Christ,
that He may blot out our sins".

.

D. Before reading a chapter from the "Acts" it is said:
"Rejoice (Hail), O Mary, the beautiful dove,
that bore God, the Word, for us!"

This hymn of St. Mary as a beautiful dove is sung before reading a chapter of the Acts of the Church. St. Mary is a prototype of the stainless Church, who received the holiness of God through Jesus Christ, the Incarnate God!

It is noteworthy that all Marian hymns sung through the readings (the Liturgy of the Word) concentrate on the Divine Incarnation, as if we have not only heard the Word of God but also receive the Word as a Person, dwelling within our souls.

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(1) The Coptic word (XEPE) derived of the Greek word, is translated Hail or Rejoice. (See the book of the Holy Liturgy In Arabic and Coptic. Cairo 1959, edited by Fr. Atallah Arsanius El-Moharagy, p. 74).

E. After the prayer of Reconciliation, usually we sing the following hymn:

"Rejoice, O Mary, the handmaid and Mother,
for the angels sing hymns to Him, who is on your lap,
the Cherubim becomingly worship Him,
and the Seraphim too without intermission.

No favour we plead save your supplications and
intercessions unto our Lord Jesus Christ, O mistress of
us all and mother of God…."

Now, through the reconciliation which Jesus Christ has made, St. Mary as an archetype of the Church, rejoices!

We ask her to pray and intercede for us, through the reconciliation Jesus has made!

F. After the consecration of the Holy Elements, all the Church becomes united in Jesus Christ, and we commemorate the saints, that we may be assisted by their prayers.[1] It is naturally that we remind her before all other saints:

"In the first place, she is the ever-virgin the Mother of God and the all-glorified, pure St. Mary, who gave birth to God, the true Word".[2]

G. Through receiving Holy Communion a hymn called (PIWIK, Pioiek means "the bread") is sung:

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(1) See Fr. T. Malaty: Christ in the Eucharist, Alexandria 1973. p. 488-493 93

(2) Coptic Liturgy: translated by Fr. T. Malaty & N. Fanous, Melbourne 1976 p. 41

“The Bread of Life who came down from heaven,
gives life to the world.
You, O Mary, conceived the Rational Manna,
who came down from the Father,
You immaculately bore Him;
Who gave us His precious Body and Blood,
that we may live forever.”

2. The Sacrament of Matrimony:

Through the service of holy matrimony, the priest, deacons and people are thinking on the eternal wedding-feast of Christ and the Church.

For example, at the first part of the ceremony (called: the Agreement of Dual Possession) all the people, after hearing the Gospel concerning the Incarnation of God the Word, their Bridegroom, (John 1:1-17) sing in the “Palm-Sunday” tone, the following response, as if they are receiving the Bridegroom within their inner Jerusalem:

“Rejoice, O bride-chamber diversely adorned of the True Bridegroom who has united Himself with humanity!”

St. Mary as the prototype of the Church, the heavenly Bride, is praised by various hymns.

A. Immediately after reciting the Prayer of Thanksgiving, the deacons sing “This is the censer….”[1], and at the “Order of the Holy Crowning” they sing: “The Virgin is the gold censer”.[2]

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(1) Page 91
(2) Ibid.95

B. Throughout the three prayers of marriage the deacons sing the following responses:

“The gate of sunshine is Mary the Virgin,
the pure bride-chamber of the pure Bridegroom”.
“All the kings of the earth walk in your light,
and the nations in your splendour,
O, Mary, the Mother of God.
Solomon calls you in the Song of Songs:
My sister and my beloved, my true City, Jerusalem!”
“You are more bright than the sun,
You are the east,
which the right looks towards, with joy and exultation!”

It is wonderful while the priests asks God thrice to grant the bridal couple a chaste bridal-chamber, and blessed life through their unity, the deacons and the people proclaim their rejoicing for the holy bride-chamber, the Virgin’s womb, where the Bridegroom unites Himself with our humanity. Thus St. Mary becomes the “East” where the Sun of Righteousness shines upon the whole world, and all the kings (believers) come joyfully to this mystery.

C. At the end of the service, the deacons sing the following ode:

“Rejoice, enlightening bride,
the mother of the Giver of Light.
Rejoice. You who received the Word,
who dwelt in your womb.
Rejoice, you who are more glorious than Cherubim.
Rejoice, you who bore the Saviour of our souls.
Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”.

Thus, the Coptic matrimonial ceremony, from its beginning until the end, attracts our attention to St. Mary as the enlightening bride, in order that we also be prepared to be Christ's eternal bride!

3. The office of the Holy Baptism:

Before receiving the grace of Baptism the candidate or the Godfather and (or) the Godmother have to declare, before the bishop or the priest, the Virginal birth of Christ as an essential part of the Christian Creed.

4. The Sacrament of Healing the Sick:

Through this liturgy the priest repeats his request to St. Mary that she may pray and intercede for the forgiveness of our sins, calling her "the Mother of Salvation". The Church asks her triumphant members to pray for those who are still struggling, that God may heal their spirits, souls and bodies.

".... Through the intercession of the Virgin, the Mother of Salvation;
she whom we praise saying:
Blessed are you among women,
and blessed is the Fruit of your womb…."

"Through the intercessions of the mother of God, and the supplications of the angels, and the blood of the martyrs, and the prayers of the saints…."

"O holy Virgin the T'heotokos, without human seed, intercede for the salvation of our souls".

5. The Liturgy of “Washing the baby”:

The Coptic Church, as a mother, looks after her children even before baptizing. On the eighth day of the birthday the priest, deacons and the family of the baby partake of a certain ceremony, called “Washing the baby”. They give thanks to the Lord for the gift of the baby and ask Him to prepare the baby for the spiritual rebirth.

On this occasion the Church reminds the family of the Only - Begotten Son who was born of St. Mary.

“Who is not incarnate, but has been incarnated;
Who is the Word become Man.
He Who has no beginning now begins…
Subjecting Himself to temporality, though Himself timeless.

Mary, our mistress, the mother of God, Mary, the mother of our Saviour, intercede that He may forgive us our sins….”.

The response.

I think you can easily conceive the place of St. Mary in all the liturgies of the Coptic Church which I have not discussed.

5. St. Mary in the Festival Ceremonies

Through the incarnation of God’s Son of the Virgin Mary, the gates of heaven are opened to us, and all our days become feasts. For this reason suitable Marian hymns are sung in

every feast, reminding us that through the Virgin’s Son, Jesus Christ, we receive the Lord’s joy in our life.

We here refer to some Marian texts and hymns used on certain feasts.

1. The Christmas:

We have already mentioned that from the first of Keyahk until Christmas (29th of Keyahk) the church has a special Marian program to attract our thoughts towards the virginal birth of Christ.

Besides the ordinary Marian texts, other Marian texts and Christological texts having a Marian attitude are admitted to the Eucharistic Liturgy of the feast, such as:

“Today, the True Light shines upon us,
out of Mary the Virgin and chaste bride!”
“According to the prophets’ sayings,
Mary has brought forth our Saviour, the Gracious
Lover of men, in Bethlehem….

Doxology of Christmas

“He bowed down from the heaven of heavens
and came down to the Virgin’s womb.
He became man like us, but without the sin….

Doxology of Christmas

Come, all of you,
that we may worship our Lord Jesus Christ,

whom the Virgin has brought forth,
her virginity remaining unbroken….

Doxology of Christmas

"The Virgin brings forth the Supreme One,
and the earth offers a cave to the Unapproachable One.
The angels together with the shepherds glorify Him,
and the Wisemen guided by the star were journeying to Him.
For God, who exists before all ages, became a Child for our sake!"

After the Reading of "Acts"

"Rejoice (Hail), New Heaven,
for the Sun of Righteousness, the Lord of the whole world, shines out of you!

Spasmos[1] *(Adam)*

"The Begotten-Son of the Father,
before all the ages, was born of the Queen,
and her virginity remained unbroken!"

Spasmos (Batis)

2. The Annunciation:

"Rejoice (Hail), Mother of God,
the exultation of the angels!
Rejoice, the Chaste One,
the preaching of the prophets!
Rejoice, full of grace,

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(1) "Spasmos" means "kissing", for it is sung while the people are kissing each other, after Prayer of Reconciliation.

the Lord be with you.
Rejoice, those who receive the joy
of the world from the angel!"

Spasmos (Adam).

3. The Marian Feasts:

One of the various beautiful Marian hymns, usually sung on the feasts of St. Mary, is "The Ten Chords":

"David moved the first chord of his lyre, saying aloud:
at your right hand stands the queen, O King (Ps. 45:9).
He moved also the second chord of his lyre, saying aloud:
Listen, daughter, look and pay careful attention:
forget your people and your father's house (Ps, 45:10).
He moves the third chord of his lyre, saying aloud:
All the glory of the King's daughter is within,
her robe is gold woven (Ps. 45:13).
He moved the fourth chord . . . saying:
With her virgin companions enter before the King,
in her train (Ps. 45:14).
He moved the fifth chord . . . saying:
Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised in the city
of our God, on His holy mountain (Ps. 48.1).
He moved the sixth chord . . . saying:
The wings of a dove covered with silver,
its pinions with yellow gold (Ps. 68:13).
He moved the seventh chord . . . saying:
The Mountain of God is a rich mountain (Ps. 68:15).
He moved the eighth chord . . . saying:
On the holy mountain He founded the city;
the Lord loves the gates of Zion (Ps. 87:1, 2).

He moved the ninth chord . . . saying:
Glorious things are spoken of you,
O city of God (Ps. 87:3).
He moved the tenth chord . . . saying:
The Lord has chosen Zion;
He has desired it for His habitation.
Intercede for us with the Lord . .. ."

Another Marian hymn, used on the veneration of St. Mary or any other feast is:

"Rejoice, O Mother of God, the Virgin and advocate for the world before the Saviour, our God.

Rejoice, O Mother of God, the Virgin and Mother of Emmanuel.

You are unmarried, at the order of the angels.
Rejoice, O our advocate before the Father, our God, we glorify you" .

4. The Great Lent:

Among the various hymns of the Great Lent, which concentrate on repentance and fasting as a preparation for celebrating the Easter, is a Marian hymn specially for this period, called "Meghalo" (Great). In fact it is a hymn offered to Christ, the Son of the Virgin, sung before the "Trisagion", as if the church decided to declare that virginal birth of Christ and His resurrection coincided.

The hymn is:
"Holy God, the Great Archpriest for ever.
Holy Almighty, who is of the Order of Melchizedek.
the Perfect One.

Holy the Immortal who is incarnated of the Holy Spirit
and St. Mary the Virgin, with great mystery;
have mercy upon us…."

This hymn is completed with another main hymn, called "Apenshois" (O our Lord), in which we say:

O incense which in her womb;
O incense which she brings forth,
May You forgive us our sins!

We give hymns together with the angels, saying aloud:
Worthy (Aksios),
Worthy
You are worthy (of honour) O Mary, the Virgin!

5. The Holy Week (Paschal Week):

Through this week all the candles (lamps), before the saints'; icons are extinguished and no incensing may take place before the icons; and even the commemoration of the saints is dismissed at the Euchasirtic Liturgy of Maundy Thursday. for we have to pay all our attention to the events of this Great week that precede Easter.

Nevertheless St. Mary's hymns find a place in this week because of the correlation between the Incarnation of the Virgin and the mystery of the Cross.

Every night before reading the explanation of the gospels, we say:-

"Hail (Rejoice), Mary the beautiful dove,
who born forth God the Word, for us."

On Good Friday, before singing the Trisagion, a beautiful hymn called "O Monoghenis" ("Only - Begotten Son") is sung.

Through it the Church reminds us that the Crucified One, who appears in weakness, is the same One who is born of the Virgin. God emptied Himself to become a man on our behalf (Phil. 2:7).

"O Only-Begotten Son, the Word of God,
the Immortal and Eternal,
who accepted everything for our salvation!
You are incarnated without alteration!
You are the Crucified Christ and God!
By death, He trampled upon death:
He is One of the Holy Trinity;
who is glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit!"

6. The Easter:

The Holy Fathers assimilated St. Mary's womb to the Lord's Tomb; for as the Lord was born of St. Mary while her virginity remained unbroken, so He also rose again while the

seals of the tomb were unbroken. The divine office of Easter according to the Byzantine rite states, “O Christ, who did not break the Virgin’s gate by your birth, You rose from the dead, having kept intact the seals, and You have opened unto us the gates of Paradise”.

According to the Coptic rite, on Easter the following Marian text is used:

“May you be enlightened,
may you be enlightened,
O Mary the Virgin”

Spasmos (Adam) 3

St. Mary who stored up in her heart the marvellous events concerning her Son (Luke 2:19) had been enlightened by the brightness of the Risen Lord, and she conceived in a more perfect way, His mystery.

6. St. Mary in the Canonical Hours

In every canonical hour we venerate St. Mary and ask her prayers and intercession for our spiritual progress.

1. In the prayer of the matins, before the creed, we say:

“Hail Mary!
we beseech you, holy one, full of glory, ever-virgin,
Mother of God, Mother of Christ,
may you lift up our prayers to your beloved Son,
that He may pardon us our sins.

Hail, holy Virgin, who brought forth the True Light,
Christ our Lord,
may you ask the Lord on our behalf,
to show pity on our souls and blot out our sins.

O Virgin Mary, Mother of God, holy and faithful
advocate of the human race, intercede for us with
Christ whom you mothered, that He may grant us
forgiveness of sins.

Hail, Virgin, true Queen!
Hail, the honour of our race, who gave birth
to Emmanuel.

We ask you to remember us, O faithful advocate with
our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may forgive us our sins".

2. Often, before reciting the Creed we start with its introductory:

"We glorify you, O Mother of the True Light,
we venerate you, O holy virgin, Mother of God,
for you gave birth to the Redeemer of the world, for us.
Glory be to our Master and King….."

3. In every canonical hour, after reading the Gospel, we recite some short prayers to God, suitable to the occasions we are reminded of at these hours, concluding with a supplication to St. Mary, asking her on our behalf.

A. AT MATINS[1]

You are the honourable mother of the Light. Everywhere under the sun, they offer you glorification, the 'Theotokos' (Mother of God), the second heaven. For you are the bright and unchangeable blossom, the Mother, and the ever-virgin, as the Father chose you, the Holy Spirit overshadowed you and the Son deigned to be incarnated from you.

May you ask Him to redeem the world He had created, and deliver it from tribulations.

Let us sing to Him a new hymn and bless Him,
now and ever and unto the ages of all ages. Amen.

B. THE TIERCE

"You are the true vine bearing the Grape of Life, O Mother of God.

In union with the Apostles, we beseech you, O full of grace, to ask for our salvation.

Blessed be the Lord our God!
Blessed be the Lord every day!
May He prepare our way before us as He is God of our salvation".

C. THE SEXT

Because of the multitude of our sins, we are ashamed before God, nor do we have any excuse.

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[1] Coptic Orthodox Church: Morning Prayer & Compline, March 1976 (trans. by Fr. Malaty & N. Fanous).

We ask your intercession with Him, whom you have brought forth, O Mother of God, the Virgin.

For your intercessions are abundant and acceptable to our Saviour.

May you not refuse to intercede with your Son for the sinners.

For He is merciful and capable of our salvation, just as He suffered to redeem us....

D. AT NONE

"When the mother saw the Lamb, the Shepherd, and the World's Redeemer hanging upon the Cross, she said through her tears:

> The world rejoices because it has received salvation,
> but my heart (bowels) in burnt at witnessing the
> crucifixion you are suffering for all mankind, O my
> Son and God".

E. AT COMPLINE[1]

O pure virgin, slip the shadow of your incentive aid upon your servant. Cast away from me evil thoughts and raise my sick soul to pray in vigilance, because it has long lain in deep sleep. You are a capable, merciful and helpful mother; the mother of the Spring of life, my King and God, Jesus Christ, my hope."

---

[1] Ibld

7. St. Mary in the Ethiopian Liturgies

The Ethiopian Church, the daughter of the Coptic Church received the faith from Alexandria, and with it a great love for St. Mary.

King Zara Yaqob (1431-1468) commanded that every Church in Ethiopia should have an altar dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and her feasts should be celebrated like Sundays under pain of excommunication.

In fact, the Ethiopian hymnology to St. Mary is very rich and numerous, and I hope that I can write about it in a special book, if God permits.

They celebrate her assumption monthly in a Great Marian feast.

We can conceive their love towards her from their custom of speaking of all heretics as "Enemies of St. Mary".

St. Mary, the Ark of Testimony, where the Manna (Christ) was present

(found in a Seidic Coptic Manuscript of the Senxarium)

see Church, House of God P. 332 - 335.

8. Feasts of St. Mary in the Coptic Church

1. The Annunciation to her parents: (7th of Messra)

This festival commemorates the creation of St. Mary, the living Ark of the Covenant, the dwelling place of the Most High and the second heaven.

2. Her Nativity (1st of Pashans)

The Copts usually celebrate the feasts of the saints to commemorate their falling asleep, their martyrdom or their departure to paradise; but they are anxious to honour St. Mary on the day of her birth as a day of joy.

3. Her Presentation in the Temple (3rd of Keyahk)

According to the Church tradition, St. Mary was consecrated to God by the vow of her mother, who exclaimed that she would bring her firstborn son or daughter to the Lord and he or she would minister to Him all his or her days of life.

4. Her Falling Asleep (death) (21st of Touba)

5. The Assumption, or the Appearance of her body into heaven (16th of Messra, 22nd of August)

The greatest Marian feast is preceded by a fast for a fortnight.

6. Dedication of the Church to Her Name at Philliponis & at Atrib (Egypt) (21st of Ba-ouna)

7. Her Apparition in Zeitoun (Cairo) (2nd of April)

This Apparition is unique in the history of Marian apparitions[1] . It started on 2nd of April 1968 and has been repeated often every day for hours at a time, and for many months. These apparitions occurred on the domes of St. Mary's Church, seen by several hundred thousands of people of all ages and ranks, Christians and Moslems. People were crowded every night around the Church praying and giving hymns, to see the brilliant figure of St. Mary stand before one of the Church domes, sometimes kneeling before the Cross and at another time holding the Child Jesus. Birds like doves often accompanied the Apparitions. Many persons repented and innumerous miracles happened because of the Apparitions.

Statement by the Coptic Orthodox Patriarch (Pope):

Ever since the evening of Tuesday, April 2, 1968 (Baramhat 24, 1684), the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Light, has been appearing in the Coptic Orthodox Church named after her in Shareh Tomanbey, Zeitoun, Cairo.

The vision, which is still appearing, has been seen on various nights and in different forms. Sometimes the Virgin is

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[1] Jerome Palmer. Our Lady Returns to Egypt. 1969, p.1

seen in full form, but on other occasions only the upper half appears, surrounded by a glorious halo of shining light.

The vision is sometimes seen through the openings of the dome of the church and sometimes outside the dome. The vision moves and walks across the dome and bows before the cross on the dome, which becomes clothed in a glorious light. She turns to the onlookers and blesses them with her hand and with the movement of her holy head.

The vision has often appeared in the form of a bright nimbus, or in the form of a light preceded by forms of heavenly objects such as quick-moving doves.

The vision has remained for long periods, occasionally as long as two and a quarter hours, as at dawn on Tuesday, April 30, 1968 (Baramuda 22, 1684), when the vision appeared in full shining form from 2:45 am. till 5 am.

The vision has been seen by many thousands of people of different religions and sects. Some foreigners, some priests and men of learning, or from professions and from many other groups. They have affirmed with full awareness that they have seen her and have agreed unanimously in their descriptions of each vision and the time of its occurrence, so much so that the unanimity has rendered the appearance in this place of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Light, a vision unique in its nature and needs no statement or affirmation.

Two important factors have accompanied the apparition. The first has been the revival of faith in God, in the other world, in the saints, and in the dawning of the knowledge among many

who had stayed away, and many have repented and changed their lives.

Secondly the vision has led to many miraculous hearings, evidenced scientifically and by unanimous affirmation.

> The Patriarchate gathered information about all that is stated above through individuals and committees of priests who investigated the truth and who saw the vision themselves and affirmed this in reports handed to His Beatitude Pope Kyrillos VI.

In making this statement the Patriarchate declares with every faith, with deep joy, and with overflowing thanks to the heavenly grace, that the Virgin Mary, the Mother of Light, has appeared clearly and steadily on many different nights. The vision has lasted varying periods of time, sometimes lasting over two hours uninterruptedly. The appearances began on Tuesday, April 2, 1968, and are still continuing in the Coptic Orthodox Church of the Virgin Mary in Shareh Tomanbey in Zeitoun along the Mataria route in Cairo, the route which, it is historically acknowledged, the Holy Family traversed during their stay in Egypt.

May God make this a sign of peace for the world, for our dear land, and our blessed people.

Saturday, May 4, 1968
Baramuda 6, 1684

The Coptic Patriarchate
Cairo

The Egyptian Government's Report

The Director of the General Information and Complaints Department submitted to the Minister, Mr. Hafez Ghanem, a documental report asserting emphatically the appearances of the Blessed Virgin at the Coptic Orthodox Church at Zeitoun.

"The investigations have proved twenty-seven appearances (to that date) of the Blessed Virgin in various luminous forms. At certain times mysterious doves either preceded, accompanied or followed the apparitions . . ." [(1)]

[(1)] Ibid. p. 41. 42.

Design representing the apparition of the virgin St Mary
on the domes of the Zeitoun church, April 2, 1968 A.D.

9. St. Mary's Assumption

Her Falling Asleep

St. Mary as a daughter of Adam died as a victim of his sin. St. Augustine states:

> "Mary, sprung from Adam, died on consequence of sin;
> Adam died in consequence of sin,
> and the, flesh of the Lord, sprung from Mary, died to destroy sin".[1]

According to the Coptic (Boheric) discourse of Theodosius, Pope of Alexandria (c. 567), "On the Falling Asleep of Mary", she checks the grief of the Apostles with the question[2]: "Is it not written that all flesh must taste death? I also must return to the earth, as all the inhabitants of earth".[3]

The Coptic (Boheric) text gives another reason for her death that is an argument for the reality of the Incarnation. According to this text Christ said to His Mother "I would prefer that you would not taste death, but to translate you up to the heavens like Enoch and Elias. But even these also must at last taste death. But if this happened to you, wicked men would think that you are a power which came down from heaven, and that this dispensation took place in appearance alone . . ."

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(1) In Joannis evangelium 8, 9.

(2) W. J. Burghardt Testimony of the Patriotic Age concerning Mary's Death. 1957, p. 15.

(3) On the Falling Asleep of Mary 5.

Her Falling - Asleep Story

After the death of her Son, Jesus Christ St. Mary lived under the care of St. John according to her Son's commandment. She witnessed the "New life in Jesus Christ" and helped the Disciples and Apostles by her love and prayers.

When she was about 60 years old on the 20th of Tobi, St. Mary, the Disciples and the Virgins of the Mount of Olives[1] were all gathered and the Lord Jesus appeared and greeted them.[2] He told them that he would return back the next day and receive his mother's soul.

On the 21st of Tobi the Lord returned in the chariot of the Cherubim, accompanied with thousands of angels and David the sweet Singer. The assembled men and women wept, and St. Mary also wept, but the Lord consoled them. He kissed her and blessed them and bade St. Peter to look upon the altar for heavenly garments, which the Father had sent to shroud St. Mary in.[3] She turned to the east and prayed in a heavenly language and then lay down, still facing eastward.[4] The virgins stood about St. Mary singing, and Jesus sat by her. David the Singer rejoiced and said "Right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints".

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(1) Discourse of Theodosius (Coptic - Boheric)
(2) Assumption of Vergin Mary, Coptic - Boheric text, attributed to Evodius as an eyewitness of the death and assumption of St. Mary
(3) Ibid.
(4) Assumption of Vergin Mary, Coptic - Sahidic text

At the ninth hour[1] the Lord received her soul, shrouded her body in the heavenly garments and they were fastened thereto. He bade the Apostles to take up the body; Peter bearing the head and John the feet, and carry her to a new tomb in the field of Jehoshaphat….

At the Field of Jehoshaphat

The Coptic text says[2] "When we came to the field of Jehoshaphat, the Jews heard the singing and came out intending to burn the body". The Apostles set down the bier and fled.[3] Darkness came on the Jews and they were blinded and smitten by their own fire. They cried out for mercy and were healed and many were converted.

Ruben and the Bier

Our Sinaxarium relates that a Jewish man, called Ruben [4] , tried to upset the bier, but his hands withered to the elbow, He began to weep, asking the Apostles to pray for him that he might be saved and become a Christian. They knelt and prayed, and his hands were loosened and he was healed. He was baptized at once, and began to preach.

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Text No. 2 (p. 118).
(3) Text No. 1
(4) The Assumption - Narrative by Joseph of Artmethea

Her Assumption[1]

This feast commemorates the entrance of St. Mary's body into heaven, as she preceded us and sat at the right hand of her Bridegroom and Son. It bears a powerful witness to the eschatological truth of our faith, i.e. "the world to come".

❖ In accord with what has been written, 'You are beautiful' (*Cant. 2:13*), and your virginal body is wholly saintly, wholly chaste, wholly the dwelling place of God; with the result that thereafter it is wholly free from dissolution into dust… It was impossible that the vessel which had received God, the temple of the Only-Begotten Son, should be held fast by death….

Fr. Germanus of Constantinople[2]

❖ Today the celestial spirits bring to heaven the Abode of the Holy Spirit, making her enter into the heavenly Jerusalem, to the immaculate Tabernacle, to us inaccessible, close to the Holy Trinity.

❖ Today the heavenly spirits have carried to heaven the holy body of the Virgin Theotokos, placing it among the angels to share in the unspeakable delights…

❖ Having lived in this body all-holy life, you are brought by the divine will to the Kingdom of your Son, our God; pray for us . . .

Armenian Liturgical Hymns on the assumption

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(1) Weekly Bulletin 107-109

(2) On Falling Asleep of the Theotokos. PG 98:345

❖ I salute the Assumption of the body which the human heart can never conceive . . .

❖ O Mary, your body was like a pearl,
and death itself was shamed when with wonder it saw
you ascending resplendent through the clouds
to heaven . . .

❖ O Mary,
dove of Euphrates
shelter me under your wings in the day of judgment,
when the earth will give back those whom she
had taking into her keeping!

Ethiopian Feast of Assumption

Her Assumption's Story[1] :

The Lord did not permit that the body in which He Himself had dwelt and from which He had formed His own humanity become a prey to corruption and dissolution.

St. Mary as a human being her body died; but ascended to heaven.

"The assumption according to the narrative of Joseph the Arimathea" states[2] that Thomas the Apostle was absent in India when St. Mary felt asleep and passed away. On his return he asked about her and was told what happened.

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[1] Weekly Bulletin, No. 66

[2] See also Coptic Sinexerium

St. Thomas pretended not to believe until he sees the body in the grave. At the grave he told the Disciples that the body is not in the tomb. As they rolled the stone there was no body, they did not know how to explain it, being vanquished by St. Thomas' words. Then St. Thomas told them how he saw her body assuming to heaven, and St. Mary gave him her girdle, and show it to them.

They all rejoiced and asked the Lord to see her again.

In the seventh month after her death (i.e., on 15th of Mesra) [1] , the Disciples reassembled at the tomb and spent the night watching and singing hymns.[2]

At dawn on the 16th of Mesra there were great thundering and a choir of angels were heard. The Lord Jesus came on the Cherubim with the soul of the Virgin Mary seated in His Bosom and greeted them.[3]

Other stories state that till the 16th of Mesra her body was not ascended. The Lord came with the soul of His mother and asked the body to accompany Him. He took her into the chariot. The angels went before them, and a voice called "Peace to you, my brethren".[4]

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(1) After 206 days from her death (according to the Discourse of Theodosius).

(2) Behoric Text, Discourse of Theodosius

(3) Discourse of Theodosius

(4) Revillout: Petro. Orient. Apocrphee Copies 1, fr. 16, p. 174

The Orthodox Concept

Book 4

ST. MARY

in the Orthodox Concept

ST. GEORGE COPTIC CHURCH

Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty

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TOMUS 14

THE PENITENCE OF ADAM

TRANSLATED

BY

MICHAEL E. STONE

LOVANII
IN AEDIBUS E. PEETERS
1981

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Consultative Board from The Catholic University of America:

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Secrétariat du CSCO
Uitgeverij Peeters
Bondgenotenlaan 153
B - 3000 Leuven

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INTRODUCTION

The Adamic Literature

The *Penitence of Adam* is an Armenian version of a work preserved in numerous languages. Before examining its particular character, the other versions should be mentioned.[1] They are in Greek (entitled *Apocalypse of Moses*);[2] Latin (entitled *Vita Adae et Evae*);[3] Slavonic (entitled *Life of Adam and Eve*)[4] and Georgian (entitled *Life of Adam*).[5] The Latin, Greek and Slavonic versions have been translated into European languages, notably English and German.[6] The Georgian version has never been translated.

Each of these five writings, in Latin, Greek, Slavonic, Georgian and Armenian, is a different recension of the Adam book. Each of them contains unique materials, distinctive structural elements and its own particular terminology. Yet they also share much text and many traditions. The relationships between them, then, are complex and are not decisively clarified by the publication of the Armenian *Penitence of Adam*. Still, observations on certain particular points relevant to this problem will be made below.[7] Wells who edited the Greek, Latin and Slavonic versions in R.H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the*

[1] For bibliographical and introductory information, see the following works: A.M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 3-14; J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesudepigrapha and Modern Research* (SCS 7; Missoula: Scholars, 1976), 72-75; H. Anasyan, *Armenian Bibliology* I (Erevan; Academy, 1959), 236-250 (Armenian); M.E. Stone, "Report on Seth Traditions in the Armenian Adam Books," *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton, II (SHR 41; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 460-464 (forthcoming).

[2] C. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (repr. Leipzig: 1966), 1-23; additional collations in M. Nagel, *La vie grecque d'Adam et d'Ève* (dissertation, Strassburg: 1972), Part 2: "L'édition des textes".

[3] W. Meyer, *Vita Adae et Evae* (München: K. Adademie, 1897).

[4] V. Jagič, "Slavische Beiträge zu dem biblischen Apokryphen, I, Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adamsbuches," *Denkschr. K. Akad. Wiss. philos.-hist. Classe 42* (Vienna: 1893).

[5] Ts. K'urtsik'idze, in *Philological Studies I* (Tiflis: Academy, 1964), 97-136 (Georgian).

[6] See standard editions of the Pseudepigrapha. Jagič (note 4, above) includes a German translation with his edition.

[7] The chief aim of Nagel's thesis (note 2, above) is to clarify this relationship.

Old Testament regarded the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* as the chief story line to which certain additions were made in the Latin and Slavonic versions.[8]

In addition to the five versions, three further sources for the text of the Adam book survive. The first is the Armenian translation of the *Apocalypse of Moses*. It was published by Yovsēp'ianc' and translated into English by Issaverdens.[9] Yovsēp'ianc' did not use all the manuscripts of this book and some of the others were listed by Anasyan.[10] It is entitled *Book of Adam* and is a direct textual witness of the *Apocalypse of Moses*. It was compared with the *Penitence of Adam* and no relationship was found between the two writings at the Armenian level. The second source is the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (the *Acts of Pilate*) which contains a substantial section of the text. The third source is a Greek fragment containing the story of the repentance of Adam and Eve, an incident not found in the *Apocalypse of Moses*.[11]

Here a few observations are added on the Georgian *Life of Adam*, the least known of the versions. These are drawn from the introductory comments by K'urtsik'idze. He uses five manuscripts, two of the seventeenth century and three of the nineteenth century. A supposed tenth-century testimony to the Georgian *Life of Adam* is a reference by Euthymius of Athos to a book of this name.[12] It is by no means certain, however, that Euthymius is referring to the same work. K'urtsik'idze also suggests that the *Life of Adam* may have been included in one of the recensions of the *Primary History of Georgia*.[13] Kekelidze is of the view that the work was translated into Georgian from Armenian prior to the tenth century.[14] The Georgian *Life of Adam* appears, from what is known of it, to be close to the Armenian *Penitence of Adam*. Our examination of a small sample of text suggests, however, that the extant Armenian work is not the direct source of the Georgian writing. Clearly,

[8] Vol. 2 (Oxford: 1913), 128-129.

[9] S. Yovsēp'ianc', *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament* (Venice: Mechitarist, 1896), 1-23 (Armenian); J. Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament* (2 edn; Venice: Mechitarist, 1934), 23-42.

[10] Anasyan (note 1, above), 238 lists five copies in Erevan. Note also Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate nos. 256, 1278, and apparently 1729, 2043. Other copies doubtless exist.

[11] Vat. Gr. no. 1192, 13r-14v, cf. Denis (note 1, above), 4; Nagel (note 2, above), 175 ff. This has been utilized in our own transcription.

[12] K'urtsik'idze (note 5, above), 97.

[13] Ibid., 99-100.

[14] Ibid., 103-108.

now that the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* has become known, a detailed study of the relationship between the two texts is desirable.[15]

Distinct from the above writings are the numerous Adamic tales found in many languages. These include writings in Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Georgian and Slavonic, as well as in Armenian. These works often contain developments of themes, ideas and incidents found in the Adam book. Many of these Adamic writings have been consulted in the course of preparation of the annotations to the translation of the *Penitence of Adam*. None of them, even those in Armenian, has a special literary or other relationship with the *Penitence of Adam*, although frequently parallels or similarities in one or another specific detail are noted.[16]

The Armenian Adamic writings also bear upon the *Penitence of Adam* in another way. The most recent list enumerates thirteen Armenian Adamic writings, not counting the *Penitence of Adam* itself, and more of them will probably be discovered.[17] There are also numerous poetic, liturgical and homiletic writings in Armenian devoted to Adam and his deeds.[18] This extensive literature provides a context within which the *Penitence of Adam* was preserved and transmitted. The Armenians cherished and developed, embellished and passed on legends and tales about biblical characters, and Adam, the protoplast, was particularly dear to them. The spelling out of the implications of this for the history of Armenian thought must await the full publication and study of the Armenian Adamic writings.

The close relationship between the *Penitence of Adam* and the Georgian *Life of Adam* was noted above. Lüdtke has described the contents and character of a number of other Georgian Adamic works which seem to be very similar to certain Armenian Adamic writings. The whole subject is hardly investigated, but a clarification of this relation-

[15] The Georgian *Life of Adam* was apparently not known to W. LÜDTKE, "Georgische Adam-Bücher," *ZAW* 38 (1919), 155-168.

[16] Much information on the various Adamic writings is to be found in the works cited in note 1, above and in Lüdtke's article cited in note 15, above. We have distinguished versions of the (putative) Adam book from other Adamic writings, even though some of them may also derive in one respect or another from the same "Adam book". In certain cases the distinction is more one of the degree of departure from the putative source document than one of kind. The five versions are much closer to one another than any of them is to works like the *Cave of Treasures* or the Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve.*

[17] Stone (note 1, above), 460-464

[18] Anasyan (note 1, above), 245-248 lists twenty six such compositions.

ship might well illuminate that between the Georgian *Life of Adam* and the Armenian *Penitence of Adam.*[19]

General Structure of the Book

The work opens in a fashion similar to the *Latin Vita Adae et Evae* giving the story of Adam and Eve's repentance after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, of their standing in the Jordan and Tigris Rivers, and of Satan's renewed enticement of Eve. It follows the general story line of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, and is to a very considerable extent similar to it, up to the point where the *Apocalypse of Moses* commences.

From the point where the *Apocalypse of Moses* commences, the *Penitence of Adam* can be compared with the Greek and Armenian versions of that work as well as with the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. This comparison shows that while the *Penitence of Adam* bears a clear overall resemblance to the *Apocalypse of Moses*, it also has very numerous points of agreement with the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Such agreements include phrases, verses and even more extended passages or traditions. In addition to material which the *Penitence of Adam* has in common with *Apocalypse of Moses* and the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, it has a good deal of material peculiar to itself. This is usually included in the formulation of verses which from a structural view point are parallel to material to be found in the Greek and Latin works, but are, in form, content or emphasis, quite different. The occurrence of additional, rather than substitute material, is less frequent.

The *Penitence of Adam* does not contain two of the blocs of special material which occur in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, but not in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, viz. the Vision of Adam (*Vita Adae et Evae* 25-29) and Eve's directives as to the memorials of her life (*Vita Adae et Evae* 49-50). It does contain the major account of Eve's fall which is found in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 15-34, but which is absent from the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

The Title

The title *Penitence of Adam* is attested in ancient sources and confusion has surrounded the identification of the works it denotes. The *Decretum Gelasianum* (line 296) records as *Liber Apocryphus* a certain

[19] Lüdtke (note 15, above), 155-160.

Liber qui appellatur Paenitentia Adae. It seems unlikely, however, that this refers to our *Penitence of Adam;* more probably it means the *Vita Adae er Evae*. The *Vita Adae et Evae* deals at length with the repentance of Adam and Eve and it was known in Latin, the language of the Gelasian decree, which does not refer to it by any other title. Moreover, the *Vita Adae et Evae* occurs under the titles *De Penitentia Adam* and *Penitentia Adam et Eva* in some manuscripts.

In the *Chronographies* of George Cedrenus and George the Syncellus there is a quotation from an Adamic work. It opens with the words Ἀδὰμ τῇ ἑξακοσιόστῳ ἔτει μετανοήσας ἔγνω δι᾽ ἀποκαλύψεως. In them, both E. Renan and M.R. James saw a possible reference to the title of the chronographers' source, the *Penitence of Adam*. It is, of course, possible that their source was called *Penitence of Adam*, but that is far from being the necessary implication of their words. Indeed, the Syriac versions of the work they cite call it the *Testament of Adam*.[20]

The 12th century Armenian historian, Samuel of Ani in his *Chronography* for the year 590 deals with books introduced into Armenia by Nestorian missionaries. The first in his list is *Ադամայ Կտակն* "Testament of Adam"; so Erevan manuscript 1869 (1585-1589 C.E.) and Zarbhanalian, while the Vałašapat edition of 1893 reads *Ադամայ Ապաշխարութիւն* "Penitence of Adam".[21] The latter reading is probably secondary, but it witnesses to the knowledge of a *Penitence of Adam* in Armenian. Otherwise, the change from *Testament* cannot be explained; no *Testament of Adam* is known in Armenian.[22]

Yovsēp'ianc' published in 1896 an Armenian work titled *Պատմութիւն Ապաշխարութեան Ադամայ և Եւայի նախաստեղծի թէ որպէս արարին :The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve the Protoplasts and What They did.*[23] At points this work is clearly dependent on the Armenian

[20] E. RENAN, *Fragments du livre gnostique intitulé: Apocalypse d'Adam ou Pénitence d'Adam ou Testament d'Adam*, extrait du *JA* 17 (1853), separatim 4 f.; M.R. JAMES, *Apocrypha Anecdota* (TS 2.3; Cambridge: 1893), 139. See also IDEM., *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1920), 1-3.

[21] The witness of the oldest MS, Jerusalem 1801, written in 1187, i.e. within a decade of Samuel's death, must await the facsimile edition being prepared in Erevan for his 900th anniversary.

[22] The text of Samuel's list is edited by Anasyan (note 1, above), I, XXXIX. Line 8 of the text is *դիաթեկն* i.e. διαθήκη. This does not necessarily refer to a *Testament of Adam*; thus we differ from the views of Zahn, James and Russell, see D.S. RUSSELL, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 394-395, and references there. These scholars, of course, only knew the 1893 edition of the *Chronography*.

[23] Yovsēp'ianc' (note 9, above), 325-330; English by Issaverdens (note 9, above);

Book of Adam and it is impossible to know whether it or the *Penitence of Adam* is intended by the variant reading of the Vałaršapat edition of Samuel of Ani.

From the above it appears that the ancient evidence for the existence of a work entitled *Penitence of Adam* is not strong. Evidence within the Armenian tradition is ambiguous, and cannot aid in the identification or dating of the work published here.

EVALUATION OF THE "PENITENCE OF ADAM"

The *Penitence of Adam* is not an Armenian version of the *Apocalypse of Moses* nor of the *Vita Adae et Evae*.[24] This follows from its incorporation of material unique of each of those two versions. There is, moreover, no evidence for the existence of an Armenian version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, while the Armenian version of the *Apocalypse of Moses* has had no influence on the *Penitence of Adam*. Therefore the *Penitence of Adam* is another version of the Adam book, most probably translated into Armenian from Greek,[25] and it must take its place alongside the Greek and Latin versions as a major witness to the Adam book. Unfortunately nothing enables us to establish the date of the translation or the history of its transmission and use in the Armenian church.[26]

It is not possible here to give a full commentary on the *Penitence of Adam*. Nonetheless some of its readings are discussed. These show that in a number of places the *Penitence of Adam* preserves readings preferable to those of the *Apocalypse of Moses* or the *Vita Adae et Evae*. In other instances its unique readings are corroborated or supported by sources outside the Adam books. A full comparative study of the versions would, undoubtedly uncover more instances like those cited. They confirm the position of the *Penitence of Adam* as one of the primary versions of the Adam book. The *Penitence of Adam* follows a basic story line similar to

German by E. PREUSCHEN, *Die Apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften* (Giessen: Ricker, 1900), 41-46. The work was copied by Conybeare from a manuscript in Etchmiadzin in 1893 and he made it available to Yovsēp'ianc'. Anasyan (note 1, above), 242 identifies the manuscript as Erevan 1521 (*olim* Etchmiadzin 914) of the year 1404 C.E.

[24] Its relationship to the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* and the Georgian *Life of Adam* is not discussed here. It is further from the Slavonic than it is from the Greek and Latin versions. It is probably closer to the Georgian version (see above, pp. VI-VIII).

[25] See p. XIII, below.

[26] See Introduction to text volume, pp. XIII-XIV.

the *Apocalypse of Moses* but has the story of the repentance at the beginning. It is not unlikely that in this it preserves a primitive form of the material. However, a definite conclusion on this point should probably only be drawn after a careful study of the Georgian version in particular. The story of the repentance is certainly an integral part of the present book.

Examples of the Text

Chapter 3 Eve said to Adam, "I am dying of this hunger. It would be better if I were dead, my lord; perhaps (then) they would bring you into the Garden, for because of me God is angry."
Adam said, "Great wrath has come upon us. I know not whether because of you or because of me."
Eve said to <him>, "Kill me if you wish, so that the wrath and anger may abate from before you — for this has come about because of me — and they will bring you into the Garden."

Et dixit Eva ad Adam, domine mi, putas fac me utinam morior. et forte introducat te dominus deus denuo in paradisum, quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus. vis interficere me, ut moriar? et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradisum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde.

Commenting on this passage of the Latin text, Wells observes, "MSS. have a doublet quoniam ... inde" (*in loc.*) and he omits this supposed doublet. See further discussion, pp. XVI-XVII below.

Chap. 6 For Adam said, "I shall be (in penitence) for forty days, six more than you, because you were created on the sixth day (of those upon which) he accepted his works."

The Armenian text is not altogether clear, but it does say that Adam is to fast for forty days and Eve for thirty-four (so also Latin MSS 3, 5, and 9). The Armenian text also offers a rationale for these figures, that Eve was created on the sixth day, apparently of the week following creation (here the corruption has intervened). This refers to the tradition known to Jubilees (3:4-6) and the *Life of Adam* quoted by George the Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 6) that Eve was created on the sixth day of the second

week. The Syncellus reads: τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δευτέρας ἑβδομάδος ... λαβὼν ὁ Θεὸς μέρος τι τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἔπλασε τὴν γυναίκα. This point lacks altogether in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. *Chap. 7* And the hair of his head was uncovered.

The Armenian text may be compared with Slav. 36 "even up to the hair of his head." It is moreover closer to Vat. Gr. 1182, 13v καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἡπλούτου (sic) τῷ εὐχουμένῳ ἐν τῇ ὕδατι. Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* lacks all mention of the hair.
Chap. 22 (1) Ap' at whom the nurse named and called Abel.

The Armenian *Book of Adam* translating the *Apocalypse of Moses* has the name *բարեխորհ*.[27] The Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Georgian *Life of Adam* have no names of this type. The *Apocalypse of Moses* relates the birth of both brothers at this point and it gives them two names each. The Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, the Georgian *Life of Adam*, and the *Penitence of Adam* relate the birth of Cain in chap. 21 and the birth of Abel here. In the *Penitence of Adam* Abel has two names, but Cain does not. Some scholars have seen a relationship between Cain's colour in the Latin and Armenian versions (chap. 21 *lucidus* or "colour of the stars") and the name Ἀδιάφωτος given him by Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* 1. The midwife referred to here may be compared with the angelic midwife attending the birth of Cain in chap. 21 of the Armenian *Penitence of Adam*. Georgian refers to the midwife as "the power of God", cf. "two powers" in Armenian *Penitence of Adam* 21. Latin has no reference to a midwife here.

Chap. 44 (16) Armenian	Greek
"Why do you worship Adam every morning? You came into being before him. Why is it that you, who are the former one, worship the latter? Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of Eden?	Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of Paradise?

The narrative from which this excerpt is drawn is not extant in Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. Nearly all Greek MSS have an additional phrase preceding the sentence quoted here, viz. ὅμως προσκυνεῖς τὸν

[27] On this point see M.E. Stone, "Apocryphal Notes and Readings," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1(1971), 126.

ἐλαχίστερον; The phrase is the same found in the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* "worship the latter". Greek seems to have lost the preceding material by corruption. Wells' comment that the Greek words are a gloss from chap. 14 of the *Vita Adae et Evae* is superfluous. Instead, the parallel with chap. 14 of the Latin and Armenian is very revelant. There Satan explains that he rebelled against God's command to bow down to Adam because he was former. Here, in the Armenian *Penitence of Adam*, Satan uses exactly the same argument to incite the serpent to rebellion. So Armenian clearly preserves the text lying behind the Greek phrase. Furthemore, its full implication is only clear in the forms of the book which include the repentance story, such as the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* itself.

Chap. [*44*] (*20*) and I stood by the tree.

Greek reads καὶ ἐστὶν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν φυτῶν.

Arm obviously reflects ἔστην. This is a clear indication that it had a Greek *Vorlage*. Arm is also probably original; it makes better sense and avoids the awkwardness of the Greek.

The Search for Food

Chaps 1-9 contain a recurrent theme of Adam and Eve's search for food such as they had eaten in the Garden. Their original food is contrasted with "the food of grass" which was appointed for the animals (cf. Gen. 1:29-30 and 3:18). This theme is mentioned in the *Vita Adae et Evae*, but it is far more explicit in the *Penitence of Adam*. Thus it occurs in it in chaps 4, 6 and 8, in which it does not occur in the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Chap. 8 may serve as an example. Adam calls on the fish of the Jordan to mourn with him and observes:

Latin	*Armenian*
non se plagnant sed me, *quia ipsi non peccaverunt sed ego*,	and bewail me, not for their own sakes, but for mine. *Because God did not withold their food from them which God appointed from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my food and from life.*

In the *Penitence of Adam* the intimate connection between the search for paradisical food and repentance is clear. The expulsion from the Garden meant a separation from their food. Only the protoplasts' repentance or God's mercy might perhaps bring about its restoration. In

fact, this does not happen for the food represents the pristine state which was lost.

After Eve was deceived she left the river, while Adam remained in it (chaps. 9-11, 17). Eve was pregnant with Cain and when the time of his birth approached, she called Adam who heard the sound of her weeping from the Jordan river, where he stood (chaps. 18-19). In chap 20, the *Penitence of Adam* reads "When God hearkened to the sound of Adam's penitence, he taught him sowing and reaping and that which was to come upon him and his seed." In this is to be found the resolution of the search for food: Adam does not receive *esca angelorum* but he does not eat grass. His repentance bore fruit and God taught him agriculture. In the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* Adam learns agriculture from God only in chap. 2 and this is unrelated to the theme of repentance. For further parallels, see chap. 20 note 2.

With these ideas too the singular material concerning the birth of Cain may be connected. According to the *Penitence of Adam*, on his birth Cain jumped from the hands of the angelic midwives and plucked up the grass around his mother's hut, and caused "numerous infertilities" in that place. A remnant of this tradition can be found in the *Vita Adae et Evae* which relates that Cain, on his birth, plucked a leaf of grass and presented it to his mother. In the *Vita Adae et Evae* this incident has no apparent explanation. In the *Penitence of Adam*, however, it may be that Cain, "the lawless one", who is cursed by the angels on his birth, attacks precisely that agricultural fertility the secret of which was revealed to Adam as a result of his repentance. A similar story is also to be found in the Georgian *Life of Adam*.

The Oil of Life

When Adam falls ill Seth suggests that he and Eve proceed to the Garden of Eden and beseech God to grant him of the oil of the tree of mercy with which to anoint Adam and relieve him of his mortal pains. Seth and Eve reach the Garden and pray for oil. The archangel Michael responds to their prayer uttered outside the gates of the Garden. This response is extant in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 13. Meyer observed that the original portion of the *Vita Adae et Evae* dealing with this event is missing and that the present text is drawn from the Latin version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* which relates the same incident. The *Apocalypse of Moses* is much shorter and summarizes the latter part of the passage, the eschatological prophecy.

In the *Penitence of Adam* the text of the first part of the prophecy, down to "you shall not have it", is substantially the same as that of the *Apocalypse of Moses*. The eschatological prophecy, on the other hand, although in general resembling the text of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and the *Vita Adae et Evae*, shows a series of very significant departures from it.

According to the Latin, Christ, son of God, will come upon the earth to resurrect the body of Adam and with him, the bodies of the dead. Christ will be baptized in the Jordan — it is not stated by whom — and will anoint all who believe in him with the oil of his mercy. This will become the eternal oil of mercy for all who will be reborn of water and of the holy spirit to eternal life. Then Christ, son of God, having descended on earth, will lead your father into paradise, to the tree of mercy.

According to Armenian, beloved Christ — not the son of God which expression is not found in the Armenian — will descend on earth to resurrect Adam. On account of his sins, Adam will be baptized by Christ in the Jordan. On his coming forth from the water, Michael will anoint the new Adam — apparently Adam after baptism — with the oil of joy. Subsequently Michael will anoint all living beings — "beasts" is apparently a mistranslation — who will be resurrected and worthy of entering the Garden.

Now the differences between this text and the Latin version are highly significant. The Latin version is tied to the New Testament story, referring to Christ's baptism in the Jordan; it uses terminology like *filius dei;* it speaks of salvation through water and the holy spirit. Moreover Christ's activity is the instrumentality of salvation; he will anoint those who believe in him, he will lead Adam into Paradise. In Armenian, in the place of all these features are concepts not significantly liked to the New Testament or to orthodox Christian theology. The passage, as we would expect in context, deals with Adam's being anointed with oil. Christ's function is the resurrection of Adam's body and his baptism. Michael, not Christ, does the anointing, and the baptized Adam is called "the new Adam" (not "the last Adam"). Now, this point of view is highly unusual. It does not seem reasonable to see it as a reworking of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* text, a process precluded in any case by the fact that the first part of the passage shows a text like that of the *Apocalypse of Moses*. The text stems apparently from circles holding a baptizing, but not a strongly Christological viewpoint, and for whom Adam played a special eschatological role. The views expressed in this passage stand in contradic-

tion to orthodox Christology in the very role attributed to Christ. The view is of Adam's resurrection, his purification from his sins by a ritual bath in the Jordan, and subsequent anointing; Adam, the first man, is the first man thus redeemed, and his salvation is the prelude to the salvation of all men, who are to be anointed (but not, or at least we are not told about it, baptized).

A literary consideration also bears on the comparison of these two passages. The speech of the angel comes in response to Seth's request for the oil. In the Latin text, the anointing of Adam is not mentioned explicitly and the last phrase, stating that he will be brought to the tree of mercy, although perhaps implying anointing, is almost by way of an afterthought. In the Armenian text, however, Adam's future anointing at the hands of Michael forms the central point of the passage. Michael, who refuses Seth the oil in the present, promises himself to anoint Adam in the future. This makes the Armenian text far more responsive tô the demands of the broader literary context.

Thus, this passage seems to be more primitive than the extant texts of the *Vita Adae et Evae* and of the *Apocalypse of Moses*. Moreover the unusual ideas in it seem to stem from Christian sectarian circles. Yet this is not the only case in which the *Penitence of Adam* seems to be more primitive than either the Latin *Vitae Adae et Evae* or the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*, and some other examples have been given in the preceding pages. Now, those works are commonly supposed by scholars to be Jewish and, if that is so, we are forced to say that the passage under discussion is a retouched form of an older Jewish formulation of these ideas. Alternatively, it may be the case that in light of passages like this one the presumed Jewish charater of the Adam books must be reconsidered and the possibility of a Christian sectarian origin entertained. Even then, the *Penitence of Adam* may be the repository of ancient Jewish traditions, a Jewish Adam book in Christian garb.

The Exculpation of Adam

Often, when the Latin text refers to Adam's sin, the Armenian text speaks of the loss of the paradisical food. This may be attempt to lighten the weight of Adam's sin, while highlighting Eve's role in it. This is clear in the example above drawn from chap. 3. At this point the Latin text is oddly repetitive and redundant, with Eve's saying the same thing twice, almost in the same words. The *Penitence of Adam*, however, is longer and

much clearer. It expresses two ideas. The first is Eve's reaction of despair at their inability to find food. She states that she would prefer to die of hunger and anyway this might relieve Adam of his punishment, since she has been the cause of all the trouble. Adam denies, or at least raises a modicum of doubt about Eve's imputation of sin to herself. This does not daunt her and she then implores Adam to kill her, thus removing the source of the trouble. This time Adam does not challenge her imputation of sin to herself, but expresses his unwillingness to commit this great sin. Structurally the Armenian text appears to be much clearer than the Latin. Its climactic construction makes the point of Eve's sin inescapable and indeed the progression of her thought as outlined in this passage is itself obviously sinful and she has to be reproached by Adam.

In chap. 7 of the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, Adam stands up to his neck in water. This action, in fact, appertains to Eve and is part of Adam's instructions to her in chap. 6. In the Armenian *Penitence of Adam*, Adam goes to the river Jordan and the hair of his head was uncovered (see example from chap. 7, above). He then invokes the waters of the Jordan to gather all living things and let them stand around him (chap. 8). They gathered and were, according only to Armenian "like a wall". This obvious evocation of Exod. 14:22,29 (cf. Jos 3:13-17) implies that Adam in fact stood dry in the midst of the Jordan. This should be contrasted with what is said a little further on about Eve that her skin is wrinkled as a result of prolonged immersion in the water (thus the Armenian — Latin has: *de frigore aquae*) and she is so weakened by her acts of penitence that (again according only to the Armenian) she fell onto the ground in a faint for three days (chap. 10). Of Adam nothing similar is said. To the contrary the waters of the Jordan stand still, the living things form a wall around him and pray on his behalf. Again, the special status of Adam and the minimization of his culpability and therefore of his expiatory suffering are to be observed. It is intriguing to speculate about the relationship of these views to that of Adam's eschatological baptism in the Jordan.

These examples suffice to indicate the importance of the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* for the study of the versions of the Adam book. Indeed they indicate that the Armenian work may prove of crucial importance for recovery of certain structural, textual, literary and cultural aspects of that writing. The views highlighted here will prove of importance for the characterization of circles in which the Adam book was transmitted or composed.

The Translation

The translation is generally literal, subject always to the strictures of English style. The readings marked "lege" in the apparatus to the text are always included in the translation. Where, as often happens, the object which is a personal pronoun is not expressed by the Armenian text but is required in the translation by English usage, it is supplied with no further notation. All other supplements are marked by parentheses. The biblicizing (? Semiticizing) style of this writing leads it to start nearly every sentence with the word "and". This is mostly omitted in the translation. Otiose *kam* in double questions is also omitted with no notation. Participles of the Armenian are often rendered as finite verbs in English.

Pointed brackets enclose readings which have been accepted into the text from manuscripts other than MS A. Parentheses enclose words or phrases added by the editor for stylistic reasons and which do not reflect anything found in either the text or the apparatus.

Notes on the Translation

The notes cite parallels drawn from a broad range of biblical and extra-biblical writings. They make no claim to be exhaustive. In particular, much information may be found in L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5.63-131. Only a selection from this rich treasure is cited.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

Abod Zar	Tractate Aboda Zara, Babylonian Talmud.
Adam Fg. I, II	Adam Fragments, see M.E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha relating to Patriarchs and Prophets*, Jerusalem: Israel Academy, 1981.
Apoc Paul	Apocalypse of Paul
Arm 4 Ezra	M.E. Stone, *Armenian Version of IV Ezra* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 1) Missoula: Scholars, 1979.
ARN	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, ed. S. Schechter, New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1967.
Aso Isa	Ascension of Isaiah.
Ber	Tractate Berakot, Babylonian Talmud.
Bib Ant	Pseudo-Philo, Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.
Book Adam	The Book of Adam, Issaverdens pp. 23-24.
Budge *Alexander*	E.A.W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, London: Clay, 1896.
Cain Abel	The History of Cain and Abel, Sons of Adam, Issaverdens pp. 53-58.
Conflict Christ Devil	See Vassiliev.
Creat Adam	History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam, Issaverdens pp. 43-48.
Death Adam	M.E. Stone, "The Death of Adam; An Armenian Adam Book", *HTR* 59 (1966), 283-291.
Deut R	Midrash Deuteronomy Rabba.
Expuls Adam	History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden, Issaverdens pp. 49-51.
Fuchs	C. Fuchs, "Das Leben Adam und Evas" *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* ed. E. Kautzsch, repr; Darmstat: 1962, 2.506-528.
Gen R.	*Bereschit Rabba*, ed. J. Theodor, Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965.
Georg	W. Lüdtke, "Georgische Adam-Bücher", *ZAW* 38 (1919-20), 155-168.
Ginzberg *Legends*	L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia; JPS, 1909-38, Vols. 1-7.
Good Tidings Seth	Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth, Issaverdens pp. 59-64.
Gosp Bartholemew	The Gospel of Bartholemew.
Gr.	Greek; The Apocalypse of Moses.
Hag	Tractate Haggiga, Babylonian Talmud.
Jos Ant	Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*

Jub	The Book of Jubilees.
Lat	Latin; the *Vita Adae et Evae.*
Lat MS	Latin Manuscript.
Lat I, II, III	Recensions of the Latin version.
Levene	Al Levene, *The Early Syriac Fathers on Genesis*, London: Taylors, 1951.
Malan	S.C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London: Williams & Northgate, 1882.
Matenadaran	Erevan, Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, MS no...
Palaea	see Vassiliev.
Paralip Jer	The Paralipomena of Jeremiah.
Pes R	Midrash Pesiqta Rabbati.
Pseudo-Epiphanius *Hexameron*	E. Trumpp, *Das Hexaëmeron des Pseudo-Epiphanius* (Abh. kön. bayer. Akad. Wiss. Philos.-Philol. Class, 16.2) Munich: 1882.
Repent Adam	History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve, Issaverdens pp. 65-71.
Sanh	Tractate Sanhedrin, Babylonian Talmud.
Schatzhöhle	C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle, 1, Übersetzung*, Leipzig: Hinrich, 1883.
Shab	Tractate Shabbat, Babylonian Talmud.
Slav	Slavonic; The Slavonic Life of Adam and Eve.
Tanh	Midrash Tanhuma.
Tanh Buber	*Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. S. Buber.
Te'ezaza Sanbat	W. Leslau, *A Falasha Anthology*, New York: Schocken, 1969, 1-39.
Test Abraham	Testament of Abraham.
Test Adam	Testament of Adam.
Vaillant	A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, Paris: Institut des Études Slaves, 1952.
Vassiliev	A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, Moscow: Imperial University, 1893.
Words Adam	Adam's Words to Seth, Issaverdens pp. 73-74.

THE PENITENCE OF <OUR> FOREFATHER ADAM[1]

1. It came to pass, when Adam went forth from the Garden with his wife, outside, to the east[1] of the Garden, they made themselves a hut to live in and went inside. Their tears fell ceaselessly and they spent their days in unison of mind, weeping and saddened, and they said to one another, "We are far from life." Then, after seven days,[2] they grew hungry and looked for food.

2. Eve said to Adam. "My lord, I am hungry. Arise, seek food so that we may live and know[1] that God is going to come and bring us to the Garden, to our place." They arose and went about upon the earth, and they did not find food like the food by which they had been nourished <in the Garden>.

3. Eve said to Adam, "I am dying of this hunger. It would be better if I were dead, my lord; perhaps (then) they would bring you into the Garden, for because of me God is angry."[1] Adam said, "Great wrath has come upon us, I know not whether because of you or because of me." Eve said to h<im>, "Kill me if you wish, so that the wrath and anger may abate from before you — for this has come about because of me — and they will bring you into the Garden." Adam said to her. "Eve, do not (even) mention this matter;[2] lest God bring upon us even greater evils and we become contemptible. How, indeed, can I do you any evil, for you are my body?"[3]

4. Eve[1] said "Arise, so that we may seek vegetable food." They <sought> and they did not find <vegetable sustenance like that which was in the Garden>. [Eve said[2] "...] because God established this vegetable food as food for the beasts that they might eat on the earth, but our food is that which the angels eat.[3] Arise, let us repent for forty days;

Title [1] Introduction pp. VIII-X; Lat MS 18 paenitentia Ad. et Ev.

1. [1] Gen 3:24, Gr 1; contrast Malan 1:1, Pseudo-Epiphanius *Hexameron* 254 "west"; cf. PRE 20; see chap. 18 below. — [2] Lat, Slav 28, Creat Adam 47, Expuls Adam 51, Cain Abel 53, Vat. Gr. no. 1192 13v; for variant "5" of MS C cf. Cain Abel 53, Death Adam 1 (but see variant there).

2. [1] cf. Lat variant readings.

3. [1] Introduction pp. XVI-XVII — [2] Contrast Slav 29. — [3] Gen 2:24.

4. [1] Thus MS C; lacuna in MSS A and C; "vegetable sustenance" cf. Gen 1:30, Slav 30, Levene 77, Sanh 59b, Gen R 20.9 (193f.). — [2] In Lat Adam is speaker. — [3] Ps 78:25. —

perhaps God will pity us and give <us> food which is better than that of the beasts so that we should not become like them."[4]

Adam said to Eve, "In what fashion will you repent? How many days can you endure toils? Perhaps you will begin and be unable to repent, and God will not hearken, so that we will not be able to keep that which we originally received."[5]

5. Eve said, "Set me the number of days which I might think to repent; perhaps the days will be too long — for I brought this penitence upon you".

6. Adam said, "You cannot endure the same number of days as I, but do what I tell you and abide by <this> instruction". — Adam said, "I shall be (in penitence) for forty days,[1] six days more than you, because you were created on the sixth day[2] (of those upon which) he accepted his works. Now, therefore, arise, go to the Tigris river and take a stone and place it under your feet and stand in the water up to your neck, in your clothes. Let no word of supplication to God escape your mouth, for we are unworthy of <soul> and our lips are impure and unclean, because of the transgressions which we committed in the Garden when we ate of the tree. Stand silent there in the middle of the water until you have done penitence for thirty four days, and I will be in the Jordan river,[3] until we learn that, behold, God has hearkened to us and will give us our food".[4]

7. Then Eve went to the Tigris and did as Adam had instructed her, and Adam went to the Jordan. And the hair of his head was uncovered.[1]

8. He prayed and said, "I say to you,[1] waters of Jordan, be fellow-sufferers for me and assemble all the moving thing<s> which are in you, and let them surround me and bewail me, not for their own sakes, but for mine. Because God did not withhold their food from them, which God appointed from the beginning, but I have been withheld from my food and from life".[2]

When Adam said that, all moving things which were in the Jordan

[4] Contrast Lat; Gen R 20:9 (194), Te'ezaza Sanbat 15; PRE 19; cf. chap. 18 note c below. — [5] i.e. "upon ourselves" cf. Lat 5.

6. Lat variants 36 and 40 days; Vat. Gr. no. 1192 13v 40 and 44 days; 34 and 40 days Georg 158, Malan 1:32, 34; 30 days' mourning Gr MS B, Palaea 191, Matenadaran 2245 179r. — [2] Jub 3:4-6, Life of Adam (Syncellus, ed. Dindorf 6); "5th day" Georg 158. — [3] PRE 20 "upper Gihon", cf. Gen 2:13f.; Malan 1:9-10, 32. — [4] Contrast Lat; Vat. Gr. no. 1182 13v καὶ δώσει ἡμῖν τροφήν.

7. [1] Lat om; Vat. Gr. no. 1182 13v καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἡπλοῦτου τῷ εὐχομένῳ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι; Slav 36.

8. [1] Singular; number varies throughout chap. 8. — [2] Contrast Lat; Vat. Gr. no. 1182 om. —

gathered to him and stood around him like a wall.[3] And the waters of the Jordan stopped at that time and became stationary from their flow. Adam cried to God and he set apart six thousand orders of them[4] to call to God in prayers all the days.

9. When[1] eighteen days of their weeping were completed, then Satan took on the form of a cherub with splendid attire,[2] and went to the Tigris river to deceive Eve. Her tears were falling on her attire, down to the ground.

Satan said to Eve, "Come forth from the water and rest,[3] for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and Adam your husband. Because we beseeched God, God sent me to lead you forth from there and to give you your food, on account of which you repented. Since just now I went to Adam and he sent me to you and said, 'Go, son, summon my wife',[4] now come, let us go to Adam and I will lead you to the place where your food is".

10. When Eve came forth from the water, her flesh was like withered grass, for her flesh had been changed from the water, but the form of her glory remained brilliant.[1] When she came forth from the water she fell down and remained upon the ground in great distress for two days, for she was quite unable to move from the spot. Then she arose and Satan also led her to where Adam was. When Adam saw Satan and Eve who was following him, he wept loudly and called out with a great voice and said to Eve,

'Where is my command of repentance, which I gave you? How did you go astray, to follow him by whom we were alienated from our dwelling?"

11. When Eve heard this, she knew that he who deceived her was Satan; she fell down before Adam. From that time Adam's distress increased twofold when he saw the sufferings of his wife, for she was overcome and fell like one dead. He was sad and called out great lamentation and said to Satan, "Why have you engaged in such a great conflict with us? What are our sins against you, that you have brought us out of our place? Did we take your glory from you? Did we reject you from being our possession,[1] that you fight against us unnecessarily?"

[3] Lat om; Vat. Gr. no. 1182 14r ἐκύκλωσαν τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὡς τεῖχος κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, cf. Exod 14:22, 29, Slav 37. — [4] No parallels known.

9. [1] Lat; Slav 39 reverses story of chaps. 10-11. — [2] Cf. 2 Cor 11:14, Gr 17, Slav 38, Malan 1:27, 28, 33. — [3] Lat variant reading. — [4] Malan 1:33; Lat om.

10. [1] Tanh Buber 1.7r-v, Gen R 12:6 (102), Pes R 118r; see Ginzberg *Legends* 5.112f., Adam Fg. I.2, Words Adam 3, Creat Adam 46, Gosp. Bartholemew 4; cf. PRE 20 on Adam; Budge *Alexander* 269.

11. [1] Translation after N. Bogharian.

12. Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam, "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the cherubs who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth".[1] Adam replied and said to him, "What are our sins[2] against you, that you did all this to us?

13. Satan replied and said, "You did nothing to me, but I came to this measure because of you, on the day on which you were created, for I went forth on that day. When God breathed his spirit into you, you received the likeness of his image.[1] Thereupon, Michael came and made you bow down before God. God said to Michael, 'Behold I have made Adam in the likeness of my image'.

14. Then Michael summoned all the angels, and God said to them, 'Come, bow down to god[1] whom I made'.

Michael bowed first. He called me and said, 'You too, bow down to Adam'.

I said, 'Go away, Michael! I shall not bow down to him who is posterior to me, for I am former. Why is it proper for me to bow down to him?'[2]

15. The other angels, too, who were with me, heard this, and my words seemed pleasing to them and they did not prostrate themselves to you, Adam.[1]

16. Thereupon, God became angry with me and commanded to expel us from our dwelling and to cast me and my angels,[1] who were in agreement with me, to the earth; and you were at the same time in the Garden. When I realized that because of you I had gone forth from the dwelling of light and was in sorrows and pains, then I prepared a trap for you, so that I might alienate you from your happiness just as I, too, had been alienated because of you".[2]

17. When Adam heard this, he said to the Lord, "Lord, my soul is in

12. [1] Fall of Satan, cf. Isa 14:12-15; citation and analysis of sources Ginzberg *Legends* 5.84-86; see also Creat Adam 43, Malan 1:6,13, Vat. Gr. no 1192 17v seqq., Vat. Gr. no. 1190 882v seqq., Cod. Nazareus 65 apud Meyer Lat; cf. Schatzhöhle 4. — [2] MSS A C corrupt, emend to *մեղանք* (cf. chap. 11, below) or *մեղք*.

13. [1] Gen 1:26f, 2:7.

14. [1] MS C "to Adam"; Lat adorate imaginem dei; perhaps "image" lost by MS A, and MS C is a correction; cf. chap. 13, below; conflict Sammael and Michael PRE 27. — [2] Conflict Christ Devil 6.

15. [1] Lat varies; Arm om reference to Isa 14:14.

16. [1] Lat II, III; contrast PRE 14, 27. — [2] Chap. 47(39), Death Adam 5.

your hand. Make this enemy of mine distant from me, who desires to lead me astray, I who am searching for the light that I have lost".[1]

At that time Satan passed away from him. Adam stood from then on in the waters of repentance,[2] and Eve remained fallen upon the ground for three days, like one dead. Then, after three days,[3] she arose from the earth, and she said to Adam,

18. "You are innocent of the first sin and of this second one. Only me alone did Satan overcome, as a result of God's word and yours".[1] Again Eve said to Adam, "Behold, I shall go to the west[2] and I shall be there and my food (will be) grass until I die; for henceforth I am unworthy of the foods of life".[3]

Eve went to the west and she mourned and was sad; and then she made a hut for herself in the west, and she was advanced in her pregnancy[4] and she had Cain, the lawless one, in her womb.

19. When the times of her parturition came, she began to cry out in a loud voice and said,

"Where is Adam, that he might see this pain of mine? Who, indeed will relate my afflictions to Adam? Is there a wind under the heavens that will go and tell Adam, 'Come and help Eve!'?" And she said, "I implore you, all luminaries, when you come to the east, tell my lord Adam about my pains".[1]

20. Then Adam, in the river Jordan,[1] heard Eve's cry and her weeping. When God hearkened to the sound of Adam's penitence, he taught him sowing and reaping and that which was to come upon him and his seed.[2] Then Adam heard the sound of Eve's entreaty in the west, and Adam said to himself,[3]

"That voice and weeping are of my flesh. Let me arise and go to her

17. [1] Malan 1:14, Adam Fg. 1.4, Expuls Adam 50; Lat has "glory" here and elsewhere, cf. Words Adam 3. — [2] Lat om to end of chap. — [3] Paralip Jer 9:7-26, Asc Isa Gr (von Gebhardt, *ZWT* 21 [1870] 330ff.); Test Abraham A 20; W. Bousset, *Die Himmelreise der Seele* (repr; Darmstatd: 1960) 24ff., 63.

18. [1] i.e. God's command about the tree; Adam's about repentance. — [2] See chap. 1 note 1, chap. 20; Greek 1; "east" Georg 158. — [3] See chap. 4 note d, Adam Fg. I.9, Words Adam 13. — [4] Literally "extended by months".

19. [1] Death Adam 5, Malan 1:74, Georg 158; cf. Gen 3:16.

20. [1] Cf. chap. 7 and Lat 17, 20; Lat is shorter. — [2] Resolution of the quest for food and penitence, cf. Lat 22, Gr 29 and chap. [44](29) note 3; similar Georg 158, Creat Adam 47; comparable "Prometheus" traditions about Adam, see Ginzberg *Legends* 5. 105f., Gen R 24:7 (236), Slav 32, Death Adam 3; contrast Jub 3:35; the future is revealed to Adam after repentance Test Adam (Renan, JA 17 [1853] 5), Schatzhöhle 7. — [3] Literally "in his heart".

and see why she is crying out. Perhaps the beast is fighting with her once more!"[4]

Adam arose and followed the noise (to) where Eve was. When Eve saw him, she spoke and said to Adam,

"Did you hear the sound of my crying? Did the winds inform you, whom <I> entreated concerning you? Did the luminaries of heaven inform you, who are in the <east>ern[5] regions every day, in their courses? Did the birds of the heavens inform you, or the beasts of the earth whom I summoned and despatched to you, to tell you?[6] Now arise, entreat your Creator to deliver me from these pains".

Adam wept and prayed to God on her behalf. And behold, two angels[1] and two powers descended from heaven, came to Eve and stood before her.

21. The powers said to her, "Eve, you are blessed because of Adam, God's elect one,[2] for his prayers are mighty and through him help from God has come to you. Apart from him, you would not be able to survive this birth".

The angel said to Eve, "Prepare yourself, and I will be a midwife for you".

Then,[3] when she bore the child, the colour of his body was like the colour of stars.[4] At the hour when the child fell into the hands of the midwife, he leaped up and, with his hands plucked up the grass of the earth near his mother's hut; and infertilities be came numerous in that place.

The angel said to him, "God is just, that he did not make you fall into my hand, for you are Cain, the lawless one, who will be destroyer of the good and [.] and living plant and adultery, bitterness and not sweetness".[5] And again the angel said to Adam, "Remain by Eve, so that she will do what I commanded".

22(1) Thenceforth[1] Adam took Eve and the child and brought them to the eastern region,[2] and he was there with her, and then eighteen years and two months were completed.[3] She became pregnant and bore a son,

[4] The beast is Satan, cf. chap. 37(10)-39(12), see Pearson *Ex Orbe Religionum* (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 463f.; Lat "serpent". — [5] MS C "western", cf. chap. 19, above. — [6] Not in prayer in chap. 19 above; cf. Bib Ant 40:3 and chap. 8 above.

21 [1] Lat II, III; Lat I "12". — [2] Lat om. — [3] Lat is shorter. — [4] Perhaps related to διαφώτος, Cain's name in Gr MSS 1, cf. Lat lucidus; see Fuchs *ad loc.*; chap. 22(1) note 4; PRE 21. — [5] This continues food theme close parallel in Georg 158f.

22(1) [1] Greek commences. — [2] Gen 3:24, Gen R 21:9 (203), contrast Words Adam 74; see chap. 20 note 5. — [3] So Gr; 18 years Slav; 8 years and 2 months Georg 159; 8 years

Ap'at'[4] whom the midwife named and called Abel; and they dwelt together.

23(2) Eve said to Adam,[1] "My lord, Adam. I fell asleep and I saw in a night vision that the blood of my son Abel was entering the mouth of our son Cain, his brother, and he drank his blood without mercy. Abel beseeched him to leave a little, and he did not leave (any), and did not hearken to him, but drank his blood completely".[2]

Adam said to Eve, "Surely Cain is killing Abel. Come, let us separate them from one another. Let us make individual places for them[3] and leave them there, and let us not provide room in us for the evil one".[4] They acted according to this proposal.

Adam said to them, "My sons, arise, go each of you to your place". They arose and went according to this proposal.

[**23**](3) Then, after these proposals[1] God said to the archagel Michael, "Go, say to Adam, 'Do not relate the mystery that you know to Cain, for he is a son of wrath and he is killing Abel, his brother.[2] However, do not be sad because of him; instead of him I shall give you Seth, who is like my first image,[3] and he shall show all memories through me,[4] and not only what you shall say to him' ".

God said this to the angel, and he came and spoke to Adam and Adam kept it <to> himself;[5] and he and Eve were sad.

24(4) After this, Eve became pregnant and bore Seth. Adam said to Eve when they were speaking with each other,

"Behold, we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain killed before us".[1]

Syncellus (ed. Dindorf 13). — [4] Zap'at MS B Zap'at'or MS C, perhaps corrupt from Gr (ἀ)διαφωτος, Cain's name; Greek has names for both Cain and Abel, see Introduction p. XII; "to whom the power of God called" Georg 159.

23(2) [1] Repent Adam 66. -- [2] Lat is shorter; Gr and Georg add "and it did not remain in his belly, but issued forth from his mouth", so also Book Adam 23, Repent Adam 66; in general cf. Cain Abel 55f. — [3] Lat om from here to the end of chap. 23(3). — [4] Adam's speech accords partly with Gr, partly with Lat; separation of Cain and Abel, cf. Gen 4:2; "enemy" Gr.

[**23**](3) [1] or: matters. — [2] See *IOS*, 1971, 164f. — [3] I.e. like Adam, cf. Gen 5:3; Gr om, cf. Repent Adam 66; see also Schatzhöhle 6, Malan 2:2, PRE 22. — [4] Seth will reveal "memories" received from God, not just from Adam. Seth is often a revealor figure, especially in Byzantine and Gnostic sources; see Syncellus (ed. Dinforf 6) 16-17, Michael Glycas (ed. Bekker 16) 228; Corp. Cod. Astr. Gr. 5:140, Michael Comnenus ibid 118; See W. Adler, "Notes on Syncellus and Pseudo-Malalas", *SBL Pseudepigrapha Seminar*, 1977; see Mani Codex (Koenen-Heinrichs, *ZPapNum* 5 [1970] 107 n. 21); Gnostic Coptic sources, e.g. CG 3.68 etc. see Pearson, *Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, II (SHR 41; 1980; (forthcoming); see also chap. 36(9), [44](30). — [5] Literally "in his heart".

24(4) [1] Gen 4:25, Jub 4:7, Good Tidings Seth 59.

24(5) Then, after that, he had sons and daughters, thirty of each kind,[1] and they grew up.[2]

30(5) Adam was upon the earth nine hundred and thirty years,[1] and then Adam fell sick with a mortal affliction,[2] and he cried out in a loud voice and said,

"Let all my sons come and gather by me, so that I may see them first, before I die".

All his sons who were in every part of the world gathered by him. They assembled by him inside the place which Eve[3] had entered, and he prayed to the Lord God.

31(6) His son Seth said to Adam, "My father, did you remember the fruit of the Garden, of which you used to eat,[1] and have you become sad from that longing? If indeed this is the case, tell me, so that I may go close to the Garden and cast dust[2] upon my head and weep. For, perhaps God will give me of the fruit, that I might bring (it) to you, and this pain may be driven away from you".[3]

Adam said to him, "It is not so, my son, Seth; rather do I have mortal sickness and pain".

Seth said to him, "Through whom did this pain come to you?"

32(7) Adam said to him, "When God made us, me and your mother,[1] he gave us a command not to eat of that tree.[2] Satan deceived us at the hour when the angels who were guardians of the tree ascended to worship God.[3] Then, Satan caused Eve to eat that fruit; Eve caused me, who did not know, to eat it.[4]

32. For, my son Seth, God divided the Garden between me and your mother Eve, that we might watch it.[1] To me he gave the eastern portion and the northern,[2] and to your mother, the western and the southern.

33. We had twelve[1] angels who went around with each of us, because of the guarding of the Garden, until the time of the light.

24(5) [1] Gen 5:4, etc.; Book Adam 24 has "30 sons", cf. Repent Adam 69. — [2] Or "they increased" cf. Lat.

30(5) [1] Gen 5:5, Jub 4:29, Jos Ant 1.67, etc.; cf. 900 in Death Adam Superscription, 10. — [2] Some Gr MSS om this phrase; in general cf. Schatzhöhle 9, Malan 2:8. — [3] "Eve" may result from dittography here.

31(6) [1] Gen 2:16, 3:2. — [2] So Lat, Book Adam 26, Gr 7, Lat 36, etc.; "dung" Gr. — [3] Lat om this phrase.

32(7) [1] + "through whom I am dying" Gr; Arm differs variously in this chap. — [2] Gen 2:17, 3:3, 11. — [3] Test Adam (*Patrol. Syr.* 2) 1321-8 and parallels; Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis (*ibid*) 1376; Test Abraham B 4; Apoc Paul 8. — [4] Gen 3:1-6.

32. [1] Gen 2:15, PRE 12. — [2] In MS A "northern" and "southern" are transposed; see Lat, Gosp Bartholemew 4:5.

33. [1] "2" Lat, cf. Hag 16r *et al.*

33(7) Since, every day they would go forth to worship the Lord, at the time when they went to the heavens, at that time Satan deceived your mother and caused her to eat of the fruit. Satan knew that I was not with her,[1] nor the angels,[2] at that time he caused her to eat. Afterwards, also, she gave it to me.

34(8) I knew then, when I ate the fruit, that God was angry with us.[1]

God said, 'Because you transgressed my commandment,[2] I shall bring seventy afflictions upon your body, pain of the eyes and ringing of the ears[3] and all the joints'.

It will be reckoned for me (?) among the afflictions of sickness which are preserved in the treasuries, so that God might send them in the last times".[4]

35(9) When Adam said this to his son Seth, he cried out and said, "What shall I do, for I am in great pains and toils". Eve wept and said, "My lord Adam. Arise, give me some of your pain, so that I might receive and bear it, for these pains which have come upon you, came about because of me".[1]

36(9) Adam said to her, "Arise, go with your[1] son Seth, close to the Garden and there cast dust on your heads and weep before God. Perhaps God will pity me and send his angel to the Garden,[2] and he will go to the place where the olive-tree stands,[3] from which oil[4] comes forth, and give you a little of it, so that you might bring it to me and I might anoint my bones and be separated from pain, and I might teach you this way ... which we were tried formerly".[5]

37(10) Thereafter, Seth and Eve went in the direction of the Garden.

33(7) [1] Gen R 19:2 (171f.), ARN A1 (4). — [2] Creat Adam 44.

34(8) [1] Gen 3:7, 10. — [2] Gen 3:17. — [3] *դնչցորնգունս* doubtful; read as if from *դնդղջ* — "noise" and *ունկն* "ear"; *·ցո·* remain problematic. — [4] This sentence is not paralleled in Gr and Lat.

35(9) [1] Gen 3:17-19.

36(9) [1] meo Lat, ἡμῶν Gr, your Book Adam; derivative parallel story Acts Pilate Gr 3 and Lat B 4:3; parallel story Words Adam, Adam Fg. I, Adam Fg. II. — [2] ab arborem misericordiae Lat; Slav om "angel" here, but not in next chap. — [3] Not specifically an olive Lat, Gr; but cf. 2 Enoch 8:3 (Vaillant 9). — [4] See chap. 41(13), oleum vitae Lat; see also Ps.-Clem. *Recog*. 1.45.5, 2 Enoch 8:5 (Vaillant 9), 22:8-10 (Vaillant 26), 4 Ezra 2:12. — [5] "and I might teach you ... formerly" om Lat; it is slightly corrupt; ante-mortem revelation to Seth Test Adam (*Patrolog. Syr.* 2) 1329f., 1343-6, etc.; see further Stone *Patriarchs and Prophets* 46-48 (forthcoming); CG V. 5 is also a testamentary revelation by Adam to Seth, see LXX Gen 5:3-4, see chap. [44](30) and [23](3) note 4: *առակ* "way" here corresponds to Gr τρόπον, although it usually means "proverb"; like here Arm 4 Ezra 4:3 = Lat via; with slight emendation the last verb might be "tempted".

As they were going, Eve saw that a wild beast[1] was fighting with her son Seth and was biting him.[2]

Eve began to weep and she said, "Would that the day of Judgement came; all sins will be blamed upon me and (men) will say, 'Our mother did not hearken to the commandment of the Lord God!" Eve called out against the wild beast and said, "O wild beast, how do you not fear the image of God, that you dared to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth opened and your fangs bared,[3] and your hair stood on end? How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed, that your mouth was opened against the image of God?"

38(11) Then the wild beast cried out[1] and said to Eve, "In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you.[2] How was your mouth opened to dare to eat of the fruit concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it until he will change all of our natures.[3] Henceforth you are unable to resist that which I speak to you, or if I begin to rebuke you".

39(12) Then Seth said to the wild beast, "Close your mouth, O Satan.[1] Get away from the image of God[2] until he will speak to whom[3] God will bring you to rebuke".

Then he said to Seth, "Behold, I am standing apart from you, the image of God". The beast fled from him.

40(13) Seth, with Ev<e>, went close to the Garden, and they wept with loud lament and asked God to send an angel to help them.[1] God sent to them the angel Michael, who is prince of souls,[2] and he spoke the words to them,

41(13) "Seth, man of God[1]: Do not labour to supplicate for the oil

37(10) [1] serpens bestia Lat; Arm, Gr, Slav have "beast" throughout; names vary in Lat following; + "named Kotor" Slav, + "Behemoth" Repent Adam 70; explained as Devil Gr MSS E[1], S[3], E[2]; incident follows chap. 41 Georg 159. — [2] Or "tearing to pieces". — [3] Literally "made mighty".

38(11) [1] + voce humana Lat; "by the command of God and with a man's voice" Repent Adam 70. — [2] "until ... natures" om Lat; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις μεταλλάγη Gr. — [3] Gr differs; cf. Sanh 38b.

39(12) [1] "Satan" not in Lat, Gr, but see chap. 37(10) note 1.. — [2] Gen 5:1-3. — [3] "he will speak to whom" corrupt perhaps for *Հասցէ աւր յորում* "the day will come on which".

40(13) [1] καὶ δώσει αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου Gr, cf. Lat; Georg 159 had a text like Arm, but lost from here to chap. **41.**(13) note 1, perhaps by hmt. Georg 159, om Gr, "over body of man" Gosp Nicodemus Lat A 3 (19).

41(13) [1] Lat chaps. 41-42 drawn from Gosp Nicodemus.

which issues forth from the tree — that oil of joy[2] — to anoint your father Adam.

42(13) This cannot be now:[1] but then, at that time when the years of the end are filled and completed, then the beloved Christ will come to resurrect Adam's body, because of his sins which took place. He[2] will come to the Jordan and be baptized <by> him,[3] and when he will come forth from the water, then Michael will come and anoint the new Adam[4] with the oil of joy. Then, after that, it shall happen in the same fashion to all the wild beasts[5] of the earth, who will arise in resurrection and be worthy of entering the Garden.[6] I shall anoint them with that oil.

43(13) But you, go to Adam your father, for his times will be[1] full in three days[2] and you have to see[3] many wonders in heavens and upon earth and in all luminaries which are in the heavens".

43(14) When the angel had spoken this,[1] he disappeared behind a tree of the Garden.

[44](14) Thenceforth, Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam lay sick. Adam remembered about the transgression of the eating of the tree, and he said to Eve,

"Oh, what did you do?[1] What sort of pain did you bring upon us and upon our seed? Now, then, tell your children how the sin took place, for, behold, I am weakened unto the exhaustion of my strength. For, perhaps, when we die, toils will come upon the earth and all the generations[2] who will issue from us will labour. And they will curse us and say, 'Our father and our mother br brought these evils upon us'".[3]

[44](15) Then Eve began to weep and said,[1] "Come near me and I will tell you this way,[2] how our sin took place. At the time when your father

[2] om Gosp Nicodemus, Slav shorter and much developed; for story see E.C. Quinn, *Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago: 1962); see also Words Adam, Adam Fg. I, Adam Fg. II.

42(13) [1] γενήσεταί σοι Gr, but 4 Gr MSS om σοί; chap. differs from Lat, Gr, etc. see Introduction pp. XIV-XVI — [2] i.e. Adam. — [3] i.e. Christ. — [4] Good Tidings Seth 62. — [5] "peoples" MS B secondary: MSS A C corrupt; original perhaps "all who live upon" cf 4 Ezra 6:47 and Violet (*GCS* 32) *ad loc*. — [6] Contrast comments of Kahana, Artom.

43(13) [1] Literally aorist indicative. — [2] "six" Lat; for three day period see Paralip Jer 9:13, Test Abraham A 20, *et al*. — [3] τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβεράν Gr.

43(14) [1] Not in Gr.

44(14) [1] Gr much shorter; Arm resembles Lat but avoids idea of inherited sin — [2] Or "peoples"; for **ազգ ազգք** see Stone *Testament of Levi* (Jerusalem: 1969) 198, Arm 4 Ezra 3:7A, 7B, 5:9, 6:1J, 24. —[3] 2 Enoch 30:17f., Death Adam 11-12.

44.(15) [1] Eve assembles her children, most Gr MSS. — [2] chap. 36(9) note 5; Arm is shorter than Gr and like the end of Gk; Lat in not extant to [44](30). —

was guarding the lot of his portion which had been given to him by God[3] and I was guarding in my lot, at the southern and western side, Satan[4] went to your father's lot, where the wild beasts[5] were. He summond the serpent and said to him, 'Arise, come to me!' For God had divided the wild beasts and given them to us — the male ones he gave to your father and the female ones he gave to me. We used to nourish them according to whichever of us it had been allotted.[6]

[**44**](16) Satan said to the serpent, 'Arise, come to me and I will tell you something which is of profit to you'.

Then the serpent came to him and Satan said to it, "I hear that you are wiser than all the wild animals[1] and I have come to see you. I found that there is none like you in your cunning among all the animals. Even[2] as Adam gave nourishment to all the wild beasts, so also you did."[3]

And then, when the wild beasts went to worship Adam, Satan went with them and said to the serpent,

'Why do you worship Adam every morning? You came into being before him: why is it that you, who are the former one, worship the later? Rather should the younger worship the older.[4] Why do you worship (Adam) or (why) are you fed by Adam and are not fed by the fruit of the Garden? Come on, rise up, come to me and hear what I say to you. Let us expel Adam from the Garden like us[5] so that we may re-enter the Garden'.[6]

The serpent said, 'In what way or how can we expel him from the Garden?'[7]

Satan said to the serpent, 'Be you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth, so that we may be able to help.'[8]

[**44**](17) Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord,[1] at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to

[3] διάβολος Gr here and following; cf. Jos Ant 1.4. — [4] Gen 2:15: chap. 32 above. Lat 32; cf. Gosp Bartholemew 4:5. — [5] τὰ ἀρσενικὰ θηρία Gr; Schatzhöhle 6. — [6] Arm rough here; καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐτήρει Gr.

44(16) [1] Gen 3:1, Creat Adam 44, Schatzhöhle 6, Malan 1:17, Gen R 19:1 (171), PRE 13. — [2] Gr is much shorter, perhaps abbreviated. — [3] Idea not in Gr, cf. Malan 1:17. — [4] Cf. chap. 14; not in Gr, but by Gr phrase ὅμως προσκυνεῖς τὸν ἐλαχιστότερον which is not glossed from Lat, *pace* Wells. — [5] Cf. chaps 12-16. — [6] Gr om last phrase. — [7] φοβοῦμαι μήποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι κύριος Gr. — [8] ἐξαπατῆσαι αὐτόν Gk; cf. in general PRE 13, Palaea 190 and chap. [44](17).

[**44**](17) [1] "sixth hour" Slav 7, cf. Test Adam (*Patrolog. Syr.* 2) 1325 etc., Apotelesmata Apollonii Tyanensis (ibid) 1378; "ninth" Gr MS C perhaps corrupt; Test Abraham B 4; Apoc Paul 7; Protoevang James 13. —

praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel;[2] when I looked again, I did not see him. Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him,

'Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need say'.

At that time the serpent became a lyre for him,[3] and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said,

'Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you'.

When I went to him, he said to me, 'Are you Eve?'

I said, 'Yes, I am'.

He replied and said, 'What do you do in <the Garden>?'

I said to him, 'God set us to guard[4] the Garden',

Satan replied and said to me through the mouth of the serpent, 'This work is good, but come, do you eat of <all> the trees which are in the Garden?'

I said to him, 'Yes, we eat of all of them except only of that one tree which is in the very middle of the Garden, concerning which God commanded us, "Do not eat of it, for if you eat you will surely die".'[5]

[44.](18) Then the serpent said, 'As the Lord lives, I am greatly concerned about you for you are like beasts,[1] since God has withheld (it) from you,[2] but I do not wish you to be ignorant. Come on, come and eat of the tree, and you see what honour will be yours'.

I said to him, 'I fear lest I die as God said to us'.

The serpent, together with Satan, replied and said to me, 'As the Lord lives, you (will) not die,[3] but when you eat, your eyes (will be) opened and you will become like God,[4] knowing good and evil. But God <knew> that you (will) become like him; he deceived you, that he said, "Do not eat of it" '.[5] And he said, "Look at the tree and see what glory is around the tree" '.

When I looked at the tree, I saw (that) great glory was around it. I said to him,

'The tree is good and it looks pleasing to me,[6] but I cannot go and take

[2] Greek lacks up to 5. — [3] Cf. chap. 44(16). — [4] + "and to eat" Gr. — [5] Gen 2:17, 3:1-3, Jub 3:18.

[44](18) [1] cf. Ps 49:20, 4 Ezra 7:65-66, PRE 19. — [2] Gr om. — [3] Gr omits the element of dying. — [4] Plur Gr. — [5] Gen 2:17, 3:4-5, Jub 3:19, Jos Ant 1.42, Creat Adam, 44f., Palaea 190f. — [6] Gen 2:9, 3:6, Jub 3:20. —

of the fruit: I am afraid. Come here! If you are not afraid, bring me of the fruit and I will eat, so that I may know whether your words are true or not'.[7]

Then the serpent called to me and said, 'Come, open the gate for me and I will enter and I will give you of the fruit'.

[44](19) When he entered,[1] he proceeded a little way into the Garden and stopped,

I said, 'Why did you stop?'

He said to me, 'Perhaps, when I shall give you to eat and your eyes are opened and you become like God, you will deceive Adam and will not give him to eat of the fruit and he will become like a beast before you.[2] But you, if you wish, swear to me truly that you will give him to eat, and will not deceive your husband Adam'.

I said to him, 'I do not know any oath by which I can swear to you, but I will say to you that which I do know: By the plants of the Garden and by the Cherubs and the Seraphs and (by) the Father who sits in the heavens to descend to the Garden, if I eat and learn everything,[3] I shall not withhold, but I will give to my husband Adam to eat'.

When he had caught me through an oath, he then led me and brought me to the tree and he went forth to the tree. He set the deception in its fruit,[4] that is desire of sins, harlotries, adulteries, greeds. He lowered[5] the branches of the tree to the earth. Then I took some of the fruit and I ate.[6]

[44](20) At that hour I learned with my eyes that I was naked of the glory[1] with which I had been clothed. Thenceforth, I began to weep and said,

'What did you do to me?'

<But I was no longer mortified about the war which (the) enemy had made against me;> then I learned, thenceforth, that he will lead me to the depths of hell.[2]

When Satan did this, he descended from the tree and hid in the Garden.[3] In my parts of the Garden I sought leaves of a tree to cover my

[7] Gr shorter from "come here..." — end; ARN A1 (4); PRE 13, Palaea 190.

[44](19) [1] Literally "he came he entered" common hendyadis; Satan (Sammael) cannot enter the Garden Creat Adam 44, ARN A Appendix B (154). — [2] Sentence om Gr; cf. chap. [44](18). — [3] Phrase om Gr. — [4] Similar phrasing not idea Abod Zar 22b. — [5] "I lowered" Gr, but see Book Adam 30; cf. Gen R 19:3 (172), ARN A1 (4) — [6] Gen 3:6, Jub 3:20.

[44](20) [1] τῆς δικαιοσύνης Gk; Adam and Eve clothed with glory Yalqut Shim'oni Deut 951, Gen R 11:2 (88), PRE 14, Tanh on Gen 2:4, Creat Adam 45f. — [2] Gr varies. — [3] ἄφαντος ἐγένετο Gr. —

nakedness, and I could not find any on all the trees. For, at that hour all the trees of the Garden became leafless, except for the fig-tree alone. I took (its leaves) and covered my nakedness,[4] and I stood[5] by the tree of which I had eaten. I was afraid, my son Seth, because of the oath I swore that I would give my husband Adam to eat.

[44](21) I cried out to Adam in a loud voice, 'Arise, come to me and I will show you this way'.[1]

Then Adam came to me with his great glory, and I gave him to eat of the fruit, and I made him like me.[2] Subsequently, he, too, came (and) took a fig leaf and covered his nakedness.[3]

[44](22) After that, we heard the angel Gabriel[1] blowing a trumpet and summoning all the angels and saying to them,

'Thus[2] says the Lord, "Come to me so that I may descend to the Garden with you, and listen to my judgement with which I will judge Adam'".

When we heard the sound of the angel's trumpet, we knew that God was about to come to the Garden to judge us.[3] He set forth upon upon the Cherub chariot and the angels were praising him; consequently, we were afraid and hid.[4] God reached the Garden and all of the plants of the garden flowered. He set up his throne <close> to the tree of life.

[44](23) God summoned Adam and said, 'Adam, where are you?[1] Do you think that you have hidden and do you say, "He does not know me"? Can the building hide from the Builder, that you hide near that olive-tree?'[2]

Adam replied and said, 'No, Lord, it is not that having hidden, I think that you will not find me, but I was afraid, for I am naked and I am ashamed.'[3]

God said to him, 'Who showed you to be naked, if you have not abandoned my commandment which I gave you to observe?'[4]

Then Adam remembered the injunction[5] which He had spoken to him, to do and observe.[6] Adam said,

[4] Cf. Gen 3:7, Jub 3:21, Jos Ant 1.44, Creat Adam 46. — [5] ἐστίν Gk; Arm from ἔστην; the tree was a fig Gen R 15:7 (140), cf. Creat Adam 46, Schatzhöhle 6.

[44](21) [1] Or "parable", see chap. 36(9) note 5; μέγα μυστήριον Gr. — [2] Gr longer here. — [3] Gen 3:7, Jub 3:22, Jos Ant 1.44, PRE 13; Gr varies.

[44](22) [1] μιχαήλ Gr. — [2] Arm punctuation has been changed in accordance with Gr. — [3] 1 These 4:16, 'Otot Mašiaḥ (Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrasch* 2.6); PRE 14. — [4] Gen 3:8, Jos Ant 1.45.

[44](23) [1] Gen 3:9, Creat Adam 46; to this and chap. [44](24) cf. Jos Ant 1.44-49. — [2] Gr om this phrase. — [3] Gen 3:10, Creat Adam 46. — [4] Gen 3:11. — [5] Or "word". — [6] Gen 2:16; Gr and Book Adam differ, referring to Eve's deceit. —

'This woman, whom you gave, deceived me and I ate'.[7]
He <turned> to me and said, 'Why did you do that?'
I recalled the serpent's speech and said, 'The serpent deceived me'.[8]

[**44**](24) Subsequently God said to Adam, 'Because you obeyed your wife's voice and transgressed my commandment, you will be condemned upon the earth. You will toil upon it, <and it will not give you its strength>;[1] thorns and <thistles> will sprout forth[2] for you. By the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread[3] and you shall have no rest; you <shall hunger> and you shall be sated[4] and you shall be afflicted by bitterness then you shall eat of[5] sweetness; you shall be tormented by heat and afflicted by cold; you shall be pauperized and become great;[4] <you shall grow fat and you will be weakened and> the beasts <which> you ruled will rise up against you malignantly, because you transgressed my commandment and did not observe (it)'.

[**44**](25) God turned and said to me, 'Because you obeyed the serpent <and transgressed my commandment> you shall suffer torments and pains.[1] You shall bear many children and at the time of birth <you shall bring> your life <to an end> and, from your great agonies and pains you shall promise with your mouth and say, "If I survive these agonies, I shall never go back to my husband".[2] And when you emerge from the agonies, you shall return immediately to the earth. For you shall be condemned by your own mouth,[3] since you promised when the pain was acute, "I will never go back to this earth" and then you returned to the same. In pain you shall bear children and in pity you shall return to your husband and he will rule over you'.[4]

[**44**](26) After he had said all this to me, the Lord became very angry at the serpent and said,

'Because you did this and became a lyre <to lead astray those who were weak[1] of heart>, be cursed more than all the animals.[2] Be withheld from your foods which you used to eat. Dust will be your food and you shall go upon your breast and your stomach;[3] your feet and hands will be withheld and your <ears> will not hear, <and none of your limbs.[4]

[7] Gen 3:12, Creat Adam 46. — [8] Gen 3:13, Creat Adam 47.

[**44**](24) [1] Gen 3:17. — [2] Gen 3:18, Creat Adam 47. — [3] Gen 3:19, Jub 3:25, Creat Adam 47. — [4] Negative in Greek. — [5] Gr is shorter.

[**44**](25) [1] Creat Adam 47. — [2] This corresponds to Gr "sin of the flesh" cf Gen 3:16c. — [3] From here to "in pity", Gr has διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ὓν ἔθετο ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐν σοί. — [4] Gen 3:16.

[**44**](26) [1] Participle. — [2] Gen 3:14a-b. — [3] Gen 3:14b. — [4] Gr om from here to "your heart"; Jos Ant 1.50f., Apoc. Abraham 23, Targum J. to Gen 3:14, Gen R 19:1, 20:5 (171, 186), Yalqut Shim'oni 3:31, ARN B 42 (59), *et al.*, Schatzhöhle 7, PRE 13, 14. —

A likeness of the cross will bring my son to the earth, because of him whom you deceived. Be disabled and broken because of the evil of your heart. I have set enmity between you and Adam's seed. You will lie in wait for his heel and he for your head,[5] until the day upon which you will be punished'.

[**44**](27) When God had said this, he commanded our expulsion from the Garden, and the angels set about expelling us.[1] Adam beseeched the angels and said,

'Let me be for a little, so that I may beseech God about my sins. Perhaps he will grant me penitence and not expel (me) from the Garden'.

The angels let him be from expelling (him) from the Garden, and Adam said,

'Be gracious to me, Lord God, for I have sinned against you'.[2]

Then the Lord said [to the angels], 'Do not let him stand still, but expel (him) from the Garden. Were the sins mine? Do I pronounce judgement in vain?'

Then the angels worshipped God and said, 'You are just, O Lord, and your judgements are upright'.

[**44**](28) Adam said again[1] to God, 'My Lord, I beseech you, give me of the tree of life, so that I may eat before I shall have gone forth from the Garden'.

God said to Adam, 'You cannot take of it in your lifetime, because I have given an order to the Seraphs to guard it round about with weapons because of you,[2] lest you should eat more of it and become immortal and say, "Behold, I shall not die"; and you will be boastful of it[3] and be victorious in the war which the enemy has made with you. Rather, when you go out of the Garden, guard yourself from slander, from harlotry, from adultery, from sorcery, from the love of money, from avarice and from all sins.[4] Then, you shall arise from death, (in the) resurrection which is going to take place.[5] At that time, I will give you of the tree of life and you will be eternally undying'.[6]

[**44**](29) When God had said this, he commanded to expel us from the Garden. Adam began to cry before the angels, and the angels said to him,

'What do you want us to do for you?'

[5] Gen 3:17, Creat Adam 47; Gr om last phrase.

[**44**](27) [1] Creat Adam 47. — [2] See chaps. 4, 18, 21 above.

[**44**](28) [1] Or "Adam turned and said". — [2] Gen 3:24, Gr χερουβίυ and closer to Gen; Creat Adam 47. — Gr om this phrase. — [4] Gr just ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. — [5] Gen 42:13, Gen R 20:10 (194), Ber 5a. — [6] Gen 3:22.

Adam replied and said to the angels,[1] 'I beseech you, let(me) be a little, so that I may take sweet incenses with me from the Garden, so that when I go out of here, I may offer sweet incenses to God, and offerings, so that, perhaps, God will hearken to us'.[2]

The angels let him be, and he took sweet incenses with him, iris and balsam.[3] We took them and went forth from the Garden to this land.

[**44**](30) Now, my son, Seth,[1] I have shown you the way, how we sinned. But you, take care to do the good things. Do not abandon[2] God's command and do not depart from his mercy. Behold, I will show you every sort of recompense, both of good and of evil. > "

45(31) At the time when Adam was ill and they were standing around him, because one more day remained of his life and Adam's soul was going forth from his body, Eve related all this. And again Eve said to Adam,

"Why do you die and I live? Tell me, what shall I do for you? How long shall I be on the earth after your death?

Adam said to her, "Do not concern yourself with earthly things, but consider that we will both die as a couple, and they will place you where I will be. But when I die, do not come near me to move me from the place, until God[1] speaks with you about me. For God will not forget me, but he seeks the vessel which he made.[2] Now, arise, pray to God until I give up my soul, which he gave me, into his hands. For I do not know how we shall preserve[3] for the Father of all, whether he will be angry or will be merciful to us".

46(32) Then Eve arose, beseeched God and said, "I have sinned, God; I have sinned against you, my beloved Lord; I have sinned against your elect angels; I have sinned against the Cherubs;[1] I have sinned against the Seraphs; I have sinned before you, Lord.[2] I beseech all (you) whom God created in the heavens and on the earth, that you intercede with the Father in heaven".[3]

[**44**](29) [1] See chap. [44](27), Slav 25-27, Gr 21. — [2] Gr has additional sentence here. — [3] Arm forms are unusual and were identified by N. Bogharian; Gr has more spices, cf. Song 4:13-14; Gr adds καὶ λοιπὰ σπέρματα εἰς διατθοφὴν αὐτοῦ, cf. chap. 20, above, Lat 43, Jub 3:27; see Ginzberg *Legends* 5.105; contrast Gen R 20:10 (193f.), Schatzhöhle 8, Malan 1:30f., Test Adam, (*Patrolog. Syr.* 2) 1345, 1352.

[**44**](30) [1] Gr τεκνία μου; see chaps [23](3) note 4, 36(9) note 5. — [2] Gr om from here to end.

45(31) [1] ἀγγελος κυρίου Gr. — [2] Gen R 20:8 (194). — [3] Unclear; ἀπαντήσωμεν Gr.

46(32) [1] Gr longer. — [2] + καὶ πᾶσα ἁμαρτία δι᾽ ἐμοῦ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ κτίσει Gr, cf. Slav. — [3] Gr om this sentence. —

While Eve was praying on bended knee, behold, the archangel Michael[3] came to her, stood her up and said,

"Arise, Eve, from your penitence. Behold, the soul of your husband Adam has gone forth from the body".[4]

47(38) Eve[1] arose, and all the angels assembled before her, each according to his rank.[2] Some of them bore censers in their hands, others bore trumpets and others bore blessings.[3] Behold, the Lord of hosts upon a Cherub chariot[4] and four <winds> were drawing him, and Cherubs were serving those winds and the angels were proceeding before him: God came to the earth, to the place where Adam's body lay, and all of the angels (were) before him with praises. God came to the Garden and all the plants <moved>, and all the people who were with Adam fell asleep. Only Seth alone, the virtuous one,[5] was awake, according to God's direction.

[**47**](39) God came to Adam's body, where he was lying dead. God[1] mourned greatly and said in a sweet voice,

"Oh, Adam. Why did you do that? If you had observed my commandment, those who brought you down to this place would not have rejoiced over you. But I will turn their rejoicing into sorrow, and I will turn your sorrow into rejoicing. I shall make you the beginning of rejoicing and I shall set you on the throne of him who deceived you,[2] and I shall cast them into a place of darkness and death".[3]

48(40) After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the third heaven and bring me three linen cloths".

When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozēl[1] and to Gabriel,[2]

"Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam's body, and bring sweet oil".

They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment. When they had finished everything, God ordered them to bring Abel's body. They brought still <other> linen cloths and dressed him. For he had remained from <that> day upon which Cain the lawless one[3] had killed him and had wished to hide him, and had been unable. For, as soon as his body was in the dust, a heavenly voice came[4] and said,

[4] Gr om name; "the Lord" Slav.

47(38) [1] Scope and order, cf. Lat; Gr longer. — [2] Angels before God Gr; om Lat. — [3] Gr om this sentence. — [4] Cf. Gr; Ps 18:10, PRE 4. — [5] Unusual form.

47(39) [1] ὁ Σήθ Gr. — [2] Isa 14:13, Jer 31:13b etc. — [3] Gr longer; Georg varies 160.

48(40) [1] Οὐριήλ + Ῥαφαήλ Gr. — [2] Yalqut Teh 889, Deut R 11 (end). — [3] ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Gr. — [4] Literally "came about". —

"It is not permitted to hide him <in> the earth <before> the first creature has returned to the earth from which he came".

Thenceforth, they took him into that same cave[5] where he was until Adam died. Then, after this, they brought him and treated him just as they had treated his father Adam. After the dressing, God commanded that both of them be taken to the region of the Garden and be brought to the place from which the dust had been taken and Adam created.[6] God caused them to dig in that place and sent them to bring sweet incenses and iris[7] incense and he caused them to put oils upon the dust and to cover the spices.[8] Then after this, they took the bodies of both of them and put them in the place in which he had fashioned them.[9] They exchanged[10] and made a sepulchre over them.

[**48**](41) God called to Adam's body through the dust and said, "Adam, Adam".

Adam's body said to the dust, "Answer and say, 'Here (I am), Lord'".

The Lord said to him, "Behold, just as I said to you, 'Adam, you are dust and you return to dust';[1] but I will raise you[2] in the resurrection which I promised you".

48(42) After God had said this, he took a three-fold seal[1] and sealed Adam's tomb and said,

"Let none approach in these days, until their bodies[2] return to it".

Then, at that time, the Lord ascended to the heavens with his angels, Seraphs and chariot of light, each to his station. The times of Eve were filled and completed and she was dying. She began to weep and sought to know the place where Adam was buried, because she was ignorant (of it).[3] For, at the time when God came for the death of Adam, all the plants of the Garden were moved and, through the holy spirit, sleep overcame all those who were upon the earth, until they had dressed Adam, and none upon the earth knew, except Seth alone.

Again Eve began to cry out, to beseech God that they should bring her

[5] "Rock" Gr, Georg 160; Georg shorter; place of burial Aptowitzer, *Kain u. Abel* (Wien & Leipzig: 1922) 52-56; Cain Abel 58 cf. Repent Adam 67, Malan 1:79. — [6] Gr differs in this section. — [7] Reading *հիրիկ* (N. Bogharian). — [8] Schatzhöhle 9, Malan 2:9. — [9] Adam's burial Ginzberg *Legends* 5. 125f., cf. Jub 4:29, 2 Enoch Appendix 36 (Vaillant 117), Conflict Christ Devil 5, Gen R 14:8 (132), Malan 3:17, Repent Adam 71, Schatzhöhle 4, Death Adam 39. — [10] Probably corrupt for *փորեցին* "they dug".

48(41) Gen 3:19, Words Adam 74. — + μετὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματός σου Gr, cf. Slav 47, Gen R 20:8 (194).

48(42) [1] Shab 55a, cf. Kahana *ad loc.* — [2] ἡ πλεῦρα αὐτοῦ Gr, cf. Slav 45. — [3] Gr variant and longer to end, Lat shorter. —

to the place where Adam was buried. When she had completed that prayer, she said,

"My God, God of miracles, do not alienate me from Adam's place, but command to place me in his tomb. Just as we were together in the Garden, and were not separate from one another, just as in life, so in <our> death. In the place in which Adam was buried let me, too, be buried with him".[4]

50(42) When, beseeching, she had said this, her soul left her. Michael, the archangel, came and spoke to Seth and taught him how to dress her.[1] Three angels came and took Eve's body and brought it and placed it where Adam's and Abel's bodies were.

48(43) After this, Michael spoke to Seth and said, "Thus shall you dress every human being who dies, until the day of the end, through the resurrection".

When the angel had said this to Seth,[1] he ascended to heaven, praising the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever.

[4] Repent Adam 71, Death Adam 78.
48(43) [1] Death Adam 78.
50(42) [1] Slav 49-50.

I. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

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THE ROMANCE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT BY PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES

Translated from the Armenian Version
with an Introduction by
Albert Mugrdich Wolohojian

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INTRODUCTION

OF THE MANY legends of antiquity that flourished again in the vernaculars of the Middle Ages, none caught the fancy of so many and so diverse peoples as the fantastic adventures of King Alexander of Macedon. By the seventeenth century, the fanciful biography of the Macedonian world conqueror had appeared in over eighty versions in twenty-four languages.[1]

It was, then, not historical accounts[2] that were to fascinate the popular imagination of the Middle Ages so much as the Romance composed probably in Alexandria sometime before the fourth century A.D. by an unknown author whom certain manuscripts falsely name Callisthenes, kin of Aristotle and companion and historian of Alexander the Great.[3] And it is this Romance designated subsequently as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, that, with its interpolations, redactions, and translations, is the source of most of the episodes of the Alexander stories that were to proliferate in the Middle Ages.[4]

[1] W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Munich, 1924), II, 813 ff.

[2] It is somewhat arbitrary to separate the historical from the legendary tradition as contemporary records of Alexander have not survived and the historical tradition was not to be set until centuries after his death. By that time, history had been infused with the popular legends of the marvelous. A. Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre, Légendaire Médiéval* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 9-10.

[3] W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (Berlin, 1926), Introduction, p. xv. Certain manuscripts (late Beta, or *B*, group) name Callisthenes, while Valerius attributes the work to Aesop; the Armenian printed text, Venice ms. 424, notes at the end of the first major section that the work was written by Aristotle.

[4] P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II, ch. 1, states that medieval originality lies

Although the question of the classification of the surviving manuscripts of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* has beguiled generations of scholars, it is generally agreed that the tradition closest to the lost original is best represented by manuscript No. 1711, *fonds grec* of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), supplemented and corrected by the fifth-century Armenian translation, and the middle fourth-century rendition into Latin by Julius Valerius, which was to have such a rich and varied descendance in the literature of northwestern Europe.[5]

This group of texts is generally designated as the Alpha (or *A*) group; and to it belongs probably also an eleventh-century Arabic version. The majority of extant Greek manuscripts belong, however, to the Beta (or *B*) group, which developed from reworkings of the Alpha. The Gamma text group, which Müller[6] designated as C^1, is an expansion of *B*, with interpolations. A Syriac version is attributed to the Delta (*D*) group of which no Greek text survives. To it belong also an Ethiopian version and the lost Greek source used by Archpresbyter Leo of Naples for his tenth-century Latin translation, *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni*, or the *Historia de Preliis*, which became one of the most important lines of transmission into western medieval literature of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

The editor of this text,[7] F. Pfister, has ranked it with the Armenian, the Syriac, and that of Valerius in its usefulness for the reconstruction of the lost Alexandrine original; and indeed, he suggests it may surpass all other texts in its fidelity to the earliest Greek text.[8] However, its brevity and sparseness, cited

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in the addition of local color and the changes in the personality of the hero and that nearly all the episodes may be traced to antiquity.

[5] F. P. Magoun, Jr., *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 22-62, reviews the development and diffusion of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

[6] C. Müller, *Reliqua Arriani, et Scriptorum de rebus Alexandri Magni* (Paris, 1846), Introduction, pp. vii-x.

[7] F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo* (Heidelberg, 1913). Pp. 40-41 give genealogical tables of the Romance.

[8] *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. v.

by Pfister to substantiate its antiquity, generally detract from its coherence and suggest, in fact, that the Greek source text used by Leo may have been an abridged version or that Leo saw fit to shorten it in the translating, frequently at the cost of intelligibility.

We shall see that the Armenian, by contrast, sustains a narrative coherence that is singular among surviving versions of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Its textual fullness in comparison with Leo, rather than suggesting that the Armenian was based upon a late, extended, Greek original, seems to confirm its fidelity to an original which was in its narrative and its psychology a coherent whole. In brief substantiation of this, we can note the remarkable subtlety of the character delineation of Olympias and Nectanebos in the seduction sequence (Leo, Bk. I, ch. 4; Ar. chs. 6-9.) The Armenian presents in all its duplicity and concupiscence their voluntary and mutual deception. It could also be noted that Leo (ch. 18), fails to present a characterization of Nikalaos which naturally supports the subsequent exchange of hostilities with Alexander, while the Armenian (chs. 49-51) does. A further example is the failure of Leo (ch. 31b) to concern itself with Iollas' motives for entering into the conspiracy to poison Alexander, while the Armenian (chs. 262-66) presents with an engaging comprehension the bonds of perversion of the partners-in-regicide.

As evidences of the internal textual coherence of the Armenian, the following few episodes may be presented as noteworthy.

In Leo, chapter 3, the Egyptians write the royal prophecy on a stone and there is no further mention of it; whereas in the Armenian, chapter 4, it is written on the base of the statue of Nectanebos, where Alexander will read it in chapter 96 when he returns to Egypt in fulfillment of the prophecy.

Darius' death gives two further examples of textual coherence in the Armenian, which are not found in Leo. Thus the dying Darius will recall that Alexander has dined with him (ch. 196, referring back to ch. 180). In Leo, Book II, chapters 20-21, there is no warning by Darius to Alexander to be wary of his

fellow countrymen, as in the Armenian, chapters 195-97. And thus an important parallel between the deaths of the two kings is lost. This warning will in fact anticipate the prophecy of the magic trees (Ar. ch. 209, and missing in Leo) that Alexander will be killed by his own men. It is evident that such passages in the text of the Armenian are in fact essential to the development of the narrative structure itself.

Besides the apparent lacunae of the Leo text, Book I, chapters 15-16, 25-28, 32; Book II, chapters 2, 22, there are many examples where the brevity of Leo causes obvious impoverishment of the text. Thus in Book I, chapter 8 (Ar. chs. 16-17), the symbols in Philip's dream concerning Olympias' conception are not adequately explained. In chapter 30 (Ar. ch. 77), there is only a mention of a prophecy from Ammon whereas the Armenian gives the verification by the god of his paternity of Alexander. Leo, Book I, chapter 36 (Ar. ch. 103) does not detail Darius' reasons for his choice of gifts to Alexander and thus loses the antithesis of Alexander's reply. Again there is no explanation in Leo, Book I, chapter 45 of the prophecy about Alexander Heracles (Ar. ch. 125). The incident of Stasagoras and the priestess is shortened in Leo to the point of incomprehensibility. Thus, too, in Book II, chapter 21 (Ar. chs. 200-2), Leo loses the clever play on Alexander's promise to make the murderers of Darius conspicuous among men.[9]

It must also be noted that the Armenian text is remarkably rich in references to Alexandria, which should further substantiate its fidelity to the lost original. In contrast to Leo, chapters 70 and 89 deal at length with the founding and establishing of Alexandria and in chapter 93 there is an eloquent tribute to the glory that will be Alexandria's. That the great glory of Alexan-

[9] By contrast, infrequent instances where Leo is more extensive than the Armenian include Bk. I, ch. 36 (Ar. ch. 103) where Darius is shown a picture of Alexander by the Tyrians before sending him his disdainful gifts. Also in Leo, Bk. I, ch. 40 (Ar. ch. 112) the interesting exchange of pepper and poppy seeds as symbols of force versus number is not in the Armenian. The Armenian also lacks the compassionate letter of Alexander to the Lacedemonians (Leo, Bk. II, ch. 6).

der will be inextricably bound to the glory of the city itself is a constant theme that further distinguishes the Armenian from Leo. In chapter 144, Demosthenes, himself, will give glowing praise to the Egyptian city; and in chapters 247-50, even the god Sesonchousis envies Alexander the immortality that is his for having founded the royal city that will forever bear his name.

Thus, if the Armenian version of the Alexander Romance was to have no great importance in the development of the legend in the East (unlike the lost Pehlevi which was the source of the seventh-century Syriac),[10] it is of prime importance in the reconstruction of the original text itself, as it appears to be an extraordinarily accurate rendering of the oldest manuscript tradition.[11]

An Armenian text was first published in 1842 by the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice,[12] and its importance has been noted by every student of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* since Julius Zacher, its first serious critic.[13] Despite the avowed importance of the Armenian text, the scholars who turned their attention to the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* were few in number and handicapped by their lack of access to the Armenian language. Zacher,

[10] Th. Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, XXXVIII (Vienna, 1890), 1. The Armenian did, however, serve as the basis for a lost seventeenth-century translation into Turkish.

[11] Kroll, in the introduction to his reconstruction of the Alpha text, states: "Homo ille Armenius codicem A simillimum fideliter secutus est, ut sine eius opera multa codicis A damna sarcire omnino nequiremus; quamobrem ex hac versione plura excripsi quam ex ullo alio textus fonte." (Kroll's text has been translated by E. H. Haight, *The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes* [New York, 1955].)

In a more recent study of sources, R. Merkelbach, "Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans," *Zetemata*, IX (Munich, 1954), 64, states: "Die wichtigste der Übersetzungen ist Arm. Sie ist neben A unser bester Text und verbessert ihn an zahlreichen Stellen."

[12] R. T'reanç, ed., *The History of Alexander of Macedon* (*Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացւոյ*) (Venice, 1842).

[13] J. Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes, Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage* (Halle, 1867), pp. 85-101.

whose chapter on the Armenian text is the source of most subsequent commentary, also gives the substance of preceding studies.[14] From a few compared passages, he noted the great fidelity of the Armenian to a Greek text which surely related to the Alpha group. Despite its changes and corruptions, Zacher found that in many ways the Armenian was more complete and better preserved than even the Greek Alpha text or Julius Valerius.[15]

In 1886, Adolf Baumgartner published his work on Moses of Khoren (Movses Xorenaçi, *Մովսէս Խորենացի*), the "father" of Armenian history, to whom, as we shall see, the Armenian translation has been generally attributed; and he called attention to the passages which had been borrowed by this author from the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. In the same year, Johann Gildemeister noted further borrowings of the same nature.[16]

The fact that even the great European Syriac and Arabic specialist Theodor Nöldeke[17] cited his dependence upon Zacher, Römheld, and Hübschmann for information on the Armenian text underlines the linguistic barrier that separated the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* from European scholarship until Richard Raabe in 1896 undertook to recreate in Greek the Armenian

[14] *Ibid.* The first mention of the Armenian text by R. Geier (in his *Alexandri M. Histor. Scriptores* [*Leipzig*, 1844], p. 1.) was cited by C. Müller, where the publication of the ms. and the general facts of attributed authorship, dates, etc., are noted as well as the divisions of the text, which Geier saw as corresponding to the Greek A and Valerius. This was followed by a brief article by an unknown author in *Hallische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (June, 1845), pp. 1027-1029. There was also an article by C. F. Neumann in *Gelehrte Anzeigen, herausg. von Mitgliedern der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, December, 1844), pp. 961-983; cited by Zacher, p. 88.

[15] This same view was shared by Römheld in "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kritik der Alexandersage," *Jahresbericht über das königliche Gymnasium zu Hersfeld* (1873), pp. 3-52.

[16] A. Baumgartner, "Über das Buch 'die Chrie,'" *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* [hereafter referred to as *ZDMG*], XL (1886), 457-515; and J. Gildemeister, "Pseudocallisthenes bei Moses Von Khoren," *ZDMG*, XL (1886), 88-91.

[17] Nöldeke, pp. 1-2.

translation,[18] and thus make possible for the first time serious attempts to reconstruct the lost Greek original. Raabe was not concerned with the Armenian tradition of the text and its problems of authorship and manuscript classification. In its relationship to the Greek tradition both the importance and the limitations of his work were underscored by Adolf Ausfeld[19] who, while realizing the importance of a translation of the Armenian, felt that a much more useful service would have been rendered by a literal translation of the text. Wilhelm Kroll thought more highly of Raabe's work,[20] but agreed with Ausfeld on the importance of the Armenian text itself.[21]

Armenian scholarship on the subject has not been extensive. The first Armenian to study the text was Father Raphael T'reanç (Թրեանց) in his introduction to the published text.[22] In 1887, an article appeared in support of the already widely held hypothesis that the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was the translation of Movses Xorenac̣i. On the basis of the Venice printed text, Father Jacob Dashian of the Mechitarist Order of Vienna published, in 1892, a study of the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, which is not only a survey of the history of Alexander in Armenian literature but also a valuable textual study enriched by Father Dashian's access to variant manuscripts in the Vienna Mechitarist library and information he was able to obtain on manuscripts in other collections.[23] In 1938, Father N. Akinian of Vienna promised a new edition of the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* based on a hitherto unedited pre-Kečarowec̣i text which has not yet appeared.[24]

[18] R. Raabe, Ἱστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου: *Die armenische Übersetzung der sagenhaften Alexander Biographie (P-C) auf ihre mutmassliche Grundlage zurückgeführt* (Leipzig, 1896).

[19] A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 12-14.

[20] Kroll, Introduction, p. viii.

[21] Ausfeld, p. 12, "An vielen Stellen bietet der armenische Text unter allen die beste Überlieferung."

[22] See above, footnote 12.

[23] J. Dashian, *Studies on Pseudo-Callisthenes' Life of Alexander* (*Ուսումնասիրութիւնք Սոոյն Կալիսթենեայ Վարուց Աղեքսանդրի*), (Vienna, 1892).

[24] Father Akinian, "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der arme-

Thus, the Venice 1842 edition and Dashian's study of it remain the primary materials for the study of the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes.*

THE ARMENIAN PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES

Although it is true that Armenian literature of the fifth century, the Golden Age, is largely one of translations, these translations usually concerned themselves with Christian theological subjects. The existence, then, at this date of an Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* is remarkable.[25] While many great rhetorical, philosophical, and poetic works of classical antiquity remained untouched by Armenian translators, the romantic legend of Alexander started a career in Armenian letters that was to flourish through subsequent centuries and the vestiges of which are still alive in popular myth and legend.[26]

Since, however, the oldest surviving Armenian manuscript of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* dates from about the fourteenth century, it is natural to wonder about the changes it may have undergone in the centuries that separate it from the original translation. Favorable to the corruption of the manuscript could have been the fact that the essentially pagan spirit of the Alexander text must have been foreign to the monastic scribe who made the new edition of the work.

In the Notice that follows the translation, the copyist, a scribes the text as "unseemly" and "baseless" "pagan writings." certain Xačatowr Kečaroweçi (*Խաչատուր Կեչառուեցի*), de-

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nischen Übersetzung des Alexanderromans von Pseudo-Kallisthenes," *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 206. There is a discussion of this text in J. Skinner, "The Alexander Romance in the Armenian Historians," unpublished Harvard University Ph. D. thesis (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

[25] Akinian, in *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 201. "Das einzige hellenische Geschichtswerk, das in die christlich-armenische Literatur übernommen wurde, ist der Alexanderroman."

[26] Minas Tcheraz, "La légende d'Alexandre le Grand chez les Arméniens," *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* XLIII-XLIV (1901), pp. 345-51, discusses interesting folk tales still alive in Armenia c. 1900.

He speaks of his work in rather ambiguous and much contested terms as consisting of the "concordance of these meager things" and in the "writing of these words." He states that the pagan writings were "lacking in unity" and "unseemly" and that the copy before him, although choice and from an old text, was still "unskillful" and faulty, and he claims that by "editing and correcting in a poetic fashion," he "cleared a straight path" through this material.[27]

A review of prior Armenian texts that draw upon the Armenian translation of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* does much to help arrive at a clearer understanding of what must have been the nature of Kečaroweçi's "editing and correcting." Fortunately such passages appear very early, and the familiarity of many authors with this tale is apparent from the frequency of references, whether direct or indirect, that can be traced to it.[28] Such references are interesting testimony to the popularity of this pagan romance among Armenian Christian writers even though they may not be specific enough to substantiate the integrity of the thirteenth-century text iself. For such substantiation, it is necessary to look for verbatim passages that appear in early texts.

Thus, we find that Tovma Arcrowni,[29] the tenth-century

[27] T'reanç, p. 195, note 1.

[28] Dashian, pp. 24-34, cites many other pre-thirteenth-century writers who show familiarity with the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Among them, Mxit'ar Goš (*Մխիթար Գօշ*) in his *Datastanagirk'* (*Դատաստանագիրք*) (Vałaršapat, 1880), uses the same adjectives to describe the bullheaded horse of Alexander as does the text, while the Greek would normally have been rendered in Armenian as *ցլագլուխ*-(βουκέφαλος). Thus, too, there are indirect references in the *History of Armenia* by Yovhan Catholicos (Moscow, 1853), and Nerses Šnorhali's *Vipasanowtiwn* (*Շարադրութիւն Հոմերական Վիպասանութեան*), (Venice, 1830), from which Dashian traces a description of Varazdat as a new Achilles to the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. It is interesting to note that the incident of Alexander's asking for a feather to bring up his wine at the time of his poisoning appears in Grigor Magistros (Vienna, unpublished manuscript No. 50, p. 154), and is in the Armenian, Syriac, and Leo versions, but appears in neither *A*,*B*,C, or *L*.

[29] *The History of the Arcrowni Dynasty* (*Պատմութիւն Տանն Արծրունեաց*), (St. Petersburg, 1887).

historian, mentions the unknown country "Šaxrik‘" (Ճախրիք) as reminding him of paradise and proceeds with a description of it that coincides with that of a letter of Alexander to his mother. There is also a practically verbatim parallel between the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, page 126, lines 9-16 of the printed text and Arcrowni, page 29, lines 14-19. These similarities, then, in texts which are separated by at least three centuries indicate that the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* had been transmitted with remarkable fidelity to the original translation.

It is interesting also to observe that Arcrowni is not critical of the tales that he recounts; but he interprets the story in a Christian context, a pattern that Kečaroweçi will follow in turn in the thirteenth century.

Arcrowni could serve as the touchstone to test the quality of the surviving Armenian text. However, the real abundance of references to it are found in the fifth-century *History* of Movses Xorenaçi, a fact which not only helps confirm that the surviving text is relatively unchanged but also leads to the probable conclusion that Xorenaçi himself was the translator of the work.[30]

[30] There has been extensive controversy on the dates of Xorenaçi since the early nineteenth century when scholars began to challenge the traditional fifth-century dating. The dispute reached its peak at the turn of this century when there was considerable support for a seventh- or eighth-century dating. The English Armenologist Frederick C. Conybeare with a reversal of his previously held position was among those who led the movement back to the original dating, which is now once again generally accepted. The controversy is discussed in detail by S. Malxasian, *The Armenian History of Movses Xorenaçi* (*Մովսէս Խորենացի Հայոց Պատմութիւն*), (Erevan, 1961), pp. 53-58. Malxasian himself is convinced of the fifth-century dating. F. Feydit writes: "Moïse de Khorène, enfin, que la critique de la fin du siècle dernier s'est efforcée de repousser au VIIIe, voire au IXe siècles, . . . semble bien finalement être, comme il le dit lui-même, un élève de saint Mesrob," *Pazmaveb*, IX-XII (1962), 283-89.

In any case, there is no controversy about the dating of the translation of the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* as even Father Akinian who insists upon a ninth-century dating of Xorenaçi places the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* in the fifth century since Łazar P‘arpeçi used it in his *History* written in 504.

The existence of parallels between the text of Xorenaçi and the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* has long been observed by critics. In 1836, the identical passages in the two works were noted by the editors of the *New Armenian Dictionary*,[31] and picked up and commented upon by Baumgartner,[32] thus surely refuting Gildemeister's statement that the Mechitarists had no reason other than stylistic to date the work in the fifth century.[33]

Dashian cites at length and in detail many correspondences, often verbatim, between Xorenaçi and the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, and concludes that the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* served as a stylistic guide to Xorenaçi and that the copy he used was almost identical with the Kečaroweçi text.

'Thus the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*' description of the episodes at Tyre and Thebes can be compared with Xorenaçi's description of the destruction of Tigranakert.[34] It is remarkable that this passage, one of the finest in Xorenaçi's work, is a verbatim borrowing from the fantastic Romance with those changes only that were essential to the new situation. The similarity of these passages has often been noted and had been suspected even from the days of Magistros.[35]

In the passage on the conquest of Tigranakert, Xorenaçi takes a whole chapter from Callisthenes' description of the siege

[31] *Նոր Հայկազեան Բառագիրք* (Venice, 1836), p. 18.

[32] See above, footnote 16.

[33] In *ZDMG*, XL (1886), 90. It is true that the editor of the 1842 edition relies most heavily on stylistic and linguistic supports for his attribution to Xorenaçi.

[34] Xorenaçi, Bk. III, chs. 26-28; vs. *P-C*, ch. 99.

[35] Gildemeister and Biwzandaci have so noted (Dashian, pp. 56-57); *Pazmaveb* has had two articles on this subject. One is by E. A. Sowk'rian, I (1878) 7-14, showing that Xorenaçi follows the fallacious Callisthenes to the point of parting from historical veracity. F. P. Sargsian, *Pazmaveb*, II (1883) 118-19, tried to show that while similarities are substantial, Xorenaçi has not falsified history. Sargsian suggests that the similarities might be accidental, especally since his text agreed with the history of Arrian, as well as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Dashian insists, however (p. 60), that the cited passages show that although Xorenaçi has made slight changes, the use of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* as his base is undeniable.

of Thebes.[36] As Gildemeister observed,[37] the additions that appear in Xorenaçi and which are also in the Greek must have been in the original Armenian text and have been subsequently lost in copying. To Gildemeister's contention that Xorenaçi has copied the Armenian translation, Dashian thus says it should be added that it was his own translation from which he was copying.

Even the earliest commentators on the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* were inclined to attribute the work to Movses Xorenaçi. Thus the editor of the Venice text,[38] Father Alishan,[39] and Father Sowk'rian,[40] who tried to substantiate the opinion that the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was not only a work of Xorenaçi but one of his major works of translation, and that Xorenaçi, considering his translations as his own works, did not hesitate to draw upon them freely and without acknowledgment for his *History*.

There is likewise considerable uncertainty as to the date of the translation. The theories usually advanced are that it was done before or after his *History*,[41] when he was in Athens,[42] or that the translations were done in a group after the *History*.[43] On a linguistic basis, it even seems possible that it was translated in his youth in Alexandria.[44] Nevertheless, he does remark in the latter part of his *History* that "I am an old man, ill, and busy with my translations."[45]

The sequence of the borrowings from the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* in the works of Xorenaçi may be significant. Although he used it more than twenty times in his *History*, it is noteworthy that he never draws upon it in Book I, scarcely five times in

36 Armenian *P-C*, chs. 126-27, p. 64; Xorenaçi, Bk. III, ch. 28, p. 214.

37 *ZDMG*, XL (1886), 90-91.

38 Introduction, pp. 7-8.

39 *Pazmaveb* (1847), p. 153.

40 *K'nnaser*, II (1887), 29-63.

41 *Pazmaveb*, I (1878), 9.

42 *Pazmaveb*, II (1883), 119.

43 *K'nnaser*, II, 33, which however excepts the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* from this group and dates it prior to the *History*. (See Dashian, pp. 72-84 for discussion).

44 Dashian, p. 73.

45 *Ibid*., p. 72.

Book II, and more than fifteen times in Book III.[46] The quotations from Book II are from early parts of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, while Book III draws from all parts (pp. 3-173) without distinction. Thus it seems logical to Dashian to conclude that Xorenaçi had not translated the Romance at the time of writing the first Book, that at about the time he was working on chapter 13 of Book II he started his translation and began to draw upon it as a historical source, and that he seems to have completed the translation by the beginning of the third Book. On this basis, despite considerable dissension as to the date of the *History*,[47]

[46] This is the way the borrowings appear (Dashian, pp. 73-74, note 1).

	Xorenaçi	*Arm. Pseudo-Callisthenes*
Book I	None	
Book II	33	39
	46	116
	62	31
	63	59
	79	32
Book III	8	51
	17	150
	19	122
	21	262
	26	92
	28	126
	32	58
	40	49
	47	3
	57	203
	58	71
	62	97

[47] There is no point in entering the lengthy disputes among textual critics of Xorenaçi on this subject. Suggested dates are: 480-483, *Handes Amsorea* (*Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ*), I (1887), 11; 486-490, *K'nnaser*, II (1887), 7-28, which dates the *Towkt* of Łazar P'arpeçi, c. 485, although these mention the death of Xorenaçi. It seems that Gildemeister is wrong (*ZDMG* [1886], p. 90) when, on the basis of Xorenaçi's use of the *P-C*, he dates it in the first half of the fifth century. Gutschmied (Encycl. Britt. XVI, p. 862) suggests a date of 634-642 for the *History* and questions its being the work of Xorenaçi. Baumgartner (*ZDMG*, XL [1886],

it seems to Dashian that the latest date for the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* translation should be c. 486.[48]

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY EDITION OF XAČATOWR KEÇAROWEÇI

The thirteenth-century copyist, Keçaroweçi, Xačatowr of the monastery of Keçarowk, says, as we have seen, that although the copy he was working from was choice and old, it was "unskillful" and "corrupted" and adds that by "editing and correcting" it, he has "made a straight path." Yet it seems that the text as a whole is intact. Thus the question arises as to what precisely Keçaroweçi meant by these words.

There are two specific references to his own work; these two appear in only a few manuscripts and most manuscripts have neither. The first is in a Christian poem that is of little interest in the understanding of the text.[49] In the second, Keçaroweçi likens Alexander's deeds to those of Christ and tries to make of him a prototype of Christ. To the end of this poem, he attaches the Notice in which he pleads forgiveness for his audacity in making such a comparison. These remarks appear in the Keçaroweçi group of manuscripts and also those of a subsequent copyist, Zakariah[50] (Զաքարիայ).

Xačatowr Keçaroweçi, on the basis of his own words, was thought to have refashioned and changed the old Armenian text. Yet it has been seen that many extended passages can be traced intact to old authors and that in fact the thirteenth-century

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505-6), says that the work, no doubt Xorenaçi's, dates after the *Geography* but before the *History*. Malxasian, p. 20, states that the *Geography* is now generally held to be the work of Anania Širakaçi (Անանիա Շիրակացի), and dates from the second half of the seventh century.

48 Dashian, p. 76.

49 T'reanç, ed., p. 195, note 2.

50 Of the seventeen Arm. mss. controlled by Dashian, seven have neither piece of Kečaroweçi. Both pieces together appear only in Venice ms. 424.

author never betrays himself through the language of his own time in the body of the text. It seems clear that Keçaroweçi had no intention of rewriting the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and his words should not be so construed.

The words "I worked faithfully at the writing of these words and the composing of these meager things" were meant probably for his own composition, in which he asks to be forgiven for having likened Alexander to Christ. "Meager things" would not refer to a new edition of the romance; and when he adds "I worked faithfully at the writing which I wrote with my own hand," he seems to be stating simply that he had copied the text and that he did not change it because it was "heathen" and "improper," but rather asks forgiveness, for his task was only the "copying of words," even if of a pagan spirit. There is, in Dashian's opinion, no other explanation for the retention in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* of chapters 6, 17, or 26 "improper" parts, if any are; what is more, he composed poems on these parts.

There remain his last words "by editing and correcting" he made "a straight path." He may have had before him an earlier manuscript whose writing and spelling were "faulty" (*անյարմար*) and "corrupted" (*շաղփաղփ*) and these he had "edited and corrected." Finding his copy graceless and verbose, he wanted, by his poetic art (*քերթողօրէն*), to transform it into a "straight path." He did this by writing an epigrammatic poem of his own after each section of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, taking his subject from the text itself. Certainly, Keçaroweçi added the preface and conclusion in which he tries to prove that if the snake of Moses, the trial of Joseph, and the contrition of David were prefigurations of the deeds of Christ, how much more so were the feats of the amazing Alexander. Perhaps this is that "pagan" and "improper" work for which he asks forgiveness.

Keçaroweçi also added a section of didactic poems on the death of Alexander, forms of which appear in all the manuscripts[51] and which the epitomes have in shortened form. These are Alexander's plaint at the time of his sickness, Olympias'

[51] Only 1601 has none. (Dashian, p. 106.)

lament at his death, followed by the lament of Roxiane, his generals, and his soldiers.[52]

These have all been attributed to Keçaroweçi, since in every manuscript they are followed by the remarks that the hearer of these poems should remember their composer, Xaçatowr Keçaroweçi. Yet Dashian[53] remarks that Keçaroweçi's own style and language are too poor to allow these prosopopoeias to be attributed to him. It is significant that Zakariah and Grigoris of Ałt'amar (Գրիգորիս Աղթամարայ), in writing their own poems on the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, after Keçaroweçi, treat the prosopopoeias as an integral part of the original text, and not as a later addition. Moreover, the single source of these laments is the Armenian translation of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. The author of these could be the same as the translator of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

Although certain manuscripts are illustrated on almost every other page, unfamiliarity with the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* is seen in such a remark as that of Sir Wallis Budge,[54] who said, "Among the many peoples of the Near and Far East who have adopted Alexander as a fellow countryman, the Persians alone have attempted to illustrate their versions of his life . . . with pictures." Copies of these illuminations have appeared in Archag Tchobanian's *La Roseraie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918-23); and they have been studied by Ferdinand Macler, *L'Enluminure arménienne profane* (Paris, 1928).

A subsequent copyist of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Zakariah,

[52] Dashian, p. 112, notes that there is a fifth one whose authenticity has been questioned. In it Alexander exhorts his friends to works of charity and virtue. The mss. themselves include it not with the other prosopopoeias, but after the Notice. It seems to Dashian that the author of this work had before him a copy of Aristotle's work on Virtue to King Alexander, which was translated quite late into Armenian. This fifth account appears in Venice mss. 424, 1107, and 1489.

[53] Dashian, pp. 108-11, accepts Keçaroweçi's modest assessment of his own work. For a more recent judgment, see M. T. Avdalbegian, *Xaçatowr Keçareçi* (Erivan, 1958) (in Armenian).

[54] E. A. Budge, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia* (London, 1933), intro., p. 8.

Bishop of Gnunik', was perhaps of the same lineage as Kečaroweçi.[55] From Zakariah's remark that his work was written in Rome and brought to Armenia to be presented to the priest Esayia (Եսայիա), it has been surmised that the reference is to Nçeçi, who lived at the end of the thirteenth century. This is unlikely as it would make Kečaroweçi contemporary to Zakariah, who claimed to be his descendant and eager to renew his glory.[56]

Zakariah is especially proud of his illustrations and from his work comes the inspiration for the paintings that decorate many copies of the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. In certain manuscripts the poems that Zakariah adds to those of Kečaroweçi are indicated by marginal notes, but in others they are mixed together with no identifying notation. Even the notations are but a partial guide, however, as they too may have been miscopied.

Less important than this group of manuscripts are those of the Gregoris of Ałt'amar group. Gregoris was a sixteenth-century Catholicos;[57] from the manuscripts which contain his poems, it is not certain whether he made a new copy of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* or separately wrote poems which were later copied into the manuscript. He seems not to have touched the body of the work.

Dashian[58] has established that all the manuscripts he knew were based upon a lost Kečaroweçi original from which three groups of manuscripts have descended. The first group, which are full-length manuscripts, derives from a copy which was lacking chapters 132, 192, and 283 because of a loss of pages. A second group, the questionable, partially shortened manuscripts, stems from a copy lacking chapter 132. The third group comprises the Epitomes which come from a third copy missing

[55] On Zakariah, see N. Akinian, *Zakariah, Bishop of Gnunik, and his Poetry* (Vienna, 1910) (in Armenian).

[56] Dashian, pp. 124 ff. Akinian, in *Byzantion,* XIII (1938), 202 considers Zakariah Gregoris' pupil and dates him in the sixteenth century.

[57] On Gregoris, see N. Akinian, "Gregoris of Ałt'amar," *Handes Amsorya* (1914), pp. 18-63.

[58] Dashian, pp. 138-83.

chapter 192. Akinian has classified the thirty-two manuscripts known to him and gives the available bibliographical information on each.[59]

It is interesting to note that the questionable copies are sometimes more complete than the regular full-length ones and that the Epitomes, although written in a popular dialect and full of copying errors, often reveal a fidelity to *A* or Valerius greater than that of any surviving full-length copy.

In Venice there are ten manuscripts, seven of which are full length. The best of the full-length copies, which is undated, was used as the base text for the 1842 printing. It is a fine copy by a single copyist and is richly illustrated. It was traditionally accepted to be of the thirteenth century, but Dashian questions this dating as it is definitely of the Kečaroweçi group and is based, like all the full-length copies, on a single post-Kečaroweçi copy. There seems to be little doubt that the translation was made directly from a Greek manuscript in the fifth century. The translator had, in addition to a sound knowledge of the source language, the sensitivity to render the original into pure Armenian.[60] However, the translation dated from the Hellenophile second Mesropian school which tried to adapt Greek stylistic features into the Armenian, and the text often shows the marks of this effort. In addition, certain signs of the Greek original were ineffaceable no matter how careful the translator. Thus, for example, there are many plays on words, which Xorenaçi could not render literally, as indeed could not Valerius. Typical is the one where Alexander conquers Prince Nikolaos in a chariot race and the priest prophesies that as he conquered Nikolaos so too shall he conquer many peoples. The play on the proper name is lost as completely in Armenian as it would be in English.

The Greek stylistic influence may be seen in such non-Armenian constructions as the genitive absolute, the accusative

[59] N. Akinian, in *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 203-5.

[60] Dashian strongly rejects a claim such as Ausfeld's (p. 13) "Mißverständnisse begegen ihm öfter, teils infolge seiner Beschränktheit teils wegen seiner mangelhaften Kenntnis der grieschischen Sprache und der antiken Verhältnisse."

subject of an infinitive, plural subjects and singular verbs where the subject is neuter in the Greek, and in irregularities in the prefixed declensions. Yet these Greek forms were frequent in the Armenian style of the time and could even be found in the pure Mesropian style of the Golden Age.

It is often the custom of the Armenian to render proper names in the traditional Armenian manner, if such exists, thus Areg for πόλις τοῦ ἡλίου, and the gods' names: Anahit for Hera, Mir for Mithra, and the like. Yet in other places the Greek name is maintained often with the case ending.

These considerations do not detract from the fact that the translation, wherever verifiable, is identical to the original. Sometimes Xorenaçi's extreme fidelity to the Greek makes the text unintelligible in the Armenian.[61] But these instances are few, and in general the text is rich in old and essentially Armenian constructions; the English translation has followed, as closely as the archaic syntax and textual corruptions have permitted, the letter of the text.

For purposes of consistency in transliterating the Armenian, the phonetic equivalents of Professor A. Meillet[62] have been used for the purely Armenian names. In cases where a European spelling is already standard, as in the name of Dashian himself or the journal *Pazmaveb*, these spellings have been used. In the body of the text, it became apparent that the Armenian translator of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* had not been consistent or systematic in the choice of Armenian letters to transliterate the Greek. However, the Transliteration Table below was arrived at, which in conjunction with Meillet's system, enabled a rendering of the Armenian names into standard Western equivalents. Thus such spellings as Kleovpatrē (Cleopatra) or Liwsias (Lysius) have been avoided. The Armenian is often extremely inconsistent in the spelling of proper names, confusing declined with nominative forms; in these instances a uniform nominative spelling has been

[61] Such as the riddle of *P*, ch. 45, lines 10-11.

[62] A. Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 8-9.

Armenian	*Meillet*	*English*
ա	ě	a *or* u
աւ	a	au *or* o
է	aw	e *or* ae
իւ	e	y
ղ	ł	l
կ	k	k *or* c
ով	ov	o
ու	ow	ou *or* u
ք	k‘	k *or* kh
քս	k‘s	x

adopted.[63] Where the Armenian has translated the Greek into corresponding but not identical equivalents, as in the names of the gods, the Armenian has been rendered according to Meillet's system and the correspondence noted. In this way, despite the difficulties due to the nonsystematic transliteration of the original translator and subsequent textual corruptions, wherever possible standard Western forms of a proper name have been maintained.

Although there are of necessity references in the notes to the various Greek and Latin versions of the Romance, a comparative study of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* has in no way been attempted. Certain interesting parallels, where a single Armenian paragraph corroborates readings from several different versions, have been cited as evidence of the antiquity of the Armenian and its apparent fidelity to a lost Alpha version more complete than any surviving Greek text of this tradition.

Finally, it should be noted that the Armenian printed text itself is extremely rare and referred to in an early Mechitarist catalog as "rarissime, essendone tirate pochissime copie."[64] There seem to be no copies in the principal libraries of the United States. This one text (Venice ms. 424) has been the basis of Western scholarship on the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and has been regarded as the single most important source for re-

[63] See trans. note, 6.1.

[64] Zacher, p. 85.

establishing the badly corrupt Greek *A* tradition. There is little doubt that a new edition, based on the approximately forty extant Armenian manuscripts and drawing upon the passages surviving in old texts that have been subsequently lost in the Armenian *Pseudo-Callisthenes* would be invaluable for the study of the Greek tradition. Perhaps it is only fitting that obscure Armenian manuscripts should help clarify one day some of the mysteries that surround the origins of the Romance that, centuries after Alexander's death and disappearance, swept forth from the city that he founded to take the legend of the King of Kings into lands he did not dream of conquering and there, beyond the force of time and truth, brought him tribute that no earthly legions could exact.

A HISTORY OF THE GREAT WORLD CONQUEROR, ALEXANDER OF MACEDON

A LIFE OF BRAVERY AND HEROIC DEEDS AND, TOO, A DEATH MARKED WITH MARVELS

AFTER THEY had determined the size of the earth and the 1
sea and counted the stars of the sky, the wise men of the Egyptians imparted to the whole world power, the discovery and disposition of words, and the knowledge of practical skills. For it is said that the last king of Egypt, Nectanebos, after whom the kingdom fell from glory, conquered all men by magic sorcery;[1] even the natural elements obeyed him. For if ever a marauding horde rose against him, he did not work at machines of warfare, stockpile arms, prepare man-killing iron weapons, nor did he proffer any ingenious devices. Rather, he went to his palace alone, took a basin, and, isolating himself, worked this sorcery of the basin.[2] He poured spring water[3] into his basin, and with his hands created ships and men from wax, and set the men upon the ships and put them into the basin; and the men came to life.[4] And he, Nectanebos, took an ebony staff in his hand and by incantation invoked the gods of the earth and the spirits of the sky;[5] and in this fashion, he baptized the ships which were in the basin. As they were being baptized, the ships which were coming against them

by sea from their enemies were destroyed. And because of the masterful magic power of the man, his kingdom was at peace.

2 After much time had passed, certain men, who are called "exploratores"[1] by the Romans and scouts by the Armenians, came to Nectanebos and reported that a horde of soldiers had arrived. For the commander came to him and said: "Great king, set aside the festivities of peace and turn to war, for there is a great assemblage at hand. For not one nation comes upon us but many; the Indians, Kauanians, Koumenians, Oxydarkians, Eberians, Konians, Lelapians, the Bomtyrians, Argives, Azanians, and the Loukhalians,[2] and all the numberless nations that live in the East have reached Egypt with great armies. Recall the two Homeric verses; 'It is not fit nor proper that the wise man, to whom the people and so many cares have been entrusted, remain at sleep the whole night.' "[3]

3 And after the commander said this, Nectanebos smiled awhile and he said; "You spoke as was proper, which is fine; you are faithfully keeping your trust. However, you have spoken timorously and not as a soldier. For strength lies not in numbers but in the compulsion of desire; for one lion has caught many deer, and one wolf has harassed many flocks of sheep. So then, go with the soldiers assembled under your command and stand at your assigned watch; for with one word, I shall sink the barbarous hordes of countless nations in the waves of the sea."

4 Having said this, he dismissed the commander, and got up and went into the palace; and he ordered all those within to leave.[1] When he had isolated himself, he brought in the basin and set it down; and once again he performed the same act. Staring into the basin,[2] he saw the gods of the Egyptians and they were leading the ships of the oncoming enemies from the barbarous nations—he was a man who was accustomed to being among and speaking with the gods magically through his sorcerer's skill.[3] And upon learning that the kingdom of the Egyptians had come to

an end, he filled his belt with much gold and silver and
shaved his hair and his beard. Having disguised himself,
he fled away, without anyone's knowing, through Pel-
lousion; and after traveling through many lands, came to
the Macedonian city of Pella.[4] And clad in flaxen cloth,[5]
he sat there practicing astrology as an Egyptian prophet,
for he was really so skilled.

And when he was found not to be in the city, the Egyptians 5
beseeched their god and asked him what had become of
the king. And he who was god in the underworld of
Sinopos[1] delivered an oracle, speaking in this fashion: "That
king of yours who fled will come again into Egypt, not
having aged but rejuvenated. He will subdue your enemies
the Persians." And when they had been given such an
oracle by their gods, they sought to learn what these utter-
ances could in fact mean. And they wrote them upon the
pedestal beneath the statue of Nectanebos.

And in Macedon, Nectanebos became so famous to all by 6
examining the natural order, that even the queen, Olym-
pias,[1] was to come and question him. For it happened in the
time when Philip had left and gone to war. She ordered
that the man be brought in to her for the examination of
her affairs. And gladly coming in to see Olympias at her
expressed wish, he stood stiffly before the queen without
bowing; for he was pleasure-mad for women. He extended
his hand and said, "Rejoice and be glad, Thou queen of the
Macedonians"—he who was formerly the "Lord" did not
think it fit to say "Lady."[2] And Olympias replied, "My
joyful greetings upon you too, brave one; come, be seated."

And when he had gone and sat down, she said to him: "Are 7
you the learned astrologer, Nectanebos, renowned in every
city? Supposedly those who have interrogated you have
learned every truth from you. By doing what kind of scien-
tific study do you recount the truth?" And he said: "Queen,
many are the researchers' ways[1] of examining; for there are
dream tellers, omen solvers, dream judgers, the seers of
Ammon,[2] basin gazers, birth readers, fortune tellers, fate

tellers, who are called magi, and in their power rest all scientific matters." And having said this, he looked sharply at Olympias for he was smitten with lustful desire. Olympias, the queen, said, "Why did you stand stiffly upon seeing me?" He answered: "Royal lady, I remembered the oracle once made by my gods that I am to consult with a queen and investigate her affairs; and what I learned from their responses is true. So now, say what you wish."

8 And taking his hand out from beneath (his garment), he showed a tablet which no word nor effort can describe; for it was made of gold and ivory and showed seven stars: the ethereal astrologer, Aramazd, a sun of icy crystal, a moon of amaranthine, an Ares of hematite, an emerald Hermes, an Aphrodite of sapphire, and a Kronos of serpentine. And the horoscope was made of white marble.[1]

9 Olympias was amazed at the complex object and at the beautiful appearance of the stars. She came close to him and sat down and ordered all who were within to go out. She said to him: "Examine my birth and Philip's; for it is rumored that when he comes back from war, he is going to put me aside and take another wife." And he told her, "Set down your and Philip's birth sign." And she asked, "What is this you are doing?" Nectanebos set down also his own birth sign next to Olympias' and making his examination, said: "The rumor you have heard is not false. Yes, that is in fact destined for you. But as an Egyptian prophet, I am able to help you, so that you will not be put aside by him; and, even if you are, you shall find the one who shall avenge you." And Olympias said, "Is that true?" And he replied: "According to what you have presented me, you are destined to mate with an earthly god and to conceive from him; and after conceiving, to give birth and to nurse, and to have this (child) as your avenger of the wrongs which will come to you from Philip." "With which god?" asked Olympias, and he replied, "With the god of the Lybians, Ammon." Olympias went on, "How tall is he, is he young or middle-aged, and what is his physi-

cal appearance?" And he said: "He is white haired and has the horns of a ram above his jaws. Now then prepare yourself as a queen and a woman, for you shall see a dream concerning this and the god mated with you." And Olympias replied, "If I see the dream, I shall revere you not as a man but as a god."[1]

Nectanebos went forth from the palace and quickly picked 10
and gathered a plant which he knew suitable for provoking dreams. And having rapidly done this, he made a female body of wax and wrote on the figure Olympias' name. Then he made a bed[1] of wax and put on it the statue he had made of Olympias. He lit a fire and poured thereon the broth of the plant, saying over it the vows suited for these doings, until the spirits appeared to Olympias; for he saw, from the signs there, Ammon united with her. And he rose and said, "My lady, you have conceived from me a boy child who shall be your avenger."

And when Olympias awoke from her sleep, she was amazed 11
at the learned diviner, and she said: "I saw the dream and the god that you told me about, and now I wish to be united with him. Now let this be your concern; you should notify me at whatever hour he would mate with me, so that I might be found most ready for the bridegroom." And he said: "First of all, my lady, what you saw was a dream; but that very one who was the god in the dream is coming to unite with you. Allow me to sleep near you in the room, so that you be not afraid when the god is upon you."

And she said: "You have spoken wisely, Prophet. I shall 12
give you access[1] to my room; and if I experience the mating and conceive, I shall greatly honor you as an infallible seer, and I shall receive you as though you were father of the child." Nectanebos said: "The first harbinger of the god who is coming to you is this: when you go inside and sit in your room, you shall see a serpent come slithering to you. You are to order those who are there to leave. Do not extinguish the light of the lamps, go and recline on

your couch and cover your face. Once again you shall see the god whom you saw come to you in your dreams." Having thus spoken, he left.

13 And immediately she gave him another room there close to her chamber. And he prepared the softest fleece of a ram together with the horns from its head, and a staff and a white robe. And he made a serpent, and he made it soft and limp; and it slithered out of his hands. All of a sudden he set the serpent loose and it entered Olympias' bedroom. And when she saw it, she was not afraid, for she had been expecting it. And she bid those who were there to go away, each to his own place. And she reclined on the bed and covered her face; only out of the corner of her eye did she see him assuming the appearance which she saw in the dream. And he put aside the date-tree wood staff, got up onto the bed and turned Olympias toward him and mated with her. Then he put his right hand upon her side and said: "Invincible and indomitable child. Long may you live, my lady, for you are pregnant with a boy child who shall be your avenger and become world conquering king[1] of the whole civilized universe." And having said this, he took his staff and left the room; and he hid the things he had.

14 And when it was morning, Olympias arose and came to Nectanebos' room. Awakening, he asked: "My lady, what is it? Tell me; did your dream come true?" Olympias replied, "Your words came true." And he said, "I rejoice with you, my lady." And Olympias asked: "Now is he not again to come to me? I await as a wife his coming and mating with me; for I received him with loving desire, Prophet. But I am surprised if this happened without your knowing, and you were not aware of it." And he rejoiced for he was loved by the queen. He said: "Listen, Olympias, I am the prophet of this god. If you will let me sleep here so that no one is disturbed or upset, I shall do the customary ablution for him and he will come to you." And Olympias said, "Let your will be done hereafter." And she said to her doorkeepers, "Give him the key to that room." And

when he acted, he did so secretly; and indeed he came to her as many times as Olympias desired that he come to her. Ahead of time, she let her wishes be known through the prophet, and he, as was his custom, mated with Olympias, giving the illusion that he was Ammon.

Her stomach was swelling, and she asked, "Prophet, what 15
shall I do if Philip comes and finds me pregnant?" And he said: "Be not afraid, my lady, for the god Ammon is helping you in this matter; he will come to him in a dream, and inform him of what was destined to happen. And you are to be unreproached and unpunished by him." Now depraved Olympias carried on in this fashion, revealing her true nature through the force of magic.

And Nectanebos made a sea falcon and bewitched it. And 16
as quickly as he wished, he saw Philip in his dreams. And exercising his magic on the falcon, he spoke, and caused the falcon to fly. And having flown over land and sea, in two days and two nights it reached the place where Philip was (and spoke to him in a) dream (as he had been taught by Nectanebos. Upon seeing the dream),[1] Philip woke up troubled; and he summoned Babylonios,[2] the reader of dreams, and said to him: "I saw, in a dream, a handsome white-haired god with the horns of a ram in his beard above his jaws. And he came in the night to my wife Olympias and lay with her. And upon rising, he said to her, 'You have conceived from me a boy child who shall fructify you and shall avenge his father's death.' And I seemed to patch up the womb of my wife with papyrus and to seal it with my seal. And the ring was of gold and the insignia, sunlike, with the head of a lion[3] and a lance. And this is what I thought I had done when the falcon came to me and awoke me from my sleep with his wings and gave no sign."

The dream reader said to him: "The dream that you saw is 17
true, since your sealing the womb of your wife is a proof-laden oracle. For the seal is proof, indicating that your wife has become pregnant, for no one seals an empty vessel but rather a full and loaded one; and this, with papyrus. Since

papyrus is found nowhere else but in Egypt, the man is Egyptian. And the seed is not vile but distinguished and glorious and radiant, especially because of the gold; for what is more glorious than gold, with which the gods are honored. And as the seal showed the sun and had a head of a lion and lances, he who is begotten shall reach as far as the East, and act in every matter just as he pleases according to his desires, like a lion. And he shall spear down peoples and cities on account of the spear that is in the dream. As for your seeing the horned hoary god, he was the god of the Libyans, Ammon."

18 When the interpreter of dreams had finished this explanation, Philip did not docilely hear of the pregnancy of his wife, even though he knew it was by the gods.[1] And having won the war, he rushed back to Macedon. Meanwhile, Olympias was afraid, and Nectanebos comforted her.

19 And when Philip returned and went to the queen, Olympias came to him, but, on account of the above happenings, not confidently. Upon seeing her troubled, Philip said: "My lady, you are not the cause of these things, for others are to blame; and what happened was pointed out to me in a dream so that you might be innocent and blameless. For we kings are able to do all things, but we can do nothing against the gods. For you were not smitten by any common vulgar man; nor was anyone cheaply covetous of your beauteous form; rather, it was the gods, who are all powerful." By having said this, he sent Olympias away in a happy frame of mind. And she was grateful to the forewarning prophet. And thereafter Philip was with Olympias.

20 Meanwhile Nectanebos was there in the palace, but did not appear to anyone since he did not wish to. But he heard Philip saying, "You were not made pregnant by the gods, but, in fact, were smitten by someone else whom I shall send forth from this life with pitiless tortures if he falls into my hands." And Nectanebos heard what was being said.

21 And while they were celebrating the king's return, only the

king was sad, because of his wife's becoming pregnant. And while the crowd was in merriment, Nectanebos transformed himself into the form of a serpent much bigger than the first. He passed through the palace breathing so fiercely that even the foundations quivered. And those who saw him fled away, startled and shaken by fear. Olympias recognizing her bridegroom was stunned and raised her right hand from her lap and extended it. And he circled the room, and then came to Olympias' knees, and flicked out his double-forked tongue and kissed her. The serpent thus, with positive proof, showed the spectators his loving embrace. But Philip was both frightened and amazed, and revealed his unawareness of its coming. And since Nectanebos did not wish to be seen too much by the audience, he transformed himself from the serpent into an eagle and flew away from there. As to where he went, it is unnecessary for me to say.[1]

But Philip had been terribly frightened. When he regained 22
his composure, he said: "My lady, as sure proof, I saw the god come to help you in your peril. But, as to who the god was, I did not know, for he showed us the forms of Aramazd and of Ammon." Olympias said, "As he revealed himself to me at the time of mating with me, he is Ammon, the god of all the Libyans." And when the king heard this, he considered himself blessed for "I am destined," he said, "to be the father of a child of a god."

And a few days later, Philip had gone and sat in a grove in 23
the palace where there were many birds feeding. Suddenly, while he was busy with important affairs, a bird came and laid an egg on his lap and flew away. And the egg rolled from his lap to the ground and broke open. From it a little serpent came forth and circled it many times. Then, wanting to go back into the egg from which it emerged, it struck its head on the way in and died instantly.

And since Philip was much[1] troubled, he sent for Anti- 24
phonta,[2] who was a celebrated omen teller of that time. And he told him the omen that had occurred: the bird, the

egg, the serpent, its circling, its death. And Antiphonta, because special information had been inspired in him by the will of the god, said: "O King, you will have a son who, having traversed the whole world, shall subdue everyone by his strength and shall be subdued by no one; and while returning to his country, he shall die, having lived but for a short time. For the serpent is a royal animal, and the egg from which the serpent emerged, like the whole world. And when it had encircled the world and wanted to enter again the place from which it had emerged, it failed to do so and died." The man interpreted the omen in this fashion and related it to him; and upon receiving presents from Philip, he departed.

25 And when the fixed birth span of nine months for the completion of the pregnancy had come to an end, Olympias went and sat on the child-bearing throne to give birth. And Nectanebos stood close by, measuring the heavenly position of the stars. And by directing the disturbed natural elements by his own power, he learned that the time was not right[1] and he said: "Control and restrain yourself, my lady, for the present time and be like the person who gave you birth. For if you give birth now, your offspring will be born in servitude or as a slave to others."

26 When the woman was again impatient about having the child, for her many pains were unbearable, Nectanebos said, "Be patient a little longer, Queen, for if you give birth now, your offspring will be castrated or deformed."[1] And Nectanebos comforted the woman with consoling words; and he put his hand on her natural passageways and learned what was needed. And Nectanebos, with his power, prevented the birth. He looked again into the heavenly stars at the position of the natural elements, and he recognized that the whole universe was in harmony and that Kronos had come into the middle of the sky. He saw a bolt of lightning in the sky at noon, caused by the power of the sun; and he said to Olympias, "Give forth the cry of childbirth." And he himself delivered her child and said, "If you

give birth now, O Queen, the one you bear is a world conqueror." And Olympias cried out louder than a bull and gave birth to a boy child.

And when the boy fell to earth, there was an earthquake 27
and thundering; and frequent lightning flashes appeared on the earth, while nearly the whole world trembled. And Philip said: "I do not wish to rear that one, my lady, for he is not my offspring. But since I see that your seed is from the gods and that your birthgiving was accompanied by the omen of elemental occurrences, I shall rear him in the memory of my child who died, the one who had been born to me from my first wife; and he shall be called Alexander." Because Philip spoke in this fashion, the child received proper care; and there were crowning festivities throughout Macedon, Pella, Thrace, and throughout the nations.

And so as not to linger very long on the matters which 28
concern the rearing of Alexander, I shall start from the beginning to tell of the attentions he received. For when he was weaned and developed in size and shape, he did not resemble in the least Philip and Olympias, and not even his father; but rather, he developed features of a singular type. For he had the hair of a lion and one eye was blue; the right one was heavy lidded and black, and the left one was blue; and his teeth were as sharp as fangs, and he looked upon a defensive attack the same as a lion would. And his personality very clearly indicated what the boy would be like.[1] And in time he grew up and tried his wings at learning and at ruling.

His governess was Lakrine,[1] the Celt, sister of Melanos; 29
and his pedagogue and tutor was Leuonides, the Lakonian. The teacher of songs, Polinicos; and of music, Leucippos, the Lemnian; of geometry, Menechmos, the Peloponnesian; of rhetoric, Anaximenos Aristocles, the Lamphsakenian[2]; and of philosophy, Aristotle of Nicomitachos, the Stagirite[3] from the city of Meliteos. But Paphovranos mentioned these matters in the fourth book of his all-encompassing learned histories.[4]

30 And Alexander became learned in every matter and trained himself so well, as I said before, that it became clearly evident that he was being taught by some divinity. When he was free from tutorial counseling, from time to time he umpired his fellow students. And when he saw a team being defeated, he joined in the battle, and then, in turn, it was victorious. Thus it was clear that the victory was of his doing.

31 And at that time, the stablers came[1] and brought to Philip from his stables a huge, powerful horse.[2] And they brought it and stood it before him and addressed him in this fashion. "Lord King, we found this (creature), who is more beautiful and faster than Pegasus[3] or than Arion, born in your stables, and we have brought him from Lamomentios and we offer him to you." He was very surprised at seeing such great beauty and size, and said, "I swear by my salvation that he is beautiful."[4] "However, Lord," they said, "he is a man-eater." And he observed: "It is true that such things have happened among the Hellenes.[5] For he received a nature that was disposed to good and evil. Now since he has become evil, take him away and shut him up in a cell; bridle him[6] and imprison him so that we may throw before him anyone who, captured for a crime or a murder, falls under the laws of punishment." Once the king had spoken, the action was faster than the words.

32 Meanwhile, Alexander was growing and maturing. When he was twelve years old, he began to work with his father. He armed himself and went forth with the troops, and he liked to ride on horseback. And he saw that Philip was not on good terms with Olympias. Olympias had called Nectanebos to her and said, "Find out what Philip is thinking about me." When he had investigated, he came and sat down with her. And Alexander asked, "Father, are those heavenly stars which you are now talking about visible?" "Surely, son," he replied. "Can I, too, see them?" and he said, "You may, son."

33 And when it was night, he took the child out of the city,

and looked up into the sky and showed Alexander the stars. And Alexander seized him and took and threw him down into a pit. And he suffered severe blows on the neck in falling, and he said, "Alexander, my child, why did you want to do that?" And he replied, "Blame yourself, Astrologer." And he asked, "Why?" "For," he replied, "while not knowing the earth, you seek to study the affairs of the heavens." And he said: "I am dying, Alexander, for I suffered grievous harm in falling. But nothing and no mortal person can conquer fate." And the child asked, "Why?" And he replied: "I know how they had apportioned my life,[1] for it was written that I was to be slain by my son. And I was not able to escape this lot, but have been slain by you." And Alexander asked, "Am I then your child?" And he replied, "Indeed." "Really?" asked Alexander. "That is true," replied Nectanebos; and thus he told him of the flight from Egypt, the coming to Olympias, the inquiry into the stars, his desire, and how "I went to her as my god and I mated with her." Saying this, Nectanebos spat forth his spirit.

And upon learning that it was his father who had died, 34
Alexander was afraid to leave him in the pit lest he be eaten by wild beasts, for it was night and the place was desolate. Moved by compassion and pity for his sire,[1] he lifted him tenderly and bore him nobly on his shoulders within the gates. And coming before his mother, he told her everything that he had heard from the astrologer-magician. And Olympias was astonished and amazed; and she reproached herself, for, misled by deceptive and ingenious magic, she had committed adultery. Then she buried him, that very Nectanebos, as befitted the father of her child. She prepared a grave, and put him there.

It is astonishing to consider the destiny of Nectanebos. For 35
the Egyptian came to Macedon and was shrouded and buried in the Greek fashion. While Alexander, who was Macedonian, came to Egypt and had a native burial befitting a god.[1]

36 Meanwhile, after Philip had returned to his land and entered his palace, he sent to Delphi to get an oracle as to who would rule after him. And the oracle of Delphi, after drinking from the Castelian river of the underworld, spoke to him thus: "Philip, he who mounts the bullheaded horse and rides through Hellas[1] shall rule over the whole world and subdue all men with his spear." And that horse was called bullheaded because he had on his thigh an unusual scar which had the shape of a steer. And when the king heard the oracle, he was ever watching for a new Heracles.

37 And Alexander educated himself only with Aristotle, the Stagirite.[1] And as there were many children at Aristotle's for their education, and of these many were the sons of kings, the philosopher said to one of them, "If you inherit your father's kingdom, what will you give your teacher?" And he replied, "You shall live with me; and I shall appoint you co-ruler of my glorious kingdom." And he asked another, "And you, son, what will you do?" And he said, "I shall make you my administrator, and I shall appoint you advisor of matters to be judged by me." Questioning Alexander, he said, "If you rule the fatherland of the Macedonians, what will you do?" And he was silent a long while; then he looked at his teacher and said: "When you have no assurance of tomorrow, do you really seek to learn what is to be? Then shall I give what I shall pick and choose when Providence above decrees the time, hour and promise to be given." And when Aristotle heard this, he said to Alexander, "Hail, world conqueror, for you are destined to be a great emperor."

38 And now Alexander was loved by all as a keen-witted, intelligent, and gifted warrior. But Philip was of two minds. For he rejoiced in seeing such a warring spirit in his son, but was saddened at seeing that he did not look like him. Meanwhile Alexander distributed as gifts to others many things which he had been sent by his father.

39 And Zeuxis wrote a letter which said: "Greetings to Philip and Olympias, my lords; and information from your serv-

ant, Zeuxis, as to what Alexander is doing. What you are sending him is not adequate because he gives away so many gifts. Now you judge and decide what you deem proper to send me. I bid you farewell."

And they, in turn, wrote to Aristotle, his teacher, a letter 40
which went thus: "Philip and Olympias greet Aristotle, the teacher. Zeuxis, whom we have charged with the care of this boy, notified us that whatever we send to you is not sufficient for Alexander because he wants to give away many gifts. Now that you have found out about it,[1] set things right and notify us."

In answer, the philosopher wrote a letter that went like 41
this: "Aristotle, the teacher, greets Philip and Olympias. I do not think that it is I who advise your son to act in a manner foreign to his own and my and your customs. For I hear about and see his wisdom in acting with critical discernment; and he is able to judge and choose not as a youth but as an experienced man. Now do what you want to. Farewell."

And when they read this, they sent the following letter to 42
Zeuxis. "Philip and Olympias greet our dear Zeuxis. We sent Aristotle, the teacher, the letter you wrote us, so that when you receive this answer of his, you might try to set things right. Farewell."

Meanwhile, Aristotle was vexed and wrote reprovingly in 43
this fashion: "Aristotle greets his son, Alexander. Your parents wrote me that the allowance sent you by them is not sufficient for you, who, I think, would do nothing outside your own or my or your parents' wishes. Farewell, sweet child."

In return, Alexander wrote thus: "Alexander greets you, 44
my greatly gifted teacher, Aristotle. Know, father, that my allowance sent by my parents is unsuitable; however, it was right and proper to get angry upon hearing such things about their child. But now they have wronged me.[1] Farewell."

And likewise, his parents wrote Alexander a letter that let 45

him know about their wishes; and it went thus: "Philip and Olympias greet their son, Alexander. Take into consideration the honor of Philip and Olympias and do not scorn and reject the set allowance we send you, and do not scorn Aristotle's letter either. Instead, behave as befits you, and bear in mind other good thoughts. Farewell for us, dear and wise son."

46 In answer, Alexander wrote them a letter which gave them *the following information.* "Alexander greets Philip and Olympias. My fixed allowance, which you gave me through Zeuxis, is not worthy of Alexander, nor as befits Philip and Olympias to dispense. I do in fact bear in mind the counsel of my teacher, Aristotle, and I esteem that educator; but I reproach you for readily lending an ear to others, who are frequently depraved men and charlatans, yet remaining silent about such other matters which are natural obligations toward children, such as pertain to showing solicitude and care that would benefit me. I sincerely bid you farewell."

47 And when Alexander reached fourteen years of age, he happened to pass the place where the bullheaded horse was put away in a cell. He heard terrible neighing, and turning aside, Philip's son said: "What is this noise? Is it the neighing of a horse or the cry of a lion? Ptlomeos, who was *afterwards called the Savior, was following him and he* said, "Lord, this is the bullheaded horse which your father locked up and shut away for it is a man-eater." When the horse heard Alexander's voice, he neighed a second time, not a terrible and frightening outcry, but sweet, pleasant, and gentle. It seems to me the bullheaded horse was commanded by a god to act thus with Alexander. His whole mien was calm and clear as he started forward; and how gentle was the suppliant manner he showed his master.

48 And when Alexander saw his new mien, and noticed the traces of the many men who had been put to death, he, as a man, felt pity. And he elbowed aside the guards and opened the grated doors of the cage. Trusting in his ances-

try, he grabbed the halter of the horse and subdued him by
physical strength rather than by luck, and he mounted him
without a bridle. And immediately, someone ran off and
recounted this to Philip. And he, recalling and remember-
ing what had happened concerning this, went forth to
meet his son. And he greeted him, saying, "Hail, Alexan-
der, conqueror of the world." And Philip remained cheer-
ful and happy in the secret and hidden hope for his son.
And one day when Alexander was fifteen years old, he 49
found his father at leisure, and he embraced him and said,
"Father, I beg you to permit me to go by boat to Pisa."[1]
Philip asked, "Do you wish to see the Olympic contest?"
The youth replied, "No, father; I want to take part in the
contest." He questioned: "And in what sport have you
been trained so that you would try to do it? For I know
that as the son of a king, you know nothing more than to
take part in the war-horse exercises. You do not know how
to fight nor wrestle, nor any other discipline." Alexander
replied, "I wish to drive a chariot, father." He said: "I
shall see; let horses from my stables be prepared for you
and let them be brought immediately to you, and you con-
cern yourself in a praiseworthy fashion with the care of
training them." He replied: "Just give me permission to
go. I have my own horse which I have trained from the
time he was young and I have raised him for myself." And
he embraced him and was amazed at his eagerness; and he
said, "Son, if you so wish, go."
And when he heard that he was going, he took the re- 50
sponsibility upon himself of ordering that a brand new ship
be prepared and that the horses and chariots be put aboard.
And sailing with Hephestion, his friend, he easily reached
Pisa.[1] And he went out and took lodgings after ordering the
servants to exercise the horses frequently and to work them
hard. And he went off to stroll with Hephestion. And
he happened upon a man whose name was Nikolaos. 51
He was a man of perfect stature, the king of the Akarna-
nians; and he was inflamed with the greatness of his pos-

sessions and with his good luck, two wavering gods; and he put his trust in bodily strength. He approached Alexander and greeted him at once, saying, "Greetings and welcome, young man." And he replied, "Greetings to you, too, whoever you are and from wherever you may be." And he asked: "To whom indeed do you think you are talking? My name is Nikolaos, king of the Akarnanians." And Alexander said: "Don't be so arrogant, Nikolaos, about the glory of your kingship, nor deem ephemeral things sufficient. For good luck does not come and stand firm in one place; but the tides of change shift always, and we have to accept strange things." And the other said to him: "You said that very nicely. But why have you come here? For I recognize that you are the son of Philip of Macedon." And he replied, "I have not come here to participate in the horse-riding contest, for I am still a boy; and not in the two-horsed chariots and in no other such contest." "Then," asked Nikolaos, "what do you want?" "I wish to drive a chariot." Nikolaos, bilious with rage, scorned his size not knowing the mettle of his spirit. He spat at him and said, "May no good come to you, nasty[1] little boy." And since he was well counseled and disciplined, he patiently refrained from an instinctive act and wiped off the saliva he had received from the enemy. And giving him a deadly smile, he said: "Nikolaos, I swear to you by my foolish father and the wonderful womb of the mother who bore me[2] that I shall conquer you here with the chariot and, in the land of the Akarnanians, I shall devastate you with my spear." And they parted from one another, with spirits heated for battle.

52 And a few days later came the time set for the contest. Nine charioteers entered, of whom four were sons of kings: that very same Nikolaos, Xanthias, the Boeotian, Kimon the Corinthian, and Alexander himself. The others were sons of generals and of satraps. The urn was placed; the trumpeters present apportioned the lots. First came Nikolaos; second, Xanthias; third, Kimon the Corinthian; fourth,

Klitomachos, the Balkan; fifth, Aristippos, the Olynthian; sixth, Pieros, the Phokoean; seventh, Kimon the Laconian; eighth, Alexander, the Macedonian; ninth, Nicomachos, the Lokrian. They took their positions on the race track, each upon his chariot.

The trumpet sounded the call to contest. The gate was opened. They all rushed forth, and with a fearful charge sped through the first lap, the second, the third, and the fourth. And when the horses had been readied and had taken their positions, Alexander was the fourth charioteer. Behind him was Nikolaos, who was not thinking so much of winning as of slaying Alexander, for the father of Nikolaos had been killed in war by Philip. 53

Since keen-witted Alexander knew this, when those riding ahead fell to the ground, Alexander let Nikolaos pass ahead; and, not realizing the cunning trap, he gladly passed in front thinking he was to be crowned victor. And he stayed ahead for two laps at which point Nikolaos' right horse stumbled and the whole chariot, together with the charioteer, collapsed in a heap. And Alexander savagely attacked him with the charge of his horses, and Nikolaos perished. Alexander continued on. And there was a saying about his dying that goes thus: He who plots evil for another does it to himself; and a bad thought is very bad for the thinker.[1] 54

And after Alexander had triumphed, he went to Olympian Aramazd to be crowned with a crown made of a wild olive[1] bough. And the guardian of the shrine of Aramazd said to him: "Olympian Aramazd first of all tells you this, Alexander: that just as you conquered Nikolaos, so shall you conquer many people by war."[2] 55

And thus, after Alexander had slain Nikolaos and had received a crown and superb honors worthy of a god, the conqueror went on to Macedon. He found his mother cast out by Philip; for he had taken in marriage as his wife his sister, Cleopatra, the daughter of Attanos.[1] 56

And on the very same day that the wedding celebrations 57

were taking place, he entered the dining hall with the Olympian crown on his head and said: "Father, accept my first crown of victory. And when I give my mother as bride to some king, I shall call you to Olympias' wedding." Having said this, he went and sat before the king. But Philip was disturbed over the words that had been spoken. And a certain man named Lysius, who was a parasite of Philip's, a dinner clown, a jester, was sitting there, and he said to Philip: "Now that your and Cleopatra your wife's wedding is taking place, may you who are mighty in all cities have from her truly legitimate sons similar to you in appearance."

58 And when Alexander heard this, he became angry; and he threw the goblet that he was holding and struck the buffoon's head and slew him. Seeing this, Philip stood up armed with a sword, and leaped at Alexander. But he struck his foot and stumbled upon the couch. When Alexander saw this, he remarked that he who had sped to take Asia and had captured all of Europe was not able to jump over the couch. Saying this, he snatched the sword away from his father and almost mortally wounded all those sitting there.

59 And before you, were to be seen the battles of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and the things that happened because of the wedding of Perithias.[1] For some of them crawled under the throne; and some danced[2] with tables as though they were weapons; and others headed into dark places and fell. And there was a new Odysseus to be seen there as he went forth slaying Penelope's lovers; and he took his mother, whom he had avenged for the wedding festivities, inside; and his soldiers lifted Philip and lay him on the royal couch, performing their final duties.[3]

60 And days later, Alexander went in to him and sitting near him said: "Philip, I shall call you by your name lest it seem hard for you to be called father by me; for I have come to you not as your son, but as a friend to intercede in these things you have done. Now tell me this: Did Alexander do

right in slaying Lysius for his unseemly words? And did you act rightly in attacking your own son, Alexander, and wanting to kill him? And also, in wanting to take another to wife, even though you were denied nothing by your former wife, Olympias? Now stand up and behave like yourself; for I know why you are feigning sickness. You are suffering not physically but spiritually for your sins. Now I beseech you to reconcile Olympias with you. I know that she will be persuaded for her son Alexander's sake, although you do not wish to be called his father." He said this and left.

61 And he came to his mother, Olympias, and said: "Mother, do not be angry about what your husband has done to you; for your own faults are hidden to him, and I am the son of an Egyptian father. Now go to him and entreat him to be reconciled with you, for it is proper that the wife obey the husband." Having said this, he raised his mother to her feet, took her by the hand, and led her to Philip, and said: "Turn this way; now I shall call you father, for you conceded to your son, Alexander. Now I have come here; and you have accepted my many entreaties to come to you and to forget faults. Now embrace one another. Nothing is shameful for you in front of me, for I am your offspring." Speaking thus, he reconciled his parents, while all the Macedonians marveled over him.

62 And people who want to get married invoke Lysius' name; and they do not remember that by naming him they, whose marriage is taking place, may be separated because of the slaying of Lysius.[1]

CONCERNING THE SUBJUGATION OF MOTHONE TO HIS FATHER

63 There was a city named Mothone that had revolted from King Philip.[1] Alexander's father sent him with his armies to make war upon them. And when he arrived at that place, he persuaded them, with the wisdom of his words, to heed and to submit, rather than be enslaved by the force of arms.

64 When he returned from the city of Mothone to his father and saw before him men in barbarian clothing, he inquired, "Who are these men?" And they said, "They are the satraps of Darius." Alexander asked, "Why have they come here?" And they replied, "They are demanding the customary tribute from your father." "From whom were they sent here?" asked Alexander; and they replied, "From the king of the Persians, Darius." Alexander continued, "Why do they demand tribute?" They answered and said, "For the lands of Darius." And Alexander said: "The gods grant mankind these things as gifts to provide them food; and he is putting the gifts of the gods under tribute; it is not right that Philip give tribute to the barbarians."

65 And since he himself wished to make the Hellenes subservient to his command,[1] he called the barbarians and said: "Go tell Darius that Alexander, the son of Philip, says this: that when my father was childless, he paid you tribute. But now that he has his son Alexander, he no longer gives you tribute. And furthermore, I shall not leave you the tribute which you have taken from him, but am coming to demand it from you and bring it back." So speaking, he dismissed the messengers. And he did not deem him who sent them worthy of a letter. And his father rejoiced upon seeing Alexander acting so boldly.

66 And when once again another Thracian city became disorderly and revolted, Philip sent Alexander with great forces to make war upon it.[1]

67 And there was a Thessalonian nobleman by the name of Pausianos, who had a large personal army and huge wealth. This man lusted for Olympias, and secretly sent men who could gain her trust so that he might persuade Olympias to leave Philip and become his wife. But Olympias did not agree to do this. And Pausianos made the following plan upon learning that Alexander was going to war and that there was a concert of performers of all kinds of artistic songs taking place and that Philip was at the concert. Pausianos, bared sword in hand, entered the theater with other

brave men, intent on killing Philip so that he might abduct Olympias. And with his sword he struck at Philip's side, and he struck him hard, but he did not die. There was a huge crowd in the theater, and Pausianos rushed to the palace with the intention of abducting Olympias.[1]

Meanwhile, on the same day, Alexander, having won the war, came and entered the city and saw a big commotion. He asked the reason for it, and they recounted what had happened and that Pausianos was in the palace with Olympias. He had the soldiers force back the doors, and he saw Olympias being embraced. He had Pausianos trapped and wanted to hurl his iron lance at him, but was afraid that he might strike his mother. And Olympias said, "Throw your lance, my son, for Ammon sustains me." And Alexander threw it and struck and mortally wounded[1] Pausianos. And when he found out that there was still life in his father, he asked, "What do you desire?" And he said, "Bring him to me." And he took his sword and put it in his father's hand; and he took the sword and slew Pausianos. 68

And Philip said: "Son, I do not grieve that I am dying, for I have been avenged; and I myself slew my enemy. Truthfully, then, did Ammon say to your mother, 'You have in your womb a male child who shall fructify you and shall avenge his father's death.' " And saying this, Philip immediately gave up the ghost. But he had slain his enemy too. Philip was left with his crown,[1] and Olympias took him and buried him. And all Macedon shared in her sorrow and mourned him. 69

And, after the slaying of Pausianos, when peace ruled the city, Alexander climbed up on the statue of his father Philip, and proclaimed loudly: "Sons of the Pellians and of the Macedonians; of the Thetalians, and of the Thracians;[1] of the Hellenes, and of the Amphiktionians; of the Lacedemonians, and of the Corinthians; and of the other Hellenic cities: Come with me; entrust yourselves to Alexander. Let us invade the barbarian nations and free ourselves from servitude to the Persians, for we Hellenes are not going to 70

serve the Persians." Since this was his intention, he sent a written decree to the cities.

71 And all men in the flower of youth assembled together, and all came to Macedon of their own will, as if invited by a god-sent voice. And Alexander opened his father's storerooms and gave weapons to the youths. And he summoned to battle the men who had fought with Philip. Since they were old, they said to Alexander: "We are feeble with age, and have borne arms under your father. There is no more strength left in our bodies to withstand enemy attacks. For this reason, we give you our resignation from the army."

72 Alexander answered this by saying: "Indeed, I shall make you soldiers all the more, even though you are old men. For it is in the nature of things that old age is very much more powerful than youth. For youth trusts in and vaunts the strength of the body, and many times misses what it wishes to attain, and is cruelly betrayed into danger. But an old man first of all carefully considers what he wishes to attain and, victorious through his good counsel, is freed from danger. Thus you shall soldier with us not by opposing the enemy but rather by encouraging the youth to fight bravely, for encouragement benefits both parties. Now then, go, fortify and strengthen that army with your advice. For in battle it is very clear that you know that the victory you bring the city is your salvation too. In the event of defeat, the attacking enemy would come upon good-for-nothing youth; while upon the triumph of the victors, recognition for glory would be given the advisers." Alexander spoke thus and persuaded even those who were greatly over age to follow him.

73 And, having collected the original forces of Philip, Alexander counted and found 25,000 men in the Macedonian infantry, 2,700 mounted Macedonians, and also an auxiliary of 800. And counting these together with the men he had with him, he found 74,600 altogether, including these 25,000 and an auxiliary of 8,700; and 7,600 Thracians, Plinthians, and Scythians, with whom he filled the need for

scouts. And taking all the soldiers there, of which he had 71,600, including these and the soldiers which he had from his father, he went to Macedonia.[1] And he took 41,860 talents of gold and outfitted ships and galleys for war.

And having traversed Macedon and Lake Magon[1] and the upper region of Thrace, which was completely submissive to him because of his father Philip's strength, he collected choice men there and 500 silver talents. He passed on to Likauonia and offered sacrifices with the generals there. Then he went on to Sicily and subdued some people who were rebelling against him. He then went on to the land of Italy. 74

And the generals of the Romans sent their representative, Marcus Emmelius, with the crown of Capitoline Aramazd,[1] made of gold and pearls, to say to him: "We, too, following Alexander's custom, crown you with this golden crown worth 100 liters." And when he had received their favors, he promised that, with his power, he would make them great men. And he took 1,000 soldiers from them and 400 talents. And they said that they would give him even more soldiers, if they were not presently engaged in waging war with the Karchedonians.[2] 75

And from there, he crossed the sea in between and arrived in Africa. And the generals of the Africans came to meet him, and begged him to remove the rule of the Romans from the city. And he censured their fatuity and said, "Either be noble men or pay tribute to those that are." 76

And then, departing from there with a few soldiers, he left all of Libya above him and went and reached the temple of Ammon. And he ordered the army to sail to that place called the island of Pharos,[1] and to stay there. And when he had bowed before Ammon and had offered sacrifices, he recalled the words of his mother who had said that he was the son of Ammon. He stood at prayer and said, "Father, if my mother speaks the truth in saying that I am your son, give me an oracle." And Alexander saw, in a vision, Ammon locked in intercourse with Olympias. And 77

having truly experienced the power of the god, he adorned the temple with this inscription from him: "To father, the god Ammon, from his son, Alexander." And he begged to have an oracle from him as to where he might build a city in eternal memory of his name. And again in a vision he saw Ammon, who said to him: "O King, I, the taintless, perfect ram's horns say to you: If you wish to remain eternally ageless, fresh for time without end, build a noteworthy city a little above the island of Proteus[2] over which perpetually presides Plutonios, personally ruling over the endless world girt with five crested peaks."[3]

78 When Alexander had received this oracle, he beseeched the god and asked which was the island that in fact Proteus influenced and over which the god presided. And when he had asked his questions and had offered sacrifices to his paternal god Ammon, he received directions to a village of the Libyans, where he gave his armies rest. And while Alexander was walking about, a big deer hid itself in a cave. And Alexander called a bowman to him and ordered him to fire arrows at the stag. And he drew his bow and made his shot, but did not hit the stag. And Alexander said, "Fellow, you missed your mark." From this, that place was called Paratonion because of Alexander's exclamation.[1]

79 And from there, he went to Taposiris[1] and upon inquiring, learned from the local people that the shrine was the grave of Osiris. And he sacrificed to the god and hastened on his way. He came to an open plain, and saw that it was a huge and immeasurable place which had spread out and encompassed the property of twelve villages. And these were Steramphis, Phronetetk and Edmitos, Akonis, Epyrgos, Tetrakotis, Edios, Aponis, Skambetkh, Nepheletkh, Memnes, Tiatkh, and Pelasos.[2] And Hrakotis was more famous than the others for it was the capital. And the twelve cities used to have twelve rivers,[3] which poured forth to the sea; and until now, the blocked-up passageways remain. The sealed-off rivers were both the little streets of the city and its broad avenues. And there remain only two which flow

to the sea. The river of Hrakotis, which still flows, is dedicated to the great god Sarapis. Then there is the canal which is supplied by the avenues, and the big river called Khouleras, which is now the Aspetia. Then there is its canal, which is a shrine of fortune; and the big river of Kauponios. And there is the big canal and the river Nephrotes which are now out-of-the-way places, and whose shrine of Isis Nephrotes was built before Alexandria. And the biggest of all is the river which is called Argeos, where the column[4] of Argeos is. Then there is the canal of Ares; the pillars and the canals belonging to the Kanopian river, which goes in the direction of Zephyros; and the great river of Heracles is the harbor, for it extends from the place named Pandita to the place called the Herakleotion harbor, the length of the city.

Then Alexander plotted the area; and its breadth extended 80
from Mendidos to the little city of Hermes. But they do not call it Hermoupolis, but Hermapolis,[1] for whatever went to and from Egypt headed for that place. Alexander laid out the city as far as that point; for this reason it is called the land of the Alexandrians. But Kleomenes, the Naukratian, and Dimocrates, the Rhodian, gave Alexander this advice: "Don't make such a large city for you will never find it filled with people. And if you should fill it, then the lands[2] will not be able to cater to their essential food needs. Those who will be living there will war upon one another when they are so vast and numberless. For small-town people are prompt with advice and help; but, being unfamiliar and unacquainted with one another, a huge crowd of people, such as the inhabitants of so large a city, rebel and fight amongst themselves, having become enemies because of their endless numbers."

And Alexander was persuaded; and he ordered the archi- 81
tects to make the city of whatever size they pleased. And they plotted the length of the city from Dracontis beyond the grave of Taposiris[1] to Agathemon, which is near Kanoron; and its width extended from Mendidos to Eleurechos

and Melanthios. And he ordered the people living there to withdraw to a village about thirty miles outside of the city; and he granted them land and he called them Alexandrians.

82 Eleurechos and Melanthios were the creators[1] of the thoroughfares from which their names came and have remained. And he thought of finding other architects for the city. Among them were Kleomenes, the Naukratian, and Krateron, the Olynthian, and an old man by the name of Eroa, a Libyan by nationality. This man had a brother by the name of Hiponemos, who advised that before making an excavation for the city's foundation, Alexander make aqueducts which would flow to the sea. And the king was persuaded, and he ordered made what no other city has. And they are called Hiponoses because he who invented them was the Libyan named Hiponemos.[2]

83 And, there is no city greater than Alexandria, for all charted cities have been measured.[1] The great city in Assyria is Antioch, which is 8 stadia and 72 feet; while in Africa, Carthaginia[2] measures 21 stadia and 305 feet.

84 And when he arrived at unparalleled Alexandria, he found the rivers, the canals, and the towns built on the land there. And seeing an island on the sea, he asked, "What island is that?" And the local inhabitants said: "It is called Pharos. Proteus[1] lived on it; and the tomb of Proteus, which is worthy of worship, is in our land." And they brought him to the top of a high mountain, the one which is now called Hero's Grave, and showed him the coffin. And he offered sacrifices there to the hero Proteus. And when he saw that in the long course of time the tomb had fallen into decay, he ordered that it be immediately restored.

85 And he ordered that the circumference of the city be plotted. They took meal and outlined the area; and birds of various species picked up the meal and flew off in all directions. And Alexander, anxious about the meaning of this, hastened to summon soothsayers and told them what had happened. And they said: "This city which has been built shall feed the entire world, and the men born in it shall be

everywhere; like birds they shall travel through the entire world."[1]

And they began to build the city of Alexandria in the middle of the plain. First the place was given a name so as to begin from there the building of the city. And a serpent used to come to those who were busy working, and it frightened the workers and put a stop to the work. Because of the serpent's raids, Alexander came and said, "Let it be captured by the workmen wherever it is found tomorrow." And upon receiving the order, they subdued and slew the beast when it came to that place which is now called Yark.[1] And Alexander asked that a shrine be built for it there, and they buried the serpent in it. And he asked that all kinds of garlands be made in memory of the serpent's appearing. And he declared that the excavation for the foundations be made nowhere else but on that same spot, where to this day the high mountain called the Ałbiwrk'[2] appears. 86

And when he had laid the foundation for most of the city, he wrote upon it the five letters: A, B, C, D, E; A, Alexander; B, the greatest king; C, of the greatest nations; D, in the place of Aramazd; E, descended and built a unique city.[1] And there were donkeys and mules at work there. And when the shrine had been built for this divinity, he set it upon the pillar. And many serpents came out of it and slithered into the houses that were now there. For Alexander was still there on the twenty-fifth of Tubi,[2] building the city and that very shrine for the serpent. Thus, when these snakes come into the houses, the gatekeepers worship them as kindly spirits, for they are not poisonous, like wild animals, but rather, drive out poisonous beasts. And sacrifices are made to him as being of the family of serpents.[3] And they wreathed all the beasts of burden and let them rest on that day; for, by bearing burdens, they had done their share in the building of the splendid city. And the king ordered that grain be given the guards. And when they had ground the grain and made bread, this was given 87

the inhabitants as in time of great rejoicing. On account of this, to this day these customs are kept among the Alexandrians on the twenty-fifth of Tubi. They garland all beasts of burden, and offer sacrifices to the god, and render homage to the serpents who safeguard the home, and make a distribution of bread.

88 And when he had found atop five prominent peaks the land where the pillars of the sun and of Helion are (located) and also the temple of that god, he looked for the shrine of Sarapis, in compliance with the oracle given him by Ammon; and he sought the one who is the greatest god of all. For the oracle of the gods had spoken thus: "O King, I, Phoegos, the ram, say to you that if you wish to remain forever ageless, build a noteworthy city on the island of Proteus,[1] over which Plutonios presides, encompassing the boundless realm with five crested peaks." And he invoked the god who sees everything.

89 And there, opposite the shrine of the god, he set up a great altar which, from that time on they call the altar of Alexander. He offered elaborate sacrifices upon it and stood at prayer and said, "Whatever god you are, who have the divine responsibility for this land and watch over the endless earth, accept my sacrifices and be my help in war." And having said this, he placed the sacrifice upon the altar. Suddenly a great eagle swooped down, seized the entrails of the sacrifice, and flew off into the air. It circled around and released them upon a different altar. The learned examiners pointed out the place to the king. And when he got there, he immediately saw the entrails on top of the altar. It was an altar which had been built a long time ago, and seated within there was a copper image whose nature mortal man cannot relate. And, there was, with the inviolate image, a large statue of a maiden.

90 And he inquired of the inhabitants there as to which god it was. And they said that they did not know; but according to the story of their forefathers, it was said to be the shrine of Aramazd and Anahit.[1] And in it he saw the obelisks

which remain to this day in the shrine of Sarapis outside the city wall, which at that time was at the shrine of Sarapis. And divine dedicatory writings were marked on the shrine, and the city was marvelous. And Alexander asked what the obelisks were. They said, "They belong to the world conquering king, Sesonchousis." And in letters, on the shrine, there is this dedicatory inscription which was translated for the king as follows: "I, Sesonchousis, king of Egypt and conqueror of the world, built and dedicated this to Sarapis the first god revealed to this land."

And looking at the god, Alexander said, "Great Sarapis, 91
give me a sign that you are the god of this land." And Sarapis appeared most clearly to him in his sleep, and said: "Alexander, have you forgotten what happened while you stood at prayer, making sacrifices? Didn't you say: 'Whoever you are, guardian-protector of this land, who watch over the boundless earth, accept my sacrifices, and be my help in battle'? And suddenly an eagle swooped down and put the entrails on the altar. Was it not evident to you that I am the guardian and protecting god of all?"

And in his dream, he entreated the god and asked: "Will 92
this city remain true to the name Alexandria in which it was built? Or will my name be changed to that of another king? Advise me." And he saw the god, who took him by the hand and led him to a high mountain and spoke in this fashion: "Alexander, can you move this mountain to another place?" He thought about it and said, "How can I, O Lord?" And the god said to him: "And so too can your name never be changed to that of a king of other peoples. But rather, Alexandria shall flourish and overflow with bounty; and it shall help and deliver from evil the cities which existed before it."

To this, Alexander replied, "Lord, disclose this to me too; 93
how am I destined to die?" And he said:[1] "It is griefless and good and honorable that mortal man not know in advance what the time of the end of his life will be. For men do not understand that this life seems endless and in-

finitely varied when they are ignorant of its evils. And so it should seem good to you too not to know your destiny, dear one. But if you ask and wish to learn about your fate, I shall tell you forthwith: with my help, you, a callow young man, shall subdue all the races of barbarian nations; and then, by dying and yet not dying, you shall come to me. Then the city of Alexandria, which you are building in the middle of the land, is to be coveted by the world; a land where gods shall dwell for long days and time to come. And it shall be surpassing in good things, since it shall have been adorned with many temples and diverse shrines, and shall abound in beauty, in magnitude, and in its enormous crowds of men. And all who settle there shall stay on and forget their former fatherlands. And I shall be its protecting deity for all time to come; and forever fresh and ageless, I shall preside over it, and strengthen the land. And the city that has been built shall remain strong forever. It shall cast light upon the fire and illuminate the infernal regions. And it shall make the south wind quail when it breathes its harmful breath,[2] so that the terrible doings of the evil spirits shall be of no avail against this city. For earthquake is to grip it but a short while, and likewise, plague and famine; so, too, shall there be war, but it shall not present great danger; rather, like a dream, it shall quickly pass through the city. And many kings shall forever revere you as one who has become a god according to the customs of this land. And when you die, you shall be revered as having become a god. And they shall have a great crowd of people on the public square and all the more because of the temperate weather. And I shall be its protector and defense, so that no hardship shall remain permanently, either earthquake or deadly plague, but, shall pass through the city like a dream.[3] And many kings shall come to it, not to make war, but to make reverence to you as one who has been apotheosized and revered. And when you have died, you shall receive gifts from kings forever. For you shall dwell there both when you are dead and when not yet

dead; for this city you are building is to be your grave. And I shall quickly prove to you where you were meant to be. Take two hundred and add one; then one hundred and one; and four times twenty, and ten; and take the first number and make it the last; and learn for all time what god I am."[4] And having given the oracle, the god departed from there.

And when Alexander awoke and recalled the oracle which 94
had been delivered to him by the gods, he recognized the great Sarapis, lord of all. And he built a great altar and ordered that fitting sacrifices be brought for the gods. And he had them slaughtered and put upon the altar. And he had huge quantities of aromatic gum burnt and piles of varied incenses put upon the altar. And he ordered all men to rejoice. And he had Parmenion, the architect, make this copper statue, and build this shrine, which brought to mind Homeric verses, as that wondrous bard, Homer, said: "And the son of Zrowan[1] made a sign with his azure brows, and his marvelous godly locks moved on the king's immortal head. And Olympus, soundly shaken, trembled." In this way, Parmenion built a shrine called that of Sarapis. Now the preparation for the building of the city was as we have related.

And Alexander took his troops and hastened to reach 95
Egypt. And he sent his warships to wait for him in Tripolis. He was troubled for the army's sake, for the journey was difficult. There were, waiting for Alexander outside every city, prophets who brought forward their particular gods; and they offered sacrifices, naming him a new world-conquering Sesonchousis. For, when he reached Memphis, they sat him on the throne of Hephestos and they dressed him in a robe, like an Egyptian king.

And Alexander saw a statue of this kind; it was made of 96
black stone and had this writing on the base: "This king who fled shall return to Egypt, not having grown old, but rejuvenated. And he shall make your enemies, the Persians, subject to you." And he asked, "Whose statue is this?"

And they said: "This is the last king Nectanebos. When the Persians were coming to make war upon the Egyptians, he, through the sorcery of his magic power, saw the gods of the Egyptians in the enemy armies at the time of their entry into Egypt. And having thus learned of their betrayal, he secretly fled. And when we sought him and entreated the gods as to where the king might have fled, the one who is god in the Sarapean temple in the underworld gave this oracle: 'Your king who has fled shall return to Egypt, not old, as he was, but as a tender youth.' "

97 And when Alexander heard this, he ran and climbed up onto the statue and embraced it and said: "This is my father, and I am his son. The oracle of your god did not lie to you. But, still, I am amazed that you were really completely vanquished by the barbarian nation; for you have walls not made by human hands that could not be taken by the enemy. For there are surrounding rivers which protect your city, and winding paths so narrow and hard to pass that it is impossible for a large army to attack you. For I, even with a small force, had to struggle to reach you because of the hard going. This is rather the justice of Providence above and of God. For why did you who have fertile land and rivers obey those who did not have such dominion? For if you had also ruled well[1] with these things which you had received as gifts, the barbarians who had not been granted these things would have perished. Since they do not have resources for war and you have agricultural skill, why should you serve those who have not? And why should those who have not take from those who have?"

98 And having said this, Alexander sought the same tribute from them as they were paying Darius. And he said, "I shall not hoard it in my storeroom, but rather shall spend it on your city Alexandria, which is in Egypt, and is the capital of the whole world." And when he had thus spoken, they gladly gave him their possessions; and they directed the king with honors through Pellousion. And Alexander

took his army, and journeyed directly to Assyria. And he made the neighboring cities obedient and docile.

And having made a great levy of soldiers there, he came to Tyre.[1] The Tyrians resisted him and did not permit his passing through their city, in conformity with an ancient oracle from a certain god, which had been delivered to them in this fashion: "If a king pass through the territory of your city, the city will fall under his power." Thus they resisted so as not to allow Alexander to enter. And the Tyrians who had enclosed the entire city with a wall stood against him. And there was a great battle, and many of the Macedonians were slain. Alexander's army was defeated; and the king returned from there to Gaza. And when he had rested and restored his army from their labor, he was thinking about capturing Tyre and destroying it. And he saw in a dream someone who said to him, "Do not be your own messenger to Tyre." 99

And he sent forth messengers with a letter which bore these words: "Alexander, king of the Macedonians, son of Ammon, and son of King Philip, and himself great king of Europe, Asia, and of Libya, speaks to the Tyrians who no longer exist. When I started out toward the nation of the Assyrians, I wished to arrive there peacefully and freely. But if you Tyrians, who are truly the very first, and I do not say so politely, stand in my way, others, too, shall learn from you how powerful the Macedonians are in the face of your rebellious arrogance. And the divine oracle that has been given you is also true. For I shall pass through your city. Farewell with wise counsel; otherwise, you shall rot with calamities." 100

And when the letter had been read before the whole assembly, they ordered that the legates be tortured, saying, "Where is that Alexander of yours?" And when they said that they knew nothing, they crucified them. Meanwhile, the king was trying to find out by what road he should enter and take the Tyrians, for he was considering a reckless action. And he saw in his dreams one of the prophets 101

of Dionysos, Satyros by name, offering him a cheese. And Alexander took it, and threw it down, and trampled upon it. Upon awakening, he related this to a soothsayer who explained the vision, saying, "King, Tyre shall fall into your power and be yours because of Satyros; and you shall topple it over because you trampled on the cheese."[1] This is the explanation that the soothsayer gave.

102 And some days later, he attacked the Tyrians; and Alexander made war upon them with the help and aid of three nearby villages, which fought bravely. They opened the gates at night and slit the throats of the guards; they devastated Tyre and razed it to the ground. What they did is spoken of to this day. He figured the three villages that had helped him and fought bravely to be the size of a city, so he named it Tripolis. He made the satrap of the Phoenicians the caretaker and guardian of Tyre, and having traversed the land of Tyre, he left.

103 Then the messengers of Darius came to him, bringing him a letter, a leather thong, a ball, and a chest of gold. Alexander opened the letter and read: "I, king of kings, kinsman of the gods, who share the throne of the sun god, Mihr,[1] and rise with the sun, Darius, myself a god, give my servant Alexander these orders. I advise you to withdraw and return to your parents, who are in servitude to me, and to remain on the lap of your mother, Olympias; for at your age, one still requires training and nursing and lap-feeding. Therefore, I have sent you, with this letter, a leather thong and a ball and a chest of gold so that you might choose which you want: either the thong, which shows you that you still need discipline, or the ball, so that you might play with those of your own age, and with that childish stature of yours, not pose as a fearsome bandit and, taking on the airs of a robber chieftain, harass cities. For even if the whole world joined together, it would not be able to undo the power of the Persians. For the size of my armies is as vast as the sands that no one can count. And there is gold and silver enough to fill every field, and this whole land.

Therefore, I sent you that chest full of gold, so that if you have none, you might give those thieves of yours enough that each of them might be able to live and reach his own village. Then, should you not accept my orders to you, I shall send ruthless men to seize you, for you shall not be so lucky as not to be captured by my soldiers. And once captured, you shall not be admonished as the son of Philip, but rather you shall be crucified as a disobedient and wicked rebel and robber chief."

When Alexander read this out, the troops were terribly 104
frightened. And Alexander, learning of their fear, said: "Men of Macedon, why have you been frightened by these words, as though they were true or had the force of reality? For Darius writes these things boastingly, but he is unlike his words. Thus certain dogs who do not have the physical strength to fight bark loud and hard, as though to show by their barking their ability to act. Thus, the chieftain, Darius, not being able to do anything by his actions, pretends to be someone in his writings, just as dogs do in their barking. But even assume that the words were true; he has enlightened us and has taught us with whom we have to fight bravely and to consider it shameful that we be defeated and captured."

Having so spoken, he ordered that the letter-bearing legates 105
be bound, hands behind them, and be taken and crucified. And they were panic stricken and said: "What terrible things have we done to you, O King, that you would kill us in this fashion? We are the messengers of Darius; in brutally slaying us, why do you imitate the Tyrians,[1] who crucified your legates? Do not set this example for the whole world." The king said to them: "Blame your king, Darius, and not me. For he wrote to me not as if to a world conqueror but rather as if to a robber chief. So it is as an arrogant and mutinous man and not as a king that I put to death you who have come here." And they said: "Darius wrote you in that fashion in his ignorance; but we see here such readiness of forces, and we have heard as great and

intelligent a king as the son of Ammon and King Philip. We beseech your noble spirit to grant us our lives." And Alexander replied: "Now you are terrified and afraid of being beaten to death and beg not to die; so I am setting you free. For my desire is not to slay you but rather to show the difference between the king of the Greeks and that barbarian tyrant of yours. So don't expect to suffer any harm from me; for according to custom, a king does not slay a messenger."

106 When Alexander had said this, he ordered that dinner be prepared for the letter bearers. And he sat with them and was happy to eat and drink with them. And when they had been overcome by wine, the legates wished to tell Alexander secretly how they could capture Darius by ambush, without making war against him. The king said to them: "Do not say such things to me; for if you were not returning to Darius, I would perhaps accept information from you. But since you are going to him, I do not want to hear anything from you, lest one of you denounce to Darius what was said by me. And thus, I shall be the reason for your being killed, while offering you the grace of not being killed by me." The satraps and even the letter bearers honored Alexander.

107 And then a day later, he wrote a letter to Darius and, unknown to the letter bearers, read it before the satraps and his wise friends. This was the text of the letter: "King Alexander, son of Ammon, and of his father Philip, and his mother Olympias, greets the king of kings, him who *shares the throne of the sun god, Mihr, the son of the gods* who rises with the sun, the great king of the Persians, Darius. It is the shame of shames that so great a king as Darius, who is bolstered by such great forces and shares *the throne of the gods, fall under the humble and abject* servitude of a single man, Alexander. For the names of the gods, in coming to men, do not bestow great power or wisdom on them. Rather they become all the more arrogant and insolent, *for the names of the immortals are being har-*

bored in corruptible bodies. And now you have this reproach from us, too: you are able to do nothing against us, even though you are bolstered by the names of the gods and have taken upon yourself, on earth, their heavenly power. For I shall make war against you as against a mortal man and king; for I, too, am mortal and am mindful that victory comes from the Providences above. And why did you write me that you have so much gold and silver stored away? So that we might learn of this and, out of desire for the gold, bravely fight against you so that your possessions, too, might be ours? For if I conquer you, I shall be a great and famous king both among the Hellenes and the barbarians, for I have slain the great king of kings, Darius. But if you should defeat me, you have done nothing of valor, for you have defeated a robber chief, as you wrote me. But I shall have defeated Darius, the king. Also you sent me as gifts, a thong, a ball, and a chest of gold. You gave me this present to make fun of me, but I have received it and taken it as a good omen. I took the thong to mean that by my valor and arms I shall thrash the barbarians and, having given them a mighty beating, shall subjugate them into slavery. And I took the ball, which you had designated for me, to mean that I shall master the world and hold it in my power—for the world is ball-shaped, a sphere. And the chest of gold was a great omen you sent me; for in sending it, you announced your obedience to me. For having been defeated by me and fallen into my power, you shall humbly pay tribute to me."

When Alexander finished reading this before his armies, 108
everyone found it pleasing and praiseworthy. And he sealed it and gave it to the letter bearers. And he presented them the gold that Darius had sent him. Having witnessed his wisdom and his great shrewdness, they went away to Darius. And Alexander made soldiers of them all, both the Assyrians and those who had never been defeated,[1] and he went on to Asia.

When Darius received the letter, he was startled by it, and, 109

in great haste, he wrote thus to the satraps near his kingdom. "King Darius sends greetings beyond the Tauros. They tell me that Alexander, Philip's boy, has come and crossed into Asia and is devastating my land. Now you try to capture him, without doing him bodily harm; for I myself shall strip him of his purple robe and torture him, and I shall thus send him back to the land of the Macedonians, his own country, to his mother, Olympias, giving him rattles and dice, with which the Macedonian children play. And I am going to send him a Persian with a whip, as a teacher of sound thinking; he will not permit him to have the thoughts of a man before he becomes one. Sink the warships which he has brought, together with their crews, into the deep. And bind in irons the men who came with him, and have them taken to live at the Red Sea. And take their horses and their beasts of burden and let them be yours; distribute and give them to your friends."

110 And the satraps of those places wrote and sent to Darius a letter which went thus: "Vštasp and Spandiatar[1] greet you, our king, Darius. We wonder how you have actually remained unaware up to this day of the great number of peoples upon us. From these very people, we have sent you nine[2] men, bound in iron bonds and ropes, whom we found brought among us; and we did not presume to question them before you. Now you will do well to come here quickly with great forces."

111 When Darius received and read this, he, in turn, wrote them thus: "Darius, king of kings, and absolute monarch, greets Vštasp and Spandiatar and those other generals under my command. Hope for nothing whatsoever from me. And if you will regain control of your lost slaves, your reputation shows that you are men able to snuff out the blazing fury of any ignoble person who has attacked and harassed you; (yet) you were not able to endure great fear.[1] Now what do you have to say? That some one of you has died fighting? What shall I think of you who bring dishonor upon my kingship by giving way to a highwayman?"

At this point, when Darius had inquired about Alexander and learned that he had approached and intended passing through, he moved his troops, in double file, opposite him, near the river Pindaros.[1] And he wrote and sent to Alexander a letter which went thus: "The king of kings, great god Darius, lord of nations, has this to say to Alexander. This name of Darius which even the gods honor and have determined and decreed to be the sharer of their throne is to you alone unknown. You have presumed to traverse the ocean and have not deemed it good enough that you should go stealthily about ruling the Macedonians without my permission. Instead, you have found yourself an unrulable[2] land and proclaimed yourself king. And having gathered men like yourself as partners in piracy, you attacked Hellenic cities which were inexperienced in war. And you have always ruled over these timorous peoples, whom I consider as superfluous castaways. And you have exacted tribute from them. Now do you suppose that we are as you think us to be? You shall not boast[3] of keeping the regions which you have taken, for I know that you have judged poorly. You should have first of all corrected and reformed your folly and come to me, your lord, in servitude, and not have steeped your men in hate. But up to this point, it is my duty as a god to grant men pardon. Because fate has brought me to the point of requiring a letter from Darius, I have written you to come and do obeisance to Darius. But, however, if you are now overwhelmed by arrogant pride and act in any other fashion, then I shall punish you with an unspeakable death. And your men shall bear harm worse than yours, for they did not foster sound thinking in you. I promise you upon the great Aramazd, and my father, that I shall not mention again the evil things that you have done." 112

And when this letter was read before Alexander,[1] he was not startled by the bombastic words. Instead he became angry and headed forward to battle. And he led his army 113

through Arabia to the plain, and he set up his battle line opposite Darius. And when Darius' men saw that Alexander had brought the force of his army against him, they planned to defeat him with scythe-armed chariots. Thus hurrying ahead, they reached the flank side of the area and occupied it. And the chariots went and took position on the side opposite (the enemy); and when they were in order, they formed the entire battle front. And they allowed neither the cavalry nor an attack by the army to pass through them. For with great numbers of chariots coming in every direction, they would be defeated, destroyed, and dispersed.

114 Alexander crossed to the other side and set the flank of his forces[1] opposite them. For it was Alexander's lot to organize the right side. He mounted the bullheaded horse and ordered the trumpeters to assemble and to announce war with their battle trumpets, so as to arouse the gathered troops in the din of battle. And when the trumpets sounded, the army gave a great cry, and they moved out to vast and numberless battles. There was a huge commotion everywhere. And it was a great spectacle as they struck at one another for long hours in the fray of battle. At the tip of the battle-wings, they entangled with one another; and they fought very hard against one another with spears. And with both sides claiming victory here, they separated from one another.

115 Alexander's men, however, were pressing upon the men of Darius, and they caused great destruction. The men tangled together and were knocked over and slain because of the very size of the armies. They suffered much harm from one another and much from the enemies. And there was nothing else to be seen but men toppling over. For in the thick dust, it was not possible to distinguish Persians or Macedonians, general or ruler, cavalry or foot soldier. The sky was invisible; nor could one see the earth in the great blood-letting taking place. And even the sun itself grieved because of what was going on and, unable to look upon

such great bloodshed, was darkened and covered over by clouds. After great devastation, the Persian armies took to flight. And among them was Amyndas of Antioch,[1] who had fled and gone over to Darius, although he had previously been a Macedonian and had helped them. Night was falling. Darius became frightened and put aside his chariot for he was in a bad situation; because he had been easily recognizable before, he abandoned his chariot, mounted a horse and fled.

And Alexander, eager for greater heroism,[1] went after Darius and pursued him wherever he was said to be. And after a pursuit of sixty stadia he reached the chariots and his mother and his wife. However, the night saved Darius himself. During this time, he procured many fresh horses and fled from relay to relay. And the Macedonians reached the Persian side and made camp. Since it was the middle of the night, they encamped for the night on top of the corpses. And when Alexander reached Darius' tent, he dismounted, entered it, and stayed there. 116

Although he had conquered his opponents and had attained such great glory from the benevolent fates above, he did nothing arrogant. Rather, he ordered that the bravest and best of the dead be buried; and he kept Darius' mother, wife, and children with him, in honor. And so, too, did he console the other remaining captives. And the number of fallen Macedonians was great: 550 infantry; 160 cavalry; and there were many more than 160 wounded.[1] And 120,000 of the barbarians died. And as for booty and plunder, he collected 4,000 talent measures. 117

Darius, meanwhile, having gotten away safely, again mustered troops and moved upon Alexander with a force greater than the first. And he wrote a letter to the nations that were under his command to stand by with massive forces. And when a spy of Alexander learned that Darius had gathered his troops by the Euphrates River and had camped the troops of the barbarian nations there, he wrote Alexander of the above facts. 118

119 And Alexander wrote: "Greetings to my general, Skamandros.[1] Come close to us with the men and forces you have under you. For they say that the barbarians are not far away."

120 And Alexander himself took his forces and passed on to Achaeia. And upon arriving there, he subdued many cities, and collected an army of 80,000 men. And when he was near the Keraton[1] called Tauros, he drove his spear hard into the ground and said, "If any mighty Greek or barbarian or other king pull out this spear, it is a bad omen for him; for his city will be pulled up from its foundations."

121 And he came and reached Pieris,[1] a city of the Bebrycians, where were the shrine and statue of Orpheus, the Pierian muse; and there were animals near him. And when Alexander gazed upon it, the statue of Orpheus oozed sweat from its cheeks and from all parts of its body. When Alexander inquired as to what might be the meaning of the sweating, the soothsayer, Melanpos, told him: "By labor, Alexander, with sweat and toil, shall you belabor barbarian nations and the cities of the Hellenes, and you shall travel with wild beasts, just as Orpheus prevailed upon the Greeks by playing the lyre and singing and by pleasant words won over the barbarians of their own will and tamed wild animals." When Alexander heard his explanations, he honored Melanpos, the soothsayer.

122 And he came to Phrygia. And he entered the very city of Ilion itself and sacrificed to Hector and to Achilles and to the other heroes. And when he saw the Skamondros River across which Achilles had leaped, and that its width was not five paces, and the seven-skinned[1] shield of Eandos, and that it was not very big nor as wonderful and amazing as Homer had described, Alexander said: "Fortunate are you who happened upon a minstrel such as Homer. [For[2] such as you were, you passed into his work and were inscribed among the great; although in the actual facts you fell short." And a poet who had approached him said, "Alexander, better

than Homer, who celebrated the seven hides, shall we write of your deeds." And he replied, "I would prefer to be Thersites in Homer's story than Achilles in yours." (Up to this point, his mother, Olympias, had shared his travel and toil; after dining with her, he sent her back to Macedon with a large group of captive nobles. And he traveled straight to Darius.

And he came and passed through the city of Abdera.) 123
When the Abderians shut the gates of their city, Alexander became angry and ordered his generals to sack the city. But they sent ambassadors to him and said: "We did not shut our gates to resist your force; rather, we are afraid of the kingdom of the Persians. For if he remain in power, Darius will destroy our city. (But when you return victoriously) we shall, without hesitation, surrender to you, the great king." When Alexander heard this, he smiled and said to the ambassadors: "Are you afraid of Darius, that he might remain in power and destroy you? Go, now and open the gates, and live in peace. For I am not going to enter the city until I have won a second victory over Darius; and then (I shall not be like a guest but like a friend to you)." Having thus spoken to the ambassadors, he hurried on, and in two days reached Boeotia and Olynthos; and he destroyed the whole land of the Chaldeans. And then he came to the Euxinos River and conquered all the neighboring cities; for there was no one who dared oppose so much power. (And, having very ceremoniously sacrificed to Poseidon, he passed on to Meotis, the rocky and unpassable lands.

When the soldiers' food supply was exhausted, he ordered 124
them to slay the horses and to eat them. Although they complied with the order out of necessity, they did so noisily and bitterly, as though he had done that purposely so that they would have no hope for the future. So when they abandoned military regulations and the customary precautions, the king himself came forward publicly to them and said: "I am not at all unaware, soldiers, that the horses

which I ordered slain and used for food would be more valuable than anything else for battle. But since there was a double difficulty upon us, either to eat them and live or spare them and die with or before them, I presume to say that I picked the better solution and avoided the worse. Therefore, I promise you that when the gods help us to conquer a nation, and fill up on their abundant foodstuffs, this calamity over the horses will never happen again. I could probably find other soldiers in the place of those)] lost in this famine; but now where will I be able to find Macedonians?"

125 Having reassured the troops, he journeyed straight on to other cities. He came to the Lokrians and rested there with his troops for one day. And sending on everything that he had, he went to the Akraganthinians.[1] He entered the shrine of Apollo and beseeched the oracle to prophesy to him. Apollo told him that he was not to get an answer in his oracular shrine. And the king became angry and said, "If you are unwilling to tell my fortune, I shall carry off the tripod which Croesus the king of the Elyrgians donated, just as Heracles did to get an oracle from the gods." And so saying, he seized the oracle and the tripod which King Croesus[2] had donated. And from the underworld, a voice came to Alexander in this fashion. "Heracles, Alexander, did this as a god to a god, but you are mortal; do not oppose the gods, for your actions are talked of as far away as the gods." After these words, the true oracle said, "The god himself has prophesied to you when he addressed you by the mightiest name; since from the infernal regions, he named you Heracles Alexander, I forecast to you that it is your lot to be mightiest of all men."

126 Alexander took his troops and traveled on to Thebes. And he requested from them 4,000 brave men and tribute. But the Thebans locked the gates and did not even send messengers to him. Instead they armed themselves and prepared troops to oppose Alexander. And 500 soldiers mounted the walls and shouted to Alexander, "Either fight or leave the

city." And Alexander smiled and said: "Brave Thebans, why did you shut and lock yourselves within the walls, and give orders to fight outside? For I, too, have come to fight; but I shall fight not as against cities and brave men and people skilled in the use of battle arms but rather as against country bumpkins and fools and great cowards. For behold, I shall subjugate all men by my spear. Now you have shut and locked yourselves within the walls, and send forth a united cry. Brave men should fight on a free and open field, and to shut and lock oneself in for fear of the coming battle is a woman's act."

Having said this, he ordered 1,000 horsemen to surround 127
the city and to strafe the top of the walls with arrows. And he ordered another 1,000 soldiers to dig at the foundations with axes, two-edged sabres, and deep-cutting hatchets and very long spears and to undo and destroy those stones which had been set in place and arranged by the brothers Amphion and Zethos with a lyre. And he summoned the battering rams and set them with great force to the destruction of the walls. And this task is accomplished by a machine on wheels forcibly pushed by three soldiers; and it is fired from afar at the walls, and by its bold attack easily tears apart and pulls down the walls that had been so strongly built and set up. And with yet another 1,000 bowmen, he went around everywhere killing men in order to devastate and destroy Thebes. Fire, swords, stones, spears, and lances were hurled at the city. And the advancing Macedonian hand did not tire of intoxicating the slaying sword with blood. The helpless Thebans, whose minds had been blind, were being destroyed by Alexander.[1]

There was at that time a certain Theban by the name of 128
Ismenias, a reed player knowledgeable in songs and a man wise in speech. When he saw that Thebes was being overturned and eradicated and all who resisted, murdered, he grieved bitterly over the land of his fathers. And since he was distinguished for his knowledge of the flute, he decided to set out to take up his reeds and fall to his knees at the

feet of the king and sing a most suppliant, piteous, and heart-rending song, so as to bring, by the reeds' entreaty and his sad songs, the king's heart to pity. And Ismenias decided to offer the great man moralizing song and sweet speech. So, stretching forth his hands, he tearfully began to recite these pitiful verses and this calamitous song.

THE RECITAL OF ISMENIAS BEFORE THE WORLD CONQUEROR

129 "King and son of the gods, glorious and beautiful Alexander:[1] Now by my own experience, I have learned of the god-like glory of your might. And hereafter, we honor you as we do the benevolent gods. Draw back your invincible hand from your Thebans, lest unwittingly you appear to profane your family and compatriots. For Dionysos and Heracles were Thebans, and glorious ones; and they were also the first offspring of the intercourse of our common ancestors. Dionysos was born of Aramazd and fire-stricken Semele; while Heracles was begotten by Aramazd and Alcmene. They came as the helpers, peacemakers, and safekeepers of all mankind; and they are your ancestors, conquering Alexander. You should behave like them and be beneficent. As the offspring of a god, do not spurn and destroy Thebes, the nurse of Dionysos and Heracles. Do not devastate this city built by the bullock, for disgrace for the Macedonians will ensue. Are you unaware, Alexander, that you are a Theban and not a Pellan? This whole land of the Thebans implores you by invoking your ancestral gods with the gladness and dances of Dionysos, the reed player and guardian of the grape, and with the just deeds and benefactions for mankind of Heracles. Now, behaving like your brave and good ancestors, turn from your anger to abundant good works. Have mercy ready at hand rather than murder. Do not destroy your ancestors' gods who begot you. Do not undo and ruin this city, your own land. And do not unwittingly raze from their foundations such walls as these, built by Zethos and Amphion. For by song

and the sound of the lyre are you son of Aramazd, whom his bride, the daughter of Nychteos, secretly bore when she was frenzied by dance. Cadmos built these foundations and the great towering buildings. Here he took as bride Harmonia, whom foam-born Cypros bore upon mating with the Thracian adulterer. Do not senselessly ruin your own farm lands nor set fire to all the walls of the Thebans. This is the home of King Labdakus. Here the evil spirit entered marriage; his lamentable and sorrowful mother (wed) the wretched patricide Oedipus. This was the shrine of Heracles; but before that, it was the home of Amphitryon. Here, Aramazd lamented, counting three nights as one. You see those neighboring houses ablaze, still dripping heaven's vengeance. There, Aramazd once smit the desirable Semele for whom he lusted; behold, in this fire, she bore Hraphiotian Dionysos, the grape guardian. Here Heracles went mad; and here too Heracles in madness rose and slew his wife Megara, and riddled his children with arrows. This altar, which you see built high to Anahit, has been marked out as an old altar, in which (was) Heraclit too; and in it, Heracles, while sewing a robe for Arkada, was scalded in the blood of a serpent by Philoctetes. These are the god-inspired words of the untainted, innocent one, the verses of Tiresias, who (belonged) to three nations and centuries. Here, too, is the river which Tritonia, mad for Athamas, transformed and changed to a woman. Here aiming at a pheasant, he slew his son, Learchos, with an arrow. Here, Ino[2] ran and fell into the fathomless deep with Melicertes, her child, in madness. Here blind Oedipus was driven away by the orders of Cretos, whose staff breathed war. And this is the river in the middle of Citheron which bears frenzied water from Isminos. (As for) the pine tree which you see there grown tall with branches, here, the wretched Pentheus was cut into pieces by the mother who bore him, for wanting to see the Panthean dancers. You see a spring which pours blood-colored water, behind which sounds the frightful cry of a bull. This is the river of the embraces

of the wicked.[3] You see the elegant wife of Lykos, who had the tall mountain as her school. Formerly she was our Sphinx[4] to whom was attributed the character of a miracle worker while she was working discontent among the people. Oedipus in slaying her took care of many worries. This is a fountain of the gods, a marvelous spring of waters from which lovely nymphs and waters flow simultaneously. (In it) Artemis descended and having washed and bathed and dried her body, she grew resplendent. Divine Actaeon, it is not fit to tell, saw the bathings of the daughter of Leto here. His body was completely transformed, and because of the baths, he was hunted down by carnivorous dogs. And his children made war upon Thebes. To this seven-fold foaming river, Poli(ni)ces led the people of Argos, a lance-bearing force. At these walls, Cappaneus was set ablaze; and those gates are called the Electrians'. They leave through these open and inviolate doors; Amphiareos opened them and went to the Ogygian land, which is locked by three gates. He slew Hypomendota, the son of Hiposthenos, who had fallen into the hands of thieves at these gates. Parthenopos was called the murderer of ten thousand at these gates, when he came to this land. Tougeus, the Calidonian, taking heart, came and stood there. Here Coulenices and Okles fought one another. Hither Adratos fled and died. These doors and this city of the Thebans defeated the ambuscade of the Argives."

130 Thus, Ismenias, bowed at the feet of Alexander, waxed effusive, and beseeched the king.

131 At this point, the emperor became angry at the bard, Ismenias, for he was very annoyed by all the fairy tales. He fixed his eyes upon him for a long while; then, gnashing his teeth, he said angrily: "What are these fairy tales? You most evil offspring of the race of Cadmus, wild and wicked offshoot of a wretched stock, man most evil and loathsome to the gods, Ismenias, you relic of sorrow, who is blind in eye and in spirit, too. Did you mean to beguile Alexander by recounting these artful fabrications? I shall

still devastate this entire city; I shall ravage it by fire; I shall turn to ashes the roots of those ancestors. For if you know my ancestry and my origin and who my parents were, was it not your duty to preach thus to the Thebans: 'Alexander is our compatriot. Let us not make war against our fellow countryman. Let us give him the support of our armies. Let us help our co-citizen and compatriot, Alexander. It would be to our glory and would strengthen this stock if the Macedonians intermingle and collaborate with the Thebans.' But since you were able neither to refrain from seeking to revenge yourselves, nor to effect it, for your effort to fight turned into a feeble disgrace, then your entreaties and supplications are servile and senseless. For, since you were not able to choose honor as you intended, you can fight with Alexander. But this is good neither for the Thebans nor for you; for as the end appears, I shall set Thebes itself ablaze; and at the same time I shall burn to a turn Ismenias, the best of the pipers, for he helped and protected the inhabitants. Thus shall I order that the sound of the twin reeds boastfully recount its Boeotian[1] capture."

Then he ordered his soldiers to undermine and cast down 132
the seven-gated walls of the city of the Thebans; and once again Citheron gave refuge to the Thebans; and Ismenias[1] himself was dripping with the blood which flowed from his body. And the walls and the city of the Thebans were torn down. And everywhere they were grief-stricken by the slaughter; and the walls were destroyed. And there was much tear-shedding and terrible lamentation, moaning and grieving, sobbing and crying. Meanwhile, Ismenias, having properly tuned the sound of the twin reeds, stood on the roof-tops, as the Macedonian ordered, playing the flute, for the possessions of the Thebans now belonged to Dionysos. Thus all the walls of the Cadmeans fell, and the palace of Lykos and the home of Labdakos, in worship to earth's first command. He spared Pindar, and left unharmed his tomb to which he came when he was a boy and had a

musical talent for lyre playing. Now having returned as an old man, he slew many soldiers in the town, and few did he still leave alive; and he wiped out the name of their race. For he said, "Let Thebes no longer have a name but rather let their city be laid waste[2] since its population is so lawless." And what ensued was determined from the origin of the Thebans. Because Amphion was singing while the walls were being constructed and brought to completion, it was his lyre that built the walls in the first place. And as the walls were destroyed, Ismenias was found to have followed suit, playing the reed. So that which was set up by the music of song was cast down and destroyed by the song of music. Thus, all the Thebans perished together with their city. And Alexander proclaimed to the few remaining: "Whoever comes upon the city of the Thebans shall be without a city." From here, Alexander departed to other cities.

133 Meanwhile, the remaining Thebans sent to Delphi to request an oracle as to whether they were indeed never again to rebuild their city. And Apollo gave them this reply, "Hermes and Alcides[1] and Polydeuces, the rampart defender,[2] shall all three, by their labor, raise and restore you, Thebes." When they had been given this answer, they waited for it to happen.

134 *Meanwhile, Alexander came to Corinth and found the* Isthimian games taking place there. And the Corinthians beseeched him to conduct the Isthimian games. And the king acceded to their wishes and went in and took his place. The fighting contest came on; and the victors were crowned by the king, and he gave gifts to those who participated honorably. And one of the contestants was a champion of Theban origin, by the name of Clitomachos. He entered these three contests: the wrestling, the pancratium,[1] and the boxing. And having battled his opponent in the arena with such great fighting skill that he won the praise of the emperor, he came to get the crown for the game. The king said to him: "If you win the other two

games which you have entered, I shall crown you with the three crowns and I shall grant whatever request you make." Upon hearing this, he hurried on to the contest, and fighting bravely in the other two games for which he was inscribed, he won the complete contest and the boxing match and came to Alexander and was crowned with the three crowns. And when the herald asked him, "What is your name and of what city are you a citizen, so that I might announce you?" the contestant replied, "I am called Clitomachos but I have no city." And when Alexander learned of this, he said, "Brave man, you are so glorious a fighter as to win three contests in the same arena, wrestling, the pancratium, and boxing, and to be crowned by me with the wild olive bough, and you have no city?" Clitomachos replied thus, "It existed before Alexander became king; I have lost my land and my city." And since the great king understood whence he came and what his land was and what he would surely ask, he ordered that Thebes be built once again, in honor of the three gods, Hermes, Heracles, and Lydeuces,[2] "so that they be my gifts, and not your request." And thus was the oracle of Apollo fulfilled. "Hermes and Alcides and the rampart-defender Polydeuces all three working together shall build you anew, Thebes."

The birth and deeds of Alexander of Macedon written by the wise Aristotle are finished. Now we begin his coming to Plataea, a city of the Athenians.[3]

Rising forth from Corinth with his forces, Alexander came 135
to Plataea, the city of the Athenians, where the Athenians worship the Maiden.[1] And as he entered the shrine of the goddess, the cloth of the robes for the sacrificial services was being woven for the goddess. Alexander inquired about this, and the priestess of the goddess said: "You have approached my goddess at a good time, Alexander. You are destined to be famous and celebrated throughout cities; and you shall be radiantly glorious." When the

priestess had thus spoken, Alexander honored her with gold.

136 Some days later, Stasagoras, the general of the Plataeans, also entered the shrine of the Maiden. And the prophetess of the goddess said to him, "For you, Stasagoras, a fall from power has been written." And upon receiving this threat, he said to her: "You are unworthy of your function of prophet. When Alexander came here, you told him, 'It is written that you are to be famous and resplendent and eminent in all cities.' While upon my entry, you say, 'You are to fall from power.' " And she said: "Do not be resentful, General. By means of signs, the gods foretell all things to mankind, especially to those who are most powerful. When Alexander entered this place, a thread was being woven in the corners of the celebrated purple robes. I said to him, 'Alexander, it is written that you are to be famous, because of the celebrated purple color.' When you entered this place, this garment was completed, this cloth finished, and this machine dismantled. Now isn't it clear to you that your collapse from power has been written?" The general became angry and discharged her from her priesthood saying, "You related that sign for yourself and not for me; behold it is you who have been ousted." Alexander heard this and removed Stasagoras from his generalship and ordered the priestess to resume her office. And the priestess said, "Stasagoras, I related the sign for you, and the prophecy has worked out true." Stasagoras did not inform Alexander that he was going to Athens, for he had been appointed to his generalship by the Athenians; and he told them what Alexander had done to him. The Athenians rose up and rebelled against what had happened; and they all reproached the Macedonian. And when Alexander learned of this, he wrote them a letter which went thus:

137 "King Alexander speaks thus to the Athenians. After the death of my father, I had the good fortune to take over his kingdom. And after the western provinces had been quieted by letters, and I had, by persuasion, won over and taken

possession of every kingdom, I advised them all to stay in their respective places. As for my paternal friends, the Macedonians, they joyfully received me and immediately hailed my sovereignty. And protected by the number, manliness, and good will of these men, I settled the affairs of Europe. And I destroyed the evil Thebans with evil; I destroyed the city and razed it from its foundations because of its idle pride. But now that I have crossed to Asia, I am asking the Athenians to submit. I am first writing you, not verbosely as you people do there but briefly and succinctly, stating the most important points. It is not fitting for those who have fallen under a ruler, but rather befits the rulers themselves to act in this fashion and to give orders. That is to say, you should heed and obey Alexander. So now, either be noblemen yourselves or pay 1,000 talents tribute to those who are noble."

The Athenians wrote thus in answer to the royal letter: 138
"This city of the Athenians and these ten noble orators have this to say to Alexander: As long as your father was alive, we grieved greatly; and when he died, we rejoiced greatly. Philip was thrice hated by the Hellenes. It must follow that we have the same sentiments toward you. You, the bold and willful son of Philip, demand 1,000 talents tribute from the Athenians; this means you wish to have war with us. So, since you have this noble project, come, attack us forthwith."

In return, the king wrote this reply: "I, King Alexander, 139
say this to you Athenians. I have sent our Proteus[1] to cut out your tongues without ado and bring them to us; thus, he will fix your stupid orators so that they will be powerless to trick and deceive. And I shall try to devastate you and your helpmate Athens by fire, for you do not do as I have ordered you to do. Now hand over to me your leading orators so that I may consider your welfare and take pity on your city."

When they received the letter, they took it and wrote 140
beneath it, "We will not do so," and sent it off. And some

days later, they gathered together and deliberated as to what they would do. Should they send the men or should they fight? And while they were deliberating, Aeschines,[1] the orator, rose to his feet and said: "Athenians, what is slower than deliberation[2] (if) you wish to send us to Alexander? We will go forth courageously, for Alexander is not Philip. Philip was born with a willful, bellicose arrogance, while Alexander has been trained amongst us in the teachings of Aristotle; and he has put out his hand and taken disciplining. Thus, he will be docile and abashed upon seeing his teachers. And when he sees his preceptors, he will conduct as is fit and proper the kingdom he has received from his father, and which he now rules. And he will modify his attitude toward us to one of friendship."

141 And as Aeschines said this, Demades, a fine orator, rose to his feet and cut Aeschines short while he was speaking and said: "How long, Aeschines, are you going to proffer us effeminate, flaccid, and fearful words, so that we might not prepare ourselves and resist him with war? What devil of fear has come into you that you speak to the Athenians in this fashion? Do you, who with so much argumentation urged the Athenians to fight against the king of the Persians, now constrain them to stay silent and not fight the Macedonian youth, a willful tyrant who has assumed the brazen audacity of his father? And why are we afraid to fight with Alexander? We who persecuted the Persians, and forced the Lacedemonians into defeat, and conquered the Corinthians, and even put the Megarians to flight, and sacked the Zakynthians, are now afraid to fight with Alexander, says Aeschines.[1] 'Alexander will be embarrassed by our great orators, and shamed by our faces!' He has insulted us in front of everyone and has dismissed the general of the Plataeans that we appointed, and has set up Hippothos, the enemy of this assembly of ours, as general. And you say that upon seeing our faces he will be embarrassed or show us favor. Rather, he will seize us and strip us, and torture us to death. Now come let us make war upon the

ignoble and faithless Alexander. Put no trust in his youth, for the thoughts of children are untrustworthy; he can fight bravely with no consideration of what's right. He enslaved and destroyed Tyre, for they were too weak to fight against him. He uprooted the Thebans who were not too weak for him but rather exhausted from many wars. He enslaved the Peloponnesians not by going himself and making war; but by famine and by plague were they condemned to ruin. And even if Xerxes filled and blockaded the sea with ships and sowed the earth with great armies, covered the sky with weapons and filled the land of the Persians with slaves, we drove him, the great Xerxes, who had daringly undertaken and successfully mastered so much, out of Peiraeus.[2] And we burned his ships and we drove his troops out of the land, since we had Cynideros and Antiphon and Cleocharos,[3] and the other nobles with them. We who conquered them, are we now then afraid to make war against Alexander, against a child? Especially since with him are his satraps and foolish aides who do not know how to temper his brazen audacity. And now are you going to send us ten orators to him? Consider whether going unarmed will do you any good; consider it and see. And I furthermore proclaim to you, Athenians, that often ten dogs have by their barking saved from the wolves many flocks of sheep huddled together in fear."

When Demades had spoken to the assembly, the Athenians 142
entreated Demosthenes to give good and helpful advice concerning the safety of the multitude. And Demosthenes stood up and, by a sign of his hand, stilled the great crowd of the assembly and spoke thus: "Fellow citizens, I do not say Athenians, for if I were a foreigner and not a citizen,[1] I would properly have said Athenians; but now I am saying fellow citizens. Our safety is a problem common to us all. We must think soundly about this: whether to fight Alexander or give in to what he says. For Aeschines presented you with mixed arguments, not urging you to fight, yet not to forgo warfare. He is an aged man and in many

meetings of the assembly has pleaded its cause. But Demades is a youth and, according to the mentality of his age, gives this sort of advice. 'But,' says Demades, 'the Athenians drove Xerxes away. Cynideros was there, and Antiphon was fighting and Cleocharos was making war, and Boyidrimos was battling from ships, and again, too, Erechtheus was defending us, and Andimachos took heart and conquered.' And now, Demades, get those men and we shall make war on Alexander. We shall entrust ourselves to the strength of those you mentioned. But since they do not exist now, we are not going to fight. For each epoch has its own strength and law. We, the orators, are able with words to make great speeches among the people; but we are weak in donning arms and leaping into battle. Although Xerxes had great and powerful armies, he was defeated at that time; and the affair went the way we wanted it, because Xerxes was found weakened.[2] But Alexander has entered thirteen wars and has never been defeated; rather many captured cities have accepted him and found that this was the means to their salvation. The Tyrians were weak at the time of the war with Alexander! This was the reason the Tyrians defeated Xerxes in sea battle and set fire to his ships. The Thebans were weak! They, who have been fighting since their city was built and have never been defeated, but they were subjugated only by Alexander. Demades says that not he but rather famine defeated the Peloponnesians. Yet Alexander had sent them grain from Macedon. And when Antigonos, the general, said, 'Alexander, are you sending grain to those with whom you are preparing to fight?' He replied, 'Yes, indeed, for I shall defeat them by fighting, and they shall not be wrecked by famine.' Yet, without having been in the least harassed, you are in revolt; and you are angry that he deposed Stasagoras from his command. In the first place, Stasagoras had rebelled; for he said to the priestess, 'You said to Alexander that it was written for you to be famous throughout cities and you say that it is written for me to

be cast down from my command; so I shall now cast you down from your office of prophet.' Should not the king, then, upon hearing this, be justly disturbed about the doings of Stasagoras? Is a general the equal of a king? Are you angry at the Macedonian because he deposed Stasagoras from his command because the latter was an Athenian; and do not blame Stasagoras for dismissing the Athenian priestess? Yet Alexander acted to avenge us, for he deposed him from his command, while, in courtesy to us, he restored (her to) the office of prophet."

When Demosthenes had spoken thus, there was much applause from the Amphictyons[1] and there was a confused and indistinct din of voices. Demades remained still, and Aeschines gave his praises; Lysius confirmed it; Plato approved it; and Dimocrates gave his advice, Dionginos his approval, and the other Amphictyons pondered it. And the populace as a whole agreed with what Demosthenes had said. 143

And in turn Demosthenes said: "We shall continue our reply. 'Xerxes,' says Demades, 'made war.' He blockaded the seas with ships and sowed the land with troops. He obscured the sky with arms and filled Persia with Greek prisoners. And he captured and took into his power the Greeks. But of those that have opposed him, this man[1] has made not slaves but soldiers. And those who were his enemies, he made his auxiliaries. For Alexander has ruled all in this way; and he has maintained his power by doing kindnesses to his friends. And the Athenians, who are the friends and counselors of Alexander, are seeking to cease being such by speaking as enemies. It is the shame of shames for you, the preceptor and teachers of Alexander, to appear as fools. Not one of the Greek kings has entered Egypt except Alexander; and he did this not for making war but in order to ask an oracle of the gods as to where he should build a city to immortalize his name. And then he laid its foundations and built it. And since[2] it is very clear that when any task has been started rapidly, its completion, too, 144

comes quickly into view, he went on to Egypt which was under the rule of the Persians. And the Egyptians begged to join his campaign against the Persians. That wise man gave them this answer: 'It is best for you Egyptians to work at the overflow of the Nile and the cultivation of the land, rather than to arm Ares' boldness[3] and to make Egypt subservient to him. Alexander shall not be the high and mighty conqueror of the whole world, for a king is nothing unless he have fit and decent land.' Alexander, the first of the Greeks, took Egypt, thus becoming the first of the Greeks and of the Barbarians. How many myriad companies will that land feed? Both those who have settled there and those who fight in war. How many empty and unpopulated cities will she fill and populate? She is as rich in population as she is in wheat. And whatever the king requests from her, abundantly she supplies; and if he wishes troops, she gives them; if he requests grain, she has enough to give to the point of satiation; and if he wants gold for tribute, he gets it. And do you Athenians wish to make war on Alexander who has such great resources for the sustenance of his armies? Even if it were our will and desire to make war on Alexander, the times do not permit it."

145 When Demosthenes had spoken thus at the community assembly, they all unanimously approved sending Alexander the crown of victory, made of fifty litres of gold, together with their personally committed assistance and also the gratitude of the eminent Athenian messengers; but they did not send him the orators. And the messengers went and met him in Plataea and presented him the decision in favor of his taking over the kingship.

146 And when he read and learned of Aeschines' defense and Demades' recalcitrance, and the people's credulity, and the advice of the Amphictyons, he wrote them a letter that went thus: "I, King Alexander, son of Philip and of mother, Olympias, write thus to you wise orators and teachers of Athens. Since this is the will of Providence above, I am to rule until I subject all barbarians to the

Hellenes. Thus, I sent to you for ten of your orators to come to me, not that I might do them any harm, rather, that I might receive them joyously as preceptors and teachers. For I did not presume to appear amongst you in person with an army lest you think me an enemy of yours; rather (I thought I would approach you) through your orators instead of my troops so that I would keep you free from all fright and fear. But you who have been reproached in these matters bear something else in your hearts against me; it is not so much the rule over your persons as it is that I for once have decided to work with the Macedonians. For when my father was fighting with the Zakynthians, you helped and supported the Zakynthians. But when you were fighting with the Corinthians, the Macedonians helped and supported you; and they disengaged and drove the Corinthians away from you. And although you had erected the bronze statue of Athena in Macedon, you tore out and cast down the portrait of my father intended for the temple of Athena. The payments of retribution have been just; you have received from us as much as you paid. Therefore, do not be encouraged to transgress against me. You are frightened that the kingship will fall to us; and you have to avenge yourselves. It has scarcely ever been my intention to do these things to you, for I, too, was an Athenian. But when in fact have you ever thought kindly of the glorious among you? You shut up Euclides in prison, who had given you good counsel, which was useful to you against Cavos.[1] You vilified Alcibiades,[2] who served you nobly as general. Socrates, the very school of distinguished learning for Hellas, you slew. You were ungrateful to Philip who helped and supported you in three wars. Are you slandering Alexander because of General Stasagoras, who was culpable and false to me and to you, because he cast out of the shrine the priestess of the goddess, who was Athenian; while I granted her her prophet's office again? I approve the arguments your orators made among you on your behalf. Aeschines gave you advice which befitted

you; and Demades spoke bravely and well in the community council; so, too, Demosthenes, who advised you to your benefit. And now once again, brave Athenians, pay heed, and have no fear of suffering evil. For this would seem unthinkable impropriety to me; for I am fighting with barbarian nations on behalf of freedom, and not to destroy Athens, its showplace."

147 And after Alexander had written to the Athenians in this fashion, he immediately took his forces and came to the land of the Lacedemonians. But they resisted him, wishing to show their courage and to shame the Athenians, who had not resisted him with war. So they shut the gates and set the troopships ablaze; for they were more skilled in naval warfare than in being brave warriors on land.

148 When Alexander heard of their story[1] favoring war, he sent them first a letter which said: "I, Alexander, king of the Macedonians, write to you Lacedemonians advising you to preserve the integrity of whatever ideals[2] you have inherited from your ancestors. But civil greetings will come later only if you are worthy of receiving my polite salutations. Now you who are brave and undefeated warriors, see to it that you are not brought down from your glory. Who knows but that perhaps, while desiring to show off your strength to the Athenians, you may be ridiculed by them by being defeated by Alexander. So come away there from your ships and voluntarily abandon the futile hopes of those plans lest that fire consume you in its flames."

149 The letter was thus read to them. The Lacedemonians did not agree, but instead set out to fight with all their might. But when those who stood armed upon the ramparts had been knocked down, and what was on the ships had been set aflame, and the remaining ships had been consumed by fire, they came in supplication to the king begging they be not enslaved.[1]

150 And heading away from there, Alexander moved on to the lands of the barbarians. And Darius assembled his generals and asked them for advice as to what should be done. And

he said: "As I see from his ascent, Alexander is fighting his way forward toward us. I used to think of him in terms of a bandit; but behold, he has undertaken and is doing kingly deeds. And as great as we Persians seem to be, Alexander appears still greater in the daring he has assumed. It seems to me that I sent him a whip and a ball with which to play with those his own age and be educated. But he has completed his education and has overtaken me, his teacher; and he is coming to conquer all. Now come, let us think about the common welfare, and from that point of view find a solution for the conduct of our affairs, lest by dismissing the valiant Macedonian as nothing, and being swollen with pride in this so great Persian kingdom, we be captured along with the whole country.[1] But now, I fear that perhaps at this time the greater be found inferior to the smaller and that Providence above is passing the succession to my crown to him. Now we must retreat and abandon Hellas so that we might rule the great barbarian nations we have captured; and let us not, in attempting to maintain hold on Hellas, destroy the Persians."[2] Thus spoke Darius.

And Oxydarkes,[1] the brother of Darius, said to this: "Look, 151
you have already started to aggrandize Alexander, and you are encouraging him all the more to attack the Persians by giving way and abandoning Greece. Be like Alexander yourself, and in that fashion you will keep your kingship strong. For he does not entrust the war to his generals nor his satraps, as you do to your satraps; rather he himself is general, satrap, and king. And not trusting to his soldiers, he himself is the first of all to leap into battle, valiantly putting aside his royal status and protecting his troops. And when he has fought and won the contest, he takes on again his crown." Darius asked, "And how shall I resemble him?"

And another general said this very thing: "Alexander has 152
won all things by never procrastinating, by bravely overcoming all problems, and, true to his nature and appear-

ance, by modeling the pattern of his behavior on the lion." And Darius said, "Do you actually know that for a fact?" And he replied: "When I was sent by you to Philip, his father, to demand tribute from the Macedonians, I discovered and learned of his aggressive character and the strength of his mind and the nature of his genius. Now summon and call the satraps of this vast land; for your nations are many: the Persians, and Parthians, the Ilamians, Babylonians, the Mesopotamians,[1] and the Libyans, as well as the Indians; and I shall also list the home of Šamiram.[2] Now your nations number 180; draft soldiers from them, and if you can find a way, their gods, too. For although we barbarians are not able to conquer the Greeks by bodily strength, still we may terrify the enemy by the vastness of our mass."

153 And another[1] in turn said: "You have given your king good counsel. But it is worthless; for a single plan of the Greek mind will overcome and disrupt the great hordes of barbarians, just as a single Laconian dog may harass many flocks." When they had thus taken counsel, Darius assembled the mass of warriors.

154 And Alexander passed through Cilicia. There was a body of water called Oceanus[1] there. Its water is clean, clear, and crystalline. The king wished to bathe in it; and he stripped[2] and bathed in the water and came out refreshed. But the bath did not turn out to be a factor favorable to his health; for his head ached from catching cold, and he suffered from intestinal pains. When Alexander was stricken by sickness, the Macedonians were terrified in their hearts lest Darius, upon learning of Alexander's sickness, attack with his troops. Thus Alexander's single person was the spur and encouragement of the spirits of so many soldiers.

155 And there was a man there named Philip, who was a beloved friend of the king, and a fine and skilled physician. He promised to give Alexander medicinal potions and to drive away from him the evil of the sickness. And the king

agreed to take the medicine Philip prepared. A letter was handed to Alexander, sent by General Parmenion, to the effect that Darius had persuaded Philip, the physician, to slay Alexander by drugging him, if he found a propitious moment, by promising to give him his sister, whose name was Gagipharta,[1] as a wife, and to make him co-ruler of his kingdom. And Philip had promised Darius to do this. And when Alexander read the letter, he was not at all troubled for he knew Philip's character and what tender solicitude he had for him. He put the letter under his headrest.

Then Philip, the physician, came and tendered him the cup 156
of medicine saying, "Drink, my lord and king, and you shall be freed from that sickness." And Alexander took the cup in his hand and staring steadily at Philip's face, he said, "I drink, Philip, trusting myself to you." The doctor said, "Drink, King, and have no fear, for that medicine is unreproachable." And the king replied, "Look, I am drinking." And then he drank down the medicine. Then after he had drunk it, he put the letter in the other's hands. And when he had read the accusation against him, he said, "My lord, Alexander, you shall not find me such as these words indicate."

And when Alexander was delivered from his ills, he em- 157
braced Philip and said: "What great feelings of friendship I have for you! For I had received that letter before the medicine. But only after I had drunk it, did I hand you the letter; for I entrusted myself to your honor, knowing that Philip would not look upon Alexander with malice." The physician replied: "Alexander, now put to death the one who sent you the letter, Parmenion. For it is he who urged me to kill you with drugs so that I might take to wife Darius' sister Gagipharta. And when I, my lord, was unwilling, see with what viciousness he sought to destroy me." Having verified this and found Philip, the physician, guiltless, he put Parmenion to death.

And taking his troops thence, he came to the land of the 158
Medes and hastened to enter great Armenia. And when he

had won them over, he traveled on many days through the waterless lands and snake-infested ravines. And having traversed Ariake, he came to the river Aracani,[1] which flows from the flowery hills of the Angł province to the source of the Euphrates opposite the Ararat mountain.[2] And having bridged it with arches and iron bars, he ordered the troops to cross. When he saw that they were afraid, he ordered the beasts of burden, wagons, and the food for all be crossed over first; and then he ordered the troops to cross. And when they saw the flow of the river's current, they were afraid that the bridges might suddenly come apart and collapse. Since they could not be induced to cross, the king took his aides and he himself crossed first, before all the other soldiers; and then they followed.

159 In Mesopotamia and in Babylon, the great rivers are the Dklat'[1] and the Aracani, which flow to the Nile River. For it is said that when the Nile, in annual periods, overflows and soaks Egypt, who feeds the world, then these rivers, the Dklat' and the Aracani, run dry. But when it recedes and leaves Egypt, they fill to overflowing.[2]

160 Therefore, when Alexander and the whole army had passed, he ordered that the bridge over the Aracani be demolished. And the troops became very disturbed at that and badly frightened. They said, "If, in fighting, we suffer defeat at the hands of the barbarians, what way do we have of passing to safety?" And the king, upon hearing the criticisms of the soldiers, assembled their generals and satraps and all the soldiers and said to them: "You offer me a fine hope for victory, having this (idea) of turning back when you have been defeated! Now this is the reason that I ordered you to demolish the bridges, so that you shall fight and conquer, and not turn to flight if you are by any chance routed. For the battle does not go to those who flee but to those who pursue. So I swear on the fates above, that when, after defeating the barbarians, the time comes for me to return hence to Macedon, I shall return in triumph with

you to Hellas. Only now be of good courage, and the clash of battle will seem like a game to you."

When Alexander had given these orders, the soldiers gave 161
him honors and cheers. They stood bravely at their battle positions. He pitched his tent and set his camp there. And Darius' force was on the bank of the Dklat' River, and five satraps composed its rear guard. Both sides engaged in battle with one another; they fought bravely.

Now one of the Persians who had come and taken on 162
Macedonian arms as if he were a Macedonian soldier and auxiliary came up behind Alexander, struck Alexander's crown, and smashed his helmet. And he was seized by the soldiers and they took him and stood him before Alexander, who said to him, "Who are you, brave man? Why did you want to do this?" And he replied: "Alexander, do not let my Macedonian arms deceive you, for I am a Persian, a satrap of Darius. I approached Darius and said, 'If I come back and bring you Alexander's head, what will you give me?' And he promised to give me a royal domain, and his daughter as wife. And I came here on my own and did not carry off the affair." Upon hearing this, Alexander called his generals to him, and while they were looking on, he set him free right in front of them, saying, "Men of Macedon, soldiers should be this single-purposed." And the defeated barbarians, lacking sufficient food, hastened on to enter the land of the Bactrians; but Sk'andar[1] stayed there since he was in control of their lands.

And again another of Darius' satraps risking death came to 163
Alexander and said: "My lord King, I am a satrap of *Darius, and I have accomplished great things for him in* war, but had no thanks from him; for he did not render me the value of the things I did. Therefore, give me 10,000 soldiers from your armies; with them and my soldiers, I shall attack his armies and hand the king of the Persians over to you." Alexander replied: "I am grateful for that. Go and help your own king; for I would not entrust strangers to you who have betrayed your own people."

164 And they who were the satraps in those regions wrote to Darius in this fashion: "To you, our King Darius, Vštasp and Spandiatar greet their lord. Earlier, too, we disclosed to you Alexander's incursion upon our people; we now again notify you that he has come to this region, has seized our land, and slain very many Persians. And we stand to perish in the peril of death. So rush immediately with many troops to reach us before he does. And do not let him get near you, for the Macedonian army is most powerful and more numerous than ours. Farewell, our lord."

165 When Darius received this and read it, he sent Alexander a letter of this sort: "King Darius makes this announcement to Alexander. You have written me an arrogant letter whereby you ask us to meet you. Behold, have I not passed Ankoura[1] to bring the gods of the Orient to dwell where the sun sets? And I bear witness before the gods to the things you have brought upon me. For I shall consider my mother gone to the gods, that I do not have a wife, and that the children do not exist at all. Still, I shall not cease petitioning my enemy. For it was written to me that you were kind to my family; and if you would do a further act of righteousness and defend my interests, you would be willing also to come to me, and in that way offer godly honors to my family.[2] You have the jurisdiction hereafter not to protect my family but instead to torture them as children of the enemy. For by doing them kindness you shall not be able to make me a friend, nor by doing evil, an enemy; for I reckon both as one. Now give me your final answer, so that we might know the value of our kindness."

166 And upon reading this, Alexander smiled broadly and wrote this answer in return: "Alexander, the king of kings, greets King Darius. The gods shall censure to the very end your empty pride, your garrulousness, and your inane and futile chatter, for you never cease blaspheming and entertaining vain thoughts. Be aware, now, that I did not honor your family out of fear; and I was not tender to them in the

hope of coming to a reconciliation, so that, when I came to you, you would be grateful to us. For my crown is not of less value than yours. Nevertheless, my piety is not for everybody but for your family especially, since I call them those who have fallen from heaven to earth.[1] Now I am writing you a final letter. I have decided to act otherwise toward you than with love and friendship."

And when Alexander had answered him, he prepared for war. And he wrote an edict to the satraps under him, which went thus: "I, King Sk'andar, who am also Alexander, greet the satraps who are subject to me, those of the Phrygians, Gamrians, Cilicians, Arabs, and of the other nations. I want you to prepare tunics for big men and send them to the Assyrian city of Antioch. And send the skins of however many four-legged animals that die also to the Assyrian city of Antioch so that the soldiers may find the wherewithal to produce their needs of leg armor and shoes and weapon cases, of which each of you knows the number. Do this and forward those things to Antioch. For 3,000 camels have been readied for service from the Aracani river to Antioch. And we have also ordered that the 3,000 camels which are in Antioch be assembled, some to transport materials into town and others to take them away and thus give uninterrupted service. And they shall be ready. Farewell." 167

And Darius' satrap wrote him thus about the situation at hand: "To Darius, my lord, greetings from Notareses. I am afraid to write this sort of thing to you, but I am compelled to do so by the present happenings. Be informed, my lord, that Kosares has been wounded and two great nobles have died. After Kosares was wounded, he went to his tent, and the enemy took whatever was useful to them. And Annias and whatever nobles were under his command have gone on over to Alexander. They set fire to the royal domains and took with them those who were concubines there. They slew the sister of Mithridates and have put fire to the land." 168

169 When Darius heard this, he wrote also to the Pitaki, who were nearby satraps, to get prepared and come forth from there. And he wrote to those who were kings nearby to the effect that "We are prepared to wipe away our sweat and pit ourselves against the Macedonians. I do not intend to greet them graciously for the things they have dared to do. And I have ordered those who are in Kov[1] to move forward." He said, "I do not think that there will be an end to these doings for a long time." And he wrote King Poros a letter begging him to bring up aid and notifying him that he was surrounded and hemmed in by fighting.

170 Poros received and read his letter and wrote him in return a letter which said: "Poros, king of the Indians, greets you, Darius, king of the Persians. I was deeply saddened by reading your letter. Even if I wanted to come to you and to think about helping you, I am prevented from doing so by a chronic bodily infirmity. But now be of good cheer, for this enemy cannot stay and resist all of us. Write us what you want, for all my forces are at your service and distant nations shall heed and obey you."

171 When she learned about all this, Darius' mother sent him secretly a letter of which this is a copy. "Greetings from Rodogoune to my son, Darius. I hear that you have called people together and want to meet Alexander in battle again. Son, do not trouble the earth, for the future is not clear. Let us live in hope of better things, lest, in acting rashly,[1] you be killed. For we still have our honor and great advantages and are not, as the mother of the enemy, treated as a slave. So I hope that Alexander will come to an amicable agreement."

172 And when Darius had read the letter, he secretly wept, remembering his family, and was troubled in spirit. But he considered the land of the Bactrians his bulwark in war.[1]

173 Now Alexander had taken his army and was traveling to the land of the Persians. The walls of the city were visible in all their height to the Macedonians. Sharp-witted Alexander thought of a plan. Since there were flocks feeding

there, he set the grazing animals free. Then he cut branches from trees and tied them on the four-legged animals, and the flocks followed behind the soldiers. And as the trees were being dragged upon the ground, they unsettled the whole surface of the earth which poured skyward; and the dust rose as high as Mount Olympus.[1] Thus the Persians thought that the army was of immense size when they observed the vast magnitude of the air-borne, wind-producing tremors of the storm. For when the onlookers saw from afar the stormy darkness, they were left spiritless. And cowardlike they spread fear among themselves and were bereft of power and strength.

And when he had approached to about five days distance from Persia, he drew to one side, and looked for trustworthy messengers to send to Darius to let him know when they might join battle with one another. While he was asleep, Alexander saw Ammon standing near him in the guise of Hermes, (wearing) his cloak and holding in his hand his caduceus and a staff, and he had a Macedonian cap on his head. He said to him in his dream: "My son, Alexander, I have come to advise you in your hour of need. For whomever you send to Darius as a messenger shall betray you and reveal to him all your clever plans. Risk death yourself, then, and, assuming my appearance as you see it, go to him as your own messenger. It is dangerous for a king to be his own messenger, but when a god helps him, no danger shall ensue." When King Alexander had seen this vision and had gotten this oracle from Ammon in his dream, his heart was bolstered with courage; and he rose to his feet smiling and informed the satraps of the substance of the vision. And they advised him to do what he was shown in his dream. 174

WHEN ALEXANDER CAME TO DARIUS AS HIS OWN MESSENGER 175

Then the king took with him a noble satrap, whose name was Melteos, and three mighty horses. There was a long

way to go, and he journeyed to the Stranga River. And this river would freeze from the snow until it was like a floor and as hard as stone. A chariot and a horse and anyone who wanted to could pass over it.

176 ABOUT THE WIDE AND FAR-EXTENDING RIVER STRANGA[1]

Then some days later, this river would suddenly melt and become a deep-flowing current, grasping in its current and dragging along anyone it might seize passing through it. But Alexander found it frozen. And assuming the form of Ammon which he had seen in his dreams, he mounted a horse[2] and crossed over alone. And Melteos begged to cross with him, "lest," he said, "there be some need of help." Alexander said to him, "Wait for me here with your two horses, for," he said, "I have as my helper him who commanded me, in the vision, to assume this appearance and to go alone." Having said this, he crossed the frozen river which had the width of one stade and was very deep.

177 And coming out on the other side, he passed on to the gates of Persia. And when the guards standing there saw him in that form, they supposed that he was a god. Nevertheless, they seized him and asked him who he was. And he replied, "Take me before the emperor; I shall tell him." And Darius was out on a hilltop. He was giving orders to his troops and organizing his forces as if in war upon the weak Macedonians. Coming upon the great splendor of Darius, he almost made reverence to him, thinking him a god come down from heaven and dressed in barbarian robes. For his body was statuesque, yet he had passed his prime; he saw that his head was covered with a crown and that the color of his robe was unlike any other. It had gold-thread decorations of Babylonian make. His shoes were Sepastanon;[1] and he had a scepter in his left hand. And the ankles of both feet were beautifully decorated alike, and they struck one another to the rhythm of his footsteps. And many strong, fully armed tribes surrounded and protected Darius

on both sides with countless men. And the guards brought Alexander before him.

And when Darius saw his appearance which he had never before seen anywhere or even heard of, he asked him, "Who are you?" And he replied, "I am a messenger of King Alexander." "And what have you come to tell me?" And he replied: "I shall notify you that Alexander has arrived. Know now, King Darius, that he who defers the fighting makes very clear to his opponent that his spirit is too weak and effeminate to fight. So now do not procrastinate; rather tell me when you want us to clash in battle." And Darius became angered and said: "Perhaps you are Alexander, since you speak so boldly—not like a messenger but as though you were Alexander himself. But we must have the traditional dinner, for Alexander himself had a dinner for my letter bearers; and you shall take good care of yourself in my company." 178

So spoke the king, and took Alexander's hand and led him into the royal palace. And the Macedonian took this as an omen concerning himself: that he was thus to bring overweaning tyrants under his power and rule over them. And he went into the palace with Darius; and when dinner was announced, he was invited in. And in the first place lay Darius on his couch; second, was Oxydarkes, the king's brother; third, Ochos, Oxydarkes' satrap; then, Audoulites, who rules Šoš;[1] and Phoartes; and after him, Mithridates. Then lay Tiridates; next, Candaules, the king of the Ethiopians; and Prince Pauliadres; and Arniphatos and Diosios were there, and so, too, Karderokedes and Alkides. And opposite them, on a single couch, lay Alexander, the Macedonian, alone. And the Persians stared at Alexander and they were amazed at the small size of his body; they did not know that the choicest clay first sent from heaven is allotted to a small vessel. And the pages constantly kept bringing goblets and serving them. 179

Now when they were in the midst of the banquet, Alexander thought of this plan. As soon as he took his goblet, he 180

tucked it into his lap. And when the servers saw him, they informed Darius. And the king rose from his couch and said, "Brave fellow, why did you put this under your robe, while you were reclining?" And since Alexander understood barbarian stupidity in its form and spirit, he said: "Great lord, when Alexander prepared dinner for his satraps and generals, he used to give them all the goblets. I thought that you were like him, and supposed Darius to be like Alexander." And all the Persians wondered with approval at the words of Alexander, for when greatness speaks, it always stirs wonder and belief in the hearer. And in the great silence, Alexander was remembered and thought of by them all.[1]

181 A certain Parasanges, a Persian prince who knew Alexander by sight because he had come before him in the Macedonian city of Pellas, when he had been sent by Darius to demand the tribute, said to himself: "Is this not he who was in Pellas; the one they called Alexander? But I must positively identify him." And he looked a second time, attentively, and said, "This is he for sure; there is no mistaking the son of Philip, for his voice has revealed him; and many men in unfamiliar disguise are recognized by their voice, no matter where they go."[1] Thus Parasanges, recognizing Alexander, leaned close to Darius, and said: "Darius, great king, and mighty despot of the Persian world, this messenger who has come to you is Alexander himself, the Macedonian, Philip's offspring, a fine man."

182 And when Alexander heard this, and perceived that the Persians recognized him, and heard the clamor and uproar being made at the royal banquet, he rather hesitated. And when he had considered the possibility of confounding them and leading them astray, he got up and ran out, carrying the golden goblet in his robe. And as he was climbing on his horse to flee from danger, he saw a man standing guard in front of the gates, holding a torch in his hand. He seized it and wrested it away from the man and slew him. He quickly jumped on his horse and left the land of

Persia. And when the Persians saw his flight, they arose in arms and tried to catch the fugitive. But Alexander pushed hard and traveled on ahead, directing his horse with the torch and showing him the way, for it was deep, dark night on Olympus.[1] And the barbarians who were in pursuit did not overtake him. For he had in his hand the guiding torch; and they stumbled about in that darkness. And he was like a bright star that rises in heaven and stands on high. Those who are below it are not in turmoil, for it saves all those there in the ravines from danger. Thus did Alexander lead all the Persians.

Now Darius was watching for portents concerning him- 183
self. He went and sat on his couch and suddenly saw a true omen. The ceiling opened and an image of Xerxes, whom Darius loved, fell through.

The Macedonian went on through the land of Persia and 184
came to the Stranga River. And while he was crossing the river to the other bank, just as the horse had its forelegs on the ground, the ice melted from the heat of the sun, and the horse was carried away by the fierceness of the current. But Alexander jumped off onto dry ground and the earth received him with an embrace. The Stranga seized and carried off the horse. And when the Persians came to the same river to fight, and saw that Alexander had passed, they were not able to follow. Instead they went away from there, for this river is unfordable for all men. And Darius' men said that it was very clearly Alexander's good luck. Darius was amazed at the miraculous happening and he was saddened by doubts. And Alexander walked a short distance and found Melteos whom he had left there with the two horses and told him all that had happened.

Then he ordered the Hellenic companies by name to be 185
armed and to come to him all prepared. And he went and stood in their midst as Aramazd in heaven. And when he had gathered all the Macedonian troops together, he found that they numbered 120,000. The number was small, but its intelligence was great, and more important than its num-

ber. And Alexander counseled the troops and encouraged the willing men to the battlefield saying: "My fellow soldiers and friends, I know that our number is small, but let no one bear in his heart a lesser courage for the fight. For anyone of you baring his fists could destroy thousands of opponents. I know that the number of Persians, with all their stupidity and foolishness, is greater than ours. But there are many thousands of flies in gardens, which, on a summer day, gather and, because of their great numbers, crowd one another; but when wasps and horseflies attack them, they drive them away in a whir of wings. In the same way, a mass of those Persian flies is nothing against a very few wasps of the Macedonian armies." When the king had thus spoken, they all praised him.

186 And they traversed many rocky roads and upon reaching the banks of the Stranga River camped there. And Darius took his horde and came to the other side of the Stranga. He found it newly frozen, and he himself crossed first to attack Alexander. And the heralds standing in their midst were haranguing and calling the brave to battle. And when all the troops had been armed and organized, Darius mounted his chariot and charged forward to attack with his chariots, menacing the enemy with the scythe-like axles of the wheels, for many satraps had mounted chariots; and others were bringing up quantities of weapons which were ingenious and served all purposes. But in front of the Macedonians rode King Alexander on his bull-headed horse. And no one could come near him.

187 And when on both sides the war trumpet sounded, they attacked one another with great commotion, and made a mighty uproar, a terrible tumult.[1] And the cries and shouts of the soldiers produced a thundering of the clouds. For, they had most eagerly assembled and come to the task of making war. Some started to throw rocks, some fired arrows up to the sky as if to cover it and darken the brightness of the light of day; others, half-massacred bodies, lay

on the ground, all soaked and stained in the spilled blood. And many on the Persian side perished by the sword.
And Darius turned back, twisted the reins of his chariot, 188
and fled from the crowd, away from all the fighting. And the scythes of the moving chariot mowed down the densely crowded Persians as farmers in the fields mow husks. And Darius himself and those who were with him reached the Stranga River. Finding the river frozen, they drove their chariots straight on across. But when another group of soldiers attempted to cross the river, the ice melted beneath them, and the current seized all who had not yet crossed. And those who did not manage to cross the river were mercilessly slain by the Macedonians.

And Darius fled and took refuge in his palace. He threw 189
himself upon the ground and, choked with tears, brokenheartedly lamented having lost such a great number of soldiers and having made a desert waste of the whole Persian land. And Darius, gripped by such sick doubt, lamented his fate, saying: "Woe on these inescapable, danger-laden, and disastrous uncertainties. For I, so great a king of kings, Darius, who have subdued so many nations and subjugated many cities, who shared the throne of the gods and rose with the sun, now mere fugitive from death, am a barren waste. My mother spoke the truth; no one knows for sure what is to be. For if fate takes the slightest turn, it raises the lowest man up higher than the clouds and lowers into obscurity those who are on high." And Darius lay there and bitterly languished all alone—he who had been lord of such multitudes.

He came to his senses a little later, and got up and re- 190
gained his composure, and found his reason again. After this long lament, these dolorous sighs and painful sobbings, he tried to regain his strength and control his thoughts, once he had subdued the tide of stormy sorrows. He composed a letter to Alexander, and sent off the following sorrowful entreaties to be set before him. "Darius greets you, King Alexander, my lord. First of all, you should

keep quite clearly in mind that you were born a man, so that you do not swell with pride and make vainglorious plans, but rather keep the mortal order of things in mind. For Xerxes, who showed me the light, esteemed himself greater than all men and became proud and disdainful. He had a great desire to go to Hellas with an army. And although he cared a great deal for the gold and other possessions and advantages we had gotten from our forefathers, he went and lost much gold, much silver, and many altars. When you look and see these things, avoid grandiose projects; in the name of Aramazd take pity on us who have fled to you and haven fallen before you in supplication. And on behalf of the other (god), on whose account freedom exists among us Persians,[1] free my mother and wife and children. In exchange for them, I promise to show you the treasures which our fathers placed on the earth in the land of Mina, and in Šoš, and in the land of the Bactrians. And I shall pray that you may rule over the Persians and the Medes forever; and may Aramazd glorify you. Farewell."

191 And when this letter was read by Alexander, he ordered the generals who were there to hold a meeting and read the letter. One of the generals in his retinue, by the name of Parmenion, said, "Alexander, I would take the possessions and lands which they offer and give in exchange for them his mother, wife, and children." And Alexander said to this, "And here, now, Parmenion, is what I would do." And he ordered the letter bearers to tell Darius: "I am amazed," he said, "at the way Darius pleads to save his family with possessions; and all the more that he promises to give me my own lands. It is obvious that he is ignorant of this fact. For if he were to conquer me in battle, this land is his; but since he is found defeated, he should not promise me my own possessions. For if he conquered in battle, he would have to say nothing to us concerning his mother and wife and children; rather we would be addressing him about our own plight. But I would not have come

at all to Asia if I had not believed the land mine; for it is not right to take things from others. As to the fact that he was the ruler of the land up to now, let him consider this his gain, for he suffered nothing for holding another's land so long." He ordered the messengers to relate this to Darius; but did not write a letter.[1]

192 And the king gave orders to care for those of the soldiers who had been wounded and to comfort their spirits and to secure for the dead fitting burial on the spot. And he stayed there the worst of the winter and made the customary sacrifices to the local gods. Then, he ordered that the palace of Xerxes, the most splendid in that land, be set afire. But soon after, he regretted it and ordered them to stop. And he saw the graves set with much gold and golden urns, which was a sight for the gods. And the grave of Cavos was nearby. There was an extraordinary ten-storied tower; and on the topmost floor [he lay in a golden basin and there was glass around him through which both his hair and his body in its entirety were visible. There, at the grave of Xerxes, were some Greeks: some with their feet severed; others, their hands; some, their noses; and others, their ears. Some of the Athenians whose feet were bound beseeched Alexander to save them. And seeing their misfortune, he wept and felt pity for them. He ordered that they be freed and be given 1,000 drachmae and that each be returned to his own land. And they took the silver and pleaded that he distribute land to them there and not send them, who had been so mutilated, back to their fatherland, to the sorrow of their families.][1] And hearing them, Alexander ordered that lands be measured and parceled out to them; and that grain be given them for sowing; and that six oxen each, and whatever else was necessary for farming, and more things yet, be given them.

193 But Darius was calling for yet another battle, to strike at Alexander. And he wrote a letter to Poros, the king of the Indians, to come to his help, saying: "Darius, the king of kings, greets King Poros. I have written you that you

might commiserate with me in the destruction that has befallen my house. Since this man who has attacked us has the character of a wild animal, he is unwilling to free my mother, wife, and children, even though I promised him my fortune and many of my other possessions, that he might decently accept these things; but he has not agreed, for he has chosen to devastate my lands. Because of these acts, I intend to wage another war against him, a very great one, so as either to drive those people away or to exist no longer myself, on this earth. To this extent has he brought me to death's door. Now it is only right that you be outraged at the things I have suffered and that you seek revenge for me from the enemy, remembering the love and righteousness of our forefathers. Now assemble many nations at the Caspian gates, that unconquerable and difficult region. I shall receive those who come there, giving each able-bodied man[1] three pieces of gold per month, and five gold pieces to the horsemen; and I shall give them also grain and food. And I shall send you half of all the loot I get from the enemy. And I shall present to you also the so-called bullheaded horse, along with the royal domains and the 180 concubines in Šoš, together with the jewelry of each. Now when you get my letter, let the first thing you do be to advise the nations around you to go assemble at the place and time we appointed."

194 And Alexander learned what was being prepared from one of the men who had fled to him from Darius. And he took his troops and moved into the land of the Medes. And he heard that Darius was at Ekbatan; and he did not think that Alexander would rule in Asia, unless he destroyed Darius' reputation. He had been told that he had fled to the Caspian gates, near the land of T'ališ, in the region of Gilanos. And he hastened after him. And he learned from someone—Gistanes, the eunuch, who had fled to him and who told him everything truthfully—that Darius was close by; and he boldly and bravely pursued him.

195 And when Darius' satraps learned that Alexander was near

the area, Arivartan[1] and a man named Besos, debauched and mentally warped[2] by nature, planned to slay Darius. For Besos and Arivartan said to one another, "Let us kill Darius and get rewards from Alexander for killing his enemy." Entertaining such an evil thought, and not ashamed of it, they thought they were doing the Macedonian a great favor. And they came upon Darius with sword in hand. When he saw the wicked ones, he said: "My lords, who used to be my servants, what have I denied you or what harm have I done to you that you would slay me with savage audacity? I beg you, do not do more evil yourselves than the Macedonians. Do not attack me in a way that is more vile still than Alexander's. Permit me to lie thus upon my terrace and lament the inequity of my involvement with fate. For if Alexander comes now and finds me slain, he, as a king, will avenge the slaying of a king." And they did not accede at all to the wishes of their king, but struck at him with their swords. But he resisted them and struggled with the two powerful young men. He held Besos on the ground with his left hand, and struck his left knee into his backbone and crushed it backwards. And he warded off Arivartan with his right hand so that he could not slash him with his sword. And the blows of the regicides were oblique and to the side, and they were not able to kill him effectively. Meanwhile, the Macedonians crossed the Stranga River, which had frozen, and Alexander came and entered Darius' palace. And when the villainous scoundrels heard of the king's entry, they left Darius half-dead and fled away until such time as they might learn what the king said about them.

And when he came into the palace, Alexander found Dar- 196
ius still half-alive, stricken down to the ground by the sword, and terribly stained by his very dark blood. He cried and made fitting lamentations of sorrow over him; and with tears streaming as from fountains from his eyes, he beat his breast in sorrow. And he covered Darius' body with his own cloak, and being a king himself, he grievously

lamented a king's misfortunes. Compassionately placing his hand upon Darius' chest, he spoke thus to him. "Arise from your own ground, king of the Persians, great Darius, and once again be master of your realm; rule your royal multitudes; take upon yourself your great glory, the royal crown. I swear to you, Darius, by Providence above and all the gods, that I say this to you truly and without false guile; for I want your crown to be yours alone, and so, too, the imperial scepter you held. For I sat with you and shared your banquet table when I came to you as Alexander's messenger. Now, brave one, arise and take command of your land; stand up and be brave; it does not befit a king who has met misfortune to grieve in his heart. For man knows nothing about death, and no one can boast of escaping it. But tell me, my lord king, who were the men who struck you. Point them out to me, that I might give you rest from your sorrows."

197 And when Alexander said this, Darius groaned, sighed deeply, and stretched forth his hand and drew Alexander to him. He embraced him and said: "Alexander, never swell with pride, arching your head in kingly glory; for when you accomplish a godlike deed and seem to be touching heaven with your hands, call to mind and consider the future. For fortune knows neither king nor prince, neither the peasant nor the populace. It goes everywhere, unpredictably, and does its work. See now, what a king I was, and what a wretched man I have become. I, who was the master of the earth, am dying without being master even of myself. Bury me, my son, with your glorious hands. Let the Macedonians surround me and not the Persians; let not the barbarians be Darius' next of kin.[1] See now and be prepared to protect yourself from your own people, lest you suffer harm from the Macedonians as I do now from the Persians. Also I beg to entrust to you as your own parent my wretched mother, Queen Rodogoune, and care for my wife as a blood relative. And I give you my daughter Roxiane for a wife, for if my memory still survives even in

death, two children shall be boasted of by their parents; you by your father, Philip, and my daughter, Roxiane, by Darius. Honor my sister, Gagipharta, and consider her your own sister and respect my brother, Oxydarkes, as a true king, so that the Macedonians do not trample on him. And take care of the other children as befits your sagacity and genius." And when Darius had spoken these last words, he expired in the arms of the world conqueror, Alexander.

AS TO WHERE ALEXANDER BURIED DARIUS. 198

Meanwhile, Alexander commiserated in his sad lot and was moved to pity; and he wept bitterly. He ordered his body put in a casket[1] and he buried him as was proper that a king be buried according to Persian custom. He ordered the noblest of the Macedonians and Persians, in panoply, to go first; and he, the king himself, lifted upon his shoulder and alone bore through the midst of the satraps the body of Darius. And the people following along were moved not so much at seeing Darius as that Alexander was carrying him. And he set him in the grave of the Persian kings; and then, sacrificing many oxen and sheep, he carried out the funeral ceremonies. And he himself sat in power and might upon the royal throne and decreed laws and orders to the Persian land by the following edict.

"I, King Alexander, son of the divine king, Ammon, and 199
mother Olympias, write to all you inhabitants of the land of Persia: to the Aryans and the non-Aryans,[1] to the country folk and the city dwellers. For," he said, "it was not my wish to have so many thousands perish terribly, but some god or fate granted me victory over the Persians. I am very grateful to Providence above and also to the gods everywhere. You should be aware that you are to be appointed satraps whom you must heed and obey as (you did), at the time of Darius, all the generals appointed by him. You must not acknowledge any king other than the young and wise Alexander alone. And each of you should abide by the religions and customs, the laws and conventions, the feast

days and festivities, the banquet celebrations and cattle sacrifices as you did in the days of Darius. Let each man stay Persian in his way of life, and let him live within his city. And the disobedient shall be punished with death. And I make no claim to your possessions; each shall govern his own—except for gold and silver. For every man, both good and bad, will be seen taking pride in and boasting of these. So I order that all the gold and silver be used by those who live in our towns and cities. And let the money which everyone has be given as a gift to each man to use as he pleases. And take all offensive weapons and shields to the prepared and designated arsenals; and the satraps shall use this force along with their own to arm themselves. And let the customary celebration be enacted with the agreement of the satraps and generals. Let no tribe mingle with another, nor one region with another, except for purposes of business alone, and then, unarmed and in groups of twenty men. Otherwise, he shall be put to death as an enemy rebel by Persian law. And acting according to these things, all businessmen shall do as they did, and you shall carry on as in the time of Darius. And from the villages and from all you others who used to pay him a tribute of three parts, I shall take two. For I wish to make the land one of widespread prosperity and to make the Persian roads peaceful and quiet commercial arteries, so that people from Hellas may easily go to whichever Persian city they wish. Therefore, I have ordered each of the satraps to open a road from the gorges of the Euphrates River; and from the beginning of the road, at intervals of a half mile and a mile, to write upon it where the road leads. And let there be a sign if two or more roads meet, indicating whether the roads are wide (or) insufficiently dry; and let this be clear. Now, as for what was fixed as customary toll and was a problem on the roads in Darius' times, I grant this to the temples of the gods, and especially Drosabares, because I wish that they fittingly celebrate my birthday in conjunction with that of Cavos. I have ordered the satrap

Moschylos to celebrate joyfully my and Cavos' birthday with a great celebration; and for my festival, let both spectators and athletes be Persian; and let them be held in Persia. And I also wish that the virgin who has crowned our city, as long as she remains a pure virgin, be my mother's priestess, receiving in annual tribute a payment equal in value to her twin crown. But if nature should overcome her and make her a woman, let her be given the amount in place of a dowry. And these same regulations shall remain for the one assuming the priesthood. And the gymnastic festival shall take place in a famous, beautiful place, as in a Hellenic city. I shall make that choice myself while I am alive. But after my death, I think that the people whom I entrusted will also be able to do what is necessary. And for the war chariots, let there be awarded a golden bowl which shall weigh 1,200 staters; and for the others, a silver one, apiece, which should hold enough for a very sober man to get drunk on. And for the war horse (contest), a bowl of equal weight and a Medean robe; and he who has succeeded and won shall be present daily at Alexander's dinner table. According to the Persian custom, let him have the sacred double crown of gold, and the plain Persian robe and the golden belt and two cups worth 170 staters. And as the sign of victory, let all my satraps eat at the Alexandrian shrine, which is the shrine of all rulers of Persian citizenship who are not opposed to the king. And the regional leaders and chiefs of these contests shall be our Alexandrians. And the priest of the Alexandrian temple shall be Moschylos, who built the Alexandrian shrine, and he shall wear a golden crown and purple robe, especially on my special days. Apart from what I have ordered, let no one presume to enter the shrine, and according to all customs, let the Medes not be permitted to enter. And I wish that no one of you be your own judge when you have an affair with your neighbor, nor with anyone whomsoever, especially when it concerns important matters. If anyone be found outside of his council assembling either

satraps or any other group, he shall be short-lived, condemned, and slain as an enemy of the Persian people."[2]

200 And when all this was finished, Alexander turned to his own affairs and said: "Mutinous Medes have cast down my great and mighty Darius. And I did not slay him, but others did; others, whom I do not know. To these satraps I owe huge gifts. I shall grant them the gifts they desire, and vast terrains besides, for they killed my enemy."

201 When Alexander had so spoken, the Persian multitude was troubled that the world conqueror was preparing to destroy the Persians. And seeing the sadness of the crowds, he said: "What do you suppose, men of Persia, that I am going to leave you who have killed King Darius in shame and dishonor? For if Darius were alive, he would once again be collecting soldiers for war against me. But now that he has been slain, all warfare has been stilled and stopped. So if it was a Macedonian who killed him, let him come to me openly, and take as the rewards of his bravery whatever he needs and desires. And if it is one of the Persians, let him not at all be troubled. For I swear upon the gods and on the life of my mother, Olympias, that I shall make him notable and conspicuous to all men." When the king had taken this oath, the whole crowd, in common, wept.

202 THE SLAYING OF BESOS AND ARIVARTAN.

And Besos and Arivartan, the evil ones who had slain Darius, expecting to receive great rewards from Alexander because of his pledges, approached him and said: "O King, may you live forever, Lord Alexander. We are the ones who slew Darius, your enemy." And when Alexander heard this, he ordered that they be seized and crucified upon the tomb of Darius. And they cried and pleaded and said: "Alexander, you swore upon the gods and Olympias' life that you would make the murderers of Darius conspicuous and notable. Why now, ignoring the promises that you made, do you order that we be crucified?" The king

said to them: "I do not act on your entreaties, but on behalf of my people. Persians, it was possible by no other means to find them so easily and to make them come forward but by slandering Darius' death for a little while. For it was thus my purpose to sentence his slayers to great mortal punishment. For those who slay their own king would be all the readier to have the brazen audacity to attack even me. And evil ones, you were not made a false pledge; for I swore to make you conspicuous and notable to all men. Now you shall be conspicuous and notable hanging on that cross." When Alexander had so spoken, everyone praised him. And those evil men were crucified at Darius' grave.

And a few days later, when Sk'andar had restored peace to 203
the city, he said to the populace, "Whom do you wish to be the satrap of this city?" And they replied, "We implore your goodness, our sovereign lord, to grant us Adoulites,[1] Darius' uncle." And Alexander granted it.

And he wrote Darius' mother and wife a letter which said: 204
"King Alexander greets Statira and Rodogoune. As god has wished, we have defeated Darius who opposed us. I prayerfully sought and hoped to take him alive under my royal staff. And I wanted so much to heed his wishes. But Darius was captured after he had been wounded by his own men. And while he was breathing his last, I pitied him and lamented over him, sorrowing over his mortal person. And I covered him with my cloak and inquired about his murder. And he recommended you to my trust and gave his daughter, Roxiane, to be my wife, but he did not have the time to talk to me about the other things he wanted. Now I have pursued those that caused his death and have destroyed them. Having taken a fit and proper vengeance, I have banished them with bitter death from among the living. But it seemed right to me that you should enshroud his very splendid body and mourn it with your traditional laments. And I think you should hear this story, but not be filled with sadness. I have ordered that he be put in a

heroic tomb among his heroic ancestors; and I have sent his wonderful body to be prepared for burial. Now put an end to your grieving and your touching tears, for I shall set you up in your own lands to rule over whatever peoples you wish. But since some people have had the madness to revolt, stay for the present where you are until I set matters here in order, and until it is time to give the hand which he deemed worthy of my extending to Roxiane. For he truly considered it fit that his daughter share my throne. And I am very desirous that you will agree with me for I want to render her homage as the wife of Alexander. Farewell."

205 And they wrote a letter to Alexander thus: "To you, the world-conquering king: Rodogoune and Statira send you, Alexander, king of kings, lordly greetings. We prayerfully entreated the heavenly gods, who vanquished Darius' reputation and that of the Persians, to set up for you eternal glory on earth. For in wisdom and talent, intelligence and strength, you were given a nature equal to that of the Olympian gods. We know that under your care we will be well off; and in the name of fortune, we extend to you in our prayers this fine and wonderful wish: that you possess the best things of the whole world for time without end. For you approached us, who had fallen under the staff of your rule, not as slaves, but you treat us instead as people who have come from very great station. And we are no longer slaves, but rather we know that Alexander has become Darius and we make reverence to Alexander who has not put us to shame. Now we wrote to the Persians, to the remnant of that race, a letter which asked them to enthrone you as a god with Aramazd, to be reverenced along with him. And when Aramazd takes Roxiane in marriage, we shall revere her, whom you considered and chose to make the partner of your throne, as Anahit.[1] (And, for your information, we wrote to the Persian people that we now recognize Darius and that the royal scepter of Darius has been set aright and stands erect; for the great Aramazd-Alexander takes Roxiane in marriage.[2]) 'Now you should

bring forth all the traditional Persian gods and present them to Alexander with blessings and praise for he has raised even higher the glory of the Persians.' And at the wedding, we Persians shall announce and proclaim our reverence to Alexander."

And when Alexander received the letter, he said: "I re- 206
nounce the honor of being equal to the gods. For I am a mortal man and must fear this sort of thing, for it presents danger to the soul. But I laud and thank you and acknowledge your thoughtfulness. And I shall try to be worthy of your forefathers by taking care of you. Farewell."

And he also wrote a letter to his mother, Olympias, and 207
acknowledged the wedding, and sent it to Macedon.

And afterwards, he wrote Roxiane in this fashion: "King 208
Alexander greets his sister, Roxiane. I wrote to my mother, Olympias, about the various things that have happened to us. I asked for the woman's jewelry and clothing of Rodogoune, Darius' mother, and his wife, Statira, which I sent Karanon,[1] the Macedonian, to bring to you; for Rodogoune and not Statira is to have this jewelry to ornament her body. And now you should mindfully revere all-seeing Emeses Eutikes[2] and cast away from yourselves all strong and lasting resentment. And when you look into the present matters, you should consider acting likewise about them, since these things are right before God and man. Do not spurn fortune, but try to think respectfully of Alexander and to honor the awe-inspiring qualities of Olympias. Acting in this fashion, you shall bring great and good glory to yourself and to me. Farewell in love."[3]

Meanwhile, Olympias prepared the royal vestment, which 209
was splendid and more wonderful than any king had seen, and sent it from Macedon. And the wedding was quickly performed. And after the great rejoicing in Roxiane's and Alexander's palace, he wrote his mother, Olympias, a letter. "Sk'andar, king of kings, greets his dear mother, Olympias, and the learned Aristotle, his venerable guide and great teacher. I deemed it essential to write you concerning the

conflict beyond the Tauros between me, my troops, and my Macedonians and Darius. When I heard that he was moving with many kings and satraps toward the gulf of Isos, I collected a lot of goats and tied torches on their horns and attacked them by night. And when they saw us, they turned to flight thinking that the body of troops was vast and that it was moving upon them. And thus we achieved the glory of victory against them. And on the spot, I built a city named Aycs,[1] and on the gulf of Isos, I built a city named Alexandria Kattison.[2] And from there, I pursued Darius to the approaches of the land of Armenia where the Dklat' is and the source of the Euphrates. There Darius fell into the hands of his generals and was slain by Besos and Arivartan, Medean generals. I was deeply grieved; for although I had conquered him, I was able neither to slay him nor to hold him under my royal scepter. But when I reached him, I found him still breathing. And taking off my anamesidon[3] cloak, I threw it over him. Then he saw the precariousness of fate in the present situation. And after I had shrouded Darius and honored him, I ordered those who were guarding his tomb to cut off his nose and ears according to Persian custom. Then we went away from there and came to a dense cedar grove. I ordered that my insignia be put there and the names of those who had been conquered, of Besos and of Arivartan and so, too, the kingdom of Mazkos[4] and the Medes and the Armenians and the Nomads and the whole Persian world which Darius, the great, ruled. And taking many guides there, I wished to go to the other side of the Medean desert, guided by the movement of Arcturus. The inhabitants of that place said that there are wild men and evil beasts there. Since I wanted all the more to see the places and the people, I ordered that we go see those places with a large army of natives and of our own soldiers. And then we came to a place where there was a roadway and a very deep valley. We went through there and saw deserted places and various kinds of wild animals. And coming to a place about nine

o'clock, we found a forest of trees called Kanaphniton,[5] which bore fruit similar to an apple. And in that forest, there were men who were called Plantings.[6] And they were each twenty-four cubits tall; and they had long necks, and their hands and fingers were like saws. They came and gathered about us. But I was deeply saddened by looking at such beasts. I thought of capturing some of them, but when we attacked them with shouting and the sound of horns, they turned and fled when they saw us. And we slew 432 of them, and they, 164 of our soldiers. And we moved on and subsisted on the fruit of the trees, as other men did too. This was the only food we had. Then, departing from there, we came to a verdant place where there were giantlike wild men, as big as the first, barrel-chested, hairy, and reddish colored. And they had faces like lions. And others called Oxoli[7] had hair four cubits long, and they were as wide as a spear. These very powerful men came to us in tunics of rawhide, ready to fight without spears or arrows. They slew many of our group. And since many of our friends and youths were lost, I ordered that a blaze be started in order to fight them with fire. Thus the men went away. And of our soldiers, losses numbered 120,000;[8] I ordered that pyres be lit and their remaining bones be taken to Spetriada.[9] But they disappeared completely. And we quickly entered their caves and found tied to their doors wild beasts as large as the dogs we call dantakes,[10] four cubits long, three-eyed, and of motley coloring. And we saw a flea, like tortoises in our country, an earthen-colored and troublesome breed. And departing from there, we came to a place where a delicious and abundant spring rose. And I ordered the army to camp and, mindful of the carnivores, to make a ditch and a barricade around us so that the troops might rest and recuperate a bit. Then there appeared to us, about nine or ten o'clock, a man as hairy as a goat. And once again, I was startled and disturbed to see such beasts. I thought of capturing the man, for he was ferociously and

brazenly barking at us. And I ordered a woman to undress and go to him on the chance that he might be vanquished by lust. But he took the woman and went far away where, in fact, he ate her. And he roared and made strange noises with his thick tongue at all our men who had run forth to reach her and to set her free. And when his other comrades heard him, countless myriads of them attacked us from the brushes. There were 40,000 of us. So I ordered that the brushes be set afire; and when they saw the fire, they turned and fled. And we pursued them and tied up 400,000 of them, but they died since they refused to eat. And they did not have human reason, but, rather, barked wildly like dogs. And from here, we moved on to a river that flowed abundantly. Then I ordered the army to camp and arm themselves according to military custom and to eat dinner in this fashion. And at that river, there were some marvelous trees. They appeared at sunrise and grew until six o'clock. And from six on, they shrank and withered until nothing of them was visible at all. Their sap was like Persian incense and had a very sweet and lovely smell. And I ordered them to hew the trees and to collect the sap with a sponge. And suddenly those men of mine were tortured by invisible evil spirits. We heard the murmurs of the torturers and we saw the blows that fell on their backs, but the torturers themselves were not visible. Instead, a voice came forth saying: 'Neither collect nor hew. Otherwise, he who does so will meet a horrible death.' Then I ordered them not to collect nor to hew. And there were black stones in that river, and everyone who approached these stones took upon their bodies the same color as the stone. And there were many snakes in the water there and many kinds of fish which were cooked not by fire but rather by cold spring water. For one of the soldiers washed one in cold water, put it in a pan and left it, and then he found the fish cooked in the pan. And an hour after he had tried this, he showed it to the others. And in the river there, there were fowl similar to those in our land.

But if anyone approached them, fire came out of them. And I ordered that no one approach them. And we quickly moved out of there and went and journeyed about. And the guides said: 'King, we do not know where we are going. Let us turn back so that we do not once again cross difficult terrains.' But I was not willing. And many five-footed beasts ran up to meet us. They were five-eyed ones, and others were six-eyed and six-footed. And they were thirty cubits long; and they rushed upon us. And there were many other kinds: there were those which turned and fled, and those which attacked us. And we came to a sandy place where forty-two beasts emerged. They had six eyes of which only two had sight, and they could not see with the others. Moving on, we came to a place where there were headless men. They had no heads at all, but had their eyes and their mouths on their chests, and they talked with their tongues like men. They were hairy and dressed in skins, a fish-eating sea people. And they gathered there, on land and from the sea, hydna,[11] which we have at home. They got twenty-five liters worth and gave them to us. And we saw many huge sea lions slithering on the ground. And we saw, too, lobsters as big as ships. Friends frequently beseeched me to turn back, but I was unwilling, for I wished to see the end of that land. Then moving on, we traveled through a desert toward the seacoast. And not again after that did we see anything, neither bird nor beast, other than sky and earth. And we did not see the sun again; but went on through darkness for ten days. And when we came to the coast, we boarded our boats after putting all the troops and tents aboard. And we sailed to an island in the sea which was not far from shore, on which we heard human speech in Greek; but we did not see who was speaking. And the soldiers risked death to swim[12] from the ship over to the island. And a lobster rose and knocked 54 soldiers into the water. And we were frightened and moved on from that area. And in two days, we came to a place where the sun does not rise. And when I wished to

instruct and send servants to see where the lands of the Blessed were, Callisthenes, my friend, advised me to approach with 40 friends, and 100 youths, and 1,200 soldiers. And later, on the way, we heard a female ass giving birth to a little one, which we joined to the army. And when we advanced fifteen miles, two birds with human faces met us, and they were larger than our birds at home. And they were crying from above in Greek: 'Why do you tread the earth looking for the home of the gods? For, you are not able to set foot in the Blessed Islands of the skies. Why do you struggle to rise to heaven, which is not within your power?' And fear and trembling seized me, since I was of course frightened when I heard the divine utterance spoken by the two birds. And another bird spoke in Greek and said: 'The East summons you. And you shall conquer Poros, king of the Indians.' And having said this, the bird flew off. And turning back from that place, we set our guiding star by Arcturus and thus came out in twenty-two days. And I put the gates together and carefully sealed up the place. And I wrote on a stone all that we had seen. And only then did I rise and go offer sacrifices to the local deities."

210 Then Alexander[1] took his army and went straight to India, upon learning that Poros was coming to aid Darius in battle. When Alexander had inquired and ascertained that Poros was coming to the battle with elephants and other wild animals, he ordered that the bronze statues that had been made in Persia be put on chariots and taken along in his train behind him. And in this fashion, he moved on through many deserts and waterless places, deep valleys, and plains. He suffered along with all the troops until his greatest princes said to him: "We have had quite enough in fighting the Persians and in conquering Darius, who sought tribute from the Greeks. Now why are we suffering the hardship of going across unpassable and beast-infested places to the land of the Indians who have done nothing to Hellas? But if Alexander in his great wisdom is a brave

warrior and wants to subdue barbarian peoples, let him go alone and fight; why should we follow him? It suffices that he caused many men to be devoured by savage beasts in wild and desolate places. Let him not take with him as his helpers and his fellow warriors us who have struggled and suffered in so many wars."

211 When the king heard this, he called them together. And he placed the Persian army by itself and put the Macedonians with the other Greeks and said: "Macedonian and other Greek comrades in arms and fellow soldiers, these Persians used to be both your enemies and mine. You have bid me to go fight alone against the barbarians, for I heard some saying: 'If Alexander wishes to fight with the barbarians, let him go by himself, alone. Let him not take us in his train.' Now I am going to remind you of this: Do you concede that I won those wars alone and that I shall, by myself, succeed in all the things that I propose to do yet to the barbarians? For the strength of my will and my counsel encouraged you all to battle, for you were dispirited and helpless. Was I not your protector in battle, at the head of the army, in face of Darius' hordes? Did I not go before Darius as my own messenger? Did I not expose myself to the danger of death? So what is the matter now? Go on back to Macedonia and save your own hides. Now do not hesitate and argue with one another. For the fact is that an army is able to do nothing without the wisdom of a king." When the world conqueror had thus spoken, they entreated him to cease being angry and to accept them as his battle companions and helpmates until the end.

212 And a few days later, they came to the borders of India. Letter bearers sent from Poros met him there and handed him this letter. And he read the following: "I, Poros, king of the Indians, order you, Alexander the Macedonian, who are devastating all cities, to depart. Since you are a man, what power do you have against the gods? And why do you joyously trample upon the misfortunes of others? Because you have fought with weak men, do you suppose that

you are mightier than others? I am invincible. For I am king not only of men, but of the gods, too. For when Dionysos, whom you consider a god, came here, I drove him away with my power. So now I not only advise but order you to immediately leave and go to Hellas. For the battle against Darius will not frighten me, nor the subjugation of however many other nations whom, because of their weakness, luck made yours. But you think you are all powerful, when in fact you are weak. So get up and move on and go to Hellas. For if the Indians needed Hellas, long ago, before King Xerxes, they would have cast it under servitude. Now since they consider them worthless people in whose land there exists nothing worthy of royal notice, they have not turned their attention to them. For every man desires to have what is good and not what is inferior. Thus we have abandoned Hellas as worthless and we enjoy a fertile land. So now pick up and return to Hellas. Do not covet those whom you cannot rule."

213 When Alexander read this, he said to his soldiers: "Fellow soldiers, do not let this letter from Poros, which was just read, upset you again. Remember the one Darius wrote. For the foolishness of the barbarians is really uniform. Just as the wild animals, tigers, leopards, and lions and elephants in their lands, boasting of being brave because their bodies are different, are easily hunted down by human intelligence, so, too, the rulers of barbarian nations who vaunt the greatness of their armies are easily captured by the astuteness of the Hellenes."

214 When Alexander had thus appeared openly and had piqued the army to courage, he wrote this letter in reply to Poros: "King Alexander of Macedon greets Poros, the king of the Indians. Know now that you have made us all the more eager to battle you with fury by saying that Hellas has nothing worthy of royal notice, while you Indians have all bounties, both lands and cities. And you know that everyone desires to possess what is good and not what is inferior. Now since we Hellenes do not have these things, but

rather you barbarians have and hold them, we Hellenes covet what is good and desire to get this from you. And about yourself, you wrote me that you are the king of gods and of men, and that you are able to consider yourself greater even than the gods. But I shall attack you in battle as a boastful barbarian and not as if I were fighting with the gods. For the whole world together cannot withstand a single god's taking up arms, nor the flash of lightning or the burst of thunder. Now as the nations I have attacked in war do not awe or frighten you, so your boastful words do not terrify me." Thus was the letter written and returned.

And when Poros read what he had written him, he was 215
greatly angered; and he collected his horde of men and the many elephants and beasts that went into battle with the Indians. And when the Macedonians and Persians drew near and Alexander saw the vastness of the battle preparations, he was afraid not of the great number of men but of the beasts. For they saw the new and marvelous doings of the beasts; and they were accustomed to fighting with men and not with animals.[1] Then Alexander himself entered Poros' city in the guise of a soldier, as a messenger sent to buy food. And when they saw him, they took him before Poros. The king said to him, "Why have you come here?" He replied, "We are soldiers sent by Alexander." He said to them, "How is Alexander?" "He is alive," they replied, "and well." "Why does he wish to fight the great force of Poros?" he asked. "But I shall take care of him when he gets here." And he deliberated for a long while and personally oversaw the readying of the horde of animals. And after he had taken counsel within himself, he went to his troops.

Then what did keen-witted Alexander do in the face of 216
this? He ordered that all the bronze statues of men that he possessed be intensely heated until the bronze was like fire; and he had them taken up front opposite the beasts. And when the animals attacked them and laid hold of the

bronze of the statues, which looked like men, their mouths were burnt and broken. Never again did they approach anyone. With such ingenuity, astute Alexander put a stop to the attack of the animals.

217 And the Persians greatly harassed the Indians and drove them off by the shooting of arrows and cavalry attacks. And it was a great fight both for the slayers and those who were slain. Alexander's bullheaded horse fell to the ground, stricken by Poros' iron lance. And when this occurred, the Macedonian was dumbfounded, and unmindful of all else, he dragged the horse out of the battle himself, so that it would not be carried off by the enemies. And Alexander's army struggled and fought for seven days.

218 And certain of the men were very fearful and wanted to surrender. And when Alexander learned that they were preparing to surrender, he remained silent, but had his heralds say to Poros: "Poros, it is of no value to a king that so many troops be lost futilely. But merit would lie, rather, in their physical well-being, if each of our soldiers rested and we went to battle. So let you and I alone fight together for the rule of the Indians."

219 When Poros heard this, he promised to fight him in single combat, deeming Alexander's body unequal to his own. For Poros was five cubits tall, while Alexander, three cubits. They faced one another in battle and both armies looked on and watched who would win. And Poros' army made a riotous commotion and Poros was startled and turned around to learn the reason for the shouting and unrest of the cavalry. Meanwhile, Alexander ran and sprang upon him and stuck his sword into his bowels; and thus he slew the giant, arrogant King Poros. And he knocked the fleshy heap off the horse. When the Persians and Alexander's Macedonian troops saw this, they leaped about in joy upon seeing their king so mightily and nobly conquer his opponent in the arena.

220 Then the satraps and the troops started to attack and fight one another, and Alexander said to them, "Wretched

and foolish Indians, why are you battling and fighting after the death of your king?" And they answered: "So that we be not enslaved." The king said to them: "Stop fighting, and go back to your city, free and fearless men. For it was not you who dared and presumed to make war on my armies, but it was Poros who fought with me. Now go back to your land and hold it in freedom." He said this knowing that his army was not equal to fighting with the Indians.
And he ordered that Poros be buried as a king. And 221
taking all his splendid possessions, gold and silver and splendid jewels, he journeyed straight to the Oxydarkes—not that they were a numerous or warfaring people but because they were gymnosophists,[1] who lived under huts and in caves.

And when they learned that Alexander had come to their 222
land, they sent their noble philosophers to take him this letter, which Alexander took and read through. It went thus: "We the Brachmans, gymnosophists, send greetings to Alexander, the noble and mighty. Know that you shall find nothing to take away from us. But if you wish to take what we have, there is no need for bravery or battle for this. Rather come to us in love; perhaps you will learn who we are. For as a result of the guidance of Providence above, victory in war comes to you; while to us, this love of learning."

Upon reading this,[1] Alexander went to them in peace, and 223
saw all the gymnosophists living under huts and in caves. And the women and children had been taken away and left with the flocks. He asked one of them, "Do you not have graves?" And he replied: "This place we live in is my grave. I shall lie here in the earth and bury myself in the sleep of those who dwell under the earth. For, in dying, I shall dwell in eternal sleep." And he said to another, "Who are the more numerous, the dead or the living?" And he replied: "The dead are more numerous. But you must not count what no longer exists; those who are seen are more numerous than those who are no longer visible."

And he asked another, "Which is more powerful, death or life?" And he said, "Life." The king asked, "Why?" "For the rising sun casts the strongest rays on earth, and in setting in the evening, is seen to be weakest." And he asked another, "Which is there more of, land or sea?" "Land; for the sea itself is set upon land." And he asked another, "Of all the animals, which is the cleverest?" And he replied, "Man." "Why is this?" "Ask yourself," he replied, "for see how many animals you have brought along with you in order to carry off all the other animals you capture." And the world conqueror did not get angry, knowing those who were speaking. And he asked another, "What is a king?" And he said, "An excess of greed, corrupt force, bold daring, a momentary success." And to another, he said, "Which is first, night or day?" And he replied, "Night." "Why is this?" And he said: "For he who is born grows in the dark of the womb, then comes forth to reach light." In turn, he asked another, "To whom can we not lie, but must speak truly?" And he replied: "To God. For we cannot lie to him who knows everything, that is, God." And he said to another, "Which is the best side, the left or the right?" And he replied, "The left." And he asked, "Why?" And the other replied: "For, in the first place, the sun climbs from the left to the right. And we mate with women from the left. A woman nurses by giving the child the left breast first. And we lift and carry the gods on the left shoulder. And so, too, you kings carry your royal scepters in your left hand." He asked another, "Who shall conquer all human races?" He replied, "Death. For it is violent and cruel towards all." And Alexander said, "At what things does God get angry?" He replied, "At the iniquity of the rich and the pride of the poor." He asked, "What is the sweetest thing in creation?" The answer, "Love from the heart." "And what is the most bitter?" "Envy and hate." When he had thus questioned each man, he said, "All of you together, ask me for whatever you like." They all cried out, "Give us immortal-

ity, that we might not die." And Alexander said, "I do not have that power, for even I am a mortal man." And they said: "And since you are mortal, why do you wage so many wars and cause so much suffering and spill so much blood that you might willfully have the possessions of all? And where will you take all this? Are you not going to leave it in turn to others?" The king said to them: "This is not determined by us but by Providence above, so that we are servants of its command; for the sea does not move if the wind does not blow, and trees do not stir if the air is still. Man achieves nothing unless he executes the will of Providence. And even if I wished to stop making war, the master of my behavior would not let me. For, if we all behaved the same way, the world would be idle and empty. There would be no navigation on the ocean; houses would not be built; marriages would not be consummated; there would be no children born. For a great many men have been ruined by my wars and have lost all their possessions; yet others have become prosperous on the riches of others. For all men grasp at everything, and in turn we leave it all behind to others; and there is nothing (permanent) anywhere." Alexander spoke thus and went on his way, undergoing many hardships in passing through impenetrable and untrodden places. And he was not a little troubled.
Then, he wrote Aristotle a letter[1] about these happenings 224
that went thus: "King Alexander greets Aristotle, his teacher. We have deemed it very important to relate to you the marvelous and wonderful things that happened to us in the land of India. For we reached the Prasiakan[2] city which appeared to us to be the capital of India; and reaching it we occupied a conspicuous promontory of the Indian Ocean. And with a few men, I headed for the aforementioned places; and we searched and found fish-eating people with the forms of women feeding there. And I called some of them to me, and I found that they spoke a barbarian tongue. And I asked about the region; and they pointed out an island to me which we all saw in

the middle of the sea, on which, they said, was the very ancient tomb of some king, where there was a great deal of gold which had been dedicated. And I was very eager to cross to the island, but the barbarians savagely resisted us. Then they withdrew and disappeared. And they left their boats, of which there were twelve. And although things were so, my good friends Phidon and Hephestion and other friends did not let me take the chance of crossing. My companion Phidon resisted especially, saying, "Instead, let me board that ship first and go see the island; then I will send you my boat. But you should not undergo any peril before I do; for if Phidon perishes, many other friends will be found for you; but if Alexander perishes, the whole world is ruined." And I was persuaded by him and permitted him to cross first with those twelve boats, in which 100 men embarked. The sailing was easy and they drew near to the island, for the evil barbarians had said it was an island, but it was a whale. And still they fearlessly got out and set and tied the boats with ropes as on an island. And after they had arrived and prepared passageways for the boats, they hauled the boats by rope into the lake-shaped place and came out where we could see them. And after an hour had gone by, all of a sudden, the beast plunged into the depths of the sea. We shouted out, but the creature disappeared; and the men perished, along with my friend. And I was deeply upset over the occurrence. We looked for the barbarians, but could not find them. And we stayed eight days on the promontory. On the seventh, we saw the beast; it had tusks[3] on it. And as many of the nobles were hurrying us, we passed on to the city of Prasias, and many marvelous and wonderful things were seen, which must be related to you; for we saw various beasts and the natural phenomena of the region and varieties of serpents. But what was most marvelous of all was the declining and sudden disappearance of the sun and the moon; and our way was suddenly blocked out. I must tell you about each of these things, venerable guide

and teacher. After we had conquered Darius, the king of the Persians, and had subdued his men and taken them in our power, we went on and traveled through the whole land, seeing the wonderful things he ruled. For there was much gold and silver, and golden urns decorated with various precious stones; each urn held ninety servings. And there were many other wonderful sights. Starting from there, we traveled into the Caspian gates. And just as the tenth hour was beginning, the trumpets announced dinner at the ninth hour of night. For it was right that the traveling last five hours into the night and the remaining six hours be spent in bed at rest.[4] And with the rising of the sun, the trumpeters announced the fourth hour. And the preparation of the armies was so complete that each individual was equipped with boots, leather leg protectors, and coverings for the thighs; and they covered their bodies with chest armor. Since the residents of the region had told me earlier about the snakes killing people on the road, I had it announced to the people and made sure that no one was without his outfit, so that no harm befall him. And after we had traveled our endless way for twelve days, we came to a city in a river; and we wanted to camp on the sandy area near the river. And there was a reed in the city, thirty cubits in circumference,[5] from which all the buildings of the city were made. And the city did not stand on the ground but on these reeds. And there were boats on the river; and upon examining them, we saw that they had been made of boards of these reeds for protection. And then I ordered the army to camp there; and since we reached that place at the third hour of day, we walked about. And coming to the river, we found that the water was more bitter than hellebore. And when our men wanted to cross to the city, hippopotami rose and seized the men. And after that we had to get out of that place altogether. And the trumpet sounded and we moved on from the sixth to the eleventh hour, so deprived of water that I even saw soldiers drinking their own urine.

And then lo, we were passing through swamps and endless water and came accidentally to a place where there was a lake and trees bearing fruits of all kinds. Coming there, we assembled together, and found sweet water, which surpassed the sweetness of honey. And as I was rejoicing greatly with my friends, we found atop the promontory these words written, "Sesonchousis, ruler of the world, set up this monument for those who sail through the Red Sea." I ordered then that the army camp there and prepare for bed; and we sounded the trumpet for dinner. After this a fire was laid as a defensive precaution, as was our custom, and we went to sleep. And about the third hour of the night when the moon was bright, all the beasts of the forest came and collected at the mentioned lake to drink water. And among them there were scorpions a cubit long,[6] and sand burrowers, some white, others red, and a great fear gripped us. And the sudden cries and lamentation of men and youths dying affected us greatly. And four-legged animals began to come to the lake to drink water as was their custom. And among them were lions larger than bulls in our land, and great rhinoceroses came forth from the forest of reeds. So, too, boars larger than lions, with teeth a cubit long; and lynxes, leopards, and tigers, and scorpions, and elephants, and wild oxen, and bull elephants and barefooted men with six feet; and dog partridges and many other kinds of wild animals; and we could not resist feeling a terrible horror. And we drove certain of them away with iron weapons and we set fire to the woods. And the serpents ran into the fire. And there were those we stamped on and killed with our swords, but most of them were burnt; and this lasted until the sixth hour of the night, when the moon set. Shaken by fear and terrible dread, we stood wondering at their varied forms. And suddenly a wild animal came that was larger than any elephant, called a unicorn;[7] and it wanted to attack us. And I ran back and forth and beseeched my brave companions to make fires and protect themselves lest they meet a horrible death.

And the beast in its eagerness to hurt the men ran and fell into the flames. From there he ran into the army, killing twenty-six men at once. And some of our other brave men struck down and slew the one-horned beast. And 1,300 men were hardly able to drag him away from the place. And with the setting of the moon, suddenly night foxes ran out of the sand and they were five cubits long; and others were eight cubits long. And a few of them destroyed many of our men. A horde of crabs ran out of the lake and they destroyed my arms carriers, my fire pots, and all my tents. And there were bats larger than pigeons that had teeth like man's. Perched near the lake were owls which we hunted and of these we made a great dish for ourselves. They never attacked humans nor did they dare to approach the fire. And when it was day, these animals all went away. Then I ordered that the local guides, of whom we had fifty and who had led us to those evil places, be tortured and taken and thrown into the river. And we collected our things, and moved on twelve miles. And crossing through the desert, we came to and took the usual[8] road which leads to the city Prasias. And continuing on for a few days, we came to a very small town and I wanted to give my brave men five-days' rest. On the sixth day, about the sixth hour, after we had prepared and arranged everything for leaving, this is what was seen up in the sky. It was the third day of the month of Navasard.[9] First, there was suddenly a terrible wind which blew so hard it knocked down the altars and tents of the army; and we who were on foot were thrown to the ground. And I immediately ordered that the tents be set right and the other things be reinforced. And while we were getting organized, a cloud happened to come over; and it became so dark that that we could not even see one another. And after the cloud disappeared, the sky darkened and thickened without cause; then we saw in the sky a great wind and various things coming. And on the ground before us for ten stadia we saw all the clouds heaped together, and then again they

quickly turned red. And this happened for three days. And for five days the sun disappeared, and there was much snow. It happened that the soldiers who dared go out were buried upright. As a result of this, more than seventy perished in the snow. And when the sun rose, we had lost many possessions and many of our men. And the fields rose three cubits from the ground on account of the accumulation of the snow. After thirty days, when the road became readily passable, we turned and went on. Five days later, we attacked and conquered the capital city of the Indians, Prasias, along with Poros and those who were with him, and the plentiful goods of all of them, about which you have been written. And after this, I put back in proper order the things around me. And the Indians of their own accord assembled together and said to me: 'Great King, you shall take cities and kingdoms and mountains and nations to which no living person has reached and attained. After this absolutely nothing exists worthy of your greatness. Tell us where, and all the men that there are in these little towns will come to you; and nowhere is more gold than there is here.' And I praised them and approved saying, 'Because I have come upon many wonderful things in my travels, if you know of any fable or wonder worthy of a king's attention, point it out to me.' And men came from the little towns and said, 'King, we have something wonderful that is worthy of showing you. For we shall show a plant that talks like man.' And I immediately ordered that they be beaten for tricking me; but nevertheless, I thought it important to find out. And going on twelve-days' journey from there, we came to a village which was said to be the end and southern boundary in the East. And beyond this, there is nothing, they said, but beast-infested wilderness, where no one of us may go. And when we reached the place, they took us into a garden. For the village was covered not by stones or by bricks but by trees, because of the sun and the moon. And in the middle of the park, as if for their protection, there was

the sacrificial shrine to the sun and the moon. And there were two trees, both very similar, which were the same size as the cypress trees at home. And all about were the aforementioned trees which are called 'myrabalanos'[10] in Egypt. And the fruit too was similar. And they called upon the male for advice for men, and the female for women. And the name of the male was the Sun, and the female, the Moon, which they call in their own language, 'mouthouam avousa.'[11] And these trees were covered with the skin of various animals, the male of the males, and the female of the females. And they had neither iron, copper, tin, nor clay for making anything. And I asked, 'Of what are these the hides?' And they replied, 'Of lions and leopards.' And it was not allowed to have any tomb there, except that of the Sun and of the Moon. And they used the hides of animals as their garments. And I asked questions to find out the reason for the animals. And they said, 'When it becomes light at the hour the sun rises, a voice comes from those trees; also, when the sun is in mid-sky and again when it is getting ready to set: these three times.' And they said the same is true about the moon. And they also said that as long as the sun moves and shines, they (the trees) give oracles; and when the moon appears, the same was true for it. And people who appeared to be priests came to me and said, 'Enter with a pure heart and make reverence.' And my friends, Parmenion, Krateron, Oullon, Machitas, Thrasileonta, Sachaona, and his companion, Theodechton, Niokle, ten men in all, were going in with me. And the priest said, 'King, it is not right to bring iron into the shrine.' So I ordered my friends to leave their swords outside the enclave. And from the army 300 unarmed men came with me. I ordered all the men who were with me to look around and see lest perhaps there be someone up on the trees. And they looked and searched and said there was no one. I called to me those Indians who had come with me that I might get a translation from them. 'I swear by Olympian Aramazd, Ammon, Athena,

all victory-giving gods, that I am not going to kill you.' And simultaneously with the setting of the sun, a voice in the barbarian Indian tongue came from the trees; and it was not translated for us. I summoned to me some Indians, but they refused to translate for me what the trees had said. For they were afraid of me and did not wish to reveal it. And I became concerned and laid hold of them and took them aside; and the Indians whispered this in my ear, 'Know, King, that soon you are to be slain by your own men.' When these heavenly signs were revealed and the moon was about to disappear in the east, those who were with me wanted to get another oracle at night. And having reflected upon my fate, I went within and asked entreatingly if I might return to my mother, Olympias, and to my good friends, alive. And again while my friends were there, when the moon rose, the tree made the same sound, saying approximately this in Greek: 'Alexander, you are to die in Babylon. You shall be slain by your own men, and you may not return to your mother, Olympias.' And my friends and I were dumbfounded. I wanted to donate beautiful wreaths to the gods, but the priest said: 'It is not proper to do this. But if you insist, do as you please, since there are no laws written for a king.' And since I was very sad and vexed with matters, Parmenion and Philip beseeched me to sleep and to get ready for the morning. And since I did not care to do so, I rose in the morning with the rising of the sun, and with ten friends again entered the temple; and I left them to one side so that no one in the army would know my business.[12] And coming to the tree with the priest, I put my hand on the tree and asked, 'If the years of my life are finished, I wish to learn from you whether I shall return to Macedon and greet my mother and wife, Roxiane, and shall thus depart.' And at the same time as the sun rose and cast its light on the edge of the tree, a voice became sharp and clear, and it said, 'Alexander, the years of your life are ended; and you are not to have your wish of reaching your

mother, Olympias; instead, you are to perish in Babylon and are not to enter Macedon. The reason? You deprived many men of the sight of their mothers and cities and countries and friends. And just as one sows, so in fact shall he reap. And a little while later, your mother and your wife are to be cruelly slain by their own people; and your sister, by your own family. And do not importune me about this, for you shall be heeded no more even though you pleadingly petition me.' Then I left there about the first hour; and when one day had come and gone its way, I summoned all the troops and spoke to them together about their wishes. And traveling fifteen days, I soon reached the city of Prasias; and they sent to the neighboring cities to find out what strange things were being experienced from the things brought from the South. They brought before me fish skins and those of leopards, and fangs larger than three cubits; 'ouzomoures' six cubits long, weighing a talent and 'ioulidas'[13] weighing two talents, and other fish fangs a cubit long, which they had fashioned into scabbards for swords. They brought forth and offered me shellfish along with all the other things. One was saffron colored and held six portions, and it was very marvelous to see; and the other held four portions; and there were others, that held a portion apiece. And there were thirty saffron sponges and fifty green ones.[14] And moving on from the city of Prasias, we have come and reached Persia, the kingdom of Šamiram.[15] I thought it important to tell you these things. Farewell."

When Alexander had written this letter to Aristotle, he 225
rushed his army to the palace of Šamiram, for he wished to see it since it was famous throughout Hellas and the entire world. For the city was walled around by natural rocks; it was three stadia long and wide, and it was enclosed by 120 doors. The outside of these doors was decorated with iron and copper, for there was much iron in their land. And the whole city was made up of stone residences. And a woman, who was endowed with infinite beauty, ruled the

city. Her husband was middle-aged; and she was the mother of three children. And the name of the queen of Šamiram was Candace.

226 *Alexander in turn sent her a third letter, which went thus:* "King Alexander greets Queen Candace, who is in Meroë, and the kings under her command. I reached Egypt and heard about you there from the priests while I was visiting your graves; and the characteristic of the latter made it clear that at a certain period you ruled Egypt and Ammon led your armies. And after a short time, there was an oracle from Ammon, and you turned back to your land. Because of this, I have written to you that you bring the altar and statue of Ammon to the frontier so that we might sacrifice to him. If you wish, come with him, too, so that we might, without delay, meet in Meroë and deliberate together.[1] Let us know what seems best for us."

227 And then Queen Candace wrote him a letter which went thus: "Queen Candace of Meroë and the kings under her command greet Alexander. At that time an oracle came from Ammon to march upon Egypt, but now one comes telling me not to move personally from my land[1] and to let no one attack me and, in fact, to wreak vengeance on those who attack us and to deal with them as we do with enemies. And do not be mistaken about our color. For in *our souls we are lighter than the white men amongst you.* And there are enough of us to hold out for time without end. We have eighty squadrons ready for those who come to do us harm. You would do right in glorifying the great god, Ammon. My messengers are bringing to you from us round bricks, 500 young Ethiopians, and 200 parrots; and for Ammon, our god, who presides over the boundaries of Egypt, this crown made of pierced emeralds and pearls; 50 necklaces and 10 saters more of whole pearls and whole emeralds, and 80 ivory dishes and chests. And with my possessions are being sent a variety of beasts from us: 360 elephants; 300 leopards; 13 rhinoceros; 4 panthers; 90 man-eating dogs with cages; 300 fighting bulls; 90 elephant

tusks; 300 leopard skins; 7,500 ebony Indian staffs. Now send anyone you wish to take these things forthwith. And write us when you have conquered the whole world."

When Alexander received and read this, he sent Kleomes, the governor of Egypt, to go get these things. And he went to the lady. And when Candace heard about Alexander and how he really vanquished barbarian nations and overpowered so many great kings, she summoned from amongst the people there a Greek painter. And she ordered him to go to Alexander as though to welcome him, and, without letting it be known, to paint him; and then to come back and give the painting to Lady Candace. And when he had done this, she put it in a secret place. 228

And then this happened. The son of Candace whose name was Candaules rode with a few horsemen to the tent of Alexander. And the men standing guard there took him and led him to the Savior Ptlomeos,[1] who was second in command, for the world conqueror was asleep. Ptlomeos asked him, "Who are you?" And he replied, "The son of Candace the Queen." "And what are you doing here?" And he said, "I was coming with my wife and a few men to perform the annual sacrificial rite among the Amazons. But when the king of the Bebrycians saw my wife, he came forth with a great army and carried her off and slew many of my soldiers. Now I shall return and, once I have gotten more soldiers, shall defeat Bebrycia." And when Ptlomeos heard this, he arose and went in to Alexander and woke him up and told him all that he had heard. 229

And when the king heard this, he stood up and taking his crown, crowned Ptlomeos and put his cloak about him, and said to him: "Go forth as though you were Alexander, and say, 'Summon Antigonos, my comrade in arms,' and when I come, tell me the story; and after relating this, we shall take counsel about these things, and give me your advice." And Ptlomeos went forth and when the troops saw him, they reflected and said, "What is the keen-witted Alexander planning?" But when Candaules, the son, saw 230

him in the royal dress, he was afraid that he might order him put to death; for he thought it was Alexander.

231 And Ptlomeos said, "Let someone call Antigonos, my comrade in arms." Alexander appeared and Ptlomeos said to him: "Antigonos, this is the son of Candace, the queen; his wife has been seized by the king of the Bebrycians. What do you advise me to do?" And he said, "My lord Alexander, I advise you to ready the army for war against the Bebrycians, that we might rescue his wife and hand her over to him in honor of his mother." And Candaules rejoiced upon hearing this. Ptlomeos said: "If this is what you want, Antigonos, do it. As my adjutant, order that the troops be readied." And they prepared to execute the command of Ptlomeos as if it were Alexander's.

232 They reached these regions after one day. Antigonos, who was Alexander, said: "Let us not appear to the Bebrycians by day lest the king be alerted and slay this fellow's wife before the battle. What glory will victory hold for us if Candaules loses his wife? Let us rather attack the city at night and set fire to the houses. Thus the crowds themselves will hand the woman over to us, for our dispute is not over the kingship but over the demand for the wife." And when Antigonos had spoken thus, Candaules fell before him and said: "Bravo for your great thoughts, wise Antigonos. Could you by any chance be Alexander and not Alexander's adjutant?"

233 Now they entered the city at night; and while they were asleep, they lit a fire outside the palace. And they awoke and asked what the cause of the fire was; and Alexander ordered that Candaules shout back, "A very mighty king commands you to release that woman before I set fire to your entire city." And they who were first aroused woke all the others. They went to the palace of the king and by the force of the crowd opened the palace and took the woman out of the bed of the king and gave her to Candaules, and they slew the king.

234 And Candaules was very grateful for the counsel and con-

sideration of Alexander. He returned from there to Alexander's army, embraced him, and said, "Antigonos, entrust yourself to me, and come to my mother so that I might present you royal gifts." And he smiled and answered, "Ask the king to let me go, for I too would like to see that city." And Alexander, actually Ptlomeos, said to Candaules, "I wish to send a letter of greeting to your mother, the queen." And Candaules asked the king for Antigonos so that he might take him to his mother and send him back with regal gifts. Alexander, actually Ptlomeos, said: "Take Antigonos as my messenger and send him safely back just as you yourself are going safely to your mother, accompanied by your wife who has been freed from the king of the Bebrycians by your bravery." And he said: "Mighty King, I swear by all the gods, and upon your head and my mother's destiny, that I shall take this man with me as if he were you yourself, the world conqueror; and I shall send him back to you with great honor and with royal gifts."

And Alexander set out with a great force with him; and he 235
took beasts of burden and wagons for the journey. And as he went, he marveled at the various crystal-bearing mountains of the land, which reached as high as the clouds of heaven, and at the tall trees, laden with fruit, not as in Hellas, but each individually worthy of wonder. For the apple trees were golden-colored and their fruit, when it ripened, was like the cucumbers in Hellas. And there were bunches of grapes which cannot be described in writing, and pomegranates which were bigger than watermelons. But there were great numbers of serpents wrapped around the trees, and lizards even bigger than the serpents. And there were monkeys not at all smaller than barbarian wild animals, or Greek bears; and there were many other animals of various colors and of novel shapes. And certain places were wondrous and had a godly quality, and there were deep caves with rocky descents. Candaules said: "Antigonos, these places are called the dwelling place of gods; and the gods

are often seen in these caves, reclining on couches, when a king invokes them. And so if you want to, on your return, take your dedicatory offering and sacrifice it on the spot, and they will appear to you." Candaules spoke thus, and they continued the journey.

236 Now they reached the palace; and his mother and brothers went to meet them. And when they were about to embrace him, Candaules said: "Brothers, do not embrace me without first greeting him who has been my savior and the benefactor of my wife: Antigonos, the messenger of the great King Alexander." To this, they said, "What salvation did he offer you?" And when he had related everything, both the abduction of his wife by the Bebrycians and this man's help, then his mother and brothers hugged and embraced him and they prepared a splendid feast in the palace.

237 And the next day, Candace appeared in her royal crown, revealing her very great height and her godly face and it seemed to Alexander that he was seeing his mother, Olympias. And he saw the palace with its gleaming golden roofs and stone walls. The coverlets were Chinese woven work, decorated with gold. And there were thrones standing on onyx and beryl, and their seats had been reinforced by leatherbound fastenings. And there were tables produced from ivory material, and there was the offering of work made of turquoise. And the columns were Numidian, the capitals of which were of shiny black Indian wood. And there were votive statues of men made of fine copper; and these could not be counted because of their great number. And there were chariots armed with scythes, together with their horses and drivers, fashioned from purple stone; and they gave you the impression they were charging off to the races. And carved from the same stone there were elephants trampling the enemy and wrapping their trunks around their opponents. And there were also altars with columns carved from a single stone. And there were statues of barbarian gods displaying their blood-red countenances to the onlooker. And high-rising beams formed a covering like

plane trees that had naturally grown tall. And there was water that had the color and sparkle of gold and flowed like a river and seemed to be another Pactolos. And each one of the trees, planted in rows, had on its branches ripe, delectable fruits. And Alexander was astonished and filled with wonder upon seeing these things.

And he was the fraternal[1] dinner guest of Candaules. 238
Candaules beseeched his mother and bade her give the messenger such gifts as she judged proper and thus send him off.

And the next day, Candace took Antigonos and showed 239
him the bright rooms, made of a clear-colored stone, that were so bright and shiny because of the marble planks, that it seemed as if the sun were inside the walls. And in one, there was a great altar made of indestructible woods; and it could not be burnt by fire. And a house had been built, *the foundation of which was not set on the ground* but upon great square cut boards set with wheels, and it was drawn by twenty elephants. And wherever the king went to make war on a city, he lived in it.

And Alexander said to the queen, Candace, "All this would 240
be wonderful even if it were in the land of the Greeks and not in your country." Candace was incensed and she said, "What you say is true, Alexander." And he was caught unaware at thus being addressed by name, and he turned aside. And she continued, "Why did you turn aside upon being called Alexander?" And he said, "My lady, my name is Antigonos, Alexander's messenger." The queen said: "Although you are called Antigonos among my people, you are King Alexander. And now I shall prove it to you." And she took his hand and led him in to her chamber, and she brought and showed the portrait to him. And she said to him: "Do you recognize your likeness? Now, why are you trembling? Why are you disturbed—you who destroyed the Persians and conquered the Indians and have undone the might of the Medes and Parthians? Now without fighting or force, you have fallen into the hands of

Queen Candace. Hereafter, Alexander, know that no matter how smart a man appears to be, there may be another wiser and more intelligent than he."

241 At this, Alexander got very angry and gnashed his teeth. "Why get angry? Why gnash your teeth?" continued Candace. "What can you do to me—you who are so great a king?" And he said, "I am gnashing my teeth in horror and am truly angry that I do not have my sword with me." The lady said, "And suppose you had it, what could you do?" And he replied: "Rather than obey you, I would slay you first, so that there would be no trace of you left, and then I would kill myself." And she said: "What kind of brave and kingly thoughts are those? But don't be afraid, Alexander. For as you once saved my child and his wife from the Bebrycians, so, too, shall I save your life by not telling the barbarians that you are Alexander. For if they find out that you are that Alexander, they will savagely put you to death; for you have killed Poros, and the wife of my youngest son is the daughter of Poros. Therefore, be called Antigonos, for I shall keep your secret in the depths of my heart."

242 Having said this, she went outside with him and said: "My son, Candaules, and my daughter, Marpesga,[1] if you had not come upon Alexander's army at the opportune time, I would not have received you back here again nor would you have found your wife. Now come; let us deal properly with Alexander's messenger and offer him gifts as is fitting." And her second son, Karagos,[2] said, "Mother and Queen, Alexander saved my brother and his wife; give him now whatever you want." But the third son said: "Lady Mother, my wife is in mourning for her father who was slain by Alexander. And now she wishes to cause the Macedonian sorrow. And since we have his messenger in our hands, let us kill this man, Antigonos." She asked: "And what good does that do you, my son? It makes no difference to Alexander if we kill this man, for he has many other servants beside this one." And Candaules said: "Be-

sides, this man was my wife's and my savior, and I am obliged by my oath to send him back safely from here to the king. But if this is to be the way it is to be, and we are going to fight one another because of this man, it is not my wish. But, if this is your will, you shall find me ready."

And Candace fearing lest her children fight, took Alexander 243
aside, alone, and said: "Alexander, you have been resourceful in all matters; and yet you cannot find a single reason so that my sons might not fight because of you."[1]

And Alexander said: "Karagos and you, Candaules, it 244
makes no difference to Alexander if you kill me here. For messengers are not precious things to kings, but rather are superfluous to him in the waging of war. So if you slay me here, Alexander has other messengers; but if you wish to capture Alexander, your enemy, easily through me, promise to give me a share of the gifts here so that I shall come and stay amongst you; and I shall persuade the king to come to you under the pretext that you wish to offer him in person the gifts which you are preparing. Then you will have him in your hands and can avenge yourselves. And once you have agreed to this, you will put an end to your grievances."

The brothers agreed. And Candace marveled and won- 245
dered at Alexander's intelligence; and she said to him, apart: "Alexander, if only you, too, were my son; for through you, I would rule all nations. For not by war alone have you subdued the world and its people, but by great wisdom. So come now, and be safe from them. It is Candace's great duty to keep this secret. But I advise you hereafter not to trust yourself to be your own messenger, unless you want to be like those who are trying to commit suicide."

And a few days later, at the time of his leave-taking, Can- 246
dace gave him regal gifts: a crown of adamant worth many talents, and an amice made of precious stones of onyx and turquoise, and a cloak that shone like stars, entirely purple

and made of gold threads. And with such honor, she sent him off under the protection of her soldiers.

247 And when the king had gone the indicated number of days, he reached those wonderful caves where Candaules had told him the gods congregate. He entered with a few soldiers, and he saw a starlit haze. And the roof-tops were shining as if lit by stars. The external forms of the gods were physically manifest and a crowd was serving in silence. At first he was frightened and surprised. But he stayed to see what would happen, for he saw some reclining figures, whose eyes were shining like beams of light. And there was one who said: "Glad greetings, Alexander. Do you know who I am?" He said, "No, my lord." The other said: "I am Sesonchousis, the world-conquering king who has joined the ranks of the gods. But I was not so fortunate as you, for you will have an immortal name even after death." And I asked, "How is that, my lord?" He replied: "For although I conquered the whole world and subjugated so many peoples, nobody knows my name. But you shall have great renown for building in Egypt the city of Sk'andaria, which is dear to the gods, and also Souttloys, Ialan, Drauł, Łoudal. Now enter within and you shall see the creator and overseer of the entire universe."[1]

248 The king went within and saw a fire-bright haze and, seated on a throne, the god whom he had once seen being worshiped by men in Rokotide, that is, the lord Sarapis. He said: "How is this, O Lord, divine offspring of untainted nature? I saw you near the land of the Libyans seated on a throne, and now I see you here once again." And Sesonchousis, who was standing close to him, said to Alexander: "He is seen everywhere, though he is fixed in one spot; just as the sky is seen everywhere though it is set fast at a certain height in the firmament."

249 And Alexander said, "Lord, God, how many years shall I live?" And Sesonchousis said: "It is well for mortal man not to know when he is to die. For in waiting for that one day, he is dead from the day he has found out. While to be

ignorant of it brings the secret forgetfulness of not remembering that one is ever going to die. Still, the city you are building will be celebrated and famous to all men, food giver and nurse of the whole world. And many kings shall come to your feet to make reverence as to the gods; and you shall live there upon dying and not dying, for the city which you are building shall be your grave."

When the herald had so spoken, Alexander left. He took his 250
men and continued the journey to be made. His satraps met him, crowned him king, and gave him his royal robe.
And he journeyed on to the Amazons. And when he ap- 251
proached that place, he sent them a letter which went thus: "King Alexander greets you Amazons. I think you know about the war against Darius and that from there we went to the Indians with our army. And we found there noble men who were their leaders and their kings and their gymnosophists. And we took tribute from them. We let them remain there on their own lands and put the country at peace. For this reason, they received us gladly, and they had sacrifices made on our behalf. On our way back from there, we have come to you. Now come to meet us, for we do not come to do harm but rather to visit the country and at the same time be of service to you. Farewell."

And when they received this, they wrote him: "The Ama- 252
zonian nobles and the leaders of the army greet you, King Alexander. We are writing you so that you might be fully informed before you enter this region, lest you be forced to leave it ignominiously. In this letter, we now clearly inform you of the facts about our land and about us: that we are brave and noble people and that we live on the Amazon River, but on this side, on an island. It takes a year's journey to travel around it. And around it there is a river which has no beginnings; and there is one entrance. We 200,000 warrior virgins who have no experience of men live here, and there is no male amongst us. Our men live on the other side of the river. The state of the land is such that we live in happiness. And from year to year, we

have a ceremonial assembly, a collective celebration, when we sacrifice horses to Aramazd and Poseidon and Hephestion for thirty days. And then we cross to the other side of the river to the men and they mate with us in marriage, for thirty days. And those of us who wish to be violated cross over and live among the men; and they pass over to us all the females that are begotten when they reach seven years of age. And whenever an enemy army comes upon our land, more than 120,000 of us go to meet them on horseback, and the others protect the island. We advance to the borders, and the men draw up the rear behind us. And if anyone is wounded in battle, she is fed from the sacrificial altar of Aramazd; and everyone pays her homage for two days; and there is a memorial crown for her family. And whosoever falls in battle in the defense of this homeland, the close relatives receive a not insignificant compensation. And if any of the enemy crosses to the island, there is a prize for his defeat that comprises much gold and silver and an allowance of food for life. Thus we would all sacrifice ourselves for our country. And if we conquer the enemy or if they flee, shame comes and stays upon them, tracking them forever. But if they conquer us, it will be a victory over Amazonian women. So, watch out, King Alexander, lest this happen to you. We will crown you year after year for as long as you decree.[1] Now think this over and answer us. You shall find our army on your boundaries."

253 And when the king received and read the letter, he smiled broadly and wrote thus in return: "Alexander, king of all kings, greets you women of Amazon. We have conquered three quarters of the universe with heavenly assistance. And nowhere have we left a sign of defeat, but, in fact, have vanquished all. Now it is shameful for us to desist and not attack you with our army. So if you want to ruin and devastate your country, stay there on your boundaries. But, if you wish to live in your country and not experience warfare, cross that river and appear before us. And let your

men likewise draw themselves up in that plain. If you do this, I swear to you by my father, Aramazd, and Ares, and Hera, and Athena, the conqueror, not to take anything away from you. And I shall take, in soldiers, such tribute as you wish to give and shall not enter your homeland. So send us the number of horsemen you decide upon and we shall give each woman, each month, five golden minae, as well as other things. At the end of the year, they shall be released to their homeland; and you will send us others in exchange for them. Now take counsel and send us your answer. Farewell."

And having taken counsel, they wrote him an answer which 254
went thus: "We Amazonian nobles and the leaders of the army received the orders of the autocratic King Alexander. We give you the right to come on through to us and to visit our country. And we are arranging to give you yearly one hundred talents of gold; and we have sent 500 of the bravest of us to come to your borders, bringing you gifts and 100 brave horsemen. They will remain among you for a year. And if any of them be defiled by a foreigner, she will be disgraced in the eyes of the law of her land. And let us know as to which ones will wish to stay with you and dismiss the others; you will get replacements. For we submit to you in your presence and from afar, as we have heard of your great virtue and might. For what are we against the whole world that you have traversed that we should stand apart in opposition to you? So it has seemed best to us to live in our land in obedience to you."

And having arranged this, he traveled to the land of the 255
Parasangians.[1] And the soldiers became very lazy and indifferent to the prizes to be had. Aramazd did not stop raining for forty days, to the point that the braces of the shields were rotted by the water, and also the bridles of the horses. And the feet of many of the youths were soaked and sore because of being barefooted. And when the rain stopped, it became so hot that no one could bear it. And there were great thunderings and frequent flashes of

lightning, until here and there rumblings began spreading in the army about the things going on. And since they were planning to cross the river, he asked the residents about the size of the army of the king who was on the other side in the land of the Parasangians, which was near the Ocean. And the inhabitants of the country told him that he had 5,000 stall-fed elephants, and 10,000 chariots, and tens of thousands of men. When wise Alexander heard this, he pillaged along the river and the rest of the land of the Indians and, in this fashion, built altars and had his soldiers make burnt offerings to the gods.

256 And he received a letter from the philosopher Aristotle, which went thus: "Aristotle, greets you King Alexander. I do not know what to talk to you about first and what last, for Aramazd bears witness and so, too, Poseidon, that I first of all give thanks to all the gods everywhere for your fortunate and distinguished and celebrated accomplishments. For you have undertaken every contest, battle, and danger, and you have not been defeated in a single one. For even in the land of the Indians, you were exposed to a second very perplexing winter, and you came out of it. And if anyone could endure exposing himself to that same land, he would gain a reputation for noteworthy and celebrated and wonderful deeds. For the noble warrior is easily recognizable. In council, he is a Nestor; in military warfare, a brave Odysseus.[1] He has seen the lands of many men and learned their ways of thinking. I say this to you because your deeds have been accomplished at about the age of thirty. They say that Alexander, the Macedonian, has reached from the West to the East; and people from the West and people from the East, the Ethiopians and the Scythians, joyfully welcomed him. And others who thought of opposing you have beseechingly petitioned you to befriend them. Indeed, you are a godlike king. Fare thee well."

257 And he took his army and went to Babylon. And upon his arrival there, he was feted with great honor; and he

offered sacrifices to the gods and held a gymnastic contest and a musical one.

When these things had been done, he then wrote a letter 258
to his mother, Olympias, about the things that had happened to him of which this is a copy.[1] And in sending this letter, he informed the queen, Olympias, of the things he had personally done; and he told her everything clearly and distinctly, detail by detail as follows: "I, the mighty king and sovereign monarch of three quarters of the world, send my most distinguished mother, Olympias, fond greetings. Let it be clear that I am sure that you are cognizant of what we have done from the outset right up to what took place in Asia, as I have written you of these things. And I have decided to inform you also about the journey to the upper regions. For I made still another trip, going toward Babylon and taking 150,000 trusted soldiers with me. And having reached Parasanges, I came to the pillars of Heracles, in ninety-five days.[2] For they say that Heracles set, as the boundary of the world, two columns, one of gold and the other silver; one, twelve cubits high, the other, two.[3] And since I did not believe that they were made solid, I decided to make a sacrifice to Heracles and then to pierce one of the columns. And I saw it was solid gold. I wanted to fill up the hole again, and the cavity was found to hold 1,500 gold miskals,[4] which is a kind of money. And from here, we went on through wild and rocky places, and because of the mist we were not able to see who the person next to us was. And we departed from these regions, and in seven days, we came to Parasanges. The river named Thermadon is there, which has its beginning and end in Pautos, a flat, open region with good roads. And the Amazon women live here, who exceed in size and beauty all other women. And they are virtuous and noble. They had flowered garments and wielded weapons with silver axes. There was no iron or copper there. They were endowed with skill and intelligence. And we camped our army near the river, since we could not cross to the other side where

the Amazon women dwelt, for the river was big and very deep, and had many wild animals and black rocks. And they crossed over and met us. And we took tribute from them and went toward the Red Sea, to a strait. On the right, there was a high mountain, and on the left, beat the sea. And having sacrificed ten horses to Poseidon, we rested on the second day and went on and came to the Atlas River. And here, neither sky nor the earth could be seen. And many peoples of many kinds lived there. We saw dog-headed men and headless ones[5] who had their eyes and mouths on their chests. And there were also those who burrowed holes, wild creatures who lived under the earth. And there was a land one-day's journey by ship from here. And upon sailing near the place, we found the city Areg.[6] It is my opinion that this is the one they call the city of bronze.[7] Its circumference is 120 stadia; and in it were fourteen towers built of gold and emerald, each of which had sixty steps.[8] And on top there was a chariot with horses of gold and emerald. It was not easy to see them on account of the fog. And the priest of the sun was an Ethiopian. And offering sacrifices to the sun because we had not found any light, we turned and went on from there. And Persian torch bearers preceded us, carrying lighted silver lamps. And we came to the river Tanaïs, which flows both to Asia and to Europe. And from there we moved on and came to the palaces of Xerxes and Cavos. We found fine houses full of gold and silver and many remarkable drinking cups and many other fine things. And there was a large house of many stories where the king himself used to receive oracles from the gods. It was said that, in it, a bird interpreted the omens in a human voice. For there was a golden bird cage in the middle of the ceiling, and in it was that bird which was about the size of a dove. They say that it interprets in a human voice to kings when it hears the sounds which pulse through it. And they said that it was very old. And I wanted to take it down to send it to you, but the priest said that it belonged to the voice. And in

the palace at Šoš we also found a silver urn that held 360 measures, which we counted at the great banquet. In it, we also made sacrifices for our safety. And there was a large house in which was inscribed Xerxes' sea battle with the Athenians. And in the middle there was a throne of gold and, above it, a golden altar where they said the king received oracles from the gods, whenever a delegation came from somewhere. There too was the art of Glaukos—a harmonious lute that played by itself.[9] And around the throne, there was a goblet holder, sixteen cubits high with twelve steps; and, above it, there was a gold eagle with its wings spread out over the whole width of the goblet holder. And there was a seven-branched bough of pure gold, and a white plane and myrtle tree. And all these things were wrought with beautiful workmanship. Although I would write you more about these things, they were so numerous that we could not remember them all because of their great number. Farewell, my mother."

And he had written this letter to his mother, Olympias, 259
while he was in Babylon and was preparing to quit his mortal life. And the evil spirit gave a great and clear sign, for this omen occurred. When one of the local women gave birth to a child, the upper part of its body, as far as the navel, was completely human and according to nature, but the lower extremities were those of a wild beast. And its general appearance was like that of Scylla except that it differed in the kinds of animals and in the great number of them. For there were the shapes of leopards and lions, wolves and wild boars and dogs. And these forms moved, and each was clearly recognizable to all. And the child was dead and his body blue. And immediately upon giving birth to the above-mentioned baby, the woman put it in the fold of her robe and hid it. And she came to the palace of Alexander, and told the chamberlain to announce her to the king, "for I have something of importance to show and tell him." And he happened to be resting in his room at midday. And when he awoke and heard from

the chamberlain about the woman who had come, he ordered that she be brought in. And when she entered, the king ordered those who were there to leave. And when they had gone out, she uncovered and showed him the marvel that had been begotten, saying that she herself had given birth to it. When Alexander saw it, he was filled with wonder and great amazement. And he called together the magi and the Chaldean sign-readers and ordered them to make a reading concerning it, promising them either death or harm if they did not tell the truth. And they were famous and widely reputed and the most learned of the Chaldeans. But the one who was more able in his art than all the rest happened not to be there. Those who were present said that Alexander was the greatest of men and the terror of his enemies and that he held sway over land and sea. And they said that the mighty and terrible monsters placed beneath the human body meant this: that he is to rule the mightiest men and that no one shall be mightier than he. And after they had explained how it was, they left him and went away. And after them, the other Chaldean returned from his trip and came to the king. And upon seeing the state of the omen, he gave a great outcry and rent his clothing and was greatly troubled and saddened at the transformation that was to befall the great king. And when the king saw that the man was so smitten by the happenings, he was greatly frightened; and he ordered him to explain frankly what the omen looked like. And he said this to him: "King, hereafter, you are no longer among the living; rather your body has left its mortal state. For such is the meaning of the marvelous omen." And Alexander asked him about these words. And the omen solver answered and said: "O bravest of all men, you are the human body, and the wild animal forms are the soldiers who are with you. If the human part of the body were alive and moving, as are the animals beneath it, you would have been destined to rule all men. But it is this very part that is dead; and the beasts are alive. So just as it has left its living state, so

have you too departed to those who are no more. For example, the animals that are bound to the human body have no kind consideration toward man. In the same way, do those who surround you love you. And there will be many upheavals in the world when you depart; and those about you will fall out with one another and will bloodily slaughter one another." The philosopher spoke thus and left. And the Chaldean thought it best to burn the child.

When Alexander heard this, he was touched to the very 260
heart and saddened. He said: "Aramazd, you have brought the fraudulent game to an end for me. So if such is your desire, take me, this mortal man, to you also." And this is what he meant: that Dionysos, when the evil deeds done him by those under his rule were revealed, was judged to be one of the gods. So, too, Heracles, since he had distinguished himself to the whole world, was considered in the same way, for his deeds, to be a companion[1] of all the gods.

And his mother, Olympias, wrote many times to him about 261
Antipater, saying that he had deeply humiliated and spurned and dishonored her because she was Alexander's mother;[1] and that Antipater was still doing as he pleased and was writing slanderous accusations about her. Because Olympias was once again complaining, Alexander wanted to cross to Epirus,[2] for he knew how to put an end to Antipater's hostility to his mother. And he sent forth and summoned Antipater to him from Macedon by sending Krateros. And since Antipater was aware of Alexander's cleverness, he plotted the death of the world conqueror to be administered by the soldiers, for he was afraid that some evil might befall himself. For he had heard and he bore in mind the fact that Alexander had grown very proud as a result of the successes that had befallen him. And he sent out and brought the gentian drug whose power he knew was very deadly. And he put it in the hoof of a mule[3] and he boiled it in order to be able to keep the strength of the drug alive. For no other dish, be it of copper or of clay, could support the strength of the drug,

but was broken by it. And he put it in an iron box, and gave it to Kasandros with instructions to discuss with Iollas, his brother, the administration of the drug.

262 And when Kasandros arrived in Babylon, he found Alexander making sacrifices and receiving foreigners. He spoke with Iollas who was Alexander's chief cupbearer. And it so happened that a few days earlier Alexander had hit him on the head with a club for some misdemeanor. Thus, since the boy was prone to anger, he gladly listened to the suggestion of committing the crime. And he took as his helper Mandios,[1] a Thessalonian, who was a friend of Alexander and his own lover. And this fellow considered it a criminal injustice that his Iollas had received a caning. So, of his own will and desire, he agreed that they would give him the poison to drink.

263 Meanwhile, Alexander was enjoying himself with his close friends and the Dionysian artists. For many had come to Babylon to crown Alexander ceremoniously and to take part personally in the ceremony because of the notable glories of the very happy king.

264 And then when he got up and wanted to go to rest, Medios came to him and beseeched him to come to his friends, telling him, "Your important friends are all gathered together and are awaiting you." He said this, and Alexander was persuaded by Medios' cunning. He went to the party.

265 And twenty men were gathered there: Perdikkas, Meleadros, Pithon, Leonatos, Kasandros, Pokestes, Ptlomeos, Lysimachos, Philip, Olkias, Eumenes, Philip the doctor, Nearchos the Crete, Heraclides, Europpeos, Ariston, Pharsalios, Philip who had mechanical skills, Philotas, Menandres, Dardana. Of these men, Perdikkas and Ptlomeos, Olkias and Lysimachos, Eumenes and Asandros did not know what had been planned. But all the others were associated in the act and in agreement with Iollas and Kasandros and had given their oath. For they longed for material possessions, and they were wary of Alexander; and in their

hearts, they were greatly dismayed by his overweening pride.

When the king had stretched out, Iollas offered him the drink. And then, those who were there behaved in this fashion. They busily added remarks to the conversation to draw out as long as possible the taking of the drugs.[1] Suddenly, Alexander cried out as though he had been hit in the liver by an arrow. For a short while, he controlled himself and, supporting the pain, went off by himself, bidding those who were there to drink. And they were very frightened, and then and there broke up the party and observed the turn of events. Alexander wanted very badly to bring up the wine and asked for a feather, for this is the way he used to do it. And Iollas contaminated it with the drug and offered it to him. Because of this, the drug overcame him all the more effectively, passing undiluted through the body. And Alexander was very ill and trying in vain to vomit, he passed the entire night in awful pain, in dolorous groaning, and in patient suffering. 266

And on the next day, he realized his bad state, for he was uttering indistinct and unclear sounds because his tongue was already growing stiff. He sent everyone out, so that he might be quiet and alone to talk about what he wanted to. And Kasandros conferred with his brothers, and at night, rushed off to the hills, boldly taking his cup from Iollas. For he had made a pact with Iollas that if the king died, he would be freed from all responsibility. And he sent it to his parent in Macedonia, having written to him in code that the deed was done. 267

And at nightfall, Alexander ordered everyone to leave the house. Among those he dismissed were Kombaphe and Roxiane, his wife. And from the house there was an exit[1] toward the river called the Euphrates, which runs through Babylon. He ordered it opened and that no one be at the places they customarily stood guard. And when it was the middle of the night, he got up from his bed, put out the light, and crawled on all fours toward the river. And he 268

saw his wife, Roxiane, advancing toward him. He had been planning to act in a manner worthy of his great courage. She followed his final journey in the dark. And Alexander, scarcely making a sound, would groan, and Roxiane was directed to the cry. And he stopped and was still. And his wife embraced him and said, "Are you abandoning and leaving me, Alexander, by committing suicide?" And he said: "Roxiane, it is a small deprivation for you that my glory be taken away from you. But still let no one hear about this." And he turned away from Roxiane and went back home in concealment.

269 And when it was day, he ordered Perdikkas and Ptlomeos and Lysimachos to come in. He told them that no one else should approach him until he wrote a will about his affairs. And they went out. And then he seated near him the will makers, Kombaphe and Hermogenes, who were young men. And Perdikkas thought that Alexander would leave all his goods to Ptlomeos because he had often spoken to him of Ptlomeos' lucky birth. And Olympias, too, had made it clear that Ptlomeos had been fathered by Philip. So he had made him promise privately that he would in turn be a recipient of Alexander's possessions at the time of the division of his goods. And when night fell, the secretaries began to write. And the king ordered that Perdikkas and Loukias and Ptlomeos and Lysimachos be summoned to him. And they came into the palace.

270 And suddenly a great shout arose from all the Macedonians. And they all rushed upon the palace saying that they would kill the guards unless they showed them their king. And Alexander heard the noise of the uproar and Perdikkas came and informed him of what the Macedonians were saying. He ordered that his couch be lifted and put in a place where the army might pass and see him and that the soldiers be brought in, clad in a single garment, and taken out the other door, so that they make no trouble amongst themselves and start fighting. The Macedonians entered and passed close by him and gave him encouragement.

And there was no one who was not grieved over what had happened to such a great and world-conquering king.

And one of them named Peukalaos, who was not unattractive in appearance, but an ignorant country lad who did not command even a single platoon, stood close to the monarch and said, "O Alexander, Philip your father ruled Macedonia well." He changed languages and sadly continued in Macedonian: "Lo, you are abandoning us. And all of Macedon is lost by your dying. It is well for all us Macedonians to die with you who made your ancestral city worthy of Aramazd." And Alexander was saddened; and he stretched forth his right hand and clasped the hand of the Macedonian and very clearly acknowledged his entreaties, for the Macedonians were passing by. Once again he sent Perdikkas out and ordered Olkias to read the will he had had written with his very keen and perceptive wisdom. And this is the copy of the will.[1] 271

"King and monarch, Alexander, son of Ammon and of Olympias, greets the generals of the Rhodians, rulers of an intelligent people. Since you accept as your boundaries the pillars of Heracles, our forefather, who was destined to join the ranks of the gods, and since you have wished to be on friendly terms, we thought it right to write you about what we have decided because we have always considered you of all the Greeks the fitting custodians of my achievements; there is the second reason, too, that I love your city. Therefore, I am writing that the guards be removed from your city so that it may boldly preserve its freedom. Also, we wish that our splendid treasure be kept among you. For we know that city of yours is good and deserves being remembered. Therefore, we shall see to it that it is taken care of no less than one of our own cities, and as is worthy of us. We have boldly taken control of each country; starting first from our birthplace, we have willfully reached this point. And we invited the ruling kings first of all to send from the army 1,000 talents of gold to the Egyptian temple, for we also ordered that 272

our body be taken there. And, we permit, too, that the formal arrangements be made however the Egyptian priest think best. And we ordered that Boeotian Thebes be built again and refurbished from the royal treasury. We have judged that they have suffered quite enough, and they have been adequately reproached and fittingly admonished for the wrongs they did me. And also let grain be given by the Macedonians to the Thebans until the people of the city prosper. And we ordered that you, too, be given for the refurbishing of your city 300 talents of gold and 40 warships, so that you might be strong and free, and also 20,000 measures of crops from Egypt every year as a gift. And land shall be measured and marked off for you so that you may for all time have sufficient crops for yourselves. And you shall want for nothing. And Ptlomeos who has been my bodyguard shall take care of you, too. And we have pointed all these things out so that he might do right by you. Now do not suppose that this legacy was bequeathed you in vain, for I have appointed overseers for your kingdom, and it is the overseers' duty to administrate according to my provisions.

273 We, King Alexander, son of Ammon and Olympias, appoint Arideos, the son of Philip, king of the Macedonians, for the present time. But should there be a son of Alexander from Roxiane, we shall make him king of the Macedonians and give him whatever name the Macedonians as a whole wish. But, if Roxiane's child be a girl, let the wisemen of the Macedonians elect and choose whomever they want as their king, if they do not want Arideos, Philip's son, to rule over them. And let him who shall be elected preserve the kingdom of the Argives; and let the Macedonians, together with their king, give tribute to the Argives as has been traditionally done. And especially let Olympias, Alexander's mother, live in Rhodes of the Theogians.[1]

274 King Alexander, son of Ammon and Olympias, designates as guardian of the entire kingdom of the Macedonians, Krateron and his wife, Kevane, the daughter of Philip,

the king of the Macedonians. Egypt goes to Ptlomeos, and let him be given as wife Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, ruler of the brave. And let them bring forth Perdikkas as governor and guardian of the land of Babylon as far as Bactria. And let his wife be Roxiane, the wife of Alexander. And I shall order the guardians of the kingdom to make a golden tomb worth 200 talents, in which the body of Alexander, the world conqueror, is to be placed. And let the aged and feeble Macedonians be sent back to Macedon and Thessalonica and let each be given according to his deserts. And let there be a golden throne in Athens for the goddess Athena, who is the most beautiful of the virgins. And let the panoply of King Alexander be sent to Argos as a gift to Heracles, along with 150 talents of gold for the city. And let the tusks of elephants and snake skins and 100 golden bowls and 100 fine rings be sent to Delphi. And Perdikkas,[1] I leave as king of Egypt and the city of Alexandria, the capital I have built so that you may keep the city of Alexander under my own name, that Alexander might live on as king. Taxiades[2] is appointed to that kingdom of the Indians which is near the Hydaspes, the river of fish; Pithon, in charge of what has been designated; the Paraplenesians, to Oxydarkes, the Bactrian, the uncle of Alexander's wife, Roxiane; and to Philip goes Bactria, the lands of Šoš and the land of the Parthians to the South. And Olkias is appointed king of Lyria,[3] and I shall give him 500 horses from Asia to take with him. And with them, let Olkias build bronze statues of Alexander, Ammon, Athena, Heracles, Olympias, and Philip. And he should consecrate these in the Olympian shrine or wherever he wish. And let the guardians of the kingdom consecrate a statue of Olkias. And let Ptlomeos also dedicate in Egypt bronze statues to Alexander, Ammon, Athena, Heracles, Olympias, and Philip."[4]

And when all this had been done, Olkias came in and he 275
gave him the letter to take to the Theban, Asmenos. And Olkias hastened to read what pertained to the region of

Thebes. Because he ordered the city of Thebes be rebuilt and did further benefactions, Ismenias, now rejoicing over the city, eagerly started celebrating.

276 And Alexander was anointed with a certain assuaging balm which Roxiane put on him, and he was protected from great pain. And a light sleep came. Because of this, the demise was deferred for five days. Alexander asked for water to rinse out his mouth. And once again, Iollas altered the cup with the drug and offered it to him. And he took it and rinsed out his mouth. And then and there, oppressed by his pains, he cried out loudly; and he gave up hope in life and in the vain futility of this world.

277 He summoned Perdikkas and Ptlomeos and Loukias and Lysimachos, the Macedonian princes, and spoke thus to them: "Men, I have given definite instructions about the kingdom. Olkias has been entrusted the Rhodians; let them do as he directs. And now I am taking care of the legacy of Perdikkas and Antipater." And Olkias then touched the hem of his garment and wailing loudly went out. And he called Lysimachos to him and said, "Go to Thrace and grieve not." And he, too, cried out and ran off. And he said to Ptlomeos seated near him, "And you, go to Egypt and you shall take care of our body." But he spoke softly to him so that no one might hear, for Ptlomeos too was overcome by tears, and he hid his face in his robe and secretly wept.[1]

278 But the illness was strengthening its hold upon the emperor, and he was no longer able thereafter to speak. And he suffered great distress and anguish, and he groaned: "Providence above, I entrust to your care the throne of my kingdom; for you are king of land and sea, ablest and strongest of all the gods and heroes. Hear me now, Heracles and Athena and all you creatures above." And hard pressed by his illness, he gave his ring to Perdikkas.

279 And Roxiane cried loudly and rent her clothing and wanted to fall at the feet of her husband, Alexander. And Alexander sobbed and groaned deeply and placed his hand

on her head. And he took her by her right hand and handed her to Perdikkas. And by a glance, he made it clear that he was entrusting her to his care. And as he was doing this, the malady was pressing hard upon him. At that time, Roxiane was standing on his right, and around the three were Perdikkas, Ptlomeos, and Loukias. And he gave up the ghost and they laid out his body.

And thus did Alexander, the world conqueror and great king, pass on to the gods, after having lived thirty-three years. And I do not think that they speak falsely who say that he is the son of Aramazd, nor do those who say he is Ammon's. For he surpassed by far the mortal measure in his character, sound thinking, righteousness; in restraint, generosity, and virtue. He won many wars, and accomplished everything himself, personally, and the facts themselves testify to this. 280

And Ptlomeos came to him and said, "Alexander, to whom do you leave your kingdom?" He replied, "To him who has the ability, the will power, the perseverance, and the power of accomplishment."[1] And just as he said this, a dark mist crossed the sky and a bolt of lightning was seen to fall from heaven into the sea and with it a great eagle. And the bronze statue of Aramazd in Babylon quivered; and the lightning ascended into heaven and the eagle went with it, taking with it a radiant star. And when the star disappeared in the sky, Alexander too had shut his eyes. 281

Meanwhile, the Persians were fighting, since they wanted to take the king to Persia and worship him together with the god Mithra. And the Macedonians wanted to take him to Macedonia. To this, Ptlomeos said: "There is an oracular shrine of the Babylonian god. I shall get an oracle from him as to where we should take the body of Alexander." And when he was asked, the god of the Babylonians answered thus: "I personally give you an order which is advantageous to you all. There is a city on the Nile,[1] near the streams of Oceanus, which has five very fertile kingly fields near the land of the Amazons; it is called Memphis. Take your 282

son who has become one of the gods there and put him to rest, for he, the horned king, has become a cause for rejoicing." Thus did the divine oracle answer.

283 And then[1] Ptlomeos took him to Egypt and made a leaden slab for him and poured upon him mnesiotas[2] honey and hipatic[3] aloe; and the body was embalmed with incense and oil and put upon a mule cart and taken to Egypt. And when they reached Pellas, the Memnians came forth with trumpeters to meet at the altars in their accustomed way. And they took him to Memphis near Sesonchousis, the world-conquering demigod. A voice issued forth saying: "Take him to his city which he himself built. For wherever that man's body be, that place shall have no surcease from war and from turmoil, for he is a child of war."

284 So at that time, Ptlomeos made a grave for him in Alexandria, which is still called Alexander's Body. And he put him there with splendid honor, since Alexander had requested that this be done.[1] For the city was called by his name and is destined to rule all others. A priest was appointed in the city for the great gods Sarapis and Apis; when he went out, he was to be adorned very splendidly in purple with a crown of gold and receive an annual[2] sum equal to a talent. And he would be inviolate and free from every obligation. This man would have this kind of honor, for he would exceed all mankind in nobility. And this gift would remain even for his children.

285 Alexander fought with many kings, and dying, left them behind him. For he lived thirty-three years. He started warring at eighteen and fought for seven years until he was twenty-five. And the other eight years, he lived in peace. And he was cut off in the middle of his days by the treachery of adversaries. He conquered many nations, twenty-two barbarian and twelve Greek. And he built twelve cities which still remain today, rich and complete and populated by countless people: Alexandria, which he built on the bullheaded horse; Alexandria Kattison; the

Alexandria for Poros; Alexandria of Undranikos;[1] Alexandria of Scythia; Alexandria of Mesopotamia; Alexandria on the Dklat' River; Alexandria of Babylon; Alexandria of Troy; Alexandria at Massagyrs; Alexandria near Xanthos, and Alexandria near Egypt.

This mighty and fortunate world conqueror, Alexander, 286
was born in the month of Tubi of the Egyptian calendar, on the first day at sunrise. And he came to his end on the fourth day of the month of Parmouphir, toward nightfall. And his army called that day sacred because of Alexander who died young. And this is the end of his life span, both of his birth and development, of his victory and his valor, his kingship and his world-wide rule; of his genius and his wisdom, his equity and justice, righteousness and virtue. This life that was directed by Providence above ended in man's common death.[1]

NOTES

UNLESS OTHERWISE stated, all references to the Greek versions, *A* (Cod. Paris 1711 of the 11th century), *B* (Cod. Paris 1685, dated 1469), *C* (Paris suppl. 113, dated 1567), and *L* (Leidens, Vulc. 93), are to *Reliqua Arriani, et Scriptorum de rebus Alexandri Magni fragmenta: Pseudo-Callisthenis Historiam Fabulosam, Itinerarium Alexandri*, Carolus Müller (Paris, 1846). The Latin of Valerius (*V*) is also from the same text.

The Armenian printed text is Venice ms. 424, undated, and is referred to as *P* (printed text). Other Armenian references are *S* (the Sis ms.), *Q* (the questionable full-length variants), and *E* (the epitomes).

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 1-38; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTERS 1-16

Although *P* is missing six to eight pages at the beginning of the manuscript (Dashian, p. *139*), it begins like *A*, *L*, and *V*. *A* is missing chapters 14 and 35. In the opening chapters, *P* is often closest to *B*.

I

[1] The syntax of *P* could be read, "after whom it befell the throne to conquer," etc. But the vocabulary is practically identical to *A* and has been so translated. The *E* texts read, "who, after the kingdom of Egypt, ruled through magic sorcery, and defeated all his enemies. (*P*, p. 1, note 1)

[2] *P* agrees with *B*.

[3] *P* agrees with *B* and *V*, "ex fonte limpidissimo." *A* reads "rain water."

[4] *P* agrees with *V*, "mox viveri ac vivere visebantur."

[5] *P* agrees with *V*, "deos superos inferosque." *A*: ἀγγέλους καὶ θεὸν Λιβύης Ἄμμωνα. Throughout the text, the Armenian usually states չաստուածսն (non-gods), to emphasize that pagan divinities are in question.

2

[1] *P* is corrupt. Armenian variants read էքսփրակրատորէս (ēksp'rakratorēs).

[2] The names of the nations vary greatly among the various versions, and will not be generally remarked upon in the notes.

[3] The Homeric verses appear only in *L*.

4

[1] "and . . . to leave," appear only in *A*.

[2] *P* agrees with *A* and *L*.

[3] *P* agrees with *B* and *C*.

[4] The Armenian is inconsistent in spelling almost all proper names: thus, Pelles, Pellas, and Pella. In general a standard form has been adopted in the translation.

[5] *P* agrees with *A* and *V*.

5

[1] Sinopos agrees with *A* and *L*, although the entire remark is closer in sense to *B* and *C*. This chapter is not in *V*.

6

[1] This spelling is used throughout the translation for the sake of uniformity. The text variously reads Olompiada, Olompia, etc., always spelling the name with two "o"s, as is Mount Olympos, too, in the Armenian.

[2] This nicety of protocol appears also in *A*.

7

[1] Dashian (p. 216) suggests that կամք should read կարդք.

[2] *P* has the questionable noun ամմովնագէտք (ammovnagētk'). It may not refer to the god as his name is spelled Ամոն (Amon) throughout the text. *A* reads ἀμουμάντεις which is also inexplicable. *E* variants read ամանագէտք (dish-seers).

8

[1] The Armenian transliterates many of the Greek words in its description of the horoscope.

9

[1] *P* generally parallels *B* and *C*; but Olympias is considerably more inquisitive in the Armenian.

10

[1] *մարկճակս* is meant for *մահճակս*, as per other variants (*P*, p. 6, note 1) and Dashian (p. 216).

12

[1] *P* has only the adverb *մօտ*, while variants (*P*, p. 7, note 3) read *մուտ ի ներքս 'ի սենեկին իմում*, "access to my room."

13

[1] The Armenian translator seems to have read *βασιλέα* as a feminine nominative, and mistakenly translated it as *դշխոյ*, "queen".

16

[1] T'reanç has filled the lacunae in the Armenian from an unspecified Greek text.

[2] Babylonios is one of rare instances where *P* agrees only with *C*. The name does not appear in *A*, *B*, or *V*.

[3] Stephanos of Byzantium claimed that for this reason Alexandria was called Λεοντόπολις. Müller (p. 160, note 2) states that Stephanos had in turn taken the reference from Iason Argivus.

18

[1] *A* claims that the explanation reconciled Philip to his wife's being pregnant.

21

The last sentences of 20 and 21 are not in *A*, *B*, or *C*. In general, chapters 17-22 read like *B*, *C*, and *V*. *A* is often different and lacks many passages.

[1] Literally: "not a little."

[2] *B* and *C* give no name; *A* and *V* read like *P*. Here, as in Olompiada, the Armenian seems to have kept the declension ending as part of the proper name.

25

[1] *P* reads literally "the time was in-between." *Q* variants read, "and the sun was near noon."

26

[1] *բացակտուր* means "incomplete". Here *A* has much added astrological mythology. *P* reads like *B*, *C*, and the Valerius variant cod. 8519, fol. 7.

28

[1] This sentence appears only in *A* and *B*; but the paragraph in general is closer in sense to *B*.

29

[1] Dashian, p. 17, remarks that Lakrine is mentioned by the historian Arrian; she becomes the sister of Melanos from the fact that Plutarch calls her the sister of Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας. The stem *կեղտ* of *կեղտացի*, which transliterates as kelt, means dirt or blackness. Some variants read *կելտացւոց* which is surely Celt (*P*, p. 15, note 3).

[2] Only *V* names Aristocles Lampsacenus.

[3] "Of Nicomitachos, the Stagirite" is not in *A*, *B*, *C*, or *V*.

[4] *V* alone states, "Favorini librum, qui omni genere historiae superscribitur." Dashian, p. 16, states on Zacher's authority that this is Favorinus Arelatensis, the author of histories of Trajan and Hadrian. This remark has been one of the reasons the work has been held to be no earlier than A.D. 200. The latest date the book could have been written has been set as no later than the late fourth century, since the text mentions the shrine of Sarapis in Alexandria which Theodosius destroyed in 387.

31

[1] *A* reads ὁι τής Καπποδοκίας ἄρχοντς.

[2] *C*, too, states "horse"; other texts say "colt." Here *P* parallels *B* in general.

[3] Only *B* and *V* mention this comparison with Pegasus. *V* has the name Laomedontus, but in a very different context.

[4] This remark is not in *A*, *B*, *C*, or *V*.

[5] The syntax of this sentence is not clear. Variants of the *Q* group (*P*, p. 16, note 5) read, "Such things have happened among the Hellenes."

[6] Greek versions read, "without a bridle".

33

[1] *Q* variant reads "for when I became an astrologer, I learned that it was written. . . ."

34

[1] *A* adds a monologue by Alexander on the equitableness of Nectanebos' fate.

35

[1] This chapter is missing in *A*.

36

[1] *A*, *B*, and *C* read *διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως*. *V* reads "medium Pellae."

37

[1] As in ch. 19, "Stagirite" appears only in the Armenian. Dashian, p. 226, suggests that it may be a later entry. Here *P* follows *B* and *V*; *C* has many additions.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 39-46; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTER 16

The eight letters that follow are not in *A*, *B*, or *C*. The Armenian differs considerably with *V* in detail; in general, *V* is briefer, lacking for example the parting salutations of the letters of chapters 39, 43, 44, and 45.

40

[1] *P* reads *յայրդ վերայ*. The translation is according to the variants (*P*, p. 20, note 1) which read *այդր 'ի վերայ*.

44

[1] Literally: "They have done the contrary thing."

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 47-72; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTERS 17-25

In this section, the Armenian generally parallels *A* and *V*; however, *A* is missing chapters 59 and 62. In chapters 68 and 69, the text is closer to *B*.

49

[1] *Q* variant has a long parenthetical description of Pisa and the festivities which were held in the stadium. *P* is corrupt and the noun "Pisa" is from *E*.

50

[1] Some Armenian variants give Melin, which could perhaps corroborate *V*, which reads "Elim."

51

[1] *P* literally reads "briny" (*աղաջուր*).

[2] *A* reads *τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς σπορὰν καὶ μητρὸς γαστέρα ἱερὸν*; this is not in *B*, *C*, or *V*.

54

[1] The first half of this saying does not appear in *V*, and the last is in neither *A*, *B*, C, or *V*.

55

[1] *P* is corrupt; the reading is from *Q*.

[2] As shall be frequently the case, the Greek play on words is lost in Armenian (*νικάω :λαὸς*) as it is in English.

56

[1] This genealogy is questionable. *P* reads *զքոյրն իւր* "his sister," which the editor has deleted as a mistake (*P*, p. 27, note 1). *A* reads *γαμοῦντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ*. Müller has corrected *αὐτοῦ* to read "Attalus," as does Valerius. Interestingly, a sister of Alexander by this name is mentioned again in ch. 274.

59

[1] This chapter does not appear in *A*, but is in *B*, *C*, and *V*. Its antiquity is attested to by the fact that it is a passage that Xorenaçi had incorporated into his *History*.

[2] *P* reads as translated. Dashian, p. 216, suggests *վարէին* instead of *պարէին*.

[3] *P* reads literally "they did the last things."

62

[1] This chapter does not appear in *A*, but there are varying accounts in *B*, *C*, and *V*.

63

[1] Only *C* has a chapter heading at this point. Up to this chapter, each of the Greek chapters had a title; but they cease here.

65

[1] This is not in *A* or *V*. *B* and *C* read *οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλων τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς δουλείαν ὑποτάσσει* as part of Alexander's preceding remark.

66

[1] Here *A* and *B* have separate additions. *P* agrees with *V*.

67

[1] In the incident of Pausianos' attempted abduction of Olympias, *P* parallels *B*. *A* has many additions, and *V* is much briefer and reads quite differently in chapters 68-72.

68

[1] *P* reads "killed," but the logic of the passage indicates that the verb is a mistake here.

69

This is a literal reading of *P*. *Q* variants read *Թաղեաց զՀայր իւր Թագաւորէն*, "and he buried his father as befits a king," which is closer to the Greek: *θάπτεται οὖν βασιλικῶς*.

70

[1] As usual, there is considerable discrepancy among the proper

names of the various texts. *V* omits many of them; *C* adds Thebans and Athenians; and *P* adds Thetalians and Thracians.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 73-102; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTERS 26-36

This is the most varied section in the diverse manuscripts. After Alexander collects his armies, *B* and *C* immediately go on to other subjects (Alexander's war with the Hellenes), which *A* and *V* recount later. They tell here of his going to Sicily, Italy, and Africa, the building of Alexandria, and the destruction of Tyre. These incidents are related later in *B* and C. All the mss. come together again in Greek I, 29 (*P*, ch. 74). Here, *P* generally reads like *A* and *V*. *B* and *C* are lacking practically all of chapters 79, 84, and 85.

73

[1] The numbers vary greatly among versions, and tally in none.

74

[1] T'reanç has chosen *մադոն* from the variants. *P* reads *Մոդոն* (*Modon*), which Dashian (p. *230*), *suggests may be a* corruption of *A*, *διὰ τοῦ θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ*.

75

[1] *P* and *A* alone say it was the crown of Capitoline Zeus. Aramazd was the supreme deity of the Armenian pagan pantheon, and is the usual Armenian rendering of Zeus.

[2] *P* reads like *A*. However, Armenian variants read "Khalkedonians" as suggests the *A* codex (χαλχ . . .).

77

[1] *P transliterates as* "Pharitos." *A reads εἰς τὴν Φαρίτιδα νῆσον*.

[2] *P* transliterates as "Protiatos."

[3] This passage, as almost all of the poetry of the Greek, is rendered into prose in the Armenian. Dashian (p. 47) notes that this is a passage that recurs almost verbatim in Xorenaçi.

78

[1] Here again the word play of the Greek is lost, as it is in *V*.

79

[1] The Armenian reads Posiris, which the editor of *P* has changed to conform with the Latin and Greek (*P*, p. 37, note 1).

[2] The names of the villages appear only in the Armenian and *A*, with considerable divergence between the two.

[3] P reads like *A*, *B*, and *C*. *V* gives 16 villages and 12 rivers.

[4] As Dashian suggests (p. 233), the word "column" has been added as there is no noun for the genitive *Արգեայն* to modify. *A* reads Ἀργέον στύλος.

80

[1] The Greek reads Ἑρμούπολις and Ὁρμούπολις.

[2] Dashian, p. 194, suggests that the original translator read ἤπειροι for ἔμποροι of *A*.

81

[1] See ch. 79, note 1.

82

[1] *Սկզբունք* usually refers to an impersonal creative force, but the context suggests an agent.

[2] The Latin omits this play altogether, and its effect is lost in translation. (Gr: Ὑπόνομος, ὑπόνομος.)

83

[1] Only *P*, *A*, and *V* compare the sizes of the cities. They also mention Rome and Babylon and their dimensions.

[2] *P* is corrupt. The Armenian variants read, *կարթառոն* or *կարթական*. The editor of *P*, p. 39, note 3, does not state the source of his change.

84

[1] *P* reads Protēs.

85

[1] Dashian, p. 216, corrects *քան զթռչունք* to read *քան զի թռչունք*; the translation is literal to *P*.

86

[1] This is the transliteration of *Յարկ*, which means "place of habitation." It is probably the translation of Στοὰ.

[2] *Աղբիւրք* should probably be *Աղբիւք* or "mound," as the Greek reads *Κοπρία*. (Dashian, p. 189.)

87

[1] The Greek pattern, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε—'*Αλεξὰνδρος βασιλεὺς γένος διὸς ἔκτιοε* (*πόλιν ἀείμνηστον*) has been imitated with complete success in the Armenian. *V* does not attempt the effect.

[2] This is an Egyptian division of the year corresponding to our January (Müller, p. 35, ch. xxxii, note 10). *A*, *B*, and *C* read *ἰαννουαρίου*.

[3] The sacrifice to Alexander as belonging to the race of serpents recalls Ammon's apparition as a serpent.

88

[1] See ch. 77, note 2.

90

[1] The Armenian translator chose Anahit, the supreme goddess of the Armenian pagan pantheon, to translate Hera.

93

[1] This whole reply is in badly corrupt poetic form in *A* and appears as verse in *V* also.

[2] *V* sees the elements as propitious.

[3] Dashian, p. 235, cites this as an interesting example of a repetition in the Armenian text where the first account parallels *A* and the second is closer to *B*, which, however, is much briefer.

[4] The riddle is solved of course by substituting the letter equivalents of the Greek numbers, which gives Sarapis.

94

[1] The Zoroastrian deity Zrowan is equated with Kronos.

97

[1] *P* is corrupt; the translation is suggested by Dashian, pp. 219-20, and agrees with the Greek.

99

[1] Dashian, pp. 60-63, draws lengthy parallels between the account by Xorenaçi of the siege of Tigranakert and that of Tyre

to show that the surviving text is largely true to the fifth-century translation and, also, to support the claim of Xorenaçi's authorship.

101

[1] The Greek play is on Τύρος and τυρός.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 103-19; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTERS 37-42

In this first section on the battles of Alexander and Darius, the Armenian equals *A* and *V*, in general. However, *A* is missing ch. 117.

103

[1] This is the Armenian name for Mithras.

105

[1] The reference to Tyre is not in *A*, *B*, *C*, or *V*.

107

[1] *P* reads *Եւ զԱսորիս եւ բնաւ Հնազանդեալսն*, which Dashian, p. 236, regards as a printing error. Translation is per *P*.

110

[1] The proper names appear only in *A* and *V*. In Armenian, Hystaspes is Vštasp.

[2] *A* gives no number; *V* reads "five."

111

[1] This passage is very faulty in the Armenian, as was observed by Dashian, p. 236.

112

[1] *A* reads Τινάργῳ; *B* and *C* give Πινάριῳ.

[2] Six Armenian variants read "ruler-less".

[3] *պարծեսցին* has been translated as *պարծեսցիս* to smooth a generally very questionable passage.

113

[1] Chapters 113 and 114 follow *A*, but are not in *B* or *C*. *V* is less detailed than *P* and *A*. Here *B* and *C* give a long aside on

Darius' forces, Alexander's crossing the Tanros, and his bathing in the Cydnos, which *A* and *V* have in the second book.

114

[1] The translation is according to *P*. Dashian, p. 216, suggests that *գպարուց* was a mistake for *գպարսից*, which would parallel *A* τῶν Περσῶν.

115

[1] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch name Ἀντιοχεύς according to Müller (p. 46, note 22).

116

[1] This translation is suggested by Dashian, p. 217, who reads *առաւել քաջութեամբ վարել* instead of *առաւել քաջութիւն*.

117

[1] *This seems to be a repetition of the same number and does* not agree with *B*, *C*, or *V*.

119

[1] This corroborates codex Σκαμάνδρῳ and *V*, which Maius had corrected to "Cassandro." (Müller, p. 47, ch. XLII, note 4.)

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 120-34; GREEK, BOOK I, CHAPTERS 42-57

This section deals with Alexander's wars with the Greeks and Thebans. *A* is missing a page at the beginning of this section and thus starts at about ch. 124. There is a big difference among versions starting about ch. 125. From this point (Gr. Bk. I, ch. 45) to ch. 148 (Gr. Bk. II, ch. 6), *A*, *V*, and *P* differ from *B* and *C*, which recount this material elsewhere and somewhat differently. *P* in general follows *A* and *V*.

120

[1] "Keraton" is not in the Greek. *V* reads "Summo in culmine Tauri montis." Dashian, p. 196, suggests that the Armenian might have had a Greek word such as κεράτιον to translate and rendered it as a proper name.

121

[1] All the Armenian variants read Պերիս (Peris) which the editor of *P* changed to conform with the context below.

122

[1] In this paragraph, *P* often parallels only *B*; such an instance is the word "ἐπταβόειον".

[2] From this point through ch. 124, there is a lacuna in all the Armenian full-length versions. The fact that they existed originally is attested to by other ancient Armenian sources which Dashian cites on p. 176. This passage is also cited by Dashian, p. 140, to show that all the full-length versions were based on the same lost original.

The entire bracketed section is translated by the editor of *P* from the Greek, and the subordinate parenthetical passages are from Valerius. The editor does not specify which texts he was working from.

Kroll too quotes extensively from Valerius in this passage as *A* is extremely corrupt also.

The Armenian epitomes read as follows (*P*, pp. 60-61, note 5):

"And having dined with the mother of Darius, he went to Macedon with the slaves he had taken from Darius. And he traveled to Abder. And the Abderians locked the gates. Alexander ordered that they be set afire. And they sent him their entreaties that 'we have not done so as enemies, but because we are afraid of Darius. For after you leave, he will come and devastate our city. For we serve the strongest man. If you defeat Darius, we shall be your slaves.' And the king was amazed at their cleverness and went on past there to Boeotia and he devastated all of Olynthos and likewise the cities of the Chaldeans. And he left with his troops and stayed near the Euxinos River, and he subjugated everyone. And he sacrificed to the female statue and went on. And he came upon the winter season there; and there was a terrible famine among the soldiers and in the lands. And he ordered horses slain and eaten, so that they not die of hunger. And they stayed alive in that fashion. For he said, 'If a man stay alive, it is possible to find the things he needs, both horses and goods; but after he dies, horses are worthless.' And from there he came to the Lokrians, etc."

The *Q* variants read as follows:

"And having dined with the mother of Darius, he sailed to

Macedon with the slaves he had taken in the war with Darius. And he left all the slaves there and went back to the land of the Arabians, and he traveled straight to the city of Abder. And the Abderians closed their gates to him and did not allow him to enter. And Alexander got angry and ordered the city burnt. And they sent a legate to him and they said, 'We did not close the gates in scorn of you, but we are afraid of Darius. If his rule remain unshaken, then he will afterwards harm us because of our receiving you. But if you forcibly open them, we will obey the mighty emperor, be it you or Darius.' And when Alexander heard this, he said, 'If this is the reason you closed them, then go and open them, and remain in peace. For now I shall not enter your city until I have slain Darius. And then you shall obey me.' "

125

[1] *P* reads like *A* and *V*. The existence of this form in the fifth-century Armenian text indicates that if this is a copy error as suggested by Müller, p. 49, ch. XLV, note 1, then it existed already in the Greek prior to the fifth century.

[2] *P* is faulty and has been corrected per above and *V*. Other variants read Ֆիբոս, "Phœbus," *P*, p. 60, note 2, which is perhaps a corruption of the Greek Φοιβολάλον.

127

[1] The Armenian full-length copies give the details of the destruction of Thebes in ch. 132. The epitomes and *Q* place them here, as does *V*.

The epitomes read: "(And he ordered) the gates be set afire. First to be stricken and razed was the gate they call the Cadmean, on which Alexander was standing. And then they seized the king. A few men rushed through the opening alone and harassed and turned many men to flight. And in three days, they destroyed the whole city. And they fired upon those who were on the walls, which they destroyed from the base; and they put all the inhabitants to death with their swords. And countless men were piled upon one another. For Alexander had ordered that all be done rapidly to the point that they grew tired; for the swords had been given so much blood to drink. And a certain Ismenias, etc."

Q variants read: "And in three days the city was burnt by fire. But first the gate upon which Alexander was standing was set

afire. And the king himself rushed through a small opening alone. And many Thebans, upon seeing him, turned and fled. And other troops entered through the gates. In the city there were 4,000 soldiers, and they were all slain. And the city was razed from its foundations and set ablaze. For upon orders from Alexander, the Macedonians easily accomplished what they wanted to. And in the city, there was a learned lutist by the name of Ismenias, etc."

129

[1] *A* is so faulty in this recital that Müller, p. 51, note 23, states, "Quod sequitur carmen lacerum sine meliorum codicum ope restitui nequit." As Dashian, p. 238, observes, the Armenian, too, in rendering in prose the Greek poetry, has become a conglomeration of ambiguities. *V* is much shortened.

[2] *P* reads *'ի նաւ վազել*, "running to a ship." Dashian corrects this to parallel the Greek.

[3] Dashian suggests that with a slight change, this could read *քարշեցելոյ Դերկայ*, "of Dirce who was dragged about."

[4] This is Dashian's, p. 217, suggested correction of *P*'s *Մեփինքս*.

131

[1] This transliteration of *բիովտեան* suggests perhaps the Bacchic rites held in this region, and thus the reeds of Dionysius.

·132

[1] The Armenian seems to have confused Ἰσμηνός and Ἰσμηνίας.

[2] "*անքաղաք*" is the Armenian of "ἄπολεις."

133

[1] The Armenian texts read *Ալպիդէս*, which the editor had corrected to agree with the following chapter and *V*.

[2] The adjective *պարսպամարտ* is formed from ἱμαντόμαχος. However, the Armenian has the literal sense of one who fights upon the walls of a city, and it is in this sense that Magistros has used the adjective in reference to Achilles (Dashian, p. 32).

134

[1] The *P* text says only *մրցումն*; and though it does not
has used the adjective in reference to Achilles (Dashian, p. 32).
translate πάλην, παγκράτιον καὶ πυγμήν.

[2] This is evidently faulty for Polydeuces, as below.

[3] Here *A* and *V* start the second book. The Armenian alone attributes the first part of the work to Aristotle.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 135-49; GREEK, BOOK II, CHAPTERS 1-6

135

[1] *P* reads "կորէ", the transliteration of Κόρη, by which name Proserpine was worshiped in Attica. In ch. cxxxvi, the author translates the word to աղջիկ.

139

[1] Dashian, p. 196, suggests that the Armenian made a proper name of πρότερος.

140

[1] *P* transliterates as "Eskines"; the Greek is Αἰσχίνης.

[2] The Greek reads: τί τὸ βράδος τῆς βουλῆς.

141

[1] Dashian, p. 215, says that the text should be properly punctuated to read: "Are we now afraid to fight with Alexander?" Aeschines says, "Alexander, etc."

[2] The Armenian alone compliments Darius in this passage and below (cxxxxii). The name Պիւրեայ, which transliterates "Piwreus," is not in the Greek or *V*.

[3] The Armenian variants read Անեսիքորայ, Ձնեսիքորայ or Նեսիքորայ. *V* reads "Mnesicharmus." The editor of *P* has corrected the text to conform with the retort below.

142

[1] The punctuation of *P* has been changed for sense and fluency. The Armenian sentence stops after "citizen".

[2] The Latin, too, does not attribute the victory to the wisdom of the Greeks. In general, the Armenian seems least willing to denigrate Xerxes.

143

[1] *V* supports this: "adclamatio. . . . Amphictyonum erat."

144

[1] This is an obvious reference to Alexander but there is no clarification in the text.

[2] "*քան զամենայն*" has been translated as "*քանզի ամենայն*."

[3] The Armenian corresponds literally to the Greek: *τὴν τοῦ Ἄρεως τόλμην καθοπλίξεσθαι*.

146

[1] This is the form of the name "Cyrus" that is customary in classical Armenian from the Assyrian translations. (Dashian, p. 189.)

[2] *P* reads "Alcipiades," which has been corrected according to the Greek.

148

[1] The translation is according to P. Dashian, p. 217, suggests that *պատմութիւն* should be read as *զպատրաստութիւն*, "preparation."

[2] "*կամս*" has a questionable sense here. Dashian, p. 217, suggests "*փառս*", "glory."

149

[1] Alexander's reproach to this entreaty, which appears in the Greek and Latin, is missing from the Armenian.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 150-74; GREEK, BOOK II, CHAPTERS 7-13

These chapters deal with Alexander's expedition against Darius, up to the point where he goes to him in disguise as his own messenger. *P* generally reads like *A* and *V*; but ch. 159 appears only in *P* and *A*.

150

[1] *A*, *B*, C, and *V* meet again at this point in the text. The Armenian seems to be the most complete in this chapter, as this sentence, from "lest" to "country," is not in *A*, but is in *B* and C.

[2] This last sentence appears only in *V* and *P*.

151

[1] The Armenian resembles *B* and C. *A* reads Ὀξυάθρης; *V* gives "Oxyathrus."

152

[1] "*Միջագետաց*" is the literal Armenian translation of "Mesopotamians."

[2] "*Շամիրամ*" is the Armenian of Semiramus.

153

[1] *V* also attributes this speech to another satrap, while the Greek gives it to Darius.

154

[1] *P* reads like *A* and *B*. Müller suggests "Cydnum" from Valerius.

[2] *V* reads "una cum armis." *P* agrees with the Greek.

155

[1] All Greek variants start with "D". Armenian "Գ" and "Բ", could have been easily confused; but the spelling is consistent throughout.

158

[1] This is a tributary of the Euphrates in Armenia. The text is inconsistent as the following line reads *Եփրատ*. Cf. ch. cxxxv, note 1.

[2] Dashian, p. 43, notes that this is a very exact local description and was quoted by Sebēos, a contemporary of Xorenaçi.

159

[1] This is the Armenian name for the Tigris from biblical translations. (Dashian, p. 189.)

[2] This passage, much shortened, exists only as a marginal note on codex *A*, and does not appear in *B*, *C*, or *V*.

162

[1] This Turkish form of Alexander's name is of unexplained provenance in the text. (Dashian, p. 142.)

165

[1] The Armenian uses this faulty transliteration of *"αγκυρα* as a proper name. Thus the sense of the Greek is very different.

[2] *Q* variants read: ". . . that you treated my family well. Now if you were willing to act properly and win my love, you would

come to me; and I would give you godly honors because of the honor you have done my family."

166

[1] *Q* variants read: "I have been accustomed to treat everyone well, and have treated your family in the same way, for they have fallen from heaven to earth."

169

[1] *A* reads "Κοβάρξην".

171

[1] *P* reads երկրայութեամբ, which literally means "with uncertitude".

172

[1] *P* reads as *A*. This is not in *B*, *C*, or *V*.

173

[1] Dashian, p. 82, notes that the tenth-century historian Łazar P'arpeçi states also that Alexander used lights as well as boughs. This is not in *A* or *V*; but it is mentioned in *B* and *C* that he had torches tied upon the animals. This must have fallen from the Armenian text at a very old date as the epitomes read: "Sharp-witted Alexander seized many goats and lighting many torches onto the horses at night, showed them off from afar. And thus the onlookers had the impression that they were vast armies. And by day he took the flocks that were grazing there, and cutting boughs from the trees and pines, tied them on the quadrupeds." (*P*, p. 96, note 1.)

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 175-208; GREEK, BOOK II, CHAPTERS 14-22

This section tells of Alexander's going to Darius disguised as a messenger, his final victory over the Persian king, and his conquest of the East. *P* reads like *A*, *B*, *C*, and *V*. But in one important passage of two pages at the end of ch. 199, it parallels only *A*.

176

[1] Neither this chapter heading nor the preceding one appears

in *A*, *B*, C, or *V*. But Dashian, p. 99, states that the language of the former bears evidence of antiquity.

[2] *P* reads like *V*. *A*, *B*, and *C* name Bucephalus.

177

[1] This is a transliteration of Սեպատոանոն, the meaning of which is uncertain. (Dashian, p. 207, note 1.)

179

[1] This is the city of Susa.

180

[1] The syntax indicates that the printed text is probably wrong and that the subject of the verbs must be Parasanges of the following sentence. Thus the paragraphing would be wrong. (Dashian, pp. *215-16*, note *1*.) The translation has changed the verbs to passives to keep the form of *P*.

181

[1] Here *P* reads like *B* and *C*.

182

[1] This is an instance where *P* resembles only *C*.

187

[1] This and the following chapters are rich in detail in the Armenian. Dashian, p. 190, considers this as perhaps a rare example of the translator's amplification of the original text.

190

[1] This passage is very faulty in the Armenian.

191

[1] This is not in *A* or *C*, but does appear in *B* and *P*. Previous chapters have shown the nuances of this epistolatory protocol.

192

[1] The parenthetical lines are missing from all Armenian copies, and have been translated by the editor of *P* from an unspecified Greek text (p. 108, note 2). Dashian, p. 141, cites this lacuna along

with that of chapters 122-23 to show that identical gaps in all extant full-length mss. indicate that they are all based on one lost original.

193

[1] *P* reads Հարուստ which literally means "rich" or "mighty." Dashian, p. 192, thinks that the word is used here in the place of Հետևակ, a "follower" or "infantryman."

195

[1] This is the Armenian form of Ariobarzanes.

[2] *P* parallels *B* and *C*; this is not in *A* or *V*.

197

[1] The Armenian has Darius disavow the Persians. This is not in *A*, *B*, C, or *V*, yet seems to sustain the thought that immediately follows. It is not however confirmed by Alexander's actions in the following paragraph.

198

[1] The Armenian uses the Arabic word "Թափուր".

199

[1] Such was the official Persian designation of Persians and non-Persians.

[2] This chapter is rife with difficulties in the Armenian, but in content it generally reads as *A*.

203

[1] This name is taken from the Greek by the editor of *P*. *P* reads Aroulites; other variants give Aroulitos. There is no name in *V*.

205

[1] Dashian, p. 213, cites this letter to show another instance where the Armenian surprisingly parallels in one passage *A* and immediately afterwards coincides with *B*. Thus, "Now we wrote. . . . Anahit" reads like *A*.

[2] "And . . . marriage" follows *B*.

208

[1] Karanon appears as an unintelligible common noun in *P*, with the adjective "Macedonian."

[2] According to Dashian, this is a corruption of Nemesis and Dike (p. 288).

[3] At this point, Book II of *A* and *V* comes to an end. The Armenian continues as before without any break.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTER 209; GREEK, BOOK II, CHAPTERS 23-43

This important letter from Alexander to his mother and his teacher Aristotle is not in *A* and *V* but only in *B*, *C*, and *L*, where it has been much elaborated. *C* recounts the incidents in the third person.

209

[1] This is the transliteration of *Այծս* ("*goats*"), which probably renders the Greek 'Αιγάς.

[2] Dashian, p. 196, observes that the translator of *P* has probably made the name Kattison from the Greek κατὰ 'Ισσόν.

[3] This is the transliteration of the Armenian *անամեսիտոն*, which in turn seems to be the corrupted transliteration of an unidentified Greek word.

[4] *P* reads *մազկայ*. A change of "*զ*" to "*ղ*" would give a resemblance to the Greek Μαλακοῦ.

[5] *P* resembles *C* ἀναφνήτων, for *B* reads ἀνάφαντον.

[6] This is the translation of *տնկածոյք*.

[7] The editor of *P* has corrected the text which reads *ովքսողք*.

[8] *P* is faulty. The reading is from the *S* variant (*P*, p. 124, note 4).

[9] Dashian, p. 196, suggests that the name might be a corruption of *B* ε'ις τὰς πατρίδας.

[10] The Armenian is the transliteration of *B* δάνδηκες.

[11] "*դերերի*" means "hydnum." (Dashian, p. 83.)

[12] *P* is defective. The Armenian epitomes read *լոյս անցանել*, "to pass a light", which was the choice of the editor of *P*. The translation, however, is according to the text of Tovma Arcrowni, *՚ի լոյղս անցանել ՚ի նաւէն* (*P*, p. 127, note 3). Arcrowni's lengthy citation from this passage and its similarity to the Armenian *P-C* is cited by Dashian, pp. 35-38, to once again demonstrate the fidelity of the existing text to the fifth-century original translation.

210

[1] Here *A*, *B*, *C*, and *V* start Book III.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 210-23; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 1-15

Like the Greek and Latin versions, *P* starts the campaign against Poros at this point. The visit to the gymnosophists follows. There is much variation in the accounts, and *A* and *V* have additional chapters. Here *P* generally follows *B* and *C*.

215

[1] This passage is not in *A*. Only *C* states *θεωρήσασ γὰρ τὸ ξένον τῶν θηρίων ἐθαύμασεν;* then *B* and *C* continue *ἀνθρώποις γὰρ εἶχεν ἔθος μάχεσθαι, οὐ θηρίοις.*

221

[1] *P* has the literal translation *մերկիմաստասէրք*, "naked philosophers."

223

[1] In this chapter, the Armenian is more detailed than any of the other texts, even Valerius, which it is closest to. Certain passages seem to bear the imprint of a Christian scribe.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTER 224; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 16-17

This long letter of Alexander to Aristotle is found only in *A* and *V*, in this position and in this form.

224

[1] In *A* there is a separate chapter heading for the letter; while in *B* and *C*, it is interwoven into the narrative of the text, with no indication of its being a letter. *B* and *C* have 18 pages of digressions on the marvels of India.

[2] The editor of *P* has taken the name from *V*. Armenian variants read: Parasias, Parsias, or Parskakan.

[3] *A* and *V* name the beast Hebdomadorion. Only *V* mentions "elephantos."

[4] The hours are questionable. The text seems to suggest that

night fell at four o'clock, the army marched until nine, dined, and then slept until daybreak at four.

[5] *V* reads: "arundinibus quae ad triginta cubitorum spatia supercrescerent. Crassitudo vero earum supra eam quanta est hominis crassitudo." *A* says πηχῶν δ' περίμετρον ἔχοντες.

[6] The translation is from the variants Ի չափ կանգնոյ, which agrees with *A* and *V*. *P* reads կանգունք.

[7] This is not in *A*. *V* reads "Odontotyrannus."

[8] P reads բռնութիւն which Dashian, p. 194, note 4, considers a printing error. The translation parallels *A* κατὰ φύσιν.

[9] This was the first month of the Armenian year. It is the equivalent of August of the Julian calendar. *A* reads μηνιαίᾳ τρίτῃ.

[10] *A* gives μυροβαλάνος, which is a sweet acorn or date tree.

[11] *B* reads μουθεὰ μαθόυς; *A*, μουθοῦ ἐμαοῦσαι.

[12] *P* here follows *B*.

[13] The words "ouzomores" and "ioulidas" are unknown, as they have been lost in the Greek.

[14] գլաւկ is the transliteration of γλαυκ. Dashian says it is a kind of fish, but the sense suggests the color.

[15] This is the Armenian name for Semiramis.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 225-50, GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 18-24

These are the incidents pertaining to Candace and Semiramis; Alexander's disguised visit to her and her splendid palace; generally. *P* reads as *A*.

226

[1] *V* reads: "rectius tibi facturae si veneris, etc." The Greek versions read εἰ δὴ μὴ βoὺλεσθε ἔρχεσθαί.

227

[1] As in the Greek, this passage is quite corrupt in the Armenian.

229

[1] No doubt Ptolemaeus Soter.

238

[1] *P* reads եղբայրն, nom. s., in apparent reference to Alexander. The Greek reads: συνεσθίων τοίς ἀδελθοῖς Κανδαύλου.

242

[1]The name varies in all the texts.

[2] *P* transliterates "Karabos"; this name should no doubt be Կարադոս, as in chapter 244 and *V*.

243

[1] The Armenian variants read: "and yet you are now acting most foolishly. Now what can you do to prevent their fighting?"

247

[1] The last part of this chapter through ch. 249, "Sesonchousis said:", is not in *A* or *C*. *V* is quite different and lacks the names of the cities.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 251-60; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 25-30

This includes the correspondence with the Amazons, the letter to Olympias concerning his travels, and the episode in Babylon. Chapters 255-57 are only in *V*. The beginning of Olympias' letter is only in *A* and *V*.

252

[1] *V* reads "si quidem te coronamus corona aurea annua quae sit ponderis quando tu iusseris". *A* and *C* read Στεφανοῦμεν δὲ σε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅσον ἂν συντάξῃς.

255

[1] *P* agrees with only *V* in this chapter through 257. *V* gives the name Prasiacam. Dashian, p. 199, suggests that the Greek παρασάγγας had been misread as the name of a place.

256

[1] Odysseus and Nestor are mentioned only in the Armenian.

258

[1] Here *A*, *B*, *C*, and *V* reunite.

[2] *P* agrees with *V*. *A* says ἐν ἡμέραις κέ.

[3] *A* reads τὸ μεν ὕφος πηχῶν ιγ' τὸ δὲ πλάτος πηχῶν β'. *V* has

"altitudo . . . cubitis . . . quindecim, crassitudo vero in cubitis duobus."

[4] *P* transliterates "mtłal," which appears only in the Armenian. Variants read *մսխալ*, "msxal."

[5] As in ch. 109, the Armenian again insists on "headless," which is not in *A* or *B* but in *C* and *V*. This is attested to also in a passage of the *Geography* attributed to Xorenaçi. (Dashian, pp. 80-81.)

[6] *Արեգ* means "sun." The Greek reads *πόλιν τοῦ ἡλίου.*

[7] Dashian, p. 141, note 3, sees this city of bronze as a very old Armenian addition.

[8] *P* reads like *C*. *A* and *B* have "seven."

[9] Dashian, p. 141, note 3, corrects this corrupt passage to parallel exactly *A* by the addition of two letters. *P* has meaningless common noun "gaucos."

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 261-71; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 31 AND 32

The circumstances are of Alexander's poisoning. The manuscripts are quite corrupt: *A* lacks large sections; *B* and *C* are much added to; and chapters 266 to 268 are only in *P* and *A*.

260

[1] *P* reads literally "table-mate."

261

[1] *P* is questionable in this sentence.

[2] The Armenian words "*յանրաւ ցամաք*" seem to be a translation of Ἤπειρος.

[3] *դեղաման* probably derives from *դեղումն*, which would read like *A* *χηλή*. The Armenian usually has the sense of the ridge of a mouth, or any projecting cover.

262

[1] The Greek gives Μήδιος, which corroborates the reading of ch. 264.

266

[1] The poisoning episode is especially important as it is very brief in *B* and *C* and very corrupt in *A*. It does not appear at all in *V*.

268

[1] *P* reads "they took things out".

271

[1] *A* has a separate title for the will.

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 272-74; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTER 33

Alexander's will is not in *B* or *C*. It appears very differently in *A* and *V*. *A*, like the Armenian, is quite corrupt; *V* is greatly abridged.

273

[1] This is the transliteration of *Թէհովգացուց*. Dashian, p. 264, suggests that this might be a corruption of *Թէ Հոռղացուց կամք իցեն*, which would parallel the Greek.

274

[1] Here *P* reads like *V* in an apparent contradiction of the previously mentioned legacy to Perdikkas.

[2] *P* agrees with *V*.

[3] *՚ի Լիւրիս* could easily have been Illyria.

[4] The *E* continue as *L*: "This will was made and sealed. And he tearfully wrote to his mother as follows. 'O Olympias, daughter of the king of Thebes, my sweet and much-missed mother. I am writing this last letter with tears and heart-felt sobs. For I remember your sweet motherly compassion, and my death seems more bitter to me because of the memory of love in my sorely wounded heart. For I depart from you with deep regret; and I deem true the words of Nectanebos, that no one can overcome his destiny. So too was I not able to flee from my fate. Now, venerable mother of mine, gather together the women chanters and lament Alexander, the pitiful, short-lived son of yours. For if death had not overtaken me, I was planning to rule the entire universe; and because of me you would have been called the mother of a world conqueror. But my greatness is lost in death; and your peripatetic and independent life has been changed. And happiness and joy and glory have been removed from our midsts. Fare thee well, for the sake of the son whom you have not seen and will never see again.' And Olympias received the letter and arranged great lamentation for the noble spirit of her son Alexander."

ARMENIAN P-C, CHAPTERS 275-84; GREEK, BOOK III, CHAPTERS 34-35

These final chapters deal with the death of Alexander. *A* is missing chapters 275-84. *B*, *C*, and *V* have additions, but omit 275-76.

277

[1] The *E* variants continue: "And he had his shroud tied on the end of a stick and had it taken all around Babylon with the announcement that of his entire treasure, Alexander, who had ruled the three ends of the earth, is taking with him this sheet alone."

281

[1] The dramatic series of verbs beginning with "բ" have been rendered by corresponding nouns.

282

[1] *P* transliterates "Niea."

283

[1] This entire chapter is from the Armenian *E*, as it is missing from all full-length versions.

[2] This seems to be the transliteration of *νησιωτικὸν*.

[3] This must be the transliteration of an unidentified Greek word. It is not in *A* or *V*.

284

[1] *A* has placed from here to the end of the paragraph in Alexander's will, as has *V*.

[2] **տարթորական** is probably a corruption of **տարեւորական**, which would parallel *λαμβάνων ἐνιαύσιον* **ταλοντον**.

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[1] Dashian suggests that *զրնդրանիկայ* should be *զրնդ Գրանիկայ* which would read like *V* "apud Granicum".

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[1] *B* and *C* continue with various additions. *V* and *A* end without the formal conclusion of *P*.

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The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra: Syriac Edition, English Translation, and Introduction

Laura Locke Estes
Abilene Christian University, lbl13c@acu.edu

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ABSTRACT

The text that this thesis examines is most commonly referred to by modern scholars as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra* (*Ps.-Ezra*). It is a historical apocalyptic text that claims authorship by the biblical character Ezra, but there is no question that it is the pseudonymous product of a much later Syriac-speaking Christian author who writes in response to the Arab conquests and subsequent consolidation of Arab political and religious dominance under the caliphate. *Ps.-Ezra* is a brief work, but an enigmatic one, and has received only scant scholarly attention. Although nineteenth-century translations based on three individual manuscripts were made into German, French, and English respectively, no critical edition or full-scale study based on multiple manuscripts has yet appeared.

The primary goal of this project, then, is to produce an edition of the Syriac *Ps.-Ezra* with a critical apparatus noting variants in the manuscript tradition. The edition is accompanied by an English translation in order to make *Ps.-Ezra* accessible to a wider range of scholars and students. To orient readers to the text, an introduction to and analysis of *Ps.-Ezra* is provided. In my approach, I am most interested in studying *Ps.-Ezra* as an example of the ways that Syriac-speaking Christians used the genre of apocalypse to reconcile their deeply held theological and historical expectations with their often different lived realities. In particular, the thesis highlights the ways Pseudo-Ezra used, reused, and reimagined sacred texts in order to respond to the theological challenges presented by Arab rule.

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra

Syriac Edition, English Translation, and Introduction

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School of Theology

Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Laura Locke Estes

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-EZRA

Syriac-speaking Christians were among the first communities to experience the effects of early Arab expansion into the Roman and Persian territories surrounding Arabia. These Christians' earliest literary responses to Arab rule attempted to make sense of the military conquest and subsequent occupation through the genre of historical apocalypse. One such text is the little-studied Syriac Christian work known to modern scholars as the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra*.[1]

The author of *Ps.-Ezra,* as the work's title implies, writes pseudonymously, taking up the mantle of the biblical Ezra. Capitalizing on Ezra's reputation for prophetic authority, Pseudo-Ezra seeks to assure his audience that Arab rule, which he calls "the kingdom of the Ishmaelites," will not last indefinitely, but that its end will be marked by a series of observable events that were revealed beforetime by God to Ezra. In relaying these events to his Christian readers, Pseudo-Ezra hopes to encourage them to remain faithful and hopeful despite warfare and persecution. He does so by structuring his audience's own historical experience within a divinely-

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1. In the manuscripts the text is accompanied by titles that have some variation on the following: "The question that Ezra asked when he was in the desert with his disciple." Brief overviews of the text are available in Muriel Debié, "The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600–900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Rogemma (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 239–41, and Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13 (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1997). Richard Gottheil translates into English an Arabic recension of this apocalypse in "An Arabic Version of the 'Revelation of Ezra,'" *Hebraica* 4 (1887): 14–17. This paper considers only the Syriac witnesses in its edition and translation, though the Arabic recension could be useful for analysis of the evolution of the text.

centered historical narrative in which the rise of Arab rule, as well as its eventual fall, is according to God's will and eschatological plan.

The primary goal of this study is fulfill a *desideratum* in the study of Syriac apocalyptic texts: the production of an edition of *Ps.-Ezra* with a critical apparatus noting variants in the manuscript tradition. The edition comprises chapter 2 of this thesis, and is preceded in chapter 1 by an introduction and analysis intended to orient the reader to the text. In order to make *Ps.-Ezra* accessible to scholars and students who might not be familiar with Syriac, an English translation of the edition, along with annotations noting parallels in other Christian literature, is provided in chapter 3. In my approach, I am most interested in studying *Ps.-Ezra* as an example of the ways that Syriac-speaking Christians used the genre of apocalypse to reconcile their deeply held theological and historical expectations with their often different lived realities. In particular, the thesis highlights the ways Pseudo-Ezra used, reused, and reimagined sacred texts in order to respond to the theological challenges presented by Arab rule, a topic that is explored in particular in chapter 4.

OUTLINE, PLOT, AND CHARACTERS

The following section is intended to orient the modern reader within the apocalyptic world of *Ps.-Ezra* by offering a summary of its plot and movement. Careful attention is paid to the possible historical identity of the apocalyptic figures that populate the vision. *Ps.-Ezra* may be organized according to the following outline, each section of which is described in depth below:

I. Scribal Title (§1)

II. Ezra's Prayer and God's Answer (§2)

III. The Serpent (§3–4)

IV. The Viper, Its Chicks, and the Ravens (§5–7)

V. The Lion's Whelp and the Bull (§7–9)

VI. The Man of the South (§10–11)

VII. Elaborations on the End Times (§12–13)

VIII. Ezra's Thanks and Scribal Superscription

Scribal Title (§1)

The most basic of the attested scribal titles refers to this text as "The question that Ezra asked when he was in the desert with his disciple." To this, some witnesses add that Ezra is "the scribe" and offer the name of his disciple as "Carpos." Interestingly, the words "apocalypse" or "vision" do not appear in the scribal titles, though the message that follows is clearly apocalyptic and visionary in content and form. Although the Syriac witness unanimously attributes the vision to Ezra, who then relays it to Carpos, Richard Gottheil has identified a shorter Arabic recension of *Ps.-Ezra* that contains just the vision of the serpent with twelve horns on its head and nine on its tail; in this recension the vision is attributed to Daniel, who then relays it to his disciple, Ezra.[2]

Ezra's Prayer and God's Answer (§2)

The apocalypse proper opens with Ezra asking God "to reveal to him the things that are going to happen in the end times." Conveniently for the modern reader, Ezra later clarifies to his disciple Carpos that he "asked God to explain the end times of the Ishmaelites," thus, the subject of the apocalypse can be determined without any doubt as concerning the rise and fall of the power of the Arab caliphates. As is common in apocalypses, God's answer is mediated to Ezra through a young man dressed in white (later explicitly named an angel) who bears a scroll that contains the answer to Ezra's question, a revelation that he says "has been concealed from many."

2. Gottheil, "An Arabic Version," 16.

The Serpent (§4–5)

Upon opening the scroll, Ezra is deeply troubled by the vision of terror that he receives. First, Ezra sees a serpent from the desert that devours creation. The serpent has twelve horns on its head and nine small horns on its tail that oppress the people of God. Another angel, this one clothed in a flame of fire, descends from heaven and rips the twelve horns from the serpent's head. Upon seeing this, Ezra declares that "today the prophecy of Moses is fulfilled," presumably referring to the well-known biblical prophecy concerning the rise of twelve princes of Ishmael (Gen 17:20) and popularly interpreted as a foretelling of the rise of Islam and Arab hegemony.[3] The angel who delivered the scroll goes on to say that Daniel likewise received a revelation about the nine small horns; this seems to be a reference to the vision of the fourth beast of Daniel 7–8, perhaps as has been filtered through the interpretive lens of 2 Esdras's elaborations on the book of Daniel. One great horn then springs up on the serpent's tail, and two small ones on its head. An eagle appears from the south, breaking the great horn and devouring the two small horns. A whirlwind then strikes the eagle, tearing out its two talons, at which time a voice from heaven declares, "The eagle will be recompensed according to its reward."

I consider the section concerning the serpent and the eagle to be a single apocalyptic unit within *Ps.-Ezra.* Not only do these two characters make no further appearances within the apocalypse, but Gottheil's translation of the Arabic recension of *Ps.-Ezra*, along with other texts that pair twelve and nine great and little rulers,

3. For example, a white beast with twelve horns is said to represent the "Sons of Ishmael" in the apocalyptic section of the Bahira Legend, see Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 66. See also the discussion in chapter 4 for an elaboration on how Pseudo-Ezra makes use of biblical text and reinterprets its prophecies.

offers evidence that at one time this pericope circulated independently.[4] The visions that follow may be considered elaborations on or retellings of this first, more generic vision.

Since Pseudo-Ezra has identified this vision of the serpent as referring to the "kingdom of the Ishmaelites," the identification of at least one character must be an Arab leader or caliphate. Indeed, I suspect that the characters are meant to be taken, collectively, to refer to the entire history of Arab rule. By this interpretation, the twelve and nine horns might be taken to represent two different dynasties of Arab rule, perhaps that of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, the "eagle from the south" as a rebellion or civil war among the Arabs, and the whirlwind as God's ultimate judgment of Arabs. Without further details that might be correlated to specific historical circumstances, it is difficult to ascertain with any certainty precisely which Arab rulers Pseudo-Ezra hopes to invoke. If the nine little horns represent specific rulers of the Abbasid caliphate, however, it is possible that *Ps.-Ezra* was written in the context of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847–51 CE), the tenth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty who developed a reputation for suppressing the *dhimmi* populations, including Christians. As the tenth caliph, he might be represented by the rise of the one great horn after the nine little horns. The two little horns that appear alongside the great horn might represent two of his sons, though which two is uncertain, since at least four of his sons survived to adulthood, with three ascending to the caliphate.

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4. Gottheil, "An Arabic Version," 17 describes a serpent with twelve horns on its head and nine bones on its tail; the *Kitāb al-majāll/Apocalypse of Peter* in Alphonse Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni, Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus. Vol. 3: Vision of Theophilus; Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933), 231 mentions twelve kings of Abus followed by nine little kings. On the similarities between *Ps.-Ezra* and the *Kitāb al-majāll/Apocalypse of Peter*, see the discussion in the section in this chapter on "Provenance and Date."

The Viper, Its Chicks, and the Ravens (§5–7)

The second apocalyptic unit should be read as an elaboration upon or retelling of the first. It opens with the appearance of a viper from the east, who "poured poison on all flesh and went up to the border of the Promise." If the "Promise" is the "Land of Promise" or "Promised Land," a phrase that occurs in full in §8, 9 and 10, this is likely a reference to the initial conquest of Palestine, including Jerusalem in 637 CE, by Arab forces. The viper's appearance is followed by an earthquake, thunder, and a voice from heaven that calls for the release of four kings who had been bound on the Euphrates river so that they can destroy one out of three people.[5] If, as has been previously proposed, *Ps.-Ezra* was composed in the context of the Abbasid caliphate, the image of kings being released from the Euphrates could have been interpreted by the ancient audience as referring to the Abbasid rulers, many of whom ruled from Baghdad, a city located between the Tigris and Euphrates river. This connection is, admittedly, somewhat tenuous, since Baghdad is located much closer to and associated much more closely with the Tigris than the Euphrates. If the specific context of composition of the text is the reign of al-Mutawakkil, who ruled from Samarra rather than Baghdad, the image is further problematized, since Samarra lies just east of the Tigris river rather than between the Tigris and Euphrates. One might wonder also why there are precisely four kings (rather than nine to correspond with the previously mentioned nine horns) who are released from the Euphrates river; there might be no reason other than that this reflects the number of angels bound on the Euphrates river in the source of the image, Revelation 9:13–15, and that Pseudo-Ezra chose not to make changes to the number he found there.

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5. See the full dicussion of *Ps.-Ezra*'s allusion to Rev 9:13–15 in chapter 4.

The connection of this apocalypse to the Abbasid caliphate is strengthened by the appearance of ravens from the east, who pierce the viper and cause it to flee to the borders of Egypt. Since the Abbasids were associated with the color black, the ravens (the term is a generic one used for black birds, and could also mean "magpies" or "crows") are likely meant to represent the Abbasids, who launched a revolution against the reigning Umayyad dynasty, represented by the viper, in 746–50 CE.[6] The viper, who fled to Egypt with its two chicks, the disappears from the apocalyptic narrative. The younger or smaller of the two chicks, who is still being pursued by the ravens after the viper's flight, seeks refuge with the lion's whelp, who receives him gladly. The historical identity of the two chicks is rather opaque, and will be discussed in the discussion of vision of lion's whelp, wherein the younger chick reappears, found below.

The Lion's Whelp and the Bull (§7–9)

The pericope concerning the conflict between the lion's whelp and the three-horned bull, the king of the ravens, comprises the bulk of *Ps.-Ezra*'s apocalypse. The lion's whelp is associated with the west, and his land is troubled by the bull's incursions, so he seeks an alliance with the leopard of the south. The bull is described as amassing much wealth, afflicting all who come under his power, and being arrogant and not glorifying God. One of his horns makes war agains the lion's whelp, and he launches an unsucessful seige against the city of Constantinople. The viper's younger chick then brings an army from Thrace and the upper ranks of the west, and the chick's father gathers a nation from Cush to attack Egypt. The chick then descends to the Promised Land, ravages its inhabitants on account of their great

6. For example, the Abbasid caliphate is represented by a black beast from the north in the Bahira Legend, see Roggema, *Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 69–71.

wickeness, and afterwards destroys Damascus. The lion's whelp becomes angry and drives the ravens out of the land, from Syrian Antioch unto the borders of the land of the east. He is then joined by the leopard of the north, and the two go up to the Euphrates river and into the land of Persia, where the lion's whelp breaks both of the bull's horns. The ravens flee, but are pursued by the lion's whelp, who plunders their land and makes it uninhabitable. He then goes up to the Promised Land and submits it to tribute; a great tribulation follows. He builds walls around Phoenicia, destroys Damascus (a second time?), then goes up to Jerusalem in great pomp before returning to his capital city.

As is typical for this apocalypse, the characters in this section are difficult to correlate with specific historical figures. Bousset, following Dillman, proposed that the pericope is drawn from a source that originally referred to the conflict between the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (the lion's whelp) and his Persian counterpart, Khusrau II (the bull) in the early decades of the 7th century.[7] According to this interpretation, the leopard of the north represents Heraclius' Turkish allies, and the lion's whelp's descent into Jerusalem with great pomp recalls the restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem (629 CE). The identity of the younger chick is less clear; he perhaps represents a Persian who defected to the Byzantines, or perhaps he is a later interpolation by Pseudo-Ezra or another author.[8] That the younger chick is a later addition drawn from a different apocalyptic source is supported by the fact that two different destructions of Damascus are mentioned in the text of *Ps.-Ezra*, the first by the chick (§8) and the second by the lion's whelp (§9).

7. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 47–49.

8. The *Kitāb al-majāll* also portrays this character as a defector or convert, describing the conversion to Christianity of a "young scion of the mighty Kings of the Children of Ishmael" who goes to the lion's whelp for military aid. See Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 278–79.

In the context of Pseudo-Ezra's reworking of this earlier apocalypse, the exploits of the lion's whelp are an excellent example of what Paul Alexander termed the "Last Roman Emperor Theme."[9] A popular image in late antique apocalypses across Christian confessional boundaries, the Last Emperor motif imagines the rise of a Christian Roman/Byzantine Emperor who, in somewhat messianic fashion, would overthrow the Arabs, reclaim Jerusalem, and establish a worldwide Christian kingdom. Once the entire world was under the banner of Christ, there would be no more need for temporal rulers, and so the Last Emperor would cede his power and crown to God at the foot of the cross. This would signal the beginning of the final tribulation and end of time.

The lion's whelp's defeat of the bull and his armies, his reclamation of Jerusalem, and his establishment of a temporary peace identify him with the messianic Last Emperor. Because the Last Emperor is a symbolic figure representing eschatological expectations, the lion's whelp might not be identifiable as a particular Christian Byzantine ruler, but rather might represent generalized Christian hopes for such a ruler. It is, however, possible that Pseudo-Ezra was inspired by the moderate successes of an individual Byzantine ruler or general during his own time, and that he believed those successes might snowball into a total overthrow of the caliphate, represented by bull, the adversary of the lion's whelp. The bull, like the lion's whelp, might be an archetypical symbol of Arab wickedness rather than a precise representation of a particular caliph.

That the lion's whelp is described as subjecting the Promised Land to tribute and instituting a great tribulation has been interpreted by Hoyland as a hint that the

9. On this and other popular apocalyptic themes in Byzantine (and Syriac) Christianity, see Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy Abrahamse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); see also András Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor Topos in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 213–57.

author of *Ps.-Ezra* harbors anti-Byzantine sentiments.[10] It is possible, however, that Pseudo-Ezra does not intend to imply that the lion's whelp is oppressing non-Chalcedonian Christians, rather, his subjection of the land and institution of tribute and tribulation could be actions taken against Arabs living in the Promised Land. If, however, this negative characterization should be interpreted as anti-Byzantine, the lion's whelp/Last Emperor, would still serve as an eschatological symbol whose appearance marks the beginning of the end of time, without necessarily serving as pro-Byzantine propaganda.

The younger chick and his father emerge as intriguing and enigmatic figures in this section. Like the lion's whelp, their characterization seems mixed, at times revealing them to be positive figures, and perhaps other times as negative. The younger chick allies with lion's whelp, but his forces later ravage the city of Damascus, an action that inflames the lion's whelp's anger. This phrase could be interpreted in such a way, however, that the lion's whelp is not angered at the younger chick's actions against Damascus, but that those actions incite or encourage him to join the chick is attacking the Arabs.

Another dilemma is the identification of the ethnic or religious affiliation of the chick and his father. Although the chick is presumably the offspring of the viper (a symbol of the Umayyad dynasty), since it is referred to as the viper's chick, his father is associated in some way with the nation of Cush (Ethiopia).[11] This seems to indicate that in Pseudo-Ezra's adaptation, the younger chick has experienced an

10. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 277.

11. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 278–79 identifies a similar character as a convert from Islam to Christianity, which could account for the chick seeming at times to be a Arab and at other times, a Christian. Interestingly, the scribes of BL 28,875 and UTS 23 omit the possessive suffix, recording that the viper took "the two chicks" rather than "its two chicks." This is perhaps an indication that these scribes, noting the later identification of the chick's father as a Cushite and champion of Christianity, intentionally edited their text to eliminate the later and seemingly contradictory mention of the chick's Arab parentage.

accretion of characteristics typically associated with the Last Roman Emperor as elaborated upon in texts like the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. According to *Ps.-Methodius*'s interpretation, Psalm 68:31, which prophesies that "Cush shall stretch out her hands to God," will be fulfilled in the Last Roman Emperor's cession of his temporal power to Christ at the foot of the cross, because the Last Emperor is also a descendant of the nation of Cush.[12] In order to account for this unconventional ancestry for a Roman/Byzantine ruler, Pseudo-Methodius weaves a curious tale in which Alexander the Great's mother is the daughter of the King of Cush, and that one of her children by her husband Byz (eponymous of Byzantium) married Romulus, the mythic founder of Rome. The net effect of this geneology is to declare that the Roman/Byzantine emperors have ancestral roots in Cush, and therefore the Cushite nation will be involved in some way in the eschatological events of the Last Roman Emperor.

Upon reflection, it seems most likely that the younger chick is a composite figure, cobbled together from multiple apocalyptic sources, and therefore to recognize that at times the description of him within the text is internally inconsistent. His function within the apocalyptic narrative, if not his description, however, is clear: as an ally of the lion's whelp he serves Pseudo-Ezra as a means by which to explain how the prophecy of Psalm 68:31 will be fulfilled by or in association with the Last Roman Emperor.

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12. See Francisco Javier Martinez, "The King of the Rum and the King of Ethiopia in Medieval Apocalyptic Texts from Egypt," in *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies*, ed. Wlodzimierz Godlewski (Warsaw: PWN-Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1990): 247–59; Glen W. Bowersock, "Helena's Bridle, Ethiopian Christianity, and Syriac Apocalyptic," *Studia Patristica* 45 (2010): 211–20.

The Man of the South (§10–11)

The lion's whelp's exit from Jerusalem is followed after three and a half weeks by the rise of the man of the south, who establishes a great peace and does good deeds in the Promised Land for three years and seven months, after which the four winds are stirred up and the nations rise up against each other. The appearance of the man of the south marks the beginning of the shift from historical to eschatological apocalypse. The chronology associated with his reign is symbolic: the "three and a half" motif recalls the "time, times, and half a time" of Daniel 7:25; 12:7, and "three and a half days" of Revelation 11:9; 11, and the "three years and seven months" corresponds to the "1,290 days" of Daniel 12:11.[13] That the man of the south is a positive figure is initially surprising; one might expect a figure from the south to be associated with Arabia, and thus, the enemy. No explanation for his positive reign can be drawn from the book of Daniel, whose "king of the south" is portrayed in negative terms.[14]

Upon hearing about the violence that will ensue at the end of the man of the south's reign, Ezra begins to weep. The angel reassures him that these events will not occur until utter wickedness—particularly drunkenness and sexual immorality—has filled the earth. At that time God's justice will become provoked and he will deliver the "rebellious seed" to destruction at the hands of their enemies; this is a sign of the impending final end. The rebellious seed is presumably the Ishmaelites, and thus Arabs, though the sins attributed to the rebellious seed are rather general, and are the sort of stock denunciation that could be leveled at any religious foe, including rival Christian groups.

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13. This assumes a prophetic calendar in which each month contains 30 days.

14. See Dan 11.

Elaborations on the End Times (§12–14)

Still fearful, Ezra wonders who could live amid the tribulation and violence that his vision has foretold. The angel then reassures Ezra that God is able to save those in whom he is pleased, and goes on to elaborate on events that will occur just prior to the End. The faithful will be oppressed, but God will hear their groaning and send an angel who will destroy the rebellious seed. Pseudo-Ezra then recalls the words of Jesus in declaring woe to women who are pregnant or nursing during the last days,[15] because an unprecedented tribulation will occur: the opening of the mountains and the release of the children of north from the house of Gog and Magog. Here, Ps.-Ezra again shows evidence of the influence of the Alexander Romance, likely as mediated through Ps.-Methodius: according to the story, Alexander the Great imprisoned a number of unclean nations, including Gog and Magog, behind a gate in the mountains of the north; at the end of time these nations would be released and terrorize humankind.[16] In Ps.-Ezra, two tribes from the seed of Ishmael, along with those who have become sooty at the base of the mountain of the South, join Gog and Magog.[17] They go as far as Jerusalem, where God intervenes and sends the angel Michael to destroy these evildoers.

The false messiah (or antichrist) then appears and kills Enoch and Elijah. Here, *Ps.-Ezra* shows knowlege of an early Christian apocalyptic tradition that named the two witnesses of Revelation 11:3–8 as Enoch and Elijah, despite the fact that the descriptions of the two witnesses' miracles within Revelation most closely correspond

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15. Mark 13:17, 19; Matt 24:19; 20; Luke 21:23; see the discussion of this quotation in chapter 4.

16. Martinez, "Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius," 133–34.

17. This section of the apocalypse contains a number of difficult readings and grammatical oddities, especially as preserved by Mingana 11. Apparently, the scribes who copied *Ps.-Ezra* also found this passage puzzling, because a number of clarifying variants also occur in the manuscript tradition.

to the canonical descriptions of the miracles performed by Elijah and Moses. Richard Bauckham has identified 24 texts that name the witnesses as Enoch and Elijah.[18] Some of these texts, including The *Apocalypse of Peter* (2:11–13) and Tertullian's *De anima* (50), are quite ancient, dating to the second century CE, and indicate that this tradition shaped the very earliest Christian interpretation of the Book of Revelation. Perhaps even more relevant for our discussion are the Syriac Christian texts, such as Ephrem's "Sermon on the End Times," The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, and the *Apocalpyse of Pseudo-Ephrem*[19], that name Enoch and Elijah as the witnesses, demonstating that this tradition was popular among Syriac-speaking Christians as well. It is likely that the pairing of Enoch and Elijah became popular since the two men are the only biblical characters who were reported as being taken up to heaven without dying; their deaths were thought to have been delayed by God so that they later could die as martyrs at the hands of the antichrist.[20] Angels are then sent to cast the Son of Perdition, who is presumably, though not explicitly, also the antichrist, into Gehenna. This final act of judgment marks the End. Ezra is then commanded to "keep these words until their time."

With the exception of the explictly named "two tribes from the seed of Ishmael," who join Gog and Magog, the characters in this section of the text are stock esxhatological figures in Christian apocalypse, and are likely not meant to be identified as Arabs. Rather, their appearances serve to "wrap up" Pseudo-Ezra's

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18. Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95, no. 3 (1976): 447–58.

19. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephraem* is preserved in four Latin manuscripts, but Alexander demonstrates that the original was composed in Syriac in *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 142–44.

20. This is the explanation offered by Tertullian, *De anima* 50; Holmes, *ANF* 3:227. "Enoch no doubt was translated, and so was Elijah; nor did they experience death: it was postponed (and only postponed,) most certainly they are reserved for the suffering of death, that by their blood they may extinguish the Antichrist."

apocalypse by placing the end of the kingdom of the Ishmaelites within a broader eschatological plot that already would be familiar to his audience. In this way, the end of the kingdom of the Ishmaelites becomes another in a series of signs of the impending end of time.

Ezra's Thanks and Scribal Superscription (§15–16)

The narration then return to Ezra, who, in typical apocalyptic fashion, closes by worshipping and offering a prayer of thanks and blessing to God for deeming him worthy to see this vision. The scribes then conclude the text with a superscription that reiterates that this is the vision seen by Ezra the scribe; most add that the vision concerned the kingdom of the Ishmaelites.

REVIEW OF THE SECONDARY LITERATURE

With this outline and introduction to the plot and characters of *Ps.-Ezra* concluded, discussion now turns to a review of the secondary literature concerning the text. The first scholarly mention of *Ps.-Ezra* is found in Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*.[21] His note is brief, emphasizing only that the text's mention of the city of Constantinople (called by that name only after 324 CE) precludes it from being a truly ancient work, and he groups it with other pseudonymous works such as the apocalypses of Peter and Paul and the gospels of Thomas and Bartholomew.

The American scholar Isaac Hall appears to have been the first to translate *Ps.-Ezra* into a modern European language. In 1886, he published an English translation of *Ps.-Ezra* based on UTS 23, a manuscript copied in 1884 from a now-lost exemplar

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21. See Joseph Simonius Assemani, ed., *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos, arabicos, persicos, turcicos, hebraicos, samaritanos, armenicos, æthiopicos, Graecos, ægyptiacos, ibericos & malabaricos* (Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719–1728), vol. 2, 498; vol. 3, pt. 2, 282.

dated to 1756 at Rabban Hormizd monastery near Alqosh, Iraq.[22] Hall's translation seems to have gone unnoticed by most European scholars.[23] Perhaps his work was overshadowed by that of Friedrich Baethgen, which was published in the same year: as a result of his study of Sachau 131, Baethgen published an edition and German translation of *Ps.-Ezra* with little introduction and no commentary.[24] Although Baethgen expressed interest in returning to the project in his article , he does not appear to have done so in any other published work.

On the basis of Baethgen's edition and translation, Ludwig Iselin produced in 1887 a study of *Ps.-Ezra* in which he proposed that the text was a Christian revision of (an) earlier Jewish apocalypse(s).[25] In support of his claim, Iselin pointed to what he termed the text's "predominantly Jewish character," namely, its emphasis on Jewish figures and places such as Moses, Daniel, the Promised Land, and Jerusalem, which he thought to be evidence of Pseudo-Ezra's use of Jewish apocalyptic sources. Iselin's interpretation of *Ps.-Ezra*, however, is heavily colored by his desire to demonstrate that the biblical Revelation of John was also a reworked Jewish apocalypse originally composed in Aramaic. More specifically, Iselin asserted that in those places where Revelation and *Ps. Ezra's* imagery overlapped, the latter was not simply borrowing from or quoting the former, but rather, both were drawing from an older Jewish Aramaic source. In particular, Iselin believed that Pseudo-Ezra's description of four

22. Isaac Hall, "The Vision of Ezra the Scribe Concerning the Latter Times of the Ishmaelites," Presbyterian Review 7 (1886): 537–41.

23. Fellow American Richard Gottheil does mention Hall's work in his translation of an Arabic apocalypse that bears great similarity to *Ps.-Ezra*, and proposes that it represents an Arabic recension of the same text. See Gottheil, "An Arabic Version," 14.

24. Friedrich Baethgen, "Beschreibung der syrischen Handschrift 'Sachau 131' aus der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 (1886): 193–211.

25. Ludwig Emil Iselin, "Apocalyptische Studien (Die Apocalypse des Esra in syrischer Sprache von Prof. Baethgen veröffentlicht)," *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* 4 (1887): 60-64

kings (malke) who had been bound on the Euphrates river represented the original reading of the Jewish source, which the author of Revelation misread as four angels (malake). Such confusion between the two terms would be impossible in Greek, but could be quite easily made in Aramaic/Syriac.[26]

While cataloguing Syriac manuscripts held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Jean-Baptiste Chabot produced in 1894 his own French translation of *Ps.-Ezra* based on BnF 326.[27] Chabot's translation notes instances where BnF 326 diverges from Baethgen's edition. In his commentary on the text, Chabot dismissed Iselin's claims about *Ps.-Ezra*'s Jewish origins and its supposed support for the Aramaic primacy of Revelation as unconvincing. In particular, Chabot found Iselin's reasoning about the four malke/malake specious—he thought it more likely that the author of *Ps.-Ezra* simply misread the Syriac version of Revelation's reference to four angels as kings, rather than that both *Ps.-Ezra* and Revelation drew independently from an earlier Aramaic Jewish apocalypse.[28] Chabot instead proposed that *Ps.-Ezra* is not a revision of an earlier Jewish apocalypse, but rather entirely the work of a seventh- or eighth-century Christian author who drew rather freely and loosely from his knowledge of common biblical apocalyptic imagery when composing his work. In addition to proposing this date, Chabot suggested that the author's purpose in writing was to convince his contemporaries that recent events (i.e.: the Arab conquests and siege of Constantinople) were the consequence of Christians' own sin, and to call them to repentance.[29]

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26. See also the discussion of this image in chapter 4 of this thesis.

27. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, "L'Apocalypse d'Esdras touchant le royaume des Arabes," *Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* 2 (1894): 242–50, 333–46.

28. Ibid., 341–45.

29. Ibid., 345–46.

Since the late nineteenth century, no new edition or full translation of *Ps.-Ezra* has appeared, though brief mention of it has been made in survey texts covering topics such as apocalyptic literature, Syriac Christianity, and Christian-Muslim interaction. Wilhelm Bousset, in his survey of the figure of the antichrist in Christian and Jewish literature, was the first to offer an interpretation of the identity of the various figures in Pseudo-Ezra's apocalypse.[30] He identifies the serpent as the Umayyads, the eagle as the Abbasids, the viper as the Fatimids, the four kings on the Euphrates and ravens as the Turks, and the lion's whelp as one of the first Christian crusaders.[31] In his anthology of texts on early Islam, Robert Hoyland draws on Bousset's interpretation and focuses on the section of the apocalypse that describes the conflict between the lion's whelp and the bull. He translates selected lines from this pericope into English, arguing that they are dependent on a source that originally depicted "the struggle between Khusrau II (bull) and Heraclius (lion cub) allied with the Turks (leopard)."[32] He, like Bousset, believes *Ps.-Ezra* to be the product of a redactor living during the conflict "between the Fatimids and Seljuk or Mamluk Turks in the late eleventh and late twelfth centuries respectively."[33] Muriel Debié's bibliographical overview offers no interpretation of the apocalypse's figures, but assigns *Ps.-Ezra* to "the genre of historical apocalypses that were written in Syriac at the very beginning of the Arab era"[34] and proposes a date in the eighth-century.

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30. Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore*, trans. by A. H. Keane (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1896), 75–76.

31. See the discussion in the section on "Provenance and Date."

32. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 276–78. Hoyland's translation is based on the editions published by Baethgen and Chabot.

33. Ibid., 278.

34. Debié, "The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra," 239–41.

WITNESSES

Although most survey texts name just four witnesses to *Ps.-Ezra*, further study has revelealed that at least fifteen manuscripts are known to contain the Syriac *Ps.-Ezra*. Of these, seven are held (or were last known to be held) in Seert, Kirkuk, or Alqosh, Iraq; the other eight manuscripts are held in European or American institutions. The content and character of each of these manuscripts are discussed below. Manuscripts available for use in the edition and translation are listed first, ordered from oldest to youngest, followed by a listing of other known but unavailable manuscripts. For ease of recognition and reference, *Ps.-Ezra* has been underlined in the list of each manuscript's ordered contents. The lists of contents of the manuscripts are reproduced as recorded in the catalogues, which are footnoted after each of the manuscripts' names. Bolded names appearing in parentheses represent alternative names for the manuscript in the catalogues and scholarly literature; unbolded names appearing in parentheses represent the abbreviation for the manuscript that is used throughout the thesis.

Manuscripts Used in the Edition

MS Mingana Syriac 11[35] (Mingana 11)

1702; unknown provenance; eastern script

Mingana 11 is the oldest dated manuscript known to contain *Ps.-Ezra*. It was copied on January 16, 1702 by a Hoshabo, son of Daniel, son of Joseph the priest, son of Hoshabo. It includes a number of canonical, deuterocanonical, and extracanonical

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35. See Alphonse Mingana, *Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts,* vol. 1, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1933), 43–45. My thanks go to the Institute of Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE) at the University of Birmingham, who have digitized and made available Mingana 11 for public viewing at no cost through their Virtual Manuscript Room (VMR): http://vmr.bham.ac.uk/Collections/Mingana/Syriac_11/table/. Note that when viewing Mingana 11 through the VMR, folios 104v–105r are mislabeled, out of order, and placed incorrectly in the middle of *Ps.-Ezra* though they belong to another text preserved in the manuscript; see also the introductory notes in chapter 2.

texts that are linked by a shared interest in theocentric historiography. Mingana 11 serves as the base text in the diplomatic edition of *Ps.-Ezra* presented in chapter 2 of this thesis.

1. I/II Chronicles (together as one book)
2. Susanna (in a recension shorter than is typical)
3. Judith (in a recension shorter than is typical)
4. blank folio[36]
5. Cave of Treasures
6. Questions of Simon Peter on the Sacraments
7. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
8. Treatise on the Number of Years from Adam to Christ and Christ to the Arabs
9. History of the Indian Mission to the Nestorian Patriarch in Jazriat b. Umar

MS British Library Add. 25,875 (MS Wright 922)[37] (BL 25,875)

1709; Alqosh, Iraq; eastern script

BL 25,875 was copied in Alqosh by the priest Homo bar-Daniel at the commission of the priest Joseph for the church of Mart Maryam, Hordepneh, Shemkan district, Amadiya region. It contains four distinct colophons, and might have been copied from several different exemplars. The first colophon after *Ps.-Ezra* is dated June 22, 1709. Note that the first five texts are the same as those found in Vat 164.

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36. Although it is impossible to know with certainty the scribe's reason for leaving this folio blank, one might propose that the scribe was aware that the *Lives of the Prophets* typically would have normally been recorded here alongside the *Cave of Treasures* and *Ps.-Ezra*, since that combination of texts is attested in several of the other extant witnesses.

37. See William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838,* vol. 3 (London, British Museum: 1870-1872), 1064–69. My thanks to Michael Penn and the British Library for their assistance in providing digital images of BL 25,875 for my study.

1. Cave of Treasures
2. Questions of Simon Peter on the Sacraments
3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
4. Testament of Adam
5. Testimonies about Our Lord's Dispensation
6. Names of the Nations That Arose after the Confusion of Tongues
7. an extract about Nebuchadnezzar from a discourse on Daniel by Chrysostom (followed by first colophon)
8. Book of the Bee (followed by second colophon)
9. Chronicle of Simeon Shankelawi (followed by third colophon)
10. History of Shalita, the Martyrdom of Mamas
11. History of Alexander the Great (followed by fourth colophon).

MS Sachau 131 (MS Berlin Staatsbibliothek 73)[38] (Sachau 131)

1862; Tel Keppe, Iraq; eastern script

Sachau 131 was copied in 1862 in Tel Keppe, Iraq by Simeon, the son of a deacon. Like Mingana 11, it contains several deuterocanonical works, which are then followed by the same four texts that are also attested in Mingana 567 and Alqosh 38–42.

1. Judith
2. Esther
3. Susannah
4. Tobit
5. Lives of the Prophets (Syriac version attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus)

38. Eduard Sachau, ed., *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 23. Band: Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften,* vol. 1 (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1899), 277–81. See Baethgen's edition and German translation in "Sachau 131," 193–211. My thanks to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, which provided digital images of Sachau 131 for my study.

6. Cave of Treasures

7. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra

8. Letter of Sunday

MS Union Theological Seminary Syriac 23 (MS Clemons 307)[39] (UTS 23)

1884; Alqosh, Iraq (Rabban Hormizd Monastery); eastern script

UTS 23 was copied from an exemplar dated 1756 at Rabban Hormizd Monastery in 1884 by David Qeryat of Amadi for the use of an American missionary who later sold the manuscript to his alma mater, Union Theological Seminary. Although UTS 23 itself contains only the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra,* Hall reports that the exemplar from which it was copied had contents similar to those of BL 28,875, including the *Cave of Treasures,* the Syriac *Lives of the Prophets* (attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus), and a version of the Nicene Creed he judged to have a distinctly "Nestorian" flavor.[40]

1. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra

MS Bibliothèque nationale de France—Paris 326[41] (BnF 326)

nineteenth century; unknown provenance; eastern script

The scribe of this manuscript gave it the title "Collection of the Lives of the Holy Saints." *Ps.-Ezra* is the first of eight texts, the last of which is incomplete, suggesting that the collection might have once included additional hagiographic texts.

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39. Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 137. Isaac Hall reports the circumstances of the copying of UTS 23 in "On Some Syriac Manuscripts Recently Acquired by the Union Theological Seminary, New York," *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* 5, no. 1/2 (June-Dec. 1885): 95. See his English translation in "The Vision of Ezra the Scribe," 537–41. My thanks to the Burke Library at Union Theological Seminary, which provided digital images of UTS 23 for my study.

40. Hall, "On Some Syriac Manuscripts," 95.

41. Chabot, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale acquis depuis 1874", *Journal asiatique* IX, 8 (1896): 234–290. See also Chabot's edition and French translation in "L'Apocalypse d'Esdras," 242–250, 333–346. My thanks to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which provided digital images of BnF 326 for my tudy.

If BnF 326 had a colophon, it too has been lost; Chabot proposes dating it to the nineteenth century. The collection shows a particular interest in Syriac saints and martyrs.

1. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
2. Life of John Bar-Malke
3. Life of Mar Kardag
4. First through Third Findings of the True Cross
5. Life of Mar Behnam
6. Eight Sleepers of Ephesus
7. Life of Mar Cyriacus and his mother Julian
8. Life of Abraham Quidounaye (incomplete)

Manuscripts Not Used in the Edition

MS Vatican Syriac 597[42] (Vat 597)

late seventeenth century, unknown provenance; eastern script

Vat 597 is a rather fragmentary manuscript that is perhaps best described as a large collection of saints' lives. It lacks its colophon, and is therefore of uncertain date and provenance, though Arnold Van Lantschoot suggests a date in the late seventeenth century. If correct, this would make Vat 597 the earliest witness to *Ps.-Ezra*. Because of the highly fragmentary nature of the manuscript, the following order of texts has been reconstructed by Van Lantschoot, who expressed some uncertainty about the placement of items 5–15 (including *Ps.-Ezra*). Additional texts once represented in the manuscript might have been lost.

1. Acts of Thomas (fragment)

42. See Arnold Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits Syriaques des fonds Vatican (460–631), Barberini Oriental et Neofiti,* Studi e testi 243 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965), 128–31.

2. Arts of Mar Mari (fragment)
3. History of the Blessed Virgin (fragment)
4. History of the Likeness of Christ (fragment)
5. Syriac Apocalypse of Paul (fragment)
6. Acts of Peter (fragment)
7. History of Mika
8. History of Paul the Bishop and the priest John
9. end of the Passion of Gabadiaha and Qazo
10. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
11. Acts of Paul (fragment)
12. unknown narrative (11 line fragment; mentions Catholicos Dadisho and Metropolitan Osee I of Nisbis)
13. Tale Full of Hope for Sinners
14. Acts of John (fragment)
15. On the Resurrection
16. Life of Mar Aba
17. History of Simeon bar Sabbae
18. Passion of Palqidos
19. Passion of Mar Saba
20. Acts of Mar Qaradag
21. Dialogue between God and Moses
22. Passion of Julian
23. Acts of Thecla
24. Life of Jacob of Amid
25. short prayer by the anonymous scribe

Vatican Syriac 164 (MS Assemani 17)[43] (Vat 164)

1702; Mosul, Iraq; eastern script

Vat 164 was copied on February 14, 1702 near Mosul by the Deacon of Hormizd, son of Quriaqos, son of Askar, a smith. Just a month younger than Mingana 11, it is the second-oldest dated witness containing *Ps.-Ezra.* It contains five texts in an order identical to the first five texts of BL 25,875:

1. Cave of Treasures
2. Questions of Simon Peter on the Sacraments
3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
4. Testament of Adam
5. Testimonies about Our Lord's Dispensation

MS Mingana Syriac 567 (MS Mosul 27)[44] (Mingana 567)

1744; Zawita, Iraq; eastern script

Mingana 567 was copied in Zawita, Iraq on April 13, 1744 by a deacon named Thomas, son of a priest Abdisho, son of Hoshaba, son of a priest Israel of Alqosh. Mingana 567 contains six texts, the first four of which are also attested to in identical order in Sachau 131 and Alqosh 38-40, and also in Alqosh 41-42 in a slightly different order.

1. Lives of the Prophets (Syriac version attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus)
2. Cave of Treasures
3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
4. Letter of Sunday
5. Treatise on impediments to marriage

43. See Assemani, *BO* vol 2, 498; vol 3, pt. 1: 282.

44. Mingana, *Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts,* 1076–79.

6. Long Hymn of the Virgin

MS Voste Kirkuk 9[45] **(**Kerkuk 9**)**

1791; Alqosh, Iraq; eastern script

Kirkuk 9 was copied near Alqosh by the deacon Abdisho, son of the priest Iaunan of Alqosh in April 1791. It contains the same first four texts in the same order as Mingana 567 and Alqosh 38–40. Kirkuk 9 was last known to be held in the library of the Chaldean Catholic Archbishop of Kirkuk.

1. Lives of the Prophets (Syriac version attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus)

2. Cave of Treasures

3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra

4. Letter of Sunday

MS Seert 113[46] (Seert 113)

eighteenth century; unknown provenance; eastern script

Seert 113 is an incomplete manuscript lacking its colophon. Since it contains the same first three texts as Vat 164 and BL 25,875, it is possible that it once contained other texts similar to those preserved in those mss. Addai Scher has dated it to the 18th century. It was last known to be held in the Chaldean Catholic Bishop of Seert's library. The portion preserved contains:

1. Cave of Treasures

2. Questions of Simon Peter on the Sacraments

3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra

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45. Jacques-M. Vosté, "Catalogue des manuscrits syro-chaldéenns conserves dans la bibliothèque de l'archevêché chaldéen de Kerkouk (Iraq)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 5 (1939): 79–80.

46. See Addai Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes, conservés dans la Bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert (Kurdistan) avec notes bibliographiques* (Mosul: Imprimerie des pères dominicains, 1905), 82–83.

MSS Alqosh 38–40[47] (MSS Voste Notre Dame des Semences 38–40) (Alqosh 38–40**)**

1880–87; Alqosh, Iraq (Notre Dame des Semences); eastern script

Because of the identical contents of these three manuscripts, along with their shared provenance and similar date, they likely derive from the same exemplar and are thus treated together. The manuscripts were copied in Alqosh at Notre Dame des Semences by Étienne Rais (1884), a monk Damian (1880), and a monk Kaushabai of Tel Keppe (August 23, 1887) respectively. Much of the collection formerly held at Notre Dame des Semences is now held by the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad.[48] Because of their shared contents (only the order in which they appear differs sightly), date, and provenance, these mss. were likely copied from the same exemplar as Alqosh 41–42. They also contain the same initial texts found in Mingana 567 and Kerkuk 9 in the same order:

1. Lives of the Prophets (Syriac version attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus)
2. Cave of Treasures
3. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
4. Letter of Sunday

MSS Alqosh 41–42[49] (MSS Voste Notre Dame des Semences 41–42) (Alqosh 41–42)

1887–88; Alqosh, Iraq (Notre Dame des Semences); eastern script

Because of the identical contents of these two manuscripts, along with their shared provenance and similar date, they are likely to derive from the same exemplar

47. Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqoš (Iraq)* (Rome: Bureaux de l'angelicum, 1929), 17–18.

48. The collection of the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad was catalogued by Butrus Haddad and Jak Ishaq, *Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Chaldean Monastery, Baghdad. Volume 1. Catalogues of the Syriac Manuscripts in Iraq* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy Press, 1988).

49. Vosté, *Notre-Dame des Semences*, 18.

and are thus treated together. Both were copied in Alqosh at Notre Dame des Semences, by a monk Thomas (September 29, 1887), and a monk Abraham Abou Behnam of Saqiawa (1888) respectively. Much of the collection formerly held at Notre Dame des Semences is now held by the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad.[50] They contain the same initial texts as are found in Mingana 567, Kerkuk 9, and Alqosh 38–40, but with the *Lives of the Prophets* in the final rather than the first position. Because of their shared contents (only the order in which they appear differs sightly), date, and provenance, these mss. were likely copied from the same exemplar as Alqosh 38–40.

1. Cave of Treasures
2. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra
3. Letter of Sunday
4. Lives of the Prophets (Syriac version attributed to Epiphanius of Cyprus)

PROVENANCE AND DATE

Study of these manuscripts reveals several similarities among them. First, all are of relatively late date, ranging from the late seventeenth- to the late nineteenth-century. Regardless of whether one accepts an early (eighth-century) or late (eleventh- or twelfth-century) date for the composition of *Ps.-Ezra* (see the discussion of proposed dates below), it is certain that each of the extant witnesses is separated from the autograph by several centuries. Another commonality among the witnesses is that each manuscript is written in East Syrian script, and those whose provenances were recorded were copied within a 60-km geographic stretch between Zawita and Mosul, Iraq. This suggests that *Ps.-Ezra* was copied and preserved (if not also composed) within an East Syrian context, though *Ps.-Ezra* does not contain any clear

50. See note 48 on the movement of the Notre Dames des Semences collection to the Chaldean Monastery in Baghdad above.

christological or other doctrinal polemic that requires an East Syrian provenance.[51] The text's focus on the lion's whelp, who represents a messianic Byzantine Christian emperor, might suggest a pro-Byzantine Chalcedonian/Melkite author; though Hoyland points to the text's mention of Egypt and Cush as evidence for a Miaphysite/ West Syrian context of composition.[52]

The late date and geographic proximity of these witnesses also suggests a close genealogical relationship among them. In addition, four of the five manuscripts represented in the edition—BL 25,875, BnF 326, Sachau 131, and UTS 23—display the same example of a variant caused by homoiteleuton.[53] It is likely, therefore, that these four manuscripts all derive from a common ancestor that they do not share with Mingana 11.

Ten of the fifteen known manuscripts containing *Ps.-Ezra* are linked in some way to the Rabban Hormizd Monastery, a center of scribal activity for the Church of the East, and later, Chaldean Catholic churches.[54] I would tentatively propose that the flurry of copying of *Ps.-Ezra* that occured in the mid- to late-nineteenth century might

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51. Both the Syrian Orthodox Church (variously called "West Syrian," "Jacobite," "monophysite," or "miaphysite") and Church of the East (variously called "East Syrian" or "Nestorian") are what would be termed "non-Chalcedonian" churches, meaning they either explicitly reject or simply never formally accepted the Council of Chalcedon. The two represent two poles of the christological spectrum, wherein the Syrian Orthodox emphasize the unity of Christ's nature (miaphysitism), whereas the Church of the East emphasizes the distinction between his divine and human natures (dyophysitism). Further complicating matters, in modern times other Syriac-speaking churches, including the Chaldean Catholic Church, have affirmed Chalcedon and come into communion with other Chalcedonian churches. For the historical and theological context surrounding these fifth-century christological divides, see William H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) and Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (New York: Routledge, 2003). In addition, the appendix to Brock, *An Introduction to Syriac Studies* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006): 67–78 provides a quick and accessible breakdown of the various Syriac-speaking churches and their lineages.

52. Hoyland also believes the lion's whelp is painted in unfavorable terms; this, along with the text's mentions of Egypt and Cush leads him to suggest this is "perhaps an indication of Jacobite [Miaphysite] authorship." See Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 277. See also the section on "Plot and Characters" in this chapter.

53. For this variant, see note 76 in the Syriac edition of chapter 2.

54. For more on Rabban Hormizd, see Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "Monastery of Rabban Hormizd," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastan P. Brock, et al (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 202–05.

be linked to the construction of Notre Dame des Semences completed during the same period, and the subsequent transfer of significant portions of the monastery's manuscript holdings to this newer and more secure site.

Ps.-Ezra is almost always transmitted alongside the *Cave of Treasures*, an extremely popular Syriac text that is essentially a retelling of world history which interprets and organizes the entire course of human activity through a theocentric, particularly Christian, lens.[55] With this in mind, *Ps.-Ezra* might have been meant, or at least might have been interpreted by its audience to have meant, to provide a new installment or epilogue to the world chronicle that the *Cave of Treasures* outlines in order to update its chronology to the author's own timeframe. At the very least, its shared concern with the *Cave of Treasures* for attributing the rise and fall of nations to God's direct involvement in the events of world history would have made the two texts a logical pairing to later compilers.

The two manuscripts that do not contain the *Cave of Treasures* alongside *Ps.-Ezra* might broadly be described as collections of saints' lives.[56] Although at first glance *Ps.-Ezra* might seem an outlier in such a collection since it does not narrate a particular martyr or saint's acts or passion, it serves a similar function as texts that do: to encourage Christians to persevere and remain faithful despite persection or minority status. For this reason, the compilers of these collections seem to have thought it appropriate to include *Ps.-Ezra* alongside other exhortatory tales.

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55. UTS 23 contains only *Ps.-Ezra,* however, we know that it was copied at the request of a visiting American missionary, and that the exemplar from which it was copied did contain the *Cave of Treasures*. On the *Cave of Treasures*, see Brock, "Cave of Treasures," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock, et al (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 90–91. The only full Engish translation remains E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London: The Religious Tract Society: 1927), based on the text of BL Add. 25,875.

56. These are BnF 326 and Vat 597. Interestingly, although both are collections of saints lives, the two manuscripts do not share any texts other than *Ps.-Ezra* in common.

There is little scholarly consensus on the date or historical context of *Ps.-Ezra's* composition. The oldest extant manuscripts containing the apocalypse are relatively young (Mingana 11 and Vat 164 are dated by their colopons to 1702; Van Lantschoot places Vat 597 in the late seventeenth century) and do not provide much in the way of a *terminus ante quem.*[57] Dating proposals range from as early as the eighth-century (Chabot, Debié)[58] to the eleventh or twelfth centuries (Bousset, Hoyland),[59] to as late as sometime after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Assemani).[60]

The question of date is intrinsically tied to how one identifies and interprets events within the text that might be considered historical markers or *vaticinium ex eventu*. Unfortunately, clear historical references are few. It is generally agreed by commentators that the mention of the bull's "evil plan against Constantinople" is meant to refer to one or both of the early unsuccessful sieges of Constantinople by Arabs (674–78 and 717–18 CE, respectively), which gives the text a *terminus post quem* of 674 CE.[61] Beyond this event, however, little attempt at identification of the apocalypse's historical figures and events has been made. The fullest scheme is offered by Bousset, who identifies the horned serpent as the Umayyads, the eagle as the Abbasids, the viper as the Fatimids, the four kings on the Euphrates and ravens as the Turks, and the lion's whelp as a Christian crusader.[62] Hoyland builds on Bousset's

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57. Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des Manuscrits Syriaques*, 128.

58. Chabot, "L'Apocalypse d'Esdras," 345; Debié, "The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra," 239.

59. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 47–48; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 278.

60. Assemani, *BO* vol 2, 498; vol 3, pt. 1: 282.

61. Only Assemani interprets the siege to have been a successful one, and thus believes it refers to the fall of Constantinople to Turkish forces in 1453 CE. See Assemani, *BO* vol 2, 498; vol 3, pt. 1: 282.

62. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 47–49.

identifications and proposes that the apocalypse's emphasis on Egypt and mention of the conflict between the bull and the lion's whelp echoes the eleventh- or twelfth-century conflicts between the Fatimids and Seljuk or Mamluk Turks.[63]

Identification of the text's date is made more complex by its composite nature and use of apocalyptic sources that date to wide range of time periods. Although the author has woven his sources together into one narrative, traces of multiple earlier apocalyptic sources can be identified. In particular, Hoyland, following Bousset, proposes that the episode concerning the war between the lion's whelp and bull has its roots in an earlier seventh-century apocalypse describing the war between Heraclius and Khusrau II.[64] This apocalypse was later reworked to reflect the author of *Ps.-Ezra*'s own context of conflict between Christian and Arab forces. Unfortunately, Hoyland and Bousset do not trace the transmission history of this apocalyptic narrative, so it is unclear whether they imagine Pseudo-Ezra have adapted the narrative directly from its original seventh-century source, or if he might have encountered the narrative through another later work that had already reinterpreted the original narrative to apply to the rise of the caliphate.

Another method for attempting to determine *Ps.-Ezra*'s date is to examine which apocalyptic sources its author drew upon in constructing his own work. *Ps.-Ezra* has been influenced by the perennially popular *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, or at least by other apocalyptic works that themselves drew from *Ps.-Methodius*.[65] For example, *Ps.-Ezra* shares *Ps.-Methodius*'s vision of a messianic

63. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 278.

64. Ibid.

65. See Brock, "Methodius, Apocalypse of Pseudo-," in *GEDSH*, ed. Sebastan P. Brock, et al (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 287, and Lutz Greisiger, "The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac)," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 1 (600–900)*, ed. David Richard Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 163–71.

Christian Roman Emperor (called the lion's whelp in *Ps.-Ezra*), and relates an understanding of *Ps.-Methodius*'s conflation of the Alexander Legend with the Gog and Magog stories.[66] Since *Ps.-Methodius* is a relatively early Syriac Christian apocalypse, dated to the late seventh century CE, that was enormously influential on most later Syriac apocalypses, its relationship to *Ps.-Ezra* is not of much value in determining *Ps.-Ezra*'s date of composition.

Based in part on Pseudo-Ezra's ample use of the book of Revelation, Hoyland dates the text to the twelfth century or beyond.[67] According to his reasoning, Revelation would not have been available to Pseudo-Ezra in Syriac until a rather late date. It is true that, along with the books of 2 Peter, 2–3 John, and Jude, Revelation does not, strictly speaking, have canonical status within Syriac churches.[68] It made its way into the Syriac tradition sometime after the rest of the New Testament, is not part of the churches' lectionary reading cycle, and is not found in ancient manuscripts containing the Peshitta version of the Bible. As a result, far fewer ancient manuscripts of Revelation are extant than other books we might consider to be "biblical."[69] Nonetheless, Revelation did come to be highly regarded by at least some authors in the Syriac tradition, even it did not gain canonical esteem: Dionysius Bar Salibi composed a commentary in Syriac on Revelation in the twelfth century, and it has been argued that other early Syriac apocalypses, such as the Syriac Apocalypse of

66. See the editions of Gerrit J. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, CSCO 540–41 (Leuven, 1993), and Francisco Javier Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Arab Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius," PhD diss. (The Catholic University of America, 1985).

67. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 278.

68. See Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition (*Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006): 34–36; 106–07.

69. See James Clemons, *An Index of Syriac Manuscripts Containing the Epistles and the Apocalypse*, Studies and Documents 33 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968) for a listing of all Syriac manuscripts containing Revelation.

Daniel (c. early seventh century), rely heavily on Revelation.[70] John Gwynn, followed by Arthur Vööbus, argued that the Syriac version of Revelation ultmately stems from the version made under Philoxenus, bishop of Mabbug, in 507/08 CE; if this is the case, Revelation certainly would have been available in Syriac translation before the time of the Arab conquests.[71] Sebastian Brock questions whether Philoxenus would have commissioned the translation of Revelation, since he "never seems to quote from these books," but notes that Revelation is present in the Harklean version of the Syriac New Testament, completed in 616.[72] Furthermore, even if Pseudo-Ezra did not have access to a copy of Revelation proper, this does not preclude the possibility that he encountered its images and vocabulary as filtered through (a) secondary apocalyptic source(s), perhaps translated from Greek, that did utilize Revelation.

In addition to a broad affinity with the apocalyptic themes popularized by *Ps.-Methodius, Ps.-Ezra* more specifically bears remarkable similarity to another Christian apocalypse that is variously called the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter or *Kitāb al-majāll* (Book of the Rolls).[73] The Book of the Rolls is an extremely long (100 or

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70. For Dionysius Bar Salibi's commentary, see Stan Larson, "The Earliest Syriac Commentary on the Apocalypse: Transcription, Translation and Importance of Brit. Lib. Ms. Add. 17,127," PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1984, and Jaroslav Sedláček, ed. *Dionysii bar Salibi commentarii in Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas catholicas*, CSCO 53, 60; Scriptores Syri II, 18–20 (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909-1910). For the *Apocalypse of Daniel*, see Matthias Henze, *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel: Introduction, Text and Commentary*. Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

71. John Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co., 1897); Arthur Vööbus, "Syrische Bibelübersetzungen," *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* 2 (Freiburg: Herder-Verlag, 1958), 389.

72. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition,* 36; 19.

73. See Emmanouela Grypeou, "Kitāb al-majāll," in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 5 (1350–1500)*, ed. David Richard Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 634–39. This text is not to be confused with the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter, and there seems to be no literary relationship between the two.

more folios in most manuscripts) and composite text preserved in three recensions.[74] No full-scale study of the text has been undertaken, although a partial facsimile and English translation containing the major apocalyptic section of the third recension was published by Alphonse Mingana.[75] In addition to a number of shared apocalyptic images drawn from Revelation and the Gospels that are common in Syriac or Arabic Christian apocalypses, at least three major and unusual similarities to *Ps.-Ezra* are found within a single folio of the Book of the Rolls: the prediction of the rise of a messianic Roman emperor called "the lion's whelp" (cf. *Ps.-Ezra* §7–9),[76] the mention of the rise of twelve kings of Abus, followed by nine little kings (cf. *Ps.-Ezra* §3),[77] and a prophecy concerning the rebuilding of the walls of Phoenicia (cf. *Ps.-Ezra* §9).[78] Other sections of The Book of the Rolls reveal further similarities with *Ps.-Ezra*, including mention of a three-horned bull (cf. *Ps.-Ezra* §7),[79] the image of four figures bound on the river Euphrates (*Ps.-Ezra* §6),[80] and the conversion of a "young scion of the mighty Kings of the Children of Ishmael" to Christianity, who goes to the lion's whelp for military aid (*Ps.-Ezra* §7).[81]

Although these shared images suggest a relationship between *Ps.-Ezra* and the Book of the Rolls, the exact nature of that relationship is unclear, and will likely

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74. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 291.

75. I have utilized Mingana's translation of and commentary on Mingana Syr. 70 in *Woodbrooke Studies: Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni, Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus. Vol. 3: Vision of Theophilus; Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933). The apocalypse also occurs in the second recension, but not the first.

76. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 222; 230–31.

77. Ibid., 231.

78. Ibid., 233.

79. Ibid., 227.

80. Ibid., 143.

81. Ibid., 278–79. The young scion's parallel in *Ps.-Ezra* is the younger chick.

remain so until a comprehensive study of the Book of the Rolls has been undertaken. Unlike *Ps.-Ezra*, which was composed and preserved in Syriac, the Book of the Rolls survives only in Garshuni/Arabic and Ethiopic recensions. Until lately, commentators were unanimous in their conclusion that The Book of the Rolls was composed in Arabic in a Coptic context.[82] Barbara Roggema's recent study, however, suggests that the text might have been composed in a Syrian context.[83] The Book of the Rolls contains a large number of Syriac terms and place names, often focuses on events occurring in Syria and Mesopotamia, and contains reworked version of texts belonging to the Syriac tradition, such as the *Cave of Treasures* and the *Testament of Adam*. At the very least, it seems likely that the author of the Book of the Rolls utilized Syriac sources when composing its apocalyptic sections. It is possible that one of these sources was *Ps.-Ezra*, however, because of the lack of distinct verbal correspondence between the two texts' descriptions of their shared apocalyptic images, it seems likely that *Ps.-Ezra* and the Book of the Rolls are both drawing on a third, common source for their shared apocalyptic material.

If *Ps.-Ezra* can be established as a source for the Book of the Rolls, then the latter's date of composition would serve as *terminus ante quem* for *Ps.-Ezra*. The earliest text of the first recension of the Book of the Rolls (Sinai Ar. 508) is dated to the tenth century, but this recension does not contain the apocalyptic sections that correspond to *Ps.-Ezra*; the earliest manuscript containing the apocalyptic section (Paris Ar. 76) is dated to 1336/37 CE, but its witness can be traced to a *Vorlage* dated

82. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 214–15.

83. Barbara Roggema, "Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter—The Book of the Rolls," in *The Bible in Arab Christianity,* ed. David Richard Thomas, The History of Christian-Muslim Relations 6. (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 137.

1176/77 CE.[84] Thus, if the Book of the Rolls used *Ps.-Ezra* as a source, *Ps.-Ezra* must be dated no later than 1176/77 CE.

With this introduction concluded, the next two chapters of this thesis present the Syriac text, with critical apparatus, and English translation of *Ps.-Ezra*. The fourth and final chapter then offers a closer examination of the author of *Ps.-Ezra*'s use of several biblical sources, often as they have filtered through later apocalyptic tradition.

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84. Grypeou, "Kitāb al-majāll," 635–36.

CHAPTER II

SYRIAC EDITION

EDITIORIAL POLICY

One of the primary goals of this thesis to fill a *desideratum* in the study of Syriac apocalyptic texts: the production of an edition of the Syriac *Ps.-Ezra* with a critical apparatus noting variants in the manuscript tradition. This chapter, therefore, presents a diplomatic edition of *Ps.-Ezra* as preserved in folios 102r–105v of Mingana 11 with variants from other witnesses recorded in the footnotes. Mingana 11 was chosen as the base text for three reasons: (1) it is the only manuscript containing *Ps.-Ezra* to have been digitized and made publicly available for online viewing, allowing any reader to compare the edition to the manuscript,[1] (2) it is the oldest dated manuscript containing *Ps.-Ezra*,[2] and (3) it is a complete witness with relatively few clear issues of textual transmission or intelligibility. Although critical method has been followed in the presentation of the text, correction to Mingana 11 has only been made in cases of manuscript defect. Only one such defect, found in §12, is present in Mingana 11. Here, the work of the corrector of Mingana 11 has made the original reading of the text illegible. In this case, the intelligible variant reading recorded by Mingana 11[c] was chosen for the edition; this variant, conveniently, also was supported by all other witnesses. The correction is indicated by the use of square brackets [ ] surrounding the corrected text, followed by a clarifying footnote. All diacritical and

1. Mingana 11 has been digitized and is available for online viewing through the University of Birmingham's Virtual Manuscript Room at: http://vmr.bham.ac.uk/Collections/Mingana/Syriac_11/table/.

2. A colophon indicates that that the manuscript was copied on January 16, 1702 by a Hoshabo, son of Daniel, son of Joseph the priest, son of Hoshabo.

vowel points are reproduced as preserved in Mingana 11 and do not reflect any editorial correction.

Mingana 11, as digitized and made available online by modern librarians, is presented with certain folios incorrectly labeled and placed out of order. Relevant to this project, ff. 104v–105r, which belong to another text within the manuscript, have been incorrectly labeled and placed in the middle of *Ps.-Ezra*. This edition, therefore, ignores the modern pagination and skips directly from f. 104r to f. 105v to maintain the integrity of the text of *Ps.-Ezra*. A footnote appears in the edition to signal to the reader where this skip occurs.

The critical apparatus presented in the footnotes of the edition records all variants attested by the corrector of Mingana 11 and/or four other witnesses available for study.[3] Variants are noted in the text by the use of a superscripted footnote number, with variants of more than one Syriac word bounded by the text critical mark ˥ on one side and the superscripted footnote number on the other. When applicable, an asterisk (*) following the manuscript name indicates the original reading of a manuscript, whereas a superscripted c (^{c}) indicates the reading offered by a corrector. It should be noted that many of the variants recorded are orthographic, but are nonetheless noted in the apparatus for scholars and students who might find them of interest.

For ease of reading and reference, *Ps.-Ezra* has been divided and numbered into sections by the editor. The section divisions do not appear in any manuscript witness, and reflect the editor's own judgment concerning the narrative flow and

3. See the discussion of the the manuscripts used for the edition in chapter 1.

breaks within the apocalypse.[4] In general, section divisions occur whenever there is either an introduction of a new major apocalyptic figure or the text breaks away from the apocalyptic vision to record Ezra's conversation with the revelatory angel. Underlined text indicates text copied in red in in Mingana 11. Because Mingana 11 and all other witnesses of *Ps.-Ezra* are preserved in eastern script, this edition also utilizes eastern script.

EDITION

1 ⌝ܬܘܒ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܪܝܢܢ[5] ܓܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܙܪܐ ܣܦܪܐ[6]. ܥܠ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܪܝܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܬܠܚܡܝܕܗ

ܕܚܪܒܗ[7].

2 ܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܓܠܐ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܡܬܘܬܐ ܕܚܪܝܬܐ[8] ܕܙܒܢܐ. ܘܫܕܪ ܠܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ

ܡܠܐܟܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܓܒܪܐ ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܥܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܚܪܝܐ. ܡܢ ܓܠܝܢܐ ܗܘܐ

ܒܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܚܙܘܐ ܕܚܠܝܬܐ. ܘܫܐܠܬ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܘܝܢܝ[9] ܥܠ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ[10] ܕܙܒܢܐ

ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ. ܘܚܙܝܬ. ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕ⌝ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܢܚܐ[11] ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܕܟܘܬܗ. ܥܠ ܡܛܠܬ

4. No versification or section numbering for *Ps.-Ezra* has become universally accepted. The section divisions presented in this edition often, though not necessarily, correspond to Baethgen's numbered sections in his translation of *Ps.-Ezra*. Chabot numbered his translation by lines, indicating Baethgen's section numbering in parentheses. Hall, whose translation was completed before those of Baethgen and Chabot, divided his translation into unnumbered paragraphs.

5. omit BnF 326

6. add ܣܦܪܐ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 | add ܣܦܪ BnF 326

7. add ܕܥܡܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ BL 28,875[c] BnF 326 Sachau 131| add ܥܡܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ BL 28,875

8. ܕܚܪܝܬܐ BnF 326 Mingana 11[c]

9. add ܠܝ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 | add ܠܝ BnF 326

10. ܐܚܪܝܬܐ BL 28,875[c] Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131

11. ܕܡܕܢܚܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326Sachau 131

ܠܒܘܫܐ ܝܩܝܪܐ. ܘܛܘܦܣܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܒܕܗ[12]. ܘܟܕ ܘܙܡܪ ܠܟ ܗ̈ܘܐ ܓܡܪ
ܢܬܥܡܪܝ ܐܠܘܬܗ ܡܢܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܢܬܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܢܬܒܣܡ ܠܝ ܟܠ ܐܣܪ̈ܢܝܗ[13] ܘܚܝ̈ܐ. ܕܥܒܕ
ܐܒܥܒܝܕܢ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܢܬܝܠܝܕ. ܦܪܘܣ ܚܫܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܡ ܒܗ.
ܘܣܘܦ ܐܠܝܢ[14] ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܪܘܬܐ ܒܐܣܪ̈ܢܝܗ[15] ܘܚܝ̈ܐ.

3 ܘܦܝܣ ܠܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܗ ܟܠ ܘܚܝ̈ܐ ܘܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܡܬܝܒܝܢ ܠܡܗܘܝܐ[16]. ܘܡܦܩܕ[17]
ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܬܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܩܪܝܒ ܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ. ܡܛܠ
ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܬܝܕܥܐ ܐܟܠ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܫܘܝܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ[18] ܒܕܝܪܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܘܡܬܟܠ—
⌐ܒܥܘܡܕܗ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܡܕܢܚܬܐ[19]. ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ⌐ܡܕܒܪܐ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ
ܡܬܟܢܫܝܢ[20]. ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܩܪܒ. ܘܫܘܝܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܥܡ ܫܡܝܢ ܢܛܠܝܒܝܢ
ܒܥܘܡܕܐ[21]. ܘܟܕ ܡܢ ܥܡܗܐ ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܡܕܒܚܐ ܡܕܝܢ: ܕܒܕܝܪܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ.

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12. add ܕܡܫܝܚܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131

13. ܐܣܪ̈ܢܝܗ BL 28,875[c] Mingana 11[c]

14. ܐܝܢ BL 28,875 | omit BnF 326

15. ܒܐܣܪ̈ܢܝܗ Mingana 11[c]

16. ܠܡܗܘܐ BL 28,875 | ܠܡܗܘܝ BnF 326

17. ܘܡܦܩܕ BL 28,875 | ܘܡܦܩܕܗ BnF 326

18. ܡܕܒܚܗ BnF 326

19. ܒܥܘܡܕܗ ܘܡܘܪܐ ܘܡܕܢܚܐ BnF 326

20. ܡܕܒܪܐ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܥܡܡܐ ܡܬܡܟܢܫܝܢ Mingana[c] | ܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܬܡܟܢܫܝܢ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326

21. omit BnF 326

4 ܘܐܡܪܬ ⌐ܡܘܕܝܢܐ ܠܝ[22] ܡܪܝ[23] ܒܝܕܘܥܬܗ ܕܡܘܕܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝܬ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ
ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܒܬ ܠܘܬܟ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܐ ܠܦܪܘܩܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܗ ܥܠ[24] ܐܝܟ
ܐܚܝ ܘܐܘܕܝܬ ܘܫܒܚܬܗ.
5 ܘܚܙܝܬ ܒܚܙܘܢܝ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܕܡܢ[25] ܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܢܘܗܪܢܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܒܪܩܐ ܚܙܘܗ
ܘܠܒܘܫܗ. ܘܚܘܪܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܓܐ ܛܒ. ܘܐܬܒܪܗ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܠܡܫܘܕܥܘܬܐ ܐܬܐ.
ܘܐܬܡܠܠ[26] ܥܡܝ ܒܢܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܝܢܐ. ܘܫܪܝ ܡܡܠܠ ܠܝܬܝܪܐ ܘܠܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܘܬܗ
ܚܡܪ[27]. ܘܗܘܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ[28] ܫܡܥܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܦܪܫ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܘܪܢܝܗ.
6 ܘܚܙܝܬ ܢܘܗܪܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܢܚܬܬ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܫܟܢܬ ܒܓܘܝ ܥܠ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ[29]. ܘܫܠܡܬܝ
ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘܝ ܘܡܠܠ[30] ܥܠ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪܬ
ܗܠܝܢ ⌐ܡܢ ܫܡܥܐ[31] ܐܬܐܡܪܬ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ
ܕܬܪܥܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܕܡܬܩܕܫ ܒܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܢܝܚܘ ܘܐܬܢܓܕܘ. ܘܗܘܐ

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22. ܡܘܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ BL 28,875 BnF 326 UTS 23 | ܡܘܕܝܐ ܠܝ Sachau 131

23. add ܡܛܠ ܕ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

24. add ܗܠܝܢ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

25. ܡܢ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

26. ܐܬܡܠܠ BnF 326 Sachau 131

27. ܚܡܪܬ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

28. ܕܡܢ Sachau 131

29. ܥܠ ܒܣܪ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

30. add ܪܒܐ BnF 326

31. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

ܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܪܒܐ.

7 ܘܡܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ. ܟܕ[32] ܡܬܬܪܡܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܠܝܨܘ̈ܬܐ. ܘܐ̈ܢܢܩܐ
ܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ. ܘܩܘܡ ܘܟܠܗ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܫܡܠܝ ܐܬܪܝܢ ܦܘܪܩܢܗ[33].
ܘܢܣܒܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢܚܐ. ܘܗܘ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ. ܘܢܣܒ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ. ܘܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ[34] ܗ̱ܘܐ
ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ[35]: ܡܢ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ[36] ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܗ ܬ̈ܒܥܝܢ ܗ̱ܘܘ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ.
ܘܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܕܐܬܟܪܝܐ[37] ܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܡܝܢ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ.
ܡܫܒܚ ܕܐܬܘܪܐ ܐܬܝܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܬܒܚܐ ܒܥܠܡܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܡܫܒܚ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ[38]
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܕܘܬܐ[39]. ܘܢܫܒܚ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ[40] ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܗ̱ܘܐ

32. ܘ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

33. ܦܘܪܩܢܐ BL 28,875 UTS 23

34. ܡܫܝܚ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

35. ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢܗ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131 UTS 23[c] | ܕܡܫܬܘܕܢܗ UTS 23

36. ܡܪܕܘܬܐ BL 28,875 Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131 UTS 23 | ܡܘܪܕܘܬܐ BnF 326

37. omit BnF 326

38. add ܗܘܐ BnF 326

39. ܡܘܪܕܘܬܐ BnF 326

40. ܐܠ BnF 326

ܒܪܡܫܐ. ܘܒܬܪܩܛܝܩܐ[41] ܩܪܘ. ܘܒܬܪܗܠܠܐ ܫܡܫܘ. ܘܒܬܪܗ[42] ܡܥܪܒܬܐ[43] ܫܪܘ. ܘܥܒܕܘ—

ܕܢܣܕܘܢ ܠܒܢܝ ܥܡܗ. ܘܢܟܬܒܢ ܕܘܟܐ ܘܫܡܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ[44] ܠܟܠ

ܕܡܫܝܚܐ[45] ܥܡܠܝܗܘܢ. ܘܢܚܙܘܢ ܠܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܠܗܘܢ. ܘܫܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܠ

ܡܠܟܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܡ ܠܘܩܐ ܕܪܗܛ. ܘܐܣܪܘܒ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܕܝܢܐ. ܘܐܬܚܙܝܘ ܥܡ ܣܓܝܐܐ.

ܘܟܬܒܘܢ ܢܣܪܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܕܡܐ ܐܝܟ—ܠܪܡܫܐ[46]. ܘܐܬܢܨܚܘ ܗܘܦܐ

ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܒܥܡܐ. ܥܠ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ[47] ܠܘܬܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ[48]

ܘܐܬܚܙܝ[49] ܒܫܡܗ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ.

8 ܘܗܘ ܦܪܘܩܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܢܦܩ ܚܝܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ[50] ܡܢ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ[51] ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܛܠܝܐ

ܕܡܬܟܪܟܐ ܘܝܗܒ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܘܥܡܗ[52] ܢܒܘܗ ܕܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ. ܘܢܚܙܘܢ ܒܫܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ

41. ܘܒܬܪܩܛܝܩܐ UTS 23*

42. ܘܗܘ UTS 23*

43. ܡܥܪܒܐ BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

44. ܘܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23 | ܕܝܘܡܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ BnF 326

45. add ܚܝܠܐ BnF 326

46. ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܠܪܡܫܐ BL 28,875[c] BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

47. ܥܝܢܘܗܝ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131

48. ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܦܘܠܝܣ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23 | ܕܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢ BnF 326

49. ܘܐܬܚܙܝ UTS 23

50. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

51. sic. ܐܬܪܘܬܐ "Thrace"

52. ܘܥܡܗ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܡܢ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܒܬܗܘܢ. ܘܝܗܒ ܠܒܘܪܟܬܗ ܕܦܪܘܩܐ. ܘܡܛܪܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ. ܘܢܫܝܗ[53] ܦܪܘܩܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܪ̈ܘܡܝܬܐ. ܘܝܬܒܘܢ ܥܡܗ ܕܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܗ[54]. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܘܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܝܬܒܝܢ ܫܒ̈ܛܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܪ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܒܪܟܢܘܢ ܫܡܥܘܢ[55] ܒܫܡܗ ܗܘ.

9 ܘܠܒܘܪܟܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܗܝܒܐ ܒܝܗܘܕܐ ܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘ[56] ܒܬܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܝܗܒܘܢܝ[57] ܘܫܒܩܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܘܢܝܐ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܠܫܒ̈ܛܘܗܝ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܝܢܐ. ܘܝܗܒܘܢ[58] ܠܐܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ. ܘܝܗܒܘܢ[59] ܠܗܘܢ[60] ܠܗܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܕܐ ܕܢܦܫ. ܘܫܡܥ ܒܝܢܬܐ ܠܐܒܐ ܗܘܬ. ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܒܘܪܟܬܗ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܗܟܝܠ[61] ܗܪܟܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܩ ܢܫܘܢ. ܘܝܗܒܘܢ[62] ܠܫܪܒܬܗܘܢ ܐܘܪܐ ܒܫܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ. ܘܝܗܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܪܥܐ[63] ܒܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܘܪܐ ܘܟܪ̈ܟܝܗܘܢ ܒܐܦܪ

53. ܘܢܣܝܗ UTS 23

54. ܠܡܫܘܪܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

55. ܐܫܪܒ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

56. ܘܢܦܩܘ BL 28,875

57. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

58. ܘܢܦܩ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

59. ܘܢܦܩ BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

60. omit UTS 23

61. omit BnF 326

62. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ BnF 326

63. omit BnF 326

ܘܠܐܪܥܐ ܢܶܚܘܿܬ ܘܢܶܚܙܘܢ. ܘܢܶܬܒܥ[64] ܒܥܘܕܐ. ܘܢܶܬܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܛܘܠ ܡܶܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ[65]
ܘܠܐܪܥܝܗܘܢ ܢܶܚܙܘܢ. ܘܠܥܘܕܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ[66] ܢܶܬܒܥ ܬܒܪܗܘܢ ܘܢܶܫܬܟܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܚܘܒܐ
ܕܚܛܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܦܘܗ ܣܡܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܡܫܝܢܘܬ ܚܛܝܘܬܗܘܢ[67].
ܘܐܪܥܗܘܢ ܢܶܚܢܦ ܘܢܶܚܙܘܢ ܘܢܶܬܚܫܒ ܢܶܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܐ ܠܚܡܐܬܐ[68]. ܘܠܐ ܢܶܫܡܥ[69] ܩܘܠ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܫܠܡܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܡܥܠܐ ܐܬܝܗ[70]. ܘܠܡܩܒܠܘܬܗ[71]: ܥܒܕܘ. ܘܢܶܗܘܐ ܥܠܡܐ
ܟܠܗ ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܘܓܠܐ ܘܫܠܝܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ. ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ[72] ܥܠ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ[73] ܟܘܢܐ
ܕܢܦܠܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܗܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܟܘܪܗܢܐ. ܡܢ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ.
ܘܠܐܪܥܐ[74] ܒܫܠܡܐ ܡܫܝܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܝܢ. ܘܢܶܬܒܛܠܘܢ ܒܡܫܘܬܐ[75] ܘܢܶܗܘܐ
ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܕܟܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ. ܘܢܶܩܢܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܒܟ

64. ܘܢܬܥܒܕ BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

65. ܡܕܡܘܬܗ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Mingana 11c Sachau 131 UTS 23

66. ܕܐܪܥܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

67. ܚܛܝܘܬܗ UTS 23*

68. ܠܚܡܐܬܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

69. ܢܫܡܥ UTS 23

70. ܐܬܠܗ BL 28,875

71. ܘܠܡܩܒܠܘܬܗ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Mingana 11c Sachau 131 UTS 23

72. add ܘܙܘܥܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

73. ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ BnF 326

74. add ܕܐܪܥܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

75. ܒܫܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

ܚܘܪܐ. ⌐ܘܠܒܘܫܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ ܚܕ ܚܘܪܐ[76] ܠܬܫܡܫܬܗ ܢܣܬܒ ܚܕܡܐ ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ[77].
ܡܛܠ ܕܡܫܪܝܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ. ܘܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܢܦܩ ܟܘܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ. ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ
ܝܗܒܘܢ[78] ܘܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܦܩ.

10 ܘܡܢ ⌐ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܥܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ[79] ܘܦܠܓܗ ܫܥܬܐ. ܢܦܩܘܢ[80] ܡܢ ܓܘܢܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ
ܡܠܟܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܥܘܠܡܗ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܠܟܢܐ. ܘܚܝܐ ܕܪܐ
ܢܒܝܐ. ܘܫܒ̈ܝܢ ܕܘܪܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ[81]. ܘܢܦܩ ܓܒ̈ܠܐ. ܘܡܪܝܡ
ܝܬܒܝܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܘܝܐ ܥܡܝܐ. ܘܡܫܥܐ[82] ܢܗܘܘܢ ܚܕ ܒܠܝܐ[83]. ܘܢܣܒܘܢ
ܠܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܚܕܡܐ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ[84] ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܬܐܫܕ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܗ.

11 ܘܗܢܐ ܓܘܪܐ ܢܦܠܛ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܥܠܝ[85] ܕܢܦܩܐ ܢܬܦܠܛܘܢ. ܘܢܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܠܐܟܐ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ ܠܟ ܓܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܟܠ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܚܕܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܘܡܪܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܢܝܚܘܬܐ ܡܬܝܗܒܐ ܠܐܪܥܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܓܪܫܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐ.

76. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

77. ܠܬܫܒܚܬܗ BnF 326

78. ܢܗܘܠܝ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

79. ܗܠܝܢ ܫܥܘܬܐ BnF 326

80. ܢܦܩܘܢ Sachau 131

81. ܗܠܝ BL 28,875

82. ܘܡܫܥܐ BnF 326

83. ܥܠ ܚܕ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

84. ܕܝܠܟܢ BnF 326 | ܕܝܠܟܘܢ Sachau 131

85. ܘܥܡܠ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

ܘܫܪܝܘ ܘܫܡܥܘ ⌐ܢܥܢܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܦܪܨܘܦܗܘܢ[86] ܒܫܒܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ. ܘܒܡܫܝܚܐ[87] ܕܫܡܥܐ.

ܘܡܫܘܕܥܘܬܐ[88] ܘܐܦܠܐ ܠܘܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܘܬܐ ⌐ܫܠܛܝܢ. ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[89]

ܕܘܪܟܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܐ ܢܬܬܣܝܡܘܢ ܒܝܕܗ ܒܝܠܕܘܬܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܡܛܠܗ ܐܬܝܬܗܘܢ.

ܘܟܘܠܗܝܢ ܡܫܬܪܪܢ

12 ܘܟܕ ܕܚܠܬܐ[90] ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܐܢܫܐ[91] ܗܘܝܐ. ܒܥܠܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢܐ ܘܐܘܣܝܐ

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ. ܘܐܡܪܬ ܡܢܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ

ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܪܥ ܒܗܘܢ[92]. ܘܡܫܪܘܬܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܡܢ [ܠܟܘܢ][93]. ܘܒܢܝ̈ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ

ܢܬܬܣܝܡܘܢ. ܘܒܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܬܘܕܥܘܢ ܡܫܡ ܡܢܗ ܒܘܪܟܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ

ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܕܗܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ[94] ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܢܚܘܪ ܥܝ̈ܢܐ ܕܫܡܥܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܐ.

ܘܐܦܠܐ ܩܕܡܐ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܟܪܟܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܐ. ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܣܢ[95] ܒܗܘ

86. ܦܪܨܘܦܗܘܢ ܘܡܥܢܝܬܗܘܢ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

87. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ BnF 326

88. ܘܡܫܘܕ̄ BnF 326

89. omit BnF 326

90. ܒܕܚܠܬܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

91. ܐܢܫܝ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131 UTS 23

92. ܒܗܘܢ Sachau 131

93. ܡܢܟܘܢ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131 UTS 23

94. ܡܠܐܟܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

95. Note that the digitized version of Mingana 11 provided by the University of Birmingham here has labeled the folios out of order and incorrectly places ff. 104v–105r, which belong to another text, here. This edition ignores the modern pagination and skips directly from f. 104r to f. 105v.

ܩܕܝܫܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪ̈ܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܕܒܪܘ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ.

13 ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܦܢܝܘ[96] ܠܘܬ ܫ̈ܠܝܚܐ ܘܐܫܬܥܝܘ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܦܘܬ ܘܫܘܚܠܦ ܘܫܢܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܟܢܫܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܢ ܪ̈ܘܚܐ ܕܐܬܦܫܩܘ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ[97] ܐܬܚܙܝܘ. ܢܬܬܘܢ ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܢܬܬܘܢ ܘܢܫܬܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ[98] ܠܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܦ ܟܕ ܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܒܚܝܢ[99] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܢܬܦܪܫ ܐܢܫ ܒܟܠ ܫܘܥܝ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܕܢܬܒܚܪܘܢ ܢܘܟܪ̈ܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ[100] ܠܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ[101] ܗܘܐ ܒܫܠܡܐ[102]. ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܘ ܘܝܕܥ ܗܘ̈ܢܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ̈ܠܐ. ܘܢܦܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ̈ܠܐ. ܘܡ̈ܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܢܘܡܐ[103]. ܘܢܘܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܥ̈ܠܡܐ.

14 ܘܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܢܬܚܙܘܢ ܡܬܒܚܪ ܕܟ̈ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܘܝܗܒ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܘܚܙܐ ܠܚܝܠܗ ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܚܕ. ܘܡܬܬܚܙܝܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܘܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ. ܘܗܘ[104] ܡܫܒܚܐ: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ

96. add ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

97. add ܕ ܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

98. omit BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

99. ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܒܚܝܢ BnF 326

100. ܗܠܝܢ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

101. ܫܪܝܪ Mingana 11[c]

102. ܒܫܠܡܐ ܥܠ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

103. omit BnF 326

104. ܘܗܘܐ BL 28,875 | ܘܗܘ Mingana 11[c] | ܕܗܘܐ BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

ܐܝܟ[105] ܠܡܫܠܡܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܝܪܢ[106] ܠܢܒܝܐ.

15 ܘܐܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܝܬ ܘܩܡܬ ܒܡܨܥܬ ܥܕܬܐ. ܫܒܚܬ ܘܐܘܕܝܬ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܕܐܬܥܗܕܬ

ܠܚܘܒܗ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܫܬܥܝܬ[107] ܟܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܦܪܘܩܢ. ܘܡܚܝܢܢ ܥܡܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ[108]

ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ:

16 ܫܠܡ[109] ܫܪܒܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ ܚܘܒܐ ܫܡܥܝܐ ⌐ܚܟܝܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܫܡܥܝܠܝܬܐ[110] ⌐ܘܠܐܠܗܐ

ܫܘܒܚ[111] :·:

105. ܐܝܟ BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

106. omit BnF 326

107. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

108. omit BL 28,875 BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

109. add ܒܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܪܢ BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

110. omit BnF 326

111. ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܡܝܢ BL 28,875 | ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ BnF 326 | ܘܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ Sachau 131 UTS 23

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION POLICY

Philosophy

The primary goal of this English translation is to provide access to *Ps.-Ezra* for students and scholars who may not read Syriac or be familiar with the language's idiosyncrasies. This thesis, therefore, adopts a translation method of dynamic equivalence.[1] The Syriac has been translated by units of typically phrase or clause length into the English idiom that most accurately represents the contextual meaning of the Syriac. For example, the phrase ܒܝܕ ܐܠܗܐ is translated dynamically and idiomatically as "through God" rather than formally or literally as "by the hand of God," a rendering that would less accurately convey the sense of the Syriac phrase. The goal of the dynamic equivalence method is, therefore, to produce a translation that most accurately represents the contextual meaning or sense of the Syriac rather than the most literal representation of the Syriac words. Within this method, however, the wording and order of the Syriac text is maintained as closely as proper English syntax allows so as to facilitate comparison of the English translation to the Syriac edition. Footnotes with more formal or "word-for-word" translation indicate instances where the English idiom differs substantially from the literal Syriac, and are prefaced by the abbreviation "lit."

1. See Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation, With Special Reference to Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 200.

This translation is based on the diplomatic edition of Mingana Syr. 11 presented in chapter 2 of the thesis. Where the manuscript tradition bears witness to variants that would alter the meaning of the English rendering, a translation of the relevant variants is offered in the footnotes. Variants of more than one word in English are bracketed by the text critical mark ⸢ on one side and the footnote number on the other. When applicable, an asterisk (*) after the manuscript name indicates the original reading of a manuscript, whereas a superscripted c (^{c}) indicates the reading offered by a corrector. Minor and orthographic variants that produce no substantive change in the meaning of the English translation (slight variations in spelling, plenary forms, etc.) are indicated in the Syriac edition of chapter 2, but are not noted in the English translation.

The manuscript tradition of *Ps.-Ezra* occasionally contains variants that clarify or correct the witness of Mingana Syr. 11 and produce a more intelligible reading. In these cases the English translation has been made on the basis of the more intelligible variant, and is indicated by the use of square brackets [ ] followed by a footnote that indicates the source for the variant. Additionally, the English translation occasionally provides an explicit subject or object that is only implied in the Syriac; these clarifications are indicated by the use of square brackets [ ] without a footnote. Only one conjectural emendation unsupported by the manuscript witnesses has been made in the English translation; this is indicated by the use of square brackets [ ] followed by a footnote explaining the emendation.[2]

For ease of reading and reference, *Ps.-Ezra* has been divided and numbered into sections by the editor. The section divisions do not appear in any manuscript witness, and reflect the editor's own judgment concerning the narrative breaks and

2. This is the change from ܛܪܩܢܐ "Tarqono" to ܛܪܩܝܐ "Tarqoyo" to render the intelligible reading "Thrace."

flow. In general, section divisions fall where there is either an introduction of a new major apocalyptic figure or where the text breaks away from the apocalyptic vision to record Ezra's conversation with the revelatory angel. Underlined text indicates text copied in red in in Mingana 11.

Translation of Proper and Place Names

In keeping with the goal of producing a translation that is accessible to readers who may be unfamiliar with Syriac, it is the policy of this translation to use conventional English spelling rather than transliteration of the Syriac for proper and place names.

Gendered Language

In Syriac, all nouns have a grammatical gender that may or may not correspond to the referent's biological sex. For example, a "mountain" (ܛܘܪܐ) is grammatically masculine, whereas "earth" or "land" (ܐܪܥܐ) is grammatically feminine. Where English speakers would consider the referent to be sexless or neuter, the translation renders the Syriac into appropriate neuter English idiom, thus, the "mountain" and the "land" are both referred to by the English neuter pronoun "it."

The translation also avoids gendered renderings of contextually gender-inclusive words or phrases. For example, *Ps.-Ezra* makes frequent use of the epithet ܒܢܝ̈ ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ to refer to Arabs. Literally translated, ܒܢܝ̈ is "sons," but in context and idiomatically it is a gender-inclusive term referring to "children." For this reason, ܒܢܝ̈ ܐܝܫܡܥܝܠ is translated "children of Ishmael" throughout the text. Similarly, the idiom ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ is literally "sons of man" and therefore often rendered by translators idiomatically as "men" or "mankind," but this translation instead opts for the inclusive terms "people" or "humankind."

The author of *Ps.-Ezra* often employs animal imagery to represent rulers or dynasties. Like all Syriac nouns, these animals have grammatical gender, for example, the "eagle" (ܢܫܪܐ) is grammatically masculine and the "viper" (ܐܟܕܢܐ) is feminine. When possible, neuter pronouns are used to describe these symbolic animals in the English translation. Since these animals often behave in anthropomorphic ways, however, it is sometimes awkward or incorrect English style to refer to these animal characters by neuter pronouns. In such cases, masculine pronouns—which correspond to both the animals' grammatical gender in Syriac and the biological sex of the historical men whom they symbolize—are used.

Cross References

To assist the reader, cross references or parallels between the text of *Ps.-Ezra* and biblical or apocalyptic texts that circulated among Syriac-speaking Christians are indicated in the footnotes. Some of these cross references are considered in depth in chapter 4's discussion of Pseudo-Ezra's use of sacred text and sources.

TRANSLATION

1 ⌜Again, through God I write about[3] the question that Ezra[4] asked when he was in the desert with his disciple[5].

2 He asked God to reveal to him the things that are going to happen in the end times.[6] Then he said to Carpos his disciple,[7] "Listen, my son Carpos, and I will

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3. omit BnF 326

4. add "the scribe" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131. The author writes pseudonymously in the name of biblical Ezra (cf. Ezra 7:6; 11), who is described as both a priest and a scribe. A rich tradition of apocalyptic and prophetic literature attributed to Ezra began in Second Temple Judaism and later gained popularity in Christian circles (ie: 2 Esdras, Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Latin Vision of Ezra).

5. add "whose name was Carpos" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131

6. cf. 2 Esd 8:63.

7. cf. 2 Esd 14:24, where the disciples and scribes of Ezra are named, though a "Carpos" does not appear among them.

tell you about the end times. It happened suddenly, in the manner of a dreadful vision. I asked God to explain[8] the end times of the Ishmaelites. Then I saw a young man, one like whom I had never seen, wearing white clothing, and he had the figure of a scroll in his[9] hand.[10] He answered and said to me, 'Behold! Your prayer has been heard before God, and I have been sent to explain to you the end times of the children of Ishmael, that which has been concealed from many.[11] Open this book of the scroll and read in it and see what is about to happen in the end times.'

3 I opened the scroll and I read about the times and the terrors that are going to come[12]. My tears flowed with groans and I said, 'Have mercy on me, God, and have mercy on your creation,' for a serpent of the desert had devoured them. I saw twelve horns on the serpent's head, and nine small and cruel [horns] on its tail that came up from the desert[13], contending against all creation [under heaven][14] and oppressing the people of God.[15] Then I saw an angel, clothed in a flame ⌜of fire[16], who descended from heaven and tore the twelve great horns from the serpent's head.

8. add "to you" BnF 326 BL 28,875 | add "to me" Sachau 131

9. add "right" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131

10. cf. Dan 10:5–6; Rev 10:1–2; Ezek 2:8–10.

11. cf. Dan 10:12, 14.

12. "to happen" BnF 326 BL 28,875

13. "the east" BnF 326

14. Mingana[c] BnF 326 BL 28,875

15. cf. Dan 7:7; 19–21; 2 Esd11:1–35; Gen. 17:20; Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 231.

16. omit BnF 326

4 Then I said 'I believe in you, Lord[17]; today the prophecy of Moses is fulfilled.'[18] The angel of the Lord said to me, 'Take heart, Ezra, because it was also revealed to Daniel about the[19] nine small and cruel horns.'[20]

5 Then I saw one great horn suddenly spring up on the tail of the serpent, and there were two small [horns] on its head.[21] An eagle came from the south and broke the great horn and devoured the small ones.[22] The world was filled with darkness and a whirlwind, and the whirlwind struck the eagle and tore out its two talons. Then there was a voice from heaven that said, 'The eagle will be recompensed according to its reward.'[23]

6 Then I saw a viper that came from the east. It poured poison on all flesh and went up to the border of the Promise[24]. There was an[25] earthquake and rumblings and thunders in heaven, and a voice ⌜from heaven[26] was heard[27]: 'Let those four kings who are bound on the great river Euphrates, those who are prepared to destroy one out of three people, be released.'[28] They were released, and there was a great uproar.

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17. add "because" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

18. Presumably Gen 17:20, a text traditionally attributed to Moses and which prophesied that Ishmael will be the father of twelve princes. See also Gen 25:12–16.

19. "these" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

20. Presumably the fourth beast of Daniel 7–8, although this beast has ten horns, not nine.

21. cf. Dan 7:8; 20–21; 8:5–10.

22. cf. 2 Esd 11:29–31.

23. cf. 2 Esd 11:36–46.

24. Perhaps the "Land of Promise" or "Promised Land," a phrase which occurs in full in §8, 9, and 10.

25. add "great" BnF 326

26. omit BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

27. cf. Rev 8:5; 16:18.

28. cf. Rev 9:13–15.

7 Out of the darkness came ravens from the east, piercing the viper. The viper escaped to the borders of Egypt, and there it became despondent[29]. It took its[30] two chicks and crossed over to the right side.[31] The younger[32] chick came to the lion's whelp[33] and took refuge with him.[34] The lion's whelp received him joyfully, and the younger chick [persuaded][35] the lion's whelp to deliver him from those ravens that were seeking to devour him. The lion's whelp sent ⸢an ambassador[36] to the leopard[37] of the south so that he would come out to his aid, because the bull[38] was troubling the land of the west with many evils, since he was the king of the ravens. He gnashed his teeth against the lion's whelp. There were three horns on his head; with the right one he makes war, with the left one he destroys, and with the one in the middle one he ravages.[39] He will begin to ravage the children of his house, and he will gather gold and much silver, and he will begin ⸢to afflict all who are under his power[40]. He will become arrogant[41] and he will not glorify God. One of his horns will go and make war against the lion's whelp, and will ravage

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29. lit: "made its life/soul small"

30. "the" BL 28,875 UTS 23

31. cf. 2 Esd 12:29–30.

32. or "smaller'

33. cf. Gen 29:8–12; 2 Esd 11:37–46, Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 222; 230–31.

34. cf. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter*, 278–79.

35. BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23; "will persuade" Mingana 11

36. omit BnF 326

37. This is the more common Syriac word for leopard, a different word for leopard, borrowed from Greek, appears in §9.

38. cf. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 231.

39. cf. Dan 8:3–4.

40. "to strike down and afflict all who are under his power" Sachau 131; "to strike down and afflict all who are under the strength [of] his power" BnF 326

41. lit: "exalt his heart;" cf. Dan 11:36.

the rebellious fortresses. They will contend against each other and ravage each other, and much blood will be shed ⌜between the two mighty men[42]. Then the bull will devise an evil plot against the seven hills and the great city of Constantine[43], and he will contend with it, and much blood will be shed round about the city.

8 Then the viper's chick will take a great[44] army from [Thrace][45] and from the upper ranks of the west, and he will enter in blood. The father of the younger chick [will hear][46] and he will gather a great nation from the Cushites and from the nations around them, and he will come to the aid of the chick and will ravage Egypt. Then the chick will come down from the Promised Land and he will ravage the chief cities. He will leave them devoid of their[47] inhabitants, because great iniquity was being perpetrated in them. He will throw the slain to the ground in heaps, and he will ravage Damascus at that time.

9 Then the lion's whelp will become inflamed with fierce anger,[48] and he will go out after those ravens and ravage them ⌜and drive [them] out[49] and destroy them from Syrian Antioch as far as the borders of the east, the land that belongs to the ravens. The leopard[50] will go out from the north, and a great people like flying locusts will go out ⌜with him[51]. He will go up to the Euphrates River and he will rise up in aid

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42. "on their two sides" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

43. "Constantinople" BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

44. omit BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

45. The Syriac has the unintelligible "Tarqono," here emdended slightly to read "Tarqoyo," meaning Thrace.

46. BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23; "hear" Mingana 11

47. lit. "its"; omit BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

48. cf. 2 Esd 11:37.

49. omit BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

50. This is a different and less common word for leopard, borrowed from Greek, than appears in §8.

51. omit UTS 23

of the lion's whelp, and from there the two of them will go down to the land of Persia. ⌜The bull will go out to meet them with a great army, but the lion's whelp will go[52] between the bull's horns and break both of them.[53] He will ravage and plunder the land and burn[54] [it] with fire. The ravens will flee from his presence and go down to their land. The [lion's][55] whelp will pursue them and will destroy them with the edge of the sword, because God has turned his face from them on account of their[56] surpassing uncleanness. He will capture and plunder their land, and lay [it][57] waste down to the foundations. It will never again be inhabited, because they despised the Lord and made light of his commandments. There will be great tumult in the land— earthquakes and famines and plagues[58]—and fear[59] will rule over the people until they fall and die, without diseases or illnesses, from the fear that rules over them.[60] The [lion's][61] whelp will go up with a great army to the Promised Land and will subject it to tribute, and there will be great tribulation in the land, the likes of which has never occurred.[62] He will build walls around Phoenicia,[63] ⌜and around the desolate places that are within it[64]. He will lay

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52. "They will go out to meet them" BnF 326

53. cf. Dan 8:5–7. The bull, who earlier had three horns, now has two.

54. "destroy" BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

55. BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23; "lioness's" (irregular form) Mingana 11

56. "his" UTS 23*

57. lit. "them"

58. cf. Luke 21:11.

59. add "and trembling" BnF 326

60. cf. Luke 21:26.

61. BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23; omit Mingana 11

62. cf. Mark 13:19; Matt 24:21.

63. cf. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 233.

64. omit BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

Damascus waste down to its foundations, because it provoked the Most High. Then he will go up to Jerusalem with great pomp, and from there he ⌜will return[65] and go up to his royal city.[66]

10 After three and a half weeks a certain mighty man will come out of the south with a great nation, and his power will go forth over the Promised Land.[67] He will make a great peace, and he will perform great good deeds in the land for three years and seven months.[68] Then the four winds of heaven will be stirred up,[69] and the nations will rise up one against the other,[70] and ravage each other until the earth ⌜cries out because of[71] the blood that is shed on its face.[72]

11 Then I, Ezra, fell to the ground, and I was utterly filled with tears.[73] And the angel of the Lord said to me, 'Do not be grieved, Ezra the scribe, because these things will not happen until uncleanness and wantonness and fornication defile the earth, when people have forsaken the marriage bed and defiled and polluted ⌜themselves and their bodies[74] with the uncleanness of fornication, with drinking wine, and with sodomy, shameless about the disgrace ⌜they commit.[75] Then the justice of

65. "will travel" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

66. cf. Mingana, *Apocalypse of Peter,* 231.

67. On "three and a half weeks," cf. Dan 7:25; 12:7. On the "mighty man of the south," cf. Dan 11:5ff.

68. cf. Dan 12:11.

69. cf. Dan 7:2; Rev 7:1.

70. cf. Mark 13:8; Matt 24:7; Luke 21:10.

71. "is hidden by" BnF 326; "makes known" Sachau 131

72. cf. Gen 4:10–11.

73. cf. Dan 10:9.

74. lit. "their souls and their bodies"; "their bodies and their souls" BnF 326 Sacahau 131 UTS 23

75. cf. Rom 1:27; Rev 17:1–2.

God will be provoked[76], so that the rebellious seed will be delivered into the hands of their enemies, because their end has come, and the End is coming quickly.'

12 ⌜As I was pouring out fear on my face[77], the angel of the Lord stretched out his hand and lifted me up, since I was shaking with fear.[78] I said, 'Who will be able to live[79] in that time?' He said to me, 'Those in whom God is pleased. A great rebellion will gain strength, and the faithful[80] will be oppressed, but their cries and their groaning will ascend before the royal throne of God's majesty,[81] so that ⌜he will quickly send a fearsome angel[82] and take hold of the point of the destroying sword and destroy the rebellious seed without mercy. But woe to pregnant women and those who are nursing at that time, because a tribulation will happen the likes of which has not occurred since the worlds were created.[83]

13 Suddenly [the children of the north will be opened and][84] will go out from the house[85] of Gog and Magog and commit terrible atrocities on the earth.[86] Two tribes from the seed of Ishmael and those who have become sooty at the base [of the mountain][87] of the south will come and take refuge with them. They will drink

76. omit BnF 326

77. BnF 326 BL 28,875 Mingana 11[c] Sachau 131 UTS 23

78. cf. 2 Esd 10:26–27.

79. or, "to be saved"

80. lit. "the children of the faith"

81. cf. Rev 6:9.

82. or, "a terrible angel will quickly send" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

83. cf. Mark 13:17, 19; Matt 24:19; 20; Luke 21:23.

84. "the mountains will be opened. The children of the north" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

85. This is the best rendering of the dalet, attested in all witnesses, that I can come up with. The unusual grammar and variant in this sentence might indicate that the original reading has been corrupted.

86. cf. Ezek 38–39; Rev 20:7.

87. add BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

and go up until ⸢they ascend[88] Jerusalem, the city of the great king.[89] There God will send against them the fearsome angel Michael, and he will ravage them without pity.[90] If these[91] days were not shortened, no flesh would live[92], because at that time a year is like a month, a month like a week, a week like ⸢a day[93], and a day like an hour.

14 Then the false messiah[94] will appear and will show his cruelty and the vehemence of his wickedness. He will go up to Enoch and Elijah upon the altar and shed their blood upon the earth with great suffering.[95] Then fearsome angels will be sent out, and they will cast the Son of Perdition[96] into the Gehenna of fire.[97] ⸢This is the End[98]. But keep these words until their time.'[99]

15 Then I, since I had great fear, fell down to worship and gave thanks to God the Savior, who had deemed me worthy of this vision.[100] ⸢And I said[101], 'Blessed are you, O God my Savior, and your holy[102] name be glorified forever and ever, Amen.'"

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88. omit BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

89. cf. Rev 20:9.

90. cf. Dan 12:1; Rev 12:7–9; 20:9.

91. "those" BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

92. "be saved" Mingana 11[c]; cf. Mark 13:20; Matt 24:22.

93. omit BnF 326

94. cf. Mark 13:22; Matt 24:24.

95. cf. Rev 11:3–8.

96. cf. John 17:12; 2 Thess 2:3.

97. cf. Rev 19:20; 20:10, 14–15.

98. "[This] will be the End." BnF 326 Sachau 131 UTS 23

99. cf. Dan 12:4; 2 Esd 12:35–38.

100. cf. Rev 22:8.

101. omit BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

102. omit BnF 326 BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

16 Ended[103] is the vision that Ezra the scribe saw ⌜about the kingdom of the Ishmaelites[104]. ⌜To God [be glory][105].

103. add "with the aid of our Lord" BL 28,875 Sachau 131 UTS 23

104. omit BnF 326

105. Mingana 11 BnF 326; "To God be glory, Amen." Sachau 131 UTS 23; "Glory to God, the helper of the weak and who has mercy on them, Amen." BL 28,875

CHAPTER IV

PSEUDO-EZRA'S USE OF BIBLICAL TEXT

Pseudo-Ezra most often employs biblical apocalyptic imagery[1] as it has been filtered through the lens of later apocalyptic interpretation and embellishment. Only rarely does he quote or overtly paraphrase Scripture,[2] and he uses no set formula to introduce those quotations or paraphrases. In fact, the only time Pseudo-Ezra names his sacred sources (which he calls the prophecies of Moses and Daniel in §4), his references are not quotations at all, but instead are veiled and highly reworked allusions to the biblical text that have been filtered through the interpretive lens of later apocalyptic literature and tradition. Yet, biblical imagery pervades the entire apocalypse, providing Pseudo-Ezra with a stock of apocalyptic vocabulary from which he freely and imaginatively draws, and biblical apocalypses provide a template from which to build the structure of his own apocalyptic message.

This chapter examines the way that Pseudo-Ezra uses and reworks apocalyptic sources. It will first discuss how the figure of Ezra and his visions as described in 2 Esdras/4 Ezra likely served as model for Pseudo-Ezra's own pseudonymous identity and vision. It will then consider his clearest quotations or paraphrases of biblical apocalyptic sources (Daniel, Genesis, the Gospels, and Revelation), paying careful

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1. In my use of the term "biblical" I do not intend to denote a specific canon of Scripture, but rather use the term as a shorthand to refer to sacred texts that were in circulation among Syriac-speaking Christians and commonly used as a source for theological reflection. With regard to *Ps.-Ezra* these texts include what are typically designated as "canonical" biblical texts, such as the Gospels, Genesis, and Daniel, texts that did not gain canonical status in Syriac churches, though they did in the West, such as Revelation, and texts that are called apocryphal or pseudepigaphal by modern scholars, but which often circulated alongside "canonical" texts in ancient manuscripts, such as 2 Esdras.

2. The clearest quotations or paraphrases are of Rev 9:13–15 (§6) and the synoptic gospels Mark 13:3–27; Matt 24:3–31; and Luke 21:7–28 (§12).

attention to how Pseudo-Ezra reworks or contextualizes these sources to suit his own historical reality and apocalyptic message. In doing so, this chapter will show that many of Pseudo-Ezra's biblical allusions are filtered through the lens of later Jewish and then Christian apocalyptic interpretation, and will consider how these later Jewish and Christian sources shaped Pseudo-Ezra's own understanding and use of biblical texts.

The task of identifying biblical sources and allusions is one often fraught with disagreement over methodology. Since the primary goal of this thesis to make the text of *Ps.-Ezra* more accessible to scholars and students rather than to problematize questions about its use of sources and allusions, I have hoped to minimize methodological concerns by primarily focusing on sources that Pseudo-Ezra explicity names or on what seem to be the clearest examples of quotation and allusion. When Pseudo-Ezra does not explicitly name his source, these allusions have been ascertained on the basis of Richard Hays's seven-fold test for determining intertextual echoes.[3]

TAKING UP THE MANTLE OF EZRA

By the time that Pseudo-Ezra composed his apocalypse, the character of Ezra the scribe had developed quite a reputation as an apocalyptic visionary by virtue of the large number of pseudepigraphal texts attributed to his authorship.[4] In particular, the book of 2 Esdras, or more specifically, chapters 3–14, which comprise an apocalyptic work also known by the name of 4 Ezra, was widely translated into

3. Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale Unviersity Press, 1989), 29–32.

4. Other apocalyptic texts ascribed to Ezra include include 2 Esdras/4 Ezra, the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, The Questions of Ezra, and the Latin Vision of Ezra. Lisbeth S. Fried offers a history of the traditions surrounding Ezra in *Ezra and the Law in History and Tradition* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2014); chapters 5–7 focus on Ezra in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts.

Syriac, and later, Arabic. Of all the extant Ezra literature, this text bears the most similarity to *Ps.-Ezra*, and is most likely to have served as a source of inspiration for its general structure and attributed authorship.[5]

The Book of 4 Ezra is distinctive for its use of the dialogue-dispute literary form, in which Ezra questions or challenges God as to why evil has befallen his chosen people and God then reveals how he will execute judgment and vindicate his people in the last days.[6] *Ps.-Ezra*, a much shorter text than 4 Ezra, is not a full-fledged dialogue-dispute, although Ezra does ask God for revelation and then asks clarifying questions as to how and when the revelations he receives will come to be. It does, however, share with 4 Ezra the notion that Ezra, after posing a question to God, is a person who would be deemed worthy of receiving a revelatory vision. Both texts wrestle with the questions of theodicy and injustice, and ultimately conclude that temporary evil and captivity for the people of God will ultimately be overcome by divine judgment and justice.

Both 4 Ezra and *Ps.-Ezra* also link Ezra with scribal activity. In 4 Ezra, Ezra is commanded by God to take five men (whose names are given as Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel) who have been trained to write rapidly so that they may record ninety-four books containing Ezra's revelations.[7] Twenty-four are to be public (the canonical Hebrew scriptures) and seventy private, to be given only to the wise. Similarly, Ezra is explictly named a scribe in *Ps.-Ezra*, and he shares his revelation

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5. The similarities between the texts were also noted by Baethgen, "Sachau 131," 193–211 and Chabot, "L'Apocalypse d'Esdras," 242–50, 333–46 in their respective translations.

6. On 4 Ezra, see James H. Charlesworth, ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983) 516–59, and Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia 41 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

7. 2 Esd 14:23–48.

with a named disciple, Carpos, and Ezra's words are meant to be "[kept] until their time."[8] For both authors, Ezra is a seer whose visions are to be preserved in writing, but only revealed under appropriate circumstances. Perhaps the author of *Ps.-Ezra* intended for his own apocalypse to be considered one of the seventy private books, or at least intended to mimic the sort of text that might have been recorded in one of 4 Ezra's private books.

INTERPRETING DANIEL THROUGH THE LENS OF 4 EZRA

Notable parallels also can be found in the imagery of Ezra's visions in 4 Ezra and *Ps.-Ezra*. In particular, the opening vision of *Ps.-Ezra* §3–54 bears similarity to Ezra's "Eagle Vision" of chapters 11–12. Both visions explicitly state that they are intended to be interpretations of or elaborations on the Book of Daniel, and recall his vision of the fourth beast.[9] Fourth Ezra features an eagle with twelve wings and three heads that puts the whole earth under subjection. The eagle then sprouts eight little wings, and each of the large and little wings rises to power before disappearing until only the three heads remain, which then proceed to cannibalize each other. A lion (later identified as the Messiah) then appears and rebukes the eagle for its wicked reign, after which the final two little wings reappear and reign for a brief and tumultuous time. The reign of these two little wings and their "passing over to the head that was on the right side" is a sign of the eagle's end and the coming of the Messiah. In *Ps.-Ezra*, the vision features a serpent with twelve great horns on its head and nine small horns on its tail that contends against all creation. The twelve great horns are ripped from the serpent's head by an angel, and then one great horn springs up on its tail, replacing the nine small horns, while two additional small horns emerge

8. *Ps.-Ezra* §2, 15.

9. 2 Esd 12:11 and *Ps.-Ezra* §4.

on the serpent's head. An eagle then breaks the one great horn and devours the two small horns before having its two talons torn out by a whirlwind. A voice from heaven then rebukes the eagle.

Most striking in these two visions is the shared image of a beast with twelve great wings/horns, accompaned by eight or nine small wings/horns, followed by a total of three heads/horns. Although both texts name Daniel as their inspiration, both have departed in similar ways from Daniel's simpler description of the fourth beast as having ten horns, followed by one little horn.[10] It seems likely, then, that the author of *Ps.-Ezra* read and interpreted Daniel's fourth beast not strictly on its own terms, but also through the lens of 4 Ezra's "new explanation"[11] of Daniel's vision. He therefore adopted 4 Ezra's pairing of twelve wings/horns with eight (or nine) smaller ones. Perhaps, in his effort to convincingly take on the legacy and mantle of Ezra the scribe, Pseudo-Ezra intentionally modeled certain aspects and details of his apocalypse on the popular 4 Ezra in order to lend his own work an air of authenticity by virtue of its similarity with a better-known text attributed to Ezra.

A problem remains, however, as to how Pseudo-Ezra came to understand the the serpent as having nine little horns when 4 Ezra mentions just eight little wings. A rather simplistic answer might attribute the discrepency to a scribal error in the textual witness of either 4 Ezra or *Ps.-Ezra*. It is also possible that Pseudo-Ezra had in mind twelve and then nine particular, historical rulers or caliphs, and edited or "updated" 4 Ezra's numbers accordingly. I suspect, however, that a more satisfactory answer might be found in comparison of *Ps.-Ezra* with a Garshuni/Arabic text known as the *Kitāb al-majāll* (Book of the Rolls) or *Apocalypse of Peter*, which similarly pairs

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10. Dan 7:7–8.

11. 2 Esd 11:11.

twelve "Kings of Abus" with nine "kinglets" or little kings. Further discussion of the *Kitāb al-majāll* and its possible relationship to Pseudo-Ezra can be found in the first chapter of this thesis.

Other echoes of 4 Ezra may be seen in Pseudo-Ezra's vision of the lion's whelp in §7–9. Much like the lion of 4 Ezra, the lion's whelp is a messianic figure that judges and destroys an evil kingdom that has oppressed the people of God. Interestingly, in both Ezra visions the fall of the evil kingdom by means of the rise of the lion/lion's whelp is immediately preceded by two small wings/chicks associated with the evil kingdom who are said to "cross over to the right side." The mention of the two chicks in *Ps.-Ezra* has been particularly problematic for commentators who have struggled to identify the chicks with their historical counterparts, and the significance of their "crossing over to the right side" has proven especially obtuse:

> Then I saw a viper that came from the east. It poured poison on all flesh and went up to the border of the Promise. There was an earthquake and rumblings and thunders in heaven, and a voice from heaven was heard: 'Let those four kings who are bound on the great river Euphrates, those who are prepared to destroy one out of three people, be released.' They were released, and there was a great uproar. Out of the darkness came ravens from the east, piercing the viper. The viper escaped to the borders of Egypt, and there it became despondent. It took its two chicks and crossed over to the right side. The younger chick came to the lion's whelp and took refuge with him. The lion's whelp received him joyfully, and the younger chick persuaded the lion's whelp to deliver him from those ravens that were seeking to devour him.[12]

I suggest that the otherwise enigmatic "crossing over to the right side" of the viper and two chicks is a vestige of the influence of 4 Ezra's vision on that of *Ps.-Ezra*. Compare to *Ps.-Ezra* 4 Ezra's description of the eagle's two little wings:

> I looked and saw that the remaining head had disappeared. The two wings that had gone over to it rose up and set themselves up to reign, and their reign was brief and full of tumult. When I looked again, they were already vanishing. The whole body of the eagle was burned, and the earth was exceedingly terrified.[13]

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12. *Ps.-Ezra* §6–7.

13. 2 Esd 12:1–2.

followed by his explanation of the significance of the two little wings, which specifies that they passed over to the head that was located *on the right side*:

> As for your seeing two little wings passing over to the head which was on the right side, this is the interpretation: It is these whom the Most High has kept for the eagle's end; this was the reign which was brief and full of tumult, as you have seen.[14]

Although *Ps.-Ezra* has reimagined and reworked 4 Ezra's vision in some ways—for example, one of the chicks later becomes a positive figure who is allied with the messianic lion's whelp—certain clear commonalities remain: the two chicks/ wings are associated with a decaying evil kingdom (the viper/eagle's head), they cross over to the right side, and their appearance is a symbol of the end of the evil kingdom and rise of the messianic lion/lion's whelp. Whereas in 4 Ezra the reason for the wings' crossing over to the right side is apparent (it specifies that they are joining the eagle's head that was on the right side, as opposed to the heads in the middle or on the left), in *Ps.-Ezra* the reason for the crossing over is unclear in the immediate context. This detail therefore is understood best as an example of the author maintaining a particular phrase and image drawn from 4 Ezra that, given the new context and reworking of the vision in *Ps.-Ezra*, becomes no longer immediately necessary or clear.

INTERPRETING GENESIS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS

Pseudo-Ezra explicitly names his vision as a fulfillment of one other biblical source, which he calls "the prophecy of Moses."[15] In context, the fulfillment of the prophecy of Moses is the appearance from the desert of the serpent with twelve great horns, and perhaps also the tearing out of those twelve horns by an angel. Keeping in

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14. 2 Esd 12:31–39.

15. *Ps.-Ezra* §3–4.

mind that this vision is meant to describe the "kingdom of the Ishmaelites," and then considering the content of prophecies that were commonly ascribed to Moses in ancient times, it is likely that Pseudo-Ezra alludes to Genesis 17. In this text, God establishes the covenant of circumcision with Abraham and his son Isaac, to whom Sarah has not yet given bith. Abraham's elder son, Ishmael, is not wholly ignored, however, for God declares, "as for Ishmael, I have heard you; I will bless him and make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation."[16] Traditionally, Ishmael was regarded as the forefather of the Arab tribes that would later join forces under Muhammad's leadership, thus, one common explanation among Christians for the rise of Arab rule was that it was nothing more than a fulfillment of the promise by God that he would make a great nation of Ishmael's descendants.[17] The explicit mention of the serpent's twelve great horns, corresponding to Ishmael's twelve princes, further bolsters Pseudo-Ezra's identification of serpent who rose from the desert with the Arab forces that had emerged from the deserts of Arabia.

QUOTING JESUS' "LITTLE APOCALYPSE" FROM THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The clearest example of quotation of biblical text is placed on the lips of the angel sent by God to deliver the apocalyptic vision to Ezra. After seeing the terror and destruction that is to occur during the last days of the Ishmaelites, Ezra is filled with fear and exclaims, "Who will be able to live[18] in that time?"[19] The angel promises Ezra that the faithful will survive and the wicked will be destroyed, and then

16. Gen 17:20.

17. For example, another common early Christian epithet for Arabs is ܗܓܪ̈ܝܐ or "Hagarenes," a reference to Ishmael's mother, Hagar.

18. or, "to be saved"

19. *Ps.-Ezra* §12.

launches into an eschatological prediction about the final end of time and its accompanying tribulations: the release of Gog and Magog, the appearance of the false messiah or antichrist, and the rise of the Son of Perdition. It is in this context that the angel declares, "woe to those who are pregnant or nursing at that time, because a tribulation will happen the likes of which has not occurred since the worlds were created."

This distinctive phrase is clearly meant as a recollection of the gospel text often known as Jesus's "Little Apocalypse." The episode appears in all three of the synoptic gospels, and the relevant passages are compared in both the Syriac of *Ps.-Ezra* and the Peshitta and an English translation below:[20]

Ps.-Ezra §12:

ܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܒ̈ܛܢܬܐ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡ̈ܝܢܩܢ ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܟܘܬܗ ܡܢ
ܕܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ.

> But woe to pregnant women and those who are nursing at that time, because a tribulation will happen the likes of which has not occurred since the worlds were created.
>
> Mark 13:17–19:

ܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܒܛܢܬܐ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܩܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ. ܨܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܪܘܩܝܟܘܢ ܒܣܬܘܐ
ܢܗܘܐ. ܓܝܪ ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܟܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܪܫܝܬ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܕܡ
ܠܗܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ.

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20. See Matt 24:15–28; Mark 13:14–23; Luke 21:20–24. Here and elsewhere in the thesis the Peshitta text is from the Antioch Bible Series text prepared by George Kiraz, which is drawn from the British & Foreign Bible Society edition of 1905. In the English translation presented here I am indebted to the translation of Jeff Childers of the same volumes, though I have at times tweaked his translation so as to make clearer in English the similarities and differences between *Ps.-Ezra* and the Peshitta text. See Jeff W. Childers and George A. Kiraz, *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translations: Mark* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012); Jeff W. Childers and George A. Kiraz, *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translations: Matthew* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012); and Jeff W. Childers and George A. Kiraz, *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translations: Luke* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013).

> But woe to pregnant women and those who are nursing in those days! Pray that your escape will not happen in winter, for in those days a tribulation will happen the likes of which has not occured since the beginning of the creation that God created until now, nor will ever happen again.

Matthew 24:19–21:

ܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܒܛܢܬܐ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܩܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ. ܨܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܥܪܘܩܝܟܘܢ ܒܣܬܘܐ

ܘܠܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ. ܬܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܝܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܥܕܡܐ

ܠܗܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ.

> But woe to pregnant women and those who are nursing in those days! Pray that your escape will not happen in winter or on the Sabbath. For then a great tribulation will happen, such as has not occured since the beginning of the world, nor will ever happen again.

Luke 21:23

ܘܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܛܢܢ ܘܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܩܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ

ܘܪܘܓܙܐ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ.

> But woe to pregnant women and those who are nursing in those days, for there will be a great tribulation on the earth and anger against this people.

Comparison of each of the synoptic gospels shows closest verbal correspondence between *Ps.-Ezra* and the accounts of Matthew and Mark, although, like Luke, Pseudo-Ezra omits the mention that the people pray that their flight does not come in winter or on the Sabbath.[21] Upon closer inspection, Pseudo-Ezra's quotation seems to synthesize elements from each of the synoptic gospels: Mark's mention that God created (ܒܪܐ, expressed indirectly using the passive ܐܬܒܪܝܘ in *Ps.-Ezra*), Matthew's use of word "worlds" (ܥܠܡ̈ܐ) to describe what was created, and the aforementioned omission, as in Luke, of comments about winter and Sabbath. Additionally, *Ps.-Ezra* introduces slight variations in his quotations that do not appear

21. This is an omission of Mark 13:18 or Matthew 24:19.

in any of the synoptic gospels, for example, using the phrase "at that time" (ܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ) rather than "in those days" (ܒܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ).

The "Little Apocalypse" reappears in the following section of *Ps.-Ezra*, in which the angel continues his description of the coming tribulation. After describing how the angel Michael will destroy Gog and Magog, he declares, "If these days were not shortened, no flesh would live."[22] Here the author recalls only the gospels of Matthew and Mark, since Luke does not record this saying:

Ps.-Ezra §13:

ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܕܐܬܟܪܝܘ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܠܒܣܪ

If these days were not shortened, no flesh would live.

Mark 13:20a:

ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܪܝ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ

If the Lord has not shortened those days, no flesh would live.

Matthew 24:22a:

ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܪܝܘ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ

If those days were not shortened, no flesh would live.

Here, Pseudo-Ezra's quotation is almost identical to Matthew's, changing only the demonstrative adjective from "those" (ܗܢܘܢ) to "these" (ܗܠܝܢ).[23] Taking these two quotations together, it is clear that Pseudo-Ezra intends to recall Jesus's "Little Apocalypse" in his own apocalyptic message. The appearance of harmonization of

22. or, "be saved;" *Ps.-Ezra* §13.

23. Note that this difference is only represented by Mingana 11; BnF 326, Sachau 131, and UTS 23 all support Matthew's reading of "those." This variant might be an example of scribes harmonizing *Ps.-Ezra* to the better known parallel in the gospels.

and slight variation from the standard Syriac text of the synoptic gospels in Pseudo-Ezra's quotation, however, makes it likely that Pseudo-Ezra did not cite directly from a gospel manuscript, but rather, quoted from memory.

ENGAGING THE IMAGES OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Revelation as a Source

Pseudo-Ezra's apocalyptic vision is ripe with imagery and phrases that parallel those found in the Christian apocalyptic text *par excellence*: the Book of Revelation. Because Revelation itself draws on earlier apocalyptic works, such as Daniel and Ezekiel, however, it is often difficult to ascertain precisely from where Pseudo-Ezra has received a particular image. Is his mention that "the four winds of heaven will be stirred up"[24] drawn from Revelation's image of four angels who hold back the four winds prior to judgment?[25] Or is it simply drawn from Daniel or another apocalyptic source?[26] When Pseudo-Ezra invokes the name of Gog and Magog in painting his landscape of eschatological terror, is he primarily indebted to Ezekiel or Revelation or perhaps even one of the many elaborations on the popular Alexander Legend that are extant in Syriac?[27]

The question of Pseudo-Ezra's knowledge and use of Revelation is complicated by questions of when and to what extent Revelation was known and read by Syriac-speaking Christians. Revelation was not considered "canonical" by ancient Syriac-speaking churches, and did not enjoy as wide a readership as other apocalyptic

24. *Ps.-Ezra* §10.

25. Rev 7:1.

26. Dan 7:2.

27. Rev 20; Ezek 38–39. The Alexander Legend appears in a number of Syriac apocalypses, but was perhaps first popularized by the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. See the discussion in chapter 1.

works such as Daniel or the Gospels. Nonetheless, there is reason to believe that Pseudo-Ezra could have had access to Revelation when writing his apocalypse, or at least had access to other, secondary apocalypses that introduced him to the images and vocabulary of Revelation.[28]

At least three apocalyptic images found in *Ps.-Ezra* seem to have connectios to images also found in Revelation. Of these, two certainly reached Pseudo-Ezra by means of a secondary apocalyptic source that interpreted and elaborated upon Revelation's image: the release of Gog and Magog from the mountains of the north,[29] and the slaughter of Enoch and Elijah by the antichrist.[30] The third image, that of four figures bound on and then released from the river Euphrates,[31] is one that is also found in the *Kitāb al-majāll*. It is noteworthy that *Ps.-Ezra* contains closer verbal correspondence to Revelation's description of the figures than the *Kitāb al-majāll*'s, a fact which might suggest *Ps.-Ezra*'s direct dependence on Revelation, or at least on another apocalyptic source that more closely mirrored Revelation than does the *Kitāb al-majāll*. This section will now turn to discussion of Pseudo-Ezra's adaptation of Revelation's image of four figures bound on the Euphrates so that it fit his own apocalyptic message.

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28. See the discussion in the section on "Provenance and Date" in the first chapter of this thesis.

29. Rev 20:7–10. The association of Gog and Magog with the mountains of the north originated in the Alexander Romance, which described how Alexander the Great locked them, along with a number of other unclean nations, behind a gate in the mountains; this tale was popularized in the Syriac tradition via *Pseudo-Methodius*. See the discussion in chapter 1.

30. Rev 11:3–9, where the descriptions of the two witnesses' miracles most closely corresponds to the miracles performed by Elijah and Moses. It is likely that the pairing of Enoch and Elijah, which emerged within the first few centuries of Christianity, became popular since the two men are the only biblical characters who were reported as being taken up to heaven without dying; their deaths were to thought to have been delayed by God so that they later could die as martyrs at the hands of the antichrist. See the discussion in chapter 1.

31. Rev 9:13–15.

Four Figures Bound on the Euphrates

Perhaps the most intriguing of Pseudo-Ezra's uses of Revelation is also the image that quotes, or perhaps more accurately, paraphrases, Revelation 9:13–15. This allusion occurs early in the apocalypse, just after the viper has appeared and "poured poison on all flesh," but before it has been attacked by the ravens or fled to Egypt. The Syriac text of *Ps.-Ezra*, along with an English translation, is shown below, followed by the relevant passage in Revelation.[32] For ease of comparison, the phrases of Revelation that bear most correspondence to *Ps.-Ezra* have been underlined in both the Syriac and the English.

Ps.-Ezra §6:

ܩܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ. ܢܫܬܪܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܣܝܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܢܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܦܪܬ. ܗܠܝܢ

ܕܡܛܝܒܝܢ ܕܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܢܚܪܒܘܢ ܘܐܫܬܪܝܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܪܘܒܐ ܪܒܐ.

> A voice from heaven was heard: 'Let those four kings who are bound on the great river Euphrates, those who are prepared to destroy one out of three people, be released.' They were released, and there was a great uproar.

Revelation 9:13b–15:

ܘܫܡܥܬ ܩܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܩܪܢܬܗ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܫܬܝܬܝܐ

ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܝܦܘܪܐ: ܫܪܝ ܠܐܪܒܥܐ ܡܠܐܟܝܢ ܕܐܣܝܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܢܗܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܦܪܬ. ܘܐܫܬܪܝܘ ܐܪܒܥܐ

ܡܠܐܟܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܛܝܒܝܢ ܠܫܥܬܐ ܘܠܝܘܡܐ ܘܠܝܪܚܐ ܘܠܫܢܬܐ ܕܢܩܛܠܘܢ ܬܘܠܬ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ.

> I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar which is before God that said to the sixth angel that had the trumpet: "Release the four angels who are bound on the great river Euphrates." And the four angels were released, who are

32. The Syriac presented here is from the Antioch Bible Series text prepared by George Kiraz, which is drawn from the British & Foreign Bible Society edition of 1905. In the English translation presented here I am indebted to the translation of Jerome Lund in the same volume, though I have at times tweaked his translation so as to make clearer in English the similarities and differences between *Ps.-Ezra* and the Peshitta text. See Jerome Lund and George A. Kiraz, *The Syriac Bible with English Translation: Revelation* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014).

prepared, for an hour, and a day, and a month, and year, to kill a third of humankind,

Several commonalities between the two apocalypses can be identified: (1) both authors describe a commanding voice; for Pseudo-Ezra the voice is simply described as coming from heaven, though the author of Revelation elaborates on the precise provenance of the voice as coming from the golden altar; (2) both voices call for the release of four figures who are bound on the great river Euphrates, though Pseudo-Ezra names these figures as kings in contrast to Revelation's angels, a point that will be discussed in greater detail below; and (3) the four figures are described as having been prepared to destroy or kill a third of humankind.

Although there is a distinct correlation between the content of the two texts, the vocabulary and syntax of *Ps.-Ezra* varies enough from that of Revelation as to make it unlikely that the author is citing his source directly from a manuscript of Revelation. Rather, the small changes in details—the simplification of the location of the voice, the change in verbal form of the command, the choice of a different grammatical construction for expressing the idea of "a third," and the use of the term "destroy" rather than "kill"—make it likely that Pseudo-Ezra is recalling the image from memory or has encountered it in a third-party source that itself paraphrased Revelation.

In addition, the change from "angels" (ܡܠܐ̈ܟܐ) to "kings"(ܡܠܟ̈ܐ) in this context is particularly striking.[33] This is a variant that must have been introduced in Syriac, where the alteration required only the loss of a single alaph. Indeed, some

33. Indeed, this distinctive change prompted Iselin to propose that *Ps.-Ezra* offered evidence of an Aramaic Vorlage upon which post Pseudo-Ezra and the author of Revelation drew, see Iselin, "Apocalyptische Studien," 60–64. This stance was refuted by Chabot, "L'Apocalypse d'Esdras," 242–50, 333–46.

scribes displayed the orthographic tendency to omit the alaph in ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ on a regular basis, a tendency that could have led to Pseudo-Ezra's confusion about the correct term if it appeared in his copy of Revelation.[34] In any case, I argue on two grounds that Pseudo-Ezra intended for his apocalypse to depict four kings, and that this reading is not simply the result of scribal error in the transmission of *Ps.-Ezra*: (1) the term "kings" better fits Pseudo-Ezra's own historical context , and (2) the term "kings" rather than "angels" avoids dissonance with Pseudo-Ezra's other use of angelic imagery within his apocalyptic vision.

As was discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis, apocalypses are products of individuals and preserved within communities, and thus reflect the historical context in which they were composed. What historical circumstances, then, might have led Pseudo-Ezra to adopt an apocalyptic image from the book of Revelation, a work that did not enjoy the same long legacy of use and esteem within the Syriac tradition as, say, Daniel, Ezekiel, or the Gospels? I would propose that the image of four kings was one that particularly resonated with the author's own historical reality especially because the kings hailed from the Euphrates river. If, as I have previously suggested, *Ps.-Ezra* was written around the time of the rise of the Abbasid caliphate, in the context of either the Abbasid Revolution or Civil War, the author would have been well aware that the Abbasid caliphs reigned from Baghdad, a city located between the Tigris and Euphrates river. It is not difficult to imagine that Pseudo-Ezra's own context influenced him to read Revelation 9:13–15 as a clear prophecy of the rise of Abbasid rule. Although this connection could have been made

34. I do want to note that in other places within *Ps.-Ezra* the term "angels" appears in full, with the alaph, as ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ. In other words, the scribes who produced the manuscripts used in the edition make a distinction between "kings" and "angels," and so this variant cannot be dismissed as simply a mattter of orthography on the part of the scribes who preserved *Ps.-Ezra*.

were the four figures "angels," the term "kings" naturally invites the reader to identify the figures as historical, temporaral characters rather than divine or eschatological ones.

It is precisely this temporaral vs. divine connotation of the two terms that leads to my second argument: Pseudo-Ezra's use of the term "kings" for these four figures avoids dissonance with his other use of angelic imagery within his eschatological vision. The use of "kings" clarifies that these four figures will be human entities rather than angelic or divine agents, a significant distinction for the author, since in his text the term "angel" is reserved for those apocalyptic figures that act in divine intervention and retribution against evil-doers, typically Arabs, or on behalf of God's people. Pseudo-Ezra describes a total of five angelic beings in his apocalypse:

(1) "A young man... wearing white clothing (whom Pseudo-Ezra later explicitly calls an angel), who is sent from God to reveal to Ezra a vision about "the end times of the kingdom of the Ishmaelites,"[35]

(2) "An angel clothed in a flame of fire, who descended from heaven and tore the twelve great horns from the serpent's head;"[36] here the serpent represents the kingdom of the Ishmaelites,

(3) An angel sent from God to avenge the faithful who have been oppressed and destroy "the rebellious seed" with the sword,[37]

(4) The angel Michael, who destroys the house of Gog and Magog and their Ishmaelite allies with fire,[38] and,

35. *Ps.-Ezra* §2; 4.

36. *Ps.-Ezra* §3.

37. *Ps.-Ezra* §12.

38. *Ps.-Ezra* §13.

(5) Fearsome angels sent to cast the Son of Perdition into the Gehenna of fire.[39]

Comparison of these five angelic beings and their roles shows that Pseudo-Ezra's use of the term "angel" is consistent: angels are the messengers of God who execute his judgment against evil-doers (especially Ishmaelites or Arabs). Since Pseudo-Ezra identifies the four figures bound on the Euphrates as Arab leaders who oppress the people of God (and therefore identifies them as the very people God normally sends angels to destroy), it would make little sense for him to call the Arab leaders "angels" as well. Whether Pseudo-Ezra introduced the change from "angels" to "kings" himself by accidental misreading or intentional alteration of Revelation, or he faithfully represented the source from which he learned of the image of the four figures bound on the Euphrates, the end result is the same: "kings" better suits the author's purposes and message than does "angels," which would represent a departure from Pseudo-Ezra's usual use of the term "angels" as a descriptor of those who intervene on behalf of God to punish Arabs rather than as a description of the Arab rulers themselves.

CONCLUSION

The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra* is a fascinating text that is, to the modern reader, rather mysterious at times because it lacks definitive historical markers within the text that would make clear when, about whom, and by whom it was composed. Because all extant witnesses are of late date, I suspect that the most fruitful research and discussion of the work's context of composition will come from comparative studies of *Ps.-Ezra* with other apocalyptic texts. I'm particularly hopeful that study of the Book of the Rolls or *Kitāb al-majāll*, which currently lacks a critical edition and

39. *Ps.-Ezra* §14.

full translation, or any sort of comprehensive study, can offer insight to the origins of *Ps.-Ezra*, since these two texts seem share the most similarities of any of the Christian apocalyptic literature considered in this thesis.

Even if its origins remain obscure, *Ps.-Ezra* stands as another fascinating example of the way that biblical stories take on a life and character that is beyond the biblical text itself, of the way that sacred stories inform Christians' worldviews, and in doing so, display remarkable elasticity so that they can be reinterpreted in ways that fit new contexts and historical realities. Apocalypse in particular has proven an extraordinarily resilient genre that Christians living in any number of times and places have turned to in order to make sense of the world and their place in it.

In his own use of biblical apocalypse, Pseudo-Ezra feels free to pick, choose, rework, and alter his sources in such a way that they better fit his own historical context, while still keeping the distinctive language and stories that evoke the biblical text and its prophetic authority. In his revisions, Pseudo-Ezra shows knowledge of earlier interpretations of biblical apocalypses, a fact that suggests that among ancient Christian writers, a high level of borrowing, whether through written texts or oral, perhaps exegetical or homiletical, elaborations on texts, occured. It is my hope that this edition, translation, and brief introduction to *Ps.-Ezra* will make the text more accessible to scholars and students, and that by studying little-known literary productions like *Ps.-Ezra*, which crystallize a single apocalyptic imagination that represents one author living in particular time and place, we can continue to draw comparisons between them and correlate trends as to how Christians read and remembered and reinterpreted their sacred texts in light of their lived experience under Arab rule.

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p. 52

The Book of the Giants

By W. B. HENNING

{skip to translations}

ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, the Huguenot author of one of the best books ever written on Manichæism (*Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manicheïsme*, Amsterdam, 1734, 1739), was the one to make the only sound suggestions on the sources used by Mani for the compilation of his *Book of the Giants:* the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Γραφὴ τῶν Γιγάντων* which Kenan, a great-grandson of Noah, discovered lying in a field (vol. i, 429, n. 6). The latter work has been identified by Alfaric (*Les Écritures Manichéennes*, ii, 32) with a book whose contents are briefly indicated in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, p. 54, ll. 298-9 (ed. Dobschütz): *Liber de Ogia*[1] *nomine gigante qui post diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnasse perhibetur apocryphus*. Of the *Book of Enoch*, which was composed in the Hebrew language in the second century B.C., only an Ethiopic version, a few Greek fragments, and some excerpts made by the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus survive.[2] Mani, who could hardly read the Hebrew, must have used an Aramaic edition based directly on the Hebrew text (see below, *Šhmyz'd*). He quotes mainly from the first part, which Georgius S. (p. 45, Fl.-R.) calls "the first book of Enoch on the Egrēgoroi", but shows himself acquainted also with the subsequent chapters.[3]

It is noteworthy that Mani, who was brought up and spent most of his life in a province of the Persian empire, and whose mother belonged to a famous Parthian family,[4] did not make any use of the Iranian mythological tradition. There can no longer be any doubt that the Iranian names of *Sām*, *Narīmān*, etc., that appear in the Persian and Sogdian versions of the *Book of the Giants*, did not figure in the original edition, written by Mani in the Syriac language.[5] His disciples, who, it is well known, were in the habit of p. 53 translating every word of a text (including the names of months, deities, etc.), seen fit also to "translate" the names of the giants. Thus *Sām* is merely the translation of *Ohya*. However, they kept some of the original names (e.g. *Šhmyz'd*), and adapted some others (e.g. *Wrwgd'd*).[1]

The story of the fallen angels and their giant sons needed little adaptation to be fitted into Mani's system. Of course, the heavenly origin of the *B'nē-hā-Elōhīm*[2] of Genesis vi, 2, 4, the *Ἐγρήγοροι*, of the *Book of Enoch*, did not square with Mani's conviction that no evil could come from good. Therefore he transformed them into "demons", namely those demons that when the world was being constructed had been imprisoned in the skies under the supervision of the *Rex Honoris*. They rebelled and were recaptured, but two hundred of them escaped to the earth. Mani also used the term *Ἐγρήγοροι* (preserved in Coptic, see texts L, M, P, S), or rather *'yr* in Aramaic (once in a Middle Persian fragment, text D), but in Eastern sources they are mostly referred to as "demons" (Pers. *dyw'n*, Parth. *dyw'n* in T 6, Sogd. *δywt* in G, H 17, K 7, *cytyt* in E, *δywt ZY ykšyšt* in H. 16).

The puzzling clause of Genesis vi, 4: "The Nephilim were on the earth those days," was interpreted by Mani in this fashion: "when the Egrēgoroi descended, the animals, or proto-animals, were already in existence." Mani confused *nəfīlīm* with *nefāl* (*näfäl*) = *ἔκτρωμα*: see Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, 43 (1889), 536, who rightly referred to the formula of abjuration (*P.Gr.*, i, 1461) where the giants and the "abortions" are mentioned in one breath. In Manichæan parlance, "abortion" (cf. also MPers. *'bg'ng*, Sogd. *pš'q*) is synonymous with "animal".

We are therefore left with the *Gibbōrīm*, understood by Mani[3] as "giants". He probably used the equivalent Syriac word, *gabbārē* (*gnbr'*), which his disciples translated as *γίγαντες*, *al-ǰabābirah* in Arabic, MPers. and Parthian *k'w'n*, Sogd. *kwyšt* = *kawišt* (Sing. *qwy*, *kw'y* = *kawi*); cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 30. In Sasanian times the words derived from the Avestan *Kavi* were generally understood as "giant"; see Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 214, and Polotsky in *Mir.Man.*, iii, 901. Thus MPers. Parth. *k'w* is freely used in Manichæan texts, e.g. of the Father of Light (M 40), of solar deities, of leading Manichæans (both in *Mir.Man.*, iii), also of the First Man and Ahriman[4] with reference to the First Battle (which therefore could have been described as a *γιγαντομαχία*).[5] p. 54 However, the word *k'w* is applied only to men and such beings as are imagined anthropomorphous. Where one would translate *γίγας* as *monster*, the Iranian equivalent is *mzn*, *Mazan*. Thus the *γίγας τῆς θαλάσσης* (*Kephalaia*, 113 and notes), whose breathing operations are responsible for ebb and flow (cf. also Beruni, *India*, 203, 10-11), is called *Mzn 'y* (*z*)*rhyg*[1] in Middle Persian (M 99, V 22-3). Accordingly, MPers. *mzn* (adj.[2] and noun) and the related words, Pahl. *măzan*, *māzanīg*, Sogd. *mzny'n δyw*, Av. *māzainya-*,[3] should be rendered as "monster", or "gigantic, monstrous".

The Egrēgoroi and their giant progeny are fought and vanquished by four archangels: Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istrael (*Enoch*, 10, 1; or: Uriel, or: Fanuel). In the *Book of the Giants* they are called "the four angels". They are frequently invoked by name in Manichæan prayers (e.g. M 4 d 19, f 6; M 20), as *Rwp'yl*, *Myx'yl*, *Gbr'yl*, and *Sr'yl* (= Istrael).

There were no details about individual feats of the giants in the *Book of Enoch*. Mani filled the gap with the help of the above-mentioned *Liber de Ogia nomine gigante*. This *Ogias* has been identified with *Og of Bashan*,[4] who according to late sources lived five thousand years and managed to survive the Deluge, thanks to his giant size.[5] But possibly stories that primarily appertained to *Ogias* were transferred to the better known *Og*, owing to the resemblance of their names. The name of *Ogias* is *'why'* (*'wḥy'*) = *Ohyă* (*Oḥyā*) in the Manichæan fragments, and this spelling is presumably more correct than that of *Ogias*. *Og* (*'wg*) indubitably would appear as *'wg* (or: *'wg*). Since Mani took *'why'* from an Aramaic text, the ending of *Ogias* cannot be regarded as a Greek addition.

Ogias fought with a *draco*, and so did Ohya; his enemy was the Leviathan (text N). Ohya and his brother Ahya were the sons of *Šhmyzˈd* (text H), i.e. *Στμιαζᾶς*, the chief of the Egrēgoroi in the *Book of Enoch*; hence, *Στμιαζᾶς* is transcription of *šhm-* (or *šḥm* ?). In the Persian edition of the *Kawān* Ohya and Ahya are "translated" as *Sām* and *Narīmān*, but the original names are kept in one passage (A 60). The translator did well to choose Sām-Krsāsp, both with regard to Ogias' longevity (Sām is one of the "Immortals") and to his fight with the dragon (Sām is a famous dragon-killer). In the Sogdian p. 55 fragments the name of Sām is spelt *Sˈhm* = *Sāhm*, as it is often in Pahlavi (*Sˈhm*[1] beside *Sˈm*); Ṭabari has *Shm*,[2] cf. Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 130. Sāhm's brother is *Pāt-Sāhm*. This name may have been invented by the Sogdian translator in order to keep the names of the brothers resembling each other. Narīmān was evidently not known in Sogdiana as a brother of Sām. According to the *Book of the Giants*, the main preoccupation of Sām-Sāhm was his quarrel the giant *Māhawai*,[3] the son of *Virōgdād*, who was one of the twenty ers of the Egrēgoroi.

The Book of the Giants was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uygur from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text.[4] The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narīmān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A-G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichæan authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichæan writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J-T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vēžan* = *Airyana Vaējah*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation.[5] The "Kögmän mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in thirty-six towns (text S). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed p. 56 (in Sogdiana) to *thirty-two* (text G, 22): "the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of *thirty-two* cities of devas" (Eitel, *Handb. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastriṃśat*).

TEXTS

(bcd)	=	damaged letters, or uncertain readings.
[bcd]	=	suggested restorations of missing letters.
. . .	=	visible, but illegible letters.
[. . .]	=	estimated number of missing letters.
[ ]	=	a lacuna of undetermined extent.
(84)]	=	same, at the beginning of a line.
[(85	=	same, at the end of a line.[1]

In the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

FRAGMENTS OF THE KAWĀN

A. Middle-Persian

M 101, *a* to *n*, and M 911, fifteen fragments of a book, throughout small pieces from the centre of the pages. It has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. On purely technical grounds (size of the fragments, appearance of the margins, relative position of tears, stains, etc.), I at first assumed the following sequence: l-j-k-g-i-c-e-b-h-f-a-d-m-M 911-n. Being unable to estimate the cogency of these technical reasons now, because of the absence of any photographic material, I have decided to change the order of the first six fragments in the following way: c-j-l-k-g-i, in view of their contents.[2] Unfortunately we do not know in what order Mani had told the story of the giants. The task of finding the original order is made still more difficult by the fact that besides the *Kawān* the book contained one or two more treatises, namely: (1) Parables referring to the Hearers, and possibly (2) a discourse on the Five Elements (here (1) = lines 160 to the end, and (2) = lines 112-159). The only fragments that undoubtedly belonged to the *Kawān* are c-j-l-k-g-i, while the position of the fragments e-b-h is particularly doubtful. It must be borne in mind that whole folios may be missing between apparently successive pages. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself, all the fragments (including the parables) are published here. The text is based on a copy I made nearly ten years ago (referred to in the notes as: Copy); a revision is not possible under the present circumstances.

p. 60

Translation

(*Frg. c*) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: "Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died." Then

Shahmīzād said to Sām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (?)." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Shahmīzād said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands.1 For one of thousands . . . .". Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place he might escape (1) and . . .2

(*Frg. j*) . . . Virōgdād . . . Hōbābīš 3 robbed Ahr . . . 4 of -naxtag,5 his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other.6 Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag.7 To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (*or*: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narīmān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .8

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(*Frg. l*) . . . Enoch,1 the apostle, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace.2 [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed.3 You shall see the destruction of your children.4 ruling for a hundred and twenty5 [years] . . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?),6 gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair7 . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?)8 of water (?) . . . and their oil shall be 9 . . .

(*Frg. k*) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?).10 Not the . . . eagle, but his wings.11 Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers12 it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

(*Frg. g*) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?) 13 in the skies but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud, p. 62 but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . ., but the man that sent him".1 Thereupon Narīmān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived 2 in sin and evil deeds, when 3 . . .

(*Frg. i*) 4 . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous 5 . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone 6 . . . And the angels veiled 7 (*or:* covered, *or:* protected, *or:* moved out of sight) Enoch. *Electae et auditrices* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage.8 Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians 9 to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(*Frg. e*) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (*or:* shuts, fastens) and looses (*or:* opens, detaches) . . . . who from the seeds of . . . . and serves the king . . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125) p. 63 . . . the Pious gave . . . ? . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . (130) killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

(*Frg. b*) . . . various colours that by . . . and bile. If. . . . from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . (146) . . . imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves,1 [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= *Āz*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over 2 (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames 3 . . . ? . . .,4 over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrwān ?], in each epoch,5 sends apostles: Šīt[īl, Zarathushtra,] Buddha, Christ, . . .

(*Frg. h*) . . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) . . . On the Hearers

. . . we receive . . . from Mani, the Lord, . . . the Five Commandments to . . . the Three Seals . . . (164) . . . living . . . profession . . . and wisdom . . . moon. Rest from the power (*or*: deceit) . . . own. And keep measured the mixture (?) . . . trees and wells, in two . . . (170) water, and fruit, milk, . . . he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves 6 . . .

(*Frg. f*) . . . much profit. Like a farmer . . . who sows seed . . in many 7 . . . The Hearer who . . . knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) 8 *frōšag* (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not . . . The part that ruin . . . at first heavy. Like . . . first . . . is honoured . . . might shine . . . (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches (a position of) great p. 64 honour.1 In the body of the Elect the (food given to to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a . . . that by fire and wind . . . beautiful clothes on a clean body . . . turn . . .

(*Frg. a*) . . . witness . . . fruit . . . (200) . . . tree . . . like firewood . . . like a grain (?) . . . radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea] 2: the towing-line 3 (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the . . ., the . . . is the ?al]ms, the tower is [the . . . ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. . . . . . . (214) . . . The Hearer . . . is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] . . . fruitless . . . and the Hearers . . . fruit that . . . (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, . . ., seed. They became partners . . . they reap and . . . The Hearer . . . like . . .

(*Frg. d*) . . . an image (?) of the king, cast of gold . . . (230) . . . the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his . . . 4 to a . . . man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church,5 is like . . . pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to . . . learn . . . to . . . father, pledge . . . (240) . . . Hearer. Again, the Hearer . . . is like . . . . stumble . . . is purified. To . . . the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (*or*: Roman) who . . . infantrist, one shoe . . . who, however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed 6 . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

(*Frg. m*) . . . (250) . . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . ., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy [killed] all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . (258) . . . a well. One [on the shore of] p. 65 the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].1 He that is in the boat. . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . ? . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M* 911) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. n*) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

B. Uygur

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 23. Bang, *Muséon*, xliv, 13-17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*orḍu*) without increasing (? *ašïlmatïn* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . " . . for the closed 2 door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . ., with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmän mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

C. Sogdian

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

p. 66

(*First page*) . . . I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall . . . and kill [you]. Then . . . the other g[iants . . .

(*Second page*) . . . do not be afraid, for . . . [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him . . . I myself shall damage . . . Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], . . . was satisfied . . .

D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

. . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . . and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi (*'yr*), and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .

E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . [when] they saw the apostle, . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid.1 Then . . .

(*Second page*) . . . not to . . . Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle 2: If . . . . by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed ?], my lord, why ? . . . . you have . . . and weighty injunction 3 . . .

F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.4

p. 67

(*Col. A*) . . . poverty . . . [those who] harassed 1 the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons 2 of ruin in those crevices and . . . .

(*Col. B*) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would this false power eternally.3 You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(*Col. C*) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on *your* account, so that *you* could see us, nor thus . . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . ., but . . .

p. 68

(*Col. D*) . . . sinners . . . . . is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self,1 confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ers of the Living. . . ., who their . . .

(*Col. E*) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. . . . . . blaze . . . . souls that . . .

(*Col. F*) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly 2 (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that . . . .

G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a *wyδβ'γ cn pš'qt̲ δywtyy* "Discourse on the Nephīlīm-demons"). Head-lines: *R: pš'n prβ'r* 3 ". . . pronouncement", *V: iv fryštyt δn CC* "The four angels with the two hundred [demons . . . ".

p. 69

. . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men 3 and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men 4 from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them . . . . the giants . . . . were sons . . . with each other in bodily union . . . . with each other self- . . . . and the . . . . that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them 5 from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.6 And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (*or*: were) . . . . in the first arts and crafts.7 (30) . . . . they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone 8 . . . .

Excerpts

H. Sogdian

T ii S 20. Sogdian script.9 Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: *''γšt š'nš'y cnn 'β[c'n]pδ[yh w]prs* = Here begins: Šanšai's 10 question the world. Init. *rty tym ZK š'nš[y] [cnn] m'rm'ny rwγšny pr'yš[t'kwwhkw']prs' 'yn'k 'βc'npδ ZY kwZKh mrtγmyt* (*'skwht*) oo *ckn'c pyδ'r ''zy mrch 'zγyr'nt* = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (*saṃsāra*, Chin. *shêng-szŭ*).

p. 70

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth,—all that they began to teach (*hendiadys*) to the men.3 To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were borne by . . . . One of them he named "Ohya"; in Sogdian he is called "Sāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahya"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Sāhm". As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakṣas. (*Colophon*) Completed: (the chapter on) "The Coming of the two hundred Demons".

I. Sogdian

M 500 n. Small fragment.

. . . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (*or*: you ?) shall not die". The giant Sāhm and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in . . . . [they have no equal].

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

J. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 120, V ii 1-5: and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (belong, *or*: lead) to hell.

K. Sogdian

M 363.

p. 71

(*First page*) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . 2 fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high heaven, and the . . . .

(*Second page*) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins 3 are joined to sphere. (*Colophon*) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (*Head-line*) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . . you should care and . . .

L. Coptic

Kephalaia, 171$^{16-19}$: Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were . . . . and there descended those who were sent to confound them.

M. Coptic

Kephalaia, 92$^{24-31}$: Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is *ἔννοια*, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . ., when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .

N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled *'rdhng wyfr's* = Commentary on (Mani's opus) *Ārdahang*.4

p. 72

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (*lit.* comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (*or*: on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, *or*: died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .1

M 740. Another copy of this text.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian ? 2

Al-Ghaḍanfar (Abū Isḥāq Ibr. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrīzī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, Intr., p. xiv: The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

Keph. 93$^{23-28}$: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth,—on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.

Q. Coptic

Manich. Psalm-book, ed. Allberry, 142$^{7-9}$: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand . . . . Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

Man. Homil., ed. Polotsky, 68$^{18-19}$: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous . . . . the years of Enoch . . .

S. Coptic

Keph., 117$^{1-9}$: Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains. p. 73 Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget . . . . who live a

thousand years.

T. Parthian

291[a]. Order of pages unknown.

(*First page*) . . . mirror . . . image. . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was veiled (= moved out of sight).1 They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goads . . . . slaves,2 and waterless trees (?). Then . . . and imprisoned the demons. And of them . . . . seven and twelve.

(*Second page*) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty-3 . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp.4 . . . . in the palace he flamed forth (*or*: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . ., then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

APPENDIX

U. Parthian

T ii D 58. From the end (. . . *r š t*) of a hymn.

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryā]n-Waižan 5; p. 74 Wahman and Zarēl . . . . The sovereign's queen, Khudōs,1 received the Faith,2 the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

V. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . ? . .4 For so it is said: at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) . . . . the blessed denizens of the world 5 . . . all assembled 6 . . . all . . .

(*Second page*) . . . they offered five garlands in homage.7 And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that . . . . and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them . . . . And acclamations 8 . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

Footnotes

p. 52

1 Numerous variants (p. 126, Dobschütz), e.g. *de ogiae, de oggie, diogiae, diogine, diogenes, de ozia, de ugia, de ugica, de ogiga, de eugia, de uegia, de eugenia,* etc. In Migne's *Patrologia Latina* the text is in vol. 59, 162-3.

2 See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 2nd ed., 1912. For the Greek fragments (and Georgius S.) the edition by Flemming and Radermacher (= *Fl.-R.*) is quoted here. For Mani's use of the Enoch literature see my papers in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27-32, and in *ZDMG.*, 90, 2-4.

3 See below A 86-94, and compare G 19-21 with *Enoch* 67, 4, and G 38 with *Enoch* 17, 1; 21, 7; 54, 6; 67, 4-13. On chaps. 72 sqq. see *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 32.

4 Namely the *Kamsarakan-k‘* (mentioned often in the Armenian history of the fourth century) who claimed descent from the royal house of the Arsacids. This is clear from the Chinese-Manichæan text that preceded the *Fragment Pelliot*, now printed in the Taishô Tripiṭaka as No. 2141a, vol. 54, p. 1280A, but hitherto untranslated: "He was born in the country of Sulin (= Babylonia), in the royal abode of *B‘uât-tiei* (= *Patī-g*), by his wife *Muân-i̯äm* (= *Maryam*) of the family of *Ki̯əm-sât-g‘i̯ɒn* (= *Kamsar*(*a*)*gān*)." The name Κάρασσα in the Byzantine formula of abjuration (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, i, 1468) may be corrupted from *Kamsar-*. Thus there is a grain of truth in the assertion in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 327, 31, that Mani's mother had belonged to the Arsacid house; ibid., *Maryam* (ed, *marmaryam*) is given as one of her names.—It is not proposed to discuss the origin of Mani's father here.

5 I have abandoned my earlier opinion on this point (*ZDMG.*, 90, 4) which was based on insufficient material. The important Sogdian fragment, text H, was not then known to me.

p. 53

1 See *BSOS.*, viii, 583; *ZDMG.*, 90, 4. [Cf. also Bal. *girōk*, Geiger, No.107.]

2 Cf. also Parthian *bgpwhr'n*, Sogd. *βγpšyt*, lit. "sons of God" = angels (also fem. Sogd. *βγpwryšt*). Thus *bgpwhr* has a double meaning in Parthian, it being (Sogd. *βγpwr*) also the translation of Chin. *T‘ien-tzŭ*, or rather of Skt. *devaputra*.

3 Herein he differed from the common interpretation of the passage (Nephilim = giants), shared also by the authors of the *Book of Enoch*.

4 M 41: *'br q'rc'r 'wṯ zmbg ‘stft cy 'whrmyzdbg qyrd 'd dywn: dwq'wn 'wṯ dwnywn*.

5 This word, in the anti-Manichæan book by Alexander Lycopolitanus, p. 8, 10, ed. Brinkmann, refers neither to the Manich. "First Battle", nor to Mani's *Book of the Giants*, as Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 3; ii, 160 sq., erroneously states. Cumont goes so far as to say that in the quoted passage Alexander had given a summary of Mani's work, and Benveniste, *MO.*, xxvi, 213, has repeated this statement. In fact, Alexander says that experts in Greek mythology might quote, from p. 54 the Greek poets, the *Greek γιγαντομαχία*, as a *parallel* to the Manich. doctrine of the rising by the Hyle against God. In ch. 25 (p. 37, 13 sqq.) Alexander explains that such poetical fables about giants could not be regarded as a satisfactory parallel, because they were myths and meant to be understood as allegories. He then (37, 17) quotes the story of *Genesis* vi, 2-4, which he provides with an allegorical explanation. But he ascribes it to the *History of the Jews* without even mentioning the *Book of the Giants*. This shows conclusively that he had no knowledge of Mani's book.

p. 54

1 Jackson, *Researches*, 37, 67 sq., has "poisonous mass"; cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 752.

2 Hence the comparative *mzndr* (e.g. *Mir.Man.*, i) and the superlative Pahl. *măzan-tum* (e.g. *Dd.*, p. 118, 12 ed. Anklesaria).

3 Clearly to be derived from Av. *mazan-* "greatness". Cf. also Jackson, loc. cit., on *mzn*. Hence, the first part of the name of *Māzandarān* probably = "gigantic".

4 Thus Dobschütz, *Decret. Gelas.*, p. 305.

5 Dobschütz, loc. cit., who quotes Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr.*, 799 sq., and Migne, *Dict. des apocr.*, ii, 649, 1295.

p. 55

1 For example, *Men.Khr.*, 68, 12; 69, 12, ed. Andreas; *Pahl. Yasna*, 9, 10 (p. 71, 19).

2 *Shm*, of course, transcribes *S'hm*, not *S'm*.

3 MPers. *m'hwy* A 7, with suff. *m'hwy-c* A 19, Sogd. *m'h'wy* C 15 (= *Wrogdad oγlï* in B). Hardly = *Māhōi* (as suggested *ZDMG.*, 90, 4), for the ending *-ōi* was pronounced *-ōi* also in the third century (cf. e.g. *wyrwd* = *Wērōi* in the inscription of Shapur, line 34). Furthermore, there was no Māhōi among the heroes of the Iranian epos (M. is well known as the name of the governor of Marv at the time of the last Yezdegerd). More likely *Māhawai* was a non-Iranian name and figured already in the Aramaic edition of the *Kawān*; it may have been adapted to Persian. Cf. *Mḥwyʾl*, Genesis, iv, 18 ?

4 But see *Mir.Man.*, iii, 858 (b 134 sqq.).

5 The children of the Egrēgoroi share with the inhabitants of Airyana Vaējah the distinction of being regarded as the inventors (or first users) of the arts and crafts. For the spelling of *Aryān-Vēžan* see also Appendix, text U. It is not clear whether *Yima* (text V) had been given a place in the Sogdian *Kawān*. *Ymyẖ*, i.e. *Imi*, is the correct Sogdian form of the name.

p. 56

1 This system of notation has been used also in my book *Sogdica*, and in my paper in *BSOS.*, X, pp. 941 sqq. The various interpunction marks are uniformly represented by oo here.

2 But possibly *Frg. i* should occupy the first place; see below, notes on lines 95-111.

p. 60

1 = far less than he could say. Cf. *əž hazār yak, ŠGV.*, xiv, 2, *əž hazārą baewarą yak*, ibid., xvi, 1. Salemann, *Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, sér. viii, t. vi, No.* 6, 25, quoted Persian *az hazār yakī va az bisyār andakī*.

2 The texts *B* and *C* (Uygur and Sogdian) could be inserted here (or hereabouts).

3 Probably one of the twenty "decarchs" (*Enoch* 6, 7), viz. No. 4 *Kokabiel* = *Χωχαριήλ* in the Greek fragments, and *Χωβαβιήλ* apud Syncellus.

4 This also could be a "decarch", *Arakib-* *Ἀρακιήλ*, or *Aramiel-* *Ῥαμιήλ*.

5 Incomplete name.

6 Cf. Enoch 7, 5.

7 *txtg* might be appellative, = "a board". This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.

8 Evidently this is the dream that Enoch reads in the fragment M 625c (= Text D, below), which therefore probably belonged to the *Kawān*. It should be inserted here.

p. 61

1 Here (or hereabouts) the texts E and F should be entered, both of which deal with the judgment on the fallen angels. Text F approximates to *Enoch*, ch. 10 (pronouncement of the judgment by God), while Text E is nearer to *Enoch*, ch. 13 (communication of the judgment the angels by Enoch).

2 = *Enoch*, 12, 4-5: *εἰπὲ τοῖς ἐγρηγόροις . . . . οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν εἰρήνη*.

3 = *Enoch*, 13, 1-2: *ὁ δὲ Ἐνώχ . . . εἶπεν . . . οὐκ ἔσται σοι εἰρήνη κρίμα μέγα ἐξῆλθεν κατὰ σοῦ δῆσαί σε . . . περί . . . τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κτλ.*

4 = *Enoch*, 14, 6: *ἴδητε τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν.*

5 = Syncellus, pp. 44-5 Fl.-R. (*ad cap.* xvi), cf. *Genesis*, vi, 3. *ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ὑμῶν . . . . ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ ἔσονται πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν.*

6 In Jewish Persian *trwš* is "ram" (Lagarde, *Pers. Stud.*, 73), but in the dialect of Rīšahr nr. Bushire (according to the notes made on this dialect by Andreas about seventy years ago) tîštär is "a young she-goat". See *JRAS.*, 1942, 248. [*trwš*, Is. 1[11], Ier. 51[40] = Hebr. ʿattūd, probably understood as "he-goat".]

7 These lines evidently refer to the promise of peace and plenty that concludes the divine judgment in *Enoch*, 10. Hence = "each pair of those animals shall have two hundred young"?

8 *sārišn*: cf. *DkM.* 487*apu.*-488, 3, "when they provoke (*sārēn-*) him he does not get irritated (*sār-* and better, *sārih-*)." *GrBd.* 5, 8, "if you do not provoke, or instigate (*sārēn-*) a fight" (differently Nyberg, ii, 202). *sār-*, if from *sarəd-* (Skt. *śardh-*), is presumably the transitive to *syrydn* (from *srdhya-* according to Bartholomæ), cf. *NGGW.*, 1932, 215, n. 3.

9 Cf. *Enoch*, 10, 19: *ἡ ἄμπελος* [sic] *ἣν ἂν φυτεύσωσιν ποιήσουσιν πρόχους οἴνου χιλιάδας . . . . ἐλαίας . . . .*

10 *ty* or *ty*[*y*] = *tai* from *taih* from *taiγ* (cf. *GGA.*, 1935, 18), is ambiguous: (1) sharp instrument, (2) burning, glow, brightness, sunrays, etc. So also is *tyzyy*: (1) sharpness, (2) speed. One could also restore *ty*[*gr*].

11 Lit. "but the Wing(s) that (is, are) with him." The curious expression was chosen probably on account of the rhythm. For the same reason *byc* is employed in the place of *ʾnʾy* in line 73.

12 Lit. "beats".

13 *ʿystyh-* is obviously different from *ʿstyh-* (on which see *BSOS.*, IX, 81), and possibly derived from *ʿyst-*, cf. *zʾyh-* "to be born" from *zʾy-* "to be born". *ʿystyh-* is met with in *W.-L.*, ii, 558, p. 62 Ri 25, "blessed chief who stands (*ʿystyhyd* ?) as the sign of the Light Gods." Lentz has *ʿystyhnd*, but without having seen the manuscript one may presume a misreading (cf. ibid., R i I, Lentz: *pd*[. .]*dg*, but probably *pr*[*ʾd*]*ng*, R i 2, Lentz: *p.dʾr*, but probably *pyrʾr*, ibid., R ii 22, Lentz: *ʾn.z*, but probably *ʾʾwn*; for further cases see *OLZ.*, 1934, 10).

p. 62

1 St. John, 13, 18.

2 *phrystn: phryz-* = Parth. *prxʾštn: prxyz-* (cf. Av. *pārihaēza-*, Sogd. *pr-γyž*; Parth. *ʾxʾšt*: MPers. *ʾxyst*) is mostly "to stand around, to be about, *versari*", sometimes "to stand around for the purpose of looking after someone" = "serve, nurse, protect", often merely "to be". *phryz-* "to stand off, to abstain" is presumably different (*para-haēza-*).

3 The series of visions in which Enoch sees the arrangements for the punishment of the fallen angels, etc., and of "the kings and the Mighty" (chaps. xvii sqq.), follows immediately upon the announcement of the divine judgment. Hence, frgg. *k-g* must be placed after frg. I. Text G (below), which describes, the execution of the divine order, could perhaps be inserted here.

4 It is difficult to decide whether this fragment should be placed at the end or at the beginning of the book. The 400,000 Righteous may have perished when the Egrēgoroi descended to the earth. The "choosing of beautiful women", etc., strongly suggests the misbehaviour of the Egrēgoroi on their arrival upon the earth. The hard labour imposed on the Mesenians and other nations may be due to the insatiable needs of their giant progeny (*Enoch*, 7, 2 sqq.). On the other hand, "fire, naphtha, and brimstone" are only mentioned as the weapons with which the archangels overcame the Egrēgoroi, after a prolonged and heavy fight (Text G, 38), and the 400,000 Righteous may well have been the innocent non-combatant victims of this battle which may have had a demoralizing effect even upon the *electae*. To clear up the debris the archangels would naturally commandeer the men. We do not know whether Mani believed Enoch to have been moved out of sight (*ἐλήμφθη Enoch*, 12, 1) before the Egrēgoroi appeared, or before they were punished.

5 See texts R, and Q (where 4,000 instead of 400,000).

6 See *BSOS.*, X, 398.

7 See text T, line 3.

8 Cf. *Enoch*, 7, 1 ?

9 On *myšnʾygʾn* see *BSOS.*, X, 945, n. 2, on *hwjyg*, ibid., 944, n. 7.

p. 63

1 *py*(*y*) always = nerves, sinews (not "fat" as in *Mir.Man.*, i, etc., as alternative rendering). It is equivalent to *nerfs* (Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 32/3 [528/9]), Uygur *singir* (*T.M.*, iii, 18/9), Copt. = *Sehne* (*Keph.*, 96, etc.), Sogd. *pδδwʾ* (unpubl.). Cf. also *GrBd.*, 196, 4, where Goetze, *ZII.*, ii, 70, wrongly has "fat". MPers. *pai* = NPers. *pai* = Pashto *pala* = Sogd. *pδδwʾ* (not Av. *piθwā-*).

2 Hardly "to". Cf. Cumont, *Rech.*, i, 49, and my paper *NGGW.*, 1932, 224.

3 Or: over the Just God, sun and moon, the (*or*: his) two flames. The "Just God" is the Messenger (not = *bgr'štygr*, i.e. Zrwān).

4 Unintelligible. Lit. ". . . two flames given into the (*or*: his) hand".

5 Cf. *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, 27, and *BSOS.*, VIII, 585.

6 Cf. M 171, 32 sqq. *'wṯ 'st ngwš'g ky 'w'b*[*w*](*r*)[*s*] *m'nh'g ky hmywzrgwng 'štyd 'wš zmg 'wd t'b'n png ny ryzynd. 'wgwn hwyc hwrw'n ngwš'g pd pzd 'wd wšyd'x pd xw'r 'wṯ dyjw'r, kd dwr 'c wjydg'n 'wṯ kd nzd 'wwjydg'n, hwpd wxybyy frhyft 'wd ww'ryft 'škbyd*, etc. "And some Hearers are like unto the juniper which is ever green, and whose leaves are shed neither in summer nor in winter. So also the pious Hearer, in times of persecution and of free exercise (lit. open-mindedness), in good and bad days, under the eyes of the Elect or out of their sight,—he is constant in his charity and faith." Although the word *'brws* is incomplete in both passages, its restoration is practically a certainty.

7 Possibly the parable of St. Mark, iv, 3 sqq.

8 *BSOS.*, IX, 86.

p. 64

1 An elaborate version of this parable is found in M 221 R 9-23: *u nywš'g ky h'n rw'ng'n 'wwjyydg'n ''wryyd, ''wn m'n'g c'wn 'škwẖ myrd* [*ky*] *dwxt 'y nyq z'd hy, 'wd pd wryhryy 'wd 'gr'yyẖ 'byr hwcyyhr hy. 'wd h'n myrd 'y 'škwẖ 'whwcyhryyẖ 'y 'wy qnyycg xwyš dwxtr prg' myyẖ cy 'byr h*[*wcyhr*] [*h*]*y. 'wd 'wy dwxtr 'y hwcyhr* [ ]. *'wš 'wš'ẖ hndyym'n* [*qwnyẖ*] *'wd š'ẖ 'wy qnycg ps*[*ndyẖ* ?] *'wd pd znyy nš'yy. 'wš* [ ] *pws 'cyyš z'ynd*[ ] *pwsryn 'yš 'c 'w*[*y myrd 'y 'š*]*kwẖ dwxtr z*[*'d* (remainder missing), "The Hearer that brings alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charm and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter, for she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter, he presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her. The sons that were born to that poor man's daughter . . . .". Throughout the story the *parabolic optative* is in use.

2 For a similar parable see below, lines 258 sqq.

3 *zyyg*: this word, hitherto unexplained, occurs in the *Šābuhragān* (M 470 V 14, spelt *z'yg*). The sinners, roasting in hell, see the Righteous enjoying the New Paradise, and ask them: *. . . 'wm'n . . . z'yg 'wdst dyy*[*d 'wd*]*c 'yn swcyšn bwzy*[*d*] ". . . put a rope (*or*: life-line) in our hands and rescue us from this conflagration". Cf. Pahl., Pers. *zīg*, Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 68.

4 Possibly "weapons".

5 Cf. *Kephalaia*, 192/3.

6 Cf. *āhīd-gar-ān* below, F 43/4. For a discussion of *āhīd* see Zaehner; *BSOS.*, IX, 315 sq. Perhaps one can understand Av. *āhiti-* as "something that causes shame", hence "stain", etc. In that case *Anāhitā* could be compared to *Apsaras*. As regards NPers. *χīre*, mentioned by Zaehner, this may be connected with Sogd. *γyr'k* "foolish". The word in *DkM.*, 205[8], is not necessarily *hyrg-gwn* (thus Zaehner, ibid., 312). It might be *hyl-* = Pashto *xəṛ* "ashen, grey, etc."

p. 65

1 Cf. *supra*, lines 206-212.

2 On *boγuq* see Bang, loc. cit., p. 15, who has: "the door of the closed (locked) sun." Acc. to *Enoch*, chaps. 72 sqq., there are 180 doors in the east one of which is opened each morning for the sun to pass through (the idea, familiar also from Pahlavi books, is of Babylonian origin).

p. 66

1 Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 9, *ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ πάντες συνηγμένοι ἐκάθηντο πενθοῦντες κτλ.*

2 Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 4-6.

3 i.e. the divine order for their punishment (*Enoch*, 10).

4 [Other fragments of the same manuscript ("T i"), not however belonging to the *Kawān*, show that there were three columns to a page; hence, the correct order of the columns is: BCDEFA. Perhaps this text, too, is not a fragment of the *Kawān*.]

p. 67

1 *murzīdan* is "persecute, harass", not "show pity" as hitherto translated (*S* 9; *Mir.Man.*, ii; *W.-L.*, ii, 556, r 6).

2 *ghwd* (*Mir.Man.*, ii), *ghwdg'n* (*Mir.Man.*, i), *ghwyn-* (*ZII.*, ix, 183, 27): the derivation of these words from *vi* + *hū* by Schaeder, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, 492, n. 3, is based on the translation I had given; this translation, however, was based on nothing but this selfsame etymology.

3 *Enoch*, 10, 10.

p. 68

1 This passage in particular seems to show that the text is a fragment of the *Kawān*. There are two groups of sinners here: one is

(apparently) to be transferred from a preliminary fire-prison to the permanent hell at the end of the world (= the Egrēgoroi), the other consists of the *κίβδηλοι* (= Giants). The digression on their final fate in the great conflagration, under the eyes of the self-satisfied Righteous (cf. *Šābuhragān*, *M* 470 *V*), is well in keeping with Mani's discursive style.

2 *wẏ-* (different from Parth. *wẏ-* "to lead") = "to fly" or "to hunt" ? Cf. *wẏwg* "hunter" (*BBB*., where the translation should be changed), *Air. Wb.* 1356, 1407.

3 My pupil I. Gershevitch thinks *prβ'r* should be derived from *prβyr-*. It is true that "explanation, announcement" fits most passages better than "chariot"! Hence, Mahāyāna rendered as "the great announcement" ?

p. 69

3 *Enoch*, 17,1: *ὅταν θέλωσιν φαίνονται ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωποι. pts'δ*, cf. Skt. *praticchanda-*.

4 viz. the human associates of the demons, esp. the "daughters of men".

5 viz. the giants and their children ? Or merely the children of the giants ? See below, *S*. to Syncellus (*apud Fl.-R*., p. 25) there were three generations: (1) the giants, (2) the Nephīlīm, their sons, and (3) the Eliud, their grandsons. In the *Book of Enoch* the giants are killed, or rather incited to kill each other, before the Egrēgoroi are punished (ch. 10). Their spirits shall roam the world, until the day of judgement, as *πνεύματα πονηρά* (15,8-16,1).

6 This passage shows that the Sogdian text had been translated from either Middle-Persian or Parthian (MPers. *ky myhryzd 'c nwx 'wyš'n r'y wyn'rd bwd*, Parthian *ky w'd jywndg 'c nwx hwyn wsn'd wyr'št bwd*).

7 *'nδyk* probably = skill, art, ability (differently, *BBB*., p. 105).

8 See above, A 97.

9 Fairly cursive, difficult to read.

10 Probably by assimilation from *Šamšai* (= *Šimšai* in *Ezra*).

p. 70

3 See above, G 28-9, and below, text M. According to *Enoch*, ch. 8, the fallen angels imparted to mankind unholy arts and undesirable knowledge, e.g. astrology, cosmetics, soothsaying, metallurgy, production of weapons, even the art of writing (ch. 69, 9).

p. 71

2 Presumably the stellar demons.

3 Cf. *JRAS*. 1942, 232 n. 6.

4 If Mani's famous *Ertenk* was indeed a picture-book, this *Vifrās* may well have been the explanatory text published together with it; cf. Polotsky's suggestion, *Man. Hom*., 18, n. 1, on Mani's *εἰκών* (but see *BBB*., pp. 9 sq.). There is no reason for "identifying" the *Ertenk* with Mani's *Evangelion* (Schaeder, *Gnomon*, 9, 347). The fragments of the *Vifrās* (M 35, M 186, M 205, M 258, M 740, T ii K, T iii D 278) will be published at some other opportunity.

p. 72

1 The point is that A eats or kills B, after B had finished C. A man killed his brother over the treaaure, but was killed by a third party, etc. The Great Fire will devour the bodily fire which had swallowed the "exterior fire". Hence, Ohya killed Leviathan, but was killed by Raphael.

2 St. Wikander, *Vayu*, i [1941], 166, quotes my article on Enoch, and my paper in *ZDMG*., 1936, p. 4, and remarks that *eigentuemlicherweise* I had forgotten Al-Ghaḍanfar's notice on Sām and Narīmān. Less careless readers will find Ghaḍanfar's notice quoted *in extenso* on the page cited by Wikander.

p. 73

1 See above, A 98.

2 Cf. above. A 105 sqq.

3 Presumably the number of years supposed to have passed from the time of Enoch to the beginning of the reign of Vištāsp. The date for Enoch was probably calculated with the help of the Jewish world-era, or the mundane era of Alexandria (beginning 5493 B.C.), or by counting backwards from the Deluge. Taking 3237 B.C. (but 3251 B.C. according to the Coptic chronology) as the date of the Deluge (see S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS*., X, 122, under *c*), and adding 669 (= from Enoch's death to the Deluge according to the Hebrew Genesis), and subtracting the number in our fragment, 3,28[8 ?], from 3,237 + 669 = 3,906, the resulting date, 618 B.C., agrees perfectly with the traditional Zoroastrian date for the beginning of Vištāsp's reign (258 + 30 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia, 330 B.C.; cf. Taqizadeh, ibid., 127 sq.). From this one may infer that the famous date for Zoroaster: "258 years before Alexander" was known to Mani (Nyberg, *Rel. Alt. Iran*, 32 sqq., thinks it was invented towards the beginning of the fifth century).

4 The name is possibly to be restored in *Türk. Man*., iii, p. 39, No. 22, R 5, where *wy.t'δlp* was read by LeCoq.

5 In quoting this text in *ZDMG*., 90, p. 5, I took *wyjn* for what it seemed to be, viz. *Vēžan*. But as the appearance of *Bēžan* in

connection with Vištāspa is incomprehensible, I have now restored [*ʾryʾ*]*n-wyjn*, see above, G 26.

p. 74

1 For the spelling, cf. *kwdws apud* Theodore bar Kōnay.

2 *ʾmwst* = *amwast* = believer, faithful (not "sad" !), from *hmwd-*, Arm. *havat-*.

4 Hardly "food" or "banquet" ? Cf. Parth. *ʾwxrn*, etc. Also Budd. Sogd. *ʾwyr-* (*ʾwyʾr-*) Impf. *wʾyr-*, Inf. *ʾwyʾwrt*, etc.) "to abandon" (*SCE*., 562; *Dhuta*, 41; P2, 97, 219; P 7, 82; etc., appears to be of no use here.

5 Cf. NPers. *ǰehāniyān*.

6 Cf. *Vd*., ii, 20 ? But the Manich. fragment appears to describe the election of Yima to the sovereignty over the world.

7 Cf. *BSOS*., X, 102, n. 4.

8 *šyrnʾm* is a *karmadhāraya*, = acclamation(s), cheering, cf. e.g. *Rustam frg.* (P 13, 5) *prwRBkw šyrnʾm* "with loud cheers"; it should not be confused with the *bahuvrīhi šyrnʾmʾk* "well-reputed, famous" (e.g. Reichelt, ii, 68, 9; *šyrnʾmʾy*, ibid., 61, 2, cf. *BBB*., 91, on *a* 11). But *šyrnʾm* is also "(good) fame", see e.g. *V.J.*, 156, 168, 1139.

THE BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

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Introduction: This exists in Coptic only. There are several recessions of it: the most complete is in a manuscript recently acquired by the British Museum (Or. 6804), and translated first by W. E. Crum (Rustafjaell's light of Egypt, 1910) and then edited and translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt, 1913). Other fragments are in the publications of Lacau and Revillout. No full translation, but only an analysis, will be offered here. Five leaves are wanting at the beginning of the British Museum MS. The contents of these can be partly filled up from Lacau and Revillout. But in the first place a passage (p. 193, Budge) may be quoted which shows something of the setting of the book: 'Do not let this book come into the hand of any man who is an unbeliever and a heretic. Behold this is the seventh time that I have commanded thee, O my son Thaddaeus, concerning these mysteries. Reveal not thou them to any impure man, but keep them safely. ' We see that the book was addressed by Bartholomew to his son Thaddaeus, and this would no doubt have been the subject of some of the opening lines of the

Next we may place the two fragments, one about the child of Joseph of Arimathaea, the other about the cock raised to life, which have been already described as nos. 7 and 8 of the Coptic narratives of the Passion (pp. 149, 150). The order is uncertain. Then we have a piece which in Revillout is no. 12 (p. 165), in Lacauno. 3 (p. 34). Lacau gives it partly in two recessions.

Christ is on the cross, but his side has been pierced, and he is dead.

A man in the crowd named Ananias, of Bethlehem, rushes to the cross and embraces and salutes the body breast to breast, hand to hand, and denounces the Jews. A voice comes from the body of Jesus and blesses Ananias, promising him incorruption and the name of ' the first fruits of the immortal fruit '. The priests decide to stone Ananias: he utters words of exultation. The stoning produces no effect. They cast him into a furnace where he remains till Jesus has risen. At last they pierce him with a spear.

The Saviour takes his soul to heaven, and blesses him.

There can be but little matter lost between this and the opening of the British Museum MS., in the first lines of which the taking of Ananias' soul to heaven is mentioned.

We now take up the British Museum MS. as our basis. Certain passages of it are preserved in Paris fragments which partly overlap each other, and so three different

texts exist for some parts: but it will not be important for our purpose to note many of the variations.

Joseph of Arimathaea buried the body of Jesus. Death came into Amente (the underworld), asking who the new arrival was, for he detected a disturbance.

He came to the tomb of Jesus with his six sons in the form of serpents. Jesus lay there (it was the second day, i. e. the Saturday) with his face and head covered with napkins.

Death addressed his son the Pestilence, and described the commotion which had taken place in his domain. Then he spoke to the body of Jesus and asked, 'Who art thou?' Jesus removed the napkin that was on his face and looked in the face of Death and laughed at him. Death and his sons fled. Then they approached again, and the same thing happened. He addressed Jesus again at some length, suspecting, but not certain, who he was.

Then Jesus rose and mounted into the chariot of the Cherubim. He wrought havoc in Hell, breaking the doors, binding the demons Beliar and Melkir (cf. Melkira in the Ascension of Isaiah), and delivered Adam and the holy souls.

Then he turned to Judas Iscariot and uttered a long rebuke, and described the sufferings which he must endure. Thirty names of sins are given, which are the snakes which were sent to devour him.

Jesus rose from the dead, and Abbaton (Death) and Pestilence came back to Amente to protect it, but they found it wholly desolate, only three souls were left in it (those of Herod, Cain, and Judas, says the Paris MS.).

Meanwhile the angels were singing the hymn which the Seraphim sing at dawn on the Lord's day over his body and his blood.

Early in the morning of the Lord's day the women went to the tomb. They were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James whom Jesus delivered out of the hand of Satan, Salome who tempted him, Mary who ministered to him and Martha her sister, Joanna (al. Susanna) the wife of Chuza who had renounced the marriage bed, Berenice who was healed of an issue of blood in Capernaum, Lia (Leah) the widow whose son he raised at Nain, and the woman to whom he said, 'Thy sins which are many are forgiven thee'.

These were all in the garden of Philogenes, whose son Simeon Jesus healed when he came down from the Mount of Olives with the apostles (probably the lunatic boy at the Mount of Transfiguration).

Mary said to Philogenes: If thou art indeed he, I know thee. Philogenes said: Thou art Mary the mother of Thalkamarimath, which means joy, blessing, and gladness. Mary said: If thou have borne him away, tell me where thou hast laid him and I will take him away: fear not. Philogenes told how the Jews sought a safe tomb for Jesus that the body might not be stolen, and he offered to place it in a tomb in his own garden and watch over it: and they sealed it and departed. At midnight he rose and went out and found all the orders of angels: Cherubim Seraphim, Powers, and Virgins. Heaven opened, and the Father raised Jesus. Peter, too, was there and supported Philogenes, or he would have died.

The Saviour then appeared to them on the chariot of the Father and said to Mary: Mari Khar Mariath (Mary the mother of the Son of God). Mary answered: Rabbouni Kathiathari Mioth (The Son of God the Almighty, my Lord, and my Son.). A long address to Mary from Jesus follows, in the course of which he bids her tell his brethren, 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father', &c. Mary says: If indeed I am not permitted to touch thee, at least bless my body in which thou didst deign to dwell.

Believe me, my brethren the holy apostles, I, Bartholomew beheld the Son of God on the chariot of the Cherubim. All the heavenly hosts were about him. He blessed the body of Mary.

She went and gave the message to the apostles, and Peter blessed her, and they rejoiced.

Jesus and the redeemed souls ascended into Heaven, and the Father crowned him. The glory of this scene Bartholomew could not describe. It is here that he enjoins his son Thaddaeus not to let this book fall into the hands of the impure (quoted above).

Then follows a series of hymns sung in heaven, eight in all, which accompany the reception of Adam and the other holy souls into glory. Adam was eighty cubits high and Eve fifty. They were brought to the Father by Michael. Bartholomew had never seen anything to compare with the beauty and Glory of Adam, save that of Jesus. Adam was forgiven, and all the angels and saints rejoiced and saluted him, and departed each to their place.

Adam was set at the gate of life to greet all the righteous as they enter, and Eve was set over all the women who had done the will of God, to greet them as they come into the city of Christ.

As for me, Bartholomew, I remained many days without food or drink, nourished by the glory of the vision.

The apostles thanked and blessed Bartholomew for what he had told them: he should be called the apostle of the mysteries of God. But he protested: I am the least of you all, a humble workman. Will not the people of the city say when they see me, 'Is not this Bartholomew the man of Italy, the gardener the dealer in vegetables? Is not this the man that dwelleth in the garden of Hierocrates the governor of our city? How has he attained this greatness?

'The next words introduce a new section.

At the time when Jesus took us up into the Mount of Olives he spoke to us in an unknown tongue, which he revealed to us, saying: Anetharath (or Atharath Thaurath). The heavens were opened and we all went up into the seventh heaven (so the London MS.: in the Paris copy only Jesus went up, and the apostles gazed after him). He prayed the Father to bless us.

The Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, laid His hand on the head of Peter (and made him archbishop of the whole world: Paris B). All that is bound or loosed by him on earth shall be so in heaven; none who is not ordained by him shall be accepted. Each of the apostles was separately blessed (there are omissions of single names in one or other of the three texts). Andrew, James, John, Philip (the cross will precede him wherever he goes), Thomas, Bartholomew (he will be the depositary of the mysteries of the Son), Matthew (his shadow will heal the sick) James son of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, Judas of James, Thaddeus, Matthias who was rich and left all to follow Jesus).

And now, my brethren the apostles, forgive me: I, Bartholomew, am not a man to be honoured.

The apostles kissed and blessed him. And then, with Mary, they offered the Eucharist.

The Father sent the Son down into Galilee to console the apostles and Mary: and he came and blessed them and showed them his wounds, and committed them to the care of Peter, and gave them their commission to preach. They kissed his side and sealed themselves with the blood that flowed thence. He went up to heaven.

Thomas was not with them, for he had departed to his city, hearing that his son Siophanes (Theophanes?) was dead: it was the seventh day since the death when he arrived. He went to the tomb and raised him in the name of Jesus.

Siophanes told him of the taking of his soul by Michael: how it sprang from his body and lighted on the hand of Michael, who wrapped it in a fine linen cloth: how he crossed the river of fire and it seemed to him as water, and was washed thrice in the Acherusian lake: how in heaven he saw the twelve splendid thrones of the apostles, and was not permitted to sit on his father's throne.

Thomas and he went into the city to the consternation of all who saw them. He, Siophanes, addressed the people and told his story: and Thomas baptized 12,000 of them, founded a church, and made Siophanes its bishop.

Then Thomas mounted on a cloud and it took him to the Molmtof Olives and to the apostles, who told him of the visit of Jesus: and he would not believe. Bartholomew admonished him. Then Jesus appeared, and made Thomas touch his wounds: and departed into heaven.

This is the second time that he showed himself to his disciples after that he had risen from the dead.

This is the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in joy and gladness. In peace. Amen.

Peter said to the apostles: Let us offer the offering before we separate. They prepared the bread, the cup, and incense.

Peter stood by the sacrifice and the others round the Table. They waited (break in the text: Budge and others suppose an appearance of Christ, but I do not think this is correct: 4 1/2 lines are gone then there are broken words):

table . . . their hearts rejoiced . . . worshipped the Son of God. He took his seat . . . his Father (probably, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father). His Body was on the Table about which they were assembled; and they divided it. They saw the blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup. Peter said: God hath loved us more than all, in letting us see these great honours: and our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold and hath revealed to us the glory of his body and his divine blood. They partook of the body and blood-and then they separated and preached the word. (What is clearly indicated is a change in the elements: there is not room for a description of an appearance of Jesus: he says no word, and his departure is not mentioned.)

This writing may be better described as a rhapsody than a narrative. It bristles with contradictions of itself: Joseph and Philogenes both bury Jesus- Thomas raises the dead and will not believe in Christ's resurrection: and so forth. That Mary the mother

of Jesus is identified with Mary Magdalene is typical of the disregard of history, and we have seen it in other Coptic documents. The interest of the authors centred in the hymns, blessings, salutations, and prayers, which in this analysis have been wholly omitted, but which occupy a large part of the original text. The glorification of St. Bartholomew is another purpose of the writer: the special blessings given to him recall the attitude which he takes in the Gospel (i. 1, 8) as inquiring into the mysteries of heaven, and seeing things which are hidden from others. Both Gospel and Book are specially interested in the Descent into Hell, the Resurrection, and the redemption of Adam.

Bartholomew (Nathanael) was told (in St. John's Gospel) that he would see the angels ascending and descending upon the Son of Man. This promise is fulfilled in the Gospel (i. 6, 231 and very often in the Book: in St. John we also read of his being 'under the fig-tree', and this was probably enough to suggest to the Coptic author of the Book that he was a gardener.

A date is hard to suggest. The British Museum MS. is assigned to the twelfth century; the Paris fragments are older. That of the Coptic literature of this class is usually supposed to belong to the fifth and sixth centuries; and I think this, or at latest the seventh century, may be the period when the book was produced.

BOOK DESCRIPTION

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

Translation with Commentary and Introduction

by

Jacob Licht*

The Dorot *(Generations) series, published by Mosad Bialik, has as its aim the presentation of works of Jewish literature and thought from the period of the Second Temple up to the time of the rebirth of the Hebrew language, with contemporary commentary and explanation. It contains, at present, some thirty volumes, many edited by the chief Israeli authorities on their respective topics.*

Jacob Licht is well known to scholars and students of Jewish literature and thought in the period of the Second Temple. Most widely read among his works are his excellent commentaries on two of the Dead Sea Scrolls; *The Thanksgiving Scroll* was published in 1957 and *The Scroll of the Rule* in 1965. But he has composed other works dealing with diverse aspects of Jewish thought and literature during the Second Commonwealth. This new translation of the Apocalypse of Ezra (4 Ezra) therefore represents a labour carried out by an expert.

It is perhaps appropriate that Licht has chosen to devote his energies to this particular book, for it is unrivalled in its age for the vigour and profundity of its thought. It has, as he points out in his Introduction, already had three translations into Hebrew, each characterised by various problems arising from the period in which the translation was made and the context for which it was created. The most widely known is doubtless Abraham Kahana's rendering in his two-volume edition of *Ha-Sefarim ha-Chitzonim (The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha)*. As is well known, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha were not preserved in Hebrew; indeed, a number of them were not originally written in that language. Kahana's edition is, as it were, the Hebrew "Charles",[1] an attempt to provide a sound translation from the Latin, with introduction and commentaries. His translation of *4 Ezra* is into a biblical style, with the deliberate aim of tracing in the

* Jerusalem, Mosad Bialik, 1968, Dorot Library no. 6.

Hebrew Title: ספר חזון עזרא. תרגם, פירש וצירף מבוא יעקב ליכט

[1] cf. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, edited by R. H. Charles, 2 vols., Oxford, 1913.

Latin version, and reproducing in the Hebrew, not only the linguistic features typical of biblical Hebrew but also as many allusions to and expressions drawn from the Hebrew Bible as possible.

Licht is very conscious of the problems of making a modern Hebrew rendition of a book which was presumably originally written in Hebrew. First there is the general question – retroversion or translation. This is, in itself, a complex issue as will be seen below. Licht's judgment is completely sound when he writes:

> "In this translation of mine ... there is no attempt at the restoration of the original, ... but I attempted to remain faithful to the spirit of the book from the point of view of content and from that of style as it can be perceived through the curtains of the (ancient) versions". (p. 15)

In other words, he has prepared a translation in the general spirit of the Hebrew of the period: he did not attempt to restore the Hebrew original of the book.

In this undertaking Licht has one great advantage over almost all previous translators of the book into Hebrew, an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, that is to say, of the literary Hebrew of the general period in which the Apocalypse of Ezra was written. In this reviewer's opinion, he has produced a Hebrew version of the book which is clear, pleasant to read, and free from the artificialities of style which typify the versions of Kaminka and Kahana.

A second dimension of the translation of this particular book is the question of what version should be rendered. The Apocalypse of Ezra is not preserved in its (presumably) Hebrew original. Incidentally, as is natural for an Introduction in a series of this type, Licht does not even indicate that there have been other views put forth: the old view of a Greek original has now been abandoned, but there have been recent claimants (notably L. Gry, in his strange and largely unbased theories) for an Aramaic original. Licht assumes a Hebrew one, in our view quite correctly.

The Greek translation from this Hebrew original has also been almost completely lost. Some quotations are preserved, mainly in Clement of Alexandria's writings, and this Greek version was utilised by the authors of two Byzantine Christian Apocalypses written in Greek, the so-called *Greek Apocalypse of Esdras* and the *Apocalpse of Sedrach*. Recently a part of a modern Greek version of the Eagle Vision from the Apocalypse of Ezra (ch. xiii) has been found in a Greek manuscript in Jerusalem. It has not yet been published, nor has it been determined whether this was a translation from Latin or else a "modernisation" of a section of the lost Greek translation.

In spite of its disappearance in the Greek Church, the book was remarkably popular in other Churches, oriental and western alike. This is witnessed by the existence of the work in many church languages: Latin,

Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two complete versions and some fragments of others), Armenian, Georgian and Coptic (fragmentary). This multiplicity of versions is something of an *embarras de richesses* for the would-be translator. Licht characterises the situation as follows:

> "The versions reckoned to be closest to the original are the Latin and the Syriac. This is my impression, too, but perhaps further investigation of the Ethiopic, Armenian and Georgian – if carried out by experts in these languages having access to numerous manuscripts – will force us to change this evaluation." (p. 14)

He observes, quite correctly, that it is virtually impossible to reach a systematic restitution of the original, Greek or Hebrew, by means of a comparison of these versions. It is a labour of Tantalus, for after the comparison of all the versions, all too often no decision can be made between the alternatives offered. Licht describes his own procedure and says:

> "My original intention was to make a free translation of the book, but in the end I found myself staying close, usually, to the formulation of the two chief witnesses, Latin and Syriac ... In problematic verses I consulted the Ethiopic too, or else added a word for clarification." (p. 15)

In order to enable the reader to find out, at least in a very elementary fashion, what is in these three versions at significant points, he has added a sort of critical apparatus giving Hebrew renderings of their chief variants. It is rather a pity that he did not make more systematic recourse ro the Ethiopic and Georgian versions.[2] The evaluation of the Arabic versions, and of the Armenian translation are quite rightly outside the range of a work of this sort and the translator has properly excluded them from his realm of interest. While it is, therefore, difficult to quarrel with Licht's general method, in view both of the problematics of the transmission of the book, and of the format of the series for which he was writing, it is to be wondered whether a somewhat broader consultation of the versions other than Latin and Syriac might not have provided his translation with an even more solid base in the textual traditions of the book.

On the whole, however, one may conclude that the translation is a most satisfactory one. In good, readable language and with a fine sensitivity for the style and the nuancing of the thought, it presents the Apocalypse of Ezra to the popular and semi-learned Hebrew-reading public. But the importance of the book extends beyond this. Not only is it true that every translation is perforce an interpretation, but this is an interpretation by a man who is sensitive to and aware of the chief issues of concern to Jewish reli-

[2] Robert Blake showed very clearly in his publication of the Georgian version that Latin and Syriac form one textual family over against which one can isolate another constituted by Georgian and Ethiopic (HTR 19 (1926), pp. 308-314).

gious thought of this period, a man whose commentary on the *Hodavot* and his other writings have shown him to be a perspicasious analyst of patterns and structures of religious thought.

This leads us to consider the Introduction and notes (they are so brief that one hesitates to call them commentary). The Introduction suffers from being too short. The author has some most interesting things to say, but chooses (or is obliged by editorial fiat) to say them in far too laconic a fashion. What he attempts to do in fifteen pages is remarkable: he delivers himself of statements on the relationship between the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the Canon, on the inclusion and exclusion of books, on the implications of the cessation of prophecy, on the origins of apocalyptic – its characterisation and its development, on the nature of Jewish eschatology, and more. These statements are usually perceptive, often very interesting, sometimes controversial, and always too brief.

This unfortunate situation is rendered the more acute by the fact that there is no good treatment in Hebrew of many of these problems, and so anything written on them takes on an especial importance. Thus, for example, Licht's suggestion as to the reason for pseudepigraphy is a fairly common one, namely that the view was regnant that only books which had been written in the era of prophecy were authoritative. Therefore, Licht explains, the author of 4 Ezra and other apocalyptic authors wrote under the names of ancient seers, as a means of gaining authority for their claims. One loses the thread of the argument, however, when he continues:

> "Indeed this concealment (i. e. the pseudepigraphy) was merely a rather transparent falsehood, and today's reader is likely to conclude from it that the morals of the writers were lacking and the intelligence of their readers asleep. In fact, this lie was simply a convenient way, discovered by burning faith, out of a slight embarrasment." (p. 8)

And, he goes on to say, the authors thus could express their profound convictions, while some readers took things at face value and some did not.

This stance raises a number of difficulties, for if it was generally accepted that the spirit of prophecy was no longer at work, then what did these authors think they were doing? We know that some writers of the time who claimed inspiration did not write pseudonymously (e. g. the author of the Habakkuk Commentary). Why then did the apocalypticists do so? Was it because their message was so urgent and their conviction of urgency served, in their own minds, to justify their means? This may be true of an eschatological apocalypse like 4 Ezra, but how about a book like the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch? There is nothing in it of the eschatological tension that characterises 4 Ezra, Daniel or 2 Baruch. There are, moreover, pseudepigrapha belonging to quite different literary genres, and not only apocalypses.

Now, the brief discussion here is not intended to deny importance to Licht's work, which is, on the contrary, very perceptive indeed. Moreover, I have no doubt that Licht himself is aware of these difficulties, and many others, and that a full presentation of his views would in fact preempt most of my comments. I just regret that he did not give it to us.

It was delightful to find his recognition of the problems raised by the dynamics of the dialogue between the seer and the angel. The first three visions of 4 Ezra are a profound discussion, perhaps the profoundest discussion in our literature from this period, of the question of divine justice in relationship to the world, man and Israel. It is a discussion written out of the anguish arising from contemplation of the destruction of the Temple, and the dialogue is presented as taking place between Ezra and an angel.

As Licht has discerned, and he is one of the first to do so in writing, there is something strange about the discussion. It might be put as follows: Ezra, who raises the problems, is penetrating, pertinent and persistent; the angel who answers his queries is none of these. Indeed, not only are his answers often pat, sometimes irrelevant, but on occasion they are plain evasive. Now, this would be all very well in a live discussion, but the Apocalypse of Ezra is a work of literature and, as has been shown,[3] a rather sophisticated piece of literature. Harnisch, in his recent study,[4] following E. Brandenberger, suggests a novel but unconvincing twist – the author's point of view is not represented by the seer, as has always been assumed, but by the angel. The book is a polemic against scepticism arising from the consideration of the destruction. The nature of the argumentation of the angel indicated here would then, according to Harnisch's view, make the author a better propagandist for the sceptics than for the faithful.

This problem is an almost insoluble one and is perhaps at the heart of what the book is about. On the face of it, the resolution of all the questions is in revelation. The first three visions each end in a small revelation of the signs which will precede the end. The last three visions are all apocalyptic revelations in the "classical" sense, all bearing the salvation of the righteous and Israel as their central import. Yet, after this has been stated and has been proved by structural and literary analysis (see Breech's article), the dissatisfaction with the conversations between Ezra and the angel remains.

This little book is well worth consulting by anyone interested in furthering his understanding of central motives in Judaism in the generation of the destruction. This is evident from the problem posed in the last paragraph, and some of the most penetrating of Licht's comments bear on this issue. It is fitting to conclude this review with a few of his sentences.

[3] See, most recently, Breech, *JBL* 92 (1973), pp. 267-274.

[4] W. Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte*, Gottingen, 1969.

"The expectation of the end of days and the day of judgment does not cancel out the misfortune of Zion which has already taken place. Even less does it do away with the suffering of mankind. To the contrary, the glorious reward of the righteous in the future will be of no profit to mankind in general, for most men have sinned. What, therefore, is the purpose of life? We are indeed punished for our sins, but it was God who gave us the ability to sin: it was God who brought about the destruction of most of mankind on the day of judgment ... Ezra asks, "Why, then, is God called merciful?" (p. 11)

To this the angel can only respond:

"If you survive you shall see and if you live long you shall marvel" (4:26)

Described by Dr. Michael Stone

Professor Jacob Licht is Professor of Bible at the Tel Aviv University

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Figures of Ezra

JAN N. BREMMER
VERONIKA HIRSCHBERGER
TOBIAS NICKLAS (eds.)

PEETERS

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XI. The *Apocalypse of Sedrach*

Jan Dochhorn

1. *Introduction*

The Codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Miscellanaeus graecus 56 (15th century) includes on the folios 92a-100b a treatise entitled *Apocalypsis Sedrach* by its first editor Montague Rhodes James (1893) and Ἀποκάλυψις Σέδραχ in the more recent edition of Otto Wahl (1977); since 1983 we have known about a manuscript in Athens which provides only the beginning of this work.[1] After a paragraph on love

[1] For the Oxford codex, cf. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Pars Prima Recensionem Codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853) 650-51 (there No. 56, § 10); the Apc Sedr (Coxe: *Sidrach sermo de caritate, et de poenitentia, et de secundo adventu Domini*) is the last section in the codex. I have taken photos of the whole section. There exists a codex in Athens, cf. Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1021 (anno 1518), which on fol. 202b has under the rubric Διήγησις τοῦ προφήτου Σεδρὰχ the beginning of Apc Sedr. It starts like the Oxford codex with the paragraph on love but then on fol. 203a continues with passages from a treatise which, according to the *capitulatio* on fol. 3a-4b of the codex, must be treatise no. 49, whereas a treatise labelled Περὶ τοῦ προφήτου Σεδράχ — our treatise — is counted as treatise no. 46. Folios must have fallen out in the codex or its *vorlage*, cf. S. Perentidis, 'La jonction de l'Apocalypse de Sedrach avec l'homélie sur l'amour d'Éphrem', *JThS* 36 (1985) 393-96 at 395-96; for the codex cf. A. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1892) 182.

For the editions of Apc Sedr cf. M.R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota. A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments now First Printed from Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1893) 127-37; O. Wahl, *Apocalypsis Esdrae / Apocalypsis Sedrach / Visio Beati Esdrae* (Leiden, 1977) 13-14, 20, 37-48. Nearly contemporary with the edition of Wahl is another one made by Σ. Αγουρίδης, 'Ἀποκάλυψις Σεδράχ. Εἰσαγωγικὰ-Κείμενον', *Θεολογία* 49 (1978) 280-97.

(Apc Sedr 1), the Apc Sedr consists mainly of discussions between Sedrach and God (Apc Sedr 2-16) in which Sedrach again and again blames God for punishing the sins of humankind too severely and exhorts him to be more compassionate. Also Sedrach's death is a theme in these chapters.

The Apc Sedr has played only a minor role in research. It has been translated for several anthologies and has been briefly mentioned by entries in prominent dictionaries.[2] One special study on Sedrach's lament about his body on the occasion of his death has recently been published.[3] It was already the first editor, Montague R. James, who established the view that the name Sedrach (which occurs both in the superscription and in Apc Sedr 2-16) is a corrupt form of the name Ezra (Greek: Ἔσδρας) — with the consequence that the Apocalypse of Sedrach has been regarded as one of several compositions associated with the biblical figure Ezra. This view is taken up here, however with the modification that the change of name is not a corruption but arbitrary (see § III).[4]

It is difficult to say why scholars have not been that keen on interpreting the Apc Sedr so far — it is always difficult to explain why something is not done. Probably the Apc Sedr has been regarded as unimportant, since it is mainly attested in only one 16th century manuscript preserved by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Why should a late

[2] Cf. A. Rutherfurd, 'The Apocalypse of Sedrach', in A. Menzies, *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume 9: The Gospel of Peter etc.* (New York, 1912) 175-80; P. Rießler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg, 1928) 156-67, 1273; S. Agourides, 'Apocalypse of Sedrach (Second to Fifth Century A.D.)', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York, 1983) 605-13; W. Baumgartner, 'Sedrach-Apokalypse', in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*^{2} 5 (Tübingen, 1931) 366; R. Knippenberg, 'Sedrachapokalypse', in *Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch 3* (Göttingen, 1966) 1754. For more literature, see Wahl, *Apocalypsis* (n. 1), IX-X; 10. In the net, a lecture by J.R. Davila on 17 April 1997 can be inspected: <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/apocsed.html>.

[3] Cf. R. Dostálová, 'Ein Klagelied über die verlorene Schönheit des Verstorbenen in der apokryphen Sedrachapokalypse', in M. Hinterberger and E. Schiffer (eds), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur* (Berlin, 2007) 49-55.

[4] Cf. James, *Apocrypha*, 129; Baumgartner, 'Sedrach-Apokalypse'; Knippenberg, 'Sedrachapokalypse'; Wahl, *Apocalypsis*, 2.

miniscule which every research tourist can take a photo of and collate be the point of depart for an exciting debate? We no longer believe as willingly as in former times that such sources could be important for the reconstruction of ancient religion (which still seems to be more interesting than medieval religion). The times of Richard Reitzenstein, who could deal with the Latin *Interrogatio Iohannes*, a work composed by Bogomils and used by the Albigenses in the 13th or 14th century, in the context of a study about the origin of Christian baptism have passed.[5] Probably the bad Greek of the Apc Sedr — of course partially a consequence of its meagre attestation — has also been a reason for disregarding it.

In the following sections of this paper I will first present an outline of the content of the Apc Sedr (§ II). After that I will discuss its relation to parabiblical writings associated with Ezra. In this context I will discuss why the main actor is called Sedrach in this work (§ III). In a final section I will briefly present some issues which could be of relevance for future research on the Apc Sedr, not least the prominent role which Adam material plays in this piece of literature (§ IV).

2. *Content*

I subdivide the Apc Sedr into 6 sections which differ considerably in length (and among which one is a modern metatext).

1. *The title:* The Bodleian manuscript does not include a title, and the one in Athens has the heading Διήγησις τοῦ προφήτου Σεδράχ in its text and Περὶ τοῦ προφήτου Σεδράχ in its *capitulatio* (cf. Perentidis; see note 1). The title *Apocalypsis Sedrach* has probably been invented by James.[6] The title Ἀποκάλυψις Σεδράχ one encounters first in the edition of Wahl who does not indicate that any title is

[5] Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe. Mit Beiträgen von L. Troje* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929) 293-316 (edition of the *Interrogatio Ioannis*, labelled as *Beigabe* to chapter II of the book).

[6] For the name given to the text in the Bodleian manuscript in the catalogue of Coxe (1853) cf. n. 1. James first mentioned the Sedrach text in M.R. James, *The Testament of Abraham. The Greek Text now First Edited with an Introduction and Notes. With an Appendix Containing Extracts from the Arabic Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob by W.E. Barnes* (Cambridge, 1892) 31-33; 66. He there calls it an apocalypse (p. 31) and

lacking in his manuscript (only the Bodleian one). Obviously he has created it himself (following the *vorlage* provided by James).[7] It has been taken over into Denis' *Concordance grecque des Pseudèpigraphes d'Ancien Testament* which, as a consequence, also includes material from the 20th century.[8] In the Bodleian manuscript, a decorative strip on the head of fol. 92a separates the Apc Sedr from other works; a short prayer written by a secondary hand (Ἰησοῦ Χρίστε, βοήθε μοι) precedes the decorative strip.

2. *The superscription*: The superscription of the Bodleian codex does not label the Apc Sedr as an apocalypse (nor does the one in the codex of Athens) but as 'A word of the holy and blessed Sedrach about love, about penitence, about orthodox Christians and about the second Parousia of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου Σεδρὰχ λόγος περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν καὶ περὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).[9] Obviously whoever has composed this superscription

labels it *Homilia Sedrach* (p. 66). In his edition, he prints the title *Apocalypsis Sedrach* without any comment on p. 130.

7 Editions often create titles for the works edited without documenting that these titles do not stem from the manuscripts. Cf. e.g. M. Heide, *Das Testament Abrahams. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen* (Wiesbaden, 2012), who labels the Ethiopian version of Test Abr B (III) መጽሐፈ ፡ ፍልሰቱ ፡ ለአበ ፡ አብርሃም ('Book of the depart of the Father Abraham') without annotating anything from the manuscripts (those I know do not provide a title). A bit more transparent is H.F. Fuhs, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Hosea* (Bonn, 1971) 31 who presents different incipits from the manuscripts and provides his edition with a title which among other things indicates that it has been made by ሀንስ ፡ ፍርዲነንድ ፡ ፉስ (*hans fĕrdînand fûs*). Titles are to be taken seriously as a matter of textual criticism — not least because they may represent how a piece of literature has been referred to in antiquity (the metatext can be as important as the text itself, even more important). In parabiblical literature, quite often a title is missing in the manuscripts which normally commence with a lengthy superscription (like the Apc Sedr in the Bodleian codex).

8 Cf. A.-M. Denis and Y. Janssens, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987) 171 *sub verbo* ἀποκάλυψις 873.

9 I generally cite the text of the Bodleian manuscript according to the edition of Wahl who presents a slightly normalized text. A less normalized text would run as follows: τοῦ αγίου καὶ μακαρίου σεδρὰχ λόγος περι ἀγάπης ·

aims at promising his readers a treatise about central issues of Christian faith. Two of these central issues, love and penitence, play a significant role in the Apc Sedr. However, orthodox Christians are never mentioned and neither is a second parousia of Jesus Christ. These themes occur in a Sermon of Pseudo-Ephraim which is — as will be demonstrated below — the source of the paragraph on love that follows the superscription in the Apc Sedr according to the Bodleian Manuscript (= Apc Sedr 1). This sermon is presented in its *incipit* as 'A word about the universal resurrection, penitence, love and concerning the second parousia of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Λόγος περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εἰς δευτέραν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).[10] Apparently, the superscription of the Apc Sedr as preserved in Bodl. Misc. gr. 56 (= Apc Sedr [bodl]) is quite similar to that superscription with the exception that the hint to the resurrection in the Sermon of Ps-Ephraem is missing in Apc Sedr (bodl), whereas Apc Sedr (bodl) has the orthodox Christians as a surplus. This surplus of Apc Sedr (bodl) finds correlates in the Sermon of Ps-Ephraem (cf. two hints to the cross as καύχημα τῶν ὀρθοδόξων and τεῖχος τῶν ὀρθοδόξων on pages 53-54 in the edition of Phrantzoles). As a consequence, it must have originated in the transmission history not of the Apc Sedr but of the Pseudo-Ephraemic sermon. The fact that the hint to the resurrection is missing in Apc Sedr (bodl) might be explained by the transmission history of Pseudo-Ephraem's sermon as well: This sermon — like Apc Sedr (bodl) — does not begin with resurrection, but with love. We may state here that the superscription of the Apc Sedr (bodl) must primarily be explained by its backgrounds in another text, whatever that might mean for the purpose and meaning of the Apc Sedr or Apc Sedr (bodl) respectively.

3. *Extracts from a Sermon about love*: The Apc Sedr (bodl) commences with a paragraph about love which does not mention Sedrach at all and has nothing to do with the narrative framework of the following chapters. It is simply a speech given by a homiletic I to a Christian

καὶ περι μετανίας καὶ ὀρθόξων (sic!) χριστϊἀνῶν · καὶ περι δεῦτέρας παροὺσίας τοῦ κῦ ἡμῶν ιῦ χῦ · (I could not render the line indicating a *nomen sacrum*).

[10] Cf. K.G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, Vol. 4 (Thessalonica, 1992) 47-75 at 47 (*non vidi*; *inspexi* TLG).

audience. James regarded this speech as unimportant; he only printed its beginning and end, whereas Wahl repeated it in full and provided it with a somewhat mysterious chapter division (1.1-3; H,1-24, 1.4-5).[11] As already stated by Mercati in 1902, this homiletic passage stems from the aforementioned sermon of Ps-Ephraem.[12] It is the beginning of the sermon which appears in Apc Sedr (bodl) 1. The printed text of the sermon and that of Apc Sedr (bodl) 1 differ in minor issues (see § IV). In Apc Sedr (bodl), the homiletic passage on love ends with the message that no greater love exists than that somebody gives his soul for his friends (cf. Apc Sedr 1.5), a statement which is corroborated by a preceding passage about the acts of salvation performed by Christ as instigated by love (H 16-19). This message, however, is not the end of the passage on love in the sermon of Ps-Ephraem. Therefore, I dare to conclude that the beginning of the Sermon of Ps-Ephraem does not encounter here by mistake or accident (loss of pages in a codex), but was excerpted on purpose, and that the one who excerpted this passage on love in order to implement it in the Apc Sedr regarded especially this idea — giving the soul for the friends as an expression of love — as a highlight which deserved attention.

4. *A discussion between Sedrach and God in the third heaven about the fate of humanity* (Apc Sedr 2.1-8.12): The largest section of the Apc Sedr (bodl) and the first part of its genuine non-Ephraemic section (Apc Sedr 2-16) is a dialogue between Sedrach and God which does not display obvious Christian traits.[13] It commences without a proper narrative introduction — perhaps because of textual corruption

[11] Cf. James, *Apocrypha*, 129. In the edition of Wahl, the verses 1.1-3, 4-5 display a text which also has been printed by James, whereas H 1-21 represents a text which has not been taken up by James, cf. Wahl: *Apocalypsis*, 20 (I suppose that H stands for *Handschrift*).

[12] Cf. G.S. Mercati, 'The Apocalypse of Sedrach', *JThS* 11 (1910) 572-73. Agourides obviously was not aware of Mercati's find, cf. Agourides, 'Sedrach', 606 and 'Σεδράχ', 286. Mercati proposed that the author of the Apc Sedr 'who unhappily amalgamated various sources' (p. 572) had connected the paragraph about love taken from Ps-Ephraem with Apc Sedr 2-16 by mistake. Perentidis, 'Jonction', thinks that the two units have been coalesced because of the loss of folios in an older *Vorlage*. I suggest that they have not been combined by fate, but for a redactional purpose (see below).

[13] Cf. Wahl, 'Apocalypsis', 6-7 who does not mention any Christian trait for Apc Sedr 2-8 (unlike Apc Sedr 9-16, see below).

(cf. Apc Sedr 7.4, 8.7, 12.4, 14.3 where introductions of speech like λέγει ὁ θεός are to be supplemented).[14] The dialogue takes place in the third heaven after an angel, introduced as an anonymous voice which calls Sedrach, has taken Sedrach on his wings and carried him to the third heaven where the "flame of Godhead stood" (καὶ ἔστη ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φλὸξ τῆς θεότητος), cf. Apc Sedr 2.4. This dialogue deals mainly with the question of why God, although he has created everything for the sake of humankind, permits humankind to perish by punishing it for its sins. In this dialogue, Sedrach generally has the more exciting arguments, whereas God has the more exciting position of power. Again and again the dialogue takes the story of creation and fall, as known from the biblical and parabiblical world of narration, as its point of departure (Apc Sedr 3.2-7, 4.3-6, 5.1-8, 6.1-8, 7.1-6). It is a real dialogue with comparably short units of speech in which Sedrach talks a little bit more than God. It gives the reader some relief to be confronted with a piece of literature where God behaves considerably less as a professor than, for example, Socrates in Plato's dialogues or Jesus in the Gospel of John; perhaps this is to be taken seriously for an assessment of the theological impact of the Apc Sedr — e.g. for the medieval reader. Perhaps a very important point is to be found at the end of this unit: Sedrach exhorts God — not the first time — to free mankind from punishment (Apc Sedr 8.12a). Then he adds the quite bold sentence that he — if God would not accept his plea — would prefer to go into the punishment himself as he does not want to be separated from his fellows (Apc Sedr 8.12b), a sentence which has predecessors in the preceding context and is consequently typical of Apc Sedr 2.1-8, 12 (cf. Apc Sedr 5.7, 7.2). Sedrach here does something which might remind the reader of the last statement of the sermon about love taken over from the Sermon attributed to Ephraen which deals with somebody who gives his soul for his friends, cf. Apc Sedr 1.5. Does this parallel exist by fate? The exceptional position of this theme — two times at the end of a unit — speaks in favor of another explanation: We can probably detect a redactor here who aimed to present Sedrach as an example of outstanding love.

[14] Perentidis, 'Jonction', 395 states that the dialogue in Apc Sedr 2-8 commences 'brusquement et insolitement' and postulates that such a juncture can only be explained by the loss of folios. However, the sermon in Apc Sedr 1 is not simply interrupted but ends with a complete sentence which probably — as I will suggest below — has redaction historical importance.

This may mean that Sedrach is in the focus of our composition — at least for the redactor who put the sermon on love and the following chapters together. Not every writing that (also) deals with God, even a writing dealing with something like theodicy, necessarily focusses on God.

5. *Sedrach's death* (Apc Sedr 9.1-16.9): This unit begins with an exhortation by God to his only-begotten son (who is introduced here first into the narrative) to take the soul of Sedrach in order that it can be laid down in the paradise (9.1). It ends with the words of Sedrach: 'Lord, take my soul' (16.8) — which thereafter is laid down in the paradise (16.9). This sounds easy, and we are in any case confronted with an effective narrative frame setting, something that reminds us of the redactional strategies mentioned above.

However, the death of Sedrach needs seven chapters in order to become reality and is anything but easy. First Sedrach simply refuses to hand over his soul to the Son of God (Apc Sedr 9). He then asks God, who now again is his dialogue partner, from which part of the body God would extract his soul (10.1) and receives an answer about the complicated relationship between body and soul (the soul does not simply have one place in the body) which implies that death is a painful process (10.2-4). Sedrach reacts by a lament about the death of his body which implies that he generally has a quite good opinion about it; this passage is undoubtedly of great importance in terms of a history of mentality (Apc Sedr 11).[15] An exhortation of Christ to Sedrach reminding him of death and paradise (12.1) interrupts this lament (which he of course would have continued), and again Sedrach begins a dialogue — with Christ / God who are almost inseparable in this unit (12.2-16.7).[16] In this dialogue, Michael also plays a role when

[15] Cf. Dostálová, 'Ein Klagelied'. It is to be noticed that, in Sedrachs lament, the body is not only καλλωπισμένον ('nice looking'; 11.17) but also ταλαί-πωρος ('poor'; 11.15 and 16).

[16] In Apc Sedr 12.1 Christ speaks to Sedrach. In 12.3 his interlocutor is 'the Lord' (ὁ κύριος), in 12.5 'God' (ὁ θεός); this title dominates not only in Apc Sedr 2-8 but also in 12.1-16.7. In Apc Sedr 15.1-2 Sedrach ascribes to 'God' (ὁ θεός) the word that he has not come in order to call the righteous ones but the sinners into repentance which is in Luke 5.32 a word of Jesus. Cf. Apc Esdrae 2.25, 7.1 where God (ὁ θεός) says that he has been crucified. Apc Sedr and Apc Esdrae have also many other motives in common; see § III. Do they share a prehistory in a Christian milieu which was influenced by or had — without any explicit adherence — an affinity to Patripassianism?

both Sedrach and Michael intercede in a prayer to God on behalf of humankind (14.1-2). The theme of the dialogue is penitence, a subject matter which already had been mentioned in the superscription and which is repeatedly discussed here with regard to a Christian milieu; cf. Apc Sedr 14.5-12 where pagans who do not have the law and nevertheless fulfill it (cf. Rom 2.14) and convert to baptism are the good opposite of baptized sinners and Apc Sedr 15.7 where among others the robber crucified with Jesus and the Evangelist Matthew are mentioned as examples of penitence. Does Apc Sedr 12.1-16.9 stem from the one who inserted the paragraph on love in Apc Sedr 1? Some traditional motives which Apc Sedr 12.1-16.9 shares with writings pertaining to Ezra might indicate that it is older (see § III). In any case, it has strong affinities to Apc Sedr 2.1-8.12 (which does not seem very Christian in content) as both here and there Sedrach intercedes for humankind in order to make its life easier. Here, in Apc Sedr 12.1-16.9, he aims at reducing the burden of penitence to a minimum, and he is successful: At the end twenty days of repentance, even simply writing the book of Sedrach and performing a φωταγωγία (whatever that is) is enough for the repenting sinner in order to receive eternal forgiveness (Apc Sedr 16.4-7). This is — for Sedrach — a good end of his dialogue with Christ / God and a good situation within which to hand over his soul without any reluctance (16.8-9).

6. *A Doxology*: A doxology, which is not very elegantly connected with the preceding context, concludes the Apc Sedr (16.10). Like other concluding doxologies it might be secondary (or replacing an older doxology or even another conclusion). Perhaps by fate, it is not Trinitarian but only attributes the Doxa to 'God' (θεός) who is mentioned in 16.9 but might represent the God / Christ figure of 12.1-16.7. Whatever the non-Trinitarian structuring of the doxology means (if it is of any importance at all): it fits the tendency of the preceding text to present an almost indistinguishable unity of God and Christ as the interlocutor of Sedrach.

3. *The Apc Sedr and parabiblical writings associated with Ezra*

It has long been stated that the Apc Sedr has some elements in common with the fourth book of Ezra. As 4 Ezra is attested in several languages, has a clear Jewish profile and can be dated to the end of the first century of Christ, whereas the Apc Sedr does not display any of such features which point to an early date of composition, there are good

reasons for the consensus view that the Apc Sedr depends on 4 Ezra rather than the other way round.[17] The Apc Sedr shares with 4 Ezra the central motif of a sage debating with God about the fate of humankind. In addition, it has some special traditions in common with 4 Ezra, for example the tradition in Apc Sedr 8.3 about creatures of which God is in favor (e.g. among the animals the sheep, among the cities Jerusalem), cf. 4 Ezra 3.23-27.[18] This tradition does not appear to be very well integrated in Apc Sedr 8, where a different theme follows (in Apc Sedr 8.7-11, God depicts himself as the creator who is superior to humankind). This might have been caused by textual corruption but can perhaps also be explained as a seam indicating the import of tradition — in this case of material being developed and fitting well in 4 Ezra and then taken over into a new context in the Apc Sedr where it does not fit perfectly. If this explanation were to be accepted, we would have an indication of direct or indirect literary dependency of the Apc Sedr from 4 Ezra.

If there is a relationship between texts, differences between those texts are sometimes more important than common features when it comes to reconstructing the meaning of one of them. Therefore, it might be of some relevance that, in the Apc Sedr, the common motif of the sage debating with God is in one respect different from its parallel in 4 Ezra: Sedrach is, unlike Ezra in 4 Ezra, not concerned with the fate of Israel. He normally talks about humanity, which also happens in 4 Ezra but not predominantly. Also in Apc Sedr 12.1-16.9 he sometimes explicitly has Christianity in view, especially in the dialogue about penitence (Apc Sedr 12.1-16.7) where he compares pagans converting to baptism on the one hand, and baptized sinners on the other (cf. Apc Sedr 14.5-12; see § II) — a motif that fits a situation in which paganism was still a social reality but probably no longer a majority one as Christianity appears to have been the faith of people who were not very deeply interested in religion.

Alongside 4 Ezra, the Apc Sedr is even more closely related to the Apocalypse of Ezra (Apc Esdrae), which is generally — though not preferably — called the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra,[19] and also to

17 Cf. the discussion in Wahl, 'Apocalypsis', 3-4.

18 For this parallel and others between 4 Ezra and Apc Sedr cf. James, *Apocrypha*, 129.

19 The first editor, Tischendorf, labels it *Apocalypsis Esdrae* — with good reasons as this title fits the superscription in the manuscripts: Λόγος καὶ

the *Vision of Ezra* (*Vis Esdrae*). With these two writings (the first is attested by two Greek manuscripts, and the latter by several Latin medieval manuscripts) the Apc Sedr constitutes a group of three apocryphal works. This has been the *opinio communis* at least since 1977 when Wahl published an edition including the Apc Esdrae, the Apc Sedr and the short recension of the Vis Esdrae (= Vis Esdrae B).[20] This corpus of three writings has since been enlarged by a long recension of the Vision of Ezra (= Vis Esdrae A) published in 1984 by Bogaert, which after material covered also by Vis Esdrae B (§§ 1-64) has additional material (§§ 67-116) that has much more in common with the Apc Esdrae and the Apc Sedr than the passages preserved by both recensions (§§ 1-64).[21] Bogaert's discovery has stabilised the common opinion about the three apocryphal works as being related to another. As two of them are writings of Ezra and as all of them share material with 4 Ezra, we have good reasons to consider this group — including Apc Sedr — as a set of writings which originally all have been associated with Ezra.[22] However, we then have to explain why the hero of the Apc Sedr has got another name (see below).

The three works associated (originally) with Ezra have material in common which with high certainty derives from 4 Ezra. They all portray their protagonist as debating with God about the fate of human beings in a world predominantly governed by the principle of divine

ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἐσδρὰμ καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ('Word and apocalypse of the holy Prophet Esdram and the beloved of God'). Wahl has probably translated Tischendorf's title; he entitles his text Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐσδράμ. The German translator Müller calls the work *griechische Esra-Apokalypse*. Cf. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Ioannis, item Mariae Dormitio additis Evangeliorum et Actuum Apocryphorum Supplementis* (Leipzig, 1856) XII-XIV, 24-33; Wahl, *Apocalypsis*, 25; U.B. Müller, *Die griechische Esra-Apokalypse* (Gütersloh, 1982). It is misleading to give a parabiblical work a title that refers to a language in which this work is transmitted. Witnesses in other languages of the same work may be found! The Ethiopian Enokh does also exist in Greek and Aramaic.

20 Cf. Wahl, *Apocalypsis*, 2-5 (the three apocryphal works as a group); 24-35 (Apc Esdrae); 37-47 (Apc Sedr); 49-61 (Vis Esdrae B).

21 Cf. P.-M. Bogaert, 'Une Version Longue inédite de la «Visio Beati Esdrae» dans le légendier de Teano (Barberini Lat. 2318)', *RevBén* 94 (1984) 50-70; Bremmer and Schmitt/Stettner, this volume, Chapters IX and XIII, respectively.

22 Cf. Wahl, *Apocalypsis*, 2-5.

punishment. This feature is prominent in the Apc Sedr and in the Apc Esdrae, but it also occurs in the Vis Esdrae (cf. A B 62) where Ezra, however, mainly intercedes for the sinners without casting doubt on Gods justice (Cf. Vis Esdrae A B 11; 18, 22 etc.). All three writings refer to knowledge about creation and fall; this is also true for 4 Ezra.[23]

However, the three writings also share features which are not attested by 4 Ezra. All of them tell that Ezra, when exhorted to deliver his soul, refuses to do so and begins to filibuster (Apc Sedr 9-16; Apc Esdrae 6; Visio Esdrae A 93-114), and they each have in this context a dialogue which deals with the question through which part of the body the soul would be extracted (Apc Sedr 10.1-4; Apc Esdrae 6.3-15; Vis Esdrae A 98-104). Among writings preserved by the Greek church, the motif of the hero refusing to die is typical of the Testament of Abraham (cf. Test Abr A 7.12, 15.8-10, 16.16), while the arguments used in the debate about how to extract the soul recall biblical traditions about Moses and perhaps derive from traditions about the death of Moses, who in Hebrew or Aramaic Jewish texts refuses to die as well.[24] The background is the idea of the special position of the righteous one in the cosmic order — not least with

[23] Cf. Vis Esdrae A B 62-63; Apc Esdrae 1.10 and 22-23, 2.10-17, 5.15, 7.3; Apc Sedr 3.2-7, 4.3-6, 5.1-8, 6.1-8, 7.1-6; 4 Ezra 3.4-6, 20-22 and 26, 4.28-32, 7.118.

[24] In the dialogue between Ezra and the angels in Apc Esdrae 6.3-15, the angels propose a part of the body (mouth, eyes etc.) through which they would extract the soul whereas Ezra opposes this by arguing that the given member had something with God to do during his life. The arguments regularly fit Moses, cf. Apc Esdrae 6.5-6 // Num 12.8 (he has spoken from mouth to mouth with God); Apc Esdrae 6.9-10 (he has seen the back of God). The synoptical parallel to Apc Esdrae 6.3-15 in Vis Esdrae A 98-104 (where Ezra debates with the Spirit, with one angel or Michael) displays this pattern as well, cf. e.g. Vis Esdrae A 102 where Ezra objects against the extraction of his soul through the apex of his head that his head has been anointed by Aaron (in Apc Esdrae 6.12, Ezra maintains that he has walked around with Moses on the mountain — whatever he means). For the background of Apc Esdrae 6.3-15 cf. M.R. James, *The Testament of Abraham. The Greek Text First Edited with an Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge, 1892) 65-68. The debate about the extraction of the soul in Apc Sedr 10.1-4 is comparably short and does not contain elements recalling Moses.

regard to the angels; it fits well when in Apc Esdrae 6.3-15 and Vis Esdrae A 98-104 the dialogue mainly takes place between Ezra and angels: The righteous one is higher than angels; this is stated explicitly in Apc Esdrae 1.9 and is the central ideal of parallel stories about Abraham refusing to give his soul to Michael or the personified death (cf. Test Abr A 4.6) and Moses refusing to do the same with regard to the Angel of death, Samael (cf. Debarim Rabbah IX.10).

Another special feature missing in 4 Ezra and typical of the later writings is the announcement that transcribing the actual book would be a merit for postmortem retribution (Apc Sedr 16.6; Apc Esdrae 7.9; the motif is missing in Vis Esdrae). Beyond that, a feast day associated with the protagonist might be specific for these writings (all three of them): Apc Esdrae 7.14 dates the death of Ezra — probably not without liturgical reasons — exactly to the 18th of October, and Vis Esdrae A 117 to the 9th of July; the manuscript preserving Vis Esdrae A (Vaticane, Barberini Lat. 2318) transmits this text in a collection of legends pertaining to local saints of Teano (Campania) and has a calendar mentioning Ezra as the saint of the 9th of July; both observations indicate that there was a local cult of Ezra in Teano.[25] Apc Sedr 16.7 mentions a φωταγωγία of Sedrach; perhaps a procession with lamps remembering his death is meant, as a similar meaning of this word is attested by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (6th century), *Vita Euthymii* 44 (there with regard to the death of a martyr).[26] Both motifs, the transcription of the book and the relation to a feast, are typical of the transmission history of parabiblical texts. They occur for example in the Coptic collection 'Testaments of the three Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' (Test III) where they originally have not been associated with the *Testament of Abraham* (which is not of Coptic origin) but are associated with the *Testament of Isaac* and the *Testament of*

[25] Cf. Bogaert, 'Visio Beati Esdrae', 51. In the calendar, the 9th of July is associated with Ephraem, Cyrill and Ezra (reads: *Sanctorum Effrem et Cirilli martyr[is]. Et beati Esdrae prophetae*, cf. *ibidem*). In note 6 on p. 51, Bogaert states that the notice about Ezra seems to be added — however, not in the manuscript (as De Bruyne states) which would imply that the hint to Ezra was added in the prehistory of the manuscript. Whatever is true, apparently Ezra entered the calendar later than his colleagues — perhaps because of the special needs of the church in Teano.

[26] Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) 1507 *sub verbo* φωταγωγία, § A 2.

Jacob in all witnesses known to us (no witness of non-Coptic origin is attested for the *Test Isaac* and the *Test Jacob*).[27]

Important for assessing the relationship between Apc Sedr, Apc Esdrae and the Vis Esdrae are of course not only features they share but also differences: Each of these writings has a special profile. This is predominantly true for how they deal with divine punishment. All of them presuppose that such a thing exists; it is already attested as a core motif in 4 Ezra. However, whereas Apc Sedr, like 4 Ezra, only presupposes that the punishment is a fact and is not very pleasant for human beings, the other two writings enfold this motif by presenting a large amount of punishments to Ezra in a tour through the netherworld. The passages which are devoted to this theme in Apc Esdrae on the one hand and Vis Esdrae on the other share many features (cf. Apc Esdrae 4.5-5,7 // Vis Esdrae A B 1-60); the synoptic relationship between them is evident. They have in common, for example, a tradition about King Herod in the netherworld (Apc Esdrae 4.9-12; Vis Esdrae A B 37-39).

In the Vis Esdrae, the tour through the netherworld is the dominant part of the whole writing — with the consequence that it is terribly boring for modern readers. However, the medieval readers might have thought differently, and this can be demonstrated: In 4 Ezra and the Apc Sedr this motif is missing; at least one of these writings is quite old. In the Vis Esdrae it is dominant; here we are certainly in the Middle Ages. And what happens in the Apc Esdrae? In this writing, the tour through the netherworld covers Apc Esdrae 4.5-5.7 — and disrupts the narrative logic of the book. Typical of the framing chapters is the idea that Ezra sees the punishment of sinners in heaven (Apc Esdrae 1.7-8, 5.8-10, 5.23) whereas in 4.5-5.7 Ezra watches them in the netherworld. Probably this indicates that this passage is secondary (cf., however, Apc Esdrae 5.27 where punishments in Tartarus are mentioned again).

That a journey of the protagonist through the netherworld is missing might be a conservative trait of the Apc Sedr as this is also lacking in 4 Ezra. Probably more important is surplus material in the

[27] Cf. Test Isaac 6.21; Test Jacob 2.25, 7.27. For the redaction history of the Coptic collection Test III, cf. J. Dochhorn, *Testament Jakobs* (Gütersloh, 2014) 5-6, 10-13, 34-36, 45-47; for the Coptic background of the promises pertaining to the transcription of the books of saints, cf. ibidem 95 (°2n); 118 (°7×).

Apc Sedr since this might shed light on the creative purposes of those engaged with its composition: Typical of the Apc Sedr is, for example, its large debate about penitence (Apc Sedr 12.1-16.7), which was probably even important for the one who composed its superscription and integrated the extract from Pseudo-Ephraem's sermon (see § II). This debate on penitence, however, is perhaps not as secondary as the passages deriving from Pseudo Ephraim. As indicated in § II, it shares the motif of the protagonist's intercession for sinners with the discussions of Ezra with God in Apc Sedr 2-8 (which have much in common with 4 Ezra). And it contains a short scene where Sedrach and Michael intercede for humankind (14.1-2). This motif is also attested by the *Testament of Abraham* (cf. Test Abr A 14.10-13) and thus harmonises with Sedrach's refusal to die, which also has a parallel in the *Testament of Abraham* and is traditional in the Apc Esdrae and the *Vision of Ezra* as well (see above).

It is difficult to assess how the interrelationship of the Ezra writings discussed here should be explained. I lean toward a scenario which does not assume the existence of a lost original writing underlying the Apc Sedr, the Apc Esdrae and the Vis Esdrae.[28] The differences between these writings are too large for such an assumption. More probable seems to be a tradition-historical explanation which perhaps can be outlined as follows:

1. In the beginning Christians knew — from 4 Ezra — about an Ezra debating with God concerning the fate of Israel and the fate of humankind — the latter was probably more important for them. This Ezra was popular as he had comparably good arguments against God, which only a righteous man could propose. Christians liked hearing these arguments from him because there can be good reason to be a bit angry with God when the system of postmortem retribution functions not only as a relief for believers but also as a burden for them (when they no longer feel that sure about a positive outcome for them). **2.** As a consequence, this Ezra needed a day commemorating his death during which Ezra-material could be read. **3.** The old Jewish Ezra material needed updating. Therefore, new Ezra traditions based upon 4 Ezra were created. **4.** The debating Ezra could be associated with other strong righteous persons, especially from the Old Testament, who also tended to be quite bold in discussions with God and angels.

[28] For a different view, see Bremmer, this volume, Chapter IX.

This was true of Abraham and to a certain degree also of Moses. Traditions about righteous men refusing to die were associated with Ezra. **5.** The motif of postmortem retribution attracted material about journeys through the underworld. As this material does not occur in the Apc Sedr we have to assume that the ways between the Apc Sedr (or better: its predecessor) and Apc Esdrae / Vis Esdrae departed before it became important for other recipients of Ezra traditions attested by the Apc Esdrae and the Vis Esdrae. **6.** The motif of punishment in the Hades became dominant in the Vis Esdrae, whereas the motif of theodicy faded away in this tradition. Also the righteous man refusing to die became unpopular: whereas it is attested by Vis Esdrae A, which is preserved by one manuscript, Vis Esdrae B — which is attested by a comparably large amount of manuscripts — no longer has it.

The preceding scenario implies that the Apc Sedr has partially conservative traits; it attests a branch of Ezra-tradition which is nearer to 4 Ezra than the other two writings. Perhaps this is the reason why it is so badly attested: it was not modern enough. However, conservatism is not the only feature to be detected in the Apc Sedr: the text as we have it now also displays astonishing innovations among which the name of the protagonist (which is quite probably secondary) is to be debated now. Why was Ezra replaced by Sedrach?

The answer given by James (cf. § I) was that this name simply is a corruption: In Greek, Ἔσδρας looks similar to Σεδράχ. However, how sensible is such an explanation? The name Sedrach does not only occur once in our text, it occurs throughout, and it is not only attested by the Oxford codex but also by that in Athens (cf. n. 1). Obviously somebody has decided to write this name (instead of the name of Ezra). Such a decision normally has reasons.

Probably we can find the reason by turning back to one feature which is very likely secondary in Apc Sedr (both in the Oxford and the Athens codex): the insertion of a large passage from a sermon of Pseudo-Ephraim. The motif which probably attracted the redactor who inserted this piece was the idea that love finds its highest expression when somebody gives his soul for his friends, cf. Apc Sedr (bodl) 1.5 (see § II). This motif, however, was also associated with the biblical Sedrach. The biblical Sedrach is a figure in the book of Daniel. He is one of the three young men who were cast by king Nebukadnezzar into a furnace of fire and sang a song there — in a surplus preserved by the Greek tradition. The first part of their song is explicitly called

a prayer of Ananias which is the alias name of Sedrach. In this prayer Sedrach / Ananias states among others that he and his two fellows are a sacrifice to God for the benefit of Israel (Dan 3.41). Together with his fellows, Sedrach gives his live for other human beings. Perhaps this was the observation which caused a redactor to change the name of the hero of our apocalypse from Ἔσδρας to Σεδράχ. As a consequence, this redactor was the one who inserted an encomium on love taken from the Pseudo-Ephraemic homily into our text.

It is unclear if he also intended to associate Sedrach with a certain day of commemoration. Unlike the Apc Esdrae and the manuscript of the Vis Esdrae A, the Apc Sedr does not date the feast of its hero. It mentions such a feast in a somewhat obscure manner (cf. the φωταγωγία in Apc Sedr 16.7). Probably this is a remnant from older tradition — about Ezra. The one who changed the name from *Ἔσδρας to Σεδράχ was perhaps more interested in presenting Sedrach as a prototype of love. This young man, one of Daniel's fellows, was ready to give his life for other men and therefore also disputed with God. As a righteous one, he was ready to risk a conflict with God for the sake of humanity and even willing to be reckoned among the sinners in case God refused to concede some relief for humanity (Apc Sedr 8.12). It was not easy for him to convince God of not punishing humankind as severely as he normally would, but God obviously likes a righteous one behaving like that. He lays down the soul of Sedrach into the paradise (16.9) and grants those com-memorating him far more than is believable: Every sin is forgiven to those commemorating Sedrach (16.5)!

4. *Future research*

A solid commentary on the Apc Sedr would, as I hopefully have demonstrated, be beneficial for research. The way toward such a commentary is long and stony. A lot of riddles have to be solved, and many different traditions are to be assessed. Where, for example, does the encomium on the human body have its backgrounds,[29] and what does the treatise on penitence have to do with the penitential practice of the Byzantine church? Although these are quite difficult questions,

[29] Dostálova, 'Klagelied', 52 cites a Byzantine *parainetikon* from Codex Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 367 (14th century) as a parallel.

those that I regard as a little bit easier should not be underrated either. I will give some examples:

1. *The text of the manuscript*: Quite often peculiar Greek forms need to be explained, for example ἀναφέρυσται in Apc Sedr 10.3 which not only stems from an unknown base (ἀναφερίζω?) but also seems to be metaplastic, as it combines features of the perfect (a thema-vowel is missing) with features that better fit a present form (the verb has no reduplication). This example is comparably easy as the meaning of the form can be guessed from the context (it must mean 'it is brought out' = ἀναφέρεται). Obviously the text of the Apc Sedr has traits of vulgar Greek. How old they are and how typical for the original composition may sometimes be assessed by internal parallels.[30] In para-biblical

[30] This is probably true for a prominent example of catachretic use of case in our text: Throughout Apc Sedr (bodl) accusatives and genitives occur which have the meaning of a dative — in non prepositional phrases, cf. τοὺς πατριάρχας συνήργησεν in Apc Sedr (bodl) 1 H 15; ἀποκαλύψοι αὐτοῦ (James, Wahl: ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτῷ) in 2.1; λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός in 4.4; σοῦ θελήματος ἠπατήθη (instead of σοῦ θελήματι ἠπατήθη) in 5.1; πάντα αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξα in 6.2; εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ in 9.1; συμπάθησαι τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς in 16.3. However, also regular datives are attested, cf. σὺ δέ μοι προφασίζεις in 9.4; λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ in 13.1, and a dative functioning like a genitive as well, cf. ἀποσπασθῆναι τῇ καρδίᾳ in 10.4. The copyists obviously knew that a dative existed but no longer felt sure how it worked. Quite often they could easily switch over from a regular dative to an irregular accusative as there was no difference in pronounciation. This is true for εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ in 9.1 which as a dative phrase (εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ μονογενεῖ) would be pronounced in exactly the same manner as an accusative phrase (*/ipe o þeos to io aftu to monojeni/*) since the final -[n] was no longer realized, cf. ἐψεύσθην (codex) for ἐψεύσθη (Wahl) in 1 H 2; βούλην (codex) for βούλη (Wahl) in 2.1 and K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1898) 88-91. I assume that the catachretic use of case pertaining to the dative in non-prepositional phrases (loss of dative, wrong use of dative because of over-correction) is secondary in our text as regular use is also attested.

A second example involves neograecisms like μὲ τὸν πατέρα in 3.2; μὲ τοὺς ἁμαρτωλούς in 5.7 (for the preposition μέ cf. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache. Grammatik, Texte, Glossar* (Straßburg, 1910) § 162 [p. 97-99]); θέλουν in 8.8; μέλλουν in 8.9 (3. p.pl. present indicative; cf. Thumb, § 213 [p. 144]) as these might be proven to be secondary by regular parallels, cf. μετὰ χαλιναρίου κόπτομεν αὐτό in 7.10 (where,

texts pertaining to the Old Testament (and quite often based upon Jewish traditions) vulgar Greek normally is secondary, as can be demonstrated with OT parabiblica attested by more than one manuscript.[31]

One interesting question would be, when the insertion of the passage about love took place and, associated with that, perhaps also the renaming of the hero of the Apc Sedr. Of course, we will never know the exact answer, but we may gain an impression of whether it is of older or younger date by a thorough comparison of this passage (Apc Sedr 1) with its parallel in the sermon of Pseudo-Ephraim. At present we can only compare Apc Sedr (bodl) with the printed edition of the sermon. It would be better if we could inspect also the manuscript of the Apc Sedr in Athens (which includes only one page attesting the beginning of Apc Sedr — also here it is the paragraph about love! — see § I and n. 1) and, of course, the manuscript tradition of Pseudo-Ephraem's sermon. If we had access to the full range of variants in the tradition, both of Pseudo Ephraem and of the Apc Sedr, we would perhaps better be able to differentiate between readings in Apc Sedr 1 that have been created in the transmission history of the sermon and other readings which have been created after the insertion of Apc Sedr 1. The more readings we can attribute to the latter period, the longer we may suspect this period to have taken. We could then date the composition of *Apc Sedr (i.e. the insertion of Apc Sedr 1 and the renaming of the hero) comparably early (probably still in the Byzantine era and not in antiquity). I think that this is likely, given the variance we can already detect in the accessible material.[32] Beyond

however, the instrumental use of μετά is a bit suspicious, cf. Thumb § 162,2 [p. 98] for the instrumental use of μέ), μετὰ χρόνον in 13.3 and μέλλουσιν in 14.7.

31 Cf. J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2005) 95-101.

32 Where Apc Sedr (bodl) differs from the printed text of Ps-Ephraem, almost throughout it has a secondary reading which, as a rule, is not caused by correction but corruption. Some examples: **1.** In Apc Sedr 1 H 15 (bodl) we read about love: Αὐτὴ ἠκόνησεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἄβελ ('it sharpened in the heart of Abel') which is senseless; Ps-Ephraem has: Αὐτὴ ἐνῴκησεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἄβελ ('it dwelled in the heart of Abel'). Some letters were simply twisted and a *lectio difficilior* emerged that cannot be original. **2.** In Apc Sedr 1 H 15 we read τοὺς πατριάρχας συνήργησεν whereas Ps-Ephraem attests the regular dative: τοῖς πατριάρχαις συνήργησεν. Vulgar accusatives which replace the dative are typical of Apc Sedr (bodl), cf. n. 30. **3.** Apc

that, we should take seriously that the composition found in Apc Sedr (bodl) is attested by the Codex in Athens as well: there also a work of Sedrach commences with the passage about love. It has definitely not been created for the Bodleian codex but is considerably older.

2. *The Adam material*: The Apc Sedr quite often refers to Adam and the story of creation in order to discuss the fate of humankind. This motif already occurs in 4 Ezra (see § III). However, the Apc Sedr enriches considerably the Adam material traditionally associated with Ezra. Unlike 4 Ezra, the Apc Esdrae and the Vis Esdrae, it refers to the story about the fall of the Devil known from the *Vita Adae et Evae*, which explains the fall of the Devil by the refusal of the Devil to bow down before Adam (Vit Ad 11-17), cf. Apc Sedr 5. It enlarges this tradition by the notion that the Devil opposes God (Apc Sedr 5.6) — in the Vit Ad 11-17 the Devil does not oppose God but rejects Adam's superiority. Here the Apc Sedr displays a secondary trait.[33] On the other hand it designates Adam as 'the heir of heaven and earth' (κληρονόμον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς), cf. Apc Sedr 6.2. I do not know a better clarification of the idea underlying Vit Ad 11-17: The one who is entitled to receive the proskynesis of the angels is superior to everything except God in heaven and earth — like Christ who in Hebr 1.2 is called 'heir of everything' (κληρονόμος πάντων) and receives the proskynesis of the angels thereafter (Hebr 1.6). Apc Sedr 6.2 might convey a very old tradition, and this is corroborated by the fact that Apc Esdrae 1.9 conveys a similar tradition: It states that the righteous one is more than the angels (at least after the death). Ezra, the interlocutor of God, was probably associated quite early with a complex

Sedr 1 H 20 reads αὐτὴ τὰς ἐρήμους πολιτείας ἀνέδειξεν. αὐτὴ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ σπήλαια ψαλμωδίας ἀνέδειξεν ('it [sc. love] inaugurated the communities in the wilderness. It †inaugurated the mountains and caves of psalmody†'); the parallel in Ps-Ephraem reads αὐτὴ τὰς ἐρήμους πολιτείας ἀνέδειξεν. αὐτὴ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ σπήλαια ψαλμωδίας ἐπλήρωσεν ('it [sc. love] inaugurated the communities in the wilderness. It filled the mountains and caves with psalmody'). A copyist has erroneously repeated the verb ἀνέδειξεν.

33 Cf. J. Dochhorn, 'Der Sturz des Teufels in der Urzeit. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Skizze zu einem Motiv frühjüdischer und frühchristlicher Theologie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Luzifermythos', *ZTK* 109 (2012) 3-47 where, among other things, it is demonstrated that the Devil as direct opponent of God is a comparably late mythologem (emerging in Christianity in the second century).

which I call ‘ancient Jewish and Christian humanism’ — the idea of primeval human superiority in the cosmic order. I would not exclude the possibility that this association already occurred in a Jewish milieu.

To conclude: a late Byzantine manuscript can, of course, convey old Jewish traditions. Let us be cautious with ruling out so-called dubious sources. Let us rather open the bottle and allow Reitzenstein to leave it for a while. Sometimes such a ghost can be inspiring.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach

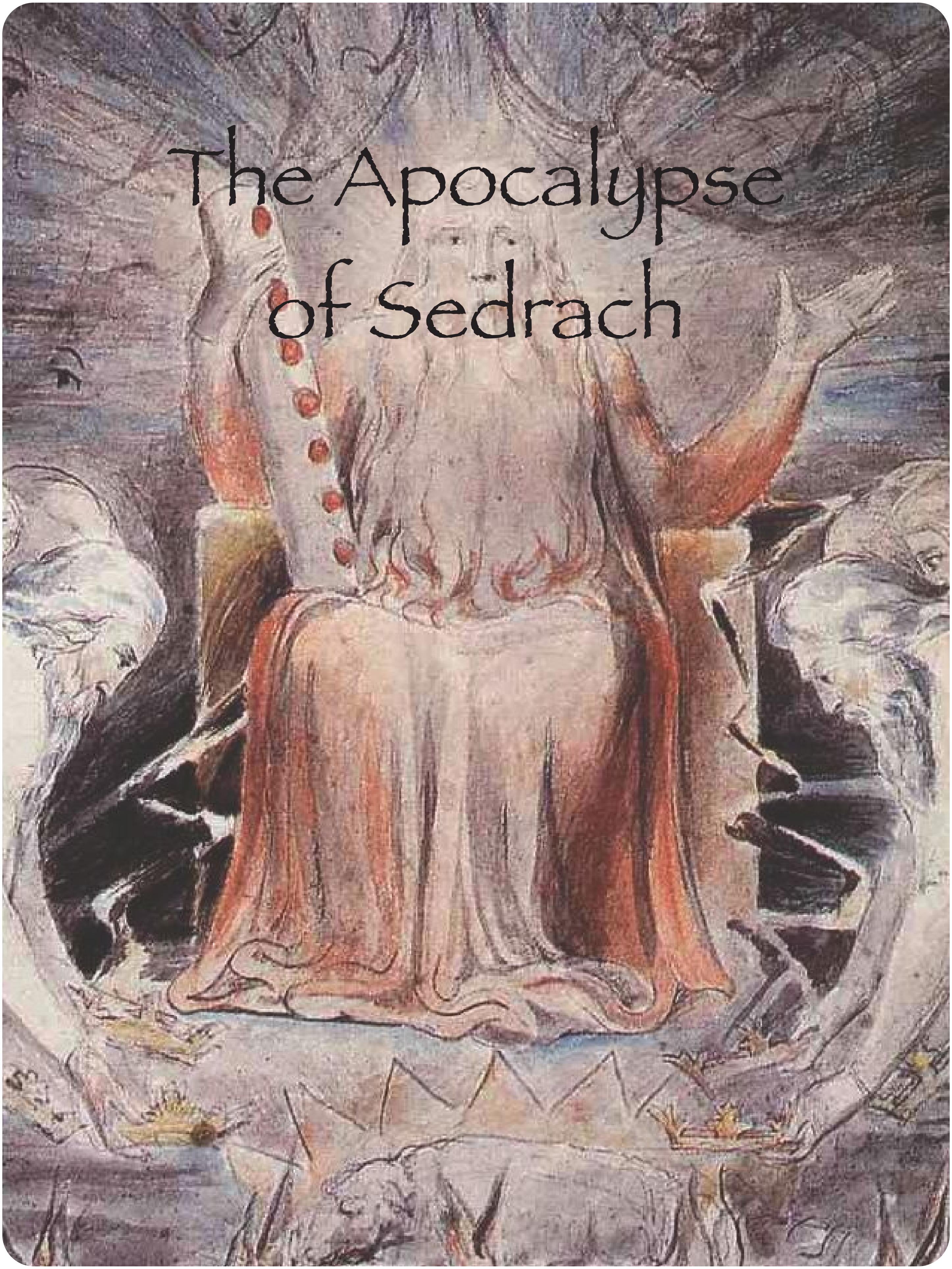

Beloved, we must prefer nothing more than unfeigned love. *We commit many faults every hour, day and night, and for this reason let us acquire love, because it covers a multitude of sins. *What do we gain, my children, if we possess everything yet do not have saving love? *

How does one benefit, my children, if one gives a great banquet and invites king and nobleman and prepares every sort of expensive fare in order that nothing should be missing; nevertheless, if there is no salt, that banquet cannot be eaten; and one not only bears the expense but one also wastes (his) efforts and is disgraced by the guests. (5)

It is the same in our situation, my brethren; what will we profit, for what grace do we possess without love? *Our every deed is false, even if one has virginity and fasts and keeps vigil and prays and gives a banquet for the poor. *

And if one brings gifts to God, or offers the first fruits of all his goods, or builds churches or does anything else without love, it shall be counted by God as nothing, for (these things) are not acceptable. *Thus the prophet says: The sacrifice of the impious is an abomination to the Lord. *Do not be advised to do anything without love. (10)

If you say, "I hate my brother but I love Christ," you are a liar, and John the Theologian rebukes you, for how can one who does not love his brother whom he as seen, love God whom he has not seen? *It is clear that anyone who hates his brother but thinks that he loves Christ is a liar and is deluding himself. *

For John the Theologian says that we have this commandment from God, that he who loves God should also love his brother. *And again the Lord himself says,

Upon these two (commandments) depend all the law and the prophets. *

Oh, how extraordinary and paradoxical is the miracle that he who has love fulfills all the law; love is the fulfillment of the law. (15) Oh, power of love beyond imagination; oh, power of love beyond measure! *

There is nothing more honorable than love, nor is there anything greater either in heaven or on the earth. *This divine love is the capital (virtue); among all the virtues love is the highest perfection in the world? *It dwelt in the heart of Abel; it worked together with the Patriarchs; it guarded Moses; it made David the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit; it strengthened Joseph. *But why do I say these things? (20)

The most important is that this love brought the Son of God down from heaven. *Through love all good things were revealed; death was trampled (from death), and through love one flock was made thereafter of angels and men. *

Through love Paradise has been opened; the kingdom of heaven is promised; the waste places it made? (into) cities, and filled? the mountains and the caves with song; it taught men and women who were treading the narrow and sorrowful path. *But how long shall we prolong this sermon on the achievements of love which even the angels cannot accomplish? *

Oh, blessed love which bestows all good things! (25) Blessed is the man who possesses true faith and unfeigned love; for, as the Master said, nothing is greater than love for which a man lays down (his) life for his friends. (THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH CHAPTER ONE)

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 2

And he [Sedrach] heard a hidden? voice in his ears: Here, Sedrach, you who wish and desire to talk with God and to ask him to

reveal to you the things that you wish to ask. *And Sedrach said, What (is it), my Lord? *And the voice said to him, *

I was sent to you that I may carry you up into heaven. And he said, I want to speak to God face to face? but I am not able, Lord, to ascend into the heavens. (5) But the angel, having stretched out his wings, took him and went up into the heavens, and took him up as far as the third heaven, and the flame of the divinity stood there.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 3

And the Lord said to him, Welcome, my dear Sedrach. *What kind of complaint do you have against the God who created you, for you have said, I want to speak with God face to face? *

Sedrach said to him, Indeed, the son does have a complaint against the Father: My Lord, what did you create the earth for? *

The Lord said to him, For man. (5) Sedrach said, What did you create the sea for and why did you spread every good thing upon the earth? *The Lord said,

For man. *Sedrach said to him, "If you have done these things, why did you destroy man? *And the Lord said,

Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find it right.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 4

Sedrach said to him, Your discipline is punishment and fire; and they are very bitter, my Lord. *It would be better for man if he were not born. *Indeed, what have you done, my Lord; for what reason did you labor with your spotless hands and create man, since you did not desire to have mercy upon him? *God said to him,

I created the first man, Adam, and placed him in Paradise in the midst of (which is) the tree of life, and I said to him, Eat of all the fruit, only beware of the tree of life, for if you eat from it you will surely die. (5) However, he disobeyed my commandment and having been deceived by the devil he ate from the tree.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 5

Sedrach said to him, It was by your will that Adam was deceived, my Master. *You commanded your angels to worship Adam, but he who was first among the angels disobeyed your order and did not worship him; and so you banished him, because he transgressed your commandment and did not come forth (to worship) the creation of your hands. *

If you loved man, why did you not kill the devil, the artificer of all iniquity? *Who can fight against an invisible spirit? (5) He enters the hearts of men like a smoke and teaches them all kinds of sin. *He even fights against you, the immortal God, and so what can pitiful man do against him? *Yet have mercy, Master, and destroy punishment; otherwise receive me also with the sinners, for if you will not be merciful with the sinners, where are your mercies and where is your compassion, O Lord?

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 6

And God said to him, Be it known to you, that everything which I commanded man to do was within his reach. *I made him wise and the heir of heaven and earth, and I subordinated everything under him and every living thing flees from him and from his face. *

Having received my gifts, however, he became an alien, an adulterer and sinner. *

Tell me, what sort of a father would give an inheritance to his son, and having received the money (the son) goes away leaving his father, and becomes an alien and in the service of aliens. (5) The father then, seeing that the son has forsaken him (and gone away), darkens his heart and going away, he retrieves his wealth and banishes his son from his glory because he forsook his father. *

How is it that I, the wondrous and jealous God, have given everything to him, but he, having received them, became an adulterer and sinner?

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 7

Sedrach said to him, You, Master, created man; you know the low state of his will and his knowledge? and you send man into punishment on a false pretext; so remove him. *Am I alone supposed to fill the celestial realms? *If that is not so, Lord, save man also. *Pitiful man has transgressed by your will O Lord. (5)

Why do you throw words around me as if they were a net, Sedrach? *I created Adam and his wife and the sun and I said, Look at each other (to see) who is illuminated. *

And the sun and Adam were of one character, but the wife of Adam was brighter than the moon in beauty, and she gave life to her. *

Sedrach said, What is the use of beautiful things if they wither away to dust? *How is it that you said, Lord, Do not repay evil for evil? (10) How is it, Master, for the word of your divinity never lies? *And why did you thus repay man, if you do not wish (to return) evil for evil? *I know that among the four-footed beasts the mule is a crafty animal? it is none other; yet, with the bridle we turn it where we wish. *You have angels; send them to watch (over man) and when he makes a move toward win hold onto his foot, and he will not go where he wants.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 8

God said to him, If I hold his foot, he says. You have given me no grace in the world, and so I left him to his own desires because I loved him and thus I sent my righteous angels to watch him night and day. *

Sedrach said, I know that among your own creatures, Master, you loved man first; among the four-footed creatures, the sheep; among trees, the olive; among plants which bear fruit, the vine; among things that fly, the bee; among the rivers, (the) Jordan; among the cities, Jerusalem. *But man also loves all these, Master. *God said to Sedrach,

I will ask you one thing, Sedrach; if you can answer me, then you have rightly challenged me, although you have tempted your creator. (5)

Sedrach said, Speak. *The Lord God said,

Since I created everything, how many people have been born, and how many have died and how many shall die and how many hairs do they have? *Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven and the earth have been created, how many trees have been made in the world, and how many shall fall and how many shall be made, and how many leaves do they have? *

Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea how many waves have billowed, and how many have rolled slightly, and how many will arise, and how many winds blow near the shore of the sea? *Tell me, Sedrach, since the creation of the world of the ages when the air is full of rain, how many drops have fallen upon the world and how many shall fall? (10)

And Sedrach said, You alone know all these things, Lord; you alone are

acquainted with all of these; I only beg you to make man free from punishment, for otherwise I myself am going to punishment and am not separated from our race.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 9

And God said to his only begotten Son,

Go, take the soul of my beloved Sedrach, and put it in Paradise. *

The only begotten Son said to Sedrach,

Give me that which our Father deposited in the womb of your mother in your holy dwelling place since you were born. *

Sedrach said, I will not give you my soul. *God said to him,

And why was I sent, and why did I come here, and you make a pretense to me? (5) I was commanded by my father not to hesitate in taking your soul; hence, give me your most desired soul.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 10

And Sedrach said to God, From where will you take my soul, from which member? *And God said to him,

Do you not know that it is placed in the middle of your lungs and your heart and that it is spread out to all the members? *It is removed through the pharynx and larynx and the mouth; and whenever it is due to go out (from the body) it is drawn with difficulty at the beginning and as it comes together from the fingernails and from all the members there is, of necessity, a great strain in being separated from the body and detached from the heart. *

When he had heard all these things, and recalled the memory of death, Sedrach was very troubled and he said to God, "Lord, give me a little while that I may cry, for I have heard that tears accomplish much and can become a sufficient cure for the humble body of your creatures.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 11

And crying and lamenting he started saying, O wondrous head, ornamented like heaven; O sunlight upon heaven and earth; your hair is known from Theman, your eyes from Bosra, your ears from thunder, your tongue from bugle, and your brain is a small creation; the head, the movement of the whole body, is trustworthy and very beautiful, beloved of all but as soon as it falls in the earth it is unrecognized. *

O hands which hold so well, which are easily taught and hard-working, through which the body is fed. *O hands so adept, gathering materials, together you ornamented houses. *O fingers, beautified and adorned with gold and silver; even great structures are made by the fingers; the three joints stretch the palms and they gather good things together; but now you have become strangers to this world. (5)

O feet, which walk so well, moving by themselves so very quickly and untiring. *O knees, thus joined, without you the body does not move; the feet run together with the sun and the moon, night and day, gathering all things together, food and drink which nourish the body. *O feet, so swift and well moving, stirring up the face of the earth and ornamenting houses with every good thing. *O feet, which bear the whole body, which walk straightway to the temples,? making repentance and supplicating the saints, and now suddenly you are to remain unmoved. (10)

O head, hands, and feet, till now I have held you fast. O soul, what placed you in the humble and

wretched body? *Yet now, separated from it, you ascend where the Lord calls you and the wretched body goes away for judgment. *O beautiful body, hair shed by the stars, head like heaven adorned. *O face sweet-smelling,? eyes like windows, a voice like a bugle's sound, a tongue which talks so easily, a beard well trimmed, hair like the stars, head high as heaven, a body adorned, the illuminator? elegant and renowned, yet now after falling within the earth, your beauty beneath the earth is unseen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 12

Christ said to him, Stop, Sedrach, how long will you shed tears and groan? *Paradise has been opened to you, and after dying you will live. *

Sedrach said to him, once more will I speak to you, Lord, while I live, before I die; and do not ignore my supplication. *The Lord said to him,

Speak, Sedrach. (5)

(And Sedrach said,) If man lives eighty or ninety or a hundred years, and lives them in sin but in the end is converted and the man lives in repentance, for how many days of repentance do you forgive (him) his sins? *God said to him,

If he returns after living one hundred or eighty years and repents for three years and bears the fruit of righteousness and death should reach him, then shall I not remember all his sins.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 13

Sedrach said to him, Three years are too many, my Lord. *His death perchance will arrive and he will not fulfill his repentance. *Have mercy, Lord, upon your image and be compassionate, because three years are too many. *God said to him,

If, after a hundred years, a man lives and remembers his death and confesses before men, and I find him, after one year? I will forgive all his sins. (5)

Again Sedrach said, Lord, I beg for your mercy again upon your creature; one year is much, and his death will perchance arrive and suddenly snatch him away. *The Savior said to him,

Sedrach, my beloved, one question will I ask you, then you can resume your inquiries; if the sinner repents for forty days, shall I not indeed remember all the sins he has done?

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 14

And Sedrach said to the archangel Michael, Hear me, strong protector; help me and intercede that God may be merciful to the world. *And falling upon their faces, they besought God and said, Lord, teach us in what way and through what repentance man may be saved, or by what labor. *God said,

By repentances, supplications, and liturgies, through draining tears and fervent groanings. *Do you not know that my prophet David (was saved) because of tears, and that the rest were saved in one moment? (5) You know, Sedrach, that there are nations which have no law, yet fulfill the law; they are not baptized, but my divine spirit enters them and they are converted to my baptism, and I receive them with my righteous ones in the bosom of Abraham. *

And there are some baptized with my baptism and anointed with my divine myrrh, but they have become full of despair and they will not change their mind. *Yet I await them with much pity and much rich mercy, that they may repent. *

But they do that which my divinity hates, and they did not hear the wise man who asked and said,

We in no way justify the sinner. *Are you not at all aware that it is written, *And those who have repented will not see punishment*? (10) And they heard neither the apostles nor my word in the Gospels and they cause sorrow to my angels, and of a certainty in my meetings and in my liturgies they do not heed my angel and they do not stand in my holy churches;? they stand and do not prostrate (themselves) in fear and trembling but they pronounce long words? which neither I nor my angels accept.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 15

Sedrach said to God, Lord, you alone are without sin and very merciful, showing pity and grace to sinners, but your divinity said,

I did not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. *

And the Lord said to Sedrach,

Do you not know, Sedrach, that after changing his mind the robber was saved in one instant? *Do you not know that even my apostle and evangelist was saved in an instant? [. . . but sinners are not saved]?

Because their hearts are like decayed stone; they are those who walk along impious path and who perish with the Antichrist. *

Sedrach said, My Lord, you also said,

My divine spirit entered the nations which though having no law yet do the things of the law. (5)

However, as the robber and the apostle and evangelist and the rest who have stumbled (are) in your kingdom, my Lord, in the same manner forgive those who in recent days? have sinned against you, Lord, because life is full of toil and (is) obdurate.

THE APOCALYPSE OF SEDRACH 16

The Lord said to Sedrach,

I made man in three stages; when he is young, I overlook his mistakes because of his youth; again, when he is a man I watch over his mind; again, when he grows old I preserve him so that he may repent. *

Sedrach said, Lord, you know and are acquainted with all this; yet have compassion with sinners. *The Lord said to him,

My beloved Sedrach, I promise to have compassion even less than forty days, as far as twenty, and whoever remembers your name will not see the place of punishment but he will be with the just ones in a place of refreshment and rest, and the sin of him who (copies?) this admirable sermon will not be reckoned for ever and ever. *

And Sedrach said, Lord, also whoever preforms a liturgy in honor of your servant, rescue him, Lord, from all evil. (5) And the servant of God, Sedrach, said, Now, Master, take my soul. *And God took him and put him in Paradise with all the saints. *To him be glory and power for ever and ever, amen.

The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition

A Comparative Perspective

Essays Presented in Honor of Professor Robert W. Thomson on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday

Edited by

Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta

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The Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* and the Historical Apocalyptica of Late Antiquity

Lorenzo DiTommaso

Among the apocryphal writings preserved in the Armenian language is an apocalypse called the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*.[1] The curious title is not original, but derives from the six-fold division of the prophecies of the biblical Daniel in its Armenian witness, making this vision the "seventh."[2] Five manuscript copies of the text are known,[3] although it is possible that others await discovery.[4]

The *Seventh Vision* purports to be the record of a supplementary revelation disclosed to the prophet Daniel by the angel Gabriel. It begins with a pronouncement that the earth will suffer woes at the end of days. Fourteen regions and cities are highlighted (§§2–15).[5] The first twelve locations are briefly described; the last two, Rome and Byzantium, receive extra attention. Next comes a historical review of the Roman emperors from Constantine the

1 A draft of this paper was read at the 2007 conference at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and edited for publication in 2008. It reflects ideas which in part have since seen print elsewhere. I am indebted to Professor Sergio La Porta for his kind invitation to the conference. *Addendum 2014*: I am indebted again to Professor La Porta for allowing me to update my 2008 text, and for sharing with me his excellent translation of the *Seventh Vision* (La Porta 2013). Although the focus and purpose of our papers differ, they agree on most points of contact, including the probable date and place of composition of the text.

2 García Martínez 1992, 151, based on Kalemkiar 1892. Cf. Issaverdens 1934, 235. Cowe 1992 remains the standard work on the Armenian version of Daniel.

3 MSS: London, Lambeth Palace Library, armen. 1209 (Kalemkiar MS A); Venezia, san Lazzaro 1635 (a copy of the Lambeth MS), Venezia, san Lazzaro 935 (Bible); Wien, Mechitaristenkongregation, armen. 39 (Kalemkiar MS B); and Wien, Mechitaristenkongregation, armen. 14 (Bible; Kalemkiar MS C). G. Kalemkiar presented the *editio princeps* on the basis of three MSS, accompanied by a German translation (Kalemkiar 1892). The texts of the other MSS were published by Yovsēp'eanc' 1896, 237–50, 387–99 (cf. James 1897, 163, 165), one of which J. Issaverdens later translated into English (Issaverdens 1934, 249–65). See La Porta 2013 for a full description of the MS evidence.

4 See the proposal of Calzolari Bouvier 1999. La Porta has since examined MSS held in the Matenadaran (Everan) containing works attributed to Daniel, but did not discover additional copies of the *Seventh Vision* (La Porta 2013).

5 Pontus, Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia Minor, Carpathia, Smyrna, Antioch, Alexandria, Egypt proper, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Carthage, Rome, and Byzantium. The divisions of the text follow those of F. Macler's French translation (Macler 1895, 56–88; cf. Macler 1896).

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Great (reg. 306–37) to Theodosius II (408–50) and Marcianus (450–57), presented in the form of a prophetic forecast (§16–25).[6] Marcianus is succeeded by a "savage beast," after which the seven-hilled city is to suffer much devastation, probably an allusion to the great fire that ravaged Constantinople in the year 469 (§26).[7] The *Seventh Vision* goes on to describe military conflicts among shadowy historical figures identified as the dog, the wild beast, the dragon, the lion, the widow, the youth, the tyrant king, and "Salamander" (§§26–34).[8] The transition in the text from *ex post facto* prophecy to true eschatological prediction occurs somewhere between the arrival of an Arian king (§35) and the advent of the Antichrist (§37). The final portion of the text is given over to descriptions of the features of the Antichrist, the terrible afflictions that will befall the earth and its inhabitants, the second coming of Christ, and the last judgment (§§37–39).

Such is the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, which has been known to scholars since the last decade of the nineteenth century. Since then, our view of the text has been informed by a few core assumptions. One assumption is that its original language is not Armenian. Another is that it formed part of a compact collection of eight or nine post-biblical Daniel apocalypses of mainly Byzantine Christian provenance. A third assumption is that all these apocalypses derived from an archetypal Greek *Apocalypse of Daniel*, for which the lost Greek original of the *Seventh Vision* was considered to be a prime candidate.[9]

Recent research has overturned many of these assumptions. It is now clear that there are far more Daniel apocalyptica than originally thought. Instead of eight or nine texts, at least twenty-four compositions are preserved in over

6 Including Theodosius I (reg. 379–95), the last emperor who can be said to have ruled the entire Empire. After him, one may identify separate Roman and Byzantine emperors, a feature noted by the *Seventh Vision* at §23: "Et d'un sceptre sortiront deux sceptres" (trans. Macler 1895).

7 Macler 1895, 70 n. 5.

8 Proper names are also mentioned in this section of the text, including "Plakitas" (§30), "Orlogios" (§31), and "Theodosius" (§28). On the last name, "Salamander" is read by Kalemkiar 1892, 234, Macler 1895, 77, and Issaverdens 1934, 258, although at 258 n. 2, he observes that in another manuscript the text reads "Theodosius."

9 *E.g.*, Zahn 1893, 115–16, and James 1920, 70. A.-M. Denis holds that both the Armenian *Seventh Vision* and the Greek *Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel* "dépendent indépendamment d'un Daniel apocryphe, peut-être judéo-rabbinique, qu'Hippolyte, selon Ébed Jesu ... aurait commenté sous le nom de *Jeune* (plutôt que *Petit*) *Daniel*, dont il reste un fragment en syriaque" (Denis 2000, 1301).

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100 manuscripts.[10] The earliest compositions date from the end of the fourth century,[11] the latest from the end of the Byzantine Empire, a period spanning more than 1,000 years.[12] Although many of the Daniel apocalyptica were written by Christians, one Islamic example survives, along with four mediaeval Jewish ones.[13]

Equally extensive is the range of languages in which these texts are known. Although over half the Daniel apocalyptica are preserved in Greek, three are extant in Arabic, and three others in Slavonic. Two are written in Syriac, two in Hebrew, and two others in Judeo-Persian, while one text is in Coptic. Some compositions, like *The Fourteenth Vision of Daniel* and *The Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel*, survive in different states and in more than one language. Others, such as the Armenian *Seventh Vision*, are preserved in translation only. However, to the best of my knowledge, not a single manuscript copy of any of the Daniel apocalyptica exists in Latin or the vernacular languages of Western Europe. The corpus therefore made no impact in the mediaeval West. This stands in striking contrast to the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*,[14]

10 Catalogue entries identify the existence of at least three dozen additional MSS containing apocalyptica ascribed to Daniel (DiTommaso 2005, *passim*). This number probably represents only a fraction of the total.

11 Two oracle fragments in Greek known as *The Vision of Daniel on the Island of Cyprus* and *The Vision of Daniel on the Blond Race* (DiTommaso 2005, 97–100).

12 The majority of the MSS date from the centuries following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. This is also true for Byzantine apocalyptica as a class, suggesting that this literature remained relevant throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

13 Islamic: The *Apocalypse of Daniel on the Events after al-Muʿtamid*; Jewish: the *History of Daniel* (*Qissa-yi Dāniyāl*), the *Vision of Daniel by the River Kebar*, the *Nevu'ot Daniel*, and the late *Book of Daniel* (*Dāniyāl-nāma*).

14 The *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* is extant in four Greek recensions, at least four Latin recensions, and a host of translations and versions in other languages. The Syriac original was composed in the early seventh century; see Kmosko 1931 and Martínez 1985. On the Greek recensions, see Istrin 1897 and Ps.-Methodius 1976 and 1978, as well as Ps.-Methodius 1998, the two volumes of which also present an edition of the first Latin recension. Laureys and Verhelst 1988 list 196 Latin MSS, not all of which have been examined by autopsy. The essays in Reinink 2005 are indispensable to understanding the early history of the text's redaction.

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the *Sibylla Tiburtina*,[15] and the *Oracles of Leo the Wise*,[16] texts with which the Daniel apocalyptica have much in common, as we shall see.

Another assumption which has been refuted by recent research is that all these Daniel texts are apocalypses. In fact, less than half actually fit the best definition of the genre.[17] The rest are apocalyptic oracles (hence my use of the inclusive term "Daniel apocalyptica" to refer to the corpus). Also called "political prophecies" or "Sibylline prophecies," after the celebrated Sibylline books of classical antiquity,[18] apocalyptic oracles consist of one or more prophecies, arranged in chronological order and usually linked by a narrative structure. The formal element which distinguishes apocalypses from apocalyptic oracles is that revelation in apocalypses is interpreted through an otherworldly figure. In the *Seventh Vision*, for example, the angel Gabriel decrypts Daniel's vision to extract its meaning. In contrast, revelation in apocalyptic oracles is transmitted

15 The original Greek form of the *Sibylla Tiburtina* (Alexander 1967) dates from the last decades of the fourth century, and is thus part of the resurgence of historical apocalyptic texts that occurred in light of the calamitous events of the era (see text below). There are at least four versions of the mediaeval Latin *Sibylla Tiburtina*, preserved in 114 stand-alone MS copies (so Holdenreid 2006, but see DiTommaso 2011 for additional copies). Sackur 1896 remains valuable for both Ps.-Methodius and the *Sibylla Tibutina*.

16 The date of the Greek *Oracles of Leo* is unclear. Brokkaar 2002, 25–44, argues that its earliest oracles were composed shortly after 815, which would actually predate the historical figure of Leo VI the Wise (866–912); most authorities prefer a later century. Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich 2000 identify fifty-seven MSS, some containing multiple copies of the text (51 n. 66); I know of at least two dozen additional MS copies (cf. Mango 1960, 78–85). The text of the *Oracles* has been edited several times: see *PG* 107 1129–1140, Rigo 1988, among others, and Brokkaar 2002, based on the copy in Amsterdam, University Library VI E 8. In or shortly before the year 1304, some Leo oracles were reworked into a collection of Latin "pope prophecies," the so-called *Genus nequam* group, after their *incipit* (Fleming 1999). Another set of pope prophecies, the *Ascende calve* group, appeared shortly thereafter (Schwartz and Lerner 1994). By the middle of the fourteenth century, an amalgam of both sets created the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, which is the title that scholars commonly accord to all pope prophecies of this type.

17 An apocalypse is "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, *in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient*, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisions eschatological speculation, and spatial as it involves another, supernatural world" (Collins 1998, 5, italics added). Henze observes that while all the Daniel texts exhibit an apocalyptic eschatology, only a few fit the formal definition of the genre (Henze 2001, 6–7).

18 Below, n. 20. "Sibylline prophecies" is preferred by the older authorities, e.g., Cohn 1970 and Thomas 1971. Not every political prophecy is apocalyptic.

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to the reader without the medium of an interpreting angel, and not always through a seer.

But it is the other, informal differences between apocalypses and apocalyptic oracles that bring their distinction into high relief. Apocalypses typically recount the vision as well as the interpretation of the vision, and include background details about the seer and his visionary activity, including his ritual preparation, the site where the vision occurred, and any dialogue he is reported to have had with the angel. In full-blown apocalypses such as the biblical book of Daniel and *4 Ezra*, these features are critical to the function of the text. In contrast, apocalyptic oracles and political prophecies almost never recount the vision, and only in the rarest cases do they contain either angelic dialogue or details about the circumstances under which the revelatory information was received. Furthermore, apocalyptic oracles are less likely to contain long *ex eventu* reviews of history, preferring only to relate the eschatological forecasts, although this is more a tendency than a firm rule.

A survey of ancient and mediaeval apocalyptic writing sets the discussion on genre in its historical context, and reveals two important literary patterns:

1. The first pattern reflects changes in the *type* of apocalyptic literature that Jews and Christians wrote. Broadly speaking, apocalypses composed before 100 C.E. fall into two major types: historical apocalypses, which are mainly concerned with the purpose and meaning of history, and otherworldly apocalypses, which contain visionary accounts of places infernal, celestial, or supernaturally terrestrial.[19] However, at the start of the second century, the production of historical apocalyptica virtually ceased, in both Judaism and Christianity. At the same time, Christian writers began to compose apocalypses that focused on visionary journeys to heaven or hell, such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, as well as the apocalyptic texts preserved in the Nag Hammadi codices. This one-sided creative impulse continued for the next 250 years, when it abruptly reversed itself. Beginning in the last third of

19 Collins 1998. The categories are heuristically meaningful, but the division between them is not as sharp as it might appear. "Mixed" types such as the Revelation of John exhibit characteristics of both categories. All apocalyptic literature presupposes the imminent end of history and the passing of the present world (this is a proposition of the underlying worldview). While the focus of historical apocalyptica is on history and its culmination, the focus of ascent/descent apocalypses, the so-called "moral apocalypses" of Byzantium and early Islam, and the otherworldly apocalyptica of the high Middle Ages in the west (to cite three examples) is on other things in addition to the end of history.

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the fourth century, the literary record reveals a sharp decline in the composition of otherworldly apocalypses, which is mirrored by a vigorous resumption in the production of historical apocalyptica, first in Christianity and then, by the sixth and seventh centuries, in Judaism and emergent Islam.

2. The second pattern reflects changes in the *form* of apocalyptic literature that Jews and Christians wrote. The full-blown apocalypse was the predominant form of apocalyptic literature in early Judaism, less so in their numbers (perhaps sixteen formal apocalypses) as in their cultural influence. The biblical books of Daniel and the Revelation of John are apocalypses, as are the Enochic *Book of the Watchers, Animal Apocalypse*, and *Apocalypse of Weeks*, as well as *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 2 Enoch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. In contrast, the oracular form was rare in the apocalyptic literature of early Judaism and Christianity. The only exception of any significance is the *Sibylline Oracles*, a collection of apocalyptic political prophecies originally of diasporic Jewish origin, which in their concept and design aped the oracular tradition of the classical Sibylline books.[20] However, beginning in the last third of the fourth century, the literary record reveals a sudden increase in the production of apocalyptic oracles, which was sustained over the next thousand years. As with the resurgence of the historical mode of apocalyptic writing, which occurred at the same time, the phenomenon appeared first in Christian writings, and was echoed a few centuries later in Judaism and Islam. Meanwhile, full-blown apocalypses after the fourth century became exceedingly rare.

Both patterns (the resumption of historical apocalyptica, and the rise of the oracular form) turn on a critical date: the end of the fourth century CE. Two additional points correlate to these patterns and this date, and complete the picture:

1. Apocalyptic literature attributed to the prophet Daniel is always of the historical type. This is as true for the Daniel apocalyptica as it is for the revelatory visions of the biblical book of Daniel that are their immediate conceptual antecedents. However, after the final redaction of the book of Daniel

20 Oracles attributed to one or more Sibyls were well-known throughout classical antiquity. The most famous collection was the Roman *libri Sibyllini*, which were composed in Greek hexameters, and according to tradition dated from the time of the early kings. Prophetic rather than apocalyptic, they persisted almost to the end of the Empire, despite their destruction by fire in 83 BCE and subsequent reconstitution. The first books of the apocalyptic *Sibylline Oracles* were composed by Egyptian Jews in the second century BCE. New books were added and older ones redacted over the next several centuries, first by Jews and then by Christians.

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in 164 BCE, no apocalyptic literature associated with the figure of Daniel was composed until the earliest Daniel apocalyptica began to appear at the end of the fourth century. This event coincided with the resumption in the production of historical apocalyptica as a class. Indeed, it very much *marks* it, since the earliest Daniel apocalyptica (including the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*) are among the very first examples of this resumption, which also features the Greek original of the *Sibylla Tiburtina* (composed around the year 380, now lost), and, within a few centuries, the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* in Christianity, the *Sefer Eliyyahu* and *Sefer Zerubbabel* in Judaism, and the earliest Islamic apocalyptic writings.

2. The biblical book of Daniel is an apocalypse, second only to the Revelation of John in its cultural importance. It set the basic design for apocalyptic literature of the historical type, and its motifs and timetables have provided the grist for eschatological speculation from the ancient world to the present day. There is no end to the number of apocalypticists who sought (and still seek) to identify the fourth and final world-kingdom of Daniel 2 and 7 with a contemporary state or principality, or the "seventy years" of Daniel 9 with a span of time that correlates to their own experiences. On these grounds, one would expect that the Daniel apocalyptica would reflect the genre and content of the visions of the book of Daniel. But it has already been observed that over half the apocalyptica are not examples of the genre, a fact that must now be considered in light of the rise of the apocalyptic oracle as the dominant form of new apocalyptic texts after the fourth century. Moreover, the Daniel apocalyptica almost never cite, rework, or interpret the book of Daniel, or reuse its idiosyncratic motifs or timetables.[21]

The emergence of the oracular form during the late fourth and fifth centuries cannot be explained in terms of function, social settings, or eschatological content. Apocalyptic oracles and formal apocalypses were composed for the same purposes, and under dynamically analogous historical situations. What, then, precipitated the rise of apocalyptic oracles (the second pattern), and what can we say about their production and circulation? What provoked the resumption of historical apocalyptica at the same time (the first pattern)? Is there a connection?

I have argued elsewhere that both patterns were a response to the political, sociological, and existential upheaval brought about by the series of barbarian incursions and Roman military defeats. These events began in the last decades

21 The *Vision of the Prophet Daniel on the Emperors* and the Arabic *Vision of Daniel* contain a few, stock symbols prominent in the book of Daniel, e.g., the use of horns to represent rulers and beasts to represent kingdoms.

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of the fourth century and culminated in the withdrawal of Imperial authority in the West, and which, along with other features, mark the twilight of classical antiquity.[22]

1. As it applies to the first pattern (the resumption of historical apocalyptica), cause and effect are patent. Historical apocalyptica seek to explain past and present-day events or situations that seemingly contradict core truths held by the community or group for which they are composed. The juxtaposition of the unshakable belief that the group is and remains God's special people with the reality of an unspeakable situation frequently involving calamity, catastrophe, and the menace of death generates an acute form of cognitive dissonance, the resolution of which cannot be envisioned in anything but transcendental terms. Thus the basic message is that the present-day world, including its events—its *history*—is imperfect, transitory, and ultimately subordinate to a transcendent reality, a concept which is normally imagined in terms of "heaven" or the "kingdom of heaven." The unspoken declaration is that God's great plan for the world remains in operation: history will come to its appointed climax very shortly. At that time, the age-old conflict between good and evil will end, final justice will be meted out, evildoers punished, and the righteous saved and vindicated. But since the plan is a product of the transcendent reality, it is veiled from casual observation; and since it reflects the logic and purposes of this reality, it is beyond the grasp of immediate human comprehension, at least in its unmediated form. Thus, the first function of all historical apocalyptica is to disclose the truth and nature of this plan: other purposes, such as consolation, exhortation, paraenesis, maintenance of group identity, depend on this first function, even if it is never stated outright. Little wonder, therefore, that the first apocalyptic texts that sought to explain the events that shook the Roman Empire in the late fourth and fifth centuries were ascribed to Daniel and the Sibyls, figures which were already well-associated with the revelation of historical crises and catastrophes in light of eschatology and existence. Little wonder, too, why the composition of apocalyptic literature attributed to Daniel and the Sibyls, and of the historical type in general (including the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*), persisted beyond the fifth century, a fact which at least in part may be ascribed to new sets of calamities and crises that plagued the Eastern Empire, the most notable of which was the rise of Islam and the threat posed by Muslim armies and navies thereafter.[23]

22 DiTommaso 2009.

23 Crises also could be internal: Byzantine historical apocalyptica of the eighth and ninth centuries were much concerned with iconoclasm and palace politics.

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2. As for the second pattern (the rise of the oracular form), a cause has to be inferred from the effect. Since these crises shared a common tenor, not only texts but also oracles and motifs were continually reprocessed by successive generations of authors in light of their own situations, to the point where they began to recycle material from earlier apocalyptica, rather than just interpret old prophecies and timetables in light of present-day events. This process will be detailed below. What can be said here is that an ever-increasing familiarity with apocalyptic texts—produced (as it were) in rapid-response to a seemingly endless series of historical crises of similar tenor, which one after another served as proof positive to their audiences that they were living in the last days and that the end was near, prompted the elimination of those literary elements that characterise full-blown apocalypses in antiquity, but were extraneous to the first function of historical apocalyptica as described above. A combination of the laws of supply-and-demand and historical circumstance transformed apocalypses into streamlined, mass-market commodities,[24] while sheer overuse, brought on and maintained by recurrent historical events, promulgated the rise of the apocalyptic oracle as the predominant form of apocalyptic literature after the fourth century. The evolution of the genre apocalypse is not in itself unusual, inasmuch as it reflects a trajectory customary to literary genres elsewhere,[25] although I see it less as a hierarchic alteration of genre, as defined by Northrop Frye,[26] and more as a geriatric process.

The evidence for this evolution is located in certain micro-structural features of the texts, the most important being the individual oracle or prophecy, which can range in length from a few lines of text to several hundred lines. In his brilliant volume on *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, P.J. Alexander demonstrates how a Daniel text like *The Vision of Daniel on the Last Times and the End of the World* was assembled from individual prophecies that had been extracted from older compositions and reset in their new literary setting.[27] "Rebooting," applied in a literary sense, is an apt depiction of the process, and "recombinatory" an accurate description of the method. The ambigu-

24 There is not much scholarship on the commercial aspect of the production of mediaeval apocalyptica and other forecasting texts.

25 Fowler 1971, esp. 212–13.

26 Frye 1959.

27 Alexander 1979, 77–95; his title is "Daniel καὶ ἔσται." See DiTommaso 2005, 158–62. García Martínez 1992, 154, describes the *Last Vision of the Prophet Daniel* in more or less this fashion. Likewise, the text of the *verso* of the manuscript preserving the Hebrew *Vision of Daniel by the River Kebar* is largely a patchwork drawn from Byzantine Greek examples (Bonfil 1979).

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ously a-historical nature of the motifs, for which these prophecies provided a narrative framework (the advent of the Last Roman Emperor, the coming of Enoch and Elijah, the fall of the seven-hilled city, etc.), ensured their ongoing ability to be recombined in this fashion, having been rebooted to fit present-day events—often an immediate crisis or calamity, as noted above. What Alexander did not entirely grasp is the novelty and profoundly universal scope of the process. Although it is hardly unique to apocalyptica, the recombinant recycling of older material found in the oracular form an ideal vehicle for its expression. The oracle-units exhibit a persistent historical coherence, which manifests itself in their recurrent appearance in post-classical historical apocalyptica in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and as such may be rightly understood as a defining characteristic of mediaeval apocalyptic texts in both the east and the west.

But what do we mean by a "text"? The notion carries with it a sense of coherence and continuity, no doubt reflecting our deep familiarity with biblical and classical books and their relatively stable textual histories. Despite strata of shared material, Matthew and Luke are separate Gospels, each displaying a historical coherence and continuity that is apparent in the manuscript evidence. Even an aggregate collection as repeatedly revised and augmented as the *Sibylline Oracles* exhibits a manuscript tradition that may be described genetically.

The Daniel apocalyptica are different. The historical persistence of coherent oracle-units in the manuscript tradition, along with other features that will be described below, suggests that their composition, reception, and diffusion cannot be comprehended solely along genetic lines. An understanding of these features which is sensitive to results of the recent research will enable us to properly situate the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* in its historical and literary contexts.

Consider the *Diēgēsis Danielis*, an apocalyptic oracle which divides its attention between an *ex eventu* forecast of wars and political strife, and a description of eschatological events associated with the Antichrist. The subject of K. Berger's fine 1976 edition,[28] the *Diēgēsis* is probably the best-known of the Daniel apocalyptica among biblical scholars, chiefly by virtue of its being the sole representative of the corpus included in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*.[29] According to Berger, and to subsequent scholarship as well, the *Diēgēsis* survives in three Greek manuscript copies from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. One copy is located at Oxford, another at Montpellier, while the third is in

28 Berger 1976. See Stone 1977 and DiTommaso 2005, 130–41.

29 Zervos 1983.

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Venice.[30] However, the document in the Venetian manuscript differs so much from the other two that Berger, who felt it preserved a variant expression of the *Diēgēsis*, did not employ it in his critical edition, but was forced to edit it separately.[31] What, then, is the status of this Venetian document?

On the one hand, its contents partly overlap the *Diēgēsis* as it is represented in its Oxford and Montpellier witnesses. Thus the document preserved in the Venetian manuscript is not a different text than the *Diēgēsis*, in the same sense that *2 Baruch*, for example, is not *4 Ezra*, even if they share material and exhibit common themes. On the other hand, it is neither a third copy nor a version of the *Diēgēsis*, inasmuch as one understands the terms within the usual parameters of textual criticism. Instead, the Venetian document appears to be a Greek version of an apocalyptic oracle that also survives in a Slavonic manuscript. This oracle was edited by V.I. Istrin at the end of the nineteenth century[32] and later translated into Italian by E. Folco.[33] I have since labeled this composition *The Vision and Revelation of Daniel*,[34] and although the Greek witness represented by the Venetian document and the Slavonic witness represented by the text published by Istrin are not identical, they clearly preserve a similar composition.

The slippery relationship among the three Daniel compositions contained in the Oxford, Montpellier, and Venetian manuscripts reflects in microcosm the affiliation among the full corpus of Daniel apocalyptica.

In some cases, two or more manuscripts preserve copies of a single Daniel text, i.e., an identifiable composition, perhaps redacted or possibly exhibiting scribal errors, yet essentially the same text. These copies may be written in the same language, in the way that the Oxford and Montpellier manuscripts contain copies of the Greek *Diēgēsis Danielis*. Or they may be written in different languages, in the way that manuscript copies of the *Fourteenth Vision of Daniel* are extant in Coptic and Arabic. The copies may even preserve multiple versions of the text or even families of versions, in the way that the *Last Vision of Daniel* survives in nearly forty Greek and Slavonic manuscripts, the

30 Oxford, Bodleian Library Canonicus gr. 19 (*Summary Catalogue* no. 18472), ff. 145–152; Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine 405, ff. 105–15; and Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana gr. VII.22, ff. 14–16.

31 Most of his learned commentary on the *Diēgēsis* is based on the text of the Oxford and Montpellier codices, and is informed by the text of the Venetian document only in the places where it preserves overlapping material.

32 Istrin 1898, 159–62.

33 In Pertusi 1988, 81–99.

34 DiTommaso 2005, 141–4.

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latter expressed in at least four recensions.[35] Whatever the situation, there is a holistic unity to all the copies, whose historical relationship is clear and stable enough to be illustrated by means of a stemma and traced back to an autograph, hypothetical or confirmed, and whose versions and recensions can be presented by means of a critical edition. I do not presume to have addressed the issue of texts and versions in its entirety, and am aware of exceptions to the rule. But for the purposes of the discussion, the central feature of a "text" is that it was received, reproduced, and relayed as an identifiable entity, where additions, subtractions, or emendations can be explained as processes wrought on a received document that displays a historically constant coherence.

In other cases, though, two or more Daniel compositions are related but are not copies or versions of a single text. In other words, two or more apocalyptica may have one or more oracles in common, yet cannot be understood as copies or even recensions of the same text. The Venetian document, for example, is not a copy of either the *Diēgēsis Danielis* or *The Vision and Revelation of Daniel* that is preserved in the manuscript copy in Slavonic, even though it is literarily related to both. Similarly, the Greek *Discourses of John Chrysostom Concerning the Vision of Daniel* is neither a copy nor a recension of the Slavonic *Vision of the Prophet Daniel on the Emperors*, even though they share much material.[36] These are merely two illustrations of a widespread phenomenon. Some sets of related yet not replicate compositions require the presentation of separate editions, as Berger was obliged to do with the Venetian document and the *Diēgēsis*. Other sets demand a synoptic presentation in order to illustrate the full range of the evidence in the manuscripts.[37] Either way, the affiliation among such groups cannot be articulated in genetic terms only, presupposing discrete texts and tracing straight lines of textual descent. Any apocalyptic document attributed to Daniel in any given manuscript potentially might be part of a larger set

35 See DiTommaso 2005, 186–92 and 366–70, for the MSS. This assessment is provisional, since I have not examined every Greek MS, although the very fine volume of Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova 1996 has very much assisted in making available the Slavonic ones, and clarifying the nature of their recensions.

36 *Chrysostom*: Alexander 1985, 72–6, and DiTommaso 2005, 155–8; *Emperors*: Alexander 1985, 62–72, and DiTommaso 2005, 145–51.

37 The differences among certain Parisian MSS of the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos*, for example, proved so great that H. Pernot (1900) was forced to abandon his attempt to provide a critical edition and instead decided to print the versions separately (see further, Baun 2007, 34–75). Similarly, the variations among the Old English witnesses to the *Apocalypse of Thomas* are so great that a synoptic presentation of the MS witnesses is required (Wright 2003).

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or sets of Daniel apocalyptica, which while unrelated to each other in a strict textual sense, are nevertheless related literarily.

What, then, is meant by my claim that there are twenty-four Daniel apocalyptica, represented in over 100 manuscripts? Some members of the corpus are discrete texts, as the term is described above. For example, whatever their titles might denote, the *Seventh Vision of Daniel* is not an abridged version of the *Fourteenth Vision of Daniel*. They are unrelated. But many more of the compositions preserved in these manuscripts resemble the Venetian document in their extended literary relationships. This state of affairs is further complicated by the fact that, during these centuries, apocalyptic (i) motifs, (ii) oracles, and (iii) texts were not proprietary to the figure of Daniel.

(i) Motifs have remarkable historical stability. To adduce one example, the expectation for the New Jerusalem, which predates the appearance of the apocalyptic worldview, retains its eschatological value even in contemporary apocalyptic speculation. The golden city descending from the heavens in the Revelation of John has been transfigured into a spaceship from the outer void among some recent apocalyptic new religious movements.

Yet motifs are also subject to evolutionary change.[38] Many of the core themes of apocalyptic art and literature in the Middle Ages either were unknown in early Judaism and Christianity (like the Last Roman Emperor),[39] or developed into their most robust form only after the late fourth century (like the Antichrist).[40] Indeed, if mediaeval apocalypticism is defined in part by literature that was the product of the recombination and rebooting of coherent oracle-units, it is also defined in part by its distinctive motifs.[41] These include the end-time appearance of Enoch and Elijah in addition to the Antichrist and the Last Roman Emperor, and a set of expectations relating to Gog and Magog and the blond-haired races, and the great gate beyond the Caspian that confined these enemies until the appointed time.[42] However, none of these motifs is unique to the Daniel apocalyptica. Rather, their

38 For an example of how individual elements might combine to form a relatively stable motif, see Stone 1991.

39 Kampers 1895; Reeves 1969; Alexander 1971; Alexander 1985, and Reinink 1988.

40 McGinn 1998a, 51–5, presents a selection of literature from the late fourth and fifth centuries relating to the Antichrist.

41 See further my contribution to Part II of this volume.

42 Anderson 1932; Heller 1935; Waxman 1952; Manselli 1983; Alexander 1985, 185–92; and Railton 2003. For other themes, see McGinn 1998a; McGinn 1998b; and, esp. Berger 1976 (n.b. the pull-out chart between pp. 82–3).

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congress formed a conceptual store-house of eschatological figures and events, a depot from which apocalypticists could partake. Variations on the Last Roman Emperor abound among the literature—in late mediaeval texts, the figure even exchanged its Byzantine garb for a coat of Frankish mail. Descriptions of such transformations constitute a veritable cottage industry among mediaeval scholars.

(ii) Individual oracles/prophecies are similarly unrestricted in their attribution. Alexander, much indebted to Istrin on the matter, brought our attention to the extraordinary degree to which portions of the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* were recycled in later apocalyptica, including several later compositions attributed to Daniel.[43] Although we cannot infer that the Daniel apocalyptica as a class are therefore dependent on (and thus later than) the *Apocalypse*, there is no doubt that oracles from this most famous mediaeval apocalyptic text were repeatedly employed by later authors, who in turn ascribed them to other figures from the past or employed them in the service of anonymous political prophecies.[44]

(iii) Even the texts themselves transcend attribution. Consider again the three manuscripts associated with the *Diēgēsis Danielis*. Only the Venetian document—not even a copy of the text—claims the prophet Daniel as its author. The Montpellier text is anonymous, introducing itself by the ominous words Διήγησις περὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου τὸ πῶς μέλλει γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, while the document in the Oxford manuscript is credited to Methodius. Likewise, other Daniel apocalyptica are pluralistically ascribed, for example to John Chrysostom, or to Leo, the wise emperor to whom the eponymous group of *Oracles* was also attached.[45]

That said, there appears to have been limits to the diffusion of oracles and the extent to which certain types of apocalyptica could be attributed to different figures. Specifically, even though oracles were circulated among apocalyptica attributed to Daniel, Methodius, Leo, and John Chrysostom, and copies of the same composition were attributed to two or more of these figures (or were left unattributed), it is far more rare for these oracles to appear in apocalyptica bearing the names of one of the Sibyls, or for Sibylline texts to appear under the byline of Daniel or Methodius. Moreover, apocalyptica attributed to Daniel, Methodius, and Leo tend to be found in the same manuscript codices, while

43 Alexander 1985.

44 For examples, see Vassiliev 1893, 47–58; Trapp 1964; and Ševčenko 2002.

45 On the connexions between the *Oracles* and the Daniel apocalyptica, see Mango 1960 and Brokkaar 2002.

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(in the West, at least) Sibylline and Merlin texts regularly appear together in manuscript books, along with their commentaries, major and minor.[46]

It may be helpful to collate the discussion so far. The historical persistence of coherent oracle-units among the Daniel apocalyptica as they are preserved in the 100-plus manuscripts suggest a recombinant process of creation that is irreducible to genetic models focusing solely on the linear transmission of discrete texts. This conclusion is reinforced by obvious overlaps at the levels of motif, oracle, and composition among much of the apocalyptic literature of the age. Although some texts (in the classic sense) exist for which stemmata can be traced, the relationship among the documents preserved in these manuscripts is more properly expressed in literary rather than textual terms.[47]

These views about the nature of the Daniel apocalyptica allow us to situate the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* in a more appropriate context. Among other things, the hypothesis that most or all the Daniel texts genetically descend from a single, lost Greek *Apocalypse of Daniel* can no longer be maintained. There are too many apocalyptica, too many documents preserved in manuscript which exhibit a history of diffusion and composition that occurred on the level of the discrete oracle-units. The Armenian *Seventh Vision* is by no stretch of the imagination a version of the *Diēgēsis Danielis*, which in turn is not the Greek and Slavonic *Last Vision of Daniel* or the Syriac *Vision of the Young Daniel*. These texts are not all versions of the same apocalypse, but they are all illustrations of the same phenomenon. This is a better way of understanding the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*—as an early witness to several important patterns that began in the late fourth century and were important features of the Byzantine world and its broader cultural contexts for a millennium.

These were not socially insignificant compositions, either, the products of marginalised communities living on the edge, or tiny groups eking out an existence among bouts of imperial oppression. After his famous embassy to Constantinople in 968–9, Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona, reported that the entire population of the city and the imperial court were almost preternaturally influenced by written accounts of the visions of Daniel and the Sibyl. He

46 This is a preliminary observation, based on experience rather than a detailed statistical study.

47 The situation is approximately analogous to other forms of mediaeval apocrypha. To some degree the Hekhalot texts of mediaeval Jewish mysticism were products of the ongoing assembly and reassembly of smaller blocks of received tradition. This was true also of the mediaeval Alexander *legenda*, as well as the interrelated cycle of texts concerning Mary and Pilate that stem from the *Protevangelium Iacobi* and other sources.

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noted that these texts were as common among the "Saracens," as he put it, as the Byzantines,[48] and in spite of his disdain for them, he took the opportunity to describe a few.[49]

Liudprand's report of Byzantine credulity, which might once have been appreciated only as corroboration for his sour dislike of Constantinople and its Byzantine court (in both senses of the adjective), should now be reconsidered in the light of the sheer number of Daniel apocalyptica and the "supply-and-demand" mode of their production. When we augment this number with the far larger tally of other known historical apocalyptica, either in the form of anonymous political oracles or texts attributed to Methodius and other figures, it is impossible to cling to stale ideas such as the apocalyptic literature of the age was a liminal phenomenon, or that it reflected the feverish hopes of socially marginal movements.[50] These were extremely popular texts that held a great deal of meaning for a wide variety of communities over a long period of time. There can be no other way to interpret the significance of the manuscript numbers and the languages in which they are preserved, or the fact that within a few centuries of their first appearance in the late fourth century the production of Jewish and Islamic examples commenced.

One question remains: how old is the *Seventh Vision*? The manuscript copies are unhelpful in this regard, since they are all late. Several authorities suggest that the *Seventh Vision* was composed in Greek in the seventh century and perhaps translated into Armenian shortly thereafter.[51] Yet the text's internal

48 "Habent Graeci et Saraceni libros, quod ὁράσεις, sive visiones, Danielis vocant, ego autem Sibyllanos, in quibus scriptum reperitur quot annis imperator quisque vivat, quae sint futura eo imperitante tempora, pax an simultas, secundae Saracenorum res an adversae" (*Relatio de legatione Constantopolitana* §39; ed. Chiesa 1998, 204).

49 Alexander 1985, 97–122.

50 Of course, apocalyptica could serve equally in populist contexts, spread by itinerant preachers and holy men, and designed for a largely uneducated population. At the same time, many compositions address the citizens of Constantinople, and we should not dismiss Liudprand's report of the influence of these texts within court circles. Similarly, while apocalyptica could and did serve unofficial social and economic hierarchies, apocalyptic historiography could also link the Empire with the divine plan for history. Thus, although Olster 1998, 64, argues that the Daniel texts represented a stream of apocalyptica that did not anticipate an imperial restoration, as McGinn 1998a demonstrates, apocalypticism regularly served official interests, particularly when political power was causally linked to the greater, divinely-controlled order.

51 Kalemkiar 1892, 113–14: "Was den Inhalt des Textes anbelangt, so wird es genügen, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass die römisch-byzantinischen Kaiser von Konstantin dem

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evidence implies a much earlier date of composition. Even though not all its allusions may be matched with historical events or figures, they do exhibit a reasonable degree of congruence with data reflecting the political situation during the last half of the fifth century. The *Seventh Vision* is also silent about the Muslim invasions of the late seventh and succeeding centuries; given the fact that they are such a common theme in Byzantine apocalyptica after the seventh century, their omission cannot be put down to authorial idiosyncrasy. Similarly, the *Seventh Vision*'s lack of reference to Justinian (reg. 527–65)—and this in an apocalypse that focuses on the high politics and foreign policy of Byzantium and Rome—is also telling. Furthermore, the focus of the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* is on the East. With the exception of Carthage and Rome, the regions and cities are all part of the Eastern Empire. The preoccupation with the intricacies of Byzantine power politics might indicate that the apocalypse was written in or near Constantinople. The author pays special attention to Bithynia, the area on the north shore of Asia Minor immediately east of Constantinople, and to the Bithynian city of Nicomedia (§§2, 33).

To those unfamiliar with apocalypses of the historical mode, the evidence might appear corroborative at best. Yet, as explained above, the first function of all such texts is to assure their audience that history remains under God's control and that a resolution to the present situation is imminent. In such literature, therefore, history and historical data matter. One way of conceptualising apocalyptic historiography is as the imposition of meaning on what might otherwise appear to be random historical events. Apocalyptic literature identifies the significant events and orients them to an eschatological horizon, permitting the intended audience to locate themselves precisely within the divine plan for history. The historical review of the *Seventh Vision* commences with Constantine and continues to the middle of the fifth century, where the allusions become both dense and quite cryptic. (The increasing density of the allusions is another indication that we are approaching what for the author was his present day.) A close examination reveals that the allusions collectively describe the Byzantine political and military situation of the last half of the fifth century. This, then, is the most likely date of the composition of the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*: probably the last half of the fifth century, or perhaps the start of the sixth.

Grossem angefangen bis Heraclius allegorisch, ja sogar manchmal mit eigenen Namen einzeln vorgeführt, und die Kriege, Naturerscheinungen u.s.w. ausführlich und detaillirt erzählt werden. Dieser 'Prophet', gewiss ein Grieche, hat daher seine 'Vision' in der Mitte des vii. Jahrhunderts geschrieben. Die armenische Uebersetzung dürfte in demselben Jahrhundert abgefasst worden sein." See also Voicu 1983, 170, among others.

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This date calls into question the view that the Daniel apocalyptica were strictly mediaeval compositions, and as such were preceded by, and thus were dependent on, *Ps.Methodius*.[52] It also situates the *Seventh Vision* close to the beginning of the time when the production of historical apocalyptica abruptly resumed, and, indeed, the *Seventh Vision* displays some points of contact with the lost Greek original of the *Sibylla Tiburtina*.[53] It is my belief that this was the age of the first post-biblical Daniel apocalyptica. If this is correct, then along with the two small oracles that possibly date from the end of the fourth century,[54] the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel* is among our earliest witness to these compositions, and certainly our earliest full-blown example of the type. No longer can we understand the Armenian *Seventh Vision* as the original, seventh-century "Apocalypse of Daniel," which was influenced by the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*, like so much of the apocalyptic literature of the age, and from which a small corpus of relatively unimportant texts later derived. Rather, it stands as the earliest complete witness to an important late antique phenomenon that would eventually extend beyond Christianity to Judaism and Islam. It is perhaps from this starting-point that future research on this fascinating text ought to proceed.

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53 See the apparatus to the translation in La Porta 2013.

54 Above, n. 11.

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Also called
THE BOOK OF OG

INTRODUCTION

The setting of The Book of Giants is during the lifetime of Enoch, the seventh from Adam, and the great grandfather of Noah. Enoch lived before the Flood, during a time when the ancient world was imaginably very different.

Human beings were said to have lived much longer. Enoch's son Methuselah attained the age of 969 years, though that might be interpreted as almost 97 years. Additionally, the ancient Greeks also used to count two years every 12 months, from solstice to solstice, though that system of keeping track of years seems to be applied to later generations of The Book of Genesis.

Another difference was that angels and humans interacted freely, though they were not supposed to, similar to the relationship between the tribes of Israel and the Canaanites. They fraternized so freely that some of the immortal angels begot children with mortal human females. This fact is neutrally reported in Genesis 6:1-4, but other stories view this episode as the source of the corruption that made the punishing flood necessary.

This appears to be more about common and noble classes of humans, more than celestial or extra terrestrial beings ineracting directly with humans. And, in other words, the holy priests of wisdom and learning might be regarded the angels, in the same way strong men and beautiful women often were, though usually subordinate to the priesthoods.

The ancient Greeks also divided the world into classes of immortals, mortals, and wild beasts. Indeed, the pressure for human beings to behave like civilized men and imitate the nobility of the gods has been a universal call and expectation since the dawn of mankind, as the Bible affirms.

The ideas of Seraphim and Cherubim and Living Creature angels also seems applicable. The later books of 2nd Enoch and 3rd Enoch delve into these subjects considerably, yet not until later in history.

The Book of Giants is much better understood within the context of a class system, like that of India, and that thus the transgression of the Giants was to steal women from higher classes and marry them. This theme is again echoed in the controversial developments of Shechem in Genesis __.

According to The Book of Enoch, the mingling of angel and human was actually the idea of Shernihaza, the leader of the evil angels, who lured 200 others to cohabit with women. The offspring of these unnatural unions were giants 450 feet high. In ancient Oriental folklore and elsewhere, giants were a variety of sizes. Also, the term giant is not completely clear.

The wicked angels and the giants began to oppress the human population and to teach them to do evil. For this reason God determined to imprison the angels until the final judgment and to destroy the earth with a flood.

Enoch's efforts to intercede with heaven for the fallen angels were unsuccessful [1st Enoch 1:6-16].

The Book of Giants retells part of this story and elaborates on the exploits of the giants, especially the two children of Shemihaza, Ohya and Hahya. Since no known complete manuscript exists of the Book of Giants, its exact contents and their order remain a matter of guesswork.

Most of the content of the present fragments concerns the giants' ominous dreams and Enoch's efforts to interpret them and to intercede with God on the giants' behalf.

Unfortunately, little remains of the independent adventures of the giants, yet it is likely that these tales were at least partially derived from ancient Near Eastern mythology. Thus the name of one of the giants is Gilgamesh, the Babylonian hero and subject of a great epic written in 3000 B.C.

One idea is certainly clear. The Giants have banded together and have taken control the world from the Holy Ones and Watchers, usually meaning the priesthoods and the mighty men. Thus the flood was required to save the world from corruption, washing the world as it were. The story is echoed by the early Greek creation myth about the wars of the massive Titans against the great elder Gods, myths made confusing by the recuring roles of the same persons one generation after another.

In the Book of Giants, the Book of Lamech, and the Book of Enoch, the chaotic scene described by Genesis [ ] is seen, of the whole world becoming corrupted and defiled by the wickedness of iniquity and bloodshed. Human sacrifice was known to have been a problematic issue.

Slavery was also common in all chaotic eras of the ancient world, and slavery is generally identified with sexual slavery. Thus the term Giants sometimes means predatory savage men, though many other times Giants are more accurately deemed the physically giant person, the principality, or a rich person Seraphic angels are also generally thought to be of considerable stature.

Root source of introduction from www.gnosis.org

THE BOOK OF GIANTS *THE ESSENE VERSION*

Also called
THE BOOK OF OG

A lost historical chronicle about the days before Noah

From the Quumran Scrolls numbered 4Q203, 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q530-532, and 6Q8

Discovered in 1945,
the fragments found in caves at the north end of the Dead Sea were identified by cave and scroll.

Qumran translates to 'the Moon',
from the Arabic name of the dry creek adjacent to the Essene priestly community of religious men
who were living in exile just outside of Jerusalem from about 200 BC to AD 70

In 1945 a similar library of Coptic Gnostic literature was also discovered at Nag Hammadi, Egypt.

The Book of Giants also appears related to the earliest Persian literature
of the Avesta holy writings of Zoroastriansim

The Book of Giants was widely published, probably around the time of the Book of Judges,
at the time when the Earth was also cooled by volcanic activity,
and thus famines and wars were recorded in many places

The Book of Giants was a rather popular book,
and was published in no less than a half dozen different major languages of the ancient world

The Book of Giants claims to tell the story of the generations grappling with savagery
and that were threatened with destruction by God, right before Noah's flood,
during the days of Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah

Enoch was alive (and present on Earth) when Noah was born with much fanfare

Much of the subject matter of the judgment of the Giants before the Noah's Flood
is addressed also in the second and third Books of Enoch

[* inspect fragments]

Review originals and insert accurate spacing, search for space translations

Also called
THE BOOK OF OG

[Additional logical suggestions of the words of the text are bracketed in italics, and denoted with question marks]

The fragments are given numbers that are not necessarily in order.

1Q23 FRAGMENT 9 + 14 + 15
A general statement of the descent of the wicked angels which bring both knowledge and chaos
***[**Genesis 6:1-4]*

1
2 [. . .] they knew the secrets of [. . .] *[Heaven]*
3 [. . . si]n was great in the Earth [. . .]

4 [. . .] and they killed many [. .] *[men?]*
5 [. . . they begat] giants [. . .] *[upon many (beautiful) women?]*
6
7
8

4Q531 FRAGMENT 3
The angels exploit the fruifulness of the Earth

1
2 [. . . everything that the] earth produced [. . .] [. . .] the great fish [. . .]
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

14 [. . .] the sky with all that grew [. . .]
15 [. . . fruit of] the earth and all kinds of grain and al1 the trees [. . .]
16 [. . .] beasts and reptiles . . . [al]l creeping things of the earth and they observed all [. . .]

18 [. . . eve]ry harsh deed and [. . .] utterance [. . .]
l9 [. . .] male and female, and among humans [. . .]

1Q23 FRAGMENT 1 + 6
The two hundred angels choose animals on which to perform unnatural acts

1 [. . . two hundred]
2 donkeys, two hundred asses, two hundred . . . rams of the]
3 flock, two hundred goats, two hundred [. . . beast of the]

4 field from every animal, from every [bird . . .]
5 [. . .] for miscegenation [. . .]
6
7
8

The outcome of the demonic corruption was violence, perversion,
and a brood of monstrous beings. [Genesis 6:4]

4Q531 FRAGMENT 2

1 [. . .] they defiled [. . .]
2 [. . . they begot] giants and monsters [. . .]

3 [. . .] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted . . .]
4 [. . .] with its blood and by the hand of [. . .]

5 [giant's] which did not suffice for them and [. . .]
6 [. . .] and they were seeking to devour many [. . .]

7 [. . .]
8 [. . .] the monsters attacked it.

4Q532 COLUMN 2
FRAGMENTS 1-6

2 [. . .] flesh [. . .]
3 all [. . .] monsters [. . .] will be [. . .]

4 [. . .] they would arise [. . .] lacking in true knowledge [. . .]
because [. . .]

5 [. . .] the earth [grew corrupt . . .]
mighty [. . .]

6 [. . .] they were considering [. . .]
7 [. . .] from the angels upon [. . .]

8 [. . .] in the end it will perish and die [. . .]
9 [. . .] they caused great corruption in the [earth . . .]
[. . . this did not] suffice to [. . .]
10 "they will be [. . .]

The giants begin to be troubled by a series of dreams and visions,
and Mahway, the titan son of the angel Barakel, reports the first of these dreams to his fellow giants

He sees a tablet being immersed in water,
and when it emerges, all but three names have been washed away

The dream evidently speaks of the destruction of all the Earth by the Flood,
except Noah and his sons

2Q26 *

1 [*The floodwaters?*] they drenched the tablet in the wa[ter . . .]
2 [. . . *And?*] the waters went up over the [tablet . . .]
3 [. . . *And then?*] they lifted out the tablet from the water of [. . .]
4

5
6
7
8

The giant goes to the others and they discuss the dream

4Q530 FRAGMENT 7

1 [. . . this vision] is for cursing and sorrow.
I am the one who confessed
2 [. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to [. . .]
3 [. . . the spirits of the sl]ain complaining about their killers and crying out

4 [. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of
[. . .] much and I will be sleeping, and bread
6 [. . .] for my dwelling;
the vision and also
[. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants
8 [. . .]

6Q8

1 [. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .]
2 [. . .] without trembling.

Who showed you all this vision, [my] brother?
3 [. . .] Barakel, my father, was with me.

4 [. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling what [he had seen . . .]
5 [. . . *he* said] to him, Now I have heard wonders!

If a barren woman gives birth [. . .]
6
7
8

4Q530 FRAGMENT 4

1
2
3 [There]upon Ohya said to Ha[hya . . .]
4 [. . . to be destroyed] from upon the earth and [. . .]
5 [. . . the ea]rth.

When
6 [. . .] they wept before [the giants . . .]
7
8

4Q530 FRAGMENT 7

1
2
3 [. . .] your strength [. . .]
4 [. . .]

5 Thereupon Ohya [said] to Hahya [. . .]

Then he answered, It is not for us
6 but for Azaiel,
for he did [. . . the children of] angels
7 are the giants,

and they would not let all their loved ones] be neglected
8 [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have strength [. . .]

The giants realize the futility of fighting against the forces of heaven

The first witness could be a giant named Gilgamesh
4Q531 FRAGMENT 1

1
2

3 [. . . I am a] giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength
4 [. . . any]one mortal, and I have made war against them;

but I am not
[. . .] able to stand against them, for my opponents
6 [. . .] reside in [Heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places.

And not
7 [. . . they] are stronger than I.
8 [. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call [me].

9 [. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream
10 [. . .] the sleep of my eyes [vanished], to let me see a vision.

Now I know that on [. . .]
11-[. . .]
12 [. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

Ohya's dream vision is of a tree that is uprooted except for three of its roots;
the vision's import is the same as that of the first dream
6Q8 FRAGMENT 2

1 three of its roots [. . .]

2 [while] I was [watching,] there came [. . . they moved the roots into]
3 this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

Ohya tries to avoid the implications of the visions

Above he stated that the dream referred only to the demon Azazel,
here he suggests that the destruction is for the earthly rulers alone
4Q530 COLUMN 2

[. . . *The vision ?*]
1 concerns the death of our souls [. . . [*and of ( ) ?*] and all his comrades,
[and Oh]ya told them what Gilgamesh said to him

2 [. . .] and it was said [. . .] "concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates"
[*or, the king has cursed the princes*]
3 and the giants were glad at his words.
Then he turned and left [. . .] [*them?*]

More dreams afflict the giants,
and although the details of the dreams are obscure, it bodes ill for the giants

The dreamers speak first to the monsters, and then to the giants

Thereupon two of them had dreams
4 and the sleep of their eye, fled from them,
and they arose and came to [*the other monsters?*]
5 [. . . and told *them?*] their dreams,
and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters

6 [. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night

7 [and there was a garden . . .*of trees with?*] gardeners and they were watering
8 [. . . two hundred trees,
and] large shoots came out of their root [*and they drank*?]
[David, the Root of Jesse]
9 [. . .] all the water, and the [*a?*] fire burned all *[water of life, Rev. 21]*
10 [the garden . . .]

They found the giants to tell them
11 [the dream . . .]

It is suggested that Enoch be found to interpret the vision

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us
12 the dream.

Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants,

13 I too had a dream this night, O giants,
and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth
14 [. . .]
and such is the end of the dream.

[Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters] grew afraid
15 and called Mahway.

He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch
16 [the noted scribe].

They said to him,
Go [. . .] to you that
17 [. . .] you have heard his voice.

And he said to him,
He wil1 [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .]

4Q530 COLUMN 3

1
2

3 [. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

After a cosmic journey,
the giant Mahway comes to Enoch and makes his request

[. . . he mounted up in the air]
4 1ike strong winds, and flew with his hands like ea[gles . . . he left behind]
5 the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [. . .] *the Sahara? unto Morocco or South Africa*

6 and Enoch saw him and hailed him,
and Mahway said to him [. . . *A dream has been sent*?]
7 hither and thither a second time to Mahway

[. . . The giants await
8 your words, and all the monsters of the earth.

If [. . .] has been carried [. . .]
9 from the days of [. . .] their [. . .]
and they will be added [. . .]
10 [. . .] we would know from you their meaning [. . .]
11 [. . . two hundred tr]ees that from heaven [came down . . .]

Enoch sends back a tablet with its grim message of judgment,
yet with hope for repentance [?]

4Q530 FRAGMENT 2

The scribe [Enoch . . .]

The Seventh Vision of Daniel
A new translation and introduction

by Sergio La Porta

The *Seventh Vision of Daniel* (henceforth, *7Dan*) is a lengthy vision composed in the late fifth century which predicts the destruction of the Roman Empire, the coming of the Antichrist, and the end of the world. The work is preserved only in Armenian and is known from five manuscripts. Although the work was originally written in Greek, the title was attached to the text in its Armenian version. As the biblical book of Daniel frequently appears divided into six visions in Armenian Bibles, this extra-biblical vision was considered the seventh.[1] The early date of the original composition of this text renders it important for our understanding of the development of the Daniel *apocalyptica*.[2]

Contents[3]

7Dan begins with a brief account of the circumstances of Daniel's vision. It asserts that three years after all the other visions had been granted to Daniel, the Lord sent the angel Gabriel to reveal the following vision to Daniel. The initial vision foretells disasters that will befall various cities and provinces in the eastern Empire as well as Rome. Following this prophecy, the text presents an overview of Byzantine history from the city's founding up until the reign of Zeno. Although the identity of many of the emperors and a number of the enigmatic historical references have been deciphered, many allusions remain obscure. The author explicitly mentions the Emperors Theodosius II and Marcian, and refers to Theodosius I through a pun on his name.

The author depicts the reign of Theodosius II as a time of prosperity for the Empire, but that the first problems will originate at this time. The 'groanings' mentioned are a likely reference to the beginnings of the Christological controversies, to which the author refers more explicitly during the reign of Marcian. From his comments, it is clear that the author of *7Dan* was a supporter of the decision at Chalcedon.

The historical narrative is presented in greater detail beginning with the reign of Leo I to whom the text refers as 'the beast'. Leo I himself is praised as a strong ruler, but the text predicts that many catastrophes will befall Byzantium during his reign. The author describes the wars between both parts of the Empire and the Goths and Huns in allegorical terms of beasts, dogs, pups, lions, and dragons. He may refer to Gaiseric's attack on Rome in 455 and his defeat of Imperial forces in 468. The author devotes much time to the

1. Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision," 111; Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 289; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 101 and citations in n. 48.

2. On the term, '*apocalyptica*', see DiTommaso, "The Early Christian Daniel Apocalyptica."

3. See also the summary in DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 102-3.

intrigues of Aspar the Alan, Leo I's *magister militum*, and Leo I's eventual defeat of this powerful personage.

While relating these events, the author also first introduces the reader to Zeno and Basiliscus. The focus of the text then turns to the rise of Zeno and his accession to the throne. Subsequently, the text details the revolts of Basiliscus and Illus that the Emperor Zeno faced during his reign.

At this point, the author shifts from history to prophecy and predicts what will happen to the Empire before the arrival of the Antichrist. The text evokes natural disasters and the breakdown of society, but then returns to the historical figures of Verina and Zeno. The author, however, incorrectly predicts Zeno's murder at the hands of a certain Plakitas. Following the death of Zeno, there will be a time of great violence and warfare during the reign of the fictional ruler Orloghios who should be identified with the king Olibos in the *Oracle of Baalbek*.[4] *7Dan* specifically mentions the destruction of Bithynia and Nicomedia during this period preceding the coming of the Antichrist, suggesting that this may have been the locus of the text's original composition.[5]

The author then briefly describes the return of an Arian emperor or of an emperor named Arianos during whose reign Constantinople will mourn for itself. After the Arian Emperor, the Empire will be beset by violence and the uprisings of barbarians. Constantinople will be spared this violence, but it will suffer from a war that was allotted for it alone and a fiery column will appear stretching from heaven to earth. These events will introduce the coming of the Antichrist, whose physiognomy and character are described in detail. In particular, the author stresses that the Antichrist will imitate the actions of Christ himself, although in an illusory fashion. He will deceive many who will suffer from a devastating famine. They will try to flee but will be unable. God's chosen, however, who have been hiding in the hills and in caves will be able to flee. Nevertheless, the end will come only after the righteous suffer torments and the seven-hilled city be destroyed. To describe the aftermath of the destruction, the author evokes the image of a woman looking for fruit and embracing an olive-tree as found in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*.

The final paragraph of the vision provides a description of the destruction of the world and the last judgment. This portion of the text is finely constructed around a series of biblical quotes and allusions. It concludes with a short intercessory prayer that will be spoken by the righteous and is inspired by the Lord's prayer and the Prayer of Manasseh.

Manuscripts and Versions

The Armenian version of *7Dan* is preserved in five known manuscripts. Three manuscripts were used by G. Kalemkiar for his *editio princeps* and German translation of the text. These are:[6]

- A. Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library, London, cod. arm. 1209. This manuscript is an Old Testament, written on paper by a priest Yovhannēs (John). Kalemkiar dates the

4. Cf. Paul Alexander's comments on the name, *Oracle of Baalbek*, 112 n. 50. *The Oracle of Baalbek* is translated in the current volume by Rieuwerd Buitenwerf under the title the *Tiburtine Sibyl* and the latter name for the document is used here from this point on.

5. See also DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 107.

6. The manuscript denotations are those of Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision," 112-13. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," based his French translation of *7Dan* on Kalemkiar's edition.

manuscript to the twelfth century.[7] *7Dan* appears between 2 Esdras and Jeremiah. Kalemkiar judged this manuscript to preserve the best text-form of the vision.

- B. Vienna Mxitʻarist Library, cod. 39. The manuscript is written on paper and was copied by the priest Margarē in 1337 for his brother, Lazar. The manuscript contains: 1. Proverbs; 2. Ecclesiastes; 3. Song of Songs; 4. Wisdom; 5. Job; 6. Twelve prophets; 7. Daniel, which is divided into 6 visions followed by *7Dan*, entitled, *The Seventh Vision of Daniel about the end of the world*.
- C. Vienna Mxitʻarist Library, cod. 14. This manuscript is a Bible with miniatures written by Yovhannēs, bishop of Ani, in 1375 for the Archbishop Manuel. The book of Daniel is divided into six visions, although the attribution to the fifth vision is not given. At the end of the book of Daniel is written, 'End of the prophecy of Daniel'; it is immediately followed by *7Dan* bearing the ascription, 'Again, a vision on the end of the world'.
- In addition to these three manuscripts, S. Yovsēpʻeancʻ published an additional two manuscripts in 1896.[8] These manuscripts have been identified with codices 1635 [D] and 935 [E] of the Venice Mxitʻarist Library.[9]
- D was dated to the fifteenth century by Yovsēpʻeancʻ based on paleographic evidence. According to Yovsēpʻeancʻ, this text is a copy of that found in the Bible housed at Lambeth Palace [A]. The text of D is damaged in parts. In the notes to the translation, I have placed the corresponding material missing in D in square brackets.
- E was included in a Bible dated to 1341. It nearly always agrees with BC, particularly with C. Yovsēpʻeancʻ has proposed emendations of the text of E in places; these have been noted.

J. Issaverdens based his English translation of *7Dan* on the versions published by Yovsēpʻeancʻ; he relied primarily on the text of D, but he also took the variants of E into account.[10]

I have investigated several other manuscripts that contain works attributed to Daniel in the National Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) in Erevan, Armenia, but did not find any further copies of the text.

The original language of *7Dan* was unquestionably Greek.[11] This can be demonstrated on both contextual as well as linguistic grounds. The concerns of the text all revolve around the Roman Empire and, particularly, Constantinople and its environs; neither Armenia nor Armenians have any role in the text. The Armenian version contains at least one scribal error that could only occur at the Greek level of transmission;[12] two calques on

7. Kalemkiar mistakenly notes that the famous Armenian scholar, Yovhannēs Imastasēr Sarkawag (Deacon), mentioned by the copyist in the forward to the Psalms lived in the thirteenth century; Yovhannēs died in 1129.

8. Yovsēpʻeancʻ, *Uncanonical Books*, 237-50, 387-99.

9. Sargisean, *Studies*, 134-35. See also, Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings*, 235; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 101-102. I have assigned the designations D and E to these manuscripts.

10. Issaverdens, *Uncanonical Writings*, 249-65.

11. This judgment is also shared by, amongst others, Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision," 113-14; Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 290; Brandes, "Apokalyptische Literatur," 308; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 101.

12. The appearance of Carthage in the list of cities and provinces strikes one as odd as does its association with the Persians in *7Dan* 15; however, Paul Alexander has observed that Carthage and Chalcedon were often confused in Greek manuscripts (p. 112 n. 48). He further remarks that in later texts, Chalcedon

Greek terms;[13] and a pun on the name of the Emperor Theodosius that is impossible in Armenian in *7Dan* 22. We may observe that exact textual parallels with the *Tiburtine Sibyl* also exist.[14] These are significant, as no known Armenian version of this text exists and so the shared material must derive from a Greek textual milieu.

Genre, Structure, and Prosody

The overall genre of *7Dan* conforms to that of an historical apocalypse that contains an *ex eventu* prophecy without an otherworldly journey and without personal eschatology.[15] The author, however, employs several other genres within the composition of the text.

We may note the introductory paragraph or preamble that calls the prophet to his vision. This invocation of Daniel to his vision by the angel Gabriel is shared in a number of other texts; the closest parallel is the opening of the Slavonic version of *The Vision and Revelation of the Prophet Daniel*.[16]

It is clear that the prophecy of the cities and provinces *7Dan* 2-17 comprises a discrete unit. This list of prophetic disasters of cities resembles those that occur in the *Sibylline Oracles*.[17] It is possible that a similar block of material had circulated independently prior to the composition of *7Dan* which the author of *7Dan* reworked within his text. The original oracular material may have included prophecies concerning the subjugation of the East by Rome and the subsequent transfer of its wealth to the West.[18] It is uncertain whether the preamble that includes the attribution to Daniel was originally part of this oracular material or whether the author of *7Dan* added it; the latter is more probable.

Within the 'historical narrative' *7Dan* 18-28, we can identify two general motifs: the first is the rise of horns and scepters, prominent in 18-26; the second, the wars of the beasts in 26-28. The portrayal of the historical tribulations of the Byzantine Empire in terms of a succession of scepters followed by series of battles between dogs, beasts, pups, lions, dragons, etc. is common to the Daniel *apocalyptica*. We may note that while the scepters return within the eschatological portion of the text—in 29-31 and 36-37—the beasts do not.

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was considered the limit of Assyria. Thus, it is likely that 'Carthage' in *7Dan* should be taken as Chalcedon, a confusion that could only have occurred in Greek; also noted by Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 62-63 n. 183. We may further note that if we understand Carthage as Chalcedon, then all the cities and provinces mentioned in the list with the exception of Rome belong in the Eastern Empire.

13. These are: 1) 'seven-hilled' (e.g., 3:1, 8:1, 18:1, etc), *eawtʿnblur*, a calque on Gk. *heptalophos*. The *New Dictionary of the Armenian Language* does not have an entry for the word. The first recorded instance of its occurrence in Armenian is in a work by Aṙakʿel Bałišecʿi (c.1380-1454), *Middle Armenian Dictionary*, 1:205. The designation, however, appears in *Sibylline Oracles* 2 and 13 as well as in nearly all of the Byzantine Daniel *apocalyptica*; cf. the remark of DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 169 n. 337. 2) 'having many seats', 'polyhedrous' (17:4), *bazmanist*; a hapax in Arm., but cf. Gk. *polyedros*.

14. These have been noted in the footnotes to the translation; see, in particular, *7Dan* 38.

15. See Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 14.

16. In addition to biblical Dan 8:16, Gabriel addresses the prophet in the Slavonic version of *The Vision of the Prophet Daniel on the Emperors* and *The Vision of Daniel by the River Kebar* (Heb.). The angel Gabriel also plays a minor interpretative role in *The Apocalypse of Daniel on the Events after al-Muʿtamid* (Arabic), Cook, "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse," 88-91; see also DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 171.

17. For example, 3.162-95, 295-349, 401-88; 4.130-51; 5.52-92, 111-36, 286-327, 333-60; 7.40-63, 96-117; cf. also the remarks of Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 291 n. 2.

18. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, Rome is often depicted as having taken the East's wealth which it will have to repay two-fold in the future; see, for example, 4.145-48 and 8.126-30. The prophecy in *7Dan* 3 refers in a general sense to the conquest of Asia by Rome, here, seven-hilled Babylon; *7Dan* 6 speaks of the many people who will flee Galatia to Rome; *7Dan* 7 apparently alludes to the capture of Karpathos by the Romans in 42 B.C.E.

In *7Dan* 28, 30, 32, 35, and particularly in 37, the author interweaves a series of 'woes'. In 37, we may also detect the motif of the 'description of the Antichrist'. The final paragraph includes an intercessory prayer modeled on the Lord's prayer in Matthew 6 and, possibly, the Prayer of Manasseh.

The author of *7Dan* has often connected these different textual forms with transitional paragraphs or sentences using the technique of interlocking. The invocation flows naturally into the prophecy of the cities (*7Dan* 2); the motif of horns and scepters also fairly seamlessly transforms into the struggle between the beasts in (26). Similarly, the transition from 'historical narrative' to eschatological prediction (29) is well constructed. Although these two paragraphs seemingly break up the narrative of the historical account, they cleverly add greater 'authenticity' to the following prophecy. By inserting the prophetic material in this paragraph about the destruction of civil society between the 'historical' account of Zeno's reign and the semi-historical/semi-prophetic prediction of his assassination at the hands of a certain Plakitas, the author of *7Dan* has fused history with prophecy. The reader may have felt certain at the beginning of 29 that he or she had entered the realm of prophecy, but the return of the historical figures of 'the widow' and the 'Salamander' in 30 clearly disrupt that sense and leave one wondering whether this paragraph is prophecy or history.

Date and Provenance

Scholars have dated *7Dan* anywhere from the fifth to the seventh centuries. Macler[19] and DiTommaso[20] proposed a fifth century date of composition. Alexander suggested 'about 500AD' without providing his reasons;[21] he was followed by Brandes.[22] Kalemkiar[23] thought he could detect references to the reign of Heraclius and dated both the text and translation to the middle of the seventh century.[24] Zahn had already doubted this hypothesis, but also dated the text to the seventh century.[25] Bousset noted that "the history of Leo I, of Zeno and of the usurper Basiliscus is still clearly related," and acknowledged Zahn's hesitations about Kalemkiar's proposition, but still concluded that "the author of the Armenian Apocalypse of Daniel probably expected the end to come in the time of Heraclius."[26]

The original composition of *7Dan* is almost certainly to be dated to the reign of Zeno.[27] The figure of the Salamander who slays the dragon is to be identified with Zeno who defeated his mother-in-law's brother, the general Basiliscus.[28] The author predicts (*7Dan* 30) that the Salamander will face a revolt and will unsuccessfully try to flee. Zeno had faced several revolts during his reign and had fled for a time, thus such a prediction was not completely baseless. The author notes that Salamander will then be killed by a certain

19. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 289.
20. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 103.
21. Alexander, "Medieval Apocalypses," 1002.
22. Brandes, "Apocalyptische Literatur," 310.
23. Kalemkiar, "Die siebente Vision," 113-14.
24. Denis, *Introduction*, 312, cites both the opinion of Kalemkiar and Macler.
25. Zahn, "Paralipomena 4," 115-18.
26. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 68 and 78.
27. Although there is a possible reference to the Islamic invasions of the seventh century in *7Dan* 22, this should be considered a later interpolation. Cf. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 296 n. 1.
28. As witnessed in texts such as the *Physiologus*, salamanders were the legendary destroyers of basilisks and, hence, an appropriate designation for the Emperor.

Plakitas. As Zeno was not assassinated, this fact must be considered the author's own prophetic claim. This mistaken prophecy about Zeno's assassination provides a *terminus ante quem* of 491, the year of his death.

The *terminus post quem* may be established from the events noted in the reign of Zeno as between 484 and 488. The author refers to the defeat of Basiliscus which occurred in 477; he also alludes to the fall of the 'youth' that helped Zeno/Salamander achieve victory and the death of the 'widow'. The 'widow' is to be identified with Verina, Zeno's mother-in-law who died in 484. The 'youth' is likely to be identified with the general Illus who defected to Zeno's party. Illus himself, however, revolted in 483 or 484 and was finally defeated by Zeno and executed in 488. The prophecy is not specific to the youth's defeat and it is possible that the final blow to the revolt had not yet been dealt. *7Dan* was therefore composed in the last years of Zeno's reign between 484 or 488 and 491.

The text was composed in the Eastern Empire and possibly in Nicomedia or Bithynia more generally. The author was Christian as was his intended audience; and, as noted above, he was also a supporter of the Council of Chalcedon.

The date of the translation into Armenian is much more difficult to surmise. The manuscript evidence is not helpful as all the witnesses are rather late. Likewise, citations or references to the text are also late; at present, our earliest reference to the text in Armenian occurs in Mxitʻar Ayrivanecʻi's list of apocryphal books (ca. 1285).[29] Our primary evidence for dating the translation, then, rests on an analysis of the language. Kalemkiar had posited a seventh-century date for the translation, but he did not give his reasons for such a dating. As he had also dated the original composition to the seventh century, he seems to have attributed a roughly contemporaneous date to the translation. If we accept the late fifth century as the date of the original composition, there is nothing to exclude a sixth century date for the translation.

While the language of the translation is often obscure and may not attain to the standard of the 'Golden Age' of Armenian composition and translation in the fifth century, there are also no certain indicators that would definitely suggest a much later date. A style of translation known as the Hellenizing style or school flourished in Armenia between approximately between 570 and 730 that aimed at achieving greater precision than their predecessors in the reproduction of Greek vocabulary and syntax.[30] Despite the presence of calques and the awkward syntax of *7Dan*, the translation does not reflect translation techniques consistent with those found among the translations of the Hellenizing style. Obviously, it does not necessarily follow that the text was translated prior to the development of the style—the translation may have been executed by someone not associated or unfamiliar with the development. Nevertheless, the conspicuous lack of influence of the Hellenizing style does lend some support to the speculation that the translation was completed earlier rather than later. It may be suggested that the translation occurred during

29. Zahn, "Paralipomena 4," 115-16. The list was more recently published and discussed by M. Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists III". Although Stone has demonstrated that the list itself is based on non-Armenian sources—most probably Greek—he suggests that the inclusion of *7Dan*, cited according to that title, may imply that the text was known to the compiler in its Armenian version (p. 292). *7Dan* was not included, however, in the earlier list compiled by Yovhannēs Imastasēr Sarkawag (d. 1129), published by Stone in the same article, 293-95.

30. See Terian, "The Hellenizing School".

the reign of Justinian (527-565); a period when apocalyptic expectations and speculation were particularly acute.[31]

We may further observe that the translator was able to identify the biblical allusions in the text. He usually has not rendered these literally, but has employed the corresponding Armenian version. This suggests that the translator recognized the biblical allusion in Greek and was aware of how it was translated into Armenian. The translator's knowledge of the Greek Bible may allow us to suggest tentatively that he may have been an Armenian who resided in the Byzantine Empire (possibly in the environs of Constantinople) and was learned in both versions of the Bible. The translation would have been executed for other Armenians living within the borders of the Empire. This would also help explain why the text is unattested in Armenian sources until the Middle Ages. It is uncertain whether the translation was executed by and for Chalcedonian or non-Chalcedonian Armenians;[32] however, if the translation was executed during the reign of Justinian, who reversed the tolerant policy of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius towards non-Chalcedonians, a text that predicted the end of the Empire may have been welcome among a non-Chalcedonian community.[33]

I have already noted that in *7Dan* 22 there occurs a possible reference to the Islamic invasions of Byzantium in the seventh century. It is very likely that this remark represents an interpolation, as it disrupts the flow of the narrative. The question remains, however, at what point this insertion was made. On the one hand, if this material was already present in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Armenian version or if it was inserted by the Armenian translator himself, then the translation could only have been executed in the middle of the seventh century at the earliest. On the other hand, if it was inserted by an Armenian scribe who copied the text, it is possible that the scribe 'updated' the prophecy in order to take the Islamic invasions into account. This would support a sixth-century date for the translation. In sum, a sixth-century date of translation would not be inconsistent with the evidence but, for the moment, this solution must remain speculative.

Literary Context

Sources, Inspirations, and Closely Related Texts

Although it is difficult to detect many of the likely sources that the author of *7Dan* drew upon, it is clear that the Bible and sibylline oracular literature constitute two of the most important.

The impact of Scripture on *7Dan* is especially felt in the introductory and eschatological portions of the text. Particularly prominent are allusions to the biblical books of Daniel, the 'Synoptic Apocalypse' (Mt 24:1-36; Mk 13; Lk 21:5-36), and the Book of Revelation; echoes of Isaiah, Joel, and the Psalms are also found. As noted, the final paragraph closes with an intercessory prayer modeled on the Lord's prayer in Mt 6:13 and possibly on the Prayer of Manasseh. The Woe form used throughout the work, too, ultimately reflects the

31. See, for example, Magdalino, "The history of the future".

32. While the activity of Chalcedonian Armenians in the Byzantine Empire has been well documented (cf. Garitte, *Narratio*), that of Armenian non-Chalcedonian communities residing in Byzantine territory has been the focus of less scholarly attention. There is evidence, however, that Greek texts purged of their Chalcedonian elements were available to Armenians who traveled to Byzantium at the beginning of the eighth century; see La Porta, *The Armenian Scholia*, 134.

33. This, of course, assumes that the translator did not recognize the positive references to the Council of Chalcedon.

prophetic books, although the author of *7Dan* may have been influenced by other oracular or prophetic literature that also employ this form.

7Dan shares the greatest textual affinity with the *Tiburtine Sibyl*. The two texts share not only *topoi*, but also identical phrases and depictions; these have been identified in the notes to the translation. We may observe that all of these examples derive from those sections of the text that Alexander has designated as belonging to the fourth-century 'Theodosian Sibyl', and not to those that he ascribes to the sixth-century composer of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*.[34] It therefore does not seem imprudent to conclude that the author of *7Dan* was aware of some form of the 'Theodosian Sibyl'.

As noted, the influence of the *Sibylline Oracles*—or of an oracular text similar in nature to them—is felt in a general manner in the 'prophecies of the cities' section of the text. It is possible that *7Dan* 2-17 preserves an independent oracle on the destruction of these cities and provinces. The use of the term 'seven-hilled' may witness the influence of the Sibylline material, as may the description of Rome's becoming a 'three-street town' (17).

Influence on Later Texts

If a fifth-century date of composition is accepted for *7Dan*, then it is one of the oldest, and possibly the oldest, Byzantine apocalypse ascribed to Daniel.[35] It has long been recognized that some of the *topoi* and motifs in *7Dan* appear in the later Daniel *apocalyptica*.[36] Given the early date of *7Dan*, it is likely that this text played an instrumental role in creating an associational complex[37] between these *topoi* and the figure of Daniel. Among these later texts, *7Dan* shares the greatest affinity with the *Vision and Revelation of the Prophet Daniel*. The author of the latter possibly abridged the prophecies of the destruction of the cities and provinces found at the beginning of *7Dan*.[38]

That said, several later motifs present in the Daniel *apocalyptica* are completely absent from *7Dan*. *7Dan* makes no mention of the coming of the Blond Race, of Gog and Magog, of the barbarian nations enclosed in the north, or of Enoch and Elijah; nor does the author

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34. The one exception is the reference to Rome's being a 'three street town'. The similar though not identical description of Rome's become 'a (mere) street' occurs in l.105 which Alexander ascribes to the later stage of redaction. However, as noted, the expression—which is a pun in Greek—is already present in the *Sibylline Oracles*; it is likely that both the author of *7Dan* and the redactor of the *Tiburtine Sibyl* employed the expression independently of each other's work and possibly under the influence of the *Sibylline Oracles*.

35. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 99-100, based partially on an analysis by Schmoldt, has tentatively assigned early dates to two of the Daniel *apocalyptica*, *The Vision of Daniel on the Island of Cyprus* (fourth cent.) and *The Vision of Daniel on the Blond Race* (fifth cent.). However, as DiTommaso admits, both these texts could be much later and the evidence for their dating is poor; both texts merit further study.

36. Many correspondences have also been treated in the works of Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*; Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*; and Berger, *Daniel-Diegese*. The relationship between these texts is complex. Older scholarship tended to posit a common tradition or Urtext that rested behind the shared material; see, for example, Zahn, "Paralipomena 4.," 120; Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, 66-72; Denis, *Introduction*, 312. More recent scholarship has questioned this approach; see, K. Berger, *Die Griechische Daniel-Diegese*, 1-2; Henze, *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel*, 7; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 224-30.

37. I borrow the phrase 'associational complex' from Stone, *Features of the Eschatolgy of IV Ezra*. This is particularly so for those elements which occur in *7Dan* but are not present in the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*.

38. See the Italian translation by E. Falco of the Slavonic version of this text with Pertusi's comments in Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 81-90. Cf. the remarks of DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 142. It is possible that the author of the *Vision and Revelation* knew another form of this oracular material.

designate a special role to 'the last Roman Emperor'. Many of these motifs may be traced back to the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*, with which *7Dan* shares very little common material.[39] This is not surprising given that the narrative and the purpose of the two texts differ markedly. It is noteworthy, however, given the incredible impact the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* had on subsequent Daniel *apocalyptica*. *7Dan*'s independence from the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* further lends support, albeit *e silentio*, to an early date for *7Dan*.

7Dan did not exert a significant influence in Armenian tradition. Mxit'ar of Ayrivank', although he cited the text in his list of apocryphal books, did not include it in his compilation of biblical texts which contains a number of other apocryphal works.[40] As of yet, no earlier reference to *7Dan* has been identified in Armenian literature. Further research may yet yield a greater awareness of this text in medieval Armenian literature.

This Translation

The English translation presented below is based on Kalemkiar's edition unless otherwise noted. None of the published editions of the text provide chapter, paragraph, or verse numbers. The paragraph numbers adopted for this translation are those used by Macler in his French translation. I have added the more general section titles as well as the versification. While I have striven to render my translation as readable as possible, I have also tried to provide some sense of the Armenian version of the text. I have indicated those instances in which I have diverged noticeably from a literal translation.

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39. A possible exception is the legend of Byzas as the founder of Byzantium, which the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* also invokes, but his role in that text is much more developed than it is in *7Dan*. Byzas also appears in the *Discourses of John Chrysostom Concerning the Vision of Daniel*, whose source is the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius*.

40. See Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists III," 292.

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The Seventh Vision of Daniel

The calling of the prophet

1. [1]In the third year[a], after all the revelation(s)[b] that had been given to the proph-
Dan 8:16; 9:21 et[c] Daniel, the angel Gabriel, having been sent to him before, was sent by the
Dan 9:23; 10:11, 19 Lord[d], and he said[e] to him: [2]"Daniel, *desirable man*, I was sent by the Lord to you[f] to tell you things and to show you the end of days, which will occur after the coming of the Word, who will be announced[g] by me.[h]

2. [1]There will be a virgin in Israel[i], and she will receive the Word from the Word, and he will become man[j] for the sake of the world and he will save many within Israel.[k]

Prophecy of the cities and provinces

[2]And put to heart[l] and listen to the impending events at the end of days in all the cities and provinces on account of the iniquity of humanity." [3]And I, Daniel, said:[m] "Speak, my Lord." [4]And he spoke to me,[n] after fulfilling[o] all the propheti-cal sayings,[p] concerning all cities and provinces: Asia, Pontus, Phrygia, Galatia,

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a. 'In the third year'; omit A; '[In the third ye]ar' D; "After the third year' CE.

b. All MSS read 'revelation'.

c. 'the prophet'; omit AD.

d. 'by the Lord'; omit BCE.

e. 'said': 'says' BCE, in the present tense; AD read, 'said', in the aorist.

f. 'to you' omit CE.

g. 'will be announced'; 'is announced' BCE.

h. Cf. *The Vision and Revelation of the Prophet Daniel* [*VisRevDanDan*], lines 1-7. All references to this text are to the translation of E. Falco in Pertusi, *Fine di Bizansio*, 81-89, and follow the lineation provided there.

i. 'in Israel'; 'from Israel' BCE.

j. 'He will become man'; 'He will be prophesied' BCE.

k. 'he will save many within Israel'; lit., 'he will make many within Israel alive'. Cf. *VisRevDan*, lines 7-8.

l. 'put to heart': 'pay attention' AD, but cf. *VisRevDan* line 8.

m. 'I, Daniel, said'; 'you, Daniel, will say' C; 'And say, Daniel' E; Yovsēp'eanc' emends E in accordance with C.

n. "'Speak, my Lord.' And he spoke to me"; 'Lord, speak to me' BE, 'the Lord said to me' C. Yovsēp'eanc' emends E in accordance with C.

o. 'After fulfilling'; 'I, after fulfilling' B; 'I will fulfill' CE.

p. 'all the prophetical sayings'; 'all my prophetical sayings' BCE.

Cappadocia, Karpath<os>,[a] Smyrna, Antioch, Alexandria, Egypt, Nicaea, Nicomedia, <Chalcedon>,[b] Byzantium, and Babylon, Rome.[c]

3. [1]Tears[d] of sons, and an increase of famine will destroy the productive earth;[e] your princes will become children of groanings and your possessions which surround you will come into ruin, and they will be removed from you to seven-hilled[f] Babylon.

4. [1]The prince of Pontus will fall and a sword will devour his children; his forces *will fall by the edge of a sword*; they will transfer many to Byzantium and there they will bury them.[g] Lk 21:24 [Gk]; cf. Josh 6:21; 10:37, 39 [Arm]

5. [1]The children of the Phrygians will be devoured by a famine of bread, and its earth will be rent by water, and they will be turned into food for birds. [2]And many of them will flee to <Chalcedon>.[h]

6. [1]In Galatia fire will appear from heaven and thunder and lightning will devour it. [2]And the thrones of its princes will be razed to the ground, and its southern part will be burned in blood and fire, and many will flee at that time to Rome.

7. [1]In Cappadocia Minor, their children will slaughter each other and imprison each other, and their princes[i] will be defeated, and they who may dwell around it will be in affliction and in lamentation in Babylonia Minor.

8. [1]In Karpath<os>, their sons will be in affliction, they will see conflagrations and will not believe it; there will be a rending (of the earth); everyone will arrive at[j] hell; many will flee to the seven-hilled (city).[k]

9. [1]In Smyrna, anger will be increased; it will be filled like a cup with blood, and there will be a fall from the heights. Your princes will be removed and your nobles will fall, for the day of the anger of the Lord will be for you. Isa 13:9; Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18, 2:2

10. [1]The children of Antioch will be destroyed and its constructed buildings will turn to ruin, and its princes will not enjoy (them). [2]An earthquake will befall you, and the abundance of your wealthy will destroy you.

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a. Karpath<os>; lit., 'Karpathias'; but cf. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 291 n. 3.

b. All manuscripts read Carthage, but see the introduction on the confusion between Carthage and Chalcedon in Greek.

c. Cf. *VisRevDan*, lines 10-13.

d. 'Tears'; 'mourning' BCE. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 291 n. 2, justly perceives that this paragraph refers to Asia.

e. Cf. *VisRevDan*, lines 13-14.

f. On the designation 'seven-hilled', see Introduction.

g. 'them': omit AD; 'him' C.

h. All manuscripts: 'Carthage', see Introduction.

i. 'imprison each other, and their princes'; omit BCE.

j. 'arrive at'; 'descend into' BCE.

k. Karpathos fell to Rome in 42 B.C.E.

11. [1]In Alexandria there will be many tumults of war and the neck of its rebellion (will reach) the bowstrings[a] of its walls. [2]Its princes will be chased out.

12. [1]The children of the Egyptians will flee, struck by famine;[b] your possessions will turn to nothing, and the Nile will become dry land, and your princes will be destroyed.

13. [1]The daughters of the Nicaeans will be in mourning and grief on account of the captivity of their relatives and husbands by powerful men, and your princes will serve them whom they will not know.

14. [1]Woe unto you, O Nicomedia, who have lifted up your horn and ate the bodies of your saints who were in you; you will be destroyed by the blood of righteous men who will recompense you in kind—you will be cast down into hell.[c] [2]Cry and lament, O miserable one, for you will be exterminated with your sons. [3]Your princes (will be) princes of groanings, and your priests (will be) lovers of gold and silver, and the beauty of your radiance will be engulfed.

15. [1]<Chalcedon> and the nation of the Persians[d]—you do not know what will happen to you at the end of days and how much your time will be at the end of ages after all the cities and provinces. [2]You, O city, fattened by gold and silver, and (you), O nation, prettified and adorned, will be destroyed by famine. [3]Many debaucheries will be for you, and your sons will play with gold and then be destroyed by famine.

16. [1]The land of Byzantium and of Babylon will be engulfed, and it will be seized by powerful ones and its foundations will be destroyed, and its power will fall.

17. [1]There will no longer be a prince of Rome at that time, but its sword[e] will be sharpened and its arrow hardened and its deception thickened. [2]Many times a prince will arise and again fall. [3]It will become a three-street town.[f] [4]And many will fear you on account of the radiance of your princes that have many seats[g] and on account of your proud neck and your excessive wealth.[h]

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a. 'bowstrings'; 'ballistae' BCE.

b. 'by famine'; 'by the sword' C.

c. A possible allusion to Maximinus' massacre of 20,000 Christians in Nicomedia in 311-12; Macler, 'L'apocalypse arménienne', 292 n. 4.

d. See Introduction.

e. 'sword'; 'weapon' AD.

f. 'It will become a three-street town'; cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, line 105 and Alexander's comments on 87 and 124; also *Sib. Or.* 3:364, 8:165.

g. See Introduction.

h. 'wealth'; 'pride' CE.

History of Byzantium from its founding until Marcian

18. [1]The sons of Byzantium will become[a] a miracle, for a Byzantine man will go from that one to the named[b] seven-hilled (city), and he will establish its foundations.[c] [2]Its name will spread[d] throughout all the inhabitants of the world until the division of tongues.[e] [3]And a wonder-working man[f] born of a famous woman[g] will rebuild it.[h] [4]And in his time the desire of his heart[i] will be completed, and he will find the wood of life. [5]And his scepter will become great and he will find the nails which belonged to the Cross, and he will put it in his bridle for the sake of victory in strenuous wars.[j,k] [6]And his horn (will be) high and mighty, and his name (will be famous) in every tongue, and an eternal memory will be bequeathed to the city.

19. [1]And after him the <second>[l] scepter will arise, who will shed the blood of righteous men. [2]And he will read the commandments but will not know God and he will handle the holy scriptures with a blinded heart.[m]

20. [1]And after him will come a philosopher for you, O seven-hilled Babylon, and he will erect an image in you, on account of which you will not be taken by force.[n]

21. [1]And after all this, elevated horns and very great scepters will arise, and they will be empowered over you, and their memory will be very great.[o]

22. [1]And yet another scepter will be high;[p] he will be miraculously empowered and elevated on account of the name and revelation[q] of the Lord, since a 'gift'

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a. 'will become'; 'will appear' BCE.

b. 'named'; omit BCE.

c. This is likely a reference to the legend of Byzas of Megara, who, according to Philostratus, founded a Greek colony on the European side of the Bosporus in 657 B.C.E. following a prophecy delivered by the oracle at Delphi. Byzas receives fuller treatment in the *Apocalypse of Ps.-Methodius* and subsequently in the *Discourses of John Chrysostom Concerning the Vision of Daniel*; Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic*, 19, 23, 72.

d. 'Its name will spread'; omit AD; 'will spread'; lit., 'will be'.

e. Cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, lines 93-4.

f. Constantine.

g. Helen. 'of a famous woman'; omit BCE.

h. 'will rebuild'; lit. 'will build again'; cf. *anoikodomēsei* ("he will rebuild"), *Tiburtine Sibyl*, line 91, in reference to Constantine's rebuilding of Byzantium. Byzantium had been severely destroyed during the campaign of Septimus Severus. 'will build' omit BCE.

i. 'heart'; omit BCE.

j. 'strenuous wars'; 'wars of salvation' BCE.

k. John Chrysostom is the first to mention this detail in his "Homily on the Death of Theodosius", delivered in 395; Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 293 n. 7.

l. 'second' DE; 'third' ABC. The two are easily confused in Armenian.

m. Constantine's son, Constantius I (337-61), who was an Arian.

n. A reference to Jovian (363-64); Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 294 n. 2.

o. Valentinian (364-75), Gratian (367-83), and Valens (364-78); Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 294 n. 3.

p. 'high'; omit BCE.

q. 'and revelation'; omit BCE.

from God was in him.[a] [2]Through him life will be great and from his joy all mankind will rejoice, they will be gathered from the cities and provinces in you, and they will reach you, O seven-hilled (city), and each one will do his own work. [3]And the scepter of the kingdom will be empowered until it will be ended.

23. [1]And two scepters will go forth from the one scepter,[b] and your one scepter will become a wild beast,[c] and your second scepter will become an animal[d] in both streets in the seven-hilled (city). [2]From Rome[e] an abatement of anger[f] will reach you and you will have a full bosom and cup. [3]First, the song of the city will be a philosophy of chants; and second, your wealth will be a gushing spring for everyone. [4]You will appear adorned like a bride and like a widow.[g] [5]Your[h] productive grapes which existed at some point will be diminished, and your great glory will be divided and fall.

24. [1]The kingdom which is in you will raise up another scepter,[i] who is called Theodosius[j] by name, being in holiness, and his name being dedicated to you, O seven-hilled (city). [2]And at his birth your sons will be happy, and each and everyone will do that which he may contemplate. [3]Every city and province will serve you, and there will be much rejoicing in your fullness on the earth. [4]And the Nile of the Egyptians will give you drink, and you will be a bulwark for churches.[k] [5]There will greatly be fear and trembling in your scepter, and this is the beginning of groanings in your kingdom.[l] [6]And the time of his scepter (will be) long and very great. [7]And his scepter will possess (everything) until the ends of the entire earth, from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south. [8]And his neck (will be) solid; and his right hand, powerful; and his years, many, as was never for any other king. [9]And after all this he will turn his face towards his father,[m] and the reckoning of his years will be many; and his name will be awesome, and his kingdom will be radiant.

25. [1]And yet a third king will be under you in Rome, O seven-hilled (city). [2]'Seven-hilled' you were called because all the nations of the Persians entered you, O

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a. A play on the name Theodosius (379-95).

b. Honorius (395-423) and Arcadius (395-408).

c. 'and your one scepter will become a wild beast'; 'and there will be one old scepter' BCE.

d. 'and your second scepter will become an animal'; 'a third scepter, an animal scepter' BCE.

e. 'in both streets in the seven-hilled (city). [2]From'; 'of both in these streets from the seven-hilled Rome' BCE.

f. 'anger'; 'elevation' CE.

g. "You will appear adorned like a bride and like a widow"; "it will appear adorned and like a brave (man)" BCE

h. 'Your'; omit BCE.

i. 'and your great glory…another scepter'; 'its kingdom in you will fall, and another scepter will arise' BCE.

j. Theodosius II (408-50).

k. 'for churches'; 'for the church' BCE.

l. A reference to the beginning of the Christological controversies.

m. A possible reference to the installation of Valentinian III (425-55) as the Emperor of the western Roman Empire.

Rome; they shall not reign until the completion of eternity.[a] [3]And an old man shall reign over you as second, and his name (will be) Marcian, and his scepter will be of lesser duration than the first scepter with his very formidable reign.[b] [4]And that time will be good for some and evil for some. [5]And his reign will be for times and for hours and for half an hour,[c] and the builder having given you, O seven-hilled (city), to him, he will raise it to himself with a letter of faith.[d] [6]And there will be a great schism in his kingdom:[e] priests will fall from their thrones, there will be a fall of many priests, and there will be many vicissitudes for men, but your rejoicing, O seven-hilled (city), and your extent will not diminish. [7]And after all this he too will come to an end with his fathers.

The reign of Leo I

26. [1]And another scepter will reign in you, and he will be a beast,[f] and he will accept the first scepter which will at one point be struck by a dog.[g] [2]And this beast will be like the first great scepter and powerful in words and wisdom, and he will not be held in contempt by his nobles. [3]And his neck will be like the neck of an ox,[h] and his eyes like the eyes of a lion, he will call out terribly and all cities and provinces will be afraid of his horns. [4]And in his time a rainbow will appear in heaven, as will various signs in heaven and earth. [5]The sound of thunder and the fall of many cities will be heard, and the earth will be rent and buildings will be razed to their foundations. [6]Its streets will be fiery and there will be wars in it and in you, O seven-hilled (city).[i] [7]And then the buildings[j] of your beauty will be burned by fire, and your elevation will be overthrown to the earth. [8]And your sons will lament in you and your great joy will be turned to mourning, and your sons will drag the bodies of the nobles over the earth. [9]And suddenly a whirlwind will fall from heaven and cover the earth; and nations in the form of

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a. This sentence does not reflect any historical situation between the reign of Theodosius II and that of Marcian when Pulcheria ruled; cf. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 296 n. 1. It is likely a reference to the Islamic invasions added by a later scribe.

b. The reference to the first scepter is obscure. In 26:1, the first scepter appears to refer to the western Emperor. Here, Marcian's reign is said to be shorter than that of the first scepter. The reign of Marcian's western contemporaries, Petronius Maximus (455) and Avitus (455-56), were certainly not longer, nor was that of Majorian (457-61). It is possible that the first scepter should be understood as Valentinian III (425-55).

c. 'for times and for hours and for half an hour'; Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 296 n. 2, understands this to mean times (2 years), hours (1 year) and half an hour (half a year) (cf. Dan 7:25; 12:7). Marcian ruled alone after the death of Pulcheria from 453 until 457, or approximately three and a half years. 'for times and half a time' BCE.

d. A reference to the decree of the council of Chalcedon.

e. I.e., the schism between the churches following Chalcedon.

f. 'The beast' is Leo I (457-74), cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, line 136.

g. Possible reference to Leo I's support of Anthemius (467-72) as the western Emperor (first scepter) and the attacks on the western Empire by the Vandals.

h. 'ox'; 'soldier' BCE.

i. Cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, lines 137-38. This work, however, has nothing positive to say about Leo such as *7Dan* does. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 297 n. 4, notes that Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake in 458. There was also a fire in Constantinople that lasted four days in 469.

j. 'buildings'; 'environs' AD.

dragons will appear on the earth and many will become impoverished and many indigent will become rich, and there will be great confusion in you.[a]

[10]Cry out, O forces bearing arms and swords, in Thrace and in Cilicia.[b] [11]And at that time the beast will send his sword[c] to the East, and he will not be able to conquer, and a certain man in the shape of a dragon[d] in the middle and on top will disdain him; and he will send with him a second[e] sword to the west, and he will not be strong[f] enough to conquer it,[g] and the dragon will be disdained by the dog.[h] [12]With many presents and gold and with many things[i] the beast will be vexed by the dog,[j] and the dog will rise up[k] against the beast and he will raise up his cubs over the thrones and scepters of the beast, and the beast will be destroyed and his den seized by the dog.[l] [13]And the dogs will remove the beast and all men will know that a dog had chased out a lion.[m] [14]And thence the lion will return and kill the dog and his cub, and the lion will call out with a very great roar, and his roar will be heard in every city and region.[n] [15]And there will be fear of him in his den, and men will be confused by each other on account of the roar of the lion and the death of the dog.

27. [1]And the second dog,[o] while changing its tongue to another form, will pursue (him) as far as the den of the lion, and he will depart from that one as he will not be able to overpower him. [2]And the pup of the dog will lie hidden for times and a time and an hour, and in his time he will reign, and his name will be 'pup of the dog', which translated means 'scepter[p] of nations'.[q] [3]And the beast[r] will erase

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a. A possible allusion to the attack on Rome in 455 by Gaiseric.

b. According to Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 298 n. 2, these are the Goths from Thrace and the Isaurians from Cilicia.

c. I.e., Tarasicodissa, later Emperor Zeno the Isaurian.

d. I.e., the general Basiliscus, brother-in-law of Leo I.

e. 'second'; 'third' BCE.

f. 'strong'; 'patient' BCE.

g. A reference to Gaiseric's defeat of the combined forces of the eastern and western Empire under the command of Basiliscus in 468.

h. The dog here must be Aspar the Alan, the *magister militum* of the eastern Empire, whose prominence at court rose again after the defeat of Basiliscus.

i. 'and with many things'; omit BCE.

j. Aspar is alleged to have bribed Leo's soldier's against him. 'by the dog': 'by the sign (cross)' C.

k. 'will rise up'; 'will raise up' BCE.

l. In 469, Aspar's son, Patricius, received the title of Caesar and was betrothed to Leo's second daughter, Leontia.

m. The 'lion' must also refer to Leo.

n. In 471, Aspar and his son, Ardabur, were assassinated in the palace by eunuchs; Patricius was wounded, but escaped. He was divorced from Leontia and stripped of the rank of Caesar.

o. Macler, "L'apocalypse arménienne," 299 n. 1, suggests that the second dog may be Ostrogothic king, Theodemir, father of Theodoric the Great.

p. 'scepter'; 'king' BCE.

q. If the 'second dog' is to be identified with Theodemir, then the 'pup of the dog' is Theodoric.

r. 'beast'; 'scepter' BCE.

the memory of the dog.[a] [4]Knowing (this) beforehand, they will slander him,[b] and in his city they will erase his image. [5]And many in the den[c] of the beast will contemplate killing him and they will not overpower[d] him, and those who share the scepter with him will die in another city by the sword, and they will know well the prayers of the priest on behalf of unknown (things).

The rise of Zeno

[6]And someone among the nobles, a youth from the forces of the beast, will bind many by hand and foot and send them to the beast. [7]And then when the beast will receive many slaves from various nations, calling (them) to himself as lord, another man will stand before him and he will receive him into his bosom.[e] [8]And he will persecute military men, and he himself will be persecuted by them.[f] [9]And he will flee from them[g] on foot, and no one will reach him, because he is fleet of foot[h] and he will flee to the beast and he, who (is) in his bosom, will also present himself to him.[i] [10]And the little beast[j] will go out and be courageous, and the big beast will seat him on his throne, and will make him a sharer of his scepter and throne in his place; two beasts[k] will dwell in one cave.[l] [11]The pup will be emboldened[m] to an act of war, and the big beast will return to his land whence he came.[n] [12]And the little beast will hold[o] his place until a time, having not been crowned by anyone, but by his own violence he will come to the dens[p] of the kingdom, and the little beast will turn towards the big beast, and, forsaking the dens of which he himself was the creator,[q] he will reign in you, O seven-hilled (city), and he will hold you in affliction.[r] [13]His joy will be great, he

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a. The text seems to return to events concerning Aspar and his family.

b. 'they will slander him'; lit., 'they will sing slander about him'.

c. 'in the den'; 'at the door' BCE.

d. 'overpower'; 'endure' BCE.

e. This is probably a reference to Zeno, who in 466 or 467 was married to Leo's eldest daughter, Ariadne.

f. Leo created a new imperial guard of 300 men called the Excubitors. It probably consisted of Isaurians of whom Zeno was chieftain; it was intended to combat the influence of Aspar.

g. 'he will flee from them'; 'they will flee from him' BCE.

h. During his campaign against the Huns in Thrace, some of Zeno's soldiers, allegedly bribed by Aspar, attempted to assassinate Zeno. The latter discovered the plot and fled to Sardica. We may also note that, according to the author of the second part of the *Excerpta Valesiana* (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History* III, LCL 331, 1939), Zeno was an exceptionally fast runner: 9.40.

i. Upon his return, Zeno was made *magister militum* of the East.

j. 'beast'; 'scepter' AD.

k. 'beasts'; 'scepters' AD.

l. This sentence and the rest of the paragraph continue to recount Zeno's early career and rise. The 'big beast' refers Leo I; the 'little beast', to Zeno.

m. 'will be emboldened'; 'will embolden' AD.

n. This is probably a reference to Theodoric Strabo who launched a revolt in Thrace and finally exacted terms from Leo in 473; Leo was born in Thrace. It is possible that the author confused Theodoric the Great, called the pup above, with Theodoric Strabo.

o. 'hold'; 'receive' BCE.

p. 'dens'; 'judgments' BCE.

q. 'dens of which he himself was the creator'; lit., 'dens for his creator'.

r. Zeno's son Leo II was proclaimed Emperor after the death of Leo I in 474. As Leo II was

will play and will be loved by the nobles, and hated by many, he will give life and fullness, and the dragon[a] will play with him, and he will lead him along by the hunting scepter of the beast.[b]

The reign of Zeno

28. [1]Woe[c] to you at that time, O seven-hilled Babylon, when a widow will reign and the dragon[d] will pursue the stranger, and the stranger, who is called Salamander,[e] will turn in flight having turned his face to the islands, (taking) gold and silver and precious stones and a crown of scepters.[f] [2]And no one among men will persecute him who is in the bosom of the beast, tripled by the nation of the Persians from <Chalcedon>,[g] on account of love for the dragon and that great radiance which was in you. [3]And he will be moved from land to land and will be vexed by strangers. [4]And forced (by the strangers) from nourishment and from ways, he will sigh to the Creator with his innocent ones. [5]And the hunting scepter, which was from the beast, will be allied with the dog,[h] and the dragon will hold the place of affliction and ceremony and will be attended by vain thrones.[i] [6]And he will persecute the place of holiness, and <the dragon will heap rebuke>[j] with his tongue on holy men and holy relics. [7]And he will obstruct the leadership of the patriarchs,[k] and he will hold captive the churches of holiness.[l] [8]And they who may be dwelling in the caverns and caves and hollows of the earth, they will become wanderers in the desert (and) will come to you, O seven-hilled (city), forced by the dragon. [9]And after all this, they will shake off the dust of their feet in you, and be martyred in you.[m] [10]Then the beauty of your splendor will be burned by a fire.[n] [11]And a certain youth (will) escape under the pretext of bringing[o] with his hunting scepter the first scepter that is called

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a minor, his father was proclaimed co-Emperor. Leo II died in the same year, possibly having been poisoned by his own family, and Zeno was proclaimed sole Emperor.

a. Basiliscus, the brother of Zeno's mother-in-law.

b. This refers to the Isaurian general, Illus, who, at first, had joined Basiliscus in his overthrow of Zeno.

c. 'Woe'; 'he gives' E.

d. The 'widow' is Verina, the widow of Leo I and the mother-in-law of Zeno. The 'dragon' is Basiliscus, her brother-in-law, who ousted Zeno in 476-77.

e. Zeno is called Salamander because he eventually killed the dragon (basilisk), Basiliscus.

f. At the outset of the rebellion, Zeno sailed to Chalcedon and then headed to his homeland, Isauria. He took with him a tremendous amount of wealth.

g. See Introduction.

h. The 'hunting scepter' is again Illus; the 'dog' likely refers to Theodoric Strabo who, as an enemy of Zeno, was supportive of Basiliscus' coup.

i. 'to the islands…vain thrones'; omit BCE.

j. 'he will rebuke the dragon' AD; 'he will slaughter the dragon' BCE.

k. 'patriarchs'; 'chiliarchs' B; 'legitimate ones' CE.

l. Basiliscus was an opponent of the council of Chalcedon and favored the Alexandrian Patriarch Timothy Aelurus; he is supposed to have removed the Asiatic sees from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constantinople.

m. The monks seemed to have played a particularly important role in forcing Basiliscus to change his mind. 'in you, and be martyred in you': 'in you, testified by him' BCE.

n. During the reign of Basiliscus, a tremendous fire damaged Constantinople and, in particular, the Basilica, the library founded by Julian.

o. 'bringing'; 'capturing' CE.

Salamander.[a] [12]And then at that time the dragon will be persecuted and will be seized by his successors[b] and will be bound by those at his left, and no one will receive him since he shed the blood of saints in the cities and provinces. [13]And he will flee into the holy temple that he had formerly taken captive, and no one will receive him as there will be heavenly scourges upon him. [14]And the youth will reach Salamander, and he will <urge on>[c] the stranger against the dragon, and the dragon, seeing[d] (that), will flee from him. [15]And the stranger will not kill the dragon, he will take away his honor.[e] [16]And the youth will fall with a mighty[f] fall, and the widow will not survive.[g] [17]And they will show[h] the stranger and the sharer of his throne to him, and they[i] will become tributary in his tent that he created. [18]And the blood of his father will be sought on his throne. [19]And the stranger will become great for a short[j] period, and there will be fullness in you, O seven-hilled (city), as well as the death of many men who had gathered in you from the cities and provinces.

Predictions of disaster

29. [1]Then there will be earthquakes in various places and they will hear the voice of many and they will not believe.[k] [2]And your wealth and your glory saddened you in your becoming proud and arrogant, and your love of glory humbled you; but your abundance and beauty will become much in you. [3]The end of time will reach you, and the hunting scepter, which is from the beast, will go out from you, and will go[l] to the places of strangers. [4]And your daughters will adorn themselves for (being) a stumbling block for youths to corrupt many, and your nobles will fall, there will be much affliction and agitation.

[5]At that time the angel of death[m] will strike you with all the cities and provinces, and violent deaths will be sent from heaven. [6]Suddenly it[n] will be angry at the earth, the earth will be moved and temples will fall, and *their houses will become*

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a. Basiliscus had dispatched Illus to capture Zeno, but Illus, encouraged by certain ministers at court, changed sides and allied himself with Zeno. 'Salamander'; 'Theodosius' BCE.

b. 'successors'; 'leaders' BCE.

c. 'he will urge on'; I propose this emendation against all MSS which read, 'he will teach previously'.

d. 'the dragon, seeing'; omit BCE.

e. 'will take away his honor'; lit. 'will separate him from his face'. Basiliscus, however, was sent to Cappadocia and beheaded.

f. 'mighty'; omit BCE.

g. Illus himself eventually became estranged from Zeno. He was sent as Magister militum of the East in 481-82 and subsequently revolted against the Emperor. Illus supported the Patrician Leontius as Emperor. Verina, his old opponent, also joined his cause and crowned Leontius Emperor in Antioch. Verina died in 484 (see below) after the defeat of Illus' forces. Illus managed to persevere until 488 when he and Leontius were captured and executed.

h. 'they will show'; 'he shows' BCE.

i. 'they'; 'he' BCE.

j. 'short'; om BCE.

k. Earthquakes afflicted Constantinople in 480 and eastern Anatolia in 488.

l. 'will go'; 'they will go' AD.

m. 'angel of death'; lit., 'the death-bearing angel'.

n. I.e., heaven.

Ps 49:11 [48:11 Arm] *tombs*[a], and the sea will bring the waves up to a boil and will cover mankind, and whoever they may be[b] who will flee, they will also live.[c] 7Then there will be a crowd of angels, and they will stand in front of and pray before the throne.

8Then, O seven-hilled Babylon, you will weep over your sons, while donning the sack-cloth and spreading ashes over (your) head[d], and seeing humanity fall on account of sins and transgressions. 9Men will be destroyed with sons and women with suckling babes for the anger of the Lord is upon (them). 10Your walls will be rent and your tabernacles will be razed to the ground.[e] 11Children will beseech God[f] with their mouths burned[g] at the breast, and your priests, scraping, will mourn your scepters. 12Your nobles will cry and your citizens will be very grieved, and your travelers will be straitened, and your bunches of grapes will fall and your vineyards will be depleted. 13The earth will be rent by agitation and will destroy men both young and old.[h] 14But the Lord[i] will not destroy you completely, O seven-hilled[j] (city), as the time of your destruction has not yet arrived; although (He is prepared) to cover humanity in an abyss, He will not cover (them), since your time has not yet arrived. 15Torments are prepared for you, for you have committed every iniquity in you, taking the earth in your bosom.[k] 16People's thoughts will be greatly agitated until the Lord will command from above to destroy humanity; but the Lord's plan will be evident, whence the punishment[l] will come to be. 17And those who have taken refuge in you will receive torments; the people who hoped in you and the hunting scepter will destroy you.[m] 18And cub will put cub to flight seeking the blood of his fathers, and he will willingly deliver himself to strangers, to dogs and to his friends; and he will raise languages and peoples and he will rule over many nations. 19And two[n] dogs will fight with each other[o] and they will destroy each other.

Prophecy concerning the death of Zeno

30. 1Woe, when the widow will reign, and she will move with deception[p] against the strangers, and the other stranger will seek her destruction and through deception he will eradicate her.[q] 2And these days will be cruel and evil. 3Sons of

a. 'and *their houses will become tombs*'; omit AD.
b. 'whoever they may be'; 'in four' BCE.
c. 'they will also live'; omit BCE.
d. 'head'; 'heads' BCE.
e. 'to the ground'; omit BCE.
f. 'God'; 'Lord' BCE.
g. 'burned'; 'pacified' AD; 'unhappy' B.
h. 'both young and old'; lit., 'up to suckling babes and old'.
i. 'the Lord'; 'God' BCE.
j. 'O seven-hilled'; omit BCE.
k. 'bosom'; 'work' AD.
l. 'punishment'; 'occurrence' BCE.
m. 'and the hunting scepter will destroy you'; omit BCE.
n. 'two'; 'second' AD.
o. 'each other'; 'similars' AD.
p. 'with deception'; 'with affliction' BCE.
q. Verina first plotted against Illus but then, possibly under duress, sided with him in support of Leontius against Zeno. The forces of Illus, Verina, and Leontius were defeated by Zeno's army in 484. Verina fled to the security of the fortress Cherris and died a few days later.

the scepters will be in dispute and battle with each other, and then humanity will (suffer) much affliction and evil such as has never been. [4]And the prince, having believed, will not have confidence in Salamander, since he is a stranger; and they will receive from his people[a] that which they did not ask. [5]And Salamander will want to flee and he will not be able, and they will reach him[b] and Plakitas[c] will kill him.

31. [1]And another scepter will rule in you, O seven-hilled (city), and there will be many labors. [2]A poor man who will not know gratitude will arise—arrogant, proud, avaricious, loving war—and his name will be Orloghios,[d] and his throne (will be) few in days, and (he will be) easily angered. [3]And his nobles will hate him, and his citizens will be vexed by him. [4]There will be heavenly anger in his[e] days; many times it will trouble Babylon. [5]In the time of his reign, voices of lamentation will reach you, and forces of barbarians will trouble you and they will not be fought. [6]And another violent king will arise, and he will battle and persecute him openly;[f] and he will slay him with great sorrow and groaning. [7]And this one, having been made king, will hold the scepter[g] which is in you, O seven-hilled (city), and he will be great among very great and radiant thrones, and that man (will be) skillful from the right and from the left. [8]And in his time, there will be a great famine and not small, and the earth will be destroyed by humanity and torrents of water will pour out,[h] and black air will be agitated[i], and your vineyards will become few, and your splendors will be constrained, and the days will become less and the day will be six hours.

32. [1]Woe to people who will be at that time, and the king will turn his face to the West. [2]Then woe to you, O seven-hilled (city), when your king (will be) a youth. [3]At that time you will suffer great affliction. [4]A man who[j] will have his brother's wife; a son, his mother; and daughter will ascend to her father's bed; brother (will have) his sister; and blasphemies, homicides, oaths, slanders, mendacities, filth, pains,[k] depredations, sibling hatred, turmoils, the shedding of blood of the holy servants in the temple will increase. [5]And kings (will rise up) against kings, princes against princes; the powerful from the poor will rise up, and the rich and the poor will fall.

33. [1]And Bithynia, which is on the seashore,[l] will be razed to the ground by an

a. 'his people'; 'his peoples' B; 'strangers' CE.

b. 'him'; om BCE.

c. This Plakitas is clearly not a historical figure, although the name is found among the Coptic Papyri.

d. 'Orloghios'; 'Lucius' BCE; cf. Olibos in the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, line 187.

e. 'his'; 'those' BCE.

f. 'openly'; 'against him' BCE.

g. 'this one, having been made king, will hold the scepter'; omit BCE.

h. 'will pour out'; 'will reach' BCE.

i. 'black air will be agitated'; 'black airs will be mixed' BCE.

j. 'who'; 'when' BCE.

k. 'pains'; omit BCE.

l. 'seashore'; 'sea' BCE.

earthquake, and the waves of the sea will rise up and will surge and will cover the foundations of Bithynia as far as the junior town of Nicomedia.

34. [1]And then again another king will arise, and his time (will be) brief in days, evil and utterly terrible; and thenceforth there will no longer be good times, but evil. [2]And his son will battle against him and he will consume him with the sword.

35. [1]And another king will arise from another cult,[a] who is Arianos; he will draw everyone to himself.[b] [2]Woe to you at that time, O seven-hilled (city), for more than everyone you will mourn for yourself[c] and for your borders.

36. [1]And then kings and princes and leaders and champions will arise against cities and provinces and places, and people will be agitated and confused. [2]And a nation of barbarians will arise against cities and provinces,[d] and the earth will sink seventy-three cubits from the multitude of people. [3]And you will not be troubled by them at that time, O seven-hilled (city), but a special war will torment[e] you, and the splendor of the earth will be diminished in you. [4]Heavenly[f] anger and a great blow will be upon you; and a fiery column will be apparent, (stretching) from heaven to earth. [5]And[g] then[h] your[i] kingdom will be changed and you having remained corrupted by sin, will also be in famine[j]. [6]Then in this way, the second scepter will be rent[k] and brought[l] to the other city by a nothing prince, and fiery arrows will rain from heaven; there will be many *signs and wonders.*

Mt 24:24, Mk 13:22, Jn 4:48

The coming of the Antichrist

37. [1]At that time the Antichrist will reign and people will be led away from the worship of God to disbelief from the coming (of him) whom they were not seeking, and were not expecting, that one in whom they did not believe, who was contrary to everything. [2]This one whom they were not seeking[m] will be conceived[n] and born from a defiled virgin.[o] [3]And the scepter of deception will seize

a. 'from another cult; 'from strangers' AD.

b. 'he will draw everyone to himself'; 'he [will draw every]one [to himself]' D; 'to draw everyone to himself' E.

c. 'you will mourn for yourself'; omit AD.

d. 'and places…and provinces'; omit BCE.

e. 'will torment'; 'will be in' BCE.

f. 'Heavenly'; 'But heavenly' BCE.

g. 'And'; omit BCE.

h. 'And then'; 'When' BCE.

i. 'your'; '[your]' D.

j. 'by sin will also be in famine'; '[by sin will also be in famine]' D; 'by sin also in famine': 'eternal' E.

k. 'the second scepter will be rent'; '[the second scepter will be rent]' D.

l. 'brought'; lit. 'bring'.

m. 'whom they were not seeking'; omit BCE.

n. 'will be conceived'; 'will be' AD.

o. Cf. *Apoc. Dan.* 9:8-11, although there the virgin is impregnated by a fish, see Berger, *Daniel Diegeses*, 104-14.

the human race; for three times and half a time he will lead the souls of many to perdition;[a] to be co-inheritors of everlasting Gehenna. 4Then the angels will be agitated when they see the signs that <he showed>[b] previously. 5And those people who love God[c] will understand this, recognizing and seeing the one contrary to everyone who is human, of which these are the signs:[d] bound and unable to bend at the knee, crippled in eye[e], smooth-browed, hook-fingered, pointy-headed, graceful, a braggart, wise, with a sweet laugh, a seer, prudent, quick, meek, calm, working miracles, having the souls of the damned near him, taking bread from stones, giving sight to the blind, making the lame walk, and he will move mountains from place to place.[f] 6He will do all this illusorily[g] and many will believe in him. 7Woe unto those who will believe in him and[h] receive his mark. 8Their right hand[i] will be bound so that one will not return to him in (Rev 13:17, 19:20) whom they had previously hoped. 9Then there will be a very[j] great famine, the heavens will not grant rain[k], and the earth will not sprout forth verdure; all fruits will be dried up and then all the cities and provinces will lament for themselves. 10They will flee, and they will not (be able to) flee[l] from east to west nor from west to east; but they who will dwell in mountains and caverns and caves and hollows of the earth, they alone will be able to flee until the second coming (of him) who was born from the virgin. 11Then his chosen will be revealed when they see the eternal coming of the Lord. 12He[m] will come forth and many will be judged. 13There will be troubles from heaven and then there will be terrible agitation over the universe. 14*Woe to pregnant women and to those who suckle in* the last *days!*[n] 15Woe unto the impatient who believed in the adversary! 16Woe (Mt 24:19; Mk 13:17; Lk 21:23) unto those who worshipped him and were revealed on account of his coming!

38. 1And after all this happens and (after) righteous people, inspired by God[o], who had been afflicted by necessity and by violence[p], bear tortures, then the end will arrive. 2And some people having been shown a sign will recognize[q] the seven-hilled (city) and will say: 'Indeed had this been a city?'[r] 3And a woman will tread the land in the East, in the West, in the North and in the South, and

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a. 'for three times and half a time he will lead the souls of many to perdition'; omit BCE.

b. This is Kalemkiar's emendation; all MSS read: 'he caused to go'.

c. 'who love God'; 'who love Christ' AD.

d. 'of which these are the signs'; lit. 'of which this sign is'.

e. 'in eye'; 'in soul' BCE.

f. The Antichrist's imitation of the acts of Christ is common to many texts; cf., e.g, *Apoc. Dan.* 13; *Apoc. El. (C)* 3:5-10; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 4:27.

g. 'illusorily'; lit., 'to the eyes'.

h. 'many will believe in him. Woe unto those who will believe in him and'; 'which' BCE.

i. 'hand'; 'eye' BCE.

j. 'very'; omit BCE.

k. 'will not grant rain'; 'will not rule to give rain' AD.

l. '10They will flee, and they will not (be able to) flee'; 'They will flee' BCE.

m. 'He'; 'They' BCE.

n. 'in the last days' AD; 'in those days' BCE (with Mt 24:19; Mk 13:17; Lk 21:23).

o. 'inspired by God'; 'God' BCE.

p. 'and by violence'; omit BCE.

q. 'having been shown a sign will recognize'; 'will show a sign having recognized' BCE.

r. Cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, line 200, and *Oracle of Baalbek*, p. 114 n. 59.

she will not find fruit, but she will only find an olive-tree, and embracing the olive-tree, she will give up her spirit and will say: 'Blessed is that one who has planted this olive-tree.'[a] [4]And her soul will go up from her thence in that place.

Jl 2:31; Acts 2:20; Rev 6:12
Isa 34:4; Rev 6:13-14
Dan 9:23
Rev 20:12
Rev 8:7, 8, 10, 12, 13; 9:1, 13; 11:15
Rev 20:13
Mt 6:13
PrMan 15; Mt 6:13

39. [1]Then *the sun will be turned to darkness and the moon to blood*, the stars will fall like leaves, and the heavens will be rolled up like a scroll, and the sea will boil (and) come up from its depths to cover men[b], and everything will be burned[c] and desiccated by the airs. [2]Fiery angels will descend from heaven, and a fire will flare up through the universe. [3]There will be mice[d] in the form of fire and bronze[e], and that which is like them, and beasts that eat corpses will come out of the mountains. [4]And he[f] will not fear that one whom they were not seeking and he will destroy the land of the impious. [5]And the righteous will be carried away to the Father, for *a command came forth* from the Lord**.** [6]Thrones will fall[g] and *books will be opened* ,[h] and judgments will be written up; angels will sound a trumpet**,** and the righteous will dance; they will offer up praise to the Father and they will be judged each according to his deeds; but only the Lord (is) a righteous judge. [7]And all his works and all peoples will open their mouths beseeching and saying: "Lord, Lord, *do not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from evil*[i], for you, Lord, know and recognize that we are not able to persevere, for we are corporeal,[j] but like a beneficent and philanthropic[k] father have pity on us, for yours[l] is the glory, now and for ever, and unto ages from ages. Amen .

a. Cf. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, lines 200-204 and *Oracle of Baalbek*, p.115 n. 60.
b. 'will boil (and) come up from its depths to cover men'; 'having come up and covered the earth' BCE.
c. 'will be burned'; 'to destroy' A; 'having been destroyed' D.
d. 'mice'; 'children' BCE.
e. 'and bronze'; omit BCE.
f. 'he'; 'they' BCE.
g. 'will fall'; 'are set up' BCE.
h. E ends here.
i. 'evil'; 'evils' B.
j. 'corporeal'; lit., 'a body'.
k. 'and philanthropic'; omit BC.
l. 'have pity on us, *for yours*'; 'may you have pity on us, and may you have mercy on us, for you created us and yours' BC.

Tommaso Tesei is Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Duke Kunshan University.

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TOMMASO TESEI

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POPE SHENOUDA III
COPTIC THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE
SYDNEY - AUSTRALIA

LECTURES IN PATROLOGY

THE

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Preparatory edition
1993

FR. TADROS Y. MALATY
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For the English Texts of the Apostolic Fathers writings refer to:

1. Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1.
2. J.B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, Michigan, 1956.
3. Penguin Classics, Maxwell Stanifort: Early Christian Writings, 1968.
4. The Apostolic Fathers, Light and Life Publishing Co., Minnesota, 1978.

English text is revised by:

Yuvone Tadros

Sydney- Australia

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, King of Kings and Lord of lords

THE BEHOLDER OF GOD
MARK THE EVANGELIST
SAINT AND MARTYR

H.H. Pope Shenouda III, 117th Pope of Alexandria and the See of St. Mark

LECTURES IN PATROLOGY

INTRODUCTION
TO
PATROLOGY

THE CONCEPT OF PATROLOGY[1]

The importance of Patrology is of a growing interest, for this science researches in the lives of the Fathers, their literature, and thoughts.

Contemporary Christians are eager to discover the faith of the early (Universal) catholic[2] Orthodox Church and acknowledge her spirit. In fact, the story of the Fathers is the story of the early church in all its aspects of worship, pastorship, social concepts, preaching, spirituality, etc. It is the story of the living church of the time, who embraced her children through divine love. It taught them to face the pagan world and the heretics with love, to deliver them as her beloved children, guide them to overcome their evils, and to acknowledge their errors and heresies. The mother church strives for their spiritual growth and ultimately their salvation.

METHODS OF PATRISTIC STUDIES

In studying Patrology, we face two integral systems:

1- The scientific system, which the West adopts: Scholars are interested in publishing the texts of the Patristic literature in a scientific accurate translation to modern languages, criticizing them and studying their doctrines and thoughts: theological, ascetic, spiritual, biblical, etc.

2- The spiritual system, which the East adopts: The Eastern churches are interested in enjoying the richness of the Fathers' spirituality, by penetrating the depth of the texts and putting them to practice within the church life.

These two systems are inseparable, for they are integral. The scientific system helps to establish sound basics, and the spiritual system transfers the texts into life and practice.

PATROLOGY

The word "Patrology" is derived from the Latin word "Pater" which means "Father."

Patrology is the science which deals with the life, acts, writings, sayings, doctrines and thoughts of the orthodox writers of the early church.

1) The life of the Fathers: In order to understand their writings and sayings, their lives and the environment in which they lived, must also be considered.

2) Their acts: The writings, sermons, dialogues, letters, etc. of the Fathers are inseparable from their own lives. Patrology's message is to be sure of the authenticity of these acts scientifically, publishing them and translating them in modern languages.

3) More importantly is the discovery of the thoughts of the Fathers, their dogma, doctrines and concepts concerning God, man, church, salvation, worship, creation, the body, the heavenly life, etc.

Patrology is the door through which we can enter into the church and attain her spirit, which affects our inner life, conduct and behavior. Through Patrology, the acts of the Fathers are transferred into living thoughts and concepts which are based on a sound foundation, without ignoring the world around us.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are called the "Patriarchs," or the Fathers of Israel (Gen. 1:24 LXX; Exod. 3:13, 15; Duet. 1:8; Acts 3:13; 7:2, 12; Rom. 4:12, 16; 2 Pet. 3:4).

According to the Jewish tradition the official title of the scribes was "Father."

In the New Testament Church, the Jewish and pagans on the martyrdom of St. Polycarp of Smyrna, were crying: "This is the Father of the Christians[3]."

When St. Athanasius referred to St. Dionysius of Alexandria, St. Dionysius of Rome and others, he used the term "Fathers."

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THE TERM "FATHER" IN PATROLOGY?

In the first century, teaching was a bishopric work, or a "Fatherly" work. Teaching was not merely presenting some dogmas or doctrines, but presenting a living experience, which the disciples examined, together with their Fathers. Teaching and discipleship were inseparable. Through true Fatherhood, the bishops and priests, looked to "teaching" not merely as a fruit of theoretical dogmas, but of their fatherly love, through which they can repeat the words of St. Paul, "In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel" 1 Cor. 4:15.

✞ *When a man learns from the mouth of another, it is said that he is the son of the person who teaches him, and the latter is called his father.*
St. Irenaeus[4]

✞ *The speech is the son of the soul, therefore we call those who teach us our fathers.*
St. Clement of Alexandria[5]

In Patrology the term "Fathers" was not confined to bishops, priests and deacons, but included all those who supported us with orthodox Christian literature. This designated the apologists who defended the Christian faith in the early church even though they were not clergymen. It also designated the leaders of the monastic life who escaped from priesthood but they had many disciples who practised evangelical asceticism.

Certain qualifications are necessary and only some of the ecclesiastical writers are called Church Fathers . These qualifications are:

a. The “Father” according to Patrology, is the one who participates in the Christian Literature, such as discourses, dialogues, letters, sermons, advises and (or) commentaries on some books of the Scripture.

b. Orthodoxy of doctrine: The “Father” examines the church life without deviation from orthodox doctrines.

There are, however, some exceptions for the title “Father.” It has been conferred upon those who have valuable literature, although they have inclined towards some heretic attitudes, e.g. Tertullian, Tatian, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea.

Patrology is concerned with the study of the writings of heretics and the apocryphal in order to understand the whole environment of the church, and its surroundings. This gives an insight into how she stood in the face of heresies and witnessed to the truth, struggling to serve even the heretics themselves and win them back to the kingdom of God.

c. Holiness of Life: Orthodoxy of doctrine and holiness of life are integral. We study Patrology to enjoy the evangelical life of the church, and to attain the spirit of the early church, through her saints who offered their lives, side by side with their teachings, as a living record that witnesses the living truth.

To ensure the orthodoxy and holiness of life, the writings of the fathers were mostly introduced by the words, “an essay (or an epistle) of our Father, Saint...”

d. Antiquity: Some scholars see that the Patristic epoch starts by the Apostolic Fathers down to the sixth century. Others take it further to the eighth century while others see that there is no specific era for the Fathers. They believe that it extends throughout all ages, for

the Spirit of God is working in the Church of Christ, as in every age there are saintly teachers and “Fathers.”

e. The Catholic Church admits another condition: the approval of the Church through canonization. However the Orthodox Church does not canonize the Fathers. She has no official list of saints and Fathers, but suffices to proclaim the heretical writings and excommunicate the heretics until they return to the truth, denying their heresies. The Church has only a list of the saints who are referred to in the liturgy of the Eucharist and in the church hymns, asking for their prayers for the salvation of the world.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS

To what extent do we have to accept what the patristic literature has included?

The holy fathers’ sayings represent the thoughts of the universal (catholic) Church, as received from the Apostles, guided by the Holy Spirit Who unceasingly acts in the church.

St. Augustine says: [*They hold fast with what they found in the Church, practised what they had learned and what they had received from the fathers*[6].] [*He who despises the holy Fathers, must know that he despises the whole Church*[7].]

This authority is based on two elements:

1. Natural element: The Fathers are mostly known by their saintly lives and their faithfulness in receiving the deposit of the living faith from the Apostles. They were witnesses to the true Church life in all aspects. They acquired almost the same spirit as the Apostles in spite of the great differences in their cultures, gifts and circumstances.

2. Divine element: The Fathers lived under the guidance of the Holy Spirit who directed the Church to the truth. We do not be-

lieve in the infallibility of the Fathers as individuals. However, the church as a whole, is always preserved in her faith by the Spirit of God.

HOW CAN WE USE THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS?

1. We must not rely on the writings of a single Father, because no one is capable of acknowledging the "truth" in its entirety. We only accept the opinion of a Father, if it is in harmony with the Bible and the church tradition.

2. We must not rely on one or more separate quotation from the acts of any Father, but rather study all his thoughts and understand the quotations within his whole work. We must also consider the circumstances and the church environment, at that time. We must not single out one or more quotations to form our own opinion.

3. We must study the meaning of the terms which a Father had used. Sometimes they had certain contemporary philosophical or popular concepts of the era. Some Fathers used the same pagan or heretic terms of that time, especially when they wrote to certain worldly groups. They wrote to them, using their (pagan) own terms, language and concepts.

4. It is very useful to study the meaning of some difficult terms by comparing them with the same terms used by their contemporary Fathers.

USING THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS

St. Athanasius used some quotations from the writings of the Fathers in his works[8].

St. Basil depended on many quotations from the writings of the Fathers.

This attitude increased in the fourth century, and increased more and more in the fifth century[9]. As an example, St. Cyril of Alexandria in his writings to the Egyptian monks[10], to defend the use of the term

“Theotokos,” referred to the writings of the saints. Secondly, in assuring the Trinitarian faith, he used the wisdom of the holy Fathers. Again in his writings against Nestorius[11], he declared that the Holy Spirit spoke in the holy Fathers.

THE COPTS’ INTEREST IN THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS

From the early centuries the Copts were interested in the writings of the Fathers. This is evidenced by the increased Coptic manuscripts that are found. They translated Patristic literature into the popular language.

❈As an example there are many Coptic papyrus for the Apostolic Fathers:

❈A papyrus preserved in the National Library in Berlin contains Coptic translations (Akhmimic) of the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to Corinth (4th century).

❈Another at Strasbourg contains quotations from a translation of the same letter (7th century).

❈Many copies of the Coptic translation of the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch, which the scholar Joseph Lightfoot refers to, are preserved in the National Library of Vienna and the British Museum.

❈Manuscripts contain Coptic translations (Sahidic dialect), for the “Shepherd” of Hermas, published by Delaporte. Other manuscripts contain a translation of the same act bought by Lefort in Cairo.

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1. Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers. 1992, Ch. 1. (in Arabic).
2. The word “Catholic” is an eastern term (Greek) was used to express the universality of the church.
3. Marty. Polyc. 12:3.

4. Adv. Haer 4:41:2.
5. 4:41:2.
6. Contra Julian 2:9.
7. Ibid 37.
8. Ep. ad Afros 6.
9. Kelly: Early Christian Doctrines, p. 48-49.
10. Ad. Monach p. 77: 12, 13.
11. In Joan. Nest. 4:2.

THE HISTORY OF PATROLOGY[1]

The Lutheran theologian, John Gerhard, from the seventeenth century, was the first scholar who used the word "Patrologia" as a title of his work, which he published in 1653. But the idea of publishing the sayings of the fathers dates back to the early centuries of Christianity.

We may divide the history of Patrology into four epochs, which may be introduced in succession:

1. The beginning of the spread of Christianity.
2. The church historians epoch.
3. The setting of "De viris Illustribus."
4. A new scientific epoch.

1. THE BEGINNING OF THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

In this epoch the Patristic literature was considered as a part of the church tradition. Every generation receives it as a living gift (deposit) which is passed on to the following generation. Thus the Patristic literature was spread not for scientific research, but as a precious gift (deposit) that declared the life of the church and her faith, to be practised throughout ages.

In other words, it is not preserved in museums or libraries of scientific institutions or seminaries to be studied and criticized, but as an open living gospel written by the life and acts of the church guided by the Holy Spirit. A continuous testimony for the unceasing redeeming work of God throughout ages.

Thus, our Fathers were interested in this precious treasure, not as an ancient spiritual literature to be preserved, but as a continuous church life to be experienced.

HOW THE PATRISTIC LITERATURE WAS PRESERVED AT THAT EPOCH:

a. It was preserved as part of the deposit of faith. One can acknowledge how the church was interested in its preservation from the following quotations:

✞ *It is fit for us to preserve the tradition we have received from our forefathers without change.*
St. Gregory of Nyssa

✞ *I am a lover of the true teachings, pursuing the spiritual steps of my Fathers.*
St. Cyril of Alexandria[2]

It is preserved through the discipleship system, that every generation enjoys the discipleship of the former one. Many disciples wrote in their private diaries statements and stories about their spiritual Fathers who helped them in their spiritual progress.

On many occasions, when a spiritual Father departed from this world, one of his disciples, especially the one who was in close contact with him, would write a biography of him, including his private behavior, sayings, and advises.

b. Some believers were eager to record the sermons of their spiritual fathers. These sermons included commentaries on biblical texts, spiritual topics, theological items etc. Many sermons of St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine were recorded by those who admired them.

c. Many diaries, memories and books were written by pilgrims. St. John Cassian (360-435 A.D) for example who visited Egypt and met many Abbots of the monasteries in Egypt, wrote his well-known two books: The "Conferences" (dialogues with many desert fathers), and the "Institutes" which dealt with the canons of mo-

nasticism and the methods of victory for a monk in his spiritual struggle.

Palladius, the historian of monks (c. 365-425) visited Egypt and acknowledged her ascetics. He also met St. Didymius the Blind, the dean of the school of Alexandria several times. He wrote his book “The Lausic History” or “ The Paradise of the Fathers.”

The historian Rufinus (c. 345-410) recorded in his work, “The History of Monasticism,” some speeches of the Egyptian desert fathers. He visited Egypt in 372 A.D, and studied there for some years, and became a disciple of St. Didymius the Blind.

d. The school of Alexandria attracted many church leaders who transferred its literature to their churches.

e. The translation of the Patristic literature, especially from Greek to Latin, Syriac and Ethiopian.

St. Jerome devoted himself for a long time in translating the works of Origen, whom he admired.

The work of St. Athanasius “The life of Anthony” was translated in many languages.

The sayings of the Egyptian fathers were recorded in Greek and translated into Latin.

Rufinus translated some works of Origen and St. Clement of Alexandria.

Many Coptic literature was translated to Ethiopian and Nubian languages.

f. Many Coptic monks and deans of the school of Alexandria visited other countries with the aim of preaching and establishing monasteries. They spread some of the Coptic literature in new areas.

2. THE CHURCH HISTORIANS' EPOCH

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260 - c. 340 A.D) is considered as "The Father of Patrology," who established the idea of publishing the sayings and writings of the fathers[3]. In the introduction to his work: "The Ecclesiastical History," written in 326 A.D, he states that he intends to report about "the number of those who, in each generation, were the ambassadors of the word of God either by speech or by pen, the names, the number and the age of those who were driven by the desire of innovations to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of knowledge, falsely so called[4]."

He actually presented a list of all the writers and their works. He also recorded part of the quotations to most of them. His book is the most important reference in Patrology, though some of the works from which he quoted had been lost. In spite of its numerous errors it is still the only reference to some of the early Christian writers.

This book motivated many of the writers in the East and the West to complete it. They are called "The Church Historians," such as Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. Their works are similar, but they mostly ignore the western church. In the west Rufinus translated Eusebius' work into Latin, and added to it some events until the age of Theodosius the Great (392 A.D). These additions have little value.

3. THE SETTING OF "DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS"

This book "The Illustrious Men" is composed by St. Jerome (342 - 420 A.D), in 392 or 393 A.D, by the demand of his friend Dexter. This work defended the church from the accusation of Celsus, Prophyry, Julian and other pagans who thought Christians were not intelligent. St. Jerome records the Christian writers (till 379 A.D), who were rich in their literature. It consists of 135 chapters, starting with the

apostolic age until his days. Each chapter represents a biography of a writer and his works.

In his work, St. Jerome, imitated Suetonius, who published his book: “The Illustrious Fathers” in c. 100 A.D. He dealt in brief with the renowned Latin writers[5].

REMARKS ON “ DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS”

a: St. Jerome depended on Eusebius in the first 78 chapters, though he stated that he did not depend on previous writings. Yet he repeated Eusebius’ same errors. He was considered the only source for some early writers, i.e. Marcius Felix, Novetian, Tertullian etc.

b: In the introduction he mentioned that his work was bound by those who wrote concerning the holy Scripture, but in fact it included those who wrote on theological issues.

c: As he published it, St. Augustine criticized it[6], saying that Jerome did not separate the Orthodox writers from the heretics. It included some heretics, i.e. Tatian, Priscillian, Basdesanes and Eunomius; and pagan philosophers, such as Seneca. It also included some Jewish writers, such as Philo of Alexandria and Josephius.

d: E. C. Richardson stated that Jerome did not compose it for scientific purposes but for practical reasons. He wrote very briefly about well-known writers, such as. SS. Athanasius, Basil the Great, Cyprian, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius and Ambrose.

e: St. Jerome ignored the writings of St. Augustine which were published at that time, perhaps because of the contention which existed between them.

This work has its precious value in the West. Although it is more than a thousand years old, it is regarded as a basis of all their studies in this branch. Attempts are still being made to complete it.

This work was well-connected with the work of Gennadius, a priest in Marseilles (died at 496 A.D).

REMARKS ON GENNADIUS' WORK

a: Richardson states that this work has little value, and is out of sequence when compared with that of St. Jerome. However, we cannot ignore the fact that it is a very useful addition, which may be considered as a second volume of Jerome's work.

b: It consists of 99 chapters, and continues till 495 AD. It concludes with the writings of the author himself.

c. Gennadius was semi-Pelagian, and this has influenced his work, at the same time he was a man of extensive knowledge and accurate judgment. His work remains of prime importance for the history of ancient Christian literature.

Many writers composed works in the same style, such as Isidore of Serville (died 636 A.D.), who gave special interest to the Spanish writers[7]; and his disciple Ildephonsus of Toledo (d. 667 AD).

Before the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, in Belgium, the Benedictine historian, Sigebert of Gemblou, tried to compose a book that included the Christian literature up to his age. In his book he dealt with the ancient Christian writers after Jerome and Gennadius. He set the biography of the Fathers in order, and wrote his remarks on the Latin theological authors in the beginning of the middle age, without referring to the Eastern Fathers.

In 1122 Honorius Augustodinum composed similar work, giving it the title, "*De Luminarebus Ecclesiae* (The Luminous church)."

In 1135 the so-called Mellicesis published his book "*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*."

Around 1494 Fr. Johannes Trithemius provided us with a biography of 963 fathers and writers, with some details concerning their writings. Some of them were not theologians.

Fr. Trithemius was a well-known Benedictine abbot Sponheim, who established a library of about 2000 volumes. Many nobles used to visit him to read about the Greek and Latin fathers. Deacon Myraus embraced this work and corrected it.

Afterwards Cardinal R. Bellarmine was interested in the ancient church Literature in a practical way.

In the East, Photius (died on 891 A.D), the Patriarch of Constantinople, composed a similar work, which was known by its accuracy, and it included the works of some pagan authors.

In the Coptic church, the Synixarium, which included the biography of saints, was composed. Some historians, such as John (Yohana) of Necius appeared. The monasteries were also very interested in copying the writings of the early fathers.

In the 15th century, Neceforius Kalisty of Constantinople, made a summary of the previous works and wrote the history of the church from its establishment until 911 A.D.

4. A NEW SCIENTIFIC EPOCH.

A new epoch started in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by publishing the first series of the ancient church writings in an exquisite style.

In the nineteenth century many patristic texts were discovered and there were serious desires to study these texts scientifically. Many academic institutions and universities established special branches for this subject.

The twentieth century has been predominantly concerned with the history of ideas, concepts, and terms in Christian literature, and the doctrine of the various ecclesiastical authors[8].

OUR CONCERN

When the western scholars are involved in Patrology, they look to the Church of Alexandria as a living fountain that spreads on the Christendom a great deal of the Patristic literature texts and spirit.

At the end of the middle age and the beginning of the modern age treasures of our libraries had been brought to the western museums and universities, which form a great part of the material of Patrology. J. Quasten says, "Moreover, the newly discovered papyri of Egypt enabled scholars to regain many patristic works which had been lost[9]."

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1. Fr. T. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, 1991, p. 19-29 (in Arabic).
2. Fr. T. Malaty: The Church and Tradition, p. 9 (in Arabic).
3. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1; The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1974, p. 481.
4. Eccl. Hist. 1:1:1.
5. J. N. D. Kelly: Jerome, 1975, p 175.
6. Epist. 40:9, written in 397.
7. F. Arvala: S. Isidore...., Rome 1797 to 1803, vol. 5, p. 138- 178. PL 83: 1018-1106; 96: 195-206.
8. Quasten, vol 1, p. 5.
9. Ibid.

IMPORTANCE OF PATROLOGY[1]

Patrology is not just a branch of Christian Theology, it is an essential source of all branches of theology, because the lives and writings of the Fathers are an open and practical gospel that testifies to the whole aspect of Christian life and doctrines.

Patrick J. Hamell says, “Theological training is incomplete without the elements of the history of Dogma and Positive Theology. All the great theologians studied the Fathers carefully, and reveal that in their works by extensive quotations[2].”

1. PATROLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

The holy Bible is the book of the church, who accepts the Bible as the treasure of the divine promises, preserves it as her own, and interprets it in her life through the writings of her Fathers.

The church defended the Old Testament in her dialogue against the Gnostics, especially Marcion, and explained the harmony and unity between the Old and the New Testaments.

The Fathers present a treasure of the allegorical interpretation of the whole Bible, in addition to many historical and moral interpretations, through which one can enjoy the Bible today and offer its interpretation to the modern man.

2. PATROLOGY AND DOGMATIC LIFE

Almost all the writings of the Fathers reflect the works of the Holy Trinity in our life, which is the core of our dogmas.

Patrology, which embraces the minutes and the statements of the local and Ecumenical Councils, helps us to deepen our understanding of the Christian dogmas and doctrines, at that time.

3. PATROLOGY AND COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY

From the very start of Christianity the Church faced those who attacked her faith: Jews, Philosophers and Heretics. The church also endured the pressure practised by the rulers of the land. The church faced every group with its own terms and mentality. For example she depended on the prophesies from the Old Testament in facing the Jews, and philosophical logic and terms in facing the philosophical atheists, and the New Testament in facing the heretics, and love and long-suffering in facing the persecution.

Patrology supports us not only with the material but also with method by which we are to face the adversaries.

Moreover, Patrology discovers the Spirit of the Christian in facing those who resist his faith, taking care not to be absorbed into their errors and violence, rather desiring their salvation through love.

4. PATROLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY

Rarely do we find writings of the Fathers that looks into the Church, her concept, her worship etc. Almost all the writings of the Fathers reveal the work of the Holy Trinity in the Church, as God's own people, Christ's own Body, the temple of the Holy Spirit and the kingdom of God.

The church is declared through the Biblical-exegetical, apologetic, ascetic, sacramental, and spiritual writings.

Patrology reveals the meaning of the living Church tradition, and its contents: the faith in the Holy Trinity, Christ's works and sayings, the Christian morality and Christian worship. At the same time Patrology is an essential part of Church tradition.

5. PATROLOGY AND SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY

Patrology preserves the ancient liturgical texts which are the source of the sacramental theology. The early sacramental writings were offered mostly to the catechumens and the newly- baptized, but

for others, practising the sacraments was sufficient. The sacramental theology, as a branch of theology, appeared only after the attack against church sacraments, which occurred in the 16th century in Europe.

6. PATROLOGY AND CHURCH HISTORY

The Early Church in her eschatological attitude was not interested in recording her history. The first true Church historian was Eusebius of Caesarea. By his work "Church History" he created the school of the Church historians in the East and the West. Nevertheless, Patrology supports us with many historical events and helps us to understand the meanings of many Church events.

7. PATROLOGY AND MARIOLOGY

For many centuries we rarely find a homily and discourse on Mariology, for it is unseparated from Christology. In spite of that, we can say that Mariology had appeared in two attitudes:

a. Dogmatic: St. Ignatius of Antioch speaks concerning the Virgin birth of Christ as a living Church tradition that assures the Divinity of Christ[3].

b. Apologetic: St. Justine strongly defends this Virgin birth against the Jews who said that he was a mere man[4].

According to St. Irenaeus, the attitudes are met together when he compares St. Mary with Eve, calling her "second Eve."

The school of Alexandria offered much in Mariology for it looked to the personality of St. Mary being fulfilling the genuine Christian thought in its triple aspects: ascetic, allegorical and dogmatic, because St. Mary is the model of virgins and ascetics. She also represents the inner glorious life. The title "Theotokos" assures the hypostatic union between Christ's humanity and divinity, for He who was born is the true Son of God.

8. PATROLOGY AND ASCETIC WRITINGS:

Patrology is the science that looks into the sayings and writings of the Fathers to acknowledge their own Spirit.

The work of St. Athanasius "*Vita Anotonii*," the writings of pilgrimages, such as St. John Cassian, Palladius and St. Jerome; the Apophthegmata Patrum, the writings of some leaders of the monks, such as that of St. Isaac of Nineveh, uncover the ascetic life in the Early Church, as an evangelical life which touches the heart of the believer to enjoy the inner kingdom of God and to prepare his soul as a heavenly bride. It elevates his mind and soul to experience the pledge of the eschatological life.

This life is not an escape from the world for rest, but an entrance into an unceasingly spiritual battle.

It is worthy to note that the ascetic attitude has its effect almost on the life of every believer, and on the writings of the Fathers.

9. PATROLOGY AND THE SPIRITUAL THEOLOGY

The spirituality of the Early Church can be uncovered not only through the ascetic writings, homilies and sermons on moral topics, but even through the apologetic writings and the texts of Church liturgies. Spirituality is a main line in the life, worship and writings of the Fathers.

10. PATROLOGY AND THEOLOGY OF EVANGELISM AND PASTORSHIP

The Church's spirit of witnessing to the evangelical life, by preaching and shepherding people is extended almost in all early Church writings, even in the ascetic writings. For preachers, the values of Patrology are immense.

11. PATROLOGY AND ECUMENISM

Patrology helps us not only to acknowledge ecumenism, but also in realizing it. For the early Churches all over the world had

their ecumenical spirit, not out of gathering together in certain meetings and activities, but rather through their love for the salvation of all human being, and their unity in faith.

Ecumenism in fact is the return to the apostolic faith and thought, for it means oneness in faith, and openness of hearts for heavenly love, and unity with one God in Jesus Christ by the One Holy Spirit.

Embracing Patrology helps the Churches to attain the early ecumenical concepts.

Hamell says, "All Christian bodies hold the Fathers in high esteem, and the study of the Patristic writings should bring Christians to better knowledge of Christ's teaching and promote unity[5]."

PATROLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

For a long time many Christians regarded Patrology as a rigid work, which drew the church back to the ancient ages, without any progress. Now, many theologians and churchmen discovered the importance of Patrology in the success, progress and edification of the contemporary church. For Patrology explains the spirit of the early church and offers the experience of the church living tradition according to the needs of the contemporary church. Patrology gives us the genuine basics of the church life and thought, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit who guides her in the spiritual way to be united with the Father in the Son.

1. See Fr. T. Y. Malaty: Introduction to Patrology, 1974, ch. 2 (in Arabic).
2. Patrick J. Hamell: Handbook of Patrology, 1968, p. 12.
3. Ad Eph. 19:1.
4. Dial. 48.
5. Hamell, p. 12 .

THE LANGUAGES AND TEXTS OF THE FATHERS[1]

At the spread of Christianity during the early centuries of the Roman Empire, the Greek language became the dominant language throughout the Mediterranean region. Hellenistic civilization and literature had made such a thorough conquest of the Roman world, that there was hardly any town in the West in which the Greek language was not in everyday use. For this reason, Greek must be regarded as an essential language of patristic literature.

The Fathers did not write in classical Greek, which the Greek writers used in poetry, history, and philosophy, but in Koine (slang Greek), which became the official language of the Roman Empire from 300 B.C. to 500 A.D, the language of the Holy Scriptures, and the Fathers of the Early Church[2].

In the East the Coptic, Syriac and Armenian languages took over the Greek language.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN FATHERS

Some Egyptian Fathers preferred to write in Greek beside their national language (Demotic), for many reasons, such as the following[3]:

1. The Greek language was easier in writing.

2. It was the official language in Egypt. All official documents were in Greek, and whoever was ignorant of it used special scribes to write on his behalf.

3. It was the language of those who were well-educated in the great cities.

4. It was the Church language, used in the books of the New Testament and the Ecumenical Councils.

In the second century St. Pantaenus introduced the Coptic alphabet, by using the Greek letters added to seven letters from the ancient Demotic language, as the development of the Egyptian (Pharaoh's) language. Under the guidance of St. Pantaenus, his disciples especially St. Clement translated the holy Scripture to the Coptic language. All the Egyptian Christian literature was translated into Coptic before the fifth century.

Because of the accuracy of the meaning, the Copts were very cautious not to translate the theological Greek terms. Warrell states that the Copts refused the translation of the Theological terms[4]. For example, when they referred to the Holy Spirit they did not use the Coptic word (nevi) but the Greek (Pnevma).

After the Arab Conquest, the Copts were obliged to use the Arabic language. In the 8th century the Coptic language started to flourish, and in the 12th century the Coptic writings started to be in two columns: Coptic and Arabic[5]. In the 16th century it disappeared as a popular spoken language in Lower-Egypt, but it was used as the spoken language till the 17th century in Upper-Egypt.

In the 13th century the Arabic language became the language of the Copts in their theological and church writings.

It is worth noting that the ancient Coptic monks were known by piety and self-denial, therefore they were interested in practice more than writing. Their monastic advises and words were recorded by the pilgrims who visited them from East and West, written in Greek, Latin Syriac etc.

THE TEXT OF THE FATHERS[6]

The first additions of the Patristic texts cannot be regarded as critical editions, since scientific rules for the selection of the manuscripts were not in existence. Nevertheless, many of these first editions are now very valuable, because the manuscripts on which their texts is based has been lost.

Those editions, containing either a single work or the complete works of each author, began in the sixteenth century and improved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French Benedictines of St. Maur des Fosses are worthy of special mention for their distinguished scholarship.

Single Collections of several writers began with Marguerin de la Bigne (d. 1589). In his "*Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*" he collected the works of more than 200 early or mediaeval writers. This collection gradually increased and in Cologne in 1616 it had become the "*Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*" in 14 vols. - later it was re-edited at Lyons in 27 volumes (1677) *Maxima Bibliotheca V.P. et antiq. scriptorum ecclesiasticorum."*.

The Oratorian, A. Galland (d. 1779), published his "*Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum"* in Venice in 1765-81, and 1788 (14 vols.), the 19th century M. J. Routh (*Reliquiae Sacrae*, 1814, Oxford), Cardinals A. Mai, S. J. and J. Pitra, O.S.B., are outstanding.

MIGNE

The greatest and most important collection of patristic texts is "*Patrologiae Cursus Completus*" edited by Abbé J. P. Migne (d. 1875) compiled the (PG, PL)- which is immense and needs substantial re-editing. This collection is in two series:

1. **Latin Patrology** contains 221 volumes, four of which are indexes, printed in Paris 1844-1855.

2. **Greek Patrology** (1857-1866), contains 161 volumes. At present it is made up of:

(1) the original edition;

(2) reprints of a certain number of volumes after the fire of 1868, many misprints etc.

(3) photomechanical reproductions made since 1904 of volumes out of print, of poor quality. Dom Olivier Rousseau reported to the Pa-

tristic Conference, 1959, his project of a photomechanical reproduction, but of much better standard of volumes is no longer available.

Many works of these two series were translated into modern languages, such as German, French and English.

COLLECTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

(a) Collections which supplement Migne

"*Patrologia Syriac,*" by R. Griffin. Paris, 1894 ff., 3 vols.

"*Patrologia Orientalis,*" by R. Griffin and F. Nau. Paris 1903 ff., 28 vols.

"*Corpus scriptorum christianorum Orientalium,*" by J. Chabot, 1903 I. Guidi, H. Hyvernat, B. Carra de Vaux, Forget, Paris, 1903 ff. Louvain - Washington, 228 vols.

(b) Collections which supplement and revise Migne

"*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum,*" edited by the Academy of Vienna, 1866 ff., 78 vols, Latin text only.

"*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi,*" Berlin, 1877 ff., 13 vols. (later Latin writers up to the Middle Ages).

"*Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Greek Christian writers of the first three centuries), Berlin, I897 ff.

"*Bibliotheca Teubneriana"*, Leipzig.

"*Loeb Classical Library,"* edd. Page, Capps, Rouse. London - New York I912.

"*Sources chrétiennes,*" edd. H. de Lubac, J. Danielou. Paris, 1941 ff.

"*Corpus Chriscianorum."* Series Latina, Turnhout: Brepols. 1954 ff., c. 30 vols.

"*Corpus Christianorum"* under the Benedictines of Steenbrugge promises to be the most comprehensive collection since Migne.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Library of the Fathers, edited by Pusey, Keble and Newman. Oxford, 1838-1888, 45 vols.

The Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D 325, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. Edinburgh, 1872. 24 vols. with a supplementary volume, edited by A. Menzies, Edinburgh, 1897.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition revised by A. Cleveland Coxe. Buffalo. 1884-1886, 8 vols., with a supplement by A. Menzies (vols. 9) and A. Cleveland Coxe (vol. 10). The 10th vol. contains a bibliographical synopsis and a general index.

A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Ph. Schaff and H. Wace. Buffalo and New York, 1886-1900, 28 vols.

Translations of Christian Literature, edited by W. J. Sparrow-Simpson and W. K. Lowther Clarke (London, 1917 ff.). This collection, published by the SPCK in London, comprises a series of:

1. Greek Texts. 2. Latin Texts.
3. Liturgical Texts. 4. Oriental Texts.

Ancient Christian Writers, edited by J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe. Westminster, Md., 1946 ff.

The Fathers of the Church, edited by L. Schopp. New York, 1947 ff.

The Early Christian Fathers (Selection), edited by H. Bettenson, London, 1956.

FRENCH TRANSLATION

Les Pères de L'Eglise, edited by A. De Genoude. Paris, 1839. 10 vols.

Bibliothéque choisie des Pères de L'Eglise, edited by N. S. Gullion. Paris, 1828, 36 vols. Reprinted at Brussels and Louvain, 1828-1834, 27 vols.

Chefs-d'oeuvre des Pères de I'Eglise. Paris, 1837. 15 vols.

Textes et documents pour L'etude historique du christianisme, edited by H. Hemmer and P. Lejay. Paris, 1904-1912. 20 vols. Text and translation.

Bibliothéque patristique de spiritualité. Paris, 1932. ff. Text and translation.

Les grands écrivains chrétiens. Lyon-Paris, 1942 ff.

TRANSLATIONS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Writings and sayings of the Fathers had been translated to German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Polish and Norwegian. Also, Publishing Egyptian Houses of Lebanon started a new Arabic translation. However, Egyptian translations are mostly for the spiritual fulfillment of the readers rather than academic research. Therefore, often translations are summarized and started into chapters and headings relating to the topic , with an introductory editorial, highlighting the spiritual thoughts of the Fathers, similar to the "Early Fathers" series published in St. George church, Sporting, Alexandria. It is hoped that in the near future, an accurate academic translation, will be published. The Center of Patristic Studies in Cairo is currently producing good results.

PATRISTIC CONFERENCES

International conferences, for the study of patristic writings is held once every four years at Oxford, England, for researchers of all denominations, ecumenically to exchange views, experiences and studies

COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS

Since the 17th century, there were studies of the Coptic manuscripts by the European researchers who discovered the authority and value of the Coptic tradition and the treasures of the Coptic manuscripts. This encouraged western missionaries to visit Egypt to copy or obtain old manuscripts from monasteries and churches. Thus, we (the Copts) lost our treasures to the museums and libraries of Europe. Deacon Youssef Habib made the comparison of how our libraries in the churches and monasteries were full previously, compared to what they are now.

1. Aguidious Lukensious Liebrisc, after his visit to Egypt in 1623 AD, stated that "he found many rare and precious books in many of the monasteries, one of the monasteries particularly had over 8000 books and manuscripts dating back to the era of St. Anthony (he meant the monastery of St. Mary known as the Syrian Monastery at the Seciet desert).

2. Such description as above encouraged many to raid many of the monasteries to obtain manuscripts. The following year, to the above incident, Agathane de Vendome came and obtained a manuscript of the Psalms in six languages.

3. Robert Huntington, visited the monasteries between 1682-1683 and took some rare manuscripts, Bibles and books from the monastery of St. Makarius.

4. In the 8th century (1706) the Vatican sent Elias Assemani, a librarian, who returned with a collection of rare Syriac manuscript. In 1715 A.D he was followed by a cousin, Joseph Simon Assemani, who did the same from the monastery of St. Makarius. He carried a huge amount of manuscripts, containing 11 volumes of original manuscripts and other works. He stated that he had obtained a collection of very valuable and important Coptic manuscripts of so much importance and value from the monks of St. Makarius Monastery... and he did not leave behind anything of value, which anyone would benefit from. However, Evelyn White who came after him stated that he who picked up anything from the library had gained a great treasure.

5. Andèossy (1799), took some manuscripts belonging to the 12th century.

6. The trend continued during the 19th century throughout all monasteries to obtain rare manuscripts. Some of these are:

- B. Drovetti (1818)- copy of the Psalms and others.
- Robert Kurzon 1837, boasted that he obtained very rare books.
- Henry Tattam and his step daughter Platt 1839 - books now held by the library of Rylands - Manchester.
- Constantine Tishendorf, 1844 - books held by the libraries of Liebsig and Cambridge.
- The monks of St. Makarius Monastery refused to grant permission to Mr. Halamfel Cester to visit the library of the Monastery because

prior to this visit a French man, named “Fortune Ame,” after visiting the library came later at night and took a number of rare manuscripts and smuggled them out to his companions.

- The monastery of St. Anthony and St. Paul was destroyed in the 5th century.

- The British museum obtained part of the books and manuscripts from the White Monastery, near the town of Sohag, in Southern Egypt, while the National library of Paris took the remainder of the books.

8. An American, of good fortune, named “B. Morgan” purchased 56 manuscripts in 1910 from the Hanoly Monastery near Fayoum, South of Cairo.

Thus, Egypt was left with only a few of the Coptic manuscripts which were kept by some of the monasteries and churches and the majority were taken to the Coptic Museum and the papal house.

During the 19th century and early 20th century some of the manuscripts had been translated and published, such as works by Budge, Ameliniu, Zoega and Crum.

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1. Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, 1991, p. 30ff.; Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 20-21.
2. Quasten, p. 20-21; Yassa Abdel Messieh: The Coptic dialects and their effects - Page from the History of the Copts, p. 36 (in Arabic).
3. They used Greek for writing and the Coptic or Demotic for sermons, because the commons in villages were ignorant of the Greek language. St. Anthony the Great himself ignores it, and he used to speak with his visitors in Coptic.
4. Warrell: A Short Account of the Copts, 1955.
5. Yassa Abdel Messieh: The Coptic dialects and their effects - Page from the History of the Copts, p. 36 (in Arabic).
6. Patrick J. Hamell: Handbook of Patrology, 1968, p. 13ff; Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, p.32ff; J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 13 ff.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE PATRISTIC WRITINGS

We can classify the patristic writings on many bases:

1. TIME

The Patristic writings, especially of the first five centuries may be classified on "Time" bases. Some scholars see that the first ecumenical council separated the Fathers into two kinds according to their literature;

a. The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Their literature are very simple.

b. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.

2. LANGUAGES

a. The Greek (Eastern) Fathers: the majority of the eastern Fathers wrote in Greek beside their national languages, such as the Coptic, Syriac and Armenian.

b. The Latin (Western) Fathers.

3. PLACE

a. The Egyptian Fathers, especially those of the School of Alexandria, and the Desert Fathers.

b. The Antiochenes.

c. The Capadocian Fathers.

d. The Latin Fathers.

4. THE MATERIAL

a. Apologetic writings.

b. Biblico-exegetical writings.

c. Homilies and sermons.

d. Letters.

e. Liturgical works.

f. Christian poetry and songs.

g. Dialogues.
h. Ascetic writings.
i. Church canons.
j. Church history.

Many scholars had set a classification which is a mixture of some of the above-mentioned ones.

THE OUTLINE
OF THE
PATRISTIC LITERATURE

We can present the patristic literature in five stages, using Quasten's system to some extent:

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN PATRISTIC LITERATURE

* The beginnings of Canonical Legislation, and Liturgical formulas.
* The writings of the Apostolic Fathers, who were disciples of the Apostles.
* The Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, which were separated from the canonical books.
* The beginning of Christian Poetry and early hymns.
* The first Acts of the Martyrs.
* The works of the Apologists.
* The beginnings of Heretical Literature.
* The beginnings of Anti-Heretical Literature.

2. THE ANTE-NICENE LITERATURE AFTER ST. IRENAEUS

* The writings of the Early Fathers of the School of Alexandria.
* The Fathers of Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine.
* The beginning of the Western Christian literature by Minucius Felix, Hippolytus of Rome, Novitian etc..
* The African Christian Fathers, such as Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Arnobius of Sicca and Lactantius.
* Other writings of the West, such as Victorinus of Pettau, Reticius of Autun etc...

3. THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE EASTERN FATHERS

The period between the Nicene Council (325 A.D) and the Chalcedonian Council (425 A.D):

* The Egyptian Fathers, such as SS. Alexander who faced Arius, Athanasius the Apostolic, Serapion of Thmuis, Didymus the Blind, Theophilus, Synesius of Cyrene, Nonnus of Panopolis, Cyril the Great...

* The Founder of the monastic movement in Egypt, and the writings of those who visited Egypt to practise and / or to record the monastic life.

* The writings of Asia Minor: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Asterius the Sophist, Marcellus of Ancyra, Basil of Ancyra .

* The Cappadocian Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius of Iconium and Asterius of Amasea etc.

* The writers of Antioch and Syria: Eustathius of Antioch, Aetius of Antioch, Eunomius of Cyzicus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Acacius of Caesarea, Gelasius of Caesarea, Euzoius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Emesa, Nemesius of Emesa etc.

* Christianity And Manichaeism: Hegemonius, Titus of Bostra, Cyril of Jerusalem, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Epiphanius of Salamis, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Polychronius of Apamea, John Chrysostom, Acacius of Beroea, Antiochus of Ptolemais, Severian of Gabala, Macarius Magnes, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Nilus of Ancyra, Mark the Hermit, Diadochus of Photice, Nestorius, Eutherius of Tyana, Proclus of Constantinople, Gennadius of Constantinople, Basil of Seleucia etc.

* Church Historians of Constantinople: Philip Sidetes, Philostorgius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret of Cyrus.

4. THE WESTERN FATHERS IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

* St. Hilary of Pitiers,

* Anti-Arian Writers: Hosuis, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer, Maruis Victorinusetc.

* St. Ambrose Of Milan.

* St. Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia

* Christian Poetry: Commodian, Iuvenus, Centones, Damasus, Ausonius, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Claudianus etc.

* St. Augustine and the Pelagian controversy.

* The writers of Gaul: Eucherius of Lyons, Eutropius, Evagrius, Hilary of Arles, Honoratus of Arles, John Cassian, Sulpicius Severus, Etheria etc.

* Italian writers: Fortunatius of Aquileia, Maximus of Turin, Peter Chrysologus, Siricus, Anastasius, Innocent I, Zosimus, Boniface I, Celestine I, Sixtus III, Leo.

[See Angelio Di Berardino, J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. IV.]

5. THE WRITINGS AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

* The Great Miaphesite Fathers: SS. Severus of Antioch, Timothy of Alexandria and Philoxenos of Mobagh.

* The Egyptian Fathers in the middle age.

THE BEGINNINGS

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CHRISTIAN PATRISTIC LITERATURE

*** The beginnings of Canonical Legislation, and Liturgical formulas.**
*** The writings of the Apostolic Fathers.**
*** The Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament.**
*** The beginning of Christian Poetry and early hymns.**
*** The first Acts of the Martyrs.**
*** The works of the Apologists.**
*** The beginnings of Heretical Literature.**
*** The beginnings of Anti-Heretical Literature.**

THE BEGINNINGS OF

LITURGICAL FORMULAS
AND
CANONICAL LEGISLATION

✞ ✞ ✞

The eternal Logos was incarnated and lived among us as a Son of Man, to create His Church as His holy body, who shares in His characteristics. As the Heavenly Head he grants Her the practice of the heavenly life, and attaining the participation in the divine nature. This new life is practised here on earth through our daily life. In other words, this eschatological attitude is revealed in the church worship, preaching, and conduct.

The Church preached this heavenly life to the world through human languages. Her liturgies, order, and canons witness to this evangelical life. Therefore, we start our study by referring to the Apostles' Creed (*Symbolum Apostolorum*) and the Didache.

Two of the most striking features of the early Church are :

✞ Her eschatological nature and life.
✞ The development of her visible organization.

1

THE APOSTLES' CREED[1]

CREED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Christian faith is a life which the believer experiences personally together with his brothers, through the unity with the Father in the Son by the work of the Holy Spirit. This life cannot be defined by a certain creed, nor limited by a canon because it cannot be expressed by human language. Nevertheless, there was a necessity for those who accept faith to proclaim this faith in a brief and simple form before attaining the membership in the Body of Christ, i.e, before receiving baptism, this form is called a baptismal creed.

St. Hilary of Poitiers states that we have to utter with what is unspeakable, and instead of the mere faith we have to deposit our religious doctrines in human expressions[1].

When our Lord asked His disciples about their faith St. Peter said. "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" Matt. 16:16. Perhaps it was the starting point of setting a Church creed that ensured our faith in Christ.

Again when our Lord granted His disciples the universal authority to preach, teach and baptize the believers, He said, "Go you therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" Matt. 28:19. Our Lord Himself revealed the Trinitarian formula as a baptismal creed.

The Book of the Acts of the Apostles preserved the original form of the Creed (8: 37). The apostle Philip baptized the eunuch of Ethiopia after the latter had professed his faith thus: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." This passage proves that the starting point of the Creed was the confession of faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God. There was no need to require more from the candidates

for baptism. The confession of Jesus as the Messiah proved sufficient, especially for converts from Judaism.

As time went by, more and more titles were added. Soon afterwards the word "Savior" was included in the formula, and thus the acrostic (ICHTHUS) appeared, a favorite Creed in the Hellenistic world, because (ICHTHUS) 'fish' contains the initials of the five Greek words for "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior."

Tertullian and the inscription of Abercius testify to the popularity of this formula in the second half of the second century. Far earlier, however this formula was found, in ancient Christian literature, expressions of faith in Christ, at once were more formal in character and more extensive in scope. Already St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1,3) formulates the Gospel of God as the message of His son, flesh, who was predestined the Son of God in power, according to the spirit of sanctification by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. Similar formulas can be found in 1 Cor. 15, 3, and in 1 Petr. 3, 18-22. It is possible that these formulas had been in liturgical use.

About the year 100 A.D, Ignatius of Antioch[2] declared his faith in Jesus Christ in words that remind us very much of the second article in the Apostle's Creed: [*Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was of Mary, who was truly born, both ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, while being heavenly, earthly... . He was also truly raised from the dead, His Father raised Him up, as in similar fashion His Father will raise us up in Christ Jesus as we believe in Him, without whom we have no true life.*]

THE HISTORY OF CREEDS

1. As we have said, from the earliest days of the Church the need of some kind of profession of faith before receiving baptism was felt. Simple and brief creeds containing a doctrinal summary of

Christianity, or a compound of the faith of the church were used by candidates for baptism.

2. When the heresies appeared, especially “Gnosticism,” they considered the bodies and all materials as evil and created by Satan, denying the reality of incarnation. They almost said that Christ had a heavenly body, different from our own body, and that He appeared as if He was a man, but He never suffered nor was crucified. Therefore the primitive formula was not sufficient. There was a need of emphasizing the reality of incarnation, suffering, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of our Incarnate God.

When heresies, concerning the Trinitarian faith spread, reciting a creed with emphasis on church faith became necessary, not only for baptism, but in every worship, private or communal. “Say the creed daily,” St. Augustine advised his flock, “when you compose yourself to sleep, repeat your creed, render it to the Lord, be not irked to say it over[3].”

PRIMITIVE CREEDS

Patrology presents many creed formulas mentioned in the writings of the Eastern and Western Fathers. Schaff presents a comparative table of the Ante-Nicene Rules of Faith, as related to the Apostles’ Creed and Nicene Creed:

1. The Apostles’ Creed (Rome), about 340 A.D.
2. Irenaeus of Lyon, 180 A.D.
3. Tertullian of Carthage, 200 A.D.
4. Cyprian of Carthage, 250 A.D.
5. Novatian of Rome’ 250 A.D.
6. Origen, Alexandria, 250 A.D.
7. Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, 270 A.D.
8. Lucian of Antioch, 300 A.D.
9. Eusebius of Caesarea, 325 A.D.
10. Marcellus of Ancyra, 340 A.D.
11. Cyril of Jerusalem, 350 A.D.
12. Epiphanius of Salamis, 374 A.D.

13. Rufinus of Aquileia, 390 A.D.
14. The Creed mentioned in the Apostolic Constitution.

THE APOSTLES' CREED

This creed has a special importance for the Western church, considering it as the basic of her creeds. Schaff states that the Apostles' Creed (Symbolum Apostolicum) is the Creed of creeds, as the Lord's prayer is the Prayer of prayers[4].

It is a brief summary of the principal doctrines of Christianity; hence it may be called a compendium of the theology of the Church. Its present form, consisting of twelve articles, does not antedate the sixth century. From the beginning of the sixth century it was used with certain variation, as a profession of faith in Gal, Spain, and a little later in Ireland and Germany in the courses of instruction intended for catechumens.

Rufinus of Aquileia, at the end of the fourth century, had composed a "Commentary on the Symbol of the Apostles." Creed[5] in which he explains its origin. According to him, there was a tradition which stated that the ancient text of the Creed goes back to the Apostles, not only in contents, but verbally.

In the sixth century, we meet, for the first time with the assertion that each of the Apostles composed one of the twelve articles of the apostolic symbol. A pseudo-Augustinian sermon, of that century, thus explains its origin: 'Peter said: I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth... Andrew said: And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord...[6]' , each of the Apostles contributed to one of the twelve articles. This sixth century explanation of the origin of the Apostles' Creed remained the prevailing belief throughout the Middle Ages.

It created great surprise, therefore, when Marcus Evgenicus, the Greek Archbishop of Ephesus, declared at the Council of Ferrara (1438), that the Eastern Churches knew nothing either of the form of

Creed used in the Western Church, nor of its derivation from the Apostles. A few years later the Italian humanist, Lorenzo Valla, denied emphatically the apostolic authorship of the *Symbolum Apostolicum*.

F. L. Cross States that this creed had been set after the apostolic age, but it was called an apostolic, because all its articles express the faith of the Apostles[7].

It is agreed that the contents of the old Creed are apostolic, but it is not possible to prove that the phraseology goes back to the Apostles, nor is it possible to prove that it does not[8].

ITS CONTENTS

A study of the earliest history of the Creed reveals two distinct forms: the christological and the Trinitarian formulas.

K. S. Latourette states that this creed was used by the candidates of baptism, declaring that they deny the beliefs of Marcion.

[The opening affirmation "I believe in God the Father Almighty" (in original Greek the word translated "almighty" means "all governing" or "all controlling," as one who governs all the universe), quite obviously this rules out Marcion's contention that the world is the creation of the **Demiurge** and not of the loving Father. The phrases which, "and in Jesus Christ His Son, who was born of Mary the Virgin, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, from which he cometh to judge the living and the dead," clearly do not permit the Marcionite teaching that Christ was a phantom, but asserts positively that He was the Son, not of the previously unknown God, but of God who is also the Creator, who was born of a woman, and so from his conception shared man's flesh that as sharing as an individual human being He had a specific place in history, having been crucified and buried under a Roman official whose name is known. This, of course, does not deny that He is also

the Son of God and so divine, but, as against Marcion, it asserts the fact that Jesus Christ was also fully human. The symbol likewise declares that the risen Christ is seated by the right hand of the Father, the God who is the Creator and ruler of the universe, so stressing the conviction that there is only one God, not two gods. By emphasizing the belief that Christ, the Son of the Father, is to be the Judge, the creed is repudiating, either deliberately or without that view explicitly in mind, the Marcionite contention that it is **Demiurge**, not the Father of The Son, who is the Judge. Of the concluding phrases {I believe} "In the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection of the flesh," the first was not in controversy and so was not amplified, but the second an addition to the primitive formula, seems to have been intended as a protest against the view which counted flesh as evil[9].]

THE TEXT

1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, *Maker of heaven and earth*;
2. And in Jesus Christ, His Only Son, our Lord:
3. Who was *conceived* by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary; *4. suffered* under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, *dead*, and buried;
5. *He descended into Hades*, the third day He rose from the dead; 6. He ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God the Father *Almighty*;
7. from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead.
8. And I believe in the Holy Spirit;
9. the holy *Catholic* Church; *the communion of saints*;
10. the forgiveness of sins;
11 the resurrection of the body;
12. *and the life everlasting*.

NOTE

The term "symbol" comes from a word which in one of its usages meaning a watchword, or a password in a military camp. As applied to a creed, it was a sign or test of membership in the Church[10].

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1 .Anne Fremantle: A Treasury of Early Christianity, p. 275; Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostles' Creed and the Didache, Alexandria, 1975, p. 6. (in Arabic).
2. Ad Trall. 9.
3. Sermon 5:11. PL 38:399f.
4. Schaff, vol. II, p. 533.
5. PL. 21:337.
6. PL 39: 2189-2190.
7. The Early Christian Fathers.
8. Hamell: A Handbook of Patrology, p. 22.
9. Kenneth Scott Latourette: A History of Christianity, vol. 1, 1975, p.135, 136.
10. Ibid 135.

2

THE DIDACHE

THE LORD'S INSTRUCTION
TO THE GENTILES
THROUGH
THE TWELVE APOSTLES[1]

ITS IMPORTANCE

It is undoubtedly one of the oldest documents, if not the oldest, of Christian antiquity. It is the oldest source of ecclesiastical law or church manual which we possess. In early Church, especially in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, the Didache was very highly esteemed. It was known by name, and in part (by quotation), from St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen and St. Athanasius[2].

F. L. Cross states that the discovery of this work as a guide of an educational teaching and church order is the most important discovery in the field of the Fathers' literature in the last one hundred years[3].

This work was used in many liturgical works and the writings concerning the church order and law, such as the Didascalia, Apostolic Tradition of Hypolitus and the Apostolic Constitutions.

THE AUTHOR

It would be rash to presume, as Duchebne suggested, that the title points to apostolic authorship. The text in no wise justifies this. This author's intention, evidently, was to give a brief summary of the doctrine of Christ as taught to the nations by the Apostles. This then explains the title[4].

Naturally, the Didache was not attributed to a specific author, as it was a summary of our Lord's teachings to the Apostles through their evangelism to the Gentiles. It is in fact, a collection, which the writer

put in harmony. There is no ground for a theory of borrowing from a Jewish work; no evidence for such a work, and the Didache is specifically Christian in character[5].

DATE

The question of the date of this work was raised, and it has been located all the way from A.D 70 to A.D 180. J. P. Audet, who published a very thorough study of the title work in 1958, has argued that the first half (thorough 11:2) comes from about A.D 70, while the rest was added not long afterwards. Perhaps as a whole book it should be dated about the last third of the first century, possibly around A.D 90[6].

Its writing dated back to the second half of the first century and not to the Apostolic era for the following reasons:

1 The details contained in it refer to the stability of the Church situation. This had been realized at the end of the Apostolic time.

2. Most of the quotations are derived from the Gospel according to St. Matthew, which means that it was not collated before 90 A.D.

3. It does not deal with the attitude of Judaism, which was the first and the essential problem the Church faced at the Apostolic age.

Nevertheless, the work had an inner witness that it was collated at a time very close to the Apostolic era, for the following reasons:

1. Mentioning the running water in baptism, and the absence of any text of the creed.

2. Its language was very simple, which fitted the period of the change, from the writing of the New Testament to the writings of the church.

PLACE

Some scholars state that the method of the Two Ways used here indicates its place of origin as the East, perhaps Syria or Alexandria[7].

Some scholars state that Alexandria is the place of its origin for the following reasons:

1. Alexandria used the method of the Two Ways, such as in the Apostolic Church order (The Egyptian Church Order).

2. Some statements were quoted by Egyptian writers, such as St. Clement of Alexandria .

3. The Egyptian bishop, Serapion, (4th Century) used it in his Eucharistic Prayers.

4. It used the doxology, which was popular in Egypt, for it used the words “power” and glory and did not use the word “kingdom.”

Other scholars see that the place of writing was in Syria or Palestine depending on the allusion in § 9 to the “corn scattered upon the mountains[8].”

ITS HISTORY

The complete text of this book of religious instructions was discovered in 1873 A.D. by Philotheos Bryennios, Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in the Jerusalem Codex (A.D. 1052 or 1056) and was published in 1883. (Barnabas and St. Clement of Rome were discovered also.)

CONTENTS

Judging by the title only, one might expect the Didache to reveal the evangelical preaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. Rather it contains ecclesiastical rituals of the time, instructions on the organization of communities, and regulations pertaining to liturgical functions. We here present a summary of directions, which offer us an excellent picture of Christian life in the second century. In fact we here have the oldest Church-Order, and the venerable prototype of all the later collections of Constitutions or Apostolic Canons with which church law in the East and in the West began[9].

This document enriched and deepened, in an amazing way, our knowledge of the beginnings of the Church..

This work can be divided into four sections, or rather in three sections and a conclusion:

FIRST SECTION: CHRISTIAN BEHAVIOR (1-6).
SECOND SECTION: LITURGICAL AND SACRAMENTAL LIFE (7-10, 14).
THIRD SECTION: DISCIPLINARY REGULATIONS (11-15).
FOURTH SECTION: THE PAROUSIA OF THE LORD.

FIRST SECTION: CHRISTIAN BEHAVIOR (1-6)

Instructions in Christian ethics, containing description of the Two Ways: of Life (1-4), and of Death (5-6). It is a high-toned moral catechism preparatory to baptism, exhorting the catechumens to walk in the path of righteousness and be cautious of that of unrighteousness.

The method of the "Two Ways" was used by the Jewish writers, but here it is based on the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The author of this section may have borrowed from the description of the Two Ways in the Epistle of Barnabas, or vice versa, but it is unlikely that both borrowed from an older source[10].

It illustrates that life is found in the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, while death is ignoring these teachings. It focused on the Christian way of spiritual life, especially as demonstrated in the teachings of the sermon on the mount. The text begins thus:

There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways.
"First of all, love the God who made you;
secondly, your neighbor as yourself;
and all things whatsoever you would not have befall yourself, do not do to another." 1:1,2.

The description of the way of life:

1. Love, even to the enemies. [1:2-5]
2. Purity. [1:3]
3. Longing for giving and not for receiving. [1:5]
4. Obedience of the divine commandments. [4:13]
5. Teaching our children the fear of God [4:9].
6. Confession of sins: [*In church confess your transgressions, and do not come to prayer with an evil conscience* 4:14.]
7. Not to be outside God. [6:1]

8. Carrying the yoke of the Lord. [6:2].

The description of the way of death:
1. Committing sins and impurity. [5:1]
2. Violence, especially against the truth. [5:2]

SECOND SECTION: LITURGICAL AND SACRAMENTAL LIFE (7-10, 14)

This section gives directions affecting church rites and orders. It treats Baptism and Eucharist with the agape. The oldest Eucharistic prayers have come to light in the Didache.

It refers to some traditional practices at that time, such as;

1. .Baptism was practised by immersion in a running water, i.e. in the rivers. [7:1-3]. This custom was known in the Apostolic era and in the proceeding years.

2. Baptism by pouring water from a vessel or from the hand of the minister of baptism was allowed in cases of scarcity of water. Afterwards this mode was applied only to sick persons who could not leave their bed; hence called *clinica*l baptism [the word κλινικοι from the word κλινη (bed). *Clinicus* designated one who was baptized on the sick bed.]

3. Fasting is necessary for candidates, the minister of Baptism, and others, for one or two days before Baptism. [7:4] In the Coptic Church this custom is still practised on the same day until Baptism takes place.

4. Weekly fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying thrice a day, without hypocrisy are necessary.

5. The necessity of regularly receiving the Holy Eucharist. [9]

A Coptic translation from the fifth century, of a prayer of thanksgiving to be said over the oil of chrism (μυρον) following the Eucharistic prayers has been found in a papyrus (927) of the British Museum.[10:8]

THIRD SECTION: DISCIPLINARY REGULATIONS (11-15)

Mutual relations of the Christian communities:

❖Scrutiny of wandering Christian ministers (apostles, prophets and teachers).[11]

❖Reception of traveling brethren. [12]

❖Support of prophets and teachers in the community. [13]

❖Religious life of each community (e.g. divine service on Sunday). [14] It calls the first "the Lord's Day ."

❖The superiors of the communities (bishops, deacons). [15] Here it mentions bishops and deacons, but no presbyter. St. Clement of Alexandria (2nd century) distinguishes the deaconate, the presbyterate, and the episcopate; but he assumes only a twofold official character, that of presbyters, and that of deacons, perhaps for the following reasons:

1. The word "presbyter" was used some times in a wide meaning to include the bishops and priests, and others in a narrow meaning to express only the priests.

2. The tradition of the church of Alexandria, from the time of evangelist Mark, down to the middle of the third century, the twelve priests elected one from amongst them to be a bishop, as their president[11]. He considered himself as their brother. As the Didache is an Alexandrine document it expresses these feelings at that time.

FOURTH SECTION: THE PAROUSIA OF THE LORD

This section is an apocalypse apparently based on Matthew 24. It exhorts watching in preparation for the last day, which is at hand. This is the purpose of the Church life in her three aspects: the Christian behavior, the liturgical and sacramental life, and the disciplinary regulations.

[*Be watchful over your life;*

never let your lamps go out or your loins be ungirt,

but keep yourselves always in readiness, for you can never be sure of the hour when our Lord may be coming.

Come often together for spiritual improvement; because all the past years of your faith will be no good to you at the end, unless you have made yourselves perfect.

In the last days of the world false prophets and deceivers will abound, sheep will be perverted and turn into wolves, and love will change to hate, for with the growth of lawlessness men will begin to hate their fellows and persecute them and betray them.

Then the Deceiver of the World will show himself, pretending to be a Son of God and doing signs and wonders, and the earth will be delivered into his hands, and he will work such wickedness as there has never been since the beginning.

After that, all humankind will come up for their fiery trial; multitudes of them will stumble and perish, but such as remain steadfast in the faith will be saved by the Curse.

And then the signs of the truth will appear:
first the sign of the opening heavens,
next the sign of the trumpet's voice,
and thirdly the rising of the dead - not of the dead - not of all the dead, but, as it says, the Lord will come, and with him all his holy ones.

And then the whole world will see the Lord as He comes riding on the clouds of heaven...[12]]

NOTE

In the early ages some Christians tried to consider it as a book of the New Testament, but many of the Fathers emphasized that it was not canonized, such as Pope Athanasius of Alexandria[13], Eusebius[14] and Rufinus[15].

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1. Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostles' Creed and the Didache, 1975 (in Arabic); The Apostolic Fathers, 1991, p. 188-213 (in Arabic).
2. Hamell: A Handbook of Patrology, p, 24.
3. The Early Christian Fathers, London 1960, p. 8.
4. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 30.
5. Ibid. 24.
6. Edgar T. Goodspeed: A History of Early Christian Literature, Chicago 1966, p. 12.
7. Ibid 13.

8. J. B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, Michigan 1956, 122.
9. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 30.
10. Hamell, p. 24.
11. Schaff, vol. 2, p. 140, 141; St. Jerome: Ep. ad Evangelum.
12. Penguin Classics: Early Christian Writings, 1968, p. 197-8.
13. Ep. Fest. 39.
14. H. E. 3:25:4.
15. Comm. in Symb. 38.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Two letters: one by **St. Clement of Rome** and the other was attributed to him.
The seven letters of **St. Ignatius.**
A letter by **St. Polycarp**.
The epistle attributed to **Barnabas.**
The book " The Shepherd " by **Hermas.**
A letter to **Diognetus** (author unknown).
Excerpts by **Papias** of Hieropolis.
Epistle to **Quadratus**.
The "**Didache**" or "*The Lord's teachings to the Gentiles as conveyed by the 12 Apostles.*"

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS[1]

The first contemporary generation and eyewitnesses of Jesus Christ passed away and many became disciples through His apostles and disciples.

The Church was no longer confined to a certain spot; she went off to the universe to leaven it with the leavening of truth, and kindle it with the fire of the divine love. Many local churches existed in the East and West with one faith, one hope, one love, even sometimes the same prayers, liturgies and rituals. It is right for us to say that these were not several churches, but rather the one Apostolic Church of Christ. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers express the spirit and concepts of this one catholic (Universal) Church.

If these writings by the Apostolic Fathers were only the tiny spring buds, nevertheless they were alive, bearing the spirit of the one church and unfolding to us the flower petals and fruits which the church tree carried throughout the generations[2]. They brought us the authentic echo of the apostles' evangelism, a true herald of a simplistic gospel of salvation and a true picture of the ecclesiastic tradition during that unique era[3].

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The Apostolic Fathers were the Christian writers of the first and second centuries, who may be considered as the first teachers after the Apostles. Their writings presented to us the faith which these Apostolic Fathers received either through their direct contact with the Apostles or as handed to them by their disciples[4].

The term 'Apostolic Fathers' was entirely unknown in the early Church. It was introduced by scholars of the seventeenth century. The French scholar Jean B Cotelier, a man from the 17th century published his two volumes under the title of "*Patres aevi Apostolici*" in the year 1672. They comprised the following five ecclesiastical writers:

1. The epistle attributed to **Barnabas.**

2. The book " The Shepherd " by **Hermas.**

3. Two letters : one by the Roman **Clement** and the other was attributed to him.

4. The seven letters of **Ignatius.**

5. A letter by **Polycarp** and an article about his martyrdom.

In 1765 Andras Gallandi, in his series *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,* added to them the following works:

6. A letter to **Diognetus** (author unknown).

7. Experts by **Papias** of Hieropolis, and the unknown author of the *Epistle to* **Quadratus**.

8. In 1873 the "**Didache**" or "*The Lord's teachings to the Gentiles as conveyed by the 12 Apostles"* was discovered. This was added to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

Finally, some of the scholars were of the opinion to add what was known as "**The Apostles' Creed**" to the collection of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. However, the majority did not agree to this.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS' WRITINGS

1. Most of these writings were similar to letters. However, in actual fact they did not have the same type or mode of literature.

✞ The first letter by Clement was meant as an approach to the conflict (and schism) issue which prevailed in the Church of Corinth; as to the second letter which was attributed to him, it was a sermon and not a letter.

✞ The letter of Barnabas was more of basic theological articles dealing with linking the Old Testament to Christianity.

✞ The letter to Diognetus is a discourse on the superiority of Christianity.

✞ The Shepherd of Hermas was a collection of visions, mandates or precepts dealing with the issue of repentance after Baptism, and similitudes or parables as moral lessons taught by allegory.

✞ The "Didache" was similar to an ecclesiastic manual.

✞ The excerpts of Papias, in essence, were commentaries on some of the Lord Christ's sayings, in a fine presentation of the oral tradition.

✞ The work of Quadratus was an apology addressed to Emperor Hadrian.

Therefore, it is not possible for us to relate these writings to each other neither from the characteristic aspect nor the issue. However, by a slight overlooking we can say that these articles, in toto, deal with two issues :

(a) The internal unity of the church and the preservation of her peace.

(b) Preservation of the pure faith without heathen flaws.

2. These writings were featured by simplicity with inflamed zeal, without reliance on Greek philosophy nor Hellenic eloquence. With the exception of the letter to Diognetus, these writings do not form a work of literature.

3. These writings came as a result of practical pastoral needs, and not for the purpose of a scholarly research. They did not offer us spiritual theological studies, they clarified through the practical simplistic faith what was the Gospel as lived by the early church before it clashed with the secular authority. "The Apostolic Fathers," it has been justly said, "are not great writers, but great characters[5]."

"The genuine pastoral concern" was the common factor in these writings. The Apostolic Fathers were not concerned with the presentation of specific views, rather entering everyone into the practical life of the faith. Hence they did not select difficult theological terminologies but offered hearts kindled with the love of the human race.

These writers were not genius intellectuals but simple saints inclined to piety, dedicating their lives and hearts to the Living Savior who lived in them and they in Him, through Him and for Him. They lived in a generation of practical spiritual heroism and not a generation of glittery

words. “Those were times of heroism, not of words; an age, not of writers, but of (spiritual) soldiers, not of talkers, but of sufferers [6].”

4. Their writings were characterized by the eschatological character. The second coming of Christ the Lord was the ultimate “Christian Life” through their direct relationship with the Apostles, as they spoke of the person of Christ with enthusiasm.

Their writings revealed a deep yearning towards the ascended Christ the Lord and Savior who still remained alive and dwelt among them. They waited for His coming to see Him face to face. This yearning carried a saintly form in their lives, writings, and worship.

5. These writings were characterized by the ecclesiastic feature and it bore the spirit of communion - the church communion throughout the whole universe in faith, tradition, and worship regardless of the long distance between the churches and the difference in cultures and customs between each other.

6. Lightfoot states “(These writings) lack the scientific spirit which distinguished the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and enabled them to formulate the doctrines of the faith as bulwark against lawless speculation[7].”

7. Finally, it is worth realizing that these writings, irrespect of their worth and irrespect of the sanctity of their writers, are not a divine revelation; whereby we regard every word in them as holy. They are the melody of the spirit, which the church sings. This eternal tune is extended from generation to generation in harmony through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, who works in the church, to admit the whole world to the union with the Father, in our Lord Jesus Christ, through the Holy Spirit.

The addition of some of these writings in several Bible manuscripts, and reading chapters of them in early Christian worship did not mean that these writings were considered as canonical books.

1. Fr. T. Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, 1991, p. 52ff.
2. Cf. Chrétiens de tous tes temps(1): Les ècris des Péres Aposoliques, Paris 1968.
3. Maxwell Staniforth: Early Christian Fathers, 1963.
4. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. VII.
5. The Pressensé: Trois Premiers Siècles, II, p. 384; Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 1, 1989, p. 7.
6. A. N. Fathers, vol. 1, p. VII.
7. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 1, 1989, p. 7.

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ST. CLEMENT OF ROME[1]

The letter of St. Clement of Rome was the first writing of the Apostolic Fathers. It had a special position among the writings, life and worship of the early church. According to St. Irenaeus, it is a considerable epistle[2]. In 170 A.D Dionysius of Corinth[3] referred to an ancient tradition that for many years this epistle was read in the church, on the Lord's Day. Eusebius also states that it was common for it to be read in many churches.

ST. CLEMENT OF ROME

A name of great celebrity in the early Church. He was a disciple of the Apostles Paul and Peter, to whom he referred to as the chief examples of imitation[4]. There are however many opinions concerning his person:

1. Eusebius[5], St. Jerome[6] and others followed Origen[7] in saying, that he was the same person, who was mentioned by St. Paul, as one of his faithful fellow workers in Philippi (Phil. 4:3).

2. According to Dio Cessius,[8] he was *Titus Flavius Clemns*, a member of the royal family, a grandson of the emperor Vespasian, and the cousin of the Emperor Dometian, who killed St. Clement in 59-69 A.D regarding him as an atheist, for he was converted to Christianity. Many historians refused this opinion for two reasons:

a. Had he been a member of the royal family, the Christian historians would have mentioned this fact.

b. The letter reveals him as of a Jewish origin and not Gentile, for one quarter of the text is quotations from the Old Testament[9].

3. He was a Jewish slave, or a son of a Jewish slave, owned by Clemns, who freed him; then he received the name of his master[10].

4. According to St. Irenaeus[11] he was the fourth bishop of Rome. Eusebius, relying on St. Irenaeus and Hegisippus, places Linus 68-80; Anaclcyus 80-92; and St. Clement 92-101[12].

5. Later legends have depicted his life in a romantic manner, both in the interest of the Catholic and in that of heresy. They pictured him as a noble and highly educated Roman who, dissatisfied with the wisdom and art of heathenism, journeyed to Palestine, became acquainted there with the apostle Peter, and was converted by him. He accompanied him on his missionary tours; composed many books in his name; was appointed by him as his successor as bishop of Rome, with a kind of supervision over the whole church, and at last, being banished under Trajan to the Taurian chersonese. He died the glorious death of a martyr in the waves of the sea[13].

Concerning his death:

1. St. Jerome did not mention the way he died[14]. Other early writers said that he had died after receiving the holy communion[15].

2. Rufinus[16] was the first writer, who stated that St. Clement had been martyred. An apocrypha, from the fourth century, stated that the people in Rome were enraged because he converted Theodora, a noblewoman in Rome, her husband, Sisinnus, and 423 people into Christianity; and he was exiled[17]. Others said, that the council of the senators was enraged because they saw Clement as a noble man converted to Christianity, attracted some of the noblemen to the same religion. They advised him to deny Christianity, but he refused. They presented a report against him to the emperor Trajan, who exiled and punished him by making him work in cutting stones. In the exile he met with about 2000 Christians and preached many pagans. Therefore the ruler ordered that he be thrown in the sea with a helm fixed in his neck.

THE FIRST LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS

Through mutual love, the early churches were not isolated from each other, but they shared in suffering. Thus the letters between them were mostly the type of their literature. Through these letters we discover love, modesty and openness of the church leaders.

THE PURPOSE OF THE LETTER

In the first century a group of the youth rebelled against the clergy. They believed that they were wiser and more capable of teaching. They enraged the people and dismissed many of them. Therefore St. Clement sent this letter which is full of wisdom, modesty and love, quoting many texts from the Old Testament.

ITS FEATURES

In the Alexandrian Bible manuscript, this letter is found after the book of Revelation, separated from the Apostolic letters. This indicated that it was not considered as a canonical book, nevertheless it had a special position in the early church.

Its features are:

1. A biblical letter, contains many quotations from the Holy Bible. St. Clement exhorted us to study the Bible. [*Look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit.*] 45:2[18].

2. It reveals that the memory of St. Clement concerning the teachings of Christ was abundant.

3. It presents a historical data concerning Nero's persecution. He said: [*Through envy, those women... being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with steadfastness, and though weak in body, received a noble reward.*] 6:2.

4. It declares valuable concepts and clear evidence concerning the Christian dogma and doctrines in the mind of the early Christians, such as:

a. Mentioning **the Holy Trinity**: the Father, the Son (Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit.

b. The necessity of **faith** for our salvation, without it our own deeds are invalid. He says: [*And we, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men.*] 32:4.

c. The necessity of **good deeds** which is bound with faith, for these deeds pleases God.

[*For what reason was our father Abraham blessed? was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?] 31:2.*

[What shall we do, then, brethren?

Shall we become slothful in well-doing, cease from the practice of love?

God forbid that any such course should be followed by us!

But rather let us hasten with all energy and readiness of mind to perform every good work.

For the Creator and Lord of all Himself rejoices in His works.] 33:1,2.

d. Righteousness is realized by the free divine **grace**, together with the unceasingly struggling till death: [*Many women being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous manly exploits*.] 55:3.

e. Sanctification is realized by the Holy Spirit.

f. The importance of the Christian **virtues**, such as love, modesty, long-sufferings etc.

[*The height to which love exalts is unspeakable.*

Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins.] 49:4.

[*Christ is of those who are humble-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves over His flock.*] 16:1.

g. The **unity** of the Church is based on mutual respect among the members.

[*The great cannot subsist without the small, nor the small without the great.*

There is a kind of mixture in all things, and thence arises mutual advantage.] 37:4.

5. For the first time we hear about the **Apostolic succession**. Truly it is the right of the people to choose their ministers, but their ordination is realized not by the people, but through those who received the apostolic authority [42; 44:1-3.].

6. In chapters 24, 25 he dealt with the topic of the **resurrection** from the dead. He used the myth of the phoenix. Some believed that this bird lived in the land of Arabia. When it became 500 years old it built a nest of frankincense, myrrh and other spices, into which it entered and died. But as the flesh decayed a kind of worm was produced, which being nourished by the juices of the dead bird, brought forth feathers. When it had acquired strength, it took up that nest in which were the bones of its parents, and bearing these it passed through to flee to Egypt, to the city of Heliopolis. In an open day it came on the altar of the sun-god.

7. He clarifies the loyalty of the church to **the state**, praying for her progress even while the emperor (Dometian) was persecuting her violently.

8. It offers us a picture of the **liturgy** in the early church, as it referred to:

a. The liturgical community which presents her offerings in a church order, as a divine work. [*He has enjoined us to perform offerings (to be presenting) and service to be performed (to Him), and not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours*.] 40.

b. All clergymen and laity should partake in the liturgy. [*Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living*

in all good conscience, with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him.] 41:1.

c. He mentioned to some church ministers, such as the sub-deacons, deacons, presbyters, bishops (episcopates), and classified that one of the essential works of the bishop is practising liturgies and presenting offerings [ch. 44].

d. Christ is the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity. Then the priestly works of Christ, work mysteriously in His priests, .

e. He presented beautiful liturgical prayer [chs. 59-61], concluding with a doxology.

9. This letter also included **many spiritual practices**, such as:

I. **The Need of repentance:** [*Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God (the Father), which having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance for the whole world.*] 7:4.

II. **Confidence in God's promise:** [*Desiring, therefore that all His beloved should be partakers of repentance. He has, by His almighty will, established (these declarations concerning the benefits of repentance).*] 8:5.

III. **Confidence in God's promises:** [*How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God!*] 35:1.

IV. **Waiting for the promise of resurrection from the dead:** [*Having then this hope, let our souls be bound to him who is faithful in His promises, and just in His judgments.*] 27:1.

V. **Witness to God by our behavior:** [*Let testimony to our good deeds be borne by others, as it was in the case of our righteous forefathers*] 30:7.

VI. **Taking care of sinners**: [*Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God. For in this way they shall secure a fruitful and perfect remembrance from us, with sympathy for them, both in our prayers to God, and our mention of them to the saints.*] 56:1.

VII. **Practising love** [18:19, 20; 48-50].

VIII. **Escaping from pride:** [*It is better for you that you should be found small and in an honorable place in the flock of Christ, rather than being highly exalted, and be castled out from His people.*] 57:2.

IX. **Offering unceasing thanksgiving to God:** [*Since we receive all these things from Him, we ought to give Him thanks for everything.*] 38:4.

ITS DATE

Many scholars state that it was written after 96 A.D, for the following reasons:

a. It was written after the persecution of Nero, in the time of Domation, for the writers referred to the sudden troubles that delayed him to write the letter.

b. This date agreed with the tradition that it was written by St. Clement of Rome (92-101 A.D).

c. In the second century St. Polycarp had a knowledge with the letter, quoting many passages from it in his own letter.

ITS DIVISION

* Introduction.
1. The beauty of the church before her division [1,2].
2. The features of the church after the division [3].
3. The cause of division (envy!) [4-6].
4. The remedy of envy:
    a. Repentance and practical faith [7-8].
    b. Obedience [9-12].
    c. Humility [13-21].
    d. Contemplation in the judgment and the resurrection of the dead [22-29].
    e. Struggling as children of God [30-36].
    f. Submission to the order [37-47].
    g. Love as the door of righteousness [48-58].
5. Supplication to God [59-61].
6. Conclusion [62-65].

THE ATTRIBUTED WORKS OF ST. CLEMENT OF ROME

1. THE SO-CALLED SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

ITS FEATURES AND CONTENTS

1. It concentrates on **repentance** as the way of the kingdom.[*As long as we are upon earth, let us practise repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer.*] 8:1.

2. The practical **faith** through obedience to the commandments and despising the temporary lusts, for the sake of eternal life.
[*While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God Who heals us, and give to Him a recompense.*
Of what sort?
Repentance out of a sincere heart!] 9:7,8.

3. The church in her essence is the new life in Christ. She was created before the world, spiritual, and invisible. She became the body of Christ, and the mother of the believers. Our body is the image of the church, the body of Christ, he who corrupts the image will never partake of the original. [*Where, brethren, if we do the will of God our Father, we shall be of the first Church, that is, spiritual, that has been created before the sun and moon...*] 14

4. **Baptism** is called the *"Seal"* (Sphragis), must be preserved [7:6].

5. The power of **prayer**: [*Prayer out of a good conscience delivers from death.*] 16:4.

6. **Thinking highly of Christ**: The writer opens this homily by declaring the necessity of thinking of our salvation, our Savior, and witnessing to Him.

[*How great are the benefits which we owe Him!*
He has graciously given us light,
as a Father, He has called us sons;
He has saved us when we were ready to perish...

Involved in blindness, and with such darkness before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped.] 1.

[*Wherefore, brethren, let us confess Him by our works, by loving one another, and not by avaricious.*] 4.

7. Hope in **eternity**:

[*Wherefore, leaving willingly our sojourn in this present world,*
let us do the will of Him that called us,
and not fear to depart out of this world.] 5:1.

[*Let us expect, hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, since we do not know the day of the appearance of God.*] 12:1.

2. TWO LETTERS ON VIRGINITY

Wetsein attempted to prove their ascribe to St. Clement, as many Catholic scholars did the same, but the majority of the Protestant scholars rejected this for the following reasons:

1. It was not mentioned by Eusebius.
2. Their ascetic attitude is in harmony with that of the first half of the third century.
3. The two letters differ from the genuine one of St. Clement in the mode of quoting from the New Testament. Also quotations from the Old Testament are very little compared with those of the genuine one.

THEIR FEATURES AND CONTENTS

1. It seems that these letters constitute a single work, which in course of time came to be divided[21].

2. The author begins his first letter with instructions on the nature and concept of virginity. Virginity is a divine and supernatural work. It lifts us up to the angelic and heavenly life, through the sanctification of the Holy Spirit.

[*For not by eloquence or by renown, or by station and descent or by beauty or strength, or by length of life, is the kingdom of heaven obtained, but it is obtained by the power of faith, when a man exhibits the works of faith.*] 1:2.

[*For he who covets for himself these things so great and excellent, withdraws and serves himself on this account from all the world, that he may go and live a divine and heavenly life, like the holy angels, in work pure and holy, and "in the holiness of the Spirit of God" 2 Thess. 2:13 and that he may serve God Almighty through Jesus Christ for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.*] 1:4.

3. Virginity is a life that touches the souls of the believers as well as their bodies, and not just an honorable title.

[*For virgins are a beautiful pattern to believers, and to those who shall believe.*

The name alone, indeed, without works, does not introduce into the kingdom of heaven;

but, if a man be truly a believer, such an one can be saved.

For, if a person be only called a believer in name, while he is not such in works, he cannot possibly be a believer.

"Let no one," therefore, "lead you astray with the empty words of error" Eph. 5:6. For, merely because a person is called a virgin, if he be destitute of works excellent and comely, and suitable to virginity, he cannot possibly be sacred.

For our Lord called such virginity as that "foolish," as He said in the Gospel (Matt. 25:2);

and because it had neither oil nor light, it was left outside of the kingdom of heaven,

and was shut out from the joy of the bridegroom,

and was reckoned with His enemies.

For such persons as these "have the appearance only of the fear of God, but the power of it they deny" 2 Tim. 3:5.] 1:3.

4. Virginity is not an escape from the world for attaining earthly rest, but it is an entrance in the battle of the Cross, in which the virgin struggles against his / her ego, Satan, love of the world and bodily lusts.

[*He who desires to be a virgin, knows what hardship and irksomeness there is in true virginity.*] 1:5.

[*Do you know how, like man, to enter "lawfully" upon this contest and "strive" 2 Tim. 2:5,*

that, in the might of the Holy Spirit, chooses this for himself,

that may be crowned with a crown of light,

and that they may lead you about in triumph through "the Jerusalem above" Gal. 4:26?

If so then, the longest for all these things, conquer these vain things of time, which pass away and grow old, and decay, and come to an end; conquer the dragon (Rev. 12:7);

conquer the lion (1 Pet. 5:8);

conquer the serpent (2 Cor. 11:3);

conquer Satan;

through Jesus Christ, who strengthens us by hearing His words and divine Eucharist.

"Take up the cross and follow" Mat. 16:24 Him who makes us clean, Jesus Christ our Lord.] 1:5.

5. The writer presented practical advice to the ascetics and to the virgins of both sexes, such as:

a. Their spiritual share in the growth of the kingdom of God, especially by unceasing prayers to God to send spiritual workmen to the harvest.

[*Let us, therefore, "ask of the Lord of the harvest" that He would send forth workmen into the harvest (Matt. 9:37,38);*

such workmen as "shall skillfully dispense the word of truth;"

workmen "who shall not be ashamed;"

faithful workmen;

workmen who shall be "the light of the world" Matt. 5:14;

workmen who "work not for the food that perishes, but for that food which abides unto eternal life" John 6:27;

workmen who shall be such as the apostles;

workmen who imitate the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit; who are concerned for the salvation of men.] 1:13.

b. Avoiding stumbling-blocks, especially the friendship among both sexes of the virgins.

[*Blessed is that man who is circumspect and fearful in everything for the sake of purity!*] 2:5.

[*Now we, if God helps us, conduct ourselves:*

with maidens we do not dwell, nor have we anything in common with them;

with maidens we do not eat, nor drink;

and where a maiden sleeps,

we do not sleep;

neither do women wash our feet, nor anoint us;

and on no account do we sleep where a maiden sleeps who is unmarried or has taken the vow:

even though she is in some other place if she is alone, we do not pass the night there.] 2:1.

[*But with us may no female, whether young maiden or married woman, be there at that time; nor she that is aged, nor she that has taken the vow; not even a maid-servant, whether Christian or heathen.*] 2:2.

[*Let us not be constantly with women, nor with maidens.*

For this is not profitable for those who truly wish to "grid up their lions" Luke 12:35.

For it is required that we love the sister in all purity and chaste, and with all curbing of thought, in the fear of God,

not associating constantly with them,

nor finding access to them at every hour.] 2:8.

6. The necessity of work, for those who are lazy are unworthy to eat.

7. These are the oldest documents, as a source of the history of the first Christian asceticism and the laws and customs of the ascetic life.

3. THE APOSTOLIC INSTITUTIONS[22]

It contains the *"Clementine Liturgy"* in the 8th book. Until the 16th century scholars believed that this work was genuine. Now they acknowledge it as an Eastern Liturgy from the fourth century.

This work is basically spurious. The author has made use of documents that were already in existence, and ascribed his work to St. Clement of Rome, in order to give it great authority[23].

In the sixteenth century, scholars still believed that they really possessed a work of St. Clement, and even F. Probst, writing in about 1870 concerning the liturgy of the third century, placed it in the second century. In Migne's Patrologia also, the Apostolic Constitutions are found in the first volume. But it has been common knowledge for quite sometime that this is a work of the late fourth century[24] between 370 and 380 A.D. It was probably written in Syria or Antioch[25].

ITS CONTENTS

The Apostolic Constitutions are a collection, forming a kind of manual of ecclesiastical law, and of Christian morality, doctrines and ceremonial.

1. Books 1-6: They are an exact resumption of the text of the *Discalia of the Apostles*.

The *Discalia* or *“the teaching of the 12 Apostles and holy disciples of our Savior,”* is an ecclesiastical Constitution which dates from the first half of the third century. Its author was a bishop in northern Syria.

11. Book 7: It is divided into 2 parts:

a. An expansion of the Didache.

b. An euchology grouping together some ancient prayers.

the order and prayers of the Liturgy in the fourth century.

Some liturgists say that it is derived from the Apostolic Tradition. Others look upon it as the most ancient and pure form of the Eucharist, and that the Apostolic Tradition had originated from it[26].

Creswell sees that this liturgy indisputably resembles the Antiochene Liturgy, the parent rite of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.

4. THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES[27]

who searching for truth, tries in vain the various schools of philosophers for a solution of his doubts concerning the immortality of the soul, the origin of the world and problems of a similar nature. St. Clement made a trip to the East. In Caesarea he met St. Peter, who dispelled his doubts and invited him to accompany him on his missionary journeys. He witnessed St. Peter’s conflict with Simon Magus. The work contains much legendary matter, especially about St. Clement’s family.

one gospel]. Therefore this work attacks the apostle Paul, while it praises the SS. Peter and James as the apostles of circumcision.

The following fragments of the Pseudo-Clementines are extant:

.1. The Clementine *Homilies*: 20 Ebionite homilies. Christ is a Divine Aeon who had previously been revealed in Adam and Moses. The title "Son of God" is restricted to Christ, but he is only a prophet and teacher and not a redeemer.

2. The Clementine *Recognition,* in which the Trinitarian faith sometimes is declared. Some scholars state the Trinitarian statements may have been inserted by the translator, Rufinus. It is difficult to determine whether or not he added them to the original.

3. The two Greek *Epitomes,* are evidently later. They omit most of the theological discussion of the earlier works and introduce an account of St. Clement's martyrdom. Two Arabic epitomes also survive.

THEOLOGY AND THOUGHTS

MAN AS AN IMAGE OF GOD:

We have to love men to regard even their bodies in sanctity, for man is the image of God:

[*For the image of God is man.*

He who wishes to be pious in the eyes of God does good to man, because the body of man bears the image of God.

But all do not as yet bear His likeness, but the pure mind of the good soul does.

However, as we know that man was made after the image and after the likeness of God, we tell you to be pious towards him, that the favor may be accounted as done to God, whose image he is.] Homily 11:4.

FREE-WILL:

[*It is free for the mind to turn its judgment to which side it pleases, and to choose the way which it approves, it is clearly manifest that there is in men a liberty of choice.*] Recogn. 5:5..

[*Tell me how then God judges according to truth everyone for his doings, if men have it not in their own power to do anything?*

If this opinion be held, all things are torn up by the roots; vain will be the desire of following after goodness;

yet, even in vain do the judges of the world administer laws and punish those who do amiss,

for they had it not in their power not to sin;

vain also will be the laws of nations which assign penalties to evil deeds.] Recogn. 3:22.

THE NECESSITY OF BAPTISM:

[*Now God has ordered everyone who worships Him to be sealed by baptism;*

but if you refuse, and obey your own will rather than God's, you are doubtless contrary and hostile to His will.] Recogn. 6:8.

[*For whether you be righteous or unrighteous, baptism is necessary for you in every respect:*

for the righteous, that perfection may be accomplished in Him, and he may be born again to God;

for the unrighteous, that pardon may be vouchsafed by Him for the sins which he has committed in ignorance.

Therefore all should hasten to be born again in God without delay, because the end of everyone's life is uncertain.] Recogn. 6:9.

[*Therefore, consider, should you be righteous or unrighteous.*

For if you are righteous, baptism alone is lacking in order to attain salvation.

But if you are unrighteous, come to be baptized for the remission of sins formerly committed in ignorance.

And to the unrighteous man it remains that his well-doing after baptism be according to the proportion of his previous impiety.

Whereas he is righteous or unrighteous, hasten to be born in God, because delay brings danger, on account of the fore-appointment of death being unrevealed;

and show by well-doing your likeness to the Father, who begot you in the water (of baptism).

As a lover of truth, honor is that you live as Him, being Righteous, would have you live (otherwise).

And the will of the Righteous, would have you do wrong! No, for wrong is murder, hatred, envy, and suchlike; and of these are many forms.] Homily 11:27.

[*For our first birth descends through the fire of lust, and therefore, by the divine appointment,*

this second birth is introduced by water, which may extinguish the nature of fire;

and that the soul, enlightened the first birth: provided, however, it so live for the time to come, that it do not all seek after any pleasures of this world, but be, as it were, a pilgrim and a stranger, and a citizen of another city.] Recogn. 9:7.

THE TRUTH AND MAN'S OWN ABILITIES:

Man cannot acknowledge the truth by his own abilities without the divine grace:

[*All therefore who ever sought the truth, trusting to themselves to be able to find it, fell into a snare.*

This is what both the philosophers of the Greeks, and the more intelligent of the barbarians, have suffered.] Homily 2:7.

KNOWLEDGE:

[*For this is the gate of life to those who will enter, and the road of good works to those going to the city of salvation.*] Recogn. 5:5.

[*Yet he himself, rejoicing in the riches of wisdom which he has found, desires insatiably to enjoy them, and is delighted with the practice of good works; hastening to attain, with a clean heart and a pure conscience, the world to come, when he shall be able even to see God, the King of all.*] Recogn. 5:7.

THE NEED OF TRUE INSTRUCTIONS

[*For everyone, in expectation of being judged by the All-seeing God, receives the greater impulse towards virtue.*

But if the doctrine be also true, it withdraws him who has lived virtuously from eternal punishment, and endows him with eternal and unspeakable blessings from God.] Homily 4:14.

THE FEAR OF GOD:

[*On every account it is advantageous to fear Him alone, not as an unjust, but a righteous God,*

For one fears an unjust being, lest he be wrongfully destroyed, but a righteous one, lest he be caught in sin and punished.

You can therefore, by not fearing Him, the one Lord and Maker of all, you shall be the slaves of all evils to your own hurt, I mean of demons and diseases and of everything that can in any way hurt you.] Homily 10:5

RIGHTEOUSNESS

It is not enough to be unconcerned with the earthly things, nor even to acknowledge the heavenly mystery, but we need to take care of our own salvation, seeking for the kingdom of God and His righteousness.

[*Wherefore the first duty of all is to inquire into the righteousness of God and His kingdom (Matt. 6:33); His righteousness, that we may be taught to act rightly; His kingdom, that we may Know what is the reward appointed for labor and patience; in which kingdom there is indeed a bestowal of eternal good things upon the good, but upon those who have acted contrary to the will of God, a worthy infliction of penalties in proportion to the doings of everyone*.] Recogn. 2:20.

[*If our mind suggests to us to make any inquiry concerning secret and hidden things before we inquire into the words of righteousness, we ought to render to ourselves a reason, because if acting well we shall merit to obtain salvation:*

then, going to God chaste and clean, we shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, and shall know all things that are secret and hidden, without any caviling of questions;

whereas now, even if any one should spend the whole of his life in inquiring into these things, he, not only shall not be able to find them ,

but shall involve himself in greater errors, because he did not first enter through the way of righteousness, and strive to reach the haven of life.] Recogn. 2:21.

OBEDIENCE

It is our duty to obey the Lord, therefore the clergy must not give orders with what is not proper.

[*And your work is to* ***order what things are proper****; and that of the brethren is to submit, and not to disobey. Therefore, submitting they shall be saved, but disobeying they shall be punished by the Lord, because the president is entrusted with the place of Christ.*] Homily 3:66

THE HOLY ANGER

[*For this is the righteous and necessary anger, by which every one is indignant with himself, and accuses himself for those things which he has erred and done amiss;*

and by this indignation a certain fire is kindled in us, which, applied as it were to a barren field, consumes and burns up the roots of vile pleasure, and renders the soil of the heart more fertile for the good seed of the word of God.

And I think that you have sufficiently worthy causes of anger, from which that most righteous fire may be kindled, if you consider into what errors the evil of ignorance has drawn you, and how it has caused you to fall and rush headlong into sin, from what good things it has withdrawn you, and into what evils it has driven you,

and, what is of more importance than all the rest, how it has made you liable to eternal punishment in the world to come.] Recogn. 6:3.

THE PURITY OF HEART

[*God is seen by the mind, not by the body;*
by the spirit, not by the flesh.
Also angels who are spirits, see God;
and therefore, as long as they are men, cannot see Him.

But after the resurrection of the dead, when they shall have been made like the angels, they shall be able to see God.

And thus, my statement not contrary to the law (Exod. 33:20); neither is that which our Master said, "blessed are they of a pure heart, for they shall see God" Matt. 5:8.

For He showed that a time shall come in which of men shall be made angels, who in the spirit of their mind shall see God.] Recogn. 3:30.

STUDYING THE BIBLE

[*For it is necessary to give heed intently and unceasingly to the study of doctrine, that our mind may be filled with the thought of God only; because in the mind which is filled with the thought of God, no place will be given to the wicked one.*] Recogn. 3:31.

PEACE AND SPIRITUAL BATTLE:

[*He who has sent us, when He had come, and had seen that all the world had fallen into wickedness, did not forthwith give peace to him who is in error, lest He should confirm him in evil; but set the knowledge of truth in opposition to the ruins of ignorance of it, that, if haply men would repent and look upon the light of truth, they might rightly grieve that they had been deceived and drawn away into the precipices of error, and might kindle the fire of salutary anger against the ignorance that had deceived them. On this account, therefore, He said, "I have come to send fire on the earth; and how I wish that it were kindled!" Luke 12:49*] Recogn. 6:4.

SANCTITY OF MARRIAGE:

[*And let them inculcate marriage not only upon the young, but also upon those advanced in years,*

lest burning lust bring a plague upon the Church by reason of whoredom or adultery.

For, above every other sin, the wickedness of adultery is hated by God, because it not only destroys the person himself who sins, but those also who eat & associate with him.

For it is like the madness of a dog, because it has the nature of communicating its own madness.] Homily 3:68.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

[*For every nation has an angel, to whom God has committed the government of that nation.]* Recogn. 2:42.

OUR AUTHORITY ON DEMONS THROUGH CHRIST

[*For when a soul has come to the faith of God, it obtains the virtue of Heavenly water, by which it extinguishes the demon like a spark of fire.*] Recogn. 4:17.

[*Hence, in order to put demons to flight, the most useful help is abstinence, and fasting, and suffering of affliction.*

For if they enter the men's bodies for the sake of sharing pleasures, it is manifest that they are put to flight by suffering.] Homily 9:9.

[*Every faithful one commands the demons, although they seem to be much stronger than men, and that not by means of his own power, but by means of the power of God, who has put them into subjection.*] Recogn. 4:33.

THE SIXTH SENSE

[*There is also a sixth sense, namely that of foreknowledge:*
for those five senses are capable of knowledge,
but the sixth is that of foreknowledge;
and this the prophets possessed.] Recogn. 2:51.

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1. Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, p. 56 ff.
2. Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. 3:3:3.
3. Eusebius: H. E. 4:23.
4. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, vol. 2. p. 637.
5. H.E. 3:15.
6. De Vir. Illustr., ch. 15.
7. Comm. in Joan. 1:29, 9:36.
8. His Rom. 67:4.
9. Many Christians of Gentile origin were familiar with the Old Testament, such as St. Justine who was a Gentile by birth and education.
10. Bishop Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, (Clement of Rome, vol. 2).

11. Adv. Haer. 3:3.
12. Hamell: A Handbook of Patrology, p .26.
13. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, vol. 2, p. 638-9.
14. De Vir. Illustr., ch. 15.
15. H. E. 3:34.
16. Rufinus: Epilogue to Pamphilus.
17. Butler's lives of the Saints, vol. 4, p,. 406.
18. Mostly I quoted the texts from the Ante-Nicene Fathers, together with other English translations
19. Adv. Haer. 30:15.
20. Adv. Jovin. 1:12.
21. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 58.
22. Fr. T. Y. Malaty: Christ in the Eucharist, Alexandria 1986, p. 213-214.
23. Deiss: The Early Sources of the Liturgy.
24. Jungmann: The Early Liturgy, p. 5.
25. Cresswell: The Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitution.
26. Drews: Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons (Tubingen 1902).
27. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1. p. 59ff. F. L. Cross: The Oxford Dict. of the Christian Church, p. 304, 438.

2

ST. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH[1]

BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

St. Ignatius describes himself as being called "Theophoros," meaning "bearer of God," or perhaps "borne by God."

He was born between the years 30 and 35 A.D, most probably of a Syrian origin, of Hellenic culture, and a pagan. In the opinion of Anastasius Bibliothecarius[2], who lived in the ninth century, he was the child whom the Lord Christ carried and offered as an example of humility (Matt. 18:2-4). St. John Chrysostom, who was born in Antioch at the end of the fourth century, was of the opinion that St. Ignatius did not see Christ the Lord[3].

J. B. Lightfoot, basing himself on a passage from his Epistle *ad Romanos*, believed that he was a pagan and a persecutor of Christians before his conversion.

When the Apostles saw in him a burning zeal, they ordained him a bishop for Antioch. There was a controversy as to who ordained him, some said that Apostle Peter ordained Evodius for the converted Jews, and the Apostle Paul ordained him for the converted Gentiles. When the first passed away, Ignatius received both sectors of the church. Anyway, he was known for his zeal for the salvation of souls and won many Gentiles for Christ the Lord.

According to Origen he was the second Bishop of Antioch, the successor of St. Peter; according to Eusebius he was the third, following St. Peter's successor, Evodius. Nothing is known of his life beyond his journey to martyrdom from Antioch to Rome[4].

HIS ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HYMN "TRISAGION"

It was said that he saw in a vision the angles praising and glorifying God, singing the "Trisagion," he then conveyed what he saw to the church of Antioch. Later this spread to the rest of the churches.

HIS MEETING WITH THE PREFECT OF SYRIA

When the prefect heard about his zeal for spreading Christianity, he summoned him and entered into a dialogue with him regarding the "Crucified Jesus." This ended by the order of chaining St. Ignatius (who claimed that in his heart he carried the Crucified), and sending him to Great Rome to be given as food to savage beasts to please the people. When the bishop heard this, he rejoiced as he had been waiting for this chance for a long time. He considered this as a great gift. He knelt and shouted in joy: "Lord, I thank You because You granted to honor me with the abundance of Your love; You allowed that I be chained with metal chains like Your Apostle Paul." When he said his prayers, he kissed his chains, and pleaded God to protect the church which He entrusted him to serve for about 40 years.

TO ROME

The saint left, under a heavy guardianship of ten soldiers. He was accompanied by two members of his church: Rufus and Zosimus, who were also included in the death sentence.

When the soldiers saw how the people surrounded him at his departure, and the way they expressed their love, they resorted to treat him with cruelty and violence. He nicknamed them the leopards, though he was gentle with them. The people paid the guards to be kind to him.

They arrived at Smyrna[5], where he was met by its bishop, Polycarp, also the bishop of Magnesia[6], Ephesus[7] and Tralles[8]. They all came to his reception with representatives from several churches of Asia Minor. They sought his blessings and the pearls of his teachings. He took this opportunity and sent letters to these churches, telling them to beware of heretics and to submit to church authority.

He also wrote an epistle to Rome when he heard that some of the believers tried their best to save him from martyrdom. [I shall never have a better chance than this of getting to God... This favor only I beg of you: suffer me to be a libation poured to God, while there is still an altar ready for me. Then you may form a loving choir around it and sing hymns of praise in Jesus Christ to the Father, for permitting Syria's bishop, summoned from the realms of the morning, to have reach the land of the setting sun[9].]

IN TROAS

He sailed by ship from Smyrna to Troas where the saint also wrote, three letters "to Philadelphia, Smyrna and to St. Polycarp." From Troas he sailed to Neopolis to Philippi then to Epirus and Tyrhene and finally to the district of Portus, where he met the brethren whose joy for seeing him was mixed with their sorrow for his departure. He met them with all love and asked them to show true love and have courage. He knelt and prayed asking God to stop the wave of persecution against the church and allow love to grow among brethren.

Finally, the guards rushed him to the arena, the wild beasts were let lose and he faced them cheerfully like a person hurrying to the eternal heavenly city to live with his Master in the eternal glory. Two lions sprang upon him and left only a few bones of him. He was martyred in 108 A.D in Rome[10].

The believers collected his relics and sent them to his church in Antioch. They were buried outside the fence close to the door of the burial place. They remained there until Jerome's time. The temple of Fortune at the center of Antioch was converted into a Christian church. Emperor Theodosius The Young (408-450 A.D) transferred the relics of the saint to this church and named it after the righteous martyr[11] in his commemoration. The church celebrates his Day on the 7th Abib.

HIS LETTERS

Although history testified to the excellence of the letters which St. Ignatius wrote, they nevertheless, were a source of controversy more than any other writings by the early church Fathers.

There were numerous collections of these letters - the greatest containing seven genuine and six spurious letters. The authentic letters were addressed to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna (Ezmir) and to Polycarp the martyr. The spurious were addressed to Virgin Lady, Mary of Cassabola, John the Apostle (two letters), Heron (a deacon of Antioch), the churches of Antioch, Philippi and Tarsus.

The authenticity of the seven genuine letters is guaranteed by Polycarp and Eusebius, who gave the contents of the letters. In the fourth century an Apollinarist (or Arian?) forger inserted interpolations into the genuine letters and added the spurious letters, making the collection thirteen letters, and this was the version that became known first. It was printed in Latin in 1489 and in Greek in 1557. This was the only work attributed to Ignatius and doubts were held about its authenticity.

In 1646 Archbishop Ussher (Armagh) discovered and published the primitive text of six of Ignatius' Letters and in 1689 Dom Ruinart discovered and published the primitive text of the *Letter to the Romans* (the missing seventh). The discoveries raised a storm of controversy in Catholic and Protestant circles. Some Protestants viewed them with doubt. In their opinion, it was not comprehensible that the church was so systematic in the manner contained in the letters during the era of Trajan. However, Lightfoot, Harnak, Zan and others proved by internal and external evidences the genuineness of their authenticity. In fact, St. Polycarp himself, in his letters to the Philippians, referred to those letters and sent copies to them, also.

The authentic letters reached us in three groups: Short (Greek) and long and precise (Syriac). The *short recession* properly is

the original seven without interpolation and without the six spurious letters, and it exists in Greek only. It came as an explanation of the original according to Lardner, in his book Credibility of the Gospel History in the year 1743. This was also the opinion of Gorten (1751), Mosheim (1755), Griesbach (1768), Rosenmiller (1795), Neander (1826) ... etc.

The short version was kept in an ancient Greek manuscript[12] which dated back to the second century. However, it did not include the version addressed to the peoples of Rome. The oldest copies, which included the version of the letter to Rome, did not date prior to the tenth century[13].

The problem re-arose when three of theses letters in the Syriac language were discovered among the manuscripts, which were taken from the monastery of the Virgin Lady (Deipara) in the desert of Netria, in Egypt. These were deposited in the British Museum; William Cureton published them in 1845 A.D. These letters were to Polycarp, Rome and Ephesus, and were a brief version. Some are still comparing them with the Greek short version; although Lightfoot thinks that the Syriac version is an ancient translation of the brief Greek version.

CONCEPTS AND THEOLOGY

1. Had not St. Ignatius been sent to Rome to be condemned, he would not have written these letters. In fact these letters were an outpouring of a *pastoral heart*, aflamed with a consuming love for Jesus Christ and His Church. Their style reminds us of a certain epistle of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

He wrote them in a very short and critical time, while he was guarded by violent soldiers. He did not write them as a theologian, but as a pastor. His concepts and theology appeared in a very simple way, which revealed him as a man passionately devoted to Christ. His consuming desire for martyrdom came out, especially in the Epistle to the Romans.

He warned the recipients against a *Judaizing heresy with Docetic elements,* which considered the humanity and sufferings of Christ as apparent rather than real. He insisted on the reality both of the Divinity and the Humanity of the Lord. His Birth, Passion, and Death were not appearances but realities.

The real life of Christ is continued in the *Eucharist*, which he called "The medicine of immortality, the antidote against death, and everlasting life in Jesus Christ" (Ephes. 20:2), and the bread that is the Body of Jesus Christ, this Body which has suffered for our sins."

The best safeguard of *the unity of the Christian faith* is the bishop, who is pre-eminent because he is "as the Lord," and without whose authority neither the Eucharist, nor marriage, may be celebrated. The *bishop* is one and in supreme authority. He is first, the priests are second, deacons third. The bishop has duties as well as rights.

The *Spiritual life* is based on the feeling of the presence of Christ. Christians are *God-bearers, and Christ-bearers*. It is an expression of self-denial with a profound knowledge of Christ.

2. Dogma and Christian doctrines, as they appeared in St. Ignatius epistles, are not a philosophy, but a practical life which believers examine in their church life, in their own private rooms, and in their relationship with others.

3. He felt he devoted all his life for realizing the Church unity.

[*As for me, I did my part as one dedicated to the cause of unity.*] Philad. 8:1.

4. He differs from St. Clement of Rome, for he did not quote from the Old Testament.

5. He wrote in openness of heart and firmness to be cautious from the heretics, but in humbleness.

[I *could well write more forcibly on his behalf, if it were not that as a condemned prisoner I have not thought myself entitled to use the peremptory tone of an Apostle*.] Trall. 3.

6. While he wrote his letters, his eyes were not focused on Rome, where he would face his end, but rather he was looking towards the Heavenly Groom, who was preparing for him a glorious place, among the heavenly creatures. Therefore, his letters had a very strong eschatological attitude.

He raised his inner sight towards eternity to attain the true discipleship of Christ, and to be considered as a true believer.

CHRIST THE SAVIOR

"Christ the Savior" is the center of all St. Ignatius' teachings and theology, which he received from St. Paul the Apostle, and was affected by the richness of St. John's theology.

1. Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Teacher, who teaches even the prophets before his advent, by the work of the Holy Spirit, who directed their sight towards the Teacher. Their prophecies and desires had been realized by His advent in this world through His incarnation.

[*Jesus Christ our only Master - if this be so, how shall we be able to live apart from Him? seeing that even the prophets, being His disciples, were expecting Him as their teacher through the Spirit. And for this cause He, whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead.*] Magn. 9.

2. He clarified the Divinity and humanity of Christ:

[*There is only one Physician, who is of flesh and spirit (Man and God at the same time); both made* (gennetos) *and not made (*agennetos*); God existed in flesh; true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first subject to suffering and then impassible, even Jesus Christ our Lord.*] Ephes 7:2

[*He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh,(Rom. 1:3) and the Son of God according to the will and power of God; that He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled* (Matt. 3:15).] Smyr. 1

He is above all time, and Invisible:

[*Look for Him, who is above all time, eternal and invisible, yet Who became visible for our sake; impalpable and impassible, yet who became passible on our account; and who in every kind of way suffered for our sake*.] Polycarp 3.

Our new life in Jesus Christ is the source of life, as we will notice when we write about the salvation and the fellowship with Christ.

SALVATION

St. Ignatius concentrated on the redeeming work of Christ, explaining God's purpose, that is the salvation of men, which is realized through the divine incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection. By these doctrines he attacks the Doceitists, who denied the reality of incarnation, and consequentially the reality of the crucifixion.

According to St. Ignatius there are two kingdoms: the kingdom of God, the only source of life, and immortality; and the kingdom of Satan which is temporal and ruled by corruption and death. Man's soul is not immortal by its own power, but man should be united with Christ the source of life and immortality. He states:

[*Let us not, be insensible to His kindness. For were He to reward us according to our works, we should be lost*.] Magn. 10.

How can salvation be realized?

1. By fellowship with Christ, the only source of life, who is able to purify us from the dominion of corruption and death, saying:

[*He was born and baptized, that by His passion He might purify the water*.] Ephes. 18

[*For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head, that he might breathe immortality into His Church.*] Ibid.

[*.....apart from whom we live not true life*] ad Trall. 9:2.

2. Our Lord Jesus Christ truly had been crucified (Tralles 9:1), to grant us life by His Cross. He called the cross “the Tree of Life” (Smyrna 1:2); its branches are the believers, who abide in Him, carrying incorruptible fruits (Tralles 11:2).

The Cross is the base of martyrdom, it is a call to accept death with the Crucified One.

[*Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God.*] Rom. 6

[*I exhort you, not to show unseasonable kindness to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God’s wheat, and I am grounded by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found as a pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may come at my tomb and may leave no part of my body behind, so that I may not, when I am fallen asleep, be burdensome to anyone. Then I shall truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not so much as see my body. Supplicate the Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God.*] Rom. 4

3. By the death of our Lord, Satan has been destroyed and we were delivered from death.

[... *It is evident to me that you are living not after men but after Jesus Christ, who died for us, that believing on His death you might escape death.*] Trall. 2.

4. By our unity with the risen Body of Christ, we despise death and conquer it, for we attain the new risen life. Our Lord is the Immortal Life, who grants us life and divine love.

[*For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when He came to Peter and his company, He said to them: “Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit.” And straightway they touched Him, and they believed, being joined unto His flesh and His blood. Therefore, they also despised*

death; for they were superior to death. And after His resurrection He ate and drank with them as one in the flesh, although spiritually He was united with the Father.]Smyr. 3

He stated that the Logos really incarnated, was born, crucified, and died before the heavenly hosts, human beings and those who were under the earth. He also assured that His resurrection was a fact to grant us His risen body so that we may rise in Him and with Him.

[*He was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who in the like fashion will so raise us also who believe in Him by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have not true life.*] Trall. 9.

5. We cannot attain the risen life unless we believe in the risen Christ, be united with Him, and abide in Him. This faith and fellowship with Him must be realized practically through love and unity, and thus we attain immortality.

DEATH

Fear of death is a bondage to Satan. He who is united with Christ and becomes His disciple never fears death, but enjoys unity with life, immortality and incorruption.

[*Seeing then that all things have an end, and these two - life and death - are set before us together, and each man shall go to his own place; for just as there are two coinages, the one of God and the other of the world, and each of them has its proper stamp impressed upon it, the unbelievers the stamp of this world, but the faithful in love the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ, through whom unless we accept willingly to die unto His passion, His life is not in us.*] Magn. 5

[*The prince of this world would fain tear me carry me away and corrupt my mind to Godward. Let not any of you therefore who are near abet him. Rather be you on my side, that is on God's side.*] Rom. 7.

In his dialogue with Trajan he said, "*I am a priest for my Lord Jesus Christ, and to Him I offer a daily sacrifice. I desire to offer my*

life as a sacrifice as He offered His life a Sacrifice because of His love to me.”

THE CHURCH

1. The place of sacrifice (Thysiasterion)

As St. Ignatius was exceedingly pleased to be martyred, he expressed that by calling the Church “the place of sacrifice (Thysiasterion) (Ephes. 5:2; Tralles 7:2; Philip. 4), for she offers the Eucharist as her sacrifice, the source of her joy. She is the bride of the Sacrificed Heavenly Groom.”

2. Community of love

Through the victory of Christ, on death and Satan, the believer has the power to attain the divine life and love, and to be united with his neighbor. To St. Ignatius, faith and love to our neighbors are inseparable; for [*faith is the beginning, and love is the end (of our life in Christ), and the union of the two together is God*.] Ephes. 14.

Christ is the Immortal life; as He grants us life he gives us also love.

[*...for my drink I crave that blood of His, which is imperishable love*.] Rom. 7.

Salvation is a return to immortality for those whose lives are as one community of infinite love. It is also a justification of the believer, and destroying death and Satan’s authority, so that the believer may attain the infinite love towards God and man.

3. Community of Singers of Hymns

As we are gathered together in Christ through love, Satan cannot rule upon us, and our life will be changed into singing hymns to Christ and giving thanks to Him.

Through the Eucharist, the mystery of “Thanksgiving,” the church attains the medicine of immortality (Eph. 20:2), which has two effects:

a. The positive effect: Attaining love, purity, unity, and participation in immortality, together with joy and giving hymns. These are the characteristics of the Church, who is gathered together around the altar to participate in the Eucharist.

b. The negative affect: She has victory over Satan.

[*Do your diligence therefore to meet together more frequently for thanksgiving to God and for His glory. For, when you meet together frequently, the powers of Satan are cast down; and his mischief comes to naught in the concord of your faith*.] Ephes. 11.

[*Let no man be deceived. If any one be not within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God . For, if the prayer of one and another has so great force, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church?! Whosoever therefore does not assemble with the church, he thereby shows his pride and has separated himself; for it is written, God resists the proud*.] Ephes. 5.

[*He who is within the sanctuary is pure; but he that is without the sanctuary is not pure, that is, he that does aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not pure in his conscience.*] Trall. 7.

4. Community in Christ

The church who gathered in love and unity in Christ is the Church of Christ. Wherever Christ may be there is the catholic Church. [*Where Jesus may be, there is the catholic Church.*] Smyrn. 8.

5. The catholicity or universality of the Church

He is the first writer who calls the church "catholic." In fact he recorded what was known traditionally.

The word "*catholic*" is derived from the two Greek words:

1. καθ means "together in unity."

2. ολο means "people" or "all."

Thus, this word is from an eastern origin. It has no relation with the concept which the Church of Rome uses. It was used in the eastern liturgies not to mean universality in the world, or in place, but the spiritual existence and its relation with the one altar and one Sacrifice.

[*Let there be one prayer in common, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy unblameable, which is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing better. Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, of God; as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from One Father and is with One and has gone to One*.] Magn. 7

As catholicity is realized by the Eucharist, the following words are repeated in those letters: “one body,” “one altar,” “one sanctuary” etc.”

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

St. Ignatius who devoted his life for the unity of the church, saw this unity as a living icon of the unity of the Father with the Son. He refers to four kinds of unity:

1. The oneness of God, or the unique unity among the Holy Trinity (in one essence) (Tral. 2:1-2).

[*There is one God who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, Who is His Word that proceeded from silence, who in all things pleased Him that sent Him*.] Magn. 8

2. Unity between the Father and the Son... He repeated the expression. “God the Father and Christ” (Philad. inscr.; 1:1; 3:2, Polycarp. inscr.; 21:2; Magn. inscr.; Trall. 1:1; 12:2; Smyrn. inscr.)

The Father and Christ are our mutual hope (Ephes. 21:2); the source of love, mercy and success (Philad. 1; Trall. 1), the source of priests’ authority (Philad. 1).

Our life is “in Christ” (Ephes. 3:1; 8:2; 10:3; 11:1,2; 20:2; 21:2), and also in God the Father (Ephes. 6:2; Magnes. 3:3,14; Trall. 4:1; 8:2; Polycarp 1:1). The end of our life is to attain God the Father (Ephes. 12: 2; Magnes. 14: 21; Trall. 12: 2; 13: 3; Rom. 1: 1; 2: 2; 4: 1; 9: 2; Smyrn. 12: 1; Polycarp 2: 3; 7:1), and Jesus Christ (Rom 5: 3; 6: 1).

Christians are the temples of God the Father and Jesus Christ (Philad. 7: 2; Ephes. 9: 2; Magnes. 12).

3. The unity of Christ’s divinity and humanity: He called the sufferings which imposed on His humanity as the Passion of God (Ephes. 20; Rom. 1.), and Jesus’s blood as God’s blood (Ephes. 1: 1).

[*There is only one Physician who is of flesh and spirit (Man and God at the same time)*.] Ephes. 7.

4. The unity of the Church: All the church is gathered around the altar of Christ.

In the local church, unity is realized through the bishop as a representative of Christ (Magnes. 3). His authority descends from the Apostles. He is the icon of the Invisible God (Ephes. 6; Magnes. 6; Tral. 3), and the guard of unity.

THE HOLY TEMPLE

We are the Temple of God, we attained Him within us (1 Cor. 6 : 19, 20), and he bought us by His precious blood.

[*Whatever we do, then, let it be done as if He Himself is dwelling within us, we being, His temples and He being our God.*] Ephes 15: 3.

[*Forasmuch as you are stones of a temple, which were prepared beforehand for a building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and using for a rope the Holy Spirit; while your faith is your windlass, and love is the way that leads up to God. So then you are all compan-*

ions in the way, carrying your God and your shrine, your Christ and your holy things.] Ephes. 9

BEING IN CHRIST

Christ is not only in us, we are also one with Christ. St. Ignatius again and again repeats the Pauline expression, "being in Christ." He desires "to be found in Christ." "Union with Christ is the bond which encircles all Christians." And therefore he beseeches the Ephesians to be imitators of the Lord.

[*In all purity and temperance abide you in Christ Jesus, with your flesh and with your spirit*.] Ephes. 10.

[*I pray that there may be in them union of the flesh and of the spirit which are Jesus Christ's, the constant source of our life, and of our faith and of love which is preferred before all things, and - what is more than all - a union with Jesus and with the Father*.] Magn. 1.

[*...only that we be found in Christ Jesus unto true life*.] Ephes. 11.

St. Ignatius stressed repeatedly that Christians are united only when they are one with their bishop through faith, obedience and particularly through participation in divine liturgical worship.

IMITATIONS OF CHRIST[16]

Perhaps no author of early Christian times is as eloquent on the "imitation of Christ" as St. Ignatius. If we wish to live the life of Christ and of God, then we must adopt the principles and virtues of God and of Christ.

[*They that are of the flesh cannot do the things of the Spirit, neither can they that are of the Spirit do the things of the flesh; even as faith cannot do the things of unfaithfulness, neither unfaithfulness the things of faith. Nay, even those things which you do after the flesh are spiritual; for you do all things in Jesus Christ.*] Ephes. 8

[*Be imitators of Jesus Christ.*] Philad. 7.

[*Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God*.] Rom. 7.

EUCHARIST

He spoke about the Eucharist repeatedly, because the Docietists, who denied the reality of the Logos' incarnation, refused to participate in the Eucharist.

[*They even absent themselves from the Eucharist and the public prayers*.] Smyrna 7:1.

His concepts of the Eucharist can be summarized in the following points.

1. The Eucharist is a spiritual food for the soul (Ephes. 20:2), grants it immortality.

2. It is a medicine for the soul, which cures her from all diseases, weakness and death (Ephes. 20:2).

3. Source of unity with God in the Church, as all believers are gathered together around the altar, Christ has one body and one cup, which unites us with His blood (Philad. 4).

4. The Eucharist is a true sacrifice (*thysia*) (Magnes. 7:1; Tral. 8:1; Rom. 7:1; Philad. 4:1; Smyrn. 7:1).

[*Let there be one prayer in common, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy unblameable, which is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing better.*

Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, of God; as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from One Father and is with One and has gone to One.] Magn.7

5. The essential of the Eucharistic rite is the practical fellowship with God in our lives.

BAPTISM

He referred to baptism four times, twice he mentioned the baptism of Christ in the Jordan River, and in the other two the mystery of the Church.

Christ's baptism was mentioned among Christ's events, such as the conception of Jesus Christ, His sufferings, resurrection etc. Therefore some scholars believed that the "Baptism of Jesus Christ" was one of the articles of the Antiochene creed.

Our Lord was baptized for two reasons:

1. To purify the water (Ephes. 18). According to the Jewish tradition Satan has his own dominion in three areas: water, desert and air. Our Lord conquered him in his dominion, in the water by His baptism, in the desert through His temptation, and in the air through His Cross.

2. To fulfill every righteousness (Smyrn. 1).

Concerning our baptism he explained that it cannot be fulfilled without the knowledge of the bishop (Smyrn. 8). He also declared the power of baptism, saying: [*For a shield take your baptism, for a helmet your faith, for a spear your love, and for body-armor your patient endurance.*.] Polycarp 6.

MARTYRDOM

1. In St. Ignatius' mind martyrdom is the perfect imitation of Christ. Our participation in Christ's death and resurrection cannot be fulfilled perfectly except by martyrdom.

In his conception, martyrdom is the sign of true discipleship to our Savior, Who sacrificed His life on our behalf. Therefore, the Church is called the place of sacrifice.

[*While I welcomed in God your much-beloved name, which you bear by natural right, (in an upright and virtuous mind), by faith and love in Christ Jesus our Savior - being imitators of God, and having your hearts kindled in the blood of God, you have perfectly fulfilled*

your congenial work - for when you heard that I was on my way from Syria, in bonds for the sake of the common Name and hope, and was trusting through your prayers to succeed in fighting, with wild beasts in Rome, that by so succeeding I might have power to be a disciple, you were eager to visit me.] Ephes. 1

[*I exhort you, not to show unseasonable kindness to me. Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb and may leave no part of my body behind, so that I may not, when I am fallen asleep, be burdensome to anyone. Then shall I be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not so much as see my body. Supplicate the Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God*.] Rom. 4

His great desire to be martyred created in him an openness of heart, to witness to Christ and to demand the salvation of men.

WITNESSES TO CHRIST

As an experienced bishop he explained two important elements for witnessing to Christ our Savior:

1. **Praying for others**: His letters explained him as a man of prayer, who asked every believer not to cease from praying for repentance of others:

[*And pray you also without ceasing on behalf of the rest of mankind, for there is in them a hope of repentance, that they may attain to God*.] ad Ephes. 10.

2. The good example:

[*Therefore permit them to be instructed at least by your works. Against their outbursts of wrath be you meek; against their proud words be you humble; against their railings set you your prayers; against their errors be you steadfast in faith; against their fierceness be you gentle.*] Ephes. 10.

[*It is better to keep silence and to be (a Christian) than to talk and not to be one. It is a fine thing to teach, if the speaker practises (what he teaches). Now there is one Teacher, who spoke and it came to pass: yea and even the things which He did in silence are worthy of the Father*.] Ephes. 15.

CLERGYMEN

1. We obtain from St. Ignatius' letters a vivid picture of the church as a people who surrounded the clergymen in love, unity and obedience in Christ. Clergymen with the three ranks episcopate, presbyterate and deaconate together with the people must work **according to the will of the Father, and the mind of Christ, by the Holy Spirit.**

[*I salute you in the blood of Jesus Christ, wherein is joy eternal and unfailing; all the more so when men are at one with their bishop - and with their presbyters and deacons too, whose appointment with him is approved by Jesus Christ, and confirmed and ratified, according to His will, by His Holy Spirit*.] Philad. insert.

[*There is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants, that whatsoever you do, you may do it after God.*] Philad. 4

The Church as a liturgical community worshipping God around the altar, cannot exist without the clergymen in its three ranks: [*Apart from these there is not even the name of a Church*] Trall.3.

2. All that concern the Church must be done in agreement with the bishop, the presbyters and deacons.

[*Obey your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment. Let no man do anything pertaining to the Church without the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be*.] Smyrn. 8

This idea is to be safeguard against the heretics, who used to assemble apart of the Church under Christ's name, its hidden aim is to divide the church, especially they do not believe in the Eucharist as the sacrifice and true body of Christ who grants us the risen life.

[*Some persons have the bishop's name on their lips, but in everything act apart from him. Such men appear to me not to keep a good conscience, forasmuch as they do not assemble themselves together lawfully according to the commandment.*] Magnes. 4

[*Let there be one prayer in common, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love and in joy unblameable, which is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing better. Hasten to come together all of you, as to one temple, of God; as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from One Father and is with One and has gone to One.*] Magn.7

3. Through submission to the clergymen, unity in Christ and attaining the saintly life in the Lord can be recognized.

[*For if I, in a short time had such converse with your bishop, which was not after the manner of men but in the Spirit, how much more do I congratulate you who are closely joined with him as the Church is with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may be harmonious in unity.*] Ephes. 5

[*He that does aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacons, this man is not pure in his conscience.*] Trall. 7.

4. Unity with bishop and obedience to him mark our unity and submission to God, the Father of our Lord and Bishop of all Jesus Christ. The people see Christ wording in the bishop not the bishop in his own person.

[*Now it becomes you also not to presume upon the youth of your bishop, but according to the power of God the Father to render unto him all reverence, even as I have learned that the holy presbyters also have not taken advantage of his outwardly youthful estate, but give*

place to him as to one prudent in God; yet not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, even to the Bishop of all.] Magn. 3.

[*Now the more anyone sees that his bishop is silent, let him fear him the more. For every one whom the Master of the household sends to be steward over His own house, we ought so to receive as Him that sent him. Plainly therefore we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself.*] Ephes. 6

[*For when you are obedient to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, it is evident to me that you are living not after men but after Jesus Christ, who died for us, that believing on His death you might escape death.*] Trall. 2

5. Submission to the clergymen is not a sign of weakness of personality, but a participation in Christ's obedience to His Father.

[*Be obedient to the bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ was to the Father according to the flesh, and as the Apostles were to Christ and to the Father, that there may be union both of flesh and of spirit.*] Magnes. 13

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By saying: "*Be obedient... to one anothe*r" perhaps he meant that it is a characteristic of all Christians - laymen and clergymen - to be obedient, imitating Christ Himself.

6. He clarified that this close relationship with the bishop and submission to him is not for his own person but for Christ Himself, by asking people to respect the deacon "as Jesus Christ."

[*In like manner let all men respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as they should respect the bishop as being a type of the Father and the presbyters as the council of God and as the college of Apostles.*] Trall.3

7. The bishop has his own responsibilities, must do his duties faithfully.

[*Vindicate your office in all diligence of flesh and of spirit. Have a care to preserve unity, than which there is nothing better. Bear all men, even as the Lord also bears you. Suffer all men in love, as also you do. Give yourself to unceasing prayers. Ask for larger wisdom than you have. Be watchful, and keep your spirit from slumbering*.] Polycarp. 1.

8. St. Ignatius concentrated on the liturgical role of the bishop, for his work is to guide people to worship in spirit more than to be administrator. This idea is very clear in the "Didache" and the letter of St. Clement of Rome.

[*Be you careful therefore to observe one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants, that whatsoever you do, you may do it after God*.] Philad. 4.

9. The bishop is the high priest of the liturgy. Neither Eucharist, baptism, marriage, nor agape may be celebrated without him (Smyrn. 8).

PRIMACY OF ROME

Some Catholic scholars believe that St. Ignatius' letter to Rome assures the Primacy of Rome. They state the following points:

1. In all other letters he did not give orders but just advises as a beloved bishop who was in chains for Christ's sake, this assures their independency .

2. In his letter to Rome he did not even give an advice, for the primacy of Rome and its bishop.

3. J. Quasten says: [When one compares the opening words of the various epistles addressed to the Church of Rome, there is no doubt that Ignatius holds the Church of Rome in far higher regard. The significance of this salutation cannot be overestimated; it is the

earliest avowal of the Primacy of Rome that we possess from the pen of a non-Roman ecclesiastic:

"Ignatius also called Theophorus, to the Church that has found mercy in the transcendent Majesty of the Most High Father and of Jesus Christ, His only Son; the Church by the will of Him who willed all things that exist, beloved and illuminated through the faith and love of Jesus Christ our God; which also presides in the chief place of honor, worthy of felicitation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy of sanctification, and presiding in love, maintaining the law of Christ, and bearer of the Father's name: here do I therefore salute in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father. Heartiest good wishes for unimpaired joy in Jesus Christ our God, to those who are united in flesh and spirit by every commandment of His; who imperturbably enjoy the full measure of God's grace and have every foreign stain filtered out of them (ACW).

Among these titles of encomium lavished upon the Church of Rome by Ignatius, one in particular, namely, "presiding in love," has attracted the attention of scholars. But they are very much divided as to the meaning of this phrase. A. Harnack saw in the phrase merely a grateful acknowledgment of the pre-eminent charity displayed by the Roman Christians. According to him, the Roman Church is called "presiding in love" because she is the most charitable, generous and helpful of all the Churches and therefore the protectress and patroness of charity[16].]

In fact this letter does not support the primacy of Rome for following reasons:

1. St. Ignatius was well-known to all the Churches of Asia Minor, clergymen and people, and he knew these Churches and their problems. He praised them and advised them in openness of heart, especially while he was in chains for the sake of Christ.

Through love, and not authority, St. Ignatius gave orders to St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

2. The aim of the letter to the Romans was totally different to that of the other churches. He wrote to Rome, who tried to prevent his martyrdom through their love. He refused this concern, beseeching them to leave him to be sacrificed on behalf of Christ. While for other churches, he wrote concerning their problems, which he heard about from their representatives who met him.

3. In his letter to the Romans he wrote warning them not to show love unwisely. He wrote that by this conduct they were siding with Satan, and helping him and that they lacked the true spiritual love. This mode of writing was not fit to be written to a church who had a primacy.

4. St. Ignatius stated that he devoted all his life to the church unity. Therefore he again and again repeated the speech concerning unity through submission to the bishop. Why did he not refer to the Church of Rome or to the bishop of Rome as a safeguard of church unity?

5. If Rome had primacy why would he not ask the bishops of other churches to return to Rome in their problems, or to its bishop?

6. Dr. Asad Rustom in his book “We, Rome and Vatican” states that every church at that time had a kind of special primacy. For Jerusalem, our Lord Jesus Christ had lived and worked there, and there the council of the Apostles was held. Until today all Christian long for visiting it. Antioch, was the church of the capital of the East at that time, and it was a very important center of culture. For Alexandria, it was the largest city in all the East and the greatest city of science and culture. The Church of Alexandria preceded all the Churches in the world in studying the Bible, taking advantage of science and philosophy and in defending Christian dogma and doctrines. Dr. Rustom says that she became the first teacher in the world. Rome, at that time was the capital of all the Roman Empire, and her bishop was in a critical position, for any conduct from his side had its affect in the sight of the emperor and his men. It did not mean that he had a primacy or author-

ity on other churches, but the rulers considered his conduct as if it were the conduct of all Christians. The same as any bishop living alone among atheists or non-Christians, they look to him as a representative of all Christians.

After the division of the Roman Empire the bishop of Constantinople had the same critical position. At the end of the Roman Empire the whole world was in contact with many Archbishops and bishops etc.

7. If there was a primacy given to Rome, St. Ignatius should have addressed his letter to the bishop of Rome.

8. St. Ignatius asked Bishop Polycarp and not bishop of Rome to take care of the church of Antioch.

MARRIAGE AND VIRGINITY

St. Ignatius asked that marriage must be held through the approval of the bishop (as the father of the couple), so that it may be in the Lord. He also stated that marriage is a symbol of love between Christ and His bride (Polycarp 6:1; 5:2).

In praising virginity, St. Ignatius assures the sanctity of marriage.

[*Charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives as the Lord loves the Church.*

If somebody is able to abide in chastity, in honor of the Lord's body,

let him do so without any boasting;

for if he boasts of it, he is lost...

When men and women marry, it is desirable to have the bishop's consent to their union,

so that the marriage may be after the Lord and not after their own carnal desire.

The honor of God should be the aim in everything.] Polycarp 5:1.

SILENCE

St. Ignatius presents our Lord Jesus Christ as the Living Teacher, who teaches by His words as well as by His silence. We also should witness to Him in our worship, conduct and preaching by both our words and silence.

[*He that truly possesses the word of Jesus is able also to hear even His very silence, that He may be perfect; that through his speech he may act and through his silence He may be known.*] Ephes. 15

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1. Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Fathers, p. 88f; Fr. Malaty: The Two Martyrs Ignatius and Polycarp, 1964; Also: The Dictionary of the Church Fathers and Saints, vol. 1, 1985, p. 341 - 343.
2. Anastase le Bibliothécaire, 2:42. PG 5:404.
3. In Sanct. Mart. Ignatium. PG 49:594.
4. F. L. Cross: Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1990, p. 688.
5. Smyrna: A city of Asia Minor, situated on the Aegean Sea, 40 miles north of Ephesus. Allusion is made to it in Rev. 2:8-11..
6. Magnesia: A small town in Asia Minor, south west of Ephesus nearby the River Moynder in the state of Lydia, It is now called Giselle Husar (The Vine Magazine)
7. Ephesus: The capital of the Roman province of Asia Minor, and an illustrious city in the district of Iona, nearly opposite the island of Samon.
8. Tralle or Tralles: a town in the district of Phrygia - now it is the village of Sultan Hassa (The Vine Magazine).
9. Italy, the “Far West” to a bishop from Syria. [See Penguin Classics: Early Christian Writings, 1987, p. 89.
10. The 10th years of the reign of Trajan (Eusebius: 3:36).
11. Dr. Asad Rustom: The church Fathers - the first three centuries 1983 - pp. 30 - 31. Eragiws: His. Ecc 1:16.
12. Codex Mediceus Lawrentianus, 57:7.
13. Codex Paris, Graec, 1457 (Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 74)..
14. Ep. of Polycarp 13:2.
15. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 72.
16. Ibid 70-71.

3

ST. POLYCARP OF SMYRNA[1]

ST. POLYCARP OF SMYRNA (70?-156)

He seems to have been the leading Christian figure in Roman Asia in the middle of the second century[2]. His long life (about which unfortunately little is known) is thus an important link between the Apostolic age and the Christian writers (e.g St. Irenaeus), who flourished at the end of the second century. He was worthy to be called *"the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of gods[3]."*

According to C.P.S. Clarke, a pious lady, called Callisto, bought him as a slave, as revealed to her in a vision. When he grew up he became the manager of her house. For a certain reason she had to travel and left all her possessions in his charge. He gave the needy, orphans and widows generously of what he was left with. Upon the lady's return one of his fellow-slaves reported him saying that he distributed almost all what she had. When she looked into the matter she found the stores were full. Therefore, she decided to punish the slave for being a liar. Polycarp interceded for him, and told her the truth, that he actually did distribute a great deal of what was stored. She was extremely pleased at that and bequeathed Polycarp with all her wealth. However Polycarp had no interest in wealth.

POLYCARP BISHOP OF SMYRNA

It is said that Bucolus, Bishop of Smyrna, ordained Polycarp as a deacon. He witnessed for Christ, throughout his life and preached among the Gentiles, Jews and heretics. Therefore the bishop ordained him as a priest, and declared that he was well-suited to be his counselor, and his partner in teaching.

According to a tradition held by Tertullian[4] Polycarp was appointed a bishop of Smyrna by St. John the Apostle, before he was exiled to Patmus.

We learn from St. Irenaeus, who was bishop of Lyons in the latter half of the second century, that he had listened as a boy to St. Polycarp and had "heard him tell of his relationship with John (the Apostle) and with others who had seen the Lord, and how he quoted from their language and how much he had learned from them concerning the Lord and His miracles and His teaching[5]."

ST. POLYCARP AND THE HERETICS

He devoted much of his energy to preserve the orthodox faith, combating such heretics as the Marcionites[6] and Valentinians[7]. It is said that he had converted some of them to the true faith.

"O good God! For what times have You kept me that I should endure such things!' he would cry out as he heard the teaching of the Gnostics[8], and he would tell how once at Ephesus the Apostle John went to the baths and, finding the early Gnostic Cerinthus there, rushed out, saying, *"Let us run away, lest even the baths-house fall in, for within us is Cerinthus, the enemy of truth."*

St. Ireneaus reported one incident that demonstrated the severity of St. Polycarp's attitude towards heresies and heretics. St. Polycarp once met the heretic Marcion on the streets. "Do you recognize me?" asked Marcion. "*Of course*," replied Polycarp, "*I recognize you as the first-born of Satan*[9]!.

WITH ST. IGNATIUS

We first meet him as the relatively young bishop of Smyrna, when the aging St. Ignatius of Antioch was on his way to martyrdom. It was in Smyrna that St. Ignatius made that memorial stop on his final journey, and St. Polycarp was the only person recorded to whom the great martyr ever addressed a personal letter. In the years that followed, St. Polycarp gathered St. Ignatius' letters and passed them on to others[10].

The letter of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp reveals the personality of the latter.

[Welcoming your godly mind which is fixed as on an immovable rock [cf. Matt. 7:24,25], I exceedingly proud that I was worthy of seeing your blameless face, by means of which I would have pleasure in God[11].]

IN ROME

At the end of his life, in 154 or early 155 A.D, St. Polycarp paid a visit to Rome to see the bishop Anicetus, and to discuss, among other things, the date of keeping the Easter festival. It was agreed that each Church should maintain its own custom and that Asia should carry on preserving the Quartodeciman (the exact day of Jewish Passover). Although the two bishops differed, nevertheless, they parted on the best terms, and they participated together in celebrating the liturgy of Eucharist.

Soon after his return to Smyrna, St. Polycarp was arrested, during a public pagan festival, and was burnt to death because he refused to deny his faith.

The traditionally accepted date of his martyrdom is 155 or 156 A.D but as Eusebius placed it during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-80). Some scholars argued for a later period and thus recorded out the date of his birth correspondingly later.

MARYTRIUM S. POLYCARPI[12]

Through a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Christian community of Philomelium in Greater Phrygia, we possess a detailed account of Polycarp's heroic martyrdom. From it we gain an excellent impression of the noble personality of the Bishop of Smyrna. The letter seems to have been written shortly after the martyrdom (A.D 155 or 156) . It consists of two parts:

1- The main body of the letter ending with the twentieth chapter.

2- Some notes with additional information were later appended to this document. In fact these supplementary paragraphs are separable from the rest of the letter.

For the genuineness of the main document there is abundant evidence. A quarter of a century after the occurrence, Irenaeus, and a little later Polycrates, bore testimony to the truth of Polycarp's martyrdom. Furthermore, the Letter of the Gallican Churches, (c. A.D. 177) presents striking coincidences with the language of the Letter of the Smyrnaeans, and unless several points of resemblance are accidental, Lucian in his account of Peregrinus Proteus (c. A.D. 156) must have been acquainted with the document.

The supplementary paragraphs present a more difficult problem. They fall into three parts, separate in form from one to the other, and thus were probably written by different hands:

I. The Chronological Appendix (21:1).
II. The Commendatory Postscript (22:1).
III. The History of the Transmission (22:2,3).

These "Acts" relate his martyrdom in great detail, in a letter written by Maricon the year after his death, he wrote that St. Polycarp was burned alive. The Christians gathered his ashes and celebrated his memory on his anniversary. The "Acts" are genuine, beyond doubt, and one of the oldest accounts of martyrdom, which is often regarded as the first "Acts of the Martyrs." It is an eyewitness account of his martyrdom.

ST. POLYCARP'S WIDENED-HEART

When St. Polycarp heard the news of persecution he was not disturbed, and he wanted to stay in the city. Under the pressure of his people he withdrew to a farm not far away from the city, and stayed there, together with a few friends, praying night and day for the churches throughout the world as was his custom (5:1). His heart was widened and inflamed with love towards all the churches, even in the critical moments of sufferings. He was not busy with himself or even with his own local church, but with all the churches throughout the world.

ST. POLYCARP'S BRAVERY

As he saw a vision, his pillow burning up with fire, he returned and said to his friends, "*I must be burned alive*."

When the soldiers saw him, *"they marveled at his age and composure and were surprised that eagerness to apprehend an old man like him was so great*" (6:1).

When the proconsul threatened him, he replied, *"You threaten fire which burns for an hour and is soon quenched; for you are ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and eternal punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you wait? Come, do what you will!"* (11).

When the pyre was prepared, he readily took off his clothes and loosened his belt, and also made an effort to take off his shoes to hurry to offer himself as a sacrifice (13).

As the soldiers were about to nail him so that he might not escape from the fire, because of its unbearable pains, he said, *"Let me be as I am, for He who makes it possible for me to endure the fire will also make it possible for me to remain on the pyre unmoved without the security of nails" (13).*

THE RELICS OF ST. POLYCARP

The martyrdom of Polycarp was not merely of local significance, for the letter was read and his memory celebrated throughout Asia Minor and beyond. We have here one of the earliest evidences for the preservation of the relics of the martyrs and for the celebration of the anniversary of the martyrdom, the "heavenly birthday" of the saint.

Somebody asked Nicetes, the father of the police, Captain Herod, to beg the magistrate not to give the Christians the relics of Polycarp, saying, "Lest they abandon the Crucified and begin to worship this man." The writers commented: [*And this they said at the instigation and urging of the Jews who were also watching when we were about to take him from the fire; they did not know that we shall never find it possible either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of whole the world, the blameless for the sinners (cf. 1 Pet. 3:18); or to worship any other. For Him we worship as the Son of God; but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord, as they deserve, because of their*

incomparable loyalty to their own King and Teacher. May it also be granted us to become their partners and fellow disciples.] (17:2,3).

[*We afterwards took up his bones, more precious than costly stones, and finer than gold, and saved them in a suitable place. There, the Lord will permit us, as far as possible, to assemble in rapturous joy and celebrate his martyrdom - the day of his birth!*] (18:2,3).

EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

The prayer of the martyr before the pyre was ignited is of great value for the history of early Christian prayer. Not only in the precise Trinitarian doxology, but also it seems, an echo of the Eucharistic prayer St. Polycarp used to recite every Sunday.

[*O Lord, Almighty God,*
Father of Your beloved and blessed Son,
Jesus Christ,
through whom we have received the perfect knowledge of You,
God of angels and powers and of all creation,
and of the whole race of saints
who live under Your eyes!

I bless you,
because you have considered me worthy of this day and hour
to receive a portion among the number of the martyrs,
in the cup of your Christ,
unto the resurrection of the eternal life,
both of soul and body,
in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit,
among whom may I be received today as a rich and acceptable sacrifice,
just as you have prepared beforehand,
and revealed beforehand,
and fulfilled,
O undeceiving and true God.

For this reason and for all these things I praise you,
I bless you,
I glorify you,
through the eternal and heavenly high priest Jesus Christ your beloved Son,
through whom to you with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory now and forever. Amen.](14)

This document reveals St. Polycarp as a man of prayer and worship. He spent his time when he withdrew from the city praying day and night; and he asked the soldiers to give him a chance to pray before he was seized, and the same thing happened before he was burnt.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS

The Epistle of Polycarp was an answer to the letter which the Philippians had addressed to him after St. Ignatius's visit. St. Irenaeus tells us of "a very excellent letter of Polycarp to the Philippians..." They had invited him to address words of exhortation to them. They had requested him to forward, by his own messenger the letter which they had addressed to the Syrian Church; and they had asked him to send them any of St. Ignatius epistles which he might have in his possession.

We have fragments of the original Greek and the entire text of an old Latin translation.

It is full of imitations of St. Clement's letter to Corinth, and as late as the end of the fourth century, it was read in some places in Asia Minor at the divine service[4].

It encourages this community to constancy (at Philippi, in Macedonia) and stresses certain duties of married people, widows, deacons, youths, virgins, clergy. It is pastoral in tone. St. Polycarp warns in general terms of the dangers of heresy; he commends patient endurance of Jesus in his passion; he warns frequently and insistently of the dangers of avarice (perhaps because of a recent scandal in the church of Philippi involving one of the presbyters). His, is a simple presentation of

Christianity, combining moral earnestness with faithfulness to the example of Jesus.

The language of which is a veritable patchwork of allusions to and quotations from various writings of the New Testament which are not, however, “quoted” in words. There are very few allusions to the Old Testament, but in the New Testament Matthew, (perhaps Luke), Acts, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, I and II Thessalonians, I and II Timothy, Hebrews, I Peter and I John are drawn on. The echoes of the Pastoral Epistles, not just in allusion but in structure, have convinced the great German Church historian, Hans von Campenhausen, though few others, that Polycarp was himself their author[13].

St. Polycarp refers to St. Paul’s communications with the Philippians, both written and oral. He mentions the fame of the Philippian Church in the primitive days of the Gospel, and he congratulates them on sustaining their early reputation. Incidentally, he stated that the Philippians were converted to the Gospel before the Smyrnaeans - a statement which entirely accords with the notices of the two churches in the New Testament.

The fair fame of the Philippian Church however had been sullied by the sin of one unworthy couple. Valens and his wife- the Ananias and Sapphira of the Philippian community- had been guilty of some act of greed, perhaps of fraud and dishonesty. Valens was one of their presbyters, and thus the church was more directly responsible for his crime. Polycarp expresses himself much grieved. Though the incident itself is only mentioned in one passage, it had plainly made a deep impression on him. The sin of avarice was denounced again and again in the body of the letter[14].

DOGMA AND DOCTRINES

These documents, which return back to the second century, reveal some articles of the Christian faith before the appearance of the heresies, against the divinity of Christ. It declares the Trinitarian faith, the incar-

nation of the Logos, His crucifixion, death, resurrection according to His humanity, and the last judgment.

CHRISTOLOGY

The epistle defends the christological doctrine of the Incarnation and of Christ's death upon the Cross against "false teaching" with the following words:

[*For everyone who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Antichrist: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever shall prevent the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first - born of Satan*.] 7.

[*Let us therefore without ceasing hold fast by our hope and by the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ who took up our sins in His own body upon the tree, who did no sin, neither was guilt found in His mouth, but for our sakes He endured all things, that we might live in Him.*] 8.

THE PRACTICAL FAITH

This epistle is a practical one. Besides the need of the orthodoxy of faith, we have to translate it into practice in the lives of clergymen and laity.

1. Concerning the clergymen, the epistle refers to the duties of the deacons (5) and the presbyters (6).

2. Concerning the laity, St. Polycarp exhorts them to attain virtues (2), to preserve (8), and to stand firm in doing good (10).

[*Therefore grid up your loins and serve God in fear and truth, forsaking the vain and empty talking and the error of many, for that you have believed in Him that raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave unto Him glory and a throne on His right hand; unto whom all things were made subject that are in heaven and that are on earth.*] 2.

ORGANIZATION
St. Polycarp made no mention of a bishop of Philippi but he spoke of the obedience, due to presbyters and deacons. For a reason or other there was no bishop there and the church was spiritually governed by a committee of presbyters[15].

The letter portrays the ideal deacons and presbyter in the following terms:
[*In like manner deacons should be blameless in the presence of His righteousness, as deacons of God and Christ and not of men; not calumniators, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord who became a Minister (deacon) of all.*] 5.

[*And the presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray, visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow or an orphan or a poor man: but providing always for that which is honorable in the sight of God and of men, abstaining from anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not quick to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we all are debtors of sin*.] 6.

IMITATING CHRIST
[*Let us therefore become imitators of His endurance; and if we should suffer for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He gave this example to us in His own person, and we believed this*.] 8.

[*Stead fast therefore in these things and follow the example of the Lord, being firm in faith and immovable, in love of the brotherhood kindly affectionate one to another*.] 10.

TAKING CARE OF THE SALVATION OF OTHERS
He speaks about a priest called Valens and his wife who inclined from the faith because of their covetousness:

[I am very unhappy on account of Valens, who was formerly made an elder among you, that he should so misunderstand the office given to him.
I exhort you, then, to abstain from love of money, and to be pure and trustworthy...
I am exceedingly unhappy, then on account of that man and his wife;
to whom may the Lord give true repentance!
Therefore, you too be sober in this matter;
and don't consider such people as enemies;
but bring them back as weak and erring members that you may preserve your body in its entirety.
For by doing this you build one another.] 11.

CHARITY
Almsgiving is earnestly recommended.
[*When you are able to do good, defer it not, for Pitifulness delivers from death. Be you all subjected one to another, having your conversation unblameable among the Gentiles, that from your good works both you may receive praise and the Lord may not be blasphemed in you.*] 10.

[*Therefore I am exceedingly grieved for him and for his wife, unto whom may the Lord grant true repentance. Be you therefore yourselves also sober herein, and hold not such as enemies, but restore them as frail and errant members, that you may save the whole body of you. For so doing, you do edify one another.*]11.

CHURCH AND STATE
Worthy to notice is the attitude of the persecuted Church towards the State. Prayer for the civil authorities is expressly enjoined.
[*Pray also for kings and powers and princes, and for them that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest among all men, that you may be perfect in Him.*] 12.

1. Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty: The Apostolic Church, p. 125 ff.

2. Eusebius: H. E. 5:20; Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. 3:3.
3. The Origins of the Eastern Christianity, Pastoral letters (1), p. 155 (in Arabic).
4. De Praescriptione 32.
5. Eusebius: Hist. Ecc.. 20:64.
6. Marcion was a native of Sinope in Pontus and a wealthy ship owner. According to SS. Hippolytus an Epiphanius, he was the son of a bishop who excommunicated him on grounds of immorality. Making his way to Rome, c. 140, he attached himself to the local orthodox church. In the next few years he worked out his system and began to organize his followers as a separate community, and in 144 he was formally excommunicated. Here we summarize his doctrines:

a. The Christian Gospel was wholly a Gospel of Love to the absolute exclusion of Law. The Creator God or Demiurge, revealed in Old Testament as a wholly God of Law, had nothing with the God Jesus Christ, or with the Supreme God of Love, whose purpose was to overthrow the cruel Demiurge.

b. He rejected all allegorical methods of exegesis.

{See: Cross: Dict. of Christian Church, article: Marcion.}

7. The sect of Valentinians were found by Valentus, a Gnostic theologian in the second century. According to St. Irenaeus he was a native of Egypt. He lived at Rome from c. 136 to c. 165 and had hopes of being elected Bishop on account of his intellectual force and eloquence, but was passed over, seceded from the Church and later perhaps went to Cyprus. His beliefs were based on the Ophite system and to incorporate Platonic and Pythagorean elements. The spiritual world or “pleroma” comprise thirty aeons forming a successions of pairs (syzygies); these are said to have been originally conceived as aspects of the divinity, but in the later systems appear like distinct deities. The visible world owes its origin to the fall of Sophia, the youngest of these, her ultimate offspring being the Demiurge, identified with the God of the Old Testament. Redemption was affected by the aeon Christ, who united Himself with the man Jesus to bring man the saving knowledge of his origin and destiny. This knowledge (gnosis) is given only to the spiritual men or “pneumatics,” i.e the Valentinians, who through it enter the pleroma, whereas other Christians (called psychics) by faith and good works attain only to the middle realm of the Demiurge; the rest of mankind (called hylics) are given over to eternal perdition.{Ibid, p. 1423.}
8. Eusebius: H. E. 5:20:7.
9. Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. 3:3:4.
10. Jack N. Sparks: The Apostolic Fathers, Nashville TN 1978, p. 123.
11. Polycarp 1:1.
12. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 77.; Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, p. 103 ff.; Penguin Classics: The Early Christian Literature, p. 117 ff.
13. Penguin Classics, p. 116.
14. Lightfoot p. 92.
15. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 80.

4

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

In the previous studies of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, we acknowledge great fathers, such as St. Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna, who were disciples of the Apostles themselves. Through their lives and writings the early church, its worship and concepts were revealed. Other documents of the Apostolic Fathers have another type, for although these documents were written by unknown persons, these writings uncover the life of the people, their spiritual struggling, their worship and their aim at that era[1].

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

This document which is in a form of a letter is actually theological, contains nothing personal, and lacks the ordinary introduction and conclusion. The author, whose name is not mentioned, aims to teach the perfect knowledge (*gnosis*) and faith.

The epistle declares the author's purpose: [*I have hastened to send this brief communication so that along with your faith you must have perfect knowledge* (gnosis).] 1:5[2]. It portrays his religious zeal, explaining the role of faith in the renewal of our nature.

[*Learn! Before we believed in God, the abode of our heart was corrupt and infirm, truly a temple built by human hands. For it was full of idolatry, and was a house of demons, because we did what was contrary to God, but "it will be built in the Lord's Name" - pay attention - so that the temple of the Lord may be built gloriously.*

How?

Learn! When we receive the remission of sins and place our hope on the Lord, we become new, created again from the beginning. Wherefore God truly dwells in our "dwelling place" - in us.

In what way?

The word of His faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of His righteous ordinances, the commandments of His teaching; He Himself

prophesying in us, He Himself dwelling in us, by opening for us the door of the temple..., and giving us repentance, He leads those who had been in bondage to death into the incorruptible temple.

For he who desires to be saved looks not to the (external) man, but to Him who dwells in him and speaks in him, and he is amazed at the fact that he never either had heard Him speak such words from his mouth nor had himself ever desired to hear (them)!

This is a pneumatic (spiritual) temple built up to the Lord!] 16:7-10.

THE AUTHOR

According to an ancient tradition it is attributed to St. Barnabas, the co-worker of St. Paul. But there is no evidence in the text that it belongs to St. Barnabas or any of the apostles.

The letter has been in circulation since early in the second century; indeed, it may have been written in the first century[3]. St. Clement of Alexandria[4] attributed it to the Apostle Barnabas and used many quotations from it in his writings. Yet, elsewhere, he does not hesitate to criticize the work, and clearly, therefore, did not regard it as final and authoritative[5]. Origen[6] numbered it among the books of the Scripture. Its popularity declined with the passing of the years to the extent that St. Athanasius did not refer to it when he gave his list of the canonical Scriptures, and that of the church books read in Alexandria in the fourth century. St. Jerome and Eusebius considered it as an apocryphal work, although they attributed it to the Apostle Barnabas. Nevertheless, in the famous "*Codex Sinaiticius*" (The Sinai manuscript of the Scriptures) of the fourth century, now in London, this document seemed to be included among the books of the New Testament. It occurs in a complete form, immediately after the book of Revelation, as a sort of appendix to the sacred volume. The Constantinoplitan manuscript of Bryennios ["*Codex Vaticanus graec.*" 859] of the eleventh century contains, among others, the Epistles of St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, and the Epistle of Barnabas.

Later, it was not used often, but was preserved only in a few isolated manuscripts. It was not published again in the West until the

seventeenth century.

Many scholars state that it is written by an Alexandrine author, because he uses the allegorical mode of interpretation of the Scripture, which was regarded so highly among the early Alexandrine theologians. The influence of the Alexandrine Jew Philo is unmistakable[7]. Lightfoot states: [That Alexandria, the place of its earliest reception, was also the place of its birth, is shown out by the internal evidence of style and interpretation. The picture too, which it presents, of feuds between Jews and Christians, is in keeping with the state of the population of that city, who were in continual conflict[8].]

They refused the authorship of Barnabas for the following reasons:

1. It is written after the destruction of Jerusalem (16).

2. The writer said: [*But I, not as though I were a teacher, but as one of yourselves, will show forth a few things...*] 1:8.

CONTENT

The letter is divided into two parts:

1. The first section (chapters 1-17) is of a dogmatic character. In chapter 1:5 the author states the purposes of his work in these words: [That your knowledge may be perfected along with your faith.] This knowledge, however, is unique.

The author, first of all, wishes to expound and prove to his readers the value and meaning of the revelation of the Old Testament, which teaches Christ's crucifixion for our sins. He seeks to show that the Jews completely misunderstood the Law because they interpreted it literally. He sees Christianity everywhere in the Lawgiver and the Prophets, and treats them with a degree of respect which would have satisfied the most devout Rabbis. He quotes them profusely as authoritative. Only he accuses the Jews of misunderstanding them from the beginning to end, and intimates that the ordinances of circumcision, of the Sabbath, of the distinctions of meats, clean and unclean, were never intended to be

literally observed, but had a spiritual and mystical significance[9]. After repudiating their literal mode of interpretation he presents, what is in his opinion, the genuinely spiritual meaning. He clarified that the Jews were wrong if they thought the Law in itself had the power to save them.

Some scholars state that the author wrote this letter to face the spread of the movement of Judaism, which was very dangerous, for he wrote: [*Seeing then that the present days are evil and He who is now at work possesses the power, we ought to walk circumspectly and seek out the Lord's righteous requirements*.] 2:1. [*The great last offense is at hand, concerning which it has been written, as Enoch says.*] 4:3.

2. The second section (chapters 18-21) takes up morals and manifests no special bias. It describes, exactly like the Didache, the contrast between the way of life and that of death, but it calls one, that of light and the other that of darkness. To sketch the way of light, it offers a large number of moral precepts which reflect the decalogue, while the passage dealing with the way of darkness consists of a catalogue of various kinds of vices and sins.

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ITS THEOLOGY AND DOCTRINES

CHRIST

Barnabas proclaims the eternity of Christ. He was with God the Father when the world was created and the words, "Let us make man after our image and likeness" were spoken by the Father to His divine Son (5:5).

Barnabas, moreover, employs the parable of the sun, so popular in Alexandrine theology, in order to explain the incarnation:

[*For if He had not come in the flesh how could men be saved by looking at Him, seeing that they have not the power when they look at the sun to gaze straight at its rays?*] 5:10.

Two motives prompted the incarnation:

First: [*Thus the Son of God came in flesh for this reason, that he might fill up the measure of the iniquity of those who had persecuted his prophets to death (cf. Luke 11:47ff.). He also submitted for this reason.*] 5:11.

Second: [*He desired to suffer in such a manner, for it was necessary that He suffers on the wood.*] 5:13.

MOSES' LAW

God does not desire material gifts of bloody sacrifices, but the offering of one's heart in the form of repentance. He does not want the circumcision of the flesh, but the circumcision of our hearing so that our mind may incline to the truth. He does not insist that man abstain from the flesh of unclean animals, but He insists upon his renunciation of the various sins symbolized by the unclean animals.

1. The circumcision:

[*For again, He speaks concerning the ears, that it is our heart which He circumcised...*

"And circumcise," says the Lord, "your hearts" (cf. Deut. 10:16; Jer. 4:4)....

Again He says:

"Hear, Israel, for thus says the Lord your God" (cf. Jer. 7:2, 3);

"Who is he who desires to live forever?" (cf. Ps. 34:12a)

"By hearing, let him hearken to the voice of my servant" (cf. Isa. 50:10a).

Again He says:

"Hear, O my children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness" (Isa. 40:3).

Therefore He circumcised our ears, so that when we hear the word, we might believe...

for He said that circumcision was not a matter of the flesh, but they transgressed because an evil angel (18:1) taught them wickedness.

He says to them:

"Thus says the Lord your God,
here I find a commandment.
Woe to those who sow among thorns;
Be circumcised to your Lord" (Jer. 4:3-4).
And what is he saying?
"Circumcise the wickedness from your heart" (ch. Rom. 2:25-29).
And again He says:
"Behold, the Lord says, all the nations have uncircumcised fore-skins,
but this people is uncircumcised in heart!" (see Jer. 9:26).
But even the Egyptians are in circumcision! (see Jer. 9:25ff.).

*Learn, then, abundantly concerning everything, children of love ; for when Abraham first gave circumcision, he circumcised while looking in the spirit to Jesus, and he received the teachings of the three letters (318). For it says: And Abraham circumcised the men of his household (Gen. 17:23), 18 males and 300 (in number) (Gen. 14:14). What, then, was the gnosis (Knowledge) given to him? Learn! For a distinction is made in that the 18 comes first, then it says 300. Now the (number) 18 (is represented by two letters),I= 10 and H= 8 - thus you have IH(the abbreviation for)ΙΗΣΟΥΣ. And because the cross, represented by the letter T (= 300), was destined to convey special significance, it also says 300. He makes clear, then, that (JESUS) - ΙΗΣΟΥΣ is symbolized by the two letters (18), while the one letter (T) 300) symbolizes the Cross.]*9.

2. The Cross

This epistle explained that the only aim of the Law is to guide believers towards the Cross of Christ.

a. As we have seen he referred to the cross in his speech of the circumcision of Abraham.

b. He also mentioned it in the scapegoat and the rite of Atonement (Lev. 16). Christ Himself incites us to participate in His Crucifixion, saying: [In such a way, He says, those who desire to see Me and to take hold of My kingdom ought to take Me through affliction and suffering.] 7:11.

c. Moses was a type of a cross when he conquered the enemies by stretching his arms (12:3). And he made a type of a cross by setting up a bronze serpent (12:7).

[*But Moses said to them;*
Whenever anyone is bitten,
let him come to the serpent which is placed on the wooden pole.
And let him hope,
believing that this dead object is able to bestow life,
and he will be healed immediately.
And so they did.
Again, you have also in these things the glory of Jesus,
for all things take place in Him and for His sake.] 12:7.

3. The Temple

The Jews were wrong in putting their trust in the house, and not in God himself who made them.

[*And finally, concerning the temple. I will show you how those wretched men, when they went astray, placed their hope on the building and not on their God who created them, to be a house of God (cf. Jer. 7:4ff.).*

For, roughly speaking, they worshipped Him in the temple, as pagans do!

But how does the Lord speak when He sets it aside? Learn!
"Who measured the heaven with a span, or the earth with a hand?

Was it not I, says the Lord?" (Isa. 40:12.)
The heaven is My throne, and the earth is the stool for My feet.
What sort of house will you erect for me,
or what place for me to rest? (Isa. 66:1; see Acts 7:49.).
You knew that their hope was vain!
Furthermore, He says again:
Behold, those who destroyed this temple will themselves build it (Isa. 49:12).
This is happening now.
For because of their fighting it was destroyed by the enemies.

And now the very servants of the enemies will themselves rebuild it.

Again, it was made clear that the city, the temple and the people of Israel were destined to be abandoned.

For the Scripture says:

And it shall be at the end of days that the Lord will abandon the sheep of the pasture, the sheepfold, and their watch-tower to destruction!

And it happened just as the Lord announced!

But let us inquire whether there is a temple of God?

There is, which He himself says, He makes and prepares (it) !

For it is written:

And it shall come to pass when the "hebdomad" is finished,

God's temple will be built gloriously in the Lord's Name.

*Thus I find that there is a Temple]1*6.

4. The sacrifices and offerings

[*He made it clear to us through all the prophets that he needs neither sacrifices, nor whole burnt offerings, nor offerings in general (cf. Acts 17:25)...*

"Did I command your fathers, when they were coming out of the land of Egypt, to offer burnt offerings and sacrifices to me?" But, rather, this is what I commanded them (see Jer. 7:22ff),

"Let none of you hold a grudge in his heart against his neighbor,

and love not a a false oath...

To us, then, he speaks thus:

A sacrifice to God is a broken heart (see Ps. 51:17);

An odor well pleasing to the Lord is a heart which glorifies its Creator.] 2.

5. Restriction on some kinds of food

[*Therefore, it is not God's commandment that they (literally) should not eat, but Moses spoke in spirit.*

Accordingly he mentions the pig with this intent:

Do not associate, he is saying, with such men who are like pigs. That is, men who forget their Lord when they are in luxury, but when they are in need, they acknowledge the Lord; just as when the pig is feeding

it ignores its lord, but when it is hungry it cries out, and after it is fed, again it is silent.

"Neither eat the eagle nor the hawk nor the kite nor the crow (Lev. 11:13-16). "Do not, he is saying, associate with, nor be like such men who do not know how to provide food for themselves by honest labor and sweat, but in their lawlessness they plunder the possessions of others, and they keep sharp watch as they walk around in apparent innocence, and spy out whom they might despoil by plundering; just as those birds are unique in not procuring their own food, but as they perch idly by, they seek how they might devour the flesh of others, being pestilent in their wickedness!

"And do not eat," he says, "sea eel nor octopus nor cuttlefish." Do not, he is saying, be like such men who are completely impious and have already been condemned to death; just as those fish are uniquely cursed and loiter in the murky region beneath the deep water.] 10.

BAPTISM

Chapters 6 and 11 describe beautifully how baptism confers upon mans adoption to the Father, and stamps upon how his soul is in God's image and likeness. Baptism makes God's creatures temples of the Holy Ghost (16):

[*He has renewed us by the remission of our sins and has made us another type that we should have the soul of children as though He were creating us afresh. For thus the Scripture says concerning us, where it introduces the Father speaking to the Son, "Let us make man after our likeness and image."*] 6:11-12.

THE LORD'S DAY

The celebration of the eighth day ofQua the week, i.e., Sunday, because it is the day of the resurrection, instead of the Sabbath of the Jews is particularly stressed in chapter 15:8.

[*And furthermore, concerning the Sabbath. It is written in the "Ten Words" by which (the Lord) spoke to Moses face to face (see Exod. 33:11; Deut. 5:4; 34:10) on Mount Sinai:*

And you shall keep the Lord's Sabbath holy (see Exod. 20:8; Deut. 5:12; Jer. 17:22) with clean hands and a clean heart (see Ps. 24:4; 51:10).

And elsewhere he says:

If my sons guard the Sabbath (see Isa, 56:1-8)...

"And He rested on the seventh day." He is saying this: When his Son comes He will put an end to the time of the Lawless One, and judge the impious [cf. 10:5; 11:7], and change the sun, moon and stars. Then he will truly rest "on the seventh day...."

See how he is saying that it is not your present Sabbaths that are acceptable to me, but that (Sabbath) which I have made, in which, when I have rested from everything. I will make the beginning of an eighth day-that is, the beginning of another world.

Wherefore, we also must observe the eighth day as a time of rejoicing, for on it Jesus both arose from the dead and, after He appeared, ascended into the heavens.] 9.

THE CHILIASM

The author is a follower of chiliasm. The six days of creation mean a period of six thousand years because a thousand years are like one day in the eyes of God. In six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed, after which the present evil time will be destroyed and the Son of God will come again and judge the godless and change the sun, moon, and stars, and He will truly rest on the seventh day.

[*"He is saying this, that in six thousand years the Lord will finish everything. For with Him the "day" signifies a thousand years.*

And he bears me witness (on this point)saying:

Behold, a day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years (cf. Ps. 90. 90:4; 2 Pet. 3:8).

Therefore, children, "in six days" - in six thousand years - "everything" will be "finished."] 15:4.

THE LIFE OF THE INFANT

The life of the infant, unborn or born, is protected by law: [*You shall not procure abortion nor kill the child after it has been born*] 19:5.

TIME OF COMPOSITION[10]

The wording of chapter 16:3-4, is as follows:

[*Furthermore, He says again:*

Behold, those who destroyed this temple will themselves build it (Isa. 49:12).

This is happening now.

For because of their fighting it was destroyed by the enemies.

And now the very servants of the enemies will themselves rebuild it.]

1. In reference to the contemplated rebuilding of the Temple, Harnack sees an allusion to the construction of the temple of Jupiter in Jerusalem during Hadrian's reign (117-138). Relying on this he dates the composition of the Epistle to 130 or 131.

2. Funk's assertion that the passage has to do with the erection of the supernatural temple of God's Church is far from convincing. Even less satisfactory is the conclusion he draws concerning the date from chapter 4:4-5. At this point the Epistle cites Daniel 7, 24 and 7,7-8. The citation reads: And the prophet also says thus: Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth and there shall rise up after them a little king, who shall subdue three of the kings under one. Daniel says likewise concerning the same: And I beheld the fourth Beast, wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and ten horns sprang from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that subdued under one of the three great horns. Funk identifies the Roman Emperor Nerva (96-98) as the eleventh little king of this prophecy. He subdued three kings under one, in the sense that he gained the throne by the assassination of Domitian, in whom was extinguished the dynasty of the Flavians consisting of three members, the Emperors Vespasian, Titus and

Domitian. But it is only through such an arbitrary interpretation that the words of Daniel can be made to apply to Nerva.

3. Lietzmann thinks that the author refers to the second destruction of the Temple in the War of Barcochba. This would lead us to believe that the work originated after the beginning of this insurrection, the end of which coincides with the last year of Hadrian's reign (138). A later date than this can not possibly be defended.

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1. cf. Jules Lebreton: The History of the Primitive Church, vol. 2, p., 366-367.
2. cf. Jack N. Sparks: The Apostolic Fathers, 1978, p. 269.
3. Ibid 263.
4. Stromata 2:6:20.
5. J. B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, 1983, p. 133.
6. Against Celsus 1:63.
7. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 89.
8. J. B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, 1983, p. 134.
9. Ibid 133.
10. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 90-91.

5

PAPIAS OF HIERAPOLIS

We are introduced to Papias (Born between 60 and 70 A.D), his writings, and thoughts, mainly through the writings of St. Irenaeus and Eusebius[1]. The first (Eusebius) states that Papias is the disciple of St. John the Beloved (the Evangelist), and the colleague of St. Polycarp the bishop of Samyrna. He was bishop of Hierapolis in Phyrgia in Asia Minor.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE SAYINGS OF THE LORD (*logion kuriakon exegeseis*)

St. Irenaeus, who was his contemporary, stated that he wrote Five books[2]. St. Irenaeus praised his works in this field as a connection to the Apostolic era[3]. This work was discovered only during the Fourteenth century if not later, but so far a full copy was never found[4].

In them he deals with the origin of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and of the witnesses on whom he depends. St. Irenaeus believes Papias to have been a disciple of St. John. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* agrees with St. Irenaeus, but in his *Church History* adopts another opinion, and asserts that he was the disciple of the disciple of the presbyter John, but Eusebius is probably wrong in his conclusion.

Eusebius believed Papias to have been a man of very few talents. He ridiculed him, firstly, because he defended the belief in the millennium (the theory of a thousand years after the general resurrection when Christ will reign on earth), and secondly, because he showed very little critical judgment in the selection and interpretation of his sources. Eusebius[5] informs us that, "he was a man of very little intelligence, as is clear from his books."

The fragments collected by Eusebius, and others quoted by Apollinaris, are all we have of the work of Papias[6].

THE MILLENNIUM[7]

[T*he elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord, remembered that they had heard from him how the Lord taught in regard to those times, and said:*

"The days will come in which vines shall grow, having each ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine. And when anyone of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, "I am a better cluster, take me, bless the Lord through me."

In like manner, [He said] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear would have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds of clear, pure, and fine flour; and that apples, seeds, and grass would be produced in similar proportions. All animals, feeding on the productions of the earth, would become peaceable, and harmonious, and in perfect subjection to man."

Testimony is given to these things in writing by Papias, an ancient man, who was a hearer of John and a friend of Polycarp, in the fourth of his five books. He added, saying, "Now these things are credible to believers", and Judas the traitor not believing asked, "How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord?" the Lord replied, "They shall see who shall come to them." These, then, are the times mentioned by the prophet Isaiah: "And the wolf shall lie down with the lamb," etc. (Isa. 11:6 ff.)."]

PAPIAS AND THE CHURCH TRADITION

J. Quasten says: [But the work, as much as we possess of it, is important in spite of these defects, since it contains what is of great value to us, the oral teachings of the Apostles' disciples. Papias in his preface sums up his work as thus:

"*And I shall not hesitate to give you all the interpretations that I have learnt and remember well, for of their truth I am confident. For unlike many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth. And again, if anyone ever came*

who had been a follower of the presbyters, I inquired into the words of the presbyters, whether Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord said. For I did not think that information from books would help me so much as the utterances of a living and surviving voice[8]*."*

From this quotation it is clear that the utterances of the Lord, which Papias undertook to explain, were drawn, not only from the written gospels before him, but also from oral tradition. His work therefore was not merely a commentary on the gospels, even though he took the majority of the passages from the gospel narratives[9].]

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1. Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. 5:33:4; Eusebius 3:39:1,2.
2. bid.
3. Jean Danielou: The Theology of Jewish Christianity, p.46.
4. F. F. Bruce: Tradition, Old and New, Michigan 1972, p. 108.
5. Hist. eccles. 3, 39, 3.
6. Patrick J. Hamell: Handbook of Patrology, N.Y. 1968, p. 31.
7. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 1, p.
7. Eusebius: Hist. Eccles. 3: 39" 3-4.
8. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 82-3.

6

THE "SHEPHERD" OF HERMAS

"The Shepherd" of Hermas is counted among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but in fact it belongs to the Apocryphal visions. It is a book of visions (*Apocalypse*) given to Hermas through two heavenly symbols: the first, of an old lady who revealed to him the first four visions, and the second was of the angel of penitence who appeared in the form of a Shepherd. In the fifth vision, he was given the commands and similitudes.

The Shepherd of Hermas or the Apocalypse, Pastor *(Poimen)*, is the longest and most remarkable of the Apostolic writings.

HERMAS

The "Muratorian Fragmenton Canon," which dated back to the second century, stated that Hermas, author of the "Shepherd" was the brother of Pius I, bishop of Rome (140-150 A. D). Origen[1] was of the opinion that the author of this book was Hermas, the one mentioned in Romans (16:14).

It is hard to differentiate between allegory and what the author of the Shepherd said about himself. He stated that he was a slave, sold in Rome to a Roman lady called Rhoda. At the beginning he had sibling feelings for her, then he looked at her beauty and desired her as a woman for himself (vision 1:1). She freed him; and he worked in agriculture and commerce and became wealthy. He married a talkative wife and neglected his family affairs, his children got immersed in evil (vision 1:3) and he was impoverished because of them (vision 1:2; 2:3; 3:6).

On some occasions he depicts himself as a virtuous man, abstinent from all lustful desires and avoiding evil (vision 1:2), on other occasions, he depicts himself as a liar and a hypocrite (vision 3).

When persecution took place, he and his wife were steadfast in their faith, while his children denied their faith. He was zealous about repentance, hence he wrote his book "The Shepherd" to exhort the sinners to repent, showing the purity of the church being in danger as a result of the prevalence of sin and to remind them that the end was near.

The loss of his children did not destroy him; rather it kindled in him the desire for evangelism and eagerness to see them, and every other human soul, repentant.

THE PERIODS OF HIS WRITINGS

In the second vision (4:3) it was mentioned that the church instructed him to prepare two copies of his visions, one of them to be given to Clement for forwarding to the outer cities.

Here there is some controversy: How could Hermas be a brother of Pius, bishop of Rome, who did not occupy the See of Rome before 140 A.D while Clement, the writer of the epistle to Corinth, was a bishop from 90 A.D to 100 A.D. Some argue regarding this controversy by saying that this work began during the time of Clement and ended during the time of Pius[2].

THE EARLY CHURCH'S VIEW OF THE "SHEPHERD"[3]

Evidences for it existed since the second century. St. Irenaeus[4], St. Clement of Alexandria[5] and the scholar Origen[6] made references to it; perhaps they regarded it as a Canonical book. It was found in the Alexandrine manuscript of the Holy Bible together with the epistle of Barnabas, after the holy books (perhaps as significant as an ecclesiastic book).

Origen admitted that during his time, some undermined this book. Eusebius considered it as one of the anti-Bible publications[7]. As to St.

Athanasius, although he considered it a useful book, yet, he made it one of the non-canonical books[8].

In respect to the West, Tertullian considered it a book which encouraged adulterers[9]. St. Jerome stated that this book was forgotten in the West during the fourth century[10].

ITS CHARACTERISTICS

1. It is fair to say that Hermas was a pious man, steadfast in his faith and stood firm during the persecution.

2. Hermas was not trained in dogma though he was of goodwill. We see that he was confused between the Son of God and the Holy Spirit (Compare similitude 9:1 with similitude 6:5).

3. The writer was not a man of literature, his language was simple and in the vernacular. However, when we look at his prophetic style we find it difficult, if not, impossible to understand some matters. It is also noted that there is cramming and repetition of some facts.

4. In all the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, there were none which dealt with the instructive aspect of teaching more than "The Shepherd", and none of them was more difficult to explain in respect to history, content, feature and teaching. All these are aspects still under research[11]. Truly, it reveals the simplicity of Christian life, and its deep spirituality. Nevertheless, his thoughts are incomplete and vague - he raises an issue, gives an opinion, but before reaching a conclusion, he comes up with another opinion. The early Church Fathers admired him, not for his theological thought, but for his moral behavioral teaching and understanding of the Christian life[12].

5. "The Shepherd" is rich in substance. It was of great benefit to church historians during the first half of the second century. In it we encounter all the Christian ranks: the good and the bad. There are honest and righteous bishops, priests, deacons, negligent and greedy priests, as well as deacons who plunder the money of the orphans and widows.

Dazzling light is awaiting the steadfast martyrs, and darkness for blasphemers and apostates. The devout Christian is contrasted with the hypocrite, there is the rich who is indifferent to the poor, and the true believer who gives generously. It also refers to the apathy of some of the Christians, their greed, and their clinging to the illusions of the world.

1- Comm. in Rom. 10:31.

2- J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p.92-93.

3- Church Fathers series: 1 the Apostolic Fathers, translated into Arabic by Bishop of Aleppo, Elias Moawad , 1970, pp. 167-8.

4- Eusebius: H.E. 5:8.

5- Stromata 1:29.

6- Comm. on Matt. 14:1.

7- Eusebius: H.E. 3:25.

8- Letter on the Acto of the Niciene Council, 18.

9- De Pudicitia 10.

10 - De vir. illustr. 10.

11- Jules Leberton: The History of the Primitive Church, London 1944, vol. 2, 69, 370.

12- Ibid, 370.

BROAD LINES OF "THE SHEPHERD"

ITS SECTIONS:

"The Shepherd" is composed of three groups: Five visions (*horaseis*), 12 commands (*entolia*), and ten similitudes (*parbolai*). However the author divided it otherwise:

1) The first section contains the first four visions revealed to him by the church.

2) The second section begins by the fifth vision where the Shepherd presents the commands and the similitudes. This is the longer and more significant section.

THE FIVE VISIONS

In these visions the matron (the Church), growing younger, appears in vision four as a bride. In the instructions that she gives, she shows a steady progress of penitential exhortation.

The church appears, **in the first visions**, as a frail old lady sitting on a chair, urging him to repent, for his, and his family's sins.

In the second vision the church regains her strength.

In the third visions she appears as a beautiful young lady.

[*"Why, then, I would like to know, did she sit on a chair, Sir?"*

"Because everyone who is weak sits on a chair on account of his weakness, in order that the weakness of his body might find support. You have the meaning of ***the first vision.****"*

*"****In the second vision*** *you saw her standing and she had a younger face and was more cheerful than before, but the body and hair were those of an elderly lady."*

"Listen," he said, "to this parable also. Whenever someone is old and has already given up hope for himself because of his weakness and poverty, and waits for nothing but the last day of his life, then unexpectedly an inheritance is left to him, and when he hears of it he arises, and being very glad he is clothed with strength. And he does not recline, but stands up, and his spirit, which previously was broken by his former concerns, is renewed and he no longer sits down, but acts like a

man. So also are you who have heard the revelation which the Lord revealed to you. For He had compassion on you and renewed your spirit, and you put aside your weakness, and strength came to you and you were made powerful in faith; when the Lord saw you were being made strong he rejoiced. For this reason He showed you the building of the tower, and He will show you other things if with all your heart you remain at peace with one another" [cf. 1 Thess. 5:13].

"And **in the third vision** *you saw her younger, beautiful and cheerful and her form was lovely. So just as, if some good news comes to some-one who is grieving, immediately he forgets the former grief and thinks of nothing but the news which he has heard, and from then on is strengthened to do good and his spirit is renewed because of the joy which he received, so also you have received renewal of your spirits because you have seen these good things. And since you saw her sitting on a couch, the position is secure because the couch has four legs and stands secure, for even the world is supported by four elements. So the ones who fully repent will be young and made secure - the ones who repent with all their heart. You have received the relation in full, so do not ask anything else concerning the revelation, but if anything is needed, it will be revealed to you*[1]*."*]

In this explanation we note the following:

1) There is no separation between the personal and communal life, or between the life of a member and the church life. When a person falls, the church appears like an old woman, incapable of standing; and when the person accepts God's grace and promises her youth gets re-newed. Our lives are merged together as one body in Christ, what we do or what we think is for the sake of the whole community.

2) The visions focus on hope or despair: Sin destroys a person's spirit leading him/her to despair, the person's hope and youth end with the wish to die. On the other hand, the grace of God creates hope, and like an eagle, the person becomes rejuvenated.

3) The external appearance does not reveal the actual truth: the old woman is seated on a chair as well as the young girl. The first one sits

like a crippled, while the second one sits like one who rules with authority, having self-confidence.

4) The transfer from the state of old age to youth only means that the Savior re-creates a new birth. The need for a new life and not a partial reform resurrects us new to His image, as Apostle Paul says "that you put on the new man which was created according to God, in righteousness and true holiness" Eph. 4: 24.

5) Some[2] are of the opinion that the swift transfer from old age to youth in a life of a believer means, that the element of evil is not as deep-rooted as we think; this impression is further confirmed in the rest of the book. Through repentance (the second baptism) the Christian's mind becomes renewed daily, and does not become aged.

The third vision is the most important. It presents the communion of saints under the image of a great tower rising from the water and built of square and shining blocks. Those who have lost grace are represented by stones lying about, which must be trimmed and polished before being put into the tower. The church (the young lady) shows Hermas the high tower in the process of construction. At a close look the church looks ideal. However, every stone which is unsuitable for the building is rejected. This is the same with each sinner - he/she is precluded from the true communion of the church unless he/she repents - for the time is short.

In the fourth vision there appears an ugly and frightening dragon. On his head are four colors: black, fiery red, golden and white, symbolizing the surrounding dangers, but they do not injure the firm believer. Behind the dragon, the church, appears in the form of a beautiful bride symbolizing the beatitude and happiness of the faithful, and the grandeur of their crowned admission into the future eternal church.

He says: [*After I had past the beast and had gone on about thirty feet, behold, a young lady met me, adorned as if coming from a bridal*

chamber (cf. Ps. 19:5; Rev., 21:2), all in white and with white sandals, veiled up to the forehead, and her head covering was a snood, but she had white hair. I knew from my previous visions that she was the church, and I became more cheerful. She greeted me saying, "How do you do, friend?" And I greeted her in return, "How do you do, Madam?" She answered me and said, "Have you met anything on your way?" I said to her, "Madam, a beast so great as could devour many people, but by the power of the Lord and by his great compassion I escaped it." "It is only right that you escaped, " she said, "because you cast your burden upon God (Ps. 55: 22; 1 Pet. 5:7) and you opened your heart to the Lord (cf. Ps. 62:7), believing that you could not be saved by anything but the great and glorious name (Acts 4:12). Therefore the Lord sent his angel who has authority over the beasts, whose name is Their, and he shut its mouth (cf. Dan. 6:22; Heb. 11:33) so that it might not hurt you. You escaped a great tribulation because of your faith and because when you saw a huge beast, you did not become double minded. Go then and tell the elect of the Lord about His great deeds, and say to them that this beast is a foreshadowing of the great tribulation about to come. If then you prepare yourselves in advance and repent with all your heart before the Lord, and your heart becomes pure and blameless, and you serve the Lord blamelessly the rest of the days of your life, then you will be able to escape it.

I asked her about the four colors that the beast had on its head. "Listen," she said "the black is this world in which you live. The color of fire and blood means it is necessary for this world to be destroyed by blood and fire. The golden part is you who have fled from this world (cf. 2 Pet. 2:20). For just as gold is tested by fire (cf. 1 Pet. 1:7; Sir. 2:5) and becomes useful, so also you who live among those people are being tested (cf. Prov. 17:3; Job. 23:10). And the white part is the age which is to come, in which the elect of God will live, because those who have been chosen by God for eternal life will be spotless and pure[3].]

The fifth vision: The angel of penitence appears in a Shepherd's clothing who prepares the way of penitence, guaranteeing its outcome, and also proclaiming the commands to be kept.

We notice here that the angel of penitence appeared to Hermas, only after he enjoyed the vision of the beautiful young church who conquered the dragon, who lives crowned with the garland of victory, wrapped in holiness (white), wearing white shoes signifying that she walked the royal way in purity, who was modest (covering her head down up to the forehead), who was wise (gray hair) ... this scene burst in him a joy that gave him support to accept the command and battle for it in the Lord.

THE TWELVE COMMANDS

Hermas received these commands from the angel of penitence, who went before him in the form of a Shepherd, these commands are what the Christian teachings follow, and ought to be applied practically:

1) **Faith in One God** the Creator, and a fear of Him leading to purity.

2) **Simplicity** without gossip nor division with love for giving.

3) **Sincerity or truthfulness**: God who is the Truth dwells within us.

[*Again he said to me, "Love truth, and let nothing but truth proceed from your mouth, so that the spirit which God caused to dwell in this flesh will be found truthful by all men [cf. 1 John 2:27]. Thus Lord who dwells in you will be glorified because the Lord is truthful in every word and there is nothing false in Him.*] Command 3:1.

4) **Purity in matrimony**:

["Sir," I said, "if a man has a wife who is faithful in the Lord and he discovers her in some adultery, does the man then sin if he continues to live with her?"

"As long as he knows nothing of it," said he, "he does not sin, but if the husband knows of her sin and the wife does not repent, but persists in her evil, and the husband continues to live with her, he becomes guilty of her sin and a partner in her adultery."

"What then, sir, "I said, "should the husband do if the wife persists in this passion?"

"Let him divorce her," he said, "and let the husband live by himself; but if when he has divorced her he marries another woman, he also commits adultery" [cf. Mark 10:11; Matt. 5:32; 19:9].

"So, sir," I said, "after the woman has been divorced, if she repents and wishes to be returned to her own husband, will she not be taken back?"

"Yes indeed," he said, "if the husband does not take her back, he sins and brings upon himself a great sin. At least it is necessary to take back the one who has sinned and repented, but not often, for there is one repentance for the servants of God. So in case of repentance, the husband ought not to remarry. This course of action is valid for both wife and husband.] Command 4:4-8.

[*For the one who has received forgiveness of sins ought never to sin again, but live in purity*.] Command 4:2.

[*But I tell you, "he said, "after that great and holy calling, if anyone sins who has been tempted by the devil, he has one repentance. But if he continually sins and repents, it is of no advantage to such a man, for he will hardly live*"] Command 4:6.

Perhaps this means not to be reckless, especially in sins like adultery, murder and apostasy... After baptism if a person falls, he must repent and not be lax, taking advantage of God's patience and continually falling with the aim of repenting.

5) **Patience**

["*Be patient," he said, "and understanding, and you will overcome all evil deeds and do great righteousness. For if you are patient, the Holy Spirit that abides in you will be pure, not hindered by another spirit which is evil, but dwelling in a spacious room, will rejoice and be glad with the vessel in which it dwells, and will serve God with much cheerfulness, having peace with itself. But if any ill temper enters, the Holy Spirit, which is delicate, is discomforted immediately, and seeks to leave the place for it is choked by the evil spirit. It does not have room to serve the Lord as it wishes, for it was defiled. The Lord dwells in pa-*

tience, but the devil in ill temper. So when both spirits dwell in the same place, it is of no advantage and bad for that man in whom they dwell. For if you take a very little bit of wormwood and pour it into a jar of honey, is not all of the honey spoiled, and is not so much honey ruined by the very least amount of wormwood, and does it not destroy the sweetness of the honey, and it no longer has the same flavor with its owner because it has been made bitter and it has lost its usefulness? But if wormwood is not put into the honey, the honey is found sweet and becomes useful to its owner. You see that patience is very sweet, even more than honey.] Command 5:2-6.

6) **Walking the path of justice and not the path of injustice**

[*There are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of evil...*

"Whenever ill temper or bitterness comes over you, know that he (the enemy) dwells in you; then comes the desire for many affairs, the extravagance of many kinds of foods and intoxicating drinks, much carousing and various unnecessary indulgences and desires for women, covetousness and great arrogance, pretension and whatever things resemble or are similar to them...

So when you recognize his works, shun him and do not trust him, for his works are evil and harmful to the servants of God. Here you have the powers of both angels; understand them and trust the angel of righteousness.] Command 6:1, 5, 6.

7) **Have fear for God, not for Satan**

[*"Fear the Lord," he said, "and keep his commandments. So if you keep the commandments of God, you will be powerful in every action and your activity will be incomparable. For when you fear the Lord, you will do everything well. And this is the fear which you must have, and you will be saved. Do not fear the devil, for if you fear the Lord you will overcome the devil, for there is no power in him.*] Command 7:1,2.

8) **Do good, and abstain from evil**

[*If you do good and abstain not from it, you shall live unto God.*] Command 8: 12.

9) **Abstain from doubt or trust in God**

[*If you hesitate in your heart, you will not receive any of your requests. For those who hesitate before God, they are double-minded, and they do not obtain any of their requests [cf. James 1:7f.].*

But the ones who are complete in faith ask for everything, since they have trusted the Lord [cf. Ps. 2:12], and they receive it because they ask without hesitating, not being double minded.] Command 9: 5,6.

10) **Depression [p.160 14, 15, 16]**

[*"Cast off grief from yourself," he said, "for she is the sister of double-mindedness and ill temper.*"] Command 10:1:1.

[*For the Spirit of God given for this flesh submits to neither grief nor distress.*] Command 10:2:6.

[*Grief does not allow the prayer to go up in purity to the altar.*] Command 10:3.

11) **False Prophets**: Humility distinguishes between the true and false prophet.

12) **Abandoning evil desires**

[*"Above all is the desire for the wife or husband of someone else, and for the extravagance of wealth, and for much needless food and drink, and many other foolish luxuries. For every luxury is foolish and vain for the servants of God. So these desires are evil, putting to death the servants of God, for this evil desire is a daughter of the devil. It is necessary, then, to refrain from evil desires, so that by refraining you will live to God. But as many as are overcome by them, and do not resist them, will finally perish, for these desires are deadly. So put on the desire for righteousness, and being armed with the fear of the Lord, resist them (Eph. 6:13), for the fear of God dwells in good desire. If the evil desire sees that you are armed with the fear of God and are resisting it, it will flee far from you (cf. James 4:7), and, fearing your weapons, it will no longer be seen by you. So be victorious and triumph over*

it. For if you serve the good desire and submit to it, you will be able to overcome the evil desire and control it as you please."] Command 12:2:1-5.

[*But the devil is hard and dominates them. "He cannot," he said, "dominate the servants of God who hope in Him with all their hearts. The devil can wrestle, but he cannot pin. If, then, you resist him, he will flee defeated from you (cf. James 4:7) in disgrace." "But," he said, "those who are quite empty, fear the devil as though he had power."*] Command 12:2:

[Do not fear the threat of the devil at all, for he is as powerless as the sinews of a corpse.] Command 12:2:

THE SIMILITUDES

The first five Similitudes came along the lines of the commands.

The first similitude: The estrangement

[*He said to me, "You know that you servants of God live in a foreign country, for your city is far from this city (cf. Heb 13:14)." "If then, you know, the city in which you are going to live, why do you prepare lands, and expensive possessions and buildings and useless rooms here? So the one who prepares these things for this city does not expect to return to his own city."*] simil. 1:1,2.

The second similitude: the vine and the elm tree (love of the poor). The vine resemble the wealthy man and the elm tree resembles the poor man. If the vine tree is left on the ground, it does not bear plenty of fruit. However if it climbs the elm tree it gives plenty of fruit. Likewise, the rich must be joined with the poor. The wealth of the rich man may draw his attention away from God's service, but his concern for the poor gives him a chance to please the Lord and be fruitful in his life in Christ.

The Third similitude: The bare tree in winter

[These trees which you see are the ones who dwell in this world. "Why, then, sir," I said, "are they as if dry and all alike?" "Because," he

said, “neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent in this world, but are all alike. For this world is like winter for the righteous, and they are not apparent even though they are living with sinners. For just as in the winter, the trees, having no leaves, are alike, and it is not apparent which are the dried up, and which are the living, so also in this world neither the righteous nor the sinners are apparent, but all are alike“ (cf. Matt. 13: 24 - 30).] simil. 3:1-3.

The Fourth similitude: The distinction of trees in summer

[For just as the fruit of every single tree appears by summer and it is known what kind they are, so also the fruit of the righteous will be apparent and, since they are flourishing, they will all be known in that world. But the heathen and the sinners, the dried-up trees which you saw, such will be found dried up and fruitless in that age, will be burned as dry wood, and will be distinguishable because their conduct was evil in their life. For the sinners will be burned because they sinned and did not repent, while the heathen will be burned because they did not know the One who created them.] simil. 4:3,4.

The Fifth similitude: The true concept of fasting [p.161 24]

[“Listen,“ he said, “God does not wish such a futile fast as this, for by fasting in this way you do nothing for righteousness. But fast to God in this way: Do nothing evil in your life, but serve the Lord with a clean heart, keeping his commandments (see Matt. 19: 17) and following his orders, and let no evil desire arise in your heart. Believe in God, because if you do these things and fear him and abstain from every evil deed, you will be truly living for God. And if you do these things, you will complete a fast that is great and acceptable to the Lord.“] simil. 5:1:4,5.

The Shepherd in his command focuses on the internal life, he gives as an example: A man entrusted his field to his loyal servant and did not ask him for more than fencing it. When the servant fenced the field, he saw that it was full of thorns, he cleared and tilled it. When the vineyard owner returned, he was very pleased with what his servant did. He honored him before his beloved son, his counselors and all his

friends saying, "This servant did with his own free will more than what I demanded of him." For this, he made him an heir with his beloved son. After few days the Master gave a banquet and sent a great deal of food to the loyal servant who shared it with his friends.... when the Master heard about this, he was more determined to make him an heir.

He also spoke about purity:

[*Keep this flesh of yours pure and undefiled, so that the Spirit that dwells in it may bear witness to it and your flesh may be justified*.] simil. 5:7:1.

The next four similitudes (6-9) deal somewhat elaborately with the subject of repentance, while in the last similitude (10) the tower re-appears and the angel of penitence lets Hermas know that he must purify his family of all evil and advise everyone to repent.

The Sixth similitude: a dialogue between the angel of lust and deceit and the angel of retribution, both dressed like two shepherds.

The angel of penitence took him to the pastures to see the two shepherds:

The first shepherd is the angel of lust and deceit in the form of a young man wearing a yellow garment; his face radiates with joy because a large flock jumps with joy from one place to another to live a life of lust. These are the ones who became finally detached from God and placed their lives in the hands of the world's lust, they unrepentantly insulted God's name - their share is death. In the same flock there were sheep who played without joy, these were the ones immersed in the lust without insulting God.... there still remained in them the hope for repentance. They were in corruption, however through repentance they would be saved from eternal death.

The Second Shepherd: this was the angel of retribution, tall, with a vicious look. He wore a white tunic of goat skin with a satchel on his shoulder, in his hand he held a stick with knots and a big whip.

The Angel of Retribution receives the unhappy sheep and places them in a steep place full of thorns and cactus. The Shepherd beats them with cruelty which arose Hermas' pity for them. The angel of retribution said to him: [*So whenever they suffer any kind of affliction, they turn over to me for good instruction, are strengthened in the faith of the Lord, and serve the Lord with pure hearts the rest of the days of their lives [cf. Ps. 51:10]. Then they repent of the evil deeds which they did, because each one rightly suffers for what he had done [cf. Matt. 16:27; Rev. 2:23], then they glorify God because He is a righteous judge. [cf. Ps. 7:11; 2 Tim. 4:8]. From then on they will serve the Lord with pure hearts, and prosper in all that they do, receiving from the Lord all that they ask [cf. Matt. 21:22; 1 John 3:22]. Hence, they glorify the Lord because they turned over to me and no longer suffer any evil.*] simil. 6:3:6.

The Seventh similitude: Hermas suffers for his family's sins.

His family angered the angel of retribution (or the angel of judgment). When they repented with all their hearts, Hermas asked the angel to relieve him of agony, though the angel of retribution asked him to carry the cross by his own free will.

[*I said "But look sir, they have repented with all their hearts." The angel of retribution replied, "I also know that they have repented with all their hearts. Do you think the sins of those who repent are immediately forgiven? By no means! But the one who repents must torment his own soul and be extremely humble in everything he does and be troubled with all kinds of tribulations. If he endures the tribulations that come to him, surely the one who created and enabled all things [cf. Eph. 3:9] will have compassion, and give him some healing if He sees that the heart of the one who repented is clean of every evil deed. But it is beneficial for you and your house to be troubled at this time. For why do I tell you so many things? You must be troubled, just as that angel of the Lord who gave you over to me has ordered. Give thanks to the Lord for this, that He considered you worthy to show you the tribulation beforehand, so that, knowing of it in advance, you may bear it bravely.*" simil. 7:4,5.

The Eighth similitude: The willow tree and the act of Grace.

The Shepherd showed him a willow tree which overshadowed plains and mountains. Under it were gathered all those who were called in the name of Christ. The great angel of the Lord stood towering under the tree holding a sickle in his hand; with it he cuts branches which were short, not longer than a span of a hand. When each one received a branch, the angel put the sickle aside and the tree appeared untouched.

The willow tree, as the angel of retribution said, was the law or the Son of God. Perhaps it meant the word of God or the written law or the Logos Incarnate. Everyone who believed in the Incarnate Logos would be like someone privileged with a branch and is committed to remain loyal to his living evangelic life. The great angel of the Lord is the archangel Michael who was entrusted with safeguarding the church's faith.

The time came to receive the branches to be scrupulously examined. What did he find?

1) Each one whose branch was lively and fruitful was given garlands that looked like palm branches, and was admitted to the tower. These were the ones who battled with Satan and overcame him. They endured death for the sake of the commandment, therefore they enjoyed the garland of victory.

2) Those who brought their branches lively but fruitless, were sent to the tower after they were stamped with the seal. There they wore snow-white clothes. Those were the ones who applied the Law, endured persecutions and did not deny Christ's name.

3) The great angel handed the angel of penitence the remaining crowds and left the place. The angel of penitence examined their branches and found them as follows:

a) some were dry but not rotted by termites;
b) some were half dry (the reluctant: neither alive nor dead);
c) some were half dry and cracked (the hesitant and taletellers);

d) some were half green and cracked (Believers who sought false glory);

e) some were half green and half dry (those who were immersed in seculars);

f) some were two-third green and one-third dry (those who denounced the faith on occasions and professed it on other occasions);

g) some were two-third dry and the other third green (those were the ones who returned and joined the gentiles after they accepted the faith);

h) some were all green except for some dry edges (those were the ones who lapsed out weakness);

i) some were all dry except for some green edges (those were the faithful who sinned but boasted of God's name and received His servants with joy).

The angel of penitence took the branches from the people and distributed them in the earth hoping that the life may be resorted to them through repentance. He began to water them because the Creator wanted life for each one receiving those branches. The crowds came in rows in the order in which they received the branches. He began rescanning the branches. Some regained their green color, others were eaten by mites, some had fruit buds and other remained barren. Hermas asked why did everyone not repent ? The angel answered: ["*He gave repentance to those whose hearts he saw would be pure and who would serve him with all their heart. But to those whose deceit and evil he saw, and who would repent in hypocrisy, he did not give repentance, lest they again blaspheme His Name.*"] simil. 8:6:2.

The Ninth similitude: the church as a wonderful Tower.

The angel of penitence guided Hermas to the mountains of Arcadia, a spiral mountain. He seated him on the summit, and showed him a vast area of plains surrounded by twelve mountains, each mountain had its own shape. These mountains represented the 12 tribes occupying the whole world to whom the apostles evangelized the Son of God. They referred to the local churches spread around the world with their own cultures and rituals. For this reason the mountains appeared different in shape which also may have referred to the believers who had among them the faithful and the unfaithful.

1) a black mountain (the believers who blasphemed against the Lord and betrayed His servants);

2) a bare mountain without any vegetation (the hypocrites and preachers of corruption);

3) a mountain full of thorns and thistles (the wealthy preoccupied with the earthly concerns);

4) a mountain half of which was full of plants. The top of the grass was green and the section close to the roots was dry, where the heat scorched some of the grass (the missionaries who witnessed for the Lord with their mouths but their hearts were far away from him);

5) a pastured but rough mountain: (the rebellious believers, and conceited teachers);

6) a mountain full of large and small holes with wilted grass(the hateful);

7) a mountain full of luscious green pastures, cattle graze in it and it becomes more luscious. (the content and simple who are pleased with God's servants and full of love and mercy);

8) a mountain full of springs from which God's creatures drink (the apostles and preachers);

9) a waterless mountain with deadly reptiles (the deacons plundering what is God's);

10) a mountain with large trees which provide shade for the flocks (honest bishops);

11) a mountain covered with a thick forest of delicious fruitful trees (those who suffer for God);

12) a white mountain which reflects joy and tranquillity upon the soul (the simple believers like innocent children).

He also showed him a white rock which stood high in the center of the plains. This was a rock higher than the mountain, square in shape, and capable of containing the universe. The rock was old and its door was excavated on one of its sides. The door seemed to be recently excavated. The rock was brighter than the sun, and he was taken by its brightness. The old rock is the Son of God, the rock of all ages who contained the whole church as a holy church whom He made by His

own hands. The recent door refers to His incarnation, through which we enter, enjoy His salvation, and live in His kingdom.

Around the door stood twelve maidens: four of them, and the most beautiful of them all, stood at the corners. The rest stood two by two in between these corners. They wore linen robes with beautiful veils. Their shoulders were bare, and they stood joyfully in readiness as if in preparation to carry something.

The scene was emotional, magnificent, and puzzling. He saw the gentle maidens in their softness standing in a masculine way as if in readiness to carry the whole heaven (9:2:5). In the same manner, the soul of the true believer enjoys great gentleness and kindness, thus becoming like a group of beautiful and gentle maidens, who, at the same time, carry strength, behave with firmness and maturity like someone holding heaven itself! It reflects the image of the Son of God with His meek features that attract the sinners to His infinite love, but who is firm against evil, killing Satan and destroying his authority.

He also saw six men coming, they were tall, walked calmly and looked alike. They called a number of people who were tall, strong, with cheerful looks. The six ordered them to build a tower on top of the rock and its door-opening. These men were the angels around the Son of God : three on the left and three on the right, exhorting the believers towards the ecclesiastic work, to build the Church of God on the foundation of the faith in Christ: the Rock and the Door.

The maidens were asking the men to hurry in building the tower, they extended their hands in a manner as if they wanted to hold something.

At the order of six men, the men pulled out ten square, shiny and unchiselled stones. These were received by the maidens who carried them through the door, and handed them to the men who were assigned to build the tower. These stones came out of the depths of the sea. The maidens helped each other in lifting them, stone by stone. These stones

represented the first generation of believers who were carried from the sea like being extracted from the dead nature, and through faith in the Son of God and their behavior in the new holy life (the maidens), they enter the building of the spiritual kingdom of God i.e. the church.

The construction of the tower took place on top of the rock and the door. All the stones were in contact with each other, and with the rock which became the foundation of the tower.... Following the ten stones, twenty-five stones were extracted from the sea. These were included in the building together with the other ten stones. They were followed by thirty-five then forty. Thus the foundation of the tower comprised four tiers. Extraction of the stones from the depth stopped, also the builders stopped building for a short while. The six men ordered the laborers to get the stones for building out of the mountains. They rushed and got stones of different colors, chiseled them, gave them to the maidens who transported them through the door, and then handed them over for the building of the tower. When these stones were placed within the building structure, they all lost their colors and turned into white. They represented the church who became one bright and pure heart in Jesus Christ,

The stones which were not received by the maidens, did not pass through the door and were unsuitable for building. They were dull and their color was not transformed into bright white.

The work stopped for a short while and the maidens remained on guard at the tower until the owner's arrival, they kissed him and went with him around the tower. He inspected the tower meticulously, feeling each stone, he tapped some with a stick which he held in his hand - some turned black, some crumbled, some cracked or broke off, some looked neither white nor black, some looked rough, unsuitable for building, while others were tarnished. The stones that were unsuitable for building were removed from the tower and replaced by others. They brought them not from the mountains but from some neighboring plains. They dug the plains and found shiny stones; some were cubic, while others were round. These were the wealthy who led an easy life,

but did not renounce their faith and uttered no evil word. Once the luxury of wealth was vanished, they became shiny living stones in the House of the Lord.

Some of the global stones needed chiseling to fit the structure of the building. Thus we observe that the tower owner is keen to use every stone for the structure. However, the stones which do not match are rejected and thrown away from the tower.

Two days later, the angel of penitence came to clean the site outside the tower. He threw away every stone unsuitable for the structure, after having made great efforts to give each stone to the maidens, even the crumbled and the cracked, hoping that these stones would be suitable for the structure.

The Tenth similitude: The Angel of retribution warns Hermas and his family that they must repent, announcing that the maidens were happy to dwell in his house. He advised them not to leave Hermas, and the maidens accepted the advice joyfully.

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1. Vision 3:11-13. For the English texts see: Jack N. Sparks: The Apostolic Fathers, Light and Life Publishing Co., Minnesota, 1978.; J. B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, Baker Book House, Michigan, 1983.; Ante-Nicene Fathers.

2. Lebreton: The History of the Primitive Church, vol. 2, p. 372.

HIS THOUGHTS

REPENTANCE

The fourth command contained a dialogue between Hermas and the angel of penitence regarding the subject of repentance, and the forgiveness of sins after acquiring baptism.

["*Sir," I said, "I would like to question you still further." "Speak," he said. "Sir," I said, "I have heard from certain teachers that there is no other repentance except the one when we went down into water and received forgiveness of our former sins." He said to me, "You have heard correctly, for that is so. For the one who has received forgiveness of sins ought never to sin again, but live in purity. But since you inquire so precisely into everything, I will show this to you also, but not for giving a pretext, either for those who are about to believe, or for those who have just believed in the Lord. For they do not have repentance of sins, but forgiveness of their former sins. So to those who were called before these days, the Lord established repentance; for since the Lord knows the heart and knows everything beforehand, he knew the weakness of men and the cunningness of the devil, that he would do something evil to the servants of God and act wickedly toward them. So being full of compassion, the Lord had mercy on what he had made and established this repentance, and authority over this repentance was given to me. But I tell you, after that great and holy calling, if anyone sins who has been tempted by the devil, he has one repentance. But if he continually sins and repents, it is of no advantage to such a man, for he will hardly live" (cf. 1 John 3:4-10) I said, "I was given new life when I heard these things so precisely from you; for I know that if I no longer continue in my sin, I will be saved." "You will be saved," he said, "and everyone else who does these things.*"] Command 4:3.

a) It is noted that the angel of penitence opens the door of repentance before those who lapsed in a great sin after baptism. Perhaps what was meant was the renunciation of faith during tribulation and persecution when there were many arguments in the church about the possibility of the acceptance of their repentance. However, he offered the penitent a

final opportunity so that advantage is not taken of God's patience and mercies as an excuse for repeated falling. In this instance the angel does not talk about falling into the weaknesses from which all suffer, but about specific sins which touch the sanctity of one's life as a whole.

b) Repentance here appears as communal. No sinner is excluded: the unclean, the apostate... the only excluded person is the one who is determined not to repent.

c) There we also notice that repentance is translated into work or to a working life of faith. The penitent is a stone until he is handled by the twelve maidens: faith, chastity, strength, patience, simplicity, love, etc. (Command 9). Its goal is the enjoyment of the spiritual membership of the Church, the eternal building founded on Christ the Lord, the Rock accommodating all the human race, and the Door open for each penitent member. (Ibid).

d) Repentance is a personal private lifestyle and not mere obvious practices. This life is not experienced outside the ecclesiastic communal life. The believer remains a worthless stone, its color does not change to whiteness and brightness unless the maidens take him inside the tower to join his brethren, and become a bright cohesive structure.

The ninth similitude states that there is no place in the tower (i.e. the Church) for a non-repentant believer, and no salvation except by entering the tower. Through repentance we enjoy the true ecclesiastic life, through the true ecclesiastic life we are saved from sin and rejoice in the glorious life of sanctity.

THE TRINITARIAN FAITH

Hermas never mentioned the name "Jesus Christ." He always called Him "Son of God" or "the Lord." In the ninth similitude he confused between the Holy Spirit and "the Son of God."(similitude 9:1:1).

In the similitudes 5:6:5-7 he spoke about the Holy Spirit as the Incarnate Creator.

This is how a confusion took place in his perception of the Trinity, unless the error occurred since an early age in the transcription.

1- If the book of the "Shepherd" was a fervent call for repentance, in actual fact, it was a call to join the ecclesiastic membership of the penitent congregation who enjoyed God's grace and His redeeming act. We saw, especially in the ninth parable, how God (the tower owner) removed from His church the unsuitable stones, and refused their return to become an indivisible part of the structure except by practical repentance supported by the Son of God, the Rock accommodating the whole human race.

2- According to Hermas, the church was the first of all creation. The world was created only for our sake (vision 2:4:1).

3- Hermas did not overlook the church's weaknesses, rather he spoke of it elaborately in the third vision. Even with the presence of these weaknesses, he was full of hope in God who built the church, steadfast, like a tower (Vision 3:8:9).

4- He spoke indirectly about priesthood. He praised the love of the spiritual bishops and explicitly rebuked the clergy (priests) and deacons for their mistakes.

5- Irrespective of the virtues or weaknesses of the clergy, he looked to the church as the mother of Christians. As a mother she advises her children. [*Listen to me, children, by the mercy of the Lord, who fed you righteousness drop by drop, I brought you up in much simplicity, innocence, and reverence in order that you might be righteous and purified from all evil and perversity. But you do not wish to cease from your evil.*] vision 3:9:1.

6- He spoke about the unity of the church within itself and its union with her Christ. He saw her tower as one single stone (Command 9:9:7), and the rock on which she was founded as one block.

BAPTISM

1- No one enjoys membership of the church unless he is baptized:

[*I asked her, "Why is the tower built on water, lady?"*

"As I told you before," she said, "you are a sly one concerning the Scriptures and you seek diligently. Well, if you seek, you will find the truth. Hear then why the tower is built on water: because your life is saved and shall be saved through water. And the tower has been established by the word of the Almighty and His Glorious Name, and is supported by the unseen power of the Master."] vision 3:3:5.

2- Baptism is called the seal

[Before a man has borne the name of the Son of God, he is dead, and whenever he receives the seal he sets aside the deadness and receives life. So water is the seal. Therefore they go down into the water dead, and they come up alive. Thus to them this seal was proclaimed, and they used it to enter into the kingdom of God.] simil. 9:16:3,4.

It is noted that baptism is going down inside the water similar to a tomb and coming out of it similar to the resurrection of Christ the Lord. It is done by immersion as a communion in the death of Christ and rejoicing in His resurrection, as St. Paul says "so we are buried with Him in death through baptism in order that, just as Christ rose from the dead through the Father's glorious power, so we too shall conduct ourselves in a new way of living." (Rom. 6:4)

3 Hermas maintained that the apostles and teachers went down to Hades to baptize those who reposed in virtue and faith in the Son of God before the coming of Christ that they may become dead stones in the eternal tower. He viewed baptism as being necessary even for the people of the Old Testament who slept in the hope of salvation... This is an exaggerated view; however, it reveals the extent of significance of baptism during the apostolic time in order to enjoy salvation.

MORALS

1. J. Quasten states that it is worthy to note, and an important fact that Hermas distinguishes between the "counsel" and the "commandment". The "command" orders us to what one is to be committed to. "Counsel," however means that a person does what follows a counsel out of one's own free will.

[*If you do something good beyond the commandment of God, you will gain greater glory for yourself, and you will be honored before God more than you would have been otherwise*.] simil. 5:3:3.

Some of the acts where we practise what is beyond the commandments are: fasting, chastity and martyrdom.

It is like Christianity, it does not stop at a certain limit, nor does it know an end for the commandment, for the believer is eager to deny himself daily by fasting. He becomes sublime with his feelings, offering a pure soul to the heavenly Groom, and the will to die, for the sake of the One who died for his sake.

2 Each person has two angels, the angel of piety who exhorts a person to virtuous life, e.g. righteousness, purity, sanctity...etc. and the angel of evil who provokes him towards evil. Both angels want to dwell in the heart; the first one is gentle, meek and humble, while the second is violent, hateful and foolish (simil. 6:2:1-4).

3 Hermas regards wealth as a deterrent to spiritual life, it can often lead to denying the Lord (vision 3:6:5-7).

MARRIAGE

In his opinion, it is not possible for either spouse to remarry because of the adultery of the other party. However, either may separate, and if the other party shows remorse this is to be well received (Command 4:1:8).

It is possible to remarry after the death of a spouse, though if the person remains unmarried he/she will be awarded a greater honor and glory before the Lord (Ibid 4:4:1-2).

TEXTS

Elias Moawad, Metropolitan of Aleppo, states [Until 1856 "The Shepherd" was not known except in a Latin translation which probably dated back to the second century. This was first printed in Paris in 1513. In 1857 a second Latin translation was printed from a manuscript of the 14th century, this was probably based on the first translation; it is thought that it dated back to the fourth or fifth century.]

As to the Greek manuscript of "The Shepherd," the first who found it was C. Simonides, in 1855 in the Monastery of St. Gregory on Mount Athos. This manuscript, which was transcribed in bold writing, dated back to the 14th century. It was comprised of ten sheets, the last one was lost. Simonides removed the 5th, 6th and 9th sheets from the pages of the manuscript. He carefully copied the remaining sheets and did not name the monastery in which it was found. He then sold the three original pages together with the copied sheets to Leipzig Library and that was how nine-tenths of the Greek manuscript of "The Shepherd" came to be known. Anger and Dindorf published it in Leipzig in 1856.

Simonides then, little by little, came to the world with new manuscripts for "The Shepherd," until he made it reach ten manuscripts. The oldest of which he claimed that he discovered in Mount Sinai in 1852, dating back to the first century, consequently it was the oldest manuscript in the world. When Simonides promised to bring Hermas' manuscript as it was, the Berlin Police at the instruction of Alexander Licargo (University Professor at that time, who later became the Archbishop of Syrius then Tineus) took hold of his room and the preparatory work on the manuscript. This compelled him to leave Germany and set his eye upon England, where he continued his work as a swindler.

In 1859 he published in London a research titled "The meagre from a plenty about the Apostolic Father Hermas." At the end of the research he published a copy of two old manuscripts of his work based on the Latin translation.

In 1880, by coincidence, Spiridon Lambrose was in the monastery of St. Gregory at Mount Athos and studied the Hermas' manuscript and through his companion he transferred the remaining six sheets and published them at Cambridge in 1888. This publication was presented with a long research about how the manuscript existed. Thus it became clear that all what Simonidis presented was spurious.

Perhaps the oldest original version of the book "The Shepherd" is comprised from the remnants of two Papyrii in Michigan University. They date back to the end of the third century. They include something about the second and fifth Similitudes and the second command.

Also one-quarter of the book "The Shepherd" up to the fourth command was found among the Siniaticus manuscripts. These were found by Codex Tishendorf in 1859 and were printed in Leipzig in 1863. They were part of the Appendices of the New Testament.

Some parts of the book "The Shepherd" were found written on deer skin and Papyrus.

There are Coptic, Ethiopian and Persian translations of "The Shepherd ."

7

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

THE AUTHOR

Nothing is known of the author. The epistle is frequently ascribed to St. Justin the Martyr[1]. It is not mentioned by Eusebius, or in any other ancient account of St. Justin's works; and its style is wholly different from that of St. Justin.

Marcion, Apelles, Aristides are mentioned as the authors. N. Bonwetsch and R. H. Connolly thought that Hippolytus of Rome was the author, while P. Andriessen believed that Quadratus composed it. The information we have about Quadratus from Eusebius, Jerome, Photius, and the Apocryphal letter that St. James addressed to him is in agreement with the contents of the Epistles to Diognetus[2].

Lightfoot states: [The writer was Pantaenus, the master of Clement (c. A.D. 180-120). Clearly it is Alexandrine, as its phraseology and its sentiments show. Moreover he treats the account of the creation and the garden of Eden (ch. 12) spiritually to represent the Church of Christ; and Pantaenus is singled out with two or three other early fathers by Anastasius of Sinai in two passages as exhibiting this mode of treatment.]

WHO IS DIOGNETUS?

It is hard to acknowledge this person and his social position, for many had this same name in the early centuries. Through this epistle we can say that he was a high-ranked pagan, who asked his Christian friend to explain the Christian faith, the nature of its worship, how it differed from pagan and Jewish worship, the change it brought about in Christian life (especially love of our neighbor), and why Christianity appeared only now, and not earlier.

According to H. Lietzmann he was perhaps the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. Henry I. Marou believed he was a well-known official in the Roman empire, while P. Anderiessen believed him to be the emperor Hadrian, and that the word "Diognetus" was one of his honorable titles, which means "the carrier of heaven[3]."

He introduced the letter, saying:

[*I see, most excellent Diognetus, that you are exceedingly anxious to understand the religion of the Christians, and that your inquiries regarding them are distinctly and carefully made, as to who is God they trust and how they worship Him, that they all disregard the world and despise death, they take no account of those who are regarded as gods by the Greeks, and do not observe the superstition of the Jews, also the nature of the affection which they have for each - other, and why this new development or interest has entered into men's lives now and not before.*] 1.

ITS FEATURES

1. The "Epistle to Diognetus" is an apology of Christianity composed in the form of a letter. It has much in common with the writings of the apologist Aristides. But there seems to be no direct dependency. On the other hand the author made use of the works of St. Irenaeus[4].

2. Although it is true that the only sentence quoted by Eusebius[5] of the apology does not occur in this epistle, there is a gap between verses 6 and 7 of the seventh chapter in which the fragment of the apology would fit very well[6].

1- This epistle expresses the sweetness of its writer in his defense for the faith, and his faithful witness to the Christian life.

It is very accurate, simple and clear, written as open answers for the questions of his friend, Diognetus.

2- In his defense, the writer explains the following two points:

a- How can a man worship an idol made by a human hand, made of a corruptible material, which can be stolen?!

[*These things you call gods, to whom you are slaves, these you worship; and you end by changing into their image.*] 2.

b- The soul is discomforted by the sacrifices of animals blood.

[*Those who think to perform sacrifices to Him with blood, fat, and whole burnt offerings, and to honor Him with such honors, seem to me in no way different from those who show the same respect towards deaf images; for one class thinks if fit to make offerings to things unable to participate in the honor, while the other class to One Who is in need of nothing.*] 3.

3- He reveals the superiority of the Christian life and conduct in his days, as it appears in the following points:

a- Christians reveal the superiority of their faith through their daily life.

b- Christian faith is a divine gift, that surpasses the mind, but faith is not against the mind.

[F*or it is no earthly discovery, as I said, which was committed to them, neither do they care to guard so carefully any mortal invention, nor have they entrusted to them the dispensation of human mysteries. But truly the Almighty Creator of the Universe, the invisible God Himself from heaven planted in men the truth and the holy teaching which surpasses the wit of man, and fixed it firmly in their hearts, not as any man might imagine, by sending (to mankind) a subaltern, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that direct the affairs of earth, or one of those who have been entrusted with the dispensation in heaven, but the very Artificer and Creator of the Universe Himself, by whom He made the heavens, and enclosed the sea in its proper bounds. Whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, from Whom (the sun) has received even the measure of the courses of the day to keep them, Whom the moon obeys by shining at night, Whom the stars obey as they follow the course of the moon, by Whom all things are ordered and bounded and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the*

heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the sea and all the things that are in the sea, fire, air, abyss, and the things that are between the two. Him He sent unto them. Was He sent, think you, as any man might suppose, to establish a sovereignty, to inspire fear and terror? Not so. But in gentleness and meekness has He sent Him, as a king might send His son who is a king. He sent Him, as sending God; He sent Him, as (a man) unto men; He sent Him, as Savior, using persuasion, not force: for force is not an attribute of God.] 7.

c- Christians are not a separate nation, who want to set their own kingdom, have their own language and independent customs. Christian faith in fact is an openness of heart to the whole of mankind. In this, Christians differ from the Jews.

[*For Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either in locality or in speech or in customs. For they dwell not somewhere in cities of their own, neither do they use some different language, nor practise an extraordinary kind of life.*] 5.

d- The nature of the church is heavenly, nevertheless she believes in her actual life that she practises on earth.

[*They find themselves in the flesh, and yet they live not after the flesh. Their existence is on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven.*] 5.

e- The Church insists on loving the world faithfully. The evil world attacks the Church but cannot injure her. The world can deprive the church from temporary wealth to live in poverty, nevertheless, the church enriches many through her poverty.

[*They love all men, and they are persecuted by all.*
They are ignored, and yet they are condemned.
They are put to death, and yet are endued with life.
They are in beggary, and yet they make many rich.
They are in want of all things, and yet they are glorified in

f- The relation between the church and the world is the same as that between the soul and the body. She is the yeast of the whole human society, and the light that guides them to the right way.

[*In a word, what the soul is in a body, this is what the Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all members of the body, and the Christians through diverse cities of the world. The soul has its abode in the body, and yet it is not of the body. So Christians have their abode in the world, and yet they are not of the world. The soul which is invisible is guarded in the body which is visible: so Christians are recognized as being in the world, and yet their religion remains invisible. The flesh hates the soul and wages war against it even though it has done no wrong except that it forbids it from indulging in pleasures; so the world hates Christians, though it receives no wrong from them, because they set themselves against its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh which hates it, and the Christians love those that hate them. The soul is enclosed in the body, and yet holds the body together; so Christians are kept in the world as in a prison house, and yet they themselves hold the world together.*] 6.

g- Christians subject to the state's law. They are good citizens, and work hard for the benefit of their country.

[They obey the established laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives.] 5.

h- The church practices communal life in everything except in the conjugal life.

[They have their meals in common, but not their wives.] 5.

5. The writer calls his friend Diognetus to accept the Christian faith.

[*This is the faith if you so desire, first apprehend full knowledge of the Father. For God loved men for whose sake He made the world, to whom He subjected all things that are in the earth, to whom he gave reason and mind, whom alone He permitted to look up to heaven, whom He created after His own image, to whom He sent His Only-Begotten Son, to whom He promised the kingdom which is in heaven, and will give it to those that have loved Him. And when you have attained to this full knowledge, with what joy do you think you will be filled, or how will you love Him that so loved you before? And loving*

Him you will be an imitator of His goodness. And marvel not that a man can be an imitator of God, he can, if God wills it.] 10.

ITS DISCOVERY[7]

A short but precious document, It was unknown in Christian literature until Henry Stephens, the learned publisher of Paris issued it in Greek and Latin in 1592 under the name of Justin the Martyr. The copy of Stephens is still preserved in the university library at Leiden.

The only codex definitely known is the Strasbourg codex of the thirteenth or possibly the fourteenth century, which had originally belonged to Jann Reuchlin (c.1522), and even this was destroyed in the accidental fire of Strasbourg during the Franco-German war in 1870 together with the other manuscript and treasures contained therein.

The Strasbourg manuscript contained several spurious or doubtful writings of Justin the Martyr, at the close of which was the Epistle to Diognetus, likewise ascribed to him.

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1. Patrick J. Hamell: Handbook of Patrology, p. 43.
2. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 248.
3. See Penguin Classics, Maxwell Stanifort: Early Christian Writings, 1968, p. 171.
4. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 248.
5. Eusebius: H. E. 4:3:2.
6. J. Quasten: Patrology, vol. 1, p. 248.
7. J. B. Lightfoot: The Apostolic Fathers, 1983, p. 247.

8

QUADRATUS

It appears that he was an Asian, therefore some called him "*Quadratus the Asiatic*."

Quadratus was the oldest apologist for Christianity. We are indebted to Eusebius for all that we know about him. He says:

[But Trajan having ruled for nineteen years and six month was succeeded in the imperial office by Aelius Hadrian. To him, Quadratus addressed a discourse, as an apology for the religion that we profess; because certain malicious persons attempted to harass our brethren.

The work of Quadratus is still in the hands of some of the brethren, as well as in our own; from which anyone may see evident proof, both of the understanding of the man, and of his apostolic faith.

This writer shows the antiquity of the age in which he lived, in these passages: "The deeds of our Savior" he says," were always before you, for they were true miracles; those who were healed, those who were raised from the dead, who were seen, not only when healed and when raised, but were also present with us. They remained living a long time, not only while our Lord was on earth, but likewise when He left the earth. So that some of them have also lived to our own times." Such was Quadratus[1].]

Quadratus presented his apology to the emperor while he was a resident in Asia Minor, about 123-124 A.D, or in 129 A.D[3]. Perhaps he was in Athens when he visited the emperor in 125 A.D or lately in 129 A.D[4].

St. Jerome was not correct when he stated that Quadratus was the bishop of Athens, who lived in the days of Marcus Aurillius[5].

1. H.E. 4:3:1,2.
2. Ibid.

3. Edjar J. Goodspeed :A History of Early Christian Literature, 1966, p. 96.
4. De vir. illustribiis 9, Ep. 70:4.
5. Goodspeed, p.97.

PATROLOGY

1. The Apostolic Fathers [English and Arabic].
2. St. Clement of Rome [Arabic].
3. The Didache and the Apostles' Creed [Arabic].
4. St. Peter The Last Martyr [English and Arabic].
5. The Early Fathers of the School of Alexandria [Arabic].

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THE *ALEXANDER LEGEND* IN THE QUR'ĀN 18:83–102

Kevin van Bladel

In 1889 E.A. Wallis Budge edited a few Syriac texts about Alexander the Great ineluding the Syriae version of the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Among these was the first edition of a Syriac work called *Neṣḥānâ dîleh d-Aleksandrôs*, roughly "The Glorious Deeds of Alexander," extant in the same five manuseripts as the Syriac *Alexander Romance*.[1] Though often discussed in the context of the *Alexander Romance* tradition, and elearly inspired by traditions about Alexander's conquests like the *Romance*, this *Neṣḥānâ* is nevertheless an entirely different work with its own history and a different story to tell (to be dealt with later in detail). Budge named it "A Christian Legend Concerning Alexander" to distinguish it from the *Alexander Romance* itself. Recent scholarship has shortened this name to "the *Alexander Legend*" to distinguish it from the *Alexander Romance*. I follow this eonvention here.

The next year (1890), Theodor Nöldeke published his study of the *Alexander Romance*, mueh of which was based on the Syriac version newly available in Budge's edition. In this he also devoted a few pages to the *Alexander Legend*, arguing that it was in faet *the source for an episode in the Qur'ān*, speeifieally the Qur'ānie story of Dhū l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83–102).[2] He stated that the *Alexander Legend* must have been transmitted orally to Muḥammad along with the other aneient biblieal and traditional stories circulating in the environment of Mecca.[3] To prove this relationship Nöldeke indicated a few specific, important elements of the story of Alexander's journeys appearing in both the Syriac *Alexander Legend* and the Qur'ān.

In the eentury sinee then, his discovery seems to have become almost forgotten in Qur'ānic studies. For example, the recent *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* artiele "Alexander" does not even mention the Syriac *Alexander Legend* or Nöldeke's thesis on the matter, though there could be no more appropriate place for it.[4] Moreover, some recent scholarship has brought considerable confusion into the study of Alexander stories in relation to the Qur'ān.[5] The subject therefore deserves to be revisited. As I hope to show, it still has much more to offer than even Nöldeke expeeted.

The present investigation will first show that Nöldeke was basically correct in his view: the Qur'ān 18:83–102 is a retelling of the story found in this particular Syriac text. But that is just the beginning of the matter. Recent publications by scholars of Syriac and Greek apocalyptic texts of the early seventh century, especially several articles by G.J. Reinink, offer a precise understanding of the context in which this Syriac *Alexander Legend* was composed and its political and religious purposes in that context. These studies make it possible to shed new light on the use of the *Alexander Legend*'s story in the Qur'ān and on the concerns of Muḥammad's community. Furthermore, once the affiliation of the Arabic and Syriac texts is established and the character of that affiliation is identified, it is possible to demonstrate (perhaps unexpectedly) the reliability of the traditional lexicography as well as the soundness of the Arabic text of this Qur'ānic passage. All of these matters will be discussed later.

I am deliberately avoiding entering into a discussion of other texts related to the Syriac *Alexander Legend* identified by previous scholars. Traces of the ancient story of Gilgamesh are found in the Syriac *Alexander Legend* and in Q 18:83–102. That these traces appear in both is unsurprising since both tell essentially the same story. But some scholars have argued that the passage immediately preceding the Dhū l-Qarnayn episode in the Qur'ān, a story about Moses (Q 18:60–82), also contains different traces of the Gilgamesh story. This is a matter of decades-long controversy and it deserves further special studies of its own.[6] Since two *adjacent* episodes in Qur'ān 18 seem to contain material derived from the Gilgamesh story, modern scholars have tended to search for a single source common to both of them. Medieval Qur'ān commentaries associated the two episodes together, too, though it seems for different reasons, with the result that the Qur'ān commentaries are dragged into the modern confusion. I will also avoid discussing other texts in Syriac and in Greek that draw material from the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. One of these is the so-called *Song of Alexander* (also called *Alexander Poem* in modern scholarship), falsely ascribed to Jacob of Serugh (d. 521). It was composed several years after and in reaction to the prose *Alexander Legend*, but the story it relates is considerably different from that in the *Alexander Legend* and does not exactly match those in the Qur'ānic tale of Dhū l-Qarnayn. What is most confusing for modern scholars is that still more traces of the Gilgamesh story, different from those in the *Alexander Legend*, are found in this *Song of Alexander*, but these are similar to the traces of Gilgamesh allegedly found in Q 18:60–82, the Moses story just mentioned. The coincidence has never been adequately explained, particularly since recourse must be had to a poorly documented late, probably oral tradition of the Gilgamesh story. Then there are other later seventh-century Christian apocalypses, such as the *De fine mundi* of Pseudo-Ephraem and the influential *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. These also drew upon the *Alexander Legend*, evidently a widely known text in the seventh century.[7]

The bewildering interrelationships of all these traditions have made it difficult for scholars to arrive at a consensus about them. But the reason that I am avoiding

discussing all these related texts here is that they are irrelevant to the thesis that the Dhū l-Qarnayn episode in the Qur'ān is derived from or retells the story found in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. The account in Q 18:83–102 does not precisely match a story found anywhere other than in this one text, but previous attempts to deal with the problem have become confused by discussing all of the aforementioned traditions together. For example, one recent account, published twice, posits complicated interrelationships between the two episodes in Qur'ān 18:60–102, the Qur'ān commentaries, the *Alexander Romance* tradition, and the *Song of Alexander*, unfortunately just causing further misunderstanding and omitting almost any account of the crucially relevant *Alexander Legend*.[8] In the present article, however, only two main problems are to be discussed: the relationship between the *Alexander Legend* and Qur'ān 18:83–102 and the historical context of this relationship.

The Syriac and the Arabic texts compared

To prove convincingly an affiliation between this passage of the Qur'ān and the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, a close comparison is required, closer at least than the brief treatment that Nöldeke gave to it. Since the relevant Arabic text, Qur'ān 18:83–102, amounts to only twenty verses, they can all be given here in translation.

> 83. And they are asking you about the Two-Horned One (Dhū l-Qarnayn).
> Say: I will relate for you a glorious record (*dhikr*) about him.
> 84. We granted him power in the earth
> and gave him a heavenly course (*sabab*)[9] out of every thing.
> 85. So he followed a heavenly course
> 86. until, when he reached the place of the sun's setting,
> he found it setting in a fetid spring
> and he found by it a people.
> We said, "O Two-Horned One, either you will punish (them) or do them a favor."
> 87. He said, "Whoever does wrong, we will punish him,
> and then he will be sent back to his Lord
> and He will punish them in an unknown way."
> 88. "And whoever believes and acts righteously,
> he will have the best reward and we will declare ease for him by our command."
> 89. Then he followed a heavenly course
> 90. until, when he arrived at the sun's rising place,
> he found it rising over a people for whom We did not make a shelter beneath it.
> 91. Thus We knew everything that he encountered.
> 92. Then he followed a heavenly course
> 93. until, when he arrived between two barriers,

he found outside them a people
who could scarcely understand speech.
94. They said, "O Two-Horned One, Yājūj and Mājūj are destroying the land.
Shall we make a payment to you on the condition that you make a barrier between us and them?"
95. He said, "The power my Lord has given me is better, so, help me, with strength, that I may make a barricade between you and them."
96. "Bring me blocks of iron." Eventually, when he had leveled it off with the two clifftops, he said, "Blow." Eventually, when he had made it a fire, he said, "Bring me brass that I can pour upon it."
97. Thus they could not surmount it and they could not break through it.
98. He said, "This is a mercy from my Lord. When His promise comes, my Lord will make it a heap of earth and my Lord's promise is true."
99. And We shall leave them on that day surging like waves[10] against each other
and the horn will be blown and We shall gather them all together
100. and We shall truly show Gehenna that day to the unbelievers
101. whose eyes were covered from recollecting Me, nor could they hear.
102. Do those who disbelieve plan to take My servants under Me as protectors?
We have prepared Gehenna as a guest-house for the unbelievers!

For the purposes of this study, this can be divided into five parts.

1 an introduction to Dhū l-Qarnayn, the Two-Horned One (83–4),
2 his journey to the sun's setting and his punishment of unjust people there (85–8),
3 his journey to the sun's rising place where the people have no shelter from the sun (89–91),
4 his journey to a place threatened by Yājūj and Mājūj where he is asked to build a protective wall between two mountains, culminating in his uttering a brief prophecy (92–8), and finally
5 God's first-person warning of the events to come (99–102).

The Syriac *Legend of Alexander* is quite a bit longer, twenty-one pages of Syriac text in the edition. A summary of the story, including its relevant details, here follows, showing how each of the five parts of the Qur'ānic story finds a match in the Syriac text. Readers with insufficient knowledge of Syriac may find Budge's English translation to be helpful but should be warned that it strays into error on some important points.

The story of the *Neṣḥānā* begins when King Alexander summons his court to ask them about the outer edges of the world, for he wishes to go to see what surrounds it. His advisors warn him that there is a fetid sea, Oceanos (Ôqyānôs),[11]

like pus, surrounding the earth, and that to touch those waters is death. Alexander is undeterred and wishes to go on this quest. He prays to God, whom he addresses as the one who put horns upon his head, for power over the entire earth, and he promises God to obey the Messiah should he arrive during his lifetime or, if not, to put his own throne in Jerusalem for the Messiah to sit upon when he does come. This in essence matches Q 18:83–4, part one earlier, where God gives the two-horned one power over the entire earth.

On the way, he stops in Egypt where he borrows seven thousand Egyptian workers of brass and iron from the king of Egypt to accompany his huge army. Then they set sail for four months and twelve days until they reach a distant land. Alexander asks the people there if they have any prisoners condemned to death in their prisons, and he asks that those evil-doers (*'ābday-bīšē*) be brought to him. He takes the prisoners and sends them into the fetid sea in order to test the potency of the poisonous waters. All the evil-doers die, so Alexander, realizing how deadly it is, gives up his attempt to cross the water. Instead he goes to a place of bright water, up to the Window of the Heavens that the sun enters when it sets, where there is a conduit of some kind leading through the heavens toward the place where the sun rises in the east. Though the text is completely vague here in its description of spaces, apparently Alexander follows the sun through its course to the east during the night but "descends" (*nāḥet*) at the mountain called Great Mûsās.[12] His troops go with him. We are also told that when the sun rises in the eastern land, the ground becomes so hot that to touch it is to be burnt alive, so that people living there flee the rising sun to hide in caves and in the water of the sea. Alexander's journeys west and east match Q 18:85–91, parts two and three earlier, exactly in many specific details and in fact make some sense of the cryptic Qur'ānic story (though the Syriac leaves the specifics of his itinerary here fairly murky).

We next find Alexander traveling at the headwaters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, where he and his armies stop at locales given very specific place-names. This specificity has rightly been taken as due to the Syriac author's personal familiarity with the upper Tigris region, probably his homeland.[13] Yet Alexander continues northwards into mountains, evidently the Caucasus, until he comes to a place under Persian rule where there is a narrow pass. The locals complain about the savage Huns who live on the opposite side of the pass. The names of their kings are listed to him, the first two of which are Gog and Magog. Alexander is treated to a vivid description of the barbarism of the Huns. Among the gruesome details it is reported that their cries are more terrible than those of a lion. The Huns have no qualms in killing babies and pregnant women. In short, they do not know civilization but only brutality. The people complain to Alexander that these savages raid with impunity and they hope his dominion will be established. After he satisfies his anthropological and geographical curiosity about the far northern peoples, Alexander asks the locals if they want a favor, and they answer that they would follow his command. So he suggests building a wall of brass and iron to hold out the Huns. Together they accomplish the task with the help of the

Egyptian metalworkers. This account matches Q 18:92–8, part four earlier, in precise detail.

The next part of the story is crucial to dating the text. Alexander puts an inscription on the gate containing a prophecy for events to follow his lifetime. These events are given precise dates. First he says that after 826 years, the Huns will break through the gate and go by the pass above the Haloras River[14] to plunder the lands. Then after 940 years, there will come a time of sin and unprecedented worldwide war. "The Lord will gather together the kings and their hosts," he will give a signal to break down the wall, and the armies of the Huns, Persians, and Arabs will "fall upon each other."[15] So many troops will pass through the breach in the wall that the passage will actually be worn wider by the spear-points going through. "The earth shall melt through the blood and dung of men."[16] Then the kingdom of the Romans will enter this terrible war and they will conquer all, up to the edges of the heavens. In closing, Alexander cites the prophet Jeremiah, 1:14, "And evil shall be opened from the north upon all the inhabitants of the earth." Clearly this corresponds closely with Q 18:99–102, the fifth and last part of the story of Dhū l-Qarnayn.

There are still some details and a conclusion to the story in the Syriac text that have no corresponding part in the Qur'ān. When Alexander comes into conflict with the King of Persia, called Ṭûbarlaq, then, with the help of the Lord, who appears on the chariot of the Seraphim along with the angelic host, Alexander's armies are inspired to conquer the king of Persia. When he is captured, the Persian king Ṭûbarlaq promises to give Alexander tribute for fifteen years in return for a restoration of the borders. But Ṭûbarlaq's diviners predict that at the end of the world, the Romans will kill the king of Persia and will lay waste to Babylon and Assyria. Ṭûbarlaq himself puts the prophecy in writing for Alexander, saying that the Romans will conquer the entire world and rule it all before handing power over to the returning Messiah. The *Alexander Legend* finally comes to an end with the remark that at the end of Alexander's life, he establishes his silver throne in Jerusalem just as he had promised. This last episode is not reflected in the Qur'ānic story, but it has proven important in recent scholarship in assigning a date to the Syriac text (to be discussed later).

Precise correspondences between the two texts

Many of the correspondences between the Syriac and the Arabic stories are so obvious that they do not need special attention. Simply relating both stories together establishes their extraordinary similarity. However, some correspondences require emphasis and further comment.

Alexander is twice said in the Syriac to have been granted horns on his head by God. Once it is in a prayer that he himself utters, referring to his horns, and the second time we are told that they were horns of iron.[17] Though Alexander had been portrayed with horns as early as his own time, here one finds the epithet Dhū l-Qarnayn, the Horned One, as one element matching the present Syriac text.[18]

When Alexander came to the people in the west, he tested the efficacy of the deadly, fetid waters with the lives of convicts. This passage helps to explain the option given, for no apparent reason, by God to Dhū l-Qarnayn in the Qur'ān: either to punish the people or to do them a kindness. Dhū l-Qarnayn says he will punish only wrongdoers (*man ẓalama*), who are like the prisoners sentenced to death in the Syriac text, described there as evil-doers (*'ābday-bīšê*).

The Syriac text has Alexander travel from that point, near to where the sun sets, in the direction of the place where the sun rises, just as does Dhū l-Qarnayn in the Qur'ān. The sun does not exactly set *in* the fetid water, but more vaguely nearby. And it is only this Syriac text that explains the meaning of Q 18:90, where the otherwise unknown eastern people who have no cover from the sun are mentioned.

On his third journey, the people who can hardly understand speech are explained by the Syriac text as "Huns," here a generic term for Central Asian pastoralists, who appeared to the residents of the Middle East as savages. Their allegedly bestial barbarism is explained at length in the Syriac. The Qur'ānic text saying that they "could scarcely understand speech" together with reference by name to Gog and Magog makes sense only in the context of this Syriac tale.

Dhū l-Qarnayn's ability to build a wall of iron and brass is explained in the Syriac story by his being accompanied by seven thousand Egyptian "workers in brass and iron," precisely the same metals. In both texts our hero builds the wall at a place between two mountains in order to fend off savages. Though the tradition of Alexander's wall holding off the Huns is an ancient one going back at least to Josephus (d. ca 100), who specifies that the gates were of iron, nevertheless the details of the Arabic account are all matched only by this Syriac *Alexander Legend*.[19] Most importantly, in both texts the hero issues a prophecy upon completing the fortification foretelling the end of the world in a time of great battles among nations.

Thus, quite strikingly, almost every element of this short Qur'ānic tale finds a more explicit and detailed counterpart in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. In both texts the related events are given in precisely the same order. Already earlier several cases of specific words that are exact matches between the Syriac and the Arabic were indicated. The water at the place where the sun sets is "fetid" in both texts, a perfect coincidence of two uncommon synonyms (Syriac *saryâ*, Arabic *ḥami'a*). Also, the wall that Alexander builds is made specifically of iron and brass in both texts. We are told in the Syriac that God will "gather together the kings and their hosts," which finds a nearly perfect match in Q 18:99: "the horn will be blown and we shall gather them together."[20] The proper names of Yājūj and Mājūj are not uniquely matched by this Syriac text (where they appear as Agôg[21] and Māgôg), for their tradition is derived from the books of *Ezekiel* and the *Apocalypse of John*, but they do still count as specific word correspondences between the Syriac and Arabic texts in question here. In the Qur'ān God is characterized as saying, "We shall leave them on that day surging like waves against each other," *wa-taraknā ba'ḍahum yawma'idhin yamūju fī ba'ḍin*, while the Syriac says similarly "and kingdoms will fall upon each other," *w-nāplān malkwātā ḥdā 'al ḥdā*.

The title of the Syriac work is "*Neṣḥānâ* of Alexander." The word *neṣḥānâ* means "glory" or "victory" but was often used to refer to a narrative account of a person's heroic acts.[22] In Q 18:83 God is portrayed as commanding Muḥammad to say that he will recite a *dhikr* about the Dhū l-Qarnayn. *Dhikr* in Arabic has most of the same connotations as Syriac *neṣḥānâ*: it refers to glory or good repute but it also can refer to an account remembered about someone. Could the word *dhikr* in Q 18:83 be a translation of the very title of the Syriac *Alexander Legend*? It is a tempting consideration, but there are a few other instances in the Qur'ān where a *dhikr* of a person is related without any apparent reference to a written work.[23]

The translation of *sabab* (pl. *asbāb*), occurring in Q 18:84, 85, 89, and 92 as "heavenly course" requires some explanation. These are conventionally translated merely as the "ways" that Dhū l-Qarnayn is made to follow, since among the many meanings of *sabab* in Arabic are prominently "means" and "ways of access." However, Arabic lexicographers and much other evidence attest to the early use of the word to mean in particular heavenly courses, specifically cords leading to heaven along which a human might travel: *asbāb al-samā'*, "ways to heaven" or "sky-cords."[24] In fact this is probably the *only* meaning of the word occurring in the Qur'ān, appearing in four other places.[25] Nor are these isolated cases of such a usage in Arabic. For example, it is also attested in the poetry of al-A'shā (d. 625), an exact contemporary of Muḥammad, where the phrase *wa-ruqqīta asbāba l-samā'i bi-sullam*, "and were you to be brought up the gateways of heaven by a flight of steps," is found with the synonymous, variant reading *abwāb al-samā'* "gates of heaven."[26] Thus, the translation given earlier, though unconventional, is not only suitable but likely. In the case of Dhū l-Qarnayn's tale, it matches the window of heaven (*kawwteh da-šmayyâ*)[27] through which the sun passes on its course, and which Alexander follows, in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. The remaining problem is then to account for the third "way" mentioned in Q 18:92, the northward path that is not connected with any course of a heavenly body in the *Alexander Legend*. Here one may excuse the Arabic as following the pattern of the earlier journeys. The matter is bound up with the problem of how these heavenly courses were imagined, something I treat in detail elsewhere.[28]

If there were a closer correspondence of the Syriac and Arabic, it would be possible to argue that one was just a much modified translation of the other. As it is, however, the correspondences shown earlier are still so exact that it is obvious in comparison that the two texts are at least connected very closely. They relate the same story in precisely the same order of events using many of the same particular details. Every part of the Qur'ānic passage has its counterpart in the Syriac, except that in the Qur'ān the story is told through the first-person account of God. Also, as explained earlier, the Qur'ān does not include the last part of the *Alexander Legend*, in which Alexander defeats the Persian emperor Ṭûbarlaq, who writes his own prophecy down for Alexander and gives it to him, to the effect that the Romans would one day decisively defeat the Persians, establishing a worldwide Christian rule that would remain until the return of the Messiah.

The Qur'ānic account puts more emphasis on the coming end of things and God's judgment and, not surprisingly, does not mention any expectation of universal Christian empire for the Romans.

Dating and contextualizing the Syriac *Alexander Legend*

At this point I think there can be no doubt whatsoever of the affiliation between the Qur'ānic passage and the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. The question now becomes how to specify that affiliation. Here we will be assisted by finding a date and historical context for the Syriac text. Fortunately G.J. Reinink has devoted many articles to the problems posed by this *Alexander Legend* and related texts which have succeeded in determining definitively where, why, and when the *Alexander Legend* was written. I employ his detailed studies extensively in what follows, and the reader is urged to pursue them for further information that can be used to assign a date to this Syriac work.[29] This section may seem to be a bit of an excursus, but it is crucially important to contextualize the Syriac text in order to relate it to the Qur'ān.

The *Alexander Legend* is an apocalyptic text in which the ancient Alexander is portrayed as presenting a prophecy written long ago for events to come, which were intended to be understood by the audience at the real time of authorship as referring to events leading up to and including their own time. This is how many texts of the apocalyptic genre work. Thus the date of composition for such apocalypses can often be found by locating the latest point at which events allegedly predicted match actual historical events. Where the events "predicted" diverge from history, there one usually can find the date of the composition. The message of the apocalypse for its own time is not just in the events it describes, but rather in the way it describes these events and the future that it expects to unfold given what has occurred.

In the Syriac *Legend*, Alexander's prophecy, written on the wall he himself erected, gives two dates marking the invasion of Central Asian nomads, called Huns, whose penetration of the great wall and arrival at the headwaters of the Tigris are portentous events to be taken as signs of the final battles preceding Christ's return and the end of time. Alexander specifies how many years must elapse before these events take place. Already Nöldeke in 1890 calculated the dates according to the Seleucid Era (beginning 1 October 312 BCE) normally followed in Syriac tradition, also called the Era of the Greeks and, importantly, the Era of the Alexander.[30] The first of the two dates is thus converted from 826 years later to 514–15 CE, precisely the time of the invasion of the nomadic Sabirs who entered Syria and Anatolia.[31] Evidently this invasion, which holds no importance in the narrative, serves just as a key for the contemporary audience of the text that they can use to verify the accuracy of the second, more elaborate prophecy, associated with a later date. In any case, no scholar after Nöldeke has disputed the calculation of this first dating, as far as I have seen.[32]

The second of the two dates, 940 years after Alexander, which marks the time of the final war preceding the Messiah's return according to the prophecy, is converted likewise to 628–9 CE. The message of the prophecy actually concerns events around *this* date, which coincides with the end of a long and extremely difficult war between the Persians and the Romans (603–30) during which Jerusalem was devastated, the relic of the True Cross stolen from that city, and the Persians conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, occupying Anatolia, too, and they even besieged Constantinople itself in 626 CE in concert with the Avars, who invaded from the north. The Byzantine remainder of the Roman Empire was only barely saved from the Persian onslaught by the emperor Heraclius' daring campaign through Armenia, ending in the winter of 627–8 with a surprise invasion into Mesopotamia and damaging raids on the rich estates around Ctesiphon. In these invasions the Türks joined the Byzantines in raids south of the Caucasus at Heraclius' invitation and afterwards continued to make war on Persian territory in Transcaucasia, plundering until 630. The Byzantine invasion of Mesopotamia led the Persian nobles to remove their King of Kings, Khosrō II, from power in February of 628 and to negotiate for peace.[33] Persian forces occupying former Byzantine territory withdrew to Persia in 629, and early in 630 Heraclius personally returned the relic of the True Cross to Jerusalem in a formal celebration. (Just a few months before Heraclius' arrival in Jerusalem, tradition tells us, the inhabitants of Mecca surrendered peacefully to Muḥammad and submitted to his government.) Given the date that Alexander's prophecy signals, 628–9 CE, it must be referring to the devastating wars of that time and their successful end for the Romans.

Reinink has shown that the *Alexander Legend* demonstrates, through its prophecy and its use of Alexander to prefigure the emperor Heraclius, detailed knowledge of the events of that war and its resolution with the restoration of the earlier borders, a peace treaty, and a final reference to Jerusalem. Using this information, too much to repeat entirely here, he has persuasively argued that the *Alexander Legend* was composed just after 628, perhaps in 630, the year in which Heraclius restored the cross to Jerusalem.[34] In the course of the war, while the Byzantines were very hard pressed by the Persians, Heraclius resorted to highly religious propaganda in order to rally his allies and to improve Roman morale. This propaganda has received recent scholarly attention.[35] Likewise Heraclius' attempts to eradicate the schisms in the Church after the war are well known. Reinink considers *Alexander Legend* to be a piece of pro-Heraclian postwar propaganda designed to promote the emperor's political cause not long after the war's end, re-establishing Roman rule over provinces that had been under Persian power for well over a decade and trying to overcome the schismatic Christological differences dividing his Chalcedonian court from the monophysites of the provinces recently recovered from the Persians. His thesis is that the Syriac *Legend of Alexander* was composed "shortly after 628" (i.e. in 629 or 630) by an inhabitant of Amida or Edessa, or some other place near to those, in support of

Heraclius.[36] He argues that the monophysite Syrians were the primary audience (although it is possible that the story was intended also to win over monophysites of other nations such as Arabs).[37] Heraclius' visit to Edessa in late 629 might have been an occasion for its composition. It is also possible that the text was written a few months later when Heraclius restored the cross to Jerusalem.[38]

The specific details in the *Alexander Legend* that reflect this historical context are numerous. But unlike the Qur'ānic story of Dhū l-Qarnayn, the Syriac text ends with the Persian king's own prophecy containing what Reinink has characterized rightly as a message of Byzantine Imperial eschatology: the prediction that one Byzantine emperor will soon establish a worldwide Christian rule which will be followed by the return of the Messiah.[39] This was intended to counter the belief, widely held at the time as many sources show, that the total destruction of the Roman/Byzantine Empire and even the end of the world were imminent. As Reinink sums it up, the author of the *Alexander Legend*

> wants to demonstrate the special place of the Greek-Roman empire, the fourth empire of the Daniel Apocalypse, in God's history of salvation, from the very beginning of the empire until the end of times, when the empire will acquire world dominion. He created an Alexander-Heraclius typology, in which the image of Alexander is highly determined by Byzantine imperial ideology, so that his contemporaries would recognize in Heraclius a new Alexander, who, just like the founder of the empire, departed to the east at the head of his army and combated and defeated the Persians.
>
> (G.J. Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander. Apocalyptic Prophecies during the Reign of Heraclius," 26)

By now it should be amply clear that the *Alexander Legend* is the product of a very specific, identifiable historical and cultural environment, the end of a devastating war widely believed to carry eschatological implications, ending with Heraclius' campaign in 628 and in 629 with the final withdrawal of the Persian armies. This needs to be held in mind when the relationship between this text and the Qur'ān is considered.

If this is the message of the *Alexander Legend*, what is the point in having Alexander make his journeys west, then east, then north, then return south? The answer is clearer when one imagines a map of his itinerary. In effect Alexander's travels make a sign of the cross over the whole world. This symbol seems to have been overlooked by other commentators, but I believe it was intended by the author of the *Alexander Legend*. The sign of the cross was the emblem of victory for the Christian empire, and the prophecies in the *Legend* indicate the imminent universal rule of the Christian empire. One may even speculate that this cross-shaped itinerary was intended symbolically to refer to Heraclius' return of the

relic of the True Cross early in 630 to Jerusalem, the city where Alexander places his throne at the end of the *Alexander Legend*. Alexander's journeys describe the symbol of Christian Roman power across the entire world, which it will come to rule in its entirety according to the prophecy.

But what is the point of having Alexander build the Wall of Gog and Magog? According to Greek and Latin traditions from the first century CE onward, Alexander was indeed credited with building gates in the Caucasus to keep out invaders. These gates, described by many ancient Greek and Latin authors, were usually identified as located at the pass of Darial in the middle of the Caucasus (Arabic *Bāb al-Lān*).[40] However, in the seventh century, just around the time of the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, confusion arose concerning the location of Alexander's fortified pass. It now came to be identified with a gated wall situated on the Caspian coast that had been built more recently (Arabic *Bāb al-Abwāb*). By the mid-sixth century, the waters of the Caspian had receded considerably on their western shore, exposing a wide pass of land around the eastern end of the Caucasus.[41] The Sasanian shahs constructed a very large wall (or series of walls) with a great gate in order to block this coastal gap as a defense against northerners who might otherwise easily raid Iran, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia. The scholarly literature documenting the existence and history of these walls through archaeology and written sources is enormous.[42] The town Darband eventually came to be at these walls at the Caspian, presumably at first just a garrison town, eventually a very important site. Its Persian name, meaning "Door-Bolt," indicates its original purpose. Seventh century sources mention these fortifications a number of times. For example, the Armenian historian called Sebeos, writing in the 680s, called it "the Gate of the Huns."[43] But the displacement of Alexander's gate from Darial to the wall at Darband does not appear unambiguously in the sources until the Frankish Latin chronicler known as Fredegarius (wr. ca 660), in his report on the year 627, described Alexander's gates as having been built over the Caspian Sea (*super mare Cespium* [sic]), saying that these are the gates that Heraclius opened to admit the savage nations living beyond them.[44] From this time onward, Alexander's Caspian gates were widely thought to be those at Darband. What caused this confusion to be held generally between Latin and Arabic tradition? It seems that the Syriac *Alexander Legend* may have prompted it. While it may have intended the pass at Darial (though the geographical expertise of the author is subject to doubt), the invasions of the Türks through the wall at Darband in 626–30 must have forced the association of Alexander's walls with that route.

In the early twentieth century Russian scholars discovered a number of Pahlavi inscriptions on the old wall at Darband, dated variously at first but with a final, general consensus to the sixth century.[45] Thus the author of the Syriac *Legend of Alexander* was using common lore that would be readily understood by its audience: Alexander was thought to have built a real wall with a gate that was known to the inhabitants of the Caucasus region and indeed was famous far and wide, a wall that bore inscriptions. It is easy to see how one of these inscriptions might have been thought to have been carved there by Alexander.

The *Alexander Legend*'s account identifies the people beyond the wall, the "Huns," as Gog and Magog. These names originally come from Hebrew scripture. They are associated by *Ezekiel* 38–9 with northern, invading nations, serving as God's punishment, and then later by the *Revelation of John* 20 with final turmoil just before the ultimate redemption. Gog and Magog are, in short, an eschatological motif: they are northern nations whose invasion heralds the end of time.[46] In the sixth century Andreas of Caesarea had made this association clear in his commentary on the *Revelation of John*, identifying Gog and Magog with the Huns, and in doing so he was following the sources going back at least to Josephus (d. ca 100).[47]

Thus the *Alexander Legend* combines two traditions (1) Alexander's building of a wall in the Caucasus to hold out Huns and (2) the identification of Huns, a generic term for all Central Asian peoples, with Gog and Magog, thereby associating Alexander with the end of time and giving him an occasion to make eschatological prophecies. Alexander's wall also explains why the Huns (Gog and Magog) cannot invade at just any time; they have to surmount the wall first. But when that wall is breached, that will be a sign of the approaching end. Once these traditions were combined, it was now easy to link Heraclius both with the world conquering Alexander, who similarly defeated the Persian emperor, and with the end of time.

As already stated, in his final campaigns against the Persians, Alexander's former enemies, Heraclius actually did enlist the help of Inner Asian peoples, the Kök Türks, in his war against the Persians (626–7) – they are called variously in the sources Türks and Khazars, being perhaps Khazars under Kök Türk rule, though the specific tribal or ethnic identity of these invaders is a subject of very long debate – and afterward these Türks fiercely raided Caucasian Albania, Georgia, and Armenia until 630.[48] One wonders whether Heraclius or his supporters promoted the idea that his Türk allies, summoned from the north, were the people of Gog and Magog come to punish the Persians. The Türk invasions are known from the Greek chronicle of Theophanes[49] and in some detail from a compilatory seventh-century source used by the Armenian *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (*Patmut'iwn Aluanic'*) by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i. As it says, "During this period (Heraclius)... summoned the army to help him breach the great Mount Caucasus which shut off the lands of the north-east, and to open up the gates of Č'ołay [i.e. the gates at Darband] so as to let through many barbarian tribes and by their means to conquer the king of Persia, the proud Xosrov."[50] Fredegarius, as mentioned, also states that Heraclius opened these gates. Thus the devastating raids of the terrifying "Huns" – "predicted" in the *Alexander Legend* – also match the Türk campaigns in the years 626–7 (alongside Heraclius) and 628–30 (independently), and inhabitants of Caucasian Albania and Iberia, Armenia, and the neighboring lands such as Mesopotamia and Syria were surely well aware of them.

Moreover, Greek and Armenian sources show that these real invasions of Türk warriors in the early seventh century were actually interpreted then in

apocalyptic terms and associated with the eschatological motif of Gog and Magog. J. Howard-Johnston has dubbed the source of historical information on these Caucasian campaigns used by the Armenian Movsēs Dasxuranc'i as the *682 History* (because its reports end with the year 682 and we do not know its original name).[51] This source describes the nomadic invaders in horrific terms in connection with the joint Byzantine-Türk siege of the Caucasian Albanian capital, Partaw (Arabic: Bardha'a). They are depicted as ugly savages, like merciless wolves, who kill regardless of the victim's age or sex.[52] The Syriac *Alexander Legend* describes the Huns in quite similar terms, also stressing their readiness to kill women and children and their bestial nature.[53]

The way in which the Armenian source describes these wars between the Byzantines, the Türks, and the Persians gives yet another example for how people really did expect the end of time during or soon after these wars. The *682 History* focuses its attention on the events around the Caucasian Albanian capital of Partaw, but first it begins with a special prologue to the description of these invasions, which are characterized as part of not just local but the universal calamities (*i tiezerakan haruacoc's*) prophesied by Jesus in the *Gospels* about the times of tribulations (*i žamanaki č'arč'aranac'n*).[54] This understanding is based in the *682 History* explicitly on quotations of Jesus' prophecies selected from *Matthew* 24 and *Luke* 21:5–28. The full prophecy of Jesus in *Matthew*, not cited in its entirety by the Armenian historian, indicated particularly that a siege of Jerusalem would be one of the signs of the end (*Luke* 21:20). This would be accompanied by signs in the heavens and confusion among nations before the final redemption. All of this helps to contextualize the role of the Huns in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, who are to be identified with the Türks and their invasions into the Caucasus region from 626 to 630.

To sum up, the *Alexander Legend* is seen to reflect many specific events and cultural tendencies of the period around 628–9, the year it indicates as a time of wars between many nations beginning with the breaking of Alexander's wall by the Huns. Out of these wars the Roman Empire would emerge victorious, some time after which the Roman Empire would permanently overthrow the Persians and establish a universal Christian empire. It is best understood, following Reinink, as a piece of propaganda composed by someone sympathetic to the need of Heraclius around 630, immediately after almost thirty years of demoralizing war and unprecedented military loss, to help in reconsolidating quickly the loyalties of the regained territories of the empire and their monophysite inhabitants. The success or popularity of the *Alexander Legend* is indicated in that it was used by at least three more apocalypses, the so-called *Song of Alexander* attributed falsely to Jacob of Serugh (composed just a few years later but before the Arab conquest, between 630 and 636),[55] the Syriac apocalypse *De fine mundi* attributed falsely to Ephraem (composed sometime between 640–83),[56] and the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (composed around 692, quite possibly in reaction to the building of the Dome of the Rock).[57] The *Alexander Legend* was evidently well known in the early seventh century.

The relationship between the *Alexander Legend* and Qur'ān 18:83–102

To return to the main question, the extremely close correspondences between the Syriac *Alexander Legend* and Qur'ān 18:83–102, reviewed earlier, must mean that the two texts are related. On the one hand, there is a Syriac text the date of which is almost certain, about 629–30 CE, and the historical context and political meaning of which is known fairly precisely (as just explained); on the other, we have a passage from the Qur'ān, an Arabic compilation the precise dates and historical circumstances of which are debated by historians, but which tradition has understood to be collected into its current form during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (644–56) or at least after Muḥammad's death (632). It is possible to approach the problem of affiliation between the two systematically. The two texts must be related. That is the only explanation for their point-for-point correspondence. In that case there are three reasonable possibilities: (1) the Syriac takes its account from the Qur'ān, or (2) the two texts share a common source, or (3) the Qur'ān uses the account found in the Syriac.

Could the Syriac text have its source in the Qur'ān? If this were the case, then the Syriac text would have to be seen as a highly expanded version of the Qur'ānic account, which would then need to be understood as an attempt to explain the cryptic Qur'ānic story with rationalizations drawn from stories about Alexander. However, the Syriac text contains no references to the Arabic language the type of which one might expect to find if its purpose was to explain an Arabic text, and it is impossible to see why a Syriac apocalypse written around 630 would be drawing on an Arabic tradition some years before the Arab conquests, when the community at Mecca was far from well known outside Arabia. Moreover, the very specific political message of the *Alexander Legend* would not make any sense in this scenario. This possibility must therefore be discounted.

Could the two texts share a common source? This also becomes practically impossible for some of the same reasons. The Syriac Alexander Legend was written to support Heraclius by indicating the author's belief in the significance of events leading up to 629 AD, events supposed to be foreshadowing the establishment of a Christian world empire and the coming of the Messiah. Yet relating Dhū l-Qarnayn's first prophecy of the end times is also the very purpose of the story in the Qur'ān: the prediction of God's actions at the time of judgment using an ancient voice of great authority. As already explained, the war between Byzantium and Ctesiphon went very badly for the Byzantines until the very end, prompting an intense bout of political and religious propaganda to boost the desperate war effort and to consolidate allegiances after the victory. Reinink has shown that this Syriac text, given its contents, must be understood as pro-Heraclian propaganda belonging to this milieu, dated to 629–30. *If Alexander's prophecy was composed just for this purpose at this time, then the correspondence between the Syriac and the Arabic, which contains the same prophecy reworded, cannot be*

due to an earlier, shared source.[58] Put differently, the only way to posit a common source is to assume that everything held in common between the Qur'ānic account and the Syriac *Alexander Legend* could have been written for and would have made sense in an earlier context. In light of the detailed contextualization given earlier, and in light of G.J. Reinink's work referred to earlier as well, this becomes impossible.

Stephen Gero implied in one article that since the text comes from this date (629 CE or later), it *cannot* be regarded as a source of the Qur'ān. He does not explain in detail but I take the implication to be that such a date of composition is too late for it to have reached the human agents who related the Qur'ān.[59] But to me this seems to be the only real possibility because the others are invalid, as just explained. The Qur'ānic account must draw from the Syriac account, if not directly then by oral report.

Since the Qur'ān is using the material found in this Syriac text, a text composed for a very specific context in contemporary politics and loaded with particular religious meaning, this gives historians an important opportunity to understand the religion of Muḥammad and his early followers without relying entirely on later tradition. Before considering the significance of this further, it is important to ask how the text could have been known in Arabic and under what circumstances.

The transmission of the story from the Syriac text into Arabic

How could a Syriac text composed in northern Mesopotamia in 629–30 CE or just about that time have been transmitted to an Arab audience in Medina or Mecca so that it could become relevant enough to the followers of Muḥammad to warrant a Qur'ānic pronouncement upon it? Such a transmission would have been quite possible in the circumstances around 628–30 CE and soon after. Contemporary records in Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic (poetry) repeatedly note the involvement of Arabs as troops and scouts on both Roman and Persian sides during and at the end of the great war of 603–30, and the Syriac *Alexander Legend* itself mentions Arabs as one of the nations involved in the last wars.[60] Indeed, the *Alexander Legend* is likely to have been circulated widely if it was part of the Byzantine rallying cry after the war in the face of great losses and as a tool of Heraclius for rebuilding his subjects' loyalty to the idea of a universal Christian empire undivided by schism. If it was aimed particularly at monophysites, as Reinink also proposed, then one would expect it to have been deliberately spread among the monophysite Arabs of the Ghassānid phylarchate, some of Heraclius' close allies.[61] It is even possible that Muḥammad's own followers heard the story of the *Alexander Legend*, for example during their raid on Mu'ta, around the southeast end of the Dead Sea (probably September 629) just a few months after the Persian withdrawal from Roman territory and a few months before Heraclius' triumphant return of the cross to Jerusalem.[62]

Yet one is left wondering exactly how apocalyptic works were disseminated during these decades. Since they are full of political significance for a particular period of time, one expects that they would have been published and promoted actively by their authors. In any case, one can hardly doubt that this text was widely known. An indication of that was aforementioned: the *Alexander Legend* provoked a monophysite response in Syriac within a few years, one more cynical about the durability of Heraclius' kingdom, and information connected with the Alexander Legend was known as far away as Gaul a few decades later (on which, see the discussion about Fredegarius, later).[63]

Nor is it difficult to suggest motives for Muḥammad or his followers to have paid attention to this apocalypse. Even with the extraordinary skepticism over the early records of Islam prevailing today, no one disputes that Muḥammad's movement was based on the belief in prophets. The Qur'ān contains many references to the prophets of the past. The Syriac *Alexander Legend* presents Alexander the Two-Horned as just such a prophet. Moreover, Alexander's prophecy clearly indicates that final wars heralding the end of the world were taking place. Many in the community that followed Muḥammad seem to have shared this apocalyptic sentiment with others in the contemporary Middle East.[64] However, the Qur'ānic account leaves out all mention of the Roman Empire's inevitable, universal, Christian victory before the return of the Messiah, an important aspect of the last section of the *Legend*. Instead it focuses on and culminates in Dhū l-Qarnyan's prophetic warning that God's judgment will come in a time of wars between great armies. Evidently that was the message of the story that was most meaningful to the adaptor of the Arabic account, and the elements that make the story sensible as Byzantine propaganda are omitted completely in the Arabic.

One may even suppose the words of Q 18:83, "And they are asking you about the Two-Horned One (Dhū l-Qarnayn). Say: I will relate for you a glorious record (*dhikr*) about him," to be a true reflection of the environment in which the Syriac *Alexander Legend* was circulating. Here was an apocalypse widely known and certainly currently relevant. Perhaps Muḥammad's followers or others in the vicinity wanted an explanation of this apocalypse from him, and so they were given an account of it, adapted to make it appropriate to their movement. It may also be possible to see reflections of the prophecy of the *Alexander Legend* in *sūrat al-Rūm* (Q 30:1–6), where the war between the Persians and Romans is referred to, but the Romans are said to be destined to conquer, at least according to the preferred reading of early Qur'ānic exegetes.[65]

In short, there are many indicators that the *Alexander Legend* could easily have reached the community at Medina or Mecca and that, when it did, it would have been meaningful to them. There is no reason to doubt this possibility, and the relationship between the Syriac and Arabic texts determined earlier requires one to suppose that the *Alexander Legend* was in fact transmitted somehow. However, the precise time at which the story of Dhū l-Qarnayn entered the Qur'ān – in Muḥammad's last years, or later – is still undecided.

Floods of nations and the prophecy of Jesus

There is one more point related to the Qur'ānic retelling of this Syriac text that deserves attention. While it is widely known that Jesus was and is regarded as a prophet by Muslims, since he is so designated in the Qur'ān (19:30), there is little discussion of just what Jesus was supposed to be a prophet of. It is often overlooked that Jesus was thought even by Christians to be prophesying nothing less than the end of the world (as in *Matthew* 24 and *Luke* 21:5–28), and that this would be preceded by a siege of Jerusalem (*Luke* 21:20). The sack of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614 therefore shocked Christian contemporaries especially because it seemed to indicate that the end the world and the return of the Messiah were near according to the very words of Jesus. Other signs predicted by Jesus preceding the end would be seen in the heavens, and there would be "distress of nations confused by the roaring of the sea and the waves" (*Luke* 21:25).[66] Contemporary sources show that witnesses to the great war of 603–30 saw the fulfillment of Jesus' words in it.

Most important here is the account of the Türk invasion of Caucasian Albania used by the Armenian author Movsēs Dasxurants'i, the *682 History*. Before describing how the Türks broke through the Wall at Darband, this source adapts the prophecies appearing in *Matthew* 24:6–7, 29 and *Luke* 21:25 in its prologue, paraphrasing them, saying that there would be "confusion of nations like the confusion of the waves of the sea" *xṙovut'iwnk' žolovərdoc' orpēs aleac' covu xṙoveloy*.[67] Then it goes on to describe the events of the wars, using allusions to these paraphrased words of Jesus' prophecy in order to prove that the prophecies were fulfilled. For this purpose, the Türks are likened explicitly to overwhelming waves, the waves of confusion among nations in Jesus' predictions: "Then gradually the waves moved on against us," *apa takaw šaržēin alik'n ənddēm mer*.[68] After raiding Caucasian Albania the Türks turned west: "the floods (*ulxn*) rose and rushed over the land of Georgia."[69] Even Khosrō II "rose up like a raging torrent" when he set out to war against them[70] and we are reminded of the image again with the phrase, "waves of invaders."[71] Thus the author of the *682 History* takes every opportunity to show that Jesus' prophecy was being fulfilled in the invasions of the Türks and the wars of this period in general.

This image of nations as waves was also used specifically to describe the Türks' overwhelming of the walls at Darband. The *682 History* does not connect Alexander with these walls, but it does say that near Č'oł (a town near the gate at Darband) were

> magnificent walls which the kings of Persia had built at great expense, bleeding their country and recruiting architects and procuring many different materials for the construction of the wonderful works with which they blocked [the passes] between Mount Caucasus and the eastern sea [the Caspian]. When the universal wrath confronting us

all came, however, the waves of the sea flooded over and struck it down and destroyed it to its foundations at the very outset.

(Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, trans. Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 83)

These waves are not real waves of the Caspian but rather attackers from the north. The text immediately next describes the physical appearance of the Türk invaders, portrayed as monstrous, whom Heraclius had invited to war as his allies. It is striking that this author, a resident of Caucasian Albania, the territory immediately south of these walls, reports that the Türks actually destroyed the wall (*i himanc' tapaleal*, "demolished it to the foundations"),[72] just as Alexander's Syriac prophecy in the *Legend* said that they would be destroyed. The Byzantine chronicler Theophanes also states that, at the beginning of their invasions, "the Khazars broke through the Gates of the Caspian" (*diarrhēxantes tàs Kaspías púlas*).[73] Just so, in the Qur'ān (18:98), Dhū l-Qarnayn prophesies that God will make the barrier a heap of earth at the time of his promise, the final judgment (*fa-idhā jā'a wa'du rabbī ja'alahū dakkā'a*). But the difference in the Armenian source is that in it the breaking of the wall by the Türks was identified as part of the fulfillment of Jesus' words.

There are not many other surviving reports about these Türk invaders and their passage through the wall. That is why it is especially striking that one of the few other authors to mention it, the contemporary Frankish chronicler known as Fredegarius (wr. ca 660) describes the gates as having been built out of bronze (*aereas*) by Alexander *propter inundacione gentium sevissemorum* (sic), "on account of the surging wave of most savage nations." Here again the invaders are described as a surging wave, an *inundacio* of nations, held back by the gates that, Fredegarius goes on immediately to say, Heraclius himself ordered to be opened: *easdem portas Aeraglius aperire precipit* (sic).[74] In light of the description of the Armenian *682 History*, which was explicitly connected with the prophecies of Jesus, it seems likely that Fredegarius was drawing from a source that made a similar allusion to the waves of nations, paraphrasing Jesus' prophecy in *Luke* 21:25. Moreover, this Latin chronicle's association of Heraclius with the opening of the gates of Alexander that held back savages brings together most of the parts of the *Alexander Legend*. It is in fact the earliest known association of Alexander specifically with the wall at Darband (and not the wall at the Darial pass or another, unspecified place, as in the *Alexander Legend*).[75] What is missing in Fredegarius is reference to Gog and Magog. But in his confusion that chronicle's author bizarrely thinks that the Hagarene Saracens were admitted by this gate, not the Türks. This implies that he identified the Arabs as the people of Gog and Magog, though it is not explicitly stated.

Now, the description of the Hun invaders as waves is not found in the Syriac *Alexander Legend*. However, as shown earlier, God is portrayed as saying in the Qur'ān 18:99, "And We shall leave them on that day surging like waves (*yamūju*) against each other" when the wall holding back Gog and Magog is demolished.

It is tempting therefore to think that the Syriac *Alexander Legend* was associated consciously at some stage of the transmission into Arabic with an explanation or oral commentary including reference to Jesus' prophecies of the end of the world, since the near-contemporary source of Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, the *682 History*, shows that the reference to waves in Jesus' prophecy was taken to refer to the invasions of the Türks, identified elsewhere by contemporaries as the eschatological peoples of Gog and Magog, and their involvement in a war of many nations. Fredegarius' chronicle also describes them as waves. If this hypothesis is correct, the word *yamūju*, "surging like waves," in the Qur'ān, is essentially a verbal echo of Luke 21:25 (*sunokhḗ ethnôn en aporíai ēkhous thalássēs kaì sálou*), the "distress of nations confused by the roaring of the sea and the waves,"[76] Jesus' prophecy of what would happen before the final redemption. It suggests that Movsēs Dasxuranc'i's source (the *682 History*) and Fredegarius' source were not the only ones to consider Jesus' prophecies to be fulfilled in these wars. Muḥammad's earliest followers may have understood the story of Dhū l-Qarnayn not just as the prophecy of the imminent end made by Alexander, regarded as a pious, ancient world-conqueror, but also as an allusion to the prophet Jesus' similar warning of the end times, now very near, which they expected as seriously as other inhabitants of the region, when nations did indeed crash together, as it might have appeared on a field of battle, like waves of the sea.

The language of Q 18:83–102

Now that the continuity of tradition between the Syriac *Alexander Legend* of Alexander and the Qur'ānic passage in question (Q 18:83–102) is established, it is possible to draw some new conclusions about the language of the Qur'ān here. Though controversy has been aroused by the recent attempt to find Syriac or Aramaic words in the Qur'ān where they had not been part of the traditional reading, now one can see that where the Qur'ān is definitely reinterpreting a Syriac text, not a single Syriac word is found, but rather there are true Arabic equivalents of Syriac words.[77] Q 18:83–102 is a distinctively Arabic text and in no way is it Syriac. Thus it is clear that Qur'ānic tradition and, in particular, the traditional Islamic lexicography of the Arabic words in this passage prove to be quite reliable. A high number of exact parallels of meaning between the Syriac and the Arabic (though the Arabic passage is short) come to light while reading the Qur'ānic text in a way that accords very closely with the traditional Muslim interpretation – interpretation of the words themselves, that is, the lexicography, and not the explanatory commentary or *tafsīr*. Whatever problems one finds in the grammar and script of the Qur'ān, it is quite clear that the words and basic meanings of this passage of the Qur'ān have been understood by Islamic tradition correctly. In a sense this Syriac *Alexander Legend* vindicates the reliability of some basic, traditional claims about this Qur'ānic passage, providing means to verify Arabic tradition.

Conclusions

The main conclusion reached here is that a Syriac text quite current and important in the last years of Muḥammad's life was adapted for twenty verses of the Qur'ān. This is not entirely new, since Nöldeke made a similar argument in 1890. Nor is it surprising, since the Qur'ān relates many other well known ancient stories in its own way to deliver its own message, as Muslims generally accept. However, it is now shown beyond any reasonable doubt that this is the case for a text contemporary with Muḥammad. Moreover, what is most important for our understanding of the adaptation of the *Alexander Legend* in the Qur'ān is not the fact of the borrowing but rather the way in which the particular religious and political message associated with the *Alexander Legend* was used, truncated, and altered for new purposes.

This is not a sweeping theory about the formation of the Qur'ān, for it only concerns one small portion of a text agreed upon by almost all to have been compiled from different oral and written materials collected together after the death of the prophet. This theory makes no claims about the text of the Qur'ān as a whole, but it nevertheless requires that the Syriac *Alexander Legend* be taken into account by any theory attempting to account for the whole Qur'ān. It is only in studying the Qur'ān as a text in its own historical context, which historians of the Qur'ān have neglected to a surprising extent in their overdependence on later Arabic sources for the history of the seventh century, that it will become comprehensible to the historian and to those truly concerned with understanding its inimitable history.

The findings of this article may be summarized as follows. The Syriac *Alexander Legend*, written in 629–30 as religious and political propaganda in favor of Heraclius after a devastating war, puts forth two prophecies: one about the impending end of the world in a war of all nations, the other predicting that Roman, Christian rule would come over the entire earth before the Messiah's return. This text was evidently well known soon after is publication since several other texts written in the seventh century react to or include material derived from it. The Arabic, Qur'ānic account of Dhū l-Qarnayn also repeats this story, but includes only the first of its two prophecies, along with the narrative of Alexander's journeys. If Muḥammad himself did speak Q 18:83–102, then it may well have been his response to questions concerning the publication of these prophecies ("They ask you about the Two-Horned One. Say. . . ."). Whatever the precise circumstances of the Arabic composition were, its primary message is that God's judgment is very much imminent. The reference to contemporary wars reflects the notion, widely held around this time, that the violence and strife of this period were indeed an indicator of the rapidly approaching end of the world. It is not surprising that a community of Arabs whose religion was based on a belief in prophecy would find the contents of this story meaningful, since it put a prophecy supporting the apocalyptic sentiments that they shared, designed for their troubled times, into the mouth of an ancient and respected world-conqueror.

What is striking is that the strongly pro-Roman element, appearing especially in the second prophecy of the *Alexander Legend*, is completely omitted, though many details of the other parts of the story are included. Surely this omission also reflects some attitude in the community of Muḥammad. Finally, though it depends (probably through oral report) on a Syriac work for its content, Q 18:83–102 shows no hint of Syriac vocabulary. It is an entirely Arabic text likely to have been first uttered in the early seventh century. The extraordinary correspondences between the Syriac and the Arabic vindicate the early Muslim understanding of the meaning of the words in this text, but not their exegesis of it.[78]

Approaching the Qur'ān by contextualizing it in the milieu of the early seventh century clearly has much to offer, but it is surprising to find how disconnected the field of Qur'ānic research is from other historical studies on the same period and region, with some notable recent exceptions. It seems now that the future of Qur'ānic studies lies not within the discipline construed as Islamic studies alone but rather that many major historical problems of the Qur'ān will be solved by historians of Late Antiquity, whose approaches to the first century of Islam are proving more successful than the various apologetic and polemical approaches that predominate in the modern study of early Islam. That is perhaps to be expected, since scholars in the field of Islamic studies are largely concerned with later tradition and has generally (though not in every case) failed to find adequate tools for approaching the Qur'ān in its original context, the early seventh century. Yet almost every primary source used in the present study was published more than fifty years ago, many of them more than a century ago. Scholars of Islamic studies have brought historical–epistemological problems – which are problems particularly when they confine themselves to late sources – so prominently to the foreground that it is nearly impossible to read the texts themselves, while the general abandonment of the basic preliminary tools of historical scholarship – the philological methods used to establish text that can then serve as objects of historical research – are sorely neglected. But Qur'ānic studies now require scholars trained in Greek and Syriac, not to mention other forms of Aramaic, and even Armenian, Ethiopic and other languages, as much as in Arabic.[79] With the great surge in research and publication on Late Antiquity, the very context into which Islam came, answers to the pressing theoretical questions as well as to some of the historical ones also may at last appear.[80]

Notes

1 E.A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889.

2 Th. Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 38, 1890, 5, 27–33.

3 Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," 32, "Wie andre Geschichten so hat Muhammed natürlich auch diese auf mündlichen Wege erhalten."

4 J. Renard, "Alexander," in *EQ*, vol. 1, 61–2. The article "Gog and Magog" in the same encyclopaedia (Keith Lewinstein, vol. 2, 331–3) at least mentions the Syriac *Alexander Legend* and cites Nöldeke's work, but it does not refer to Nöldeke's thesis that this text was a source of the Qur'ān, rather citing the *Alexander Legend* with extraordinary understatement inconclusively as one of a few "suggestive parallels."

5 See note 8.

6 Like Gilgamesh, the Alexander of this *Legend* travels to the edges of the world where he found a sea of deadly waters, the touch of which meant death. Also like Gilgamesh, this Alexander journeys through the passage through which the sun passes every night, entering it at sunset and emerging at the eastern end at sunrise. Both Gilgamesh and Alexander follow the sun's nightly course just after it sets, apparently having to pass through before the sun comes around again and catches them. In both stories, the sun's passage is associated with a mountain, Māšu in the Akkadian and Mûsās in the Syriac, evidently related names. Thus there seems to have been an oral tradition of the Gilgamesh story that became associated at an unknown time with Alexander. Moreover, the Syriac *Song of Alexander*, written in reaction to the *Alexander Legend*, and a Talmudic account of Alexander contain more material derived from the Gilgamesh tradition (such as the search for the water of life). This points to the existence of a late antique Aramaic oral tradition of Gilgamesh in which the name Alexander replaced the more ancient hero's name. References to literature on connections between Alexander, Gilgamesh, and the Qur'ān are collected in Brannon Wheeler, *Moses in the Quran and Islamic Exegesis*, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002, 10–37 (plus endnotes), though the conclusions reached there are sometimes doubtful (see note 8).

7 G.J. Reinink, "Heraclius, the new Alexander: Apocalyptic prophecies during the reign of Heraclius," in G.J. Reinink and B.H. Stolte (eds), *The Reign of Heraclius (610–641): Crisis and Confrontation, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 2*, Leuven: Peeters, 2002, 81–94; idem, "Alexander the Great in the Seventh-Century Syriac 'Apocalyptic' Texts," *Byzantinorossika* 2, 2003, 150–78 (this journal is available online at http://byzantinorossica.org.ru/byzantinorossika.html where it can be viewed with DjVu software, which is, at the time of this writing, available elsewhere online as a free download); now out of date but full of useful information is F. Pfister, "Alexander der Große in Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen," in F. Pfister, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* 61, 1976, 301–37.

8 B. Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander? Q 18:60–5 in early Islamic exegesis," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57.3, 1998, 191–215 and idem, *Moses*, 10–36. Wheeler does not address directly Nöldeke's hypothesis of the relationship of the *Alexander Legend* to Q 18:83–102, which is the subject of the present paper, though he does refer in his notes to Nöldeke's work ("Moses or Alexander?" 201, n. 52; *Moses*, 138, n. 55 to chapter 1). This strikes me as an unfortunate oversight. While this is not the place to redraw Wheeler's charts showing the supposed interrelationships of these texts, a few critical remarks are in order to guide the reader. In discussing the Qur'ān, its commentaries, three different texts about Alexander (the *Legend*, the *Song*, and different recensions of the *Romance*), and then also the Talmudic story of Alexander, Wheeler has overlooked a good deal of relevant published research (e.g. see later in this note) but has almost completely avoided getting into the details of the texts that could be used to establish their real interrelationships. To take just one of the problematic conclusions as an example, his charts of affiliations (Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander?" 202–3; *Moses*, 17, 19) argue that the Babylonian Talmud is a source of the Christian *Song of Alexander*, which is extremely unlikely. He argues, without foundation, that when Qur'ān commentators refer to extra-Qur'ānic traditions, it becomes

impossible for the Qur'ān to refer to the same extra-Qur'ānic traditions; the Qur'ān itself is cleared of relying on the same ancient traditions (*Moses*, 28–9). This and other problematic schemata aside, Wheeler has not included the *Legend of Alexander* in his chart of affiliations, but only the *Song of Alexander*, which has been shown not actually to be by Jacob of Serugh, as Wheeler seems to think: "Moses or Alexander?" 201; *Moses*, 17; following Nöldeke, actually, but missing much of the subsequent scholarship: for example, A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, Bonn: A. Markus und E. Weber, 1922, 191; K. Czeglédy, "Monographs on Syriac and Muhammadan sources in the literary remains of M. Kmoskó," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4, 1955, (19–90) 35–6; G.J. Reinink, "Ps.-Methodius: A concept of history in response to Islam," in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds) *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 1, Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1992, (149–87) 167 n. 73; S. Gero, "The legend of Alexander the Great in the Christian orient," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 75, 1993, 3–9, 7; and above all the introduction accompanying the standard edition of the *Song of Alexander* itself: *Das syrische Alexanderlied. Die Drei Rezensionen*, *CSCO* 454 (edition)-455 (translation), *Scriptores Syri* 195–6, Trans. G.J. Reinink (ed.), Louvain: Peeters, 1983. Compare Wheeler's reference to "the brief so-called Legend of Alexander, which is often said to be a prose version of Jacob of Serugh's (*Song*)…" (Wheeler, *Moses*, 17, no references given) with Reinink's statement: "No scholar has seriously considered the possibility that the legend is dependent on the (*Song*)" (Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 153). Not even Budge, who first edited the *Legend*, thought that it was a prose version of the *Song*; rather he supposed that they shared a common source (Budge, *History of Alexander*, lxxvii). As Reinink has shown, the *Song of Alexander* is to some degree a reaction to the *Alexander Legend* composed not many years after the latter, probably between 630 and 640 CE (Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 152–5 and 165–8).

9 On the translation of *sabab* as "heavenly course," see my discussion later in the article.

10 The verb *yamūju* here means to move as waves move. The reference to the armies moving like waves becomes important in what follows.

11 Budge, *The History of Alexander*, text 256, line 12, trans. 145.

12 Here Budge has misunderstood the passage leading to a nonsensical translation (*The History of Alexander*, text 260–1, trans. 148): "And when the sun enters the window of heaven, he straightway bows down and makes obeisance before God his Creator; and he travels and descends the whole night through the heavens, until at length he finds himself where he rises. And Alexander looked toward the west, and he found a mountain that descends, and its name was 'the great Mûsâs;' and [the troops] descended it and came out upon Mount Ḳlaudiâ."

The passage should rather be understood as follows: "And when the sun entered the window of heaven, he (Alexander) immediately bowed down and made obeisance before God his Creator, and he traveled and descended the whole night in the heavens, until at length he came and found himself where it (the sun) rises. He saw the land of the setting sun and found a mountain where he descended, named Great Mūsās, and they (the troops) descended and arrived with him. And they went forth to Mount Qlāwdiyâ (Claudia)." The role of Mount Ararat, called Great (*Mec*) *Masis* in Armenian, in this story goes back to the very ancient times. At some unknown point it was identified as the mount Māšu (*ma-a-šu*) of Tablet IX of the Gilgamesh epic, where Gilgamesh finds a way *into* the passage through which the sun enters at nightfall. The later Arabic rendering of the story found in an Adalusian manuscript (on which more later) renders the name of the mountain as *al-Jūdī*, an Arabic name for another, smaller mountain at the northern end of Mesopotamia called Ararad. On the confusion about these mountains see M. Streck, "Djūdī," EI^2, vol. 2, 573b-4a. On the various mountains

known in Armenian as *Masis*, see J.R. Russell, "Armeno Iranica," in *Papers in Honour of Professor Marcy Boyce, Acta Iranica* 25, *Homages et opera minora* vol. XI, Leiden: Brill, 1985 (447–58) 456. For the occurrence of al-Jūdī in a later Arabic translation of the *Alexander Legend* (discussed in the present article), see E. García Gómez, *Un texto árabe occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro*, Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1929, Arabic edition 50, l. 24.

13 K. Czeglédy, "The Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander the Great," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7, 1957, (231–49) 245, who seeks to localize the author by reference to the rivers Haloras and Kallath. Reinink, "Entstehung," 280, and idem, "Alexander the Great," 161, suggested that the author's home was Edessa or Amida.

14 The Haloras (Arabic *Halūras*, Armenian *Olor*) is a high tributary of the Eastern Tigris, upstream north of Amida. Just beyond its head is a pass leading down from the Arsanias river, so that by this way one could cross between the Armenian valleys and northern Mesopotamia.

15 Budge, *The History of Alexander*, text 269–270, trans. 154–5.

16 Idem, *The History of Alexander*, text 270, trans. 155.

17 Idem, *The History of Alexander*, trans. 146 and 156; text 257 l. 14 and 272 l. 11.

18 It is well known that already in his own time Alexander was portrayed with horns according to the iconography of the Egyptian god Ammon. (A.R. Anderson, "Alexander's horns," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 58, 1927, [100–22] 101.) But the problem here is not to illustrate the entire history of this image, something already investigated in detail by others, but rather to show the proximate source of the information used in the Qur'ān.

19 Josephus, *De Bello Iudaico*, 7.7.4. The ancient traditions on Alexander's wall, its iron gates, and its location are treated amply by A.R. Anderson, "Alexander's Horns," 109–10 and especially in "Alexander at the Caspian gates," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 59, 1928, 130–63. The wall is discussed further elsewhere in the present article.

20 In the Syriac *Alexander Legend* and in the Qur'ān God gathers the peoples who will fight (Syriac *nkanneš*, Arabic *fa-jama'nāhum jam'an*). In the earlier tradition of *Revelation of John* 20:7–9 it is Satan who "gathers" (*sunagagein*) Gog and Magog to fight.

21 It is likely that one should emend the text of the Qur'ān from *Yājūj* (*y'jwj*) to *Ajūj* (*'jwj*) on the basis of the Syriac source combined with the attestation of the form *Ājūj* in Arabic recorded by al-Zamakhsharī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Ibn Ḥajar (E. van Donzel and C. Ott, "Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj," *EI*[2], vol. 11, 231a-3b). An unintended [y] may be easily read in that position (before initial *alif*) by mistake in either Syriac or Arabic script.

22 Many examples of this usage are found in W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1872, vol. 3 (e.g. on 1090b, 1113a, 1127b).

23 For example, *sūrat Maryam* (Q 19:2) is headed, "a *dhikr* of the mercy of your lord on his servant Zakariyyā." Here, *dhikr* clearly means "record" or "account." Cf. *sūrat Ṭāhā* (Q 20:99), where the word apparently refers to accounts of former (Biblical) times.

24 E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book 1, part 4, 1285c, entry "*sabab*."

25 My study of Qur'ānic *sabab* will appear elsewhere. The meaning "heavenly courses" is explicit in Q 40:37, *asbāb al-samawāt*, where Pharaoh wants to vie with Moses in reaching the *asbāb*, the courses, of the heavens to behold Moses' God. It also appears in Q 38:10, *fa-l-yartaqū fī l-asbāb*, where God challenges those who vie with his all-mastery to reach heaven by ascending by *asbāb*; in Q 22:15, *fa-l-yamdud bi-sababin ilā l-samā'i thumma l-yaqṭa'*, which has been taken by many to refer to stringing a

noose from the roof of a house; it appears rather to be a challenge to ascend to the heavens by the extraordinary means of a heavenly course, but it is doomed to failure, as in the previous example; and in Q 2:166, where God says that the *asbāb* (the heavenly cords) will collapse on judgment day. For this list of occurrences I used Arne A. Ambros, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004, 126–7.

26 K. van Bladel, "Heavenly cords and prophetic authority in the Qur'ān and its Late Antique context," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70, 2007, 223–247; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, article "*thamānūn*," Book 1, part 1, 355c-356a. *Asbāb* in this verse is preferred as the *lectio difficilior*.

27 Budge, *History of Alexander*, text 260, trans. 148.

28 The cosmology of the *Alexander Legend* is very similar to that found in the *Book of Enoch* (*I Enoch*) and a few of the elements of Alexander's experiences of the far edges of the world are just like those encountered by Enoch. Like Alexander, Enoch visits the four corners of the earth. *I Enoch* 17–36 tells this story, in which Enoch sees the prison (*I Enoch* 18:14, 21:10: Greek *desmōtērion*, Ethiopic *bēta moqəḥ*) for fallen angels and a place of punishment of the souls of sinners (*I Enoch* 22:13, Greek *hamartōloí*, Ethiopic *xāṭə'ān*) in a far western place. This is quite like the prison that Alexander draws those whom he sends into the deadly waters to test them. In his vision, it is the winds that serve as the pillars of heaven over the earth (*I Enoch* 18:3: Ethiopic *a'əmāda samāy*; Greek "foundation of heaven" *steréōma toû ouranoû*), pillars calling to mind perhaps the Arabic *asbāb al-samawāt* under discussion. Enoch also finds "gates of heaven" in the north (*I Enoch* 34–6: Ethiopic *xəwāxəwa samāy*). In the portion of the work known as "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries," *I Enoch* 75–82, Enoch sees the gates of heaven (1 Enoch 72:2ff.: again Ethiopic *xəwāxəwa samāy*, sing. *xoxət*) and the windows (1 Enoch 72:3ff. Ethiopic *maskot*, pl. *masākəw*) to their right and left. The sun, moon, stars, and winds pass through these gates. (Words cited here are taken from the Ethiopic and the surviving Greek portions of *I Enoch*: *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text*, J. Flemming (ed.), Leipzig: J.C. Heinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902 and *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, M. Black (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1970). It is likely that the author of the *Alexander Legend* knew the story of Enoch or shared its cosmology. Gates of Heaven, *abwāb al-samā'*, are also mentioned in Q 7:40 and 54:11, where in the former case they seem to be portals leading to the Garden (*al-Janna*) and in the latter case they are the hatches through which rains come to earth in Noah's story, reflecting the "windows of heaven" in Genesis 7:11 (Hebrew *ărubbôt haššāmayim*).

29 G.J. Reinink, "Die Entstehung der syrischen Alexanderlegende als politisch-religiöse Propagandaschrift für Herakleios' Kirchenpolitik," in C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, and L. Van Rompay (eds), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History offered to Professor Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 18, Leuven: Peeters 1985, 263–81; "Ps.-Methodius," 1992, 149–87; "Pseudo-Ephraems 'Rede über das Ende' und die syrische eschatologische Literatur des siebenten Jahrhunderts," *Aram* 5, 1993, 437–63; "Alexandre et le dernier empereur du monde: les développements du concept de la royauté chrétienne dans les sources syriaques du septième siècle," in L. Harf-Lancner, C. Kappler et F. Suard (eds), *Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures occidentales et proche-orientales. Actes du colloque de Paris, 27–29 novembre 1997*, Nanterre: Centre des sciences de la littérature de l'Université Paris X, 1999, 149–59; "Heraclius, the New Alexander;" "Alexander the Great," 2003, 150–78.

30 The Era of the Greeks began in 1 October 312 BC according to the Julian Era. The dates can be converted by subtracting 312–311 from the Common Era year. On the use of this era in Syriac see P. Ludger Bernhard, *Die Chronologie der syrischen Handschriften*, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 14*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969, 110–2. One will notice that the Era of

the Greeks, frequently called in Syriac tradition the Era of Alexander, does not actually correspond with the death of Alexander. The assumption of the author of the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, that the Era of Alexander began with Alexander's death, is a mistake easy to make. He wanted only to signal the dates of his prophecies with an era in common use.

31 The little that is known of the general early history and ethnic affiliation of the Sabirs is summarized by Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, 104–6.

32 It is approved by, for example, Czeglédy, "The Syriac Legend," 245.

33 Earlier scholarship has used the signal of the year 628–9 CE in Alexander's prophecy to date the text in different ways. Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 2003, shows that the text was composed in 630 or just before that time.

34 Reinink, "Alexander the Great."

35 For example, J. Howard-Johnston, "Heraclius' Persian campaigns and the revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–630," *War in History* 6, 1999, (1–44) 26–40. W.E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

36 Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 160–2.

37 Idem, 163–4.

38 Idem, "Die Entstehung" and "Alexander the Great."

39 Ibid.

40 A.R. Anderson, "Alexander's Horns," 109–10. Idem, "Alexander at the Caspian Gates" gives an exhaustive account of the ancient and modern confusion over precisely where these gates and the pass that they blocked were located. They were at least since the first century CE mistakenly thought by many classical authors to have been located at the pass of Darial in the middle of the Caucasus. Later, around the seventh century, this site was confused with the pass at Darband along the Caspian Sea.

41 Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, 89; cf. maps 56 and 57 on 66–7.

42 Extensive bibliographies are found in E. Kettenhofen, "Darband," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 7, 13–19; G.G. Gamzatov, "Dāgestān i: Cultural relations with Persia," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 6, 568–75; D.M. Dunlop, "Bāb al-Abwāb," *EI²*, 1, 835. Hewsen, *Armenia*, 85, 90–1, contains maps of these walls and in particular a detailed close-up map of the wall at Darband. For a list of frontier walls built by the Sasanians: H. Mahamedi, "Wall [sic] as a system of frontier defense during the Sasanid period," in T. Daryaee and M. Omidsalar (eds), *The Spirit of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of Ahmed Tafazzoli*, Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2004, 145–59; this study makes almost no use of relevant Greek, Armenian, and other sources.

43 *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, trans. and comment. R.W. Thomson and J. Howard-Johnston, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, 1, trans. 148.

44 *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV. Cum Continuationibus, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum tomus II*, Bruno Krusch (ed.), Hannover: Hahn, 1888, (1–214) esp. 153.

45 Erich Kettenhofen, "Darband," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 7, 13–19, 16.

46 In so characterizing these names I paraphrase Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander," 2002, 85. On the tradition of these names in Arabic, see E. van Donzel and C. Ott, "Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj," *EI²*, 11, 231a-33b, and K. Lewinstein, "Gog and Magog," *EQ*, 2, 331–3.

47 Andreas, *Commentary on* Revelation, J. Schmid (ed.) in *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Texte I. Der Apokalypse-kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, Munich: Zink, 1955, 223 (*kephalaion* 63): *eînai dè taûtá tines mèn Skuthikà éthnē nomízousin huperbóreia, háper kaloûmen Ounniká, pásēs epigeíou basileías, hōs horômen, poluanthrōpóterá te kaì polemikṓtera.* "Some people think that these

(scil. Gog and Magog) are the Scythian, Hyperborean nations, which we call Hunnic, both most populous and most warlike, as we see, of the entire earthly kingdom." Cf. Josephus, *Judaean Antiquities*, 1.6.1.

48 For the complicated debate about the identity of the leader of the Türks (or their Khazar subordinates) in these invasions see A. Bombaci, "Qui était Jebu Xak'an?" *Turcica* 2, 1970, 7–24. See also P. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, 49–51.

49 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, C. de Boor (ed.), Hildesheim: Olms, 1963.*The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, trans. and comment. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, Oxford: Clarendon, 1997, 446–8. See also the modern synthesis of W. Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 142–6.

50 *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, trans. C.J.F. Dowsett, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 87.

51 J. Howard-Johnston, "Armenian Historians of Heraclius: An Examination of the Aims, Sources, and Working-Methods of Sebēos and Movses Daskhurantsi," in G.J. Reinink and B.H. Stolte (eds), *The Reign of Heraclius*, 41–62. The earliest known citation of the work is by Anania Mokac'i, writing some time after 958, by which time the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* had a reputation of its own (Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, xv-xvi). Now that two palimpsest texts written in the Caucasian Albanian (Ałuan) language have been discovered in the Sinai and deciphered, proving that there was at least an ecclesiastical literary tradition in this language, it is possible to wonder whether the description of these invasions of Caucasian Albania was originally composed in the local literary language before being translated into Armenian. It is noteworthy that the anonymous author of these passages states that he came from the village of Kałankatuk' (Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 84; this is the reason the compiler Movsēs Dasxuranc'i is sometimes mistakenly called Kałankuac'i), located very near Partaw, the capital of Caucasian Albania (see the map of Hewsen, *Armenia*, 41). For more on the discovery and decipherment of the new Caucasian Albanian texts by Zaza Aleksidze, see the internet site armazi.uni-frankfurt.de, following the link "Albanica."

52 Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 83–4 (Book 2, chapter 11).

53 Budge, *History of Alexander*, text 263–5, trans. 150–1.

54 Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 75 (Book 2, chapter 9). Edition: Movsēs "Kałankatuac'i", *Patmut'iwn Ałuanic' Ašxarhi*, M. Emin (ed.), Tbilisi, n.p., 1912 (reprint of M. Emin's 1860 Moscow edition), ed. 144.

55 Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 165.

56 Idem, "Pseudo-Ephraems 'Rede über das Ende'," 455–63.

57 Idem, "Pseudo-Methodius," and "Alexander the Great," 171–7.

58 G. Reinink's ("Alexander the Great," 2003, 152) more general remarks on the interrelationships of early eight century apocalypses are worth repeating: "The postulating of some older 'common source,' which is supposedly lost today, does not always form a satisfactory explanation of the differences between these texts and especially not, if we should completely ignore the specific literary and historical conditions under which each of these works came into being, conditions which may have led to certain reinterpretations, adaptations and modifications of the existing tradition."

59 Stephen Gero, "The legend of Alexander the Great," 7.

60 Budge, *History of Alexander*, text 155, trans. 270 l. 1.

61 On Ghassānid monophysitism and their connections with Heraclius, see I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995, vol. 2.

62 On the raid at Mu'ta see W. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 171–4.

63 Reinink, "Alexander the Great," 165–8.

64 F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton: Darwin, 1998, 228–9, includes a basic bibliography for early Islamic apocalypticism. On apocalyptic feeling in other sources from this period, see Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander," 81–3.
65 N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 24–33.
66 New Oxford Annotated Bible, 2nd edn. rev.
67 Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 75; Tbilisi edn, 144. Cf. the Gospel text of *Luke* 21:25 edited by Beda O. Künzle, *Das altarmenische Evangelium*, New York: Lang, 1984, I, 205: *i yahel barbaṙoy ibrew covu ew xṙovut'ean.*
68 Tbilisi edn 154, text, Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 84.
69 Tbilisi edn 156, Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 85.
70 Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 88.
71 Idem, 89.
72 Idem, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, 83, Tbilisi edn, 153, l. 26.
73 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 315–16.
74 *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredagarii*, 153.
75 Anderson, "Alexander at the Caspian Gates," 135.
76 New Oxford Annotated Bible, 2nd edn. rev.
77 The controversial thesis was published under the name Christoph Luxenberg, *Die Syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, Berlin: Das arabische Buch, 2000. Detailed review of this work can be found in other articles in the present volume.
78 For evidence that there was once a more substantial knowledge of the *Alexander Legend* in Arabic, at least as early as the mid-ninth century, including some investigation of the Qur'ān commentaries on Q 18:83–102, see K. van Bladel, "The Syriac sources of the early Arabic narratives of Alexander," in H.P. Ray (ed.), *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in South Asia*, New Delhi: Aryan International, 2007, (54–75) 64–67. See also the important study of the *Alexander Romance* in Arabic by F.C.W. Aerts, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: Zeven eeuwen Arabische Alexandertraditie: van Pseudo-Callisthenes tot Ṣūrī*, Dissertation, University of Leiden, 2003.
79 This was made amply clear by Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1997.
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